ARRIANN
ARRIAN
WITH AN ENGLISH TRANSLATION
BY
E. ILIFF ROBSON, B.D.
ANABASIS ALEXANDRI (Books V—VII)
INDICA (Book VIII)
IN TWO VOLUMES
II
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PREFACE

A keen critic, who pointed out several misprints in Vol. I, also took me to task for vagaries in the proper names. In these I confess to a certain licence, for which there are parallels. Sometimes "Ptolemy," sometimes "Ptolemaeus," better fits the run of the sentence, and "Ptolemaeus" is advisable where another name, such as Aristobulus, follows. In Roman Histories, despite the wise recommendations of learned societies for transliteration, "Pompey" and "Antony," undignified though they sound, are usual. In Anabasis VI. v. 5 I even venture "Craterus and Philip," since we have come to anglicize "Philippus" as a general rule.

In this volume I use Arabians (Indica) for dwellers by the river Arabis, but keep "Agrianes" because "Agrianians" sounds ugly.

Sometimes variety is used to distinguish; it has become usual, for instance, to use Aornos of the Rock, Aornus of the Bactrian site.

A more difficult point is accentuation of rarer names, especially of Macedonian names. I print Αεόννατος, as Roos did; but he repented when too late (Piget me Αεόννατος... ex Α retinuisse, cum Αεονιάτος vel... Αεόννατος scribendum sit). Possibly in the Indica, where there is evidently some attempt at Aeolisms, we should, by βαρυόνησι, write Αεόννατος. But -άτος is probably wrong, and Hoffmann (Ueber
PREFAE

die Makedonen u. ihre sprache) suggests that the termination is from ὁνίνηυ, the name meaning "serviceable to the people" or something like; and, if so, the word should be oxytone.

Not many works on Arrian or Alexander have appeared since the publication of Vol. I; the translation of Ulrich Wilcken's Alexander and Georges Radet's Alexandre le grand (Paris, 1931, 448 pp.) are to be noted; those who have followed Radet's writings in Bordeaux University publications will know that the completed work is of high value. A copy of The Ephemerides of Alexander's Expedition, by C. A. Robinson, Jr. of Brown University, has kindly been sent me by the author, who indeed seems to attribute the work to a desire expressed in my Alexander the Great (Cape). In this study of Alexander's routes and stopping-places Mr. Robinson seems to reach the striking conclusion that after the death of Callisthenes there was, for a time, either a cessation of the official Diaries or much confusion in them. In this "second period" the surviving authorities differ much in their records of Alexander's progress. Later on they appear to have been better ordered. The writer promises a larger work.

Sir Aurel Stein prints in The Geographical Journal for July 1932 an article on "The Site of Alexander's Passage of the Hydaspes and the Battle with Poros." He has most kindly permitted use of his articles and maps; and the larger map in this volume has been as far as possible brought into harmony with his, while that of the Upper Indus is actually his.

E. I. R.

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ANABASIS OF ALEXANDER

BOOK V
ΑΡΡΙΑΝΟΥ
ΑΝΑΒΑΣΕΩΣ ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ
ΒΙΒΛΙΟΝ ΠΕΜΠΤΟΝ

1. Ἐνδὲ τῇ χώρᾳ ταύτῃ ἤντινα μεταξὺ τοῦ τε Κωφήνου καὶ τοῦ Ἰνδοῦ ποταμοῦ ἔπιλθεν Ἀλέξανδρος, καὶ Νύσαν πόλιν ἥκισθαι λέγουσιν
2 τὸ δὲ κτίσμα εἶναι Διόνυσον. Διόνυσον δὲ κτίσαι τὴν Νύσαν ἐπεὶ τὸ Ἰνδοῦς ἐχειρώσατο, ὡστὶς δὴ οὖτος ὁ Διόνυσος καὶ ὅποτε ἢ ὃθεν ἦπ. Ἰνδοῦς ἐστράτευσεν: οὐ γὰρ ἔχω συμβαλεῖν εἰ ὁ Θηβαῖος Διόνυσος ἐκ Θηβῶν ἢ καὶ ἐκ Τμώλου τοῦ Λυδίου ὀρμηθεῖς ἐπ᾽ Ἰνδοῦς ἤκε στρατιὰν ἄγων, τοσαῦτα μὲν ἔθνη μάχιμα καὶ ἀγνωστὰ τοῖς τότε Ἐλλησιν ἐπελθὼν, οὐδὲν δὲ αὐτῶν ἄλλο ὅτι μὴ τὸ Ἰνδῶν βία χειρωσάμενος πλὴν γε δὴ ὅτι ὅκριβη ἐξεταστὶν χρῆ εἶναι τῶν ὑπὲρ τοῦ θείου ἐκ παλαιοῦ μεμυθεμένως. Τὰ γὰρ τοὺς κατὰ τὸ εἰκὸς ξυντιθέντα ὡς πιστά, ἐπειδὰν τὸ θείον τις προσθῇ τῷ λόγῳ, οὐ πάντη ἀπίστα φαίνεται.
3 Ὁς δὲ ἐπέβη τῇ Νύσῃ Ἀλέξανδρος, ἐκπέμπουσι παρ᾽ αὐτὸν οἱ Νυσαῖοι τὸν κρατιστεύοντα σφῶν, ὄνομα δὲ ἢν αὐτῷ Ἀκούφις, καὶ ξύν αὐτῷ πρέσβεις τῶν δοκιμωτάτων τριάκοντα,
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ANABASIS OF ALEXANDER

BOOK V

I. In the country through which Alexander passed, between the rivers Cophen and Indus, was situated, they say, the city Nysa,\(^1\) founded by Dionysus; he founded it when he subdued the Indians, whoever this Dionysus was, and whenever or whence he marched against the Indians; for I for my part cannot gather whether the Theban Dionysus started from Thebes or from the Lydian Tmolus, and led an army against the Indians, invading all these warlike peoples, unknown to the Greeks of that time, and subduing no other part of them but the Indians; still, one must not be a precise critic of ancient legends about the divine beings. For things which—if you consider them merely from their probability—appear incredible, may, when one adds to one's story the divine element, prove by no means incredible.

When, however, Alexander approached Nysa, the people of Nysa sent out to him their chief, whose name was Acuphis, and with him thirty envoys from

\(^1\) Jelalabad.
δεσσομένους Ἀλεξάνδρου ἀφεῖναι τῷ θεῷ τὴν 4 πόλιν. Παρελθεῖν τε δὴ ἐς τὴν σκηνήν τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρου τοὺς πρέσβεις καὶ καταλαβεῖν καθήμενον κεκοιμημένον ἔτι ἐκ τῆς ὁδοῦ ἔξων τοῖς ὁπλίσκοις τοῖς τε ἅλλοις καὶ τὸ κράνος αὐτῶ περικείμενον καὶ τὸ δόρυ ἔχοντα· θαμβηθοῦτε τε ἱδόντας τὴν ὁψίν καὶ πεσόντας ἐς γῆν ἐπὶ πολὺ συγνῇ ἔχειν. Ὡς δὲ ἐξανεστησάτε τε αὐτοὺς Ἀλεξάνδρος καὶ θαρρεῖν ἐκέλευσε, τότε δὴ τὸν Ἀκουφίν ἀρξάμενον λέγειν ὅτε· 5 "Ω βασιλεῦ, δέονται σοι Νυσαῖοι ἔσσαι σφᾶς ἐλευθέρους τε καὶ αὐτονόμους αἰδοὶ τοῦ Διονύσου. Διόνυσος γὰρ ἐπειδὴ χειροσάμενος τὸ Ἰνδῶν ἔθνος ἔτι θάλασσαν ὅπισώ κατήγει τὴν Ἑλληνικήν, ἐκ τῶν ἀπομάχων στρατιωτῶν, οὐ δὴ αὐτῷ καὶ Βάκχοι ἦσαν, κτίζει τὴν πόλιν τῷ ἡμῶν μυημόσυνον τῆς αὐτοῦ πλάνης τε καὶ νίκης τοῖς ἐπείτα ἐσόμενοι, καθάπερ οὖν καὶ σὺ αὐτὸς Ἀλεξάνδρειάν τε ἐκτίσετε τὴν πρὸς Καυκάσῳ ὁρεῖ καὶ ἄλλην Ἀλεξάνδρειάν ἐν τῇ Αἰγυπτίων γῇ, καὶ ἄλλας πολλὰς τὰς μὲν ἐκτίσες ἥδη, τὰς δὲ καὶ κτίσεις ἀνὰ χρόνον, οἷα δὴ πλείονα 6 Διονύσου ἔργα ἀποδεξάμενος. Νῦσαν τε οὖν ἐκάλεσε τὴν πόλιν ὁ Διόνυσος ἐπὶ τῆς τροφῆς τῆς Νυσῆς καὶ τῆς χώρας Νυσαίαν· τὸ δὲ ὅρος ὁ τιπέρ πλησίον ἐστὶ τῆς πόλεως καὶ τοῦτο Μηρὸν ἐπωνομασε Διόνυσος, ὅτι δὴ κατὰ τὸν μύθον ἐν μηρῷ τῷ τοῦ Διός ηὔξηθη. Καὶ ἐκ τούτου ἐλευθέραν τε οἰκούμενοι τὴν Νῦσαν καὶ αὐτοὶ αὐτονόμου καὶ ἐν κόσμῳ πολιτεύσουτες· τῆς
their most notable men, to beg Alexander to leave their city to its god. The envoys, it is said, came into Alexander’s pavilion, and found him sitting all dusty still from the journey, with his ordinary armour on him, and wearing a helmet and carrying his spear; they were amazed at the sight of him, and fell to the ground, and for a long time kept silence. But when Alexander raised them up and bade them take courage, then Acuphis began and spake as follows:

“The people of Nysa, O King, beg you to leave them free and independent, from reverence for Dionysus. For he, when he had subdued the nation of the Indians, and was returning towards the Greek Sea, founded, with his discharged soldiers, who were also his Bacchi,¹ this city, to be a memorial for those to come of his journey and his victory, even as you have yourself founded Alexandria by Mount Caucasus, and another Alexandria in Egypt, and you have both founded many other cities already, and will found more in course of time, thus giving proof of more achievements than those of Dionysus. Now Dionysus called this city Nysa in honour of his nurse Nysa, and the territory he called Nysaean; and the mountain near the city he named Merus (a thigh), since, according to the legend, he grew in the thigh of Zeus. From that time this city of Nysa in which we dwell has been free, and ourselves independent, and living as orderly citizens. And let this too be a

¹ That is, his band of revellers.
Arrian

dδέ ἐκ Διονύσου οἰκίσεως καὶ τόδε σοι γενέσθω τεκμήριον κιττοῦ γαρ οὐκ ἄλλη τῆς Ἰνδῶν γῆς φυόμενος παρ’ ἡμῖν φύεται.”

Π. Καὶ ταῦτα πάντα Ἀλεξάνδρῳ πρὸς θυμοῦ ἐγείρετο ἀκούειν καὶ ἥθελε πιστὰ εἶναι τὰ ὑπὲρ τοῦ Διονύσου τῆς πλάνης μυθευόμενα· καὶ κτίσμα εἶναι Διονύσου τὴν Νύσαν ἥθελεν, ὡς ἦδη τε ἦκειν αὐτὸς ἐνθὰ ἠλθὲ Διόνυσος καὶ ἐπ’ ἐκεῖνα ἀν ἔλθειν Διονύσου· οὐδ’ ἂν ἡ 1 Μακεδόνας τὸ πρόσω ἀπαξίωσαι συμπονεῖν οἱ ἔτι κατὰ 2 ζήλον τῶν Διονύσου ἔργων. Καὶ δίδωσιν ἔλευθέρους τε εἶναι τοὺς οἰκήτορας τῆς Νύσης καὶ αὐτούμοις. Ὡς δὲ καὶ τοὺς νόμους ἐπύθετο αὐτῶν καὶ ὡς πρὸς τῶν ἀρίστων τὸ πολίτευμα ἤχεται, ταῦτα τε ἐπήνευε καὶ ἥξιωσε τῶν τε ἰππέων οἱ ξυμπέμψας ἐς τριακοσίους καὶ τῶν προεστῶτῶν τοῦ πολιτεύματος, ἦσαν δὲ καὶ αὐτοὶ τριακόσιοι, ἐκατὸν τοὺς ἀρίστους ἐπιλεξαμένους. Ὅκουφιν δὲ εἶναι τὸν ἐπιλεγόμενον, ὅντινα καὶ ὑπαρχοῦ τῆς χώρας τῆς Νυσαίας 3 κατέστησεν αὐτὸς. Τὸν δὲ Ἀκουφιν ταῦτα ἀκούσαντα ἐπιμειδιάσας λέγεται τῷ λόγῳ καὶ Ἀλεξάνδρου ἐρέσθαι ἐφ’ ὅτι ἤγελας ἀποκρίνασθαι δ’ Ἀκουφίν. Καὶ πῶς ἂν, ὁ βασιλεὺς, μία πόλις ἐκατὸν ἀνδρῶν ἀγαθῶν ἐρημωθείσα ἐτι καλῶς πολιτεύοιτο; ἀλλὰ σὺ, εἰ σοι μέλει Νυσαίων, τοὺς ἰππέας μὲν ἄγεσθαι τοὺς τριακοσίους καὶ εἰ βούλει, ἐτι τούτων πλείονας· ἀντὶ δὲ τῶν ἐκατόν, ὁστίνας τοὺς ἀρίστους ἐπιλέξαι σὺ κελεύεις, διπλασίους τῶν ἄλλων τῶν κακῶν ἄγεσθαι, ἣν σοι καὶ αὐθίς ἀφικομένῳ δεῦρο ἐν 1 ἂν added by Krüger.
proof that Dionysus was our founder; ivy grows nowhere else in India, but does grow with us."

II. All this was very pleasing for Alexander to hear, and he was very ready to believe the tale about the journey of Dionysus; he was ready also to credit that Nysa was founded by Dionysus, in which case he had already reached the point which Dionysus reached, and would go even farther than Dionysus. He thought also that the Macedonians would not refuse to endure toils with him still further, in rivalry with Dionysus' achievements. Alexander therefore granted continuance of freedom and independence to the settlers of Nysa. And when he had by inquiry ascertained their laws, and that their government was in the hands of the aristocrats, he expressed approval of this, at the same time demanding that they should send him three hundred horsemen, and also select and send a hundred of the chief men in the government (they also were three hundred in number). Acuphis was to select them, and Alexander also appointed him governor of the territory of Nysa. Then Acuphis is said to have smiled, on hearing this request; and when Alexander asked why he laughed, he replied: "How, O King, can a single city be deprived of a hundred good citizens and yet continue to be well governed? But if you care for the Nysaeans, let the three hundred horsemen be brought, and even more, if you wish; but instead of these hundred men, whom you desire me to choose out, the best we have, take twice the number of the inferior citizens, so that when you come hither again you may think the city to be in
τῷ αὐτῷ τούτῳ κόσμῳ φανεῖ ἡ πόλις. Ταῦτα λέγοντα, λέγειν γὰρ δόξαι φρόνιμα, πεῖσαι

4 Ἀλέξανδρον. Καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἵππεας ξυμπέμπειν οἱ ἐκέλευσε, τοὺς δὲ ἐκατὸν τοὺς ἐπιλέκτους μηκέτι αἰτῆσαι, ἀλλὰ μηδ' ἀντ' αὐτῶν ἄλλους· τὸν δὲ παίδα ἄρα τοῦ Ἀκούφιος καὶ τῆς θυγατρὸς τὸν παίδα ξυμπέμψαι αὐτῷ Ὀκουφίῳ.

5 Ἀλέξανδρον δὲ πόθος ἔλαβεν ἰδεῖν τὸν χῶρον ὅπου τινὰ ὑπομνήματα τοῦ Διονύσου οἱ Νυσαιοὶ ἐκόμπαξον. Ἐλθεῖν τε ἐς τὸ ὄρος τοῦ Μήρου ἔν τοῖς ἑταίροις ἵππευσι καὶ τῷ πεζίκῳ ἀγήματι καὶ ἰδεῖν κισσόν τε ἀνάπλεων καὶ δάφνης τὸ ὄρος καὶ ἀλὰ παντοῖα καὶ ἰδεῖν1 σύσκιον καὶ

6 θῆρας εἰν αὐτῷ εἶναι θηρίων παντοδαπῶν. Καὶ τοὺς Μακεδόνας ἥδεως τὸν κισσόν ἰδόντας, ὁδὴ δὴ μακρὸν ὀφθέντα (οὗ γὰρ εἶναι ἐν τῇ Ἰνδῷ χώρᾳ κισσῷ, οὐδὲ ἴναπερ αὐτοῖς ἀμπελοῦ ἢσαν), στεφάνους σπουδὴ ἢπ' αὐτοῦ ποιεῖσθαι καὶ στεφανώσασθαι ὡς εἶχον ἐφυμνώντας καὶ Διόνυσον τε καὶ τὰς ἐπωνυμίας τοῦ θεοῦ ἀνακαλοῦντας. Θύσαε τε αὐτοῦ Ἀλέξανδρον τῷ Διονύσῳ καὶ εὐωχηθήναι ὧμοι τοῖς ἑταίροις.

7 Οἱ δὲ καὶ τάδε ἄνεγραψαν, εἰ δὴ τῷ πιστᾷ καὶ ταῦτα, πολλοὺς τῶν ἀμφ' αὐτοῦ τῶν οὐκ ἡμελημένων Μακεδόνων τῷ τε κισσῷ ἐστεφανωμένους καὶ ὑπὸ τῇ κατακλῆσει 2 τοῦ θεοῦ κατασχεθήναι

1 οὖν σύσκιον, Pflugk; I suggest ὑπ' , since αὐτῷ looks back to ὄρος. But Arrian is not averse to repeating words; ἰδεῖν (i.e.) and ἰδόντας may well stand.

2 κατακλῆσει from Excerpta peri γραμμῶν, after ἀνακαλούντας, seems unlikely; A has κατακλῆσει, “the feast.” κατακλῆσει seems possible; see Eur. Ἡρώι. 1347, πένθος δέδεν καταληπτῶν.
the same good order as now." With these words, which appeared wise words, he won Alexander's consent. He bade Acuphis send the horsemen to accompany him, but no longer to demand the select hundred, and not even to send any substitutes in their place. Acuphis sent, however, with him his son, and his daughter's son.

Alexander then was seized with a desire to see the place where the Nysaeans proudly displayed certain memorials of Dionysus; to go to Mount Merus with the Companions' cavalry and his own company of infantry, and behold the mountain full of ivy and laurel, with all sorts of groves; to see how shady it was, and that there were good hunting grounds in it of all sorts of game. The Macedonians were delighted to see the ivy, since they had seen none for a long time; for there is no ivy in the Indians' country, not even where they have vines; and they eagerly made wreaths of it and crowned themselves there and then, singing hymns to Dionysus and calling on the various names of the god. Then Alexander sacrificed there to Dionysus, and made good cheer with his Companions. Some have related (if anyone can believe this story) that many of the more exalted Macedonians who were with him crowned themselves with the ivy, and were, on this invocation of the god, possessed by Dionysus, raised
τε πρὸς τοῦ Διονύσου καὶ ἀνευάσαι τὸν θεὸν καὶ βακχεύσαι.

Π. Καὶ ταῦτα ὡποσ τις ἐθέλει ύπολαβὸν ἀπιστεῖτο ἢ πιστεύετο. Οὐ γὰρ ἔγογγε Ἐρατοσθένει τῷ Κυρηναίῳ πάντη ξυμφέρομαι, ὡς λέγει πάντα ὅσα ἐς τὸ θεῖον ἀναφέρεται ἐκ Μακεδόνων πρὸς χάριν τὴν Ἀλέξανδρον ὡς τὸ ὑπέρογκον ἐπιφημισθήναι. Καὶ γὰρ καὶ σπῆλαιον λέγει ἰδόντας ἐν Παραπαμισάδαις τοὺς Μακεδόνας καὶ τινά μοῦθον ἐπιχώριον ἀκούσαντας ἢ καὶ αὐτοὺς ἐξυπνότας φημίσαι ὅτι τοῦτο ἀρά ἡν τοῦ Προμηθέως τὸ ἀντρον, ἦν ἐδέδετο, καὶ ὁ ἀετὸς ὅτι ἐκεῖσε ἐφοίτα δαισόμενος τῶν ὁπλάγχυων τοῦ Προμηθέως, καὶ ὁ Ἡρακλῆς ὅτι ἐκεῖσε ἀφικόμενος τὸν τε ἀετὸν ἀπέκτεινε καὶ τὸν Προμηθέα τῶν δεσμῶν ἀπέλυσε. Τὸν δὲ Καῦκασον τὸ ὁρὸς ἐκ τοῦ Πόντου ἐς τὰ πρὸς ἔως μέρη τῆς γῆς καὶ τὴν Παραπαμισάδαν χώραν ὡς ἐπὶ Ἰνδοὺς μετάγειν τὸ λόγον τοὺς Μακεδόνας, Παραπαμισάδαν δ' ὅτα τὸ ὁρός αὐτοὺς καλοῦντας Καῦκασον τῆς Ἀλέξανδρον ἐνεκα δόξης, ὡς ὑπὲρ τὸν Καῦκασον ἀρα ἐλθόντα Ἀλέξανδρον. Ἐν τε αὐτῇ τῇ Ἰνδοὺς ἐπὶ βοῶς ἰδόντας ἐγκεκαυμένας ὄρη τελεμηριοῦσαι ἐπὶ τόδε ὅτι Ἡρακλῆς ἐς Ἰνδοὺς ἀφίκετο. Ὅμοια δὲ καὶ ὑπὲρ Διονύσου τῆς πλάνης ἀπιστεὶ Ἐρατοσθένης· ἐμοὶ δὲ ἐν μέσῳ κείσθων οἱ ὑπὲρ τοῦτον λόγοι.
the Dionysiac cry, and rushed hither and thither, in the Bacchic way.

III. However, these tales anyone may believe or not, taking them as he thinks fit. For I do not wholly agree with Eratosthenes the Cyrenaean, who states that what the Macedonians say of the divine influence was much exaggerated to please Alexander. He says for instance that the Macedonians caught sight of a cave among the Parapamisadae, and hearing some local legend about it, or having agreed together, spread the rumour that this was Prometheus' cave, where he had been chained, and that the eagle used to visit there, to feed on Prometheus' liver, and that Heracles, arriving at this same spot, shot the eagle and released Prometheus from his chains. So the Macedonians transferred, in their account, Mount Caucasus from the Pontus to the eastern parts of the world and the country of the Parapamisadae, towards India, and called Mount Parapamisus Mount Caucasus, all for the glory of Alexander, suggesting that he had actually crossed Mount Caucasus. Then in India itself, when they saw cattle branded with a club, they deduced thence that Heracles had come to India. Similar stories about Dionysus' journeyings are rejected by Eratosthenes. As far as I am concerned, the stories of these things may rest open.

Alexander, arriving at the river Indus, found a bridge already made over it by Hephaestion, and many smaller boats, but also two of thirty oars. Also he found already arrived gifts from Taxiles the

1 Eratosthenes of Cyrene, died about 196 B.C. A great scholar and scientist, best known as geometer, astronomer, and geographer.
Ταξίλου τοῦ Ἰνδοῦ δώρα ἦκοντα ἁργυρίου μὲν τάλαντα ἐς διακόσια, ἵερεία δὲ βοὸς μὲν τρισχιλίους, πρὸβατα δὲ ύπερ μύρια, ἐλεφαντας δὲ ἐς τριάκοντα. Καὶ ἰππεῖς δὲ ἐπτακόσιοι αὐτῷ Ἰνδοῦ ἐς ξυμμαχίαν παρὰ Ταξίλου ἦκον, καὶ τὴν πόλιν Τάξιλα, τὴν μεγίστην μεταξὺ Ἰνδοῦ τε ποταμοῦ καὶ Ἰδάστου, ὁτι αὐτῷ Ταξίλης ἐνδίδωσιν. Ἐνταύθα θύει Ἀλέξανδρος τοῖς θεοῖς ὅσοις αὐτῷ νόμος καὶ ἀγώνα ποιεῖ γυμνικον καὶ ἰππικον ἐπὶ τῷ ποταμῷ καὶ γήγερει αὐτῷ ἐπὶ τῇ διαβάσει τὰ ἱερά.

IV. Ὁ δὲ Ἰνδὸς ποταμὸς ὅτι μέγιστος ποταμῶν ἐστὶ τῶν κατὰ τὴν Ἀσίαν τε καὶ τὴν Εὐρώπην, πλὴν Χάγγου, καὶ τοῦτον Ἰνδοῦ ποταμοῦ, καὶ ὅτι αἴ πηγαί εἰσιν αὐτῷ ἐπὶ τάδε τοῦ ὄρους τοῦ Παραπαμίσου ἢ Καυκάσου, καὶ ὅτι ἐκδίδωσιν εἰς τὴν μεγάλην θάλασσαν τὴν κατὰ Ἰνδοῦς ὡς ἐπὶ νότον ἀνεμον, καὶ ὅτι διστομός ἐστὶν ὁ Ἰνδὸς καὶ αἴ ἐκβολαὶ αὐτὸν ἁμφότεραι τεναγώδεις, καθάπερ αἴ πέντε τοῦ Ἰστροῦ, καὶ ὅτι Δέλτα ποιεῖ καὶ αὐτός ἐν τῇ Ἰνδοῦ γῆ τῷ Ἀγύπτου Δέλτα παραπλησίον καὶ τοῦτο Πάνταλα καλεῖται τῇ Ἰνδοῦ φωνῇ, ταύτα μὲν ὑπὲρ τοῦ Ἰνδοῦ, τὰ μάλιστα ὅνυ ἁμφιλογά, καὶ ἔμοι ἄναγγερφθῶ. Ἐσπὲ καὶ ὁ Ἰδάστος καὶ Ἁκε- σίων καὶ Ἰδραώτης καὶ Ἡφαίστης, καὶ οὕτω Ἰνδοὶ ποταμοὶ ἄντες, τῶν μὲν ἄλλων τῶν Ἀσιανῶν ποταμῶν πολὺ τι κατὰ μέγεθος ὑπερφέρουσιν τοῦ δὲ Ἰνδοῦ μείνας εἰσὶ καὶ πολὺ δὴ μείνας, ὅπου καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ Ἰνδὸς τοῦ Γάγγου. Κτησίας μὲν, εἰ δὴ τῷ ἱκανὸς καὶ Κτησίας εἰς τεκμηρίωσιν, ἱνα μὲν στενώτατος αὐτὸς αὐτοῦ ὁ Ἰνδὸς ἐστὶ, τεσ-
ANABASIS OF ALEXANDER, V. 3. 5–4. 2

Indian, two hundred silver talents, and for sacrificial offerings three thousand cattle and over ten thousand sheep, with thirty elephants. There came also from Taxiles seven hundred cavalry as fighting allies, and Taxiles surrendered to him the city Taxila, the greatest city between the river Indus and the Hydaspes. There Alexander sacrificed to the gods to whom he usually offered sacrifice, and held a contest of athletics and cavalry games near the river; and the sacrifices were favourable to the crossing.

IV. That the river Indus is the greatest river of Asia and Europe except the Ganges, and this too is an Indian river; and that its springs are on this side of Mount Parapamisus or Caucasus, that it runs into the great Indian sea towards the south wind, that it has two mouths and both its outlets are marshy, like the five outlets of the Ister, and that it forms a delta also in the land of India analogous to the delta in Egypt, called Pattala in the Indian language—all this about the Indus, that namely which can least be gainsaid, permit me also to set down here. For the Hydaspes, Acesines, Hydraotis, and Hyphasis, all also rivers of India, are much greater than the remaining rivers of Asia; yet they are smaller, in fact much smaller, than the Indus, as the Indus itself than the Ganges. Ctesias indeed—if indeed Ctesias is of any use as a witness—says that where

1 Modern names are Jhelum, Chenab, Ravi, and Sutlej.
2 Ctesias of Cnidus in Caria; contemporary with Xenophon; spent some time in Persia.
σαράκοντα στάδιον ὃτι διέχουσιν αὐτῷ αἱ ὁχθαὶ· ἵνα δὲ πλατύτατος, καὶ ἐκατόν· τὸ πολὺ δὲ εἶναι αὐτοῦ τὸ μέσον τούτων.

3 Τούτων τῶν ποταμῶν τῶν Ἰνδῶν ὑπὸ τὴν ἔως διέβασε ἕξυν τῇ στρατιᾷ Ἀλέξανδρος ἐς τῶν Ἰνδῶν τὴν γῆν ὑπὲρ ὅν ἔγω οὔτε ὁστίσι νόμοις διαχρῶνται ἐν τῇ δι᾽ ἑαυτῆς ἐγγραφῇ ἀνέγραψα, οὔτε ζῷα εἰ δὴ τίνα ἄτοπα ἢ χώρα αὐτοῖς ἐκφέρει, οὔτε ἱεροῦς ἢ κήτη ὅσα ἢ οί ὁ Ἰνδῶν ἢ ὁ Ἑταστῆς ἢ ὁ Γάγγης ἢ ἄλλοι Ἰνδῶν ποταμοὶ φέροσιν, οὔδε τοὺς μύρμηκας τοὺς τὸν χρυσὸν σφισιν ἐργαζόμενους, οὔδε τοὺς γρύπας τοὺς φύλακας, οὔδε ὅσα ἄλλα ἐφ᾽ ἡδονῇ μᾶλλον τι πεποίηται ἢ ἐς ἀφήγησιν τῶν ὁμοίων, ὥς τὰ γε κατ᾽ Ἰνδῶν ὅσα ἂν ἄτοπα ψεύσωνται, οὐκ

4 ἐξελεγχθείσομεν πρὸς οὐδαμῶν. Ἀλλὰ Ἀλέξανδρος γὰρ καὶ οἱ ἔχουν τούτῳ στρατεύσαντες τὰ πολλὰ ἐξήλεγζαν, ὅσα γε μὴ καὶ αὐτῶν ἐστιν οἵ ἐψεῦσαντο· ἀχρόσους τε εἶναι Ἰνδοὺς ἐξήλεγζαν, ὅσους γε δὴ Ἀλέξανδρος ἔχων τῇ στρατιᾷ ἐπήλθε, πολλοὺς δὲ ἐπῆλθε, καὶ ἤκιστα χλιδώντας κατὰ τὴν δίαιταν· ἄλλα μεγάλους μὲν τὰ σώματα, οἴόνως μεγίστους τῶν κατὰ τὴν Ἀσίαν, πενταπήκεις τοὺς πολλοὺς ὃ ὁλίγον ἀποδέονται· καὶ μελαντέρους τῶν ἄλλων ἀνθρώπων, πλῆν Ἁλιθίου· πων, καὶ τὰ πολέμια πολὺ τι γενναιοτάτους τῶν 5 γε δὴ τὸτε ἐποίκων τῆς Ἀσίας. Τὸ γὰρ Περσῶν τῶν πάλαι, ἕξυν οἵ ὁμοθέλεις Κῦρος ὁ Καμβύσου Μῆδους τῇ τὴν ἀρχῆν τῆς Ἀσίας ἀφεῖλετο καὶ

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the Indus is narrowest, its banks are forty stades apart; but where broadest even a hundred; the greater part of its course is about half this.¹

This river then, the Indus, Alexander crossed at dawn with his army, so entering the land of the Indians; about whom I have not in this history given any account either of their customs, or whether their country produces any strange animals, or of the size or kinds of fishes or sea-monsters which the Indus, or Hydaspes, or Ganges, or the other Indian rivers produce, or of their ants which mine for gold, or of the griffons ² which keep watch, or of all the other curiosities rather invented for amusement than for accurate setting out of facts—since whatever ridiculous lies people tell about the Indians are not likely to be verified by anyone. Yet in fact Alexander and his fellow-soldiers did indeed verify the greater part of these—save a few false tales such as some even of themselves made up; and they did find out that the Indians have no gold—at least so many as Alexander visited in his campaign, and they were very numerous; and they are not at all luxurious in their way of living; but they are tall of stature, in fact the tallest men in Asia, five cubits, most of them, or very little short of it; and they are darker-skinned than the rest of mankind, except the Aethiopians; and in warlike matters much the noblest of the inhabitants of Asia at that time. For I cannot properly compare with the Indians the ancient Persians, with whom Cyrus son of Cambyses set forth and deprived the Medes of the sovereignty of Asia,

¹ Pliny and Strabo give 50 stades only; the actual width of the Indus is stated to be, at the most, 20 stades.
² See Herodotus, III. 116.
άλλα ἑθνη τὰ μὲν κατεστρέψατο, τὰ δὲ προσ-
χορήσαντα οἱ ἐκόντα κατέσχεν, οὐκ ἔχω ἀτρεκῶς
ὡς γε δὴ πρὸς τὰ Ἰνδῶν ἐξυμβαλεῖν. Καὶ γὰρ
καὶ Πέρσαι τὸτε πένητες τε ἢσαν καὶ χώρας
τραχείας οἰκήτορες, καὶ νόμιμα σφίσιν ἦν ὁια
ἐγγυτάτω εἶναι τῇ Δακωνικῇ παιδεύσει. Τὸ δὲ
τραύμα τὸ γενόμενον Πέρσαις ἐν τῇ Σκυθικῇ γῇ
οὐδὲ τούτῳ ἔχω ἀτρεκῶς ἐξυμβαλεῖν πτῶτα
δυσχωρίας ἐξυνεχθείσων ἦ τωι ἀλλή Κύρου
ἀμαρτία ἐξυνέβη ἡ Σκυθῶν γε τῶν ταύτῃ κακίους
τὰ πολέμια Πέρσαι ἢσαν.

V. Ἀλλὰ ὑπὲρ Ἰνδῶν ἰδίᾳ μοι γεγράφεται
ὅσα πιστῶτα ἐσ ἀφήγησιν οὐ τε ξύν Ἀλεξάνδρῳ
στρατεύσαντες καὶ ὁ ἐκπερπλεύσας τῆς μεγάλης
θαλάσσης τὸ κατ᾽ Ἰνδοὺς Νέαρχος,ἐπὶ δὲ ὅσα
Μεγασθένης τε καὶ Ἐρατοσθένης, δοκίμω ἀνδρεί,
ἐξυγραφάτην καὶ νόμιμα ἄττα Ἰνδοὺς ἔστι καὶ
ei δὴ τινα ἀτοπα ξῶα αὐτόθη φύσει καὶ τὸν
2 παράπλουν αὐτὸν τῆς ἔξω θαλάσσης. Νῦν δὲ
ὅσον ἐσ τὰ Ἀλεξάνδρου ἔργα ἀποχρῶν ἐφαίνετο,
τοσόνδε μοι ἀναγεγράφθων τὸν Ταύρου τὸ ὄρος
ἀπείρησε τὴν Ἀσίαν, ἀρχόμενου μὲν ἀπὸ Μυκάλης
τοῦ καταντικῶν Σάμου τῆς νῆσου ὄρους, ἀπο-
τεμνόμενον δὲ τὴν τε Παμφύλων καὶ Κιλίκων
γῆν ἐνθέν μὲν ὡς ἐς Ἀρμενίαν παρῆκειν ἀπὸ δ᾽
Ἀρμενίων ὡς ἐπὶ Μηδίαν παρὰ Παρθανίων τε
3 καὶ Χωρασίων κατὰ δὲ Βακτρίων ἐξυμβάλλειν
τῷ Παραπαλίσῳ ὄρει, δὴ Καύκασου ἐκάλουν οἱ
Ἀλεξάνδρῳ ἐξυπερτεύσαντες Μακεδόνες, ὡς μὲν
λέγεται τὰ Ἀλεξάνδρου αὐξοντες, ὅτι δὴ καὶ ἐπ᾽

1 Arrian here understands or forgets the verb.
and subdued some of the remaining peoples, and received the voluntary surrender of the rest. For the Persians then were poor, and dwelt in a rough country, and their customs were approximated as near as possible to the Spartan educational system. Nor can I properly compare the wound dealt to the Persians in Scythia, so as to say whether it happened because they fell in with difficulties of the country, or by some other error of Cyrus, or whether the Persians were actually inferior in warfare to the Scythians of this region.

V. However, about India I shall write a special monograph \(^1\) based on all the most reliable facts from Alexander's fellow-campainers and Nearchus, who coasted along the part of the Great Sea which lies towards India, adding besides all that Megasthenes and Eratosthenes, who are both men of repute, have written; the customs of India, any strange beasts which live there, and the voyage round it by the Outer Sea. But now let what I have written down suffice, so far as seemed necessary to the account of Alexander's achievements; namely, that Mount Taurus is the boundary of Asia, beginning from Mycale, the mountain over against the island of Samos; then cutting through between the land of Pamphylia and Lycia, thence reaches to Armenia; and from Armenia runs to Media by way of the Parthyaeans and Chorasmians; and in Bactria joins Mount Parapamisus, which the Macedonians who served with Alexander called Mount Caucasus, with a view (so it is said) of glorifying Alexander, as suggesting that Alexander reached even the farther

\(^1\) This is the *Indica* included in this volume.
ἐκεῖνα ἀρα τοῦ Καυκάσου κρατῶν τοῖς ὀσπλοῖς ἦλθεν Ἀλέξανδρος· τυχῶν δὲ καὶ ἔνυπεξές τυγχάνει ὁν τούτο τὸ ὄρος τῷ ἄλλῳ τῷ Σκυθικῷ Καυκάσῳ, καθάπερ οὖν αὐτῷ τούτῳ ὁ Ταῦρος· καὶ ἐμοὶ αὐτῷ πρότερον ποτε ἐπὶ τόδε λέελεται Καύκασος τὸ ὄρος τούτο καὶ ὑστερον τόδε τῷ ὄνοματι κλη-4 θήσεται. Τὸν δὲ Καύκασον τούτον καθήκειν ἐστε ἐπὶ τὴν μεγάλην τὴν πρὸς ἐω τε καὶ Ἰνδοὺς θάλασσαν. Τοὺς οὖν ποταμοὺς ὅσοι κατὰ τὴν Ἀσίαν λόγου ἄξιοι ἐκ τοῦ Ταῦρου τε καὶ τοῦ Καυκάσου ἀνίσχοντας τοὺς μὲν ὡς ἐπὶ ἄρκτον τετραμμένον ἔχειν τὸ ὕδωρ, καὶ τούτων τοὺς μὲν ἐς τὴν λίμνην ἐνδιδόναι τὴν Μαιώτιν, τοὺς δὲ ἐς τὴν Ἰρκανίαν καλομένην θάλασσαν, καὶ ταύτην 5 κόλπον οὕσαν τῆς μεγάλης θαλάσσης· τοὺς δὲ ὡς ἐπὶ νότον ἄνεμου τοῦ Εὐφράτην τε εἶναι καὶ τὸν Τύγρητα καὶ τὸν Ἰνδόν τε καὶ τὸν Ἰδάσπην καὶ Ἀκεσίνην καὶ Ἰδραώτην καὶ Ἰθασιν καὶ ὅσοι ἐν μέσῳ τούτων τε καὶ τοῦ Γάγγου ποταμοῦ ἐς θάλασσαν καὶ οὕτως ἐσβάλλουσιν ἡ ἐἰς τενάγη ἀναχομένου ἀφανίζονται, καθάπερ ὁ Ἐυφράτης ποταμὸς ἀφανίζεται.  

VI. Ὄσα δὲ τὰ τῆς Ἀσίας ὅσα ἔχει ὡς πρὸς τοῦ Ταῦρου τε καὶ τοῦ Καυκάσου τέμεσαθαί ἀπ’ ἀνέμου ξεφύρου ως ἐπὶ ἀπηλιώτην ἄνεμον τὴν Ἀσίαν, τούτῳ δύο μὲν αὐτὰι μέγισται πρὸς αὐτοῦ τοῦ Ταῦρου τῆς Ἀσίας μοῖραι γίγνονται, ἡ μὲν ἐς μεσημβρίαν τε καὶ πρὸς νότον ἄνεμον κεκλιμένην, ἡ δὲ ἐπὶ ἄρκτον τε καὶ ἄνεμον 2 βορρᾶν. Τῆς δὲ ὡς ἐπὶ νότον Ἀσίας τετραχῇ αὐτοῦ τεμνομένης μεγίστην μὲν μοῖραν τῆς Ἰνδοῦν γῆν ποιεῖ Ἐρατοσθένης τε καὶ Μεγασθένης, ὃς 18
side of Mount Caucasus in his victorious career. Perhaps, however, this mountain is continuous with the other Caucasus, that is, the Scythian; just as Mount Taurus is continuous with this Caucasus. For this reason I have previously called this mountain Caucasus, and shall continue so to call it later. This Caucasus reaches to the great eastern sea, towards India. Thus all the important rivers of Asia rise from Mounts Taurus and Caucasus; and a part of them turn their streams northward, and of them some pass out into Lake Maeotis; others into the sea called the Hyrcanian, itself a gulf of the Great Sea; a part again turn southward, the Euphrates, Tigris, Indus, Hydaspes, Acesines, Hydractis, and Hyphasis, and any which are between these and the Ganges and run out into the sea or are diffused over marshy ground and so disappear, as the Euphrates disappears.

VI. Anyone who surveys Asia so that it is divided by Mounts Taurus and Caucasus from west to east will find that the two greatest divisions of Asia are formed by Mount Taurus itself, the one looking towards the south and the south wind, the other to the north and the north wind. Then the southern part of Asia may again be divided into four parts, and of these Eratosthenes and Megasthenes regard
ξυνήν μὲν Σιβυρτίῳ τῷ σατράπῃ τῆς Ἀραχω-σίας, πολλάκις δὲ λέγει ἀφικέσθαι παρὰ Σαν-δράκοτον τὸν Ἰνδῶν βασιλέα· ἐλαχίστην δὲ ὅσην ὁ Ἑυφράτης ποταμὸς ἀπείργη καὶ πρὸς τὴν ἐντὸς τῆς ἡμετέραν θάλασσαν. Δῶ δὲ αἱ μεταξὺ Ἑυφράτου τε ποταμοῦ καὶ τοῦ Ἰνδοῦ ἀπειρογόνης αἱ δύο ξυντεθεῖσαι μόνης ἀξίας τῇ 3 Ἰνδῶν γῇ ξυμβαλεῖν. 'Απείργεσθαι δὲ τὴν Ἰνδῶν χώραν πρὸς μὲν ἐω τε καὶ ἀπηλιῶτην ἀνεμον ἐστε ἐπὶ μεσημβρίαν τῇ μεγάλῃ θαλάσσῃ τὸ πρὸς βορρᾶν δὲ αὐτῆς ἀπείργεων τῶν Καϊκασον τὸ ὄρος ἐστε ἐπὶ τοῦ Ταύρου τῆς ξυμβολῆς τῆς δὲ πρὸς ἐσπέραν τε καὶ ἀνεμον Ἰάπυγα ἐστε ἐπὶ τῆς μεγάλης θάλασσαν τὸ Ἰνδὸς ποταμὸς ἀποτέμνεται. Καὶ ἔστι πεδίου ἡ πολλὴ αὐτῆς, καὶ τούτῳ, ὅς εἰκάζουσιν, ἐκ τῶν ποταμῶν προσκεκχωσ- 4 μένον. Εἶναι γὰρ οὖν καὶ τῆς ἄλλης χώρας ὡς πεδία οὗ πρὸς ἐωθαλάσσης τὰ πολλὰ τῶν ποτα-μῶν παρ᾽ ἐκάστοις ποιήματα, διὸ δὲ 1 καὶ τῆς χώρας τῆς ἐπωνυμίαν τοῖς ποταμοῖς ἐκ παλαιοῦ προσκεκχώσθαι, καθάπερ Ἔρμου τὸ τε τοῦ πεδίου λέ-γεσθαι, δια κατὰ τὴν Ἀσίαν ἡν ἀνίσχων ἐν ὀροὺς Μητρὸς Δινδυμῆς παρὰ πόλιν Σμύρναν Ἀἰολικὴν ἐκδίδοι ἐς θάλασσαν καὶ ἄλλο Καϊκοῦ πεδίον Λυδίου καὶ Λυδίου 2 ποταμοῦ, καὶ Καϊκοῦ ἄλλο ἐν Μυσίᾳ καὶ Μαιάνδρου τὸ Καρικοῦ ἐστε ἐπὶ Μίλητον πόλιν Ἰωνίκήν. 5 Ἀναγνώτων τὸ Ἡρόδοτος τε καὶ Ἐκαταῖος οἱ λογοποιοὶ, ἤ εἰ δὴ τοῦ ἄλλου ἢ Ἐκαταῖον ἐστὶ

1 ἀς δὲ (A ἀς δὲ) Roos,
2 καὶ Λυδίου Δ. Dübner reads καὶ αὐτὸ, without valid reason.
as the greatest part the region of India—Megas-
thenes dwelt with the satrap of Arachosia, Sibyrtius,
and writes that he often visited Sandracottus, the
king of the Indians; the smallest part, that bounded
by the Euphrates, looks towards our inland sea.
The other two parts lie between the Euphrates and
the Indus, and these two put together can hardly be
compared with the territory of India. India itself
both east and west, right down to the south, is bounded
by the Great Sea; its northern part is bounded by
Mount Caucasus till its junction with Mount Taurus:
then to the west, and the north-west wind, as far as
the Great Sea, the Indus forms its boundary. The
greater part of it is level plain, and this, as is con-
jected, is alluvial, formed by the rivers. In other
parts of the country also such plains as are near the
sea for the most part are the result each of its neigh-
bouring river; so too the name of the country from
ancient times was attached to the rivers. Thus there
is a plain of Hermus, which river rises in Asia from
the mountain of Mother Dindymene and runs into
the sea near the city of Smyrna in Aeolia; then there
is another plain, that of Cayster, a Lydian plain and
named from a Lydian river, another plain of Caicus,
in Mysia, and the Carian plain of Maeander, stretching
to Miletus, the Ionian city. Egypt also the historians
Herodotus and Hecataeus (though possibly the work

1 Sandracottus or Chandraguptas.
2 Book II.
τὰ ἀμφὶ τῇ γῇ τῇ Ἀγινπτίᾳ ποιήματα, δῶρὸν τε τοῦ ποταμοῦ ἀμφότεροι ὁμοφωνῶς ὁνομάζονται καὶ οὐκ ἀμαυρῶς τεκμηρίωσι ὅτι ταύτη ἔχει Ἡροδότῳ ἐπιδεδιδόμεθα, ὡς καὶ τὴν γῆν αὐτῆς τυχόν τοῦ ποταμοῦ εἶναι ἐπώνυμον. Ἀγινπτός γὰρ τὸ παλαιὸν ὁ ποταμὸς ὁ εἰκαλεῖτο ὄντινα νῦν Νέιλον Ἀγινπτίοι τε καὶ οἱ ἔξω Ἀγινπτοῦ ἀνθρώποι ὁνομάζονται, ἱκανὸς τεκμηριώδεις ὁ Μομρος, λέγων ἐπὶ τῇ ἐκβόλῃ τοῦ Ἀγινπτοῦ.

6 ποταμοῦ τῶν Μενέλεων στήσαι τὰς νέας. Εἰ δὴ οὖν εἰς τε ποταμὸς παρ' ἐκάστοις καὶ οὐ μεγάλοι οὕτω ποταμοὶ ἱκανοὶ γῆν πολλὴν ποιῆσαι εἶς θάλασσαν προχείμενοι, ὅποτε ἤλθην καταφέροντες, καὶ πηλὸν ἐκ τῶν ἄνω τόπων ἐνθευτερ αὐτοῖς αἱ πηγαὶ εἰσίν, οὐδὲ ὑπὲρ τῆς Ἰνδῶν ἀρὰ χώρας εἰς ἀπιστίαν ἱέναι ἄξιον, ὅπως πεδίον τε ἡ πολλὴ ἐστὶ καὶ ἐκ τῶν ποταμῶν τὸ πεδίον ἔχει προσκεχωσμένον. Ἐρμον μὲν γὰρ καὶ Καῦστρον καὶ Καϊκόν τε καὶ Μαλανδρὸν ἢ ὅσοι ἄλλοι ποταμοὶ τῆς Ἀσίας ἐς τήνδε τὴν ἐντὸς θάλασσαν ἐκδιδοῦσιν οὐδὲ σύμπαντας ἠντεύθεντας ἐν τῶν Ἰνδῶν ποταμῶν ἄξιον συμβαλεῖν πλῆθους ἐνεκα τοῦ ὕδατος, μὴ ὅτι τῷ Γάγγη τῷ μεγίστῳ, ὅτι οὐκ ἔστω τὸ Νέιλον ὕδωρ τοῦ Ἀγινπτίου οὕτε τὸ Ἰστρος ὁ καθὰ τὴν ἤκτην τῆν Ἱουρώπην ῥέων ἄξιον συμβαλεῖν, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ τῷ Ἰνδῶ ποταμῷ ἐκεῖνῷ γε πάντες ἐνυμμυχθέντες ἐς ἰσον ἔρχονται, ὡς μέγας τε εὐθὺς ἀπὸ τῶν πηγῶν ἀνίσχει καὶ πεντεκαίδεκα ποταμοὺς, πάντας τῶν Ἀσιανῶν μείζονας, παραλαβῶν καὶ τῇ ἐπωνυμίᾳ κρατήσας οὕτως ἐκδιδοὶ ἐς θάλασσαν. Ταύτα μοι ἐν τῷ παρόντι περὶ Ἰνδῶν.
on Egypt is by another than Hecataeus) both call similarly "the gift of the river," and Herodotus has shown by very clear proofs that this is so, owing to the coincidence of country and river sharing the same name. For that Aegyptus was the old name of the river which the Egyptians and others living outside Egypt call the Nile, Homer is ample evidence, when he says that Menelaus stationed his ships at the mouth of the river Aegyptus. Since, therefore, any one river, each in various parts of the world, and not great rivers either, can while flowing seaward build up a great stretch of land, by bringing down mud and deposits from the upper lands where are their springs, there is no reason for disbelief about the country of India either, how it comes to be for the most part plain, and has its plain formed by the alluvial deposits of the rivers: as for Hermus and Cayster and Caicus and Maeander or any other rivers of Asia which run out into this inner sea, if you put them all together, you could not, for volume of water, compare them with one of the rivers of India—to say nothing of the largest, Ganges, with which not even the volume of the Nile in Egypt nor the Ister ¹ which flows through Europe is worthy to be compared, nay, not even if all were put together do they equal the river Indus, which rises a great river at its very springs, and takes in fifteen tributaries, all greater than the Asian rivers, and, imposing its name as it goes, runs out to join the sea. This for the present

¹ The Danube.
τής χώρας λελέχθω· τά δὲ ἄλλα ἀποκεῖσθω ἐς τὴν Ἱνδικὴν ἕγγραφην.

VII. Τὸ δὲ ἕγγυμα τὸ ἐπὶ τοῦ Ἰνδοῦ ποταμοῦ ὅπως μὲν ἐποιήθη, Ἀλεξάνδρῳ οὗτο Ἀριστοβουλῷ οὗτο Πτολεμαῖος, οἷς μᾶλλον ἐγὼ ἑπομαι, λέγουσιν· οὐδὲ αὐτὸς ἔχω ἀτρεκὼς εἰκάσαι, πότερα πλοίοις ἔξεύχθη ὁ πόρος, καθάπερ οὖν ὁ Ἐλλησποντὸς τε πρὸς Ἐρέτου καὶ ὁ Βόσπορος τε καὶ ὁ Ἰστρος πρὸς Δαρείου, ἥ γέφυρα κατὰ τοῦ ποταμοῦ διηνεκῆς ἐποιήθη αὐτῷ· δοκεῖ δὲ ἐμοί γε πλοῖοι μᾶλλον ἕξωχθῆναι οὐ γὰρ ἂν δέξασθαι γέφυραν τὸ βάθος τοῦ ὕδατος, οὐδὲ ἂν ἐν τοσῷδε χρόνῳ ἔρριον οὕτως ἄτοπον ξυνε-2 λεσθῆναι. Εἰ δὲ δὴ πλοίοις ἔξεύχθη ὁ πόρος, πότερα ἕξωχθῆσαι αἱ νῆσες σχοῖνοις καὶ κατὰ στοῖχον ὁρμοθεῖσαι εἰς τὸ ἕγγυμα ἀπήρκεσαι, ὡς λέγει Ἡρόδοτος ὁ Ἀλικαρνασσεύς ἕξωχθηναι τὸν Ἐλλησποντον ἡ ὡς τρόπῳ Ῥωμαίοις ἐπὶ τῷ Ἰστρῷ ποταμῷ ἕγγυμα ποιεῖται καὶ ἐπὶ τῷ Ῥήνῳ τῷ Κελτικῷ, καὶ τὸν Ἐυφράτην καὶ τὸν Τύρητα, ὅσας κατέλαβεν αὐτοὺς ἀνάγκη, 3 ἐγεφύρωσαν, οὐδὲ τούτῳ ἔχω ξυμβαλεῖν. Καὶ τοι ὑπ’ ἡλπιντάτη ὅν ἐγὼ οἶδα Ῥωμαίοις Ἡ γεφύρωσις ἡ διὰ τῶν νεῶν γίγνεται, καὶ ταύτην ἐγὼ ἀφηγη-σομαι ἐν τῷ παρόντι, ὅτι λόγου ἄξια. Αἱ νῆσες αὐτοῖς κατὰ τοῦ Ῥοῦ ἅφενται ἀπὸ ἕξωχθήματος, οὐκ ἐπ’ εὐθὺ, ἀλλὰ καθάπερ αἱ πρύμναι κρούμεναι. Ταῦτα ὑποφέρει μὲν, οἶα εἰκός, ὁ Ῥοῦς, ἄνεχει δὲ κελήτιον ἑπήρες, ἔστ’ ἂν καταστήσῃ ἐς τὸ τεταγμένον χωρίον καὶ ἐνταῦθα ἦδη καθε-ται πλέγματα ἐκ λύγου πυραμοειδῆ πλήρη λύθων

1 τοῦ Ῥοῦ Krüger. πόρου Α.
must be all I have to say about India; the rest must be put aside for my Indian History.

VII. As for the method by which Alexander bridged the Indus, neither Aristobulus nor Ptolemaeus, the authors whom I chiefly follow, describe it; nor can I myself make a reasonable conjecture, whether the passage was bridged by boats, as the Hellespont by Xerxes and the Bosporus and Ister by Dareius, or whether a continuous bridge was built across the stream. I am inclined to the idea that the bridging was by boats; since the depth of the river would not admit of a bridge, nor could so extraordinary a work have been completed in so little time. Again, if the stream was bridged with boats, whether the boats were lashed together by ropes and then moored in order and so formed the bridge, as Herodotus of Halicarnassus says that the Hellespont was bridged; or in the way in which the Roman bridge is made on the Ister, and on the Celtic Rhine, and in which they bridged the Euphrates and Tigris, as often as they were obliged to do so—this too I cannot say. Yet the quickest way of bridging I know is the Roman by use of boats, and I shall here describe it, for it merits description. The boats are, at the given signal, allowed to float down-stream, yet not bows on, but as if backing. So then the stream, as is natural, carries them down, but a rowing boat holds them up till it manoeuvres them into the appointed place. Then wicker crates made pyramid-

1 So Diodorus, xvii. 36.
2 Herodotus, IV. 118, VII. 33.
λογάδων ἀπὸ πρόφρας ἐκάστης νεῶς, τοῦ ἀνέχειν τὴν ναῦν πρὸς τὸν ὅρον. Ὅτε δὲ δὴ µία τις τῶν νεῶν ἁµα δὴ ἔσχεθη, καὶ ἀλλὰ, ἀπὸ ταύτης διέχουσα ὅσον ἑξύµετρον πρὸς ἵσχυν τῶν ἐπιβαλλόµενων, ἀντίπροφος πρὸς τὸ ῥείµα ὀρµη-ζεταν καὶ ἔπ’ ἀµφοῖν ἢµα τε ἐς εὐθύν ὄξεως ἐπιβάλλεται καὶ σανίδες ἐγκάρσιαι ἐς τὸ ἔσωδεῖν. Καὶ διὰ πασῶν οὐτω τῶν νεῶν, ὁσαί ἰκαναὶ ἑγερµῶσαι τὸν πόρον, χωρεῖ τὸ ἔργον. Ἐκα-τέρωθεν δὲ τοῦ ξεύγµατος κλίµακες προβάλ-λονται καταπηγνύµεναι, τοῦ ἀσφαλεστέραν τοὺς τε ἱπποὺς καὶ τοῖς ξεύγεισι τὴν ἔφοδον γίγνεσθαι, καὶ ἁµα ὡς σύνδεσµος εἶναι τοῦ ξεύγµατος· δὲ ὁλίγον τε ἐξυτελεῖται ἅπαν καὶ ἥν πολλῷ θορύβῳ, καὶ τὸ τεταγµένον ἐν τῷ δρωµένῳ ὃµος οὐκ ἀπεστὶν οῖ τε παρακελευσµῷ ὡς τύχονεν κατὰ ναῦν ἐκάστην καὶ αἱ ἐπιτµήσεις τοῦ ἐκλιπούσας οὔτε τὴν κατάκουσιν τῶν παραγ-γελµάτων οὔτε τὴν ὅξυτητα τοῦ ἔργου ἀφαιροῦν-ται.

VIII. Ῥωµαίοις µὲν δὴ οὐτῳ ταύτα ἐκ παλαιοῦ ἐπησκηταν. Ἀλεξάνδρῳ δὲ ὅπως ἐξεύχηθη ο Ἰνδὸς ποταµὸς οὐκ ἔχω εἰπεῖν, ὅτι µηδὲ οἱ συστρατεύοµεν-τες αὐτῷ εἰπον. Ἀλλά µοι δοκεῖ ὡς ἐγκυτάτῳ τούτων ἐξεύχθαι, ἢ εἰ δὴ τινὶ ἀληθὶ µηχανῇ, ἐκείνη τὸ ἐχέτω. Ὁς δὲ διέβη πέραν τοῦ Ἰνδοῦ ποταµοῦ, καὶ ἐνταῦθα αὐθεῖ κατὰ νόµον Ἀλέξανδρος. Ἀρας δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἰνδοῦ ἐς Τάξιλα ἀφίκετο, πολὺν µεγάλην καὶ εὐδαίµονα, τὴν ἐγκύστην τῶν µεταξὶ Ἰνδοῦ τοῦ ποταµοῦ καὶ Τᾶςπου. Καὶ ἐδέχετο

1 Dübner's ἀρ is very awkward, though the planks would, of course, run from ship to ship.
shape full of unhewn stones are let down from the bows of each ship to hold it against the stream. And when one ship is thus made fast, and then another, just at the right interval to carry the superstructure safely, it is anchored head up-stream; and on both boats timbers are accurately and smartly laid,¹ and planks crosswise to bind them together. Then the work goes on throughout all the boats, so many as are needed for the bridging. On either side of the bridge ladders ² are thrown out, and made fast, so that the passage may be safer for horses and baggage animals, and also to bind the bridge together; and in quite a short time, and with much bustle, the whole work is completed; and yet there is good order in the course of the work; instructions called from ship to ship, and reproofs of shirked work, do not spoil the hearing of the orders, nor the speed of the operation.

VIII. These then are the long-established methods of the Romans; but how Alexander bridged the Indus I do not pretend to say, for even those who served under him did not tell us. Still, I am inclined to think that he approximated to this way of bridging; yet if it was by some other means, let it pass. After taking his army across, Alexander sacrificed according to custom. Then leaving the Indus he marched to Taxila, a great and prosperous city. It is indeed the largest of all which lie between the river Indus and the Hydaspes. He was received there by Taxiles,

¹ ἔσεν ἐνυ ὑπνὸς might mean "fore-and-aft"; ἔσεν ὑπνὸς seems to be a military adverb, "smartly," "instantly."
² Apparently as a light bulwark.
αὐτὸν Ταξίλης ὁ ὑπάρχως τῆς πόλεως καὶ αὐτοὶ οἱ τῆς Ἰνδόλ φίλισσος· καὶ Ἀλέξανδρος προστίθησιν αὐτοῖς χώραν τῆς ὀμόρου ὅσης ἔδεοντο.
3 Ἡκούν δὲ ἑνταῦθα παρ᾽ αὐτὸν καὶ παρὰ Ἀμίσάρου πρέσβεις τοῦ τῶν ὄρεων Ἰνδῶν βασιλέως ὁ τε ἄδελφος τοῦ Ἀμίσάρου καὶ ἄλλοι ξὺν αὐτῷ οἱ δοκιμώτατοι, καὶ παρὰ Δοξάρεως νομάρχου ἄλλοι, δῶρα φέροντες. Καὶ ἑνταῦθα αὐτῷ Ἀλέξανδρος ἐν Ταξίλωις θύει ὅσα οἱ νόμος, καὶ ἀγώνα ποιεῖ γυμνικὸν τε καὶ ἐπικόν. Καὶ ἀποδείξας σατράπην τὸν ταύτην Ἰνδῶν Φίλιππον τῶν Μαχάτας φρουράν τε ἀπολείπει ἐν Ταξίλωις καὶ τοὺς ἀπομάχους τῶν στρατιωτῶν διὰ νόσου αὐτῶς δὲ ἦγεν ὡς ἐπὶ τὸν ‘Τδάσπην ποταμόν.
4 Ἡπ᾽ ἑκείνα γὰρ τοῦ ‘Τδάσπην Πῶρος αὐτῷ εἶναι ἐξηγεῦλετο ἵνα τῇ στρατιᾷ πάση, ἐγνωκός εἴρην τῷ πόρου αὐτῶν ἢ περῶντες ἐπιτίθεσθαι. Ταύτα ὡς ἑγὼν Ἀλέξανδρος, Κοῖνον μὲν τὸν Πολεμοκράτους πέμψας ὁπίσω ἐπὶ τῶν Ἰνδῶν ποταμῶν, τὰ πλοία ὅσα παρεσκεύαστο αὐτῷ ἐπὶ τοῦ πόρου τοῦ Ἰνδῶν ἐξυπνεῦσαν καὶ εἰρήνας νεών ὡς ἐπὶ τοῦ ‘Τδάσπην ποταμόν. Καὶ ἐξουσιασθῆναι τε τὰ πλοῖα καὶ ἐκομίσθη αὐτῷ, ὅσα μὲν βραχύτερα διηγήθη διατμηθέντα, αἱ τρικάκοντοι δὲ τρικήτῃ ἐτμηθῆσαν, καὶ τὰ τρίπτερα ἐπὶ τῶν ζευγῶν διεκάμησθη ἐστε ἐπὶ τὴν ὁχήμα Ῥδάσπην’ καὶ ἥξυπνήθην τὸ ναυτικὸν αὐθεὶς δὴ ὀμοῖο ὥθη ἐν τῷ ‘Τδάσπη. Αὐτὸς δὲ ἀναλαβὼν ἤν τις δύναμιν ἄχων ἤκειν ἐς Ταξίλα καὶ πεντακισχιλίους τῶν Ἰνδῶν οὐς Ταξίλης τε καὶ οἱ ταύτης ὑπαρχοὶ ἤγου ἢ γεί ὡς ἐπὶ τὸν ‘Τδάσπην ποταμόν.
5 ΙΧ. Καὶ Ἀλέξανδρος τε κατεστρατοπέδευσεν
the governor of the city, and the Indians of this district, in a friendly manner; and Alexander added to them so much of the neighbouring territory as they requested. Here then joined him envoys from Abisarus, the king of the Indian hill-tribes, and the brother of Abisarus and others with him, the most notable men, others also from Doxareus the governor of the district, bringing gifts. There also, at Taxila, Alexander offered the customary sacrifices, and held an athletic and cavalry contest. He appointed Philip son of Machatas satrap of the Indians of this territory, and left behind a garrison, and any invalided soldiers he had; then he marched on towards the river Hydaspes.

For he had learnt that Porus was on the far side of the Hydaspes with all his army, determined to prevent his crossing, or at least to attack him, should he attempt it. On learning this, Alexander sent Coenus son of Polemocrates back to the river Indus, ordering him to take to pieces the boats that had been got ready at the crossing of the Indus and bring them to the Hydaspes. The boats were duly dismembered and transported; the shorter ones in two sections, but the thirty-oar ships cut into three, and the sections were brought in carts to the bank of the Hydaspes. There the flotilla was put together again, and again seen in full force, now on the Hydaspes. Then Alexander, taking the force with which he arrived at Taxila and also five thousand Indians, led by Taxiles and the governors of the district, marched to the Hydaspes.

IX. On the bank of the Hydaspes Alexander
επὶ τῇ ὕθη τοῦ ὶδάσπου, καὶ Πώρος κατὰ τὴν ἀντιπέραν ὑθην ὄφθη ξυν πάση τῇ στρατιᾷ καὶ τῶν ἑλεφάντων τῷ στίφει. Ταύτη μὲν δὴ ἦ κατεστρατοπεδεύκοτα εἰδὲν Ἀλέξανδρον αὐτὸς ἑκοῦν ἐφύλαττε τὸν πόρον, ὅσα δὲ ἄλλα τοῦ ποταμοῦ ἐυπορότερα, ἐπὶ ταύτα φρούρας δια-πέμψας καὶ ἤγεμόνας ἐπιστήσας ἐκάστοις εἰργεῖν 2 ἐπενοεῖ ἀπὸ τοῦ πόρου τοὺς Μακεδόνας. Ταύτα δὲ ὄρωντι Ἀλέξανδρῳ κινητέα καὶ αὐτῷ ἐδόκει ἡ στρατιὰ πολλαχῇ, ὡς τὸν Πώρον ἀμφίβολον ἡγήσοταί. Διελὼν δὲ ἐς πολλὰ τῶν στρατῶν, τοὺς μὲν αὐτὸς ἄλλη καὶ ἄλλη ἦγε τῆς χώρας, τὰ μὲν πορθῶν ὅσα πολέμω, τὰ δὲ σκοτῶν ὅτι ἐυπορότερος αὐτῷ ὁ ποταμὸς φανεῖται, τοὺς δὲ τῶν ἤγεμόνων ἄλλοις καὶ ἄλλοις ἐπιτάξας καὶ αὐτοῖς 3 πολλαχῇ διέπεμπε. Σίτος δὲ αὐτῷ πάντοθεν ἐκ τῆς ἐπὶ τάδε τοῦ ὶδάσπο χώρας ἔς τὸ στρατόπεδον ἔνυκομιζετο, ὡς δὴλον εἶναι τῷ Πώρῳ διὰ ἐγνωκῶς εἰη προσλαπαρεῖν τῇ ὑθη, ἔστε τὸ ὑδρος τοῦ ποταμοῦ μείον γενόμενον τοῦ χειμώνος πολλαχῇ παραδοῦναι ὦτ τῶν πόρων τὰ ἐς πλοῖα αὐτῷ ἄλλη καὶ ἄλλη παραπλέουντα καὶ αὐτὶ διαφέραι τῆς κάρφης ἐμπτυλάμεναι καὶ ἡ ὑθὴ πλήρης πᾶσα φαινομένῃ τῇ μὲν ἰππεῶν, τῇ δὲ πεζῶν, οὐκ εἰ ἤρεμεῖν τοὺς Πώρους, οὐδὲ ἐν τί ἐπιλεξάμενον ἐς φυλακὴν ἱμφορον, ἐς τοῦτο ἐκ πάντων παρασκευάζεσθαι.

4 Ἀλλως τε ἐν μὲν τῷ τότε οἱ ποταμοὶ πάντες οἱ Ἰνδικοὶ πολλοὶ τῷ ὑδάτος καὶ θολεροῦ ἔρρεουν καὶ ὁξέος τοῦ θεάματος ἦν γὰρ ὅρα ἔτους ἤ μετὰ τροπὰς ἡ μάλιστα ἐν θέσει τρέπεται ὁ ἥλιος.

1 Perhaps μετάτροπος, "on the turn."
pitched his camp; and Porus was observed on the opposite bank with all his forces and with his squadron of elephants. Where Porus observed that Alexander had encamped, he guarded the crossing himself; but at the other parts of the river where a crossing was possible he posted guards, appointing commanders to each guard, and determined to keep the Macedonians from attempting to cross. Alexander observing this thought well himself to move his army about in different directions, so as to keep Porus in uncertainty. He therefore broke up his army into several detachments, and some he led hither and thither over the country, partly destroying any enemy possessions, and partly reconnoitring for good places for crossing the river; other troops he attached to different commanders, one after another, and kept sending them also in different directions. Supplies came into his camp from all directions of the country this side of the Hydaspes, so that it was evident to Porus that he had determined to keep to the bank, until the water of the river falling during the winter gave him a chance of crossing the river at various points. His boats too sailing along in this and that direction, the rafts made of skins being filled with the chaff,¹ and the bank filled with troops, here cavalry and there infantry, gave Porus no chance of rest, nor permitted him to choose one position most suitable for guarding and concentrate upon that. Then, besides, about that time all the rivers of India were running with a big and turbulent stream, and with a swift current; for it was the season when the sun is just making its bend towards the

¹ See on these rafts below. The chaff evidently acted like kapok, giving buoyancy.
ταύτη δὲ τῇ ὁρᾷ ὑδατά τε ἔξ οὐρανοῦ ἀθρόα τε καταφέρεται ἐσ τὴν γῆν τήν Ἰνδικὴν, καὶ αἱ χιόνες αἱ τοῦ Καυκάσου, ἐνθενπερ τῶν πολλῶν ποταμῶν αἱ πηγαὶ εἰς, κατατηκόμεναι αὐξουσιών αὐτοῖς τὸ ὕδωρ ἐπὶ μέγα· χειμῶνος δὲ ἐμπαλιν ἵσχυον, ὅλοι τοι τῇ γίγνονται καὶ καθαροὶ ἰδεῖν καὶ ἐστὶν ὅπου περάσιμοι, πλήν γε δὴ τοῦ Ἰνδοῦ καὶ Γάγγου, καὶ τυχὼν καὶ ἄλλου τοῦ ἄλλον τοῦ ὅγυγνον περατῶς γίγνεται.

Χ. Ταύτην οὖν τὴν ὄραν τοῦ ἔτους προσμένειν ἐς τὸ φανερὸν ἐφασκεύ, εἰ ἐν τῷ τότε εὐργοιτο. ὁ δὲ οὐδὲν μεῖον ἐφιδρεύων ἐμενεν, εἰ πὴ λάθοι ὑφαρπάσας ὁξέως τὸν πόρον. Ἡ τι μὲν δὴ αὐτὸς Πώρος κατεστρατοπεδεύκει πρὸς τῇ ὀχθῇ τοῦ Ἰδάσπου, ἐγνώ ἀδύνατος ὃν περάσαι ὑπὸ πλήθους τῶν ἐλεφάντων καὶ ὅτι πολλῆς στρατίας καὶ αὐτῇ τεταγμένῃ τε καὶ ἀκριβῶς ὑπεμισμένη ἐκβάινουσιν αὐτοῖς ἐπιθύμησεσθαι ἐμελλέων· οὗ τῇ ἵπποι οὐκ ἀν ἐδόκουν αὐτῷ ἐθελήσαι οὐδὲ ἐπιβήναι τῆς ὀχθῆς τῆς πέραν, προσκειμένων σφινχν εὐθὺς τῶν ἐλεφάντων καὶ τῆς ὀψει ἀμα καὶ τῇ φωνῇ φοβοῦντων, οὐδὲ ἂν ἔτι πρόσθεν μεῖναι ἐπὶ τῶν διφθέρων κατὰ τὸν πόρον, ἀλλ' ἐκπήδαν γὰρ ἐς τὸ ὕδωρ ἀφορώντες πέραν τοὺς ἐλεφάντας καὶ ἐκφρονεῖ πανεργοίν. Κλέψαι οὖν ἐπενόει τὴν διάβασιν ὧδε πράττων.

3 Νῦκτωρ παραγαγὼν ἄλλη καὶ ἄλλη τῆς ὀχθῆς τοὺς πολλοὺς τῶν ἵππων βοήν τε ἔποιει καὶ ἕλαλάξετο τῷ Ἐνυαλῷ, καὶ τάλλα ὡς ἐπὶ 32
summer turning; and at this season heavy rains come down into the land of India and the snows of the Caucasus, whence spring most of the rivers, are melting and greatly increase the volume of water; but in winter the rivers stop again, become smaller and clear in appearance, and fordable in places; except the Indus and Ganges, and possibly another; the Hydaspes at any rate becomes fordable.

X. For this summer season, then, Alexander openly announced that he would wait, if he were prevented from crossing at the time; but none the less he stayed there watching, if by any chance he might, without being seen, make a swift dash and effect the crossing. Where Porus himself had encamped, on the bank of the Hydaspes, he recognized that it was impossible to cross, both owing to the number of the elephants, and because there was a great army, and well ordered, and carefully armed, ready to attack his troops as they landed. Then he thought that the horses would not be willing even to set foot on the other side, as the elephants would immediately advance to attack them, and scare them both by their appearance and their trumpeting; nay, further, they would not even stay on the rafts made of skins during the transit, but would at once jump off into the water if they caught sight of the elephants from afar, and become terrified. So he determined to make a secret crossing in this way. At night he took the greater part of his cavalry in this and that direction along the bank, and made much noise and raised the Greek war-cry, and in all other ways every sort of disturbance was made which

1 An awkward way of expressing the May solstice. Some editors suspect and emend the text.
ΑΡΡΙΑΝ

dιαβάσεις συσκευαζόμενων ώρυβος παντοδαπός ἐγίγνετο. Καὶ ὁ Πώρος τε ἀντιπαρηκεῖ πρὸς τὴν
βοήν ἐπάγων τοὺς ἐλέφαντας καὶ Ἀλέξανδρος ἐστὶς αὐτῶν τῆς ἀντιπαραγωγῆς καθίστη. Ὡς δὲ ἐπὶ
πολὺ τοῦτο ἐγίγνετο καὶ βοή μόνον καὶ ἀλαλαγμὸς ἦν, οὐκέτι ὁ Πώρος μετεκινεῖτο πρὸς
tὰς ἕκδρομας τῶν ἵππεων, ἀλλὰ κενὸν γὰρ ἡγούμεν τὸν φόβον κατὰ χώραν ἔπληκτοποιόντευ ἐμένει
σκοπῶν δὲ αὐτῷ πολλαχοῦ τῆς ὀχθῆς καθευστῆκεναι. Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ ὡς ἐξείρησατο
αὐτῷ ἀφόβην τὸ τοῦ Πώρου εἰς τὰς νυκτερινὰς ἐπιχειρήσεις μηχανάται τι τοιοῦτο.

XI. Ἄκρα ἦν ἀνέχουσα τῆς ὀχθῆς τοῦ Ἄδα-
στου, ἵνα ἐπέκαμπτεν ὁ ποταμός λόγου ἀξίωσι,
αὐτὴ τε δασεῖα εἴδει παντοφοὶ δένδρων καὶ κατ'
αὐτὴν νῆσος ἐν τῷ ποταμῷ ἔλυσις τε καὶ
ἀστιβῆς ὑπ' ἔρημίας. Ταυτὴν καταμάθων τὴν
νῆσον καταντικρῦ τῆς ἄκρας, ἀμφότερα ἔλυσις
tὰ χωρία καὶ ὅλα κρύφαι τῆς διαβάσεως τὴν
ἐπιχειρήσεως, ταυτὴ ἐγνω διαβιβάζειν τοῖς στρατοῖς.

2 Ἀπείρχε δὲ ἡ τε ἄκρα καὶ ἡ νῆσος τοῦ μεγάλου
στρατοπέδου ἐς πεντῆκουντα καὶ ἕκατόν σταδίους.
Παρὰ πάσαν δὲ τὴν ὀχθην φυλακαὶ τε αὐτῶ
καθεστηκυῖαι ἁγαν, διαλείπουσαι ὅσον ξύμμετρον
ἐς τὸ ἐνυφραν τε ἀλλήλους καὶ κατακοῦειν ἐντε-
τῶς ὀπόθεν τα παραγγέλλωτο, καὶ πανταχόθεν
βοᾷ τε νύκτωρ ἐπὶ πολλᾶς νύκτας ἐγίγνυτο καὶ
πυρὰ ἐκαίετο.

3 Ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἐγνω ἐπιχειρεῖν τῷ πόρῳ, κατὰ
μὲν τὸ στρατόπεδου φανερὸς αὐτῶ τὰ τῆς
διαβάσεως παρεσκευάζετο καὶ Κράτερος ὑπο-

¹ ἀλλ' ἰκεῖνον Α. Text Krüger.
was likely when an army was preparing to cross. Porus then kept moving parallel with the noise, bringing up his elephants, and Alexander led him on to make a habit of this counter-movement. But when this had gone on some time, and there was nothing but shouting and raising of the war-cry, Porus no longer kept moving about towards the cavalry dashes, but realizing that the alarm was false remained in camp where he was; though he had set scouts at various points of the bank. But Alexander, when he had calmed Porus' nervousness towards these nightly attempts, contrived the following device.

XI. From the bank of the Hydaspes projected a headland, where the river made a considerable bend; it was thick with every sort of tree, and opposite it was an island in the river, wooded and desolate, untrodden as it was by foot of man. Observing this island opposite the headland, both being well wooded, and suited to hide the attempt at crossing, Alexander determined to take his army over at this point. The headland and island were about a hundred and fifty stades distant from the great camp. Alexander had posted guards all along the bank, at distances from which it was possible to see one another and to hear easily from whatever point any order was passed on; and from all sides cries at night were raised, over several nights, and fires kept burning.

But when Alexander had determined to attempt the passage, preparations for crossing were made openly in the camp; and Craterus was left in charge
λέει υπερτο ἐπὶ στρατοπέδου τὴν τε αὐτοῦ ἔχων ἰππαρχίαν καὶ τοὺς ἐξ Ἀραχώτων καὶ Παραπαμισσαδών ἰππέας καὶ τῆς φάλαγγος τῶν Μακεδόνων τῆν τε Ἀλκέτου καὶ τῆν Πολυσπέρχυντος τάξει καὶ τοὺς νομάρχας τῶν ἐπὶ τάδε Ἰνδῶν καὶ τοὺς ἄμα τούτοις τοὺς πεντα-κισχυλίους. Παρηγγέλλετο δὲ Κρατέρῳ μὴ πρὶν διαβαίνειν τὸν πόρον πρὶν ἀπαλλαγὴν Πώρου ξυν τῇ δυνάμει ὥς ἐπὶ σφᾶς ἡ φεύγοντα μαθεῖν, αὐτοὺς δὲ νικῶντας· ἢν δὲ μέρος μὲν τῇ στρατιὰς ἀναλαβὼν Πώρος ἐπι ἐμὲ ἄγη, μέρος δὲ τὶ ὑπολειφθῇ αὐτῷ ἐπὶ στρατοπέδου καὶ ἐλέφαντες, σὺ δὲ δὴ καὶ ὅσ μένειν κατὰ χώραν· εἰ δὲ τοὺς ἐλέφαντας ἑκμπαντας ἀμα τῷ ἄγει Πώρος ἐπ' ἐμὲ, τῇς δὲ ἀλλής στρατιὰς ὑπολειποτό τι ἐπὶ στρατοπέδου, σὺ δὲ διαβαίνεις σπουδὴν· οἱ ἡμὶ ἐλέφαντες μονοὶ, ἐφη, ἀποροὶ εἰς πρὸς τοὺς ἐκβαινοντας ἵππους· ἢ δὲ ἀλλὴ στρατιὰ εὕτορος.

ΧΙΠ. Ταῦτα μὲν Κρατέρῳ ἐνετέλλετο. Ἡν μέσῳ δὲ τῆς νήσου τε καὶ τοῦ μεγάλου στρατοπέδου, ἵνα αὐτῷ Κρατέρος ὑπολειψεντο, Μελέαγρος τε καὶ Ἀτταλος καὶ Γοργίας ξυν τῶν μεσθοφόρων ἴππεις τε καὶ πεζοὶς ἐτετάχατο· καὶ τοῦτοις διαβαίνειν παρηγγέλλετο κατὰ μέρος, διελόντας τὸν στρατὸν, ὅποτε ἐξερχομένους ἢδη ἐν τῇ μάχῃ τοὺς Ἰνδῶν ἐδοιεν.

2 Αὐτὸς δὲ ἐπιλεξάμενος τῶν τε ἐταϊρῶν τῷ ἄγημα καὶ τῆν Ἡφαιστίωνος ἰππαρχίαν καὶ τῆν Περδίκκου τε καὶ Δημητρίου καὶ τοὺς ἐκ Βάκτρων καὶ Σογδιανῶν καὶ τοὺς Σκύθας ἰππέας καὶ Δάας τοὺς ἰπποτοξότας καὶ τῆς φάλαγγος τοὺς
of the camp, with his own cavalry regiment and the cavalry of the Arachotians and of the Parapamisadae; and of the Macedonian phalanx, the brigade of Alcetas and Polysperchon, and the governors of the Indians of these districts, and those with them, the five thousand Indians. Craterus was ordered not to attempt a crossing till Porus and his army had left his camp to attack Alexander’s forces, or till he had learnt that Porus was in flight, and the Greeks conquerors; “but should Porus take a part of his army and lead it against me” (Alexander continued) “and another part be left behind at his camp, and any elephants, do you still stay where you are; if, however, Porus leads all his elephants against me, but some portion of the army is left behind at the camp, then do you cross with all dispatch; for it is only the elephants which are dangerous to disembarking horses; the rest of the force will not trouble them.”

XII. Such were Craterus’ orders; but between the island and the great camp, where Craterus had been left, Meleager and Attalus and Gorgias were posted with the mercenary cavalry and infantry; and they too had been ordered to make a crossing in sections, dividing the force, so soon as they should see the Indians already entangled in the battle.

Alexander himself selected the special squadron of the Companions, and the cavalry regiment of Hephaestion, and of Perdiccas and Demetrius, and the cavalry from Bactria and Sogdiana and the Scythian horsemen, with the Dahae, mounted archers,
ARRIAN

te ὑπασπιστὰς καὶ τὴν Κλείτου τε καὶ Κούνου τάξιν καὶ τοὺς τοξότας καὶ τοὺς Ἀγριάνας, ἣγεν ἀφανῶς, πολύ τι ἀπέχων τῆς ὀχθῆς, τοῦ μὴ καταφανῆς εἶναι ἄγων ἐπὶ τὴν ὑψον καὶ τὴν ἀκραν ἔσθεν διαβαίνειν αὐτῷ ἢν ἐγνωσμένον.

3 Καὶ ἐνταῦθα ἐπληροῦντο τῆς νυκτὸς αἰ διφθέραι τῆς κάρφης, ἐκ πολλοῦ ἡδὴ παρεννυγμέναι, καὶ κατερράπτωντο ἐς ἀκρίβειαν· ὡδώρ τε ἐξ οὗρανοῦ τῆς νυκτὸς λάβον ἐπιγίνεται. Ταύτη καὶ μᾶλλον τι ἡ παρασκευὴ τε αὐτῷ καὶ ἡ ἐπιχείρησις ἡ ἐς τὴν διάβασιν οὐ φανερὰ κατέστη τὸ κτύπῳ τῷ ἀπὸ τῶν ὁπλῶν καὶ τῷ θορύβῳ τῷ ἀπὸ τῶν παραγγελμάτων τῶν τε βροντῶν καὶ 4 τοῦ ὀμβροῦ ἀντιπαταγοῦντων. Καὶ τῶν πλαίων δὲ τὰ πολλὰ αὐτῷ ἐξυπνημιμένα παρεκεκόμιστο ἐς τὸν χῶρον τοῦτον καὶ ἀφανὸς αὐθίς ἐξυπνημένα ἐν τῇ ὕλῃ ἐκρύπτετο, τὰ τέ ἀλλα καὶ αἱ τριακόντοροι. Τοῦ δὲ τῇ ἐω ὃ τε ἀνεμος καὶ ὁ ὀμβρος κεκοίμητο. Καὶ ἡ μὲν ἀλλή στρατιὰ αὐτῷ ἡ ἱππική τῶν διφθερῶν ἐπιβάσα καὶ ὅσως τῶν πεζῶν τὰ πλοῖα ἐδέχετο ἐπέρα κατὰ τὴν ὑψον, ὡς μὴ πρόσθεν ὁφθείειν πρὸς τῶν σκοπῶν τῶν ἐκ Πῶρου καθεσθηκότων πρὶν παραλλαγείαντας τῆν ὑψον ὁλίγον ἐτὶ ἀπέχειν τῆς ὀχθῆς.

XIII. Αὐτὸς δὲ ἐπιβὰς τριακόντορον ἐπέρα καὶ ἀμα αὐτῷ Πτολεμαῖδος τε καὶ Περδίκκας καὶ Δυσίμαχος οἱ σωματοφύλακες καὶ Σέλευκος τῶν ἔταρφων, ὁ βασιλεύσας ὄστερον, καὶ τῶν ὑπασπιστῶν οἱ ἡμίσεις τοὺς δὲ ἀλλούς ὑπασπιστὰς ἀλλαὶ τριακόντοροι ἔφερον. Ἡς δὲ τὴν νῆσον παρῇλλαξεν ἡ στρατιὰ, φανερὸς ἢδη ἐπείχον τῇ ὀχθῇ καὶ οἱ σκοποὶ κατιδόντες αὐτῶν τὴν 38
and, of the phalanx, the bodyguard, and the brigade of Cleitus and Coenus, the archers and the Agrianes; he led this force secretly, keeping some distance from the bank, so that he might not be seen marching towards the island and the rock, where he had determined to cross. And there, during the night, the rafts made of hides, which had already some time before been brought along, were filled with chaff, and were carefully sewn together; and there fell a very violent rain during the night. So Alexander’s preparations and his attempt to make the crossing were all the more concealed; the thunder-claps and the rain counteracted the clatter of the arms and the commotion arising from the commands; and most of the boats, which had been broken into sections, had been transported to this place, and being put together again out of sight were hidden in the wood; the thirty-oar ships with the rest. But towards dawn the wind and the rain had quieted down, and the cavalry had embarked on the rafts, and all the infantry which the boats could take, crossed by the island; so that they might not be seen by the scouts which Porus had posted, before they had passed the island and were already near the bank.

XIII. Alexander then himself embarked on a thirty-oared boat and began the passage, and with him were Ptolemaeus and Perdiccas and Lysimachus, the officers of his bodyguard, and Seleucus, one of the Companions, who afterwards became king; and half of the bodyguard too. The rest of these were taken by other thirty-oar boats. And when the force passed the island, they were now in full sight, as they approached the bank; and the scouts, observing their
όμηρον ὅς ἐκάστοις τάχοις οἱ ἵπποι ἔχον ἥλιαννον
2 ὡς ἐπὶ τὸν Πώρον. Ἐν τούτῳ δὲ Ἀλεξάνδρος
πρῶτος αὐτὸς ἐκβαίνας καὶ τοὺς ἀπὸ τῶν ἄλλων
τριακοντάρων ἀναλαβὼν ξυνέτατε τοὺς ἀεὶ
ἐκβαίνοντας τῶν ἰππέων· οἱ γὰρ ἰππεῖς πρῶτοι
ἐνταχάτω αὐτῷ ἐκβαίνειν καὶ τούτους ἄγων
προήιε ἐν τάξει. Ἐλαθε δὲ οὐκ ἐς βέβαιον
χωρίον ἐκβαίνας ἀγνοία τῶν τόπων, ἀλλὰ ἐς νῆσον
γὰρ καὶ αὐτὴν μὲν μεγάλην, ἥ δὴ καὶ μάλλον
νῆσος οὕσα ἑλάθεν, οὐ πολλῷ δὲ υδατὶ πρὸς τοῦ
ποταμοῦ ἀποτεμομυένην ἀπὸ τῆς ἄλλης γῆς.
3 Καὶ ἄμα ἑξῆκε τὸ ὕδωρ ὁ ὅμβρος λάβρος τοι
καὶ ἑπὶ πολὺ τῆς νυκτὸς κατασχόμων, ὡςτε οὐκ
ἐξεύρισκον αὐτὸ ὁ ἰππεῖς τῶν πόρων, καὶ δέος
ὧν αὐθις ἄλλου δεῖσαι αὐτῷ ἐπὶ τῇ διαβάσει
ἰσον τῷ πρῶτῳ πόλον. Ὡς δὲ ἐξευρέθη ποτὲ
ὁ πόρος, ἐγὼ κατ’ αὐτὸν χαλέπως· ἡ γὰρ τῶν
μὲν πεζῶν ὑπὲρ τοὺς μαστοὺς τὸ ὕδωρ ἵππωρ
τὸ βαθύτατον αὐτοῦ τῶν δὲ ἵππων ὅσον τὰς
4 κεφαλὰς ὑπερίσχειν τοῦ ποταμοῦ. Ὡς δὲ καὶ
tούτῳ ἑπεράτο αὐτῷ τὸ ὕδωρ, ἑπὶ μὲν τὸ δεξιὸν
κέρας παρῆγαγε τὸ τῇ ἀγνημα τῶν ἰππεῶν καὶ
tῶν ἄλλων ἰππαρχῶν τοὺς κρατήστος ἐπι-
λεξάμενος· τοὺς δὲ ἱπποτοξότας τῆς πάσης
ἵππου προέταξε· τῶν δὲ πεζῶν πρῶτος τοῖς
μὲν τοῖς υπασπιστάς τοὺς βασιλικοὺς, ὁν ἡγεῖτο
Σέλευκος, ἐπέταξε τῇ ἱππῷ· ἕπὶ δὲ τούτου τὸ
ἀγνημα τὸ βασιλικὸν· ἔχομενος δὲ τούτων τοὺς
ἀλλους υπασπιστάς, ὡς ἐκάστοις αἱ ἠγειμονίαι
ἐν τῷ τότε ἐθνεβαινον· κατὰ δὲ τὰ ἀκρα τῆς
φάλαγγος οἱ τοξόται αὐτῷ καὶ οἱ Ἀγριανας καὶ
οἱ ἀκοντισταὶ ἐκατέρωθεν ἐπέστησαν.
oncoming, with all the speed of their horses rode off to Porus. Meanwhile Alexander disembarked first himself; and then took over those from the other thirty-oar boats; and as the cavalry kept disembarking, he marshalled them in order; for he had instructed the cavalry to disembark first; and then taking these with him he advanced in fighting array. However, without being aware, he had disembarked, from want of local knowledge, not on the solid land, but on an island; a large one, it is true; and this was chiefly why he did not discover it was an island; but yet it was parted from the other side by the river with no very great stream. At the same time the rain, which was violent, and kept on all night, had swollen the river, so that the mounted men did not find the ford, and there was some apprehension that to complete the crossing he must repeat all the former labour. But when at last the ford was found, Alexander led on, though with difficulty, across it. For the water, at its shallowest, was over the breasts of the foot-soldiers, so deep that the horses only kept their heads above the river. But when this part also of the river was successfully passed, he led round to his right wing the picked squadron of the cavalry, selecting the best of the other cavalry regiments; the mounted archers he set in front of the whole line of cavalry; then next to the cavalry he marshalled, of the infantry, the royal guards, under Seleucus; then next to them the royal regiment; and in touch with these the rest of the foot-guards, according as each had precedence for that day; on the wings of the phalanx on either side he stationed the archers and the Agrianes and the javelin-throwers.
XIV. Οὗτος ἐκτάξας τὸν μὲν πεζὸν στρατὸν ἐν κόσμῳ βάδην ἔτεσθαι ἐκέλευσεν, οὐ πολὺ ἀποδέοντας τῶν ἐκακισχιλίων αὐτῶς δὲ, ὅτι κρατεῖν ἐδόκει τῇ ἑπτῷ, τοὺς ἵππεας μόνους ἀναλαβῷ σπουδὴ ἤγείτο, ὡντας ἐς πεντακισχιλίους. Ταύρων δὲ τῷ τοξάρχῃ προσέταξε τοὺς τοξότας ἐπάγειν τῇ ἑπτῷ καὶ αὐτῶς σπουδῆ.

2 Γνώμην δὲ πεποίητο, ὡς εἰ μὲν προσμίξειαν αὐτῷ οἱ ἀμφὶ τὸν Πώρον ἔσκε τῇ δυνάμει ἀπάση, ἡ κρατήσειν αὐτῶν οὐ χαλεπῶς τῇ ἑπτῷ προσβαλῶν ἢ ἀπομαχεῖσθαι γε ἔστε τοὺς πεζοὺς ἐν τῷ ἔργῳ ἐπιγενέσθαι; εἰ δὲ πρὸς τὴν τολμαν τῆς διαβάσεως ἀτοπον γενομένην οἳ Ἰνδοὶ ἐκπλαγέντες φεύγοιει, οὐ πόρρωθεν ἐξεσθαι αὐτῶν κατὰ τὴν φυγήν, ὡς πλείονα ἐν τῇ ἀποχωρήσει τὸν φόνον γενόμενον ὁλίγον ἔτι υπολείπεσθαι αὐτῷ τὸ ἔργον.

3 Ἀριστόβουλος δὲ τὸν Πώρον παῖδα λέγει φθάσαι ἀφικόμενον σὺν ἂρμασιν ὡς ἐξήκοντα πρὶν τὸ ύστερον ἐκ τῆς νῆσου τῆς μικρᾶς 1 περᾶσαι Ἀλέξανδρον καὶ τούτον δυνηθήναι ἂν εἰρξαι Ἀλέξανδρον τῆς διαβάσεως, χαλεπῶς καὶ μηδενὸς εἰργοῦτος περαιωθέντα, εἰπερ οὐν καταπηδήσαστε οἳ Ἰνδοὶ ἐκ τῶν ἀρμάτων προσέκειντο τοῖς πρῶτοις τῶν ἐκβαινόντων ἀλλὰ παραχλάξαι ἡράξαν τοῖς ἂρμαις καὶ ἀκίνδυνον ποιήσαι Ἀλέξανδρῳ τὴν διάβασιν καὶ ἐπὶ τούτους ἀφεῖναι Ἀλέξανδρον τοὺς ἱπποταξότας, καὶ τραπήναι αὐτῶς οὐ χαλεπῶς, πληγᾶς λαμβά-

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1 The island above (13. 2) is called "large"; but Aristobulus seems to have taken a different view. See Plutarch, Alex. 60. μικρᾶς, Schnieder.
XIV. With his army therefore thus marshalled, Alexander ordered the infantry forces to follow at a foot pace and in marching formation; their number being nearly six thousand. Then he himself, as he seemed to be superior in the cavalry, took the cavalry only and advanced at all speed; the cavalry numbering about five thousand. He directed, however, Tauron the commander of the archers to lead them also on with the cavalry, and also at full speed. And he had determined that should Porus and his detachment attack him with their full force, either he would easily overcome them with his cavalry, by charging them, or he would fight on the defensive till his infantry should get into action. If, however, the Indians in face of the extraordinary boldness of the crossing should take to flight, he would be close up to them during the flight; and the greater the slaughter during the withdrawal the less trouble there would be for him in the future.

Aristobulus, however, says that Porus' son arrived with sixty chariots before Alexander took across from the small island ¹ the latter part of his troops; and that he could, indeed, have prevented Alexander's crossing, since he got over with much difficulty even when no one opposed him, if only the Indians had leapt from their chariots and attacked the foremost of those coming to land. In point of fact, however, he drove past with his chariots, and thus allowed Alexander to cross without risk; and Alexander launched against this force his mounted archers, and with no great difficulty turned them to flight,

¹ On the size of the island, see above, V. 13. 2. Ptolemaeus and Aristobulus, Arrian's authorities, seem to have differed.
4 νοντας. Οι δὲ καὶ μάχην λέγουσιν ἐν τῇ ἐκβάσει γενέσθαι τῶν Ἰνδῶν τῶν ξὺν τῷ παίδι τῷ Πώρου ἀφιμένων πρὸς Ἀλέξανδρον τε καὶ τοὺς ξὺν αὐτῷ ἱππέας. Καὶ γὰρ καὶ ἀφικέσθαι ξὺν μεῖζοι δυνάμει τὸν Πώρου παῖδα, καὶ αὐτὸν τὲ Ἀλέξανδρον τρωθήναι πρὸς αὐτοῦ καὶ τὸν ἱππὸν αὐτοῦ ἀποθανεῖν τὸν Βουκεφάλαν, φίλτατον Ἀλέξανδρῳ άντα τὸν ἱππον, καὶ τούτων τρωθέντα 5 ὑπὸ τοῦ παιδὸς τοῦ Πώρου. Ἀλλὰ Πτολεμαῖος ὁ Δάγου, ὁτι καὶ ἐγὼ ξυμφέρομαι, ἀλλὼς λέγει. Ἐκπεμψθήναι μὲν γὰρ τὸν παιδὰ ὑπὸ τοῦ Πώρου λέγει καὶ οὔτος, ἀλλ’ οὐ ἔσχικοντα μόνα ἄρματα ἄγοντα. Οὔτε γὰρ εἰκός Πώρου ἀκόσμαντα ἐκ τῶν σκοπῶν ὁτι δὴ ἦ αὐτὸς Ἀλέξανδρος δια- βέβηκε τοῦ Ὑδάσπου τὸν πόρον ἢ μέρος γέ τι τῆς στρατιάς, ἔσχικοντα ἄρματος μόνοις ἐκ- 6 πέμψαι τῶν αὐτοῦ παιδα: ἡ δὴ ὡς μὲν ἐπὶ κατασκοπήν ἐκπεμπόμενα πολλὰ τε καὶ οὐκ εὔξωνα ἐς τὴν ἀποχώρησιν ἦν, ὡς δὲ εἰς τὸ εἰρθαὶ τε τοὺς οὐπο πεπερακότας τῶν πολεμίων καὶ τοῖς ἆδη ἐκβεβηκόσιν ἐπιθέσθαι, οὐδαμῇ ἂξιομαχα. Ἀλλὰ δισχίλιους γὰρ λέγει ἱππέας ἄγοντα ἀφικέσθαι τὸν Πώρου παιδα, ἄρματα δὲ ἐκατῶν καὶ εἰκοσι’ φθάσαι δὲ περᾶσαντα Ἀλέξ- ανδρον καὶ τὸν ἐκ τῆς νῆσου τῶν τελευταίων πόρου.

XV. Καὶ ἐπὶ τούτους τὰ μὲν πρῶτα ἐκπέμψαι Ἀλέξανδρον καὶ οὔτος λέγει τοὺς ἱπποτοξότας, αὐτὸν δὲ ἀγεῖν τοὺς ἱππέας· προσάγειν γὰρ οὐράθην Πώρου ξὺν τῇ πάσῃ δυνάμει· τὴν δὲ ἱππον ταύτην προτεταγμένην αὐτῷ προ- 2 πορεύεσθαι πρὸ τοῦ ἀλλοῦ στρατοῦ. Ὡς δὲ
many being wounded. Others say that there was actually a battle at the landing, of Porus' son and the force which came with him, against Alexander and his cavalry. For Porus' son actually did arrive (they say) with a superior force, and Alexander was wounded by him and his horse Bucephalas killed; his favourite horse, and wounded, moreover, by Porus' son. But Ptolemaeus son of Lagus, with whom I agree, gives a different account. For he too states that Porus sent his son, but not with only sixty chariots. For it is not likely that Porus, learning from his scouts that either Alexander had himself forded the Hydaspes or a part of his army, would have sent out his own son with merely sixty chariots. If these were sent merely for reconnaissance, they were too many; they were not handy for a withdrawal; if they were sent to keep an enemy, which had not yet crossed, from doing so, and to fight with such as had crossed, they were by no means equal to the task. He relates, on the other hand, that Porus' son had two thousand cavalry with him, when he reached the place, and a hundred and twenty chariots; but that Alexander was too quick and had by then passed even the last crossing from the island.

XV. It is Ptolemaeus also who narrates that Alexander at first sent against Porus' son and his force the mounted archers; but that he himself led on the cavalry, expecting that Porus was coming up with all his army; and that this cavalry, marshalled by him in the van, preceded the rest of the Greek
κατέμαθεν ἀτρεκὼς τὸ πλήθος τὸ τῶν Ἰνδῶν, ἐνταῦθα δὴ ὁξέως ἐπιπεσεῖν αὐτοῖς ἔτην τῇ ἀμφ' αὐτὸν ὑπ' ὑπ' τοὺς δὲ ἐγκλίναι, ὡς 'Αλέξαιδρόν τε αὐτὸν κατείδου καὶ τὸ στῆφος ἀμφ' αὐτὸν τῶν ἱππέων, οὐκ ἐπὶ μετάσαν, ἀλλὰ κατ' ἱλας ἐμβεβλήκος. Καὶ τούτων ἱππέας μὲν πεσεῖν ἐς τετρακοσίους, πεσεῖν δὲ καὶ τοῦ Πόρου τὸν παῖδα: τὰ δὲ ἄρματα αὐτοῖς ἵππους ἀλώναι ἐν τῇ ἄποχωρήσει βαρέα γενόμενα καὶ ἐν αὐτῷ τὸ ἔργον ὑπὸ πηλοῦ ἀχρεία.

3 Πόρος δὲ, ὡς αὐτῷ ὅσοι ἱππεῖς ἐκ τῆς φυγῆς διεσώξατο, 'Αλέξαιδρόν τε αὐτὸν πεπερακότα ξύν τῇ στρατιᾷ ἔστι τὸ καρτερώσατο καὶ τὸν παῖδα ἐν τῇ μάχῃ τετελευτηκότα ἡγειλαν, ἐγένετο μὲν καὶ ὡς ἀμφίβολος τῇ γυνώμη, ὡς καὶ οἱ ἀπὸ τοῦ καταντικροῦ τοῦ μεγάλου στρατοπέδου οἱ ξύν Κρατέρῳ ὑπολειμμένοι ἐπιχείρησιν τῇ διαβάσαι ἐφαίνοντο. ἐιλετο δ' οὖν ἐπ' αὐτὸν Ἀλέξαιδρον ἐλάσας ξύν τῇ στρατιᾷ πάση πρὸς τὸ καρτερώσατο τοῦ Μακεδόνων καὶ αὐτὸν τὸν βασιλέα διαγωνίσατο. Ἀλλὰ καὶ ὡς ὅλος τῶν ἔλεφάντων σὺν οὐ πολλῇ στρατιᾷ αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ τοῦ στρατοπέδου ἀπέλειπεν, ὡς φοβεῖν ἀπὸ τῆς ὄχθης τοὺς ξύν Κρατέρῳ ἱππεῖς. Αὐτὸς δὲ τῇ τε ἱππῶν ἀναλαβὼν πάσαν, ἐς τετρακισχίλιους ἱππεῖς, καὶ τὰ ἄρματα πάντα, τριακόσια δυντα, καὶ τῶν ἔλεφαντων διακοσίους καὶ τῶν πεζῶν ὀτιπερ ὅφελος, ἐς τρισμυρίους, ἠλαυνεν ὡς ἐπὶ Ἀλέξαιδρον.

4 Ὡς δ' ἐνέτυχε χωρίον ὕπα τῆς πηλοῦ αὐτῷ ἐφαίνετο, ἀλλ' ὑπὸ ψάμμου γὰρ ἐξείπτευσεν ἦν ὀπεδον καὶ στερεὶν ἐς τὰς ἐφόδους τε καὶ ἀναστροφάς τῶν 46
troops. But on learning accurately the number of the Indians from his scouts, he fell upon them sharply with the cavalry he had with him; they gave way when they perceived Alexander himself and the serried mass of cavalry round him, attacking not on a front but squadron by squadron. Of the Indians there fell as many as four hundred horsemen, and Porus' son also fell; and the chariots, with their teams, were captured in the retreat, driving heavily and useless in the action itself because of the mud.

Porus, however, so soon as the cavalry which escaped in the flight reported to him that Alexander himself had crossed with his army in full force, and that his son had fallen in the fight, was in two minds from this additional reason, that those in the camp opposite, who had been left behind with Craterus, were now seen attempting the passage. He chose, in any case, to advance towards Alexander himself with all his force, and fight to a finish against the strongest part of the Macedonians and their King himself. Yet none the less he left behind a few of the elephants and a small force by his camp, to scare away the cavalry under Craterus from the bank. Then taking all his cavalry, about four thousand horse, and all the chariots, some three hundred, and two hundred of the elephants, and the best of the infantry, about thirty thousand, he advanced against Alexander. And reaching a place which was not muddy, but being sandy was all level and solid for charges and manoeuvres of cavalry, he drew up his
Ἀρίαν,

"Ιππών, ἐνταῦθα ἔτασσε τὴν στρατιάν, πρώτους μὲν τοὺς ἐλέφαντας ἐπὶ μετώπου, διέχοιτα ἐλέφαντα ἐλέφαντος οὐ μεῖον πλέθρου, ὥσ πρὸ πάσης τε τῆς φάλαγγος τῶν πεζῶν παραταθήναι αὐτῷ τοὺς ἐλέφαντας ἐπὶ μετώπου καὶ φόβον πάντη παρέχειν τοῖς ἀμφ' Ἀλέξανδρον ἵππεύσιν.

6 Ἀλλὰς τε οὐδὲ ἥξιον ἐς τὰ διαλείπουτα τῶν ἐλέφαντων τολμῆσαι ἂν τινα ὁσασθαί τῶν πολεμίων, οὔτε ἔξω ἰπποῖς διὰ τὸν φόβον τῶν ἰππῶν, πεζοῦ τε ἔτι μειον' κατὰ στόμα τε γὰρ ἂν πρὸς τῶν ὀπλιτῶν προσβαλλόντων εἰργασθαί καὶ καταπατηθῆσθαι ἐπιστρεφάντων ἂν αὐτοῖς τῶν ἐλέφαντων. Ἐπὶ τούτους δὲ οἱ πεζοὶ αὐτῷ ἐτετάχατο, οὐκ ἵσον τὸ μέτωπον τοῖς θηρίοις ἐπέχοντες, ἀλλ' ἐν δευτέρῳ μετώπῳ μετὰ τοὺς ἐλέφαντας, ὅσον ἐς τὰ διαλείποντα ἂν' ὅλγον ἐμβεβλῆσθαι τοὺς λόχους. Ἡσαν δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ κατὰ τὰ κέρατα ἐτὶ ὑπὲρ τοὺς ἐλέφαντας πεζοὶ ἐφεστηκότες· ἐκατέρωθεν δὲ τῶν πεζῶν ἡ ἰππος αὐτῷ ἐτέτακτο καὶ πρὸ ταύτης τὰ ἀρματα ἐκατέρωθεν.

XVI. Αὕτη μὲν ἡ Πόρου τάξις ἦν. Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ ὡς ἦδη καθεώρα τοὺς Ἰνδῶν ἐκτασσομένους, ἐπέστησε τοὺς ἵππεας τοῦ πρόσω, ὡς ἄναλαμβάνειν τῶν πεζῶν τοὺς ἀεὶ προσάγοντας. Ἡσαν δὲ καὶ ἡ φάλαγξ αὐτῷ δρόμῳ συνάψασα ὁμοί ἦδη ἦν, ὃ δὲ οὖκ εὐθὺς ἐκτάξας ἐστῆσαν, ὡς μὴ καματηροὺς τε καὶ πνευστιῶτας ἀκμῆσι παραδοθοῦν τοῖς βαρβάροις, ἀλλὰ ἐς κύκλους παριππεύων ἀνέπαυε τοὺς πεζοὺς ἔστε κατα-2 στήναι αὐτοῖς τὸν βυθὸν. Ὡς δὲ τὴν τάξιν κατείδε τῶν Ἰνδῶν, κατὰ μέσον μὲν, ἵνα οἱ
army in this way. First the elephants on the front, distant each from each about a hundred feet, so that they should form a line in front of the whole infantry line, and at all points terrify the cavalry of Alexander. For in any case he did not expect that any of the enemy would dare to force a way through the gaps between the elephants, certainly not on horseback, since the horses would take fright, and still less foot-soldiers, who would be kept back by the heavy armed troops advancing in line and then would be trampled down by the elephants turning upon them. Behind these elephants were stationed the foot-soldiers, not on the same front as the elephants, but holding the second line after them, so that the columns were fitted, more or less, into the intervals left by the animals. Porus had besides stationed on the wings foot-soldiers, stretching even beyond the line of elephants. Then on each flank of the infantry the cavalry was posted, and in front of the cavalry the chariots, on both sides.

XVI. This then was the disposition of Porus. But Alexander, seeing the Indians already getting into battle array, halted his cavalry from any further advance, so as to await the infantry as they came up behind. And when the phalanx, coming on at a rapid pace, had joined the advance forces, Alexander did not at once put them in battle order and lead them forward, so as not to confront them while tired and out of breath with the enemy who were fresh, but moving his cavalry round rested his infantry till they had recovered their fighting spirit. On sighting the Indian disposition, however, he decided not to advance by the centre, where the advance line
Ελέφαντες προεβέβλημα καὶ πυκνὴ ἡ φάλαγγα κατὰ τὰ διαλείποντα αὐτῶν ἐπετέκατο, οὐκ ἔγνω προάγει, αὐτὰ ἔκεινα ἀκνήσας ἀπερ ὁ Πόρος τῷ λογισμῷ ξυνθεὶς ταύτῃ ἐταξεῖν ἀλλὰ αὐτὸς μὲν, ἀτε ἱπποκρατῶν, τὴν πολλὴν τῆς ἑπτοῦ ἀναλαβὼν ἐπὶ τὸ εὐώνυμον κέρας τῶν πολεμίων παρῆλαυνεν, ὡς ταύτῃ ἐπιθησόμενος.

3 Κοίνον δὲ πέμπει ὡς ἐπὶ τὸ δεξιόν, τὴν Δημητρίου καὶ τὴν αὐτοῦ ἐχουτα ἱππορχίαν, κελεύσας, ἐπειδὰν τὸ κατὰ σφᾶς στῦφος τῶν ἱππέων ἱδόντες οἱ βάρβαροι ἀντιπαριπεύσωσιν, αὐτὸν κατόπιν ἔχεσθαι αὐτῶν τῶν πεζῶν δὲ τὴν φάλαγγα Σελεύκου καὶ Ἀρταγήενει καὶ Ταύρων προσέταξεν ἄγειν μὴ πρόσθεν δὲ ἄπτεσθαι τοῦ ἔργου πρὶν ὑπὸ τῆς ἑπτοῦ τῆς ἀμφαί ταῦταν τεταραγμένην τὴν τε φάλαγγα τῶν πεζῶν καὶ τοὺς ἱππέας κατίδωσιν.

4 Ἡδη τε ἐντὸς βέλους ἐγήγνυτο καὶ ἐφηκεν ἐπὶ τὸ κέρας τὸ εὐώνυμον τῶν Ἰνδῶν τοὺς ἱπποτοξότας, δικᾶς ἐς χελίους, ὡς ταραξαί τοὺς ταύτη ἐφεστηκότας τῶν πολεμίων τῇ πυκνότητῇ τε τῶν τοξευμάτων καὶ τῶν ἑπτῶν τῇ ἑπελάσει καὶ τοῦ δὲ τοὺς ἐταίρους ἔχου τοὺς ἱππέας παρῆλαυνεν δρέως ἐπὶ τὸ εὐώνυμον τῶν βαρβάρων, κατὰ κέρας ἐτι τεταραγμένοις ἐμμεθαλεῖν σπουδὴν ποιούμενος, πρὴν ἐπὶ φάλαγγας ἐκταθῆναι αὐτοῖς τὴν ἑπτοῦ.

XVII. Ἐν τούτῳ δὲ οἱ το Ἰνδοὶ τοὺς ἱππέας πάντοθεν ἐξυναλίσαντες παρῆππενον Ἀλεξάνδρῳ ἀντιπαρεξύγοντες τῇ ἑλάσθει, καὶ οἱ περὶ Κοίνον, ὡς παρῆγγελτο, κατόπιν αὐτοῖς ἐπεφαίνουτο. Ταύτα ἑνυιδόντες οἱ Ἰνδοὶ ἀμφιστομον ἤναγκάωσ.
of elephants had been thrown forward, and where the phalanx, in close formation, was posted in the intervals between them, hesitating just for those very reasons which Porus had foreseen when making this disposition; but since his own superiority lay in cavalry, he took with him the majority of his cavalry and rode up to the enemy's left wing, intending to make his attack there. Coenus he sent to the right, with the regiments of Demetrius and his own; he commanded him that so soon as the Indians should perceive the solid body of cavalry and advance their cavalry to meet it, he should keep behind them. Seleucus and Antigones and Tauron Alexander commanded to lead the infantry phalanx; but they were not to take part in the action till they observed the enemy's main body of infantry and their cavalry thrown into confusion by his own cavalry force.

By now they were within range; and Alexander launched his mounted archers—about a thousand strong—at the Indians' left wing, to throw into confusion those of the enemy who were stationed there both by the severity of the volleys of arrows and the charge of the cavalry. Then he himself with the Companions' cavalry rode rapidly against the enemy left, hastening to charge them, in their confusion, while they were still in line formation, before their cavalry could change into massed formation.

XVII. Meantime the Indians, concentrating all their cavalry from every quarter, kept riding parallel to Alexander, on the flank of their own line, to oppose his charge; and Coenus and his troops, according to orders, began to appear in their rear. Seeing this the Indians were compelled to throw their cavalry
ἈΡΙΆΝΗ

θησαυροφαντον, την τάξιν τής ἱππου, την μεν ὡς ἐπὶ Ἀλέξανδρον τὴν πολλὴν τε καὶ κρατίστην οἱ δὲ ἔτι Κοῖνον τε καὶ τοὺς ἁμα τούτων ἐπεστρεφον. Τοῦτο τε οὐν εὐθὺς ἐτάραξε τὰς τάξεις τε καὶ τὰς γνώμας τῶν Ἰνδῶν, καὶ Ἀλέξανδρος ἰδῶν τὸν καιρὸν ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ ἐπὶ θάτερα ἐπιστροφῆς τῆς ἱππον ἐπιτίθεται τοῖς καθ’ αὐτῶν, ὡστε οὐδὲ τὴν ἐμβολὴν ἐδέξαιτο τῶν ἁμφ’ Ἀλέξανδρον ἱππεῶν οἱ Ἰνδοὶ, ἀλλὰ κατηραγθῆσαν ὡσπερ εἰς τεῖχος τι φίλου τους ἐλέφαντας. Καὶ ἐν τούτῳ οἱ ἐπιστάται τῶν ἐλεφάντων ἀντεπήγγευσαν τῇ ἱππῳ τὰ θηρία, καὶ ἡ φάλαγξ αὐτῆς τῶν Μακεδόνων ἀντεπέστη πρὸς τοὺς ἐλέφαντας, ἐς τε τοὺς ἐπιβάτας αὐτῶν ἀκοντίζοντες καὶ αὐτὰ τὰ θηρία περισταδόν πάντοθεν βάλλοντες. Καὶ ἂν τὸ ἔργον οὔδεν τῶν πρόσθεν ἀγώνων ἐοικός τά τε γὰρ θηρία ἐπεκθέοντα ἐς τὰς τάξεις τῶν πεζῶν, ὅτι ἐπιστρέψειεν, ἑκεραίξεις καίπερ πυκνὴν οὐσιν τὴν τῶν Μακεδόνων φάλαγγα, καὶ οἱ ἱππεῖς οἱ τῶν Ἰνδῶν, τοῖς πεζοῖς ἱδώντες ἑξυςτηκός τὸ ἔργον, ἐπιστρέψαντες αὐθίσι καὶ αὐτοὶ ἐπήλαυν τῇ ἱππῳ. Ὡς δὲ πάλιν ἐκράτησαν αὐτῶν οἱ ἁμφ’ Ἀλέξανδρος, τῇ τῇ ῥώμῃ καὶ τῇ ἐμπειρίᾳ πολὺ προέχοντες, ὡς ἐπὶ τοὺς ἐλέφαντας αὐθίς κατελήθησαν. Καὶ ἐν τούτῳ πᾶσα ἡ ἱππὸς Ἀλέξανδρος ἐς μίαν ἅλην ἤδη ἐυνηγμένη, οὐκ ἐκ παραγγέλματος, ἀλλὰ ἐν τῷ ἄγωνι αὐτῶ ἐς τὴν τάξιν καταστάσα, ὅτι προσπέσει τῶν Ἰνδῶν ταῖς τάξεσι, ἐξον πολλῷ φόνῳ ἀπελύωντο. Καὶ ἐς στενῶν ἤδη κατειλημένων τῶν θηρίων οὐ μείω μὲν πρὸς αὐτῶν οἱ φίλοι ἤπερ οἱ πολέμιοι ἐβλάπτο-
into a double formation, one division, the more numerous and strongest, facing Alexander, the other wheeled round to meet Coenus and his force. This of course at once upset both the formations and the intentions of the Indians, and Alexander, perceiving the opportunity, precisely during this about-turn of the cavalry attacked the troops on his front, so that the Indians did not even wait to receive the charge of Alexander's cavalry, but fell hurriedly back upon their elephants, as if to some friendly sheltering wall. Meanwhile the drivers of the elephants brought up their animals against Alexander's cavalry, and the Macedonian phalanx for its part boldly advanced to meet the elephants, hurling javelins at their drivers, and, forming a ring round the animals, volleyed upon them from all sides. And the action was now without parallel in any previous battle; for the elephants, charging out into the line of infantry, whichever way they turned, began to devastate it, dense though the Macedonian phalanx was; and the Indian cavalry, seeing the action had settled down to an infantry battle, wheeled off again and themselves charged the Macedonian cavalry. But when a second time Alexander's forces had the mastery over them, much superior, as they were, both in strength and experience, they fell back again on the elephants. Meanwhile all Alexander's cavalry having become concentrated into one body—not by order, but forced into this concentration in the course of the battle itself—wherever it fell upon the Indian ranks, inflicted much slaughter before it withdrew. And by this time the elephants were crowded into a narrow space, and their own side were as much
τουτο, ἐν ταῖς ἐπιστροφαῖς τε καὶ τοῖς ὁδισμοῖς καταπατούμενοι. Τῶν τε οὕν ἱππέων, οία δὴ ἐν στενῷ περὶ τοὺς ἐλέφαντας εἰλουμένων, τολύς φόνος ἐγένετο, καὶ οἱ ἡγεμόνες τῶν ἐλέφαντων οί πολλοὶ κατηκοντισμένοι ἦσαν, καὶ αὐτοὶ οἱ ἐλέφαντες τὰ μὲν τιτρωσκόμενοι, τὰ δὲ ύπὸ τε τῶν πόνων καὶ ἔρημίας ἡγεμόνων οὐκέτι διακε-μένοι ἐν τῇ μάχῃ ἦσαν· ἀλλ' οἷα δὴ ύπὸ τοῦ κακοῦ ἐκφρονεῖ φιλίας τε ὁμοῦ καὶ πολεμίως προσφερόμενοι πάντα τρόπου ἐξώθουν τε καὶ κατεπάτουν καὶ κατέκαινον. Ἀλλ' οἱ μὲν Μακε-δόνες, ἀτε ἐν εὐφυσωρίᾳ τε καὶ κατὰ γνώμην τὴν σφῶν προσφερόμενοι τοῖς θηρίοις ὡς μὲν ἐπιφέροντο εἰκονίαν ἀποστραφεῖς δὲ εἶχοντο ἐσακοντι-ζουσίν τοῖς ἔν οἷοι ἐν αὐτοῖς ἀναστρέφομεν τὰ 7 πλεῖον ἡδὴ πρὸς ἐκείνων ἐβλάπτοντο. Ὁς δὲ καματηρά τε ἦν τὰ θηρία καὶ οὐκέτι αὐτοῖς ἐρρομέναι αἱ ἐκδρομαὶ ἐγένοντο, ἀλλ' συριγμῶς μόνον διαχρομενα ὁσπερ αἱ πρύμναι κρουμέναι νῆς ἐπὶ πόδα ὑπεχώρουν, αὐτοὶ μὲν Ἀλέξανδρος περιβάλλει ὑπό κυκλω τὴν ἱππον τῇ πάσῃ τάξει, τοὺς πεζοὺς ἐν ἐπαναπίπτοντας ὡς ἐς πυκνοτάτην ξύγκλειον ἐπάγοντας τὴν φάλαγγα ἐστίνης. Καὶ οὕτως οἱ μὲν ἱππεῖς τῶν 'Ἰνδόων πλὴν ὅλην κατεκόπτεσαν ἐν τῷ ἔργῳ ἐκόπτοντο δὲ καὶ οἱ πεζοὶ πανταχώθεν ἦδη προσκειμένων σφίες τῶν Μακεδόνων. Καὶ ἐν τούτῳ ἦνα διέσχεν ἦ ἱππος Ἡ Ἀλέξανδρος ἐς φυγὴν πάντες ἐπεστράφησαν.

XVIII. Καὶ ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ Κράτερός τε καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι ὅσοι τῆς στρατιάς τῆς Ἀλέξανδρου ἐπὶ τῇ ὕμβη τοῦ 'Ἰδάσπου ὑπολειμένου ἡγεμόνες ἦσαν, ὡς νικῶντα λαμπρῶς κατείδου Ἀλέξανδρον,
damaged by them as the enemy, trodden down in their manoeuvrings and their chargings. The Indian cavalry, therefore, which was cramped round the elephants in a narrow space, suffered much loss; and the most part of the drivers of the elephants had been shot down, and of the elephants, some had been wounded, and others, from weariness and loss of drivers, no longer kept apart in the mêlée, but as if maddened by the disaster they kept colliding with friends and foes alike and in all sorts of ways kept pushing, trampling, and destroying. The Macedonians, however, having good room, and able to attack the animals according to their own discretion, gave way wherever they charged, but followed close as they withdrew, and kept shooting at them with javelins. The Indians, on the other hand, were retreating among the elephants and already were receiving the greater part of their damage from them. But when the elephants wearied and their charges were no longer vigorous, but, merely trumpeting, began to retreat gradually like ships backing, Alexander himself threw his cavalry in a circle around their whole division, and then gave signal for the infantry, locking shields and concentrating into the most compact mass possible, to move up in full phalanx. So it was that the Indian cavalry, save only a few, were all cut down in the action; but their infantry also was being cut down on all sides, as the Macedonians by this time were pressing hard upon them. And now, where there was a gap in Alexander’s cavalry, they all turned and fled.

XVIII. At the same time Craterus and the other officers of the army who had been left behind on the bank of the Hydaspes, seeing Alexander carrying off
ἐπέρων καὶ αὐτὸ τὸν ποταμὸν. Καὶ οὗτοι οὐ μείονα τὸν φόνον ἐν τῇ ἀποχωρήσει τῶν Ἰνδῶν ἐποίησαν, ἀκμῆτες ἀντὶ κεκμηκότων τῶν ἀμφ’ Ἀλέξανδρον ἐπιγενόμενοι τῇ διώξει.

2 Ἀπέθανον δὲ τῶν Ἰνδῶν πεζοὶ μὲν ὀλίγον ἀποδέοντες τῶν δισμυρίων, ἵππείς δὲ ἐς τρισχιλίους, τὰ δὲ ἀρματα ἔμπαντα κατεκόπτες καὶ Πώρου δύο παῖδες ἀπέθανον καὶ Σπιτάκης ὁ νομάρχης τῶν ταύτη Ἰνδῶν καὶ τῶν ἐλεφάντων καὶ ἀρμάτων οἱ ἡγεμόνες καὶ οἱ ἰππάρχαι καὶ οἱ στρατηγοὶ τῆς στρατίας τῆς Πώρου ἔμπαντες. . . . ἐλήφθησαν δὲ καὶ οἱ ἐλέφαντες, ὅσοι γε αὐτῶν μὴ 3 αὐτοῦ ἀπέθανον. Τὸν δὲ ἀμφ’ Ἀλέξανδρον πεζοὶ μὲν ἀπὸ ἐξακισχιλίων τῶν ἐν τῇ πρώτῃ προσβολῇ γενομένων ἐς ὑγιοκοντα μάλιστα ἀπέθανον ἵππείς δὲ τῶν μὲν ἰπποτοξοτῶν, οἱ δὲ καὶ πρώτοι τοῦ ἔργου ἦσαν τοῖς δὲ ἐταιρικῆς ἤππου ἀμφί τοὺς εἰκοσὶ τῶν δὲ ἄλλων ἰππέων ὡς διακόσιοι.

4 Πώρος δὲ μεγάλα ἐργα ἐν τῇ μάχῃ ἀποδείξαμενος μὴ ὅτι στρατηγοῦ, ἀλλὰ καὶ στρατιώτων γεναλίῳ, ὡς τῶν τε ἰππέων τῶν φόνου κατείδε καὶ τῶν ἐλεφάντων τοὺς μὲν αὐτοῦ πεπτωκότας, τοὺς δὲ ἐρήμους τῶν ἡγεμόνων λυπρῶς πεπλανημένους, τῶν δὲ πεζῶν αὐτῷ οἱ πλείους ἀπολώλεσαν, οὐχ ἦπερ Δαρείος ὁ μέγας βασιλεὺς ἐξάρχων τοῖς ἀμφ’ αὐτῶν τῆς φυγῆς ἀπεχώρει, ἀλλὰ ἔστε γὰρ ὑπέμενε τι τῶν Ἰνδῶν ἐν μάχῃ ἔνυστηκός, ἐς τοσοῦτο ἄγωνισάμενος, τετρωμένος δὲ τὸν δεξίον ᾗμοι, δι’ ἐκ γυμνῶν μόνων ἔχων ἐν τῇ μάχῃ ἀνεστρέφετο (ἀπὸ γὰρ τοῦ ἄλλου σώματος ἢρκει αὐτῷ τὰ βέλη ὁ θώραξ, 56
a conspicuous victory, themselves began to cross the river; and these wrought equal slaughter in the Indian retreat, coming into the pursuit fresh, in place of Alexander's wearied troops.

Of the Indians there perished nearly twenty thousand foot, and horsemen about three thousand; all the chariots were destroyed; two sons of Porus perished, and Spitaces, the governor of the Indians of this district, with the commanders of the elephants and the chariots, and all the cavalry commanders and other commanding officers of Porus' army ... and all the surviving elephants were captured. But of Alexander's army, foot-soldiers of the number of about eighty perished, out of a force which had been six thousand strong in the first attack; as for the cavalry, ten of the mounted archers, who were the first to begin the action; and of the Companions' cavalry about twenty, with two hundred of the rest of the cavalry.

Porus had acquitted himself manfully in the course of the engagement, not only as a commander-in-chief, but also as a brave soldier; but when he saw the slaughter of his cavalry, and of the elephants, some fallen on the field, and some wandering in distress, having lost their riders, and when most of his infantry had perished, he did not copy the example of the great king Dareius, and set his own men an example of flight, but so long as any part of the Indian troops held their ground in the fight, so long he battled on bravely, but when wounded in the right shoulder—the only unprotected part of his body as he moved about in the battle—for his corset guarded the rest of his body from the missiles, being
περιττός δ' ών κατά τ' ην ἵσχυν καὶ τ' ἅρμονίαν, ὡς ύστερον καταμαθεῖν θεωμένοις ήττοι, τότε δὴ καὶ αὐτὸς ἀπεχώρηε ἐπιστρέψας τῶν ἑλέφαντα.

6 Καὶ 'Αλέξανδρος μέγαν τε αὐτὸν καὶ γενναίου ἄνδρα ἴδουν ἐν τῇ μάχῃ σώσαι ἐπεθύμησε. Πέμπει δὴ παρ' αὐτὸν πρῶτα μὲν Ταξίλην τὸν 'Ἰνδόν καὶ Ταξίλης προσιππεύσας ἐφ' ὅσον οἱ ἀσφαλὲς ἐφαίνετο τῷ ἑλέφαντι δὲ ἐφερὲ τὸν Πόρον ἐπιστήσας τῇ ήξίῳ τῷ θηρίῳ, οὐ γὰρ εἶναι οἱ ἐτὶ φεύγειν, καὶ ἀκούσαι τῶν παρ'.

7 'Αλέξανδρου λόγοι. Ὁ δὲ ἴδουν ἄνδρα ἐχθρόν ἐκ παλαιοῦ τὸν Ταξίλην ἐπιστρέψας ἀνήγετο ὡς ἀκούσαντο καὶ αὐτὸ κατέκανεν τυχόν, εἰ μὴ ὑποφθάσας ἐκείνοις ἀπήλασεν ἀπὸ τοῦ Πόρου πρόσω τοῦ ἠππον. 'Αλέξανδρος δὲ οὐδὲ ἐπὶ τόδε τῷ Πόρῳ χαλεπῶς ἐγένετο, ἀλλ' ἄλλως τε ἐν μέρει ἐπεμπε καὶ δὴ καὶ Μερόνην ἄνδρα Ἰνδόν, ὅτε φίλοι εἶναι ἐκ παλαιοῦ τῷ Πόρῳ τὸν

8 Μερόνην ἔμαθε. Πόρος δὲ ὡς τὰ παρὰ τοῦ Μερόνου ἤκουσε καὶ ἐκ τοῦ δύσους ἀμα ἐκρατεῖτο, ἐπεστήσε τοῦ τῶν ἑλέφαντα καὶ κατέβη ἀπ' αὐτοῦ· ὡς δὲ ἐπὶ τέ καὶ ἀνέψυξε, ἀγενων αὐτὸν σπουδὴ ἐκέλευσε παρ' 'Αλέξανδρον.

ΧΙΧ. Καὶ ὁ μὲν ἡγετὸς. 'Αλέξανδρος δὲ ὡς προσάγοντα ἐπύθετο, προσιππεύσας ἐπὶ τῆς τάξεως ἕξων ὀλίγοις τῶν ἑταῖρων ἀπαντᾷ τῷ Πόρῳ καὶ ἐπιστήσας τὸν ἠππο τῇ στρατείᾳ Ιαμβίου, καὶ τὸ κάλλος τοῦ Πόρου καὶ ὅτι οἱ δεδουλωμένοις τῇ γνώμῃ ἐφαίνοντο, ἀλλ' ὀπέρ ἄν ἀνήρ ἄγαθὸς ἄνδρι ἄγαθῳ προσέλβοι ὑπὲρ βασιλείας τῆς αὐτοῦ πρὸς βασιλέα ἄλλων καλῶς.
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unusually strong and unusually well fitted, as those who saw afterwards could observe—on receiving this wound he wheeled his elephant and retreated. Alexander having seen him play a great and gallant part in the battle desired to save him. He sent therefore to him first Taxiles the Indian; and Taxiles, riding up as near as he thought safe to the elephant on which Porus was riding, requested him to halt his animal, since further flight was unavailing, and to hear what Alexander's message was; but Porus seeing in Taxiles an old enemy turned his elephant and rode up to pierce him with a javelin; and indeed he might perchance have slain him, had not Taxiles, just in time, wheeled his horse further away from Porus. Alexander, however, did not even on this show anger against Porus, but sent others, in relays, and finally an Indian, Meroes, having learnt that this Meroes had long been a friend of Porus. But Porus, hearing Meroes' message, and being also much distressed by thirst, halted his elephant and dismounted; and after drinking, and recovering his strength, bade Meroes conduct him at once to Alexander.

XIX. Porus was then conducted to Alexander, who learning of his approach rode and met him in advance of the line with a few of the Companions; then halting his horse, he admired the great size of Porus, who was over five cubits in height, and his handsomeness, and the appearance he gave of a spirit not yet tamed, but of one brave man meeting another brave man after an honourable struggle against
2 ἡγωνισμένος. Ἔνθα δὴ Ἀλέξανδρος πρῶτος προσεπίτων αὐτοῦ λέγειν ἐκέλευσεν ὁ τι οἱ γενέσθαι έθέλει. Πώρων δὲ ἀποκρίνασθαι λόγος, οὕτω Βασιλικῶς μοι χρήσαι, ὁ Ἀλέξανδρε. Καὶ Ἀλέξανδρος ἡσθεῖς τῷ λόγῳ. Τούτῳ μὲν ἔσται σοι, ὁ Πώρε, ἐφη, ἐμοῦ ἐνεκα· σὺ δὲ σαυτὸν ἐνεκα ὁ τι σοι φίλον ἀξίου. Ὁ δὲ πάντα ἐφη ἐν 3 τούτῳ ἐνείναι. Καὶ Ἀλέξανδρος τούτῳ ἐτι μάλλον τῷ λόγῳ ἡσθεῖς τήν τε ἀρχὴν τῇ Πώρῳ τῶν τε αὐτοῦ Ἰνδῶν ἔδωκε καὶ ἀλλὴν ἐτι χοράν πρὸς τῇ πάλαι οὐση πλείσαν τῆς πρόσθερον προσεθηκε· καὶ οὐτῶς αὐτὸς τε βασιλικῶς κεχρήμενος ἦν ἀνδρὶ ἀγαθῷ καὶ ἐκείνῳ ἐκ τούτου ἐς ἀπαντα πιστῶ ἐχρήσατο. Τούτῳ τὸ τέλος τῇ μάχῃ τῇ πρὸς Πώρῳ τε καὶ τοὺς ἐπ’ ἐκείνα τού Ἰδάσπου ποταμοῦ Ἰνδοὺς Ἀλέξανδρῳ ἐγένετο ἐπ’ ἄρχοντος Ἀθηναίων Ἡγεμόνοις Μοισυχιῶν.

4 Ἡμᾶς δὲ ἡ μάχη ἐνεβῆ καὶ ἐνθὲν ὀρμηθεὶς ἐπέρασε τὸν Ἰδάσπην ποταμόν, πόλεις ἐκτείναν Ἀλέξανδρος. Καὶ τὴν μὲν Νίκαιαν τὴς νίκης τῆς καὶ Ἰνδῶν ἐπώνυμον ὄνομασε· τὴν δὲ Βουκεφάλαν ἐς τὸν Ἰπποῦ τοῦ Βουκεφάλα τῆς μυμῆς, δι’ ἀπέθανεν αὐτοῦ, οὐ βληθεὶς πρὸς 5 οὐδενός, ἀλλ’ ὑπὸ καμάτων τε καὶ ἡλικίας. Ἡν γὰρ ἀμφὶ τὰ τριάκοντα ἐτῆς, καματηρὸς γενόμενος, πολλὰ δὲ πρόσθεν ἐνυγκαμῶν τε καὶ ἐνυγκινυνεύσας Ἀλέξανδρο, ἀναβαίνομενος τε πρὸς μόνον Ἀλέξανδρου ὁ Βουκεφάλας οὕτως, ὅτι τοὺς ἄλλους πάντας ἄπτετον ἀμβάτας, καὶ μεγάλης μέγας καὶ τῷ θυμῷ γενναίος. Σημείον δὲ οἱ ἦν βοῶς κεφαλὴ ἐγκεχαραγμένη, ἐφ’ ὅτου καὶ τὸ όνομα τούτῳ λέγονσιν ὅτι ἐφερεν· οἱ δὲ λέγονσιν 60
another king for his kingdom. Then Alexander first addressing him bade him say what he desired to be done with him. Porus is said to have replied: "Treat me, Alexander, like a king." And Alexander, pleased with the reply, answered: "It shall be as you desire, Porus, for my part; do you for your part ask what you desire." He replied that everything was contained in this one request. Alexander, then, all the more pleased with this reply, gave back to Porus his sovereignty over the Indians of his realm, and added also other besides his former territory even greater in extent; thus did he treat as a king a brave man, and from then on found him in all things faithful. This then was the issue of the battle of Alexander against Porus and the Indians on the far side of the Hydaspes; in the archonship at Athens of Hegemon and in the month Munychion.

In the plains where the battle was fought, and from which he set out to cross the Hydaspes, Alexander founded cities. The first he called Victoria,\(^1\) from the victory over the Indians; the other, Bucephala,\(^2\) in memory of his horse Bucephalas which died there, not wounded by anyone, but from exhaustion and age. For he was about thirty years old, and was a victim to fatigue; but up to then he had shared Alexander's toils and dangers in plenty, never mounted by any but Alexander himself, since Bucephalas would brook no other rider; in stature he was tall, and in spirit courageous. His mark was an ox-head branded upon him, and hence his name Bucephalas; others, however, say that he

\(^1\) Greek, Nicaea, now perhaps Mong.
\(^2\) Now perhaps Jelalpur.
"ΑΡΡΙΑΝ

ὁτι λευκὸν σήμα εἶχεν ἐπὶ τῆς κεφάλῆς, μέλας δὲν αὐτὸς, εἰς βοῦς κεφαλὴν μᾶλιστα εἰκασμένον.

6 Οὕτως ὁ ἱππός ἐν τῇ Ὀξίους χώρᾳ ἀφανὴς ἔγενετο Ἀλέξανδρῳ, καὶ Ἀλέξανδρος προσκήρυξεν ἀνὰ τὴν χώραν πάντας ἀποκτενεῖν Ὀξίους, εἰ μὴ ἀπάξιουσιν αὐτῷ τὸν ἱππόν καὶ ἀπήχθη εὐθὺς ἐπὶ τῷ κηρύγματι. Τοσοῦτος μὲν σπουδὴ Ἀλέξανδρῳ ἀμφ' αὐτὸν ἦν, τόσος δὲ Ἀλέξανδρον φόβος τοῖς βαρβάροις. Καὶ ἔμοι ἐς τοσοῦτες τετυμήσθω ὁ Βουκεφάλας οὕτως Ἀλέξανδρῳ ἐνεκα.

XX. Ἀλέξανδρῳ δὲ ἑπειδὴ οἱ ἀποβανόντες ἐν τῇ μάχῃ κεκόσμητο τῷ πρόποντι κόσμῳ, δὲ τοὺς θεοὺς τὰ νομίζομενα ἐπινίκια ἔθνε, καὶ ἀγῶν ἐποιεῖτο αὐτῷ γυμνικὸς καὶ ἰππικός αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ τῇ ὄχθῃ τοῦ Ἰδάσπου ἱππεῖρ τὸ πρῶτον διέβη

2 ἀμα τὸ στρατόν. Κράτερον μὲν δὴ ἔξιν μέρει τῆς στρατιᾶς ὑπελείπετο, τὰς πόλεις ἁστυνας ταῦτη ἐκτιθεῖν ἀναστήσοντά τε καὶ ἐκτειχισθεῖνας αὐτὸς δὲ ἠλαυνεν ὡς ἐπὶ τοὺς προσχώρουσι τῇ Πόρῳ ἀρχῇ Ἰνδοῖς. Ὁνομα δὲ ἦν τῷ ἔθνει Γλαυγανίκαι, ὡς λέγει Αριστόβουλος, ὡς δὲ Πτολεμαῖος, Γλαύκα τ' ὁποτέρως δὲ ἔχει τὸ ὄνομα

3 οὗ μοι μέλει. Ἐπείη δὲ τὴν χώραν αὐτῶν Ἀλέξανδρος τοῖς τε ἑταίροις ἱππεῶν ἔχων τοὺς ἡμίσεις καὶ τῶν πεζῶν ἀπὸ φάλαγγος ἐκάστης ἐπιλέκτους καὶ τοὺς ἱπποτοξότας ἑξίππαντας καὶ τοὺς Ἀγριάνας καὶ τοὺς τοξότας καὶ προσε-

4 χώρων αὐτῷ ὁμολογία πάντες. Καὶ ἔλαβε τόλεις μὲν ἐς τρίακοντα καὶ ἑπτά, ὅν ἦν ὁλίγοτοι ἦσαν οἰκήτορες πεντακισχιλίων οὐκ ἐλάττουσιν ἦσαν, πολλῶν δὲ καὶ ὑπὲρ τοὺς μυρίους.

1 ὁλίγητοι: Krüger, ὁλιγοστοι Δ.
had a white mark on his head—the rest being black—which was exactly like an ox-head. In the Uxian territory Alexander once lost him, and issued a proclamation throughout that territory that he would massacre every Uxian unless they brought him back his horse; immediately after the proclamation Bucephalas was restored to him. Such was Alexander’s devotion to him, and such was the terror Alexander inspired in the natives. And now I must cease my panegyric on Bucephalas, which I make for Alexander’s sake.

XX. As soon as the due tributes of respect had been paid to those who fell in the battle, Alexander sacrificed to the gods the customary thanksgivings of victory, and held a contest of athletics and cavalry games on the bank of the Hydaspes where he first crossed with his army. Craterus, with part of the forces, he left behind to build and fortify the cities he was founding here. Then he himself advanced towards the Indians who bordered on Porus’ kingdom. The name of the tribe was Glauganicae, as Aristobulus says, but Ptolemy calls them Glausae; I do not trouble myself which was the exact form of the name. Alexander invaded their country, with half of the Companions’ cavalry, and picked men of the infantry from each phalanx, all the mounted archers, the Agrianes, and the unmounted archers; and the tribesmen all made their surrender to him. So he captured thirty-seven cities; of these, the least populated had above five thousand inhabitants; many of them had over ten thousand. He captured
καὶ κώμας πλήθει τε πολλὰς ἔλαβε καὶ πολυανθρώπους οὐ μείον τῶν πόλεων. Καὶ ταύτης τῆς χώρας Πῶρῳ ἄρχειν ἐδωκε· καὶ Ταξίλη δὲ διαλλάττει Ἡρῴον καὶ Ταξίλην ἀποπέμπτει ὅπισώ ἐς τὰ ἡθη τὰ αὐτοῦ.

5 Ἔν τούτῳ δὲ παρὰ τε Ἀβισάρου πρέσβεις ἦκον, ἐνδιδόντες αὐτὸν τε Ἀλέξανδρῳ Ἀβισάρην καὶ τὴν χώραν ὅσης ἦρχε. Καὶ τοῖς πρὸς Πῶρον γενομένης Ἀλέξανδρῳ ἐπενοεῖ Ἀβισάρης καὶ αὐτὸς εἶχαν Πῶρῳ τάσσεσθαι τότε δὲ καὶ τὸν ἀδελφὸν τὸν αὐτοῦ εἶχαν τοῖς ἄλλοις πρέσβεσι παρ' Ἀλέξανδρον ἐπεμψε, χρήματα τε κομίζοντα καὶ ἑλέφαντας τεσσάρωντα δῷρον Ἀλέξανδρῳ. Ἡκον δὲ καὶ παρὰ τῶν αὐτονόμων Ἰνδῶν πρέσβεις παρ' Ἀλέξανδρον καὶ παρὰ Πῶρῳ ἄλλοι τοῦ ὑπάρχου Ἰνδῶν. Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ διὰ τάχους Ἀβισάρην ἴεναι παρ' αὐτὸν κελεύει, ἐπαπειλήσας, εἰ μὴ ἔλθοι, ὅτι αὐτὸν ὄψεται ἦκοντα ἔνα κη ἵπτει ἦνα οὐ καρίσσει ἴδών.

6 Ἔν τούτῳ δὲ Φραταφέρνης τε ὁ Παρθβαῖνον καὶ Ἰτρκαίας σατράπης τους καταλειφθέντας παρὰ οἱ Ἰδράκας ἴκαν ἴκεν ὡς Ἀλέξανδρον καὶ παρὰ Σισικόττου τοῦ Ἀσσακηνοῦ σατράπου ἄγγελοι, ὅτι τὸν τε ὑπάρχον σφῶν ἀπεκτοῖτο καὶ οἱ Ἀσσακηνοὶ καὶ ἄπ' Ἀλέξανδρου ἂφεστηκότες. Καὶ ἔπὶ τούτους Φιλιπποὺς ἐκπέμπει καὶ Τυριάσσην σὺν στρατιά, τὰ περὶ τὸν Ἀσσακηνὸν χώραν καταστησμένους καὶ κοσμήσοντας. Αὐτὸς δὲ ὡς ἔπι τὸν Ἰκεσίνην ποταμὸν προύχορει. Τούτου τοῦ Ἰκεσίνου ποταμοῦ τὸ μέγεθος μόνον τῶν Ἰνδῶν ποταμῶν Πτολεμαῖος.
also a large number of villages, not less populous than their cities. He gave the rule of this territory to Porus; Porus also he reconciled to Taxiles, and then dismissed Taxiles back to his own tribes.

Meanwhile envoys came from Abisares, offering to Alexander surrender of Abisares himself and the country over which he ruled. And yet before the battle with Porus, Abisares had the intention of ranging himself on Porus’ side. But now he sent his own brother with the other envoys to Alexander, bringing treasure, and forty elephants, as a gift to Alexander. There came also to Alexander envoys from the self-governing Indians, and from a governor of certain Indians, also called Porus. Alexander on this quickly sent a message to Abisares bidding him come to him, threatening, if he should not come, that Abisares should behold him come with his army, and would have cause to rue the sight.

In the meantime Phrataphernes the satrap of Parthyaea and Hyrcania came to Alexander, bringing the Thracians left behind with him; there came also messengers from Sisicottus satrap of the Assacenians, to say that the Assacenians had assassinated their governor and had broken away from Alexander. Against these Alexander sent Philippus and Tyriaspes with an army to subdue the territory of the Assacenians and bring it into order.

Then he himself moved towards the river Acesines. Of this river Acesines only, among the rivers of India,
ὁ Δάγου ἀνέγραψεν· εἶναι γὰρ ἦνα ἐπέρασεν αὐτὸν Ἀλέξανδρος ἐπὶ τῶν πλοίων τε καὶ τῶν διφθερῶν ξὺν τῇ στρατιᾷ τὸ μὲν ῥεῦμα ὦ ὦ τοῦ Ἀκεσίνου πέτραις μεγάλαις καὶ ὃξείαις, καθ’ ὄν φερόμενον βία τῷ ὕδωρ κυμαίνεσθαι τε καὶ καχλάζειν· τὸ δὲ εὐρὸς σταδίους ἐπέχειν πεντε-καίδεκα. Καὶ τοῖς μὲν δὴ ἐπὶ τῶν διφθερῶν περῶσιν εὔμαρη γενέσθαι τὸν πόρον τοὺς δὲ ἐν τοῖς πλοίοις διαβάινοντας ἐποκειλάντων πολλῶν πλοίων ἐπὶ ταῖς πέτραις καὶ ξυναραχθέντων οὐκ ὀλύγοις αὐτοῦ ἐν τῷ ὕδατι διαφθερήναι. Εἶδὴ ἄν ὦν ἐκ τοῦδε τοῦ λόγου ξυνηθεῖν τεκμηριοῦσθαι ὅτι οὐ πόρρω τοῦ ἀληθοῦς ἀναγέρατται τοῦ Ἰνδοῦ ποταμοῦ τὸ μέγεθος ὅσοις ἐς τεσσαρά-κοντα σταδίους δοκεῖ τοῦ Ἰνδοῦ εἶναι τὸ εὐρὸς ἦνα μέσως ἔχει αὐτὸς αὐτοῦ ὁ Ἰνδός· ἦν δὲ στενῶτάτος τε καὶ διὰ στενότητα βαθύτατος, ἐς τοὺς πεντεκαίδεκα συνάγεσθαι καὶ ταῦτα πολλαχῇ εἶναι τοῦ Ἰνδοῦ. Καὶ γὰρ καὶ τοῦ Ἀκεσίνου τεκμαίρομαι ἐπιλέξασθαι Ἀλέξανδρον ἴνα περὶ τὸ πλατύτατον ἢν τοῦ πόρου, ὡς σχολαι-τέρω χρήσασθαι τῷ ῥεύματι.

XXI. Περάσας δὲ τὸν ποταμὸν Κοῖνον μὲν ξὺν τῇ αὐτοῦ τάξει ἀπολείπει αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ τῇ ὠχθῇ, προστάξας ἐπιμελεῖσθαι τῆς ὑπολειμμένης στρατιᾶς τῆς διαβάσεως, οὐ τὸν τε σύνον αὐτῶν τὸν ἐκ τῆς ἡδίν ὑπηκόου τῶν Ἰνδῶν χώρας καὶ 2 τὰ ἄλλα ἐπιτήδεια παρακομίζειν ἐμελλόν· Πῶρον δὲ ἐς τὰ αὐτοῦ ήθη ἀποπέμπει, κελεύσας Ἰνδῶν τε τοὺς μαχηματάτους ἐπιλεξάμενον καὶ εἰ τινὰς παρ’ αὐτῷ ἔχοι ἔλεφαντας, τούτους δὲ ἀναλα-βόντα ἰέναι παρ’ αὐτῶν. Αὐτὸς δὲ Πῶρον τὸν
Ptolemaeus son of Lagus has described the size; its stream, he says, at the point where Alexander crossed it with his army, on the boats and hides, is very swift, with great and sharp rocks; the water rushes down over these, foaming and roaring; the breadth is fifteen stades. For those who crossed on the hides, he says, the crossing was easy; but a good number of those who made the transit in the boats were lost in the stream, since several boats were dashed upon the rocks and so were wrecked. From this account one may conjecture that writers are not far from the truth who have given the size of the river Indus as forty stades in breadth at its mean width; but that where it is narrowest, and for that reason deepest, it shrinks to some fifteen stades; and that this is in many places its breadth. Further, I gather that Alexander chose the widest part of the river Acesines to cross, that he might have the current slower.

XXI. When therefore he had crossed the river, Alexander left Coenus with his brigade on the bank, bidding him supervise the crossing of the remainder of the army; for they were to convoy thither the corn from the part of India already subject to him, and all other necessaries. Porus he sent back to his own kingdom, with orders that he should select the most warlike of the Indians, and any elephants he had with him, and bring these to join him. Then Alexander purposed to pursue with the lightest of
Ἀρριάν

ἐτεροῦ τὸν κακὸν, ὅτι ἐξηγγέλθη πεφυγεῖν ἀπολιπῶν τὴν χώραν ἢς ἦρξεν, ἐπενέει διώκειν 3 ἐξ ὑπὸ τοὺς κοινωτότοις τῆς στρατιᾶς. Ὅ γὰρ Πῶρος οὗτος, ἔστε μὲν πολέμια ξυνειστήκει Ἀλέξανδρῳ τὰ πρὸς τὸν ἄλλον Πῶρον, πρέσβεις παρ' Ἀλέξανδρῳ πέμπτων, αὐτὸν τε καὶ τὴν ὑπὸ οἱ χώραν ἐνεδίδου Ἀλέξανδρῳ, κατὰ ἔξοδο τὸ Πῶρον μᾶλλον ἡ φίλια τῇ Ἀλέξανδρῳ· ὡς δὲ αφεμένου τε ἐκείνου καὶ πρὸς τῇ αὐτοῦ καὶ ἄλλης πολλῆς ἀρχοντα ἐμαθε, τότε δὴ φοβηθεῖς, σὺν οὗτο τι Ἀλέξανδρῳ, ὡς τὸν Πῶρον ἐκεῖνον τὸν ὁμόνυμον, φεύγει τὴν ἑαυτῆ, ἀναλαβὼν ὅσοι τῶν μαχημών ἐμπείσαι ἡδυνήθη μετασχεῖν οἱ τῆς φυγής.

4 Ἐπὶ τοῦτον ἐλαύνων Ἀλέξανδρος αἰκικεῖται ἐπὶ τὸν Ἰδραώτην ποταμόν, ἄλλον αὐ τοῦτον Ἰνδὸν ποταμόν, τὸ μὲν εὐρός οὗ, μείονα τοῦ Ἀκεσίων, ὀξυτήτι δὲ τοῦ βοῦ μείονα. "Οσῆν δὲ τῆς χώρας ἔστε ἐπὶ τὸν Ἰδραώτην ἐπῆλθε, φυλακάς ὑπελεῖπεν εἰς τοῖς ἐπικαιρινάρτοις χωρίοις, ὅπως οἱ ἀμφὶ Κρατέρων τε καὶ Κοῖνον δὲ ασφαλείας ἐπέρχοντο τῆς χώρας τὴν πολλήν προνομεύοντες. Ἐνταῦθα Ἡφαιστίωνα μὲν ἐκπέμπει, διὸς αὐτῶν μέρος τῆς στρατιᾶς, πεζῶν μὲν φάλαγγας δύο, ἰπτεών δὲ τὴν τε αὐτοῦ καὶ τὴν Δημητρίου ἰππαρχίαν καὶ τῶν τοξωτῶν τοὺς ἡμίσεας, ἐς τὴν Πῶρον τοῦ ἀφεστηκότος χώραν, κελεύσας παραδιδόναι ταύτην Πῶρῳ τῷ ἄλλῳ, καὶ εἰ δὴ τινα πρὸς ταῖς ὀχθαῖς τοῦ Ἰδραώτου ποταμοῦ αὐτόν όραν ἐβεβή Ἰνδὸν νέμεται, καὶ ταὐτα προσαγαγόμενον τῷ Πῶρῳ ἄρχειν ἐγχει- 5 ρίσαι. Αὐτός δὲ ἐπέρα τὸν Ἰδραώτην ποταμόν,
ANABASIS OF ALEXANDER, V. 21. 2-6

his troops the other Porus, the bad one, because he was reported to have left his own province and fled. For this Porus, as long as Alexander’s relations had remained unfriendly towards the first Porus, had sent envoys to Alexander, offering surrender of himself and his province, rather from hatred of the other Porus than from any friendly feelings towards Alexander; but learning that he had been released, and was now ruler of a considerable new province, besides his own, he became alarmed, not so much about Alexander as about his namesake, and fled from his country, taking with him so many of the warlike tribesmen as he could persuade to share his flight.

In pursuit of him Alexander arrived at the river Hydraotes, another Indian river, in breadth not less than the Acesines, but inferior in swiftness of current. In all the country which he had traversed, as far as the Hydraotes, he left guards in the most convenient spots, so that the troops with Craterus and Coenus might with safety traverse the greater part of the country in their search for provision. Here he despatched Hephaestion, giving him part of the army, two phalanxes of foot-soldiers, and of cavalry, his own regiment, and that of Demetrius, and half the archers, to the province of the rebellious Porus, bidding him hand this province to the other Porus, together with any other independent Indian tribes dwelling along the banks of the Hydaspes; these too he was to take over, and give them to Porus to govern. Then he himself crossed the Hydraotes,
οὐ καθάπερ τὸν Ἀκεσίνην χαλεπῶς. Προχω-
ρούντι δὲ αὐτῷ ἐπ’ ἐκείνα τῆς ὁχθῆς τοῦ Ἰδραώτου τοῦ μὲν πολλούς καθ’ ὀμολογίαν προσχωρεῖν ἔννεβαινεν, ἤδη δὲ τινὰς ἐξίν ὅπλοις ἀπαντή-
σαντας τοὺς δὲ καὶ ὑποφεύγοντας ἐλὸν βία κατεστρέψατο.

XXII. Ἔν τούτω δὲ ἤξαγγέλλεται Ἀλεξάνδρῳ τῶν αὐτοῦ ἑορτῶν Ἰνδῶν ἄλλους τέ τινας καὶ τοὺς καλομένους Καθαιὸς αὐτοῦ τε παρασκευάζο-
θαι ὡς πρὸς μάχην, εἰ προσάγοι τῇ χώρᾳ αὐτῶν Ἀλεξάνδρος, καὶ οὐκ ὁμορά σφισην ὑψαυτῶς αὐτόνομα, καὶ ταύτα παρακαλεῖν ἐς τὸ ἐργον. 2 εἰναι δὲ τὴν τε πόλιν ὁχυραν πρὸς ἢν ἐπενόουν ἀγωνίσασθαι. Σάγγαλα ἴν τῇ πόλει ὅνομα, καὶ αὐτοὶ οἱ Καθαιοὶ εὐτολμότατοι τε καὶ τὰ πολέμια κράτιστοι ἐνομίζουτο· καὶ τούτως κατὰ τὰ αὐτὰ Ὀξυδράκαι ἄλλο Ἰνδῶν ἔθνος, καὶ Μαλλοί, ἄλλο καὶ τούτο· ἐπεὶ καὶ ὅλο γροσθεν στρατεύ-
σαντας ἐπ’ αὐτοὺς Πώρων τε καὶ Ἄβισσάρην ἔν ἐξ ὑμεῖς τῆς σφετέρα δυνάμει καὶ πολλᾶ ἄλλα ἔθνη τῶν αὐτοῦ Ἱνδῶν ἀναστήσαντας οὐδέν πράξαντας τῆς παρασκευῆς ἄξιον ἔννεβη ἀπελ-
θεῖν.

3 Ταύτα ὡς εὐφηγήλθη Ἀλεξάνδρῳ, σπουδὴ ἱλαύνειν ὃς ἐπὶ τοὺς Καθαῖους. Καὶ δευτεραῖος μὲν ἀπὸ τοῦ ποταμοῦ τοῦ Ἰδραώτου πρὸς πόλιν ἤκεν ὡνομα Πίμπραμα· τὸ δ’ ἔθνος τοῦτο τῶν Ἰνδῶν Ἀδραίστατο ἐκαλούντο. Οὕτω μὲν δὴ 4 προσεχώρησαν ὀμολογία Ἀλεξάνδρῳ. Καὶ Ἀλέ-
ξανδρὸς ἀναπαύσας τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ τὴν στρατιὰν,
not with the difficulties which the Acesines had caused. Then as he continued on the farther bank of the Hydraotes most of the tribesmen came and surrendered voluntarily, some in fact who had actually come to meet him under arms. Others again he captured when attempting flight, and subdued them by force.

XXII. Meanwhile it was reported to Alexander that some of the self-governing Indians, in particular the people called Cathaeans, were getting themselves ready for battle, in case Alexander should approach their country, and were urging to the same enterprise all other self-governing tribes on their borders. Their city, it was said, was a very strong one, and there they proposed to make their stand. Its name was Sangala, and the Cathaeans themselves were considered very brave and very powerful in war; in the same mood with them were the Oxydracae, another Indian tribe, and Mallians, another; not long before, in fact, Porus and Abisares had marched against them with their force and had also stirred up many other self-governing Indian tribes against them; but they had achieved nothing commensurate with so great a host, and so had retreated.

When this was reported to Alexander he marched at full speed against the Cathaeans. In two days after leaving the river Hydraotes he came to a city named Pimprama; this tribe of Indians is called the Adraistae. They surrendered by agreement to Alexander. The next day Alexander rested his

1 Some authorities identify Sangala with Lahore. Cathaeas was, according to Strabo (xv. 1), the kingdom of Sopeithes (Book VI, c. 2, below).
τῇ τρίτῃ προύχωρει ἐπὶ τὰ Σάγγαλα, ὡν ὁ Καθαῖοι τε καὶ ὁ ἄλλος πρόσχωροι αὐτοῖς ἔκνευ- 
ληλυθότες πρὸ τῆς πόλεως παρατητεμένοι ἦσαν ἐπὶ γηλόφου οὐ πάντη ἀποτόμου· κύκλῳ δὲ τοῦ 
γηλόφου ἀμάξας περιστήσαντες ἐντὸς αὐτῶν ἐστρατοπέδευσον, ὡς τριπλοῦν χάρακα προβε- 
βλήσθαι τῶν ἡμῶν.

5 Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ τὸ τε πλῆθος κατιδὼν τῶν 
βαρβάρων καὶ τοῦ χωρίου τὴν φύσιν, ὡς μάλιστα 
πρὸς τὰ παρόντα ἐν καιρῷ οἱ ἐφαινότα παρε- 
τάσσετο· καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἰπποτοξότας εὐθὺς ὡς 
eἰχὲν ἐκτέμυπε ἐπ᾿ αὐτούς, ἀκροβολῖζεθαί κε- 
λεύσας παριπεύοντας, ὡς μήτε ἐκδρομήν τινα 
pοιῆσαι τοὺς Ἰνδοὺς πρὶν ἐξυπαχθῆναι αὐτῷ 
τὴν στρατιὰν καὶ ὡς πληγὰς γίγνεσθαι αὐτοῖς

6 καὶ πρὸ τῆς μάχης ἐντὸς τοῦ ὀχυρώματος. Αὐτὸς 
δὲ ἐπὶ μὲν τοῦ δεξιοῦ κέρως τῶν ἰππέων τὸ 
ἀγγεία κατέστησε καὶ τὴν Κλείτου ἰππαρχίαν, 
ἐχωμένοις δὲ τοῦτων τοὺς ὑπασπιστὰς, καὶ ἐπὶ 
tοῦτως τοὺς Ἀγριάνας· κατὰ δὲ τὸ εὐώνυμον 
Περδίκκας αὐτῷ ἐτέτακτο, τὴν τε αὐτοῦ ἑχον 
ἰππαρχίαν καὶ τὰς τῶν πεζεταίρων τὰξείς· ἐπὶ 
kέρως δὲ ἐκατέρων οἱ τοξόται αὐτῷ διή ἰδιακρι- 
θέντες ἔτάχθησαν.

7 Ἐκτάσσοντι δὲ αὐτῷ παρεγένοντο καὶ οἱ ἀπὸ 
tῆς ὀπισθοφυλακίας πεζοὶ τε καὶ ἰππεῖς. Καὶ 
tοῦτων τοὺς μὲν ἰππέας ἐπὶ τὰ κέρατα διελῶν 
παρῆγαγεν· ἀπὸ δὲ τῶν πεζῶν τῶν προσγενο- 
mένων πυκνοτέραν τὴν ἐξυγκλείσαν τῆς φάλαγγος

1 πρὸ before τῶν omitted by Vulcanius. τῶν ἡμῶν is a 
genitive of identity; “a triple line, viz. the waggons.”

2 ἀσθεναῖρων Δ.
troops, and on the third marched towards Sangala, where the Cathaeans and their neighbours who had joined them were arrayed in front of the city on a hill not equally steep on all sides; round about the hill they had arranged their waggons and were camping within them; thus the waggons formed a triple line of defence.

But Alexander, perceiving the large number of the tribesmen and the nature of the place, made his counter dispositions as seemed best for the exigencies of the moment; the mounted archers without delay he despatched against them, with orders to keep riding along the front and shoot at long range, so that the Indians should not make any sally before he had marshalled his forces and that they might already be wounded even within their stronghold, before the battle began. He himself on the right wing posted the special squadron of cavalry and Cleitus' Horse, next to them, his bodyguard, and then the Agrianes; Perdiccas was posted on his left with his own Horse and the brigades of the Companions' infantry. On either wing he had stationed the archers, equally divided.

Now while Alexander was thus arranging his troops there came up the infantry and cavalry of the rearguard. Of these, he divided up the cavalry and sent them off to either wing; and by means of the infantry who thus joined him he increased
ποιήσας, αὐτὸς ἀναλαβὼν τὴν ῥήτωρ τὴν ἐπὶ τοῦ δεξιοῦ τεταγμένην παρῆγαγεν ἐπὶ τὰς κατὰ τὸ εὑρώνυμον τῶν Ἰνδῶν ἀμάξας. Ταῦτη γὰρ εὐπροσδότηρον αὐτῷ ἐφαίνετο τὸ χωρίον καὶ οὐ πυκνὰ ὤσαύτως αἱ ἀμάξαι ἐφειστήκεσαν.

XXIII. Ὡς δὲ εἰπὶ τὴν ῥήτωρ προσαγαγοῦσαν οὐκ ἐξέδραμον οἱ Ἰνδοὶ ἔξω τῶν ἀμαζῶν, ἀλλ' ἐπιβεβηκότες αὐτῶν ἀφ' ὑψηλοῦ ἡκροβολίζοντο, γινοὺς Ἀλέξανδρος ὦτι οὐκ εἰς τῶν ῥήτωρ τὸ ἔργον, καταιπηδήσας ἀπὸ τοῦ ῥήτωρ πεζῶς ἐπήγα 2 τῶν πεζῶν τῆν φάλαγγα. Καὶ ἀπὸ μὲν τῶν πρώτων ἀμαζῶν οὐ χαλεπῶς εἰσάσαντο οἱ Μακεδόνες τοὺς Ἰνδοὺς· πρὸ δὲ τῶν δευτέρων οἱ Ἰνδοὶ παραταξάμενοι βάζον ἀπεμάχοντο, οἵ δὲ πυκνότεροί τε ἔφεστικότες ἐν ἐλάττων 1 τῷ κύκλῳ καὶ τῶν Μακεδόνων οὐ κατ' εὐρυχωρίαν ὡσαύτως προσαγόντων σφίσιν, ἐν οἴ τάς τε πρῶτας ἀμάξας ὑπεζήγην καὶ κατὰ τὰ διαλειμματα αὐτῶν ὡς ἐκάστοις προὐχόρει ἀτάκτως προσέβαλλον· ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦτων ὅμως ἐξώσθησαν 3 οἱ Ἰνδοὶ βιασθέντες πρὸς τῆς φάλαγγας. Οἱ δὲ οὐκέτι ἐπὶ τῶν τρίτων ἐμενοῦ, ἀλλ' ὡς τάχους εἶχον φυγῆ εἰς τὴν πόλιν κατεκλείσθησαν. Καὶ Ἀλέξανδρος ταύτην μὲν τὴν ἡμέραν περιστρατοπέδευσε τοὺς πεζοῖς τὴν πόλιν ὅσα γε ἡδυνήθη αὐτῷ περιβαλεῖν ἢ φάλαγξ· ἐπὶ πολὺ γὰρ ἐπέχου τὸ τεῖχος τῷ στρατοπέδῳ κυκλώσασθαι 4 οὐ δυνατὸς ἐγένετο· κατὰ δὲ τὰ διαλείποντα αὐτοῦ, ἵνα καὶ λίμνη ὦ μακρὰ τοῦ τείχους ἢ, τοὺς ἐπιπέδας ἐπέταξεν ἐν κύκλῳ τῆς λίμνης, γινοὺς οὖ βαθείαν οὖσαν τὴν λίμνην καὶ ἀμα

1 ἐν ἐλάττων so Gronow from Κ.
the solidity of his phalanx. Then himself taking the cavalry posted on the right, he led them against the wagons on the Indians' left. For the ground on this side seemed easier, and the wagons were not packed so closely.

XXIII. Since, however, the Indians did not sally out from the line of wagons upon the cavalry as it rode up, but mounted on them instead and shot volleys of arrows from them, Alexander, recognizing that the action was not work for cavalry, leaped down from his horse and on foot led to the attack the phalanx of foot-soldiers. From the first line of wagons the Macedonians easily forced the Indians; but before the second line the Indians drew themselves up in order and with less difficulty defended themselves, since they were in denser formation in a smaller circle, and the Macedonians could not approach them, as before, through an open space, while they were removing the first row of wagons and then charging in without order through the spaces between, just as each man made his way. Yet even from this second line the Indians were forced back by the phalanx. And now they no longer attempted to make a stand at the third line of wagons, but with all speed retreated and shut themselves into the city. For this day, then, Alexander camped with his infantry round the city, so far at least as the phalanx could surround; for since the wall stretched a considerable distance he could not entirely surround it with his troops while encamped, but in the intervals, where there was a lake also, not far from the wall, he posted his cavalry surrounding the lake, as he noticed that the lake
eἰκάσας δὲ τὸ φοβερὸν γενόμενον οἱ Ἰνδοὶ ἀπὸ τῆς προτέρας ἤττης ἀπολείψουσι τῆς νυκτὸς τὴν πόλιν. Καὶ ἔννεβη ὁ ὅτος ὅπως εἰκάσεν ἁμφὶ γὰρ δευτέραν φυλακὴν ἐκπέπτοντες ἐκ τοῦ τείχους οἱ πολλοὶ αὐτῶν ἐνέκυροσαν ταῖς προφυλακαῖς τῶν ἱππεῶν, καὶ οἱ μὲν πρῶτοι αὐτῶν κατεκοπήσαν πρὸς τῶν ἱππεῶν ὁ δὲ ἐπὶ τούτους αἰσθόμενοι ὅτι φυλάσσεται ἐν κύκλῳ ἡ λίμνη ἐς τὴν πόλιν αὐθεὶς ἀνεχόρησαν.

6 Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ χάρακι τε διπλῶς περιβάλλει ἱματιά μὴ εἰργεῖν ἡ λίμνη τὴν πόλιν καὶ φυλακὰς ἐν κύκλῳ τῆς λίμνης ἀκριβεστέρας κατέστησεν. Αὐτὸς δὲ μηχανὰς προσάγειν τῷ τείχει ἐπενάει, ὡς κατασειεῖν τὸ τείχος. Αὐτομολήσαντες δὲ αὐτῷ τῶν ἐκ τῆς πόλεως τινες φράζουσιν ὅτι ἐν νῷ ἔχοιεν αὐτὴς ἐκείνης τῆς νυκτὸς ἐκπέπτειν ἐκ τῆς πόλεως οἱ Ἰνδοὶ κατὰ τὴν λίμνην ἱματιά 7 τὸ ἐκλιπέσθαι ἤν τοῦ χαρακοῦ. Ὁ δὲ Πτολεμαῖον τόν Δάγου ἐπιτάττει ἐνταῦθα, τῶν τε ὑπασπιστῶν αὐτῷ δοὺς χιλιάρχιας τρεῖς καὶ τοὺς Ἀγριάνας ἔμπαιτας καὶ μίαν τάξειν τῶν τοξικῶν, ἀποδείξας τὸ χωρίον ὑπερ μάλιστα εἰκαζέ βιάζεσθαι τούς βαρβάρους. Σὺ δὲ ἐπειδὰν αὐθεὶς, ἐφί, βιαζομένους ταύτη, αὐτὸς μὲν ἔξω τῇ στρατιᾷ εἰργεῖν τοὺς βαρβάρους τοῦ πρὸς, τὸν δὲ σαλπυγκτήν κέλευε σημαίνειν· ὑμεῖς δὲ, ἄνδρες ἡγεμόνες, ἐπειδὰν σημανθῇ, ἔξω τοῖς καθ' αὐτοὺς ἐκαστοῖς εὐντεταξίμενοι ἐνείαν ἐπὶ τῶν βόρυμβων ἵν' ἄν ἡ σάλπυγξ παρακαλῇ. Ἀποστατήσω δὲ οὗδε ἐγώ τοῦ ἔργου.

XXIV. Ὁ μὲν ταῦτα παρῆγγειλε Πτολεμαῖος δὲ ἀμάξας τε ἐκ τῶν ἀπολευκεμένων ἐν τῇ 76
was shallow and also conjectured that the Indians, terrified from the previous defeat, would desert the city at night. It fell out exactly as he conjectured; about the second watch, sure enough, the greater part of them slipped out from the wall and fell in with the cavalry outposts; the first-comers were cut down by the cavalry; the next, perceiving that the lake was guarded all round, retired again into the city.

Alexander, however, threw a double stockade all round, where the lake did not guard the city, and posted his outposts round about the lake more carefully. Then he himself proposed to bring up engines against the wall, to batter it. But some of the inhabitants of the city deserted to him; and these told him that the Indians proposed to slip out of the city that night, by the lake, just where there was the gap in the stockade. Then he posted there Ptolemaeus son of Lagus, giving him three regiments of the bodyguards, all the Agrianes, and one brigade of archers, and pointing out the place where he most conjectured that the tribesmen would try to force their way; "so soon," he said, "as you perceive them to be trying to force a way through here, you yourself will, with your army, prevent their going farther; and will at once bid the bugler to sound an alarm; and you, officers, on this signal, will each with his appointed forces make for the disturbance wherever the bugle calls you. Nor shall I myself be a laggard in this action."

XXIV. Such were Alexander's orders; and Ptolemaeus, gathering together as many as possible of
πρώτη φυγῇ ἀμαξῶν ταύτη ξυναγαγὼν ὡς πλείστας κατέστησεν ἐγκαρσιάς, ἵνα πολλὰ ἐν νυκτὶ τὰ ἀπορὰ φαινότα τοὺς φεύγουσι, καὶ τοῦ χάρακος τοῦ κεκομμένου τε καὶ οὗ καταπηχθέντος συννήσαι ἀλλη καὶ ἀλλη ἐκελεύσεν ἐν μέσῳ τῆς τε λίμνης καὶ τοῦ τείχους. Καὶ ταύτα αὐτῷ

2 οἱ στρατιώται ἐν τῇ νυκτὶ ἐξειργάσαντο. Ἡδη τε ἡν ἀμφὶ τετάρτην φυλακὴν καὶ οἱ βάρβαροι, καθάπερ ἐξῆγγελτο Ἀλεξάνδρῳ, ἀνοίξαντες τᾶς ὡς ἐπὶ τὴν λίμνην πῦλας δρόμῳ ἐπὶ αὐτὴν ἐφέροντο. Οὐ μὴν ἔλαθον ταῦτῃ φυλακᾶς οὔτε Πτολεμαίον τὸν ἐπὶ αὐταῖς τεταγμένον ἀλλὰ ἐν τούτῳ οἱ τε σαλπυγκταὶ ἐσήμαινον αὐτῷ καὶ αὐτῷ τὴν στρατιὰν ὁπλισμένην τε καὶ ξυνταγμένην ἐξων ἐχόρει ἐπὶ τοὺς βαρβάρους.

3 Τοῖς δὲ αἱ τε ἀμαξαὶ ἐμποδὼν ᾧν καὶ ἡ χάραξ ἐν μέσῳ καταβεβλημένος. Ὡς δὲ ἡ τε σάλπηρ ἐφθεγχάτο καὶ οἱ ἀμφὶ Πτολεμαίον προσέκειντο αὐτοῖς, τοὺς ἀεὶ ἐκπίπτοντας διὰ τῶν ἀμαξῶν κατακαίνοντες, ἑνταῦθα δὴ ἀποστρέφονται αὐξίης ἐς τὴν πόλιν. Καὶ ἀπέθανον αὐτῶν ἐν τῇ ἀποχρήσει ἐς πεντάκοσίους.

4 Ἐν τούτῳ δὲ καὶ Πώρος ἀφίκετο, τοὺς τε ὑπολοίπους ἐλέφαντας ἀμα ὧν ἄγουν καὶ τῶν Ἰνδῶν ἐς πεντακισχίλιοι. αἱ τε μηχαναὶ Ἀλεξανδρῳ ξυμπτηγμέναι ἤσαν καὶ προσήγουσι Ἰδή τῷ τείχῃ. Ἀλλὰ οἱ Μακεδόνες, πρὸ καὶ κατασειθηνάλ τι τοῦ τείχους, ὑπορύπτοντες τε αὐτοῦ πλίνθων ὑν τὸ τείχος καὶ τὰς κλίμακας ἐν κύκλῳ πάντῃ προσβέντες αἰροῦσι κατὰ κράτος τῆς πόλις. Καὶ ἀποθνῄσκουσι μὲν ἐν τῇ καταλήψει τῶν Ἰνδῶν ἐς μυρίους καὶ ἐπτακισχίλιοι,
the waggon left behind in the first flight, set them crosswise, that the fugitives at night might find a good many obstacles; moreover, he ordered any part of the stockade which had been cut but not yet fixed down to be joined up at different points between the lake and the wall. This his men completed by night. It was now about the fourth watch, and the tribesmen, as Alexander had been informed, opened the gates leading to the lake and ran towards it. Yet they did not escape the guards on this side, nor yet Ptolemaeus, who was posted in charge of them; but at once his buglers sounded the alarm, and he with his forces fully armed and in good order moved against the tribesmen. These found their way barred by the waggon, and the stockade thrown in the intervening space. And when the bugle sounded and Ptolemaeus and his troops pressed hard upon them, cutting them down as fast as they tried to slip out between the waggon, they turned and fled back to the city. Some five hundred perished in this withdrawal.

Meanwhile Porus arrived, bringing with him the rest of the elephants and some five thousand Indians, and Alexander already had his siege engines put together, and they were now being brought up to the wall. But the Macedonians, before any part of the wall was battered, began to undermine it, for it was of brick, and then setting up their ladders all round, captured the city by assault. And in the capture of the city there perished some seventeen thousand of the Indians, and over seventy
έαλωσαν δὲ ὑπὲρ τὰς ἑπτὰ μυριάδας καὶ ἄρματα τριακόσια καὶ ἵππεις πεντακόσιοι. Τῆς δὲ ξύν Ἀλεξάνδρῳ στρατιάς ἀπέθανον μὲν ὠλίγον ἀποδέοντες τῶν ἐκατόν ἐν τῇ πάσῃ πολιορκίᾳ τραυματίας δὲ οὐ κατὰ τὸ πλῆθος τῶν νεκρῶν ἐγένοντο, ἀλλ’ ὑπὲρ τοὺς χιλίους καὶ διακοσίους, καὶ ἐν τούτοις τῶν ἡγεμόνων ἄλλως τε καὶ Δυσίμαχος ὁ σωματοφύλαξ.

6 Θάψας δὲ ὡς νόμος αὐτῶ τοὺς τελευτησαντας, Εὐμένη τὸν ἥγαμαματέα ἐκπέμπει ἐς τὰς δύο πόλεις τὰς ἐναφεστὼσας τοῖς Σαγγάλαις, δοῦσα αὐτῷ τῶν ἱππέων ἐς τριακόσιους, φράσοντας τοῖς ἔχοντας τὰς πόλεις τῶν τε Σαγγάλων τὴν ἁλωσίν καὶ ὅτι αὐτοῖς οὐδὲν ἐσταί χαλεπὸν ἐξ Ἀλεξάνδρου ὑπομένουσι τε καὶ δεχομένοις φιλίως Ἀλέξανδρον οὐδὲ γὰρ οὐδὲ ἄλλως τις ἑγερόθαι τῶν αὐτονόμων Ἰνδῶν ὅσοι ἐκόντες σφᾶς ἐνε-7 δοσαν. Οἱ δὲ (ἠδὴ γὰρ ἐξῆγγελτο αὐτοῖς κατὰ κράτος ἑαλωκότα πρὸς Ἀλεξάνδρου τὰ Σάγγαλα) φοβεροὶ γενόμενοι ἐφευγοῦν ἀπολυπόντες τὰς πόλεις. Καὶ Ἀλέξανδρος, ἐπειδὴ ἐξηγήσθη αὐτῷ ἡ φυγὴ, σπουδὴ ἐδίωκεν· ἀλλὰ οἱ πολλοὶ μὲν αὐτῶν ἐθάσαν ἀποφυγόντες, διὰ μακροῦ γὰρ ἡ διώξις ἐγίγνετο· ὅσοι δὲ κατὰ τὴν ἀπο-χώρησιν ἀσθενεία ὑπελείποντο, οὕτως ἐγκαταληφ-θέντες πρὸς τῆς στρατιάς ἀπέθανον ἐς πεντα-8 κοσίους μάλιστα. Ὡς δὲ ἀπέγνω διώκειν τοῦ πρόσω τοὺς φεύγοντας, ἐπανελθὼν ἐς τὰ Σάγγαλα, τὴν πόλιν μὲν κατέσκαψε, τὴν χώραν δὲ τῶν Ἰνδῶν τοῖς πάλαι μὲν αὐτονόμοις, τότε δὲ
thousand were captured, with three hundred wagons, and five hundred horsemen. Of Alexander's force were lost rather under a hundred in the entire siege; the wounded were out of proportion to the slain, over twelve hundred; among them several of the officers and Lysimachus the officer of the bodyguard.

Alexander, when he had buried the dead, after his custom, sent Eumenes the clerk to the two cities which had rebelled at the same time as Sangala, giving him three hundred cavalry, to announce to the defenders of the cities the capture of Sangala, and to proclaim that Alexander would not treat them harshly if they stayed where they were and received Alexander in a friendly way, just as he had shown no harshness to any other of the self-governing Indians who had voluntarily surrendered. But they (for they had already heard that Alexander had captured Sangala by assault) were terrified, left their cities, and took to flight. Alexander pursued them hotly, as soon as their flight was reported to him, but most of them had got safe away, for the pursuit began after some interval had passed. Any that had been left behind through infirmity during the withdrawal were captured there and put to death by the army, up to the number of five hundred. But deciding not to pursue the fugitives further, Alexander returned to Sangala, razed the city to the ground, and gave over the territory to those Indians who had formerly been self-governing but recently had sur-

1 Eumenes of Cardia was clerk or secretary to Alexander, as he had been to Philip. Plutarch and Nepos wrote his Life. He was not popular with the Macedonian leaders, and was slain by Antigonus, after a striking career both as soldier and diplomat.


ARRIAN

ἐκουσίως προσχωρήσασι προσέθηκε. Καὶ Πῶρον μὲν ἐξ ὑπὸ τῇ δυνάμει τῇ ἀμφ' αὐτῶν ἐκπέμπει ἐπὶ τὰς πόλεις αἱ προσκεχωρήκεσαν, φρουρᾶς εἰσάγοντα εἰς αὐτάς· αὐτὸς δὲ ἐξ ὑπὸ τῇ στρατιᾷ ἐπὶ τὸν Ἰνδοὺς καταστρέφατο. Οὐδὲ ἐφαίνετο αὐτῷ πέρας τι τοῦ πολέμου ἐστε ὑπελείπετο τι πολέμου.

XXV. Τὰ δὲ δῆ πέραν τοῦ Ἰνδοὺς ποταμοῦ εὐδαίμονα τε τῇ χώρᾳ εἶναι ἐξηγοῦσα καὶ ἀνθρώπους ἀγαθούς μὲν γῆς ἐργάτας, γενναίους δὲ τὰ πολέμια καὶ ἐς τὰ ἱδία δὲ σφῶν ἐν κόσμῳ πολιτεύοντας· πρὸς γὰρ τῶν ἀρίστων ἀρχεσθαί τοὺς πολλοὺς, τοὺς δὲ οὐδὲν ἐξω τοῦ ἑπείκους ἐξηγεῖσθαι. Πλῆθος τε ἐπεφάντων εἶναι τοῖς ταύτῃ ἀνθρώποις πολύ τι ὑπερ τοὺς ἄλλους Ἰνδοὺς καὶ μεγέθει μεγίστους καὶ ἀνδρεία.

2 Ταῦτα δὲ ἐξαγγελλόμενα Ἀλέξανδρον μὲν παρώ-ξυνεν ἐς ἐπιθυμίαν τοῦ πρόσω πέναν· οἱ Μακε-δόνες δὲ ἐξέκασαν ήδη ταῖς γυναικαῖς, πόνους τε ἐκ πόνου καὶ κινδύνους ἐκ κινδύνων ἐπαναρού-μενον ὅρον τοὺς βασιλέα. Ξύλλογοι τε ἐξήγησεν κατὰ τὸ στρατόπεδον τῶν μὲν τὰ σφέτερα ὀδυρομένων, ὅσοι ἐπιεικέστατοι, τῶν δὲ οὐκ ἀκολουθήσειν, οὐδ' ἦν ἄγη Ἀλέξανδρος, ἐπισ-χυριζομένων. Ταῦτα ὡς ἐποῦσε τὸ Ἀλέξανδρος, πρὶν καὶ ἐπὶ μείζον προελθεῖν τὴν παραχθήν τοῖς στρατιώταις καὶ τῆν ἀθυμίαν, ἐναγείρατο τοὺς ἡγεμόνας τῶν τάξεων ἐλέεσθ' ὅδε.

3 "'Ορὼν ύμᾶς, ὁ ἄνδρες Μακεδόνες τε καὶ ἱμμαχοῖ, οὐχ ὄμοια ἔτι τῇ γυνώμῃ ἐπομένους μοι ἐς τοὺς κινδύνους, ἐνυγγαγοῦ ἐς ταύτῳ, ὥς 82
rendered voluntarily. Porus with his force he sent back to the cities which had surrendered, to set garrisons in them; and he with his army advanced to the Hyphasis, to subdue the Indians of that district also. For he felt there could be no end of the war as long as any hostility remained.

XXV. On the other side of the Hyphasis, so it was reported to Alexander, the country was fertile, the men good labourers of the soil and valiant warriors, who managed their own affairs in an orderly manner; most of them were under aristocracies, yet these made no demands other than reasonable. These people also had a number of elephants, a good many more than the other Indians, and these were, moreover, very large and courageous. This report only stirred Alexander to a desire for still further advance; but the Macedonians’ spirits were already flagging, seeing the King undertaking toils after toils and dangers after dangers; meetings took place in the camp of men who grumbled at their present fate—those of the better kind—and of others who maintained stoutly that they would follow no farther, not even though Alexander should lead them. When Alexander heard of this, before this disturbance in the troops and their despair grew worse, he summoned the brigadiers and addressed them thus:

"I observe that you, Macedonians and allied forces, are not following me into dangers any longer with your old spirit. I have summoned you together,
ΑΡΡΙΑΝ

ἡ πείσας ἀγειν τοῦ πρόσω ἡ πεισθεῖς ὡπίσω ἀποστρέφεσθαι. Εἰ μὲν δὴ μεμπτοὶ εἰσίν υἱῶν οἰ μέχρις δεύρο πονηθέντες πόνοι καὶ αὐτῶς ἐγὼ ἡγούμενος, οὐδὲν ἐτί προὐργου λέγειν μοι ἐστίν.

4 Εἰ δὲ Ἰωνία τε πρὸς υἱῶν διὰ τούτῳ τοὺς πόνους ἔχεται καὶ Ἐλλησπόντος καὶ Φρύγες ἀμφότεροι καὶ Καππαδοκίς καὶ Παφλαγόνες καὶ Λυκίς καὶ Κάρης καὶ Δῆκιοι καὶ Παμφυλία τε καὶ Φοινίκη καὶ Αἰγύπτων ἔκειν τῇ Διβύῃ τῇ Ἐλληνικῇ καὶ Ἀραβίαις ἐστίν ἡ καὶ Συρία η τῇ κοιλῇ καὶ ἡ

5 μέσῃ τῶν ποταμῶν, καὶ Βαβυλῶν δὲ ἔχεται καὶ τὸ Σουσίων ἔθνος καὶ Πέρσαι καὶ Μῆδοι καὶ ὁσον Πέρσαι καὶ Μῆδοι ἐπηρχον, καὶ ὁσον δὲ οὐκ ἔρχον, τὰ ὑπὲρ τὰς Κασπίας πύλας, τὰ ἐπὶ ἐκείνα τοῦ Καυκάσου, ὥ τι ἄν ἐς τὰ πρόσω ἔτι τοῦ Τανάιδος, Βακτριανοὶ, Ἰρκάνιοι, ἡ θάλασσα ἡ Ἰρκανία, Σκύθας τε ἀνεστείλαμεν ἔστε ἐπὶ τὴν ἔρημον, ἔπὶ τούτοις μέντοι καὶ οἱ Ἰνδοὶ ποταμὸς διὰ τῆς ἡμετέρας ἐπεῖ, ὁ Τδάσπης διὰ τῆς ἡμετέρας, ὁ Ἀκεσίνης, ὁ Ἰδραώτης, τὶ ὀκνεῖτε καὶ τὸν Ἰπασίν καὶ τὰ ἐπὶ ἐκείνα τοῦ Ἰπασίους γένη προσθεῖναι τῇ ἡμετέρᾳ Μακεδώνων ἀρχῇ;

6 ἡ δὲδιτε μὴ δεξιωται υἱῶν ἐτὶ ἄλλοι βάρβαροι ἐπιώνται; ὅν γε οἱ μὲν προσχωροῦσιν ἐκόντες, οἱ δὲ φεύγουσε άλησκονται, οἱ δὲ ἀποφυγόντες τὴν χώραν ἡμῖν ἔρημον παραδιόδοσιν, ἡ δὲ τοῖς ξυμμαχοῖς τε καὶ τοῖς ἐκουσίως προσχωρήσασι προστίθεται.

XXVI. "Πέρας δὲ τῶν πόνων γενναίῳ μὲν ἀνδρὶ οὐδὲν δοκῶ ἔγωγε ὅτι μὴ αὐτοὺς τοὺς πόνους, ὅσοι αὐτὸν ἐς καλὰ ἔργα φέρουσιν. Εἰ δὲ τις καὶ αὐτῷ τῷ πολεμεῖν ποθεῖ ἀκούσαι ὃ

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either to persuade you and go forward, or to be persuaded by you and turn back. If indeed there is any fault to find with the labours you have hitherto endured, and with me who have led you through them, there is no object in my speaking further. If, however, by these your labours Ionia is now in our hands, the Hellespont, both Phrygias, Cappadocia, Paphlagonia, Lydia, Caria, Lycia, Pamphylia, Phoenicia, Egypt, with the Greek part of Libya, part of Arabia, Lowland Syria, Mesopotamia, Babylonia, Susia, Persia, Media, with all the nations subject to Persia and Media, and those that were not; if the regions beyond the Caspian gates, the parts beyond the Caucasus, and on the other side of the Tanais, Bactria, Hyrcania, the Hyrcanian Sea; if we have driven the Scythians into the desert; if, besides all this, the river Indus runs through territory now our own, the Hydaspes likewise, the Acesines, and the Hydraotes, why do you hesitate to add to this your Macedonian empire the tribes beyond the Hyphasis? Do you fear lest tribesmen yet remaining may withstand your approach? Why, some of them surrender readily, some run away, and are captured, some desert their country and leave it open for you, which we have handed over to our allies and those who have voluntarily come over to us.

XXVI. "I set no limit of labours to a man of spirit, save only the labours themselves, such as lead on to noble emprises. Yet should any desire to know what will be the limit of this our actual
τιπερ ἐσται πέρας, μαθέτω ὅτι οὔ πολλὴ ἔτι ἢμῖν ἡ λοιπὴ ἐστὶν ἔστε ἐπὶ τῶν ποταμῶν τε Γάγγην καὶ τὴν ἐφῶν θάλασσαν· ταύτῃ δὲ λέγω ὑμῖν ξυναφῆς φανεῖται ἡ Ἱρκανία θάλασσα· ἐκπεριέρχεται γὰρ γῆν περὶ πᾶσαν ἡ μεγάλῃ θάλασσα. Καὶ ἔγω ἐπιδείξω Μακεδόσι τε καὶ τοῖς ξυμμάχοις τὸν μὲν Ἰνδικὸν κόλπον ξύρρον ὄντα τῶν Περσικῶν, τὴν δὲ Ἱρκανίαν τῷ Ἰνδικῷ, ἀπὸ δὲ τοῦ Περσικοῦ εἰς Διβύνην περιπλευσθῆσεται στόλῳ ἡμετέρῳ τὰ μέχρι Ἡρακλέους Στηλῶν· ἀπὸ δὲ Στηλῶν ἡ ἐντὸς Διβύνη πᾶσα ἡμετέρα γίγνεται, καὶ ἡ Ἀσία δὴ οὕτω πᾶσα, καὶ ὅρων τῆς ταύτῃ ἄρχης οὔστερον καὶ τῆς γῆς 3 ὄρους ὁ θεὸς ἐποίησε. Νῦν δὲ δὴ ἀποτρεπομένων πολλὰ μὲν μάχιμα ὑπολείπεται γένη ἐπὶ ἑκεῖνα τοῦ Τφάσιος ἐστε ἐπὶ τὴν ἐφῶν θάλασσαν, πολλὰ δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦτων ἐστι ἐπὶ τὴν Ἱρκανίαν ὡς ἐπὶ βορρᾶν ἀνέμων, καὶ τὰ Σκυθικὰ γένη οὐ πόρρω τοῦτων, ὡστε δέος μὴ ἀπελθοῦντων ὑπίσω καὶ τὰ νῦν κατεχόμενα οὐ βέβαια ὄντα ἐπαρβῇ 4 πρὸς ἀπόστασιν πρὸς τῶν μῆτω ἐχομένων. Καὶ τότε δὴ ἀνόνητοι ἢμῖν ἐσονται οἱ πολλοὶ πόνοι ἡ ἄλλων αὖθις ἐξ ἄρχῆς δεήσει πόνων τε καὶ κινδύνων. Ἀλλὰ παραμείνατε, ἄνδρες Μακεδόνες καὶ ξύμμαχοι. Ποιοῦντων τοι καὶ κινδυνεύωντων τὰ καλὰ ἔργα· καὶ ξην τε ξνὴν ἄρετῇ ἤδυ καὶ ἀποδυνήσκειν κλέος ἀθάνατον ὑπολειπομένους.
warfare, I may tell him that there remains no great stretch of land before us up to the river Ganges and the eastern sea. This sea, I assure you, you will find that the Hyrcanian Sea joins; for the great sea of ocean circles round the entire earth. Yes, and I shall moreover make clear to Macedonians and allies alike that the Indian gulf forms but one stretch of water with the Persian gulf, and the Hyrcanian Sea with the Indian gulf. And from the Persian gulf our fleet shall sail round to Libya,\(^1\) right up to the Pillars of Heracles; and from the Pillars all Libya that lies within \(^2\) is becoming ours; and all Asia likewise, and the boundaries of the empire in Asia, those boundaries which God set for the whole earth. But if you flinch now, there will be many warlike races left behind on the far side of the Hyphasis up to the Eastern Sea, and many too stretching from these to the Hyrcanian Sea towards the north wind, and not far from these, again, the Scythian tribes, so that there is reason to fear that if we turn back now, such territory as we now hold, being yet unconsolidated, may be stirred to revolt by such as we do not yet hold. Then in very truth there will be no profit from our many labours; or we shall need once more, from the very beginning, more dangers and more labours. But, do you abide constant, Macedonians and allies. It is those who endure toil and who dare dangers that achieve glorious deeds; and it is a lovely thing to live with courage, and to die, leaving behind an everlasting

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\(^1\) Africa is regarded as part of Asia. On these seas, and the ideas held by early geographers, see Cary and Warmington, *Ancient Explorers*, Methuen.

\(^2\) i.e. all known Africa, lying between Gibraltar and Egypt.
5 Ἡ οὖκ ἵστε ὅτι ὁ πρόγονος ὁ ἡμέτερος οὖκ ἐν Τίρυνθι οὖδ’ ἐν Ὁργει, ἀλλ’ οὖδὲ ἐν Πελοποννήσῳ ἡ Ὁμήρας μένων ἐς τοσοῦνε κλέος ἤλθεν ὡς θεός ἢ ἀνθρώπου γενέσθαι ἢ δοκεῖν; οὐ μὲν οὖν δὴ οὖδὲ Διονύσων, ἀκροτέρον τούτου θεοῦ ἢ καθ’ Ἡρακλέα, θλίγοι πόνοι. Ἀλλὰ ἡμεῖς γε καὶ ἐπ’ ἐκείνω τῆς Νύσης ἀφίγμεθα καὶ ἡ Ἀργυρός πέτρα ἢ τῷ Ἡρακλεὶ ἄναλωτος πρὸς ἡμῶν ἔχεται.

6 Τιμίως δὲ καὶ τὰ ἑτὶ ὑπόλοιπα τῆς Ἀσίας πρόσθετε τοῖς ἡδὴ κεκτημένοις καὶ τὰ ὀλύμα τοῖς πολλοῖς. Ἐπεὶ καὶ ἡμῖν αὐτοῖς τί ἂν μέγα καὶ καλὸν κατεπέρακτο, εἰ ἐν Μακεδονίᾳ καθήμενοι ἰκανὸν ἐποιούμεθα ἀπόνως τὴν οἰκείαν διασώζειν, Ὁρᾶκας τοὺς ὀμόρους Ἡ Ἰλλυρίους Ἡ Ἡρακλεῖς ἢ καὶ τῶν Ἑλλήνων ὅσοι οὖπι ἐπιτήδειοί εἰς τὰ ἡμέτερα ἀναστέλλοντες;

7 "Εἰ μὲν δὴ ύμᾶς πονοῦντας καὶ κινδυνεύοντας αὐτῶς ἀπόνως καὶ ἀκινδύνως ἐξηγούμενος ἡγοῦν, οὐκ ἀπεικότως ἄν προεκάμνετε ταῖς γνώμαις, τῶν μὲν πόνων μόνοις ύμῖν μετόν, τὰ δὲ ἄθλα αὐτῶν ἄλλοις περιποιοῦντες· νῦν δὲ κοινῶ μὲν ἡμῶν οἱ πόνοι, ἵσον δὲ μέτεστι τῶν κινδύνων, τὰ δὲ ἄθλα 8 ἐν μέσῳ κεῖται ἐξύμπαθιν. ἢ τε γὰρ χώρα ὑμετέρα καὶ ύμεῖς αὐτῆς στατραπεύετε· καὶ τῶν χρημάτων τὸ μέρος νῦν τε ἐς ύμᾶς τὸ πολὺ ἔρχεται καὶ ἐπειδὰν ἐπεξελθοῦμεν τὴν Ἀσίαν, τότε οὖν ἐμπλήσας μᾶ Δῆ ύμᾶς, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὑπερβαλῶν ὅσα ἐκαστὸς ἐπιτίθει ἀγαθὰ ἐσεθαί τοὺς μὲν ἀπιέναι οὐκαδὲ ἐθέλοντας εἰς τὴν οἰκείαν ἀπο-

1 ἀβροτέρον, Roos; but Heracles was not ἀβρός. The idea seems to be that D. was a “full-blown” deity, H. only a demi-god.
renown. Or do you not know that our forefather 1 would never have risen to such heights of glory by remaining in Tiryns or in Argos, nay, not even in the Peloponnese or Thebes, as to become, and to be held to be, a god, who was aforetime a man? Nay, even Dionysus, a god of higher rank than Heracles, braved labours not a few; but we have actually passed beyond Nysa, and the rock Aornos, which Heracles could not take, we have taken. Add now to the possessions you have already won what yet remains of Asia; to the many, add the few. For indeed what great or noble thing could we ourselves have achieved, had we sat still in Macedonia and thought it as enough to guard our own home without labour, merely reducing the Thracians on our borders, or Illyrians, or Triballians, or even such Greeks as might not be useful to us?

"If then while you were bearing labours and braving dangers I had led you, myself, your leader, without labours and without dangers, you would not unnaturally have become weary in your hearts; when you alone had all the labours, and were procuring the prizes thereof for others; but it is not so; our labours are shared in common; we bear an equal part in dangers; the prizes are open to all. For the land is yours; it is you who are its viceroy; the greater part of the treasure comes to you, and when we master all Asia, then—by Heaven!—I will not merely satisfy you, but will surpass the utmost hope of good things for each of you, I will send home all who desire to go home or will myself

1 Heracles.
πέμψω ἡ ἐπανάξω αὐτός· τοὺς δὲ αὐτοῦ μένουται ξηλωτοὺς τοῖς ἀπερχομένοις ποιήσω.

XXVII. Ταῦτα καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα εἰπόντος Ἀλέξανδρον πολὺν μὲν χρόνον σιωπῆ ἢν οὔτε ἀντιλέγειν τολμᾶντων πρὸς τὸν βασίλεα ἐκ τοῦ εὐθέος οὔτε ξυναχωρεῖν ἑθελόντων. Ἐν δὲ τούτῳ πολλάκις μὲν Ἀλέξανδρος ἐκέλευε λέγειν τὸν βουλόμενου, εἰ δὴ τις τὰ ἐναντία τοῖς ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ λεχθεῖσι γιγνώσκει· ἐμενε δὲ καὶ ὅς ἐπὶ πολὺ ἡ σιωπῆ· ὤψε δὲ ποτε θαρσῆς Κοῖνος ὁ Πολεμοκράτους ἔλεξε τοιάδε.

2 Ἐπειδὴ αὐτός, ὁ βασιλεύς, οὐ κατὰ πρόσταγμα ἑθέλεις Μακεδόνων ἐξηγεῖσθαι, ἀλλὰ πείσας μὲν ἄξειν φής, πεισθεὶς δὲ οὖ βιάσεσθαι, οὐχ ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν τῶν διὰ ποιήσομαι εγὼ τοὺς λόγους, οὐ καὶ προτειμόμενοι τῶν ἄλλων καὶ τὰ ἀθλα τῶν πόνων οἱ πολλοὶ ἤδη κεκομισμένοι καὶ τῷ κρατιστεύειν παρὰ τοὺς ἄλλους πρόθυμοι σοι ἔστας ἐσμὲν, ἀλλ’ ὑπὲρ τῆς στρατιάς τῆς πολλῆς. Οὔδὲ ὑπὲρ ταύτης τὰ καθ’ ἡδονὴν ἐκεῖνος ἔρως, ἀλλ’ ἄ νομίζω ξύμφορά τε σοι ἐστὶν τὰ παρόντα καὶ ἐστὶ μέλλοντα μάλιστα ἀσφαλῆ εἶναι. Δίκαιος δὲ εἰμί καθ’ ἡλικίαν τε μὴ ἀποκρύπτεσθαι τὰ δοκοῦντα βέλτιστα καὶ κατὰ τὴν ἐκ σοῦ μοι οὖσαν ἐστὶν τῶν ἄλλων ἄξιοσίων καὶ κατὰ τὴν ἐν τοῖς πόνοις τε καὶ κινδύνοις ἐστὶν τὸδε ἀπροφασιστὸν τὸλμαν. Ὅσο γὰρ τοις πλείστα καὶ μέγιστα σοὶ τῇ ἡγουμένῳ καταπέπρακται καὶ τοῖς ἀμα σοὶ οίκοθεν ὀρμήθεις, τοσοῦτος μᾶλλον τοίς ξύμφορον μοι δοκεῖ πέρας τε ἐπίθειναι τοῖς
lead them back; those who stay, I shall make to be envied by those who go back.”

XXVII. To this effect, and in this manner, spoke Alexander; and for a long time there was silence; no one dared to oppose the King on the spur of the moment, nor was yet willing to agree. But in this interval Alexander often invited any to speak who wished to speak, if he really held opposite views to those he had expressed; yet even so silence reigned long, and only after some time Coenus, Polemocrates’ son, plucked up his courage and spoke thus:

“Seeing that you, sir, do not yourself desire to command the Macedonians tyrannically, but expressly state that you will lead them on only by gaining their approval, and failing this you will not compel them, I shall not speak these words on behalf of us here present, who, being held in honour beyond the rest, have, most of us, already received the prizes of our labours, and in virtue of our authority, because we have power, are in all things heartily ready beyond others to forward your interests; rather I shall speak for most of the army. And even on their behalf I shall not say merely what is pleasing to them, but what I consider useful to yourself for the moment and safest for the future. In virtue of my age it is proper that I should not conceal such views as appear best, and also in virtue of my repute among my comrades, which comes from you, and of my undisputed courage in all labours and dangers hitherto. For just because very many and very great achievements have been wrought by yourself our leader, and by those who set out from home with you, just for that reason I judge it the more expedient to set some limit to
πόνοις τε καὶ κινδύνοις. Αὐτὸς γὰρ τοι ὄρας ὁσι mὲν Μακεδόνων τε καὶ Ἑλλήνων ἄμα σοι
5 ὥρμηθεμεν, ὡσι δὲ ὑπολειψμεθα· ὁυ Θετταλοὺς μὲν ἀπὸ Βάκτρων εὐθὺς, ὡς προβήμους ἐτι
ἐς τοὺς πόνους αἰσθόμενος, οἴκαδε, καλὸς ποιῶν, ἀπέπεμψα· τὸν δὲ ἄλλων Ἑλλήνων οἱ μὲν ταῖς
πόλεσι ταῖς πρὸς σοῦ οἰκισθείσαι κατωκισμένοι οὐδ᾽ οὕτω πάντη ἐκόντες μένουσιν· οἱ δὲ, ξυμπο-
νοῦντες τε ἐτὶ καὶ ξυγκινδυνούντες αὐτοὶ τε καὶ
ἡ Μακεδονικὴ στρατιὰ, τοὺς μὲν ἐν ταῖς μάχαις
ἀπολολέκασιν, οἱ δὲ ἐκ τῶν τραυμάτων ἀπόμαχοι
γεγενημένοι ἄλλοι ἄλλῃ τῆς Ἀσίας ὑπολειμ-
6 μένοι εἰσίν· οἱ πλείον δὲ νόσῳ ἀπολόλασιν,
οἷον δὲ ἐκ πολλῶν ὑπολείπονται, καὶ οὔτε τοῖς
σώμασιν ἐτι ὁσαύτως ἔρρωμένοι, ταῖς τε γυναι-
pολὺ ἐτὶ μᾶλλον προκεκηκότες. Καὶ τούτοις
ξύμπασι πόθος μὲν γονέων ἐστὶν, ὡσι εἰ
tοῖς σώζονται, πόθος δὲ γυναικῶν καὶ παίδων, χόρος
dὲ δὴ τῆς γῆς αὐτῆς τῆς οἰκείας, δὴ ξύν τῷ ἐκ
σοῦ πορισθεῖντι σφίζει κόσμῳ, μεγάλοι τε ἀντὶ
μικρῶν καὶ πλούσιοι ἐκ πενήντων ἀναστρέφοντες,
7 ξυγγρωφοστοί εἰσίν ἐπιδεῖν ποθοῦντες. Σὺ δὲ νῦν
μὴ ἄγειν ἄκοντας· οὐδὲ γὰρ ὁμοίως ἐτι χρῆσῃ ἐς
τοὺς κινδύνους, ὅσ τὸ ἐκουσίον ἐν τοῖς ἀγώνιν
ἀπέσται οπανελθῶν δὲ αὐτὸς τε, εἰ δοκεῖ, ἐς
tὴν οἰκείαν καὶ τὴν μητέρα τὴν σαυτοῦ ἵδων καὶ
τὰ τῶν Ἑλλήνων καταστησάμενος καὶ τὰς νίκας
τάιτας τὰς πολλὰς καὶ μεγάλας ἐς τὸν πατρὸν
οίκον κομίσας, οὔτω δὴ ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἅλλου στόλου
στέλλεσθαι, εἰ μὲν βούλει, ἐπι αὐτὰ ταύτα τὰ
πρὸς τὴν ἔως φικισμένα Ἰνδῶν γένη· εἰ δὲ βούλει,
ἐς τὸν Ἐὐξεινοῦ πόντον· εἰ δὲ, ἐπὶ Ἀρχηγόνον καὶ
these labours and these dangers. For you yourself see what a large body of Macedonians and Greeks we are who set forth with you, and how many we are who are now left; the Thessalians you sent home straight from Bactria, perceiving that they had little heart for labours; and you did well. But of the rest of the Greeks, some have been settled in the cities which you have founded; and they do not all remain there willingly; others, sharing with you labours and dangers, both they and the Macedonian forces, have lost part of their number in battle; and part have become invalided from wounds, and have been left behind, some here, some there, in Asia; but most of them have died of sickness, and of all that host only a few are left, and even they no longer with their old bodily strength, and with their spirit even more wearied. These, one and all, have longing for parents, if they yet survive, longing for wives and children, longing even for their homeland, which they may pardonably long to revisit, with the treasure received from you, returning as great men, instead of little, and rich men instead of poor. But do not be a leader of unwilling troops. You will not find them like-minded towards dangers, when in their efforts no spirit of willingness will remain; rather do you yourself, if so it seems good, return to your own home, and revisit your own mother, and ordain the affairs of the Greeks, and bring back the guerdon of these many great victories to your ancestral house, and then, if so you desire, fit out another expedition, to attack these same Indian tribes that dwell towards the east; or if you prefer, to the Euxine sea; or else to Carchedon and the
8 τὰ ἐπ’ ἐκείνα Καρχηδονίων τῆς Διβύης. Ταῦτα δὲ σοῦ ἢδη ἔξηγεῖσθαι. "Εἴσονται δὲ σοι ἄλλοι Μακεδόνες καὶ ἄλλοι Ἑλληνες, νέοι τε ἄντι γερόντων καὶ ἀκμήτες ἀντὶ κεκμηκότων, καὶ οἷς τὰ τοῦ πολέμου διὰ τὸ ἀπείρατον ἐστὶ τὸ παρανόημα οὐ φοβερὰ καὶ κατὰ τὴν τοῦ μέλλοντος ἑπίδα ἐν οὐ ποῦν ἐσται οὔς καὶ ταύτη ἔτι προθμότερον ἀκολουθήσεις σοι εἰκός, ὅροντας τοὺς πρότερον ἐμποιήσαντάς τε καὶ ἤγγικεν πεντελητικῶς, πλουσίους τε ἀντὶ πενητῶν καὶ ἂν ἄφανῶν τῶν πάλαι εὐκλεείς. Καλὸν δὲ, ὦ βασιλεῦ, εἰπὲ τι καὶ ἄλλο, καὶ ἦν τῷ εὐτυχεῖν σωφροσύνη. Σοὶ μὲν γὰρ αὐτῷ ἐγουμένῳ καὶ στρατιάν τοιαύτην ἄγοντι ἐκ μὲν πολεμίων δέος οὐδὲν τὰ δὲ ἐκ τοῦ δαιμονίου ἀδόκητα τε καὶ ταύτη καὶ ἀφύλακτα τοῖς ἀνθρώποις ἐστὶ.”

ΧΧΧΒ. Τοιαῦτα εἰπόντος τοῦ Κόλωνο τὸ ὀρυθέον γενέσθαι ἐκ τῶν παρόντων ἐπὶ τοῖς λόγοις: πολλοὶ δὲ δὴ καὶ δάκρυα προκυπτέντα ἐτι μᾶλλον δηλώσαι τὸ τε ἀκούσιον τῆς γνώμης ἐσ τοῦς πρόσω κινδύνους καὶ τὸ καθ’ ἤδονήν σφίσιν εἶναι την ἀναχώρησιν. Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ τότε μὲν ἀχθεσθεῖς τοῦ τε Κόλων τῇ παρρησίᾳ καὶ τῷ ὀκνῷ τῶν ἀλλῶν ἡγεμόνων δεῖλυσε τὸν ἔναλλον· 2 ἐς δὲ τὴν ὑστεραίαν ἑγκαλέσας αὐθίς ξυν ὅργῃ τοὺς αὐτούς αὐτὸς μὲν ἤνει ἐφι τοῦ πρόσω, βιάσεσθαι δὲ οὐδένα ἄκοντα Μακεδώνων ἑγκαλεῖται οἴκείς ἐξειν γὰρ τοὺς ἀκολουθήσοντας τῷ βασιλεῖ σφῶν ἐκόντας τοῖς δὲ καὶ ἀπιέναι οἶκείς ἐθέλουσιν ὑπάρχειν ἀπιέναι καὶ ἐξαγ- γέλλειν τοῖς οἰκείοις ὑπὸ τὸν βασιλέα σφῶν ἐν

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parts of Libya beyond Carchedon. It is for you to take the lead in all this. There will follow you other Macedonians, other Greeks, young in place of old, fresh in place of wearied; men to whom warfare will have no terrors for the moment, for want of experience of war, and will inspire their eagerness from their hopes of the future, men who therefore will follow you with even greater heartiness, seeing those who have borne labours and dared dangers before them returned safely to their own homes; rich, who once were poor, and famous, who once were nameless. A noble thing, O King, above all others, is the spirit of self-restraint when all goes well with us. For you indeed, as our leader, and as commander of such an army, there is no fear from any enemies; but to all men the stroke of fortune comes unlooked for, and thence unguarded."

XXVIII. At the close of Coenus' speech there was some applause among the bystanders, many even shed tears, a proof, if it were needed, of the reluctance of their feelings towards further progress, and of the joy with which they would hail a retreat. But Alexander, irritated at Coenus' freedom of language and at the want of courage of the other officers, dismissed the conference; and calling for next day the same officers once more he angrily affirmed that he himself was going on, but that he would compel no Macedonian, against his will, to go with him; for he would have, he said, others who would, of free will, follow their King. As for those who wished to return home, they might do so, and might tell abroad to their friends that they
3 Ταύτα εἰπόντα ἀπελθεῖν ἔστι τῆς σκηνῆς, μηδὲ τινά τῶν ἑταίρων προσέσθαι αὐτῆς τε ἐκείνης τῆς ἡμέρας καὶ ἐστὶ τῆς τρίτην ἔτη ἀπ’ ἐκείνης, ὑπομένοντα εἰ δὴ τις τροπὴ ταῖς γυνώμαί τῶν Μακεδόνων τε καὶ ξυμμάχοι, οἶα δὴ ἐν ὀχλῷ στρατιωτῶν τὰ πολλὰ φιλεῖ γίγνεσθαι, ἐμπεσοῦσα
4 εὐπειθεστέρους παρέξει αὐτοῖς. Ὡς δὲ συγῆ
αὐ πολλή ἤν ἀνὰ τὸ στρατόπεδον καὶ ἀχθόμενοι μὲν τῇ ὀργῇ αὐτοῦ δήλοι ἦσαν, οὐ μὴν μεταβαλλό-
μενοὶ γε ὑπ’ αὐτῆς, ἐνταῦθα δὴ λέγει Πτολεμαῖος ὁ Δάγουν ὦτι ἐπὶ τῇ διαβάσει οὐδὲν μείον ἑθύετο, 
θυμόμενο δὲ οὐκ ἐγίγνετο αὐτῷ τὰ ἱερά. Τότε δὴ 
τοὺς πρεσβυτάτους τε τῶν ἑταίρων καὶ μάλιστα 
τοὺς ἐπιτηδείους αὐτῷ συναγαγόν, ὡς πάντα ἐς 
τὴν ὁπίσω ἀναχώρησιν αὐτῷ ἔφερεν, ἐκφαίνει 
ἐς τὴν στρατιὰν ὦτι ἐγνωσται ὁπίσω ἀπο-
στρέφειν.

XXIX. Οἱ δὲ ἐβόων τε οἶα ἀν ὁχλὸς ἐξουμνήγει 
χαίρων βοήσειν καὶ ἐδάκρυον οἱ πολλοὶ αὐτῶν· 
οἱ δὲ καὶ τῇ σκηνῇ τῇ βασιλικῇ πελάζοντες 
eὐγοντο Ἀλέξανδρῳ πολλὰ καὶ ἀγαθά, ὦτι πρὸς 
σφῶν μόνον νικηθήναι ἢνέχετο. Ἐνθα δὴ 
dιελὸν κατὰ τάξεις τὴν στρατιὰν δώδεκα βωμοὺς 
κατασκευάζειν προστάττει, ὦρος μὲν κατὰ τοὺς 
μεγίστους πύργους, εὐρός δὲ μείζονας ἔτη ἡ 
κατὰ πύργους, χαριστήρια τοῖς θεοῖς τοῖς ἔς ὁθόνδε 
ἄγαγούσιν αὐτῶν νικῶντα καὶ μνημεία τῶν αὐτῶν 
2 πόνων. Ὡς δὲ κατασκευασμένοι αὐτῷ οἱ βωμοὶ 
hotmail, θύει δὴ ἐπὶ αὐτῶν ὡς νόμος καὶ ἀγώνα 
ποιεῖ γυμνικόν τε καὶ ἱππικόν. Καὶ τὴν μὲν 
χώραν τὴν μέχρι τοῦ Ἀθάσιος ποταμοῦ Πόρφ.
had come back, leaving their King surrounded by foes. With this he went back to his tent, and did not admit even any of the Companions during that day and till the third day after, waiting to see if the Macedonians and allies might change their minds, as often happens in a crowd of soldiers, and such change coming over them might render them more amenable. But when there continued dead silence through the camp, and it was clear that the men were annoyed at his temper, but in no mood to change their minds because of it, then, Ptolemaeus son of Lagus tells us, he none the less offered sacrifices with a view to crossing the river. But as he sacrificed, the victims proved unfavourable. Then he called together the eldest of the Companions and chiefly his particular friends, and since everything now was pointing to a withdrawal, he proclaimed openly to the army that he had decided to turn back.

XXIX. At this they all cried aloud as a mixed multitude would shout in joy, and most of them began to weep; others drew near the royal tent and invoked blessings on Alexander, since he had allowed himself to be defeated by them, and none others. Then he divided the army into twelve parts and ordered an altar to be set up for each part, in height like to the greatest towers, and in breadth greater even than towers would be, as thank-offerings to the gods who had brought him so far victorious, and as memorials of his labours. And when the altars were made ready, he sacrificed upon them, according to custom, and held a contest of athletics and cavalry exercises. All the territory as far as the Hyphasis he gave also to Porus to rule over, and
Ἀρχεῖν προσέθηκεν, αὐτὸς δὲ ἔπὶ τὸν 'Τδραώτην ἀνέστρεφε. Διαβὰς δὲ τὸν 'Τδραώτην, ἔπι τὸν
3 Ἀκεσίνην αὐ ἐπανῆει ὁπίσω. Καὶ ἐνταῦθα κατα-
λαμβάνει τὴν πόλιν ἐξωκοδομημένην ἦν τινα
Ἡφαιστίων αὐτῷ ἐκπειράς ἐκάθετο καὶ ἐς
ταύτην ξυνοικίσας τῶν τε προσχώρων ὅσιο
ἐθελοντι καταφιλοτο καὶ τῶν μισθοφόρων ὁ
τιπερ ἀπόμαχον, αὐτὸς τὰ ἔπι τῷ κατάπλη
παρεσκευάζετο τῷ ἐς τὴν μεγάλην θάλασσαν.
4 Ἔν τούτῳ δὲ ἀφίκοντο πρὸς αὐτὸν Ἀρσάκης
τε ὁ τῆς ὁμόρου Ἀβισάρη χώρας ὑπαρχοι καὶ ὁ
ἀδελφὸς Ἀβισάρον καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι οἰκεῖοι, δῶρα τε
κοµίζοντες ἀ µέγιστα παρ᾽ Ἰνδοῖς καὶ τοὺς παρ᾽
Ἀβισάρον ἐλεφαντας, ἐς τριάκοντα τὸν ἀριθμὸν·
Ἀβισάρην γὰρ νόσῳ ἀδύνατο γενεσθαι ἐλθεῖν.
Συνέβαινον δὲ τούτως καὶ οἱ παρ᾽ Ἀλεξάνδρου
5 ἕκτερεντες πρέσβεις πρὸς Ἀβισάρῃν. Καὶ
ταῦτα οὐ χαλεπῶς πιστεύσας οὕτως ἔχειν
Ἀβισάρη τε τῆς αὐτοῦ χώρας σατραπεῖν
ἐδωκε καὶ Ἀρσάκην τῇ Ἀβισάρου ἐπικρατεῖα
προσέθηκε· καὶ φόρους οὕστενα ἀποσώζει τὰς
θύει αὐ καὶ ἔπὶ τῷ Ἀκεσίνῃ ποταμῷ. Καὶ τὸν
Ἀκεσίνην ἀν διαβὰς ἔπὶ τὸν 'Τδάσπην ἦκεν, ἦν
καὶ τῶν πόλεων τῆς τε Νικαίας καὶ τῶν Βουκε-
φάλων ὅσα πρὸς τῶν ὁμβρων πεπονηκότα ἦν ἔξω
τῇ στρατιά ἐπεσκέυασε καὶ τὰ ἄλλα τὰ κατὰ
τὴν χώραν ἐκόσμει.
then he himself began to return towards the Hydaspes. Crossing this, he came again to the Acesines, and there he found the city already built which Hephaestion had been appointed by him to fortify; into this he settled any of the neighbouring tribesmen who volunteered, and such of the mercenaries as were no longer fit for service, and himself made preparations for the voyage down to the Great Sea.

Meantime there came to him Arsaces the governor of the territory next to Abisares, with Abisares' brother, and his other relatives, bringing gifts, such as the Indians account of chief value, and the elephants from Abisares, up to the number of thirty; for Abisares himself had been unable, through illness, to attend. There came also with these the envoys sent by Alexander to Abisares. Thus, being easily assured that the facts were as stated, he gave to Abisares the governorship of his own province, and attached Arsaces to the administration of Abisares; and having arranged for the tributes they should bring he sacrificed also at the river Acesines. Then crossing the Acesines he came to the Hydaspes, where he restored, by help of his troops, the parts of the cities of Nicaea and Bucephala which had been damaged by rains, and also put all else in order in the province,
BOOK VI
BIBLION EKTON

I. Ἀλέξανδρος δέ, ἐπειδή παρεσκευάσθησαν αὐτῷ ἐπὶ τοῦ 'Ττάσπου ταῖς ὀχθαις πολλαὶ μὲν τριακόνταροι καὶ ἡμίδια, πολλὰ δὲ καὶ ἵππα-γωγά πλοία καὶ ἄλλα ὅσα ἐς παρακομιδὴν στρατιάς ποταμῷ ἔφυρα, ἦγου καταπλεῖν κατὰ τὸν 'Ττάσπην ὡς ἐπὶ τὴν μεγάλην θάλασσαν.

2 Πρῶτον μὲν γε ἐν τῷ Ἰνδῷ ποταμῷ κροκοδέλλους ἱδών, μόνῳ τῶν ἄλλων ποταμῶν πλὴν Νείλου, πρὸς δὲ ταῖς ὀχθαῖς τοῦ Ἀκεσίνου κυνάμους πεφυκότας ὅποιον ἡ γῆ ἐκφέρει ἡ Ἀγυπτία, καὶ ἀκούσας ὅτι ὅ Ἀκεσίνης ἐμβάλλει εἰς τὸν Ἰνδόν,

3 ἔδοξεν ἐξευρήκεναι τοῦ Νείλου τὰς ἀρχὰς, ὡς τὸν Νείλου ἐνθένει ποθὲν εἰ Ἰνδῶν ἀνίσχοντα καὶ δι’ ἐρήμου πολλής γῆς ρέοντα καὶ ταῦτῃ ἀπολλύοντα τὸν Ἰνδόν τὸ όνομα, ἐπειτα ὅποθεν ἄρχεται διὰ τῆς οἰκουμένης χώρας ἐν Νείλου ἦδη πρὸς Ἀἰθιόπων τε τῶν ταυτής καὶ Ἀγυπτίων καλουμένων, ὡς ὁμηρὸς ἐποίησεν ἐπώνυμον τῆς Ἀγυπτίου Ἀγυπτίου, οὕτω δὴ ἐκδιδόναι ἐς τὴν

4 ἐντὸς θάλασσαν. Καὶ δὴ καὶ πρὸς Ὀλυμπιάδα γράφοντα ὑπὲρ τῶν Ἰνδῶν τῆς γῆς ἄλλα τε γράφαι καὶ τοῖς δοκοῖς αὐτῷ ἐξευρήκεναι τοῦ Νείλου ταῖς πηγάσ, μικρῶς δὴ τισι καὶ φαύλως

1 Literally, of one-and-a-half banks of oars. Presumably a ship might be double-banked amidships and single-banked
BOOK VI

I. SINCE Alexander had all ready for him on the banks of the Hydaspes a good many thirty-oars and smaller galleys,¹ and several transports for horses and other vessels useful for the conveyance of an army by river, he determined to sail down the Hydaspes to the Great Sea. He had already seen crocodiles in the Indus, and in no other river except the Nile;² and besides this had observed on the banks of the Acesines beans growing,³ of the same sort as the land of Egypt produces; and having heard that the Acesines runs into the Indus, he fancied that he had found the origin of the Nile. His idea was that the Nile rose somewhere thereabouts in India, flowed through a great expanse of desert, and there lost its name of Indus; and then, where it began to flow through civilized country, was now called Nile by the Ethiopians in those parts and the Egyptians, as Homer, in his epic, called it Egyptus after Egypt; and so finally ran out into the Inland Sea. Nay, when writing to Olympias about the country of India, Alexander among other things stated that he thought he had discovered the springs of the Nile; drawing a conclusion about matters of fore and aft. But it seems likely that these descriptive names are not to be taken literally, but had come, by custom, to designate the size of the ships, without implying the actual number of tiers of rowers.

¹ There are crocodiles also in the Ganges.
² Said to be *Nelumbium speciosum*, the Indian lotus.
5 ύπερ τῶν τηλικούτων τεκμαίρόμενον. Ἐπεὶ μέντοι ἀτρεκέστερον ἐξῆλεγξε τὰ ἀμφὶ τῷ πο‑
tαμῷ τῷ Ἰνδῷ, οὕτω δὴ μαθεῖν παρὰ τῶν ἐπιχωρίων τῶν μὲν Ἰδάστην τῷ Ἀκεσίνη,
τὸν Ἀκεσίνην δὲ τῷ Ἰνδῷ τό τε ὑδρό ξυμβάλλοντας καὶ τῷ ὁνόματι ξυγχωροῦντας,
τὸν Ἰνδόν δὲ ἐκδιδόντα ἦδη ἐς τὴν μεγάλην θάλασσαν, διστομοῦν τὸν Ἰνδόν ἄντα, οὐδὲν τι αὐτῷ προσηκοῦν τῆς
γῆς τῆς Ἀἰγυπτίας, τηνικάτα δὲ τῆς ἐπιστολῆς τῆς πρὸς τὴν μητέρα τούτῳ τὸ ἀμφὶ τῷ Νείλῳ
6 γραφέν ἀφελεῖν. Καὶ τὸν κατάπλουν τὸν κατὰ τοὺς ποταμοὺς ἑστε ἐπὶ τὴν μεγάλην θάλασσαν ἐπινοοῦντα παρασκευασθῆναι οἳ ἐπὶ τῶν κελέυσαι τὰς νάυς. Αἱ δὲ ὑπηρεσίαι αὐτῷ ἐς τὰς ναύς
ξυνεπληρώθησαν ἐκ τῶν ξυνεπομένων τῇ στρατίᾳ Φοινίκων καὶ Κυπρίων καὶ Καράν καὶ Ἀἰγυπτίων.

II. Ἐν δὲ τούτῳ Κοῖνος μὲν, ἐν τοῖς πιστοτά‑
tοις Ἀλεξάνδρῳ δὲν τῶν ἐταίρων, νόσῳ τελευτᾶ‑
καὶ τούτων βάπτει ἐκ τῶν παρόντων μεγαλοπρε‑
pῶς. Αὐτὸς δὲ ξυναγαγὼν τοὺς τε ἐταίρους καὶ
ὅσον Ἰνδόν πρέσβεις παρ’ αὐτὸν ἀφυγμένοι ἦσαν,
βασιλέα μὲν τῆς ἐαλωκυλίας ἦδη Ἰνδῶν γῆς ἀπε‑
δειξε Πᾶρον ἐπὶ μὲν ἐνυόν τῶν ξυμπάντων,
πόλεων δὲ ἐν τοῖς ἑθεσιν ὑπὲρ τὰς δισχίλιας.

2 Τὴν στρατιὰν δὲ διενειμὲν ὅδε. Αὐτὸς μὲν τοὺς
ὑπασπιστάς τε ἀμα οἱ ξύμπαντας ἐπὶ τὰς ναύς
ἀνεβίβασε καὶ τοὺς τοξότας καὶ τοὺς Ἀγριᾶνας
καὶ τὸ ἄγιμα τῶν ἱππέων. Κράτερος δὲ αὐτῷ
μοῖραν τε τῶν πεζῶν καὶ τῶν ἱππέων παρὰ τὴν
ἔχθην τοῦ Ἰδάσπου τὴν ἐν δεξία ἡγε. κατὰ δὲ
tὴν ἐτέραν ἔχθην τὸ πλείστον τε καὶ κράτιστον
tῆς στρατιᾶς καὶ τοὺς ἑλέφαντας Ἡφαιστίων

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so much importance from very slender indications. But when he had more accurately investigated the geography of the river Indus, he learnt from the inhabitants that the Hydaspes joins its stream to the Acesines, and the Acesines to the Indus, and both there resign their names; but that the Indus then flows out into the Great Ocean, by two mouths; and that the Indus has nothing whatever to do with Egypt. On this he cancelled the part of the letter to his mother which dealt with the Nile. Then, with the idea of sailing down the rivers to the ocean, he caused the boats to be made ready for him for this purpose. The crews of his boats were made up from the Phoenicians, Cyprians, Carians and Egyptians who had accompanied the expedition.

II. At this time Coenus, one of the most trusty of the Companions of Alexander, died of illness. So far as could be done, Alexander gave him a magnificent funeral. Then, calling together the Companions and such Indian envoys as had come to visit him, he proclaimed Porus King of so much of India as he had captured up to that time, that is, of seven nations in all, and of cities in these nations more than two thousand in number. The army he then divided as follows; he embarked on the ships with him all the bodyguard, the archers, the Agrianes, and the special squadron of cavalry. Craterus led along the right bank of the Hydaspes a division of the infantry and the cavalry. Along the other bank Hephaestion advanced, leading the greatest and strongest part of the army and the
προύχωρει ἄγων, ἥδη ὄντας ἐς διακοσίους· τούτως δὲ ἦν παρηγγελμένον ὡς τάχιστα ἄγειν
3 ἵνα περ ὁ Σωπείθου βασίλεια· Φιλίππω δὲ τῷ σατράπῃ τῆς ἔπει κείνα τοῦ Ἰνδοῦ ὡς ἐπὶ Ἁβαστρήνῃ γῆς διαλυόντοι τρεῖς ἡμέρας παρήγγειλτο ἐπεσθαί τοῖς τοῖς ἀμφ' αὐτῶν. Τοὺς ἱππέας δὲ τοὺς Νυσάιους ὅπισώ ἀποστείμητε ἐς τὴν Νύσαν. Τοῦ μὲν δὴ ναυτικοῦ παντὸς Νέαρχος αὐτῷ ἑξηγεῖτο, τῆς δὲ αὐτοῦ νεῶς κυβερνήτης Ἡνησίκοιτος, δε ἐν τῇ ἕνεγραψά ἥντια ὑπὲρ Ἀλεξανδροῦ ἕνεγραψε καὶ τούτῳ ἑγεύσατο, ναύαρχον ἑαυτῶν εἶναι γράψας, κυβερ-
4 νήτην ὄντα. Ἡν δὲ τὸ ἐξύμπαν πλῆθος τῶν νεῶν, ὡς λέγει Πτολεμαῖος ὁ Δάγου, ὃς μάλιστα ἑγὼ ἐπομαί, τριακόντοροι μὲν ἐς ὅγδοηκοντα· τὰ δὲ πάντα πλοία σὺν τοῖς ἑπταχωγοῖς καὶ κερκοῦροις καὶ ὅσα ἄλλα ποτάμια ἂ τῶν πάλαι πλεόντων κατὰ τοὺς ποταμοὺς ἂ ἐν τῷ τότε ποιηθέντων ὦν πολὺ ἀποδεόντα τῶν δισχιλίων.

Π. Ὡς δὲ ἐξύμπαντα αὐτῷ παρεσκεύαστο, ὑπὸ τὴν ἐω ὃ μὲν στράτευς ἐπέβαινε τῶν νεῶν, αὐτὸς δὲ ἐθνε τοὺς θεοῖς ὡς νόμως καὶ τῷ ποταμῷ τῷ 'Τδάσπη ὅπως οἱ μάντεις ἐξηγούντο. Καὶ ἐπιθάνε τῆς νεῶς ἀπὸ τῆς πρόφαρας ἐκ χρυσῆς χιλᾶς ἐσπενδεῖ ἐς τῶν ποταμών, τόν τε Ἀκεσίνην ἐνυπεπκαλούμενος τῷ 'Τδάσπη, ὅτι λαμέναν μέγιστον αὐ τῶν ἅλων ποταμῶν ἐμβάλλειν τῷ 'Τδάσπη ἐπέπνυστο καὶ ὑ πόρρω αὐτῶν εἶναι τὰς ἐμβάλλοις, καὶ τῶν Ἰνδῶν, ἐς ὅτι ἢ ἡ Ἀκεσίνης ἐὼν
2 τῷ 'Τδάσπη ἐμβάλλει. Ἐπεὶ ὁ ἤρακλεῖ τε

1 ἐπὶ Α, and conjectured also by Sintenis. There seems to be a slight anacolouthon.
elephants, of which there were now some two hundred; this force was under orders to make at full speed for the palace of Sopeithes. Philip the satrap of the country west of the Indus, towards Bactria, had orders also to wait three days and then follow with his forces. The cavalry of Nysa he sent back there. Nearchus he appointed admiral of all the fleet, and the pilot of his own vessel was Onesicritus, who in the history he wrote of Alexander told this falsehood among others, that he was admiral, though a mere pilot. The entire number of ships, according to Ptolemaeus son of Lagus, whom I chiefly follow, was eighty ships of thirty oars, and the entire number of boats with the transports, the light galleys, and any other river craft that had either been long plying on the rivers or that had been then constructed, came to nearly two thousand.

III. Then, when everything had been got ready, at dawn the army began its embarkation, and Alexander sacrificed to the gods according to his custom, and to the river Hydaspes according to the instructions of the seers. Then himself embarking he poured a libation into the river out of a golden bowl from the bows, calling upon the Acesines together with the Hydaspes, since he had learned that it is the greatest of all the tributaries of the Hydaspes, and also that the meeting of the waters was not far away; and he also called upon the Indus, into which, with the Hydaspes, the Acesines runs. And then when he had likewise poured a
καὶ Ἀμμωνὶ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις θεοῖς ὅσοις αὐτῶν νόμος σημαίνει ἐστὶν ἀναγωγὴν κελεύει τῇ σάλπυγι. "Αμα τε δὴ ἐσημάνθη καὶ ἁνήγοντο ἐν κόσμῳ. Παρὴγγέλτο γὰρ ἐφ’ ὅσον τε τὰ σκευοφόρα πλοία ἔχον τετάχθαι καὶ ἐφ’ ὅσον τὰ ἰππαγωγά, ἐφ’ ὅσον τὰς μαχίμους τῶν νεῶν, ὡς μὴ συμπίπτειν ἀλλήλαις κατὰ τὸν πόρον εἰκῇ πλεοῦσας· καὶ ταῖς ταχυναυτοῦσας φθάνειν οὐκ ἐφίετο έξω τῆς τάξεως. "Ἡν δὲ ὁ τε κτύπος τῆς εἰρεσίας οὐδενὶ ἄλλῳ ἐοικώς, ἀτε ἀπὸ πολλῶν νεῶν ἐν ταύτῃ ἐρεσσομένων, καὶ βοή ἀπὸ τε τῶν κελευστῶν ἐνδιδόντων τὰς ἀρχὰς τε καὶ ἀναπάλλας τῆς εἰρεσίας, καὶ τῶν ἔρετῶν ὑπότε αὐτοῖς ἐμπιπτόντες τὸ βοῶς ἐπαλαλάζειαν· αἱ τε ὦχθαι, ὑψηλότεραι τῶν νεῶν πολλαχῇ οὕσαι, ἐς στενῶν τε τὴν βοῶς ξυνάγονται καὶ τῇ ξυναγωγῇ αὐτῇ ἐπὶ μέγα θυσιμένην ἐς ἀλλήλας ἀντεπεμπον· καὶ ποὺ καὶ νάπαι ἑκατέρωθεν τοῦ ποταμοῦ τῇ τε ἐρημίᾳ καὶ τῇ ἀντιπέμψει τοῦ κτύπου καὶ αὐταὶ ἄξυνεσελάμβανον· οἱ τε ἵπποι διαφαινόμενοι διὰ τῶν ἰππαγωγῶν πλοίων, οὐ πρόσθεν ἴπποι ἐπὶ νεῶν ὁφθέντες ἐν τῇ Ἰνδῷ γῆ (καὶ γὰρ καὶ τὸν Διονύσου ἐπὶ Ἰνδός στόλον οὐκ ἐμέμνητο γενέσθαι ναυτικόν), ἐκπληξὶ παρεῖχον τοῖς θεωμένοις τῶν βαρβάρων, ὡστε οἱ μὲν αὐτῶν αὐτόθεν τῇ ἀναγωγῇ παραγενόμενοι ἐπὶ πολὺ ἐφωμάρτοντο· ἔς ὅσους δὲ τῶν ἡδη Ἀλεξάνδρῳ προσκεκαρικτοῖν Ἰνδῶν ἦ βοή τῶν ἔρετῶν ἢ ὁ κτύπος τῆς εἰρεσίας εξίκετο, καὶ ὅτι εἶπε τῇ ὦχθῃ κατέσθεν καὶ ἐπιστεύοντο ἐπάδοντες βαρβαρικός. Φίλωδοι.
libation to Heracles his ancestor and to Ammon and to the other gods to whom he usually made offering, he bade the bugle sound for departure. On the sound of the bugle they started in due order. For instructions had been given as to the exact distances apart for the baggage vessels, for the horse transports, and for the warships, so that they should not, by sailing irregularly, collide one with the other. Even those which sailed most swiftly were not permitted to break ranks. It was very remarkable to hear the sound of the rowing, when so large a fleet all began rowing at one and the same moment, and the calls of the boatswains giving the beginning and the pauses of each stroke, and the noise of the rowers, when all together they fell upon the swirling water and raised their rowers' chanties; the banks too, being often higher than the ships, enclosed the sound into a narrow funnel, and making it by this compression even more resonant, reverberated it from side to side. Glens also here and there on either side of the river by their emptiness and their re-echoings all helped the swelling of the sound. The horses, too, visible in the horse-transport—and no horses had hitherto been seen on shipboard in India (for the Indians had no recollection that the expedition of Dionysus also to India was by ship)—caused the utmost astonishment to the tribesmen who beheld them; so that those who were present at the departure of the fleet followed with it a long distance, and those Indians from among those who had submitted to Alexander, to whom the clamour of the oarsmen and the beat of the oars reached, came also running down to the bank and followed singing their own wild songs. For the Indians are
γάρ, εὕτε τινὲς ἄλλοι, Ἰνδοὶ καὶ φιλορχήμονες ἀπὸ Διονύσου ἔτι καὶ τῶν ἀμα Διονύσῳ βακχευσάντων κατὰ τὴν Ἰνδῶν γῆν.

IV. Οὗτος δὴ πλέον τρίτη γε ἡμέρα κατέσχεν ἵνα περ Ὁραίστινι τε καὶ Κρατέρῳ κατὰ τὸ αὐτὸ στρατοπεδεύειν ἐπὶ ταῖς ἀντιπέραν ὄχθαις παρῆγγελτο. Μείνας δὲ ἐνταῦθα ἡμέρας δύο, ὡς καὶ Φίλιππος αὐτῷ ξὺν τῇ λοιπῇ στρατιᾷ ἀφίκετο, τοῦτον μὲν ἐπὶ τὸν Ἀκεσίνου ποταμὸν ἐκπέμπει ξὺν οἷς ἔχων ἥκε, τάξας παρὰ τοῦ Ἀκεσίνου ποταμοῦ τὴν ὄχθην πορεύεσθαι· τοὺς δὲ ἀμφὶ Κρατέρον τε καὶ Ἡραίστιναν ἀδήσεις ἐκπέμπει, παραγγείλας ὅπως χρῆ τὴν πορείαν 2 ποιεῖσθαι. Αὐτὸς δὲ ἔπλευ κατὰ τὸν Ῥδάσσην ποταμὸν, οὐδαμοῦ μελῶν εἰς τῷ κατάπλω εἰκοσὶ σταδίων τὸ εὔρος. Προσορμιζόμενος δὲ ὅπῃ τύχοι ταῖς ὄχθαις τοὺς προσοικούντας τῷ Ῥδάσσῃ Ἰνδῶν τοὺς μὲν ἐνδιδόντας σφᾶς ὁμολογίαις κατελάμβανεν· ἦδη δὲ τινας καὶ ἐς 3 ἅλκην χωρῆσαντας βία κατεστρέψατο. Αὐτὸς δὲ ὡς ἐπὶ τὴν Μαλλῶν τε καὶ Ὀξυνδρακῶν γῆν στουδῆ ἔπλευ, πλεύστους τε καὶ μαχιμωτάτους τῶν ταύτη Ἰνδῶν πυθανόμενος καὶ ὅτι ἔχηγέλλοντο αὐτῷ παίδας μὲν καὶ γυναῖκας ἀποτεθείσαι ἐς τὰς ὄχυρωτάς τῶν πόλεων, αὐτὸι δὲ ἐγνωκέναι διὰ μάχης ἴναι πρὸς αὐτῶν· ἐφ’ ὅτι δὴ καὶ στουδῆ πλεύσων ἐποιεῖτο τὸν πλοῦν, ὅπως μὴ καθεστηκόσιν αὐτοῖς, ἀλλὰ ἐν τῷ ἐνδεεὶ τε ἐτὶ τῆς παρασκευῆς καὶ τεταραγμένῳ προσφέρεται. Ἔγινεν δὲ ὁρμήθη τὸ δεύτερον, καὶ πέμπτη ἡμέρα ἀφίκετο ἐπὶ τὴν ξυμβολὴν τοῦ

1 φιλοσχήμονες A3Β.
of all people most musical, and from the days of Dionysus down and of those who revelled with him in India are great lovers of the dance.

IV. Sailing thus, on the third day Alexander put in where orders had been given to Hephaestion and Craterus to camp at the same place but on opposite banks. There he stayed two days, and when Philippus joined him with the rest of the army, he sent him to the river Acesines with such troops as he had brought, bidding him march along the bank of the Acesines. The troops with Craterus and Hephaestion also he sent on again, giving them instructions as to their route. But he himself sailed on down the river Hydaspes, which never had a less breadth, during the descent, than twenty stades. Then putting in, wherever it was convenient, to the banks, he received in voluntary submission many of the Indians who lived near the Hydaspes; some, who had resisted, he had already subdued. But he sailed at full speed towards the district of the Mallians and the Oxydracae, learning that they were the most numerous and the most warlike of the Indians in these parts, and also because it was reported to him that they had removed their wives and children to the strongest of their cities, and were themselves determined to do battle with him; and for this reason he urged on his voyage with the greater speed, so that he might come upon them not ready for war, but still short of their preparations, and in a state of confusion. And so he started again thence, and on the fifth day came to the meeting of
τε 'Τδάσπου καὶ τοῦ 'Ακεσίουν. "Ινα δὲ ξυμβαλλοῦσιν οἱ ποταμοί οὕτω, στενώτατος εἰς ποταμὸς ἐκ τῶν δυοῖν γίγνεται καὶ τὸ βεῦμα αὐτῷ ὤξυ ἔπληκτη καὶ δῶναι ἀτοποι ὑποστρέφοντος τοῦ ροῦ, καὶ τὸ υδωρ κυμαίνεται τε καὶ καχλάζει ἐπὶ μέγα, ὡς καὶ πόρρω ἔτι ὄντων ἤξακούσθαι τὸν κτύπον τοῦ κύματος. Καὶ ἢν μὲν προεξηγγειλμένα ταῦτα 'Αλεξάνδρῳ ἐκ τῶν ἐγχωρίων καὶ 'Αλεξάνδρου τῇ στρατιᾷ ὁμορο ἄπειδή ἐπέλαξεν αὐτῷ ταῖς ἡμερολογίαις ὁ στρατός, ἐς τοσόνδε ὁ ἄπτο τοῦ ροῦ κτύπος κατείχε, ὡστε ἐπέστησαν τὰς εἰρεσίας οἱ ναῦται, οὐκ ἔκ παραγγέλματος, ἀλλὰ τῶν τε κελευστῶν ὑπὸ θαύματος εἰσιωπησάντων καὶ αὐτοὶ μετέωροι πρὸς τὸν κτύπον γενόμενοι.

V. Ὁς δὲ ὅποι πόρρω τῶν ξυμβολῶν ἦσαν, ἐνταῦθα δὴ οἱ κυβερνηται παραγγέλλουσιν ὡς βιαστάτη εἰρέσια χρωμένους ἐξελάνειν ἐκ τῶν στενών, τούτης ἐμπιπτούσας τὰς ναῦς ἐς τὰς δίνας ἀναστρέφεσθαι πρὸς αὐτῶν, ἀλλὰ κρατεῖν γὰρ τῇ εἰρεσίᾳ τῶν ἐπιστροφῶν τοῦ υδατος. 2 Ἡ δὲ στρογγυλὰ πλοῖα ὅσα καὶ ἔτυχεν αὐτῶν περιστραφέντα πρὸς τοῦ ροῦ, οὐδὲν τι πάροντα ἐν τῇ ἐπιστροφῇ, ὅτι μὴ συνταράξατα τοὺς ἐμπλέοντας, κατέστη ἐς εὐθὺ, πρὸς αὐτοῦ τοῦ ροῦ ὁρισθέντα. αἱ δὲ μακρὰ νῆσες οὐχ ὕσαυτος ἀπαθεῖς ἀπῆλθον ἐν τῇ ἐπιστροφῇ, οὕτε μετέωροι ἐπὶ τοῦ καχλάζοντος κύματος ὕσαυτός οὐσαί, ὅσα τε δικροτοὶ αὐτῶν τὰς κάτω κόπας οὐκ ἔπληκτι πολὺ ἔξω ἔχουσαι τοῦ υδατος· 3 καὶ αἱ κωπαὶ δὲ αὐτοῖς, πλαγίοις ἐν ταῖς δίναις

1 γάρ is difficult; query, καρτέρα τῇ.
the Hydaspes and the Acesines. Where these rivers meet, from the two streams one very narrow stream results; its current is very rapid because of this narrowing, and from the swirling of the stream there are formed dreadful whirlpools; the water boils and dashes noisily, so that from far off one can hear the tumult of the waves. All this had been told to Alexander beforehand by the inhabitants, and by him to his army; but yet when the army approached the meeting waters the noise of the rapids was so loud that the sailors stopped their rowing, not by order, but because the boatswains were struck dumb with amazement, and the sailors themselves were out of their wits from the tumult.

V. When, however, they drew near the meeting of the waters, then the steersmen bade them row as strenuously as possible and drive their vessels through the narrows, so that the ships might not be caught in the whirlpools and be capsized by them, but rather that they should by their rowing overcome the turmoil of the water. The rounder types of boats, which were twisted about by the stream, suffered nothing serious in this disturbance, except that they caused much anxiety to the crews; they kept a straight course, being in fact held to their direction by the current itself. The long ships, however, did not come off so scathless in the turmoil; they did not ride so easily over the roaring waters; and those that had two tiers of oars hardly kept their lower tier clear of the stream. Moreover, their oars, when the boats were brought broadside on in
γενομένοις, συνετρίβοντο, όσων γε ἐγκατελήφθησαν ὕπο τοῦ ὕδατος οὐ φθασάντων αὐτὰς μετεωρίσαι, ὡς πολλὰς μὲν ποιῆσαι τῶν νεών, δύο δὲ δὴ περιπεσοῦσας ἀλλήλαις αὐτὰς τε διαφθαρῆναι καὶ τῶν ἐμπλεόντων ἐν αὐτᾷς πολλοῖς. Ὁς δὲ ἐς πλάτος ἡδὴ ὁ ποταμὸς διέσχεν, ἐνταῦθα δὴ ὁ τε βοῦς οὐκέτι ὤσαυτῶς χαλεπὸς ἦν καὶ αἱ διάνει οὐχ ὤμοια τῇ βίᾳ ἐπέστρεψον. Προσορμίσας οὖν τῇ ἐν δεξίᾳ ὁχθὴ ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος τῶν στρατῶν, ἵνα σκέψῃ τε ἦν τοῦ βοῦ καὶ προσβολὴ ταῖς ναυσι καὶ τις καὶ ἀκρα τοῦ ποταμοῦ ἐπιτηδείως ἀνεῖχεν ἐς τῶν ναυαγών τε την ἔναγωγήν καὶ εἰ τινὲς ἐπ' αὐτῶν ζώντες ἐτί ἐφέροντο, τούτους τε διέσωσε καὶ ἐπισκευάζας τὰς πεπονηκυίας τῶν νεών, Νέαρχον μὲν καταπλεῖν κελεύει ἐστ' ἄν ἄφικηται ἐπὶ τὰ ὁρία τοῦ Μαλλών θυνοῦ· αὐτὸς δὲ τῶν βαρβάρων τῶν οὐ προσχωροῦντων καταδρομὴν τῆς χώρας ποιησάμενος καὶ κωλύσας ἐπικουρήσαι αὐτοὺς τοῖς Μαλλοῖς, οὕτω δὴ αὐθίς ἔνεμιξε τῷ ναυτικῷ.

5 Καὶ ἐνταῦθα Ἡφαιστίων τε αὐτῷ καὶ Κράτερος καὶ Φιλιππος ξύν τοῖς ἀμφὶ αὐτοὺς ὁμοῦ ἡδὴ ἦσαν. Ὁ δὲ τοὺς μὲν ἐλέφαντας καὶ τὴν Πολυσπέρχοντος τάξιν καὶ τοὺς ἰπποτοξότας καὶ Φιλιππον ξύν τῇ ἀμφὶ αὐτῶν στρατηγὶ διαβιβάσας [τὸν Ἡθάσπην ποταμὸν] Κρατέρῳ ἀγείν προσέταξε. Νέαρχον δὲ ξύν τῷ ναυτικῷ πέμπει, τρισὶν ἡμέραις τὴν στρατιὰν κελεύσας φθάνειν κατὰ τὸν πλοῦν. Τὸν δὲ ἅλλον στρατὸν τρικῆ διένειμε· καὶ Ἡφαιστίωνα μὲν πέντε ἡμέραις προϊέναι ἐτάξεν, ὡς εἰ τινὲς τοὺς ξύν αὐτῷ τεταγμένους φεύγουντες ἐς τὸ πρόσω κατὰ σπουδὴν ἱστεν, τοῖς
the swirling waters, were broken—of such, at any rate, as were actually caught by the rapids and did not contrive to skim swiftly over them, so that many ships were in distress, and two collided with one another, and were themselves wrecked and many from their crews lost. When, however, the river broadened out, at last the stream no longer ran so roughly; and the eddies did not twist the ships about with so much violence. Alexander then bringing his army to land on the right bank—who there was shelter from the current and a landing place for the ships, and where a headland ran out into the river conveniently for the gathering in of the wrecked ships, and any of the crew still left alive on them—contrived to save these, and repaired the damaged ships; after this he bade Nearchus sail down till he reached the boundaries of the Mallian people; he himself made a hasty raid through the country of the tribesmen who had not submitted to him, and so prevented them from bringing help to the Mallians. On this he again joined the flotilla.

Here Hephaestion and Craterus and Philip with their troops joined him again. Alexander then took the elephants, and Polysperchon's brigade, and the mounted archers, and Philip with his force, across the river Hydaspes, and ordered Craterus to take command of them; Nearchus he sent with the fleet, ordering him to be three days in advance of the army in the descent of the river. The remaining forces he divided into three parts; Hephaestion he ordered to go on five days in advance, so that if any who had escaped from his own force were advancing rapidly into the country farther on, they
Άμφυ 'Ηφαιστίωνα ἐμπίπτοντες ἀλίσκωνται Πτολεμαίον δὲ τὸν Δάγου, δοὺς καὶ τοῦτῳ τῆς στρατιᾶς μέρος, τρισὰν ἡμέρας ὑπολειπόμενον ἔπεσθαί ἐκέλευσεν, ὥς ὅσοι τοῦμπαλιν ὑποστρέφοντες αὐτοῦ φεύγοντες, οὕτω δὲ ἐς τοὺς ἀμφὶ 7 τὸν Πτολεμαίον ἐμπίπτοιοιν. Ἐστὶν δὲ ἀφίκοιντες ἐς τὰς ἔμβολας τοῦ τε Ἀκεσίνου καὶ τοῦ Ῥαφώτου ποταμοῦ, ἐνταῦθα δὲ τοὺς τε φθάνοντας ὑπομένειν ἐκέλευσεν ἐστὶ άν ἡ ἡγκαίτος καὶ τοὺς ἀμφὶ Κράτερον καὶ Πτολεμαίον αὐτοῦ ἔμβαλεῖν.

VI. Αὐτὸς δὲ ἀναλαβὼν τοὺς ὑπασπιστᾶς τε καὶ τοὺς τοξότας καὶ τοὺς Ἀγριάνας καὶ τῶν πεζεταίρων καλουμένων τὴν Πειθώνος τάξειν καὶ τοὺς ἰπποτοξότας τε πάντας καὶ τῶν ἰππέων τῶν ἑταίρων τοὺς ἡμίσειας διὰ γῆς ἀνύδρου ὡς ἑπὶ Μαλλοὺς ἤγεν, ἐθνὸς Ἰνδικὸν Ἰνδῶν τὸν αὐτοῦ- 2 μων. Καὶ τῇ μὲν πρώτῃ κατεστρατοπέδευσε πρὸς ὑδατίν ὁ πολλῷ, ὁ δὴ ἀπείχε τὸν Ἀκεσίνου ποταμοῦ σταδίους εἰς ἐκατόν· δειπνοποιησάμενος δὲ καὶ ἀναπαύσας τὴν στρατιὰν οὐ πολλῷ χρόνον παραγγέλλει ὅ τι τις ἔχει ἄγγος ἐμπλήσαι τοῦ ὑδατος. Διελθὼν δὲ τῆς τε ἡμέρας τὸ ἐτὶ ὑπολειπόμενον καὶ τὴν νύκτα δόλην ἐς τετρακοσίους μᾶλιστα σταδίους ἀμα ἡμέρα πρὸς πόλιν ἀφίκετο εἰς ἢ ν ἐξυμπεθεύγεσαν πολλοὶ τῶν 3 Μαλλῶν. Οἱ δὲ οὖν θανοῦντες διὰ τῆς ἀνύδρου ἔλθειν ἐπὶ σφαῖς Ἀλέξανδρον ἔξω τε τῆς πόλεως οἱ πολλοὶ καὶ ἀνοπλοὶ ἤσαν· ἐφ’ ὅτι καὶ δῆλος ἐγένετο ταύτῃ ἄγαγῳ Ἀλέξανδρος, ἦν ὃτι αὐτῷ ἄγαγεὶν χαλεπὸν ἦν, ἐπὶ τῶδε οὖν ὑπὸ 1 ἀσθενεῖρων Α.
should fall in with Hephaestion's troops and be captured; but Ptolemaeus son of Lagus, to whom he handed over a part of the army, he bade follow him at the interval of three days, so that any who turned back again, fleeing from himself, might likewise fall in with Ptolemaeus and his troops. And as soon as they should arrive at the junction of the Acesines and Hydraotes, there he bade those who went in advance to wait till he himself should arrive and till the forces of Craterus and Ptolemaeus should join up with him.

VI. Then he himself took with him the bodyguards, the archers, the Agrianes, and Peitho's brigade of the so-called Infantry Companions, with all the mounted archers, and half the Companions' cavalry; and led them through a waterless country towards the Mallians, an Indian tribe, part of the self-governing Indians. On the first day he camped by a small pond, about a hundred stades from the river Acesines; and when he had dined, and had rested his army a short time, he passed the word along that every vessel anyone had was to be filled with water. Then marching about four hundred stades, during the remainder of that day and through the night, at daybreak he arrived at a city into which many of the Mallians had fled for refuge; but they, never dreaming that Alexander would march against them through this waterless region, were for the most part outside the city and unarmed; Alexander clearly had marched by this route, simply because it was especially difficult for him to march by it, and for that very reason none of his enemies could believe
ΑΡΡΙΑΝ

τοῖς πολεμίοις ὅτι ἔξει πιστὸν ἐφάνετο. Τούτως μὲν δὴ ὁ προσδοκήσασιν ἐπιπεσὼν τοὺς μὲν πολλοὺς ἀπέκτεινεν αὐτῶν οὐδὲ εἰς ἄλκην, οἷς δὴ ἀνόπλους, τραπέντας· τῶν δὲ ἄλλων ἐς τὴν πόλιν κατακλεισθέντων κύκλῳ περιστήσας τῷ τείχει τοὺς ἔπεεις, ὅτι μὴ πῶ ἡ φάλαγξ τῶν πεζῶν ἡκολουθήκει αὐτῷ, ἀντὶ χάρακος ἔχρησατο τῇ ἱππῳ. Ὅς δὲ τάχιστα οἱ πεζοὶ ἀφίκοντο, Περδίκκας μὲν τὴν τε αὐτοῦ ἱππαρχίαν ἔχοντα καὶ τὴν Κλείτου καὶ τοὺς Ἀγριάνας πρὸς ἄλλην πόλιν ἐκπέμπει τῶν Μαλλῶν, οἱ ἐμπεφευγότες ἦσαν πολλοὶ τῶν ταύτη Ἰνδῶν, φυλάσσειν τοὺς ἐν τῇ πόλει κελεύσας, ἔργου δὲ μὴ ἔχεσθαι ἐστὶν ἄφικται αὐτός, ὅσ μηδὲ ἀπὸ ταύτης τῆς πόλεως διαφυγόντας τινὰς αὐτῶν ἀγγέλους γενέσθαι τοῖς ἄλλοις βαρβάροις ὅτι προσάγει ἢ ἡ 'Ἀλέξανδρος' αὐτὸς δὲ προσέβαλλε τῷ τείχει. Οἳ δὲ βάρβαροι τὸ μὲν τείχος ἐκλείπουσιν, ὡς οὐκ ἂν διαφυλάξοντες αὐτὸ ἔτι, πολλῶν ἐν τῇ καταλύσει τεθυγκότων, τῶν δὲ καὶ ἀπὸ τραυμάτων ἀπομάχων γεγενημένων· ἐς δὲ τὴν ἄκραν ξυμφυγόντες χρόνου μὲν τινὰ ἡμύνοντο εὖ ὑπερθέντοι τε χωρίου καὶ χαλεποῦ ἐς προσβολήν· προσκειμένων δὲ πάντω ἐνυρώστως τῶν Μακεδόνων καὶ αὐτοῦ 'Αλέξανδρου ἄλλοτε ἄλλη ἐπιφαίνομεν ὅτι ἐργῇ ήταν κατὰ κράτος ἐάλω καὶ οἱ ξυμφυγόντες ἐς αὐτὴν πάντες ἀπέθανον· ἦσαν δὲ ἐς διαχιλίους.

6 Περδίκκας δὲ ἐς τὴν πόλιν ἐφ’ ἡμίτων ἐστάλη ἀφικόμενος, τὴν μὲν πόλιν ἐρήμην καταλαμβάνει· μαθὼν δὲ ὅτι οὐκ αὐτῷ πολλοῦ πεφεύγεσαν εἰς αὐτῆς οἱ ἐνοικοῦντες δρόμῳ ἠλαύνε κατὰ 118
ANABASIS OF ALEXANDER, VI. 6. 3-6

it possible that he would come that way. So then falling upon them all unexpectedly he slew the greater part of them, who did not even resist, being as they were unarmed. The rest had fled into the city; and Alexander stationed, therefore, his cavalry round in a cordon; using the cavalry thus instead of a fence, since his infantry force had not yet come up with him. But as soon as ever the infantry did come up, he sent Perdiccas with his own cavalry regiment and that of Cleitus, with the Agrianes, against another city of the Mallians, whither many of the Indians of this district had fled for refuge, bidding him watch those in the city, but not to begin action till he himself should arrive; so as to prevent any fugitives from this city telling the other tribesmen that Alexander was already well on the way. Then he himself attacked the city wall; but the tribesmen deserted the wall, having no hope of defending it further; a good many of them perished in the assault, others were no longer fit for service from wounds; and taking refuge in the citadel, for some time they continued to defend themselves from this, which was a commanding position, and, besides, difficult to assault. But as the Macedonians pressed on stoutly from all sides, and as Alexander himself was here, there and everywhere in the action, the citadel was taken by assault, and all who had taken refuge there were put to the sword, to the number of about two thousand.

Perdiccas meanwhile arrived at the city to which he had been sent, and found it desolate; but learning that the inhabitants had not long fled, he rode
στὶβου τῶν φευγόντων· οἱ δὲ ψειλοὶ ὡς τάχους εἶχον ποδῶν αὐτῷ ἐφεύγοντο. Καταλαβῶν δὲ τῶν φευγόντων κατέκοψεν ὅσοι γε μὴ ἐφθάσαν ἐσ τὰ ἔλη ξυμφυγόντες.

VII. Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ δευτυποιησάμενός τε καὶ ἀναπαύσας τοὺς ἀμφὶ αὐτὸν ἔστε ἐπὶ πρώτην φυλακὴν ἦε τοῦ πρῶσω καὶ τὴν νῦκτα διελθὼν πολλὴν ὀδὸν ἀμα ἡμέρα ἀφίκετο πρὸς τὸν Ἰδραώτην ποταμὸν. Ἐνθά δὴ τῶν Μαλλῶν τοὺς μὲν πολλοὺς διαβεβηκότας ἦδη ἐμαθε, τοῖς δὲ καὶ διαβαίνουσιν ἐπιγενόμενος περὶ αὐτῶν τὸν 2 πόρον πολλοὺς αὐτῶν διεφθείρε. Καὶ αὐτὸς ὡς ἐλεύθερος κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν πόρον διόνυσιν εἰχετο τῶν φθασάντων ἐσ τὴν ἀποκώρυσιν. Καὶ πολλοὺς μὲν ἀπέκτεινεν αὐτῶν, τοὺς δὲ καὶ ἐξάντα ἔλαβεν, οἱ πλείους δὲ κατέφυγον ἐς τὶ χωρίον ὅχυρον καὶ τετειχίσμενον. Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ, ὡς ὁ πεξὶ ἀφίκοντο αὐτῷ, ἀποστέλλει ἐπὶ τούτους Πείθωνα τὴν τε αὐτοῦ τάξιν ἔχοντα καὶ 3 τῶν ἑπεῖον δύο ἑπαρχίας. Καὶ αὐτοὶ δὴ ἐξ ἐφόδου προσβαλόντες λαμβάνουσι τὸ χωρίον καὶ τοὺς καταπεφυγότας εἰς αὐτὸ ἡνδραπόδιαν, ὅσοι γε μὴ ἐν τῇ προσβολῇ διεφθαρμναν. Ταῦτα δὲ οἱ ἀμφὶ τὸν Πείθωνα διαπραξάμενοι ἐπανῆλθον αὖθις ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον.

4 Αὐτὸς δὲ Ἀλέξανδρος ὡς ἐπὶ τῶν Βραχμάνων τινὰ πόλιν ἤγεν ὅτι καὶ ἐς ταύτην ἐξοχεύεσθαι τινὰς τῶν Μαλλῶν ἐμαθεν. Ὑς δὲ ἀφίκετο πρὸς αὐτὴν ἐπῄε γὰ τεῖχε πάντοθεν πυκνὰ τῇ φάλαιγγα. Οἱ δὲ ὑπορυσόμενα τὰ τεῖχη ἰδόντες καὶ ἐκ τῶν βελῶν ἀναστελλόμενοι, τὰ μὲν τεῖχη καὶ οὕτω ἐκλείπουσιν, ἐς δὲ τὴν 120
at full speed in the track of the fugitives; and the light-armed infantry followed with the best speed they could on foot. He caught up with and massacred so many of the fugitives as had not managed to escape into the marshes.

VII. Alexander, after seeing that his troops had dined and rested, began his advance again about the first watch. He marched a considerable distance during the night and at daybreak arrived at the river Hydraotes. There he learned that most of the Mallians had already crossed; he fell in with others who were actually crossing, and slew many of them during the crossing. He crossed himself, there and then, with them by the same crossing, and still pursuing pressed hard upon those who had got away ahead of him. Many of these too he slew; some he captured alive; but the greater number got safe away to a strong fortified position. But Alexander, as soon as his infantry came up with him, sent against these Peitho with his own brigade and two regiments of cavalry. They attacked, and on the first assault captured the stronghold, and enslaved all those who had taken refuge there, except such as had fallen in the assault. Then Peitho and his detachment, having finished all this, returned back again to the camp.

But Alexander himself was now advancing to a city of the Brachmans, learning that some of the Mallians had taken refuge there. And when he arrived there, he led up to the wall his phalanx in close formation on all sides. The inhabitants, seeing their walls undermined, and being dislodged by the missiles, deserted their walls, as the others had, and
Ἀκραν ξυμφυγόντες ἐκείθεν ἡμύνοντο· ξυνεισπεσόντων δὲ αὐτοῖς ὁλίγων Μακεδόνων, μεταβαλλόμενοι καὶ ξυστραφέντες τοὺς μὲν ἐξέωσαν αὐτῶν, ἀπέκτειναν δὲ ἐν τῇ ύποστροφῇ ἐς πέντε 5 καὶ εἰκοσι. Καὶ ἐν τούτῳ Ἀλέξανδρος τὰς τε κλίμακας πάντοθεν κελεύει προστιθέναι τῇ ἄκρᾳ καὶ ύπορύπτειν τὸ τείχος. Ὡς δὲ πῦργος τε ἐπέσευν ύπορυσσόμενος καὶ τοῦ μεταπυργίου τι παραρραγέν ἐπιμαχωτέραν ταύτη ἐποίησε τὴν ἄκραν, πρῶτος Ἀλέξανδρος ἐπιβὰς τοῦ τείχους 6 ὠφθη ἔχουν τὸ τείχος. Καὶ τούτων ἱδόντες οἱ ἄλλοι Μακεδόνες αἰσχυνθέντες ἄλλος ἄλλη ἀνήσαν. Elsewhere in the text, τὴ ἔκθεσις ἐκ μὲν ταῖς οἰκίαις ἐνεπίμπρασαν καὶ ἐν αὐταῖς ἐγκαταλαμβάνομενοι ἀπέθυσκον, οἱ πολλοί δὲ μαχόμενοι αὐτῶν. Ἀπέθανον δὲ οἱ πάντες ἐς πεντακισχιλίους, ἥνετες δὲ δὲ ἀνδρείαν ὅλοις ἔλθότες ἀνήσαν.

VIII. Μείνας δὲ αὐτοῦ μίαν ἡμέραν καὶ ἀναπαύσας τὴν στρατιάν, τῇ ύστεραία προὐχόρει ὡς ἐπὶ τοὺς ἄλλους Μαλλούς. Καὶ ταῖς μὲν πόλεις ἐκκλειστότας καταλαμβάνει, αὐτοὺς δὲ 2 ἐμαθὲν ὅτι πεφευγότες εἶεν ἐς τὴν θεοῦ. Καὶ ἐνταῦθα αὐθίς μίαν ἡμέραν ἀναπαύσας τὴν στρατιάν, ἐς τὴν ἐπιούσαν Πειθώνα μὲν καὶ Δημητρίου τὸν ἰππάρχην πρὸς τὸν ποταμὸν ὀπίσω ἀπέπεμψεν ὅν τε αὐτοὶ ἤγοντο ἄγοντας καὶ πρὸς τούτων ψιλῶν τάξεις δοῦς αὐτοῖς ὅσαι 3 ἵκαναι πρὸς τὸ ἔρημον. Προσέταξε δὲ παρὰ τῇ ὅχθῃ τοῦ ποταμοῦ ἱόντας, εἰ τισι περιτυχάνοιει τῶν ἐς τὰς ὀλικτὶς ἐξμεταφευγότων, αἱ δὲ πολλαὶ 1 ἀνῆσαν Ellendt, ἀνῆσαν A.
taking refuge in the citadel defended themselves there. A few Macedonians, however, broke in with them, whereupon they, turning to bay and forming a solid mass, drove out some of the attackers, and slew some twenty-five of them while they attempted to withdraw. Meanwhile Alexander ordered ladders on all sides to be placed against the citadel, and the wall to be undermined. And when a tower, being undermined, fell, and part of the wall between the towers being breached made the citadel easier of assault on that side, Alexander first mounted the wall and all could see him holding it. Observing him, the rest of the Macedonians, feeling ashamed, mounted, one here, and one there. And by this time the citadel was in their hands, and of the Indians some set fire to their houses, and being captured in them, were put to death, but most of them perished fighting. Up to five thousand in all fell, but owing to their brave defence only a few were captured alive.

VIII. Alexander remained there one day and rested his army, and on the next day began his advance against the remaining Mallians. He found the cities deserted, but learned that the inhabitants had fled into the desert. There again he rested his army one day, and for the next day sent Peitho and Demetrius the cavalry commander back to the river, with the troops they had been in command of, giving them besides these such companies of foot-soldiers as were enough for their enterprise. Alexander commanded them to go along the river bank, and if they should come across any of those who had fled for refuge to the woods, of which there was abun-
πρὸς τῇ ὀχθῇ τοῦ ποταμοῦ ἤσαν, τούτους κτείνειν, ὁσοὶ μὴ ἔθελονται σφᾶς ἐνδιδοῦν. Καὶ πολλοὺς καταλαβόντες ἐν ταῖς ὑλαίς οἱ ἀμφὶ Πείθωνα τε καὶ Δημήτριον ἀπέκτειναν.

4 Αὐτὸς δὲ ἦγεν ἔπι τὴν μεγίστην τῶν Μαλλῶν πόλιν, ἵνα καὶ ἕκ τῶν ἄλλων πόλεων πολλοὺς ξυμπεφευγέναι αὐτῷ ἐξηγγέλλετο. Ἀλλὰ καὶ ταύτην ἐξέλιπον οἱ 'Ἰνδοὶ ὡς προσάγοντα 'Αλέξανδρον ἐμαθον· δια βάντες δὲ τὸν Ἰδραώτην ποταμόν, ἐπὶ ταῖς ὀχθαίς αὐτοῦ, ὅτι ύψηλαί αἱ ὀχθαὶ ἤσαν, παρατεταγμένοι ἐμενον, ὡς εἰρέοντες τοῦ πόρου 'Αλέξανδρον. Καὶ ταῦται ὡς ἤκουσεν, ἀναλαβὼν τὴν ἱππον τὴν ἃμα αὐτῷ πᾶσαν ἤει ὡς ἐπὶ τὸν Ἰδραώτην, ἤναπερ παρατετάχθαι τοὺς Μαλλοὺς ἐξηγγέλλετο. οἱ δὲ πεζοὶ ἐπεσθαί αὐτῷ ἐτάχθησαν. Ὡς δὲ ἀφίκετο τε ἐπ’ αὐτὸν καὶ ἐν τῷ πέραν τοὺς πολεμίους κατείδε τεταγμένους, ὡς εἰχεν ἐκ τῆς ὁδοῦ ἐμβάλλει ἐς τὸν πόρον ἐξ ὑπποί μονή. Οἱ δὲ, ἰδόντες ἐν μέσῳ τοῦ ποταμοῦ δυντα ἤδη 'Αλέξανδρον, κατὰ σπουδὴν μέν, ξυντεταγμένου δὲ ὅμως ἀπεχώρουν ἀπὸ τῆς ὀχθῆς. καὶ 'Αλέξανδρος ἐξ ὑπποί μονή τῇ ἱπποί ἐπέτε. Ὡς δὲ κατείδον ἱππεῖς μόνους, ἐπιστρέφας οἱ 'Ἰνδοὶ καρτεροὶ ἐμάχοντο, πλῆθος ὄντες ἐς πέντε μυριάδας. Καὶ 'Αλέξανδρος ὡς τὴν τε φάλαγγα αὐτῶν πυκνήν κατείδε καὶ αὐτῷ οἱ πεζοὶ ἀπῆσαν, προσβολὰς μὲν ἐποίει 1 ἐς κύκλους παρισπεύον τε χεῖρας δὲ οὐκ ἤγε τοῖς Ἰνδοῖς. Καὶ ἐν τούτῳ παραγίγγυονται αὐτῷ οἱ τε 'Ἀγριάνες καὶ ἄλλαι τάξεις τῶν ψελών, ἀς δὴ ἐπιλέκτους ἀμα οἱ ἤγε, καὶ οἱ τοξόται οὐ πόρρων

1 A ἐποίει τοὺς, which may justify Krüger's ἐποιεῖτο ἐσ.
dance along the river bank, to put them to death, except such as voluntarily surrendered. Peitho’s and Demetrius’ troops did, in fact, find large numbers in the woods, and put them to death.

Alexander himself, however, marched against the greatest city of the Mallians, whither it was reported to him many had fled out of the other cities. But even this city the Indians deserted when they learnt of Alexander’s approach; and crossing the Hydraotes they stood their ground, drawn up in order, on the banks, since these were of a good height, with the idea of preventing Alexander from crossing. As soon as he heard that, he took all the cavalry which he had with him and marched towards the Hydraotes, where it was reported that the Mallians were marshalled; the infantry was ordered to follow. And when he reached the river and saw the enemy in battle order on the far side, without any hesitation he plunged from the road into the ford with the cavalry only. The enemy, seeing Alexander already in midstream, retired from the bank rapidly, but in good order, Alexander following on, with only his cavalry. But when the Indians saw he had cavalry only, they turned about and made a vigorous resistance, in number about fifty thousand. Alexander, seeing their infantry formation solid, and with his own infantry not yet on the field, kept circling round and making charges, but without coming to close quarters with the Indians. By this time the Agrianes and other companies of the light troops had joined him; these were picked troops which he had in his own force; and also the
δὲ οὐδὲ ἡ φάλαγξ ἐφαίνετο τῶν πεζῶν. Καὶ οἱ Ἰνδοὶ ὁμοί σφίσι πάντων τῶν δεινῶν προσκευμένων ἀποστρέψαντες ἤδη προτροπάδην ἐφευγον 8 ἐς πόλιν ὄχυρωτάτην τῶν πλησίων. Καὶ Ἀλέξανδρος ἐπομενός τε αὐτοῖς πολλοὺς ἔκτεινε, καὶ ὡς ἐς τὴν πόλιν οἱ διαφυγόντες κατειλήθησαν, πρῶτα μὲν τοῖς ἵππεσιν ἐξ ἐφόδου ἐκυκλώσατο τὴν πόλιν ὡς δὲ οἱ πεζοὶ αὐτῷ παρῆσαν, ταύτῃ μὲν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ περιστρατοπεδεύει ἐν κύκλῳ τοῦ τείχους, ὧτι οὐ πολὺ τε τῆς ἡμέρας ὑπελεύπετο ἐς τὴν προσβολήν, καὶ ἡ στρατιὰ αὐτῷ ὑπὸ τε πορείας μακρὰς οἱ πεζοὶ καὶ ὑπὸ διώξεως συνεχοῦς οἱ ἱπποὶ καὶ οὐχ ἡκιστα κατὰ τὸν πόρον τοῦ ποταμοῦ τεταλαιωρίκεσαν.

IX. Τῇ δὲ ὑστεραῖα δικῇ διελθὼν τὸν στρατὸν τοῦ μὲν ἑτέρου αὐτὸς ἤγουμενος προσέβαλλε τῷ τείχει, τὸ δ’ ἑτέρον Περδικκας προσῆγε. Καὶ ἐν τούτῳ οὐ δεξάμενοι οἱ Ἰνδοὶ τῶν Μακεδών τὴν ὀρμήν τὰ μὲν τείχῃ τῆς πόλεως λείπουσιν, αὐτοὶ δὲ ἐς τὴν ἄκραν ἔνεφευγον. Ἀλέξανδρος μὲν οὖν καὶ οἱ ἀμφ’ αὐτὸν πυλίδα τινὰ κατασχίζαντες 2 παρῆλθον ἐς τὴν πόλιν πολὺ πρὸ τῶν ἄλλων’ οἱ δὲ ὁμοί Περδικκα τεταγμένοι ὑστέρησαν ὑπερβαίνοντες κατὰ τὰ τείχη οὐκ εὐπετῶς, οὐδὲ τὰς κλίμακας οἱ πολλοὶ αὐτῶν φέροντες, ὥστε ἐαλωκέναι αὐτοῖς ἕδοκεν ἡ πόλις, ἐρμομύενα τῶν προμαχομένων τὰ τείχη ὡς κατειδών. Ὡς δὲ ἡ ἄκρα ἐχομένη πρὸς τῶν πολεμίων καὶ πρὸ ταύτης τεταγμένοι εἰς τὸ ἀπομάχεσθαι πολλοὶ ἑφάνησαν, ἐνταῦθα δὴ οἱ μὲν ὑπορύσσουστε τὸ τείχος, οἱ δὲ προσβέσει ὧτι παρεῖκοι τῶν κλίμακῶν βιάσασθαι 3 ἐπειρῶντο ἐς τὴν ἄκραν. Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ, ὡς 126
archers. Not far off the main body of the infantry was visible. The Indians, then, with all these terrors converging upon them, turned, and now in full flight, made for a fortified city near by. Alexander, however, following close upon them slew large numbers, and when the fugitives had been received into the city, he first, marching on, threw his cavalry in a circle round the city, and when his infantry came up, for this day he encamped all round the wall, since he had not much daylight left for the attack, and his army, the infantry from their long march, the cavalry from their close pursuit, and all especially from the crossing of the river, were much distressed.

IX. The next day Alexander divided his army, and taking the command of one part himself, began his attack on the wall. The other part he handed over to Perdiccas. Meanwhile the Indians did not await the attack of the Macedonians, but deserted the walls of the city, and themselves fled together to the citadel. Alexander, however, and his troops tore down a small gate and penetrated into the city far in advance of the rest. But those under Perdiccas' command fell behind, having difficulty in getting over the wall; and most of them carried no ladders, since they thought the city had actually been captured, when they saw the walls bereft of their defenders. When, however, it was obvious that the citadel was in the enemy's hands, and in front of it were seen many defenders drawn up to fight from thence, some at once began undermining the wall, others set ladders wherever opportunity offered and tried to force a way into the citadel. But Alexander, thinking that the Macedonians who
βλακεύειν αὐτῷ ἐδόκοιν τῶν Μακεδόνων οἱ φέροντες τὰς κλίμακας, ἀρπάσας κλίμακα ἐνὸς τῶν φερόντων προσέθηκε τῷ τείχει αὐτὸς καὶ εἰληθεὶς ὑπὸ τῇ ἄσπιδι ἀνέβαινεν· ἐπὶ δὲ αὐτῷ Πευκέστας ὁ τὴν ἱερὰν ἄσπιδα φέρων, ἣν ἐκ τοῦ νεῶ τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς τῆς Ἰλιάδος λαβὼν ἁμα οἱ εἶχεν Ἀλέξανδρος καὶ πρὸ αὐτοῦ ἑφέρετο ἐν ταῖς μάχαις· ἐπὶ δὲ τούτῳ Δεούνατος ἀνήμει κατὰ τὴν αὐτὴν κλίμακα ὁ σωματοφύλαξ· κατὰ δὲ ἅλλην κλίμακα Ἀβρέας τῶν διμοιριτῶν τις στρατευόμενων. Ἡδὲ τε πρὸς τῇ ἐπάλξῃ τοῦ τείχους ὁ βασιλεὺς ἦν καὶ ἐρείπασα ἐπὶ αὐτῇ τὴν ἄσπιδα τοὺς μὲν ὁθεῖ εἰςο τοῦ τείχους τῶν Ἰνδῶν, τοὺς δὲ καὶ αὐτοῦ τῷ ξίφει ἀποκτείνας γεγυμνόκει τὸ ταύτῃ τείχος· καὶ οἱ ὑπασπισταὶ ὑπέρφοβοι γενόμενοι ὑπὲρ τοῦ βασιλέως σπουδὴ ὠδούμενοι κατὰ τὴν αὐτὴν κλίμακα συντρίβουσιν αὐτὴν, ὡστε οἱ μὲν ἡδὴ ἀνιώντες αὐτῶν κατώ ἔπεσον, τοῖς δὲ ἅλλοις ἀποροῦν ἐπωίσαν τὴν ἀνοδον.

Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ ὡς ἐπὶ τοῦ τείχους στὰς κύκλῳ τε ἀπὸ τῶν πλησίον πύργων ἐβάλλετο (οὐ γὰρ πελάσαι γε ἐτόλμα τις αὐτῷ τῶν Ἰνδῶν), καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν ἑκ τῆς πόλεως, οὐδὲ πόρρω τοῦτων γε ἔσακοντιξόντων (ἐτυχε γὰρ τι καὶ προσκεκχωμένου ταύτῃ πρὸς τὸ τείχος), δῆλος μὲν ἦν Ἀλέξανδρος ὅν τῶν τε ὀπλῶν τῇ λαμπρότητι καὶ τῷ ἀτόπῳ τῆς τόλμης, ἐγών δὲ ὃτι αὐτοῦ μὲν μένων κινδυνεύσει μηδὲν ὃ τι καὶ λόγου ἄξιον ἀποδεικνύμενος, καταπηθήσας δὲ εἰσὼ τοῦ τείχους τυχὼν μὲν

1 Krüger πέρρωθεν (as also in viii. 7 above). These attempts to make Arrian consistent with himself result in much tampering with the text.

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were bringing the ladders were malingering, seized a ladder from one of those who bore them, and himself set it up against the wall, and gathering himself well under his shield mounted up; and next Peucestas, carrying the sacred shield, which Alexander had taken from the temple of Athena of Ilium and always kept by him, and which was carried before him in battle; and then Leonnatus, the officer of the bodyguard, climbed up; and by another ladder Abreas, one of the Distinguished Service Order.\(^1\) By this time the King was by the battlement of the wall, and leaning his shield against it pushed some of the Indians within the wall, others there and then he slew with his sword, and so stripped that part of wall bare of defenders; but the bodyguards, becoming nervous for their King, hurriedly making their way up the same ladder broke it, so that those already mounting fell down, and prevented the rest from ascending.

But Alexander, standing as he was upon the wall, was shot at all round from the neighbouring towers; for none of the Indians dared to approach him; and also from those in the city, these indeed being within short range, for at this point there was a mound near the wall. Alexander was indeed most conspicuous, both by the splendour of his arms and by his miraculous courage; and he felt that by remaining where he was he would run a very great risk and yet do no achievement worthy of note; but that if he leapt down within the wall he might

\(^1\) Literally, one on double pay (for services on the field).
αυτῷ τούτῳ ἐκπλήξει τοὺς Ἰνδούς, εἰ δὲ μὴ, καὶ κινδυνεύειν δέοι, μεγάλα ἔργα καὶ τοὺς ἔπειτα πυθέσθαι ἂξια ἐργασάμενος οὐκ ἄσπουδεί ἀπο-θανεῖται, τάυτα γνοὺς καταπηδᾶ ἀπὸ τοῦ τείχους 6 ἐς τὴν ἄκραν. Ἔνθα δὴ ἔρεισθείς πρὸς τῷ τείχει τοὺς μὲν τινας ἐς χεῖρας ἐλθόντας καὶ τὸν γε ἡγεμόνα τῶν Ἰνδῶν προσφερόμενον οἱ θρασύτεροι παῖσας τῷ ξίφει ἀποκτείνει· ἀλλον δὲ πελάξοντα λίθῳ βαλὼν ἔσχε, καὶ ἀλλον λίθῳ, τὸν δὲ ἐγγυντέρω προσάγοντα τῷ ξίφει αὐθις. Οἱ δὲ βάρβαροι πελάξειν μὲν αὐτῷ οὐκέτι ἤθελον, ἔβαλλον δὲ πάντοθεν περισσηκότες ὅ τι τις ἔχων βέλος ἐτύγχανεν ἢ ἐν τῷ τότε ἔλαβεν.

Χ. Ἔν τούτῳ δὲ Πευκέστας τε καὶ ὁ διμοιρίτης Ἀβρέας καὶ ἐπὶ αὐτοῖς Λεοννάτος, οἱ δὴ μόνοι ἔτυχον πρὶν ἐξυπηρητήσαι τὰς κλίμακας ἀναβεβηκότες ἐπὶ τὸ τείχος, καταπηδήσαντες καὶ ἀυτοὶ πρὸ τοῦ βασιλέως ἐμάχοντο. Καὶ Ἀβρέας μὲν ὁ διμοιρίτης πέπτει αὐτοῦ, τοξευθεὶς ἐς τὸ πρόσωπον. Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ βάλλεται καὶ αὐτὸς διὰ τοῦ θώρακος ἐς τὸ στήθος τοξεύματι ὑπὲρ τῶν μαστῶν, ὡστε λέγει Πτολεμαῖος ὅτι καὶ πνεῦμα ὅμοιο τῷ αἴματι ἐκ τοῦ τραύματος 2 ἐξεπνεύτο. Ὅ δὲ, ἔστε μὲν ἐπὶ θερμὸν ἦν αὐτῷ τὸ αἷμα, καὶ περὶ κακῶς ἔχων, ἡμύνετο· πολλοῦ δὲ δὴ τοῦ αἴματος καὶ ἄθροον, οἷα δὴ ἤξυν πνεύματι, ἐκρυότος, ἐλεγγός τε αὐτοῦ καὶ λευτοψυχίᾳ κατέσχε καὶ πέπτει αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ τὴν ἀσπίδα ξυν-νεύσας. Πευκέστας δὲ περιβαίνει πεπτωκότι καὶ ὑπερσχὼ τὴν ἱερὰν τὴν ἐξ Ἰλίου ἀσπίδα πρὸ αὐτοῦ καὶ Λεοννάτος ἐς τὰ ἐπὶ θάτερα αὐτοῖ τε
perhaps by this very action frighten the Indians, while if he must be endangered, he might die not ignobly, after doing great deeds, worthy for those that came after to hear of. With this thought he leapt down from the wall and into the citadel. There taking firm stand by the wall, he smote with his sword and slew some who came to grips with him, and even the Indians' commander-in-chief, who came very boldly to attack him; another as he approached he checked by hurling a stone, and another in the same way; but anyone who came within striking distance he smote again with his sword. The Indians were no longer ready to approach him; but keeping at a distance showered missiles upon him from all sides, whatever anyone had in his hand, or could lay his hands upon.

X. Meanwhile Peucetas and Abreas, of the Distinguished Service Order, and Leonnatus with them, the only men who had managed to get on to the wall before the ladders broke, leapt down also and fought to defend their King. Abreas indeed fell there, shot with an arrow in the face; and Alexander himself also was struck, right through the corset into his breast over the lung, so that, according to Ptolemy, breath together with blood shot forth from the wound. Yet Alexander, as long as the blood was still warm, kept defending himself; but when a good deal of blood came forth, in a thick stream, as would be with the breath, he was overcome by dizziness and faintness, and fell there where he stood bending over his shield. Peucetas stood astride of him as he lay there, and holding up before him the sacred shield from Ilium, and Leonnatus on the other side, they two received the showers of
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3 ἦδη ὑπὸ τοῦ αἵματος ἐκλυπεῖν. Τοῖς γὰρ Μακεδόσι καὶ ταύτῃ ἐν ἀπόρω χειμαρρήτῳ τὰ τῆς προσβολῆς, ὅτι οἱ τῶν Ἀλέξανδρον βαλλόμενον τε ἐπὶ τῷ τείχει ιδόντες καὶ πηδώντα εἰσώ ἐσ τὴν ἀκραν, ὑπὸ σπουδῆς τε καὶ φόβου μὴ τι αὐτοῖς ὁ βασιλεὺς πάθη οὐ ξὺν ψυ κινδυνεῦων, τὰς κλιμακας ξυντετριφότες ἄλλοι ἄλλας μηχανάς ἐς τὸ ἀνελθεῖν ἐπὶ τὸ τείχος ὡς ἐν ἀπόροις ἐμηχανώντο, οἱ μὲν πασσάλους ἐμπνυνύστες ἐς τὸ τείχος, γηίνου δὲ, καὶ κατὰ τούτους ἐκκρεμαννύμενοι χαλεπῶς ἀνέιρπον, οἱ δὲ, ἄλλοι ἐπ' ἄλλους ἐπιβαίνοντες. Ὁ δὲ πρῶτος ἀνελθὼν ἐνρίπτει ἑαυτὸν κατὰ τὸ τείχος ἐς τὴν πόλιν, ἱναπερ τὸν βασιλέα ἑώρων κείμενον, ξὺν οἴμωῳ καὶ ἀλαλαμμῷ πάντες. Ἦδη τε ἀμφ' αὐτῷ πεπτωκότι καρτερὰ μάχη ξυνειστήκει ἄλλον ἐπ' ἄλλῳ τῶν Μακεδόνων προασπίζοντος, καὶ ἐν τούτῳ οἱ μὲν τὸν μοχλὸν ότρο εὐχετο ἢ κατά τὸ μεταπύρρημα πύλη κατασχίσαντες, ἐπ' ὀλίγους παρήσαν οἱ δὲ καθ' ὁ τῇ πύλῃ διέσχε τοὺς ὁμοὺς ὑποθέντες καὶ ὡσαντες ἐς τὸ εἶσω τοῦ τείγους, ἀνεπέτασαν ταύτῃ τὴν ἀκραν.

XI. Ἔν τούτῳ δὲ οἱ μὲν ἐκτείνον τοὺς Ἰνδοὺς, καὶ ἀπέκτεινάν χρόνας οὐδὲ γυναῖκα ἢ παῖδα ὑπελεῖποντο· οἱ δὲ ἐξέφερον τὸν βασιλέα ἐπὶ τῆς ἀστίδος κἀκεῖς ἐχοντα, οὕτως γυνώσκοντες βιωτίων δυτα. Τὸ δὲ βέλος ἐξελκύσαι ἐκ τοῦ τραύματος ἐπιτεμόντα τὴν πληγήν οἱ μὲν Κριτόδημον ἀνέγραψαν, ἱατρὸν Κῶνον, τὸ γένος Ἀσκλη-πιάδην· οἱ δὲ, Περδίκκαν τῶν σωματοφύλακα, οὐ

1 τοῦ τείχους Krüger; but τὸ τείχος seems satisfactory.
missiles while Alexander from loss of blood was near to fainting. For the conduct of the Macedonian assault had come to a deadlock at this point, since those who saw Alexander exposed to missiles on the wall and then leaping inside into the citadel, these, both through ardour and fear lest their King should come to harm by this thoughtless daring, broke down the ladders, and contrived various expedients for scaling the wall, in this difficulty; some hammered pegs into the wall, which was of clay, and clinging to these managed with difficulty to clamber up; others too mounted on their comrades’ shoulders. The first to ascend threw himself down from the wall into the city, where they saw the King lying; and all lamented, and raised their battle-cry. And already a severe battle was raging about the fallen King, now one, now another of the Macedonians holding his shield over him, but in the meantime some of the troops had severed the bar with which the gate between the towers was barred, and so passed in in small detachments; others then put their shoulders to a gap broken in the door and pushed it towards the space within the wall, and so opened up the citadel on this side.

XI. And now some began to slaughter the Indians, and they slew them all, leaving neither child nor woman; while others carried off the King, who was in very evil plight, on the shield, no longer thinking that he could live. Some authorities recorded that Critodemus, a physician of Cos, by birth of the family of Asclepius, drew out the arrow from the wound, cutting the part which it had struck; others that Perdiccas of the bodyguard, no surgeon being at
παρόντος ἐν τῷ δεινῷ ιατρῷ, ἐγκελεσταμένου Ἀλεξάνδρου τῷ ξίφει ἐπιτεμείν τὴν πληγήν καὶ 2 κομίσασθαι τὸ βέλος. Ἐν δὲ τῇ κομιδῇ φορὰ αἷματος πολλὸν γίγνεται, ὅστε λευκόπυργχησαι αὕθις Ἀλεξάνδρου καὶ οὕτω σχεδόναι αὐτῷ τὸ αἷμα ὑπὸ τῇ λευκόπυργχῃ. Πολλὰ δὲ καὶ ἄλλα ἀναγέραται τοῖς ἔννομας ἐπάνω τοῦ παθήματος, καὶ ἡ φήμη παραδεξαμένη αὐτὰ κατὰ τοὺς πρώτους ψευσαμένους ἐτεικνύεται καὶ εἰς ἡμᾶς διασώζεται, οὐδὲ ἡφίσει παραδιδοῦσα καὶ ἐφεξῆς ἀλλοις τὰ ψεύδη, εἰ μὴ ὑπὸ τῆς τῆς ἐννομοστής παύσεται.

3 Ἀυτίκα ἐν Ὁξυδράκαις τὸ πάθημα τούτο γενέσθαι Ἀλεξάνδρων ὁ πᾶς λόγος κατέχει· τὸ δὲ ἐν Μαλλοίς, ἐθνεὶ αὐτούνωμο Ἰνδικῷ, ἐννεβησθεὶς, καὶ ἦν τῇ πόλει Μαλλὸν ἤν καὶ οἱ βαλόντες Ἀλεξάνδρον Μαλλοῖς ἰδοὺ ἐγνώκεσαν μὲν ἂξιομάξαντες τοῖς Ὁξυδράκαις οὕτω διαγωνιζέσθαι, ἐφθαὶ δὲ διὰ τῆς ἀνύδρου ἐπὰυτὸς ἐλάσσας πρὶν τινὰ ὀφελειαν αὐτοῖς παρὰ τῶν Ὁξυδρακῶν γενέσθαι ἢ 4 αὐτοῦ ἐκείνοις τι ἐπωφεληθεῖσαι. Ἐπεὶ καὶ τὴν τελευταίαν μάχην τὴν πρὸς Δαρείου γενομένην, καθ’ ἴσως ἐφυγὲ Δαρείος οὐδὲ πρόσθεν ἐλήξε τῆς φυγῆς πρὶν ξυλληφθῆναι ὑπὸ τῶν ἄμφη Βήσουν καὶ προσάγοντος ἢδη Ἀλεξάνδρου ἀποθανεῖν, πρὸς Ἀρβηλὸς γενέσθαι ὁ πᾶς λόγος κατέχει, καθάπερ οὖν καὶ τὴν πρὸς ταύτης ἐν Ἰσσῷ, καὶ τὴν πρὸς τὴν ἱστομαχίαν πρὸς Γρανικῷ. Ἀλλὰ πρὸς Γρανικῷ μὲν ἔννομη μάχη ἐπιτικῇ καὶ πρὸς Ἰσσῷ ἢ αὕθις πρὸς Δαρείον μάχης Ἀρβηλὰ δὲ τοῦ χῶρου ἐν τῇ ἔσχατη τῇ μάχην Δαρείὸς τε καὶ Ἀλεξάνδρου ἐμαχησαντο οἱ μὲν τὰ πλεῖστα ἔγγορας τούς ἐξουσίαν ὃτι 134
hand in this emergency, cut the wound with his sword, at Alexander's express command, and so drew out the arrow. In the withdrawal there was a great rush of blood, so that Alexander fainted again, and the haemorrhage was thus checked by his fainting. A great many other stories have been written by the historians about this disaster, and legend has handed them on as the first falsifiers told them, and still keeps them alive to this day; and will indeed never cease handing on these falsehoods to others in turn, unless it be checked by this my history.

To begin with, tradition is unanimous that this disaster happened to Alexander among the Oxydracae; whereas it took place among the Mallians, an independent Indian tribe; the city was a Mallian city, and they were Mallians who wounded Alexander; they had indeed determined to join the Oxydracae and so fight together, but Alexander reached them too quickly, marching through the desert, before any help had time to reach them from the Oxydracae, or they give any help to the Oxydracae. In the same way, universal tradition has it that the last battle with Dareius, that in which Dareius fled and continued his flight until he was captured by Bessus and his followers, and perished, while Alexander was pressing hard upon him, took place at Arbela; and the battle before this at Issus, and the first, the cavalry battle, at Granicus. Actually, a cavalry battle took place at Granicus, and the second battle against Dareius at Issus; but most historians state that Arbela was six hundred stades away from the place where Dareius and Alexander fought their last
ἐξακοσίους στάδιους ἀπέχει, οἱ δὲ τὰ ἐλάχιστα, ὅτι ἐς πεντακοσίους. Ἄλλα ἐν Γαυγαμήλωι γὰρ γενέσθαι τὴν μάχην πρὸς τῷ ποταμῷ Βουμώδρῳ 1

6 λέγει Πτολεμαῖος καὶ Ἀριστόβουλος. Πόλις δὲ ὑπὲρ ἦν τὰ Γαυγάμηλα, ἄλλα κόμη μεγάλη, οὐδὲ ὅνομαστὸς ο ἱδρὺς οὐδὲ ἐς ἀκοὴ ἢ ὅτι τὸ ὅνομα ἐνθεν δὲ μοι δοκεῖ πόλις οὐσα τὰ Ἀρβηλα ἁπτηνὲν κατὰ τὴν δόξαν τῆς μεγάλης μάχης. Εἰ δὲ πρὸς Ἀρβηλαίοις ἥρη οἰσθαὶ γενέσθαι τὸ ἔργον ἐκείνο, ἐς τοσόνδε Ἀρβηλαίοι ἀπέχουν, καὶ τὴν ἐν Ἀλαμινι γενομένην ναυμαχίαν πρὸς ἑσθμῷ τῷ Κορινθίων ἐξεστὶ λέγειν ὅτι ἐγένετο, καὶ τὴν ἐπ᾽ Ἀρτεμισίῳ τῆς Εὐβοίας πρὸς Ἀλγύη ἢ Σουνίῳ.

7 Καὶ μὴ ὑπὲρ τῶν ὑπερασπισάντων ἐν τῷ κινδύνῳ Ἀλέξανδρος, Πενεκέσταν μὲν γενέσθαι κυμπαντες ὁμολογοῦσιν, ὑπὲρ Δεουνατοῦ δὲ οὐκετί κυμαξέρονται οὐδὲ ὑπὲρ Ἀβρέου τοῦ διμοιρίτου. Καὶ οἱ μὲν ξύλῳ πληγέντα κατὰ τοῦ κράνους Ἀλέξανδρον καὶ ἰλεγιάσαντα πεσεῖν, αὖθις δὲ ἀναστάντα βληθήναι βέλει διὰ τοῦ θώρακος ἐς τὸ στῆθος. Πτολεμαῖος δὲ ὁ Δάγου ταύτην μόνην τὴν πληγήν πληγηνία λέγει τὴν ἐς τὸ στῆθος. Τὸ δὲ δὴ μέγιστον πλημμέλημα τῶν ξυγγραψάντων τὰ ἀμφί Ἀλέξανδρον ἐκεῖνο τίθημαι ἐγών. Πτολεμαῖος γὰρ τῶν Δάγου ἐστιν ὁ ἀνέγραψαν ξυγγραφῆθαι τε Ἀλέξανδρῳ κατὰ τὴν κλίμακα ὅμοι Πευκέστα καὶ ὑπερασπίσαι κείμενον, καὶ ἐπὶ τόδε Ποτηρία ἐπικληθῆναι τοῦ Πτολεμαῖον· καὶ τοιοί αὐτὸς Πτολεμαῖος ἀνα-

1 See III. 8. 7. We should perhaps keep θωμήλψ here, though A's reading is doubtful. Curtius IV. 9. 10 has Bounelus.
battle; those who make the distance least, put it at five hundred stades. But Ptolemaeus and Aristobulus state that the battle took place at Gaugamela by the river Bumodus. Gaugamela, moreover, was not a city but a large village; it was not an important place, and the name has rather an awkward sound; and thus, as I opine, Arbela, being a city, carried off the glory of this great battle. If, however, we must hold that this engagement took place at Arbela when it was actually at such a distance from Arbela, we may as well hold that the naval battle at Salamis took place at the isthmus of Corinth, and the battle of Artemision in Euboea at Aegina or Sunium.

Then again, as to those who protected Alexander with their shields in his grave danger, all agree that one was Peucetas, but they do not agree about Leonnatus nor yet about Abreas, the winner of the Distinguished Service Order. Then some say that Alexander was struck on the helmet with a club, and became dizzy, and so fell; and then, rising up again, was struck with a shot in the breast, right through his breastplate; but Ptolemaeus son of Lagus states that there was only this one wound, that in the breast. But I reckon the greatest error of those who wrote histories of Alexander to be this; Ptolemaeus son of Lagus, according to some authorities, mounted up with Alexander up the ladder, together with Peucetas, and held his shield over him as he lay there, and for this Ptolemaeus was always called in addition the Saviour; whereas Ptolemaeus him-

1 This passage is given as Ptolemaeus, Fragm. 26, in Dübner’s edition. Curtius blames Clitarchus and Timagenes for relating that Ptolemaeus was present.
γέγραφεν οὖδὲ παραγενέσθαι τούτω τῷ ἔργῳ ἄλλα στρατιάς γὰρ αὐτοὺς ἡγούμενον ἄλλας μάχεσθαι μάχας καὶ πρὸς ἄλλους βαρβάρους. Ταῦτα μὲν δὴ ἐν ἐκβολή τοῦ λόγου ἀναγεγράφθω μοι, ὡς μὴ ἀταλαίπτωρον γίγνεσθαι τοῖς ἐπείτα ἀνθρώποις τὴν ὑπὲρ τῶν τηλικοῦτων ἐργῶν τε καὶ παθημάτων ἀφήγησιν.

XII. Ἐν δὲ Ἀλέξανδρος αὐτοῦ μένων τὸ τραύμα ἑθεραπεύετο, ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον ἐνθεντερ ὀρμηθῇ ἐπὶ τοὺς Μαλλοὺς ὁ μὲν πρῶτος λόγος ἦκεν ὅτι τεθνήκως εἰς ἕκ τοῦ τραύματος. Καὶ τὰ μὲν πρῶτα ὁμώγη ἦν τῆς στρατιάς ἕμπασης, ἄλλου ἄλλω παραδιδόντος τὴν φήμην παυσάμενοι δὲ τῆς οἰμωγῆς ἀθυμοὶ τε καὶ ἀποροὶ ἦσαν ὅστις μὲν ἐξηγούμενος ἐσται τῆς στρατιάς 2 (πολλοῖς γὰρ δὴ ἐν ἰσχῦ τὰ τῆς ἀξίωσεως ἔδοκεν πρὸς τε αὐτοῦ Ἀλεξάνδρου καὶ πρὸς Μακεδόνων καθεστηκέναι) ὅπως δὲ ἀποσωθήσονται εἰς τὴν οἰκείαν, τοσοῦτον μὲν ἐθνῶν μαχίμων περιεργόντων σφᾶς ἐν κύκλῳ, τῶν μὲν οὕτω προσκεχωρηκότων, ἀ δὴ ὑπὲρ τῆς ἐλευθερίας εἰκαζον ἀγωνιεῖσθαι καρτερῶς, τῶν δὲ ἀποστησομένων, ἀφαιρέθεντος αὐτοῦ τοῦ Ἀλεξάνδρου φοβοῡντοι ταῖς ἐν μέσῳ ἀδιαβάτων τότε δ′ ἐδόκοιν εἶναι, καὶ πάντα σφῖσιν ἀπορα καὶ ἀμήχανα 3 ἐρήμοις Ἀλεξάνδρου ἐφαίνετο. Ὡς δὲ ἦκε ποτὲ λόγος ὅτι ζῇ Ἀλεξάνδρος, τούτῳ μὲν μόνις ξυνεχώρησαν εἰ δὲ καὶ βιώσιμός ἦστιν, οὕτω ἐπιστεύετο. Ὡς δὲ καὶ γράμματα παρ' αὐτοῦ ἦκεν ὅτι ὁ σον οὕτω κατελεύσεται ἐπὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον, οὐδὲ ταῦτα τοῖς πολλοῖς ὑπὸ τοῦ ἀγαν

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self has recorded that he was not so much as present in this action; but in fact was at the head of his own force and was fighting other battles and against other tribesmen. This much I must be permitted to have said, by way of digression, so that those who come afterwards may give some pains to the narrative of such great deeds and disasters.

XII. While Alexander was resting here and getting treatment for his wound, the first report reached the camp whence he had set out against the Mallians that he had died from the wound. And first there was a lamentation from all the army as one told the report to another; then, while ceasing their lamentation, they were disheartened and despairing as to the future leader of the host (for both in Alexander’s opinion and in the Macedonians’ many seemed to be equal in reputation), and despairing too how they might get back safe to their own homes, with all these warlike nations closing them round in a circle, some of whom had not yet surrendered, and these seemed likely to fight stoutly for their freedom; and others were certain to revolt, if the dread of Alexander was removed from them. Then they believed that they were, at the time, in the midst of impassable rivers; and everything seemed to them helpless and hopeless if they had lost Alexander. Yet when news came that Alexander was alive, they hardly believed it; and they could not believe that he could yet survive. But when a letter came from him that he would shortly come to the camp, even then most of them could not believe
δέους πιστᾶ ἐφαίνετο, ἀλλὰ πλάττεσθαι γὰρ πρὸς τῶν ἀμφ’ αὐτὸν σωματοφυλάκων τε καὶ στρατηγῶν εἰκάζετο.

Χ.Π. Καὶ ταῦτα ἐννοῆσας Ἀλέξανδρος, μὴ τι νεωτερισθεὶς ἐν τῇ στρατιᾷ, ὅτε πρῶτον ἡδυνήθη κομίζεται ἐπὶ τοῦ ποταμοῦ τοῦ Τδραῶτον τάς ὁχθᾶς καὶ πλέων κατὰ τὸν ποταμόν (ὅν γὰρ τὸ στρατόπεδον ἐπὶ ταῖς ἐμβολαῖς τοῦ τε Τδραῶτον καὶ τοῦ Ἀκεσίνου, ἵνα Ἡθαυτίων τε ἐπὶ τῆς στρατιᾶς ἦν καὶ Νέαρχος τὸ ναυτικὸν αὐτῶ εἶχεν), ὡς ἐπέλαξεν ἡ ναῦς ἤδη τὸ στρατοπέδον τὸν βασιλέα φέρουσα, κελεύει δὴ ἀφελείν τὴν σκηνὴν ἀπὸ τῆς πρύμνης, ὡς καταφανὴς εἶναι 2 πᾶσιν. Οἱ δὲ ἐτὶ ἡπίστουν, ὡς νεκρὸν δῆθεν κομίζομένου Ἀλέξανδρον, πρῶν γε δὴ προσκού-
σης τῆς νεώς τῇ ὁχθῇ ὁ μὲν τὴν χεῖρα ἀνέτεινεν ἐς τὸ πλῆθος· οἱ δὲ ἀνεβόησαν, ἐς τὸν οὐρανὸν ἀναχώντες τὰς χειρὰς, οἱ δὲ πρὸς αὐτὸν Ἀλέξ-
ανδρὸν" πολλοῖς δὲ καὶ δάκρυα ἐπὶ τῷ ἄνελ-
πίστῳ προεχύθη ἀκούσια. Καὶ οἱ μὲν τῶν ὑπασπιστῶν κλίνη προσέφερεν αὐτῷ ἐκκομιζο-
μένῳ ἐκ τῆς νεώς· δὲ τὸν ἵππον προσαγαγεῖν 3 ἐκέλευσεν. Ὄς δὲ ἐπιβὰς τοῦ ἵππου ὀφθη αὖθις, κρότω δὴ πολλῷ ἐπεκτύπησεν ἡ στρατιὰ πᾶσα· ἐπήχυσαν δὲ αἱ τε ὄχθαι καὶ αἱ πλησίον αὐτῶν νάπαι. Προσάγων δὲ ἢδη τῇ σκηνῇ καταβαίνει ἀπὸ τοῦ ἵππου, ὡστε καὶ βαδίζων ὀφθήμαι. Οἱ δὲ ἐπέλαξον ἄλλος ἄλλοθεν, οἱ μὲν χειρῶν, οἱ δὲ γονάτων, οἱ δὲ τῆς ἐσθῆτος αὐτῆς ἀπτόμενοι· οἱ δὲ καὶ ἰδεῖν ἐγγύθεν καὶ τὰ καὶ ἐπενθημησαντες ἀπελθεῖν· οἱ δὲ ταινίαις ἐβάλλον, οἱ δὲ ἀνθεαίν, ὡς ἐν τῷ τότε ἡ Ἰνδὸν γῆ παρεῖχε.

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this for excess of fear; but they thought that it was made up by his bodyguards and officers.

XIII. Alexander, learning of this state of things, to prevent any disturbance in the army, was carried, so soon as ever he was able, to the bank of the river Hydraotes; and then sailing down-stream, for the camp was at the junction of the Hydraotes and the Acesines, where Hephaestion was in command of the army and where Nearchus had his fleet, as soon as the boat with the King on board began to draw near to the camp, he ordered the awning to be taken off the stern, so that everyone might see him. But the troops even now disbelieved, saying to themselves that Alexander’s dead body was being brought down, till at length, when the ship had put in at the bank, Alexander held up his hand towards the multitude; and they shouted aloud, some holding up their hands to heaven, and others towards Alexander himself; and many involuntary tears were shed in the unexpectedness of their joy. Some of the bodyguard brought a litter for him, as he was being carried out of the ship; but he bade his horse be brought alongside. And when he mounted the horse, and all saw him, the whole army clapped their hands again and again; and the banks and the glens near the banks re-echoed the sound. Then when Alexander drew near his pavilion he dismounted from his horse, so that the army beheld him walking. Then they all ran towards him from this side and that, some touching his hands, some his knees, some his garment; others just looked on him from near at hand, and with a blessing upon him went his way; some cast wreaths upon him, some such flowers as the country of India bare at that time.
4. Νέαρχος δὲ λέγει ὅτι χαλεποὶ αὑτῷ τῶν φίλων ἐγένοντο ὅσοι ἐκάκιζον ὅτι αὐτῶς πρὸ τῆς στρατιάς κινδυνεύον· οὐ γὰρ στρατηγοῦ ταῦτα, ἀλλὰ στρατιώτων εἶναι. Καὶ μοι δοκεῖ ἄρθεθαι Ἀλέξανδρος τοῖς τοῖς λόγοις, ὅτι ἀληθεῖς τε ὅντας ἐγνώσκε καὶ αὐτῶν ὑπαίτιον τῇ ἐπιτυμήσει. Καὶ ὅμως ὑπὸ μένους τε τοῦ ἐν ταῖς μάχαις καὶ τοῦ ἔρωτος τῆς δόξης, καθάπερ οἱ ἄλλης τινός ἥδουν ἔξηττώμενοι, οὐ καρτέρος ἂν ἀπέχεσθαι τῶν κινδύνων. Ἀνθρωπον δὲ τινα πρεσβύτερον λέγει Βοιωτιον, τὸ δὲ ὅνομα τοῦ ἀνθρώπου οὐ λέγει, ὥς ἀχθομένον τε πρὸς τὰς ἐπιτυμήσεις τῶν φίλων κατέμαθεν Ἀλέξανδρον καὶ ἐσκυθροπακότα, προσελθόντα τοῦτον βοιωτιάζοντα ἀμα τῇ φωνῇ ταῦτα φάναι· Ὡ, Ἀλέξανδρε, ἄνδρων τὰ ἔργα καὶ τι καὶ ἰαμβείον ἐπειπείν, τὸν δὲ νοῦν εἶναι τοῦ ἰαμβείου ὅτι τῷ τι δρῶντε καὶ παθεῖν ἐστιν ὀφειλόμενον. Καὶ τοῦτον ἐν τε τῷ παρανύκτικα εὐδοκιμήσαι καὶ ἐπιτηδειότερον εἰς τὸ ἔπειτα Ἀλέξανδρο γενέσθαι.

XIV. Ἐν τούτῳ δὲ ἀφίκοντο παρ’ Ἀλέξανδρον τῶν Μαλλῶν τῶν ὑπολειπομένων πρέσβεις, ἐνδίδοντες τὸ ἔθνος, καὶ παρὰ Ὀξυδρακῶν οἱ τε ἡγεμόνες τῶν πόλεων καὶ οἱ νομάρχαι αὐτοὶ καὶ ἄλλοι ἀμα τούτοις ἔκατον καὶ πεντήκοντα οἱ γνωριμώτατοι αὐτοκράτορες περὶ σπουδῶν διώρᾳ τε ὅσα μέγιστα παρ’ Ἰνδοῖς κομίζοντες καὶ τὸ ἔθνος καὶ ὅτι τοὺς ἐνδίδοντες. Συγγνωστὰ δὲ ἀμαρτεῖν ἐφασαν οὐ πάλαι παρ’ αὐτῶν πρεσβευσάμενοι· ἐπιθυμεῖν γὰρ, ὡσπερ τινὲς ἄλλοι, ἐτὶ μᾶλλον αὐτοὶ ἐλευθερίας τε καὶ αὐτόνους εἶναι, ἦτενα ἐλευθερίαν εἰς ὅτου Διόνυσος ἐς
Nearchus tells us that he was angry with those of his friends who rebuked him for running so great a risk in advance of the army; this, they said, was a soldier's part, not a commander's. My own idea is that Alexander was angry with these reproaches because he knew that they were true and that he had laid himself open to this rebuke. And yet from his enthusiasm in battle, and his passion for glory, he, just as others are overcome by some pleasure, was not strong enough to keep out of dangers. Nearchus goes on to say that an oldish man, a Boeotian—he does not give his name—perceiving that Alexander was angry with his friends' reproaches and showed his indignation in his features, came up to him and in his Boeotian dialect said: "Alexander, noble deeds are men's work"; and added an iambic verse of which the general tenour was "Suffering is the meed of him that doth great deed." ¹ The speaker won Alexander's immediate approval and thence-forward his closer friendship.

XIV. At this time came envoys from the rest of the Mallians, offering surrender of the tribe; and from the Oxydracae the governors of the cities and the district governors in person and others of their chief personages, up to the number of a hundred and fifty, as plenipotentiaries to discuss terms, bringing the most precious Indian gifts, and they also offering surrender of their tribe. They urged that their error was pardonable, in that they had not sent envoys earlier; they above all others were desirous to have freedom and to be self-governing; that freedom indeed they had preserved intact from the

¹ From Aeschylus; Fragment 282 (Dindorf).
'Ινδοὺς ἦκε σῶαν σφίσιν εἶναι ἐς Ἀλέξανδρον·
εἷ δὲ Ἀλέξανδρῳ δοκοῦν ἄστιν, ὅτι καὶ Ἀλέξανδρον ἀπὸ θεῶν γενέσθαι λόγος κατέχει, σατράπην
τε ἀναδέξεσθαι ὅτινα τάττοι Ἀλέξανδρος καὶ
φόρους ἀποίσειν τούς Ἀλέξανδρῷ δόξαντας·
διδόναι δὲ καὶ ὀμήρους ἔθελεν ὅσους ἀν αὐτῇ
3 Ἀλέξανδρος. Ὅ δὲ χιλίους ἦτησε τοὺς κρατισ-
tεύοντας τοῦ ἔθους, οὐς, εἰ μὲν βούλοιτο, ἀντὶ
ὁμήρους καθεξίεν, εἰ δὲ μὴ, ἔστρατεύοντας εξεῖν
ἐστ' ἀν διαπολεμηθῇ αὐτῷ πρὸς τοὺς ἄλλους
Ἰνδοὺς. Οἱ δὲ τοὺς τε χιλίους ἐπεμψαν, τοὺς
κρατίστους καὶ μεγίστους σφῶν ἐπιλεξάμενοι,
καὶ ἄρματα πεντακόσια σὺν αἰτηθέντες καὶ τοὺς
ἀμβατὰς τῶν ἄρματων. Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ σατρά-
πην μὲν τούτοις τε καὶ τῶν Μαλλῶν τοῖς ἐτὶ
σωζόμενοι ἐπέταξε Φίλιππον τοὺς ὀμήρους δὲ
αὐτῶς ἄφηκε, τὰ δὲ ἄρματα ἔλαβεν.
4 Ὄς δὲ ταῦτα αὐτῷ κεκόσμησε καὶ πλοῖα ἐπὶ
tῇ διατριβῇ τῇ ἐκ τοῦ τραύματος πολλὰ προσενε-
ναυτῆγητο, ἀναβιβάσας ἐς τὰς ναῦς τῶν μὲν
ἐταῖρων ἅπεις ἐπιταξόσιον καὶ χιλίους, τῶν
ψιλῶν δὲ ὀδοὺς καὶ πρότερον, πεζοὺς δὲ ἐς
μυρίους, ὅλιγον μὲν τι τῷ 'Τδραώτῃ ποταμῷ
κατέπλευσεν· ὡς δὲ συνεμίζειν ὁ 'Τδραώτης τῷ
Ἀκεσίνῃ, ὅτι ὁ 'Ἀκεσίνης κρατεῖ τοῦ 'Τδραώτου
τῇ ἐπωνυμίᾳ, κατὰ τῶν 'Ἀκεσίνην αὐτὸν ἔπλει, ἐστε
ἐπὶ τὴν ἐμβολὴν τοῦ 'Ἀκεσίνου καὶ τοῦ 'Ἰνδοῦ
5 ἢκε. Τέσσαρες γὰρ οὕτωι μεγάλοι ποταμοὶ καὶ
ναυσίπτοροι οἱ τέσσαρες εἰς τῶν 'Ἰνδοῦ ποταμῶν
tὸ ύδωρ ἐμβάλλουσιν, οὐ γὰρ τῇ σφητέρᾳ
ἐκαστὸς ἐπωνυμίᾳ, ἀλλά ὁ 'Τδάστης μὲν ἐς τῶν
'Ἀκεσίνην ἐμβάλλει, ὑμβαλὼν δὲ τὸ πᾶν ύδωρ
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days when Dionysus came into India up to Alexander; but if it so pleased Alexander, since report had it that Alexander too was descended from gods, they would accept any governor whom Alexander should appoint and would pay such tribute as might seem good to Alexander; and they would give hostages so many as Alexander should require. Alexander demanded a thousand of the chief men of the tribe, whom he should, if he desired, keep as hostages; or if otherwise, should have them serving with his army, till he should finish his wars against the rest of the Indians. They duly sent the thousand men, choosing out the most important and greatest of their tribe, and also, unasked, five hundred chariots, and the drivers of the chariots. And Alexander appointed Philip as satrap over them and the surviving Mallians; he then returned to them the hostages, but retained the chariots.

When he had put all this in order, and as soon as a large number of additional boats had been constructed during the period of his convalescence from the wound, he embarked on the ships seventeen hundred cavalry of the Companions, and of the light-armed troops the same number as before, and up to ten thousand infantry, and sailed a short way down the Hydraotes; but where the Hydraotes joined the Acesines, since there the name Acesines takes precedence over Hydraotes, he sailed down the Acesines, till he came to the meeting of the Acesines and Indus. For these four great rivers, all navigable, pour their waters into the Indus, not each with its original name, but the Hydaspes runs into the Acesines, and pouring in its whole stream accepts
Άκεσίνην παρέχεται καλούμενον αὐθίς δὲ ὁ Ἀκεσίνης οὗτος ξυμβάλλει τῷ Τδράώτῃ, καὶ παραλαβὼν τούτον ἔτι Ἀκεσίνης ἐστὶ καὶ τὸν Ὀμασῖν ἔπι τούτῳ ὁ Ἀκεσίνης παραλαβὼν τῷ αὐτοῦ δὴ ὁνόματι ἐς τὸν Ἰνδὸν ἐμβάλλειν ξυμβαλλὼν δὲ ξυγχωρεῖ ἢδη τῷ Ἰνδῷ. Ἐνθεν δὴ ὁ Ἰνδὸς πρὶν ἐς τὸ Δέλτα σχισθῆναι οὐκ ἀπίστω ὅτι καὶ ἐς ἐκατὸν σταδίους ἔρχεται καὶ ὑπὲρ τούτων ἐκατὸν τυχὸν ἔναπερ λειμάζει μᾶλλον.

XV. Ἐνταῦθα ἐπὶ τῇ ξυμβολῇ τοῦ Ἀκεσίνου καὶ τοῦ Ἰνδοῦ προσέμενεν ἐστε ἀφίκετο αὐτῷ ξὺν τῇ στρατιᾷ Περδίκκασ, καταστρεφάμενος ἐν παρόδῳ τῷ Ἀβαστανών ἔθνος αὐτόνομον. Ἐν τούτῳ δὲ ἀλλαὶ τε προσγίνονται Ἀλεξάνδρῳ, τριακόντοροι καὶ πλοῖα στρογγυλὰ ἀλλα, δὲ ἐν Ἑάρᾳ ξυμβολή ἐναυπηγήθη αὐτῷ, οἷς ἐν ἄλλο ἔθνος Ἰνδῶν αὐτόνομον προσεχώρησαν. Καὶ παρὰ Ὀσσαδίων, καὶ τοῦτον γένους αὐτόνομον Ἰνδικοῦ, πρέσβεις ἤκουν, εὐνιδόντες καὶ οὕτω τούς

2 Ὀσσαδίων. Φιλίτππῳ μὲν δὴ τῆς σατραπείας ὅρους ἔταξε τὰς συμβολὰς τοῦ τῇ Ἀκεσίνου καὶ Ἰνδοῦ, καὶ ἀπολέσθη ξὺν αὐτῷ τοὺς τῇ ὘ρᾶκας πάντας καὶ ἐκ τῶν τάξεων ὅσοι ἐς φυλακὴν τῆς χώρας ἰκανόν ἐφαίνοντο. Πόλις τε ἐνταῦθα κτίσαι ἐκέλευσεν ἐπὶ αὐτῇ τῇ ξυμβολῇ τοῖς προταμοῖς, ἐλπίζας μεγάλην τε ἐσοθείας καὶ ἐπιφανῆ ἐς ἀνθρώπους, καὶ νεωσοίκους ποιηθῆναι. Ἐν τούτῳ δὲ καὶ Ὀξυάρτης ὁ Βάκτριος, ὁ Ῥωξάνης τῆς γυναικὸς Ἀλεξάνδρου πατήρ, ἦκε παρ’ Ἀλεξάνδρου καὶ προστίθησιν αὐτῷ Παραπαμισαδῶν σατραπεῖς, ἀπαλλάξας Τί-
the name Acesines; then again the Acesines meets the Hydraotes, and taking in this tributary remains the Acesines; then next the Acesines takes in the Hyphasis and still in its own name runs into the Indus, but once having done so is merged into the Indus, and thence the Indus, before it splits into its delta, must be, I think, some hundred stades broad, and perhaps more, where it becomes more lake than river.

XV. There at the junction of the Acesines and Indus Alexander remained till Perdiccas joined him with his army, after subduing on his march the independent tribe of Abastanes. At this time also there joined Alexander further thirty-oared ships and other transport vessels, which had been built for him among the Xathrians, who had surrendered to him, being another independent Indian tribe. Envoys came too from the Ossadians, who also are an independent tribe of Indians; they offered the submission of the Ossadians; Alexander then fixed as the boundaries of Philip's satrapy the junction of the Acesines and Indus, and left with him all the Thracians, and from the ordinary brigades such troops as seemed enough to garrison the country. He bade him also found there a city,¹ just at the meeting of the two rivers, having entertained a hope that such a city would become great and famous in the world; he also ordered dockyards to be built. And about this time Oxyartes the Bactrian, father of Roxane, Alexander's wife, came to visit Alexander; and Alexander gave him in addition the satrapy over the Parapamisadae, removing Tiryaspes the former

¹ One of the many Alexandrias. Some think it is the modern Mittun.
ρυάσπην τὸν πρόσθεν σατράτην, ὅτι οὐκ ἐν κόσμῳ ἔχετε ἑαυτὸν τὸν Βασίλειον τὸν τροποῦν τὸν Πῶλον καὶ τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ἐν ἁριστερᾷ τοῦ Ἰωνίου ποτηρίου, ὅτι ἐν πορτωτερά τα ταύτη τὰ παρὰ τὸν ποταμὸν στρατιά βαρείᾳ ἐφαύνεται καὶ τὰ ἔθνη τὰ προσοκούντα οὐ πάντη φίλα ἦν, αὐτὸς κατέπληκε ἐς τῶν Σόγιων τὸ βασίλειον. Καὶ ἐνταῦθα πόλιν τε ἐτείχιζεν ἀλλήν καὶ νεωσίκους ἐποίησε ἀλλός καὶ τὰ πλοία αὐτῷ τὰ πεπονηκότα ἐπεσκευάσθη. Τῆς δὲ ἀπὸ τῶν ξυμβολῶν τοῦ τῆς Ἰωνίου καὶ Ἀκεσίονον χώρας ἐστε ἐπὶ θάλασσαν σατράτην ἀπέδειξεν Ὀξύναρτην καὶ Πείθωνα 1 ἔξω τῇ παραλιᾷ πάση τῆς Ἰωνίων γῆς.

5 Καὶ Κράτερων μὲν ἐκπέμπει αὐθις ἐξώ τῇ στρατιᾷ [διὰ τῆς 'Αραχώτων καὶ Δράγγων γῆς]. 2 αὐτὸς δὲ κατέπληκε ἐς τὴν Μουσικανοῦ ἐπικράτειαν, ἵναν εὐδαιμονεστάτην τῆς Ἰωνίων γῆς εἶναι ἐξηγγελλειτο, ὅτι οὐκ ὅτε ἀπηνυτήκει αὑτῷ Μουσικανὸς ἐνδιδοὺς αὐτὸν τῇ τῆς χώρας ὅτε πρόσβεις ἐπὶ φιλία ἐκπέμπει, οὐδὲ τι ὅτε αὐτός ἐπεσύμφηει ἡ μεγάλω βασιλείς εἰκὸς, ὅτε τι ἦτε ἡ ἐκπέμπει ἐξ 'Αλέξανδρου. Καὶ γίγνεται αὐτῷ ὁ πλοῦς κατὰ τῶν ποταμῶν ἐς τοσοῦν ἐσπουδασμένος ὅτε ἐφθη ἐπὶ τῶς ὅριως γενέσθαι τῆς Μουσικανοῦ χώρας πρὶν πυθέσθαι Μουσικανὸν ὅτι δρομείται ὡς ἐπὶ αὐτὸν 'Αλέξανδρος. Οὕτω δὲ ἐκπλαγεῖς κατὰ τάχος

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1 Some word perhaps (στρατηγὸν) lost after Πείθωνα. But see xvii. 1. A joint rule is possible.

2 [διὰ ... γῆς] conflicts with § 7 below; was bracketed by Schmieder.

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satrap, since this Tiryaspes was reported to him to be conducting his office in a disorderly manner.

Then Alexander caused Craterus and the greater part of the army and the elephants to be ferried across to the left bank of the river Indus; since the journey along the river-bank seemed easier on that side to heavy troops, and also since the tribes on the river-bank were not everywhere friendly. Then he himself sailed down towards the royal city of Sogdia. There he built and fortified a new city, and made new dockyards, and had his damaged boats refitted. As satrap of the country from the meeting of the Indus and the Acesines up to the sea, with all the coast-line of the country of India, he appointed Oxyartes with Peitho.

Craterus then he sent back again with his army (through the territory of the Arachotians and Drangians) while he himself sailed down-stream towards the kingdom of Muscianus, which was reported to be the richest of all India, since Muscianus had not yet presented himself to surrender himself and his country, nor had sent envoys to establish friendly relations; nor indeed had sent anything at all, as one naturally would to a great King, nor had made any request from Alexander. The voyage down the river proved so swift that he arrived at the borders of Muscianus’ realm before Muscianus became aware that Alexander had started in his direction. Amazed then by this swiftness of movement, Muscianus at
ἀπήντα Ἀλεξάνδρῳ, δόρα τε τὰ πλεῖστον ἄξια ἐν Ἰνδοῖς κομίζων καὶ τοὺς ἑλέφαντας ἐξυμπαντας ἂγων καὶ τὸ ἐθνὸς τε καὶ αὐτὸν ἐνδίδους καὶ ὀμολογῶν ἄδικεϊν, ὅπερ μέγιστον παρ᾽ Ἀλε-
7 ξάνδρῳ ἦν ἐς τὸ τυχεῖν ὃν τις δέοιτο. Καὶ οὖν καὶ Μουσικανῷ ἐπὶ τοῦδε ἀδεια ἐδόθη ἐξ Ἀλε-
ξάνδρου, καὶ τὴν πόλιν ἐθαύμασεν Ἀλέξανδρος καὶ τὴν χώραν, καὶ ἀρχεῖν αὐτῆς Μουσικανῷ ἐδώκε. Κράτερος δὲ ἐν τῇ πόλει ἐτάχθη τὴν ἀκραν ἐκτείχισαι καὶ παρόντος ἐτέ ἐτειχίσθη Ἀλεξάνδρου καὶ φυλακὴ κατεστάθη, ὅτι ἐπιτή-
δειον αὐτῷ ἐφάνη τὸ χώριον ἐς τὸ κατέχεσθαι τὰ κύκλῳ ἐθνὶ φυλαττόμενα.

XVI. Ἐνθέν δὲ ἀναλαβὼν τοὺς τε τοξότας καὶ τοὺς Ἀγριάνας καὶ τὴν ἱππον τὴν ἀμα ὅι πλέουσαι ἐξελαύνει ἐπὶ τὸν νομάρχην τῆς ταύτη γῆς, ὅνομα δὲ ἦν Ὅζυκανός, ὅτι μὴτε αὐτὸς ἀφίκτου μήτε πρέσβεις παρ᾽ αὐτοῦ ἤκου ἐνδι-
2 δόντες αὐτόν τε καὶ τὴν χώραν. Δύο μὲν δὴ τὰς μεγίστας πόλεις τῶν ὧπο τῷ Ὅζυκανῷ ἐξ ἐφόδου κατὰ κράτος ἐλαβέν. ἐν δὲ τῇ ἐτέρᾳ τούτων καὶ αὐτὸς Ὅζυκανός ἐάλω. Ὅ δὲ τῆν μὲν λείαν τῇ στρατιᾶ δίδωσι, τοὺς ἑλέφαντας δὲ ἀμα ὅι ἤγε. Καὶ ἄλλαι δὲ πόλεις αὐτῷ αἴ ἐν τῇ αὐτῇ χώρᾳ ἐνεδίδοντο ἐπιόντι οὐδὲ τῆς ἐτράπετο ἐς ἀλκῆν οὐτῷ καὶ Ἰνδοῖ πάντες ἐδεδουλώτο ἢδη τῇ γνώμη πρὸς Ἀλεξάνδρου τε καὶ τῆς Ἀλεξάνδρου τύχης.

3 Ὅ δὲ ἐπὶ Σάμβουν αὐ ἦγε, τῶν ὄρεών Ἰνδῶν σατράπην ὑπ᾽ αὐτοῦ κατασταθέντα, ὅς πεφευ-
once went to meet Alexander, bringing gifts such as are accounted most valuable among the Indians, and leading thither all his elephants; moreover, submitting himself and his people and acknowledging his error, which was the most potent method with Alexander of obtaining what anyone might desire. And, sure enough, Music anus received pardon from Alexander; and Alexander much admired his country and his capital, and permitted Music anus to remain sovereign over it. Craterus was ordered to fortify the citadel in this city; and it was so fortified while Alexander was still there, and a garrison was placed there, since the position seemed to Alexander very convenient for keeping a hold over the tribes over which he was keeping watch in the neighbourhood.

XVI. From there Alexander, taking with him the archers and the Agrianes and the cavalry which was sailing with him, made an expedition to the governor of this district, who was named Oxycanus; since he had neither come himself nor had envoys come from him, to surrender himself and his district. Two of the largest cities in Oxycanus' province he took easily by assault, and in the second of these Oxycanus himself was captured. All the plunder Alexander handed over to the army, but the elephants he took away himself. Other cities in the same district surrendered on Alexander's approach, no one resisting, so completely had the spirit of all the Indians been broken by Alexander and Alexander's good fortune.

Next Alexander advanced against Sambus, who had been appointed by himself satrap of the Indian hillmen; he was reported to have made good his
γέναι αυτῷ ἐξηγγέλλετο ὅτι Μουσικανὸν ἀφει-μένον πρὸς Ἀλέξανδρον ἐπῆθετο καὶ τῆς χώρας τῆς ἐαυτοῦ ἀρχοντα· τὰ γὰρ πρὸς Μουσικανὸν
4 αὐτῷ πολέμια ἦν. Ὡς δὲ ἐπέλαξεν ἢδη τῇ πόλει Ἀλέξανδρος ἦν τινα μητρόπολιν εἶχεν ἡ τοῦ Σάμβου χώρα, ὅνομα δὲ ἦν τῇ πόλει Σινδίμανα, αὐτῷ πόλιν αὐτῷ ἀνοίγονται προσάγοντε καὶ οἱ ὀικείοι τοῦ Σάμβου τα τε χρήματα ἀπηρίθμησαν καὶ τοὺς ἐλέφαντας μετὰ σφῶν ἁγοντες ἀπήντων· οὐ γὰρ δὴ Ἀλέξανδρος ὅτι πολεμίως ἔχοντα Σάμβου φυγείν, ἀλλὰ Μουσικανὸν τὴν ἄφεσιν
5 δείσαντα. 'Ὁ δὲ καὶ ἄλλην πόλιν ἐν τούτῳ ἀποστάσαν εἰλε, καὶ τῶν Βραχμάνων, οἱ δὴ σοφισταῖ τοὺς Ἰνδοῖς εἰσίν, ὅσοι αἴτου τῆς ἀπο-στάσεως ἐγένοντο ἀπέκτεινεν· ύπέρ ὅν ἐγὼ τῆς σοφίας, εἰ δὴ τίς ἐστιν, ἐν τῇ Ἰνδικῇ ἕνγγραφῇ δηλόως.

XVII. Καὶ ἐν τούτῳ Μουσικανός αὐτῷ ἀφεσ-τάναι ἐξηγγέλλετο. Καὶ ἐπὶ τούτων μὲν ἐκ-πέμπει Πείθωνα τὸν Ἀγήνορος σατράπην ἐξὶν στρατιὰ ἀποχρώση. Αὐτὸς δὲ τὰς πόλεις τὰς ὑπὸ Μουσικανῷ τεταγμένας ἐπελθὼν τὰς μὲν ἐξανδραποδίσας αὐτῶν κατέσκαψεν, εἰς ἃς δὲ φιουρᾶς εἰσῆγαγε καὶ ἀκρας ἐξετείχισε. Τάντα δὲ διαπραξάμενος ἐπὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον τε ἐπανῆκε
2 καὶ τὸν στόλον. Ἔνθα δὴ Μουσικανός τε ξυλληφθεὶς ἀγεταὶ πρὸς Πείθωνος, καὶ τοῦτον κρεμᾶσαι κελεύει Ἀλέξανδρος ἐν τῇ αὐτοῦ γῇ καὶ τῶν Βραχμάνων όσοι αἴτου τῆς ἀποστάσεως τῷ Μουσικανῷ κατέστησαν· ἀφίκετο δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ ὁ τῶν Παττάλων τῆς χώρας ἄρχων, ὦ δὴ τὸ Δέλτα ἐφην εἰναι τὸ πρὸς τοῦ ποταμοῦ τοῦ Ἰνδοῦ
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escape on learning that Alexander had forgiven Musicanus and allowed him to continue ruler of his province; for Sambus and Musicanus were at enmity. But when Alexander was now approaching the city which was the capital of Sambus' territory, its name being Sindimana, the gates were opened to him at his coming and the relatives of Sambus counted out his treasure and went to meet Alexander, bringing with them all the elephants; they represented that Sambus' flight had not been due to any ill-will towards Alexander, but he had been frightened at his clemency towards Musicanus. At this same time Alexander captured another city which had rebelled, and he put to death those of the Brachmans, the learned pundits of India, who had been responsible for the revolt. The wisdom of these men, such as it is, I shall discuss in my Indian History.

XVII. In the midst of all this the revolt of Musicanus was announced. Against him Alexander sent Peitho son of Agenor the satrap with a sufficient force. He himself advanced against the cities subject to Musicanus, and of some he sold the inhabitants into slavery, razing the cities to the ground, in others he established garrisons and fortified citadels. Then when he had completed this he returned to his camp and fleet. Hither too Musicanus, now a captive, was brought by Peitho; and Alexander bade them hang him in his own land, together with such of the Brachmans who had been the instigators of Musicanus' revolt. There arrived here also the governor of the territory of Pattala, the territory which I stated to be the delta made
ποιούμενον, μείζον ἐτι τοῦ Δέλτα τοῦ Ἀγνυττίου, καὶ οὗτος τὴν τε χώραν αὐτῷ ἐνεδίδου πᾶσαν καὶ 3 αὐτὸν τε καὶ τὰ αὐτοῦ ἐπέτρεψε. Τούτων μὲν δὴ ἐπὶ τῇ αὐτοῦ ἀρχῇ ἐκπέμπει αὖθις, παραγγείλας παρασκευάζειν ὅσα ἐς ὑποδοχὴν τῇ στρατιᾷ αὐτὸς δὲ Κράτερου μὲν τὴν τε Ἀττάλου τάξιν ἁγοῦτα καὶ τὴν Μελεάγρου καὶ Ἀντιγένους καὶ τῶν τοξοτῶν ἔστιν οὐς καὶ τῶν ἔταιρων τε καὶ ἄλλων Μακεδόνων ὅσους ἐς Μακεδονίαν ἀπομάχοντας ὄντας ἦδη ἔστελλε, τὴν ἐπ’ Ἀραχώτων καὶ Ζαράγγων ἐπεμπεν ἐς Καρμανίαν, καὶ τοὺς ἐλέφαντας τοῦτῳ ἁγεῖν ἔδωκε. 4 τῇ δὲ ἄλλῃ στρατιᾷ, ὅση γε μὴ ξὺν αὐτῷ κατέπλευ τὸ ἐπὶ θάλασσαν, Ἡφαιστίων ἐπετάχθη. Πεθώνα δὲ τοὺς τε ἱππακοντιστὰς ἁγοῦτα καὶ τοὺς Ἀγριάνας ἐς τὴν ἐπ’ ἐκείνα ὄχθην τοῦ Ἰνδοῦ διαβιβάσας, οὐχ ἦπερ Ἡφαιστίων τὴν στρατιὰν ἁγεῖν ἣμελλε, τὰς τε ἐκτετειχισμένας ἦδη πόλεις εὐνοικίσας ἐκέλευσε καὶ εἰ ἰδίὰ τινα νεωτερίζοιτο πρὸς τῶν ταύτη Ἰνδοῦ καὶ ταύτα ἐς κόσμον καταστήσαντα ἔμπωλάλλειν οἱ ἐς τὰ Πάτταλα.

5 Ἡδὴ δὲ τρίτην ἠμέραν αὐτῷ τοῦ πλοῦ ἔχοντι ἐξαγγέλλεται ὅτι οὶ τῶν Παττάλων ὕπαρχος ἑυλαβὼν τῶν Πατταλέων τοὺς πολλοὺς ἄπο- δεδρακός οἴχοιτο, ἀπολιπὼν τὴν χώραν ἐρημοῦ, καὶ ἐπὶ τούτῳ πλέον ἡ πρόσθεν σπουδὴ κατέπλευ Ἀλέξανδρος. Ὡς δὲ ἀφίκετο ἐς τὰ Πάτταλα, τὴν τε πόλιν καὶ τὴν χώραν ἐρημοῦ καταλαμ-

1 τῇ δὲ ἄλλῃ στρατιᾷ Ellendt: texts give accusatives, which may be retained by supposing a lacuna after ἐν ἐν (so Roos).

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by the river Indus, greater than the Egyptian delta; he offered in surrender all his territory and committed himself and all that he had to Alexander. Alexander sent him back again to his own realm, bidding him make all ready for the reception of the army; then he despatched Craterus with the brigade of Attalus and those of Meleager and Antigones, some of the archers, and so many of the Companions and the other Macedonians as he was already sending back to Macedonia as being past service, to go by the road through the Arachotians and Zarangians to Carmania; he also gave Craterus the elephants to take with him. Over the rest of the army Hephaestion was placed in command—except such part of it as was sailing with Alexander himself to the sea; but Peitho, with the mounted javelin-men and the Agrianes, he transported to the other side of the Indus, not that by which Hephaestion was to take his army; he gave orders to Peitho to settle such cities as were already fortified, and deal with any attempted rebellion among the Indians in these parts, and finally meet him at Pattala.

Now when Alexander had been already three days on the voyage, he received news that the chief of Pattala had taken with him the greater number of the tribesmen and had absconded, leaving his country desolate, and on this Alexander sailed down with even greater speed than before. On his arrival at Pattala, he found both city and ter-
bánei tōn énoikouνtων te kai épergázoméνων.1
6 Ὅ δὲ κατὰ δίωξιν τῶν φευγόντων ἐκπέμψας τῆς στρατιάς τοὺς κουφοτάτους, ἔπει τινὲς αὐτῶν εὐνεληφθέντας, ἀποπέμπει τούτους παρὰ τοὺς ἄλλους, ἐντελάμενος ἐπανεῖναι θαρροῦντας· εἶναι γὰρ αὐτοῖς τὴν τε πόλιν οἰκεῖν ὅσ πρόσθεν καὶ τὴν χώραν ἐργάζεσθαι. Καὶ ἐπανήλθον οἱ πολλοὶ αὐτῶν.

XVIII. Αὐτὸς δὲ Ἡφαιστίωνι προστάξας τεῖχίζειν εἰς τοὺς Παττάλοις ἀκραν ἀποπέμπει ἐς τὴν ἀνυδρον τῆς πλησίον γῆς φρέατα τε ὀρύξοντας καὶ οἰκῆσαν μονῇ τὴν χώραν κατασκεύασοντας. Καὶ τούτως ἐπέθεντο τῶν προσχώρων τινὲς βαρβάρων. Καὶ ἔστι μὲν οὐδὲ διεισθείραν αὐτῶν ἄφων προσπεσόντες, πολλοὺς δὲ καὶ σφὸν ἀποβαλόντες ἐφυγον ἔς τὴν ἔρημον, ὡστε ἐπιτελεσθήναι τοῖς ἐκπεμφθείσι τὰ ἔργα, προσγενομένης αὐτοῖς καὶ ἄλλης στρατιάς, ἣν Ἀλέξανδρος πυθόμενος τῶν βαρβάρων τὴν ἐπίθεσιν ἐστάλκει μεθέξοντας τοῦ ἔργου.

2 Περὶ δὲ τοὺς Παττάλοις σχίζεται τοῦ Ἰνδοῦ τὸ ὅδωρ ἐς δύο ποταμοὺς μεγάλους, καὶ οὔτοι ἅμφωτεροι σώκουσι τοῦ Ἰνδοῦ τὸ ὅνομα ἔστε ἐπὶ τὴν βάλασαν. Ἔνταῦθα ναῦσταθμόν τε καὶ νεώσοικος ἐποίει Ἀλέξανδρος. Ὡς δὲ προῦκε- χωρῆκει αὐτῷ τὰ ἔργα, ὡς δὲ καταπλεῖν ἔπενοει ἐστε ἐπὶ τὴν ἐκβολὴν τοῦ ἐν δεξιᾷ βρέοντος ποτα- 3 μοῦ ἔς τὴν βάλασαν. Λεόννατον μὲν δή, δοὺς αὐτῷ τῶν τε ἱππέων ἐς χελίους καὶ τῶν ὀπλιτῶν

1 ἐπεργ... Polak suggests ἐνεργ. ..., but one dwells in a city, and works on the land. I retain therefore the MSS. ἐπ..
ritory empty, both of inhabitants and of labourers. He therefore despatched the lightest of his troops in pursuit of the fugitives, and when some of these had been captured, sent them away to the others, bidding them to come back without fear; for their city was theirs to dwell in as before, and their country was theirs to till. And the greater part of them did come back.

XVIII. Alexander then bade Hephaestion to fortify the citadel in Pattala, and sent out others to the desert parts of the surrounding country to dig wells and to make the country inhabitable. Some of the neighbouring tribesmen, however, set upon this party; some indeed they destroyed, by the suddenness of their attack, but they lost also many of their own number, and fled away into the desert, so that those who had been sent to complete the work did so, another force having joined them, which Alexander, on hearing of the attack of the natives, had sent to help with the work.

At Pattala the stream of the Indus parts into two large rivers, both of these retaining the name "Indus" till they reach the sea. Here Alexander began to build a harbour and dockyards, and when these works had got well advanced, he proposed to sail down to the outlet of the right-hand stream where it joined the sea. He sent therefore Leonnatus, giving him a thousand of the cavalry and
τε καὶ ψιλῶν ἐς ὀκτακισχιλίους, κατὰ τὴν νῆσον
tὰ Πάτταλα ἐκπέμπει ἀντιπαράγειν τῷ στόλῳ
ἀυτὸς δὲ τὰς μάλιστα τῶν νεῶν ταχυναυτούσας
ἀναλαβῶν ὅσα τε ἥμισυ καὶ τὰς τριακοντόρους
πάσας καὶ τῶν κερκούρων ἔστιν οὐς ἐπελει κατὰ
4 τὸν ποταμὸν τὸν ἐν δεξιᾷ. Οὐκ ἔχοντι δὲ αὐτῷ
ἡγεμόνα τοῦ πλοῦ, ὅτι πεφεύγεσαν οἱ ταύτη
Ἰνδῶν, ἀπορώτερα τὰ τοῦ κατάπλου ἦν· χειμῶν τε
ἐπιγίγνεται ἐς τὴν υστεραίαν ἀπὸ τῆς ἀναγωγῆς
καὶ ὁ ἄνεμος τῷ ῥόῳ πνεῶν ὑπεναντίος κοίλον
τε ἐποίει τὸν ποταμὸν καὶ τὰ σκάφη διέσειρε,
όστε ἐπόνησαν αὐτῷ αἱ πλείσται τῶν νεῶν· τῶν
dὲ τριακοντόρων ἔστιν αἱ καὶ πάντη διελύθησαν.
"Εφθασαν δὲ ἑποκείλαντες αὐτάς πρὶν παντάπασι
διαπεσεῖν ἐν τῷ ὕδατι. "Ετεραί οὖν ἔνυπτηγγυντο.
5 Καὶ τῶν ψιλῶν τοὺς κοιφοτάτους ἐκπέμψας ἐς
τὴν προσωτέρω τῆς ὁχθῆς χώραν ξυλαιμβάνει
tινᾶς τῶν Ἰνδῶν, καὶ οὕτων τὸ ἀπὸ τοῦ ἔξηγοντο
αὐτῷ τὸν πόρων. Ὡς δὲ ἦκιν ἱναπερ
ἀναχεῖται ἐς εὐρος ὁ ποταμός, ὥς καὶ διακοσίους
tαὐτή σταδίους ἐπέχειν ὥστε εὐρύτατος αὐτὸς
αὐτοῦ ἦν, τὸ τε πνεῦμα κατήκει μέγα ἀπὸ τῆς
ἐξω θαλάσσης καὶ αἱ κῶπαι ἐν κλύδων χαλέπτως
ἀνεφέροντο, ξυμφεύγουσιν αὐτῷ ἐς διόρυχα ἑς
ἦντιν αἱ ἡγεμόνες αὐτῷ καθηγήσατο.
XIX. Ἐνταῦθα ὁρμισάντων τὸ πάθημα ἐπι-
γίγνεται τῆς μεγάλης θαλάσσης ἡ ἅμπωτις,
ὡστε ἐπὶ ἕξηρον ἀπελεύθησαν αὐτοῖς αἱ νῆσε.
Καὶ τούτο οὕτω πρὸτερον ἑγυρκόσι τοῖς ἀμφ᾽
Ἀλέξανδρον ἐκπληγῆσιν μὲν καὶ αὐτὸ ὦ σμικραν
παρέσχε· πολὺ δὲ δὴ ἔτι μείζονα ὅποτε διελ-
about eight thousand of the heavy and light armed troops, to the island of Pattala, to march alongside the fleet. Then Alexander himself, taking the swiftest sailers of his fleet and the ships of one and a half banks of oars, all the thirty-oar ships, and some of the fast galleys,\(^1\) sailed down the right-hand river. But as he had no pilot, since all the Indians of these parts had fled, there were grave difficulties in the descent, and on the day after the fleet weighed, there came a great storm, and the wind blowing contrary to the current made troughs in the stream and battered the flotilla; most of the ships were damaged, and some even of the thirty-oar ships were complete wrecks. They ran them to shore, however, before they were completely shattered. Other ships therefore were built. Then he sent off the lightest of his auxiliary troops to the country on the farther bank to capture some of the Indians, and they for the rest of the way piloted the passage. Then when they came to the broadening of the river, so that it extends at its broadest to two hundred stades, the wind was blowing violently from the ocean and the oars could hardly be lifted in the waves, and they ran for shelter, therefore, into a side channel, to which Alexander’s pilots steered them.

XIX. There they anchored, and there followed the usual feature of the ocean, the receding tide; as a result their ships were left high and dry. This Alexander’s troops had not before known of, and it caused them no small amazement; but it caused even more when the time passed by and

\(^1\) See above, VI, i. 1. The κέρκουρος was a light, and apparently swift, boat.
θούσης τῆς ὀρας προσήμει τὰ τὸ ὕδωρ καὶ τὰ 2 σκάφη ἐμετηρίζοντο. Ὅσας μὲν δὴ τῶν νεῶν ἐν τῷ πηλῷ ἑδραίας κατέλαβεν, αὐταὶ δὲ ἁβλαβῶς τε ἐμετηρίσθησαν καὶ οὐδὲν χαλέπων παθοῦσαι ἐπλευν αὐθίς. Ὅσα δὲ ἐν ἔρητέρᾳ τῇ γῇ καὶ οὐ βεβαιῶς γε τὴν στάσιν ἔχουσιν ὑπελείφθησαν, αὐταὶ δὲ ἀθρόου ἐπελθόντος τοῦ κύματος αἱ μὲν αὐτῶν ἐμπεσοῦσαι ἐς ἀλλήλας, αἱ δὲ πρὸς τῇ 3 γῇ ἀραχθεῖσαι ἐμπεμβῆσαν. Ταῦτα τε οὖν ἐπεσκεύασεν Ἀλέξανδρος ἐκ τῶν παρόντων καὶ ἐν κερκούρῳ δυοῖν προπέμπει κατὰ τὸν ποταμὸν τοὺς κατασκεψιμοῖος τὴν νῆσον ἐς ἑντών οἱ ἑπιχώροι ἐφάσκον ὀρμιστεὰ εἰναι αὐτῷ κατὰ τὸν πλοῦν τὸν ἐπὶ θάλασσαν. Κιλλουντὰ δὲ τῇ νῆσῳ τὸ ὅνομα ἔλεγον. Ἡς δὲ ἔξηγησεν ὅτι ὅρμοι τε ἐν τῇ νῆσῳ εἰσὶ καὶ αὐτὴ μεγάλη καὶ ὑδρὼ ἔχουσα, ὅ μὲν ἄλλος αὐτῷ στόλος ἐς τὴν νῆσον κατέσχεν αὐτὸς δὲ ταῖς ἀρισταί πλεούσαις τῶν νεῶν ἐπὶ ἐκεῖνα προμοχόρει, ὡς ἀπειδεῖν τοῦ ποταμοῦ τὴν ἐκβολήν τῆς ἐς τὴν θάλασσαν, εἰ 4 παρέχου τὸν ἐκπλουν εὐποροῦν. Προελθόντες δὲ ἀπὸ τῆς νῆσου στάδιος δῦσον διακοσίους ἀφορώσιν ἀλλὴν νῆσον, ταῦτην ἑδῆ ἐν τῇ θάλασσῃ. Τότε μὲν δὴ ἐπανήλθον ἐς τὴν ἐν τῷ ποταμῷ νῆσον, καὶ πρὸς τοῖς ἄκροις αὐτῆς καθορμισθεὶς θύει τοῖς θεοῖς Ἀλέξανδρος δοσίς ἐφάσκεν ὅτι παρὰ τοῦ Ἀμμωνος ἐπηγγελμένου ἦν θύσαι αὐτῷ. ἔς δὲ τῆς ύστεραλαν κατέπλει ὡς ἐπὶ τὴν ἀλλήν τὴν ἐν τῷ πόντῳ νῆσον· καὶ προσφέρον καὶ ταύτη ἐθει καὶ ἐνταῦθα ἄλλας αὐ θυσίας ἀλλοις τε θεοῖς καὶ ἄλλῳ τρόπῳ καὶ ταύτας δὲ κατ' 5 ἐπιθεσπισμὸν θύειν τοῦ Ἀμμωνος. Αὐτὸς δὲ
the tide came up again and the ships floated. Such of the ships as the tide found comfortably settled on the mud floated off unharmed, and sailed once more without sustaining damage; but those that were caught on a drier bottom, and not remaining on an even keel, as the onrushing tide came in all together, either collided one with another, or were dashed upon the ground and shattered. These Alexander repaired as best he could, and then despatched in two of his pinnaces down-stream some of his men to explore the island by which the natives affirmed he must anchor on his voyage down to meet the sea. This island they called Cilluta. The scouts reported that there was good anchorage by the island, and that it was large, with fresh water, so the rest of his fleet put in at the island; but Alexander himself with the best sailors from among his ships went to the far side of the island, to get a view of the outlet of the river into the sea, and see if it offered a safe passage out. So advancing about two hundred stades from the island they sighted a second island, right out in the sea. On this they returned to the river island, and anchoring at a headland upon this island Alexander sacrificed to those gods to which, he used to say, Ammon had ordered him to sacrifice. Then the next day he sailed down to the island in the sea; he put in there, and sacrificed there other sacrifices to other gods and with different ceremonial; these sacrifices also, he said, he offered in accordance with the oracle given from Ammon. Then passing the
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ὑπερβαλῶν τοῦ Ἰνδοῦ ποταμοῦ τὰς ἐκβολὰς ἐς τὸ πέλαγος ἀνέπλει, ὡς μὲν ἔλεγεν, ἀπιδείω εἰ ποῦ τις χώρα πλησίον ἀνίσχει ἐν τῷ πόντῳ ἐμοὶ δὲ δοκεί, οὐχ ἦκιστα ὡς πεπλευκέναι τὴν μεγάλην τὴν ἐξω Ἰνδοῦ θάλασσαν. Ἐνταῦθα ταῦροις τε σφάξας τῷ Ποσειδώνι ἀφῆκεν ἐς τὴν θάλασσαν καὶ σπέιςας ἐπὶ τῇ θυσίᾳ τὴν τε φιάλην, χρυσὴν οὖσαν, καὶ κρατήρας χρυσοῦς ἐνέβαλλεν ἐς τὸν πόντον χαριστήρια, εὐχόμενος σοῦν οἱ παραπέμψαι τὸν στρατὸν τὸν ναυτικόν, ὅτι λένα ἦν Νεάρχῳ ἐπενόει στέλλειν ὡς ἐπὶ τὸν κόλπον τὸν Περσικοῦ καὶ τὰς ἐκβολὰς τοῦ τε Εὐφράτου καὶ τοῦ Τίγρητος.

XX. Ἐπανελθὼν δὲ ὅπισώ ἐς τὰ Πάτταλα τὴν τε ἀκραν τετειχισμένην καταλαμβάνει καὶ Πάθωνα ἐξ ἧν τῇ στρατιᾷ ἀφιγμένον καὶ τούτῳ ἕμπαντα καταπετραγμένα ἐφ’ οἶσπερ ἐστάλη. Ἡφαιστίων μὲν δὴ ἐτάχθη παρασκευάζειν τὰ πρὸς τὸν ἐκτειχισμὸν τε τοῦ ναυστάθμου καὶ τῶν νεωσοίκων τὴν κατασκευὴν· καὶ γὰρ καὶ ἐνταῦθα ἐπενόει στόλον ὑπολείπεσθαι νεὼν οὐκ ὀλίγων πρὸς τῇ πόλει τοῖς Παττάλοις, ἵνα περ ἐσχίζετο ὁ ποταμὸς ὁ Ἰνδὸς.

2 Αὐτὸς δὲ κατὰ τὸ ἐτέρον στόμα τοῦ Ἰνδοῦ κατέπλει αὐθες ἐς τὴν μεγάλην θάλασσαν, ὡς καταμαθεῖν δὴν εὐπορωτέρα ἡ ἐκβολή τοῦ Ἰνδοῦ ἐς τὸν πόντον γίγνεται· ἀπέχει δὲ ἄλληλον τὰ στόματα τοῦ ποταμοῦ τοῦ Ἰνδοῦ ἐς στάδιονς

3 μᾶλιστα ὀκτακοσίων καὶ χιλίων. Ἐν δὲ τῷ κατάπλωρ ἀφίκετο τῆς ἐκβολῆς τοῦ ποταμοῦ ἐς λίμνην μεγάλην, ἦντενα ἀναχεόμενος ὁ ποταμός, τυχόν δὲ καὶ ἐκ τῶν πέριξ ὑδάτων ἐμβαλόντων.
moutns of the river Indus he set sail to the high seas, to see, as he himself said, if any country stood out, near by, in the ocean; but in my own judgment chiefly that he might have voyaged in the Great Ocean beyond India. Then he sacrificed bulls to Poseidon, and cast them into the sea, and poured, after the sacrifice, a libation; casting also into the sea the cup, a gold one, and golden bowls, as thank-offerings, praying also that Poseidon would safely convey his naval force, which he purposed to despatch under Nearchus towards the Persian Gulf and the mouths of the Euphrates and Tigris.

XX. After this he returned to Pattala, and found the citadel already fortified and Peitho duly arrived with his army, having successfully accomplished his whole mission. Hephaestion was now ordered to get ready everything necessary for the fortifying of the harbour and for the building of the dockyards; for Alexander purposed to leave behind there a fleet of several ships at the city of Pattala, where the river Indus divided.

Then Alexander sailed down to the ocean again by the other mouth of the Indus, to learn by which branch the outlet of the Indus to the ocean was safer; these mouths of the river Indus are eighteen hundred stades apart from one another. And in the descent of the river he arrived at a great lake not far from the river outlet; this the river as it spreads—and possibly also from the other neigh-
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ἐς αὐτὴν, μεγάλην τε ποιεῖ καὶ κόλπῳ θαλάσσης μάλιστα έυκυών· καὶ γάρ καὶ ιχθύες ἤδη ἐν αὐτῇ τῶν ἀπὸ θαλάσσης ἐφαίνοντο μείζονες τῶν ἐν τῇ τῇ ἡμετέρᾳ θαλάσσῃ. Προσορμοσθεὶς οὖν κατὰ τὴν λίμνην ἦναιρι οἱ καθηγημένοι ἐξηγοῦντο, τῶν μὲν στρατιωτῶν τοὺς πολλοὺς καταλείπει σὺν Δεοννάτῳ αὐτοῦ καὶ τοὺς κερκούρους ξύμπαντας. Αὐτὸς δὲ ταῖς τριακοντόροις τε καὶ ἡμιολίαις ὑπερβαλὼν τὴν ἐκβολὴν τοῦ Ἰνδοῦ καὶ προελθὼν καὶ ταύτῃ ἐς τὴν θάλασσαν, εὐποροτέραν τε κατέμαθε τὴν ἐπὶ τάδε τοῦ Ἰνδοῦ ἐκβολήν, καὶ αὐτὸς προσορμοσθεὶς τὸν αὐγιαλὸ καὶ τῶν ἰππέων τινὰς ἀμα ὡς ἔχων παρὰ θάλασσαν ἦνι σταθμοὺς τρεῖς, τὴν τε χώραν ὅποια τῆς ἐστιν ἐν τῷ παράπλω ἐπισκεπτόμενος καὶ φρέατα οὐρύσσεσθαι κελεύων, ὅπως ἔχοιεν ὑδρεύσεις· ὥς δέν οἱ πλέοντες. Αὐτὸς μὲν δὴ ἐπανελθὼν ἐπὶ τὰς ναῦς ἀνέπλει ἐς τὰ Πάτταλα· μέρος δὲ τι τῆς στρατιᾶς τὰ αὐτὰ ταύτα ἐργασομένους κατὰ τὴν παραλίαν ἐπεμψεν, ἐπανεῖναι καὶ τούτως προστάξας ἐς τὰ Πάτταλα. Ἀδιός δὲ ὡς ἐπὶ τὴν λίμνην καταπλεύσας ἄλλον ναῦσταθμὸν καὶ ἄλλους νεωσοίκους ἐνταύθα κατεσκεύασε, καὶ φυλακὴν καταλιπὼν τῷ χωρίῳ σίτον τε ὅσον καὶ ἐς τέσσαρας μῆνας ἐξαρκέσαι τῇ στρατιᾷ ἐπηγάγετο καὶ τάλλα ὅσα ἐν τῷ παράπλῳ παρεσκευάσεις.

XXI. Ὅτι δὲ ἐν μὲν τῷ τότε ἀπορος ἢ ὡρα ἐς τὸν πλοῦν· οἱ γάρ ἐπήσιοι ἀνεμοὶ κατεῖχον, οἷον

1 Roos ἐσηγεῖ. and omits ἐν. But ὅσα ἐν τῷ παράπλῳ is a brachylogy in Arrian's manner.

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bouring streams which run into it—enlarges so that it most resembles a gulf of the sea; in fact ocean fishes were already to be seen in it, bigger than those in our own sea. Anchoring, therefore, at a point in the lake where the pilots advised him, he left behind the greater part of his troops there with Leonnatus, and all the light galleys. Then he himself, with the ships of thirty oars, and those with one and a half banks of oarsmen, passed beyond the outlet of the Indus, and proceeding by this passage also reached the sea; discovering that the passage by this branch of the Indus was an easier one. He then anchored by the shore, and taking with him some of the cavalry went three days’ march along the coast, observing the nature of the country for the coasting voyage, and ordering wells to be dug, so that as they sailed along they might be able to get water. Then he himself returned to his ships and sailed back to Pattala; and sent part of his army along the foreshore to carry on this same work, bidding them also return to Pattala. Then once more he sailed down to the lake, and built another harbour and other dockyards; and leaving there a garrison, collected four months’ supplies for his army and made all other necessary preparations for the voyage.

XXI. The season, however, was not suitable for sailing; for the trade winds¹ were blowing con-

¹ The south-west monsoon.
δὴ τῇ ὁρᾳ ἐκείνῃ οὐ καθάπερ παρ᾽ ἡμῖν ἀπ᾽ ἀρκτοὺ, ἀλλ᾽ ἀπὸ τῆς μεγάλης θαλάσσης κατὰ 2 νότον μάλιστα ἀνέμου ἦστανται. Ἀπὸ δὲ τοῦ χειμώνος τῆς ἀρχῆς τὸ ἀπὸ Πλειάδων δύσεως ἐστε ἐπὶ τροπᾶς ἃς ἐν χειμώνι οὔ ἤλιος ἐπιστρέφει πλοία μαίνεται ταύτῃ ἐξηγγέλλετο· τότε γὰρ κατὰ γῆν μάλλον, οἵ δὲ πολλῷ ὕδατε ἐξ οὐρανοῦ βεβρεγμένην, ἀὔρας ἦστασθαι μαλθακᾶς καὶ ἐς τὸν παράπλουν ταῖς τε κώπαις καὶ τοῖς ἱστίοις ξυμμέτρους.

3 Νέαρχος μὲν δὴ ἐπιταχθεὶς τῷ ναυτικῷ προσέμενε τὴν ὁρὰν τοῦ παράπλου· αὐτὸς δὲ ἄρας ἐκ Παππάλων ἐστε μὲν ἐπὶ τὸν ποταμὸν τὸν Ἀράβιον ξὺν τῇ στρατιᾷ πάση προνοίαν. Ἐκεῖθεν δὲ, ἀναλαβὼν τῶν ὑπασπιστῶν τε καὶ τῶν τοξοτῶν τοὺς ἡμίσεις καὶ τῶν πεζεταρίων ἀναλυομένων τὰς τάξεις καὶ τῆς ὑπον τῆς ἐταιρίκης τὸ τε ἄγχωμα καὶ ἡ ληθὴ ἐκάσης ἰππαρχιῶς καὶ τοὺς ἰπποτοξότας σύμπαντας, ὥσ ἐπὶ τὴν θάλασσαν ἐν ἀριστερῇ ἐτράπετο, ὕδατα τε ὅρυσσεν, ὡς κατὰ τὸν παράπλουν ἄφθονα εἶναι τῇ στρατιᾷ τῇ παραπλεούσῃ καὶ ἁμα ὅς τοίς Ὀρείσταις τοῖς ταύτῃ Ἰνδοῖς, αὐτονόμους ἐκ πολλοῦ οὐσίων ἀφανεῖς ἐπιτεσσεῖν, ὅτι μηδὲν φίλων αὐτὸς ἐστιν τε καὶ τὴν στρατιὰν ἐπέπρακτο. Τῇ δὲ ὑπολειφθείσῃ σῆς δυνάμεως Ἡφαιστίων αὐτὸ ἀφηγεῖτο. Ἀραβίται μὲν δὴ, ξύνοι καὶ τοῦτο αὐτόνομον τῶν περὶ τῶν Ἀράβιον ποταμὸν νερομένων, ὦτε ἄξιόμαχοι δόξαντες εἶναι Ἀλέξανδρῳ ὥστε ὑποδύναι ἐθελησαντες, ὡς προσάγοντα ἐπύθοντο Ἀλέξανδρων,
ANABASIS OF ALEXANDER, VI. 21. 1-4

tinusously, which in that season blow not, as with us, from the north, but from the ocean and from the south. But from the beginning of winter, right from the setting of the Pleiads to the winter solstice, it was reported that the ocean here was fit for navigation; for then, as would be when the land is drenched with heavy rains, there are light land breezes, convenient for the coasting voyage whether by oars or sails.

Nearchus, then, the admiral of the fleet, awaited the season for the voyage. But Alexander leaving Pattala advanced with his entire force as far as the river Arabius; and thence, taking with him half the bodyguards and the archers and the brigades of the Companions, as they were called, the special squadron of the Companions’ cavalry, and a squadron from each cavalry regiment, together with all the mounted archers, turned towards the ocean, keeping it on his left, in order to dig wells, so that there might be plenty of water for the army which was sailing along the coast, and also with the intention of making a surprise attack on the Oreitans, the Indian tribe in these parts, who had long been independent, since they had failed to make any friendly overtures to Alexander and his troops. Hephaestion was in command of such part of the army as Alexander had left behind. The Arabitae, however, also an independent tribe of the Indians who dwell about the river Arabius, did not appear to Alexander worth attacking, and yet they did not choose to surrender, when they learned that
φεύγουσιν ἐς τὴν ἔρημον. Ἄλεξανδρὸς δὲ διαβᾶς τὸν Ἀράβιον ποταμόν, στενῶν τε καὶ ὀλίγου ύδατος, καὶ διελθὼν ἐν νυκτὶ τῆς ἔρημου τὴν πολλήν, ὑπὸ τὴν ἐω πρὸς τῇ οἰκουμένῃ ἦν· καὶ τοὺς μὲν πεζοὺς ἐν τάξει ἐκέλευσεν ἐπεσθαί, τοὺς δὲ ἵππεας ἀναλαβὼν αὐτῶς καὶ ἔλας κατανείμας, ὅπως ἐπὶ πλείστου τοῦ πεδίου ἐπέχοιεν, ἐπὶ τὴν χώραν τῶν Ὄρειτῶν. Ὅσοι μὲν δὴ ἐς ἀλκήν ἐτράποντο αὐτῶν κατεκόπησαν πρὸς τῶν ἱππέων πολλοὶ δὲ καὶ ξώντες εἶλοσαν. Ὅ δὲ τότε μὲν κατεστρατοπέδευε πρὸς οὐ πολλῷ ύδατι· ὡς δὲ καὶ οἱ περὶ Ἡφαιστίωνα αὐτῷ ὅμοι ήδη ἦσαν, προφυλάκει ἐς τὸ πρόσω. Ἀφικόμενος δὲ ἐς κόμην ὅπερ ἦν μεγίστη τοῦ ἔθνους τοῦ Ὄρειτῶν, Ῥαμβακία ἐκαλεῖτο ἡ κόμη, τὸν τε χώρον ἐπήνευσε καὶ ἐδόκει ἂν αὐτῷ πόλις ἴσως κισθέεσα μεγάλη καὶ εὐδαίμων γενέσθαι. Ἡφαιστίωνα μὲν δὴ ἐπὶ τούτοις ὑπελείπετο.

XXII. Αὐτὸς δὲ ἀναλαβὼν αὐθές τῶν ὑπασπιστῶν καὶ τῶν Ἀγριάνων τοὺς ἥμισεας καὶ τὸ ἀγήμα τῶν ἱππέων καὶ τοὺς ἱπποτοξότας προῆς ὡς ἐπὶ τὰ δρια τῶν τε Γαδρώσων καὶ Ὅρειτῶν, ἰσαπέρ στενῇ τε ἡ πάροδος αὐτῷ εἶναι ἐξηγηγέλλετο καὶ οἱ Ὅρεῖται τοῖς Γαδρώσωις ἴσως ταυταγμένοι πρὸ τῶν στενῶν στρατοπεδεύειν, ὡς ἐξέβοντες τῆς παρόδου Ἀλέξανδρον. Καὶ ἦσαν μὲν ταύτῃ τεταγμένου ὡς δὲ προσάγων ἥδη ἐξηγηγέλλετο, οἱ μὲν πολλοὶ ἔφυγον ἐκ τῶν στενῶν λεπόντες τὴν φυλακήν· οἱ δὲ ἤγεμόνες τῶν Ὅρειτῶν ἄφικοντο παρ’ αὐτῶν σφᾶς τε αὐτοὺς καὶ τὸ ἔθνος ἐνδιδόντες. Τούτοις μὲν δὴ προστάττει, ἴσως τούτως τὸ πλήθος τῶν 168
Alexander was approaching, but fled into the desert. Alexander, however, crossed the river Arabius, a narrow river with a small stream, traversed a considerable part of the desert by night, and at dawn was close to the inhabited region. Here he ordered his infantry to follow in marching order, but the cavalry he took with him and divided into squadrons, that they might cover the greatest extent of country, and thus invaded the territory of the Oreitans. Such of them as offered resistance were cut down by the cavalry, and many were captured alive. For the time being, then, Alexander encamped by a small stream; but on being joined by Hephaestion and his troops, he advanced further. Then arriving at a village which was the largest village of the Oreitans, called Rambacia, he was impressed with the position, and felt that a city founded there would become great and prosperous. He left behind Hephaestion, therefore, to attend to this.

XXII. Then Alexander, taking with him again half the bodyguards and the Agrianes, the special squadron of the cavalry, and the mounted archers, advanced towards the borders of the Gadrosians and the Oreitans, where it was reported that the approach was by a defile, and that the Gadrosians and Oreitans had joined together and were encamped at the mouth of the defile to check Alexander’s approach. They were, in fact, arrayed there; but when news was brought that he was nearing them, the greater part of them fled from the defile, deserting their post; but the chiefs of the Oreitans came to Alexander surrendering themselves and their nation. These he commanded to call together the bulk of the Oreitans and send
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'Ωρετῶν πέμπτειν ἐπὶ τὰ σφέτερα ἥθη, ὡς δεινὸν ὁυδὲν πεισομένους· σατράπην δὲ καὶ τούτως
3 ἐπιτάσσει Ἀπολλοφάνην. Καὶ ξύν τούτω ἀπολείπει Δεόννατον τὸν σωματοφύλακα ἐν 'Ωροις, ἔχοντα τοὺς τε Ἀγριάνας ἐξύμπαντας καὶ τῶν τοξοτῶν ἔστιν οὐς καὶ τῶν ἰππέων καὶ ἄλλους πεζούς τε καὶ ἰππεάς Ἐλληνας μυσθοφόρους, καὶ τὸ τε ναυτικὸν ὑπομένειν ἐστὶν ἀν περιπλεύσῃ τὴν χώραν καὶ τὴν πόλιν ἐνυοικίζειν καὶ τὰ κατὰ τοὺς 'Ωρείτας κοσμεῖν, ὥς μᾶλλον τι προσέχοιν τῷ σατράπῃ τῶν νοῦν. Αὐτὸς δὲ ξύν τῇ στρατιᾷ τῇ πολλῇ (καὶ γὰρ καὶ Ἡφαιστίων ἀφίκετο ἅγιναν ἄντι τοὺς ὑπολειφθέντας) προύχορει ὡς ἐπὶ Γαδρωσίος ἔρρημον τὴν πολλήν.

4 Καὶ ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ ταύτῃ λέγει Ἀριστόβουλος σμύρνης πολλὰ δένδρα πεφυκέναι μείζονα ἡ κατὰ τὴν ἄλλην σμύρναν· καὶ τοὺς Φοίνικας τοὺς κατ᾽ ἐμπορίαν τῇ στρατιᾷ ἕνωσεμένους εὐλλέγοντας τὸ δάκρυν τῆς σμύρνης (πολὺ γὰρ εἶναι, οἶα δὴ ἐκ μεγάλων τῶν πρέμυνον καὶ οὕτω πρόσθεν εὐλλελεγμένων) ἐμπλήσαντας τὰ ὑποξύγια ἅγιον.

5 Ἔχειν δὲ τὴν ἔρρημον ταύτην καὶ νάρδου λίγαν πολλὴν τε καὶ ταῦτῃ ἔξωλεγεν τοὺς Φοίνικας· πολὺ δὲ εἶναι αὐτῆς τὸ καταπατούμενον πρὸς τῆς στρατιάς, καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ πατούμενου ὤμην ἡδείαν κατέχειν ἐπὶ πολὺ τῆς χώρας· τοσόνδε εἶναι τὸ πλῆθος. Εἶναι δὲ καὶ ἄλλα δένδρα ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ, τὸ μὲν τὶ δάφνη ἑοίκος τὸ φύλλον, καὶ τοῦτο ἐν τοῖς προσκελεσμένοις τῇ βαλάσσῃ χωρίοις πεφυκέναι· καὶ ἀπολειπεσθαι μὲν τὰ δένδρα πρὸς τῆς ἀμπώτεως ἐπὶ ξηροῦ, ἐπελθόντος δὲ τοῦ ὑδατος ἐν τῇ βαλάσσῃ πεφυ-
them home, with the assurance that they would suffer no harm; as satrap over them he appointed Apollodorus. Together with him he left behind Leonnatus, the officer of the bodyguard, in the country of the Orians, with all the Agrianses, some of the archers and of the cavalry, and a considerable body besides of Greek mercenary infantry and cavalry; Leonnatus was to await the fleet, until it made its voyage past this district, to build the city, and to put everything in good order in the country of the Oreitans, so that they might more diligently obey their satrap. Then he himself with the larger part of his army, for Hephaestion had arrived, with the party which had been left behind, proceeded towards the Gadrosians, through country which for the most part was desert.

In this desert Aristobulus says that many myrrh trees grow, a good deal taller than the ordinary myrrh. The Phoenicians who followed the army as traders collected the gum of the myrrh, for it was abundant, coming from such large trunks and never having been gathered before, and loaded up their pack-mules with it. This desert also has a root of spikenard, plentiful and fragrant; this too the Phoenicians gathered; a good deal of it also was trodden underfoot by the army, and from such as was trodden there a delightful fragrance was wafted for some distance over the country, so abundant was it. There are also other trees in the desert, one with a leaf like laurel, and this grows in places which are washed by the sea; the trees are left high and dry by the receding tide, but when the tide returns, they appear growing in the sea;
κότα φαίνεσθαι τῶν δὲ καὶ ἄει τὰς ῥίζας τῆς θαλάσσης ἐπικλύζεσθαι, ὅσα ἐν κοῖλοις χωρίοις ἐπεφύκει, ἐνθεντερ οὐχ ὑπενόστει τὸ ὕδωρ, καὶ ὅμως οὐ διαφθείρεσθαι τὸ δένδρον πρὸς τῆς θαλάσσης. Εἶναι δὲ τὰ δένδρα ταύτη πῆχεων καὶ τριάκοντα ἐστὶν ἀ αὐτῶν, τυχεῖν τε ἄνθοιντα ἐκείνη τῇ ὁρᾷ, καὶ τὸ ἄνθος εἶναι τῷ λευκῷ μάλιστα ἐφ' ἄνθεσιν, τὴν ὁδὴν δὲ πολὺ τε ἅπερφερον. Καὶ ἄλλον εἶναι καυλὸν ἐκ γῆς πεφυκότα ἄκανθης, καὶ τοῦτο ἐπειναί ἵσχυραν τὴν ἀκανθαν, ἤστε ἦδη τινὸν καὶ παραπεπευνότον ἐμπλακεῖσαν τῇ ἐσθήτῃ κατασπάσαι ἀπὸ τοῦ ἔππον μᾶλλον τι τὸν ἱππέα ἢ αὐτὴν ἀποσχισθῆναι ἀπὸ τοῦ καυλοῦ. Καὶ τῶν λαγών λέγεται ὡς παραθεόντων ἔχουνται εἰ ταῖς θρεῖν αἱ ἀκανθαῖ, καὶ οὗτοι τοῖς ἡλίκοιστοι οἱ λαγόφως θεατεροῦν ὑπὸ ἤξιον αἱ ὄρυθραι ἢ τοῖς ἁγίοις ὀρέγοντος οἱ ἰχθύες· σιδήρῳ δὲ ὅτι διακοπὴν οὐχ ἡ ἄκαθη ἤν· καὶ ὅπως ὅτι αἷμει πολὺν ὁ καυλὸς τῆς ἀκάνθης τεμνομένης, ἔτι πλείονα ἢ αἰ συκαὶ τοῦ ἔρος καὶ δρυμύτερον.

XXIII. Ἔνθεν δὲ διὰ τῆς Γαδρωσών χώρας ἢ τοῦ ὄχθος χαλεπῆς καὶ ἄρομον τῶν ἐπιτηδείων, τῶν τε ἄλλων καὶ ὕδωρ πολλαχοῦ τῆς στρατιᾶς οὐκ ἤν· ἀλλὰ νῦκτεον ἑνεκάκτοντο γῆν πολλή πορεύεσθαι καὶ πρὸσωτέρω ἀπὸ θαλάσσης, ἐπεὶ αὐτῇ γε ἐν σπουδῇ ἦν ἐπελθεῖν τὰ παρὰ τῆς ἑανάσας τῆς χώρας καὶ λιμένας τε ἰδεῖν τοὺς ὄντας καὶ ὅσα γε ἐν παρόδῳ δύναται γένοιον τῷ ναυτικῷ παρασκευάζει, ἡ φρέατα ὀρύζαντας ἢ 2 ἀγορᾶς ποὺ ἢ ὄμοιον ἐπιμεληθέντας. Ἀλλὰ ἢν γαρ ἔρημα παντάπασι τὰ πρὸς τῆς θαλάσσης τῆς Γαδρωσών γῆς, ὁ δὲ Θόαντα τῶν Μανδροδόρου
of some, which grow in hollow places, the roots are always washed by the sea, where the water does not recede, and yet the tree is not spoiled by the sea water. The trees here are sometimes even thirty cubits high, and at that season they were in flower, the flower being very like a white violet, but of a very much sweeter perfume. There is also a thistle on a long stalk growing out of the soil, and the spike on this stalk is so strong that once and again when they were riding past it caught the rider’s clothes, and pulled him from his horse rather than come away from its stalk. They say that the hares as they run through get their fur caught in the thistles, and so in fact are captured, just as birds with bird-lime or fishes with hooks; but it was fairly easy to cut through with an axe; and the stalk of this thistle when cut gives out considerable juice more abundant and sharper to taste than that of figs in spring.

XXIII. From there Alexander went on through the country of the Gadrosians by a route both difficult and lacking in supplies; in especial, the army often found no water; but they were obliged to traverse a considerable part of the country by night, and at a greater distance from the sea; Alexander himself desiring to work along the sea-coast to see such harbours as there were and to get ready what conveniences were possible for the navy, either by digging wells, clearing open spaces, or preparing anchorages. But the Gadrosian country was entirely desert along the coast-line, so he sent Thoas son of
καταπέμπει ἐπὶ θάλασσαν ἐξ ὅλης Ἰππεύσι, κατασκεψόμενον εἰ ποῦ τις ὁρμος ὃν τυγχάνει ταύτῃ ἢ ὤδωρ σὺ πόρρω απὸ θαλάσσης ἢ τι

3 ἄλλο τῶν ἑπιτηδείων. Καὶ οὗτος ἐπανελθὼν ἀπῆγγειλεν ἄλλεας τινὰς καταλαβεῖν ἐπὶ τοῦ αἰγιαλοῦ ἐν καλύβαις πυγηραίς· πεποιήθας δὲ τὰς καλύβας ἐπιθέντας τὰς κόνχας· στέγην δὲ εἶναι αὐταῖς τὰς ἀκάνθας τῶν ἱχθῶν· καὶ τούτος τῶν ἄλλας ὑδατι ὁλύφω διαχρῆσθαι, χαλεπῶς διαμομένους τὸν κάχληκα, καὶ οὐδὲ τούτῳ πάντῃ ὁλυκεὶ τῷ ὑδατι.

4 ὡς δὲ ἀφίκετο Ἀλέξανδρος ἐς χωρόν τινα τῆς Γαδρωσίας ἦν ἀφθονώτερος ἣν σῖτος, διανέμει ἕς τὰ ὑποξύμα τὸν καταληφθέντα· καὶ τούτον σημηνάμενος τῇ ἐαυτοῦ σφραγίδι, κατακομήσεθαι κελεύει ὃς ἐπὶ θάλασσαν. Ἐν δὲ ἦν ὡς ἐπὶ τὸν σταθμὸν ἐνθευτερ ἐγγυτάτω ἢν ἡ θάλασσα, ἐν τούτῳ ὁλύφα φροντίζαντες οἱ στρατιῶται τῆς σφραγίδος αὐτοῦ τε οἱ φύλακες τῷ σῖτῳ ἑχρήσαντο καὶ ὅσοι μάλιστα λιμῷ ἐπίεζοντο καὶ 5 τούτοις μετέδωκαν. Ἐσ τοσούδε πρὸς τοῦ κακοῦ ἐνικῶντο ὡς τῶν πρόδηλων καὶ παρόντα ἦδη ὀλθρον τοῦ ἄφανος τε καὶ πρόσω ἐπὶ οὗτος ἕκ τοῦ βασιλέως κινδύνου ἐξ ὅλης λογισμῷ ἐδόξε σφίσιν ἐμπροσθεν πούςασσαί. Καὶ Ἀλέξανδρος καταμαθὼν τὴν ἀνάγκην συνεγνω τοῖς πράξαις. Αὐτὸς δὲ ὅσα ἐκ τῆς χώρας ἐπιδραμῶν ἐξαγείρειν ἡδυνήθη εἰς ἐπιστισμῶν τῇ στρατιᾷ τῇ περιπλεούσῃ σὺν τῷ στόλῳ, ταῦτα κομίσοντα 6 πέμπει Κρηθέα τῶν Καλλατιανῶν. Καὶ τοῖς ἐγχωρίοις προσετάχθη ἐκ τῶν ἅγω τόπων σῖτον τε ὅσον ὑενατοὶ ἦσαν κατακομίσαι ἠλέσαντας

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Mandrodorus to the sea with a few cavalry, to see if there was any anchorage possible in this direction, or water near the sea, or any other necessary. And he returned and reported that he had found some fishermen on the beach in stifling cabins, made out of shells fixed together, and for a roofing the backbones of fishes; but that these fishermen used little fresh water, and this they dug from the gravel, and even that was not always fresh.

But when Alexander arrived at a certain place in Gadrosia where provisions were more plentiful, he distributed what he obtained among the baggage trains; and this he sealed with his own seal, and bade them convey it to the sea. But while he was going towards the halting-place from which the sea was nearest, the troops, making light of this seal—even the guards themselves—used these provisions and gave shares also to those most beset by hunger. So far were they overcome by their distress that they thought right to consider their obvious and immediate ruin before the yet uncertain and distant danger from their King. Indeed, Alexander, on learning of the grave necessity, pardoned the offenders. Then he by overrunning the district got together what provisions he could for the army which was sailing with the fleet, and sent Cretheus of Callatis to convoy it. The inhabitants also were commanded to bring down provisions from the upper districts, grinding as much
καὶ τὰς βαλάνους τὰς τῶν φοινίκων καὶ πρόβατα ἐς ἀγορᾶν τὸ στρατό. Καὶ ἐκ ἄλλων αὐτῶν Τήλεφων κατέπεμψε τῶν ἐταίρων σὺν σίτῳ οὕ τοι λόγῳ ἀληθεσμένῳ.

XXIV. Αὐτὸς δὲ προφθόρει ὡς ἐπὶ τὰ βασίλεια τῶν Παύρων, ὁ δὲ χῶρος Πούρα ὀνομάζεται, ἴσαντες ἀφίκετο ἥ ὦρων ὅρμηθεις ἐν ἡμέραις ταῖς πάσαις ἐξήκοντα. Καὶ λέγουσιν οἱ πολλοὶ τῶν ξυγγραψάντων τὰ ἀμφὴ Ἀλέξανδρον οὐδὲ τὰ ξύμπαντα ὅσα ἐταλαιπώρησεν αὐτῷ κατὰ τὴν Ἀσίαν ἡ στρατιά ξυμβληθήναι

2 ἀξία εἶναι τοῖς τῇδε πονηθεῖσι πόνους. Οὐ μὴν ἀγνοήσαντα Ἀλέξανδρον τῆς ὀδοῦ τῆς χαλεπότητα, ταύτη ἔλθειν (τοῦτο μὲν μῶνος Ἡμᾶρχος λέγει οὐδὲ), ἀλλὰ ἀκούσαντα γὰρ ὅτι οὗτος τις πρόσθεν διελθὼν ταύτη ἔννοια στρατιᾶ ἀπεσώθη ὅτι μὴ Σεμίραμις ἐξ Ἰνδῶν ἐφυγε· καὶ ταύτην δὲ ἔλεγον οἱ ἐπιχώριοι ἔννοι εἴκοσι μῶνοι τῆς στρατιᾶς ἀποσωθῆναι. Κύρον δὲ τῶν Καμβύσου σὺν

3 ἐπτὰ μῶνοις καὶ τοὺτον. Ἐλθεῖν γὰρ δὴ καὶ Κύρον ἐς τοὺς χῶρους τούτους ὡς ἐσβαλοῦντα ἐς τὴν Ἰνδῶν γῆν, φθάσασι δὲ ὅτι τῆς ἐρημίας τε καὶ ἀπορίας τῆς ὀδοῦ ταύτης ἀπολέσαντα τὴν πολλὴν τῆς στρατιᾶς. Καὶ ταύτα Ἀλέξανδρῳ ἐξαγγελλόμενα ἔριν ἐμβαλεῖν πρὸς Κύρον καὶ Σεμίραμιν. Τούτων τε οὖν ἐνεκα καὶ ἄμα ὡς τῷ ναυτικῷ ἐγγύθεν ἐκπορίζεσθαι τὰ ἀναγκαῖα, λέγει Νέαρχος ταύτην τραπῆναι Ἀλέξανδρον.

4 Τὸ τε οὖν καῦμα ἐπιφλέγειν καὶ τοῦ ὡδατος τὴν ἀπορίαν πολλὴν τῆς στρατιᾶς διαφθείραι καὶ μάλιστα δὴ τῇ ὑποξύμῳ· ταύτα μὲν δὴ πρὸς τοῦ βάθους τε τῆς ψάμμου καὶ τῆς θέρμης, ὅτι 176
corn as they could, with dates from the palm trees, and sheep for the army to purchase, and he sent Telephus also, one of the Companions, to another place with a small supply of ground corn.

XXIV. Then Alexander advanced towards the Gadrosian capital; the district is called Pura; and he arrived there from the district of the Orians in a total of sixty days. Most of the histories of Alexander affirm that not even all the trials that his army endured in Asia were worthy to be compared with the miseries they suffered here. It was not because Alexander had no knowledge of the difficulty of the route that he went that way (it is Nearchus alone who says so); but rather that he had heard that no one yet had successfully come through this way with an army, except that Semiramis had fled this way from India. The natives had a tradition that even she only escaped with twenty of her whole force; Cyrus son of Cambyses had got through with only seven survivors. For Cyrus did come into these parts intending to invade the country of India; but before he could do so he lost the greater part of his army by the barrenness and difficulty of this route. The relation of these stories to Alexander inspired him with emulation towards Cyrus and Semiramis. It was, then, on this account, and also that the fleet, being close by, might provide him with all necessaries, that, according to Nearchus, he chose this route. At any rate, the heat of the sun beating down and the want of water destroyed a great part of the army, and especially of course the baggage animals; for they, from the depth of the sand and its heat, for it
κεκαυμένη ἦν, τὰ πολλὰ δὲ καὶ δίψει ἀπόλλυσθαι καὶ γὰρ καὶ γηλόφοις ἐπιτυγχάνειν ύπηλοῖς φάμμου βαθείας, οὐ νεναγμένη, ἀλλὰ οἷς δέχεσθαι καθάπερ ἐσπηλιῶτον ἠ ἐτὶ μᾶλλον ἐς χίονα ἀπάτητον ἐπιβαίνοντας. Καὶ ἀμα ἐν ταῖς προσβάσεσι τε καὶ καταβαίνοντας τοὺς τε ὑπ'ους καὶ τοὺς ἠμόνους ἐτὶ μᾶλλον κακοπαθεῖν τῷ ἀνωμάλῳ τῆς ὁδοῦ καὶ ἀμα οὐ βεβαιῶ. Τῶν δὲ σταθμῶν τὰ μήκη πιέσαι οὐχ ἦκιστα τὴν στρατιάν· ἀπορία γὰρ ὑδατός οὐ ἔσχημερος οὔσα μᾶλλον τὶ ἤγε πρὸς ἀνάγκην τὰς πορείας ποιεῖσθαι. Ὅποτε μὲν δὴ τῆς νυκτὸς ἐπελθόντων τὴν ὄδον ἠντιπαί αὐτῆς ἔχρην ἐδέθεν πρὸς ὑδόρ ἔθαυμεν, οὐ πάντη ἐνελαυσόβοντο· προχωρούσης δὲ τῆς ἡμέρας ὑπὸ μήκους τῆς ὁδοῦ, εἰ ὁδοιποροῦντες ἐτὶ ἐγκαταληφθείεν, ἑνταῦθα ἄν ἐνελαυσόβομον πρὸς τοῦ καύματός τε καὶ ἀμα δίψει ἀπαύστῳ συνεχόμενοι.

XXV. Τῶν δὲ δὴ ὑποζυγίων πολὺς ὁ φθόρος καὶ ἐκούσιος τῇ στρατιᾷ ἐγύρνετο· χυνίόντες γὰρ, ὅποτε ἐπιλείποι σφαῖς τὰ συτία, καὶ τῶν ὑπ'ουν τοὺς πολλοὺς ἀποσφάζοντες καὶ τῶν ἠμόνων τὰ κρέα ἐσιτῶτο, καὶ ἐλεγον δίψει ἀποθανεῖν αὐτοὺς ἢ ὑπὸ καμάτου ἐκλυπόντας καὶ ὁ τῇ ἄρχειν τοῦ ἔργον ἐξελέγξον ὑπὸ τοῦ πόνου οὔδεὶς ἦν καὶ ὅτι ξύμπαντες τὰ αὐτὰ ἱμάρτανον.

2 Καὶ Ἀλέξανδρον μὲν οὐκ ἐξελήθη τὰ γυνόμενα, ἵσιν δὲ τῶν παρόντων ἑώρα τὴν τῆς ἀγνοίας προσποίησιν μᾶλλον τῇ τῆς ὁς γυνωσκομένων ἐπιχώρησιν. Οὔκοιν οὐδὲ τοὺς νόσῳ κἀκεφοντας

1 ξύμμετρος, omitting οὖσα, Krüger, but ξύμμετρος, if illogical, is quite in Arrian's style.
was burning, and the most part too from thirst, perished; for they even came across high hills of deep sand, not beaten down, but letting them sink in as if into liquid mud or into untrodden snow as they stepped upon it. Besides this, in ascents, or when descending, the horses and mules were particularly distressed by the unevenness and insecurity of the surface. Then the lengths of the marches very seriously oppressed the army; for want of water, which occurred at irregular intervals, drove them to make their marches as necessity dictated. Then whenever at night they covered the distance which had to be traversed, and at dawn came upon water, they were not so very much distressed; but if the day went on, by reason of the journey's length, and they were left still marching, then indeed they were in a sorry plight from the double sufferings of heat and thirst.

XXV. Of the transport animals there was then great loss, even caused deliberately by the army; for whenever their provisions began to fail them, they clubbed together and gradually killed off most of their horses and mules and ate their flesh, giving out that they had perished from thirst or had collapsed from fatigue; and there was no one to prove the actual fact, both because of their distress and because they were all involved in the same crime. Alexander himself, however, was not unaware of these happenings; but he saw that the remedy for their present distress lay rather in his pretended ignorance than in any connivance of what went on. Nor was it easy to
tῆς στρατιᾶς οὐδὲ τοὺς διὰ κάματον ὑπολει- 
πομένους ἐν ταῖς ὀδοῖς ἁγείων ἔτι ἢν εὐμαρῶς 
ἀπορία τε τῶν ὑποξύγιων καὶ ὅτι τὰς ἁμάξας 
αὐτοῦ κατέκοπτον, ἀπόρους οὐχα αὐτοῖς ὑπὸ 
βάθους τῆς ψάμμου ἁγεσθαί, καὶ ὅτι ἐν τοῖς 
πρώτοις σταθμοῖς διὰ ταῦτα ἐξηναγκάζοντο οὐ 
τὰς βραχυτάτας ἴέναι τῶν ὀδῶν, ἀλλὰ τὰς εὐ-
3 πορωτάτας τοῖς ἔσυγεσθι. Καὶ οὔτως οἱ μὲν 
νόσῳ κατὰ τὰς ὀδοὺς ὑπελείποντο, οἱ δὲ ὑπὸ 
καμάτων ἡ καύματος ἡ τῷ δίψει οὐκ ἀντέχοντες, 
καὶ οὔτε οἱ ἄξοντες ἦσαν οὔτε οἱ μένοντες θερα-
πευσοντες· σπουδὴ γὰρ πολλῇ ἐγύγνετο ὁ στόλος, 
καὶ ἐν τῷ ὑπὲρ τοῦ παντὸς προθύμῳ τὸ καθ’ 
ἐκάστους ἤν ἀνάγκη ἡμελεῖτο· οἱ δὲ καὶ ὑπνό 
κάτοχοι κατὰ τὰς ὀδοὺς γενόμενοι, οὐδὲ δὴ νυκτὸς 
τὸ πολὺ τὰς πορείας ποιούμενοι, ἔπειτα ἐξανα-
stάντες, οἱς μὲν δύναμις ἐτὶ ἢν κατὰ τὰ ἐγχυ 
tῆς στρατιάς ἐφομαρτήσαντες ὀλίγοι ἀπὸ πολ-
λῶν ἑσώθησαν· οἱ πολλοὶ δὲ ὁσπερ ἐν πελάγει 
ἐκπεσόντες τῇ ψάμμῳ ἀπόλοντο.
4 Ἐυννεκῆθη δὲ τῇ στρατιᾷ καὶ ἄλλο πάθημα, 
δὲ οὐχ ἢκιστα ἐπίσεσεν αὐτοὺς τε καὶ τοὺς 
ὕππους καὶ τὰ ὑποξύγια. Ἄριστος γὰρ ἡ Γαδρω-
sίων γῆ ὑπ’ ἀνέμων τῶν ἐπησίων, καθάπερ οὖν 
καὶ ἡ Ἰνδῶν γῆ, οὐ τὰ πεδία τῶν Γαδρωσίων, 
ἀλλὰ τὰ ὄρη, ὑπαπέρ προσφέρονταί τε αἱ νεφέλαι 
ἐκ τοῦ πνεύματος καὶ ἀναχέονται, οὐχ ὑπερβάλ-
5 λουσαι τῶν ὄρων τὰς κορυφὰς. Ὡς δὲ ἡνίσθη ἡ 
στρατιὰ πρὸς χειμάρρῳ ὄλγον ὑδατος, αὐτοῦ 
δὴ ἐνεκα τοῦ ὑδατος, ἀμφὶ δευτέραν φυλακὴν 
tῆς νυκτὸς ἐμπλησθεὶς ὑπὸ τῶν ὄμβρων ὁ 
χειμαρρος ὁ ταύτῃ ἑρών, ἀφανῶν τῇ στρατιᾷ 
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bring along those of the troops who were sick, nor those who were left lying in the way from fatigue, both from want of the transport animals and because the men themselves kept destroying the waggons, which it was impossible to drag along owing to the depth of the sand, and also because in the earlier marches they had been compelled for this reason not to go by the shortest routes but by those that were easiest for the teams. And so some were left behind on the routes sick, and others from weariness or sun-stroke, or no longer able to hold out against the thirst; there was no one to help them forward, and no one to stay behind and take care of them; for the march was hurried and in the general eagerness the troubles of individuals were necessarily neglected: and those who were borne down by sleep on the marches, since they made most of their stages by night, when they woke up again, if they had strength to do so, followed in the track of the army, and so a few, out of many, were saved; but most of them fell into the sand, like men who perished in the sea.

The army received also a further disaster, which perhaps more than anything else distressed both the troops, and their horses and transport animals. During the trade winds there is heavy rain over the land of the Gadrosians, as also over India, not so much over the Gadrosian plains as over the hills, whither the clouds are borne by the wind and are poured out in rain, not rising above the crests of the hills. Now the army bivouacked near a small stream, in fact for the sake of the water, and about the second watch of the night the stream which flowed here became swollen with rains, the rains themselves having fallen
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γεγενημένων τῶν ὁμβρῶν, τοσούτω ἐπῆλθε τῷ ὕδατι, ὡς γύναικα καὶ παιδάρια τὰ πολλὰ τῶν ἐπομένων τῇ στρατιᾷ διαφθείραι καὶ τὴν κατα-
σκευὴν τὴν βασιλικὴν ἐξύμπασαν ἀφανίσαι καὶ τῶν ὕποξυνών ὡσα ἀπελεύπτο, αὐτοὺς δὲ μόλις καὶ χαλεπῶς ἔχων τοῖς ὀπλοῖς οὔδὲ τούτοις πᾶσιν 
6 ἀποσωθῆναι. Οἱ πολλοὶ δὲ καὶ πύοντες, ὅποτε ἐκ καύματός τε καὶ δύσους ὕδατι ἀθρόῳ ἐπιτύ-
χουν, πρὸς αὐτοῦ τοῦ ἀπαύστον ποτοῦ ἀπώλοντο, καὶ τούτων ἔνεκα Ἀλέξανδρος τὰς στρατοπεδεῖας 
οὐ πρὸς τοῖς ὕδασιν αὐτοῖς τὸ πολὺ ἐποιεῖτο, ἀλλὰ ἀπέχουσα ὅσον εἴκοσι σταδίους μάλιστα, ὡς 
μὴ ἀθρόοις ἐμπίπτοντας τῷ ὕδατι αὐτοὺς τε καὶ 
tα κτήνη ἀπόλλυσαν καὶ ἁμα τοὺς μάλιστα ἀκράτωρας σφῶν ἐπεμβαίνοντας ἐς τὰς πηγάς ἢ 
tὰ ἑυμάτα διαφθείρειν καὶ τῇ ἄλλῃ στρατιᾷ τὸ ὕδωρ.

XXVI. Ἐνθα δὴ ἔργων καλὸν εἰπερ τι ἀλλο 
tῶν Ἀλέξανδρον οὐκ ἐδοξέ μοι ἀφανίσαι, ἢ ἐν 
tῆς τῆς χώρας πραχθέν ἢ ἐτὶ ἐμπροσθέν ἐν Παρα-
παμισάδαις, ὡς μετεξετεροὶ ἀνέγραψαν. Ἰέναι 
μὲν τὴν στρατιὰν διὰ ψάμμου τε καὶ τοῦ καὐ-
ματος ἢδη ἐπιφλέγοντος, ὅτι πρὸς ὕδωρ ἐχρῆν 
ἐξανύσαι τὸ δὲ ἣν πρόσω τῆς ὁδοῦ· καὶ αὐτὸν 
tε Ἀλέξανδρον δίψει κατεχόμενον μόλις μὲν καὶ 
χαλεπῶς, πεζὸν δὲ ὁμοὶ ἡγεῖσθαι· ὡστε καὶ τοὺς 
ἀλλοὺς στρατιώτας, οἴα περ φίλει ἐν τῷ τοιῷδε, 
κουφοτέρως φέρειν τοὺς πόνους ἐν ἱσότητι τῆς 
2 ταλαιπωρῆσεως. Ἐν δὲ τούτῳ τῶν ψελῶν τινὰς 
κατὰ ξήτησιν ὕδατος ἀποτραπέντας ἀπὸ τῆς 
στρατιᾶς εὑρεῖν ὑδωρ συνελεγμένον ἐν τινι
out of sight of the army, and came down with so great a spate of water that it drowned most of the women and children from among those which followed the army, swept away all the royal pavilion and its contents, and so many of the transport animals as had survived; and indeed the troops themselves were only saved with great difficulty, with their weapons only, and not even all of these. Then again most of those even who drank, whenever they met with abundant water after much drought and thirst, perished by reason of their intemperate drinking; and for this reason Alexander did not, as a rule, have his encampment actually on the banks of the water-courses, but about twenty stades away, so that they should not, by a general rush at the stream, perish, themselves and their beasts, and at the same time the greediest of them, stepping into the springs or streams, spoil the water for the rest of the host.

XXVI. At this point I have not thought well to leave unrecorded the noblest achievement of Alexander, whether it took place in this country, or among the Parapamisadae at an earlier date, as others have narrated. The army was marching through sand and while the heat was already burning, since they were obliged to reach water at the end of the march; and this was some distance ahead. Alexander himself was much distressed by thirst, and with much difficulty, but still as best he could, led the way on foot; so that the rest of the troops should (as usually happens in such a case) bear their toils more easily, when all are sharing the distress alike. Meanwhile some of the light-armed troops had turned aside from the rest of the line to look for water, and had found some, just a little water collected in a shallow river-
χαράδρα οὐ βαθεῖα, ὁλίγην καὶ φαύλην πίδακα· καὶ τούτο θυλάκῳ συλλέξαντας σπουδῇ ἑναι παρ’ Ἀλέξανδρον, ὡς μέγα δὴ τι ἀγαθὸν φέροντας· ὡς δὲ ἐπέλαξαν ἥδη, ἐμβαλόντας ἃς κράνος τὸ ὕδωρ προσενεγκεῖν τῷ βασιλεί. Τὸν δὲ λαβεῖν μὲν καὶ ἐπαινέσαι τοὺς κομίσαντας· λαβόντα δὲ ἐν ὥσιν πάντων ἐκχέαι· καὶ ἐπὶ τῶδε τῷ ἔργῳ ἐς τοσόνδε ἐπιρρωσθήναι τὴν στρατιὰν ξύμπασαι ὡστε εἰκάσαι ἂν τινὰ πότον γενέσθαι πᾶσιν ἐκείνῳ τῷ ὕδωρ τὸ πρὸς Ἀλέξανδρον ἐκχυσθέν. Τούτῳ ἑγὼ, εἴπερ τι ἄλλο, τὸ ἔργον εἰς καρτερίαν τε καὶ ἀμα στρατηγίαν ἐπαινῶ Ἀλέξανδρον.

4 Ἐνυπνέχθη δὲ τι καὶ τοιούτῳ τῇ στρατιᾷ ἐν τῇ γῆ ἑκείνη. Οἱ γὰρ ἡγεμόνες τῆς ὁδοῦ τελευτῶντος οὐκέτι μεμνήσθαι ἐφασκον τὴν ὁδοῖν, ἀλλ’ ἀφανισθῆναι τὰ σημεία αὐτῆς πρὸς τοῦ ἀνέμου ἐπιτυνεύσαντος· καὶ οὐ γὰρ εἶναι ἐν τῇ ψάμμῳ πολλῇ τε καὶ ομοίᾳ πάντῃ γενημένῃ ὅτι τεκμηριώσονται τῇ ὁδοῖν, οὐτ’ οὖν δένδρα ἐξωθήθη παρ’ αὐτῆς πεφυκότα, οὕτως γῆλοφον βέβαιον ἀνεστηκότα· οὐδὲ πρὸς τὰ ἄστρα ἐν νυκτὶ ἡ μεθ’ ἡμέραν πρὸς τὸν ἦλιον μεμελετήθησαί σφιζε τὰς πορείας, καθάπερ τοῖς ναύταις πρὸς τῶν ἀρκτῶν τὴν μὲν Φοῖνιξ, τὴν ὀλύγην, τὴν δὲ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἀνθρώποις, τὴν μείζονα. Ἡ δὲ Ἕλεξανδρον ἐξενέντα ὅτι ἐν ἁριστερᾷ [ἀ] ἀποκλαίαντα ἄγειν, ἀναλαβόντα ὁλίγους ἃμα ἂι ἰππέας [προκεχωρηκέναι]. 2 ὡς δὲ καὶ τούτων οἱ ἰπποὶ ἐξέκαμον ὑπὸ τοῦ καύματος, ἀπολιπεῖν καὶ

1 δὲ added by Vulcаниus.
2 προκεχωρηκέναι added by Vulcаниus.
bed, a poor and wretched water-hole; they gathered up this water with difficulty and hurried to Alexander as if they were bringing him some great boon; but when they drew near, they brought the water, which they had poured into a helmet, to the King. He received it, and thanked those who had brought it; and taking it poured it out in the sight of all the troops; and at this action the whole army was so much heartened that you would have said that each and every man had drunk that water which Alexander thus poured out. This deed of Alexander's above all I commend most warmly as a proof both of his endurance and his excellence as a general.

There was also a further incident which happened to the army in this district. The guides of the route finally said that they could not remember the way, but that its marks of direction had been obliterated by the violence of the wind; and, of course, in the sand which was everywhere and all alike, heaped up on all sides, there was nothing by which one could guess the road; not even the ordinary trees growing along it, nor any solid hillock emerging from it; nor had the guides accustomed themselves to make their marches by the stars at night nor by the sun during the day, as the Phoenician sailors have become accustomed to steer their way by the Little Bear and the rest of mankind by the Great Bear. So Alexander, understanding that they ought to lead the army inclining to the left, took a few horsemen with him and rode on ahead; and when their horses began to weary beneath the heat, he left behind most of
τούτων τοὺς πολλοὺς, αὐτὸν δὲ ἔξιν πέντε τοῖς πᾶσιν ἀφιππάσασθαι, καὶ εὐρείων τὴν θάλασσαν· διαμησάμενον τε αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τοῦ αἰγαλοῦ τὸν κάλληκα ἐπιτυχεῖν ὑδατι γλυκεῖ καὶ καθαρῷ, καὶ οὗτω μετελθεῖν τὴν στρατιὰν πᾶσαν· καὶ ἐσ ἐπτὰ ἡμέρας ἕναν παρὰ τὴν θάλασσαν, ὑδρευο-μένους ἕκ τῆς ἡδόνος. Ὅπεθεν δὲ, ἡδὴ γὰρ γυγνώσκειν τὴν ὀδὸν τοὺς ἡγεμόνας, ἐπὶ τῆς μεσογαίας ποιεῖσθαι τὸν στόλον.

XXVII. Ὅσ δὲ ἀφίκετο ἐς τῶν Γαδρωσίων τὰ βασίλεια, ἀναπαύει ένταῦθα τὴν στρατιὰν. Καὶ Ἀπολλοφάνῃ μὲν παῦει τῆς σατραπείας, ὅτι οὐδενὸς ἔγνω ἐπιμεληθέντα τῶν προεπηγγελ-μένων· Θάνατα δὲ σατραπεῖειν τῶν ταύτη ἔταξε· τούτου δὲ νόσῳ τελευτῆσαντος Σιβύρτιος τὴν σατραπείαν ἐκδέχεται· ὁ αὐτὸς δὲ καὶ Καρμανίας σατράπης ἦν νεωστὶ ἐξ Ἀλέξανδρον ταχθείς· τότε δὲ τούτῳ μὲν Ἀραχωτῶν τε καὶ τῶν Γαδρωσίων ἀρχείων ἔδοθε· Καρμανίαν δὲ ἔσχε·

2 Τληπόλεμος ο Ὅνθοφανος. Ἡδὴ τε ἐπὶ Καρ-μανίας προὐχώρει ὁ βασίλευς καὶ ἀγγέλλεται αὐτῷ Φιλίτπου τὸν σατράπην τῆς Ἰνδῶν γῆς ἐπιβουλευθέντα πρὸς τὸν μισθοφόρον δὸλῳ ἀποθανεῖν, τοὺς δὲ ἀποκτέναντας ὡς τοὺς σωματο-φύλακες τοῦ Φιλίππου οἱ Μακεδόνες τοὺς μὲν ἐν αὐτῷ τῷ ἔργῳ, τοὺς δὲ καὶ ὧστερον λα-βόντες ἀπέκτειναν. Ταῦτα δὲ ὡς ἔγνω, ἐκπέμ-πει γράμματα ἐς Ἰνδῶν παρὰ Εὐδαμόν τε καὶ Ταξίλην ἐπιμελεῖσθαι τῆς χώρας τῆς πρόσθεν ὑπὸ Φιλίτππῳ τεταγμένης ἐστ' ἀν αὐτὸς σατράπην ἐκπέμψῃ ἐπ' αὐτῆς.

3 Ἡδὴ δ' ἐς Καρμανίαν ἠκοντος Ἀλεξάνδρου
them, and he with no more than five rode off and found the sea; then, digging in the gravel on the shore, he found fresh and pure water, and so the whole army came thither; and for seven days they marched along the sea-coast, getting water from the shore, and thence, for the guides now began to recognize the road, he led his army into the interior.

XXVII. Arriving at length at the Gadrosian capital, Alexander rested his army there. Apollophanes he removed from his satrapy, finding that he had neglected all his orders; and he appointed Thoas to be satrap in his stead; but as he died of sickness, Sibyrius received the office; he had been recently appointed by Alexander satrap of Carmania; but now he was given the charge of both the Arachotians and the Gadrosians, and Cleophas son of Pythopolis took over Carmania. Alexander had already begun his march towards Carmania, when it was reported to him that Philip the satrap of the Indians had been treacherously killed as the result of a plot against him by the mercenaries; but that the Macedonian bodyguards of Philip had put to death the assassins, some in the act, and some they captured afterwards. On learning this he despatched letters to India to Eudamus and Taxiles bidding them take charge of the district formerly under Philip, until he should send a satrap to govern it.

When Alexander had reached Carmania, Craterus
Κράτερος ἀφικνεῖται, τὴν τε ἄλλην στρατιὰν ἀμα ὦν ἄγων καὶ τοὺς ἐλέφαντας καὶ Ὄρδανην τὸν ἀποστάντα καὶ νεωτέρισαντα συνειληφὼς. Ἔνταῦθα δὲ [καὶ] Στασάνωρ τε ὁ Ἀρείων καὶ ὁ Ζαράγγων σατράπης ἦκε καὶ ξὺν αὐτοῖς Φαρισμάνης ὁ Φραταφέρνου τοῦ Παρθιαίων καὶ Ἰρκανίων σατράπου παῖς. Ἡκὼν δὲ καὶ οἱ στρατηγοὶ οἱ ὑπολειφθέντες ἀμα Παρμενίων ἐπὶ τῆς στρατιᾶς τῆς ἐν Μηδία, Κλέανδρος τε καὶ Σιτάλκης καὶ Ἡράκων, τὴν πολλήν τῆς 4 στρατιᾶς καὶ ὦντοι ἄγοντες. Τοὺς μὲν δὴ ἀμφὶ Κλέανδρον τε καὶ Σιτάλκην πολλὰ ἐπικαλούντων αὐτοὺς τῶν τε ἐγχωρίων καὶ τῆς στρατιᾶς αὐτῆς, ὡς ἰερὰ τε πρὸς αὐτῶν σεσυλημένα καὶ θῆκας παλαιὰς κεκινημένας καὶ ἄλλα ἄδικα ἔργα ἐσ τοὺς ὑπηκόους τετολμημένα καὶ ἀτάσθαλα, τάντα ὡς ἐξηγγέλθη,1 τοὺς μὲν ἀπέκτεινεν, ὡς καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις δέος εἶναι ὅσοι σατράπαι ἢ ὑπαρχοὶ ἢ νομάρχαι ἀπολείποντο, τὰ ἑσα ἐκείνοις πλημ- 5 μελοῦντας πείσεσθαι. (Καὶ τούτο, εἴπερ τι ἄλλο, κατέσχεν ἐν κόσμῳ τὰ ἔθνη τὰ ἔξ Ἀλεξάνδρου δορυάλωτα ἢ ἐκόντα προσχωρήσαντα, τοσαύτα μὲν πλήθει ὄντα, τόσον δὲ ἄλληλων ἀφεστηκότα, ὅτι οὐκ ἔζην ὑπὸ τὴ Ἀλεξάνδρου βασιλεία ἀδικεῖσθαι τοὺς ἀρχομένους ὑπὸ τῶν ἀρχόντων.) Ἡράκων δὲ τῶτε μὲν ἀφείδῃ τῆς αἰτίας ὁλίγου δὲ ὑστερον ἐξελεγχθεῖσ πρὸς ἀνδρῶν Σουσίων σεσυληκέναι τὸ ἐν Σούσιοις ἱερὸν 6 καὶ ὦντος ἐδωκε δίκην. Οἱ δὲ ἔξιν Στασάνωρι καὶ Φραταφέρνη πλῆθος τε ὑποξυγών παρ' Ἀλέξ-
arrived, bringing with him the rest of the army and the elephants and Ordanes who had revolted and began to rebel, but whom he had captured. There also Stasanor satrap of Areia and the satrap of the Zarangians came, and with them Pharismanes the son of Phrataphernes the satrap of Parthyaea and Hircania. There arrived also the satraps who had been left behind with Parmenio in charge of the forces in Media, Cleander and Sitalces and Heracon, they also bringing the greater part of these forces. Both the natives and the forces themselves brought many charges against Cleander and Sitalces and their followers of having plundered temples, removed ancient tombs, and done other overbearing and scandalous injustices to the inhabitants. On receiving this report, Alexander put these two to death, to put fear into any other satraps or governors who were left, that if they committed the like crimes they too should suffer the like fate. And this above everything else kept in order the tribes which Alexander had subdued or which had surrendered to him, being as they were so many in number, and so far separated one from another—namely, that Alexander permitted no subjects under his sway to be wronged by their rulers. Heracon indeed was for the time acquitted of the charge; but soon after the charge was brought home to him by some of the people of Susa of having sacked the temple of Susa; and he also was punished. The companions of Stasanor and Phrataphernes brought to Alexander a
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ανδρον ἄγοντες ἥλθον καὶ καμήλους πολλάς, ὡς ἔμαθον ὧτι τὴν ἐπὶ Γαδρωσίων ἄγει, εἰκάσαντες ὧτι τὰ αὐτὰ ἐκείνα πείσεται αὐτῷ ἡ στρατιὰ ἡ δὴ ἐπαθε. Καὶ οὖν καὶ ἐν καιρῷ μὲν καὶ οὖτοι ἀφικόντο, ἐν καιρῷ δὲ οἱ κάμηλοι τε καὶ τὰ ὑποξύγια διένειμε γὰρ ξύμπαντα 'Αλέξανδρος τοῖς μὲν ἡγεμόσιν κατ' ἄνδρα, τοῖς δὲ κατ' ἱλας τε καὶ ἑκατοστύας, τοῖς δὲ κατὰ λόχους, ὡπως τὸ πλήθος τῶν ὑποξύγιων τε καὶ καμήλων αὐτῷ ξυνέβαινεν.

XXVIII. Ἡδὴ δὲ τινες καὶ τοιάδε ανέγραψαν, οὐ πιστὰ ἐμὸι λέγοντες, ὡς συξεύξας δύο ἀρμαμάξας κατακείμενος ξὺν τοῖς ἐταῖροις καταυλούμενος τὴν διὰ Καρμανίας ἤγεν, ἡ στρατιὰ δὲ αὐτῷ ἐστεφανωμένη τε καὶ παῖξισα ἐπέτεο, προῦκειτο δὲ αὐτῇ σιτά τε καὶ ὁσα ἄλλα ἐς τρυφὴν παρὰ τὰς ὁδοὺς συγκεκομισμένα πρὸς τῶν Καρμανίων, καὶ ταῦτα πρὸς μίμησιν τῆς

2 Διονύσου Βακχείας ἀπεικάσθη Ἀλέξανδρῳ, ὅτι καὶ ὑπὲρ ἐκείνου λόγος ἠλέγητο καταστρεψάμενον Ἰνδοὺς Διόνυσον οὕτω τὴν πολλὴν τῆς Ἀσίας ἑπελθεῖν, καὶ Θρίαμβον τε αὐτῶν ἐπικληθήναι τὸν Διόνυσον καὶ τὰς ἐπὶ ταῖς νίκαις ταῖς ἐκ πολέμου πομπαίς ἐπὶ τῷ αὐτῷ τούτῳ θριάμβους. Ταῦτα δὲ οὖτε Πτολεμαῖος ὁ Λάγου οὐτε Ἀριστοβούλος ὁ Ἀριστοβούλου ἀνέγραψαν σουδέ τις ἄλλος οὕτως ἰκανον ἂν τις ποιήσαι τεκμηριῶσαι ὑπὲρ τῶν τοιῶν. Καὶ μοι ὡς οὐ πιστὰ ἀνα-

3 γεγράφθαι εξήρκεσεν.1 'Αλλ' ἐκείνα ἰδὴ Ἀριστο-βούλῳ ἐπόμενοι ξυγγράφῳ, θύσαι εἰς Καρμανία Ἀλέξανδρον χαριστήρια τῆς κατ' Ἰνδῶν νίκης καὶ ὑπὲρ τῆς στρατιᾶς, ὧτι ἀπεσώθη ἐκ Γαδρω-

1 εξήρκεσαν Dübner with most texts; Ellendt -sev.

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large number of transport animals and a good many camels, having guessed, so soon as they learned that he was going towards Gadrosia, that his army would suffer those very disasters which it did suffer. Their coming, too, was indeed timely, as was that of the camels and other animals; for Alexander distributed them all to the officers, one by one, to the others by squadrons and centuries, and also by files, according to the total number of camels and transport animals which he received.

XXVIII. Some writers have recounted a story, which I do not myself credit, that Alexander bound together two war-chariots, and reclining at ease with his Companions, and soothed by the sounds of the flute, thus drove through Carmania; his army following behind, garlanded and sporting; that provisions, and everything else that could make for luxury, had been brought together along their path by the Carmanians; and that all this had been conceived by Alexander in mimicry of the bacchic revelry of Dionysus, since there was a story about Dionysus, too, that after subduing India he traversed in this guise the greater part of Asia, Dionysus himself being surnamed "Triumph," and his warlike processions after his victories called, for the like reason, "triumphs." All this neither Ptolemaeus son of Lagus nor Aristobulus son of Aristobulus have recorded; nor any other author whom one might regard as reliable in narrating tales like these. As for me, it has sufficed to write them down here, but merely as legends. This, however, I do record, following Aristobulus, that Alexander in Carmania sacrificed thank-offerings for his conquest of India, and on behalf of his army, for its safe transit through
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σίων, καὶ ἀγώνα διαθείναι μονσικὸν τε καὶ γυμνικὸν κατατάξαι δὲ καὶ Πευκέσταν ἐς τοὺς σωματοφύλακας, ἢδη μὲν ἐγνωκότα σατράπην καταστήσαι τῆς Περσίδος, ἠθέλουσα δὲ πρὸ τῆς σατραπείας μηδὲ ταύτης τῆς τιμῆς καὶ πίστεως ἀπέρατον εἶναι, ἐπὶ τῷ ἔν Μαλλωίς ἔργῳ εἶναι δὲ αὐτῷ ἔπτα εἰς τότε σωματοφύλακας, Δεόννατον Ἀντέον, Ἦφαιστίωνα τὸν Ἀμύντορος, Δυσίμαχον Ἀγαθοκλέους, Ἀριστόνον Πεισαίον, τούτους μὲν Πελλαίους, Περδίκκαν δὲ Ὀρόντου ἐκ τῆς Ὀρεστίδος, Πτολεμαίον δὲ τὸν Λάγου καὶ Πείθωνα Κρατεᾶ Ἐορδαίους διόδου δὲ προσγενέσθαι αὐτοὺς Πευκέσταν τὸν Ἀλεξάνδρου ὑπερασπίσαντα.

5 Ἔν τούτῳ δὲ καὶ Νέαρχος περιπλεύσας τὴν Ὀρασίος καὶ Γαδρωσίων γῆν καὶ τὴν Ἰχθυοφάγων κατῆρεν ἐς τῆς Καρμανίας τὰ πρὸς θάλασσαν φιλισμένα· ἔνθεν δὲ ἀνελθὼν σὺν ὀλίγοις Ἀλεξάνδρῳ ἀπῆγγειλε τὰ ἀμφὶ τὸν περίπλου τὸν γενόμενον αὐτῷ κατὰ τὴν ἔξω θάλασσαν. Τοὺτον μὲν δὴ καταπέμπει αὐθίς, ἐκπεριπλεύσοντα ἐστε ἐπὶ τὴν Σουσιανῶν τε γῆν καὶ τοῦ Τίγρητος ποταμοῦ τὰς ἐκβολάς· ὅπως δὲ ἐπελεύσθη αὐτῷ τὰ ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἰνδοῦ ποταμοῦ ἐπὶ τὴν θάλασσαν τὴν Περσικὴν καὶ τὸ στόμα τοῦ Τίγρητος, ταῦτα ἰδία ἀναγράψῳ αὐτῷ Νεάρχῳ ἔπομενος, ὡς καὶ τήνυν εἶναι ὑπὲρ Ἀλεξάνδρου Ἐλληνικῆς ξυγγραφῆς. Ταῦτα μὲν δὴ ἐν ὑστέρῳ ἔσται τυχὸν εἰσότε θυμὸς τε με καὶ ὁ δαιμόν ταύτῃ ἄγη.

6 Ἀλεξάνδρος δὲ Ἦφαιστίωνα μὲν σὺν τῇ πλείστῃ μοίρᾳ τῆς στρατιᾶς καὶ τῶν ὑποξυγίων, καὶ τοὺς ἑλέφαντας ἀμαοὶ ἔχοντα τὴν παρὰ θάλασσαν.
the Gadrosian desert; and that he instituted athletic games and artistic contests; also that he enrolled Peucetias among his bodyguards, having already decided to make him satrap of Persia, but anxious that even before he received this satrapy he should not be without this mark of honour and confidence after his heroic deed among the Mallians; moreover, that up to this time he had seven officers of the bodyguards, Leonnatus son of Anteas, Hephaestion son of Amyntor, Lysimachus son of Agathocles, Aristonous son of Pisaeus, all these of Pella; then, besides, Perdiccas son of Orontes, from Orestis, Ptolemaeus son of Lagus and Peitho son of Crateas, from Eordaea, and now an eighth was added to their number, Peucetias, who protected Alexander by his shield.

Meanwhile Nearchus, having completed his voyage round the country of the Orians and the Gadrosians and the Ichthyophagi, put in to the inhabited part of the Carmanian seashore; and thence sailing again with only a few of his men reported to Alexander the result of his voyage through the outer ocean. Alexander sent him back again, to continue his voyage to the district of Susia and the mouths of the river Tigris. The story, however, of his voyage from the river Indus to the Persian Sea and the mouth of the Tigris, I shall recount separately, using Nearchus himself as my authority, so that this may also be a History of Alexander in Greek. This, then, shall be perhaps for some future date, when inclination and circumstances put me in the way of it.

Alexander now despatched Hephaestion with the greatest part of the army and the baggage train, and with the elephants also, along the sea-coast from
σαν ἀπὸ τῆς Καρμανίας ὡς ἐπὶ τὴν Περσίδα ἀγεῖν ἐκέλευσεν, ὅτι χειμῶνος ὦρα γιγαντικοῦ αὐτῶ τοῦ στόλου τὰ πρὸς τῇ βαλάσσῃ τῇ Περσίδος ἀλευνά τε ἦν, καὶ τῶν ἑπιτηδείων ἀφθόνως ἔχουσα.

XXIX. Αὐτὸς δὲ ἦν τοῖς κοινοτάτοις τῶν πεζῶν καὶ ἦν τοῖς ἑταίροις τῶν ἱππέων καὶ μέρει την τῶν τοξοτῶν ἤει τὴν ἐπὶ Πασαργάδας τῆς Περσίδος. Στασάνωρα δὲ καταπέμπει ἐπὶ τὴν χώραν τὴν ἑαυτοῦ. 'Ως δὲ ἐπὶ τοῖς ὑπομονῆς ἦν τῆς Περσίδος, Φρασάρτην μὲν οὐ κατέλαβε σατραπεύοντα ἐτί (ὑσθῷ γὰρ τετελευτηκὼς ἐσύγχανεν ἐν Ἰνδίοις ἑτί Ἀλεξάνδρου ὄντος), Ὁρέσινης δὲ ἐπεμέλετο τῆς Περσίδος, οὐ πρὸς Ἀλεξάνδρου κατασταθείς, ἀλλὰ ὃτι οὐκ ἀπησίωσεν αὐτὸν ἐν κόσμῳ Πέρσας διαφυλάξαι Ἀλεξάνδρῳ, οὐκ ὄντος ἄλλου ἄρχοντος. Ἡλθε δὲ ἐς Πασαργάδας καὶ Ἀτταύρης ὁ Μῆδας σατράπης, ἀγὼν Βαρνάζην ἄνδρα Μῆδων συνειλημμένον, ὅτι ὁρθὴν τὴν κίδαριν περιβείμενος βασιλέα προσεῖπεν αὐτῶν Περσῶν τε καὶ Μῆδων, καὶ ἦν τούτῳ τοὺς μετασχόντας αὐτῶ τοῦ νεωτερισμοῦ τε καὶ τῆς ἀποστάσεως. Τούτους μὲν δὴ ἀπέκτεινεν Ἀλεξάνδρῳ.

4. 'Ελύπησε δὲ αὐτὸν ἡ παρανομία ἢ ἐς τοῦ Κύρου τοῦ Καμβύσου τάφου, ὅτι διορωρυγμένον τε καὶ σευλημένον κατέλαβε τοῦ Κύρου τὸν τάφου, ὡς λέγει Ἀριστοβοῦλος. Εἶναι γὰρ ἐν Πασαργάδαις ἐν τῷ παραδείσῳ τῷ βασιλικῷ Κύρου ἐκείνου τάφον, καὶ περὶ αὐτοῦ ἄλογος πεφυτεύθαι δενδρων παντολων, καὶ ὦδαι εἶναι κατάρρυτον καὶ 5 πόαν βαθείαν πεφυκέναι ἐν τῷ λειμῶν: αὐτῶν 194
Carmania, bidding him lead his force to Persia, because, his expedition taking place in winter, the seaward parts of Persia were sunny and well supplied with all necessaries.

XXIX. Then Alexander himself, with the lightest of the infantry and the cavalry Companions and with part of the archers, advanced by the road leading to the Pasargadae, in Persia; Stasanor he despatched to his own country. And when he was on the Persian borders, he did not find Phrasaortes satrap any longer, for he had died of sickness while Alexander was in India, but Orxines had charge of Persia, not by appointment of Alexander, but because he felt that he was the right person, in the absence of any other governor, to keep Persia in order for Alexander. To the district of the Pasargadae came also Atropates the satrap of Media, with Baryaxes a Mede as prisoner, since he had worn his cap in the upright fashion and given himself out to be King of Persians and Medes; together with him were his associates in his revolution and rebellion. All these Alexander ordered to be put to death.

Alexander, however, was most distressed by the crime committed against the tomb of Cyrus and Cambyses, since (as Aristobulus relates) he found the tomb of Cyrus broken into and rifled. The tomb of this Cyrus was in the territory of the Pasargadae, in the royal park; round it had been planted a grove of all sorts of trees; the grove was irrigated, and deep grass had grown in the meadow; the tomb itself was
ARRIAN

dὲ τὸν τάφον τὰ μὲν κάτω λίθου τετραπέδου ἐς τετράγωνον σχῆμα πεποιήσθαι: ἀνωθεν δὲ οἰκήμα ἐπείναι λίθινον ἐστεγασμένον, θυρίδα ἔχουν φέρουσαν εἰςω στενὴν, ὡς μόλις ἂν ἕν ἄνδρι οὐ μεγάλῳ πολλὰ κακοπαθοῦντι παρελθεῖν. Ἐν δὲ τῷ οἰκήματι πύελον χρυσῆν κεῖσθαι, ἵνα τὸ σῶμα τοῦ Κύρου ἐτέθαπτο, καὶ κλίνυν παρὰ τῇ πυέλῳ πόδας δὲ εἴναι τῇ κλίνῃ χρυσοὺς σφυρηλάτους, καὶ τάπητα ἐπιβλημάτων 1 Βαβυλωνίων, καὶ καυνάκας πορφυροῦς ύποστρώματα. Ἐπείναι δὲ καὶ κάνδυς καὶ ἄλλους χυτῶνας τῆς Βαβυλωνίου ἐργασίας. Καὶ ἀναξιρίδες Μηδικαὶ καὶ στολαὶ ὑακυνθωβαφεῖς λέγει ὅτι ἐκείνο, αἱ δὲ πορφύρας, αἱ δὲ ἄλλας καὶ ἄλλας χρώας, καὶ στρεπτοὶ καὶ ἀκινάκαι καὶ ἐνώτια χρυσοῦ τε καὶ λίθων κολλητά, καὶ τράπεζα ἐκείνο. Ἐν μέσῳ δὲ τῆς κλίνης ἡ πύελος ἐκείνο

7 ἡ τὸ σῶμα τοῦ Κύρου ἔχουσα. Εἶναι δὲ ἐντὸς τοῦ περιβόλου πρὸς τῇ ἀναβάσει τῇ ἐπὶ τὸν τάφον φεροῦσῃ οἰκήμα σμικρὸν τοῖς Μάγοις πεποιημένον, οὗ δὴ ἐφύλασσαν τὸν Κύρον τάφον, ἔτι ἀπὸ Καμβύσου τοῦ Κύρου, παῖς παρὰ πατρὸς ἐκδεχόμενοι τὴν φυλακήν. Καὶ τούτους προβατοὺς τε ἐς ἡμέραν ἐδίδοτο ἐκ βασιλέως καὶ ἀλεύρων τε καὶ οἴνου τεταγμένα καὶ ἵππος κατὰ μήμα ἐς θυσίαν τῷ Κύρῳ. Ἑπεγέγραπτο δὲ ὁ

8 τάφος Περσικοῖς γράμμασιν καὶ ἐδήλου Περσιστὶ τάδε: “ὁ ἀνθρωπε, ἐγὼ Κύρος εἰμί ὁ Καμβύσου ὁ τὴν ἄρχην Πέρσας καταστησάμενος καὶ τῆς Ἀσίας βασιλεύσας. Μὴ οὖν φθονήσῃς μοι τοῦ μυήματος.”

1 ἐπιβλημα τῶν Röhl (and so Roos).
ANABASIS OF ALEXANDER, VI. 29. 5-8

built, at the base, with stones cut square and raised into rectangular form. Above, there was a chamber with a stone roof and with a door leading into it so narrow that with difficulty, and after great trouble, one man, and he a small one, could enter. And in the chamber was placed a golden sarcophagus, in which Cyrus' body had been buried; a divan stood by the sarcophagus, and this divan had feet of wrought gold; its coverlet was of Babylonian carpets, and for an undercovering, purple rugs. Upon it was placed a tunic and vests also of Babylonian workmanship. Then there were, besides, Median trousers; and robes dyed blue lay there, as he\(^1\) says; and furthermore some of purple, some of this colour, some of that; necklaces also and scimitars and earrings of stones set in gold; and a table stood there also. It was on the midst of the divan that the sarcophagus, containing Cyrus' body, was placed. Within the enclosure, and lying on the approach to the tomb itself, was a small building put up for the Magians, who were guardians of Cyrus' tomb, from as long ago as Cambyses, son of Cyrus, receiving this guardianship from father to son. To them was given from the King a sheep a day, an allowance of meal and wine, and a horse each month, to sacrifice to Cyrus. There was an inscription on the tomb in Persian letters; it ran thus, in Persian: "Mortal! I am Cyrus son of Cambyses, who founded the Persian empire, and was Lord of Asia. Grudge me not, then, my monument."

\(^{1}\) Aristobulus.
'Αλέξανδρος δὲ (ἐπιμελεῖς γὰρ ἦν αὐτῷ, ὅποτε ἔλοι Πέρσας, παρεῖναι ἐσ τοῦ Κύρου τὸν τάφον) τὰ μὲν ἄλλα καταλαμβάνει ἐκπεφορμημένα πλήν τῆς πυέλου καὶ τῆς κλίνης· οἱ δὲ καὶ τὸ σῶμα τοῦ Κύρου ἐλωβήσαντο, ἀφελότητε τὸ πῶμα τῆς πυέλου, καὶ τὸν νεκρὸν ἔξεβαλον αὐτήν δὲ τὴν πυέλου ἐπειρώντο εὔπογκον σφυς ποιήσασθαι καὶ ταύτη εὐφόρον τὰ μὲν παρακόπτοντες, τὰ δὲ εὐθυλόντες αὐτῆς. 'Ὡς δὲ οἱ προύχωρει αὐτοῖς τοῦτο τὸ ἔργον, οὐτὸ δὴ ἔάσαντες τὴν πυέλον ἀπῆλθον. Καὶ λέγει 'Αριστόβουλος αὐτὸς ταχθήναι πρὸς 'Αλέξανδρον κοιμησάς εξ ὑπαρχῆς τῷ Κύρῳ τὸν τάφον· καὶ τὸν μὲν σώματος ὁσαπερ ἐτί σῶα ἦν καταβείναι ἐς τὴν πυέλου καὶ τὸ πῶμα ἐπιθείναι· ὅσα δὲ λελώβητο αὐτῆς κατορθώσαι· καὶ τὴν κλίνην ἐντείναι ταῖς καὶ τάλλα ὅσα ἐς κόσμον ἐκείτο κατ' ἀριθμὸν τε καὶ τοῖς πάλαι ὁμοιᾳ ἀποθείναι, καὶ τὴν θυρίδα δὲ ἀφαινάτο τὰ μὲν αὐτῆς λίθῳ ἐνοικοδομήσαντα, τὰ δὲ πῆλῳ ἐμπλάσαντα· καὶ ἐπιβαλεῖν τῷ πηλῷ τὸ σημεῖον τὸ βασιλικόν. 

'Αλέξανδρος δὲ Ἐυλλαβῶν τοὺς Μάγους τοὺς φύλακάς τοῦ τάφου ἐστρέβλωσεν, ὡς κατειπεῖν τοὺς ἀνάγκας· οἱ δὲ οὐδὲν οὔτε σφῶν οὔτε ἄλλον κατείπον στρεβλούμενοι, οὐδὲ ἄλλη τῇ ξυνηλέγχοντο ξυνειδότες τῷ ἔργῳ· καὶ ἐπὶ τὸ ἀφεθήσαν εξ 'Αλέξανδρον.

XXX. 'Ενθεν δὲ ἐς τὰ βασίλεια Ἰητὸν τὰ Περσῶν, ἃ δὴ πρόσθεν κατέφλεξεν αὐτὸς, ὡς μοι λέλεκται ὅτε οὐκ ἐπῆνοιν τὸ ἔργον· ἀλλ' οὔδ' αὐτὸς 'Αλέξανδρος ἐπανελθὼν ἐπῆνει. Καὶ μὲν δὴ καὶ κατὰ 'Ορφίνον πολλοὶ λόγοι ἐλέχθησαν πρὸς
ANABASIS OF ALEXANDER, VI. 29. 9-30. 1

But Alexander, who was anxious, so soon as he should conquer Persia, to visit Cyrus' tomb, finds everything else removed except the sarcophagus and the divan. The robbers had even violated the body of Cyrus, for they had removed the top of the sarcophagus and had thrown out the body; the sarcophagus itself they had tried to render portable, so that they might bear it away, chipping some parts away, and breaking other parts off. Not succeeding in this attempt, however, they left the sarcophagus as it was and went off. And Aristobulus says that he received orders from Alexander to put the tomb in good order again, to deposit such parts of the body as were left in the sarcophagus again, and place its lid upon it; where it was damaged, to repair it; to spread the divan with ribands, and to restore, just like the originals, all else that had been placed there, by way of ornament, piece by piece; to obliterate the door both by walling it up in stone and partly by covering it with clay; and then to set on the clay the royal seal. Alexander then seized the Magians who were the guardians of the tomb and tortured them that they might reveal the perpetrators; but they even under torture accused neither themselves nor anyone else, nor showed in any way that they were privy to the deed; and so Alexander let them go.

XXX. Thence Alexander advanced to the Persian palace to which he himself had formerly set fire; this act when I related, I could not approve; nor did Alexander, when he returned thither, approve it. Furthermore, many accusations were brought by the
Περσῶν, διε ἤρξε Περσῶν ἐπειδὴ Φρασαόρτης
tετελεύτησε. Καὶ ἐξηλέγχθη Ὀρξίνης ιερά τε
ὅτι σεσυλῆκε καὶ τάφους βασιλικούς, καὶ
Περσῶν πολλοὺς ὅτι οὐ εἶν δίκη ἀπέκτεινε.
Τούτου μὲν δὴ ὦς ἔταχθη ὑπὸ Ἀλέξανδρου
ἐκρέμασαν. Σατράπην δὲ Πέρσαις ἔταξε Πεν-
κέσταν τὸν σωματοφύλακα, πιστὸν τὸν ὦς τὰ
μᾶλλον τιθέμενος, τὰ τε ἄλλα καὶ ἔπι τῷ ἐν
Μαλλοῖς ἔργῳ, ἣν προεκειμένοις τε καὶ
συνεξήσωσεν Ἀλέξανδρον, καὶ ἂλλως τῷ βαρ-
βαρικῷ τρόπῳ τῆς διαίτης οὐκ ἀξύμφορον·
ἔδηλωσε δὲ ἐσθήτα τε εὐθὺς ὡς κατεστάθη σα-
τραπεύειν Περσῶν μόνος τῶν ἄλλων Μακεδόνων
μεταλαβῶν τὴν Μηδικὴν καὶ φωνὴν τὴν Περσι-
κήν ἐκμαθῶν καὶ τἀλλα ἔμπαντα ἐς τρόπου τῶν
Περσικῶν κατασκευασάμενος. Ἐφ’ ὦς Ἀλέξα-
νδρὸς γε ἐπήνει αὐτὸν καὶ οἱ Πέρσαι ὦς τὰ
παρὰ σφίσι πρὸ τῶν πατρίων πρεσβεύοντι
ἐχαίρουν.
Persians against Orxines, who took command of Persia when Phrasaortes died. Orxines was convicted of having rifled temples and royal tombs, and also of having put to death many Persians without cause. Certain persons then under Alexander’s orders hanged him. As satrap of the Persians he appointed Peucetas the bodyguard, regarding him as especially loyal to him, and chiefly on account of his heroism among the Mallians, where he risked his life and helped to save Alexander, and moreover, by reason of his Oriental way of life he was not unsuited to the Persians. And of this he gave proof, as soon as he was appointed satrap of Persia, by adopting, alone of the Macedonians, the Median dress and learning the Persian language, and in all other respects assimilating himself to the Persian ways. For all this Alexander commended him, and the Persians were gratified that he preferred their ways to those of his own country.
BOOK VII
ΒΙΒΛΙΟΝ ΕΒΔΟΜΟΝ

I. Ὄς δὲ ἐσ Πασαργάδας τε καὶ ἐσ Περσέπολιν ἀφίκετο Ἀλέξανδρος, πόθος καταλαμβάνει αὐτὸν καταπλεῦσαι κατὰ τὸν Εὐφράτην τε καὶ κατὰ τὸν Τίγρητα ἐπὶ τὴν θάλασσαν τὴν Περσικὴν καὶ τὸν τε ποταμὸν ἱδεῖν τὰς ἑκβολὰς τὰς ἐν τῷ πόντῳ, καθάπερ τοῦ Ἰνδοῦ, καὶ τὴν 2 ταῦτη θάλασσαν. Οἱ δὲ καὶ τάδε ἀνέγραψαν, ὅτι ἔπεν οἱ Ἀλέξανδρος περιπλεῦσαι τὴν τε Ἀραβίαν τῆν πολλὴν καὶ τὴν Αἰθιόπων γῆν καὶ τὴν Λιβύην τε καὶ τοὺς Νομάδας τοὺς ὑπὲρ τῶν Ἀτλαντῶν τὸ δρος ὡς ἐπὶ Γάδειρα εἶσο ἐν τῇ ἡμετέρῳ θάλασσᾳ καὶ τῇ Διβύην τῇ καταστρεφόμενοι καὶ Καρχηδόνα σωτῷ δῆ τῆς Ἀσίας 3 πάσης δικαίως ἃν βασιλεὺς καλεῖσθαι τοὺς γὰρ τοῦ Περσῶν καὶ Μῆδων βασιλείας, οὔδε τοῦ πολλοστοῦ μέρους τῆς Ἀσίας ἐπάρχοντας, οὐ σὺν δίκη καλεῖν σφᾶς μεγάλους βασιλείας. Ἐνθευ δὲ οἱ μὲν λέγουσιν ὅτι ἐς τὸν πόντον τὸν Ἐὔξεινον ἐσπλεῦν ἐπενείς ἐς Σκύθας τε καὶ τὴν Μαιώτιν λήμνην, οἱ δὲ, ὅτι ἐς Σικελίαν τε καὶ ἀκραν Ἰαπυγίαν ἤδη γὰρ καὶ ὑποκινεῖν αὐτὸν τὸ Ῥωμαίων ὄνομα προχωροῦν ἐπὶ μέγα.

4 Ἐγὼ δὲ ὅποια μὲν ἡ Ἀλεξάνδρου τὰ ἐνθυμήματα οὕτε ἔχω ἀτρεκῶς ἐξυμβάλειν οὐτε μέλει ἔμουγε εἰκάζειν ἐκεῖνο δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς ἀν μοι δοκῶ ἴσχυρίσασθαι, οὕτε μικρὸν τι καὶ φαύλον 204
BOOK VII

I. On reaching the Pasargadae and Persepolis Alexander was seized with a desire to sail down by the Euphrates and Tigris into the Persian Sea; and to see the outlets of these rivers into the sea, as he had seen the outlet of the Indus, and the ocean near it. Some historians have recorded that Alexander intended to sail round Arabia, the greater part of it, and Aethiopia and Libya and the Nomads who are beyond Mount Atlas, right up to Gadeira in our sea; then if he had subdued Libya and Carchedon, he would in just right be called King of all Asia; for, of course, the Persian and Median Kings had not held sway over even a fraction of Asia, and so had no right to call themselves Great Kings. Thence some authorities say he proposed to sail into the Euxine Sea to Scythia and Lake Maeotis; others, that he intended to make for Sicily and the Iapygian promontory; for he was already rather distressed that the Roman name was growing very widely extended.

As for what was in Alexander’s mind, I for my part have no means of conjecturing with any accuracy, nor do I care to guess; this, however, I think I can for my own part asseverate, that Alex-
ἈΡΡΙΑΝ

ἐπινοεῖν Ἀλέξανδρον οὐτε μεῖναι ἣν ἀτρεμοῦντα ἐπὶ οὔδενι τῶν ἢδη κεκτημένων, οὔδὲ εἰ τὴν Εὐρώπην τῇ Ἀσίᾳ προσέθηκεν, οὔδὲ εἰ τὰς Βρεττανῶν νήσους τῇ Εὐρώπῃ, ἀλλὰ ἔτι ἄν ἔπε ἐκεῖνα ξητεῦν τι τῶν ἤγιονμένων, εἰ καὶ μὴ ἀλλῳ τῷ, ἀλλὰ αὐτὸν γε αὐτῷ ἑρίζοντα. Καὶ ἔπὶ τῶδε ἐπαινῶ τοὺς σοφιστάς τῶν Ἰνδῶν, διὸν λέγουσιν ἔστω οὖς καταληφθέντάς ὑπ’ Ἀλέξανδρον ὑπαιθρίους ἐν λειμώνι, ἱναπερ αὐτοῖς διατριβαί ἦσαν, ἀλλο μὲν οὔδεν ποιῆσαι πρὸς τὴν ὄψιν αὐτοῦ τε καὶ τῆς στρατιᾶς, κρούειν δὲ τοῖς ποσὶ τῆς γῆς ἐφ’ ἂς βεβηκότες ἦσαν. Ὅς δὲ ἦρετο Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ ἐρμηνεύω δ’ τι νοοὶ αὐτοῖς τὸ ἔργον, τοὺς δὲ ἀποκρίνασθαι ὀδεῖ."  

"Ὤ βασιλεὺ "Ἀλέξανδρε, άνθρωπος μὲν ἐκαστος τοσὸντε τῆς γῆς κατέχει ὅσον περ τούτῳ ἐστὶν ἐφί στοι βεβηκαμεν’ σι δὲ ανθρώπος αὐν παραπλησιος τοῖς ἄλλοις, πλὴν γε δὴ ὑπετερίας, καὶ ἀτάσθαλος, ἀπὸ τῆς οἰκείας τοσοτῆς γῆν ἐπεξέρχεται πράγματα ἐκων τε καὶ παρέχων ἄλλοις. Καὶ οὖν καὶ ὅλην ὑστερον ἀποθανὼν τοσοῦτον καθέξεις τῆς γῆς ὅσον ἐξαρκεῖ ἐντεθάφθαι τῷ σώματι."  

Π. Κανταύθα ἐπήνυσε μεν Ἀλέξανδρος τοὺς τε λόγους αὐτοῖς καὶ τοὺς εὐπόντας, ἔπρασσε δὲ ὅμως ἄλλα καὶ τάναντια οἰς ἐπήνυσεν. Ἐπεὶ καὶ Διογένει τόν ἑκ Σινώπης θαυμάσαι λέγεται, εἶν Ἰσθμῷ ἐντυχῶν τῷ Διογένει κατακειμένῳ ἐν ἡλίῳ, ἐπιστὰς εἶν τοῖς ὑπασπισταῖς καὶ τοῖς πεζοπειροῖς καὶ ἐρόμενος εἰ τοῦ δέοιτο: ὦ δὲ

1 Porson paraphrases, but the adj. seems necessary to balance those which follow.

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ander had no small or mean conceptions, nor would ever have remained contented with any of his possessions so far, not even if he had added Europe to Asia, and the Britannic islands to Europe; but would always have searched far beyond for something unknown, being always the rival, if of no other, yet of himself. In this connection I applaud the Indian wise men, some of whom, the story goes, were found by Alexander in the open air in a meadow, where they used to have their disputations, and who, when they saw Alexander and his army, did nothing further than beat with their feet the ground on which they stood. Then when Alexander enquired by interpreters what this action of theirs meant, they replied: "O King Alexander, each man possesses just so much of the earth as this on which we stand; and you being a man like other men, save that you are full of activity and relentless, are roaming over all this earth far from your home, troubled yourself, and troubling others. But not so long hence you will die, and will possess just so much of the earth as suffices for your burial."

II. On that occasion Alexander applauded their remarks and the speakers, but he always acted diametrically opposite to that which he then applauded. For example, he is said to have expressed surprise at Diogenes of Sinope, when he found Diogenes once on the Isthmus lying in the sun; he and his bodyguard and his infantry Companions halted, and he asked if Diogenes had need of any-
Διογένης ἄλλου μὲν ἔφη δεῖσθαι οὔδενός, ἀπὸ τοῦ ἥλιον δὲ ἀπελθεῖν ἐκέλευσεν αὐτὸν τε καὶ 2 τὸ οὐ τοῦ αὐτῷ. Οὕτω τοι οὐ πάντη ἔξω ἢν τοῦ ἐπινοεῖν τὰ κρείττω Ἀλέξανδρος, ἀλλ’ ἐκ δόξης γὰρ δεινῶς ἐκρατεῖτο. Ἐπεὶ καὶ ἐς Τάξιλα αὐτῷ ἀφικομένῳ καὶ ἴδοντες τῶν σοφιστῶν Ἰνδῶν τοὺς γυμνοὺς πόθος ἐγένετο ξυνεῖναι τινά οἱ τῶν ἀνδρῶν τοῦτων, ὅτι τὴν καρτερίαν αὐτῶν ἔθαυμασεν καὶ ὁ μὲν πρεσβύτατος τῶν σοφιστῶν, ὅτου ὁμιληταὶ οἱ ἄλλοι ἤσαν, Δάνδαμις ὄνομα, οὔτε αὐτὸς ἔφη παρ’ Ἀλέξανδρον ἤξειν οὔτε 3 τοὺς ἄλλους εἶα. Ἀλλ’ ἀποκρίνασθαι γὰρ λέγεται ὡς Δίδω νῦν καὶ αὐτὸς εἶη, εἴπερ οὐν καὶ Ἀλέξανδρος, καὶ οὗτε δεότα τοῦ τῶν παρ’ Ἀλέξανδρο, ἔχειν γὰρ οἱ εὗ τὰ παρόντα, καὶ ἄμα ὅραν τοὺς ξύν αὐτὸ πλανωμένους τοσαύτην γῆν καὶ θάλασσαν ἐπ’ ἀγαθῆν οὔδεν, μηδὲ πέρας τι αὐτοῖς γινόμενον τῶν πολλῶν πλανῶν, οὔτ’ οὐν ποθεῖν τι αὐτὸς ὅτου κύριος ἤν Ἀλέξανδρος δούναι, οὔτ’ αὖ δεδεῖναι, ὅτου κρατοῖη ἐκεῖνος, 4 ἐστιν οὔ εἰργεσθαι. ξῶντι μὲν γὰρ οἱ τῆς Ἰνδῶν γῆν ἐξαρκεῖν, φέρουσαν τὰ ὁραῖα· ἀποθανόντα δὲ ἀπαλλαγῆσθαι οὐκ ἐπιεικοῖς ξυνοίκων του σώματος. Οὐκὼν οὐδὲ Ἀλέξανδρον ἐπιχειρήσας βιάσασθαι, γνώντα ἐλεύθερον οὖντα τοῦ ἀνδρα’ ἀλλὰ Κάλανον γὰρ ἀναπεισθῆναι τῶν ταύτη σοφιστῶν, ὄντως μάλιστα δὴ αὐτοῦ ἀκράτορα Μεγαθένης ἀνέγραψεν αὐτοὺς τοὺς σοφιστὰς λέγειν, κακίζοντας τὸν Κάλανον ὅτι ἀπολυπών 208
thing. But he merely answered that he needed nothing else, but bade him and his followers stand out of his sunlight. So it was evident that Alexander was not incapable of higher thought, but he was, in fact, grievously under the sway of ambition. For once when he came to Taxila and saw those of the Indian wise men who go naked, he desired very much that one of these men should join him, since he so much admired their endurance. On this the oldest among these wise men, whose pupils the others were, called Dandamis, said that he would not join Alexander, and would not permit any of his school to do so. For he is said to have replied that he was just as much a son of Zeus himself as Alexander was, and that he had no need of anything from Alexander, since he was contented with what he had; he perceived, moreover, that those who were wandering about with Alexander over all those countries and seas were none the better for it, and that there was no end to their many wanderings. He did not then desire anything that Alexander could give him, nor did he fear being kept out of anything of which Alexander might be possessed. While he lived, the land of India was all he needed, giving to him its fruits in their season; and when he died, he would merely be released from an uncomfortable companion, his body. Alexander then hearing this reply had no mind to compel him, realizing that the man was indeed free. But a certain Calanus—so Megasthenes writes—one of the wise men of these parts, was persuaded to join Alexander; a man whom the wise men themselves regarded as most uncontrolled in his desires, reproaching Calanus because he deserted the happiness
τὴν παρὰ σφίσιν εὑδαμονίαν, ὃ δὲ δεσποτὴν ἄλλον ἢ τὸν θεὸν ἔθεράπευε.

Π. Ταῦτα ἐγὼ ἀνέγραψα, ὅτι καὶ ὑπὲρ Καλάνου ἐχρῆν εἴπειν ἐν τῇ περὶ Ἀλέξανδρον ξυγγραφῇ μαλακισθῆναι γὰρ τι τῷ σώματι τῶν Καλανοῦ ἐν τῇ Περσίδι γῆ, οὕτω πρόσθεν νοσήσαντα· οὐκόνον οὐδὲ δίαιταν διαιτᾶσθαι ἐβέλειν ἀρρώστον ἀνδρός, ἀλλὰ εἴπειν γὰρ πρὸς Ἀλέξανδρον, καλῶς αὐτῷ ἔχειν ἐν τῷ τοιῷδε καταστρέψαι, πρὶν τινος ἐς πείραν ἐλθῆν παθήματος ὁ τιπερ ἐξαναγκάζει αὐτὸν μεταβάλλειν τὴν 2 πρόσθεν δίαιταν. Καὶ Ἀλέξανδρον ἀντεπείν μὲν αὐτῷ ἐπὶ πολὺ· ὧς δὲ οὐχ ἥττησόμενον ἐώρα, ἀλλὰ ἄλλως ἀν ἀπαλλαγέντα, εἰ μὴ τις ταύτη ὑπεικάθιοι, οὕτω δὴ ὡς ἐπὶ ἐπήγγελλεν αὐτός, κελεύεσαι νησθῆναι αὐτῷ πυρὰν, καὶ ταύτης ἐπιμεληθῆναι Πτολεμαῖον τὸν Δάγον τὸν σωματοφύλακα. Οἱ δὲ καὶ πομπὴν τινα προπομπεύσαντες αὐτὸν λέγουσιν ὑπον ὑπὸν τε καὶ ἄνδρας, τοὺς μὲν ὁπλισμένους, τοὺς δὲ θυμάματα παντοῖα τῇ πυρᾷ ἐπιφέροντας. οἱ δὲ καὶ ἐκπώματα χρυσά καὶ ἄργυρα καὶ ἔσθήτα βασιλικὴν λέγουσιν ὅτι 3 ἠφέρον. Ἀυτῷ δὲ παρασκευασθῆναι μὲν ὑπὸν, ὅτι βαδίσαι ἀδυνάτως εἴχεν ὑπὸ τῆς νόσουν οὐ μὴν δυνηθῆναι γε οὐδὲ τοῦ ὑπὸν ἐπιβῆναι, ἀλλὰ ἐπὶ κλίνῃς γὰρ κομισθῆναι φερόμενον, ἐστεφανομένου τε τῷ Ἰνδῶν νόμῳ καὶ ἄδοντα τῇ Ἰνδῶν γλώσσῃ. Οἱ δὲ Ἰνδοὶ λέγουσιν ὅτι ὑμνοὶ 4 θεῶν ἦσαν καὶ αὐτῶν ἐπαινοὶ. Καὶ τὸν μὲν ὑπὸν τοῦτον ὅτου ἐπιβῆσθαι ἐμέλλε, βασιλικὸν ὄντα τῶν Νυσαίων, πρὶν ἀναβῆναι ἐπὶ τὴν πυρὰν Ἀντιμάχῳ χαρίσασθαι, τῶν τινὶ θερα-
which they had, while he served a master other than God.

III. All this I have narrated because it was impossible to write a history of Alexander without mention of Calanus; for he grew enfeebled in body in Persia, though he had never been ill before; and yet he would not submit to the ordinary treatment of an invalid, but said to Alexander that he was glad to make an end as he was, before he should experience any suffering which would force him to adopt a different treatment than that to which he had been used. Alexander, however, argued with him at some length; but perceiving that Calanus would not give in, but would choose some other way of death, if one should not yield to him on this point, ordered, as Calanus desired, that a pyre should be built for him, and that Ptolemaeus son of Lagus the officer of the bodyguard should be in charge of this. Some authorities relate that he had a great procession formed, horses and men, of whom some were in full armour, and others carried all sorts of incense for the pyre; others again say that they carried gold and silver cups and royal raiment. For Calanus himself a horse was made ready, since he could not walk, by reason of his illness; and yet he could not so much as mount the horse, but was borne upon a litter, lying down, crowned with garlands in the Indian fashion and singing songs in the Indian tongue. The Indians say that these songs were hymns to some gods, and their praises. The horse, on which he was to have mounted, was a royal horse, belonging to the Nysaeans, and before Calanus mounted the pyre it was given as a gift to Lysimachus, one of
πευόντων αὐτῶν ἐπὶ σοφία· τῶν δὲ δὴ ἐκπώματων ἢ στρωμάτων ὡσα ἐμβληθῆναι εἰς τὴν πυρὰν κόσμου αὐτῶ· τετάχει Ἀλέξανδρος, ἀλλὰ 5 ἄλλοις δοῦναι τῶν ἀμφ' αὐτῶν. Οὕτω δὴ ἐπιβάντα τῇ πυρᾷ κατακλιθῆναι μὲν ἐν κόσμῳ, ὀρᾶσθαι δὲ πρὸς τῆς στρατιᾶς ξυμπάσης. Ἀλέξανδρο δὲ οὐκ ἐπιεικὲς φανῆναι τὸ θέαμα ἐπὶ φίλῳ ἀνδρὶ γνώμην. ἀλλὰ τοῖς γὰρ ἄλλοις θαύμα παρασχέσθαι οὐδέν τι παρακινήσαντα ἐν 6 τῷ πυρὶ τοῦ σώματος. Ὡς δὲ τὸ πῦρ ἐς τὴν πυρὰν ἐνέβαλον οἱς προστεταγμένοι ὡς, τὰς τε σάλπυγας φθέγξασθαι λέγει Νέαρχος, οὕτως ἐξ Ἀλέξανδρο προστεταγμένοι, καὶ τὴν στρατιὰν ἐπαλαλάξαν πᾶσαν ὅπου τι καὶ ἐς τὰς μάχας ἰόνσα ἐπιπλάλαξε, καὶ τοὺς ἐλέφαντας συνεπηκή- σαι τὸ ὡς καὶ πολεμικόν, τιμῶντας Κάλανον. Ταῦτα καὶ τοιαύτα ὑπὲρ Καλάνου τοῦ Ἰνδοῦ ἰκανοὶ ἀναγεγράφασιν, οὐκ ἄχρεία πάντη ἢ ἀνθρώπους, ὅτι γνῶναι ἐπιμελέσι, ὅτι ὡς καρτερὸν τε ἐστι καὶ ἀνίκητον γνώμην ἀνθρωπίνη ὁ τιπερ ἐθέλει εξεργάσασθαι.

IV. Ἐν τούτῳ δὲ Ἀλέξανδρος Ἀτροπάτην μὲν ἐπὶ τὴν αὐτοῦ σατραπείαν ἐκπέμπει παρελθὼν ἐς Σοῦσα. Ἀβουλίτην δὲ καὶ τὸν τούτου παίδα Ὀξάθρην, ὅτι κακῶς ἐπεμελεῖτο τῶν Σουσίων, 2 συλλαβῶν ἀπέκτεινε. Πολλά μὲν δὴ πεπλημμέλητο ἐκ τῶν κατεχόντων τὰς χώρας ὡσαὶ δορύκτητοι πρὸς Ἀλέξανδρον ἐγένοντο ἐς τὰ ἱερὰ καὶ τάφω καὶ αὐτοῦ τοὺς υπηκόους, ὅτι χρόνος ὡς ἐς Ἰνδοὺς στόλος ἐγεγένητο τῷ βασιλεῖ καὶ οὐ πιστὸν ἐφαίνετο ἀπονοστήσει αὐτοῦ ἐκ τοσῶν ἐθνῶν καὶ τοσῶν ἐλεφάντων, ὑπὲρ τῶν 212
those who had been his pupils in philosophy; and of the cups and coverlets which Alexander had ordered to be heaped upon the pyre, he gave some to one, and some to another, of his followers. Thus, then, he mounted the pyre and lay down with solemnity, in the sight of all the host. As for Alexander, he felt this spectacle to be unseemly, with one for whom he had an affection; as for the rest, they felt nothing but astonishment to see that Calanus flinched not one whit in the flames. And when the pyre was lit by those detailed to do so, the trumpets (says Nearc rashus) sounded, as Alexander had ordered, and the whole army raised the cry which they raise when entering battle, and the elephants trumpeted their shrill war-cry, in honour of Calanus. Many writers have told this story, and others like it, of Calanus the Indian, not altogether valueless to mankind, at least for anyone who cares to realize how stalwart and unflinching is human resolution to carry out that which it desires.

IV. At this time Alexander despatched Atropates to his satrapy, after he had himself proceeded to Susa. There he arrested Abulites and his son Oxathres, since he had abused his office as governor of the Susians, and put them to death. For there had been many irregularities on the part of those rulers of countries which Alexander had captured in war; whether towards temples, tombs, or the subjects themselves, since the King had been a long time on his Indian expedition, and there seemed little likelihood of his returning safe from so many tribes and so many fighting elephants, doomed
Ἀρριάν

Ἰνδόν τε καὶ Τδάσπην καὶ τὸν Ἀκεσίνην καὶ

3 "Τφασιν θειρόμενον. Καὶ αἱ ἐν Γαδρωσίοις δὲ

αὐτῷ ξυμφοραί ξυνενεχθεῖσαι ἔτι μᾶλλον ἑπὶ

τοὺς ταύτης σατραπεύοντας καταφρονῆσαι αὐτοῦ

τῆς οἴκων ἀπονοστήσεως. Οὐ μὴν ἄλλα καὶ

αὐτὸς Ἀλέξανδρος ὀξύτερος λέγεται γενέσθαι

ἐν τῷ τότε ἐστὶν πιστεύσαι τε τοὺς ἐπικαλοῦ-

μένοις, ὦς πιθανοῖς δὴ ἐν παντὶ ο.YELLOW], καὶ ἐὰν τὸ

τιμωρήσασθαι μεγάλως τοὺς καὶ ἑπὶ μικρῶς

ἐξελεγχθέντας, ὅτι καὶ τὰ μεγάλα ἀν ἐδόκουν

αὐτῷ τῇ αὐτῇ γνώμῃ ἐξεργάσασθαι.

4 Ὁ δὲ καὶ γάμους ἐποίησεν ἐν Σούσοις αὐτοῦ

τε καὶ τῶν ἑταῖρων· αὐτὸς μὲν τῶν Δαρείου

θυγατέρων τὴν πρεσβυτάτην Βαρσίνην ἡγάγετο,

ὅς δὲ λέγει Ἀριστόβουλος, καὶ ἄλλῃ πρὸς

ταύτης, τῶν Ὄχου βασιλέως τῆς νεωτάτην

Παρυσατιν. Ἡδὴ δὲ ἦν αὐτῷ ὑγιεῖν καὶ ἦ

5 Ὀξύαρτου τοῦ Βακτρίου παῖς Ῥωξάνη. Δρύ-

πετιν δε Ἡφαιστίων δίδωσι, Δαρείου παιδί καὶ

ταύτης, ἀδελφὴν τῆς αὐτοῦ γυναικὸς, ἐθέλειν γάρ

οἱ ἄνεψιν τῶν παιδῶν γενέσθαι τοὺς Ἡφαι-

στίωνοις παιδα. Κρατέρῳ δε Ἀμαστρίνη τῆς

Ὀξύαρτος τοῦ Δαρείου ἀδελφοῦ παιδία. Περδίκα

δὲ τῆς Ἀτροπάτου τοῦ Μηδίας σατράπου παιδα

6 ἐδωκε: Πτολεμαῖος δὲ τῷ σωματοφύλακι καὶ

Εὐμένει τῷ γραμματεῖ τῷ βασιλικῷ τὰς Ἀρτα-

βάξου παιδας τῶν μὲν Ἀρτακαμᾶν, τῶν δὲ Ἀρτωνίν.

Νεάρχῳ δὲ τὴν Βαρσίνην τε καὶ Μεντόρος παιδι

Σελεύκῳ δὲ τὴν Σπυταμένους τοῦ Βακτρίου παιδα

ὡςαύτως δὲ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἑταῖροις τὰς δοκι-

μωτάτας Περσῶν τε καὶ Μηδίων παιδας ἐς

7 ὀγδοήκοντα. Οἱ γάμοι δὲ ἐποίηθησαν νόμῳ τῷ
to perish beyond the Indus, Hydaspes, Acesines, and Hyphasis. The disasters too which he suffered in Gadrosia all the more encouraged the satraps on this side to scout any idea of his return. Not but what Alexander himself is said to have grown at this time more ready to listen to any accusations, as if they were wholly reliable, and to punish severely those who were convicted of slight errors, because he felt they might, in the same frame of mind, commit heavier crimes.

Then he held also weddings at Susa, both his own and for his Companions; he married Dareius' eldest daughter Barsine, and, as Aristobulus says, another wife besides, the youngest daughter of Ochus, Parysatis. He had already taken to wife Roxane, the daughter of Oxyartes the Bactrian. To Hephaestion he gave Drypetis, also a daughter of Dareius, sister to his own wife, for he desired that Hephaestion's children should be his own nephews and nieces; to Craterus, Amastrine daughter of Oxyartes, Dareius' brother; to Perdiccas a daughter of Atropates, the satrap of Media; to Ptolemaeus the officer of the bodyguard and Eumenes the royal secretary, the daughters of Artabazus, Artacama to Ptolemaeus, Artonis to Eumenes; to Nearchus the daughter of Barsine and Mentor; to Seleucus the daughter of Spitamenes the Bactrian, and similarly to the other Companions the noblest daughters of Persians and Medes, to the number of eighty. These weddings were solemnized in the

1 Otherwise Stateira. This may be an error of Arrian's.
2 Alexander's earlier wife, mother of Heracles. (W. W. Tarn, J.H.S., xli, pt. i, disputes this.)
Περσικῷ θρόνοι ἐτέθησαν τοῖς νυμφίοις ἐφεξῆς καὶ μετὰ τῶν πότων ἦκον αἱ γαμούμεναι καὶ παρεκαθέζοντο ἐκάστη τῷ ἑαυτῷ· οἱ δὲ ἐδεξιώσαντό τε αὐτᾶς καὶ ἐφίλησαν· πρῶτος δὲ ὁ βασιλεὺς ἦρξεν· ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ γὰρ πάντων ἐγύγνυντο οἱ γάμοι. Καὶ τούτῳ, έπερ τι ἄλλο, ἐδοξε δημοτικόν τε καὶ φιλέταιρον πρᾶξαι Ἀλεξάνδρου.

8 Οἱ δὲ παραλαβόντες ἀπῆγον τὴν ἑαυτοῦ ἕκαστος· προίκας δὲ εὐμπάσας ἐπέδωκεν Ἀλεξάνδρος. Καὶ ὁσοὶ δὲ ἄλλοι ἤγγευσον ἦσαν Μακεδόνες τῶν Ἀσιανῶν τινας γυναικῶν, ἀπογραφήναι ἐκέλευσε καὶ τούτων τὰ ὅνωμα, καὶ ἔγένυντο ὑπὲρ τοὺς μυρίους, καὶ τούτοις δώρεα Ἀλεξάνδρου ἐδόθησαν ἐπὶ τοῖς γάμοις.

V. Καὶ τὰ χρέα ἐπιλύσασθαι τῆς στρατιάς ὅσοις χρέα ἦν ἐν καρπῷ οἱ ἐδοξε, καὶ κελεύει ἀπογράφεσθαι ὅπως ἦσαν ὄφειλεν ἕκαστος, ὡς ληψομένους. Καὶ τὰ μὲν πρῶτα ὅλγοι ἀπέγραψαν σφῶν τὰ ὅνωμα, δεδιότες εἰς Ἀλεξάνδρου μὴ πείρα αὐτῇ εἰς καθεμένῃ, ὅταν οὐκ ἀποχώρησα ἡ μισθοφορὰ τῶν στρατιώτῶν ἔστι καὶ ὅταν πολυτελῆς ἡ δίαιτα. Ὡς δὲ ἐξήγγελτο ὅτι οὐκ ἀπογράφουσι σφῶς οἱ πολλοὶ, ἀλλ᾽ ἐπικρύπτουσιν ὅτι τε εἰς συμβόλαιον, τὴν μὲν ἀπιστίαν τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἐκάσκες, οὐ γὰρ χρήσει, οὐτ' οὖν τῶν βασιλέα ἄλλο τι ἢ ἀληθεύειν πρὸς τὸν οὔκ ὑπηκόους, οὔτε τῶν ἀρχομένων τινὰ ἄλλο τι ἢ ἀλήθειας ἔχειν, δοκεῖν τὸν βασιλέα. Καταβαίλει δὲ τραπέζας ἐν τῷ στρατόπεδῳ καὶ ἔπι τούτων χρυσίου, τοὺς ἐπιμεληθομένους τῆς δόσεως ἐκάστοις ὀστίς συμβόλαιον ἐπεδείκνυτο ἐπιλύσατε τὰ χρέα ἐκέλευς τούτων ὅνωμα ἔντικα ἀπογραφομένους ἐπὶ τὰ ὅνωμα. Καὶ οὗτος
ANABASIS OF ALEXANDER, VII. 4. 7-5. 3

Persian fashion; chairs were placed for the bridegrooms in order; then after the health-drinkings the brides came in, and each sat down by the side of her bridegroom; they took them by the hand and kissed them, the King setting the example; for all the weddings took place together. In this, if ever, Alexander was thought to have shown a spirit of condescension and comradeship. Then the bridegrooms having received their brides led them back to their homes, and to all Alexander gave dowries. Any other Macedonians who had married Asian women Alexander ordered to be struck off the army list, and they proved to be more than ten thousand, and to all Alexander gave wedding gifts.

V. This seemed a convenient moment to clear up all debts of the army, and Alexander ordered a list to be made of all debts, with a promise of settlement. At first only a few entered their names on the list, being nervous lest Alexander had merely tried an experiment to see who had not lived on their pay and who had been living extravagantly; but when Alexander learnt that most of the soldiers were not sending in their names, but concealing their bonds, he reproved the suspicions of the troops; the King, he said, must always speak truth to his subjects, and the subjects must never suppose that their King speaks anything but truth. So he had banking tables set up in the camp, with money thereon, and told the accountants charged with the distribution to cancel the debts to all who produced any bond, without so much as registering the names. So they came to believe that Alexander
Δὴ ἐπιστευσάν τε ἀληθεύειν Ἀλέξανδρον καὶ σὺν χάριτι μελζον ἐγγυνετο αὐτοῖς τῷ μῆ γνωσθῆναι μᾶλλον τῇ ἡ τὸ παύσασθαι οφειλοντας. Δέγεται δὲ γενέσθαι ἡ δόσις αὕτη τῇ στρατιᾷ ἐς τάλαντα δισμύρια.

4. Ἔδωκε δὲ καὶ δώρα ἀλλοις ἄλλα, ὅπως τις κατ' ἄξιωσιν ἐτματο ἡ κατ' ἀρετὴν εἰ τις ἐπιφανὴς ἐγεγονεί ἐν τοῖς κινδύνοις. Καὶ ἐστεφάνωσε χρυσοῖς στεφάνωις τοὺς ἀνδραγαθία διαπρέποντας, πρῶτον μὲν Πευκέσταν τὸν ὑπερασπίσαντα, ἔστειτα Λεόννατον, καὶ τοῦτον ὑπερασπίσαντα, καὶ διὰ τούς ἐν Ἰνδοῖς κινδύνοις καὶ τῇ ἐν Ὡροις νίκην γενομένην, ὅτι παρατάξαμενός συν τῇ ὑπολειφθεὶση δυνάμει πρὸς τοὺς νεωτέριζοντας τῶν τε Ὡρειτῶν καὶ τῶν πλησίον τοῦτων ὀκισμένων τῇ τε μάχῃ ἐκράτησε καὶ 5 τάλλα καλῶς ἔδοξε τὰ ἐν Ὡροις κοσμῆσαι. Ἐπὶ τούτοις δὲ Νεάρχου ἔπι τῷ περίπλῳ τῷ ἐκ τῆς Ἰνδῶν γῆς κατὰ τὴν μεγάλην θάλασσαν ἐστεφάνωσε· καὶ γὰρ καὶ οὕτως ἀφιγμένος ἤδη ἐσ Σοῦσα ἤν· ἐπὶ τούτοις δὲ Ὡνησίκριτον τῶν κυβερνητῶν τῆς νεῶς τῆς βασιλικῆς· ἔτι δὲ Ἡφαιστίωνα καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους σωματοφύλακας.

6. Ἡκὼν δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ οἱ σατράπαι οἱ ἐκ τῶν πόλεων τε τῶν νεοκτίστων καὶ τῆς ἄλλης γῆς τῆς δορυλώτου, παίδας ἡβάσκοντας ἤδη ἐς τρισμυρίους ἅγοντες, τὴν αὐτὴν ἡλικίαν γεγονότας, οὕς Ἐπιγόνους ἐκάλει Ἀλέξανδρος, κεκοσμημένους Μακεδονικοῖς ὑπόλοιποι καὶ τὰ πολέμα ἐσ τῶν τρόπων τῶν Μακεδονικῶν ῥησκημένους.

2 Καὶ οὕτω ἀφικόμενοι λέγονται ἀναίσαι Μακε- δόνας, ὡς πάντα δὴ μηχανωμένου Ἀλέξανδρου 218
spoke truth, and they were more gratified by the concealment of their names than by the cancellation of the debts. This gift of his to the army is said to have amounted to twenty thousand talents.

He gave also various other gifts, according to the repute in which anyone was held, or to valour shown conspicuously in dangers. He also decorated with golden crowns those distinguished for bravery—Peucetas, first, who saved his life; then Leonnatus, who did likewise, and also for his risks run in India and his victory among the Orians, and because he faced, with the forces remaining to him, the rebel Oreitans and their neighbours, and beat them in the battle; and also for all his other dispositions which he had satisfactorily made among the Orians. Then, besides, he decorated Nearchus for his coasting voyage from India by way of the ocean; for Nearchus also had now arrived at Susa; and next, Onesicritus, the helmsman of the royal ship; also Hephaestion and the rest of the bodyguards.

VI. Then there came to him also the governors of the new cities which he had founded, and of the provinces he had captured besides, bringing about thirty thousand youths, all of the same age, whom Alexander called his “Successors,” all dressed in Macedonian dress and trained to warlike exercises on the Macedonian system. Their arrival is said to have annoyed the Macedonians, as if Alexander was contriving every means of dispensing with
ΑΡΡΙΑΝ

ὑπὲρ τοῦ μηκέτι ὁσαύτως δεῖσθαι Μακεδόνων·
εἶναι γὰρ οὐν καὶ τὴν Μηδικὴν τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρου
στολὴν ἄλγος οὐ σμικρὸν Μακεδόσιν ὀρωμένην,
καὶ τοὺς γὰμους ἐν τῷ νόμῳ τῷ Περσικῷ ποτη-
θέντας οὐ πρὸς θυμοῦ γενέσθαι τοῖς πολλοῖς
αὐτῶν, οὔδὲ τῶν γημάντων ἔστιν οἶς, καίτοι τῇ
ἰσότητι τῇ ἐς τὸν βασιλέα μεγάλως τετιμημένοις.

3 Πευκέστατα τε ὁ Περσῶν σατράπης τῇ τε σκευῇ
καὶ τῇ φώνῃ περσίκῳ ἐλύπη αὐτοῦς, ὅτι τῷ
βαρβαρισμῷ αὐτοῦ ἔχαρεν Ἀλεξάνδρος, καὶ οἱ
Βακτρίων δὲ καὶ οἱ Σωγιδανῶν καὶ Ἀραχώτων
ἵππεις, καὶ Ζαράγγων δὲ καὶ Ἀρείων καὶ Παρ-
θυαῖων καὶ ἐκ Περσῶν οἱ Εὐάκαι καλούμενοι
ἵππεις καταλοχισθέντες ἐς τὴν ἵππου τὴν ἐταιρι-
κὴν ὅσοι αὐτῶν κατ’ ἀξίωσιν καὶ κάλλει τοῦ
σῶματος ὥς τῇ ἅλλῃ ἄρετῇ ὑπερφέροντες ἐφαί-
νοντο, καὶ πέμπτῃ ἐπὶ τούτοις ἱππαρχία προσ-
γενομένη, οὐ βαρβαρικὴ ἡ πάσα, ἀλλὰ ἐπαυξη-
θέντος γὰρ τοῦ παντὸς ἱππικοῦ κατελέγησαν ἐς
αὐτὸ τῶν βαρβάρων, τῷ τε ἀγήματι προσκατα-
λεγέντες Κωφῆν τε ὁ Ἀρταβάζου καὶ Τδάρινης
καὶ Ἀρτιβόλης οἱ Μαξαῖος, καὶ Σισίνης καὶ
Φραδασμένης οἱ Φραταφέρνου τοῦ Παρθυαίων
καὶ Τρκανίας σατράπου παῖδες, καὶ Ἰστάνης
Ὀξυάρτου μὲν παῖς, Ῥωξάνης δὲ τῆς γυναικὸς
5 Ἀλεξάνδρου ἀδελφός. Καὶ Αὐτοβάρης καὶ ὁ
tοῦτον ἀδελφὸν Μιδροβαῖος, καὶ ἡγεμῶν ἐπὶ
tούτοις ἐπισταθεὶς Ἡστάσπης ὁ Βακτριος, καὶ
tούτοις δόρατα Μακεδονικὰ ἀντὶ τῶν βαρβαρικῶν
μεσαγγύλων δοθέντα, ταῦτα πάντα ἐλύπη τοὺς
Μακεδόνας, ὡς πάντη δὴ βαρβαρίζουτος τῇ
γνώμῃ Ἀλεξάνδρου, τὰ δὲ Μακεδονικὰ νόμιμα
τε καὶ αὐτοὺς Μακεδόνας ἐν ἀτίμῳ χώρα ἄγοντος.
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Macedonians in future; in fact they had long been pained to see Alexander wearing the Median robes, and his Persian marriage ceremonies had not given satisfaction to most of them; indeed, not even to some of the bridegrooms, though they had been highly honoured by their being thus raised to a level with the King. Then they were indignant that Peucetas the satrap of Persia was aping Persian ways both in dress and speech, and more, that Alexander seemed to like his Oriental habits; then again, Bactrian, Sogdian, and Arachotian cavalry, and Zarangians, Areians, Parthyaeans, and of the Persians those called the Evacaé, were brigaded with the Companions' Cavalry, that is, those who seemed conspicuous for handsomeness or some other excellence. Then, too, apart from these, a fifth cavalry regiment was added, not entirely Oriental, but the whole cavalry force being increased, some of the Orientals were specially picked for it; into the special squadron were enrolled Cophen the son of Artabazus\(^1\) and Hydarnes and Artiboles sons of Mazaeus, Sisines and Phradasmenes, sons of Phrataphernes the satrap of Parthyaea and Hyrcania, and Histanes son of Oxyartes and brother of Roxane, Alexander's wife. Autobares also, and his brother Mithrobaeus; and as commander over all these was appointed Hystaspes the Bactrian, and they were given Macedonian spears instead of the Oriental javelins. All this caused indignation to the Macedonians, as giving an idea that Alexander's heart was growing entirely Orientalized, and that he paid little consideration to Macedonian customs and Macedonians themselves.

\(^1\) Brother, therefore, of Barsine, widow of Memnon. See IV. 7, above.
VII. Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ τῆς μὲν πεζῆς στρατιάς τὴν πολλὴν Ἡφαιστίωνα ἀγείν κελεύει ἐστε ἐπὶ τὴν θάλασσαν τὴν Περσικὴν. Αὐτὸς δὲ ἀναπλεύσαντος αὐτῷ τοῦ ναυτικοῦ ὡς τὴν Σουσίαν γῆν ἐπεβᾶς τῶν νεῶν ἥν τοὺς ὑπασπισταίς τε καὶ τῷ ἀγήματι καὶ τῶν ἵππων τῶν ἑταίρων ἀναβιβασάμενοι οὐ πολλοὺς κατέπλευς κατὰ τὸν 2 Ἐυλαίον ποταμὸν ὡς ἐπὶ θάλασσαν. "Ἡδὴ δὲ πλησίον ὅτι τῆς ἐκβολῆς τῆς ἐς τὸν πόλον τὰς μὲν πλεύσαις τε καὶ πεπονηκυίας τῶν νεῶν καταλείπει αὐτοῦ· αὐτὸς δὲ ταῖς μάλιστα ταχυναυτούσαις παρέπλευς ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἐυλαίου ποταμοῦ κατὰ τὴν θάλασσαν ὡς ἐπὶ τὰς ἐκβολὰς τοῦ Τίγρητος· αἱ δὲ ἀλλαὶ αὐτῷ υἱὲς ἀνακομισθεῖσαι κατὰ τὸν Ἐυλαίον ἐστε ἐπὶ τὴν διόρυξα ἢ τέτμηται ἐκ τοῦ Τίγρητος ἐς τὸν Ἐυλαίον, ταύτῃ διεκομίσθησαν ἐς τὸν Τίγρητα.

3 Τῶν γὰρ δὴ ποταμῶν τοῦ τε Ἐυφράτου καὶ τοῦ Τίγρητος, οἱ τὴν μέσην σφῶν Συρίαν ἀπείρονοι, δὲν καὶ τὸ ὅνωμα Μεσοποταμία πρὸς τῶν ἐπιχωρίων κληίζεται, ὡς μὲν Τίγρης πολὺ τι ταπεινότερος ῥέων τοῦ Ἐυφράτου διώρυξας τὸ πολλὰς ἐκ τοῦ Ἐυφράτου ἐς αὐτὸν δεχεται καὶ πολλοὺς ἄλλους ποταμοὺς παραλάβουν καὶ ἐξ αὐτῶν αὐξηθεὶς ἐσβάλλει ἐς τὸν πόλον τῶν Περσικῶν, 4 μέγας τε καὶ οὐδαμοῦ διαβατὸς ἐστε ἐπὶ τὴν ἐκβολὴν, καθὼς οὐ καταναλίσκεται αὐτοῦ οὐδέν ἐς τὴν χώραν. Ἡστι γὰρ μετεωροτέρα ἢ ταύτῃ γῆς τοῦ ὑδατος, οὐδὲ ἐκδίδωσιν οὗτος κατὰ τὰς διώρυξας οὐδὲ ἐς ἄλλου ποταμῶν, ἀλλὰ δεχεται γὰρ ἐκείνους μᾶλλον ἀρδεύσαν τε ἀπὸ οὐ τὴν 5 χώραν οὐδαμῆ παρέχει. Ὁ δὲ Ἐυφράτης με-
ANABASIS OF ALEXANDER, VII. 7. 1–5

VII. Alexander now gave orders to Hephaestion to take the greater portion of the infantry force to the Persian Sea. Then, his fleet having put in to Susian territory, he himself embarked with his bodyguards and the special squadron of cavalry, and also taking on board a few of the Companions’ cavalry, he sailed down the river Eulæus to the sea. And being now not far from the estuary he left there most of his ships, and those which were in a bad way; and himself with the faster sailers coasted by sea from the river Eulæus towards the mouths of the Tigris; and the rest of his flotilla, sailing up the Eulæus as far as the canal cut between the Tigris and Eulæus, in this way sailed into the Tigris.

Now, of these two rivers, the Euphrates and the Tigris, which are the boundaries of so much of Syria as lies between them—and hence the name Mesopotamia is given to it by the inhabitants—the Tigris, which runs through much lower ground, receives many canals from the Euphrates, and also takes in many tributaries besides, and being much increased in volume thereby runs into the Persian ocean, a large river, and not to be forded at any point up to its mouth, since no portion of it whatever is spent upon the land. For here the country is all higher than the river, and the Tigris therefore loses none of its stream to any other river, by means of canals, but rather receives them into itself; and hence it does not permit irrigation of its country from its own waters. The Euphrates, however,
τέωρός τε Ῥεῖ καὶ ἵσοχείλης πανταχοῦ τῇ γῇ, καὶ
dιόρυγχες τε πολλαὶ ἀπ’ αὐτοῦ πεποίηται, αι
μὲν ἄεναι, ἀφ’ δὲν ὑδρεύονται οἱ παρ’ ἐκάτερα
φικισμένοι· ταύ δὲ καὶ πρὸς καιρὸν ποιούνται,
ὅπως σφίσων ὕδατος ἐνδεῶς ἔχοι, ἔς το ἐπάρδειν
τὴν χώραν· οὗ γὰρ ἦτα τὸ πολὺ ἡ γῆ αὐτῆ
ἐξ οὐρανοῦ· καὶ οὕτως ἦς οὐ πολὺ ὕδωρ ὁ
Εὐφράτης τελευτῶν καὶ τεναγώδες τοῦτο, οὕτως
ἀποπαῦται.

6 Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ περιπλεύσας κατὰ τὴν θάλασ-
σαν ὅσον μεταξὺ τοῦ τε Εὐλαίου ποταμοῦ καὶ
tοῦ Τίγρητος ἐπείχεν ὁ αἰγιαλὸς τοῦ κόλπου τοῦ
Περσικοῦ, ἀνέπλευ κατὰ τὸν Τίγρητα ἔστε ἐπὶ τὸ
στρατόπεδον ἵνα Ἡφαιστίων αὐτῷ τὴν δύναμιν
πάσαν ἔχων ἐστρατοπεδεύκει. Ἐκεῖθεν δὲ αὖθις
ἐπλευ ἐς Ὀπιν, πόλιν ἐπὶ τοῦ Τίγρητος φικισ-
μένην. Ἔν δὲ τῷ ἀνάπλω τοὺς καταρράκτας
tοὺς κατὰ τὸν ποταμὸν ἀφανίζων ὁμαλῶν πάντῃ
ἐπολεῖ τὸν ῥόην, οὗ δὴ ἐκ Περσῶν πεποιημένοι
ἡσαν, τοῦ μὴ τινα ἀπὸ θαλάσσης ἀναπλεύσαι
eis tēn χώραν αὐτῶν νῆτη στόλο χρατήσαντα.
Ταῦτα δὲ μεμηχάνητο ἄτε δὴ οὐ ναυτικός τοῖς
Πέρσαις· οὕτω δὴ συνεχείς οἱ καταρράκται
πεποιημένοι ἄπορον τοῦ ἀνάπλου ἐποίουν τὸν
κατὰ τὸν Τίγρητα. Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ οὐκ ἔφη τῶν
κρατούων τοῖς ὅπλοις ἐἶναι τὰ τοιαῦτα σοφίς-
ματα· οὐκον πρὸς αὐτοῦ ἐποιεῖτο ταύτην τὴν
ἀσφάλειαν, ἡμινα ἐργῷ οὐδὲ λόγον ἀξίων ἀπε-
φηνεν, οὐ χαλεπῶς διακόψας τῶν Περσῶν τὰ
σπουδάσματα.

VIII. Ως δὲ ἐς τὴν Ὀπιν ἀφίκετο, ξυναγαγὼν
toūs Μακεδόνας προείπεν ὅτι τοὺς ὑπὸ γῆρως ἡ
ANABASIS OF ALEXANDER, VII. 7. 5–8. 1

runs on a higher valley-bed, its stream runs flush with its land, all along its course, and many canals have been cut from it, some always running—and from these those who live on either side get their water—others, however, they make only as need dictates, whenever the ground grows thirsty, to irrigate the land; for the greater part of this territory receives no rain; and thus the Euphrates finishes with a diminished stream, and that too spread over marshy land.

Alexander now sailed round by sea the distance of the shore of the Persian gulf between the Eulaeus and the Tigris, and then sailed up the Tigris to the camp where Hephaestion had encamped with all his force. Thence again he sailed to Opis, a city built on the Tigris. During this voyage upstream he removed the weirs in the river and made the stream level throughout; these weirs had been made by the Persians to prevent anyone sailing up to their country overmastering it by a naval force. All this had been contrived by the Persians, inexpert as they were in maritime matters; and so these weirs, built up at frequent intervals, made the voyage up the Tigris very difficult. Alexander, however, said that contrivances of this kind belonged to those who had no military supremacy; he therefore regarded these safeguards as of no value to himself, and indeed proved them not worth mention by destroying with ease these labours of the Persians.

VIII. On reaching Opis, Alexander summoned his Macedonians and announced that those who
πηρώσεως τοῦ σώματος ἀχρείους ἐς τὰ πολέμια ὄντας παραλύει μὲν τῆς στρατιάς, ἀποτείμπετι δὲ ἐς τὰ σφέτερα· ἢθη· ἐπιδώσει δὲ ἀπιούσιν \(^{1}\) ὡς αὐτοὺς τε ζηλοτοτέρους ποιήσει τοῖς οἴκοι καὶ τοὺς ἀλλούς Μακεδόνας ἐξορμήσει ἐς τὸ ἔθελεν τῶν αὐτῶν κινδύνων τε καὶ πόνων μετέχειν.

2 Ἀλέξανδρος μὲν ὡς χαριούμενος δῆθεν τοῖς Μακεδοσί ταύτα ἔλεγεν· οἱ δὲ ὡς ὑπερορόμενοι τε ἢθη πρὸς Ἀλέξανδρου καὶ ἀχρείοι πάντη ἐς τὰ πολέμια νομιζόμενοι οὐκ ἀλόγως αὐτῷ τὸ λόγον ἠχθέσθησαν τῷ πρὸς Ἀλέξανδρου λεγθέντι, κατὰ τὴν στρατιάν ταῦτην πᾶσαν πολλοῖς καὶ ἀλλοίς ἀχθέσθησαν· ὅτι πολλάκις ἢθη ἐλύπει αὐτοὺς ἢ τε ἔσθησιν ἢ Περσικὴ ἐς τούτο φέρουσα καὶ τῶν Ἐπιγόνων τῶν βαρβάρων ἢ ἐς τὰ Μακεδονικὰ ἢθη κόσμησις καὶ ανάμμεξις τῶν ἀλλοφύλων

3 ἵππεων ἐς τὰς τῶν ἑταῖρων τάξεις. Οὐκομοῦν συγῆ ἔχουσες ἐκαρτέρησαν· ἀλλὰ πάντας γὰρ ἀπαλλάττειν τῆς στρατιάς ἐκέλευον, αὐτῶν δὲ μετὰ τοῦ πατρὸς στρατεύσασθαι, τῶν Ἀμμονα δὴ τὸ λόγῳ ἐπικερτομοῦντες. Ταύτα ἀκούσας Ἀλέξανδρος ἢν γὰρ δὴ ὄξυτερός τε ἐν τῷ τότε καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς βαρβαρικῆς θεραπείας οὐκέτι ὡς πάλαι ἐπιεικῆς ἐς τοὺς Μακεδόνας, καταπηθήσας σὺν τοῖς ἀμφ' αὐτὸν ἡγεμόσιν ἀπὸ τοῦ βῆματος ἔυλλαβεῖν τους ἐπιφανεστάτους τῶν ταραξάντων τὸ πλήθος κελεύει, αὐτὸς τῇ χειρὶ ἐπιδεικνύων τοῖς ὑπασπισταῖς οὕστινας χρὴ συνειλαμβάνειν· καὶ ἐγένοντο οὕτως ἐς τρεῖς καὶ δέκα. Τούτους μὲν δὴ ἀπάγεις κελεύει τὴν ἐπὶ θανάτω. Ὁς δὲ

\(^{1}\) ἀπιούσιν Krüger, for MSS. μένουσιν, perhaps an error of Arrian’s. Roos deletes μένουσιν.
from old age or from mutilations were unfit for service he there discharged from the army; and he sent them to their own homes. He promised to give them on departure enough to make them objects of greater envy to those at home, and also stir up the rest of the Macedonians to a zeal for sharing his own dangers and toils. Alexander for his part said this, no doubt, to flatter the Macedonians; they, however, feeling that Alexander rather despised them, by this time, and regarded them as altogether useless for warfare, quite naturally, for their part, were annoyed at his remarks, having been annoyed during this whole campaign with a great deal else, since he caused them indignation frequently by his Persian dress which seemed to point the same way, and the Macedonian equipment of the Oriental "Successors," and the importation of cavalry of foreign tribes into the ranks of the Companions. They did not, then, restrain themselves and keep silence, but called upon him to release them all from the army, and bade him carry on war with the help of his sire (by which title they hinted slightly at Ammon). When, then, Alexander heard this—for he had grown worse-tempered at that time, and Oriental subservience had rendered him less disposed than before to the Macedonians—he leapt down from the platform with the officers that were about him, and bade them arrest the foremost of those who had disturbed the multitude, himself with his finger pointing out to the guards whom they were to arrest; they were in number thirteen. These he ordered to be marched off to die;
κατεσιδπησαν οἱ ἄλλοι ἐκπλαγέντες, ἀναβὰς αὖθις ἐπὶ τὸ βῆμα ἔλεξεν ὁδὲ.

IX. “Οὐχ ὑπὲρ τοῦ καταπαύσαι υμῶν τὴν οἰκαδε ὁμήν, ὁ Μακεδόνες, λεχθήσεται μοι ὁδὲ ὁ λόγος, ἔξεστι γὰρ υμῖν ἀπείναι ὅποιοι βούλεσθε ἐμοῦ γε ἔνεκα, ἀλλ’ ὡς γνῶναι υμᾶς πρὸς ὅποιος τινὰς ἦμᾶς ὄντας ὁποῖοι τινες αὐτοὶ γενόμενοι 2 ἀπαλλάσσεσθε. Καὶ πρῶτὰ γε ἀπὸ Φιλίππου τοῦ πατρὸς, ἦπερ καὶ εἰκός, τοῦ λόγου ἀρξομαι. Φιλίππου γὰρ παραλαβῶν υμᾶς πλανήτας καὶ ἀπόρους, ἐν διθέραις τοὺς πολλοὺς νέμοντας ἀνὰ τὰ ὄρη πρόβατα ὀλίγα καὶ ὑπὲρ τοῦτων κακῶς μαχομένους Ἰλλυρίους τε καὶ Τριβαλλοίς καὶ τοῖς ὁμοροίς Θραξί, χλαμύδας μὲν υμῖν ἀντὶ τῶν διθέρων φορεῖν ἔδωκε, κατήγαγε δὲ ἐκ τῶν ὄρων ἐς τὰ πεδία, ἀξιομάχους καταστήσας τοῖς προσχώροις τῶν βαρβάρων, ὡς μὴ χωρίων ἔτι ὄχυρότητι πιστεύοντας μᾶλλον ἡ τῇ οἰκείᾳ ἀρετῇ σωζέσθαι πόλεων τε οἰκήτορας ἀπέφηνε καὶ νόμοις καὶ ἔθεσε χρηστοῖς ἐκόσμησεν.

3 Αὐτῶν δὲ ἐκείνων τῶν βαρβάρων, ὡς ὁπρὸς θεσπῆν ἤγεσθε καὶ ἐφέρεσθε αὐτοὶ τε καὶ τὰ ὑμέτερα, ἤγεμόνας κατέστησεν ἐκ δούλων καὶ ὑπηκόων, καὶ τῆς Ἀράκης τὰ πολλὰ τῇ Μακεδονίᾳ προσέθηκε, καὶ τῶν ἐπὶ βαλάτη χωρίων τὰ ἐπικαιρότατα καταλαβόμενος τὴν ἐμπορίαν τῇ χώρᾳ ἀνεπέτασε, καὶ τῶν μετάλλων τὴν

4 ἐργασίαν ἄδεξ ἀπαρέσχε τῇ Ἱερσαλων δὲ ἀρχοοντας, οὐς πάλαι ἐτευχήσετε τῷ δέει, ἀπέφηνε, καὶ τὸ Φωκέων ἐθνὸς ταπεινώσας τὴν ἐς τὴν Ἰλλάδα πάροδον πλατείαν καὶ ἐνυπορον ἀντὶ στενής τε καὶ ἀπόρου υμῖν ἐποίησεν ἀθηναῖος τε καὶ

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but as the others, amazed, remained in dead silence, he remounted the platform and spoke thus.

IX. "I now propose to speak, Macedonians, not with a view to checking your homeward impulse; so far as I am concerned, you may go where you will; but that you may know, if you do so go away, how you have behaved to us, and how we have behaved to you. First then I shall begin my speech with my father Philip, as is right and proper. For Philip found you vagabonds and helpless, most of you clothed with sheepskins, pasturing a few sheep on the mountain sides, and fighting for these, with ill success, against Illyrians and Triballians, and the Thracians on your borders; Philip gave you cloaks to wear, in place of sheepskins, brought you down from the hills to the plains, made you doughty opponents of your neighbouring enemies, so that you trusted now not so much to the natural strength of your villages as to your own courage. Nay, he made you dwellers of cities, and civilized you with good laws and customs. Then of those very tribes to whom you submitted, and by whom you and your goods were harried, he made you masters, no longer slaves and subjects; and he added most of Thrace to Macedonia, and seizing the most convenient coast towns, opened up commerce to your country, and enabled you to work your mines in peace. Then he made you overlords of the Thracians, before whom you had long died of terror, and humbling the Phocians, made the high-road into Greece broad and easy for you, whereas it had been narrow and difficult. Athens and Thebes,
Θηβαίους, ἐφεδρεύοντας ἂν τῇ Μακεδονίᾳ, ἐς τοσόν ἐταπείνωσεν, ἥδη ταύτά γε καὶ ἦμῶν αὐτῷ ἐξυμπονοῦντων, ὃς ἀντί τοῦ φόρους τελεῖν Ἀθηναίοις καὶ ὑπακούειν Θηβαίοις, παρ’ ἦμῶν ἐν τῷ μέρει ἐκείνους τὴν ἀσφάλειάν σφισε πορίζεσθαι. Ἐς Πελοπόννησον δὲ παρελθὼν τὰ ἑκεῖ αὐτῷ ἐκόσμησε· καὶ ἡγεμόναν αὐτοκράτωρ συμπάσης τῆς ἄλλης Ἕλληνος Ἀποδειχθείς τῆς ἐπὶ τὸν Πέρσην στρατεύεις οὐχ ἔαντο μᾶλλον τι τὴν δόξαν τῆς ἢ τῷ κοινῷ τῶν Μακεδονῶν προσέθηκε.
6 Ταύτα μὲν τὰ ἐκ τοῦ πατρὸς τοῦ ἐμοῦ ἡμᾶς ὑπηργέομενα, δό μὲν αὐτὰ ἐφ’ ἐαυτῶν σκέψασθαι μεγάλα, μικρὰ δὲ ὅσα γε δὴ πρὸς τὰ ἡμέτερα ἐξυμβαλεῖν· δός παραλαβῶν παρὰ τοῦ πατρὸς χρυσὰ μὲν καὶ ἀργυρὰ ἐκποίματα ὀλίγα, τάλαντα δὲ οὐδὲ ἐξήκοντα ἐν τοῖς θησαυροῖς, χρεῶν δὲ ὀφειλόμενα ὑπὸ Φιλίππου ἐς πεντακόσια τάλαντα, δανεισάμενος ἐπὶ τούτων αὐτὸς ἄλλα ὀκτακόσια ὁμμηθεὶς ἐκ τῆς χώρας τῆς γε οὐδὲ ὑμᾶς αὐτοὺς βοσκούσης καλῶς εὐθὺς μὲν τοῦ Ἕλλησπόντου ὑμῖν τὸν πόρον θαλασσοκράτησαν ἐν τῷ τότε Περσῶν ἀνεπέτασα· κρατήσας δὲ τῇ ἑπτῶν τοὺς σατράπας τοῦ Δαρείου τὴν τε Ἰωνίαν πάσαν τῇ ὑμετέρα ἀρχῆς προσέθηκε καὶ τὴν Ἀιολίδα πάσαν καὶ Φρύγας ἀμφοτέρους καὶ Λυδίας, καὶ Μιλησίων εἰλον πολιορκία· τὰ δὲ ἄλλα πάντα ἐκόντα προσχωρήσαντα λαβὼν 7 τούτων ἐν τῷ τότε Περσῶν ἀνεπέτασα· κρατήσας δὲ τῇ ἑπτῶν τοὺς σατράπας τοῦ Δαρείου τὴν τε Ἰωνίαν πάσαν τῇ ὑμετέρα ἀρχῆς προσέθηκε καὶ τὴν Ἀιολίδα πάσαν καὶ Φρύγας ἀμφοτέρους καὶ Λυδίας, καὶ Μιλησίων εἰλον πολιορκία· τὰ δὲ ἄλλα πάντα ἐκόντα προσχωρήσαντα λαβὼν 8 ὑμῖν καρποῦσθαι ἔδωκα· καὶ τὰ ἐξ Αἰγύπτου καὶ Κυρίνης ἀγαθὰ, ὅσα ἄμαχει ἐκτητόμην, υμῖν ἔρχεται· ἢ τε κοίλη Συρία καὶ ἡ Παλαιστίνη καὶ ἡ μεσή τῶν ποταμῶν ὑμετεροῦ 230
always watching their chance to destroy Macedon, he so completely humbled—ourselves by this time sharing these his labours—that instead of our paying tribute to Athens and obeying Thebes, they had to win from us in turn their right to exist. Then he passed into the Peloponnese, and put all in due order there; and now being declared overlord of all the rest of Greece for the expedition against Persia, he won this new prestige not so much for himself as for all Macedonia.

"All these noble deeds of my father towards you are great indeed, if looked at by themselves, and yet small, if compared with ours. I inherited from my father a few gold and silver cups, and not so much as sixty talents in his treasure; and of debts owed by Philip as much as five hundred talents, and yet having myself borrowed over and above these another eight hundred, I set forth from that country which hardly maintained you in comfort and at once opened to you the strait of the Hellespont, though the Persians were then masters of the sea; then, crushing with my cavalry Dareius' satraps, I added to your empire all Ionia, all Aeolia, Upper and Lower Phrygia, and Lydia; Miletus I took by siege; all else I took by surrender and gave to you to reap the fruits thereof. All good things from Egypt and Cyrene, which I took without striking a blow, come to you; the Syrian Valley and Palestine and Meso-
κτῆμα εἶσιν καὶ Βαβυλῶν καὶ Βάκτρα καὶ Σοῦσα ύμέτερα· καὶ ὁ Δυνών πλοῦτος καὶ οἱ Περσῶν θησαυροὶ καὶ τὰ Ἰνδῶν ἀγαθὰ καὶ ἡ ἔξω θάλασσα ύμέτερα· ύμεῖς σατράπαι, ύμεῖς στρατηγοί, ύμεῖς ταξιάρχαι. 'Ὡς ἔμοι γε αὐτῷ τί περίεστιν ἀπὸ τοῦτων τῶν πόνων ὅτι μὴ αὕτη ἡ πορφύρα καὶ τὸ διάδημα τούτο; κέκτημαι δὲ ἰδίᾳ οὐδεν, οὐδὲ ἔχει τις ἀποδείξει θησαυροὺς ἐμοῖς ὃτι μὴ ταύτα ύμέτερα κτήματα ἡ ὁσα ἕνεκα ύμῶν φυλάττεται. Ἐπεὶ οὐδὲ ἐστιν ἰδίᾳ μοι ἡ τι φυλάξω αὐτοὺς, σιτουμένῳ τε τὰ αὐτὰ ύμῖν σιτία καὶ ὑπνόν τὸν αὐτὸν αἵρουμένω· καίτοι οὐδὲ σιτία ἐμοὶ δοκῶ τὰ αὐτὰ τοῖς τρυφῶσιν ύμῶν σιτείσθαι· προαιρετικών δὲ ύμῶν οἶδα, ὡς καθεύδειν ἔχητε ύμεῖς.

Χ. "Αλλὰ ταύτα γὰρ ύμῶν πονοῦσαν καὶ ταλαιπωρουμένων ἐκτησάμην αὐτὸς ἀπόνως καὶ ἀταλαιπώρως ἐξηγούμενος. Καὶ τίς ύμῶν πονήσας οἴδεν ἐμοῦ μᾶλλον ἡ ἐγὼ ὑπὲρ ἐκείνου; ἀγε δὴ καὶ ὅτι τραύματα ύμῶν ἐστὶ γυμνώσας αὐτὰ ἐπιδειξάτω καὶ ἐγὼ τὰ ἐμὰ ἐπιδείξεω ἐν 2 μέρει δὲ ἐμοι γε σὺν ἐστιν δι' τοῦ σώματος τῶν γε δὴ ἔμπροσθεν μερῶν ἀτρωτῶν ὑπολέειπται, οὐδὲ ὅπλον τι ἐστίν ἢ ἐκ χειρὸς ἢ τῶν αἵρεσιν οὐ γε σὺν ἤκην ἐν ἐμαυτῷ φέρω. ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐξεῖη ἐκ χειρὸς πέτρωμαι καὶ τετόξευμαι ἡδη καὶ ἀπὸ μηχανῆς βεβλημαι καὶ λίθοις πολλαχῆ καὶ ξύλοις παίομενος ὑπὲρ ύμῶν καὶ τῆς ύμετέρας δόξης καὶ τοῦ ύμετέρου πλοῦτου, νικώντας ύμᾶς

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1 μᾶλλον—here Krüger and others mark a lacuna; but we have already seen Arrian often illogical through brachylogy, though he is usually verbose.
potamia are your own possessions; Babylon is yours, Bactria, and Susa; the wealth of Lydia, the treasures of Persia, the good things of India, the outer ocean, all are yours; you are satraps, you guards, you captains. So what is left for myself from all these toils save the purple and this diadem? I have taken nothing to myself, nor can anyone show treasures of mine, save these possessions of yours, or what is being safeguarded for you. For there is nothing as concerns myself for which I should reserve them, since I eat the same food that you eat, and have such sleep as you have—and yet I hardly think that I do eat the same food as some of you, who live delicately; I know, moreover, that I wake before you, that you may sleep quietly in your beds.

X. "Yet you may feel that while you were enduring the toils and distresses, I have acquired all this without toil and without distress. But who of you is conscious of having endured more toil for me than I for him? Or see here, let any who carries wounds strip himself and show them; I too will show mine. For I have no part of my body, in front at least, that is left without scars; there is no weapon, used at close quarters, or hurled from afar, of which I do not carry the mark. Nay, I have been wounded by the sword, hand to hand; I have been shot with arrows, I have been struck from a catapult, smitten many a time with stones and clubs, for you, for your glory, for your wealth; I lead you conquerors through
Ἀρριάν

'αγω διὰ πάσης γῆς καὶ θαλάσσης καὶ πάντων

3 ποταμῶν καὶ ὅρων καὶ πεδίων πάντων. Γάμους
tε ὑμῖν τοὺς αὐτοὺς γεγάμηκα καὶ πολλῶν
ὑμῶν οἱ παιδεῖς συγγενεῖς ἐσονται τοῖς πασί τοῖς
ἐμοίς. "Ετι δὲ ὁ χρέα ἡν, οὐ πολυπραγμονήσας
ἐφ' ὅτι ἐγένετο, τοσάτα μὲν μισθοφοροῦντων,
tοσάτα δὲ ἀρπαζόντων, ὅποτε ἐκ πολιορκίας
ἀρπαγῇ γίγνοιτο, διαλέλυμαι ταῦτα. Στέφανοί
tε χρυσοί τοῖς πλείστοις ὑμῶν εἰσὶ μνημεῖα τῆς
tε ἀρετῆς τῆς ὑμετέρας καὶ τῆς ἐξ ἐμοῦ τιμῆς

4 ἀθάνατα. "Οστις δὲ δὴ καὶ ἀπέθανεν, εὐκλεής
μὲν αὐτῷ ἡ τελευτή ἐγένετο, περιφανῆς δὲ ὁ
tάφος. χαλκαῖ δὲ αἱ εἰκόνες τῶν πλείστων οἰκοι
ἐστάσιν, οἱ γονεῖς δ' ἐντιμοὶ εἰσὶ, λειτουργίας τε
ξυμπάσης καὶ εἰσφορὰς ἀπηλλαγμένου οὐ γὰρ τὸς

5 γε φεῦγων ὑμῶν ἐτελεύτα ἐμοῦ ἀγνοτός.

"Καὶ νῦν τοὺς ἀπολέομοισ ὑμῶν ξηλωτοὺς τοῖς
οἰκοὶ ἀποτέμψειν ἐμελλον ἀλλ' ἐπειδὴ πάντες
ἀπείναι βούλοσθε, ἀπίτε πάντες, καὶ ἀπελ-
θόντες οἰκοὶ ἀπαγγείλατε ὅτι τὸν βασίλεα
ὑμῶν Ἀλέξανδρον, νικῶντα μὲν Πέρσας καὶ

6 Μῆδους καὶ Βακτρίους καὶ Σάκας, καταστρεφά-
μενον δὲ Οὔξίους τε καὶ Ἀραχώτους καὶ Δράγ-
γας, κεκτημένον δὲ καὶ Παρθιανὸς καὶ Χωρασ-
μίους καὶ Τρκανίους ἔστε ἐπὶ τὴν ἀδάσσαν

7 καὶ τὸν Ἀκεσίνην καὶ τὸν Ὀδραώτην,

καὶ τὸν "Τφασιν διαπεράσαντα ἄν, εἰ μὴ ὑμεῖς
ἀπωκνησάτε, καὶ εἰς τὴν μεγάλην ἀδάσσαν κατ'
ANABASIS OF ALEXANDER, VII. 10. 2–7

every land, every sea, every river, mountain, plain. I married as you married; the children of many of you will be blood-relations of my children. Moreover, if any had debts, I, being no busybody to enquire how they were made, when you were winning so much pay, and acquiring so much plunder, whenever there was plunder after a siege—I have cancelled them all. And further, golden coronals are reminders to the most part of you, both of your bravery and of my high regard—reminders that will never perish. Whosoever has died, his death has been glorious; and splendid has been his burial. To most of them there stand at home brazen statues; their parents are held in esteem, and have been freed from all services and taxes. For while I have led you, not one of you has fallen in flight.

"And now I had in mind to send away those of you who are no longer equal to campaigning, to be the envy of all at home; but since you all wish to go home, depart, all of you; and when you reach home, tell them there that this your King, Alexander, victor over Persians, Medes, Bactrians, Sacaeans, conqueror of Uxians, Arachotians, Drangae, master of Parthyaea, Chorasmia, Hyrcania to the Caspian Sea; who crossed the Caucasus beyond the Caspian gates, who crossed the rivers Oxus and Tanais, yes, and the Indus too, that none but Dionysus had crossed, the Hydaspes, Acesines, Hydraotes; and who would further have crossed the Hyphasis, had not you shrunk back; who broke into the Indian
αμφότερα τοῦ Ἰνδοῦ τὰ στόματα ἐμβαλόντα, καὶ
diὰ τῆς Γαδρωσίας τῆς ἐρήμου ἐλθόντα, ἡ οὖνδεὶς
πώ πρόσθεν ξὺν στρατιά ἤλθε, καὶ Καρμανίαν.
ἐν παρόδῳ προσκτησάμενον καὶ τὴν Ὄρειτῶν
γῆν, περιπετευκότος δὲ ἡδὲ αὐτῷ τοῦ ναυτικοῦ
tῆν ἀπ' Ἰνδῶν γῆς εἰς Πέρσας θάλασσαν, ὡς εἰς
Σοῦσα ἐπανηγάγετε, ἀπολιπόντες οἶχεσθε, παρα-
δόντες φυλάσσειν τοῖς γενικημένοις βαρβάροις.
Ταῦτα ύμῖν καὶ πρὸς ἀνθρώπων ἴσως εὐκλεὰ καὶ
πρὸς θεῶν ὁσαὶ δήπον ἔσται ἀπαγγελθέντα.
"Ἀπεῖτε."

XI. Ταῦτα εἰπὼν κατεπήδησε τε ἀπὸ τοῦ
βήματος ὡξεώς καὶ ἐς τὰ βασίλεια παρελθὼν
οὔτε ἐθεράπευσε τὸ σῶμα οὔτε τῷ ὦφθη τῶν
ἐταίρων ἀλλ' οὖδὲ ἐς τὴν υστεραίαν ὦφθη. Τῇ
τρίτῃ δὲ καλέσας εἶσθω τῶν Περσῶν τοὺς ἑπιλέκ-
τους, τὰς ἡγεμονίας αὐτοῖς τῶν τάξεων διένειμε
καὶ ὅσους συγγενεῖς ἀπέφηνε, τούτοις δὲ νόμιμον
2 ἐποίησε φιλεῖν αὐτῶν μόνοις. Οἱ δὲ Μακεδόνες
ἐν τῇ παρατάξῃ ἀκούσαντες τῶν λόγων
ἐκπεπληγμένουι σιγῇ ἔμενον αὐτοῦ πρὸς τῷ
βήματι, οὖν τις ἡκολούθησε τῷ βασιλεί ἀπαλ-
λαττομένῳ ὧτι μὴ οἱ ἄμφ' αὐτὸν ἐταίροι τε καὶ
οἱ σωματοφύλακες. οἱ δὲ πολλοὶ οὔτε μένουτε ο
τί πράπτουσιν ἢ λέγουσιν εἶχον, οὔτε ἀπαλλάσ-
3 σεθαί ἡθελον. Ὡς δὲ τὰ Περσῶν τε καὶ Μῆδων
αὐτοῖς ἐξηγγέλλετο, αἵ τε ἡγεμονίαν Πέρσαις διδό-
μεναι καὶ ἡ στρατιὰ ἡ βαρβαρική ἐς λόχους τε
cataleugoménει καὶ τὰ Μακεδονικὰ ὀνόματα ἅγια
τῷ Περσικῷ καλούμενον, καὶ πεζέταιροι Πέρσαι
καὶ πεζέταιροι ἄλλοι 1 καὶ ἄργυραπτίδων τάξεις

1 πεζέτ. ἄλλοι as before, Α ἀσβέτεροι.
Ocean by both mouths of the Indus; who traversed the Gadrosian desert—where none other had passed with an armed force; who in the line of march captured Carmania and the country of the Oreitans; whom, when his fleet had sailed from India to the Persian Sea, you led back again to Susa—tell them, I say, that you deserted him, that you took yourselves off, leaving him to the care of the wild tribes you had conquered. This, when you declare it, will be, no doubt, glorious among men, and pious in the sight of heaven. Begone!"

XI. When Alexander had finished, he leapt down swiftly from his platform and passed into the palace, and paid no attention to his bodily needs, nor was seen by any of the Companions; and, indeed, not even on the day following. But on the third day he summoned within the picked men among the Persians, and divided among them the command of the different brigades; and permitted only those who were now his relatives to give him the customary kiss. The Macedonians, however, were at the time much moved on hearing his speech; and remained in silence there, around the platform; yet no one followed the King when he departed save his personal Companions and the bodyguards; but the mass neither while remaining there had anything to do or say, nor were willing to depart. But when they heard about the Persians and the Medes, and the handing of commands to the Persians, and the Oriental force being drafted into the various ranks, and a Persian squadron called by a Macedonian name, and of Persian "infantry Companions," and others too, and a Persian
Περσικῇ καὶ ἡ τῶν ἐταίρων ἦππος, καὶ ταύτης ἄλλο ἀγγιμα βασιλικὸν, οὐκέτι καρτερὸν σφῶν.

4 ἦσαν ἄλλα ἐξυδραμόντες ὡς πρὸς τὰ βασιλεῖα τὰ μὲν ὀπλα αὐτοῦ πρὸ τῶν θυρῶν ἔρριπτον, ἵκετριας ταύτας τῷ βασιλεῖ. αὐτὸι δ' ἐβόων πρὸ τῶν θυρῶν ἑστηκότες δεόμενοι παρελθεῖν εἰσώ τοὺς τε αὐτῶν τῆς ἐν τῷ τότε ταραχῆς καὶ τοὺς ἄρξατας τῆς βοής ἐκδιδόναι ἑθέλειν· οὐκοῦν ἀπαλλαγήσεσθαι τῶν θυρῶν οὔτε ἡμέρας οὔτε νυκτός, εἰ μὴ τινα οίκτον σφῶν ἐξει 'Αλέξανδρος.

5 Ταῦτα ὡς ἀπηγγέλλετο αὐτῷ, ὁ δὲ σπουδὴ ἐξέρχεται, καὶ ἰδὼν τε ταπεινῶς διακειμένους καὶ ἀκούσας σὺν ὀλυωγῇ τῶν πολλῶν βοῶντων, καὶ αὐτῷ προχείται δάκρυμα. Καὶ ὁ μὲν ἀνήγετο

6 ὡς τι ἐρών· οἱ δὲ ἔμενον λυπαροῦντες. Καὶ τις αὐτῶν καθ' ἡλικίαν τε καὶ ἰπταρχίαν τῆς ἱππίου τῆς ἑταίρικῆς οὐκ ἀφανῆς, Καλλίνης ὄνομα, τουαῦτα εἴπεν· 'Ω βασιλεῦ, τὰ λυποῦντα ἐστὶ Μακεδονᾶς ὅτι σὺ Περσῶν μὲν τινας ἢδη τετοιήσαι σαυτῷ συγγενεῖς, καὶ καλοῦνται Πέρσαι συγγενεῖς. 'Αλέξανδρος καὶ φιλοῦσί σε. Μακεδόνων δὲ οὔτω τις γέγεναι ταύτης τῆς τιμῆς.

7 'Ευθα δὴ ὑπολαβὼν 'Αλέξανδρος, 'Αλλ' ὑμᾶς γε, ἐφι, ξύμπαντας ἐμαυτῷ τίθεμαι συγγενεῖς καὶ τὸ γε ἀπὸ τούτον οὕτω καλέσω. Ταῦτα εἰπόντα προσέλθὼν ὁ Καλλίνης τε ἐφιλησεν καὶ ὅστις ἄλλος φιλῆσαι ήθελε. Καὶ οὕτω δὴ ἀναλαβόντες τὰ ὀπλα βοῶντες τε καὶ παιανίζοντες ἐς τὸ στρα-

8 τόπον ἀπῆσαν. 'Αλέξανδρος δὲ ἐπὶ τούτοις θυσίαν τε θύει τοῖς θεοῖς οίς αὐτῷ νόμος καὶ

1 ἐταίρων query ἐτέρων: see vi. 3 above.
ANABASIS OF ALEXANDER, VII. ii. 3-8

company of "silver-shields," and "cavalry of the Companions," and a new royal squadron even of this, they could no longer contain, but running all together to the palace they threw their arms before the doors as signs of supplication to the King; they themselves standing shouting before the doors begging to be let in. The instigators of the late disturbance, and those who began the cry, they said they would give up; in fact they would depart from the doors neither day nor night unless Alexander would have some pity on them.

When this was reported to Alexander, he at once came out; and seeing them so humble, and hearing most of the number crying and lamenting, he also shed tears. Then he came forward as if to speak, and they continued beseeching. And one of them, a notable officer of the Companions' cavalry both by age and rank, called Callines, said thus: "This, O King, is what grieves the Macedonians, that you have made Persians your kinsmen and Persians are called 'Alexander's kinsmen,' and they are permitted to kiss you; but no Macedonian has tasted this privilege." On this Alexander broke in: "But all of you I regard as my kinsmen, and so from henceforth I call you." When thus he had spoken, Callines approached and kissed him, and any other who desired to kiss him. And thus they took up their arms again and returned shouting and singing their victory song to the camp. But Alexander in gratitude for this sacrificed to the gods to whom he
θοίνην δὴμοτελὴ ἐποίησε, καθήμενος τε αὐτὸς καὶ πάντων καθημένων ἀμφ’ αὐτὸν μὲν Μακεδόνων, ἐν δὲ τῷ ἐφεξῆς τούτων Περσῶν, ἐπὶ δὲ τούτως τῶν ἄλλων ἑθῶν ὅσοι κατ’ ἄξιωσιν ἢ τινα ἄλλην ἀρετὴν πρεσβευόμενοι, καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ αὐτοῦ κρατήρος αὐτὸς τε καὶ οἱ ἀμφ’ αὐτὸν ἀρυσμένοι ἔσπευδον τὰς αὐτὰς σπονδάς, καταρχομένων τῶν τε Ἑλλήνων μάντεων καὶ τῶν Μάγων. 9 Εὐχέτο δὲ τὰ τε ἄλλα ἀγαθὰ καὶ ὁμονοιάν τε καὶ κοινωνίαν τῆς ἀρχῆς τοῖς τε Μακεδόσι καὶ Πέρσαις. Ἔτινα δὲ κατέχει λόγος τοῦς μετα- σχόντας τῆς θοίνης ἐς ἐννακισχίλλοις, καὶ τούτων πάντας μίαν τε σπονδὴν σπείσαι καὶ ἐπ’ αὐτὴν παιανίσαι.

XII. 'Ενθα δὴ ἐθελονταὶ ἢδη αὐτῷ ἀπῆςαν τῶν Μακεδόνων ὅσον διὰ γῆρας ἢ τινα ἄλλην ξυμφορὰν ἀπόλεμοι ἦσαν καὶ οὔτοι αὐτῷ ἐγέρνοντο ἕς τοὺς μνῆριοι. Τούτως δὲ τὴν τε μισθοφορὰν οὐ τοῦ ἐξήκοντος ἢδη χρόνου ἐδωκεν Ἀλέξανδρος μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῦ ἐς τὴν ἀπο- 2 νόστησιν τὴν οἰκαδε χυμβαίνοντος. Ἐπέδωκε δὲ καὶ τάλαντον ἐκάστῳ ὑπὲρ τὴν μισθοφορὰν παίδες δὲ εἰ τοῦ ἦσαν ἐκ τῶν Ἀσιανῶν γυναικῶν, παρὰ οἱ καταληπτεῖν ἐκέλευσε μηδὲ στάσιν κατά- γειν ἐς Μακεδονίαν ἀλλοφύλους τε καὶ ἐκ τῶν βαρβάρων γυναικῶν παῖδας τοῖς οἷοι ὑπολειμμένοι παισὶ τε καὶ μητράσιν αὐτῶν: αὐτὸς δὲ ἐπιμελήσεται ὡς ἐκτρέφοντο Μακεδονικῶς, τὰ τε ἄλλα καὶ ἐς τὰ πολέμια κοσμούμενοι γενομένους δὲ ἄνδρας ἄξειν αὐτὸς ἐς Μακεδονίαν 3 καὶ παραδώσει τοῖς πατράσι. Ταύτα τε ἀπαλλαττομένοι ἀστάθμητα καὶ ἀτέκμαρτα ἀπηγ- 240
was wont to sacrifice, and gave a general feast, sitting himself there, and all the Macedonians sitting round him; and then next to them Persians, and next any of the other tribes who had precedence in reputation or any other quality, and he himself and his comrades drank from the same bowl and poured the same libations, while the Greek seers and the Magians began the ceremony. And Alexander prayed for all sorts of blessings, and especially for harmony and fellowship in the empire between Macedonians and Persians. They say that those who shared the feast were nine thousand, and that they all poured the same libation and thereat sang the one song of victory.

XII. Then at their own wish such of the Macedonians as were unfit for service from old age or any accident departed from him; they numbered about ten thousand. To these Alexander gave the pay due not only for their expired time but also for the time spent in reaching home. Above the pay he gave also a gratuity to each of a talent. Then if there were children of Asian wives he bade them leave these behind, and not make trouble in Macedonia between foreigners and children of foreign wives and the children and mothers they had left behind them; he promised to care for them that they might be trained up in Macedonian ways, being especially disciplined in military training; then, when they were grown to manhood, he would take them back himself to Macedonia and hand them over to their fathers. All this he promised as they went away, rather vague and uncertain as it was; but as the
γέλλετο καὶ ὅπως ἔχει φιλίας τε καὶ πόθου ἐστινούς το ἀτρεκέστατον τεκμήριον ἐκείνον ποιεῖσθαι ἥξιον, ὡς τὸν πιστότατον τε αὐτῷ καὶ ὄντως ἵσον τῇ ἑαυτῷ κεφαλῇ ἄγει, Κράτερον ξυμπέμπει αὐτοῖς φύλακά τε καὶ ἱγγούμενον τοῦ στόλου. Οὕτω δὴ ἀστασάμενος ξύμπαντας αὐτός τε δακρύων καὶ δακρύουντας ἐκείνους ἀπὸ ὧν ἀπηλλαξε. Κρατέρῳ δὲ τούτους τε ἄγειν ἐκέλευε καὶ ἀπαγαγόντι Μακεδονίας τε καὶ Θράκης καὶ Θητταλῶν ἐξηγεῖσθαι καὶ τῶν Ἑλλήνων τῆς ἐλευθερίας. ¹ Ἀντίπατρον δὲ διαδόχους τοῖς ἀποπεμπομένοις ἄγειν Μακεδόνας τῶν ἀκμαζόντων ἐκέλευσεν. Ἐστειλε δὲ καὶ Πολυστέρχοντα ὦμον τῷ Κρατέρῳ, δεύτερον δὲ ἀπὸ Κρατέρου ἡγεμόνα, ὡς εἶ τι κατὰ τὴν πορείαν Κρατέρῳ ξυμπίπτοι, ὅτι καὶ μαλακῶς τὸ σῶμα ἔχοντα ἀπέπεμπεν αὐτόν, μὴ ποθῆσαι στρατηγὸν τοῦς ἱόντας.

5 Δόγος δὲ τις καὶ οὕτως ἐφοίτητα ἀφανῆς παρὰ τοῖς τὰ βασιλικὰ πράγματα, ὅσῳ ἐπικρύπτεται, τοσοῦτος φιλοτιμότερον ἐξηγοῦμένοις, καὶ τὸ πιστόν ἐς τὸ χείρον μᾶλλον, ἃ τὸ εἰκός τε καὶ ἢ αὐτῶν μοχθηρία ἄγει, ἡ πρὸς τὸ ἀληθῆς ἐκτρέπουσιν, ἐξηττόμενον Ἀλέξανδρον ἣδε τῆς μητρός τῶν διαβολῶν τῶν ἐς Ἀντίπατρον, ἀπαλλάξει ἐθέλειν ἐκ Μακεδονίας Ἀντίπατρον.

6 Καὶ τυχόν οὐκ ἔστιν ἀτιμίαν τὴν Ἀντιπάτρου ἢ ἡμετάπεμψις αὐτοῦ ἐφερεν, ἀλλ’ ὡς μὴ τι ἐκ τῆς διαφορᾶς αὐτοῖς γένοιτο ἄχαρι ἐς ἀλλήλους καὶ οὐδὲ αὐτῷ ἰάσιμον. Ἐπεὶ οὐδὲν ἐπαύοντο

¹ Krüger adds ἐπιμελεῖσθαι, but the zeugma, if harsh, is not impossible. A correspondent suggests to Roos ἐλευθερίας.
most solid proof of his good-will and affection towards them he thought good to add this, that he sent with them as guardian and guide of their journey Craterus, his most loyal follower, whom he loved as dearly as his own life. So then having bidden them all farewell, with tears in his eyes, and they with tears in theirs, he dismissed them. But he bade Craterus conduct them, and when he had brought them safe home, to take charge of Macedonia, Thrace, and Thessaly, and the freedom of Greece. Then he ordered Antipater to bring drafts of Macedonians of full age to replace those that were being sent home. He despatched also Polysperchon with Craterus, who was the officer next in seniority to Craterus, so that in case of harm coming to Craterus on the way, since he sent him as an invalid, the travellers should not lack a leader.

But some dim rumour of this kind was going about among those who publish abroad the affairs of kings, all the more eagerly the more they are kept secret, and also wrest aside reliable statements to the worse interpretation, where mere probability and their own malice lead them, rather than to the truth; namely, that Alexander already coming under the spell of his mother’s calumnies, which she heaped upon Antipater, was anxious to remove Antipater from Macedonia. But I suggest that this recall of Antipater was not meant to disgrace him, but that no mutual unpleasantness might arise out of their disagreement, which perhaps Alexander himself could not heal. Since they never ceased writing
Ἀλέξανδρῳ γράφοντες ὁ μὲν τὴν αὐθαδείαν τε τῆς Ὀλυμπιάδος καὶ ὣξυτητα καὶ πολυπραγμοσύνην, ἥκιστα δὴ τῇ Ἀλέξανδρου μητρὶ εὐσχήμονα, ὡστε καὶ λόγος τις τοιόσδε ἐφέρετο Ἀλέξανδρου ἐφ' ὦς ὑπὲρ τῆς μητρὸς αὐτῷ ἐξηγηγέλλετο, βαρὺ δὴ τὸ ἐνοίκιον τῶν δέκα μηνῶν 7 εἰσπράττεσθαι αὐτῶν τὴν μητέρα. ἦ δὲ, ὑπερογκόνιον εἶναι τῇ τε ἀξίωσει καὶ τῇ ἄλλῃ θεραπείᾳ Ἀντίπατρον οὐδὲ μεμνήσθαι τοῦ καταστήσαντος ἑτί, ἄλλ' αὐτῶν γὰρ ἁξιοῦν τὰ πρῶτα φέρεσθαι ἐν τοῖς ἄλλοις Μακεδονίᾳ τε καὶ Ἑλληστί. Καὶ ταῦτα μᾶλλον τι ἵσχύειν παρ' Ἀλέξανδρῳ ἐφαίνετο, ὡσα ἐσ τοῦ Ἀντίπατρον τὴν διαβολὴν φέροντα ἢν, οἷα δὴ καὶ φοβερότερα ἐν βασιλείᾳ ὑπήτα. Οὐ μέντοι καταφανές γε τῇ ἦ ἔργῳ ἢ λόγος ἐξηγγέλλετο Ἀλέξανδρου ἐφ' ὦτον ἄν τις συνεθήκειν υἱὸν ὀσαῦτος εἰναι αὐτῷ πρὸς θυμοῦ Ἀντίπατρον.1

XIII. Τούτῳ τῷ λόγῳ ὑπείξαντα Ἡφαιστίωνα συναλλαγῆναι Εὐμένει, υἱὸν ἐκόντα ἐκόντι. Ἔν ταύτῃ τῇ ὁδῷ καὶ τῷ πεδίῳ λέγεται ὑδεῖν Ἀλέξανδρον τὸ ἀνειμένον ταῖς ἵπποις ταῖς βασιλικαῖς, αὐτὸ τέ πεδίον Νυσαίον καλοῦμενον καὶ αἱ ἱπποὶ ὅτι Νυσαῖοι κληχίζονται λέγει Ἡρόδοτος εἰναι δὲ πάλαι μὲν ἐσ πεντεκαίδεκα μυριάδας τῶν ἱππῶν τότε δὲ Ἀλέξανδρον οὐ πολὺ πλεῖονας τῶν πέντε καταλάβειν πρὸς ληστῶν γὰρ διαρπαγὴν πᾶς πολλὰς αὐτῶν.

2 Ἐνταῦθα λέγουσιν ὅτι Ἀτροπάτης ὁ τῆς Μηδίας σατράπης γυναῖκας ἐκατὸν αὐτῷ ἔδωκε,

1 The "great lacuna"; see Vol. I, Prefatory Note, p. vii.
letters to Alexander; Antipater about the head-strong nature of Olympias, and her sharp temper, and her interfering ways, very unfitting to the mother of Alexander, so that a chance remark of Alexander's was bandied about, in reference to the news of his mother's doings, that his mother was exacting a heavy price from him for her ten months' housing of him; while Olympias accused Antipater of being arrogant from his position and the respect to which it entitled him, and of forgetting him who had placed him there, but rather expecting to assume every kind of precedence among the other Macedonians and Greeks. And this aspect evidently gathered strength with Alexander, that is, whatever tended to Antipater’s discredit, as being more dreaded to royalty. And yet no open deed or word was recorded of Alexander which might have led one to conclude that Antipater was not as high as ever in his regard.

XIII. Hephaestion, they say, influenced by these sayings became reconciled to Eumenes; Eumenes being willing, but himself not. It is on this journey that Alexander is said to have seen the plain in which the royal mares were pastured; the plain itself was called the Plain of Nysa and the horses were called Nysaean, as Herodotus tells us; and there were originally upwards of a hundred and fifty thousand mares, but Alexander found then not above fifty thousand; for most of them had been driven off by robbers.

There they say that Atropates the satrap of Media handed over to him a hundred women, saying that
ταύτας φάσκων εἶναι τῶν Ἀμαζόνων, καὶ ταύτας σκευὴ ἀνδρῶν ἵππεων ἐσταλμέναις, πλὴν γε δὴ ὅτι πελέκεις ἀντὶ δοράτων ἐφόρουν καὶ ἀντὶ ἀσπίδων πελτασ· οἱ δὲ καὶ τὸν μαστὸν λέγουσιν ὅτι μείωνα εἶχον τὸν δεξιόν, ὅπερ δὴ καὶ ἐξὼ εἶχον εὖ ταῖς μάχαις. Ταύτας μὲν δὴ ἀπαλλάξει τῆς στρατιάς Ἀλέξανδρου, μὴ τι νεωτερισθεῖη καὶ αὐτάς ἐς υβριν πρὸς τῶν Μακεδόνων ἡ βαρβάρων κελεῦσαι δὲ ἀπαγγεῖλαι πρὸς τὴν βασιλείαν σφῶν ὅτι αὐτὸς ἦξει πρὸς αὐτὴν παιδοποιησόμενος. Ταύτα δὲ οὔτε Ἀριστοβουλός οὔτε Πτολεμαῖος οὔτε τὸς ἄλλος ἀνέγραψεν ὅστις ἰκανὸς ὑπὲρ τῶν τοιούτων τεκμηρίωσαι.

4. Οὐδὲ δοκεῖ μοι ἐν τῷ τότε σώζεσθαι τὸ γένος τῶν Ἀμαζόνων, οὔτε ἂν πρὸ Ἀλέξανδρου Ξενοφῶν ἀνεμισθή αὐτῶν, Φασιανῶν τε μνησθεὶς καὶ Κόλχων καὶ ὅσα ἀλλὰ ἄπο τραπεζοῦντος χρωμόμενοι ἢ πρὶν ἐς τραπεζοῦντα κατελθεῖν οἱ οἱ Ἐλληνες ἐπῆλθον ἐθνη βαρβαρικά, ἕναπερ καὶ ταῖς Ἀμαζόνες ἀν ἐνυτυχὺκεσαν, εὐπερ οὖν ἄτι ἦσαν Ἀμαζόνες. Μὴ γενέσθαι μὲν γὰρ παυτελῶς τὸ γένος τούτων τῶν γυναικῶν οὐ πιστὸν δοκεῖ ἐμοῦ, πρὸς τοσοῦτοι καὶ τοιούτων ὑμᾶς ἦθεν. 'Ὡς Ἡρακλέα τε ἐπ' αὐτῶς λόγος κατέχει ὅτι ἐσταλῆ καὶ χοστηρά τινα Ἰππολύτη τῆς βασιλείας αὐτῶν ὅτι ἐς τὴν Ἑλλάδα ἐκώμει, καὶ οἱ ἔνες Ἡσεῖ Ἀθηναῖοι ὅτι ἐπιούσας τὰς γυναικὰς ταύτας τὴν Εὐρώπην πρῶτοι μάχη νικήσαντες ἀνέστειλαν καὶ γέγραψαν ἡ Αθηναίων καὶ Ἀμαζόνων μάχη πρὸς Κίμωνος ἀ γεὶ μεῖον ἤπερ ἡ Ἀθηναίων καὶ Περσῶν. Καὶ

1 Μίκανος Κουν, but the error may be Arrian's.
they were of the Amazons; they were equipped like cavalry troopers, except that they carried axes instead of spears, and small targets instead of shields. Some say that they had the right breast smaller, and that this was uncovered in battle. Alexander sent them away from the army, lest they should meet any roughness from the Macedonians or foreign troops; but he bade them announce to their queen that he was coming to see her in hope of offspring. This, however, neither Aristobulus nor Ptolemaeus nor any other reliable author on such matters has recorded. I do not myself think that the race of Amazons survived so long; indeed, before Alexander’s time Xenophon made no reference to them, though he referred to Phasians and Colchians and other foreign races which the Greeks met either when starting from Trebizond or before they reached Trebizond, where they certainly would have met Amazons if there had still been any. And yet I do not think it credible that this race of women, so often mentioned by good authorities, never existed at all; since Heracles is reputed to have been sent to them, and to have brought back to Greece the girdle of Hippolyte their queen; it is said also that the Athenians with Theseus first defeated in battle and repelled these women when invading Europe; and Cimon painted the battle of the Athenians and Amazons just as he did the battle of the Greeks and

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'Ὑροδότῳ πολλάκις περὶ τῶν γυναίκῶν τούτων πεποίηται, καὶ ὄσοι Ἀθηναίων τοὺς ἐν πολέμῳ τελευτήσαντας λόγῳ ἐκόσμησαν, καὶ τοῦ πρὸς Ἀμαξόνας ἔργου Ἀθηναίων ἐν τοῖς μάλιστα μνήμην ἐποίησαντο. Εἰ δὲ ἑπτικᾶς δὴ τινὰς γυναίκας Ἀτροπάτης ἐδείξεν Ἀλεξάνδρῳ, βαρβάρους τινὰς ἄλλας γυναίκας ἰππεῖν ἂσκηνέναι δοκῶ διε ἐδείξεν ἐς τῶν λεγόμενων δὴ τῶν Ἀμαξόνων κόσμων ἔσταλμέναι.

XIV. Ἐν Ἕκβατάνωι δὲ θυσίαν τε ἐθυσεν Ἀλεξάνδρος, ὡσπερ αὐτῷ ἐπὶ ξυμφοραῖς ἁγαθαῖς νόμος, καὶ ἀγώνα ἐπετέλεσε γυμνικὸν τε καὶ μουσικόν, καὶ πότοι αὐτῷ ἐγίγνοντο παρὰ τοῖς ἑταίροις. Καὶ ἐν τούτῳ Ἡφαιστίων ἔκαμε τὸ σῶμα· ἐβδόμη τε ἡμέρα ἡ ἡ ἡν αὐτῷ τῆς νόσου καὶ λέγουσι τὸ μὲν στάδιον πλήρες εἶναι· παιδῶν γὰρ ἄγων ἢν ἑκέινη τῇ ἡμέρᾳ γυμνικός· ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐξηγεύλλετο Ἀλεξάνδρῳ ὅτι κακῶς ἔχει Ἡφαιστίων, ὁ δὲ παρ’ αὐτὸν ἐλθὼν σπουδῇ οὐκέτι ἧξωντα κατέλαβεν.

2 Ἐνθα δὴ καὶ ἄλλοι ἄλλα ἄνεγραψαν ὑπὲρ τοῦ πένθους τοῦ Ἀλεξάνδρου· μέγα μὲν γενέσθαι αὐτῷ τὸ πένθος, πάντες τοῦτο ἄνεγραψαν, τὰ δὲ πρακτέντα ἐπ’ αὐτῷ ἄλλοι ἄλλα, ὡς ἔκαστος ἢ εὐνοῖς πρὸς Ἡφαιστίωνα ἢ φθόνου εἶχεν ἢ

3 καὶ πρὸς αὐτὸν Ἀλεξάνδρου. Ὡν οἱ τὰ ἀτάσθαλα ἀναγράφαντες οἱ μὲν ἐς κόσμων φέρειν μοι δοκοῦσιν οὐκῆθαι Ἀλεξάνδρῳ ὅσα ὑπεραλλήλας ἐδρασέν ἢ ἐπεν ἐπὶ τῷ πάντων δὴ ἀνθρώπων φιλτάτῳ· οἱ δὲ ἐς αἰσχύνην μᾶλλον τι ὡς οὐ πρέποντα οὕτωσιν βασίλειον ὅτε Ἀλεξάνδρῳ, οἱ μὲν, τὸ πολὺ μέρος τῆς ἡμέρας ἑκέινης ἐφρωμένον

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Persians. Then Herodotus has often mentioned these women, and all the Athenians who pronounce eulogies on those who fell in war, and made especial mention of the Athenian action against the Amazons. And if Atropates showed to Alexander any feminine cavalry, I think they were some other foreign women taught to ride whom he exhibited got up in the traditional Amazon fashion.

XIV. At Ecbatana Alexander offered a sacrifice, as he usually did after some successful event, and held also an athletic and literary contest and held drinking bouts with the Companions. During this time Hephaestion fell ill, and his illness had now run seven days; and they say that the race-course was filled with people; for there were athletic sports that day for boys; but when Alexander heard that Hephaestion was seriously ill, he left the course and hurried to him, but found him no longer living.

At this point historians have given varied accounts of Alexander’s grief. That his mourning was great, all have related; as to his actions, historians differ, according to the good-will or the ill-will felt towards Hephaestion or indeed towards Alexander himself. Of these, those who have recounted scandals appear to me partly to have thought that all redounds to Alexander’s credit that he did or said in his excess of grief for one who was of all men most dear to him; or else, that all was to his discredit, as not really fitting either for any king or for Alexander himself. Some say that for the greater part of that day he lay
ἐπὶ τοῦ σώματος τοῦ ἐταίρου ὄδυρεσθαι οὐδ’ ἐθέλειν ἀπαλλαγῆναι, πρὸν γε δὴ πρὸς βίαν 4 ἀπηνέχθη πρὸς τῶν ἐταίρων· οἱ δὲ, τὴν τε ἡμέραν ὅλην καὶ τὴν νύκτα ὅλην ἔρριψθαν ἐπὶ τῷ σώματι· οἱ δὲ καὶ, τὸν ἰατρὸν Γλαυκίαν ὅτι ἐκείμασε, καὶ τοῦτον ὡς ἐπὶ φαρμάκῳ κακῶς δοθέντι, οἱ δὲ, ὧτι οἴουν περιείδευν ἐμπλησθέντα θεωρῶν αὐτοῦ· καὶ κείρασθαι Ἀλέξανδρον ἐπὶ τῷ νεκρῷ τὴν κόμην, τά τε ἄλλα οὐκ ἀπεικότα τίθεμαι καὶ κατὰ ζῆλον τὸν Ἀχιλλέως, πρὸς 5 οὖν τινα ἐκ παιδὸς φιλοτιμία ἦν αὐτῷ. οἱ δὲ καὶ, τὸ ἄρμα ἐφ’ ὃτι τὸ σῶμα ἐφέρετο αὐτὸς ἔστων ὡς ημίόχει, τοῦτο οὐδαμῇ πιστῶν ἐμουγε λέγουτες· ἀλλοι δὲ, ὧτι καὶ τοῦ Ἀσκληπιοῦ τὸ ἔδος ἐν Ἐκβατάνωι κατασκάψαι ἐκέλευσε, βαρβαρικὸν τοῦτο γε, καὶ οὐδαμὴ Ἀλέξανδρῳ πρὸσφορον, ἀλλὰ τῇ Ἑρέξῳ μᾶλλον τῷ ἀτασθαλίᾳ τῇ ἐς τὸ θείον καὶ ταῖς πέδαις διὰ λέγουσιν ἐς τὸν Ἐλλήσποντον καθεῖναι Ἑρέξην, τιμωρούμενον δὴθεν 6 τὸν Ἐλλήσποντον. Ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐκεῖνο οὐ πάντη ἔξω τοῦ εἰκότος ἀναγεγράφθαι μοι δοκεῖ, ὡς ἐπὶ Βαβυλῶνος ἦεὶ Ἀλέξανδρος, ἐνυχεῖν αὐτῷ κατὰ τὴν ὄδον πολλὰς προσβείας ἀπὸ τῆς Ἐλλάδος, εἶναι δὲ δὴ ἐν τούτοις καὶ Ἐπιδαυρίων προσβείεσ· καὶ τούτους ὃν τε ἐδέουτο ἐξ Ἀλέξανδρου τυχεῖν καὶ ἀνάθημα δοῦναι αὐτοῖς Ἀλέξανδρον κομίζειν τῷ Ἀσκληπιῷ, ἐπεισόδα τι Καῖπερ οὐκ ἐπιεικῶς κέχρηται μοι ὁ Ἀσκληπιός, οὐ σώσας μοι τὸν ἑταίρον ὑντινα ἵσον τῇ ἐμαυτοῦ κεφαλῇ 7 ἄγον. Ἐναγιζεῖν τε ὃτι ἀει ὡς ἦρωι ἐκέλευσεν Ἡφαιστίων, τούτο μὲν πρὸς τῶν πλείστων ἀναγεγραπται· οἱ δὲ λέγουσιν ὃτι καὶ εἰς Ἀμ-250
upon his friend's body and wept and would not be parted, till he was forced away by his Companions; others, that all the day and all the night he lay on the body; others again that he hanged Glaucias the doctor, and that for a dose wrongly administered; others again, because Glaucias had seen Hephaestion drinking most immoderately and had not stopped him; but that Alexander shaved his hair in regard for the dead man, and the rest, I regard as not unlikely, and done in emulation of Achilles, with whom he had a rivalry from boyhood. Some add also that Alexander himself for a time drove the car in which the body was borne, and this statement I regard as quite incredible; yet others tell us that he bade the temple of Asclepius at Ecbatana be razed to the ground—a barbaric order, and not in Alexander's way at all; but rather suitable to Xerxes' insolence towards things divine and harmonizing with those fetters which they say Xerxes let down into the Hellespont, with the notion of punishing the Hellespont. But this also I think has been recorded not wholly outside the bounds of likelihood, that when Alexander was going to Babylon there met him in the way several envoys from Greece, and that among these were several Epidaurian envoys; these received from Alexander what they sued for, and Alexander gave them a statue to take back to Asclepius, with the words: "Yet Asclepius has not been kind to me, for he did not save for me the comrade whom I valued more than my life." Then most authorities have recorded that he ordered sacrifice always to be offered to Hephaestion as a hero; others add that he sent to Ammon to enquire
μωνος ἔπεμψεν ἐρησομένος τὸν θεὸν εἰ καὶ ὅς θεὸς θύειν συγχωρεῖ Ἡφαιστίωνι τὸν δὲ οὐ ξυγχωρήσαι.

8 Ἕκείνα δὲ πρὸς πάντων ἐξμισθονούμενα, ἐς τρίτην ἀπὸ τοῦ θανάτου τοῦ Ἡφαιστίωνος ἠμέραν μῆτε σίτου γεύσασθαι Ἀλέξανδρον μῆτε τινὰ θεραπείαν ἄλλην θεραπεύσαι τὸ σῶμα, ἄλλα κεῖσθαι γὰρ ἡ ὀδυρόμενον ἡ πενθικὸς συγώντα· καὶ πυρὰν κελεύσαι αὐτῷ ἐτοιμάζεσθαι ἐν Βαβυλῶνι ἀπὸ ταλάντων μυρίων, οἱ δὲ καὶ πλεῖον ἀνέγραψαν·

9 καὶ ὅτι πένθος ποιεῖσθαι περιηγγέλη κατὰ πᾶσαν τὴν χώραν τὴν βαρβαροῦ καὶ ὕπτολοι τῶν ἔταιρων τῶν Ἀλέξανδρον ἐς θεραπείαν τὴν ἐκείνην σφάς τε αὐτοῦ καὶ τὰ ὄπλα Ἡφαιστίωνι ἀνέθεσαν ἀποδανόντες· πρῶτον δὲ Εὐμένῃ ἂρξαι τοῦ σοφίσματος, ὅτι διηνέχθη πρὸς Ἡφαιστίωνα· καὶ τούτο δὲ δράσαι, τῷ Ἀλέξανδρῳ ὡς μὴ ἐφήδεσθαι δοκοῖ τὴν τελευτήσαντι Ἡφαιστίωνι. Οὔκοιν συν δὲ ἄλλον τινὰ ἐταξεῖν ἀντὶ Ἡφαιστίωνος χιλιάρχων ἐπὶ τῇ ἱππῳ τῇ ἔταιρῃ Ἀλέξανδρος, ὡς μὴ ἀπόλοιπο τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ Ἡφαιστίωνος ἐκ τῆς τάξεως· ἄλλα Ἡφαιστίωνος τῇ χιλιαρχίᾳ ἐκαλεῖτο καὶ τὸ σημεῖον αὐτῆς ἡγείτο εἰς Ἡφαιστίωνος πεποιημένον. Ἄγονα τε ἐπενόει ποιησάς γυμνικόν τε καὶ μουσικὸν πλήθει τε τῶν ἀγωνιζομένων καὶ τῇ εἰς αὐτὸν χορηγίᾳ πολὺ τι τῶν ἄλλων τῶν πρόσθεν ἀριδηλότερον τρισχίλιον γὰρ ἀγωνιστὰς τοὺς ἔμπιπτας παρεσκεύασε. Καὶ οὕτως ὀλίγον ύπερον ἐπὶ Ἀλέξανδρου τῷ τάφῳ λέγονσιν ὅτι ἡγονίσαντο.

1 τὸ added by Sintenis.
of the god if he permitted sacrifice to be made to Hephaestion as a god; but he refused.

The following, however, harmonizes in all accounts, that for three days after Hephaestion’s death Alexander neither tasted food nor took any care of his health, but lay either moaning or in a sorrowful silence; and that he ordered a pyre to be made ready for him in Babylon at a cost of ten thousand talents; some say even more; and that he commanded mourning to be made over all the East; and that many of Alexander’s Companions in respect for him dedicated themselves and their arms to the departed Hephaestion; and that Eumenes was the first to initiate this idea, of whom a little above we said he had quarrelled with Hephaestion; and that he did this so that Alexander might not think him pleased at Hephaestion’s death. At any rate Alexander never appointed anyone in place of Hephaestion as general of the Companions’ cavalry, so that the name Hephaestion might never perish from his brigade; but it was still called Hephaestion’s brigade, and the image went before it which had been modelled on Hephaestion. Then Alexander proposed an athletic and literary contest with a great number of competitors, and far more splendid than any before in regard to the money lavished upon it; for he provided three thousand competitors in all; and these not long afterwards competed at Alexander’s own funeral.

1 In the lost part of Chapter XII.
XV. Χρόνος τε ῆν συχνὸς τῷ πένθει καὶ αὐτὸς τε αὐτὸν ἥδη μετεκάλει ἀπ’ αὐτοῦ καὶ οἱ ἑταῖροι μᾶλλον τι ἐν τῷ τοιῷθε ἦμυτον. Ἐνθα δὴ ἔξελασιν ποιεῖται ἐπὶ Κοσσαίους, ἐθνὸς πολε-μικόν, ὁμορον τῷ Οὐξίων. Εἰσὶ δὲ ὁρειοὶ οἱ Κοσσαίοι καὶ χωρία ὑπαρα κατὰ κώμας νέμονται, καὶ ὅποτε προσάγοι δύναμις ἐς τὰ ἀκρα τῶν ὅρων, ἀποχωροῦντες ἀθρόι ἡ ὅπως ἄν προχωρή ἐκάστοις οὕτω διαφεύγουσιν, ἐς ἀπορίαν βάλ·λοντες τοὺς ἑών δυνάμει σφίσιν ἐπιχειροῦντας ἀπελθόντων δὲ αὐθις εἰς τὸ ληστεύειν τρεπό-μενοι ἀπὸ τοῦτο τῶν βίων ποιοῦνται. Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ ἔξειλεν αὐτῶν τὸ ἔθνος, καὶ περ Χειμώνος στρατεύσας. Ἀλλ’ οὕτε Χειμῶν ἐγένετο ἐμποδῶν αὐτῷ οὕτε αἱ δυσχωρίαι, οὕτε αὐτῷ οὕτε Πτολεμαῖο τῷ Δάγου, δε μέρος τῆς στρατιᾶς ἐπ’ αὐτοῦς ἠγεν. οὕτως οὐδὲν ἀπορον Ἀλέξανδρο τῶν πολεμικῶν ἦν ἐς ὃ τι ὁρμῆσειν.

4 Κατιόντε δὲ αὐτῶ εἰς Βαβυλῶνα Διβύσων τε προσβείαι ἐνετύχχαν ἐπαινοῦντω τε καὶ στεφανοῦντω ἐπὶ τῇ βασιλείᾳ τῆς Ἀσίας, καὶ ἐξ Ἰταλίας Βρέττωι τε καὶ Λευκανοι καὶ Τυρρηνοί ἐπὶ τοῖς αὐτοῖς ἐπρέσβενον. Καὶ Καρχηδόνιοι τότε προσβείαι λέγεται καὶ ἀπὸ Αλεξάντων πρὸσβείς ἐλθεῖν καὶ Σκυθῶν τῶν ἐκ τῆς Εὐρώπης, καὶ Κελτοὺς καὶ Ἰβηρᾶς, ὑπὲρ φιλίας δεσπομένους: διν τά τε ὀνόματα καὶ τάς σκεύας τότε πρῶτον ὄφθηναι πρὸς Ἐλληνῶν τε καὶ Μακεδόνων. Τοὺς δὲ καὶ ὑπὲρ τῶν εἰς ἀλλήλους διαφορῶν λέγουσιν ὅτι Ἀλέξανδρο διακρίνατι ἐπέτρεπον καὶ τότε μάλιστα αὐτῶν τε αὐτῷ Ἀλέξανδρον καὶ τοῖς ἀμφ’ αὐτῶν φανῆναι. 254
ANABASIS OF ALEXANDER, VII. 15. 1–5

XV. Now the mourning had gone on some time, and Alexander was already recovering from it, and the Companions were able to assist him more. He now, therefore, made an expedition to the Cossaeans, a warlike race bordering on the Uxians. These Cossaeans are mountaineers, and dwell in village strongholds; and whenever a force drew near their mountain fastnesses, they would move off in mass or as convenient to each section, and so slip away; causing those who tried to attack them by force to be at fault. Then when the enemy was gone they turned again to their brigandage and found in it their livelihood. Alexander, however, drove out their tribe, even though he made his raid on them by winter. But winter and rough places never hindered him, nor yet Ptolemaeus son of Lagus, who led a portion of the army against them. In fact Alexander found nothing impossible of the warlike enterprises he undertook.

But as he was returning to Babylon embassies from the Libyans met him, congratulating him and offering him a crown on his becoming King of Asia; from Italy also Bruttians and Lucanians and Tyrrhenians sent envoys for a like purpose. It is said that the Carchedonians also sent envoys, and that others came from Ethiopia and the European Scyths; Celts also and Iberians, to ask for friendly terms; then indeed for the first time did Greeks and Macedonians become acquainted with their names and appearances. Some, they say, even appealed to Alexander to arbitrate in their differences with each other; and then especially both in his own estimation and in that of his followers Alexander
γῆς τε ἀπάσης καὶ θαλάσσης κύριον. Ἄριστος
de καὶ Ἀσκληπιάδης τῶν τὰ Ἀλέξανδρου ἀνα-
γραφόντων καὶ Ῥωμαίοις λέγουσιν ὅτι ἑπρέσβευ-
σαν καὶ ἐντυχόντα ταῖς προσβείαις Ἀλέξανδρου
ὑπὲρ Ῥωμαίων τῆς ἐσομένης ἐς τὸ ἐπειτὰ
dυνάμεως μαντεύσασθαι, τὸν τὸ κόσμον τῶν
ἀνδρῶν ἴδοντα καὶ τὸ φιλόποιον τε καὶ ἐλευ-
θέριον καὶ περί τοῦ πολιτεύματος ἀμα διαπυ-
6 θανόμενον. Καὶ τοῦτο οὗτο ὡς ἀτρεκὴς οὗτε ὡς
ἀπιστοῦ πάντη ἀνέγραψα· πλὴν γε ὅτι οὗτε τις
Ῥωμαίων ὑπὲρ τῆς προσβείας ταύτης ὡς παρὰ
Ἀλέξανδρου σταλέσθη μνήμην ἐποιήσατο τινα,
οὐδὲ τῶν τὸ Ἀριστόβουλος: οὖδὲ τῶν Ῥωμαίων πολιτεῦ-
ματι ἑπεικός ἢν, ἐλευθέροι δὴ τότε ἐς τὰ μάλιστα
ὠντε, παρὰ βασιλέα ἀλλόφυλον, ἄλλως τε καὶ
ἐς τοσόνδε ἀπὸ τῆς οἰκείας προσβεύσαν, οὗτε
φόβου ἐξαναγκάζοντος οὗτε κατ’ ἑλπίδα ὠφελεῖας,
μᾶς τε, εἴπερ τινὰς ἄλλους, τοῦ τυραννικοῦ
γένους τε καὶ ὁνόματος κατεχομένους.

XVI. Ἐκ τοῦτον δὴ Ἅρκαλείδην τὸν Ἀργαίου
ἐκπέμπει ἐς Ῥωκανίαν ναυπηγοῦς ἁμα οἷ ἁγοῦμο,
κελεύσας ὅλην τεμόντα ἐκ τῶν ὅρων τῶν
Ῥωκανίων ναυπηγεῖσθαι ναῦς μακρὰς ἀφράκτους
tε καὶ πεφραγμένας ἐς τὸν κόσμον τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν.

2 Πόδος γὰρ εἶχεν αὐτὸν καὶ ταύτῃ ἐκμαθεῖν τὴν
θάλασσαν τὴν Κασπίαν τε καὶ Ῥωκανίας καλου-
μένην ποιὰ τινὶ ξυμβάλλει θαλάσση, πότερα τῇ
tοῦ πόντου τοῦ Εὐξείνου ἡ ἀπὸ τῆς ἐφές τῆς κατ’
Ἰνδίος ἑκπειρερχομένη ἡ μεγάλη θάλασσα ἀνα-
χεῖται εἰς κόλπον τὸν Ῥωκανίον, καθάπερ οὖν καὶ
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appeared to be lord of all the earth and sea. Aristus indeed and Asclepiades from among the historians of Alexander assert that even Romans sent envoys; and that Alexander when he met their envoys prognosticated something of their future power when he noticed their orderliness and diligence and freedom, and when he also had learnt something of their constitution. This I have recorded neither as true nor as untrue; except that no Roman ever made mention of this embassy sent to Alexander, nor even the historians of Alexander whom I most follow, Ptolemaeus son of Lagus and Aristobulus; nor was it suitable for the Roman republic, which was then entirely free, to send to a foreign king, especially so far from their own home, when no scare compelled them, nor with any expectation of help, and being as they were a people particularly given to dislike of kings and of the very name of kings.

XVI. After this Alexander sent Heracleides the son of Argaeus to Hyrcania with shipwrights, bidding him cut wood from the Hyrcanian forests and build warships, some decked, some open, in the Greek fashion. For he had conceived a desire to explore this Caspian Sea (also called Hyrcanian) as well, to see with what other sea it unites; whether with the Euxine Sea, or whether on the east side, towards India, the great sea circling round pours into the Hyrcanian Gulf,
τοῦ Περσικῶν ἔξευρε, τὴν Ἑρυθρὰν δὴ καλουμένην θάλασσαν, κόλπον οὗσαν τῆς μεγάλης
3 θαλάσσης. Οὐ γὰρ πω ἐξεύρηντο αἱ ἀρχαὶ τῆς Κασπίας θαλάσσης, καίτοι ἑθνῶν τε αὐτήν
περιοικούντων οὐκ ὁλίγων καὶ ποταμῶν πλοῖων ἐμβαλλόντων ἐς αὐτὴν· ἐκ Βάκτρων μὲν Ὀξεὸς
ποταμὸς, μέγιστος τῶν Ἀσιανῶν ποταμῶν, πλην γε δὴ τῶν Ἰνδῶν, ἐξήσσων ἐς ταύτην τὴν θάλασ-
σαν, διὰ Σκυθῶν δὲ Ἰαξάρτης· καὶ τὸν Ἀράξην
dὲ τὸν Ἕρμηνίας ρέοντα ἐς ταύτην ἐσβάλλειν ὁ
4 πλείων λόγος κατέχει. Μέγιστοι μὲν οὖν πολλοὶ
de δὴ καὶ ἄλλοι ἐς τε τούτους ἐμβαλλόντες καὶ
αὐτοὶ ἐπὶ σφῶν ἐς τὴν θάλασσαν ταύτην ἐξιᾶσιν,
οἱ μὲν καὶ γινωσκόμενοι πρὸς τῶν ἄμφοτερῶν ἐπ' Ἀλέξαν-
δρον ἐπελθόντων τὰ ἐθνην ταῦτα, οἱ δὲ κατὰ τὰ
ἐπ' ἐκεῖνα τοῦ κόλπου, ὡς εἰκός, κατὰ τοὺς
Σκύθας τοὺς Νομάδας, δὴ ἁγιωστοῦν πάντη ἐστὶν.
5 Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ ὡς τῶν Τίγρητα ποταμῶν ἦν τῇ
στρατιὰ διέβη ἑλαύνων ἐπὶ Βαβυλῶνος, ἐνταῦθα
ἐντυγχάνουσιν αὐτῷ Χαλδαίων οἱ λόγοι, καὶ
ἀπαγαγόντες ἀπὸ τῶν ἑταῖρων ἐδέοντο ἐπισχεῖν
τὴν ἐπὶ Βαβυλῶνος ἑλασίν. λόγιον γὰρ γεγονέναι
σφισίν ἐκ τοῦ θεοῦ τοῦ Βῆλου μὴ πρὸς ἀγαθοῦ
οἱ εἶναι τὴν πάροδον τὴν ἐς Βαβυλῶνα ἐν τῷ
6 τότε. Τὸν δὲ ἀποκρίνασθαι αὐτοῖς λόγον ὁ ποιητὸς ἐπος, ἔχει δὲ τὸ ἐπος
Εὐρυπίδη ὁδὲ·
Μάντις δ' ἀριστος ὡστις εἰκάξει καλῶς.
Σὺ δὲ, ὁ βασιλεῦ, ἐφασαν οἱ Χαλδαῖοι, μὴ πρὸς
δυσμᾶς ἀφορῶν αὐτὸς μηδὲ τῇν στρατιὰν ταύτην

1 λόγος Krüger.
just as he discovered the Persian Sea, called by some the Red Sea, to be only a gulf of the ocean. For no one had yet discovered the springs of the Caspian Sea, though many tribes dwell round it and navigable rivers flow into it; from Bactria, for instance, the river Oxus, the greatest of the Asian rivers, save the Indian, finds its way into this sea; and also the Jaxartes flowing through Scythia. Then the usual account is that the Araxes flowing from Armenia runs into this sea. These are the greatest; but a good many others pouring into these themselves pass into this sea; some known by Alexander’s expedition into those parts, and others on the far side of the gulf, as would be, and among the Nomad Scythians, a part entirely unknown.

Crossing the Tigris with his army, Alexander marched towards Babylon, and there met him Chaldaean seers, who drew him aside from the Companions and begged him to stop the advance towards Babylon; for, they said, they had an oracle from their god Belus that his approach to Babylon at that time would mean disaster. He, however, answered them with a verse of Euripides the dramatist—it runs thus:

"Prophets, who prophesy the best, are best." ¹
"But, O King," said the Chaldaeans, "look not towards the west, nor lead your army westward, but

¹ Dindorf, Fr. 963. See Cicero, de Divin. II. 5, Plut. Mor. p. 432c.
ἐπέχουσαν ἅγων παρελθεῖν, ἀλλὰ ἐκπεριελθῶν ἐπὶ έκο ἔω μᾶλλον. Τῷ δὲ οὐδὲ τούτῳ εὑμαρές διὰ δυσχωρίαν ξυνέβης, ἀλλὰ ήγε γὰρ αὐτὸν ταύτῃ τῷ δαιμόνιον ἢ παρελθόντα ἐχρῆν ἢδὲ τελευτῆσαι. Καὶ ποὺ τυχόν καὶ ἀμείνων αὐτῷ ἢ ἐν ἀκμῇ τῆς ἐν ἀλλής δόξῃς καὶ τοῦ πόθου τοῦ παρ᾽ ἀνθρώπων ἀπηλλάχθαι, πρὶν τινα ἤμμηναι αὐτῷ ἄμμοράν ἀνθρώπινην, ἢς ἕνεκα καὶ Σόλωνα Κροίσῳ παρανέσαι εἰκὸς τέλος ὅραν μακροῦ βίου μὴ δὲ πρόσθεν τινα ἀνθρώπων ἀποφαίνειν εὐδαιμόνα.

8 Ἐπει καὶ αὐτῷ Ἄλεξάνδρῳ ἡ Ἡφαιστίωνος τελευτή οὐ σμικρὰ ἁμμοράρα γεγένητο, ὡς καὶ αὐτὸς Ἄλεξάνδρος προαπελθεῖν ἂν δοκεῖ μοι ἐθελῆσαι μᾶλλον ἢ ζῶν πειραθῆναι, οὐ μεῖον ἢ καὶ Ἀχιλλέα δοκῶ ἂν ἐλέσθαι προαποθανεῖν Πατρόκλου μᾶλλον ἢ τοῦ θανάτου αὐτοῦ τιμωροῦ γενέθαι.

XVII. Ἡν δὲ τι καὶ ὑποπτοῦν αὐτῷ ἐς τοὺς Χαλδαίους, ὡς οὐ κατὰ μαντείαν τι μᾶλλον ἢ ἐς ὠφελειαν τὴν αὐτῶν φέροι αὐτοῖς ἢ κόλυσις τῆς Ἄλεξάνδρου ἢς Βαβυλῶνα ἐν τῷ τότε ἐλάσσεως. Ὁ γὰρ τοῦ Βήλου νεώς ἐν μέσῃ τῇ πόλει ἢν τῶν Βαβυλωνίων, μεγέθει τε μέγιστος καὶ ἕκ πλάνθου ὑπότης ἐν ἀσφάλτῳ ἠμισμένης. Τούτων τῶν νεών, ὅσπερ καὶ τὰ ἀλλὰ ἔστρα τὰ Βαβυλωνίων, Ἐρέξης κατέσκαψεν, ὅτε ἐκ τῆς Ἐλλάδος ὀπίσω ἀπενόστησεν. Ἄλεξάνδρος δὲ ἐν νῷ εἶχεν ἀνοικοδομεῖν, οἱ μὲν λέγουσιν ὅτι ἐπὶ τοῖς θεμέλιοις τοῖς πρόσθεν, καὶ τούτου ἕνεκα τὸν χοῦν εἴρειν ἐκελευτοῦς τοὺς Βαβυλωνίους· οἱ δὲ, ὅτι καὶ μείζονες ἐκ τοῦ πάλαι όντος. Ἐπει δὲ ἀποστάντος αὐτοῦ μαλθακῶς ἀνθῆψαντο τῷ ἔργῳ ὡς ταῦτα ἐπετέτραπτο, ὃ δὲ τῇ στρατιᾶ πάση ἐπενόει τῷ 260
rather wheel your force and lead it eastward." But this, by reason of the difficulty of the road, he could not do; but fate led him the way on which he was doomed to die. And possibly it was better for him to die in the height of his fame and of the general regard of mankind before any ordinary disaster befell him; it was for a reason like this probably that Solon advised Croesus to regard the end of a long life, and not declare any man happy before that. For the death of Hephaestion had proved no small disaster to Alexander himself, which Alexander himself I believe would have preferred to anticipate rather than to experience it during his lifetime; just as I think Achilles would have preferred to die before Patroclus rather than to have been the avenger of his death.

XVII. Some suspicion was entertained by Alexander towards these Chaldaeans that it was not so much in the way of prophecy as for their private advantage that the prevention of his advance to Babylon at that time would tend, for the temple of Belus was in the midst of the city of Babylon, in size immense, and made of baked brick with bitumen for mortar. This temple, like the other shrines of Babylon, Xerxes razed to the ground, when he returned back from Greece; but Alexander was minded to build it up again, some say on the original foundations, and that for this reason he bade the Babylonians remove the heaps of earth; others say that he wished to build it larger than the old one. But since after his departure those charged with the work had taken it up languidly, he proposed to
ἐργον ἐργάσασθαι. Εἶναι δὲ τῷ θεῷ τῷ Βῆλω πολλὴν μὲν τὴν χώραν ἀνειμένην ἐκ τῶν
4 Ἀσσυρίων βασιλέων, πολλῶν δὲ χρυσὸν. Καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ 1 πάλαι μὲν τῶν νεῶν ἐπισκευάζεσθαι καὶ
τὰς θυσίας τῷ θεῷ θύεσθαι τότε δὲ τοὺς
Χαλδαίους τὰ τοῦ θεοῦ νέμεσθαι, οὐκ ὄντος ἐστὶν ἀναλαβῆσαι τὰ περιγυμνόμενα. Τούτων
dὴ εἶνεκα ὑποττοὺ Ἀλεξάνδρῳ ἦσαν οὐκ ἐθέλειν
παρελθεῖν εἰσώ Βαβυλώνος Ἀλεξάνδρου, ὥς μὴ
dη ὅλου τοῦ νεῶν ἐπιτελεσθέντα ἀφελέσθαι
5 αὐτοὺς τὰς ἐκ τῶν χρημάτων ὀφελείας. "Ὁμως
dὲ τά γε τῆς ἐπιστροφῆς τῆς κατὰ τὴν εἰσοδὸν
τὴν ἐς τὴν πόλιν ἐθέλησαι αὐτοὺς πεισθῆναι
λέγει Ἀριστόβουλος, καὶ τῇ πρώτῃ μὲν παρὰ
tὸν ποταμὸν τὸν Εὐφράτην καταστράτοπεδεύσαι,
ἐς δὲ τὴν ὑστεραίαν ἐν δεξίᾳ ἔχοντα τὸν ποταμὸν
παρ’ αὐτοῦ πορεύεσθαι, ἐθέλοντα ὑπερβάλλειν
tῆς πόλεως τὸ μέρος τὸ ἐς δυσμᾶς τετραμμένον,
6 ὡς ταύτη ἐπιστρέφαντα πρὸς ἐως ἄγειν ἀλλὰ οὐ
gὰρ δυνηθῆναι ὑπὸ δυσχωρίας οὔτως ἐλάσαι ἔξω
tῇ στρατιᾷ, ὅτι τὰ ἀπὸ δυσμῶν τῆς πόλεως
εἰσίντοι, εἰ ταύτη πρὸς ἐως ἐπέστρεφεν, ἐλώδη τε
cαὶ τεναγώδη ἦν. Καὶ οὗτο καὶ ἐκόντα καὶ
ἀκοντα ἀπειθῆσαι τῷ θεῷ.

XVIII. Ἐπεὶ καὶ τοιοῦτο τινὰ λόγον Ἀριστό-
βουλος ἀναγέγραφεν Ἀπολλόδωρον τὸν Ἀμφι-
πολίτην τῶν ἑταίρων τῶν Ἀλεξάνδρου, στρατηγὸν
tῆς στρατιᾶς ἦν παρὰ Μαξαίῳ τῷ Βαβυλῶνος
σατράτῃ ἀπελιπεν Ἀλεξάνδρος, ἐπειδὴ συνεμιξεν
ἐπανιόντι αὐτῷ ἔξ Ἰνδῶν, ὅρωντα πικρῶς τιμω-
ρούμενον τοὺς σατράπας ὅσοι ἔπε’ ἄλλῃ καὶ ἄλλῃ

1 ἀπὸ τοῦτον Sintenis.
complete the work with all his force. The god Bel had much glebe consecrated by the Assyrian kings, and much treasure too. From this the temple was originally repaired, and the sacrifices offered to the god. But at that time the Chaldaeans enjoyed the revenues of the god, there being no cause for expenditure of the surplus income. For all these reasons Alexander suspected that they did not desire him to enter Babylon, lest if the temple was completed in a short time they might lose the enjoyment of these moneys. Yet Aristobulus states that Alexander was quite ready to yield to them so far as to withdraw from entering the city, and that he camped the first day on the river Euphrates, but the next day marched along the river, keeping it on his right, anxious to pass by that part of the city which had a western aspect, so as to turn thence and march eastward; but he could not advance this way with his force because of the difficulty of the ground, since if he entered from the west, and at this point turned eastward, the ground was all marshy and full of pools. And thus he disobeyed the god partly of intention, and partly without.

XVIII. Moreover, Aristobulus records a story as follows. Apollodorus of Amphipolis, one of Alexander’s Companions, commander of the force which Alexander left behind with Mazaes the satrap of Babylon, meeting Alexander on his return from India, and perceiving that he was punishing severely the satraps appointed over different provinces, wrote
χώρα τεταγμένοι ἦσαν, ἐπιστείλας Πειθαγόρα τῷ ἄδελφῳ, μάντιν γὰρ εἶναι τῶν Πειθαγόραν τῆς ἀπὸ σπλάγχνων μαντείας, μαντεύσασθαι καὶ 2 ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ τῆς σωτηρίας. Ἀντεπιστείλας δὲ αὐτῷ Πειθαγόραν πυθαγόρευμοι τίνα μάλιστα φοβοῦμενος χρῆσασθαι ἐθέλοι τῇ μαντείᾳ. Τὸν δὲ γράψαι αὐθεὶς ὧτι τὸν τε βασιλέα αὐτὸν καὶ Ἡφαιστίωνα. Θύεσθαι δὴ τὸν Πειθαγόραν πρῶτα μὲν ἐπὶ τῷ Ἡφαιστίωνῳ ὡς δὲ ἐπὶ τοῦ ἡπατοῦ τοῦ ἱερείου ὁ λοβὸς ἀφανῆς ἦν, οὕτω δὴ ἐγγράψαντα καὶ κατασχημανόμενον τὸ γραμμάτιον πέμψαι παρὰ τὸν Ἀπολλόδωρον ἐκ Βαβυλῶνος εἰς Ἑκβάτανα, δηλοῦντα μηδὲν τι δεδεῖν Ἡφαιστίωνα, ἔσεσθαι γὰρ αὐτοῖς ὅλων χρόνου 3 ἐκποδῶν. Καὶ ταῦτην τὴν ἐπιστολὴν λέγει Ἀριστόβουλος κομίσασθαι Ἀπολλόδωρον μιᾶ πρόσθεν ἡμέρα ὑπὲρ ταύτης Ἡφαιστίωνα. Αὐθεὶς δὲ θύεσθαι τὸν Πειθαγόραν ἐπὶ τῷ Ἁλεξάνδρῳ καὶ ἱερείῳ καὶ ἐπὶ Ἁλεξάνδρῳ ἀλμποῦ τὸ ἡπατοῦ τοῦ ἱερείου. Καὶ Πειθαγόρας τὰ αὐτὰ καὶ ὑπὲρ Ἁλεξάνδρου γράψαι Ἀπολλοδώρῳ. Ἀπολλόδώρῳ δὲ εἰ κατασκεύασαι, ἀλλὰ φράσαι γὰρ πρὸς Ἁλεξάνδρου τὰ ἐπεσταλμένα, ὡς εὐνοιαν μᾶλλον τι ἐπεδείξομεν τῷ βασιλεῖ, εἰ φυλάττεσθαι παρανίσχει μὴ τις αὐτῷ κίνδυνος ἐν τῷ 4 τότε ἄρεσον. Καὶ Ἀπολλόδωρον τε λέγει ὅτι Ἁλεξάνδρου ἐπήνευσε καὶ τὸν Πειθαγόραν, ἐπειδὴ παρῆλθεν εἰς Βαβυλῶνα, ἢρετο ὅτου γενομένου αὐτῷ σημείου ταῦτα ἐπέστειλε πρὸς τὸν ἄδελφον· τὸν δὲ εἰπεῖν ὅτι ἀλοβόν οἱ τὸ ἡπατοῦ ἐγένετο τοῦ ἱερείου· ἐρωμένου δὲ οἱ τι νουΙ τὸ σημείου μέγα εἰπεῖν εἶναι χαλεπόν. Ἡ Ἁλεξαν- 264
to Peithagoras his brother, one of those seers who prophesy from the flesh of victims, to prophesy also concerning his own welfare. Peithagoras then wrote in answer to him asking who it was that he chiefly feared, that he wanted the help of prophecy; and he replied that it was the King himself and Hephaestion. Peithagoras then sacrificed first in the matter of Hephaestion; and as the lobe could not be seen on the liver of the victim, he reported this, and sealing his letter sent it to Apollodorus from Babylon to Ecbatana, assuring him that he had nothing to fear from Hephaestion, for in a short time he would be removed from his path. This letter Aristobulus says that. Apollodorus received on the day before Hephaestion died. Then Peithagoras sacrificed again in the matter of Alexander, and for Alexander also the liver of the victim showed no lobe. Peithagoras then sent a similar letter to Apollodorus about Alexander also. Then Apollodorus did not keep his counsel, but told Alexander the news he had received, with the idea of showing a kindness to the King, by advising him to beware lest any danger should at this time come upon him. He states further that Alexander thanked Apollodorus and, when he reached Babylon, asked Peithagoras what particular warning caused him to write thus to his brother. He replied that he found the liver of the victim without a lobe. Then when Alexander enquired what this sign portended, Peithagoras replied: "Something very serious." However, Alex-
δρον δὲ τοσούτου δεησαι χαλεπήναι τῷ Πειθα-
γόρα, ὡς καὶ δι’ ἐπιμελείας ἔχειν αὐτὸν πλείονος,
5 ὅτι ἀδόλως τὴν ἀληθείαν οἱ ἐφρασε. Ταῦτα
αὐτὸς Ἀριστόβουλος λέγει παρὰ Πειθαγόρου
πυθέσθαι καὶ Περδίκκα δὲ μαντεύσασθαι αὐτὸν
λέγει καὶ Ἀντιγόνῳ χρόνῳ ὑστεροῦν καὶ τοῦ
αὐτοῦ σημείου ἀμφοῖν γενομένου Περδίκκαν
τε ἐπὶ Πτολεμαίον στρατεύσαντα ἀποδανεῖν
καὶ Ἀντίγονον ἐν τῇ μάχῃ τῇ πρὸς Σέλευκον
6 καὶ Λυσίμαχον τῇ ἐν Ἰψῷ γενομένῃ. Καὶ
μὲν δὴ καὶ ὑπὲρ Καλάνου τοῦ σοφιστοῦ τοῦ
Ἰνδοῦ τοιόσος τις ἀναγέγραπται λόγος, ὅποτε
ἐπὶ τὴν πυρὰν ἤδε ἀποθανοῦμεν, τότε τοὺς μὲν
ἀλλοὺς ἑταίρους ἀσπάζεσθαι αὐτῶν, Ἀλεξάνδρῳ
δὲ οὐκ ἐθελήσαι προσελθεῖν ἀσπασόμενον, ἀλλὰ
φάναι γὰρ ὅτι ἐν Βαβυλῶνι αὐτῷ ἐντυχὼν
ἀσπάσεται. Καὶ τούτων τὸν λόγον ἐν μὲν τῷ
τότε ἀμεληθῆναι ὑστεροῦν δὲ, ἐπειδὴ ἐτελεύτησεν
ἐν Βαβυλῶνι Ἀλεξάνδρος, ἐς μνήμην ἔλθειν τῶν
ἀκοινάντων, ὅτι ἐπὶ τῇ τελευτῇ ἁρᾳ τῇ Ἁλεξάν-
δρον ἑθειάσθη.

XIX. Παρελθόντι δ’ αὐτῷ ἐς Βαβυλῶνα
πρεσβεῖαι παρὰ τῶν Ἐλλήνων ἐνέτυχον, ὑπὲρ
ὅτων μὲν ἐκαστοῖς πρεσβευόμενοι οὐκ ἀναγέ-
γραπται δοκεῖν δ’ ἐμοινεῖ αἰ πολλαὶ στεφανοῦντων
τε αὐτῶν ἔχουν καὶ ἑπανοῦντων ἐπὶ ταῖς νίκαις
ταῖς τῶν ἀλλαὶ καὶ μάλιστα ταῖς Ἰνδικαῖς, καὶ ὅτι
σώος ἐς Ἰνδόν ἑπανήκει χαλεῖν φασκόντων. Καὶ
τούτων δεξιωσάμενος τε καὶ τὰ εἰκότα τιμήσας
2 ἀποστέμψαται ὁπίσω λέγεται. Ὄσους δὲ ἀνδριάν-
τας ἢ ὅσα ἀγάλματα ἢ ἐν δὴ τῷ ἀλλο ἀνάθημα
ἐκ τῆς Ἐλλάδος Ἀέρξης ἁνεκομιστεν ἐς Βαβυλῶνα
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ander was far from being incensed against Peithagoras, but rather had a higher opinion of him for speaking the truth outright. This Aristobulus says he learned at first hand from Peithagoras; and adds that Peithagoras prophesied later in the matter of Perdiccas and Antigonus; the same portent appeared for both, and Perdiccas, having taken the field against Ptolemaeus, perished, and Antigonus in the battle against Seleucus and Lysimachus, which took place at Ipsus. And besides this, a story on these lines has been recorded of Calanus, the Indian wise man, that when he was going to the funeral pyre, to his death, he greeted all the Companions, but refused to approach Alexander to wish him farewell, but said that he would meet him at Babylon, and greet him there. This story was ignored at the time; but later, when Alexander died at Babylon, it came to the recollection of the hearers that he had, in reality, some divine inspiration about Alexander.

XIX. Then when Alexander had entered Babylon embassies came to meet him from the Greeks; but history does not record for what purposes each embassy came. I am inclined to think that most of them were to offer him wreaths and to congratulate him on all his victories, and especially those in India; and also to express their joy that he came back safe from India. These he received graciously, and is stated to have dismissed them after showing his regard for them in the customary way. But such statues or other works of art or any other votive offering which Xerxes removed from Greece to
Argument

3. Κατέλαβε δὲ ἐν Βαβυλῶνι, ὡς λέγει Ἀριστόβουλος, καὶ τὸ ναυτικόν, τὸ μὲν κατὰ τὸν Εὐφράτην ποταμὸν ἀναπτεπλευκὸς ἀπὸ θαλάσσης τῆς Περσίκης, ὃ τιπέρ σὺν Νεάρχῳ ἦν· τὸ δὲ ἐκ Φοινίκης ἀνακεκομισμένου, πεντήκοντα μὲν δύο τῶν ἐκ Φοινίκων, τετράκοσις δὲ τρεῖς, τριάκοσις δὲ δώδεκα, τριακοστὸν δὲ ἐς τριάκοστα· ταῦτας ξυντηθείσας κομισθήσαι ἐπὶ τῶν Εὐφράτην ποταμὸν ἐκ Φοινίκης ἐς Θάψακον πόλιν, ἐκεῖ δὲ ξυμπηθείσας αὖθις καταπλεύσαι ἐς Βαβυλῶνα.

4. Δέγει δὲ ὅτι καὶ ἄλλος αὐτῷ ἐναυτηγεῖτο στόλος τέμνοντι τὰς κυπαρίσσους τὰς ἐν τῇ Βαβυλωνίᾳ· τούτων γὰρ μόνων τῶν δένδρων εὐπορίαν εἶναι ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ τῶν Ἀσσυρίων, τῶν δὲ ἄλλων ὡς ἀνακεκομισμένα ἐκεῖνα τὴν γῆν ταύτην πληρώματα δὲ ἐς τὰς ναῦς καὶ τὰς ἄλλας ὑπηρεσίας πορφυρῶς τε πλῆθος καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ὡςοὶ ἑργάται τῆς θαλάσσης ἀφίχθαι αὐτῷ ἐκ Φοινίκης τε καὶ τῆς ἄλλης παραλίας· λιμένα τε ὅτι πρὸς Βαβυλῶνι ἐποίει ὀρυκτὸν ὡςον χιλίας ναυσὶ μακραῖς ὄρμοι εἰναι καὶ νεωσοίκους ἐπὶ τοὺς ἀνθρώπους. Καὶ Μίκκαλος ὁ Κλαδομένιος μετὰ πεντακοσίων ταλάντων ἐπὶ Φοινίκης τε καὶ Συρίας ἔστελλε, τοὺς μὲν μισθῷ πείσων, τοὺς δὲ καὶ ὁμησόμενος ὡςοι θαλάτται άνθρωποι. Τὴν τε γὰρ παραλίαν τὴν πρὸς τῷ κόλπῳ τῷ 268.
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Babylon or to the Pasargadae or to Susa or anywhere else in Asia, these he gave to the embassies to take back; and thus it is said that the bronze statues of Harmodius and Aristogeiton were taken back to Athens, as also the seated figure of Celcaean\(^1\) Artemis.

Aristobulus says that Alexander found in Babylon the flotilla also; part had sailed up the Euphrates from the Persian Sea, that part which was with Nearchus; but the rest had been brought up from Phoenicia, two Phoenician quinqueremes, three quadriremes, and twelve triremes; and upwards of thirty thirty-oared galleys. These had been bisected and carried across from Phoenicia to the Euphrates, to the city of Thapsacus; and there they were put together again and sailed down to Babylon. Aristobulus also says that another detachment was being built for him, by cutting down the cypresses in Babylonia; for this is the only tree which grows freely in the Assyrian country, which is bare of everything else necessary for shipbuilding. As crews for the ships and for the other naval services there came a number of purple-shell divers and other persons whose business lies in the sea, from Phoenicia and the rest of the coast. It is also said that Alexander dug a harbour at Babylon, large enough to be a roadstead for a thousand ships of war, and dockyards on the harbour. Miccalus of Clazomenae was despatched to Phoenicia and Syria with five hundred talents, to induce by pay, or to purchase, men accustomed to seafaring. For Alexander had an idea of colonizing the coast along the Persian Gulf,

\(^1\) The name is unknown.
Περσικῷ κατοικίζειν ἐπενόει καὶ τᾶς νῆσους τᾶς ταύτη. Ἰδοκεί γὰρ αὐτῷ οὐ μεῖον ἃν Φοινίκης εὐδαίμων ἡ χώρα αὐτή γενέσθαι. Ἡν δὲ αὐτῷ τοῦ ναυτικοῦ ἡ παρασκευὴ ὡς ἐπὶ Ἄραβας τοὺς πολλοὺς,1 πρόφασιν μὲν, ὅτι μόνοι τῶν ταύτη βαρβάρων οὖντε πρεσβείαν ἀπέστειλαν οὖτε τι ἄλλο ἐπιεικῆ ἡ ἐπὶ τιμὴ ἐπέπρακτο Ἄραβιν ἐς αὐτὸν τὸ δὲ ἄλληθές, ὡς γέ μοι δοκεῖ, ἀπληστος ἡν τοῦ κτάσθαι τι ἁεὶ Ἀλέξανδρος.

XX. Δόγος δὲ κατέχει ὅτι ἦκουν Ἄραβας δύο μόνου τιμᾶν θεοῦς, τὸν Ὀὐρανόν τε καὶ τὸν Δίονυσον, τὸν μὲν Ὀυρανὸν τε αὐτὸν ὅρῳμενον καὶ τὰ ἀστρα ἐν οἷ ἑχοντα τα τε ἄλλα καὶ τὸν ἠλιον, ἀφ’ ὅτου μεγίστη καὶ φανοτάτη ὤφελεῖα ἐς πάντα ἥκει τὰ ἀνθρώπινα. Διονύσου δὲ κατὰ δόξαν τῆς ἦκ Ἰνδοὺς στραταῖς.2 Οὔκ ουν ἀπαξιοῦν καὶ αὐτὸν τρίτον ἀν νομισθήναι πρὸς Ἄραβων θεόν, οὐ ψυλότερα ἐργα Διονύσου ἀποδείκαμεν, εἴπερ οὖν καὶ Ἄραβων κρατήσας, ἐπιτρέψειν αὐτοῖς, καθάπερ Ἰνδοῖς, πολιτεύειν κατὰ τὰ σφῶν νόμιμα. Τῆς τε χώρας ἡ εὐδαίμονία ὑπεκινεῖ αὐτῶν, ὅτι ἦκουν ἐκ μὲν τῶν λιμνῶν τὴν κασίαν γίγνεσθαι αὐτοῖς, ἀπὸ δὲ τῶν δένδρων τὴν σμύρναν τε καὶ τὸν λιβανωτόν, ἐκ δὲ τῶν θαμνίσκων τὸ κινάμωμον τέμνεσθαι, οἱ λειμώνες δὲ ὅτι νάρδουν αὐτόματοι ἐκφέρουσι τὸ τε μέγεθος τῆς χώρας, ὅτι οὐκ ἑλάττων ἡ παράλιος τῆς Ἄραβιας ἢ περ ἡ τῆς Ἰνδικῆς αὐτῷ ἐξηγγέλλετο, καὶ νῆσοι αὐτῇ προσκείσθαι πολλαί, καὶ

1 πολλοὺς Polak παραλίους.
2 As elsewhere, when in this sense, Ellendt edits στρατείας.

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and the islands that lie near: for he thought that it would be just as prosperous a country as Phoenicia. His naval preparations were chiefly directed at the greater part of the Arabs, on the ground that they alone of the tribes on this side had sent no envoys, nor had done anything complimentary, or by way of honouring Alexander. The actual fact, in my estimation, is that Alexander was always insatiate in winning possessions.

XX. There is a story current that Alexander heard that the tribes of Arabs reverenced only two gods, Uranus and Dionysus; Uranus because they behold him and he contains within him all the stars and especially the sun, from which the greatest and most obvious benefit, in all directions, comes to mankind; Dionysus, in view of his journey to India. Alexander therefore thought himself worthy to be regarded as a third god by the Arabs, since he had achieved even more famous deeds than Dionysus, at any rate if he should conquer Arabia and permit them, as he had the Indians, to be governed according to their own customs. Then the prosperity of the country incited him, since he heard that in their oases cassia grew, and from the trees came myrrh and frankincense; and from the bushes, cinnamon was cut; and that from their meadows spikenard grew self-sown. Then there was also the size of their territory, since the sea-coast of Arabia was reported to him to be not much less than that of India, and that there were several islands adjacent,
Άριαν

λιμένες πανταχοῦ τῆς χώρας ἐνείναι, οἱ οἱ παρασχεῖν μὲν ὄρμους τῷ ναυτικῷ, παρασχεῖν δὲ καὶ πόλεις ἐνοικισθῆναι καὶ ταύτας γενέσθαι εὐδαιμονίας.

3 Δύο δὲ νῆσοι κατὰ τὸ στόμα τοῦ Εὐφράτου πελάγια ἐξηγγέλλοντο αὐτῷ, ἢ μὲν πρῶτη οὖν πρόσω τῶν ἐκβολὼν τοῦ Εὐφράτου, ἐς ἔκατον καὶ εἴκοσι σταδίους ἀπέχουσα ἀπὸ τοῦ αἰγαλοῦ τε καὶ τοῦ στόματος τοῦ ποταμοῦ, μικροτέρα δὲ αὕτη καὶ δασεῖα οὐλὴ παντοῖα· εἰναι δὲ ἐν αὐτῇ καὶ ἱερὸν Ἀρτέμιδος, καὶ τοὺς ὀικήτορας αὐτοῦς ἀμφὶ τὸ ἱερὸν τὰ τῆς διαίτης ποιεῖσθαι νέμεσθαι τε αὐτὴν αἰξὶ τε ἄγριας καὶ ἐλάφοις, καὶ ταύτας ἀνείσθαι ἀφέτοις τῇ Ἀρτέμιδι, οὐδὲ εἰναι θέμις θήραν ποιεῖσθαι ἀπὸ αὐτῶν ὅτι μὴ θύσαι τινα τῇ θεῷ ἐθέλοντα· εἰπτ' τῷ δὲ θηρᾷν μόνον· εἴπτ' τῷ δὲ γὰρ οὐκ εἰναι ἀθέμιτον. Καὶ ταύτην τὴν νῆσον λέγει Ἀριστόθενος ὅτι Ἰκαρὸν ἐκέλευσε καλεῖσθαι Ἀλέξανδρος ἐπὶ τῆς νῆσου.

4 τῆς Ἰκάρου τῆς ἐν τῷ Δικαίῳ πόντῳ, ἐς ἤντινα Ἰκαρὸν τοῦ Δαίδαλον τακέντος τοῦ κηροῦ ὅτῳ προσήρθητο τὰ πτερὰ πεσεῖν ὁ λόγος κατέχει, ὅτι οὐ κατὰ τὰς ἐντολὰς τοῦ πατρὸς πρὸς τῇ γῇ ἐφέρετο, ἀλλὰ μετέωρος γὰρ ὡποὶ ἀνοίας πετομενος παρέσχε τῷ ἥλιῳ βάλλει καὶ ἀνείναι τὸν κηρόν, καὶ ἀπὸ ἔαντον τὸν Ἰκαροῦ τῇ τῇ νῆσῳ καὶ τῷ πελάγει τὴν ἐπονομάζων ἐγκαταλιπεῖν τὴν μὲν Ἰκαροῦ καλεῖσθαι, τὸ δὲ Ἰκάριον.

5 Ἡ δὲ ἔτερα νῆσος ἀπέχειν μὲν ἀπὸ τοῦ στόματος τοῦ Εὐφράτου ἐλέγετο ὅσον πλούν ἡμέρας καὶ νυκτὸς κατ' ὀυρὸν θεούσῃ νηθε. Τύλος δὲ αὐτὴ εἰναι ὅνομα· μεγάλη δὲ εἰναι καὶ οὔτε τραχεία ἢ 272
and harbours all over the coast, enough to give anchorage for his fleet, and to permit cities to be built on them, and those cities likely to be rich.

He was also informed of two islands in the sea near the mouth of the Euphrates. The first was not far from its outlet, being about a hundred and twenty stades from the shore, and from the river mouth; this one is smaller, and covered all over with thick wood; there was in it also a shrine of Artemis, and the dwellers about the shrine themselves performed the daily services; it pastured wild goats and chamois, and these were reserved as sacred to Artemis, and no one was allowed to hunt them save any who desired to sacrifice to the goddess: on this excuse only might anyone hunt, and for this purpose hunting was not forbidden. This island, according to Aristobulus, Alexander commanded to be called Icarus, after the island Icarus in the Aegean Sea, upon which Icarus, son of Daedalus, according to the legend, fell when the wax, with which his wings had been fastened, melted, because he did not, according to his father’s behest, fly low near the ground, but from his own folly flew high and so allowed the sun to melt and loose the wax; and so he left his name to both island and sea, the one being called Icarus, the other, Icarian. The other island was reported to be distant from the mouth of the Euphrates about a day and night’s sail for a ship running before the wind; it was called Tylus; and it was large, and
πολλή ούτε υλώδης, ἀλλ’ οἶα καρποῦς τε ἡμέρους ἐκφέρειν καὶ πάντα ὁραῖα.

7. Ταυτὶ ἀπηγγέλθη Ἄλεξανδρῷ τὰ μὲν πρὸς Ἐρχίου, ὅσʼ ξὺν τριακοντόρῳ ἐκπεμφθεῖς ἐπὶ κατασκοπῆ τοῦ παράπλου τοῦ ὥς ἐπὶ τοὺς Ἀράβας μέχρι μὲν τῆς νῆσου τῆς Τύλου ἦλθεν, τὸ πρόσω δὲ οὐκέτι περαιώθηναι ἐτόλμησεν. Ἀνδροσθένης δὲ ξὺν ἄλλῃ τριακοντόρῳ σταλεῖς καὶ τῆς χερσονήσου τι τῶν Ἀράβων παρέπλευσε μακροτάτῳ δὲ τῶν ἐκπεμφθέντων προὐχώρησεν Ἰέρων ὁ Σολεύν ὁ κυβερνήτης, λαβὼν καὶ οὕτως παρ’ Ἀλεξάνδρου τριακόντορον.

8. Ἡν μὲν γὰρ αὐτῷ προστεταγμένοι περιπλέυσαι τῆν χερσονήσου την Ἀράβων πᾶσαν ἔστε ἐπὶ τοῦ κόλπου τοῦ πρὸς Αἰγύπτου τοῦ Ἀράβιον τοῦ καθ᾽ Ἡρώων πόλιν οὐ μὴν ἐτόλμησεν γε τὸ πρόσω ἐλθεῖν, καίτοι ἐπὶ τὸ πολὺ παραπλεύσασι τῆν Ἀράβων γῆν ἀλλ’ ἀναστρέψασι γὰρ παρ’ Ἀλέξανδρου ἐξῆγγειλε τὸ μέγεθος τοῦ τῆς χερσονήσου θαυμαστὸν τι εἶναι καὶ ὅσον οὐ πολύ ἀποδέοι τῆς Ἰνδῶν γῆς, ἀκραν τε ἀνέχειν ἐπὶ πολὺ τῆς

9. μεγάλης θαλάσσης· ἦν δὴ καὶ τοὺς ξὺν Νεάρχῳ ἀπὸ τῆς Ἰνδικῆς πλέοντας, πρῶτα ἐπικάμψας ἐς τὸν κόλπον τοῦ Περσικῶν, οὐ πόρρω ἀνατείνουσαν ἱδεῖν τε καὶ παρ’ ὅλγον ἐλθεὶν διαβαλεῖν ἐς αὐτὴν, καὶ Ὁνησικρίτῳ τῷ κυβερνήτῃ ταύτης δοκοῦν· ἀλλὰ Νεάρχος λέγει ὅτι αὐτὸς διεκώλυσεν, ὡς ἐκπεριπλεύσας τοῦ κόλπου τοῦ Περσικῶν ἔχοι ἀπαγγέλλαι Ἄλεξανδρῷ ἐφ’ ὁστισί πρὸς αὐτοῦ ἐστάλῃ· οὐ γὰρ ἐπὶ τῷ πλεῦσαι τῆς μεγάλης θάλασσαν ἐστάλθαι, ἀλλ’ ἐπὶ τῷ καταμαθεῖν τὴν χώραν τῆς προσεχῆ τῇ θαλάσσῃ καὶ 274
neither rough nor wooded for the most part; but the sort which bore garden fruits and all things in due season.

All this was told to Alexander, partly by Archias, who was sent with a thirty-oared ship to reconnoitre the coastal voyage towards Arabia and arrived at the island Tylus, but did not venture further; but Androstenes was despatched with another thirty-oar, and sailed round part of the Arabian peninsula; but farthest of all those who were sent out, Hieron of Soli the steersman advanced, who also received a thirty-oar from Alexander. For his sailing orders were to coast round the whole Arabian peninsula, till he reached the Arabian Gulf on the Egyptian side, near Heroöpolis; yet he did not dare to advance further, though he had sailed round the greater part of Arabia; but he turned about, and reported to Alexander the size of the peninsula as vast, and not far short of that of India; and that a projection ran far into the ocean. And this Nearchus' crews, when sailing from India, sighted, before they altered course for the Persian Gulf, stretching out not far away; and indeed were on the point of putting in there; that at least was the advice of Onesicritus the helmsman. But Nearchus states that he forbade this, since he had completed his voyage round the Persian Gulf and had to report to Alexander on the purposes for which he had been despatched. For he had not been sent to navigate the Ocean, but to reconnoitre the coast lying on the Ocean, and the

1 In Strabo (xvi. 3) it is called Tyrus, now Bahrein.
τοὺς κατοικοῦντας αὐτὴν ἀνθρώπους, ὑμοίους τε ἐν αὐτῇ καὶ ὑδατα καὶ τὰ νόματα τῶν ἀνδρῶν καὶ εἰ τις ἀγαθὴ καρποῦς ἐκφέρειν ἢ εἰ τις κακὴ καὶ οὖν καὶ τὸ τούτο αὐτῶν γενέσθαι ἀποσωθῆναι Ἀλεξάνδρου τὸν στρατὸν οὐ γὰρ ἀν σωθῆναι πλεύσαντας ὑπὲρ τῆς Ἀραβίας τὰ ἔρημα, ἐφ’ ὅτι ὁ Ἰέρων ἐπιστρέψαι ὅπισω λέγεται.

XXI. Ἔν φ’ δὲ αὐτῷ ἐναυτηριοῦντο μὲν αἱ τρυφεῖς, ὁ λιμὴν δὲ πρὸς Βαβυλῶνι ὁρύσσετο, ἐκπλεῖ ἐκ Βαβυλῶνος κατὰ τὸν Εὐφράτην ὡς ἐπὶ τὸν Παλλακόπαν καλοῦμενον ποταμόν. Ἄπεχει δὲ οὗτος τῆς Βαβυλῶνος σταδίων ὅσον ὄκτακοσίους, καὶ ἔστε διώρυξι αὐτῆστε ὁ Παλλακόπας ἐκ τοῦ Εὐφράτου, οὐχὶ δὲ ἐκ πηγῶν τις ἀνίσχων 2 ποταμός. Ὁ γὰρ Εὐφράτης ποταμὸς ἐρῶν ἐκ τῶν Ἀρμενίων ὄρων χειμῶνος μὲν ὥρα προχορεῖ κατὰ τὰς ὅχθας, οἷα δὴ ὡς οὖ πολλοῦ ὄντος αὐτῶν τοῦ ὑδατος. ἦρος δὲ ὑποφαινόμενος καὶ πολὺ δὴ μάλιστα ὑπὸ τροπᾶς ἀστίνας τοῦ βέρους ὁ ἡλιος ἐπιστρέφει μέγας τα ἐπέρχεται καὶ ὑπερβάλλει ὑπὲρ τὰς ὅχθας ἕστὶν τὴν γῆν τὴν Ἀσσυρίαν.

3 Τηνικαύτα γὰρ αἱ χιόνες αἱ ἐπὶ τοῖς ὅρεσι τοῖς Ἀρμενίοις κατατηκόμεναι αὔξουσιν αὐτῷ τὸ ὕδωρ ἐπὶ μέγα, ὅτι δὲ ἐπιπολῆς ἐστὶν αὐτῷ καὶ ὕψηλος ὁ ῥόος, ὑπερβάλλει ἐστὶν τὴν χώραν, εἰ μή τις ἀναστομώσας αὐτῶν κατὰ τὸν Παλλακόπαν ἐστὶν ἐδαφεῖ τα ἐκτρέψειε καὶ τὰς λίμνας, αἶδε δὴ ἀρχόμεναι ἀπὸ τούτης τῆς διὸρυχος ἐστε ἐπὶ τὴν εὐνεχὴ τῇ τῶν Ἀράβων γῆ καὶ ἐνθευ μὲν ἐστὶν τέναγος ἐπὶ πολὺ, ἐκ δὲ τοῦ ἐστὶν βάλασσαν κατὰ

1 After διὸρυχος: Roos adds διήκονιν, but we have already seen Arrian in anacolutha and brachylogies.
inhabitants of the coast, and its anchorages, and its water supplies, and the manners and customs of the inhabitants, and what part of the coast was good for growing produce, and what part was bad; and that this was the reason that Alexander's army came through safely, for they would never have come through safe by sailing among the desert parts of Arabia. This too is the reason given for Hiero's return.

XXI. Meanwhile, as the triremes were being built, and the harbour at Babylon being dug, Alexander sailed from Babylon down the Euphrates towards the river known as Pallacopas. This is eight hundred stades away from Babylon, and this Pallacopas is a canal from the Euphrates, not a river which rises from its own springs. For the Euphrates river flows from the Armenian hills, and in the winter season runs within its banks, its volume of water not being very great; but when spring begins, and especially during the summer solstice, it grows considerable and overflows its banks on to the Assyrian land. For it is then that the snows on the Armenian mountains melt and increase its volume considerably, and since the stream is high and swollen, it overflows into the surrounding country, unless it were diverted along the Pallacopas and so turned on to the marshes and the lakes, which begin with this canal and continue up to the territory nearest to Arabia, and thence running mostly over marshland finally pour out into the sea by many
4 πολλά τε καὶ ἀφανῆ στοματα ἐκδιδοῦσι. Τετηκυκλέας δὲ τῆς χιόνος ἀμφί Πλειάδων μάλιστα δύσιν ὀλίγος τε ὁ Ἐυφράτης ρέει καὶ οὐδὲν μείον τὸ πολὺ αὐτοῦ κατὰ τὸν Παλλακόπαν ἐκδιδοῖ εἰς τὰς λίμνες. Εἰ δὴ τις μὴ ἀποφράξει τὸν Παλλακόπαν ἀϋθις, ὡς κατὰ τὰς ὀχθας ἐκτραπὲν φέρεσθαι τὸ ὕδωρ κατὰ τὸν πόρον, ἐκένωσεν ἀν τὸν Ἐυφράτην ἐς αὐτὸν, ὡς μηδὲ ἐπάρδεσθαι ἀπ’ ἅμαρτου τὴν Ἀσσυρίαν γῆν. 'Αλλ’ ἀπεφράσσοντο γὰρ αἱ ἐς τὸν Παλλακόπαν τοῦ Ἐυφράτου ἔκβολαι πρὸς τοῦ σατράπου τῆς Βαβυλωνίας πολλῷ πόνῳ, καὶπερ οὐ χαλεπῶς ἀναστομούμεναι, ὅτι ἰλνωδὴς τῇ ταύτῃ γῆ καὶ πηλὸς ἡ πολλῇ αὐτῆς, οἷα δεχομένῳ τὸ ὕδωρ τοῦ ποταμοῦ μὴ εὐμαρῆ τῇ ἀποστροφῇ αὐτοῦ παρέχειν ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐς τρίτου μὴν Ἀσσυρίων ἄνδρες ὑπὲρ τοὺς μυρίους ἐν τῷ ὑδάτι τῷ πόνῳ ξυνείχοντο.

6 Ταῦτα ἀπαγγέλθεται ἐπήγαγεν 'Αλέξανδρον ὁφελησάς τι τῆν χώραν τῶν Ἀσσυρίων. “Ἐνθεν μὲν δὴ ἐς τὸν Παλλακόπαν ἐτρέπετο τοῦ Ἐυφράτου ὁ βοῦς, ταύτη δὲ ἐγὼ βεβαιῶς ἀποκλείσαι τὴν ἐκβολήν' προελθόντι δὲ ὅσον στάδιον τριάκοντα υπόπετρος ἡ γῆ ἐφαίνετο, οἷα διακοπέσσα, εἰ ἔνυκφης γένοιτο τῇ πάλαι διώρυχι τῇ κατὰ τὸν Παλλακόπαν, οὔτ᾿ ἀν διαχεῖσθαι παρέχειν τὸ ὕδωρ ὑπὸ στερρότητος τῆς γῆς, τῆς τε ἀποστροφῆς αὐτοῦ τῇ τεταγμένη ὥρᾳ μὴ χαλέπιος γίγνεσθαι. Τούτων ἔνεκα ἐπὶ τε τὸν Παλλακόπαν ἐπλευσε καὶ κατ᾿ αὐτὸν καταπλεῖς ἐς τὰς λίμνας ὡς ἐπὶ τὴν Ἀράβων γῆν. “Ἐνθα χώρον τινα ἐν καλῷ ἐδὼν πόλιν ἐξωκοδόμησε τε καὶ ἐτείχισε, καὶ ἐν ταύτῃ κατώκισε τῶν 278
obscure mouths. Then when the snow has melted about the setting of the Pleiads the Euphrates runs with diminished stream, and yet all the same lets its overflow run by means of the Pallacopas into the lakes. If, however, the bed of the Pallacopas was not in turn blocked, so that the stream headed off by the banks remains in its bed, it would have drained off the Euphrates into it, and then the Assyrian plain would never be watered from it. But the outlets of the Euphrates into the Pallacopas were blocked by the satrap of Babylon, with considerable labour, even though they can easily be opened, since the earth about there is muddy and the most part of it is soft clay such as lets through the river water and makes it none too easy to turn the river back. Yet even so for three months over ten thousand Assyrians were engaged on this task.

When this was reported to Alexander it incited him to try to assist the land of Assyria. So then at the point where the stream of Euphrates was turned into the Pallacopas, he determined to close the outlet securely; but when he had gone about thirty stades he found the earth appearing rather stony; suggesting that if it were quarried, and then united with the old canal along the Pallacopas, it would not permit the water to pass through because of the solidity of the soil, and yet its shutting off could easily be done at the right season. For these reasons he sailed to the Pallacopas and down, by it, to the lakes in the direction of Arabia. There he saw a good site and built a city there and fortified it, and settled there
Διάλεξην τινας των μισθοφόρων, όσοι τε έκόντες καὶ όσοι υπὸ γῆρως ἢ κατὰ πήρωσιν ἀπόλεμοι ἦσαν.

XXII. Αὐτὸς δὲ ὡς ἐξελέγξας δὴ τῶν Χαλδαίων τὴν μαντείαν, ὅτι οὐδὲν πεπονθὼς εἶχ̄ ἐν Βαβυλώνι ἄχαρι, καθάπερ ἐκεῖνοι ἐμαντεύσαντο, ἀλλ' ἔφθη γὰρ ἐλάσσας ἑξώ Βαβυλώνοι πρὶν τι παθεῖν, ἀνέπλει αὐθίς κατὰ τὰ ἔλθα θαρρῶν, ἐν ἀριστερᾷ ἔχον τὴν Βαβυλώνα. ἤνα δὴ καὶ ἐπλανήθη αὐτῷ μέρος τοῦ ναυτικοῦ κατὰ τὰ στενὰ ἀπορία ἤγεμόνος, πρὶν γε δὴ αὐτὸς πέμψαι τὸν ἡγησό-μενον ἐπανήγαγεν αὐτοὺς ἐς τὸν πόρον. Δόγος δὲ λέγεται τοιόσος. Τῶν βασιλέων τῶν Ἀσσυ-ρίων τοὺς τάφους ἐν ταῖς λίμναις τε εἶναι τῶν πολλῶν καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἔλεσι δεδομένους. Ὡς δὲ ἐπλεί 'Αλεξανδρός κατὰ τὰ ἔλα, κυβερνὰν γὰρ αὐτὸν λόγος τὴν τριήρη, πνεύματος μεγάλου ἐμπεσόντος αὐτῷ ἐς τὴν καυσίαν καὶ τὸ διάδημα αὐτῆς συνεχόμενον, τὴν μὲν δὴ ὅλα βαρυτέραν πεσεὶν ἐς τὸ ὕδωρ, τὸ διάδημα δὲ ἀπενεχθὲν πρὸς τῆς πυκνῆς σχετάθηκαν ἐν καλάμῳ τῶν καλα-μον δὲ τῶν ἐπιπεφυκότων εἶναι τάφῳ τινὶ τῶν πάλαι βασιλέων. Τούτῳ τε οὖν αὐτῷ πρὸ τῶν μελλόντων σημεῖαι καὶ ὅτι τῶν τις ναυτῶν ἐκπεφάσαν ὡς ἐπὶ τὸ διάδημα ἁφελῶν τοῦ καλαμοῦ αὐτὸ μετὰ χεῖρας μὲν οὐκ ἤνεγκεν, ὅτι νηχομένου ἀν αὐτοῦ ἐβρέχετο, περιθείς δὲ τῇ 4 κεφαλῆ τῇ αὐτοῦ οὐτω διήνεγκε. Καὶ οἱ μὲν πολλοὶ τῶν ἀναγραφάντων τὰ 'Αλεξάνδρου λέγουσιν ὅτι τάλαντον μὲν ἐδωρήσατο αὐτῷ 'Αλεξανδρὸς τῆς προθυμίας εἴνεκα, ἀποτεμεῖν δὲ ἐκέλευσε τὴν κεφαλήν, τῶν μάντεων ταύτη.
some of the Greek mercenaries, any who volunteered, and any who through age or wounds were unfit for service.

XXII. Then Alexander, as if he had proved false the Chaldaean soothsayers, since he had suffered nothing harmful in Babylon, as they had prophesied, but had marched out of Babylon again before anything had happened, sailed up the marsh lands boldly, with Babylon on his left hand; but here some of his flotilla lost its way in the narrows for want of a pilot, until Alexander himself sent them a pilot and brought them back into the stream. A tale is told as follows. Most of the tombs of the kings of Assyria are built in the lakes and in the marsh lands. And as Alexander was sailing along the marshes, for he—as is said—was steering the trireme, a strong breeze struck his sun-hat and the ribbon attached to it, and the hat being heavy fell into the stream, but the ribbon was carried off by the breeze and caught on a reed; the reed being one of them which grew near a tomb of the ancient kings. This itself seemed a presage of his destiny; one of the sailors, however, swam off to fetch the ribbon, and removing it from the reed could not carry it in his hands, since it would have become wet as he swam; but he bound it round his head and so brought it across. Most of the historians say that Alexander gave him a reward of a talent for his smartness, but bade them behead
Το περισσότερο την κεφαλήν ἦτο το διάδημα ἐφόρησε τὸ βασίλειον. Ἀριστόβουλος δὲ τάλαντον μὲν ὅτι ἐλαβεῖ λέγει αὐτῶν, ἀλλὰ πληγᾶς λαβεῖν τῆς περιβέσεως ἑνεκα τοῦ διαδήματος. Ἀριστόβουλος μὲν δὴ τῶν τινα Φοινίκων τῶν ναυτῶν λέγει ὅτι τὸ διάδημα τῷ Ἀλεξάνδρῳ ἐκόμισεν εἰσὶ δὲ οἶ Σέλευκον λέγουσι. Καὶ τούτου τῷ τε Ἀλεξάνδρῳ σημηναί τῆς τελευταίας καὶ τῷ Σέλευκῳ τῆς βασιλείας τῆς μεγάλην. Σέλευκος γὰρ κακῶστοι τῶν μετὰ Ἀλεξάνδρου διαδεξαμένων τῆς ἀρχῆς βασιλείας γενέσθαι τῆς τε γρώμης βασιλικώτατον καὶ πλείστης γῆς ἐπάρξει μετὰ γε αὐτῶν Ἀλεξάνδρου οὐ μοι δοκεῖ ἴναι ἐς ἀμφὶλογον.

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Επανελθὼν δὲ ἐς Βαβυλώνα καταλαμβάνει Πεινεστάν ἢκοντα ἐκ Περσῶν, ἀγοντα στρατιῶν Περσῶν ἐς δισμυρλοὺς ἦγε δὲ καὶ Κοσσάιων καὶ Ταπούρων οὐκ ὀλίγοις, ὅτι καὶ ταῦτα ἐθνό τῶν προσχώρων τῇ Περσίδι μαχιμότατα εἶναι ἐξηγγέλλετο. Ἡκε δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ Φιλόξενος στρατιῶν ἄγων ἀπὸ Καρίας καὶ Μένανδρος ἐκ Λυδίας ἄλλους καὶ Μενίδας τοὺς ἵππεας ἄγων τοὺς αὐτῷ ἑυνταχθέντας. Καὶ πρεσβεῖαι δὲ ἐν τούτῳ ἐκ τῆς Ἔλλαδος ἦκον, καὶ τούτων οἱ πρέσβεις αὐτοὶ τε ἐστεφανωμένοι Ἀλεξάνδρῳ προσῆλθον καὶ ἐστεφάνους αὐτῶν στεφάνους χρυσοῖς, ὡς θεωροῦν δὴθεν ἐς τιμῆν θεοῦ ἀφριγμένοι. Τῷ δὲ οὐ πόρρω ἄρα ἡ τελευτή ἦν.

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Ἐνθα δὴ τοὺς τε Πέρσας ἐπαινέσας τῆς προθυμίας, ὅτι πάντα Πεινεστὰ ἐπείδθοντο, καὶ αὐτῶν Πεινεστῶν τῆς ἐν κόσμῳ αὐτῶν ἐξηγησεως, κατέλεγεν αὐτοῖς ἐς τὰς Μακεδονικὰς τάξεις,
him, since the prophets so bade him not to leave alive that head which had worn the royal ribbon. Aristo-
bulus, however, states that he received the talent, but was flogged for fastening the ribbon about his head. Aristobulus also says that it was one of the Phoenician sailors who brought back to Alexander his ribbon; some say it was Seleucus: and that this portended the death of Alexander and his great em-
pire for Seleucus. For at any rate Seleucus was the greatest king of those who succeeded Alexander, and of the most royal mind, and ruled over the greatest extent of territory, next to Alexander; all this I regard as irrefragable.

XXIII. Alexander then returned to Babylon and found Peucetias with an army of twenty thousand Persians arrived from Persia; he had brought also a number of Cossaeans and Tapurians, because it was reported that these tribes were most warlike of the tribes bordering on Persia. There joined him also Philoxenus with an army from Caria and Menander from Lydia bringing others, and Menides with the forces of cavalry which had been serving under him. Embassies also in the meantime came from Greece, and their envoys, themselves crowned, came forward and crowned Alexander with golden crowns, as if they had come on a sacred embassy to honour some god. And yet he was not far from his end.

Then he commended the Persians for their enthu-
thusiasm, in that they had in all things obeyed Peucetias, and Peucetias himself too for his orderly
government of them; and he enrolled them into the
dekađárkhyn mên tîs dekádos ἤγείσθαι Μακεδόνα καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦτο διμοιρίσθην Μακεδόνα καὶ δεκαστάτηριν, οὕτως ὄνομαζόμενον ἀπὸ τῆς μισθοφορᾶς, ἤντινα μείονα μὲν τοῦ διμοιρίτου, πλείονα δὲ τῶν οὖν ἐν τιμῇ στρατευομένων

4 ἔφερεν ἐπὶ τούτοις δὲ δῶδεκα Πέρσας καὶ τελευταίον τῆς δεκάδος Μακεδόνα, δεκαστάτηριν καὶ τοῦτον ὡστε ἐν τῇ δεκάδι τέσσαρας μὲν εἶναι Μακεδόνας, τοὺς μὲν τρεῖς τῇ μισθοφορᾷ προῦχοντας, τὸν δὲ τῇ ἀρχῇ τῆς δεκάδος, δωδεκά δὲ Πέρσας, τοὺς μὲν Μακεδόνας τὴν πάτριον ὀπλισών ὀπλισμένους, τοὺς δὲ Πέρσας τοὺς μὲν τοξότας, τοὺς δὲ καὶ μεσάγκυλα ἔχοντας.

5 Ἐν τούτῳ δὲ πολλάκις μὲν τοῦ ναυτικοῦ ἀπεπειράτο, πολλαὶ δὲ ἐρίδες αὐτὸ τῶν τριηρῶν καὶ ὅσαι τετρήρεις κατὰ τὸν ποταμὸν ἑγύριντο, καὶ ἀγώνες τῶν τε ἑρεστῶν καὶ τῶν κυβερνητῶν καὶ στέφανοι τῶν νικῶντων.

6 Ἡκον δὲ καὶ παρὰ Ἀμμωνος οἱ θεοροὶ οὐστήνας ἐστάλκει ἐρησομένους ὡς θέμις αὐτῶν οὖν Ἦφαιστιώνα, οἱ δὲ ὡς ἦρωι ἐφήσαν ὅτι θύειν θέμις ο Ἀμμων λέγει. Ὡ δὲ ἔχαιρε τε τῇ μαντείᾳ καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦτο ὡς ἦρωα ἑγέρατο. Καὶ Κλεομένει, ἀνδρὶ κακῷ καὶ πολλὰ ἀδικήματα ἀδικήσαντι ἐν Ἀιγύπτῳ, ἐπιστέλλει ἐπιστολὴν καὶ ταύτην τῆς μὲν ἐς Ἦφαιστιώνα καὶ ἀποθανόντα φιλίας ἕνεκα καὶ μνήμης οὐ μέμφομαι

7 ἔγωγε άλλων δὲ πολλῶν ἕνεκα μέμφομαι. Ἐλεγε γὰρ ἐπιστολὴ κατασκευασθῆναι Ἦφαιστιων ἢρῶν ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ τῇ Ἀιγυπτίᾳ, ἐν τῇ πόλει αὐτῇ καὶ ἐν τῇ νήσῳ τῇ Φάρο, ὅπερος ἐστὶ ὁ ἐν τῇ νήσῳ, μεγέθει τε
Macedonian brigades; so that a Macedonian corporal of ten led each section of ten, and besides him a Macedonian on double pay and a "ten-stater" man, called so from the pay, which is less than the men on double pay, but more than the rank and file not belonging to the Distinguished Service Order. Then besides these were twelve Persians and last of the section a Macedonian, he also a "ten-stater" man. In the section, therefore, there were four Macedonians, three of these on extra pay, and the corporal in charge of the section, and twelve Persians; the Macedonians wearing their native equipment, and the Persians either archers or with javelins on leather thongs.

Meanwhile Alexander exercised the fleet constantly, and there were many rivalries between the triremes and such quadriremes as were on the river; and there were races between oarsmen and between helmsmen, and crowns for the victors.

There came also from Ammon the special envoys whom Alexander had sent to enquire how he ought to honour Hephaestion; they reported that Ammon said that it was lawful to sacrifice to him as to a hero. Alexander was pleased with this oracle, and from henceforward honoured Hephaestion as a hero. To Cleomenes, an evil man who had done many grievous wrongs in Egypt, he sent a letter; and with this letter, in regard to the affection shown for Hephaestion even in death and the recollection of him, I do not find any fault; but I do, for many other reasons. For the letter bade him build a hero's shrine for Hephaestion in Alexandreia of Egypt, both in the city itself and in the island Pharos, where is the lantern tower in the island; the shrine was to be in size
μέγιστον¹ καὶ πολυτελεία ἐκπρεπέστατον· καὶ ὅπως ἐπικρατήσῃ καλεῖσθαι ἀπὸ Ἦφαιστίωνος, καὶ τὸς συμβολαίος καθ’ ὅσα ὦ ἐμποροὶ ἀλλήλοις ἐμποδίσασθαι τὸ ὅνωμα Ἦφαιστίωνος. Ταῦτα μὲν οὐκ ἔχω μέμψασθαι, πλὴν γε δὴ ὦ τι οὐκ ἐπὶ μεγάλοις μεγάλως διεσπουδάζετο· ἐκεῖνα δὲ καὶ πάνιν μέμφομαι. Ἡν γὰρ καταλάβω ἑγώ, ἔλεγε τὰ γράμματα, τὰ ἱερὰ τὰ ἐν Ἀἰγύπτῳ καλῶς κατεσκευασμένα καὶ τὰ ἡρῴα τὰ Ἦφαιστίωνος, εἴ τε τι πρότερον ἡμάρτηκας, ἀφήσω σε τούτων, καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν, ὅπηλίκον ἰδίῳ ἀμάρτης, οὐδὲν πείσῃ ἐξ ἐμοῦ ἄχαρι. Τούτῳ ἄνδρι ἀρχοντες πολλῆς μὲν χώρας, πολλῶν δὲ ἀνθρώπων ἐκ βασιλείως μεγάλου ἐπεσταλμένον, ἀλλος τε καὶ κακῷ ἄνδρι, οὐκ ἔχω ἐπαινέσαι.

XXIV. Ἀλλὰ γὰρ αὐτῷ ἤδη Ἀλεξάνδρῳ ἐγγὺς ἦν τὸ τέλος. Καὶ τι καὶ τοιόνδε πρὸ τῶν μελλόντων σημεῖαι λέγει Ἀριστόβουλος· καταλογίζειν μὲν αὐτὸν τὴν στρατιὰν τὴν ἐν Πενκέστα τε ἐκ Περσῶν καὶ ἀπὸ θαλάσσης ἐν Φιλοζέω ν καὶ Μενάνδρῳ ἴκουσαν ἐς τὰς Μακεδονικὰς τάξεις· διεψάνατα δὲ ἀποχωρήσαι ἐκ τῆς ἔδρας καταλιπόντα ἔρημον τῶν βρόνων τῶν βασιλείων.

2 Ἐπειτί δὲ κλίνας ἐκατέρωθεν τοῦ βρόνου ἄργυροποδας, ἐφ’ ὦν οἱ ἄμφ’ αὐτὸν ἐταῖροι ἐκάθηντο. Τῶν τινα οὖν ἠμελημένων ἄνθρώπων, οἱ δὲ καὶ τῶν ἐν φυλακῇ ἀδέσμῳ ἄντα λέγουσιν, ἔρημον ἴδοντα τῶν βρόνων καὶ τὰς κλίνας, περὶ τῶν βρόνων δὲ ἐστηκότας τοὺς εὐνοῦχους, καὶ γὰρ καὶ οἱ ἐταῖροι ξυνανέστησαν τῷ βασιλείῳ ἀποχωροῦντι,

¹ So B. A has μέγιστος and ἐκπρεπέστατος, clearly in error.

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exceedingly large, and remarkable for its costliness; and that he was to take care that the island be called by the name of Hephaestion, and the name "Hephaestion" was to be inscribed on all tokens which merchants exchanged one with another. This I cannot blame; except that Alexander showed great enthusiasm in no great matter. But I do blame this; the letter ran: "If I find these temples set in good order in Egypt, and these shrines of Hephaestion, whatever wrong you have hitherto done, I pardon it; and for the future, however great wrong you may do, you shall receive no harm at my hands." This command of a great king to a man who was set to rule a great country and a large population, and an evil man, too, I am very far from approving.

XXIV. But Alexander's own end was drawing near. Aristobulus says that something else threw a shadow before of the events to come. He was distributing the army which came with Peucetias from Persia and from the ocean with Philoxenus and Menander, into the Macedonian ranks; and feeling thirsty he went away from the tribunal, leaving the royal throne untenanted. On either side of the throne were couches with silver feet, on which the Companions in attendance on him used to sit. Some quite obscure person—some say a prisoner, but under open arrest—saw the throne vacant and the couches, and the chamberlains standing round about the throne—for the Companions had retired when the
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dielhónta diá tôn énuoúxov anabéthnai te épi tôn 3 thronov kai kathézethai. Toús dé ouk anasthísa
mén autón ék tou thronou katá òtì twn nómov
Persikón, periprēxaménous dé túptesei tía te
stíthi kai tía próswpa òs épi megálh kakh.
Táutà ós éxhëgélh Ælexándrōf, keléusai
streflathnai tôn kathísananta, múptote ëx
boulhës ouvettagnénon touto édrase gnwónai
èbelontai. Tón dé oudén ìallo ëxeiupéîn òti mú
ëpi noú oí élthein ouwò práxai òh òh kai múllon
ëp oudén ì agathë xuméthnai autñ oí mánthois
ëxhòuñtai.

4 'Hmérai te ou polllai épi touw ëgëvontai kai
tetukwos toû theòs tás te nomizoménav thúsias
ëpi xýmforaîs agathais kai twnas kai ék manteias
euwkeítou áma toûs fílois kai èpíne pôrrw tón
vuktwv. Dòunai dé légetai kai tì stratiô iereía
ekai ouwv katá lòchous kai ekatostúas. 'Apò dé
tou pôtou autñ mén ãpalłattesei ëðéleiw ëpi
koutwv eisín oí ánëgrafan. Mhíignon dé autñ
ëvtnhxonta, tòn étairwn èn tò tòte tòv tìvanò-
tatón, deëthnai koumásoi parà oì
genvésaia yar
àn ëdhv tòv kómou.

XXV. Kai ai basíleioi èphmerídes ðde
èxounoì pínein para Mhíignon autñ koumásoanta
ëpeita ëxanastáta kai louvsámevnon kathédein
té kai ãuthis déiunwv para Mhíignon kai ãuthis
pínein pôrrw tòv nuktwv èpallachénta dé tòv
pòtou louvsáthei kai louvsámevnon èlgyon tì
ëmfagwv kai kathédein autñ, òti ëdh èpúressev.

2 'Ekkoimésthenta dé èpí klíhnis prós tà ierà òúsai
òs nómos ëf' èkásth ëméra, kai tà ierà èpithénta
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King did—passed through the rank of chamberlains, ascended and sat upon the throne. They did not indeed—owing to some Persian custom—drag him off the throne, but rending their garments began to beat themselves on their breasts and faces as if some terrible disaster had happened. When Alexander learnt this, he ordered the man who had sat on the throne to be tortured, desiring to know if perchance he had done this by some set arrangement, of the nature of some plot. He would only say that the idea had come to him to do so; and for this the seers all the more prophesied that what had happened meant some great harm.

Not many days afterwards, Alexander had offered to the customary gods sacrifices in thanks for good fortune, as well as some in consequence of the seers' advice, and was feasting with his friends and drinking late into the night. It is said that he also gave victims to sacrifice to the army, and wine, by their sections and centuries. Some have recorded that he desired to leave the carouse and retire to his bedroom; but that Medius, one of his most trusted Companions at that time, met him and asked him to come and take wine with himself; for it would be a merry party.

XXV. And indeed the royal diaries have it this way, that he drank and made merry with Medius; and then having arisen and bathed, went to sleep, and afterwards dined with Medius, and again drank till late in the night; and then breaking off from the carouse bathed; and after bathing ate a little and slept just where he was, the fever being already upon him. However, he was carried forth on a litter each day to his religious duties and sacrificed after his usual custom; after performing these sacrifices he
κατακείσθαι ἐν τῷ ἀνδρῶν ἔστε ἐπὶ κνέφας. Ἐν τούτῳ δὲ τοῖς ἡγεμόσι παραγγέλλειν ὑπὲρ τῆς πορείας καὶ τοῦ πλοῦ, τοὺς μὲν ὃς πεζῇ ἱόντας παρασκευάζονται ἐς τετάρτην ἡμέραν, τοὺς δὲ ἀμα οἱ πλέοντας ὡς εἰς πέμπτην πλευ-σομένους. Ἐκείθεν δὲ κατακομμισθήναι ἐπὶ τῆς κλίνης ὡς ἐπὶ τὸν ποταμόν, καὶ πλοῖον ἐπιβάντα διαπλέσαι πέραν τοῦ ποταμοῦ ἐς τὸν παρά-δεισον, κἀκεῖ αὐθίς λουσάμενον ἀναπαύεσθαι. Ἐς δὲ τὴν υστεραίαν λούσασθαι τε αὐθίς καὶ θύσαι τὰ νομιζόμενα· καὶ εἰς τὴν καμάραν εἰσελθόντα κατακείσθαι διαμυθολογοῦντα πρὸς Μῆδιον· παραγγείλαι δὲ καὶ τοῖς ἡγεμόσιν ἀπαντῆσαι ἐσθε. Ταύτα πράξαντα δειπνῆσαι ὁλίγον· κομμισθέντα δὲ αὐθίς ἐς τὴν καμάραν πυρέσσειν ἢδη ξυνεχῶς τὴν νύκτα ὅλην· τῇ δὲ υστεραία λούσασθαι καὶ λουσάμενον θύσαι. Νεάρχῳ δὲ καὶ τοῖς ἀλλοις ἡγεμόσι παραγγείλαι τὰ ἀμφὶ τὸν πλοῦν ὅπως ἐσται ἐς τρίτην ἡμέραν. Τῇ δὲ υστεραία λούσασθαι αὐθίς καὶ θύσαι τὰ τεταγμένα, καὶ τὰ ἱερὰ ἐπιθέντα οὐκέτι ἐλινυέν πυρέσσοντα. Ἀλλὰ καὶ ὃς τοὺς ἡγεμόνας εἰσ-καλέσαντα παραγγέλλειν τὰ πρὸς τὸν ἔκπλουν ὅπως αὐτῷ ἐσται ἐτοιμὰ λούσασθαι τε ἐπὶ τῇ ἑσπέρα, καὶ λουσάμενον ἔχειν ἢδη κακῶς. Τῇ δὲ υστεραίᾳ μετακομισθήναι ἐς τὴν οἰκίαν τὴν πρὸς τῇ κολυμβήθρα καὶ θύσαι μὲν τὰ τεταγμένα, ἔχοντα δὲ πονήρως ὃμως ἐσκαλέσαι τῶν ἡγεμόνων τοὺς ἐπικαιροτάτους καὶ ὑπὲρ τοῦ πλοῦ αὐθίς παραγγέλλειν. Τῇ δὲ ἐπιούσῃ μόνιμοι ἐκκομισθήναι πρὸς τὰ ἱερὰ καὶ θύσαι, καὶ μηδὲν μείων ἐτὶ παραγγέλλειν ὑπὲρ τοῦ πλοῦ τοῖς 290
lay down in the men's apartments till dark. Meanwhile he instructed the officers as to the march and the voyage, the one to prepare to march three days later, and the others, who would sail with him, to sail on the fourth day from then. And thence he was carried on his mattress to the river, and embarking on a boat sailed across the river to the garden, and there again bathed and rested. Next day again he bathed and offered the usual sacrifices; then entering his room lay down, talking to Medius; and bade his officers meet him next morning early. Then he dined lightly; and being carried again to his room remained in high fever the whole night; next day he bathed, and after bathing, sacrificed. Then he explained to Nearchus and the other officers all about the voyage, and how it was to be conducted, three days thence. Next day he bathed again, and sacrificed the appointed sacrifices, and after sacrificing continued in constant fever. Yet even so he summoned the officers and bade them see that all was ready for the voyage; he bathed in the evening, and after bathing was now very ill. But next day he was carried again to the house near the bathing place, and sacrificed the appointed sacrifices, and ill though he was, yet summoned the chief of his officers and again instructed them about the voyage. Next day he just contrived to be carried out to the sacrifices, and offered them, and yet still continued instructing
6 ήγεμόσιν. 'Ες δὲ τὴν ύστεραίαν κακῶς ἦδη ἔχοντα δώσω θύσαι τὰ τεταγμένα. Παραγγείλα 
δὲ τούς μὲν στρατηγοὺς διατρίβειν κατὰ τὴν 
ἀυλὴν, χιλιάρχας δὲ καὶ πεντακοσιάρχας πρὸ 
τῶν θυρῶν. Ἡδὴ δὲ παντάπασι πονήρως ἔχοντα 
διακομισθῆναι ἐκ τοῦ παραδείσου ἐς τὰ βασιλεία. 
Εἰσελθόντων δὲ τῶν ἡγεμόνων γνώναι μὲν αὐτοῖς, 
φωνῆσαι δὲ μηδὲν ἔτι, ἀλλ' εἶναι ἀναυδοὺ καὶ 
τὴν νῦκτα πυρέσσειν κακῶς καὶ τὴν ἡμέραν, καὶ 
τὴν ἄλλην νῦκτα καὶ τὴν ἡμέραν.

XXVI. Οὕτως ἐν ταῖς ἐφημερίσι ταῖς βασιλείοις ἀναγέγραπται, καὶ ἐπὶ τούτως ὅτι οἱ 
στρατιώται ἐπόθησαν ἰδεῖν αὐτὸν, οἱ μὲν, ὡς 
ξόντα ἐτὶ ἱδοεῖν οἱ δὲ, ὅτι τεθνηκέναι ἦδὴ 
ἐξηγγέλλετο, ἐπικρύπτεσθαι δὲ αὐτοῦ ἐτόπαξον 
πρὸς τῶν σωματοφυλάκων τὸν θάνατον, ὡς ἐγογε 
δοκῶ· τοὺς πολλοὺς δὲ ὑπὸ πένθους καὶ πόθου 
τοῦ βασιλέως βιάσασθαι ἰδεῖν Ἀλέξανδρον. Τὸν 
δὲ ἄφωνον μὲν εἶναι λέγοντι παραπορευομένης 
τῆς στρατιᾶς· δεξιοῦσθαι δὲ καὶ ὡς ἐκάστους τὴν 
τε κεφαλὴν ἐπαίροντα μόνης καὶ τοῖν ὀφθαλμοῖν

2 ἐπισημαίνοντα. Λέγοντι δὲ αἱ ἐφημερίδες αἱ 
βασιλείοι ἐν τοῖς Σαράπιδος τῷ ἱερῷ Πειθωνά 
τε ἐγκοιμηθέντα καὶ Ἀτταλὸν καὶ Δημοφώντα 
καὶ Πευκέσταν, πρὸς δὲ Κλεομένην τε καὶ 
Μενίδαν καὶ Σέλευκον, ἐπερωτάτων τὸν θεὸν 
eἰ λόγον καὶ ἀμείνον Ἀλέξανδρο eἰς τὸ ἱερὸν τοῦ 
θεοῦ κομισθέντα καὶ ἰκετεύσατα θεραπεύσεσθαι 
πρὸς τοῦ θεοῦ· καὶ γενέσθαι φήμην τινὰ ἐκ τοῦ 
θεοῦ μὴ κομίζεσθαι εἰς τὸ ἱερὸν, ἀλλ' αὐτοῦ

3 μένοντι ἐστεθαὶ ἀμείνον. Ταῦτα τε ἀπαγγείλα 
τοὺς ἑταίρους καὶ Ἀλέξανδρον οὐ πολὺ ὑστερον

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his officers about the voyage. Next day also, being now quite ill, he yet offered the usual sacrifices. He ordered, however, the generals to wait in the court, and the commanders of thousands and half thousands to wait before the doors, and now being altogether ill he was carried from the garden to the palace. When the officers came in he knew them, but no longer spoke, but remained speechless. All the night he was in high fever, and all day, and the next night and day also.

XXVI. All this is written in the royal diaries; and then that his soldiers longed to see him, some, that they might see him still alive, and others since it was announced that he was already dead, but they suspected that his death was being concealed by the bodyguards—at least so I think; and many from grief and longing for their King pressed in to see Alexander. They say that he was already speechless as the army filed past; yet he greeted one and all, raising his head, though with difficulty, and signing to them with his eyes. And the royal diaries say that in the temple of Serapis an all-night vigil was kept by Peithon, Attalus, Demophon and Peucestas, with Cleomenes, Menidas, and Seleucus, enquiring of the god whether it would be better for Alexander to be brought into the temple of the god and after prayer to be healed by the god; but that an oracle was given from the god that he should not be brought into the temple, but that it would be better for him if he abode where he was. This the Companions announced; and Alexander shortly afterwards breathed his last;
Ἀποθανεῖν, ὡς τούτο ἄρα ἦδη ὅν τὸ ἀμείνον. Οὐ πόρρω δὲ τούτων οὔτε Ἀριστοβούλῳ οὔτε Πτολεμαῖῳ ἀναγέγραπται. Οἱ δὲ καὶ τάδε ἀνέγραψαν, ἔρεσθαι μὲν τοὺς ἐταίρους αὐτῶν ὅτι τὴν βασιλείαν ἀπολείπει, τὸν δὲ ἀποκρίνασθαι ὅτι τῷ κρατίστῳ οἱ δὲ, προσθείναι πρὸς τούτῳ τῷ λόγῳ ὅτι μέγαν ἐπιτάφιον ἀγώνα ὁρᾶ ἐφ' αὐτῷ ἐσόμενον.

XXVII. Πολλὰ δὲ καὶ ἄλλα οἶδα ἀναγεγραμμένα ὑπὲρ τῆς Ἀλεξάνδρου τελευτήσης, καὶ φάρμακον ὅτι ἐπέμψα τὰ παρὰ Ἀντιπάτρου Ἀλεξάνδρῳ καὶ ἐκ τοῦ φάρμακον ὅτι ἀπέθανεν καὶ τὸ φάρμακον ὅτι Ἀριστοτέλης μὲν Ἀντιπάτρῳ ἐξεύρε, δεδοικὸς ἦδη Ἀλεξάνδρου Καλλισθέους ένεκα, Κάσανδρος δὲ ὁ Ἀντιπάτρου ἐκόμισεν· οἱ δὲ καὶ ὅτι ἐν ἡμῖν ὅτι ἐκόμισε καὶ τούτο ἀνέγραψαν.

2 Δοῦναι δὲ αὐτῷ Ἰόλλαν τὸν ἀδελφὸν τοῦ Κασάνδρου τὸν νεώτερον· εἶναι γὰρ οἶνοχὸν βασιλικὸν τὸν Ἰόλλαν καὶ τὶ καὶ λευτησθῆσαι πρὸς Ἀλεξάνδρου ὁλίγῳ πρόσθεν τῆς τελευτῆς· οἱ δὲ καὶ Μήδιον μετασχεῖν τοῦ ἔργου, ἐφαστὴν οὕτα τοῦ Ἰόλλαν καὶ αὐτῶν γὰρ εἶναι τὸν εἰσηγητὴν γενόμενον Ἀλεξάνδρῳ τοῦ κόμου· ὁδύνην τε αὐτῷ ἐπὶ τῇ κύλικι γενέσθαι οξεῖαν, καὶ ἐπὶ τῇ ὁδύνη

3 ἀπαλλαγῆναι ἐκ τοῦ πότου. "Ἠδὴ δὲ τῆς ήσχύνην ἀναγράψαι ὅτι αἰσθόμενος οὐ βιώσιμον ὅντα αὐτῶν Ἀλεξανδρὸς ἐς τὸν Εὐφράτην ποταμὸν ἤρε ἐμβαλὼν, ὅσ τὰς ἀφανὴς ἐς ἀνθρώπων γενόμενοι πιστοτέραν τὴν δόξαν παρὰ τοῖς ἐπείτα ἐγκαταλείποι ὅτι ἐκ θεοῦ τε αὐτῶ ἡ γένεσις ξυνεβῆ καὶ παρὰ θεοῦ ἡ ἀποχώρησις. Ἡρώδης δὲ τὴν γυναῖκα οὐ λαθεῖν εξιόντα, ἀλλὰ εἰργόμενον γὰρ
this, after all, being the "better" thing. Beyond this neither Ptolemaeus nor Aristobulus have recorded. Some, however, recorded that his Companions asked him to whom he left his kingdom; and he replied, "to the best"; others relate that he added to this, that he saw that there would be a great funeral contest on his death.

XXVII. I am aware, of course, that there have been many other details recorded of Alexander's death; for instance, that Antipater sent him a drug, and that he died of this drug; and that Aristotle made up this drug for Antipater, already fearing Alexander on account of Callisthenes' death; and that Casander, Antipater's son, brought it. Others have even said that it was conveyed in a mule's hoof, and that Iollas, Casander's younger brother, gave it to Alexander; for that Iollas was the royal cup-bearer, and had some grievance against Alexander not long before his death; others again that Medius had some hand in the business, from an infatuation for Iollas; for it was Medius who suggested to Alexander the drinking-bout; and that Alexander had a sharp feeling of pain after quaffing the cup; and on feeling this he retired from the carouse. One writer has not even shrunk from the statement that Alexander, perceiving that he could not survive, went to throw himself into the Euphrates, so that he might disappear from the world and leave behind the tradition more credible to posterity that his birth was of the gods and that to the gods he passed; but Roxane his wife saw that he was going out, and when
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πρὸς αὐτὴς ἐποιμόξαντα εἰπεῖν ὅτι ἐφθόνησεν ἀρα ἀυτῷ δόξης τῆς ἐς ἄπαν, ὡς θεῷ δὴ γεγενημένῳ. Καὶ ταύτα ἐμοὶ ὡς μὴ ἀγνοεῖν δόξαιμι μᾶλλον ὅτι λεγόμενα ἔστιν ἡ ὡς πιστὰ ἐς ἀφήγησιν ἀναγεγράφθω.

XXVIII. Ἡστελεύτα μὲν δὴ Ἀλέξανδρος τῇ τετάρτῃ καὶ δεκάτῃ καὶ ἐκατοστῇ Ὀλυμπιάδι ἐπὶ Ἡγεσίου ἀρχοντος Ἀθήνης ἐβίω δὲ δύο καὶ τριάκοντα ἐτή καὶ τοῦ τρίτου μῆνας ἐπέλαβεν ὅκτω, ὡς λέγει Ἀριστοβουλος· ἐβασίλευσε δὲ δώδεκα ἐτῇ καὶ τοὺς ὀκτὼ τούτους μῆνας, τὸ τε σῶμα κάλλιστος καὶ φιλοπονώτατος καὶ οξύτατος τὴν γυνώμην γενόμενος καὶ ἀνδρεύτατος καὶ φιλοτιμώτατος καὶ φιλοκινδυνώτατος καὶ τοῦ 

2 θείου ἐπιμελέστατος· ἠδονῶν δὲ τῶν μὲν τοῦ σώματος ὑγικρατέστατος, τῶν δὲ τῆς γυνώμης ἐπαίνου μόνου ἀπληστότατος· ξυνιδεῖν δὲ τὸ δέον ἔτι ἐν τῷ ἀφανεί ὑν δεινότατος, καὶ εκ τῶν φαινομένων τὸ εἰκὸς ἕμμβαλειν ἐπιτυχέστατος, καὶ τάξαι στρατιάν καὶ ὑπῆρξαι τε καὶ κοσμῆσαι δαμημονέστατος· καὶ τῶν θυμῶν τοῖς στρατιώταις ἑπάραι καὶ ἐλπίδων ἁγαθῶν ἐμπλησαι καὶ τὸ δεῖμα ἐν τοῖς κινδύνοις τῷ ἀδειάτῳ ἀφανίσαι, ξύμ-

3 παντα ταύτα γενναίοτατος. Καὶ οὐν καὶ ὅσα ἐν τῷ ἀφανεί πραξαί, ξύν μεγάστω θάρσει ἐπραξεύν· ὅσα τε φθάσασι ύφαρτάσαι τῶν πολεμίων, πρὸν καὶ δεῖσαι τινα αὐτὰ ὡς ἐσόμενα, προλαβεῖν δεινότατος· καὶ τὰ μὲν ξυνιθέντα ἡ ὁμολογηθέντα φυλάξαι βεβαιότατος, πρὸς δὲ τῶν ἔξαπατῶντων μὴ ἀλώναι αὐσφαλέστατος· χρημάτων δὲ ἐς μὲν ἠδονῆς τὰς αὐτοῦ φειδωλότατος, ἐς δὲ εὐποιῶν τῶν πέλας ἀφθονώτατος.
she prevented him he cried aloud that she then
grudged him everlasting fame as having been truly
born a god. This must suffice of stories; rather that
I may show that I know of them than because they
are narratives worthy of belief.

XXVIII. Alexander died in the hundred and four-
teenth Olympiad, in the archonship at Athens of
Hegesias. He lived thirty-two years and eight
months, as Aristobulus says; he reigned twelve years
and the aforesaid eight months. In body he was
very handsome, a great lover of hardships; of much
shrewdness, most courageous, most zealous for honour
and danger, and most careful of religion; most tem-
perate in bodily pleasure, but as for pleasures of the
mind, insatiable of glory alone; most brilliant to seize
on the right course of action, even where all was
obscure; and where all was clear, most happy in his
conjectures of likelihood; most masterly in marshal-
ling an army, arming and equipping it; and in uplifting
his soldiers' spirits and filling them with good hopes,
and brushing away anything fearful in dangers by
his own want of fear—in all this most noble. And
all that had to be done in uncertainty he did with
the utmost daring; he was most skilled in swift
anticipation and gripping of his enemy before any-
one had time to fear the event; he was most reliable
in keeping promises or agreement; most guarded in
not being trapped by the fraudulent; very sparing
of money for his own pleasure, but most generous in
benefits of others.
XXIX. Εἰ δὲ τι ἐπλημμελήθη Ἀλεξάνδρῳ δι’ ὀξύτητα ἢ ὑπ’ ὀργῆς, ἢ εἰ τι ἐς τὸ ὑπερογκότερον προῆχθη βαρβαρίσαι, οὐ μεγάλα τίθεμαι ἐγώ, εἰ τὴν νεότητά τε τῆς τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρου μὴ ἀνεπιεικῶς ἐνθυμηθεῖν καὶ τὸ διηνεκὲς τῆς εὐτυχίας, καὶ τοὺς πρὸς ἡδονὴν οὐκ ἐπὶ τῷ βελτίστῳ τοῖς βασιλεύσι ξυνόντας τε καὶ ἐπὶ κακῷ ξυνεσομένους· ἀλλὰ μεταγινώσκω αὖ τοῖς ἐπλημμέλησε μὸνοι οἶδα τὸν πάλαι βασιλέων Ἀλεξάνδρῳ ὑπάρξαι ὑπὸ γενναίοτητος. Οἱ δὲ πολλοὶ, εἰ καὶ τι ἐγνώσαν πλημμελήσαντες, οἱ δὲ τῷ προηγορεῖν αὐτοῦ, ὡς καλῶς δὴ πραχθέντος, ἐπικρὺειν οὐνται τὴν ἀμαρτίαν, κακῶς γυγνώσκοντες. Μόνη γὰρ ἔμοι γενέμενη δοκεῖ ἵσισ ἀμαρτίας ὁμολογεῖν τῇ ἀμαρτώντα καὶ δῆλον εἶναι ἐπ’ αὐτῷ μεταγινώσκοντα, ὡς τοῖς παθοῦσι τῷ ἁγαρί οὐ πάντη χαλεπὰ τὰ παθήματα φαινόμενα, εἰ ὁ δράσας αὐτὰ ἀρχηγοὶ ὁτι οὐ καλὰ ἐδρασεν, αὐτῶ τέ τινι εἰ τὸ μέλλον ταῦτην ἐλπίδα ἀγαθὴν ὑπολειπομένην, μὴ ποτὲ ἄν παραπληθοῖν τὰ ἀμαρτεῖν, εἰ τοῖς πρόσθεν πλημμεληθεῖσιν ἀχθό-μενοις φαίνοιτο. "Ὅτι δὲ ἐς θεὸν τὴν γένεσιν τὴν αὐτοῦ ἄνεφερεν, οὐδὲ τοῦτο ἐμὸι δοκεῖ μέγα εἶναι αὐτῷ τὸ πλημμέλημα, εἰ μὴ καὶ σόφισμα ἢ τυχὸν ἢ τοὺς ὑπηκόοις τοῦ σεμνοῦ ἐνεκα. Οὐκοῦν δοκεῖ ἔμωγε Μίνως γενεσθαι βασιλεὺς ἀφανέστερος ἢ Αἰακὸν ἢ 'Ραδαμάνθυνος· οἶς δὴ ἐς Δία ἀνενεχθεῖσα δὲ γένεσις πρὸς τῶν πάλαι ἀνθρώπων οὐδεμιὰ αὐτῶν ὑβρεῖ προστίθεται· οὐδὲ Θησέως τοῦ 'Ποσείδώνος οὐδὲ Ἰωνοῦ τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος· ὃς ἔμοι καὶ ἢ Περσικὴ σκευὴ σοφίσμα δοκεῖ εἶναι πρὸς τοὺς βαρβάρους,
XXIX. If, however, Alexander committed any error through haste or in anger, or if he went some distance in the direction of Eastern arrogance, this I do not regard as important; if readers will consider in a spirit of charity Alexander's youth, his unbroken success, and those courtiers who associate with kings to flatter but not to improve them, and who always will so associate with kings to their harm. But I do know that to Alexander alone of the kings of old did repentance for his faults come, by reason of his noble nature; while most people, if they have admitted any error, by defending their misdeed, as if it were a good deed, think that they will conceal their error; and this is a great mistake. For I at least feel that the only cure for sin is a confession of sin and evidence of repentance, since the offended party will not feel the offences so grievous if the offender agrees that he did not well; and for the man himself this good hope is left behind for the future, that he will not so offend again if he appear grieved at the errors of the past. But that he referred his birth to a god, even this I do not altogether think to be a grave fault, unless perhaps it was a mere device to impress his subjects, and to appear more dignified. In point of fact I hold him no less famous a king than Minos, Aeacus, or R腺manthus; they traced their origin back to Zeus, and yet this was not associated by men of old with any arrogance; nor yet Theseus' descent from Poseidon, nor Ion's from Apollo. Moreover, I feel that the adoption of Persian equipage was a device, both
ARRIAN

ἀς μὴ πάντη ἀλλότριον αὐτῶν φαίνεσθαι τὸν βασιλέα, καὶ πρὸς τοὺς Μακεδόνας, ὡς ἀποστροφήν τινα εἶναι αὐτῷ ἀπὸ τῆς ὁξύτητος τε καὶ ὑβρεως τῆς Μακεδονικῆς ἕφ’ ὅτω δὴ καὶ ἐγκαταμίζαι μοι δοκεῖ ταῖς τάξισιν αὐτῶν τοὺς Πέρσας τοὺς μηλοφόρους καὶ τοῖς ἀγήμασι τοὺς ὁμοτίμους. Καὶ οἱ πότοι δὲ, ὡς λέγει Ἀριστόβουλος, οὐ τοῦ οὐνοῦ ἑνεκα μακρὸν αὐτῷ ἐγίγνοντο, οὐ γὰρ πίνειν πολὺν οἶνον Ἀλέξανδρον, ἀλλὰ φιλοφροσύνης τῆς ἐσ τοὺς ἑταῖρους.

XXX. Ὅστις δὲ κακίζει Ἀλέξανδρον, μὴ μόνον ὁσα ἀξιά κακίζεσθαι ἐστι προσφερόμενος κακίζετω, ἀλλὰ ξύμπαντα Ἀλέξανδρον εἰς ἐν χωρίον ἐξυπαγαγῶν, οὕτω δὴ ἐκλογιζέσθω, ὡστε τε ὁν αὐτός καὶ ὁποία τύχη κεχρημένος ὀντίνα γενόμενον ἐκεῖνον καὶ ἐς ὅσον εὐτυχίας τῆς ἀνθρωπίνης ἑλθόντα, βασιλέα τε ἁμφοῖν ταῖν ἰπτείρου ἀναμφιλογώτατα γενόμενον καὶ ἐπὶ πάν ἐξικόμενον τῷ αὐτοῦ ὀνόματι, κακίζει σμικρότερος γε ὅν αὐτός καὶ ἐπὶ σμικρῶς πονοῦμενος 2 καὶ οὐδὲ ταῦτα ἐν κόσμῳ τιθέμενοι. Ὅς ἔγνωκε δοκῶ ὅτι οὐκ ἔσται τὸ ἔθνος ἀνθρώπων οὕτε τις πόλις ἐν τῷ τότε ἢν οὐκ τὶς εἰς ἀνθρώπος, εἰς δὲν οὐ πεφυτῆκε τῷ Ἀλέξανδρῳ ὁνόμα. Οὐκοῦν οὐδ’ ἔμοι ἔξω τοῦ θείου φύναι ἄν δοκεῖ ἀνὴρ οὐδεὶ ἄλλος ἀνθρώπων ἐοικῶς. Καὶ ταῦτα χρησμοί τε ἐπισημήναι ἐπὶ τῇ τελευτῇ τοῦ Ἀλέξανδρου λέγονται καὶ φάσματα ἄλλα ἄλλους γενόμενα καὶ ἐνυπνία φανέντα ἄλλα ἄλλως, καὶ ἦ ἐστό τοῦτο ἐξ ἀνθρώπων τιμῇ τε αὐτοῦ καὶ μνήμη οὐκ ἀνθρωπίνη οὔσα, καὶ νῦν δὲ διὰ τοσοῦτον
towards the Persians, so that their King might not appear wholly removed from them, and towards the Macedonians, to mark some reversion from Macedonian abruptness and arrogance; for the same reason, I suspect, he drafted into their ranks the Persian troops who carried the “golden apples,” and the Persian nobles into their cavalry squadrons. And his carousings, as Aristobulus says, were prolonged not for the wine, for Alexander was no wine-bibber, but from a spirit of comradeship.

XXX. Whosoever speaks evil of Alexander, let him speak such evil, not merely by producing what deserves evil-speaking, but gathering all that Alexander did into a single whole; let such a one consider first himself, his own personality, his own fortunes, and then on the other hand Alexander, what he became, and the height of human prosperity which he reached, having made himself king, beyond all contradiction, of both continents, and having spread his fame over the widest possible span; let such a one, I say, consider of whom he speaks evil; himself being more puny, and busied about puny things, and not even bringing these to success. For I myself believe that there was at that time no race of mankind, no city, no single individual, whither the name of Alexander had not reached. And so not even I can suppose that a man quite beyond all other men was born without some divine influence. Moreover, oracles are said to have prophesied Alexander’s death, and visions coming to different persons, and dreams, dreamed by different persons; there was also the general regard of mankind leading to this same conclusion, and the memory of one more than human; and even now there are other oracles, after
ΑΛΛΟΙ ΧΡΗΣΜΟΙ ἘΠΙ ΤΗ ΤΙΜΗ ΑΥΤΟΥ ΤΟΥ ἘΘΝΕΙ ΤΩΝ ΜΑΚΕΔΟΝΩΝ ΧΡΗΣΘΕΝΤΕΣ. ὙΕΠΕΙ ΚΑῚ ΑΥΤΟΣ ἘΜΕΜΨΑΜΗΝ ἘΣΤΙΝ ἘΝ ΤΗ ΞΥΝΓΥΡΑΦΗ ΤΩΝ 'ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ ΕΡΓΩΝ, ἈΛΛ’ ΑΥΤΟΝ ΚΕ 'ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΝ ΟὐΚ ΑΙΣΧΥΝΟΜΑΙ ΘΑΥΜΑΖΩΝ. ΤΑ ΔΕ ΕΡΓΑ ΕΚΕΙΝΑ ΕΚΑΚΙΣΑ ἈΛΗΘΕΙΑΣ ΤΕ ἘΝΕΚΑ ΤΗΣ ἘΜΗΣ ΚΑῚ ἍΜΑ ὩΦΕΛΕΙΑΣ ΤΗΣ ΕΣ ΑΝΘΡΩΠΟΥΣ ΕΦ’ ΌΣΟΝ ὍΡΜΗΘΗΝ ΟΥΔΕ ΑΥΤΟΣ ἈΝΕΝ ΘΕΟΥ ΕΣ ΤΗΝΤΕ ΤΗΝ ΞΥΝΓΥΡΑΦΗΝ.

ΤΕΛΟΣ ΤΗΣ ΞΥΝΓΥΡΑΦΗΣ ΤΩΝ 'ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ ΕΡΓΩΝ.
this great gap of time, which have been delivered to
the Macedonian race, and all tending to the highest
estimation of him. True it is that I myself have
quarrelled with certain acts in my history of Alex-
ander's deeds, but I am bold to admire Alexander
himself; and those acts I blamed, both for the sake
of my veracity, and also for the general benefit of
mankind; and that is why I myself too took up this
history, not without the help of God.

[End of the History of Alexander.]
APPLENOS

INDIKH

1. Τὰ ἔξω Ἰνδοῦ ποταμὸν τὰ πρὸς ἐσπέρην ἔστε ἐπὶ τὸν ποταμὸν Κωφῆνα Ἀστακηνοὶ καὶ
2 Ἀσσακηνοὶ, ἔθνεα Ἰνδικὰ, ἐποικέουσιν. Ἀλλ’
οὔτε μεγάλοι τὰ σῶματα, κατάπερ οἱ ἐντὸς τοῦ
Ἰνδοῦ φύκισμένοι, οὔτε ἀγαθὸν Ὀσαύτως τὸν θυμὸν,
οὐδὲ μέλανες ὑσαύτως τοὺς πολλοῖς Ἰνδοῖσιν.
3 Οὕτω πάλαι μὲν Ἀσσαράριοις ὑπῆκοοι ἦσαν·
ἐπὶ δὲ Μήδουσι Περσέων ἦκουν, καὶ φόρους
ἀπέφερον Κύρος τῷ Καμβύσεω ἐκ τῆς γῆς σφών,
4 οὕς ἔταξε Κύρος. Νυσαίοι δὲ σύν Ἰνδικὸν γένος
ἔστιν, ἀλλὰ τῶν ἄμα Διονύσῳ ἐλθόντων ἐς τὴν
γῆν τῶν Ἰνδῶν τυχῶν μὲν καὶ Ἑλλήνων, ὃσοι
ἀπόμαχοι αὐτῶν ἐγένοντο ἐν τοῖς πολέμοις
οὐστινας πρὸς Ἰνδοὺς Διόνυσος ἐπολέμησε
5 τυχῶν δὲ καὶ τῶν ἐπιχωρίων τοὺς ἔθελοντας
τοίς Ἐλλησι συνφύκισε τὴν τε χώρην Νυσαίην
ἀνόμασεν ἀπὸ τοῦ ὅρους τῆς Νύσης Διόνυσος,
6 καὶ τὴν πόλιν αὐτῆς Νύσαν. Καὶ τὸ ὅρος τὸ
πρὸς τῇ πόλι, ὅτου ἐν τῇ συμφορῇ ἦτοι
7 ἔχριστο ἐνδόθη γενόμενος. Ταῦτα μὲν οἱ ποιη-
ταῖ ἐπὶ Διονύσῳ ἐποιήσαν καὶ ἐξηγείσθων αὐτὰ
8 ὅσοι λόγοι Ἑλληνῶν ἢ βαρβάρων. Ἐν Ἀσ-
σακηνοὶ δὲ Μᾶσσακα, πόλις μεγάλη, ἰναπερ
καὶ τὸ κράτος τῆς γῆς ἐστὶ τῆς Ἀσσακής· καὶ
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BOOK VIII

INDICA

I. All the territory that lies west of the river Indus up to the river Cophen is inhabited by Astacenians and Assacenians, Indian tribes. But they are not, like the Indians dwelling within the river Indus, tall of stature, nor similarly brave in spirit, nor as black as the greater part of the Indians. These long ago were subject to the Assyrians; then to the Medes, and so they became subject to the Persians; and they paid tribute to Cyrus son of Cambyses from their territory, as Cyrus commanded. The Nysaeans are not an Indian race; but part of those who came with Dionysus to India; possibly even of those Greeks who became past service in the wars which Dionysus waged with Indians; possibly also volunteers of the neighbouring tribes whom Dionysus settled there together with the Greeks, calling the country Nysaea from the mountain Nysa, and the city itself Nysa. And the mountain near the city, on whose foothills Nysa is built, is called Merus because of the incident at Dionysus' birth. All this the poets sang about Dionysus; and I leave it to the narrators of Greek or Eastern history to recount them. Among the Assacenians is Massaca, a great city, where resides the chief authority of the Assacian

1 A thigh.
Ἀλλὰ πόλις Πευκέλα, μεγάλη καὶ αὐτῇ, οὐ μακρὰν τοῦ Ἰνδοῦ. Ταῦτα μὲν ἔξω τοῦ Ἰνδοῦ ποταμοῦ ὑκισταὶ πρὸς ἐσπέρην ἔστε ἐπὶ τὸν Κοφήνα.

Π. Τὰ δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἰνδοῦ πρὸς ἔως, τοῦτὸ μοι ἔστω ἡ τῶν Ἰνδῶν γῆ, καὶ Ἰνδοὶ οὕτω ἔστωσαν. Ὡς ὅροι δὲ τῆς Ἰνδῶν γῆς πρὸς μὲν βορέεω ἀνέμου
2 ὁ Ταῦρος τὸ ὄρος. Καλέσται δὲ οὗ Ταῦρος ἐπὶ ἐν τῇ γῇ ταύτῃ ἂλλῳ ἀρχεται ὁ Ταῦρος ἀπὸ θαλάσσης τῆς κατὰ Παμφύλους τε καὶ Λυκίην καὶ Κῑκακας παρατείνει τε ἐστε τὴν πρὸς ἔως
3 θάλασσαν, τέμνων τὴν Ἀσίην πᾶσαν. ἂλλῃ δὲ ἂλλῳ καλέσται τὸ ὄρος, τῇ μὲν Παραπάμοιος, τῇ δὲ Ἡμωδὸς ἂλλῃ δὲ Ἰμαοῦ κληζέται, καὶ τυχόν
4 ἂλλα καὶ ἄλλα ἔχει σύνοματα. Μακεδόνες δὲ οἱ ξοῦν Ἀλεξάνδρῳ στρατεύσαντες Καύκασον αὐτὸ ἔκαλεν ἂλλον τοῦτον Καύκασον, οὐ τὸν Σκυ-θικὸν ὡς καὶ τὰ ἐπέκεινα τοῦ Καυκάσου λόγον
5 κατέχειν ὅτι ἦλθεν Ἀλεξάνδρος. Τὰ πρὸς ἐσπέρην δὲ τῆς Ἰνδῶν γῆς ὁ ποταμὸς ὁ Ἰνδός ἀπείρησε ἐστε ἐπὶ τὴν μεγάλην θάλασσαν, ἵνα περ αὐτὸς κατὰ δύο στόματα ἑκδιδοῖ, οὐ συνεχέα ἄλληλοις τὰ στόματα, κατάπερ τὰ πέντε τοῦ
6 Ἰστροῦ ἐστὶν συνεχέα. ἄλλῳ ὡς τὸ τοῦ Νείλου, ὑπὸ τῶν τὸ Δέλτα ποιεῖται τὸ Ἀλγύττιον, ὃδε τι καὶ [τὸ] ἦτο Ἰνδῶν γῆς Δέλτα ποιεῖ ο Ἰνδός ποταμὸς, οὐ μεῖον τοῦ Ἀλγύττιον καὶ τούτο
7 Πάτταλα τῇ Ἰνδῶν γλώσσῃ καλόται. Τὸ δὲ πρὸς νότον γε ἀνέμου καὶ μεσημβρίας αὐτῇ ἡ μεγάλη θάλασσα ἀπείρησε τὴν Ἰνδῶν γῆν, καὶ

1 τὸ added by Dübner.
VIII. (INDICA) 1. 8–2. 7

land; and another city Peucela, this also a great city, not far from the Indus. These places then are inhabited on this side of the Indus towards the west, as far as the river Cophen.

II. But the parts from the Indus eastward, these I shall call India, and its inhabitants Indians. The boundary of the land of India towards the north is Mount Taurus. It is not still called Taurus in this land; but Taurus begins from the sea over against Pamphylia and Lycia and Cilicia; and reaches as far as the Eastern Ocean, running right across Asia. But the mountain has different names in different places; in one, Parapamisus, in another Emodus; elsewhere it is called Imaon, and perhaps has all sorts of other names; but the Macedonians who fought with Alexander called it Caucasus; another Caucasus, that is, not the Scythian; so that the story ran that Alexander came even to the far side of the Caucasus. The western part of India is bounded by the river Indus right down to the ocean, where the river runs out by two mouths, not joined together as are the five mouths of the Ister; but like those of the Nile, by which the Egyptian delta is formed; thus also the Indian delta is formed by the river Indus, not less than the Egyptian; and this in the Indian tongue is called Pattala.¹ Towards the south this ocean bounds the land of India, and eastward the sea itself

¹ The Sanskrit for “leaf” is Patala.
8 τὰ πρὸς ἐκ τῆς θάλασσας ἀπελήγει. Τὰ μὲν πρὸς μεσημβρίας κατὰ Πάτταλα τε καὶ τοῦ Ἰνδοῦ τὰς ἐκβολὰς ὁφθη πρὸς τε Ἀλέξανδρου καὶ Μακεδόνων καὶ πολλῶν Ἐλλήνων· τὰ δὲ πρὸς ἐκ, Ἀλέξανδρος μὲν οὐκ ἔπελθε τἀδε πρὸς
9 ποταμοῦ Ἱφάσιος. Ἐλέγοι δὲ ἀνέγραψαν τὰ μέχρι ποταμοῦ Γάγγεω καὶ ἵνα τοῦ Γάγγεω αἱ ἐκβολαὶ καὶ πόλεις Παλήμβοθρα μεγίστη Ἰνδοῦν πρὸς τῷ Γάγγει.

III. Ἐμοὶ δὲ Ἐρατοσθένης ὁ Κυρηναῖος πιστότερος ἀλλού ἔστω, ὅτι γῆς περίῳ πέρι ἐμελεύ
2 Ἐρατοσθένει. Ὅψις ἀπὸ τοῦ ὄρεος τοῦ Ταύρου, ἵνα τοῦ Ἰνδοῦ αἱ πηγαί, παρὰ αὐτοῦ Ἰνδόν ποταμὸν ἵντι ἐστε ἐπὶ τὴν μεγάλην θάλασσαν καὶ τοῦ Ἰνδοῦ τὰς ἐκβολὰς μυρίους σταδίους καὶ τρισχίλιον τῆς πλευρῆς λέγει ἐπέχειν τῆς γῆς
3 τῆς Ἰνδῶν. Ταυταῖς δὲ αὐτίπορον πλευρῆν ποιεῖ τὴν ἀπὸ τοῦ αὐτοῦ ὄρεος παρὰ τὴν ἐφὶν θάλασσαν, οὐκέτι ταύτη τῇ πλευρῇ ἦσιν, ἀλλὰ ἀκρῆν γὰρ ἀνέχειν ἐπὶ μέγα εἰσὶν εἰς τὸ πέλαγος, ἐς τρισχίλιος σταδίους μᾶλιστα ἀνατεῖνοντο τῆν ἀκρὴν· εἰ δὲν ὁν αὐτῶ ἡ πλευρῇ τῆς Ἰνδῶν γῆς πρὸς ἐω μυρίους καὶ ἔξακισχίλιοις σταδίους ἐπέχουσα· τούτῳ μὲν αὐτῶ πλάτος τῆς Ἰνδῶν
4 γῆς συμβαίνει. Μήκος δὲ τὸ ἅφος ἐπόρης ἐπὶ ἐω ἐστε μὲν ἐπὶ τὴν πόλιν Παλήμβοθρα, μεμετρή-
5 μένον σχοινοῦσι λέγει ἀναγράφειν· καὶ εἶναι γὰρ ὀδὸν βασιλῆς τοῦτο ἐπέχειν ἐς μυρίους στα-
"
is the boundary. The southern part near Pattala and the mouths of the Indus were surveyed by Alexander and Macedonians and many Greeks; as for the eastern part, Alexander did not traverse this beyond the river Hyphasis. A few historians have described the parts which are this side of the Ganges and where are the mouths of the Ganges and the city of Palimbothra, the greatest Indian city on the Ganges.

III. I hope I may be allowed to regard Eratosthenes of Cyrene as worthy of special credit, since he was a student of Geography. He states that beginning with Mount Taurus, where are the springs of the river Indus, along the Indus to the Ocean, and to the mouths of the Indus, the side of India is thirteen thousand stades in length. The opposite side to this one, that from the same mountain to the Eastern Ocean, he does not reckon as merely equal to the former side, since it has a promontory running well into the sea; the promontory stretching to about three thousand stades. So then he would make this side of India, to the eastward, a total length of sixteen thousand stades. This he gives, then, as the breadth of India. Its length, however, from west to east, up to the city of Palimbothra, he states that he gives as measured by reed-measurements; for there is a royal road; and this extends to ten thousand stades; beyond that, the information is not so certain. Those, however, who have followed common talk say that including the promontory, which
μάλιστα ἐπέχειν λέγουσιν· εἶναι δὲ ἀνω 1 τὸ μῆκος τῆς Ἰνδῶν γῆς, σταδίων μάλιστα δισμυρίων. Κτησίβης δὲ ὁ Κνίδιος τῇ Ἰνδῶν γῆν ἴσην τῇ ἄλλῃ Ἀσίης λέγει, οὐδὲν λέγων, οὔτε ὦνησίκριτος, τρίτην μοιραὶ τῆς πάσης γῆς. Νέαρχος δὲ μηνύν τεσσάρων ὄδον τὴν δὲ αὐτοῦ τοῦ πεδίου τῆς Ἰνδῶν γῆς. Μεγαθένει δὲ τὸ ἀπὸ ἀνατολῆς ἐς ἐσπέρην πλάτος ἐστὶ τῆς Ἰνδῶν γῆς, ὡς τι περ ὁ ἄλλοι μῆκος ποιέουσι· καὶ λέγει Μεγαθένης, μυρίων καὶ ἕξακισχιλίων σταδίων εἶναι, ἵνατερ τὸ βραχύτατον αὐτοῦ. Τὸ δὲ ἀπὸ ἀρκτοῦ πρὸς μεσημβρίαν, τούτῳ δὲ αὐτῷ μῆκος γίνεται, καὶ ἐπέχει τριήκοσιαν καὶ δισχιλίας καὶ δισμυρίους, ἵνατερ τὸ στεινότατον αὐτοῦ. 9 Ποταμοὶ δὲ τοσοῦτο εἰσὶν ἐν τῇ Ἰνδῶν γῇ, ὅσοι οὐδὲ ἐν τῇ πάσῃ Ἀσίῃ μέγιστοι μὲν ὁ Γάγγης τε καὶ ὁ Ἰνδὸς, ὅτον καὶ ἡ γῆ ἔπωνυμος ἁμφότερον τοῦ τε Νείλου τοῦ Ἀγνυπτίου καὶ τοῦ Ἰστρού τοῦ Σκυθηκοῦ, καὶ εἰ ἐς ταῦτο συνέλθῃ αὐτοῖς τὸ ὕδωρ, μέζους· δοκεῖν δεῖ ἐμοίγε, καὶ ὁ Ἀκεσίως μέζων ἐστὶ τοῦ τε Ἰστρού καὶ τοῦ Νείλου, ἵνατερ παραλαβῶν ἀμα τοῦ τε Τδάσπεα καὶ τοῦ Ἰδραώτεα καὶ τοῦ Ἐφασιν ἐμβάλλεις ἐς τὸν Ἰνδὸν, ὡς καὶ τριήκοντα αὐτῷ στάδια τὸ πλάτος ταύτη εἶναι· καὶ τυχὸν καὶ ἄλλοι πολλοὶ μέζους ποταμοὶ ἐν τῇ Ἰνδῶν γῇ πέρουσιν. 10 IV. Ἀλλὰ οὐ μοι ἄτρεκες ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐπέκεινα Ἐφασίως ποταμοῦ ἱσχυρισάσθαι, ὅτι οὐ πρόσω 2 τοῦ Ἐφασίως ἔλθεν Ἀλέξανδρος. Αὐτοῖς δὲ τοῖς μεγάστοις ποταμοῖς τοῦ τε Γάγγεω καὶ τοῦ Ἰνδοῦ τοῦ Γάγγεα μεγέθει πολὺ τι ὑπερφέρειν

1 Chantraine well suggests εἶναι δ' ἄν ἄν (= oμ). 312
runs into the sea, India extends over about ten thousand stades; but farther north its length is about twenty thousand stades. But Ctesias of Cnidus affirms that the land of India is equal in size to the rest of Asia, which is absurd; and Onesicritus is absurd, who says that India is a third of the entire world; Nearchus, for his part, states that the journey through the actual plain of India is a four months’ journey. Megasthenes would have the breadth of India that from east to west, which others call its length; and he says that it is of sixteen thousand stades, at its shortest stretch. From north to south, then, becomes for him its length, and it extends twenty-two thousand three hundred stades, to its narrowest point. The Indian rivers are greater than any others in Asia; greatest are the Ganges and the Indus, whence the land gets its name; each of these is greater than the Nile of Egypt and the Scythian Ister, even were these put together; my own idea is that even the Acesines is greater than the Ister and the Nile, where the Acesines having taken in the Hydaspes, Hydraotes, and Hyphasis, runs into the Indus, so that its breadth there becomes thirty stades. Possibly also other greater rivers run through the land of India.

IV. As for the yonder side of the Hyphasis, I cannot speak with confidence, since Alexander did not proceed beyond the Hyphasis. But of these two greatest rivers, the Ganges and the Indus, Megasthenes wrote that the Ganges is much greater than
Μεγασθένης ἀνέγραψε, καὶ ὁσοὶ ἄλλοι μνήμην
3 τοῦ Γάγγεων ἔχουσιν’ αὐτὸν τε γὰρ μέγαν ἀνώσ-
χειν ἐκ τῶν πηγῶν, δέκεσθαι τε ἐς αὐτὸν τὸν τε
Καΐναν ποταμὸν καὶ τὸν Ἐρανοβόαν καὶ τὸν
Κοσσόαυν, πάντας πλωτοὺς· ἔτε δὲ Σῶλον τε
ποταμὸν καὶ Σιττόκατιν καὶ Σολόματιν, καὶ
4 τούτους πλωτοὺς. Ἐπὶ δὲ Κονδοχάτην τε καὶ
Σάμβου καὶ Μᾶγγον καὶ Ἀγόραν καὶ Ὀμαλίν·
ἐμβάλλουσι δὲ ἐς αὐτὸν Κομμενάσης τε μέγας
ποταμὸς καὶ Κάκουθις καὶ Ἀνδόματις ἐς ἐθνὸς
5 Ἰνδικοῦ τοῦ Μανδιαδίνου βέων· καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ-
τουσι πορείαν παρὰ πόλιν Καταδούπην, καὶ
Ὁξύμαγος ἐπὶ Παζάλαισι καλεομένους, καὶ
Ἐρρένυσις ἐν Μάθαισιν, ἐδειχεὶ Ἰνδικῷ, ἔμβαλ-
6 λει τῷ Γάγγῃ. Τούτων λέγει Μεγασθένης
οὖν ἐναὶ τοῦ Μαιάνδρου ἀποδέοντα, ἰταπε
7 ναυώπορος ὁ Μαίανδρος· ἔδωκε δὲ τὸ ἐν
Γάγγῃ, ἔθελα περ αὐτὸς ἐνυτὸς στενοχώτατος, εἰς
ἐκατὸν σταδίους· πολλαχῇ δὲ καὶ λιμνάζειν, ὡς
μῆ ἄπτοτον ἐδώκει τὴν πέρην χώρην, ἱππε
χθαμαλή τε ἐστὶ καὶ οὐδαμὴ γηλόφουσιν ἀνε-
8 στηκυία. Τῷ δὲ Ἰνδῷ ἐς ταύτῳ ἐρχεται.
Τραέωτης μὲν ἐν Καμβισθόλοις παρελθεῖσος
τῶν τε Τφασην ἐν Ἀστρύβαισι καὶ τὸν Σαράγ-
γην ἐκ Κηκέων καὶ τὸν Νέουδρον ἐς Ἀττακηνῶν,
9 ἐς Ἀκεσίνῃ ἐμβάλλουσιν. Τδάσπης δὲ ἐς ἐν
Ὀξυδράκαισιν ἄγων ἀμα αἱ τῶν Σίναρον ἐν
Ἀρίσπαισιν ἐς τῶν Ἀκεσίνῃ ἐκδιδοῦ καὶ σύνοι.
10 ὁ δὲ Ἀκεσίνῃ ἐν Μαλλοῖς ἐμβάλλει τῷ Ἰνδῷ,
καὶ Τούταπος δὲ μέγας ποταμὸς ἐς τῶν Ἀκεσίνῃν

1 These Μάθαι are unknown. Renou suggests Κάθαι (Anab. V. xxii. 2).
the Indus, and so do all others who mention the Ganges; for (they say) the Ganges is already large as it comes from its springs, and receives as tributaries the river Cainas and the Erannoboas and the Cossoanus, all navigable; also the river Sonus and the Sittocatis and the Solomatis, these likewise navigable. Then besides there are the Condochates and the Sambus and Magon and Agoranis and Omalis; and also there run into it the Commenases, a great river, and the Cacuthis and Andomatis, flowing from the Indian tribe of the Mandiadinae; after them the Amystis by the city Catadupas, and the Oxymagis at the place called Pazalae, and the Errenysis among the Mathae, an Indian tribe, also meet the Ganges. Megasthenes says that of these none is inferior to the Maeander, where the Maeander is navigable. The breath therefore of the Ganges, where it is at its narrowest, runs to a hundred stades; often it spreads into lakes, so that the opposite side cannot be seen, where it is low and has no projections of hills. It is the same with the Indus; the Hydraotes, in the territory of the Cambistholians, receives the Hyphasis in that of the Astrybae, and the Saranges from the Cecians, and the Neydrus from the Attaceniens, and flows, with these, into the Acesines. The Hydaspes also among the Oxydracae receives the Sinarus among the Arispae and it too flows out into the Acesines. The Acesines among the Mallians joins the Indus; and the Tutapus, a large river,
εκδιδοῦ. Τούτων ο Ἀκεσίνης ἐμπληκθεῖς καὶ τῇ ἐπικλήσι ἐκκυκήσας αὐτός τῷ ἑωτοῦ ἥδη
οὐνόματι ἐσβάλλει ἐς τὸν Ἰνδόν. Κωφὴν δὲ ἐν Πευκελαιήτιδι, ἃμα οἱ ἀγων Μάλαντον τε καὶ
Σόαστον καὶ Γαρροίαν, ἐκδιδοῖ ἐς τὸν Ἰνδόν.
12 Κατύπερθε δὲ τούτων Πάρενος καὶ Σάπαρνος, οὐ
πολὺ διέχοντες, ἐμβάλλουσιν ἐς τὸν Ἰνδόν.
Σόανος δὲ ἐκ τῆς ὀρεινῆς τῆς Ἀβισσαρέως,
ἔρημος ἄλλον ποταμοῦ, ἐκδιδοῖ ἐς αὐτόν. Καὶ
tούτων τοὺς πολλοὺς Μεγασθένης λέγει, ὅτι
13 πλωτοὶ εἰσιν. Ὁδικουν ἀπίστην χρή ἔχειν ὑπέρ
τε τοῦ Ἰνδοῦ καὶ τοῦ Γάγγεω, μηδὲ συμβλητοὺς
εἶναι αὐτοῖς τὸν τε Ἰστρον καὶ τοῦ Νεῖλον τὸ
ὑδωρ. 'Εσ μὲν γε τὸν Νεῖλον οὐδένα ποταμὸν
ἐκδιδόντα ἱδμεν, ἀλλ' ἀπ' αὐτοῦ διώρυχας τετ-
15 μημένας κατὰ τὴν χώρην τὴν Αἰγυπτίην. 'Ο
dὲ γε Ἰστρος ὀλίγος μὲν ἀνέσχει ἀπὸ τῶν πηγέων,
déketai δὲ πολλοὺς ποταμοὺς, ἀλλ' οὔτε πληθεὶ
ἴσον τοῖς Ἰνδῶν ποταμοῖς, οὐ ἐς τὸν Ἰνδόν
καὶ τὸν Γάγγεα ἑκδιδοῦσιν πλωτοὺς δὲ δὴ καὶ
κάρτα ὀλίγους, ὅν τοὺς μὲν αὐτὸς ἱδὼν οἶδα, τὸν
16 Εὐνοῦ τε καὶ τὸν Σάον. Ὁρος μὲν ἐν μεθορίῳ τῆς
Νωρικῶν καὶ Ράιτῶν γῆς μέγυνται τῷ Ἰστρῷ, ὁ
dὲ Σάος κατὰ Παίονας. 'Ο δὲ χώρος, ὲνπὲρ
συμβάλλουσιν οἱ ποταμοί, Ταυροῦνος καλεῖται.
'Ωστὶς δὲ καὶ ἄλλον οἴδε ναυσίππορον τὸν ἐς
tὸν Ἰστρὸν ἑκδιδόντων, ἀλλὰ οὗ πολλοὺς που
οἴδε.

V. Ἐπεὶ καὶ ἄλλων πολλῶν ποταμῶν οὐνόματα
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flows into the Acesines. All these rivers swell the Acesines, and proudly retaining its own name it flows into the Indus. The Cophen, in the Peucelaetis, taking with it the Malantus, the Soastus, and the Garroeeas, joins the Indus. Above these the Parenus and Saparnus, not far from one another, flow into the Indus. The Soanus, from the mountains of the Abissareans, without any tributary, flows into it. Most of these Megasthenes reports to be navigable. It should not then be incredible that neither Nile nor Ister can be even compared with Indus or Ganges in volume of water. For we know of no tributary to the Nile; rather from it canals have been cut through the land of Egypt. As for the Ister, it emerges from its springs a meagre stream, but receives many tributaries; yet not equal in number to the Indian tributaries which flow into Indus or Ganges; and very few of these are navigable; I myself have only noticed the Enus and the Saus. The Enus on the line between Norica and Rhaetia joins the Ister, the Saus in Paeonia. The country where the rivers join is called Taurunus. If anybody is aware of other navigable rivers which form tributaries to the Ister, he certainly does not know many.

V. I hope that anyone who desires to explain the cause of the number and size of the Indian rivers will do so; and that my remarks may be regarded as set down on hearsay only. For Megasthenes has
Μεγασθένης ἀνέγραψεν, οὐ ἔξω τοῦ Γάγγεω τε καὶ τοῦ Ἰνδοῦ ἐκδιδούσιν ἐς τὸν ἐφόν τε καὶ μεσημβρινὸν τὸν ἔξω πόντουν ᾧς τοὺς πάντας ὁκτὼ καὶ πεντήκοντα λέγει ὅτι εἰς ἔν εἰς 'Ἰνδοὶ 3 ποταμοὶ, ναυσίποροι πάντες. 'Ἀλλ' οὐδὲ Μεγασθένης πολλὴν δοκεῖ εἰμὶ ἐπελθεῖν τῆς 'Ἰνδῶν χώρης, πλὴν γε ὃτι πλεῦνα ἢ οἱ ἔν Ἰλεόντος τῷ Φιλίππου ἐπελθόντες. Συγγενεῖσθαι γὰρ Σανδρακόττω λέγει, τῷ μεγίστῳ βασιλεί τῶν 4 Ἰνδῶν, καὶ Πόρφιρος ἐτ' οὗτον μέξοντι. Οὕτως ἂν ὁ Μεγασθένης λέγει, οὔτε Ἰνδοῦς ἐπιστρατεύσαις οὐδαμοίς ἀνθρώποις, οὔτε Ἰνδοῖς ἄλλους ἀνθρώπους· ἀλλὰ Σεσωστριν μὲν τῶν Ἀιγύπτων, τῆς Ἀσίας καταστρεφάμενον τὴν πολλήν, ἔστε ἐπὶ τὴν Εὐρώπην σὺν στρατηγῷ ἑλάσαντα, ὅπερ ἀπονοστήσας Ἰνδάθυρον ἕκ τὸν Σκύθεα ἐκ Σκυθής ἀρμηθέντα πολλά μὲν τῆς Ἀσίας ἐδοξα καταστρέφασθαι, ἐπελθεῖν δὲ καὶ τὴν Ἀιγυπτίων ἠγίραντα. Σεσώστριν δὲ τῆς Ἀσσυρίας ἐπιχειρεῖν μὲν στέλλεσθαι ἐς Ἰνδοὺς, ἀποθανεῖν δὲ πρὶν τέλος ἐπιθεῖαι τοῖς βουλεύμασι, ἀλλὰ Ἀλεξάνδρου γὰρ στρατεύεσθαι ἐπὶ Ἰνδοὺς 7 μοῦνον. Καὶ πρὸ Ἀλεξάνδρου Διονύσου μὲν πέρι πολλὸς λόγος κατέχει, ὡς καὶ τοῦτο στρατεύεστας ἐς Ἰνδοὺς, καὶ καταστρεφαμένου 8 Ἰπτές. 'Ἡρακλέας δὲ πέρι οὗ πολλὸς. Διονύσου μὲν γε καὶ Νῦσα πόλις μνήμα οὐ φαύλων τῆς στρατηγίσκης καὶ ὁ Μηρός τὸ ὄρος, καὶ ὁ κισσὸς ὃτι ἐν τῷ ὤρει τοῦτον φύται· καὶ αὐτοὶ οἱ Ἰνδοὶ ὑπὸ τυμπάνων τε καὶ κυμβάλων στελλόμενοι ἐς τὰς μάχας· καὶ ἐσθῆσ αὐτοῖς κατάστηκτος ἔδυσα, 9 καθάπερ τοῦ Διονύσου τοῖς βάκχοις. 'Ἡρα- 318
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recorded names of many other rivers, which beyond the Ganges and the Indus run into the eastern and southern outer ocean; so that he states the number of Indian rivers in all to be fifty-eight, and these all navigable. But not even Megasthenes, so far as I can see, travelled over any large part of India; yet a good deal more than the followers of Alexander son of Philip did. For he states that he met Sandracottus, the greatest of the Indian kings, and Porus, even greater than he was. This Megasthenes says, moreover, that the Indians waged war on no men, nor other men on the Indians, but on the other hand that Sesostris the Egyptian, after subduing the most part of Asia, and after invading Europe with an army, yet returned back; and Indathyrasis the Scythian who started from Scythia subdued many tribes of Asia, and invaded Egypt victoriously; but Semiramis the Assyrian queen tried to invade India, but died before she could carry out her purposes; it was in fact Alexander only who actually invaded India. Before Alexander, too, there is a considerable tradition about Dionysus as having also invaded India, and having subdued the Indians; about Heracles there is not much tradition. As for Dionysus, the city of Nysa is no mean memorial of his expedition, and also Mount Merus, and the growth of ivy on this mountain; then the habit of the Indians themselves setting out to battle with the sound of drums and cymbals; and their dappled costume, like that worn by the bacchanals of Dionysus. But of
κλέος δὲ οὖ πολλὰ ὑπομνῆμα. Ἀλλὰ τὴν Ἀδρινον γὰρ πέτρην, ἦντινα Ἀλέξανδρος βίη ἐχειρώσατο, ὅτι Ἡρακλέης οὐ δύνατος ἐγένετο ἐξελεῖν, Μακεδονικῶν δοκεῖ μοι τὶ κόμπασμα, κατὰπερ ὅν καὶ τὸν Παραπάμισον Καύκασον ἐκάλεσαν Μακεδόνες, οὐδὲν τι προσήκοντα τούτων τῷ Καυκάσῳ. Καὶ τι καὶ ἄντρον ἐπιφρασθέντες ἐν Παραπαμισάδαις, τούτῳ ἐφράσαν ἑκεῖνο εἶναι τοῦ Προμηθέως τοῦ Τιτήνος τὸ ἄντρον, ἐν ὕτω ἐκρέματο ἐπὶ τῇ κλοπῇ τοῦ πυρός. Καὶ δὴ καὶ ἐν Σίβασιν, Ἰνδικῷ γένει, ὅτι δορᾶς ἀμπεχομένους εἶδον τοὺς Σίβας, ἀπὸ τῆς Ἡρακλέους στρατηλασίας ἐφασκόν τοὺς ὑπολειφθέντας εἶναι τοὺς Σίβας· καὶ γὰρ καὶ σκυτάλην φορέουσι τε οἰ Σίβαι, καὶ τοῖς βουσίν αὐτῶν ῥόπαλον ἐπικέκαυται· καὶ τούτῳ ἐς μνήμην ἄνεφερον τοῦ ῥοπάλου τοῦ Ἡρακλέους. Εἰ δὲ τῷ πιστὰ ταύτα, ἄλλος ἀν οὕτος Ἡρακλέης εἶν, οὐχ ὁ Ὥβεαίος, ἢ ὁ Τύριος οὕτος, ἢ ὁ Αἰγύπτιος, ἢ τις καὶ κατὰ τὴν ἄνω χώρην οὐ πόρρω τῆς Ἰνδῶν γῆς φυσιμενήν μέγας βασιλεὺς.

VI. Ταύτα μὲν μοι ἐκθολή ἔστω τοῦ λόγου εἰς τὸ μη πιστὰ φαίνεσθαι ὡσα ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐπέκεινα τοῦ Ἐφασίος ποταμοῦ Ἰνδῶν μετεξέτεροι ἀνέγραψαν ἔστε γὰρ ἐπὶ τὸν Ἐφασίον οἳ τῆς Ἀλεξάνδρου στρατηλασίας μετασχόντες οὐ 2 πάντη ἀπιστοὶ εἰσιν. Ὑπεῖ καὶ τόδε λέγει Μεγασθένης ὑπὲρ ποταμοῦ Ἰνδικοῦ, Σίλαν μὲν εἰναι οἱ ὄνομα, ῥεεῖν δὲ ἀπὸ κρήνης ἐπωνύμου τῷ ποταμῷ διὰ τῆς χώρης τῆς Σιλέων, καὶ τούτων ἐπωνύμων τοῦ ποταμοῦ τε καὶ τῆς κρήνης· 3 τὸ δὲ ὕδωρ παρέχεσθαι τοιόνδε· οὐδὲν εἶναι ὅτι
VIII. (INDICA) 5. 10–6. 3

Heracles the memorials are slight. Yet the story of the rock Aornos,\(^1\) which Alexander forced, namely, that Heracles could not capture it, I am inclined to think a Macedonian boast; just as the Macedonians called Parapamisus by the name of Caucasus, though it has nothing to do with Caucasus. And besides, learning that there was a cave among the Parapamisadae, they said that this was the cave of Prometheus the Titan, in which he was crucified for his theft of the fire. Among the Sibae, too, an Indian tribe, having noticed them clad with skins they used to assert that they were relics of Heracles’ expedition. What is more, as the Sibae carried a club, and they brand their cattle with a club, they referred this too to some memory of Heracles’ club. If anyone believes this, at least it must be some other Heracles, not he of Thebes, but either of Tyre or of Egypt, or some great king of the higher inhabited country near India.

VI. This then must be regarded as a digression, so that too much credence may not be given to the stories which certain persons have related about the Indians beyond the Hyphasis; for those who served under Alexander are reasonably trustworthy up to the Hyphasis. For Megasthenes tells us this also about an Indian river; its name is Silas, it flows from a spring of the same name as the river through the territory of the Sileans, the people also named both from river and spring; its water has the following peculiarity; nothing is supported by it, nothing

\(^1\) See Anabasis IV. xxviii. and xxix.
ἀντέχει τὸ ὕδωρ, οὕτε τι νήχεσθαι ἕπ' αὐτοῦ οὕτε τι ἐπιπλέειν, ἀλλὰ πάντα γὰρ ἐς βυσσὸν δύνευν· οὕτω τι ἀμενήντερον πάντων εἶναι τὸ ὕδωρ

4 ἐκεῖνο καὶ ἥρωειδέστερον. ὁ Ἰνδὼν γῆ τὸ θέρος, μάλιστα μὲν τὰ ὄρεα, Παραπάμισος τε καὶ ὁ Ἡμωδός καὶ τὸ Ἰμαύκον ὄρος, καὶ ἀπὸ τούτων μεγάλοι καὶ θολεροί οἱ ποταμοὶ ῥέουσιν.

5 ὁ Ἰνδών, ὥστε λιμνάζειν τὰ πολλὰ αὐτῶν· καὶ ἔφυγεν ἡ Ἀλεξάνδρου στρατιὰ ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἀκεσίων ποταμοῦ μέσου θέρεος, ὑπερβαλόντως τοῦ ὕδατος ἐς τὰ

6 πεδία· ὡστε ἀπὸ τών ἐξεταίρων καταθλίβασιν καὶ τοῦ Νεύλου τὸ πάθημα τούτο ὅτι ἐφικός εἶναι ὑπεσθαί τὰ Αἰθιόπων ὅρεα τοῦ θέρεος, καὶ ἀπὸ οὗ ἐκείνων ἐμπιπλάμενον τοῦ Νεύλου ὑπερβάλλειν ὑπὲρ τὰς ὄχθας ἐς τὴν γῆν τὴν Ἀιγυπτίαν.

7 θολεροὶ οἱ καὶ οὕτως πέταλον ἐν τῇ ὅρῃ, ὅσον ἀν ἀπὸ χύσινος τηκομένης ἔρρεεν, ὥστε εἰ πρὸς τῶν ὅρη θέρεος πυκνώτατων ἐπισείων ἀνέμων ἀνεκοπτητὸ ὠλὸ τὸ ὕδωρ· ἀλλὰς τε οὖν ὅλον θριαμβῆσα

8 εἰ ὧν τὰ Αἰθιόπων ὅρεα ὑπὸ καῦματος. ὁ Ἱσσωρ δὲ καταπέρ τὰ Ἰνδῶν οὐκ ἔξω ἐστὶ τοῦ ἐκκότως, ἐπεὶ καὶ τάλλα ἡ Ἰνδὼν γῆ οὐκ ἀπέοικε τῆς Αἰθιοπίας, καὶ οἱ ποταμοὶ οἱ Ἰνδοὶ ὁμοίως τῷ Νεύλῳ τῷ Αἰθιοπείῳ τε καὶ Ἀιγυπτίω κροκοδείλους τε φέροντο, ἔστιν δὲ ἐπὶ αὐτῶν καὶ ἰχθύας καὶ ἀλλὰ κήτεα ὁσα ὁ Νεύλος, πλὴν ἑπέφην τοῦ ποταμοῦ· ὁ Ὀνησίκρητος δὲ καὶ τοὺς

9 ἑπέφην τοὺς ποταμοὺς λέγει ὅτι φέρουσι. Τῶν τε ἀνθρώπων αἱ ἴδεαι οὔ πάντη ἀπέδουσιν αἱ Ἰνδῶν τε καὶ Αἰθιόπων· οἱ μὲν πρὸς νότου ἀνέμου Ἰνδοὶ τοῖς Αἰθιοψίμα μᾶλλον τι ἐσικασί.
can swim in it or float upon it, but everything goes straight to the bottom; so far is this water thinner and more aery than any other. In the summer there is rain through India; especially on the mountains, Parapamisus and Hemodus and the Imaus, and from them the rivers run great and turbulent. The plains of India also receive rain in summer, and much part of them becomes swamp; in fact Alexander's army retired from the river Acesines in midsummer, when the river had overflowed on to the plains; from these, therefore, one can gauge the flooding of the Nile, since probably the mountains of Ethiopia receive rain in summer, and from them the Nile is swollen and overflows its banks on to the land of Egypt; the Nile therefore also runs turbid this time of the year, as it probably would not be from melting snow; nor yet if its stream was dammed up by the seasonal winds which blow during the summer; and besides, the mountains of Ethiopia are probably not snow-covered, on account of the heat. But that they receive rain as India does is not outside the bounds of probability; since in other respects India is not unlike Ethiopia, and the Indian rivers have crocodiles like the Ethiopian and Egyptian Nile; and some of the Indian rivers have fish and other large water animals like those of the Nile, save the river-horse: though Onesicritus states that they do have the river-horse also. The appearance of the inhabitants, too, is not so far different in India and Ethiopia; the southern Indians resemble the Ethiopians a good
μέλανες τε ἰδέσθαι εἰσι, καὶ ἡ κόμη αὐτοῖς μέλαινα· πλὴν γε δὴ ὅτι σειμοὶ ὅνω γόσατῶς οὐδὲ οὐλόκρανοι ὡς Ἀιδίσσες· οἱ δὲ βορείωτεροὶ τούτων κατ' Ἁγιοπτίους μᾶλιστα ἄν εἰεν τὰ σώματα.

VII. Ἑθνεα δὲ Ἰνδικὰ εἴκοσι καὶ ἐκατόν τὰ ἀπαντά λέγει Μεγασθένης, δυοῖν δέοντα. Καὶ πολλὰ μὲν εἶναι Ἑθνεα Ἰνδικἀ καὶ αὐτὸς συμμεθέρματοι Μεγασθένει, τὸ δὲ ἀτρεκές οὐκ ἔχοι εἰκάσαι ὅπως ἔκμαθὼν ἀνέγραφεν, οὐδὲ πολλοστὸν μέρος τῆς Ἰνδῶν γῆς ἐπελθὼν, οὐδὲ ἐπιμελείης πάσι 2 τοῖσ γένεσιν θυεϊς ἐς ἀλλήλους. Πάλαι μὲν δὴ νομάδας εἶναι Ἰνδοῖς, κατάπερ Σκυθῶν τοῖς οὐκ ἄροτρας, οἳ ἐπὶ τῆσιν ἀμάξισι πλανώμενοι ἀλλοτε ἄλλην τῆς Σκυθίης ἀμέλουσιν, οὕτε 3 πόλιας οἰκέοντες οὕτε ἱερὰ θεῶν σέβοντες. οὕτω μηδὲ Ἰνδοίσι πόλιας εἶναι μηδὲ ἱερὰ θεῶν δε- 4 δομημένα· ἀλλ' ἀμπτισχεσθαι μὲν δοραὶ θηρείους ὅσον κατακτάνοιεν, σιτεέσθαι δὲ τῶν δένδρων τὸν φλοίων καλέσθαι δὲ τὰ δένδρα ταύτα τῆς Ἰνδῶν φωνῆ Τάλα, καὶ φύεσθαι ἐπὶ αὐτῶν, κατάπερ τῶν φοινίκων ἐπὶ τῆσιν κορυφῆσιν, οἷα 5 περι τοιχώματα. Σιτεέσθαι δὲ καὶ τῶν θηρίων ὅσα ἔλοιον ὦμοφαγέοντας, πρὶν δὴ Διόνυσον ἔλθειν 6 εἰς τὴν χώρην τῶν Ἰνδῶν. Διόνυσον δὲ ἔλθοντα, ὡς καρτέρος ἔγενετο Ἰνδῶν, πόλιας τε ὁικίσαι καὶ νόμους θέσων τῇ σώλισιν, οἷον τε δοτῆρα Ἰνδοῖσι γενέσθαι, κατάπερ Ἐλλήσι, καὶ σπείρειν 7 διδάξαι τῷ γῆν, διδόντα αὐτῶν σπέρματα, ἡ οὐκ ἔλασαντος ταύτῃ Τριπτολέμου, ὅτε περ ἐκ Δήμητρος ἑστάλη σπείρειν τῷ γῆν πᾶσαν, ἣ πρὸ Τριπτολέμου τις οὕτως Διόνυσος ἐπελθὼν 324
deal, and are black of countenance, and their hair black also, only they are not as snub-nosed or so woolly-haired as the Ethiopians; but the northern Indians are most like the Egyptians in appearance.

VII. Megasthenes states that there are one hundred and eighteen Indian tribes. That there are many, I agree with Megasthenes; but I cannot conjecture how he learnt and recorded the exact number, when he never visited any great part of India, and since these different races have not much intercourse one with another. The Indians, he says, were originally nomads, as are the non-agricultural Scythians, who wandering in their waggons inhabit now one and now another part of Scythia; not dwelling in cities and not reverencing any temples of the gods; just so the Indians also had no cities and built no temples; but were clothed with the skins of animals slain in the chase, and for food ate the bark of trees; these trees were called in the Indian tongue Tala,¹ and there grew upon them, just as on the tops of palm trees, what look like clews of wool. They also used as food what game they had captured, eating it raw, before, at least, Dionysus came into India. But when Dionysus had come, and become master of India, he founded cities, and gave laws for these cities, and became to the Indians the bestower of wine, as to the Greeks, and taught them to sow their land, giving them seed. It may be that Triptolemus, when he was sent out by Demeter to sow the entire earth, did not come this way; or perhaps before Triptolemus this Dionysus whoever he was

¹ The fan-palm; it is tapped for the sugar.
ἈΡΡΙΑΝ

τὴν Ἰνδῶν γῆς σπέρματα σφίσιν ἔδωκε καρποῦ
7 τοῦ ἴμερον· βοῶς τε ὑπ’ ἁρότρῳ ζεύξαι Διὸνυσον
πρῶτον, καὶ ἁροτήρας ἀντὶ νομάδων ποιήσαι
Ἰνδῶν τοὺς πολλοὺς, καὶ ὀπλίσαι ὅπλοις τοῖς
8 ἀρηνόισι. Καὶ θεοῦς σέβειν ὃτι ἐδίδαξε Διὸνυσος
ἀλλοὺς τε καὶ μάλιστα δὴ ἐωτὸν κυμβαλίζοντας
καὶ τυμπανίζοντας· καὶ ὄρχησιν δὲ διδάξαι τὴν
σατυρικήν, τὸν κόρδακα παρ’ Ἐλλησι καλεό-
9 μενον· καὶ κομᾶν Ἰνδῶν τῷ θεῷ, μυτρηφορέειν
tε ἀναδείξαι, καὶ μύρων ἀλοιφᾶς ἐκδιδάξαι, ὡστε
cαὶ εἰς Ἀλέξανδρον ἐτι ὑπὸ κυμβάλων τε καὶ
tυμπάνων ἐς τὰς μάγας Ἰνδοί κατίσταντο.

VIII. Ἀπιόντα δὲ ἐκ τῆς Ἰνδῶν γῆς, ὡς οἱ
ταῦτα κεκοσμέατο, καταστήσαι βασιλέα τῆς
χώρης Σπατέμβαν, τῶν ἑταῖρων ἐνα, τῶν βακχω-
δέστατον· τελευτήσαντος δὲ Σπατέμβα τὴν
βασιλικὴν ἐκδέξασθαι Βουνύαν τὸν τούτου παιδα·
2 καὶ τὸν μὲν πεντήκοντα καὶ δύο ἔτεα βασιλεύσαι
Ἰνδῶν, τὸν πατέρα, τὸν δὲ παῖδα, εἴκοσι ἔτεα·
cαὶ τούτου παῖδα ἐκδέχασθαι τὴν βασιλικὴν
3 Κραδέων· καὶ τὸ ἀπὸ τούδε τὸ πολλὸν μὲν
κατὰ γένος ἀμείβειν τὴν βασιλικὴν, παιδα παρὰ
πατρὸς ἐκδεκόμενον· εἰ δὲ ἐκλείπει τὸ γένος,
οὕτω δὴ ἀριστιδῆν κατίστασθαι Ἰνδοῖσι βασι-
4 λέας. Ἡρακλέα δὲ, ὅτι διὰ ἐς Ἰνδοὺς ἀπικέχεσθαι
λόγος κατέχει, παρ’ αὐτῶν Ἰνδοῖσι γηγενέα
5 λέγεσθαι. Τοῦτον τὸν Ἡρακλέα μάλιστα πρὸς
Σουρασινῶν γεραίρεσθαι, Ἰνδικοῦ ἔθνεος, ἵνα
δύο πόλεις μεγάλαι, Μεθόρα τε καὶ Κλεισόβορα,
cαὶ ποταμὸς Ἰοβάρης πλωτὸς διαρρέει τὴν χώρην

1 Κραδέων is odd. There was a son of Buddha called Pururavas. Some emend in this direction.
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came to India and gave the Indians seeds of domesticated plants; then Dionysus first yoked oxen to the plough and made most of the Indians agriculturists instead of wanderers, and armed them also with the arms of warfare. Further, Dionysus taught them to reverence other gods, but especially, of course, himself, with clashings of cymbals and beating of drums and dancing in the Satyric fashion, the dance called among Greeks the “cordax”; and taught them to wear long hair in honour of the god, and instructed them in the wearing of the conical cap and the anointings with perfumes; so that the Indians came out even against Alexander to battle with the sound of cymbals and drums.

VIII. When departing from India, after making all these arrangements, he made Spatembas king of the land, one of his Companions, being most expert in Bacchic rites; when Spatembas died, Budyas his son reigned in his stead; the father was King of India fifty-two years, and the son twenty years; and his son, again, came to the throne, one Cradeuas; and his descendants for the most part received the kingdom in succession, son succeeding father; if the succession failed, then the kings were appointed for some pre-eminence. But Heracles, whom tradition states to have arrived as far as India, was called by the Indians themselves “Indigenous.” This Heracles was chiefly honoured by the Surasenians, an Indian tribe, among whom are two great cities, Methora and Cleisobora, and the navigable river
8 αὐτῶν. Τὴν σκευῆν δὲ οὖτος ὁ Ἡρακλέης ἤρτινα ἐφόρεε Μεγασθένης λέγει ὅτι ὅμοιῇ τῷ Ὑθβαίῳ Ἡρακλεί, ὡς αὐτῶν Ἰνδῷ ἀπηγέονται· καὶ τούτῳ ἄρσενας μὲν παῖδας πολλοὺς κάρτα γενέσθαι ἐν τῇ Ἰνδῷ γῇ· πολλῆσι γὰρ δὴ γυναιξὶν ἐς γάμον ἐλθεῖν καὶ τοῦτον τὸν Ἡρακλέα· θυγατέρα δὲ μουνογενῆν· οὖνομα δὲ εἶναι τῇ παιδὶ Πανδαίην καὶ τὴν χώρην ἱνα τε ἐγένετο καὶ ἡστινος ἐπέτρεψεν αὐτὴν ἀρχεῖν Ἡρακλέης Πανδαίην, τῆς παιδὸς ἐπώνυμον· καὶ ταύτῃ ἐλέφαντας μὲν γενέσθαι ἐκ τοῦ πατρὸς ἐς πεντακόσιας, ἵππον δὲ ἐς τετρακισχιλίην, πεζῶν δὲ ἐς τὰς τρέες καὶ δέκα μυριάδας. Καὶ τάδε μετεξέτεροι Ἰνδῷ περὶ Ἡρακλέος λέγουσιν· ἐπελθόντα αὐτὸν πᾶσαν γῆν καὶ θάλασσαν, καὶ καθήραντα ὁ τυπερ κακὸν κίνανδος, ἐξουρεῖν ἐν τῇ θαλάσσῃ κόσμον 9 γυναικῖσιν· οὖν ὡς καὶ εἰς τοῦτο ἐτὶ οἳ τε ἐξ Ἰνδῶν τῆς χώρης τὰ ἀγώγιμα παρ’ ἣμέας ἀγινέοντες σπουδὴν ὅνεόμενοι ἐκκομίζοντε καὶ Ἑλλήνων δὲ πάλαι καὶ Ἡρωμαιῶν ὧν ὀσοὶ πολυκτέανοι καὶ εὐδαιμονεῖς, μέξουν ἐτὶ σπουδὴν ὄνεονται τὸν μαργαρίτην δὴ τὸν θαλάσσιον, οὕτω 10 τῇ Ἰνδῷ γλώσσῃ καλεόμενον· τὸν γὰρ Ἡρακλέα, ὡς καλὸν οἱ ἐφάνη τὸ φόρημα, ἐκ πάσης τῆς θαλάσσης ἐς τὴν Ἰνδῶν γῆν συναγινέων τὸν μαργαρίτην δὴ τοῦτον, τῇ θυγατρὶ τῇ ἐωτοῦ εἶναι κόσμον. Καὶ λέγει Μεγασθένης, θηρεύονται αὐτῶν τὴν κόγχην δικτύοις, νέμεσθαι δ’ ἐν τῇ θαλάσσῃ κατ’ αὐτὸ πολλὰς κόγχας, κατάπερ τὰς μελίσσας καὶ εἶναι γὰρ καὶ τοῦτοι μαργαρίτησι βασιλέα ἡ βασιλίσσαν, ὡς τῇ τῆς μελισ- 12 σίῃ. Καὶ ὡστες μὲν ἐκεῖνον κατ’ ἐπίτυχην 328
Iobares flows through their territory. Megasthenes also says that the garb which this Heracles wore was like that of the Theban Heracles, as also the Indians themselves record; he also had many sons in his country, for this Heracles too wedded many wives; he had only one daughter, called Pandaea; as also the country in which she was born, and to rule which Heracles educated her, was called Pandaea after the girl; here she possessed five hundred elephants given by her father, four thousand horsemen, and as many as a hundred and thirty thousand foot-soldiers. This also some writers relate about Heracles; he traversed all the earth and sea, and when he had rid the earth of evil monsters he found in the sea a jewel much affected by women. And thus, even to our day, those who bring exports from India to our country purchase these jewels at great price and export them, and all Greeks in old time, and Romans now who are rich and prosperous, are more eager to buy the sea pearl, as it is called in the Indian tongue; for that Heracles, the jewel appearing to him charming, collected from all the sea to India this kind of pearl, to adorn his daughter. And Megasthenes says that this oyster is taken with nets; that it is a native of the sea, many oysters being together, like bees; and that the pearl oysters have a king or queen, as bees do. Should anyone by chance capture
συλλαβοῦν, τούτον δὲ εὐπετέωσ περιβάλλειν καὶ τὸ ἄλλο σμήνος τῶν μαργαριτέων· εἰ δὲ διαφύγων σφάς ὁ βασιλεὺς, τοῦτο δὲ οὐκέτι θηρατοῦ εἶναι τοὺς ἄλλους· τοὺς ἀλόντας δὲ περισσῶς κατασκήναι σφίσαι τὴν σάρκα, τῷ δὲ ὡστεῷ ἐσ κόσμουν χράσθαι. Καὶ εἶναι γὰρ καὶ παρ' Ἕνδοῖσι τὸν μαργαρίτην τριστάσιον κατὰ τιμὴν πρὸς χρυσίον τὸ ἀπεφθοῦν, καὶ τούτο ἐν τῇ Ἕνδων γῇ ὑμνοσόμενον.

IX. Ἔν δὲ τῇ χώρῃ ταύτῃ, ἢν ἐβασιλεύσεν ἡ θυγάτηρ τοῦ Ἡρακλέος, τὰς μὲν γυναίκας ἐπταέτεαι ἐούσας ἐς ὠρῆν γάμου ἑναντία, τοὺς δὲ ἀνδράς τεσσαράκοντα ἐτεκα τὰ πλεῖστα βιῶσκεσθαι. Καὶ ὑπὲρ τούτου λεγόμενον λόγον εἶναι παρ' Ἕνδοῖσιν Ἡρακλέα, ὦν γυνόνος οἱ γενομένης τῆς παιδὼς, ἐπείτε ἡ ἐγνυμένη ἐωτυφό εούσαν τὴν τελευτὴν, ὅν ἐχοῦσα ὅτι τὸ ἀνδρὶ ἐκδό τὴν παιδὰ ἐωτυφὸ ἐπαξίω, αὐτὸν μυγῆσαι τῇ παιδὶ ἐπταέτει ἐούσῃ, ὡς γενόσι ἐξ οὐ τε κάκεισθαι ὑπολείπεσθαι Ἕνδων βασιλείας. Ποιήσαι ὃν αὐτὴν Ἡρακλέα ὁραῖην γάμον· καὶ ἐκ τοῦτο ἀπαν τὸ γένος τούτῳ ὅτου ἡ Παυδαίη ἑπιγραφὲ, ταυτὸν τὸν γέρας ἐχεῖν παρὰ Ἡρακλέος. Ἐμοὶ δὲ δοκεῖμεν, εἴτε ὃν τα ἐς τοσοῦτο ἀτοπα Ἡρακλέης οῖος τε τὴν ἐξεργάζεσθαι, καὶ αὐτὸν ἀποφημεν μακροβιότερον, ὡς ὁραῖς μυγηναῖ τῇ παιδὶ.

5 Ἀλλὰ γὰρ εἰ ταῦτα ὑπὲρ τῆς ὑρῆς τῶν ταύτῃ παιδῶν ἀτρεκέα ἐστίν, ὡς ταυτὸν φέρειν δοκεῖ εἰμοῦς ἐς ὁ τίτερ καὶ ὑπὲρ τῶν ἀνδρῶν τῆς ἡλικίας ὅτι τεσσαρακοντοῦτες ἀποδυνάσκοντες 6 οἱ πρεσβύτατοι αὐτῶν. Οἶς γὰρ το τε γῆρας τοσοῦτο ταχύτερον ἐπέρχεται καὶ ὁ θάνατος όμοι τῷ γῆρι, πάντως που καὶ ἡ ἀκμὴ πρὸς
the king, he can easily surround the rest of the oysters; but should the king slip through, then the others cannot be taken; and of those that are taken, the Indians let their flesh rot, but use the skeleton as an ornament. For among the Indians this pearl sometimes is worth three times its weight in solid gold, which is itself dug up in India.

IX. In this country where Heracles’ daughter was queen, the girls are marriageable at seven years, and the men do not live longer than forty years. About this there is a story among the Indians, that Heracles, to whom when in mature years this daughter was born, realizing that his own end was near, and knowing of no worthy husband to whom he might bestow his daughter, himself became her husband when she was seven, so that Indian kings, their children, were left behind. Heracles made her then marriageable, and hence all the royal race of Pandaea arose, with the same privilege from Heracles. But I think, even if Heracles was able to accomplish anything so absurd, he could have lengthened his own life, so as to mate with the girl when of maturer years. But really if this about the age of the girls in this district is true, it seems to me to tend the same way as the men’s age, since the oldest of them die at forty years. For when old age comes on so much sooner and death with age, maturity will reasonably
7 λόγον τοῦ τέλεος ταχυτέρη ἔπαυθεν· ὡστε τριακοντούτες μὲν ὁμογέρουτες ἂν που ἔλεν αὐτοῖς οἱ ἄνδρες, εἶκοσι δὲ ἔτεα γεγονότες οἱ ἦξω ἡβης νευώσκον· ἢ δὲ ἀκροτάτη ἡβης ἀμφὶ τὰ πεντεκαιδεκὰ ἔτεα· καὶ τῇς γυναιξὶν ὁρη τοῦ γάμου κατὰ λόγον ἂν ὀὔτω ἐς τὰ ἐπτὰ ἔτεα
8 συμβαίνοι. Καὶ γὰρ τοὺς καρποὺς ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ χώρῃ πεπαίνεσθαι τε ταχύτερον μὲν τῆς ἄλλης, αὐτὸς ὀὕτως Μεγασθένης ἀνέγραψε, καὶ
9 φθίνειν ταχύτερον. Ἀπὸ μὲν δὴ Διονύσου βασιλέας ἡρίθμεον Ἰνδοὶ ἐς Σαυδράκοττον τρεῖς καὶ πεντήκοντα καὶ ἐκατόν, ἔτεα δὲ, δύο καὶ τεσσαράκοντα καὶ ἔξακισχίλια· ἐν δὲ τούτοις τριὶς τὸ πᾶν εἰς ἐλευθερίην * * τὴν δὲ καὶ ἐς τρικόσια· τὴν δὲ εἶκοσί τε ἔτεων καὶ ἐκατόν·
10 πρεσβύτερον τε Διόνυσον Ἡρακλέους δέκα καὶ πέντε γενεάς Ἰνδοὶ λέγουσιν· ἄλλου δὲ οὐδένα ἐμβαλεῖν εἰς ἡν τὴν Ἰνδῶν ἐπὶ πολέμῳ, οὐδὲ Κύρου τὸν Καμβύσεω, καίτοι ἐπὶ Σκύθας ἔκλα-
11 σαντα καὶ τάλλα πολυπραγμονέστατον οὗ τῶν κατὰ τὴν Ἀσίην βασιλέων γενόμενον τὸν Κύρου·
12 ἀλλὰ Ἀλέξανδρον γὰρ ἐλθεῖν τε καὶ κρατήσαι πάντων τοῖς ὀπλοῖς, ὅσους γε δὴ ἐπηλθεῖ· καὶ ἂν καὶ πάντων κρατήσαι, εἰ ἡ στρατιὴ
1 ἢθελεν. Οὐ μὲν δὴ οὕτω Ἰνδῶν τίνα ἕξω τῆς οἰκητης σταλῆι επὶ πολέμῳ διὰ δικαιότητα.
Χ. Δέγεται δὲ καὶ τάδε, μνημεία ὅτι Ἰνδοὶ τοῖς τελευτᾶσαιν ὑπὸ ποιόποις, ἀλλὰ τὰς ἀρετὰς γὰρ τῶν ἄνδρῶν ἰκανὰς ἐς μνήμην τίθενται τοῖς ἀποθανοῦσι, καὶ τὰς φῶδας αἰαὐτοῖς
2 ἐπιδοῦσι. Πολίων δὲ ἀριθμὸν οὐκ ἔχει ἄν ἀτρεκές ἀναγράψαί τοῖς Ἰνδικῶν ὑπὸ πλήθεος.
be earlier, in proportion to the end; so that at thirty
the men might be on the threshold of old age, and
at twenty, men in their prime, and manhood at about
fifteen, so that the women might reasonably be
marriageable at seven. For that the fruits ripen
earlier in this country than elsewhere, and perish
earlier, this Megasthenes himself tells us. From
Dionysus to Sandracottus the Indians counted a
hundred and fifty-three kings, over six thousand and
forty-two years, and during this time thrice [move-
ments were made] for liberty . . . this for three
hundred years; the other for a hundred and twenty
years; the Indians say that Dionysus was fifteen
generations earlier than Heracles; but no one else
ever invaded India, not even Cyrus son of Cambyses,
though he made an expedition against the Scythians,
and in all other ways was the most energetic of the
kings in Asia; but Alexander came and conquered
by force of arms all the countries he entered; and
would have conquered the whole world had his army
been willing. But no Indian ever went outside his
own country on a warlike expedition, so righteous
were they.

X. This also is related; that Indians do not put
up memorials to the dead; but they regard their
virtues as sufficient memorials for the departed, and
the songs which they sing at their funerals. As for
the cities of India, one could not record their number
accurately by reason of their multitude; but those
ἀλλὰ γὰρ ὅσα παραποτάμαι αυτέων ἡ παράθα-
3 λάσσαι, ταύτας μὲν ἑυλίνας ποιεσθαί· οὕ γὰρ
eῖναι ἐκ πλέυθου ποιεσμένας διαρκέσαι ἐπὶ χρόνον
tοῦ τε ὑδατος ἕνεκα τοῦ ἐξ οὐρανοῦ, καὶ ὅτι οἱ
ποταμοὶ αὐτοίσιν ὑπερβάλλοντες ύπὲρ τὰς ὄχθας
4 ἐμπιπλάση τοῦ ὑδατος τὰ πεδία. Ὁσαὶ δὲ ἐν
ὑπερδεξίοις τε καὶ μετεώρους τόποις, καὶ τοῦ-
τοισιν ὑψηλοῖσιν, φιλισμέναι εἰσὶ, ταύτας δὲ ἐκ
5 πλέυθου τε καὶ πηλοῦ ποιεσθαί· μεγίστην δὲ
πόλιν ἐν Ἰνδοίσιω εἶναι Παλίμβοθρα κάλεομενην,
ἐν τῇ Πρασίων ἡ, ὅπα αἱ συμβολαί εἰσι τοῦ τε
Ἐρανοβόα ποταμοῦ καὶ τοῦ Γάγγεως τοῦ μὲν
Γάγγεως, τοῦ μεγίστου ποταμῶν· ὁ δὲ Ἐρανοβόας
τρίτος μὲν ἀν εἰς τὸν Ἰνδοὺ ποταμῶν, μέζων δὲ
τῶν ἄλλη καὶ οὕτως· ἀλλὰ εὐγχωρεέει αὐτὸς τῷ
Γάγγη, ἐπειδὰν ἐμβάλλῃ ἐς αὐτὸν τὸ ὕδωρ.
6 Καὶ λέγει Μεγασθένης, μὰκος μὲν ἐπέχειν τὴν
πόλιν κατ’ ἐκατέρθην τὴν πλευρὴν ἤναπερ μα-
κροτάτη αὐτή ἐωτῆς φωκισται ἐς ὑγδοῆκοντα
7 σταδίους· τὸ δὲ πλάτος ἐς πεντεκαίδεκα· τάφρον
δὲ περιβεβλήθσαι τῇ πόλι τὸ εὔρος ἕξαπλεθρον,
tὸ δὲ βάθος τριήκοντα πῆχεων· πύργους δὲ
ἐβδομήκοντα καὶ πεντακόσιοι ἐπέχειν τὸ τείχος
8 καὶ ἐπίσας τέσσαρας καὶ ἐξήκοντα. Εἶναι δὲ καὶ
tὸς μέγα ἐν τῇ Ἰνδοὺς ἡ, πάντας Ἰνδοὺς εἶναι
ἐλευθερούς, οὐδὲ τίνα δούλον εἶναι Ἰνδοῦν. Τούτῳ
μὲν Ἀκεδαιμονίοισιν ἐς ταύτῳ συμβαίνει καὶ
9 Ἰνδοίσι· Ἀκεδαιμονίοισι μὲν γε οἱ εἰλωτες
δούλοι εἰσὶ καὶ τὰ δούλων ἐργάζονται· Ἰνδοίσι
δὲ οὐδὲ ἄλλος δούλος ἐστὶν, μὴ δὲ Ἰνδοῦν τις.
XI. Νενέμηται δὲ οἱ πάντες Ἰνδοὶ ἐς ἐπτὰ
μάλιστα γενεᾶς· ἐν μὲν αὐτοῖσιν οἱ σοφισταὶ
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of them which are near rivers or near the sea, they build of wood; for if they were built of brick, they could not last long because of the rain, and also because their rivers overflow their banks and fill the plains with water. But such cities as are built on high and lofty places, they make of brick and clay. The greatest of the Indian cities is called Palimbothra, in the district of the Prasians, at the confluence of the Erannoboas and the Ganges; the Ganges, greatest of all rivers; the Erannoboas may be the third of the Indian rivers, itself greater than the rivers of other countries; but it yields precedence to the Ganges, when it pours into it its tributary stream. And Megasthenes says that the length of the city along either side, where it is longest, reaches to eighty stades; its breadth to fifteen; and a ditch has been dug round the city, six plethra in breadth, thirty cubits high; and on the wall are five hundred and seventy towers, and sixty-four gates. This also is remarkable in India, that all Indians are free, and no Indian at all is a slave. In this the Indians agree with the Lacedaemonians. Yet the Lacedaemonians have Helots for slaves, who perform the duties of slaves; but the Indians have no slaves at all, much less is any Indian a slave.

XI. The Indians generally are divided into seven castes. Those called the wise men are less in number
eἰσι, πλὴθεῖ μεν μείους τῶν ἄλλων, δόξη δὲ καὶ 2 τιμὴ γεραρώτατοι. Οὕτω γάρ τι τῷ σώματι ἐργάζεσθαι ἀναγκαίη σφίν προσκεύεται, οὕτω τι ἀποφέρειν ἀπ’ ὅτοι πονεύουσιν ἕν τοῦ κοινῶν᾽ οὐδὲ τι ἄλλο ἀνάγκης ἀπλῶς ἐπειπά τοῖς σοφιστήσιν, ὅτι μὴ θύειν τὰς θυσίας τοῖς θεοίσιν ὑπὲρ τού 3 κοινοῦ τῶν Ἰνδῶν καὶ ὅστις δὲ ἱδία θύει, ἕξηγητής αὐτῷ τῆς θυσίας τῶν τις σοφιστέων τούτων γίνεται, ὥσ ὅν μὴ ἄλλως κεχαρισμένα τοῖς θεοίσι 4 θύσαντας. Εἰς δὲ καὶ μαντικῆς οὕτοι μοῦνοι Ἰνδῶν δαίμονες, οὐδὲ ἐφείται ἄλλῳ μαντεύεσθαι 5 ὅτι μὴ σοφῶ ἄνδρι. Μαντεύοντες δὲ οὐσα ὑπὲρ τῶν ὀρέων τοῦ ἔτεος καὶ εἰ τις ἐσ τοῦ κοινοῦ συμφορὴ καταλαμβάνει τὰ δὲ ἱδία ἐκάστοισιν οὐ σφίν μέλει μαντεύεσθαι, ἡ ὡς ὅν ἐξικνεομένης τῆς μαντικῆς ἐς τὰ σμικρότερα, ἡ ὡς οὐκ 6 ἄξιον ἐπὶ τούτοις πονέσθαι. Ὅστις δὲ ἀμάρτοι ἐς τρῖς μαντευσάμενος, τούτῳ δὲ ἄλλῳ μὲν κακῶν γίνεσθαι οὐδὲν, σιωπᾶν δὲ εἶναι ἐπάναγκες τοῦ λοιποῦ καὶ οὐκ ἐστὶν ὅστις ἐξαναγκάσει τῶν ἄνδρα τούτων φωνῆσαι, ἢτοι ἡ σιωπὴ 7 κατακέρταται. Οὕτοι γυμνοὶ διαίτωνται οἱ σοφισταὶ τοῦ μὲν χειμῶνος ὑπαίθριοι ἐν τῷ ἡλίῳ τοῦ δὲ βέρεος ἐπι ὁ ἡλίος κατέχη, ἐν τοῖς λειμώσει καὶ τοίσιν ἐλεσίν ὑπὸ δένδρεσι μεγάλους ὅπ γνὴν νεαρχὸς λέγει ἐς πέντε πλέθρα ἐν κύκλῳ ἐξικνέσθαι καὶ ἀν καὶ μυρίους ἀνθρώπους ὑπὸ ἔνθι δένδρει σκιάζεσθ. 8 θαν ὕπλικαῦτα εἶναι ταῦτα τὰ δένδρα. Σιτενταὶ δὲ ὀραία καὶ τοὺς φλοιὸν τῶν δένδρων, γλυκῶν τε ὄντα τὸν φλοίον καὶ τρόφιμον οὐ μείον 9 ἢ περ αἰ βάλλοι τῶν φοινίκων. Δεύτεροι δὲ ἐπὶ 336
than the rest, but chiepest in honour and regard. For they are under no necessity to do any bodily labour; nor to contribute from the results of their work to the common store; in fact, no sort of constraint whatever rests upon these wise men, save to offer the sacrifices to the gods on behalf of the people of India. Then whenever anyone sacrifices privately, one of these wise men acts as instructor of the sacrifice, since otherwise the sacrifice would not have proved acceptable to the gods. These Indians also are alone expert in prophecy, and none, save one of the wise men, is allowed to prophesy. And they prophesy about the seasons of the year, or of any impending public calamity; but they do not trouble to prophesy on private matters to individuals, either because their prophecy does not condescend to smaller things, or because it is undignified for them to trouble about such things. And when one has thrice made an error in his prophecy, he does not suffer any harm, except that he must for ever hold his peace; and no one will ever persuade such a one to prophesy on whom this silence has been enjoined. These wise men spend their time naked, during the winter in the open air and sunshine, but in summer, when the sun is strong, in the meadows and the marsh lands under great trees; their shade Nearchus computes to reach five plethra all round, and ten thousand men could take shade under one tree; so great are these trees. They eat fruits in their season, and the bark of the trees; this is sweet and nutritious as much as are the dates of the palm. Then next to

1 The banyan.
2 Perhaps an error like that of VII. 3 above (the bark stripped, not eaten).
ARRIAN

tούτοισιν οἱ γεωργοὶ εἰσίν, οὐτοὶ πλῆθεὶ πλείστοι Ἰνδῶν ἔόντες· καὶ τούτοισιν οὔτε ὅπλα ἡστὶν ἀρῆια οὔτε μέλει τὰ πολέμια ἔργα, ἀλλὰ τὴν χώρην οὗτοι ἐργάζονται· καὶ τοὺς φόρους τοῖς τε βασιλεύσι καὶ τῆς πόλεως, ὅσαί αὐτόνομοι,
10 οὔτοι ἀποφέρουσι· καὶ εἰ πολέμος ἐς ἀλλήλους τοῖς Ἰνδοῖσι τύχοι, τῶν ἐργαζόμενων τὴν γῆν οὐ θέμις σφίν ἀπτεσθαι, οὐδὲ αὐτὴ τὴν γῆν τέμνειν· ἀλλὰ οἱ μὲν πολεμέουσι καὶ κατακαίνουσιν ἀλλήλους ὅπως τύχοιεν, οἱ δὲ πλησίον αὐτῶν κατ’ ἑσυχίην ἀρουσίν ἢ τρυγώσιν ἢ κλαδοῦσιν ἢ θερίζουσιν. Τρίτοι δὲ εἰσίν Ἰνδοῖσιν οἱ νομεῖς, οἱ ποιμένες τε καὶ βουκόλοι, καὶ οὔτοι οὔτε κατὰ πόλιας οὔτε ἐν τῇ κόμησιν οἰκέουσι. Νομάδες τέ εἰσι καὶ ἀνὰ τὰ οὐρα ὑπετεύουσι, φόρον δὲ καὶ οὔτοι ἀπὸ τῶν κτηνῶν ἀποφέρουσι· καὶ θηρεύουσιν οὔτοι ἀνὰ τὴν χώρην ὑριάδας τε καὶ ἀγρία θηρία.

XII. Τέταρτον δὲ ἐστὶ τὸ δημιουργικὸν τε καὶ καπηλικὸν γένος. Καὶ οὔτοι λειτουργοὶ εἰσί, καὶ φόρον ἀποφέρουσιν ἀπὸ τῶν ἔργων τῶν σφετέρων, πλὴν γε δὴ ὅσοι τὰ ἄρηια ὅπλα ποιέουσιν οὔτοι δὲ καὶ μισθὸν ἐκ τοῦ κοινοῦ προσλαμβάνουσιν. Ἔν δὲ τούτῳ τῷ γένει οἱ τε ναυτηγοὶ καὶ οἱ ναυταὶ εἰσίν, ὅσοι κατὰ τοὺς ποταμοὺς πλώουσι.

2 Πέμπτον δὲ γένος ἐστὶν Ἰνδοῖσιν οἱ πολεμισταί, πλῆθεὶ μὲν δεύτερον μετὰ τοὺς γεωργοὺς, πλείστη δὲ ἐλευθερίᾳ τε καὶ εὐθυμίᾳ ἐπιχειρεῖμον καὶ οὔτοι ἀσκηταὶ μούνοι τῶν πολεμικῶν ἔργων εἰσί.

3 Τὰ δὲ ὅπλα ἄλλοι αὐτοῖσι ποιέουσι· καὶ ἵπποις ἄλλοι παρέχουσι· καὶ διακονεύουσι ἐπὶ στρατοπέδου ἄλλοι, οἱ τοὺς τε ἱπποὺς αὐτοῖσι θερα-
these come the farmers, these being the most numerous class of Indians; they have no use for warlike arms or warlike deeds, but they till the land; and they pay the taxes to the kings and to the cities, such as are self-governing; and if there is internal war among the Indians, they may not touch these workers, and not even devastate the land itself; but some are making war and slaying all comers, and others close by are peacefully ploughing or gathering the fruits or shaking down apples or harvesting. The third class of Indians are the herdsmen, pasturers of sheep and cattle, and these dwell neither by cities nor in the villages. They are nomads and get their living on the hillsides, and they pay taxes from their animals; they hunt also birds and wild game in the country.

XII. The fourth class is of artisans and shopkeepers; these are workers, and pay tribute from their works, save such as make weapons of war; these are paid by the community. In this class are the shipwrights and sailors, who navigate the rivers. The fifth class of Indians is the soldiers' class, next after the farmers in number; these have the greatest freedom and the most spirit. They practise military pursuits only. Their weapons others forge for them, and again others provide horses; others too serve in the camps, those who groom their horses and polish
πεύουσι καὶ τὰ ὅπλα ἐκκαθαίρουσι καὶ τοὺς ἔλεφαντας ἀγούσι καὶ τὰ ἀρματα κοσμεύουσι τε καὶ ἡμιοχεύουσιν. Αὐτὸλ δὲ, ἐστί ἂν μὲν πολεμεύειν δέ, πολεμεύουσιν, εἰρήνης δὲ γενομένης εὐθυμεύονται καὶ σφίν μισθὸς ἕκ τοῦ κοινοῦ τοσόσδε ἐρχεται, ὡς καὶ ἄλλους τρέφειν ἀπ’ αὐτοῦ εὐμαρέως. "Εκτοι δὲ εἰσιν Ἰνδοῖσιν οἱ ἐπίσκοποι καλεόμενοι. Οὐτοὶ ἐφορόσι τὰ γινόμενα κατὰ τε τὴν χώρην καὶ κατὰ τὰς πόλιας καὶ ταύτα ἀναγγέλλουσι τῷ βασιλεί, ἦναπερ βασιλεύονται Ἰνδοί, ἡ τοῖσι τέλεσιν, ἦναπερ αὐτόνομοι εἰσί· καὶ τούτοις οὔ τέμις ψεύδος ἀγγείλαι οὐδέν· οὔδὲ τις Ἰνδῶν αἴτινη ἔσχε.

7 Πληθεὶ μὲν ὅλῳν τὸ γένος τοῦτό ἐστι, σοφίς δὲ καὶ δικαιότητι ἐκ πάντων προκεκριμένου ἐνθὲν οἱ τε ἀρχοντες αὐτοίσιν ἐπιλέγονται καὶ ὅσιοι νομάρχαι καὶ ὑπάρχοι καὶ θησαυροφύλακες τε καὶ στρατοφύλακες, ναύαρχοι τε καὶ ταμίαι, καὶ τῶν κατὰ γεωργίαν ἔργων ἐπιστᾶται. Γαμέειν δὲ ἐξ ἑτέρου γένεσιν οὐ θέμις, οἶνον τοῖσι γεωργοῖσιν ἐκ τοῦ δημοφυρίκου, ἢ ἐμπαλίν οὔδὲ δύο τέχνας ἐπιτηδεῦειν τὸν αὐτοῦ, οὔδὲ τοῦτο θέμις· οὔδὲ ἀμείβειν ἐξ ἑτέρου γένεσιν εἰς ἑτέρον, οἶνον γεωργικόν ἐκ νομέος γενέσθαι, ἢ νομέα ἐκ δημοφυρίκου.

9 Μοῦνον σφίσιν ἀνεῖται σοφιστὴν ἐκ πάντος γένεσις γενέσθαι· ὥστε οὐ μαλθακὰ τοῖσι σοφιστήσιν εἰς τὰ πρήγματα, ἀλλὰ πάντων ταλαιπωρότατα.
their weapons, guide the elephants, and keep in order and drive the chariots. They themselves, when there is need of war, go to war, but in time of peace they make merry; and they receive so much pay from the community that they can easily from their pay support others. The sixth class of Indians are those called overlookers. They oversee everything that goes on in the country or in the cities; and this they report to the King, where the Indians are governed by kings, or to the authorities, where they are independent. To these it is illegal to make any false report; nor was any Indian ever accused of such falsification. The seventh class is those who deliberate about the community together with the King, or, in such cities as are self-governing, with the authorities. In number this class is small, but in wisdom and uprightness it bears the palm from all others; from this class are selected their governors, district governors, and deputies, custodians of the treasures, officers of army and navy, financial officers, and overseers of agricultural works. To marry out of any class is unlawful—as, for instance, into the farmer class from the artisans, or the other way; nor must the same man practise two pursuits; nor change from one class into another, as to turn farmer from shepherd, or shepherd from artisan. It is only permitted to join the wise men out of any class; for their business is not an easy one, but of all most laborious.

XIII. Most wild animals which the Greeks hunt
θηρία, κατάπερ καὶ Ἕλληνες· ἢ δὲ τῶν ἐλεφάν-
των σφίν θήρη οὐδέν τι ἄλλη ἔοικεν, ὅτι καὶ ταῦτα τὰ θηρία οὐδαμοῦσιν ἀλλοισι θηρίοισιν
2 ἐπέοικεν. Ἀλλὰ τὸποὺν γὰρ ἐπιλεξάμενοι ἀπέδον καὶ καυματόδεια ἐν κύκλῳ τάφρου ὀρύσσουσιν, ὅσον μεγάλῳ στρατοπέδῳ ἐπαυλίσασθαι. Τῆς
dὲ τάφρου τὸ εὖρος ἐς πέντε ὀργυιάς ποιεόνται,
3 βάθος τε ἐς τέσσαρας. Τὸν δὲ χόον ὄντων ἐκβάλλουσιν ἐκ τοῦ ὀρύγματος, ἐπὶ τὰ χείλεα ἐκάτερα τῆς τάφρου ἐπιφορήσαντες, ἀντὶ τείχεος
4 διαχρέονται· αὐτὸς δὲ ἐπὶ τῷ χώματι τοῦ ἐπι-
χειλέος τοῦ ἔξω τῆς τάφρου σκηνᾶς σφίν ὀρυκτὰς
ποιεόνται, καὶ διὰ τουτῶν ὅπας ὑπολείπονται·
dι’ ὅν φῶς τε αὐτοῖς συνεισέρχεται καὶ τὰ θηρία
προσάγοντα καὶ ἐσελαύνοντα ἐς τὸ ἐρκὸς σκέπ-
5 τούται. Ἐνταῦθα ἐντὸς τοῦ ἐρκοὺς καταστή-
σαντες τῶν τινας θηλέων τρεῖς ἡ τέσσαρας, ὅσαι
μάλιστα τὸν θυμὸν χειροθήσεις, μίαν εἰσὸδον
ἀπολυμπάνουσι κατὰ τὴν τάφρον, γεφυρώσαντες
tῆς τάφρος· καὶ ταύτῃ χόον τε καὶ ποίην πολλὴν
ἐπιφέρουσι τοῦ μὴ ἀρίδηλον εἶναι τοῖς θηρίοιοι
6 τῆς γέφυρας, μη τίνα δόλων διέσβωσιν. Αὐτὸς
μὲν οὖν ἐκποδῶν σφᾶς ἤρχουσι κατὰ τῶν σκηνῶν
tῶν ὕποι ἐς τάφροι δεδυκότες. Οἱ δὲ ἄγριοι
ἐλέφαντες ἡμέρης μὲν οὐ πελάξουσι τοῖς οἰκε-
μένοις, νῦκτωρ δὲ πλανῶντα τε πάντῃ καὶ
ἀγεληθῶν νέμονται τὸ μεγίστῳ καὶ γεγνατότατῷ
σφῶν ἐπόμενοι, κατάπερ αἱ βόες τοῖς ταύρουσιν.
7 Ἐπειτά ὃν τῷ ἐρκεῖ πελάσωσι, τῷ τε φωνὴν
ἀκούοντες τῶν θηλέων καὶ τῇ ὀabyrinth aįσθανόμενοι,
1 ὅτι is difficult; it should mean “down in”; Schmiedel
gives ἐπὶ.
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the Indians hunt also, but these have a way of hunting elephants unlike all other kinds of hunting, just as these animals are unlike other animals. It is this; they choose a place that is level and open to the sun’s heat, and dig a ditch in a circle, wide enough for a great army to camp within it. They dig the ditch five fathoms broad, and four deep. The earth which they throw out of the ditch they heap on either side of the ditch, and so use it as a wall; then they make shelters for themselves, dug out of the wall on the outside of the ditch, and leave small windows in them; through these the light comes in, and also they watch the animals coming in and charging into the enclosure. Then within the enclosure they leave some three or four of the females, those that are tamest, and leave only one entrance by the ditch, making a bridge over it; and here they heap much earth and grass so that the animals cannot distinguish the bridge, and so suspect any guile. The hunters then keep themselves out of the way, hiding under the shelters dug in the ditch. Now the wild elephants do not approach inhabited places by daylight, but at night they wander all about and feed in herds, following the largest and finest of their number, as cows do the bulls. And when they approach the ditch and hear the trumpeting of the females and perceive them by their scent, they
δρόμῳ ἔνταται ὡς ἐπὶ τὸν χῶρον τὸν πεφραγμένον ἐκπεριελθόντες δὲ τῆς ταφροῦ τὰ χείλεα εὗτ’ ἄν τῇ γεφύρῃ ἐπιτύχωσι, κατὰ ταύτην ἐς τὸ ἔρκος ὁδέονται. Οἱ δὲ ἀνθρώπων αἰσθόμενοι τὴν ἔσοδον τῶν ἐλεφάντων τῶν ἁγρίων, οἱ μὲν αὐτῶν τὴν γέφυραν οξέος ἀφεὶλον, οἱ δὲ ἐπὶ τὰς πέλας κώμας ἀποδραμόντες ἀγγέλλουσι τοὺς ἐλέφαντας ὅτι ἐν τῷ ἔρκει ἐχονται: οἱ δὲ ἀκούσαντες ἐπιβαίνουσι τῶν κρατίστων τὰς τοῦ θυμὸν καὶ τῶν χειροπιθετάτων ἐλεφάντων, ἐπιβάντες δὲ ἐλαύνουσιν ὡς ἐπὶ τὸ ἔρκος, ἐλάσαντες δὲ οὐκ αὐτίκα μάχης ἀποτονταῖ, ἀλλὰ ἔσωσι γὰρ λιμῷ τε ταλαιπωρηθῆναι τοὺς ἁγρίους ἐλέφαντας καὶ ὑπὸ τῷ διψεῖ δουλωθῆναι. Εὗτ’ ἄν δὲ σφίσι κακῶς ἔχειν δοκέω, τηνικαίτα ἐπιστήσαντες αὐθίς τὴν γέφυραν ἐλαύνουσί τε ὡς ἐς τὸ ἔρκος, καὶ τὰ μὲν πρῶτα μάχη ἵσταται κρατερή τοῖσιν ἡμέροισι τῶν ἐλεφάντων πρὸς τοὺς ἐλασκότας. Ἐπειτα κρατεόντα μὲν κατὰ τὸ εἴκος οἱ ἁγριοὶ ὑπὸ τῇ ἀθυμῇ καὶ τῷ λιμῷ ταλαιπωρεύμενοι.

11 Οἱ δὲ ἀπὸ τῶν ἐλεφάντων καταβάντες παρεμένοντες παρεμένοντες ἢδη τοῖσιν ἁγρίοισι τοὺς πόδας ἀκροὺς συνδέουσιν. Ἐπειτα ἐγκελεύονται τοῖσιν ἡμέροις πληγῆσαι σφᾶς κολάξειν πολλῆς, ἐστ’ ἂν ἐκεῖνοι ταλαιπωρεύμενοι ἐς γῆν πέσωσιν παραστάντες δὲ βρόχους περιβάλλουσιν αὐτοῖς κατὰ τοὺς αὐχένας, καὶ αὐτοὶ ἐπιβαίνουσι κειμένοις. Τοῦ δὲ μὴ ἀποσείεθαι τοὺς ἀμβατάς μηδὲ τὸ ἀλλο ἀτάσθαλον ἐργάζεσθαι, τὸν τράχηλον αὐτοῖσιν ἐν κύκλῳ μαχαίρῳ ὅξει ἐπιτέμνουσι, καὶ τὸν βρόχον κατὰ τὴν τομὴν περιδέουσιν, ὡς ἀτέμα ἔχειν τὴν κεφαλὴν τε καὶ τὸν τράχηλον ὑπὸ τοῦ 344
rush to the walled enclosure; and when, working round the outside edge of the ditch, they find the bridge, they push across it into the enclosure. Then the hunters, perceiving the entry of the wild elephants, some smartly remove the bridge, others hurrying to the neighbouring villages report that the elephants are caught in the enclosure; and the inhabitants on hearing the news mount the most spirited, and at the same time most disciplined elephants, and then drive them towards the enclosure, and when they have driven them thither they do not at once join battle, but allow the wild elephants to grow distressed by hunger and to be tamed by thirst. But when they think they are sufficiently distressed, then they erect the bridge again, and enter the enclosure; and at first there is a fierce battle between the tamed elephants and the captives, and then, as one would expect, the wild elephants are tamed, distressed as they are by a sinking of their spirits and by hunger. Then the riders dismounting from the tamed elephants tie together the feet of the now languid wild ones; then they order the tamed elephants to punish the rest by repeated blows, till in their distress they fall to earth; then they come near them and throw nooses round their necks; and climb on them as they lie there. And that they may not toss their drivers nor do them any injury, they make an incision in their necks with a sharp knife, all round, and bind their noose round the wound, so that by reason of the sore they keep
13 ἐλκεος. Εἰ γὰρ περιστρέφοντο ὑπὸ ἀτασθαλίας, τρίβεται αὐτοῖς τὸ ἐλκος ὑπὸ τῷ κάλφῳ. Οὕτω μὲν ὁν ἄτρέμα ἐσχονεί, καὶ αὐτοὶ γνωσιμαχέοντες ἦδη ἀγονται κατὰ τὸν δεσμὸν πρὸς τῶν ἡμέρων.

XIV. Ὁσιὶ δὲ νῆπιοι αὐτῶν ἡ διὰ κακότητα οὐκ ἀξιοὶ ἐκτίθεναι, τούτους ἔδωσιν ἀπαλλάττεσθαι. 2 θαί ἐς τὰ σφέτερα ἡθεῖα. Ἀγοντες δὲ εἰς τὰς κόμας τοὺς ἀλόντας τοῦ τε χλωροῦ καλάμου καὶ τῆς ποιῆς τὰ πρῶτα ἐμφαγεῖν ἔδοσαν. οἱ δὲ ὑπὸ ἀθυμίας οὐκ ἐθέλουσιν οὐδὲν σιτέεσθαι, τούτῳ δὲ περιστάμενοι οἱ Ἱνδοὶ φοῦναι καὶ τυμπάνοις καὶ κυμβάλοισιν ἐν κύκλῳ κρουόντες τε καὶ 4 ἐπάδοντες κατευνάζουσι. Ὁμόσοφον γὰρ εἰπερ τι ἄλλο θηρίον ὁ ἐλέφας· καὶ τινὲς ἦδῃ αὐτῶν τοὺς ἀμβάτας σφῶν ἐν πολέμῳ ἀποθανόντας ἄραντες αὐτοὶ ἔξηνεγκαν ἐς ταφῆν, οἱ δὲ καὶ ὑπερήπισαν κεμένους, οἱ δὲ καὶ πεσόντων προεκινδύνευσαν· οδὸς τε πρὸς ὄργην ἀποκτείνας τοῦ ἀμβάτην ὑπὸ μετανοίας τε καὶ ἀθυμίας ἀπε- 5 θανεν. Εἰδον δὲ ἐγὼνε καὶ κυμβαλίζοντα ἦδη ἐλέφαντα καὶ ἄλλους ὀρχεομένους, κυμβάλοιον τῷ κυμβαλίζοντι1 πρὸς τοὺς σκελοῦν τῶν ἐμπρο- σθεν προσηρτημένοι, καὶ πρὸς τῇ προβοσκίδι 6 καλεομένῃ ἄλλῳ κύμβαλοβ· οδὸς ἐν μέρει τῇ προβοσκίδι ἔκρουε τὸ κύμβαλον ἐν ρυθμῷ πρὸς ἐκατέρω τῶν σκελοίν· οἱ δὲ ὀρχεόμενοι ἐν κύκλῳ τε ἐχόρευσαν, καὶ ἐπαύρινας τε καὶ ἐπι- κάμπτοντες τὰ ἐμπροσθεν σκέλεα ἐν τῷ μέρει ἐν ρυθμῷ καὶ οὕτω έβαίνουν, κατόπι ο κυμβαλίζων 7 σφίσιν ὑπηγέετο. Βαίνεται δὲ ἐλέφας, ἦρος

1 κυμβάλου and ἀρτημένου Hercher, but one cymbal strikes the other.
their heads and necks still. For were they to turn round to do mischief, the wound beneath the rope chafes them. And so they keep quiet, and perceiving that they are conquered, they are led off by the tamed elephants by the rope.

XIV. Such elephants as are not yet full grown or from some defect are not worth the acquiring, they allow to depart to their own lairs. Then they lead off their captives to the villages and first of all give them green shoots and grass to eat; but they, from want of heart, are not willing to eat anything; so the Indians range themselves about them and with songs and drums and cymbals, beating and singing, lull them to sleep. For if there is an intelligent animal, it is the elephant. Some of them have been known, when their drivers have perished in battle, to have caught them up and carried them to burial; others have stood over them and protected them. Others, when they have fallen, have actively fought for them; one, indeed, who in a passion slew his driver, died from remorse and grief. I myself have seen an elephant clanging the cymbals, and others dancing; two cymbals were fastened to the player’s forelegs, and one on his trunk, and he rhythmically beat with his trunk the cymbal on either leg in turn; the dancers danced in circle, and raising and bending their forelegs in turn moved also rhythmically, as the player with the cymbals marked the time for them. The elephants mate in spring, as do oxen
δῆρι, κατάπερ βοῦς ἢ ἵππος, ἐπειδὰν τῇς θηλέσιν αἴ παρὰ τοῖς κροτάφοισιν ἀναπνοαὶ ἀνοιχθεῖσαι ἐκπνέωσιν κύκει δὲ τοὺς ἐλαχίστους μὲν ἐκκαίδεκα μῆνας, τοὺς πλεῖστους δὲ ὀκτωκαίδεκα. τίκτει δὲ ἐν, κατάπερ ἵππος· καὶ τοῦτο ἐκτρέφει τῷ γά-8 λακτὶ ἐς ἐτος ὁγδοον. Ζῶσι δὲ ἐλεφάντων οἱ πλεῖστα ἔτεα ζώντες ἐς διηκόσια· πολλοὶ δὲ νοῦσῳ προτελευτῶσιν αὐτῶν· γάρ ἡραὶ δὲ ἐς τόσον 9 ἔρχονται. Καὶ ἐστιν αὐτοίσι τῶν μὲν ὀφθαλμῶν ἡμα τὸ βόειον γάλα ἐγχεόμενον, πρὸς δὲ τὰς ἄλλας νοῦσους ὁ μέλας οἶνος πινόμενος, ἔπι δὲ τοῖς ἐλκεσι τὰ ὑειά κρέα ὀπτώμενα καὶ κατα-πασσόμενα. ¹ Ταῦτα παρ’ Ἰνδοῖσιν ἐστιν αὐτοίσιν ἡματα.

XV. Τοῖ δὲ ἐλέφαντος τῶν τίγρων πολλῶν τι ἄλκιμώτερον Ἰνδοὶ ἁγοῦσι. Τίγριος δὲ δορῆ 2 μὲν ἰδεῖν λέγει Νέαρχος, αὐτῶν δὲ τίγρων, οὐκ ἰδεῖν: ἄλλα τοὺς Ἰνδοὺς γὰρ ἀπηγέεσθαι, τίγριν εἶναι μέγεθος μὲν ἡλίκιον τὸν μέγιστον ἵππον, τὴν δὲ ὀκύτητα καὶ ἄλκην οἴνος οὐδενὶ ἄλλῳ εἰκάσαι: τίγριν γὰρ, ἐπειδὰν ὀμοῦ ἔλθῃ ἐλέφαντι, ἐπιτηδέαν τε ἐπὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν τοῦ ἐλεφάντος καὶ ἄγχειν 3 ἐντετέως. Ταῦτα δὲ ἀστινας καὶ ἡμεῖς ὀρέομεν καὶ τίγριας καλέομεν, θῶν εἰναι αἰόλους καὶ 4 μέζονας ἥπερ τοὺς ἄλλους θῶν. Ἔπει καὶ ὑπὲρ τῶν μυρμήκων λέγει Νέαρχος μῦρμηκα μὲν αὐτῶς οὐκ ἰδέειν, ὅποιον δὴ τινα μετέξετοι διεγραψαν γένεσθαι ἐν τῇ Ἰνδῶν γῆ, δορᾶς δὲ καὶ τοῦτων ἰδεῖν πολλὰς ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον κατακομμοῦσθείσας 5 τὸ Μακεδονικὸν. Μεγασθένης δὲ καὶ ἀτρέκεα εἰναι ὑπὲρ τῶν μυρμήκων τὸν λόγον ἱστορεῖ, ¹ Haüpt's πλασσόμενα is likely.
and horses, when certain pores about the temples of the females open and exhale; the female bears its offspring sixteen months at the least, eighteen at most; it has one foal, as does a mare; and this it suckles till its eighth year. The longest-lived elephants survive to two hundred years; but many die before that by disease; but as far as mere age goes, they reach this age. If their eyes are affected, cow's milk injected cures them; for their other sicknesses a draught of dark wine, and for their wounds swine's flesh roast, and laid on the spot, are good. These are the Indian remedies for them.

XV. The Indians regard the tiger as much stronger than the elephant. Nearchus writes that he had seen a tiger's skin, but no tiger; the Indians record that the tiger is in size as great as the largest horse, and its swiftness and strength without parallel, for a tiger, when it meets an elephant, leaps on to the head and easily throttles it. Those, however, which we see and call tigers are dappled jackals, but larger than ordinary jackals. Nay, about ants also Nearchus says that he himself saw no ant, of the sort which some writers have described as native of India; he saw, however, several of their skins brought into the Macedonian camp. Megasthenes, however, confirms the accounts given about these ants; that
τούτους εἶναι τοὺς τὸν χρυσὸν ὑρύσσοντας, οὐκ αὐτοῦ τοῦ χρυσοῦ ἐνεκα, ἀλλὰ φύσι γὰρ κατὰ τῆς γῆς ὑρύσσοντας, ἵνα φωλευοίειν, κατάπερ οἱ ἡμέτεροι οἱ μικροὶ μύρμηκες ὀλίγον τῆς γῆς ὑρύσσοντων.

6 ἐκείνους δὲ, εἶναι γὰρ ἀλωπέκαυν μέξονας, πρὸς λόγον τοῦ μεγέθεος σφῶν καὶ τὴν γῆν ὑρύσσειν· τὴν δὲ γῆν χρυσίτων εἶναι, καὶ ἀπὸ ταῦτης 7 γίνεσθαι Ἰνδοῖς τὸν χρυσὸν. Ἀλλὰ Μεγασθένης τε ἄκοψῃ ἀπηγεῖται, καὶ ἐγὼ ὅτι οὐδὲν τούτου ἀτρεκέστερον ἀναγράψαι ἔχω, ἀπίθημι 8 ἐκῶν τὸν ὑπὲρ τῶν μυρμήκων λόγου. Σιττακοῦς δὲ Νέαρχος μὲν ὡς δὴ τι θώμα ἀπηγεῖται ὅτι γίνονται εἰς τῇ Ἰνδῷ γη, καὶ οἰκοῖς δρῦνς ἐστίν ὁ 9 σιττακός, καὶ ὅτις φωνὴν ἔχει ἀνθρωπίνην. Ἔγω δὲ ὅτι αὐτὸς τε πολλοὺς ὀπώτερα καὶ ἄλλους ἐπισταμένους οἴδα τὸν ὄρμιθα, οὐδὲν ὡς ἀτὸπον δήθεν διηγήσομαι ὡς ὑπὲρ τῶν πιθήκων τοῦ μεγέθεος, ἢ ὅτι καλοὶ παρ' Ἰνδοῖς πιθηκοὶ εἰσιν, οὐδὲ ὥς οἰκεῖς θηρῶνται ἐρέω. Καὶ ἐγὼ ταῦτα γνώριμα ἔρεω, πλὴν γε δὴ, ὅτι καλοὶ που πιθηκοὶ εἰσι. Καὶ δήσιμα δὲ λέγει Νέαρχος θηρευθῆναι αἰόλους μὲν καὶ ταχέας· μέγεθος δὲ, δὴ μὲν λέγει ἐλείν Πεθώνα τοῖς Ἀντιγένεοις, 1 πῆχεων ὡς ἐκκαίδεκα· αὐτοὺς δὲ τοὺς Ἰνδοὺς τολὴ μέξονας 10 τούτων λέγειν εἶναι τοὺς μεγίστους δήσις. Ὁσοὶ δὲ ἵπποι Ἔλληνες, τούτουςιν οὐδὲν ἄκος ἑξευρήτως ὡς ὅτις ὑπὸ δῆσιμος δηχθῆναι Ἰνδικόν· ἀλλ' αὐτοὶ γὰρ οἱ Ἰνδοὶ ἱόντο τοὺς πληγέντας· καὶ ἐπὶ τῷ Ῥέντο Νέαρχος λέγει· συγκελευμένους ἀμφ' αὐτὸν

Query, Ἀγήνορος; but possibly under some textual corruption or gloss there lurks a πῦθων or python. A (Vindobonensis) has Πῦθων.
ants do dig up gold, not indeed for the gold, but as they naturally burrow, that they may make holes, just as our small ants excavate a small amount of earth; but these, which are bigger than foxes, dig up earth also proportionate to their size; the earth is auriferous, and thus the Indians get their gold. Megasthenes, however, merely quotes hearsay, and as I have no certainty to write on the subject, I readily dismiss this subject of ants. But Nearchus describes, as something miraculous, parrots, as being found in India, and describes the parrot, and how it utters a human voice. But I having seen several, and knowing others acquainted with this bird, shall not dilate on them as anything remarkable; nor yet upon the size of the apes, nor the beauty of some Indian apes, and the method of capture. For I should only say what everyone knows, except perhaps that apes are anywhere beautiful. And further Nearchus says that snakes are hunted there, dappled and swift; and that which he states Peithon son of Antigenes to have caught,\(^1\) was upwards of sixteen cubits; but the Indians (he proceeds) state that the largest snakes are much larger than this. No Greek physicians have discovered a remedy against Indian snake-bite; but the Indians themselves used to cure those who were struck. And Nearchus adds

\(^1\) The syntax does not make clear which was the victim. See critical note.
εἶχεν Ἀλέξανδρος Ἰνδῶν ὃσοὶ ἠτρικῆν σοφῶτατοι, καὶ κεκήρυκτο ἀνὰ τὸ στρατόπεδον, ὡστὶς δηχθεῖν, ἐπὶ τὴν σκήνην φοιτάν τὴν βασιλέος. 12 Ὅτε δὲ αὐτοὶ οὖν τοῖς ἀλλοις νοῦσων τε καὶ παθέων ἴστροι ἱσαν. Οὐ πολλὰ δὲ ἐν Ἰνδοῖσι πάθεα γίνεται, ὅτι αἱ ὁρίσεις σύμμετροί εἰσίν αὐτῶθι εἰ δὲ τι μέζον καταλαμβάνοι, τοῖσι σωφιστήσει ἀνεκοινωνυτό καὶ ἕκεινοι οὐκ ἄνευ θεοῦ ἐδόκεον ἠσθαί 0 τί περ ἴσιμον.

XVI. Ἐσθήτη δὲ Ἰνδοὶ λινέα χρέονται, κατά τερλέγει Νέαρχος, λίνον τοῦ ἀπὸ τῶν δένδρων, ὑπὲρ οὗ μοι ἡ ἔλεξταὶ. Τὸ δὲ λίνον τοῦτο ἡ λαμπρότερα τὴν χροίνην ἐστὶν ἄλλον λίνον παντός, ἡ μέλανες αὐτοὶ ἐγιντες λαμπρότερον τὸ 2 λίνον φαίνεσθαι ποιέουσιν. Ἐστὶ δὲ καθὼς λίνεος αὐτοὺς ἐστε ἐπὶ μέσην τὴν κυνήμαν, εἰμα δὲ τὸ μὲν περὶ τοῖσιν ὡμοίω περιβεβλημένον, τὸ 3 δὲ περὶ τῆς κεφαλῆς εἰληγμένον. Καὶ ἐνώτει Ἰνδοὶ φορέουσιν ἐλέφαντος, ὃσοι κάρτα εὐδαί-4 μονες ὧν γὰρ πάντες Ἰνδοὶ φορέουσι. Τοὺς δὲ πῶγονας λέγει Νέαρχος ὅτι βαπτούνται Ἰνδοὶ, χροίνην δὴ ἄλλην καὶ ἄλλην οἱ μὲν, ὡς λευκοῦς φαίνεσθαι, οἱ δὲ λευκοῖς, οἱ δὲ κυανούς-5 τοὺς δὲ φοινίκεος εἰναι, τοὺς δὲ καὶ πορφυρέος, ἄλλους πρασοειδέας. Καὶ σκιάδια ὅτι προσβάλ-6 λουται τοῦ θέρεος ὃσοι οὐκ ἡμελημένοι Ἰνδῶν. Ἡποδήματα δὲ λευκοῦ δέρματος φορέουσι, περισσῶς καὶ ταῦτα ἥσκημενα καὶ τὰ ἵχνεα τῶν ὑποδημάτων αὐτοῖσι ποικίλα καὶ ὑψηλά, τοῦ μέζονοις φαίνεσθαι. Ὅπλισεις δὲ τῆς Ἰνδῶν οὐκ ὁὐτὸς εἰς τρόπος, ἀλλ’ οἱ μὲν πεζοὶ αὐτοὶ τόξον τε ἐχούσιν, ἱσόμηκες τῷ φορέουτι τὸ τόξον, 352.
that Alexander had gathered about him Indians very skilled in physic, and orders were sent round the camp that anyone bitten by a snake was to report at the royal pavilion. But these same men cured other diseases and illnesses also. But there are not many illnesses in India, since the seasons are more temperate than with us. If anyone is seriously ill, they would inform their wise men, and they were thought to use the divine help to cure what could be cured.

XVI. The Indians wear linen garments, as Nearchus says, the linen ¹ coming from the trees of which I have already made mention. This linen is either brighter than the whiteness of other linen, or the people’s own blackness makes it appear unusually bright. They have a linen tunic to the middle of the calf, and for outer garments, one thrown round about their shoulders, and one wound round their heads. They wear ivory ear-rings, that is, the rich Indians; the common people do not use them. Nearchus writes that they dye their beards various colours; some therefore have these as white-looking as possible, others dark, others crimson, others purple, others grass-green. The more dignified Indians use sunshades against the summer heat. They have slippers of white skin, and these too made neatly; and the soles of their sandals are of different colours, and also high, so that the wearers seem taller. Indian war equipment differs; the infantry have a bow, of the height of the owner; this they poise on

¹ Really cotton.
καὶ τοῦτο κἀτω ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν θέντες καὶ τῷ ποδὶ τῷ ἀριστερῷ ἀντιβάντες, οὕτως ἐκτοξέυοντο, τὴν 
7 νεωρὴν ἐπὶ μέγα ὁπίσω ἀπαγαγόντες· ὁ γὰρ ὦμοστος αὐτοίσιν ὁλύγον ἀποδέων τριπῆξεος, οὖν 
τὶ ἀντέξει τοξευθέν πρὸς Ἰνδοῦ ἄνδρος τοξικοῦ, 
οὕτε ἀσπίς οὐτε θώρηξ οὐτε εἰ τὶ καρθερὸν 
8 ἐγένετο. Ἔν δὲ τῆσιν ἀριστερῇς πέλται εἰςίν 
αὐτοίσιν ὦμοβοίνοι, στενῶτερα μὲν ἡ κατὰ τοὺς 
φορέοντας, μῆκει δὲ οὐ πολλοῦ ἀποδέονσαι. 
9 Τοῖς δὲ ἀκοντες ἀντὶ τοξῶν εἰςὶ. Μάχαιραν 
δὲ πάντες φορέουσι, πλατένι δὲ καὶ τὸ μῆκος οὐ 
μέξω τριπῆξεος· καὶ ταύτην, ἐπεάν συστάδην 
καταστῇ αὐτοίσιν ἡ μάχη (τὸ δὲ οὐκ εὐμαρέως 
Ἰνδοῖσιν ἐς ἀλλήλους ἀλληλοῦ ταῖν 
χεροῖν καταφέρουσιν ἐς τὴν πληγήν, τοῦ καρ-
10 

τερήν τὴν πληγήν γενέσθαι. Οἱ δὲ ἅπενεῖς ἀκοντία 
δύο αὐτοίσιν ἔχουσιν, οία τὰ σαύνια ἀκοντία, 
καὶ πέλτην σμικρότερην τῶν πεζῶν. Οἱ δὲ 
ἵπποι αὐτοῖσιν οὐ σεσαγμένοι εἰςίν, οὐδὲ 
χαλινοῦνται τοῖσιν Ἐλληνικοὶς χαλινοῖσιν ἡ 
τοῖσι Κελτικοῖσιν ἐμφερέως, ἀλλὰ περὶ ἄκρο 
τῳ στόματι τοῦ ἱπποῦ ἐν κύκλῳ ἔχουσι δέρμα 
ὦμοβοίνον ῥαπτὸν περιηρητημένον· καὶ ἐν τοῦτῳ 
χάλκεα κέντρα ἡ σιδήρα, οὐ κάρτα δὲ καὶ ἐστὶ 
εὕρημεν· τοῖς δὲ πλουσίοισιν ἐλεφάντινα 
κέντρα ἐστίν· ἐν δὲ τῷ στόματι σίδηρον αὐτοῖσιν 
οί ἱπποῖ ἔχουσιν, οίον περ ὅβελον, ἐνθὲν ἐξερητι-
12 

μένοι εἰςίν αὐτοῖσιν οἱ ῥυτήρες· ἐπεάν ὁν ἐπα-
γάγωσι τοῦ ῥυτήρα, ὁ τε ὅβελος· κρατεῖ τὸν 
ἱπποῦ, καὶ τὰ κέντρα, οία δὴ ἐξ αὐτοῦ ἡρτημένα, 
κεντέοντα οὐκ ἐὰν ἀλλο τῇ πείθεσθαι τῷ 
ῥυτήρι.
the ground, and set their left foot against it, and shoot thus; drawing the bowstring a very long way back; for their arrows are little short of three cubits, and nothing can stand against an arrow shot by an Indian archer, neither shield nor breastplate nor any strong armour. In their left hands they carry small shields of untanned hide, narrower than their bearers, but not much shorter. Some have javelins in place of bows. All carry a broad scimitar, its length not under three cubits; and this, when they have a hand-to-hand fight—and Indians do not readily fight so among themselves—they bring down with both hands in smiting, so that the stroke may be an effective one. Their horsemen have two javelins, like lances, and a small shield smaller than the infantry's. The horses have no saddles, nor do they use Greek bits nor any like the Celtic bits, but round the end of the horses' mouths they have an untanned stitched rein fitted; in this they have fitted, on the inner side, bronze or iron spikes, but rather blunted; the rich people have ivory spikes; within the mouth of the horses is a bit, like a spit, to either end of which the reins are attached. Then when they tighten the reins this bit masters the horse, and the spikes, being attached thereto, prick the horse and compel it to obey the rein.
ARRIAN

XVII. Τὰ δὲ σῶματα ἴσχυοι τε εἰσὶν οἱ Ἰνδοὶ καὶ εὐμῆκες, καὶ κούφοι πολλὸν τι ὑπὲρ τοὺς ἄλλους ἀνθρώπους. Ὁχήματα δὲ τοῖσι μὲν πολλοῖσιν Ἰνδῶν κάμηλοι εἰσὶ καὶ ἱπποὶ καὶ ὄνοι, 2 τοῖσι δὲ εὐθαῖμοισιν ἄλφαντες. Βασιλικὸν γὰρ ὄχημα ὁ ἄλφας παρ' Ἰνδοῖσιν ἔστι· δεὺτερον δὲ τιμῇ ἐπὶ τούτῳ τὰ τέθριππα, τρίτον δὲ αἱ κάμηλοι· τὸ δὲ ἐπὶ ἐνὸς ἱπποῦ ὄχεσθαι ἄτιμον.

3 Αἱ γυναῖκες δὲ αὐτοῖσιν, ὅσαι κάρτα σώφρονες, ἔπι μὲν ἄλλῳ μοιθῷ οὐκ ἀν τι διαμάρτοιεν, ἀλφάντα δὲ λαβοῦσα γυνὴ μίσγεται τῷ δόντι· οὐδὲ αἰσχρὸν Ἰνδὸι ἀγοῦσι τὸ ἐπὶ ἄλφαντι μιγῆναι, ἀλλὰ καὶ σεμνὸν δοκεῖ τῇ γυναιξίν.

4 ἄξιην τὸ κάλλος φανὴν ἄλφαντος. Γαμέουσι δὲ οὔτε τι διδόντες οὔτε λαμβάνοντες, ἀλλὰ ὅσαι ἤδη ὁμοίαι γάμου, ταῦτας οἱ πατέρες προάγοντες ἐς τὸ ἐμφανὲς κατιστᾶσιν ἐκλέξασθαι τῷ νικήσαντι πάλην ἢ πῦξ ἢ δρόμον, ἢ κατ' ἀλλὴν τινὰ ἀνδρίῃν προκριθέντι. Σιτοφάγοι δὲ καὶ ἄρτοτρες Ἰνδοὶ εἰσὶν, ὅσοι γε μὴ ὁρεῖοι αὐτῶν οὕτωι δὲ τὰ θήρεια κρέα σιτέονται.

6 Ταῦτα μοι ἀπόχρη δεδηλῶσθαι ὑπὲρ Ἰνδῶν, ὅσα γνωριμώτατα Νέαρχος τε καὶ Μεγασθένης, 7 δοκίμω ἄνδρε, ἀνεγραψάτην ἐπεὶ δὲ οὐδὲ ἡ ὑπόθεσις μοι τῆς τῆς ἕναγραφῆς τὰ Ἰνδῶν νόμμα ἀναγράφαι ἦν, ἀλλ' ὅπως γὰρ παρεκκομίσθη Ἀλέξανδρῳ ἐς Πέρσας ἐς Ἰνδῶν ὁ στόλος, ταῦτα δὴ μοι ἐκβολή ἐστο τοῦ λόγου.

XVIII. Ἀλέξανδρος γὰρ, ἐπειδὴ οἱ παρεσκεύαστο τὸ ναυτικὸν ἐπὶ τοῦ Τδάςπεω τῆς ὄχθης, ἐπιλεγόμενος ὅσοι τε Φοινίκων καὶ ὅσοι Κύπριοι ἢ Αἰγύπτιοι εἶποντο ἐν τῇ ἀνω
XVII. The Indians in shape are thin and tall and much lighter in movement than the rest of mankind. They usually ride on camels, horses, and asses; the richer men on elephants. For the elephant in India is a royal mount; then next in dignity is a four-horse chariot, and camels come third; to ride on a single horse is low. Their women, such as are of great modesty, can be seduced by no other gift, but yield themselves to anyone who gives an elephant; and the Indians think it no disgrace to yield thus on the gift of an elephant, but rather it seems honourable for a woman that her beauty should be valued at an elephant. They marry neither giving anything nor receiving anything; such girls as are marriageable their fathers bring out and allow anyone who proves victorious in wrestling or boxing or running or shows pre-eminence in any other manly pursuit to choose among them. The Indians eat meal and till the ground, except the mountaineers; but these eat the flesh of game. This must be enough for a description of the Indians, being the most notable things which Nearchus and Megasthenes, men of credit, have recorded about them. But as the main subject of this my history was not to write an account of the Indian customs but the way in which Alexander’s navy reached Persia from India, this must all be accounted a digression.

XVIII. For Alexander, when his fleet was made ready on the banks of the Hydaspes, collected together all the Phoenicians and all the Cyprians and Egyptians who had followed the northern expedition.
στρατηλασίαν, ἐκ τούτων ἐπλήρου τὰς νέας, ὑπηρεσίας τε αὐτήν καὶ ἑρέτας ἐπιλεγόμενος, 2 ὅσιοι τῶν θαλασσίων ἔργων δαήμονες. Ἡσαν δὲ καὶ νησιώται ἄνδρες οὖν ὁλίγοι ἐν τῇ στρατιᾷ, οἱ σταύτα ἐμελε, καὶ Ἰωνεῖς καὶ Ἐλλησπόντιοι. 3 Τριήμαρχοι δὲ αὐτῷ ἑπεστάθησαν, ἐκ Μακεδόνων μὲν Ἡφαιστίων 1 τε Ἀμύντορος, καὶ Λέοννατος ὁ Εὐνοῦ, καὶ Λυσίμαχος ὁ Ἀγαθοκλέους, καὶ Ἀσκληπιόδωρος ὁ Τιμάνδρου, καὶ Ἀρχων ὁ Κλεινίου, καὶ Δημόνικος ὁ Αθηναίου, καὶ Ἀρχίας ὁ Ἀναξιδότου, καὶ Ὀφέλλας Σειληνοῦ, καὶ 4 Τιμάνθης Παντιάδου, οὗτοι μὲν Πελλαιοί. Ἔκ δὲ Ἀμφιπόλεως ἦγον οἱδε: Νέαρχος Ἀνδροτίμου, δε τὰ ἀμφὶ τὸ παράπλω ἀνέγραψε καὶ Λαοµέδων ὁ Λαρίχου, καὶ Ἀνδροσθένης Καλλιστράτου. 5 ἐκ δὲ Ὁρεστίδος Κράτερος τε ὁ Ἀλεξάνδρου, καὶ Περδίκκας ὁ Ὀρώντω. Ἑσράδαίοι τε Πολεµαῖος τε ὁ Λάγου καὶ Ἀριστόνους ὁ Πεισαίοι. Ἔκ Πύδνης τε Μήτρων τε ὁ Ἐπιχάρμου, καὶ 6 Νικαρχίδης ὁ Σίμου. Ἐπὶ δὲ Ἀτταλὸς τε ὁ Ἀνδρομένεως, Στυμφαίους, καὶ Πευκέστας Ἀλεξάνδρου, Μιεζεύς, καὶ Πείθων Κρατέους, Ἀλκοµενεύς, καὶ Λεοννάτος Ἀντιπάτρου, Ἀγαίου, καὶ Πάνταυχος Νικολάου, Ἀλωρίθης, καὶ Μυλλέας Ζωίλου, Βεροιαῖος: οὗτοι μὲν οἱ ξύμπαντες Μακε- 7 δόνες. Ἐλλήνων δὲ Μῆδιοι μὲν Ὁξυνθέμοις, Λαρισσαῖος, Εὐμένης δὲ Ἰερωνύμου, ἐκ Καρδής, Κριτόβουλος δὲ Πλάτωνος, Κῶς, καὶ Θῶς Μνηδώρου, καὶ Μαίανδρος Μανδρογένεως, Μάγ- 1 Many names of this chapter have been emended from known sources. A. makes several mistakes, such as Λαμπέδων for Λαμπέδων.
From these he manned his ships, picking out as crews and rowers for them any who were skilled in seafaring. There were also a good many islanders in the army, who understood these things, and Ionians and Hellenes. As commanders of triremes were appointed, from the Macedonians, Hephaestion son of Amyntor, and Leonnatus son of Eunous, Lysimachus son of Agathocles, and Asclepiodorus son of Timander, and Archon son of Cleinias, and Demonicus son of Athenaeus, Archias son of Anaxidotus, Ophellas son of Seilenus, Timanthes son of Pantiades; all these were of Pella. From Amphipolis these were appointed officers: Nearchus son of Androtimus, who wrote the account of the voyage; and Laomedon son of Larichus, and Androstenes son of Callistratus; and from Orestis, Craterus son of Alexander, and Perdiccas son of Orontes. Of Eordaea, Ptolemaeus son of Lagos and Aristonous son of Peisaeus; from Pydna, Metron son of Epicharmus and Nicarchides son of Simus. Then besides, Attalus son of Andromenes, of Stymph; Peucetias son of Alexander, from Mieza; Peithon son of Crateuas, of Alcomenae; Leonnatus son of Antipater, of Aegae; Pantauchus son of Nicolaus, of Aloris; Mylleas son of Zoilus, of Beroea; all these being Macedonians. Of Greeks, Medius son of Oxythemis, of Larisa; Eumenes son of Hieronymus, from Cardia; Critobulus son of Plato, of Cos; Thoas son of Menodorus, and Maeander, son of Mandro-
8 νητές. Ἄνδρων δὲ Καβῆλεω, Τήιος, Κυπρίων δὲ Νικοκλέης Πασικράτεως, Σόλιος, καὶ Νιθάφων Πυνταγόρεως, Σαλαμίνιος. Ἡν δὲ δὴ καὶ Πέρσης
9 αὐτῷ τριήραρχος, Βαγώας ὁ Φαρμονχέως· τῆς δὲ αὐτοῦ Ἀλεξάνδρου νεός κυβερνήτης ἦν Ὁνησίκριτος Ἀστυπαλαιώς· γραμματεὺς δὲ τοῦ στόλου παντὸς Ἐναγόρας Ἐυκλέωνος, Κορίνθιος.
10 Ναύαρχος δὲ αὐτοῦ ἔπεστάθη Νέαρχος Ἀνδροτίμου, τὸ γένος μὲν Κρής ὁ Νέαρχος, ὁκεε δὲ ἐν
11 Ἀμφιπόλει τῇ ἐπὶ Στρυμώνι. Ὡς δὲ ταῦτα ἐκεκόμητο Ἀλεξάνδρῳ, ἔθευ τοῖς θεοῦς ὅσοι τε πάτρῳ ἢ μαντευτοῖ αὐτῷ, καὶ Ποσειδώνι καὶ Ἀμφιτρῖτη καὶ Νηρησί καὶ αὐτῷ τῷ Ὀκεανῷ, καὶ τῷ Ἰδασπή ποταμῷ, ἀπὸ τοῦ ὄρματο, καὶ τῷ Ἀκείρῳ, ἐς ὄντινα ἐκδιδοῖ Ἰδασπῆς, καὶ τῷ
12 Ἰνδῳ, ἐς ὄντινα ἄμφω ἐκδιδοῦσιν· ἀγῶνες τε αὐτῷ μουσικῷ καὶ γυμνικῷ ἐποιεύντω, καὶ ἱερήια τῇ στρατηγῷ πάσῃ κατὰ τέλεα ἐδίδοτο.

XIX. Ὡς δὲ πάντα ἔξηρτυτο αὐτῷ εἰς ἀναγωγὴν, Κράτερον μὲν τὰ ἐπὶ θάτερα τοῦ Ἰδασπέων ἱέαναι σὺν τῇ στρατηγῷ ἐκέλευσε πεζικῇ τε καὶ ἰππικῇ· ἐς τὸ ἐπὶ θάτερα δὲ Ἡφαιστίων αὐτῷ παρεπορεύετο, σὺν ἄλλῃ στρατηγῇ πλείον ἐπὶ τῆς τῷ Κρατέρῳ συντεταγμένης. Καὶ τοὺς ἐλεφαντάς Ἡφαιστίων αὐτῷ ἤγεν, ὄντας ἐς διηθο-
2 σίους. Ἀυτὸς δὲ τοὺς τε ὑπαιτιστὰς καλεο-
3 μένους ἄμα οἱ ἤγε, καὶ τοὺς τοξότας πάντας, καὶ τῶν ἰππέων τοὺς ἐταίρους καλεομένους· τοὺς
4 πάντας ἐς ὀκτακισχίλιοι. Τοῖς μὲν δὴ ἄμβλι
5 Κράτερον καὶ Ἡφαιστίωνα ἐτέτακτο, ἕνα προ-
6 πορευθέντας ὑπομένοιεν τὸν στόλον. Φιλιππον
dὲ, δὲ αὐτῷ σατράπης τῆς χώρης ταύτης ἦν, ἐπὶ 360
genes, of Magnesia; Andron son of Cabeleus, of Teos; of Cyprians, Nicocles son of Pasicrates, of Soli; and Nithaphon son of Pnytagoras, of Salamis. Alexander appointed also a Persian trierarch, Bagoas son of Pharnuces; but of Alexander's own ship the helmsman was Onesicritus of Astypalaea; and the accountant of the whole fleet was Euagoras son of Eucleon, of Corinth. As admiral was appointed Nearchus, son of Androtimus, Cretan by race, and he lived in Amphipolis on the Strymon. And when Alexander had made all these dispositions, he sacrificed to the gods, both the gods of his race, and all of whom the prophets had warned him, and to Poseidon and Amphitrite and the Nereids, and to Ocean himself and to the river Hydaspes, whence he started, and to the Acesines, into which the Hydaspes runs, and to the Indus, into which both run; and he instituted contests of art and of athletics, and victims for sacrifice were given to all the army, according to their detachments.

XIX. Then when he had made all ready for starting the voyage, Alexander ordered Craterus to march by the one side of the Hydaspes with his army, cavalry and infantry alike; Hephaestion had already started along the other, with another army even bigger than that under Craterus. Hephaestion took with him the elephants, up to the number of two hundred. Alexander himself took with him all the peltasts, as they are called, and all the archers, and of the cavalry, those called "Companions"; in all, eight thousand. But Craterus and Hephaestion, with their forces, were ordered to march ahead and await the fleet. But he sent Philip, whom he had made satrap of this country, to the banks of the river
τοῦ Ἀκεσίνου ποταμοῦ τὰς ὀχθὰς πέμπει, ἀμα 5 στρατηγὴ πολλῆ καὶ τούτων ἥδη γὰρ καὶ δώδεκα μυριάδες αὐτῶ μάχιμοι εἶποντο σύν οἰς ἀπὸ θαλάσσης τε αὐτῶς ἀνήγαγε καὶ αὐθείς οἱ ἐπὶ συλλογὴν αὐτῶ στρατηγῆς πεμψθέντες ἢκον ἔχοντες, παντοῖα ἔθνεα βαρβαρικὰ ἀμα οἱ 6 ἄγοντι, καὶ πᾶσαν ἰδέην ἀπλισμένα. Αὐτὸς δὲ ἀρας ταῖς νυσὶ κατέπλει κατὰ τὸν 'Τθᾶσπεα ἐστε ἐπὶ τοῦ Ἀκεσίνου τε καὶ τοῦ 'Τθᾶσπεω τὰς 7 συμβολὰς. Νέες δὲ αἱ σύμπται αὐτῶ χήλαι καὶ ὠκτακόσια ἤσαν, αἱ τε μακραὶ καὶ ὅσα στρογγύλα πλοῖα καὶ ἄλλα ἵππαγωγὰ καὶ σιτία 8 ἀμα τῇ στρατηγῇ ἄγουσαι. "Οκως μὲν δὴ κατὰ τοὺς ποταμοὺς διέπλωσεν αὐτῶ ὁ στόλος, καὶ ὅσα ἐν τῷ παράπλω ἔθνεα κατεστρέψατο, καὶ ὅκως διὰ κινδύνου αὐτῶς ἐν Μαλλοίσι διε, καὶ τὸ τρώμα δὴ ἐτρώθη ἐν Μαλλοίσι, καὶ Πευκεστας τε καὶ Λέωννατος ὅκως ὑπερήσπισαν αὐτῶν πεσόντα, πάντα ταύτα λέειται μοι ἡδὴ ἐν τῇ 9 ἄλλῃ τῇ 'Αττικῇ ἑυγγραφῇ. 'Ὁ δὲ λόγος ὅδε τοῦ παράπλου μοι ἀπήγησις ἦστιν, ὥν Νέαρχος συν τῷ στόλῳ παρέπλωσεν ἀπὸ τοῦ 'Ινδοῦ τῶν ἐκβολέων ὀρμηθεὶς κατὰ τὴν θάλασσαν τὴν μεγάλην ἕστε ἐπὶ τῶν κόλπων τῶν Περσικῶν, ἢν δὴ 'Ερυθρῆν θάλασσαν μετεξέτεροι καλέουσι.  
XX. Νέαρχος δὲ λέειται ὑπὲρ τούτων ὅδε ὁ λόγος: πόθον μὲν εἴναι 'Αλεξάνδρῳ ἑκπεπιλώσαι τὴν θάλασσαν τὴν ἀπὸ 'Ινδῶν ἐστε ἐπὶ τὴν 2 Περσικῆν, ὅκνειν δὲ αὐτῶν τοῦ τε πλοῦ τὸ μήκος καὶ μὴ των ἀρά χώρῃ ἐρήμῳ ἐγκυρσάντες ἡ ὀρμῆν ἀπόρῳ ἢ οὐ ξυμμέτρως ἔχούσῃ τῶν ὦραιῶν, οὔτω δὴ διαφθαρῇ αὐτῶ ὁ στόλος, καὶ 362
Acesines, Philip also with a considerable force; for by this time a hundred and twenty thousand men of fighting age were following him, together with those whom he himself had brought from the sea-coast; and with those also whom his officers, sent to recruit forces, had brought back; so that he now led all sorts of Oriental tribes, and armed in every sort of fashion. Then he himself loosing his ships sailed down the Hydaspes to the meeting-place of Acesines and Hydaspes. His whole fleet of ships was eighteen hundred, both ships of war and merchantmen, and horse transports besides and others bringing provisions together with the troops. And how his fleet descended the rivers, and the tribes he conquered on the descent, and how he endangered himself among the Mallians, and the wound he there received, then the way in which Peucestas and Leonnatus defended him as he lay there—all this I have related already in my other history, written in the Attic dialect. This my present work, however, is a story of the voyage, which Nearchus successfully undertook with his fleet starting from the mouths of the Indus by the Ocean to the Persian Gulf, which some call the Red Sea.

XX. On this Nearchus writes thus: Alexander had a vehement desire to sail the sea which stretches from India to Persia; but he disliked the length of the voyage and feared lest, meeting with some country desert or without roadsteads, or not properly provided with the fruits of the earth, his whole fleet might be destroyed; and this, being no small blot
οὐ φαύλη κηλίς αὕτη τοῖς ἔργοισιν αὐτοῦ τοῖς μεγάλοισιν ἐπιγενομένη τὴν πάσαν εὐτυχίην αὐτῷ ἀφανίσοι· ἀλλὰ ἐκνικήσαι γὰρ αὐτῷ τὴν ἐπιθυμίην τοῦ καίνον τι αἰεὶ καὶ ἀτοπον ἐργά-
3 ξεσθαί· Ἀπόρως δὲ ἔχειν, ὅτινα ὁυκ ἀδύνατον τε ἐσ τὰ ἐπινοεύμενα ἐπιλέξαιτο, καὶ ἀμα τῶν ἐν νη ἄνδρῳ, ὡς καὶ τῶν τοιούτων στόλων στελ-
λομένων ἄρειες τὸ δείμα τοῦ δὴ ἡμελημένως αὐτοῦς ἐς προὔπτων κίνδυνον ἐκπέμπεσθαί.
4 Δέγει δὴ ὁ Νέαρχος, ἐωτῷ ἔννοοσθαί τοῖς Ἀλέξανδρον, ὅτινα προχειρισθήτο τοῖς στόλων· ὡς δὲ ἀλλο καὶ ἄλλον εἰς μνήμην ἱόντα τοὺς μὲν ὡς οὐκ ἐθέλουτας κινδυνεύειν ὑπὲρ
οὐ ἀπολέγειν, τούς δὴ ὡς μαλακοὺς τὸν θυμόν, τοὺς δὲ ὡς πόθῳ τῆς οἰκηθής κατεχομένους, τοὐς
5 δὲ ἄλλο καὶ ἄλλο ἑπικαλέοντα· τότε δὴ αὐτῶν ὑποστάντα εἰπεῖν, ὅτι Ἡ Βασιλεύ, ἐγὼ τοι
ὑποδέκομαι ἐξηγήσασθαί τοῦ στόλου, καὶ τὰ ἀπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ ξυνεπιλαμβάνοι· περιάξω τοι σώας τὰς
νέας καὶ τοὺς ἄνθρωπους ἔστε ἐπὶ τῆς Περσίδα
γῆν, εἰ δὴ πλωτός τε ἐστὶν ὁ ταύτη πόντως καὶ
6 τὸ ἔργον οὐκ ἀποροῦν γνώμη ἀνθρωπίνη. Ἀλέξ-
ανδρόν δὲ λόγῳ μὲν οὐ φάναι ἐθέλειν ἐς τοσήνδε
tαλαιπωρίῃ καὶ τοσοῦτε κινδυνοῦν τὸν τινα ἐωτοῦ φίλων ἐμβάλλει, αὐτοῦ δὲ ταύτη δὴ καὶ
7 μᾶλλον οὐκ ἀνιέναι, ἀλλὰ λιπαρεῖν. Οὗτο δὴ
ἀγαπήσαι τε Ἀλέξανδρον τοῦ Νεάρχου τὴν
προθυμίην, καὶ ἐπιστῆσαι αὐτοῦ ἄρχειν τοῦ
8 στόλου παυτός· καὶ τότε δὴ ἔτι μᾶλλον τῆς
στρατῆς ὅτι περ ἐπὶ τῷ παράπλω τῶ ἐτάσ-
σετο καὶ τὰς ὑπηρεσίας ὕλεω ἔχειν τὴν γνώμην,
ὅτι δὴ Νεάρχον γε οὐστε ἄν Ἀλέξανδρος προῆ-
364
on his great achievements, might wreck all his happiness; but yet his desire to do something unusual and strange won the day; still, he was in doubt whom he should choose, as equal to his designs; and also as the right man to encourage the personnel of the fleet, sent as they were on an expedition of this kind, so that they should not feel that they were being sent blindly to manifest dangers. And Nearchus says that Alexander discussed with him whom he should select to be admiral of this fleet; but as mention was made of one and another, and as Alexander rejected some, as not willing to risk themselves for his sake, others as chicken-hearted, others as consumed by desire for home, and finding some objection to each; then Nearchus himself spoke and pledged himself thus: "O King, I undertake to lead your fleet! And may God help the emprise! I will bring your ships and men safe to Persia, if this sea is so much as navigable and the undertaking not above human powers." Alexander, however, replied that he would not allow one of his friends to run such risks and endure such distress; yet Nearchus did not slacken in his request, but besought Alexander earnestly; till at length Alexander accepted Nearchus' willing spirit, and appointed him admiral of the entire fleet, on which the part of the army which was detailed to sail on this voyage and the crews felt easier in mind, being sure that Alexander would never have exposed
κατο ἐσ κίνδυνον καταφανεά, εἰ μὴ σφι σωθῇ
σεσθαι ἐμελλον· λαμπρότης τε πολλὴ τῇ παρα-
σκευῇ ἐπεοῦσα καὶ κόσμος τῶν νεῶν, καὶ σποῦδα
tῶν τριηράρχων ἀμφὶ τὰς ύπηρεσίας τε καὶ τὰ
πληρώματα ἐκπρεπέεσ καὶ τοὺς πάντη δὴ πάλαι
κατοκυνέουντας ἐς ρώμην ἁμα καὶ ἐλπίδας χρησ-
tοτέρας ὑπὲρ τοῦ παντὸς ἔργου ἐπηρκότα ἦν.

10 πολλὸν δὲ δὴ συνεπιλαβέσθαι ἐς εὐθυμίῃ τῇ
στρατηγῷ τὸ δὴ αὐτὸν Ἀλέξανδρον ὀρμηθέντα
κατὰ τοῦ Ἰνδὸν τὰ στόματα ἀμφότερα ἐκπλῶσαι
ἐς τὸν πόντον, σφαγία τε τῷ Ποσειδῶνι ἐντεμεῖν
καὶ ὅσοι ἄλλοι θεοὶ θαλάσσιοι, καὶ δῶρα

11 μεγαλοπρεπεά τῇ θαλάσσῃ χαρίσασθαι τῇ τε
άλλῃ τῇ Ἀλεξάνδρου παραλόγῳ εὐνυχίᾳ πεποι-
θότας οὐδὲν οὐ, τι οὐ τολμητὸν τε ἐκεῖνῳ καὶ ἐρκτὸν
ἐξηγέεσθαι.

XXI. Ὅς δὲ τὰ ἐτήσια πνεύματα ἐκοιμήθη, ἂ
δὴ τοῦ θέρεος τὴν ὀρθὴν πάσαν κατέχει ἐκ τοῦ
πελάγεος ἐπιπνέοντα ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν, καὶ ταύτῃ
ἀπορον τὸν πλόον ποιέοντα, τότε δὴ ὀρμηντὸ ἐπὶ
ἀρχοντος Ἀθηνησί Κηφισοδώρου, εἰκάδι τῷ
Βοηθρομίδων ημνὸς, κατότι Ἀθηναιὸι ἄγουν,
ὡς δὲ Μακεδόνες τε καὶ Ἂσιανοὶ ἔγουν, * * 1 τὸ
2 ἐνδέκατον βασιλεύουσος Ἀλεξάνδρου. Θυεὶ δὲ
καὶ Νέαρχος πρὸ τῆς ἀναγωγῆς Διὶ Σωτῆρι, καὶ
ἀγώνα ποιεῖ καὶ ὁ τοῦ γυμνικὸν. Ἀραντὲς δὲ
ἀπὸ τοῦ ναυστάθμου τῇ πρῶτῃ ἡμέρᾳ κατὰ τὸν
Ἰνδὸν ὀρμᾶς ὀρμῶνται ποταμὸν πρὸς διάρυχη μεγάλῃ,
καὶ μένουσιν αὐτοῦ δύο ἡμέρας. Στούρα δὲ ἦν
οὖνομα τῷ χώρῳ· στάδιοι ἀπὸ τοῦ ναυστάθμου
3 ἐς ἐκατόν. Τῇ τρίτῃ δὲ ἀραντὲς ἐπλωον ἐστε

1 After ἔγου lacuna marked by Vulciinus (ed. 1575).
Nearchus to obvious danger unless they also were to come through safe. Then the splendour of the whole preparations and the smart equipment of the ships, and the outstanding enthusiasm of the commanders of the triremes about the different services and the crews had uplifted even those who a short while ago were hesitating, both to bravery and to higher hopes about the whole affair; and besides it contributed not a little to the general good spirits of the force that Alexander himself had started down the Indus and had explored both outlets, even into the Ocean, and had offered victims to Poseidon, and all the other sea gods, and gave splendid gifts to the sea. Then trusting as they did in Alexander’s generally remarkable good fortune, they felt that there was nothing that he might not dare, and nothing that he could not carry through.

XXI. Now when the trade winds had sunk to rest, which continue blowing from the Ocean to the land all the summer season, and hence render the voyage impossible, they put to sea, in the archonship at Athens of Cephisodorus, on the twentieth day of the month Boedromion, as the Athenians reckon it; but as the Macedonians and Asians counted it, it was ... the eleventh year of Alexander’s reign.\(^1\) Nearchus also sacrificed, before weighing anchor, to Zeus the Saviour, and he too held an athletic contest. Then moving out from their roadstead, they anchored on the first day in the Indus river near a great canal, and remained there two days; the district was called Stura; it was about a hundred stades from the roadstead. Then on the third day they started forth

\(^1\) A name of a month has been lost. It was probably October 326, though Droysen fixes the date as September 325.
ἐπὶ διώρυχα ἄλλην σταδίους τριήκοντα, ἀλμυρῆν ἤδη ταύτην τὴν διώρυγα. ἀνήκει γὰρ ἡ θάλασσα ἐς αὐτὴν, μάλιστα μὲν ἐν τῆς πλημμυρίσμω, ὑπέμενε δὲ καὶ ἐν τῇ πόταμῳ ἀμβότεσι τὸ ὕδωρ μεμυγμένον τῷ ποταμῷ. Καύμαρα δὲ ἦν οὖν οὕνωμα 4 τῷ χώρῳ. Ἐνθὲν δὲ εἰκοσὶ σταδίους καταπλώσαντες ἔς Κορέστοις ὄρμιζονται ἐτί κατὰ τὸν 5 ποταμὸν. Ἐνθὲν δὲ ὀρμηθέντες ἐπλωσάτον οὐκ ἐπὶ πολλῶν· ἔρημα γὰρ ἑφάνη αὐτοῖς κατὰ τὴν ἐκβολήν τὴν ταύτην τοῦ Ἰνδοῦ, καὶ τὰ κύματα ἐρρόξθεσα πρὸς τῇ ήἰων, καὶ ἥ ή ἡνίοχος αὐτῇ πραγχέα 6 ἤν. Ἀλλα ὦπερ μαλθακῶν ἦν τοὺ ἕρματος, ταύτῃ διώρυχα ποιήσαντες ἐπὶ σταδίους πέντε, διηγοῦ τὰς νέας, ἔπειδη ή πλημμυρα ἐπῆλθεν ή 7 ἐκ τοῦ πότου. Ἐκπεριπλώσαντες δὲ σταδίους πεντήκοντα καὶ ἐκατόν ὄρμιζονται ἐς Κρῶκαλα νῆσον ἀμμώδεα, καὶ μένουσιν αὐτοῦ τὴν ἄλλην 8 ἡμέρην· προσοικείει δὲ ταύτῃ ἔθνος Ἰνδικῖν, οἱ Ἀράβας καλεόμενοι ὑπὲρ καὶ ἐν τῇ μέξους ξυν- γραφὴν μυστήριαν ἔσχον· καὶ ὅτι εἰσίν ἐπώνυμοι ποταμοῦ Ἀράβιος, ὑπὸ διὰ τῆς γῆς αὐτῶν ἡμῶν ἓκδοτοι ἐς θάλασσαν, ὄριζον τούτων τε τὴν χώρης 9 καὶ τῶν Ὀρειτέων. Ἐκ δὲ Κρωκάλων ὑπὲρ διαθήκη 10 μὲν ἐχοντες ὅρος τὸ καλεόμενον αὐτοῦ Ἡλίου, ἐν ἀριστερῇ δὲ νῆσον ἀλιτενέα ἐπλωσα· ἡ δὲ νῆσος παρατεταμένη τῇ ἡ ἡ ἐς ἑλεοῦν στεινὸν ποιεῖ. Διεκπλώσαντες δὲ ταύτην ὄρμιζονται ἐν λιμένι εὐόρμῳ· ὅτι δὲ μέγας τε καὶ καλὸς οἱ λιμένι Νεάρχῳ ἐδοξην, ἐπονομάζει αὐτῶν Ἀλεξάνδρου 11 λιμένα. Νῆσος δὲ ἐς τῷ τῷ ὕδωρ στοματε τοῦ λιμένος ὅταν σταδίους δύο ἀπέχουσα· Βίβακτα οὖν τῇ νῆσῳ· ὅ δὲ χώρος ἀπαῖς Σάγγαδα· ἡ
and sailed to another canal, thirty stades' distance, and this canal was already salt; for the sea came up into it, especially at full tides, and then at the ebb the water remained there, mingled with the river water. This place was called Caumara. Thence they sailed twenty stades and anchored at Coreëstis, still on the river. Thence they started again and sailed not so very far, for they saw a reef at this outlet of the river Indus, and the waves were breaking violently on the shore, and the shore itself was very rough. But where there was a softer part of the reef, they dug a channel, five stades long, and brought the ships down it, when the flood tide came up from the sea. Then sailing round, to a distance of a hundred and fifty stades, they anchored at a sandy island called Crocala, and stayed there through the next day; and there lives here an Indian race called Arabeans, of whom I made mention in my larger history; and that they have their name from the river Arabis, which runs through their country and finds its outlet in the sea, forming the boundary between this country and that of the Oreitans. From Crocala, keeping on the right hand the hill they call Irus, they sailed on, with a low-lying island on their left; and the island running parallel with the shore makes a narrow bay. Then when they had sailed through this, they anchored in a harbour with good anchorage; and as Nearchus considered the harbour a large and fine one, he called it Alexander's Haven. At the heads of the harbour there lies an island, about two stades away, called Bibacta; the neighbouring region, however, is called Sangada.
ARRIANN

dὲ νῆσος καὶ τὸν λιμένα, προκειμένη πρὸ τοῦ
12 πελάγεος, αὐτῇ ἔποιευ. Ἐνταῦθα πνεύματα
μεγάλα ἐκ τοῦ πόντου ἔπνεε καὶ συνεχέα, καὶ
Νέαρχος δεῖσας τῶν βαρβάρων μὴ τινες συνταχ-
thέντες ἔπ ἀρπαγήν τοῦ στρατοπέδου τραπεῖατο,
13 ἐκτείχει τὸν χώρον λιθίνῳ τείχεῖ. Τέσσαρες
dὲ καὶ εἰκοσιν ἡμέραι τῇ μονῇ ἐγένοντο· καὶ λέγει
ὅτι μόνας τε θήρων τοὺς θαλασσίους οἱ στρατιῶ-
tαι, καὶ ὅστεθα ἐκαὶ τοὺς σωλήνας καλεομένους,
ἀποπό τὸ μέγεθος, ὡς τοίς ἐν τῇ δέ τῇ ἡμετέρῃ
θαλάσσῃ συμβαλέειν· καὶ ὕδωρ ὅτι ἄλμυρον
ἐπίνετο.

XXII. Ἀμα τε ὁ ἄνεμος ἐπαύσατο καὶ οἱ
ἀνήγοντο· καὶ περαιώθεντες σταδίους ἐς ἕξή-
κουτα ὄρμιζονται πρὸς αἰγιαλὸν θαμμώδει· νῆσος
2 ἔπ ὑπὸ τῷ αἰγιαλῷ ἔρημη. Ταύτην δὲ πρόβλη-
μα ποιησάμενοι ὄρμιζοντες. Δόμαι οὖν σε ἓν
νῆσον ὕδωρ δὲ οὐκ ἦν ἐν τῷ αἰγιαλῷ, ἀλλὰ
pροελθόντες ἐς τὴν μεσογαίην ὅσον εἰκοσι
3 σταδίους ἐπιτυγχάνουσιν ὑδατὶ καλῷ. Τῇ
dὲ ὕστερα τῇ νύκτα αὐτοῖς ἐν πλοίῳ ἐγίνετο ἐς
Σάραγγα σταδίους τριήκοσίους, καὶ ὄρμιζονται
πρὸς αἰγιαλὸ, καὶ ὕδωρ ἦν ἀπὸ τοῦ αἰγιαλοῦ
4 ὅσον ὁκτὼ σταδίους. Ἐνθεν δὲ πλώσαντες
ὁρμιζονται ἐν Σακάλοισι, τόπῳ ἔρημῳ· καὶ
diεκπλώσαντες ἑκατέροις δὺ, ὅτω τα ἄλλη-
λοισι πελάζοντας, ὅστε τοὺς τάρσους τῶν νεῶν
ἀπεσθαὶ ἐνθεν καὶ ἐνθέν τῶν πετρῶν, καθορμι-
ζονται ἐν Μοροντοβάροισι, σταδίους διελθόντες
5 ἐς τριήκοσίους· ὁ δὲ λιμήν μέγας καὶ εὐκυκλος
καὶ βαθύς καὶ ἀκλυστὸς· ὁ δὲ ἔσπλους ἐς αὐτὸν

1 Α, ὅ ἄκπλόσαντες.
This island, forming a barrier to the sea, of itself makes a harbour. There constant strong winds were blowing off the ocean. Nearchus therefore, fearing lest some of the natives might collect to plunder the camp, surrounded the place with a stone wall. He stayed there thirty-three days; and through that time, he says, the soldiers hunted for mussels, oysters, and razor-fish, as they are called; they were all of unusual size, much larger than those of our seas. They also drank briny water.

XXII. On the wind falling, they weighed anchor; and after sailing sixty stades they moored off a sandy shore; there was a desert island near the shore. They used this, therefore, as a breakwater and moored there; the island was called Domai. On the shore there was no water, but after advancing some twenty stades inland they found good water. Next day they sailed up to nightfall to Saranga, some three hundred stades, and moored off the beach, and water was found about eight stades from the beach. Thence they sailed and moored at Sacala, a desert spot. Then making their way through two rocks, so close together that the oar-blades of the ships touched the rocks to port and starboard, they moored at Morontobara, after sailing some three hundred stades. The harbour is spacious, circular, deep, and calm, but its entrance is narrow. They called it, in
στεινός· τούτον τῇ γλώσσῃ τῇ ἐπιχωρήγη Γυναικών λεμένα ἐκάλεον, ὅτι γυνὴ τοῦ χῶρου τούτου
6 πρώτῃ ἐπηρέζευ. 'Ὡς δὲ διὰ τῶν σκοπέλων διεξέπλωσ, κύμασι τε μεγάλοισιν ἐνέκυρσαν καὶ
7 τῇ θαλάσσῃ ῥόῳδει; ἀλλὰ ἐκπεριπλῶσαι γὰρ ὑπὲρ τοὺς σκοπέλους μέγα ἔργον ἐφαίνετο. 'Εσ
δὲ τὴν ὑστεραίην ἐπλωον νῆσου εἰς ἀριστερὰ ἔχοντες πρὸ τοῦ πελάγεος, οὕτω τι τῷ αἰγιαλῷ
συναφέα, ὥστε εἰκάσαι ἂν διάφορα εἶναι τὸ μέσον του τε αἰγιαλοῦ καὶ τῆς νῆσου στάδιοι
8 οἱ πάντες ἐκδομήκοντα τοῦ δικέπου· καὶ ἐστὶ τοῦ αἰγιαλοῦ δένδρεα ἢν πολλὰ καὶ δασέα,
καὶ ἡ νῆσος ὑλὴ παντοῦχα σύσκιος. 'Τπὸ δὲ τὴν
9 μνημέναι τῷ πόντῳ ἤσαν ἀλλὰ τεσσαράκοντα
στάδιαν ἤς τὸ ἄνω προχωρήσαντες λάκκω ἐπι-
τυχάνουσιν, καὶ ἐνθευσάμενοι ὁ πόσῳ ἀνενο-
στησαν. Νῆσος δὲ ἐπὶ τῷ λιμένι ὑψηλῇ καὶ
ποιμηνος· καὶ περὶ ταύτην ὁστρέων τε καὶ ἱχθύων
παντοδαπῶν θηρίω. Μέχρι μὲν τοῦδε Ἀράβιες,
ἐσχατοὶ Ἰνδῶν ταύτη φιλοσέφουν, τὰ δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦδε
Ὀρείται ἐπείχον.

XXIII. 'Ορμηθέντες δὲ ἐκ τῆς ἐκβολῆς τοῦ
Ἀράβιος παρέπλωσ τὸν Ὀρείτέων τὴν χώρην
καὶ ἐκεῖτονται ἐν Παγάλοις, πλώσαντες σταδίους
6 διηκοσίους, πρὸς ῥηχίν. ἀλλὰ ἀγκύρῃσι γὰρ
ἐπίβολος ἢν ὁ χώρος. Τὰ μὲν ὃν πληρώματα
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the natives' language, "The Ladies' Pool," since a lady was the first sovereign of this district. When they had got safe through the rocks, they met great waves, and the sea running strong; and moreover it seemed very hazardous to sail seaward of the cliffs. For the next day, however, they sailed with an island on their port beam, so as to break the sea, so close indeed to the beach that one would have conjectured that it was a channel cut between the island and the coast. The entire passage was of some seventy stades. On the beach were many thick trees, and the island was wholly covered with shady forest. About dawn, they sailed outside the island, by a narrow and turbulent passage; for the tide was still falling. And when they had sailed some hundred and twenty stades they anchored in the mouth of the river Arabis. There was a fine large harbour by its mouth; but there was no drinking water; for the mouths of the Arabis were mixed with sea-water. However, after penetrating forty stades inland they found a water-hole, and after drawing water thence they returned back again. By the harbour was a high island, desert, and round it one could get oysters and all kinds of fish. Up to this the country of the Arabians extends; they are the last Indians settled in this direction; from here on the territory of the Oreitans begins.

XXIII. Leaving the outlets of the Arabis they coasted along the territory of the Oreitans, and anchored at Pagala, after a voyage of two hundred stades, near a breaking sea; but they were able all the same to cast anchor. The crews rode out the
ἀπεσάλευνον ἐν τῇς νυσίν· οἳ δὲ ἐπὶ ὕδωρ
2 ἐκβάντες ὑδρεύοντο. Τῇ δ' ὑστεραίη ἀναχθέντες ἄμα ἡμέρη καὶ πλώσαντες σταδίους ἔς τρίηκοντα καὶ τετρακοσίους κατάγονται ἐσπέριοι ἐς Κάβανα, καὶ ὀρμίζονται πρὸς αἰγιαλὸ ἐρήμως καὶ ἐνταῦθα ἰχίν τραχέα ἦν, καὶ ἔπὶ τῶδε μετεώρους τὰς
3 νέας ὀρμίσαντο. Κατὰ τούτον τὸν πλόον πνεύμα ὑπολαμβάνει τὰς νέας μέγα ἐκ πόντου, καὶ νέες δύο μπραβεῖται εἰς τὸ πλόο, καὶ κέρκουρος· οἳ δὲ ἀνθρώπους σώζεται ἀπονεχά-

μένοι, ὅτι οὐ πάρρω τῆς γῆς ὁ πλόος ἐγένετο.

4 Ἄμφι δὲ μέσας νῦκτας ἀναχθέντες πλώσουσιν ἐστε ἐπὶ Κόκαλα, ἀ τοῦ αἰγιαλοῦ, ἐνθὲν ὀρμήθησαν, ἀπέκτε σταδίους διηκοσίας καὶ αἰ

μὲν νέες σαλεύουσιν ὀρμουν, τὰ πληρώματα δὲ ἐκβιβάζει Νέαρχος πρὸς τῇ γῇ ἡνίσθη, ὅτι ἐπὶ πολλῶν τεταλαιπωρηκότες ἐν τῇ θαλάσσῃ ἀναπαύσασθαι ἐπόθενε στρατόπεδον δὲ περιε-

βάλλετο τῶν βαρβάρων τῆς φυλακῆς ἐνεκα.

5 Ἐν τούτῳ τῷ χώρῳ δεοννάτος, ὅτι τὰ Ὀρειτέων ἐξ Ἀλέξάνδρου ἐπετέραπτο, μάχη μεγάλη νικᾶ Ὀρείτας τε καὶ ὅσοι Ὀρείτησι συνεπέλαβον τοῦ ἔργου· καὶ κτείνει αὐτῶν ἐξαικεσχίους, καὶ τοὺς ἠγεμόνας πάντας· τῶν δὲ σὺν δεοννατῷ ἑπτέες μὲν ἀποθνῄσκουσι πεντεκαίδεκα, τῶν δὲ πεζῶν ἄλλοι τε οὐ πολλοὶ καὶ Ἀπολλοφάνης ὁ Γαδρω-

6 σίων σατράπης. Ταῦτα μὲν δὴ ἐν τῇ ἄλλῃ ἕγγγραφῇ ἀναγέραπται, καὶ ὅκως δεοννάτος ἐπὶ τῶδε ἐστεφανώθη πρὸς Ἀλέξανδρου χρυσέω

7 στεφάνῳ ἐν Μακεδονίαν. Ἐνταῦθα οὗτος ἦν νενεμημένος κατὰ πρόσταγμα Ἀλέξανδρου ἐς

1 Dobree suggested νενεμημένος.
seas in their vessels, though a few went in seach of water, and procured it. Next day they sailed at dawn, and after making four hundred and thirty stades they put in towards evening at Cabana, and moored on a desert shore. There too was a heavy surf, and so they anchored their vessels well out to sea. It was on this part of the voyage that a heavy squall from seaward caught the fleet, and two warships were lost on the passage, and one galley; the men swam off and got to safety, as they were sailing quite near the land. But about midnight they weighed anchor and sailed as far as Cocala, which was about two hundred stades from the beach off which they had anchored. The ships kept the open sea and anchored, but Nearchus disembarked the crews and bivouacked on shore; after all these toils and dangers in the sea, they desired to rest awhile. The camp was entrenched, to keep off the natives. Here Leonnatus, who had been in charge of operations against the Oreitans, beat in a great battle the Oreitans, along with others who had joined their enterprise. He slew some six thousand of them, including all the higher officers; of the cavalry with Leonnatus fifteen fell, and of his infantry, among a few others, Apollophanes satrap of Gadrosia. This I have related in my other history, and also how Leonnatus was crowned by Alexander for this exploit with a golden coronet before the Macedonians. There provision of corn had been gathered
ἐπιστίσιμον τῷ στρατῷ καὶ ἐμβάλλονται συτία
8 ἡμερέων δέκα ἐσ τὰς νέας· καὶ τῶν νεῶν ὅσαι
πεπονήκεσαν κατὰ τὸν πλόον μέχρι τοῦδε ἐπε-
σκεύασαν· καὶ τῶν ναυτέων ὅσοι ἐν τῷ ἑργῷ
βλακεύειν ἐφαίνοντο Νεάρχω, τούτους μὲν πεζῇ
ἀγειν Λεοννάτῳ ἠδοκεῖν· αὐτὸς δὲ ἀπὸ τῶν σὺν
Λεοννάτῳ στρατιωτῶν συμπληροῖ τὸ ναυτικὸν.
XXIV. Ἐνθέντε ὄρμηθέντες ἐπλωσον ἀκραῖος
καὶ διέλθοντες σταδίους ἐς πεντακοσίους ὀρμίζ-
οντο πρὸς ποταμό χειμάρρῳ. Τόμηρος οὐνόμα
2 ἂν τῷ ποταμῷ. Καὶ λίμνῃ ἂν ἐπὶ τῆς ἐκβο-
λήσει τοῦ ποταμοῦ· τὰ δὲ βραχέα τὰ πρὸς τῷ
αἰγαλῷ ἐπόκεον ἀνθρωποὶ ἐν καλύβησι πυ-
γηρῆς· καὶ οὗτοί ὡς προσπλώσοντας εἶδον, ἐθάμ-
βησάν τε καὶ παρατείναντες σφᾶς παρὰ τῶν
αἰγαλῶν ἐτάχθησαν ὡς ἀπομαχούμενοι πρὸς τοὺς
3 ἐκβαινοῦσας. λόγχας δὲ ἐφόρεον παχέας, μέγεθος
ὡς ἐξαπήχας· ἀκωκῇ δὲ οὐκ ἐπὶ σιδηρῇ, ἄλλα
tὸ ὄξυ αὐτῆς πεπυρακτωμένον τὸ αὐτὸ ἐποίειε·
4 πλῆθος δὲ ἦσαν ὡς ἐξακόσιοι καὶ τούτους
Νέαρχος ὡς ὑπομένοντας τε καὶ παρατεταγμένος
κατείχε, τὰς μὲν νέας ἀνακωχεύειν κελεύει ἐντὸς
βέλεσ, ὡς τὰ τοξεύματα ἐς τὴν γῆν ἄπτι αὐτῶν
ἐξικνέεσθαι· αἱ γὰρ τῶν βαρβάρων λόγχαι
παχέαι1 φαινόμεναι ἀγχέμαχοι μὲν, ἀφοβοὶ δὲ
5 ἦς τὸ ἀκοντίζεσθαι ἦσαν. Αὐτὸς δὲ τῶν στρα-
τιωτῶν ὁσοὶ αὐτοὶ τε κοινότατοι καὶ κοινότατα
ὁπλισμένοι τού τε νέειν δαμονέστατοι, τούτους
6 δὲ ἐκνήξασθαι κελεύει ἀπὸ εὐνοῦματος· πρόσ-
tαγμα δὲ σφίσιν ἦν, ὅκως τοῖς ἐκνηξάμενοι
ταῖς ἐν τῷ ὑδατὶ, προσμένειν τὸν παραστάτην
1 παχ. φαυ. comes in strangely, and Hercher omits.
ready, by Alexander's orders, to victual the host; and they took on board ten days' rations. The ships which had suffered in the passage so far they repaired; and whatever troops Nearchus thought were inclined to malinger he handed over to Leonnatus, but he himself recruited his fleet from Leonnatus' soldiery.

XXIV. Thence they set sail and progressed with a favouring wind; and after a passage of five hundred stades they anchored by a torrent, which was called Tomerus. There was a lagoon at the mouths of the river, and the depressions near the bank were inhabited by natives in stifling cabins. These seeing the convoy sailing up were astounded, and lining along the shore stood ready to repel any who should attempt a landing. They carried thick spears, about six cubits long; these had no iron tip, but the same result was obtained by hardening the point with fire. They were in number about six hundred. Nearchus observed these evidently standing firm and drawn up in order, and ordered the ships to hold back within range, so that their missiles might reach the shore; for the natives' spears, which looked stalwart, were good for close fighting, but had no terrors against a volley. Then Nearchus took the lightest and lightest-armed troops, such as were also the best swimmers, and bade them swim off as soon as the word was given. Their orders were that, as soon as any swimmer found bottom, he should
οι ἐσόμενοι μηδ’ ἐμβάλλειν πρόσθεν πρὸς τοὺς βαρβάρους, πρὶν ἐπὶ τριῶν ἐς βάθος ταχθῆναι τὴν φάλαγγα· τότε δὲ δρόμῳ ἢ δὴ λέναι ἐπὰ- 
7 λαλάξαντας. "Αμα δὲ ἐρρίπτεσον ἑωυτοὺς οἱ ἐπὶ τῶν τῶν ἐς τὸν πόλον, καὶ 
ἐνέχωντο ὄξεως, καὶ ἵσταντο ἐν κόσμῳ, καὶ φάλ-
λαγγα ἐκ σφῶν ποιησάμενοι δρόμῳ ἐπήσαν αὐτοὶ 
τε ἀλαλάξοντες τῷ Ἐνυαλίῳ, καὶ οἱ ἐπὶ τῶν 
νεῶν ξυνεπέχουσες, τοξεύματά τε καὶ ἀπὸ 
μηχανέων βέλεα ἐφεροντο ἐς τοὺς βαρβάρους· 
8 οἱ δὲ τὴν τε λαμπρότητα τῶν ὀπλῶν ἐκπλα-
γέντες καὶ τῆς ἐφόδου τὴν ὄξυτητα, καὶ πρὸς 
τῶν τοξευμάτων τε καὶ τῶν ἄλλων βελέων 
βαλλόμενοι οἱ δὴ ἡμῖνυμιν ἀνθρωποὺς, οὐδὲ 
ὁλίγον ἐς ἀλκήν τραπέντες ἐγκλίνουσι· καὶ οἱ 
μὲν αὐτοῦ φεῦγοντες ἀποδηνήκουσιν, οἱ δὲ καὶ 
ἀλίσκονται· ἔστι δὲ οἱ καὶ διέφυγον ἐς τὰ ὄρεα. 
9 Ἦσαν δὲ οἱ ἀλόντες τά τε ἅλλα σώματα δασέες 
καὶ τάσ κεφαλάς, καὶ τοὺς ὀνυχάς θηριώδεσ-
tοῖς γὰρ δὴ ὄνυξιν ὡσα σιδήρῳ διαχράσθαι 
ἐλέγοντο, καὶ τοὺς ἱχθύας τούτοις παρασχοῖκον 
κατεργάζεσθαι, καὶ τῶν ξύλων ὡσα μαλακώτερα· 
tά δὲ ἅλλα τοῦτο ἠθίοις τούσιν ὄξειν ἐκποτον· 
σίδηρος γὰρ αὐτοῖς ὡν κη. Ἐσθήτω δὲ 
ἐφόρεων δέρματα θήρεια· οἱ δὲ καὶ ἱχθύων 
τῶν μεγάλων τὰ παγέα.

XXV. Ἐνταῦθα νεώλκεουσι τὰς νέας, καὶ 
ὅσαι πεπονηκυαίν αὐτέων ἐπισκευάζουσι. Τῇ δὲ 
ἐκτῇ ἡμέρῃ ἐστελλοντο, καὶ πλώσαντες σταδίους 
ἐς τριποκοσίους ἀπικνύονται ἐς χώρον, ὅς δὲ 
ἐσχάτος ἦν τῆς Ὡρειτέων γῆς· Μάλανα τῷ 
2 χώρῳ ὀνυμα. Ὡρείται δὲ ὁσοὶ ἀνω ἀπὸ θα- 
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await his mate, and not attack the natives till they had their formation three deep; but then they were to raise their battle cry and charge at the double. On the word, those detailed for this service dived from the ships into the sea, and swam smartly, and took up their formation in orderly manner, and having made a phalanx, charged, raising, for their part, their battle cry to the God of War, and those on shipboard raised the cry along with them; and arrows and missiles from the engines were hurled against the natives. They, astounded at the flash of the armour, and the swiftness of the charge, and attacked by showers of arrows and missiles, half naked as they were, never stopped to resist but gave way. Some were killed in flight; others were captured; but some escaped into the hills. Those captured were hairy, not only their heads but the rest of their bodies; their nails were rather like beasts’ claws; they used their nails (according to report) as if they were iron tools; with these they tore asunder their fishes, and even the less solid kinds of wood; everything else they cleft with sharp stones; for iron they did not possess. For clothing they wore skins of animals, some even the thick skins of the larger fishes.

XXV. Here the crews beached their ships and repaired such as had suffered. On the sixth day from this they set sail, and after voyaging about three hundred stades they came to a country which was the last point in the territory of the Oreitans: the district was called Malana. Such Oreitans as
λάσσεις οἰκέουσιν, ἐσταλμένου μὲν κατάπερ οἱ Ἰνδοὶ εἰσι, καὶ τὰ ἐς πόλεμον ὠσαύτως παραρτέονται· γῆλωσα δὲ ἄλλη αὐτοῖς καὶ ἄλλα νόμαια.

3 Μῆκος τοῦ παράπλου παρὰ μὲν χώρην τὴν Ἀραβίων ἐς χιλίους μάλιστα σταδίους, ἐνθευπέρ ὁμήρθησαν, παρὰ δὲ τὴν Ὀρειτέων γῆν ἐξακόσιοι καὶ χίλιοι. Παραπλωόντως δὲ τὴν Ἰνδῶν γῆν (τὸ ἐντεῦθεν γὰρ οὐκέτι Ἰνδοὶ εἰσί) λέγει Νέαρχος ὅτι αἱ σκιαὶ αὐτοῖς οὐ ταῦτα ἐποίησαν ἀλλὰ ὅκου μὲν ἐπὶ πολλοῦ τοῦ πόντου ὡς πρὸς μεσημβρίην προκορήσειαν, αἰδέ καὶ αὐταὶ αἱ σκιαὶ πρὸς μεσημβρίην τετραμμέναι ἐφαίνοντο, ὅκοτε δὲ τὸ μέσον τῆς ἡμέρης ἐπέχοι ὁ ἡλίος, ἢ δὲ καὶ ἔρημα σκῆς πάντα ὄφθη αὐτοῖς, τῶν τε ἀστέρων ὃσοι πρόοθεν μετεώρους κατέφωρον, οἱ μὲν ἀφανεῖς πάντη ἡπαν, οἱ δὲ πρὸς αὐτῇ τῇ γῇ ἐφαίνοντο, καταδύνοντες τε καὶ αὐτίκα ἀνατέλλοντες οἱ πάλαι ἄειφανεῖς ἑνότες. Καὶ ταύτα οὐκ ἀπεικότα δοκεῖ εἰς ἀναγράφαι Νέαρχος, ἐπειδὴ καὶ ἐν Συνήμῃ τῇ Αἰγυπτίᾳ, ἐπειδὴ τροπᾶς ἄγχος ἐγένετο ὥρης ὁ ἡλίος, φρέαρ ἀποδεδειγμένον ἐστί, καὶ τούτῳ ἀσκίου ἐν μεσημβρίᾳ φαίνεται· ἐν

7 Μερόν δὲ πάντα ἄσκια τῇ αὐτῇ ὄρης εἰκὸς ὅτι καὶ ἐν Ἰνδοῖς, ἀτε πρὸς μεσημβρίην ἀκισμένοισιν, τὰ αὐτά δὴ πάθεα ἐπέχειν, καὶ μάλιστα δὴ κατὰ τὸν πόντον τὸν Ἰνδικὸν, ὅσφι καὶ μᾶλλον αὐτοῖσιν ἡ βάλασσα πρὸς μεσημβρίην κέκλιται. Ταύτα μὲν δὴ ἀδὲ ἐχέτω.

8 Μερός δὲ τῆς Ὀρειτης κατὰ μὲν μεσογαίην Γαδρώσιοι ἐπείχον· ὅτι τὴν χώρην χαλεπῶς διεξῆλθεν ἀμα τῇ στρατηγῷ Ἀλέξανδρῳ, καὶ
live inland, away from the sea, dress as the Indians do, and equip themselves similarly for warfare; but their dialect and customs differ. The length of the coasting voyage along the territory of the Arabeis was about a thousand stades from the point of departure; the length of the Oreitan coast sixteen hundred. As they sailed along the land of India—for thence onward the natives are no longer Indians—Nearchus states that their shadows were not cast in the same way; but where they were making for the high seas and steering a southerly course, their shadows appeared to fall southerly too; but whenever the sun was at midday, then everything seemed shadowless.\(^1\) Then such of the stars as they had seen hitherto in the sky, some were completely hidden, others showed themselves low down towards the earth; those they had seen continually before were now observed both setting, and then at once rising again. I think this tale of Nearchus’ is likely; since in Syene of Egypt, when the sun is at the summer solstice, people show a well where at midday one sees no shade; and in Meroe, at the same season, no shadows are cast. So it seems reasonable that in India too, since they are far southward, the same natural phenomena may occur, and especially in the Indian Ocean, just because it particularly runs southward. But here I must leave this subject.

XXVI. Next to the Oreitans, more inland, dwelt the Gadrosians, whose country Alexander and his army had much pains in traversing; indeed they

\(^1\) Nearchus—or Arrian—is confused; and the common observation that in southern latitudes at midday objects seem to stand upon and so hide their own shadows could have been made elsewhere.
κακὰ τοσαῦτα ἔπαθεν, ὃσα οὖδὲ τὰ ἔμπνευτα τῆς συμπάσης στρατηγικῆς· ταύτα μοι ἐν 2 τῇ μέξου ἡγεραφὴ ἀναγέγραπται. Κάτω δὲ 
Γαδροσίων παρὰ τὴν θάλασσαν αὐτὴν οἱ Ἰχθυο-
φάγοι καλεόμενοι οἰκέουσι· παρὰ τούτων τὴν γῆν ἔπλων· τῇ μὲν πρώτῃ ήμέρῃ περὶ τὴν 
δεύτερην φυλακὴν ἀναχθέντες καταίρουσιν εἰς 
Βαγίσαρα.
3 σταδίου τοῦ παράπλου ἐξακόσιοι. Διμὴν τε ἐν 
αὐτῶθι εὐρόμοις, καὶ κώμῃ Πάσιρα, ἀπέχουσα 
ἀπὸ θαλάσσης ἐξήκοντα σταδίους· καὶ οἱ πρόσ-
4 οικοὶ αὐτῆς Πασσηπές. Ἐσ δὲ τὴν ὑστεραίῃν 
πρωϊτέρων τῆς ὅρης ἀναχθέντες περιπλώσουσι 
ἄκην ἐπὶ πολὺ τε ἀνέχουσαν ἐς τὸν πόντον καὶ 
5 αὐτὴν ἴψηλῃ καὶ κρημνώδεια· φρέατα δὲ ὀρύ-
ξαντες, ὑδρὸς οὐκ ὁλίγοι καὶ πολὺ ἀρνισά-
μενοι ταύτῃ μὲν τῇ ήμέρῃ ἐπὶ ἀγκυρέων ὀρμών, 
6 ὧτι ἐχθρίς κατὰ τὸν αἰγιαλὸν ἀνείχεν. Ἐσ 
δὲ τὴν ὑστεραίῃν καταίρουσιν ἐς Κόλτα, σταδίους 
ἐλθόντες διηκοσίους. Ἐσδὲ ἐσθενεὶ πλάσαντες 
σταδίους ἐξακόσιους ἐν Καλύβοισιν ὀρμίζονται· 
κόμη πρὸς τὸν αἰγιαλὸ, φοινικῆς δὲ περὶ αὐτὴν 
ὁλίγοι πεφύκεσαν, καὶ βάλανοι ἐπὶ αὐτοῖς 
χλωραλ ἐπίθαναν καὶ νῆσος ὡς ἐκατὸν σταδίους 
ἀπὸ τοῦ αἰγιαλοῦ ἀπέχουσα, Καρνίνη οὖνομα.
7 Ἐπιτάθα ξείνια Νεάρχος προσφέρουσιν οἱ κω-
μήται πρὸσβατα καὶ ἰχθύος· καὶ τῶν προβάτων 
τὰ κρέα λέγει ὅτι ἦν ἰχθυώδεα, ἵσα τοῖς τῶν 
ὁρνίδων τῶν πελαγίων, ὅτι καὶ αὐτὰ ἰχθύων 
8 σιτέται· ποίη γὰρ οὕκ ἐν ἐν τῇ χώρῃ. Ἀλλὰ 
τῇ ὑστεραίῃ πλώσαντες ἐς σταδίους διηκοσίους 
ὀρμίζονται πρὸς αἰγιαλὸ καὶ κώμη ἀπὸ θαλάσσης 
ἐς σταδίους τριήκοντα ἀπεχοῦσι· ἦ μὲν κώμῃ 
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suffered more than during all the rest of his expedi-
tion: all this I have related in my larger history. Below the Gadrosians, as you follow the actual coast, dwell the people called the Fish-eaters. The fleet sailed past their country. On the first day they unmoored about the second watch, and put in at Bagisara; a distance along the coast of about six hundred stades. There is a safe harbour there, and a village called Pasira, some sixty stades from the sea; the natives about it are called Pasireans. The next day they weighed anchor earlier than usual and sailed round a promontory which ran far seaward, and was high, and precipitous. Then they dug wells; and obtained a good deal of water, but of poor quality; and for that day they rode at anchor, because there was heavy surf on the beach. Next day they put in at Colta after a voyage of two hundred stades. Thence they departed at dawn, and after voyaging six hundred stades anchored at Calyba. A village is on the shore, a few date-palms grew near it, and there were dates, still green, upon them. About a hundred stades from the beach is an island called Carnine. There the villagers brought gifts to Nearchus, sheep and fishes; the mutton, he says, had a fishy taste, like the flesh of the sea-birds, since even the sheep feed on fish; for there is no grass in the place. However, on the next day they sailed two hundred stades and moored off a beach, and a village about thirty stades from the sea; it was called
Κίσσα ἐκαλέστο. Καρβίς δὲ τῷ αἰγιαλῷ οἴνομα ἦν. Ἐνταῦθα πλοῖοισιν ἐπιτυγχάνουσι σμικροῖσιν, οία ἁλιέων εἶναι πλοῖα οὐκ εὐδαιμόνων· αὐτοὺς δὲ οὐ καταλαμβάνουσιν· ἀλλ' ἐφυγόν γὰρ καθορμιζόμενας κατιδόντες τὰς νέας. Σιτός τε αὐτόθι οὐκ ἔνη, καὶ ὑπολειόπετε τὴν στρατινὴν ὁ πολλὸς· ἀλλὰ αἰγας ἐμβαλλόμενοι ἐς τὰς νέας, οὕτω δὴ ἀπέπλωσον. Καὶ περιπλώσαντες ἀκρὴν υψηλῆν ὅσου πεντήκοντα καὶ ἑκατὸν σταδίους ἀνέχουσαν ἐς τὸν πόντον, κατάγονταί ἐν λιμένι ἀκλυστῷ· καὶ ὑδωρ αὐτόθι ἦν, καὶ ἁλίες ὅκεον· Μοσαρνᾶ οἴνομα ἦν τῷ λιμένι.

XXVII. Ἐνθεν δὲ καὶ ἠγεμόνων τοῦ πλοίου λέγει Νέαρχος ὅτι συνέπλωσεν αὐτοῖς, 'Τδράκης οἴνομα, Γαδρώσιος· ὑπέστη δὲ 'Τδράκης καταστήσειν αὐτοὺς μέχρι Καρμανίας. Τὰ δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦτο οὐκέτι χαλεπὰ ἦν, ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον τὶ όνομαζόμενα, ἔστε ἐπὶ τῶν κόλπων τοῦ Περσικῶν.

2 Ἐκ δὲ Μοσαρνῶν νυκτὸς ἐπάραντες πλόουσι σταδίους ἐπτακοσίους καὶ πεντήκοντα ἐς Βάλωμον αἰγιαλὸν· ἔνθεν δὲ ἐς Βάρνα κόμη καὶ τετρακοσίους, ἰνα φοίνικες τε πολλοὶ ἔνησαν καὶ κῆπος· καὶ ἐν τῷ κῆπῳ μύρσινα ἐπεφύκεσαν, καὶ ἄλλα ἄνθεα, ἀπ' ὅτων στεφανώματα τοῖσι κωμήτησιν ἐπλέκοντο· ἐνταῦθα πρῶτον δενδρεά τε εἶδον ἥμερα, καὶ ἀνθρώπους οὐ πάντη

3 θηριόδεα ἐποικέωμεν. Ἐνθενδέ ἐς διηκοσίους σταδίους περιπλώσαντες καταίρουσιν ἐς Δενδρώβοσα, καὶ αἱ νέες ἐπ' ἀγκυρέων ἐσάλευσαν.

4 Ἐνθενδέ ἀμφὶ μέσας νύκτας ἀραντες ἐς Κόφαινα λιμένα ἀπίκοντο, τετρακοσίους μάλιστα σταδίους

1 Βαδρα Müller and Tömescheck.
Cissa, and Carbis was the name of the strip of coast. There they found a few boats, the sort which poor fishermen might use; but the fishermen themselves they did not find, for they had run away as soon as they saw the ships anchoring. There was no corn there, and the army had spent most of its store; but they caught and embarked there some goats, and so sailed away. Rounding a tall cape running some hundred and fifty stades into the sea, they put in at a calm harbour; there was water there, and fishermen dwelt near; the harbour was called Mosarna.

XXVII. Nearchus tells us that from this point a pilot sailed with them, a Gadrosian called Hydraces. He had promised to take them as far as Carmania; from thence on the navigation was not difficult, but the districts were better known, up to the Persian Gulf. From Mosarna they sailed at night, seven hundred and fifty stades, to the beach of Balomus. Thence again to Barna, a village, four hundred stades, where there were many date-palms and a garden; and in the garden grew myrtles and abundant flowers, of which wreaths were woven by the natives. There for the first time they saw garden-trees, and men dwelling there not entirely like animals. Thence they coasted a further two hundred stades and reached Dendroboosa, and the ships kept the roadstead at anchor. Thence about midnight they sailed and came to a harbour Cophas, after a voyage of
5 διεκπλώσαντες· ἐνταῦθα ἄλλες τε ὁκεον, καὶ πλοΐα αὐτοῖσιν ἦν σμικρὰ καὶ πονηρὰ· καὶ τῆς κάπησιν οὐ κατὰ σκαλμον ἦρεσσον ὡς ὁ Ἑλληνῶν νόμος, ἀλλ’ ὡσπερ ἐν ποταμῷ τὸ ὑδωρ ἐπιβάλ· λοντες ἐνθὲν καὶ ἐνθὲν, κατάπερ οἱ σκάπτοντες τὴν γῆν· ὕδωρ δὲ πολλὸν τε ἦν ἐν τῷ λιμένι
6 καὶ καθαρόν. Περὶ δὲ πρώτην φυλακῆν ἄραντες καταληκοῦσιν ἐς Κύιζα, ἐς ὀκτακοσίους στάδιους διεκπλώσαντες· ἵνα αἰγιαλὸς τε ἔρημος ἦν καὶ βηχή. Αὐτὸι δὲν ἐπὶ ἀγκυρέων ὃρμεον, κατὰ
7 νέα τε δεῦτον ἐποίεοντο. Ἐνθένδε διεκπλώσαντες στάδιους πεντακοσίους ἀπίκοντο ἐς τινα πόλιν σμικρὴν, οἰκεομένην ἐπὶ γηλόφου οὐ πόρρω τοῦ
8 αἰγιαλοῦ. Καὶ Νέαρχος ἐπιφρασθεὶς ὅτι σπείρησθαι τὴν χώρην εἰκός, λέγει πρὸς Ἀρχίν (ὅς ἦν Ἀναξιδότου μὲν παῖς, Πελλαιός, συνέπλωε δὲ Νεάρχο, τῶν ἐν αἴνη ἔων Μακεδόνων), πρὸς
9 τούτον λέγει, ὅτι καταληπτέον σφίσιν εἴῃ τὸ χωρίον· ἐκόντας τε γὰρ οὐκ ἀν οἰεσθαί δοῦναι τῇ στρατηγῇ σιτία, βίᾳ τε οὐκ οἶλον τε εἰναι ἐξαιρέειν, πολυρκίης δὲ καὶ τριβῆς δεσποιν.

σφᾶς δὲ ἐπιλειπεῖνα τὰ σιτία· ὅτι δὲ ἡ γῆ σιτοφόρος, τῇ καλάμῃ τεκμηριοῦσθαι, ἤντια οὐ πόρρω τοῦ αἰγιαλοῦ ἄφεωρων βαθέν. Ταῦτα ἐπεὶ σφίσιν ἔδοκες, τὰς μὲν ἀλλὰς νέας κελεῦει παρατέσθαι ὡς ἐς πλοῦν· καὶ ὁ Ἀρχίνας αὐτῷ ἐξήρτηε τὰ ἐς τοῦ πλοῦν· αὐτὸς δὲ ὑπολειφθεῖς μετὰ μῆς νεὸς ἐπὶ θέαν δῆθεν τῆς πόλεως ἤμει.

XXVIII. Προσάγοντι δὲ αὐτῷ πρὸς τὰ τείχεα φιλίως εἴνια ἐφερον ἐκ τῆς πόλεως θύννοις τε ἐν κριβάνοισιν ὑπτούς (οὕτωι γὰρ ἔσχατοι τῶν
about four hundred stades; here dwelt fishermen, with small and feeble boats; and they did not row with their oars on a rowlock, as the Greeks do, but as you do in a river, propelling the water on this side or that like labourers digging\(^1\) the soil. At the harbour was abundant pure water. About the first watch they weighed anchor and arrived at Cyiza, after a passage of eight hundred stades, where there was a desert beach and a heavy surf. Here, therefore, they anchored, and each ship took its own meal. Thence they voyaged five hundred stades and arrived at a small town built near the shore on a hill. Neararchus, who imagined that the district must be tilled, told Archias of Pella, son of Anaxidotus, who was sailing with Neararchus, and was a notable Macedonian, that they must surprise the town, since he had no hope that the natives would give the army provisions of their good-will; while he could not capture the town by force, but this would require a siege and much delay; while they in the meanwhile were short of provisions. But that the land did produce corn he could gather from the straw which they saw lying deep near the beach. When they had come to this resolve, Neararchus bade the fleet in general to get ready as if to go to sea; and Archias, in his place, made all ready for the voyage; but Neararchus himself was left behind with a single ship and went off as if to have a look at the town.

XXVIII. As Neararchus approached the walls, the natives brought him, in a friendly way, gifts from the city; tunny-fish baked in earthen pans; for there

\(^{1}\) i.e. they "dug" the water with a paddle. Trimmers at coaling ports sometimes actually use their shovels as paddles, giving point to Arrian's comparison.
'Ιχθυοφάγων οἰκέουντες πρῶτοι αὐτοίς εἰθῆσαι οὐκ ὁμοφαγέουντες) καὶ τέμματα ὄλγα καὶ βα-
2 λάνους τῶν φοινίκων. 'Ὁ δὲ ταύτα μὲν ἁσμένως δέκεσθαι ἐφη, ἑθελεῖν δὲ θεϊσάσθαι τὴν πόλιν.
3 οἰ δὲ εἰῶν παρελθεῖν. Ὡς δὲ εἰςῳ πυλῶν παρῆλθε, δύο μὲν τῶν τοξοτέων κατέχειν κελεύει
τὴν πυλίδα, αὐτὸς δὲ μετὰ δύο ἄλλων καὶ τοῦ ἔρμηνεος ἐπὶ τὸ τείχος τὸ ταύτῃ ἀνελθὼν ἐσήμηνε
τοίς αὐτῶν ἄμφι τὸν 'Αρχήν ὅπως συνέκειτο, τὸν μὲν ὅν 1 σημῆναι, τὸν δὲ συμβαλόντα ποιεῖν τὸ
4 τεταγμένον. Ἰδόντες δὲ τὸ σημαίνον οἱ Μακε-
δόνες ἐπώκελλον τε κατὰ τάχος τὰς νέας καὶ
ἐξεπήδων σπουδή ἐς τὴν βάλασαν· οἱ δὲ βάρ-
βαροι ἐκπλαγέντες τοίς γινομένοις ἔπι τὰ
5 ὅπλα ἔθεον· οἱ δὲ ἐρμηνευός ὁ σὺν Νεάρχῳ ἐκή-
ρυσε τὸν δίδοναι τῇ στρατιᾷ, εἰ σώματι ἑθελω-
σιν ἐχεῖν τὴν πόλιν· οἱ δὲ ἠρνεύοντο εἶναι σφίση,
καὶ ἀμα προσέβαλον τῷ τείχῃ· ἄλλα ἀνέστηλ-
λον αὐτῶς οἱ τοξώται οἱ ἄμφι τὸν Νέαρχον,
6 εἰς ὑπερδεξίον τοξεύσαντες. Ὡς δὲ ἔμαθον ἐχο-
μένην τε ἠδη καὶ ὅσον οὖπω ἀνδραποδισθησομένην
σφίσῃ τὴν πόλιν, τότε δὲ δὴ ἐδέοντο τοῦ Νεάρχου,
τὸν μὲν σῖτον ὅσπερ ἦν αὐτοῖς λαβόντα ἄπα-
7 γειν, τὴν πόλιν δὲ μὴ διαφθείραι. Νέαρχος δὲ
τὸν μὲν 'Αρχήν κελεύει καταλαβεῖν τὰς πύλας
cαὶ τὸ κατ᾽ αὐτὸς τείχος· αὐτὸς δὲ συμπέμπει
tοὺς κατοχομένους τὸν σῖτον, εἰ ἀδόλως ἔδεικ-
8 νύσσων. Οἱ δὲ τὸ μὲν ἀπὸ τῶν ἰχθύων τῶν
ὀπτῶν ἀληθεσμένου ἀλευρον πολὺ ἑδείκνυσαν,
πυροῦ δὲ καὶ κριθὼν ὀλύγας· καὶ γὰρ καὶ

1 If the sentence is continuous, ὅν, inserted by Vulcianus, should be omitted.
dwell the westernmost of the Fish-eating tribes, and were the first whom the Greeks had seen cooking their food; and they brought also a few cakes and dates from the palms. Nearchus said that he accepted these gratefully; and desired to visit the town, and they permitted him to enter. But as soon as he passed inside the gates, he bade two of the archers to occupy the postern, while he and two others, and the interpreter, mounted the wall on this side and signalled to Archias and his men as had been arranged: that Nearchus should signal, and Archias understand and do what had been ordered. On seeing the signal the Macedonians beached their ships with all speed; they leapt in haste into the sea, while the natives, astounded at this manœuvre, ran to their arms. The interpreter with Nearchus cried out that they should give corn to the army, if they wanted to save their city; and the natives replied that they had none, and at the same time attacked the wall. But the archers with Nearchus shooting from above easily held them up. When, however, the natives saw that their town was already occupied and almost on the way to be enslaved, they begged Nearchus to take what corn they had and retire, but not to destroy the town. Nearchus, however, bade Archias to seize the gates and the neighbouring wall; but he sent with the natives some soldiers to see whether they would without any trick reveal their corn. They showed freely their flour, ground down from the dried fish; but only a small quantity of corn and barley. In fact they used as
ἐτύγχανον σίτῳ μὲν τῷ ἀπὸ τῶν ἱχθύων, τοῖσι δὲ ἄρτοισιν ὅσα ὡψὶ διαχρεόμενοι. Ὑσ δὲ τὰ ἑώντα ἐπεδείκνυον, ὡμίω δὴ ἐκ τῶν παρεόντων ἐπιστισάμενοι ἀνήγοντο, καὶ ὁμιζοῦνται πρὸς ἄκρην, ἦτινα οἱ ἐπεχώριοι ἱην ἥλιον ἤγων οὖνομα τῇ ἄκρῃ Βάγεια.

XXIX. Ἑνθένδε ἀμφὶ μέσας νύκτας ἄγαντες διεκπλώουσι σταδίους ἐς χιλιόνς ἐς Τάλμενα λιμένα ἐὔρομον ἑνθένδε ἐς Κανάσίδα πόλιν ἐρήμην σταδίους ἐς τετρακοσίους, ἵνα τινὶ φρέατι ὀρυκτῷ ἐπιτυγχάνουσι, καὶ φοίνικες ἄγριοι ἐπεφύκεσαν τούτων τοὺς ἐγκεφάλους κόπτοντες ἑσιτέοντο· σίτος γὰρ ἐπιλελούθη τὴν στρατιὰν· καὶ κακῶς ἠδὲ ὑπὸ λμοῦ ἔχοντες ἐπλώων τὴν τε ἡμέρην καὶ τὴν νύκτα, καὶ ὁμιζοῦνται πρὸς ἄγιοι ἐρήμῳ. Νέαρχος δὲ καταδείκαζε μὴ ἄρα ἐς τὴν γῆν ἐκβάντες ἀπολεῖποιεν τὰς νέας ὑπὸ ἀθυμίας, ἐπὶ τῶ ἑιδε μετεώρους ἐσχε τὰς νέας ἐπ’ ἄγιοι ἐρήμῳς. Ἑνθένδε ἀναχέντες ἐς Κανάτην ὁμιζοῦνται, σταδίους ὡς ἐπτακοσίους καὶ πεντήκοντα διεκπλώσαντες ἑστὶ δὲ καὶ ἀγιαλὸς ἐν 5 αὐτῷ καὶ διώρυχες βραχέαι. Ἑνθένδε δὲ σταδίους ὀκτακοσίους πλώσαντες ἐν Τροίσιν ὁμιζοῦνται· κύριαι δὲ σμικρὰ καὶ πονηρὰ ἐπῆσαν· καὶ οἱ μὲν ἄνθρωποι ἐκλείπουσι τὰ νοίκησιν, αὐτοὶ δὲ σίτῳ τῳ ὄλγῳ ἐπιτυγχάνουσι, καὶ βαλάνοις ὀκ φοίνικῶς καὶ καμψίδος ἐπτα ὡς ἐγκατελείφθησαν κατακόψαντες, ἀπὸ τούτων τὰ 2 κρέα ἐσιτέοντο. Ἡπὸ δὲ τὴν ἦσο ἀναχέντες σταδίους τριηκοσίους πλώσαντες, καὶ κατομίζουνται ἐς Δαγάσειρα· ἐνθα νομάδες τοὺς ἄνθρωποι 7 ζῶοι. Ἑνθεν δὲ ἄγαντες τὴν τε νύκτα καὶ τὴν 390
flour what they got from the fish; and loaves of corn flour they used as a delicacy. When, however, they had shown all they had, the Greeks provisioned themselves from what was there, and put to sea, anchoring by a headland which the inhabitants regarded as sacred to the Sun: the headland was called Bageia.

XXIX. Thence, weighing anchor about midnight, they voyaged another thousand stades to Talmena, a harbour giving good anchorage. Thence they went to Canasis, a deserted town, four hundred stades farther; here they found a well sunk; and near by were growing wild date-palms. They cut out the hearts \(^1\) of these and ate them; for the army had run short of food. In fact they were now really distressed by hunger, and sailed on therefore by day and night, and anchored off a desolate shore. But Nearchus, afraid that they would disembark and leave their ships from faint-heartedness, purposely kept the ships in the open roadstead. They sailed thence and anchored at Canate, after a voyage of seven hundred and fifty stades. Here there are a beach and shallow channels. Thence they sailed eight hundred stades, anchoring at Troea; there were small and poverty-stricken villages on the coast. The inhabitants deserted their huts and the Greeks found there a small quantity of corn, and dates from the palms. They slaughtered seven camels which had been left there, and ate the flesh of them. About daybreak they weighed anchor and sailed three hundred stades, and anchored at Dagaseira; there some wandering tribe dwelt. Sailing thence they sailed without stop all night and

\(^1\) The clusters of young leaves have a "heart" like that of the lettuce which is worth eating.
ημέρην οúdeν τι ἐλινύοντες ἐπλων. ἄλλα διελθόντες γὰρ σταδίους χιλίους τε καὶ ἐκατόν ἐξεπλωσαν τὸ ἐθνὸς τῶν Ἰχθυοφάγων, πολλὰ κακὰ ταύτῃ παθόντες ἀπορία τῶν ἀναγκαίων.

8 Ὁρμίζονται δὲ οὐ πρὸς τῇ γῇ. βηχία γὰρ ἦν ἐπὶ πολλὸν ἀνέχουσα, ἄλλα μετέωροι ἐπ᾽ ἀγκυρέων. μῆκος τοῦ παράπλου τῶν Ἰχθυοφάγων τῆς χώρης ὀλύγω πλεῦνες στάδιοι καὶ μύριοι.

9 Οὔτοι δὲ οἱ Ἰχθυοφάγοι σιτέονται, κατότι περ καὶ κληίζονται, ἱγθύας. ὀλέγοι μὲν αὐτῶν ἀλλιόντες τοὺς ἱγθύας. ὀλγοίοι γὰρ καὶ πλοία ἐπὶ τῶδε πεποίηται καὶ τέχνη ἐξεύρηται ἐπὶ τῇ θῆρῃ τῶν ἱγθύων, τὸ πολλὸν δὲ ἡ ἀνάπωτις αὐτοῖσι παρέχει. Οἱ δὲ καὶ δίκτυα ἐπὶ τῶδε πεποίηται, μέγεθος καὶ ἐς δύο στάδιοι τὰ πολλὰ αὐτῶν πλέκουσι δὲ αὐτὰ ἐκ τοῦ φλουτοῦ τῶν φοινίκων, στρέφοντες τὸν φλουτὸν ὀσπερόν λίβων. ἔπεαν δὲ ἡ θάλασσα ὑπονοστῆσθι, καὶ γῆ ὑπολειφθῇ, ἢν μὲν ξηρὴ ἡ γῆ ὑπολείπεται, ἥρη τὸ πολλὸν ὡστὶν ἱγθύων. ἐνθα δὲ βαθέα ὡστὶν, ὑπολείπεται τι τοῦ ὑδατος, καὶ ἐν τῶδε κάρτα πολλοί ἱγθύες. οἱ μὲν πολλοὶ σμικροὶ αὐτῶν, οἱ δὲ καὶ μέζους τοῦτοισι περιβάλλοντες τὰ δίκτυα αἰρέουσι. Σιτεόνται δὲ ὁμοος μὲν, ὁκεὶς ἀνειρύσωσι ἐκ τοῦ ὑδατος, τοὺς ἀπαλωτάτους αὐτῶν. τοὺς δὲ μέζονας τε καὶ σκληρότερους ὑπὸ ἡλίῳ αὐξάνοντες, εὐτ᾽ ἂν ἀφανανθῶσι, καταλουντες ἀλευρα ἀπ᾽ αὐτῶν ποιεόνται καὶ ἄρτους. οἱ δὲ μάζας ἐκ τοῦτο τῶν ἀλεύρων πέσουσι. Καὶ τὰ βοσκήματα αὐτοῖσι τοὺς ἱγθύας ἤπρος σιτεόνται. η γὰρ χώρη ἐρημος

1 καὶ is intelligible; but Hercher gives ἤ.
VIII. (INDICA) 29. 7-13
day, and after a voyage of eleven hundred stades they got past the country of the Fish-eaters, where they had been much distressed by want of food. They did not moor near shore, for there was a long line of surf, but at anchor, in the open. The length of the voyage along the coast of the Fish-eaters is a little above ten thousand stades. These Fish-eaters live on fish; and hence their name; only a few of them fish, for only a few have proper boats and have any skill in the art of catching fish; but for the most part it is the receding tide which provides their catch. Some have made nets also for this kind of fishing; most of them about two stades in length. They make the nets from the bark of the date-palm, twisting the bark like twine. And when the sea recedes and the earth is left, where the earth remains dry it has no fish, as a rule; but where there are hollows, some of the water remains, and in this a large number of fish, mostly small, but some large ones too. They throw their nets over these and so catch them. They eat them raw, just as they take them from the water, that is, the more tender kinds; the larger ones, which are tougher, they dry in the sun till they are quite sere and then pound them and make a flour and bread of them; others even make cakes of this flour. Even their flocks are fed on the fish, dried; for the country has no meadows

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14 λειμώνων, οὗτα ποίην φέρει. Θηρεύουσι δὲ καὶ καράβους πολλαχῇ καὶ ὀστρεά καὶ τὰ κογχύλια· ἅλες δὲ αὐτόματοι γίνονται ἐν τῇ χώρῃ. ** * 
15 ἀπὸ τούτων ἐλαίων ποιέονται. Οἱ μὲν ὁι αὐτῶν ἑρὴμοι τόπους οἰκεοῦσιν, ἀδενδρόν τε τὴν χώρην καὶ ἄφορον καρπῶν ἡμέρων, τοῦτοις ἀπὸ τῶν ἱχθύων ἢ πᾶσα δίαιτα πεποιηταὶ ὄλγοι δὲ αὐτῶν σπειροῦσιν ὅσον τῆς χώρης, καὶ τούτω κατάπερ ὁψὶ χρέονται πρὸς τοὺς ἱχθύας· ὅ γάρ
16 σίτος αὐτοίς εἰσὶ ἱχθύες. Οἰκία δὲ πεποιηταὶ οἱ μὲν εὐδαιμονεστατοὶ αὐτῶν, ὅσα κήτεα ἐκβάλλει ἡ θάλασσα, τούτων τὰ ὀστέα ἐπιλεγόμενοι, καὶ τούτωισιν ἀντὶ ἐξ θάλασσας χρεόμενοι· καὶ θύρας τὰ ὀστέα ὅσα πλατέα αὐτῶν ἀλίσκεται ἀπὸ τούτων ποιέονται· τοῖς δὲ πολλοῖς καὶ πενε- 
στέροις ἀπὸ τῶν ἀκανθέων τῶν ἱχθύων τὰ οἰκία ποιεῖται.

XXX. Κήτεα δὲ μεγάλα ἐν τῇ ἕξω θαλάσσῃ βόσκεται, καὶ ἱχθύες πολλῷ μέξονες ἢ ἐν τῇ ἑδικτῇ τῇ
2 εἴσῳ· καὶ λέγει Νέαρχος, ὅκοτε ἀπὸ Κυῖξων παρέπλουσι, ύπὸ τὴν ἔως ὁφθήναι ὑδῷ ἄνω ἀναφυσώμενον τῆς 
3 θαλάσσης, οἶα περὶ ἐκ πρη- 
4 στήρων βία ἀναφερόμενον· ἐκπλαγεύτας δὲ σφαῖς πυθάνεσθαι τῶν κατηγομένων τοῦ πλόου ὅ 
τι εἰχ καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ τοῦτο τὸ πάθημα· τοὺς δὲ ἀποκρίνασθαι ὅτι κήτεα ταῦτα φερόμενα κατὰ 
τὸν πόλτον ἀναφυσὰ ἐς τὸ ἄνω τῷ ὑδῷ καὶ τοὺς ναυτικοὺς ἐκπλαγεῖσιν ἐκ τῶν χειρῶν τὰ ἔρετμα 
4 ἐκπεσεῖν· αὐτοῖς δὲ ἐπὶ ἔπικον παρακαλέειν τε καὶ 
θαρσύνεις, καὶ κατ' ὀοστινας παραπλώσων ἐγέ 
νετο, ἐς μετώπον τε κελεύσαι καταστήσαι ὅς ἐπὶ ναυμαχία τὰς νέας, καὶ ἐπαλαλάξοντας ὁμοῦ
and produces no grass. They collect also in many places crabs and oysters and shell-fish. There are natural salts in the country; from these they make oil. Those of them who inhabit the desert parts of their country, treeless as it is and with no cultivated parts, find all their sustenance in the fish; but a few of them sow part of their district, using the corn as a relish to the fish, for the fish form their bread. The richest among them have built huts; they collect the bones of any large fish which the sea casts up, and use them in place of beams. Doors they make from any flat bones which they can pick up. But the greater part of them, and the poorer sort, have huts made from the fishes' backbones.

XXX. Large whales live in the outer ocean, and fishes much larger than those in our inland sea. Nearchus states that when they left Cyiza, about daybreak they saw water being blown upwards from the sea as it might be shot upwards by the force of a waterspout. They were astonished, and asked the pilots of the convoy what it might be and how it was caused; they replied that these whales as they rove about the ocean spout up the water to a great height; the sailors, however, were so startled that the oars fell from their hands. Nearchus went and encouraged and cheered them, and whenever he sailed past any vessel, he signalled them to turn the ship's bow on towards the whales as if to give them battle; and raising their battle cry with the sound

1 Some name of a fish, perhaps tunny, is omitted.
2 The story in this chapter appears also in Strabo (p. 725). The Greek style is unlike Arrian's ordinary style.
τὸ ῥοθῆρον 1 πυκνήν τε καὶ ἔδων κτύπωρ πολλῷ τὴν
5 εὑρεσίαν ποιεσθαί· οὕτως ἀναθαρσήσαντας ὅμοι
dehy plóeis ἀπὸ ξυνθήματος· ὡς δὲ ἐπέλαξαν ἦδη
τοίσι θηρίουσιν, ἑνταῦθα αὐτοῦς μὲν ὅσον ἂ
κεφαλὰς 2 αὐτοῖσιν ἐχώρεσον ἐπαλαλάξασι· τὰς δὲ
σάλπιγγας σημῆναι, καὶ τὸν κτύπου ἀπὸ τῆς
6 εὑρεσίας ὡς ἐπὶ μήκιστον κατασχεῖν· οὕτω δὴ
ὁρώμενα ἦδη κατὰ τὰς πρόφρας τῶν νεῶν τὰ
κῆτεα ἐς βυσσοῦν δύναι ἐκπλαγεύντα, καὶ οὐ
πολλῷ ὑστερον κατὰ τὰς πρόμνας ἀναδύντα
7 ἀνασχεῖν, καὶ τῆς θαλάσσης αὕθεις ἀναφυσήσαι
ἐπὶ μέγα· ἐνθεῖν κρότους τε ἐπὶ τῇ παραλόγῳ
σωτηρίᾳ γενέσθαι τῶν ναυτῶν, καὶ αἶνον ἐς τὸν
8 Νέαρχον τῆς τε τὸλμης καὶ τῆς σοφίας. Τούτων
μετεξέτερα τῶν κητεὼν ἐποκέλλειν πολλαχοῦ
τῆς χώρης, ἔπειδαν ἀνάπως τις κατάσχηκεν ἐν τοῖσι
βραχέσιν ἐχόμενα, τὰ δὲ καὶ ὑπὸ χειμώνων
σκληρῶν ἐς τὴν χέρσου ἐξωθεσθαί καὶ οὕτω δὴ
cataσχηπόμενα ἀπόλλυσθαι τε καὶ τὰς σάρκας
αὐτοῖσι περιρρεύοσας ὑπολείπειν τὰ ὃστεα χράσ-
9 θαῖ τοίσιν ἀνθρώποισιν ἐς τὰ οἰκία· εἶναι δὲν τὰ
μὲν ἐν τῇ ρήσι πλευρήσιν αὐτῶν ὡστεα δοκοῦσ τοῖσιν
οἰκήμασιν ὁσα μεγάλα, τὰ δὲ σμικρότερα, στρω-
tήρας· τὰ δὲ ἐν τῇ ρήσι σιαγόσι, ταύτα δὲ εἴην ἐς
tὰ ἥπερτρα, οἶα τὴν πολλὰν καὶ εἰς εἰκοσὶ καὶ πέντε
ὀργυίως ἀνηκόντων τὸ μέγεθος.

XXXI. Εὐτ' ἂν δὲ παρέπλων τὴν χώρην τῶν
1 Ἰχνιοφάγων, λόγον ἀκούσι περὶ νῆσου τινὸς,
2 ἢ κέεται μὲν ἀπέχουσα τῆς ταύτης ἡπείρου

1 ὄρθιο Hercher.
2 κεφαλάς is unsuspected by editors; Chanei translates
da τευτέλε. It may be the whole for the part, "head" for
"throat."

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of the surge to row with rapid strokes and with a
great deal of noise. So they all took heart of grace
and sailed together according to signal. But when
they actually were nearing the monsters, then they
shouted with all the power of their throats, and the
bugles blared, and the rowers made the utmost
splashings with their oars. So the whales, now
visible at the bows of the ships, were scared, and
dived into the depths; then not long afterwards they
came up astern and spouted the sea-water on high.
Thereupon joyful applause welcomed this unexpected
salvation, and much praise was showered on Nearchus
for his courage and prudence. Some of these whales
go ashore at different parts of the coast; and when
the ebb comes, they are caught in the shallows; and
some even were cast ashore high and dry; thus they
would perish and decay, and their flesh rotting off
them would leave the bones convenient to be used
by the natives for their huts. Moreover, the bones
in their ribs served for the larger beams for their
dwellings; and the smaller for rafters; the jawbones
were the doorposts, since many of these whales
reached a length of five-and-twenty fathoms.

XXXI. While they were coasting along the
territory of the Fish-eaters, they heard a rumour
about an island,\(^1\) which lies some little distance from
the mainland in this direction, about a hundred

\(^1\) This island we have had already in Ch. XXVI. Arrian is
clearly using different authorities, and has not always har-
monized them.
στάδιον ες οκατόν, ἐρήμη δὲ ἐστιν οἰκητόρων.
2 Ταύτην ἴρην ἡλίου ἐλεγον εἰναι οἱ ἐπιχώριοι καὶ
Νόσαλα καλέσθαι, οὐδὲ τινα ἀνθρώπων κατα-
ρειν ἔθελεν ἐς αὐτὴν· ὡστὶς δὲ ἂν ἀπειρή προσχῇ,
3 γίνεσθαι ἄφανεα. Ἀλλὰ λέγει Νέαρχος, κέρ-
κουρον σφιν ἕνα πλήρωμα ἔχοντα Αἰγυπτίων οὐ
πόρρω τῆς νησοῦ ταύτης γενέσθαι ἄφανεα, καὶ
ὑπέρ τούτου τοὺς ἡγεμόνας τοῦ πλόου διαχωρι-
ζοντας, ὅτι ἀρα κατάραντες ὦν ἀγνοήσῃ εἰς τήν
4 νῆσον γένοιτο ἄφανες. Νέαρχος δὲ πέμπει
κύκλῳ περὶ τὴν νῆσον τριγκόντορον, κελεύσας
μὴ κατασχεῖν μὲν ἐς τὴν νῆσον, ἐμβοᾶν δὲ τοὺς
ἀνθρώπους, ὡς μάλιστα ἐν χρό παραπλώοντας,
καὶ τὸν κυβερνήτην ὁμομάζοντας καὶ ὅτου ἄλλου
5 οὐκ ἄφανές τὸ οὖνομα· ὡς δὲ οὐδένα ὑπακούειν,
τότε δὲ αὐτὸς λέγει πλῶσαι ἐς τὴν νῆσον, καὶ
κατασχεῖν δὴ προσαναγκάσαι τοὺς ναῦτας οὐκ
ἐθέλοντας· καὶ ἐκβηνάι αὐτὸς καὶ ἐλέγξαι κενὸν
6 μύθον ἐόντα τὸν περὶ τῇ νῆσῳ λόγον· ἀκούσαι δὲ
καὶ ἄλλον λόγον ὑπὲρ τῆς νῆσος ταύτης λεγό-
μενον, οὐκήσαι τὴν νῆσον ταύτην μίαν τῶν
Νηρηίδων· τὸ δὲ οὖνομα οὐ λέγεσθαι τῆς Νηρη-
δος· ταύτη δὲ ὡστὶς πελάσειε τῇ νῆσῳ, τοῦτο
συγγίνεσθαι μὲν, ἵχθυν δὲ ἐξ ἄνθρωπου ποιειν·
7 σαν αὐτὸν ἐμβάλλειν ες τὸν πόντον· "Ἡλιον δὲ
ἀχθεσθέντα τῇ Νηρηίδι, κελεύσας μετοικίζεσθαι
αὐτὴν ἐκ τῆς νῆσου· τὴν δὲ ὀμολογεῖν μὲν ὡς
ἐξοικισθήσεται, δέσσαι δὲ οἱ τὸ πάθημα παυ-
8 θῆναι· καὶ τὸν Ἡλιον υποδέξασθαι· τοὺς δὲ δὴ
ἀνθρώπους οὐστινας ἀν ἱχθυίας ἐξ ἄνθρωποις
πεποίηκε κατελέγαντα, ἀνθρώπους αὐðις ἐξ
ἰχθύων ποιῆσαι· καὶ ἀπὸ τούτων τῶν Ἰχθυοφάρ-
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stades, but is uninhabited. The natives said that it was sacred to the Sun and was called Nosala, and that no human being ever of his own will put in there; but that anyone who ignorantly touched there at once disappeared. Nearchus, however, says that one of his galleys with an Egyptian crew was lost with all hands not far from this island, and that the pilots stoutly averred about it that they had touched ignorantly on the island and so had disappeared. But Nearchus sent a thirty-oar to sail round the island, with orders not to put in, but that the crew should shout loudly, while coasting round as near as they dared; and should call on the lost helmsman by name, or any of the crew whose name they knew. As no one answered, he tells us that he himself sailed up to the island, and compelled his unwilling crew to put in; then he went ashore and exploded this island fairy-tale. They heard also another current story about this island, that one of the Nereids dwelt there; but the name of this Nereid was not told. She showed much friendliness to any sailor who approached the island; but then turned him into a fish and threw him into the sea. The Sun then became irritated with the Nereid, and bade her leave the island; and she agreed to remove thence, but begged that the spell on her be removed; the Sun consented; and such human beings as she had turned into fishes he pitied, and turned them again from fishes into human beings, and hence arose the people called Fish-eaters, and so they
γων τὸ γένος καὶ εἰς Ἀλέξανδρον κατελθεῖν.

9 Καὶ ταύτα ὁτι ζευγαία ἐξελέγχει Νέαρχος, οὐκ ἔπαινεν αὐτὸν ἔγονε τῆς σχολῆς τε καὶ σοφίας, οὔτε κάρτα χαλεπὰ ἐξελεγχθῆναι ἐόντα, ταλαιπωροῦν τ’ ἐδὲ γυμνόσκουν τοὺς παλάιους λόγους ἐπιλεγόμενον ἐξελεγχεῖν ἐόντας ζευγέας.

XXXII. ῥα πέρ τοὺς Ἰχθυοφάγους Γαδρώσιοι ἐς τὸ ἄνω οἰκέουσι γῆν πονηρήν καὶ ψαμμώδεια ἔνθεν καὶ τὰ πολλὰ κακὰ ἡ στρατιά τε Ἀλέξανδρο ἐπαθεῖ καὶ αὐτὸς Ἀλέξανδρος, ὡς μοι ἦδη

2 ἐν τῷ ἄλλῳ λόγῳ ἀπήγγεται. Ὡς δὲ ἐς τὴν Ὀρμήσαντο, ἐπὶ ἁγιασμένου ἔσαλευσαν, ὅτι ἤρχη

3 παρετέτατο ἐς τὸ πέλαγος τρηχέα. Ἐνθένδε δὲ ὁσαύτος οὐκέτι πρὸς ἡλίου δυσμένου ἐπλων, ἀλλὰ τὸ μεταξὺ δύσιος τε ἡλίου καὶ τῆς ἀρκτοῦν

4 οὕτω μᾶλλον τι αἱ πρὸς αὐτοῦ ἐπιεῖχον καὶ οὕτω ἡ Ὀρμήσαντο τῶν Ἰχθυοφάγων τῆς γῆς καὶ τῶν Ὀρειτέων εὐδειδροτέρη τε καὶ εὐκαρπότερη

5 ἐστὶ, καὶ ποιώδης μᾶλλον τι καὶ ἐνυδρος. Ὄρμησαν δὲ ἐν Βάδει χώρῳ τῆς Ὀρμήσαντος ὀικεομένῳ, δεύδρεά τε πολλὰ ἡμέρα πεφυκότα ἔχουσιν πλὴν ἐλαιάς, καὶ ἀμπέλους ἀγαθὰς, καὶ σιτωφόρῳ.

6 Ἐνθένδε ὀρμηθέντες καὶ διεκπλάσαντες σταδίους ὀκτακοσίως, πρὸς αἰγιαλῷ ὀρμηθέντα ἐρήμῳ, καὶ κατορθώσαν ἄκρην μακρὴν ἔξανεγοροῦσαν ἐπὶ πολλὸν ἐς τὸ πέλαγος· ἀπέχειν δὲ ἐφαίνετο ἡ

7 ἄκρη πλὸον ὡς ἡμέρης. Καὶ οἱ τῶν χώρων ἐκείνων δαίμονες τῆς Ἀραβίης ἔλεγον τὴν ἀνίσχυσαν ταύτην ἄκρην, καλεσθαί δὲ Μάκηταν ἐνθεῖ τὰ κινάμωμα τε καὶ ἄλλα τοιούτοτροπα 400
descended to Alexander's day. Nearchus shows that all this is mere legend; but I have no commendation for his pains and his scholarship; the stories are easy enough to demolish; and I regard it as tedious to relate these old tales and then prove them all false.

XXXII. Beyond these Fish-eaters the Gadrosians inhabit the interior, a poor and sandy territory; this was where Alexander's army and Alexander himself suffered so seriously, as I have already related in my other book. But when the fleet, leaving the Fish-eaters, put in at Carmania, they anchored in the open, at the point where they first touched Carmania; since there was a long and rough line of surf parallel with the coast. From there they sailed no further due west, but took a new course and steered with their bows pointing between north and west. Carmania is better wooded than the country of the Fish-eaters, and bears more fruits; it has more grass, and is well watered. They moored at an inhabited place called Badis, in Carmania; with many cultivated trees growing, except the olive tree, and good vines; it also produced corn. Thence they set out and voyaged eight hundred stades, and moored off a desert shore; and they sighted a long cape jutting out far into the ocean; it seemed as if the headland itself was a day's sail away. Those who had knowledge of the district said that this promontory belonged to Arabia, and was called Maceta; and that thence the Assyrians imported cinnamon and
8 ἐς Ἀσσυρίους ἀγινέεσθαι καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ αἰγιαλοῦ τούτου, ἵνα περ ὁ στόλος ἐσάλευν, καὶ τὴς ἄκρης, ἦν τινα καταντικρῆ ἀπεώρον ἀνέχουσαν ἐς τὸ πέλαγος, ὁ κόλπος (ἐμοὶ τε δοκεῖ καὶ Νεάρχῳ ὁσαύτως ἐδοκεῖν) ἐς τὸ εἰσό ἀναχέεται, ὅπερ
9 εἰκὸς ἢ Ἑρυθρῆ θάλασσα. Ταύτην τὴν ἄκρην ὡς κατείδων, Ὅνησίκριτος μὲν ἐπέχοντας ἐπ’, αὐτὴν πλάειν ἐκέλευεν, ὡς μὴ κατὰ τὸν κόλπον
10 ἐλαστρεύοντας ταλαιπωρεῖσθαι. Νέαρχος δὲ ἀποκρίνεται νῆπιον ἐναὶ Ὅνησίκριτον, εἰ ἀγνοεῖ
11 ἐπ’ ὅτι ἐστάλη πρὸς Ἀλεξάνδρου ὁ στόλος; ὦ γὰρ ὅτι ἀπορή ἤν πεζῇ διασωθήναι πάντα αὐτῷ τὸν στρατὸν, ἐπὶ τὸδε ἄρα ἐκκέμψαι τὰς νέας, ἀλλὰ ἐσθοντα αἰγιαλοὺς τὴν τούς κατὰ τὸν παράπλουν κατασκέψασθαι καὶ ὄρμους καὶ ιμιδός, καὶ ὅσις κόλπος ἐσέγιοι, ἐκπεριπλώσαι τούτου, καὶ πόλιας ὡς εἰπεδαλάσσαι, καὶ εἰ τις ἐγκαρπος γῆ, καὶ εἰ τις ἐρήμη. Σφᾶς δὲν ὅτι ἐρηνήναι ἄφανται τὸ ἔργων, πρὸς τέρματι ἢδη ἐόντας τῶν πόλων, ἀλλὰς τε οὔδε ἀπόρος ἐν τῶν ἀναγκαίων ἐν τῷ παράπλορ ἐχοντας δεδείναι τε, ὅτι ἡ ἄκρη ἐς μέσημαρθίαν ἀνέχει, μὴ ἐρήμω τῇ ταύτῃ γῆ καὶ ἀνύδρῳ καὶ
12 φλογῶδεῖ ἐγκύρσειαν. Ταύτα ἐνίκα, καὶ μοι δοκεῖ περιφανείως σῶσαι τὴν στρατὴν τῇ βουλῇ Νέαρχος τῷ γὰρ ἡ ἄκρη ἐκείνη καὶ τὴν πρὸς αὐτῇ χώρην πᾶσαν ἐρήμην τε εἶναι λόγος κατέχει, καὶ ὡδατος ἀπορία ἐχεσθαι.

XXXIII. ἸΑΛΛΑ ἐπλων γὰρ ἀπὸ τοῦ αἰγιαλοῦ ἄραντες τῇ γῆ προσεχέεσ καὶ πλώσαντες στα- δίους ὡς ἐπτακοσίους ἐν ἄλλο ἀγιαλώ ὀρμί-
other spices. From this beach off which the fleet anchored in the open roadstead, and the promontory, which they sighted opposite them, running out into the sea, the bay (this is my opinion, and Nearchus held the same) runs back into the interior, and would seem to be the Red Sea. When they sighted this cape, Onesicritus bade them take their course from it and sail direct to it, in order not to have the trouble of coasting round the bay. Nearchus, however, replied that Onesicritus was a fool, if he was ignorant of Alexander’s purpose in despatching the expedition. It was not because he was unequal to the bringing all his force safely through on foot that he had despatched the fleet; but he desired to reconnoitre the coasts that lay on the line of the voyage, the roadsteads, the islets; to explore thoroughly any bay which appeared, and to learn of any cities which lay on the sea-coast; and to find out what land was fruitful, and what was desert. They must therefore not spoil Alexander’s undertaking, especially when they were almost at the close of their toils, and were, moreover, no longer in any difficulty about provisions on their coasting cruise. His own fear was, since the cape ran a long way southward, that they would find the land there waterless and sun-scorched. This view prevailed; and I think that Nearchus evidently saved the expeditionary force by this decision; for it is generally held that this cape and the country about it are entirely desert and quite denuded of water.

XXXIII. They sailed then, leaving this part of the shore, hugging the land; and after voyaging some seven hundred stades they anchored off another

1 Meaning the Arabian Gulf.
2 σαντο. Νεόπτανα οὖνομα τῷ αἴγιαλῷ. Καὶ αὖθις ὑπὸ τὴν ἔως ἀνήγοντο, καὶ πλώσαντες σταῦδος ἐκατόν ὄρμιζονται κατὰ τὸν ποταμὸν Ἀναμύν. ὁ δὲ χώρος Ἀρμοζεία ἐκαλέστο. Φίλια¹ δὲ ἦδη καὶ πάμφορα ταύτη ἦν, πλὴν ἠλαιαί οὔ τε 
3 πεφύκεσαν. Ἔνταυθα ἐκβαίνουσι τε ἐκ τῶν υπόν καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν πολλῶν πόλων ἄσμενοι ἀνε- 
παύντο, μεμυμένοι δόσα κακὰ κατὰ τὴν βάλασ- 
σαν πεποιθότες ἤσαν, καὶ πρὸς τῇ γῇ τῶν Ἰχθυοφάγων, τῇ τε ἐρμίῃ ἐς ἤς ἔρωθα, καὶ 
τῶν ἀνθρώπων ὄκως θηριώδες, καὶ ταῖς σφόν 
4 ἀπορίας ἐπιλεγόμενοι. Καὶ τινὸς αὐτῶν ἀπὸ 
θαλάσσης ἐς τὸ πρόσω ἄνηλθον, ἀποσκεδασθέντες 
5 τῆς στρατιῆς κατὰ ξήτηησιν ἄλλος ἄλλον. Ἑν- 
ταυθὰ ἀνθρώπος σφίσσει ὑφῆς χλαμύδα τε φορέων 
Ἐλληνικῆν καὶ τὰ ἄλλα ὡς Ἐλλήν ἐσκευασμένος, 
καὶ φωνὴ Ἐλλάδα ἐφώνη. Τοῦτον οἱ πρῶτοι ἱδόντες δακρύσαν ἐλεγον· οὗτοι τι παράλογον 
σφίσι φανήναι ἐκ τῶν τοσῶν κακῶν Ὁ Ἐλληνα 
μὲν ἀνθρώπων ἱδεῖν, Ἐλλάδος δὲ φωνῆς ἀκούσαι.
6 ἐπηρῴων τε ὅκόθεν ἥκοι, καὶ ὅστις ἑών. ὁ δὲ 
ἀπὸ τοῦ στρατοπέδου τοῦ Ἀλέξανδρου ἀποσκεδα- 
σθήναι ἔλεγε, καὶ εἶναι οὐ πόρω τὸ στρατόπεδον 
7 καὶ αὐτῶν Ἀλέξανδρον τοῦτον τὸν ἀνθρώπων 
βοῶντες τε καὶ κροτέουσιταναγοῦσιπαρὰτοῦ 
Νέαρχον καὶ Νέαρχος πάντα ἐφρασε, καὶ ὅτι 
πέτος ἥμερων ὁδὸν ἀπέχει τὸ στρατόπεδον καὶ 
8 ὁ βασιλεὺς ἀπὸ τῆς βαλάσσης τοῦ τὸ ὕπαρχον 
τῇ χώρῃ ταύτης δεῖξειν ἔφη Νέαρχο, καὶ 
ἐδείξε· καὶ μετὰ τοῦτον Νέαρχος οὐκῷμήν ποιέτεται, 
9 ὅκως ἀναβησθεῖται πρὸς βασιλεὰ. Τότε μὲν δὴ 

¹ φίλια, Hercher δαψίλεα.
beach, called Neoptana. Then at dawn they moved off seaward, and after traversing a hundred stades they moored by the river Anamis; the district was called Harmozeia. All here was friendly, and produced fruit of all sorts, except that olives did not grow there. There they disembarked, and had a welcome rest from their long toils, remembering the miseries they had endured by sea and on the coast of the Fish-eaters; recounting one to another the desolate character of the country, the almost bestial nature of the inhabitants, and their own distresses. Some of them advanced some distance inland, breaking away from the main force, some in pursuit of this, and some of that. There a man appeared to them, wearing a Greek cloak, and dressed otherwise in the Greek fashion, and speaking Greek also. Those who first sighted him said that they burst into tears, so strange did it seem after all these miseries to see a Greek, and to hear Greek spoken. They asked whence he came, who he was; and he said that he had become separated from Alexander’s camp, and that the camp, and Alexander himself, were not very far distant. Shouting aloud and clapping their hands they brought this man to Nearchus; and he told Nearchus everything, and that the camp and the King himself were distant five days’ journey from the coast. He also promised to show Nearchus the governor of this district and did so; and Nearchus took counsel with him how to march inland to meet the King. For the moment
ἔπι τὰς νέας ἀπῆλθον· ὑπὸ δὲ τὴν ἑω τὰς νέας ἐνεώλκεεν, ἐπισκευής τε εἶνεκα, ὥσαί αὐτέων κατὰ τὸν πλὸον πεπονήκεσαν, καὶ ἀμα ὅτι ἐν τῷ χώρῳ τούτῳ ὑπολείπεσθαι οἱ ἐδόκεε τὸν πολλὸν στρατόν· χάρακά τε ὁν περιβάλλεται διπλόον ἐπὶ τῷ ναυστάθμῳ, καὶ τείχος γῆνου καὶ τάφρον βαθέαν, ἀπὸ τοῦ ποταμοῦ τῆς ὁχθῆς ἀρξάμενος, ἐστε ἐπὶ τὸν αἰγιαλὸν, ἵνα αἱ νέες αὐτῶ ἀνεμφυσμέναι ἦσαν.

XXXIV. Ἔν ό δὲ ὁ Νέαρχος ταῦτα ἐκόσμηε, τῆς χώρης ὁ ὑπαρχὸς πεπυσμενὸς ὅκως ἐν μεγάλῃ φροντίδι ἔχοι Ἀλέξανδρος τὰ ἀμφὶ τῶν στόλων τούτων, μέγα δὴ τι ἐξ Ἀλέξανδρου ἀγαθὸν ἀν ἐγνω πεῖσθαι, εἰ πρῶτος οἱ ἀπαγγέλλει τοῦ στρατοῦ τὴν σωτηρίαν καὶ τοῦ Νέαρχου, ὅτι οὐ πολλῷ ύστερον ἀπίζεται ἐς ὅψιν τὴν βασιλέας.

2 Οὕτω δὴ τὴν βραχυτάτην ἐλάσας ἀπαγγέλλει Ἀλέξανδρος, ὅτι Νέαρχος οὗτος προσάγει ἀπὸ τῶν νεῶν. Τότε μὲν δὴ καίπερ ἀπιστεόω τῷ λόγῳ Ἀλέξανδρος, ἀλλὰ ἐχαρῆ γε κατὰ τὸ εἰκός τῇ ἀγγελίᾳ. Ὅσ δὲ ἡμέρῃ τῇ ἄλλῃ ἐξ ἄλλης ἐγίνετο, καὶ ξυνιθέντοι αὐτῷ τῆς ἀγγελίας τὸν χρόνον οὐκέτι πιστὰ τὰ ἐξηγηγείμενα ἐφαίνετο, 4 πεμπόμενοι τε ἄλλοι ἐπὶ ἀλλοισιν ός ἐπὶ κοιμὴ τοῦ Νέαρχου, οἱ μὲν τινες ὁλίγον τῆς ὁδοῦ προελθόντες κενοὶ ἐπανήγεσαν οὐδενὶ ἐγκύρωςαντες· οἱ δὲ καὶ πορρωτέροι εὐθόντες, καὶ διαμαρτόντες τῶν ἀμφὶ τοῦ Νέαρχου, οὐδὲ αὐτοὶ ἐπανήγεσαν, 5 ἐνταῦθα δὴ τοῦ μὲν ἀνθρώπου ἐκεῖνον, ὡς κενά τε ἀγγείλαντα καὶ λυπηρότερα οἱ τὰ πρήγματα ποιῆσαντα τῇ ματαιή εὐφροσύνη, συλλαβεῖν

1 Hercher omits ἀν.
indeed he returned to the ship; but at dawn he had the ships drawn up on shore, to repair any which had been damaged on the voyage; and also because he had determined to leave the greater part of his force behind here. So he had a double stockade built round the ships' station, and a mud wall with a deep trench, beginning from the bank of the river and going on to the beach, where his ships had been dragged ashore.

XXXIV. While Nearchus was busied with these arrangements, the governor of the country, who had been told that Alexander felt the deepest concern about this expedition, took for granted that he would receive some great reward from Alexander if he should be the first to tell him of the safety of the expeditionary force, and that Nearchus would presently appear before the King. So then he hastened by the shortest route and told Alexander: "See, here is Nearchus coming from the ships." On this Alexander, though not believing what was told him, yet, as he naturally would be, was pleased by the news itself. But when day succeeded day, and Alexander, reckoning the time when he received the good news, could not any longer believe it, when, moreover, relay sent after relay, to escort Nearchus, either went a part of the route, and meeting no one, came back unsuccessful, or went on further, and missing Nearchus' party, did not themselves return at all, then Alexander bade the man be arrested for spreading a false tale and making things all the worse by this false happiness; and Alexander
κελεύει Ἀλέξανδρος· αὐτὸς δὲ τῇ τε ὅψι καὶ τῇ γνώμῃ δήλος ἢν μεγάλῳ ἄχει βεβλημένος.

6 Ἔν τούτῳ δὲ τῶν τινες κατὰ ζήτησιν τοῦ Νεάρχου ἑσταλμένων ὑπάρχουσιν ἐπὶ κομιδῆ αὐτῶν καὶ ἀπήνας δὲ ἀγοντες ἑντυγχάνουσι κατὰ τὴν ὀδὸν αὐτῷ τοῦ Νεάρχου καὶ τῷ Ἀρχῆ, καὶ πέντε ἡ ἔξ.

7 ἄμα αὐτοῖς· μετὰ τοσούτων γὰρ ἀνήγει. Καὶ ἐντυχόντες οὔτε αὐτὸν ἐγνώρισαν οὔτε τὸν Ἀρχῆν· οὔτω τοιά ἄλλοι ἐφάνησαν, κομόντες τε καὶ ὑπόπτες καὶ μεστοὶ ἄλμης, καὶ ρυμνοὶ τὰ σώματα, καὶ ὄχροι ὑπὸ ἀγρυπνίας τε καὶ τῆς ἀλλής ταλαιπωρίας. Ἀλλὰ ἐρομένουσι γὰρ αὐτοῖς ἰναπερ εἰπὸ Ἀλέξανδρος, ἀποκρινόμενοι

9 τὸν χώρον οὐδὲ παρῆλανον. Ὁ Ἀρχῆς δὲ ἐπι-φρασθεὶς λέγει πρὸς Νεάρχον, ΩΝ Νέαρχε, τούτους τοὺς ἀνθρώπους δι' ἐρημίης ἐλαύνεις τὴν αὐτὴν ἡμῖν ὀδὸν οὐκ ἐπ' ἄλλῳ τεῖν συντίθημι, ἢ δι' ἡμᾶς κατὰ ζήτησιν τὴν ἡμετέρην ἀπεσταλμένους· ὅτι δὲ οὐ γινώσκοντι ἡμέας, οὐκ ἐν θώματι ποιέομαι· οὔτω γὰρ τοῖς ἐχομεν κακῶς, ὡς ἀγνωστοί εἰναι· φράσωμεν αὐτοῖς ὀντινες εἴμεν· καὶ τοὺς ἐρώμεθα καθ’ ὅ τι ταύτης· ἐλαύνουσιν.

10 Ἔδοξε τῷ Νεάρχῳ ἑναίσιμα λέγειν· καὶ ἠρνοτο, ὅκοι ἐλαύνουσιν· οἱ δὲ ἀποκρίνονται, ὅτι κατὰ ζήτησιν Νεάρχου τε καὶ τοῦ στρατοῦ τοῦ ναυτικοῦ. Ὁ δὲ, Οὕτως, ἐφη, ἐγὼ Νεάρχος, καὶ Ἀρχῆς οὕτως· ἀλλ' ἀγετε ἡμέας· ἡμεῖς δὲ τὰ ὑπὸ τῆς στρατιῆς Ἀλεξάνδρῳ ἀπηγησόμεθα.

11 XXXV. Ἀναλαβόντες δὲ αὐτοὺς ἐπὶ τὰς ἀπήνας, ὡς ἦλαυνον· καὶ τινὲς αὐτῶν τούτων ὑποβάσαντες ἐθελήσαντες τὴν ἀγγελίαν, προδρα-408
showed both by his looks and his mind that he was wounded with a very poignant grief. Meanwhile, however, some of those sent to search for Nearchus, who had horses to convey him, and chariots, did meet on the way Nearchus and Archias, and five or six others; that was the number of the party which came inland with him. On this meeting they recognized neither Nearchus nor Archias—so altered did they appear; with their hair long, unwashed, covered with brine, wizened, pale from sleeplessness and all their other distresses; when, however, they asked where Alexander might be, the search party gave reply as to the locality and passed on. Archias, however, had a happy thought, and said to Nearchus: "I suspect, Nearchus, that these persons who are traversing the same road as ours through this desert country have been sent for the express purpose of finding us; as for their failure to recognize us, I do not wonder at that; we are in such a sorry plight as to be unrecognizable. Let us tell them who we are, and ask them why they come hither." Nearchus approved; they did ask whither the party was going; and they replied: "To look for Nearchus and his naval force." Whereupon, "Here am I, Nearchus," said he, "and here is Archias. Do you lead on; we will make a full report to Alexander about the expeditionary force."

XXXV. The soldiers took them up in their cars and drove back again. Some of them, anxious to be beforehand with the good news, ran forward and
μόντες λέγουσιν Ἀλεξάνδρῳ, ὅτι Οὔτος τοῦ Νέαρχος, καὶ σὺν αὐτῷ Ἀρχίης καὶ πέντε ἄλλοι κομίζονται παρὰ σὲ· ύπὲρ δὲ τοῦ στρατοῦ παντὸς
2 οὔτεν εἶχον ὑποκρίνασθαι. Τοῦτο ἐκεῖνο συνθέεις ὁ Ἀλεξάνδρος τοὺς μὲν παραλόγως ἀποσωθῆναι, τὴν στρατιὰν δὲ πᾶσαν διεφθάρθαι αὐτῷ, οὐ
tosόνδε τοῦ Νέαρχου τε καὶ τοῦ Ἀρχίεω τῇ σωτηρίᾳ ἔχαρεν, ὅσον ἔλυπεν αὐτὸν ἀπολομένη
3 ἡ στρατιὰ πᾶσα. Οὔτω πάντα ταῦτα ἔστητο, καὶ ὁ Νέαρχος τε καὶ ὁ Ἀρχίης προσήγον. Τοὺς δὲ μόγις καὶ χαλεπῶς ἐπέγυν Ἀλεξάνδρος· ὅτι τε κομόωντας καὶ κακῶς ἐσταλμένους κατείραμα, ταῦτη μᾶλλον τι βεβαιότερον αὐτῷ τὸ ἀνόητον ὑπὲρ τῆς στρατιᾶς τῆς ναυτικῆς ἐγίνετο.
4 Ὁ δὲ τὴν δεξίην τῷ Νέαρχῳ ἐμβαλὼν καὶ ἀπαγαγὼν μοῦνον αὐτῶν ἀπὸ τῶν ἑταίρων τε καὶ τῶν ὑπασπιστέων, πολλὸν ἔπι χρόνων ἐδάκρυεν
5 ὡς ἐπε ἁνενεγκότων, Ἀλλὰ σὺγε ἡμῖν ὅτι ἐπανήκεις σῶσι, ἔφη, καὶ Ἀρχίης οὕτως, ἔχοι ἂν ἐμοι ὡς ἐπὶ συμφορῇ τῇ ἀπάσῃ μετρίως· αἱ δὲ τοῖς νέοις καὶ ἡ στρατιὰ κοίῳ τῶν τρόπων διεφθάρσαν;
6 Ὁ δὲ ὑπολαβὼν, ὁ Βασίλειῳ, ἔφη, καὶ αἱ νέες τοι σώαι εἰσὶ καὶ ὁ στρατὸς· ἡμεῖς δὲ σὺν
7 ἀγγελοὶ τῆς σωτηρίας αὐτῶν ἦκομεν. Ἔτι μᾶλλον ἐδάκρυεν Ἀλεξάνδρος, κατότι ἀνέλπιστος οἱ ἡ σωτηρία τοῦ στρατοῦ ἐφαίνετο· καὶ ὅκου ὀρμέουσιν αἱ νέες ἀνηρότα· ὁ δὲ, Αὐτῖκα, ἔφη, ἐν τῷ στόματι τοῦ Ἀνάμιδος ποταμοῦ ἀνειρυσμέναι
8 ἐπισκευάζονται. Ἀλεξάνδρος δὲ τῶν τε Δία τὸν Ἐλλήνων καὶ τὸν Ἀμμωνα τὸν Διβύων ἐπόμνωσιν, ἡ μην μέξον ὡς ἔπι τῇ τῇ ἀγγελίας χαίρειν,
told Alexander: "Here is Nearuchus; and with him Archias and five besides, coming to your presence." They could not, however, answer any questions about the fleet. Alexander thereupon became possessed of the idea that these few had been miraculously saved, but that his whole army had perished; and did not so much rejoice at the safe arrival of Nearuchus and Archias, as he was bitterly pained by the loss of all his force. Hardly had the soldiers told this much, when Nearuchus and Archias approached; Alexander could only with great difficulty recognize them; and seeing them as he did long-haired and ill-clad, his grief for the whole fleet and its personnel received even greater surety. Giving his right hand to Nearuchus and leading him aside from the Companions and the bodyguard, for a long time he wept; but at length recovering himself he said: "That you come back safe to us, and Archias here, the entire disaster is tempered to me; but how perished the fleet and the force?" "Sir," he replied, "your ships and men are safe; we are come to tell with our own lips of their safety." On this Alexander wept the more, since the safety of the force had seemed too good to be true; and then he enquired where the ships were anchored. Nearuchus replied: "They are all drawn up at the mouth of the river Anamis, and are undergoing a refit." Alexander then called to witness Zeus of the Greeks and the Libyan Ammon that in good truth he rejoiced more at this news than because he
ἡ δὲ τὴν Ἀσίην πάσαν ἐκτημένος ἔρχεται καὶ γὰρ καὶ τὸ ἄχως οἱ ἐπὶ τῇ ἀπωλείᾳ τῆς στρατηγῆς ἀντίρροπον γενέσθαι τῇ ἄλλῃ πάσῃ εὐτυχίᾳ.

XXXVI. Ὑδὲ ὑπαρχός τῆς χώρης, ὄντωνα συνειλήφει Ἀλέξανδρος ἐπὶ τῆς ἀγγελίας τῆς μεταίθητι, παρεόντα κατιδὼν τὸν Νέαρχον, πιὸ τε αὐτῷ πρὸς τὰ γόνατα, καὶ. Οὕτως τοι, ἔφη, ἐγὼ εἰμί, δι' ἀπήγγειλα Ἀλέξανδρῳ ὅτι σῶοι ἦκετε· ὅρας ὅκως διάκειμαι. Οὔτω δὴ δέεται Ἀλέξανδρου Νέαρχος ἀφεῖναι τὸν ἀνδρὰ, καὶ ἀφιεται. Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ σωτήρια τοῦ στρατοῦ ἔθνεν Διὶ Σωτῆρι καὶ Ἡρακλεὶ καὶ Ἀπόλλωνι Ἀλεξικάκῳ καὶ Ποσειδώνι τε καὶ ὅσοι ἄλλοι θεοὶ βαλάσιοι· καὶ ἀγώνα ἐποίεε γυμνικόν τε καὶ μουσικόν, καὶ πομπὴν ἔπεμπε· καὶ Νέαρχος ἐν πρώτοις ἐπόμπευε, ταινίησε τε καὶ ἀνθέσι πρὸς τῆς στρατηγῆς βαλλόμενος. Ὡς δὲ ταῦτά οἱ τέλος εἶχε, λέγει πρὸς Νέαρχον, Ἔγώ σε, ὁ Νέαρχε, οὐκέτι ἐθέλω τὸ πρὸς ὅτι ἀνακινδυνεύειν, οὔτε ταλαιπωρεῖσθαι· ἀλλὰ ἄλλος γὰρ τοῦ ναυτικοῦ ἐξηγήσεται τὸ ἀπὸ τούτῳ, ἔστε καταστήσαι αὐτὸ ἐς Σοῦσα. Νέαρχος δὲ ὑπολαβὼν λέγει, Ὅρα βασιλεῦ, ἐγὼ μέντοι πάντα πείθεσθαι ἐθέλω τε καὶ ἀναγκαίη μοι ἐστίν· ἀλλὰ εἰ δὴ τι καὶ σὺ ἐμοὶ χαρίζεσθαι ἐθέλεις, μὴ ποιήσῃς ὅδε· ἀλλὰ με ἔασον ἐξηγήσασθαι ἐς ἄπαν τοῦ στρατοῦ, ἔστε σοι σῶς καταστήσω ἐς Σοῦσα τὰς νέας· μὴ δὲ τὰ μὲν χαλέπα τε αὐτοῦ καὶ ἀπορά ἐμοὶ ἐπιτετραμμένα ἐκ σοῦ ἔστω, τὰ

1 Hercher ἔχει.
2 A. δέθελος. The mixed condition has, perhaps unnecessarily, troubled editors.
had conquered all Asia; since the grief he had felt at the supposed loss of the fleet cancelled all his other good fortune.

XXXVI. The governor of the province, however, whom Alexander had arrested for his false tidings, seeing Nearchus there on the spot, fell at his feet: "Here," he said, "am I, who reported your safe arrival to Alexander; you see in what plight I now am." So Nearchus begged Alexander to let him go, and he was let off. Alexander then sacrificed thank-offerings for the safety of his host, to Zeus the Saviour, Heracles, Apollo the Averter of Evil, Poseidon and all the gods of the sea; and he held a contest of art and of athletics, and also a procession; Nearchus was in the front row in the procession, and the troops showered on him ribbons and flowers. At the end of the procession Alexander said to Nearchus: "I will not let you, Nearchus, run risks or suffer distresses again like those of the past; some other admiral shall henceforth command the navy till he brings it into Susa." Nearchus, however, broke in and said: "King, I will obey you in all things, as is my bounden duty; but should you desire to do me a gracious favour, do not this thing, but let me be the admiral of your fleet right up to the end, till I bring your ships safe to Susa. Let it not be said that you entrusted me with the difficult and desperate
ἀρχήν προσωμολογεῖν εἰδέναι· οὖτω δὴ κατα-
πέμπει αὐτῶν, στρατηγήν δοὺς ἐς παραπομπὴν
ἀς διὰ φιλίας ἱόντι ὀλίγην. Τῷ δὲ οὐδὲ τὰ τῆς
όδου τῆς ἐπὶ θάλασσαν ἔξω πόλον ἐγένετο· ἄλλα
συλλεγομένου γὰρ οἱ κύκλῳ βάρβαροι τὰ ἐρυμνὰ
tῆς χώρης τῆς Καλλανίδος κατείχον, ὅτι καὶ οἱ
σατράπαις αὐτοῖς τετελευτήκει κατὰ πρόσταξιν
'Ἀλεξάνδρου' ὁ δὲ νεωτὸς κατεστηκὸς Τληπό-
λεμόσ οὖτω βέβαιον τὸ κράτος εἶχε. Καὶ διὸ
ἄν καὶ τρῖς τῇ αὐτῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἠλλοισι καὶ ἠλλοισι
τῶν βαρβάρων ἐπιφανειομένοισιν ἐς χειρὰς ἤσαν·
καὶ οὕτως οὖν οὐδέν τι εἰλικρύνομεν μόλις καὶ χαλεπῶς
ἐπὶ θάλασσαν ἀπεσώθησαν. Ἐνταῦθα θύει
Νέαρχος Διὸ Σωτήρι καὶ ἄγωνα ποιεῖ γυμνικὸν.

XXXVII. Ὁς δὲ αὐτῷ τὰ θεῖα ἐν κόσμῳ
πεποίητο, οὕτω δὴ ἀνήγγειτο. Παραπλάσαντες
δὲ νῆσου ἐρήμην τε καὶ τρηχέων ἐν ἄλλῃ νῆσῳ
ὁμοίουνται, μεγάλή ταύτη καὶ οἰκεόμενη, πλω-
σαντες σταδίους τριηκοσίους, ἐνθαυμαστὴ
ςαν. Καὶ ἡ μὲν ἐρήμη νῆσος 'Ὀργανα ἐκαλέστο,
ἐς ἧν δὲ ἀφικήθησαν 'Οάρακτα: ἀμπελοί τε ἐν
αὐτῇ ἐπεφύκεσαν καὶ φοῖνικες, καὶ σιτοφόροις-
τὸ δὲ μῆκος [ἡν] τῆς νῆσου, στάδιοι ὁκτακόσιοι.
Καὶ ο ὑπάρχος τῆς νῆσου Μαξίμης συνέπλευε
αὐτοῖς μέχρι Σούσων, ἐθελοντῆς ἡγεμόνα τοῦ
πλοῦν. Ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ νῆσῳ ἔλεγων καὶ τοῦ
πρώτος δυναστεύσατος τῆς χώρης ταύτης
dείκνυσαι τῶν τάφων· οὐνομα δὲ αὐτῷ 'Ερύθρην
εἶναι, ἀπ' ᾧ οὗν καὶ τὴν ἐπωνυμίαν τῇ θαλάσσῃ.
work, but the easy task which leads to ready fame was taken away and put into another's hands." Alexander checked his speaking further and thanked him warmly to boot; and so he sent him back again, giving him a force as escort, but a small one, as he was going through friendly territory. Yet his journey to the sea was not untroubled; the natives of the country round about were in possession of the strong places of Carmania, since their satrap had been put to death by Alexander's orders, and his successor recently appointed, Tlepolemus, had not established his authority. Twice then or even thrice on the one day the party came into conflict with different bodies of natives who kept coming up, and thus without losing any time they only just managed to get safe to the sea-coast. Then Nearchus sacrificed to Zeus the Saviour and held an athletic meeting.

XXXVII. When therefore Nearchus had thus duly performed all his religious duties, they weighed anchor. Coasting along a rough and desert island, they anchored off another island, a large one, and inhabited; this was after a voyage of three hundred stades from their point of departure. The desert island was called Órgana, and that off which they moored Oaracta. Vines grew on it and date-palms; and it produced corn; the length of the island was eight hundred stades. The governor of the island, Mazenes, sailed with them as far as Susa as a volunteer pilot. They said that in this island the tomb of the first chief of this territory was shown; his name

1 XXXVII. From here onwards the Indica becomes mere guide-book, and the syntax is looser, while the style seems hurried.
4 ταύτη εἶναι, Ἕρωθην καλέσθαι. Ἐνθένδε ἐκ τῆς νῆσου ἀραντες ἐπλωον· καὶ τῆς νῆσου αὐτής παραπλώσαντες ὅσον διηκοσίοις σταδίους, ὁμιλοῦνται εἰς αὐτῆς αὐθίς, καὶ κατορῶσιν ἀλλην νῆσον, ἀπέχουσαν τῆς μεγάλης ταύτης τεσσαράκοντα μίλια σταδίους· Ποσειδώνος ἴη ἐλέγετο εἶναι, 5 καὶ ἄβατος. Ἡπὶ δὲ τὴν ἐω ἀνήγοντο, καὶ καταλαμβάνει αὐτοὺς ἀνάπωτες οὕτω τι καρτερῆ, ὡστε τρεῖς τῶν νεῶν ἐποκεῖλασαι ἐν τῷ ἕξηρῳ ἐσχῆτον· αἱ δὲ ἄλλαι καλεπῶς διεκπλώονσαι 6 τὰς ὅρχιας ἐς τὰ βάθεα διαπεσοῦσαν· αἱ δὲ ἐποκεῖλασαι τῆς πλημμυρίδος ἐπιγενομένης αὐθίς ἐξέπλωσάν τε καὶ δευτεραῖαι κατάγοντο ἑναπερ 7 ὁ πᾶς στόλος. Ὁρμίζονται δὲ ἐς νῆσου ἄλλην, διέχουσαν τῆς ἑπείρου ὅσον τρικοσίοις σταδίοις, 8 πλάσαντες τετρακοσίους. Ἐνθένθεν ύπὸ τὴν ἐω ἐπλωον, νῆσον ἔρημην ἐν ἀριστερᾷ παραπλώσαντες· οὖνομα δὲ τῇ νῆσῳ Πύλωρα· καὶ ὁρμίζονται πρὸς Σισιδώνην,1 πολυχνῖῳ σμικρῷ καὶ πάντων ἀπόρῳ, ὅτι μὴ ὕδατος καὶ ἰχθύων ἰχθυοφάγοι γάρ καὶ οὕτωι ὑπ᾽ ἀναγκαίας ἔσαι, 9 ὅτι πονηρήν γῆν νέμονται. Ἐνθένθεν ύδρευσάμενοι κατάρροον ἐς Ταρσίνην ἄκρην ἀνατείνουσαν ἐς τὸ πέλαγος, πλάσαντες σταδίους τρικοσίους. 10 Ἐνθέν ἐς Κατάρην, νῆσον ἔρημην, ἀλιτενέα· αὐτή ἴη Ἕρμη καὶ Ἄφροδίτης ἐλέγετο· στάδιοι 11 τοῦ πλούο τρικοσίου· ἐς ταύτην ὅσα ἔτη ἀφίεται ἐκ τῶν περιοίκων πρόβατα καὶ αἶγες, ἵνα τῷ Ἕρμη καὶ τῇ Ἄφροδιτή· καὶ ταύτα ἀπηγριφμένα ἤν ὀρᾶν ύπὸ χρόνου τε καὶ ἐρημίης.

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1 Αδωδάν Β (Parisinus). A place-name Duwân survives in the vicinity.
was Erythres, and hence came the name of the sea. Thence they weighed anchor and sailed onward, and when they had coasted about two hundred stades along this same island they anchored off it once more and sighted another island, about forty stades from this large one. It was said to be sacred to Poseidon, and not to be trod by foot of man. About dawn they put out to sea, and were met by so violent an ebb that three of the ships ran ashore and were held hard and fast on dry land, and the rest only just sailed through the surf and got safe into deep water. The ships, however, which ran aground were floated off when next flood came, and arrived next day where the main fleet was. They moored at another island, about three hundred stades from the mainland, after a voyage of four hundred stades. Thence they sailed about dawn, and passed on their port side a desert island; its name was Pylora. Then they anchored at Sisidona, a desolate little township, with nothing but water and fish; for the natives here were fish-eaters whether they would or not, because they dwelt in so desolate a territory. Thence they got water, and reached Cape Tarsias, which runs right out into the sea, after a voyage of three hundred stades. Thence they made for Cataea, a desert island, and low-lying; this was said to be sacred to Hermes and Aphrodite; the voyage was of three hundred stades. Every year the natives round about send sheep and goats as sacred to Hermes and Aphrodite, and one could see them, now quite wild from lapse of time and want of handling.
XXXVIII. Μέχρι τούτῳ Καρμανίνη· τὰ δὲ ἀπὸ τούτῳ Πέρσαι ἔχουσι· μῆκος τοῦ πλόου παρὰ τὴν Καρμανίνην χώρην στάδιοι τρισχίλιοι καὶ ἐπτακόσιοι· ξώουσι δὲ κατάπερ Πέρσαι, ὡτι καὶ ὁμοροί εἰσὶ Πέρσης· καὶ τὰ ἐς τὸν πόλεμον 2 ὀσαύτως κοσμεοῦνται. Ἔνθενδε ἄραντες ἐκ τῆς νῆσου τῆς ίρῆς παρὰ τὴν Περσίδα ἦδη ἔπλωσον· καὶ κατάγοντας ἐς Ἡλείαν χώραν, ἱσα λήμνη πρὸς νῆσον σμικρῆς καὶ ἐρήμης γίνεται· οὐνομα τῷ νῆσῳ Κέκανδρος· ὁ δὲ πλόος στάδιοι τετρακόσια.

3 Ἐπὸ δὲ τὴν ἑω ἐς ἄλλην νῆσον πλώσαντες ὀρμίζονται οἰκεόμενη· ὅτι καὶ μαργαρίτην θηράσθαι λέγει Νέαρχος, κατάπερ ἐν τῇ Ἰνδῶν θαλάσσῃ. Ταύτης τῆς νῆσου τὴν ἀκρην παραπλώσαντες στάδιοι ὡς τεσσαράκοντα, ἐνταῦθα 4 ὀρμίσθησαν· ἐνθενδε πρὸς ὅρει ὀρμίζονται ὑψηλὸ· (Ὡν οὐνομα τῷ ὅρει) ἐν λιμένι εὐόρμῳ· καὶ ἄλλες αὐτοῦ φάκεου. Καὶ ἐνθεὶ πλώσαντες στάδιοι τετρακόσια τε καὶ πεντήκοντα, ὀρμίζονται ἐν 'Αποστάνοισι· καὶ πλοῖα πολλὰ αὐτόθι ὄρμα, κάμην τε ἐπὶ ἅπεξονα ἀπὸ θαλάσσῃ 5 στάδιοι ἐξήκοντα. Νυκτὸς δὲ ἐπάραντες ἐνθεὶ ἐσπλώοντος ἐς κόλπον συνοικεόμενον πολλῆς κάμης στάδιοι τοῦ πλόου τετρακόσιοι· ὀρμίζονται δὲ πρὸς ὑποεἰρήν ταύτη φοινικές τε πολλοὶ ἐπεθύκεσαν καὶ ὄσα ἄλλα άκροδρια ἐν 6 τῇ Ἐλλάδι γῆ φύεται. Ἔνθεν ἄραντες ἐς Γάγανα παραπλώοσῃ στάδιοι μάλιστα ἐς ἐξακοσίοις, ἐς χώρην οἰκεομένην ὀρμίζονται δὲ τοῦ ποταμοῦ τοῦ χειμάρρου, οὖνομα δὲ 'Αρεων, ἐν τῇ σιν ἐκβολής· ἐνταῦθα χαλεπῶς ὀρμίζονται· στεινὸς γὰρ ἦν ὁ ἐσπλοῦς κατὰ τὸ 418
XXXVIII. So far extends Carmania; beyond this is Persia. The length of the voyage along the Carmanian coast is three thousand seven hundred stades. The natives' way of life is like that of the Persians, to whom they are also neighbours; and they wear the same military equipment. The Greeks moved on thence, from the sacred island, and were already coasting along Persian territory; they put in at a place called Ílas, where a harbour is formed by a small desert island, which is called Cecandrus; the voyage thither is four hundred stades. At daybreak they sailed to another island, an inhabited one, and anchored there; here, according to Nearchus, there is pearl fishing, as in the Indian Ocean. They sailed along the point of this island, a distance of forty stades, and there moored. Next they anchored off a tall hill, called Ochus, in a safe harbour; fishermen dwelt on its banks. Thence they sailed four hundred and fifty stades, and anchored off Apostana; many boats were anchored there, and there was a village near, about sixty stades from the sea. They weighed anchor at night and sailed thence to a gulf, with a good many villages settled round about. This was a voyage of four hundred stades; and they anchored below a mountain, on which grew many date-palms and other fruit trees such as flourish in Greece. Thence they unmoored and sailed along to Gogana, about six hundred stades, to an inhabited district; and they anchored off the torrent, called Areon, just at its outlet. The anchorage there was uncomfortable; the entrance was narrow, just at the mouth, since the ebb tide
στόμα, ὅτι βραχέα τὰ κύκλῳ αὐτοῦ ἡ ἀνάπωτις 8 ἐποίει. Καὶ ἐνθὲν αὐ ἐν στόματι ἄλλου ποταμὸς ὀρμίζονται, διεκπλάσαντες στάδιον ἐς ὀκτακο- σίον· Σιτακός οὖν μα τῷ ποταμῷ ἦν· οὐδὲ ἐν τούτῳ εὐμαρέως ὀρμίζονται καὶ ὁ πλοὺς ἄπας ὦτος ὁ παρὰ τὴν Περσίδα βραχέα τε ἦσαν καὶ 9 ῥηχλαὶ καὶ τενάγεα. Ἐνταῦθα σίτον καταλαμ- βάνουσι πολλὸν ξυγκεκομισμένον κατὰ πρόστα- ξιν βασιλέως, ὡς σφίσιν εἶναι ἐπιστιξασθαί ἐνταῦθα ἐμείναν ἡμέρας τὰς πάσας μίαν καὶ εἰκοσι, καὶ τὰς νέας ἀνειρυσάμενοι ὅσαι μὲν πεπονήκεσαν, ἐπεσκεύαζον τὰς δὲ ἄλλας ἐθερά- πευνον.

XXXIX. Ἐνθὲνδε ὀρμηθέντες εἰς Ἰέρατιν πόλιν ἀπίκοντο, ἐς χῶρον οἰκεόμενον ἐπτακόσιοι καὶ πεντήκοντα στάδιον ὁ πλόος· ὀρμίσθησαν δὲ ἐν διώρυξι ἀπὸ τοῦ ποταμοῦ ἐμβεβηλιμένη ἐς 2 θάλασσαν, ἦ οὖνομα ἦν Ἦρατεμις. Ἄμα δὲ ἕλθο ἀνίσχοντι παραπλάοις ὡς ποταμὸν χει- μάρρουν, οὖνομα Πάδαγρον, ὁ δὲ χῶρος χερρόνησος ἄπας· καὶ ἐν αὐτῷ κῆποι τε πολλοὶ καὶ ἀκρόδρυα παντοῖα ἐφύστε οὖνομα τῷ χῶρῳ Μεσσαμβρίῃ.

3 Ἐκ Μεσσαμβρίας δὲ ὀρμηθέντες, καὶ διεκπλάσ- σαντες στάδιον μάλιστα ἐς διηκοσίον, ἐς Ταόκην ὀρμίζονται ἐπὶ ποταμῷ Γράνυδε καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦτο ἐς τὸ ἄνω Περσέων βασίλεια ἦν, ἀπέχοντα τοῦ ποταμοῦ τῶν ἐκβολέων στάδιον ἐς διηκο- σίους. Κατὰ τοῦτον τῶν παράπλον λέγει Νέαρ- χος ὄφθητι κῆτος ἐκβεβηλιμένον εἰς τὴν ἡδύαν· καὶ τούτῳ προσπλάσαντάς τινας τῶν ναυτέων ἐκμετρήσας καὶ φάναι εἶναι πῆχεων ἐνενήκοντα· 5 δέρμα δὲ αὐτῷ εἶναι φολιώδωτον, οὐτώ τε ἐς βάθος 420
caused shallows in all the neighbourhood of the outlet. After this they anchored again at another river-mouth, after a voyage of about eight hundred stades. This river was called Sitacus. Even here, however, they did not find a pleasant anchorage; in fact this whole voyage along Persia was shallows, surf, and lagoons. There they found a great supply of corn brought together there by the King’s orders, for their provisioning; there they abode twenty-one days in all; they drew up the ships, and repaired those that had suffered, and the others too they put in order.

XXXIX. Thence they started and reached the city of Hieratis, a populous place. The voyage was of seven hundred and fifty stades; and they anchored in a channel running from the river to the sea and called Heratemis. At sunrise they sailed along the coast to a torrent called Padagrus; the entire district forms a peninsula. There were many gardens, and all sorts of fruit trees were growing there; the name of the place was Mesambria. From Mesambria they sailed and after a voyage of about two hundred stades anchored at Taoce on the river Granis. Inland from here was a Persian royal residence, about two hundred stades from the mouth of the river. On this voyage, Nearchus says, a great whale was seen, stranded on the shore, and some of the sailors sailed past it and measured it, and said it was of ninety cubits’ length. Its hide was scaly, and so
ἈΡΡΙΑΝ

ηκον, ὡς καὶ ἐπὶ τήχυν ἐπέχειν, ὀστρεά τε καὶ
λοπάδας καὶ φυκία πολλὰ ἔχειν ἐπιπεφυκότα: καὶ
dελφίνια λέγει ὅτι καθορὰν ἡν πολλοὺς ἀμφὶ
tῷ κῆτεί, καὶ τοὺς δελφίνας τῶν ἐν τῇ εἶσῳ
6 θαλάσση μέζωνας. "Ἐνθὲν δὲ ὀρμηθέντες κατά-
γονται ἐς Ῥόγωνιν ποταμὸν χειμάρρουν ἐν λιμένι
eυόρμῳ: μῆκος τοῦ παράπλου στάδιοι διηκόσιοι.
7 Ἐνθένδε τετρακοσίους στάδιους διεκπλώσαντες
ἀνέζονται ἐν ποταμῷ χειμάρρῳ. Βρίζανα τῷ
ποταμῷ οὖνομα: ἐναύθα χαλεπῶς ὀρμάσαντο,
ὅτι ἤρξη ἦν καὶ βραχέα, καὶ χοιράδες ἐκ τοῦ
8 πόντου ἀνείχον. ἀλλ' ὅτε ἡ πλῆμμυρα ἔπηει,
tότε ὀρμάσαντο: ὑπονοστήσαντος δὲ τοῦ υἱότος,
ἐπὶ ξηρῷ ὑπελείφθησαν αἱ νέες: ἐπεὶ δὲ ἡ πλημ-
μυρίς ἐν τάξει ἀμείβουσα ἐπῆλθε, τότε δὴ
9 ἐκπλώσαντες ὀρμᾶσαντες ἐπὶ ποταμῷ οὖνομα δὲ
τῷ ποταμῷ Ὀρφάτιας, μέγιστος τῶν ποταμῶν, ὡς
λέγει Νέαρχος, ὅσοι ἐν τῷ παράπλῳ τῷ ἐμβάλ-
λουσιν ἐς τὸν ἕξω πόντου.

ΧΛ. Μέχρι τοῦδε Πέρσαι οἰκέουσιν, τὰ δὲ ἀπὸ
tοῦτων Σουσίων. Σουσίων δὲ ἀλλο γένος αὐτῶ-
νομον κατύπερθε προσοικέει. Οὐξίως χαλέονται:
ὑπὲρ ὅτων λελεκταί μοι ἐν τῇ ἅλλῃ ἔννομα,
ὅτι λησταὶ εἰσί. Μῆκος τοῦ παράπλου τῆς
Περσίδος χώρης, στάδιοι τετρακόσιοι καὶ τετρα-
2 κισχίλιοι. Τὴν δὲ Περσίδα γῆν τριχὴ νευμῆ-
θαί τῶν ὑρέων λόγος κατέχει. Τὸ μὲν αὐτῆς
πρὸς τῇ Ἑρυθρῇ θαλάσσῃ οἰκεόμενον ἀμμώδες τε
3 εἶναι καὶ ἄκαρτον ὑπὸ καύματος: τὸ δὲ ἐπιτη-
δέως πρὸς ἄρκτον τε καὶ Βορεῖν ἀνεμον ἑντὸς
καλὸς κεκράσθαι τῶν ὑρέων: καὶ τὴν χώρην
ποιώδεα τε εἶναι, καὶ λειμώνας ὑδρηλοὺς καὶ
422
thick that it was a cubit in depth; and it had many
oysters, limpets, and seaweeds growing on it.
Nearchus also says that they could see many dolphins
round the whale, and these larger than the Mediter-
ranean dolphins. Going on hence, they put in at
the torrent Rogonis, in a good harbour; the length
of this voyage was two hundred stades. Thence
again they sailed four hundred stades and bivouacked
on the side of a torrent; its name was Brizana.
Then they found difficult anchorage; there were surf,
and shallows, and reefs showing above the sea.
But when the flood tide came in, they were able to
anchor; when, however, the tide retired again, the
ships were left high and dry. Then when the flood
duly returned, they sailed out, and anchored in a
river called Oroatis, greatest, according to Nearchus,
of all the rivers which on this coast run into the
Ocean.

XL. The Persians dwell up to this point and the
Susians next to them. Above the Susians lives
another independent tribe; these are called Uxians,
and in my earlier history I have described them as
brigands. The length of the voyage along the
Persian coast was four thousand four hundred stades.
The Persian land is divided, they say, into three
climatic zones. The part which lies by the Red Sea
is sandy and sterile, owing to the heat. Then the
next zone, northward, has a temperate climate; the
country is grassy and has lush meadows and many
άμπελον πολλήν φέρειν, καὶ ὁσοὶ ἄλλοι καρποὶ, 4 πλὴν ἐλαίης: παραδείσοις τε παντοῦοις τε-θηλέναι, καὶ ποταμοῖς καθαροῖς διαρρέεσθαι, καὶ λίμνης, καὶ ὄρυσιν ὀκόσοις ἁμφὶ ποτα-
μοῦς τε καὶ λίμνας ἐστὶ τὰ ἥθεα, ὑποσιοὶ τε ἀγαθὴν εἰναι, καὶ τοίσιν ἄλλοισι υποξυγίοισι νέμεσθαι, καὶ ὕλωδεα τε πολλοῖς καὶ πολύ-
5 θηρον τὴν δὲ πρόσω ἔτι ἐπ᾽ ἄρκτων ἴόντων χειμερίνην τε καὶ νυφετόδεα. * * ὡστε πρέσβειας τινας ἐκ του Εὐξείνου πόντου λέγει Νέαρχος κάρτα ὀλγὴν ὄδων διελθόντας ἐνυχεῖν καὶ ὄδων ἴόντι τῆς Περσίδος καὶ θῶμα γενέσθαι Ἀλεξάνδρω, καὶ εἰπεῖν Ἀλεξάνδρῳ τῆς ὄδοι τῆν
6 βραχύτητα. Σουσίως δὲ πρόσοικοι ὃτι εἰσὶν οἱ Οὐξεοὶ, λέλεκται μοι. κατάπερ Μάρδοι μὲν Πέρσης προσεχεῖς οἰκέουσι, ἄρσται καὶ οὐτοὶ, 7 Κοσσάιοι δὲ Μήδουσι. Καὶ ταῦτα πάντα τὰ ἑβνεα ἡμέρωσεν Ἀλεξάνδρος, χειμῶνος ὡρῇ ἐπι-
πεσοῦν αὐτοῖσιν. ὅτε ἄβατον σφῶν τὴν χώρην 8 ἡγον καὶ πόλιας ἐπέκτισε τοῦ μὴ νομάδας ἐτὶ εἰναι, ἄλλα ἀροτῆρας καὶ γῆς ἐργάτας, καὶ ἕχειν ὑπὲρ ὅτων δειμαίνουτες μὴ κακὰ ἄλλῃς ἐργα-
σωνται. Ἐνθέντε τὴν Σουσίων γην παρήμειβεν 9 ὁ στρατός. Καὶ ταῦτα οὐκέτι ὅσαντος ἀπρεκέως λέγει Νέαρχος ὃτι ἔστιν οἱ ἐκφράσαι, πλὴν γε δὴ τοὺς ὄρμους τε καὶ τὸ μῆκος τοῦ πλόου τὴν χώρην γὰρ τεναγώδεα τε εἰναι τὴν πολλὴν καὶ ρηχὴν ἐπὶ μέγα ἐς τὸν πόντου ἐπέχουσαν, καὶ ταῦταν σφαλερὴν ἐγκατομμυρίζεσθαι πελαγίοισιν 10 διν σφίς τὴν κομιδὴν τὸ πολλὸν γενέσθαι ὀρμή-
θήναι μὲν δὴ ἐκ τοῦ ποταμοῦ τῶν ἐκβολέων, ἦπερ ἡνισθήσαν, ἐπὶ τοῖσιν οὐροῖσι τῆς Περσίδος
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vines and all other fruits except the olive; it is rich with all sorts of gardens, has pure rivers running through, and also lakes, and is good both for all sorts of birds which frequent rivers and lakes, and for horses, and also pastures the other domestic animals, and is well wooded, and has plenty of game. The next zone, still going northward, is wintry and snowy. Nearchus tells us of some envoys from the Black Sea who after quite a short journey met Alexander traversing Persia and caused him no small astonishment; and they explained to Alexander how short the journey was. I have explained that the Uxians are neighbours to the Susians, as the Mardians—they also are brigands—live next the Persians, and the Cossaeans come next to the Medes. All these tribes Alexander reduced, coming upon them in winter-time, when they thought their country unapproachable. He also founded cities so that they should no longer be nomads but cultivators, and tillers of the ground, and so having a stake in the country might be deterred from raiding one another. From here the convoy passed along the Susian territory. About this part of the voyage Nearchus says he cannot speak with accurate detail, except about the roadsteads and the length of the voyage. This is because the country is for the most part marshy and runs out well into the sea, with breakers, and is very hard to get good anchorage in. So their voyage was mostly in the open sea. They sailed out, therefore, from the mouths of the river, where they had encamped, just on the Persian border, taking on
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ύδωρ δὲ ἐμβάλλεσθαι πέντε ἡμερέων. οὐκ ἔφασκον γὰρ εἶναι ὕδωρ οἱ κατηγεμόνες τοῦ πλοίου.

ΧΛ. Σταδίους δὲ πεντακοσίους κομισθέντες ὄρμιζονται ἐπὶ στόματι ἱμῖνης ἱχνυώδεος, ἡ οὖν οἰνομα Κατάδερψις' καὶ νησὶς ἐπὶ τὸ στόματι.

2 Μαργάστανα τῇ νησίδι οὖνομα. Ἐνθείδε δὲ ὑπὸ τὴν ἐν ἐκπλῶσαντες κατὰ βραχέα έκομίζοντο ἐπὶ μῆς νεός' πασσάλοισι δὲ ἐνθεῖν καὶ ἐνθεὶ πεπηγόσι ἀπεδηλώτο τὰ βραχέα, κατά-περ ἐν τῷ μεσσηγὸς Δευκάδος τε νήσου ἵσθμοῦ καὶ 'Ακαρνανίης ἀποδέδεικται σημίται τοῖς ναυτιλλομένοις τοῦ μῆ ἐποκέλλειν εὖ τοῖς

3 βραχέσι τὰς νέας' ἀλλὰ τὰ μὲν κατὰ Δευκάδα, ψαμμώδεα ἐόντα, καὶ τοῖς ἐποκείλασι ταχέην τὴν ὑπονόστησιν ἐνδιδοῦ· κεῖθι δὲ πηλὸς ἐστὶν ἐπὶ ἐκάτερο τοῦ πλεομένου βαθὺς καὶ ἠλυόδης, ὡστε οὐδεμία μηχανῇ ἐποκείλασιν ἢν ἀποσώ-θηναι. Οἳ τε γὰρ κοντὸι κατὰ τοῦ πηλοῦ δύνοντες αὐτοὶ οὖν, τι ἐποφέλεον, ἀνθρώπῳ τὸ ἐκβήναι τοῦ ἀπώσαι τὰς νέας ἐς τὰ πλεομένα ἀπορον ἐγίνετο· ἐδυνον γὰρ κατὰ τοῦ πηλοῦ

4 ἐστε ἐπὶ τὰ στῆθεα. Οὗτος δὲ χαλεπῶς διεκ-πλῶσαντες ἐς σταδίους ἐξακοσίους κατὰ νέα ἐκαστοὶ ὄρμισθέντες, ἐνταύθα δεῖπνου ἐμνής-

6 θησαν τὴν νύκτα δὲ ἡ ἡ δακρα ἐπεξείων, καὶ τὴν ἐπεξίης ἡμέρην ἐστε ἐπὶ βουλυτῶν· καὶ ἥλθον σταδίους ἐννακοσίους· καὶ κατῳρμισθησαν ἐπὶ τὸ στόματι τοῦ Εὐφράτου πρὸς κώμη τινὶ τῆς Βαβυλωνίης χώρῃς· οὖν οἰκοῦ δὲ αὐτῆς Διρί-

7 δωτὶ· ἵνα λιβαδωτὸν τε ἀπὸ τῆς ἐμπορίης γῆς οἱ ἐμποροὶ ἀγινέουσι, καὶ τὰ ἄλλα ὅσα θυμή-

8 ματα ἣ 'Αράβων γῆ φέρει. Ἀπὸ δὲ τοῦ 426
board water for five days; for the pilots said that they would meet no fresh water.

XLI. Then after traversing five hundred stades they anchored in the mouth of a lake, full of fish, called Cataderbis: at the mouth was a small island called Margastana. Thence about daybreak they sailed out and passed the shallows in columns of single ships; the shallows were marked on either side by poles driven down, just as in the strait between the island Leucas and Acarnania signposts have been set up for navigators so that the ships should not ground on the shallows. However, the shallows round Leucas are sandy and render it easy for those aground to get off; but here it is mud on both sides of the channel, both deep and tenacious; once aground there, they could not possibly get off. For the punt-poles sank into the mud and gave them no help, and it proved impossible for the crews to disembark and push the ships off, for they sank up to their breasts in the ooze. Thus then they sailed out with great difficulty and traversed six hundred stades, each crew abiding by its ship; and then they took thought for supper. During the night, however, they were fortunate in reaching deep sailing water and next day also, up to the evening; they sailed nine hundred stades, and anchored in the mouth of the Euphrates near a village of Babylonia, called Diridotis; here the merchants gather together frankincense from the neighbouring country and all other sweet-smelling spices which Arabia produces.
στόματος τοῦ Ἠὐφράτου ἦστε ἐς Βαβυλῶνα πλόον λέγει Νέαρχος σταδίους εἶναι ἐς τρισχιλίους καὶ τριηκοσίους.

ΧΛΠ. Ἔνταύθα ἀγγέλλεται Ἀλέξανδρον ἐπὶ Σοῦσων στέλλεσθαι· ἔνθεν καὶ ἀυτοῖς τὸ ὄπισθ ἐπλων, ὡς κατὰ τὸν Πασιτήριον ποταμὸν ἀνα-πλώσαντες συμμῆκα τοῦ Ἀλέξανδρος. Ἐπλων δὴ τὸ ἐμπαλίν ἐν ἀριστερὴ τὴν γῆν τὴν Σουσίδα ἔχοντες· καὶ παραπλώσωσιν Λίμνην, ἐς ἡν ὁ Τίγρης ἐσβάλλει ποταμὸς· δὲ ρέων ἐς Ἀρμενίων παρὰ πόλιν Νίνου, παλαι ποτὲ μεγάλην καὶ εὐδαίμονα, τὴν μέσην ἐωτοῦ τε καὶ τοῦ Ἠὐφράτου ποταμοῦ, ἢν Μεσοποταμίην ἐπὶ τὸ ἔδει κληίζεσθαι, ποιεῖν· ἀπὸ δὲ τῆς Λίμνης ἐς αὐτοῦ τῶν ποταμῶν ἀνάπλους στάδιοι ἐξακόσιοι, ἵνα καὶ κόμης τῆς Σουσίδος, ἢν καλέουσιν Ἀγινίων· αὐτὴ δὲ ἀπέχει Σουσών στα-δίους ἐς πεντακόσιους· μῆκος τοῦ παράπλου τῆς Σουσίδων γῆς ἦστε ἐπὶ στόμα τοῦ Πασιτήριδος ποταμοῦ στάδιοι δισεκόλοι. Ἐνθὲν κατὰ τὸν Πασιτήριον ἀνω ἀνέπλων διὰ χώρης οἰκεομενῆς καὶ εὐδαίμονος. Ἀναπλώσαντες δὲ στάδιος ἐς πεντήκοντα καὶ ἐκατόν αὐτοῦ ὀρμίζουνται, προσ-μένοντες οὕστως ἐστάλκει Νέαρχος σκεφτομένος ἢν ὁ βασιλεὺς εἰς. Αὐτὸς δὲ ἔδειχε θεϊσὶ τοῖς σωτηρίσω, καὶ ἀγῶνα ἔποιεε, καὶ ἡ στρατὴ ἢ γεν. 7 ναυτικὴ πάσα ἐν εὐθυμίης ἦν. Ὡς δὲ προσ-ἀγων ἢδη Ἀλέξανδρος ἡγεμόνευ, ἐπλων ἤδη αὖθις ἐς τὸ ἄνω κατὰ τῶν ποταμῶν· καὶ πρὸς τῇ σχεδίῃ ὀρμίζουνται, ἐπὶ ἢ τὸ στράτευμα δια-πόλις. Βιβάσσει ἐμελλεν Ἀλέξανδρος ἢς Σοῦσα. Ἐνταύθα ἀνεμλίθη ἡ στρατὸς, καὶ θυσίαν πρὸς Ἀλέξανδρον ἐθύνοντο ἐπὶ τῶν νεῶν τε καὶ τῶν 428
From the mouth of the Euphrates to Babylon Nearcimus says it is a voyage of three thousand three hundred stades.

XLII. There they heard that Alexander was departing towards Susa. They therefore sailed back, in order to sail up the Pasitigris and meet Alexander. So they sailed back, with the land of Susia on their left, and they went along the lake into which the Tigris runs. It flows from Armenia past the city of Ninus, which once was a great and rich city, and so makes the region between itself and the Euphrates; that is why it is called “Between the Rivers.” The voyage from the lake up to the river itself is six hundred stades, and there is a village of Susia called Aginis; this village is five hundred stades from Susa. The length of the voyage along Susian territory to the mouth of the Pasitigris is two thousand stades. From there they sailed up the Pasitigris through inhabited and prosperous country. When they had sailed up about a hundred and fifty stades they moored there, waiting for the scouts whom Nearcimus had sent to see where the King was. He himself sacrificed to the Saviour gods, and held an athletic meeting, and the whole naval force made merry. And when news was brought that Alexander was now approaching they sailed again up the river; and they moored near the pontoon bridge on which Alexander intended to take his army over to Susa. There the two forces met; Alexander offered sacrifices for his ships and men,
Ἀνθρώπων τῇ σωτηρίᾳ, καὶ ἀγώνες ἐποιεόντο· καὶ Νέαρχος ὅκοι παραφανείᾳ τῆς στρατινῆς, 9 ἄνθεσί τε καὶ ταυτίσων ἐβάλλετο· ἐνθα καὶ χρυσέω στεφάνῳ στεφανοῦνται ἐξ Ἀλεξάνδρου Νέαρχος τε καὶ Δεοννάτος, Νέαρχος μὲν ἐπὶ τοῦ ναυτικοῦ τῇ σωτηρίᾳ, Δεοννάτος δὲ ἐπὶ τῇ νίκῃ, ἢν Ῥωήτας τε ἐνίκησε καὶ τοὺς Ῥωήτης 10 προσοικεύοντας βαρβάρους. Ὡς μὲν ἀπεσώθη Ἀλεξάνδρῳ ἐκ τοῦ Ἰνδοῦ τῶν ἐκβολέων ὀρμηθεὶς ὁ στρατός.

11 ΧΧ. Τα δὲ ἐν δεξιᾷ τῆς Ἐρυθρῆς θαλάσσης ὑπὲρ τῆς Βαβυλωνίας Ἀραβίαν ἡ πολλῇ ἐστι, καὶ ταύτης τα μὲν κατήκει ἐστε ἐπὶ τὴν θάλασσαν τὴν κατὰ Φωικήν τε καὶ τὴν Παλαιστίνην Συρίαν· πρὸς δυομένου δὲ ἦλον ὡς ἐπὶ τὴν εἰσώθαλασαν Αἰγύπτιοι τῇ Ἀραβία διορέοντο.

2 Κατὰ δὲ Αἰγύπτου ἐσέχων ἐκ τῆς μεγάλης θαλάσσης κόλπος δῆλον ποιεῖ ὡς ἐνεκάν γε τοῦ σύρροιον εἰναι τὴν ἐξωθάλασσαν περίπλους ἀν ἦν ἐκ Βαβυλώνος ἐστὶ τὸν κόλπον τοῦτον ἐσέχωντα 3 ὡς ἐπὶ Αἰγύπτου. Ἀλλὰ γὰρ οὐ τις παρέπεπλυσε ταύτη ὀυδαμῶν ἀνθρώπων ὑπὸ καύματος καὶ ἐρήμης, εἰ μὴ τινὲς ἡ πελάγως κομμηδεῖν.

4 Ἀλλὰ οἱ ἀπὸ Αἰγύπτου γὰρ ἐς Σούσα ἀποσωθέντες τῆς στρατινῆς τῆς Καμβύσεως καὶ οἱ παρὰ Πτολεμαίον τοῦ Δάνην παρὰ Σελευκον τῶν Νικάτορα σταλέντες ἐς Βαβυλώνα διὰ τῆς Ἀραβίας χώρης.

5 ἤσθον τινα διαπορευθέντες ἐν ἡμέρας οὐκτὸ τῇσι πάσησιν ἀνυδρον καὶ ἐρήμην χώρην ἐπὶ θάλαθον ἐπὶ καμέλων σπουδὴ ἐλαύνοντες, ὕδωρ τῇ σφίν ἐπὶ τῶν καμέλων φέρουντες, καὶ νυκτοπορεώντες· τὰς γὰρ ἡμέρας ὑπαίθριοι ἀνέχεσθαι διὰ καίμα 430
come safe back again, and games were held; and wherever Nearchus appeared in the camp, the troops pelted him with ribbons and flowers. There also Nearchus and Leonnatus were crowned by Alexander with a golden crown; Nearchus for the safe convoying of the ships, Leonnatus for the victory he had achieved among the Oreitans and the natives who dwelt next to them. Thus then Alexander received safe back his navy, which had started from the mouths of the Indus.

XLIII. On the right side of the Red Sea beyond Babylonia is the chief part of Arabia, and of this a part comes down to the sea of Phoenicia and Palestinian Syria, but on the west, up to the Mediterranean, the Egyptians are upon the Arabian borders. Along Egypt a gulf\(^1\) running in from the Great Sea makes it clear that by reason of the gulf’s joining with the High Seas one might sail round from Babylon into this gulf which runs into Egypt. Yet, in point of fact, no one has yet sailed round this way by reason of the heat and the desert nature of the coasts, only a few people who sailed over the open sea. But those of the army of Cambyses who came safe from Egypt to Susa and those troops who were sent from Ptolemy Lagus to Seleucus Nicator at Babylon through Arabia crossed an isthmus in a period of eight days and passed through a waterless and desert country, riding fast upon camels, carrying water for themselves on their camels, and travelling by night; for during the day they could not come

\(^1\) The Red Sea. But Arrian is quite confused in this passage, and the text may also have suffered.
6 ἀδύνατοι ἦσαν. Τοσούτου δεῖ τά γε ἐπέκειναι
tαύτης τῆς χώρης, ἦν τινα ἱσθμοῦ ἀποφαίνομεν
ἐκ τοῦ κόλπου τοῦ Ἄραβίου κατήκοντα ἐσ την
Ἐρυθρῆν θάλασσαν, οἰκεόμενα εἶναι, ὁκότε τὰ
πρὸς ἄρκτον μᾶλλον αὐτῶν ἀνέχοντα ἔρημα τέ
7 ἑστὶ καὶ ψαμμώδεα. Ἀλλὰ γὰρ ἀπὸ τοῦ
Ἄραβίου κόλπου τοῦ κατ᾽ ᾿Αγνυπτὸν ὁρμηθέντες
ἀνθρωποί, ἐκπερπλώσαντες τὴν πολλὴν Ἄραβίην
ἐλθεῖν ἔς την κατὰ Σοῦσα τε καὶ Πέρσας θαλασ-
σαν, ἐς τοσάνδε ἄρα παραπλώσαντες τῆς Ἄραβίας,
ἔς ὁσον σφίσι τὸ ὑδρ ἐπήρκεσε τὸ ἐμβληθέν ἔς
8 τὰς νέας, ἐπειτὰ ὑπὸ ἄπεισι κατοίκησαν. Ἐκ Ῥαβ-
λῶν τε οὐστίνας ἐστείλεν Ἀλέξανδρος, ὡς ἐπὶ
μήκιστον πλόους ἐν δεξιᾷ τῆς Ἐρυθρῆς θα-
λάσσης γυναὶ κοῦ τοὺς ταύτης χῶρους, οὕτωι νῆσους
μὲν τινάς κατασκέψαντο ἐν τῷ παράπλωρ κειμένας,
καὶ που καὶ τῆς ἡπείρου τῆς Ἄραβίας προσέσχον.
9 τὴν δὲ ἀκρήν, ἦν τινα καταντικρὸ τῆς Καρμανίας
ἀνέχοσαν λέγει φανήναι σφίσι Νέαρχος, οὐκ
ἔστιν ὅστις ὑπερβαλὼν ἐπικάμψας ἐς τὸ ἐπὶ
10 θάτερα δυνατός ἐγένετο. Δοκέω δὲ ὡς εἰπὲρ
πλωτά τε ἦν καὶ βαδιστὰ ταύτη, ὡς Ἀλέξανδρον
ἀν τῆς πολυπραγμοσύνης ἐξελήλυγκτο πλωτά
11 τε καὶ βαδιστὰ ἔοντα. Ἀνων δὲ ὁ Δίβυς ἐκ
Καρχηδόνον ὁρμηθεῖς ὑπὲρ μὲν Ὑπακείας στῆλας
ἐξέπλωσεν ἔξω ἐς τὸν πόντον, ἐν ἀριστερῇ τῇ
Δεβῆν γῆν ἔχων· καὶ ἔστε μὲν πρὸς ἀνίσχοντα
ἡλιον ὁ πλόος αὐτῶ ἐγένετο τάς πάσας πέντε καὶ
12 τριήμερα ἑμέρας· ὡς δὲ δὴ ἐς μεσημβρίαν ἐξε-
τράπετο, πολλῆσιν ἀμηχανίσσων ἐνετύχανεν
ὑδατός τε ἀπορία καὶ καύματι ἐπιφλέγοντι καὶ
13 βύαξι πυρὸς ἐς τὸν πόντον ἐμβάλλονσαν. Ἀλλ'
out of shelter by reason of the heat. So far is the region on the other side of this stretch of land, which we have demonstrated to be an isthmus from the Arabian gulf running into the Red Sea, from being inhabited, that its northern parts are quite desert and sandy. Yet from the Arabian gulf which runs along Egypt people have started, and have circumnavigated the greater part of Arabia hoping to reach the sea nearest to Susa and Persia, and thus have sailed so far round the Arabian coast as the amount of fresh water taken aboard their vessels have permitted, and then have returned home again. And those whom Alexander sent from Babylon, in order that, sailing as far as they could on the right of the Red Sea, they might reconnoitre the country on this side—these explorers sighted certain islands lying on their course, and very possibly put in at the mainland of Arabia. But the cape which Nearchus says his party sighted running out into the sea opposite Carmania no one has ever been able to round, and thus turn inwards towards the far side. I am inclined to think that had this been navigable, and had there been any passage, it would have been proved navigable, and a passage found, by the indefatigable energy of Alexander. Moreover, Hanno the Libyan started out from Carthage and passed the pillars of Heracles and sailed into the outer Ocean, with Libya on his port side, and he sailed on towards the east, five-and-thirty days all told. But when at last he turned southward, he fell in with every sort of difficulty, want of water, blazing heat, and fiery streams running into the sea. But
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ἡ Κυρήνη γὰρ τῆς Διβύς ἐν τούτοις ἐρημοτέροισιν πεπολισμένη ποιώδης τέ ἐστι καὶ μαλθακὴ καὶ
eὐνῦδρος, καὶ ἄλσα καὶ λειμὼνες καὶ καρπῶν
παντοίων καὶ κτηνῶν πάμφορος ἐστε ἐπὶ τοῦ
σιλφίου τὰς ἐκφύσιας· ὑπὲρ δὲ τὸ σίλφιον τὰ
ἀνω αὐτῆς ἔρημα καὶ ψαμμώδεα.

14 Οὗτος μοι ὁ λόγος ἀναγεγράφθω, φέρων καὶ
αὐτὸς ἐσ Ἄλεξανδρον τὸν Φιλίππου, τὸν
Μακεδόνα.
Cyrene, lying in the more desert parts of Africa, is grassy and fertile and well-watered; it bears all sorts of fruits and animals, right up to the region where the silphium grows; beyond this silphium belt its upper parts are bare and sandy.

Here this my history shall cease, which, as well as my other, deals with Alexander of Macedon son of Philip.
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Note.—This is not a full index, and omits persons and places who are only mentioned in passing. References are to Anabasis, unless prefixed by IND. (= Indica). The Indica references in Arabic numerals are to chapter and section, thus, 18. 3.

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¹ Native name of Hindu-Koosh Graucasim (Pliny, vi. 50), whence, probably the confusion.
² Κύρος κύριος. Greek formed compounds in the second stage only; a citizen would be Κύρος ὁ Κύριος.
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1 The traditional accent of this name, Δομένας, used, but repeated of, by Roos, who would have preferred Δομένος or Δομένως, and retained by Chantraine (Indices), is puzzling, but so is the name itself. The origin and nature of the Macedonian language are obscured by Greek overlauings; O. Hoffmann (Die Macedonen) derives the name from λαές, "people," and -ανας, "beneficial": thus meaning "Benefactor." But there are difficulties in this derivation.

2 Some read here Αλκίσιανος.
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1 The form Polycperchon can hardly be Greek; both forms are probably attempts to give some Greek semblance to a name now not recoverable. Unfortunately our knowledge of the Macedonian language or dialect is still rudimentary. See note 1, p. 449.
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See also Ammon
Map to illustrate
ALEXANDER'S CAMPAIGN
on the
INDIAN NORTH WEST FRONTIER.

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Scale of Miles

Marks position of ruined Buddhist
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