

ARRIAN  
ANABASIS OF ALEXANDER  
BOOKS I-IV

WITH AN ENGLISH TRANSLATION BY  
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## ARRIANΟΥ ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ ΑΝΑΒΑΣΕΩΣ

## ΒΙΒΛΙΟΝ ΠΡΩΤΟΝ

- 1 Πτολεμαῖος ὁ Λάγου καὶ Ἀριστόβουλος ὁ Ἀριστοβούλου  
 ὅσα μὲν ταῦτα ἄμφω περὶ Ἀλεξάνδρου τοῦ Φιλίππου  
 συνέγραψαν, ταῦτα ἐγὼ ὡς πάντῃ ἀληθῆ ἀναγράφω, ὅσα δὲ  
 οὐ ταῦτά, τούτων τὰ πιστότερα ἐμοὶ φαινόμενα καὶ ἅμα  
 2 ἀξιαφηγητότερα ἐπιλεξάμενος. ἄλλοι μὲν δὴ ἄλλα ὑπὲρ  
 Ἀλεξάνδρου ἀνέγραψαν, οὐδ' ἔστιν ὑπὲρ ὅτου πλείονες ἢ  
 ἀξυμφωνότεροι ἐς ἀλλήλους· ἀλλ' ἐμοὶ Πτολεμαῖός τε καὶ  
 Ἀριστόβουλος πιστότεροι ἔδοξαν ἐς τὴν ἀφήγησιν, ὁ μὲν ὅτι  
 συνεστράτευσε βασιλεῖ Ἀλεξάνδρῳ, Ἀριστόβουλος,  
 Πτολεμαῖος δὲ πρὸς τῷ ξυστρατεῦσαι ὅτι καὶ αὐτῷ βασιλεῖ  
 ὄντι αἰσχρότερον ἢ τῷ ἄλλῳ ψεύσασθαι ἦν· ἄμφω δέ, ὅτι  
 τετελευτηκότος ἤδη Ἀλεξάνδρου ξυγγράφουσιν [ὅτε] αὐτοῖς ἢ  
 3 τε ἀνάγκη καὶ ὁ μισθὸς τοῦ ἄλλως τι ἢ ὡς συνηνέχθη  
 ξυγγράψαι ἀπῆν. ἔστι δὲ ἅ καὶ πρὸς ἄλλων ξυγγεγραμμένα,  
 ὅτι καὶ αὐτὰ ἀξιαφήγητά τέ μοι ἔδοξε καὶ οὐ πάντῃ ἄπιστα,  
 ὡς λεγόμενα μόνου ὑπὲρ Ἀλεξάνδρου ἀνέγραψα. ὅστις δὲ  
 θαυμάσεται ἀνθ' ὅτου ἐπὶ τοσοῖσδε συγγραφεῦσι καὶ ἐμοὶ ἐπὶ  
 νοῦν ἦλθεν ἠδὲ ἡ συγγραφή,

ARRIAN ANABASIS OF ALEXANDER<sup>x</sup>

## BOOK I

- Wherever Ptolemy son of Lagus and Aristobulus son of  
 Aristobulus have both given the same accounts of Alexander son of  
 Philip, it is my practice to record what they say as completely true,  
 but where they differ, to select the version I regard as more  
 2 trustworthy and also better worth telling. In fact other writers have  
 given a variety of accounts of Alexander, nor is there any other  
 figure of whom there are more historians who are more  
 contradictory of each other, but in my view Ptolemy and  
 Aristobulus are more trustworthy in their narrative, since  
 Aristobulus took part in king Alexander's expedition, and Ptolemy  
 not only did the same, but as he himself was a king, mendacity  
 would have been more dishonourable for him than for anyone else;  
 again, both wrote when Alexander was dead and neither was under  
 any constraint or hope of gain to make him set down anything but  
 3 what actually happened. However, I have also recorded some  
 statements made in other accounts of others, when I thought them  
 worth mention and not entirely untrustworthy, but only as tales told  
 of Alexander. Anyone who is surprised that with so many historians  
 already in the field it should have

x See p. lxxxv for abbreviations and short titles, Introd. 30–2;  
 58–62 for technical Macedonian terms, App. VIII 1 for the meaning of  
 'stade' (normally ·185 km.).

γραφῆ, τά τε ἐκείνων πάντα τις ἀναλεξάμενος καὶ τοῖσδε τοῖς ἡμετέροις ἐντυχῶν οὕτω θαυμαζέτω.

1. Λέγεται δὴ Φίλιππος μὲν τελευτήσαι ἐπὶ ἄρχοντος Πυθοδήλου Ἀθήνησι παραλαβόντα δὲ τὴν βασιλείαν Ἀλέξανδρον, παῖδα ὄντα Φιλίππου, ἐς Πελοπόννησον  
 2 παρελθεῖν· εἶναι δὲ τότε ἀμφὶ τὰ εἴκοσιν ἔτη Ἀλέξανδρον. ἐνταῦθα ξυναγαγόντα τοὺς Ἑλληνας, ὅσοι ἐντὸς Πελοποννήσου ἦσαν, αἰτεῖν παρ' αὐτῶν τὴν ἡγεμονίαν τῆς ἐπὶ τοὺς Πέρσας στρατιᾶς, ἣντινα Φιλίππῳ ἤδη ἔδοσαν· καὶ αἰτήσαντα λαβεῖν παρ' ἐκάστων πλὴν Λακεδαιμονίων Λακεδαιμονίους δὲ ἀποκρίνασθαι μὴ εἶναί σφισι πάτριον  
 3 ἀκολουθεῖν ἄλλοις, ἀλλ' αὐτοὺς ἄλλων ἐξηγεῖσθαι. νεωτερίσαι δὲ ἅττα καὶ τῶν Ἀθηναίων τὴν πόλιν. ἀλλὰ Ἀθηναίους γε τῆ πρώτῃ ἐφόδῳ Ἀλεξάνδρου ἐκπλαγέντας καὶ πλείονα ἔτι τῶν Φιλίππῳ δοθέντων Ἀλεξάνδρῳ εἰς τιμὴν συγχωρήσαι. ἐπανελθόντα δὲ ἐς Μακεδονίαν ἐν παρασκευῇ εἶναι τοῦ ἐς τὴν Ἀσίαν στόλου.  
 4 Ἄμα δὲ τῷ ἦρι ἐλαύνειν ἐπὶ Θράκης, ἐς Τριβαλλοὺς καὶ Ἰλλυριοὺς, ὅτι τε νεωτερίζειν ἐπύθετο Ἰλλυριοὺς τε καὶ Τριβαλλοὺς, καὶ ἅμα ὁμόρους ὄντας οὐκ ἐδόκει ὑπολείπεσθαι ὅτι μὴ πάντῃ ταπεινωθέντας οὕτω μακρὰν ἀπὸ τῆς οἰκείας  
 5 στελλόμενον. ὁρμηθέντα δὴ ἐξ Ἀμφιπόλεως ἐμβαλεῖν εἰς Θράκην τὴν τῶν αὐτονόμων καλουμένων

occurred to me too to compose this history should express his surprise only after perusing all their works and then reading mine.<sup>1</sup>

1. Now we are told<sup>2</sup> that the death of Philip occurred in the archonship of Pythodelus at Athens; then about twenty, Alexander succeeded, as Philip's son, and arrived in the Peloponnesus. There  
 2 he assembled the Peloponnesian Greeks and requested from them the leadership of the Persian expedition, which they had already granted to Philip. Each people agreed except the Lacedaemonians, who replied that their country's tradition did not permit them to  
 3 follow others; it was theirs to take the lead. At Athens too there was a revolutionary movement, but the Athenians collapsed at Alexander's first approach and conceded to him honours still greater than had been given to Philip. Alexander returned to Macedonia and began to get ready for the Asian expedition. At the advent of  
 4 spring<sup>3</sup> he marched towards Thrace against the Triballi and Illyrians, since he learned that they were restless; moreover, as they  
 5 marched with his borders, he did not think it well to leave them behind him, when going on an expedition so far from home, unless they had been thoroughly humbled. Starting from Amphipolis, he invaded the part of Thrace that belongs to the independent

336 B.C.

335 B.C.

1 For A's sources Introd. 10–23; a fuller discussion will appear in vol. II.

2 The 'tale' is apparently not from the 'vulgate', but rather what all tell; § 1–3 summarize well-known facts (Introd. 38, 49); § 4–ch. 6 at end give a seamless narrative in which direct speech replaces indirect at the end of 1, 5, presumably from Pt./Ar.; Pt. is actually cited in 2, 7 and followed in 4, 6–8.

3 Perhaps this suggests too early a date; 4, I may indicate that it was early June when Al. was on the Danube; 5, 9 that the harvest was already in near Pellium; Thebes did not fall till October (10, 2 n.).

Θρακῶν, Φιλίππους πόλιν ἐν ἀριστερᾷ ἔχοντα καὶ τὸν Ὀρβηλον τὸ ὄρος. διαβὰς δὲ τὸν Νέστον ποταμὸν λέγουσιν, 6 ὅτι δεκαταῖος ἀφίκετο ἐπὶ τὸ ὄρος τὸν Αἶμον. καὶ ἐνταῦθα ἀπήντων αὐτῷ κατὰ τὰ στενὰ τῆς ἀνόδου τῆς ἐπὶ τὸ ὄρος τῶν τε ἑμπορῶν<sup>1</sup> πολλοὶ ὀπλισμένοι καὶ οἱ Φρᾶκες οἱ αὐτόνομοι, παρεσκευασμένοι εἶργειν τοῦ πρόσω κατειληφότες τὴν ἄκραν 7 τοῦ Αἶμου τὸν στόλον, παρ' ἣν ἦν τῷ στρατεύματι ἡ πάροδος. ξυναγαγόντες δὲ ἀμάξας καὶ προβαλόμενοι πρὸ σφῶν ἅμα μὲν χάρακι ἐχρῶντο ταῖς ἀμάξαις ἐς τὸ ἀπομάχεσθαι ἀπ' αὐτῶν, εἰ βιάζοντο, ἅμα δὲ ἐν νῷ εἶχον ἐπαφιέναι ἀνιούσιν ἢ ἀποτομώτατον τοῦ ὄρους ἐπὶ τὴν φάλαγγα τῶν Μακεδόνων τὰς ἀμάξας. γνώμην δὲ πεποίητο ὅτι ὄσω πυκνοτέρα τῇ φάλαγγι καταφερόμεναι συμμίσξουσιν αἱ ἅμαξαι, τοσῶδε μᾶλλον τι διασκεδάσουσιν αὐτὴν βία ἐμπεσοῦσαι.

8 Ἀλεξάνδρῳ δὲ βουλή γίνεται ὅπως ἀσφαλέστατα ὑπερβαλεῖ τὸ ὄρος· καὶ ἐπειδὴ ἐδόκει διακινδυνευτέα, οὐ γὰρ εἶναι ἄλλη τὴν πάροδον, παραγγέλλει τοῖς ὀπλίταις, ὅποτε καταφέροντο κατὰ τοῦ ὀρθίου αἱ ἅμαξαι, ὅσοις μὲν ὁδὸς πλατεῖα οὖσα παρέχοι λύσαι τὴν τάξιν, τούτους δὲ 9 διαχωρήσαι, ὡς δι' αὐτῶν ἐκπεσεῖν τὰς ἀμάξας· ὅσοι δὲ περικαταλαμβάνοντο, ξυννεύσαντας, τοὺς δὲ καὶ πεσόντας ἐς γῆν, συγκλείσαι ἐς ἀκριβὲς τὰς ἀσπίδας, τοῦ κατ' αὐτῶν φερομένας τὰς ἀμάξας καὶ τῇ ῥύμῃ κατὰ τὸ εἶκὸς ὑπερπηδῶσας ἀβλαβῶς ἐπελθεῖν.

1 corrupt. Editors have proposed βαρβάρων, ἐγχωρίων, ἐμπίρων, ἐκ τῶν ὀρών, ὀμόρων, ὀρείων, ἐκεῖ ἐμπορῶν.

Thracians,<sup>4</sup> with Philippi and Mount Orbelus on his left. Then he crossed the river Nestus and is said in ten days to have reached 6 Mount Haemus [Great Balkan mountain], where he was met in the defile of the approach to the mountains by many of the . . .<sup>5</sup> in arms and by the independent Thracians; prepared to bar his advance, they had occupied the height of Haemus on the line of the army's 7 march. They collected carts and set them up in their front as a stockade from which to put up a defence, if they were pressed; but it was also in their mind to launch the carts at the Macedonian phalanx as the troops mounted the slope just where the mountain was most precipitous. Their idea was that the closer packed the phalanx when the descending carts charged it, the more their violent descent would scatter it.

8 Alexander consulted how he could most safely cross the ridge; and since he saw that the risk must be run, for there was no way round, he sent orders to his hoplites that whenever the carts tumbled down the slope, those who were on level ground and could break formation were to part to right and left, leaving an avenue for 9 the carts; those caught in the narrows were to crouch close together; and some were actually to fall to the ground and link their shields closely together so that when the carts came at them they were likely to bound over them by their

4 As distinguished from the Thracian principalities near the coast which Philip had annexed. For this campaign, cf. *Introd.* 33; *D.* 8, 1; *P.* 11; *Strabo* vii 3, 8. Al's route from Amphipolis is unclear, see *Seibert* (*Introd.* n. 108) 78; the Lyginus (2, 1) and Peuce are not certainly identified. At this time the Triballi extended from round Sofia to the Danube, perhaps as far as Silistria (*RE* VI A 2392 ff.).

5 See textual note; the MS reading 'merchants' is sense-ess; editors propose 'local barbarians' or the like.

10 καὶ οὕτω ξυνέβη ὅπως παρήνεσέ τε Ἀλέξανδρος καὶ εἵκασεν.  
οἱ μὲν γὰρ διέσχον τὴν φάλαγγα, αἱ δ' ὑπὲρ τῶν ἀσπίδων  
ἐπικυλισθεῖσαι ὀλίγα ἔβλαψαν ἀπέθανε δὲ οὐδεὶς ὑπὸ ταῖς  
ἀμάξαις. ἔνθα δὴ οἱ Μακεδόνες θαρσήσαντες, ὅτι ἀβλαβεῖς  
11 αὐτοῖς, ἃς μάλιστα ἐδεδίσαν, αἱ ἄμαξαι ἐγένοντο, σὺν βοῇ ἐς  
τοὺς Θρᾷκας ἐνέβαλον. Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ τοὺς τοξότας μὲν ἀπὸ  
τοῦ δεξιοῦ κέρως πρὸ τῆς ἄλλης φάλαγγος, ὅτι ταύτη  
εὐπορώτερα ἦν, ἐλθεῖν ἐκέλευσε καὶ ἐκτοξεύειν ἐς τοὺς Θρᾷκας  
ὅπη προσφέροντο· αὐτὸς δὲ ἀναλαβὼν τὸ ἄγλημα καὶ τοὺς  
12 ὑπασπιστὰς καὶ τοὺς Ἀγριᾶνας κατὰ τὸ εὐώνυμον ἤγγεν. ἔνθα  
δὴ οἱ τοξόται βάλλοντες τοὺς προεκθέοντας τῶν Θρακῶν  
ἀνέστελλον· καὶ ἡ φάλαγξ προσμίξασα οὐ χαλεπῶς ἐξέωσεν  
ἐκ τῆς χώρας ἀνθρώπους ψιλοὺς καὶ κακῶς ὀπλισμένους  
βαρβάρους, ὥστε Ἀλέξανδρον ἀπὸ τοῦ εὐωνύμου ἐπάγοντα  
οὐκέτι ἐδέξαντο, ἀλλὰ ῥύψαντες ὡς ἐκάστοις προῦχώρει τὰ  
13 ὄπλα κατὰ τοῦ ὄρους ἔφυγον. καὶ ἀπέθανον μὲν αὐτῶν ἐς  
χιλίους καὶ πεντακοσίους, ζῶντες δὲ ἄνδρες μὲν ὀλίγοι  
ἐλήφθησαν δι' ὠκύτητα καὶ τῆς χώρας ἐμπειρίαν, γυναῖκες δὲ  
ὅσαι ξυνείποντο αὐτοῖς ἐάλωσαν πᾶσαι, καὶ τὰ παιδάρια καὶ  
ἡ λεία πᾶσα ἐάλω.

2. Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ τὴν μὲν λείαν ὀπίσω ἀπέπεμψεν ἐς τὰς  
πόλεις τὰς ἐπὶ θαλάσση, Λυσανία καὶ Φιλώτα παραδοὺς  
διατίθεσθαι· αὐτὸς δὲ τὸ ἄκρον ὑπερβαλὼν προῆει διὰ τοῦ  
Αἴμου ἐς Τριβαλλοὺς, καὶ ἀφικνεῖται ἐπὶ τὸν Λύγινον  
ποταμόν· ἀπέχει δὲ οὗτος ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἰστρου ὡς ἐπὶ τὸν Αἴμον  
2 ἰόντι σταθμοὺς τρεῖς. Σύρμος δὲ ὁ τῶν Τριβαλλῶν βασιλεὺς,  
ἐκ πολλοῦ πυνθανόμενος τοῦ Ἀλεξάνδρου

gathered impetus and pass without doing harm. The event  
corresponded to Alexander's advice and conjecture. Part of the  
10 phalanx divided, while the carts sliding over the shields of the  
others did little harm; not one man perished beneath them. The  
Macedonians now took heart, finding that the carts they had most  
dreaded proved harmless, and they charged the Thracians, shouting  
11 as they did so. Alexander ordered the archers from the right wing to  
the front of the phalanx as on that side it was easier to shoot at the  
Thracians wherever they attacked. He himself took the *agema*, the  
12 hypaspists and the Agrianians and led them on the left. Then by  
their volleys the archers held back those Thracians who were  
rushing forward and the phalanx, coming to close quarters, easily  
drove from their position men who were lightly clad and ill-armed  
barbarians; so they did not await the charge of Alexander on the  
left, but casting away their arms as best they could fled down the  
mountain-side. Some fifteen hundred 13 perished; few were  
captured alive, by reason of their speed and their knowledge of the  
country; the women, however, who followed them were all taken,  
with the children and all their impedimenta.

2. Alexander sent the booty back to the cities on the coast,  
appointing Lysanias and Philotas<sup>1</sup> to deal with it; he himself crossed  
the ridge, marched over Haemus against the Triballians, and  
arrived at the river Lyginus; as you approach the Haemus, it is three  
2 days' march from the Ister (Danube). Syrmus, King of the  
Triballians, learning some time before

<sup>1</sup> Berve no. 805; Parmenio's son (ib. no. 802) is probably meant  
in § 5.

τὸν στόλον, γυναῖκας μὲν καὶ παῖδας τῶν Τριβαλλῶν  
 προὔπεμψεν ἐπὶ τὸν Ἰστρὸν διαβαίνειν κελεύσας τὸν ποταμὸν  
 3 ἐς νῆσόν τινα τῶν ἐν τῷ Ἰστρῷ Πεύκη ὄνομα τῇ νήσῳ ἐστίν.  
 ἐς ταύτην δὲ τὴν νῆσον καὶ οἱ Θρᾶκες οἱ πρόσχωροι τοῖς  
 Τριβαλλοῖς προσάγοντος Ἀλεξάνδρου ἐκ πολλοῦ  
 συμπεφευγότες ἦσαν καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ Σύρμος ἐς ταύτην  
 ξυμπεφεύγει ξὺν τοῖς ἀμφ' αὐτόν· τὸ δὲ πολὺ πλῆθος τῶν  
 Τριβαλλῶν ἔφυγεν ὀπίσω ἐπὶ τὸν ποταμὸν, ἔνθενπερ τῇ  
 προτεραίᾳ ὠρμήθη Ἀλέξανδρος.

4 Ὡς δὲ ἔμαθεν αὐτῶν τὴν ὀρμήν, καὶ αὐτὸς ὑποστρέψας τὸ  
 ἔμπαλιν ἐπὶ τοὺς Τριβαλλοὺς ἦγεν, καὶ καταλαμβάνει  
 καταστρατοπεδεύοντας ἤδη. καὶ οἱ μὲν καταληφθέντες πρὸς  
 τῷ νάπει τῷ παρὰ τὸν ποταμὸν παρετάσσοντο· Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ  
 καὶ αὐτὸς τὴν μὲν φάλαγγα ἐς βάθος ἐκτάξας ἐπήγε, τοὺς  
 τοξότας δὲ καὶ τοὺς σφενδονήτας προεκθέοντας ἐκέλευσεν  
 ἐκτοξεύειν τε καὶ σφενδονᾶν ἐς τοὺς βαρβάρους, εἴ πως  
 5 προκαλέσαιο αὐτοὺς ἐς τὰ ψιλὰ ἐκ τοῦ νάπου. οἱ δὲ ὡς  
 ἐντὸς βέλους ἐγένοντο, παιόμενοι ἐξέθεον ἐπὶ τοὺς τοξότας,  
 ὅπως ἐς χεῖρας ξυμμίξειαν γυμνοῖς οὖσι τοῖς τοξόταις.  
 Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ ὡς προήγαγεν αὐτοὺς ἐκ τῆς νάπης ἔξω,  
 Φιλώταν μὲν ἀναλαβόντα τοὺς ἐκ τῆς ἄνωθεν Μακεδονίας  
 ἰππέας προσέταξεν ἐμβάλλειν κατὰ τὸ κέρας τὸ δεξιόν, ἥπερ  
 μάλιστα προὔκεχωρήκεσαν ἐν τῇ ἐκδρομῇ. Ἡρακλείδην δὲ καὶ  
 6 Σώπολιν τοὺς ἐκ Βοττιαίας τε καὶ Ἀμφιπόλεως ἰππέας κατὰ τὸ  
 εὐώνυμον κέρας ἐπάγειν ἔταξε. τὴν δὲ φάλαγγα τῶν πεζῶν  
 καὶ τὴν ἄλλην ἵππον πρὸ τῆς φάλαγγος παρατείνας κατὰ  
 μέσους ἐπήγε. καὶ ἔστε μὲν

of Alexander's march, sent on the women and children to the Ister,  
 ordering them to cross to an island in the river called Peuce. To this  
 3 island the Thracians who are neighbours to the Triballians had also  
 fled some time before on Alexander's approach, and Syrmus and his  
 men now joined them there; but the mass of the Triballians fled  
 back to the river from which Alexander had started out the day  
 before.

4 Hearing of their move, Alexander turned back in person to  
 attack the Triballians, and found them already encamping. Caught  
 as they were, they formed line near the glen by the river; but  
 Alexander threw his phalanx into deep formation and led it against  
 them in person, ordering the bowmen and slingers to run out ahead  
 and discharge their arrows and stones on the barbarians, to see if he  
 5 could provoke them into the open out of the glen. When they were  
 in range and came under fire, they ran out against the bowmen to  
 come to grips with them, unarmed as bowmen are. But having  
 drawn them out of the glen, Alexander ordered Philotas to take the  
 cavalry of upper Macedonia and charge their right wing, where they  
 had advanced farthest in their outward rush. Heracleides and  
 Sopolis were ordered to lead the cavalry from Bottiaea and  
 6 Amphipolis against the left wing. The infantry phalanx and the  
 remaining cavalry, which he deployed in advance of the phalanx, he  
 led against the centre. While the

ἀκροβολισμὸς παρ' ἐκατέρων ἦν, οἱ Τριβαλλοὶ οὐ μείον εἶχον  
 ὡς δὲ ἢ τε φάλαγξ πυκνὴ ἐνέβαλλεν ἐς αὐτοὺς ἐρρωμένως καὶ  
 οἱ ἱππεῖς οὐκ ἀκοντισμῶ ἔτι, ἀλλ' αὐτοῖς τοῖς ἵπποις ὠθοῦντες  
 7 ἄλλη καὶ ἄλλη προσέπιπτον, τότε δὴ ἐτράπησαν διὰ τοῦ  
 νάπους εἰς τὸν ποταμόν. καὶ ἀποθνήσκουσι μὲν τρισχίλιοι ἐν  
 τῇ φυγῇ, ζῶντες δὲ ὀλίγοι καὶ τούτων ἐλήφθησαν, ὅτι ὕλη τε  
 δασεῖα πρὸ τοῦ ποταμοῦ ἦν καὶ νύξ ἐπιγενομένη τὴν  
 ἀκρίβειαν τῆς διώξεως ἀφείλετο τοὺς Μακεδόνας. αὐτῶν δὲ  
 Μακεδόνων τελευτήσαι λέγει Πτολεμαῖος ἱππέας μὲν ἕνδεκα,  
 πεζοὺς δὲ ἀμφὶ τοὺς τεσσαράκοντα.

3. Ἀπὸ δὲ τῆς μάχης τριταῖος ἀφικνεῖται Ἀλέξανδρος ἐπὶ  
 τὸν ποταμὸν τὸν Ἰστρον, ποταμῶν τῶν κατὰ τὴν Εὐρώπην  
 μέγιστον ὄντα καὶ πλείστην γῆν ἐπερχόμενον καὶ ἔθνη  
 μαχιμώτατα ἀπείργοντα, τὰ μὲν πολλὰ Κελτικά, ὅθεν γὰρ καὶ  
 2 αἱ πηγαὶ αὐτῶ ἀνίσχουσιν, ὧν τελευταίους Κουάδους καὶ  
 Μαρκομάνους· ἐπὶ δὲ Σαυροματῶν μοῖραν, Ἰάζυγας· ἐπὶ δὲ  
 Γέτας τοὺς ἀπαθανατίζοντας· ἐπὶ δὲ Σαυρομάτας τοὺς  
 πολλούς· ἐπὶ δὲ Σκύθας ἔστε ἐπὶ τὰς ἐκβολάς, ἵνα ἐκδιδοῖ  
 3 κατὰ πέντε στόματα ἐς τὸν Εὐξείνιον πόντον. ἐνταῦθα  
 καταλαμβάνει αὐτῶ ἠκούσας ναῦς μακρὰς ἐκ Βυζαντίου διὰ  
 τοῦ πόντου τοῦ Εὐξείνου κατὰ τὸν ποταμόν. ταύτας ἐμπλήσας  
 τοξοτῶν τε καὶ ὀπλιτῶν τῇ νήσῳ ἐπέπλει, ἵνα οἱ Τριβαλλοὶ τε  
 καὶ οἱ Θράκες ξυμπεφευγότες ἦσαν, καὶ ἐπειράτο βιάζεσθαι  
 τὴν

battle was still at long range, the Triballians did not have the worst  
 of it, but when the phalanx in close formation charged them in full  
 force and the cavalry, no longer shooting, but actually thrusting  
 them with their horses, fell on them here, there and everywhere,  
 they turned in flight through the glen to the river. Three thousand  
 7 perished in the flight, but only a few were captured alive, as the  
 wood in front of the river was dense, and as nightfall prevented the  
 Macedonians from any thorough pursuit. Of the Macedonians,  
 according to Ptolemy, eleven cavalymen and about forty foot-  
 soldiers were killed.<sup>2</sup>

3. On the third day after the battle Alexander reached the Ister,  
 the greatest river of Europe, traversing the greatest tract of country  
 and acting as a barrier to the most warlike tribes, Celts for the most  
 part<sup>1</sup>—its springs rising in Celtic territory; the farthest of these  
 peoples are the Quadi and Marcomanni; then it passes the Iazyges,  
 2 a branch of the Sauromatae, the Getae who call themselves  
 immortals,<sup>2</sup> most of the Sauromatae, and the Scythians down to the  
 outlets, where it runs through five mouths into the Black Sea. There  
 3 Alexander found at the mouth of the river warships come to join  
 him from Byzantium through the Black Sea. He manned them with  
 archers and hoplites and sailed against the island where the  
 Triballians and Thracians had taken refuge, and attempted to force

1 An explanatory note by A. The Quadi and Marcomanni were important in his time, not A1's. They were German, the Getae Thracian; 'Celts' often has no precise ethnic or linguistic significance for Greeks, but denotes northern barbarians, sometimes Germans, though Ephorus (Jacoby no. 70 F. 30) in the fourth century put Celts in the western extremity of the world, Scythians in the north; the last term is used indifferently of all nomads.

2 Belief in immortality: Herodotus iv 93 f.

- 4 ἀπόβασιν. οἱ δὲ βάρβαροι ἀπήντων ἐπὶ τὸν ποταμόν, ὅπη αἱ νῆες προσπίπτοιεν· αἱ δὲ ὀλίγαι τε ἦσαν καὶ ἡ στρατιὰ οὐ πολλή <ἡ> ἐπ' αὐτῶν, καὶ τῆς νήσου τὰ πολλὰ ἀπότομα ἐς προσβολήν, καὶ τὸ ρεῦμα τοῦ ποταμοῦ τὸ παρ' αὐτήν, οἷα δὴ ἐς στενὸν συγκεκλεισμένον, ὅξυ καὶ ἄπορον προσφέρεσθαι.
- 5 Ἐνθα δὴ Ἀλέξανδρος ἀπαγαγὼν τὰς ναῦς ἔγνω διαβαίνειν τὸν Ἰστρον ἐπὶ τοὺς Γέτας τοὺς πέραν τοῦ Ἰστροῦ ὠκισμένους, ὅτι τε συνειλεγμένους ἑώρα πολλοὺς ἐπὶ τῇ ὄχθῃ τοῦ Ἰστροῦ, ὡς εἶρξοντας, εἰ διαβαίνοι, — ἦσαν γὰρ ἰππεῖς μὲν ἐς τετρακισχιλίους, πεζοὶ δὲ πλείους τῶν μυρίων — καὶ
- 6 ἅμα πόθος ἔλαβεν αὐτὸν ἐπέκεινα τοῦ Ἰστροῦ ἐλθῖν. τῶν μὲν δὴ νεῶν ἐπέβη αὐτός· τὰς δὲ διφθέρας, ὑφ' αἷς ἐσκήνουν, τῆς κάρφης πληρώσας καὶ ὅσα μονόξυλα πλοῖα ἐκ τῆς χώρας ξυναγαγὼν — ἦν δὲ καὶ τούτων εὐπορία πολλή, ὅτι τούτοις χρῶνται οἱ πρόσοικοι τῷ Ἰστροῦ ἐφ' ἀλιεία τε τῇ ἐκ τοῦ Ἰστροῦ καὶ εἴποτε παρ' ἀλλήλους ἀνὰ τὸν ποταμὸν στέλλονται καὶ ληστεύοντες ἀπ' αὐτῶν οἱ πολλοί—ταῦτα ὡς πλείιστα ξυναγαγὼν διεβίβαζεν ἐπ' αὐτῶν τῆς στρατιᾶς ὅσους δυνατὸν ἦν ἐν τῷ τοιῷδε τρόπῳ. καὶ γίνονται οἱ διαβάντες ἅμα Ἀλεξάνδρῳ ἰππεῖς μὲν ἐς χιλίους καὶ πεντακοσίους, πεζοὶ δὲ ἐς τετρακισχιλίους.
4. Διέβαλον δὲ τῆς νυκτὸς ἢ λήιον ἦν σίτου βαθύ· καὶ ταύτῃ μᾶλλον τι ἔλαθον προσχόντες τῇ ὄχθῃ. ὑπὸ δὲ τὴν ἔω Ἀλέξανδρος διὰ τοῦ λήιου ἦγε, παραγγείλας τοῖς πεζοῖς πλαγίαις ταῖς σαρίσσαις ἐπικλίνοντας τὸν σῖτον οὕτω προάγειν ἐς τὰ οὐκ ἐργάσιμα. οἱ δὲ ἰππεῖς ἔστε μὲν διὰ τοῦ
- 2 λήιου προῆει ἢ φάλαγξ ἐφείποντο· ὡς δὲ ἐκ τῶν

- 4 a landing. The barbarians, however, came down to the river-side wherever the ships touched land; these were few in number, and carried only a small force; the island was for the most part steep for landing; and the current past the island, as was natural in a narrow strait, was swift and difficult to contend with.
- 5 Thereupon Alexander withdrew his ships and decided to cross the Ister to attack the Getae settled on the farther side, both because he saw a large force of them gathered on the bank, to repel him, should he cross—there were about four thousand mounted men, and more than ten thousand on foot—and also because he had been seized with a longing<sup>3</sup> to go beyond the river. He himself
- 6 embarked in the fleet; he filled the leather tent covers with hay, collected as many as possible of the boats from the countryside made from single tree trunks (they were plentiful, for the river-side dwellers use them for fishing, at times for river expeditions among themselves, and even more for thieving), and ferried across as much of his force as he could in this way. About fifteen hundred cavalry and four thousand foot-soldiers crossed with him.
4. The crossing was made at night where there was a deep cornfield, and this concealed them more, as they reached the bank. About dawn, Alexander led the troops through the field, ordering the infantry to smooth down the corn with their spears, held obliquely, and so advance to untilled ground. As long as the phalanx was marching through the corn the cavalry followed; but when they
- 2 emerged

3 Appendix V 3.



- ἐργασίμων ἐξήλασαν, τὴν μὲν ἵππον ἐπὶ τὸ δεξιὸν κέρας  
 3 αὐτὸς Ἀλέξανδρος παρήγαγεν, τὴν φάλαγγα δὲ ἐν πλαισίῳ  
 Νικάνορα ἄγειν ἐκέλευσε. καὶ οἱ Γέται οὐδὲ τὴν πρώτην  
 ἐμβολὴν τῶν ἱππέων ἐδέξαντο· παράδοξος μὲν γὰρ αὐτοῖς ἡ  
 τόλμα ἐφάνη τοῦ Ἀλεξάνδρου, ὅτι εὐμαρῶς οὕτως τὸν  
 μέγιστον τῶν ποταμῶν διεβεβήκει ἐν μιᾷ νυκτὶ τὸν Ἰστρον  
 οὐ γεφυρώσας τὸν πόρον, φοβερὰ δὲ καὶ τῆς φάλαγγος ἡ  
 4 ξύγκλεισις, βιαία δὲ ἡ τῶν ἱππέων ἐμβολή. καὶ τὰ μὲν πρῶτα  
 εἰς τὴν πόλιν καταφεύγουσιν, ἡ δὲ ἀπέιχεν αὐτοῖς ὅσον  
 παρασάγγην τοῦ Ἰστρον· ὡς δὲ ἐπάγοντα εἶδον σπουδῆ  
 Ἀλέξανδρου τὴν μὲν φάλαγγα παρὰ τὸν ποταμόν, ὡς μὴ  
 κυκλωθεῖεν πη οἱ πεζοὶ ἐνεδρευσάντων τῶν Γετῶν, τοὺς ἱππέας  
 δὲ κατὰ μέτωπον, λείπουσιν αὐτὸν καὶ τὴν πόλιν οἱ Γέται κακῶς  
 τετειχισμένην, ἀναλαβόντες τῶν παιδαρίων καὶ τῶν γυναικῶν  
 5 ἐπὶ τοὺς ἵππους ὅσα φέρειν οἱ ἵπποι ἠδύναντο· ἦν δὲ αὐτοῖς ἡ  
 ὁρμὴ ὡς πορρωτάτω ἀπὸ τοῦ ποταμοῦ εἰς τὰ ἔρημα.  
 Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ τὴν τε πόλιν λαμβάνει καὶ τὴν λείαν πᾶσαν  
 ὅσην οἱ Γέται ὑπελίποντο. καὶ τὴν μὲν λείαν Μελεάγρῳ καὶ  
 Φιλίππῳ ἐπαναγαγεῖν δίδωσιν, αὐτὸς δὲ κατασκάψας τὴν  
 πόλιν θύει τε ἐπὶ τῇ ὄχθῃ τοῦ Ἰστρον Διὶ Σωτήρι καὶ  
 Ἡρακλεῖ καὶ αὐτῷ τῷ Ἰστροῦ, ὅτι οὐκ ἄπορος αὐτῷ ἐγένετο,  
 καὶ ἐπανάγει αὐτῆς ἡμέρας σώους σύμπαντας ἐπὶ τὸ  
 στρατόπεδον.  
 6 Ἐνταῦθα ἀφίκοντο πρέσβεις ὡς Ἀλέξανδρον παρὰ τε τῶν  
 ἄλλων ὅσα αὐτόνομα ἔθνη προσοικεῖ τῷ Ἰστροῦ καὶ παρὰ  
 Σύρμου τοῦ Τριβαλλῶν βασιλέως· καὶ παρὰ Κελτῶν δὲ τῶν  
 ἐπὶ τῷ Ἰονίῳ κόλπῳ ὠκισμένων ἦκον μεγάλοι οἱ Κελτοὶ τὰ

- from the tilled land, Alexander in person took off the the cavalry to  
 the right wing, ordering Nicanor to lead the phalanx in rectangular  
 3 formation. The Getae did not even withstand the first charge of the  
 cavalry; for Alexander's bold stroke came as a great shock to them,  
 in crossing the Ister, the greatest of rivers, so easily in one night  
 without bridging the stream; the solidity of the phalanx was  
 terrifying, and the onslaught of the cavalry violent. They first took  
 4 refuge in the city, about a parasang<sup>1</sup> away from the Ister; then,  
 seeing that Alexander was rapidly bringing up his phalanx along the  
 river, so that the infantry might not be encircled by an ambush of  
 the Getae, with the cavalry on the front, the Getae in their turn  
 deserted their city, which was feebly fortified, taking up on  
 horseback as many of the women and children as the horses could  
 5 carry; and then marched as far as possible away from the river  
 towards the desert. Alexander captured the city and all the plunder  
 the Getae left behind. This plunder he ordered Meleager and  
 Philip to take to the base; he himself razed the city and sacrificed  
 on the bank of the Ister to Zeus the Preserver and Heracles and  
 Ister himself, for permitting the passage. Then the same day he  
 took all his force safe and sound back to the camp.  
 6 At this juncture ambassadors came to Alexander from Syrmus,  
 King of the Triballi and from the other self-governing tribes near  
 the Ister; others from the Celts settled on the Ionian gulf [Adriatic].

<sup>1</sup> The use of this Persian term (part of a day's march, c. 5–6 km) is strange.

σώματα καὶ μέγα ἐπὶ σφίσι φρονοῦντες· πάντες δὲ φιλίας τῆς  
 7 Ἀλεξάνδρου ἐφιέμενοι ἤκειν ἔφασαν. καὶ πᾶσιν ἔδωκε πίστει  
 Ἀλέξανδρος καὶ ἔλαβε· τοὺς Κελτοὺς δὲ καὶ ἤρετο, ὃ τι  
 μάλιστα δεδίττεται αὐτοὺς τῶν ἀνθρωπίνων, ἐλπίσας ὅτι μέγα  
 8 ὄνομα τὸ αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐς Κελτοὺς καὶ ἔτι προσωτέρω ἤκει καὶ  
 ὅτι αὐτὸν μάλιστα πάντων δεδιέναι φήσουσι. τῷ δὲ παρ'  
 ἐλπίδα ξυνέβη τῶν Κελτῶν ἢ ἀπόκρισις. οἶα γὰρ πόρρω τε  
 ὠκισμένοι Ἀλεξάνδρου καὶ χωρία δύσπορα οἰκοῦντες καὶ  
 Ἀλεξάνδρου ἐς ἄλλα τὴν ὁρμὴν ὀρῶντες ἔφασαν δεδιέναι  
 μήποτε ὁ οὐρανὸς αὐτοῖς ἐμπέσοι, Ἀλέξανδρον τε ἀγασθέντες  
 οὔτε δέει οὔτε κατ' ὠφέλειαν πρεσβεῦσαι παρ' αὐτόν. καὶ  
 τούτους φίλους τε ὀνομάσας καὶ ξυμμάχους ποιησάμενος  
 ὀπίσω ἀπέπεμψε, τοσοῦτον ὑπειπὼν ὅτι ἀλαζόνες Κελτοὶ  
 εἰσιν.

5. Αὐτὸς δὲ ἐπ' Ἀγριάνων καὶ Παιόνων προὔχῳρει. ἔνθα δὴ  
 ἄγγελοι ἀφίκοντο αὐτῷ Κλείτον τε τὸν Βαρδύλεω ἀφεστάναι  
 ἀγγέλλοντες καὶ Γλαυκίαν προσκεχωρηκέναι αὐτῷ τὸν  
 Ταυλαντίων βασιλέα· οἱ δὲ καὶ τοὺς Αὐταριάτας ἐπιθήσεσθαι  
 2 αὐτῷ κατὰ τὴν πορείαν ἐξήγγελλον ὧν δὴ ἔνεκα κατὰ  
 σπουδὴν ἐδόκει ἀναζευγνύναι. Λάγγαρος δὲ ὁ τῶν Ἀγριάνων  
 βασιλεὺς ἤδη μὲν καὶ Φιλίππου ζῶντος ἀσπαζόμενος  
 Ἀλέξανδρον δῆλος ἦν καὶ ἰδίᾳ ἐπρέσβευσε παρ' αὐτόν, τότε  
 δὲ παρῆν αὐτῷ μετὰ τῶν ὑπασπιστῶν, ὅσους τε καλλίστους  
 καὶ

The Celts were of great height and had a high conceit of  
 themselves; but all professed to have come in desire for Alexander's  
 7 friendship, and with all he exchanged pledges. Of the Celts he  
 enquired what mortal thing they most dreaded, hoping that his own  
 great name had reached the Celts and gone still farther, and that  
 they would say that they dreaded him more than anything else.  
 8 Their answer, however, was not what he expected, for, living in  
 difficult country far from Alexander, and seeing that his aim lay  
 elsewhere, they said that their greatest dread was that the sky would  
 fall upon them, and that, while they admired Alexander, neither  
 fear nor interest had prompted their embassy.<sup>2</sup> He declared them  
 his friends, made them his allies and sent them home, only  
 remarking, 'What braggarts Celts are!'

5. He then advanced towards the Agrianians and Paeonians.<sup>1</sup>  
 There messengers reached him with the news that Clitus, son of  
 Bardylis, was in revolt, and that Glaucias, king of the Taulantians,  
 had joined him.<sup>2</sup> They also told him that the Autariates were going  
 to attack him on his march. For these reasons he decided to move  
 2 rapidly. Langarus, king of the Agrianians, had shown his regard for  
 Alexander even in Philip's lifetime, had been on an embassy to him  
 personally, and was now in attendance on him with the finest and  
 best-armed hypaspists

1 Striking SW for the upper Strymon (Struma) and Axios (Vardar) valleys. For chapters 5 and 6 in general see N. G. L. Hammond, *JHS* 1974, with full topographic discussion, which I was able to see in typescript, but which is too complex to summarize here.

2 Bardylis is presumably 'the Illyrian king' decisively beaten by Philip in 358 (D. xvi 4); Hammond argues that he and Clitus were kings of the Dardanians on the upper Vardar and White Drin, and that the Taulantii dwelt round Tiranë in Albania (*Annual of British School at Athens* 1966, 243 ff.). The Autariatae are placed on the upper

- 3 εὐοπλοτάτους ἀμφ' αὐτὸν εἶχε· καὶ ἐπειδὴ ἔμαθεν ὑπὲρ τῶν  
 Αὐταριατῶν πνυθανόμενον Ἀλέξανδρον, οἷτινές τε καὶ ὀπόσοι  
 εἶεν, οὐκ ἔφη χρῆναι ἐν λόγῳ τίθεσθαι Αὐταριάτας· εἶναι γὰρ  
 ἀπολεμωτάτους τῶν ταύτη· καὶ αὐτὸς ἐμβαλεῖν ἐς τὴν χώραν  
 αὐτῶν, ὡς ἀμφὶ τὰ σφέτερα μᾶλλον τι ἔχουσιν. καὶ  
 κελεύσαντος Ἀλεξάνδρου ἐσβάλλει ἐς αὐτούς καὶ ἐμβαλὼν  
 ἤγε καὶ ἔφερε τὴν χώραν αὐτῶν.
- 4 Αὐταριαῖται μὲν δὴ ἀμφὶ τὰ αὐτῶν εἶχον· Λάγγαρος δὲ τὰ  
 τε ἄλλα ἐτιμήθη μεγάλως πρὸς Ἀλεξάνδρου καὶ δῶρα ἔλαβεν,  
 ὅσα μέγιστα παρὰ βασιλεῖ τῷ Μακεδόνων νομίζεται καὶ τὴν  
 ἀδελφὴν τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρου Κύναν καὶ ταύτην ὠμολόγησε  
 δώσειν αὐτῷ ἐς Πέλλαν ἀφικομένῳ Ἀλέξανδρος.
- 5 Ἀλλὰ Λάγγαρος μὲν ἐπανελθὼν οἴκαδε νόσῳ ἐτελεύτησεν.  
 Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ παρὰ τὸν Ἐριγόνα ποταμὸν πορευόμενος ἐς  
 Πέλλιον πόλιν ἐστέλλετο. ταύτην γὰρ κατειλήφει ὁ Κλείτος  
 ὡς ὀχυρωτάτην τῆς χώρας· καὶ τρὸς ταύτην ὡς ἦκεν
- 6 Ἀλέξανδρος, καταστρατοπεδεύσας πρὸς τῷ Ἐορδαϊκῷ ποταμῷ  
 τῇ ὑστεραία ἐγνώκει προσβάλλειν τῷ τείχει. οἱ δὲ ἀμφὶ τὸν  
 Κλείτον τὰ κύκλῳ τῆς πόλεως ὄρη ὑπερδέξιά τε ὄντα καὶ  
 δασέα κατεῖχον, ὡς πάντοθεν ἐπιτίθεσθαι τοῖς Μακεδόσιν, εἰ
- 7 τῇ πόλει προσβάλλοιεν· Γλαυκίας δὲ αὐτῷ ὁ τῶν Ταυλαντίων  
 βασιλεὺς οὐπω παρῆν. Ἀλέξανδρος μὲν δὴ τῇ πόλει  
 προσῆγεν· οἱ δὲ πολέμοι σφαγιασάμενοι παῖδας τρεῖς καὶ  
 κόρας ἴσας τὸν ἀριθμὸν καὶ κριοὺς μέλανας τρεῖς, ὠρμητο  
 μὲν ὡς δεξόμενοι ἐς χεῖρας τοὺς Μακεδόνας· ὁμοῦ δὲ  
 γενομένων ἐξέλιπον καίτοι καρτερὰ ὄντα τὰ κατειλημμένα  
 πρὸς σφῶν

- 3 pists he had; and when he learnt that Alexander was enquiring who  
 the Autariates were and how numerous, he told him not to trouble  
 about them, as they were the least warlike of the tribesmen in those  
 parts; he would himself invade their country, so that they might be  
 preoccupied with their own affairs. On Alexander's instructions he  
 invaded and devastated their country. Thus the Autariates were
- 4 kept busy at home. Langarus received great honours from  
 Alexander and what were considered at the court of Macedon the  
 greatest gifts. Alexander actually promised to wed his sister Cyna<sup>3</sup>  
 to him, when he came to Pella. However, after reaching home,  
 Langarus sickened and died.

Alexander, marching along the river Erigon [Cerna Reka], made  
 for Pellium, a city Clitus had occupied, as the strongest in the  
 country. When he reached it, he camped by the river Eordaicus  
 [Devoll] and decided to assault the wall next day.<sup>4</sup> Clitus' forces  
 held the heights surrounding the city, which were commanding and  
 thickly wooded, so as to attack the Macedonians from all sides, if  
 they made the assault on the city, but Glaucias, king of the  
 Taulantians, was not yet present. Alexander proceeded against this  
 city, on which the enemy sacrificed three boys and three girls and  
 three black rams, and advanced to close combat with the  
 Macedonians; but once engaged, they deserted the

3 Or Cynnana, previously married to Al's cousin, Amyntas (Intro. 46). The Agrianians, a Paeonian branch of the Thracians on the upper Strymon, provided a valuable contingent for the Asian expedition.

4 Hammond (§1 n.) places Pellium by the modern Goricë about 25 km S.E. of Lake Ochrid in the fertile plain of Poloskë watered by the river Devoll (Eordaicus); the operations can only be followed with maps as detailed as he supplies.

- χωρία, ὥστε καὶ τὰ σφάγια αὐτῶν κατελήφθη ἔτι κείμενα.
- 8 Ταύτη μὲν δὴ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ κατακλείσας αὐτοὺς ἐς τὴν πόλιν καὶ στρατοπεδευσάμενος πρὸς τῷ τείχει ἐγνώκει περιτειχισμῷ ἀποκλείσαι αὐτούς· τῇ δὲ ὑστεραία παρῆν μετὰ πολλῆς δυνάμεως Γλαυκίας ὁ τῶν Ταυλαντίων βασιλεύς. ἔνθα δὴ Ἀλέξανδρος τὴν μὲν πόλιν ἀπέγνω ἐλεῖν ἂν ξὺν τῇ παρούσῃ δυνάμει, πολλῶν μὲν ἐς αὐτὴν καὶ μαχίμων ξυμπεφευγόντων, πολλῶν δὲ ἅμα τῷ Γλαυκία προσκεισομένων, εἰ αὐτὸς τῷ
- 9 τείχει προσμάχοιτο. Φιλώταν δὲ ἀναλαβόντα τῶν ἰππέων ὄσους ἐς προφυλακὴν καὶ τὰ ὑποζύγια τὰ ἐκ τοῦ στρατοπέδου ἐς ἐπισιτισμὸν ἔπεμπε. καὶ ὁ Γλαυκίας μαθὼν τὴν ὁρμὴν τῶν ἀμφὶ Φιλώταν ἐξελαύνει ἐπ' αὐτούς, καὶ καταλαμβάνει τὰ κύκλω ὄρη τοῦ πεδίου, ὅθεν οἱ ξὺν Φιλώτᾳ ἐπισιτιεῖσθαι
- 10 ἔμελλον. Ἀλέξανδρος δέ, ἐπειδὴ ἀπηγγέλθη αὐτῷ, ὅτι κινδυνεύουσιν οἱ τε ἰππεῖς καὶ τὰ ὑποζύγια, εἰ νύξ αὐτοὺς καταλήψεται, αὐτὸς μὲν ἀναλαβὼν τοὺς τε ὑπασπιστὰς καὶ τοὺς τοξότας καὶ τοὺς Ἀγριᾶνας καὶ ἰππέας ἐς τετρακοσίους ἐβοήθει σπουδῇ· τὸ δὲ ἄλλο στράτευμα πρὸς τῇ πόλει ἀπέλιπεν, ὡς μὴ ἀποχωρήσαντος παντὸς τοῦ στρατοῦ καὶ οἱ
- 11 ἐκ τῆς πόλεως ἐπιδραμόντες τοῖς ἀμφὶ Γλαυκίαν συμμίξειαν. ἔνθα δὴ Γλαυκίας προσάγοντα Ἀλέξανδρον αἰσθόμενος ἐκλείπει τὰ ὄρη· οἱ δὲ ξὺν Φιλώτᾳ ἀσφαλῶς ἐπὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον διεσώθησαν. ἐδόκουν δ' ἔτι τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον ἐν
- 12 δυσχωρία ἀπειληφέναι οἱ ἀμφὶ τὸν Κλείτον καὶ Γλαυκίαν· τά τε γὰρ ὄρη τὰ ὑπερδέξια κατεῖχον πολλοῖς μὲν ἰππεῦσι, πολλοῖς δὲ ἀκοντισταῖς καὶ σφενδονήταις

- positions they had occupied, strong as they were, so that their victims were found still lying there.
- 8 On this day then Alexander shut them up in their city and camped by the wall, intending to cut them off by a circumvallation, but next day Glaucias, king of the Taulantians, appeared with a large force. Thereupon Alexander gave up the idea of taking the city with the forces at his disposal, as many fighting men had taken refuge inside, and Glaucias' strong force would fall upon him, should he assault the wall. He sent Philotas to obtain food with as
- 9 many horsemen as he needed for a screen, and all the baggage animals from the camp. Glaucias, on learning of this move of Philotas, set off to attack his troops, and occupied the heights encircling the plain where Philotas' troops were to obtain food.
- 10 When it was reported to Alexander that the cavalry and baggage animals would be in danger, if night overtook them, he himself went with the hypaspists, archers and Agrianians and some four hundred horsemen at full speed to their aid, leaving the rest of the army near the city, as there was a risk that, if the whole force had withdrawn, the enemy in the city might have sallied out and joined with
- 11 Glaucias' forces. As a result, on seeing Alexander's approach, Glaucias abandoned the heights, and Philotas and his party got safe back to the camp. Clitus and Glaucias with their troops still appeared to have caught Alexander in a disadvantageous position;
- 12 they held the commanding heights with many horsemen, javelinmen, and slingers, as well as a large number

καὶ ὀπλίταις δὲ οὐκ ὀλίγοις, καὶ οἱ ἐν τῇ πόλει κατειλημμένοι προσκείμεσθαι ἀπαλλαττομένοις ἤμελλον· τά τε χωρία δι' ὧν ἡ πάροδος ἦν τῷ Ἀλεξάνδρῳ στενὰ καὶ ὑλώδη ἐφαίνετο, τῇ μὲν πρὸς τοῦ ποταμοῦ ἀπειργόμενα, τῇ δὲ ὄρος ὑπερύψηλον ἦν καὶ κρημνοὶ πρὸς τοῦ ὄρους, ὥστε οὐδὲ ἐπὶ τεσσάρων ἀσπίδων ἂν τῷ στρατεύματι ἡ πάροδος ἐγένετο.

6. Ἐνθα δὴ ἐκτάσσει τὸν στρατὸν Ἀλέξανδρος ἕως ἑκατὸν καὶ εἴκοσι τὸ βάθος τῆς φάλαγγος. ἐπὶ τὸ κέρασ δὲ ἐκατέρωθεν διακοσίους ἰππέας ἐπιτάξας παρήγγελλε σιγῇ

2 ἔχειν τὸ παραγγελλόμενον ὀξέως δεχομένους. καὶ τὰ μὲν πρῶτα ἐσήμηνεν ὀρθὰ ἀνατείνειν τὰ δόρατα τοὺς ὀπλίτας, ἔπειτα ἀπὸ ξυνηθήματος ἀποτείνειν ἐς προβολήν, καὶ νῦν μὲν ἐς τὸ δεξιὸν ἐγκλίνας τῶν δοράτων τὴν σύγκλεισιν, αὐθις δὲ ἐπὶ τὰ ἀριστερά. καὶ αὐτὴν δὲ τὴν φάλαγγα ἕς τε τὸ πρόσω

3 ὀξέως ἐκίνησε καὶ ἐπὶ τὰ κέρατα ἄλλοτε ἄλλη παρήγαγε. καὶ οὕτω πολλὰς τάξεις τάξας τε καὶ μετακοσμήσας ἐν ὀλίγῳ χρόνῳ, κατὰ τὸ εὐώνυμον οἶον ἔμβολον ποιήσας τῆς φάλαγγος ἐπήγειν ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους. οἱ δὲ πάλαι μὲν ἐθαύμαζον τὴν τε ὀξύτητα ὀρώντες καὶ τὸν κόσμον τῶν δρωμένων· τότε δὲ προσάγοντας ἤδη τοὺς ἀμφὶ Ἀλέξανδρον

4 οὐκ ἐδέξαντο, ἀλλὰ λείπουσι τοὺς πρώτους λόφους. ὁ δὲ καὶ ἐπαλαλάξαι ἐκέλευσε τοὺς Μακεδόνας καὶ τοῖς δόρασι δουπήσαι πρὸς τὰς ἀσπίδας· οἱ δὲ Ταυλάντιοι ἔτι μᾶλλον ἐκπλαγέντες πρὸς τῆς βοῆς ὡς πρὸς τὴν πόλιν ἐπανήγαγον σπουδῇ τὸν στρατὸν.

5 Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ λόφον τινὰς κατέχοντας ἰδὼν οὐ πολλοὺς τῶν πολεμίων, παρ' ὧν αὐτῷ ἡ πάροδος

of hoplites, and the forces enclosed in the city were likely to attack as Alexander's men drew off, while the ground through which Alexander must pass seemed narrow and forested, bounded on the one side by the river, and on the other by a lofty mountain and cliffs on the side of the mountain, so that the army could not have passed through even four abreast.

6. In the circumstances Alexander drew up his phalanx with a depth of 120 files. On either wing he posted 200 horsemen, bidding them keep silent and smartly obey the word of command; the

2 hoplites were ordered first to raise their spears upright, and then, on the word, to lower them for a charge, swinging their serried points first to the right, then to the left; he moved the phalanx itself smartly forward, and then wheeled it alternately to right and left.

3 Thus he deployed and manoeuvred it in many difficult formations in a brief time, and then making a kind of wedge from his phalanx on the left, he led it to the attack. The enemy, long bewildered both at the smartness and the discipline of the drill, did not await the approach of Alexander's troops, but abandoned the first hills.

4 Alexander ordered the Macedonians to raise their battle-cry and clang their spears upon their shields, and the Taulantians, even more terrified at the noise, hastily withdrew back to the city.

5 Alexander saw that a few of the enemy were holding a hill on his line of march, and ordered his

ἐγίγνετο, παρήγγειλε τοῖς σωματοφύλαξι καὶ τοῖς ἀμφ' αὐτὸν  
 ἑταίροις, ἀναλαβόντας τὰς ἀσπίδας ἀναβαίνειν ἐπὶ τοὺς  
 ἵππους καὶ ἐλαύνειν ἐπὶ τὸν γήλοφον· ἐκεῖσε δὲ ἐλθόντας, εἰ  
 ὑπομένοινεν οἱ κατειληφότες τὸ χωρίον, τοὺς ἡμίσεας  
 6 καταπηδήσαι ἀπὸ τῶν ἵππων καὶ ἀναμιχθέντας τοῖς ἵππεύσι  
 πεζοὺς μάχεσθαι. οἱ δὲ πολέμοι τὴν ὀρμὴν τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρου  
 ἰδόντες λείπουσι τὸν γήλοφον καὶ παρεκκλίνουσιν ἐφ' ἑκάτερα  
 τῶν ὀρώων. ἔνθα δὴ καταλαβὼν Ἀλέξανδρος τὸν γήλοφον σὺν  
 τοῖς ἑταίροις τοὺς τε Ἀγριᾶνας μεταπέμπεται καὶ τοὺς  
 τοξότας, ὄντας ἐς δισχιλίους· τοὺς δὲ ὑπασπιστᾶς διαβαίνειν  
 τὸν ποταμὸν ἐκέλευσε καὶ ἐπὶ τούτοις τὰς τάξεις τῶν  
 Μακεδόνων· ὁπότε δὲ διαβάντες τύχοιεν, ἐπ' ἀσπίδα  
 ἐκτάσσεσθαι, ὡς πυκνὴν εὐθὺς διαβάντων φαίνεσθαι τὴν  
 φάλαγγα· αὐτὸς δὲ ἐν προφυλακῇ ὦν ἀπὸ τοῦ λόφου ἀφεώρα  
 7 τῶν πολεμίων τὴν ὀρμὴν. οἱ δὲ, ὀρώντες διαβαίνουσιν τὴν  
 δύναμιν, κατὰ τὰ ὄρη ἀντεπήεσαν, ὡς τοῖς μετὰ Ἀλεξάνδρου  
 ἐπιθησόμενοι τελευταίοις ἀποχωροῦσιν. ὁ δὲ πελαζόντων ἤδη  
 αὐτὸς ἐκθεῖ σὺν τοῖς ἀμφ' αὐτόν, καὶ ἡ φάλαγξ, ὡς διὰ τοῦ  
 ποταμοῦ ἐπιούσα, ἐπηλάλαξεν· οἱ δὲ πολέμοι πάντων ἐπὶ  
 σφᾶς ἐλαυνόντων ἐγκλίναντες ἔφηνγον· καὶ ἐν τούτῳ ἐπήγευ  
 Ἀλέξανδρος τοὺς τε Ἀγριᾶνας καὶ τοὺς τοξότας δρόμῳ ὡς ἐπὶ  
 8 τὸν ποταμὸν. καὶ πρῶτος μὲν αὐτὸς φθάσας διαβαίνει· τοῖς  
 τελευταίοις δὲ ὡς εἶδεν ἐπικειμένους τοὺς πολεμίους  
 ἐπιστήσας ἐπὶ τῇ ὄχθῃ τὰς μηχανὰς ἐξακοντίζειν ὡς  
 πορρωτάτῳ ἀπ' αὐτῶν ἐκέλευσεν ὅσα ἀπὸ μηχανῶν βέλη  
 ἐξακοντίζεται, καὶ τοὺς τοξότας δὲ ἐκ μέσου τοῦ ποταμοῦ  
 ἐκτοξεύειν, ἐπεσβάντας καὶ

bodyguards<sup>1</sup> and the Companions with him to take their shields,  
 mount and charge the hill; on reaching it, supposing those who held  
 it should stand their ground, half were to dismount and, mingling  
 6 with the cavalry, fight on foot. But the enemy, observing Alexander's  
 onset, abandoned the hill and withdrew to the mountains on either  
 side. So after occupying the hill with his Companions, Alexander  
 sent for the Agrianians and the archers, up to the number of two  
 thousand; the hypaspists were ordered to cross the river, and the  
 battalions of the Macedonian phalanx to follow them. Once across,  
 they were to extend to the left, so that the phalanx might appear  
 solid the moment they had crossed. He himself was in an advanced  
 covering position, watching the enemy's movement from the hill.  
 7 On seeing the force crossing, the enemy charged down the  
 mountain with the idea of attacking the last of Alexander's troops to  
 withdraw. When they were already close, he himself with the troops  
 he had with him ran out, and the phalanx coming to the attack  
 through the river raised its battle-cry; under this combined  
 onslaught the enemy broke and fled, whereupon Alexander brought  
 up the Agrianians and the archers at the double in the direction of  
 8 the river. He himself got over first, but seeing the enemy pressing  
 on the hindmost, he set up his engines on the bank and ordered  
 every kind of missile to be discharged from them at furthest range,  
 and the archers to shoot from mid-river, as they too had

1 i.e. the hypaspists.

τούτους. καὶ οἱ μὲν ἀμφὶ τὸν Γλαυκίαν εἴσω βέλους παρελθεῖν οὐκ ἐτόλμων, οἱ Μακεδόνες δὲ ἐν τούτῳ ἀσφαλῶς ἐπέρασαν τὸν ποταμόν, ὥστε οὐδεὶς ἀπέθανεν ἐν τῇ ἀποχωρήσει αὐτῶν.

- 9 Τρίτη δὲ ἀπ' ἐκείνης ἡμέρας καταμαθὼν Ἀλέξανδρος κακῶς αὐλιζομένους τοὺς ἀμφὶ Κλείτον καὶ Γλαυκίαν, καὶ οὔτε φυλακὰς ἐν τῇ τάξει αὐτοῖς φυλαττομένας οὔτε χάρακα ἢ τάφρον προβεβλημένους, οἷα δὴ ξὺν φόβῳ ἀπηλλάχθαι οἰομένων Ἀλέξανδρον, ἐς μῆκος τε οὐκ ὠφέλιμον ἀποτετα[γ]μένην αὐτοῖς τὴν τάξιν, ὑπὸ νύκτα ἔτι λαθῶν διαβαίνει τὸν ποταμόν, τοὺς τε ὑπασπιστὰς ἅμα οἱ ἄγων καὶ
- 10 τοὺς Ἀγριᾶνας καὶ τοὺς τοξότας καὶ τὴν Περδίκκου καὶ Κοίνου τάξιν. καὶ προσετέτακτο μὲν ἀκολουθεῖν τὴν ἄλλην στρατιάν· ὡς δὲ καιρὸν εἶδεν εἰς ἐπίθεσιν, οὐ προσμείνας ὁμοῦ γενέσθαι πάντας ἐφῆκε τοὺς τοξότας καὶ τοὺς Ἀγριᾶνας· οἱ δὲ ἀπροσδόκητοί τε ἐπιπεσόντες καὶ φάλαγγι κατὰ κέρασ, ἤπερ ἀσθενεστάτοις αὐτοῖς καρτερωτάτῃ τῇ ἐμβολῇ προσμίξειν ἔμελλον, τοὺς μὲν ἔτι ἐν ταῖς εὐναῖς κατέκτεινον, τοὺς δὲ φεύγοντας εὐμαρῶς αἰροῦντες, ὥστε πολλοὶ μὲν αὐτοῦ ἐγκατελήφθησαν καὶ ἀπέθανον, πολλοὶ δὲ ἐν τῇ ἀποχωρήσει
- 11 ἀτάκτῳ καὶ φοβερῶ γενομένη· οὐκ ὀλίγοι δὲ καὶ ζῶντες ἐλήφθησαν. ἐγένετο δὲ ἡ δίωξις τοῖς ἀμφὶ Ἀλέξανδρον μέχρι πρὸς τὰ ὄρη τῶν Ταυλαντίων· ὅσοι δὲ καὶ ἀπέφυγον αὐτῶν, γυμνοὶ τῶν ὄπλων διεσώθησαν. Κλείτος δὲ ἐς τὴν πόλιν τὸ πρῶτον καταφυγὼν ἐμπρήσας τὴν πόλιν ἀπηλλάγη παρὰ Γλαυκίαν ἐς Ταυλαντίους.

7. Ἐν τούτῳ δὲ τῶν φυγάδων τινὲς τῶν ἐκ Θηβῶν φευγόντων παρελθόντες νύκτωρ ἐς τὰς

breasted the stream. Glaucias' troops did not venture within range; the Macedonians meanwhile crossed the river safely and lost not a man in the withdrawal.

- 9 On the third day after this Alexander learned that Clitus' and Glaucias' troops were carelessly bivouacked, no sentry posts in due order, no palisade, no trench in front of them—for they thought that Alexander had retreated in panic—and their line unduly elongated; he crossed the river unobserved under cover of night with the hypaspists, Agrianians, archers and the battalion of Perdiccas and Coenus.<sup>2</sup> He had left orders for the rest of the army
- 10 to follow, but seeing an opportunity for attack, he did not wait for all to join him, but sent on all the archers and Agrianians: his forces attacked when not expected and in deep formation on the flank of the line, where they were likely to make the strongest onslaught on the enemy at his weakest point; they killed several in their beds and easily seized the fugitives, so that many were caught and killed there and then, and many others in panic-stricken and headlong flight; a good number too were taken alive. Alexander's men carried
- 11 on the pursuit of the Taulantians as far as the mountains; those who did escape survived with the loss of their arms. Clitus, who had originally taken refuge in the city, set fire to it and fled to Glaucias among the Taulantians.

7. Meanwhile some of the exiles from Thebes slipped into Thebes by night on the invitation of

<sup>2</sup> Later they each command a battalion. A. is doubtless careless and should have written 'battalions'.

Φήβας, ἐπαγκαγομένων τινῶν αὐτοὺς ἐπὶ νεωτερισμῷ ἐκ τῆς πόλεως, Ἀμύνταν μὲν καὶ Τιμόλαον τῶν τὴν Καδμείαν ἐχόντων οὐδὲν ὑποτοπήσαντας πολέμιον ἔξω τῆς Καδμείας  
 2 ἀπέκτειναν ξυλλαβόντες· ἐς δὲ τὴν ἐκκλησίαν παρελθόντες ἐπήραν τοὺς Θηβαίους ἀποστήναι ἀπὸ Ἀλεξάνδρου, ἐλευθερίαν τε <καὶ παρρησίαν<sup>1</sup>> προῖσχύμενοι, παλαιὰ καὶ καλὰ ὀνόματα, καὶ τῆς βαρύτητος τῶν Μακεδόνων ἤδη ποτὲ ἀπαλλαγῆναι. πιθανώτεροι δὲ ἐς τὸ πλῆθος ἐφαίνοντο  
 3 τεθνηκέναι Ἀλέξανδρον ἰσχυριζόμενοι ἐν Ἰλλυριοῖς· καὶ γὰρ καὶ πολὺς ὁ λόγος οὗτος καὶ παρὰ πολλῶν ἐφοίτα, ὅτι τε χρόνον ἀπῆν οὐκ ὀλίγον καὶ ὅτι οὐδεμία ἀγγελία παρ' αὐτοῦ ἀφίκτο, ὥστε, ὅπερ φιλεῖ ἐν τοῖς τοιοῖσδε, οὐ γινγνώσκοντες τὰ ὄντα τὰ μάλιστα καθ' ἡδονὴν σφισιν εἵκαζον.  
 4 Πυθομένῳ δὲ Ἀλεξάνδρῳ τὰ τῶν Θηβαίων οὐδαμῶς ἐδόκει ἀμελητέα εἶναι, τὴν τε τῶν Ἀθηναίων πόλιν δι' ὑποψίας ἐκ πολλοῦ ἔχοντι καὶ τῶν Θηβαίων τὸ τόλμημα οὐ φαῦλον ποιουμένῳ, εἰ Λακεδαιμόνιοί τε πάλαι ἤδη ταῖς γνώμαις ἀφεστηκότες καὶ τινες καὶ ἄλλοι τῶν ἐν Πελοποννήσῳ καὶ  
 5 Αἰτωλοὶ οὐ βέβαιοι ὄντες συνεπιλήθονται τοῦ νεωτερισμοῦ τοῖς Θηβαίοις. ἄγων δὴ παρὰ τὴν Ἑορδαίαν τε καὶ τὴν Ἑλιμιῶτιν καὶ παρὰ τὰ τῆς Στυμφαίας καὶ Παρκαναίας ἄκρα ἑβδομαῖος ἀφικνεῖται ἐς Πέλιναν τῆς Θετταλίας. ἐνθεν δὲ ὀρμηθεὶς ἕκτη ἡμέρᾳ ἐσβάλλει ἐς τὴν Βοιωτίαν, ὥστε οὐ πρόσθεν οἱ Θηβαῖοι ἔμαθον εἴσω Πυλῶν παρεληλυθότα αὐτὸν πρὶν ἐν Ὀγχηστῷ γενέσθαι

1 So Krüger.

persons in the city with revolutionary designs, and seized and killed Amyntas and Timolaus, members of the force occupying the  
 2 Cadmea, who had no suspicion of hostile movement outside.<sup>1</sup> Then appearing in the assembly they incited the Thebans to rebel against Alexander, on the pretence of freedom and of liberty of speech —time-honoured and fine sounding words: now at last had come the time to shake off Macedon's heavy yoke. They won readier trust from the populace by affirming that Alexander had died in Illyria: in  
 3 fact this was common talk, and many put it about; he had been long away and no word had come from him, so that, in ignorance of the facts, they conjectured (as often happens in such cases) what they most desired.<sup>2</sup>

4 Alexander hearing of what occurred at Thebes was fully convinced that it had to be taken seriously; for he had long had suspicions of Athens, and was much concerned about the Theban coup, in case the Lacedaemonians (long ago rebels at heart) as well as some other Peloponnesians and the Aetolians, who were unreliable, should join in the revolutionary movement of the  
 5 Thebans.<sup>3</sup> He marched, therefore, past Eordaea and Elimiotis, and the heights of Stymphaea and Paravaea, and on the seventh day reached Pelinna in Thessaly. Thence in five days he entered Boeotia, so that the Thebans did not learn that he was within the Gates until he arrived, with

1 For other accounts of and allusions to the revolt of Thebes see Aeschines iii 239 f.; Dinarchus, *contra Demosthenem* 10; 18; D. 8–14; P. 11–13 (and his life of Demosthenes 23); J xi 3 f. Cf. *Introd.* 37 f.; 43; 49. A. omits the story of Timoclea from Ar. (F. 2), though it illustrates Al's magnanimity.

2 Cf. Thuc. iv 108, 4.

3 *Introd.* 37; 49.



- 6 ξὺν τῇ στρατιᾷ πάσῃ. καὶ τότε δὲ οἱ πράξαντες τὴν ἀπόστασιν στρατεύμα ἐκ Μακεδονίας Ἀντιπάτρου ἀφίχθαι ἔφασκον, αὐτὸν δὲ Ἀλέξανδρον τεθνάναι ἰσχυρίζοντο, καὶ τοῖς ἀπαγγέλλουσιν ὅτι οὗτος αὐτὸς προσάγει Ἀλέξανδρος χαλεπῶς εἶχον· ἄλλον γάρ τινα ἦκειν Ἀλέξανδρον τὸν Ἀερόπου.
- 7 Ὁ δὲ Ἀλέξανδρος ἐξ Ὀγχηστοῦ ἄρας τῇ ὑστεραία προσῆγε πρὸς τὴν πόλιν τῶν Θηβαίων κατὰ τὸ τοῦ Ἰολάου τέμενος· οὐδὲν δὲ καὶ ἐστρατοπέδευσεν, ἐνδιδοὺς ἔτι τοῖς Θηβαίοις τριβὴν, εἰ μεταγνόντες ἐπὶ τοῖς κακῶς ἐγνωσμένοις
- 8 πρεσβεύσαιεν παρ' αὐτόν. οἱ δὲ τοσοῦτου ἐδέησαν ἐνδόσιμόν τι παρασχέειν ἐς ξύμβασιν, ὥστε ἐκθέοντες ἐκ τῆς πόλεως οἷ τε ἵππεῖς καὶ τῶν ψιλῶν οὐκ ὀλίγοι ἔσταν ἐπὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον ἠκροβολίζοντο ἐς τὰς προφυλακάς, καὶ τινὰς καὶ ἀπέκτειναν
- 9 οὐ πολλοὺς τῶν Μακεδόνων. καὶ Ἀλέξανδρος ἐκπέμπει τῶν ψιλῶν καὶ τοξοτῶν, ὥστε αὐτῶν ἀναστεῖλαι τὴν ἐκδρομὴν· καὶ οὗτοι οὐ χαλεπῶς ἀνέστειλαν ἤδη τῷ στρατοπέδῳ αὐτῷ προσφερομένους. τῇ δὲ ὑστεραία ἀναλαβὼν τὴν στρατιὰν πᾶσαν καὶ περιελθὼν κατὰ τὰς πύλας τὰς φερούσας ἐπ' Ἐλευθεράς τε καὶ τὴν Ἀττικὴν, οὐδὲ τότε προσέμιξε τοῖς τείχεσιν αὐτοῖς, ἀλλ' ἐστρατοπέδευσεν οὐ πολὺ ἀπέχων τῆς Καδμείας, ὥστε ἐγγὺς εἶναι ὠφέλειαν τῶν Μακεδόνων τοῖς
- 10 τὴν Καδμείαν ἔχουσιν. οἱ γὰρ Θηβαῖοι τὴν Καδμείαν διπλῶ χάρακι ἐφρούρου ἀποτειχίσαντες, ὡς μήτε ἔξωθέν τινα τοῖς ἐγκατειλημμένοις δύνασθαι ἐπωφελεῖν, μήτε αὐτοὺς ἐκθέοντας βλάπτειν τι σφᾶς, ὁπότε

- 6 all his force, at Onchestus.<sup>4</sup> At that time the authors of the revolt were saying that a force of Antipater had come from Macedon, but confidently affirmed that Alexander himself was dead, getting annoyed at anyone who reported Alexander's own proximity at the head of his men: it was, said they, a different Alexander, the son of Aeropus.<sup>5</sup>
- 7 Alexander left Onchestus and next day reached Thebes, near the enclosure of Iolaus, where he encamped, giving the Thebans a period of grace, in case they should repent of their bad decisions
- 8 and send an embassy to him. They were so far from making any concession that might lead to an agreement that their cavalry and many of their light troops sallied out against the camp, discharged volleys at the outposts, and actually killed a few Macedonians.
- 9 Alexander sent out some of his light troops and archers to hold up their sally; they easily checked the Thebans, who by now were approaching the camp. Next day Alexander moved his whole force and came round to the gates leading to Eleutheræ and Attica, yet even then he did not actually assault the walls, but pitched camp not far from the Cadmea, so that support would be close at hand for
- 10 its Macedonian garrison. The Thebans were investing the Cadmea with a double stockade, so that no one from without could help those shut up inside, nor could they sally out and

4 In 339 with Thermopylae held by Thebes Philip had come south through Heraclea, the Asopus pass and Cytinium (Beloch iii 563). Crossing Thessaly by an unusual easterly route, Al. may well have done the same for the purpose of a surprise; in that case the 'Gates' do not refer to Thermopylae but to the pass south of Heraclea.

5 As in 334–323 B.C., Antipater had evidently been left in charge of Macedon. Alexander the Lyncestian: Introd. 46.

τοῖς ἔξω πολεμίοις προσφέροντο. Ἀλέξανδρος δέ —ἔτι γὰρ τοῖς Θηβαίοις διὰ φιλίας ἐλθεῖν μᾶλλον τι ἢ διὰ κινδύνου

11 ἤθελε—διέτριβε πρὸς τῇ Καδμείᾳ κατεστρατοπεδευκῶς. ἔνθα δὴ τῶν Θηβαίων οἱ μὲν τὰ βέλτιστα ἐς τὸ κοινὸν γιννώσκοντες ἐξελθεῖν ὤρμηστο παρ' Ἀλέξανδρον καὶ εὐρέσθαι συγγνώμην τῷ πλήθει τῶν Θηβαίων τῆς ἀποστάσεως· οἱ φυγάδες δὲ καὶ ὅσοι τοὺς φυγάδας ἐπικεκλημένοι ἦσαν, οὐδενὸς φιλανθρώπου τυχεῖν ἂν παρ' Ἀλεξάνδρου ἀξιούντες, ἄλλως τε καὶ βιωταρχοῦντες ἔστιν οἱ αὐτῶν, παντάπασιν ἐνήγον τὸ πλῆθος ἐς τὸν πόλεμον. Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ οὐδ' ὡς τῇ πόλει προσέβαλλεν.

8. Ἀλλὰ λέγει Πτολεμαῖος ὁ Λάγου, ὅτι Περδίκκας, προτεταγμένος τῆς φυλακῆς τοῦ στρατοπέδου σὺν τῇ αὐτοῦ τάξει καὶ τοῦ χάρακος τῶν πολεμίων οὐ πολὺ ἀφεστηκῶς, οὐ προσμείνας παρ' Ἀλεξάνδρου τὸ ἐς τὴν μάχην ξύνθημα αὐτὸς

2 πρῶτος προσέμιξε τῷ χάρακι καὶ διασπάσας αὐτὸν ἐνέβαλεν ἐς τῶν Θηβαίων τὴν προφυλακὴν. τούτῳ δὲ ἐπόμενος Ἀμύντας ὁ Ἀνδρομένους, ὅτι καὶ ξυντεταγμένος τῷ Περδίκκᾳ ἦν, ἐπήγαγε καὶ αὐτὸς τὴν αὐτοῦ τάξιν, ὡς εἶδε τὸν Περδίκκαν προεληλυθότα εἴσω τοῦ χάρακος. ταῦτα δὲ ἰδὼν Ἀλέξανδρος, ὡς μὴ μόνοι ἀποληφθέντες πρὸς τῶν Θηβαίων κινδυνεύσειαν,

3 ἐπήγε τὴν ἄλλην στρατιάν. καὶ τοὺς μὲν τοξότας καὶ τοὺς Ἀγριαῖνας ἐκδραμεῖν ἐσήμηνεν εἴσω τοῦ χάρακος, τὸ δὲ ἄγρημά τε καὶ τοὺς ὑπασπιστάς ἔτι ἔξω κατείχεν. ἔνθα δὴ

harm the Thebans when engaged with their enemies without. But Alexander still hoped to win Theban friendship rather than to incur

11 any danger and waited, encamped near the citadel. At this point those Thebans who best saw the city's advantage were anxious to go out to Alexander and obtain pardon for the Theban people for their revolt; but the exiles and those who had called them in, not expecting to receive kind treatment from Alexander, especially some of them who were Boeotarchs, used every method of urging their countrymen to war. Yet even so Alexander did not attack.<sup>6</sup>

8. Ptolemy son of Lagus, however, says that Perdiccas, who was officer in charge of the camp guard with his own battalion and lay not far from the enemy palisade, did not await Alexander's signal for battle, but himself first attacked the palisade and tearing it apart broke in upon the Theban advance guard.<sup>1</sup> Amyntas son of

2 Andromenes followed, as he was brigaded with Perdiccas, and led on his own battalion when he saw Perdiccas had advanced within the palisade. Seeing this, Alexander brought up the rest of the army, so that they might not be stranded and at the mercy of the Thebans.

3 He ordered the archers and Agrianians to run out in advance

6 Contrast D. 9, 6. Boeotarchs were magistrates of the federation of Boeotian cities, long dominated by Thebes. Some hold that Philip in 338 dissolved this federation, in which case Thebes on her revolt had sought to revive it.

1 Perdiccas (Berve no. 627 cf. Introd. 34), a figure of growing importance under Al., became virtual ruler of the empire outside Greece and Macedon, on his death. Pt., who played a large part in encompassing his ruin in 321, may have sought to shift any blame for the sack of Thebes from Al. (cf. 7, 7–11), on to his enemy's unauthorized impetuosity; D. 12, 3 says that P. acted under orders. Cf 21, 1 f. for more indiscipline in his regiment.

Περδίκκας [μὲν] τοῦ δευτέρου χάρακος εἴσω παρελθεῖν  
 βιαζόμενος αὐτὸς μὲν βληθεὶς πίπτει αὐτοῦ καὶ ἀποκομίζεται  
 κακῶς ἔχων ἐπὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον, καὶ χαλεπῶς διεσώθη ἀπὸ  
 τοῦ τραύματος· τοὺς μέντοι Θηβαίους ἐς τὴν κοίλην ὁδὸν τὴν  
 4 κατὰ τὸ Ἡράκλειον φέρουσιν οἱ ἅμα αὐτῷ εἰσπεσόντες ὁμοῦ  
 τοῖς παρ' Ἀλεξάνδρου τοξόταις συνέκλεισαν. καὶ ἔστε μὲν  
 πρὸς τὸ Ἡράκλειον ἀναχωροῦσιν εἶποντο τοῖς Θηβαίοις,  
 ἐντεύθεν δὲ ἐπιστρεψάντων αὐθις σὺν βοῇ τῶν Θηβαίων φυγὴ  
 τῶν Μακεδόνων γίγνεται καὶ Εὐρυβώτας τε ὁ Κρήης πίπτει ὁ  
 5 τοξάρχης καὶ αὐτῶν τῶν τοξοτῶν ἐς ἑβδομήκοντα· οἱ δὲ  
 λοιποὶ κατέφυγον πρὸς τὸ ἄγλημα τὸ τῶν Μακεδόνων καὶ τοὺς  
 ὑπασπιστὰς τοὺς βασιλικούς. κὰν τούτῳ Ἀλέξανδρος τοὺς μὲν  
 αὐτοῦ φεύγοντας κατιδὼν, τοὺς Θηβαίους δὲ λελυκότας ἐν τῇ  
 διώξει τὴν τάξιν, ἐμβάλλει ἐς αὐτοὺς συντεταγμένη τῇ  
 6 φάλαγγι· οἱ δὲ ὠθοῦσι τοὺς Θηβαίους εἴσω τῶν πυλῶν· καὶ  
 τοῖς Θηβαίοις ἐς τοσόνδε ἡ φυγὴ φοβερὰ ἐγίγνετο, ὥστε διὰ  
 τῶν πυλῶν ὠθούμενοι ἐς τὴν πόλιν οὐκ ἔφθησαν συγκλείσαι  
 τὰς πύλας. ἀλλὰ συνεσπίπτουσι γὰρ αὐτοῖς εἴσω τοῦ τείχους  
 ὄσοι τῶν Μακεδόνων ἐγγὺς φευγόντων εἶχοντο, ἅτε καὶ τῶν  
 7 τειχῶν διὰ τὰς προφυλακὰς τὰς πολλὰς ἐρήμων ὄντων. καὶ  
 παρελθόντες ἐς τὴν Καδμείαν οἱ μὲν ἐκεῖθεν κατὰ τὸ Ἀμφεῖον  
 σὺν τοῖς κατέχουσι τὴν Καδμείαν ἐξέβαινον ἐς τὴν ἄλλην  
 πόλιν, οἱ δὲ κατὰ τὰ τείχη, ἐχόμενα ἤδη πρὸς τῶν  
 7 συνεισπεσόντων τοῖς φεύγουσιν, ὑπερβάντες ἐς τὴν ἀγορὰν  
 δρόμῳ ἐφέροντο. καὶ ὀλίγον μὲν τινα χρόνον ἔμειναν οἱ  
 τεταγμένοι τῶν Θηβαίων κατὰ τὸ

behind the palisade; but he still retained the *agema* and hypaspists  
 outside. Then Perdiccas, trying to force his way into the second  
 palisade, was wounded and fell on the spot; he was borne off to the  
 camp in a serious condition; only with difficulty was he healed of  
 his wound. The troops who had broken in with him along with  
 Alexander's archers hemmed the Thebans into the sunken road  
 leading down by the Heracleum; so long as the Thebans were in  
 4 retreat towards the Heracleum, the Macedonians followed; but  
 then the Thebans turned at bay with shouting, and the  
 Macedonians took flight. Eurybotas the Cretan, commander of the  
 archers, fell with about seventy of his men; the rest took refuge with  
 5 the Macedonian *agema*, and the royal hypaspists. At this point  
 Alexander, seeing that his own men were in flight and that the  
 Thebans had broken formation in the pursuit, charged them with  
 phalanx in battle order. The Thebans were pushed inside the gates;  
 their flight became a panic, so that while being thrust through the  
 gates into the city they could not shut them in time. The  
 Macedonians who were pressing on the fugitives passed with them  
 inside the wall; the walls were undefended on account of the large  
 number of advanced posts. Some Macedonians reached the  
 6 Cadmea and thence went along the Ampheum,<sup>2</sup> joined by the  
 garrison of the Cadmea, and entered the rest of the city; those on  
 the walls, already held by the troops that had poured in together  
 with the fugitives, crossed over and rushed to the market-place. For  
 7 a short while the Theban armed forces stood their ground by the

<sup>2</sup> A hill continuing the Cadmea northwards.

Ἀμφείον ὡς δὲ πανταχόθεν αὐτοῖς οἱ Μακεδόνες καὶ Ἀλέξανδρος ἄλλοτε ἄλλη ἐπιφαινόμενος προσέκειντο, οἱ μὲν ἱππεῖς τῶν Θηβαίων διεκπεσόντες διὰ τῆς πόλεως ἐς τὸ πεδῖον  
8 ἐξέπιπτον, οἱ δὲ πεζοὶ ὡς ἐκάστοις προὔχωρει ἐσώζοντο. ἔνθα δὴ ὀργῇ οὐχ οὕτως τι οἱ Μακεδόνες, ἀλλὰ Φωκεῖς τε καὶ Πλαταιεῖς καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι δὲ Βοιωτοὶ οὐδὲ ἀμυνομένους τοὺς Θηβαίους ἔτι οὐδενὶ κόσμῳ ἔκτεινον, τοὺς μὲν ἐν ταῖς οἰκίαις ἐπεισπίπτοντες, οὓς δὲ ἐς ἀλκὴν τετραμμένους, τοὺς δὲ καὶ πρὸς ἱεροῖς ἰκετεύοντας, οὔτε γυναικῶν οὔτε παιδῶν φειδόμενοι.

9. Καὶ πάθος τοῦτο Ἑλληνικὸν μεγέθει τε τῆς ἀλούσης πόλεως καὶ ὀξύτητι τοῦ ἔργου, οὐχ ἦκιστα δὲ τῷ παραλόγῳ ἔς τε τοὺς παθόντας καὶ τοὺς δράσαντας, οὐ μείον τι τοὺς  
2 ἄλλους Ἑλληνας ἢ καὶ αὐτοὺς τοὺς μετασχόντας τοῦ ἔργου ἐξέπληξε. τὰ μὲν γὰρ περὶ Σικελίαν Ἀθηναίοις ξυνενεχθέντα, εἰ καὶ πλήθει τῶν ἀπολομένων οὐ μείονα τὴν ξυμφορὰν τῇ πόλει ἤνεγκεν, ἀλλὰ τῷ τε πόρρω ἀπὸ τῆς οἰκείας διαφθαρῆναι αὐτοῖς τὸν στρατόν, καὶ τὸν πολὺν ξυμμαχικὸν μᾶλλον ἢ οἰκείον ὄντα, καὶ τῷ τὴν πόλιν αὐτοῖς περιλειφθῆναι, ὡς καὶ ἐς ὕστερον ἐπὶ πολὺ τῷ πολέμῳ ἀντισχεῖν Λακεδαιμονίοις τε καὶ τοῖς ξυμμάχοις καὶ μεγάλῳ βασιλεῖ πολεμοῦντας, οὔτε αὐτοῖς τοῖς παθούσιν ἴσην τὴν αἴσθησιν τῆς ξυμφορᾶς προσέθηκεν, οὔτε τοῖς ἄλλοις  
3 Ἑλλησιν τὴν ἐπὶ τῷ πάθει ἐκπληξίῳ ὁμοίαν παρέσχε. καὶ τὸ ἐν Αἰγὸς ποταμοῖς αὐθις Ἀθηναίων πταῖσμα ναυτικόν τε ἦν καὶ ἡ πόλις οὐδὲν ἄλλο ὅτι μὴ τῶν μακρῶν τειχῶν καθαιρέσει

Amphœum, but as the Macedonians pressed on them from all sides, and Alexander appeared, now here, now there, the Theban cavalry, pushing their way through the city, streamed out upon the plain;  
8 with the infantry it was *sauve qui peut*. And then, in hot blood, it was not so much the Macedonians as Phocians and Plataeans and the other Boeotians<sup>3</sup> who slaughtered the Thebans without restraint, even when they no longer offered resistance, some in their houses, which they broke into, some showing fight; others actually suppliant at the shrines;—they spared neither woman nor child.

9. This Greek disaster, because of the size of the captured city, the sharpness of the action, and not least the general unexpectedness of the event, both to victors and victims, horrified the other Greeks as much as those who had a hand in it.<sup>1</sup> The  
2 misfortunes of the Athenians in Sicily brought no less a disaster upon their city measured by the number of the dead, yet their army was destroyed far from home; it was mainly composed of allies rather than of citizens, and their city was left them, so that they held out long afterwards in the war against Sparta, her allies, and Persia; even this disaster did not make the victims themselves equally conscious of misfortune, and did not strike the other Greeks  
3 with like horror at the catastrophe. Again, the Athenian defeat at Aegospotami was at sea, and though the city was humbled, yet it only suffered from the

<sup>3</sup> Exonerating the Macedonians, cf. 9, 6, *contra* D. 13, 1, though D. too admits (13, 5 f.) that the Thespians, Plataeans and Orchomenians worked off old grudges on the Thebans. Note also ii 15, 3 f.

<sup>1</sup> § 1–5 seem to give A's own reflections, 6–8 recite the charges apparently made against Thebes by A's Greek allies, cf. D. 14, 1–4.

- καὶ νεῶν τῶν πολλῶν παραδόσει καὶ στερήσει τῆς ἀρχῆς ἐς ταπεινότητα ἀφικομένη τό τε σχῆμα τὸ πάτριον ὅμως ἐφύλαξε καὶ τὴν δύναμιν οὐ διὰ μακροῦ τὴν πάλαι ἀνέλαβεν, ὡς τά τε μακρὰ τείχη ἐκτειχίσαι καὶ τῆς θαλάσσης αὖθις ἐπικρατῆσαι καὶ τοὺς τότε φοβεροὺς σφισι Λακεδαιμονίους καὶ παρ' ὀλίγον ἐλθόντας ἀφανίσαι τὴν πόλιν αὐτοὺς ἐν τῷ
- 4 μέρει ἐκ τῶν ἐσχάτων κινδύνων διασώσασθαι. Λακεδαιμονίων τε αὖ τὸ κατὰ Λεῦκτρα καὶ Μαντίνειαν πταῖσμα τῷ παραλόγῳ μᾶλλον τι τῆς ξυμφορᾶς ἢ τῷ πλήθει τῶν [τε] ἀπολομένων τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους ἐξέπληξεν ἢ τε ξὺν Ἐπαμεινώνδα Βοιωτῶν καὶ Ἀρκάδων γενομένη προσβολὴ πρὸς τὴν Σπάρτην καὶ αὐτῇ τῷ ἀήθει τῆς ὄψεως μᾶλλον ἢ τῇ ἀκριβείᾳ τοῦ κινδύνου αὐτοὺς τε τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους καὶ τοὺς
- 5 ξυμμετασχόντας αὐτοῖς τῶν τότε πραγμάτων ἐφόβησεν. ἢ δὲ δὴ Πλαταιῶν ἄλωσις τῆς πόλεως τῇ σμικρότητι . . . τῶν ἐγκαταληφθέντων, ὅτι οἱ πολλοὶ αὐτῶν διαπεφεύγεσαν πάλαι ἐς τὰς Ἀθήνας, οὐ μέγα πάθημα ἐγένετο. καὶ ἡ Μήλου καὶ Σκιώνης ἄλωσις, νησιωτικά τε πολίσματα ἦν καὶ τοῖς δράσασιν αἰσχύνην μᾶλλον τι προσέβαλεν ἢ ἐς τὸ ξύμπαν Ἑλληνικὸν μέγαν τὸν παράλογον παρέσχε.
- 6 Θηβαίοις δὲ τὰ τῆς ἀποστάσεως ὀξεία καὶ ξὺν οὐδενὶ λογισμῷ γένομενα, καὶ ἡ ἄλωσις δι' ὀλίγου τε καὶ οὐ ξὺν πόνῳ τῶν ἐλόντων ξυνενεχθεῖσα, καὶ ὁ φόνος <ὁ> πολὺς, οἷα δὴ ἐξ ὁμοφύλων τε καὶ παλαιᾶς ἀπεχθείας ἐπεξιόντων, καὶ ὁ τῆς πόλεως παντελῆς ἀνδραποδισμὸς, δυνάμει τε καὶ δόξῃ ἐς τὰ πολέμια τῶν τότε προεχούσης ἐν τοῖς Ἑλλησιν, οὐκ ἔξω τοῦ εἰκότος ἐς μῆνιν τὴν ἀπὸ τοῦ θείου

- destruction of its long walls, the surrender of most of its ships, and the loss of its empire, it retained its ancestral form, and soon recovered its old strength; the Athenians rebuilt their long walls, recovered dominion on the sea, and themselves in turn saved from the most extreme danger the Lacedaemonians, who had inspired such terror and had come so near to annihilating Athens. The
- 4 defeat of the Lacedaemonians themselves at Leuctra and Mantinea came as a great shock to them rather by the unexpectedness of the disaster than by the number of the dead, while the onslaught of Epaminondas with his Boeotians and Arcadians on Sparta scared the Spartans and their then allies rather by the strangeness of such a sight than by the measure of the danger. The capture, again, of
- 5 Plataea was no great tragedy because of the smallness of the city and . . .<sup>2</sup> of those captured in the city—the greater number having fled long before to Athens. Finally, the capture of Melos and Scione, which were little island towns, brought more shame to the perpetrators than any great shock to the whole Greek world. With
- 6 Thebes, on the other hand, the hastiness and lack of consideration in the revolt, her sudden capture, with so little trouble to the victors, the great massacre, a natural act to kindred people working off old feuds, the complete enslavement of the city, then foremost in Greece for power and military prestige, were quite naturally set down to divine wrath: Thebes, men said, had thus paid the price,

<sup>2</sup> The lacuna presumably mentioned the small number of prisoners.

- 7 ἀνηνέχθη, ὡς τῆς τε ἐν τῷ Μηδικῷ πολέμῳ προδοσίας τῶν Ἑλλήνων διὰ μακροῦ ταύτην δίκην ἐκτίσαντας Θηβαίους, καὶ τῆς Πλαταιῶν ἐν τε ταῖς σπονδαῖς καταλήψεως καὶ τοῦ παντελοῦς ἀνδραποδισμοῦ τῆς πόλεως, καὶ τῆς τῶν παραδόντων σφᾶς Λακεδαιμονίοις οὐχ Ἑλληνικῆς γενομένης διὰ Θηβαίους σφαγῆς, καὶ τοῦ χωρίου τῆς ἐρημώσεως, ἐν ᾧ οἱ Ἕλληνες παραταξάμενοι Μήδοις ἀπώσαντο τῆς Ἑλλάδος τὸν κίνδυνον, καὶ ὅτι Ἀθηναίους αὐτοὶ τῇ ψήφῳ ἀπώλλουν, ὅτε
- 8 ὑπὲρ ἀνδραποδισμοῦ τῆς πόλεως γνώμη προὔτεθη ἐν τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίων ξυμμάχοις. ἐπεὶ καὶ πρὸ τῆς ξυμφορᾶς πολλὰ ἀπὸ τοῦ θείου ἐπισημῆναι ἐλέγετο, ἃ δὴ ἐν μὲν τῷ παραντίκα ἠμελήθη, ὕστερον δὲ ἡ μνήμη αὐτὰ ἐς λογισμὸν τοῦ ἐκ πάλαι ἐπὶ τοῖς ξυνενεχθείσιν προσημανθῆναι ἀνήνεγκεν.
- 9 Τοῖς δὲ μετασχούσι τοῦ ἔργου ξυμμάχοις, οἷς δὴ καὶ ἐπέτρεψεν Ἀλέξανδρος τὰ κατὰ τὰς Θήβας διαθεῖναι, τὴν μὲν Καδμείαν φρουρᾷ κατέχειν ἔδοξε, τὴν πόλιν δὲ κατασκάψαι ἐς ἔδαφος καὶ τὴν χώραν κατανεῖμαι τοῖς ξυμμάχοις, ὅση μὴ ἱερὰ αὐτῆς· παῖδας δὲ καὶ γυναῖκας καὶ ὅσοι ὑπελείποντο Θηβαίων, πλὴν τῶν ἱερέων τε καὶ ἱερειῶν καὶ ὅσοι ξένοι
- 10 Φιλίππου ἢ Ἀλεξάνδρου ἢ ὅσοι πρόξενoi Μακεδόνων ἐγένοντο, ἀνδραποδίσει. καὶ τὴν Πινδάρου δὲ τοῦ ποιητοῦ οἰκίαν καὶ τοὺς ἀπογόνους τοῦ Πινδάρου λέγουσιν ὅτι διεφύλαξεν Ἀλέξανδρος αἰδοῖ τῇ Πινδάρου. ἐπὶ τούτοις Ὀρχόμενόν τε καὶ Πλαταιὰς ἀναστήσαι τε καὶ τειχίσει οἱ ξύμμαχοι ἔγνωσαν.

10. Ἐς δὲ τοὺς ἄλλους Ἕλληνας ὡς ἐξηγγέλθη

- 7 at length, for betraying the Greek cause in the Persian wars, for seizing Plataea in time of truce, for completely enslaving the Plataeans, for her responsibility for the un-Greek massacre of men who had surrendered to Sparta, and for the desolation of the Plataean countryside, on which the Greeks, ranged shoulder to shoulder against Persia, had repelled the common danger of Greece, and last, for voting for the destruction of Athens when a motion was put before the allies of Sparta that the Athenians should
- 8 be sold into slavery. People said that the coming disaster cast its shadow before, in many divine warnings neglected then, but the memory of them later made people realize that there had long been prognostications, now confirmed by the event.
- 9 The allies who took part in the action, to whom Alexander actually entrusted the settlement of Thebes,<sup>3</sup> decided to garrison the Cadmea, but to raze the city to the ground, and to apportion its land among the allies, in so far as it had not been consecrated, and to enslave the women and children and any Theban survivors, save for priests and priestesses, and any guest-friends of Philip or
- 10 Alexander, or *proxenoi*<sup>4</sup> of Macedonians. They say<sup>5</sup> that Alexander saved the poet Pindar's house and any of his descendants out of reverence for Pindar. Besides this, the allies determined to rebuild and fortify Orchomenus and Plataea.<sup>6</sup>

10. When the fate of Thebes was notified to the

3 D. 14, 4 makes this a formal decree of the *synedrion* (Introd. 38), but still ascribes the real decision to Al., who wished to terrorize the Greeks, cf. P. 11, 5.

4 Citizens who performed consular functions for members of particular foreign communities.

5 Cf. P. 11, 6; 'vulgate', unless 'they' are Pt. and Ar.

6 Previously destroyed by Thebes.

τῶν Θηβαίων τὸ πάθος, Ἀρκάδες μὲν, ὅσοι βοηθήσαντες  
 Θηβαίοις ἀπὸ τῆς οἰκείας ὠρμήθησαν, θάνατον  
 καταψηφίσαντο τῶν ἐπαράντων σφᾶς ἐς τὴν βοήθειαν· Ἠλείοι  
 δὲ τοὺς φυγάδας σφῶν κατεδέξαντο, ὅτι ἐπιτήδειοι Ἀλεξάνδρῳ  
 2 ἦσαν· Αἰτωλοὶ δὲ πρεσβείας σφῶν κατὰ ἔθνη πέμψαντες  
 ξυγγνώμης τυχεῖν ἐδέοντο, ὅτι καὶ αὐτοὶ τι πρὸς τὰ παρὰ τῶν  
 Θηβαίων ἀπαγγελθέντα ἐνεωτέρισαν· Ἀθηναῖοι δέ, μυστηρίων  
 τῶν μεγάλων ἀγομένων ὡς ἦκόν τινες τῶν Θηβαίων ἐξ αὐτοῦ  
 3 τοῦ ἔργου, τὰ μὲν μυστήρια ἐκπλαγέντες ἐξέλιπον, ἐκ δὲ τῶν  
 ἀγρῶν ἐσκευαγῶγον ἐς τὴν πόλιν. ὁ δῆμος δὲ ἐς ἐκκλησίαν  
 συνελθὼν Δημάδου γράψαντος δέκα πρέσβεις ἐκ πάντων  
 Ἀθηναίων ἐπιλεξάμενος πέμπει παρὰ Ἀλέξανδρον, οὕστινας  
 ἐπιτηδειοτάτους Ἀλεξάνδρῳ ἐγίγνωσκον, ὅτι τε σῶος ἐξ  
 Ἰλλυριῶν καὶ Τριβαλλῶν ἐπανήλθε χαίρειν τὸν δῆμον τῶν  
 Ἀθηναίων οὐκ ἐν καιρῷ ἀπαγγελοῦντας καὶ ὅτι Θηβαίους τοῦ  
 4 νεωτερισμοῦ ἐτιμωρήσατο. ὁ δὲ τὰ μὲν ἄλλα φιλανθρώπως  
 πρὸς τὴν πρεσβείαν ἀπεκρίνατο, ἐπιστολὴν δὲ γράψας πρὸς  
 τὸν δῆμον ἐξῆγει τοὺς ἀμφὶ Δημοσθένην καὶ Λυκούργον· καὶ  
 Ὑπερείδην δὲ ἐξῆγει καὶ Πολύευκτον καὶ Χάρητα καὶ  
 5 Χαρίδημον καὶ Ἐφιάλτην καὶ Διότιμον καὶ Μοιροκλέα·  
 τούτους γὰρ αἰτίους εἶναι τῆς τε ἐν Χαιρωνείᾳ ξυμφορᾶς τῇ  
 πόλει γενομένης καὶ τῶν ὕστερον ἐπὶ τῇ Φιλίππου

other Greeks, the Arcadians who had left home to help Thebes  
 condemned to death those who had persuaded them to take this  
 step, while the Eleans restored their own exiles, as they were  
 2 persons ready to serve Alexander.<sup>1</sup> The Aetolians sent embassies,  
 tribe by tribe, and begged forgiveness for revolting on the news  
 brought from Thebes. The Athenians, who were celebrating their  
 great mysteries<sup>2</sup> when some of the Thebans arrived hot foot from  
 the action, abandoned the mysteries in consternation and began to  
 get in their belongings from the country into the city. The people  
 3 met in an assembly, and on the motion of Demades chose ten  
 ambassadors from the whole body of citizens, men known to be  
 most acceptable to Alexander, and sent them to him bearing the  
 city's rather belated congratulations on his safe return from the  
 Illyrians and Triballians and on his punishment of the Theban  
 4 revolt. Alexander replied in a friendly way to the embassy, except  
 that he wrote a letter to the city demanding the surrender of  
 Demosthenes and Lycurgus, as well as Hyperides, Polyceutas,  
 Chares, Charidemus, Ephialtes, Diotimus and Moerocles,<sup>3</sup> whom  
 5 he held responsible for the city's disaster at Chaeronea and for the  
 wrongs later committed,

1 Introd. 37.

2 Early Oct. 335.

3 Plut. *Dem.* 23 says that Idomeneus and Duris (third-century writers) gave 10 names (cf. D. 15, 1, perhaps those in Suidas s.v. Antipatros), but that the majority and best of the sources gave eight, which he lists; he then reports a *mot* of Demosthenes from Ar. (F. 3). If P. had read Ar., it follows that Ar. either gave no names, or the eight P. lists, which exclude Hyperides, Chares, Diotimus and Moerocles and include two not listed by A. In that case, as A. does not cite the 'vulgate', he must be following Pt., without mentioning the discrepancy with Ar. A's list agrees with that in Suidas, if Thrasybulus has dropped

τελευτῇ πλημμεληθέντων ἔς τε αὐτὸν καὶ ἔς Φίλιππον· καὶ  
 Θηβαίοις δὲ τῆς [τε] ἀποστάσεως ἀπέφαινε αἰτίους οὐ μείον  
 6 ἢ τοὺς αὐτῶν Θηβαίων νεωτερίσαντας. Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ τοὺς μὲν  
 ἄνδρας οὐκ ἐξέδοσαν, πρεσβεύονται δὲ αὐθις παρὰ  
 Ἀλέξανδρον, ἀφείναι δεόμενοι τὴν ὀργὴν τοῖς ἐξαιτηθείσι· καὶ  
 Ἀλέξανδρος ἀφήκε, τυχὸν μὲν αἰδοῖ τῆς πόλεως, τυχὸν δὲ  
 σπουδῇ τοῦ ἔς τὴν Ἀσίαν στόλου, οὐκ ἐθέλων οὐδὲν ὑποπτου  
 ἐν τοῖς Ἑλλησιν ὑπολείπεσθαι. Χαρίδημον μόνον τῶν  
 ἐξαιτηθέντων τε καὶ οὐ δοθέντων φεύγειν ἐκέλευσε· καὶ φεύγει  
 Χαρίδημος ἔς τὴν Ἀσίαν παρὰ βασιλέα Δαρείου.

11. Ταῦτα δὲ διαπραξάμενος ἐπανήλθεν εἰς Μακεδονίαν·  
 καὶ τῷ τε Διὶ τῷ Ὀλυμπίῳ τὴν θυσίαν τὴν ἀπ' Ἀρχελαίου ἔτι  
 καθεστῶσαν ἔθυσσε καὶ τὸν ἀγῶνα ἐν Αἰγαῖς διέθηκε τὰ  
 Ὀλύμπια· οἱ δὲ καὶ ταῖς Μούσαις λέγουσιν ὅτι ἀγῶνα  
 2 ἐποίησε. καὶ ἐν τούτῳ ἀγγέλλεται τὸ Ὀρφέως τοῦ Οἰάγρου  
 τοῦ Θρακῶς ἄγαλμα τὸ ἐν Πιερίδι ἰδρῶσαι ξυνεχῶς· καὶ ἄλλοι  
 ἄλλα ἐπεθείαζον τῶν μάντεων, Ἀρίστανδρος δέ, ἀνὴρ  
 Τελμισσεύς, μάντις, θαρρεῖν ἐκέλευσεν Ἀλέξανδρον·  
 δηλοῦσθαι γάρ, ὅτι ποιηταῖς ἐπῶν τε καὶ μελῶν καὶ ὅσοι  
 ἀμφὶ ὥδῃν ἔχουσι πολὺς πόνος ἔσται ποιεῖν τε καὶ ἄδειν  
 Ἀλέξανδρον καὶ τὰ Ἀλεξάνδρου ἔργα.

3 Ἄμα δὲ τῷ ἡρι ἀρχομένῳ ἐξελαύνει ἐφ' Ἑλλησπόντου, τὰ  
 μὲν κατὰ Μακεδονίαν τε καὶ τοὺς Ἑλληνας Ἀντιπάτρῳ  
 ἐπιτρέψας, αὐτὸς δὲ ἄγων πεζοὺς μὲν σὺν ψιλοῖς τε καὶ  
 τοξόταις οὐ πολλῶ

at Philip's death, against himself and Philip. He also showed that  
 they were just as guilty of the Theban rebellion as the Theban  
 6 revolutionaries themselves. The Athenians did not give up the men,  
 but sent a second embassy to Alexander, begging him to relent to  
 those whose surrender he had demanded. Alexander did so,  
 whether from reverence for Athens, or because he was anxious to  
 hurry on his Asian expedition and did not wish to leave any ill-  
 feeling behind in Greece.<sup>4</sup> Charidemus alone, however, of those  
 men whose surrender he had demanded but not obtained, he  
 ordered to be exiled; and he took refuge in Asia with King Darius.<sup>5</sup>

11. After completing these operations Alexander returned to  
 Macedonia, where he offered the traditional sacrifice (established  
 by Archelaus) to Olympian Zeus and celebrated the Olympian  
 games at Aegae: others add<sup>1</sup> that he held games in honour of the  
 2 Muses. Meanwhile, it was reported that the statue of Orpheus, son  
 of Oeagrus the Thracian, in Pieria, had sweated continuously; the  
 seers interpreted this variously, but Aristander of Telmissus  
 encouraged Alexander by saying that it meant that makers of epics  
 and choric songs and writers of odes would be hard at work on  
 poetry and hymns honouring Alexander and his exploits.

3 In early spring he marched to the Hellespont, leaving  
 Macedonian and Greek affairs in charge of Antipater. His infantry  
 including light troops and archers numbered not much above thirty thou-

4 Cf P. 13, 1 f. Only a hint of the difficulty of reducing Athens,  
 Introd. 43.

5 This well-known general was allegedly first honoured, then  
 executed by Darius, D. 30; QC. iii 2, 10 ff. (with variants).

1 Vulgate cf. D. 16, 3 f. A. omits D's story (16, 1 f.) that Al.  
 rejected the advice of Parmenio and Antipater to defer the expedition



- πλείους τῶν τρισμυρίων, ἰππέας δὲ ὑπὲρ τοὺς  
 πεντακισχιλίους. ἦν δὲ αὐτῷ ὁ στόλος παρὰ τὴν λίμνην τὴν  
 4 Κερκινίτιν ὡς ἐπ' Ἀμφίπολιν καὶ τοῦ Στρυμόνος ποταμοῦ τὰς  
 ἐκβολὰς. διαβὰς δὲ τὸν Στρυμόνα παρήμειβε τὸ Πάγγαιον  
 ὄρος τὴν ὡς ἐπ' Ἀβδηρα καὶ Μαρώνειαν, πόλεις Ἑλληνίδας  
 ἐπὶ θαλάσση ὠκισμένας. ἔνθεν δὲ ἐπὶ τὸν Ἑβρον ποταμὸν  
 5 ἀφικόμενος διαβαίνει καὶ τὸν Ἑβρον εὐπετῶς. ἐκεῖθεν δὲ διὰ  
 τῆς Παιτικῆς ἐπὶ τὸν Μέλανα ποταμὸν ἔρχεται. διαβὰς δὲ καὶ  
 τὸν Μέλανα εἰς Σηστὸν ἀφικνεῖται ἐν εἴκοσι ταῖς πάσαις  
 ἡμέραις ἀπὸ τῆς οἴκοθεν ἐξορμήσεως. ἐλθὼν δὲ εἰς Ἐλαιούντα  
 θύει Πρωτεσιλάῳ ἐπὶ τῷ τάφῳ τοῦ Πρωτεσιλάου, ὅτι καὶ  
 Πρωτεσίλαος πρῶτος ἐδόκει ἐκβῆναι εἰς τὴν Ἀσίαν τῶν  
 Ἑλλήνων τῶν ἅμα Ἀγαμέμνονι εἰς Ἴλιον στρατευσάντων. καὶ  
 ὁ νοῦς τῆς θυσίας ἦν ἐπιτυχεστέραν οἱ γενέσθαι ἢ  
 Πρωτεσιλάῳ τὴν ἀπόβασιν.
- 6 Παρμενίων μὲν δὴ τῶν τε πεζῶν τοὺς πολλοὺς καὶ τὴν  
 ἵππον διαβιβάσαι ἐτάχθη ἐκ Σηστοῦ εἰς Ἀβυδον· καὶ  
 διέβησαν τριήρεσι μὲν ἑκατὸν καὶ ἐξήκοντα πλοίοις δὲ ἄλλοις  
 πολλοῖς στρογγύλοις. Ἀλέξανδρον δὲ ἐξ Ἐλαιούντος εἰς τὸν  
 Ἀχαιῶν λιμένα κατὰραι ὁ πλείων λόγος κατέχει, καὶ αὐτὸν τε  
 κυβερνῶντα τὴν στρατηγίδα ναῦν διαβάλλειν καὶ, ἐπειδὴ  
 κατὰ μέσον τὸν πόρον τοῦ Ἑλλησπόντου ἐγένετο, σφάξαντα  
 ταῦρον τῷ Ποσειδῶνι καὶ Νηρηῖσι σπένδειν ἐκ χρυσῆς  
 7 φιάλης εἰς τὸν πόντον. λέγουσι δὲ καὶ πρῶτον ἐκ τῆς νεῶς σὺν  
 τοῖς ὄπλοις ἐκβῆναι αὐτὸν εἰς τὴν γῆν τὴν Ἀσίαν

- sand, his cavalry over five thousand.<sup>2</sup> His route was past Lake  
 Cercinitis in the direction of Amphipolis and the delta of the river  
 4 Strymon [Struma]. He crossed the Strymon and passed Mount  
 Pangaeum, on the way to Abdera and Maronea, Greek cities settled  
 by the sea. Thence he reached the Hebrus [Maritza] and crossed it  
 5 with ease; from there he went through Paetice to the Black River,  
 crossed it, and reached Sestus twenty days in all after starting from  
 home.<sup>3</sup> Arriving at Elaeus, he sacrificed to Protesilaus at his tomb,  
 since he was thought to be the first to disembark on Asian soil of  
 the Greeks who fought with Agamemnon against Troy. The  
 intention of the sacrifice was that his own landing on Asian soil  
 might be luckier than that of Protesilaus.
- 6 Parmenio was appointed to see to the ferrying over from Sestus  
 to Abydos of the cavalry and most of the infantry; they crossed in a  
 hundred and sixty triremes<sup>4</sup> and in a good number of cargo boats.  
 According to the prevalent story<sup>5</sup> Alexander made from Elaeus for  
 the Achaean harbour, and steered the admiral's ship himself when  
 he crossed, sacrificing a bull to Posidon and the Nereids in the  
 midst of the Hellespont strait, and pouring into the sea a drink  
 7 offering from a golden bowl. They also say that he was the first to  
 disembark on Asian soil armed *capà-pie*,

2 Numbers: Introd. 56. Pt. and Ar. agreed as to the foot; A. ignores Ar's variant (4,000) for horse, and his statement that he had only 70 Talents (*contra* vii 9, 6; for other variants, P. 15), though this deserved full treatment; initial costs were inevitably heavy; hence in 334 shortage of cash, cf. i 20; vii 9. 6; App. II 1.

3 Landing in Asia, D. 17-18, 1; P. 15. For § 5-8 see App. IV 1 f.

4 App. II 1.

5 'Vulgate' to end of ch.

καὶ βωμοὺς ἰδρύσασθαι ὅθεν τε ἐστάλη ἐκ τῆς Εὐρώπης καὶ ὅπου ἐξέβη τῆς Ἀσίας Διὸς ἀποβατηρίου καὶ Ἀθηνᾶς καὶ Ἡρακλέους. ἀνελθόντα δὲ ἐς Ἴλιον τῇ τε Ἀθηνᾷ θύσαι τῇ Ἰλιάδι, καὶ τὴν πανοπλίαν τὴν αὐτοῦ ἀναθεῖναι ἐς τὸν νεών,  
8 καὶ καθελεῖν ἀντὶ ταύτης τῶν ἱερῶν τινα ὄπλων ἔτι ἐκ τοῦ Τρωικοῦ ἔργου σωζόμενα. καὶ ταῦτα λέγουσιν ὅτι οἱ ὑπασπισταὶ ἔφερον πρὸ αὐτοῦ ἐς τὰς μάχας. θύσαι δὲ αὐτὸν καὶ Πριάμῳ ἐπὶ τοῦ βωμοῦ τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ Ἐρκείου λόγος κατέχει, μῆνιν Πριάμου παραιτούμενον τῷ Νεοπτολέμῳ γένει, ὃ δὴ ἐς αὐτὸν καθῆκεν.

12. Ἀνιόντα δ' αὐτὸν ἐς Ἴλιον Μενούτιός τε ὁ κυβερνήτης χρυσῷ στεφάνῳ ἐστεφάνωσε καὶ ἐπὶ τούτῳ Χάρης ὁ Ἀθηναῖος ἐκ Σιγείου ἐλθὼν καὶ τινες καὶ ἄλλοι, οἱ μὲν Ἕλληνες, οἱ δὲ ἐπιχώριοι . . . οἱ δὲ, ὅτι καὶ τὸν Ἀχιλλέως ἄρα τάφον ἐστεφάνωσε· Ἡφαιστίωνα δὲ λέγουσιν ὅτι τοῦ Πατρόκλου τὸν τάφον ἐστεφάνωσε· καὶ εὐδαιμόνισεν ἄρα, ὡς  
2 λόγος, Ἀλέξανδρος Ἀχιλλέα, ὅτι Ὀμήρου κήρυκος ἐς τὴν ἔπειτα μνήμην ἔτυχε. καὶ μέντοι καὶ ἦν Ἀλεξάνδρῳ οὐχ ἥκιστα τούτου ἕνεκα εὐδαιμονιστέος Ἀχιλλεύς, ὅτι αὐτῷ γε Ἀλεξάνδρῳ, οὐ κατὰ τὴν ἄλλην ἐπιτυχίαν, τὸ χωρίον τούτο ἐκλιπὲς ξυνέβη οὐδὲ ἐξηνέχθη ἐς ἀνθρώπους τὰ Ἀλεξάνδρου ἔργα ἐπαξίως, οὐτ' οὖν καταλογάδην, οὔτε τις ἐν μέτρῳ ἐποίησεν· ἀλλ' οὐδὲ ἐν μέλει ἦσθη Ἀλέξανδρος, ἐν ὅτῳ Ἰέρων τε καὶ Γέλων καὶ Θήρων καὶ πολλοὶ ἄλλοι οὐδέν τι Ἀλεξάνδρῳ ἐπεικότες, ὥστε πολὺ μείον γινώσκεται τὰ  
3 Ἀλεξάνδρου ἢ τὰ φαυλότατα τῶν πάλαι ἔργων· ὁπότε καὶ ἡ τῶν μυρίων ξὺν Κύρῳ ἄνοδος

that he set up altars both where he started from Europe and where he landed in Asia to Zeus of Safe Landings, Athena, and Heracles, and that he then went up to Troy, and sacrificed to the Trojan Athena, dedicated his full armour in the temple, and took down in its place some of the dedicated arms yet remaining from the Trojan  
8 war, which, it is said, the hypaspists henceforth used to carry before him into battle. Then he sacrificed also to Priam at the altar of Zeus of Enclosures (so runs the story), praying Priam not to vent his anger on the race of Neoptolemus, of which he himself was a scion.

12. When Alexander reached Troy Menoetius the pilot crowned him with a golden wreath and then Chares the Athenian<sup>1</sup> arrived from Sigeum with others, Greeks or natives of the place . . .<sup>2</sup> Some say that Alexander crowned the tomb of Achilles, while Hephaestion, others say, placed a wreath on Patroclus' tomb; and Alexander, so the story goes, blessed Achilles for having Homer to  
2 proclaim his fame to posterity.<sup>3</sup> Alexander might well have counted Achilles happy on this score, since, fortunate as Alexander was in other ways, there was a great gap left here, and Alexander's exploits were never celebrated as they deserved, either in prose or verse; there were not even choral lyrics for Alexander as for Hiero, Gelo, Thero and many others not to be compared with him, so that Alexander's exploits are far less known than very minor deeds of old  
3 times. Why,

1 The Athenian general, earlier (10, 4) and later (iii 2, 6) hostile.

2 The text has a lacuna.

3 'Vulgate', as often with variant versions; A's own reflections follow. (Hephaestion was A's most intimate friend.)

- ἐπὶ βασιλέα Ἀρτοξέρξην καὶ τὰ Κλεάρχου τε καὶ τῶν ἄμα αὐτῷ ἀλόντων παθήματα καὶ ἡ κατάβασις αὐτῶν ἐκείνων, ἦν Ξενοφῶν αὐτοὺς κατήγαγε, πολὺ τι ἐπιφανέστερα ἐς ἀνθρώπους Ξενοφῶντος ἔνεκά ἐστιν ἢ Ἀλέξανδρός τε καὶ τὰ
- 4 Ἀλεξάνδρου ἔργα. καίτοι Ἀλέξανδρος οὔτε ξὺν ἄλλῳ ἐστράτευσεν, οὔτε φεύγων μέγαν βασιλέα τοὺς τῆ καθόδῳ τῆ ἐπὶ θάλασσαν ἐμποδῶν γιγνομένους ἐκράτησεν· ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐστιν ὅστις ἄλλος εἰς ἀνὴρ τοσαῦτα ἢ τηλικαῦτα ἔργα κατὰ πλήθος ἢ μέγεθος ἐν Ἑλλησιν ἢ βαρβάροις ἀπεδείξατο. ἔνθεν καὶ αὐτὸς ὀρμηθῆναί φημι ἐς τήνδε τὴν ξυγγραφὴν, οὐκ
- 5 ἀπαξιώσας ἐμαντὸν φανερὰ καταστήσειν ἐς ἀνθρώπους τὰ Ἀλεξάνδρου ἔργα. ὅστις δὲ ὦν ταῦτα ὑπὲρ ἐμαντοῦ γινώσκω, τὸ μὲν ὄνομα οὐδὲν δέομαι ἀναγράψαι, οὐδὲ γὰρ οὐδὲ ἀγνωστοῦ ἐς ἀνθρώπους ἐστίν, οὐδὲ πατρίδα ἧτις μοί ἐστιν οὐδὲ γένος τὸ ἐμόν, οὐδὲ εἰ δὴ τινα ἀρχὴν ἐν τῇ ἐμαντοῦ ἦρξα· ἀλλ' ἐκείνο ἀναγράφω, ὅτι ἐμοὶ πατρίς τε καὶ γένος καὶ ἀρχαὶ οἶδε οἱ λόγοι εἰσί τε καὶ ἀπὸ νέου ἔτι ἐγένοντο. καὶ ἐπὶ τῷδε οὐκ ἀπαξιῶ ἐμαντὸν τῶν πρώτων ἐν τῇ φωνῇ τῇ Ἑλλάδι, εἴπερ οὖν καὶ Ἀλέξανδρον τῶν ἐν τοῖς ὅπλοις.
- 6 Ἐξ Ἰλίου δὲ ἐς Ἀρίσβην ἦκεν, οὗ πᾶσα ἡ δύναμις αὐτῷ διαβεβηκυῖα τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον ἐστρατοπεδεύκει, καὶ τῆ ὑστεραία ἐς Περκώτην· τῆ δὲ ἄλλη Λάμψακον παραμείψας πρὸς τῷ Πρακτίῳ<sup>1</sup> ποταμῷ ἐστρατοπέδευσεν, ὃς ῥέων ἐκ τῶν ὄρων τῶν Ἰδαίων ἐκδιδοί ἐς θάλασσαν τὴν μεταξὺ τοῦ Ἑλλησπόντου τε καὶ τοῦ Εὐξείνου πόντου. ἔνθεν δὲ ἐς Ἐρμωτον ἀφίκετο, Κολωνὰς

1 Freinsheim; προσακτίῳ A: παρ' ἀκτὴν Lane Fox 515.

- the march up into Asia of the Ten Thousand with Cyrus against King Artaxerxes, the sufferings of Clearchus and those captured with him, and the descent to the sea of those Ten Thousand under the leadership of Xenophon, are, thanks to Xenophon, far better known to the world than Alexander and Alexander's exploits. Yet
- 4 Alexander did not take the field in another's army; he did not flee from the Great King, defeating only those who tried to stop the march down to the sea; no other single man performed such remarkable deeds, whether in number or magnitude, among either Greeks or barbarians. That, I declare, is why I myself have embarked on this history, not judging myself unworthy to make Alexander's deeds known to men. Whoever I may be, this I know in
- 5 my favour; I need not write my name, for it is not at all unknown among men, nor my country nor my family nor any office I may have held in my own land; this I do set on paper, that country, family, and offices I find and have found from my youth in these tales. That is why I think myself not unworthy of the masters of Greek speech, since my subject Alexander was among the masters of warfare.<sup>4</sup>
- 6 From Ilium Alexander came to Arisbe, where his whole force had encamped after crossing the Hellespont; next day to Percote, the next he passed Lampsacus and camped by the river Practius, which flows from Mount Ida and runs into the sea that lies between the Hellespont and the Black Sea. Then he reached Hermotus, passing by Coloniae.

4 I shall discuss this in an Appendix on A's career in vol. II. For the striking and strange language (derived from *Iliad* vi 429 f.) cf. Aelius Aristides xxxiii 20; I owe these references to E. Bowie.

7 πόλιν παραμείψας. σκοποὶ δὲ αὐτῷ ἐπέμποντο πρὸ τοῦ  
στρατεύματος· καὶ τούτων ἡγεμῶν ἦν Ἀμύντας ὁ Ἀρραβαίου,  
ἔχων τῶν τε ἐταίρων τὴν ἴλην τὴν ἐξ Ἀπολλωνίας, ἧς ἰλάρχης  
ἦν Σωκράτης ὁ Σάθωνος, καὶ τῶν προδρομῶν καλουμένων  
Ἰλας τέσσαρας. κατὰ δὲ τὴν πάροδον Πρίαπον πόλιν  
ἐνδοθείσαν πρὸς τῶν ἐνοικούντων τοὺς παραληψομένους  
ἀπέστειλε σὺν Πανηγόρῳ τῷ Λυκαγόρου, ἐνὶ τῶν ἐταίρων.

8 Περσῶν δὲ στρατηγοὶ ἦσαν Ἀρσάμης καὶ Ῥεομίθρης καὶ  
Πετήνης καὶ Νιφάτης καὶ ξὺν τούτοις Σπιθριδάτης ὁ Λυδίας  
καὶ Ἰωνίας σατράπης καὶ Ἀρσίτης ὁ τῆς πρὸς Ἑλλησπόντῳ  
Φρυγίας ὑπαρχος. οὗτοι δὲ πρὸς Ζελεία πόλει  
κατεστρατοπεδευκότες ἦσαν ξὺν τῇ ἵππῳ τε τῇ βαρβαρικῇ  
9 καὶ τοῖς Ἑλλησι τοῖς μισθοφόροις. βουλευομένοις δὲ αὐτοῖς  
ὑπὲρ τῶν παρόντων, ἐπειδὴ Ἀλέξανδρος διαβεβηκῶς  
ἠγγέλλετο, Μέμνων ὁ Ῥόδιος παρήνει μὴ διὰ κινδύνου ἰέναι  
πρὸς τοὺς Μακεδόνας, τῷ τε πεζῷ πολὺ περιόντας σφῶν καὶ  
αὐτοῦ Ἀλεξάνδρου παρόντος, αὐτοῖς δὲ ἀπόντος Δαρείου  
προϊόντας δὲ τὸν τε χιλὸν ἀφανίζειν καταπατοῦντας τῇ ἵππῳ  
καὶ τὸν ἐν τῇ γῆ καρπὸν ἐμπιπράναι, μηδὲ τῶν πόλεων αὐτῶν  
φειδομένους. οὐ γὰρ μενεῖν ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ Ἀλέξανδρον ἀπορία  
10 τῶν ἐπιτηδείων. Ἀρσίτην δὲ λέγεται εἰπεῖν ἐν τῷ συλλόγῳ τῶν  
Περσῶν, ὅτι οὐκ ἂν περιύδοι μίαν οἰκίαν ἐμπρησθεῖσαν τῶν  
ὑπὸ οἷ τεταγμένων ἀνθρώπων· καὶ τοὺς Πέρσας Ἀρσίτη  
προσθέσθαι, ὅτι καὶ ὑποπτὸν τι αὐτοῖς ἦν ἐς τὸν Μέμνονα  
τριβὰς ἐμποιεῖν ἐκόντα τῷ πολέμῳ τῆς ἐκ βασιλέως τιμῆς  
οὐνεκα.

7 He sent scouts ahead of the army; Amyntas, son of Arrabaeus, led  
them with the squadron of Companions from Apollonia, whose  
squadron leader was Socrates, son of Sathon, with four squadrons of  
the so-called *prodromoi*. On his march the city of Priapus was  
surrendered to him by the citizens, and he sent a party to take it  
over under Panegorus son of Lycagorus, one of the Companions.

8 The Persian commanders were Arsames, Rheomithres, Petenes,  
Niphates, and with them Spithridates the satrap of Lydia and Ionia  
and Arsites the hyparch<sup>5</sup> of Hellespontine Phrygia. They had  
already encamped by the city of Zeleia with the barbarian cavalry  
9 and the mercenary Greeks. They held a council of war when  
Alexander's crossing was reported and Memnon of Rhodes advised  
them to run no risk against the Macedonians, as the latter were far  
superior in infantry, while Alexander was present and Darius absent  
on their own side; they had far best march on, destroying the fodder  
by trampling it with their cavalry, and burning the growing crops,  
not even sparing the very cities; then Alexander would not stay in  
the country for want of provisions. However, it is said that Arsites  
10 stated in the Persian council that he would not suffer one house to  
be burned belonging to his subjects, and that the Persians  
supported Arsites, suspecting Memnon of deliberately holding up  
warlike operations for the sake of the honour he held from the  
king.<sup>6</sup>

5 Properly an official subordinate to a satrap, but here, as in iv  
18, 3 (cf. iii 16, 4), meaning a satrap.

6 On Memnon (brother-in-law of Artabazus, iii 21, 4 n.) and his  
strategy cf. Introd. § 45; 54.

13. Ἐν τούτῳ δὲ Ἀλέξανδρος προὔχῳρει ἐπὶ τὸν Γράνικον ποταμὸν συντεταγμένῳ τῷ στρατῷ, διπλὴν μὲν τὴν φάλαγγα τῶν ὀπλιτῶν τάξας, τοὺς δὲ ἰππέας κατὰ τὰ κέρατα ἄγων, τὰ σκευοφόρα δὲ κατόπιον ἐπιτάξας ἔπεισθαι τοὺς δὲ προκατασκευομένους τὰ τῶν πολεμίων ἤγειν αὐτῷ Ἡγέλοχος, ἰππέας μὲν ἔχων τοὺς σαρισσοφόρους, τῶν δὲ ψιλῶν ἐς πεντακοσίους. καὶ Ἀλέξανδρός τε οὐ πολὺ ἀπέειχε τοῦ ποταμοῦ τοῦ Γρανίκου καὶ οἱ ἀπὸ τῶν σκοπῶν σπουδῆ ἐλαύνοντες ἀπήγγελλον ἐπὶ τῷ Γρανίκῳ πέραν τοὺς Πέρσας ἐφειστάναι τεταγμένους ὡς ἐς μάχην. ἔνθα δὴ Ἀλέξανδρος μὲν τὴν στρατιὰν πᾶσαν συνέταπτεν ὡς μαχουμένους. Παρμενίων δὲ προσελθὼν λέγει Ἀλεξάνδρῳ τάδε.

3 “Ἐμοὶ δοκεῖ, βασιλεῦ, ἀγαθὸν εἶναι ἐν τῷ παρόντι καταστρατοπεδεῦσαι ἐπὶ τοῦ ποταμοῦ τῇ ὄχθῃ ὡς ἔχομεν. τοὺς γὰρ πολεμίους οὐ δοκῶ τολμήσειν πολὺ τῷ πεζῷ λειπομένους πλησίον ἡμῶν ἀυλισθῆναι, καὶ ταύτῃ παρέξειν ἔωθεν εὐπετῶς τῷ στρατῷ διαβαλεῖν τὸν πόρον· ὑποφθάσομεν 4 γὰρ αὐτοὶ περάσαντες πρὶν ἐκείνους ἐς τάξιν καθίστασθαι. νῦν δὲ οὐκ ἀκινδύνως μοι δοκοῦμεν ἐπιχειρήσειν τῷ ἔργῳ, ὅτι οὐχ οἶόν τε ἐν μετώπῳ διὰ τοῦ ποταμοῦ ἄγειν τὸν στρατόν. πολλὰ μὲν γὰρ αὐτοῦ ὀράται βαθέα, αἱ δὲ ὄχθαι αὐταὶ ὀρᾶς 5 ὅτι ὑπερύψηλοι καὶ κρημνώδεις εἰσὶν αἱ αὐτῶν ἀτάκτως τε οὖν καὶ κατὰ κέρασ, ἥπερ ἀσθενέστατον, ἐκβαίνουσιν ἐπικείσονται ἐς φάλαγγα ξυντεταγμένοι τῶν πολεμίων οἱ ἰππεῖς· καὶ τὸ πρῶτον σφάλμα ἔς τε τὰ παρόντα χαλεπὸν καὶ ἐς τὴν ὑπὲρ παντὸς τοῦ πολέμου κρίσιν σφαλερόν.”

6 Ἀλέξανδρος δέ, “ταῦτα μὲν”, ἔφη, “ὦ Παρμενίων,

13. Meanwhile, Alexander was advancing to the river Granicus<sup>1</sup> with his force all ready for battle, after drawing up his hoplites in two lines, with the cavalry on the wings, and ordering the baggage train to follow behind. The reconnoitring force was under the command of Hegelochus, with the lancers as cavalry, and five 2 hundred light troops. Alexander was not far from the river Granicus, when some of the scouts, riding in at full speed, reported that the Persians were drawn up for battle on the farther bank of the Granicus. Alexander then formed the whole army for battle; but Parmenio came forward and said:

3 ‘My view, sir, is that we should encamp at once on the river bank, as we are; the enemy outnumbered in infantry will, I believe, not dare to bivouac near us; and this will make it easy for the army to cross at dawn; we shall be across ourselves before they get into 4 order. As things are, I feel that we should run great risk in taking action, since we cannot take the army across the river on a wide front, for one can see that many parts of it are deep; its banks, as 5 you see, are very high, sometimes like cliffs. As we emerge in disorder and in column, the weakest of formations, the enemy cavalry in good solid order will charge: the initial disaster would be damaging at present, and most harmful for the general result of the war.’

6 Alexander, however, replied: ‘All this I know,

1 For chs 13–16 see App. I. The battle was fought in May–June. The Granicus descends from Mt. Ida to the Propontis.

γινώσκω αἰσχύνομαι δέ, εἰ τὸν μὲν Ἑλλήσποντον διέβην  
 εὐπετῶς, τοῦτο δέ, σμικρὸν ρεῦμα,—οὕτω τῷ ὀνόματι τὸν  
 Γράνικον ἐκφασίσεις,—εἴρξει ἡμᾶς τὸ μὴ οὐ διαβῆναι ὡς  
 7 ἔχομεν. καὶ τοῦτο οὔτε πρὸς Μακεδόνων τῆς δόξης οὔτε πρὸς  
 τῆς ἐμῆς ἐς τοὺς κινδύνους ὀξύτητος ποιούμεαι ἀναθαρρήσειν  
 τε δοκῶ τοὺς Πέρσας <ὡς> ἀξιομάχους Μακεδόσιν ὄντας, ὅτι  
 οὐδὲν ἄξιον τοῦ σφῶν δέους ἐν τῷ παραντίκα ἔπαθον.”

14. Ταῦτα εἰπὼν Παρμενίωνα μὲν ἐπὶ τὸ εὐώνυμον κέρας  
 πέμπει ἡγησόμενον, αὐτὸς δὲ ἐπὶ τὸ δεξιὸν παρήγε.  
 προετάχθησαν δὲ αὐτῷ τοῦ μὲν δεξιοῦ Φιλώτας ὁ  
 Παρμενίωνος, ἔχων τοὺς ἐταίρους τοὺς ἰππέας καὶ τοὺς  
 τοξότας καὶ τοὺς Ἀγριαῖνας τοὺς ἀκοντιστάς· Ἀμύντας δὲ ὁ  
 Ἀρραβαίου τοὺς τε σαρισσοφόρους ἰππέας ἔχων Φιλώτα  
 2 ἐπετάχθη καὶ τοὺς Παίονας καὶ τὴν ἴλην τὴν Σωκράτους.  
 ἐχόμενοι δὲ τούτων ἐτάχθησαν οἱ ὑπασπισταὶ τῶν ἐταίρων,  
 ὧν ἡγείτο Νικάνωρ ὁ Παρμενίωνος· ἐπὶ δὲ τούτοις ἡ  
 Περδίκκου τοῦ Ὀρόντου φάλαγξ· ἐπὶ δὲ ἡ Κοίνου τοῦ  
 Πολεμοκράτους· [ἐπὶ δὲ ἡ Κρατεροῦ τοῦ Ἀλεξάνδρου] ἐπὶ δὲ ἡ  
 3 Ἀμύντου τοῦ Ἀνδρομένους· ἐπὶ δὲ ὧν Φίλιππος ὁ Ἀμύντου  
 ἦρχε. τοῦ δὲ εὐωνύμου πρῶτοι μὲν οἱ Θετταλοὶ ἰππεῖς  
 ἐτάχθησαν, ὧν ἡγείτο Κάλας ὁ Ἀρπάλον· ἐπὶ δὲ τούτοις οἱ  
 ξύμμαχοι ἰππεῖς, ὧν ἦρχε Φίλιππος ὁ Μενελάου· ἐπὶ δὲ  
 τούτοις οἱ Θρᾶκες, ὧν ἦρχεν Ἀγάθων· ἐχόμενοι δὲ τούτων  
 πεζοὶ ἢ τε Κρατεροῦ φάλαγξ καὶ ἡ Μελεάγρου καὶ ἡ  
 Φιλίππου ἔσταν ἐπὶ τὸ μέσον τῆς ξυμπάσης τάξεως.

Parmenio, but I should feel ashamed if after crossing the  
 Hellespont easily, this petty stream (by this epithet did he belittle  
 the Granicus) hinders us from crossing, just as we are. I consider  
 7 this unworthy either of the prestige of the Macedonians or of my  
 own celerity in dealing with dangers; I believe it would encourage  
 the Persians to think themselves equal to fighting the Macedonians,  
 since they have not experienced any immediate disaster to justify  
 their alarm.’

14. After saying this, he sent off Parmenio to lead the left wing;  
 he himself passed along to the right. In front of his right he had  
 already posted Philotas son of Parmenio, with the Companion  
 cavalry, the archers, and the Agrianian javelin-men. Next to Philotas  
 Amyntas son of Arrabaeus was posted, with the lancers,<sup>1</sup> the  
 Paeonians and Socrates’ squadron. Next to them were marshalled  
 2 the hypaspists of the Companions, led by Nicanor son of Parmenio;  
 beside these was the phalanx<sup>2</sup> of Perdiccas son of Orontes, then  
 that of Coenus son of Polemocrates, [then that of Craterus son of  
 Alexander,]<sup>3</sup> then that of Amyntas son of Andromenes, then the  
 3 troops under Philip son of Amyntas. On the left wing the Thessalian  
 cavalry came first, commanded by Calas son of Harpalus, next, the  
 allied cavalry under Philip son of Menelaus, then the Thracians  
 under Agathos; on their right were the infantry, the phalanx  
 regiments of Craterus, of Meleager and of Philip,<sup>4</sup> up to the centre  
 of the whole line.

1 Amyntas: App. XI 5. ‘Lancers’: Introd. § 58; 64.

2 i.e. a battalion of the Foot-Companions, Introd. § 61.

3 Craterus was on the left (§ 3), as in other battles, ii 8, 4; iii 11,  
 10. Hence, these words are interpolated.

4 A. mentions Philip’s battalion twice, counting first from the  
 right, then from the left.

- 4 Περσῶν δὲ ἱππεῖς μὲν ἦσαν ἐς δισμυρίους, ξένοι δὲ πεζοὶ μισθοφόροι ὀλίγον ἀποδέοντες δισμυρίων· ἐτάχθησαν δὲ τὴν μὲν ἵππον παρατείναντες τῷ ποταμῷ κατὰ τὴν ὄχθην ἐπὶ φάλαγγα μακράν, τοὺς δὲ πεζοὺς κατόπιον τῶν ἱππέων· καὶ γὰρ ὑπερδέξια ἦν τὰ ὑπὲρ τὴν ὄχθην χωρία. ἦ δὲ Ἀλέξανδρου αὐτὸν καθεώρων—δῆλος γὰρ ἦν τῶν τε ὄπλων τῇ λαμπρότητι καὶ τῶν ἀμφ’ αὐτὸν τῇ σὺν ἐκπλήξει θεραπείᾳ—κατὰ τὸ εὐώνυμον [μὲν] σφῶν ἐπέχοντα, ταύτῃ πυκνὰς ἐπέταξαν τῇ ὄχθῃ τὰς ἴλας τῶν ἱππέων.
- 5 Χρόνον μὲν δὴ ἀμφοτέρωθεν τὰ στρατεύματα ἐπ’ ἄκρου τοῦ ποταμοῦ ἐφειστώτες ὑπὸ τοῦ τὸ μέλλον ὀκνεῖν ἡσυχίαν ἦγον καὶ σιγὴ ἦν πολλὴ ἀφ’ ἑκατέρων. οἱ γὰρ Πέρσαι προσέμενον τοὺς Μακεδόνας, ὅποτε ἐσβήσονται ἐς τὸν πόρον, ὡς
- 6 ἐπικεισόμενοι ἐκβαίνουσιν· Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ ἀναπηδήσας ἐπὶ τὸν ἵππον καὶ τοῖς ἀμφ’ αὐτὸν ἐγκελευσάμενος ἔπεισθαί τε καὶ ἄνδρας ἀγαθοὺς γίγνεσθαι, τοὺς μὲν προδρόμους ἱππέας καὶ μὴν καὶ τοὺς Παίονας προεμβαλεῖν ἐς τὸν ποταμὸν ἔχοντα Ἀμύνταν τὸν Ἀρραβαίου <ἔταξε> καὶ τῶν πεζῶν μίαν τάξιν, καὶ πρὸ τούτων τὴν Σωκράτους ἴλην Πτολεμαῖον τὸν Φιλίππου ἄγοντα, ἣ δὴ καὶ ἐτύγχανε τὴν ἡγεμονίαν τοῦ
- 7 ἱππικοῦ παντὸς ἔχουσα[ν] ἐκείνη τῇ ἡμέρᾳ· αὐτὸς δὲ ἄγων τὸ δεξιὸν κέρας ὑπὸ σαλπίγγων τε καὶ τῷ Ἐνναλίῳ ἀλαλάζοντας ἐμβαίνει ἐς τὸν πόρον, λοξὴν αἰεὶ παρατείνων τὴν τάξιν, ἣ παρεῖλκε τὸ ρεῦμα, ἵνα δὴ μὴ ἐκβαίνοντι αὐτῷ οἱ Πέρσαι κατὰ κέρας προσπίπτοιεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐτὸς ὡς ἀνυστὸν τῇ φάλαγγι προσμίξῃ αὐτοῖς.

15. Οἱ δὲ Πέρσαι, ἣ πρῶτοι οἱ ἀμφὶ Ἀμύνταν

- 4 The Persians had about 20,000 cavalry, and little short of the same number of foreign mercenary infantry. They were drawn up with the cavalry in an extended phalanx, on the bank parallel to the river, the infantry behind them; the land above the bank was high and commanding. Where they observed Alexander himself—he was unmistakable, from the splendour of his equipment and the enthusiasm of the men in attendance round him—aiming at their left, they massed their cavalry squadrons on the bank there.
- 5 For some time the two forces on the river’s brink, dreading to precipitate the event, remained still and in deep silence on either side. For the Persians were waiting for the Macedonians, so as to fall on them emerging from the river, whenever they attempted the
- 6 crossing; but Alexander leapt on his horse, and calling on his suite to follow and show themselves brave men and true, ordered the *prodromoi* and the Paeonians to plunge first into the stream, under command of Amyntas son of Arrabaeus, with one battalion of the infantry and in advance Socrates’ squadron under Ptolemy son of Philip (this was on the list as leading the whole cavalry on that day);
- 7 then he himself, leading the right wing, with bugles sounding, and the battle cry going up to the God of Battles, went into the stream, continually extending his troops obliquely in the direction in which the current was pulling them, so that the Persians should not fall on him in column as he emerged, but that he himself might attack them, as far as might be, in deep formation.

15. At the point where the vanguard under Amyntas

καὶ Σωκράτην προσέσχον τῇ ὄχθῃ, ταύτη καὶ αὐτοὶ ἄνωθεν ἔβαλλον, οἱ μὲν αὐτῶν ἀπὸ τῆς ὄχθης ἐξ ὑπερδεξίου ἐς τὸν ποταμὸν ἐσακοντίζοντες, οἱ δὲ κατὰ τὰ χθαμαλότερα αὐτῆς  
 2 ἔστε ἐπὶ τὸ ὕδωρ καταβαίνοντες. καὶ ἦν τῶν τε ἰππέων ὠθισμός, τῶν μὲν ἐκβαίνειν ἐκ τοῦ ποταμοῦ, τῶν δ' εἴργειν τὴν ἔκβασι, καὶ παλτῶν ἀπὸ μὲν τῶν Περσῶν πολλὴ ἄφεςις, οἱ Μακεδόνες δὲ ξὺν τοῖς δόρασι ἐμάχοντο. ἀλλὰ τῷ τε πλῆθει πολὺ ἐλαττούμενοι <οἱ> Μακεδόνες ἐκακοπάθουν ἐν τῇ πρώτῃ προσβολῇ, καὶ αὐτοὶ ἐξ οὐ βεβαίου τε καὶ ἅμα κάτωθεν ἐκ τοῦ ποταμοῦ ἀμυνόμενοι, οἱ δὲ Πέρσαι ἐξ ὑπερδεξίου τῆς ὄχθης· ἄλλως τε καὶ τὸ κράτιστον τῆς Περσικῆς ἵππου ταύτη ἐπετέτακτο, οἳ τε Μέμνωνος παῖδες καὶ  
 3 αὐτὸς Μέμνων μετὰ τούτων ἐκινδύνευε. καὶ οἱ μὲν πρῶτοι τῶν Μακεδόνων ξυμμίξαντες τοῖς Πέρσαις κατεκόπησαν πρὸς αὐτῶν, ἄνδρες ἀγαθοὶ γενόμενοι, ὅσοι γε μὴ πρὸς Ἀλέξανδρον πελάζοντα ἀπέκλιναν αὐτῶν. Ἀλέξανδρος γὰρ ἤδη πλησίον ἦν, ἅμα οἱ ἄγων τὸ κέρας τὸ δεξιόν, καὶ ἐμβάλλει ἐς τοὺς Πέρσας πρῶτος, ἵνα τὸ πᾶν στίφος τῆς ἵππου καὶ αὐτοὶ οἱ  
 4 ἡγεμόνες τῶν Περσῶν τεταγμένοι ἦσαν· καὶ περὶ αὐτὸν ξυνειστήκει μάχη καρτερά· καὶ ἐν τούτῳ ἄλλαι ἐπ' ἄλλαις τῶν τάξεων τοῖς Μακεδόσι διέβαινον οὐ χαλεπῶς ἤδη. καὶ ἦν μὲν ἀπὸ τῶν ἵππων ἡ μάχη, πεζομαχία δὲ μᾶλλον τι ἐώκει. ξυνεχόμενοι γὰρ ἵπποι τε ἵπποις καὶ ἄνδρες ἀνδράσι ἠγωνίζοντο, οἱ μὲν ἐξῶσαι εἰς ἅπαν ἀπὸ τῆς ὄχθης καὶ ἐς τὸ πεδίου βιάσασθαι τοὺς Πέρσας, οἱ Μακεδόνες, οἱ δὲ εἰρξάει τε  
 5 αὐτῶν τὴν ἔκβασι, οἱ Πέρσαι, καὶ ἐς τὸν ποταμὸν αὐθις ἀπώσασθαι. καὶ ἐκ τούτου ἐπλεονέκτου

and Socrates touched the bank, the Persians shot volleys on them from above, some hurling their javelins into the river from their commanding position on the bank, others going down to the stream  
 2 on the more level ground. There was a great shoving by the cavalry, as some were trying to get out of the river, others to stop them, great showers of Persian javelins, much thrusting of Macedonian spears. But the Macedonians, much outnumbered, came off badly in the first onslaught; they were defending themselves from the river on ground that was not firm and was beneath the enemy's while the Persians had the advantage of the bank; in particular, the flower of the Persian cavalry was posted here, and Memnon's sons and Memnon himself ventured their lives with them. The first Macedonians who came to grips with the Persians were cut down,  
 3 despite their valour, save those of them who fell back on Alexander as he approached. For he was already near, with the right wing which he was leading, and he charged the Persians at the head of his men just where cavalry were massed and the Persian commanders were posted. A fierce fight raged round him; and  
 4 meanwhile the Macedonians, battalion after battalion, kept crossing, a task now not so difficult. Though the fighting was on horseback, it was more like an infantry battle, horse entangled with horse, man with man in the struggle, the Macedonians trying to push the Persians once and for all from the bank and force them on to the level ground, the Persians trying to bar their landing and thrust them back again into the river.



ἤδη οἱ σὺν Ἀλεξάνδρῳ τῇ τε ἄλλῃ ῥώμῃ καὶ ἐμπειρίᾳ καὶ ὅτι  
ξυστοῖς κρανεῖνοις πρὸς παλτὰ ἐμάχοντο.

- 6 Ἐνθα δὴ καὶ Ἀλεξάνδρῳ ξυντρίβεται τὸ δόρυ ἐν τῇ μάχῃ·  
ὁ δὲ Ἀρέτην ἤγει δόρυ ἕτερον, ἀναβολέα τῶν βασιλικῶν τῷ  
δὲ καὶ αὐτῷ πονουμένῳ συντετριμμένον τὸ δόρυ ἦν, ὁ δὲ τῷ  
ἡμίσει κεκλασμένου τοῦ δόρατος οὐκ ἀφανῶς ἐμάχετο, καὶ  
7 τοῦτο δείξας Ἀλεξάνδρῳ ἄλλον αἰτεῖν ἐκέλευεν· Δημάρατος δέ,  
ἀνὴρ Κορίνθιος, τῶν ἀμφ' αὐτὸν ἐταίρων, δίδωσιν αὐτῷ τὸ  
αὐτοῦ δόρυ. καὶ ὅς ἀναλαβὼν καὶ ἰδὼν Μιθριδάτην τὸν  
Δαρείου γαμβρὸν πολὺ πρὸ τῶν ἄλλων προῖππεύοντα καὶ  
ἐπάγοντα ἅμα οἷ ὥσπερ ἔμβολον τῶν ἰππέων ἐξελαύνει καὶ  
αὐτὸς πρὸ τῶν ἄλλων, καὶ παίσας ἐς τὸ πρόσωπον τῷ δόρατι  
καταβάλλει τὸν Μιθριδάτην. ἐν δὲ τούτῳ Ῥοισάκης μὲν  
8 ἐπελαύνει τῷ Ἀλεξάνδρῳ καὶ παίει Ἀλεξάνδρου τὴν κεφαλὴν  
τῇ κοπίδι· καὶ τοῦ μὲν κράνους τι ἀπέθραυσε, τὴν πληγὴν δὲ  
ἔσχε τὸ κράνος. καὶ καταβάλλει καὶ τοῦτον Ἀλέξανδρος  
παίσας τῷ ξυστῷ διὰ τοῦ θώρακος ἐς τὸ στέρνον.  
Σπιθριδάτης δὲ ἀνετέτατο μὲν ἤδη ἐπ' Ἀλέξανδρον ὀπισθεν  
τὴν κοπίδα, ὑποφθάσας δὲ αὐτὸν Κλείτος ὁ Δρωπίδου παίει  
κατὰ τοῦ ὄμου καὶ ἀποκόπτει τὸν ὄμον τοῦ Σπιθριδάτου ξὺν  
τῇ κοπίδι· καὶ ἐν τούτῳ ἐπεκβαίνοντες αἰεὶ τῶν ἰππέων ὅσοις  
προὔχωρει κατὰ τὸν ποταμὸν προσεγίγνοντο τοῖς ἀμφ'  
Ἀλέξανδρον.

16. Καὶ οἱ Πέρσαι παιόμενοί τε πανταχόθεν ἤδη ἐς τὰ  
πρόσωπα αὐτοί τε καὶ ἵπποι τοῖς ξυστοῖς καὶ πρὸς τῶν  
ἰππέων ἐξωθούμενοι, πολλὰ δὲ καὶ πρὸς τῶν ψιλῶν  
ἀναμεμιγμένων τοῖς ἰππεῦσι βλαπτόμενοι

- 5 Already, however, Alexander's men were getting the best of it, not  
only through their strength and experience but because they were  
fighting with cornel-wood lances against short javelins.  
6 At this point in the *mélée* Alexander's lance was broken in the  
battle; he called on Aretas, a groom of the royal suite, for another,  
but Aretas had also snapped his lance, and was hard pressed,  
though putting up a brave fight with the half of his broken weapon.  
Showing this to Alexander, he told him to call on someone else.  
Demaratus of Corinth, one of his Companions, gave him his own  
7 lance. Alexander grasped it and seeing Mithridates, son-in-law of  
Dareius, riding far ahead of the line and leading on a wedge shaped  
body of horse, charged out alone in advance of his own men, thrust  
his lance into Mithridates' face and hurled him to the ground. Then  
Rhoesaces rode at Alexander, and struck him on the head with his  
8 scimitar; though he sheared off part of the helmet, still the helmet  
parried the blow. Alexander hurled him too to the ground, piercing  
with his lance through the cuirass into his chest. Spithridates had  
already raised his scimitar against Alexander from behind when  
Clitus son of Dropides, slipping in first, struck Spithridates'  
shoulder with his scimitar and cut it off. Meanwhile cavalry who  
made good their way down stream kept coming up and joining the  
band round Alexander.<sup>1</sup>

16. The Persians were now being roughly handled from all  
quarters; they and their horses were struck in the face with lances,  
they were being pushed back by the cavalry, and were suffering  
heavily from

1 D's parallel account (ch. 20) has some differences in names and  
other details. On weapons used see Introd. 63f.

- ἐγκλίνουσι ταύτη πρῶτον, ἣ Ἀλέξανδρος προεκιδύνευεν. ὡς δὲ τὸ μέσον ἐνεδεδώκει αὐτοῖς, παρερρήγνυτο δὴ καὶ τὰ ἐφ' ἑκάτερα τῆς ἵππου, καὶ ἦν δὴ φυγὴ καρτερά. τῶν μὲν δὴ ἱππέων τῶν Περσῶν ἀπέθανον εἰς χιλίους. οὐ γὰρ πολλὴ ἡ δίωξις ἐγένετο, ὅτι ἐξετράπη Ἀλέξανδρος ἐπὶ τοὺς ξένους τοὺς μισθοφόρους· ὦν τὸ στίφος, ἣ τὸ πρῶτον ἐτάχθη, ἐκπλήξει μᾶλλον τι τοῦ παραλόγου ἢ λογισμῶ βεβαίῳ ἔμενεν· καὶ τούτοις τὴν τε φάλαγγα ἐπαγαγὼν καὶ τοὺς ἱππέας πάντη προσπεσεῖν κελεύσας ἐν μέσῳ δι' ὀλίγου κατακόπτει αὐτούς, ὥστε διέφυγε μὲν οὐδεὶς, ὅτι μὴ διέλαθέ τις ἐν τοῖς νεκροῖς, ἐζωγήθησαν δὲ ἀμφὶ τοὺς δισχιλίους. ἔπεσον δὲ καὶ ἡγεμόνες τῶν Περσῶν Νιφάτης τε καὶ Πετήνης καὶ Σπιθριδάτης ὁ Λυδίας σατράπης καὶ ὁ τῶν Καππαδοκῶν ὑπαρχος Μιθροβουζάνης καὶ Μιθριδάτης ὁ Δαρείου γαμβρὸς καὶ Ἀρβουπάλης ὁ Δαρείου τοῦ Ἀρτοξέρξου παῖς καὶ Φαρνάκης, ἀδελφὸς οὗτος τῆς Δαρείου γυναικός, καὶ ὁ τῶν ξένων ἡγεμῶν Ὀμάρης. Ἀρσίτης δὲ ἐκ μὲν τῆς μάχης φεύγει εἰς Φρυγίαν, ἐκεῖ δὲ ἀποθνήσκει αὐτὸς πρὸς αὐτοῦ, ὡς λόγος, ὅτι αἴτιος ἐδόκει Πέρσαις γενέσθαι τοῦ ἐν τῷ τότε πταίσματος.
- 4 Μακεδόνων δὲ τῶν μὲν ἐταίρων ἀμφὶ τοὺς εἴκοσι καὶ πέντε ἐν τῇ πρώτῃ προσβολῇ ἀπέθανον· καὶ τούτων χαλκαῖ εἰκόνες ἐν Δίῳ ἐστάσι, Ἀλεξάνδρου κελεύσαντος Λύσιππον ποιῆσαι, ὅσπερ καὶ Ἀλέξανδρον μόνος προκριθεὶς ἐποίει· τῶν δὲ ἄλλων ἱππέων ὑπὲρ τοὺς ἐξήκοντα, πεζοὶ δὲ ἐς τοὺς

- the light troops, who had intermingled with the cavalry, and so they began to give way, first at the point where Alexander was in the front of the line. But when their centre had given way, then the cavalry wings also were broken, and they really turned to flight in earnest. About a thousand Persian horsemen perished; there was not a long-pursuit, since Alexander turned against the foreign mercenary troops. Their serried ranks stood where they had been first drawn up, not so much from steadiness based on calculation as because they were stunned by the unexpectedness of the situation. Bringing his phalanx to bear on them and bidding the cavalry fall on them from all quarters, he hemmed them in and soon massacred them; not one got away except by escaping notice among the dead, and some two thousand were taken prisoners. Of Persian commanders there fell Niphates, Petenes, Spithridates, satrap of Lydia, Mithrobuzanes the Cappadocian hyparch, Mithridates, son-in-law of Darius, Arbupales son of Darius who was son of Artaxerxes,<sup>1</sup> Pharnaces, brother of Darius' wife, and Omares, commander of the mercenaries. Arsites fled from the battle into Phrygia, but there died by his own hand, it is said because the blame of the present blunder seemed to the Persians to lie at his door.
- 4 On the Macedonian side about twenty-five of the Companions fell in the first shock. There are brazen statues of them set up at Dium; Alexander gave the order to Lysippus,<sup>2</sup> the only sculptor he would select to portray himself. Of the rest of the cavalry more

1 i.e. king Artaxerxes II (404-358 B.C.).

2 Lysippus was the greatest sculptor of the day. A. is unaware that the statues had been removed to Borne in 146 B.C., cf. A. B. Bosworth, *CQ* 1972, 173 (giving 148 B.C.).

5 τριάκοντα. καὶ τούτους τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ ἔθαψεν Ἀλέξανδρος ξὺν  
 τοῖς ὄπλοις τε καὶ ἄλλῳ κόσμῳ γονεῦσι δὲ αὐτῶν καὶ παισὶ  
 τῶν τε κατὰ τὴν χώραν ἀτέλειαν ἔδωκε καὶ ὅσαι ἄλλαι ἢ τῷ  
 σώματι λειτουργίαι ἢ κατὰ τὰς κτήσεις ἐκάστων εἰσφοραί.  
 καὶ τῶν τετραμένων δὲ πολλὴν πρόνοιαν ἔσχεν, ἐπελθὼν τε  
 αὐτὸς ἐκάστους καὶ τὰ τραύματα ἰδὼν καὶ ὅπως τις ἐτρώθη  
 6 ἐρόμενος καὶ ὃ τι πράττων εἰπεῖν τε καὶ ἀλαζονεύσασθαι οἱ  
 παρασχών. ὁ δὲ καὶ τῶν Περσῶν τοὺς ἡγεμόνας ἔθαψεν·  
 ἔθαψε δὲ καὶ τοὺς μισθοφόρους Ἕλληνας, οἳ ξὺν τοῖς  
 πολεμίοις στρατεύοντες ἀπέθανον· ὅσους δὲ αὐτῶν  
 αἰχμαλώτους ἔλαβε, τούτους δὲ δήσας ἐν πέδαις εἰς  
 Μακεδονίαν ἀπέπεμψε ἐργάζεσθαι, ὅτι παρὰ τὰ κοινῇ  
 δόξαντα τοῖς Ἕλλησιν Ἕλληνες ὄντες ἐναντία τῇ Ἑλλάδι  
 7 ὑπὲρ τῶν βαρβάρων ἐμάχοντο. ἀποπέμπει δὲ καὶ εἰς Ἀθήνας  
 τριακοσίας πανοπλίας Περσικὰς ἀνάθημα εἶναι τῇ Ἀθηναῖ ἐν  
 πόλει καὶ ἐπίγραμμα ἐπιγραφῆναι ἐκέλευσε τόδε· Ἀλέξανδρος  
 Φιλίππου καὶ οἱ Ἕλληνες πλὴν Λακεδαιμονίων ἀπὸ τῶν  
 βαρβάρων τῶν τὴν Ἀσίαν κατοικούντων.

17. Καταστήσας δὲ Κάλαν σατραπεύειν ἧς Ἀρσίτης ἦρχε  
 καὶ τοὺς φόρους τοὺς αὐτοὺς ἀποφέρειν τάξας, οὗσπερ Δαρείῳ  
 ἔφερον, ὅσοι μὲν τῶν βαρβάρων κατιόντες, ἐκ τῶν ὁρῶν  
 2 ἐνεχείριζον σφᾶς, τούτους μὲν ἀπαλλάττεσθαι ἐπὶ τὰ αὐτῶν  
 ἐκάστους ἐκέλευεν, Ζελείτας δὲ ἀφήκε τῆς αἰτίας, ὅτι πρὸς  
 βίαν ἔγνω συστρατεύσαι τοῖς βαρβάροις· Δασκύλιον δὲ  
 παραληψόμενον Παρμενίωνα ἐκπέμπει.

than sixty perished, and about thirty infantry.<sup>3</sup> Alexander buried  
 5 them next day with their arms and other accoutrements; to their  
 parents and children he gave remission of land taxes and of all other  
 personal services and property taxes. He took great care of the  
 wounded, visiting each man himself, examining their wounds,  
 asking how they were received, and allowing them to recount and  
 6 boast of their exploits. He also buried the Persian commanders and  
 the mercenary Greeks who fell in the enemy ranks; the prisoners  
 were sent in chains to Macedonia to hard labour, because though  
 Greeks they had violated the common resolutions of the Greeks by  
 fighting with barbarians against Greece. He sent to Athens three  
 7 hundred Persian panoplies to be set up to Athena in the acropolis;  
 he ordered this inscription to be attached: 'Alexander son of Philip  
 and the Greeks, except the Lacedaemonians, set up these spoils  
 from the barbarians dwelling in Asia'.<sup>4</sup>

17. Alexander then made Galas satrap of the territory Arsites  
 ruled, ordering the inhabitants to pay the same taxes as they used to  
 pay to Darius;<sup>1</sup> natives who came down from the hills and gave  
 themselves up were told to return home. He exempted the city of  
 Zeleia<sup>2</sup> from blame, because he recognized that it had been  
 impressed to fight on the barbarian side. He also sent Parmenio to  
 take over

3 Ar. ap. P. 16, 7 said that Al. lost only 25 of his cavalry and 9  
 footmen. Probably he did not include any non-Macedonians, for the  
 first figure coincides with A's 25 Companions. It looks as if A's data  
 come from Pt. as his other main source.

4 P. 16, 8 has the same formula (from Ar.?). Cf. Introd. §28; 38.  
 For Athenian prisoners see i 29, 5; Introd n. 69.

1 See Introd. §41; Badian, GR 166 ff.

2 By implication, not otherwise confirmed, Zeleia ranked as  
 Greek.

καὶ παραλαμβάνει<sup>1</sup> Δασκύλιον Παρμενίων ἐκλιπόντων τῶν φρουρῶν.

- 3 Αὐτὸς δὲ ἐπὶ Σάρδεων προὔχῳρει καὶ ἀπέχοντος αὐτοῦ ὅσον ἑβδομήκοντα σταδίου Σάρδεων ἦγον παρ' αὐτὸν Μιθρήνης τε ὁ φρούραρχος τῆς ἀκροπόλεως τῆς ἐν Σάρδεσι καὶ Σαρδιανῶν οἱ δυνατώτατοι, ἐνδιδόντες οἱ μὲν τὴν πόλιν, ὁ  
4 δὲ Μιθρήνης τὴν ἄκραν καὶ τὰ χρήματα. Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ αὐτὸς μὲν κατεστρατοπέδευσε ἐπὶ τῷ Ἑρμῷ ποταμῷ ἀπέχει δὲ ὁ Ἑρμος ἀπὸ Σάρδεων σταδίου ὅσον εἴκοσιν Ἀμύνταν δὲ τὸν Ἀνδρομένους τὴν ἄκραν παραληψόμενον ἐκπέμπει ἐς Σάρδεις· καὶ Μιθρήνην μὲν ἐν τιμῇ ἅμα οἱ ἦγεν, Σαρδιανούς δὲ καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους Λυδοὺς τοῖς νόμοις τε τοῖς πάλαι Λυδῶν  
5 χρῆσθαι ἔδωκεν καὶ ἐλευθέρους εἶναι ἀφήκεν. ἀνήλθε δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς εἰς τὴν ἄκραν, ἵνα τὸ φρούριον ἦν τῶν Περσῶν καὶ ἔδοξεν αὐτῷ ὀχυρὸν τὸ χωρίον· ὑπερύψηλόν τε γὰρ ἦν καὶ ἀπότομον πάντη καὶ τριπλᾶ τείχει πεφραγμένον· αὐτὸς δὲ ἐπὶ  
6 τῇ ἄκρᾳ ναόν τε οἰκοδομήσαι Διὸς Ὀλυμπίου ἐπενόει καὶ βωμὸν ἰδρύσασθαι. σκοποῦντι δὲ αὐτῷ τῆς ἄκρας ὅπερ ἐπιτηδειότατον χωρίον ὦρα ἔτους ἐξαίφνης χειμῶν ἐπιγίνεται καὶ βρονταὶ σκληραὶ καὶ ὕδωρ ἐξ οὐρανοῦ πίπτει, οὗ τὰ τῶν Λυδῶν βασιλεία· Ἀλεξάνδρῳ δὲ ἔδοξεν ἐκ θεοῦ σημανθῆναι,  
7 ἵνα χρῆ οἰκοδομῆσθαι τῷ Διὶ τὸν νεών, καὶ οὕτως ἐκέλευσε. κατέλιπε δὲ τῆς μὲν ἄκρας τῆς Σάρδεων ἐπιμελητὴν Πανσανίαν τῶν ἐταίρων, τῶν δὲ φόρων τῆς συντάξεώς τε καὶ ἀποφορᾶς Νικίαν, Ἄσανδρον δὲ τὸν Φιλῶτα Λυδίας καὶ τῆς ἄλλης τῆς

<sup>1</sup> παραλαμβάνει. Roos prints παραληψόμενον, which seems to be meaningless dittography.

Dascylion, and this he duly did, the guards having evacuated the place.

- 3 He himself marched towards Sardis; and when he was still about seventy stades away he was met by Mithrenes, commander of the citadel garrison, and the chief citizens of Sardis; they gave up  
4 the city, and Mithrenes the citadel and treasury.<sup>3</sup> Alexander himself camped on the Hermus river, which runs about twenty stades from Sardis, but sent Amyntas, son of Andromenes, to Sardis to take over the citadel; Mithrenes remained with him, with the honours of his rank, while the Sardians and the other Lydians were granted the use of the old Lydian customs, and allowed to be free.<sup>4</sup> Alexander  
5 himself ascended to the citadel, where the Persian garrison was stationed. He noted the strength of the position, which was very high, sheer on every side, and fortified all round with a triple wall. He was thinking of building a temple on the citadel to Olympian Zeus, and of setting up an altar near it, but as he was surveying the  
6 citadel for the best place, suddenly (it was summer-time) a storm broke with heavy crashes of thunder and violent rain, just where the palace of the Lydian kings was; Alexander supposed that here was a divine intimation where he must build the temple of Zeus, and gave  
7 orders accordingly. He left as commandant of the citadel Pausanias, one of the Companions, put Nicias in charge of the assessment and receipt of tribute, and appointed Asander, son

<sup>3</sup> D. 21, 7; P. 17, 1.

<sup>4</sup> i.e. allowed local self-government; the Persians are unlikely to have denied such rights.

- Σπιθριδάτου ἀρχῆς, δούς αὐτῷ ἰππέας τε καὶ ψιλοὺς ὅσοι  
 8 ἱκανοὶ πρὸς τὰ παρόντα ἐδόκουν. Κάλαν δὲ καὶ Ἀλέξανδρον  
 τὸν Ἀερόπου ἐπὶ τὴν χώραν τὴν Μέμνονος ἐκπέμπει, ἄγοντας  
 τοὺς τε Πελοποννησίους καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ξυμμάχων τοὺς  
 πολλοὺς πλὴν Ἀργείων· οὗτοι δὲ ἐν Σάρδεσι κατελείφθησαν  
 τὴν ἄκραν φυλάττειν.
- 9 Ἐν τούτῳ δέ, ὡς τὰ ὑπὲρ τῆς ἵππομαχίας ἐξηγγέλθη, οἳ τε  
 τὴν Ἔφεσον φρουροῦντες μισθοφόροι ὄχοντο φεύγοντες, δύο  
 τριήρεις τῶν Ἐφεσίων λαβόντες, καὶ ξὺν αὐτοῖς Ἀμύντας ὁ  
 Ἀντιόχου, ὅς ἐφυγεν ἐκ Μακεδονίας Ἀλέξανδρον, παθῶν μὲν  
 οὐδὲν πρὸς Ἀλέξανδρον, δυσνοία δὲ τῇ πρὸς Ἀλέξανδρον καὶ  
 αὐτὸς ἀπαξιώσας τι παθεῖν πρὸς αὐτοῦ ἄχαρι.
- 10 Τετάρτη δὲ ἡμέρα ἐς Ἔφεσον ἀφικόμενος τοὺς τε  
 φυγάδας, ὅσοι δι' αὐτὸν ἐξέπεσον τῆς πόλεως, κατήγαγε καὶ  
 τὴν ὀλιγαρχίαν καταλύσας δημοκρατίαν κατέστησε· τοὺς δὲ  
 φόρους, ὅσους τοῖς βαρβάροις ἀπέφερον, τῇ Ἀρτέμιδι  
 11 ξυντελεῖν ἐκέλευσεν. ὁ δὲ δῆμος ὁ τῶν Ἐφεσίων, ὡς ἀφηρέθη  
 αὐτοῖς ὁ ἀπὸ τῶν ὀλίγων φόβος, τοὺς τε Μέμνονα  
 ἐπαγομένους καὶ τοὺς τὸ ἱερόν συλήσαντας τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος καὶ  
 τοὺς τὴν εἰκόνα τὴν Φιλίππου τὴν ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ καταβαλόντας  
 καὶ τὸν τάφον ἐκ τῆς ἀγορᾶς ἀνορύξαντας τὸν Ἡροπύθου τοῦ  
 12 ἐλευθερώσαντος τὴν πόλιν ὤρμησαν ἀποκτεῖναι. καὶ Σύρφακα  
 μὲν καὶ τὸν παῖδα αὐτοῦ Πελάγοντα καὶ τοὺς τῶν ἀδελφῶν  
 τοῦ Σύρφακος παῖδας ἐκ τοῦ ἱεροῦ ἐξαγαγόντες κατέλευσαν·  
 τοὺς δὲ ἄλλους διεκώλυσεν Ἀλέξανδρος προσωτέρω ἐπιζητεῖν  
 καὶ τιμωρεῖσθαι, γνοὺς ὅτι ὁμοῦ τοῖς αἰτίοις καὶ οὐ

- of Philotas, governor of Lydia and the rest of Spithridates' district  
 with cavalry and light troops that seemed sufficient for present  
 8 needs. Calas and Alexander son of Acropus were sent to Memnon's  
 country,<sup>5</sup> with the Peloponnesians and the greater part of the allies  
 except the Argives who were left in Sardis to garrison the citadel.
- 9 Meanwhile, when the news of the cavalry engagement came  
 through, the mercenary troops garrisoning Ephesus made off,  
 taking two Ephesian triremes; along with them went Amyntas son  
 of Antiochus<sup>6</sup> who had fled from Macedon to avoid Alexander; he  
 had not actually suffered at Alexander's hands, but he was  
 disaffected and did not think he deserved to suffer harm at his  
 10 hands. Alexander reached Ephesus on the fourth day, restored the  
 exiles who had been turned out of the city on his account, destroyed  
 the oligarchy, and established a democracy; he also ordered them to  
 contribute to Artemis the taxes they had been paying to the  
 11 barbarians. The Ephesian populace, relieved from fear of the  
 oligarchs, rushed to kill those who had been for calling in Memnon,  
 those who had plundered the temple of Artemis, and those who  
 threw down the statue of Philip in the temple and dug up the tomb  
 of Heropythes, the liberator of the city, in the marketplace.
- 12 Syrophax, his son Pelagon, and the sons of the brothers of Syrophax  
 were pulled from the temple and stoned: but Alexander prevented  
 further inquiry or punishment, knowing that once permission was  
 given the people would put to death innocent

5 Apparently in the Troad, Polyaeus iv 3, 15; Strabo xiii 1, 11.

6 In trod. 46.

ξὺν δίκη τινάς, τοὺς μὲν κατ' ἔχθραν, τοὺς δὲ κατὰ ἀρπαγὴν χρημάτων ἀποκτενεῖ, ξυγχωρηθὲν αὐτῷ, ὁ δῆμος. καὶ εἰ δὴ τῷ ἄλλῳ, καὶ τοῖς ἐν Ἐφέσῳ πραχθείσιν Ἀλέξανδρος ἐν τῷ τότε εὐδοκίμει.

18. Ἐν τούτῳ δὲ ἐκ Μαγνησίας τε καὶ Τράλλεων παρ' αὐτὸν ἦκον ἐνδιδόντες τὰς πόλεις· καὶ ὃς πέμπει Παρμενίωνα, δούς αὐτῷ δισχιλίους καὶ πεντακοσίους πεζοὺς τῶν ξένων καὶ Μακεδόνας παραπλησίους, ἰππέας δὲ τῶν ἐταίρων ἐς διακοσίους. Ἀλκίμαχον δὲ τὸν Ἀγαθοκλέους ἐπὶ τὰς Αἰολίδας τε πόλεις ξὺν δυνάμει οὐκ ἐλάττονι ἐξέπεμψε καὶ ὅσαι Ἰωνικαὶ
- 2 ὑπὸ τοῖς βαρβάροις ἔτι ἦσαν. καὶ τὰς μὲν ὀλιγαρχίας πανταχοῦ καταλύειν ἐκέλευσεν, δημοκρατίας δὲ [τε] ἐγκαθιστάναι καὶ τοὺς νόμους τοὺς σφῶν ἐκάστοις ἀποδοῦναι, καὶ τοὺς φόρους ἀνεῖναι, ὅσους τοῖς βαρβάροις ἀπέφερον. αὐτὸς δὲ ὑπομείνας ἐν Ἐφέσῳ θυσίαν τε ἔθυσσε τῇ Ἀρτέμιδι καὶ πομπὴν ἔπεμψε ξὺν τῇ στρατιᾷ πάσῃ ὀπλισμένη τε καὶ ὡς ἐς μάχην ξυντεταγμένη.
- 3 Τῇ δὲ ὑστεραία ἀναλαβὼν τῶν τε πεζῶν τοὺς λοιποὺς καὶ τοὺς τοξότας καὶ τοὺς Ἀγριαῖνας καὶ τοὺς Θρᾶκας ἰππέας καὶ τῶν ἐταίρων τὴν τε βασιλικὴν ἵλην καὶ πρὸς ταύτη τρεῖς ἄλλας ἐπὶ Μιλήτου ἐπέλλετο· καὶ τὴν μὲν ἔξω[δου] καλουμένην πόλιν ἐξ ἐφόδου ἔλαβεν ἐκλιπούσης τῆς φυλακῆς·
- 4 ἐνταῦθα δὲ καταστρατοπεδεύσας ἔγνω ἀποτειχίζειν τὴν εἴσω πόλιν. Ἠγησίστρατος γάρ, ὅτῳ ἢ φρουρὰ ἢ Μιλησίων ἐκ βασιλέως ἐπετέτραπτο, πρόσθεν γράμματα παρ' Ἀλέξανδρον ἔπεμπεν ἐνδιδοὺς τὴν Μίλητον· τότε δὲ ἀναθαρρήσας ἐπὶ τῷ Περσῶν στρατῷ οὐ μακρὰν ὄντι διασώζειν τοῖς

men along with the guilty, from private hatred or in order to seize their property. Seldom did Alexander win a higher reputation than he did on that occasion by his treatment of Ephesus.<sup>7</sup>

18. About this time representatives of Magnesia and Tralles came to Alexander to hand over their cities; so he sent Parmenio with 2,500 mercenary infantry and as many Macedonians, and 200 of the Companion horse. He sent also Alcimachus son of Agathocles, with at least an equal force, to the Aeolian cities and to any Ionian towns still subject to the barbarians. He ordered the
- 2 oligarchies everywhere to be overthrown and democracies to be established; he restored its own laws to each city and remitted the tribute they used to pay to the barbarians.<sup>1</sup> He himself remained in Ephesus and sacrificed to Artemis and held a great procession with his troops armed *cap-à-pie* in full battle order.
- 3 Next day he took the remainder of the infantry, the archers, the Agrianians, the Thracian horse, the royal squadron of the Companions and three others in addition, and marched against Miletus.<sup>2</sup> He captured in his stride what they called the outer city, which the garrison had abandoned, and camping there, decided to
- 4 invest the inner city. For Hegesistratus, to whom Darius had entrusted command of the Milesian garrison, had previously sent a letter to Alexander surrendering the city, but he had taken heart again, because the Persian force was no distance

7 Al. and Ephesus: E. Badian, cited in *Introd.* n. 59.

1 *Introd.* 39 and last note.

2 D. 22 thinks Memnon was in command at Miletus. A. omits some description of Miletus in *Ar. F.* 6.

Πέρσαις ἐπενόει τὴν πόλιν. Νικάνωρ δὲ τὸ Ἑλληνικὸν ναυτικὸν ἄγων ὑποφθάνει τοὺς Πέρσας τρισὶν ἡμέραις πρότερος καταπλεύσας ἢ τοὺς Πέρσας Μιλήτῳ προσχεῖν, καὶ ὀρμίζεται ναυσὶν ἑξήκοντα καὶ ἑκατὸν ἐν τῇ νήσῳ τῇ Λάδῃ·  
 5 κείται δὲ αὐτὴ ἐπὶ τῇ Μιλήτῳ. αἱ δὲ τῶν Περσῶν νῆες ὑστερήσασαι, ἐπειδὴ ἔμαθον οἱ ναύαρχοι τῶν ἀμφὶ Νικάνωρα τὴν ἐν τῇ Λάδῃ προκαταγωγὴν, πρὸς τῇ Μυκάλῃ τῷ ὄρει ὠρμίσθησαν. τὴν γὰρ Λάδην τὴν νῆσον προκατειλήφει Ἀλέξανδρος, οὐ τῶν νεῶν μόνον τῇ ἐγκαθορμίσει, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς Θράκας καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ξένων ἐς τετρακισχιλίους διαβιβάσας ἐς αὐτήν. ἦσαν δὲ τῶν βαρβάρων αἱ νῆες ἀμφὶ τὰς τετρακοσίας.

6 Παρμενίων μὲν δὴ καὶ ὡς παρήνει Ἀλεξάνδρῳ ναυμαχεῖν, τά τε ἄλλα κρατήσῃν τῷ ναυτικῷ τοὺς Ἕλληνας ἐπελπίζων καὶ τι καὶ θείον ἀνέπειθεν αὐτόν, ὅτι ἀετὸς ὠφθη καθήμενος ἐπὶ τοῦ αἰγιαλοῦ κατὰ πρύμναν τῶν Ἀλεξάνδρου νεῶν. καὶ γὰρ δὴ νικήσαντας μὲν μεγάλα ὠφελήθησθαι ἐς τὰ ὅλα, νικηθεῖσι δὲ οὐ παρὰ μέγα ἔσσεσθαι τὸ πταῖσμα· καὶ ὡς γὰρ θαλασσοκρατεῖν τοὺς Πέρσας. καὶ αὐτὸς δὲ ἔφη ἐπιβῆναι  
 7 ἐθέλειν τῶν νεῶν καὶ τοῦ κινδύνου μετέχειν. Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ τῇ τε γνώμῃ ἀμαρτάνειν ἔφη Παρμενίωνα καὶ τοῦ σημείου τῇ οὐ κατὰ τὸ εἰκὸς ξυμβλήσει· ὀλίγαις τε γὰρ ναυσὶ πρὸς πολλῷ πλείους ξὺν οὐδενὶ λογισμῷ ναυμαχήσειν καὶ οὐ μεμελετηκότι τῷ σφῶν ναυτικῷ <πρὸς> προησκημένον τὸ τῶν Κυπρίων τε  
 8 καὶ Φοινίκων· τὴν τε ἐμπειρίαν τῶν Μακεδόνων καὶ τὴν τόλμαν ἐν ἀβεβαίῳ χωρίῳ οὐκ ἐθέλειν παραδοῦναι τοῖς βαρβάροις· καὶ ἡττηθεῖσι τῇ ναυμαχίᾳ οὐ

away; his intention was now to save the city for Persia. Nicanor, however, brought up the Greek fleet,<sup>3</sup> reached Miletus by sea three days before the Persians put in, and anchored with 160 ships at the  
 5 island of Lade off Miletus. The Persian fleet were too late, and when their commanders learnt that Nicanor had already put in at Lade, they anchored under Mount Mycale. For by seizing Lade Alexander had forestalled them, not only anchoring his fleet there, but also transporting the Thracians and about 4000 of the other mercenaries to the island. The barbarians had about 400 ships.

6 Parmenio, notwithstanding, urged Alexander to fight by sea; he expected the Greeks to win with their fleet for various reasons, and in particular he used an omen to persuade him: an eagle had been seen perching on the shore astern of Alexander's ships. If they won, he argued, it would be of great advantage to the expedition generally, whereas a defeat would not be very serious; for even as things were the Persians held supremacy at sea. He said that he was willing even to embark himself and share the peril. Alexander,  
 7 however, said that Parmenio's judgment was at fault, and his interpretation of the omen improbable; it would be wholly irrational to fight a much greater fleet with an inferior one, and face the trained Cyprian and Phoenician fleet with his own, which was  
 8 unpractised. He would not risk sacrificing the experience and daring of the Macedonians to the barbarians on so uncertain an element;

3 Of. § 6; 19, 7. Evidently the fleet was mainly provided by the Greek allies (cf. QC. iii 1, 20), since A. is careful to distinguish Greeks from Macedonians (Introd. n. 33), though Macedonians would presumably serve as marines in a battle (§ 8). Numbers of Greek and Persian ships: App. II 1. Cf. Introd. 44.

μικρὰν τὴν βλάβην ἔσεσθαι ἐς τοῦ πολέμου τὴν πρώτην δόξαν, τὰ τε ἄλλα καὶ τοὺς Ἑλληνας νεωτεριεῖν πρὸς τοῦ  
 9 ναυτικοῦ πταίσματος τὴν ἐξαγγελίαν ἐπαρθέντας. ταῦτα μὲν τῷ λογισμῷ ξυντιθεὶς οὐκ ἐν καιρῷ ἀπέφαινε ναυμαχεῖν· τὸ θεῖον δὲ αὐτὸς ἄλλη ἐξηγεῖσθαι εἶναι μὲν γὰρ πρὸς αὐτοῦ τὸν αἰτόν, ἀλλ' ὅτι ἐπὶ γῆ καθήμενος ἐφαίνετο, δοκεῖν οἱ μᾶλλον τι σημαίνειν, ὅτι ἐκ γῆς κρατήσῃ τοῦ Περσῶν ναυτικοῦ.

19. Καὶ ἐν τούτῳ Γλαύκιππος, ἀνὴρ τῶν δοκίμων ἐν Μιλήτῳ, ἐκπεμφθεὶς παρὰ Ἀλέξανδρον παρὰ τοῦ δήμου τε καὶ τῶν ξένων τῶν μισθοφόρων, οἷς μᾶλλον τι ἐπετέτραπτο ἢ πόλις, τὰ τε τείχη ἔφη ἐθέλειν τοὺς Μιλησίους καὶ τοὺς  
 2 λιμένας παρέχειν κοινούς Ἀλεξάνδρῳ καὶ Πέρσαις καὶ τὴν πολιορκίαν ἐπὶ τούτοις λύειν ἤξιον. Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ Γλαυκίππῳ μὲν προστάσσει ἀπαλλάττεσθαι κατὰ τάχος ἐς τὴν πόλιν καὶ Μιλησίους ἀπαγγέλλειν παρασκευάζεσθαι ὡς μαχουμένους ἔωθεν. αὐτὸς δ' ἐπιστήσας τῷ τείχει μηχανάς, καὶ τὰ μὲν καταβαλὼν δι' ὀλίγου τῶν τειχῶν, τὰ δὲ κατασείσας ἐπὶ πολὺ προσῆγε τὴν στρατιὰν ὡς ἐπιβησομένους ἢ κατερήριπτο ἢ ἔσεσάλευτο τὸ τεῖχος, ἐφομαρτούντων καὶ μόνου οὐ θεωμένων τῶν Περσῶν ἀπὸ τῆς Μυκάλης πολιορκουμένους τοὺς φίλους σφῶν καὶ ξυμμάχους.

3 Ἐν τούτῳ δὲ καὶ οἱ ἀμφὶ Νικάνορα ἀπὸ τῆς Λάδης τὴν ὄρμην τῶν ξὺν Ἀλεξάνδρῳ κατιδόντες ἐς τὸν λιμένα ἐπέπλεον τῶν Μιλησίων παρὰ γῆν τὴν εἰρεσίαν ποιούμενοι, καὶ κατὰ τὸ στόμα τοῦ λιμένος, ἥπερ τὸ στενότατον ἦν, ἀντιπρώρους βύζην τὰς τριήρεις ὀρμίσαντες ἀποκεκλείκεσαν τῷ μὲν

if they lost the engagement, it would be a serious blow to their initial prestige in the war, especially with the Greeks also ready to blaze into revolt at the news of a naval defeat. Adducing these  
 9 rational arguments, he showed that it was no time to fight by sea, and that he interpreted the omen differently: the eagle was indeed on his side but, since it was seen sitting on the land, it rather meant (he thought) that he would beat the Persian fleet from the land.<sup>4</sup>

19. Meanwhile, Glaucippus, one of the notables of Miletus, was sent to Alexander by the people and the foreign mercenaries to whose care the city had been chiefly entrusted, and declared that the citizens were prepared to open their walls and harbours to Alexander and the Persians in common; he demanded that on these terms he should raise the siege. Alexander, however, ordered  
 2 Glaucippus to leave without delay for the city and tell the Milesians to be ready to fight at dawn. He personally saw to engines being set against the wall and, after knocking down part of the walling for a little way, and shattering it over a great distance, he brought up his force to be ready to go over where the wall had been demolished or shaken, though the Persians from Mycale were close by and all but witnesses of the siege of their friends and allies.

3 At this point Nicanor's fleet from Lade, which had sighted Alexander's attack and sailed into the harbour of Miletus, rowing along the coast, jammed their triremes, with prows facing an enemy attack, at the narrowest part of the entrance, and so barred

<sup>4</sup> Cf. 20, 1.



- 4 Περσικῶ ναυτικῶ τὸν λιμένα, τοῖς Μιλησίοις δὲ τὴν ἐκ τῶν Περσῶν ὠφέλειαν. ἔνθα οἱ Μιλήσιοί τε καὶ οἱ μισθοφόροι πανταχόθεν ἤδη προσκειμένων σφίσι τῶν Μακεδόνων οἱ μὲν αὐτῶν ῥιπτοῦντες σφᾶς ἐν τῇ θαλάσῃ ἐπὶ τῶν ἀσπίδων ὑπτίων ἐς νησιῖδά τινα ἀνόνημον τῇ πόλει ἐπικειμένην διενήχοντο, οἱ δὲ ἐς κελήτια ἐμβαίνοντες καὶ ἐπειγόμενοι ὑποφθάσαι τὰς τριήρεις τῶν Μακεδόνων ἐγκατελήφθησαν ἐν τῷ στόματι τοῦ λιμένος πρὸς τῶν τριήρων· οἱ δὲ πολλοὶ ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ πόλει ἀπώλοντο.
- 5 Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ ἐχομένης ἤδη τῆς πόλεως ἐπὶ τοὺς ἐς τὴν νήσον καταπεφευγότας ἐπέπλει αὐτός, κλίμακας φέρειν ἐπὶ τὰς πύργους τῶν τριήρων κελεύσας, ὡς κατὰ τὰ ἀπότομα τῆς νήσου, καθάπερ πρὸς τεῖχος, ἐκ τῶν νεῶν τὴν ἀπόβασιν
- 6 ποιησόμενος. ὡς δὲ διακινδυνεύειν ἐθέλοντας τοὺς ἐν τῇ νήσῳ ἑώρα, οἶκτος λαμβάνει αὐτὸν τῶν ἀνδρῶν, ὅτι γενναῖοί τε καὶ πιστοὶ αὐτῷ ἐφαίνοντο, καὶ σπένδεται πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἐπὶ τῷδε ὡς αὐτῷ ξυστρατεύειν· ἦσαν δὲ οὗτοι μισθοφόροι Ἕλληνες ἐς τριακοσίους. αὐτοὺς δὲ Μιλησίους, ὅσοι μὴ ἐν τῇ καταλήψει τῆς πόλεως ἔπεσον, ἀφήκεν καὶ ἐλευθέρους εἶναι ἔδωκεν.
- 7 Οἱ δὲ βάρβαροι ἀπὸ τῆς Μυκάλης ὀρμώμενοι τὰς μὲν ἡμέρας ἐπέπλεον τῷ Ἑλληνικῷ ναυτικῷ, προκαλέσασθαι ἐς ναυμαχίαν ἐλπίζοντες· τὰς δὲ νύκτας πρὸς τῇ Μυκάλῃ οὐκ ἐν καλῷ ὀρμίζοντο, ὅτι ὑδρεύεσθαι ἀπὸ τοῦ Μαιάνδρου ποταμοῦ
- 8 τῶν ἐκβολῶν διὰ μακροῦ ἠναγκάζοντο. Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ ταῖς μὲν ναυσὶ τὸν λιμένα ἐφύλαττε τῶν Μιλησίων, ὡς μὴ βιάσαιντο οἱ βάρβαροι τὸν ἕσπλον, ἐκπέμπει

- the harbour against the Persian fleet, and cut off Persian help for
- 4 Miletus. Then, as the Milesians and mercenaries were hard pressed on all sides by the Macedonians, some threw themselves into the sea and inverting their shields paddled over to a little nameless island off the city, while others got into small boats and hurried to get in front of the Macedonian triremes, but were caught by them at the harbour entrance; the greatest number perished in the city itself.
- 5 With the city now under control, Alexander sailed in person against those who had fled to the islet, ordering ladders to be brought to the bows of the triremes, so as to disembark from the
- 6 ships on the cliffs of the island as if on a city wall. But when he saw that the men on the island were going to fight to the death, he was seized with pity for them, as fine, loyal soldiers, and made terms with them on which they should join his forces; there were about 300 of these Greek mercenaries. The Milesians themselves who had not fallen at the city's capture were released and granted their freedom.
- 7 The Persians with Mycale as a base by day-time used to sail towards the Greek navy,<sup>1</sup> hoping to provoke an engagement; but at night they could not ride in comfort at Mycale, because they were obliged to get water from the mouths of the Maeander, some way
- 8 off. While guarding the harbour of Miletus with his fleet, so that the Persians might not force the entrance, Alexander sent Philotas to

1 Cf. 18, 4 n.

δ' ἐς τὴν Μυκάλην Φιλώταν, ἄγοντα τοὺς τε ἰππέας καὶ τῶν πεζῶν τάξεις τρεῖς, παραγγείλας εἶργειν τῆς ἀποβάσεως τοὺς ἀπὸ τῶν νεῶν. οἱ δέ, ὕδατός τε σπάνει καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἐπιτηδείων οὐδὲν ἄλλο ὅτι μὴ πολιορκούμενοι ἐν ταῖς ναυσίν,  
 9 ἐς Σάμον ἀπέπλευσαν. ἐκεῖθεν δὲ ἐπισιτισάμενοι αὐθις ἐπέπλεον τῇ Μιλήτῳ καὶ τὰς μὲν πολλὰς τῶν νεῶν πρὸ τοῦ λιμένος ἐν μετεώρῳ παρέταξαν, εἴ πη ἐκκαλέσαιντο ἐς τὸ πέλαγος τοὺς Μακεδόνας, πέντε δὲ αὐτῶν εἰσέπλευσαν ἐς τὸν μεταξὺ τῆς τε Λάδης νήσου καὶ τοῦ στρατοπέδου λιμένα, ἐλπίσαντες κενὰς καταλήψεσθαι τὰς Ἀλεξάνδρου ναῦς, ὅτι τοὺς ναύτας ἀποσκεδάυνυσθαι τὸ πολὺ ἀπὸ τῶν νεῶν τοὺς μὲν ἐπὶ φρυγανισμῶ, τοὺς δὲ ἐπὶ ξυγκομιδῇ τῶν ἐπιτηδείων, τοὺς  
 10 δὲ καὶ ἐς προνομὰς ταπτομένους, πεπυσμένοι ἦσαν. ἀλλὰ μέρος μὲν τι ἀπὴν τῶν ναυτῶν, ἐκ δὲ τῶν παρόντων ξυμπληρώσας Ἀλέξανδρος δέκα ναῦς, ὡς προσπλεύσας τὰς πέντε τῶν Περσῶν κατείδε, πέμπει ἐπ' αὐτὰς κατὰ σπουδὴν, ἐμβάλλειν ἀντιπρώρους κελύσας. οἱ δὲ ἐν ταῖς πέντε ναυσὶ τῶν Περσῶν, ὡς παρ' ἐλπίδα ἀναγομένους τοὺς Μακεδόνας  
 11 ἐπὶ σφᾶς εἶδον, ὑποστρέψαντες ἐκ πολλοῦ ἔφευγον πρὸς τὸ ἄλλο ναυτικόν. καὶ ἡ μὲν Ἰασσέων ναῦς ἀλίσκεται αὐτοῖς ἀνδράσιν ἐν τῇ φυγῇ, οὐ ταχυναυτούσα· αἱ δὲ τέσσαρες ἔφθασαν καταφυγεῖν ἐς τὰς οἰκείας τριήρεις. οὕτω μὲν δὴ ἀπέπλευσαν ἄπρακτοι ἐκ Μιλήτου οἱ Πέρσαι.

20. Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ καταλύσαι ἔγνω τὸ ναυτικὸν χρημάτων τε ἐν τῷ τότε ἀπορία καὶ ἅμα οὐκ ἀξιόμαχον ὁρῶν τὸ αὐτοῦ ναυτικὸν τῷ Περσικῷ, οὐκουν ἐθέλων οὐδὲ μέρει τινὶ τῆς στρατιᾶς κινδυνεύειν.

Mycale with the cavalry and three battalions of infantry, instructing him to hinder the Persians from disembarking. So, from want of water and other necessities, they were as good as besieged in their ships, and sailed off to Samos; after provisioning there, they made  
 9 for Miletus again. They drew up most of their ships in line out at sea opposite the harbour, hoping to provoke the Macedonians to action in the open water; but five ships slipped into the harbour between Lade and the camp, hoping to capture Alexander's ships unmanned, as they had learned that most of the crews had scattered, away from the ships, under instructions to get firewood  
 10 or collect provisions or fodder. But though a certain number of sailors were absent, Alexander had manned ten ships with the available hands, which he sent, when he sighted the five Persian ships bearing down, to meet them at full speed with orders to ram, head on. The crews of the five Persian ships, seeing the Macedonians making for them (the last thing they expected), doubled back, while still far off, and joined the main fleet. One ship  
 11 (manned by Iassians) was captured with its crew in the retreat, as it was a slow sailer; the other four got safe to their own triremes. Hence the Persians sailed away from Miletus without success.<sup>2</sup>

20. Alexander now decided to disband his navy, as he was then short of money and also perceived that his fleet could not face an action with the Persian navy; he was unwilling to risk disaster with even part of his forces. Further, he reflected that as he now

<sup>2</sup> D. 22 is vague on operations at Miletus.

ἄλλως τε ἐπενόει, κατέχων ἤδη τῷ πεζῷ τὴν Ἀσίαν, ὅτι οὔτε ναυτικοῦ ἔτι δέοιτο, τὰς τε παραλίους πόλεις λαβῶν καταλύσει τὸ Περσῶν ναυτικόν, οὔτε ὀπόθεν τὰς ὑπηρεσίας συμπληρώσουσιν οὔτε ὅποι τῆς Ἀσίας προσέξουσιν ἔχοντας. καὶ τὸν ἀετὸν ταύτη συνέβαλλεν, ὅτι ἐσήμηνεν αὐτῷ ἐκ τῆς γῆς κρατήσειν τῶν νεῶν.

- 2 Ταῦτα δὲ διαπραξάμενος ἐπὶ Καρίας ἐπέλετο, ὅτι ἐν Ἁλικαρνασσῷ συνεστηκέναι οὐ φαύλην δύναμιν τῶν τε βαρβάρων καὶ ξένων ἐξηγγέλλετο. ὅσαι δὲ ἐν μέσῳ πόλεις Μιλήτου τε καὶ Ἁλικαρνασσού, ταύτας ἐξ ἐφόδου λαβῶν καταστρατοπεδεύει πρὸς Ἁλικαρνασσῷ, ἀπέχων τῆς πόλεως
- 3 ἐς πέντε μάλιστα σταδίους, ὡς ἐπὶ χρονίῳ πολιορκίᾳ. ἢ τε γὰρ φύσις τοῦ χωρίου ὀχυρὸν ἐποίει αὐτὸ καὶ ὅπη τι ἐνδεῖν ὡς πρὸς ἀσφάλειαν ἐφαίνετο, ξύμπαντα ταῦτα Μέμνων τε αὐτὸς παρών, ἤδη ἀποδεδειγμένος πρὸς Δαρείου τῆς τε κάτω Ἀσίας καὶ τοῦ ναυτικοῦ παντὸς ἡγεμών, ἐκ πολλοῦ παρεσκευάκει, καὶ στρατιῶται πολλοὶ μὲν ξένοι μισθοφόροι ἐν τῇ πόλει ἐγκατελείφθησαν, πολλοὶ δὲ καὶ Περσῶν αὐτῶν, αἱ τε τριήρεις ἐφόρμουν τῷ λιμένι, ὡς καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν ναυτῶν πολλὴν ὠφέλειαν γίνεσθαι ἐς τὰ ἔργα.
- 4 Τῇ μὲν δὴ πρώτῃ ἡμέρᾳ προσάγοντος Ἀλεξάνδρου τῷ τείχει κατὰ τὰς ἐπὶ Μύλασα φερούσας πύλας ἐκδρομὴ τε γίγνεται τῶν ἐκ τῆς πόλεως καὶ ἀκροβολισμός· καὶ τούτους οὐ χαλεπῶς ἀνέστειλάν τε οἱ παρ' Ἀλεξάνδρου ἀντεκδραμόντες καὶ ἐς τὴν πόλιν κατέκλεισαν.
- 5 Οὐ πολλαῖς δὲ ὕστερον ἡμέραις Ἀλέξανδρος ἀναλαβῶν τοὺς τε ὑπασπιστὰς καὶ τὴν τῶν ἐταίρων

controlled Asia with his land troops, he no longer needed a navy, and that by capturing the cities on the coast he would break up the Persian fleet, since they would have nowhere to make up their crews from, and no place in Asia where they could put in. This was what he took the eagle to mean; he was to overcome the ships from dry land.<sup>1</sup>

- 2 When he had carried out this decision, he marched towards Caria, on reports that a considerable force of barbarians and mercenaries had mustered at Halicarnassus.<sup>2</sup> He captured on the march the cities between Miletus and Halicarnassus, and encamped against Halicarnassus, at about five stades distance, settling down
- 3 for a long siege. For the nature of the site made it strong, and where any defect in its security was apparent, Memnon, who was present in person and had now been appointed by Darius to the command of lower Asia and the whole fleet,<sup>3</sup> had made all the necessary preparations long ago; a large force of foreign mercenaries had been left in the city, with many of the Persians themselves; the triremes were guarding the harbour, so that the sailors too lent much assistance to the operations.
- 4 On the first day, as Alexander was approaching the wall near the gate leading to Mylasa, there was a sally from the men in the city and volleying at safe distance; Alexander's troops had no difficulty in driving back the assailants by a counter charge, and shut them up in the city.
- 5 A few days later Alexander took the hypaspists, the Companion cavalry and the infantry battalions of

1 At present Al. was probably thinking only of the coast of Asia Minor; after Issus he continued the same strategy (ii 17). Of. D. 22, 5–23, 3; P. 17, 2; Introd. 44; App. II.

2 For operations in Caria cf. D. 23, 4–27, 6.

ἵππων καὶ τὴν Ἀμύντου τε καὶ Περδίκκου καὶ Μελάγρου τάξι  
 τὴν πεζικὴν καὶ πρὸς τούτοις τοὺς τοξότας καὶ τοὺς Ἀγριᾶνας  
 περιήλθε τῆς πόλεως ἐς τὸ πρὸς Μύνδον μέρος, τό τε τείχος  
 κατοψόμενος, εἰ ταύτῃ ἐπιμαχώτερον τυγχάνει ὄν ἐς τὴν  
 προσβολήν, καὶ ἅμα εἰ τὴν Μύνδον ἐξ ἐπιδρομῆς δύναίτο  
 λαθὼν κατασχέειν· ἔσσεσθαι γὰρ οὐ σμικρὰν τὴν ὠφέλειαν ἐς  
 τὴν τῆς Ἀλικαρνασσοῦ πολιορκίαν τὴν Μύνδον οἰκείαν  
 γενομένην· καί τι <καὶ> ἐνεδίδοτο αὐτῷ ἐκ τῶν Μυνδίων, εἰ  
 6 λάθοι νυκτὸς προσελθὼν. αὐτὸς μὲν δὴ κατὰ τὰ ξυγκείμενα  
 ἀμφὶ μέσας νύκτας προσῆλθε τῷ τείχει· ὡς δὲ οὐδὲν ἐνεδίδοτο  
 ἀπὸ τῶν ἔνδον, αἱ τε μηχαναὶ καὶ αἱ κλίμακες αὐτῷ οὐ  
 παρήσαν, οἷα δὴ οὐκ ἐπὶ πολιορκίαν σταλέντι, ἀλλ' ὡς ἐπὶ  
 προδοσίᾳ ἐνδιδομένης τῆς πόλεως, προσήγαγε καὶ ὡς τῶν  
 Μακεδόνων τὴν φάλαγγα, ὑπορύττειν κελεύσας τὸ τείχος. καὶ  
 7 ἕνα γε πύργον κατέβαλον οἱ Μακεδόνες, οὐ μέντοι ἐγύμνωσέ  
 γε τὸ τείχος πεσῶν· καὶ οἱ ἐκ τῆς πόλεως ἅμα εὐρώστως  
 ἀμυνόμενοι καὶ ἐκ τῆς Ἀλικαρνασσοῦ κατὰ θάλασσαν πολλοὶ  
 ἤδη παραβεβοηθηκότες ἄπορον ἐποίησαν τῷ Ἀλεξάνδρῳ τὴν  
 αὐτοσχέδιόν τε καὶ ἐξ ἐπιδρομῆς κατάληψιν τῆς Μύνδου. οὕτω  
 μὲν δὴ ἐπανέρχεται Ἀλέξανδρος οὐδὲν πράξας, ὧν ἕνεκα  
 ὠρμήθη, καὶ τῇ πολιορκίᾳ τῆς Ἀλικαρνασσοῦ αὐθις προσείχε.  
 8 Καὶ πρῶτα μὲν τὴν τάφρον, ἣ πρὸ τῆς πόλεως ὀρώρυκτο  
 αὐτοῖς, πλάτος μὲν τριάκοντα μάλιστα πηχῶν, τὸ δὲ βάθος ἐς  
 πεντεκαίδεκα, ἐχώννυε, τοῦ ῥαδίαν εἶναι τὴν προσαγωγὴν τῶν  
 τε πύργων, ἀφ' ὧν ἔμελλε τοὺς ἀκροβολισμοὺς ἐς τοὺς  
 προμαχομένους τοῦ τείχους ποιείσθαι, καὶ τῶν ἄλλων

Amyntas, Perdiccas, and Meleager, with the archers also and the  
 Agrianes, and went round the city to the side that lay towards  
 Myndus,<sup>4</sup> to reconnoitre the wall in case it should prove more open  
 to an assault there, and also to see if perhaps he could capture  
 Myndus by a sudden raid. The possession of Myndus, he thought,  
 would be a great help to the siege of Halicarnassus. A proposal of  
 surrender had been received from the Myndians, provided he could  
 6 approach secretly by night. He therefore in person approached the  
 wall about midnight, as agreed; but there was no sign of surrender  
 from the people inside; his engines and ladders had been left  
 behind, naturally enough, since he had not come for a siege, but to  
 receive a treacherous surrender of the city. None the less he  
 brought up the Macedonian phalanx with orders to sap the wall.  
 They did bring down one tower, but its fall did not strip the wall;  
 7 the citizens resisted stubbornly, and by this time numerous troops  
 had sailed up from Halicarnassus and deprived Alexander of the  
 means of rushing the capture of Myndus without preparation. So  
 Alexander retreated without effecting his purpose, and  
 concentrated once more on the siege of Halicarnassus.

8 First he began to fill up the moat they had dug before the city,  
 about 30 cubits broad and 15 deep, so as to facilitate the approach  
 of the siege-towers, from which he intended to shower missiles on  
 the defenders of the wall, and of the other engines with

4 A Carian town.

- 9 μηχανῶν, αἷς κατασείειν ἐπενόει τὸ τεῖχος. καὶ ἦ τε τάφρος αὐτῷ ἐχώσθη οὐ χαλεπῶς καὶ οἱ πύργοι προσήγοντο ἤδη. οἱ δὲ ἐκ τῆς Ἁλικαρνασσοῦ νυκτὸς ἐκδραμόντες, ὡς ἐμπρήσαι τοὺς τε πύργους καὶ ὅσαι ἄλλαι μηχαναὶ προσηγμένοι ἦ οὐ πόρρω τοῦ προστάγεσθαι ἦσαν, ὑπὸ τῶν φυλακῶν τε τῶν Μακεδόνων καὶ ὅσοι ἐν αὐτῷ τῷ ἔργῳ ἐξεγερθέντες
- 10 παρεβόηθησαν οὐ χαλεπῶς κατεκλείσθησαν ἐς τὰ τεῖχη αὐθις. καὶ ἀπέθανον αὐτῶν ἄλλοι τε ἐς ἑβδομήκοντα καὶ ἑκατὸν καὶ Νεοπτόλεμος ὁ Ἀρραβαίου, τοῦ Ἀμύντου ἀδελφός, τῶν παρὰ Δαρείου αὐτομολησάντων· τῶν δὲ Ἀλεξάνδρου στρατιωτῶν ἀπέθανον μὲν ἐς ἑκκαίδεκα, τραυματῖαι δὲ ἐγένοντο ἐς τριακοσίους, ὅτι ἐν νυκτὶ γενομένης τῆς ἐκδρομῆς ἀφυλακτότεροι ἐς τὸ τιτρώσκεσθαι ἦσαν.

21. Οὐ πολλαῖς δὲ ἡμέραις ὕστερον δύο τῶν Μακεδόνων ὀπλίται ἐκ τῆς [ὕστερον] Περδίκκου τάξεως ξυσκηνοῦντές τε καὶ ἅμα ξυμπίνοντες αὐτὸν τε καὶ τὰ αὐτοῦ ἑκάτερος ἐπὶ μέγα τῷ λόγῳ ἦγεν. ἐνθα δὴ φιλοτιμία τε ἐσπίπτει αὐτοῖς, καὶ τι καὶ ὁ οἶνος ὑπεθέρμαιεν, ὥστε ὀπλισάμενοι αὐτοὶ ἐπὶ σφῶν προσβάλλουσι τῷ τείχει κατὰ τὴν ἄκραν τὴν πρὸς Μύλασα μάλιστα τετραμμένην, ὡς ἐπίδειξιν τῆς σφῶν ῥώμης μᾶλλον

2 τι ἢ πρὸς πολεμίους μετὰ κινδύνου τὸν ἀγῶνα ποιησόμενοι. καὶ τούτους κατιδόντες τινὲς τῶν ἐκ τῆς πόλεως δύο τε ὄντας καὶ οὐ ξὺν λογισμῷ προσφερομένους τῷ τείχει ἐπεκθέουσιν. οἱ δὲ τοὺς μὲν ἐγγυὲς πελάσαντας ἀπέκτειναν, πρὸς δὲ τοὺς ἀφεστηκότας

- 9 which he designed to batter down the wall.<sup>5</sup> The ditch was filled up by him without difficulty and he began at once to bring up the towers. The garrison of Halicarnassus, however, made a night sally, to burn the towers and the other engines which had been brought up, or were nearly in position. But they were easily enclosed again in their city walls by the Macedonian guards and others who were aroused in the course of the action itself and rushed to their help.
- 10 They lost up to 170 men, including Neoptolemus son of Arrabaeus, brother of Amyntas, one of those who had deserted to Darius: up to sixteen of Alexander's troops fell, but three hundred were wounded, since the sally was at night and they were less protected against wounds.<sup>6</sup>

21. Not many days after, two Macedonian men-at-arms of Perdiccas' battalion, who were bivouacked and drinking together, were each boasting of his own prowess and actions: rivalry arose, assisted by the heating fumes of wine; so they armed themselves and attacked the wall by the height which looks chiefly towards Mylasa, their idea being to exhibit their strength rather than to

2 force a perilous encounter with the enemy.<sup>1</sup> Some of those in the city sighted them, only two men rashly approaching the wall, and made a dash out at them. But they killed those who came up close and discharged

<sup>5</sup> See E. W. Marsden, *Greek and Roman Artillery*, esp. ch. II and p. 101. For plan see Fuller 201.

<sup>6</sup> D. 24, 4–25, 5 supplements § 7–10, but makes Neoptolemus fall on the Macedonian side, rightly according to Welles *ad loc.* since Amyntas remained in A's favour; but he is last mentioned in 28, 4, and Alexander the Lyncestian was still employed after his brothers had been executed for treason (25); an error in A's Macedonian sources is less likely than a careless assumption by D. that a Macedonian notable *must* have fought for Alexander.

ἠκροβολίζοντο, πλεονεκτούμενοι τῷ τε πλήθει καὶ τοῦ χωρίου  
 τῇ χαλεπότητι, ὅτι ἐξ ὑπερδεξίου τοῖς πολεμίοις ἢ ἐπιδρομῇ  
 3 τε καὶ ὁ ἀκροβολισμὸς ἐγένετο. καὶ ἐν τούτῳ ἀντεκθέουσί  
 τινες καὶ ἄλλοι τῶν τοῦ Περδίκκου στρατιωτῶν, καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς  
 Ἐλικαρνασσοῦ ἄλλοι καὶ ξυμπίπτει μάχη καρτερὰ πρὸς τῷ  
 4 τείχει· καὶ κατακλείονται αὖθις πρὸς τῶν Μακεδόνων εἴσω τῶν  
 πυλῶν οἱ ἐπεκδραμόντες. παρ' ὀλίγον δὲ ἦλθε καὶ ἀλώνας ἢ  
 πόλις. τά τε γὰρ τείχη ἐν τῷ τότε οὐκ ἐν ἀκριβεῖ φυλακῇ ἦν  
 καὶ δύο πύργοι καὶ μεσοπύργιον ἐς ἔδαφος καταπεπτωκότα οὐ  
 χαλεπὴν ἂν τῷ στρατεύματι, εἰ ἅπαν προσήψατο τοῦ ἔργου,  
 τὴν ἐς τὸ τείχος πάροδον παρέσχε, καὶ ὁ τρίτος πύργος  
 κατασεσισμένος οὐδὲ οὗτος χαλεπῶς ἂν ἠρίφθη  
 ὑπορυσσόμενος· ἀλλὰ ἔφθησαν γὰρ ἀντὶ τοῦ πεπτωκότος  
 τείχους ἔσωθεν πλίνθινον μηνοειδὲς ἀντοικοδομησάμενοι οὐ  
 χαλεπῶς ὑπὸ πολυχειρίας.  
 5 Καὶ τούτῳ ἐπήγε τῇ ὑστεραία τὰς μηχανὰς Ἀλέξανδρος·  
 καὶ ἐκδρομῇ αὖθις γίνεταί τῶν ἐκ τῆς πόλεως ἐπὶ τῷ  
 ἐμπρῆσαι τὰς μηχανάς. καὶ μέρος μὲν τι τῶν πλησίον τοῦ  
 τείχους γέρρων καὶ ἐνὸς τῶν πύργων τῶν ξυλίνων κατεκαύθη,  
 τὰ δὲ ἄλλα διεφύλαξαν οἱ περὶ Φιλώταν τε καὶ Ἑλλάνικον,  
 οἷς ἢ φυλακὴ αὐτῶν ἐπετέτραπτο· ὡς δὲ καὶ Ἀλέξανδρος  
 ἐπεφάνη ἐν τῇ ἐκδρομῇ, τὰς τε δῆδας, ὅσας ἔχοντες  
 ἐκβεβοηθήκεσαν, ἀφέντες καὶ τὰ ὄπλα οἱ πολλοὶ αὐτῶν  
 6 ῥίψαντες εἴσω τοῦ τείχους ἔφευγον. καίτοι τά γε πρῶτα τῇ  
 φύσει τε τοῦ χωρίου, ὑπερδεξίου ὄντος, ἐπεκράτουν καὶ οὐ  
 κατὰ μέτωπον μόνον ἠκροβολίζοντο ἐς τοὺς προμαχομένους  
 τῶν μηχανῶν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐκ τῶν πύργων, οἱ

missiles at the more distant enemies, though they were at a  
 disadvantage in numbers and in the difficulty of the ground; the  
 enemy could charge or volley on them from above. At this point  
 3 more of Perdiccas' men hurried up, and others from the city too,  
 and a stiff fight was joined near the wall. Once more the  
 Macedonians drove the sallying force back inside the gates, and  
 indeed the city was not far from being captured. For at the time the  
 4 walls were not carefully guarded, and as two towers and one  
 intervening curtain<sup>2</sup> had fallen to their foundations, the approach to  
 the wall would have been easy for the army, if all had applied  
 themselves to the business. The third tower, moreover, had been  
 badly shaken, and if undermined would itself easily have been  
 brought down, but the besieged anticipated this by building on the  
 inner side, in place of the wall where it had collapsed, a crescent-  
 shaped brick structure;<sup>3</sup> as they had many hands, this was easy  
 work.  
 5 Next day Alexander brought up his engines against this wall;  
 again a sally was made by those in the city to burn them. Part of the  
 fence of mantlets near the walls and part of one of the wooden  
 towers were burnt down; the rest was saved by Philotas and  
 Hellanicus and their men, who had been entrusted with their  
 protection. But when Alexander also appeared in the sally, they  
 dropped the torches with which they had rushed out to attack, and  
 most cast away their arms and escaped within the wall.<sup>4</sup> Yet at first,  
 6 from the nature of their commanding position, the besieged had the  
 best of it, and they used to fire at the force protecting the engines  
 not only from in front but also from the towers which

2 D. 25, 5.

3 D. 26, 6.

4 Not in D.

δὴ ἐκατέρωθεν τοῦ ἐρημιμένου τείχους αὐτοὶ ὑπολειμμένοι ἐκ πλαγίου τε καὶ μόνον οὐ κατὰ νότου παρείχον ἀκροβολίζεσθαι ἐς τοὺς τῷ ἀντωκοδομημένῳ τείχει προσάγοντας.

22. Οὐ πολλαῖς δὲ ὕστερον ἡμέραις ἐπάγοντος αὐθις Ἀλεξάνδρου τὰς μηχανὰς τῷ πλινθίνῳ τῷ ἐντὸς τείχει καὶ αὐτοῦ ἐφεστηκότος τῷ ἔργῳ, ἐκδρομὴ γίνεται πανδημεὶ ἐκ τῆς πόλεως, τῶν μὲν κατὰ τὸ ἐρημιμένον τείχος, ἢ αὐτὸς Ἀλέξανδρος ἐπετέτακτο, τῶν δὲ κατὰ τὸ Τρίπυλον, ἢ οὐδὲ
- 2 πάνυ τι προσδεχομένοις τοῖς Μακεδόσιν ἦν. καὶ οἱ μὲν δῆδᾶς τε ταῖς μηχαναῖς ἐνέβαλλον καὶ ὅσα ἄλλα ἐς τὸ ἐξάψαι τε φλόγα καὶ ἐπὶ μέγα προκαλέσασθαι, τῶν δὲ ἀμφ' Ἀλέξανδρον αὐτῶν τε ἐμβαλλόντων ἐς αὐτοὺς ἐρρωμένως καὶ ταῖς μηχαναῖς ἀπὸ τῶν πύργων λίθων τε μεγάλων ἀφιεμένων καὶ
- 3 βελῶν ἐξακοντιζομένων οὐ χαλεπῶς ἀπεστράφησάν τε καὶ ἔφυγον ἐς τὴν πόλιν. καὶ φόνος ταύτῃ οὐκ ὀλίγος ἐγένετο, ὅσῳ πλείονές τε καὶ ξὺν μείζονι τῇ τόλμῃ ἐξέδραμον. οἱ μὲν γὰρ εἰς χεῖρας ἐλθόντες τοῖς Μακεδόσιν ἀπέθανον, οἱ δὲ ἀμφὶ τῷ τείχει τῷ καταπεπτωκότι, στενωτέρας τε ἢ κατὰ τὸ πλήθος αὐτῶν τῆς παρόδου οὔσης καὶ τῶν κατερημιμένων τοῦ τείχους χαλεπὴν τὴν ὑπέρβασιν αὐτοῖς παρεχόντων.
- 4 Τοῖς δὲ κατὰ τὸ Τρίπυλον ἐκδραμοῦσιν ἀπήντα Πτολεμαῖος ὁ σωματοφύλαξ ὁ βασιλικός, τὴν τε Ἀδαίου καὶ Τιμάνδρου ἅμα οἱ τάξιν ἄγων καὶ ἔστιν οὗς τῶν ψιλῶν καὶ
- 5 οὗτοι οὐδὲ αὐτοὶ χαλεπῶς ἐτρέψαντο τοὺς ἐκ τῆς πόλεως. ξυνέβη δὲ καὶ τούτοις ἐν τῇ ἀποχωρήσει κατὰ στενὴν γέφυραν τὴν ἐπὶ τῆς τάφρου πεποιημένην φεύγουσι τὴν τε

had been left standing on either side of the breach and which made it possible to fire from the flanks and almost at the back of those assailing the replacement wall.

22. A few days afterwards Alexander again brought up his engines to the inner brick wall, taking charge of operations himself, and there was a sally from the city in full force;<sup>1</sup> some of the enemy attacked near the breach, where Alexander had himself taken up position, others at the triple gate, the last place the Macedonians
- 2 looked for a sally. Some flung torches on the siege engines, and anything else which might light a flame and make a great blaze; but Alexander's immediate supports counter-attacked vigorously; large stones were hurled by the engines from the towers, missiles were showered in volleys, and the besieged were easily repulsed and fled
- 3 into the city. Here there was great carnage, proportionate to their number and the greater boldness of their sally. Some fell in hand-to-hand fight with the Macedonians, others round the fallen wall, where the passage was too narrow to admit such a number and the fallen parts of the wall made it difficult to pass over them. As for
- 4 those who sallied by the triple gate, Ptolemaeus, the royal bodyguard, met them, bringing up the battalions of Adaeus and Timander and some of the light troops; they too had no difficulty in
- 5 driving back the sallying party, who in fact also suffered in the retreat over a narrow bridge thrown across the moat, which gave way under their numbers;

1 D. 26 with variant details; he makes the Athenian Ephialtes (A. i 10, 4) the leader.

γέφυραν αὐτὴν ὑπὸ πλήθους ξυντρῦψαι καὶ πολλοὺς αὐτῶν ἐς  
 τὴν τάφρον ἐμπεσόντας τοὺς μὲν ὑπὸ σφῶν καταπατηθέντας  
 6 διαφθαρῆναι, τοὺς δὲ καὶ ἄνωθεν ὑπὸ τῶν Μακεδόνων  
 βαλλομένους. ὁ πλείστος δὲ φόνος περὶ ταῖς πύλαις αὐταῖς  
 ξυνέβη, ὅτι ἢ ξύγκλεισις τῶν πυλῶν φοβερὰ τε καὶ πρὸ τοῦ  
 καιροῦ γενομένη, δεισάντων μὴ συνεισπέσοιεν τοῖς φεύγουσιν  
 ἐχόμενοι αὐτῶν οἱ Μακεδόνες, πολλοὺς καὶ τῶν φίλων τῆς  
 7 εἰσόδου ἀπέκλεισεν, οὓς πρὸς αὐτοῖς τοῖς τείχεσιν οἱ  
 Μακεδόνες διέφθειραν. καὶ παρ' ὀλίγον ἦκεν ἀλῶναι ἢ πόλις,  
 εἰ μὴ Ἄλέξανδρος ἀνεκαλέσατο τὸ στράτευμα, ἔτι διασῶσαι  
 ἐθέλων τὴν Ἀλικαρνασσόν, εἴ τι φίλιον ἐνδοθείη ἐκ τῶν  
 Ἀλικαρνασσέων. ἀπέθανον δὲ τῶν μὲν ἐκ τῆς πόλεως ἐς  
 χιλίους, τῶν δὲ ξὺν Ἀλεξάνδρῳ ἀμφὶ τοὺς τεσσαράκοντα, καὶ  
 ἐν τούτοις Πτολεμαῖός τε ὁ σωματοφύλαξ καὶ Κλέαρχος ὁ  
 τοξάρχης καὶ Ἀδαῖος <ὁ> χιλιάρχης, οὗτοι καὶ ἄλλοι τῶν οὐκ  
 ἡμελημένων Μακεδόνων.

23. Ἐνθα δὴ ξυνελθόντες οἱ ἡγεμόνες τῶν Περσῶν,  
 Ὀροντοβάτης τε καὶ Μέμνων, καὶ ἐκ τῶν παρόντων γνόντες  
 σφᾶς τε οὐ δυναμένους ἐπὶ πολὺ ἀντέχειν τῇ πολιορκίᾳ καὶ  
 τοῦ τείχους τὸ μὲν τι καταπεπτωκὸς ἤδη ὄρωντες, τὸ δὲ καὶ  
 κατασεισισμένον, πολλοὺς δὲ τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἐν ταῖς  
 2 ἐκδρομαῖς τοὺς μὲν διεφθαρμένους, τοὺς δὲ καὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ  
 τετρώσθαι ἀπομάχους ὄντας, ταῦτα ἐν νῶ λαβόντες ἀμφὶ  
 δευτέραν φυλακὴν τῆς νυκτὸς τόν τε ξύλινον πύργον, ὃν αὐτοὶ  
 ἀντωκοδόμησαν ταῖς μηχαναῖς τῶν πολεμίων, ἐμπιπράσι καὶ  
 3 τὰς στοάς, ἐν αἷς τὰ βέλη αὐτοῖς ἀπέκειτο. ἐπέβαλον δὲ καὶ  
 ταῖς οἰκίαις πῦρ ταῖς πλησίον τοῦ τείχους· τῶν δὲ

many fell into the moat and some of them were trampled to death  
 by their comrades, and others shot down by the Macedonians from  
 6 above. The greatest slaughter was round about the gates  
 themselves; for they were shut prematurely in panic, as the  
 defenders feared that the Macedonians also might enter, pressing  
 hard upon the fugitives; thus many friends were shut out, to be  
 destroyed by their foes close to the walls themselves. The city  
 7 indeed came near to capture, had not Alexander sounded the  
 retreat, in a desire even now to save Halicarnassus if the citizens  
 would surrender amicably. About a thousand of the garrison  
 perished and about forty of Alexander's forces, including  
 Ptolemaeus the bodyguard, Clearchus, the commander of the  
 archers, Addaeus, a chiliarch, and other Macedonians of repute.

23. The leaders of the Persians, Orontobates and Memnon, now  
 met and decided that as things were they could not long hold out  
 against the siege, with part of the wall gone, as they saw, and part  
 badly shaken, many soldiers lost in the sallies, many disabled by  
 2 wounds. With all this in mind, about the second watch of the night  
 they burned the wooden tower they themselves had built to oppose  
 the enemy engines and the sheds in which their missiles were  
 stored. They also fired all houses near the walls, while others caught  
 3 alight from



καὶ προσήψατο ἡ φλόξ ἀπό τε τῶν στοῶν καὶ τοῦ πύργου πολλὴ ἀπενεχθείσα καὶ τι καὶ τοῦ ἀνέμου ταύτῃ ἐπιφέροντος· αὐτῶν δὲ οἱ μὲν ἐς τὴν ἄκραν τὴν ἐν τῇ νήσῳ ἀπεχώρησαν, οἱ  
 4 δὲ ἐς τὴν Σαλμακίδα, ἄκραν οὕτω καλουμένην. Ἀλεξάνδρῳ δὲ ὡς ἐξηγγέλθη ταῦτα πρὸς τινων αὐτομολησάντων ἐκ τοῦ ἔργου καὶ τὸ πῦρ πολὺ καθεώρα αὐτός, καίτοι ἀμφὶ μέσας που νύκτας ἦν τὸ γιγνόμενον, ὁ δὲ καὶ ὡς ἐξαγαγὼν τοὺς Μακεδόνας τοὺς μὲν ἔτι ἐμπιπράντας τὴν πόλιν ἐκτείνειν, ὅσοι δὲ ἐν ταῖς οἰκίαις καταλαμβάνοιντο τῶν Ἀλικαρνασσέων, τούτους δὲ σώζειν παρήγγειλεν.  
 5 Ἦδη τε ἡὼς ὑπέφαινε καὶ κατιδὼν τὰς ἄκρας, ἃς οἱ τε Πέρσαι καὶ οἱ μισθοφόροι κατειλήφεσαν, ταύτας μὲν ἀπέγνω πολιορκεῖν, τριβὴν τε ἐπινοῶν οὐκ ὀλίγην ἔσεσθαι οἱ ἀμφ' αὐτὰς τῇ φύσει τῶν χωρίων καὶ οὐ παρὰ μέγα εἶναι ἐξελόντι  
 6 οἱ τὴν πόλιν ἤδη πᾶσαν. θάψας δὲ τοὺς ἀποθανόντας ἐν τῇ νυκτὶ τὰς μὲν μηχανὰς ἐς Τράλλεις ἀπαγαγεῖν ἐκέλευσε τοὺς ἐπ' αὐταῖς τεταγμένους, αὐτὸς δὲ τὴν πόλιν ἐς ἔδαφος κατασκάψας αὐτῆς τε ταύτης καὶ τῆς ἄλλης Καρίας φυλακὴν ἐγκαταλιπὼν ξένους μὲν πεζοὺς τρισχιλίους, ἵππεας δὲ ἐς  
 7 διακοσίους καὶ Πτολεμαῖον ἡγεμόνα αὐτῶν ἐπὶ Φρυγίας ἐστέλλετο. τῆς δὲ Καρίας ξυμπάσης σατραπεύειν ἔταξεν Ἄδαν, θυγατέρα μὲν Ἑκατόμνω, γυναῖκα δὲ Ἰδριέως, ὅς καὶ ἀδελφὸς αὐτῇ ὦν κατὰ νόμον τῶν Καρῶν ξυνώκει. καὶ ὁ μὲν Ἰδριεὺς τελευτῶν ταύτῃ ἐπέτρεψε τὰ πράγματα, νενομισμένον ἐν

the sheds and the tower, where the blaze was furious and wafted by the wind in this direction. They themselves retreated, some to the citadel on the island and others to the height called Salmacis.<sup>1</sup>  
 4 When this news was reported to Alexander by men who deserted in this action, and when he himself saw the fire spreading, though all this took place about midnight, none the less he brought out his Macedonians and put to the sword those who were still setting fire to the city; he gave orders that Halicarnassians found in their houses should be spared.  
 5 Dawn was breaking; and observing the heights which the Persians and the mercenaries had seized, he decided not to besiege them, considering that it would mean much delay for him round about the heights, owing to the nature of the ground, and no great advantage now he had captured the whole city. He buried those  
 6 who had fallen during the night, ordered the troops placed in charge of the siege engines to remove them to Tralles, himself razed the city to the ground and, to guard it and the rest of Caria, left three thousand mercenary foot and two hundred horse under Ptolemaeus, while he set out for Phrygia.<sup>2</sup> As satrap of all Caria he  
 7 appointed Ada, daughter of Hecatomnos, wife of Hidrieus;<sup>3</sup> though her brother, he had lived with her in accordance with Carian custom. On his death Hidrieus had handed over affairs to her; from Semiramis<sup>4</sup> down, it had

1 D. 27, 5 (most of the forces allegedly evacuated to Cos).

2 Cf. ii 5, 7: Ptolemaeus (Berve no. 674, not the historian) was made general in Caria, as Ada (§ 8), like other 'native' satraps appointed, would only have had civil power. Al. proceeded towards Phrygia only by a very devious route.

3 D. 24, 2 f. puts this before the fall of Halicarnassus. The Carians, and their local dynasty, were partly Hellenized, cf. Tod 138, 155.

τῇ Ἀσία ἔτι ἀπὸ Σεμιράμεως καὶ γυναῖκας ἄρχειν ἀνδρῶν.  
 8 Πιξώδαρος δὲ τὴν μὲν ἐκβάλλει τῆς ἀρχῆς, αὐτὸς δὲ κατεῖχε  
 τὰ πράγματα. τελευτήσαντος δὲ Πιξωδάρου Ὀροντοβάτης τὴν  
 Καρῶν ἀρχὴν ἐκ βασιλέως πεμφθεὶς εἶχε, γαμβρὸς ὢν  
 Πιξωδάρου. Ἄδα δὲ Ἄλινδα μόνον κατεῖχε, χωρίον τῆς  
 Καρίας ἐν τοῖς ὀχυρώτατον, καὶ ἐσβαλόντι Ἀλεξάνδρῳ ἐς  
 Καρίαν ἀπήντα, τὰ τε Ἄλινδα ἐνδιδοῦσα καὶ παῖδά οἱ  
 τιθεμένη Ἀλέξανδρον. καὶ Ἀλέξανδρος τὰ τε Ἄλινδα αὐτῇ  
 ἐπέτρεψε καὶ τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ παιδὸς οὐκ ἀπηξίωσε, καὶ ἐπειδὴ  
 Ἄλικαρνασσόν τε ἐξείλε καὶ τῆς ἄλλης Καρίας ἐπεκράτησεν,  
 αὐτῇ ἄρχειν ἀπάσης ἔδωκε.

24. Τῶν Μακεδόνων δὲ ἔστιν οἱ συνεστρατευμένοι  
 Ἀλεξάνδρῳ ἦσαν νεωστὶ πρὸ τῆς στρατιᾶς γεγαμηκότες· καὶ  
 τούτων ἔγνω οὐκ ἀμελητέα εἶναί οἱ Ἀλέξανδρος, ἀλλ' ἐκπέμπει  
 γὰρ αὐτοὺς ἐκ Καρίας διαχειμάζοντας ἐν Μακεδονίᾳ ἅμα ταῖς  
 γυναιξίν, ἐπιτάξας αὐτοῖς Πτολεμαῖόν τε τὸν Σελεύκου, ἕνα  
 τῶν σωματοφυλάκων τῶν βασιλικῶν, καὶ τῶν στρατηγῶν  
 Κοῖνόν τε τὸν Πολεμοκράτους καὶ Μελέαγρον τὸν

2 Νεοπτόλεμον, ὅτι καὶ αὐτοὶ τῶν νεογάμων ἦσαν, προστάξας,  
 ἐπειδὴν αὐτοὶ τε ἐπανίωσι καὶ τοὺς μετὰ σφῶν ἐκπεμφθέντας  
 ἐπαναγάγῃσι, καταλέξαι ἵππεας τε καὶ πεζοὺς ἐκ τῆς χώρας  
 ὅσους πλείστους. καὶ τῷ ἔργῳ τῷδε, εἶπερ τιμὴ ἄλλῃ,  
 εὐδοκίμησε παρὰ Μακεδόσιν Ἀλέξανδρος. ἔπεμψε δὲ καὶ  
 Κλέανδρον τὸν Πολεμοκράτους ἐπὶ ξυλλογῇ στρατιωτῶν εἰς  
 Πελοπόννησον.

3 Παρμενίωνα δὲ πέμπει ἐπὶ Σάρδεων, δοὺς αὐτῷ τῶν τε  
 ἐταίρων ἵππαρχίαν καὶ τοὺς Θετταλοὺς

been accepted in Asia that women should actually rule men.

Pixodarus, however, turned her out of the government and held  
 5 power himself. On his death Orontobates, his brother-in-law, was  
 sent down by the king and assumed the government. Ada  
 meanwhile held only Alinda, the strongest fortress in Caria; and  
 when Alexander entered Caria she went to meet him, surrendering  
 Alinda and adopting Alexander as her son. Alexander gave Alinda to  
 her charge, and did not reject the title of son, and when he had  
 taken Halicarnassus and become master of the rest of Caria, made  
 her ruler of the whole country.

24. Some of the Macedonians serving under Alexander had  
 recently married before taking the field; Alexander thought he  
 ought to consider these men, and sent them off from Caria to spend  
 the winter with their wives in Macedonia, putting them under  
 Ptolemaeus son of Seleucus, one of the royal Bodyguards, and  
 attaching to him two of his generals, Coenus son of Polemocrates  
 and Meleager son of Neoptolemus, as they themselves were among  
 2 the newly wed. He directed them, when they returned and brought  
 back their party, to enrol as many horse and foot from the country  
 as they could. Alexander gained as much popularity by this act  
 among the Macedonians as by any other. He also sent Cleander son  
 of Polemocrates to the Peloponnese to collect troops.<sup>1</sup>

3 Parmenio was sent to Sardis, with a hipparchy of the  
 Companions, the Thessalian cavalry, the other

1 QC. iii 1, 1 (not in D.).

ἰππέας καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ξυμμάχους καὶ τὰς ἀμάξας ἄγειν· καὶ  
 κελεύει προῖέναι ἀπὸ Σάρδεων ἐπὶ Φρυγίαν. αὐτὸς δὲ ἐπὶ  
 Λυκίας τε καὶ Παμφυλίας ἦει, ὡς τῆς παραλίου κρατήσας  
 4 ἀχρεῖον καταστήσαι τοῖς πολεμίοις τὸ ναυτικόν. καὶ πρῶτον  
 μὲν ἐν παρόδῳ Ὑπαρνα, χωρίον ὀχυρόν, φυλακὴν ἔχον ξένους  
 μισθοφόρους, ἐξ ἐφόδου ἔλαβεν· οἱ δ' ἐκ τῆς ἄκρας ξένοι  
 ὑπόσπονδοι ἐξῆλθον. ἔπειτα εἰσβαλὼν εἰς Λυκίαν Τελμισσέας  
 μὲν ὁμολογία προσηγάγετο, περάσας δὲ τὸν Ξάνθον ποταμὸν  
 Πίναρα καὶ Ξάνθον τὴν πόλιν καὶ Πάταρα ἐνδοθέντα ἔλαβε  
 καὶ ἄλλα ἐλάττω πολίσματα ἐς τριάκοντα.  
 5 Ταῦτα καταπράξας ἐν ἀκμῇ ἤδη τοῦ χειμῶνος ἐς τὴν  
 Μιλυάδα καλουμένην χώραν ἐσβάλλει, ἣ ἐστὶ μὲν τῆς  
 μεγάλης Φρυγίας, ξυνετέλει δὲ ἐς τὴν Λυκίαν τότε, οὕτως ἐκ  
 βασιλέως μεγάλου τεταγμένον. καὶ ἐνταῦθα Φασηλιτῶν  
 πρέσβεις ἦκον περὶ φιλίας τε καὶ χρυσῶ στεφάνῳ  
 στεφανῶσαι Ἀλέξανδρον· καὶ ὑπὲρ τῶν αὐτῶν  
 6 ἐπικηρυκεύομενοι ἐπρέσβενον Λυκίων τῶν κάτω οἱ πολλοί.  
 Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ Φασηλίτας τε καὶ Λυκίους παραδοῦναι τὰς  
 πόλεις τοῖς ἐπὶ τοῦτο στελλομένοις ἐκέλευσε· καὶ  
 παρεδόθησαν ξύμπασαι. αὐτὸς δὲ ὀλίγον ὕστερον ἐς τὴν  
 Φασηλίδα παραγενόμενος συνεξαίρει αὐτοῖς φρούριον ὀχυρόν,  
 ἐπιτετειχισμένον τῇ χώρᾳ πρὸς Πισιδῶν, ὅθεν ὀρμώμενοι οἱ

allies and the waggons, and given orders to proceed from Sardis to  
 Phrygia.<sup>2</sup> He himself went towards Lycia and Pamphylia, so as to  
 4 gain control of the coast and render the enemy's navy useless.<sup>3</sup> On  
 his route he first took in his stride Hyparna, a strong place with a  
 mercenary garrison; the mercenaries received terms and marched  
 out of the citadel. Then on entering Lycia he took over the  
 Telmisseans by surrender, and after crossing the Xanthus he  
 received Pinara and the city of Xanthus and Patara in submission  
 with about thirty smaller little towns.  
 5 By the time he had completed all this it was the depth of winter,  
 but he attacked the Milyan territory, as it is called; it belongs to  
 Greater Phrygia, but was then reckoned part of Lycia by the Persian  
 king's orders. There envoys from Phaselis came to offer friendly  
 relations and to crown Alexander with a gold crown; most of the  
 Lower Lycians also sent envoys with overtures on the same matters.  
 6 Alexander ordered Phaselis and the Lycians to hand over their cities  
 to those appointed for the purpose; and all were handed over. He  
 came soon after to Phaselis, and, along with these places, took a  
 strong outpost, fortified to threaten this district by Pisidians,

334 B.C.

334-3 B.C.

2 D. 27, 6 (vague). Hipparchy: Introd. 60.

3 D. 27. 7, cf. 31. 3 ff., takes Al. along the coast to Cilicia in 334! 28 has the story of a Lycian hill-town not in A., whose account in 24, 4-29, 6 is virtually all that we know of the operations described, from autumn 334 (24, 1) to spring 333, cf. also P. 17, 2-18, 1. The routes taken are often unclear (cf. Freya Stark, *JHS* 1958, 102 ff.), and Al's aims have never been explained; most of his marching was in the interior, and the coastal cities were not important as naval bases or suppliers of ships to Persia; it may be relevant that Phaselis (a Greek city) lay on the sea-route between Athens and Egypt, a potential supplier of Athens' essential grain imports. Al. evidently planned to unite with Parmenio and the newly married in Phrygia (i 29, 4 f.). A. neglects to record the appointment of Nearchus as satrap of Lycia (iii

βάρβαροι πολλὰ ἔβλαπτον τῶν Φασηλιτῶν τοὺς τὴν γῆν ἐργαζομένους.

25. Ἐπι δὲ αὐτῷ περὶ τὴν Φασηλίδαν ὄντι ἐξαγγέλλεται Ἀλέξανδρον τὸν Ἀερόπου ἐπιβουλεύειν, τὰ τε ἄλλα τῶν ἐταίρων ὄντα καὶ ἐν τῷ τότε Θεσσαλῶν τῆς ἵππου ἄρχοντα. ἦν μὲν δὴ ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος οὗτος ἀδελφὸς Ἡρομένους τε καὶ
- 2 Ἀρραβαίου τῶν ξυνεπιλαβόντων τῆς σφαγῆς τῆς Φιλίππου καὶ τότε αἰτίαν σχόντα αὐτὸν Ἀλέξανδρος ἀφήκεν, ὅτι ἐν πρώτοις τε ἀφίκετο τῶν φίλων παρ' αὐτόν, ἐπειδὴ Φίλιππος ἐτελεύτησε, καὶ τὸν θώρακα συνενδὺς συνηκολούθησεν αὐτῷ εἰς τὰ βασίλεια· ὕστερον δὲ καὶ ἐν τιμῇ ἀμφ' αὐτὸν εἶχε, στρατηγὸν τε ἐπὶ Θράκης στείλας καὶ ἐπειδὴ Κάλας ὁ τῶν Θετταλῶν ἵππαρχος ἐπὶ σατραπείᾳ ἐξεπέμφθη, αὐτὸν ἀπέδειξεν ἄρχειν τῆς Θεσσαλικῆς ἵππου. τὰ δὲ τῆς ἐπιβουλῆς ἐξηγγέλθη ὧδε.
- 3 Δαρείος, ἐπειδὴ Ἀμύντας αὐτομολήσας παρ' αὐτὸν λόγους τέ τινας καὶ γράμματα παρὰ τοῦ Ἀλεξάνδρου τούτου ἐκόμισε, καταπέμπει ἐπὶ θάλασσαν Σισίνην, ἄνδρα Πέρσην τῶν ἀμφ' αὐτὸν πιστῶν, πρόφασιν μὲν παρὰ Ἀτιζύην τὸν Φρυγίας σατράπην, τῇ δὲ ἀληθείᾳ τῷ Ἀλεξάνδρῳ τούτῳ συνεσόμενον καὶ πίστει δώσοντα, εἰ ἀποκτείνει <ε> βασιλέα Ἀλέξανδρον, αὐτὸν βασιλέα καταστήσειν Μακεδονίας καὶ χρυσίου τάλαντα
- 4 πρὸς τῇ βασιλείᾳ ἐπιδώσειν χίλια. ὁ δὲ Σισίνης ἀλοὺς πρὸς Παρμενίωνος λέγει πρὸς Παρμενίωνα ὧν ἕνεκα ἀπεστάλη καὶ τοῦτον ἐν φυλακῇ πέμπει Παρμενίων παρ' Ἀλέξανδρον, καὶ πυνθάνεται ταῦτα παρ' αὐτοῦ Ἀλέξανδρος. ξυναγαγὼν δὲ τοὺς φίλους βουλήν προὔτιθει, ὅ τι χρὴ ὑπὲρ Ἀλεξάνδρου γνῶναι.

a base from which the barbarians did much injury to the people of Phaselis tilling the soil.

25. While Alexander was still operating round Phaselis it was reported to him that his namesake, son of Aeropus, was conspiring; he was one of the Companions, and at the time commander of the Thessalian cavalry. This Alexander was brother to Heromenes and Arrabaeus, who had a part in the murder of Philip. Though he was
- 2 implicated at the time, Alexander let him off, since he had been among the first of his friends to rally to him on Philip's death, and had put on his cuirass and accompanied Alexander into the palace; later Alexander had even held him in honour near his person, had sent him to command in Thrace, and when Calas, commander of the Thessalian cavalry, had been transferred to a satrapy,<sup>1</sup> appointed him commander of the Thessalian horse. The story of the plot was reported as follows.
- 3 Darius, when Amyntas deserted to him bringing overtures and a letter from this Alexander, sent Sisines, a trusty Persian from his suite, to the sea. The pretext was that he was to visit Atizyes, satrap of Phrygia, but in fact he was to meet this Alexander and give him assurances that if he assassinated Alexander the king, the Persian king would make him king of Macedonia and give him a thousand
- 4 gold Talents as well. Sisines fell into Parmenio's hands and revealed to him the object of his mission; and Parmenio sent him under escort to Alexander, who heard the same story from him. So he called together his friends, to consider what should be decided

<sup>1</sup> 17, 1.

- 5 καὶ ἐδόκει τοῖς ἐταίροις μήτε πάλαι εὖ βεβουλευῆσθαι τὸ  
κράτιστον τοῦ ἱππικοῦ ἀνδρὶ οὐ πιστῶ ἐπιτρέψας, νῦν τε  
χρῆναι αὐτὸν κατὰ τάχος ἐκποδῶν ποιείσθαι, πρὶν καὶ  
6 ἐπιτηδειότερον γενόμενον τοῖς Θετταλοῖς ξὺν αὐτοῖς τι  
νεωτερίσαι. καὶ τι καὶ θεῖον ἐφόβει αὐτούς. ἔτι γὰρ  
πολιορκούντος αὐτοῦ Ἀλεξάνδρου Ἀλικαρνασσὸν  
ἀναπαύεσθαι μὲν ἐν μεσημβρία, χελιδόνα δὲ περιπέτεσθαι  
ὑπὲρ τῆς κεφαλῆς τρύζουσαν μεγάλα καὶ τῆς εὐνῆς ἄλλη καὶ  
7 ἄλλη ἐπικαθίζειν, θορυβωδέστερον ἢ κατὰ τὸ εἰωθὸς ἄδουσαν·  
τὸν δὲ ὑπὸ καμάτου ἐγερθῆναι μὲν ἀδυνάτως ἔχειν ἐκ τοῦ  
ὑπνου, ἐνοχλούμενον δὲ πρὸς τῆς φωνῆς τῇ χειρὶ οὐ βαρέως  
ἀποσοβῆσαι τὴν χελιδόνα· τὴν δὲ τοσοῦτου ἄρα δεῆσαι  
ἀποφυγεῖν πληγείσαν, ὥστε ἐπὶ τῆς κεφαλῆς αὐτῆς τοῦ  
8 Ἀλεξάνδρου καθημένην μὴ πρόσθεν ἀνεῖναι πρὶν παντελῶς  
ἐξεγερθῆναι Ἀλέξανδρον. καὶ Ἀλέξανδρος οὐ φαῦλον  
ποιησάμενος τὸ τῆς χελιδόνος ἀνεκοίνωσεν Ἀριστάνδρῳ τῷ  
Τελμισσεῖ, μάντει· Ἀρίστανδρον δὲ ἐπιβουλήν μὲν ἔκ του τῶν  
φίλων σημαίνεσθαι αὐτῷ εἰπεῖν, σημαίνεσθαι δὲ καί, ὅτι  
καταφανῆς ἔσται. τὴν γὰρ χελιδόνα σύντροφόν τε εἶναι  
ὄρνιθα καὶ εὖνον ἀνθρώποις καὶ λάλον μᾶλλον ἢ ἄλλην  
ὄρνιθα.  
9 Ταῦτά τε οὖν καὶ τὰ ἀπὸ τοῦ Πέρσου ξυνηεῖς πέμπει ὡς  
Παρμενίωνα Ἀμφοτερὸν τὸν Ἀλεξάνδρου μὲν παῖδα, ἀδελφὸν  
δὲ Κρατεροῦ. καὶ ξυμπέμπει αὐτῷ τῶν Περγαίων τινὰς τὴν  
ὁδὸν ἡγησομένους. καὶ ὁ Ἀμφοτεροὺς στολήν ἐνδὺς ἐπιχώριον,  
10 [καὶ] ὡς μὴ γνώριμος εἶναι κατὰ τὴν ὁδὸν, λανθάνει  
ἀφικόμενος παρὰ Παρμενίωνα· καὶ γράμματα μὲν οὐ κομίζει  
παρὰ Ἀλεξάνδρου· οὐ

- 5 about Alexander. The Companions held that he had originally acted  
unwisely in committing the best of the cavalry to an untrustworthy  
officer, and that he should now get rid of him as soon as possible,  
before he became more popular with the Thessalians and secured  
their help for a revolution. They were also troubled by an omen:  
6 while Alexander was still besieging Halicarnassus and was taking his  
midday rest, a swallow circled over his head chattering loudly, and  
perched here and there on his bed; its song was noisier than the  
7 usual swallow's twittering. Alexander was too weary to awaken, but  
troubled by the sound, he gently brushed the swallow away; but the  
bird would not fly off when hit; rather it perched on Alexander's  
8 very head and kept on till Alexander was fully awake. Alexander  
took the incident seriously and informed Aristander of Telmissus, a  
seer; he replied that it meant a plot on the part of one of his friends  
but also that the plot would come to light. For the swallow is a  
domestic bird, friendly to man, and more talkative than any other  
bird.  
9 Putting this together with the Persian's story, he sent  
Amphoterus son of Alexander, brother of Craterus, to Parmenio  
with some Pergaeans as guides. Amphoterus wore a native dress, so  
as not to be recognized on the journey, and so reached Parmenio  
10 safely. He brought no letter from King Alexander; it was thought  
unwise to write plainly in a matter

γὰρ ἔδοξε γράφειν ὑπὲρ οὐδενὸς τοιούτου ἐς τὸ ἐμφανές· τὰ δὲ ἀπὸ γλώσσης οἱ ἐντεταλμένα ἐξήγγειλεν, καὶ οὕτω ξυλλαμβάνεται ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος οὗτος καὶ ἐν φυλακῇ ἦν.

26. Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ ἄρας ἐκ Φασηλίδος μέρος μὲν τι τῆς στρατιᾶς διὰ τῶν ὄρων πέμπει ἐπὶ Πέργης, ἣ ὠδοπεποιήκεσαν αὐτῷ οἱ Θράκες χαλεπὴν ἄλλως καὶ μακρὰν οὖσαν τὴν πάροδον· αὐτὸς δὲ παρὰ τὴν θάλασσαν διὰ τοῦ αἰγιαλοῦ ἦγε τοὺς ἀμφ' αὐτόν. ἔστι δὲ ταύτη ἡ ὁδὸς οὐκ ἄλλως ὅτι μὴ τῶν ἀπ' ἄρκτου ἀνέμων πνεόντων· εἰ δὲ νότοι κατέχοιεν, ἀπόρως ἔχει διὰ τοῦ αἰγιαλοῦ ὁδοιπορεῖν. τῷ δὲ ἐκ νότων σκληροὶ βορραὶ ἐπιπνεύσαντες, οὐκ ἄνευ τοῦ θείου, ὡς αὐτὸς τε καὶ οἱ ἀμφ' αὐτόν ἐξηγοῦντο, εὐμαρῇ καὶ ταχείᾳ τὴν πάροδον παρέσχον. ἐκ Πέργης δὲ ὡς προῆει, ἐντυγχάνουσιν αὐτῷ κατὰ τὴν ὁδὸν πρέσβεις Ἀσπενδίων αυτοκράτορες, τὴν μὲν πόλιν ἐνδιδόντες, φρουρὰν δὲ μὴ εἰσάγειν δεόμενοι. καὶ περὶ μὲν τῆς φρουρᾶς πράξαντες ἀπήλθον, ὅσα ἠξίου· πεντήκοντα δὲ τάλαντα κελεύει τῇ στρατιᾷ δοῦναι αὐτοῖς ἐς μισθὸν καὶ τοὺς ἵππους, οὓς δασμὸν βασιλεῖ ἔτρεφον. οἱ δὲ ὑπὲρ τε τοῦ ἀργυρίου καὶ τοὺς ἵππους παραδώσειν ξυνθέμενοι ἀπήλθον.
- 4 Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ ἐπὶ Σίδης ἦει. εἰσὶ δὲ οἱ Σιδῆται Κυμαῖοι ἐκ Κύμης τῆς Αἰολίδος· καὶ οὗτοι λέγουσιν ὑπὲρ σφῶν τόνδε τὸν λόγον, ὅτι, ὡς κατῆράν τε ἐς τὴν γῆν ἐκείνην οἱ πρῶτοι ἐκ Κύμης

of this sort; but he gave a verbal message as directed. As a result the other Alexander was arrested and kept under guard.<sup>2</sup>

26. Leaving Phaselis, Alexander sent part of his force through the mountain passes towards Perge, where the Thracians had made him a road, the approach being otherwise difficult and long. He himself led his men by the sea along the shore, a route practicable only with north winds blowing; south winds make the passage along the shore impossible. There had been southerlies but a north wind had set in, not without divine interposition, as Alexander and his followers interpreted it, and made the passage easy and swift.<sup>1</sup> As he went on from Perge, plenipotentiaries from Aspendus met him on the way surrendering their city, but begging it might not be garrisoned. This point about the garrison they won; but Alexander ordered them to provide fifty Talents for the army as pay, with the horses they bred as tribute to the King of Persia.<sup>2</sup> They agreed on the money and to hand over horses, and left.
- 4 Alexander now went towards Side,<sup>3</sup> whose inhabitants are Cymaeans from Aeolian Cyme; according to their own account of themselves, when the first emigrants from Cyme put into land and

<sup>2</sup> For this Alexander and Amyntas see Introd. 46 and Appendix XI 5. Introd. 39.

<sup>1</sup> This 'miracle', when the sea did 'obedience' to Al. (Callisthenes F. 31, *not* a quotation of his words), is said to have appeared in all the histories of Al. (Josephus, *Bell. Jud.* ii 348) and was ridiculed by Menander (died c. 290 B.C.), fr. 924 Koch; but cf. P. 17 (no mention in a supposed letter of Al.); Strabo xiv, 3, 9.

<sup>4</sup> Al. seems to have by-passed Aspendus as well as Syllium, keeping closer to the coast, on his march further east to Side, whence he returned towards Syllium and Perge (27, 5), again by-passing Aspendus, until he marched back against that city on news of its disloyalty.

σταλέντες καὶ ἐπὶ οἰκισμῷ ἐξέβησαν, αὐτίκα τὴν μὲν Ἑλλάδα  
 γλώσσαν ἐξέλαθοντο, εὐθύς δὲ βάρβαρον φωνὴν ἴεσαν, οὐδὲ  
 τῶν προσχώρων βαρβάρων, ἀλλὰ ἰδίαν σφῶν οὐπω πρόσθεν  
 5 οὔσαν τὴν φωνήν· καὶ ἔκτοτε οὐ κατὰ τοὺς ἄλλους  
 προσχώρους Σιδῆται ἐβαρβάριζον. καταλιπὼν δὲ φρουρὰν ἐν  
 Σίδῃ προῆει ἐπὶ Σύλλιον, χωρίον ὄχυρὸν καὶ φρουρὰν ἔχον  
 ξένων μισθοφόρων καὶ αὐτῶν τῶν ἐπιχωρίων βαρβάρων. ἀλλ'  
 οὔτε τὸ Σύλλιον ἐξ ἐφόδου αὐτοσχεδίου ἠδυνήθη λαβεῖν, ἐπεὶ  
 τ' ἠγγέλθη αὐτῷ κατὰ τὴν ὁδὸν τοὺς Ἀσπενδίους ὅτι οὐδὲν  
 τῶν ξυγκειμένων πρᾶξαι ἐθέλοιεν, οὔτε τοὺς ἵππους  
 παραδοῦναι τοῖς πεμφθείσιν οὔτε ἀπαριθμῆσαι τὰ χρήματα,  
 καὶ τὰ ἐκ τῆς χώρας ὅτι ἀνασκευασάμενοι ἐς τὴν πόλιν τὰς τε  
 πύλας ἀποκεκλείκασιν τοῖς παρὰ Ἀλεξάνδρου καὶ τὰ τείχη,  
 ὅπη πεπονηκότα ἦν, ἐπισκευάζουσι, ταῦτα πυθόμενος ἐπὶ  
 Ἀσπένδου ἀνεζεύγνυν.

27. Ὡκισται δὲ τῆς Ἀσπένδου τὰ μὲν πολλὰ ἐπὶ ἄκρα  
 ὄχυρᾷ καὶ ἀποτόμῳ καὶ παρ' αὐτὴν τὴν ἄκραν ὁ Εὐρυμέδων  
 ποταμὸς ρεῖ· ἦσαν δὲ αὐτοῖς καὶ περὶ τῆ ἄκρα ἐν τῷ χθαμαλῷ  
 2 οὐκ ὀλίγαι οἰκῆσεις καὶ τείχος περιεβέβλητο αὐταῖς οὐ μέγα.  
 τὸ μὲν δὴ τείχος εὐθύς, ὡς προσάγοντα Ἀλέξανδρον ἔγνωσαν,  
 ἐκλείπουσιν ὅσοι ἐπώκουν καὶ τὰς οἰκίας, ὅσας ἐν τῷ  
 χθαμαλῷ ὤκισμένας οὐκ ἐδόκουν διαφυλάξαι ἂν δύνασθαι  
 αὐτοὶ δὲ ἐς τὴν ἄκραν ξυμφεύγουσιν. Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ ὡς  
 ἀφίκετο ξὺν τῇ δυνάμει, εἰσω τοῦ ἐρήμου τείχους παρελθὼν  
 3 κατεστρατοπέδευσεν ἐν ταῖς οἰκίαις ταῖς καταλελειμμέναις  
 πρὸς τῶν Ἀσπενδίων. οἱ δὲ Ἀσπένδιοι ὡς εἶδον αὐτόν τε  
 Ἀλέξανδρον παρ' ἐλπίδα

disembarked to found a colony, they at once forgot their native  
 tongue and talked a foreign language straight away, and not that of  
 the neighbouring barbarians, but their own idiom, in fact a new  
 dialect; and from that time the people of Side spoke like barbarians  
 but not like the other peoples of the neighbourhood. Alexander left  
 5 a guard at Side and went on to Syllium, a strong place with a  
 garrison of foreign mercenaries and of barbarians too from those  
 parts. But he could not take Syllium at the first assault without  
 preparation, and, when it was reported to him on his march that the  
 Aspendians were unwilling to carry out any of the terms of the pact,  
 would not hand over the horses to the party sent to fetch them, nor  
 pay the money, and had packed up and brought their belongings in  
 to the city from the countryside, had shut their gates upon  
 Alexander's envoys, and were repairing dilapidations in their walls,  
 the news made him march towards Aspendus.

27. Aspendus is built, for the most part, on a strong hill-top,  
 sheer, with the river Eurymedon flowing right past the height.  
 Round this hill-top on the flat, they had a number of dwellings  
 2 surrounded by a low wall. As soon as they were aware of Alexander's  
 approach, the inhabitants deserted this wall, as well as the houses  
 built on the level which they thought it impossible to defend; they  
 all took refuge on the hill-top. On arriving with his force, Alexander  
 penetrated within the deserted wall and camped in the houses  
 abandoned by the Aspendians. When the citizens saw with surprise  
 3 Alexander present in person and his army all round them,

ἤκοντα καὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον ἐν κύκλῳ σφῶν πάντη, πέμψαντες πρέσβεις ἐδέοντο ἐφ' οἷσπερ τὸ πρότερον ξυμβῆναι. καὶ Ἀλέξανδρος τό τε χωρίον ἰσχυρὸν ἰδὼν καὶ αὐτὸς ὡς οὐκ ἐπὶ χρόνιον πολιορκίαν παρεσκευασμένος ἐπὶ τοῖς αὐτοῖς μὲν οὐδὲ  
 4 ὡς ξυνέβη πρὸς αὐτούς· ὁμήρους δὲ δοῦναι σφῶν τοὺς δυνατωτάτους ἐκέλευσεν καὶ τοὺς ἵππους, οὓς πρόσθεν ὠμολόγησαν, καὶ ἑκατὸν τάλαντα ἀντὶ τῶν πενήκοντα, καὶ πείθεσθαι τῷ σατράπῃ τῷ <ὕπ' > Ἀλεξάνδρου ταχθέντι καὶ φόρους ἀποφέρειν ὅσα ἔτη Μακεδόσι, καὶ ὑπὲρ τῆς χώρας διακριθῆναι, ἣν τῶν προσχώρων οὖσαν βία κατέχειν ἐν αἰτία ἦσαν.  
 5 Ὡς δὲ πάντα οἱ ἐπεχώρησαν, ἀνέζευξεν ἐς Πέργην, κακείθεν ἐς Φρυγίαν ὠρμητο· ἦν δὲ αὐτῷ ἡ πορεία παρὰ Τελμισσὸν πόλιν. οἱ δὲ ἄνθρωποι οὗτοι τὸ μὲν γένος Πισίδαι εἰσὶ βάρβαροι, χωρίον δὲ οἰκοῦσιν ὑπερύψηλον καὶ πάντη  
 6 ἀπότομον, καὶ ἡ ὁδὸς παρὰ τὴν πόλιν χαλεπή. καθήκει γὰρ ἐκ τῆς πόλεως ὄρος ἔσπε ἐπὶ τὴν ὁδόν, καὶ τοῦτο μὲν αὐτοῦ ἐν τῇ ὁδῷ ἀποπαύεται, ἀντίπορον δὲ αὐτῷ ἄλλο ὄρος ἐστὶν οὐ μείον ἀπότομον. καὶ ταῦτα τὰ ὄρη ὥσπερ πύλας ποιεῖ ἐπὶ τῇ ὁδῷ, καὶ ἔστιν ὀλίγη φυλακὴ κατέχοντας τὰ ὄρη ταῦτα ἄπορον ποιεῖν τὴν πάροδον. καὶ τότε οἱ Τελμισσεῖς πανδημεὶ  
 7 ἐκβεβοηθηκότες ἀμφοτέρα τὰ ὄρη κατείχον. ταῦτα δὴ ἰδὼν Ἀλέξανδρος στρατοπεδεύεσθαι αὐτοῦ, ὅπως εἶχον, ἐκέλευε τοὺς Μακεδόνας, γνοὺς, ὅτι οὐ μενοῦσι πανδημεὶ οἱ Τελμισσεῖς ἀυλιζομένους σφῶς ἰδόντες, ἀλλ' ἀποχωρήσουσιν ἐς τὴν πόλιν πλησίον οὖσαν οἱ πολλοὶ αὐτῶν, ὅσον φυλακὴν καταλιπόντες ἐπὶ τοῖς ὄρεσι. καὶ ξυνέβη

they sent envoys to beg for an agreement on their old terms.  
 Alexander saw that the position was strong, and that he was not prepared for a long siege, yet even so he refused a pact with them  
 4 on the same conditions. He demanded their most influential men as hostages, the horses they had previously promised and a hundred Talents in place of fifty; they were to be subject to the satrap appointed by him, and pay yearly tribute to Macedon and an adjudication was to be held about the territory they were accused of having annexed by violence from their neighbours.  
 5 When all this had been conceded, he moved to Perge and thence began his march to Phrygia, which led past the city of Telmissus.<sup>1</sup> The Telmissians are Pisidian barbarians in origin, and inhabit a very high position, precipitous all round; the road past the  
 6 city is difficult. A mountain stretches down from the city to the road, and there ends; but opposite is another, equally abrupt. These mountains virtually make gates on the road, and a small guard can prevent all approach by holding them. On this occasion the Telmissians came out in full force and occupied both mountains.  
 7 Seeing this, Alexander ordered the Macedonians to camp where they were, knowing that the Telmissians, on seeing them in bivouacks, would not wait there in full force, but would for the most part drift away to the city close by, leaving only a guard on the mountains.

1 Properly Termessus (coins and inscriptions).



8 ὅπως εἴκαζεν· οἱ μὲν γὰρ πολλοὶ αὐτῶν ἀπήλθον, αἱ φυλακαὶ δὲ ἐγκατέμειναν. καὶ ἐπὶ τούτους εὐθύς ἀναλαβὼν τοὺς τε τοξότας καὶ τὰς τῶν ἀκοντιστῶν τάξεις καὶ τῶν ὀπλιτῶν ὅσοι κουφότεροι ἐπήγαγεν. οἱ δὲ οὐκ ἔμειναν βαλλόμενοι, ἀλλὰ ἔλιπον τὸ χωρίον· καὶ Ἀλέξανδρος ὑπερβαλὼν τὰ στενὰ πρὸς τῇ πόλει κατεστρατοπέδευσε.

28. Καὶ ἐνταῦθα ἀφικνοῦνται παρ' αὐτὸν Σελγέων πρέσβεις. οἱ δὲ εἰσι καὶ αὐτοὶ Πισίδαι βάρβαροι καὶ πόλιν μεγάλην οἰκοῦσιν καὶ αὐτοὶ μάχιμοί εἰσιν· ὅτι δὲ πολέμοι τοῖς Τελμισσεῦσιν ἐκ παλαιοῦ ἐτύγχανον, ὑπὲρ φιλίας πρὸς Ἀλέξανδρον πεπρεσβευμένοι ἦσαν. καὶ πρὸς τούτους  
 2 σπένδεται Ἀλέξανδρος, καὶ ἐκ τούτου πιστοῖς ἐς ἅπαντα ἐχρήσατο. τὴν Τελμισσὸν δὲ ἀπέγνω ἐλεῖν ἂν ἐν ὀλίγῳ χρόνῳ, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ Σαγαλασσοῦ ἐπέλετο. ἦν δὲ καὶ αὕτη οὐ μικρὰ πόλις· Πισίδαι καὶ ταύτην ᾤκουν, καὶ ἐδόκουν πάντων Πισιδῶν μαχίμων ὄντων αὐτοὶ εἶναι [οἱ] μαχिमώτατοι· καὶ τότε τὸν λόφον τὸν πρὸ τῆς πόλεως, ὅτι καὶ οὗτος οὐ μείον τοῦ  
 3 τείχους ὀχυρὸς ἐς τὸ ἀπομάχεσθαι ἦν, κατειληφότες προσέμενον. Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ τὴν μὲν φάλαγγα τῶν Μακεδόνων τάττει ὧδε· ἐπὶ μὲν τοῦ δεξιῦ κέρως, ἵνα καὶ αὐτὸς ἐπετέτακτο, τοὺς ὑπασπιστὰς εἶχεν, ἐχομένους δὲ τούτων τοὺς πεζεταίρους ἔσπε ἐπὶ τὸ εὐώνυμον παρατείνας, ὡς ἐκάστοις  
 4 τῶν στρατηγῶν ἢ ἡγεμονία τῆς τάξεως ἐν τῇ τότε ἡμέρᾳ ἦν. ἐπὶ δὲ τῷ εὐωνύμῳ ἐπέταξεν ἡγεμόνα Ἀμύνταν τὸν Ἀρραβαίου. προετάχθησαν δὲ αὐτῷ τοῦ μὲν δεξιῦ κέρως οἱ τε τοξόται καὶ οἱ Ἀγριᾶνες, τοῦ δὲ εὐωνύμου οἱ ἀκοντισταὶ οἱ Θράκες, ὧν ἡγείτο

His guess proved right; most of them left, the guards remained. At  
 5 once he took the archers, the javelin battalions, and the lighter armed hoplites and led them against the guards, who did not stand firm at the volleys but left their position. Alexander passed the narrows and encamped near the city.

28. At this point arrived envoys from the Selgians, who are also barbarian Pisidians with a large city, a warlike people; they were old enemies of the Telmissians and that is why they had sent an embassy to Alexander to ask for his friendship. Alexander made a treaty with them, and thereafter found them wholly trustworthy  
 2 allies. He concluded that the capture of Telmissus would be a long business, and moved on to Sagalassus, also a large city, inhabited by Pisidians who were thought to be the most warlike of this warlike people; on this occasion they had occupied the hill in front of the city which was as strong for defensive operations as the wall itself,  
 3 and held their ground. Alexander deployed the Macedonian phalanx as follows: on the right wing, where he had stationed himself, he had the hypaspists, and next to them the foot-companions, extended to the left wing, each battalion under the  
 4 commanders in the order of precedence for the day. On the left he placed Amyntas son of Arrabaeus in command. In front of the right wing were posted the archers and the Agrianians, of the left the Thracian javelin-men

Σιτάλκης· οἱ γὰρ ἰππεῖς αὐτῷ οὐκ ὠφέλιμοι ἐν τῇ δυσχωρίᾳ ἦσαν. τοῖς Πισίδαις δὲ καὶ Τελμισσοῖς προσβεβηθηκότες ξυνετάξαντο.

- 5 Ἦδη τε οἱ ἀμφ' Ἀλέξανδρον προσβεβληκότες τῷ ὄρει, ὅπερ κατεῖχον οἱ Πισίδαι, κατ' αὐτὸ τὸ ἀποτομώτατον τῆς ἀνόδου ἦσαν, καὶ ἐν τούτῳ ἐπιτίθενται αὐτοῖς οἱ βάρβαροι λόχοις κατὰ κέρασ ἐκάτερον, ἧ σφίσι μὲν εὐπροσοδώτατον ἦν, τοῖς πολεμίοις δὲ χαλεπωτάτη ἢ πρόσβασις. καὶ τοὺς μὲν τοξότας, οἷα δὴ οὔτε ἀκριβῶς ὠπλισμένους καὶ πρώτους
- 6 πελάσαντας, ἐτρέψαντο, οἱ δὲ Ἀγριᾶνες ἔμειναν. ἐγγὺς γὰρ ἦδη καὶ ἡ φάλαγξ τῶν Μακεδόνων προσῆγε καὶ πρὸ αὐτῆς Ἀλέξανδρος ἐφαίνετο. ὡς δὲ ἐν χερσὶν ἡ μάχη ἐγένετο, γυμνοὶ τε οἱ βάρβαροι ὄντες ὀπλίταις προσεφέροντο καὶ πάντη
- 7 κατατιτρωσκόμενοι ἔπιπτον [δὲ], ἐνταῦθα δὴ ἐγκλίνουσιν καὶ ἀπέθανον μὲν αὐτῶν ἐς πεντακοσίους, . . . κοῦφοι γὰρ ὄντες καὶ ἔμπειροι τῶν χωρίων οὐ χαλεπῶς ἀπεχώρουν· καὶ οἱ Μακεδόνες διὰ βαρύτητα τῶν ὄπλων καὶ ἀπειρίαν τῶν ὁδῶν
- 8 οὐ θαρραλέοι ἐς τὸ διώκειν ἦσαν. Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ ἐχόμενος τῶν φευγόντων τὴν πόλιν αὐτῶν αἰρεῖ κατὰ κράτος. τῶν δὲ ξὺν αὐτῷ Κλέανδρός τε ὁ στρατηγὸς τῶν τοξοτῶν ἀποθνήσκει καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἀμφὶ τοὺς εἴκοσιν. Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ ἐπὶ τοὺς ἄλλους Πισίδας ἤγε· καὶ τὰ μὲν τινα τῶν φρουρίων βία ἐξείλε, τὰ δὲ ὁμολογίᾳ προσηγάγετο.

29. Ἐντεῦθεν δὲ ἦει ἐπὶ Φρυγίας παρὰ τὴν λίμνην, ἧ ὄνομα Ἀσκανία, ἐν ἧ ἅλας πηγνυται αὐτόματοι, καὶ τούτοις χρῶνται οἱ ἐπιχώριοι οὐδὲ θαλάσσης τι ἐπὶ τούτῳ δέονται· καὶ ἀφικνεῖται ἐς Κελαιναὺς πεμπταῖος. ἐν δὲ ταῖς Κελαιναῖς ἄκρα ἦν

men under Sitalces. The cavalry were of no use to him in this rough country. The Pisidians' line included Telmissians who had come to their help.

- 5 In their assault on the height held by the Pisidians, Alexander's troops had already reached the steepest part of the ascent when barbarians in bands attacked them on either wing, where they could best approach and the Macedonians found the means to advance hardest. They drove back the archers, as they were lightly armed and first to make contact; but the Agrianians held firm. For the
- 6 Macedonian phalanx was already coming up, and Alexander himself was visible at its head. Once hand-to-hand fighting had begun, the barbarians who had no protective armour and were engaged with hoplites were wounded and fell on all sides and at length gave way.
- 7 Some five hundred perished.<sup>1</sup> . . . Unencumbered and knowing the country, they got away easily; from weight of armour and ignorance of the paths the Macedonians had little heart for the pursuit.
- 8 Alexander, however, kept on the heels of the fugitives and stormed the city, losing Cleander, the commander of the archers, and some twenty more of his followers. Then he attacked the remaining Pisidians, captured some of their forts and received the surrender of others.

29. Thence he passed into Phrygia by Lake Ascania, where salt crystallizes naturally, and is used by the inhabitants, who thus need no sea salt; in four days he reached Celaenae, where a citadel sheer on every side was held under orders from the satrap of Phrygia

<sup>1</sup> The number of prisoners was given in the lacuna.

πάντη ἀπότομος, καὶ ταύτην φυλακὴν κατείχεν ἐκ τοῦ  
 2 σατράπου τῆς Φρυγίας Κᾶρες μὲν χίλιοι, Ἕλληνες δὲ  
 μισθοφόροι ἑκατόν. καὶ οὗτοι πρεσβεύονται παρ' Ἀλέξανδρον,  
 ἐπαγγελλόμενοι, εἰ μὴ ἀφίκοιτό σφισι βοήθεια ἐν ἡμέρᾳ ἣ  
 ξυνέκειτο, φράσαντες τὴν ἡμέραν, ὅτι παραδώσουσι τὸ  
 3 πολιορκεῖν ἄπορον πάντη προσφέρεσθαι τὴν ἄκραν. πρὸς μὲν  
 δὴ ταῖς Κελαιναῖς φυλακὴν καταλείπει στρατιώτας ἐς χιλίους  
 καὶ πεντακοσίους. μείνας δὲ αὐτοῦ ἡμέρας δέκα καὶ σατράπην  
 ἀποδείξας Φρυγίας Ἀντίγονον τὸν Φιλίππου, ἐπὶ δὲ τοὺς  
 4 συμμάχους ἀντ' ἐκείνου στρατηγὸν Βάλακρον τὸν Ἀμύντου  
 ἐπιτάξας, αὐτὸς ἐπὶ Γορδίου ἐστέλλετο. καὶ Παρμενίῳ  
 ἐπέστειλεν, ἄγοντα ἅμα οἱ τὴν δύναμιν ἐκείσε ἀπαντᾶν καὶ  
 4 ἀπὴντα ξὺν τῇ δυνάμει Παρμενίων. καὶ οἱ νεόγαμοι δὲ οἱ ἐπὶ  
 Μακεδονίας σταλέντες εἰς Γόρδιον ἦκον καὶ ξὺν αὐτοῖς ἄλλη  
 στρατιὰ καταλεχθείσα, ἣν ἤγε Πτολεμαῖός τε ὁ Σελεύκου καὶ  
 Κοῖνος ὁ Πολεμοκράτους καὶ Μελέαγρος ὁ Νεοπτολέμου,  
 πεζοὶ μὲν Μακεδόνες τρισχίλιοι, ἵππεῖς δὲ ἐς τριακοσίους καὶ  
 Θεσσαλῶν ἵππεῖς διακόσιοι, Ἡλείων δὲ ἑκατόν καὶ  
 πενήκοντα, ὧν ἠγείτο Ἀλκίας Ἡλείος.

Τὸ δὲ Γόρδιον ἔστι μὲν τῆς Φρυγίας τῆς ἐφ'  
 Ἑλλησπόντου, κείται δὲ ἐπὶ τοῦ Σαγγαρίου ποταμοῦ· τοῦ δὲ  
 Σαγγαρίου αἱ μὲν πηγαὶ ἐκ Φρυγίας εἰσὶν, αὐτὸς δὲ διὰ τῆς  
 Θρακῶν τῶν

by a garrison of a thousand Carians and a hundred Greek  
 2 mercenaries. They sent envoys to Alexander, offering, in case help  
 did not come to them on a day previously appointed (the date was  
 specified), to surrender the position. Alexander thought this more  
 advantageous than a siege of a height inaccessible on every side. So  
 3 he left 1,500 troops as a guard over Celaenae.<sup>1</sup> After waiting there  
 ten days and appointing Antigonus son of Philip satrap of Phrygia,<sup>2</sup>  
 and replacing him as commander of the allies by Balacrus son of  
 Amyntas, he in person set out for Gordium, ordering Parmenio to  
 meet him there bringing his force with him, as he did. The recently  
 4 married Macedonians who had gone to Macedonia also came to  
 Gordium,<sup>3</sup> and with them a freshly levied army, led by Ptolemaeus  
 son of Seleucus, Coenus son of Polemocrates and Meleager son of  
 Neoptolemus; there were 3,000 Macedonian foot, 300 horse, 200  
 Thessalian horse, 150 Eleians under Alcias of Elis.<sup>4</sup>  
 5 Gordium is in Hellespontine Phrygia on the river Sangarius, the  
 springs of which are in Phrygia; it

1 QC. iii 1, 1–8 (Celaenae surrendered after expiry of time limit  
 of 60 days); iv 1, 35 says that Antigonus later sent on to Alexander most  
 of the troops left to him.

2 Wrongly styled satrap of Lydia by QC. iv 1, 34 f. (cf. ii 4, 2 n.),  
 he was prominent after Al's death, almost reunited the empire under  
 his rule and was the ancestor of the kings of Macedon, 284–168 B.C.

3 As Gordium is 500 miles from Pella, they could not have  
 arrived before May 333 B.C. On Al's arrival, he presumably lost little  
 time before 'loosing' the Gordian knot (ii 3, 1) and then set out 'next  
 day' (ii 4, 1); he too then did not reach Gordium before May. K. Kraft,  
*Der 'rationale' Alexander* 86 ff., reasonably suggests that Gordium was  
 made the rendezvous (cf. 24, 3 n.), as a place on the main road from  
 Syria to the Hellespont, where Al. could withstand any Persian  
 counter-offensive, and that his unwillingness to tarry in besieging  
 Telmissus and Celaenae was due to his need to meet the rest of his

## ARRIAN

Βιθυνῶν χώρας ἐξίησιν ἐς τὸν Εὐξείνου πόντον. ἐνταῦθα καὶ Ἀθηναίων πρεσβεία παρ' Ἀλέξανδρον ἀφίκετο, δεόμενοι Ἀλεξάνδρου ἀφεῖναι σφισι τοὺς αἰχμαλώτους, οἳ ἐπὶ Γρανίκῳ ποταμῷ ἐλήφθησαν Ἀθηναίων ξυστρατευόμενοι τοῖς Πέρσαις  
 6 καὶ τότε ἐν Μακεδονίᾳ ξὺν τοῖς δισχιλίοις δεδεμένοι ἦσαν· καὶ ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν ἀπρακτοὶ ἐν τῷ τότε ἀπήλθον. οὐ γὰρ ἐδόκει ἀσφαλὲς εἶναι Ἀλεξάνδρῳ ἔτι ξυνεστῶτος τοῦ πρὸς τὸν Πέρσῃν πολέμου ἀνεῖναι τι τοῦ φόβου τοῖς Ἕλλησιν, ὅσοι ἐναντία τῇ Ἑλλάδι στρατεύεσθαι ὑπὲρ τῶν βαρβάρων οὐκ ἀπηξίωσαν· ἀλλ' ἀποκρίνεται, ἐπειδὴν τὰ παρόντα καλῶς γένηται, τότε ἤκειν ὑπὲρ τῶν αὐτῶν πρεσβενομένους.

## ANABASIS OF ALEXANDER I

runs through Bithynian Thrace into the Black Sea. An embassy also arrived there from Athens, begging Alexander to let them have the Athenian prisoners captured at the Granicus fighting on the Persian side and now under chains in Macedonia with the 2,000 captives.  
 6 Their request on the prisoners' behalf was not granted for the time being, and they departed.<sup>5</sup> Alexander did not think it safe, with the Persian war still in progress, to relax intimidation of the Greeks who did not scruple to fight for the barbarians against Greece; but he answered that when circumstances were favourable they were to approach him again on the same subject.

333 B.C.

5 Cf. iii 6, 2, Introd. n. 69. QC. iii 1, 9 says he now (apparently before arrival at Gordium) promised to restore all Greeks to their homes at the end of the war.

## ΒΙΒΛΙΟΝ ΔΕΥΤΕΡΟΝ

1. Ἐκ δὲ τούτου Μέμνων τοῦ τε ναυτικοῦ παντὸς ἡγεμὼν ἐκ βασιλέως Δαρείου καθεστηκῶς καὶ τῆς παραλίου ξυμπάσης, ὡς ἐς Μακεδονίαν τε καὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα ἀποστρέψων τὸν πόλεμον, Χίον μὲν λαμβάνει προδοσίᾳ ἐνδοθείσαν, ἔνθεν δὲ ἐπὶ Λέσβου πλεύσας, ὡς οὐ προσείχον αὐτῷ οἱ
- 2 Μιτυληναῖοι, τὰς ἄλλας πόλεις τῆς Λέσβου προσηγάγετο. ταύτας δὲ παραστησάμενος καὶ προσχῶν τῇ Μιτυλήνῃ τὴν μὲν πόλιν χάρακι διπλῶ ἐκ θαλάσσης ἐς θάλασσαν ἀπετείχισε, στρατόπεδα δὲ πέντε ἐποικοδομησάμενος τῆς γῆς ἐκράτει οὐ χαλεπῶς. καὶ μέρος μὲν τι τῶν νεῶν τὸν λιμένα αὐτῶν ἐφύλασσε, τὰς δὲ ἐπὶ τὴν ἄκραν τῆς Λέσβου τὸ Σίγριον, ἵνα ἢ προσβολὴ μάλιστά ἐστι ταῖς ἀπὸ τε Χίου καὶ ἀπὸ Γεραιστοῦ καὶ Μαλέας ὀλκάσιν, ἀποστείλας τὸν παράπλουν ἐν φυλακῇ εἶχεν, ὡς μή τινα ὠφέλειαν κατὰ
- 3 θάλασσαν γίγνεσθαι τοῖς Μιτυληναῖοις. καὶ ἐν τούτῳ αὐτὸς μὲν νόσῳ τελευτᾷ, καὶ εἴπερ τι ἄλλο καὶ τοῦτο ἐν τῷ τότε ἔβλαψε τὰ βασιλέως πράγματα. Αὐτοφραδάτης δὲ καὶ Φαρνάβαζος ὁ Ἀρταβάζου, ὅτε καὶ ἐπέτρεψε τελευτῶν ὁ Μέμνων τὴν αὐτοῦ ἀρχὴν ἔστε Δαρείῳ τι ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς γνῶναι,
- 4 ἀδελφιδῶ αὐτοῦ ὄντι, οὗτοι τῇ πολιορκίᾳ οὐκ ἀρρώστως προσέκειντο. καὶ οἱ Μιτυληναῖοι τῆς τε γῆς εἰργόμενοι καὶ ἀπὸ θαλάσσης πολλαῖς ναυσὶν ἐφορμούσαις φρουρούμενοι πέμψαντες παρὰ τὸν Φαρνάβαζον ὁμολογίας ἐποιήσαντο, τοὺς μὲν ξένους τοὺς παρ' Ἀλεξάνδρου

## BOOK II

1. Subsequently Memnon, who had been appointed by Darius commander-in-chief of the whole navy and all the coast, sought to divert the war into Macedonia and Greece,<sup>1</sup> and captured Chios, delivered over by treachery; thence he sailed to Lesbos, and though Mitylene did not adhere to him, he won over the remaining cities of
- 2 Lesbos. After securing their support, he put in at Mitylene, fenced off the city by a double stockade from sea to sea, built up five camps and had no trouble in mastering its territory. While part of his fleet guarded the Mitylenean harbour, other ships were despatched to Sigrium, the promontory of Lesbos, where cargo vessels from Chios and Geraistus and Malea usually approach, and so guarded the sea-route, to prevent help coming to Mitylene by sea. While thus
- 3 engaged, Memnon fell ill and died, the severest blow during this period to the Persian cause. But the blockade was vigorously carried on by Autophradates and Pharnabazus son of Artabazus, to whom, as his nephew, Memnon handed over his command at death,
- 4 pending Darius' decision on the matter. As the people of Mitylene were kept out of their land and guarded on the seaward side by many ships anchored offshore, they sent to Pharnabazus, and made an agreement to send away the mercenaries whom Alexander had

1 For chs. 1 and 2 see generally Appendix II.

σφίσι κατὰ συμμαχίαν ἤκοντας ἀπελθεῖν, Μιτυληναίους δὲ  
καθελεῖν μὲν τὰς πρὸς Ἀλέξανδρον σφίσι γενομένας στήλας,  
ξυμμάχους δὲ εἶναι Δαρείου κατὰ τὴν εἰρήνην τὴν ἐπ’  
Ἀνταλκίδου γενομένην πρὸς βασιλέα [Δαρείου],<sup>1</sup> τοὺς φυγάδας  
5 δὲ αὐτῶν κατιέναι ἐπὶ τοῖς ἡμίσεσι τῶν τότε ὄντων, ὅτε  
ἔφευγον. ἐπὶ τούτοις μὲν δὴ ἡ ξύμβασις τοῖς Μιτυληναίοις  
πρὸς τοὺς Πέρσας ξυνέβη. Φαρνάβαζος δὲ καὶ  
Αὐτοφραδάτης, ὡς παρήλθον ἅπαξ εἴσω τῆς πόλεως, φρουράν  
τε ἐς αὐτὴν εἰσήγαγον καὶ φρούραρχον ἐπ’ αὐτῇ Λυκομήδην  
Ῥόδιον, καὶ τύραννον ἐγκατέστησαν τῇ πόλει Διογένην, ἕνα  
τῶν φυγάδων, χρήματά τε εἰσέπραξαν τοὺς Μιτυληναίους τὰ  
μὲν βία ἀφελόμενοι τοὺς ἔχοντας, τὰ δὲ ἐς τὸ κοινὸν  
ἐπιβαλόντες.

2. Ταῦτα δὲ διαπραξάμενοι Φαρνάβαζος μὲν ἔπλει ἐπὶ  
Λυκίας ἄγων τοὺς ξένους τοὺς μισθοφόρους, Αὐτοφραδάτης  
δὲ ἐπὶ τὰς ἄλλας νήσους. καὶ ἐν τούτῳ καταπέμπει Δαρεῖος  
Θυμώνδαν τὸν Μέντορος, αὐτὸν μὲν τοὺς ξένους παρὰ  
Φαρναβάζου παραληψόμενον καὶ ἀνάξοντα παρὰ βασιλέα,  
2 Φαρναβάζῳ <δὲ> ἐροῦντα ἄρχειν ὅσων Μέμνων ἦρχεν· καὶ  
παραδοὺς τούτῳ τοὺς ξένους Φαρνάβαζος ἔπλει παρ’  
Αὐτοφραδάτην ἐπὶ τὰς ναῦς. ὡς δὲ ὁμοῦ ἐγένοντο, δέκα μὲν  
ναῦς στέλλουσιν ἐπὶ τὰς Κυκλάδας νήσους Δατάμην ἄνδρα  
Πέρσην ἄγοντα, αὐτοὶ δὲ ναυσὶν ἑκατὸν ἐπὶ Τενέδου

<sup>1</sup> Δαρεῖον, a gloss, unless an error by Arrian (cf. also ch. 2, 2);  
the king concerned was Artaxerxes.

despatched to fight for them under their alliance, destroy the pillars  
on which their agreement with Alexander was inscribed, and  
become allies of Darius on the basis of the peace of Antalcidas with  
(the Persian) king [Darius];<sup>2</sup> the exiles were to return with  
possession of half the property they had held at the time of their  
5 exile. Though these were the terms of the Mitylenean agreement  
with the Persians, Pharnabazus and Autophradates, once within the  
city, put in a garrison under the command of Lycomedes of Rhodes,  
and made Diogenes, one of the exiles, tyrant over the city: they also  
exacted money from Mitylene, taking part from the rich citizens by  
force and the rest by imposing a levy on the community.<sup>3</sup>

2. After this success Pharnabazus sailed for Lycia with the  
foreign mercenaries, Autophradates to the other islands. At this  
juncture Darius sent Thymondas son of Mentor<sup>1</sup> to take over  
himself the mercenaries from Pharnabazus and lead them up-  
country to Darius, and to instruct Pharnabazus to take over  
2 Memnon’s command.<sup>2</sup> Pharnabazus handed over the mercenaries,  
and sailed to join Autophradates and the fleet. Once together, they  
sent ten ships to the Cyclades under Datames, a Persian, while they  
themselves proceeded with a

<sup>2</sup> See Introd. 38. A. should have written ‘agreement with  
Alexander and the Greeks’, cf. 2, 2. Here as in 2. 2, Darius is an error  
(perhaps a scribal gloss) for Artaxerxes II, the king reigning in 387 B.C.  
In fact, the Peace of Antalcidas left island cities, like Mitylene and  
Tenedos, free of Persian control; no doubt the Persian commanders  
deliberately misconstrued its terms. Cf. QC. iii 3, 1. D. 30–31, 1 and  
QC. iii 2 report with variants Darius’ mobilization and decision to light  
Al. in person.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. iii 2, 6; for other Lesbian cities iii 2, 4; QC. iv 5, 19 ff.; Tod  
191.

<sup>1</sup> Memnon’s deceased brother.

ἔπλευσαν κατακομισθέντες δὲ τῆς Τενέδου εἰς τὸν Βόρειον  
καλούμενον λιμένα πέμπουσι παρὰ τοὺς Τενεδίους καὶ  
κελεύουσι τὰς στήλας τὰς πρὸς Ἀλέξανδρον καὶ τοὺς  
Ἕλληνας γενομένας σφίσι, ταύτας μὲν καθελεῖν, πρὸς  
Δαρείον δὲ ἄγειν τὴν εἰρήνην, ἣν ἐπὶ Ἀνταλκίδου [Δαρείῳ]<sup>1</sup>  
3 συνέθεντο. Τενεδίοις δὲ τὰ μὲν τῆς εὐνοίας ἐς Ἀλέξανδρον τε  
καὶ τοὺς Ἕλληνας ἐποίει μᾶλλον, ἐν δὲ τῷ παρόντι ἄπορον  
ἄλλως ἐδόκει ὅτι μὴ προσχωρήσαντας τοῖς Πέρσαις  
σώζεσθαι· ἐπεὶ οὐδὲ Ἡγελόχῳ, ὅτῳ προσετέτακτο <ὑπ’>  
Ἀλεξάνδρου αὐθις ξυναγαγεῖν δύναμιν ναυτικὴν, τοσαύτη  
ξυνηγμένη ἦν ὡς δι’ ὀλίγου προσδοκᾶν ἔσεσθαι ἂν σφίσι  
παρ’ αὐτοῦ τινα ὠφέλειαν. οὕτω μὲν δὴ οἱ ἀμφὶ Φαρνάβαζον  
τοὺς Τενεδίους φόβῳ μᾶλλον ἢ ἐθέλοντας παρεστήσαντο.  
4 Ἐν δὲ τούτῳ Πρωτέας ὁ Ἀνδρονίκου ἐτύγχανε μὲν  
ξυναγαγὼν ἐξ Εὐβοίας τε καὶ Πελοποννήσου ναῦς μακρὰς  
ὑπὸ Ἀντιπάτρου τεταγμένους, ὡς εἶναί τινα ταῖς τε νήσοις  
φυλακὴν καὶ αὐτῇ τῇ Ἑλλάδι, εἰ, καθάπερ ἐξηγγέλλετο,  
ἐπιπλέοιεν οἱ βάρβαροι πυθόμενος δὲ Δατάμην περὶ Σίφνον  
ὄρμειν δέκα ναυσίν, αὐτὸς ἔχων πεντεκαίδεκα νυκτὸς ἀνάγεται  
5 ἀπὸ Χαλκίδος τῆς ἐπὶ τῷ Εὐρίπῳ καὶ προσχὼν ἔωθεν Κύθνῳ  
τῇ νήσῳ τὴν μὲν ἡμέραν αὐτοῦ αὐλίζετο, ὡς σαφέστερόν τε  
διαπυθέσθαι τὰ περὶ τῶν δέκα νεῶν καὶ ἅμα ἐν νυκτὶ  
φοβερώτερον προσπεσεῖν τοῖς Φοίνιξιν· ὡς δὲ ἔμαθε σαφῶς  
τὸν Δατάμην ξὺν ταῖς ναυσὶν ἐν Σίφνῳ ὄρμουντα, ἐπιπλεύσας  
ἔτι νυκτὸς ὑπ’ αὐτὴν τὴν ἔω καὶ ἀπροσδοκῆτοις ἐπιπεσῶν  
ὀκτὼ μὲν ναῦς

1 Δαρείῳ, see on ch. 1, 4.

hundred sail to Tenedos. They came to port in the ‘north harbour’  
of Tenedos and ordered the city to destroy the inscribed pillars of  
the agreement concluded by Tenedos with Alexander and the  
Greeks, and to observe the peace of Antalcidas [made with  
3 Darius].<sup>3</sup> The inclination of Tenedos was rather towards Alexander  
and the Greeks; but at the moment there seemed no hope of safety  
but in joining the Persians, since Hegelochus, who had received  
orders from Alexander to re-assemble a fleet, had not raised a force  
sufficient to make them expect any speedy help from him. It was in  
this way, rather by terrorism than by their consent, that  
Pharnabazus brought Tenedos over.  
4 Meanwhile Proteas son of Andronicus had collected certain  
ships of the line from Euboea and the Peloponnese under a  
commission from Antipater, in order to protect the islands and  
mainland of Greece, in case, as reports suggested, the Persians  
descended there. On learning that Datames was anchored near  
Siphnos with ten ships, he weighed anchor with fifteen sail by night  
from Chalcis on the Euripus. At dawn he put in at the island of  
5 Cythnus, and encamped there during the day-time, to get clearer  
intelligence about the ten ships, and also to attack the Phoenicians,  
and by night, to create greater alarm. When he found for certain  
that Datames was anchored with the ships at Siphnos, he sailed  
there, while it was still night, attacked just at dawn when the enemy  
were expecting nothing, and

3 Cf. ch. 1, 4 n.

αὐτοῖς ἀνδράσιν ἔλαβε, Δατάμης δὲ μετὰ δυοῖν τριήρων ἐν τῇ πρώτῃ προσμίξει τῶν ἅμα Πρωτέα νεῶν ὑπεκφυγῶν ἀπεσώθη πρὸς τὸ ἄλλο ναυτικόν.

3. Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ ὡς ἐς Γόρδιον παρήλθε, πόθος λαμβάνει αὐτὸν ἀνελθόντα ἐς τὴν ἄκραν, ἵνα καὶ τὰ βασιλεία ἦν τὰ Γορδίου καὶ τοῦ παιδὸς αὐτοῦ Μίδου, τὴν ἅμαξαν ἰδεῖν τὴν
- 2 Γορδίου καὶ τοῦ ζυγοῦ τῆς ἀμάξης τὸν δεσμόν. λόγος δὲ περὶ τῆς ἀμάξης ἐκείνης παρὰ τοῖς προσχώροις πολὺς κατεῖχε, Γόρδιον εἶναι τῶν πάλαι Φρυγῶν ἄνδρα πένητα καὶ ὀλίγην εἶναι αὐτῷ γῆν ἐργάζεσθαι καὶ ζεύγη βοῶν δύο· καὶ τῷ μὲν
- 3 ἀροτριᾶν, τῷ δὲ ἀμαξεύειν τὸν Γόρδιον. καὶ ποτε ἀροῦντος αὐτοῦ ἐπιστήναι ἐπὶ τὸν ζυγὸν ἀετὸν καὶ ἐπιμεῖναι ἔσπε ἐπὶ βουλυτὸν καθήμενον· τὸν δὲ ἐκπλαγέντα τῇ ὄψει ἰέναι κοινώσοντα ὑπὲρ τοῦ θείου παρὰ τοὺς Τελμισσέας τοὺς μάντις· εἶναι γὰρ τοὺς Τελμισσέας σοφοὺς τὰ θεῖα ἐξηγεῖσθαι καὶ σφισιν ἀπὸ γένους δεδόσθαι αὐτοῖς καὶ
- 4 γυναιξὶν καὶ παισὶ τὴν μαντείαν. προσάγοντα δὲ κώμη τινὶ τῶν Τελμισσέων ἐντυχεῖν παρθένῳ ὑδρευομένη καὶ πρὸς ταύτην εἰπεῖν ὅπως οἱ τὸ τοῦ ἀετοῦ ἔσχε· τὴν δέ, εἶναι γὰρ καὶ αὐτὴν τοῦ μαντικοῦ γένους, θύειν κελεύσαι τῷ Διὶ τῷ βασιλεῖ, ἐπανελθόντα ἐς τὸν τόπον αὐτόν. καὶ, δεηθῆναι γὰρ αὐτῆς Γόρδιον τὴν θυσίαν ξυνεπισπομένην οἱ αὐτὴν ἐξηγήσασθαι, θύσαι τε ὅπως ἐκείνη ὑπετίθετο τὸν Γόρδιον καὶ ξυγγενέσθαι ἐπὶ γάμῳ τῇ παιδί καὶ γενέσθαι αὐτοῖν παῖδα
- 5 Μίδαυ ὄνομα. ἤδη τε ἄνδρα εἶναι τὸν Μίδαυ καλὸν καὶ γενναῖον καὶ ἐν τούτῳ στάσει πιέζεσθαι ἐν σφίσι τοὺς Φρύγας, καὶ γενέσθαι αὐτοῖς χρησμὸν, ὅτι ἅμαξα ἄξει αὐτοῖς βασιλέα καὶ ὅτι οὗτος αὐτοῖς καταπαύσει

captured eight ships with their crews; Datames with two triremes escaped in the first encounter with Proteas' ships and safely joined the rest of the fleet.

3. When Alexander reached Gordium, he was seized with a longing<sup>1</sup> to ascend to the acropolis, where the palace of Gordius and his son Midas was situated, and to see Gordius' waggon and the
- 2 knot of the waggon's yoke. There was a widespread local tradition<sup>2</sup> about that waggon; Gordius, they said, was a poor man among the old Phrygians, who tilled a small amount of land with two yoke of
- 3 oxen, one for the plough and one to drive his waggon. Once, as he was ploughing, an eagle settled on the yoke and stayed sitting there, till it was time to loose the oxen; Gordius was astonished at the sight, and went off to consult the Telmissian prophets about the prodigy; for they were skilled in the interpretation of prodigies, inheriting, women and children too, the prophetic gift.
- 4 Approaching a Telmissian village, he met a girl drawing water and told her his story of the eagle; she too was of the prophetic line, and told him to return to the exact spot and sacrifice to Zeus the King. So then Gordius begged her to come along with him and prescribe the sacrifice; he sacrificed as she directed, and married the girl;
- 5 they had a son called Midas. Midas was already a grown man, handsome and noble, when the Phrygians were in trouble among themselves with civil strife; they received an oracle that a waggon would bring them a

1 Appendix V 3.

2 This tale is not from the 'Vulgate', but was recounted by at least one of A's main sources.



τὴν στάσιν. ἔτι δὲ περὶ αὐτῶν τούτων βουλευομένοις ἐλθεῖν  
τὸν Μίδαυ ὁμοῦ τῷ πατρὶ καὶ τῇ μητρὶ καὶ ἐπιστῆναι τῇ  
6 ἐκκλησίᾳ αὐτῇ ἀμάξῃ. τοὺς δὲ ξυμβαλόντας τὸ μαντεῖον  
τούτου ἐκείνου γνῶναι ὄντα, ὄντινα ὁ θεὸς αὐτοῖς ἔφραζεν, ὅτι  
ἄξει ἢ ἄμαξα καὶ καταστήσῃ μὲν αὐτοὺς βασιλέα τὸν  
Μίδαυ, Μίδαυ δὲ αὐτοῖς τὴν στάσιν καταπαῦσαι, καὶ τὴν  
ἄμαξαν τοῦ πατρὸς ἐν τῇ ἄκρᾳ ἀναθεῖναι χαριστήρια τῷ Διὶ  
τῷ βασιλεῖ ἐπὶ τοῦ αἵτου τῇ πομπῇ. πρὸς δὲ δὴ τούτοις καὶ  
τόδε περὶ τῆς ἀμάξης ἐμυθεύετο, ὅστις λύσειε τοῦ ζυγοῦ τῆς  
7 ἀμάξης τὸν δεσμόν, τούτου χρήναι ἄρξαι τῆς Ἀσίας. ἦν δὲ ὁ  
δεσμός ἐκ φλοιοῦ κρανίας καὶ τούτου οὔτε τέλος οὔτε ἀρχὴ  
ἐφαίνετο. Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ ὡς ἀπόρως μὲν εἶχεν ἐξευρεῖν λύσιν  
τοῦ δεσμοῦ, ἄλυτον δὲ περιδεῖν οὐκ ἤθελε, μή τινα καὶ τοῦτο  
ἐς τοὺς πολλοὺς κίνησιν ἐργάσῃται, οἱ μὲν λέγουσιν, ὅτι  
παίσας τῷ ξίφει διέκοψε τὸν δεσμόν καὶ λελύσθαι ἔφη·  
Ἀριστόβουλος δὲ λέγει ἐξελόντα τὸν ἔστορα τοῦ ῥυμοῦ, ὃς ἦν  
τύλος διαβεβλημένος διὰ τοῦ ῥυμοῦ διαμπάξ, ξυνέχων τὸν  
8 δεσμόν, ἐξελκύσαι ἔξω τοῦ ῥυμοῦ τὸ <ν> ζυγόν. ὅπως μὲν δὴ  
ἐπράχθη τὰ ἀμφὶ τῷ δεσμῷ τούτῳ Ἀλεξάνδρῳ οὐκ ἔχω  
ἰσχυρίσασθαι. ἀπηλλάγη δ' οὖν ἀπὸ τῆς ἀμάξης αὐτός τε καὶ  
οἱ ἀμφ' αὐτὸν ὡς τοῦ λογίου τοῦ ἐπὶ τῇ λύσει τοῦ δεσμοῦ  
ξυμβεβηκότος. καὶ γὰρ καὶ τῆς νυκτὸς ἐκείνης βρονταί τε καὶ  
σέλας ἐξ οὐρανοῦ ἐπεσήμηναν· καὶ ἐπὶ τούτοις ἔθνε τῇ  
ὑστεραίᾳ Ἀλέξανδρος τοῖς φήνασι θεοῖς τά τε σημεῖα καὶ τοῦ  
δεσμοῦ τὴν λύσιν.

king and he would put an end to the strife. While they were still  
discussing this, Midas arrived with his parents and stopped, waggon  
6 and all, for the assembly to see. The Phrygians, interpreting this  
oracle, decided that he was the man who the gods had told them  
would come in a waggon, and made him king, and he put an end to  
the civil strife. He set up his father's waggon in the acropolis as a  
thank-offering to Zeus the King for sending the eagle. Over and  
above this there was a legend about the waggon, that anyone who  
untied the knot of the yoke would rule Asia. The knot was of cornel  
7 bark, and you could not see where it began or ended. Alexander was  
unable to find how to untie the knot but unwilling to leave it tied, in  
case this caused a disturbance among the masses; some say that he  
struck it with his sword, cut the knot, and said it was now untied—  
but Aristobulus says that he took out the pole-pin, a bolt driven  
right through the pole, holding the knot together, and so removed  
the yoke from the pole. I cannot say with confidence what  
8 Alexander actually did about this knot, but he and his suite certainly  
left the waggon with the impression that the oracle about the  
undoing of the knot had been fulfilled, and in fact that night there  
was thunder and lightning, a further sign from heaven; so Alexander  
in thanksgiving offered sacrifice next day to whatever gods had  
shown the signs and the way to undo the knot.<sup>3</sup>

3 P. 18 also cites Ar. against the general view that Al. cut the knot (QC. iii 1. 14–19; J, xi 7). Pt. evidently did not confirm Ar., hence A's hesitation. Yet A. is confident about the impression made on Al. and his suite, and about the subsequent omen and sacrifice; on these matters Pt. must have agreed with Ar., and he cannot then have ignored the incident, but just failed to say *how* Al. loosed the knot; for a curious parallel, v 7, 1. Al's success doubtless encouraged his claim after Issus to be lord of 'Asia' (14, 7 f., apparently from Pt. and/or Ar. cf. QC, P. and J.; iii 15, 5 n.). See Introd. n. 64.

4. Αὐτὸς δὲ τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ ἐπ' Ἀγκύρας τῆς Γαλατικῆς  
 ἐστέλλετο· κακεῖ αὐτῷ πρεσβεία ἀφικνεῖται Παφλαγόνων, τό  
 τε ἔθνος ἐνδιδόντων καὶ ἐς ὁμολογίαν ξυμβαίνοντων· ἐς δὲ τὴν  
 2 χώραν ξὺν τῇ δυνάμει μὴ ἐσβαλεῖν ἐδέοντο. τούτοις μὲν δὴ  
 προστάσσει Ἀλέξανδρος ὑπακούειν Κάλᾳ τῷ σατράπῃ τῷ  
 Φρυγίας. αὐτὸς δὲ ἐπὶ Καππαδοκίας ἐλάσας ξύμπασαν τὴν  
 3 ἐντὸς Ἄλνυος ποταμοῦ προσηγάγετο καὶ ἔτι ὑπὲρ τὸν Ἄλνυ  
 πολλήν· καταστήσας δὲ Καππαδοκῶν Σαβίκταν σατράπῃν  
 αὐτὸς προῆγεν ἐπὶ τὰς πύλας τὰς Κιλικίας. καὶ ἀφικόμενος  
 ἐπὶ τὸ Κύρου τοῦ ξὺν Ξενοφῶντι στρατόπεδον, ὡς  
 κατεχομένας τὰς πύλας φυλακαῖς ἰσχυραῖς εἶδε, Παρμενίωνα  
 μὲν αὐτοῦ καταλείπει σὺν ταῖς τάξεσι τῶν πεζῶν, ὅσοι  
 βαρύτερον ὀπλισμένοι ἦσαν. αὐτὸς δὲ ἀμφὶ πρώτην φυλακὴν  
 ἀναλαβὼν τοὺς τε ὑπασπιστὰς καὶ τοὺς τοξότας καὶ τοὺς  
 4 Ἀγριᾶνας προῆγε τῆς νυκτὸς ἐπὶ τὰς πύλας, ὡς οὐ  
 προσδεχομένοις τοῖς φύλαξιν ἐπιπεσεῖν. καὶ προσάγων μὲν  
 οὐκ ἔλαθεν, ἐς ἴσον δὲ αὐτῷ κατέστη ἡ τόλμα. οἱ γὰρ  
 φύλακες αἰσθόμενοι Ἀλέξανδρον αὐτὸν προσάγοντα λιπόντες  
 τὴν φυλακὴν ὄχοντο φεύγοντες. τῇ δὲ ὑστεραίᾳ ἅμα τῇ ἕω  
 5 ξὺν τῇ δυνάμει πάσῃ ὑπερβαλὼν τὰς πύλας κατέβαινε ἐς  
 τὴν Κιλικίαν. καὶ ἐνταῦθα ἀγγέλλεται αὐτῷ Ἀρσάμης ὅτι  
 πρόσθεν μὲν ἐπενόει διασώζειν Πέρσαις τὴν Ταρσόν, ὡς δὲ  
 ὑπερβεβληκότα ἤδη τὰς πύλας ἐπύθητο Ἀλέξανδρον ἐκλιπεῖν  
 ἐν νῷ ἔχειν τὴν πόλιν· δεδιέναι οὖν τοὺς Ταρσέας μὴ ἐφ'  
 6 ἀρπαγὴν τραπείς οὕτω τὴν ἀπόλευψιν τῆς Ταρσοῦ ποιήσῃται.  
 ταῦτα ἀκούσας δρόμῳ ἦγεν ἐπὶ τὴν Ταρσὸν τοὺς τε

4. Next day Alexander set out for Ancyra in Galatia; there a  
 Paphlagonian embassy met him who offered their people's  
 submission and agreed to terms; they begged him not to enter their  
 2 country in force. Alexander instructed them to take orders from  
 Calas, satrap of Phrygia. He himself marched to Cappadocia, won  
 over all the country this side of the river Halys and much beyond it.  
 He made Sabictas satrap of Cappadocia and pushed on himself to  
 3 the Cilician Gates.<sup>1</sup> When he reached the camp of Cyrus, who had  
 been with Xenophon, and saw that the Gates were strongly held, he  
 left Parmenio there with the heavier-armed foot-battalions, while  
 he himself, about the first watch, took the hypaspists, archers and  
 Agrianians, and marched by night to the Gates, meaning to take the  
 guards unawares. His march was detected, but his daring counted  
 4 just as much in his favour; the guards, observing that he was leading  
 in person, left their posts in flight. Next day at dawn he passed the  
 5 Gates with his full force and descended into Cilicia. There it was  
 reported to him that Arsames, who had previously planned to save  
 Tarsus for the Persians, after learning that Alexander had already  
 passed the Gates, was intending to abandon the city, and that the  
 Tarsians were therefore afraid Arsames would resort to plunder  
 6 before deserting it. Hearing this, Alexander led on

1 QC. iii 1, 22–4; 4,1 (with 'Abistamenes' for 'Sabictas'); P. 18, 3; Introd. 53. Al. never entered Paphlagonia and would have traversed only a small part of Cappadocia on the direct route from Ancyra to the Cilician Gates; the Cappadocians had to be defeated by Antigonos in Phrygia after Issus (QC. iv 1, 34, cf. A. R. Burn, *JHS* 1952, 81 ff., an important event doubtless ignored in A's main sources, because it was not part of Al's own story), fought for Darius at Gaugamela (A. iii 11, 7), and were subdued only after Al's death (D. xviii 3, 1; 16).

ἰππέας καὶ τῶν ψιλῶν ὅσοι κουφότατοι, ὥστε ὁ Ἀρσάμης  
μαθὼν αὐτοῦ τὴν ὁρμὴν σπουδῇ φεύγει ἐκ τῆς Ταρσοῦ παρὰ  
βασιλέα Δαρείου οὐδὲν βλάβας τὴν πόλιν.

- 7 Ἀλέξανδρος δέ, ὡς μὲν Ἀριστοβούλῳ λέλεκται, ὑπὸ  
καμάτου ἐνόσησεν, οἱ δὲ ἐς τὸν Κύδνον [τὸν] ποταμὸν λέγουσι  
ρίψαντα νηξασθαι, ἐπιθυμήσαντα τοῦ ὕδατος, ἰδρῶντα καὶ  
καύματι ἐχόμενον. ὁ δὲ Κύδνος ῥέει διὰ μέσης τῆς πόλεως·  
οἶα δὲ ἐκ τοῦ Ταύρου ὄρους τῶν πηγῶν οἱ ἀνισχουσῶν καὶ  
8 διὰ χώρου καθαρῶ ῥέων, ψυχρὸς τέ ἐστι καὶ τὸ ὕδωρ  
καθαρός· σπασμῶ τε οὖν ἔχεσθαι Ἀλέξανδρον καὶ θέρμεις  
ἰσχυραῖς καὶ ἀγρυπνία ξυνεχεῖ· καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἄλλους ἰατροὺς  
οὐκ οἶεσθαι εἶναι βιώσιμον, Φίλιππον δὲ Ἀκαρνᾶνα, ἰατρόν,  
ξυνόντα Ἀλεξάνδρῳ καὶ τά τε ἀμφὶ ἰατρικὴν ἐς τὰ μάλιστα  
πιστευόμενον καὶ τὰ ἄλλα οὐκ ἀδόκιμον ἐν τῷ στρατῷ ὄντα,  
9 καθῆραι ἐθέλειν Ἀλέξανδρον φαρμάκῳ καὶ τὸν κελεύειν  
καθῆραι. τὸν μὲν δὴ παρασκευάζειν τὴν κύλικα, ἐν τούτῳ δὲ  
Ἀλεξάνδρῳ δοθῆναι ἐπιστολὴν παρὰ Παρμενίωνος  
φυλάξασθαι Φίλιππον· ἀκούει γὰρ διεφθάρθαι ὑπὸ Δαρείου  
χρήμασιν ὥστε φαρμάκῳ ἀποκτεῖναι Ἀλέξανδρον. τὸν δὲ  
ἀναγνόντα τὴν ἐπιστολὴν καὶ ἔτι μετὰ χεῖρας ἔχοντα αὐτὸν  
μὲν λαβεῖν τὴν κύλικα ἐν ἧ ἦν τὸ φάρμακον, τὴν ἐπιστολὴν  
10 δὲ τῷ Φιλίππῳ δοῦναι ἀναγνῶναι. καὶ ὁμοῦ τόν τε  
Ἀλέξανδρον πίνειν καὶ τὸν Φίλιππον ἀναγινώσκειν τὰ παρὰ  
τοῦ Παρμενίωνος. Φίλιππον δὲ εὐθὺς ἐνδηλον γενέσθαι, ὅτι  
καλῶς οἱ ἔχει τὰ τοῦ φαρμάκου· οὐ γὰρ ἐκπλαγῆναι πρὸς τὴν  
ἐπιστολὴν, ἀλλὰ τοσόνδε μόνον παρακαλέσαι Ἀλέξανδρον,  
καὶ ἐς τὰ

the cavalry and the most mobile of the light troops at full speed to  
Tarsus, so that Arsames learning of his onrush fled to King Darius  
without harming the city.<sup>2</sup>

- 7 Here Alexander fell ill, from fatigue according to Aristobulus,  
but others tell the following story.<sup>3</sup> Alexander dived into the river  
Cydnus and had a swim; he wanted to bathe as he was in a sweat  
and overcome by heat. The Cydnus runs right through the city, and  
as its springs are in Mount Taurus and it runs through open  
country, it is cold and its water is clear. Alexander therefore caught  
8 a cramp, and suffered from violent fever and continuous  
sleeplessness. All his physicians gave him up except Philip, an  
Acarnianian doctor in his suite who was very much trusted in  
medical matters, and in general enjoyed honour in the army; he  
proposed a strong purge, and Alexander told him to administer it.  
9 He was making up the draught when a note was given Alexander  
from Parmenio, 'Beware of Philip! I hear that Darius has bribed  
him to poison you.' Alexander read the letter, and still holding it,  
took the cup with the draught and gave the note to Philip to read; at  
10 one and the same moment Alexander drank the dose and Philip  
read Parmenio's note. Philip at once made it clear that all was well  
with the dose; he was not panic-struck at the letter, but simply re-  
assured Alexander and told him to follow

2 QC. iii 4, 2–15; J. xi 8, 1 f.; cf. Xenophon, *Anabasis* i 2, 21 on  
the Cilician Gates.

3 'Vulgate' (§ 7–11); D. 31, 4–6, QC. iii 5 f.; J. xi 8, 3 ff. differ in  
detail; P. 19 gives Ar's account without naming him.

11 ἄλλα οἱ πείθεσθαι ὅσα ἐπαγγέλλοιτο σωθήσεσθαι γὰρ πειθόμενον. καὶ τὸν μὲν καθαρθῆναί τε καὶ ραΐσαι αὐτῷ τὸ νόσημα, Φιλίππῳ δὲ ἐπιδείξαι, ὅτι πιστός ἐστιν αὐτῷ φίλος, καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις δὲ τοῖς ἀμφ' αὐτὸν, ὅτι αὐτοῖς τε τοῖς φίλοις βέβαιος εἰς τὸ ἀνύποπτον τυγχάνει ὦν καὶ πρὸς τὸ ἀποθανεῖν ἐρρωμένος.

5. Ἐκ δὲ τούτου Παρμενίωνα μὲν πέμπει ἐπὶ τὰς ἄλλας πύλας, αἱ δὴ ὀρίζουσι τὴν Κιλικίων τε καὶ Ἀσσυρίων χώραν, προκαταλαβεῖν καὶ φυλάσσειν τὴν πάροδον, δούς αὐτῷ τῶν τε ξυμμάχων τοὺς πεζοὺς καὶ τοὺς Ἑλληνας τοὺς μισθοφόρους  
 2 καὶ τοὺς Θρᾶκας, ὧν Σιτάλκης ἡγείτο, καὶ τοὺς ἰππέας δὲ τοὺς Θεσσαλοὺς. αὐτὸς δὲ ὕστερος ἄρας ἐκ Ταρσοῦ τῇ μὲν πρώτῃ ἐς Ἀγχιάλον πόλιν ἀφικνεῖται. ταύτην δὲ Σαρδανάπαλον κτίσαι τὸν Ἀσσύριον λόγος· καὶ τῷ περιβόλῳ  
 3 δὲ καὶ τοῖς θεμελίοις τῶν τειχῶν δῆλη ἐστὶ μεγάλη τε πόλις κτισθεῖσα καὶ ἐπὶ μέγα ἐλθοῦσα δυνάμεως. καὶ τὸ μνήμα τοῦ Σαρδαναπάλου ἐγγὺς ἦν τῶν τειχῶν τῆς Ἀγχιάλου· καὶ αὐτὸς ἐφειστήκει ἐπ' αὐτῷ Σαρδανάπαλος συμβεβληκῶς τὰς χεῖρας ἀλλήλαις ὡς μάλιστα ἐς κρότον συμβάλλονται, καὶ  
 4 ἐπίγραμμα ἐπεγέγραπτο αὐτῷ Ἀσσύρια γράμματα· οἱ μὲν Ἀσσύριοι καὶ μέτρον ἔφασκον ἐπεῖναι τῷ ἐπιγράμματι, ὃ δὲ νοῦς ἦν αὐτῷ ὃν ἔφραζε τὰ ἔπη, ὅτι Σαρδανάπαλος ὁ Ἀνακυνδaráξου παῖς Ἀγχιάλον καὶ Ταρσὸν ἐν ἡμέρᾳ μιᾷ ἐδέϊματο. σὺ δέ, ὦ ξένε, ἔσθιε καὶ πῖνε καὶ παίξε, ὡς τὰλλα τὰ ἀνθρώπινα οὐκ ὄντα τούτου ἄξια· τὸν ψόφον αἰνισσόμενος, ὄνπερ αἱ χεῖρες ἐπὶ τῷ κρότῳ ποιοῦσι καὶ τὸ

any further instructions from him; if he did so, he would recover.

333 B.C.

11 The purge worked and eased the illness; and Alexander showed Philip that as his friend he trusted him, and his suite in general that he was resolute in refusing to suspect his friends and steadfast in the face of death.

5. Next he sent Parmenio to the other Gates which divide the Cilician and Assyrian lands, to seize the passage before the enemy and guard it, giving him the allied infantry, the Greek mercenaries, the Thracians under Sitalces and the Thessalian horse.<sup>1</sup> Later on he  
 2 left Tarsus and on the first day reached Anchialus, founded, as legend says, by Sardanapalus the Assyrian. The circumference and the foundations of the walls show that the city was large when  
 3 founded, and grew to great power. Sardanapalus' monument was near the walls of Anchialus; over it stood Sardanapalus himself, his hands joined just as if to clap, and an epitaph was inscribed in the  
 4 Assyrian script; the Assyrians said that it was in verse. In any case its meaning according to the words was: 'Sardanapalus son of Anakyndaraxes built Anchialus and Tarsus in one day; you, stranger, eat, drink and be merry, since other human things are not worth *this*'—the riddle referring to the noise of a

1 For Issus campaign see App. III and VIII 3. Nothing of value in J. xi 9, little in P. 20. I shall note parallels to A. in D. and QC. (book iii throughout) without pointing out all divergencies. Parmenio's mission: QC. 7, 6 (put too late in D. 32, 2).

παῖζε ῥαδιουργότερον ἐγγεγράφθαι ἔφασαν τῷ Ἀσσυρίῳ ὀνόματι.

- 5 Ἐκ δὲ τῆς Ἀγχιάλου εἰς Σόλους ἀφίκετο· καὶ φρουρὰν ἐσήγαγεν εἰς Σόλους καὶ ἐπέβαλεν αὐτοῖς τάλαντα διακόσια
- 6 ἀργυρίου ζημίαν, ὅτι πρὸς τοὺς Πέρσας μᾶλλον τι τὸν νοῦν εἶχον. ἔνθεν δὲ ἀναλαβὼν τῶν μὲν πεζῶν τῶν Μακεδόνων τρεῖς τάξεις, τοὺς τοξότας δὲ πάντας καὶ τοὺς Ἀγριαῖνας ἐξελαύνει ἐπὶ τοὺς τὰ ὄρη κατέχοντας Κίλικας. καὶ ἐν ἑπτὰ ταῖς πάσαις ἡμέραις τοὺς μὲν βία ἐξελών, τοὺς δὲ ὁμολογίᾳ
- 7 παραστησάμενος ἐπανῆκεν εἰς τοὺς Σόλους. καὶ ἐνταῦθα μανθάνει Πτολεμαῖον καὶ Ἄσανδρον ὅτι ἐκράτησαν Ὀροντοβάτου τοῦ Πέρσου, ὃς τὴν τε ἄκραν τῆς Ἀλικαρνασσοῦ ἐφύλασσε καὶ Μύνδον καὶ Καῦνον καὶ Θήραν καὶ Καλλίπολιν κατείχε· προσῆκτο δὲ καὶ Κῶ καὶ Τριόπιον. τοῦτον ἠττήσθαι ἔγραφον μάχη μεγάλη· καὶ ἀποθανεῖν μὲν τῶν ἀμφ' αὐτὸν πεζοὺς εἰς ἑπτακοσίους καὶ ἰππέας εἰς
- 8 πεντήκοντα, ἀλῶναι δὲ οὐκ ἐλάττους τῶν χιλίων. Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ ἐν Σόλοις θύσας τε τῷ Ἀσκληπιῷ καὶ πομπεύσας αὐτὸς τε καὶ ἡ στρατιὰ πᾶσα καὶ λαμπάδα ἐπιτελέσας καὶ ἀγῶνα διαθεῖς γυμνικὸν καὶ μουσικὸν Σολεῦσι μὲν δημοκρατεῖσθαι ἔδωκεν· αὐτὸς δὲ ἀναλεύξας εἰς Ταρσὸν τοὺς μὲν ἰππέας
- 9 ἀπέστειλεν Φιλῶτα δούς ἄγειν διὰ τοῦ Ἀλη[ν]ίου πεδίου ἐπὶ τὸν ποταμὸν τὸν Πύραμον, αὐτὸς δὲ σὺν τοῖς πεζοῖς καὶ τῇ ἴλῃ τῇ βασιλικῇ εἰς Μάγαρσον ἦκεν καὶ τῇ Ἀθηνᾷ τῇ Μαγαρσίδι ἔθυσεν. ἔνθεν δὲ εἰς Μαλλὸν ἀφίκετο καὶ Ἀμφιλόχῳ ὅσα ἥρωι ἐνήγισε· καὶ στασιάζοντας καταλαβὼν τὴν στάσιν αὐτοῖς

hand-clap. (It was said that the words 'be merry' had a less delicate original in the Assyrian.)<sup>2</sup>

- 5 From Anchialus he reached Soli; he put a garrison in the place, and fined them two hundred silver Talents, because they were inclined to favour Persia.<sup>3</sup> From there he took three battalions of
- 6 the Macedonian infantry, all the archers, and the Agrianians, and marched against the Cilicians holding the heights. In no more than seven days he drove some of them out, induced others to enter into
- 7 agreements, and returned to Soli.<sup>4</sup> There he learnt that Ptolemaeus and Asander had conquered Orontobates the Persian, who had been defending the citadel of Halicarnassus, was in control of Myndus, Caunus, Thera and Callipolis, and had won over Cos and Triopium. The letter stated that they had beaten him in a great battle with a loss of about 700 foot and 50 cavalry, and taken at least
- 8 1,000 prisoners.<sup>5</sup> At Soli Alexander sacrificed to Asclepius and held a procession of his whole army, with a torch relay race and athletic and musical competitions.<sup>6</sup> He granted a democracy to Soli. He then proceeded to Tarsus and sent off the cavalry, commissioning Philotas to conduct them to the river Pyramus through the Aleian
- 9 plain, while he himself went with the infantry and the royal squadron to Magarsus and sacrificed to Athena of Magarsus. He next arrived at Mallus and made offerings for the dead to Amphilochous as a hero; he found the Mallians torn by factions and put a stop

2 Ar. F. 9 (Strabo xiv 5, 9; Athenaeus 530 A–B; A. is fullest), derived probably from Callisthenes (F. 34).

3 QC. 7, 2. Soli is treated as Greek, cf. 12, 2; Introd. n. 61.

4 Not in QC.

5 QC. 7, 4. Cf. App. II 2.

6 QC. 7, 3 and 5 takes Al. straight to Mallus.

κατέπαυσε καὶ τοὺς φόρους, οὓς βασιλεῖ Δαρείῳ ἀπέφερον, ἀνήκεν, ὅτι Ἀργείων μὲν Μαλλωταὶ ἄποικοι ἦσαν, αὐτὸς δὲ ἀπ' Ἀργους τῶν Ἡρακλειδῶν εἶναι ἠξίου.

6. Ἐπι δὲ ἐν Μαλλῷ ὄντι αὐτῷ ἀγγέλλεται Δαρείου ἐν Σώχοις ξὺν τῇ πάσῃ δυνάμει στρατοπεδεύειν. ὁ δὲ χώρος οὗτός ἐστι μὲν τῆς Ἀσσυρίας γῆς, ἀπέχει δὲ τῶν πυλῶν τῶν Ἀσσυρίων ἐς δύο μάλιστα σταθμούς. ἔνθα δὴ ξυναγαγὼν τοὺς ἐταίρους φράζει αὐτοῖς τὰ ἐξηγγελμένα ὑπὲρ Δαρείου τε καὶ τῆς στρατιᾶς τῆς Δαρείου. οἱ δὲ αὐτόθεν ὡς εἶχεν ἄγειν ἐκέλευον. ὁ δὲ τότε μὲν ἐπαιέσας αὐτοὺς διέλυσε τὸν ξύλλογον, τῇ δὲ ὑστεραία προ[σ]ῆγεν ὡς ἐπὶ Δαρείον τε καὶ τοὺς Πέρσας. δευτεραίος δὲ ὑπερβαλὼν τὰς πύλας ἐστρατοπέδευσε πρὸς Μυριάδρω πόλει καὶ τῆς νυκτὸς χειμῶν ἐπιγίγνεται σκληρὸς καὶ ὕδωρ τε ἐξ οὐρανοῦ καὶ πνεῦμα βίαιον· τοῦτο κατέσχευεν ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ Ἀλέξανδρον.

3 Δαρείος δὲ τέως μὲν ξὺν τῇ στρατιᾷ διέτριβεν, ἐπιλεξάμενος τῆς Ἀσσυρίας γῆς πεδῖον πάντῃ ἀναπεπταμένον καὶ τῷ τε πλήθει τῆς στρατιᾶς ἐπιτήδειον καὶ ἐνιππάσασθαι τῇ ἵππῳ ξύμφορον. καὶ τοῦτο τὸ χωρίον ξυμβούλευσεν αὐτῷ μὴ ἀπολείπειν Ἀμύντας ὁ Ἀντιόχου, ὁ παρὰ Ἀλεξάνδρου αὐτόμολος· εἶναι γὰρ τὴν εὐρυχωρίαν πρὸς τοῦ πλήθους τε καὶ τῆς σκευῆς τῶν Περσῶν. καὶ ἔμενε Δαρείος. ὡς δὲ 4 Ἀλεξάνδρῳ πολλὴ μὲν [ἡ] ἐν Ταρσῷ τριβῆ ἐπὶ τῇ νόσῳ ἐγίνετο, οὐκ ὀλίγη δὲ ἐν Σόλοις, ἵνα ἔθνε τε καὶ ἐπόμπευε, καὶ ἐπὶ τοὺς ὄρεινους Κίλικας διέτριβεν ἐξελάσας, τοῦτο ἔσφηλεν Δαρείου τῆς γνώμης· καὶ αὐτὸς τε, ὃ τι περ

to them; he remitted the tribute paid to Darius, since Mallus was a colony of Argos, and he himself claimed descent from the Argive Heraclidae.<sup>7</sup>

6. Alexander was still at Mallus when a report came that Darius with his full force was encamped at Sochi, a place in Assyrian territory, about two marching days from the Assyrian Gates. Alexander therefore assembled the Companions and told them the news of Darius and his army, on which they urged him to advance 2 without more ado. He then thanked them and dismissed the council and marched next day to attack Darius and the Persians. On the second day he passed the Gates and camped near a city called Myriandrus, and in the night a severe storm came on with rain, and a violent gale, which kept Alexander in his camp.<sup>1</sup>

3 Darius meanwhile was marking time with his army. He had selected a plain in the Assyrian land open all round, convenient for the great number of his army and suitable for the manoeuvres of his cavalry. Amyntas son of Antiochus, the deserter from Alexander, advised him not to leave this place; there was, he said, elbow-room favourable for the numbers and equipment of the Persians.<sup>2</sup> So 4 Darius stayed where he was. But as Alexander spent a long time in Tarsus on account of his illness, and a good deal at Soli, where he sacrificed and held the parade, and was delayed by his raid on the Cilician hillmen,<sup>3</sup> all this made Darius waver in his decision. He himself was

7 Al. treats Mallus as Greek, like its 'founder', Amphiloehus.

1 D. 32, 2; QC. 7, 6-10; App. III 3.

2 P. 20, 1; QC. 8, 1-11 is very different.

3 See Appendix VIII 3. For Darius' mobilization, D. 30 f.; QC. iii

ἡδιστον ἦν δοξασθέν, ἐς τοῦτο οὐκ ἀκουσίως ὑπήχθη καὶ ὑπὸ  
 τῶν καθ' ἡδονὴν ξυνόντων τε καὶ ξυνεσομένων ἐπὶ κακῶ τοῖς  
 αἰ βασιλεύουσιν ἐπαιρόμενος ἔγνω μηκέτι Ἀλέξανδρον  
 5 ἐθέλειν προΐεναι τοῦ πρόσω, ἀλλ' ὀκνεῖν γὰρ πυνθανόμενον  
 ὅτι αὐτὸς προσάγοι καταπατήσειν τε τῇ ἵππῳ τῶν  
 6 Μακεδόνων τὴν στρατιὰν ἄλλος ἄλλοθεν αὐτῷ ἐπαίροντες  
 ἔλεγον· καίτοι γε Ἀμύντας ἤξειν τε Ἀλέξανδρον ἰσχυρίζετο,  
 ὅπου ἂν πύθῃται Δαρεῖον ὄντα, καὶ αὐτοῦ προσμένειν  
 ἐκέλευεν. ἀλλὰ τὰ χείρω μᾶλλον, ὅτι καὶ ἐν τῷ παραντίκα  
 ἡδίῳ ἀκούσαι ἦν, ἔπειθε· καὶ τι καὶ δαιμόνιον τυχὸν ἦγεν  
 αὐτὸν εἰς ἐκεῖνον τὸν χῶρον, οὐ μήτε ἐκ τῆς ἵππου πολλὴ  
 ὠφέλεια αὐτῷ ἐγένετο, μήτε ἐκ τοῦ πλήθους αὐτοῦ τῶν τε  
 ἀνθρώπων καὶ τῶν ἀκουτίων τε καὶ τοξενμάτων, μηδὲ τὴν  
 λαμπρότητα αὐτὴν τῆς στρατιᾶς ἐπιδείξαι ἡδυνήθη, ἀλλὰ  
 Ἀλεξάνδρῳ τε καὶ τοῖς ἀμφ' αὐτὸν εὐμαρῶς τὴν νίκην  
 7 παρέδωκεν. ἐχρῆν γὰρ ἤδη καὶ Πέρσας πρὸς Μακεδόνων  
 ἀφαιρεθῆναι τῆς Ἀσίας τὴν ἀρχήν, καθάπερ οὖν Μῆδοι μὲν  
 πρὸς Περσῶν ἀφηρέθησαν, πρὸς Μήδων δὲ ἔτι ἔμπροσθεν  
 Ἀσσύριοι.

7. Ὑπερβαλὼν δὴ τὸ ὄρος Δαρεῖος τὸ κατὰ τὰς πύλας τὰς  
 Ἀμανικὰς καλουμένας ὡς ἐπὶ Ἴσσον προῆγε καὶ ἐγένετο  
 κατόπιον Ἀλεξάνδρου λαθῶν. τὴν δὲ Ἴσσον κατασχών, ὅσους  
 διὰ νόσον ὑπολειμμένους αὐτοῦ τῶν Μακεδόνων κατέλαβε,  
 τούτους χαλεπῶς αἰκισάμενος ἀπέκτεινεν· ἐς δὲ τὴν ὑστεραίαν  
 2 προὔχρει ἐπὶ τὸν ποταμὸν τὸν Πίναρον. καὶ Ἀλέξανδρος ὡς  
 ἤκουσεν ἐν τῷ ὀπισθεν αὐτοῦ ὄντα Δαρεῖον, ἐπεὶ οὐ πιστὸς  
 αὐτῷ ὁ λόγος ἐφαίνετο, ἀναβιβάσας εἰς τριακόντορον τῶν

readily induced to adopt any opinion it was most agreeable to hold;  
 and ingratiating courtiers, such as do and will haunt each successive  
 king to his detriment,<sup>4</sup> encouraged him to conclude that Alexander  
 5 was no longer willing to advance further, but was hesitating on  
 hearing of Darius' own approach. On all sides they egged him on,  
 telling him that he would trample the Macedonian force underfoot  
 6 with his cavalry.<sup>5</sup> Amyntas, however, persisted that Alexander would  
 come wherever he found Darius to be, and urged him to remain  
 where he was. But the worse counsels prevailed, as they were more  
 agreeable to hear at the time; moreover, some divine power led  
 Darius into the very position where his cavalry did not much help  
 him, nor the number of his men and javelins and arrows, where he  
 could make no display even of the splendour of his army, but  
 delivered the victory easily to Alexander and his force. In fact it was  
 7 destined that the Persians should forfeit the sovereignty of Asia to  
 Macedonians, just as Medes had lost it to Persians, and Assyrians  
 even earlier to Medes.<sup>6</sup>

7. Darius then crossed the mountains by the so-called Amanian  
 Gates, advanced towards Issus and slipped in behind Alexander. On  
 seizing Issus, he savagely tortured and killed all the invalid  
 Macedonians left behind there whom he captured. Next day he  
 2 advanced to the river Pinarus.<sup>1</sup> Alexander heard that Darius was in  
 his rear but did not credit the report; he embarked some of the  
 Companions

4 A's own comment, cf. iv 8, 3.

5 So at this time Demosthene was predicting, Aeschines, iii 164.

6 More of A's own comment.

1 QC. 8, 13–15.

ἑταίρων τινὰς ἀποπέμπει ὀπίσω ἐπὶ Ἴσσον, κατασκευομένους εἰ τὰ ὄντα ἕξαγγέλλεται. οἱ δὲ ἀναπλεύσαντες τῇ τριακοντόρω, ὅτι κολπώδης ἦν ἡ ταύτη θάλασσα, μᾶλλον τι εὐπετῶς κατέμαθον αὐτοῦ στρατοπεδεύοντας τοὺς Πέρσας· καὶ ἀπαγγέλλουσιν Ἀλεξάνδρῳ ἐν χερσὶν εἶναι Δαρείου.

- 3 Ὁ δὲ συγκαλέσας στρατηγούς τε καὶ ἰλάρχας καὶ τῶν ξυμμάχων τοὺς ἡγεμόνας παρεκάλει θαρρεῖν μὲν ἐκ τῶν ἤδη σφίσι καλῶς κεινδυνευμένων καὶ ὅτι πρὸς νενικημένους ὁ ἀγὼν νενικηκόσιν αὐτοῖς ἔσται καὶ ὅτι ὁ θεὸς ὑπὲρ σφῶν στρατηγεί ἄμεινον, ἐπὶ νοῦν Δαρείῳ ἀγαγὼν καθείρξει τὴν δύναμιν ἐκ τῆς εὐρυχωρίας ἐς τὰ στενόπορα, ἵνα σφίσι μὲν ξύμμετρον τὸ χωρίον ἀναπτύξει τὴν φάλαγγα, τοῖς δὲ
- 4 ἀχρεῖον τὸ πλῆθος [ὅτι] ἔσται τῇ μάχῃ, οὔτε τὰ σώματα οὔτε τὰς γνώμας παραπλησίους. Μακεδόνας τε γὰρ Πέρσας καὶ Μήδοις, ἐκ πάνυ πολλοῦ τρυφῶσιν, αὐτοὺς ἐν τοῖς πόνοις τοῖς πολεμικοῖς πάλαι ἤδη μετὰ κινδύνων ἀσκουμένους, ἄλλως τε καὶ δούλοις ἀνθρώποις ἐλευθέρους, εἰς χεῖρας ἤξειν· ὅσοι τε Ἕλληνες Ἕλλησιν, οὐχ ὑπὲρ τῶν αὐτῶν μαχεῖσθαι, ἀλλὰ τοὺς μὲν ξὺν Δαρείῳ ἐπὶ μισθῶ καὶ οὐδὲ τούτῳ πολλῶ κινδυνεύοντας, τοὺς δὲ ξὺν σφίσι ὑπὲρ τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἐκόντας
- 5 ἀμυνομένους· βαρβάρων τε αὖ Θρᾶκας καὶ Παίονας καὶ Ἴλλυριοὺς καὶ Ἀγριᾶνας τοὺς εὐρωστοτάτους τε τῶν κατὰ τὴν Εὐρώπην καὶ μαχιμωτάτους πρὸς τὰ

in a thirty-oared ship and sent them back to Issus, to see if it was true. They discovered the more easily that the Persians were camped there, since the sea takes the form of a bay there, and reported to Alexander that Darius was at hand.<sup>2</sup>

- 3 Alexander summoned the generals, squadron leaders and officers of the allies<sup>3</sup> and urged them to be confident in view of the dangers they had successfully surmounted in the past; already conquerors they were to fight men they had conquered, and God was a better strategist on their own side, putting it into Darius' mind to bring his force out of the open country and hem it into the narrow pass, an area just the size for the deployment of their phalanx; in the battle the Persians would have no benefit from their numbers, while their physique and morale were no match for their
- 4 own. 'We Macedonians,' he continued, 'are to fight Medes and Persians, nations long steeped in luxury, while we have now long been inured to danger by the exertions of campaigning. Above all it will be a fight of free men against slaves. And so far as Greek will meet Greek, they will not be fighting for like causes; those with Darius will be risking their lives for pay, and poor pay too; the Greeks on our side will fight as volunteers in the cause of Greece.
- 5 As for our barbarian troops, Thracians, Paeonians, Illyrians, Agrianians, the most robust and warlike races of Europe,

2 Ib. 16–19.

3 Sections 3–7 are naturally taken as derived from a speech in Pt. or Ar., contrast 8 f. The speech (3) takes their view of the tactical situation (6, 3 but the 'favour of God' is also in D. 33, 1), makes their kind of distinction between Greeks and Macedonians (4 cf. 10, 7, but note iv 11, 8 from 'vulgate'), stresses the value of the Balkan troops which they would have appreciated more than a later writer (5), and has their figure for mercenaries at the Granicus (6, cf. App. I 1). The suggestion in 7 that Issus would decide the war proved false, but could



ἀπονώτατά τε καὶ μαλακώτατα τῆς Ἀσίας γένη ἀντιτάξεσθαι  
 6 ἐπὶ δὲ Ἀλέξανδρον ἀντιστρατηγεῖν Δαρείῳ. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ἐς  
 πλεονεξίαν τοῦ ἀγώνος ἐπεξήει. τὰ δὲ ἄθλα ὅτι μεγάλα ἔσται  
 σφίσι τοῦ κινδύνου ἐπεδείκνυεν. οὐ γὰρ τοὺς σατράπας τοὺς  
 Δαρείου ἐν τῷ τότε κρατήσιν, οὐδὲ τὴν ἵππων τὴν ἐπὶ  
 Γρανίκῳ ταχθεῖσαν, οὐδὲ τοὺς δισμυρίους ξένους τοὺς  
 μισθοφόρους, ἀλλὰ Περσῶν τε ὅ τι περ ὄφελος καὶ Μήδων  
 καὶ ὅσα ἄλλα ἔθνη Πέρσαις καὶ Μήδοις ὑπήκοα ἐποιεῖ τὴν  
 Ἀσίαν καὶ αὐτὸν μέγαν βασιλέα παρόντα, καὶ ὡς οὐδὲν  
 ὑπολειφθήσεται σφισιν ἐπὶ τῷδε τῷ ἀγῶνι ὅτι μὴ κρατεῖν τῆς  
 7 Ἀσίας ξυμπάσης καὶ πέρας τοῖς πολλοῖς πόνοις ἐπιθεῖναι. ἐπὶ  
 τούτοις δὲ τῶν τε ἐς τὸ κοινὸν ξὺν λαμπρότητι ἤδη  
 πεπραγμένων ὑπεμίμησκειν καὶ εἰ δὴ τῷ ἰδίᾳ τι διαπρεπὲς ἐς  
 κάλλος τετολμημένον, ὀνομαστὶ ἕκαστον ἐπὶ τῷ ἔργῳ  
 ἀνακαλῶν. καὶ τὸ αὐτοῦ οὐκ ἀκίνδυνον ἐν ταῖς μάχαις ὡς  
 8 ἀνεπαχθέστατα ἐπεξήει. λέγεται δὲ καὶ Ξενοφῶντος καὶ τῶν  
 ἄμα Ξενοφῶντι μυρίων ἐς μνήμην ἐλθεῖν, ὡς οὐδέν τι οὔτε  
 κατὰ πλήθος οὔτε κατὰ τὴν ἄλλην ἀξίωσιν σφίσι ἐπεικότες,  
 οὐδὲ ἱππέων αὐτοῖς παρόντων Θεσσαλῶν, οὐδὲ Βοιωτῶν ἢ  
 Πελοποννησίων, οὐδὲ Μακεδόνων ἢ Θρακῶν, οὐδὲ ὄση ἄλλη  
 σφίσι ἵππος ξυντέτακται, οὐδὲ τοξοτῶν ἢ σφενδοιητῶν, ὅτι  
 μὴ Κρητῶν ἢ Ῥοδίων ὀλίγων, καὶ τούτων ἐν τῷ κινδύνῳ ὑπὸ  
 9 Ξενοφῶντος αὐτοσχεδιασθέντων, οἱ δὲ βασιλέα τε ξὺν πάσῃ  
 τῇ δυνάμει πρὸς Βαβυλῶνι αὐτῇ ἐτρέψαντο καὶ ἔθνη ὅσα  
 κατιόντων ἐς τὸν Εὐξείνιον πόντον καθ' ὁδὸν σφισιν ἐπεγένετο  
 νικῶντες ἐπήλθον· ὅσα τε ἄλλα ἐν τῷ τοιῷδε πρὸ τῶν  
 κινδύνων ἐς παράκλησιν ἀνδράσι

will be ranged against the most indolent and softest tribes of Asia.  
 In addition you have Alexander commanding against Darius.'  
 6 Besides rehearsing these advantages they had in the contest, he  
 pointed out the greatness of the rewards for which they were  
 incurring danger. It was not Darius' satraps whom they were now to  
 overcome, nor the cavalry that lined the Granicus, nor the twenty  
 thousand foreign mercenaries, but the flower of Medes and  
 Persians and all their subject nations living in Asia; the Great King  
 was there himself; nothing remained after this final struggle but to  
 7 rule the whole of Asia and set an end to their long exertions. In  
 addition, he reminded them of all they had already achieved with  
 brilliant success for the common cause, and cited any noble act of  
 personal daring, naming both the deed and the man; with the  
 utmost delicacy he mentioned the dangers he himself had faced in  
 8 battles. He is also said to have recalled<sup>4</sup> that Xenophon and his Ten  
 Thousand, though they were not to be compared to themselves in  
 number and other qualities, with no cavalry, Thessalian, Boeotian,  
 Peloponnesian, Macedonian or Thracian, nor such other horse as  
 they now had in their own ranks, no archers or slingers, save a few  
 Cretans and Rhodians, and those hastily scraped together by  
 9 Xenophon in the crisis. Yet the Ten Thousand routed the Great  
 King with his whole power near Babylon itself, and victoriously  
 attacked the various other tribes which barred their way as they  
 descended to the Black Sea. He also told them of anything else  
 which at such a time, before dangers, a brave general

4 'Vulgate'. Not necessarily false; Al. is likely to have read Xenophon. A's source here in sections 8 f., as in 3-7, is apparently not that followed by QC, cf. 10, 2 n.

ἀγαθοῖς ἐξ ἀγαθοῦ ἡγεμόνος παραινέσθαι εἰκός. οἱ δὲ ἄλλος ἄλλοθεν δεξιούμενοί τε τὸν βασιλέα καὶ τῷ λόγῳ ἐπαίροντες ἄγειν ἤδη ἐκέλευον.

8. Ὁ δὲ τότε μὲν δειπνοποιεῖσθαι παραγγέλλει, προπέμπει δὲ ὡς ἐπὶ τὰς πύλας τῶν τε ἰππέων ὀλίγους καὶ τῶν τοξοτῶν προκατασκευασμένους τὴν ὁδὸν τὴν ὀπίσω [ὡς ἐπὶ τὰς πύλας].  
 2 καὶ αὐτὸς τῆς νυκτὸς ἀναλαβὼν τὴν στρατιὰν πᾶσαν ἤει, ὡς κατασχεῖν αὐθις τὰς πύλας. ὡς δὲ ἀμφὶ μέσας νύκτας ἐκράτησεν αὐθις τῶν παρόδων, ἀνέπαυε τὴν στρατιὰν τὸ λοιπὸν τῆς νυκτὸς αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ τῶν πετρῶν, προφυλακὰς ἀκριβεῖς καταστησάμενος. ὑπὸ δὲ τὴν ἔω κατήει ἀπὸ τῶν πυλῶν κατὰ τὴν ὁδόν· καὶ ἕως μὲν πάντη στενόπορα ἦν τὰ χωρία, ἐπὶ κέρως ἤγειν, ὡς δὲ διεχώρει ἐς πλάτος, ἀνέπτυσσεν αἰεὶ τὸ κέρας ἐς φάλαγγα, ἄλλην καὶ ἄλλην τῶν ὀπλιτῶν  
 3 τάξιν παράγων, τῇ μὲν ὡς ἐπὶ τὸ ὄρος, ἐν ἀριστερᾷ δὲ ὡς ἐπὶ τὴν θάλασσαν. οἱ δὲ ἰππεῖς αὐτῷ τέως μὲν κατόπιον τῶν πεζῶν τεταγμένοι ἦσαν, ὡς δὲ ἐς τὴν εὐρυχωρίαν προήεσαν, συνέτασσε ἤδη τὴν στρατιὰν ὡς ἐς μάχην, πρώτους μὲν ἐπὶ τοῦ δεξιοῦ κέρως πρὸς τῷ ὄρει τῶν πεζῶν τό τε ἄγημα καὶ τοὺς ὑπασπιστάς, ὧν ἡγείτο Νικάνωρ ὁ Παρμενίωνος, ἐχομένην δὲ τούτων τὴν Κοίνου τάξιν, ἐπὶ δὲ τούτοις τὴν Περδίκκου. οὗτοι μὲν ἔστε ἐπὶ τὸ μέσον τῶν ὀπλιτῶν ἀπὸ τοῦ  
 4 δεξιοῦ ἀρξαμένῳ τεταγμένοι ἦσαν. ἐπὶ δὲ τοῦ εὐωνύμου πρώτη μὲν ἡ Ἀμύντου τάξις ἦν, ἐπὶ δὲ ἡ Πτολεμαίου, ἐχομένη δὲ ταύτης ἡ Μελεάγρου. τοῦ δὲ εὐωνύμου τοῖς πεζοῖς μὲν Κρατερὸς ἐπετέτακτο

would naturally tell brave men by way of encouragement. They crowded round and clasped their king's hand, and with cries of encouragement urged him to lead them on at once.

8. For the moment, however, Alexander told his troops to take their meal, but he sent a few horsemen and archers on [towards the Gates] to reconnoitre the road that lay behind them; then at nightfall he himself marched with his whole force to seize the Gates  
 2 again. When about midnight he was in possession of the passes once more, he rested his army for the remainder of the night there on the crags, after carefully setting outposts.<sup>1</sup> Just upon dawn he descended from the Gates along the road; as long as the defile enclosed on every side remained narrow, he led the army in column, but when it grew broader, he deployed his column continuously into a phalanx, bringing up battalion after battalion of hoplites, on the right up to the ridge, and on the left up to the sea.  
 3 His cavalry so far had been ranged behind the infantry, but when they moved forward into open ground, he at once drew up his army in battle order;<sup>2</sup> on the right wing towards the mountain ridge he placed first of the infantry the *agema* and hypaspists under Nicanor son of Parmenio, next to them Coenus' battalion, and then that of Perdikkas. From right to left these regiments stretched to the  
 4 centre of the hoplites. On the left, Amyntas' battalion came first, then Ptolemaeus', and next Meleager's. Craterus<sup>3</sup> had been put in command of the infantry on the left

1 Contrast QC. 8, 22–3.

2 QC. 8, 24; 9, 12 (muddled). D. 33, 1 puts the horse in front.

3 A. obscures the fact that Craterus also had a battalion (i 14, 3; iii 11, 10). Battle order: QC. 9, 7–9.

ἄρχειν, τοῦ δὲ ξύμπαντος εὐωνύμου Παρμενίων ἠγείτο· καὶ παρήγγελο αὐτῷ μὴ ἀπολείπειν τὴν θάλασσαν, ὡς μὴ κυκλωθεῖεν ἐκ τῶν βαρβάρων, ὅτι πάντη ὑπερφαλαγγήσειν αὐτῶν διὰ πλήθος ἤμελλον.

5 Δαρείος δέ, ἐπειδὴ ἐξηγγέλθη αὐτῷ προσάγων ἤδη Ἀλέξανδρος ὡς ἐς μάχην, τῶν μὲν ἵππέων διαβιβάζει πέραν τοῦ ποταμοῦ τοῦ Πινάρου ἐς τρισμυρίους μάλιστα τὸν ἀριθμὸν καὶ μετὰ τούτων τῶν ψιλῶν ἐς δισμυρίους, ὅπως τὴν  
6 λοιπὴν δύναμιν καθ' ἡσυχίαν συντάξειε. καὶ πρώτους μὲν τοῦ ὀπλιτικοῦ τοὺς Ἕλληνας τοὺς μισθοφόρους ἔταξεν ἐς τρισμυρίους κατὰ τὴν φάλαγγα τῶν Μακεδόνων· ἐπὶ δὲ τούτοις τῶν Καρδάκ[κ]ων καλουμένων ἔνθεν καὶ ἔνθεν ἐς ἑξακισμυρίους· ὀπλίται δὲ ἦσαν καὶ οὗτοι. τοσοῦτους γὰρ ἐπὶ  
7 φάλαγγος ἀπλῆς ἐδέχετο τὸ χωρίον, ἵνα ἐτάσσοντο. ἐπέταξε δὲ καὶ τῷ ὄρει τῷ ἐν ἀριστερᾷ σφῶν κατὰ τὸ Ἀλεξάνδρου δεξιὸν ἐς δισμυρίους· καὶ τούτων ἔστιν οἱ κατὰ νότου ἐγένοντο τῆς Ἀλεξάνδρου στρατιᾶς. τὸ γὰρ ὄρος ἵνα ἐπετάχθησαν πῆ μὲν διεχώρει ἐς βάθος καὶ κολπῶδές τι αὐτοῦ ὥσπερ ἐν θαλάσση ἐγίγνετο, ἔπειτα ἐς ἐπικαμπὴν προῖον τοὺς ἐπὶ ταῖς ὑπωρείαις τεταγμένους κατόπιον τοῦ  
8 δεξιοῦ κέρως τοῦ Ἀλεξάνδρου ἐποίει. τὸ δὲ ἄλλο πλήθος αὐτοῦ ψιλῶν τε καὶ ὀπλιτῶν, κατὰ ἔθνη συντεταγμένον ἐς βάθος οὐκ ὠφέλιμον, ὀπισθεν ἦν τῶν Ἑλλήνων τῶν μισθοφόρων καὶ τοῦ ἐπὶ φάλαγγος τεταγμένου βαρβαρικοῦ. ἐλέγετο γὰρ ἡ πᾶσα ξὺν Δαρείῳ στρατιὰ μάλιστα ἐς ἑξήκοντα μυριάδας μαχίμους εἶναι.

9 Ἀλέξανδρος δέ, ὡς αὐτῷ πρόσω ἴοντι τὸ

and Parmenio of the entire left wing, with orders not to edge away from the sea, for fear the barbarians should surround them, since with their great numbers they were likely to overlap them on all sides.

5 When the approach of Alexander in battle order was reported to Darius, he sent about 30,000 of his cavalry across the river Pinarus with 20,000 light infantry, so that he might deploy the rest at his  
6 leisure. He placed the Greek mercenaries, about 30,000, foremost of his hoplites facing the Macedonian phalanx; next, on either side, 60,000 of the so-called Cardaces, who were also hoplites; this was the number which the ground where they stood allowed to be  
7 posted in one line. He also stationed about 20,000 men on the ridge on his left over against Alexander's right; some of these actually got to the rear of Alexander's force, since the mountain ridge where they were posted was deeply indented in one part and formed something like a bay as in the sea; then bending outwards again it brought those posted on the foothills to the rear of Alexander's right  
8 wing. The general mass of his light and heavy troops, arranged by their nations in such depth that they were useless, was behind the Greek mercenaries and the barbarian<sup>4</sup> force drawn up in phalanx formation. Darius' whole force was said to amount to some 600,000 fighting men.<sup>5</sup>

9 Alexander, however, finding the ground opening

4 Darius' dispositions: QC. 8, 24–9, 6 (cf. 2 *passim*). On numbers cf. App. III 5. The mercenaries are unlikely to have numbered 30,000, cf. H. W. Parke, *Greek Mercenary Soldiers* 183 f.

5 Not 'Vulgate' but a report in A's main source(s).

χωρίον διέσχεν ὀλίγον ἐς πλάτος, παρήγαγε τοὺς ἰππέας, τοὺς τε ἑταίρους καλουμένους καὶ τοὺς Θεσσαλοὺς καὶ τοὺς Μακεδόνας.<sup>1</sup> καὶ τούτους μὲν ἐπὶ τῷ δεξιῷ κέρα ἅμα οἱ ἔταξε, τοὺς δὲ ἐκ Πελοποννήσου καὶ τὸ ἄλλο τὸ συμμαχικὸν ἐπὶ τὸ εὐώνυμον πέμπει ὡς Παρμενίωνα.

10 Δαρείος δέ, ὡς συντεταγμένη ἤδη ἦν αὐτῷ ἡ φάλαγξ, τοὺς ἰππέας, οὕστινας πρὸ τοῦ ποταμοῦ ἐπὶ τῷδε προτετάχει ὅπως ἀσφαλῶς αὐτῷ ἢ ἔκταξις τῆς στρατιᾶς γένοιτο, ἀνεκάλεσεν ἀπὸ ξυνηθήματος. καὶ τούτων τοὺς μὲν πολλοὺς ἐπὶ τῷ δεξιῷ κέρατι πρὸς τῇ θαλάσῃ κατὰ Παρμενίωνα ἔταξεν, ὅτι ταύτη μᾶλλον τι ἰππάσιμα ἦν, μέρος δέ τι αὐτῶν καὶ ἐπὶ τὸ

11 εὐώνυμον πρὸς τὰ ὄρη παρήγαγεν. ὡς δὲ ἀχρεῖοι ἐνταῦθα διὰ στενότητα τῶν χωρίων ἐφαίνοντο, καὶ τούτων τοὺς πολλοὺς παριππεύσαι ἐπὶ τὸ δεξιὸν κέρασ σφῶν ἐκέλευσεν. αὐτὸς δὲ Δαρείος τὸ μέσον τῆς πάσης τάξεως ἐπέιχεν, καθάπερ νόμος τοῖς Περσῶν βασιλεῦσι τετάχθαι καὶ τὸν νοῦν τῆς τάξεως ταύτης Ξενοφῶν ὁ τοῦ Γρύλλου ἀναγέγραφεν.

9. Ἐν τούτῳ δὲ Ἀλέξανδρος κατιδὼν ὀλίγου πᾶσαν τὴν τῶν Περσῶν ἵππον μετακεχωρηκυῖαν ἐπὶ τὸ εὐώνυμον τὸ ἑαυτοῦ ὡς πρὸς τὴν θάλασσαν, αὐτῷ δὲ τοὺς Πελοποννησίους μόνους καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους τῶν ξυμμάχων ἰππέας ταύτη τεταγμένους, πέμπει κατὰ τάχος τοὺς Θεσσαλοὺς ἰππέας ἐπὶ τὸ εὐώνυμον, κελεύσας μὴ πρὸ τοῦ μετώπου τῆς πάσης τάξεως παριππεύσαι, τοῦ μὴ καταφανεῖς τοῖς πολεμίοις γενέσθαι μεταχωροῦντας, ἀλλὰ

1 See historical note.

outwards a little as he went forward, brought into line his cavalry, the so-called Companions, the Thessalians and the . . . whom he posted with himself on the right wing while the Peloponnesians and other allies were sent to Parmenio on the left.<sup>6</sup>

10 His phalanx once in due order, Darius recalled by signal the cavalry he had placed in front of the river<sup>7</sup> to cover the deployment of the army and posted most of them opposite Parmenio on the right wing by the sea, because it was rather better ground for cavalry, though some were sent to the left wing near the hills. But as

11 they appeared useless there for want of space, he ordered most of them too to ride round to their right wing. Darius himself held the centre of his whole host, the customary position for Persian kings; Xenophon son of Gryllus has recorded the purpose of the arrangement.<sup>8</sup>

9. At this Alexander, observing that nearly all the Persian cavalry had been transferred to his left, resting on the sea, while he had only the Peloponnesians and the other allied horse on this side, despatched the Thessalian cavalry at full speed to the left, with orders not to ride in front of the line, so that their change of position might not be sighted by the enemy, but to pass unobserved behind the

6 QC. 9, 8. I have marked a lacuna where the MSS read 'Macedonians'; some other cavalry units must be meant, perhaps *prodromoi* (9, 2).

7 QC. 8, 27 f. confuses this force with the outflanking force on the Persian left.

8 Xen., *Anab.* i 8, 21 f. Contrast QC. 9, 4.

- 2 κατόπιον τῆς φάλαγγος ἀφανῶς διελθεῖν. προέταξε δὲ τῶν μὲν ἱππέων κατὰ τὸ δεξιὸν τοὺς προδρόμους, ὧν ἡγείτο Πρωτόμαχος, καὶ τοὺς Παίονας, ὧν ἡγείτο Ἀρίστων, τῶν δὲ πεζῶν τοὺς τοξότας, ὧν ἦρχεν Ἀντίοχος· τοὺς δὲ Ἀγριάνους, ὧν ἦρχεν Ἀτταλος, καὶ τῶν ἱππέων τινὰς καὶ τῶν τοξοτῶν ἐς ἐπικαμπὴν πρὸς τὸ ὄρος τὸ κατὰ νότον ἔταξεν, ὥστε κατὰ τὸ δεξιὸν αὐτῷ τὴν φάλαγγα ἐς δύο κέρατα διέχουσαν τετάχθαι, τὸ μὲν ὡς πρὸς Δαρείον τε καὶ τοὺς πέραν τοῦ ποταμοῦ τοὺς
- 3 πάντας Πέρσας, τὸ δὲ ὡς πρὸς τοὺς ἐπὶ τῷ ὄρει κατὰ νότον σφῶν τεταγμένους. τοῦ δὲ εὐωνύμου προετάχθησαν τῶν μὲν πεζῶν οἳ τε Κρήτες τοξόται καὶ οἱ Θρᾶκες, ὧν ἡγείτο Σιτάλκης, πρὸ τούτων δὲ ἢ ἵππος ἢ κατὰ τὸ εὐώνυμον. οἳ δὲ μισθοφόροι ξένοι πᾶσιν ἐπετάχθησαν. ἐπεὶ δὲ οὔτε πυκνὴ αὐτῷ ἢ φάλαγξ κατὰ τὸ δεξιὸν τὸ ἑαυτοῦ ἐφαίνετο, πολὺ τε ταύτῃ ὑπερφαλαγγήσειν οἱ Πέρσαι ἐδόκουν, ἐκ τοῦ μέσου ἐκέλευσε δύο ἵλας τῶν ἐταίρων, τὴν τε Ἀνθεμουσίαν, ἧς ἱλάρχης ἦν Περοΐδας ὁ Μενεσθέως, καὶ τὴν Λευγαίαν
- 4 καλουμένην, ἧς ἡγείτο Παντόρδανος ὁ Κλεάνδρου, ἐπὶ τὸ δεξιὸν ἀφανῶς παρελθεῖν. καὶ τοὺς τοξότας δὲ καὶ μέρος τῶν Ἀγριάνων καὶ τῶν Ἑλλήνων μισθοφόρων ἔστιν οὗς κατὰ τὸ δεξιὸν τὸ αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ μετώπου παραγαγὼν ἐξέτεινεν ὑπὲρ τὸ τῶν Περσῶν κέρας τὴν φάλαγγα. ἐπεὶ γὰρ οἱ ὑπὲρ τοῦ ὄρους τεταγμένοι οὔτε κατήεσαν, ἐκδρομῆς τε ἐπ' αὐτοὺς τῶν Ἀγριάνων καὶ τῶν τοξοτῶν ὀλίγων κατὰ πρόσταξιν Ἀλεξάνδρου γενομένης ῥαδίως

- 2 phalanx.<sup>1</sup> He posted the *prodromoi* under Protomachus' command in front of the cavalry on the right, with the Paeonians led by Ariston, and in front of his foot the archers commanded by Antiochus. The Agrianians under Attalus, with some of the cavalry and archers, he threw back at an angle with the heights in his rear, so that on his right wing his line forked into two parts, one facing Darius and the main body of Persians across the river, the other towards the force posted in the Macedonian rear in the heights. On
- 3 the left wing of the infantry the Cretan archers and the Thracians under Sitalces had been posted in front, with the cavalry of the left wing further in advance. The foreign mercenaries were drawn up in support of the whole line. But as his phalanx did not seem very solid on his right, and the Persians seemed likely to overlap them considerably there, he ordered two squadrons of the Companions from the centre, that from Anthemus, commanded by Peroedes son of Menestheus, and that called the Leugaeian, under Pantordanus son of Cleander, to transfer unobserved to the right wing.<sup>2</sup> He
- 4 brought over the archers and some of the Agrianians and Greek mercenaries to the front of his right and so extended his phalanx to out-flank the Persian wing. For since the troops posted on the heights had not descended, but on a sally made by the Agrianians and a few archers at Alexander's order, had been easily dislodged from the foothills

1 QC. 11, 3, though in 11, 13 f, he unintelligibly separates Parmenio from the Thessalians. D. 37, 2 also puts them on the left. QC. 9, 9 f. has some of the following details, not making it clear that they represent last minute changes.

2 This move was no doubt consequential on taking the Thessalians out of the line on the right.

ἀπὸ τῆς ὑπωρκείας ἀνασταλέντες ἐς τὸ ἄκρον ἀνέφυγον,  
ἔγνω καὶ τοῖς κατ' αὐτοὺς τεταγμένοις δυνατὸς ὦν χρήσασθαι  
ἐς ἀναπλήρωσιν τῆς φάλαγγος· ἐκείνοις δὲ ἰππέας τρικοσίους  
ἐπιτάξαι ἐξήρκεσεν.

10. Οὕτω δὴ τεταγμένους χρόνον μὲν τινα προήγειν  
ἀναπαύων, ὥστε καὶ πάνυ ἔδοξε σχολαία γενέσθαι αὐτῷ ἢ  
πρόσοδος· τοὺς γὰρ βαρβάρους, ὅπως τὰ πρῶτα ἐτάχθησαν,  
οὐκέτι ἀντεπήγε Δαρείος, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τοῦ ποταμοῦ ταῖς ὄχθαις,  
πολλαχῆ μὲν ἀποκρήμνους οὖσαις, ἔστι δὲ ὅπου καὶ χάρακα  
παρατείνας αὐταῖς ἵνα εὐεφοδώτερα ἐφαίνετο, οὕτως ἔμενεν  
καὶ ταύτη εὐθύς δῆλος ἐγένετο τοῖς ἀμφ' Ἀλέξανδρον τῇ  
2 γνώμῃ δεδουλωμένος. ὡς δὲ ὁμοῦ ἤδη ἦν τὰ στρατόπεδα,  
ἐνταῦθα παριππεύων πάντῃ Ἀλέξανδρος παρεκάλει ἄνδρας  
ἀγαθοὺς γίγνεσθαι, οὐ τῶν ἡγεμόνων μόνον τὰ ὀνόματα ξὺν  
τῷ πρέποντι κόσμῳ ἀνακαλῶν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἰλάρχας καὶ  
λοχαγοὺς ὀνομαστὶ καὶ τῶν ξένων τῶν μισθοφόρων, ὅσοι κατ'  
ἀξίωσιν ἢ τινα ἀρετὴν γνωριμώτεροι ἦσαν· καὶ αὐτῷ  
πανταχόθεν βοή ἐγένετο μὴ διατρίβειν, ἀλλὰ ἐσβάλλειν ἐς  
3 τοὺς πολεμίους. ὁ δὲ ἦγεν ἐν τάξει ἔτι, τὰ μὲν πρῶτα, καίπερ  
ἐν ἀπόπτῳ ἤδη ἔχων τὴν Δαρείου δύναμιν, βιάδην, τοῦ μὴ  
διασπασθῆναί τι ἐν τῇ ξυντουωτέρα πορείᾳ κυμῆναν τῆς  
φάλαγγος· ὡς δὲ ἐντὸς βέλους ἐγίνοντο, πρῶτοι δὴ οἱ κατὰ  
Ἀλέξανδρον καὶ αὐτὸς Ἀλέξανδρος ἐπὶ τοῦ δεξιοῦ τεταγμένος

and had fled to the summit,<sup>3</sup> Alexander decided that he could use  
those who had been posted to hold them in check to fill up his  
phalanx. To watch the hill-troops he reckoned it enough to tell off  
three hundred horsemen.

10. His forces thus marshalled, Alexander led them on for some  
time with halts, so that their advance seemed quite a leisurely affair.  
Once the barbarians had taken up their first positions, Darius made  
no further advance; he remained on the river bank, which was in  
many<sup>1</sup> places precipitous, in some parts building up a stockade,  
where it appeared more accessible. This made it plain to Alexander  
2 and his staff that Darius was in spirit a beaten man. When the two  
armies were close, Alexander rode all along his front and bade them  
be good men and true, calling aloud with all proper distinctions the  
names not only of generals but even of commanders of squadrons  
and companies, as well as any of the mercenaries who were  
conspicuous for rank or for any brave action.<sup>2</sup> An answering cry  
went up from all sides to delay no longer, but to charge the  
3 enemy.<sup>3</sup> He continued to lead on in line, at marching pace at first,  
though he now had Darius' force in view, to avoid any part of the  
phalanx fluctuating in a more rapid advance and so breaking apart.  
Once within missile range, Alexander himself and his entourage  
were the first, stationed on the right, to charge in the

3 QC. 9, 11 (put too early).

1 Not 'many', but some banks are 3–4 metres high, too steep for  
the phalanx to have descended from them; they had to go round;  
hence breaks in the line (§ 5).

2 QC. 10, 3–10 here interpolates a speech by Al., which seems to  
derive from a source common to J. xi 9, 3 ff., not followed in A. 6, 3 ff.

δρόμῳ ἐς τὸν ποταμὸν ἐνέβαλον, ὡς τῇ τε ὀξύτητι τῆς ἐφόδου ἐκπλήξαι τοὺς Πέρσας καὶ τοῦ θάσσον ἐς χεῖρας ἐλθόντας ὀλίγα πρὸς τῶν τοξοτῶν βλάπτεσθαι. καὶ ξυνέβη ὅπως

4 εἵκασεν Ἀλέξανδρος. εὐθὺς γὰρ ὡς ἐν χερσὶν ἡ μάχη ἐγένετο, τρέπονται τοῦ Περσικοῦ στρατεύματος οἱ τῷ ἀριστερῷ κέρα ἐπιτεταγμένοι καὶ ταύτη μὲν λαμπρῶς ἐνίκα Ἀλέξανδρός τε καὶ οἱ ἀμφ' αὐτόν. οἱ δὲ Ἕλληνες οἱ μισθοφόροι οἱ ξὺν

5 Δαρείῳ, ἣ διέσχε τῶν Μακεδόνων ἡ φάλαγξ ὡς ἐπὶ τὸ δεξιὸν κέρα παραρραγείσα, ὅτι Ἀλέξανδρος μὲν σπουδῇ ἐς τὸν ποταμὸν ἐμβαλὼν καὶ ἐν χερσὶ τὴν μάχην ποιήσας ἐξώθει ἤδη τοὺς ταύτη τεταγμένους τῶν Περσῶν, οἱ δὲ κατὰ μέσον τῶν Μακεδόνων οὔτε τῇ ἴσῃ σπουδῇ ἤβαντο τοῦ ἔργου καὶ πολλαχῇ χρημνώδεσι ταῖς ὄχθαις ἐντυγχάνοντες τὸ μέτωπον τῆς φάλαγγος οὐ δυνατοὶ ἐγένοντο ἐν τῇ αὐτῇ τάξει διασώσασθαι, —ταύτη ἐμβάλλουσι οἱ Ἕλληνες τοῖς

6 Μακεδόσιν ἣ μάλιστα διεσπασμένην αὐτοῖς τὴν φάλαγγα κατείδον. καὶ τὸ ἔργον ἐνταῦθα καρτερόν ἦν, τῶν μὲν ἐς τὸν ποταμὸν ἀπώσασθαι τοὺς Μακεδόνας καὶ τὴν νίκην τοῖς ἤδη φεύγουσι σφῶν ἀνασώσασθαι, τῶν Μακεδόνων δὲ τῆς τε Ἀλεξάνδρου ἤδη φαινομένης εὐπραγίας μὴ λειφθῆναι καὶ τὴν

7 δόξαν τῆς φάλαγγος, ὡς ἀμάχου δὴ ἐς τὸ τότε διαβεβοημένης, μὴ ἀφανίσαι. καί τι καὶ τοῖς γένεσι τῷ τε Ἑλληνικῷ καὶ τῷ Μακεδονικῷ φιλοτιμίας ἐνέπεσεν ἐς ἀλλήλους. καὶ ἐνταῦθα πίπτει Πτολεμαῖός τε ὁ Σελεύκου, ἀνὴρ ἀγαθὸς γενόμενος, καὶ ἄλλοι ἐς εἴκοσι μάλιστα καὶ ἑκατὸν τῶν οὐκ ἡμελημένων Μακεδόνων.

11. Ἐν τούτῳ δὲ αἱ ἀπὸ τοῦ δεξιοῦ κέρως

river, in order to strike panic into the Persians by the rapidity of the attack, and by coming more quickly to close quarters to reduce losses from the Persian archers. Everything happened as Alexander

4 guessed. The moment the battle was joined hand-to-hand, the Persian left gave way; and here Alexander and his followers won a brilliant success. But Darius' Greek mercenaries attacked the Macedonian phalanx, where a gap appeared as it broke formation

5 on the right; while Alexander plunged impetuously into the river, came to close quarters with the Persians posted here, and was pushing them back, the Macedonian centre did not set to with equal impetus, and finding the river banks precipitous in many places, were unable to maintain their front in unbroken line; and the Greeks attacked where they saw that the phalanx had been

6 particularly torn apart. There the action was severe, the Greeks tried to push off the Macedonians into the river and to restore victory to their own side who were already in flight, while the Macedonians sought to rival the success of Alexander, which was already apparent, and to preserve the reputation of the phalanx, whose sheer invincibility had hitherto been on everyone's lips.

7 There was also some emulation between antagonists of the Greek and Macedonian races.<sup>4</sup> Here it was that Ptolemaeus son of Seleucus fell, after showing himself a brave man, and about a hundred and twenty Macedonians of note.

11. At this point the battalions on the right wing,

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Introd. n. 33.

- τάξεις, τετραμμένους ἤδη τοὺς κατὰ σφᾶς τῶν Περσῶν ὀρώντες, ἐπὶ τοὺς ξένους τε τοὺς μισθοφόρους τοὺς Δαρείου καὶ τὸ πονούμενον σφῶν ἐπικάμψαντες ἀπὸ τε τοῦ ποταμοῦ ἀπώσαντο αὐτούς, καὶ κατὰ τὸ παρερρωγὸς τοῦ Περσικοῦ
- 2 στρατεύματος ὑπερφαλαγγήσαντες ἐς τὰ πλάγια ἐμβεβληκότες ἤδη ἔκοπτον τοὺς ξένους· καὶ οἱ ἱππεῖς δὲ οἱ τῶν Περσῶν κατὰ τοὺς Θεσσαλοὺς τεταγμένοι οὐκ ἔμειναν ἐντὸς τοῦ ποταμοῦ ἐν αὐτῷ τῷ ἔργῳ, ἀλλ' ἐπιδιαβάντες εὐρώστως ἐνέβαλον ἐς τὰς ἴλας τῶν Θετταλῶν. καὶ ταύτη ξυνέστη ἵππομαχία καρτερά, οὐδὲ πρόσθεν ἐνέκλιναν οἱ Πέρσαι πρὶν Δαρείον τε πεφευγότα ἦσθοντο καὶ πρὶν
- 3 ἀπορραγῆναι σφῶν τοὺς μισθοφόρους συγκοπέοντας ὑπὸ τῆς φάλαγγος. τότε δὲ ἤδη λαμπρά τε καὶ ἐκ πάντων ἡ φυγὴ ἐγίγνετο· καὶ οἳ τε τῶν Περσῶν ἵπποι ἐν τῇ ἀναχωρήσει ἐκακοπάθουν βαρέως ὀπλισμένους τοὺς ἀμβάτας σφῶν φέροντες, καὶ αὐτοὶ οἱ ἱππεῖς κατὰ στενὰς ὁδοὺς πλήθει τε πολλοὶ καὶ πεφοβημένως ξὺν ἀταξία ἀποχωροῦντες οὐ μείον ἀπ' ἀλλήλων καταπατούμενοι ἢ πρὸς τῶν διωκόντων πολεμίων ἐβλάπτοντο. καὶ οἱ Θεσσαλοὶ εὐρώστως αὐτοῖς ἐπέκειντο, ὥστε οὐ μείων ἢ τῶν πεζῶν φόνος ἐν τῇ φυγῇ τῶν ἱππέων ἐγίγνετο.
- 4 Δαρείος δέ, ὡς αὐτῷ τὸ πρῶτον ὑπ' Ἀλεξάνδρου ἐφοβήθη τὸ κέρας τὸ εὐώνυμον καὶ ταύτη ἀπορρηγνύμενον κατέϊδε τοῦ ἄλλου στρατοπέδου, εὐθὺς ὡς εἶχεν ἐπὶ τοῦ ἄρματος ξὺν τοῖς
- 5 πρώτοις ἔφηνε. καὶ ἔσπε μὲν ὁμαλοῖς χωρίοις ἐν τῇ φυγῇ

- seeing that the Persians opposed to them were already routed, bent round towards Darius' foreign mercenaries, where their own centre was hard pressed, drove them from the river, and then overlapping the now broken part of the Persian army, attacked in the flank and in a trice were cutting down the mercenaries. The Persian cavalry
- 2 posted opposite to the Thessalians did not keep their ground behind the river, once the engagement had actually begun, but crossed manfully and charged the Thessalian squadrons, and here there was a desperate cavalry fight;<sup>1</sup> the Persians did not give way till they realized that Darius had fled and till their mercenaries
- 3 were cut off, mowed down by the phalanx.<sup>2</sup> But then the rout was patent and universal. The Persian horses suffered much in the retreat, with their riders heavily armoured, while the riders too, hurrying by narrow paths in a crowded horde in terror and disorder, suffered as heavy losses from being ridden over by one another as from the pursuit of their enemies. The Thessalians fell on them with vigour, and there was as much slaughter in the cavalry-flight as in the infantry.
- 4 As for Darius, the moment his left wing was panic-stricken by Alexander and he saw it thus cut off from the rest of his army, he fled just as he was in his chariot, in the van of the fugitives.<sup>3</sup> So long
- 5 as he

1 Cf. D. 33, 2; QC. 11, 14 f.; P. 24, 1.

2 QC. 11, 18 says that they got away in good order; for survivors App. VI 2.

3 As sources make Darius a poltroon; in the 'Vulgate' (D. and QC.) he fights bravely; the contemporary, Chares (P. 20, 4), made him give Al. the wound he received in the battle (A. 12, 1); this must be false, though not refuted by a so-called letter of Al. (P. 20, 5, cf. Introd. 15); but it tended to Al's greater glory, if Darius was a Hector to his Achilles, and Al. himself treated Darius with posthumous respect (iii



ἐπετύγχανεν, ἐπὶ τοῦ ἄρματος διεσώζετο, ὡς δὲ φάραγξί τε καὶ ἄλλαις δυσχωρίαις ἐνέκυρσε, τὸ μὲν ἄρμα ἀπολείπει αὐτοῦ καὶ τὴν ἀσπίδα καὶ τὸν κἀνδυν ἐκδύς· ὁ δὲ καὶ τὸ τόξον ἀπολείπει ἐπὶ τοῦ ἄρματος· αὐτὸς δὲ ἵππου ἐπιβάς ἔφηνγε· καὶ

6 ἢ νύξ οὐ διὰ μακροῦ ἐπιγενομένη ἀφείλετο αὐτὸν τὸ πρὸς Ἀλεξάνδρου ἀλῶναι. Ἀλέξανδρος γὰρ ἔσπε μὲν φάος ἦν ἀνά κράτος ἐδίωκεν, ὡς δὲ συνεσκοτάζε τε ἤδη καὶ τὰ πρὸ ποδῶν ἀφανῆ ἦν, εἰς τὸ ἔμπαλι ἀπετρέπετο ὡς ἐπὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον

7 τὸ μέντοι ἄρμα τοῦ Δαρείου ἔλαβε καὶ τὴν ἀσπίδα ἐπ' αὐτῷ καὶ τὸν κἀνδυν καὶ τὸ τόξον. καὶ γὰρ καὶ ἡ δίωξις βραδυντέρα αὐτῷ ἐγεγόνει, ὅτι ἐν τῇ πρώτῃ παραρρήξει τῆς φάλαγγος ἐπιστρέψας καὶ αὐτὸς οὐ πρόσθεν ἐς τὸ διώκειν ἐτράπετο πρὶν τοὺς τε μισθοφόρους τοὺς ξένους καὶ τὸ τῶν Περσῶν ἱππικὸν ἀπὸ τοῦ ποταμοῦ ἀπωσθέντας κατεΐδε.

8 Τῶν δὲ Περσῶν ἀπέθανον Ἀρσάμης μὲν καὶ Ῥεομίθρης καὶ Ἀτιζύης τῶν ἐπὶ Γρανίκῳ ἡγησαμένων τοῦ ἱππικοῦ· ἀποθνήσκει δὲ καὶ Σανάκης ὁ Αἰγύπτου σατράπης καὶ Βουβάκης τῶν ἐντίμων Περσῶν· τὸ δὲ ἄλλο πλῆθος εἰς δέκα μάλιστα μυριάδας καὶ ἐν τούτοις ἱππεῖς ὑπὲρ τοὺς μυρίους, ὥστε λέγει Πτολεμαῖος ὁ Λάγου ξυνεπισπόμενος τότε Ἀλεξάνδρῳ τοὺς μετὰ σφῶν διώκοντας Δαρείον, ὡς ἐπὶ

9 φάραγγί τινι ἐν τῇ δίωξει ἐγένοντο, ἐπὶ τῶν νεκρῶν διαβῆναι τὴν φάραγγα. τό τε στρατόπεδον τὸ Δαρείου εὐθύς ἐξ ἐφόδου ἔάλω

found level ground in his flight, he was safe in his chariot; but when he came to gullies and other difficult patches, he left his chariot there, threw away his shield and mantle, left even his bow in the chariot, and fled on horseback; only night, speedily falling, saved

6 him from becoming Alexander's captive, since Alexander pursued with all his might as long as daylight held, but when it was growing dark and he could not see his way, turned back towards the camp,<sup>4</sup> though he took Darius' chariot, and with it his shield, mantle and

7 bow. The fact is that his pursuit had become slower because he had wheeled back when the phalanx first broke formation and had not himself turned to pursue till he had seen the mercenaries and the Persian cavalry driven back from the river.<sup>5</sup>

8 The Persians killed included Arsames, Rheomithres and Atizyes who had been among the cavalry commanders on the Granicus, and also Savaces the satrap of Egypt and Bubaces among the Persian nobles; as for the rank and file, some 100,000 fell, including over 10,000 cavalry, so that Ptolemy son of Lagos, who was then with Alexander, says that the pursuers of Darius meeting a deep gully in

9 the pursuit crossed it over bodies of the dead.<sup>6</sup> Darius' camp was stormed at once, and captured with his mother,

4 *Contra* D. 37, 2, but cf. 35, 1, QC. 12, 1. With night fall about 6 p.m., the battle and pursuit might have lasted 4–5 hours. Most of the fugitives, all on the left and centre, must have fled towards the Toprak Kalessi Pass, about 200 stades from the battle (App. III 3).

5 So QC. II, 16.

6 Different names in D. 34, 5; QC. 11, 10; same Persian totals in D. 36, 6; QC. 11, 27; P. 20, 5; J. XI 9, 10 (except that he includes 40,000 prisoners)—all incredible; on unreliability of casualty figures see my *Italian Manpower*, App. 28. Macedonian losses: about 450 killed or missing in D. and QC, 280 in J., 1,000 foot and 200 horse in the fragment of an unknown historian (Jacoby no. 148, 44); A. 10, 7

καὶ ἡ μήτηρ καὶ ἡ γυνή, αὐτὴ δὲ καὶ ἀδελφὴ Δαρείου, καὶ υἱὸς Δαρείου νήπιος· καὶ θυγατέρες δύο ἐάλωσαν καὶ ἄλλαι ἀμφ' αὐτὰς Περσῶν τῶν ὁμοτίμων γυναικες οὐ πολλαί. οἱ γὰρ  
 10 ἄλλοι Πέρσαι τὰς γυναικὰς σφῶν ξὺν τῇ ἄλλῃ κατασκευῇ ἐς Δαμασκὸν ἔτυχον ἐσταλκότες· ἐπεὶ καὶ Δαρείος τῶν τε χρημάτων τὰ πολλὰ καὶ ὅσα ἄλλα μεγάλῳ βασιλεῖ ἐς πολυτελῆ δίαιταν καὶ στρατενομένῳ ὁμῶς συνέπεται πεπόμφει ἐς Δαμασκόν, ὥστε ἐν τῷ στρατεύματι οὐ πλείονα ἢ τρισχίλια τάλαντα ἐάλω. ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰ ἐν Δαμασκῷ χρήματα ὀλίγον ὕστερον ἐάλω ὑπὸ Παρμενίωνος ἐπ' αὐτὸ τοῦτο σταλέντος. τοῦτο τὸ τέλος τῇ μάχῃ ἐκείνῃ ἐγένετο ἐπὶ ἄρχοντος Ἀθηναίους Νικοκράτους μηνὸς Μαιμακτηριῶνος.

12. Τῇ δὲ ὑστεραία, καίπερ τετρωμένος τὸν μηρὸν ξίφει Ἀλέξανδρος, ὁ δὲ τοὺς τραυματίας ἐπήλθε, καὶ τοὺς νεκροὺς ξυναγαγὼν ἔθαψε μεγαλοπρεπῶς ξὺν τῇ δυνάμει πάσῃ ἐκτεταγμένη ὡς λαμπρότατα ἐς πόλεμον· καὶ λόγῳ τε ἐπεκόσμησεν ὅσοις τι διαπρεπὲς ἔργον ἐν τῇ μάχῃ ἢ αὐτὸς ξυνέγνω εἰργασμένον ἢ ἀκοῇ συμφωνούμενον ἔμαθεν, καὶ  
 2 χρημάτων ἐπιδόσει ὡς ἐκάστους ξὺν τῇ ἀξία ἐτίμησεν. καὶ Κιλικίας μὲν ἀποδεικνύει σατράπην Βάλακρον τὸν Νικάνορος, ἕνα τῶν σωματοφυλάκων τῶν βασιλικῶν, ἀντὶ δὲ τούτου ἐς τοὺς σωματοφύλακας κατέλεξε Μένητα τὸν Διονυσίου· ἀντὶ δὲ Πτολεμαίου τοῦ Σελεύκου

wife, who was also his sister, and his infant son; two daughters were taken too, with a few noble Persian ladies in their suite.<sup>7</sup> The other Persians had in fact despatched their women-folk and baggage to  
 10 Damascus; Darius too had sent there the greater part of his money and everything else a great king takes with him even on campaign for his extravagant way of living; so<sup>8</sup> they found no more than three thousand Talents in the camp. However, the money at Damascus too was captured soon after by Parmenio, who was specially detailed for the purpose.<sup>9</sup> So ended this battle, fought in the archonship at Athens of Nicocrates and in the month Maimacterion.<sup>10</sup>

12. Next day, despite a sword wound in his thigh, Alexander went round to see the wounded; he gathered together the dead and gave them a splendid military funeral, the whole army marshalled in their finest battle array. His speech contained citations of all whom he knew, from his own eyes or from the agreed report of others, to have distinguished themselves in the battle; he honoured  
 2 each of them by a donation suitable to their worth. He appointed as satrap of Cilicia Balacrus son of Nicanor,<sup>1</sup> one of the royal bodyguards; and selected Menes son of Dionysius to take his place among the bodyguards; and in place of Ptolemaeus son of Seleucus, who had

7 D. 35 f.; QC. 11, 20 ff.; P. 20, 6–21 with elaborations.

8 A. characteristically mentions this only when it becomes relevant to Al's doings, cf. P. 20, 6; contrast D. 32, 3; QC. 8, 12.

9 QC. 13, with much detail, giving 2600 Talents in coins and 500 lbs of silver. Parmenio was sent over 200 miles ahead of the main army.

10 The Attic month corresponding to Nov./Dec. 333 B.C., but Beloch, III 2, 304 ff. gives reasons for thinking that A. has sometimes falsely converted Macedonian months in his sources into Attic, and that Issus was fought in October: the Persian fleet was still at sea (13.

τοῦ ἀποθανόντος ἐν τῇ μάχῃ Πολυπέρχοντα τὸν Σιμμίου  
ἀρχεῖν ἀπέδειξε τῆς ἐκείνου τάξεως. καὶ Σολεῦσι τὰ τε  
πεντήκοντα τάλαντα, ἃ ἔτι ἐνδεᾶ ἦν ἐκ τῶν ἐπιβληθέντων  
σφίσι χρημάτων, ἀνήκεν καὶ τοὺς ὀμήρους ἀπέδωκεν.

- 3 Ὁ δὲ οὐδὲ τῆς μητρὸς τῆς Δαρείου οὐδὲ τῆς γυναικὸς ἢ  
τῶν παίδων ἠμέλησεν. ἀλλὰ λέγουσιν ἄλλοι τῶν τὰ  
Ἀλεξάνδρου γραφάντων τῆς νυκτὸς αὐτῆς, ἣ ἀπὸ τῆς διώξεως  
τῆς Δαρείου ἐπανῆκεν, ἐς τὴν σκηνὴν παρελθόντα αὐτὸν τὴν  
Δαρείου, ἣτις αὐτῷ ἐξηρημένη ἦν, ἀκούσαι γυναικῶν οἰμωγὴν  
4 καὶ ἄλλον τοιοῦτον θόρυβον οὐ πόρρω τῆς σκηνῆς· πυθέσθαι  
οὖν αἴτινες γυναῖκες καὶ ἀνθ' ὅτου οὕτως ἐγγὺς  
παρασκηνοῦσι καὶ τινα ἐξαγγεῖλαι, ὅτι ὁ βασιλεῦς, ἢ μήτηρ  
τε καὶ ἢ γυνὴ Δαρείου καὶ οἱ παῖδες, ὡς ἐξηγγέλθη αὐταῖς ὅτι  
τὸ τόξον τε τοῦ Δαρείου ἔχεις καὶ τὸν κἀνδυν τὸν βασιλικὸν  
5 καὶ ἢ ἀσπίς ὅτι κεκόμισται ὀπίσω ἢ Δαρείου, ὡς ἐπὶ τεθνεῶτι  
Δαρείῳ ἀνοιμώζουσιν. ταῦτα ἀκούσαντα Ἀλέξανδρον πέμψαι  
πρὸς αὐτὰς Λεοννάτον, ἓνα τῶν ἐταίρων, ἐντειλάμενον φράσαι  
ὅτι ζῆ Δαρείος, τὰ δὲ ὄπλα καὶ τὸν κἀνδυν ὅτι φεύγων  
ἀπέλιπεν ἐπὶ τῷ ἄρματι καὶ ταῦτα ὅτι μόνα ἔχει Ἀλέξανδρος.  
καὶ Λεοννάτον παρελθόντα ἐς τὴν σκηνὴν τὰ τε περὶ Δαρείου  
εἰπεῖν καὶ ὅτι τὴν θεραπείαν αὐταῖς ξυγχωρεῖ Ἀλέξανδρος τὴν  
βασιλικὴν καὶ τὸν ἄλλον κόσμον καὶ καλεῖσθαι βασιλίσσας,  
ἐπεὶ οὐδὲ κατὰ ἔχθραν οἱ γενέσθαι τὸν πόλεμον πρὸς Δαρείον,  
6 ἀλλ' ὑπὲρ τῆς ἀρχῆς τῆς Ἀσίας διαπεπολεμησθαι ἐνόμως.  
ταῦτα μὲν Πτολεμαῖος καὶ Ἀριστόβουλος λέγουσιν λόγος δὲ  
ἔχει καὶ αὐτὸν Ἀλέξανδρον τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ ἐλθεῖν εἰσω ξὺν  
Ἡφαιστίῳ

fallen in the battle, he appointed Polyperchon son of Simmias  
commander of his battalion. To the citizens of Soli he remitted the  
fifty Talents still due from the fine he had imposed on them, and  
restored their hostages.

- 3 Nor did he neglect Darius' mother, wife, or children. Now,  
some of the accounts of Alexander relate that the very night after  
his return from the pursuit of Darius he entered Darius' tent, which  
had been put aside for his own use, and heard a lament and other  
confused sounds of women's voices near the tent; he enquired what  
4 women they were and why they were accommodated so near him;  
and was told, 'Sire, it is Darius' mother, wife and children; as they  
have heard that you are in possession of his bow and royal mantle  
and that his shield has been brought back, they are mourning his  
5 death.' On hearing this, Alexander sent Leonnatus, one of the  
Companions, to them with instructions to tell them that Darius was  
alive and had left his arms and mantle in the chariot while escaping,  
and that these were all Alexander had. Leonnatus entered the tent  
and gave Alexander's message about Darius, adding that Alexander  
granted them the right of royal state and all other marks of royalty,  
with the title of queens, since he had not made war with Darius  
from personal enmity but had fought for the sovereignty of Asia  
6 lawfully. This is the account of Ptolemaeus and Aristobulus; there is,  
however, a story<sup>2</sup> that next day Alexander himself

2 'Vulgate'. Cf. D. 37, 3-38, 3; QC. 11, 24-6; 12, 1-26; P. 21.

μόνῳ τῶν ἐταίρων· καὶ τὴν μητέρα τὴν Δαρείου  
 ἀμφιγνοήσασαν ὅστις ὁ βασιλεὺς εἶη αὐτοῖν, ἐστάλθαι γὰρ  
 ἄμφω τῷ αὐτῷ κόσμῳ, τὴν δὲ Ἑφαιστίῳ προσελθεῖν καὶ  
 7 προσκυνῆσαι, ὅτι μείζων ἐφάνη ἐκείνος. ὡς δὲ ὁ Ἑφαιστίων  
 τε ὀπίσω ὑπεχώρησε καὶ τις τῶν ἀμφ' αὐτὴν, τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον  
 δείξας, ἐκείνον ἔφη εἶναι Ἀλέξανδρον, τὴν μὲν καταιδεσθεῖσαν  
 τῇ διαμαρτία ὑποχωρεῖν, Ἀλέξανδρον δὲ οὐ φάναι αὐτὴν  
 8 ἁμαρτεῖν· καὶ γὰρ ἐκείνον εἶναι Ἀλέξανδρον. καὶ ταῦτα ἐγὼ  
 οὐθ' ὡς ἀληθῆ οὔτε ὡς πάντα ἄπιστα ἀνέγραψα. ἀλλ' εἶτε  
 οὕτως ἐπράχθη, ἐπαινῶ Ἀλέξανδρον τῆς τε ἐς τὰς γυναῖκας  
 κατοικτίσεως καὶ τῆς ἐς τὸν ἐταῖρον πίστεως καὶ τιμῆς· εἶτε  
 πιθανὸς δοκεῖ τοῖς συγγράψασιν Ἀλέξανδρος ὡς καὶ ταῦτα ἂν  
 πράξας καὶ εἰπὼν, καὶ ἐπὶ τῷδε ἐπαινῶ Ἀλέξανδρον.

13. Δαρεῖος δὲ τὴν μὲν νύκτα ξὺν ὀλίγοις τοῖς ἀμφ' αὐτὸν  
 ἔφυγε, τῇ δὲ ἡμέρᾳ ἀναλαμβάνων αἰεὶ τῶν τε Περσῶν τοὺς  
 διασωθέντας ἐκ τῆς μάχης καὶ τῶν ξένων τῶν μισθοφόρων, ἐς  
 τετρακισχιλίους ἔχων τοὺς πάντας, ὡς ἐπὶ Θάψακόν τε πόλιν  
 καὶ τὸν Εὐφράτην ποταμὸν σπουδῆ ἤλαυνεν, ὡς τάχιστα  
 2 μέσον αὐτοῦ τε καὶ Ἀλεξάνδρου τὸν Εὐφράτην ποιῆσαι.  
 Ἀμύντας δὲ ὁ Ἀντιόχου καὶ Θυμώνδας ὁ Μέντορος καὶ  
 Ἀριστομήδης ὁ Φεραῖος καὶ Βιάνωρ ὁ Ἀκαρναν, ξυμπάντες  
 οὗτοι αὐτόμολοι, μετὰ τῶν ἀμφ' αὐτοὺς στρατιωτῶν ὡς  
 ὀκτακισχιλίων εὐθὺς ὡς τεταγμένοι ἦσαν κατὰ τὰ ὄρη  
 φεύγοντες ἀφίκοντο ἐς Τρίπολιν τῆς Φοινίκης·

visited the tent with Hephaestion and no other Companion; and  
 Darius' mother, not knowing which of the two was the king, as both  
 were dressed alike, approached Hephaestion and did him  
 7 obeisance, since he appeared the taller. Hephaestion drew back,  
 and one of her attendants pointed to Alexander and said he was the  
 king; she drew back in confusion at her mistake, but Alexander  
 remarked that she had made no mistake, for Hephaestion was also  
 8 an Alexander. I have written this down without asserting its truth or  
 total incredibility. If it really happened, I approve of Alexander's  
 compassion for the women and of the trust, and honour bestowed  
 on his companion. If the historians of Alexander think it plausible  
 that he would have acted and spoken in this way, I approve of  
 Alexander on that ground too.<sup>3</sup>

13. Darius fled through the night with a handful of his suite, but  
 in the daylight he kept picking up Persians who had got off safe  
 from the battle and also some of the foreign mercenaries; and with  
 a body of about 4,000 in all he rode at full speed for the city of  
 Thapsacus and the river Euphrates, meaning to put the river  
 between Alexander and himself as soon as possible.<sup>1</sup> Amyntas son of  
 2 Antiochus, Thymondas son of Mentor, Aristomedes of Pherae and  
 Bianor the Acarnanian, all deserters to Darius, with their troops to  
 the number of 8,000, fled straight to the hills at once in the order in  
 which they had been drawn

3 A's reflections may be compared with those of D., QC. and P.  
 (cited above); P. praises him for not enjoying any of the women, except  
 Barsine, daughter of Artabazus (iii 21, 4 n.): Ar. attested A's liaison  
 with her, and a son, Heracles, claimed the Macedonian throne in 309;  
 Tarn ii 330 ff. rejects the story, but see my article in *Rivista di filologia  
 classica* 1975, 22 ff. Cf. also iv 19, 6–20, 3.

1 QC. iv 1, 1–3 (4,000 'Greeks', i.e. mercenaries).

- 3 καὶ ἐνταῦθα καταλαβόντες τὰς ναῦς νεωωλκημένας ἐφ' ὧν  
 πρόσθεν ἐκ Λέσβου διακεκομισμένοι ἦσαν, τούτων ὅσαι μὲν  
 ἱκαναί σφισιν ἐς τὴν κομιδὴν ἐδόκουν, ταύτας καθελκύσαντες,  
 τὰς δὲ ἄλλας αὐτοῦ ἐν τοῖς νεωρίοις κατακαύσαντες, ὡς μὴ  
 παρασχεῖν ταχείαν σφῶν τὴν δίωξιν, ἐπὶ Κύπρου ἔφενγον καὶ  
 ἐκεῖθεν εἰς Αἴγυπτον, ἵνα περ ὀλίγον ὕστερον πολυπραγμονῶν  
 τι Ἀμύντας ἀποθνήσκει ὑπὸ τῶν ἐγχωρίων.
- 4 Φαρνάβαζος δὲ καὶ Αὐτοφραδάτης τέως μὲν περὶ τὴν Χίου  
 διέτριβον· καταστήσαντες δὲ φρουρὰν τῆς Χίου τὰς μὲν τινὰς  
 τῶν νεῶν ἐς Κῶν καὶ Ἀλικαρνασσὸν ἔστειλαν, αὐτοὶ δὲ ἑκατὸν  
 ναυσὶ ταῖς ἄριστα πλεύσαις ἀναγκασθέντες ἐς Σίφνον  
 κατέσχον. καὶ παρ' αὐτοῦς ἀφικνέεται Ἄγισ ὁ Λακεδαιμονίων  
 βασιλεὺς ἐπὶ μιᾷς τριήρους, χρήματά τε αἰτήσων ἐς τὸν  
 πόλεμον καὶ δύναμιν ναυτικὴν τε καὶ πεζικὴν ὅσην πλείστην  
 5 ἀξιώσων συμπέμψαι οἱ ἐς τὴν Πελοπόννησον. καὶ ἐν τούτῳ  
 ἀγγελία αὐτοῖς ἔρχεται τῆς μάχης τῆς πρὸς Ἴσσω γενομένης.  
 ἐκπλαγέντες δὲ πρὸς τὰ ἐξαγγελθέντα Φαρνάβαζος μὲν σὺν  
 δώδεκα τριήρεσι καὶ τῶν μισθοφόρων ξένων ξὺν χιλίοις καὶ  
 6 πεντακοσίοις ἐπὶ Χίου ἐστάλη, δείσας μὴ τι πρὸς τὴν  
 ἀγγελίαν τῆς ἥττης οἱ Χῖοι νεωτερίσωσιν. Ἄγισ δὲ παρ'  
 Αὐτοφραδάτου τάλαντα ἀργυρίου λαβὼν τριάκοντα καὶ  
 τριήρεις δέκα, ταύτας μὲν Ἰππίαν ἄξοντα ἀποστέλλει παρὰ  
 τὸν ἀδελφὸν τὸν αὐτοῦ Ἀγησίλαον ἐπὶ Ταίναρον· καὶ  
 παραγγέλλειν ἐκέλευσεν Ἀγησιλάῳ, δίδόντα τοῖς ναύταις  
 ἐντελῆ τὸν μισθὸν πλεῖν τὴν ταχίστην ἐπὶ Κρήτης, ὡς τὰ ἐκεῖ  
 καταστησόμενον. αὐτὸς δὲ τότε μὲν αὐτοῦ ἐν

- 3 up, and reached Tripolis in Phoenicia. There they seized the ships  
 that had been hauled ashore and had previously brought them from  
 Lesbos, launched as many of them as they thought enough for their  
 transport, burnt the rest there in the dockyards, to prevent speedy  
 pursuit of them, and fled to Cyprus and thence to Egypt, where a  
 little later Amyntas, stirring up some trouble or other, was killed by  
 the natives.<sup>2</sup>
- 4 Meanwhile Pharnabazus and Autophradates had been waiting at  
 Chios; after installing a garrison at Chios, they sent part of their  
 fleet to Cos and Halicarnassus, while they themselves put to sea  
 with the hundred best-sailing ships and arrived at Siphnus. They  
 5 were met by Agis king of Sparta with a single trireme; he came to  
 ask them to give him funds for the war and to send as many ships  
 and men as possible to him in the Peloponnese. Just at this moment  
 came the news of the battle of Issus. Utterly dumbfounded at the  
 news, Pharnabazus with twelve triremes and fifteen hundred of the  
 foreign mercenaries made for Chios, fearing that the Chians would  
 6 rebel on the news of the defeat. Agis got thirty silver Talents from  
 Autophradates and ten triremes and despatched Hippias to take  
 them to his brother Agesilaus at Taenarum. He ordered him to tell  
 Agesilaus to pay the crews in full and sail as quickly as possible to  
 Crete, to settle things there. He himself remained for the present  
 there at Siphnos

2 D. 48, 1-3; QC. iv 1, 27-33; App. VI 2.

ταῖς νήσοις ὑπέμενεν, ὕστερον δὲ εἰς Ἄλικαρνασσὸν παρ' Αὐτοφραδάτην ἀφίκετο.

- 7 Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ σατράπην μὲν Συρία τῇ κοιλῇ Μένωνα τὸν Κερδίμμα ἐπέταξε δοῦς αὐτῷ εἰς φυλακὴν τῆς χώρας τοῦ τῶν ξυμμάχων ἰππέας, αὐτὸς δὲ ἐπὶ Φοινίκης ἦει. καὶ ἀπαντᾷ αὐτῷ κατὰ τὴν ὁδὸν Στράτων ὁ Γηροστράτου παῖς τοῦ Ἀραδίων τε καὶ τῶν Ἀράδω προσοίκων βασιλέως· ὁ δὲ Γηρόστρατος αὐτὸς μετ' Αὐτοφραδάτου ἔπλει ἐπὶ τῶν νεῶν, καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι οἳ τε τῶν Φοινίκων καὶ οἱ τῶν Κυπρίων βασιλεῖς 8 καὶ αὐτοὶ Αὐτοφραδάτη ξυνέπλεον. Στράτων δὲ Ἀλεξάνδρῳ ἐντυχὼν στεφανοῖ χρυσῷ στεφάνῳ αὐτὸν καὶ τὴν τε Ἄραδον αὐτῷ τὴν νῆσον καὶ τὴν Μάραθον τὴν καταντικρὺ τῆς Ἀράδου ἐν τῇ ἠπείρῳ ὠκισμένην, πόλιν μεγάλην καὶ εὐδαίμονα, καὶ Σιγῶνα καὶ Μαριάμμη πόλιν καὶ τᾶλλα ὅσα τῆς σφῶν ἐπικρατείας ἐνδίδωσι.

14. Ἐτι δὲ ἐν Μαραθῷ Ἀλεξάνδρου ὄντος ἀφίκοντο παρὰ Δαρείου πρέσβεις, ἐπιστολὴν τε κομίζοντες Δαρείου καὶ αὐτοὶ 2 ἀπὸ γλώσσης δεησόμενοι ἀφεῖναι Δαρείῳ τὴν μητέρα καὶ τὴν γυναῖκα καὶ τοὺς παῖδας. ἐδήλου δὲ ἡ ἐπιστολή, ὅτι Φιλίππῳ τε πρὸς Ἀρτοξέρξην φιλία καὶ ξυμμαχία ἐγένετο καὶ, ἐπειδὴ Ἀρσῆς ὁ υἱὸς Ἀρτοξέρξου ἐβασίλευσεν, ὅτι Φίλιππος ἀδικίας πρῶτος ἐς βασιλέα Ἀρσῆν ἤρξεν οὐδὲν ἄχαρι ἐκ Περσῶν παθῶν. ἐξ οὗ δὲ αὐτὸς βασιλεύει Περσῶν,

among the islands, but later joined Autophradates at Halicarnassus.<sup>3</sup>

- 7 Alexander appointed Menon son of Cerdimmas as satrap of 'hollow' Syria,<sup>4</sup> giving him the allied cavalry to protect the country, while he himself proceeded towards Phoenicia. On his way he was met by Straton son of Gerostratus, king of the Aradians and people near Aradus; Gerostratus himself was sailing with Autophradates, 8 like the rest of the Phoenician and Cypriot kings. On meeting Alexander, Straton crowned him with a golden crown and surrendered to him the island of Aradus and Mara thus which lay opposite it on the mainland, a large and prosperous city, with Sigon and the city of Mariamme and all the other places under his control.

14. While Alexander was still at Marathus, envoys reached him from Darius, bringing a letter from him;<sup>1</sup> they were themselves to plead by word of mouth for the release to Darius of his mother, 2 wife and children. The letter argued as follows: Philip had been in peace and alliance with Artaxerxes,<sup>2</sup> and when Arses son of Artaxerxes became king,<sup>3</sup> Philip first did wrong to King Arses, although he had sustained no injury from the Persians. From the

<sup>3</sup> App. II and VI.

<sup>4</sup> A. presumably so describes north Syria, as distinct from the Phoenician coast and Palestine, which were parts of 'Syria', cf. A. B. Bosworth, *CQ* 1975 and iii 6, 8 n.

<sup>1</sup> Significant variants in D. 39; QC. iv 1, 7 ff.; J. xi 12. D. makes Al. substitute a fictitious letter from Darius and reply to it. G. T. Griffith, *Proceedings of Cambridge Philological Society* 1968, 33 ff conjectures that A. used the fictitious letter. A. appears to be following his main sources, though the summary of Darius' letter and the 'text' of Al's will be in his own words (Intro. 15). Al's letter contains several allusions to 'facts' otherwise unattested; if they are really fictitious, they

- οὔτε πέμψαι τινὰ Ἀλέξανδρον παρ' αὐτὸν ἐς βεβαίωσιν τῆς πάλαι οὔσης φιλίας τε καὶ ξυμμαχίας, διαβῆναί τε ξὺν
- 3 στρατιᾷ ἐς τὴν Ἀσίαν καὶ πολλὰ κακὰ ἐργάσασθαι Πέρσας. τούτου ἕνεκα καταβῆναι αὐτὸς τῇ χώρᾳ ἀμυνῶν καὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν τὴν πατρώαν ἀνασώσων. τὴν μὲν δὴ μάχην ὡς θεῶν τῷ ἔδοξεν οὕτω κριθῆναι, αὐτὸς δὲ βασιλεὺς παρὰ βασιλέως γυναικὰ τε τὴν αὐτοῦ αἰτεῖν καὶ μητέρα καὶ παῖδας τοὺς ἀλόντας, καὶ φιλίαν ἐθέλειν ποιήσασθαι πρὸς Ἀλέξανδρον καὶ ξύμμαχος εἶναι Ἀλεξάνδρῳ· καὶ ὑπὲρ τούτων πέμπειν ἡξίου Ἀλέξανδρον παρ' αὐτὸν ξὺν Μενίσκῳ τε καὶ Ἀρσίμα τοῖς ἀγγέλοις τοῖς ἐκ Περσῶν ἤκουσι τοὺς τὰ πιστὰ ληψομένους τε καὶ ὑπὲρ Ἀλεξάνδρου δώσοντας.
- 4 Πρὸς ταῦτα ἀντιγράφει Ἀλέξανδρος καὶ ξυμπέμπει τοῖς παρὰ Δαρείου ἐλθοῦσι Θέρσιππον, παραγγείλας τὴν ἐπιστολὴν δοῦναι Δαρείῳ, αὐτὸν δὲ μὴ διαλέγεσθαι ὑπὲρ μηδενός. ἡ δὲ ἐπιστολὴ ἣ Ἀλεξάνδρου ἔχει ὧδε· Οἱ ὑμέτεροι πρόγονοι ἐλθόντες εἰς Μακεδονίαν καὶ εἰς τὴν ἄλλην Ἑλλάδα κακῶς ἐποίησαν ἡμᾶς οὐδὲν προηδικημένοι· ἐγὼ δὲ τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἡγεμῶν κατασταθεὶς καὶ τιμωρήσασθαι βουλόμενος
- 5 Πέρσας διέβην ἐς τὴν Ἀσίαν, ὑπαρξάντων ὑμῶν. καὶ γὰρ Περικτιδίου ἐβοηθήσατε, οἳ τὸν ἐμὸν πατέρα ἠδίκουν, καὶ εἰς Θράκην, ἣς ἡμεῖς ἤρχομεν, δύναμιν ἔπεμψεν Ὀχός. τοῦ δὲ πατρὸς ἀποθανόντος ὑπὸ τῶν ἐπιβουλευσάντων, οὓς ὑμεῖς συνετάξατε, ὡς αὐτοὶ ἐν ταῖς ἐπιστολαῖς πρὸς ἅπαντας ἐκομπάσατε, καὶ Ἀρσῆν ἀποκτείναντός σου μετὰ Βαγῶου, καὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν κατασχόντος οὐ δικαίως οὐδὲ κατὰ τὸν

- time Darius had been King of Persia, Alexander had sent no envoy to him to confirm the ancient friendship and alliance, but had crossed with an army into Asia and had done great harm to the
- 3 Persians. That was why Darius had come down to defend his country and to rescue his ancestral dominion. The battle had been decided as some god had willed; but as a king he begged a king to restore his captive mother, wife and children; and he was ready to make friendship and an alliance with Alexander, and for these arrangements he thought it fitting that Alexander should send to him along with Meniscus and Arsimes (the envoys who had come from Persia) persons appointed to exchange pledges.
- 4 Alexander wrote a reply and sent Thersippus along with Darius' envoys with instructions to deliver the letter, but not to discuss anything with Darius. This is how Alexander's letter runs: 'Your ancestors invaded Macedonia and the rest of Greece and did us great harm, though we had done them no prior injury; I have been appointed *hegemon* of the Greeks, and invaded Asia in the desire to
- 5 take vengeance on Persia for *your* aggressions. For you assisted Perinthus, which wronged my father, and Ochus sent a force into Thrace, which was under our rule.<sup>4</sup> My father was murdered by conspirators, whom you Persians organized, as you yourselves boasted in your letters to all the world;<sup>5</sup> you assassinated Arses with the help of Bagoas, and seized the throne unjustly and in actual contravention

4 Introd. n. 65. Nothing is known of an invasion of Thrace.

5 Introd. 46.

Περσῶν νόμον, ἀλλὰ ἀδικούντος Πέρσας, καὶ ὑπὲρ ἐμοῦ πρὸς  
 6 τοὺς Ἑλληνας γράμματα οὐκ ἐπιτήδεια διαπέμποντος, ὅπως  
 πρὸς με πολεμῶσι, καὶ χρήματα ἀποστέλλοντος πρὸς  
 Λακεδαιμονίους καὶ ἄλλους τινὰς τῶν Ἑλλήνων, καὶ τῶν μὲν  
 ἄλλων πόλεων οὐδεμιᾶς δεχομένης, Λακεδαιμονίων δὲ  
 λαβόντων, καὶ τῶν παρὰ σοῦ πεμφθέντων τοὺς ἐμοὺς φίλους  
 διαφθειράντων καὶ τὴν εἰρήνην, ἣν τοῖς Ἑλλησι  
 7 κατεσκεύασα, διαλύειν ἐπιχειρούντων, ἐστράτευσα ἐπὶ σὲ  
 ὑπάρξαντος σοῦ τῆς ἔχθρας. ἐπεὶ δὲ μάχη νενίκηκα πρότερον  
 μὲν τοὺς σοὺς στρατηγοὺς καὶ σατράπας, νῦν δὲ σὲ καὶ τὴν  
 μετὰ σοῦ δύναμιν, καὶ τὴν χώραν ἔχω τῶν θεῶν μοι δόντων,  
 ὅσοι τῶν μετὰ σοῦ παραταξαμένων μὴ ἐν τῇ μάχῃ ἀπέθανον,  
 ἀλλὰ παρ' ἐμὲ κατέφυγον, τούτων ἐπιμέλομαι καὶ οὐκ ἄκουτες  
 8 παρ' ἐμοί εἰσιν, ἀλλὰ αὐτοὶ ἐκόντες ξυστρατεύονται μετ' ἐμοῦ.  
 ὡς οὖν ἐμοῦ τῆς Ἀσίας ἀπάσης κυρίου ὄντος ἦκε πρὸς ἐμέ. εἰ  
 δὲ φοβῆ μὴ ἐλθὼν πάθῃς τι ἐξ ἐμοῦ ἄχαρι, πέμπε τινὰς τῶν  
 φίλων τὰ πιστὰ ληψομένους. ἐλθὼν δὲ πρὸς με τὴν μητέρα  
 καὶ τὴν γυναῖκα καὶ τοὺς παῖδας καὶ εἰ ἄλλο τι θέλεις αἶτει  
 9 καὶ λάμβανε. ὃ τι γὰρ ἂν πείθῃς ἐμὲ ἔσται σοι. καὶ τοῦ  
 λοιποῦ ὅταν πέμπῃς παρ' ἐμέ, ὡς πρὸς βασιλέα τῆς Ἀσίας  
 πέμπε, μηδὲ [ἀ] ἐξ ἴσου ἐπίστελλε, ἀλλ' ὡς κυρίῳ ὄντι πάντων  
 τῶν σῶν φράζε εἰ του δέῃ. εἰ δὲ μή, ἐγὼ βουλευσομαι περὶ  
 σοῦ ὡς ἀδικούντος. εἰ δ' ἀντιλέγεις περὶ τῆς βασιλείας,  
 ὑπομείνας ἔτι ἀγώνισαι περὶ αὐτῆς καὶ μὴ φεύγε, ὡς ἐγὼ ἐπὶ  
 σὲ πορεύομαι οὐδ' ἂν ἦς.

15. Πρὸς μὲν Δαρεῖον ταῦτ' ἐπέστειλεν. ἐπεὶ δ' ἔμαθεν τά  
 τε χρήματα ὅσα σὺν Κωφῆνι τῷ

of Persian law, doing wrong to Persians; you sent unfriendly letters  
 6 to the Greeks about me, urging them to make war on me. You  
 despatched sums of money to the Lacedaemonians and certain  
 other Greeks, which no other city accepted but the  
 Lacedaemonians. Your envoys destroyed my friends and sought to  
 destroy the peace I had established in Greece.<sup>6</sup> Although I marched  
 7 against you, it was you that started the quarrel. As I have conquered  
 in battle first your generals and satraps, and now yourself and your  
 own force, and am in possession of the country by the gift of  
 heaven, I hold myself responsible for all of your troops who did not  
 die in the field but took refuge with me; they are with me of their  
 own free will, and voluntarily serve in my army. You must then  
 8 regard me as Lord of all Asia and come to me. If you fear that by  
 coming you may receive some harm at my hands, send some of your  
 friends to receive pledges. Ask for your mother, wife and children  
 and what you will, when you have come, and you will receive them.  
 You shall have whatever you persuade me to give. And in future  
 9 when you send to me, make your addresses to the king of Asia,<sup>7</sup> and  
 do not correspond as an equal, but tell me, as lord of all your  
 possessions, what you need; otherwise I shall make plans to deal  
 with you as a wrongdoer. But if you claim the kingship, stand your  
 ground and fight for it and do not flee, as I shall pursue you  
 wherever you are.<sup>8</sup>

15. This was Alexander's letter to Darius.<sup>1</sup> When he learned that  
 the moneys Darius had sent with

<sup>6</sup> Persian attempts to foster Greek resistance to Macedon all seem to be later than Philip's invasion!

<sup>7</sup> QC. iv 1, 7 and 13 f. with different details.

<sup>1</sup> All this is apparently from A's main source.



Ἄρταβάζου ἀποπεπόμφει εἰς Δαμασκὸν Δαρείος ὅτι ἐάλωκε, καὶ ὅσοι Περσῶν ἀμφ' αὐτὰ ἐγκατελείφθησαν ξὺν τῇ ἄλλῃ βασιλικῇ κατασκευῇ ὅτι καὶ οὗτοι ἐάλωσαν, ταῦτα μὲν ὀπίσω  
 2 κομίσαντα εἰς Δαμασκὸν Παρμενίωνα φυλάσσειν ἐκέλευε. τοὺς δὲ πρέσβεις τῶν Ἑλλήνων οἱ πρὸς Δαρεῖον πρὸ τῆς μάχης ἀφιγμένοι ἦσαν, ἐπεὶ καὶ τούτους ἐάλωκεναι ἔμαθεν, παρ' αὐτὸν πέμπειν ἐκέλευεν. ἦσαν δὲ Εὐθυκλῆς μὲν Σπαρτιάτης, Θεσσαλίσκος δὲ Ἰσμηνίου καὶ Διονυσόδωρος Ὀλυμπιονίκης  
 3 Θηβαῖοι, Ἰφικράτης δὲ ὁ Ἰφικράτους τοῦ στρατηγοῦ Ἀθηναῖος. καὶ οὗτοι ὡς ἤκουον παρὰ Ἀλέξανδρον, Θεσσαλίσκον μὲν καὶ Διονυσόδωρον καίπερ Θηβαίους ὄντας εὐθὺς ἀφῆκεν, τὸ μὲν τι κατοικτίσει τῶν Θηβῶν, τὸ δὲ ὅτι συγγνωστὰ δεδρακέσθαι ἐφαίνοντο, ἠνδραποδισμένης ὑπὸ Μακεδόνων τῆς πατρίδος σφίσιν τε ἦντινα ἠδύναντο ὠφέλειαν εὕρισκόμενοι  
 4 καὶ εἰ δὴ τινα καὶ τῇ πατρίδι ἐκ Περσῶν καὶ Δαρείου ταῦτα μὲν ὑπὲρ ἀμφοῖν ἐπιεικῆ ἐνθυμηθείς, ἰδίᾳ δὲ Θεσσαλίσκου μὲν αἰδοῖ τοῦ γένους ἀφιέναι εἶπεν, ὅτι τῶν ἐπιφανῶν Θηβαίων ἦν, Διονυσόδωρον δὲ ἐπὶ τῇ νίκῃ τῶν Ὀλυμπίων. Ἰφικράτην δὲ φιλία τε τῆς Ἀθηναίων πόλεως καὶ μνήμη τῆς δόξης τοῦ πατρὸς ζῶντά τε ἀμφ' αὐτὸν ἔχων εἰς τὰ μάλιστα ἐτίμησε καὶ  
 5 νόσῳ τελευτήσαντος τὰ ὀστέα εἰς τὰς Ἀθήνας τοῖς πρὸς γένους ἀπέπεμψε. Εὐθυκλέα δὲ Λακεδαιμόνιον τε ὄντα, πόλεως περιφανῶς ἐχθρᾶς ἐν τῷ τότε, καὶ αὐτὸν οὐδὲν ἰδίᾳ εὕρισκόμενον εἰς ξυγγνώμην ὅ τι καὶ λόγου ἄξιον, τὰ μὲν πρῶτα ἐν φυλακῇ ἀδέσμῳ εἶχεν, ὕστερον δέ, ὡς ἐπὶ μέγα εὐτύχει, καὶ τοῦτον ἀφῆκεν.

Cophen son of Artabazus to Damascus had been seized, and that all the Persians left to guard them had also been seized with the rest of the royal equipage, he ordered Parmenio to take the spoils back to  
 2 Damascus and guard them there. As for the Greek envoys who had reached Darius before the battle, when he learned that they too had been captured, he ordered them to be sent to him. They were Euthycles the Spartiate, Thessaliscus son of Ismenias and Dionysodorus, an Olympian victor, from Thebes, and Iphicrates son of Iphicrates the general from Athens.<sup>2</sup> When they reached  
 3 Alexander, he at once dismissed Thessaliscus and Dionysodorus, Thebans as they were, partly from compassion for Thebes and partly because he thought that they had acted pardonably, since their country had been enslaved by Macedonians and they were looking for any conceivable help they could get for themselves and for their country too from Darius and Persia; he took a kindly view  
 4 of the doings of both, but privately he said that he was releasing Thessaliscus from regard for his family, since he was one of the Theban nobles, and Dionysodorus because of his victory at Olympia. From friendship for Athens and remembrance of his father's fame, he kept Iphicrates in attendance and paid him special honour; when he died, he sent back his bones to his relatives at  
 5 Athens. Euthycles, however, as a Lacedaemonian, from a city conspicuously hostile to him at the moment, and as a person unable to produce any reasonable claim to individual pardon, was at first kept under guard, though not in bonds; but later, when successes crowded in on Alexander, he too was released.

<sup>2</sup> Apart from Iphicrates, QC. iii 13, 15 gives different names.

6 Ἐκ Μαράθου δὲ ὄρμηθεις Βύβλον τε λαμβάνει ὁμολογία  
 ἐνδοθεῖσαν καὶ Σιδῶνα αὐτῶν Σιδωνίων ἐπικαλεσαμένων κατὰ  
 ἔχθος τὸ Περσῶν καὶ Δαρείου. ἐντεύθει δὲ προῦχώρει ὡς ἐπὶ  
 Τύρον· καὶ ἐντυγχάνουσιν αὐτῷ κατὰ τὴν ὁδὸν πρέσβεις  
 Τυρίων ἀπὸ τοῦ κοινοῦ ἐσταλμένοι ὡς ἐγνωκότων Τυρίων  
 7 πράσσειν ὃ τι ἂν ἐπαγγέλλῃ Ἀλέξανδρος. ὁ δὲ τὴν τε πόλιν  
 ἐπαινέσας καὶ τοὺς πρέσβεις (καὶ γὰρ ἦσαν τῶν ἐπιφανῶν ἐν  
 Τύρῳ οἳ τε ἄλλοι καὶ ὁ τοῦ βασιλέως τῶν Τυρίων παῖς. αὐτὸς  
 δὲ ὁ βασιλεὺς Ἀζέμιλκος μετ' Αὐτοφραδάτου ἔπλει) ἐκέλευσεν  
 ἐπανελθόντας φράσαι Τυρίοις, ὅτι ἐθέλοι παρελθὼν ἐς τὴν  
 πόλιν θῦσαι τῷ Ἡρακλεῖ.

16. Ἔστι γὰρ ἐν Τύρῳ ἱερὸν Ἡρακλέους παλαιότατον ὧν  
 μνήμη ἀνθρωπίνη διασώζεται, οὐ τοῦ Ἀργείου Ἡρακλέους τοῦ  
 Ἀλκμήνης· πολλαῖς γὰρ γενεαῖς πρότερον τιμᾶται ἐν Τύρῳ  
 Ἡρακλῆς ἢ Κάδμον ἐκ Φοινίκης ὄρμηθέντα Θήβας κατασχεῖν  
 2 καὶ τὴν παῖδα Κάδμῳ τὴν Σεμέλην γενέσθαι, ἐξ ἧς καὶ ὁ τοῦ  
 Διὸς Διόνυσος γίγνεται. Διόνυσος μὲν δὴ τρίτος ἂν ἀπὸ  
 Κάδμου εἴη, κατὰ Λάβδακον τὸν Πολυδώρου τοῦ Κάδμου  
 παῖδα, Ἡρακλῆς δὲ ὁ Ἀργεῖος κατ' Οἰδίποδα μάλιστα τὸν  
 3 Λαΐου. σέβουσι δὲ καὶ Αἰγύπτιοι ἄλλον Ἡρακλέα, οὐχ ὄνπερ  
 Τύριοι ἢ Ἕλληνες, ἀλλὰ λέγει Ἡρόδοτος, ὅτι τῶν δώδεκα  
 θεῶν Ἡρακλέα ἄγουσιν Αἰγύπτιοι, καθάπερ καὶ Ἀθηναῖοι  
 Διόνυσον τὸν Διὸς καὶ Κόρης σέβουσι, ἄλλον τοῦτον  
 Διόνυσον· καὶ ὁ Ἰακχος ὁ μυστικὸς τούτῳ τῷ Διόνυσῳ, οὐχὶ  
 4 τῷ Θηβαίῳ, ἐπάδεται. ὡς τὸν γε ἐν Ταρτησσῷ πρὸς

6 Alexander marched from Marathus and received the surrender  
 of Byblus and Sidon; the Sidonians who loathed Persia and Darius  
 called him in themselves.<sup>3</sup> Thence he proceeded towards Tyre, and  
 on the way Tyrian envoys met him, sent by the community to say  
 that Tyre had decided to accept Alexander's orders. He commended  
 7 both the city and its envoys—for they were Tyrian nobles and  
 included the son of their king, Azemilcus, who was himself at sea  
 with Autophradates' fleet—and told them to return and inform the  
 Tyrians that he proposed to visit Tyre and sacrifice to Heracles.<sup>4</sup>

16. At Tyre there is the most ancient temple of Heracles of  
 which there is any human recollection, not the Argive Heracles, son  
 of Alcmene, for a Heracles was honoured at Tyre many generations  
 before Cadmus sailed from Phoenicia, occupied Thebes, and had a  
 daughter Semele, mother of Dionysus son of Zeus. For Dionysus  
 2 would appear to be in the third generation from Cadmus, along  
 with Labdacus son of Polydorus, son of Cadmus; while the Argive  
 Heracles was probably a contemporary of Oedipus son of Laius.  
 The Egyptians too worship another Heracles, different from the  
 3 Heracles of Tyre and the Heracles of Greece; Herodotus<sup>1</sup> says that  
 the Egyptians reckon him one of the Twelve Deities, just as the  
 Athenians worship a different Dionysus, son of Zeus and Kore. It is  
 to him, not the Theban Dionysus, that the mystic chant 'Iacchus' is  
 4 sung.<sup>2</sup> I think that the Heracles honoured by the

3 QC. iv 1, 15. Sidon had suffered much in 344/3 B.C. for revolting from Persia. Cf. 24, 5 n.

4 D. 40, 2; QC. iv 2, 1–5, also for ch. 16, 7 ff.

1 ii 43, § 1–6 are clearly A's own digression, cf. App, IV, 4.

2 Oxf. Class. Dict. s.v. Iacchus.

- Ἰβήρων τιμώμενον Ἡρακλέα, ἵνα καὶ στήλαι τινας  
 Ἡρακλέους ὠνομασμένοι εἰσὶ, δοκῶ ἐγὼ τὸν Τύριον εἶναι  
 Ἡρακλέα, ὅτι Φοινίκων κτίσμα ἢ Ταρτησσὸς καὶ τῷ Φοινίκων  
 5 νόμῳ ὃ τε νεὸς πεποιήται τῷ Ἡρακλεῖ τῷ ἐκεῖ καὶ αἱ θυσίαι  
 θύονται. Γηρυόνην δέ, ἐφ' ὅντινα ὁ Ἀργεῖος Ἡρακλῆς ἐστάλη  
 πρὸς Εὐρυσθέως τὰς βούς ἀπελάσαι τὰς Γηρυόνου καὶ  
 ἀγαγεῖν ἐς Μυκῆνας, οὐδέν τι προσήκειν τῇ γῆ τῇ Ἰβήρων  
 Ἐκαταῖος ὁ λογοποιὸς λέγει, οὐδὲ ἐπὶ νῆσόν τινα Ἐρύθειαν  
 <τῆς> ἔξω τῆς μεγάλης θαλάσσης σταλῆναι Ἡρακλέα, ἀλλὰ  
 τῆς ἠπείρου τῆς περὶ Ἀμπρακίαν τε καὶ Ἀμφιλόχους βασιλέα  
 γενέσθαι Γηρυόνην καὶ ἐκ τῆς ἠπείρου ταύτης ἀπελάσαι  
 6 Ἡρακλέα τὰς βούς, οὐδὲ τοῦτον φαῦλον ἄθλον τιθέμενον. οἶδα  
 δὲ ἐγὼ καὶ εἰς τοῦτο ἔτι εὐβοτον τὴν ἠπειρον ταύτην καὶ βούς  
 τρέφουσαν καλλίστας· καὶ ἐς Εὐρυσθέα τῶν μὲν ἐξ Ἠπείρου  
 βοῶν κλέος ἀφίχθαι καὶ τοῦ βασιλέως τῆς Ἠπείρου τὸ ὄνομα  
 τὸν Γηρυόνην οὐκ ἔξω τοῦ εἰκότος τίθεμαι τῶν δὲ ἐσχάτων  
 τῆς Εὐρώπης Ἰβήρων οὐτ' ἂν τοῦ βασιλέως τὸ ὄνομα  
 γινώσκειν Εὐρυσθέα, οὔτε εἰ βούς καλαὶ ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ ταύτῃ  
 νέμονται, εἰ μὴ τις τὴν Ἥραν τούτοις ἐπάγων, ὡς αὐτὴν  
 ταῦτα Ἡρακλεῖ δι' Εὐρυσθέως ἐπαγγέλλουσαν, τὸ οὐ πιστὸν  
 τοῦ λόγου ἀποκρύπτειν ἐθέλοι τῷ μύθῳ.  
 7 Τούτῳ τῷ Ἡρακλεῖ τῷ Τυρίῳ ἔφη ἐθέλειν θῦσαι  
 Ἀλέξανδρος. ὡς δὲ ἀπηγγέλθη ταῦτα πρὸς τῶν πρέσβεων εἰς  
 τὴν Τύρον, τὰ μὲν ἄλλα ἔδοξέ σφισι ποιεῖν ὃ τι περ  
 ἐπαγγέλλοι Ἀλέξανδρος, ἐς

- Iberians at Tartessus, where certain Pillars have also been named  
 after him, is the Tyrian Heracles, since Tartessus is a Phoenician  
 foundation<sup>3</sup> and it is in the Phoenician style that the temple of  
 Heracles there has been built and that the sacrifices are offered.  
 5 Moreover, Geryones against whom the Argive Heracles was sent by  
 Eurystheus, to drive off his oxen and bring them to Mycenae, has  
 no connection with Iberia according to Hecataeus the historian<sup>4</sup>;  
 nor in his view was Heracles sent to an island, Erytheia, beyond the  
 Great Sea, but Geryones was king of the mainland in the region of  
 Ambracia and the Amphilochi, and it was from this mainland here  
 that Heracles drove off the oxen; and that was in itself no mean  
 6 prize-task that he set himself either. What I do know<sup>5</sup> is that this  
 part of the mainland is capital pasture to this very day and rears  
 excellent oxen; and I reckon it quite likely that the fame of these  
 mainland oxen reached Eurystheus together with the name of the  
 king of the mainland, Geryones; but I feel sure that Eurystheus  
 would not have known the name of the king of the Iberians, right at  
 the ends of Europe, nor whether there were fine cattle in those  
 parts, unless anyone cares to bring in Hera and suppose that she  
 passed on the news of them to Heracles through Eurystheus, and so  
 to veil the unlikeliness of the tale with legend.<sup>6</sup>  
 7 It was to this Tyrian Heracles that Alexander said he wished to  
 sacrifice. When this was announced at Tyre by the envoys, the  
 Tyrians decided to obey

3 This Iberian kingdom in south Spain was often confused in Roman times with the Phoenician colony of Gades (e.g. Sallust, *Histories* ii 5; Cicero, *de senectute* 69), which had a famous temple of Heracles (Melkarth).

4 Jacoby no. 1, F. 26. H. flourished c. 500 B.C.

δὲ τὴν πόλιν μήτε τινὰ Περσῶν μήτε Μακεδόνων δέχεσθαι, ὡς τοῦτο ἕς τε τὰ παρόντα τῷ λόγῳ εὐπρεπέστατον καὶ ἕς τοῦ πολέμου τὴν κρίσιν, ἄδηλον ἔτι οὖσαν, ἀσφαλέστατόν σφισι  
8 γνωσόμενοι. ὡς δὲ ἐξηγγέλθη Ἀλεξάνδρῳ τὰ ἐκ τῆς Τύρου, τοὺς μὲν πρέσβεις πρὸς ὀργὴν ὀπίσω ἀπέπεμψεν, αὐτὸς δὲ συναγαγὼν τοὺς τε ἐταίρους καὶ τοὺς ἡγεμόνας τῆς στρατιᾶς καὶ ταξιάρχας καὶ ἰλάρχας ἔλεξεν ὧδε.

17. Ἄνδρες φίλοι καὶ ξύμμαχοι, ἡμῖν οὔτε τὴν ἐπ' Αἰγύπτου πορείαν ἀσφαλῆ ὁρῶ θαλασσοκρατούντων Περσῶν, Δαρείῳ τε διώκειν ὑπολειπομένους αὐτὴν τε ὀπίσω τὴν τῶν Τυρίων πόλιν ἀμφίβολον καὶ Αἴγυπτον καὶ Κύπρον ἐχομένας  
2 πρὸς Περσῶν, οὐδὲ τοῦτο ἀσφαλὲς ἕς τε τὰ ἄλλα καὶ μάλιστα δὴ ἕς τὰ Ἑλληνικὰ πράγματα, μή ποτε ἄρα ἐπικρατήσαντες αὐθις τῶν ἐπὶ θαλάσση χωρίων οἱ Πέρσαι, προχωρησάντων ἡμῶν ξὺν τῇ δυνάμει ὡς ἐπὶ Βαβυλώνᾳ τε καὶ Δαρείῳ, αὐτοὶ ξὺν πλείονι στόλῳ μετ[αγ]άγοιεν τὸν πόλεμον ἕς τὴν Ἑλλάδα, Λακεδαιμονίων μὲν ἐκ τοῦ εὐθέως ἡμῖν πολεμούντων, τῆς δὲ Ἀθηναίων πόλεως φόβῳ μᾶλλον τι ἢ εὐνοίᾳ τῇ πρὸς ἡμᾶς  
3 πρὸς τὸ παρὸν κατεχομένης. ἐξαιρεθείσης δὲ Τύρου ἢ τε Φοινίκη ἔχοιτο ἂν πᾶσα καὶ τὸ ναυτικὸν ὅπερ πλείστόν τε καὶ κράτιστον τοῦ Περσικοῦ, τὸ Φοινίκων, παρ' ἡμᾶς μεταχωρήσειν εἰκός· οὐ γὰρ ἀνέξονται οὔτε οἱ ἐρέται οὔθ' οἱ ἐπιβάται Φοίνικες ἐχομένων σφίσι τῶν πόλεων αὐτοὶ ὑπὲρ ἄλλων πλείοντες κινδυνεύειν· Κύπρος δὲ ἐπὶ τῷδε ἢ οὐ χαλεπῶς ἡμῖν προσχωρήσει ἢ ἐξ ἐπίπλου εὐμαρῶς  
4 ληφθήσεται. καὶ ταῖς τε ἐκ Μακεδονίας ναυσὶ καὶ ταῖς Φοινίσσαις

all Alexander's other commands, but not to admit any Persians or Macedonians within their city, as this decision would be the easiest to excuse in the existing circumstances, and safest for the future and for the issue of the war, which was still obscure. When Alexander received this answer, he angrily sent back the envoys, and assembling the Companions and the generals of the army, with the battalion and squadron commanders, made the following speech.<sup>7</sup>

17. 'My friends and allies, so long as Persia is supreme at sea I am aware that we cannot march in safety to Egypt. Nor, again, is it safe to pursue Darius, leaving in our rear the city of Tyre itself with its allegiance doubtful and Egypt and Cyprus still in Persia's hands, especially in view of the state of Greek affairs; the Persians might  
2 again secure control of the coastal places, when we have advanced in full force against Babylon and Darius, and with a larger expedition transfer the war into Greece, where the Lacedaemonians are openly at war with us, while Athens is kept in control for the present by fear rather than goodwill towards us. But  
3 with Tyre once destroyed, Phoenicia would all be in our hands, and the best and strongest part of the Persian navy, the Phoenician, would probably come over to us. For if their cities are in our hands neither rowers nor marines from Phoenicia will tolerate dangers at sea for the sake of others. After this Cyprus will either readily come over to our side or be captured easily by naval attack. Then if we  
4 keep the sea with

<sup>7</sup> The speech is apparently based on A's main source(s); no mention of Heracles but an explanation of A's strategy (cf. i 18, 9; 20, 1; 24, 3; Introd. 44).

πλεόντων ἡμῶν τὴν θάλασσαν καὶ Κύπρου ἅμα  
προσγενομένης θαλασσοκρατοῦμέν τε ἂν βεβαίως καὶ ὁ ἐς  
Αἴγυπτον στόλος εὐμαρῶς ἡμῖν ἐν ταύτῳ γίγνεται. Αἴγυπτον  
δὲ παραστησαμένοις ὑπὲρ τε τῆς Ἑλλάδος καὶ τῆς οἰκείας  
οὐδὲν ἔτι ὑποπτον ὑπολείπεται, τόν τε ἐπὶ Βαβυλῶνος στόλον  
μετὰ τοῦ ἐς τὰ οἴκοι ἀσφαλούς καὶ ξὺν μείζονι ἅμα ἀξιώσει  
ποιησόμεθα ἀποτετμημένοι τὴν τε θάλασσαν Περσῶν  
ξύμπασαν καὶ τὴν ἐπὶ τάδε τοῦ Εὐφράτου γῆν.

18. Ταῦτα λέγων οὐ χαλεπῶς ἔπειθεν ἐπιχειρεῖν τῇ Τύρῳ  
καὶ τι καὶ θεῖον ἀνέπειθεν αὐτόν, ὅτι ἐνύπνιον αὐτῆς ἐκείνης  
τῆς νυκτὸς ἐδόκει αὐτὸς μὲν τῷ τείχει προσάγειν τῶν Τυρίων,  
τὸν δὲ Ἡρακλέα δεξιούσθαι τε αὐτόν καὶ ἀνάγειν ἐς τὴν  
πόλιν. καὶ τοῦτο ἐξηγείτο Ἀρίστανδρος ὡς ξὺν πόνῳ  
ἀλωσομένην τὴν Τύρον, ὅτι καὶ τὰ τοῦ Ἡρακλέους ἔργα ξὺν  
2 πόνῳ ἐγένετο. καὶ γὰρ καὶ μέγα ἔργον τῆς Τύρου ἢ πολιορκία  
ἐφαίνετο. νῆσός τε γὰρ αὐτοῖς ἢ πόλις ἦν καὶ τείχεσιν  
ὑψηλοῖς πάντῃ ὠχύρωτο· καὶ τὰ ἀπὸ θαλάσσης πρὸς τῶν  
Τυρίων μᾶλλον τι ἐν τῷ τότε ἐφαίνετο, τῶν τε Περσῶν ἔτι  
θαλασσοκρατούντων καὶ αὐτοῖς τοῖς Τυρίοις νεῶν ἔτι πολλῶν  
περιουσῶν.  
3 Ὡς δὲ ταῦτα ὁμῶς ἐκράτησε, χῶμα ἔγνω χωννύναι ἐκ τῆς  
ἠπείρου ὡς ἐπὶ τὴν πόλιν. ἔστι δὲ πορθμὸς τεναγώδης τὸ  
χωρίον καὶ τὰ μὲν πρὸς τῇ ἠπείρῳ τῆς θαλάσσης βραχέα καὶ  
πηλώδη αὐτοῦ, τὰ δὲ πρὸς αὐτῇ τῇ πόλει, ἵνα τὸ βαθύτατον

our Macedonian ships, and the Phoenician, and with Cyprus ours as  
well, we should hold the sea-power securely, and our expedition to  
Egypt would be easy on the very same account. But once we have  
brought Egypt over, we shall have no cause of uneasiness for  
Greece and our own home, and we shall make the expedition to  
Babylon, with safety at home as well as enhanced prestige, with the  
whole sea and all the country this side of Euphrates cut off from  
Persia.<sup>1</sup>

18. With these words Alexander easily won over his staff to the  
attack on Tyre. In some degree an omen influenced him, for in a  
dream that very night he found himself approaching the wall of  
Tyre, and there was Heracles, stretching out his right hand, and  
conducting him into the city. Aristander interpreted this dream to  
mean that Tyre would be taken, but with an effort, for Heracles'  
achievements involved effort.<sup>1</sup> The fact is that the siege of Tyre was  
2 manifestly a large task.<sup>2</sup> The city was an island, and had been  
fortified all round with high walls; and at that time the advantage by  
sea apparently lay with Tyre, as the Persians were still supreme at  
sea and the Tyrians also still had many ships available.

3 But as Alexander's arguments, none the less, won the day, he  
decided to build a mole from the mainland to the city.<sup>3</sup> The place is  
one where people cross over shoal-water; it has shallows and  
patches of mud towards the mainland; next to the city itself where

1 QC. iv 2, 17; P. 24, 3 put this later in the siege.

2 It lasted 6 or 7 months, D. 46, 5; QC. iv 4, 9; P. 24, 3, c. Feb.–  
Aug. 332 B.C., cf. 24, 6 n. For its course cf. D. 40–46; QC. iv 2–4; P. 24  
f. Al's artillery: Marsden (cf. i 20, 8 n.), esp. 61 f. 102 f. Plan: Fuller  
209.

3 Four stades, D. 40, 4; QC 2, 6.

τοῦ διάπλου, τριῶν μάλιστα ὀργυιῶν τὸ βάθος. ἀλλὰ λίθων τε  
 πολλῶν ἀφθονία ἦν καὶ ὕλης, ἣντινα τοῖς λίθοις ἄνωθεν  
 ἐπεφόρουν, χάρακές τε οὐ χαλεπῶς κατεπήγνυντο ἐν τῷ πηλῷ  
 4 καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ πηλὸς ξύνδεσμος τοῖς λίθοις ἐς τὸ ἐπιμένειν  
 ἐγίγνετο. καὶ προθυμία τῶν τε Μακεδόνων ἐς τὸ ἔργον καὶ  
 Ἀλεξάνδρου πολλή ἦν παρόντος τε καὶ αὐτοῦ ἕκαστα  
 ἐξηγουμένου καὶ τὰ μὲν λόγῳ ἐπαίροντος, τὰ δὲ καὶ χρήμασι  
 τοὺς τι ἐκπρεπέστερον κατ' ἀρετὴν πονουμένους  
 ἐπικουφίζοντος. ἀλλ' ἔστε μὲν τὸ πρὸς τῇ ἠπείρῳ ἐχώννυτο,  
 5 οὐ χαλεπῶς προὔχῳρει τὸ ἔργον, ἐπὶ βάθος τε ὀλίγον  
 χωννύμενον καὶ οὐδενὸς ἐξείργοντος. ὡς δὲ τῷ τε βαθυτέρῳ  
 ἤδη ἐπέλαζον καὶ ἅμα τῇ πόλει αὐτῇ ἐγγὺς ἐγίγνοντο, ἀπὸ τε  
 τῶν τειχῶν ὑψηλῶν ὄντων βαλλόμενοι ἐκακοπάθουν, ἅτε καὶ  
 ἐπ' ἐργασία μᾶλλον τι ἢ ὡς ἐς μάχην ἀκριβῶς ἐσταλμένοι,  
 καὶ ταῖς τριήρεσιν ἄλλη καὶ ἄλλη τοῦ χώματος ἐπιπλέοντες οἱ  
 Τύριοι, ἅτε δὴ θαλασσοκρατοῦντες ἔτι, ἄπορον πολλαχῆ τὴν  
 6 πρόσχωσιν τοῖς Μακεδόσιν ἐποίουν. καὶ οἱ Μακεδόνες  
 πύργους ἐπ' ἄκρου τοῦ χώματος, ὃ τι περ προκεχωρήκει  
 αὐτοῖς ἐπὶ πολὺ τῆς θαλάσσης, ἐπέστησαν δύο καὶ μηχανὰς  
 ἐπὶ τοῖς πύργοις. προκαλύμματα δὲ δέρρεις καὶ διφθέραι  
 αὐτοῖς ἦσαν, ὡς μήτε πυρφόροις βέλεσιν ἀπὸ τοῦ τείχους  
 βάλλεσθαι, τοῖς τε ἐργαζομένοις προβολὴ ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ εἶναι  
 πρὸς τὰ τοξεύματα· ἅμα τε ὅσοι προσπλέοντες τῶν Τυρίων  
 ἔβλαπτον τοὺς χωννύντας, ἀπὸ τῶν πύργων βαλλόμενοι οὐ  
 χαλεπῶς ἀνασταλήσεσθαι ἔμελλον.

19. Οἱ δὲ Τύριοι πρὸς ταῦτα ἀντιμηχανῶνται τοιόνδε. ναῦν  
 ἵππαγωγὸν κλημάτων τε ξηρῶν καὶ

the crossing is deepest, the water is about three fathoms deep. But  
 there was plenty of stones and wood, which they heaped on to the  
 stones; then it was easy to fix stakes in the mud, and the mud itself  
 4 made a stable binding for the stones. The Macedonians were very  
 eager for the work, like Alexander; he was present directing each  
 step himself, inspired the men with his words and encouraged their  
 exertions by gifts to those who did work of exceptional merit. As  
 long as the building of the mole was near the mainland, the  
 operation went forward without difficulty; for the depth of the pile  
 5 was not great, and no resistance was offered. But once they got into  
 deeper water and also nearer the city, they were greatly distressed  
 by volleys from the high walls, especially as they were properly clad  
 for labouring rather than for fighting; and the Tyrians sailed up in  
 their triremes here and there by the mole, being still masters of the  
 sea, and in many places made it impossible for the Macedonians to  
 6 build up the mole. The Macedonians set two towers on the mole,  
 which had now run far out into the sea, with engines on the towers,  
 and covered them with hides and skins, to prevent their being  
 pelted with fire-darts from the wall, and to screen the workers also  
 against arrows; besides, any Tyrians who rowed up and tried to  
 injure the men building the mole would receive volleys from the  
 towers and would probably be easily repulsed.<sup>4</sup>

19. The Tyrians, however, took a counter step;<sup>1</sup> they filled a  
 cavalry transport-ship with dry boughs

4 D. 40, 4–41; QC 2, 8–24 supply other details.

1 QC. 3, 1 ff. (in Al's absence, 20, 4 below); ignored by D. QC. 3,  
 9 f. tells of other Tyrian devices.

ἄλλης ὕλης εὐφλέκτου ἐμπλήσαντες δύο ἰστοὺς ἐπὶ τῇ πρῶρᾳ καταπηγνύουσι καὶ ἐν κύκλῳ περιφράσσουσιν ἐς ὅσον μακρότατον, ὡς φορυτόν τε ταύτη καὶ δᾶδας ὅσας πλείστας δέξασθαι· πρὸς δὲ πίσσαν τε καὶ θείον καὶ ὅσα ἄλλα ἐς τὸ

2 παρακαλέσαι μεγάλην φλόγα ἐπὶ ταύτη ἐπεφόρησαν. παρέτειναν δὲ καὶ κεραΐαν διπλῆν ἐπὶ τοῖς ἰστοῖς ἀμφοτέροις, καὶ ἀπὸ ταύτης ἐξήρτησαν ἐν λέβησιν ὅσα ἐπιχυθέντα ἢ ἐπιβληθέντα ἐπὶ μέγα τὴν φλόγα ἐξάψειν ἔμελλον, ἔρματά τε ἐς τὴν πρύμναν ἐνέθεσαν, τοῦ ἐξᾶραι ἐς ὕψος τὴν πρῶραν

3 πιεζομένης κατὰ πρύμναν τῆς νεώς. ἔπειτα ἄνεμον τηρήσαντες ὡς ἐπὶ τὸ χῶμα ἐπιφέροντα ἐξάψαντες τριήρεσι τὴν ναῦν κατ' οὐρὰν εἰλκον. ὡς δὲ ἐπέλαζον ἤδη τῷ τε χῶματι καὶ τοῖς πύργοις, πῦρ ἐμβαλόντες ἐς τὴν ὕλην καὶ ὡς βιαιότατα ἅμα ταῖς τριήρεσιν ἐπανελκύσαντες τὴν ναῦν ἐνσείουσιν ἄκρῳ τῷ

4 χῶματι· αὐτοὶ δὲ οἱ ἐν τῇ νηὶ καιομένη ἤδη ἐξενήξαντο οὐ χαλεπῶς. καὶ ἐν τούτῳ ἢ τε φλόξ πολλὴ ἐνέπιπτε τοῖς πύργοις καὶ αἱ κεραΐαι περικλασθεῖσαι ἐξέχεαν ἐς τὸ πῦρ ὅσα ἐς ἔξωθεν τῆς φλογὸς παρεσκευασμένα ἦν. οἱ δ' ἀπὸ τῶν τριήρων πλησίον τοῦ χῶματος ἀνακωχεύοντες ἐτόξενον ἐς τοὺς πύργους, ὡς μὴ ἀσφαλὲς εἶναι πελάσαι ὅσοι σβεστήριόν

5 τι τῇ φλογὶ ἐπέφερον. καὶ ἐν τούτῳ κατεχομένων ἤδη ἐκ τοῦ πυρὸς τῶν πύργων ἐκδραμόντες ἐκ τῆς πόλεως πολλοὶ καὶ ἐς κελήτια ἐμβάντες ἄλλη καὶ ἄλλη ἐποκείλαντες τοῦ χῶματος τὸν τε χάρακα οὐ χαλεπῶς διέσπασαν τὸν πρὸ αὐτοῦ προβεβλημένον καὶ τὰς μηχανὰς ξυμπάσας κατέφλεξαν,

6 ὅσας μὴ τὸ ἀπὸ τῆς νεώς πῦρ ἐπέσχευ. Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ τό τε χῶμα ἀπὸ τῆς ἠπείρου ἀρξάμενους πλατύτερον

and other combustible wood, fixed two masts in the bows, and built bulwarks round, extended as far as possible, so that it would contain the greatest amount of chips and shavings and torches; to say nothing of pitch, sulphur, and anything else to stir a great blaze,

2 which they added liberally. They lashed a double yardarm to each mast, and hung from it in cauldrons anything which could be poured or thrown on to increase the flame, and they ballasted the stern to lift the bows as high as possible by the weight aft. Then

3 they waited for a wind blowing towards the mole and, making fast hawsers, towed the transport astern with triremes. When they got near the mole and the towers, they lit the material, hauled with the triremes as violently as possible and dashed the ship on to the edge of the mole. The crew of the ship, already ablaze, swam off without

4 difficulty. At this point a great flame was falling on the towers, and as the yards broke, they poured on to the fire the material that had been made ready to feed the flame. The men in the triremes lay to near the mole, and shot at the towers, so that it was not safe for anyone to get near with materials to quench the fire. At this stage,

5 the towers being well alight, the citizens sallied out in large numbers, jumping into small boats, and put in at different parts of the mole, where they easily tore down the palisade set up to protect it and burned all the engines which had not been caught by fire

6 from the ship. Alexander, however, ordered his men to make the mole

χωινύναι, ὡς πλείονας δέξασθαι πύργους, καὶ τοὺς μηχανοποιούς μηχανὰς ἄλλας κατασκευάζειν ἐκέλευσεν. ὡς δὲ ταῦτα παρεσκευάζετο, αὐτὸς τοὺς τε ὑπασπιστὰς ἀναλαβὼν καὶ τοὺς Ἀγριαῖνας ἐπὶ Σιδῶνος ἐστάλη, ὡς ἀθροίσων ἐκεῖ ὄσαι ἤδη ἦσαν αὐτῷ τριήρεις, ὅτι ἀπορώτερα τὰ τῆς πολιορκίας ἐφαίνετο θαλασσοκρατούντων τῶν Τυρίων.

20. Ἐν τούτῳ δὲ Γηρόστρατος τε ὁ Ἀράδου βασιλεὺς καὶ Ἐνυλος ὁ Βύβλου ὡς ἔμαθον τὰς πόλεις σφῶν ὑπὸ Ἀλεξάνδρου ἐχομένας, ἀπολιπόντες Ἀυτοφραδάτην τε καὶ τὰς ξὺν αὐτῷ νέας παρ' Ἀλέξανδρον ξὺν τῷ ναυτικῷ τῷ σφετέρῳ ἀφίκοντο καὶ αἱ τῶν Σιδωνίων τριήρεις σὺν αὐτοῖς, ὥστε

- 2 Φοινίκων μὲν νῆες ὀγδοήκοντα μάλιστα αὐτῷ παρεγένοντο. ἦκον δὲ ἐν ταῖς αὐταῖς ἡμέραις καὶ ἐκ Ῥόδου τριήρεις ἧ τε περίπολος καλουμένη καὶ ξὺν ταύτῃ ἄλλαι ἑννέα, καὶ ἐκ Σόλων καὶ Μαλλοῦ τρεῖς καὶ Λύκιοι δέκα, ἐκ Μακεδονίας δὲ
- 3 πεντηκόντορος, ἐφ' ἧς Πρωτέας ὁ Ἀνδρονίκου ἐπέπλει. οὐ πολλῷ δὲ ὕστερον καὶ οἱ τῆς Κύπρου βασιλεῖς ἐς τὴν Σιδῶνα κατέσχον ναυσὶν ἑκατὸν μάλιστα καὶ εἴκοσιν, ἐπειδὴ τὴν τε ἦσαν τὴν κατ' Ἰσσοῦν Δαρείου ἐπύθοντο καὶ ἡ Φοινίκη πᾶσα ἐχομένη ἤδη ὑπὸ Ἀλεξάνδρου ἐφόβει αὐτούς. καὶ τούτοις πᾶσιν ἔδωκεν Ἀλέξανδρος ἄδειαν τῶν πρόσθεν, ὅτι ὑπὸ ἀνάγκης μᾶλλον τι ἢ κατὰ γνώμην τὴν σφῶν ἐδόκουν ξυνταχθῆναι τοῖς Πέρσαις ἐς τὸ ναυτικόν.

- 4 Ἐν ᾧ δὲ αἱ τε μηχαναὶ αὐτῷ ξυνεπήγνυντο καὶ αἱ νῆες ὡς εἰς ἐπίπλουν τε καὶ ναυμαχίας ἀπόπειραν ἐξηρτύοντο, ἐν τούτῳ δὲ ἀναλαβὼν τῶν τε ἰππέων ἵλας ἔστιν ἅς καὶ τοὺς ὑπασπιστὰς καὶ τοὺς

broader starting from the mainland, so as to hold more towers, and the engineers to construct new engines.<sup>2</sup> While these were being got ready, he made for Sidon with the hypaspists and the Agrianians, to collect all the triremes he already had there, since the siege seemed unlikely to succeed as long as the Tyrians were masters of the sea.<sup>3</sup>

20. At this time Gerostratus king of Aradus and Enylus of Byblus, on learning that Alexander held their cities, left Autophradates and his ships and joined Alexander with their own fleet, along with the Sidonian triremes; thus some eighty

- 2 Phoenician sail came over to him. In the same days nine triremes came from Rhodes, in addition to their state guardship, three from Soli and Mallus and ten from Lycia, and a fifty-oar ship from
- 3 Macedon, its captain being Proteus son of Andronicus. Soon afterwards the kings of Cyprus put in at Sidon with about 120 sail; they had learnt of Darius' defeat at Issus, and were alarmed at the whole of Phoenicia being already in Alexander's power.<sup>1</sup> To all of them Alexander let bygones be bygones, supposing that it was rather from necessity than their own choice that they had contributed to the Persian fleet.

- 4 While his engines were being fitted together, and his ships were being equipped for attack and for trying the issue of a naval battle, Alexander marched with some of the cavalry squadrons, the hypaspists,

2 QC. 3, 8 ff.

3 Omitted in other accounts.

1 QC. 3, 11 notes only the arrival of 120 ships from Cyprus; D. 42, 3 presupposes, without explaining, Al's later command of the sea.



Ἄγριανάς τε καὶ τοὺς τοξότας ἐπ' Ἀραβίας στέλλεται εἰς τὸν  
 5 Ἀντιλίβανον καλούμενον τὸ ὄρος· καὶ τὰ μὲν βία, τῶν ταύτη  
 ἐξελών, τὰ δὲ ὁμολογία παραστησάμενος ἐν δέκα ἡμέραις  
 ἐπανήγειν εἰς τὴν Σιδῶνα, καὶ καταλαμβάνει Κλέανδρον τὸν  
 Πολεμοκράτους ἐκ Πελοποννήσου ἤκοντα καὶ ξὺν αὐτῷ  
 μισθοφόρους ἑλληνας εἰς τετρακισχιλίους.  
 6 Ὡς δὲ συνετέτακτο αὐτῷ τὸ ναυτικόν, ἐπιβιβάσας τοῖς  
 καταστρώμασι τῶν ὑπασπιστῶν ὅσοι ἱκανοὶ ἐδόκουν εἰς τὸ  
 ἔργον, εἰ μὴ διέκπλοις μᾶλλον τι ἢ ἐν χερσὶν ἢ ναυμαχία  
 γίγνοιτο, ἄρας ἐκ τῆς Σιδῶνος ἐπέπλει τῇ Τύρῳ  
 ξυντεταγμέναις ταῖς ναυσίν, αὐτὸς μὲν κατὰ τὸ δεξιὸν κέρας,  
 ὃ δὴ εἰς τὸ πέλαγος αὐτῷ ἀνείχε, καὶ ξὺν αὐτῷ οἱ τε Κυπρίων  
 βασιλεῖς καὶ ὅσοι Φοινίκων, πλὴν Πυνταγόρου. οὗτος δὲ καὶ  
 7 Κρατερὸς τὸ εὐώνυμον κέρας εἶχον τῆς πάσης τάξεως. τοῖς δὲ  
 Τυρίοις πρότερον μὲν ναυμαχεῖν ἐγνωσμένον ἦν, εἰ κατὰ  
 θάλασσαν ἐπιπλέοι σφίσις Ἀλέξανδρος, τότε δὲ πλήθος νεῶν  
 πολὺ ἀπροσδοκῆτως κατιδόντες (οὐ γάρ πω πεπυσμένοι ἦσαν  
 8 τὰς τε Κυπρίων ναῦς καὶ τὰς Φοινίκων ξυμπάσας Ἀλέξανδρον  
 ἔχοντα) καὶ ἅμα ξυντεταγμένως τοῦ ἐπίπλου γιγνομένου  
 (ὀλίγον γὰρ πρὶν προσχεῖν τῇ πόλει ἀνεκώχευσαν ἔτι  
 πελάγαι αἱ ξὺν Ἀλεξάνδρῳ νῆες, εἴ πως ἄρα εἰς ναυμαχίαν  
 τοὺς Τυρίους προκαλέσαιντο, ἔπειτα οὕτως ξυνταξάμενοι, ὡς  
 οὐκ ἀντανήγοντο, πολλῶ τῷ ῥοθίῳ ἐπέπλεον)—ταῦτα ὁρῶντες  
 οἱ Τύριοι ναυμαχεῖν μὲν ἀπέγνωσαν, τριήρεσι δὲ ὄσας τῶν  
 λιμένων τὰ στόματα ἐδέχοντο βύζην τὸν ἔσπλον φραξάμενοι

the Agrianians and the archers in the direction of Arabia to the  
 5 mountain called Antilebanon.<sup>2</sup> Here he stormed and destroyed  
 some places and brought others to terms; in ten days he was back at  
 Sidon, and found that Cleander son of Polemocrates had arrived  
 from the Peloponnese with four thousand Greek mercenaries.<sup>3</sup>  
 6 When his fleet was organized, he put on deck as many of the  
 hypaspists as he thought sufficient for the action (in case the  
 engagement were not rather a matter of breaking the line of ships  
 than of hand-to-hand fighting), and weighing anchor sailed from  
 Sidon to Tyre with his ships in formation; himself on the right wing,  
 that is, seaward, with the Cyprian kings and all the Phoenicians,  
 except Pnytagoras who with Craterus commanded the left wing of  
 7 the whole line. The Tyrians had previously decided to give battle by  
 sea, if Alexander attacked them there. But when they sighted an  
 armada far beyond their estimate—for they had not been apprized  
 earlier that the Cyprian and the Phoenician ships were all with  
 8 Alexander—and observed the sea-attack coming in regular order—  
 just before closing on the city Alexander's ships, while still in the  
 open sea, had lain to, hoping to draw out the Tyrians to an  
 engagement, and then, as they did not put out in their original  
 order, came on with a loud din of oars and waves—the Tyrians,  
 observing all this, refused a sea-battle, but used as many of the  
 triremes as the mouths of their harbours would hold to block the  
 entrances

2 Cf. 19, 1 n. and P. 24, 6 (anecdotes from Chares); QC. 2, 24 and 3, 1, explaining that the natives were interfering with the dispatch of timber from Lebanon (cf. 2, 18), not Antilebanon, and stating that Perdicas and Craterus were left in command.

3 QC. 3, 11 makes them arrive with the ships from Cyprus.

ἐφύλασσον, ὡς μὴ ἐς τῶν λιμένων τινὰ ἐγκαθορμισθῆναι τῶν πολεμίων τὸν στόλον.

- 9 Ἀλέξανδρος δέ, ὡς οὐκ ἀντανήγοντο οἱ Τύριοι, ἐπέπλει τῇ πόλει καὶ ἐς μὲν τὸν λιμένα τὸν πρὸς Σιδῶνος βιάζεσθαι ἀπέγνω διὰ στενότητα τοῦ στόματος καὶ ἅμα ἀντιπρώροις τριήρεσι πολλαῖς ὄρων πεφραγμένον τὸν ἔσπλον, τρεῖς δὲ τὰς ἐξωτάτω ἐφορμούσας τῷ στόματι τριήρεις προσπεσόντες οἱ Φοίνικες καὶ ἀντίπρωροι ἐμβαλόντες καταδύουσιν· οἱ δὲ ἐν  
10 ταῖς ναυσὶν οὐ χαλεπῶς ἀπενήξαντο ἐς τὴν γῆν φιλίαν οὔσαν. τότε μὲν δὴ οὐ πόρρω τοῦ ποιητοῦ χώματος κατὰ τὸν αἰγιαλόν, ἵνα σκέπη τῶν ἀνέμων ἐφαίνετο, οἱ σὺν Ἀλεξάνδρῳ ὠρμίσαντο· τῇ δὲ ὑστεραία τοὺς μὲν Κυπρίους ξὺν ταῖς σφετέραις ναυσὶ καὶ Ἀνδρομάχῳ τῷ ναυάρχῳ κατὰ τὸν λιμένα τὸν ἐκ Σιδῶνος φέροντα ἐκέλευσεν ἐφορμεῖν τῇ πόλει, τοὺς δὲ Φοίνικας κατὰ τὸν ἐπέκεινα τοῦ χώματος τὸν πρὸς Αἴγυπτον ἀνέχοντα, ἵνα καὶ αὐτῷ ἡ σκηνὴ ᾖ.

21. Ἦδη δὲ καὶ μηχανοποιῶν αὐτῷ πολλῶν ἔκ τε Κύπρου καὶ Φοινίκης ἀπάσης συλλελεγμένων μηχαναὶ πολλαὶ συμπεπηγμέναι ἦσαν, αἱ μὲν ἐπὶ τοῦ χώματος, αἱ δὲ ἐπὶ τῶν ἵππαγωγῶν νεῶν, ἃς ἐκ Σιδῶνος ἅμα οἱ ἐκόμισεν, αἱ δὲ ἐπὶ  
2 τῶν τριήρων ὅσαι αὐτῶν οὐ ταχυναυτοῦσαι ἦσαν. ὡς δὲ παρεσκευάστο ἤδη ξύμπαντα, προσῆγον τὰς μηχανὰς κατὰ τε τὸ ποιητὸν χῶμα καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν νεῶν ἄλλη καὶ ἄλλη τοῦ τείχους προσορμιζομένων τε καὶ ἀποπειρωμένων τοῦ τείχους.  
3 Οἱ δὲ Τύριοι ἐπὶ τε τῶν ἐπάλξεων τῶν κατὰ τὸ

closely, and kept guard to prevent the enemy fleet from anchoring in any of the harbours.<sup>4</sup>

- 9 When the Tyrians refused battle, Alexander sailed against the city; he decided not to force an entry into the harbour facing Sidon because of the narrowness of its mouth, and also because entry was blocked with numerous triremes, bows on, though the Phoenicians did charge, bow to bow, the three triremes moored farthest out and sank them; their crews swam away comfortably to the friendly  
10 shore. For the time being Alexander's fleet came to anchor near the new-made mole along the shore, where there seemed to be protection from the winds. Next day Alexander ordered the Cyprians, with their contingent of ships and with Andromachus the admiral, to blockade the city at the harbour that faced Sidon, and the Phoenicians to do the same at the harbour on the other side of the mole, facing Egypt, where his own tent was.

21. By this time many engineers had been collected from Cyprus and the whole of Phoenicia,<sup>1</sup> and many engines had been fitted together on the mole or on the horse-transports Alexander had brought with him from Sidon or on the slower triremes. When  
2 everything was now ready, they brought forward the engines down the new-made mole and from the ships which were anchored alongside the wall at various points and were testing it out.<sup>2</sup>  
3 The Tyrians set wooden towers on the battlements

4 With § 6–9 cf. D. 42, 3; QC. 3, 11 f. D. 42, 3 puts the incident in 9 rather later.

1 D. 41, 3, 43, 1 and 44, 7 stresses the importance to the defence of the number of engineers at Tyre.

2 QC. 3, 13 makes the battering begin the day after the ships arrived; but 3, 13–4, 4, like D. 42, 5–45, 7 (divergent in details), ignore the operations A. describes (§ 3–7) and describe others.

χῶμα πύργους ξυλίνους ἐπέστησαν, ὡς ἀπομάχεσθαι ἀπ' αὐτῶν, καὶ εἴ πη ἄλλη αἰ μηχαναὶ προσήγοντο, βέλεσί τε ἠμύνοντο καὶ πυρφόροις οἰστοῖς ἔβαλλον αὐτὰς τὰς ναῦς,  
 4 ὥστε φόβον παρέχειν τοῖς Μακεδόσι πελάζειν τῷ τείχει. ἦν δὲ αὐτοῖς καὶ τὰ τείχη τὰ κατὰ τὸ χῶμα τό τε ὕψος εἰς πεντήκοντα καὶ ἑκατὸν μάλιστα πόδας καὶ ἐς πλάτος ξύμμετρον λίθοις μεγάλοις ἐν γύψῳ κειμένοις ξυμπεπηγότα. ταῖς δὲ ἵππαγωγοῖς τε καὶ ταῖς τριήρεσι τῶν Μακεδόνων, ὅσαι τὰς μηχανὰς προσήγον τῷ τείχει, καὶ ταύτη οὐκ εὐπορον ἐγίγνετο πελάζειν τῇ πόλει, ὅτι λίθοι πολλοὶ ἐς τὸ πέλαγος  
 5 προβεβλημένοι ἐξείργον αὐτῶν τὴν ἐγγὺς προσβολήν. καὶ τούτους Ἀλέξανδρος ἔγνω ἐξελκύσαι ἐκ τῆς θαλάσσης· ἠνύετο δὲ χαλεπῶς τοῦτο τὸ ἔργον, οἷα δὴ ἀπὸ νεῶν καὶ οὐκ ἀπὸ γῆς βεβαίου γιγνόμενον· ἄλλως τε καὶ οἱ Τύριοι ναῦς καταφράξαντες παρὰ τὰς ἀγκύρας ἐπήγον τῶν τριήρων καὶ ὑποτέμνοντες τὰς σχοίνους τῶν ἀγκυρῶν ἄπορον τὴν  
 6 προσόρμισιν ταῖς πολεμίαις ναυσὶν ἐποίουν. Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ τριακοντόρους πολλὰς ἐς τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον φράξας ἐπέστησεν ἐγκαρσίας πρὸ τῶν ἀγκυρῶν, ὡς ἀπ' αὐτῶν ἀναστέλλεσθαι τὸν ἐπίπλου τῶν νεῶν. ἀλλὰ καὶ ὡς ὕφαλοι κολυμβηταὶ τὰς σχοίνους αὐτοῖς ὑπέτεμνον. οἱ δὲ ἀλύσεσιν ἀντὶ σχοίνων εἰς τὰς ἀγκύρας χρώμενοι, οἱ Μακεδόνες, καθίσταν, ὥστε μηδὲν  
 7 ἔτι πλέον τοῖς κολυμβηταῖς γίγνεσθαι. ἐξάπτοντες οὖν βρόχους τῶν λίθων ἀπὸ τοῦ χώματος ἀνέσπων αὐτοὺς ἔξω τῆς θαλάσσης, ἔπειτα μηχαναῖς μετεωρίσαντες κατὰ βάθους ἀφίεσαν, ἵνα οὐκέτι προβεβλημένοι βλάβειν ἔμελλον. ὅπου δὲ καθαρὸν πεποίητο τῶν προβόλων

facing the mole, from which to fight; and wherever else the engines were brought up, they defended themselves with missiles and shot fiery arrows at the ships themselves, so as to deter the Macedonians  
 4 from an approach to the wall. The walls facing the mole were about 150 feet high and of corresponding breadth, constructed of big blocks of stone fitted in mortar. The Macedonian horse-transport and triremes, which were bringing up engines against the wall, found it hard to approach the city at this point, since heaps of stones cast into the sea in front of it prevented a close attack.  
 5 Alexander determined to drag these stones out of the sea, but this work made slow progress as it was carried on from ships and not from firm land, especially as the Tyrians had protected some of their ships with armour and bore down on the anchors of the triremes and cut the cables, thus making it impossible for the  
 6 enemy ships to lie near by. Alexander protected several thirty-oar boats in the same way, and laid them athwart in front of the anchors to repel the attack of the Tyrian ships. Even so, divers would swim under the surface and cut the ropes. The Macedonians then substituted chains for ropes in anchoring, and lowered them, so that  
 7 the divers had no further success. From the mole then they cast nooses round the stones, drew them out of the sea, and then lifting them on high with engines let them drop into deep water, where they were not likely to be in the way and do any more harm. Where they

τὸ τεῖχος, οὐ χαλεπῶς ἤδη ταύτη αἰ νῆες προσεῖχον.

8 Οἱ δὲ Τύριοι πάντη ἄποροι γιγνόμενοι ἔγνωσαν ἐπίπλου  
ποιήσασθαι ταῖς Κυπρίαις ναυσίν, αἱ κατὰ τὸν λιμένα  
ἐφώρμου τὸν ἐς Σιδῶνα τετραμμένον· ἐκ πολλοῦ δὴ  
καταπετάσαντες τὸ στόμα τοῦ λιμένος ἰστίοις, τοῦ μὴ  
καταφανῆ γενέσθαι τῶν τριήρων τὴν πλήρωσιν, ἀμφὶ μέσον  
ἡμέρας, ὅποτε οἱ τε ναῦται ἐπὶ τὰ ἀναγκαῖα ἐσκεδασμένοι  
ἦσαν καὶ Ἀλέξανδρος ἐν τούτῳ μάλιστα ἀπὸ τοῦ ἐπὶ θάτερα  
9 τῆς πόλεως ναυτικοῦ ἐπὶ τὴν σκηνὴν ἀπεχώρει, πληρώσαντες  
πεντήρεις μὲν τρεῖς καὶ τετρήρεις ἴσας, τριήρεις δὲ ἑπτὰ ὡς  
ἀκριβεστάτοις τε τοῖς πληρώμασι καὶ τοῖς ἀπὸ τῶν  
καταστρωμάτων μάχεσθαι μέλλουσιν εὐοπλοτάτοις καὶ ἅμα  
εὐθαρσεστάτοις ἐς τοὺς ναυτικούς ἀγῶνας, τὰ μὲν πρῶτα  
ἀτρέμα τῇ εἰρεσίᾳ ἐπὶ μιᾶς νεῶς ἐξέπλεον ἄνευ κελευστῶν τὰς  
κώπας παραφέροντες· ὡς δὲ ἐπέστρεφον ἤδη ἐπὶ τοὺς  
Κυπρίους καὶ ἐγγὺς τοῦ καθορᾶσθαι ἦσαν, τότε δὴ ξὺν βοῇ  
τε πολλῇ καὶ ἐγκελευσμῶ ἐς ἀλλήλους καὶ ἅμα τῇ εἰρεσίᾳ  
ξυντόνω ἐπεφέροντο.

22. Ξυνέβη δὲ ἐκείνη τῇ ἡμέρᾳ Ἀλέξανδρον ἀποχωρῆσαι  
μὲν ἐπὶ τὴν σκηνὴν, οὐ διατρήσαντα δὲ κατὰ τὸ εἰωθὸς δι'  
2 ὀλίγου ἐπὶ τὰς ναῦς ἐπανελθεῖν. οἱ δὲ Τύριοι προσπεσόντες  
ἀπροσδοκῆτως ταῖς ναυσίν ὀρμούσαις καὶ ταῖς μὲν πάντη  
κεναῖς ἐπιτυχόντες, τῶν δ' ὑπ' αὐτὴν τὴν βοῆν καὶ τὸν  
ἐπίπλου χαλεπῶς ἐκ τῶν παρόντων πληρουμένων, τὴν τε  
Πνυταγόρου τοῦ βασιλέως πεντήρη εὐθὺς ὑπὸ τῇ πρώτῃ  
ἐμβολῇ κατέδυσαν καὶ τὴν Ἀνδροκλέους τοῦ Ἀμαθουσίου καὶ  
τὴν Πασικράτους τοῦ

had cleared the approach to the wall of obstructions, the ships at  
last lay alongside quite easily.

8 The Tyrians, now becoming hard pressed in every way,  
determined to attack the Cyprian vessels blockading the harbour  
facing Sidon.<sup>3</sup> For a long time they kept sails stretched in front of  
the harbour mouth, so that the manning of the triremes should not  
be seen, and about midday, when the sailors had scattered on  
necessary business and Alexander had just left the fleet on the other  
side of the city for his tent, they manned three quinqueremes, as  
9 many quadriremes and seven triremes, with their smartest crews  
and the best-armed marines to fight from the decks, men who were  
also boldest in sea-fights, and at first quietly paddled<sup>4</sup> out in line  
ahead, without anyone to call the stroke; but once they began to  
turn towards the Cyprian ships and were nearly in view, they came  
on with much shouting and calling of the time among themselves,  
rowing with unified stroke.

22. It so happened that on that day Alexander, after retiring to  
his tent, did not rest there as usual, but returned to the ships quite  
2 soon. The Tyrian attack on the anchored ships was unexpected; they  
found some quite empty, others were being manned with difficulty  
in the middle of the noise and attack by any who chanced to be  
there, and at the first charge the quinqueremes of King Pnytagoras,  
Androcles of Amathus and Pasicrates of Curium

3 QC. 4, 5–9 (different account of sortie); nothing in D.

4 Professor Warmington suggests that the Greek means that they  
were not even rowing gently but holding their oars motionless,  
propelled by wind or current, or at most making occasional strokes for  
momentum. I feel no certainty on the exact sense.

Κουριέως, τὰς δὲ ἄλλας ἐς τὸν αἰγιαλὸν ἐξωθοῦντες ἔκοπτον.

- 3 Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ ὡς ἤσθητο τὸν ἔκπλον τῶν Τυρίων  
τριήρων, τὰς μὲν πολλὰς τῶν ξὺν αὐτῷ νεῶν, ὅπως ἐκάστη  
πληρωθείη, ἐπὶ τῷ στόματι τοῦ λιμένος ἀνακωχεύειν ἔταξεν,  
ὡς μὴ καὶ ἄλλαι ἐκπλεύσειαν τῶν Τυρίων νῆες· αὐτὸς δὲ  
πεντήρεις τε τὰς ξὺν αὐτῷ ἀναλαβὼν καὶ τῶν τριήρων ἐς  
4 πέντε μάλιστα, ὅσαι ἔφθησαν αὐτῷ κατὰ τάχος πληρωθεῖσαι,  
περιέπλει τὴν πόλιν ὡς ἐπὶ τοὺς ἐκπεπλευκότας τῶν Τυρίων.  
οἱ δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ τείχους, τὸν τε ἐπίπλον τῶν πολεμίων  
κατιδόντες καὶ Ἀλέξανδρον αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τῶν νεῶν, βοῆ τε  
ἐπανάγειν ἐνεκελεύοντο τοῖς ἐκ τῶν σφετέρων νεῶν καὶ ὡς οὐκ  
ἐξακουστὸν ἦν ὑπὸ θορύβου ξυνεχομένων ἐν τῷ ἔργῳ,  
σημείοις ἄλλοις καὶ ἄλλοις ἐπεκάλουν ἐς τὴν ἀναχώρησιν. οἱ  
δὲ ὄψε ποτε αἰσθόμενοι τὸν ἐπίπλον τῶν ἀμφ' Ἀλέξανδρον  
5 ὑποστρέψαντες ἐς τὸν λιμένα ἔφευγον. καὶ ὀλίγαι μὲν τῶν  
νεῶν φθάνουσι ὑπεκφυγούσαι, ταῖς δὲ πλείοσι ἐμβαλοῦσαι  
αἱ ξὺν Ἀλεξάνδρῳ τὰς μὲν αὐτῶν ἄπλους ἐποίησαν, πενήτηρης  
δέ τις καὶ τετρήρης αὐτῶν ἐπ' αὐτῷ τῷ στόματι τοῦ λιμένος  
ἐλήφθησαν. φόνος δὲ τῶν ἐπιβατῶν οὐ πολλὸς ἐγένετο. ὡς γὰρ  
ἤσθητο ἐχομένας τὰς ναῦς ἀπεινήξαντο οὐ χαλεπῶς ἐς τὸν  
λιμένα.
- 6 Ὡς δὲ οὐδεμία ἔτι τοῖς Τυρίοις ἐκ τῶν νεῶν ὠφέλεια ἦν,  
ἐπήγον ἤδη οἱ Μακεδόνες τὰς μηχανὰς τῷ τείχει αὐτῶν. κατὰ  
μὲν δὴ τὸ χῶμα προσαγόμεναι διὰ ἰσχὺν τοῦ τείχους οὐδὲν  
ἤνουν ὅ τι καὶ λόγου ἄξιον, οἱ δὲ κατὰ τὸ πρὸς Σιδῶνα  
τετραμμένον τῆς πόλεως τῶν νεῶν τινὰς τῶν μηχανοφόρων

were sunk and the rest driven ashore and broken up.

- 3 But when Alexander observed the sally of the Tyrian triremes,  
while directing most of the ships with him to lie to at the harbour  
mouth as soon as each was manned, to prevent any other Tyrian  
ships sailing out, he took what quinqueremes he had and some five  
triremes, which had got their crews on board in all haste, and sailed  
round the city against the Tyrians who had sailed out. The Tyrians  
4 on the wall, seeing the enemy attack and Alexander himself aboard,  
shouted orders to the men on their own ships to put about, and as  
this did not reach the hearing, in the confusion, of men pre-  
occupied in the action, they used various signals to recall them, but  
it was too late when they noticed the attack of Alexander's ships;  
they went about and made for refuge in the harbour; few of the  
5 ships managed to get to safety in time, most were rammed by  
Alexander's ships, some put out of action, and a quinquereme and  
quadrireme captured at the very entrance of the harbour. There  
was no great slaughter of the crews; as soon as they saw that their  
ships were caught, they swam off without much difficulty into the  
harbour.
- 6 Now that the Tyrians could look for no help from their ships,  
the Macedonians began to bring up their engines against the wall.<sup>1</sup>  
When moved up along the mole, they had no success worth  
mention, owing to the strength of the wall, while on the side of the  
city looking towards Sidon, where they brought up some

1 Nothing in D. or QC. corresponds to § 6 f.

7 προσήγον. ὡς δὲ οὐδὲ ταύτη ἤνουν, ἐς τὸ πρὸς νότον αὐτῶν  
 ἄνεμον καὶ πρὸς Αἴγυπτον ἀνέχον τείχος μετήρει πάντη  
 ἀποπειρώμενος τοῦ ἔργου. καὶ ἐνταῦθα πρῶτον κατεσείσθη τε  
 τὸ τείχος ἐπὶ μέγα καὶ τι καὶ κατηρίφθη αὐτοῦ παραρραγόν.  
 τότε μὲν δὴ ὅσον ἐπιβαλὼν γεφύρας ἢ ἐρήριπτο τοῦ τείχους  
 ἀπεπειράθη ἐς ὀλίγον τῆς προσβολῆς· καὶ οἱ Τύριοι οὐ  
 χαλεπῶς ἀπεκρούσαντο τοὺς Μακεδόνας.

23. Τρίτη δὲ ἀπὸ ταύτης ἡμέρα νηνεμίαν τε φυλάξας καὶ  
 παρακαλέσας τοὺς ἡγεμόνας τῶν τάξεων ἐς τὸ ἔργον ἐπήγε  
 τῇ πόλει ἐπὶ τῶν νεῶν τὰς μηχανάς. καὶ πρῶτα μὲν κατέσεισε  
 τοῦ τείχους ἐπὶ μέγα, ὡς δὲ ἀποχρῶν εἰς πλάτος ἐφάνη τὸ  
 2 παρερρηγμένον, τὰς μὲν μηχανοφόρους ναῦς ἐπανάγειν  
 ἐκέλευσεν· ὁ δὲ δύο ἄλλας ἐπήγε, αὐτὰς τὰς γεφύρας αὐτῶν  
 ἔφερον, ἃς δὴ ἐπιβάλλειν ἐπενόει τῷ κατερρηγμένῳ τοῦ  
 τείχους. καὶ τὴν μὲν μίαν τῶν νεῶν οἱ ὑπασπισταὶ ἔλαβον, ἢ  
 ἐπετέτακτο Ἄδμητος, τὴν ἑτέραν δὲ ἢ Κοίνου τάξις οἱ  
 3 ἀσθέτεροι<sup>1</sup> καλούμενοι, καὶ αὐτὸς ξὺν τοῖς ὑπασπισταῖς  
 ἐπιβήσεσθαι τοῦ τείχους ἢ παρείκοι ἔμελλεν. τὰς τριήρεις δὲ  
 τὰς μὲν ἐπιπλεῖν κατὰ τοὺς λιμένας ἀμφοτέρους ἐκέλευσεν, εἴ  
 πως πρὸς σφᾶς τετραμμένων τῶν Τυρίων βιάσαιντο τὸν  
 ἔσπλον· ὅσαι δὲ αὐτῶν βέλη ἀπὸ μηχανῶν βαλλόμενα εἶχον  
 ἢ ὅσαι τοξότας ἐπὶ τῶν καταστρωμάτων ἔφερον, ταύτας δὲ  
 ἐκέλευσεν ἐν κύκλῳ περιπλεύσας τὸ τείχος ἐποκέλλειν τε ὅπῃ  
 παρείκοι καὶ ἀνακωχεύειν ἐντὸς βέλους, ἔστω τὸ ἐποκέλλαι  
 ἀπορον γίγνοιτο, ὡς

1 Editors generally amend to πεζέταιροι, but cf. Introd. n. 99.

7 of their ships carrying engines, they again did not succeed, so  
 Alexander turned to the south and the wall facing Egypt, and tested  
 the work at every point. It was here that the wall was first badly  
 shaken and in part broken down by a rent. At that time Alexander  
 made a slight and tentative attack, going so far as to throw gangways  
 over the broken part of the wall: the Tyrians, however, easily  
 repulsed the Macedonians.

23. Two days afterwards,<sup>1</sup> having waited till he got a calm, and  
 urged his battalion commanders to action, Alexander brought up  
 the engines on board the ships against the city. First he battered  
 down the wall for a good space. But when the breach seemed wide  
 enough, he ordered the engine-carrying ships to back water; and  
 2 sent in two others, carrying his gangways, which he intended to let  
 fall where the wall was breached. The hypaspists took over one of  
 the ships, Admetus being its captain; the other was manned by  
 Coenus' battalion of the so-called *astheteroi*.<sup>2</sup> Alexander himself  
 intended to mount on the wall with his hypaspists where  
 3 practicable. Some of his triremes were ordered to sail round about  
 each harbour, in case they might force an entrance by sea while the  
 Tyrians were occupied with his own party. Other triremes, which  
 had missiles to fire from engines on board or which carried archers  
 on the decks, were ordered to circle about the wall, run ashore  
 wherever possible, or lie to within range, so long as it was  
 impracticable to run ashore. In this way the Tyrians would be under

1 Vague accounts of final assault, diverging from A., in D. 46;  
 QC. 4, 10 ff. (two days after naval sortie). J. xi 10, 14 makes Tyre fall by  
 treachery.

2 See Introd. n. 99.

πανταχόθεν βαλλομένους τοὺς Τυρίους ἐν τῷ δεινῷ  
ἀμφιβόλους γίγνεσθαι.

- 4 Ὡς δὲ αἱ τε νῆες αἱ σὺν Ἀλεξάνδρῳ προσέσχον τῇ πόλει  
καὶ αἱ γέφυραι ἐπεβλήθησαν τῷ τείχει ἀπ' αὐτῶν, ἐνταῦθα οἱ  
ὑπασπισταὶ εὐρώστως κατὰ ταύτας ἀνέβαινον ἐπὶ τὸ τείχος. ὅ  
τε γὰρ Ἄδμητος ἀνὴρ ἀγαθὸς ἐν τῷ τότε ἐγένετο καὶ ἅμα  
Ἀλέξανδρος εἶπετο αὐτοῖς, τοῦ τε ἔργου αὐτοῦ καρτερῶς  
5 ἀπτόμενος καὶ θεατῆς τῶν ἄλλων ὅτω τι λαμπρὸν κατ' ἀρετὴν  
ἐν τῷ κινδύνῳ ἐτολμᾶτο. καὶ ταύτῃ πρῶτον ἢ ἐπετέτακτο  
Ἀλέξανδρος ἐλήφθη τὸ τείχος, οὐ χαλεπῶς ἀποκρουσθέντων  
ἀπ' αὐτοῦ τῶν Τυρίων, ἐπειδὴ πρῶτον βεβαίῳ τε καὶ ἅμα οὐ  
πάντῃ ἀποτόμῳ τῇ προσβάσει ἐχρήσαντο οἱ Μακεδόνες. καὶ  
Ἄδμητος μὲν πρῶτος ἐπιβὰς τοῦ τείχους καὶ τοῖς ἀμφ' αὐτὸν  
6 ἐγκελευόμενος ἐπιβαίνειν βληθεὶς λόγχῃ ἀποθνήσκει αὐτοῦ·  
ἐπὶ δὲ αὐτῷ Ἀλέξανδρος ἔσχε τὸ τείχος ξὺν τοῖς ἐταίροις. ὡς  
δὲ εἶχοντο αὐτῷ πύργοι τε ἔστιν οἱ καὶ μεταπύργια, αὐτὸς μὲν  
παρῆει διὰ τῶν ἐπάλξεων ὡς ἐπὶ τὰ βασιλεια, ὅτι ταύτῃ  
εὐπορωτέρα ἐφαίνετο εἰς τὴν πόλιν ἢ κάθοδος.

24. Οἱ δὲ ἐπὶ τῶν νεῶν, οἳ τε Φοίνικες κατὰ τὸν λιμένα τὸν  
πρὸς Αἰγύπτου, καθ' ὄνπερ καὶ ἐφορμοῦντες ἐτύγχανον,  
βιασάμενοι καὶ τὰ κλείθρα διασπάσαντες ἔκοπτον τὰς ναῦς ἐν  
τῷ λιμένι, ταῖς μὲν μετεώροις ἐμβάλλοντες, τὰς δὲ εἰς τὴν γῆν  
ἐξωθούντες, καὶ οἱ Κύπριοι κατὰ τὸν ἄλλον λιμένα τὸν ἐκ  
Σιδῶνος φέροντα οὐδὲ κλείθρον τοῦτόν γε ἔχοντα

- 2 εἰσπλεύσαντες εἶλον εὐθὺς ταύτῃ τὴν πόλιν. τὸ δὲ πλῆθος τῶν  
Τυρίων τὸ μὲν τείχος, ὡς ἐχόμενον εἶδον, ἐκλείπουσιν,  
ἀθροισθέντες δὲ κατὰ

fire from all sides and not know where to turn in the crisis.

- 4 As soon as Alexander's ships closed upon the city and the  
gangways were let down on the wall from them, the hypaspists went  
down them gallantly on to the wall; Admetus then showed his  
courage and Alexander too was there with them, taking a strenuous  
part in the action itself and keeping his eyes open for any  
conspicuous display of courage, and daring by others in the danger.  
5 The part of the wall captured first was, in fact, that where  
Alexander had posted himself; the Tyrians were easily pushed off it,  
since for the first time the Macedonians had access that was secure  
and not absolutely sheer. Admetus, first on the wall, was wounded  
by a spear while calling on his men to mount, and died there;<sup>3</sup>  
6 Alexander followed him and seized the wall with the Companions.  
When some of the towers and the curtains between them were in  
his possession, he passed on through the battlements towards the  
royal quarters; this way it appeared that descent into the city was  
easier.

24. To turn to the ships and their crews, the Phoenicians who  
were moored near the harbour facing Egypt, forcing their way and  
tearing asunder the booms, battered the ships in the harbour,  
ramming some afloat, and driving others ashore; the Cyprians by  
the other harbour in the direction of Sidon, which did not even  
have a boom, sailed in and at once captured the city on this side.

- 2 The main body of the Tyrians deserted the wall when they saw

3 D. 45, 6 kills off Admetus earlier in the siege.

τὸ Ἀγηνόριον καλούμενον ἐπέστρεψαν ταύτη ἐπὶ τοὺς  
Μακεδόνας. καὶ Ἀλέξανδρος ξὺν τοῖς ὑπασπισταῖς ἐπὶ  
τούτους χωρήσας τοὺς μὲν αὐτοῦ μαχομένους διέφθειρεν  
3 αὐτῶν, τοῖς δὲ φεύγουσιν ἐφείπετο. καὶ φόνος ἦν πολὺς, τῶν  
τε ἀπὸ τοῦ λιμένος ἔχοντων ἤδη τὴν πόλιν καὶ τῆς Κοίνου  
τάξεως παρεληλυθυίας ἐς αὐτήν. ὀργῇ γὰρ ἐχώρουν ἐπὶ πάν  
οἱ Μακεδόνες, τῆς τε πολιορκίας τῇ τριβῇ ἀχθόμενοι καὶ ὅτι  
λαβόντες τινὰς αὐτῶν οἱ Τύριοι πλείοντα ἐκ Σιδῶνος ἐπὶ τὸ  
4 τεῖχος ἀναβιβάσαντες, ὅπως ἄποπτον εἶη ἀπὸ τοῦ  
στρατοπέδου, σφάξαντες ἔρριψαν εἰς τὴν θάλασσαν.  
ἀπέθανον δὲ τῶν μὲν Τυρίων ἐς ὀκτακισχιλίους, τῶν  
Μακεδόνων δὲ ἐν τῇ τότε προσβολῇ Ἄδμητός τε ὁ πρῶτος  
ἐλὼν τὸ τεῖχος, ἀνὴρ ἀγαθὸς γενόμενος, καὶ ξὺν αὐτῷ εἴκοσι  
τῶν ὑπασπιστῶν· ἐν δὲ τῇ πάσῃ πολιορκίᾳ μάλιστα ἐς  
5 τετρακοσίους.  
Τοῖς δὲ ἐς τὸ ἱερόν τοῦ Ἡρακλέους καταφυγούσιν (ἦσαν  
δὲ αὐτῶν τε τῶν Τυρίων οἱ μάλιστα ἐν τέλει καὶ ὁ βασιλεὺς  
Ἀζέμιλκος καὶ Καρχηδονίων τινὲς θεωροὶ ἐς τιμὴν τοῦ  
Ἡρακλέους κατὰ δὴ τι[να] νόμιμον παλαιὸν εἰς τὴν  
μητρόπολιν ἀφικόμενοι) τούτοις ξύμπασιν ἄδειαν δίδωσιν  
Ἀλέξανδρος· τοὺς δὲ ἄλλους ἠνδραπόδισε, καὶ ἐπράθησαν  
6 Τυρίων τε καὶ τῶν ξένων ὅσοι ἐγκατελήφθησαν μάλιστα ἐς  
τρισμυρίους. Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ

it was in enemy possession: but they massed together at what is  
called the Shrine of Agenor, and there turned to resist the  
Macedonians. Alexander with his hypaspists attacked them, killed  
3 some of them fighting there, and pursued the fugitives. The  
slaughter was great, now that those coming from the harbour were  
already masters of the city and Coenus' battalion had passed inside.  
The rage of the Macedonians was indiscriminate, as they were  
embittered by the protracted nature of the siege and because the  
Tyrians had captured some of their men sailing from Sidon, made  
them mount the wall, so that they might be seen from the camp, cut  
4 them down and cast them into the sea. Some eight thousand  
Tyrians fell;<sup>1</sup> in the actual attack the Macedonians lost Admetus, the  
first to mount on the wall, after he proved himself a brave man,  
with twenty of the hypaspists; in the entire siege the losses were  
about four hundred.

5 As for those who fled to the temple of Heracles, including  
among the Tyrians themselves the men of most authority and King  
Azemilcus,<sup>2</sup> as well as some Carthaginian envoys who had come to  
their mother-city to pay honour to Heracles, according to an ancient  
custom, Alexander granted them all complete pardon;<sup>3</sup> he enslaved  
the rest; some 30,000<sup>4</sup> were sold, what with Tyrians and foreigners

1 6,000, QC. 4, 16, who makes Al. crucify 2,000 more (cf. D. 46, 3; all male survivors, not less than 2,000, J. xviii 3, 18).

2 Called Straton by D. 46, 6–47, 6 (cf. J. xviii 3, 9 ff.), with story of his being replaced by 'Ballonymus' ('Abdalonimus' in QC. iv 1, 15 ff., locating the incident at Sidon, cf. J. xi 10, 8).

3 In QC. 4, 18 he only spares the envoys.

4 A conventional figure. D. 46, 4 has only the women and children enslaved (the men are massacred), but alleges (cf. 41, 2) that most had been shipped off to Carthage, whereas QC. 3, 20 with 4, 18 suggests a decision to send them off which was never (and presumably could not have been) carried out. (Early hopes of help from Carthage had been disappointed, D. 40, 3; QC. 3, 19; J. xi 10, 12.) QC. 4, 15 f.



τῷ Ἡρακλεῖ ἔθυσέ τε καὶ πομπὴν ἔστειλε ξὺν τῇ δυνάμει ὀπλισμένη· καὶ αἱ νῆες ξυνεπόμπευσαν τῷ Ἡρακλεῖ, καὶ ἀγῶνα γυμνικὸν ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ καὶ λαμπάδα ἐποίησε· καὶ τὴν μηχανήν, ἣ τὸ τεῖχος κατεσεύσθη, ἀνέθηκεν ἐς τὸν νεῶν καὶ τὴν ναῦν τὴν Τυρίαν τὴν ἱερὰν τοῦ Ἡρακλέους, ἣντινα ἐν τῷ ἐπίπλω ἔλαβε, καὶ ταύτην τῷ Ἡρακλεῖ ἀνέθηκεν καὶ ἐπίγραμμα ἐπ' αὐτῇ, ἣ αὐτὸς ποιήσας ἢ ὅτου δὴ ἄλλου ποιήσαντος, οὐκ ἄξιον μνήμης τὸ ἐπίγραμμα· διὰ τοῦτο καὶ ἐγὼ αὐτὸ ἀναγράψαι ἀπηξίωσα. Τύρος μὲν δὴ οὕτως ἐάλω ἐπὶ ἄρχοντος Νικήτου Ἀθήνησι μηνὸς Ἑκατομβαιῶνος.

25. Ἐπι δὲ ἐν τῇ πολιορκίᾳ τῆς Τύρου ξυνεχομένου Ἀλεξάνδρου ἀφίκοντο παρὰ Δαρείου πρέσβεις ὡς αὐτὸν ἀπαγγέλλοντες μύρια μὲν τάλαντα ὑπὲρ τῆς μητρός τε καὶ τῆς γυναικὸς καὶ τῶν παίδων δοῦναι ἐθέλειν Ἀλεξάνδρῳ Δαρείου· τὴν δὲ χώραν πᾶσαν τὴν ἐντὸς Εὐφράτου ποταμοῦ ἔστω ἐπὶ θάλασσαν τὴν Ἑλληνικὴν Ἀλεξάνδρου εἶναι.

- 2 γήμαντα δὲ τὴν Δαρείου παῖδα Ἀλέξανδρον φίλον τε εἶναι Δαρείῳ καὶ ξύμμαχον. καὶ τούτων ἐν τῷ ξυλλόγῳ τῶν ἐταίρων ἀπαγγελθέντων Παρμενίωνα μὲν λέγουσιν Ἀλεξάνδρῳ εἰπεῖν ὅτι αὐτὸς ἂν Ἀλέξανδρος ὦν ἐπὶ τούτοις ἠγάπησε καταλύσας τὸν πόλεμον μηκέτι τὸ πρόσω κινδυνεύειν· Ἀλέξανδρον δὲ Παρμενίῳ ἀποκρίνασθαι ὅτι καὶ αὐτὸς ἂν, εἴπερ Παρμενίων ἦν, οὕτως ἔπραξεν, ἐπεὶ δὲ Ἀλέξανδρός ἐστιν, ἀποκρινεῖσθαι Δαρείῳ ἄπερ δὴ καὶ ἀπεκρίνατο. ἔφη γὰρ οὔτε χρημάτων δεῖσθαι παρὰ Δαρείου οὔτε τῆς χώρας λαβεῖν ἀντὶ τῆς πάσης τὸ μέρος· εἶναι γὰρ τὰ τε χρήματα καὶ τὴν χώραν αὐτοῦ πᾶσαν· γῆμαί τε εἰ

<sup>6</sup> captured at Tyre. Alexander sacrificed to Heracles<sup>5</sup> and held a procession in his honour, with his forces under arms; there was a naval review too in honour of Heracles, and Alexander held athletic games in the temple enclosure and a relay torch-race; the engine which battered down the wall was dedicated to the temple; and the Tyrian sacred ship, consecrated to Heracles, which he captured in the attack, was dedicated to Heracles with an inscription, either of his own composition or of someone else's, not worth recording; that is why I did not trouble to copy it.<sup>6</sup> It was in this way that Tyre was captured in the archonship of Nicetus at Athens in the month Hecatombaeon.<sup>7</sup>

25. While Alexander was still occupied in the siege of Tyre, envoys came to him from Darius announcing that Darius was ready to give Alexander 10,000 Talents for his mother, wife and children; to cede all the country west of Euphrates to the Greek sea, to give Alexander his daughter in marriage and be his friend and ally.

- <sup>2</sup> When this was reported in the council of the Companions, it is said that Parmenio told Alexander that if he were Alexander he would be glad to stop the war on these terms without further risks, and that Alexander answered Parmenio that he too would have done this if he had been Parmenio, but as he was Alexander, he would make the reply to Darius he actually made: he needed no money <sup>3</sup> from Darius, nor a part of the country instead of the whole; for the money and country all belonged to him; if he chose to marry

<sup>5</sup> D. 46, 6.

<sup>6</sup> Presumably Pt. or Ar. did.

<sup>7</sup> July/Aug. 332 B.C.

ἐθέλοι τὴν Δαρείου παῖδα, γῆμαι ἂν καὶ οὐ διδόντος Δαρείου ἐκέλευέ τε αὐτὸν ἤκειν, εἴ τι εὐρέσθαι ἐθέλοι φιλόανθρωπον παρ' αὐτοῦ. ταῦτα ὡς ἤκουσε Δαρείος, τὰς μὲν ξυμβάσεις ἀπέγνω τὰς πρὸς Ἀλέξανδρον, ἐν παρασκευῇ δὲ τοῦ πολέμου αὐθις ἦν.

- 4 Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ ἐπ' Αἰγύπτου ἔγνω ποιεῖσθαι τὸν στόλον. καὶ ἦν αὐτῷ τὰ μὲν ἄλλα τῆς Παλαιστίνης καλουμένης Συρίας προσκεχωρηκότα ἤδη, εὐνούχος δέ τις, ᾧ ὄνομα ἦν Βάτις, κρατῶν τῆς Γαζαίων πόλεως, οὐ προσεῖχεν Ἀλεξάνδρῳ, ἀλλὰ Ἀραβὰς τε μισθωτοὺς ἐπαγαγόμενος καὶ σῖτον ἐκ πολλοῦ παρεσκευακῶς διαρκῆ ἐς χρόνιον πολιορκίαν καὶ τῷ χωρίῳ πιστεύων μήποτε ἂν βία ἀλῶναι, ἔγνω μὴ δέχεσθαι τῇ πόλει Ἀλέξανδρον.

26. Ἀπέχει δὲ ἡ Γάζα τῆς μὲν θαλάσσης εἴκοσι μάλιστα σταδίου, καὶ ἔστι ψαμμώδης καὶ βαθεῖα ἐς αὐτὴν ἡ ἄνοδος καὶ ἡ θάλασσα ἡ κατὰ τὴν πόλιν τεναγώδης πᾶσα. μεγάλη δὲ πόλις ἡ Γάζα ἦν καὶ ἐπὶ χώματος ὑψηλοῦ ὤκιστο καὶ τεῖχος περιεβέβλητο αὐτῇ ὀχυρόν. ἐσχάτη δὲ ὠκείτο ὡς ἐπ' Αἴγυπτον ἐκ Φοινίκης ἰόντι ἐπὶ τῇ ἀρχῇ τῆς ἐρήμου.

- 2 Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ ὡς ἀφίκετο πρὸς τὴν πόλιν, τῇ μὲν πρώτη κατεστρατοπέδευσεν ἣ μάλιστα ἐπίμαχον αὐτῷ ἐφαίνετο τὸ τεῖχος, καὶ μηχανὰς

Darius' daughter, he would marry her, even if Darius did not give her; and Darius must come to him, if he wished for favourable treatment at his hands. When Darius received this reply he despaired of making terms with Alexander and began to prepare again for war.<sup>1</sup>

- 4 Alexander now determined to make his expedition to Egypt.<sup>2</sup> Palestinian Syria (as it is called) had already come over to him, except for a eunuch named Batis, who was master of the city of Gaza; he procured a force of Arab mercenaries, and some time before had got ready grain for a long siege; trusting that the place could never be taken by assault, he decided not to admit Alexander into the city.

26. Gaza is about 20 stades from the sea, and the way up to it is over deep sand, while the sea by the city is nothing but shoals. Gaza was a large city, built on a high mound, with a strong wall round it. It was the last town on the edge of the desert on the way from Phoenicia to Egypt.<sup>1</sup>

- 2 When Alexander reached the city, he encamped the first day where the wall seemed easiest to attack, and ordered siege engines to be fitted together.

1 QC. 5, 1 ff. puts arrival of letter *after* siege, and *now* makes Darius offer to surrender lands west of Halys, contrast D., cf. 14, 1 n. J. xi 12, 3 f. is vague, but D. 54, 1–6; QC. iv 11; J. xi 12, 5 ff. put the offer A. records here (but with 30,000 Talents) just before Gaugamela, along with the exchange (rhetorically amplified by QC.) between Al. and Parmenio. § 2 appears to be from the 'vulgate'. Siege of Gaza, D. 48, 7, two months long (Josephus, *Jewish Antiquities* xi 325), i.e. Sept.—Nov., cf. 24, 6 n.; QC. 5, 10; 6, 7 ff. (in many details different from A.); P. 25, 3 f. (Al's wound).

2 D. 48 here interpolates the activity of Agis and Amyntas (13, 2–6; App. VI) and a decree of the Greek *synedrion* to send envoys to congratulate Al. on Issus; perhaps they reached Al. at Tyre, as QC. 5, 11 dates the decree to the Isthmia (early summer), but cf. iii 5, 1 n. QC. 5, 12 ff. is a continuation of the same story (A. 112, 11).

συμπηγνύναι ἐκέλευσεν. οἱ δὲ μηχανοποιοὶ γνώμην

- 3 ἀπεδείκνυντο ἄπορον εἶναι βία ἐλεῖν τὸ τεῖχος διὰ ὕψος τοῦ  
 χώματος. ἀλλὰ Ἀλεξάνδρῳ αἰρετέον ἐδόκει εἶναι ὅσῳ  
 ἀπορώτερον· ἐκπλήξειν γὰρ τοὺς πολεμίους τὸ ἔργον τῷ  
 παραλόγῳ ἐπὶ μέγα, καὶ τὸ μὴ ἐλεῖν αἰσχρὸν εἶναί οἱ  
 λεγόμενον ἔς τε τοὺς Ἕλληνας καὶ ἔς Δαρείου. ἐδόκει δὴ  
 χῶμα ἐν κύκλῳ τῆς πόλεως χωννύναι, ὡς ἐξ ἴσου ἀπὸ τοῦ  
 χωσθέντος ἐπάγεσθαι τὰς μηχανὰς τοῖς τείχεσι. καὶ ἐχώννυντο  
 4 κατὰ τὸ νότιον μάλιστα τῆς πόλεως τεῖχος, ἵνα ἐπιμαχώτερα  
 ἐφαίνετο. ὡς δὲ ἐδόκει ἐξῆρθαι συμμέτρως τὸ χῶμα, μηχανὰς  
 ἐπιστήσαντες οἱ Μακεδόνες ἐπήγουν ὡς ἐπὶ τὸ τεῖχος τῶν  
 Γαζαίων. καὶ ἐν τούτῳ θύοντι Ἀλεξάνδρῳ καὶ ἐστεφανωμένῳ  
 τε καὶ κατάρχεσθαι μέλλοντι τοῦ πρώτου ἱερείου κατὰ νόμον  
 τῶν τις σαρκοφάγων ὀρνίθων ὑπερπετόμενος ὑπὲρ τοῦ βωμοῦ  
 λίθον ἐμβάλλει ἐς τὴν κεφαλὴν, ὄντινα τοῖν ποδοῖν ἔφερε. καὶ  
 Ἀλέξανδρος ἤρετο Ἀρίστανδρον τὸν μάντιν, ὃ τι νοοῖ ὁ  
 οἰωνός. ὁ δὲ ἀποκρίνεται ὅτι ὦ βασιλεῦ, τὴν μὲν πόλιν  
 αἰρήσεις, αὐτῷ δέ σοι φυλακτέα ἐστὶν ἐπὶ τῆδε τῆ ἡμέρα.

27. Ταῦτα ἀκούσας Ἀλέξανδρος τέως μὲν πρὸς ταῖς  
 μηχαναῖς ἔξω βέλους αὐτὸν εἶχεν· ὡς δὲ ἐκδρομὴ τε ἐκ τῆς  
 πόλεως καρτερὰ ἐγίγνετο καὶ πῦρ τε ἐπέφερον ταῖς μηχαναῖς  
 οἱ Ἄραβες καὶ τοὺς Μακεδόνας ἀμυνομένους κάτωθεν αὐτοὶ ἐξ  
 ὑπερδεξίου τοῦ χωρίου ἔβαλλόν τε καὶ ὤθουν κατὰ τοῦ  
 ποιητοῦ χώματος, ἐνταῦθα ἢ ἐκὼν ἀπειθεῖ Ἀλέξανδρος τῷ  
 μάντι ἢ ἐκπλαγεὶς ἐν τῷ ἔργῳ οὐκ ἐμνημόνευσε τῆς μαντείας,  
 ἀλλ' ἀναλαβὼν τοὺς

- The engineers, however, suggested that it was impracticable to take  
 the city by force owing to the height of the mound. Alexander  
 3 thought, on the contrary, that the more impracticable it was, the  
 more necessary was the capture; for the achievement would strike  
 great terror into his enemies just because it was beyond calculation,  
 while not to take it would be a blow to his prestige when reported  
 to the Greeks and Darius.<sup>2</sup> It was decided to raise a mound all  
 round the city, and so bring up the engines against the walls, at an  
 equal height on the earth heaped up. The mound was built chiefly  
 against the city's southern part of the wall, where the assault  
 4 seemed most likely to succeed. When the Macedonians thought  
 they had built the mound to the proper height, they set engines on  
 it and brought them up against the city wall. Just at this time, as  
 Alexander was sacrificing, wearing garlands, and just about to  
 consecrate the first victim according to the ceremonial, a  
 carnivorous bird, as it flew over the altar, dropped on his head a  
 stone which it was carrying in its talons. Alexander asked Aristander  
 the seer what the omen meant, and he answered, 'Sire, you will  
 capture the city; but today you must take care of your own person.'

27. On hearing this Alexander kept himself for a time by the  
 engines, out of range; but then there was a vigorous sally from the  
 city, the Arabs tried to set fire to the engines, pelting the  
 Macedonians, who were resisting below, from a commanding  
 position, and pushing them down the artificial mound, and  
 Alexander disobeyed the seer on purpose, unless he lost control of  
 himself in the action and forgot the prophecy, for he brought up the  
 hypaspists

2 Cf. i 4, 3; 13, 6 f.; ii 4, 4; iv 21, 3; vi 16, 2; vii 15, 3.

- 2 ὑπασπιστὰς παρεβοήθει, ἵνα μάλιστα ἐπιέζοντο οἱ Μακεδόνες. καὶ τούτους μὲν ἔσχε τὸ μὴ οὐκ αἰσχυρᾶ φυγῆ ὡσθῆναι κατὰ τοῦ χώματος, αὐτὸς δὲ βάλλεται καταπέλτη διὰ τῆς ἀσπίδος διαμπὰξ καὶ τοῦ θώρακος ἐς τὸν ὦμον. ὡς δὲ ἔγνω τὰ ἀμφὶ τὸ τραῦμα ἀληθεύσαντα Ἀρίστανδρον, ἐχάρη, ὅτι καὶ τὴν πόλιν δὴ αἰρήσειν ἐδόκει Ἀριστάνδρου ἕνεκα.
- 3 Καὶ αὐτὸς μὲν τὸ τραῦμα ἐθεραπεύετο χαλεπῶς· ἀφικνοῦνται δ' αὐτῷ μετάπεμπτοι ἀπὸ θαλάσσης αἱ μηχαναί, αἷς Τύρον εἶλε. καὶ χῶμα χωννύναι ἐν κύκλῳ πάντοθεν τῆς πόλεως ἐκέλευσεν, εὖρος μὲν ἐς δύο σταδίους, ὕψος δὲ ἐς
- 4 πόδας πεντήκοντα καὶ διακοσίους. ὡς δὲ αἱ τε μηχαναὶ αὐτῷ ἐποιήθησαν καὶ ἐπαχθείσαι κατὰ τὸ χῶμα κατέσεισαν τοῦ τείχους ἐπὶ πολὺ, ὑπονόμων τε ἄλλη καὶ ἄλλη ὀρυσσομένων καὶ τοῦ χοῦ ἀφανῶς ἐκφερομένου τὸ τεῖχος πολλαχῆ ἠρείπετο ὑφιζάνον κατὰ τὸ κενούμενον, τοῖς τε βέλεσιν ἐπὶ πολὺ κατεῖχον οἱ Μακεδόνες ἀναστέλλοντες τοὺς προμαχομένους τῶν πύργων, ἐς μὲν τρεῖς προσβολὰς οἱ ἐκ τῆς πόλεως
- 5 ἀποθνησκόντων τε αὐτοῖς πολλῶν καὶ τιτρωσκομένων ὁμῶς ἀντεῖχον. τῇ τετάρτῃ δὲ τῶν Μακεδόνων τὴν φάλαγγα πάντοθεν προσαγαγὼν Ἀλέξανδρος τῇ μὲν ὑπορυσσόμενον τὸ τεῖχος καταβάλλει, τῇ δὲ παιόμενον ταῖς μηχαναῖς κατασείει
- 6 ἐπὶ πολὺ, ὡς μὴ χαλεπὴν ταῖς κλίμαξι τὴν προσβολὴν κατὰ τὰ ἐρημιμμένα ἐνδοῦναι. αἱ τε οὖν κλίμακες προσήγοντο τῷ τείχει καὶ ἔρις πολλὴ ἦν τῶν Μακεδόνων ὅσοι τι ἀρετῆς μετεποιούντο

- and went to the help of the Macedonians where they were most  
2 hardly pressed. He did, in fact, stay them from being driven down the mound in ignominious flight, but was himself hit by a shot from a catapult right through his shield and corselet in the shoulder. But his knowledge that Aristander had been right about the wound made him glad, since on Aristander's account he thought that he would surely take the city too.

- 3 Alexander was not easily treated of his wound. However, the engines with which he had captured Tyre now arrived; he had sent for them by sea. He ordered a mound to be erected the whole way round the city, two stades broad, two hundred and fifty feet high.<sup>1</sup>
- 4 When his engines had been constructed and brought up to the mound and had battered down much of the wall, tunnels were driven here and there and the earth below removed secretly, till the wall collapsed in several places, subsiding where the soil was emptied away, while the Macedonians controlled a large space with their volleys and drove back the defenders from the towers. The defenders, though losing many dead and wounded, held out against three onslaughts. But in the fourth Alexander brought up his
- 5 phalanx of Macedonians on all sides, threw down the wall, now undermined, at one place, and brought it down for a great stretch in another, battered as it was with his engines, so that it was not hard
- 6 to make the assault with ladders over the fallen parts. So the ladders were set against the wall, and there was much rivalry among those Macedonians who laid

1 Though we could take the engines from Tyre to be additional to those mentioned in 26, 2 f., this sentence suggests that 26, 2–27, 2 and 27, 3 ff. are doublets, the first perhaps from Ar., the second from Pt. So Wirth *RE* xxiii 2472.

## ARRIAN

ὅστις πρῶτος αἰρήσει τὸ τεῖχος· καὶ αἰρεῖ πρῶτος  
 Νεοπτόλεμος τῶν ἐταίρων τοῦ Αἰακιδῶν γένους· ἐπὶ δὲ αὐτῷ  
 7 ἄλλαι καὶ ἄλλαι τάξεις ὁμοῦ τοῖς ἡγεμόσιν ἀνέβαινον. ὡς δὲ  
 ἅπαξ παρήλθον τινες ἐντὸς τοῦ τείχους τῶν Μακεδόνων,  
 κατασχίσαντες ἄλλας καὶ ἄλλας πύλας, ὅσαις ἕκαστοι  
 ἐπετύγχανον, δέχονται εἴσω τὴν στρατιὰν πᾶσαν. οἱ δὲ  
 Γαζαῖοι καὶ τῆς πόλεως σφισιν ἤδη ἐχομένης ξυνεστηκότες  
 ὁμῶς ἐμάχοντο, καὶ ἀπέθανον πάντες αὐτοῦ μαχόμενοι ὡς  
 ἕκαστοι ἐτάχθησαν· παῖδας δὲ καὶ γυναῖκας ἐξηνδραπόδισεν  
 αὐτῶν Ἀλέξανδρος. τὴν πόλιν δὲ ξυνοικίσας ἐκ τῶν περιοίκων  
 ἐχρήτη ὅσα φρουρίῳ ἐς τὸν πόλεμον.

## ANABASIS OF ALEXANDER II

some claim to distinction for their courage, which would take the  
 wall first; the first was Neoptolemus, one of the Companions and of  
 the family of the Aeacidae. After him, battalion after battalion went  
 7 up with their officers. As soon as some of the Macedonians had got  
 inside the wall they tore down gate after gate, as they came to them,  
 and admitted the entire army. The Gazaeans held together and  
 continued to resist, though their city was already in enemy hands;  
 and all perished there, fighting each man at his post. Alexander sold  
 their women and children into slavery, populated the city from the  
 surrounding tribesmen and used it as a fortress town for the war.<sup>2</sup>

332 B.C.

<sup>2</sup> For other 'native' foundations by Al. cf. iv 28, 4; vi 17, 4; *Ind.*  
 40, 7 f.; perhaps vi 22, 3 (cf. QC. ix 10, 7); QC. ix 10, 3; n. on A. iii 24,5.  
 QC. iv 6, 31 here says that after the capture Al. despatched Amyntas to  
 levy reinforcements in Macedon; for their arrival cf. A. iii 16, 10.  
 Probably A. omitted this item, which would have been in his source.

## ΒΙΒΛΙΟΝ ΤΡΙΤΟΝ

1. Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ ἐπ' Αἰγύπτου, ἵναπερ τὸ πρῶτον ὠρμήθη, ἐστέλλετο, καὶ ἐβδόμη ἡμέρα ἀπὸ τῆς Γάζης ἐλαύνων ἦκεν εἰς Πηλούσιον τῆς Αἰγύπτου. ὁ δὲ ναυτικὸς στρατὸς παρέπλει
- 2 αὐτῷ ἐκ Φοινίκης ὡς ἐπ' Αἴγυπτον· καὶ καταλαμβάνει τὰς ναῦς ἐν Πηλουσίῳ ὀρμούσας. Μαζάκης δὲ ὁ Πέρσης, ὃς ἦν σατράπης Αἰγύπτου ἐκ Δαρείου καθεστηκώς, τήν τε ἐν Ἴσσω μάχην ὅπως συνέβη πεπυσμένος καὶ Δαρείου ὅτι αἰσχυρᾶ φυγῇ ἔφυγεν, καὶ Φοινίκην τε καὶ Συρίαν καὶ τῆς Ἀραβίας τὰ πολλὰ ὑπὸ Ἀλεξάνδρου ἐχόμενα, αὐτῷ τε οὐκ οὔσης δυνάμεως
- 3 Περσικῆς, ἐδέχετο ταῖς τε πόλεσι φιλίως καὶ τῇ χώρᾳ Ἀλέξανδρον. ὁ δὲ εἰς μὲν Πηλούσιον φυλακὴν εἰσήγαγε, τοὺς δὲ ἐπὶ τῶν νεῶν ἀναπλεῖν κατὰ τὸν ποταμὸν κελεύσας ἔσπε ἐπὶ Μέμφιν πόλιν αὐτὸς ἐφ' Ἡλιουπόλεως ἦει, ἐν δεξιᾷ ἔχων τὸν ποταμὸν τὸν Νεῖλον, καὶ ὅσα καθ' ὁδὸν χωρία ἐνδιδόντων τῶν ἐνοικούντων κατασχῶν διὰ τῆς ἐρήμου ἀφίκετο ἐς
- 4 Ἡλιούπολιν· ἐκεῖθεν δὲ διαβὰς τὸν πόρον ἦκεν ἐς Μέμφιν· καὶ θύει ἐκεῖ τοῖς τε ἄλλοις θεοῖς καὶ τῷ Ἄπιδι καὶ ἀγῶνα ἐποίησε γυμνικόν τε καὶ μουσικόν· ἦκον δὲ αὐτῷ οἱ ἀμφὶ ταῦτα τεχνῖται ἐκ τῆς Ἑλλάδος οἱ

## BOOK III

332-1 B.C.

1. Alexander now set out for Egypt, his original goal, and marching from Gaza arrived after six days at Pelusium in Egypt.<sup>1</sup> His fleet coasted along with him from Phoenicia towards Egypt;
- 2 and he found them already at anchor at Pelusium. Mazaces the Persian, who had been appointed satrap of Egypt by Darius, on learning how the battle of Issus had gone, of the shameful flight of Darius, and that Phoenicia, Syria, and the greater part of Arabia were in Alexander's hands, and being without any Persian force,<sup>2</sup> received Alexander in a friendly way into the cities and the
- 3 country.<sup>3</sup> Alexander put a garrison into Pelusium, told the officers of his fleet to sail up the river as far as Memphis and went in person towards Heliopolis, with the river Nile on his right; he took over all the districts on his route through the surrender of the inhabitants, and traversed the desert to reach Heliopolis. Thence he crossed the
- 4 river and went to Memphis, where he sacrificed to the gods, especially Apis, and held athletic and musical games; the most famous performers in both athletics

1 Nov. 332 B. C., cf. ii 26, 1 n., the right season for invading Egypt.

2 The Persian garrison had presumably been removed to fight at Issus under the satrap, Sauaces, ii 11, 8.

3 D. 49, 1 f. and QC. iv 7, 1 ff. rightly stress that the Egyptians, who had been independent of Persia between 405 B.C. and the imperfect reconquest by Artaxerxes Ochus in 343/2 B.C. and again in 338-6 B.C. (F. K. Kienitz, *Die politische Gesch. Aegyptens vom 7. bis zum 4. Jahrhundert* 102 ff.; A. T. Olmstead, *Hist. of Persian Empire* 440 f.; 491 ff.), welcomed the enemy of Persia (cf. also ii 13, 3 n.), especially no doubt as he, unlike Ochus, was careful to honour Egyptian gods (§ 4 f.).

δοκιμώτατοι. ἐκ δὲ Μέμφιος κατέπλει κατὰ τὸν ποταμὸν ὡς  
 ἐπὶ θάλασσαν τοὺς τε ὑπασπιστὰς ἐπὶ τῶν νεῶν λαβὼν καὶ  
 τοὺς τοξότας καὶ τοὺς Ἀγριᾶνας καὶ τῶν ἰππέων τὴν  
 5 βασιλικὴν ἵλην τὴν τῶν ἐταίρων. ἔλθων δὲ ἐς Κάνωβον καὶ  
 κατὰ τὴν λίμνην τὴν Μαρίαν περιπλεύσας ἀποβαίνει, ὅπου  
 νῦν Ἀλεξάνδρεια πόλις ᾠκισται, Ἀλεξάνδρου ἐπώνυμος. καὶ  
 ἔδοξεν αὐτῷ ὁ χώρος κάλλιστος κτίσαι ἐν αὐτῷ πόλιν καὶ  
 γενέσθαι ἂν εὐδαίμονα τὴν πόλιν. πόθος οὖν λαμβάνει αὐτὸν  
 τοῦ ἔργου, καὶ αὐτὸς τὰ σημεῖα τῇ πόλει ἔθηκεν, ἵνα τε  
 ἀγορὰν ἐν αὐτῇ δείμασθαι ἔδει καὶ ἱερὰ ὅσα καὶ θεῶν  
 ὦντινων, τῶν μὲν Ἑλληνικῶν, Ἴσιδος δὲ Αἴγυπτίας, καὶ τὸ  
 τεῖχος ἧ περιβεβλήσθαι. καὶ ἐπὶ τούτοις ἐθύετο, καὶ τὰ ἱερὰ  
 καλὰ ἐφαίνετο.

2. Λέγεται δὲ τις καὶ τοιόσδε λόγος, οὐκ ἄπιστος ἔμοιγε·  
 ἐθέλει μὲν Ἀλέξανδρον καταλείπειν αὐτὸν τὰ σημεῖα τοῦ  
 τειχισμοῦ τοῖς τέκτοσιν, οὐκ εἶναι δὲ ὅτῳ τὴν γῆν  
 ἐπιγράψουσιν τῶν δὴ τεκτόνων τινὰ ἐπιφρασθέντα, ὅσα ἐν  
 τεύχεσιν ἄλφιστα οἱ στρατιῶται ἐκόμιζον ξυναγαγόντα  
 ἐπιβάλλειν τῇ γῇ, ἵνα περ ὁ βασιλεὺς ὑφηγεῖτο, καὶ τὸν  
 2 κύκλον οὕτω περιγραφῆναι τοῦ περιτειχισμοῦ, ὅντινα τῇ πόλει  
 ἐποίει. τοῦτο δὲ ἐπιλεξαμένους τοὺς μάντις καὶ μάλιστα δὴ  
 Ἀρίστανδρον τὸν Τελμισσέα, ὃς δὴ

and music came to him there from Greece. From Memphis he  
 sailed downstream towards the sea, taking on board the hypaspists,  
 archers and Agrianians, and from the cavalry the royal squadron of  
 5 the Companions. When he had reached Canobus and sailed round  
 Lake Mareotis, he went ashore where the city of Alexandria, named  
 after him, is now situated. It struck him that the position was  
 admirable for founding a city there and that it would prosper.<sup>4</sup> A  
 longing for the work therefore seized him;<sup>5</sup> he himself marked out  
 where the city's marketplace was to be built, how many temples  
 there were to be and the gods, some Greek, and Isis the Egyptian,  
 for whom they were to be erected, and where the wall was to be  
 built round it. With this in view he offered sacrifice, and the  
 sacrifice proved favourable.

2. A story of the following sort is told,<sup>1</sup> and personally I do not  
 disbelieve it; Alexander desired to leave the builders outlines of the  
 fortification, but had no means of marking the ground. One of the  
 builders, however, had the happy thought of collecting the meal  
 which the soldiers carried in vessels, and of dropping it on the  
 ground wherever the king indicated. In this way was the circle of  
 the surrounding wall which he proposed to make for the city  
 2 marked out. The soothsayers, and especially Aristander the  
 Telmissian, who was reported to have

4 Cf. P. 26; D. 52, QC. iv 8, 1 f. and 5 f. and J. xi 11, 3 put the  
 foundation of Alexandria after the visit to Siwah, cf. App. V 1. Site:  
 Strabo xvii 1, 6 f.; P. M. Fraser, *Ptolemaic Alexandria* ch. 1. Strabo says  
 that the settlers were natives (cf. QC. iv 8, 5), mercenaries and Greeks;  
 for parallels: A. iv 4, 1; 22, 5; 24, 7; v 29, 3; vii 21, 7. Al's motives for  
 founding cities: iv 1, 3 f.; 24, 7; vi 15, 2; 21, 5; 22, 3; vii 21, 7. He  
 inherited from Philip the practice of commemorating his own name in  
 such foundations, cf. Philippi, Philippopolis.

5 App. V 3.

πολλὰ μὲν καὶ ἄλλα ἀληθεύσαι ἐλέγετο Ἀλεξάνδρῳ, φάναι εὐδαίμονα ἔσεσθαι τὴν πόλιν τά τε ἄλλα καὶ τῶν ἐκ γῆς καρπῶν εἶνεκα.

- 3 Ἐν τούτῳ δὲ καὶ Ἡγέλοχος κατέπλευσεν εἰς Αἴγυπτον καὶ ἀπαγγέλλει Ἀλεξάνδρῳ Τενεδίους τε ἀποστάντας Περσῶν σφίσι προσθέσθαι (καὶ γὰρ καὶ ἄκοντας Πέρσαις προσχωρήσαι) καὶ Χίων ὅτι δὴ ὁ δῆμος ἐπηγάγετο σφᾶς βία τῶν κατεχόντων τὴν πόλιν, οὗς Αὐτοφραδάτης τε καὶ
- 4 Φαρνάβαζος ἐγκατέστησαν· ἀλῶναι δὲ αὐτόθι καὶ Φαρνάβαζον ἐγκαταληφθέντα καὶ Ἀριστόνικον Μηθυμναῖον τὸν τύραννον ἐσπλεύσαντα ἐς τὸν λιμένα τῆς Χίου ξὺν ἡμιολίαις ληστρικαῖς πέντε, ὑπὸ σφῶν ἐχόμενον τὸν λιμένα οὐ γνόντα, ἀλλ' ἐξαπατηθέντα γὰρ πρὸς τῶν τὰ κλείθρα
- 5 ἐχόντων τοῦ λιμένος, ὅτι τὸ Φαρναβάζου ἄρα ναυτικὸν ὄρμει ἐν αὐτῷ· καὶ τοὺς μὲν ληστὰς πάντας αὐτοῦ κατακοπήναι πρὸς σφῶν, Ἀριστόνικον δὲ ἦγε παρὰ Ἀλέξανδρον καὶ Ἀπολλωνίδην τὸν Χίον καὶ Φησίον καὶ Μεγαρέα καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους, ὅσοι τῆς τε ἀποστάσεως τῆς Χίων ξυνεπελάβοντο καὶ
- 6 ἐν τῷ τότε τὰ πράγματα τῆς νήσου βία εἶχον· καὶ Μιτυλήνην δὲ Χάρητα ἔχοντα ὅτι ἀφείλετο καὶ τὰς ἄλλας τὰς ἐν Λέσβῳ πόλεις καὶ αὐτὰς ὁμολογία προσηγάγετο, Ἀμφοτερόν δὲ σὺν ἐξήκοντα ναυσὶν ἐπὶ Κῶ ἔπεμψεν· ἐπικαλείσθαι γὰρ σφᾶς τοὺς Κῶους· καὶ αὐτὸς καταπλεύσας ὅτι εὔρε τὴν Κῶ πρὸς
- 7 Ἀμφοτεροῦ ἤδη ἐχομένην. καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἄλλους ὅσοι αἰχμάλωτοι ἦγεν Ἡγέλοχος, Φαρνάβαζος δὲ ἀπέδρα ἐν Κῶ λαθῶν τοὺς φύλακας. Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ τοὺς τυράννους μὲν τοὺς ἐκ τῶν πόλεων ἐς τὰς πόλεις πέμπει χρήσασθαι ὅπως ἐθέλοιεν, τοὺς δὲ ἀμφὶ

made many other correct prophecies to Alexander, reflecting upon this, said that the city would be prosperous in general, but particularly in the fruits of the earth.

- 3 Hegelochus now arrived by sea in Egypt and reported to Alexander that the people of Tenedos had revolted from the Persians and come over to them (in fact they had joined the Persians against their will) and that the people of Chios had brought his forces into the city, in spite of the men occupying it, installed by
- 4 Autophradates and Pharnabazus; Pharnabazus had been caught and captured there, with Aristonicus of Methymna, the tyrant, who had sailed into the harbour of Chios with five pirate frigates, unaware that the Macedonians were in possession of the harbour, for he had been misled by the assertion of the men in control of the boom to
- 5 the harbour, that Pharnabazus' fleet was anchored there; the pirates had all been cut down by his own men, but he had brought Aristonicus to Alexander, with Apollonides the Chian and Phesinus and Megareus and the rest of those who had assisted the revolt of the Chians, and who were for the time ruling the island by force.
- 6 He reported also that he had captured Mitylene from Chares, and had won over by agreement the other cities in Lesbos as well. He had sent Amphoterus with sixty ships to Cos on appeal from the people of Cos, and had sailed himself to Cos and found it already in
- 7 the possession of Amphoterus. All the remaining captives Hegelochus brought with him, except Pharnabazus, who had slipped his guards in Cos and escaped. Alexander sent the tyrants to the cities from which they came, to be treated as the citizens pleased; but the Chians with Apollonides



Ἀπολλωνίδην τοὺς Χίους ἐς Ἐλεφαντίνην πόλιν Αἰγυπτίαν  
ξὺν φυλακῇ ἀκριβεῖ ἔπεμψεν.

3. Ἐπὶ τούτοις δὲ πόθος λαμβάνει αὐτὸν ἐλθεῖν παρ' Ἄμμωνα ἐς Λιβύην, τὸ μὲν τι τῷ θεῷ χρησόμενον, ὅτι ἀτρεκὲς ἐλέγето εἶναι τὸ μαντεῖον τοῦ Ἄμμωνος καὶ χρήσασθαι αὐτῷ Περσέα καὶ Ἡρακλέα, τὸν μὲν ἐπὶ τὴν Γοργόνα ὅτε πρὸς Πολυδέκτου ἐστέλλετο, τὸν δὲ ὅτε παρ' Ἄνταϊον ἦει εἰς Διβύην καὶ παρὰ Βούσιριν εἰς Αἴγυπτον.  
2 Ἀλεξάνδρω δὲ φιλοτιμία ἦν πρὸς Περσέα καὶ Ἡρακλέα, ἀπὸ γένους τε ὄντι τοῦ ἀμφοῖν καὶ τι καὶ αὐτὸς τῆς γενέσεως τῆς ἑαυτοῦ ἐς Ἄμμωνα ἀνέφερε, καθάπερ οἱ μῦθοι τὴν Ἡρακλέους τε καὶ Περσέως ἐς Δία. καὶ οὖν παρ' Ἄμμωνα ταύτη τῆ γνώμη ἐστέλλετο, ὡς καὶ τὰ αὐτοῦ ἀτρεκέστερον εἰσόμενος ἢ φήσων γε ἐγνωκέναι.
- 3 Μέχρι μὲν δὴ Παραιτονίου παρὰ θάλασσαν ἦει δι' ἐρήμου, οὐ μόντοι δι' ἀνύδρου τῆς χώρας, σταδίου ἐς χιλίου καὶ ἑξακοσίου, ὡς λέγει Ἀριστόβουλος. ἐντεῦθεν δὲ ἐς τὴν μεσόγαιαν ἐτράπετο, ἵνα τὸ μαντεῖον ἦν τοῦ Ἄμμωνος. ἔστι δὲ  
4 ἐρήμη τε ἢ ὁδὸς καὶ ψάμμος ἢ πολλὴ αὐτῆς καὶ ἄνυδρος. ὕδωρ δὲ ἐξ οὐρανοῦ πολὺ Ἀλεξάνδρω ἐγένετο, καὶ τοῦτο ἐς τὸ θεῖον ἀνηνέχθη. ἀνηνέχθη δὲ ἐς τὸ θεῖον καὶ τόδε ἄνεμος νότος ἐπὰν πνεύσῃ ἐν ἐκείνῳ τῷ χώρῳ, τῆς ψάμμου ἐπιφορεῖ κατὰ τῆς ὁδοῦ ἐπὶ μέγα, καὶ ἀφανίζεται τῆς ὁδοῦ τὰ σημεῖα οὐδὲ ἔστιν εἰδέναι ἵνα χρῆ πορεύεσθαι καθάπερ ἐν πελάγει τῆ ψάμμῳ, ὅτι σημεῖα οὐκ ἔστι κατὰ τὴν

were sent to the city of Elephantine in Egypt, with a strong guard.<sup>2</sup>

332-1 B.C.

3. After this a longing seized Alexander to pay a visit to Ammon in Libya, for one reason to consult the god, since the oracle of Ammon was said to be infallible, and to have been consulted by Perseus, when he was sent by Polydectes against the Gorgon, and by Heracles when he was on his way into Libya to find Antaeus, and  
2 into Egypt to find Busiris. Alexander sought to rival Perseus and Heracles, as he was descended from them both; and in addition he himself traced his birth in part to Ammon, just as the legends traced that of Heracles and Perseus to Zeus. In any case he set out for Ammon with this idea, hoping to secure more exact knowledge of his affairs, or at least to say he had secured it.<sup>1</sup>

331 B.C.

- 3 As far as Paraetonium [Mersah Matruh] he went along the coast through country which, though desert, is not wholly waterless, a distance of sixteen hundred stades, as Aristobulus tells us. There he turned into the interior, where the oracle of Ammon lay. The route is desolate; most of it is sand, and waterless. Alexander, however,  
4 had plenty of rain, and this was attributed to the divinity. And so was the following incident. Whenever a south wind blows in that country, it makes a great heap of sand on the route and obscures its marks, and one cannot get one's bearings in a sort of ocean of sand, since

2 A. returns to his main source(s), who normally recorded actions in which Al. was not personally engaged, not when they occurred but when they were reported to him. QC. iv 8, 11-13 (with other particulars) puts Al's decisions about the Greek islands after the visit to Siwah, cf. 5, 1 n. See also App. II. Al's imprisonment of the Chian oligarchs hardly gave effect to Chios' decree (Tod 192) that they should be tried by the Greek *synedrion*.

1 For the visit to the oracle of Ammon in the oasis of Siwah see App. V; for Heracles and Perseus, App. IV.

ὁδὸν οὔτε που ὄρος οὔτε δένδρον οὔτε γήλοφοι βέβαιοι  
 ἀνεστηκότες, οἷσισιν οἱ ὁδῖται τεκμαίροντο ἂν τὴν πορείαν,  
 καθάπερ οἱ ναῦται τοῖς ἄστροις· ἀλλὰ ἐπλανᾶτο γὰρ ἡ  
 5 στρατιὰ Ἀλεξάνδρῳ καὶ οἱ ἡγεμόνες τῆς ὁδοῦ ἀμφίβολοι  
 ἦσαν. Πτολεμαῖος μὲν δὴ ὁ Λάγου λέγει δράκοντας δύο ἰέναι  
 πρὸ τοῦ στρατεύματος φωνὴν ἰέντας, καὶ τούτοις Ἀλέξανδρον  
 κελεύσαι ἔπεσθαι τοὺς ἡγεμόνας πιστεύσαντας τῷ θεῷ, τοὺς  
 6 δὲ ἡγήσασθαι τὴν ὁδὸν τὴν τε εἰς τὸ μαντεῖον καὶ ὀπίσω  
 αὐθις· Ἀριστόβουλος δέ, καὶ ὁ πλείων λόγος ταύτη κατέχει,  
 κόρακας δύο προπετομένους πρὸ τῆς στρατιᾶς, τούτους  
 γενέσθαι Ἀλεξάνδρῳ τοὺς ἡγεμόνας. καὶ ὅτι μὲν θεῖόν τι  
 ξυνεπέλαβεν αὐτῷ ἔχω ἰσχυρίσασθαι, ὅτι καὶ τὸ εἶκός ταύτη  
 ἔχει, τὸ δὲ ἀτρεκές τοῦ λόγου ἀφείλοντο οἱ ἄλλη καὶ ἄλλη  
 ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ ἐξηγησάμενοι.

4. Ὁ δὲ χώρος, ἵνα περ τοῦ Ἀμμωνος τὸ ἱερόν ἐστι, τὰ μὲν  
 κύκλῳ πάντα ἔρημα καὶ ψάμμον τὸ πᾶν ἔχει καὶ ἄνδρον,  
 αὐτὸς δὲ ἐν μέσῳ ὀλίγος ὢν (ὅσον γὰρ πλείστον αὐτοῦ εἰς  
 πλάτος διέχει εἰς τεσσαράκοντα μάλιστα σταδίους ἔρχεται)  
 2 κατάπλεώς ἐστὶν ἡμέρων δένδρων, ἐλαιῶν καὶ φοινίκων, καὶ  
 ἔνδροσος μόνος τῶν πέριξ. καὶ πηγὴ ἐξ αὐτοῦ ἀνίσχει οὐδέν  
 τι εἰκοῦα ταῖς πηγαῖς, ὅσαι ἄλλαι ἐκ γῆς ἀνίσχουσιν. ἐν μὲν  
 γὰρ μεσημβρία ψυχρὸν τὸ ὕδωρ γευσάμενῳ τε καὶ ἔτι μᾶλλον  
 ἀψαμένῳ οἶον ψυχρότατον· ἐγκλίνας δὲ τοῦ ἡλίου εἰς  
 ἑσπέραν θερμότερον, καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς ἑσπέρας ἔτι θερμότερον  
 ἔσται ἐπὶ μέσας τὰς νύκτας, μέσων δὲ νυκτῶν ἑαυτοῦ  
 θερμότατον· ἀπὸ δὲ μέσων νυκτῶν ψύχεται ἐν τάξει, καὶ ἔωθεν  
 ψυχρὸν ἤδη ἐστί, ψυχρότατον δὲ μεσημβρίας· καὶ τοῦτο  
 ἀμείβει ἐν τάξει ἐπὶ

there are no marks along the route, no mountain anywhere, no tree,  
 no solid hillocks standing up, by which the wayfarers might judge  
 their proper course, as sailors do from the stars; in fact Alexander's  
 army went astray, and the guides were in doubt as to the route.

5 Now Ptolemy son of Lagos says that two serpents preceded the  
 army giving voice, and Alexander told his leaders to follow them  
 and trust the divinity; and the serpents led the way to the oracle and  
 6 back again. But Aristobulus agrees with the more common and  
 prevalent version, that two crows, flying in advance of the army,  
 acted as guides to Alexander. That some divine help was given him  
 I can confidently assert, because probability suggests it too; but the  
 exact truth of the story cannot be told; that is precluded by the way  
 in which different writers about Alexander have given different  
 accounts.

4. The district [Siwah] in which the Temple of Amnion lies is  
 desert all round, covered with sand, and without water. But the site  
 in the centre, which is small (for its broadest stretch only comes to  
 about forty stades), is full of garden trees, olives and palms, and of  
 all the surrounding country it alone catches the dew. A spring, too,  
 2 rises from it, not at all like other springs which rise from the  
 ground. For at midday the water is cold to the taste and even more  
 to the touch, as cold as can be, but when the sun sinks towards  
 evening it is warmer, and from evening on it grows warmer and  
 warmer till midnight, and at midnight it is at its warmest; but after  
 midnight it cools off in turn, and from dawn onwards it is already  
 cold, but coldest at midday. This change occurs

3 ἐκάστη [τῆ] ἡμέρα. γίνονται δὲ καὶ ἄλλες αὐτόματοι ἐν τῷ  
 χωρίῳ τούτῳ ὀρυκτοί· καὶ τούτων ἔστιν οὓς ἐς Αἴγυπτον  
 φέρουσι τῶν ἱερέων τινὲς τοῦ Ἄμμωνος. ἐπειδὴν γὰρ ἐπ’  
 Αἴγυπτου οτέλλονται, ἐς κοιτίδας πλεκτὰς ἐκ φοίνικος  
 4 ἐσβαλόντες δῶρον τῷ βασιλεῖ ἀποφέρουσιν ἢ εἴ τῳ ἄλλῳ.  
 ἔστι δὲ μακρὸς τε ὁ χόνδρος (ἤδη <δέ> τινες αὐτῶν καὶ ὑπὲρ  
 τρεῖς δακτύλους) καὶ καθαρὸς ὥσπερ κρύσταλλος· καὶ τούτῳ  
 ἐπὶ ταῖς θυσίαις χρῶνται, ὡς καθαρωτέρῳ τῶν ἀπὸ θαλάσσης  
 5 ἀλῶν, Αἰγύπτιοί τε καὶ ὅσοι ἄλλοι τοῦ θεοῦ οὐκ ἀμελῶς  
 ἔχουσιν. ἐνταῦθα Ἀλέξανδρος τὸν τε χῶρον ἐθαύμασε καὶ τῷ  
 θεῷ ἐχρήσατο· καὶ ἀκούσας ὅσα αὐτῷ πρὸς θυμοῦ ἦν, ὡς  
 ἔλεγεν, ἀνέζευξεν ἐπ’ Αἴγυπτου, ὡς μὲν Ἀριστόβουλος λέγει,  
 τὴν αὐτὴν ὀπίσω ὁδόν, ὡς δὲ Πτολεμαῖος ὁ Λάγου, ἄλλην  
 εὐθείαν ὡς ἐπὶ Μέμφιν.

5. Εἰς Μέμφιν δὲ αὐτῷ πρεσβεῖαί τε πολλαὶ ἐκ τῆς  
 Ἑλλάδος ἦκον, καὶ οὐκ ἔστιν ὄντινα ἀτυχήσαντα ὧν ἐδεῖτο  
 ἀπέπεμψε, καὶ στρατιὰ παραγίγνεται παρὰ μὲν Ἀντιπάτρου  
 μισθοφόροι Ἕλληνες ἐς τετρακοσίους, ὧν ἠγείτο Μενόϊτας<sup>1</sup> ὁ  
 2 Ἠγησάνδρου, ἐκ Θράκης δὲ ἵππεῖς ἐς πεντακοσίους, ὧν ἦρχεν  
 Ἀσκληπιόδωρος ὁ Εὐνίκου. ἐνταῦθα θύει τῷ Διὶ τῷ βασιλεῖ  
 καὶ πομπεῖ ξὺν τῇ στρατιᾷ ἐν τοῖς ὅπλοις καὶ ἀγῶνα ποιεῖ  
 γυμνικὸν καὶ μουσικόν. καὶ τὰ κατὰ τὴν Αἴγυπτον ἐνταῦθα  
 ἐκόμησε· δύο μὲν νομάρχας Αἴγυπτου κατέστησεν Αἰγυπτίους,  
 Δολόασπιν καὶ Πέτισιν, καὶ τούτοις διένειμε τὴν

1 Μενόϊτας; some read Μενίδας (cf. iii 12, 3; 13, 3 etc).

3 regularly every day. Then there are natural salts in this district, to  
 be obtained by digging; some are taken by priests of Ammon to  
 Egypt. Whenever they are going off to Egypt, they pack the salt  
 into baskets woven of palm leaves, to be conveyed as a present to  
 4 the king or to someone else. The grains of this salt are large, some  
 of them have been known to be more than three fingers' breadth,  
 and clear as crystal. Egyptians and others who are particular about  
 religious observance use this salt in their sacrifices, as being purer  
 5 than the sea-salts. Now Alexander surveyed the site with wonder,  
 and made his enquiry of the god; he received the answer his heart  
 desired, as he said, and turned back for Egypt, by the same route  
 according to Aristobulus, but according to Ptolemy son of Lagos, by  
 a different way, direct to Memphis.

5. At Memphis many embassies reached him from Greece, and  
 he sent away no one disappointed in his request.<sup>1</sup> He was also  
 joined by a force sent by Antipater, Greek mercenaries four  
 hundred strong, under the command of Menoetas<sup>2</sup> son of  
 Hegesander, and about five hundred Thracian horse, under  
 2 command of Asclepiodorus son of Eunicus. Then Alexander  
 sacrificed to Zeus the King and held a procession with his force  
 under arms and celebrated athletic and musical games. He then  
 made his arrangements for Egypt; he appointed two Egyptians,  
 Doloaspis and Petisis as nomarchs, dividing the whole country

1 The embassies may include that mentioned in ii 25, 4 n., but  
 QC. iv 8, 12 f. specifically names Athens, Rhodes, Chios and Mitylene,  
 and Al. perhaps deferred decisions recorded in 2, 7 till now, so QC. He  
 also makes Al. go up the Nile to Memphis and beyond, iv 8, 2 and 7 ff.

2 Or Menidas, see critical note.

3 χώραν τὴν Αἴγυπτιαν· Πετίσιος δὲ ἀπειπαμένου τὴν ἀρχὴν  
 Δολόασπις ἐκδέχεται πᾶσαν. φρουράρχους δὲ τῶν ἐταίρων ἐν  
 Μέμφει μὲν Πανταλέοντα κατέστησε τὸν Πυδιναῖον, ἐν  
 Πηλουσίῳ δὲ Πολέμωνα τὸν Μεγακλέους Πελλαῖον· τῶν ξένων  
 δὲ ἄρχειν Λυκίδαμ Αἰτωλόν, γραμματέα δὲ ἐπὶ τῶν ξένων  
 Εὐγνωστον τὸν Ξενοφάντου τῶν ἐταίρων· ἐπισκόπους δὲ  
 4 αὐτῶν Αἰσχύλον τε καὶ Ἐφίππον τὸν Χαλκιδέως.<sup>1</sup> Λιβύης δὲ  
 τῆς προσχώρου ἄρχειν δίδωσι Ἀπολλώνιον Χαρίνου,  
 Ἀραβίας δὲ τῆς πρὸς Ἡρώων πόλει Κλεομένην τὸν ἐκ  
 Ναυκράτιος· καὶ τούτῳ παρηγγέλλετο τοὺς μὲν νομάρχας εἶναι  
 ἄρχειν τῶν νομῶν τῶν κατὰ σφᾶς καθάπερ ἐκ παλαιοῦ  
 καθειστήκει, αὐτὸν δὲ ἐκλέγειν παρ' αὐτῶν τοὺς φόρους· οἱ δὲ  
 5 ἀποφέρειν αὐτῷ ἐτάχθησαν. στρατηγούς δὲ τῆ στρατιᾶ  
 κατέστησεν, ἦντινα ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ ὑπελείπετο, Πευκέσταν τε τὸν  
 Μακαρτάτου καὶ Βάλακρον τὸν Ἀμύντου, ναύαρχον δὲ ἐπὶ τῶν  
 νεῶν Πολέμωνα τὸν Θηραμένους· σωματοφύλακα δὲ ἀντὶ  
 6 Ἀρρύβας<sup>2</sup> [τὸν] Λεοννάτου τὸν Ἰονάσου<sup>3</sup> ἔταξεν· Ἀρρύβας γὰρ  
 νόσῳ ἀπέθανεν. ἀπέθανε δὲ καὶ Ἀντίοχος ὁ ἄρχων τῶν  
 τοξοτῶν, καὶ ἀντὶ τοῦ <του> ἄρχειν ἐπέστησε τοῖς τοξόταις  
 Ὀμβρίωνα Κρήτα. ἐπὶ δὲ τοὺς ξυμμάχους τοὺς πεζοὺς, ὧν  
 Βάλακρος ἡγείτο,

1 Χαλκιδέως: Χαλκιδέα Geier.

2 Ἀρρύβας would be the right form.

3 Leonnatus is son Ἀντέου (vi 28. 4): Ἄνθους (Arrian ed. Roos  
 vol. ii 254, 4), Εὐνον (Ind. 18. 3); the true name cannot be  
 determined.

of Egypt between them; Petisis, however, declined the power, and  
 3 Doloaspis took it all. As garrison commandants he appointed  
 Companions, Pantaleon of Pydna at Memphis, and Polemon, son of  
 Megacles of Pella at Pelusium; Lycidas, an Aetolian, was to  
 command the mercenaries and Eugnostos son of Xenophantes, one  
 of the Companions, to be secretary in charge of the mercenaries,  
 with Aeschylus and Ehippus son of Chalcideus as their overseers.<sup>3</sup>  
 4 The government of the neighbouring country of Libya was given to  
 Apollonius son of Charinus; and that of Arabia round Heroönpolis  
 to Cleomenes from Naucratis.<sup>4</sup> He was instructed to permit the  
 nomarchs to govern their own districts in accordance with the  
 ancient practices, but to exact the tribute from them himself, while  
 they were ordered to pay it over to him. As generals of the army  
 5 which he was leaving behind in Egypt he appointed Peucestas son  
 of Macartatus and Balacrus son of Amyntas, and as admiral of the  
 fleet, Polemon son of Theramenes. As bodyguard in place of  
 Arrhybas, who had died of disease, he appointed Leonnatus son of  
 6 Antreas. Antiochus, the commander of the archers, had also died,  
 and in his place Alexander appointed as commander of the archers  
 Ombrion, a Cretan. The allied infantry, of which Balacrus had been  
 commander,

3 Or, with Geier's emendation, 'a Chalcidean'; he can then be  
 identified with Ehippus of Olynthus (since Olynthus had been the  
 centre of the Chalcidean federation), author of a work 'On the Death  
 of Al. and Hephaestion' (Jacoby no. 126), very hostile to Al., as one  
 might expect most of those who came from a city Philip had destroyed  
 to have been, though the attitude is stranger if Ehippus, like  
 Callisthenes, had taken service with Al., and might, if the identification  
 is right, be more plausibly connected with Al's treatment of  
 Callisthenes. However, Chalcideus is attested as a personal name, and  
 emendation is not required.

7 ἐπεὶ Βάλακρος ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ ὑπελείπετο, Κάλανον κατέστησεν ἡγεμόνα. κατανεῖμαι δὲ λέγεται ἐς πολλοὺς τὴν ἀρχὴν τῆς Αἰγύπτου τὴν τε φύσιν τῆς χώρας θαυμάσας καὶ τὴν ὀχυρότητα, ὅτι οὐκ ἀσφαλές οἱ ἐφαίνετο ἐνὶ ἐπιτρέψαι ἄρχειν Αἰγύπτου πάσης. καὶ Ῥωμαῖοί μοι δοκοῦσι παρ' Ἀλεξάνδρου μαθόντες ἐν φυλακῇ ἔχειν Αἴγυπτον καὶ μηδένα τῶν ἀπὸ βουλῆς ἐπὶ τῷδε ἐκπέμπειν ὑπαρχον Αἰγύπτου, ἀλλὰ τῶν εἰς τοὺς ἰππέας σφίσι ξυντελούντων.

6. Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ ἅμα τῷ ἡρὶ ὑποφαίνονται ἐκ Μέμφιος ἦει ἐπὶ Φοινίκης· καὶ ἐγεφυρώθη αὐτῷ ὃ τε κατὰ Μέμφιν πόρος τοῦ Νείλου καὶ αἱ διώρυχες αὐτοῦ πᾶσαι. ὡς δὲ ἀφίκετο ἐς Τύρον, καταλαμβάνει ἐνταῦθα ἦκον αὐτῷ ἤδη καὶ τὸ ναυτικόν.  
2 ἐν Τύρῳ δὲ αὐθις θύει τῷ Ἡρακλεῖ καὶ ἀγῶνα ποιεῖ γυμνικόν τε καὶ μουσικόν. ἐνταῦθα ἀφικνεῖται παρ' αὐτὸν ἐξ Ἀθηνῶν ἡ Πάραλος πρέσβεις ἄγουσα Διόφαντον καὶ Ἀχιλλέα· ξυνεπρέσβενον δὲ αὐτοῖς καὶ οἱ Πάραλοι ξύμπαντες. καὶ οὗτοι τῶν τε ἄλλων ἔτυχον ὧν ἕνεκα ἐστάλησαν καὶ τοὺς αἰχμαλώτους ἀφήκεν Ἀθηναίοις ὅσοι ἐπὶ Γρανίκῳ

were placed under Calanus, since Balacrus was being left behind in Egypt.<sup>5</sup> It is said that he divided the government of Egypt between many officers, as he was strongly impressed by the character and defensibility of the country and did not think it safe to entrust the command of all Egypt to one man.<sup>6</sup> The Romans, I think, learnt from Alexander to keep a watch on Egypt, and never to send anyone from the Senate as governor, but only those whom they class as Knights.<sup>7</sup>

6. When spring began to show itself, Alexander started from Memphis for Phoenicia; bridges were made for him to cross over the river Nile at Memphis and over all its canals. When he reached Tyre, he found his fleet had already arrived there. At Tyre he sacrificed a second time to Heracles and held athletic and musical games.<sup>1</sup> There the *Paralus*<sup>2</sup> from Athens reached him, bringing Diophantus and Achilles as envoys; the entire crew of the *Paralus* were associated with them in the embassy. They achieved all the objects of their mission; in particular Alexander gave up to the Athenians all the Athenians

5 QC. iv 8, 4f. names only Aeschylus of Rhodes and Peucestas the Macedonian, who were 'put in charge' of Egypt with 4,000 soldiers, Apollonius 'put in charge' of the adjoining region of Africa, Cleomenes appointed to collect the taxes of Egypt and Africa, and Polemon to protect the mouths of the Nile with 30 triremes. Clearly Al. divided civil administration from military command, and gave Cleomenes special fiscal duties as well as other civil powers in 'Arabia'; for 'Arabia' and 'Libya' cf. Strabo xvii 1, 30, which does not make clear their delimitation from Upper Egypt. The military arrangements are impenetrable. Berve distinguished the 'army' of Peucestas and Balacrus from the mercenaries: not convincing. For a consortium of generals cf. the later arrangements in Media (vi 27, 3). I doubt if A. or QC. gives a true picture. Recent history suggested that the danger for Al. lay in native revolt strengthened by Greek mercenaries: a wholly divided command would have been least fitted to prevent this.

3 Ἀθηναίων ἐάλωσαν. τὰ δὲ ἐν Πελοποννήσῳ ὅτι αὐτῷ  
 νεωτερίσθαι ἀπήγγελλτο, Ἀμφοτερόν πέμπει βοηθεῖν  
 Πελοποννησίων ὅσοι ἔς τε τὸν Περσικὸν πόλεμον βέβαιοι  
 ἦσαν καὶ Λακεδαιμονίων οὐ κατήκουον. Φοίνιξι δὲ καὶ  
 Κυπρίοις προσετάχθη ἑκατὸν ναῦς ἄλλας πρὸς αἷς ἔχοντα  
 Ἀμφοτερόν ἔπεμπε στέλλειν ἐπὶ Πελοποννήσου.

4 Αὐτὸς δὲ ἤδη ἄνω ὠρμάτο ὡς ἐπὶ Θάψακόν τε καὶ τὸν  
 Εὐφράτην ποταμόν, ἐν Φοινίκη μὲν ἐπὶ τῶν φόρων τῇ  
 ξυλλογῇ καταστήσας Κοίρανον Βεροιαῖον, Φιλόξενον δὲ τῆς  
 Ἀσίας τὰ ἐπὶ τάδε τοῦ Ταύρου ἐκλέγειν. τῶν ξὺν αὐτῷ δὲ  
 χρημάτων τὴν φυλακὴν ἀντὶ τούτων ἐπέτρεψεν Ἀρπάλῳ τῷ

5 Μαχάτῃ ἄρτι ἐκ τῆς φυγῆς ἦκοντι. Ἄρπαλος γὰρ τὰ μὲν  
 πρῶτα ἔφυγε, Φιλίππου ἔτι βασιλεύοντος, ὅτι πιστὸς ἦν  
 <Ἀλεξάνδρῳ<sup>1</sup>>, καὶ Πτολεμαῖος ὁ Λάγου ἐπὶ τῷ αὐτῷ ἔφυγε  
 καὶ Νέαρχος ὁ Ἀνδροτίμου καὶ Ἐριγύϊος ὁ Λαρίχου καὶ  
 Λαομέδων ὁ τούτου ἀδελφός, ὅτι ὑποπτα ἦν Ἀλεξάνδρῳ ἔς  
 Φίλιππον, ἐπειδὴ Εὐρυδικὴν γυναῖκα ἠγάγετο Φίλιππος,

6 Ὀλυμπιάδα δὲ τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρου μητέρα ἠτίμασε.  
 τελευτήσαντος δὲ Φιλίππου κατελθόντας ἀπὸ τῆς φυγῆς ὅσοι  
 δι' αὐτὸν ἔφευγον Πτολεμαῖον μὲν σωματοφύλακα  
 κατέστησεν, Ἄρπαλον δὲ ἐπὶ τῶν χρημάτων, ὅτι αὐτῷ τὸ  
 σῶμα ἔς τὰ πολέμια ἀχρεῖον ἦν, Ἐριγύϊον δὲ ἱππάρχην τῶν  
 ξυμμάχων, Λαομέδοντα δὲ τὸν τούτου ἀδελφόν, ὅτι  
 δίγλωσσος ἦν [ἔς τὰ βαρβαρικὰ γράμματα],<sup>2</sup> ἐπὶ τοῖς  
 αἰχμαλώτοις βαρβάροις, Νέαρχον δὲ σατραπεύειν Λυκίας

3 captured at the Granicus.<sup>3</sup> On learning that there was a movement  
 of revolt against him in the Peloponnese, he sent Amphoterus to  
 help the Peloponnesians who were loyal in regard to the Persian  
 war and were not giving ear to the Lacedaemonians. Orders were  
 also given to the Phoenicians and Cyprians to send to the  
 Peloponnese a hundred ships in addition to those he was  
 despatching under command of Amphoterus.

4 Alexander himself was already starting inland towards  
 Thapsacus and the river Euphrates, after appointing Coeranus, a  
 Beroean, to collect taxes in Phoenicia, and Philoxenus to be  
 collector in Asia this side of the Taurus.<sup>4</sup> In their place he entrusted  
 the custody of the moneys with him to Harpalus son of Machatas,  
 who had just returned from exile; Harpalus had first been sent into  
 5 exile while Philip was still on the throne, because he was loyal to  
 Alexander; Ptolemy son of Lagos was exiled on the same account,  
 with Nearchus son of Androtimus, Erigyus son of Larichus and  
 Laomedon his brother, since there was a lack of confidence  
 between Alexander and Philip after Philip took Eurydice to wife,  
 and disgraced Olympias the mother of Alexander.<sup>5</sup> On Philip's death  
 6 those who had been banished on Alexander's account returned,  
 Ptolemy was appointed one of the bodyguards, Harpalus treasurer,  
 since his physique made him unfit for fighting, Erigyus  
 commander of the allied cavalry, Laomedon his brother, since he  
 was bilingual,<sup>6</sup> officer in charge of the barbarian captives, and  
 Nearchus satrap of

1 I have followed a suggestion of Roos and inserted Ἀλεξάνδρῳ.  
 Arrian's style always favours absolute explicitness.  
 2 [ἔς . . . γράμματα]. Surely a gloss.

3 Cf. i 29, 5; on § 3 f. see App. VI.  
 4 See Badian, GR 1965, 168 f.; *Ancient Society and Institutions*  
 (*Studies presented to V. L. Ehrenberg*) 54 ff.  
 5 Introd. § 47; for the name Eurydice cf. Berve no. 434.  
 6 Presumably meaning that he knew Persian or Aramaic.

7 καὶ τῆς ἐχομένης Λυκίας χώρας ἔσπε ἐπὶ τὸν Ταῦρον τὸ ὄρος.  
 ὀλίγον δὲ πρόσθεν τῆς μάχης τῆς ἐν Ἴσσω γενομένης  
 ἀναπεισθεὶς πρὸς Ταυρίσκου ἀνδρὸς κακοῦ Ἄρπαλος φεύγει  
 ξὺν Ταυρίσκῳ. καὶ ὁ μὲν Ταυρίσκος παρ' Ἀλέξανδρον τὸν  
 Ἑπειρώτην ἐς Ἰταλίαν σταλεὶς ἐκεῖ ἐτελεύτησεν, Ἀρπάλῳ δὲ  
 ἐν τῇ Μεγαρίδι ἡ φυγὴ ἦν. ἀλλὰ Ἀλέξανδρος πείθει αὐτὸν  
 κατελθεῖν πίστει δούς οὐδέν οἱ μείον ἔσεσθαι ἐπὶ τῇ φυγῇ.  
 οὐδὲ ἐγένετο ἐπανελθόντι, ἀλλὰ ἐπὶ τῶν χρημάτων αὐθις  
 8 ἐτάχθη Ἄρπαλος. ἐς Λυδίαν δὲ σατράπην Μένανδρον  
 ἐκπέμπει τῶν ἐταίρων· ἐπὶ δὲ τοῖς ξένοις, ὧν ἠγείτο  
 Μένανδρος, Κλέαρχος<sup>1</sup> αὐτῷ ἐτάχθη. ἀντὶ δὲ Ἀρίμμα<sup>1</sup>  
 σατράπην Συρίας Ἀσκληπιόδωρον τὸν Εὐνίκου ἀπέδειξεν, ὅτι  
 Ἀρίμμα βλακεῦσαι ἐδόκει αὐτῷ ἐν τῇ παρασκευῇ, ἥντινα  
 ἐτάχθη παρασκευάσαι τῇ στρατιᾷ κατὰ τὴν ὁδὸν τὴν ἄνω.

7. Καὶ ἀφίκετο ἐς Θάψακον Ἀλέξανδρος μηνὸς  
 Ἑκατομβαιῶνος ἐπὶ ἄρχοντος Ἀθήνησιν Ἀριστοφάνους· καὶ  
 καταλαμβάνει δυοῖν γεφύραιν ἐζευγμένον

1 See historical note.

Lycia and the country bordering on Lycia as far as Mount Taurus.  
 7 But not long before the battle of Issus Harpalus was led astray by  
 Tauriscus, a scoundrel, and fled with him. Tauriscus made his way  
 to Italy to Alexander (King) of Epirus,<sup>7</sup> and died there; Harpalus  
 took refuge in the Megarid. However, Alexander persuaded him to  
 return, giving him assurances that he would not suffer for his flight;  
 and in fact on his return he was again set in charge of the treasure.  
 Alexander sent Menander, one of the Companions, to Lydia as  
 8 satrap, appointing Clearchus<sup>8</sup> to command the mercenaries of  
 whom Menander had had charge. In place of Arimmas he made  
 Asclepiodorus son of Eunicus satrap of Syria, since he considered  
 Arimmas to have been slack in the preparations he had been  
 instructed to make for the army in its march up country.<sup>9</sup>

7. Alexander arrived at Thapsacus in the month Hecatombaeon  
 [July–Aug.] of the year in which Aristophanes was archon at  
 Athens.<sup>1</sup> There he

7 Brother of Olympias, he was fighting for the Greek city of Taras  
 against her south Italian neighbours and perished in 331/30 B.C.

8 Probably an error, A's or a scribe's, for Cleander, cf. iii 12, 2; 26,  
 3; vi 27, 4.

9 Cf. ii 13, 7 n. If the text is right, Arimmas had succeeded  
 Menon for reasons unknown. Droysen, however, amended 'Arimmas'  
 to 'Menon, son of Cerdimmas'. The conjecture is bold. QC. states (a)  
 that after his capture of Damascus (A. ii 11, 10 n.) Parmenio (not  
 Menon) was put in charge of Hollow Syria (iv 1, 4); (b) that after the  
 capture of Tyre, where he presumably rejoined Al. (cf. A. ii 25),  
 Parmenio handed over Hollow Syria to Andromachus (iv 5, 9); (c) that  
 Andromachus, whom Al. had put in charge of Syria, was burned alive  
 by the Samaritans, that Al. personally avenged him by an expedition  
 presumably from Tyre in 331, and appointed Memnon (editors  
 'Menon') in his place (iv 8, 9–11). As to (a) we can suppose that  
 Parmenio was in general control of Syria, so long as he operated there  
 with his expeditionary force (cf. his operations in Phrygia, A. i 24, 3),

μένον τὸν πόρον. καὶ γὰρ καὶ Μαζαῖος, ὅτῳ ἡ φυλακὴ τοῦ ποταμοῦ ἐκ Δαρείου ἐπετέτραπτο, ἰππέας μὲν ἔχων περὶ τρισχιλίους, <πέζους δὲ . . . ><sup>1</sup> καὶ τούτων Ἑλληνας

2 μισθοφόρους δισχιλίους, τέως μὲν αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ τῷ ποταμῷ ἐφύλασσε, καὶ ἐπὶ τῷδε οὐ ξυνεχῆς ἡ γέφυρα ἐζευγμένη ἦν ἔσπε ἐπὶ τὴν ἀντιπέρας ὄχθην τοῖς Μακεδόσι, δειμαίνουσι μὴ ἐπιθοῖντο οἱ ἀμφὶ Μαζαῖον τῇ γεφύρᾳ ἵνα ἐπαύετο. Μαζαῖος δὲ ὡς ἤκουσεν ἤδη προσάγοντα Ἀλέξανδρον, ὤχετο φεύγων ξὺν τῇ στρατιᾷ πάση. καὶ εὐθὺς ὡς ἔφυγε Μαζαῖος ἐπεβλήθησαν αἱ γέφυραι τῇ ὄχθῃ τῇ πέραν καὶ διέβη ἐπ' αὐτῶν ξὺν τῇ στρατιᾷ Ἀλέξανδρος.

3 Ἐνθεν δὲ ἐχώρει ἄνω, ἐν ἀριστερᾷ ἔχων τὸν Εὐφράτην ποταμὸν καὶ τῆς Ἀρμενίας τὰ ὄρη, διὰ τῆς Μεσοποταμίας καλουμένης χώρας. οὐκ εὐθείαν δὲ ἐπὶ Βαβυλῶνος ἦγεν ἀπὸ τοῦ Εὐφράτου ὀρμηθεῖς, ὅτι τὴν ἐτέραν ἰόντι εὐπορώτερα τὰ ξύμπαντα τῷ στρατῷ ἦν, καὶ χιλὸς τοῖς ἵπποις καὶ τὰ

4 ἐπιτήδεια ἐκ τῆς χώρας λαμβάνειν καὶ τὸ καῦμα οὐχ ὡσαύτως ἐπιφλέγον. ἀλόντες δὲ τινες κατὰ τὴν ὁδὸν τῶν ἀπὸ τοῦ Δαρείου στρατεύματος κατασκοπῆς ἕνεκα ἀπεσκευασμένων ἐξήγγειλαν, ὅτι Δαρείος ἐπὶ τοῦ Τίγρητος ποταμοῦ κάθηται ἐγνωκῶς εἶργειν Ἀλέξανδρον, εἰ διαβαῖνοι

5 καὶ εἶναι αὐτῷ στρατιὰν πολὺν μείζονα ἢ ξὺν ἧ ἐν Κιλικίᾳ ἐμάχετο. ταῦτα ἀκούσας Ἀλέξανδρος ἦει σπουδῆ ὡς ἐπὶ τὸν Τίγρητα. ὡς δὲ ἀφίξετο, οὔτε αὐτὸν Δαρείον καταλαμβάνει οὔτε τὴν φυλακὴν,

1 πέζους δὲ ἴσους Roos.

found the river crossing secured by two bridges. The fact was that Mazaeus, to whom Darius had entrusted the defence of the river, with about three thousand cavalry and . . . <sup>2</sup> foot, including two thousand Greek mercenaries,<sup>3</sup> for some time kept guard over the

2 river, and so the bridge had not been completed by the Macedonians right up to the opposite bank, for fear that Mazaeus' troops would attack the bridge where it stopped short; but on learning that Alexander was already marching up, Mazaeus hurried off with all his forces. As soon as Mazaeus fled, the bridges were carried right over to the far bank and Alexander crossed over them with his army.

3 Thence he continued inland through the country called Mesopotamia, keeping on his left the Euphrates and the mountains of Armenia. On setting out from the Euphrates he did not take the direct route for Babylon, since by going the other road all supplies were easier to obtain for the army, green fodder for the horses and provisions from the country, and the heat was less intense. Some of

4 those who had been sent out in different directions from Darius' army as scouts were captured, and reported that Darius was in position on the River Tigris, determined to check Alexander if he crossed, and that he had a much larger army than that with which

5 he had fought in Cilicia. On hearing this Alexander hurried towards the Tigris, but once he arrived there he found neither Darius himself nor the guard which Darius had left

2 The figure is lost. QC. gives Mazaeus 6,000 horse, thinks he was to defend Euphrates and then Tigris (sometimes confused, cf. 9, 7 and 9), and to 'scorch the earth' (9, 7 f. and 12-14; 10, 12-14), cf. D. 55, 1 relating only to Tigris.

3 App. VI 2.



ἤντινα ἀπολελοίπει Δαρείος, ἀλλὰ διαβαίνει τὸν πόρον,  
χαλεπῶς μὲν δι' ὀξύτητα τοῦ ῥοῦ, οὐδενὸς δὲ εἴργοντος.

6 Ἐνταῦθα ἀναπαύει τὸν στρατόν· καὶ τῆς σελήνης τὸ πολὺ  
ἐκλιπὲς ἐγένετο· καὶ Ἀλέξανδρος ἔθνε τῇ τε σελήνῃ καὶ τῷ  
ἡλίῳ καὶ τῇ γῇ, ὅτων τὸ ἔργον τοῦτο λόγος εἶναι κατέχει. καὶ  
ἐδόκει Ἀριστάνδρῳ πρὸς Μακεδόνων καὶ Ἀλεξάνδρου εἶναι  
τῆς σελήνης τὸ πάθημα καὶ ἐκείνου τοῦ μηνὸς ἔσεσθαι ἢ  
7 μάχῃ, καὶ ἐκ τῶν ἱερῶν νίκην σημαίνεσθαι Ἀλεξάνδρῳ. ἄρας  
δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ Τίγρητος ἦει διὰ τῆς Ἀσσυρίας χώρας, ἐν  
ἀριστερᾷ μὲν ἔχων τὰ Γορδνηνῶν ὄρη, ἐν δεξιᾷ δὲ αὐτὸν τὸν  
Τίγρητα. τετάρτη δὲ ἡμέρα ἀπὸ τῆς διαβάσεως οἱ πρόδρομοι  
αὐτῷ ἐξαγγέλλουσιν, ὅτι ἱππεῖς ἐστὶν οἱ<sup>1</sup> πολέμοι ἀνὰ τὸ  
πεδίον φαίνονται, ὅσοι δέ, οὐκ ἔχειν εἰκάσαι. ξυντάξας οὖν  
τὴν στρατιὰν προὔχωρει ὡς ἐς μάχην· καὶ ἄλλοι αὖ τῶν  
προδρόμων προσελάσαντες ἀκριβέστερον οὗτοι κατιδόντες  
ἔφασκον δοκεῖν εἶναί σφισιν οὐ πλείους ἢ χιλίους τοὺς  
ἱππέας.

8. Ἀναλαβὼν οὖν τὴν τε βασιλικὴν ἵλην καὶ τῶν ἐταίρων  
μίαν καὶ τῶν προδρόμων τοὺς Παίονας ἤλαυνε σπουδῇ, τὴν δὲ  
ἄλλην στρατιὰν βάδην ἔπεσθαι ἐκέλευσεν. οἱ δὲ τῶν Περσῶν  
ἱππεῖς κατιδόντες τοὺς ἀμφ' Ἀλεξάνδρου ὀξέως ἐπάγοντας  
2 ἔφευγον ἀνὰ κράτος. καὶ Ἀλέξανδρος διώκων ἐνέκειτο· καὶ οἱ  
μὲν πολλοὶ ἀπέφυγον, τοὺς δὲ τινὰς καὶ ἀπέκτειναν, ὅσοις οἱ  
ἵπποι ἐν τῇ φυγῇ ἔκαμον, τοὺς δὲ καὶ ζῶντας αὐτοῖς ἵπποις  
ἔλαβον·

1 ἐστὶν οἱ Schmieder. Roos kept the MS οὗτοι.

behind, and crossed the river; this was difficult because of the  
swiftness of the current, but there was no opposition.<sup>4</sup>

6 There he gave his army a rest. There was an almost total eclipse  
of the moon, and Alexander sacrificed to the Moon, Sun and Earth,  
who are all said to cause an eclipse. Aristander thought that the  
eclipse was favourable to the Macedonians and Alexander, that the  
battle would take place that month, and that the sacrifices  
7 portended victory to Alexander.<sup>5</sup> Starting from the Tigris, Alexander  
passed through the Assyrian land with the Gordyenan mountains  
on his left,<sup>6</sup> and the Tigris on his right. On the fourth day after the  
crossing,<sup>7</sup> the *prodromoi* reported that some enemy cavalry were to  
be seen over the plain, but they could not guess their numbers. So  
he drew up his force and advanced as to battle; then other  
*prodromoi* rode in, who had made a more accurate inspection, and  
reported that they estimated the cavalry at no more than a  
thousand.

8. Alexander then took with him the royal squadron, one  
squadron of Companions and the Paeonian *prodromoi* and moved  
on rapidly, ordering the rest of the army to follow at marching pace.  
But the Persian cavalry, observing the troops with Alexander  
coming up rapidly, lost no time in flight. Alexander pressed the  
2 pursuit, and though the greater number of them got away, some  
whose horses wearied in the flight were killed and others captured  
alive with their

4 D. 55, 3 ff.; QC. 9, 15 ff. make much of the difficulty of fording  
the river; QC. 9, 23 has Mazaeus attack immediately afterwards.

5 App. VIII 5. D. 55, 6 is worthless.

6 QC. 10, 8.

7 The place, not the day, of the crossing, to fit the timetable; the  
Greek word is ambiguous.

καὶ παρὰ τούτων ἔμαθον, ὅτι οὐ πόρρω εἶη Δαρείος ξὺν  
δυνάμει πολλῇ.

- 3 Βεβοηθήκεσαν γὰρ Δαρείῳ Ἰνδῶν τε ὅσοι Βακτρίοις  
ὄμοροι καὶ αὐτοὶ Βάκτριοι καὶ Σογδιανοί· τούτων μὲν πάντων  
ἡγείτο Βῆσσος ὁ τῆς Βακτριῶν χώρας σατράπης. εἶποντο δὲ  
αὐτοῖς καὶ Σάκαι—Σκυθικὸν τοῦτο τὸ γένος τῶν τὴν Ἀσίαν  
ἐποικούντων Σκυθῶν—οὐχ ὑπήκοοι οὗτοι Βῆσσου, ἀλλὰ κατὰ  
συμμαχίαν τὴν Δαρείου ἡγείτο δὲ αὐτῶν Μαυάκης· αὐτοὶ δὲ  
4 ἵπποτοξόται ἦσαν. Βαρσαέκνυτης δὲ Ἀραχωτῶν σατράπης  
Ἀραχωτούς τε ἦγε καὶ τοὺς ὀρείους Ἰνδοὺς καλουμένους.  
Σατιβαρζάνης δὲ ὁ Ἀρείων σατράπης Ἀρείους ἦγεν.  
Παρθυαίους δὲ καὶ Ἵρκανίους καὶ Τοπείρους,<sup>1</sup> τοὺς πάντας  
ἵππεας, Φραταφέρνης ἦγεν. Μήδων δὲ ἡγείτο Ἀτροπάτης·  
5 ξυνετάπτοντο δὲ Μήδοις Καδούσιοί τε καὶ Ἀλβανοὶ καὶ  
Σακεσῖναι. τοὺς δὲ προσοίκους τῇ ἐρυθρᾷ θαλάσῃ  
Ὀροντοβάτης καὶ Ἀριοβαρζάνης καὶ Ὀκρᾶξίνης ἐκόσμων.  
Οὔξιοι δὲ καὶ Σουσιανοὶ ἡγεμόνα παρείχοντο Ὀξάθρην τὸν  
Ἀβουλίτου. Βουπάρης δὲ Βαβυλωνίων ἡγείτο. οἱ <δ>  
ἀνάσπαστοι Κᾶρες καὶ Σιττακηνοὶ σὺν Βαβυλωνίοις  
6 ἐτετάχατο. Ἀρμενίων δὲ Ὀρόντης καὶ Μιθραύστης ἦρχε, καὶ  
Ἀριάκης Καππαδοκῶν. Σύρους δὲ τοὺς τε ἐκ τῆς

1 Perhaps Ταπούρους; the spelling varies in different passages.

mounts. From these they learnt that Darius was not far off with a  
large force.<sup>1</sup>

- 3 It was large because Darius had obtained the help of those  
Indians who bordered on the Bactrians, together with the Bactrians  
and Sogdianians themselves, all under the command of Bessus, the  
satrap of Bactria. They were joined by Sacae, a Scythian people,  
belonging to the Scyths who inhabit Asia, who came, not as subjects  
of Bessus, but on the basis of an alliance with Darius; Mauaces was  
4 their commander, and they were mounted archers.<sup>2</sup> Barsaentes,  
satrap of the Arachotians, led both the Arachotians and the Indian  
hillmen, as they were called, Satibarzanes, their satrap, the Areians,  
Phrataphernes the Parthyaean, Hyrcanians and Topeirians, all  
cavalry, Atropates the Medes; along with the Medes, Cadusians,  
Albanians and Sacesinians were marshalled. The tribes bordering  
5 on the Red Sea were directed by Orontobates, Ariobarzanes and  
Orxines.<sup>3</sup> The Uxians and Susianians had Oxathres son of Abulites  
as commander. Bupares was in command of the Babylonians. The  
Carians who had been transplanted<sup>4</sup> and Sittacenians had been  
brigaded with the Babylonians. The Armenians were under Orontes  
and Mithraustes, the Cappadocians under Ariaces. The Syrians of  
6 Hollow Syria<sup>5</sup> and all

1 QC. iv 10, 9 ff.; in 9, 1–10 and D. 39, 3 f. and 53 we have some  
account of Persian mobilization and army movements; D. 53, 1 says  
that his troops were given longer swords and lances to match the  
Macedonian (cf. A. i 15, 5); QC. 9, 3 refers to better defensive armour.  
Perhaps all this applies only to some contingents, cf. A. iii 13, 4; vii 6,  
5. For following list cf. 11, 3 n. For troops from the eastern satrapies,  
separated from west Iran by the Elburz mountains and central Persian  
desert, and absent in 333 B.C. (QC. iii 2, 9) cf. D. 39, 3; QC. iv 9, 2.

2 Apparently from the Pamir highlands in Tadzhik, U.S.S.R., not  
nomad Scyths (Herrmann, *RE* s.v. Sakai).

κοίλης καὶ ὅσοι τῆς μεταξὺ τῶν ποταμῶν Συρίας Μαζαῖος ἤγειν. ἐλέγετο δὲ ἡ πᾶσα στρατιὰ ἡ Δαρείου ἱππεῖς μὲν ἐς τετρακισμυρίους, πεζοὶ δὲ ἐς ἑκατὸν μυριάδας, καὶ ἄρματα δρεπανηφόρα διακόσια, ἐλέφαντες δὲ οὐ πολλοί, ἀλλὰ ἐς πεντεκαίδεκα μάλιστα Ἴνδοῖς τοῖς ἐπὶ τάδε τοῦ Ἰνδοῦ ἦσαν.

7 Ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ δυνάμει ἐστρατοπεδεύκει Δαρείος ἐν Γαυγαμήλοις πρὸς ποταμῶ Βουμήλω, ἀπέχων Ἀρβήλων τῆς πόλεως ὅσον ἑξακοσίους σταδίους, ἐν χώρῳ ὁμαλῶ πάντῃ. καὶ γὰρ καὶ ὅσα ἀνώμαλα αὐτοῦ ἐς ἱππασίαν, ταῦτα δὲ ἐκ πολλοῦ οἱ Πέρσαι τοῖς τε ἄρμασιν ἐπελαύνειν εὐπετῇ πεποιήκεσαν καὶ τῇ ἵππῳ ἱππασίμα. ἦσαν γὰρ οἱ ἀνέπειθον Δαρείου ὑπὲρ τῆς πρὸς Ἰσσην γενομένης μάχης, ὅτι ἄρα ἐμειονέκτησε τῶν χωρίων τῇ στενότητι καὶ Δαρείος οὐ χαλεπῶς ἐπέειθετο.

9. Ταῦτα ὡς ἐξηγγέλθη Ἀλεξάνδρῳ πρὸς τῶν κατασκόπων τῶν Περσῶν ὅσοι ἐάλωσαν, ἔμεινεν αὐτοῦ ἵνα ἐξηγγέλθη ἡμέρας τέσσαρας· καὶ τὴν [τε] στρατιὰν ἐκ τῆς ὁδοῦ ἀνέπαυσε, τὸ δὲ στρατόπεδον τάφρῳ τε καὶ χάρακι ἐτείχισεν. ἔγνω γὰρ τὰ μὲν σκευοφόρα ἀπολείπειν καὶ ὅσοι τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἀπόμαχοι ἦσαν, αὐτὸς δὲ ξὺν τοῖς μαχίμοις οὐδὲν

2 ἄλλο ὅτι μὴ ὄπλα φέρουσιν ἵεναι ἐς τὸν ἀγῶνα. ἀναλαβὼν οὖν τὴν δύναμιν νυκτὸς ἤγειν ἀμφὶ δευτέραν φυλακὴν μάλιστα, ὡς ἅμ' ἡμέρα προσμῖξαι τοῖς βαρβάροις. Δαρείος δέ, ὡς προσηγγέλθη αὐτῷ προσάγων ἤδη Ἀλέξανδρος, ἐκτάσσει τὴν στρατιὰν ὡς ἐς μάχην· καὶ Ἀλέξανδρος ἤγειν ὡσαύτως τεταγμένους. καὶ ἀπέειχε μὲν

from Mesopotamian Syria were led by Mazaeus. The number of Darius' forces was said to be 40,000 horse, 1,000,000 foot, 200 chariots carrying scythes,<sup>6</sup> and a few elephants; the Indians on this side of the Indus had some fifteen.<sup>7</sup>

7 With this army Darius had encamped at Gaugamela by the River Bumelus, about six hundred stades from the city of Arbela,<sup>8</sup> in a position level on all sides. In fact where the ground was uneven for cavalry, the Persians had for some time past been making it easy for chariots to drive and for cavalry to ride over;<sup>9</sup> for some argued that in the battle of Issus Darius had really had the worst of it because of the narrowness of the battlefield, and Darius very readily assented.

9. On receiving this information from the captured Persian scouts, Alexander stopped where he had received it for four days; he rested his army after the march and strengthened his camp by a ditch and palisade, as he had decided to leave behind the baggage animals and soldiers unfit for fighting, and to advance to battle himself with his fit troops burdened with nothing but their arms.<sup>1</sup>

2 So taking his force by night, he led them off just about the second watch, so as to meet the enemy at dawn. Darius, on hearing that Alexander was already advancing, arrayed his army for battle, while Alexander was also bringing up his army in battle array. The armies

6 For description, D. 53, 2; QC. 9, 4 f.; previous use, Xenophon, *Anabasis* i 6, 1; *Hellenica* iv 1, 17 ff.

7 Appendix IX, 3.

8 Cf. vi 11, 4 (Pt. and Ar.); P. 31, 3; Strabo xvi 1, 3. QC. 9, 9 (unlike D. 53, 4) was perhaps aware of the truth.

9 QC. 9, 10.

1 QC. iv 10. 15. Vet some *impedimenta* were moved forward, cf. A. 12, 5; 14, 5; QC. 12, 3.

ἀλλήλων τὰ στρατόπεδα ὅσον ἐξήκοντα σταδίους, οὐ μὴν πω  
καθεώρων ἀλλήλους· γήλοφοι γὰρ ἐν μέσῳ ἐπίπροσθεν  
ἀμφοῖν ἦσαν.

- 3 Ὡς δὲ ἀπέειχεν Ἀλέξανδρος ὅσον ἐς τριάκοντα σταδίους  
καὶ κατ' αὐτῶν ἤδη τῶν γηλόφων ἦει αὐτῷ ὁ στρατός,  
ἐνταῦθα, ὡς εἶδε τοὺς βαρβάρους, ἔστησε τὴν αὐτοῦ  
φάλαγγα· καὶ ξυγκαλέσας αὖ τοὺς τε ἐταίρους καὶ  
στρατηγούς καὶ ἰλάρχας καὶ τῶν συμμάχων τε καὶ τῶν  
μισθοφόρων ξένων τοὺς ἡγεμόνας ἐβουλεύετο, εἰ αὐτόθεν  
ἐπάγοι ἤδη τὴν φάλαγγα, ὡς οἱ πλείστοι ἄγειν ἐκέλευον, ἢ  
4 καθάπερ Παρμενίῳ [καλῶς] ἐδόκει, τότε μὲν αὐτοῦ  
καταστρατοπεδεύειν, κατασκέψασθαι δὲ τὸν τε χῶρον  
ξύμπαντα, εἰ δὴ τι ὑποπτον αὐτοῦ ἢ ἄπορον, ἢ εἴ πη τάφροι ἢ  
σκόλοπες καταπεπηγότες ἀφανεῖς, καὶ τὰς τάξεις τῶν  
πολεμίων ἀκριβέστερον κατιδεῖν. καὶ νικᾷ Παρμενίων τῇ  
γνώμῃ, καὶ καταστρατοπεδεύουσιν αὐτοῦ ὅπως τεταγμένοι  
ἔμελλον ἵεναι ἐς τὴν μάχην.
- 5 Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ ἀναλαβὼν τοὺς ψιλοὺς καὶ τῶν ἰππέων  
τοὺς ἐταίρους περιήει ἐν κύκλῳ σκοπῶν τὴν χώραν πᾶσαν,  
ἵνα τὸ ἔργον αὐτῷ ἔσεσθαι ἔμελλεν. ἐπανελθὼν δὲ καὶ  
ξυγκαλέσας αὖθις τοὺς αὐτοὺς ἡγεμόνας, αὐτοὺς μὲν οὐκ ἔφη  
χρῆναι παρακαλεῖσθαι πρὸς οὗ ἐς τὸν ἀγῶνα· πάλαι γὰρ  
6 εἶναι δι' ἀρετὴν τε τὴν σφῶν παρακεκλημένους καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν  
πολλάκις ἤδη καλῶν ἔργων ἀποδεδειγμένων. τοὺς κατὰ σφᾶς  
δὲ ἐκάστους ἐξορμᾶν ἡξίου, λοχαγόν τε λοχίτας καὶ ἰλάρχη  
τὴν ἴλην τὴν αὐτοῦ ἕκαστον

were about sixty stades apart, but had not yet sighted one another,  
for there were hills intervening in front of both.<sup>2</sup>

- 3 Alexander was about thirty stades away and his army was  
already descending these hills, when he sighted the enemy; he  
stopped his phalanx there, and again summoned the Companions,  
generals, squadron commanders and commanders of the allies and  
foreign mercenary troops, and put the question whether he should  
advance his phalanx at once from this point, as most of them urged,  
4 or, as Parmenio thought best, camp there for the time being, survey  
the whole of the terrain, in case any part afforded ground for  
suspicion or was impassable, or in case there were ditches  
anywhere, or hidden stakes fixed in the soil,<sup>3</sup> and make a thorough  
reconnaissance of the enemy's dispositions. Parmenio's advice  
prevailed, and they camped there, in the order in which they were  
to engage in battle.
- 5 Taking with him the light-armed troops and the Companion  
cavalry, Alexander rode all round, inspecting the whole of the  
ground where his work was to be done. Then he returned and again  
summoned the same officers, and said that there was no need for  
him to inspire them to the fight; they had long ago been inspired by  
their own bravery and by their many splendid exploits in the past;  
6 but he required each of them to encourage his own men; the  
infantry captains their companies, the squadron commanders

2 QC. makes them 150 stades apart (10, 15), interpolates here an attempt by Darius to stir up disloyalty among Al's Greek troops (10, 16 f.), the death of Darius' wife and the negotiations in A. ii 25, 1 (10, 18–12, 1; both before the Tigris crossing in D. 54), and makes Persians as well as A. advance and cause a panic in Al's army, which bivouacks; only on the next day does Al. occupy the hills and call the council of § 3 (12, 14–24).

3 For use of stakes, QC. 13, 36 f.

καὶ ταξιάρχους τὰς τάξεις, τοὺς τε ἡγεμόνας τῶν πεζῶν τὴν  
 φάλαγγα ἕκαστον τὴν οἱ ἐπιτετραμμένην, ὡς ἐν τῇδε τῇ μάχῃ  
 οὐχ ὑπὲρ Κοίλης Συρίας ἢ Φοινίκης, οὐδὲ ὑπὲρ Αἰγύπτου, ὡς  
 πρόσθεν, μαχουμένους, ἀλλὰ ὑπὲρ τῆς ξυμπάσης Ἀσίας,  
 7 οὕστινας χρὴ ἄρχειν, ἐν τῷ τότε κριθησόμενον. οὐκ οὐκ τὴν ἐς  
 τὰ κατὰ ἐξόρμησιν διὰ πολλῶν ἀναγκαίαν αὐτοῖς εἶναι  
 οἴκοθεν τοῦτο ἔχουσι, ἀλλὰ κόσμου τε ἐν τῷ κινδύνῳ ὅπως  
 τις καθ' αὐτὸν ἐπιμελήσεται καὶ σιγῆς ἀκριβοῦς, ὅποτε  
 σιγῶντας ἐπιέναι δέοι, καὶ αὐτὸν λαμπρᾶς τῆς βοῆς, ἵνα  
 8 ἐμβοῆσαι καλόν, καὶ ἀλαλαγμοῦ ὡς φοβερωτάτου, ὅποτε  
 ἐπαλαλάξαι καιρός, αὐτοῖ τε ὅπως ὀξέως κατακούοιεν τῶν [τε]  
 παραγγελλομένων καὶ παρ' αὐτῶν αὐτὸν ὅπως ἐς τὰς τάξεις  
 ὀξέως παραδιδῶνται τὰ παραγγέλματα· ἐν τε τῷ καθ' αὐτὸν  
 ἕκαστον καὶ τὸ πᾶν μεμνήσθαι ξυγκινδυνεύον τε ἀμελουμένῳ  
 καὶ δι' ἐπιμελείας ἐκπονουμένῳ ξυνορθούμενον.

10. Ταῦτα καὶ τοιαῦτα ἄλλα οὐ πολλὰ παρακαλέσας τε καὶ  
 ἀντιπαρακληθεὶς πρὸς τῶν ἡγεμόνων θαρρεῖν ἐπὶ σφίσι,  
 δειπνοποιεῖσθαι τε καὶ ἀναπαύεσθαι ἐκέλευσε τὸν στρατόν.  
 Παρμενίων δὲ λέγουσιν ὅτι ἀφικόμενος παρ' αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τὴν  
 σκηνήν, νύκτωρ παρήνει ἐπιθέσθαι τοῖς Πέρσiais·  
 2 ἀπροσδοκῆτοις τε γὰρ καὶ ἀνατεταραγμένοις καὶ ἅμα ἐν νυκτὶ  
 φοβερωτέροις ἐπιθήσεσθαι. ὁ δὲ ἐκείνῳ μὲν ἀποκρίνεται, ὅτι  
 καὶ ἄλλοι κατήκουον τῶν λόγων, αἰσχρὸν εἶναι κλέψαι τὴν  
 νίκην, ἀλλὰ φανερώς καὶ

their own squadrons, the battalion commanders their battalions,  
 and the infantry commanders the phalanx of which each was placed  
 in charge. In this battle, he pointed out, they were to fight, not as  
 before, for Hollow Syria or Phoenicia or Egypt: it was the  
 sovereignty of all Asia that was there and then to be decided. There  
 7 was then no need for them to employ long speeches to make their  
 men act with that sense of honour which was born in them, but they  
 were to urge each man in the moment of danger to attend in his  
 own place in the line to the requirements of order, to keep perfect  
 silence when that was necessary in the advance, and by contrast to  
 give a ringing shout when it was right to shout, and a howl to inspire  
 the greatest terror when the moment came to howl; they  
 8 themselves were to obey orders sharply and to pass them on sharply  
 to their regiments, and every man should recall that neglect of his  
 own duty brought the whole cause into common danger, while  
 energetic attention to it contributed to the common success.<sup>4</sup>

10. These and other such brief exhortations brought in return  
 assurances from the commanders that he could rely on them. So he  
 ordered his army to take their meal and rest. They say<sup>1</sup> that  
 Parmenio went to him in his tent and advised him to attack the  
 Persians at night; they would be surprised, confused and more  
 prone to panic in a night attack. Alexander, however, replied, since  
 2 others were listening, that it was dishonourable to steal the victory,

4 Callisthenes imputed to Al. 'lengthy discourses' with the Greek  
 allies just before the battle (P. 33, 1); at that point D. 56, 4 and QC. 13,  
 38–14 *fin.* set speeches.

1 'Vulgate', or Pt. and Ar.? Unlike P. 31, 5 *if.*, QC. iv 13, 3 *ff.*  
 transposes this to the council, where most ('the older Companions P.')

ἀνευ σοφίσματος χρήναι νικῆσαι Ἀλέξανδρον. καὶ τὸ  
 3 μεγαλήγορον αὐτοῦ τοῦτο οὐχ ὑπέρογκον μᾶλλον τι ἢ  
 εὐθαρσὲς ἐν τοῖς κινδύνοις ἐφαίνετο· δοκεῖν δ' ἔμοιγε, καὶ  
 3 λογισμῶ ἀκριβεῖ ἐχρήσατο ἐν τῷ τοιῷδε· ἐν νυκτὶ γὰρ τοῖς τε  
 ἀποχρώντως καὶ τοῖς ἐνδεῶς πρὸς τὰς μάχας  
 παρεσκευασμένοις πολλὰ ἐκ τοῦ παραλόγου ξυμβάντα τοὺς  
 μὲν ἔσφηλε, τοὺς κρείσσονας, τοῖς χείροσι δὲ παρὰ τὰ ἐξ  
 ἀμφοῖν ἐλπισθέντα τὴν νίκην παρέδωκεν. αὐτῷ τε κινδυνεύοντι  
 τὸ πολὺ ἐν ταῖς μάχαις σφαλερὰ ἢ νύξ κατεφαίνετο, καὶ ἅμα  
 ἠσσηθέντι τε αὐθις Δαρείῳ τὴν ξυγχώρησιν τοῦ χείροσι ὄντι  
 4 χειρόνων ἠγγείσθαι ἢ λαθραία τε καὶ νυκτερινὴ ἐκ σφῶν  
 ἐπίθεσις ἀφηρέϊτο, εἴ τέ τι ἐκ τοῦ παραλόγου πταῖσμα σφίσι  
 ξυμπέσοι, τοῖς μὲν πολεμίοις τὰ κύκλω φίλια καὶ αὐτοὶ τῆς  
 χώρας ἔμπειροι, σφέϊς δὲ ἄπειροι ἐν πολεμίοις τοῖς πᾶσιν, ὧν  
 οὐ μικρὰ μοῖρα οἱ αἰχμάλωτοι ἦσαν, ξυνεπιθησόμενοι ἐν  
 νυκτὶ μὴ ὅτι πταίσασιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ εἰ μὴ παρὰ πολὺ νικῶντες  
 φαίνονται. τούτων τε τῶν λογισμῶν ἕνεκα ἐπαινῶ Ἀλέξανδρον  
 καὶ τοῦ ἐς τὸ φανερὸν ὑπερόγκου οὐ μείον.

11. Δαρείος δὲ καὶ ὁ ξὺν Δαρείῳ στρατὸς οὕτως ὅπως τὴν  
 ἀρχὴν ἐτάξαντο ἔμειναν τῆς νυκτὸς ξυντεταγμένοι, ὅτι οὔτε  
 στρατόπεδον αὐτοῖς περιεβέβλητο ἀκριβὲς καὶ ἅμα  
 2 ἐφοβοῦντο μή σφισι νύκτωρ ἐπιθοῖντο οἱ πολέμοι. καὶ εἶπερ  
 τι ἄλλο, καὶ τοῦτο ἐκάκωσε τοῖς Πέρσαις ἐν τῷ τότε τὰ  
 πράγματα, ἢ στάσις ἢ πολλή ἢ ξὺν τοῖς ὅπλοις καὶ τὸ δέος,  
 ὃ τι περ φιλεῖ πρὸ τῶν μεγάλων κινδύνων γίγνεσθαι, οὐκ ἐκ  
 τοῦ παραντίκα σχεδιασθέν, ἀλλ'

and that Alexander had to win his victory openly and without  
 stratagem.<sup>2</sup> This grandiloquence looked like confidence in danger  
 rather than arrogance,<sup>3</sup> but in my own view he made a careful  
 calculation on some such principle as this: at night, whether forces  
 3 are adequately or deficiently prepared for battle, things have so  
 often turned out contrary to rational expectation that the stronger  
 side has been foiled and victory gone to the weaker, contrary to the  
 expectations of both. Though Alexander commonly ran risks in  
 battle, the hazards of the night were manifest to him; moreover, if  
 Darius were again defeated, the fact that their attack had been  
 covert and nocturnal would prevent him conceding his inferiority  
 4 and that of the troops he commanded, but if his own Macedonian  
 forces were to incur any incalculable reverse, all the country round  
 was friendly to the enemy and familiar to them, while his own men  
 had no knowledge of it, and enemies in everyone, no small part of  
 whom were the prisoners of war, and these would join in attack by  
 night, if the Macedonians should not be clearly and decisively  
 victorious, let alone if they were to fail. These considerations, not  
 less than the arrogance he paraded, lead me to commend  
 Alexander.

11. Darius and his army remained during the night marshalled  
 in their original order; for they had no proper camp surrounding  
 them, and they also feared that the enemy would make a night  
 2 attack. It did more harm than anything else to the Persian cause at  
 this crisis, that they stood so long under arms and that the fear,  
 which usually precedes great dangers,

<sup>2</sup> So too QC. and P.

<sup>3</sup> A. probably means that the reply seemed arrogant, yet really  
 snowed confidence, and in his own view prudence; his comments were  
 not original, cf. P. 31, 7 f.

ἐν πολλῷ χρόνῳ μελετηθέν τε καὶ τὰς γνώμας αὐτοῖς  
δουλωσάμενον.

- 3 Ἐτάχθη δὲ αὐτῷ ἡ στρατιὰ ὧδε· ἐάλω γὰρ ὕστερον ἡ  
τάξις, ἣντινα ἔταξε Δαρείος, γεγραμμένη, ὡς λέγει  
Ἀριστόβουλος. τὸ μὲν εὐώνυμον αὐτῷ κέρας οἱ τε Βάκτριοι  
ἰππεῖς εἶχον καὶ ξὺν τούτοις Δάαι καὶ Ἀραχωτοί· ἐπὶ δὲ  
τούτοις Πέρσαι ἐτετάχατο, ἰππεῖς τε ὁμοῦ καὶ πεζοὶ  
4 ἀναμεμιγμένοι, καὶ Σούσιοι ἐπὶ Πέρσαις, ἐπὶ δὲ Σουσίοις  
Καδούσιοι. αὕτη μὲν ἡ τοῦ εὐωνύμου κέρως ἔσπε ἐπὶ τὸ μέσον  
τῆς πάσης φάλαγγος τάξις ἦν· κατὰ δὲ τὸ δεξιὸν οἱ τε ἐκ  
Κοίλης Συρίας καὶ οἱ ἐκ τῆς μέσης τῶν ποταμῶν ἐτετάχατο,  
καὶ Μῆδοι ἔτι κατὰ τὸ δεξιόν, ἐπὶ δὲ Παρθυαῖοι καὶ Σάκαι, ἐπὶ  
δὲ Τόπειροι καὶ Ὑρκάνιοι, ἐπὶ δὲ Ἀλβανοὶ καὶ Σακεσ[ε]ῖναι,  
5 οὗτοι μὲν ἔσπε ἐπὶ τὸ μέσον τῆς πάσης φάλαγγος. κατὰ τὸ  
μέσον δέ, ἵνα ἦν βασιλεὺς Δαρείος, οἱ τε συγγενεῖς οἱ  
βασιλέως ἐτετάχατο καὶ οἱ μηλοφόροι Πέρσαι καὶ Ἰνδοὶ καὶ  
Κᾶρες οἱ ἀνάσπαστοι καλούμενοι καὶ οἱ Μάρδοι τοξόται·  
Οὔξιοι δὲ καὶ Βαβυλώνιοι καὶ οἱ πρὸς τῇ ἐρυθρᾷ θαλάσῃ  
6 καὶ Σιττακηνοὶ εἰς βάθος ἐπιτεταγμένοι ἦσαν. προετατάχατο  
δὲ ἐπὶ μὲν τοῦ εὐωνύμου κατὰ τὸ δεξιὸν τοῦ Ἀλεξάνδρου οἱ τε  
Σκύθαι ἰππεῖς καὶ τῶν Βακτριανῶν ἑς χιλίους καὶ ἄρματα  
δρεπανηφόρα ἑκατόν.

was not produced suddenly by a crisis, but cultivated for a long  
period, till it mastered their minds.<sup>1</sup>

- 3 Darius' army was drawn up as follows (Aristobulus tells us that a  
document giving the order as Darius drew it up was afterwards  
captured).<sup>2</sup> His left wing was held by the Bactrian cavalry with the  
Dahae and Arachotians; next to them Persians had been  
marshalled, cavalry and infantry mixed, and after the Persians  
4 Susians, and then Cadusians. This was the disposition of the left  
wing up to the centre of the entire phalanx. On the right<sup>3</sup> had been  
marshalled the troops from Hollow Syria and Mesopotamia; and  
further to the right were Medes, then Parthyaean and Sacians,  
then Topeirians and Hyrcanians, next Albanians and Sacesianians,  
right up to the centre of the entire phalanx. In the centre, with king  
5 Darius, had been posted the king's kinsmen,<sup>4</sup> the Persians whose  
spears are fitted with golden apples,<sup>5</sup> the Indians, the 'transplanted'  
Carians, as they were called, and the Mardian bowmen.<sup>6</sup> The  
Uxians, Babylonians, Red Sea peoples and Sittacenians had been  
6 posted in deep formation behind them. Then, in advance, on the  
left wing, facing Alexander's right, had been posted the Scythian  
cavalry, some thousand Bactrians, and a hundred chariots carrying  
scythes.

1 *Contra*, QC. iv 13, 11–14.

2 Perhaps from Callisthenes; where else? Pt. neglected the  
information, but perhaps 8, 3 ff. represent his account; Sogdianians  
and Areians only occur there, and Persians(!). Dahae (= 'Scythians' of §  
6; 13, 2; they lived in steppes east of Caspian and north of the  
Parthyaean) and Mardians only here; hence neither Ar. nor Pt. gave a  
full list, unless A. has excerpted carelessly. QC. 12, 5 if. is different  
again.

3 Commander, Mazaeus, D. 59, 5; by a slip QC. 15, 2 gives  
Bessus whom he correctly puts on the left in 12, 6.

4 1,000 strong, D. 59, 2; an honorific title, cf. 'Companions'.

5 The royal bodyguard, 1,000 strong, with apples instead of

- οἱ δὲ ἐλέφαντες ἔστησαν κατὰ τὴν [Δαρείου]<sup>1</sup> ἴλην τὴν  
 7 βασιλικὴν καὶ ἄρματα ἐς πεντήκοντα. τοῦ δὲ δεξιοῦ οἱ τε  
 Ἀρμενίων καὶ Καππαδοκῶν ἱππεῖς προετετάχατο καὶ ἄρματα  
 δρεπανηφόρα πεντήκοντα. οἱ δὲ Ἕλληνες οἱ μισθοφόροι παρὰ  
 Δαρείον τε αὐτὸν ἐκατέρωθεν καὶ τοὺς ἅμα αὐτῷ Πέρσας κατὰ  
 τὴν φάλαγγα αὐτὴν τῶν Μακεδόνων ὡς μόνοι δὴ ἀντίρροποι  
 τῇ φάλαγγι ἐτάχθησαν.
- 8 Ἀλεξάνδρῳ δὲ ἡ στρατιὰ ἐκοσμήθη ὧδε. τὸ μὲν δεξιὸν  
 αὐτῷ εἶχον τῶν ἱππέων οἱ ἐταῖροι, ὧν προετέτακτο ἡ ἴλη ἡ  
 βασιλική, ἣς Κλείτος ὁ Δρωπίδου ἰλάρχης ἦν, ἐπὶ δὲ ταύτῃ  
 Γλαυκίου ἴλη, ἐχομένη δ' αὐτῆς ἡ Ἀρίστωνος, ἐπὶ δὲ ἡ  
 Σωπόλιδος τοῦ Ἑρμοδώρου, ἐπὶ δὲ ἡ Ἡρακλείδου τοῦ  
 Ἀντιόχου, ἐπὶ ταύτῃ δὲ ἡ Δημητρίου τοῦ Ἀλθαιμένους, ταύτης  
 δὲ ἐχομένη ἡ Μελεάγρου, τελευταία δὲ τῶν [βασιλικῶν]<sup>2</sup> ἰλῶν  
 ἣς Ἡγέλοχος ὁ Ἴπποστράτου ἰλάρχης ἦν. ξυμπάσης δὲ τῆς  
 9 ἵππου τῶν ἐταίρων Φιλώτας ἦρχεν ὁ Παρμενίωνος. τῆς δὲ  
 φάλαγγος τῶν Μακεδόνων ἐχόμενον τῶν ἱππέων πρῶτον τὸ  
 ἄγλημα ἐτέτακτο τῶν ὑπασπιστῶν καὶ ἐπὶ τούτῳ οἱ ἄλλοι  
 ὑπασπισταί· ἠγείτο δὲ αὐτῶν Νικάνωρ ὁ Παρμενίωνος· τούτων  
 δὲ ἐχομένη ἡ Κοίνου τοῦ Πολεμοκράτους τάξις ἦν, μετὰ δὲ  
 τούτους ἡ Περδίκκου τοῦ Ὀρόντου, ἔπειτα ἡ Μελεάγρου τοῦ  
 Νεοπτολέμου, ἐπὶ δὲ ἡ Πολυπέρχοντος τοῦ Σιμμίου, ἐπὶ δὲ ἡ  
 Ἀμύντου τοῦ Φιλίππου· ταύτης δὲ ἠγείτο Σιμμίας, ὅτι  
 10 Ἀμύντας ἐπὶ Μακεδονίας ἐς ξυλλογὴν στρατιᾶς ἐσταλμένος  
 ἦν. τὸ δὲ εὐώνυμον τῆς φάλαγγος τῶν Μακεδόνων

1 Deleted by Gronovius.

2 I have bracketed βασιλικῶν.

The elephants were posted ahead of [Darius'] royal squadron, with  
 7 fifty chariots. In front of the right wing had been posted the  
 Armenian and Cappadocian cavalry and fifty chariots carrying  
 scythes. The Greek mercenaries<sup>7</sup> were stationed on either side of  
 Darius and of the Persian troops with him, exactly opposite the  
 Macedonian phalanx, as they were considered the only troops  
 capable of being a counterpoise to it.

- 8 Alexander's army was marshalled as follows.<sup>8</sup> His right wing was  
 held by the Companion cavalry, the royal squadron in front; it was  
 commanded by Clitus son of Dropides; in successive order came  
 those of Glaucias, Aristo, Sopolis son of Hermodorus, Heraclides  
 son of Antiochus, Demetrius son of Althaemenes, Meleager and  
 lastly that commanded by Hegelochus son of Hippostratus. The  
 Companion cavalry as a whole was commanded by Philotas son of  
 9 Parmenio. As for the Macedonian infantry phalanx, the *agema* of  
 the hypaspists was stationed first next the cavalry and then the rest  
 of the hypaspists; they were under Nicanor son of Parmenio; then  
 came successively the battalions of Coenus son of Polemocrates,  
 Perdicas son of Orontes, Meleager son of Neoptolemus,  
 Polyperchon son of Simmias and Amyntas son of Philip;<sup>9</sup> this was  
 led by Simmias, since Amyntas had been sent to Macedonia to  
 10 collect troops. The left of the Macedonian phalanx was

7 Cf. 7, 1; never mentioned by D. and QC.

8 Cf. D. 57, 1–4; QC. 13, 26 ff., incomplete extracts from a  
 common source which (i) gave the hypaspists the anachronistic name  
 of silver-shields; (ii) gave the ethnic composition of phalanx battalions  
 (cf. A. 16, 11); (iii) substituted Philip for Simmias as taxiarch.

9 An error for Andromenes, cf. 16, 10 and often.



ἡ Κρατεροῦ τοῦ Ἀλεξάνδρου τάξις εἶχε, καὶ αὐτὸς Κρατερὸς ἐξῆρχε τοῦ εὐωνύμου τῶν πεζῶν· καὶ ἵππεῖς ἐχόμενοι αὐτοῦ οἱ ξύμμαχοι, ὧν ἡγεῖτο Ἐριγύϊος ὁ Λαρίχων· τούτων δὲ ἐχόμενοι ὡς ἐπὶ τὸ εὐώνυμον κέρας οἱ Θεσσαλοὶ ἵππεῖς, ὧν ἦρχε Φίλιππος ὁ Μενελάου. ξύμπαν δὲ τὸ εὐώνυμον ἦγε Παρμενίων ὁ Φιλώτα, καὶ ἀμφ' αὐτὸν οἱ τῶν Φαρσαλίων ἵππεῖς οἱ κράτιστοί τε καὶ πλείστοι τῆς Θεσσαλικῆς ἵππου ἀνεστρέφοντο.

12. Ἡ μὲν ἐπὶ μετώπου τάξις Ἀλεξάνδρῳ ὧδε κεκόσμητο· ἐπέταξε δὲ καὶ δευτέραν τάξιν ὡς εἶναι τὴν φάλαγγα ἀμφίστομον. καὶ παρηγγέλλετο τοῖς ἡγεμόσι τῶν ἐπιτεταγμένων, εἰ κυκλουμένους τοὺς σφῶν πρὸς τοῦ Περσικοῦ στρατεύματος κατίδοιεν, ἐπιστρέψαντας ἐς τὸ ἔμπαν δέχεσθαι τοὺς βαρβάρους· ἐς ἐπικαμπὴν δέ, εἴ που ἀνάγκη καταλαμβάνοι ἢ ἀναπτύξαι ἢ ξυγκλείσαι τὴν φάλαγγα, κατὰ μὲν τὸ δεξιὸν κέρας ἐχόμενοι τῆς βασιλικῆς ἴλης τῶν Ἀγριάνων ἐτάχθησαν οἱ ἡμίσεες, ὧν ἡγεῖτο Ἄτταλος, καὶ μετὰ τούτων οἱ Μακεδόνες οἱ τοξόται, ὧν Βρίσων ἦρχεν, ἐχόμενοι δὲ τῶν τοξοτῶν οἱ ἀρχαῖοι καλούμενοι ξένοι καὶ ἄρχων τούτων Κλέανδρος. προετάχθησαν δὲ τῶν τε Ἀγριάνων καὶ τῶν τοξοτῶν οἱ τε πρόδρομοι ἵππεῖς καὶ οἱ Παῖονες, ὧν Ἀρέτης καὶ Ἀρίστων ἡγοῦντο. ξυμπάντων δὲ προτεταγμένοι ἦσαν οἱ μισθοφόροι ἵππεῖς, ὧν Μενίδας ἦρχε. τῆς δὲ βασιλικῆς ἴλης καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἐταίρων προτεταγμένοι ἦσαν τῶν τε Ἀγριάνων καὶ τῶν τοξοτῶν οἱ

held by the battalion of Craterus son of Alexander, who also commanded the (entire) left of the infantry. Next to them came the allied cavalry,<sup>10</sup> under Erigyius son of Larichus; next them, on the left wing, were the Thessalian cavalry under Philippus son of Menelaus. The commander of the entire left was Parmenio son of Philotas, and round him rode the Pharsalian cavalry, the finest and most numerous of the Thessalian horsemen.

12. This was the order in which Alexander had marshalled his front, but he also posted a second line, so that his phalanx faced both ways.<sup>1</sup> The commanders of this reserve had instructions to face about and receive the barbarian attack, if they saw their own forces being surrounded by the Persian army. However, in case a need arose to extend or contract the line, on the right wing but at an angle to it,<sup>2</sup> half the Agrianians under Attalus were posted next to the royal squadron, along with the Macedonian archers under Brison, and next to the archers the so-called old mercenaries under Cleander; in front of the Agrianians and archers cavalry were stationed, consisting of the *prodromoi* and the Paeonians under the command of Aretas and Ariston, and in front of all these the mercenary cavalry<sup>3</sup> under Menidas. The royal squadron and the other Companions had half the Agrianians and archers<sup>4</sup> stationed in their front

10 Part only, cf. 12, 4.

1 Clearly hoplites, i.e. Greek allies (not otherwise mentioned) and mercenaries other than Oleander's force, which comprised either (i) those who had crossed to Asia with Al. or (ii) those previously sent there by Philip, as against (iii) later reinforcements.

2 The translation is certain, but cf. App. IX 2.

3 Some only, cf. § 5.

4 Macedonians?

4 ἡμίσεες, καὶ οἱ Βαλάκρου ἀκοντισταί· οὗτοι κατὰ <τὰ>  
 ἄρματα τὰ δρεπανηφόρα ἐτετάχατο. Μενίδα δὲ καὶ τοῖς ἀμφ'  
 αὐτὸν παρήγγελλτο, εἰ περιϋππεύοιεν οἱ πολέμοι τὸ κέρας  
 σφῶν, ἐς πλαγίους ἐμβάλλειν αὐτοὺς ἐπικάμψαντας. τὰ μὲν  
 ἐπὶ τοῦ δεξιοῦ κέρως οὕτως ἐτέτακτο Ἀλεξάνδρῳ· κατὰ δὲ τὸ  
 εὐώνυμον ἐς ἐπικαμπὴν οἱ τε Θρᾷκες ἐτετάχατο, ὧν ἤγχετο  
 Σιτάλκης, καὶ ἐπὶ τούτοις οἱ ξύμμαχοι ἱππεῖς, ὧν ἦρχε  
 Κοίρανος,<sup>1</sup> ἐπὶ δὲ οἱ Ὀδρῦσαι ἱππεῖς, ὧν ἤγχετο Ἀγάθων ὁ  
 5 Τυρίμμα. ξυμπάντων δὲ ταύτη προετάχθη ἡ ξενικὴ ἵππος ἢ  
 τῶν μισθοφόρων, ὧν Ἀνδρόμαχος ὁ Ἰέρωνος ἦρχεν. ἐπὶ δὲ  
 τοῖς σκευοφόροις οἱ ἀπὸ Θράκης πεζοὶ ἐς φυλακὴν  
 ἐτάχθησαν. <ἦν δὲ> ἡ πᾶσα στρατιὰ Ἀλεξάνδρου ἱππεῖς μὲν  
 ἐς ἑπτακισχιλίους, πεζοὶ δὲ ἀμφὶ τὰς τέσσαρας μυριάδας.

13. Ὡς δὲ ὁμοῦ ἤδη τὰ στρατόπεδα ἐγίγνετο, ὤφθη  
 Δαρείος τε καὶ οἱ ἀμφ' αὐτόν, οἱ τε μηλοφόροι Πέρσαι καὶ  
 Ἴνδοι καὶ Ἀλβανοὶ καὶ Κᾶρες οἱ ἀνάσπαστοι καὶ οἱ Μάρδοι  
 τοξόται, κατ' αὐτὸν Ἀλέξανδρον τεταγμένοι καὶ τὴν ἴλην τὴν  
 βασιλικήν. ἦγε δὲ ὡς ἐπὶ τὸ δεξιὸν τὸ αὐτοῦ Ἀλέξανδρος  
 μᾶλλον, καὶ οἱ Πέρσαι ἀντιπαρήγον, ὑπερφαλαγγοῦντες πολὺ  
 2 ἐπὶ τῷ σφῶν εὐωνύμῳ. ἤδη τε οἱ τῶν Σκυθῶν ἱππεῖς  
 παριππεύοντες ἤπτοντο τῶν προτεταγμένων τῆς Ἀλεξάνδρου  
 τάξεως καὶ Ἀλέξανδρος ἔτι ὁμως ἦγεν ἐπὶ δόρυ, καὶ ἐγγὺς ἦν  
 τοῦ ἐξάλλασσειν τὸν ὠδοποιημένον

1 Κοίρανος; perhaps rather Κάρανος (cf. iii 28, 2; iv 3, 7; 5, 7; 6, 2, but Berve nos. 412 and 442 distinguishes them).

with the javelin-men of Balacrus;<sup>5</sup> they were posted opposite the  
 4 chariots carrying scythes. Menidas and his men had instructions to  
 wheel at an angle and attack the enemy on the flank, if they rode  
 round their wing. This was the disposition of Alexander's right; on  
 the left at an angle he posted the Thracians under Sitalces'  
 command,<sup>6</sup> and next them the allied cavalry under Coeranus, and  
 then the Odrysian horse under Agathon, son of Tyrimmas.<sup>7</sup> Here, in  
 5 front of the whole force, was stationed the foreign mercenary  
 cavalry under Andromachus, son of Hieron. The Thracian foot<sup>8</sup>  
 were posted to guard the baggage animals. Alexander's entire army  
 numbered some 7,000 cavalry and about 40,000 infantry.<sup>9</sup>

13. As the armies were now nearing one another, Darius and his  
 immediate followers were in full sight; there were the Persians 'with  
 the Golden Apples', Indians, Albanians, the 'transplanted' Carians  
 and the Mardian archers, all ranged opposite Alexander himself and  
 the royal squadron. But Alexander moved his men rather in the  
 direction of his right, on which the Persians moved accordingly,  
 2 their left far outflanking Alexander's army.<sup>1</sup> The Scythian cavalry,  
 riding along Alexander's line, were already in contact with the  
 troops posted in front of it; but Alexander still continued steadily his  
 march towards his right, and was nearly clear of the ground which

5 Probably Balkan troops.

6 Javelin-men, cf. i 28, 4.

7 The Thracians of i 14, 3. D. 57, 5 puts the Cretan archers on  
 the left, where they could have fulfilled the same function as Brison's  
 men on the right. Another omission in A. or his sources.

8 Other than Sitalces' men.

9 App. IX 3.

1 Cf. perhaps D. 57, 6; QC. iv 15, 1. For the battle cf. App. IX.

- πρὸς τῶν Περσῶν χῶρον. ἔνθα δὴ δείσας Δαρείος μὴ προχωρησάντων ἐς τὰ οὐχ ὀμαλὰ τῶν Μακεδόνων ἀχρεΐά σφισι γένηται τὰ ἄρματα, κελεύει τοὺς προτεταγμένους τοῦ εὐωνύμου περιῦπεύειν τὸ κέρας τὸ δεξιόν, ἧ Ἀλέξανδρος ἦγε,
- 3 τοῦ μηκέτι προσωτέρω αὐτοὺς ἐξάγειν τὸ κέρας. τούτου δὲ γενομένου Ἀλέξανδρος ἐμβάλλειν κελεύει ἐς αὐτοὺς τοὺς μισθοφόρους ἰππέας, ὧν Μενίδας ἡγείτο. ἀντεκδραμόντες δὲ ἐπ' αὐτοὺς οἱ τε Σκύθαι ἰππεῖς καὶ τῶν Βακτριῶν οἱ ξυντεταγμένοι τοῖς Σκύθαις τρέπουσιν ὀλίγους ὄντας πολλῶ πλείονες. Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ τοὺς περὶ Ἀρίστων<sup>1</sup> τε, τοὺς
- 4 Παίονας, καὶ τοὺς ξένους ἐμβαλεῖν τοῖς Σκύθαις ἐκέλευσε· καὶ ἐγκλίνουσιν οἱ βάρβαροι. Βάκτριοι δὲ οἱ ἄλλοι πελάσαντες τοῖς Παίοσι τε καὶ ξένοις τούς τε σφῶν φεύγοντας ἤδη ἀνέστρεψαν ἐς τὴν μάχην καὶ τὴν ἵππομαχίαν ξυστήναι ἐποίησαν. καὶ ἔπιπτον μὲν πλείονες τῶν Ἀλεξάνδρου, τῷ τε πλήθει τῶν βαρβάρων βιαζόμενοι καὶ ὅτι αὐτοὶ τε οἱ Σκύθαι καὶ οἱ ἵπποι αὐτοῖς ἀκριβέστερον εἰς φυλακὴν πεφραγμένοι ἦσαν. ἀλλὰ καὶ ὡς τὰς τε προσβολὰς αὐτῶν ἐδέχοντο οἱ Μακεδόνες καὶ βία κατ' ἴλας προσπίπτοντες ἐξώθουν ἐκ τῆς τάξεως.
- 5 Καὶ ἐν τούτῳ τὰ ἄρματα τὰ δρεπανηφόρα ἐφήκαν οἱ βάρβαροι κατ' αὐτὸν Ἀλέξανδρον, ὡς ἀναταράζοντες αὐτῷ τὴν φάλαγγα. καὶ ταύτη μάλιστα ἐψεύσθησαν· τὰ μὲν γὰρ εὐθὺς ὡς προσεφέρετο κατηκόντισαν οἱ τε Ἀγριᾶνες καὶ οἱ ξὺν Βαλάκρῳ

1 Ἀρίστωνα Schmeider: Ἀρέτην codd.

had been made a treadable level by the Persians. This made Darius fear that if the Macedonians reached the uneven ground his chariots would cease to be of service, and he ordered the troops in advance of his left wing to ride round the Macedonian right, where Alexander was leading, so that they might not prolong their wing

3 any farther. In reply Alexander ordered his mercenary cavalry under Menidas to charge them. At once the Scythian cavalry and those of the Bactrians brigaded with them rushed out in a counter-charge, and drove them back, as they were far more numerous than Menidas' small squadron. But Alexander ordered the Paeonians with Ariston<sup>2</sup> and the mercenaries to charge the Scythians, and the

4 barbarians wavered. The rest of the Bactrians, however, came up against the Paeonians and mercenaries, restored to the battle those on their own side who were then turning to flight, and made the cavalry engagement a close one. Alexander's men fell in greater numbers, under pressure from the number of the barbarians, and also because the Scythians, riders and horses alike, were better protected by defensive armour. Yet even so the Macedonians<sup>3</sup> stood up against their onsets, attacked vigorously, squadron after

squadron,<sup>4</sup> and broke their formation.

5 At this point the Persians launched their scythe-carrying chariots direct against Alexander, to throw his line out of formation; but in this they were signally disappointed. For first, as they approached, the Agrianians and the javelin-men under Balacrus, who

2 Aretas in the manuscripts, but the *prodromoi* are not named, and cf. 14, 1, which, however, Schwartz (Introd. n. 24) took to be Pt's version of 13, 1-4 (Ar.). And cf. § 4 n. 4.

3 i.e. Al's troops, cf. 14, 5 for lack of ethnic meaning.

4 Odd, if only Menidas' and Ariston's squadrons were engaged.

ἀκοντισταὶ οἱ προτεταγμένοι τῆς ἵππου τῶν ἐταίρων· τὰ δὲ  
τῶν ῥυτήρων ἀντιλαμβανόμενοι τοὺς τε ἀναβάτας κατέσπων  
6 καὶ τοὺς ἵππους περιϋστάμενοι ἔκοπτον. ἔστι δὲ ἃ καὶ  
διεξέπεσε διὰ τῶν τάξεων· διέσχον γάρ, ὥσπερ παρήγγελτο  
αὐτοῖς, ἵνα προσέπιπτε τὰ ἄρματα· καὶ ταύτη μάλιστα ξυνέβη  
αὐτὰ τε σῶα καὶ οἷς ἐπηλάθη ἀβλαβῶς διελθεῖν· ἀλλὰ καὶ  
τούτων οἱ τε ἵπποκόμοι τῆς Ἀλεξάνδρου στρατιᾶς καὶ οἱ  
ὑπασπισταὶ οἱ βασιλικοὶ ἐκράτησαν.

14. Ὡς δὲ Δαρείος ἐπήγεν ἤδη τὴν φάλαγγα πᾶσαν,  
ἐνταῦθα Ἀλέξανδρος Ἀρέτην μὲν κελεύει ἐμβαλεῖν τοῖς  
2 περιϋππεύουσι τὸ κέρας σφῶν τὸ δεξιὸν ὡς ἐς κύκλωσιν·  
αὐτὸς δὲ τέως μὲν ἐπὶ κέρως τοὺς ἀμφ' αὐτὸν ἦγε, τῶν δὲ  
ἐκβοηθησάντων ἱππέων τοῖς κυκλουμένοις τὸ κέρας τὸ δεξιὸν  
παραρρηξάντων τι τῆς πρώτης φάλαγγος τῶν βαρβάρων  
ἐπιστρέψας κατὰ τὸ διέχον καὶ ὥσπερ ἔμβολον ποιήσας τῆς  
τε ἵππου τῆς ἐταιρικῆς καὶ τῆς φάλαγγος τῆς ταύτης  
3 τεταγμένης ἦγε δρόμῳ τε καὶ ἀλαλαγμῷ ὡς ἐπὶ αὐτὸν  
Δαρείου. καὶ χρόνον μὲν τινα ὀλίγον ἐν χερσὶν ἢ μάχη  
ἐγένετο· ὡς δὲ οἱ τε ἱππεῖς οἱ ἀμφὶ Ἀλέξανδρον καὶ αὐτὸς  
Ἀλέξανδρος εὐρώστως ἐνέκειντο ὠθισμοῖς τε χρώμενοι καὶ  
τοῖς ξυστοῖς τὰ πρόσωπα· τῶν Περσῶν κόπτοντες, ἢ τε  
φάλαγξ ἢ Μακεδονικὴ πυκνὴ καὶ ταῖς σαρίσσαις πεφρικυῖα  
ἐμβεβλήκει ἤδη αὐτοῖς, καὶ πάντα ὁμοῦ τὰ δεινὰ καὶ πάλαι  
ἤδη φοβερῶ ὄντι Δαρείῳ ἐφαίνετο, πρῶτος αὐτὸς ἐπιστρέψας  
ἔφευγεν· ἐφοβήθησαν δὲ καὶ οἱ περιϋππεύοντες τῶν

had been stationed in front of the Companion cavalry, met them  
with volleys; and then they snatched hold of the reins, pulled down  
the drivers, and crowding round the horses, cut them down. Some  
6 did pass right through the Greek lines, which, as they had been  
ordered, parted where the chariots attacked; this was the main  
reason why the chariots passed through unscathed and the troops  
against which they were launched were unharmed. These chariots  
too were overpowered by the grooms of Alexander's army and the  
royal hypaspists.<sup>5</sup>

14. When Darius now attacked all along the line, Alexander  
ordered Aretas to charge the Persian cavalry which was riding  
round his right wing to encircle it; he himself for a short time led on  
2 his army in column;<sup>1</sup> but when the cavalry, sent off to attack the  
Persians who were encircling the right wing, had in some degree  
broken the front of the Persian phalanx, he wheeled towards the  
gap, and making a wedge<sup>2</sup> of the Companion cavalry and the part of  
the phalanx stationed there, led them on at the double with a loud  
3 battle cry straight at Darius. Now for a little time it became a hand-  
to-hand fight, but when the cavalry with Alexander, and Alexander  
himself, pressed vigorously, shoving the Persians and striking their  
faces with their spears, and the Macedonian phalanx, solid and  
bristling with its pikes, had got to close quarters with them, and  
Darius, who had now long been in a panic, saw nothing but terrors  
all around, he was himself the first to turn and flee. The Persians  
who were trying on horseback to

5 Inexplicable, as 11, 9 puts them in the front line.

1 Presumably referring to his oblique advance.

2 Marsden, *Campaign of Gaugamela* 68 f., shows how this applies  
to the horse, but not to the foot.

Περσῶν τὸ κέρασ ἐμβαλόντων ἐς αὐτοὺς εὐρώστως τῶν ἀμφὶ Ἀρέτην.

- 4 Ταύτη μὲν δὴ τῶν Περσῶν φυγὴ καρτερὰ ἦν, καὶ οἱ Μακεδόνες ἐφεπόμενοι ἐφόνεον τοὺς φεύγοντας. οἱ δὲ ἀμφὶ Σιμμίαν καὶ ἡ τούτου τάξις οὐκέτι ξυνεξορμηῆσαι Ἀλεξάνδρῳ δυνατοὶ ἐγένοντο ἐς τὴν δίωξιν, ἀλλ' ἐπιστήσαντες τὴν
- 5 φάλαγγα αὐτοῦ ἠγωνίζοντο, ὅτι τὸ εὐώνυμον τῶν Μακεδόνων πονεῖσθαι ἠγγέλλετο. καὶ ταύτη παραρραγείσης αὐτοῖς τῆς τάξεως κατὰ τὸ διέχον διεκπαίουσι τῶν τε Ἰνδῶν τινες καὶ τῆς Περσικῆς ἵππου ὡς ἐπὶ τὰ σκευοφόρα τῶν Μακεδόνων καὶ τὸ ἔργον ἐκεῖ καρτερόν ἐγίγνετο. οἳ τε γὰρ Πέρσαι θρασέως προσέκειντο ἀνόπλοις τοῖς πολλοῖς καὶ οὐ προσδοκήσασιν ἐπὶ σφᾶς διεκπεσεῖσθαί τινας διακόψαντας διπλῆν τὴν φάλαγγα, καὶ οἱ αἰχμάλωτοι βάρβαροι ἐμβαλόντων τῶν Περσῶν ξυνεπέθεντο καὶ αὐτοὶ τοῖς
- 6 Μακεδόσιν ἐν τῷ ἔργῳ. τῶν δὲ ἐπιτεταγμένων τῇ πρώτῃ φάλαγγι οἱ ἠγεμόνες ὀξέως μαθόντες τὸ γιγνόμενον μεταβαλόντες, ἥπερ παρήγγελο αὐτοῖς, τὴν τάξιν ἐπιγίγνονται κατὰ νότου τοῖς Πέρσαις, καὶ πολλοὺς μὲν αὐτῶν αὐτοῦ ἀμφὶ τοῖς σκευοφόροις ξυνεχομένους ἀπέκτειναν, οἱ δὲ αὐτῶν ἐγκλίναντες ἔφειγον. οἱ δ' ἐπὶ τοῦ δεξιοῦ κέρως τῶν Περσῶν οὐπω τῆς φυγῆς τῆς Δαρείου ἠσθημένοι περιῦππεύσαντες τὸ Ἀλεξάνδρου εὐώνυμον κατὰ κέρασ τοῖς ἀμφὶ τὸν Παρμενίωνα ἐνέβαλλον.

15. Καὶ ἐν τούτῳ ἀμφιβόλων τὰ πρῶτα γενομένων τῶν Μακεδόνων πέμπει Παρμενίων παρ' Ἀλέξανδρον σπουδῆ ἀγγελοῦντα, ὅτι ἐν ἀγῶνι ξυνέχεται τὸ κατὰ σφᾶς καὶ βοηθεῖν δεῖ. ταῦτα

envelop the Macedonian right also took fright at the vigorous charge of Aretas and his men.

- 4 At this place indeed the Persian rout was complete, and the Macedonians in pursuit were slaughtering the fugitives. But Simmias and his battalion were no longer able to join Alexander in the pursuit, but had halted their phalanx and were righting where they stood, since the Macedonian left was reported to be in
- 5 difficulties. At this point their line had been broken, and into the gap some Indians and Persian cavalry made a thrust right up to the Macedonians' baggage animals. There the action was becoming severe, for the Persians fell boldly on men who were mostly unarmed and had never expected that anyone would cut through the double line of the phalanx and get right through to attack them; what is more, the captive barbarians themselves, as the Persians broke in, joined with them in the action and attacked the
- 6 Macedonians. However, the commanders of the troops which formed the reserve to the first phalanx quickly learned what had happened, turned about face, according to previous orders, appeared in the rear of the Persians, and killed large numbers of them there, crowded together round the baggage animals. Some, however, gave way and escaped. The Persians of the right wing, who had not yet noticed Darius' flight, wheeling round Alexander's left, were assailing Parmenio's troops.

15. At this juncture, since at first the Macedonians were between two fires, Parmenio sent a despatch rider to Alexander to report with all haste that his troops were in distress and needed help. On receiving

- ὡς ἐξηγγέλθη Ἀλεξάνδρῳ, τοῦ μὲν διώκειν ἔτι ἀπετράπετο, ἐπιστρέψας δὲ ξὺν τῇ ἵππῳ τῶν ἐταίρων ὡς ἐπὶ τὸ δεξιὸν τῶν βαρβάρων ἤγε δρόμῳ. καὶ πρῶτα μὲν τοῖς φεύγουσι τῶν πολεμίων ἵππεῦσι, τοῖς τε Παρθυαίοις καὶ τῶν Ἰνδῶν ἔστιν
- 2 οἷς καὶ Πέρσαις τοῖς πλείστοις καὶ κρατίστοις ἐμβάλλει. καὶ ἵππομαχία αὕτη καρτερωτάτη τοῦ παντὸς ἔργου ξυνέστη. ἐς βάθος τε γὰρ οἷα δὴ ἰληδὸν τεταγμένοι ἀνέστρεφον οἱ βάρβαροι καὶ ἀντιμέτωποι τοῖς ἀμφ' Ἀλέξανδρον ξυμπεσόντες οὔτε ἀκοντισμῶ ἔτι οὔτ' ἐξελιγμοῖς τῶν ἵππων, ἤπερ ἵππομαχίας δίκη, ἐχρῶντο, ἀλλὰ διεκπαῖσαι πᾶς τις τὸ καθ' αὐτόν, ὡς μόνην ταύτην σωτηρίαν σφίσιν οὔσαν, ἐπειγόμενοι ἔκοπτόν τε καὶ ἐκόπτοντο ἀφειδῶς, οἷα δὴ οὐχ ὑπὲρ νίκης ἀλλοτρίας ἔτι, ἀλλ' ὑπὲρ σωτηρίας οἰκείας ἀγωνιζόμενοι. καὶ ἐνταῦθα πίπτουσι μὲν ἀμφὶ ἐξήκοντα τῶν ἐταίρων τοῦ Ἀλεξάνδρου, καὶ τιτρώσκειται Ἡφαιστίων τε αὐτὸς καὶ Κοῖνος καὶ Μενίδας· ἀλλὰ ἐκράτησε καὶ τούτων Ἀλέξανδρος.
- 3 Καὶ τούτων μὲν ὅσοι διεξέπαισαν διὰ τῶν ἀμφ' Ἀλέξανδρον ἔφευγον ἀνὰ κράτος· Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ ἐγγὺς ἦν προσμῖξαι ἤδη τῷ δεξιῷ κέρατι τῶν πολεμίων. καὶ ἐν τούτῳ οἱ Θεσσαλοὶ ἵππεῖς λαμπρῶς ἀγωνισάμενοι οὐχ ὑπελείποντο Ἀλεξάνδρῳ τοῦ ἔργου· ἀλλὰ ἔφευγον γὰρ ἤδη οἱ ἀπὸ τοῦ δεξιοῦ κέρως τῶν βαρβάρων, ὅποτε Ἀλέξανδρος αὐτοῖς ξυνέμιξεν, ὥστε ἀποτραπόμενος Ἀλέξανδρος ἐς τὸ διώκειν
- 4 αὐθις Δαρείου ἐξώρμησε· καὶ ἐδίωξεν ἔστε φάος ἦν· καὶ οἱ ἀμφὶ Παρμενίωνα τὸ καθ' αὐτοὺς διώκοντες εἶποντο. ἀλλὰ Ἀλέξανδρος μὲν διαβὰς τὸν ποταμὸν τὸν Λύκον

- this message, Alexander turned back from further pursuit, and wheeling round with the Companion cavalry, came galloping down on the Persian right and charged first the enemy cavalry in flight, the Parthyaean, some Indians and the Persians, the most
- 2 numerous and best of the enemy forces. This proved the fiercest cavalry engagement of the whole action. The barbarians, who were drawn up in depth, since they were in squadrons, rallied, and clashed with Alexander's troops front to front: there was no more javelin-throwing and no manoeuvring of horses, as usual in a cavalry engagement, but each strove hard to break his own way through; they kept on giving and taking blows unsparingly, treating this as the one hope of safety, inasmuch as they were men now no longer fighting for another's victory, but for their own very lives. There about sixty of the Companions of Alexander fell, and Hephaestion himself, Coenus and Menidas were wounded. Still, Alexander overcame these enemies also.
- 3 Those of the Persians who broke their way through Alexander's troops took to headlong flight, and Alexander was now ready to come to blows with the enemy's right wing. Meanwhile the Thessalian cavalry, who fought brilliantly, showed no inferiority to Alexander in the action; in fact the barbarian right were already in flight when Alexander encountered them. So Alexander turned away and resumed his pursuit of Darius, which lasted as long as the
- 4 light held; and Parmenio's troops followed, pursuing their opponents. However, when Alexander had crossed the river Lycus,<sup>1</sup> he encamped there,

1 Greater Zab. Cf. D. 61, 1 f.; QC iv 16, 7 ff.; v 1, 3-10 for Darius' flight and the pursuit to Arbela.

κατεστρατοπέδευσεν αὐτοῦ, ὡς ἀναπαύσαι ὀλίγον τοὺς τε ἄνδρας καὶ τοὺς ἵππους· Παρμενίων δὲ τό τε στρατόπεδον τῶν βαρβάρων εἶλε καὶ τὰ σκευοφόρα καὶ τοὺς ἐλέφαντας καὶ τὰς καμήλους.

5 Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ ἀναπαύσας τοὺς ἀμφ' αὐτὸν ἰππέας ἔσπε ἐπὶ μέσας νύκτας προὔχρει αὐθις κατὰ σπουδὴν ἐπ' Ἄρβηλα, ὡς Δαρείον τε αἰρήσων ἐκεῖ καὶ τὰ χρήματα καὶ τὴν ἄλλην κατασκευὴν τὴν βασιλικήν. καὶ ἀφίκετο εἰς Ἄρβηλα τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ διώξας τοὺς πάντας ἐκ τῆς μάχης σταδίους μάλιστα ἐς ἑξακοσίους. καὶ Δαρείον μὲν οὐ καταλαμβάνει ἐν Ἄρβήλοις, ἀλλὰ ἔφενγεν οὐδέν τι ἐλινύσας Δαρείου· τὰ χρήματα δὲ ἐγκατελήφθη καὶ ἡ κατασκευὴ πᾶσα, καὶ τὸ ἄρμα τὸ Δαρείου αὐθις ἐγκατελήφθη καὶ ἡ ἀσπίς αὐθις καὶ τὰ τόξα ἐάλω.

6 Ἀπέθανον δὲ τῶν ἀμφ' Ἀλέξανδρον ἄνδρες μὲν ἐς ἑκατὸν μάλιστα, ἵπποι δὲ ἐκ τε τῶν τραυμάτων καὶ τῆς κακοπαθείας τῆς ἐν τῇ διώξει ὑπὲρ τοὺς χιλίους, καὶ τούτων τῆς ἐταιρικῆς ἵππου σχεδόν τι οἱ ἡμίσεες. τῶν βαρβάρων δὲ νεκρῶν μὲν ἐλέγοντο ἐς τριάκοντα μυριάδας, ἐάλωσαν δὲ πολὺ πλείονες τῶν ἀποθανόντων καὶ οἱ ἐλέφαντες καὶ τῶν ἀρμάτων ὅσα μὴ κατεκόπη ἐν τῇ μάχῃ.

7 Τοῦτο <τὸ> τέλος τῇ μάχῃ ταύτῃ ἐγένετο ἐπὶ ἄρχοντος Ἀθηναίους Ἀριστοφάνους μηνὸς Πυαναεμιῶνος· καὶ Ἀριστάνδρῳ ξυνέβη ἡ μαντεία ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ μηνί, ἐν ᾧ τῷ ἡ σελήνῃ ἐκλιπῆς ἐφάνη, τὴν τε μάχην Ἀλεξάνδρῳ καὶ τὴν νίκην γενέσθαι.

16. Δαρείος μὲν δὴ εὐθὺς ἐκ τῆς μάχης παρὰ τὰ ὄρη τὰ Ἀρμενίων ἤλαυνεν ἐπὶ Μηδίας, καὶ ξὺν

to give his men and horses a little rest, while Parmenio took the Persian camp with the baggage train, elephants and camels.

5 Alexander rested his cavalry till towards midnight, and hurried on again to Arbela, to seize Darius there with his treasure and the other royal belongings. He arrived at Arbela next day, having covered in all, since the battle, about six hundred stades in the pursuit. However, he did not catch Darius at Arbela, as he continued his flight without pause, though his treasure and all his equipment was captured and his chariot was seized then a second time, and his shield was taken a second time, and his bow and arrows too.<sup>2</sup>

6 Up to a hundred of Alexander's troops were lost, with over a thousand horses from wounds and distress in the pursuit, of which about half belonged to the Companions. The barbarian corpses were said to number some three hundred thousand, but far more were made prisoner than killed, and the elephants and all the chariots which had not been cut down in the battle were also captured.<sup>3</sup>

7 So ended this battle in the month Pyanepsion of the archonship at Athens of Aristophanes.<sup>4</sup> Aristander's prophecy came true, that Alexander's battle and victory would occur in the same month in which the moon was partially eclipsed.

16. Darius made straight from the battle by the Armenian mountains for Media, accompanied in

2 P. 34, 1 has Al. proclaimed king of Asia at Arbela, cf. *Introd.* n. 64.

3 D. 61: 90,000 Persians, 500 Macedonians (plus many wounded, who might well die later); QC. iv 16, 26: 40,000 Persians, under 300 Macedonians.

4 An error (October/November); really 26 Boedromion = 1 Oct. (*Plut. Camillus* 19.3) cf. *Ann.* VIII 5.

- αὐτῷ οἳ τε Βάκτριοι ἰππεῖς, ὡς τότε ἐν τῇ μάχῃ  
 ξυνετάχθησαν, ἔφευγον καὶ Περσῶν οἳ τε συγγενεῖς οἱ  
 2 βασιλέως καὶ τῶν μηλοφόρων καλουμένων οὐ πολλοί.  
 προσεγένοντο δὲ αὐτῷ κατὰ τὴν φυγὴν καὶ τῶν μισθοφόρων  
 ξένων ἐς δισχιλίους, οὓς Πάκτρων τε ὁ Φωκεὺς καὶ Γλαῦκος  
 ὁ Αἰτωλὸς ἦγον. ταύτῃ δὲ αὐτῷ ἡ φυγὴ ἐπὶ Μηδίας ἐγίνετο,  
 ὅτι ἐδόκει τὴν ἐπὶ Σούσων τε καὶ Βαβυλῶνος ἥξειν  
 Ἀλέξανδρον ἐκ τῆς μάχης, ὅτι οἰκουμένη τε ἐκείνη πᾶσα ἦν  
 καὶ ὁδὸς τοῖς σκευοφόροις οὐ χαλεπή, καὶ ἅμα τοῦ πολέμου  
 τὸ ἄθλον ἢ Βαβυλῶν καὶ τὰ Σούσα ἐφαίνετο· ἡ δὲ ἐπὶ Μηδίας  
 3 μεγάλῳ στρατεύματι οὐκ εὐπορος.  
 Καὶ οὐκ ἐψεύσθη Δαρεῖος. Ἀλέξανδρος γὰρ ἐξ Ἀρβήλων  
 ὀρμηθεὶς τὴν ἐπὶ Βαβυλῶνος εὐθὺς προὔχῳρει. ἤδη τε οὐ  
 πόρρω Βαβυλῶνος ἦν καὶ τὴν δύναμιν ξυντεταγμένην ὡς ἐς  
 μάχην ἦγε, καὶ οἱ Βαβυλώνιοι πανδημεὶ ἀπήντων αὐτῷ ξὺν  
 ἱερεῦσί τε σφῶν καὶ ἄρχουσι, δῶρά τε ὡς ἕκαστοι φέροντες  
 4 καὶ τὴν πόλιν ἐνδιδόντες καὶ τὴν ἄκραν καὶ τὰ χρήματα.  
 Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ παρελθὼν εἰς τὴν Βαβυλῶνα τὰ ἱερά, ἃ  
 Ξέρξης καθείλεν, ἀνοικοδομεῖν προσέταξε Βαβυλωνίοις, τὰ τε  
 ἄλλα καὶ τοῦ Βήλου τὸ ἱερόν, ὃν μάλιστα θεῶν τιμῶσι  
 Βαβυλώνιοι. σατράπην δὲ κατέστησε Βαβυλῶνος Μαζαῖον,  
 Ἀπολλόδωρον δὲ τὸν Ἀμφιπολίτην στρατηγὸν τῶν μετὰ  
 Μαζαῖου ὑπολειπομένων στρατιωτῶν, καὶ Ἀσκληπιόδωρον τὸν  
 5 Φίλωνος τοὺς φόρους ἐκλέγειν. κατέπεμψε δὲ καὶ ἐς Ἀρμενίαν  
 Μιθρήνην

- flight by the Bactrian cavalry, as they had been posted with him in  
 the battle on that occasion; he also had an escort of Persians, the  
 royal kinsmen and a few of the 'spearmen of the Golden Apples'.  
 2 He was joined during the flight by some two thousand of the  
 foreign mercenaries led by Patron the Phocian and Glaucus the  
 Aetolian. The reason why he fled towards Media was that he  
 thought Alexander after the battle would take the route to Susa and  
 Babylon, since all of it was inhabited and the road itself was easy for  
 the baggage trains, and besides, Babylon and Susa were the obvious  
 prize of the war, whereas the route to Media was not easy for a  
 large force.<sup>1</sup>  
 3 Darius was not mistaken, for on leaving Arbela Alexander at  
 once advanced on the road to Babylon. He was already near  
 Babylon, and was leading his force in battle order, when the  
 Babylonians came to meet him in mass, with their priests and  
 rulers, each section of the inhabitants bringing gifts and offering  
 surrender of the city, the citadel and the treasure.<sup>2</sup> On entering  
 4 Babylon Alexander directed the Babylonians to rebuild the temples  
 Xerxes destroyed, and especially the temple of Baal, whom the  
 Babylonians honour more than any other god. He appointed  
 Mazaeus satrap of Babylon and Apollodorus of Amphipolis general  
 of the troops left behind with Mazaeus, and Asclepiodorus son of  
 5 Philo to collect the taxes.<sup>3</sup> He also sent as satrap to Armenia<sup>4</sup>

[452-51 B.C.]

1 D. 64, 1; QC. v 1, 3-9.

2 D. 64, 3 f.; QC. v 1, 11-23 and 45 (also on donatives to troops).

3 Mazaeus (11, 4 n.) fled to Babylon (QC. iv 6, 17) and, as satrap, surrendered it (v 1, 17); QC. v 1, 43 f. agrees on his appointment and that of Apollodorus (cf. D. 64, 5), makes Agathon commandant of citadel and gives numbers of garrison forces.

4 It never came under Al's control (D. xix 23, 3). Cf. D. 64, 6; QC. v 1, 44.



σατράπην, ὃς τὴν ἐν Σάρδεσιν ἀκρόπολιν Ἀλεξάνδρῳ ἐνέδωκεν. ἔνθα δὴ καὶ τοῖς Χαλδαίοις ἐνέτυχεν, καὶ ὅσα ἐδόκει Χαλδαίοις ἀμφὶ τὰ ἱερά τὰ ἐν Βαβυλῶνι ἔπραξε, τὰ τε ἄλλα καὶ τῷ Βήλῳ καθ' ἃ ἐκεῖνοι ἐξηγοῦντο ἔθυσεν.

- 6 Αὐτὸς δὲ ἐπὶ Σούσων ἐστέλλετο· καὶ ἐντυγχάνει αὐτῷ κατὰ τὴν ὁδὸν ὃ τε παῖς τοῦ Σουσίῳν σατράπου καὶ παρὰ Φιλοξένου ἐπιστολεύς. Φιλόξενον γὰρ εὐθύς ἐκ τῆς μάχης ἐπὶ Σούσων ἐστάλκει Ἀλέξανδρος. τῇ δὲ ἐπιστολῇ τῇ παρὰ Φιλοξένου ἐνεγέγραπτο, ὅτι τὴν τε πόλιν οἱ Σούσιοι παραδεδώκασιν καὶ τὰ χρήματα πάντα σῶά ἐστιν
- 7 Ἀλεξάνδρῳ. ἀφίκετο δὲ ἐς Σούσα Ἀλέξανδρος ἐκ Βαβυλῶνος ἐν ἡμέραις εἴκοσι καὶ παρελθὼν ἐς τὴν πόλιν τὰ τε χρήματα παρέλαβεν ὄντα ἀργυρίου τάλαντα ἐς πεντακισμύρια καὶ τὴν ἄλλην κατασκευὴν τὴν βασιλικήν. πολλὰ δὲ καὶ ἄλλα κατελήφθη αὐτοῦ, ὅσα Ξέρξης ἀπὸ τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἄγων ἦλθε,
- 8 τὰ τε ἄλλα καὶ Ἀρμοδίου καὶ Ἀριστογείτονος χαλκαῖ εἰκόνες. καὶ ταύτας Ἀθηναίοις ὀπίσω πέμπει Ἀλέξανδρος, καὶ νῦν κεῖνται Ἀθήνησιν ἐν Κεραμεικῷ αἱ εἰκόνες, ἧ ἄνιμεν ἐς πόλιν, καταντικρὺ μάλιστα τοῦ Μητρόου, <οὐ> μακρὰν τῶν Εὐδανέμων τοῦ βωμοῦ· ὅστις δὲ μεμύηται ταῖν θεᾶν ἐν Ἐλευσίῃ, οἶδε τοῦ Εὐδανέμου τὸν βωμὸν ἐπὶ τοῦ δαπέδου ὄντα.
- 9 Ἐνταῦθα θύσας τῷ πατρίῳ νόμῳ Ἀλέξανδρος καὶ λαμπάδα ποιήσας καὶ ἀγῶνα γυμνικόν, καταλιπὼν σατράπην μὲν τῆς Σουσιανῆς Ἀβουλίτην ἄνδρα Πέρσην, φρούραρχον δὲ ἐν τῇ ἄκρᾳ τῶν

Mithrenes, who had surrendered the acropolis of Sardis to Alexander. At Babylon too he met the Chaldaeans, and carried out all their recommendations on the Babylonian temples, and in particular sacrificed to Baal, according to their instructions.<sup>5</sup>

- 6 He himself set out for Susa.<sup>6</sup> On the way he was met by the son of the satrap of Susa<sup>7</sup> and a letter-carrier from Philoxenus, whom Alexander had sent to Susa directly after the battle. In Philoxenus' letter it was stated that the people of Susa had handed over the city and that all the treasure was in safekeeping for Alexander.
- 7 Alexander reached Susa in twenty days from Babylon; he entered the city and took over the treasure, up to fifty thousand Talents of silver,<sup>8</sup> and all the rest of the royal belongings. A good deal was captured there in addition, all that Xerxes brought back from Greece, notably bronze statues of Harmodius and Aristogeiton,<sup>9</sup> which Alexander sent back to the Athenians; they are now set up at Athens in the Cerameicus, on the way by which we ascend the Acropolis, just opposite the Metroön, not far from the altar of the Eudanemioi. Anyone who has been initiated into the mysteries of the Two Goddesses at Eleusis is aware that the altar of Eudanemos is in the plain.
- 9 There Alexander sacrificed in accordance with ancestral custom, and held a relay torch race and athletic contest. He left behind Abulites, a Persian, as satrap of Susiana, Mazarus one of the Companions as garrison commandant in the citadel of Susa and

5 Cf. i 17, 6; ii 24, 6; iii 1, 4 f.; vii 17.

6 D. 65; QC. v 2, 1 ff. See App. VIII 6.

7 Abulites, vii 4, 1; D. 65, 5; QC. v 2, 8 ff; cf. §9 below.

8 App. X 3.

9 Contrast vii 19, 2 ('vulgate'). No proof here that A. was yet domiciled at Athens.

Σούσων Μάζαρον τῶν ἐταίρων καὶ στρατηγὸν Ἀρχέλαον τὸν Θεοδώρον, προὔχῳρει ὡς ἐπὶ Πέρσας· ἐπὶ θάλασσαν δὲ  
 10 κατέπεμψεν ὑπαρχὸν Συρίας καὶ Φοινίκης καὶ Κιλικίας Μένητα. καὶ τούτῳ ἔδωκεν ἀργυρίου τάλαντα ἐς τρισχίλια φέρειν ἐπὶ θάλασσαν, καὶ ἀπ' αὐτῶν ἀποστέλλαι παρ' Ἀντίπατρον ὅσων ἂν δέηται Ἀντίπατρος ἐς τὸν πρὸς Λακεδαιμονίους πόλεμον. ἐνταῦθα καὶ Ἀμύντας ὁ Ἀνδρομένους  
 11 ξὺν τῇ δυνάμει ἀφίκετο, ἣν ἐκ Μακεδονίας ἤγε. καὶ τούτων τοὺς μὲν ἰππέας ἐς τὴν ἵππον τὴν ἐταιρικὴν κατέταξεν Ἀλέξανδρος, τοὺς πεζοὺς δὲ προσέθηκεν ταῖς τάξεσι ταῖς ἄλλαις, κατὰ ἔθνη ἐκάστους ξυντάξας. κατέστησε δὲ καὶ λόχους δύο ἐν ἐκάστη ἴλῃ, οὐ πρόσθεν ὄντας λόχους ἰππικούς, καὶ λοχαγοὺς ἐπέστησε τοὺς κατ' ἀρετὴν προκριθέντας ἐκ τῶν ἐταίρων.

Archelaus son of Theodorus as general; and then he advanced against the Persians.<sup>10</sup> He sent down Menes to the sea as hyparch of Syria, Phoenicia and Cilicia,<sup>11</sup> and gave him up to three thousand  
 10 silver Talents to take to the sea, from which he was to despatch to Antipater whatever Antipater required for the Lacedaemonian war.<sup>12</sup> There too Amyntas son of Andromenes arrived with the troops he brought from Macedon.<sup>13</sup> Of these Alexander assigned  
 11 the horsemen to the Companion cavalry, and attached the foot to the other battalions, assigning them in accordance with their national origins. He also formed two companies in each squadron of cavalry (there had formerly been no cavalry companies), and as company-captains he appointed men distinguished for courage among the Companions.<sup>14</sup>

10 Cf. QC. v 2, 16 f., replacing Mazarus by Xenophilus, perhaps his successor (cf. D. xix 17, 3; 18, 1; 48, 6), naming Callicrates as treasurer and giving garrison force of 3,000.

11 D. 64, 5 makes Apollodorus and Menes 'generals' of Babylon and of the other provinces as far as Cilicia; QC. v 1, 43 gives this with the names in reverse order, wrongly since Apollodorus was certainly in Babylonia. A modern view that Menes was a financial official has no support in the evidence. As a former bodyguard (ii 12, 2), he was certainly of high rank. Hence 'hyparch' is most naturally construed as 'satrap', cf. i 12, 8 n. Did he then succeed Asclepiodorus and perhaps Menon too in Syria (iii 6, 8 n)—the former had certainly been superseded by 327 (iv 13, 4)—and Balacrus in Cilicia (ii 12, 2), who was killed fighting there at some unknown date in Al's lifetime (D. xviii 22, 1)? So Bosworth, *CQ* 1975. Against this, in iv 7, 2 (see note)

Asclepiodorus is still described as a hyparch in 329/8 B.C., when he brought reinforcements to Al. Perhaps Menes had a general control over the satrapies of Syria, Phoenicia and Cilicia, especially as D. and QC. both say that he was given power (like Apollodorus) to levy troops, probably to provide the reinforcements for Al. that arrived from Cilicia and Syria in 330–328 B.C. (QC. v 7, 12; vii 10, 11 f., cf. A. iv 7, 2), as well as a special responsibility to send money to Antipater (D. and QC.

17. Ἄρας δὲ ἐκ Σούσων καὶ διαβὰς τὸν Πασιτιγριν ποταμὸν ἐμβάλλει εἰς τὴν Οὐξίων γῆν. Οὐξίων δὲ οἱ μὲν τὰ πεδία οἰκοῦντες τοῦ τε σατράπου τῶν Περσῶν ἤκουον καὶ τότε Ἄλεξάνδρῳ σφας ἐνέδοσαν· οἱ δὲ ὄρειοι καλούμενοι Οὐξιοὶ Πέρσαις τε οὐχ ὑπήκοοι ἦσαν καὶ τότε πέμψαντες παρ' Ἄλεξάνδρον οὐκ ἄλλως παρήσειν ἔφασαν τὴν ἐπὶ Πέρσας ἰόντα ξὺν τῇ δυνάμει ἢ λαβεῖν ὅσα καὶ παρὰ τοῦ Περσῶν βασιλέως ἐπὶ τῇ παρόδῳ ἐλάμβανον. καὶ τούτους ἀποπέμπει Ἄλεξάνδρος, ἤκειν κελεύσας ἐπὶ τὰ στενά, ὧν κρατοῦντες ἐπὶ σφίσιν ἐδόκουν τὴν πάροδον εἶναι τὴν ἐς Πέρσας, ἵνα καὶ παρ' αὐτοῦ λάβοιεν <τὰ> τεταγμένα. αὐτὸς δὲ ἀναλαβὼν τοὺς σωματοφύλακας τοὺς βασιλικούς καὶ τοὺς ὑπασπιστάς καὶ τῆς ἄλλης στρατιᾶς ἐς ὀκτακισχιλίους τῆς νυκτὸς ἤει ἄλλην ἢ τὴν φανεράν ἠγησαμένων αὐτῷ τῶν Σουσίων. καὶ διελθὼν ὁδὸν τραχείαν καὶ δύσπορον ἐν μιᾷ ἡμέρᾳ ἐπιπίπτει ταῖς κώμαις τῶν Οὐξίων, καὶ λείαν τε πολλὴν ἔλαβε καὶ αὐτῶν ἔτι ἐν ταῖς εὐναῖς ὄντων πολλοὺς κατέκτεινεν· οἱ δὲ ἀπέφυγον ἐς τὰ ὄρη. αὐτὸς δὲ ἤει σπουδῇ ἐπὶ τὰ στενά, ἵνα ἀπαντήσῃται οἱ Οὐξιοὶ πανδημῇ ἐδόκουν ληψόμενοι τὰ τεταγμένα. Κρατερόν δὲ ἔτι πρόσθεν ἀπέστειλε τὰ ἄκρα καταληψόμενον, ἔνθα ὤετο βιαζομένους τοὺς Οὐξίους ἀποχωρήσειν. αὐτὸς δὲ πολλῷ τάχει ἤει· καὶ φθάνει τε κρατήσας τῶν παρόδων καὶ ξυντεταγμένους τοὺς ἀμφ' αὐτὸν ἔχων ἐξ ὑπερδεξίων χωρίων ἐπήγειν ὡς ἐπὶ τοὺς βαρβάρους. οἱ δὲ τῷ τε τάχει τῷ Ἄλεξάνδρου ἐκπλαγέντες καὶ τοῖς χωρίοις, οἷς μάλιστα δὴ ἐπεποίθεσαν, πλεονεκτούμενοι ἔφυγον οὐδὲ εἰς χεῖρας

17. Leaving Susa and crossing the river Pasitigris [Karun], Alexander invaded the land of the Uxians.<sup>1</sup> The Uxians who inhabited the plains had obeyed the Persian satrap, and now surrendered to Alexander; but the Uxian hillmen, as they were called, were not subject to Persia, and now sent a message to Alexander that they would only permit him to take the route towards Persia with his army if they received what they used to receive from the Persian king on his passage. Alexander sent them away, with orders to go to the pass, their control of which made them think that the way through to Persia was in their hands, in order to receive from him too what was prescribed. He took the royal bodyguards, the hypaspists and some eight thousand of the rest of the army, marched by night on a road different from the obvious way, with Susian guides, and passing along a rough and difficult path in one day, fell upon the Uxian villages, obtained a great deal of plunder, and killed many of them still in their beds; the rest escaped to the hills. Then he marched swiftly to the pass where the Uxians were likely to meet him in full force, to receive what was prescribed. He sent Craterus even further in advance, to seize the heights where he supposed the Uxians would retreat under pressure, but he himself came on very rapidly, got first to the pass and occupied it, and with his men in due battle order led them from a commanding position to attack the Uxians. Astounded at Alexander's speed of movement, and placed at a disadvantage by the very terrain in which they had put their chief trust, they fled without so much as coming to close quarters.

1 After 3 days march, D. 67; QC. v 3, 1 ff. There are various discrepancies from A. in their accounts.

ἐλθόντες· καὶ οἱ μὲν αὐτῶν ὑπὸ τῶν ἀμφ' Ἀλέξανδρον ἐν τῇ  
φυγῇ ἀπέθανον, πολλοὶ δὲ καὶ κατὰ τὴν ὁδὸν κρημνώδη  
οὖσαν· οἱ πλείστοι δὲ ἐπὶ τὰ ὄρη ἀναφεύγοντες ἐμπίπτουσι  
6 ἐς τοὺς ἀμφὶ Κρατερὸν καὶ ὑπὸ τούτων ἀπόλοντο. ταῦτα τὰ  
γέρα παρ' Ἀλεξάνδρου λαβόντες χαλεπῶς εὔροντο δεόμενοι  
παρ' αὐτοῦ τὴν χώραν τὴν σφῶν ἔχοντες φόρους ὅσα ἔτη  
Ἀλεξάνδρῳ ἀποφέρειν. Πτολεμαῖος δὲ ὁ Λάγου λέγει τὴν  
Δαρείου μητέρα δεηθῆναι ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν Ἀλεξάνδρου δοῦναί  
σφισι τὴν χώραν οἰκεῖν. ὁ φόρος δὲ ὁ συνταχθεὶς ἦν ἵπποι ἐς  
ἕτος ἑκατὸν καὶ ὑποζύγια πεντακόσια καὶ πρόβατα τρισμύρια.  
χρήματα γὰρ οὐκ ἦν Οὐξίοις οὐδὲ ἡ γῆ οἷα ἐργάζεσθαι, ἀλλὰ  
νομεῖς αὐτῶν οἱ πολλοὶ ἦσαν.

18. Ἐκ δὲ τούτου τὰ μὲν σκευοφόρα καὶ τοὺς Θεσσαλοὺς  
ἱππέας καὶ τοὺς ξυμμάχους καὶ τοὺς μισθοφόρους τοὺς ξένους  
καὶ ὅσοι ἄλλοι τοῦ στρατεύματος βαρύτερον ὦπλισμένοι ξὺν  
2 Παρμενίῳ ἐκπέμπει ὡς ἐπὶ Πέρσας ἄγειν κατὰ τὴν ἀμαξιτὸν  
τὴν ἐς Πέρσας φέρουσαν. αὐτὸς δὲ τοὺς τε Μακεδόνας τοὺς  
πεζοὺς ἀναλαβὼν καὶ τὴν ἵππον τὴν ἑταιρικὴν καὶ τοὺς  
προδρόμους ἱππέας καὶ τοὺς Ἀγριᾶνας καὶ τοὺς τοξότας ἤει  
σπουδῆ τὴν διὰ τῶν ὄρων. ὡς δὲ ἐπὶ τὰς πύλας τὰς Περσίδας  
ἀφίκετο, καταλαμβάνει αὐτοῦ Ἀριοβαρζάνην τὸν Περσῶν  
σατράπην πεζοὺς μὲν ἐς τετρακισμυρίους ἔχοντα, ἱππέας δὲ ἐς  
ἑπτακοσίους, διατετειχικότα τὰς πύλας καὶ αὐτοῦ πρὸς τῷ  
τείχει ἐστρατοπεδευκότα, ὡς εἴργειν τῆς παρόδου Ἀλέξανδρον.

Some of them were killed by Alexander's troops in the flight, and  
many too perished on the precipitous path. The greater number  
escaped to the hills, only to encounter Craterus' forces and be  
6 destroyed by them. These were the gifts of honour they received  
from Alexander; and it was only with difficulty that they obtained  
from him their request to retain their own territory, paying annual  
tribute to Alexander. Ptolemy son of Lagus says that the mother of  
Darius implored Alexander on their behalf to give them their  
territory to dwell in.<sup>2</sup> The tribute assessed was a hundred horses  
every year with five hundred transport animals and thirty thousand  
from their flocks and herds. For the Uxians had no money or arable  
land, but were mostly herdsmen.

18. After this,<sup>1</sup> Alexander sent off the baggage train, the  
Thessalian cavalry, the allies, the foreign mercenaries, and all the  
other heavier-armed troops of his army with Parmenio, who was to  
lead them against the Persians by the carriage way that goes into  
their country. He himself took with him the<sup>2</sup> Macedonian foot, the  
Companion cavalry and *prodromoi*, the Agrianians and the archers,  
and marched at full speed over the mountain route. When he  
arrived at the Persian Gates,<sup>3</sup> he found there Ariobarzanes, the  
satrap of Persia,<sup>3</sup> with some forty thousand infantry and seven  
hundred horse;<sup>4</sup> he had built a wall across the Gates and was  
encamped there by the wall, to bar Alexander's passage.

2 A's specific reference to Pt. may suggest that this detail, unlike others, was not in Ar.

1 D. 68; QC. v 3, 16-4, 34 differ on various points from A. on this campaign, for which see Fuller 228 ff., with map; A's route is not certain. Cf. Strabo xv 3, 6.

3 The province of Persia proper.

4 D. gives 25,000 (so QC) + 300.

- 3 Τότε μὲν δὴ αὐτοῦ κατεστρατοπεδεύσατο· τῇ δὲ ὑστεραία  
 ξυντάξας τὴν στρατιὰν ἐπήγε τῷ τείχει. ὡς δὲ ἄπορόν τε διὰ  
 δυσχωρίαν ἐφαίνετο αἰρεθῆναι καὶ πολλὰς πληγὰς οἱ ἀμφ’  
 αὐτὸν ἐλάμβανον ἐξ ὑπερδεξίου τε χωρίου καὶ ἀπὸ μηχανῶν  
 4 βαλλόμενοι, τότε μὲν ἀποχωρεῖ ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον· τῶν δὲ  
 αἰχμαλώτων φρασάντων ἄλλην ὁδὸν περιιάξειν αὐτόν, ὡς εἴσω  
 παρελθεῖν τῶν πυλῶν, ἐπεὶ τραχείαν τὴν ὁδὸν καὶ στενὴν  
 ἐπύθετο, Κρατερόν μὲν αὐτοῦ καταλείπει ἐπὶ στρατοπέδου τὴν  
 τε αὐτοῦ τάξιν ἔχοντα καὶ τὴν Μελεάγρου καὶ τῶν τοξοτῶν  
 5 ὀλίγους καὶ τῶν ἰππέων ἐς πεντακοσίους, καὶ προστάττει  
 αὐτῷ, ἐπειδὴν ἐκπεριεληλυθότα αὐτὸν αἰσθηταὶ καὶ  
 προσάγοντα ἤδη τῷ στρατοπέδῳ τῶν Περσῶν (αἰσθήσεσθαι  
 δὲ οὐ χαλεπῶς, σημαίνει γὰρ αὐτῷ τὰς σάλπιγγας), τότε δὲ  
 προσβαλεῖν τῷ τείχει· αὐτὸς δὲ προὔχῳρει νύκτωρ καὶ  
 διελθὼν ὅσον ἑκατὸν σταδίους ἀναλαμβάνει τοὺς ὑπασπιστὰς  
 καὶ τὴν Περδίκκου τάξιν καὶ τῶν τοξοτῶν τοὺς κουφοτάτους  
 καὶ τοὺς Ἀγριάνας καὶ τῶν ἐταίρων τὴν ἴλην τὴν βασιλικὴν  
 καὶ τετραρχίαν πρὸς ταύτη μίαν ἰππικὴν, καὶ ξὺν τούτοις ἦει  
 6 ἐπικάμψας ὡς ἐπὶ τὰς πύλας, ἵν’ οἱ αἰχμάλωτοι ἦγον.  
 Ἀμύνταν δὲ καὶ Φιλώταν καὶ Κοῖνον τὴν ἄλλην στρατιὰν ὡς  
 ἐπὶ τὸ πεδίου ἄγειν καὶ τὸν ποταμόν, ὃν ἐχρῆν περᾶσαι ἰόντα  
 ἐπὶ Πέρσας, γεφυροῦν ἐκέλευσεν· αὐτὸς δὲ ἦει ὁδὸν χαλεπὴν  
 καὶ τραχείαν καὶ ταύτην δρόμῳ τὸ πολὺ ἦγε. τὴν μὲν δὴ  
 πρώτην φυλακὴν τῶν βαρβάρων πρὶν φάους ἐπιπεσῶν  
 7 διέφθειρε καὶ τῶν δευτέρων τοὺς πολλούς· τῆς τρίτης δὲ οἱ  
 πλείους διέφυγον, καὶ οὐδὲ

- 3 For the moment Alexander encamped there, but next day he  
 marshalled his troops and led them to the assault of the wall. But as  
 it appeared impregnable from the difficulty of the ground, and as  
 his troops were suffering many blows from fire directed from  
 commanding heights and from catapults, for the moment he fell  
 4 back on the camp. His prisoners<sup>5</sup> undertook to lead him round by a  
 different road, so that he would make his way within the gates; but  
 as he gathered from enquiry that this road was rough and narrow,  
 he left Craterus there in charge of the camp with his own battalion  
 and Meleager's, a few of the archers, and about five hundred horse,  
 5 and instructed him to attack the wall, as soon as he observed that  
 Alexander himself had managed to get right round and was nearing  
 the Persian camp (Craterus would easily observe this from a bugle  
 signal). So he himself advanced by night, and after traversing about  
 a hundred stades, took the hypaspists, with Perdiccas' battalion, the  
 lightest armed of the archers, the Agrianians, the royal squadron of  
 the Companions, and a tetrarchy<sup>6</sup> of cavalry in addition, and with  
 them made a turning movement towards the gates, guided thither  
 6 by the prisoners. Amyntas, Philotas and Coenus were instructed to  
 march the remainder of the army to the plain, and to bridge the  
 river<sup>7</sup> which he had to cross to enter Persia. He himself traversed a  
 difficult and rough path, and most of it at full speed. He fell upon  
 the first barbarian guard before dawn and destroyed it together  
 7 with the greater part of the second; most of the third escaped,

5 A bilingual Lycian in D. and QC, and P. 37, 1.

6 Obscure: evidently more than one squadron, cf. Introd. 58–60.

7 Araxes (Palvar), D. 69), 2; QC 5, 2. The plain is Ardakan.

- οὗτοι ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον τὸ Ἀριοβαρζάνου ἔφυγον, ἀλλ' αὐτόθεν ὡς εἶχον ἐς τὰ ὄρη πεφοβημένοι, ὥστε ἔλαθεν ὑπὸ τὴν ἔω ἐπιπεσὼν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ τῶν πολεμίων. καὶ ἅμα μὲν προσέβαλλε τῇ τάφρῳ, ἅμα δὲ αἱ σάλπιγγες ἐσήμαινον τοῖς
- 8 ἀμφὶ Κρατερόν, καὶ Κρατερός προσῆγε τῷ προτειχίσματι. οἱ πολέμοι δὲ πάντοθεν ἀμφίβολοι γιγνόμενοι οὐδὲ ἐς χεῖρας ἐλθόντες ἔφυγον, ἀλλὰ πανταχόθεν γὰρ εἴργοντο, τῇ μὲν Ἀλεξάνδρου ἐπικειμένου, ἄλλη δὲ τῶν ἀμφὶ Κρατερόν παραθεόντων, ὥστε ἠναγκάσθησαν οἱ πολλοὶ αὐτῶν ἐς τὰ
- 9 τείχη ἀποστρέψαντες φεύγειν· εἶχετο δὲ καὶ τὰ τείχη πρὸς τῶν Μακεδόνων ἤδη. Ἀλέξανδρος γὰρ τοῦτο αὐτὸ ὅπερ ξυνέβη ὑποτοπήσας Πτολεμαῖον ἀπολελοίπει αὐτοῦ, ἔχοντα τῶν πεζῶν ἐς τρισχιλίους, ὥστε οἱ μὲν πλείστοι τῶν βαρβάρων ἐν χερσὶ πρὸς τῶν Μακεδόνων κατεκόπησαν, οἱ δὲ καὶ ἐν τῇ φυγῇ φοβερᾶ γενομένη κατὰ τῶν κρημνῶν ῥύψαντες ἀπόλοντο· αὐτὸς δὲ ὁ Ἀριοβαρζάνης ξὺν ὀλίγοις ἵππεύσιν ἐς τὰ ὄρη ἀπέφυγεν.
- 10 Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ σπουδῇ αὖθις ἦγεν ὡς ἐπὶ τὸν ποταμὸν καὶ καταλαμβάνει ἤδη πεποιημένην ἐπ' αὐτοῦ γέφυραν καὶ διαβαίνει ξὺν τῇ στρατιᾷ εὐπετῶς. ἐντεῦθεν δὲ αὖθις σπουδῇ ἤλυνεν ἐς Πέρσας, ὥσ>τε ἔφθη ἀφικέσθαι πρὶν τὰ χρήματα διαρπάσασθαι τοὺς φύλακας. ἔλαβε δὲ καὶ τὰ ἐν
- 11 Πασαργάδαις χρήματα ἐν τοῖς Κύρου τοῦ πρώτου θησαυροῖς. σατράπην μὲν δὴ Περσῶν κατέστησε Φρασαόρτην τὸν Ῥεομίθρου παῖδα· τὰ βασιλεία δὲ τὰ Περσικὰ ἐνέπρησε, Παρμενίωνος σώζειν ξυμβουλευόντος,

- yet even they did not flee to Ariobarzanes' camp, but ran in terror from the spot just as they were to the mountains, so that he had not been observed by the time he assaulted the enemy's camp about dawn. At the same moment as he attacked the trench, the bugles sounded, notifying Craterus' troops, and Craterus assaulted the
- 5 wall. So the enemy were caught on all sides, never so much as came to blows, and took to flight; but as they were hemmed in from all quarters, Alexander pressing on one side, Craterus' troops hastening up on the other, most of them were forced to turn back to the walls for refuge. However, by this time the walls themselves were in Macedonian hands, for Alexander had surmised what
- 9 actually happened, and had left Ptolemy<sup>8</sup> there with some three thousand infantry, so that most of the Persians were cut down by the Macedonians at close quarters, while the others threw themselves over the cliffs in their flight, when it became a panic, and perished; Ariobarzanes himself escaped with a handful of horsemen to the hills.<sup>9</sup>
- 10 Once again Alexander marched at full speed to the river, found the bridge there already constructed and crossed with his army without difficulty. Thence he hurried on again towards Persia<sup>10</sup> and arrived there before the garrison had plundered the treasure. He also captured the treasure which had been at Pasargadae in the
- 11 treasury of Cyrus the First.<sup>11</sup> He appointed Phrasaortes the son of Rheomithras satrap of Persia. He set the Persian palace on fire, though Parmenio urged him to preserve it, arguing, among

8 See iii 29, 6 n.

9 QC. 4, 33 ff. gives him 5,000 men and makes him try to seize Persepolis and die fighting its garrison, but cf. A. iii 23, 7.

10 Persepolis. See App. X for what follows.

11 559-529 B.C.

τά τε ἄλλα καὶ ὅτι οὐ καλὸν αὐτοῦ κτήματα ἤδη ἀπολλύναι  
καὶ ὅτι οὐχ ὡσαύτως προσέξουσιν αὐτῷ οἱ κατὰ τὴν Ἀσίαν  
12 ἄνθρωποι, ὡς οὐδὲ αὐτῷ ἐγνωκότι κατέχειν τῆς Ἀσίας τὴν  
ἀρχήν, ἀλλὰ ἐπελθεῖν μόνου νικῶντα. ὁ δὲ τιμωρήσασθαι  
ἐθέλειν Πέρσας ἔφασκεν ἀνθ' ὧν ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα ἐλάσαντες  
τάς τε Ἀθήνας κατέσκαψαν καὶ τὰ ἱερὰ ἐνέπρησαν, καὶ ὅσα  
ἄλλα κακὰ τοὺς Ἕλληνας εἰργάσαντο, ὑπὲρ τούτων δίκας  
λαβεῖν. ἀλλ' οὐδ' ἐμοὶ δοκεῖ σὺν νῶ δραῖσαι τοῦτό γε  
Ἀλέξανδρος οὐδὲ εἶναί τις αὕτη Περσῶν τῶν πάλαι τιμωρία.

19. Ταῦτα δὲ διαπραξάμενος προὔχῳρει ἐπὶ Μηδίας· ἐκεῖ  
γὰρ ἐπυνθάνετο εἶναι Δαρείου. γνώμην δὲ πεποίητο Δαρείου,  
εἰ μὲν ἐπὶ Σούσων καὶ Βαβυλῶνος μένοι Ἀλέξανδρος, αὐτοῦ  
προσμένειν καὶ αὐτὸς ἐν Μήδοις, εἰ δὴ τι νεωτερισθείη τῶν  
ἀμφ' Ἀλέξανδρον· εἰ δ' ἐλαύνοι ἐπ' αὐτόν, αὐτὸς δὲ ἄνω ἰέναι  
τὴν ἐπὶ Παρθυαίους τε καὶ Ὑρκανίαν ἔσπε ἐπὶ Βάκτρα, τὴν τε  
χώραν φθείρων πᾶσαν καὶ ἄπορον ποιῶν Ἀλεξάνδρῳ τὴν  
2 πρόσω ὁδόν. τὰς μὲν δὴ γυναῖκας καὶ τὴν ἄλλην τὴν ἔτι ἀμφ'  
αὐτὸν κατασκευὴν καὶ τὰς ἄρμαμάξας ἐπὶ τὰς Κασπίας  
καλουμένας πύλας πέμπει, αὐτὸς δὲ ξὺν τῇ δυνάμει, ἣτις ἐκ  
τῶν παρόντων ξυνείλεκτο αὐτῷ, προσέμενεν ἐν Ἐκβατάνοις.  
ταῦτα ἀκούων Ἀλέξανδρος προὔχῳρει ἐπὶ Μηδίας. καὶ  
Παρκαλιτάκας μὲν εἰς τὴν χώραν αὐτῶν ἐμβάλων  
κατεστρέψατο καὶ σατραπεύειν ἔταξεν αὐτῶν Ὀξ[ο]θήρην τὸν  
3 Ἀβουλίτου τοῦ [πρότερον] Σούσων σατράπου παῖδα. αὐτὸς δὲ  
ὡς ἠγγέλθη κατὰ τὴν ὁδόν, ὅτι ἐγνωκῶς εἶη Δαρείου ἀπαντᾶν

other things, that it was not good to destroy what was now his own  
property, and that the Asians would not so readily adhere to him,  
but would suppose that even he had not decided to retain the  
empire of Asia but only to conquer and pass on. Alexander said that  
12 he wished to punish the Persians for sacking Athens and burning  
the temples when they invaded Greece, and to exact retribution for  
all the other injuries they had done to the Greeks. I too do not think  
that Alexander showed good sense in this action nor that he could  
punish Persians of a long past age.

19. After these measures Alexander went on towards Media, for  
he was getting information that Darius was there. Darius had  
determined, if Alexander were to remain at Susa and Babylon, to  
wait himself where he was in Media, in case there were any new  
developments on Alexander's side, but if Alexander were to march  
straight against him, he proposed to go up country to the  
Parthyaean and Hyrcania, as far as Bactra, ravaging all the country  
and making further progress impossible for Alexander. He sent the  
2 women, all the belongings he had still with him and the closed  
waggons to what are called the Caspian gates, while he stayed  
himself in Ecbatana with the force he had collected from available  
resources. On hearing this, Alexander went on towards Media, and  
subdued the Paratetacae by invading their territory, and appointed  
Oxathres, son of Abulites the satrap of Susa, as satrap over them. As  
3 he was informed on the road that Darius had decided to meet him  
in battle and fight it out again,

τε αὐτῷ ὡς ἐς μάχην καὶ αὐθις διακινδυνεύειν, Σκύθας τε γὰρ αὐτῷ ἦκειν καὶ Καδουσίους συμμάχους, τὰ μὲν ὑποζύγια καὶ τοὺς τούτων φύλακας καὶ τὴν ἄλλην κατασκευὴν ἔπεισθαι ἐκέλευσε, τὴν στρατιὰν δὲ τὴν ἄλλην ἀναλαβὼν ἦγεν  
 4 ἐσταλμένους ὡς ἐς μάχην. καὶ ἀφικνεῖται δωδεκάτῃ ἡμέρᾳ ἐς Μηδίαν. ἔνθα ἔμαθεν οὐκ οὔσαν ἀξιόμαχον δύναμιν Δαρείῳ οὐδὲ Καδουσίους ἢ Σκύθας αὐτῷ συμμάχους ἦκοντας, ἀλλ' ὅτι φεύγειν ἐγνωκὼς εἶη Δαρείος· ὁ δὲ ἔτι μᾶλλον ἦγε σπουδῆ. ὡς δὲ ἀπέειχεν Ἐκβατάνων ὅσον τριῶν ἡμερῶν ὁδόν,  
 5 ἐνταῦθα ἀπήντα αὐτῷ Βισθάνης ὁ Ὠχου παῖς τοῦ πρὸ Δαρείου βασιλεύσαντος Περσῶν· καὶ οὗτος ἀπήγγειλεν, ὅτι Δαρείος ἐς πέμπτην ἡμέραν εἶη πεφευγὼς ἔχων τά τε κρήματα <τὰ> ἐκ Μήδων ἐς ἑπτακισχίλια τάλαντα καὶ στρατιὰν ἰππέας μὲν ἐς τρισχιλίους, πεζοὺς δὲ ἐς ἑξακισχιλίους.

Ἐλθὼν δὲ ἐς Ἐκβάτανα Ἀλέξανδρος τοὺς μὲν Θετταλοὺς ἰππέας καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ξυμμάχους ἀποπέμπει ὀπίσω ἐπὶ θάλασσαν, τὸν τε μισθὸν ἀποδοὺς αὐτοῖς ἐντελῆ τὸν  
 6 ξυντεταγμένον καὶ δισχίλια παρ' αὐτοῦ τάλαντα ἐπιδούς· ὅστις δὲ ἰδία βούλοιτο ἔτι μισθοφορεῖν παρ' αὐτῷ, ἀπογράφεσθαι ἐκέλευσε· καὶ ἐγένοντο οἱ ἀπογραφάμενοι οὐκ ὀλίγοι. Ἐπόκιλλον δὲ τὸν Πολυειδοῦς ἔταξε καταγαγεῖν αὐτοὺς ὡς ἐπὶ θάλασσαν, ἰππέας ἄλλους ἔχοντα ἐς φυλακὴν αὐτῶν· οἱ γὰρ Θεσσαλοὶ τοὺς ἵππους αὐτοῦ ἀπέδοντο. ἐπέστειλε δὲ καὶ

since he had been joined by Scythian and Cadusian allies, he ordered the draught animals with their keepers and all the rest of the stores to follow, while he took the rest of the army with him  
 4 ready for battle. He reached Media on the twelfth day. There he learned that Darius' force was not capable of fighting and that the Cadusians and Scythians had not arrived to help him, but that Darius had resolved on flight. Alexander marched on all the more rapidly. But when he was about three days' journey from Ecbatana he was met by Bisthanes son of Ochus, the predecessor of Darius as  
 5 King of Persia, who reported that Darius had fled four days before, with his treasure from Media of seven thousand Talents and with about three thousand cavalry and about six thousand infantry.<sup>1</sup>

On arriving at Ecbatana, Alexander sent back the Thessalian cavalry and the rest of the allies to the sea, giving the agreed pay in full, and adding as a personal gift two thousand Talents; on his  
 6 orders any individual who wanted to continue serving in his army as a mercenary was to enrol, and a great number did so enrol.<sup>2</sup> He appointed Epocillus son of Polyides to conduct them to the sea, with other cavalry to escort them, for the Thessalians sold their horses on the spot.

1 For Darius' plans and movements from Gaugamela to arrest by Bessus see D. 64, 1; 73, 1; QC. v 1, (3-9); 8-12. The Cadusii lived in mountains SW. of Caspian (Strabo xi 7, 1) and the Scythians of §3 presumably W. of Caspian, as Ecbatana is the intended mobilization centre; Darius finally decided to carry on the war in east Iran (QC. v 9, 5 ff.); D. 73, 2 gives him 30,000 Persians and Greek mercenaries, QC. 8, 3 f. 34,000 foot (including 4,000 mercenaries, but cf. 23, 9 n.) and 4,000 horse. See App. VIII.

2 Cf. iii 25, 4; 29, 4; v 27, 5; D. 74, 3 and QC. vi 2, 17 (dismissal at Hecatompylos, cf. 23, 1 n.); P. 42, 3 (after news of Darius' arrest); A. v 27, 5 n. QC. v 7, 12 records arrival in Media of reinforcements for Al.



Μένητι, ἐπειδὴν ἀφίκωνται ἐπὶ θάλασσαν, ἐπιμεληθῆναι ὅπως  
 7 ἐπὶ τριήρων κομισθήσονται εἰς Εὐβοίαν. Παρμενίωνα δὲ  
 προσέταξε τὰ χρήματα τὰ ἐκ Περσῶν κομιζόμενα εἰς τὴν  
 ἄκραν τὴν ἐν Ἐκβατάνοις καταθέσθαι καὶ Ἀρπάλῳ  
 παραδοῦναι Ἄρπαλον γὰρ ἐπὶ τῶν χρημάτων ἀπέλιπε καὶ  
 φυλακὴν τῶν χρημάτων Μακεδόνας εἰς ἑξακισχιλίους καὶ  
 ἵππεας καὶ ψιλοὺς ὀλίγους· αὐτὸν δὲ Παρμενίωνα τοὺς ξένους  
 ἀναλαμβάνοντα καὶ τοὺς Θρᾶκας καὶ ὅσοι ἄλλοι ἵππεῖς ἔξω τῆς  
 8 ἵππου τῆς ἐταιρικῆς παρὰ τὴν χώραν τὴν Καδουσίῳν ἐλαύνειν  
 εἰς Ἵρκανίαν. Κλείτῳ δὲ τῷ τῆς βασιλικῆς ἵλης ἡγεμόνι  
 ἐπέστειλεν, ἐπειδὴν ἐκ Σούσων εἰς Ἐκβάτανα ἀφίκηται,  
 κατελέλειπτο γὰρ ἐν Σούσοις ἀρρωστῶν, ἀναλαμβάνοντα τοὺς  
 Μακεδόνας τοὺς ἐπὶ τῶν χρημάτων τότε ὑπολειφθέντας ἰέναι  
 τὴν ἐπὶ Παρθυαίους, ἵνα καὶ αὐτὸς ἦξειν ἔμελλεν.

20. Αὐτὸς δὲ ἀναλαβὼν τὴν τε ἵππον τῶν ἐταίρων καὶ τοὺς  
 προδρόμους καὶ τοὺς μισθοφόρους ἵππεας, ὧν Ἐριγύϊος  
 ἡγείτο, καὶ τὴν φάλαγγα τὴν Μακεδονικὴν ἔξω τῶν ἐπὶ τοῖς  
 χρήμασι ταχθέντων καὶ τοὺς τοξότας καὶ τοὺς Ἀγριᾶνας  
 ἤλαυνεν ὡς ἐπὶ Δαρείου. καὶ αὐτῷ κατὰ τὴν ὁδὸν σπουδῆ  
 2 γιγνομένην τῶν τε στρατιωτῶν πολλοὶ κάμνοντες ὑπελείποντο  
 καὶ ἵπποι ἀπέθνησκον· ἀλλὰ καὶ ὡς ἦγε, καὶ ἀφικνεῖται εἰς  
 Ἰράγας ἐνδεκάτῃ ἡμέρᾳ. διέχει δὲ ὁ χώρος οὗτος ἀπὸ τῶν  
 Κασπίων πυλῶν ὁδὸν ἡμέρας μιᾶς ἐλαύνονται ὡς Ἀλέξανδρος  
 ἦγε. Δαρεῖος δὲ ἐφθάκει ἤδη παρεληλυθὼς εἰσω τῶν

He instructed Menes<sup>3</sup> too, when they reached the coast, to see to  
 their being conveyed on triremes to Euboea. Parmenio was ordered  
 7 to deposit in the citadel of Ecbatana the treasure conveyed from  
 Persia and to hand it over to Harpalus; for he left Harpalus in  
 charge of the treasure, with some six thousand Macedonians,  
 cavalry and a few light troops to protect it. Parmenio himself was  
 instructed to take the mercenaries, Thracians and any cavalry other  
 than the Companion cavalry past the land of the Cadusians and  
 8 march into Hyrcania.<sup>4</sup> Clitus the commander of the royal squadron  
 was ordered, on reaching Ecbatana from Susa, where he had been  
 left sick, to take the Macedonians who had been left for the time  
 being to protect the treasure and proceed on the road for  
 Parthyaëa, where he himself also proposed to go.

20. Alexander then taking the cavalry, Companions and  
*prodromoi*, and the mercenary horse under Erigyus, and the  
 Macedonian phalanx (except for those detailed to protect the  
 treasure) along with the archers and the Agrianians, began his  
 march against Darius.<sup>1</sup> By reason of the speed of his march many of  
 his troops were left behind worn out, while the horses were dying.  
 2 Still Alexander went on and reached Rhagae on the eleventh day.  
 This place is one day's journey from the Caspian gates for anyone  
 marching like Alexander. Darius, however, was too

<sup>3</sup> Cf. 16, 9.

<sup>4</sup> See Appendixes X 3, XI 4, XIII 5 (we do not know why  
 Parmenio remained in Media, 26, 3). Harpalus: iii 6, 4–7; vii 12, 7 n.;  
 E. Badian, *Historia* 1960, 245 ff.; *JHS* 1961, 16 ff.

<sup>1</sup> App. VIII 7. D. compresses the pursuit of Darius into one  
 sentence, P. 42 f. is anecdotal, QC. v 13 often discordant with A.

πυλῶν τῶν Κασπίων. τῶν δὲ συμφευγόντων Δαρείῳ πολλοὶ  
 μὲν ἀπολιπόντες αὐτὸν ἐν τῇ φυγῇ ἐπὶ τὰ αὐτῶν ἕκαστοι  
 3 ἀπεχώρουν, οὐκ ὀλίγοι δὲ καὶ Ἀλεξάνδρῳ σφᾶς ἐνεδίδοσαν.  
 Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ ὡς ἀπέγνω κατὰ πόδας αἰρήσειν Δαρείου,  
 μέινας αὐτοῦ πέντε ἡμέρας καὶ ἀναπαύσας τὸν στρατὸν  
 Μηδίας μὲν σατράπην ἀπέδειξεν Ὀξυδάτην Πέρσην ἄνδρα, ὃς  
 ἐτύγχανε πρὸς Δαρείου ξυνειλημμένος καὶ ἐν Σούσοις  
 εἰργόμενος· τοῦτο αὐτῷ ἐς πίστιν ἦν πρὸς Ἀλέξανδρον αὐτὸς  
 4 δὲ ὡς ἐπὶ Παρθυαίους ἦγε. καὶ τῇ μὲν πρώτη πρὸς ταῖς  
 Κασπίαις πύλαις ἐστρατοπέδευσε, τῇ δευτέρᾳ δὲ εἴσω  
 παρήλθε τῶν πυλῶν ἔστε οἰκούμενα ἦν. ἐπισιτισόμενος<sup>1</sup> δὲ  
 αὐτόθεν, ὅτι ἔρημον τὴν πρόσω χώραν ἤκουεν, ἐς προνομὴν  
 ἐκπέμπει Κοῖνον ξὺν ἵππεύσιν τε καὶ τῶν πεζῶν ὀλίγοις.

21. Καὶ ἐν τούτῳ ἀφικνεῖται παρ' αὐτὸν ἀπὸ τοῦ Δαρείου  
 στρατοπέδου Βαγιστάνης Βαβυλώνιος ἀνὴρ τῶν γνωρίμων  
 καὶ ξὺν τούτῳ Ἀντίβηλος τῶν Μαζαίου παίδων. οὗτοι  
 ἀπήγγειλαν ὅτι Ναβαρζάνης τε, χιλιάρχης τῶν ξὺν Δαρείῳ  
 φευγόντων ἵππέων, καὶ Βῆσσος ὁ Βακτρίων σατράπης καὶ  
 2 Βαρσαέντης ὁ Ἀραχωτῶν καὶ Δραγγῶν σατράπης  
 ξυνειληφότες εἶεν Δαρείου. ταῦτα ἀκούσας Ἀλέξανδρος ἔτι  
 μᾶλλον ἦγε σπουδῇ, τοὺς ἐταίρους μόνους ἔχων ἀμφ' αὐτὸν  
 καὶ τοὺς προδρόμους ἵππέας καὶ τῶν πεζῶν τοὺς  
 εὐρωστοτάτους τε καὶ κουφοτάτους ἐπιλεξάμενος, οὐδὲ τοὺς  
 ἀμφὶ Κοῖνον προσμείνας ἐκ τῆς προνομῆς ἐπανελθεῖν. τοῖς δὲ  
 ὑπολειπομένοις ἐπιστήσας Κρατερὸν προστάττει

1 ἐπισιτισόμενος Krüger; ἐπισιτισάμενος codd.

quick and had already passed the Caspian gates. Many of those who  
 shared his flight deserted him during its course, and went off to  
 their homes, and a good number had surrendered to Alexander.  
 3 Despairing of capturing Darius by close pursuit, Alexander  
 remained there five days and rested his force; he appointed  
 Oxydates satrap of Media, a Persian who had been arrested by  
 Darius and imprisoned at Susa;<sup>2</sup> this made Alexander trust him.  
 4 Alexander then marched towards the Parthyaean. The first day he  
 encamped by the Caspian gates, on the second he passed within the  
 gates to the limit of the inhabited country. In order to get provisions  
 there, since he heard that the country beyond was desert, he sent  
 Coenus to forage with cavalry and a few foot-soldiers.

21. At this point Bagistanes came to him from Darius' camp, a  
 Babylonian and a noble, with Antibelus, one of Mazaeus' sons. They  
 reported that Nabarzanes, chiliarch of the cavalry which had shared  
 Darius' flight, Bessus satrap of Bactria and Barsaentes satrap of the  
 Arachotians and the Drangians<sup>1</sup> had arrested Darius. On learning  
 2 this Alexander pressed on faster than ever, with only the  
 Companions, the mounted *prodromoi*, and the strongest and  
 lightest of the infantry, carefully selected, without even waiting for  
 Coenus and his men to return from foraging. He put Craterus in  
 command of those left behind and ordered him to follow, but not by  
 forced marches.

2 QC. vi 2, 11 puts this after Darius' death.

1 Elsewhere called Zarangians.

- 3 <ἔπεσθαι> μὴ μακρὰς ὁδοὺς ἄγοντα. οἱ δὲ ἀμφ' αὐτὸν τὰ ὄπλα εἶχον μόνον καὶ δύο ἡμερῶν σιτία. ἔλθων δὲ τὴν τε νύκτα ὅλην καὶ τῆς ἐπιούσης ἡμέρας μέχρι μεσημβρίας ὀλίγον χρόνον ἀναπαύσας τὸν στρατὸν αὐθις ἦει ὅλην νύκτα,
- 4 καὶ ἅμα ἡμέρα ὑποφαινούση παρήν εἰς τὸ στρατόπεδον, ὅθεν ἀφωρμήκει ὀπίσω Βαγιστάνης. καὶ τοὺς μὲν πολεμίους οὐ κατέλαβε, Δαρείου δὲ περὶ ἐπέθετο αὐτὸν μὲν συνειλημμένον ἄγεσθαι ἐφ' ἄρμαμάξης, Βῆσσω δὲ ἀντὶ Δαρείου εἶναι τὸ κράτος καὶ ἡγεμόνα ὠνομάσθαι Βῆσσον πρὸς τε τῶν Βακτρῶν ἰππέων καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ὅσοι βάρβαροι ξυνέφευγον Δαρείῳ, πλὴν Ἀρταβάζου καὶ τῶν Ἀρταβάζου παίδων καὶ τῶν Ἑλλήνων τῶν μισθοφόρων· τούτους δὲ πιστοὺς εἶναι Δαρείῳ, καὶ εἶργειν μὲν τὰ γιγνόμενα οὐ δυνατοὺς εἶναι, ἐκτραπέντας δὲ ἔξω τῆς λεωφόρου ὁδοῦ ὡς ἐπὶ τὰ ὄρη ἰέναι κατὰ σφᾶς, οὐ
- 5 μετέχοντας τοῖς ἀμφὶ Βῆσσον τοῦ ἔργου γνώμην δὲ πεποιήσθαι τοὺς ξυλλαβόντας Δαρείον, εἰ μὲν διώκοντα σφᾶς Ἀλέξανδρον πυνθάνοιτο, παραδοῦναι Δαρείον Ἀλεξάνδρῳ καὶ σφίσι τι ἀγαθὸν εὐρίσκεισθαι· εἰ δὲ τὸ ἔμπαλι ἐπανεληλυθότα μάθοιεν, τοὺς δὲ στρατιάν τε ξυλλέγειν ὅσῃν πλείστην δύναιντο καὶ διασώζειν ἐς τὸ κοινὸν τὴν ἀρχήν. Βῆσσον δὲ ἐν τῷ παρόντι ἐξηγείσθαι κατ' οἰκειότητά τε τὴν Δαρείου καὶ ὅτι ἐν τῇ αὐτοῦ σατραπείᾳ τὸ ἔργον ἐγίγνετο.
- 6 Ταῦτα ἀκούσαντι Ἀλεξάνδρῳ ἀνὰ κράτος διωκτέα ἐφαίνετο. καὶ ἤδη μὲν ἐξέκαμνον οἱ τε ἄνδρες καὶ οἱ ἵπποι ὑπὸ τῇ ταλαιπωρίᾳ τῇ ξυνεχεῖ· ἀλλὰ καὶ ὡς ἦγε, καὶ διελθὼν ὁδὸν πολλὴν τῆς τε

- 3 His own men had nothing but their arms and two days' rations. Travelling all night and the next day till noon, he rested his troops a short time and then went on again all night, and at dawn he reached
- 4 the camp, from which Bagistanes had started back. But he did not overtake the enemy, though he learnt that Darius was being carried in a closed waggon under arrest, that Bessus had the sovereignty in place of Darius and had been saluted as leader by the Bactrian cavalry and the other barbarians who had fled with Darius, except by Artabazus<sup>2</sup> and his sons and the Greek mercenaries, that they were loyal to Darius, and as they were unable to prevent what was taking place, had turned off the main road and were making for the mountains<sup>3</sup> by themselves, taking no part in the action of Bessus
- 5 and his followers, while those who had seized Darius had decided, if they learned that Alexander was pursuing them, to give him up to Alexander and make good terms for themselves, but if they learned that he had turned back, to collect as large an army as they could and preserve their power in common; Bessus was in command for the time because of his relationship to Darius and because the act was done in his satrapy.<sup>4</sup>
- 6 On hearing this, Alexander decided that he must pursue with the utmost vigour. Already his men and horses were growing utterly wearied under the continued hardship; none the less, he pressed on, and

2 Connected by marriage with Darius, and also with Memnon (i 12, 9 n.), he had spent some years in exile at Philip's court, and was loyal first to Darius, then to Al.

3 Of Tapuria (23, 1), i.e. Elburz.

4 A mistake; Bessus' satrapy was not Parthyaea but Bactria.

νυκτὸς καὶ τῆς ἐπὶ ταύτῃ ἡμέρας ἔσπε ἐπὶ μεσημβρίαν  
 7 ἀφικνεῖται ἔς τινα κώμην, ἵνα τῇ προτεραίᾳ  
 ἐστρατοπεδεύκεσαν οἱ Δαρείου ἄγοντες. ἐνταῦθα ἀκούσας ὅτι  
 νυκτὸς ποιείσθαι τὴν πορείαν ἐγνωσμένον εἶη τοῖς βαρβάροις,  
 ἤλεγχε τοὺς προσχώρους, εἰ δὴ τινα εἰδέειν ἐπιτομωτέραν  
 ὁδὸν ἐπὶ τοὺς φεύγοντας. οἱ δὲ εἰδέναι μὲν ἔφασαν, ἐρήμην δὲ  
 εἶναι τὴν ὁδὸν δι' ἀνυδρίαν. ὁ δὲ ταύτην ἄγειν ἐκέλευσε καὶ  
 γνοὺς ὅτι οὐχ ἔβουται οἱ πεζοὶ αὐτῷ σπουδῇ ἐλαύνοντι τῶν  
 μὲν ἱππέων ἐς πεντακοσίους κατεβίβασεν ἀπὸ τῶν ἵππων,  
 τοὺς ἡγεμόνας δὲ τῶν πεζῶν καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἐπιλεξάμενος  
 8 τοὺς κρατιστεύοντας ἐπιβῆναι τῶν ἵππων ἐκέλευσε οὕτως  
 ὅπως οἱ πεζοὶ ὀπλισμένοι ἦσαν. Νικάνορα δὲ τὸν τῶν  
 ὑπασπιστῶν ἡγεμόνα καὶ Ἄτταλον τὸν τῶν Ἀγριάνων κατὰ  
 τὴν ὁδόν, ἦντινα οἱ ἀμφὶ Βῆσσον προῦκεχωρήκεσαν, τοὺς  
 ὑπολειφθέντας ἄγειν ἐκέλευσε, καὶ τούτους ὡς κουφότατα  
 9 ἐσταλμένους, τοὺς δὲ ἄλλους πεζοὺς ἐν τάξει ἔπεσθαι. αὐτὸς  
 δὲ ἀμφὶ δείλην ἄγειν ἀρξάμενος δρόμῳ ἡγείτο· διελθὼν δὲ τῆς  
 νυκτὸς σταδίου ἐς τετρακοσίους ὑπὸ τὴν ἕω ἐπιτυγχάνει τοῖς  
 βαρβάροις ἀτάκτως ἰούσι καὶ ἀνόπλοις, ὥστε ὀλίγοι μὲν τινες  
 αὐτῶν ὡς ἀμννούμενοι ὤρμησαν, οἱ δὲ πολλοὶ εὐθὺς ὡς  
 Ἀλέξανδρον αὐτὸν κατείδον οὐδὲ ἐς χεῖρας ἐλθόντες ἔφευγον·  
 10 καὶ οἱ τραπέντες ἐς ἀλκὴν ὀλίγων πεσόντων καὶ οὗτοι ἔφυγον.  
 Βῆσσος δὲ καὶ οἱ ξὺν αὐτῷ τέως μὲν ἐφ' ἀρμαμάξης Δαρείου  
 μετὰ σφῶν ἐκόμιζον· ὡς δὲ ὁμοῦ ἤδη ἦν Ἀλέξανδρος, Δαρείου  
 μὲν Σατιβαρζάνης καὶ Βαρσαέντης κατατρώσαντες αὐτοῦ  
 ἀπέλιπον, αὐτοὶ δὲ ἔφυγον ξὺν ἱππεῦσιν ἑξακοσίοις. Δαρείος  
 δὲ ἀποθνήσκει

accomplishing a great distance during the night and the following  
 day till noon, he reached a village where the party with Darius had  
 bivouacked the day before. As he heard there that the barbarians  
 7 had determined to travel by night, he asked the inhabitants whether  
 they knew of any short cut to get to the fugitives. They replied that  
 they did, but that the road was desolate for lack of water. He told  
 them to guide him along this road, and seeing that his infantry  
 would not keep up with him if he pushed on at full speed, he  
 dismounted some five hundred horsemen, selected from the  
 officers of the infantry and the rest those who had best kept up  
 their strength, and ordered them to mount the horses, carrying  
 8 their usual infantry arms. Nicanor the commander of the  
 hypaspists, and Attalus commander of the Agrianians, were ordered  
 to lead the men who were left behind along the road already taken  
 by Bessus and his party with the lightest possible equipment, and  
 the rest of the infantry were to follow in ordinary formation.  
 9 Alexander then started off himself at evening, and led his troops on  
 at full speed; during the night he covered up to four hundred  
 stades, and just at dawn came upon the Persians marching in  
 disorder without arms, so that only a few of them attempted  
 resistance; as soon as they saw Alexander himself, most of them did  
 not even wait to come to close quarters but took to flight; those who  
 did turn to make a fight of it also fled on losing a few of their  
 10 number. For a time Bessus and his immediate followers continued  
 to convey Darius with them in the closed waggon; but when  
 Alexander was right upon them, Satibarzanes and Barsaentes  
 wounded Darius, left him where he was and escaped themselves  
 with six hundred horsemen.

ὀλίγον ὕστερον ἐκ τῶν τραυμάτων πρὶν ὀφθῆναι Ἀλεξάνδρῳ.

22. Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ τὸ μὲν σῶμα τοῦ Δαρείου ἐς Πέρσας ἀπέπεμψε, θάψαι κελεύσας ἐν ταῖς βασιλικαῖς θήκαις, καθάπερ καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι οἱ πρὸ Δαρείου βασιλεῖς· σατράπην δὲ ἀπέδειξε Παρθυαίων καὶ Ὑρκανίων Ἀμμινάπην Παρθυαῖον· ἦν δὲ οὗτος τῶν Αἴγυπτον ἐνδόντων Ἀλεξάνδρῳ μετὰ Μαζάκου. Τληπόλεμος δὲ Πυθοφάνους τῶν ἐταίρων ξυνετάχθη αὐτῷ σκοπεῖν τὰ ἐν Παρθυαίοις τε καὶ Ὑρκανίοις.

- 2 Τοῦτο τὸ τέλος Δαρείῳ ἐγένετο ἐπὶ ἄρχοντος Ἀθηναίοις Ἀριστοφῶντος μηνὸς Ἑκατομβαιῶνος, ἀνδρὶ τὰ μὲν πολέμια, εἶπερ τινὶ ἄλλῳ, μαλθακῷ τε καὶ οὐ φρενήρει, εἰς δὲ τὰλλα οὐδὲν ἀνεπιεικὲς ἔργον ἀποδειξαμένῳ ἢ οὐδὲ ἐγγενόμενον αὐτῷ ἀποδείξασθαι, ὅτι ὁμοῦ μὲν ἐς τὴν βασιλείαν παρελθεῖν, ὁμοῦ δὲ προσπολεμῆσθαι πρὸς τε Μακεδόνων καὶ τῶν Ἑλλήνων ξυνέβη. οὐκ οὐκ οὐδὲ ἐθέλοντι ἐξῆν ἔτι ὑβρίζειν ἐς τοὺς ὑπηκόους ἐν μείζονι κινδύνῳ ἢ περ ἐκείνοι καθεστηκότι.
- 3 ζῶντι μὲν δὴ ξυμφοραὶ αὐτῷ ἄλλαι ἐπ' ἄλλαις ξυνηρέχθησαν, οὐδέ τις ἀνακωχὴ ἐγένετο ἐπειδὴ πρῶτον ἐς τὴν ἀρχὴν παρήλθεν· ἀλλὰ εὐθὺς μὲν τὸ τῶν σατραπῶν ἐπὶ Γρανίκῳ πταῖσμα ξυνέβη τὸ ἱππικόν, εὐθὺς δὲ Ἰωνία τε καὶ Αἰολίς εἶχοντο καὶ Φρύγες ἀμφότεροι καὶ Λυδία καὶ Κάρεις πλὴν
- 4 Ἀλικαρνασσέων· ὀλίγον δὲ ὕστερον καὶ Ἀλικαρνασσὸς ἐξήρητο, ἐπὶ δὲ ἡ παραλία πᾶσα ἔσπε ἐπὶ Κιλικίαν· ἐνθεν δὲ ἡ αὐτοῦ ἐπ' Ἰσσω ἦσσε, ἵνα τὴν τε μητέρα

Darius died of his wound soon after, before Alexander had seen him.<sup>5</sup>

22. Alexander sent Darius' body to Persepolis, ordering it to be buried in the royal tomb, like the other kings who ruled before him.<sup>1</sup> He appointed as satrap of the Parthyaean and Hyrcanian Amminapes, a Parthyaean; he was one of those with Mazacus, who had surrendered Egypt to Alexander.<sup>2</sup> Tlepolemus son of Pythophanes, one of the Companions, was associated in the appointment with him, to superintend Parthyaean and Hyrcania.

- <sup>2</sup> This was the end of Darius, when Aristophon was archon at Athens in the month Hecatombaeon.<sup>3</sup> No man showed less spirit or sense in warfare; but in other matters he committed no offence, perhaps for lack of opportunity, since the moment of his accession was also the moment of the attack on him by the Macedonians and Greeks. So even if he had had the will, he was no longer free to play the tyrant to his subjects, as his position was more dangerous than theirs. His life was one series of disasters, with no respite, after his accession. The cavalry disaster of his satraps on the Granicus happened at once, and at once Ionia and Aeolis were in the enemy's hands, with both Phrygia, Lydia and all Caria except
- <sup>4</sup> Halicarnassus; the loss of Halicarnassus, and then of all the coast-line as far as Cilicia soon followed. Next came his defeat at Issus, where he saw his mother

<sup>5</sup> In the 'vulgate' Darius was still alive when found by the Macedonians, QC. v 13, 24 f. (broken by lacuna); P. 43; J. xi 15.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. vi 29.

<sup>2</sup> QC. vi 4, 25 puts this in Hyrcania, ignoring Tlepolemus. Amminapes was eventually replaced by Phrataphernes (iii 23, 4) at least by 326 B.C. (v 20, 7) but perhaps not as early as autumn 330 B.C. (cf. iii 28, 2).

<sup>3</sup> July 330 cf. App. VIII 6-10. A's reflections follow.

αἰχμαλωτισθείσαν καὶ τὴν γυναῖκα καὶ τοὺς παῖδας ἐπέιδεν· ἐπὶ τῷδε Φοινίκη τε ἀπώλετο καὶ Αἴγυπτος πᾶσα· ἐπὶ δὲ αὐτὸς ἐν Ἀρβήλοις ἔφυγέ τε ἐν πρώτοις αἰσχροῦς καὶ  
 5 στρατιὰν πλείστην παντὸς τοῦ βαρβαρικοῦ γένους ἀπώλεσε· φυγὰς τε ἐκ τούτου τῆς αὐτοῦ ἀρχῆς πλανώμενος καὶ τελευτῶν πρὸς τῶν ἀμφ' αὐτὸν ἐς τὰ ἔσχατα προδοθείς, βασιλεύς τε ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ καὶ δεσμώτης ξὺν ἀτιμία ἀγόμενος, τέλος δὲ πρὸς τῶν οἰκειοτάτων ἐπιβουλευθείς ἀπώλετο. ζῶντι  
 6 μὲν Δαρείῳ τοιαῦτα ξυνηνέχθη, τελευτήσαντι δὲ ταφή τε ἡ βασιλικὴ καὶ τῶν παίδων ὅποια καὶ βασιλεύοντος αὐτοῦ τροφή τε <παρ' > Ἀλεξάνδρου καὶ παιδευσις, καὶ γαμβρὸς Ἀλέξανδρος. ὁπότε δὲ ἐτελεύτα, ἐγεγόνει ἀμφὶ τὰ πεντήκοντα ἔτη.

23. Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ τοὺς ὑπολειφθέντας ἐν τῇ διώξει τῆς στρατιᾶς ἀναλαβὼν ἐς Ἑρκανίαν προῦχώρει. κείται δὲ ἡ Ἑρκανία χώρα ἐν ἀριστερᾷ τῆς ὁδοῦ τῆς ἐπὶ Βάκτρα φερούσης· καὶ τῇ μὲν ὄρεσιν ἀπείργεται δασέσι καὶ ὑψηλοῖς, τὸ πεδίου δὲ αὐτῆς καθήκει ἔσπε ἐπὶ τὴν μεγάλην τὴν ταύτη θάλασσαν. ταύτην δὲ ἤγεεν, ὅτι ταύτη τοὺς ξένους τοὺς ἀμφὶ Δαρείον διαπεφυγέναι ἐς τὰ τῶν Ταπούρων ὄρη ἐπύθετο καὶ  
 2 αὐτοὺς ἅμα τοὺς Ταπούρους χειρωσόμενος. τριχῆ δὲ διελὼν τὸν στρατὸν αὐτὸς μὲν τὴν ἐπιτομωτάτην καὶ χαλεπωτάτην ἠγήσατο, τὸ πλείστον καὶ ἅμα τὸ κουφότατον τῆς δυνάμεως ἄγων· Κρατερὸν δὲ τὴν τε αὐτοῦ τάξιν ἔχοντα καὶ τὴν Ἀμύντου καὶ τῶν τοξοτῶν ἔστιν οὓς καὶ ὀλίγους τῶν ἰππέων ἐπὶ Ταπούρων ἔστειλεν· Ἐριγύϊον δὲ τοὺς τε ξένους

with his wife and children taken prisoners; then Phoenicia and all Egypt were lost; and then he himself was among the first to flee dishonourably at Arbela, and lost the greatest army of the whole  
 5 barbarian race; a fugitive from his own kingdom and a wanderer, he was at last betrayed by his own escort to the worst of fates, to be at once a king and prisoner carried off in dishonour; finally he perished by a conspiracy of his closest connections. These were the  
 6 tragedies of Darius' life. After death he had a royal burial and his children were brought up and educated by Alexander as if he were still on the throne, and Alexander married his daughter.<sup>4</sup> At his death he was about fifty years old.

23. Alexander, taking over the troops left behind in the pursuit, advanced into Hyrcania, which lies on the left of the road leading to Bactria;<sup>1</sup> on one side it is bounded by high, wooded mountains, but its plain stretches to the Great Sea [Caspian] in those parts. Alexander marched this way because he had learned that the mercenaries with Darius had escaped to the Tapurian mountains [Elburz]; besides, he intended to subdue the Tapurians themselves.  
 2 He divided his army into three parts, and himself took the shortest and hardest road with the largest part and lightest armed of his force; he sent Craterus with his own battalion and that of Amyntas, some of the archers, and a few horsemen, against the Tapurians, and Erigyus was ordered to take the mercenaries and

<sup>4</sup> In 324, vii 4, 4; she was murdered after Al's death by Roxane (P. 77). Education: D. 67, 1; QC. v 2, 18 if.

<sup>1</sup> Hyrcanian campaign: App. VIII 10; D. 75 f.; QC. vi 4 f.; P. 44; 46 f.; Strabo xi 7 (cf ii 1, 14) with citations from Ar. F 19 f., whose topographical material A. ignores. QC. vi 2, 15 ff (at Hecatompylos, cf. D. 74) and P. 47 (in Hyrcania) tell that Al. had to persuade the Macedonians to march on.

καὶ τὴν λοιπὴν ἵππων ἀναλαμβάνοντα τὴν λεωφόρον τε καὶ μακροτέραν ἡγείσθαι ἐκέλευσε, τὰς ἀμάξας καὶ τὰ σκευοφόρα καὶ τὸν ἄλλον ὄμιλον ἄγοντα.

3 Ὑπερβαλὼν δὲ τὰ πρῶτα ὄρη καὶ καταστρατοπεδεύσας αὐτοῦ ἀναλαβὼν τοὺς τε ὑπασπιστὰς καὶ τῆς Μακεδονικῆς φάλαγγος τοὺς κουφοτάτους καὶ τῶν τοξοτῶν ἔστιν οὓς ἦει χαλεπὴν ὁδὸν καὶ δύσπορον, φύλακας τῶν ὁδῶν καταλιπὼν, ἵνα σφαλερόν τι αὐτῷ ἐφαίνετο, ὡς μὴ τοῖς ἐπομένοις κατ'  
4 ἐκεῖνα ἐπιθοῖντο οἱ τὰ ὄρη ἔχοντες τῶν βαρβάρων. αὐτὸς δὲ μετὰ τῶν τοξοτῶν διελθὼν τὰ στενὰ ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ κατεστρατοπέδευσε πρὸς ποταμῷ οὐ μεγάλῳ. καὶ ἐνταῦθα ὄντος αὐτοῦ Ναβαρζάνης τε ὁ Δαρείου χιλιάρχης καὶ Φραταφέρνης ὁ Ὑρκανίας τε καὶ Παρθναίων σατράπης καὶ  
5 ἄλλοι τῶν ἀμφὶ Δαρείου Περσῶν οἱ ἐπιφανέστατοι ἀφικόμενοι παρέδοσαν σφᾶς αὐτούς. ὑπομείνας δὲ ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ τέσσαρας ἡμέρας ἀνέλαβε τοὺς ὑπολειφθέντας κατὰ τὴν ὁδόν, τοὺς μὲν ἄλλους ἀσφαλῶς διελθόντας, τοῖς δὲ Ἀγριαῖσιν ὀπισθοφυλακοῦσιν ἐπέθεντο οἱ ὄρειοι τῶν βαρβάρων, καὶ μείον ἔχοντες τῷ ἀκροβολισμῷ ἀπηλλάγησαν.

6 Ἄρας δὲ ἐντεῦθεν προῆει ὡς ἐφ' Ὑρκανίαν εἰς Ζαδράκαρτα πόλιν Ὑρκανίων. καὶ ἐν τούτῳ οἱ περὶ Κρατερὸν ξυνέμιξαν αὐτῷ, τοῖς μὲν ξένοις τοῖς Δαρείου οὐκ ἐντετυχηκότες, τὴν χώραν δὲ ὄσσην διαπεπορευμένοι ἦσαν τὴν μὲν βία, τὴν δὲ ἐνδιδόντων

the rest of the cavalry and bring them along the high-road, which was longer, convoying the waggons, the baggage train and the rest of his people.<sup>2</sup>

3 After he had crossed the first mountains and had encamped there, Alexander took the hypaspists and the lightest armed of the Macedonian phalanx and some of the archers, and marched along a rough and difficult road, leaving troops behind to guard the roads where he thought there was danger, so that the barbarians in possession of the heights might not attack the forces coming after at  
4 those points. He himself with the archers crossed the pass and camped in the plain by a small river. While he was there, Nabarzanes, Darius' chiliarch, Phrataphernes the satrap of Hyrcania and Parthyaea and other very highly placed Persian officers of Darius came and gave themselves up.<sup>3</sup> After waiting four  
5 days in the camp, he picked up those who had been left behind on the march, most of whom had got through with safety; the native hillmen had attacked the Agrianians, guarding the rear, but had the worst of a long range skirmish and withdrew.

6 Starting off again, Alexander advanced towards Hyrcania to Zadracarta, a city of the Hyrcanians.<sup>4</sup> At this point Craterus and his troops joined him; they had not fallen in with Darius' mercenaries, but partly by force and partly by the surrender of the

2 Al. had only 3 phalanx battalions with him at this time (Introd. 61), the third being that of Coenus (24, 1). Contra Lane Fox (cf. Introd. n. 99) A's words do not imply that Coenus' battalion was less heavily armoured than the rest; Al. took not only the lightest armed (e.g. the hypaspists) but the largest part of the force.

3 Phrataphernes (henceforth unwaveringly loyal), QC. vi 4, 23; he puts Nabarzanes' surrender later, after prior negotiations, 4, 8 ff.; 5, 22.

4 App. VIII 10.

τῶν κατοικούντων προσπεποιημένοι. ἐνταῦθα καὶ Ἐριγύϊος  
 7 ἦκε σὺν τοῖς σκευοφόροις καὶ ταῖς ἀμάξαις. ὀλίγον δὲ  
 ὕστερον Ἀρτάβαζος ἀφίκετο παρ' Ἀλέξανδρον καὶ τῶν παίδων  
 αὐτοῦ Κωφὴν καὶ Ἀριοβαρζάνης καὶ Ἀρσάμης καὶ ξὺν  
 τούτοις παρὰ τῶν ξένων τῶν ξὺν Δαρείῳ πρέσβεις καὶ  
 Αὐτοφραδάτης ὁ Ταπούρων σατράπης. Αὐτοφραδάτη μὲν δὴ  
 τὴν σατραπείαν ἀπέδωκεν, Ἀρτάβαζον δὲ καὶ τοὺς παῖδας  
 ἅμα οἱ ἐν τιμῇ ἦγε, τά τε ἄλλα ἐν τοῖς πρώτοις Περσῶν ὄντας  
 8 καὶ τῆς ἐς Δαρείον πίστεως ἕνεκα. τοῖς πρέσβεσι δὲ τῶν  
 Ἑλλήνων δεομένοις σπείσασθαί σφισιν ὑπὲρ τοῦ παντὸς  
 ξενικοῦ ἀπεκρίνατο ὁμολογίαν μὲν οὐκ ἂν ποιήσασθαι πρὸς  
 αὐτοὺς οὐδεμίαν ἀδικεῖν γὰρ μεγάλα τοὺς στρατευομένους  
 ἐναντία τῇ Ἑλλάδι παρὰ τοῖς βαρβάροις παρὰ τὰ δόγματα  
 τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἐκέλευσε δὲ ἦκειν ξύμπαντας καὶ παραδιδόναι  
 σφᾶς αὐτοὺς ἐπιτρέποντας Ἀλεξάνδρῳ χρῆσθαι ὃ τι βούλοιτο,  
 9 ἢ σώζεσθαι ὅπῃ δύναιντο. οἱ δὲ ἐπιτρέπειν ἔφασαν σφᾶς τε  
 αὐτοὺς καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους Ἀλεξάνδρῳ ξυμπέμπειν τε ἐκέλευον  
 τὸν ἡγησόμενον αὐτοῖς, ὡς ἀσφαλῶς διακομισθῆεν παρ'  
 αὐτόν· εἶναι δὲ ἐλέγοντο ἐς χιλίους καὶ πεντακοσίους. καὶ  
 Ἀλέξανδρος πέμπει Ἀνδρόνικον τὸν Ἀγέρρου καὶ Ἀρτάβαζον  
 παρ' αὐτούς.

24. Αὐτὸς δὲ προῆγεν ὡς ἐπὶ Μάρδους, ἀναλαβὼν τοὺς τε  
 ὑπασπιστὰς καὶ τοὺς τοξότας καὶ τοὺς Ἀγριᾶνας καὶ τὴν  
 Κοῖνον καὶ Ἀμύντου τάξιν καὶ τῶν ἐταίρων ἰππέων τοὺς  
 ἡμίσεας καὶ τοὺς ἰππακοντιστάς·

inhabitants, they had taken over all the territory they had traversed.  
 Erigyus too arrived there with the baggage trains and the waggons.  
 7 Soon after, Artabazus came to join Alexander with Cophen,  
 Ariobarzanes and Arsames among his sons and Autophradates,  
 satrap of the Tapurians, and envoys from the mercenaries who had  
 been with Darius. Alexander gave the satrapy back to  
 Autophradates, while he kept Artabazus and his sons by him in an  
 honourable position, as they were among the most eminent  
 Persians and especially because of their loyalty to Darius.<sup>5</sup> To the  
 8 envoys of the Greeks, however, who begged him to grant them  
 terms for the whole mercenary force, he replied that he would  
 make no compact with them whatever; men who fought with the  
 barbarians against Greece against the decrees of the Greeks were  
 guilty of grave wrongs.<sup>6</sup> He ordered them to come in a body and  
 surrender, leaving it to him to do what he would with them; if not,  
 they must take what steps they could for their own safety. They  
 9 replied that they placed themselves and the rest in Alexander's  
 hands, and urged him to send an officer to lead them under safe  
 conduct to his camp. They were said to be about one thousand five  
 hundred.<sup>7</sup> Alexander sent Andronicus, son of Agerrus, and  
 Artabazus to them.

24. He himself proceeded against the Mardians,<sup>1</sup> taking the  
 hypaspists, archers, Agrianians, the battalions of Coenus and  
 Amyntas, half the Companion

5 QC. 4, 24 and 5, 1 ff. puts Autophradates' surrender before Artabazus'. Al. rewards or punishes men for their conduct to Darius as it suits him; the motivation in A. is naive.

6 See Introd. 38 and 40.

7 Cf. 19, 5 n. QC. 5, 6–10 (cf. D. 76, 2) now also gives 1500; 500 had evidently been lost since 331.

1 Or Amardi, west of Hyrcanian coastal plain (Strabo xi 8. 8; 13. 3). Cf. D. 76, 3 f.; QC. 5, 11 ff.



- 2 ἤδη γὰρ αὐτῷ καὶ ἵππακοντισταὶ τάξεις ἦσαν. ἐπελθὼν δὲ τὸ πολὺ μέρος τῆς χώρας τῶν Μάρδων πολλοὺς μὲν ἀπέκτεινεν αὐτῶν φεύγοντας, οὓς δὲ τινὰς ἐς ἀλκὴν τετραμμένους, πολλοὺς δὲ ζῶντας ἔλαβεν. οὐ γὰρ ἔστιν ὅστις χρόνου ἐμβεβλήκει ἐς τὴν γῆν αὐτῶν ἐπὶ πολέμῳ διὰ τε δυσχωρίαν καὶ ὅτι πένητες οἱ Μάρδοι καὶ μάχιμοι ἐπὶ τῇ πενίᾳ ἦσαν. οὐκ οὐδὲ Ἀλέξανδρον ἐμβαλεῖν ἂν ποτε δείσαντες, ἄλλως
- 3 τε καὶ προκεχωρηκότα ἤδη ἐς τὸ πρόσω, ταύτῃ μᾶλλον τι ἀφύλακτοι ἠλίσκοντο. πολλοὶ δὲ αὐτῶν καὶ ἐς τὰ ὄρη κατέφυγον, ἃ δὴ ὑπερύψηλά τε καὶ ἀπότομα αὐτοῖς ἐν τῇ χώρα ἔστιν, ὡς πρὸς ταῦτά γε οὐχ ἤξοντα Ἀλέξανδρον. ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ ταύτῃ προσῆγεν, οἱ δὲ πέμψαντες πρέσβεις σφᾶς τε αὐτοὺς ἐνέδοσαν καὶ τὴν χώραν· καὶ Ἀλέξανδρος αὐτοὺς μὲν ἀφῆκεν, σατράπην δὲ ἀπέδειξεν αὐτῶν Αὐτοφραδάτην, ὄνπερ καὶ Ταπούρων.
- 4 Αὐτὸς δὲ ἐπανελθὼν εἰς τὸ στρατόπεδον, ἐνθενπερ ὠρμήθη ἐς τῶν Μάρδων τὴν γῆν, κατέλαβε τοὺς Ἑλληνας τοὺς μισθοφόρους ἦκοντας καὶ τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίων πρέσβεις, οἳ παρὰ βασιλέα Δαρεῖον ἐπρέσβευον, Καλλιστρατίδαν τε καὶ Παύσιππον καὶ Μόνιμον καὶ Ὀνόμαντα, καὶ Ἀθηναίων Δρωπίδην. τούτους μὲν δὴ ξυλλαβὼν ἐν φυλακῇ εἶχε, τοὺς Σινωπέων δὲ ἀφῆκεν, ὅτι Σινωπεῖς οὐτε τοῦ κοινοῦ τῶν Ἑλλήνων μετεῖχον, ὑπὸ Πέρσαις τε τεταγμένοι οὐκ ἀπεικότα
- 5 ποιεῖν ἐδόκουν παρὰ τὸν βασιλέα σφῶν πρεσβεύοντες. ἀφῆκεν δὲ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων Ἑλλήνων, ὅσοι πρὸ τῆς εἰρήνης τε καὶ τῆς ξυμμαχίας τῆς πρὸς Μακεδόνας γενομένης παρὰ

- cavalry and the mounted javelin-men, for by this time they formed
- 2 a battalion. Passing through the greater part of the Mardian country, he killed many of them in flight, and some who had offered resistance; a great number were captured alive. Now, no one had invaded their country for a long time, owing to the difficulty of the terrain, and because the Mardians were not only poor, but warlike. So they could never have had any apprehension that Alexander would invade their country, especially as he had already marched so far beyond it, and for this reason they were taken more off their
- 3 guard. But many of them also took refuge in the mountains, which are very high and precipitous in their country, feeling sure that Alexander would not penetrate so far. But when he actually reached this refuge, they sent envoys and surrendered themselves and their country; and Alexander released them, and appointed as their satrap Autophradates, whom he had also made satrap of the Tapurians.
- 4 He himself returned to the camp from which he had set out for the Mardian land, and found that the mercenary Greeks had arrived with the Lacedaemonian envoys who were on an embassy to king Darius, Callistratidas, Pausippus, Monimus and Onomas, with Dropides from Athens. He arrested these men and kept them in custody, but released envoys from Sinope, since the Sinopeans were not part of the Greek league but subject to Persia, and he did not think they were acting unreasonably in sending an embassy to their
- 5 own king.<sup>2</sup> He released the other Greeks too who served the Persians as mercenaries before the peace and alliance made (by the Greeks)

<sup>2</sup> QC. 5, 6 ff.; cf. Introd. 40; App. VI. QC. says the Athenian Democrates fell on his sword.

Πέρσαις ἐμισθοφόρου, καὶ Καλχηδονίων Ἡρακλείδην. τὸν πρεσβευτὴν ἀφῆκεν τοὺς δὲ ἄλλους ξυστρατεύεσθαι οἱ ἐπὶ μισθῷ τῷ αὐτῷ ἐκέλευσε· καὶ ἐπέταξεν αὐτοῖς Ἀνδρόνικον, ὅσπερ ἤγαγέ τε αὐτοὺς καὶ ἔνδηλος γέγονει οὐ φαῦλον ποιούμενος σῶσαι τοὺς ἄνδρας.

25. Ταῦτα δὲ διαπραξάμενος ἦγεν ὡς ἐπὶ Ζαδράκαρτα, τὴν μεγίστην πόλιν τῆς Ἑρκανίας, ἵνα καὶ τὰ βασιλεία τοῖς Ἑρκανίοις ἦν. καὶ ἐνταῦθα διατρίψας ἡμέρας πεντεκαίδεκα καὶ θύσας τοῖς θεοῖς ὡς νόμος καὶ ἀγῶνα γυμνικὸν ποιήσας ὡς ἐπὶ Παρθυαίους ἦγεν· ἐκείθεν δὲ ἐπὶ τὰ τῆς Ἀρείας ὄρια καὶ Σουσίαν, πόλιν τῆς Ἀρείας, ἵνα καὶ Σατιβαρζάνης ἦκε παρ' αὐτὸν ὁ τῶν Ἀρείων σατράπης. τούτῳ μὲν δὴ τὴν σατραπείαν ἀποδοὺς ξυμπέμπει αὐτῷ Ἀνάξιππον τῶν ἐταίρων δούς αὐτῷ τῶν ἵππακοντιστῶν ἑς τεσσαράκοντα, ὡς ἔχει φύλακας καθιστάναι τῶν τόπων, τοῦ μὴ ἀδικεῖσθαι τοὺς Ἀρείους πρὸς τῆς στρατιᾶς κατὰ τὴν πάροδον.
- 3 Ἐν τούτῳ δὲ ἀφικνοῦνται παρ' αὐτὸν Περσῶν τινες, οἱ ἠγγελλον Βῆσσον τὴν τε τιάραν ὀρθὴν ἔχειν καὶ τὴν Περσικὴν στολὴν φοροῦντα Ἀρτοξέρξην τε καλεῖσθαι ἀντὶ Βῆσσον καὶ βασιλέα φάσκειν εἶναι τῆς Ἀσίας· ἔχειν τε ἀμφ' αὐτὸν Περσῶν τε τοὺς ἐς Βάκτρα διαφυγόντας καὶ αὐτῶν Βακτριανῶν πολλούς· προσδοκᾶσθαι δὲ ἤξειν αὐτῷ καὶ Σκύθας ξυμμάχους.

with the Macedonians,<sup>3</sup> as well as Heraclides, the envoy from Calchedon, and ordered the other Greeks to join his army for the same pay as they had been receiving, under the command of Andronicus, who had been their leader and had shown his anxiety to save their lives.<sup>4</sup>

25. After carrying all this out, he made for Zadracarta, the greatest city of Hyrcania, the place where the Hyrcanian palace was. There he spent fifteen days, and sacrificed to the gods as custom directed, and held an athletic contest,<sup>1</sup> and then marched towards the Parthyaean, and thence to the borders of Areia and to Susia, a city of Areia, where he was also met by Satibarzanes, the satrap of the Areians. Alexander confirmed him in his satrapy,<sup>2</sup> and sent with him Anaxippus, one of the Companions, with about forty mounted javelin-men, so that he might have guards to set for various places, to prevent the Areians being injured by the army on its passage.

- 3 Meanwhile some Persians met Alexander and reported that Bessus was wearing his cap upright, dressing in Persian royal garb,<sup>3</sup> calling himself Artaxerxes instead of Bessus, and giving out that he was King of Asia; he was attended by the Persians who had escaped to Bactria and by many of the Bactrians themselves; and he was expecting Scythian allies as well to join him.

3 Cf. Introd. 38.

4 QC. v 9, 15 (cf. A. 16, 2) makes Patron their leader. Andronicus, a Macedonian, replaced him.

1 D. 77; QC. vi 5, 24 ff.; J. xii 3 put here (P. 46 beyond Jaxartes) a visit from the queen of the Amazons, cf. Introd. 12. A. omits the denials of Pt. and Ar. Cf. iv 15, 4; vii 13. See also App. XII 1 f.

2 QC. 6, 13 makes him give Al. the news about Bessus; no mention of Anaxippus, but cf. D. 78, 1. For Al's route, and for dates, covering chs 25–28 see App. VIII 11–14; his army, App. XIII.

- 4 Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ ὁμοῦ ἤδη ἔχων τὴν πᾶσαν δύναμιν ἦει ἐπὶ Βάκτρων, ἵνα καὶ Φίλιππος ὁ Μενελάου παρ' αὐτὸν ἀφίκετο ἐκ Μηδίας, ἔχων τοὺς τε μισθοφόρους ἰππέας, ὧν ἠγείτο αὐτός, καὶ Θεσσαλῶν τοὺς ἐθελοντὰς ὑπομείναντας καὶ τοὺς ξένους τοὺς Ἀνδρομάχου. Νικάνωρ δὲ ὁ Παρμενίωνος ὁ τῶν
- 5 ὑπασπιστῶν ἄρχων τετελευτήκει ἤδη νόσῳ. ἰόντι δὲ Ἀλεξάνδρῳ τὴν ἐπὶ Βάκτρα ἐξηγγέλθη Σατιβαρζάνης ὁ Ἀρείων σατράπης Ἀνάξιππον μὲν καὶ τοὺς ἰππακοντιστὰς τοὺς ξὺν αὐτῷ ἀπεκτονῶς, ὀπλίζων δὲ τοὺς Ἀρείους καὶ ξυνάγων εἰς Ἀρτακόανα πόλιν, ἵνα τὸ βασίλειον ἦν τῶν Ἀρείων· ἐκεῖθεν δὲ ὅτι ἔγνωκεν, ἐπειδὴν προκεχωρηκότα Ἀλέξανδρον πύθεται, ἰέναι ξὺν τῇ δυνάμει παρὰ Βῆσσον, ὡς
- 6 ξὺν ἐκείνῳ ἐπιθησόμενος ὅπῃ ἂν τύχη τοῖς Μακεδόσι. ταῦτα ὡς ἐξηγγέλθη αὐτῷ, τὴν μὲν ἐπὶ Βάκτρα ὁδὸν οὐκ ἦγεν, ἀναλαβὼν δὲ τοὺς τε ἐταίρους ἰππέας καὶ τοὺς ἰππακοντιστὰς καὶ τοὺς τοξότας καὶ τοὺς Ἀγριαῖνας καὶ τὴν Ἀμύντου τε καὶ Κοίνου τάξιν, τὴν δὲ ἄλλην δύναμιν αὐτοῦ καταλιπὼν καὶ ἐπ' αὐτῇ Κρατερὸν ἠγεμόνα, σπουδῆ ἦγεν ὡς ἐπὶ Σατιβαρζάνην τε καὶ τοὺς Ἀρείους καὶ διελθὼν ἐν δυσὶν ἡμέραις σταδίους ἐς ἑξακοσίους πρὸς Ἀρτακόανα ἦκεν.
- 7 Σατιβαρζάνης μὲν οὖν, ὡς ἔγνω ἐγγὺς ὄντα Ἀλέξανδρον, τῇ ὀξύτητι τῆς ἐφόδου ἐκπλαγεὶς ξὺν ὀλίγοις ἰππεῦσι τῶν Ἀρείων ἔφυγε πρὸς γὰρ τῶν πολλῶν στρατιωτῶν κατελείφθη ἐν τῇ φυγῇ, ὡς κάκεινοι ἔμαθον προσάγοντα Ἀλέξανδρον. Ἀλέξανδρος δέ, ὅσους ξυναιτίους τῆς ἀποστάσεως κατέμαθε καὶ ἐν τῷ τότε ἀπολελοιπότας τὰς κόμας,

- 4 With his whole force now reassembled Alexander was on his way towards Bactra when Philip son of Menelaus joined him from Media with the mercenary cavalry under his own command, the Thessalian volunteers who had remained in the army and Andromachus' foreign corps. Nicanor son of Parmenio, commander of the hypaspists, had already died of sickness.<sup>4</sup> While Alexander
- 5 was on his way to Bactra, news was brought that Satibarzanes, satrap of Areia, had massacred Anaxippus and his mounted javelin-men, was arming the Areians and leading them in a body to the city of Artacoana, where the Areian palace was, and that he had decided, on learning of Alexander's advance, to go from there with his troops to Bessus and join him in attacking the Macedonians
- 6 wherever opportunity offered. When this was reported to Alexander he did not continue on the road to Bactra, but took the Companion cavalry, the mounted javelin-men, archers, Agrianians, and Amyntas' and Coenus' battalions, and leaving behind there the rest of the army with Craterus in charge, advanced swiftly against Satibarzanes and the Areians; after covering about six hundred stades in two days, he arrived at Artacoana.<sup>5</sup>
- 7 Satibarzanes, on learning of Alexander's proximity, was astounded at the speed of his approach, and fled with a few Areian horsemen; for in his flight he was deserted by most of his soldiers, as they too learnt that Alexander was approaching. Alexander pursued sharply all those he found to have had a hand

4 QC. vi 6, 18 f., making Philip and others join Al. at Artacoana and with different forces, cf. App. XIII 4 f.

5 At or near Herat, App. VIII 11. Other tales in D. 78; QC. 6, 20–34.

τούτους δὲ ἄλλη καὶ ἄλλη, ὀξείας τὰς διώξεις ποιησάμενος, τοὺς μὲν ἀπέκτεινε, τοὺς δὲ ἠνδραπόδισε· σατράπην δὲ Ἀρείων 8 ἀπέδειξεν Ἀρσάκην, ἄνδρα Πέρσην. αὐτὸς δὲ ξὺν τοῖς ἀμφὶ Κρατερὸν ὑπολελειμμένοις, ὁμοῦ οὖσιν ἤδη, ὡς ἐπὶ τὴν Ζαραγγαίων χώραν ἦγε· καὶ ἀφικνεῖται ἵνα τὰ βασίλεια τῶν Ζαραγγαίων ᾖν. Βαρσαέντης δέ, ὃς τότε κατεῖχε τὴν χώραν, εἰς ὧν τῶν ξυνεπιθεμένων Δαρείω ἐν τῇ φυγῇ, προσιώντα Ἀλέξανδρον μαθὼν ἐς Ἰνδοὺς τοὺς ἐπὶ τάδε τοῦ Ἰνδοῦ ποταμοῦ ἔφυγε. ξυλλαβόντες δὲ αὐτὸν οἱ Ἰνδοὶ παρ' Ἀλέξανδρον ἀπέστειλαν, καὶ ἀποθνήσκει πρὸς Ἀλεξάνδρου τῆς ἐς Δαρείον ἀδικίας ἕνεκα.

26. Ἐνταῦθα καὶ τὴν Φιλώτα ἐπιβουλήν τοῦ Παρμενίωνος ἔμαθεν Ἀλέξανδρος, καὶ λέγει Πτολεμαῖος καὶ Ἀριστόβουλος, ὅτι προσηγγελημένη <μὲν ᾖν> ἤδη οἱ καὶ πρότερον ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ, οὐ μόντοι πιστὴ γε ἐφάνη τῆς τε φιλίας τῆς πάλαι ἕνεκα καὶ τῆς ἐξ αὐτοῦ ἐς Παρμενίωνά τε τὸν πατέρα τὸν 2 Φιλώτα τιμῆς καὶ ἐς αὐτὸν Φιλώταν πίστεως. Πτολεμαῖος δὲ ὁ Λάγου λέγει εἰσαχθῆναι εἰς Μακεδόνας Φιλώταν καὶ κατηγορησάμενον μὲν αὐτοῦ ἰσχυρῶς Ἀλέξανδρον, ἀπολογήσασθαι δὲ αὐτὸν Φιλώταν· καὶ τοὺς ἐπιμηνυτὰς τοῦ ἔργου παρελθόντας ἐξελέγξαι Φιλώταν τε καὶ τοὺς ἀμφ' αὐτὸν ἄλλοις τε ἐλέγχουσιν οὐκ ἀφανέσι καὶ μάλιστα δὴ ὅτι αὐτὸς Φιλώτας πεπύσθαι μὲν ἐπιβουλήν τινα Ἀλεξάνδρῳ παρασκευαζομένην συνέφη, ἐξηλέγχετο δὲ κατασιωπήσας ταύτην πρὸς Ἀλέξανδρον, καίτοι δις ἐπὶ τὴν σκηνὴν ὀσημέραι τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρου

in the revolt, who had at the time deserted their villages, and going in different directions, he killed some and enslaved the rest. As 8 satrap of Areia he appointed Arsaces, a Persian.<sup>6</sup> With the force left under Craterus, which had now joined him, he marched towards the territory of the Zarangaeans, and arrived at the place where their palace was.<sup>7</sup> Barsaentes, who was then in occupation of the country, and was one of those who had joined in attacking Darius on his flight, on learning that Alexander was approaching, fled to the Indians on this side of the river Indus; but they seized him and sent him to Alexander, who put him to death for the wrong he had done Darius.

26. It was there too that Alexander learnt of the conspiracy of Philotas son of Parmenio.<sup>1</sup> Ptolemy and Aristobulus say that it had already been reported to him earlier in Egypt, but he did not think it credible because of their long friendship, the honour he had shown to Parmenio, Philotas' father, and the trust he had reposed in 2 Philotas himself. Ptolemy son of Lagus gives the following account. Philotas was summoned before the Macedonians, Alexander vigorously accused him, Philotas made his defence; then those who had denounced the plot came forward and convicted Philotas and his associates with clear proofs; in particular, they showed that while Philotas himself admitted that he had heard of some sort of plot being laid against Alexander, he was convicted of having said nothing of it to Alexander, though he

6 Presumably 'Arsames', made satrap of the Zarangaeans after Philotas' death in QC. vii 3, 1.

7 The Zarangaeian capital should be at or near Farah, App. VIII 12 f. Cf. D. 78, 4; QC. vi 6, 36; 7, 1.

1 See App. XI on 26-27, 4.

- 3 φοιτῶν. καὶ Φιλώταν μὲν κατακουτισθῆναι πρὸς τῶν  
Μακεδόνων καὶ ὅσοι ἄλλοι μετέσχον αὐτῷ τῆς ἐπιβουλῆς ἐπὶ  
Παρμενίωνα δὲ σταλῆναι Πολυδάμαντα, ἓνα τῶν ἐταίρων,  
γράμματα φέροντα παρ' Ἀλεξάνδρου πρὸς τοὺς στρατηγοὺς  
τοὺς ἐν Μηδίᾳ, Κλέανδρόν τε καὶ Σιτάλκην καὶ Μεν[ν]ίδαν·
- 4 οὗτοι γὰρ ἐπὶ τῆς στρατιᾶς, ἧς Παρμενίων ἦρχε, τεταγμένοι  
ἦσαν καὶ πρὸς τούτων ἀποθανεῖν Παρμενίωνα, τυχὸν μὲν ὅτι  
οὐ πιστὸν ἐδόκει εἶναι Ἀλέξανδρος Φιλώτα ἐπιβουλεύοντος μὴ  
ξυμμετασχεῖν Παρμενίωνα τῷ παιδὶ τοῦ βουλευματος, τυχὸν  
δὲ ὅτι, εἰ καὶ μὴ ξυμμετέσχε, σφαλερὸς ἦδη ἦν περιῶν  
Παρμενίων τοῦ παιδὸς αὐτοῦ ἀνηρημένου, ἐν τοσαύτῃ ὧν  
ἀξιώσει παρά τε αὐτῷ Ἀλεξάνδρῳ καὶ ἐς τὸ ἄλλο στράτευμα,  
μὴ ὅτι τὸ Μακεδονικόν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ξένων, ὧν  
πολλάκις καὶ ἐν μέρει καὶ παρὰ τὸ μέρος κατὰ πρόσταξιν τὴν  
Ἀλεξάνδρου ξὺν χάριτι ἐξηγεῖτο.

27. Λέγουσι δὲ καὶ Ἀμύνταν τὸν Ἀνδρομένους κατὰ τὸν  
αὐτὸν χρόνον ὑπαχθῆναι ἐς κρίσιν καὶ Πολέμωνα καὶ  
Ἄτταλον καὶ Σιμμίαν τοὺς Ἀμύντου ἀδελφούς, ὡς  
ξυμμετασχόντας καὶ αὐτοὺς τῆς ἐπιβουλῆς τῆς κατ'

- 2 Ἀλεξάνδρου κατὰ πίστιν τε καὶ ἐταιρίαν τὴν Φιλώτα. καὶ  
ἐδόκει πιστοτέρα ἢ ἐπιβουλή ἐς τὸ πλῆθος, ὅτι Πολέμων, εἰς  
τῶν ἀδελφῶν τῶν Ἀμύντου, ξυλληφθέντος Φιλώτα ἔφυγεν ἐς  
τοὺς πολεμίους. ἀλλ' Ἀμύντας γε ξὺν τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς ὑπομείνας  
τὴν δίκην καὶ ἀπολογησάμενος ἐν Μακεδόσι καρτερῶς  
ἀφίεται τῆς αἰτίας· καὶ εὐθὺς ὡς ἀπέφυγεν ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ
- 3 ἠξίωσεν ἐφεθῆναί οἱ ἐλθεῖν παρὰ τὸν ἀδελφὸν καὶ  
ἐπαναγαγεῖν αὐτὸν παρ' Ἀλεξάνδρου· καὶ οἱ

- 3 visited Alexander's tent twice daily. Philotas was shot down with  
javelins by the Macedonians, along with all his accomplices. As for  
action against Parmenio, Polydamas, one of the Companions, was  
sent with a letter from Alexander to the generals in Media,  
Cleander and Sitalces and Menidas, who had been posted to the  
force under Parmenio's command.<sup>2</sup> At their hands Parmenio
- 4 perished, possibly because Alexander could not believe that when  
Philotas was conspiring, Parmenio had no share in his own son's  
design, possibly because, even supposing he had no such share, it  
had now become a danger for Parmenio to survive his son's  
execution, on account of the high honour which he enjoyed with  
Alexander himself and in the view of the army too—not only the  
Macedonian but the foreign troops also, whom he had often  
commanded with popularity both in and out of turn by Alexander's  
order.

27. They also say that Amyntas son of Andromenes was brought  
to trial at the same time, together with Polemon, Attalus and  
Simmias, his brothers, on the charge that they too had joined in the  
conspiracy against Alexander as loyal comrades of Philotas.

- 2 Moreover the conspiracy seemed more credible to the masses,  
because Polemon, one of Amyntas' brothers, deserted to the enemy  
as soon as Philotas was arrested. However, Amyntas at least with his  
(other) brothers stood his trial, made a vigorous defence before the  
Macedonians, and was acquitted of the charge; and the moment he  
was acquitted, he asked leave to go and bring Polemon back again
- 3 to Alexander; the Macedonians agreed. He departed that

2 For the ride across the central Persian desert Strabo xv 2, 10;  
D. 80, 3; QC. vii 2, 18.

Μακεδόνες ξυγχωρούσιν. ὁ δὲ ἀπελθὼν αὐτῇ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ τὸν Πολέμωνα ἐπανήγαγε. καὶ ταύτη πολὺ ἔτι μᾶλλον ἢ πρόσθεν ἔξω αἰτίας ἐφάνη Ἀμύντας. ἀλλὰ ὀλίγον γὰρ ὕστερον κόμην τινὰ πολιορκῶν τοξευθεὶς ἐκ τῆς πληγῆς ἐτελεύτησεν, ὥστε οὐδὲν πλέον αὐτῷ γίνεται τὴν κρίσιν ἀποφυγόντι ὅτι μὴ ἀγαθῷ νομιζομένῳ ἀποθανεῖν.

- 4 Ἀλέξανδρος δέ, καταστήσας ἐπὶ τοὺς ἐταίρους ἱππάρχας δύο, Ἡφαιστίωνά τε τὸν Ἀμύντορος καὶ Κλείτον τὸν Δρωπίδου, καὶ δίχα διελὼν τὴν τάξιν τῶν ἐταίρων, ὅτι οὐδὲ φίλτατον ἂν ἠβούλετο ἓνα τοσοῦτων ἱππέων, ἄλλως τε καὶ τῶν κρατίστων τοῦ παντὸς ἱππικοῦ κατὰ τε ἀξίωσιν καὶ τὴν ἄλλην ἀρετὴν, ἐξηγείσθαι, ἀφικνεῖται ἐς τοὺς πάλαι μὲν Ἀριάσπας καλουμένους, ὕστερον δὲ Εὐεργέτας
- 5 ἐπονομασθέντας, ὅτι Κύρῳ τῷ Καμβύσου ξυνεπελάβοντο τῆς ἐς Σκύθας ἐλάσεως. καὶ τούτους Ἀλέξανδρος ὦν τε ἐς Κῦρον ὑπῆρξαν οἱ πρόγονοι αὐτῶν τιμήσας καὶ αὐτοὺς καταμαθὼν ἄνδρας οὐ κατὰ τοὺς ἄλλους τοὺς ταύτη βαρβάρους πολιτεύοντας, ἀλλὰ τοῦ δικαίου ἴσα καὶ τοῖς κρατίστοις τῶν Ἑλλήνων μεταποιουμένους, ἐλευθέρους τε ἀφήκεν καὶ χώραν τῆς ὁμόρου ὅσῃν αὐτοὶ σφίσις ἤτησαν, οὐ πολλὴν δὲ οὐδ' αὐτοὶ ἤτησαν, προσέθηκεν. ἐνταῦθα θύσας τῷ Ἀπόλλωνι Δημήτριον μὲν ἓνα τῶν σωματοφυλάκων ὑποπτεύσας μετασχεῖν Φιλώτα τῆς ἐπιβουλῆς ξυνέλαβε· σωματοφύλακα δὲ ἀντὶ Δημητρίου ἀπέδειξε Πτολεμαῖον τὸν Λάγου.

28. Ταῦτα δὲ διαπραξάμενος προήει ὡς ἐπὶ

very day and brought him back; and thus his own innocence appeared much clearer than before. Soon after, however, when besieging a village, he received an arrow wound of which he died; so that all he gained from his acquittal was that he died with his good name unsmirched.

- 4 Alexander now put two hipparchs in charge of the Companions, Hephaestion son of Amyntor and Clitus son of Dropides, and after dividing the Companions' brigade into two parts, since he would not have wished a single man, though his closest friend,<sup>1</sup> to command so large a body of cavalry, especially as it was the best of all his mounted force in reputation and valour, he arrived among the people formerly called Ariaspans, but later also nicknamed Benefactors, because they assisted Cyrus son of Cambyses in his
- 5 Scythian expedition. Alexander honoured this people for the services their ancestors had done to Cyrus and from his own observation that they were not governed like the other barbarians of these parts, but also claimed to follow justice as much as the best of the Greeks; he therefore granted them freedom and added to their territory as much as they asked for themselves of the neighbouring country, though they only asked for a modest portion.<sup>2</sup> There he sacrificed to Apollo, arrested Demetrius, one of the bodyguards, suspecting that he had a hand in Philotas' conspiracy,<sup>3</sup> and appointed as bodyguard Ptolemy son of Lagus in his place.

28. After carrying out all these measures, Alexander

1 i.e. not even Hephaestion.

2 D. 81; QC. vii 3, 1 f. make Al. appoint a governor with different names, five days out of the Zarangaeian capital (QC.). Cf. App. Viii 11 f.

3 QC. vi 11, 35 ff. makes him die with Philotas.

Βάκτρα τε καὶ Βῆσσον, Δράγγας τε καὶ Γαδρωσοὺς ἐν τῇ παρόδῳ παραστησάμενος. παρεστήσατο δὲ καὶ τοὺς Ἀραχώτας καὶ σατράπην κατέστησεν ἐπ' αὐτοῖς Μένωνα. ἐπήλθε δὲ καὶ τῶν Ἰνδῶν τοὺς προσχώρους Ἀραχώταις.

ξύμπαντα δὲ ταῦτα τὰ ἔθνη διὰ χιόνος τε πολλῆς καὶ ξὺν

- 2 ἀπορία τῶν ἐπιτηδείων καὶ τῶν στρατιωτῶν ταλαιπωρία ἐπήλθε. μαθὼν δὲ τοὺς Ἀρείους αὐθις ἀφεστάναι, Σατιβαρζάνου ἐς τὴν χώραν αὐτῶν ἐμβalόντος σὺν ἵππεύσι δισχιλίοις, οὓς παρὰ Βῆσσου ἔλαβεν, ἀποστέλλει παρ' αὐτοὺς Ἀρτάβαζόν τε τὸν Πέρσην καὶ Ἐριγύϊον καὶ Κάρανον τῶν ἐταίρων. προσέταξε δὲ καὶ Φραταφέρην τὸν τῶν Παρθυαίων
- 3 σατράπην ξυνεμβαλεῖν αὐτοῖς ἐς τοὺς Ἀρείους. καὶ γίγνεται μάχη τοῖς ἀμφὶ Ἐριγύϊον καὶ Κάρανον πρὸς Σατιβαρζάνην καρτερά, οὐδὲ πρόσθεν οἱ βάρβαροι ἐνέκλιναν πρὶν Σατιβαρζάνην ξυμπεσόντα Ἐριγύϊῳ πρὸς Ἐριγύϊου πληγέντα δόρατι ἐς τὸ πρόσωπον ἀποθανεῖν. τότε δὲ ἐγκλίναντες οἱ βάρβαροι προτροπάδην ἔφευγον.

- 4 Ἐν τούτῳ δὲ Ἀλέξανδρος πρὸς τὸν Καύκασον τὸ ὄρος ἤγεν, ἵνα καὶ πόλιν ἔκτισε καὶ ὠνόμασεν Ἀλεξάνδρειαν· καὶ θύσας ἐνταῦθα τοῖς θεοῖς ὅσοις νόμος αὐτῷ ὑπερέβαλε τὸ ὄρος τὸν Καύκασον, σατράπην μὲν τῇ χώρᾳ ἐπιτάξας Προέξην, ἄνδρα Πέρσην, τῶν δὲ ἐταίρων Νειλόξενον τὸν Σατύρου ἐπίσκοπον ξὺν στρατιᾷ ἀπολιπών.

proceeded towards Bactra and against Bessus and on the way won over the Drangians and Gadrosians,<sup>1</sup> and the Arachotians as well, appointing Menon as satrap to govern them.<sup>2</sup> He also came upon the Indians nearest the Arachotians. He came on all these tribes through deep snow, with provisions wanting and his men in distress.

- 2 On learning that the Areians had again revolted, since Satibarzanes had invaded their country with two thousand horse, whom he had received from Bessus, he sent Artabazus the Persian and two Companions, Erigyus and Caranus to their country and also ordered Phrataphernes, the satrap of Parthyaëa, to help them in
- 3 their attack on the Areians.<sup>3</sup> A fierce battle took place between the troops of Erigyus and Caranus and Satibarzanes; indeed, the Persians did not give way till in single combat with Erigyus Satibarzanes was struck in the face with a spear and killed. Then the barbarians turned and fled headlong.<sup>4</sup>

- 4 Meanwhile Alexander led his army to Mount Caucasus,<sup>5</sup> where he founded a city he called Alexandria.<sup>6</sup> There he sacrificed to the gods to whom he customarily sacrificed, and then crossed Mount Caucasus, appointing as satrap of the district Proexes, a Persian, with Niloxenes son of Satyrus, one of the Companions, as overseer in command of troops.<sup>7</sup>

330-29 B.C.

329 B.C.

1 App. VIII 9.

2 QC. vi 3, 5 gives him 4,000 foot and 600 horse. For arrival of reinforcements ib. 2 and 4.

3 D. 81, 3; QC. vii 3, 2 (in Ariaspia).

4 D. 83; QC. 4, 33 ff. (embellished), who makes Erigyus rejoin Al. at Bactra, in 329 B.C.

5 Hindu-Kush, cf. App. XII. March: App. VIII 10 f.

6 Cf. iv 22 4; Strabo xv 2, 10; D. 83, 2, (mentioning other (or another) settlements nearby, e.g. perhaps Nicaea (iv 22, 6)); QC. vii 3, 23. The settlers in Alexandria (QC.) or all the cities (D.) were 7,000 natives; D. adds 3,000 camp-followers and some volunteers among

- 5 Τὸ δὲ ὄρος ὃ Καύκασος ὑψηλὸν μὲν ἐστὶν ὥσπερ τι ἄλλο  
 τῆς Ἀσίας, ὡς λέγει Ἀριστόβουλος, ψιλὸν δὲ τὸ πολὺ αὐτοῦ  
 τό γε ταύτη. μακρὸν γὰρ ὄρος παρατέταται ὃ Καύκασος, ὥστε  
 καὶ τὸν Ταῦρον τὸ ὄρος, ὃς δὴ τὴν Κιλικίαν τε καὶ  
 Παμφυλίαν ἀπείργει, ἀπὸ τοῦ Καυκάσου εἶναι λέγουσι καὶ  
 6 ἄλλα ὄρη μεγάλα, ἀπὸ τοῦ Καυκάσου διακεκριμένα ἄλλη καὶ  
 ἄλλη ἐπωνυμία κατὰ ἥθη τὰ ἐκάστων. ἀλλὰ ἔν γε τούτῳ τῷ  
 Καυκάσῳ οὐδὲν ἄλλο ὅτι μὴ τέρμινθοι πεφύκασι καὶ σίλφιον,  
 ὡς λέγει Ἀριστόβουλος· ἀλλὰ καὶ ὡς ἐπικέϊτο πολλοῖς  
 ἀνθρώποις καὶ πρόβατα πολλὰ καὶ κτήνη ἐνέμοντο, ὅτι καὶ  
 χαίρουσι τῷ σιλφίῳ τὰ πρόβατα, καὶ εἰ ἐκ πολλοῦ πρόβατον  
 σιλφίου αἰσθοῖτο, καὶ θεῖ ἐπ' αὐτὸ καὶ τό τε ἄνθος ἐπινέμεται  
 7 καὶ τὴν ῥίζαν ἀνορύττον καὶ ταύτην κατεσθίει. ἐπὶ τῷδε ἐν  
 Κυρήνῃ ὡς μακροτάτῳ ἀπελαύνουσι τὰς ποιμνας τῶν χωρίων,  
 ἵνα αὐτοῖς τὸ σίλφιον φύεται. οἱ δὲ καὶ περιφράσσουσι τὸν  
 χῶρον, τοῦ μηδὲ εἰ πελάσειεν αὐτῷ πρόβατα, δυνατὰ  
 γενέσθαι εἴσω παρελθεῖν, ὅτι πολλοῦ ἄξιον Κυρηναίοις τὸ  
 σίλφιον.
- 8 Βῆσσος δὲ ἔχων ἀμφ' αὐτὸν Περσῶν τε τοὺς μετασχόντας  
 αὐτῷ τῆς Δαρείου συλλήψεως καὶ αὐτῶν Βακτριῶν ἐς  
 ἑπτακισχιλίους καὶ Δάας τοὺς ἐπὶ τάδε τοῦ Τανάϊδος ποταμοῦ  
 ἐποικούντας ἔφθειρε τὴν ὑπὸ τῷ ὄρει τῷ Καυκάσῳ, ὡς ἐρημία  
 τε τῆς χώρας τῆς ἐν μέσῳ αὐτοῦ τε καὶ Ἀλεξάνδρου καὶ  
 9 ἀπορία τῶν ἐπιτηδείων ἀπείρξων Ἀλέξανδρον τοῦ μὴ ἐλαύνειν  
 πρόσω. ἀλλὰ Ἀλέξανδρος ἤλανεν οὐδὲν μείον, χαλεπῶς μὲν  
 διὰ τε χιόνος πολλῆς καὶ ἐνδεία τῶν ἀναγκαίων, ἦει δὲ ὄμως.  
 Βῆσσος δέ, ἐπεὶ ἐξηγγέλλετο αὐτῷ οὐ πόρρω ἦδη

- 5 Mount Caucasus, according to Aristobulus, is as high as any  
 mountain in Asia; most of it is bare, at least on this side. In fact it is  
 a long mountain range, so that they say that even Mount Taurus,  
 which forms the boundary of Cilicia and Pamphylia, is really a part  
 of Mount Caucasus as well as other great mountains which have  
 been distinguished from Mount Caucasus by various names  
 traditional among the different peoples.<sup>8</sup> In this particular Mount  
 6 Caucasus, however, nothing grows save terebinths and silphium  
 according to Aristobulus. But even so it was inhabited by a large  
 number of people and many flocks and herds grazed there, since  
 the flocks like the silphium, and if they notice it ever so far away  
 7 they run to it, nibble its flower, and dig up and eat the root. For this  
 reason in Cyrene they drive their flocks as far as possible from the  
 places where their silphium grows; some even hurdle off the area,  
 so that even if the flocks approach they cannot get in, since  
 silphium is very valuable to the Cyrenaeans.
- 8 Bessus, attended by the Persians who had joined in the arrest of  
 Darius, by some seven thousand of the Bactrians themselves, and  
 by the Dahae who live on this side of the river Tanais [Syr-darya],  
 was ravaging the land lying under Mount Caucasus, hoping that this  
 desolation of the country lying between himself and Alexander and  
 want of provisions would stop Alexander from proceeding farther.
- 9 But Alexander advanced none the less, with difficulty indeed,  
 through thick snow and with necessaries lacking, but still he came  
 on. As soon as Bessus was told that Alexander

<sup>8</sup> A. inserts his own comment, from Eratosthenes (App. XII 3),  
 between two citations from Ar.



10 ὦν Ἀλέξανδρος, διαβὰς τὸν Ὅξον ποταμὸν τὰ μὲν πλοῖα ἐφ'  
 ὦν διέβη κατέκαυσεν, αὐτὸς δὲ ἐς Ναύτακα τῆς Σογδιανῆς  
 χώρας ἀπεχώρει. εἶποντο δὲ αὐτῷ οἱ τε ἀμφὶ Σπιταμένην καὶ  
 Ὁξυάρτην, ἔχοντες τοὺς ἐκ τῆς Σογδιανῆς ἰππέας, καὶ Δάαι οἱ  
 ἀπὸ τοῦ Ταναΐδος. οἱ δὲ τῶν Βακτρίων ἰππεῖς ὡς φεύγειν  
 ἐγνωκότα ἔμαθον Βῆσσον, ἄλλος ἄλλη ἐπὶ τὰ σφῶν ἕκαστοι  
 ἀπηλλάγησαν.

29. Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ ἐς Δράψακα ἀφικόμενος καὶ ἀναπαύσας  
 τὴν στρατιὰν ἐς Ἀορνόν τε ἤγε καὶ Βάκτρα, αἱ δὲ μέγισταί  
 εἰσι πόλεις ἐν τῇ Βακτρίων χώρα. καὶ ταύτας τε ἐξ ἐφόδου  
 ἔλαβε καὶ φυλακὴν ἐν τῇ ἄκρᾳ τῆς Ἀόρνου ἀπέλιπε καὶ ἐπὶ  
 ταύτης Ἀρχέλαον τὸν Ἀνδρόκλου τῶν ἐταίρων· τοῖς δὲ ἄλλοις  
 Βακτρίοις οὐ χαλεπῶς προσχωρήσασιν ἐπέταξε σατράπην  
 Ἀρτάβαζον τὸν Πέρσην.

2 Αὐτὸς δὲ ἤγεεν ὡς ἐπὶ τὸν Ὅξον ποταμὸν. ὁ δὲ Ὅξος ῥέει  
 μὲν ἐκ τοῦ ὄρους τοῦ Καυκάσου, ἔστι δὲ ποταμῶν μέγιστος  
 τῶν ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ, ὅσους γε δὴ Ἀλέξανδρος καὶ οἱ ξὺν  
 Ἀλεξάνδρῳ ἐπήλθον, πλὴν τῶν Ἰνδῶν ποταμῶν· οἱ δὲ Ἰνδοὶ  
 πάντων ποταμῶν μέγιστοὶ εἰσιν. ἐξίησι δὲ ὁ Ὅξος ἐς τὴν  
 3 μεγάλην θάλασσαν τὴν κατὰ Ἰρκανίαν. διαβάλλειν δὲ  
 ἐπιχειροῦντι αὐτῷ τὸν ποταμὸν πάντῃ ἄπορον ἐφαίνετο· τὸ  
 μὲν γὰρ εὖρος ἦν ἐς ἕξ μάλιστα σταδίου, βάθος δὲ οὐ πρὸς  
 λόγον τοῦ εὖρους, ἀλλὰ πολὺ δὴ τι βαθύτερος καὶ ψαμμώδης  
 καὶ ῥεῦμα ὀξύς, ὡς τὰ καταπηγνύμενα πρὸς αὐτοῦ τοῦ ῥοῦ  
 4 ἐκστρέφεσθαι ἐκ τῆς γῆς οὐ χαλεπῶς, οἷα δὲ οὐδὲ βεβαίως  
 κατὰ τῆς ψάμμου ἰδρυμένα. ἄλλως τε καὶ ἀπορία ὕλης ἐν τοῖς  
 πόνοις ἦν καὶ τριβὴ πολλή

was now not far off, he crossed the river Oxus [Amudarya], burned  
 the boats on which he had crossed, and himself retreated towards  
 Nautaca in the Sogdianian country, accompanied by the followers of  
 10 Spitamenes and Oxyartes with the horsemen from Sogdiana, and by  
 the Dahae from the Tanais, though the Bactrian cavalry, when they  
 learnt that he had determined on flight, dispersed in different  
 directions to their homes.<sup>9</sup>

29. Alexander arrived at Drapsaca, and after resting his army led  
 them on to Aornos and Bactra, the greatest cities of Bactria, which  
 he took at his first attempt. He left a garrison in the citadel of  
 Aornos under command of Archelaus son of Androcles, one of the  
 Companions. To govern the rest of the Bactrians, who readily  
 adhered to him, he appointed Artabazus the Persian as satrap.<sup>1</sup>

2 He himself marched towards the river Oxus, which flows from  
 Mount Caucasus and is the greatest of the Asian rivers Alexander  
 and his followers reached, except the rivers of India; they are the  
 greatest of all rivers. The Oxus flows into the Great Sea in its  
 3 Hyrcanian part.<sup>2</sup> When Alexander attempted to cross the river it  
 appeared impossible at every point. It was about six stades broad,  
 but disproportionately deeper, in fact far deeper, sandy and fast-  
 flowing, so that piles fixed into the bed were easily twisted out of  
 the ground by the stream alone, not getting a firm hold in the sand.  
 4 Apart from this, want of timber was another difficulty, and it was  
 clear that there

9 Cf. D. 83; QC. vii 3, 22–4, 25.

1 QC. vii 5, 1. (For operations against Bessus, D. 83; QC. vii 5;  
 App. VIII 16.)

2 App. XII.

ἐφαίμετο, εἰ μακρόθεν μετίοιεν ὅσα ἐς γεφύρωσιν τοῦ πόρου.  
 ξυναγαγὼν οὖν τὰς διφθέρας, ὑφ' αἷς ἐσκήνουν οἱ στρατιῶται,  
 φορντοῦ ἐμπλήσαι ἐκέλευσεν ὡς ξηροτάτου καὶ καταδήσαι τε  
 καὶ ξυρράψαι ἀκριβῶς, τοῦ μὴ ἐσδύεσθαι ἐς αὐτὰς τοῦ  
 ὕδατος. ἐμπλησθεῖσαι δὲ καὶ ξυρραφείσαι ἱκαναὶ ἐγένοντο  
 διαβιβάσαι τὴν στρατιὰν ἐν πέντε ἡμέραις.

5 Πρὶν δὲ διαβαίνειν τὸν ποταμὸν τῶν τε Μακεδόνων  
 ἐπιλέξας τοὺς πρεσβυτάτους καὶ ἤδη ἀπολέμους καὶ τῶν  
 Θεσσαλῶν τοὺς ἐθελοντὰς καταμείναντας ἐπ' οἴκου  
 ἀπέστειλεν. ἐκπέμπει δὲ καὶ Στασάνορα, ἓνα τῶν ἐταίρων, ἐς  
 Ἀρείους, προστάξας Ἀρσάκην μὲν τὸν σατράπην τῶν Ἀρείων  
 ξυλλαβεῖν, ὅτι ἐθελοκακεῖν αὐτῷ Ἀρσάκης ἔδοξεν, αὐτὸν δὲ  
 σατράπην εἶναι ἀντ' ἐκείνου Ἀρείων.

6 Περάσας δὲ τὸν Ὀξον ποταμὸν ἦγε κατὰ σπουδὴν, ἵνα  
 Βῆσσον εἶναι ξὺν τῇ δυνάμει ἐπυνηθάνετο. καὶ ἐν τούτῳ  
 ἀφικνοῦνται παρὰ Σπιταμένους καὶ Δαταφέρνου πρὸς αὐτὸν  
 ἀγγέλλοντες, ὅτι Σπιταμένης καὶ Δαταφέρνης, εἰ πεμφθείη  
 αὐτοῖς καὶ ὀλίγη στρατιὰ καὶ ἡγεμῶν τῇ στρατιᾷ,  
 ξυλλήψονται Βῆσσον καὶ παραδώσουσιν Ἀλεξάνδρῳ· ἐπεὶ καὶ

7 νῦν ἀδέσμῳ φυλακῇ φυλάσσεσθαι πρὸς αὐτῶν Βῆσσον.  
 ταῦτα ὡς ἤκουσεν Ἀλέξανδρος, αὐτὸς μὲν ἀναπαύων ἦγε τὴν  
 στρατιὰν σχολαίτερον ἢ πρόσθεν, Πτολεμαῖον δὲ τὸν Λάγου  
 ἀποστέλλει τῶν τε ἐταίρων ἱππαρχίας τρεῖς ἄγοντα καὶ τοὺς  
 ἱππακοντιστὰς ξύμπαντας, πεζῶν δὲ τὴν

would be long delay if they were to fetch from a distance enough to  
 bridge the stream. So he collected the hides the troops used for tent  
 covers and ordered them to be filled with the driest possible chaff,  
 and then to be tied down and stitched neatly together so as to be  
 watertight. When they were filled and stitched together they were  
 efficient enough to take the army across in five days.<sup>3</sup>

5 Before crossing the river Alexander selected from the  
 Macedonians the oldest men who were no longer fit for service and  
 the Thessalian volunteers who had remained behind and sent them  
 on their way home.<sup>4</sup> He also sent Stasanor, one of the Companions,  
 to Areia, with instructions to arrest Arsaces, satrap of the Areians,  
 because he thought him guilty of treason to himself; Stasanor was to  
 take his place as satrap of Areia.<sup>5</sup>

6 After crossing the river Oxus he marched rapidly to the place  
 where according to his information Bessus and his force were to be  
 found. At this time men came to him from Spitamenes and  
 Dataphernes with the message that if quite a small force were sent  
 them, and a man to command it, they would seize Bessus and hand  
 him over to Alexander; in fact they already had him under open

7 arrest. On hearing this, Alexander for his own part rested his army  
 and led it on more leisurely than before, but sent Ptolemy son of  
 Lagus<sup>6</sup> with three hipparchies of the Companion cavalry, all the  
 mounted javelin-men and of

3 So QC. vii 5, 17.

4 QC. 5, 27 makes Al. send home 900 men a little later.

5 In QC. viii 3, 17 Stasanor replaces 'Arsames' only in 328.

6 Pt. is clearly the source down to 30, 5 at least; he is not named  
 in QC's different story, and C. B. Welles (*Miscellanea Rostagni* 1963,  
 101 ff.) questions if he had the commands reported here and in 18, 9;  
 iv 29, 1; vi 11, 8, or tells credible stories of them; I agree with the  
 refutation of his criticisms of Pt. by J. Seibert, *Untersuchungen zur  
 Geschichte Ptolemaios I*, 4 ff. Hipparchies: Introd. 58 ff.

τε Φιλώτα τάξιν καὶ τῶν ὑπασπιστῶν χιλιαρχίαν μίαν καὶ τοὺς Ἀγριᾶνας πάντας καὶ τῶν τοξοτῶν τοὺς ἡμίσεας, σπουδῆ ἑλαύνειν κελεύσας ὡς Σπιταμένην τε καὶ Δαταφέρνην. καὶ Πτολεμαῖος ἦει ὡς ἐτέτακτο, καὶ διελθὼν ἐν ἡμέραις τέτταρσι σταθμοὺς δέκα ἀφικνεῖται ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον, οὗ τῆ προτεραία ἠύλισμένοι ἦσαν οἱ ἀμφὶ τὸν Σπιταμένην βάρβαροι.

30. Ἐνταῦθα ἔμαθε Πτολεμαῖος ὅτι οὐ βεβαία τῷ Σπιταμένει καὶ Δαταφέρνῃ ἡ γνώμη ἐστὶν ἀμφὶ τῆ παραδόσει τοῦ Βῆσσου. τοὺς μὲν δὴ πεζοὺς κατέλιπε, προστάξας ἔπεσθαι ἐν τάξει, αὐτὸς δὲ ξὺν τοῖς ἰππεύσιν ἐλάσας ἀφίκετο πρὸς κώμην τινά, ἵνα ὁ Βῆσσος ἦν ξὺν ὀλίγοις στρατιώταις. οἱ γὰρ ἀμφὶ τὸν Σπιταμένην μετακεχωρήκεσαν ἤδη ἐκεῖθεν, καταιδεσθέντες αὐτοὶ παραδοῦναι τὸν Βῆσσον. Πτολεμαῖος δὲ περιστήσας ἐν κύκλῳ τῆς κώμης τοὺς ἰππέας (ἦν γὰρ τι καὶ τείχος περιβεβλημένον καὶ πύλαι κατ' αὐτὸ) ἐπεκηρυκεύετο τοῖς ἐν τῇ κώμῃ βαρβάροις ἀπαθείς σφᾶς ἀπαλλάσσεσθαι παραδόντας Βῆσσον. οἱ δὲ ἐδέχοντο τοὺς ξὺν Πτολεμαίῳ ἐς τὴν κώμην. καὶ Πτολεμαῖος ξυλλαβὼν Βῆσσον ὀπίσω ἐπανήει. προπέμψας δὲ ἤρετο Ἀλέξανδρον, ὅπως χρὴ ἐς ὄψιν ἄγειν Ἀλεξάνδρου Βῆσσον. καὶ Ἀλέξανδρος γυμνὸν ἐν κλοιῷ δήσαντα οὕτως ἄγειν ἐκέλευσε καὶ καταστήσαντα ἐν δεξιᾷ τῆς ὁδοῦ, ἧ αὐτὸς τε καὶ ἡ στρατιὰ παρελεύσεσθαι ἔμελλε. καὶ Πτολεμαῖος οὕτως ἐποίησεν.
- 4 Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ ἰδὼν τὸν Βῆσσον ἐπιστήσας τὸ ἄρμα ἤρετο ἀνθ' ὅτου τὸν βασιλέα τὸν αὐτοῦ καὶ ἅμα καὶ οἰκείον καὶ εὐεργέτην γενόμενον Δαρεῖον τὰ

the infantry the battalion of Philotas, one chiliarchy of the hypaspists, all the Agrianes, and half the archers, with orders to proceed by forced marches to Spitamenes and Dataphernes. Ptolemy went as directed, and traversing ten days' marches in four days arrived at the camp where the barbarians with Spitamenes had bivouacked the previous day.

30. There he learnt that Spitamenes and Dataphernes had not quite made up their mind about the surrender of Bessus. He therefore left the infantry behind, with instructions to follow in formation, and rode on himself with the cavalry, and arrived at a village where Bessus was with a few soldiers. Spitamenes and his men had already withdrawn, as they were ashamed to hand Bessus over personally. Ptolemy stationed the cavalry in a cordon round the village—it had some sort of wall thrown round it, and gates in the wall—and made a proclamation to the barbarians in the village that they would depart unscathed if they handed Bessus over. They admitted Ptolemy and his troops into the village, and after seizing Bessus he retired. Then he sent a messenger ahead and asked Alexander in what way he should bring Bessus into his presence. Alexander ordered him to bring Bessus bound, naked, and wearing a wooden collar, and set him on the right of the road by which Alexander and his army were to pass. Ptolemy did so.
- 4 On seeing Bessus Alexander stopped his car and asked him why he had first seized Darius, who had been his king, and in addition his relative and benefactor,

μὲν πρῶτα ξυνέλαβε καὶ δήσας ἤγειν, ἔπειτα ἀπέκτεινε. καὶ ὁ  
 Βῆσσος οὐ μόνω οἷ ταῦτα δόξαντα πράξαι ἔφη, ἀλλὰ ξὺν τοῖς  
 5 τότε ἀμφὶ Δαρείου οὔσιν, ὡς σωτηρίαν σφίσιν εὐρέσθαι παρ'  
 Ἀλεξάνδρου. Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ ἐπὶ τοῖσδε μαστιγοῦν ἐκέλευεν  
 αὐτὸν καὶ ἐπιλέγειν τὸν κήρυκα ταῦτὰ ἐκείνα ὅσα αὐτὸς τῷ  
 Βῆσσω ἐν τῇ πίστει ὠνείδισε. Βῆσσος μὲν δὴ οὕτως  
 αἰκισθεὶς ἀποπέμπεται ἐς Βάκτρα ἀποθανούμενος. καὶ ταῦτα  
 Πτολεμαῖος ὑπὲρ Βῆσσου ἀνέγραψεν· Ἀριστόβουλος δὲ τοὺς  
 ἀμφὶ Σπιταμένην τε καὶ Δαταφέρην Πτολεμαίῳ ἀγαγεῖν  
 Βῆσσον καὶ παραδοῦναι Ἀλεξάνδρῳ γυμνὸν ἐν κλοιῷ  
 δήσαντας.

6 Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ ἀναπληρώσας τὸ ἵππικὸν ἐκ τῶν αὐτόθεν  
 ἵππων (πολλοὶ γὰρ αὐτῷ ἵπποι ἔν τε τῇ ὑπερβολῇ τοῦ  
 Καυκάσου καὶ ἐν τῇ ἐπὶ τὸν Ὄξον τε καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ Ὄξου  
 πορεία ἐξέλιπον) ὡς ἐπὶ Μαράκανδα ἤγε· τὰ δὲ ἐστὶ βασιλεία  
 7 τῆς Σογδιανῶν χώρας. ἔνθεν δὲ ἐπὶ τὸν Τάναϊν ποταμὸν  
 προήει. τῷ δὲ Τανάϊδι τούτῳ, ὃν δὴ καὶ Ἰαξάρτην<sup>1</sup> ἄλλω  
 ὀνόματι πρὸς τῶν ἐπιχωρίων βαρβάρων καλεῖσθαι λέγει  
 Ἀριστόβουλος, αἱ πηγαὶ μὲν ἐκ τοῦ Καυκάσου ὄρους καὶ  
 αὐτῷ εἰσιν· ἐξίησι δὲ καὶ οὗτος ὁ ποταμὸς εἰς τὴν Ἵρκανίαν  
 8 θάλασσαν. ἄλλος δὲ ἂν εἴη Τάναϊς ὑπὲρ ὅτου λέγει Ἡρόδοτος  
 ὁ λογοποιὸς ὄγδοον εἶναι τῶν ποταμῶν τῶν

1 Ἰαξάρτην, Palmarius: Ὀρξάντην codd. See historical note.

led him about in chains, and then murdered him. Bessus replied  
 that he had acted not by any private decision of his own but in  
 concert with all then attending on Darius, to obtain immunity from  
 Alexander. At this Alexander ordered him to be whipped 5 and the  
 herald to announce during the whipping the crimes for which he  
 himself had blamed Bessus in his question. After this torture Bessus  
 was sent to Bactra to be put to death.<sup>1</sup> This is Ptolemy's account of  
 Bessus: Aristobulus, however, says that it was the followers of  
 Spitamenes and Dataphernes who took Bessus to Ptolemy and  
 handed him over to Alexander naked and bound, wearing a wooden  
 collar.<sup>2</sup>

6 Alexander brought his cavalry to full strength with horses from  
 the vicinity, for a good many horses had been lost in the crossing of  
 Mount Caucasus and on the marches both to and from the Oxus,  
 and led his troops towards Maracanda [Samarcand], a royal  
 7 residence of the Sogdianian land. Thence he advanced to the river  
 Tanais [Syr-darya]. The springs of this Tanais too, which Aristobulus  
 says is called by the natives a different name, Jaxartes,<sup>3</sup> rise in  
 Mount Caucasus; and this river also flows out into the Hyrcanian  
 8 Sea. The Tanais [Don], which the historian Herodotus describes as  
 the eighth of the Scythian

1 Cf. iv 7, 3, giving the sequel, not a variant story from another  
 source. Different versions: D. 83, 8 (followed by long lacuna); QC. vii  
 5, 40 ff.; 10, 10.

2 The minor discrepancy (Pearson *LH* 166) suggests that Ar. had  
 not read Pt. or was correcting him silently.

3 The Syr-darya, which in fact rises in the Kirgiz, not the  
 'Caucasus' (here Hindu-Kush), and flows into the Aral Sea, not the  
 'Hyrcanian' (Caspian); cf. App. XII for these and other geographical  
 confusions. Greek writers normally give the Iranian name for the Syr-  
 darya as Jaxartes; here the manuscripts read 'Orxantes', and in vii 16, 3  
 (the only other place where A. does not use 'Tanais') 'Oxyartes'; P. 45  
 has 'Orexartes'. It is thus doubtful what A. (or Ar.) actually wrote: I

- Σκυθικῶν Τάναϊν, καὶ ῥέειν μὲν ἐκ λίμνης μεγάλης ἀνίσχοντα, ἐκδιδόναι δὲ ἐς μείζω ἔτι λίμνην, τὴν καλουμένην Μαιῶτιν·
- 9 καὶ τὸν Τάναϊν τοῦτον εἰσὶν οἱ ὄρον ποιούσι τῆς Ἀσίας καὶ τῆς Εὐρώπης, οἷς δὴ ἀπὸ τοῦ μυχοῦ τοῦ πόντου τοῦ Εὐξείνου ἡ λίμνη τε ἡ Μαιῶτις καὶ ὁ ἐς ταύτην ἐξίεις ποταμὸς ὁ Τάναϊς οὗτος διείργει τὴν Ἀσίαν καὶ τὴν Εὐρώπην, καθάπερ ἡ κατὰ Γάδειρά τε καὶ τοὺς ἀντιπέρας Γαδείρων Λίβυας τοὺς Νομάδας θάλασσα τὴν Λιβύην αὖ καὶ τὴν Εὐρώπην διείργει, οἷς γε δὴ ἡ Λιβύη ἀπὸ τῆς Ἀσίας τῆς ἄλλης τῷ Νείλῳ ποταμῷ διακέκριται.
- 10 Ἐνταῦθα ἀποσκεδασθέντες τινὲς τῶν Μακεδόνων ἐς προνομὴν κατακόπτονται πρὸς τῶν βαρβάρων· οἱ δὲ δράσαντες τὸ ἔργον ἀπέφυγον ἐς ὄρος τραχύτατον καὶ πάντη ἀπότομον· ἦσαν δὲ τὸ πλῆθος ἐς τρισμυρίους. καὶ ἐπὶ τούτους
- 11 Ἀλέξανδρος τοὺς κουφοτάτους τῆς στρατιᾶς ἀναλαβὼν ἦγεν. ἔνθα δὴ προσβολαὶ πολλαὶ ἐγίνοντο τοῖς Μακεδόσιν ἐς τὸ ὄρος· καὶ τὰ μὲν πρῶτα ἀπεκρούοντο βαλλόμενοι ἐκ τῶν βαρβάρων, καὶ ἄλλοι τε πολλοὶ τραυματῖαι ἐγένοντο καὶ αὐτὸς Ἀλέξανδρος ἐς τὴν κνήμην τοξεύεται διαμπὰξ καὶ τῆς περόνης τι ἀποθραύεται αὐτῷ ἐκ τοῦ τοξεύματος. ἀλλὰ καὶ ὡς ἔλαβέ τε τὸ χωρίον, καὶ τῶν βαρβάρων οἱ μὲν αὐτοῦ κατεκόπησαν πρὸς τῶν Μακεδόνων, πολλοὶ δὲ καὶ κατὰ τῶν πετρῶν ῥύψαντες σφᾶς ἀπέθανον, ὥστε ἐκ τρισμυρίων οὐ πλείους ἀποσωθῆναι ὀκτακισχιλίων.

- rivers, rising and flowing out of a great lake, and running into a greater lake, called Maeotis [Sea of Azov], will be a different Tanais.
- 9 Some make this Tanais the boundary between Asia and Europe; in their view, from the corner of the Euxine Sea Lake Maeotis and this river Tanais, which flows into it, separate Asia and Europe, just as the sea between Gadeira [Cadiz] and the nomad Libyans opposite separates Libya in turn from Europe; in their view Libya is divided from the rest of Asia by the river Nile.<sup>4</sup>
- 10 Here some of the Macedonians who had scattered for foraging were cut down by the barbarians. The authors of the deed took refuge in a very rugged and completely precipitous mountain; they numbered about thirty thousand. Alexander took his lightest troops
- 11 and led them to attack the fugitives. Then the Macedonians attempted many assaults upon the mountain; at first they were driven back by volleys from the barbarians, and a great many were wounded; notably, Alexander himself was shot right through the leg with an arrow, and a part of his fibula-bone was broken. But even so he captured the position, and some of the barbarians were cut down there and then by the Macedonians, while many perished by throwing themselves down the rocks, so that out of thirty thousand not more than eight thousand saved their lives.<sup>5</sup>

4 In antiquity the division between Asia and 'Libya' (Africa) was sometimes placed at the Suez isthmus (e.g. Herodotus ii 16 f.), sometimes at the Nile (e.g. Strabo ii 5, 26); before Herodotus Libya was often included in Asia, but those who regarded it as separate would treat Arrian as meaning that 'Libya is parted from the rest that is Asia . . .'

5 With §6–11 cf. QC. vii 6, 1–10; App. VIII 12.

## ΒΙΒΛΙΟΝ ΤΕΤΑΡΤΟΝ

1. Οὐ πολλαῖς δὲ ἡμέραις ὕστερον ἀφικνοῦνται παρ' Ἀλέξανδρον πρέσβεις παρά τε Σκυθῶν τῶν Ἀβίων καλουμένων (οὓς καὶ Ὅμηρος δικαιοτάτους ἀνθρώπους εἰπὼν ἐν τῇ ποιήσει ἐπήνεσεν· οἰκοῦσι δὲ ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ οὗτοι αὐτόνομοι, οὐχ ἥκιστα διὰ πενίαν τε καὶ δικαιοσύνην) καὶ παρὰ τῶν ἐκ τῆς Εὐρώπης Σκυθῶν, οἳ δὴ τὸ μέγιστον ἔθνος [Σκυθικὸν] ἐν τῇ Εὐρώπῃ ἐποικοῦσιν. καὶ τούτοις ξυμπέμπει Ἀλέξανδρος τῶν ἐταίρων, πρόφασιν μὲν κατὰ πρεσβείαν φιλίαν ξυνηθησομένους, ὁ δὲ νοῦς τῆς πομπῆς ἐς κατασκοπήν τι μᾶλλον ἔφερε φύσεώς τε τῆς χώρας τῆς Σκυθικῆς καὶ πλήθους αὐτῶν καὶ νομαίων καὶ ὀπλίσεως, ἣντινα ἔχοντες στέλλονται ἐς τὰς μάχας.
- 3 Αὐτὸς δὲ πρὸς τῷ Τανάϊδι ποταμῷ ἐπενόει πόλιν οἰκίσαι, καὶ ταύτην ἑαυτοῦ ἐπώνυμον. ὃ τε γὰρ χῶρος ἐπιτήδειος αὐτῷ ἐφαίνετο αὐξήσαι ἐπὶ μέγα τὴν πόλιν καὶ ἐν καλῷ οἰκισθήσεσθαι τῆς ἐπὶ Σκύθας, εἴποτε ξυμβαίνοι, ἐλάσεως καὶ τῆς προφυλακῆς τῆς χώρας πρὸς τὰς καταδρομὰς τῶν πέραν τοῦ ποταμοῦ ἐποικούντων βαρβάρων. ἐδόκει δ' ἂν καὶ μεγάλη γενέσθαι ἡ πόλις πλήθει τε τῶν ἐς αὐτὴν ξυνοικιζομένων καὶ τοῦ ὀνόματος τῇ λαμπρότητι. καὶ ἐν τούτῳ οἱ πρόσχωροι τῷ ποταμῷ βάρβαροι τοὺς τε τὰ φρούρια ἐν ταῖς πόλεσι σφῶν ἔχοντας στρατιώτας τῶν Μακεδόνων ξυλλαβόντες ἀπέκτειναν καὶ τὰς πόλεις ἐς ἀσφάλειάν

## BOOK IV

1. Not many days later, envoys came to Alexander from the Abian Scythians, as they are called, whom Homer praised in his epic by calling them 'most just of men'; they live in Asia, and are independent, chiefly through their poverty and their sense of justice. Envoys came too from the European Scythians, the largest nation dwelling in Europe. Alexander sent some of the Companions with them, pretending it was an embassy to conclude a friendly agreement; but the idea of the mission was rather to spy out the nature of the Scythians' land, their numbers, their customs and the arms they use on their warlike expeditions.<sup>1</sup>
- 3 He was himself planning to found a city on the Tanais, and to give it his own name. For in his view the site was suitable for the city to rise to greatness, and it would be well placed for any eventual invasion of Scythia and as a defence bastion of the country against the raids of the barbarians dwelling on the other side of the river. He thought that the city would actually rise to greatness because of the number of settlers and the splendour of its name.<sup>2</sup> At this point the barbarians near the river seized and killed the Macedonian troops garrisoning their cities, and then began to strengthen the defences of the

1 QC. vii 6, 11 f. Scyths: App. XII. Cf. i 3, 1 n.; iii 8, 3 n.; iv 3, 6 n.

2 QC. 6, 13. Motivation: iii 1, 5 n. Cf. App. VIII for all topographical matters in this book.

5 *τινα μᾶλλον ὠχύρουν. ξυνεπελάβοντο δὲ αὐτοῖς τῆς ἀποστάσεως καὶ τῶν Σογδιανῶν οἱ πολλοί, ἐπαρθέντες πρὸς τῶν ξυλλαβόντων Βῆσσον, ὥστε καὶ τῶν Βακτριανῶν ἔστιν οὓς σφισιν οὗτοι ξυναπέστησαν, εἴτε δὴ καὶ δείσαντες Ἀλέξανδρον, εἴτε καὶ λόγον ἐπὶ τῇ ἀποστάσει διδόντες, ὅτι ἐς ἓνα ξύλλογον ἐπηγγέλλει Ἀλέξανδρος ξυνελθεῖν τοὺς ὑπάρχους τῆς χώρας ἐκείνης εἰς Ζαρίασπα, τὴν μεγίστην πόλιν, ὡς ἐπ' ἀγαθῷ οὐδενὶ τοῦ ξυλλόγου γιγνομένου.*

2. Ταῦτα ὡς ἀπηγγέλθη Ἀλεξάνδρῳ, παραγγείλας τοῖς πεζοῖς κατὰ λόχους κλίμακας ποιεῖσθαι ὅσακι> ἐκάστῳ λόχῳ ἐπηγγέλθησαν, αὐτὸς μὲν ἐπὶ τὴν πρώτην ἀπὸ τοῦ στρατοπέδου ὀρμηθεὶς πόλιν προῦχώρει, ἣ ὄνομα ἦν Γάζα· ἐς γὰρ ἑπτὰ πόλεις ξυμπεφευγέναι ἐλέγοντο οἱ ἐκ τῆς χώρας  
2 *βάρβαροι. Κρατερὸν δὲ ἐκπέμπει πρὸς τὴν καλουμένην Κυρούπολιν, ἥπερ μεγίστη πασῶν καὶ ἐς αὐτὴν οἱ πλείστοι ξυνειλεγμένοι ἦσαν τῶν βαρβάρων. παρήγγελλτο δὲ αὐτῷ στρατοπεδεῦσαι πλησίον τῆς πόλεως καὶ τάφρον τε ἐν κύκλῳ αὐτῆς ὀρύξαι καὶ χάρακα περιβαλέσθαι καὶ τὰς μηχανὰς ὅσαις χρῆσθαι ξυμπηγνύναι, ὡς πρὸς τοὺς ἀμφὶ Κρατερὸν τὴν γνώμην τετραμμένοι οἱ ἐκ τῆς πόλεως ταύτης ἀδύνατοι  
3 ὦσι ταῖς ἄλλαις πόλεσιν ἐπωφελεῖν. αὐτὸς δὲ ἐπὶ τὴν Γάζαν ἐπεὶ ἀφίκετο, ὡς εἶχεν ἐξ ἐφόδου σημαίνει προσβάλλει τῷ τείχει γήινῳ τε καὶ οὐχ ὑψηλῷ ὄντι, προσθέντας ἐν κύκλῳ πάντοθεν τὰς κλίμακας· οἱ δὲ σφενδονῆται αὐτῷ καὶ οἱ τοξόται τε καὶ ἀκοντισταὶ ὁμοῦ τῇ ἐφόδῳ τῶν πεζῶν ἐσηκόντιζον ἐς τοὺς προμαχομένους ἀπὸ τοῦ*

5 cities for their security. They were joined in the revolt by most of the Sogdianians, stirred up by the party which had arrested Bessus, so that they also drew into their revolt some of the Bactrians; it may be that they were really terrified of Alexander, or that it was a pretext they gave for revolt that Alexander had instructed the hyparchs of that country to come to a joint conference at Zariaspa, the greatest city, and that this conference was not for their benefit.<sup>3</sup>

2. When this was reported to Alexander, he ordered the infantry, company by company, to make ladders, each company a certain number; and he advanced himself to the first city on leaving the camp, called Gaza; the barbarians of the district were said to have  
2 taken refuge in seven cities. He sent Craterus to that called Cyropolis, the largest of them all, where the greatest number of barbarians had collected. Craterus was ordered to encamp near the city, to dig a ditch and throw a stockade round it, and to fit together as many siege engines as he required, so that the defenders of this city might have their minds fully occupied with Craterus and his  
3 troops and be unable to help those in the other cities. When Alexander himself arrived at Gaza, on his first approach without more ado he ordered his men to attack the wall, which was made of earth and of no great height, and to place their ladders against it on all sides; at the moment of the infantry attack his slingers, archers and javelin-men showered volleys

3 For capture of rebel cities, QC. vii 6, 13–23.

τείχους καὶ βέλη ἀπὸ μηχανῶν ἠφίετο, ὥστε ὀξέως μὲν ὑπὸ τοῦ πλήθους τῶν βελῶν ἐγυμνώθη τὸ τεῖχος τῶν προμαχομένων, ταχεῖα δὲ ἢ πρόσθεσις τῶν κλιμάκων καὶ ἢ  
 4 ἀνάβασις τῶν Μακεδόνων ἢ ἐπὶ τὸ τεῖχος ἐγίγνετο. τοὺς μὲν δὴ ἄνδρας πάντας ἀπέκτειναν, οὕτως ἐξ Ἀλεξάνδρου προστεταγμένον, γυναῖκας δὲ καὶ παῖδας καὶ τὴν ἄλλην λείαν διήρπασαν. ἔνθεν δὲ εὐθὺς ἦγεν ἐπὶ τὴν δευτέραν ἀπ' ἐκείνης πόλιν ὠκισμένην, καὶ ταύτην τῷ αὐτῷ τε τρόπῳ καὶ τῇ αὐτῇ ἡμέρᾳ λαμβάνει καὶ τοὺς ἀλόντας τὰ αὐτὰ ἔπραξεν. ὁ δὲ ἦγεν ἐπὶ τὴν τρίτην πόλιν, καὶ ταύτην τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ ἐπὶ τῇ πρώτῃ προσβολῇ εἶλεν.

5 Ἐν ᾧ δὲ αὐτὸς ξὺν τοῖς πεζοῖς ἀμφὶ ταῦτα εἶχε, τοὺς ἱππέας ἐκπέμπει ἐς τὰς δύο τὰς πλησίον πόλεις προστάξας παραφυλάττειν τοὺς ἀνθρώπους τοὺς ἔνδον, μήποτε τὴν ἄλωσιν αἰσθόμενοι τῶν πλησίον πόλεων καὶ ἅμα τὴν αὐτοῦ οὐ διὰ μακροῦ ἔφοδον οἱ δὲ ἐς φυγὴν τραπέντες ἄποροι αὐτῷ διώκειν γένωνται. καὶ ξυνέβη τε οὕτως ὅπως εἶκασε, καὶ ἐν  
 6 δέοντι ἐγένετο αὐτῷ ἢ πομπὴ τῶν ἱππέων. οἱ γὰρ τὰς δύο τὰς οὐπω ἐαλωκυίας πόλεις ἔχοντες τῶν βαρβάρων, ὡς καπνόν τε εἶδον ἀπὸ τῆς πρὸ[s] σφῶν πόλεως ἐμπιπραμένης καὶ τινες καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ πάθους αὐτοῦ διαφυγόντες ἀτάγγελοι τῆς ἀλώσεως ἐγένοντο, ὡς τάχους ἕκαστοι εἶχον ἀθρόοι ἐκ τῶν πόλεως φεύγοντες ἐμπίπτουσι ἐς τὸ στῖφος τῶν ἱππέων ξυντεταγμένον καὶ κατεκόπησαν οἱ πλείστοι αὐτῶν.

3. Οὕτω δὴ τὰς πέντε πόλεις ἐν δυσὶν ἡμέραις ἐλών τε καὶ ἑξαυδραποδισάμενος ἦει ἐπὶ τὴν μεγίστην αὐτῶν τὴν Κύρου πόλιν. ἢ δὲ τετειχισμένη

upon the defenders on the walls, and missiles were hurled from the catapults, so that the wall was soon cleared of defenders by the great shower of missiles, and it was quick work for the Macedonians  
 4 to set up the ladders and ascend the wall. They put all the men to the sword according to Alexander's orders and seized as plunder the women, children and other spoils. Thence Alexander marched at once to the second city, which lay next to this one, captured it too in the same fashion on the same day, and gave his captives the same treatment. He advanced then to the third city, and took it next day at the first assault.

5 While he himself was thus busied with his infantry, he despatched the cavalry to the two next cities, with instructions to watch the men within carefully, in case they learned of the capture of the neighbouring cities and also of his own impending approach, and took to flight, and then pursuit might be impracticable. Things turned out just as he guessed, and the despatch of the cavalry came  
 6 none too soon. For the barbarians who held the two yet untaken cities saw the smoke rising, as the city next in front of them was ablaze, and when a few who escaped the catastrophe itself gave first-hand information of the capture, they attempted as fast as they could to escape from these cities in a mass, but ran straight into the close array of cavalry, and most of them were cut down.

3. After thus capturing the five cities in two days and enslaving the survivors, Alexander marched against the largest of them, Cyropolis [Ura-Tyube].



τε ἦν ὑψηλοτέρῳ τείχει ἤπερ αἱ ἄλλαι, οἷα δὴ ὑπὸ Κύρου οἰκισθείσα, καὶ τοῦ πλείστου καὶ μαχιμωτάτου τῶν ταύτη βαρβάρων ἐς ταύτην συμπεφευγότες οὐχ ὡσαύτως ῥαδία ἐξ ἐφόδου ἐλεῖν τοῖς Μακεδόσιν ἐγίγνετο. ἀλλὰ μηχανὰς γὰρ προσάγων τῷ τείχει Ἀλέξανδρος ταύτη μὲν κατασείειν ἐπενόει

2 τὸ τεῖχος καὶ κατὰ τὸ αἰὲ παραρρηγνύμενον αὐτοῦ τὰς προσβολὰς ποιεῖσθαι. αὐτὸς δὲ ὡς κατείδε τοὺς ἔκρους τοῦ ποταμοῦ, ὃς διὰ τῆς πόλεως χειμάρρους ὧν διέρχεται, ξηροὺς ἐν τῷ τότε ὕδατος καὶ οὐ ξυνεχεῖς τοῖς τείχεσιν, ἀλλ' οἷους παρασχεῖν πάροδον τοῖς στρατιώταις διαδύναμι ἐς τὴν πόλιν, ἀναλαβὼν τοὺς τε σωματοφύλακας καὶ τοὺς ὑπασπιστάς καὶ τοὺς τοξότας καὶ τοὺς Ἀγριᾶνας τετραμμένων τῶν βαρβάρων πρὸς τὰς μηχανὰς καὶ τοὺς ταύτη προσμαχομένους λανθάνει

3 κατὰ τοὺς ἔκρους ξὺν ὀλίγοις τὸ πρῶτον παρελθὼν ἐς τὴν πόλιν· ἀναρρήξας δὲ ἔνδοθεν τῶν πυλῶν, αἱ κατὰ τοῦτο τὸ χωρίον ἦσαν, δέχεται καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους στρατιώτας εὐπετῶς. ἔνθα δὴ οἱ βάρβαροι ἐχομένην ἤδη τὴν πόλιν αἰσθόμενοι ἐπὶ τοὺς ἀμφὶ Ἀλέξανδρον ὁμῶς ἐτράπησαν· καὶ γίνεται προσβολὴ αὐτῶν καρτερά, καὶ βάλλεται λίθῳ αὐτὸς Ἀλέξανδρος βιαίως τὴν τε κεφαλὴν καὶ τὸν ἀνχένα καὶ Κρατερὸς τοξεύματι καὶ πολλοὶ ἄλλοι τῶν ἡγεμόνων· ἀλλὰ

4 καὶ ὡς ἐξέωσαν ἐκ τῆς ἀγορᾶς τοὺς βαρβάρους. καὶ ἐν τούτῳ οἱ κατὰ τὸ τεῖχος προσβεβληκότες ἔρημον ἤδη τὸ τεῖχος τῶν προμαχομένων αἰρούσιν. ἐν μὲν δὴ τῇ πρώτῃ καταλήψει τῆς πόλεως ἀπέθανον τῶν πολεμίων μάλιστα ἐς ὀκτακισχιλίους· οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ (ἦσαν γὰρ οἱ πάντες ἐς μυρίους καὶ πεντακισχιλίους μαχίμους οἱ

This was fortified with a higher wall than the rest, since Cyrus had founded it; and as the greatest number and the best fighters of the barbarians round about had taken refuge in it, it was not so easy for the Macedonians to capture it straight off. However, Alexander brought up engines to the wall and proposed to batter it down in this way and to make assaults wherever breaches occurred. But

2 when he personally observed that the outlets of the river, a winter torrent which runs through the city, were dry at the time, and did not reach up to the wall, but were low enough to permit a passage by which soldiers could pass into the city, he took the bodyguards, hypaspists, archers and Agrianes, and while the tribesmen were engaged with the siege-engines and the troops attacking there, he slipped unobserved along the channels, penetrated the city at first

3 with only a few men, and broke open the gates from within which were at that point and easily admitted the rest of the troops. Then the barbarians, seeing that their city was already in the enemy's hands, none the less turned upon Alexander and his force. They made a vigorous onslaught; Alexander himself was struck violently with a stone on his head and neck, and Craterus was wounded by an arrow, as were many other officers. None the less they cleared the

4 market-place of the tribesmen. Meanwhile those who had assaulted the wall captured it, now that it was denuded of defenders. In the first occupation of the city about eight thousand of the enemy perished; the rest (the whole number gathered together there

ξυνεληλυθότες) καταφεύγουσιν ἐς τὴν ἄκραν. καὶ τούτους περιστρατοπεδεύσας Ἀλέξανδρος ἡμέραν μίαν ἐφρούρησεν· οἱ δὲ ἐνδεία ὕδατος ἐνεχείρισαν σφᾶς Ἀλεξάνδρῳ.

5 Τὴν δὲ ἐβδόμην πόλιν ἐξ ἐφόδου ἔλαβε, Πτολεμαῖος μὲν λέγει, ὅτι αὐτοὺς σφᾶς ἐνδόντας, Ἀριστόβουλος δέ, ὅτι βία καὶ ταύτην ἐξεῖλεν καὶ ὅτι πάντας τοὺς καταληφθέντας ἐν αὐτῇ ἀπέκτεινε. Πτολεμαῖος δὲ κατανείμαι λέγει αὐτὸν τοὺς ἀνθρώπους τῇ στρατιᾷ καὶ δεδεμένους κελεύσαι φυλάσσεσθαι ἔστ' ἂν ἐκ τῆς χώρας ἀπαλλάττηται αὐτός, ὡς μηδένα ἀπολείπεσθαι τῶν τὴν ἀπόστασιν πραξάντων.

6 Ἐν τούτῳ δὲ τῶν τε ἐκ τῆς Ἀσίας Σκυθῶν στρατιὰ ἀφικνέεται πρὸς τὰς ὄχθας τοῦ ποταμοῦ τοῦ Ταναΐδος, ἀκούσαντες οἱ πολλοὶ αὐτῶν, ὅτι ἔστιν οἱ καὶ τῶν ἐπέκεινα τοῦ ποταμοῦ βαρβάρων ἀπ' Ἀλεξάνδρου ἀφεστᾶσιν, ὡς, εἰ δὴ τι λόγου ὄν ἄξιον νεωτερίζοιτο, καὶ αὐτοὶ ἐπιθησόμενοι τοῖς Μακεδόσι. καὶ οἱ ἀμφὶ Σπιταμένην δὲ ἀπηγγέλθησαν ὅτι τοὺς

7 ἐν Μαρακάνδοις καταλειφθέντας ἐν τῇ ἄκρα πολιορκοῦσιν. ἔνθα δὲ Ἀλέξανδρος ἐπὶ μὲν τοὺς ἀμφὶ Σπιταμένην Ἀνδρόμαχόν τε ἀποστέλλει καὶ Μενέδημον καὶ Κάρανον, ἰππέας μὲν ἔχοντας τῶν ἐταίρων ἐς ἐξήκοντα καὶ τῶν μισθοφόρων ὀκτακοσίους, ὧν Κάρανος ἡγείτο, πεζοὺς δὲ μισθοφόρους ἐς χιλίους πεντακοσίους· ἐπιτάσσει δὲ αὐτοῖς Φαρνούχην τὸν ἑρμηνέα, τὸ μὲν γένος Λύκιον τὸν Φαρνούχην, ἐμπείρως δὲ τῆς τε φωνῆς τῶν ταύτη βαρβάρων ἔχοντα καὶ τὰ ἄλλα ὁμιλῆσαι αὐτοῖς δεξιὸν φαινόμενον.

came to some fifteen thousand fighting men) took refuge in the citadel: Alexander blockaded and kept guard on them for a day, and because of want of water they surrendered to him.

5 The seventh city he took at first assault. Ptolemy says that they surrendered, Aristobulus that Alexander captured this city too by force, and killed all he found within; Ptolemy also says that he distributed the men among his army and ordered them to be kept bound and under guard till he left their country, so that none of those responsible for the revolt should be left behind.

6 Meanwhile an army of the Asian Scythians arrived on the banks of the river Tanais; most of them had heard that some of the barbarians on that side of the river had revolted from Alexander, and they intended, should any important rising occur, to join in attacking the Macedonians.<sup>1</sup> News was also brought that Spitamenes and his troops were besieging those who had been left behind at Maracanda in the citadel. On this Alexander sent against 7 the troops of Spitamenes, Andromachus, Menedemus, and Caranus, with cavalry comprising some sixty Companions and eight hundred of the mercenaries under Caranus, and with about fifteen hundred mercenary infantry; and he placed these forces under command of Pharnuches the interpreter, a Lycian by birth who was expert in the language of the barbarians of these parts and seemed in general to be skilful in dealings with them.<sup>2</sup>

1 QC. vii 7, 1 thinks they were menaced by the new city. 'Asia': there is a muddle here. On any view Al. was in Asia, but if the 'Tanais' was the frontier between Europe and Asia (App. XII 4), Scythians across the river were in Europe!

2 QC. 6, 24 names only Menedemus and gives him 3,000 foot and 800 horse.

4. Αὐτὸς δὲ τὴν πόλιν, ἣν ἐπενόει, τειχίσας ἐν ἡμέραις  
 εἴκοσι καὶ ξυνοικίσας ἐς αὐτὴν τῶν τε Ἑλλήνων μισθοφόρων  
 καὶ ὅστις τῶν προσοικούντων βαρβάρων ἐθελοντῆς μετέσχε  
 τῆς ξυνοικήσεως καὶ τινὰς καὶ τῶν ἐκ τοῦ στρατοπέδου  
 Μακεδόνων, ὅσοι ἀπόμαχοι ἤδη ἦσαν, θύσας τοῖς θεοῖς ὡς  
 νόμος αὐτῷ καὶ ἀγῶνα ἵππικόν τε καὶ γυμνικὸν ποιήσας, ὡς  
 2 οὐκ ἀπαλλασσομένους ἐώρα τοὺς Σκύθας ἀπὸ τῆς ὄχθης τοῦ  
 ποταμοῦ, ἀλλ' ἐκτοξεύοντες ἐς τὸν ποταμὸν ἐωρῶντο οὐ  
 πλατὺν ταύτη ὄντα, καὶ τινὰ καὶ πρὸς ὕβριν τοῦ Ἀλεξάνδρου  
 βαρβαρικῶς ἐθρασύναντο, ὡς οὐκ ἂν τολμήσαντα  
 Ἀλέξανδρον ἄψασθαι Σκυθῶν ἢ μαθόντα ἂν ὅτι περ τὸ  
 διάφορον Σκύθαις τε καὶ τοῖς Ἀσιανοῖς βαρβάροις,—ὑπὸ  
 τούτων παροξυνόμενος ἐπενόει διαβαίνειν ἐπ' αὐτοὺς καὶ τὰς  
 3 διφθέρας παρεσκεύαζεν ἐπὶ τῷ πόρῳ. θνομένῳ δὲ ἐπὶ τῇ  
 διαβάσει τὰ ἱερὰ οὐκ ἐγίγνετο· ὁ δὲ βαρέως μὲν ἔφερεν οὐ  
 γιγνομένων, ὅμως δὲ ἐκαρτέρει καὶ ἔμενεν. ὡς δὲ οὐκ ἀνίσταν  
 οἱ Σκύθαι, αὐθις ἐπὶ τῇ διαβάσει ἐθύετο, καὶ αὐθις<sup>1</sup> κίνδυνον  
 αὐτῷ σημαίνεσθαι Ἀρίστανδρος ὁ μάντις ἔφραζεν· ὁ δὲ  
 κρείσσον ἔφη ἐς ἔσχατον κινδύνου ἐλθεῖν ἢ κατεστραμμένον  
 ξύμπασαν ὀλίγου δεῖν τὴν Ἀσίαν γέλωτα εἶναι Σκύθαις,  
 καθάπερ Δαρείος ὁ Ξέρξου πατὴρ πάλαι ἐγένετο.  
 Ἀρίστανδρος δὲ οὐκ ἔφη παρὰ τὰ ἐκ τοῦ θείου σημαινόμενα  
 ἄλλα ἀποδείξεσθαι, ὅτι ἄλλα ἐθέλει ἀκοῦσαι Ἀλέξανδρος.  
 4 Ὁ δέ, ὡς αἶ τε διφθέραι αὐτῷ παρεσκευασμέναι ἦσαν ἐπὶ  
 τῷ πόρῳ καὶ ὁ στρατὸς ἐξωπλισμένος

1 αὐθις Castiglioni: αὐ ἐς codd.

4. Alexander himself now spent twenty days in building the wall  
 of the city he proposed to found, and settling there some Greek  
 mercenaries, any of the neighbouring barbarians who shared in the  
 settlement as volunteers, and also some Macedonians from the  
 army who were no longer fit for active service.<sup>1</sup> He then sacrificed  
 to the gods in accordance with his custom and held a cavalry and  
 athletic contest. As he saw that the Scythians were not leaving the  
 2 river bank but were observed shooting from it arrows into the river,  
 which was not very broad here, and were also insulting Alexander  
 with barbaric boasts that he would not dare to touch Scythians or he  
 would learn the difference between Scythians and the barbarians of  
 Asia, his irritation made him plan to cross and attack them, and he  
 began to get ready the hides for the crossing. But when he  
 3 sacrificed with a view to crossing, the omens were not favourable.  
 Though much annoyed by this, still he restrained himself and  
 stayed where he was. But as the Scythians did not give up, he  
 sacrificed again with a view to crossing, and Aristander the prophet  
 again said that danger to him was portended. Alexander replied that  
 it was better to go to any extremity of danger than, after subduing  
 almost the whole of Asia, to be a laughing-stock to Scythians, as  
 Darius the father of Xerxes had been long ago. Yet Aristander  
 refused to interpret the sacrifices in any way contrary to the signs  
 from heaven because Alexander desired to hear something  
 different.  
 4 As soon as the hides had been got ready for his crossing, and the  
 army was stationed on the bank

1 App. VIII 16. Types of settlers: iii 1, 5n.

ἐφειστήκει τῷ ποταμῷ, αἶ τε μηχαναὶ ἀπὸ ξυνθήματος  
 ἐξηκόντιζον ἐς τοὺς Σκύθας παριππεύοντας ἐπὶ τῇ ὄχθῃ καὶ  
 ἔστιν οἱ αὐτῶν ἐπιτρόσκοντο ἐκ τῶν βελῶν, εἷς δὲ δὴ διὰ τοῦ  
 γέρρου τε καὶ τοῦ θώρακος διαμπὰξ πληγείς πίπτει ἀπὸ τοῦ  
 ἵππου, οἱ μὲν ἐξεπλάγησαν πρὸς τε τῶν βελῶν τὴν διὰ  
 μακροῦ ἄφεσιν καὶ ὅτι ἀνὴρ ἀγαθὸς αὐτοῖς τετελευτήκει, καί  
 5 ὀλίγον ἀνεχώρησαν ἀπὸ τῆς ὄχθης· Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ  
 τεταραγμένους πρὸς τὰ βέλη ἰδὼν ὑπὸ σαλπίγγων ἐπέρα τὸν  
 ποταμὸν αὐτὸς ἡγούμενος· εἶπετο δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ ἡ ἄλλη  
 στρατιά. πρῶτον μὲν δὴ τοὺς τοξότας καὶ σφενδονήτας  
 ἀποβιβάσας σφενδονᾶν τε καὶ ἐκτοξεύειν ἐκέλευσεν ἐς τοὺς  
 Σκύθας, ὡς μὴ πελάζειν αὐτοὺς τῇ φάλαγγι τῶν πεζῶν  
 6 ἐκβαινούσῃ, πρὶν τὴν ἵππον αὐτῷ διαβῆναι πᾶσαν. ὡς δὲ  
 ἀθρόοι ἐπὶ τῇ ὄχθῃ ἐγένοντο, ἐφῆκεν ἐπὶ τοὺς Σκύθας τὸ μὲν  
 πρῶτον μίαν ἵππαρχίαν τῶν ξένων καὶ τῶν σαρισσοφόρων  
 ἵλας τέσσαρας· καὶ τούτους δεξάμενοι οἱ Σκύθαι καὶ ἐς  
 κύκλους περιῦππεύοντες ἔβαλλον τε πολλοὶ ὀλίγους <καὶ>  
 αὐτοὶ οὐ χαλεπῶς διεφύγγανον. Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ τοὺς τε  
 τοξότας καὶ τοὺς Ἀγριᾶνας καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ψιλούς, ὧν  
 Βάλακρος ἦρχεν, ἀναμίξας τοῖς ἵππεύσιν ἐπήγευ ἐπὶ τοὺς  
 7 Σκύθας. ὡς δὲ ὁμοῦ ἤδη ἐγίγνοντο, ἐλάσαι ἐκέλευσεν ἐς  
 αὐτοὺς τῶν τε ἐταίρων τρεῖς ἵππαρχίας καὶ τοὺς  
 ἵππακοντιστὰς ξύμπαντας· καὶ αὐτὸς δὲ τὴν λοιπὴν ἵππον  
 ἄγων σπουδῇ ἐνέβαλεν ὀρθίαις ταῖς ἵλαις. οὐκ οὐκ ἔτι οἰοί τε  
 ἦσαν ἐξελίσσειν τὴν ἵππασίαν

fully armed, the catapults on a signal hurled their volleys at the  
 Scythians riding along the bank, and some were wounded by the  
 missiles; one was actually pierced right through his shield and  
 corslet, and fell from his horse. The Scythians were dismayed at the  
 long-range discharge of the missiles and at the loss of a brave man  
 and retreated a little from the bank. Seeing them in disorder  
 5 because of the missiles, Alexander sounded his bugles and began  
 the crossing of the river, himself in the van; the rest of the army  
 followed him. He first disembarked the archers and slingers, and  
 told them to shoot their bullets and arrows at the Scythians, to keep  
 them from approaching the phalanx of the infantry as it  
 6 disembarked, before his cavalry had fully crossed. When they were  
 all in a body on the bank, he launched at the Scythians first a  
 hipparchy of the mercenaries and four squadrons of the lancers.<sup>2</sup>  
 The Scythians awaited their onslaught, riding round in circles and  
 shooting at them; they were many against few, and easily evaded  
 their attack. Alexander then mixed up his archers, the Agrianians  
 and the other light troops under Balacrus, with the cavalry, and led  
 7 them against the Scythians. Once they were quite close, he ordered  
 three hipparchies<sup>3</sup> of the Companions and all the mounted javelin-  
 men to charge at them; and he himself brought up the rest of the  
 cavalry at full speed and went in with his squadrons in column. So  
 the Scythians were no longer able to wheel round in

2 Introd. n. 84.

3 Introd. 59 f.

ἐς κύκλους, ὡς πρόσθεν ἔτι· ὁμοῦ μὲν γὰρ ἡ ἵππος προσέκειτο  
 αὐτοῖς, ὁμοῦ δὲ οἱ ψιλοὶ ἀναμεμιγμένοι τοῖς ἱππεύσιν οὐκ εἴων  
 8 τὰς ἐπιστροφὰς ἀσφαλεῖς ποιείσθαι. ἔνθα λαμπρὰ ἤδη φυγὴ  
 τῶν Σκυθῶν ἦν· καὶ πίπτουσι μὲν αὐτῶν ἐς χιλίους καὶ εἰς  
 τῶν ἡγεμόνων, Σατράκης, ἐάλωσαν δὲ ἐς ἑκατὸν καὶ  
 πεντήκοντα. ὡς δὲ ἡ δίωξις ὀξεῖά τε καὶ διὰ καύματος πολλοῦ  
 9 ταλαιπώρως ἐγένετο, δύψει τε ἡ στρατιὰ πᾶσα εἶχετο καὶ  
 αὐτὸς Ἀλέξανδρος ἐλαύνων πίνει ὁποῖον ἦν ὕδωρ ἐν τῇ γῇ  
 ἐκείνῃ. καὶ ἦν γὰρ πονηρὸν τὸ ὕδωρ, ρεῦμα ἀθρόον  
 κατασκήπτει αὐτῷ ἐς τὴν γαστέρα· καὶ ἐπὶ τῷδε ἡ δίωξις οὐκ  
 ἐπὶ πάντων Σκυθῶν ἐγένετο· εἰ δὲ μή, δοκοῦσιν ἂν μοι καὶ  
 πάντες διαφθαρῆναι ἐν τῇ φυγῇ, εἰ μὴ Ἀλεξάνδρω τὸ σῶμα  
 ἔκαμεν. καὶ αὐτὸς ἐς ἔσχατον κινδύνου ἐλθὼν ἐκομίσθη ὀπίσω  
 ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον. καὶ οὕτω ξυνέβη ἡ μαντεία Ἀριστάνδρω.

5. Ὀλίγον δὲ ὕστερον παρὰ τοῦ Σκυθῶν βασιλέως  
 ἀφικνοῦνται παρ' Ἀλέξανδρον πρέσβεις, ὑπὲρ τῶν  
 πραχθέντων ἐς ἀπολογία ἐκπεμφθέντες, ὅτι οὐκ ἀπὸ <τοῦ>  
 κοινοῦ τῶν Σκυθῶν ἐπράθη, ἀλλὰ καθ' ἀρπαγὴν ληστρικῶ  
 τρόπῳ σταλέντων, καὶ αὐτὸς ὅτι ἐθέλοι ποιεῖν τὰ  
 ἐπαγγελόμενα. καὶ τούτῳ φιλόφρονος ἐπιστέλλει  
 Ἀλέξανδρος, ὅτι οὔτε ἀπιστοῦντα μὴ ἐπεξίεναι καλὸν αὐτῷ  
 ἐφαίμετο, οὔτε κατὰ καιρὸν ἦν ἐν τῷ τότε ἐπεξίεναι.

2 Οἱ δὲ ἐν Μαρακάνδοις ἐν τῇ ἄκρᾳ φρουρούμενοι  
 Μακεδόνες προσβολῆς γενομένης τῇ ἄκρᾳ ἐκ Σπιταμένους τε  
 καὶ τῶν ἀμφ' αὐτὸν ἐπεκδραμόντες ἀπέκτεινάν τε τῶν  
 πολεμίων ἔστιν οὓς καὶ ἀπόσαντο

circles as they had been doing up till then; for the cavalry was now  
 pressing them, and at the same moment the light troops, mingled  
 with the cavalry, prevented their turning about safely. The Scythians  
 8 were by now in open flight; about a thousand fell, with one of their  
 commanders, Satraces, while about a hundred and fifty were  
 captured. The pursuit was sharp and distressing because of the  
 great heat, so that all the army was consumed by thirst, and  
 Alexander himself, as he rode on, drank whatever kind of water  
 9 there was in that country. The water was in fact bad, and so sudden  
 diarrhoea attacked his stomach; for this reason the pursuit did not  
 extend to all the Scythians. Otherwise I think they would all have  
 perished in their flight, had not Alexander been taken ill. Personally  
 he fell into serious danger, and was carried back into the camp. In  
 this way Aristander's prophecy came true.<sup>4</sup>

5. Soon afterwards envoys reached Alexander from the Scythian  
 king;<sup>1</sup> they had been sent to excuse what had occurred, on the  
 ground that it had not been the action of the Scythian community,  
 but only that of raiders and freebooters; the king himself was ready  
 to do what was required of him. Alexander gave a kindly answer,  
 since he thought it dishonourable not to press the attack, if he  
 distrusted the king, and not the right moment to press it.<sup>2</sup>

2 The Macedonians who were blockaded in the citadel at  
 Maracanda, when an assault was made on the citadel by Spitamenes  
 and his troops, sallied out, killed some of the enemy, drove off the  
 whole body,

4 See Fuller 236 ff. QC. vii 7, 1-9, 16 has many divergencies. Cf. also Marsden (i 20, 8 n.) 97, 165 f.

1 QC. vii 9, 17 ff.

2 What follows is clearly from Pt. (cf. 6, 1). See App. VIII 12.

- 3 ξύμπαντας, καὶ αὐτοὶ ἀπαθείς ἀπεχώρησαν ἐς τὴν ἄκραν. ὡς δὲ καὶ οἱ ὑπὸ Ἀλεξάνδρου ἐσταλμένοι ἐς Μαράκανδα ἤδη προσάγοντες Σπιταμένει ἐξηγγέλλοντο, τὴν μὲν πολιορκίαν ἐκλείπει τῆς ἄκρας, αὐτὸς δὲ ὡς ἐς τὰ βασιλεία<sup>1</sup> τῆς Σογδιανῆς ἀνεχώρει. Φαρνούχης δὲ καὶ οἱ ξὺν αὐτῷ στρατηγοὶ σπεύδοντες ἐξελάσαι αὐτὸν παντάπασιν ἐπὶ τε τὰ ὄρια τῆς Σογδιανῆς ξυνείποντο ὑποχωροῦντι καὶ εἰς τοὺς
- 4 Νομάδας τοὺς Σκύθας οὐδενὶ λογισμῷ ξυνεσβάλλουσιν. ἔνθα δὴ προσλαβὼν ὁ Σπιταμένης τῶν Σκυθῶν ἱππέων ἐς ἑξακοσίους προσεπήρθη ὑπὸ τῆς ξυμμαχίας τῆς Σκυθικῆς δέξασθαι ἐπιόντας τοὺς Μακεδόνας· παραταξάμενος δὲ ἐν χωρίῳ ὁμαλῷ πρὸς τῇ ἐρήμῳ τῆς Σκυθικῆς ὑπομῆναι μὲν τοὺς πολεμίους ἢ αὐτὸς ἐς αὐτοὺς ἐμβαλεῖν οὐκ ἤθελε,
- 5 περιῦππεύων δὲ ἐτόξευεν ἐς τὴν φάλαγγα τῶν πεζῶν. καὶ ἐπελαυνόντων μὲν αὐτοῖς τῶν ἀμφὶ Φαρνούχην ἔφευγεν εὐπετῶς, οἷα δὴ ὠκυτέρων τε αὐτοῖς καὶ ἐν τῷ τότε ἀκμαιοτέρων ὄντων τῶν ἵππων, τοῖς δὲ ἀμφὶ Ἀνδρόμαχον ὑπὸ τε τῆς ξυνεχοῦς πορείας καὶ ἅμα χιλοῦ ἀπορία κεκάκωτο ἢ ἵππος· μένουσι δὲ ἢ ὑποχωροῦσιν ἐπέκειντο εὐρώστως οἱ
- 6 Σκύθαι. ἔνθα δὴ πολλῶν μὲν τιτρωσκομένων ἐκ τῶν τοξευμάτων, ἔστι δὲ ὧν καὶ πιπτόντων, ἐς πλαίσιον ἰσόπλευρον τάξαντες τοὺς στρατιώτας ἀνεχώρουν ὡς ἐπὶ τὸν ποταμὸν τὸν Πολυτίμητον, ὅτι νάπος ταύτη ἦν, ὡς μήτε τοῖς βαρβάροις εὐπετὲς ἔτι εἶναι ἐκτοξεύειν ἐς αὐτούς, σφίσι τε οἱ πεζοὶ ὠφελιμώτεροι ὦσι.

1 βασιλεία codd: βόρεια Polak, Roos etc, but see App. VIII 16.

- 3 and retired unharmed themselves to the citadel. As soon as Spitamenes heard that the force sent by Alexander to Maracanda was already drawing near, he abandoned the siege of the citadel and retreated himself towards the royal residence of Sogdiana.<sup>3</sup> Pharnuches and the officers with him, hurrying on to drive him out altogether, pursued as he withdrew to the frontiers of Sogdiana, and without calculating the risk came into conflict with the nomad
- 4 Scythians as well. On this Spitamenes, adding some six hundred Scythian horse to his force, was encouraged by the Scythian reinforcement to await the Macedonian attack; he drew up his men on a level space near the Scythian desert, but his plan was not merely to await the enemy, or to charge them himself; wheeling round and round, he shot volleys of arrows into the infantry
- 5 phalanx. When Pharnuches' troops charged them, he had no difficulty in riding off, as his horses were swifter and at the moment fresher, while the horses of Andromachus' troops had suffered from the forced march and want of fodder. But when they stood their ground or withdrew, the Scythians swooped vigorously upon them.
- 6 By now many were being wounded by the arrows, and some actually falling, and the officers formed their men into a square and withdrew towards the river Polytimetus [Zeravshan], as there was a wooded glen near by, so that the Scythians could no longer easily shoot at them, and their infantry might be of more use to them.

3 See App. VIII 16.

7 Κάρανος δὲ ὁ ἱππάρχης οὐκ ἀνακοινώσας Ἀνδρομάχῳ  
 διαβαίνειν ἐπεχείρησε τὸν ποταμὸν ὡς ἐς ἀσφαλὲς ταύτη  
 καταστήσων τὴν ἵππον· καὶ οἱ πεζοὶ αὐτῷ ἐπηκολούθησαν,  
 οὐκ ἐκ παραγγέλματος, ἀλλὰ φοβερὰ τε καὶ οὐδενὶ κόσμῳ  
 ἐγένετο αὐτοῖς ἢ ἔσβασις ἢ ἐς τὸν ποταμὸν κατὰ κρημνώδεις  
 8 τὰς ὄχθας. καὶ οἱ βάρβαροι αἰσθόμενοι τὴν ἀμαρτίαν τῶν  
 Μακεδόνων αὐτοῖς ἵπποις ἔνθεν καὶ ἔνθεν ἐσβάλλουσι ἐς τὸν  
 πόρον. καὶ οἱ μὲν τῶν ἤδη διαβεβηκότων καὶ ἀποχωρούντων  
 εἶχοντο, οἱ δὲ τοὺς διαβαίνοντας ἀντιμέτωποι ταχθέντες  
 9 ἀνείλουν ἐς τὸν ποταμὸν, οἱ δὲ ἀπὸ τῶν πλαγίων ἐξετόξευον  
 ἐς αὐτούς, οἱ δὲ τοῖς ἔτι ἐσβαίνουσιν ἐπέκειντο, ὥστε ἀπορία  
 πάντοθεν ξυνεχόμενοι οἱ Μακεδόνες ἐς νῆσόν τινα τῶν ἐν τῷ  
 ποταμῷ ξυμφεύγουσι οὐ μεγάλην. καὶ περιστάντες αὐτοὺς οἱ  
 Σκύθαι τε καὶ οἱ ξὺν Σπιταμένει ἱππεῖς ἐν κύκλῳ πάντας  
 κατετόξευσαν· ὀλίγους δὲ ἠνδραποδίσαντο αὐτῶν, καὶ τούτους  
 πάντας ἀπέκτειναν.

6. Ἀριστόβουλος δὲ ἐνέδρα τὸ πολὺ τῆς στρατιᾶς  
 διαφθαρῆναι λέγει, τῶν Σκυθῶν ἐν παραδείσῳ κρυφθέντων, οἱ  
 ἐκ τοῦ ἀφανοῦς ἐπεγένοντο τοῖς Μακεδόσιν ἐν αὐτῷ τῷ ἔργῳ  
 ἵνα τὸν μὲν Φαρνούχην παραχωρεῖν τῆς ἡγεμονίας τοῖς  
 ξυμπεμφθείσι Μακεδόσιν, ὡς οὐκ ἐμπείρως ἔχοντα ἔργων  
 πολεμικῶν, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τῷ καθομιλῆσαι τοὺς βαρβάρους μᾶλλον  
 τι πρὸς Ἀλεξάνδρου ἢ ἐπὶ τῷ ἐν ταῖς μάχαις ἐξηγεῖσθαι  
 2 ἐσταλμένον, τοὺς δὲ Μακεδόνας τε εἶναι καὶ ἐταίρους  
 βασιλέως. Ἀνδρόμαχον δὲ

7 Caranus, the commander of the cavalry, without notifying  
 Andromachus attempted to cross the river, hoping to get his cavalry  
 into safety there, and the infantry followed him, without any  
 instructions, in a panic-stricken and disorderly descent into the  
 8 river from the banks which were precipitous. The barbarians on  
 seeing the error of the Macedonians dashed, mounted as they were,  
 from all directions into the stream. Some pressed on after those  
 who had already crossed and were in retreat, others were ranged in  
 front of the men crossing and penned them back into the river, or  
 9 showered arrows at them from the flanks, or attacked those still  
 entering the river. Then the Macedonians, helpless and pressed on  
 every side, took refuge in a body on one of the small islands in the  
 river. The Scythians and Spitamenes' cavalry stationed themselves  
 round in a circle and shot them all down; a few were made  
 prisoners but they too were all killed.

6. Aristobulus, however, states that the greater part of this force  
 was destroyed by an ambush; the Scythians, having hidden  
 themselves in a park, attacked the Macedonians from their  
 concealment in the very course of the action, at the moment when  
 Pharnuches was retiring from his command in favour of the  
 Macedonians who had been sent with him, on the ground that he  
 had no military experience, but had been sent by Alexander to treat  
 with the barbarians rather than to command in battles, while they  
 were both Macedonians and Companions of the king. However,  
 2 Andromachus, Caranus and Menedemus

καὶ Κάρανον καὶ Μενέδημον οὐ δέξασθαι τὴν ἡγεμονίαν, τὸ μὲν τι ὡς μὴ δοκεῖν παρὰ τὰ ἐπηγγελμένα ὑπὸ Ἀλεξάνδρου αὐτούς τι κατὰ σφᾶς νεωτερίζειν, τὸ δὲ καὶ ἐν αὐτῷ τῷ δεινῷ οὐκ ἐθελήσαντας, εἰ δὴ τι πταίσειαν, μὴ ὅσον κατ' ἄνδρα μόνον μετέχειν αὐτοῦ, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὡς τὸ πᾶν αὐτούς κακῶς ἐξηγησαμένους. ἐν τούτῳ δὴ τῷ θορύβῳ τε καὶ τῇ ἀταξία ἐπιθεμένους αὐτοῖς τοὺς βαρβάρους κατακόψαι πάντας, ὥστε ἰππέας μὲν μὴ πλείονας τῶν τεσσαράκοντα ἀποσωθῆναι, πεζοὺς δὲ ἐς τριακοσίους.

- 3 Ταῦτα δὲ ὡς ἠγγέλθη Ἀλεξάνδρῳ, ἤλγησέ τε τῷ πάθει τῶν στρατιωτῶν καὶ ἔγνω σπουδῇ ἐλαύνειν ὡς ἐπὶ Σπιταμένην τε καὶ τοὺς ἀμφ' αὐτὸν βαρβάρους. ἀναλαβὼν οὖν τῶν τε ἐταίρων ἰππέων τοὺς ἡμισείας καὶ τοὺς ὑπασπιστάς ξύμπαντας καὶ τοὺς τοξότας καὶ τοὺς Ἀγριαῖνας καὶ τῆς φάλαγγος τοὺς κουφοτάτους ἦει ὡς ἐπὶ Μαράκανδα, ἵνα
- 4 ἐπανήκειν Σπιταμένην ἐπνυθάνετο καὶ αὐθις πολιορκεῖν τοὺς ἐν τῇ ἄκρᾳ. καὶ αὐτὸς μὲν ἐν τρισὶν ἡμέραις διελθὼν χιλίους καὶ πεντακοσίους σταδίους τῇ τετάρτῃ ὑπὸ τὴν ἕω προσῆγε τῇ πόλει. Σπιταμένης δὲ καὶ οἱ ἀμφ' αὐτόν, ὡς ἐξηγγέλθη
- 5 προσάγων Ἀλέξανδρος, οὐκ ἔμειναν, ἀλλ' ἐκλιπόντες τὴν πόλιν φεύγουσιν. ὁ δὲ ἐχόμενος αὐτῶν ἐδίωκεν ὡς δὲ ἐπὶ <τὸν> χῶρον ἦκεν, οὗ ἡ μάχη ἐγένετο, θάψας τοὺς στρατιώτας ὡς ἐκ τῶν παρόντων εἶπετο ἔστε ἐπὶ τὴν ἔρημον τοῖς φεύγουσιν. ἐκεῖθεν δὲ ἀναστρέφων ἐπόρθει τὴν χώραν καὶ τοὺς

did not accept the command, partly to avoid the appearance of taking any initiative of their own contrary to the commands of Alexander, and partly because in the very moment of crisis they were not disposed, in case of a disaster, to be involved in it not simply as individuals but as men who had themselves directed the whole enterprise badly. It was in this confusion and disorder that the barbarians charged and cut them all to pieces, so that not more than forty cavalry and about three hundred foot-soldiers escaped.<sup>1</sup>

- 3 When this was reported to Alexander he was distressed at the disaster to his men and decided to march at full speed against Spitamenes and the barbarians with him.<sup>2</sup> He therefore took half the Companion cavalry, the archers and Agrianians, and the lightest-armed of the phalanx and marched to Maracanda, where he learnt Spitamenes had returned and was again besieging the garrison in the citadel. Alexander covered fifteen hundred stades in
- 4 three days,<sup>3</sup> and approached the city on the fourth about dawn. Spitamenes and his troops did not stay on learning that Alexander was drawing near, but left the city and fled. Alexander pursued
- 5 them closely, and when he reached the place of the battle, he buried the soldiers as best he could and followed the fugitives right up to the desert. Thence he turned back,

1 QC. vii 7, 30 ff. also has ambushade but does not much resemble Ar. Losses: 2,000 foot and 300 horse, cf. 3, 7 n.

2 In QC. 7, 39 Al. hears the news before crossing the Syrdarya and conceals it. For his operations against Spitamenes cf. QC. 9, 20–10, 9; App. VIII 12.

3 From Ar., cf. Strabo xi 11, 5. He knew that Polytimetus was a Macedonian name and may have given Ochus as the native name, cf. Pearson LH 168 f.



ἐς τὰ ἐρύματα καταπεφευγότας τῶν βαρβάρων ἔκτεινεν, ὅτι  
 ξυνεπιθέσθαι ἐξηγγέλλοντο καὶ αὐτοὶ τοῖς Μακεδόσι καὶ  
 ἐπήλθε πᾶσαν τὴν χώραν ὅσῃν ὁ ποταμὸς ὁ Πολυτίμητος  
 6 ἐπάρδων ἐπέρχεται. ἵνα δὲ ἀφανίζεται τῷ ποταμῷ τὸ ὕδωρ,  
 ἐντεῦθεν ἤδη τὸ ἐπέκεινα ἔρημος ἢ χώρα ἐστίν· ἀφανίζεται δὲ  
 καίπερ πολλοῦ ὦν ὕδατος ἐς τὴν ψάμμον. καὶ ἄλλοι ποταμοὶ  
 ὡσαύτως ἐκεῖ ἀφανίζονται μεγάλοι καὶ ἀέ[ν]ναοι, ὃ τε  
 Ἐπαρδος, ὃς ῥέει διὰ Μάρδων τῆς χώρας, καὶ Ἄρειος, ὅτου  
 ἐπώνυμος ἢ τῶν Ἀρείων γῆ ἐστίν, καὶ Ἐτύμανδρος, ὃς δι'  
 7 Εὐεργετῶν ῥέει. καὶ εἰσὶ ξύμπαντες οὗτοι τηλικούτοι ποταμοὶ  
 ὥστε οὐδεὶς αὐτῶν μείων ἐστὶ τοῦ Πηνειοῦ τοῦ Θεσσαλικοῦ  
 ποταμοῦ, ὃς διὰ τῶν Τεμπῶν ῥέων ἐκδιδοῖ ἐς θάλασσαν· ὁ δὲ  
 Πολυτίμητος πολὺ ἔτι μείζων ἢ κατὰ τὸν Πηνειὸν ποταμόν  
 ἐστι.

7. Ταῦτα δὲ διαπραξάμενος ἐς Ζαρίασπα ἀφίκετο· καὶ  
 αὐτοῦ κατέμενεν ἔστε παρελθεῖν τὸ ἀκμαῖον τοῦ χειμῶνος. ἐν  
 τούτῳ δὲ ἀφίκοντο παρ' αὐτὸν Φραταφέρνης τε ὁ Παρθυαίων  
 σατράπης καὶ Στασάνωρ ὁ ἐς Ἀρείου ἀποπεμφθεὶς ὡς  
 Ἀρσάκην ξυλληψόμενος, τὸν τε Ἀρσάκην δεδεμένον ἄγοντες  
 καὶ Βραζάνην, ὄντινα Βῆσσοσ τῆς Παρθυαίων σατράπην  
 2 κατέστησε, καὶ τινὰς ἄλλους τῶν τότε ξὺν Βῆσσῳ  
 ἀποστάντων. ἦκον δὲ ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ Ἐπόκιλλος καὶ Μελαμνίδας  
 καὶ Πτολεμαῖος ὁ τῶν Θρακῶν στρατηγὸς ἀπὸ θαλάσσης, οἱ  
 τὰ τε χρήματα <τὰ> ξὺν Μένητι πεμφθέντα καὶ τοὺς  
 ξυμμάχους ὡς ἐπὶ θάλασσαν κατήγαγον. καὶ Ἄσανδρος δὲ ἐν  
 τούτῳ ἦκεν καὶ Νέαρχος, στρατιὰν Ἑλλήνων μισθοφόρων  
 ἄγοντες, καὶ †Βῆσσός τε ὁ

ravaged the country and killed the barbarians who had taken refuge  
 in the forts, because they too were reported to have joined in the  
 attack on the Macedonians. He traversed the entire country the  
 river Polytimetus [Zeravshan] waters; at the very point where the  
 stream disappears there is nothing but desert: the stream, though it  
 carries much water, disappears into the sand. Other rivers, though  
 great and perennial, disappear there in the same way; the Epardus,  
 which runs through the Mardian country, the Areius, which gives its  
 name to the country Areia, and the Etymandrus, which runs  
 7 through the country of the All these rivers are so great that none is  
 inferior to the Peneius, the river of Thessaly which runs through  
 Tempe and then discharges into the sea; the Polytimetus is out of  
 all comparison larger than the river Peneius.

7. After Alexander had carried out these measures, he arrived at  
 Zariaspa, and remained there till the depth of winter was past.<sup>1</sup> At  
 this time Phrataphernes the satrap of Parthyaea came to him with  
 Stasanor who had been sent to Areia to arrest Arsaces, bringing him  
 in chains along with Brazanes, whom Bessus had made satrap of  
 2 Parthyaea, and others who had revolted with Bessus.<sup>2</sup> He was  
 joined at the same time from the seacoast by Epocillus, Melamnidas  
 and Ptolemaeus the commander of the Thracians who had escorted  
 the treasure sent with Menes and the allies down to the sea.  
 Asander and Nearchus also arrived at this time with a Greek  
 mercenary force, as did 'Bessus', the satrap of Syria,

1 Winter 329/8 B.C. Zariaspa: App. VIII 13. Cf. QC. vii 10, 10 for his leaving Peucolaus with 3,000 men in Sogdiana.

2 Ignored in QC., perhaps rightly, cf. 18, 3 n.

Συρίας σατράπης καὶ Ἀσκληπιόδωρος ὁ ὑπαρχος, ἀπὸ  
θαλάσσης καὶ οὗτοι στρατιὰν ἄγοντες.

- 3 Ἐνθα δὴ ξύλλογον ἐκ τῶν παρόντων ξυναγαγὼν  
Ἀλέξανδρος παρήγαγεν ἐς αὐτοὺς Βήσσον· καὶ κατηγορήσας  
τὴν Δαρείου προδοσίαν τὴν τε ῥίνα Βήσσου ἀποτμηθῆναι καὶ  
τὰ ὦτα ἄκρα ἐκέλευσεν, αὐτὸν δὲ ἐς Ἐκβάτανα ἄγεσθαι, ὡς  
4 ἐκεῖ ἐν τῷ Μήδων τε καὶ Περσῶν ξυλλόγῳ ἀποθανούμενον.  
καὶ ἐγὼ οὔτε τὴν ἄγαν ταύτην τιμωρίαν Βήσσου ἐπαινῶ,  
ἀλλὰ βαρβαρικὴν εἶναι τίθεμαι τῶν ἀκρωτηρίων τὴν λώβην  
καὶ ὑπαχθῆναι Ἀλέξανδρον ξύμφημι ἐς ζῆλον τοῦ Μηδικοῦ τε  
καὶ Περσικοῦ πλούτου καὶ τῆς κατὰ τοὺς βαρβάρους  
βασιλέας οὐκ ἴσης ἐς τοὺς ὑπηκόους ξυνδιαιτήσεως, ἐσθῆτά  
τε ὅτι Μηδικὴν ἀντὶ τῆς Μακεδονικῆς τε καὶ πατρίου  
Ἡρακλείδης ὦν μετέλαβεν, οὐδαμῆ ἐπαινῶ, καὶ τὴν κίταριν  
τὴν Περσικὴν τῶν νενικημένων ἀντὶ ὧν αὐτὸς ὁ νικῶν πάλαι  
5 ἐφόρει ἀμεῖψαι οὐκ ἐπηδέσθη, οὐδὲν τούτων ἐπαινῶ, ἀλλ'  
εἶπερ τι ἄλλο, καὶ τὰ Ἀλεξάνδρου μεγάλα πράγματα ἐς  
τεκμηρίωσιν τίθεμαι ὡς οὔτε τὸ σῶμα ὄτω εἶη καρτερόν, οὔτε  
ὄστις γένει ἐπιφανής, οὔτε

and Asclepiodorus the hyparch from the coast, also bringing  
troops.<sup>3</sup>

- 3 Then Alexander summoned a council of those present, brought  
Bessus before them, and accusing him of treachery towards Darius,  
commanded that his nose and ear-laps should be cut off, and that  
he should be taken to Ecbatana, to be put to death there in the  
4 assembly of Medes and Persians.<sup>4</sup> For my part, I do not approve of  
this excessive punishment of Bessus; I regard the mutilation of the  
extremities as barbaric, and I agree that Alexander was carried away  
into imitation of Median and Persian opulence and of the custom of  
barbarian kings not to countenance equality with subjects in their  
daily lives. Nor do I at all approve the facts that, though a  
descendant of Heracles, he substituted the dress of Medes for that  
traditional with Macedonians and that he exchanged the tiara of the  
Persians, whom he himself had conquered, for the head-dress he  
5 had long worn,<sup>5</sup> but I take it that nothing is clearer proof than  
Alexander's great successes of the truth that neither bodily strength  
in anyone nor distinction of birth nor

3 'Bessus' is corrupt. QC. 10, 12 makes Asclepiodorus bring him 4,500 troops from Syria, while Antipater sends 8,000 Greeks, including 600 horse; these might be the men brought by the 'hyparch from the coast'; Schmieler proposed to substitute Asclepiodorus for 'Bessus' and Menes for Asclepiodorus, but while we must suppose that a scribe wrote 'Bessus' for some other name, because his mind was still preoccupied with the true Bessus of § 1, the additional error of transposition is less easy to accept. Bosworth, *CQ* 1975, would read 'Menon' (cf. iii 6, 8 n.); on his view of iii 16, 9 (see n.). Menes had replaced both Menon and Asclepiodorus in the satrapies of north and south Syria, and they were freed to bring on troops he had raised to Al. But if this were right, both men should have been designated as former satraps and the circumscription of each should have been given. I should prefer to read 'Menes', even though this means that he did not stay long in his large province (which on my hypothesis embraced more than Syria) and to take 'hyparch' here to indicate

κατὰ πόλεμον εἰ δὴ τις διευτυχοίῃ ἔτι μᾶλλον ἢ Ἀλέξανδρος, οὐδὲ εἰ τὴν Λιβύην τις πρὸς τῇ Ἀσίᾳ, καθάπερ οὖν ἐπενόει ἐκείνος, ἐκπεριπλεύσας κατάσχοι, οὐδὲ εἰ τὴν Εὐρώπην ἐπὶ τῇ Ἀσίᾳ τε καὶ Λιβύῃ τρίτην, τούτων πάντων οὐδέν τι ὄφελος ἐς εὐδαιμονίαν ἀνθρώπου, εἰ μὴ σωφρονεῖν ἐν ταυτῷ ὑπάρχοι τούτῳ τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ τῷ τὰ μεγάλα, ὡς δοκεῖ, πράγματα πράξαντι.

8. Ἐνθα δὴ καὶ τὸ Κλείτου τοῦ Δρωπίδου πάθημα καὶ τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρου ἐπ' αὐτῷ ξυμφορὰν, εἰ καὶ ὀλίγον ὕστερον ἐπράχθη, οὐκ ἔξω τοῦ καιροῦ ἀφηγήσομαι. εἶναι μὲν γὰρ ἡμέραν ἱερὰν τοῦ Διονύσου Μακεδόσι καὶ θύειν Διονύσῳ ὅσα  
2 ἔτη ἐν αὐτῇ Ἀλεξάνδρον· τὸν δὲ τοῦ Διονύσου μὲν ἐν τῷ τότε ἀμελήσαι λέγουσι, Διοσκύρου δὲ θύσαι, ἐξ ὅτου δὴ ἐπιφρασθέντα τοῖν Διοσκύρου τὴν θυσίαν· πόρρω δὲ τοῦ πότου προϊόντος (καὶ γὰρ καὶ τὰ τῶν πότων ἤδη Ἀλεξάνδρῳ ἐς τὸ βαρβαρικώτερον νεωτέριστο) ἀλλ' ἐν γε τῷ πότῳ τότε ὑπὲρ τοῖν Διοσκύρου λόγους γίνεσθαι, ὅπως ἐς Δία  
3 ἀνηνέχθη αὐτοῖν ἡ γένεσις ἀφαιρεθείσα Τυνδάρεω. καὶ τινὰς τῶν παρόντων κολακεία τῇ Ἀλεξάνδρῳ, οἳ δὴ ἄνδρες διέφθειράν τε αἰεὶ καὶ οὐποτε παύσονται ἐπιτρίβοντες τὰ τῶν αἰεὶ βασιλέων πράγματα, κατ' οὐδὲν ἀξιοῦν συμβάλλειν Ἀλεξάνδρῳ τε καὶ τοῖς Ἀλεξάνδρου ἔργοις τὸν Πολυδεύκην καὶ τὸν Κάστορα. οἳ δὲ οὐδὲ τοῦ Ἡρακλέους ἀπέιχοντο ἐν τῷ πότῳ ἀλλὰ τὸν φθόνον γὰρ ἐμποδῶν ἴστασθαι τοῖς ζῶσι τὸ μὴ οὐ τὰς δικαίας τιμὰς αὐτοῖς ἐκ τῶν ξυνόντων γίνεσθαι.

continuous good fortune in war, greater even than Alexander's—no matter if a man were to sail out right round Libya as well as Asia and subdue them, as Alexander actually thought of doing, or were to make Europe, with Asia and Libya, a third part of his empire—that not one of all these things is any contribution to man's happiness, unless the man whose achievements are apparently so great were to possess at the same time command of his own passions.

8. At this point it will be the moment for me to relate the tragedy of Clitus son of Dropides and the suffering it caused to Alexander, even though it actually occurred later.<sup>1</sup> The story goes as follows. The Macedonians kept a day sacred to Dionysus and  
2 Alexander sacrificed to him yearly on that day; only on this particular occasion he neglected Dionysus but sacrificed to the Dioscuri; some reason had made him think of sacrificing to them. The drinking was prolonged (and, in fact, Alexander had already taken to new and more barbaric ways in drinking), and in the course of the drinking-bout talk occurred about the Dioscuri and how Tyndareus was robbed of their fatherhood which was now  
3 referred to Zeus. Some of the company (that type of men who have always and will always continue to injure the interests of kings)<sup>2</sup> out of flattery to Alexander claimed that there was no comparison between Castor and Pollux and Alexander and Alexander's achievements. In the bout others did not even leave Heracles untouched; it was only envy, they said, which stood in the way of living men and kept them from receiving their due honours from their fellows.

1 Chronologically this comes after 16, 3.

2 Cf. ii 6, 4 and 6; vii 12, 5; 29, 1.

4 Κλείτον δὲ δῆλον μὲν εἶναι πάλαι ἤδη ἀχθόμενον τοῦ τε  
 Ἀλεξάνδρου τῆ ἐς τὸ βαρβαρικώτερον μετακινήσει καὶ τῶν  
 κολακευόντων αὐτὸν τοῖς λόγοις· τότε δὲ καὶ αὐτὸν πρὸς τοῦ  
 οἴνου παροξυνόμενον οὐκ ἔαν οὔτε ἐς τὸ θεῖον ὑβρίζειν, οὔτε  
 [ἐς] τὰ τῶν πάλαι ἡρώων ἔργα ἐκφραυλίζοντας χάριν ταύτην  
 5 ἄχαριν προστιθέναι Ἀλεξάνδρῳ. εἶναι γὰρ οὖν οὐδὲ τὰ  
 Ἀλεξάνδρου οὕτω τι μεγάλα καὶ θαυμαστὰ ὡς ἐκείνοι  
 ἐπαίρουσιν· οὐκ οὐκ μόνον καταπράξει αὐτά, ἀλλὰ τὸ πολὺ  
 γὰρ μέρος Μακεδόνων εἶναι τὰ ἔργα. καὶ τοῦτον τὸν λόγον  
 ἀνιᾶσαι Ἀλέξανδρον λεχθέντα. οὐδὲ ἐγὼ ἐπαινῶ τὸν λόγον,  
 ἀλλὰ ἱκανὸν γὰρ εἶναι τίθεμαι ἐν τοιαύτῃ παροιμίᾳ τὸ καθ'  
 6 αὐτὸν σιγῶντα ἔχειν μηδὲ τὰ αὐτὰ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἐς κολακείαν  
 πλημμελεῖν. ὡς δὲ καὶ τῶν Φιλίππου τινὲς ἔργων, ὅτι οὐ  
 μεγάλα οὐδὲ θαυμαστὰ Φιλίππῳ κατεπράχθη, οὐδεμιᾶ ξὺν  
 δίκῃ ἐπεμνήσθησαν, χαριζόμενοι καὶ οὗτοι Ἀλεξάνδρῳ, τὸν  
 Κλείτον ἤδη οὐκέτι ἐν ἑαυτοῦ ὄντα πρεσβεύειν μὲν τὰ τοῦ  
 Φιλίππου, καταβάλλειν δὲ Ἀλέξανδρον τε καὶ τὰ τούτου ἔργα,  
 παροιοῦντα ἤδη τὸν Κλείτον, τά τε ἄλλα καὶ πολὺν εἶναι  
 ἐξονειδίζοντα Ἀλεξάνδρῳ, ὅτι πρὸς αὐτοῦ ἄρα ἐσώθη, ὅποτε ἢ  
 7 ἵππομαχία ἢ ἐπὶ Γρανίκῳ ξυνειστήκει πρὸς Πέρσας· καὶ δὴ  
 καὶ τὴν δεξιὰν τὴν αὐτοῦ σοβαρῶς ἀνατείναντα, αὕτη σε ἢ  
 χεῖρ, φάναι, ὦ Ἀλέξανδρε, ἐν τῷ τότε ἔσωσε. καὶ Ἀλέξανδρον  
 οὐκέτι φέρειν τοῦ Κλείτου τὴν παροιμίαν τε καὶ ὑβριν, ἀλλὰ  
 ἀναπηδᾶν γὰρ ξὺν ὀργῇ ἐπ' αὐτόν, κατέχεσθαι δὲ ὑπὸ τῶν  
 8 ξυμπινόντων. Κλείτον δὲ οὐκ ἀνιέναι ὑβρίζοντα. Ἀλέξανδρος  
 δὲ ἐβόα ἄρα καλῶν τοὺς ὑπασπιστάς· οὐδενὸς δὲ ὑπακούοντος  
 ἐς ταῦτα ἔφη καθεστηκέναι

4 Clitus, however, had made it plain for some time past that he  
 was aggrieved both by Alexander's change-over to the more  
 barbaric style and by the expressions of his flatterers; and now  
 under the stimulus of wine he would not let them show disrespect  
 for the divine power, or belittle the deeds of the heroes of old, to do  
 Alexander a favour that was none. Nor in his view were Alexander's  
 5 achievements so great and wonderful as they cried them up to be;  
 and Alexander had not achieved them by himself, but they were in  
 great part Macedonian achievements. Alexander was deeply hurt by  
 his words. Nor do I approve them; I think it enough, amid such  
 drunkenness, for a man to keep his own views to himself without  
 committing the same errors of flattery as the rest. But when some  
 6 even referred to Philip's achievements, quite unjustly suggesting  
 that his achievements were not great or remarkable, again trying to  
 gratify Alexander, Clitus could no longer control himself but spoke  
 up in favour of Philip's achievements, making little of Alexander and  
 his; he was now heated with wine and heaped reproaches on  
 Alexander; after all Alexander owed his life to him, when the  
 cavalry battle on the Granicus had been joined with the Persians;  
 7 what is more, he actually raised his right hand with an insolent  
 gesture and cried, 'This very hand, Alexander, saved you then!'<sup>3</sup>  
 Alexander could no longer bear Clitus' drunken arrogance and leapt  
 up in anger to strike him, but was held back by his fellow drinkers.  
 8 Still Clitus did not restrain his insults and Alexander shouted out for  
 the hypaspists; but as no one obeyed,

3 Cf. i 15, 8.

Δαρείω, ὅποτε πρὸς Βήσσου τε καὶ τῶν ἀμφὶ Βήσσου  
 ξυλληφθεὶς ἤγετο οὐδὲν ἄλλο ὅτι μὴ ὄνομα ὢν βασιλέως.  
 οὐκ οἶον ἔτι οἶους τε εἶναι κατέχειν αὐτὸν τοὺς ἑταίρους, ἀλλ'  
 ἀναπηδήσαντα γὰρ οἱ μὲν λόγχην ἀρπάσαι λέγουσι τῶν  
 9 σωματοφυλάκων τινὸς καὶ ταύτη παίσαντα Κλείτου  
 ἀποκτείνειν, οἱ δὲ σάρισσαν παρὰ τῶν φυλάκων τινὸς [καὶ  
 ταύτη].<sup>1</sup> Ἀριστόβουλος δὲ ὅθεν μὲν ἡ παροιμία ὠρμήθη οὐ  
 λέγει, Κλείτου δὲ γενέσθαι μόνου τὴν ἀμαρτίαν, ὃν γε  
 ὠργισμένου Ἀλεξάνδρου καὶ ἀναπηδήσαντος ἐπ' αὐτὸν ὡς  
 διαχρησομένου ἀπαχθῆναι μὲν διὰ θυρῶν ἔξω ὑπὲρ τὸ τεῖχος  
 τε καὶ τὴν τάφρον τῆς ἄκρας, ἵνα ἐγίνετο, πρὸς Πτολεμαίου  
 τοῦ Λάγου τοῦ σωματοφύλακος· οὐ καρτερήσαντα δὲ  
 ἀναστρέψαι αὐθις καὶ περιπετῆ Ἀλεξάνδρῳ γενέσθαι Κλείτου  
 ἀνακαλοῦντι, καὶ φάναι ὅτι οὗτός τοι ἐγὼ ὁ Κλείτος, ὃ  
 Ἀλέξανδρε· καὶ ἐν τούτῳ πληγέντα τῇ σαρίσση ἀποθανεῖν.

9. Καὶ ἐγὼ Κλείτου μὲν τῆς ὕβρεως τῆς ἐς τὸν βασιλέα  
 τὸν αὐτοῦ μεγαλωστὶ μέμφομαι· Ἀλέξανδρον δὲ τῆς  
 συμφορᾶς οἰκτείρω, ὅτι δυοῖν κακοῖν ἐν τῷ τότε ἡττημένον  
 ἐπέδειξεν αὐτόν, ὑφ' ὧν δὴ καὶ τοῦ ἑτέρου οὐκ ἐπέοικεν  
 2 ἄνδρα σωφρονούντα ἐξητᾶσθαι, ὀργῆς τε καὶ παροιρίας.  
 ἀλλὰ τὰ ἐπὶ τοῖσδε αὖ ἐπαινώ Ἀλεξάνδρου, ὅτι παραντίκα  
 ἔγνω σχέτλιον ἔργον ἐργασάμενος. καὶ λέγουσιν εἶσιν οἱ [τὰ  
 Ἀλεξάνδρου] ὅτι ἐρείσας τὴν σάρισσαν πρὸς τὸν τοίχον  
 3 ἐπιπίπτειν ἐγνώκει αὐτῇ, ὡς οὐ καλὸν αὐτῷ ζῆν ἀποκτείναντι  
 φίλον αὐτοῦ ἐν οἴνῳ. οἱ πολλοὶ δὲ ξυγγραφεῖς τοῦτο μὲν οὐ  
 λέγουσιν,

1 Deleted by Castiglioni.

he cried that he had come to the same pass as Darius, when he was  
 led prisoner by Bessus and his confederates, and that he had  
 nothing now left but the name of king. No longer could the  
 Companions hold him back; he leapt up and, as some say, snatched  
 a spear from one of the bodyguards and struck Clitus a mortal blow  
 9 with it; according to others, it was a long pike from one of the  
 guards he used. But Aristobulus, while not telling the origin of this  
 drinking bout, holds that the entire fault lay with Clitus, since when  
 Alexander leapt up in passion to kill him, Clitus was hurried away  
 outside through the doors over the wall and ditch of the citadel  
 (where all this happened) by Ptolemy son of Lagus, one of the  
 bodyguards, but could not control himself, and turned back; he met  
 with Alexander just as Alexander was calling out 'Clitus!' and cried,  
 'Here I am, Clitus, Alexander!' and there and then was struck with  
 the pike and died.

9. I myself strongly blame Clitus for his insolence towards his  
 king, and pity Alexander for his misfortune, since he then showed  
 himself the slave of two vices, by neither of which is it fitting for a  
 man of sense to be overcome, namely, anger and drunkenness. But  
 2 for the sequel I commend Alexander, in that he immediately  
 recognized the savagery of his action. Some say that Alexander  
 leaned the pike against the wall, intending to fall upon it himself, as  
 it was not honourable for him to live after killing a friend in his  
 3 cups. But most historians have a different story:

ἀπελθόντα δὲ εἰς τὴν εὐνήν κείσθαι ὀδυρόμενον, αὐτὸν τε τὸν Κλείτον ὀνομαστὶ ἀνακαλοῦντα καὶ τὴν Κλείτου μὲν ἀδελφὴν, αὐτὸν δὲ ἀναθρεψαμένην, Λανίκην τὴν Δρωπίδου παῖδα, ὡς  
 4 καλὰ ἄρα αὐτῇ τροφεία ἀποτετικῶς εἶη ἀνδρωθείς, ἣ γὰρ τοὺς μὲν παῖδας τοὺς ἑαυτῆς ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ μαχομένους ἐπέιδεν ἀποθανόντας, τὸν ἀδελφὸν δὲ αὐτῆς αὐτὸς αὐτοχειρία ἔκτεινε· φονέα τε τῶν φίλων οὐ διαλείπειν αὐτὸν ἀνακαλοῦντα, ἄσιτόν τε καὶ ἄποτον καρτερεῖν ἔσπε ἐπὶ τρεῖς ἡμέρας, οὐδέ τινα ἄλλην θεραπείαν θεραπεῦσαι τὸ σῶμα.

5 Καὶ ἐπὶ τούτοις τῶν μάντεών τινες μῆνιν ἐκ Διονύσου ἦδον, ὅτι ἡ θυσία ἐξελείφθη Ἀλεξάνδρῳ ἢ τοῦ Διονύσου. καὶ Ἀλέξανδρος μόγις πρὸς τῶν ἐταίρων πεισθεὶς σίτου τε ἤψατο καὶ τὸ σῶμα κακῶς ἐθεράπευσε καὶ τῷ Διονύσῳ τὴν θυσίαν ἀπέδωκεν, ἐπεὶ οὐδὲ αὐτῷ ἄκουτι ἦν εἰς μῆνιν τοῦ θεοῦ  
 6 μᾶλλον τι ἢ τὴν αὐτοῦ κακότητα ἀναφέρεσθαι τὴν ξυμφοράν. ταῦτα μεγαλωστὶ ἐπαινῶ Ἀλεξάνδρον, τὸ μήτε ἀπαυθαδιάσασθαι ἐπὶ κακῷ, μήτε προστάτην τε καὶ ξυνήγορον κακίονα ἔτι γενέσθαι τοῦ ἀμαρτηθέντος, ἀλλὰ ξυμφῆσαι γὰρ ἐπταικέναι ἄνθρωπόν γε ὄντα.

7 Εἰσὶ δὲ οἳ λέγουσιν Ἀνάξαρχον τὸν σοφιστὴν ἐλθεῖν μὲν παρ' Ἀλέξανδρον κληθέντα, ὡς παραμυθησόμενον· εὐρόντα δὲ κείμενον καὶ ἐπιστένοντα, ἀγνοεῖν, φάναι ἐπιγελάσαντα, διότι ἐπὶ τῷδε οἱ πάλαι σοφοὶ ἄνδρες τὴν Δίκην πάρεδρον τῷ Διὶ ἐποίησαν ὡς ὅτι ἂν πρὸς τοῦ Διὸς κυρωθῆ, τοῦτο ξὺν Δίκῃ πεπραγμένον. καὶ οὖν καὶ τὰ ἐκ βασιλέως μεγάλου γιγνόμενα δίκαια χρῆναι νομίζεσθαι, πρῶτα μὲν πρὸς αὐτοῦ βασιλέως, ἔπειτα

they say that Alexander took to his bed and lay there mourning, crying out the name of Clitus and of Clitus' sister, Lanice,<sup>1</sup> daughter of Dropides, who had nursed him: what a fine return for her nursing had he given her, now that he was a man! She had seen her  
 4 sons die fighting for him, and now with his own hand he had killed her brother. He kept again and again calling himself the murderer of his friends, refused firmly all food or drink for three days, and neglected all other bodily needs.

5 In these circumstances some of the prophets 'sang the wrath' of Dionysus, because Alexander had neglected the sacrifice to him. With some difficulty Alexander was persuaded by his friends to eat, and take some slight care of his person; and he paid the due sacrifice to Dionysus, since it was not uncongenial to him that the disaster should be referred to divine wrath rather than to his own  
 6 evil nature. In this I highly commend Alexander; he did not brazen out his evil act, nor degenerate further by becoming champion and advocate of his error; he admitted that he had erred, as a man may.<sup>2</sup>

7 Some say that Anaxarchus the Sophist<sup>3</sup> came by summons to Alexander to offer consolation, and finding him groaning on his bed, laughed at him and said that he had not learnt why the old philosophers made Justice sit by the throne of Zeus, because whatever is determined by Zeus is done with Justice; so too the acts of a great King should be held just, first by the king himself and then by the rest of man-

1 Hellanice QC. viii 1, 21.

2 Cf. vii 29, 2.

3 For his life and works see Diels, *Fragmente der Vorsokratiker* no. 72. Here and in ch. 11 he may be traduced.

8 πρὸς τῶν ἄλλων ἀνθρώπων. ταῦτα εἰπόντα παραμυθήσασθαι  
 μὲν Ἀλέξανδρον ἐν τῷ τότε, κακὸν δὲ μέγα, ὡς ἐγὼ φημι,  
 ἐξεργάσασθαι Ἀλεξάνδρῳ καὶ μείζον ἔτι ἢ ὅτῳ τότε ξυνείχετο,  
 εἶπερ οὖν σοφοῦ ἀνδρὸς τήνδε ἔγνω τὴν δόξαν, ὡς οὐ τὰ  
 δίκαια ἄρα χρὴ σπουδῇ ἐπιλεγόμενον πράττειν τὸν βασιλέα,  
 9 ἀλλὰ ὃ τι ἂν καὶ ὅπως οὖν ἐκ βασιλέως πραχθῆ, τοῦτο  
 δίκαιον νομίζειν. ἐπεὶ καὶ προσκυνεῖσθαι ἐθέλειν Ἀλέξανδρον  
 λόγος κατέχει, ὑπόουσης μὲν αὐτῷ καὶ τῆς ἀμφὶ τοῦ Ἄμμωνος  
 πατρὸς μᾶλλον τι ἢ Φιλίππου δόξης, θαυμάζοντα δὲ ἤδη τὰ  
 Περσῶν καὶ Μήδων τῆς τε ἐσθήτος τῇ ἀμείψει καὶ τῆς ἄλλης  
 θεραπείας τῇ μετακοσμήσει. οὐκ ἐνδεῆσαι δὲ οὐδὲ πρὸς τοῦτο  
 αὐτῷ τοὺς κολακεία ἐς αὐτὸ ἐνδιδόντας, ἄλλους τέ τινας καὶ  
 δὴ καὶ τῶν σοφιστῶν τῶν ἀμφ' αὐτὸν Ἀνάξαρχόν τε καὶ Ἄγιν  
 Ἀργεῖον, ἐποποιόν.

10. Καλλισθένην δὲ τὸν Ὀλύνθιον Ἀριστοτέλους τε τῶν  
 λόγων διακηκοότα καὶ τὸν τρόπον ὄντα ὑπαγροικότερον οὐκ  
 ἐπαινεῖν ταῦτα. τούτου μὲν δὴ ἔνεκα καὶ αὐτὸς Καλλισθένει  
 ξυμφέρομαι, ἐκεῖνα δὲ οὐκέτι ἐπιεικῆ δοκῶ τοῦ Καλλισθένους,  
 εἶπερ ἀληθῆ ξυγγέγραπται, ὅτι ὑφ' αὐτῷ εἶναι ἀπέφαινε καὶ  
 2 τῇ αὐτοῦ ξυγγραφή Ἀλεξάνδρον τε καὶ τὰ Ἀλεξάνδρου ἔργα,  
 οὐκ οὖν αὐτὸς ἀφίχθαι ἐξ Ἀλεξάνδρου δόξαν κτησόμενος,  
 ἀλλὰ ἐκείνον εὐκλεᾶ ἐς ἀνθρώπους ποιήσων· καὶ οὖν καὶ τοῦ  
 θείου τὴν μετουσίαν Ἀλεξάνδρῳ οὐκ ἐξ ὧν Ὀλυμπίας ὑπὲρ  
 τῆς γενέσεως αὐτοῦ ψεύδεται ἀνηρτήσθαι, ἀλλὰ ἐξ ὧν ἂν  
 3 αὐτὸς ὑπὲρ Ἀλεξάνδρου ξυγγράψας ἐξενέγκη ἐς ἀνθρώπους.  
 εἰσὶ δὲ οἱ καὶ τάδε ἀνέγραψαν, ὡς ἄρα ἤρετο αὐτὸν ποτε  
 Φιλώτας ὄντινα οἶοιτο

8 kind. These words are said to have consoled Alexander for the time,  
 but I say that he did Alexander even greater harm than the  
 affliction he then suffered from, if indeed he gave this opinion as  
 that of a sage, that the duty of the king is not to act justly after  
 earnest consideration, but that anything done by a king in any form  
 9 is to be accounted just. The fact is that the report prevails that  
 Alexander desired people actually to do him obeisance, from the  
 underlying idea that his father was Ammon and not Philip,<sup>4</sup> and as  
 he was now expressing his admiration for the ways of the Persians  
 and Medes, both in his change of dress and in addition by the  
 altered arrangements for his attendance, and that even as to  
 obeisance there was no lack of flatterers to give him his wish,  
 among whom the most prominent were Anaxarchus and Agis of  
 Argos, an epic poet, two of the sophists at his court.

10. It is said that Callisthenes of Olynthus, a past pupil of  
 Aristotle, and with something of the boor in his character, did not  
 approve of this, and here I myself agree with Callisthenes; on the  
 other hand I think Callisthenes went beyond reason, if the record is  
 true, in declaring that Alexander and his exploits depended on him  
 2 and his history; it was not he who had come to win fame from  
 Alexander, but it would be his work to make Alexander renowned  
 among men; and again, that Alexander's share in divinity did not  
 depend on Olympias' invention about his birth, but on the account  
 he would write and publish in Alexander's interest. Some too have  
 3 recorded that Philotas once asked him whom he thought to be

4 App. V. Cf. vii 29, 3; 30, 2.

μάλιστα τιμηθῆναι πρὸς τῆς Ἀθηναίων πόλεως· τὸν δὲ  
 ἀποκρίνασθαι Ἀρμόδιον καὶ Ἀριστογείτονα, ὅτι τὸν ἕτερον  
 4 τοῖν τυράννοιον ἔκτειναν καὶ τυραννίδα ὅτι κατέλυσαν. ἐρέσθαι  
 δὲ αὐθις τὸν Φιλώταν εἰ τῷ τύραννον κτείναντι ὑπάρχοι παρ'  
 οὔστινας ἐθέλει τῶν Ἑλλήνων φυγόντα σώζεσθαι· καὶ  
 ἀποκρίνασθαι αὐθις Καλλισθένην, εἰ καὶ μὴ παρ' ἄλλους,  
 παρά γε Ἀθηναίους ὅτι φυγόντι ὑπάρχοι σώζεσθαι. τούτους  
 γὰρ καὶ πρὸς Εὐρυσθέα πολεμήσαι ὑπὲρ τῶν παίδων τῶν  
 Ἡρακλέους, τυραννοῦντα ἐν τῷ τότε τῆς Ἑλλάδος.  
 5 Ὑπὲρ δὲ τῆς προσκυνήσεως ὅπως ἠναντιώθη Ἀλεξάνδρῳ,  
 καὶ τοιόσδε κατέχει λόγος. ξυγκείσθαι μὲν γὰρ τῷ Ἀλεξάνδρῳ  
 πρὸς τοὺς σοφιστάς τε καὶ τοὺς ἀμφ' αὐτὸν Περσῶν καὶ  
 6 Μήδων τοὺς δοκιμωτάτους μνήμην τοῦ λόγου τοῦδε ἐν πότῳ  
 ἐμβαλεῖν ἄρξαι δὲ τοῦ λόγου Ἀνάξαρχον, ὡς πολὺ  
 δικαιότερον ἂν θεὸν νομιζόμενον Ἀλέξανδρον Διονύσου τε καὶ  
 Ἡρακλέους, μὴ ὅτι τῶν ἔργων ἕνεκα ὅσα καὶ ἡλίκα  
 καταπέπρακται Ἀλεξάνδρῳ, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὅτι Διόνυσος μὲν  
 Θηβαῖος ἦν, οὐδέν τι προσήκων Μακεδόσι, καὶ Ἡρακλῆς  
 Ἀργεῖος, οὐδὲ οὗτος προσήκων ὅτι μὴ κατὰ γένος τὸ  
 7 Ἀλεξάνδρον· Ἡρακλείδην γὰρ εἶναι Ἀλέξανδρον· Μακεδόνας  
 δὲ ἂν τὸν σφῶν βασιλέα δικαιότερον θείαις τιμαῖς  
 κοσμοῦντας. καὶ γὰρ οὐδὲ ἐκείνο εἶναι ἀμφίλογον ὅτι  
 ἀπελθόντα γε ἐξ ἀνθρώπων ὡς θεὸν τιμήσουσι πόσῳ δὴ  
 δικαιότερον ζῶντα

held in highest honour by the Athenians; and he replied,  
 Harmodius and Aristogiton, because they slew one of the two  
 tyrants, and destroyed the tyranny,<sup>1</sup> and that when Philotas asked  
 4 him again if a tyrannicide could find a safe refuge among any of the  
 Greeks he wished, Callisthenes again answered that he would find a  
 safe refuge in Athens at least; the Athenians had even fought on  
 behalf of the children of Heracles against Eurystheus, who was  
 tyrant then over Greece.

5 As to Callisthenes' opposition to Alexander regarding obeisance,  
 the following story is also prevalent. It had been agreed between  
 Alexander and the Sophists and the most illustrious of the Persians  
 and Medes at his court that mention of this topic should be  
 6 introduced at a wine-party.<sup>2</sup> Anaxarchus began the subject, saying  
 that it would be far more just to reckon Alexander a god than  
 Dionysus and Heracles, not so much because of the magnitude and  
 nature of Alexander's achievements, but also because Dionysus was  
 a Theban, and had no connection with Macedon, and Heracles an  
 Argive, also unconnected with Macedon, except for Alexander's  
 7 family, for he was descended from Heracles; but that Macedonians  
 in their turn would be more justified in paying the respect of divine  
 honours to their own king; in any case there was no doubt that  
 when Alexander had departed from men they would honour him as  
 a god; how much more just, then, that they should give him his due  
 in life rather than

1 The two joint tyrants were Hippias and his brother Hipparchus.  
 By killing Hipparchus only, Harmodius and Aristogiton did not destroy  
 the tyranny, but in fact caused Hippias to become a severe despot.

2 This story, though surely false, may reflect early controversies  
 on the propriety of deifying Al. QC. viii 5, 8 substitutes the poets Agis  
 and Cleo for Anaxarchus. Besides App. XIV see App. IV.



γεραίρειν ἤπερ τελευτήσαντα ἐς οὐδὲν ὄφελος τῷ τιμωμένῳ.  
 11. Λεχθέντων δὲ τούτων τε καὶ τοιούτων λόγων πρὸς  
 Ἀναξάρχου τοὺς μὲν μετεσχηκότας τῆς βουλῆς ἐπαινεῖν τὸν  
 λόγον καὶ δὴ ἐθέλειν ἄρχεσθαι τῆς προσκυνήσεως, τοὺς  
 2 Μακεδόνας δὲ τοὺς πολλοὺς ἀχθομένους τῷ λόγῳ σιγῇ ἔχειν.  
 Καλλισθένην δὲ ὑπολαβόντα, Ἀλέξανδρον μὲν, εἰπεῖν, ὦ  
 Ἀνάξαρχε, οὐδεμιᾶς ἀνάξιον ἀποφαίνω τιμῆς ὅσαι ξύμμετροι  
 ἀνθρώπῳ· ἀλλὰ διακεκρίσθαι γὰρ τοῖς ἀνθρώποις ὅσαι τε  
 ἀνθρώπιναι τιμαὶ καὶ ὅσαι θείαι πολλοῖς μὲν καὶ ἄλλοις,  
 καθάπερ ναῶν τε οἰκοδομήσει καὶ ἀγαλμάτων ἀναστάσει καὶ  
 τεμένῃ ὅτι τοῖς θεοῖς ἐξαιρεῖται καὶ θύεται ἐκείνοις καὶ  
 σπένδεται, καὶ ὕμνοι μὲν ἐς τοὺς θεοὺς ποιοῦνται, ἔπαινοι δὲ  
 3 ἐς ἀνθρώπους—ἀτὰρ οὐχ ἥκιστα τῷ τῆς προσκυνήσεως νόμῳ.  
 τοὺς μὲν γὰρ ἀνθρώπους φιλεῖσθαι πρὸς τῶν ἀσπαζομένων,  
 τὸ θείον δέ, ὅτι ἄνω που ἰδρυμένον καὶ οὐδὲ ψαῦσαι αὐτοῦ  
 θέμις, ἐπὶ τῷδε ἄρα τῇ προσκυνήσει γεραίρεται, καὶ χοροὶ  
 τοῖς θεοῖς ἴστανται καὶ παιᾶνες ἐπὶ τοῖς θεοῖς ᾄδονται. καὶ  
 οὐδὲν θαυμαστόν, ὅποτε γε καὶ αὐτῶν τῶν θεῶν ἄλλοις ἄλλαι  
 τιμαὶ πρόσκεινται, καὶ ναὶ μὰ Δία ἤρωσι ἄλλαι, καὶ αὐταὶ  
 4 ἀποκεκριμέναι τοῦ θείου. οὐκ οὐκ εἰκὸς ξύμπαντα ταῦτα  
 ἀναταράσσοντας τοὺς μὲν ἀνθρώπους ἐς σχῆμα ὑπέρογκον  
 καθιστάναι τῶν τιμῶν ταῖς ὑπερβολαῖς, τοὺς θεοὺς δὲ τό γε  
 ἐπὶ σφίσι ἐς ταπεινότητα οὐ πρόπονσαν καταβάλλειν τὰ ἴσα  
 ἀνθρώποις τιμώντας. οὐκ οὐκ οὐδὲ Ἀλέξανδρον ἀνασχέσθαι ἂν,  
 5 εἰ τῶν ἰδιωτῶν τις εἰσποιοῖτο ταῖς βασιλικαῖς τιμαῖς  
 χειροτονία ἢ ψήφῳ οὐ δικαία. πολὺ ἂν οὖν

when he was dead and the honour would profit him nothing.

11. When Anaxarchus had said this and the like, those who  
 shared in the scheme approved his argument and were actually  
 ready to begin doing obeisance, but the Macedonians for the most  
 2 part were opposed to it, though silent. Callisthenes broke in and  
 said: 'Anaxarchus, I declare Alexander unworthy of no honour  
 appropriate for a man; but I have used numerous ways of  
 distinguishing all the honours which are appropriate for men and  
 for gods; thus we build temples and erect images and set aside  
 precincts for the gods, and we offer them sacrifices and libations  
 and compose hymns to them, while eulogies are for men; but the  
 3 most important distinction concerns the matter of obeisance. At  
 greeting men receive a kiss, but what is divine, I suppose because it  
 is seated above us and we are forbidden even to touch it, is for that  
 very reason honoured by obeisance; dances, too, are held for the  
 gods, and paeans sung in their praise. In this distinction there is  
 nothing surprising, since among the gods themselves all are not  
 honoured in the same way; and what is more, there are different  
 honours for the heroes, distinct again from those paid to gods. It is  
 4 not, therefore, proper to confuse all this, by raising mortals to  
 extravagant proportions by excesses of honour, while bringing the  
 gods, as far as men can, down to a demeaning and unfitting level by  
 honouring them in the same way as men. So Alexander himself  
 would not endure it for a moment, if some private person were to  
 thrust himself into the royal honours by unjust election or vote, and  
 5 the gods would have

δικαιότερον τοὺς θεοὺς δυσχεραίνειν ὅσοι ἄνθρωποι ἐς τὰς  
 θείας τιμὰς σφᾶς εἰσποιούσιν ἢ πρὸς ἄλλων εἰσποιούμενοι  
 ἀνέχονται. Ἀλέξανδρον δὲ πόρρω τοῦ ἱκανοῦ ἀνδρῶν ἀγαθῶν  
 τὸν ἄριστον εἶναί τε καὶ δοκεῖν, καὶ βασιλέων τὸν  
 6 βασιλικώτατον καὶ στρατηγῶν τὸν ἀξιοστρατηγότατον. καὶ  
 σέ, εἴπερ τινὰ ἄλλον, ὦ Ἀνάξαρχε, εἰσηγητήν τε τούτων τῶν  
 λόγων ἐχρῆν γίνεσθαι καὶ κωλυτὴν τῶν ἐναντίων, ἐπὶ σοφία  
 τε καὶ παιδεύσει Ἀλέξανδρῳ ξυνόντα. οὐκ οὐκ ἄρχειν γε τοῦδε  
 τοῦ λόγου πρέπον ἦν, ἀλλὰ μεμνήσθαι γὰρ οὐ Καμβύση οὐδὲ  
 Ξέρξη ξυνόντα ἢ συμβουλευόντα, ἀλλὰ Φιλίππου μὲν παιδί,  
 Ἡρακλείδῃ δὲ ἀπὸ γένους καὶ Αἰακίδῃ, ὅτου οἱ πρόγονοι ἐξ  
 Ἄργους ἐς Μακεδονίαν ἦλθον, οὐδὲ βία, ἀλλὰ νόμῳ  
 7 Μακεδόνων ἄρχοντες διετέλεσαν. οὐκ οὐκ οὐδὲ αὐτῷ τῷ  
 Ἡρακλεῖ ζῶντι ἔτι θείαι τιμαὶ παρ' Ἑλλήνων ἐγένοντο, ἀλλ'  
 οὐδὲ τελευτήσαντι πρόσθεν ἢ πρὸς τοῦ θεοῦ τοῦ ἐς Δελφοῖς  
 ἐπιθεσπισθῆναι ὡς θεὸν τιμᾶν Ἡρακλέα. εἰ δέ, ὅτι ἐν τῇ  
 βαρβάρῳ γῇ οἱ λόγοι γίνονται, βαρβαρικὰ χρῆ ἔχειν τὰ  
 φρονήματα, καὶ ἐγὼ τῆς Ἑλλάδος μεμνήσθαι σε ἀξιῶ, ὦ  
 Ἀλέξανδρε, ἧς ἔνεκα ὁ πᾶς στόλος σοι ἐγένετο, προσθεῖναι  
 8 τὴν Ἀσίαν τῇ Ἑλλάδι. καὶ οὖν ἐνθυμήθητι, ἐκέῖσε ἐπανελθὼν  
 ἀρά γε καὶ τοὺς Ἕλληνας τοὺς ἐλευθερωτάτους  
 προσαναγκάσεις ἐς τὴν προσκύνησιν, ἢ Ἑλλήνων μὲν ἀφέξει,  
 Μακεδόσι δὲ προσθήσεις τήνδε τὴν ἀτιμίαν, ἢ διακεκριμένα  
 ἔσται σοι αὐτῷ τὰ τῶν τιμῶν ἐς ἅπαν, ὡς πρὸς Ἑλλήνων μὲν  
 9 καὶ Μακεδόνων ἀνθρωπίνως τε καὶ Ἑλληνικῶς τιμᾶσθαι, πρὸς  
 δὲ τῶν βαρβάρων μόνων βαρβαρικῶς; εἰ δὲ ὑπὲρ Κύρου τοῦ  
 Καμβύσου λέγεται πρῶτον προσκνηθῆναι

far better cause to be displeased with any men who thrust  
 themselves or permit others to thrust them into divine honours.  
 Alexander both is and is thought to be above all measure the  
 bravest of the brave, most kingly of kings, most worthy to command  
 6 of all commanders. As for you, Anaxarchus, you above all should  
 have expounded these arguments and stopped those on the other  
 side, as you are attending on Alexander as philosopher and  
 instructor. It was improper for you to take the lead in this topic; you  
 should rather have remembered that you are not attending nor  
 advising a Cambyses<sup>1</sup> or Xerxes, but a son of Philip, a descendant of  
 Heracles and of Aeacus, whose forefathers came from Argos to  
 Macedonia, and have continued to rule the Macedonians not by  
 force but in accordance with custom. Even Heracles himself did  
 7 not receive divine honours from the Greeks in his own lifetime, nor  
 even after his death till the god of Delphi gave his sanction to  
 honouring him as a god. If, however, we must think like barbarians,  
 as we are speaking in their country, even so I appeal personally to  
 you, Alexander, to remember Greece, on whose behalf you made  
 8 your whole expedition, to annex Asia to Greece. Consider this too;  
 when you return there, will you actually compel the Greeks as well,  
 the freest of mankind, to do you obeisance, or will you keep away  
 from the Greeks, but put this dishonour on the Macedonians, or  
 will you yourself make a distinction once for all in this matter of  
 honours and receive from Greeks and Macedonians honours of a  
 human and Greek style, and barbarian honours only from  
 9 barbarians? But if it is said of Cyrus son of Cambyses that he was  
 the

1 King of Persia 528–522 B.C.

ἀνθρώπων Κύρον καὶ ἐπὶ τῷδε ἐμμείναι Πέρσαις τε καὶ Μήδοις τήνδε τὴν ταπεινότητα, χρὴ ἐνθυμείσθαι ὅτι τὸν Κύρον ἐκείνον Σκύθαι ἐσωφρόνισαν, πένητες ἄνδρες καὶ αὐτόνομοι, καὶ Δαρείον ἄλλοι αὖ Σκύθαι, καὶ Ξέρξην Ἀθηναῖοι καὶ Λακεδαιμόνιοι, καὶ Ἀρτοξέρξην Κλέαρχος καὶ Ξενοφῶν καὶ οἱ ξὺν τούτοις μύριοι, καὶ Δαρείον τούτου Ἀλέξανδρος μὴ προσκυνούμενος.

12. Ταῦτα δὴ καὶ τοιαῦτα εἰπόντα Καλλισθένην ἀνιᾶσαι μὲν μεγαλωστὶ Ἀλέξανδρον, Μακεδόσι δὲ πρὸς θυμοῦ εἰπεῖν. καὶ τοῦτο γνόντα Ἀλέξανδρον πέμψαντα κωλύσαι Μακεδόνας<sup>1</sup> μεμνήσθαι ἔτι τῆς προσκυνήσεως. ἀλλὰ σιγῆς γὰρ γενομένης ἐπὶ τοῖς λόγοις ἀναστάντας Περσῶν τοὺς πρεσβυτάτους ἐφεξῆς προσκυνεῖν. Λεοννάτον δέ, ἓνα τῶν ἐταίρων, ἐπειδὴ τις ἐδόκει τῶν Περσῶν αὐτῷ οὐκ ἐν κόσμῳ προσκυνῆσαι, τὸν δὲ ἐπιγελάσαι τῷ σχήματι τοῦ Περσοῦ ὡς ταπεινῷ καὶ τούτῳ χαλεπήναντα τότε Ἀλέξανδρον ξυναλλαγῆναι αὐθις.<sup>2</sup> ἀναγέγραπται δὲ δὴ καὶ τοιόσδε λόγος. προπίνειν φιάλην χρυσῆν ἐν κύκλῳ Ἀλέξανδρον πρώτοις μὲν τούτοις πρὸς οὔστινας ξυνέκειτο αὐτῷ τὰ τῆς προσκυνήσεως, τὸν δὲ πρῶτον ἐκπιόντα τὴν φιάλην προσκυνῆσαί τε ἀναστάντα καὶ φιληθῆναι πρὸς αὐτοῦ, καὶ τοῦτο ἐφεξῆς διὰ πάντων χωρήσαι. ὡς δὲ ἐς Καλλισθένην ἦκεν ἡ πρόποσις, ἀναστῆναι μὲν Καλλισθένην καὶ ἐκπιεῖν τὴν φιάλην, καὶ προσελθόντα ἐθέλειν φιλῆσαι οὐ προσκυνήσαντα. τὸν δὲ τυχεῖν μὲν τότε διαλεγόμενον Ἡφαιστίῳνι.<sup>3</sup>

1 Roos bracketed this word.

first of men to receive obeisance and that therefore this humiliation became traditional with Persians and Medes, you must remember that this very Cyrus was brought to his senses by Scythians, a people poor but free, Darius too by other Scythians,<sup>2</sup> Xerxes by Athenians and Lacedaemonians,<sup>3</sup> and Artaxerxes by Clearchus, Xenophon and their Ten Thousand,<sup>4</sup> and Darius by Alexander here, who does not receive obeisance.<sup>5</sup>

12. By these and the like words Callisthenes greatly provoked Alexander, but pleased the Macedonians, and realizing this, Alexander sent and told the Macedonians to think no more of obeisance. When, however, a silence fell after these words, the senior Persians arose and did obeisance one by one. Leonnatus, one of the Companions, thinking that one of the Persians made his obeisance ungracefully, mocked his posture as abject; Alexander was angry with him at the time, though reconciled later. The following story has also been recorded. Alexander sent round a loving cup of gold, first to those with whom he had made an agreement about obeisance; the first who drank from it rose, did obeisance, and received a kiss from Alexander, and this went round all in turn. But when the pledge came to Callisthenes, he rose, drank from the cup, went up to Alexander and made to kiss him without having done obeisance. At the moment Alexander was talking to Hephaestion, and therefore was not attending to see

2 For the defeat and death of Cyrus, the founder of the Persian empire, in 529 B.C. by the Scythian Massagetae see Herodotus i 208–214; for the defeat of Darius I by the European Scythians c. 513 B.C., ib. iv 1, 83–142.

3 480–479 B.C.

4 401–400 B.C.

5 οὐκ οὐκ προσέχειν τὸν νοῦν, εἰ καὶ τὰ τῆς προσκυνήσεως ἐπιτελή τῷ Καλλισθένει ἐγένετο. ἀλλὰ Δημήτριον γὰρ τὸν Πυθώνακτος, ἓνα τῶν ἐταίρων, ὡς προσήει αὐτῷ ὁ Καλλισθένης φιλήσων, φάναι ὅτι οὐ προσκυνήσας πρόσσεισιν. καὶ τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον οὐ παρασχεῖν φιλήσαι ἑαυτόν· τὸν δὲ Καλλισθένην, φιλήματι, φάναι, ἔλαττον ἔχων ἄπειμι.

6 Καὶ τούτων ἐγώ, ὅσα ἐς ὕβριν τε τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρου τὴν ἐν τῷ παραντίκα καὶ ἐς σκαιότητα τὴν Καλλισθένους φέροντα, οὐδὲν οὐδαμῆ ἐπαινώ, ἀλλὰ τὸ καθ' αὐτὸν γὰρ κοσμίως τίθεσθαι ἐξαρκεῖν φημί, αὐξόντα ὡς ἀνυστὸν τὰ βασιλέως

7 πράγματα ὅτω τις ξυνεῖναι οὐκ ἀπηξίωσεν. οὐκ οὐκ ἀπεικότως δι' ἀπεχθείας γενέσθαι Ἀλεξάνδρῳ Καλλισθένην τίθεμαι ἐπὶ τῇ ἀκαίρῳ τε παρρησίᾳ καὶ ὑπερόγκῳ ἀβελτερίᾳ. ἐφ' ὅτω τεκμαίρομαι μὴ χαλεπῶς πιστευθῆναι τοὺς κατειπόντας Καλλισθένους, ὅτι μετέσχε τῆς ἐπιβουλῆς τῆς γενομένης Ἀλεξάνδρῳ ἐκ τῶν παίδων, τοὺς δέ, ὅτι καὶ ἐπήρην αὐτὸς ἐς τὸ ἐπιβουλεύσαι. ξυνέβη δὲ τὰ τῆς ἐπιβουλῆς ὧδε.

13. Ἐκ Φιλίππου ἦν ἤδη καθεστηκὸς τῶν ἐν τέλει Μακεδόνων τοὺς παῖδας ὅσοι ἐς ἡλικίαν ἐμειρακιεύοντο καταλέγεσθαι ἐς θεραπείαν τοῦ βασιλέως, τὰ τε περὶ τὴν ἄλλην δίαιταν τοῦ σώματος διακονεῖσθαι βασιλεῖ καὶ κοιμώμενον φυλάσσειν τούτοις ἐπετέτραπτο. καὶ ὁπότε ἐξελαύνει βασιλεύς, τοὺς ἵππους παρὰ τῶν ἵπποκόμων δεχόμενοι ἐκεῖνοι προσήγον καὶ ἀνέβαλλον οὗτοι βασιλέα τὸν

2 Περσικὸν τρόπον καὶ τῆς ἐπὶ θήρᾳ φιλοτιμίας βασιλεῖ κοινωνοὶ ἦσαν. τούτων καὶ Ἑρμόλαος ἦν, Σωπόλιδος μὲν παῖς, φιλοσοφία δὲ

whether the ceremony of obeisance had been carried out by  
5 Callisthenes himself. But as Callisthenes approached to kiss Alexander, Demetrius son of Pythonax, one of the Companions, remarked that he was coming without having done obeisance. Alexander did not permit Callisthenes to kiss him; and Callisthenes remarked, 'I shall go away short of a kiss.'

6 In these incidents I do not at all approve either of Alexander's arrogance at the time or of Callisthenes' tactlessness, but in fact I think it enough for a man to show moderation in his own individual conduct, and that he should be ready to exalt royalty as far as practicable, once he has consented to attend on a king. So I think  
7 that Alexander's hostility to Callisthenes was not unreasonable in view of his untimely freedom of speech and arrogant folly, and on this account I infer that Callisthenes' detractors were readily believed that he had a part in the plot laid against Alexander by his pages, some of them even saying that Callisthenes had incited them to the plot. The plot occurred as follows.<sup>1</sup>

13. It was a practice going back to Philip's time that the sons of Macedonian notables who had reached adolescence should be enlisted for the service of the king; and besides general attendance on his person the duty of guarding him when asleep had been entrusted to them. Again, whenever the king rode out, they received the horses from the grooms and led them up, and they mounted the king in Persian fashion, and were his companions in  
2 the rivalry of the chase. One of them was Hermolaus son of Sopolis; he was reputed to be a zealous student

1 Cf. 22, 1 for the date.

ἔδόκει προσέχειν τὸν νοῦν καὶ Καλλισθένην θεραπεύειν ἐπὶ τῷδε. ὑπὲρ τούτου λόγος κατέχει, ὅτι ἐν θήρᾳ προσφερομένου Ἀλεξάνδρῳ σὺς ἔφθη βαλὼν τὸν σὺν ὁ Ἑρμόλαος· καὶ ὁ μὲν σὺς πίπτει βληθείς, Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ τοῦ καιροῦ ὑστερήσας ἐχαλέπηνε τῷ Ἑρμολάῳ καὶ κελεύει αὐτὸν πρὸς ὄργην πληγὰς λαβεῖν ὁρώντων τῶν ἄλλων παίδων, καὶ τὸν ἵππον αὐτοῦ ἀφείλετο.

- 3 Τούτον τὸν Ἑρμόλαον ἀλγήσαντα τῇ ὕβρει φράσαι πρὸς Σώστρατον τὸν Ἀμύντου, ἡλικιώτην τε ἑαυτοῦ καὶ ἐραστὴν ὄντα, ὅτι οὐ βιωτόν οἱ ἐστὶ μὴ τιμωρησαμένῳ Ἀλέξανδρον τῆς ὕβρεως, καὶ τὸν Σώστρατον οὐ χαλεπῶς συμπεῖσαι
- 4 μετασχεῖν τοῦ ἔργου, ἅτε ἐρώντα. ὑπὸ τούτων δὲ ἀναπεισθῆναι Ἀντίπατρον τε τὸν Ἀσκληπιοδώρου τοῦ Συρίας σατραπεύσαντος καὶ Ἐπιμένην τὸν Ἀρσαίου καὶ Ἀντικλέα τὸν Θεοκρίτου καὶ Φιλώταν τὸν Κάρσιδος τοῦ Θρακός. ὡς οὖν περιήκεν ἐς Ἀντίπατρον ἢ νυκτερινῇ φυλακῇ, ταύτῃ τῇ νυκτὶ ξυγκείμενον εἶναι ἀποκτεῖναι Ἀλέξανδρον, κοιμωμένῳ ἐπιπεσόντας.
- 5 Ξυμβῆναι δὲ οἱ μὲν αὐτομάτως λέγουσιν ἔστω <ἐφ' > ἡμέραν πίνειν Ἀλέξανδρον, Ἀριστόβουλος δὲ ὧδε ἀνέγραψε. Σύραν γυναικα ἐφομαρτεῖν Ἀλεξάνδρῳ κάτοχον ἐκ τοῦ θείου γιγνομένην καὶ ταύτην τὸ μὲν πρῶτον γέλωτα εἶναι Ἀλεξάνδρῳ τε καὶ τοῖς ἀμφ' αὐτόν· ὡς δὲ τὰ πάντα ἐν τῇ κατοχῇ ἀληθεύουσα ἐφαίνετο, οὐκέτι ἀμελείσθαι ὑπ' Ἀλεξάνδρου, ἀλλ' εἶναι γὰρ τῇ Σύρᾳ πρόσδοτον πρὸς τὸν
- 6 βασιλέα καὶ νύκτωρ καὶ μεθ' ἡμέραν, καὶ καθεύδοντι πολλάκις ἤδη ἐπιστῆναι. καὶ δὴ καὶ τότε ἀπαλλασσομένου ἐκ τοῦ πότου κατεχομένην ἐκ τοῦ

of philosophy and to be a follower of Callisthenes for this purpose. The story is prevalent about him that in a hunt a wild boar charged Alexander and that Hermolaus struck it before Alexander could; it fell from his stroke, and Alexander, too late for his chance, was angry with Hermolaus and in his passion ordered him to be whipped in the presence of the other pages, and took his horse from him.

- 3 According to the story, this Hermolaus felt the outrage bitterly and told Sostratus son of Amyntas, a boy of the same age and his lover, that he found life no longer worth living until he had avenged himself on Alexander for the outrage, and easily persuaded Sostratus as his lover to join in the enterprise; they won over
- 4 Antipater son of Asclepiodorus, who had been satrap of Syria, Epimenes son of Arseus, Anticles son of Theocritus, and Philotas son of Carsis the Thracian, and so when the turn of keeping guard by night fell to Antipater, it was agreed to kill Alexander that night by attacking him in his sleep.
- 5 But it so happened according to some writers that Alexander went on drinking unprompted till daybreak, whereas Aristobulus tells this story. A Syrian woman possessed by the divine spirit followed Alexander constantly; at first she was a laughing-stock both to Alexander and his court; but when it became clear that everything she uttered when possessed came true, Alexander no longer treated her with contempt but gave her access to his person day and night and she now often watched over him as he slept. So
- 6 on this occasion, when Alexander ceased from his potations, she met him, while possessed by

θείου ἐντυχεῖν, καὶ δεῖσθαι ἐπανελθόντα πίνειν ὅλην τὴν νύκτα· καὶ Ἀλέξανδρον θεῖόν τι εἶναι νομίσαντα ἐπανελθεῖν τε καὶ πίνειν, καὶ οὕτως τοῖς παισὶ διαπεσεῖν τὸ ἔργον.

7 Τῇ δὲ ὑστεραίᾳ Ἐπιμένῃς ὁ Ἀρσαίου τῶν μετεχόντων τῆς ἐπιβουλῆς φράζει τὴν πράξιν Χαρικλεῖ τῷ Μενάνδρου, ἐραστῇ ἑαυτοῦ γεγονότι· Χαρικλῆς δὲ φράζει Εὐρυλόχῳ τῷ ἀδελφῷ τῷ Ἐπιμένους· καὶ ὁ Εὐρύλοχος ἐλθὼν ἐπὶ τὴν σκηπὴν τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρου Πτολεμαίῳ τῷ Λάγου τῷ σωματοφύλακι καταλέγει ἅπαν τὸ πρᾶγμα· ὁ δὲ Ἀλεξάνδρῳ ἔφρασε· καὶ ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος ξυλλαβεῖν κελεύει ὧν τὰ ὀνόματα εἶπεν ὁ Εὐρύλοχος· καὶ οὗτοι στρεβλούμενοι σφῶν τε αὐτῶν κατεῖπον τὴν ἐπιβουλήν καὶ τινὰς καὶ ἄλλους ὠνόμασαν.

14. Ἀριστόβουλος μὲν λέγει ὅτι καὶ Καλλισθένην ἐπᾶραι σφᾶς ἔφασαν ἐς τὸ τόλμημα· καὶ Πτολεμαῖος ὡσαύτως λέγει· οἱ δὲ πολλοὶ οὐ ταύτη λέγουσιν, ἀλλὰ διὰ μῖσος γὰρ τὸ ἤδη ὄν πρὸς Καλλισθένην ἐξ Ἀλεξάνδρου καὶ ὅτι ὁ Ἑρμόλαος ἐς τὰ μάλιστα ἐπιτήδειος ἦν τῷ Καλλισθένει, οὐ χαλεπῶς  
2 πιστεῦσαι τὰ χείρῳ ὑπὲρ Καλλισθένους Ἀλεξάνδρου· ἤδη δὲ τινες καὶ τάδε ἀνέγραψαν, τὸν Ἑρμόλαον προαχθέντα ἐς τοὺς Μακεδόνας ὁμολογεῖν τε ἐπιβουλεύσαι—καὶ γὰρ οὐκ εἶναι ἔτι ἐλευθέρῳ ἀνδρὶ φέρειν τὴν ὕβριν τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρου—πάντα καταλέγοντα, τὴν τε Φιλώτα οὐκ ἔνδικον τελευτὴν καὶ <τὴν> τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτοῦ Παρμενίωνος ἔτι ἐκνομωτέραν καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τῶν τότε ἀποθανόντων, καὶ τὴν Κλείτου ἐν μέθῃ ἀναίρεσιν, καὶ τὴν ἐσθήτα τὴν Μηδικήν, καὶ τὴν προσκύνησιν τὴν βουλευθείσαν καὶ οὐπω πεπανμένην, καὶ πότους τε

the divine spirit, and begged him to return and continue drinking all night long; Alexander believed this to be a divine sign, returned to his cups, and so the boys' plot came to nothing.

7 Next day Epimenes son of Arseus, one of the conspirators, told Charicles son of Menander, his lover, of the plot, Charicles told Eurylochus brother of Epimenes, and Eurylochus went to Alexander's tent, and revealed the whole affair to Ptolemy son of Lagus who told Alexander, and Alexander ordered the arrest of all whose names Eurylochus had given; they were put on the rack, revealed their own plot and implicated others as well.

14. Aristobulus tells that they said Callisthenes had urged them on to the attempt, and Ptolemy agrees. But most authorities have a different version, that it was only because he had already come to hate Callisthenes and because Hermolaus was particularly close to Callisthenes, that Alexander readily believed the worst of

2 Callisthenes. Some have also recorded that Hermolaus, when summoned before the Macedonians, confessed his plot, for (he said) no free man could longer endure Alexander's arrogance, and went over the whole story, the unjust end of Philotas, and the still more illegal death of Parmenio and of the others who perished at that time, the drunken murder of Clitus, the Median dress, the plan not yet abandoned

καὶ ὕπνους τοὺς Ἀλεξάνδρου ταῦτα οὐ φέροντα ἔτι  
 3 ἐλευθερῶσαι ἐθελῆσαι ἑαυτὸν τε καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους Μακεδόνας.  
 τοῦτον μὲν δὴ αὐτὸν τε καὶ τοὺς ξὺν αὐτῷ ξυλληφθέντας  
 καταλευσθῆναι πρὸς τῶν παρόντων. Καλλισθένην δὲ  
 Ἀριστόβουλος μὲν λέγει δεδεμένον ἐν πέδαις ξυμπεριάγεσθαι  
 τῇ στρατιᾷ, ἔπειτα νόσῳ τελευτῆσαι, Πτολεμαῖος δὲ ὁ Λάγου  
 στρεβλωθέντα καὶ κρεμασθέντα ἀποθανεῖν. οὕτως οὐδὲ οἱ  
 πάνυ πιστοὶ ἐς τὴν ἀφήγησιν καὶ ξυγγενόμενοι ἐν τῷ τότε  
 Ἀλεξάνδρῳ ὑπὲρ τῶν γνωρίμων τε καὶ οὐ λαθόντων σφᾶς  
 4 ὅπως ἐπράχθη ξύμφωνα ἀνέγραψαν. πολλὰ δὲ καὶ ἄλλα ὑπὲρ  
 τούτων αὐτῶν ἄλλοι ἄλλως ἀφηγήσαντο, ἀλλ' ἐμοὶ ταῦτα  
 ἀποχρῶντα ἔστω ἀναγεγραμμένα. ταῦτα μὲν δὴ οὐ πολλῶ  
 ὕστερον πραχθέντα ἐγὼ ἐν τοῖσδε τοῖς ἀμφὶ Κλείτου  
 ξυνεχθεῖσιν Ἀλεξάνδρου ἀνέγραψα, τούτοις μᾶλλον τι οἰκεία  
 ὑπολαβὼν ἐς τὴν ἀφήγησιν.

15. Παρ' Ἀλέξανδρον δὲ ἦκεν καὶ αὐθις Σκυθῶν τῶν ἐκ τῆς  
 Εὐρώπης πρεσβεία ξὺν τοῖς πρέσβεσιν οἷς αὐτὸς ἐς Σκύθας  
 ἔστειλεν. ὁ μὲν δὴ τότε βασιλεὺς τῶν Σκυθῶν ὅτε οὗτοι ὑπὸ  
 2 Ἀλεξάνδρου ἐπέμποντο τετελευτηκῶς ἐτύγχανεν, ἀδελφὸς δὲ  
 ἐκείνου ἐβασίλευεν. ἦν δὲ ὁ νοῦς τῆς πρεσβείας ἐθέλειν ποιεῖν  
 πᾶν τὸ ἐξ Ἀλεξάνδρου ἐπαγγελόμενον Σκύθας· καὶ δῶρα  
 ἔφερον Ἀλεξάνδρῳ παρὰ τοῦ βασιλέως τῶν Σκυθῶν ὅσα  
 μέγιστα νομίζεται ἐν Σκύθαις· καὶ τὴν θυγατέρα ὅτι ἐθέλει  
 3 Ἀλεξάνδρῳ δοῦναι γυναῖκα βεβαιότητος οὐνεκα τῆς πρὸς  
 Ἀλέξανδρον φιλίας τε καὶ ξυμμαχίας. εἰ δὲ ἀπαξιοῖ τὴν  
 Σκυθῶν βασίλισσαν γῆμαι Ἀλέξανδρος,

to introduce obeisance, and Alexander's drinking and sleeping  
 habits; it was all this he would bear no longer and sought to liberate  
 himself and the other Macedonians; he was then stoned to death by  
 3 the assemblage, along with his fellow prisoners. As for Callisthenes,  
 Aristobulus says he was bound with fetters and carried round with  
 the army, but at length died of sickness, Ptolemy son of Lagus that  
 he was racked and put to death by hanging. Thus not even those  
 whose narratives are entirely trustworthy and who actually  
 accompanied Alexander at that time agree in their accounts of  
 events which were public and within their own knowledge. There  
 4 are many other varying accounts of the same events in different  
 histories, but I must be content with what I have recorded. They  
 occurred a little later, but I have recorded them in connection with  
 the affair between Clitus and Alexander, thinking them to be more  
 relevant here to my narrative.

15. Envoys came to Alexander<sup>1</sup> a second time from the  
 European Scythians, together with the envoys himself had sent to  
 Scythia, for the king of the Scythians at the time when they were  
 being sent by Alexander had died; and his brother was reigning.  
 2 The purpose of the embassy was to express the readiness of the  
 Scythians to do whatever Alexander commanded; they brought gifts  
 for Alexander from the king of Scythia which are most highly  
 regarded in Scythia, and said that the king was willing to give  
 Alexander his daughter in marriage, to confirm his friendship and  
 3 alliance. If, however, Alexander should not think fit to marry the  
 Scythian princess,

Winter 329–8 B.C.

1 Presumably at winter-quarters at Zariaspa (7, 1), whence his  
 departure is recorded in 15, 7; QC. vii 1, 7 ff. gives an account parallel  
 to 1–4 (omitting 5 f.) in midsummer 328.

ἀλλὰ τῶν γε σατραπῶν τῶν τῆς Σκυθικῆς χώρας καὶ ὅσοι ἄλλοι δυνάσται κατὰ τὴν γῆν τὴν Σκυθίδα, τούτων τὰς παῖδας ἐθέλειν δοῦναι τοῖς πιστοτάτοις τῶν ἀμφ' Ἀλέξανδρον ἤξειν δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς ἔφασκεν, εἰ κελεύοιτο, ὡς παρ' αὐτοῦ

4 Ἀλεξάνδρου ἀκούσαι ὅσα ἐπαγγέλλοι. ἀφίκετο δ' ἐν τούτῳ παρ' Ἀλέξανδρον καὶ Φαρασμάνης ὁ Χορασμίων βασιλεὺς ξὺν ἵππεύσι χιλίοις καὶ πεντακοσίοις. ἔφασκεν δὲ ὁ Φαρασμάνης ὁμορος οἰκεῖν τῷ τε Κόλχων γένει καὶ ταῖς γυναιξὶ ταῖς Ἀμαζόσι, καὶ εἰ θέλοι Ἀλέξανδρος ἐπὶ Κόλχους τε καὶ Ἀμαζόνας ἐλάσας καταστρέψασθαι τὰ ἐπὶ τὸν πόντον τὸν Εὐξείνιον ταύτῃ καθήκοντα γένη, ὁδῶν τε ἡγεμῶν ἔσεσθαι ἐπηγγέλλετο καὶ τὰ ἐπιτήδεια τῇ στρατιᾷ παρασκευάσειν.

5 Τοῖς τε οὖν παρὰ τῶν Σκυθῶν ἤκουσι φιλόανθρωπα ἀποκρίνεται Ἀλέξανδρος καὶ ἐς τὸν τότε καιρὸν ξύμφορα, γάμου δὲ οὐδὲν δεῖσθαι Σκυθικοῦ, καὶ Φαρασμάνην ἐπαινέσας τε καὶ φιλίαν καὶ ξυμμαχίαν πρὸς αὐτὸν ξυνθέμενος αὐτῷ μὲν τότε οὐκ ἔφη ἐν καιρῷ εἶναι ἐλαύνειν ἐπὶ τὸν Πόντον Ἀρταβάζω δὲ τῷ Πέρσῃ, ὅτῳ τὰ Βακτρίων ἐξ Ἀλεξάνδρου ἐπετέτακτο, καὶ ὅσοι ἄλλοι πρόσχωροι τούτῳ σατράπαι

6 ξυστήσας Φαρασμάνην ἀποπέμπει ἐς τὰ ἦθη τὰ αὐτοῦ. αὐτῷ δὲ τὰ Ἰνδῶν ἔφη ἐν τῷ τότε μέλειν. τούτους γὰρ καταστρεψάμενος πᾶσαν ἂν ἤδη ἔχειν τὴν Ἀσίαν ἐχομένης δὲ τῆς Ἀσίας ἐπανιέναι ἂν ἐς τὴν Ἑλλάδα, ἐκείθεν δ' ἐφ' Ἑλλησπόντου τε καὶ τῆς Προποντίδος ξὺν τῇ δυνάμει πάσῃ τῇ τε ναυτικῇ καὶ τῇ πεζικῇ ἐλάσειν εἴσω τοῦ Πόντου καὶ ἐς τὸ τότε ἡξίου ἀποθέσθαι Φαρασμάνην ὅσα ἐν τῷ παραντίκα ἐπηγγέλλετο.

he was still willing to give the daughters of the satraps of the Scythian territory and of the chief personages in Scythia to Alexander's most trusted followers; he would also come to visit Alexander, if summoned, and hear Alexander's commands from

4 Alexander himself. At the same time Pharasmanes, king of the Chorasians, came to Alexander with fifteen hundred horsemen; he said that he lived on the borders of the Colchians and the Amazons, and if Alexander desired to attack Colchis and the Amazons and subdue all the races that extended in these regions to the Euxine Sea, he promised to act as guide and to provide supplies for the army.<sup>2</sup>

5 Alexander then replied to the Scythian envoys graciously and as his interest at the time demanded, that he had no need of a Scythian marriage. He commended Pharasmanes and entered into friendship and alliance with him, but said that for him it was not then the moment to march to Pontus. But he recommended Pharasmanes to Artabazus the Persian, to whom he had entrusted affairs in Bactria, and to all the other neighbouring satraps, and sent

6 him back to his own abode. He said that for the time being his own concern was India; for by subduing India he would at once be in possession of Asia as a whole, and with Asia in his possession he would return to Greece, and march thence by the Hellespont and Propontis to Pontus with all his naval and land forces; he expected Pharasmanes to save up the promises he made now till that time.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>2</sup> App. XII.

<sup>3</sup> For subsequent operations QC. vii 10, 13 ff. (very different); App. VIII 14.



7 Αὐτὸς δὲ ἐπὶ τὸν Ὅξον τε ποταμὸν ἦει αὐθις καὶ εἰς τὴν  
 Σογδιανὴν προχωρεῖν ἐγνώκει, ὅτι πολλοὺς τῶν Σογδιανῶν ἐς  
 τὰ ἐρύματα ξυμπεφευγέναι ἠγγέλλετο οὐδὲ ἐθέλειν κατακοῦειν  
 τοῦ σατράπου, ὅστις αὐτοῖς ἐξ Ἀλεξάνδρου ἐπετέτακτο.  
 στρατοπεδεύοντος δὲ αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ τῷ ποταμῷ τῷ Ὅξῳ οὐ  
 μακρὰν τῆς σχηνῆς τῆς αὐτοῦ Ἀλεξάνδρου πηγὴ ὕδατος καὶ  
 8 ἄλλη ἐλαίου πηγὴ πλησίον αὐτῆς ἀνέσχε. καὶ Πτολεμαίῳ τῷ  
 Λάγου τῷ σωματοφύλακι ἐπειδὴ ἐσηγγέλθη τὸ τέρας,  
 Πτολεμαῖος Ἀλεξάνδρῳ ἔφρασεν. Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ ἔθνευ ἐπὶ τῷ  
 φάσματι ὅσα οἱ μάντις ἐξηγοῦντο. Ἀρίστανδρος δὲ πόνων  
 εἶναι σημεῖον τοῦ ἐλαίου τὴν πηγὴν ἔφασκεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ νίκην  
 ἐπὶ τοῖς πόνοις σημαίνειν.

16. Διαβὰς οὖν ξὺν μέρει τῆς στρατιᾶς ἐς τὴν Σογδιανήν,  
 Πολυπέρχοντα δὲ καὶ Ἄτταλον καὶ Γοργίαν καὶ Μελέαγρον  
 αὐτοῦ ἐν Βάκτροις ὑπολιπόμενος τούτοις μὲν παρήγγειλεν τὴν  
 τε χώραν ἐν φυλακῇ ἔχειν, ὡς μή τι νεωτερίσωσιν οἱ ταύτη  
 2 βάρβαροι, καὶ τοὺς ἔτι ἀφεστηκότας αὐτῶν ἐξαίρειν· αὐτὸς δὲ  
 ἐς πέντε μέρη διελὼν τὴν ἅμα οἱ στρατιὰν τῶν μὲν  
 Ἐφαιστῖωνα ἄρχειν ἔταξε, τῶν δὲ Πτολεμαίου τὸν Λάγου τὸν  
 σωματοφύλακα· τοῖς τρίτοις δὲ Περδίκκαν ἐπέταξε· τῆς δὲ  
 τετάρτης τάξεως Κοῖνος καὶ Ἀρτάβαζος ἠγοῦντο αὐτῷ· τὴν δὲ  
 3 πέμπτην μοῖραν ἀναλαβὼν αὐτὸς ἐπήει τὴν χώραν ὡς ἐπὶ  
 Μαράκανδα. καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι ὡς ἐκάστοις προῦχώρει ἐπήεσαν,  
 τοὺς μὲν τινὰς τῶν ἐς τὰ ἐρύματα ξυμπεφευγόντων βία  
 ἐξαιροῦντες, τοὺς δὲ καὶ ὁμολογία προσχωροῦντάς σφισιν  
 ἀναλαμβάνοντες. ὡς δὲ ξύμπασα αὐτῷ ἡ δύναμις ἐπελθοῦσα  
 τῶν Σογδιανῶν τῆς χώρας τὴν πολλὴν

7 He himself returned to the river Oxus; he had determined to  
 move into Sogdiana, since it was reported that many of the  
 Sogdianians had taken refuge in their forts and would not obey the  
 satrap set over them by Alexander. While he was encamped on the  
 river Oxus, not far from his own tent a spring of water, and another  
 of oil near by, came up from the ground. When this prodigy was  
 8 notified to Ptolemy son of Lagus, the royal bodyguard, he told  
 Alexander, and Alexander sacrificed on account of this portent as  
 the soothsayers directed. Aristander said that the spring of oil was a  
 sign of tribulations to come, but that it portended victory after the  
 tribulations.<sup>4</sup>

16. Passing with part of his force into Sogdiana, he left behind  
 Polyperchon, Attalus, Gorgias and Meleager there in Bactra and  
 told them to protect the country, prevent the barbarians there  
 2 giving trouble and destroy those still in revolt. He himself divided  
 the force with him into five parts, and appointed Hephaestion to  
 command one, Ptolemy son of Lagus, the bodyguard, another; the  
 third was put under Perdikkas, and the fourth brigade was  
 commanded by Coenus and Artabazus; he took the fifth himself and  
 invaded the country in the direction of Maracanda. Each of the  
 3 other divisions carried out such attacks as its success allowed,  
 violently destroying some of those who had taken refuge in the  
 forts, and accepting the surrender of others by agreement. But  
 when his whole force, after traversing the greater part of Sogdiana,  
 arrived at Maracanda,

<sup>4</sup> Presumably from Pt. Cf. P. 57, 4 f. (with no mention of Pt.).  
 Strabo xi 7, 3 puts the discovery of petroleum on the Ochus, perhaps  
 following Ar., cf. Pearson, LH 169.

ἐς Μαράκανδα ἀφίκετο, Ἡφαιστίωνα μὲν ἐκπέμπει τὰς ἐν τῇ Σογδιανῇ πόλεις συνοικίζειν, Κοῖνον δὲ καὶ Ἀρτάβαζον ὡς ἐς Σκύθας, ὅτι ἐς Σκύθας καταπεφευγέναι Σπιταμένης αὐτῷ ἐξηγγέλλετο, αὐτὸς δὲ ξὺν τῇ λοιπῇ στρατιᾷ ἐπιὼν τῆς Σογδιανῆς ὅσα ἔτι πρὸς τῶν ἀφεστηκότων κατείχετο ταῦτα οὐ χαλεπῶς ἐξήρει.

- 4 Ἐν τούτοις δὲ Ἀλεξάνδρου ὄντος Σπιταμένης τε καὶ σὺν αὐτῷ τῶν Σογδιανῶν τινες φυγάδων ἐς τῶν Σκυθῶν τῶν Μασσαγετῶν καλουμένων τὴν χώραν ξυμπεφευγότες ξυναγαγόντες τῶν Μασσαγετῶν ἰππέας ἑξακοσίους ἀφίκοντο
- 5 πρὸς τι φρούριον τῶν κατὰ τὴν Βακτριανήν. καὶ τῷ τε φρουράρχῳ οὐδὲν πολέμιον προσδεχομένῳ ἐπιπεσόντες καὶ τοῖς ξὺν τούτῳ τὴν φυλακὴν ἔχουσιν τοὺς μὲν στρατιώτας διέφθειραν, τὸν φρούραρχον δὲ ἐλόντες ἐν φυλακῇ εἶχον. θαρσῆσαντες δὲ ἐπὶ τοῦ φρουρίου τῇ καταλήψει ὀλίγαις ἡμέραις ὕστερον Ζαριάσποις πελάσαντες τῇ μὲν πόλει προσβαλεῖν ἀπέγνωσαν, λείαν δὲ πολλὴν περιβαλλόμενοι ἤλαννον.
- 6 Ἦσαν δὲ ἐν τοῖς Ζαριάσποις νόσῳ ὑπολελειμμένοι τῶν ἐταίρων ἰππέων οὐ πολλοὶ καὶ ξὺν τούτοις Πείθων τε ὁ Σωσικλέους, ἐπὶ τῆς βασιλικῆς θεραπείας τῆς ἐν Ζαριάσποις τεταγμένος, καὶ Ἀριστόνικος ὁ κιθαρῳδός. καὶ οὗτοι αἰσθόμενοι τῶν Σκυθῶν τὴν καταδρομὴν (ἤδη γὰρ ἐκ τῆς νόσου ἀναρρωσθέντες ὅπλα τε ἔφερον καὶ τῶν ἵππων ἐπέβαινον) ξυναγαγόντες τοὺς τε μισθοφόρους ἰππέας ἐς ὀγδοήκοντα, οἳ ἐπὶ φυλακῇ τῶν Ζαριάσπων ὑπολελειμμένοι ἦσαν, καὶ τῶν παίδων τινὰς τῶν βασιλικῶν ἐκβοηθούσιν ἐπὶ τοὺς Μασσαγέτας.

he sent Hephæstion to settle people in cities in Sogdiana, and Coenus and Artabazus in the direction of Scythia, since news came that Spitamenes had taken refuge there, while he himself with the rest of the troops went on to parts of Sogdiana still held by the rebels, and destroyed them without trouble.

- 4 While Alexander was thus engaged, Spitamenes and some fugitives from Sogdiana in his company had fled for refuge to the land of the Scythians called Massagetae<sup>1</sup>; there they collected six hundred horsemen of the Massagetae and arrived at one of the forts
- 5 in the Bactrian region. Attacking the commandant of the fort, who was not expecting enemy action, and his garrison, they destroyed the soldiers, took the commandant prisoner and kept him in custody. Emboldened by capturing the fort, they approached Zariaspa a few days later, and though they decided not to assault the city, they surrounded it and carried off much booty.
- 6 In the city of Zariaspa there were a few of the Companion cavalry, left there as invalids with Pithon son of Sosicles, who had been put in charge of the royal retinue at Zariaspa, and Aristonicus the harpist. On learning of the Scythian raid, as they had now recovered and could bear arms and mount horseback, they assembled about eighty mercenary cavalry, who had been left behind to garrison Zariaspa, and some of the King's pages, and sallied out against the

1 Probably between Oxus and Caspian. QC. viii 1, 3 ff. tells another story, also featuring Craterus (A. 17, 1), whose command is not recorded.

7 καὶ τῇ μὲν πρώτῃ προσβολῇ οὐδὲν ὑποτοπήσασιν τοῖς Σκύθαις ἐπιπεσόντες τὴν τε λείαν ξύμπασαν ἀφείλοντο αὐτοὺς καὶ τῶν ἀγόντων τὴν λείαν οὐκ ὀλίγους ἀπέκτειναν. ἐπανιόντες δὲ αὐτοὶ ἀτάκτως, ἅτε οὐδενὸς ἐξηγουμένου, ἐνεδρευθέντες πρὸς Σπιταμένους καὶ τῶν Σκυθῶν τῶν μὲν ἐταίρων ἀποβάλλουσιν ἑπτὰ, τῶν δὲ μισθοφόρων ἰππέων ἑξήκοντα. καὶ Ἀριστόνικος ὁ κιθαρῳδὸς αὐτοῦ ἀποθνήσκει, οὐ κατὰ κιθαρῳδὸν ἀνὴρ ἀγαθὸς γενόμενος. Πείθων δὲ τρωθεὶς ζῶν λαμβάνεται πρὸς τῶν Σκυθῶν.

17. Καὶ ταῦτα ὡς Κρατερῶ ἐξηγγέλθη, σπουδῆ ἐπὶ τοὺς Μασσαγέτας ἤλαυνεν. οἱ δὲ ὡς ἐπύθοντο πλησίον ἐπελαύνοντά σφισι Κρατερὸν, ἔφενγον ἀνὰ κράτος ὡς εἰς τὴν ἐρήμην. καὶ Κρατερὸς ἐχόμενος αὐτῶν αὐτοῖς τε ἐκείνοις περιπίπτει οὐ πόρρω τῆς ἐρήμου καὶ ἄλλοις ἰππεῦσι

2 Μασσαγετῶν ὑπὲρ τοὺς χιλίους. καὶ μάχη γίγνεται τῶν τε Μακεδόνων καὶ τῶν Σκυθῶν καρτερά· καὶ ἐνίκων οἱ Μακεδόνες. τῶν δὲ Σκυθῶν ἀπέθανον μὲν ἑκατὸν καὶ πενήκοντα ἰππεῖς· οἱ δὲ ἄλλοι οὐ χαλεπῶς ἐς τὴν ἐρήμην διεσώθησαν, ὅτι ἄπορον ἦν προσωτέρω τοῖς Μακεδόσι διώκειν.

3 Καὶ ἐν τούτῳ Ἀλέξανδρος Ἀρτάβαζον μὲν τῆς σατραπείας τῆς Βακτρῶν ἀπαλλάττει δεηθέντα διὰ γῆρας, Ἀμύνταν δὲ τὸν Νικολάου σατράπην ἀντ' αὐτοῦ καθίστησι. Κοῖνον δὲ ἀπολείπει αὐτοῦ τὴν τε αὐτοῦ τάξιν καὶ τὴν Μελεάγρου ἔχοντα καὶ τῶν ἐταίρων ἰππέων ἐς τετρακοσίους καὶ τοὺς ἰππακοντιστὰς πάντας καὶ τῶν Βακτρῶν τε καὶ

7 Massagetae. At the first charge, falling on the Scythians when they suspected nothing, they robbed them of their entire plunder, and killed many who were driving it off, but when they were returning, in some disorder since there was no one in command, Spitamenes and the Scythians caught them in an ambush, where they lost seven Companions, and sixty mercenary cavalry. Aristonicus the harpist died there, with more courage than a harpist might have. Pithon was wounded and taken alive by the Scythians.

17. When this was reported to Craterus, he marched at all speed against the Massagetae, and when they learned that he was coming up close to them, they fled headlong towards the desert. Craterus pressed upon and overtook them not far from the desert with over a thousand other Massagetaean horsemen. A fierce battle  
2 took place between the Macedonians and the Scythians, which the Macedonians won. Of the Scythians a hundred and fifty horsemen perished, but the rest easily got away into the desert, since it was impracticable for the Macedonians to pursue further.

3 Meanwhile Alexander relieved Artabazus of the satrapy of Bactria at his own request on account of old age and appointed Amyntas son of Nicolaus in his place.<sup>1</sup> He left Coenus there with his own battalion and Meleager's, about four hundred of the Companion cavalry, all the mounted javelin-men, and

1 QC. viii 1, 19 and 2, 14 has first Clitus, then Amyntas, succeed Artabazus, whom he makes out to be 95 (he could not have been over 57, Berve no. 152); place, Maracanda. Al. sends Hephaestion to winter in Bactria, and after further operations, marches to Nautaca, 2, 13-9, leaving winter quarters there after 2 months, 4, 1, cf. A, 18, 1; 19, 4; 21, 10; 22, 3.

Σογδιανῶν καὶ ὅσοι ἄλλοι μετὰ Ἀμύντου ἐτάχθησαν, προστάξας ἅπασιν ἀκούειν Κοίνου καὶ διαχειμάζειν αὐτοῦ ἐν τῇ Σογδιανῇ, τῆς τε χώρας ἕνεκα τῆς φυλακῆς καὶ εἴ πη ἄρα Σπιταμένην περιφερόμενον κατὰ τὸν χειμῶνα ἐνεδρεύσαντας ξυλλαβεῖν.

- 4 Σπιταμένης δὲ καὶ οἱ ἀμφ' αὐτὸν ὡς φρουραῖς τε πάντα κατειλημμένα ἐώρων ἐκ τῶν Μακεδόνων καὶ σφιν ἄπορα πάντη τὰ τῆς φυγῆς ἐγίγνετο, ὡς ἐπὶ Κοῖνόν τε καὶ τὴν ξὺν τούτῳ στρατιὰν ἐτράποντο, ὡς ταύτῃ μᾶλλον τι ἀξιόμαχοι ἐσόμενοι. ἀφικόμενοι δὲ ἐς Γαβάς, χωρίον τῆς Σογδιανῆς ὀχυρὸν ἐν μεθορίῳ τῆς τε Σογδιανῶν γῆς καὶ τῆς Μασσαγετῶν Σκυθῶν ὠκισμένον, ἀναπέιθουσιν οὐ χαλεπῶς
- 5 τῶν Σκυθῶν ἰππέας ἐς τρισχιλίους συνεμβάλλειν σφίσιν ἐς τὴν Σογδιανήν. οἱ δὲ Σκύθαι οὗτοι ἀπορία τε πολλῇ ἔχονται καὶ ἅμα ὅτι οὔτε πόλεις εἰσὶν αὐτοῖς οὔτε ἐδραῖοι οἰκοῦσιν, ὡς δειμαίνειν ἂν περὶ τῶν φιλτάτων, οὐ χαλεποὶ ἀναπεισθῆναί εἰσιν ἐς ἄλλον καὶ ἄλλον πόλεμον. ὡς δὲ Κοῖνός τε καὶ οἱ ἀμφ' αὐτὸν ἔμαθον προσιώντας τοὺς ξὺν Σπιταμένει ἰππέας,
- 6 ἀπήντων καὶ αὐτοὶ μετὰ τῆς στρατιᾶς. καὶ γίγνεται αὐτῶν μάχη καρτερά, καὶ νικῶσιν οἱ Μακεδόνες, ὥστε τῶν μὲν βαρβάρων ἰππέων ὑπὲρ τοὺς ὀκτακοσίους πεσεῖν ἐν τῇ μάχῃ, τῶν δὲ ξὺν Κοίνῳ ἰππέας μὲν ἐς εἴκοσι καὶ πέντε, πεζοὺς δὲ δώδεκα. οἱ τε οὖν Σογδιανοὶ οἱ ἔτι ὑπολειπόμενοι ξὺν Σπιταμένει καὶ τῶν Βακτριῶν οἱ πολλοὶ ἀπολείπουσιν ἐν τῇ
- 7 φυγῇ Σπιταμένην καὶ ἀφικόμενοι παρὰ Κοῖνον παρέδοσαν σφᾶς αὐτοὺς Κοίνῳ, οἱ τε Μασσαγέται οἱ Σκύθαι κακῶς πεπραγότες τὰ μὲν σκευοφόρα τῶν ξυμπαταξαμένων

the Bactrians and Sogdianians attached to Amyntas, commanding them all to take their orders from Coenus, and to winter there in Sogdiana, to protect the region and to try to ambush and capture Spitamenes, if he moved around anywhere in the winter.<sup>2</sup>

Winter 328-7 B.C.

- 4 Spitamenes and his troops, seeing every place occupied by Macedonian garrisons and no means of escape anywhere for themselves, turned against Coenus and his troops, on the basis that they would be rather more equal to fighting there. On arriving at Gabae, a stronghold of Sogdiana, lying on the border of Sogdiana and the land of the Massagetaean Scythians, they easily induced about three thousand Scythian horsemen to join them in a raid on
- 5 Sogdiana. These Scythians are in the grip of dire poverty, and, since they have no cities and no settled habitations, and hence no fear for their loved ones, they are easy to inveigle into one war after another. When Coenus and his colleagues learned that the cavalry with Spitamenes was approaching, they went to meet them with
- 6 their troops. There was a fierce battle, which the Macedonians won, so that over eight hundred of the barbarian cavalry fell in the battle, but of Coenus' troops only about twenty-five horsemen and twelve foot-soldiers. At this the Sogdianians still left with Spitamenes and the greater number of the Bactrians deserted Spitamenes in the flight, came to Coenus and surrendered to him. The Massagetaean
- 7 Scythians after this disaster plundered the baggage

<sup>2</sup> In winter 329/8 B.C. Al. had almost evacuated Sogdiana and had then to reconquer it.

σφίσι Βακτρίων τε καὶ Σογδιανῶν διήρπασαν, αὐτοὶ δὲ ξὺν Σπιταμένει ἐς τὴν ἔρημον ἔφευγον. ὡς δὲ ἐξηγγέλλετο αὐτοῖς Ἀλέξανδρος ἐν ὁρμῇ ὧν ἐπὶ τὴν ἔρημον ἐλαύνειν ἀποτεμόντες τοῦ Σπιταμένουσ τὴν κεφαλὴν παρὰ Ἀλέξανδρον πέμπουσιν, ὡς ἀποτρέψοντες ἀπὸ σφῶν αὐτῶν τούτῳ τῷ ἔργῳ.

18. Καὶ ἐν τούτῳ Κοῖνός τε ἐς Ναύτακα παρ' Ἀλέξανδρον ἐπανέρχεται καὶ οἱ ἀμφὶ Κρατερόν τε καὶ Φραταφέρην τὸν τῶν Παρθυαίων σατράπην καὶ Στασάνωρ ὁ Ἀρείων,

- 2 πεπραγμένων σφίσι πάντων ὅσα ἐξ Ἀλεξάνδρου ἐτέτακτο. Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ περὶ Ναύτακα ἀναπαύων τὴν στρατιὰν ὃ τι περ ἀκμαῖον τοῦ χειμῶνος, Φραταφέρην μὲν ἀποστέλλει ἐς Μάρδους καὶ Ταπ<ο>ύρους <Αὐτο>φραδάτην ἐπανάξοντα τὸν σατράπην, ὅτι πολλάκις ἤδη μετάπεμπτος ἐξ Ἀλεξάνδρου
- 3 γιγνόμενος οὐχ ὑπήκουε καλοῦντι. Στασάνωρα δὲ ἐς Δράγγας σατράπην ἐκπέμπει, ἐς Μήδους δὲ Ἀτροπάτην ἐπὶ σατραπείᾳ καὶ τούτῳ τῇ Μήδων, ὅτι Ὀξυδάτης ἐθελοκακεῖν αὐτῷ ἐφαίνετο. Σταμένην δὲ ἐπὶ Βαβυλῶνος στέλλει, ὅτι Μαζαῖος ὁ Βαβυλώνιος ὑπαρχος τετελευτηκέναι αὐτῷ ἐξηγγέλλετο. Σώπολιν δὲ καὶ Ἐπόκιλλον καὶ Μεν[ν]ίδαν ἐς Μακεδονίαν ἐκπέμπει, τὴν στρατιὰν τὴν ἐκ Μακεδονίας αὐτῷ ἀνάξοντας.
- 4 Ἄμα δὲ τῷ ἡρι ὑποφαίνονται προὔχῳρι ὡς ἐπὶ τὴν ἐν τῇ Σογδιανῇ πέτραν, ἐς ἣν πολλοὺς μὲν τῶν

trains of the Bactrians and Sogdianians who had been with them in line of battle, and fled themselves with Spitamenes to the desert. When they learnt that Alexander was already on the move and marching towards the desert, they cut off Spitamenes' head and sent it to Alexander, to keep him away from themselves by this action.<sup>3</sup>

18. Meantime Coenus had returned to Alexander at Nautaca as had Craterus, Phrataphernes the satrap of Parthyaea, and Stasanor  
2 satrap of Areia, after carrying out all Alexander's orders. Alexander, while resting his force at Nautaca, since it was the depth of winter, despatched Phrataphernes to the Mardians and Tapurians, to bring back the satrap Autophradates, as he had often before been sent for  
3 by Alexander but ignored the summons. He sent Stasanor to the Drangians as satrap, and Atropates to the Medes as satrap of Media, since he thought Oxydates was wilfully neglecting his duty to him. He despatched Stamenes to Babylon, since Mazaeus the hyparch of Babylon was reported to him to be dead.<sup>1</sup> Sopolis and Epocillus and Menidas were sent to Macedonia, to bring up for him the force from Macedonia.<sup>2</sup>

4 With the first appearance of spring Alexander marched forward towards the Rock of Sogdiana<sup>3</sup>

3 QC. viii 3, 1 ff. has Spitamenes killed by his wife, with no record of these operations; the 'Dahae' then submit.

1 Cf. QC. viii 3, 17 (Arsaces for Atropates; nothing on Sopolis, Hermolaus' father (!) etc). 'Hyparch': 12, 8 n. A. seems to be partly duplicating 7, 1; probably Pt. and Ar. put the return of Phrataphernes and Stasanor (cf. iii 29, 5) at different times; 18, 1 is likely to be correct.

2 Introd. n. 90.

Σογδιανῶν ξυμπεφευγέναι αὐτῷ ἐξηγγέλλετο· καὶ ἡ Ὀξυάρτου δὲ γυνὴ τοῦ Βακτρίου καὶ αἱ παῖδες αἱ Ὀξυάρτου ἐς τὴν πέτραν ταύτην ξυμπεφευγέναι ἐλέγοντο, Ὀξυάρτου αὐτὰς ὡς ἐς ἀνάλωτον δῆθεν τὸ χωρίον ἐκείνο ὑπεκθεμένου, ὅτι καὶ αὐτὸς ἀφειστήκει ἀπ' Ἀλεξάνδρου. ταύτης γὰρ ἐξαιρεθείσης  
 5 οὐκέτι οὐδὲν ὑπολειφθήσεσθαι ἐδόκει τῶν Σογδιανῶν τοῖς νεωτερίζειν ἐθέλουσιν. ὡς δὲ ἐπέλασαν τῇ πέτρᾳ, καταλαμβάνει πάντῃ ἀπότομον ἐς τὴν προσβολὴν σιτία τε ξυγκεκομισμένους τοὺς βαρβάρους ὡς ἐς χρόνιον πολιορκίαν. καὶ χιῶν πολλὴ ἐπιπεσοῦσα τὴν τε πρόσβασιν ἀπορωτέραν ἐποίει τοῖς Μακεδόσι καὶ ἅμα ἐν ἀφθονίᾳ ὕδατος τοὺς  
 6 βαρβάρους διήγεν. ἀλλὰ καὶ ὡς προσβάλλειν ἐδόκει τῷ χωρίῳ. καὶ γὰρ τι καὶ ὑπέρογκον ὑπὸ τῶν βαρβάρων λεχθὲν ἐς φιλοτιμίαν ξὺν ὀργῇ ἐμβεβλήκει Ἀλέξανδρον. προκληθέντες γὰρ ἐς ξύμβασιν καὶ προτεινομένου σφίσιν, ὅτι σῶοις ὑπάρξει ἐπὶ τὰ σφέτερα ἀπαλλαγῆναι παραδοῦσι τὸ χωρίον, οἱ δὲ σὺν γέλῳτι βαρβαρίζοντες πτηνοὺς ἐκέλευον ζητεῖν στρατιώτας Ἀλέξανδρον, οἵτινες αὐτῷ ἐξαιρήσουσι τὸ  
 7 ὄρος, ὡς τῶν γε ἄλλων ἀνθρώπων οὐδεμίαν ὥραν σφίσιν οὔσαν. ἔνθα δὴ ἐκήρυξεν Ἀλέξανδρος τῷ μὲν πρώτῳ ἀναβάντι δώδεκα τάλαντα εἶναι τὸ γέρας, δευτέρῳ δὲ ἐπὶ τούτῳ τὰ δεύτερα καὶ τρίτῳ τὰ ἐφεξῆς, ὡς τελευταῖον εἶναι τῷ τελευταίῳ ἀνελθόντι τριακοσίους δαρεικοὺς τὸ γέρας. καὶ τοῦτο τὸ κήρυγμα παρῶξυνεν ἔτι μᾶλλον καὶ ἄλλως τοὺς Μακεδόνας ὠρμημένους.

19. Ξυνταξάμενοι δὴ ὅσοι πετροβατεῖν ἐν ταῖς πολιορκίαις αὐτῷ μεμελετήκεσαν, ἐς τριακοσίους

where, he was told, many of the Sogdianians had fled for refuge; the wife of Oxyartes the Bactrian and his daughters were also said to have taken refuge on this rock, Oxyartes having put them there out of the way in a place he thought impregnable at the time of his own revolt from Alexander. Once this rock had been taken, Alexander thought that the Sogdianians who were ready to revolt would have no further recourse left. But when they approached the rock,  
 5 Alexander found that it was sheer on all sides against attack, and that the tribesmen had stored provisions there for a long siege; a deep fall of snow made the approach more impracticable for the Macedonians, while it assured the tribesmen of abundant water. Yet even so Alexander decided to assault the place. A boastful remark  
 6 by the barbarians had contributed to Alexander's passionate pursuit of the glory of success; when summoned to make terms, which were offered on the basis that they would be allowed to go safe to their homes if they gave up the position, they told Alexander with barbaric laughter to look for soldiers with wings to capture the mountain for him, since no other men would give them any  
 7 concern. Then Alexander proclaimed that the first to scale the height should have a prize of twelve Talents, the second a second prize, the third another prize and so on, the last to reach the top to have three hundred darics.<sup>4</sup> Eager as the Macedonians already were, this proclamation still further increased their ardour.

19. So then when all had mustered who had practised rock-climbing in their previous sieges,

<sup>4</sup> Persian gold coins.

τὸν ἀριθμὸν, καὶ πασσάλους μικροὺς σιδηροῦς, οἷς αἱ σκηναὶ καταπεπήγεσαν αὐτοῖς, παρασκευάσαντες, τοῦ καταπηγνύναι αὐτοὺς ἔς τε τὴν χιόνα ὅπου πεπηγυῖα φανείη καὶ εἴ πού τι τῆς χώρας ἔρημον χιόνος ὑποφαίνουτο, καὶ τούτους καλωδίους ἐκ λίνου ἰσχυροῖς ἐκδήσαντες τῆς νυκτὸς προὔχωρον κατὰ τὸ

2 ἀποτομώτατόν τε τῆς πέτρας καὶ ταύτῃ ἀφυλακτότατον. καὶ τούτους τοὺς πασσάλους καταπηγνύντες τοὺς μὲν ἔς τὴν γῆν, ὅπου διεφαίνετο, τοὺς δὲ καὶ τῆς χιόνος ἔς τὰ μάλιστα οὐ θρυφθησόμενα, ἀνείλκον σφᾶς αὐτοὺς ἄλλοι ἄλλῃ τῆς πέτρας. καὶ τούτων ἔς τριάκοντα μὲν ἐν τῇ ἀναβάσει διεφθάρησαν, ὥστε οὐδὲ τὰ σώματα αὐτῶν ἔς ταφὴν εὐρέθη

3 ἐμπεσόντα ἄλλῃ καὶ ἄλλῃ τῆς χιόνος. οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ ἀναβάντες ὑπὸ τὴν ἕω καὶ τὸ ἄκρον τοῦ ὄρους καταλαμβάνοντες σινδόνας κατέσειον ὡς ἐπὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον τῶν Μακεδόνων, οὕτως αὐτοῖς ἐξ Ἀλεξάνδρου παρηγγελμένον. πέμψας δὲ κήρυκα ἐμβοῆσαι ἐκέλευσε τοῖς προφυλάσσουσι τῶν βαρβάρων μὴ διατρίβειν ἔτι, ἀλλὰ παραδιδόναι σφᾶς· ἐξευρῆσθαι γὰρ δὴ τοὺς πτηνοὺς ἀνθρώπους καὶ ἔχασθαι ὑπὸ αὐτῶν τοῦ ὄρους τὰ ἄκρα· καὶ ἅμα ἐδείκνυεν τοὺς ὑπὲρ τῆς κορυφῆς στρατιώτας.

4 Οἱ δὲ βάρβαροι ἐκπλαγέντες τῷ παραλόγῳ τῆς ὄψεως καὶ πλείονάς τε ὑποτοπήσαντες εἶναι τοὺς κατέχοντας τὰ ἄκρα καὶ ἀκριβῶς ὀπλισμένους ἐνέδοσαν σφᾶς αὐτούς· οὕτω πρὸς τὴν ὄψιν τῶν ὀλίγων ἐκείνων Μακεδόνων φοβεροὶ ἐγένοντο. ἐνθα δὲ ἄλλων τε πολλῶν γυναῖκες καὶ παῖδες ἐλήφθησαν καὶ

5 ἡ γυνὴ ἡ Ὀξυάρτου καὶ οἱ παῖδες. καὶ ἦν γὰρ Ὀξυάρτη παῖς παρθένος ἐν ὥρᾳ γάμου,

numbering about three hundred, and had got ready small iron pegs, with which their tents had been pegged down, to fix them into the snow where it appeared to be frozen firm and also in any space bare of snow which might show through, and had bound the pegs to strong linen ropes, they set out at night to the part of the rock which was least guarded, because most precipitous. They fixed the

2 pegs into the ground where it was visible, or in the snow where it seemed least likely to give way, and each in a different place, hauled themselves up the rock. About thirty of them perished in the ascent, in such a way that their bodies were not even found for

3 burial, having fallen in different parts of the snow. The rest, however, climbed up about dawn, seized the summit of the mound, and waved linen flags to the Macedonian camp, in accordance with Alexander's instructions to them. Then Alexander sent a herald and told him to shout to the front line of the barbarians, not to delay further but to give themselves up, for he had actually found the men with wings, and the summit of their mound was in their hands, pointing at the same time to the soldiers on the peak.

4 The barbarians were astounded at a sight they had never reckoned on, and suspecting that the soldiers occupying the heights were more numerous and fully armed, they surrendered; such was their panic at seeing those few Macedonians. Here were captured the wives and children of many men, notably the wife and

5 daughters of Oxyartes. Now Oxyartes had a maiden

Ῥωξάνη ὀνόματι, ἣν δὴ καλλίστην τῶν Ἀσιανῶν γυναικῶν λέγουσιν ὀφθῆναι οἱ ξὺν Ἀλεξάνδρῳ στρατεύσαντες μετὰ γε τὴν Δαρείου γυναῖκα. καὶ ταύτην ἰδόντα Ἀλέξανδρον ἐς ἔρωτα  
 6 ἐλθεῖν αὐτῆς· ἐρασθέντα δὲ οὐκ ἐθελῆσαι ὑβρίσαι καθάπερ αἰχμάλωτον, ἀλλὰ γῆμαι γὰρ οὐκ ἀπαξιῶσαι. καὶ τοῦτο ἐγὼ Ἀλεξάνδρου τὸ ἔργον ἐπαινῶ μᾶλλον τι ἢ μέμφομαι. καίτοι τῆς γε Δαρείου γυναικός, ἣ καλλίστη δὴ ἐλέγετο τῶν ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ γυναικῶν, ἣ οὐκ ἦλθεν ἐς ἐπιθυμίαν ἢ καρτερὸς αὐτὸς αὐτοῦ ἐγένετο, νέος τε ὢν καὶ τὰ μάλιστα ἐν ἀκμῇ τῆς εὐτυχίας, ὅποτε ὑβρίζουσιν οἱ ἄνθρωποι· ὁ δὲ κατηδέσθη τε καὶ ἐφείσατο, σωφροσύνη τε πολλῇ διαχρώμενος καὶ δόξης ἅμα ἀγαθῆς οὐκ ἀτόπῳ ἐφέσει.

20. Καὶ τοίνυν καὶ λόγος κατέχει ὀλίγον μετὰ τὴν μάχην, ἣ πρὸς Ἴσσω Δαρείῳ τε καὶ Ἀλεξάνδρῳ ξυνέβη, ἀποδράντα ἐλθεῖν παρὰ Δαρείου τὸν εὐνοῦχον τὸν φύλακα αὐτῷ τῆς γυναικός. καὶ τοῦτον ὡς εἶδε Δαρείος, πρῶτα μὲν πυθέσθαι εἰ  
 2 ζῶσιν αὐτῷ αἱ παῖδες [καὶ οἱ υἱοὶ] καὶ ἡ γυνή τε καὶ ἡ μήτηρ. ὡς δὲ ζώσας τε ἐπύθετο καὶ βασίλισσαι ὅτι καλοῦνται καὶ ἡ θεραπεία ὅτι ἀμφ' αὐτάς ἐστιν, ἦντινα καὶ ἐπὶ Δαρείου ἐθεραπεύοντο, ἐπὶ τῷδε αὖ πυθέσθαι εἰ σωφρονεῖ αὐτῷ ἡ γυνὴ ἔτι. ὡς δὲ σωφρονούσαν ἐπύθετο, αὐθις ἐρέσθαι μή τι βίαιον ἐξ Ἀλεξάνδρου αὐτῇ ἐς ὑβριν ξυνέβη καὶ τὸν εὐνοῦχον ἐπομόσαντα φάναι ὅτι ὦ βασιλεῦ, οὕτω τοι ὡς ἀπέλιπες ἔχει ἡ σὴ γυνή, καὶ Ἀλέξανδρος ἀνδρῶν ἄριστός τέ ἐστι καὶ  
 3 σωφρονέστατος. ἐπὶ τοῖσδε ἀνατεῖναι Δαρείου ἐς τὸν

daughter of age to marry called Roxane,<sup>1</sup> and those who served with Alexander<sup>2</sup> said that she was the loveliest woman they had seen in Asia next to Darius' wife, and that when Alexander saw her he fell in love with her; despite his passion he was not ready to violate her as a war captive, but did not think it beneath him to take her in  
 6 marriage. This was an action of Alexander that I approve and do not censure. As for Darius' wife, who was said to be the most beautiful woman in Asia, either he felt no desire for her or he controlled himself, young as he was and at the very height of good fortune, when men act violently: he respected and spared her, showing much restraint as well as an ambition for good repute which was not misplaced.<sup>3</sup>

20. There is indeed a story prevalent<sup>1</sup> that soon after the battle of Issus between Darius and Alexander the eunuch in charge of Darius' wife escaped to Darius. When Darius saw him, he first  
 2 asked if his daughters, wife and mother were alive. When he learnt that they were, and had the title of queens, and the same attendance as in Darius' court, he next asked if his wife remained true to him. On learning that she was, he enquired again whether she had been outraged by Alexander. The eunuch replied on his oath, 'Your wife, sir, is as you left her, and Alexander is the noblest and most self-controlled of men.' Darius then stretched his hands to  
 3 the heavens and

2 'Vulgate'? More probably Pt./Ar.

3 Cf. ii 12, 8 n.

1 'Vulgate'. Main sources again from § 4.



οὐρανὸν τὰς χεῖρας καὶ εὐξασθαι ὧδε· ἀλλ' ὦ Ζεῦ βασιλεῦ,  
ὄτῳ ἐπιτέτραπται νέμειν τὰ βασιλέων πράγματα ἐν  
ἀνθρώποις, σὺ νῦν μάλιστα μὲν ἐμοὶ φύλαξον Περσῶν τε καὶ  
Μήδων τὴν ἀρχήν, ὥσπερ οὖν καὶ ἔδωκας· εἰ δὲ δὴ ἐγὼ οὐκέτι  
σοι βασιλεὺς τῆς Ἀσίας, σὺ δὲ μηδενὶ ἄλλῳ ὅτι μὴ  
Ἀλεξάνδρῳ παραδοῦναι τὸ ἐμὸν κράτος. οὕτως οὐδὲ πρὸς τῶν  
πολεμίων ἄρα ἀμελείται ὅσα σῶφρονα ἔργα.

4 Ὀξυάρτης δὲ ἀκούσας τοὺς παῖδας ἐχομένους, ἀκούσας δὲ  
καὶ ὑπὲρ Ῥωξάνης τῆς θυγατρὸς ὅτι μέλει αὐτῆς Ἀλεξάνδρῳ,  
θαρσήσας ἀφίκετο παρὰ Ἀλέξανδρον, καὶ ἦν ἐν τιμῇ παρ'  
αὐτῷ, ἥπερ εἰκὸς ἐπὶ ξυντυχίᾳ τοιαύτῃ.

21. Ἀλέξανδρος δέ, ὡς τὰ ἐν Σογδιανοῖς αὐτῷ διεπέπρακτο,  
ἐχομένης ἤδη καὶ τῆς πέτρας ἐς Παρειτάκας προῦχώρει, ὅτι  
καὶ ἐν Παρειτάκαις χωρίον τι ὄχυρόν, ἄλλην πέτραν, κατέχειν  
ἐλέγοντο πολλοὶ τῶν βαρβάρων. ἐκαλείτο δὲ αὕτη Χοριήνου ἡ  
πέτρα· καὶ ἐς αὐτὴν αὐτὸς τε ὁ Χοριήνης ξυμπεφεύγει καὶ  
2 ἄλλοι τῶν ὑπάρχων οὐκ ὀλίγοι. ἦν δὲ τὸ μὲν ὕψος τῆς πέτρας  
ἐς σταδίους εἴκοσι, κύκλος δὲ ἐς ἐξήκοντα· αὐτὴ δὲ ἀπότομος  
πάντοθεν, ἀνοδος δὲ ἐς αὐτὴν μία καὶ αὐτὴ στενὴ τε καὶ οὐκ  
εὐπορος, οἷα δὴ παρὰ τὴν φύσιν τοῦ χωρίου πεποιημένη, ὡς  
χαλεπὴ εἶναι καὶ μηδενὸς εἴργοντος καὶ καθ' ἓνα ἀνελθεῖν,  
φάραγξ τε κύκλῳ περιεῖργε τὴν πέτραν βαθείᾳ, ὥστε ὅστις  
προσάξειν στρατιὰν τῇ πέτρᾳ ἔμελλε, πολὺ πρόσθεν αὐτῷ τὴν  
φάραγγα εἶναι χωστέον, ὡς ἐξ ὀμαλοῦ ὀρμᾶσθαι προσάγοντα  
ἐς προσβολὴν τὸν στρατόν.

prayed in these terms: 'O Zeus the King, to whom it has been given  
to order the affairs of Kings among men, I beseech thee most of all  
to preserve my sovereignty over Persians and Medes, as thou didst  
grant it me; but if I am by your wish no longer to be king of Asia, to  
give my power to none but Alexander.' Thus even enemies are not  
indifferent to virtuous acts.

4 When Oxyartes heard that his daughters were captives, but also  
that Alexander was showing solicitude for his daughter Roxane, he  
ventured to come to Alexander and was honourably treated by him,  
as was appropriate on so happy an event.

21. After completing his work in Sogdiana, with the rock now in  
his possession, Alexander advanced to the Pareitacae, since many of  
the barbarians were reported to be holding a strong place in their  
country, another rock, called the Rock of Chorienes; Chorienes  
himself and many other hyparchs had taken refuge there.<sup>1</sup> The  
2 height of this rock was about twenty stades,<sup>2</sup> its circuit about sixty; it  
was sheer on all sides; there was only one way up to it, and this was  
narrow and difficult, since it had been constructed in defiance of  
the nature of the place, so that it was hard, even without opposition,  
to ascend even in single file. A deep ravine also protected the rock  
all round, hence anyone who was going to bring an army up to the  
rock would be obliged first to do much filling up of the ravine, so as  
to start from level ground when bringing up his force to the assault.

1 Sisimithres in QC. viii 2, 19 ff. (who puts the episode late in  
328) and Strabo xi 11, 4; Chorienes was perhaps the official title of this  
local chief ('hyparch'). P. 58 has an allusion.

2 This can only mean 20 stades from foot to peak; it is not a  
measurement of height (von Schwarz, App. VIII 2).

- 3 Ἄλλα καὶ ὡς Ἀλέξανδρος ἤπτετο τοῦ ἔργου οὕτως πάντα ᾤετο χρήναι βατά τε αὐτῷ καὶ ἐξαιρετέα εἶναι, ἐς τοσόνδε τόλμης τε καὶ εὐτυχίας προκεχωρήκει. τέμνων δὴ τὰς ἐλάτας (πολλαὶ γὰρ καὶ ὑπερύψηλοι ἐλάται ἦσαν ἐν κύκλῳ τοῦ ὄρους) κλίμακας ἐκ τούτων ἐποίει, ὡς κάθοδον εἶναι ἐς τὴν
- 4 φάραγγα τῆ στρατιᾶ· οὐ γὰρ ἦν ἄλλως κατελθεῖν ἐς αὐτήν. καὶ τὰς μὲν ἡμέρας αὐτὸς Ἀλέξανδρος ἐφειστήκει τῷ ἔργῳ τὸ ἡμισυ τοῦ στρατοῦ ἔχων ἐργαζόμενον, τὰς δὲ νύκτας ἐν μέρει οἱ σωματοφύλακες αὐτῷ εἰργάζοντο, Περδίκκας τε καὶ Λεοννάτος καὶ Πτολεμαῖος ὁ Λάγον, τῷ λοιπῷ μέρει τῆς στρατιᾶς τριχῆ διανεμεημένῳ, ὅπερ αὐτῷ ἐς τὴν νύκτα ἀπετέτακτο. ἦνυτον δὲ τῆς ἡμέρας οὐ πλέον ἤπερ εἴκοσι πήχεις καὶ τῆς νυκτὸς ὀλίγον ἀποδέον, καίτοι ξυμπάσης τῆς στρατιᾶς ἐργαζομένης· οὕτω τό τε χωρίον ἄπορον ἦν καὶ τὸ
- 5 ἔργον ἐν αὐτῷ χαλεπόν. κατιόντες δ' ἐς τὴν φάραγγα πασσάλους κατεπήγνυον ἐς τὸ ὀξύτατον τῆς φάραγγος, διέχοντας ἀλλήλων ὅσον ξύμμετρον πρὸς ἰσχύν τε καὶ ξυνοχὴν τῶν ἐπιβαλλομένων. ἐπέβαλλον δὲ πλέγματα ἐκ λύγων εἰς γεφύρας μάλιστα ἰδέαν, καὶ ταῦτα ξυνδοῦντες χοῦν ἄνωθεν ἐπεφόρουσαν, ὡς ἐξ ὀμαλοῦ γίνεσθαι τῆ στρατιᾶ τὴν πρόσοδον τὴν πρὸς τὴν πέτραν.
- 6 Οἱ δὲ βάρβαροι τὰ μὲν πρῶτα κατεφρόνουσαν ὡς ἀπόρου πάντη τοῦ ἐγχειρήματος· ὡς δὲ τοξεύματα ἤδη ἐς τὴν πέτραν ἐξικνεῖτο καὶ αὐτοὶ ἀδύνατοι ἦσαν ἄνωθεν ἐξείργειν τοὺς Μακεδόνας (ἐπεποίητο γὰρ αὐτοῖς προκαλύμματα πρὸς τὰ βέλη, ὡς ὑπ' αὐτοῖς ἀβλαβῶς ἐργάζεσθαι) ἐκπλαγεῖς ὁ Χοριήνης πρὸς τὰ γιγνόμενα κήρυκα πέμπει πρὸς Ἀλέξανδρον,

- 3 Even so, Alexander took the work in hand, as he thought that no place should be beyond him to get up to and capture, to such a point of daring and success had he advanced.<sup>3</sup> So he felled the pines (for there were many tall pines all round the mountain) and made ladders of them, to enable the army to descend into the ravine, as there was no other means to get down. By day Alexander
- 4 himself superintended the operations, keeping half his army at work; by night his bodyguards worked in relays, Perdikkas, Leonnatus and Ptolemy son of Lagus, with the rest of the army, divided into three sections, which he had assigned for the night work. By daytime they could not complete more than twenty cubits, at night rather less, even though all the army was at work; so difficult was the ground, and so hard the work there. They would
- 5 first descend into the ravine and fix stakes in its narrowest part, just so far apart from one another that they could be strong enough to bear and hold together the loads piled upon them. They would then fix upon the stakes withies plaited into wicker-work, very much in the shape of a bridge, bind these closely together and heap earth on them from above, so that the approach for the troops to the rock might be on the level.
- 6 At first the tribesmen treated the enterprise with contempt as wholly impracticable; but when at length arrows began to find the range of the rock, while they proved unable from above to interfere with the Macedonians who had made screens against the missiles, so as to work beneath them unharmed, Choriene was aghast at what was happening and sent a herald to Alexander begging him to send

3 Cf. ii 26, 3 n. No doubt A. follows Pt. (cf. § 4).

- 7 δεόμενος Ὀξυάρτην οἱ ἀναπέμψαι. καὶ πέμπει Ὀξυάρτην Ἀλέξανδρος. ὁ δὲ ἀφικόμενος πείθει Χοριήνην ἐπιτρέψαι Ἀλεξάνδρῳ αὐτόν τε καὶ τὸ χωρίον. βία μὲν γὰρ οὐδὲν ὅ τι οὐχ ἄλωτὸν εἶναι Ἀλεξάνδρῳ καὶ τῇ στρατιᾷ τῇ ἐκείνου, ἐς πίστιν δὲ ἐλθόντος καὶ φιλίαν, . . .<sup>1</sup> τὴν πίστιν τε καὶ δικαιοσύνην μεγαλωστὶ ἐπήγει τοῦ βασιλέως, τά τε ἄλλα καὶ
- 8 τὸ αὐτοῦ ἐν πρώτοις ἐς βεβαίωσιν τοῦ λόγου προφέρων. τούτοις πεισθεὶς ὁ Χοριήνης αὐτὸς τε ἦκε παρ' Ἀλεξάνδρου καὶ τῶν οἰκείων τινὲς καὶ ἐταίρων αὐτοῦ. ἐλθόντι δὲ τῷ Χοριήνῃ φιλόφρονά τε ἀποκρινάμενος καὶ πίστιν ἐς φιλίαν δοῦς αὐτὸν μὲν κατέχει, πέμψαι δὲ κελεύει τῶν
- 9 συγκατελθόντων τινὰς αὐτῷ ἐς τὴν πέτραν τοὺς κελεύουσας ἐνδοῦναι τὸ χωρίον. καὶ ἐνδίδοται ὑπὸ τῶν ξυμπεφευγόντων, ὥστε καὶ αὐτὸς Ἀλέξανδρος ἀναλαβὼν τῶν ὑπασπιστῶν ἐς πεντακοσίους ἀνέβη κατὰ θέαν τῆς πέτρας, καὶ τοσοῦτου ἐδέησεν ἀνεπιεικὲς τι ἐς τὸν Χοριήνην ἔργον ἀποδείξασθαι, ὥστε καὶ αὐτὸ τὸ χωρίον ἐκεῖνο ἐπιτρέπει Χοριήνῃ καὶ ὑπαρχὸν εἶναι ὅσων περ καὶ πρόσθεν ἔδωκεν.
- 10 Ξυνέβη δὲ χειμῶνι τε κακοπαθῆσαι αὐτῷ τὴν στρατιὰν πολλῆς χιόνος ἐπιπεσούσης ἐν τῇ πολιορκίᾳ καὶ ἅμα ἀπορία τῶν ἐπιτηδείων ἐπιέσθησαν. ἀλλὰ Χοριήνης ἐς δέμηνον σιτία ἔφη δώσειν τῇ στρατιᾷ καὶ ἔδωκεν σίτον τε καὶ οἶνον τῶν ἐν τῇ πέτρᾳ ἀποθέτων κρέα τε ταριχηρὰ κατὰ σκηνήν. καὶ ταῦτα δοῦς οὐκ ἔφασκεν ἀναλώσει τῶν παρεσκευασμένων ἐς τὴν πολιορκίαν οὐδὲ τὴν δεκάτην μοῖραν. ἔνθεν ἐν τιμῇ μᾶλλον τῷ Ἀλεξάνδρῳ ἦν

1 I agree with Krüger that there is a lacuna after φιλίαν.

- 7 Oxyartes<sup>4</sup> to him. Alexander complied, and when Oxyartes arrived, he urged Chorienees to surrender himself and the stronghold to Alexander; there was not a place in the world Alexander and his army could not take by force, but if Chorienees tried his good faith and friendship . . . He commended highly the good faith and justice of the King, chiefly adducing his own treatment as proof of his
- 8 contention. Chorienees was persuaded by his words, and presented himself to Alexander with some of his kinsfolk and friends. On his arrival Alexander gave him a friendly reply and an assurance of his friendship, retaining Chorienees himself, but telling him to send some of those who came down with him to the rock to order the
- 9 stronghold to be given up. And it was surrendered by the refugees, so that Alexander himself could actually take five hundred of the hypaspists and go up to view the rock. Far from maltreating Chorienees, he even entrusted this very stronghold to him and made him hyparch of the people he had previously administered.
- 10 The army, as it happened, had suffered much in the winter, a great deal of snow having fallen during the siege, and they were also distressed by want of provisions. But Chorienees said he would furnish the army with provisions for two months, gave them corn and wine from the stores in the rock, and distributed dried meat among the tents.<sup>5</sup> After all these gifts he said he had not used up even a tenth of what they had laid in for the siege. This made Alexander regard him with the greater respect as a man who

4 QC., 'Oxartes', Oxyartes having not yet submitted!

5 Cf. anecdote in QC. viii 4, 18 ff. in different context.

ὡς οὐ πρὸς βίαν μᾶλλον ἢ κατὰ γνώμην ἐνδοὺς τὴν πέτραν.

22. Ταῦτα δὲ καταπραξάμενος Ἀλέξανδρος αὐτὸς μὲν ἐς Βάκτρα ἦει, Κρατερὸν δὲ τῶν ἐταίρων ἱππέας ἔχοντα ἑξακοσίους καὶ τῶν πεζῶν τὴν τε αὐτοῦ τάξιν καὶ τὴν Πολυπέρχοντος καὶ Ἀττάλου καὶ τὴν Ἀλκέτα ἐπὶ Κατάνην τε καὶ Αὐστάνην ἐκπέμπει, οἳ δὴ μόνοι ἔτι ὑπελείποντο ἐν τῇ Παρειτακηνῶν χώρα ἀφεστηκότες. καὶ μάχης γενομένης πρὸς αὐτοὺς καρτερᾶς νικῶσιν οἱ ἀμφὶ Κρατερὸν τῇ μάχῃ καὶ Κατάνης μὲν ἀποθνήσκει αὐτοῦ μαχόμενος, Αὐστάνης δὲ ξυλληφθεὶς ἀνήχθη παρ' Ἀλέξανδρον· τῶν δὲ ξὺν αὐτοῖς βαρβάρων ἱππεῖς μὲν ἀπέθανον ἑκατὸν καὶ εἴκοσι, πεζοὶ δὲ ἀμφὶ τοὺς χιλίους πεντακοσίους. ταῦτα δὲ ὡς ἐπράχθη τοῖς ἀμφὶ Κρατερὸν, καὶ οὗτοι ἐς Βάκτρα ἦσαν. καὶ ἐν Βάκτροις τὸ ἀμφὶ Καλλισθένην τε καὶ τοὺς παῖδας πάθημα Ἀλεξάνδρῳ ξυνηνέχθη.

3 Ἐκ Βάκτρων δὲ ἐξήκοντος ἤδη τοῦ ἡρος<sup>1</sup> ἀναλαβὼν τὴν στρατιὰν προὔχῳρει ὡς ἐπ' Ἰνδοὺς, Ἀμύνταν ἀπολιπὼν ἐν τῇ 4 5 χώρα τῶν Βακτρίων καὶ ξὺν αὐτῷ ἱππέας μὲν τρισχιλίους καὶ πεντακοσίους, πεζοὺς δὲ μυρίους. ὑπερβαλὼν δὲ τὸν Καύκασον ἐν δέκα ἡμέραις ἀφίκετο εἰς Ἀλεξάνδρειαν πόλιν τὴν κτισθεῖσαν ἐν Παραπαμισάδαις, ὅτε τὸ πρῶτον ἐπὶ Βάκτρων ἐστέλλετο. καὶ τὸν μὲν ὑπαρχον, ὅστις αὐτῷ ἐπὶ τῆς πόλεως τότε ἐτάχθη, παραλύει τῆς ἀρχῆς, ὅτι οὐ καλῶς 5 ἐξηγείσθαι ἔδοξε· προσκατοικίσας δὲ καὶ ἄλλους τῶν

1 codd.: θέρουσ A. Fränkel. See historical note.

had given up the stronghold not so much under force as from free will.

22. After this achievement Alexander himself took the road to Bactra, but sent Craterus with six hundred of the Companion cavalry, his own battalion of the infantry and those of Polyperchon, Attalus and Alcetas against Catanes and Austanes, the only rebels left in Pareitacene. In a fierce battle with them Craterus' troops won the day; Catanes perished on the field, Austanes was captured and brought before Alexander; of the barbarians who fought with them a hundred and twenty cavalry and about fifteen hundred foot perished.<sup>1</sup> After their success Craterus' force too made for Bactra, where Alexander's misfortune with Callisthenes and the pages occurred.<sup>2</sup>

3 Now that spring was ending, Alexander took his force from Bactra and advanced towards India, leaving Amyntas in Bactria with three thousand and five hundred cavalry and ten thousand 4 infantry.<sup>3</sup> Crossing the Caucasus in ten days,<sup>4</sup> he arrived at Alexandria, the city he had founded in the district of the Parapamisadae during his first expedition to Bactra. The hyparch whom he had then put in charge of the city was now dismissed from his office, as he appeared to have governed badly. He settled in 5 Alexandria

1 QC. VIII 5, 1 f., giving Polyperchon (cf. 27, 5 n.) a separate mission.

2 Strabo xi 11, 4 says that Callisthenes was 'arrested and imprisoned' at Caryatae in Bactria.

3 QC. does not mention the garrison. A. in turn is silent on the great revolt of this presumably mercenary force in 325 (D. 99, 5 f.; QC. ix 7); Amyntas is not mentioned in this connection and had been replaced as satrap at Al's death by Philippus (D. xviii 3, 3 etc.). Chronology: App. VIII 19. Emendation (reading 'summer' for 'spring')

περιοίκων τε καὶ ὅσοι τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἀπόμαχοι ἦσαν ἐς τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρειαν Νικάνορα μὲν, ἓνα τῶν ἐταίρων, τὴν πόλιν αὐτὴν κοσμεῖν ἐκέλευσε, σατράπην δὲ Τυρίεσπιν κατέστησε τῆς τε χώρας τῆς Παραπαμισαδῶν καὶ τῆς ἄλλης ἕστε ἐπὶ  
6 τὸν Κωφήνα ποταμόν. ἀφικόμενος δὲ ἐς Νίκαιαν πόλιν καὶ τῆ Ἀθηνᾶ θύσας προὔχῳρει ὡς ἐπὶ τὸν Κωφήνα, προπέμψας κήρυκα ὡς Ταξίλην τε καὶ τοὺς ἐπὶ τὰδε τοῦ Ἰνδοῦ ποταμοῦ, κεύσας ἀπαντᾶν ὅπως ἂν ἐκάστοις προχωρῆ. καὶ Ταξίλης τε καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι ὑπαρχοὶ ἀπήντων, δῶρα τὰ μέγιστα παρ' Ἰνδοῖς νομιζόμενα κομίζοντες, καὶ τοὺς ἐλέφαντας δώσειν ἔφασκον τοὺς παρὰ σφίσιον ὄντας, ἀριθμὸν ἐς πέντε καὶ εἴκοσιν.

7 Ἐνθα δὴ διελὼν τὴν στρατιὰν Ἡφαιστίωνα μὲν καὶ Περδίκκαν ἐκπέμπει ἐς τὴν Πευκελαῶτιν χώραν ὡς ἐπὶ τὸν Ἰνδὸν ποταμόν, ἔχοντας τὴν τε Γοργίου τάξιν καὶ Κλείτου καὶ Μελεάγρου καὶ τῶν ἐταίρων ἱππέων τοὺς ἡμίσεας καὶ τοὺς μισθοφόρους ἱππέας ξύμπαντας, προστάξας τὰ τε κατὰ τὴν ὁδὸν χωρία ἢ βία ἐξαιρεῖν ἢ ὁμολογία παρίστασθαι καὶ ἐπὶ τὸν Ἰνδὸν ποταμόν ἀφικομένους παρασκευάζειν ὅσα ἐς τὴν διάβασιν τοῦ ποταμοῦ ξύμφορα. ξὺν τούτοις δὲ καὶ Ταξίλης  
8 καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι ὑπαρχοὶ στέλλονται. καὶ οὗτοι ὡς ἀφίκοντο πρὸς τὸν Ἰνδὸν ποταμόν, ἔπρασσον ὅσα ἐξ Ἀλεξάνδρου ἦν τεταγμένα. Ἄστις δὲ ὁ τῆς Πευκελαώτιδος ὑπαρχος νεωτερίσας αὐτός τε ἀπόλλυται καὶ τὴν πόλιν προσαπώλεσεν, ἐς ἣντινα ξυμπεφεύγει.

more people from the neighbourhood together with all the soldiers unfit for fighting and ordered Nicanor, one of the Companions, to govern the city itself, while he appointed Tyriespis satrap of the country both of the Parapamisadae and of the land as far as the  
6 river Cophen. Then after reaching Nicaea<sup>5</sup> and sacrificing to Athena, he advanced towards the Cophen,<sup>6</sup> having sent a herald in advance to Taxilas and the Indians on this side of the river Indus with orders to meet him, each at their earliest convenience; Taxilas and the other hyparchs<sup>7</sup> complied, bringing the gifts the Indians prize most, and promised to give him the elephants they had, twenty-five in number.

7 Here he divided his army, and sent Hephaestion and Perdikkas to the territory of Peucelaotis towards the river Indus, with the battalions of Gorgias, Clitus and Meleager, half of the Companion cavalry and all the mercenary cavalry, with instructions to take by storm or receive in surrender all towns on their march; when they had reached the Indus, they were to get everything ready for the crossing of the river.<sup>8</sup> Taxilas and the other hyparchs were sent with  
8 them. They arrived at the river Indus and carried out Alexander's instructions. But Astis, the hyparch of the district of Peucelaotis, attempted revolt, and perished himself, besides involving in ruin the city to

327-6 B.C.

5 For Alexandria and Nicaea see iii 28, 4 n.

6 The river Kabul. See App. VIII 19 f. on chronology and geography of all operations in the rest of this book.

7 App. XV 2. Taxilas had submitted to Al. while in Sogdiana (D. 86, 4, cf. QC. viii 12, 5), probably in hope of aid against Porus, his old enemy (v 18, 7); he ruled at Taxila near Rawalpindi, Porus between Hydaspes (Jhelum) and Acesines (Chenab). § 8 shows that Taxilas was supporting a rebel against the ruler of the Astaceni (capital, Charsadda), whose own 'revolt' against Al. was probably provoked by fear of Taxilas.

8 QC. viii 10, 2. A. does not mention the mercenary foot, most

ἐξείλον γὰρ αὐτήν ἐν τριάκοντα ἡμέραις προσκαθήμενοι οἱ  
ξὺν Ἡφαιστίωνι. καὶ αὐτὸς μὲν Ἄστις ἀποθνήσκει, τῆς  
πόλεως δὲ ἐπιμελείσθαι ἐτάχθη Σαγγαῖος, ὃς ἔτι πρόσθεν  
πεφευγὼς Ἄστιν παρὰ Ταξίλην ἠῦτομολήκει· καὶ τοῦτο ἦν  
αὐτῷ τὸ πιστὸν πρὸς Ἀλέξανδρον.

23. Ἀλέξανδρος δέ, ἄγων τοὺς ὑπασπιστάς καὶ τῶν  
ἐταίρων ἱππέων ὅσοι μὴ σὺν Ἡφαιστίωνι ἐτετάχато καὶ τῶν  
ἀσθηταίων<sup>1</sup> καλουμένων τὰς τάξεις καὶ τοὺς τοξότας καὶ τοὺς  
Ἀγριαῖνας καὶ τοὺς ἱππακοντιστάς, προὔχῳρει ἐς τὴν

- <sup>2</sup> Ἀσπκασλίων τε καὶ Γουραίων χώραν καὶ Ἀσσακηνῶν.  
πορευθεὶς δὲ παρὰ τὸν Χόην καλούμενον ποταμὸν ὄρεινὴν τε  
ὁδὸν καὶ τραχείαν καὶ τοῦτον διαβὰς χαλεπῶς τῶν μὲν πεζῶν  
τὸ πλῆθος βάδην ἔπεσθαί οἱ ἐκέλευσεν, αὐτὸς δὲ ἀναλαβὼν  
τοὺς ἱππέας ξύμπαντας καὶ τῶν πεζῶν τῶν Μακεδόνων ἐς  
ὀκτακοσίους ἐπιβιβάσας τῶν ἵππων ξὺν ταῖς ἀσπίσι ταῖς  
πεζικαῖς σπουδῇ ἤγεν, ὅτι τοὺς ταύτη οἰκοῦντας βαρβάρους  
ξυμπεφευγέναι ἔς τε τὰ ὄρη τὰ κατὰ τὴν χώραν ἐξηγγέλλετο  
<sup>3</sup> αὐτῷ καὶ ἐς τὰς πόλεις ὅσαι ὄχυραὶ αὐτῶν ἐς τὸ  
ἀπομάχεσθαι. καὶ τούτων τῇ πρώτῃ καθ' ὁδὸν πόλει ὤκισμένη  
προσβαλὼν τοὺς μὲν πρὸ τῆς πόλεως τεταγμένους ὡς εἶχεν ἐξ  
ἐφόδου ἐτρέψατο καὶ κατέκλεισεν ἐς τὴν πόλιν, αὐτὸς δὲ  
τιτρώσκειται βέλει διὰ τοῦ θώρακος ἐς τὸν ὦμον· τὸ δὲ τραῦμα  
οὐ χαλεπὸν αὐτῷ ἐγένετο· ὁ γὰρ θώραξ ἔσχε τὸ μὴ οὐ  
διαμπὰξ διὰ τοῦ ὦμου ἐλθεῖν τὸ βέλος· καὶ Πτολεμαῖος ὁ  
Λάγον ἐτρώθη καὶ Λεοννάτος.

<sup>1</sup> πεζεταίων editors, but cf. Introd. n. 99.

which he had fled for refuge; for Hephaestion and his troops  
captured it after a siege of thirty days. Astis himself was put to  
death and Sangaeus appointed to govern the city; he had previously  
escaped from Astis and gone over to Taxilas; this guaranteed his  
loyalty to Alexander.

23. Taking the hypaspists, all the Companion cavalry not  
detailed with Hephaestion, and the battalions of the so-called  
*asthetairoi*,<sup>1</sup> with the archers, Agrianians, and mounted javelin-  
men,<sup>2</sup> Alexander advanced to the district of the Aspasiens,  
<sup>2</sup> Guraeans and Assaceniens.<sup>3</sup> After marching along the river called  
Cheos by a mountainous, rough route, and crossing the river with  
some difficulty, he ordered the infantry force to follow him at  
marching pace, while he took all the cavalry himself with about  
eight hundred of the Macedonian foot-soldiers, whom he had  
mounted, with their infantry shields, and moved at full speed, as he  
had learnt that the barbarians living here had fled for refuge to the  
hills of the district and to the cities which were their defensive  
<sup>3</sup> strongholds. Attacking the first of these cities which was built on his  
route without making preparations, he put to flight the forces  
drawn up in front of the city and at the first onslaught shut them up  
in the city, though he himself received an arrow wound through the  
corselet in his shoulder. (The wound caused him little trouble, for  
the breastplate prevented the dart passing right through the  
shoulder.) Ptolemy son of Lagus and Leonnatus were also  
wounded.

<sup>1</sup> Introd. n. 99

<sup>2</sup> Introd. § 59.

<sup>3</sup> QC. viii 10 f. recounts operations described in rest of this book,  
with variants, mostly of small value.

4 Τότε μὲν δὴ ἵνα ἐπιμαχώτατον τοῦ τείχους ἐφαίμετο  
 ἐστρατοπεδεύσατο πρὸς τῇ πόλει τῇ δὲ ὑστεραία ὑπὸ τὴν ἕω,  
 διπλοῦν γὰρ τείχος περιεβέβλητο τῇ πόλει, ἐς μὲν τὸ πρῶτον  
 ἄτε οὐκ ἀκριβῶς τετειχισμένον οὐ χαλεπῶς ἐβιάσαντο οἱ  
 Μακεδόνες, πρὸς δὲ τῷ δευτέρῳ ὀλίγον ἀντισχόντες οἱ  
 βάρβαροι, ὡς αἶ τε κλίμακες προσέκειντο ἤδη καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν  
 βελῶν πάντοθεν ἐτιτρώσκοντο οἱ προμαχόμενοι, οὐκ ἔμειναν,  
 5 ἀλλὰ κατὰ τὰς πύλας ὡς ἐπὶ τὰ ὄρη ἐκπίπτουσιν ἐκ τῆς  
 πόλεως. καὶ τούτων οἱ μὲν ἐν τῇ φυγῇ ἀποθνήσκουσιν, ὅσους  
 δὲ ζῶντας ἔλαβον αὐτῶν, ξύμπαντας ἀποκτείνουσιν οἱ  
 Μακεδόνες, ὅτι ἐτρώθη ὑπ' αὐτῶν Ἀλέξανδρος ὀργιζόμενοι· οἱ  
 πολλοὶ δὲ ἐς τὰ ὄρη, ὅτι οὐ μακρὰν τῆς πόλεως τὰ ὄρη ἦν,  
 ἀπέφυγον. τὴν πόλιν δὲ κατασκάψας ἐς Ἄνδακα ἄλλην πόλιν  
 ἦγε. ταύτην δὲ ὁμολογία ἐνδοθεῖσαν κατασχὼν Κρατερὸν μὲν  
 ξὺν τοῖς ἄλλοις ἡγεμόσι τῶν πεζῶν καταλείπει αὐτοῦ ἐξαιρεῖν  
 ὅσαι ἂν ἄλλαι πόλεις μὴ ἐκούσαι προσχωρῶσι καὶ τὰ κατὰ  
 τὴν χώραν ὅπως ξυμφορώτατον ἐς τὰ παρόντα κοσμεῖν.

24. Αὐτὸς δὲ ἄγων τοὺς ὑπασπιστάς τε καὶ τοὺς τοξότας  
 καὶ τοὺς Ἀγριᾶνας καὶ τὴν Κοίνου τε καὶ Ἀττάλου τάξιν καὶ  
 τῶν ἱππέων τὸ ἄγημα καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἐταίρων ἐς τέσσαρας  
 μάλιστα ἱππαρχίας καὶ τῶν ἱπποτοξοτῶν τοὺς ἡμίσεας ὡς ἐπὶ  
 τὸν ποταμὸν τὸν † Εὐασ . . . πόλεως προὔχῳρει, ἵνα ὁ τῶν  
 2 Ἀσπασίων ὑπαρχος ἦν· καὶ διελθὼν πολλὴν ὁδὸν δευτεραῖος  
 ἀφίκετο πρὸς τὴν πόλιν. οἱ δὲ βάρβαροι

4 Alexander then placed his camp by the city where the wall  
 appeared easiest to assault, and next day about dawn, there being a  
 double wall about the city, the Macedonians easily forced their way  
 through the first, as it had not been built with care; at the second  
 wall the barbarians made a short stand, yet once the ladders had  
 been put up and the defenders were being wounded on all sides by  
 the missiles, they did not stand their ground, but came tumbling out  
 5 of the city by the gates in the direction of the hills. Some of them  
 perished in the flight, and the Macedonians killed all they captured  
 alive, out of anger that they had wounded Alexander; however, most  
 of them escaped to the hills, as they were not far from the city.<sup>4</sup>  
 Alexander razed the city to the ground and went on to another  
 named Andaca. When it had surrendered on terms and was in his  
 possession, he left Craterus there with the other infantry  
 commanders to destroy any other cities that did not come over of  
 their free will, and to make the arrangements in the country most  
 advantageous for the time being.

24. He himself took the hypaspists, archers, and Agrianians,  
 with Coenus' and Attalus' battalions, the *agēma* of cavalry and other  
 Companions up to about four hipparchies<sup>1</sup> and half the mounted  
 archers, and advanced towards the river . . . a city<sup>2</sup> where the  
 hyparch of the Aspasiens was; after a long road-march, he reached  
 the city on the second day. When the barbarians learned of

<sup>2</sup> Alexander's

<sup>4</sup> QC. 10, 3-6 makes Al. defer attack till Craterus arrived with  
 the foot, and order the massacre. He then inserts the surrender of  
 Nysa, see A. v 1 ff.

<sup>1</sup> Introd. 58-60.

<sup>2</sup> In the lacuna the letters 'Euas . . .' may belong to the name of a  
 river or a city.

προσάγοντα αισθόμενοι Ἀλέξανδρον ἐμπρήσαντες τὴν πόλιν ἔφευγον πρὸς τὰ ὄρη. οἱ δ' ἀμφ' Ἀλέξανδρον εἶχοντο τῶν φευγόντων ἔσπε ἐπὶ τὰ ὄρη, καὶ φόνος πολὺς γίγνεται τῶν βαρβάρων, πρὶν ἐς τὰς δυσχωρίας φθάσαι ἀπελθόντας.

- 3 Τὸν δὲ ἡγεμόνα αὐτὸν τῶν ταύτη Ἰνδῶν Πτολεμαῖος ὁ Λάγου πρὸς τινὶ ἤδη γηλόφῳ ὄντα κατιδὼν καὶ τῶν ὑπασπιστῶν ἔστιν οὓς ἀμφ' αὐτὸν ξὺν πολὺ ἐλάττωσιν αὐτὸς ὦν ὁμῶς ἐδίωκεν ἔτι ἐκ τοῦ ἵππου· ὡς δὲ χαλεπὸς ὁ γήλοφος τῷ ἵππῳ ἀναδραμεῖν ἦν, τοῦτον μὲν αὐτοῦ καταλείπει παραδούς τινι τῶν ὑπασπιστῶν ἄγειν, αὐτὸς δὲ ὡς εἶχε πεζὸς
- 4 τῷ Ἰνδῷ εἶπετο. ὁ δὲ ὡς πελάζοντα ἤδη κατείδε τὸν Πτολεμαῖον, αὐτὸς τε μεταβάλλει ἐς τὸ ἔμπαλιον καὶ οἱ ὑπασπισταὶ ξὺν αὐτῷ. καὶ ὁ μὲν Ἰνδὸς τοῦ Πτολεμαίου διὰ τοῦ θώρακος παίει ἐκ χειρὸς ἐς τὸ στήθος ξυστῷ μακρῷ, καὶ ὁ θώραξ ἔσχε τὴν πληγὴν· Πτολεμαῖος δὲ τὸν μηρὸν διαμπαξ
- 5 βαλὼν τοῦ Ἰνδοῦ καταβάλλει τε καὶ σκυλεύει αὐτόν. ὡς δὲ τὸν ἡγεμόνα σφῶν κείμενον οἱ ἀμφ' αὐτὸν εἶδον, οὗτοι μὲν οὐκέτι ἔμενον, οἱ δὲ ἐκ τῶν ὀρώων αἰρόμενον τὸν νεκρὸν τοῦ ὑπάρχου ἰδόντες πρὸς τῶν πολεμίων ἠλγησάν τε καὶ καταδραμόντες ξυνάπτουσι ἐπ' αὐτῷ μάχην καρτερὰν πρὸς τῷ γηλόφῳ. ἤδη γὰρ καὶ Ἀλέξανδρος ἔχων τοὺς ἀπὸ τῶν ἵππων καταβεβηκότας πεζοὺς πρὸς τῷ γηλόφῳ ἦν. καὶ οὗτοι ἐπιγενόμενοι μόγις ἐξέωσαν τοὺς Ἰνδοὺς ἐς τὰ ὄρη καὶ τοῦ νεκροῦ ἐκράτησαν.
- 6 Ὑπερβαλὼν δὲ τὰ ὄρη Ἀλέξανδρος ἐς πόλιν κατήλθεν, ἣ ὄνομα ἦν Ἀριγαῖον· καὶ ταύτην καταλαμβάνει ἐμπερησμένην ὑπὸ τῶν ἐνοικούντων καὶ τοὺς ἀνθρώπους πεφευγότας. ἐνταῦθα δὲ ἀφίκοντο

approach, they burned the city and fled to the mountains.

Alexander's troops followed close on the fugitives as far as the mountains, and there was a great slaughter of the barbarians, until they got away first into the rough country.<sup>3</sup>

- 3 The actual leader of the Indians of this district was observed by Ptolemy son of Lagus, already close to a foothill; Ptolemy had with him some of the hypaspists, and though far inferior in numbers, he still continued to pursue him on horse, but as the hill was hard for his horse to go up, he left his mount there, handing it to one of the hypaspists to lead, and in person followed the Indian on foot, just as
- 4 he was. When the Indian saw Ptolemy drawing near, he himself turned round at bay, and his hypaspists with him, and with his long spear struck at close quarters through Ptolemy's corselet to his breast; the corselet checked the blow. But Ptolemy drove right through the Indian's thigh, and felled and despoiled him. While his
- 5 followers, on seeing their leader lying there, did not continue to stand their ground, others from the hills, seeing the enemy carrying off their hyparch's body, rushed down in their distress and joined in a fierce battle near the hill. Now Alexander was already near the hill with his infantry dismounted. When they came on the scene they pushed the Indians back to the mountains, though with difficulty, and got possession of the body.
- 6 After crossing the hills, Alexander descended at a city called Arigaeum and found that it had been set on fire by its inhabitants; and that the people had

3 At least the following story must be from Pt.



αὐτῷ καὶ οἱ ἀμφὶ Κρατερὸν ξὺν τῇ στρατιᾷ πεπραγμένων  
 7 σφίσι ξυμπάντων ὅσα ὑπὸ τοῦ βασιλέως ἐτέτακτο. ταύτην  
 μὲν δὴ τὴν πόλιν, ὅτι ἐν ἐπικαίρῳ χωρίῳ ἐδόκει ὤκισθαι,  
 ἐκτειχίσαι τε προστάσσει Κρατερῷ καὶ ξυνοικίσαι ἐς αὐτὴν  
 τοὺς τε προσχώρους ὅσοι ἐθελονταὶ καὶ εἰ δὴ τινες ἀπόμαχοι  
 τῆς στρατιᾶς. αὐτὸς δὲ προὔχῳρει ἵνα ξυμπεφευγέναι  
 ἐπυνηθάνετο τοὺς πολλοὺς τῶν ταύτῃ βαρβάρων. ἐλθὼν δὲ  
 πρὸς τι ὄρος κατεστρατοπέδευσεν ὑπὸ ταῖς ὑπωρείαις τοῦ  
 ὄρους.  
 8 Καὶ ἐν τούτῳ Πτολεμαῖος ὁ Λάγου ἐκπεμφθεὶς μὲν ὑπὸ  
 Ἀλεξάνδρου ἐς προνομίην, προελθὼν δὲ προσωτέρῳ αὐτὸς ξὺν  
 ὀλίγοις ὡς ἐς κατασκοπήν, ἀπαγγέλλει Ἀλεξάνδρῳ πυρὰ  
 κατιδεῖν τῶν βαρβάρων πλείονα ἢ ἐν τῷ Ἀλεξάνδρου  
 9 στρατοπέδῳ. καὶ Ἀλέξανδρος τῷ μὲν πλήθει τῶν πυρῶν  
 ἠπίστησεν, εἶναι δὲ τι ξυνεστηκὸς τῶν ταύτῃ βαρβάρων  
 αἰσθόμενος μέρος μὲν τῆς στρατιᾶς αὐτοῦ καταλείπει πρὸς τῷ  
 ὄρει ὡς εἶχον ἐστρατοπεδευμένους· αὐτὸς δὲ ἀναλαβὼν ὅσοι  
 ἀποχρῶντες ἐς τὰ ἀπηγγελμένα ἐφαίνοντο, ὡς πλησίον ἤδη  
 10 ἀφεώρων τὰ πυρὰ, τρίχα διανέμει τὴν στρατιάν. καὶ τῷ μὲν  
 ἐνὶ ἐπέταξε Λεοννάτον τὸν σωματοφύλακα, ξυντάξας αὐτῷ τὴν  
 τε Ἀττάλου καὶ τὴν Βαλάκρου τάξιν· τὴν δευτέραν δὲ μοῖραν  
 Πτολεμαίῳ τῷ Λάγου ἄγειν ἔδωκε, τῶν τε ὑπασπιστῶν τῶν  
 βασιλικῶν τὸ τρίτον μέρος καὶ τὴν Φιλίππου καὶ Φιλῶτα  
 τάξιν καὶ δύο χιλιαρχίας τῶν τοξοτῶν καὶ τοὺς Ἀγριαῖνας καὶ  
 τῶν ἰππέων τοὺς ἡμίσεας· τὴν δὲ τρίτην μοῖραν αὐτὸς ἦγεν  
 ἵνα οἱ πλείστοι τῶν βαρβάρων ἐφαίνοντο.

25. Οἱ δὲ ὡς ἦσθοντο προσάγοντας τοὺς Μακεδόνας,

fled. Here he was met by Craterus and his colleagues with the  
 army, after they had carried out all Alexander's instructions.<sup>4</sup> As this  
 7 city seemed to be on a favourable site for a settlement, he  
 instructed Craterus to fortify it and to bring into the place as  
 settlers any volunteers from the neighbouring people and any  
 soldiers unfit for service.<sup>5</sup> He himself advanced where he was told  
 most of the barbarians of the region had taken refuge; and reaching  
 the mountain he camped there at its foot.

8 At this time Ptolemy son of Lagus,<sup>6</sup> who had been sent foraging  
 by Alexander, and had himself advanced further ahead with a few  
 others to scout, reported to Alexander that he had sighted barbarian  
 fires more numerous than in Alexander's camp. Alexander was  
 9 incredulous about the number of the fires, but realizing that there  
 was a concentration of barbarians who belonged to this region, he  
 left part of his army behind, encamped as they were by the hill, and  
 himself taking what appeared to be a number sufficient in view of  
 this report, divided his men into three parts as soon as they saw the  
 10 fires close at hand. He put Leonnatus the bodyguard in command  
 of one, assigning him the battalions of Attalus and Balacrus; the  
 second, consisting of a third of the hypaspists, the battalions of  
 Philip and Philotas, and two chiliarchies of archers, the Agrianians  
 and half the cavalry, was placed under Ptolemy son of Lagus, while  
 he himself led the third division, where the greatest number of the  
 barbarians appeared to be.

25. When they saw the Macedonians approach,

4 Cf. 23, 5.

5 Cf. iii 1, 5 n. Tarn ii 248 is perverse.

6 Pt. again the source at least till 25, 4.

κατείχον γὰρ χωρία ὑπερδέξια, τῷ τε πλήθει σφῶν  
 θαρσήσαντες καὶ τῶν Μακεδόνων, ὅτι ὀλίγοι ἐφαίνοντο,  
 καταφρονήσαντες ἐς τὸ πεδίου ὑποκατέβησαν· καὶ μάχη  
 2 γίγνεται καρτερά. ἀλλὰ τούτους μὲν οὐ ξὺν πόνῳ ἐνίκα  
 Ἀλέξανδρος· οἱ δὲ ἀμφὶ Πτολεμαῖον οὐκ ἐν τῷ ὀμαλῷ  
 παρετάξαντο, ἀλλὰ γήλοφον γὰρ κατείχον οἱ βάρβαροι,  
 ὀρθίους ποιήσαντας<sup>1</sup> τοὺς λόχους Πτολεμαῖος προσῆγεν ἥπερ  
 ἐπιμαχ[ιμ]ώτατον τοῦ λόφου ἐφαίνετο, οὐ πάντη τὸν λόφον  
 κυκλωσάμενος, ἀλλ' ἀπολιπών, εἰ φεύγειν ἐθέλοιεν οἱ  
 3 βάρβαροι, χώραν αὐτοῖς ἐς τὴν φυγὴν. καὶ γίγνεται καὶ  
 τούτοις μάχη καρτερὰ τοῦ χωρίου τῇ χαλεπότητι καὶ ὅτι οὐ  
 κατὰ τοὺς ἄλλους τοὺς ταύτη βαρβάρους οἱ Ἴνδοί, ἀλλὰ πολὺ  
 δὴ τι ἀλκιμώτατοι τῶν προσχώρων εἰσίν. ἐξώσθησαν δὲ καὶ  
 οὗτοι ἀπὸ τοῦ ὄρους ὑπὸ τῶν Μακεδόνων· καὶ οἱ ἀμφὶ  
 Λεοννάτον τῇ τρίτῃ, μοῖρα τῆς στρατιᾶς ὡσαύτως ἔπραξαν·  
 4 ἐνίκων γὰρ καὶ οὗτοι τοὺς κατὰ σφᾶς. καὶ λέγει Πτολεμαῖος  
 ἀνθρώπους μὲν ληφθῆναι τοὺς πάντας ὑπὲρ τετρακισμυρίους,  
 βοῶν δὲ ὑπὲρ τὰς τρεῖς καὶ εἴκοσι μυριάδας· καὶ τούτων τὰς  
 καλλίστας ἐπιλεξάμενον Ἀλέξανδρον, ὅτι διαφέρουσαι αὐτῷ  
 κάλλει τε καὶ μεγέθει ἐφαίνοντο, πέμψαι ἐθέλειν ἐς  
 Μακεδονίαν ἐργάζεσθαι τὴν χώραν.  
 5 Ἐντεῦθεν ἐπὶ τὴν τῶν Ἀσσακηνῶν χώραν ἦγεν· τούτους  
 γὰρ ἐξηγγέλλετο παρεσκευάσθαι ὡς μαχουμένους, ἵππεας μὲν  
 ἐς δισχιλίους ἔχοντας, πεζοὺς δὲ ὑπὲρ τοὺς τρισμυρίους,  
 τριάκοντα δὲ ἐλέφαντας. Κρατερὸς μὲν δὴ ἐκτετειχικῶς ἤδη

1 Reiske: ποιήσαντες codd.; Roos.

for they were occupying a commanding position, confident in their  
 numbers and despising the Macedonians, as they appeared to be  
 few, they descended below to the plain; a fierce battle followed.  
 Still Alexander defeated them without much difficulty. Ptolemy's  
 2 troops marshalled themselves on uneven ground, but as the  
 barbarians were holding a hill, they formed into columns, and  
 Ptolemy led them up to the point where the hill seemed most open  
 to assault, not surrounding it on all sides, but leaving a space for  
 flight, in case the barbarians chose to flee. Here too the battle was  
 3 fierce, both because of the difficulty of the position and because  
 these Indians were not like the other barbarians of these parts but  
 much the most warlike people of the region. But even they were  
 pushed off the hill by the Macedonians. Leonnatus and his troops in  
 the third division of the army were equally successful; they too  
 4 defeated their opponents. Ptolemy says that over forty thousand  
 men in all and over two hundred and thirty thousand oxen were  
 captured and that Alexander selected the finest oxen because he  
 thought them of unusual beauty and size and wished to send them  
 into Macedonia to work the soil.  
 5 Thence he proceeded to the territory of the Assaceniens,<sup>1</sup> who  
 were reported to have prepared for battle with some two thousand  
 horsemen, over thirty thousand infantry, and thirty elephants.  
 Crater us,

1 By implication previous operations had been against the  
 Aspasiens (23, 1), no opposition being recorded from Guraeans.

τὴν πόλιν, ἐφ' ἧς τῷ οἰκισμῷ κατελέλειπτο, τοὺς τε βαρύτερον  
 ὀπλισμένους τῆς στρατιᾶς Ἀλεξάνδρῳ ἤγευ καὶ τὰς μηχανάς,  
 6 εἴ που πολιορκίας δεήσειεν. αὐτὸς δὲ Ἀλέξανδρος τοὺς τε  
 ἑταίρους ἰππέας ἄγων καὶ τοὺς ἰππακοντιστὰς καὶ τὴν Κοίνου  
 καὶ Πολυπέρχοντος τάξι καὶ τοὺς Ἀγριᾶνας τοὺς χιλίους<sup>1</sup> καὶ  
 7 τοὺς τοξότας ἤγει ὡς ἐπὶ τοὺς Ἀσσακηνοὺς· ἤγε δὲ διὰ τῆς  
 Γουραίων χώρας. καὶ τὸν ποταμὸν τὸν ἐπώνυμον τῆς χώρας  
 τὸν Γουραῖον χαλεπῶς διέβη, διὰ βαθύτητά τε καὶ ὅτι ὀξὺς ὁ  
 ῥοὺς ἦν αὐτῷ καὶ οἱ λίθοι στρογγύλοι ἐν τῷ ποταμῷ ὄντες  
 σφαλεροὶ τοῖς ἐπιβαίνουσιν ἐγίνοντο. οἱ δὲ βάρβαροι ὡς  
 προσάγοντα ἤσθοντο Ἀλέξανδρον, ἀθρόοι μὲν ἐς μάχην  
 καταστήναι οὐκ ἐτόλμησαν, διαλυθέντες δὲ ὡς ἕκαστοι κατὰ  
 πόλεις ταύτας ἐπενόουν ἀπομαχόμενοι διασώζειν.

26. Καὶ Ἀλέξανδρος πρῶτα μὲν ἐπὶ Μάσσαγα ἤγε, τὴν  
 μεγίστην τῶν ταύτη πόλεων. ὡς δὲ προσῆγεν ἤδη τοῖς  
 τείχεσι, θαρρήσαντες οἱ βάρβαροι τοῖς μισθοφόροις τοῖς ἐκ  
 τῶν πρόσω Ἰνδῶν, ἤσαν γὰρ οὗτοι ἐς ἑπτακισχιλίους, ὡς  
 2 στρατοπεδευομένους εἶδον τοὺς Μακεδόνας, δρόμῳ ἐπ' αὐτοὺς  
 ἤεσαν. καὶ Ἀλέξανδρος ἰδὼν πλησίον τῆς πόλεως ἐσομένην  
 τὴν μάχην προσωτέρω ἐκκαλέσασθαι αὐτοὺς βουλευθεὶς τῶν  
 τειχῶν, ὡς εἰ τροπὴ γίγνοιτο, ἐγίνωσκεν γὰρ ἐσομένην, μὴ  
 δι' ὀλίγου ἐς τὴν πόλιν καταφυγόντες εὐμαρῶς διασώζονται,  
 ὡς ἐκθέοντας εἶδε τοὺς βαρβάρους, μεταβαλλομένους κελεύει  
 τοὺς Μακεδόνας ὀπίσω ἀποχωρεῖν ὡς

1 codd.; Roos. Others write καὶ τοὺς ψιλούς (cf. IV 30, 6) or ἐς  
 χιλίους. See historical note.

who had finished fortifying the city of whose settlement he had  
 been left in charge, brought Alexander the heavier armed troops of  
 the army with the siege engines, in case a siege proved necessary.

6 Alexander marched himself with the Companion cavalry, the  
 mounted javelin-men, the battalions of Coenus and Polyperchon,  
 the thousand Agrianians,<sup>2</sup> and the archers, towards the Assaceni-  
 ans through the country of the Guraeans. He crossed the river  
 7 Guraeus<sup>3</sup> (which shares its name with the country) with difficulty,  
 because of its depth and rapid current, and the rounded stones in  
 the river proved slippery to step on. But when the barbarians  
 became aware of his approach, they dared not take their stand in  
 mass for a battle, but dispersed to their own cities with the  
 intention of securing the defence and safety of each.

26. Alexander marched first against Massaga, the greatest city of  
 the region. When he was already close to the walls, the barbarians,  
 relying on mercenary Indians brought from further India, about  
 seven thousand men,<sup>1</sup> charged the Macedonians at the double as  
 soon as they saw them pitching camp. Alexander who had seen that  
 2 the battle would be near the city, wished to entice them out further  
 from their walls, so that if a rout took place (and he was sure it  
 would) they should not have their city close at hand for refuge and  
 easily escape, and as soon as he saw the barbarians sallying out, he  
 ordered the

2 Hardly more than 500 in 334 B.C. (Introd. 56), but 1,000 in  
 331/30 B.C. (QC. v 3, 6), they must have been reinforced by  
 'Thracians' (Berve i 137 ff.). Cf. Introd. 65. But the text is suspect (see  
 critical note).

3 Panjkora or Landai (united Panjkora-Swat river).

1 QC. viii 10, 23 gives 38,000 foot, probably referring to the  
 whole Assaceni force, cf. 24, 5-7 above; his story of the siege, 10,  
 26-36 is incompatible with A's

- πρὸς γήλοφόν τινα ἀπέχοντα ἀπὸ τοῦ χωρίου, ἵνα περ  
 3 στρατοπεδεύειν ἐγνώκει, ἑπτὰ που μάλιστα σταδίου. καὶ οἱ  
 πολέμοι ἀναθαρσῆσαντες, ὡς ἐγκεκλικότων ἤδη τῶν  
 Μακεδόνων, δρόμῳ τε καὶ ξὺν οὐδενὶ κόσμῳ ἐφέροντο ἐς  
 αὐτούς. ὡς δὲ ἐξικνεῖτο ἤδη τὰ τοξεύματα, ἐνταῦθα  
 Ἀλέξανδρος ἀπὸ ξυνηθήματος ἐπιστρέψας ἐς αὐτούς τὴν  
 4 φάλαγγα δρόμῳ ἀντεπήγε. πρῶτοι δὲ οἱ ἵππακοντισταί τε  
 αὐτῷ καὶ οἱ Ἀγριᾶνες καὶ οἱ τοξόται ἐκδραμόντες ξυνέμιξαν  
 τοῖς βαρβάροις· αὐτὸς δὲ τὴν φάλαγγα ἐν τάξει ἤγεεν. οἱ δὲ  
 Ἴνδοι τῷ τε παραλόγῳ ἐκπλαγέντες καὶ ἅμα ἐν χερσὶ  
 γεγενημένης τῆς μάχης ἐγκλίναντες ἔφενγον ἐς τὴν πόλιν. καὶ  
 ἀπέθανον μὲν αὐτῶν ἀμφὶ τοὺς διακοσίους, οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ ἐς τὰ  
 τείχη κατεκλείσθησαν. καὶ Ἀλέξανδρος προσῆγε τῷ τείχει  
 τὴν φάλαγγα, καὶ ἐντεῦθεν τοξεύεται μὲν ἀπὸ τοῦ τείχους ἐς  
 5 τὸ σφυρὸν οὐ χαλεπῶς. ἐπαγαγὼν δὲ τὰς μηχανὰς τῆ  
 ὑστεραία τῶν μὲν τειχῶν τι εὐμαρῶς κατέσεισε, βιαζομένους  
 δὲ ταύτῃ τοὺς Μακεδόνας ἢ παρέρρηκτο τοῦ τείχους οὐκ  
 ἀτόλμως οἱ Ἴνδοι ἠμύνοντο, ὥστε ταύτῃ μὲν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ  
 ἀνεκαλέσατο τὴν στρατιάν. τῇ δὲ ὑστεραία τῶν τε Μακεδόνων  
 αὐτῶν ἢ προσβολὴ καρτερωτέρα ἐγίνετο καὶ πύργος ἐπήχθη  
 ξύλινος τοῖς τείχεσιν, ὅθεν ἐκτοξεύοντες οἱ τοξόται καὶ βέλη  
 ἀπὸ μηχανῶν ἀφιέμενα ἀνέστελλεν ἐπὶ πολὺ τοὺς Ἴνδούς.  
 ἀλλ' οὐδὲ ὡς βιάσασθαι εἴσω τοῦ τείχους οἰοί τε ἐγένοντο.  
 6 Τῇ δὲ τρίτῃ προσαγαγὼν αὖθις τὴν φάλαγγα καὶ ἀπὸ  
 μηχανῆς γέφυραν ἐπιβαλὼν τοῦ τείχους ἢ παρερρωγὸς ἦν,  
 ταύτῃ ἐπήγε τοὺς ὑπασπιστάς, οἵπερ αὐτῷ καὶ Τύρον  
 ὡσαύτως ἐξείλον. πολλῶν

- Macedonians to turn right about and withdraw towards a hill, just  
 about seven stades away from the place where he had decided to  
 3 camp. Emboldened by the belief that the Macedonians had already  
 given way, the enemy rushed on them at full speed and in disorder.  
 When the arrows were just reaching his troops, Alexander wheeled  
 his phalanx towards them by a signal and led it on at the double.  
 4 The mounted javelin-men, the Agrianians and the archers first  
 dashed forward and joined battle with the barbarians, while  
 Alexander himself kept the phalanx in formation. The Indians were  
 appalled at what they had never reckoned on, and as soon as it had  
 come to hand to hand fighting, they turned and fled to the city.  
 Some two hundred perished, but the rest were shut up inside their  
 walls. Alexander brought up his phalanx to the wall, and was then  
 wounded in his ankle by an arrow from the wall, but not seriously.  
 5 Next day he brought up the engines and easily destroyed a part of  
 the walls; the Macedonians pressed in at the breach made, but the  
 Indians resisted bravely, and so that day Alexander recalled his  
 troops. On the next the Macedonian attack was stronger, and a  
 wooden tower was brought up against the walls, from which the  
 archers shot volleys, while the engines hurled missiles; they pushed  
 the Indians a long way back, but even so they could not force their  
 way inside the wall.  
 6 However, on the third day Alexander brought up the phalanx  
 and threw a bridge from an engine on to the breach in the wall,  
 over which he led the hypaspists, who had helped him in the same  
 way to capture

7 δὲ ὑπὸ προθυμίας ὠθουμένων ἄχθος λαβοῦσα μείζον ἢ  
 γέφυρα κατερράγη καὶ πίπτουσι ξὺν αὐτῇ οἱ Μακεδόνες. οἱ δὲ  
 βάρβαροι ἰδόντες τὸ γινόμενον λίθοις τε ξὺν βοῇ ἀπὸ τῶν  
 τειχῶν καὶ τοξεύμασι καὶ ἄλλω ὅτῳ τις μετὰ χεῖρας ἔχων  
 ἐτύγγανεν ἢ ὅτῳ τις ἐν τῷ τότε ἔλαβεν ἐξηκόντιζον ἐς τοὺς  
 Μακεδόνας· οἱ δὲ καὶ κατὰ θύρας, αἵτινες αὐτοῖς κατὰ τὰ  
 μεσοπύργια μικραὶ ἦσαν, ἐκθέοντες ἐκ χειρὸς ἔπαιον  
 τεταραγμένους.

27. Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ πέμπει Ἀλκέταν ξὺν τῇ αὐτοῦ τάξει  
 τοὺς τε κατατετρωμένους ἀναλαβεῖν καὶ ὅσοι προσεμάχοντο  
 ἐπανακαλέσασθαι ὡς ἐπὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον. καὶ τῇ τετάρτῃ  
 ὡσαύτως ἀπ' ἄλλης μηχανῆς ἄλλη ἐπιβάθρα αὐτῷ  
 προσήγετο πρὸς τὸ τεῖχος.

2 Καὶ οἱ Ἰνδοί, ἕως μὲν αὐτοῖς ὁ ἡγεμὼν τοῦ χωρίου περιῆν,  
 ἀπεμάχοντο καρτερῶς· ὡς δὲ βέλει ἀπὸ μηχανῆς τυπεῖς  
 ἀποθνήσκουσι ἐκείνος, αὐτῶν τε οἱ μὲν τινες πεπτωκότες ἐν τῇ  
 ξυνεχείᾳ πολιορκία, οἱ πολλοὶ δὲ τραυματῖαι τε καὶ ἀπόμαχοι  
 3 ἦσαν, ἐπεκηρυκεύοντο πρὸς Ἀλέξανδρον. τῷ δὲ ἀσμένῳ  
 γίνεται ἄνδρας ἀγαθοὺς διασῶσαι· καὶ ξυμβαίνει ἐπὶ τῷδε  
 Ἀλέξανδρος τοῖς μισθοφόροις Ἰνδοῖς ὡς καταταχθέντας ἐς  
 τὴν ἄλλην στρατιὰν ξὺν αὐτῷ στρατεύεσθαι. οἱ μὲν δὴ  
 ἐξῆλθον ξὺν τοῖς ὅπλοις, καὶ κατεστρατοπέδευσαν κατὰ σφᾶς  
 ἐπὶ γηλόφῳ, ὃς ἦν ἀντίπορος τοῦ τῶν Μακεδόνων  
 στρατοπέδου. νυκτὸς δὲ ἐπενόουν δρασμῶ διαχρησάμενοι ἐς  
 4 τὰ σφέτερα ἤθη ἀπαναστήναι οὐκ ἐθέλοντες ἐναντία αἵρεσθαι  
 τοῖς ἄλλοις Ἰνδοῖς ὅπλα. καὶ ταῦτα ὡς ἐξηγγέλθη  
 Ἀλεξάνδρῳ, περιστήσας τῆς νυκτὸς τῷ γηλόφῳ τὴν στρατιὰν  
 πᾶσαν κατακόπτει τοὺς

Tyre. Many were shoved forward in eagerness, the bridge received  
 too great a weight and broke, and the Macedonians fell with it.

7 Seeing what was happening, the barbarians shouted and volleyed  
 stones on the Macedonians from the walls, and arrows and anything  
 else anyone happened to have in his hands or could seize at the  
 moment, while others ran out at the small gates in the curtain walls  
 and struck at them in their confusion at close quarters.

27. Alexander sent Alcetas with his battalion to pick up the  
 wounded and to recall to the camp all who were still offering  
 resistance. On the fourth day another step-ladder was brought up to  
 the wall in the same way by another engine.

2 The Indians resisted strongly as long as the commander of the  
 place survived, but when he was hit by a missile from a catapult and  
 killed, with part of their number already fallen in continuous siege  
 and most of them wounded and unfit for service, they sent a herald  
 3 to Alexander. He was glad to be able to save the lives of brave men,  
 granted terms to the mercenary Indians on the basis that they  
 should join the rest of his army and take the field with him. They  
 came out with their arms, and encamped by themselves on a hill  
 facing the Macedonian camp; however, they intended to slip away  
 at night and escape to their own homes, as they had no wish to bear  
 4 arms against the rest of the Indians. When this was reported to  
 Alexander, he threw his whole force round the hill in the night, and  
 cut down the

Ἰνδοὺς ἐν μέσῳ ἀπολαβῶν, τὴν τε πόλιν αἰρεῖ κατὰ κράτος ἐρημωθεῖσαν τῶν προμαχομένων, καὶ τὴν μητέρα τὴν Ἀσσακάνου καὶ τὴν παῖδα ἔλαβεν. ἀπέθανον δὲ ἐν τῇ πάσῃ πολιορκίᾳ τῶν ξὺν Ἀλεξάνδρῳ ἐς πέντε καὶ εἴκοσι.

- 5 Ἐνθεν δὲ Κοῖνον μὲν ὡς ἐπὶ Βάζιρα ἐκπέμπει, γνώμην ποιησάμενος ὅτι μαθόντες τῶν Μασσακανῶν τὴν ἄλωσιν ἐνδώσουσι σφᾶς αὐτούς. Ἄτταλον δὲ καὶ Ἀλκέταν καὶ Δημήτριον τὸν ἱππάρχην ἐπὶ Ὄρα στέλλει, ἄλλην πόλιν,
- 6 παραγγείλας περιτειχίζειν τὴν πόλιν ἕστ' ἂν ἀφίκηται αὐτός. καὶ γίγνεται ἐκδρομὴ τῶν ἐκ τῆς πόλεως ἐπὶ τοὺς ἀμφὶ Ἀλκέταν. οὐ χαλεπῶς δὲ τρεψάμενοι αὐτοὺς οἱ Μακεδόνες εἴσω τοῦ τείχους ἐς τὴν πόλιν ἀποστρέφουσι. καὶ Κοίνῳ οὐ προχωρεῖ τὰ ἐν τοῖς Βαζίροις, ἀλλὰ πιστεύοντες γὰρ τοῦ χωρίου τῇ ὀχυρότητι, ὅτι ὑπερύψηλόν τε ἦν καὶ πάντῃ ἀκριβῶς τετειχισμένον, οὐδὲν ξυμβατικὸν ἐνεδίδουσαν.
- 7 Ταῦτα μαθὼν Ἀλέξανδρος ὤρμητο μὲν ὡς ἐπὶ Βάζιρα, γνοὺς δὲ ὅτι τῶν προσοίκων τινὲς βαρβάρων παριέναι ἐς τὰ Ὄρα τὴν πόλιν λαθόντες μέλλουσι, πρὸς Ἀβισάρου ἐπὶ τῷδε ἐσταλμένοι, ἐπὶ τὰ Ὄρα πρῶτον ἤγε Κοῖνον δὲ ἐπιτειχίσαι τῇ πόλει τῶν Βαζιρέων καρτερόν τι χωρίον προτέταξε, καὶ ἐν τούτῳ φυλακὴν καταλιπόντα ἀποχρῶσαν, ὡς μὴ ἄδεια εἴη τοῖς ἐν τῇ πόλει χρῆσθαι τῇ χώρᾳ, αὐτὸν ἄγοντα τῆς
- 8 στρατιᾶς τὴν λοιπὴν παρ' αὐτὸν ἰέναι. οἱ δὲ ἐκ τῶν Βαζίρων ὡς εἶδον ἀπιόντα ξὺν

Indians whom he had thus enclosed, took their city by assault, deprived as it was of its defenders, and captured Assacenus' mother and daughter.<sup>1</sup> In the entire siege some twenty-five of Alexander's men perished.<sup>2</sup>

- 5 From this place he sent Coenus to Bazira, having formed the belief that on learning of the capture of Massaga it would surrender, while Attalus, Alcetas and Demetrius the hipparch<sup>3</sup> were sent against another city, Ora, and directed to throw a wall round it
- 6 pending his own arrival. The townsmen made a sally against Alcetas' forces, but the Macedonians easily repulsed them and drove them back into the city within the wall. Coenus was not successful at Bazira, where the townspeople, trusting in the strength of their site, since it was very high and fortified carefully all round, gave no signs of surrendering on terms.
- 7 On learning this, Alexander started towards Bazira; but knowing that some of the neighbouring barbarians were preparing to slip unseen into the city of Ora, as Abisares<sup>4</sup> had despatched them for this purpose, he advanced first against Ora, and commanded Coenus to fortify a strong position near the city of Bazira and leave a sufficient garrison in it, to prevent the townsmen having the use of the country without risk, and then himself to bring the rest of the
- 8 army to join him. The men in Bazira, on seeing

1 D. 84 (after long lacuna), cf. QC. viii 10, 34 ff, tells of surrender of the 'queen'; QC. and J. xii 7 suggest that Al. had a son by her. The massacre, ignored by QC. and differently described by D., is condemned by P. 59, 3 f.; not all ancients need have shared his view, cf. Caesar, *Gallic Wars* iv 13-15.

2 QC. viii 10, 22 wrongly makes the siege begin before that of Massaga.

3 QC. viii 11, 1 makes Polyperchon sole commander (cf. 22, 1 n.).

4 He ruled in Hazara; for his covert hostility cf. iv 30, 7; v 8, 3;

τῷ πλείστῳ τῆς στρατιᾶς τὸν Κοῖνον, καταφρονήσαντες τῶν Μακεδόνων, ὡς οὐ γενομένων ἄν σφισιν ἀξιομάχων, ἐπεκθέουσιν ἐς τὸ πεδῖον· καὶ γίγνεται αὐτῶν μάχη καρτερὰ. καὶ ἐν ταύτῃ πίπτουσι μὲν τῶν βαρβάρων ἐς πεντακοσίους, ζῶντες δὲ ἐλήφθησαν ὑπὲρ τοὺς ἐβδομήκοντα· οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ ἐν τῇ πόλει ξυμφυγόντες βεβαιότερον ἤδη εἴργοντο τῆς χώρας  
 9 ὑπὸ τῶν ἐκ τοῦ ἐπιτειχίσματος. καὶ Ἀλεξάνδρῳ δὲ τῶν Ὀρων ἢ πολιορκία οὐ χαλεπὴ ἐγένετο, ἀλλ' εὐθύς ἐξ ἐφόδου προσβαλὼν τοῖς τείχεσι τῆς πόλεως ἐκράτησε, καὶ τοὺς ἐλέφαντας τοὺς ἐγκαταλειφθέντας ἔλαβε.

28. Καὶ ταῦτα οἱ ἐν τοῖς Βαζίροις ὡς ἔμαθον, ἀπογνόντες τὰ σφέτερα πράγματα ἀμφὶ μέσας νύκτας τὴν πόλιν ἐκλείπουσιν, ἔφυγον δὲ ἐς τὴν πέτραν. ὡς δὲ καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι Βάρβαροι ἔπραττον· ἀπολιπόντες τὰς πόλεις ξύμπαντες ἔφευγον ἐς τὴν πέτραν τὴν ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ τὴν Ἄορνον καλουμένην. μέγα γάρ τι τοῦτο χρῆμα πέτρας ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ ταύτῃ ἐστί, καὶ λόγος ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς κατέχει οὐδὲ Ἡρακλεῖ τῷ  
 2 Διὸς ἀλωτὸν γενέσθαι τὴν πέτραν. εἰ μὲν δὴ καὶ ἐς Ἰνδοὺς ἀφίκετο ὁ Ἡρακλῆς ὁ Θηβαῖος ἢ ὁ Τύριος ἢ ὁ Αἰγύπτιος ἐς οὐδέτερα ἔχω ἰσχυρίσασθαι· μάλλον δὲ δοκῶ ὅτι οὐκ ἀφίκετο, ἀλλὰ πάντα γὰρ ὅσα χαλεπὰ οἱ ἄνθρωποι ἐς τοσόνδε ἄρα αὐξουσιν αὐτῶν τὴν χαλεπότητα, ὡς καὶ τῷ Ἡρακλεῖ ἂν ἄπορα γενέσθαι μυθεύειν. καὶ γὰρ ὑπὲρ τῆς πέτρας ταύτης οὕτω γινώσκω, τὸν Ἡρακλέα ἐς κόμπον τοῦ λόγου ἐπιφημίζεσθαι.

Coenus depart with most of the army, made light of the Macedonians, supposing that they would not be their equals in the field, and sallied out into the plain; there was a fierce battle, in which about five hundred of the barbarians fell, and over seventy were taken alive; the rest took refuge in the city, where they were now more firmly barred from the country by those who held the  
 9 stronghold facing the wall. The siege of Ora caused Alexander no difficulty; he attacked the walls at once, seized the city at the first attempt, and captured the elephants left there.

28. When the inhabitants of Bazira learnt this, they despaired of their position, and about midnight deserted the city and fled to the rock, as did the other barbarians; leaving their cities they all fled to the rock in this neighbourhood called Aornos. It is an enormous sort of rock in this country, and the prevalent story about it is that even Heracles the son of Zeus was unable to capture it. In fact I  
 2 cannot assert with confidence if Heracles, whether the Theban or the Tyrian or the Egyptian Heracles,<sup>1</sup> ever actually reached India; I incline to think that he did not, but that men will magnify difficulties they meet, so far as to make up a story that even Heracles would not have overcome them. So it is my own view about this rock, that the name of Heracles is

1 A's comment cf. App. IV 4. § 4, if not also 30, 4, shows that the story stood in one of A's main sources, perhaps Ar. rather than Pt., cf. App. XVI in vol ii.; A. first gives it with reserve, because of his own disbelief that the Greek Heracles had come to Aornos, but then treats it as a fact that Al. believed it. The story of the dimensions of Aornos (Pt/Ar?) is certainly well-founded, cf. Sir A. Stein (App. VIII 2) pp. 128 ff. D. 85, 2; QC. viii 11, 2 tell that Heracles was thwarted by an earthquake, Strabo (incredulous of the whole tale) that he was thrice repulsed (xv 1, 8). No doubt there were many variants. Fuller 245 ff. supplies plan and photographs of Aornos = Pir-Sar.

- 3 τὸν μὲν δὴ κύκλον τῆς πέτρας λέγουσιν ἐς διακοσίους σταδίου μάλιστα εἶναι, ὕψος δὲ αὐτῆς, ἵναπερ χθαμαλώτατον, σταδίων ἔνδεκα, καὶ ἀνάβασιν χειροποίητον μίαν χαλεπὴν· εἶναι δὲ καὶ ὕδωρ ἐν ἄκρᾳ τῇ πέτρᾳ πολὺ καὶ καθαρὸν, πηγὴν ἀνίσχουσαν, ὡς καὶ ἀπορρεῖν ἀπὸ τῆς πηγῆς ὕδωρ, καὶ ὕλην καὶ γῆν ἀγαθὴν ἐργάσιμον ὄσσην καὶ χιλίοις ἀνθρώποις ἀποχρῶσαν ἂν εἶναι ἐργάζεσθαι.
- 4 Καὶ ταῦτα ἀκούοντα Ἀλέξανδρον πόθος λαμβάνει ἐξελεῖν καὶ τοῦτο τὸ ὄρος, οὐχ ἤκιστα ἐπὶ τῷ ἀμφὶ τὸν Ἡρακλέα μύθῳ πεφημισμένῳ. τὰ μὲν δὴ Ὁρα καὶ τὰ Μάσσαγα
- 5 φρούρια ἐποίησεν ἐπὶ τῇ χώρᾳ, τὰ Βάζιρα δὲ πόλιν<sup>1</sup> ἐξετείχισε. καὶ οἱ ἀμφὶ Ἡφαιστιώνᾳ τε καὶ Περδίκκᾳ αὐτῷ ἄλλην πόλιν ἐκτειχίσαντες, Ὀροβάτις ὄνομα τῇ πόλει ἦν, καὶ φρουρὰν καταλιπόντες ὡς ἐπὶ τὸν Ἰνδὸν ποταμὸν ἦσαν· ὡς δὲ ἀφίκοντο, ἔπρασσον ἤδη ὅσα ἐς τὸ ζεύξαι τὸν Ἰνδὸν ὑπὸ Ἀλεξάνδρου ἐτέτακτο.
- 6 Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ τῆς μὲν χώρας τῆς ἐπὶ τὰδε τοῦ Ἰνδοῦ ποταμοῦ σατράπην κατέστησε Νικάνορα τῶν ἐταίρων. αὐτὸς δὲ τὰ μὲν πρῶτα ὡς ἐπὶ τὸν Ἰνδὸν ποταμὸν ἦγε, καὶ πόλιν τε Πευκελαῶτιν οὐ πόρρω τοῦ Ἰνδοῦ ὠκισμένην ὁμολογία παρεστήσατο καὶ ἐν αὐτῇ φρουρὰν καταστήσας τῶν Μακεδόνων καὶ Φίλιππον ἐπὶ τῇ φρουρᾷ ἡγεμόνα, ὃ δὲ καὶ ἄλλα προσηγάγετο μικρὰ πολίσματα πρὸς τῷ Ἰνδῷ ποταμῷ ὠκισμένα. ξυνείποντο δὲ αὐτῷ Κωφαῖός τε καὶ Ἀσσαγέτης οἱ
- 7 ὑπαρχοὶ τῆς χώρας. ἀφικόμενος δὲ ἐς Ἐμβόλιμα πόλιν, ἣ

1 Roos inserted <τῆν> before πόλιν.

- 3 brought into the tale as a boast. The circumference of the rock, it is said, is about two hundred stades, its height at its lowest part eleven stades,<sup>2</sup> with only one way up, made by hand and rough. On the top of the rock there is said to be plenty of pure water which comes from a perennial spring, from which water actually pours out, as well as wood and good arable land which would be enough for a thousand men to till.
- 4 As soon as Alexander heard this, he was seized with a longing to capture this mountain too, not least because of the legend about Heracles.<sup>3</sup> He made Ora and Massaga into forts to control the
- 5 district, and fortified Bazira as a city. Hephaestion, Perdikkas and their men fortified another city for him, called Orobatis, and leaving a garrison there went on towards the river Indus; on arrival, they were engaged in following all Alexander's instructions for bridging the Indus.
- 6 Alexander appointed Nicanor, one of the Companions, satrap of the region this side of the river Indus. He himself first went towards the river Indus and took over by surrender the city of Peucelaotis, situated not far from it, and set a Macedonian garrison there with Philippus as commandant; he also took over various small towns lying near the river Indus. Cophaeus and Assagetes, the hyparchs of
- 7 the country, were in attendance on him. Then on reaching

2 Cf. iv 21, 2 n.

3 App. IV 3.



ξύνεγγυς τῆς πέτρας τῆς Ἀόρνου ᾠκέϊτο, Κρατερὸν μὲν ξὺν  
 μέρει τῆς στρατιᾶς καταλείπει αὐτοῦ, σῖτόν τε ἐς τὴν πόλιν  
 ὡς πλείστον ξυνάγειν <κελεύσας><sup>1</sup> καὶ ὅσα ἄλλα ἐς χρόνιον  
 τριβήν, ὡς ἐντεῦθεν ὀρμωμένους τοὺς Μακεδόνας χρονίῳ  
 8 πολιορκίᾳ ἐκτρυχῶσαι τοὺς κατέχοντας τὴν πέτραν, εἰ μὴ ἐξ  
 ἐφόδου ληφθείη. αὐτὸς δὲ τοὺς τοξότας τε ἀναλαβὼν καὶ τοὺς  
 Ἀγριᾶνας καὶ τὴν Κοίνου τάξιν καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς ἄλλης φάλαγγος  
 ἐπιλέξας τοὺς κουφοτάτους τε καὶ ἅμα εὐοπλοτάτους καὶ τῶν  
 ἐταίρων ἰππέων ἐς διακοσίους καὶ ἵπποτοξότας ἐς ἑκατὸν  
 προσήγε τῇ πέτρᾳ. καὶ ταύτῃ μὲν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ  
 κατεστρατοπεδεύσατο, ἵνα ἐπιτήδειον αὐτῷ ἐφαίμετο, τῇ δὲ  
 ὑστεραίᾳ ὀλίγον προελθὼν ὡς πρὸς τὴν πέτραν αὐθις  
 ἐστρατοπεδεύσατο.

29. Καὶ ἐν τούτῳ ἦκον παρ' αὐτὸν τῶν προσχώρων τινές,  
 σφᾶς τε αὐτοὺς ἐνδιδόντες καὶ ἠγγήσεσθαι φάσκοντες ἐς τῆς  
 πέτρας τὸ ἐπιμαχώτατον, ὅθεν οὐ χαλεπὸν αὐτῷ ἔσεσθαι ἐλεῖν  
 τὸ χωρίον. καὶ ξὺν τούτοις πέμπει Πτολεμαῖον τὸν Λάγου τὸν  
 σωματοφύλακα τοὺς τε Ἀγριᾶνας ἄγοντα καὶ τοὺς ψιλοὺς  
 τοὺς ἄλλους καὶ τῶν ὑπασπιστῶν ἐπιλέκτους, προστάξας,  
 ἐπειδὰν καταλάβῃ τὸ χωρίον, κατέχειν μὲν αὐτὸ ἰσχυρᾷ  
 2 φυλακῇ, οἳ δὲ σημαίνειν ὅτι ἔχεται. καὶ Πτολεμαῖος ἐλθὼν  
 ὁδὸν τραχεῖάν τε καὶ δύσπορον λανθάνει τοὺς βαρβάρους  
 κατασχὼν τὸν τόπον· καὶ τοῦτον χάρακι ἐν κύκλῳ καὶ τάφρῳ  
 ὀχυρώσας πυρσὸν

1 Some such word must have been omitted (Polak).

the city of Embolima, which lay near the rock of Aornos, he left  
 Craterus there with part of the army with instructions to get as  
 much grain as possible into the city and everything else a long delay  
 would make necessary, so that the Macedonians might use the city  
 as a base, and wear out the holders of the rock by a long blockade, if  
 it were not captured by first assault. He himself took the archers,  
 8 the Agrianians and Coenus' battalion and, selecting the most  
 nimble but at the same time the best armed men from the rest of  
 the phalanx, about two hundred of the Companion cavalry and a  
 hundred mounted archers, approached the rock. That day he  
 encamped in a place he thought convenient; on the next he  
 advanced a little nearer the rock and camped again.

29. At this point some of the neighbouring people came to  
 Alexander and surrendered, promising to lead him to the part of the  
 rock which could best be assaulted, from which he could capture  
 the position without difficulty.<sup>1</sup> With these men he sent Ptolemy  
 son of Lagus, the bodyguard, in command of the Agrianians, the  
 light troops including men chosen from the hypaspists,<sup>2</sup> ordering  
 him as soon as he captured the position to occupy it with a strong  
 garrison, and signal to him that it was in his hands. Ptolemy pursued  
 2 a rough and difficult track and seized the place, unobserved by the  
 barbarians; he strengthened it with a stockade all round and a  
 trench, and raised a fire-signal from the height where

1 See also D. 85 f.; QC. viii 11. Pt. is evidently A's source (even if  
 the allusions to Heracles are inserted from Ar.). See iii 29, 7 n. Note  
 that Pt. records an implied criticism of himself in § 4. Chares (Jacoby  
 no. 125 F. 16) has an anecdote that may relate to this siege and date it  
 c. April 326 B.C., cf. Stein pp. 152 f.

2 Introd. 62.

- αἶρει ἀπὸ τοῦ ὄρους ἔνθεν ὀφθήσεσθαι ὑπὸ Ἀλεξάνδρου  
 ἔμελλεν. καὶ ὤφθη τε ἅμα ἢ φλόξ καὶ Ἀλέξανδρος ἐπήγε τῇ  
 ὑστεραία τὴν στρατιάν· ἀμυνομένων δὲ τῶν βαρβάρων οὐδὲν  
 3 πλέον αὐτῷ ὑπὸ δυσχωρίας ἐγίγνετο. ὡς δὲ Ἀλεξάνδρῳ  
 ἄπορον τὴν προσβολὴν κατέμαθον οἱ βάρβαροι,  
 ἀναστρέψαντες τοῖς ἀμφὶ Πτολεμαῖον αὐτοὶ προσέβαλλον· καὶ  
 γίγνεται αὐτῶν τε καὶ τῶν Μακεδόνων μάχη καρτερά, τῶν μὲν  
 διασπάσαι τὸν χάρακα σπουδῆν ποιουμένων, τῶν Ἰνδῶν,  
 Πτολεμαίου δὲ διαφυλάξαι τὸ χωρίον· καὶ μείον σχόντες οἱ  
 βάρβαροι ἐν τῷ ἀκροβολισμῷ νυκτὸς ἐπιγενομένης  
 ἀπεχώρησαν.
- 4 Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ τῶν Ἰνδῶν τινα τῶν αὐτομόλων πιστόν τε  
 ἄλλως καὶ τῶν χωρίων δαήμονα ἐπιλεξάμενος πέμπει παρὰ  
 Πτολεμαῖον τῆς νυκτὸς, γράμματα φέροντα [τὸν Ἰνδόν],<sup>1</sup> ἵνα  
 ἐνεγέγραπτο, ἐπειδὴν αὐτὸς προσβάλλῃ τῇ πέτρᾳ, τὸν δὲ  
 ἐπιέναι τοῖς βαρβάροις κατὰ τὸ ὄρος μηδὲ ἀγαπᾶν ἐν φυλακῇ  
 5 ἔχοντα τὸ χωρίον, ὡς ἀμφοτέρωθεν βαλλομένους τοὺς Ἰνδοὺς  
 ἀμφιβόλους γίγνεσθαι. καὶ αὐτὸς ἅμα τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἄρας ἐκ τοῦ  
 στρατοπέδου προσῆγε τὴν στρατιάν κατὰ τὴν πρόσβασιν, ἣ  
 Πτολεμαῖος λαθὼν ἀνέβη, γνώμην ποιούμενος, ὡς, εἰ ταύτη  
 βιασάμενος ξυμμίξει τοῖς ἀμφὶ Πτολεμαῖον, οὐ χαλεπὸν ἔτι  
 6 ἐσόμενον αὐτῷ τὸ ἔργον. καὶ ξυνέβη οὕτως. ἔστε μὲν γὰρ ἐπὶ  
 μεσημβρίαν ξυνειστήκει καρτερὰ μάχη τοῖς τε Ἰνδοῖς καὶ  
 τοῖς Μακεδόσιν, τῶν μὲν ἐκβιαζομένων ἐς τὴν πρόσβασιν,  
 τῶν δὲ βαλλόντων ἀνιόντας· ὡς δὲ οὐκ ἀνίεσαν οἱ Μακεδόνες,  
 ἄλλοι ἐπ' ἄλλοις

1 Deleted by Polak.

- Alexander was likely to see it. The flare was seen at once, and next  
 day Alexander brought up his army; the barbarians offered  
 opposition and he had no success, owing to difficulties of terrain.  
 3 But as soon as the barbarians realized that Alexander's advance was  
 impracticable, they turned and attacked Ptolemy and his troops,  
 and a fierce battle took place between them and the Macedonians,  
 the Indians trying strenuously to pull down the stockade, Ptolemy  
 to keep his hold on the position; the barbarians had the worst of the  
 exchange of missiles, and withdrew at nightfall.
- 4 Alexander selected a deserter from the Indians, whom he  
 trusted and who also had exact knowledge of the locality, and sent  
 him by night to Ptolemy with a letter directing him, as soon as  
 Alexander himself approached the rock, to attack the barbarians  
 from the height and not to content himself with merely defending  
 the position; the Indians would then not know which way to turn,  
 when they were fired on from both sides. At dawn Alexander  
 5 himself moved from his camp and brought his army to the approach  
 by which Ptolemy had secretly ascended, reckoning that if he could  
 force his way in this direction and join Ptolemy's force, he would  
 have no more difficulty in the task. That was what happened. Until  
 6 midday there was a fierce battle between the Indians and the  
 Macedonians, who tried to force the approach, while the Indians  
 volleyed at them as they climbed up. But as the Macedonians kept  
 constantly coming up, one detachment after another, while their

ἐπιόντες, οἱ δὲ πρόσθεν ἀναπauόμενοι, μόγις δὴ ἀμφὶ δείλην ἐκράτησαν τῆς παρόδου καὶ ξυνέμιξαν τοῖς ξύν Πτολεμαίω. ἐκεῖθεν δὲ ὁμοῦ ἤδη γενομένη ἡ στρατιὰ πᾶσα ἐπήγετο αὐθις ὡς ἐπ' αὐτὴν τὴν πέτραν· ἀλλὰ γὰρ ἔτι ἄπορος ἦν αὐτῇ ἡ προσβολή, ταύτη μὲν δὴ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ τοῦτο τὸ τέλος γίγνεται.

7 Ὑπὸ δὲ τὴν ἕω παραγγέλλει στρατιώτῃ ἐκάστῳ κόπτειν χάρακας ἑκατὸν κατ' ἄνδρα. καὶ οὗτοι κεκομμένοι ἦσαν καὶ αὐτὸς ἐχώννυν ἀρξάμενος ἀπὸ τῆς κορυφῆς τοῦ λόφου, ἵνα ἐστρατοπεδευκότες ἦσαν, ὡς ἐπὶ τὴν πέτραν χῶμα μέγα, ἔνθεν τοξεύματά τε ἂν ἐξικνεῖσθαι ἐς τοὺς προμαχομένους [δυνατὰ] αὐτῷ ἐφαίνετο καὶ ἀπὸ μηχανῶν βέλη ἀφιέμενα· καὶ ἐχώννυν αὐτῷ πᾶς τις ἀντιλαμβανόμενος τοῦ ἔργου· καὶ αὐτὸς ἐφειστήκει θεατῆς καὶ ἐπαινέτης τοῦ ξύν προθυμία περαινομένου, κολαστῆς δὲ τοῦ ἐν τῷ παραχρήμα ἐκλιπούς.

30. Τῇ μὲν δὴ πρώτη ἡμέρᾳ ὡς ἐπὶ στάδιον ἔχωσε αὐτῷ ὁ στρατός. ἐς δὲ τὴν ὑστεραίαν οἱ τε σφενδονῆται σφενδονῶντες ἐς τοὺς Ἴνδους ἐκ τοῦ ἤδη κεχωσμένου καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν μηχανῶν βέλη ἀφιέμενα ἀνέστειλλε τῶν Ἰνδῶν τὰς ἐκδρομὰς τὰς ἐπὶ τοὺς χωνύοντας. καὶ ἐχώννυν αὐτῷ ἐς τρεῖς ἡμέρας ξυνεχῶς τὸ χωρίον. τῇ τετάρτῃ δὲ βιασάμενοι τῶν Μακεδόνων οὐ πολλοὶ κατέσχον ὀλίγον γήλοφον ἰσόπεδον τῇ πέτρᾳ. καὶ Ἀλέξανδρος οὐδέν τι ἐλινύων ἐπήγε τὸ χῶμα ξυνάψαι ἐθέλων τὸ χωνύμενον τῷ γηλόφῳ, ὄντινα οἱ ὀλίγοι αὐτῷ ἤδη κατεῖχον.

2 Οἱ δὲ Ἴνδοι πρὸς τε τὴν ἀδιήγητον τόλμαν τῶν ἐς τὸν γήλοφον βιασαμένων Μακεδόνων ἐκπλαγέντες

predecessors rested from the attack, with much difficulty they mastered the ascent in the afternoon and joined up with Ptolemy's force. From that moment the army, now united, made a renewed onslaught as a whole on the rock itself. But the attack there still proved impracticable. This was the close of operations that day.

7 At dawn Alexander told each soldier to cut a hundred stakes; when they had all been cut, he himself started to raise a great mound, beginning from the top of the crest of the hill on which they had encamped and extending up to the rock; from this he thought arrows and missiles hurled from the engines would reach the defenders. All hands took part in the work of building the mound; Alexander himself stood by, watching and approving where it proceeded with vigour, and punishing failures to make immediate progress.

30. On the first day the army built the mound to about a stade in length. On the next, the slingers fired on the Indians from the mound so far as it had been built, and missiles were flung from the engines; this checked the sallies the Indians made against the builders of the mound. The pile went on growing for three days continuously on the chosen spot. On the fourth a few Macedonians made a rush and held a small hill on the same level as the rock, and Alexander without a moment's delay extended the mound, anxious to connect it with the hill this small party was already holding for him.

2 The Indians were astounded at the indescribable boldness of the Macedonians who had forced their

- καὶ τὸ χῶμα ξυνάπτον ἤδη ὄρωντες, τοῦ μὲν ἀπομάχεσθαι ἔτι ἀπέιχοντο, πέμψαντες δὲ κήρυκας σφῶν παρὰ Ἀλέξανδρον ἐθέλειν ἔφασκον ἐνδοῦναι τὴν πέτραν, εἴ σφισι σπένδοιτο. γνώμην δὲ ἐπεποίητο ἐν τῷ ἔτι διαμέλλοντι τῶν σπονδῶν
- 3 διαγαγόντες τὴν ἡμέραν νυκτὸς ὡς ἕκαστοι διασκεδάννυσθαι ἐπὶ τὰ σφέτερα ἤθη. καὶ τοῦτο ὡς ἐπύθετο Ἀλέξανδρος, ἐνδίδωσιν αὐτοῖς χρόνον τε ἐς τὴν ἀποχώρησιν καὶ τῆς φυλακῆς τὴν κύκλωσιν τὴν πάντη ἀφελεῖν. καὶ αὐτὸς ἔμενει ἔστε ἤρξαντο τῆς ἀποχωρήσεως· καὶ ἐν τούτῳ ἀναλαβὼν τῶν σωματοφυλάκων καὶ τῶν ὑπασπιστῶν ἐς ἑπτακοσίους κατὰ τὸ ἐκλειμμένον τῆς πέτρας ἀνέρχεται ἐς αὐτὴν πρῶτος, καὶ οἱ
- 4 Μακεδόνες ἄλλος ἄλλη ἀνιμῶντες ἀλλήλους ἀνήεσαν. καὶ οὗτοι ἐπὶ τοὺς ἀποχωροῦντας τῶν βαρβάρων τραπόμενοι ἀπὸ ξυνθήματος, πολλοὺς μὲν αὐτῶν ἐν τῇ φυγῇ ἀπέκτειναν, οἱ δὲ καὶ πεφοβημένως ἀποχωροῦντες κατὰ τῶν κρημνῶν ῥύσαντες σφᾶς ἀπέθανον. εἶχετό τε Ἀλεξάνδρῳ ἡ πέτρα ἢ τῷ Ἡρακλεῖ ἄπορος γενομένη καὶ ἔθνευ ἐπ' αὐτῇ Ἀλέξανδρος καὶ κατεσκεύασε φρούριον, παραδοὺς Σισικόττῳ ἐπιμελείσθαι τῆς φρουρᾶς, ὃς ἐξ Ἰνδῶν μὲν πάλαι ἠύτομολήκει ἐς Βάκτρα παρὰ Βῆσσον, Ἀλεξάνδρου δὲ κατασχόντος τὴν χώραν τὴν Βακτρίαν ξυνεστράτευέ τε αὐτῷ καὶ πιστὸς ἐς τὰ μάλιστα ἐφαίνετο.
- 5 Ἄρας δ' ἐκ τῆς πέτρας ἐς τὴν Ἀσσακηνῶν χώραν ἐμβάλλει. Τὸν γὰρ ἀδελφὸν τὸν Ἀσσακάνου ἐξηγγέλλετο τοὺς τε ἐλέφαντας ἔχοντα καὶ τῶν προσχώρων βαρβάρων πολλοὺς ξυμπεφευγέναι ἐς τὰ ταύτη ὄρη. καὶ ἀφικόμενος ἐς Δύρτα πόλιν

- way to the hill, and seeing the mound already connected with it, began to desist from any defence, and sent a herald on their behalf to Alexander, saying they were willing to surrender the rock, on terms being granted them. They had formed a plan of spending the day in the delays incident to the treaty and scattering at night to
- 3 their various homes. But when Alexander discovered this, he gave them time to withdraw and to remove the round of sentries who guarded all points, waited himself till they began their withdrawal and then took some seven hundred of the bodyguards and hypaspists to the deserted part of the rock. He was himself the first to scale it and the Macedonians followed, pulling each other up at
- 4 different points. At a signal they turned on the retreating barbarians and killed many of them in flight; in the panic of their escape some threw themselves down the cliffs and perished. Alexander was now in possession of the rock Heracles could not take, sacrificed on it, and set a garrison there, appointing to command the guard Sisicottus,<sup>1</sup> who had long ago deserted from the Indians and joined Bessus at Bactra, but taken service under Alexander when he became master of Bactria and shown himself especially trustworthy.
- 5 On leaving the rock, Alexander invaded the district of the Assaceniens,<sup>2</sup> for it was reported that Assacanus' brother with the elephants and many of the neighbouring barbarians had taken refuge in the hills there. When he arrived at a city called Dyrta,

1 'Sisicostus', QC. viii 11, 25, recording his appointment.

2 D. 86, 2; QC. viii 12, 1 ff. record different operations against 'Aphrices' or 'Erices'.

- τῶν μὲν <ἐν>οικοῦντων οὐδένα καταλαμβάνει οὐδὲ ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ τῇ πρὸς τῇ πόλει· ἐς δὲ τὴν ὑστεραίαν Νέαρχόν τε καὶ
- 6 Ἀντίοχον τοὺς χιλιάρχους τῶν ὑπασπιστῶν ἐκπέμπει· καὶ Νεάρχῳ μὲν τοὺς Ἀγριᾶνας <καὶ><sup>1</sup> τοὺς ψιλοὺς ἄγειν ἔδωκεν, Ἀντιόχῳ δὲ τὴν τε αὐτοῦ χιλιαρχίαν καὶ δύο ἐπὶ ταύτῃ ἄλλας. ἐστέλλοντο δὲ τὰ τε χωρία κατοψόμενοι καὶ εἴ πού τις τῶν βαρβάρων ξυλλαβεῖν ἐς ἔλεγχον τῶν κατὰ τὴν χώραν, τῶν τε ἄλλων καὶ μάλιστα δὴ τὰ ἀμφὶ τοὺς ἐλέφαντας ἔμελεν αὐτῷ μαθεῖν.
- 7 Αὐτὸς δὲ ὡς ἐπὶ τὸν Ἰνδὸν ποταμὸν ἤδη ἦγε, καὶ ἡ στρατιὰ αὐτῷ ὠδοποίει τὸ πρόσω ἰούσα ἄπορα ἄλλως ὄντα τὰ ταύτῃ χωρία. ἐνταῦθα ξυλλαμβάνει ὀλίγους τῶν βαρβάρων, καὶ παρὰ τούτων ἔμαθεν, ὅτι οἱ μὲν ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ Ἰνδοὶ παρὰ Ἀβισάρῃ ἀποπεφευγότες εἶεν, τοὺς δὲ ἐλέφαντας ὅτι αὐτοῦ κατέλιπον νέμεσθαι πρὸς τῷ ποταμῷ τῷ Ἰνδῷ· καὶ τούτους
- 8 ἠγγήσασθαι οἱ τὴν ὁδὸν ἐκέλευσεν ὡς ἐπὶ τοὺς ἐλέφαντας. εἰσὶ δὲ Ἰνδῶν πολλοὶ κυνηγέται τῶν ἐλεφάντων, καὶ τούτους σπουδῇ ἀμφ' αὐτὸν εἶχεν Ἀλέξανδρος, καὶ τότε ἐθήρα ξὺν τούτοις τοὺς ἐλέφαντας· καὶ δύο μὲν αὐτῶν ἀπόλλυνται κατὰ κρημνοῦ σφᾶς ῥύψαντες ἐν τῇ διώξει, οἱ δὲ ἄλλοι
- 9 ξυλληφθέντες ἔφερόν τε τοὺς ἀμβάτας καὶ τῇ στρατιᾷ ξυνετάσσοντο. ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ ὕλη ἐργασίμῳ ἐνέτυχε παρὰ τὸν ποταμὸν, καὶ αὕτη ἐκόπη αὐτῷ ὑπὸ τῆς στρατιᾶς καὶ ναῦς ἐποιήθησαν. καὶ αὗται κατὰ τὸν Ἰνδὸν ποταμὸν ἤγοντο ὡς ἐπὶ τὴν γέφυραν, ἣντινα Ἡφαιστίων καὶ Περδίκκας αὐτῷ ἐξωκοδομηκότες πάλαι ἦσαν.

1 Added by Gronovius.

- he found none of the inhabitants there, nor in the neighbourhood; but next day he sent out Nearchus and Antiochus, the chiliarchs of the hypaspists<sup>3</sup>; Nearchus was given the Agrianians and the light troops, and Antiochus his own chiliarchy and two more. They were sent to spy out the land and to seize any of the barbarians they might find for interrogation about details of the district; he was especially anxious to find out about the elephants.
- 7 He was himself now on the way to the river Indus, and his army as it went forward made a road, since the country here was otherwise impracticable. Here he seized a few barbarians and learnt from them that the Indians of the district had fled to Abisares,<sup>4</sup> but that they had left their elephants grazing there near the river Indus. He commanded them to guide him on the way to the elephants.
- 8 Many Indians are hunters of elephants, and Alexander took pains to have them among his attendants, and at this time had their help in elephant hunts. Two of the beasts threw themselves over cliffs in the pursuit and perished; the rest were captured, permitted riders to mount them, and were put on the strength of the army. He also
- 9 found a wood good for felling near the river, and had it cut down by his troops, and ships built, which went down the river Indus to the bridge Hephaestion and Perdikkas had built for Alexander long before.<sup>5</sup>

3 Introd. 61.

4 iv 27, 7 n.

5 v 7, 1 n.