

1. Ἐν δὲ τῇ χώρᾳ ταύτῃ, ἣντινα μεταξὺ τοῦ τε Κωφῆνος καὶ τοῦ Ἰνδοῦ ποταμοῦ ἐπήλθεν Ἀλέξανδρος, καὶ Νῦσαν πόλιν ὠκίσθαι λέγουσι· τὸ δὲ κτίσμα εἶναι Διονύσου· Διώνυσον δὲ κτίσαι τὴν Νῦσαν ἐπεὶ τε Ἰνδοὺς ἐχειρώσατο, ὅστις δὴ οὗτος ὁ Διώνυσος καὶ ὁπότε ἢ ὅθεν ἐπ' Ἰνδοὺς
- 2 ἐστράτευσεν· οὐ γὰρ ἔχω συμβαλεῖν εἰ ὁ Θηβαῖος Διώνυσος [ὄς] ἐκ Θηβῶν ἢ ἐκ Τμώλου τοῦ Λυδίου ὀρμηθεὶς ἐπὶ Ἰνδοὺς ἦκε στρατιὰν ἄγων, τοσαῦτα μὲν ἔθνη μάχιμα καὶ ἄγνωστα τοῖς τότε Ἑλλησιν ἐπελθόν, οὐδὲν δὲ αὐτῶν ἄλλο ὅτι μὴ τὸ Ἰνδῶν βία χειρωσάμενος· πλήν γε δὴ ὅτι οὐκ ἀκριβῆ ἐξεταστὴν χρὴ εἶναι τῶν ὑπὲρ τοῦ θείου ἐκ παλαιοῦ μεμνημένων. τὰ γὰρ τοι κατὰ τὸ εἰκὸς ξυντιθέντι οὐ πιστά, ἐπειδὴν τὸ θεῖόν τις προσθῆ τῷ λόγῳ, οὐ πάντῃ ἄπιστα φαίνεται.
- 3 Ὡς δὲ ἐπέβη τῇ Νύσῃ Ἀλέξανδρος, ἐκπέμπουσι παρ' αὐτὸν οἱ Νυσαῖοι τὸν κρατιστεύοντα σφῶν, ὄνομα δὲ ἦν αὐτῷ Ἄκουφισ, καὶ ξὺν αὐτῷ πρέσβεις τῶν δοκιμωτάτων τριάκοντα,
- 4 δεησομένους Ἀλεξάνδρου ἀφεῖναι τῷ θεῷ τὴν πόλιν· παρελθεῖν τε δὴ ἐς τὴν σκηνὴν τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρου τοὺς πρέσβεις καὶ καταλαβεῖν καθήμενον κεκοιμημένον ἔτι ἐκ τῆς ὁδοῦ ξὺν τοῖς ὅπλοις τοῖς τε ἄλλοις καὶ τὸ κράνος [αὐτῷ] περικείμενον καὶ τὸ δόρυ ἔχοντα· θαμβήσαι

1. In this country between the rivers Cophen and Indus which Alexander invaded it is said that a city called Nysa was also situated, a foundation of Dionysus in the time when he subdued the Indians, whoever this Dionysus was, and whenever or whence he marched
- 2 against the Indians; for my part I cannot gather whether the Theban Dionysus, starting from Thebes or from the Lydian Tmolus, led an army against the Indians, after assailing so many warlike peoples, unknown to the Greeks of that time, and yet subduing none of them by force but the Indians; still, one must not be a precise critic of ancient legends that concern the divine. For things which are incredible if you consider them on the basis of probability appear not wholly incredible, when one adds the divine element to the story.¹
- 3 When Alexander approached Nysa, the people of Nysa sent out to meet him the man of greatest power among them, whose name was Acuphis, with thirty envoys of the highest repute, to beg
- 4 Alexander to leave the city to the god. The envoys, it is said, came into Alexander's tent, and found him sitting still all dusty from the journey with his ordinary armour on and wearing his helmet and carrying his spear; they were amazed at the sight and fell to

1 Cf. 3, 1-4; App. XVII 7 f. on E.; XVI on the Nysa story.

τε ἰδόντας τὴν ὄψιν καὶ πεσόντας ἐς γῆν ἐπὶ πολὺ σιγῆν ἔχειν. ὡς δὲ ἐξανέστησέ τε αὐτοὺς Ἀλέξανδρος καὶ θαρρεῖν ἐκέλευσε, τότε δὴ τὸν Ἀκουφίην ἀρξάμενον λέγειν ὧδε.

- 5 ὦ βασιλεῦ, δέονται σου Νυσαῖοι εἶσαι σφᾶς ἐλευθέρους τε καὶ αὐτονόμους αἰδοῖ τοῦ Διονύσου. Διόνυσος γὰρ ἐπειδὴ χειρωσάμενος τὸ Ἰνδῶν ἔθνος ἐπὶ θάλασσαν ὀπίσω κατήει τὴν Ἑλληνικὴν, ἐκ τῶν ἀπομάχων στρατιωτῶν, οἳ δὴ αὐτῷ καὶ βάκχοι ἦσαν, κτίζει τὴν πόλιν τήνδε μνημόσυνον τῆς αὐτοῦ πλάνης τε καὶ νίκης τοῖς ἔπειτα ἐσόμενον, καθάπερ οὖν καὶ σὺ αὐτὸς Ἀλεξάνδρειάν τε ἔκτισας τὴν πρὸς Καυκάσῳ ὄρει καὶ ἄλλην Ἀλεξάνδρειαν ἐν τῇ Αἰγυπτίῳ γῆ, καὶ ἄλλας πολλὰς τὰς μὲν ἔκτικας ἤδη, τὰς δὲ καὶ κτίσεις ἀνὰ χρόνον,
- 6 οἷα δὴ πλείονα Διονύσου ἔργα ἀποδειξάμενος. Νῦσάν τε οὖν ἐκάλεσε τὴν πόλιν Διόνυσος ἐπὶ τῆς τροφοῦ τῆς Νύσης καὶ τὴν χώραν Νυσαίαν· τὸ δὲ ὄρος ὃ τι περ πλησίον ἐστὶ τῆς πόλεως καὶ τοῦτο Μηρὸν ἐπωνόμασε Διόνυσος, ὅτι δὴ κατὰ τὸν μῦθον ἐν μηρῷ τῷ τοῦ Διὸς ἠϋξήθη. καὶ ἐκ τούτου ἐλευθέραν τε οἰκοῦμεν τὴν Νῦσαν καὶ αὐτοὶ αὐτόνομοι καὶ ἐν κόσμῳ πολιτεύοντες· τῆς δὲ ἐκ Διονύσου οἰκίσεως καὶ τόδε σοι γενέσθω τεκμήριον· κίττος γὰρ οὐκ ἄλλη τῆς Ἰνδῶν γῆς φυόμενος παρ' ἡμῖν φύεται.

2. Καὶ ταῦτα πάντα Ἀλεξάνδρῳ πρὸς θυμοῦ ἐγίγνετο ἀκούειν καὶ ἤθελε πιστὰ εἶναι τὰ ὑπὲρ τοῦ Διονύσου τῆς πλάνης μυθεύμενα· καὶ κτίσμα εἶναι Διονύσου τὴν Νῦσαν ἤθελεν, ὡς ἤδη τε ἤκειν

the ground and for a long time kept silent. But when Alexander raised them up and told them to take heart, then Acuphis began and spoke as follows:

- 5 'Sire, the people of Nysa beg you to leave them free and independent, out of reverence for Dionysus. For when Dionysus had subdued the nation of the Indians, and was returning towards the Greek Sea, he founded this city with the men unfit for service among his soldiers, who were also his Bacchi, to be a memorial to posterity of his wanderings and victory, just as you have yourself founded Alexandria by Mount Caucasus and another Alexandria in Egypt, and as there are many other cities you have founded already or will found in course of time and thus give proof of more achievements than those of Dionysus. Now Dionysus called this city
- 6 Nysa in honour of his nurse Nyse, and the territory Nysaeian; and he named the mountain near the city Merus, since according to the legend he grew in the thigh of Zeus.² From that time this city of Nysa in which we dwell has been free, and we ourselves independent, with an orderly civic life. And it should also be a proof that Dionysus was our founder that ivy grows nowhere else in India, but only with us.'

2. To hear all this was congenial to Alexander and he wanted to believe the tale about the wandering of Dionysus; he also wanted Nysa to be founded by Dionysus, in which case he had already reached the

² In Greek legend Dionysus was concealed from Hera by Zeus in his thigh (*mēros*) and then reared by nymphs in Nysa, a place that had been located in various remote lands. QC. viii 10, 12 derives the legend from the name of the mountain; so too probably Meg., whence *Ind.* 1, 5 (which should not be amended) and D. ii 38, 4. Acuphis' speech: App. XXVII 4.

αὐτὸς ἔνθα ἦλθε Διόνυσος καὶ ἐπέκεινα <ἂν> ἐλθεῖν Διονύσου· οὐδ' ἂν Μακεδόνας τὸ πρόσω ἀπαξιῶσαι συμπονεῖν οἱ ἔτι
 2 κατὰ ζήλον τῶν Διονύσου ἔργων. καὶ δίδωσιν ἐλευθέρους τε εἶναι τοὺς οἰκήτορας τῆς Νύσης καὶ αὐτονόμους. ὥς δὲ καὶ τοὺς νόμους ἐπύθετο αὐτῶν καὶ ὅτι πρὸς τῶν ἀρίστων τὸ πολίτευμα ἔχεται, ταῦτά τε ἐπήνεσε καὶ ἠξίωσε τῶν τε ἰππέων οἱ ξυμπέμψαι ἐς τριακοσίους καὶ τῶν προεστώτων τοῦ πολιτεύματος, ἦσαν καὶ αὐτοὶ τριακόσιοι, ἑκατὸν τοὺς ἀρίστους ἐπιλεξαμένους. Ἄκουφιν δὲ εἶναι τὸν ἐπιλεγόμενον,
 3 ὄντινα καὶ ὑπαρχον τῆς χώρας τῆς Νυσαίας κατέστησεν αὐτός. τὸν δὲ Ἄκουφιν ταῦτα ἀκούσαντα ἐπιμειδιᾶσαι λέγεται τῷ λόγῳ καὶ Ἀλέξανδρον ἐρέσθαι ἐφ' ὅτῳ ἐγέλασεν ὑποκρίνασθαι δ' Ἄκουφιν· καὶ πῶς ἂν, ὦ βασιλεῦ, μία πόλις ἑκατὸν ἀνδρῶν ἀγαθῶν ἐρημωθεῖσα ἔτι καλῶς πολιτεύοιτο; ἀλλὰ σύ, εἴ σοι μέλει Νυσαίων, τοὺς ἰππέας μὲν ἄγεσθαι τοὺς τριακοσίους καὶ εἰ βούλει ἔτι τούτων πλείονας, ἀντὶ δὲ τῶν ἑκατόν, οὐστinas τοὺς ἀρίστους ἐπιλέξαι σὺ κελεύεις, διπλασίους τῶν ἄλλων τῶν κακῶν ἄγεσθαι, ἵ <να> σοι καὶ
 4 αὐθις ἀφικομένῳ δεῦρο ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ τούτῳ κόσμῳ φανείη ἡ πόλις. ταῦτα λέγοντα, λέγειν γὰρ δόξαι φρόνιμα, πείσαι Ἀλέξανδρον. καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἰππέας ξυμπέμπειν οἱ ἐκέλευσε, τοὺς δὲ ἑκατὸν τοὺς ἐπιλέκτους μηκέτι αἰτῆσαι, ἀλλὰ μηδὲ ἀντ' αὐτῶν ἄλλους· τὸν δὲ παῖδα ἄρα τοῦ Ἀκούφιος καὶ τῆς θυγατρὸς τὸν παῖδα ξυμπέμψαι αὐτῷ Ἄκουφιν.
 5 Ἀλέξανδρον δὲ πόθος ἔλαβεν ιδεῖν τὸν χῶρον, ὅπου τινὰ ὑπομνήματα τοῦ Διονύσου οἱ Νυσαῖοι ἐκόμπαζον. ἐλθεῖν τε ἐς τὸ ὄρος τὸν Μηρὸν ξὺν

point Dionysus reached, and would go even farther. He also thought that the Macedonians would not refuse to join him in still further efforts, in emulation of Dionysus' achievements. He granted
 2 freedom and independence to the settlers of Nysa. And when he inquired about their laws and found that their government was in the hands of the best people,¹ he expressed approval of this, at the same time demanding that they should send some three hundred horsemen to accompany him, and also select and send a hundred of the foremost men in the government (they were also three hundred in number). Acuphis was to select them, and Alexander appointed him hyparch of the territory of Nysa. Acuphis is said to have smiled
 3 on hearing hearing Alexander's words; when Alexander asked why he laughed, he replied: 'How, Sire, could a single city be deprived of a hundred good citizens and still be well governed? But if you have the interest of Nysaeans at heart, have the three hundred horsemen sent, or still more, if you wish; but instead of the hundred men, whom you tell me to choose as the best, take twice as many of the inferior citizens, so that on your return here you may think the
 4 city to be in the same good order as now.' These words, which appeared wise, won Alexander's consent. He ordered Acuphis to send the horsemen to accompany him, but no longer to demand the select hundred, nor even any substitutes; however, Acuphis was to send him his son and daughter's son.
 5 Alexander was seized with a yearning² to see the place where the Nysaeans proudly displayed certain memorials of Dionysus. It is said that he went to

1 Indian republics: *Ind.* 12, 7 n.

2 App. V 3; vii 1, 1 n.

τοῖς ἐταίροις τοῖς ἰππεύσι καὶ τῷ πεζικῷ ἀγήματι καὶ ἰδεῖν
 κισσοῦ τε ἀνάπλεων καὶ δάφνης τὸ ὄρος καὶ ἄλση παντοῖα·
 6 καὶ ἰδεῖν σύσκιον, καὶ θήρας ἐν αὐτῷ εἶναι θηρίων
 παντοδαπῶν. καὶ τοὺς Μακεδόνας ἠδέως τὸν κισσὸν ἰδόντας,
 οἷα δὴ διὰ μακροῦ ὄφθέντα (οὐ γὰρ εἶναι ἐν τῇ Ἰνδῶν χώρα
 κισσόν, οὐδὲ ἵναπερ αὐτοῖς ἄμπελοι ἦσαν) στεφάνους σπουδῆ
 ἀπ' αὐτοῦ ποιεῖσθαι, καὶ στεφανώσασθαι ὡς εἶχον,¹
 ἐφυμνούοντας τὸν Διόνυσόν τε καὶ τὰς ἐπωνυμίας τοῦ θεοῦ
 ἀνακαλοῦντας. θύσαι τε αὐτοῦ Ἀλέξανδρον τῷ Διονύσῳ καὶ
 7 εὐωχηθῆναι ὁμοῦ τοῖς ἐταίροις. οἱ δὲ καὶ τάδε ἀνέγραψαν, εἰ
 δὴ τῷ πιστὰ καὶ ταῦτα, πολλοὺς τῶν ἀμφ' αὐτὸν τῶν οὐκ
 ἡμελημένων Μακεδόνων τῷ τε κισσῷ στεφανωσαμένους καὶ
 ὑπὸ τῇ κατακλήσει τοῦ θεοῦ κατασχεθῆναι τε πρὸς τοῦ
 Διονύσου καὶ ἀνεύσσει τὸν θεὸν καὶ βακχεῦσαι.

3. Καὶ ταῦτα ὅπως τις ἐθέλει ὑπολαβὼν ἀπιστείτω ἢ
 πιστευέτω. οὐ γὰρ ἔγωγε Ἐρατοσθένει τῷ Κυρηναίῳ πάντῃ
 ξυμφέρομαι, ὃς λέγει πάντα ὅσα ἐς τὸ θεῖον ἀναφέρεται ἐκ
 Μακεδόνων πρὸς χάριν τῆν Ἀλεξάνδρου ἐς τὸ ὑπέρογκον
 2 ἐπιφημισθῆναι. καὶ γὰρ καὶ σπήλαιον λέγει ἰδόντας ἐν
 Παραπαμισάδαις τοὺς Μακεδόνας καὶ τινα μῦθον ἐπιχώριον
 ἀκούσαντας ἢ καὶ αὐτοὺς ξυθέντας φημίσαι, ὅτι τοῦτο ἄρα
 ἦν τοῦ Προμηθέως τὸ ἄντρον ἵνα ἐδέδετο, καὶ ὁ αἰετὸς ὅτι
 ἐκείσε ἐφοῖτα δαισόμενος τῶν σπλάγχχνων τοῦ Προμηθέως,
 καὶ ὁ Ἡρακλῆς ὅτι ἐκείσε ἀφικόμενος τὸν τε αἰετὸν ἀπέκτεινε
 καὶ τὸν Προμηθεά τῶν δεσμῶν ἀπέλυσε.

1 ὡς καὶ στεφανώσασθαι εἶχον codd. I have adopted
 Vulcanius' transposition.

Mount Merus with the Companion cavalry and the *agema* of foot,
 and saw the mountain full of ivy and laurel, with all sorts of groves;
 he saw how shady it was, and that there was hunting in it for game
 6 of every kind. The Macedonians were delighted to see the ivy, since
 they had seen none for a long time; for there is no ivy in the
 Indians' country, not even where they have vines; and they eagerly
 made wreaths of it and crowned themselves there and then, singing
 hymns to Dionysus and calling on the various names of the god.
 Then Alexander sacrificed there to Dionysus, and feasted with his
 7 Companions. Some have also related³ (if anyone can believe this
 story) that many Macedonians of distinction in his company, after
 crowning themselves with the ivy and invoking the god, were
 possessed by Dionysus, raised the Dionysiac cry, and were
 transported with Bacchic frenzy.

3. However, these tales anyone may believe or not, taking them
 as he thinks fit. For my part I do not wholly agree with
 Eratosthenes the Cyrenaean, who says that all the Macedonians
 ascribe to the divine influence was magnified in this way to please
 2 Alexander. He says for instance that the Macedonians saw a cave
 among the Parapamisadae, and on hearing some local legend about
 it, or making it up themselves, declared that it was Prometheus'
 cave, where he had been chained, and that it was there that the
 eagle used to go, to feed on Prometheus' liver, and that Heracles,
 arriving at this same spot, killed the eagle and released Prometheus
 from

3 'Vulgate.'

3 τὸν δὲ Καύκασον τὸ ὄρος ἐκ τοῦ Πόντου ἐς τὰ πρὸς ἕω μέρη
 τῆς γῆς καὶ τὴν Παραπαμισαδῶν χώραν ὡς ἐπὶ Ἰνδοῦς
 μετάγειν τῷ λόγῳ τοὺς Μακεδόνας, Παραπάμισον ὄντα τὸ
 ὄρος αὐτοὺς καλοῦντας Καύκασον τῆς Ἀλεξάνδρου ἕνεκα
 4 δόξης, ὡς ὑπὲρ τὸν Καύκασον ἄρα ἐλθόντα Ἀλέξανδρον. ἔν τε
 αὐτῇ τῇ Ἰνδῶν γῆ βούς ἰδόντας ἐγκεκαυμένας ῥόπαλον
 τεκμηριούσθαι ἐπὶ τῷδε, ὅτι Ἡρακλῆς ἐς Ἰνδοῦς ἀφίκετο.
 ὁμοία δὲ καὶ ὑπὲρ Διονύσου τῆς πλάνης ἀπιστεῖ
 Ἐρατοσθένης· ἐμοὶ δ' ἐν μέσῳ κείσθων οἱ ὑπὲρ τούτων λόγοι.
 5 Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ ὡς ἀφίκετο ἐπὶ τὸν Ἰνδὸν ποταμόν,
 καταλαμβάνει γέφυράν τε ἐπ' αὐτῷ πεποιημένην πρὸς
 Ἡφαιστίωνος καὶ πλοῖα πολλὰ μὲν σμικρότερα, δύο δὲ
 τριακοντόρους, καὶ παρὰ Ταξίλου τοῦ Ἰνδοῦ δῶρα ἦκοντα
 ἀργυρίου μὲν τάλαντα ἐς διακόσια, ἱερεῖα δὲ βούς μὲν
 6 τρισχιλίας, πρόβατα δὲ ὑπὲρ μύρια, ἐλέφαντας δὲ ἐς
 6 τριάκοντα· καὶ ἱππεῖς δὲ ἑπτακόσιοι αὐτῷ Ἰνδῶν ἐς
 ξυμμαχίαν παρὰ Ταξίλου ἦκον· καὶ τὴν πόλιν Τάξιλα, τὴν
 μεγίστην μεταξὺ Ἰνδοῦ τε ποταμοῦ καὶ Ὑδάσπου, ὅτι αὐτῷ
 Ταξίλης ἐνδίδωσιν. ἐνταῦθα θύει Ἀλέξανδρος τοῖς θεοῖς ὅσοις
 αὐτῷ νόμος καὶ ἀγῶνα ποιεῖ γυμνικὸν καὶ ἵππικὸν ἐπὶ τῷ
 ποταμῷ· καὶ γίγνεται αὐτῷ ἐπὶ τῇ διαβάσει τὰ ἱερά.

4. Ὁ δὲ Ἰνδὸς ποταμὸς ὅτι μέγιστος ποταμῶν ἐστὶ τῶν
 κατὰ τὴν Ἀσίαν τε καὶ τὴν Εὐρώπην, πλὴν Γάγγου, καὶ
 τούτου Ἰνδοῦ ποταμοῦ, καὶ ὅτι αἱ πηγαὶ εἰσιν αὐτῷ ἐπὶ τὰδε
 τοῦ ὄρους τοῦ Παραπαμίσου ἢ Καυκάσου, καὶ ὅτι ἐκδίδωσιν
 ἐς

3 his chains; that the Macedonians in their account transferred
 Mount Caucasus from the Pontus to the eastern parts of the world
 and the country of the Parapamisadae as far as India, and called
 Mount Parapamisus Mount Caucasus, all for the glory of Alexander,
 suggesting that he actually crossed Mount Caucasus; while in India
 4 itself, when they saw cattle branded with a club,¹ they deduced
 from this that Heracles had reached India. Eratosthenes is similarly
 incredulous about the wandering of Dionysus. As far as I am
 concerned, the stories about these things must rest open.

5 On arriving at the river Indus, Alexander found a bridge made
 over it by Hephaestion, and many smaller boats as well as two
triacontoroi; also that Taxilas the Indian had sent gifts of two
 hundred silver Talents, and for sacrificial offering three thousand
 cattle and over ten thousand sheep, with thirty elephants. Seven
 6 hundred Indian cavalry also came from Taxilas as an auxiliary force,
 and Taxilas surrendered to him the city of Taxila, the greatest city
 between the river Indus and the Hydaspes. There Alexander
 sacrificed to the gods to whom it was his custom, and held athletic
 and equestrian games by the river; the sacrifices were favourable to
 the crossing.²

4. The river Indus is the greatest river of Asia and Europe
 except the Ganges, which is also an Indian river. Its springs are on
 this side of Mount Parapamisus or Caucasus, it runs into the great
 sea where

1 Sibae: *Ind.* 5, 12; S. xv 1, 8; App. XVII 26.

2 A. takes up the narrative from iv 30, 9. Route and chronology:
 App. XVII 13. Taxilas: *ib.* 31. *Triacontoroi*: ships of 30 oars, some
 perhaps in two tiers (vi 5, 2); *hemioliai* had one and a half tiers; see L.
 Casson, *Ships and Seamanship in the Anc. World*, 1971, 54 f.; 125; 128
 ff.; 136; *ibid.* 1–6 for rafts made of skins, which were doubtless used
 too (*cf.* ii 2).

- τὴν μεγάλην θάλασσαν τὴν κατὰ Ἰνδοῦς ὡς ἐπὶ νότον ἄνεμον, καὶ ὅτι δίστομός ἐστιν ὁ Ἰνδὸς καὶ αἱ ἐκβολαὶ αὐτοῦ ἀμφότεραι τεναγώδεις, καθάπερ αἱ πέντε τοῦ Ἰστροῦ, καὶ ὅτι Δέλτα ποιεῖ καὶ αὐτὸς ἐν τῇ Ἰνδῶν γῆ τῷ Αἰγυπτίῳ Δέλτα παραπλήσιον καὶ τοῦτο Πάταλα καλεῖται τῇ Ἰνδῶν φωνῇ,
- 2 ταῦτα μὲν ὑπὲρ τοῦ Ἰνδοῦ τὰ μάλιστα οὐκ ἀμφίλογα καὶ ἐμοὶ ἀναγεγράφθω. ἐπεὶ καὶ ὁ Ἰδάσπης καὶ Ἀκεσίνης καὶ Ἰδραώτης καὶ Ἰφασίς, καὶ οὗτοι Ἰνδοὶ ποταμοὶ ὄντες, τῶν μὲν ἄλλων τῶν Ἀσιανῶν ποταμῶν πολὺ τι κατὰ μέγεθος ὑπερφέρουσι, τοῦ Ἰνδοῦ δὲ μείονές εἰσιν καὶ πολὺ δὴ μείονες, ὅπου καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ Ἰνδὸς τοῦ Γάγγου. Κτησίας μὲν δὴ, εἰ δὴ τῷ ἰκανὸς καὶ Κτησίας ἐς τεκμηρίωσιν, ἵνα μὲν στενότητος αὐτὸς αὐτοῦ ὁ Ἰνδὸς ἐστὶ, τεσσαράκοντα σταδίους <λέγει> ὅτι διέχουσιν αὐτῷ αἱ ὄχθαι, ἵνα δὲ πλατύτατος, καὶ ἑκατὸν τὸ πολὺ δὲ εἶναι αὐτοῦ τὸ μέσον τούτων.
- 3 Τοῦτον τὸν ποταμὸν τὸν Ἰνδὸν ὑπὸ τὴν ἕω διέβαινε ξὺν τῇ στρατιᾷ Ἀλέξανδρος ἐς τῶν Ἰνδῶν τὴν γῆν ὑπὲρ ὧν ἐγὼ οὔτε οἰστίσι νόμοις διαχρῶνται ἐν τῇδε τῇ συγγραφῇ ἀνέγραψα, οὔτε ζῶα εἰ δὴ τινα ἄτοπα ἢ χώρα αὐτοῖς ἐκφέρει, οὔτε ἰχθύας ἢ κήτη ὅσα ἢ οἶα ὁ Ἰνδὸς ἢ ὁ Ἰδάσπης ἢ ὁ Γάγγης ἢ οἱ ἄλλοι Ἰνδῶν ποταμοὶ φέρουσιν, οὐδὲ τοὺς μύρμηκας τοὺς τὸν χρυσὸν σφισιν ἐργαζομένους, οὐδὲ τοὺς γρῦπας τοὺς φύλακας, οὐδὲ ὅσα ἄλλα ἐφ' ἡδονῇ μᾶλλον τι πεποιήται ἢ ἐς ἀφήγησιν

- it washes India to the south, it has two mouths and both its outlets are marshy, like the five outlets of the Ister [Danube], and it too forms a delta in the land of India analogous to the delta in Egypt and called Patala in the Indian language. So much on the Indus is absolutely beyond dispute; so let me set it down here. In fact the
- 2 Hydaspes [Jhelum], Acesines [Chenab], Hydraotis [Ravi], and Hyphasis [Beas], which are also all rivers of India, are much greater than the other rivers of Asia; yet they are smaller, in fact much smaller, than the Indus, as the Indus itself is smaller than the Ganges.¹ Ctesias, if indeed any one thinks him adequate as a witness, says that where the Indus is narrowest, its banks are forty stades apart, and at its broadest actually a hundred, though for the greater part of its course the distance is the mean between these figures.²
- 3 This river Indus Alexander crossed at dawn with his army, so entering the land of the Indians.³ In this history I have not recorded their customs, nor whether their country produces any strange animals, nor the size or kinds of fishes or water monsters which the Indus, Hydaspes, Ganges or other Indian rivers produce, nor the ants that mine their gold, nor the griffons that guard it, nor all the other stories which have been made up for amusement rather than as a

1 The greatness of Indian rivers (App. XVII 10; 18a) was judged by breadth, volume and speed, length being unknown; the Indus, which rises north of the Himalayas 800 miles from the Indian plain, was thought to rise near Aornos (S. xv 1, 8). Patala ('ship-station,' cf. App. XXV 2); vi 18 ff.; *Ind.* 2, 5; 6, whence Patalene (e.g. S. xv 1, 13), the Indus delta, for which see App. XVII 25. A. was unaware that by his time the Indus had seven outlets (*RE* ix 1370).

2 A. cites from E. this Greek doctor at the Persian court c. 400 (Jacoby no. 688), justly thought unreliable in antiquity, see App. XVII

τῶν ὄντων, ὡς τά γε κατ' Ἰνδοὺς ὅσα ἂν ἄτοπα ψεύσωνται,
 4 οὐκ ἐξελεγχθησόμενα πρὸς οὐδαμῶν. ἀλλὰ Ἀλέξανδρος γὰρ
 καὶ οἱ ξὺν τούτῳ στρατεύσαντες τὰ πολλὰ ἐξήλεγξαν, ὅσα γε
 μὴ καὶ αὐτῶν ἔστιν οἷ ἐψεύσαντο· ἀχρύσους τε εἶναι Ἰνδοὺς
 ἐξήλεγξαν, ὅσους γε δὴ Ἀλέξανδρος ξὺν τῇ στρατιᾷ ἐπήλθε,
 πολλοὺς δὲ ἐπήλθε, καὶ ἤκιστα χλιδῶντας κατὰ τὴν δίαιταν,
 ἀλλὰ μεγάλους μὲν τὰ σώματα, οἷους μεγίστους τῶν κατὰ
 τὴν Ἀσίαν, πενταπήχεις τοὺς πολλοὺς ἢ ὀλίγον ἀποδέοντας,
 καὶ μελαντέρους τῶν ἄλλων ἀνθρώπων, πλὴν Αἰθιοπῶν, καὶ
 5 τὰ πολέμια πολὺ τι γενναιοτάτους τῶν γε δὴ τότε ἐποίκων τῆς
 Ἀσίας. τὸ γὰρ Περσῶν τῶν πάλαι, ξὺν οἷς ὄρμηθεις Κῦρος ὁ
 Καμβύσου Μήδους τε τὴν ἀρχὴν τῆς Ἀσίας ἀφείλετο καὶ
 ἄλλα ἔθνη τὰ μὲν κατεστρέψατο, τὰ δὲ προσχωρήσαντά οἱ
 ἐκόντα κατέσχευε, οὐκ ἔχω ἀτρεκῶς ὡς γε δὴ πρὸς τὰ Ἰνδῶν
 ξυμβαλεῖν. καὶ γὰρ καὶ Πέρσαι τότε πένητές τε ἦσαν καὶ
 χώρας τραχείας οἰκήτορες, καὶ νόμιμά σφισιν ἦν οἷα
 ἐγγυτάτω εἶναι τῇ Λακωνικῇ παιδεύσει. τὸ δὲ τραῦμα τὸ
 γενόμενον Πέρσαις ἐν τῇ Σκυθικῇ γῆ οὐδὲ τοῦτο ἔχω ἀτρεκῶς
 ξυμβαλεῖν πότερα δυσχωρίαῖς ξυνεχθεῖσιν ἢ τινι ἄλλῃ
 Κύρου ἀμαρτία ξυνέβη ἢ Σκυθῶν γε τῶν ταύτη κακίους τὰ
 πολέμια Πέρσαι ἦσαν.

5. Ἀλλὰ ὑπὲρ Ἰνδῶν ἰδίᾳ μοι γεγράφεται ὅσα

description of reality, on the basis that whatever ridiculous lies men
 may tell about the Indians will not be refuted by anyone.⁴ Yet

4 Alexander and his fellow-soldiers did refute the greater number,
 except that some were actually their inventions; they proved that
 the Indians had no gold,⁵ at least not the numerous peoples they
 encountered, and that they were not at all luxurious in their way of
 living, but tall of stature, in fact the tallest men in Asia, mostly five
 cubits,⁶ or very little less, darker-skinned than all other men except
 the Ethiopians,⁷ and much the finest fighters of the inhabitants of
 5 Asia at that time. I cannot accurately compare the Indians with the
 ancient Persians, who followed Cyrus son of Cambyses at the start
 when he deprived the Medes of the sovereignty of Asia and
 subdued other peoples or received their voluntary surrender; in fact
 the Persians then were poor and dwelt in rough country,⁸ and their
 customs were as close as could be to the Spartan discipline. As for
 the blow dealt the Persians in Scythia, I am again unable to assess
 with accuracy whether it was due to the difficulty of the country or
 to some other error of Cyrus, or whether they were inferior in
 warfare to the Scythians in this particular region.⁹

5. However, I shall write a special monograph

4 As scepticism comes from E. (App. XVII. 8). Ants: *Ind.* 15. 4 n. River animals: vi 1, 1; *Ind.* 6, 8. Other marvels: e.g. S. ii 1, 9; xv 1, 21 f., 35, 37, 45 and 56 f.; Ctesias F. 45, 26.

5 Probably against Meg. *ap.* S. xv 1, 57 and 69 (gold dust in rivers). In fact, gold, but not silver, was abundant in India (*CHI*101; 213; 342 f.).

6 7 1/2 or perhaps 6 feet (Tarn ii 169 f.). A. discounts tales of Indian pygmies (S. ii 1, 9) and falls into the opposite absurdity.

7 Comparisons of India (Punjab and Sind) with Egypt (or Ethiopia) were common and apt, cf. v 6, 5 ff.; vi 1; *Ind.* 2, 6; 6, 6 ff.; Hdt. iii 101; S. xv 1, 13, 16, 18 f.; 24–6; 33 (citing Ar., N. and Onesicritus); App. XXV 1.

8 A. perhaps recalls Hdt. ix 122.

πιστότατα ἐς ἀφήγησιν οἳ τε ξὺν Ἀλεξάνδρῳ στρατεύσαντες
καὶ ὁ ἐκπεριπλεύσας τῆς μεγάλης θαλάσσης τὸ κατ' Ἰνδοῦς
Νέαρχος, ἐπὶ δὲ ὅσα Μεγασθένης τε καὶ Ἐρατοσθένης,
δοκίμῳ ἀνδρῶν, ξυνεγραψάτην, καὶ νόμιμα ἅπτα Ἰνδοῖς ἐστὶ καὶ
2 εἰ δὴ τινα ἄτοπα ζῶα αὐτόθι φύεται καὶ τὸν παράπλου αὐτὸν
τῆς ἔξω θαλάσσης. νῦν δὲ ὅσον ἐς τὰ Ἀλεξάνδρου ἔργα
ἀποχρῶν ἐφαίνεται, τοσόνδε μοι ἀναγεγράφθω τὸν Ταῦρον τὸ
ὄρος ἀπείργειν τὴν Ἀσίαν, ἀρχόμενον μὲν ἀπὸ Μυκάλης τοῦ
καταντικρὺ Σάμου τῆς νήσου ὄρους, ἀποτεμνόμενον δὲ τὴν τε
Παμφύλων καὶ Κιλικῶν γῆν ἔνθεν μὲν ὡς ἐς Ἀρμενίαν
παρήκειν, ἀπὸ δὲ Ἀρμενίων ὡς ἐπὶ Μηδίαν παρὰ
3 Παρθυκαλίους τε καὶ Χορασμίους, κατὰ δὲ Βακτρίους
ξυμβάλλειν τῷ Παραπαμίσῳ ὄρει, ὃ δὴ Καύκασον ἐκάλουσιν οἱ
Ἀλεξάνδρῳ ξυστρατεύσαντες Μακεδόνες, ὡς μὲν λέγεται τὰ
Ἀλεξάνδρου αὐξοῦντες, ὅτι δὴ καὶ ἐπέκεινα ἄρα τοῦ Καυκάσου
κρατῶν τοῖς ὄπλοις ἦλθεν Ἀλέξανδρος· τυχὸν δὲ καὶ ξυνεχὲς
τυγχάνει ὄν τοῦτο τὸ ὄρος τῷ ἄλλῳ τῷ Σκυθικῷ Καυκάσῳ,
καθάπερ οὖν αὐτῷ τούτῳ ὁ Ταῦρος· καὶ ἐμοὶ αὐτῷ πρότερόν
4 ποτε ἐπὶ τῷδε λέλεκται Καύκασος τὸ ὄρος τοῦτο καὶ ὕστερον
τῷδε τῷ ὀνόματι κληθήσεται· τὸν δὲ Καύκασον τοῦτον
καθήκειν ἔστω ἐπὶ <τὴν> μεγάλην τὴν πρὸς ἔω τε καὶ Ἰνδοῦς
θάλασσαν. τοὺς οὖν ποταμούς, ὅσοι κατὰ τὴν Ἀσίαν λόγου
ἄξιοι, ἐκ τοῦ Ταύρου τε καὶ τοῦ Καυκάσου ἀνίσχοντας τοὺς
μὲν ὡς ἐπ' ἄρκτον τετραμμένον ἔχειν τὸ ὕδωρ, καὶ τούτων
τοὺς μὲν ἐς τὴν λίμνην ἐκδιδόναι τὴν Μαιώτιν, τοὺς δὲ ἐς τὴν
Ἰρκανίαν καλουμένην θάλασσαν, καὶ ταύτην κόλπον οὔσαν
τῆς μεγάλης

about India including the most reliable descriptions given by
Alexander's fellow-campaigners, especially Nearchus, who coasted
along the entire Indian part of the Great Sea, and further all that
Megasthenes and Eratosthenes, both men of repute, have written,
and I shall record the customs of India, any strange beasts which
are bred there and the actual voyage along the coast of the Outer
2 Sea.¹ But the present record must be restricted to what appears
sufficient to explain Alexander's achievements. Mount Taurus is the
boundary of Asia, beginning from Mycale, the mountain opposite
the island of Samos, then cutting through between the land of
Pamphylia and Lycia it reaches Armenia, and from Armenia runs to
3 Media past the Parthyaean and Chorasmian country, and in Bactria
joins Mount Parapamisus [Hindu-Kush], which the Macedonians
who served with Alexander called Caucasus, with a view (so it is
said) of glorifying Alexander, to make out that Alexander actually
reached the farther side of Mount Caucasus, victorious in arms. But
perhaps this mountain is continuous with the other Caucasus, that
is, the Scythian, just as Mount Taurus is continuous with this
Caucasus. For this reason I myself have on occasion previously
called this mountain Caucasus, and shall continue to use this name
4 later. This Caucasus extends to the great sea on the east and the
Indian side. Thus all the important rivers of Asia rise from Taurus
and Caucasus; some of them flow northward, and empty either into
Lake Maeotis [Sea of Azov], or into the sea called Hyrcanian
[Caspian], itself a gulf of the

¹ App. XVII 1–9. What follows comes from E., cf. S. xv 1, 10–14;
App. XII.

5 θαλάσσης, τοὺς δὲ ὡς ἐπὶ νότον ἄνεμον τὸν Εὐφράτην τε εἶναι καὶ τὸν Τίγρητα καὶ τὸν Ἰνδὸν τε καὶ τὸν Ὑδάσπην καὶ Ἀκεσίνην καὶ Ὑδραώτην καὶ Ὑφασιν καὶ ὅσοι ἐν μέσῳ τούτων τε καὶ τοῦ Γάγγου ποταμοῦ ἐς θάλασσαν καὶ οὗτοι ἐσβάλλουσι ἢ εἰς τενάγη ἀναχεόμενοι ἀφανίζονται, καθάπερ ὁ Εὐφράτης ποταμὸς ἀφανίζεται.

6. Ὅτῳ δὴ τὰ τῆς Ἀσίας ὧδε ἔχει ὡς πρὸς τοῦ Ταύρου τε καὶ τοῦ Καυκάσου τέμνεσθαι ἀπὸ ἀνέμου ζεφύρου ὡς ἐπὶ ἀπηλιώτην ἄνεμον τὴν Ἀσίαν, τούτῳ δύο μὲν αὐταὶ μέγιστα πρὸς αὐτοῦ τοῦ Ταύρου τῆς Ἀσίας μοῖραι γίνονται, ἡ μὲν ἐς μεσημβρίαν τε καὶ πρὸς νότον ἄνεμον [τοῦ Ταύρου] κεκλιμένη, 2 ἡ δὲ ἐπ' ἄρκτον τε καὶ ἄνεμον βορρᾶν. τῆς δὲ ὡς ἐπὶ νότον Ἀσίας τετραχῆ αὐτὴ τεμνομένης μεγίστην μὲν μοῖραν τὴν Ἰνδῶν γῆν ποιεῖ Ἐρατοσθένης τε καὶ Μεγασθένης, ὃς ξυνην μὲν Σιβυρτίῳ τῷ σατραπίῳ τῆς Ἀραχωσίας, πολλάκις δὲ λέγει ἀφικέσθαι παρὰ Σανδράκοτον τὸν Ἰνδῶν βασιλέα, ἐλαχίστην δὲ ὅσῃν ὁ Εὐφράτης ποταμὸς ἀπείργει ὡς πρὸς τὴν ἐντὸς τὴν ἡμετέραν θάλασσαν. δύο δὲ αἱ μεταξὺ Εὐφράτου τε ποταμοῦ καὶ τοῦ Ἰνδοῦ ἀπειργόμεναι αἱ δύο 3 ξυντεθείσαι μόλις ἄξιαι τῇ Ἰνδῶν γῆ ξυμβαλεῖν. ἀπείργεσθαι δὲ τὴν Ἰνδῶν χώραν πρὸς μὲν ἕω τε καὶ ἀπηλιώτην ἄνεμον ἔστε ἐπὶ μεσημβρίαν τῇ μεγάλῃ θαλάσσει· τὸ πρὸς βορρᾶν δὲ αὐτῆς ἀπείργειν τὸν Καύκασον τὸ ὄρος ἔστε ἐπὶ τοῦ Ταύρου τὴν ξυμβολήν· τὴν δὲ ὡς πρὸς ἐσπέραν τε καὶ ἄνεμον Ἰάπυγα ἔστε ἐπὶ τὴν μεγάλην θάλασσαν ὁ Ἰνδὸς ποταμὸς ἀποτέμνεται. καὶ ἔστι πεδῖον ἢ πολλὴ αὐτῆς, καὶ τοῦτο, ὡς εἰκάζουσιν, ἐκ τῶν

5 Great Sea; others flow southward, that is, the Euphrates, Tigris, Indus, Hydaspes [Jhelum], Acesines [Chenab], Hydraotes [Ravi], and Hyphasis [Beas], and all between these and the Ganges, and run out into the sea, or are broken and disappear in marshes, like the Euphrates.²

6. Anyone who treats Asia as divided by Mounts Taurus and Caucasus from west to east will find that the two greatest divisions of Asia are formed by Mount Taurus itself, the one looking south 2 and south west, the other north and north east. If the southern part of Asia is again divided into four, Eratosthenes and Megasthenes regard the region of India as the greatest part (Megasthenes lived with Sibyrtius, satrap of Arachosia, and often speaks of his visiting Sandracottus, the king of the Indians).¹ The smallest part is, in their view, that bounded by the Euphrates, looking towards our inland sea. The other two parts lie between the Euphrates and the Indus, and these two put together can hardly be compared with the Indian 3 land. India on the east is bounded down to the south by the Great Sea, on its northern part by Mount Caucasus up to its junction with Mount Taurus; then to the west and north west the Indus forms its boundary as far as the Great Sea.

The greater part of it is level plain which, they conjecture,

2 App. XXVI 3.

1 'Andracottus' in P. 62. The Greek does not mean that he 'often visited Sandracottus.' For this ch. see App. XVII 6-8.

- 4 ποταμῶν προ<σ>κεχωσμένον. εἶναι γὰρ οὖν καὶ τῆς ἄλλης
 χώρας ὅσα πεδία οὐ πρόσω θαλάσσης τὰ πολλὰ τῶν
 ποταμῶν παρ' ἐκάστοις ποιήματα· ὡς δὲ καὶ τῆς χώρας τὴν
 ἐπωνυμίαν τοῖς ποταμοῖς ἐκ παλαιοῦ προσκείσθαι, καθάπερ
 Ἔρμον τέ τι πεδίων λέγεσθαι, ὅς κατὰ τὴν Ἀσίαν γῆν
 ἀνίσχων ἐξ ὄρους Μητρὸς Δινδυμήνης παρὰ Σμύρναν πόλιν
 Αἰολικὴν ἐκδιδοί ἐς θάλασσαν, καὶ ἄλλο Καῦστρον, πεδίων
 Λύδιον καὶ Λυδίου ποταμοῦ, καὶ Καΐκου ἄλλο ἐν Μυσία καὶ
 5 Μαϊάνδρου τὸ Καρικὸν ἔσται ἐπὶ Μίλητον πόλιν Ἴωνικὴν.
 Αἴγυπτόν τε Ἡρόδοτός τε καὶ Ἐκαταῖος οἱ λογοποιοί, ἢ εἰ δὴ
 τοῦ ἄλλου ἢ Ἐκαταίου ἐστὶ τὰ ἀμφὶ τῆ γῆ τῆ Αἴγυπτία
 ποιήματα, δῶρόν τε τοῦ ποταμοῦ ἀμφοτέρω ὡσαύτως
 ὀνομάζουσιν καὶ οὐκ ἀμαυροῖς τεκμηρίοις ὅτι ταύτῃ ἔχει
 Ἡροδότῳ ἐπιδέδεικται, ὡς καὶ τὴν γῆν αὐτὴν τυχὸν τοῦ
 ποταμοῦ εἶναι ἐπώνυμον. Αἴγυπτος γὰρ τὸ παλαιὸν ὁ ποταμὸς
 ὅτι ἐκαλεῖτο, ὄντινα νῦν Νεῖλον Αἰγύπτιοί τε καὶ οἱ ἔξω
 Αἰγύπτου ἄνθρωποι ὀνομάζουσιν, ἱκανὸς τεκμηριῶσαι
 6 Ὅμηρος, λέγων ἐπὶ τῆ ἐκβολῇ τοῦ Αἰγύπτου ποταμοῦ τὸν
 Μενέλεων στήσαι τὰς νέας. εἰ δὴ οὖν εἰς τε ποταμὸς παρ'
 ἐκάστοις καὶ οὐ μεγάλοι οὗτοι ποταμοὶ ἱκανοὶ γῆν πολλὴν
 ποιῆσαι ἐς θάλασσαν προχεόμενοι, ὅποτε ἰλὸν καταφέρουεν
 καὶ πηλὸν ἐκ τῶν ἄνω τόπων ἔνθενπερ αὐτοῖς αἱ πηγαί εἰσιν,
 οὐδὲ ὑπὲρ τῆς Ἰνδῶν ἄρα χώρας ἐς ἀπιστίαν ἰέναι ἄξιον,
 ὅπως πεδίων τε ἢ πολλή ἐστι καὶ ἐκ τῶν ποταμῶν τὸ πεδίων
 7 ἔχει προσκεχωσμένον. Ἔρμον μὲν γὰρ καὶ Κάυστρον καὶ
 Καΐκόν τε καὶ Μαϊάνδρον ἢ ὅσοι [πολλοὶ]¹ ποταμοὶ τῆς Ἀσίας

1 Bracketed by Castiglioni.

- 4 was deposited by the rivers, for in other country too plains near the
 sea are each generally the creations of the neighbouring rivers; so
 too the country from ancient times was given its name from the
 rivers.² Thus men speak of a plain of Hermus, which rises in Asia
 from the mountain of Mother Dindymene and runs into the sea
 near the Aeolic city of Smyrna, and again of the plain of Caÿster, a
 Lydian plain from a Lydian river, and of Caïcus in Mysia, and of the
 Carian plain of Maeander, stretching to Miletus, an Ionian city. And
 5 as for Egypt, the historians Herodotus and Hecataeus (though
 possibly the work on Egypt is not by Hecataeus) both call it
 similarly 'the gift of the river,' and Herodotus has shown by very
 clear proofs that this is so, as the country itself is actually called
 after the river. For that Aegyptus was the old name of the river
 which the Egyptians and men outside Egypt now call the Nile,
 Homer is ample evidence, when he says that Menelaus stationed
 his ships at the mouth of the river Aegyptus.³ If then a single river
 6 in each country, and not great rivers either, can, while pouring into
 the sea, create a large amount of land, by bringing down mud and
 deposits from the upper country where they rise, there is no reason
 to doubt how the Indian country too comes to be mostly plain, and
 7 that its plain is deposited by the rivers; as for the Hermus, Caÿster,
 Caïcus, Maeander or all the rivers

2 Cf. vi 1, 3 n. Indus (Sanskrit, Sindhu = river) gave its name first
 to the adjoining country (modern Sind, Persian satrapy of Hindu),
 which classical writers extended to the subcontinent. Punjab means
 the land of the five doabs (lands between rivers).

3 *Odyssey* iv 281, not adduced by Hdt. ii 5 ff.

ἐς τήνδε τὴν ἐντὸς θάλασσαν ἐκδιδοῦσιν οὐδὲ σύμπαντας
 ξυντεθέντας ἐνὶ τῶν Ἰνδῶν ποταμῶν ἄξιον ξυμβαλεῖν πλήθους
 ἕνεκα τοῦ ὕδατος, μὴ ὅτι τῷ Γάγγῃ τῷ μεγίστῳ, ὅτῳ οὔτε
 <τὸ> τοῦ Νείλου ὕδωρ τοῦ Αἰγυπτίου οὔτε ὁ Ἰστρος ὁ κατὰ
 8 τὴν Εὐρώπην ῥέων ἄξιοι ξυμβαλεῖν, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ τῷ Ἰνδῷ
 ποταμῷ ἐκείνοί γε πάντες ξυμμιχθέντες ἐς ἴσον ἔρχονται, ὅς
 μέγας τε εὐθὺς ἀπὸ τῶν πηγῶν ἀνίσχει καὶ πεντεκαίδεκα
 ποταμοὺς πάντας τῶν Ἀσιανῶν μείζονας παραλαβὼν καὶ τῇ
 ἐπωνυμία κρατήσας οὕτως ἐκδιδοῖ ἐς θάλασσαν. ταῦτά μοι ἐν
 τῷ παρόντι περὶ Ἰνδῶν τῆς χώρας λελέχθω· τὰ δὲ ἄλλα
 ἀποκείσθω ἐς τὴν Ἰνδικὴν ξυγγραφὴν.

7. Τὸ δὲ ζεύγμα τὸ ἐπὶ τοῦ Ἰνδοῦ ποταμοῦ ὅπως μὲν
 ἐποιήθη Ἀλεξάνδρῳ οὔτε Ἀριστόβουλος οὔτε Πτολεμαῖος, οἷς
 μάλιστα ἐγὼ ἔπομαι, λέγουσιν· οὐδὲ αὐτὸς ἔχω ἀτρεκῶς
 εἰκάσαι, πότερα πλοίοις ἐζεύχθη ὁ πόρος, καθάπερ οὖν ὁ
 Ἑλλήσποντος τε πρὸς Ξέρξου καὶ ὁ Βόσπορος τε καὶ ὁ
 Ἰστρος πρὸς Δαρείου, ἢ γέφυρα κατὰ τοῦ ποταμοῦ διηνεκῆς
 ἐποιήθη αὐτῷ· δοκεῖ δ' ἔμοιγε πλοίοις μᾶλλον ζευχθῆναι· οὐ
 γὰρ ἂν δέξασθαι γέφυραν τὸ βάθος τοῦ ὕδατος, οὐδ' ἂν ἐν
 2 τοσῶδε χρόνῳ ἔργον οὕτως ἄτοπον ξυντελεσθῆναι. εἰ δὲ δὴ
 πλοίοις ἐζεύχθη ὁ πόρος, πότερα ξυντεθείσαι αἱ νῆες σχοίνοις
 καὶ κατὰ στοῖχον ὀρμισθείσαι ἐς τὸ ζεύγμα ἀπήρκεσαν, ὡς
 λέγει Ἡρόδοτος ζευχθῆναι τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον, ἢ ὅτῳ τρόπῳ
 Ῥωμαίοις ἐπὶ τῷ Ἰστροῦ ποταμῷ ζεύγμα ποιεῖται καὶ ἐπὶ τῷ
 Ῥήνῳ τῷ Κελτικῷ, καὶ τὸν Εὐφράτην καὶ τὸν Τίγρητα,

of Asia which run out into this inner sea, put them all together, and
 you cannot properly compare them for volume of water with one of
 the rivers of India—to say nothing of the largest, Ganges,⁴ with
 which not even the volume of the Nile in Egypt nor the Ister
 [Danube], which flows through Europe, is comparable; in fact all of
 8 them put together do not equal even the Indus, which is already a
 great river at the very springs where it rises, and which takes in
 fifteen rivers⁵ all greater than the Asian and, imposing its name on
 them as it goes, runs out to join the sea. For the present this must
 be all I have to say about the land of the Indians; the rest must be
 kept for my Indian treatise.

7. As for the method by which Alexander bridged the Indus,
 neither Aristobulus nor Ptolemy, the authors whom I chiefly follow,
 describes it; nor can I myself conjecture with certainty whether the
 passage was bridged with boats,¹ as was the Hellespont by Xerxes
 and the Bosphorus and Ister by Darius,² or whether a bridge was
 built right across the stream. I am inclined to think it was spanned
 by boats, since the depth of the water would not admit of a bridge,
 nor could so extraordinary a work have been completed in so little
 2 time. But if the stream was spanned with boats, were they lashed
 together by ropes and then moored in line across so as to form the
 bridge, as Herodotus of Halicarnassus says that the Hellespont was
 spanned, or was the method that which the Romans used to bridge
 the Ister and Celtic Rhine, or

4 E. followed Meg. (*Ind.* 4).

5 List in *Ind.* 4. Source: v 4, 2 n. 2.

1 So D. 86, 3; QC. viii 10, 2 f.; implicit in A. v 3, 5; 8, 4. A. read
 his sources carelessly.

2 Hdt. vii 33–6; iv 89 and 97. Cf. vii 33–6 (Xerxes).

- 3 ὁσάκις κατέλαβεν αὐτοὺς ἀνάγκη, ἐγεφύρωσαν, οὐδὲ τοῦτο ἔχω ξυμβαλεῖν. καίτοι ταχυτάτη γε ὦν ἐγὼ οἶδα Ῥωμαίοις ἢ γεφύρωσις ἢ διὰ τῶν νεῶν γίνεται, καὶ ταύτην ἐγὼ ἀφηγήσομαι ἐν τῷ παρόντι, ὅτι λόγου ἀξία. αἱ νῆες αὐτοῖς κατὰ τοῦ ῥοῦ¹ ἀφίενται ἀπὸ ξυνθήματος, οὐκ ἐπ' εὐθύ, ἀλλὰ καθάπερ αἱ πρύμναν κρουόμεναι. ταύτας ὑποφέρει μὲν, οἷα εἰκός, ὁ ῥοῦς, ἀνέχει δὲ κελήτιον ἐπήρες, ἔστ' ἂν καταστήσῃ ἐς τὸ τεταγμένον χωρίον· καὶ ἐνταῦθα ἤδη καθίεται πλέγματα ἐκ λύγου πυραμοειδῆ πλήρη λίθων λογάδων ἀπὸ πύρας
- 4 ἐκάστης νεώς, τοῦ ἀνέχειν τὴν ναῦν πρὸς τὸν ῥοῦν. ἅμα δὲ δὴ μία τις τῶν νεῶν [ἅμα δὲ δὴ] ἐσχέθη, καὶ ἄλλη ἀπὸ ταύτης διέχουσα ὅσον ξύμμετρον πρὸς ἰσχὺν τῶν ἐπιβαλλομένων ἀντίπρωρος πρὸς τὸ ρεύμα ὀρμίζεται καὶ ἀπ' ἀμφοῖν ξύλα τε ἐς εὐθὺ ὀξέως ἐπιβάλλεται καὶ σανίδες ἐγκάρσiai ἐς τὸ ξυνδεῖν· καὶ διὰ πασῶν οὕτω τῶν νεῶν, ὅσαι ἱκαναὶ
- 5 γεφυρῶσαι τὸν πόρον, χωρεῖ τὸ ἔργον. ἐκατέρωθεν δὲ τοῦ ζεύγματος κλίμακες προβάλλονται καταπηγνύμεναι, τοῦ ἀσφαλεστέραν τοῖς τε ἵπποις καὶ τοῖς ζεύγεσι τὴν ἔφοδον γίνεσθαι, καὶ ἅμα ὡς σύνδεσμος εἶναι τοῦ ζεύγματος. δι' ὀλίγου τε ξυντελείται ἅπαν καὶ ξὺν πολλῷ θορύβῳ, καὶ τὸ τεταγμένον ἐν τῷ δρωμένῳ ὁμως οὐκ ἄπεστιν, οἳ τε παρακελευσμοὶ ὡς τύχοιεν κατὰ ναῦν ἐκάστην καὶ αἱ ἐπιτιμήσεις τοῦ ἐκλιποῦς οὔτε τὴν κατάκουσιν τῶν παραγγελμάτων οὔτε τὴν ὀξύτητα τοῦ ἔργου ἀφαιροῦνται.
8. Ῥωμαίοις μὲν δὴ οὕτω ταῦτα ἐκ παλαιοῦ

1 τοῦ ῥοῦ Krüger: πόρου A, kept by Roos.

- the Euphrates and Tigris, whenever they were obliged to do so?
- 3 This too I cannot decide, yet the quickest way of bridging I know is the Roman use of boats, and I shall here describe it, for it merits description.³ Their boats are at a signal allowed to float downstream, yet not bows on, but as if backing. The stream, naturally, carries them down, but a rowing skiff holds them up till it manoeuvres them into the appointed place and at that point wicker crates of pyramid shape full of unhewn stones are let down from the bows of each ship to hold it against the stream. No sooner has one
- 4 ship thus been made fast than another, just at the right interval to carry the superstructure safely, is anchored upstream and from both boats timbers are accurately and smartly laid and planks crosswise to bind them together. The work goes on in this way for all the boats needed for the bridging. On either side of the bridge
- 5 gangways are laid and fastened down, so that the passage may be safer for horses and baggage animals, and also to bind the bridge together; and in quite a short time the whole work is completed with much bustle, and yet there is good order in the course of the work; the cheers that may go up on each ship and reproofs for shirking work do not prevent the hearing of the orders nor the speed of the operation.

8. This then is the long-established method of the

3 Cf. Cassius Dio's complementary account (lxxi 3); perhaps there was a common source. Cf. App. XXVIII 2.

ἐπήσκηται Ἀλεξάνδρῳ δὲ ὅπως ἐζεύχθη ὁ Ἰνδὸς ποταμὸς οὐκ ἔχω εἰπεῖν, ὅτι μηδὲ οἱ συστρατεύσαντες αὐτῷ εἶπον. ἀλλὰ μοι δοκεῖ ὡς ἐγγυτάτω τούτων ἐζεύχθαι, ἢ εἰ δὴ τι ἀλλή

2 μηχανῇ, ἐκείνη ἐχέτω. ὡς δὲ διέβη πέραν τοῦ Ἰνδοῦ ποταμοῦ, καὶ ἐνταῦθα αὖ θύει κατὰ νόμον Ἀλέξανδρος. ἄρας δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἰνδοῦ ἐς Τάξιλα ἀφίκετο, πόλιν μεγάλην καὶ εὐδαίμονα, τὴν μεγίστην τῶν μεταξὺ Ἰνδοῦ τε ποταμοῦ καὶ Ὑδάσπου. καὶ ἐδέχετο αὐτὸν Ταξίλης ὁ ὑπαρχος τῆς πόλεως καὶ αὐτοὶ οἱ

3 τῆδε Ἰνδοὶ φιλίως. καὶ Ἀλέξανδρος προστίθησιν αὐτοῖς χώραν τῆς ὁμόρου ὄσης ἐδέοντο. ἦκον δὲ ἐνταῦθα παρ' αὐτὸν καὶ παρὰ Ἀβισάρου πρέσβεις τοῦ τῶν ὀρείων Ἰνδῶν βασιλέως ὃ τε ἀδελφὸς τοῦ Ἀβισάρου καὶ ἄλλοι ξὺν αὐτῷ οἱ δοκιμώτατοι, καὶ παρὰ Δοξάρεως νομάρχου ἄλλοι, δῶρα φέροντες. καὶ ἐνταῦθα αὖ Ἀλέξανδρος ἐν Ταξίλοις θύει ὅσα οἱ νόμος καὶ ἀγῶνα ποιεῖ γυμνικόν τε καὶ ἵππικόν. καὶ ἀποδείξας σατράπην τῶν ταύτη Ἰνδῶν Φίλιππον τὸν Μαχάτα φρουρὰν τε ἀπολείπει ἐν Ταξίλοις καὶ τοὺς ἀπομάχους τῶν στρατιωτῶν διὰ νόσον αὐτὸς δὲ ἦγεν ὡς ἐπὶ τὸν Ὑδάσπην ποταμόν.

4 Ἐπέκεινα γὰρ τοῦ Ὑδάσπου Πῶρος αὐτῷ εἶναι ἐξηγγέλλετο ξὺν τῇ στρατιᾷ πάσῃ ἐγνωκῶς εἶργειν τοῦ πόρου αὐτὸν ἢ περῶντι ἐπιτίθεσθαι. ταῦτα ὡς ἔγνω Ἀλέξανδρος, Κοῖνον μὲν τὸν Πολεμοκράτους πέμψας ὀπίσω ἐπὶ τὸν Ἰνδὸν ποταμὸν τὰ πλοῖα ὅσα παρεσκευάστο αὐτῷ ἐπὶ τοῦ πόρου τοῦ

5 Ἰνδοῦ ξυντεμόντα κελεύει φέρειν ὡς ἐπὶ τὸν Ὑδάσπην ποταμόν. καὶ ξυνετμήθη τε τὰ πλοῖα

Romans; but how Alexander bridged the Indus I cannot say, as even those who served under him did not tell us. I think that he must have approximated to this way of bridging, but if he employed some

2 other means, let it pass. After taking his army across, Alexander sacrificed there once more, according to custom. Then, leaving the Indus, he marched to Taxila, a great and prosperous city, the largest of all between the Indus and the Hydaspes. He was received there by Taxilas, the hyparch of the city, and the Indians of this district in a friendly manner; and Alexander gave them as much more of the

3 neighbouring territory as they requested. Here he was met by envoys from Abisares, the king of the Indians of the hills, his brother with others of the most note, as well as by other envoys from Doxareus the nomarch, bringing gifts. There again at Taxila Alexander offered the customary sacrifices, and held athletic and equestrian games. He appointed Philip son of Machatas satrap of the Indians of this region, and left behind a garrison in Taxila with the soldiers too sick for fighting; then he marched on towards the Hydaspes.¹

4 For he had learnt that Porus was on the far side of the Hydaspes with his whole army, determined to prevent his crossing, or at least to attack him, should he attempt it. On learning this, Alexander sent Coenus son of Polemocrates back to the river Indus, ordering him to take to pieces the boats that had been got ready at the crossing of the Indus and bring them to the Hydaspes. The boats were duly

5 dismembered

1 Campaign and battle: App. XVII 13–17. Taxilas, Porus and Abisares: ib. 31–3. QC. viii 13, 3 f. puts the death of Barsaentes (iii 25, 8) here.

καὶ ἐκομίσθη αὐτῷ, ὅσα μὲν βραχύτερα διχῆ διατμηθέντα, αἱ τριακόντοροι δὲ τριχῆ ἐτμήθησαν, καὶ τὰ τμήματα ἐπὶ ζευγῶν διεκομίσθη ἔστε ἐπὶ τὴν ὄχθην τοῦ Ὑδάσπου κακέῃ ξυμπηχθέντα ναυτικὸν αὐθις δὴ ὁμοῦ ὤφθη ἐν τῷ Ὑδάσπῃ. αὐτὸς δὲ ἀναλαβὼν ἦν τε δύναμιν ἔχων ἤκεν ἐς Τάξιλα καὶ πεντακισχιλίους τῶν Ἰνδῶν, οὓς Ταξίλης τε καὶ οἱ ταύτη ὑπαρχοὶ ἤγον, ἦει ὡς ἐπὶ τὸν Ὑδάσπην ποταμόν.

9. Καὶ Ἀλέξανδρός τε κατεστρατοπέδευσεν ἐπὶ τῇ ὄχθῃ τοῦ Ὑδάσπου, καὶ Πῶρος κατὰ τὴν ἀντιπέρας ὄχθην ὤφθη ξὺν πάσῃ τῇ στρατιᾷ καὶ τῶν ἐλεφάντων τῷ στίφει. ταύτη μὲν δὴ ἦ κατεστρατοπεδευκότα εἶδεν Ἀλέξανδρον αὐτὸς μένων ἐφύλαττε τὸν πόρον· ὅσα δὲ ἄλλα τοῦ ποταμοῦ εὐπορώτερα, ἐπὶ ταῦτα φρουρὰς διαπέμψας καὶ ἡγεμόνας ἐπιστήσας

² ἐκάστοις εἶργειν ἐπενόει [ἀπὸ] τοῦ πόρου τοὺς Μακεδόνας. ταῦτα δὲ ὁρῶντι Ἀλεξάνδρῳ κινητέα καὶ αὐτῷ ἐδόκει ἢ στρατιὰ πολλαχῆ, ὡς τὸν Πῶρον ἀμφίβολον γίνεσθαι. διελὼν δὴ ἐς πολλὰ τὸν στρατὸν τοὺς μὲν αὐτὸς ἄλλη καὶ ἄλλη ἤγε τῆς χώρας τὰ μὲν πορθῶν ὅσα πολέμια, τὰ δὲ σκοπῶν ὅπη εὐπορώτερος αὐτῷ ὁ ποταμὸς φανείται, τοὺς δὲ τῶν ἡγεμόνων

³ ἄλλοις [καὶ] ἄλλοις ἐπιτάξας, καὶ αὐτοὺς πολλαχῆ διέπεμπε. σίτος δὲ αὐτῷ πάντοθεν ἐκ τῆς ἐπὶ τάδε τοῦ Ὑδάσπου χώρας ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον ξυνεκομίζετο, ὡς δῆλον εἶναι τῷ Πῶρῳ ὅτι ἐγνωκῶς εἶη προσλιπαρεῖν τῇ ὄχθῃ, ἔστε τὸ ὕδωρ τοῦ ποταμοῦ

and transported, the shorter ones in two sections, the *triacontoroi* in three, and the sections were brought in carts to the banks of the Hydaspes. There the flotilla was put together again, and once again seen in full force, now on the Hydaspes. Alexander himself, taking the force with which he arrived at Taxila and also five thousand Indians, led by Taxilas and the hyparchs of the district, marched to the Hydaspes.

9. Alexander pitched his camp on the bank of the Hydaspes, and Porus was observed on the opposite bank with all his forces and his mass of elephants.¹ In the place where Porus saw that Alexander had encamped, he guarded the crossing himself, while at the other parts of the river where a crossing was easier he posted guards, appointing commanders to each guard, with the intention of

² preventing the Macedonians from crossing. Seeing this, Alexander thought it well himself to move his army about in different directions, so as to keep Porus in uncertainty.² He therefore broke up his army into several detachments, some of which he himself led hither and thither over the country, ravaging enemy territory or reconnoitring for places to cross the river which looked easier, while he attached other troops to different commanders and kept sending

³ them too in different directions. Grain was being transported into his camp from all parts of the country this side of the Hydaspes, so that it was evident to Porus that he had determined to stay on the bank, until the

1 QC. 13, 6 here gives Porus' battle array. D. omits the whole story of the crossing, which must have stood in Clitarchus.

2 Cf. P. 60, 1; Polyaeus iv 3, 9. So the vulgate had these alarms, though omitted by QC., who tells of skirmishes on small islands.

μείον γενόμενον τοῦ χειμῶνος πολλαχῆ παραδοῦναί οἱ τὸν πόρον· τὰ τε πλοῖα αὐτῷ ἄλλη καὶ ἄλλη παραπλέοντα καὶ αἱ διφθέραι τῆς κάρφης ἐμπιπλάμεναι καὶ ἡ ὄχθη πᾶσα πλήρης φαινομένη τῇ μὲν ἰππέων, τῇ δὲ πεζῶν, οὐκ εἶα ἡρεμεῖν τὸν Πῶρον, οὐδὲ ἔν τι ἐπιλεξάμενον ἐς φυλακὴν ξύμφορον ἐς 4 τοῦτο ἐκ πάντων παρασκευάζεσθαι. ἄλλως τε ἐν μὲν τῷ τότε οἱ ποταμοὶ πάντες οἱ Ἰνδικοὶ πολλοῦ τε ὕδατος καὶ θολεροῦ ἔρρεον καὶ ὀξέος τοῦ ρεύματος· ἦν γὰρ ὥρα ἔτους ἢ μετὰ τροπὰς μάλιστα <τὰς> ἐν θέρει τρέπεται ὁ ἥλιος· ταύτῃ δὲ τῇ ὥρᾳ ὕδατά τε ἐξ οὐρανοῦ ἀθρόα τε καταφέρεται ἐς τὴν γῆν τὴν Ἰνδικὴν καὶ αἱ χιόνες αἱ τοῦ Καυκάσου, ἐνθενπερ τῶν πολλῶν ποταμῶν αἱ πηγαὶ εἰσι, κατατηκόμεναι αὐξουσιν αὐτοῖς τὸ ὕδωρ ἐπὶ μέγα· χειμῶνος δὲ ἔμπαλιν ἰσχουσιν ὀλίγοι τε γίνονται καὶ καθαροὶ ἰδεῖν καὶ ἔστιν ὅπου περάσιμοι, πλήν γε δὴ τοῦ Ἰνδοῦ καὶ Γάγγου καὶ τυχὸν καὶ ἄλλου του· ἀλλ' ὁ γε Ἰδάσπης περατὸς γίνεται.

10. Ταύτην οὖν τὴν ὥραν τοῦ ἔτους προσμένειν ἐς τὸ φανερόν ἔφασκεν, εἰ ἐν τῷ τότε εἴργοιτο· ὁ δὲ οὐδὲν μείον ἐφεδρεύων ἔμενεν, εἴ πη λάθοι ὑφαρπάσας ὀξέως τὸν πόρον. ἢ μὲν δὴ αὐτὸς Πῶρος κατεστρατοπεδεύκει πρὸς τῇ ὄχθῃ τοῦ Ἰδάσπου, ἔγνω ἀδύνατος ὦν περᾶσαι ὑπὸ πλήθους τε τῶν ἐλεφάντων καὶ ὅτι πολλὴ στρατιὰ καὶ αὐτὴ τεταγμένη τε καὶ 2 ἀκριβῶς ὀπλισμένη ἐκβαίνουσιν αὐτοῖς ἐπιθήσεσθαι ἔμελλεν· οἳ τε ἵπποι οὐκ ἂν ἐδόκουν αὐτῷ ἐθελῆσαι οὐδὲ ἐπιβῆναι τῆς ὄχθης τῆς πέραν, προσκειμένων σφίσιν εὐθὺς τῶν

level of the river fell during the winter and gave him a chance of crossing the river at several points.³ His boats sailing along in this and that direction, the filling with chaff of the rafts made of skins, and the spectacle of the whole bank filled with troops, cavalry here and infantry there, gave Porus no rest, and did not permit him to choose a single position suitable for keeping watch and to concentrate upon that alone. Besides, at that time all the rivers of 4 India were running deep and turbulent with a swift current; for it was the season when the sun is first turning after the summer solstice, and when heavy rains come down on the land of India, and the snows of the Caucasus, where most of the rivers rise, are melting and greatly increase the volume of water; but in winter the flow is checked and the rivers become smaller, clear in appearance, and except for the Indus, Ganges, and possibly some others, fordable in places; the Hydaspes at any rate can be forded.⁴

10. Alexander then announced in public that he would wait in this summer season, if he were prevented from crossing for the time; but none the less he stayed there watching, if by any chance he might quickly streak across without being seen. He recognized that it was impossible to cross in the place where Porus himself had encamped on the bank of the Hydaspes, owing to the number of the elephants, and because there was a great army, well ordered and carefully armed, ready to assail his troops as they landed. He 2 thought that the horses would not be willing even to set foot on the other bank, as the elephants would immediately advance to attack them

3 Veith, *Klio* 1908, 131 ff., shows that this need not come from an authority who did not record the alarms.

4 The river was four stades wide and flowing fast, QC. 13, 8 f.

ἐλεφάντων καὶ τῇ τε ὄψει ἅμα καὶ τῇ φωνῇ φοβούντων, οὐδ' ἂν ἔτι πρόσθεν μέναι ἐπὶ τῶν διφθερῶν κατὰ τὸν πόρον, ἀλλ' ἐκπηδᾶν γὰρ ἐς τὸ ὕδωρ ἀφορῶντες πέραν τοὺς ἐλέφαντας
 3 [καὶ] ἔκφρονες γιγνόμενοι. κλέψαι οὖν ἐπενόει τὴν διάβασιν ὧδε πράττων. νύκτωρ παραγαγὼν ἄλλη καὶ ἄλλη τῆς ὄχθης τοὺς πολλοὺς τῶν ἰππέων βοήν τε ἐποίει καὶ ἠλαλάζετο τῷ Ἐυναλίῳ καὶ τὰλλα ὅσα ἐπὶ διαβάσει συσκευαζομένων θόρυβος παντοδαπὸς ἐγίγνετο. καὶ ὁ Πῶρος τε ἀντιπαρήει
 4 πρὸς τὴν βοήν ἐπάγων τοὺς ἐλέφαντας καὶ Ἀλέξανδρος ἐς ἔθος αὐτὸν τῆς ἀντιπαραγωγῆς καθίστη. ὡς δὲ ἐπὶ πολὺ τοῦτο ἐγίγνετο καὶ βοή μόνον καὶ ἀλαλαγμός ἦν, οὐκέτι ὁ Πῶρος μετεκινεῖτο πρὸς τὰς ἐκδρομὰς τῶν ἰππέων, ἀλλὰ κενὸν γὰρ γνοὺς τὸν φόβον κατὰ χώραν ἐπὶ στρατοπέδου ἔμεινε· σκοποὶ δὲ αὐτῷ πολλαχοῦ τῆς ὄχθης καθεκίστηκεσαν. Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ ὡς ἐξείργαστο αὐτῷ ἄφοβον τὸ τοῦ Πῶρου εἰς τὰς νυκτερινὰς ἐπιχειρήσεις μηχανᾶται τι τοιόνδε.

11. Ἄκρα ἦν ἀνέχουσα τῆς ὄχθης τοῦ Ἰδάσπου, ἵνα ἐπέκαμπεν ὁ ποταμὸς λόγου ἀξίως, αὐτὴ τε δασεία ἴδη παντοίων δένδρων καὶ κατ' αὐτὴν νῆσος ἐν τῷ ποταμῷ ὑλώδης τε καὶ ἀστιβῆς ὑπ' ἐρημίας. ταύτην καταμαθὼν τὴν νῆσον καταντικρὺ τῆς ἄκρας, ἀμφοτέρω ὑλώδη τὰ χωρία καὶ
 2 οἷα κρύψαι τῆς διαβάσεως τὴν ἐπιχείρησιν, ταύτη ἔγνω διαβιβάζειν τὸν στρατόν. ἀπέχει δὲ ἢ τε ἄκρα καὶ ἡ νῆσος τοῦ μεγάλου στρατοπέδου ἐς πενήκοντα καὶ ἑκατὸν σταδίους. παρὰ πᾶσαν δὲ τὴν ὄχθην φυλακαὶ τε αὐτῷ καθεστηκῦναι ἦσαν,

and scare them both by their appearance and their trumpeting, and that even before this they would not stay during the crossing on the rafts made of skins, but would jump off into the water, once frenzied by sight of the elephants on the other side. So he
 3 determined to steal across in the following way. At night he used to take the greater part of his cavalry in this and that direction along the bank, with shouts and war-cries, and to make every other sort of disturbance which was to be expected when an army was preparing to cross. Porus then kept moving parallel with the shouts, bringing up his elephants, and Alexander led him on to make a habit of this
 4 counter-movement. But when this had been going on some time, and there was nothing but shouting and raising of the war-cry, Porus no longer kept following the directions in which the cavalry moved, but realizing that the alarm was false, would remain in camp where he was, though he had set scouts at various points of the bank. When he had calmed Porus' nervousness at these nightly manoeuvres, Alexander contrived the following stratagem.

11. From the bank of the Hydaspes a headland projected, where the river made a considerable bend; the headland itself was densely forested with every sort of tree, and opposite it was an island in the river, wooded and pathless, as it was uninhabited. Observing this island opposite the headland, both places being wooded and suited to hide the attempt at crossing, Alexander determined to take his army over at this point. The headland and
 2 island were about a hundred and fifty stades distant from the great camp. Alexander had posted guards all along the bank, at

διαλείπουνται ὅσον ξύμμετρον ἐς τὸ ξυνορᾶν τε ἀλλήλους καὶ κατακούειν εὐπετῶς ὀπόθεν τι παραγγέλλοιτο, καὶ πανταχόθεν βοαί τε νύκτωρ ἐπὶ πολλὰς νύκτας ἐγίγνοντο καὶ πυρὰ ἐκαίετο.

3 Ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἔγνω ἐπιχειρεῖν τῷ πόρῳ, κατὰ μὲν τὸ στρατόπεδον φανερώς αὐτῷ τὰ τῆς διαβάσεως παρεσκευάζετο. καὶ Κρατερὸς ὑπελέλειπτο ἐπὶ στρατοπέδου τήν τε αὐτοῦ ἔχων ἵππαρχίαν καὶ τοὺς ἐξ Ἀραχωτῶν καὶ Παραπαμισαδῶν ἱππέας καὶ τῆς φάλαγγος τῶν Μακεδόνων τήν τε Ἀλκέτου καὶ τὴν Πολυπέρχοντος τάξιν καὶ τοὺς νομάρχας τῶν ἐπὶ τάδε¹

4 Ἰνδῶν καὶ τοὺς ἅμα τούτοις τοὺς πεντακισχιλίους. παρηγγέλλετο δὲ Κρατερῷ μὴ πρὶν διαβαίνειν τὸν πόρον πρὶν ἀπαλλαγῆναι Πῶρον ξὺν τῇ δυνάμει ὡς ἐπὶ σφᾶς ἢ φεύγοντα μαθεῖν, αὐτοὺς δὲ νικῶντας· ἦν δὲ μέρος μὲν τι τῆς στρατιᾶς ἀναλαβὼν Πῶρος ἐπ' ἐμὲ ἄγῃ, μέρος δέ τι ὑπολειφθῆ αὐτῷ ἐπὶ στρατοπέδου καὶ ἐλέφαντες, σὺ δὲ δὴ καὶ ὡς μένειν κατὰ χώραν εἰ δὲ τοὺς ἐλέφαντας ξύμπαντας ἅμα οἱ ἄγοι Πῶρος ἐπ' ἐμέ, τῆς δὲ ἄλλης στρατιᾶς ὑπολείποιτό τι ἐπὶ στρατοπέδου, σὺ δὲ διαβαίνειν σπουδῆ· οἱ γὰρ ἐλέφαντες μόνοι, ἔφη, ἀποροί εἰσι πρὸς τοὺς ἐκβαίνοντας ἵππους, ἢ δὲ ἄλλη στρατιὰ εὐπορος.

12. Ταῦτα μὲν Κρατερῷ ἐνετέλλετο. ἐν μέσῳ δὲ τῆς νήσου τε καὶ τοῦ μεγάλου στρατοπέδου, ἵνα αὐτῷ Κρατερὸς ὑπελέλειπτο, Μελέαγρός τε καὶ Ἄτταλος καὶ Γοργίας ξὺν τοῖς μισθοφόροις ἱππεύσιν τε καὶ πεζοῖς ἐτετάχατο· καὶ τούτοις διαβαίνειν παρηγγέλλετο κατὰ μέρος, διελόντας τὸν

¹ Perhaps insert τοῦ Ἰδάσπου (Roos).

intervals at which they could see one another and hear easily, from whatever point an order was passed on; and from all sides shouts at night were raised over several nights and fires kept burning.

3 When he had determined to attempt the passage, in the camp preparations for crossing were made openly; and Craterus was left in charge of the camp, with his own hipparchy, the cavalry of the Arachotians and Parapamisadae and from the Macedonian phalanx the battalions of Alcetas and Polyperchon, together with the nomarchs of the Indians of these districts¹ and their five thousand
4 men. Craterus was ordered not to attempt a crossing till Porus and his army had left his camp to attack Alexander's forces, or till he had learnt that Porus was in flight and his own side conquerors; 'but should Porus take a part of his army and lead it against me' (Alexander continued) 'and leave another part behind at his camp with elephants, still stay where you are; if, however, Porus takes all his elephants with him against me, but leaves some part of his army behind at the camp, cross with all dispatch; for it is only the elephants which make it impracticable to disembark horses; the rest of the force will not trouble them.'

12. Such were Craterus' orders. Between the island and the great camp, where Craterus had been left, Meleager and Attalus and Gorgias were posted with the mercenary cavalry and infantry; and they too were instructed to cross in sections, dividing the

¹ Perhaps read 'Indians on the near side of the Hydaspes' (cf. 8, 5). Variant and self-contradictory information in QC. 13, 18-21 and 23, where the importance of Pt's role may be Clitarchus' invention (vi 11, 8 n.).

στρατόν, ὅποτε ξυνεχομένους ἤδη ἐν τῇ μάχῃ τοὺς Ἴνδους ἴδοιεν.

- 2 Αὐτὸς δὲ ἐπιλεξάμενος τῶν τε ἐταίρων τὸ ἄγημα καὶ τὴν Ἐφαιστιῶνος ἵππαρχίαν καὶ τὴν Περδίκκου τε καὶ Δημητρίου καὶ τοὺς ἐκ Βάκτρων καὶ Σογδιανῶν καὶ τοὺς Σκύθας ἵππέας καὶ Δάας τοὺς ἵπποτοξότας καὶ τῆς φάλαγγος τοὺς τε ὑπασπιστάς καὶ τὴν Κλείτου τε καὶ Κοίνου τάξις καὶ τοὺς τοξότας τε καὶ τοὺς Ἀγριαῖνας ἤγειν ἀφανῶς πολὺ τι ἀπέχων τῆς ὄχθης, τοῦ μὴ καταφανῆς εἶναι ἄγων ἐπὶ τὴν νῆσον καὶ
- 3 τὴν ἄκραν, ἔνθεν διαβαίνειν αὐτῷ ἦν ἐγνωσμένον. καὶ ἐνταῦθα ἐπληροῦντο τῆς νυκτὸς αἱ διφθέραι τῆς κάρφης, ἐκ πολλοῦ ἤδη παρενηνεγμένοι, καὶ κατερράπτοντο ἐς ἀκρίβειαν· ὕδωρ τε ἐξ οὐρανοῦ τῆς νυκτὸς λάβρον ἐπιγίγνεται. ταύτῃ καὶ μᾶλλον τι ἢ παρασκευὴ τε αὐτῷ καὶ ἢ ἐπιχείρησις ἢ ἐς τὴν διάβασιν οὐ φανερά κατέστη, τῷ κτύπῳ τῷ ἀπὸ τῶν ὄπλων καὶ τῷ θορύβῳ τῷ ἀπὸ τῶν παραγγελμάτων τῶν τε βροντῶν
- 4 καὶ τοῦ ὄμβρου ἀντιπαταγούντων. καὶ τῶν πλοίων δὲ τὰ πολλὰ αὐτῷ ξυντετμημένα παρεκεκόμιστο ἐς τὸν χῶρον τοῦτον καὶ ἀφανῶς αὐθις ξυμπεπηγμένα ἐν τῇ ὕλῃ ἐκρύπτετο, τὰ τε ἄλλα καὶ αἱ τριακόντοροι. ὑπὸ δὲ τὴν ἕω ὃ τε ἄνεμος καὶ ὁ ὄμβρος κεκοίμητο. καὶ ἢ μὲν ἄλλη στρατιὰ αὐτῷ ἢ ἵππικὴ τῶν διφθερῶν ἐπιβᾶσα καὶ ὅσους τῶν πεζῶν τὰ πλοῖα ἐδέχετο ἐπέρα κατὰ τὴν νῆσον, ὡς μὴ πρόσθεν ὀφθίειν πρὸς τῶν σκοπῶν τῶν ἐκ Πύρου καθεστηκότων πρὶν παραλλάξαντας τὴν νῆσον ὀλίγον ἔτι ἀπέχειν τῆς ὄχθης.

force, as soon as they saw the Indians already engaged in battle.¹

- 2 Alexander himself selected the *agema* of the Companions, the hipparchies of Hephaestion, Perdiccas and Demetrius, the cavalry from Bactria and Sogdiana and the Scythian horsemen, with the Dahae, mounted archers, and from the phalanx, the hypaspists and the battalions of Clitus and Coenus, the archers and the Agrianians²; he led this force where it could not be seen, keeping some distance from the bank, so that he might not be detected marching towards the island and headland, where he had
- 3 determined to cross. And there, during the night, the rafts made of skins, which had already been brought along some time before, were filled with chaff and carefully sewn together. Violent rain came on in the night, and helped to conceal Alexander's preparations and his attempt to make the crossing; the thunderclaps and the rain counteracted the clatter of the arms and the commotion arising from the commands. Most of the boats, which
- 4 had been broken into sections, had been duly transported to this place, put together again out of sight and hidden in the wood, including the *triacontoroi*. But towards dawn the wind and rain had quieted down,³ and his cavalry embarked on the rafts with all the infantry the boats could take, and crossed by the island, so that they might not be seen by the scouts posted by Porus before they had passed the island and were already near the bank.

1 These regiments are never mentioned in the fighting, but A. must have failed to record that they crossed after Al. and came up for the battle (Tarn ii 190). The mercenary force, if all stationed here, would have been large (App. XIII).

2 App. XIX 3 f. on 11, 3–12, 2.

3 Cf. 13, 3; QC. 13, 24; *contra* P. 60, 2 (Onesicritus?).

13. Αὐτὸς δὲ ἐπιβὰς τριακοντόρου ἐπέρα καὶ ἅμα αὐτῷ Πτολεμαῖός τε καὶ Περδίκκας καὶ Λυσίμαχος οἱ σωματοφύλακες καὶ Σέλευκος τῶν ἐταίρων, ὁ βασιλεύσας ὕστερον, καὶ τῶν ὑπασπιστῶν οἱ ἡμίσεις· τοὺς δὲ ἄλλους ὑπασπιστὰς ἄλλαι τριακόντοροι ἔφερον. ὡς δὲ τὴν νῆσον παρήλλαξεν ἡ στρατιὰ, φανερώς ἤδη ἐπέιχον τῇ ὄχθῃ· καὶ οἱ σκοποὶ κατιδόντες αὐτῶν τὴν ὀρμὴν ὡς ἐκάστοις τάχους οἱ ἵπποι εἶχον ἤλαυνον ὡς ἐπὶ τὸν Πῶρον. ἐν τούτῳ δὲ Ἀλέξανδρος πρῶτος αὐτὸς ἐκβὰς καὶ τοὺς ἀπὸ τῶν ἄλλων τριακοντόρων ἀναλαβὼν ξυνέταπτε τοὺς αἰὲ ἐκβαίνοντας τῶν ἱππέων. οἱ γὰρ ἱππεῖς πρῶτοι ἐτετάχατο αὐτῷ ἐκβαίνειν· καὶ τούτους ἄγων προῆει ἐν τάξει. ἔλαθε δὲ οὐκ ἐς βέβαιον χωρίον ἐκβὰς ἀγνοίᾳ τῶν τόπων, ἀλλὰ ἐς νῆσον γὰρ καὶ αὐτὴν μὲν μεγάλην, ἣ δὲ καὶ μᾶλλον νήσος οὖσα ἔλαθεν, οὐ πολλῶ δὲ ὕδατι πρὸς τοῦ ποταμοῦ ἀποτεμνομένην ἀπὸ τῆς ἄλλης γῆς. καὶ ἅμα ηὔξῃκει τὸ ὕδωρ ὁ ὄμβρος λάβρος τε καὶ ἐπὶ πολὺ τῆς νυκτὸς κατασχών, ὥστε οὐκ ἐξεύρισκον αὐτῷ οἱ ἱππεῖς τὸν πόρον, καὶ δέος ἦν αὐθις ἄλλου δεῆσαι αὐτῷ ἐπὶ τῇ διαβάσει ἴσου τῷ πρῶτῳ πόνου. ὡς δὲ ἐξευρέθη ποτὲ ὁ πόρος, ἦγε κατ' αὐτὸν χαλεπῶς· ἦν γὰρ τῶν μὲν πεζῶν ὑπὲρ τοὺς μαστοὺς τὸ ὕδωρ ἵνα περ τὸ βαθύτατον αὐτοῦ, τῶν δὲ ἵππων ὄδον τὰς κεφαλὰς ὑπερίσχειν τοῦ ποταμοῦ. ὡς δὲ καὶ τοῦτο ἐπεπέρατο αὐτῷ τὸ

13. Alexander in person embarked on a *triacontoros* and began the passage, and with him were Ptolemy, Perdikkas and Lysimachus, bodyguards, and Seleucus, one of the Companions, who afterwards became king,¹ and half the hypaspists.² The rest were taken by other *triacontoroi*. Once the force passed the island, they were plainly attacking the bank; the scouts, observing their oncoming, rode to Porus as fast as each man's horse could carry² him. Meanwhile Alexander disembarked first himself, and taking over the men from the other *triacontoroi*, he marshalled the cavalry in order as they kept disembarking, for he had instructed the cavalry to disembark first; taking them with him, he advanced in fighting array. However, without being aware of it, he had disembarked through want of local knowledge not on solid land but on an island; it too was large,³ and this was chiefly why he had not noticed that it was an island; still it was parted from the other side³ by a small stream of the river. At the same time the rain, which was violent and kept on most of the night, had swollen the river, so that his cavalry did not find the ford, and there was apprehension that to complete the crossing he must repeat all the former effort. But when at last the ford was found, Alexander led them across it, though with difficulty, for the water at its deepest was above the breasts of the foot-soldiers, while the horses kept only their heads⁴ above the river. But when even this water had also been

1 Why does A. not name the other bodyguards (it would not be Pt. who singled out Perdikkas, App. XXIV 1) or note that Seleucus (but not Lysimachus) took the title of king (in 305)? He was perhaps influenced by the same late authority as he used in vii 22, 5. See n. on § 4.

2 As one boat could not carry some 1500 men, A. has probably garbled a statement that half the hypaspists crossed at first, and that the boats returned for the rest.

3 Not the island of 11, 1.

ὑδωρ, ἐπὶ μὲν τὸ δεξιὸν κέρας παρήγαγε τό τε ἄγλημα τῶν ἱππέων καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἱππαρχῶν τοὺς κρατίστους ἐπιλεξάμενος· τοὺς δὲ ἱπποτοξότας τῆς πάσης ἵππου προέταξε· τῶν δὲ πεζῶν πρώτους μὲν τοὺς ὑπασπιστάς τοὺς βασιλικούς, ὧν ἡγείτο Σέλευκος, ἐπέταξε τῇ ἵππῳ· ἐπὶ δὲ τούτοις τὸ ἄγλημα τὸ βασιλικόν· ἐχομένους δὲ τούτων τοὺς ἄλλους ὑπασπιστάς, ὡς ἐκάστοις αἱ ἡγεμονίαι ἐν τῷ τότε ξυνέβαινον· κατὰ δὲ τὰ ἄκρα τῆς φάλαγγος οἱ τοξόται αὐτῷ καὶ οἱ Ἀγριαῖνες [καὶ] οἱ ἀκοντισταὶ ἐκατέρωθεν ἐπέστησαν.

14. Οὕτως ἐκτάξας τὸν μὲν πεζὸν στρατὸν ἐν κόσμῳ βάδην ἔπεισθαι ἐκέλευσεν, οὐ πολὺ ἀποδέοντας τῶν ἑξακισχιλίων· αὐτὸς δέ, ὅτι κρατεῖν ἐδόκει τῇ ἵππῳ, τοὺς ἱππέας μόνους ἀναλαβὼν σπουδῇ ἡγείτο, ὄντας ἐς πεντακισχιλίους. Ταύρωνι δὲ τῷ τοξάρχῃ προσέταξε τοὺς τοξότας ἐπάγειν τῇ ἵππῳ καὶ αὐτοὺς σπουδῇ. γνώμην δὲ ἐπεποίητο, ὡς εἰ μὲν προσμίξειαν αὐτῷ οἱ ἀμφὶ τὸν Πῶρον ξὺν τῇ δυνάμει ἀπάσῃ, ἢ κρατήσῃ αὐτῶν οὐ χαλεπῶς τῇ ἵππῳ προσβαλὼν ἢ ἀπομαχεῖσθαι γε ἔστωε τοὺς πεζοὺς ἐν τῷ ἔργῳ ἐπιγενέσθαι· εἰ δὲ πρὸς τὴν τόλμαν τῆς διαβάσεως ἄτοπον γενομένην οἱ Ἴνδοι ἐκπλαγέντες φεύγοιεν, οὐ πόρρωθεν ἔξεσθαι αὐτῶν κατὰ τὴν φυγὴν, ὡς πλείονα ἐν τῇ ἀποχωρήσει τὸν φόνον γενόμενον ὀλίγον ἔτι ὑπολείπεσθαι αὐτῷ τὸ ἔργον.

3 Ἀριστόβουλος δὲ λέγει τὸν Πῶρον παῖδα φθάσαι ἀφικόμενον σὺν ἄρμασιν ὡς ἑξήκοντα πρὶν τὸ

crossed, he led the *agema* of the cavalry round to his 326 right wing, with the best men of the other hipparchies; the mounted archers were set in front of the whole line of cavalry; next to the cavalry he marshalled from the infantry the royal hypaspists under Seleucus, then the royal *agema*, and next the rest of the hypaspists, in order determined by the precedence of the commanders for that day; on the wings of the phalanx on either side he stationed the archers, the Agrianians and the javelin-throwers.⁴

14. With his army thus marshalled, Alexander ordered the infantry forces to follow in good order at a marching pace, their number being nearly six thousand, while, as he seemed to be superior in cavalry, he took the cavalry only in person and advanced at speed, the cavalry numbering about five thousand.¹ He directed Tauron the commander of the archers to lead them on with the ² cavalry, and also at full speed. He determined that if Porus and his people were to attack him with their full force, he would either easily overcome them by charging with his cavalry, or he would fight them off till his infantry joined in the action. If, however, the Indians were panic-stricken by the extraordinary boldness of the crossing and fled, he would keep close up to them in the flight; and the greater the slaughter in the retreat, the less trouble there would be for him in the future.

³ Aristobulus says that Porus' son arrived with sixty chariots before Alexander made his last crossing from

⁴ For A's errors and omissions see App. XIX 3. QC. 14, 15 makes Antigones, Leonnatus and Tauron (cf. A. 16, 3) command all the foot, and does not mention Seleucus.

¹ Probably A's source gave a total (3000 hypaspists and 3000 other phalangites) for those who crossed with Al. But at the battle he had much larger forces (12, 1 n.). The figure for cavalry must include Orientals (Brunt, *JHS* 1963, 41 against Tarn ii 193). All figures are for paper strength.

ὑστερον ἐκ τῆς νήσου τῆς μικρᾶς¹ περᾶσαι Ἀλέξανδρον καὶ
 τοῦτον δυνηθῆναι ἂν εἶρξαι Ἀλέξανδρον τῆς διαβάσεως
 χαλεπῶς καὶ μηδενὸς εἴργοντος περαιωθέντα, εἶπερ οὖν
 καταπηδήσαντες οἱ Ἴνδοι ἐκ τῶν ἀρμάτων προσέκειντο τοῖς
 πρώτοις τῶν ἐκβαιόντων· ἀλλὰ παραλλάξαι γὰρ ξὺν τοῖς
 ἄρμασι καὶ ἀκίνδυνον ποιῆσαι Ἀλεξάνδρῳ τὴν διάβασιν· καὶ
 4 τραπήναι αὐτοὺς οὐ χαλεπῶς, πληγὰς λαμβάνοντας. οἱ δὲ καὶ
 μάχην λέγουσιν ἐν τῇ ἐκβάσει γενέσθαι τῶν Ἰνδῶν τῶν ξὺν
 τῷ παιδὶ τῷ Πώρου ἀφιγμένων πρὸς Ἀλεξάνδρον τε καὶ τοὺς
 ξὺν αὐτῷ ἰππέας. καὶ γὰρ καὶ ἀφικέσθαι ξὺν μείζονι δυνάμει
 τὸν Πώρου παῖδα, καὶ αὐτόν τε Ἀλέξανδρον τρωθῆναι πρὸς
 αὐτοῦ καὶ τὸν ἵππον αὐτοῦ ἀποθανεῖν τὸν Βουκεφάλαν,
 φίλτατον Ἀλεξάνδρῳ ὄντα τὸν ἵππον, καὶ τοῦτον τρωθέντα
 5 ὑπὸ τοῦ παιδὸς τοῦ Πώρου. ἀλλὰ Πτολεμαῖος ὁ Λάγου, ὅτῳ
 καὶ ἐγὼ ξυμφέρομαι, ἄλλως λέγει. ἐκπεμφθῆναι μὲν γὰρ τὸν
 παῖδα ὑπὸ τοῦ Πώρου λέγει καὶ οὗτος, ἀλλ' οὐχ ἐξήκοντα
 μόνα ἄρματα ἄγοντα. οὐδὲ γὰρ εἰκὸς Πώρον ἀκούσαντα ἐκ
 τῶν σκοπῶν, ὅτι δὴ ἦ αὐτὸς Ἀλέξανδρος διαβέβηκεν τοῦ
 Ὑδάσπου τὸν πόρον ἢ μέρος γέ τι τῆς στρατιᾶς, ξὺν
 6 ἐξήκοντα ἄρμασι μόνοις ἐκπέμψαι τὸν αὐτοῦ παῖδα· ἃ δὴ ὡς
 μὲν ἐπὶ κατασκοπὴν ἐκπεμπόμενα πολλά τε καὶ οὐκ εὐζῶνα ἐς
 τὴν ἀποχώρησιν ἦν, ὡς δὲ εἰς τὸ

1 Schmieder proposed to substitute *μακρᾶς* or delete *τῆς*
μικρᾶς, cf. 13, 2.

the small island,² and that he could have prevented Alexander's
 crossing, difficult as it was even when unopposed, if only the
 Indians had leapt from their chariots and attacked the foremost of
 those coming to land. However, he drove past with his chariots, and
 thus allowed Alexander to cross without danger; and Alexander
 launched his mounted archers against this force, and easily turned
 them to flight, inflicting casualties. Others say that there was
 4 actually a battle at the landing between the Indians who had arrived
 with Porus' son and Alexander and his cavalry. For Porus' son
 actually did arrive (they say) with a superior force, and Alexander
 was wounded by him and his horse Bucephalas killed, his favourite
 horse, which was actually wounded by Porus' son.³ But Ptolemy son
 of Lagus, with whom I too agree, gives a different account. He too
 5 states that Porus sent his son, but not with only sixty chariots. Nor
 was it likely⁴ that Porus, on learning from his scouts that the
 Hydaspes had been crossed either by Alexander in person or at
 least by a part of his army, would have sent out his own son with no
 more than sixty chariots. If these were sent for reconnaissance, they
 6 were too many, as well as too cumbrous for withdrawal, but if

2 See critical note. Unless we delete 'small' or substitute 'large'
 (the second emendation is easy), Ar. must have differed from Pt. on
 the size of the island in 13, 2.

3 D. 95, 5 and probably QC. 14, 34 on Bucephalas. But QC.
 substitutes Porus' brother, Spitaces (cf. A. 18, 2), for his son and gives
 him 100 chariots and 4000 horse; this version (Clitarchus?) is not A's
 vulgate: P. 60, 5 (1000 horse and 60 chariots) is different again.

4 The use of *oratio recta* shows (*contra* Jacoby etc.) that this is the
 comment of A., not Pt., who recorded what he saw and had no cause to
 resort to reasoning.

εἰρξάι τε τοὺς οὐπω πεπερακότας τῶν πολεμίων καὶ τοῖς ἤδη ἐκβεβηκόσιν ἐπιθέσθαι οὐδαμῆ ἀξιόμαχα. ἀλλὰ δισχιλίους γὰρ λέγει ἰππέας ἄγοντα ἀφικέσθαι τοῦ Πώρου τὸν παῖδα, ἄρματα δὲ ἑκατὸν καὶ εἴκοσι· φθάσαι δὲ περάσαντα Ἀλέξανδρον καὶ τὸν ἐκ τῆς νήσου τὸν τελευταῖον πόρον.

15. Καὶ ἐπὶ τούτους τὰ μὲν πρῶτα ἐκπέμψαι Ἀλέξανδρον καὶ οὗτος λέγει τοὺς ἰπποτοξότας, αὐτὸν δὲ ἄγειν τοὺς ἰππέας· προσάγειν γὰρ οἰηθῆναι Πώρον ξὺν τῇ πάσῃ δυνάμει· τὴν δὲ ἵππον ταύτην προτεταγμένην αὐτῷ προπορεύεσθαι πρὸ τοῦ ἄλλου στρατοῦ. ὡς δὲ κατέμαθεν ἀτρεκῶς τὸ πλήθος τὸ τῶν Ἰνδῶν, ἐνταῦθα δὴ ὀξέως ἐπιπεσεῖν αὐτοῖς ξὺν τῇ ἀμφ' αὐτὸν ἵππῳ τοὺς δὲ ἐγκλῖναι, ὡς Ἀλέξανδρον τε αὐτὸν κατείδον καὶ τὸ στίφος ἀμφ' αὐτὸν τῶν ἰππέων οὐκ ἐπὶ μετώπου, ἀλλὰ κατ' ἴλας ἐμβεβληκός. καὶ τούτων ἰππέας μὲν πεσεῖν ἐς τετρακοσίους, πεσεῖν δὲ καὶ τοῦ Πώρου τὸν παῖδα· τὰ δὲ ἄρματα αὐτοῖς ἵπποις ἀλῶναι ἔν τε τῇ ἀποχωρήσει βαρέα γενόμενα καὶ ἐν αὐτῷ τῷ ἔργῳ ὑπὸ πηλοῦ ἀχρεῖα.
- 3 Πῶρος δέ, ὡς αὐτῷ ὅσοι ἰππεῖς ἐκ τῆς φυγῆς διεσώζοντο Ἀλέξανδρον τε αὐτὸν πεπερακότα ξὺν τῇ στρατιᾷ ἐς τὸ καρτερώτατον καὶ τὸν παῖδα ἐν τῇ μάχῃ τετελευτηκότα ἤγγειλαν, ἐγίγνετο μὲν καὶ ὡς ἀμφίβολος τῇ γνώμῃ, ὅτι καὶ οἱ ἀπὸ τοῦ καταντικρὸ τοῦ μεγάλου στρατοπέδου οἱ ξὺν
- 4 Κρατερῷ ὑπολειμμένοι ἐπιχειροῦντες τῇ διαβάσει ἐφαίνοντο· εἶλετο δ' οὖν ἐπ' αὐτὸν Ἀλέξανδρον ἐλάσας ξὺν τῇ στρατιᾷ πάσῃ πρὸς τὸ καρτερώτατόν τε τῶν Μακεδόνων καὶ αὐτὸν τὸν βασιλέα διαγωνίσασθαι. ἀλλὰ καὶ ὡς ὀλίγους τῶν ἐλεφάντων

the aim was to keep the enemy who had not yet crossed from doing so and to attack those who had already landed, they were altogether unequal to the task. In fact Ptolemy says that Porus' son had with him when he reached the place two thousand cavalry and a hundred and twenty chariots; but that Alexander was too quick and had by then actually made his final crossing from the island.

15. Ptolemy also says that Alexander at first sent the mounted archers against them, while he himself led on the cavalry, in the belief that Porus was coming up with all his army, and that this cavalry, marshalled in his van, preceded the rest of the army, but that, on obtaining accurate information on the number of the Indians, he fell upon them sharply with the cavalry he had with him; they gave way when they saw that Alexander in person and the serried mass of cavalry round him were attacking not in line but squadron (*ilé*) by squadron; about four hundred of their horsemen fell, as did Porus' son; and the chariots with their teams were captured, as they proved too heavy in retreat, and were useless in the action itself because of mud.¹
- 3 When the horsemen who had escaped in the flight had reported to Porus that Alexander himself had crossed with his army in full force and that his son had fallen in the fight, he was still in two minds, all the more because the forces in the camp opposite, who had been left behind with Craterus, were now seen to be
- 4 attempting the passage. In fact, he chose to advance against Alexander himself with all his force, and fight to a finish against the strongest part of the Macedonians and their king himself. Even so

1 QC. 14, 2 ff. merges this fight into the main battle.

σὺν οὐ πολλῇ στρατιᾷ αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ τοῦ στρατοπέδου ἀπέλιπεν,
 ὡς φοβεῖν ἀπὸ τῆς ὄχθης τοὺς ξὺν Κρατερῶ ἱππέας. αὐτὸς δὲ
 τὴν τε ἵππον ἀναλαβὼν πᾶσαν, ἐς τετρακισχιλίους ἱππέας,
 καὶ τὰ ἄρματα πάντα, τριακόσια ὄντα, καὶ τῶν ἐλεφάντων
 5 διακοσίους καὶ τῶν πεζῶν ὅ τι περ ὄφελος, ἐς τρισμυρίους
 ἤλαυνεν ὡς ἐπ' Ἀλέξανδρον. ὡς δὲ ἐνέτυχε χωρίῳ, ἵνα οὐ
 πηλὸς αὐτῷ ἐφαίνετο, ἀλλὰ ὑπὸ ψάμμου γὰρ ξύμπαν ἦν
 ἄπεδον καὶ στερεὸν ἐς τὰς ἐφόδους τε καὶ ἀναστροφὰς τῶν
 ἵππων, ἐνταῦθα ἔτασσε τὴν στρατιάν, πρώτους μὲν τοὺς
 ἐλέφαντας ἐπὶ μετώπου, διέχοντα ἐλέφαντα ἐλέφαντος οὐ
 μείον πλέθρου, ὡς πρὸ πάσης τε τῆς φάλαγγος τῶν πεζῶν
 παραταθῆναι αὐτῷ τοὺς ἐλέφαντας ἐπὶ μετώπου καὶ φόβον
 6 πάντη παρέχειν τοῖς ἀμφ' Ἀλέξανδρον ἱππεύσιν. ἄλλως τε
 οὐδὲ ἡξίου ἐς τὰ διαλείποντα τῶν ἐλεφάντων τολμηῆσαι ἄν
 τινα ὄσασθαι τῶν πολεμίων, οὔτε ξὺν ἵπποις διὰ τὸν φόβον
 τῶν ἵππων, πεζοὺς τε ἔτι μείον· κατὰ στόμα τε γὰρ ἂν πρὸς
 τῶν ὀπλιτῶν προσβαλλόντων εἶργεσθαι καὶ
 7 καταπατηθῆσεσθαι ἐπιστρεψάντων ἐπ' αὐτοὺς τῶν ἐλεφάντων.
 ἐπὶ τούτοις δὲ οἱ πεζοὶ αὐτῷ ἐτετάχατο, οὐκ ἴσον τὸ μέτωπον
 τοῖς θηρίοις ἐπέχοντες, ἀλλ' ἐν δευτέρῳ μετώπῳ μετὰ τοὺς
 ἐλέφαντας, ὅσον ἐς τὰ διαλείποντα ἐπ' ὀλίγον ἐμβεβλήσθαι
 τοὺς λόχους. ἦσαν δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ κατὰ τὰ κέρατα ἔτι ὑπὲρ τοὺς
 ἐλέφαντας πεζοὶ ἐφεστηκότες, ἐκατέρωθεν δὲ τῶν πεζῶν ἢ
 ἵππος αὐτῷ ἐτέτακτο καὶ πρὸ ταύτης τὰ ἄρματα ἐκατέρωθεν.

16. Αὕτη μὲν ἢ Πώρου τάξις ἦν. Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ ὡς ἤδη
 καθεώρα τοὺς Ἰνδοὺς ἐκτασσομένους,

he left a few elephants behind with a small force there by the camp,
 to scare the cavalry under Craterus away from the bank. He
 himself, taking all his cavalry, about four thousand horse, all the
 three hundred chariots, two hundred of the elephants, and any
 serviceable infantry, about thirty thousand, advanced against
 5 Alexander.² When he found a place that he did not think muddy—it
 was sandy and therefore all level and solid for cavalry to charge and
 retire—he drew up his army there, putting the elephants on the
 front line, not less than a hundred feet apart,³ so as to form a line in
 front of the whole phalanx of infantry, and terrify the cavalry of
 Alexander at all points. He did not in any case expect that any of the
 6 enemy would dare force a way through the gaps between the
 elephants on horseback, since the horses would take fright; still less
 did he fear the foot-soldiers, who would be kept back by the heavy
 armed troops advancing frontally and trampled down by the
 7 elephants turning upon them. Next the elephants he stationed his
 foot-soldiers, not on the same front as the beasts, but in a second
 line behind them, so that the companies were fitted more or less
 into the intervals. He also had foot-soldiers stationed on the wings
 stretching even beyond the line of elephants; on each flank of the
 infantry the cavalry were posted, and in front of them the chariots
 on both flanks.

16. This then was the disposition of Porus' battle-order. But as
 he already saw the Indians getting

² Variant and mutually contradictory figures in D. and QC. 13, 6
 with 14, 2. None are reliable, cf. App. I 1; III 5; IX 3.

³ With 200 elephants (130 in D., 85 in QC. and 50 in Polyaeus
 iv 3, 22), the line would then have stretched for over 6 km! 'Phalanx' is
 misleading, cf. *Ind.* 16, 6–9. Here A. does not allude to Indian archers,
 for whom see also QC. 14, 10 and 19; his statement that the mud
 prevented use of their bows is credible, cf. *Ind.* 16

- ἐπέστησε τοὺς ἰππέας τοῦ πρόσω, ὡς ἀναλαμβάνειν τῶν πεζῶν τοὺς αἰὲ προσάγοντας. ὡς δὲ καὶ ἡ φάλαγξ αὐτῷ δρόμῳ συνάψασα ὁμοῦ ἤδη ἦν, ὁ δὲ οὐκ εὐθύς ἐκτάξας ἐπήγειν, ὡς μὴ καματηρούς τε καὶ πνευστιῶντας ἀκμῆσι παραδοῦναι τοῖς βαρβάροις, ἀλλὰ ἐς κύκλους παριππεύων
- 2 ἀνέπανε τοὺς πεζοὺς ἕστε καταστῆναι αὐτοῖς τὸν θυμόν. ὡς δὲ τὴν τάξιν κατείδε τῶν Ἰνδῶν, κατὰ μέσον μὲν, ἵνα οἱ ἐλέφαντες προεβέβληντο καὶ πυκνὴ ἡ φάλαγξ κατὰ τὰ διαλείποντα αὐτῶν ἐπετέτακτο, οὐκ ἔγνω προάγειν, αὐτὰ ἐκείνα ὀκνήσας ἄπερ ὁ Πῶρος τῷ λογισμῷ ξυνηθεὶς ταύτη ἔταξεν· ἀλλὰ αὐτὸς μὲν ἄτε ἰπποκρατῶν τὴν πολλὴν τῆς ἵππου ἀναλαβὼν ἐπὶ τὸ εὐώνυμον κέρας τῶν πολεμίων
- 3 παρήλαυνεν, ὡς ταύτη ἐπιθησόμενος. Κοῖνον δὲ πέμπει ὡς ἐπὶ τὸ δεξιόν, τὴν Δημητρίου καὶ τὴν αὐτοῦ ἔχοντα ἵππαρχίαν, κελεύσας, ἐπειδὴν τὸ κατὰ σφᾶς στῖφος τῶν ἰππέων ἰδόντες οἱ βάρβαροι ἀντιπαριππεύωσι, αὐτὸν κατόπιον ἔχεσθαι αὐτῶν τῶν πεζῶν δὲ τὴν φάλαγγα Σελεύκῳ καὶ Ἀντιγένει καὶ Ταύρωνι προσέταξεν ἄγειν, μὴ πρόσθεν δὲ ἄπτεσθαι τοῦ ἔργου πρὶν ὑπὸ τῆς ἵππου τῆς ἀμφ' αὐτὸν τεταραγμένην τὴν τε φάλαγγα τῶν πεζῶν καὶ τοὺς ἰππέας κατίδωσι.
- 4 Ἦδη τε ἐντὸς βέλους ἐγίγνετο καὶ ἐφήκεν ἐπὶ τὸ

into line, Alexander halted his cavalry from any further advance, so as to await the infantry who were coming up behind in succession.¹ And when the phalanx had joined him at the double and was now all present, he did not put them in battle order at once and lead them forward, so as to deliver them tired and out of breath to the barbarians who were fresh, but wheeled his cavalry round and round, and rested his infantry till they had recovered their fighting spirit. On examining the Indian battle-order, however, he decided not to advance in the centre, where the elephants had been thrown forward, and where the phalanx in close formation had been posted in the intervals between them; he was alarmed by the very points which Porus had taken into account when making this disposition; but since his superiority lay in cavalry, he took with him personally most of his cavalry and rode against the enemy's left wing, intending

3 to make his attack there. Coenus was sent to the right,² with the hipparchy of Demetrius and his own, and ordered to close on the barbarians from behind when the latter saw the solid body of cavalry opposite to them and began to ride out parallel with them; Seleucus and Antigenes and Tauron were put in command of the infantry phalanx, with orders not to take part in the action till they observed the enemy's phalanx of infantry and their cavalry thrown into confusion by his own cavalry force.

4 By now they were within missile range, and Alexander

1 P. 60, 6 says that the battle ended at the eighth hour. The crossing had begun towards dawn (12, 4).

2 'To Al's right' or 'against the enemy right'? On the second and usual view the cavalry on Porus' right must have moved in front or rear of his centre to reinforce his left, exposing their own rear to Coenus' force behind them. Is this credible, unless Coenus' force was kept out of sight? On the first view, with the same Indian manoeuvre, Coenus might have been held back on Al's extreme right (cf. perhaps

κέρας τὸ εὐώνυμον τῶν Ἰνδῶν τοὺς ἵπποτοξότας, ὄντας ἐς χιλίους, ὡς ταράξαι τοὺς ταύτη ἐφεστηκότας τῶν πολεμίων τῇ πυκνότητι τε τῶν τοξευμάτων καὶ τῶν ἵππων τῇ ἐπελάσει. καὶ αὐτὸς δὲ τοὺς ἐταίρους ἔχων τοὺς ἵππεας παρήλαυνεν ὀξέως ἐπὶ τὸ εὐώνυμον τῶν βαρβάρων, κατὰ κέρας ἔτι τεταραγμένοις ἐμβαλεῖν σπουδῆν ποιούμενος, πρὶν ἐπὶ φάλαγγος ἐκταθῆναι αὐτοῖς τὴν ἵππον.

17. Ἐν τούτῳ δὲ οἱ τε Ἰνδοὶ τοὺς ἵππεας πάντοθεν ξυναλίσαντες παράπτενον Ἀλεξάνδρῳ ἀντιπαρεξάγοντες τῇ ἐλάσει, καὶ οἱ περὶ Κοῖνον, ὡς παρήγγελτο, κατόπιω αὐτοῖς ἐπεφαίνοντο. ταῦτα ξυνιδόντες οἱ Ἰνδοὶ ἀμφίστομον ἠναγκάσθησαν ποιῆσαι τὴν τάξιν τῆς ἵππου, τὴν μὲν ὡς ἐπ' Ἀλέξανδρον τὴν πολλήν τε καὶ κρατίστην, οἱ δὲ ἐπὶ Κοῖνόν τε
 2 καὶ τοὺς ἅμα τούτῳ ἐπέστρεφον. τούτῳ τε οὖν εὐθύς ἐτάραξε τὰς τάξεις τε καὶ τὰς γνώμας τῶν Ἰνδῶν καὶ Ἀλέξανδρος ἰδὼν τὸν καιρὸν ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ ἐπὶ θάτερα ἐπιστροφῇ τῆς ἵππου ἐπιτίθεται τοῖς καθ' αὐτόν, ὥστε οὐδὲ τὴν ἐμβολὴν ἐδέξαντο τῶν ἀμφ' Ἀλέξανδρον ἵππέων οἱ Ἰνδοί, ἀλλὰ
 3 κατηρ[ρ]άχθησαν ὥσπερ εἰς τεῖχος τι φίλιον τοὺς ἐλέφαντας. καὶ ἐν τούτῳ οἱ ἐπιστάται τῶν ἐλεφάντων ἀντεπήγον τῇ ἵππῳ τὰ θηρία, καὶ ἡ φάλαγξ αὐτῇ τῶν Μακεδόνων ἀντεπήει πρὸς τοὺς ἐλέφαντας, ἔς τε τοὺς ἐπιβάτας αὐτῶν ἀκοντίζοντες καὶ αὐτὰ τὰ θηρία περισταδὸν πάντοθεν βάλλοντες. καὶ ἦν τὸ ἔργον οὐδενὶ τῶν πρόσθεν ἀγώνων

launched his mounted archers, about a thousand strong, at the Indians' left wing,³ to throw into confusion the enemy stationed there by the density of the volleys as well as by the horses charging. He himself with the Companions' cavalry rode at full speed against the enemy left, as he was anxious to attack them in their confusion, while they were still in column formation, before their cavalry could be deployed in line.⁴

17. Meantime the Indians, concentrating all their cavalry from every quarter, kept riding parallel to Alexander to match and oppose his movement, and Coenus and his troops, according to orders, began to appear in their rear. Seeing this, the Indians were compelled to form their cavalry so that it faced both ways; the more numerous and strongest part confronted Alexander, the rest wheeled against Coenus and his force. This of course at once upset
 2 both the lines and the minds of the Indians, and Alexander, seeing his opportunity exactly in this redeployment of the cavalry, attacked those on his front, with such effect that the Indians did not even wait to receive the charge of his cavalry, but were broken and driven back to their elephants, as if to some friendly wall. At this
 3 point the drivers of the elephants brought up their animals against the cavalry, and the Macedonian phalanx for its part boldly advanced to meet the elephants, hurling javelins at their drivers, and, forming a ring round the animals, volleyed upon them from all sides.¹ And the action was now without

³ Porus' foot extending beyond the elephants (15, 7, *contra* D. 87, 4; QC. 14, 10) or his cavalry? We do not know.

⁴ Or 'to attack them on the flank, while they were still confused, before the cavalry could be deployed in line.'

¹ 'Phalanx' is misleading; the Macedonian foot could not have kept their dense formation if they had formed rings round the elephants, and they had no javelins: QC. 14. 24 rightly refers to

εοικός· τά τε γὰρ θηρία ἐπεκθέοντα ἐς τὰς τάξεις τῶν πεζῶν,
 ὅπη ἐπιστρέφειεν, ἐκεραΐζε καίπερ πυκνὴν οὖσαν τὴν τῶν
 Μακεδόνων φάλαγγα, καὶ οἱ ἵππεῖς οἱ τῶν Ἰνδῶν τοῖς πεζοῖς
 4 ἰδόντες ξυνεστηκὸς τὸ ἔργον ἐπιστρέψαντες αὖθις καὶ αὐτοὶ
 ἐπήλαυνον τῇ ἵππῳ. ὡς δὲ πάλιν ἐκράτησαν αὐτῶν οἱ ἀμφ’
 Ἀλέξανδρον τῇ τε ῥώμῃ καὶ τῇ ἐμπειρίᾳ πολὺ προέχοντες, ὡς
 <ἐπὶ> τοὺς ἐλέφαντας αὖθις κατειλήθησαν. καὶ ἐν τούτῳ πᾶσα
 ἢ ἵππος Ἀλεξάνδρῳ ἐς μίαν ἴλην ἤδη ξυνηγμένη, οὐκ ἐκ
 παραγγέλματος, ἀλλὰ ἐν τῷ ἀγῶνι αὐτῷ ἐς τήνδε τὴν τάξιν
 καταστᾶσα, ὅπη προσπέσοι τῶν Ἰνδῶν ταῖς τάξεσι, ξὺν
 5 πολλῷ φόνῳ ἀπελύοντο. καὶ ἐς στενὸν ἤδη κατειλημ[μ]ένων
 τῶν θηρίων οὐ μείω πρὸς αὐτῶν οἱ φίλιοι ἤπερ οἱ πολέμοι
 ἐβλάπτοντο ἐν ταῖς ἐπιστροφαῖς τε καὶ τοῖς ὠθισμοῖς
 καταπατούμενοι. τῶν τε οὖν ἵππέων, οἷα δὴ ἐν στενῷ περὶ
 τοὺς ἐλέφαντας εἰλουμένων, πολὺς φόνος ἐγίγνετο καὶ οἱ
 ἡγεμόνες τῶν ἐλεφάντων οἱ πολλοὶ κατηκοντισμένοι ἦσαν, καὶ
 αὐτοὶ οἱ ἐλέφαντες τὰ μὲν τιτρωσκόμενοι, τὰ δὲ ὑπὸ τε τῶν
 6 πόνων καὶ ἐρημῖα ἡγεμόνων οὐκέτι διακεκριμένοι ἐν τῇ μάχῃ
 ἦσαν, ἀλλ’ οἷα δὴ ὑπὸ τοῦ κακοῦ ἔκφρονες φιλίοις τε ὁμοῦ
 καὶ πολεμίοις προσφερόμενοι πάντα τρόπον ἐξώθουν τε καὶ
 κατεπάτουν καὶ κατέκαινον. ἀλλ’ οἱ μὲν Μακεδόνες, ἅτε ἐν
 εὐρυχωρίᾳ τε καὶ κατὰ γνώμην τὴν σφῶν προσφερόμενοι τοῖς
 θηρίοις, ὅπη μὲν ἐπιφέρουντο εἰκόν, ἀποστραφέντων δὲ
 εἶχοντο ἐσακοντίζοντες· οἱ δὲ Ἰνδοὶ ἐν αὐτοῖς ἀναστρεφόμενοι
 7 τὰ πλείω ἤδη πρὸς ἐκείνων ἐβλάπτοντο. ὡς δὲ καματηρά τε
 ἦν τὰ θηρία καὶ οὐκέτι αὐτοῖς ἐρρωμέναι αἱ ἐκδρομαὶ
 ἐγίγνοντο,

parallel in any previous contest, for the beasts charged into the line
 of infantry and, whichever way they turned, began to devastate the
 Macedonian phalanx, dense though it was, while the Indian cavalry,
 seeing the infantry fully engaged, wheeled again and themselves
 4 charged the cavalry. But when Alexander's forces had the mastery
 over them a second time, as they were much superior both in
 strength and experience, they were again pressed back on to the
 elephants. At this point all Alexander's cavalry had become
 concentrated in one squadron, not under orders but forced into this
 concentration in the very conflict, and wherever it fell upon the
 5 Indian ranks they escaped only with heavy slaughter. The elephants
 were now crowded into a narrow space, and their own side were as
 much damaged by them as the enemy, and trodden down in their
 turnings and jostlings. Among the Indian cavalry, cramped round
 the elephants in a narrow space, there was great carnage; and most
 of the drivers of the elephants had been shot down, some of the
 elephants had been wounded, others were weary and had lost their
 drivers', they no longer kept their separate formation in the battle
 6 but, as if maddened by suffering, attacked friends and foes alike
 and in all sorts of ways kept pushing, trampling, and destroying. The
 Macedonians, however, had plenty of room, and attacked the
 animals at their own judgement, giving way wherever they charged,
 but following close as they turned round, and shooting at them with
 javelins, whereas the Indians who were retreating among the
 elephants were now receiving most damage from them. As the
 7 beasts wearied and no longer made vigorous charges, but merely
 trumpeted

ἀλλὰ συριγμῶ μόνον διαχρώμενα ὥσπερ αἱ πρύμναν κρουόμεναι νῆες ἐπὶ πόδα ὑπεχώρουν, αὐτὸς μὲν Ἀλέξανδρος περιβάλλει ἐν κύκλῳ τὴν ἵππον τῇ πάσῃ τάξει, τοὺς πεζοὺς δὲ ξυνασπίσαντας ὡς ἐς πυκνοτάτην ξύγκλεισιν ἐπάγειν τὴν φάλαγγα ἐσήμηνε. καὶ οὕτως οἱ μὲν ἱππεῖς τῶν Ἰνδῶν πλὴν ὀλίγων κατεκόπησαν ἐν τῷ ἔργῳ· ἐκόπτοντο δὲ καὶ οἱ πεζοὶ πανταχόθεν ἤδη προσκειμένων σφίσι τῶν Μακεδόνων. καὶ ἐν τούτῳ ἵνα διέσχεν ἢ ἵππος ἢ Ἀλεξάνδρου ἐς φυγὴν πάντες ἐπεστράφησαν.

18. Καὶ ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ Κρατερός τε καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι ὅσοι τῆς στρατιᾶς [τε] τῆς Ἀλεξάνδρου ἐπὶ τῇ ὄχθῃ τοῦ Ὑδάσπου ὑπολειμμένοι ἡγεμόνες ἦσαν, ὡς νικῶντα λαμπρῶς κατείδον Ἀλέξανδρον, ἐπέρων καὶ αὐτοὶ τὸν πόρον. καὶ οὗτοι οὐ μείονα τὸν φόνον ἐν τῇ ἀποχωρήσει τῶν Ἰνδῶν ἐποίησαν, ἀκμηῆτες ἀντὶ κεκμηκότων τῶν ἀμφ' Ἀλεξάνδρον ἐπιγενόμενοι τῇ διώξει.

- ² Ἀπέθανον δὲ τῶν Ἰνδῶν πεζοὶ μὲν ὀλίγον ἀποδέοντες τῶν δισμυρίων, ἱππεῖς δὲ ἐς τρισχιλίους, τὰ δὲ ἄρματα ξύμπαντα κατεκόπη· καὶ Πώρου δύο παῖδες ἀπέθανον καὶ Σπιτάκης ὁ νομάρχης τῶν ταύτη Ἰνδῶν καὶ τῶν ἐλεφάντων καὶ ἀρμάτων οἱ ἡγεμόνες καὶ οἱ ἱπάρχαι καὶ οἱ στρατηγοὶ τῆς στρατιᾶς τῆς Πώρου ξύμπαντες. . . . ἐλήφθησαν δὲ καὶ οἱ ἐλέφαντες,
- ³ ὅσοι γε αὐτῶν μὴ αὐτοῦ ἀπέθανον. τῶν δὲ ἀμφ' Ἀλεξάνδρου πεζοὶ μὲν ἀπὸ ἑξακισχιλίων τῶν ἐν τῇ πρώτῃ προσβολῇ γενομένων ἐς ὀγδοήκοντα μάλιστα ἀπέθανον· ἱππεῖς δὲ τῶν μὲν ἱπποτοξοτῶν, οἱ δὲ καὶ πρῶτοι τοῦ ἔργου ἦσαν, δέκα· τῆς δὲ ἑταιρικῆς ἵππου ἀμφὶ τοὺς εἴκοσι τῶν δὲ ἄλλων ἱππέων ὡς διακόσιοι.

and gradually retired like ships backing water, Alexander himself threw his cavalry in a circle around their whole division, and then gave a signal for the infantry to lock shields, concentrate into the most compact mass possible and advance the phalanx. In this way the Indian cavalry were cut down in the action with few exceptions, while their infantry too were falling, as the Macedonians were by this time pressing them on all sides. At this point, where a gap appeared in Alexander's cavalry, they all turned and fled.

18. At the same time Craterus and the others who had been left behind as commanders of Alexander's army on the bank of the Hydaspes, seeing Alexander carrying off a brilliant victory, themselves began to cross the river, and wrought equal slaughter in the Indian retreat, coming fresh to join in the pursuit, in place of Alexander's wearied troops.¹

- ² The Indians lost nearly twenty thousand foot, and up to three thousand horsemen; all the chariots were broken to pieces; two sons of Porus perished, with Spitaces,² the nomarch of the Indians of this district, the commanders of the elephants and the cavalry and the generals of Porus' army to a man . . . and all the surviving
- ³ elephants were captured. Alexander's army lost about eighty foot-soldiers at most out of a force which had been six thousand strong in the first attack; as for the cavalry, ten of the mounted archers, who were the first to engage, and about twenty of the Companions' cavalry with two hundred other troopers were killed.³

¹ Only A. records this.

² 14, 4 n.; App. XVII 16.

³ But cf. 14, 1 n. Variant casualty figures in D. 89.

4 Πῶρος δὲ μεγάλα ἔργα ἐν τῇ μάχῃ ἀποδειξάμενος μὴ ὄτι
στρατηγού, ἀλλὰ καὶ στρατιώτου γενναίου, ὡς τῶν τε ἰππέων
τὸν φόνον κατείδε καὶ τῶν ἐλεφάντων τοὺς μὲν αὐτοῦ
πεπτωκότας, τοὺς δὲ ἐρήμους τῶν ἡγεμόνων λυπηροὺς
πλανωμένους, τῶν δὲ πεζῶν αὐτῷ οἱ πλείους ἀπολώλεσαν, οὐχ
5 ἤπερ Δαρείος ὁ μέγας βασιλεὺς ἐξάρχων τοῖς ἀμφ' αὐτὸν τῆς
φυγῆς ἀπεχώρει, ἀλλὰ ἔστε γὰρ ὑπέμενέ τι τῶν Ἰνδῶν ἐν τῇ
μάχῃ ξυνεστηκός, ἐς τοσόνδε ἀγωνισάμενος, τετρωμένος δὲ
τὸν δεξιὸν ὤμον, ὃν δὴ γυμνὸν μόνον ἔχων ἐν τῇ μάχῃ
ἀνεστρέφετο (ἀπὸ γὰρ τοῦ ἄλλου σώματος ἤρκει αὐτῷ τὰ
βέλη ὁ θώραξ περιττὸς ὢν κατὰ τε τὴν ἰσχὺν καὶ τὴν
ἀρμονίαν, ὡς ὕστερον καταμαθεῖν θεωμένοις ἦν), τότε δὴ καὶ
6 αὐτὸς ἀπεχώρει ἐπιστρέψας τὸν ἐλέφαντα. καὶ Ἀλέξανδρος
μέγαν τε αὐτὸν καὶ γενναῖον ἄνδρα ἰδὼν ἐν τῇ μάχῃ σῶσαι
ἐπεθύμησε. πέμπει δὴ παρ' αὐτὸν πρῶτα μὲν Ταξίλην τὸν
Ἰνδόν· καὶ Ταξίλης προσιππεύσας ἐφ' ὅσον οἱ ἀσφαλὲς
ἐφαίνετο τῷ ἐλέφαντι ὃς ἔφερε τὸν Πῶρον ἐπιστήσαί τε ἠξίου
τὸ θηρίον, οὐ γὰρ εἶναί οἱ ἔτι φεύγειν, καὶ ἀκοῦσαι τῶν παρ'
7 Ἀλεξάνδρου λόγων. ὁ δὲ ἰδὼν ἄνδρα ἐχθρὸν ἐκ παλαιοῦ τὸν
Ταξίλην ἐπιστρέψας ἀνήγετο ὡς ἀκοντίσων· καὶ ἂν καὶ
κατέκανε τυχόν, εἰ μὴ ὑποφθάσας ἐκείνος ἀπήλασεν ἀπὸ τοῦ
Πῶρου πρόσω τὸν ἵππον. Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ οὐδὲ ἐπὶ τῷδε τῷ
Πῶρῳ χαλεπὸς ἐγένετο, ἀλλ' ἄλλους τε ἐν μέρει ἔπεμπε καὶ
δὴ καὶ Μερόην ἄνδρα Ἰνδόν, ὅτι φίλον εἶναι ἐκ παλαιοῦ τῷ
Πῶρῳ τὸν Μερόην ἔμαθεν. Πῶρος δὲ ὡς τὰ παρὰ τοῦ Μερόου
ἤκουσε καὶ ἐκ τοῦ δίψους ἅμα ἐκρατεῖτο, ἐπέστησέ τε τὸν
ἐλέφαντα καὶ κατέβη ἀπ' αὐτοῦ.

4 Porus had acquitted himself manfully in the battle not only as a
commander-in-chief but also as a brave soldier; but when he saw
the slaughter of his cavalry, some of the elephants fallen on the field
and others wandering in distress after losing their riders, and when
most of his infantry had perished, unlike the great king Darius, he
still did not set his own men an example of flight, but battled on, so
5 long as any part of the Indian troops held their ground in the fight
as an organized unit; only when wounded in the right shoulder (the
one part of his body unprotected as he moved about in the battle,
for the missiles were kept off the rest of his body by his corslet
which was unusually strong and well fitted, as those who saw
afterwards could observe) did he too at last wheel his elephant
6 round and retreat. Alexander, having seen him play a great and
gallant part in the battle, desired to save his life. So he sent to him
first Taxilas the Indian, who rode up as near as he thought safe to
the elephant carrying Porus and required him to halt the beast,
since further flight was unavailing, and to hear Alexander's message.
7 But Porus saw in Taxilas an old enemy, turned his elephant and
rode up to pierce him with a javelin; and he might perhaps have
killed him, had not Taxilas in anticipation wheeled his horse further
away from Porus. Even then Alexander did not show anger against
Porus, but sent others one after another, and finally an Indian,
Meroes, as he learnt that Meroes was an old friend of Porus. On
hearing Meroes' message, Porus, who was also overcome by thirst,
halted his elephant and dismounted,

ὡς δὲ ἐπιέ τε καὶ ἀνέψυξεν, ἄγειν αὐτὸν σπουδῇ ἐκέλευσεν παρὰ Ἀλέξανδρον.

19. Καὶ ὁ μὲν ἤγετο· Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ ὡς προσάγοντα ἐπύθετο, προσιππεύσας πρὸ τῆς τάξεως ξὺν ὀλίγοις τῶν ἐταίρων ἀπαντᾷ τῷ Πώρῳ· καὶ ἐπιστήσας τὸν ἵππον τό τε μέγεθος ἐθαύμαζεν, ὑπὲρ πέντε πήχεις μάλιστα ξυμβαῖνον, καὶ τὸ κάλλος τοῦ Πώρου καὶ ὅτι οὐ δεδουλωμένος τῇ γνώμῃ ἐφαίνετο, ἀλλ' ὥσπερ <ἄν> ἀνὴρ ἀγαθὸς ἀνδρὶ ἀγαθῷ
- 2 προσέλθοι ὑπὲρ βασιλείας τῆς αὐτοῦ πρὸς βασιλέα ἄλλον καλῶς ἠγωνισμένος. ἔνθα δὴ Ἀλέξανδρος πρῶτος προσειπὼν αὐτὸν λέγειν ἐκέλευσεν ὅ τι οἱ γενέσθαι ἐθέλοι. Πώρον δὲ ἀποκρίνασθαι λόγος ὅτι βασιλικῶς μοι χρῆσαι, ὦ Ἀλέξανδρε. καὶ Ἀλέξανδρος ἡσθεὶς τῷ λόγῳ, τοῦτο μὲν ἔσται σοι, ἔφη, ὦ Πῶρε, ἐμοῦ ἕνεκα· σὺ δὲ σταντοῦ ἕνεκα ὅ τι σοὶ
- 3 φίλον ἀξίου. ὁ δὲ πάντα ἔφη ἐν τούτῳ ἐνεῖναι. καὶ Ἀλέξανδρος τούτῳ ἔτι μᾶλλον τῷ λόγῳ ἡσθεὶς τήν τε ἀρχὴν τῷ Πώρῳ τῶν τε αὐτῶν Ἰνδῶν ἔδωκεν καὶ ἄλλην ἔτι χώραν πρὸς τῇ πάλαι οὔσῃ πλείονα τῆς πρόσθεν προσέθηκεν· καὶ οὕτως αὐτὸς τε βασιλικῶς κεχρημένος ἦν ἀνδρὶ ἀγαθῷ καὶ ἐκείνῳ ἐκ τούτου ἐς ἅπαντα πιστῷ ἐχρήσατο. τοῦτο τὸ τέλος τῇ μάχῃ τῇ πρὸς Πώρον τε καὶ τοὺς ἐπέκεινα τοῦ Ἰδάσπου ποταμοῦ Ἰνδοὺς Ἀλεξάνδρῳ ἐγένετο ἐπ' ἀρχοντος Ἀθηναίους Ἡγήμονος μηνὸς Μουνυχιῶνος.
- 4 Ἴνα δὲ ἡ μάχη ξυνέβη καὶ ἔνθεν ὀρμηθεὶς ἐπέρασε τὸν Ἰδάσπην ποταμὸν πόλεις ἔκτισεν Ἀλέξανδρος.

and after refreshing himself by drinking, told Meroes to conduct him at once to Alexander.⁴

19. Meroes did so. Learning of his approach, Alexander rode and met him in advance of the line with a few of the Companions; halting his horse, he admired the stature of Porus, who was approximately over five cubits in height,¹ his beauty, and the appearance he gave of a spirit not enslaved, but of one man of honour meeting another after a fine struggle against another king
- 2 for his own kingdom. Then Alexander spoke to him first and urged him to say what he desired to be done with him. Porus is said to have replied: 'Treat me, Alexander, like a king,' and Alexander, pleased with the reply, answered: 'That you shall have, Porus, for my own sake; now demand what you would wish for yours.' He replied that everything was comprised in this one request.²
- 3 Alexander was all the more pleased with this reply, and gave Porus the government of his Indians and added still further territory even greater in extent to his old realm.³ In this way he himself acted like a king in his treatment of a man of honour, while in Porus he found from this time entire fidelity. This then was the issue of the battle of Alexander against Porus and the Indians on the far side of the Hydaspes in the archonship of Hegemon at Athens and the month Munychion.⁴
- 4 In the place where the battle was fought and in that from which he set out to cross the Hydaspes Alexander

4 The stories of Porus' valour and capture in D., QC. and P. diverge from A. and *inter se*.

1 Hamilton on P. 60, 6 for divergent estimates; cf. Tarn ii 169 f., who takes them too seriously.

2 So too P. 60, 7, embellished in QC. 14, 41 ff. A. follows Pt./Ar. Other romantic incidents in their works: ii 12, 3-6 (both); iii 17, 6; 30, 4 and S. vii 3 8 (Pt.); Ar. F 2 Cf. § 4-6

καὶ τὴν μὲν Νίκαιαν τῆς νίκης τῆς κατ' Ἰνδῶν ἐπώνυμον
 ὠνόμασε, τὴν δὲ Βουκεφάλαν ἐς τοῦ ἵππου τοῦ Βουκεφάλα
 5 τὴν μνήμην, ὃς ἀπέθανεν αὐτοῦ, οὐ βληθεὶς πρὸς οὐδενός,
 ἀλλὰ ὑπὸ καύματος τε καὶ ἡλικίας (ἦν γὰρ ἀμφὶ τὰ τριάκοντα
 ἔτη) καματηρὸς γενόμενος, πολλὰ δὲ πρόσθεν ξυγκαμῶν τε
 καὶ συγκινδυνεύσας Ἀλεξάνδρῳ, ἀναβαινόμενός τε πρὸς
 μόνου Ἀλεξάνδρου [ὁ Βουκεφάλας οὗτος], ὅτι τοὺς ἄλλους
 πάντας ἀπηξίου ἀμβάτας, καὶ μεγέθει μέγας καὶ τῷ θυμῷ
 γενναῖος. σημεῖον δὲ οἱ ἦν βοὸς κεφαλὴ ἐγκεχαραγμένη, ἐφ'
 ὅτῳ καὶ τὸ ὄνομα τοῦτο λέγουσιν ὅτι ἔφερεν· οἱ δὲ λέγουσιν
 6 ὅτι λευκὸν σῆμα εἶχεν ἐπὶ τῆς κεφαλῆς, μέλας ὦν αὐτός, ἐς
 βοὸς κεφαλὴν μάλιστα εἰκασμένον. οὗτος ὁ ἵππος ἐν τῇ
 Οὐξίῳν χώρα ἀφανῆς ἐγένετο Ἀλεξάνδρῳ, καὶ Ἀλέξανδρος
 προεκήρυξεν ἀνὰ τὴν χώραν πάντας ἀποκτενεῖν Οὐξίους, εἰ
 μὴ ἀπάξουσιν αὐτῷ τὸν ἵππον· καὶ ἀπήχθη εὐθύς ἐπὶ τῷ
 κηρύγματι. τοσῆδε μὲν σπουδῇ Ἀλεξάνδρῳ ἀμφ' αὐτὸν ἦν,
 τόσος δὲ Ἀλεξάνδρου φόβος τοῖς βαρβάροις. καὶ ἐμοὶ ἐς
 τοσόνδε τετιμήσθω ὁ Βουκεφάλας οὗτος Ἀλεξάνδρου ἕνεκα.

20. Ἀλεξάνδρῳ δὲ ἐπειδὴ οἱ ἀποθανόντες ἐν τῇ μάχῃ
 κεκόσμητο τῷ πρέποντι κόσμῳ, ὁ δὲ τοῖς θεοῖς τὰ
 νομιζόμενα ἐπινίκια ἔθνε, καὶ ἀγῶν ἐποιεῖτο αὐτῷ γυμνικὸς
 καὶ ἵππικὸς αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ τῇ ὄχθῃ τοῦ Ἰδάσπου, ἵνα περ τὸ
 2 πρῶτον διέβη ἅμα τῷ στρατῷ. Κρατερὸν μὲν δὴ ξὺν μέρει
 τῆς στρατιᾶς ὑπελείπετο τὰς πόλεις ἄστινας ταύτη ἔκτιζεν
 ἀναστήσοντά τε καὶ ἐκτειχοῦντα· αὐτὸς δὲ ἤλαυνεν ὡς

founded cities. One was called Nicaea from the victory (*nikê*) over
 the Indians, the other Bucephala,⁵ in memory of his horse
 Bucephalas which died there, not wounded by anyone, but worn
 5 out by heat and age; he was about thirty years old; up to then he
 had shared Alexander's numerous exertions and dangers and had
 never been mounted by anyone but Alexander himself, since he
 would brook no other rider; his size was large and his spirit noble.
 His mark was an ox-head (*boos kephale*) branded upon him; hence,
 they say, his name Bucephalas; others, however, say that he was
 black except for a white mark on his head, which was exactly like an
 6 ox-head. In the Uxian country Alexander once lost him, and issued a
 proclamation throughout the country that he would kill every Uxian
 unless they brought him back his horse; he was brought back
 immediately after the proclamation.⁶ Such was Alexander's devotion
 to him, and such was the terror he inspired in the barbarians. So
 much I had to say in praise of this Bucephalas for Alexander's sake.

20. As soon as the due tributes of respect had been paid to those
 who fell in the battle, Alexander sacrificed to the gods the
 customary thanksgivings of victory, and held athletic and equestrian
 games on the bank of the Hydaspes where he first crossed with his
 2 army. Craterus, with part of the forces, was left behind to build and
 fortify the cities he was founding there. He himself advanced
 towards the Indians

⁵ *Contra* Tarn ii 236 f., A. like QC. ix 1, 6 places the cities on
 opposite banks (D. 89, 6, who does not, is muddled), and as Nicaea
 commemorates the victory, Bucephala must be on the west bank.

⁶ Clitarchus evidently located this in the Mardian land (D. 76, 3
 ff.; QC. vi 5, 11 ff.); P. 44 is vague.

ἐπὶ τοὺς προσχώρους τῇ Πώρου ἀρχῇ Ἰνδούς. ὄνομα δὲ ἦν τῷ
 ἔθνει Γλαυγανίκαι, ὡς λέγει Ἀριστόβουλος, ὡς δὲ Πτολεμαῖος,
 3 Γλαῦσαι. ὁποτέρως δὲ ἔχει τὸ ὄνομα οὐ μοι μέλει. ἐπήει δὲ
 τὴν χώραν αὐτῶν Ἀλέξανδρος τῶν τε ἐταίρων ἰππέων ἔχων
 τοὺς ἡμίσεας καὶ τῶν πεζῶν ἀπὸ φάλαγγος ἐκάστης
 ἐπιλέκτους καὶ τοὺς ἰπποτοξότας σύμπαντας καὶ τοὺς
 4 Ἀγριαῖνας καὶ τοὺς τοξότας· καὶ προσεχώρουν αὐτῷ ὁμολογίᾳ
 πάντες. καὶ ἔλαβε πόλεις μὲν ἐς τριάκοντα καὶ ἑπτὰ, ὧν ἵνα
 ὀλίγιστοι ἦσαν οἰκήτορες πεντακισχιλίων οὐκ ἐλάττους ἦσαν,
 πολλῶν δὲ καὶ ὑπὲρ τοὺς μυρίους· καὶ κώμας πλήθει τε
 πολλὰς ἔλαβε καὶ πολυανθρώπους οὐ μείον τῶν πόλεων. καὶ
 ταύτης τῆς χώρας Πώρῳ ἄρχειν ἔδωκεν. καὶ Ταξίλην δὲ
 διαλλάττει Πώρον καὶ Ταξίλην ἀποπέμπει ὀπίσω ἐς τὰ ἦθη
 τὰ αὐτοῦ.
 5 Ἐν τούτῳ δὲ παρά τε Ἀβισάρου πρέσβεις ἦκον, ἐνδιδόντες
 αὐτόν τε Ἀλεξάνδρῳ Ἀβισάρην καὶ τὴν χώραν ὅσης ἦρχε.
 καίτοι πρό γε τῆς μάχης τῆς πρὸς Πώρον γενομένης
 Ἀλεξάνδρῳ ἐπενόει Ἀβισάρης καὶ αὐτὸς ξὺν Πώρῳ τάττεσθαι
 τότε δὲ καὶ τὸν ἀδελφὸν τὸν αὐτοῦ ξὺν τοῖς ἄλλοις πρέσβεσι
 παρ' Ἀλέξανδρον ἔπεμψε, χρήματά τε κομίζοντα καὶ
 6 ἐλέφαντας τεσσαράκοντα δῶρον Ἀλεξάνδρῳ. ἦκον δὲ καὶ
 παρὰ τῶν αὐτονόμων Ἰνδῶν πρέσβεις παρ' Ἀλέξανδρον καὶ
 παρὰ Πώρου ἄλλου του ὑπάρχου Ἰνδῶν. Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ
 Ἀβισάρην διὰ τάχους ἰέναι παρ' αὐτὸν κελεύει ἐπαπειλήσας,

who bordered on Porus' realm.¹ The name of the tribe was
 Glauganicae, as Aristobulus says, but Ptolemy calls them Glausae; I
 3 do not mind which was the name.² Alexander invaded their country
 with half of the Companions' cavalry and picked men of the
 infantry from each phalanx,³ all the mounted archers, the
 Agrianians, and the (unmounted) archers; and the tribesmen all
 came over to him by agreement. So he acquired some thirty-seven
 4 cities, of which the least had above five thousand inhabitants, and
 many over ten thousand. The villages he acquired were numerous
 and not less populous than the cities.⁴ He gave the government of
 this country to Porus, whom he reconciled to Taxilas, and then sent
 Taxilas back to his own lands.

5 At this point⁵ envoys came from Abisares, offering to surrender
 to Alexander his own person and the country over which he ruled.
 And yet before the battle with Porus, Abisares too had the intention
 of ranging himself on Porus' side. But now he sent his own brother
 with the other envoys to Alexander, conveying money and forty
 elephants as a gift to him. Envoys also came to Alexander from the
 6 self-governing Indians, and from another Porus, a hyparch of
 Indians.⁶ Alexander ordered Abisares to come to him quickly,
 threatening, if he did not appear, that

1 App. XVII 18 f.

2 Probably it was mere caprice in A. to mention this particular discrepancy in nomenclature, cf. App. XVII 18a; XXVIII 25.

3 'Phalanx' for the more usual 'taxis' or regiment of Macedonian foot, cf. i 14, 2; iii 9, 6; v 21, 5. If it is Ar's term (Bosworth, *Harv. St. Class. Phil.*, 1977, 249), evidence from Ar. is deeply imbedded in A's military narratives. Cf. Bosworth on i 14, 2; 24, 3.

4 Such figures need not be believed.

5 But before Al. left the Hydaspes in D. 90, 4; QC. ix 1, 7.

6 'Hyparch' does not mean that he was a rebel subordinate of the

εἰ μὴ ἔλθοι, ὅτι αὐτὸν ὄψεται ἤκοντα ξὺν τῇ στρατιᾷ ἵνα οὐ χαιρήσει ἰδών.

- 7 Ἐν τούτῳ δὲ Φραταφέρνης τε ὁ Παρθυαίων καὶ Ὑρκανίας σατράπης τοὺς καταλειφθέντας παρὰ οἱ Θρᾶκας ἄγων ἦκεν ὡς Ἀλέξανδρον καὶ παρὰ Σισικόττου τοῦ Ἀσσακηνῶν σατράπου ἄγγελοι, ὅτι τὸν τε ὑπαρχον σφῶν ἀπεκτονότες εἶεν οἱ Ἀσσακηνοὶ καὶ ἀπ' Ἀλεξάνδρου ἀφεστηκότες. καὶ ἐπὶ τούτους Φίλιππον ἐκπέμπει καὶ Τυρίεσπιν σὺν στρατιᾷ τὰ περὶ τὴν Ἀσσακηνῶν χώραν καταστησομένους καὶ κοσμήσοντας.
- 8 Αὐτὸς δὲ ὡς ἐπὶ τὸν Ἀκεσίνην ποταμὸν προὔχῳρει. τούτου τοῦ Ἀκεσίνου τὸ μέγεθος μόνου τῶν Ἰνδῶν ποταμῶν Πτολεμαῖος ὁ Λάγου ἀνέγραψεν εἶναι γὰρ ἵνα ἐπέρασεν αὐτὸν Ἀλέξανδρος ἐπὶ τῶν πλοίων τε καὶ τῶν διφθερῶν ξὺν τῇ στρατιᾷ τὸ μὲν ρεῦμα ὀξὺ τοῦ Ἀκεσίνου πέτραις μεγάλαις καὶ ὀξείαις, καθ' ὧν φερόμενον βία τὸ ὕδωρ κυμαίνεσθαι τε
- 9 καὶ καχλάζειν, τὸ δὲ εὖρος σταδίους ἐπέχειν πεντεκαίδεκα. τοῖς μὲν δὴ ἐπὶ τῶν διφθερῶν περῶσιν εὐμαρῆ γενέσθαι τὸν πόρον, τοὺς δὲ ἐν τοῖς πλοίοις διαβάλλοντας ἐποκειλάντων πολλῶν πλοίων ἐπὶ ταῖς πέτραις καὶ συναρ[ρ]αχθέντων οὐκ
- 10 ὀλίγους αὐτοῦ ἐν τῷ ὕδατι διαφθαρῆναι. εἴη ἂν οὖν ἐκ τούδε τοῦ λόγου ξυντιθέντι τεκμηριούσθαι, ὅτι οὐ πόρρω τοῦ ἀληθοῦς ἀναγέγραπται τοῦ Ἰνδοῦ ποταμοῦ τὸ μέγεθος, ὅσοις ἐς τεσσαράκοντα σταδίους δοκεῖ τοῦ Ἰνδοῦ εἶναι τὸ εὖρος, ἵνα μέσῳς ἔχει αὐτὸς αὐτοῦ [ὁ Ἰνδός].¹ ἵνα δὲ

1 Roos suggested deletion.

Abisares would see him come with his army, and would rue the sight.

- 7 At this point Phrataphernes, the satrap of Parthyaea and Hyrcania, came to Alexander, bringing the Thracians left behind with him⁷; messengers also arrived from Sisicottus, satrap of the Assaceniens,⁸ to say that they had assassinated their hyparch and had revolted from Alexander. Alexander sent Philippus and Tyriespis against them with an army, to settle affairs round the Assaceniens country and establish order.
- 8 He himself moved towards the Acesines [Chenab]. The river Acesines is the only river of India whose size Ptolemy son of Lagus has described; its stream, he says, at the point where Alexander crossed it with his army on the boats and hides is very swift, with great, sharp rocks; the water rushes down over them, billowing and roaring; the breadth is fifteen stades. For those who crossed on the
- 9 hides, he says, the crossing was easy; but many of those who made the transit in the boats were lost in the stream, since several boats ran upon the rocks and were dashed to pieces. If then one draws
- 10 inferences from this account one may show that writers are not far from the truth who have given the apparent size of the river Indus as above forty stades wide at its mean width, but that where it is narrowest, and for that reason deepest, it

7 Nothing of Autophradates' fate (cf. iv 18, 2), for which see QC. x 1, 39.

8 In fact commandant at Aornos (iv 30, 1); Nicanor was satrap (iv 28, 6) and is presumably the 'hyparch' killed. Philip, son of Machatas (Berve no. 780), seems to have taken over Nicanor's satrapy in addition to his own (v 8, 3; vi 2, 3); after his death (vi 27, 2) Taxilas succeeded him, and in the division of satrapies in 323 and 321 (D. xviii 3 and 39), we hear nothing of any separate satrapy corresponding to that of Nicanor.

στενότατός τε καὶ διὰ στενότητα βαθύτατος ἐς τοὺς πεντεκαίδεκα ξυνάγεσθαι καὶ ταῦτα πολλαχῆ εἶναι τοῦ Ἰνδοῦ. καὶ γὰρ καὶ τοῦ Ἀκεσίνου τεκμαίρομαι ἐπιλέξασθαι Ἀλέξανδρον, ἵνα περ τὸ πλατύτατον ἦν τοῦ πόρου, ὡς σχολαιτέρῳ χρήσασθαι τῷ ρεύματι.

21. Περάσας δὲ τὸν ποταμὸν Κοῖνον μὲν ξὺν τῇ αὐτοῦ τάξει ἀπολείπει αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ τῇ ὄχθῃ προστάξας ἐπιμελείσθαι τῆς ὑπολειμμένης στρατιᾶς τῆς διαβάσεως, οἱ τὸν τε σῆτον αὐτῷ τὸν ἐκ τῆς ἤδη ὑπηκόου τῶν Ἰνδῶν χώρας καὶ τὰ ἄλλα ἐπιτήδεια παρακομίζειν ἔμελλον. Πῶρον δὲ ἐς τὰ αὐτοῦ ἦθη ἀποπέμπει, κελεύσας Ἰνδῶν τε τοὺς μαχιμωτάτους ἐπιλεξάμενον καὶ εἴ τινας παρ' αὐτῷ ἔχοι ἐλέφαντας, τούτους δὲ ἀναλαμβάντα [ς] ἰέναι παρ' αὐτόν. αὐτὸς δὲ Πῶρον τὸν ἕτερον τὸν κακόν, ὅτι ἐξηγγέλθη πεφευγέναι ἀπολιπὼν τὴν χώραν ἣς ἦρχεν, ἐπενόει διώκειν σὺν τοῖς κουφοτάτοις τῆς στρατιᾶς. ὁ γὰρ Πῶρος οὗτος, ἔσπε μὲν πολέμια ξυνειστήκει Ἀλεξάνδρῳ τὰ πρὸς τὸν ἄλλον Πῶρον, πρέσβεις παρ' Ἀλέξανδρον πέμπων αὐτόν τε καὶ τὴν ὑπὸ οἱ χώραν ἐνεδίδου Ἀλεξάνδρῳ, κατὰ ἔχθος τὸ Πῶρον μᾶλλον ἢ φιλία τῇ Ἀλεξάνδρῳ. ὡς δὲ ἀφειμένον τε ἐκείνον καὶ πρὸς τῇ αὐτοῦ καὶ ἄλλης πολλῆς ἄρχοντα ἔμαθε, τότε δὴ φοβηθείς, οὐχ οὕτω τι Ἀλέξανδρον, ὡς τὸν Πῶρον ἐκείνον τὸν ὁμώνυμον, φεύγει τὴν ἑαυτοῦ ἀναλαβὼν ὅσους τῶν μαχίμων ξυμπείσαι ἠδυνήθη μετασχεῖν οἱ τῆς φυγῆς.

contracts to some fifteen stades, and that this is its breadth in many places. And I conjecture that Alexander again chose the widest part of the river Acesines to cross, so that he might find the current slower.⁹

21. When he had crossed the river, Alexander left Coenus with his battalion¹ on the bank, there bidding him supervise the crossing by the army which had been left behind, who were to convoy to him the corn and all other supplies from the part of India already² subject. Porus was sent back to his own lands, with orders to select the most warlike of the Indians and any elephants at his disposal, and bring them to join him. Alexander purposed to pursue with the nimblest of his troops the other Porus, the bad one, because he was³ reported to have left his realm. For as long as Alexander's relations had remained unfriendly towards the first Porus, this Porus had been sending envoys to Alexander, offering to surrender himself and the country under his rule, rather from hatred of the other Porus than from friendship for Alexander; but on learning that the latter had been released and was now ruler of much new territory besides his own, he was seized with fear not so much of Alexander as of his namesake, and fled from his country, taking with him as many of the warlike tribesmen as he could persuade to share his flight.

⁹ App. XVII 10 and 18, cf. S. xv 1, 18 (N. and Ar.) and 32. H. T. Lambrick, *Sind*, 1964, 104 thinks S's estimates of maximum and minimum breadth as 40 and 7 stades, rejecting the maximum of 100, given by Ctesias (v 4, 2), and inconsistently accepted by A. in vi 14, 5, 'near the truth, if we allot (them) to the peak of the swell and to the slack season respectively.'

¹ 27, 1 n.; App. XIX 3. For operations in chapters 21–24 see App. XVII 20.

4 Ἐπὶ τοῦτον ἐλαύνων Ἀλέξανδρος ἀφικνεῖται ἐπὶ τὸν
 Ἵδραώτην ποταμόν, ἄλλον αὖ τοῦτον Ἰνδὸν ποταμόν, τὸ μὲν
 εὖρος οὐ μείονα τοῦ Ἀκεσίνου, ὀξύτητι δὲ τοῦ ῥοῦ μείονα.
 ὅσῃν δὲ τῆς χώρας ἔσται ἐπὶ τὸν Ἵδραώτην ἐπήλθε, φυλακὰς
 ὑπέλιπεν ἐν τοῖς ἐπικαιροτάτοις χωρίοις, ὅπως οἱ ἀμφὶ
 Κρατερόν τε καὶ Κοῖνον δι' ἀσφαλείας ἐπέρχοντο τῆς χώρας
 5 τὴν πολλὴν προνομεύοντες. ἐνταῦθα Ἡφαιστίωνα μὲν
 ἐκπέμπει δοῦς αὐτῷ μέρος τῆς στρατιᾶς, πεζῶν μὲν φάλαγγας
 δύο, ἵππέων δὲ τὴν τε αὐτοῦ καὶ τὴν Δημητρίου ἵππαρχίαν
 καὶ τῶν τοξοτῶν τοὺς ἡμίσεας, ἐς τὴν Πώρου τοῦ
 ἀφεστηκότος χώραν, κελεύσας παραδιδόναι ταύτην Πώρῳ τῷ
 ἄλλῳ, καὶ εἰ δὴ τινα πρὸς ταῖς ὄχθαις τοῦ Ἵδραώτου
 ποταμοῦ αὐτόνομα ἔθνη Ἰνδῶν νέμεται, καὶ ταῦτα
 6 προσαγαγόμενον τῷ Πώρῳ ἄρχειν ἐγχειρίσαι. αὐτὸς δ' ἐπέρα
 τὸν Ἵδραώτην ποταμόν, οὐ καθάπερ τὸν Ἀκεσίνην χαλεπῶς.
 προχωροῦντι δὲ αὐτῷ ἐπέκεινα τῆς ὄχθης τοῦ Ἵδραώτου τοὺς
 μὲν πολλοὺς καθ' ὁμολογίαν προσχωρεῖν ξυνέβαινε, ἤδη δὲ
 τινὰς ξὺν ὅπλοις ἀπαντήσαντας, τοὺς δὲ καὶ ὑποφεύγοντας
 ἐλὼν βία κατεστρέψατο.

22. Ἐν τούτῳ δὲ ἐξαγγέλλεται Ἀλεξάνδρῳ τῶν αὐτονόμων
 Ἰνδῶν ἄλλους τέ τινὰς καὶ τοὺς καλουμένους Καθαίους αὐτοὺς
 τε παρασκευάζεσθαι ὡς πρὸς μάχην, εἰ προσάγοι τῇ χώρᾳ
 αὐτῶν Ἀλέξανδρος, καὶ ὅσα ὁμορὰ σφισιν <ἔθνη> ὡσαύτως
 2 αὐτόνομα, καὶ ταῦτα παρακαλεῖν ἐς τὸ ἔργον· εἶναι δὲ τὴν τε
 πόλιν ὀχυρὰν πρὸς ἣ ἐπενόουν ἀγωνίσασθαι, Σάγγαλα ἦν τῇ
 πόλει ὄνομα, καὶ αὐτοὶ οἱ Καθαῖοι εὐτολμώτατοί τε καὶ τὰ
 πολέμια

4 In his pursuit Alexander arrived at the river Hydraotes [Ravi],
 another Indian river, as broad as the Acesines but not so swift in
 current. In all the country he traversed as far as the Hydraotes, he
 left guards in the most advantageous places, so that the troops with
 Craterus and Coenus might safely traverse the greater part of the
 5 country when foraging. Here he despatched Hephaestion, giving
 him part of the army, two phalanxes of foot-soldiers and his own
 and Demetrius' hipparchies of cavalry with half the archers, to the
 country of the rebellious Porus, with orders to hand it over to the
 other Porus, together with any independent Indian tribes dwelling
 by the banks of the Hydaspes; these too he was to win over and
 6 entrust them to Porus to govern.² Then he himself crossed the
 Hydraotes, without the difficulties which the Acesines had caused.
 As he advanced on the farther bank of the Hydraotes, most of the
 people came over to him by agreement, including some who
 actually met him under arms; others were taken in flight and
 subdued by force.

22. At this point it was reported to Alexander that some of the
 self-governing Indians, in particular the people called Cathaeans,
 were getting themselves ready for battle, in case Alexander should
 approach their country, and were urging to the same enterprise all
 2 self-governing tribes on their borders; they had a strong city near
 which they proposed to make their stand, named Sangala. The
 Cathaeans themselves

² 29, 3 n.; App. XVII 32.

κράτιστοι ἐνομίζοντο, καὶ τούτοις κατὰ τὰ αὐτὰ Ὀξυδράκαι, ἄλλο Ἰνδῶν ἔθνος, καὶ Μαλλοί, ἄλλο καὶ τοῦτο· ἐπεὶ καὶ ὀλίγῳ πρόσθεν στρατεύσαντας ἐπ' αὐτοὺς Πῶρόν τε καὶ Ἀβισάρην ξύν τε τῇ σφετέρᾳ δυνάμει καὶ πολλὰ ἄλλα ἔθνη τῶν αὐτονόμων Ἰνδῶν ἀναστήσαντας οὐδὲν πράξαντας τῆς παρασκευῆς ἄξιον ξυνέβη ἀπελθεῖν.

- 3 Ταῦτα ὡς ἐξηγγέλθη Ἀλεξάνδρῳ, σπουδῇ ἤλαυνεν ὡς ἐπὶ τοὺς Καθαίους. καὶ δευτεραῖος μὲν ἀπὸ τοῦ ποταμοῦ τοῦ Ὑδραώτου πρὸς πόλιν ἦκεν ἣ ὄνομα Πίμπραμα· τὸ δὲ ἔθνος
- 4 τοῦτο τῶν Ἰνδῶν Ἀδραῖσται ἐκαλοῦντο. οὗτοι μὲν δὴ προσεχώρησαν ὁμολογίᾳ Ἀλεξάνδρῳ. καὶ Ἀλέξανδρος ἀναπαύσας τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ τὴν στρατιὰν τῇ τρίτῃ προῦχώρει ἐπὶ τὰ Σάγγαλα, ἵνα οἱ Καθαῖοί τε καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι πρόσχωροι αὐτοῖς ξυνεληλυθότες πρὸ τῆς πόλεως παρατεταγμένοι ἦσαν ἐπὶ γηλόφου οὐ πάντῃ ἀποτόμον· κύκλῳ δὲ τοῦ γηλόφου ἀμάξας περιστήσαντες ἐντὸς αὐτῶν ἐστρατοπέδευον, ὡς
- 5 τριπλοῦν χάρακα προβεβλήσθαι [πρὸ] τῶν ἀμαξῶν. Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ τό τε πλήθος κατιδὼν τῶν βαρβάρων καὶ τοῦ χωρίου τὴν φύσιν, ὡς μάλιστα πρὸς τὰ παρόντα ἐν καιρῷ οἱ ἐφαίνετο παρετάσσετο· καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἵπποτοξότας εὐθὺς ὡς εἶχεν ἐκπέμπει ἐπ' αὐτούς, ἀκροβολίζεσθαι κελεύσας παριππεύοντας, ὡς μήτε ἐκδρομὴν τινα ποιήσασθαι τοὺς Ἰνδοὺς πρὶν ξυνταχθῆναι αὐτῷ τὴν στρατιὰν καὶ ὡς πληγὰς
- 6 γίγνεσθαι αὐτοῖς καὶ πρὸ τῆς μάχης ἐντὸς τοῦ ὀχυρώματος. αὐτὸς δὲ ἐπὶ μὲν τοῦ δεξιοῦ κέρως τῶν ἱππέων τὸ ἄγλημα κατέστησε καὶ τὴν Κλείτου ἵππαρχίαν, ἐχομένους δὲ τούτων τοὺς ὑπασπιστάς, καὶ ἐπὶ τούτοις τοὺς Ἀγριᾶνας· κατὰ δὲ τὸ

were considered to excel in daring and military qualities, as were two other Indian tribes, the Oxydracae and the Mallians¹; not long before, in fact, Porus and Abisares had marched against them with their own forces and had also stirred up many other self-governing Indian tribes against them, but had achieved nothing commensurate with their resources, and had withdrawn.

- 3 When this was reported to Alexander he marched at full speed against the Cathaeans. On the second day after leaving the river Hydraotes he came to a city called Pimprama; this tribe of Indians
- 4 is called the Adraistae. They came over by agreement to Alexander. The next day Alexander rested his troops, and on the third advanced on Sangala, where the Cathaeans and their neighbours who had joined them were drawn up in front of the city on a hill not sheer on all sides; round about the hill they had placed their waggons and were camping within them in such a way that the waggons formed a triple palisade. Seeing the large number of the
- 5 barbarians and the nature of the place, Alexander made counter dispositions he thought best for the exigencies of the moment; he despatched the mounted archers without delay against them, with orders to ride along the front and shoot at long range, so that the Indians should not make any sally before he had marshalled his forces and that they might suffer casualties within their stronghold,
- 6 even before the battle began. On the right wing (his own station) he posted the *agema* of cavalry and Clitus' hipparchy, next to them the hypaspists, and then the Agrianians; Perdiccas was

1 Cf. vi 4 ff. The text does not justify a common statement that the Cathaeans were allied with these peoples. S. and others write 'Sydracae' for Oxydracae.

εὐώνυμον Περδίκκας αὐτῷ ἐτέτακτο τὴν τε αὐτοῦ ἔχων
 ἵππαρχίαν καὶ τὰς τῶν πεζεταίρων τάξεις· ἐπὶ κέρως δὲ
 7 ἐκατέρου οἱ τοξόται αὐτῷ διχῆ διακριθέντες ἐτάχθησαν.
 ἐκτάσσοντι δὲ αὐτῷ παρεγέροντο καὶ οἱ ἀπὸ τῆς
 ὀπισθοφυλακίας πεζοὶ τε καὶ ἵππεῖς. καὶ τούτων τοὺς μὲν
 ἵππεας ἐπὶ τὰ κέρατα διελὼν παρήγαγεν, ἀπὸ δὲ τῶν πεζῶν
 τῶν προσγενομένων πυκνοτέραν τὴν ζύγκλεισιν τῆς
 φάλαγγος ποιήσας αὐτὸς ἀναλαβὼν τὴν ἵππον τὴν ἐπὶ τοῦ
 δεξιῦ τεταγμένην πασήγαγεν ἐπὶ τὰς κατὰ τὸ εὐώνυμον τῶν
 Ἰνδῶν ἀμάξας. ταύτη γὰρ εὐπροσοδώτερον αὐτῷ ἐφαίνετο τὸ
 χωρίον καὶ οὐ πυκναὶ ὡσαύτως αἱ ἄμαξαι ἐφειστήκεσαν.

23. Ὡς δὲ ἐπὶ τὴν ἵππον προσαγαγούσαν οὐκ ἐξέδραμον οἱ
 Ἰνδοὶ ἔξω τῶν ἀμαξῶν, ἀλλ' ἐπιβεβηκότες αὐτῶν ἀφ' ὑψηλοῦ
 ἠκροβολίζοντο, γνοὺς Ἀλέξανδρος ὅτι οὐκ εἶη τῶν ἵππέων τὸ
 2 ἔργον καταπηδήσας ἀπὸ τοῦ ἵππου πεζὸς ἐπήγε τῶν πεζῶν
 τὴν φάλαγγα. καὶ ἀπὸ μὲν τῶν πρώτων ἀμαξῶν οὐ χαλεπῶς
 ἐβιάσαντο οἱ Μακεδόνες τοὺς Ἰνδοὺς· πρὸ δὲ τῶν δευτέρων οἱ
 Ἰνδοὶ παραταξάμενοι ῥᾶον ἀπεμάχοντο, οἷα δὴ πυκνότεροί τε
 ἐφειστηκότες ἐλάττονι τῷ κύκλῳ καὶ τῶν Μακεδόνων οὐ κατ'
 εὐρυχωρίαν ὡσαύτως προσαγόντων σφίσιν, ἐν ᾧ τὰς τε
 πρώτας ἀμάξας ὑπεξήγον καὶ κατὰ τὰ διαλείμματα αὐτῶν ὡς
 ἐκάστοις προὔχωρει ἀτάκτως προσέβαλλον· ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀπὸ
 τούτων ὁμως ἐξώσθησαν οἱ Ἰνδοὶ βιασθέντες πρὸς τῆς
 3 φάλαγγος. οἱ δὲ οὐκέτι ἐπὶ τῶν τρίτων ἔμενον, ἀλλὰ ὡς
 τάχους εἶχον φυγῆ εἰς τὴν πόλιν κατεκλείσθησαν. καὶ
 Ἀλέξανδρος ταύτην μὲν τὴν ἡμέραν περιεστρατοπέδευσε τοῖς
 πεζοῖς τὴν πόλιν ὅσα γε ἠδυνήθη

posted on his left with his own hipparchy and the bat talions of the
asthetairoi.² On either wing were stationed the archers in two
 separate divisions. While Alexander was thus arranging his troops,
 7 the infantry and cavalry of the rearguard came up. He divided up
 their cavalry and sent them off to either wing, and used the infantry
 who also had come up to increase the solidity of his phalanx.
 Personally taking the cavalry posted on the right, he led them
 against the waggons on the Indians' left, for on this side the place
 seemed easier of access, and the waggons were not packed so
 closely together.

23. Since the Indians did not sally out beyond the waggons upon
 the cavalry as it rode up, but stood on them shooting from the top,
 Alexander, recognizing that the action was not work for cavalry,
 leapt down from his horse and led on the phalanx of foot-soldiers
 2 on foot. The Macedonians easily forced the Indians from the first
 line of waggons, but before the second line the Indians drew
 themselves up in order and defended themselves more easily as
 they were standing in denser formation in a smaller circle, while the
 Macedonians were not attacking, as before, in an open space, but
 were now removing the first row of waggons out of the way and
 charging in without order through the spaces between, just as each
 man found a path. Yet even from this second line the Indians were
 3 forced back by the phalanx. They no longer attempted to stand at
 the third line, but with all speed retreated and shut themselves into
 the city. Alexander camped this day with his infantry round

² Introd. n. 99 (vol. I); App. XIX 9.

αὐτῷ περιβαλεῖν ἢ φάλαγξ· ἐπὶ πολὺ γὰρ ἐπέχον τὸ τεῖχος
 4 τῷ στρατοπέδῳ κυκλώσασθαι οὐ δυνατὸς ἐγένετο· κατὰ δὲ τὰ
 διαλείποντα αὐτοῦ, ἵνα καὶ λίμνη οὐ μακρὰν τοῦ τεύχους ἦν,
 τοὺς ἰππέας ἐπέταξεν ἐν κύκλῳ τῆς λίμνης, γνοὺς οὐ βαθείαν
 5 οὔσαν τὴν λίμνην καὶ ἄμα εἰκάσας ὅτι φοβεροὶ γενόμενοι οἱ
 Ἴνδοι ἀπὸ τῆς προτέρας ἤττης ἀπολείψουσι τῆς νυκτὸς τὴν
 πόλιν· καὶ συνέβη οὕτως ὅπως εἴκασεν· ἀμφὶ γὰρ δευτέραν
 φυλακὴν ἐκπίπτουτες ἐκ τοῦ τεύχους οἱ πολλοὶ αὐτῶν
 ἐνέκρυσαν ταῖς προφυλακαῖς τῶν ἰππέων· καὶ οἱ μὲν πρῶτοι
 αὐτῶν κατεκόπησαν πρὸς τῶν ἰππέων, οἱ δὲ ἐπὶ τούτοις
 αἰσθόμενοι ὅτι φυλάσσεται ἐν κύκλῳ ἡ λίμνη ἐς τὴν πόλιν
 αὐθις ἀνεχώρησαν.
 6 Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ χάρακί τε διπλῶ περιβάλλει ἵνα περ μὴ
 εἴργειν ἡ λίμνη τὴν πόλιν καὶ φυλακὰς ἐν κύκλῳ τῆς λίμνης
 ἀκριβεστέρως κατέστησεν· αὐτὸς δὲ μηχανὰς προσάγειν τῷ
 τεύχει ἐπενόει, ὡς κατασεύειν τὸ τεῖχος· αὐτομολήσαντες δὲ
 αὐτῷ τῶν ἐκ τῆς πόλεως τινες φράζουσιν, ὅτι ἐν νῶ ἔχοιεν
 7 αὐτῆς ἐκείνης τῆς νυκτὸς ἐκπίπτειν ἐκ τῆς πόλεως οἱ Ἴνδοι
 κατὰ τὴν λίμνην, ἵνα περ τὸ ἐκλιπὲς ἦν τοῦ χάρακος· ὁ δὲ
 Πτολεμαῖον τὸν Λάγου ἐπιτάττει ἐνταῦθα, τῶν τε ὑπασπιστῶν
 αὐτῷ δούς χιλιαρχίας τρεῖς καὶ τοὺς Ἀγριαῖνας ξύμπαντας καὶ
 μίαν τάξιν τῶν τοξοτῶν, ἀποδείξας τὸ χωρίον, ἥπερ μάλιστα
 εἴκαζε βιάσασθαι τοὺς βαρβάρους· σὺ δὲ ἐπειδὴν αἴσθη, ἔφη,
 βιαζομένους ταύτη, αὐτὸς μὲν ξὺν τῇ στρατιᾷ εἴργειν τοὺς
 βαρβάρους τοῦ πρόσω, τὸν δὲ σαλπικτὴν κέλευε σημαίνειν·
 ὑμεῖς δέ, ἄνδρες ἡγεμόνες, ἐπειδὴν σημανθῆ, ξὺν τοῖς καθ'
 αὐτοὺς ἕκαστοι ξυντεταγμένοι

the city, so far at least as his phalanx could surround it; for since the
 wall stretched a considerable distance he could not encircle it with
 4 his camp, but in the remaining space, where there was also a lake
 not far from the wall, he posted his cavalry around the lake, as he
 noticed that it was shallow, and also conjectured that the Indians,
 terrified by the previous defeat, would desert the city at night. It
 5 happened exactly as he conjectured; about the second watch most
 of them emerged from the wall and fell in with the cavalry outposts;
 the firstcomers were cut down by the cavalry; those behind,
 perceiving that the lake was guarded all round, retired again into
 the city.

6 Alexander threw a double stockade all round, where the lake
 did not enclose the city, and placed outposts round about the lake
 more carefully. He planned himself to bring up engines against the
 wall, to batter it down. But some of the inhabitants of the city
 deserted to him and told him that the Indians proposed to escape
 from the city that night by the lake, where there was the gap in the
 7 stockade. He posted Ptolemy son of Lagus there, giving him three
 chiliarchies of the hypaspists,¹ all the Agrianians, and one battalion
 of archers, and, pointing out the place where he guessed the
 tribesmen would probably try to break out, 'as soon,' he said, 'as you
 observe them breaking out here, you yourself will, with your army,
 prevent their going further and will tell the bugler to sound an
 alarm; and you, officers, on this signal, will each with his appointed
 forces make in the direction

1 Pt. is no doubt the source; the narrative is more precise, where
 he is personally concerned.

ἵεναι ἐπὶ τὸν θόρυβον, ἵνα ἂν ἡ σάλπιγξ παρακαλῆ.
ἀποστατήσω δὲ οὐδὲ ἐγὼ τοῦ ἔργου.

24. Ὁ μὲν ταῦτα παρήγγειλεν Πτολεμαῖος δὲ ἀμάξας τε ἐκ τῶν ἀπολελειμμένων ἐν τῇ πρώτῃ φυγῇ ἀμαξῶν ταύτῃ ξυναγαγὼν ὡς πλείστας κατέστησεν ἐγκαρσίας, ἵνα πολλὰ ἐν νυκτὶ τὰ ἄπροα φαίνεται τοῖς φεύγουσι, καὶ τοῦ χάρακος τοῦ κεκομμένου τε καὶ οὐ καταπηχθέντος συννήσαι ἄλλη καὶ ἄλλη ἐκέλευσεν ἐν μέσῳ τῆς τε λίμνης καὶ τοῦ τείχους. καὶ ταῦτ' αὐτῷ οἱ στρατιῶται ἐν τῇ νυκτὶ ἐξεργάσαντο. ἤδη τε ἦν ἀμφὶ τετάρτην φυλακὴν καὶ οἱ βάρβαροι, καθάπερ ἐξηγγέλλετο Ἀλεξάνδρῳ, ἀνοίξαντες τὰς ὡς ἐπὶ τὴν λίμνην πύλας δρόμῳ ἐπ' αὐτὴν ἐφέροντο. οὐ μὴν ἔλαθον τὰς ταύτη φυλακὰς οὐδὲ Πτολεμαῖον τὸν ἐπ' αὐταῖς τεταγμένον, ἀλλὰ ἐν τούτῳ οἱ τε σαλπιγκταὶ ἐσήμαινον αὐτῷ καὶ αὐτὸς τὴν στρατιὰν ὀπλισμένην τε καὶ συντεταγμένην ἔχων ἐχώρει ἐπὶ τοὺς βαρβάρους. τοῖς δὲ αἱ τε ἄμαξαι ἐμποδὼν ἦσαν καὶ ὁ χάραξ ἐν μέσῳ καταβεβλημένος· ὡς δὲ ἦ τε σάλπιγξ ἐφθέγγετο καὶ οἱ ἀμφὶ Πτολεμαῖον προσέκειντο αὐτοῖς τοὺς αἰὲ ἐκπίπτοντας διὰ τῶν ἀμαξῶν κατακαίνοντες, ἐνταῦθα δὴ ἀποστρέφονται αὐθις ἐς τὴν πόλιν. καὶ ἀπέθανον αὐτῶν ἐν τῇ ἀποχωρήσει ἐς πεντακοσίους.
- 4 Ἐν τούτῳ δὲ καὶ Πῶρος ἀφίκετο τοὺς τε ὑπολοίπους ἐλέφαντας ἅμα οἱ ἄγων καὶ τῶν Ἰνδῶν ἐς πεντακισχιλίους, αἱ τε μηχαναὶ Ἀλεξάνδρῳ ξυμπεπηγμέναι ἦσαν καὶ προσήγοντο ἤδη τῷ τείχει. ἀλλὰ οἱ Μακεδόνες, πρὶν καὶ κατασεισθῆναι τι τοῦ τείχους, ὑπορύττοντές τε αὐτοὶ πλίνθινον ὄν τὸ τεῖχος καὶ τὰς κλίμακας ἐν κύκλῳ πάντῃ προσθέντες

of the hubbub, wherever the bugle calls you. I shall be present in person at the action.'

24. These were Alexander's orders. Ptolemy, after gathering together as many as possible of the waggons left behind in the first flight, set them crosswise, in order that the difficulties might seem numerous to the fugitives at night; he ordered parts of the stockade which had been cut but not yet fixed down to be joined up at different points between the lake and the wall. His men completed this work in the night. It was now about the fourth watch, and the tribesmen, as Alexander had been informed, opened the gates leading to the lake and ran towards it. Yet they did not escape detection by the guards on this side, nor by Ptolemy, who had been put in charge of them; but at once his buglers sounded the alarm, and he moved with his forces fully armed and in good order against the tribesmen, who found obstacles in the waggons and the stockade thrown in the intervening space. And when the bugle sounded and Ptolemy and his troops assailed them, cutting them down as fast as they emerged between the waggons, they turned and fled back into the city. Some five hundred perished in this withdrawal.
- 4 At this point too Porus arrived, bringing with him the rest of the elephants and some five thousand Indians, and Alexander had his siege engines put together, and they were already being brought up to the wall. But before any part of the wall was battered, the Macedonians themselves began to undermine it, as it was of brick, and then, setting up their ladders all round, captured the city by assault.

- 5 αἰροῦσι κατὰ κράτος τὴν πόλιν. καὶ ἀποθνήσκουσι μὲν ἐν τῇ καταλήψει τῶν Ἰνδῶν ἑς μυρίους καὶ ἑπτακισχιλίους, ἐάλωσαν δὲ ὑπὲρ τὰς ἑπτὰ μυριάδας καὶ ἄρματα τριακόσια καὶ ἵπποι πεντακόσιοι. τῆς δὲ ξὺν Ἀλεξάνδρῳ στρατιᾶς ἀπέθανον μὲν ὀλίγον ἀποδέοντες τῶν ἑκατὸν ἐν τῇ πάσῃ πολιορκίᾳ, τραυματίαι δὲ οὐ κατὰ τὸ πλῆθος τῶν νεκρῶν ἐγένοντο, ἀλλὰ ὑπὲρ τοὺς χιλίους καὶ διακοσίους, καὶ ἐν τούτοις τῶν ἡγεμόνων ἄλλοι τε καὶ Λυσίμαχος ὁ σωματοφύλαξ.
- 6 Θάψας δὲ ὡς νόμος αὐτῷ τοὺς τελευτήσαντας Εὐμενῆ τὸν γραμματέα ἐκπέμπει ἑς τὰς δύο πόλεις τὰς ξυναφεστῶσας τοῖς Σαγγάλοις δούς αὐτῷ τῶν ἰππέων ἑς τριακοσίους, φράσοντα [ς] τοῖς ἔχουσι τὰς πόλεις τῶν τε Σαγγάλων τὴν ἄλωσιν καὶ ὅτι αὐτοῖς οὐδὲν ἔσται χαλεπὸν <ἐξ> Ἀλεξάνδρου ὑπομένουσί τε καὶ δεχομένοις φιλίως Ἀλέξανδρον· οὐδὲ γὰρ
- 7 οὐδὲ ἄλλοις τισὶ γενέσθαι τῶν αὐτονόμων Ἰνδῶν ὅσοι ἐκόντες σφᾶς ἐνέδοσαν. οἱ δὲ (ἤδη γὰρ ἐξήγγελλτο αὐτοῖς κατὰ κράτος ἐαλωκότα πρὸς Ἀλεξάνδρου τὰ Σάγγαλα) φοβεροὶ γενόμενοι ἔφευγον ἀπολιπόντες τὰς πόλεις. καὶ Ἀλέξανδρος, ἐπειδὴ ἐξήγγελλθη αὐτῶν ἡ φυγή, σπουδῆ ἐδίωκεν· ἀλλὰ οἱ πολλοὶ μὲν αὐτῶν ἔφθασαν ἀποφυγόντες, διὰ μακροῦ γὰρ ἡ δίωξις ἐγίγνετο, ὅσοι δὲ κατὰ τὴν ἀποχώρησιν ἀσθενεῖα ὑπελείποντο, οὗτοι ἐγκαταληφθέντες πρὸς τῆς στρατιᾶς
- 8 ἀπέθανον ἑς πεντακοσίους μάλιστα. ὡς δὲ ἀπέγνω διώκειν τοῦ πρόσω τοὺς φεύγοντας, ἐπανελθὼν ἑς τὰ Σάγγαλα τὴν πόλιν μὲν κατέσκαψε, τὴν χώραν δὲ τῶν Ἰνδῶν τοῖς πάλαι μὲν αὐτονόμοις, τότε δὲ ἔκουσίως προσχωρήσασιν προσέθηκεν. καὶ Πῶρον μὲν ξὺν

- 5 Some seventeen thousand of the Indians perished in the capture and over seventy thousand were captured with three hundred waggons and five hundred horses.¹ Of Alexander's forces rather under a hundred were lost in the entire siege; the wounded were out of proportion to the dead, over twelve hundred including officers, notably Lysimachus the bodyguard.
- 6 When he had buried the dead according to his custom, Alexander sent Eumenes his secretary² to the two cities which had rebelled at the same time as Sangala, giving him about three hundred cavalry, to tell those holding the cities of the capture of Sangala and to say that Alexander would not treat them harshly if they stayed where they were and received him in a friendly way, just as he had shown no harshness to any of the other self-governing
- 7 Indians who had voluntarily surrendered. But as they had already heard that Alexander had captured Sangala by assault, they were terrified and left their cities in flight. Alexander pursued them hotly as soon as their flight was reported to him, but most of them had got safe away, for the pursuit began after a long interval. All who had been left behind in the retreat through infirmity were captured and put to death by the army, to the number of about five hundred.
- 8 After deciding not to pursue the fugitives further, Alexander returned to Sangala, razed the city to the ground, and annexed its territory to those Indians who had formerly been self-governing but at this time came over voluntarily. Porus was sent

1 Obviously exaggerated numbers.

2 Cf. vii 4, 6; 13, 1; 14, 9, foreshadowing the importance of this Greek from Cardia after Al's death (see Plutarch, *Eumenes*). A. omits mention of an independent mission for Perdikkas and of Hephaestion's return and substantial successes (QC. ix 1, 19 and 35).

τῇ δυνάμει τῇ ἀμφ' αὐτὸν ἐκπέμπει ἐπὶ τὰς πόλεις αἱ προσκεχωρήκεσαν, φρουρὰς εἰσάξοντα εἰς αὐτάς, αὐτὸς δὲ ξὺν τῇ στρατιᾷ ἐπὶ τὸν Ὑφασιν ποταμὸν προὔχῳρει, ὡς καὶ τοὺς ἐπέκεινα Ἰνδοὺς καταστρέφαιτο. οὐδὲ ἐφαίνετο αὐτῷ πέρας τι τοῦ πολέμου ἔσσε ὑπελείπετό τι πολέμιον.

25. Τὰ δὲ δὴ πέραν τοῦ Ὑφάσιος εὐδαίμονά τε τὴν χώραν εἶναι ἐξηγγέλλετο καὶ ἀνθρώπους ἀγαθοὺς μὲν γῆς ἐργάτας, γενναίους δὲ τὰ πολέμια καὶ ἐς τὰ ἴδια δὲ σφῶν ἐν κόσμῳ πολιτεύοντας (πρὸς γὰρ τῶν ἀρίστων ἄρχεσθαι τοὺς πολλούς, τοὺς δὲ οὐδὲν ἔξω τοῦ ἐπιεικοῦς ἐξηγεῖσθαι), πλήθός τε ἐλεφάντων εἶναι τοῖς ταύτῃ ἀνθρώποις πολὺ τι ὑπὲρ τοὺς ἄλλους Ἰνδοὺς, καὶ μεγέθει μεγίστους καὶ ἀνδρεία. ταῦτα δὲ ἐξαγγελλόμενα Ἀλέξανδρον μὲν παρώξυνεν ἐς ἐπιθυμίαν τοῦ πρόσω ἰέναι· οἱ Μακεδόνες δὲ ἐξέκαμνον ἤδη ταῖς γνώμαις, πόνους τε ἐκ πόνων καὶ κινδύνους ἐκ κινδύνων ἐπαναιρούμενοι ὁρῶντες τὸν βασιλέα· ξύλλογοί τε ἐγίγνοντο κατὰ τὸ στρατόπεδον τῶν μὲν τὰ σφέτερα ὀδυρομένων, ὅσοι ἐπιεικέστατοι, τῶν δὲ οὐκ ἀκολουθήσειν, οὐδ' ἦν ἄγῃ Ἀλέξανδρος, ἀπισχυριζομένων. ταῦτα ὡς ἐπύθετο Ἀλέξανδρος, πρὶν καὶ ἐπὶ μείζον προελθεῖν τὴν ταραχὴν τοῖς στρατιώταις καὶ τὴν ἀθυμίαν, ξυγκαλέσας τοὺς ἡγεμόνας τῶν τάξεων ἔλεξεν ὧδε.

3 Ὅρων ὑμᾶς, ὦ ἄνδρες Μακεδόνες τε καὶ ξύμμαχοι, οὐχ ὁμοίᾳ ἔτι τῇ γνώμῃ ἐπομένους μοι ἐς τοὺς κινδύνους, ξυνήγαγον ἐς ταῦτό, ὡς ἢ πείσας ἄγειν τοῦ πρόσω ἢ πεισθεὶς ὀπίσω ἀποστρέφεσθαι. εἰ μὲν δὴ μεμπτοὶ εἰσιν ὑμῖν οἱ μέχρι δεῦρο πονηθέντες πόνοι καὶ αὐτὸς ἐγὼ ἡγούμενος, οὐδὲν ἔτι

back with his force to the cities which had come over, to set garrisons in them while Alexander himself advanced with his army to the Hyphasis, to subdue the Indians beyond as well. For he thought there could be no end of the war as long as any enemy was left.

25. The country beyond the Hyphasis was reported to be fertile, and the inhabitants good farmers and excellent fighting men, with their affairs under orderly government, for the masses were ruled by the best men, who did not exercise leadership unfairly. These people also had a far greater number of elephants than the other Indians, and the best for size and courage. This report stirred ² Alexander to a desire for further advance; but the Macedonians' spirits were flagging by now, as they saw the king taking on one hard and dangerous task after another; meetings took place in the camp among men who complained of their own plight—they were the most moderate kind—or who flatly denied that they would follow Alexander's leadership any farther. When Alexander heard of this, before indiscipline and despair grew worse among the troops, he summoned the regimental commanders and addressed them thus¹:

3 'I observe that you, Macedonians and allies,² are not following me into dangers any longer with your old spirit. I have summoned you together, either to persuade you to go forward, or to be persuaded by you to turn back. If indeed you have any fault to find with the exertions you have hitherto endured, and with me as your leader, there is no object in my

1 Cf. D. 93 f.; QC. ix 2, 8 ff., with a fictitious speech, addressed to the whole army. See App. XVII 11; 22 f.; XXVII 5.

2 Literally 'partners in fighting,' the word could perhaps apply honorifically to Greek mercenary officers.

4 προὔργου λέγειν μοί ἐστιν. εἰ δὲ Ἴωνία τε πρὸς ἡμῶν διὰ
 τούσδε τοὺς πόνους ἔχεται καὶ Ἑλλήσποντος καὶ Φρύγες
 ἀμφότεροι καὶ Καππαδόκαι καὶ Παφλαγόνες καὶ Λυδοὶ καὶ
 Κᾶρες καὶ Λύκιοι καὶ Παμφυλία δὲ καὶ Φοινίκη καὶ Αἴγυπτος
 5 ξὺν τῇ Λιβύῃ τῇ Ἑλληνικῇ καὶ Ἀραβίας ἔστιν ἅ καὶ Συρία ἣ
 τε κοίλη καὶ ἡ μέση τῶν ποταμῶν, καὶ Βαβυλῶν δὲ ἔχεται καὶ
 τὸ Σουσίων ἔθνος καὶ Πέρσαι καὶ Μῆδοι καὶ ὄσων Πέρσαι
 καὶ Μῆδοι ἐπήρχον, καὶ ὄσων δὲ οὐκ ἦρχον, τὰ ὑπὲρ τὰς
 Κασπίας πύλας, τὰ ἐπέκεινα τοῦ Καυκάσου, ὁ Τάναϊς, τὰ
 πρόσω ἔτι τοῦ Ταναΐδος, Βακτριανοί, Ἑρκάνιοι, ἡ θάλασσα ἡ
 Ἑρκανία, Σκύθας τε ἀνεστείλαμεν ἔστε ἐπὶ τὴν ἔρημον, ἐπὶ
 τούτοις μέντοι καὶ ὁ Ἰνδὸς ποταμὸς διὰ τῆς ἡμετέρας ρεῖ, ὁ
 Ἑδάσπης διὰ τῆς ἡμετέρας, ὁ Ἀκεσίνης, ὁ Ἑδραώτης, τί
 ὀκνεῖτε καὶ τὸν Ἑφασιν καὶ τὰ ἐπέκεινα τοῦ Ἑφάσιος γένη
 6 προσθεῖναι τῇ ἡμετέρᾳ Μακεδόνων τε ἀρχῇ; ἣ δέδιτε μὴ
 δέξωνται ὑμᾶς ἔτι ἄλλοι βάρβαροι ἐπιόντας; ὧν γε οἱ μὲν
 προσχωροῦσιν ἐκόντες, οἱ δὲ φεύγοντες ἀλίσκονται, οἱ δὲ
 ἀποφυγόντες τὴν χώραν ἡμῶν ἔρημον παραδιδόασιν, ἣ δὴ τοῖς
 ξυμμάχοις τε καὶ τοῖς ἐκούσι προσχωρήσασιν προστίθεται.

26. Πέρας δὲ τῶν πόνων γενναίῳ μὲν ἀνδρὶ οὐδὲν δοκῶ
 ἔγωγε ὅτι μὴ αὐτοὺς τοὺς πόνους, ὅσοι αὐτῶν ἐς καλὰ ἔργα
 φέρουσιν. εἰ δέ τις καὶ αὐτῷ τῷ πολεμῆν ποθεῖ ἀκούσαι ὅ τι
 περ ἔσται πέρας, μαθέτω ὅτι οὐ πολλὴ ἔτι ἡμῶν ἡ λοιπὴ ἐστιν
 ἔστε ἐπὶ ποταμόν τε Γάγγην καὶ τὴν

4 speaking further. If, however, it is through these exertions that Ionia
 is now in our hands, and the Hellespont, both Phrygian peoples, the
 Cappadocians, Paphlagonians, Lydians, Carians, Lycians,
 Pamphylia, Phoenicia, Egypt, with the Greek part of Libya,³ part of
 Arabia, Syria, both the 'hollow' land and that between the rivers,
 5 Babylonia, the Susian nation, the Persians and Medes, with all the
 nations subject to Persia and Media, and those which were not,⁴ the
 regions beyond the Caspian gates, beyond the Caucasus, on the
 other side of the Tanais, Bactrians, Hyrcanians, the Hyrcanian Sea;
 if we have driven the Scythians into the desert⁵; if, besides all this, it
 is through territory now our own that the Indus flows, and the
 Hydaspes, the Acesines, and the Hydraotes, why do you hesitate to
 add the Hyphasis and the peoples beyond the Hyphasis to this
 6 Macedonian empire of ours? Do you fear lest other barbarians may
 yet withstand your approach? Why, some of them come over
 readily, some are captured in flight, some desert their country and
 leave it vacant for us; this land we have indeed annexed to our allies
 and those who have voluntarily come over to us.

26. For my part, I set no limit to exertions for a man of noble
 spirit, save that the exertions themselves should lead to deeds of
 prowess. Yet if any one longs to hear what will be the limit of the
 actual fighting, he should understand that there remains no great
 stretch of land before us up to the river Ganges¹

3 I.e. Cyrene (vii 9, 7 n.).

4 E.g. in India, App. XV.

5 iv 1-5 and 15; Pharasmanes could be held to have submitted. It
 is idle to analyse the rhetoric here or in vii 10, 5 ff., as Tarn does (App.
 15).

1 App. XVII 22 f.

- ἑώραν θάλασσαν ταύτη δέ, λέγω ὑμῖν, ξυναφῆς φανείται ἢ
- 2 Ἑρκανία θάλασσα· ἐκπεριέρχεται γὰρ γῆν πέρι πάσαν ἢ μεγάλη θάλασσα. καὶ ἐγὼ ἐπιδείξω Μακεδόσι τε καὶ τοῖς ξυμμάχοις τὸν μὲν Ἰνδικὸν κόλπον ξύρρον ὄντα τῷ Περσικῷ, τὴν δὲ Ἑρκανίαν <θάλασσαν> τῷ Ἰνδικῷ· ἀπὸ δὲ τοῦ Περσικοῦ εἰς Λιβύην περιπλευσθήσεται στόλῳ ἡμετέρῳ τὰ μέχρι Ἡρακλέους Στηλῶν· ἀπὸ δὲ Στηλῶν ἢ ἐντὸς Λιβύῃ πάσα ἡμετέρα γίγνεται καὶ ἢ Ἀσία δὴ οὕτω πάσα, καὶ ὄροι
- 3 τῆς ταύτης ἀρχῆς οὕσπερ καὶ τῆς γῆς ὄρους ὁ θεὸς ἐποίησε. νῦν δὲ δὴ ἀποτρεπομένων πολλὰ μὲν μάχιμα ὑπολείπεται γένη ἐπέκεινα τοῦ Ἑφάσιος ἔστω ἐπὶ τὴν ἑώραν θάλασσαν, πολλὰ δὲ ἀπὸ τούτων ἔτι ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑρκανίαν ὡς ἐπὶ βορρᾶν ἄνεμον, καὶ τὰ Σκυθικὰ γένη οὐ πόρρω τούτων, ὥστε δέος μὴ ἀπελθόντων ὀπίσω καὶ τὰ νῦν κατεχόμενα οὐ βέβαια ὄντα
- 4 ἐπαρθῆ πρὸς ἀπόστασιν πρὸς τῶν μήπω ἐχομένων. καὶ τότε δὴ ἀνόνητοι ἡμῖν ἔσονται οἱ πολλοὶ πόνοι ἢ ἄλλων αὐθις ἐξ ἀρχῆς δεήσει πόνων τε καὶ κινδύνων. ἀλλὰ παραμείνατε, ἄνδρες Μακεδόνες καὶ ξύμμαχοι. πονούντων τοι καὶ κινδυνεύοντων τὰ καλά ἔργα, καὶ ζῆν τε ξὺν ἀρετῇ ἠδὺ καὶ
- 5 ἀποθνήσκων κλέος ἀθάνατον ὑπολειπομένους. ἢ οὐκ ἴστε ὅτι ὁ πρόγονος ὁ ἡμέτερος οὐκ ἐν Τίρυνθι οὐδὲ Ἄργει, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ ἐν Πελοποννήσῳ ἢ Θήβαις μένων ἐς τοσόνδε κλέος ἦλθεν ὡς θεὸς ἐξ ἀνθρώπου γενέσθαι ἢ δοκεῖν; οὐ μὲν δὴ οὐδὲ Διονύσου, ἀβροτέρου τούτου θεοῦ ἢ καθ' Ἡρακλέα, ὀλίγοι πόνοι. ἀλλὰ ἡμεῖς γε καὶ ἐπέκεινα

- and the eastern sea. This sea, I assure you, will prove to be joined to the Hyrcanian sea²; for the great sea encircles all the land. And it
- 2 will be for me to show Macedonians and allies alike that the Indian gulf [Arabian Sea] forms but one stretch of water with the Persian gulf, and the Hyrcanian Sea with the Indian gulf. From the Persian gulf our fleet shall sail round to Libya, as far as the Pillars of Heracles [Straits of Gibraltar]; from the Pillars all the interior of Libya then becomes ours, just as Asia is in fact becoming ours in its entirety, and the boundaries of our Empire here are becoming those which God set for the whole continent.³ But if we flinch now,
- 3 there will be many warlike races left behind on the far side of the Hyphasis up to the Eastern Sea, and many too stretching from these to the Hyrcanian Sea to the north, and the Scythian tribes not far from these, so that there is reason to fear that if we turn back, even our present possessions, which are not held securely, may be stirred to revolt by those who are not yet under our control. Then
- 4 our numerous exertions will indeed be profitless, or we shall have to start again with fresh exertions and dangers. But you must persevere, Macedonians and allies. Exertions and dangers are the price of deeds of prowess, and it is sweet for men to live bravely, and die leaving behind them immortal renown. Or do you not know
- 5 that it was not by remaining in Tiryns or in Argos or even in the Peloponnese or Thebes that our ancestor attained such renown that from a man he became, or was held, a god? Even Dionysus, a more delicate god than Heracles, had not a few labours to perform. And

² App. XII 2; XXVII 5.

³ Cf. vii 1, 2 f.

- 6 τῆς Νύσης ἀφίγμεθα καὶ ἡ Ἄορνος πέτρα ἢ τῷ Ἡρακλεῖ ἀνάλωτος πρὸς ἡμῶν ἔχεται. ὑμεῖς δὲ καὶ τὰ ἔτι ὑπόλοιπα τῆς Ἀσίας πρόσθετε τοῖς ἤδη ἐκτημένοις καὶ τὰ ὀλίγα τοῖς πολλοῖς. ἐπεὶ καὶ ἡμῖν αὐτοῖς τί ἂν μέγα καὶ καλὸν κατεπέπρακτο, εἰ ἐν Μακεδονίᾳ καθήμενοι ἱκανὸν ἐποιούμεθα ἀπόνως τὴν οἰκίαν διασώζειν, Θρᾶκας τοὺς ὁμόρους ἢ Ἰλλυριοὺς ἢ Τριβαλλοὺς ἢ καὶ τῶν Ἑλλήνων, ὅσοι οὐκ ἐπιτήδευοι ἐς τὰ ἡμέτερα, ἀναστέλλοντες;
- 7 Εἰ μὲν δὴ ὑμᾶς πονοῦντας καὶ κινδυνεύοντας αὐτὸς ἀπόνως καὶ ἀκινδύνως ἐξηγούμενος ἦγον, οὐκ ἀπεικότως ἂν προεκάμνετε ταῖς γνώμαις, τῶν μὲν πόνων μόνοις ὑμῖν μετόν, τὰ δὲ ἄθλα αὐτῶν ἄλλοις περιποιούντες· νῦν δὲ κοινοὶ μὲν
- 8 ἡμῖν οἱ πόνοι, ἴσον δὲ μέτεστι τῶν κινδύνων, τὰ δὲ ἄθλα ἐν μέσῳ κείται ξύμπασιν. ἢ τε χώρα ὑμετέρα καὶ ὑμεῖς αὐτῆς σατραπεύετε. καὶ τῶν χρημάτων τὸ μέρος νῦν τε ἐς ὑμᾶς τὸ πολὺ ἔρχεται καὶ ἐπειδὰν ἐπεξέλθωμεν τὴν Ἀσίαν, τότε οὐκ ἐμπλήσας μὰ Δι' ὑμᾶς, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὑπερβαλὼν ὅσα ἕκαστος ἐλπίζει ἀγαθὰ ἔσεσθαι τοὺς μὲν ἀπιέναι οἴκαδε ἐθέλοντας εἰς τὴν οἰκίαν ἀποπέμψω ἢ ἐπανάξω αὐτός, τοὺς δὲ αὐτοῦ μένοντας ζηλωτοὺς τοῖς ἀπερχομένοις ποιήσω.

27. Ταῦτα καὶ τοιαῦτα εἰπόντος Ἀλεξάνδρου πολλὴν μὲν χρόνον σιωπὴ ἦν οὔτε ἀντιλέγειν τολμώντων πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα ἐκ τοῦ εὐθέως οὔτε ξυγχωρεῖν ἐθελόντων. ἐν δὲ τούτῳ πολλάκις μὲν

yet we have actually passed beyond Nysa and taken the rock

- 6 Aornos, which Heracles could not take.⁴ Let it be your task to add what yet remains of Asia to the possessions already won, a small conquest in comparison. For that matter what great or noble success could we ourselves have achieved, had we sat still in Macedonia and thought it enough to guard our own home without effort, merely keeping in check the Thracians on our borders or Illyrians or Triballians, or those Greeks too, who were not well disposed to us⁵?
- 7 'Now if the exertions and dangers had been yours, and I had personally escaped them, while issuing commands as your leader, it would not have been unreasonable for you to have grown weary in spirit before me, when you alone were taking part in the exertions, while the prizes they procured went to others; but as it is, we undergo the exertions in common, our share in the dangers is equal,
- 8 and the prizes are open to all alike. For the land is yours; it is you who are its satraps⁶; the greater part of the treasure is now coming to you, and, when we overrun all Asia, then by Heaven I will not merely satisfy you, but will surpass the utmost hope of good things each man has, I will send all who desire to go home back to their own country or will myself lead them back, while those who remain behind I shall make the envy of those who depart.'

27. After Alexander had spoken these words or in this sense, for a long time there was silence; no one either dared to oppose the King on the spur of the moment, or was yet willing to agree. In this interval

4 App. V 10; XVI.

5 The insecurity of Macedonian frontiers and control of Greece emerges better here than in vii 9, 3–5.

6 Less absurd, as addressed to officers, than vii 9, 8.

Ἀλέξανδρος ἐκέλευε λέγειν τὸν βουλόμενον, εἰ δὴ τις τὰ ἐναντία τοῖς ὑπ' αὐτοῦ λεχθείσι γινώσκει· ἔμενε δὲ καὶ ὡς ἐπὶ πολὺ ἢ σιωπῇ· ὁπότε δὲ ποτε θαρσήσας Κοῖνος ὁ Πολεμοκράτους ἔλεξε τοιάδε.

- 2 Ἐπειδὴ αὐτός, ὦ βασιλεῦ, οὐ κατὰ πρόσταγμα ἐθέλεις Μακεδόνων ἐξηγεῖσθαι, ἀλλὰ πείσας μὲν ἄξειν φήσ, πεισθεῖς δὲ οὐ βιάσεσθαι, οὐχ ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν τῶνδε ποιήσομαι ἐγὼ τοὺς λόγους, οἳ καὶ προτιμώμενοι τῶν ἄλλων καὶ τὰ ἄθλα τῶν πόνων οἳ πολλοὶ ἤδη κεκομισμένοι καὶ τῷ κρατιστεύειν παρά
- 3 τοὺς ἄλλους πρόθυμοί σοι ἐς πάντα ἐσμέν, ἀλλ' ὑπὲρ τῆς στρατιᾶς τῆς πολλῆς. οὐδὲ ὑπὲρ ταύτης τὰ καθ' ἡδονὴν ἐκείνοις ἐρῶ, ἀλλὰ ἅ νομίζω σύμφορά τέ σοι ἐς τὰ παρόντα καὶ ἐς τὰ μέλλοντα μάλιστα ἀσφαλῆ εἶναι. δίκαιος δὲ εἰμι καθ' ἡλικίαν τε μὴ ἀποκρύπτεσθαι τὰ δοκοῦντα βέλτιστα καὶ κατὰ τὴν ἐκ σοῦ μοι οὔσαν καὶ ἐς τοὺς ἄλλους ἀξίωσιν καὶ κατὰ τὴν ἐν τοῖς πόνους τε καὶ κινδύνους ἐς τόδε
- 4 ἀπροφάσιστον τόλμαν. ὅσῳ γάρ τοι πλείστα καὶ μέγιστα σοί τε ἡγουμένῳ καταπέπρακται καὶ τοῖς ἅμα σοὶ οἴκοθεν ὀρμηθείσι, τοσῶδε μᾶλλον τι ξύμφορόν μοι δοκεῖ πέρασ τι ἐπιθεῖναι τοῖς πόνους καὶ κινδύνους. αὐτὸς γάρ τοι ὄρᾳς, ὅσοι
- 5 μὲν Μακεδόνων τε καὶ Ἑλλήνων ἅμα σοὶ ὠρμήθημεν, ὅσοι δὲ ὑπολελείμμεθα· ὧν Θετταλοὺς μὲν ἀπὸ Βάκτρων εὐθύς οὐ προθύμους ἔτι ἐς τοὺς πόνους αἰσθόμενος οἴκαδε, καλῶς ποιῶν, ἀπέπεμψας· τῶν δὲ ἄλλων Ἑλλήνων οἳ μὲν

Alexander often invited any who wished to speak, if he really held opposite views to those he had expressed himself; yet even so silence reigned long, and only after some time Coenus, Polemocrates' son, plucked up his courage and spoke thus¹:

- 2 'Seeing that you, Sire, do not yourself desire to lead the Macedonians as a dictator, but say that you will lead them by persuasion, and that, if they persuade you, you will not coerce them, I shall speak not on behalf of those here present among us, who are held in honour beyond the rest and have mostly already received the prizes of our exertions, and, in virtue of our eminence in comparison with the rest, are zealous to serve you in every way, but
- 3 on behalf of the majority in the army. And even in their cause I shall not speak to gratify them, but say what I consider useful to yourself in present circumstances and most conducive to safety for the future. My age entitles me not to conceal the views I think best and so does the superior rank you have granted me, and the unhesitating daring I have shown up to now in exertions and dangers.
- 4 The successes achieved by you as our leader and by those who set out with you from our homes have been so numerous and splendid that for that very reason I think it more in our interest to set some limit to exertions and dangers. Surely you see yourself how many Macedonians and Greeks we were when we set forth with
- 5 you, and how many survive. The Thessalians you sent straight home from Bactria,² observing that they had little heart left for further exertions, and you were right. As for the other

1 QC. ix 3 also has a fictitious speech by Coenus. There is no reason to doubt that he spoke (*contra* Tarn). 21, 4 suggests that he and Craterus were not expected to remain at the Hydaspes (21, 1), and his rejoining the main army could have been overlooked by A., like that of

ἐν ταῖς πόλεσι ταῖς πρὸς σοῦ οἰκισθείσαις κατωκισμένοι οὐδὲ
 οὗτοι πάντῃ ἐκόντες μένουσιν· οἱ δὲ ξυμπονοῦντές τε ἔτι καὶ
 ξυγκινδυνεύοντες, αὐτοὶ τε καὶ ἡ Μακεδονικὴ στρατιά, τοὺς
 μὲν ἐν ταῖς μάχαις ἀπολωλέκασιν, οἱ δὲ ἐκ τραυμάτων
 6 ἀπόμαχοι γεγενημένοι ἄλλοι ἄλλη τῆς Ἀσίας ὑπολειμμένοι
 μένοι εἰσίν, οἱ πλείους δὲ νόσῳ ἀπολώλασιν, ὀλίγοι δὲ ἐκ
 πολλῶν ὑπολείπονται, καὶ οὔτε τοῖς σώμασιν ἔτι ὡσαύτως
 ἐρρωμένοι, ταῖς τε γνώμασι πολὺ ἔτι μᾶλλον προκεκμηκότες.
 καὶ τούτοις ξύμπασιν πόθος μὲν γονέων ἐστίν, ὅσοις ἔτι
 σῶζονται, πόθος δὲ γυναικῶν καὶ παιδῶν, πόθος δὲ δὴ τῆς
 γῆς αὐτῆς τῆς οἰκείας, ἣν ξὺν τῷ ἐκ σοῦ πορισθέντι σφίσι
 κόσμῳ μεγάλοι τε ἀντὶ μικρῶν καὶ πλούσιοι ἐκ πενήτων
 7 ἀναστρέφοντες ξύγγνωστοὶ εἰσιν ἐπιδεῖν ποθοῦντες. σὺ δὲ νῦν
 μὴ ἄγειν ἄκοντας· οὐδὲ γὰρ ὁμοίοις ἔτι χρῆσι ἐς τοὺς
 κινδύνους, οἷς τὸ ἐκούσιον ἐν τοῖς ἀγῶσι ἀπέσται· ἐπανελθὼν
 δὲ αὐτός [τε], εἰ δοκεῖ, ἐς τὴν οἰκείαν καὶ τὴν μητέρα τὴν
 σαυτοῦ ἰδὼν καὶ τῶν Ἑλλήνων καταστησάμενος καὶ τὰς νίκας
 ταύτας τὰς πολλὰς καὶ μεγάλας ἐς τὸν πατρῶον οἶκον
 κομίσας οὕτω δὴ ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἄλλον στόλον στέλλεσθαι, εἰ μὲν
 βούλει, ἐπ' αὐτὰ ταῦτα τὰ πρὸς τὴν ἕω ὤκισμένα Ἰνδῶν γένη,
 εἰ δὲ βούλει, ἐς τὸν Εὐξείνου πόντον, εἰ δέ, ἐπὶ Καρχηδόνα
 8 καὶ τὰ ἐπέκεινα Καρχηδονίων τῆς Λιβύης. ταῦτα δὲ σὸν ἤδη
 ἐξηγεῖσθαι. ἔβουλον δὲ σοὶ ἄλλοι Μακεδόνες καὶ ἄλλοι
 Ἕλληνες, νέοι τε ἀντὶ γερόντων καὶ ἀκμηῆτες ἀντὶ κεκμηκόντων,
 καὶ οἷς τὰ

Greeks, some have been settled in the cities you have founded, and
 even they do not remain there entirely of their own free will³;
 others are still sharing in your exertions and dangers, but they and
 the Macedonian forces have lost part of their number in battle;
 others have been invalidated from wounds, and have been left behind
 6 in different parts of Asia; but most have died of sickness, and of all
 that host few survive, and even they no longer enjoy their bodily
 strength, while their spirit is far more wearied out. One and all,
 they long to see their parents, if they are still alive, their wives and
 children, and indeed their own homeland, which they may
 pardonably long to look on once more, for with the honour of the
 provision you have made for them, they will return great and
 7 wealthy, instead of being humble and poor. It is not for you now to
 be a leader of unwilling troops. For you will no longer find men
 meeting dangers as they once did, when it is not by their own
 choice that they engage in conflicts. But if it please you, return in
 person to your own country, look on your own mother, settle the
 affairs of the Greeks and, after bringing these victories, numerous
 and splendid, to your father's house, then indeed begin again and fit
 out another expedition, if you wish, against the very same Indian
 peoples settled in the east or, if you wish, one to the Euxine [Black]
 Sea, or alternatively against Carthage and the part of Libya beyond
 8 Carthage.⁴ These decisions it will then be for you to take as leader,
 but your followers will be other Macedonians, other Greeks, young
 men in place of old, men who are fresh and not worn out, who will
 have no

3 Cf. iv 22, 3 n.; App. XXIII 7. The discontent that led to revolt *might* have been known already.

4 Cf. vii 1; 8, 1.

τοῦ πολέμου διὰ τὸ ἀπείρατον ἔς τε τὸ παραντίκα οὐ φοβερὰ καὶ κατὰ τὴν τοῦ μέλλοντος ἐλπίδα ἐν σπουδῇ ἔσται· οὐς καὶ ταύτη ἔτι προθυμότερον ἀκολουθήσειν σοι εἰκός, ὁρῶντας τοὺς πρότερον ξυμπονήσαντάς τε καὶ ξυγκινδυνεύσαντας ἔς τὰ σφέτερα ἦθη ἐπανεληλυθότας, πλουσίους τε ἀντὶ πεινήτων καὶ
 9 ἀντὶ ἀφανῶν τῶν πάλαι εὐκλεείς. καλὸν δέ, ὦ βασιλεῦ, εἶπερ τι καὶ ἄλλο, καὶ ἢ ἐν τῷ εὐτυχίῳ σωφροσύνη. σοὶ γὰρ αὐτῷ ἡγουμένῳ καὶ στρατιὰν τοιαύτην ἄγοντι ἐκ μὲν πολεμίων δέος οὐδέν, τὰ δὲ ἐκ τοῦ δαιμονίου ἀδόκητά τε καὶ ταύτη καὶ ἀφύλακτα τοῖς ἀνθρώποις ἐστί.

28. Τοιαῦτα εἰπόντος τοῦ Κοίνου θόρυβον γενέσθαι ἐκ τῶν παρόντων ἐπὶ τοῖς λόγοις· πολλοῖς δὲ δὴ καὶ δάκρυα προχυθέντα ἔτι μᾶλλον δηλῶσαι τό τε ἀκούσιον τῆς γνώμης ἔς τοὺς πρόσω κινδύνους καὶ τὸ καθ' ἡδονὴν σφισιν εἶναι τὴν ἀποχώρησιν. Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ τότε μὲν ἀχθεσθεὶς τοῦ τε
 2 Κοίνου τῆ παρρησία καὶ τῷ ὄκνῳ τῶν ἄλλων ἡγεμόνων διέλυσε τὸν ξύλλογον· ἔς δὲ τὴν ὑστεραίαν ξυγκαλέσας αὐθις ξὺν ὀργῇ τοὺς αὐτοὺς αὐτὸς μὲν ἰέναι ἔφη τοῦ πρόσω, βιάσεσθαι δὲ οὐδένα ἄκοντα Μακεδόνων ξυνέπεσθαι· ἔξειν γὰρ τοὺς ἀκολουθήσοντας τῷ βασιλεῖ σφῶν ἐκόντας· τοῖς δὲ καὶ ἀπιέναι οἵκαδε ἐθέλουσιν ὑπάρχειν ἀπιέναι καὶ ἐξαγγέλλειν τοῖς οἰκείοις, ὅτι τὸν βασιλέα σφῶν ἐν μέσοις
 3 τοῖς πολεμίοις ἐπανήκουσιν ἀπολιπόντες. ταῦτα εἰπόντα ἀπελθεῖν ἔς τὴν σκηνὴν μηδέ τινα τῶν ἐταίρων

immediate fear of war, having no experience of it, and whose warlike ardour will be excited by their hopes of the future; it is likely that they will follow you with all the more enthusiasm, because they see the partners in your earlier exertions and dangers returned to their own lands and raised from poverty to riches and
 9 from obscurity to high renown. Nothing, Sire, is so unquestionably good as a sound mind in good fortune and, though with you as commander and such an army to lead our enemies can inspire no fear, the strokes of divine power are beyond the foresight and therefore beyond the precautions of human beings.'

28. After Coenus had spoken in this way, it is said that his speech produced uproar among the audience and that many even shed tears, still further proof that their minds did not go with further dangers and that what they wanted was to return home, and of the joy with which they would hail a retreat. At the time Alexander, irritated at Coenus' freedom of language and at the timidity of the other officers, dismissed the conference, but next
 2 day he convened the same men once more and angrily affirmed that he himself was going on, but that he would compel no Macedonian to go with him against his will; he would have volunteers as followers of their king. As for those who wished to return home, they might do so, and might tell it abroad to their
 3 friends that they had come back, leaving their king surrounded by enemies.¹ After these words it is said that he went back to his tent, and did not admit even any of the Companions

1 QC. ix 3, 16 ff., who omits this second meeting, ascribes similar statements to AL. at the first (2, 31 ff.). Cf. vii 10, 5 ff. If a substantial number of men had been ready to follow AL., the rest might have succumbed to pressure and their fears of being left leaderless; *pace* Tarn, this sort of bluff could have been tried; if so, it was called!

προσέσθαι αὐτῆς τε ἐκείνης τῆς ἡμέρας καὶ ἐς τὴν τρίτην ἔτι ἀπ' ἐκείνης, ὑπομένοντα, εἰ δὴ τις τροπὴ ταῖς γνώμαις τῶν Μακεδόνων τε καὶ ξυμμάχων, οἷα δὴ ἐν ὄχλῳ στρατιωτῶν τὰ πολλὰ φιλεῖ γίγνεσθαι, ἐμπεσοῦσα εὐπειθεστέρους παρέξει
 4 αὐτούς. ὡς δὲ σιγὴ αὖ πολλὴ <ἦν> ἀνὰ τὸ στρατόπεδον καὶ ἀχθόμενοι μὲν τῇ ὀργῇ αὐτοῦ δήλοι ἦσαν, οὐ μὴν μεταβαλλόμενοί γε ὑπ' αὐτῆς, ἐνταῦθα δὴ λέγει Πτολεμαῖος ὁ Λάγου, ὅτι ἐπὶ τῇ διαβάσει οὐδὲν μείον ἐθύετο, θνομένῳ δὲ οὐκ ἐγίνετο αὐτῷ τὰ ἱερά. τότε δὴ τοὺς πρεσβυτάτους τε τῶν ἐταίρων καὶ τοὺς μάλιστα ἐπιτηδείους αὐτῷ συναγαγών, ὡς πάντα ἐς τὴν ὀπίσω ἀναχώρησιν αὐτῷ ἔφερεν, ἐκφαίνει ἐς τὴν στρατιάν, ὅτι ἔγνωσται ὀπίσω ἀποστρέφειν.

29. Οἱ δὲ ἐβόων τε οἷα ἂν ὄχλος ξυμμιγῆς χαίρων βοήσειε καὶ ἐδάκρνον οἱ πολλοὶ αὐτῶν· οἱ δὲ καὶ τῇ σκηνῇ τῇ βασιλικῇ πελάζοντες ἠῦχοντο Ἀλεξάνδρῳ πολλὰ καὶ ἀγαθὰ, ὅτι πρὸς σφῶν μόνων νικηθῆναι ἠνέσχετο. ἐνθα δὴ διελὼν κατὰ τάξεις τὴν στρατιάν δώδεκα βωμοὺς κατασκευάζειν προστάττει, ὕψος μὲν κατὰ τοὺς μεγίστους πύργους, εὖρος δὲ μείζονας ἔτι ἢ κατὰ πύργους, χαριστήρια τοῖς θεοῖς τοῖς ἐς
 2 τοσόνδε ἀγαγοῦσιν αὐτὸν νικῶντα καὶ μνημεῖα τῶν αὐτοῦ πόνων. ὡς δὲ κατεσκευασμένοι αὐτῷ οἱ βωμοὶ ἦσαν, θύει δὴ ἐπ' αὐτῶν ὡς νόμος καὶ ἀγῶνα ποιεῖ γυμνικόν τε καὶ ἵππικόν. καὶ τὴν μὲν χώραν τὴν μέχρι τοῦ Ἰφάσιος ποταμοῦ Πώρω ἄρχειν προσέθηκεν, αὐτὸς δὲ ἐπὶ τὸν Ἰδραώτην ἀνέστρεφε.

that day nor till the third day after,² waiting to see if any change of mind on the part of the Macedonians and allies, such as often occurs in a crowd of soldiers, would come over them and make them easier to persuade. But when dead silence again persisted in
 4 the camp and it was clear that the men resented his anger but were not at all converted by it, Ptolemy, son of Lagus, tells us that then he none the less offered sacrifices with a view to crossing the river,
 5 but that as he sacrificed the victims proved unfavourable. Then he called together the eldest of the Companions and especially his particular friends and, since everything was now contributing to make him withdraw, he proclaimed openly to the army that he had decided to turn back.

29. They shouted in the way a heterogeneous crowd would do in joy, and most of them began to weep; others drew near the royal tent and invoked blessings on Alexander, since he had submitted to defeat at their hands alone. Then he divided the army into twelve parts and ordered each to set up an altar as high as the greatest towers, and in breadth even greater than towers would be, as thank-offerings to the gods who had brought him so far as a conqueror, and as memorials of his own exertions.¹

2 When the altars had been built for him, he performed the customary sacrifices on them, and held athletic and equestrian games. He added the territory as far as the river Hyphasis to Porus' dominion,² and he himself began to return towards the Hydraotes.

2 So QC. ix 3, 18 f.; P. 62, 3. Both omit the sacrifices, Pt's excuse for Al's acceptance of defeat (App. XXVII 5); for these see Bosworth on i 4, 5. App. XVII 32.

1 D. 95; P. 62; QC. ix 3, 19. Pliny, NH vi 62 implausibly puts the altars on the east bank. Cf. App. XVI 5.

- 3 διαβὰς δὲ τὸν Ὑδραώτην, ἐπὶ τὸν Ἀκεσίην αὖ ἐπανήει ὀπίσω. καὶ ἐνταῦθα καταλαμβάνει τὴν πόλιν ἐξωκοδομημένην, ἣντινα Ἐφαιστίων αὐτῷ ἐκτειχίσει ἐτάχθη καὶ ἐς ταύτην ξυνοικίσας τῶν τε προσχώρων ὅσοι ἐθελονταὶ κατωκίζοντο καὶ τῶν μισθοφόρων ὃ τι περ ἀπόμαχον, αὐτὸς τὰ ἐπὶ τῷ κατάπλω παρεσκευάζετο τῷ ἐς τὴν μεγάλην θάλασσαν.
- 4 Ἐν τούτῳ δὲ ἀφίκοντο πρὸς αὐτὸν Ἀρσάκης τε ὁ τῆς ὁμόρου Ἀβισάρη χώρας ὑπαρχος καὶ ὁ ἀδελφὸς Ἀβισάρου καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι οἰκῆοι, δῶρά τε κομίζοντες ἃ μέγιστα παρ' Ἰνδοῖς καὶ τοὺς παρ' Ἀβισάρου ἐλέφαντας, ἀριθμὸν ἐς τριάκοντα Ἀβισάρην γὰρ νόσῳ ἀδύνατον γενέσθαι ἐλθεῖν.
- 5 ξυνέβαινον δὲ τούτοις καὶ οἱ παρὰ Ἀλεξάνδρου ἐκπεμφθέντες πρέσβεις πρὸς Ἀβισάρην. καὶ ταῦτα οὐ χαλεπῶς πιστεύσας οὕτως ἔχειν Ἀβισάρη τε τῆς αὐτοῦ χώρας σατραπεύειν ἔδωκεν καὶ Ἀρσάκην τῇ Ἀβισάρου ἐπικρατεία προσέθηκεν καὶ φόρους οὕστινας ἀποίσουσι τάξας θύει αὖ καὶ ἐπὶ τῷ Ἀκεσίην ποταμῷ. καὶ τὸν Ἀκεσίην αὖ διαβὰς ἐπὶ τὸν Ὑδάσπην ἦκεν, ἵνα καὶ τῶν πόλεων τῆς τε Νικαίας καὶ τῶν Βουκεφάλων ὅσα πρὸς τῶν ὄμβρων πεπονηκότα ἦν ξὺν τῇ στρατιᾷ ἐπεσκεύασε καὶ τὰ ἄλλα τὰ κατὰ τὴν χώραν ἐκόσμει.

- After crossing it, he went back again to the Acesines, and there he found the city already built which he had instructed Hephaestion to fortify³; as its inhabitants he settled any of the tribesmen who volunteered to settle there and mercenaries no longer fit for service, while he himself made preparations for the voyage down to the Great Sea.⁴
- 4 At this point Arsaces the hyparch of the territory next to Abisares came to him with Abisares' brother and his other relatives, bringing gifts which Indians account of chief value and the elephants from Abisares, numbering about thirty; Abisares (they said) had been unable through illness to attend. The envoys sent by Alexander to Abisares arrived at the same time. Thus, being easily convinced that the facts were as stated, he gave Abisares the satrapy of his own land, and attached Arsaces to Abisares' dominion, and, having fixed the tribute they should bring, he sacrificed at the river Acesines.⁵ Then crossing the Acesines again, he came to the Hydaspes, where with the help of his troops he restored the parts of the cities of Nicaea and Bucephala which had been damaged by heavy rains,⁶ and settled all other affairs in the country.

3 A. probably forgot that he had not recorded the instructions (21, 5). The site is unknown.

4 D. 95 and QC. ix 3, 20 ff. made the voyage to the Indus mouth begin on the Acesines, *contra* all A's main sources (cf. *Ind.* 18, 1 for N., and S. xv 1, 17 and 32, following Ar.; see App. XVII 18); hence they misplace there events on the Hydaspes. They alone record large reinforcements (App. XIII 8, cf. XIX 7). Preparations for the voyage: App. XXV 1 f.

5 App. XVII 33.

6 Cf. 19, 4.

BIBLION EKTON

1. Ἀλέξανδρος δέ, ἐπειδὴ παρεσκευάσθησαν αὐτῷ ἐπὶ τοῦ Ὑδάσπου ταῖς ὄχθαις πολλαὶ μὲν τριακόντοροι καὶ ἡμιόλιαι, πολλὰ δὲ καὶ ἵππαγωγὰ πλοῖα καὶ ἄλλα ὅσα ἐς παρακομιδὴν
 2 στρατιᾶς ποταμῷ εὐπορα, ἔγνω καταπλεῖν κατὰ τὸν Ὑδάσπην ὡς ἐπὶ τὴν μεγάλην θάλασσαν. πρότερον μὲν γε ἐν τῷ Ἰνδῷ ποταμῷ κροκοδείλους ἰδὼν, μόνῳ τῶν ἄλλων ποταμῶν πλὴν Νείλου, πρὸς δὲ ταῖς ὄχθαις τοῦ Ἀκεσίνου κνάμους πεφυκότας ὁποῖους ἢ γῆ ἐκφέρει ἢ Αἴγυπτία, καὶ [ὁ] ἀκούσας ὅτι ὁ
 3 Ἀκεσίνης ἐμβάλλει ἐς τὸν Ἰνδόν, ἔδοξεν ἐξευρηκέναι τοῦ Νείλου τὰς ἀρχάς, ὡς τὸν Νεῖλον ἐνθένδε ποθὲν ἐξ Ἰνδῶν ἀνίσχοντα καὶ δι' ἐρήμου πολλῆς γῆς ῥέοντα καὶ ταύτη ἀπολλύοντα τὸν Ἰνδὸν τὸ ὄνομα, ἔπειτα, ὁπόθεν ἄρχεται διὰ τῆς οἰκουμένης χώρας ῥεῖν, Νεῖλον ἤδη πρὸς Αἰθιοπίων τε τῶν ταύτη καὶ Αἰγυπτίων καλούμενον <ἦ>,¹ ὡς Ὅμηρος ἐποίησεν,
 4 ἐπώνυμον τῆς Αἰγύπτου Αἴγυπτον, οὕτω δὲ ἐσδιδόναι ἐς τὴν ἐντὸς θάλασσαν. καὶ δὴ καὶ πρὸς Ὀλυμπιάδα γράφοντα ὑπὲρ τῶν Ἰνδῶν τῆς γῆς ἄλλα τε γράψαι καὶ ὅτι δοκοίη αὐτῷ ἐξευρηκέναι τοῦ Νείλου τὰς πηγάς, μικροῖς δὲ τισι καὶ φαύλοις ὑπὲρ τῶν τηλικούτων τεκμαιρόμενον.

1 Roos inserted ἦ, cf. v 6, 5.

BOOK VI

326 B.C.

1. Since Alexander had ready for him on the banks of the Hydraspes many *triacontoroi* and *hemioliiai*¹ and many transports for horses and other vessels useful for the conveyance of an army by river, he determined to sail down the Hydraspes to the Great Sea.
 2 He had already seen crocodiles on the Indus, as on no other river except the Nile, and beans growing on the banks of the Acesines of the same sort as the land of Egypt produces and, having heard that the Acesines runs into the Indus, he thought he had found the
 3 origin of the Nile; his idea was that the Nile rose somewhere thereabouts in India, flowed through a great expanse of desert, and there lost the name of Indus, and then, where it began to flow through inhabited country, got the name of Nile from the Ethiopians in those parts and the Egyptians, or that of Aegyptus, which Homer gave in his poem,² whence the name of the land [Egypt], and that it then issued into the inner sea [Mediterranean].
 4 In fact it is reported that, when writing to Olympias about the Indian country, Alexander wrote among other things that he thought he had discovered the springs of the Nile, drawing a conclusion about matters of so much importance from

1 See v 3, 5 n. For the voyage *Ind.* 18 f.; D. 96–104; QC. ix 3, 24–10, 4; P. 63–6; App. XVII 5 (on Nearchus); 24–8 (chronology and topography); XXV 1 f. (Al's plan and fleet construction).

2 *Odyssey* iv 581, cf. v 6, 5. Homer as geographical authority: Strabo i *passim*. N. as A's source here: S. xv 1, 25. Crocodiles: S. xv 1, 45 (Ar.). Comparisons with Nile valley: v 4, 4 n. Contemporary discussions of Nile floods: S. xvii 1, 5 (Aristotle and Callisthenes); *Ind.* 6, 7 (Meg.?).

5 ἐπεὶ μέντοι ἀτρεκέστερον ἐξήλεγξε τὰ ἀμφὶ τῷ ποταμῷ τῷ Ἰνδῷ, οὕτω δὴ μαθεῖν παρὰ τῶν ἐπιχωρίων τὸν μὲν Ὑδάσπην τῷ Ἀκεσίνῃ, τὸν Ἀκεσίνην δὲ τῷ Ἰνδῷ τό τε ὕδωρ ξυμβάλλοντας καὶ τῷ ὀνόματι ξυγχωροῦντας, τὸν Ἰνδὸν δὲ ἐκδιδόντα ἤδη ἐς τὴν μεγάλην θάλασσαν, δίστομον τὸν Ἰνδὸν ὄντα, οὐδέ<ν> τι αὐτῷ προσήκον τῆς γῆς τῆς Αἰγυπτίας·
τηνικαῦτα δὲ τῆς ἐπιστολῆς τῆς πρὸς τὴν μητέρα τοῦτο <τὸ>
6 ἀμφὶ τῷ Νείλῳ γραφὲν ἀφελεῖν. καὶ τὸν κατάπλουν τὸν κατὰ τοὺς ποταμοὺς ἔσπε ἐπὶ τὴν μεγάλην θάλασσαν ἐπινοοῦντα παρασκευασθῆναί οἱ ἐπὶ τῷδε κελεύσαι τὰς ναῦς. αἱ δὲ ὑπηρεσῖαι αὐτῷ ἐς τὰς ναῦς ξυνεπληρώθησαν ἐκ τῶν ξυνεπομένων τῇ στρατιᾷ Φοινίκων καὶ Κυπρίων καὶ Καρῶν καὶ Αἰγυπτίων.

2. Ἐν δὲ τούτῳ Κοῖνος μὲν ἐν τοῖς πιστοτάτοις Ἀλεξάνδρῳ ὦν τῶν ἐταίρων νόσῳ τελευτᾷ καὶ τοῦτον θάπτει ἐκ τῶν παρόντων μεγαλοπρεπῶς. αὐτὸς δὲ ξυναγαγὼν τοὺς τε ἐταίρους καὶ ὅσοι Ἰνδῶν πρέσβεις παρ' αὐτὸν ἀφιγμένοι ἦσαν βασιλέα μὲν τῆς ἐαλωκυίας ἤδη Ἰνδῶν γῆς ἀπέδειξε Πῶρον, ἑπτὰ μὲν ἔθνῶν τῶν ξυμπάντων, πόλεων ἐν τοῖς
2 ἔθνεσιν ὑπὲρ τὰς δισχιλίας. τὴν στρατιὰν δὲ διένειμεν ὧδε· αὐτὸς μὲν τοὺς ὑπασπιστάς τε ἅμα οἱ ξύμπαντας ἐπὶ τὰς ναῦς ἀνεβίβασε καὶ τοὺς τοξότας καὶ τοὺς Ἀγριᾶνας καὶ τὸ ἄγλημα τῶν ἰππέων. Κρατερὸς δὲ αὐτῷ μοῖράν τε τῶν πεζῶν καὶ τῶν ἰππέων παρὰ τὴν ὄχθην τοῦ Ὑδάσπου τὴν ἐν δεξιᾷ ἤγειν· κατὰ δὲ τὴν ἑτέραν ὄχθην τὸ πλείστον τε καὶ κράτιστον τῆς στρατιᾶς καὶ τοὺς ἐλέφαντας Ἡφαιστίων προῦχώρει ἄγων, ἤδη ὄντας ἐς διακοσίους· τούτοις δὲ ἦν παρηγγελμένοι

5 very slender indications; but that, when he had more accurately investigated the geography of the river Indus, he learnt from the inhabitants that the Hydaspes joins its stream to the Acesines and the Acesines to the Indus, and that they resign their names, while the Indus then flows out into the Great Sea by two mouths and has nothing whatever to do with Egypt, and as a result he cancelled the part of the letter to his mother which dealt with the Nile,³ and that,
6 with the idea of sailing down the rivers to the great sea, he ordered the boats to be made ready for him for this purpose. The crews of his boats were made up from the Phoenicians, Cyprians, Carians and Egyptians who accompanied the expedition.⁴

2. At this time Coenus, one of the most trusty of the Companions of Alexander, died of disease.¹ So far as circumstances allowed, Alexander gave him a magnificent funeral. He himself convened the Companions and all the Indian envoys who had come to visit him, and proclaimed Porus king of the Indian land so far acquired, seven nations in all, including more than two thousand
2 cities.² He divided the army as follows. He embarked on the ships with himself all the hypaspists, the archers, the Agrianians, and the *agema* of cavalry.³ Craterus led a division of the infantry and the cavalry along the right bank of the Hydaspes. Hephaestion advanced along the other bank in command of the largest and strongest part of the army and the elephants, of which there were now some two hundred; this force was under orders

3 N's report of a *draft* letter.

4 *Ind.* 18, 1 omits Carians and mentions Greeks.

1 *QC.* ix 3, 20 (inaccurate).

2 *App.* XVII 32.

3 *Ind.* 19, 5 n.

3 ὡς τάχιστα ἄγειν ἵνα περ τὰ Σωπίθου βασιλεία. Φιλίππῳ δὲ τῷ σατράπῃ τῆς ἐπέκεινα τοῦ Ἰνδοῦ ὡς ἐπὶ Βακτρίας γῆς διαλιπόντι τρεῖς ἡμέρας παρήγγελοτο ἔπεσθαι ξὺν τοῖς ἀμφ' αὐτόν. τοὺς ἱππέας δὲ τοὺς Νυσαίους ὀπίσω ἀποπέμπει εἰς τὴν Νύσαν. τοῦ μὲν δὴ ναυτικοῦ παντὸς Νέαρχος αὐτῷ ἐξηγεῖτο, τῆς δὲ αὐτοῦ νεὼς κυβερνήτης <ἦν> Ὀνησίκριτος, ὃς ἐν τῇ ξυγγραφῇ, ἦντινα ὑπὲρ Ἀλεξάνδρου ξυνέγραψε, καὶ τοῦτο

4 ἐψεύσατο, ναύαρχον ἑαυτὸν εἶναι γράψας, κυβερνήτην ὄντα. ἦν δὲ τὸ ξύμπαν πλῆθος τῶν νεῶν, ὡς λέγει Πτολεμαῖος ὁ Λάγον, ᾧ μάλιστα ἐγὼ ἔπομαι, τριακόντοροι μὲν εἰς ὀγδοήκοντα, τὰ δὲ πάντα πλοῖα σὺν τοῖς ἱππαγωγοῖς τε καὶ κερκούροις καὶ ὅσα ἄλλα ποτάμια ἢ τῶν πάλαι πλεόντων κατὰ τοὺς ποταμοὺς ἢ ἐν τῷ τότε ποιηθέντων οὐ πολὺ ἀποδέοντα τῶν δισχιλίων.

3. Ὡς δὲ ξύμπαντα αὐτῷ παρεσκευάστω, ὑπὸ τὴν ἑὼ ὁ μὲν στρατὸς ἐπέβαινε τῶν νεῶν, αὐτὸς δὲ ἔθνε τοῖς θεοῖς ὡς νόμος καὶ τῷ ποταμῷ Ὑδάσπῃ ὅπως οἱ μάντις ἐξηγοῦντο. καὶ ἐπιβὰς τῆς νεὼς ἀπὸ τῆς πρώρας ἐκ χρυσοῦς φιάλης ἔσπενδεν εἰς τὸν ποταμόν, τὸν τε Ἀκεσίνην ξυνεπικαλούμενος τῷ Ὑδάσπῃ, ὄντινα μέγιστον αὖ τῶν ἄλλων ποταμῶν ξυμβάλλειν τῷ Ὑδάσπῃ ἐπέπυστο καὶ οὐ πόρρω αὐτῶν εἶναι τὰς ξυμβολάς, καὶ τὸν Ἰνδόν, εἰς ὄντινα ὁ Ἀκεσίνης ξὺν τῷ

2 Ὑδάσπῃ ἐμβάλλει. ἐπὶ δὲ Ἡρακλεῖ τε τῷ προπάτορι σπείσας καὶ Ἀμμωνι καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις θεοῖς ὅσοις αὐτῷ νόμος

to make at full speed for the capital of Sopithes.⁴ Philip, the satrap
 3 of the country west of the Indus towards Bactria, had orders to follow with his forces after waiting three days.⁵ The cavalry of Nysa were sent back home.⁶ Nearchus was appointed admiral of the whole fleet, and the steersman of Alexander's own vessel was Onesicritus, who in the history he wrote of Alexander told this falsehood among others, that he was its captain, though a mere
 4 steersman.⁷ The entire number of ships, according to Ptolemy son of Lagus, whom for my part I am chiefly following,⁸ was eighty *triacontoroi*, while all the boats including the horse transports, *kerkouroi*, and all the other craft that had been long plying on the rivers or that had been constructed at the time came to nearly two thousand.

3. When everything had been got ready by Alexander, at dawn the army began its embarkation, and Alexander sacrificed to the gods according to custom, and to the river Hydaspes according to the instructions of the seers. After embarking he poured a libation into the river out of a golden bowl from the bows, calling upon the Acesines as well as the Hydaspes, since he had learned that it was the largest of the other rivers and joined the Hydaspes, and also that the meeting of the waters was not far away; and he also called upon the Indus, into which the Acesines runs with the Hydaspes.

2 When he had poured a libation to Heracles his ancestor, to Ammon and to the other

4 App. XVII 20: presumably 'Sophytes,' whose name in Greek script occurs on Indian coins (*CHI* 388).

5 N. diverges, but rightly, in making him also satrap of 'this country' (cf. v 8, 3; 20, 7 n.).

6 App. XVI 6. From Ar.?

7 App. XVII 4.

8 This applies at least to the surrounding narrative. Numbers:

σημῆναι ἐς ἀναγωγὴν κελεύει τῇ σάλπιγγι. ἅμα τε δὴ ἐσημάνθη καὶ ἀνήγοντο ἐν κόσμῳ. παρήγγελτο γὰρ ἐφ' ὅσων τε τὰ σκευοφόρα πλοῖα ἐχρῆν τετάχθαι καὶ ἐφ' ὅσων τὰ ἵππαγωγὰ, ἐφ' ὅσων τε τὰς μαχίμους τῶν νεῶν, ὡς μὴ συμπίπτειν ἀλλήλαις κατὰ τὸν πόρον εἰκῆ πλεύσας· καὶ ταῖς
 3 ταχυνναυτούσαις φθάνειν οὐκ ἐφίετο ἔξω τῆς τάξεως. ἦν δὲ ὁ τε κτύπος τῆς εἰρεσίας οὐδενὶ ἄλλῳ ἐοικώς, ἅτε ἀπὸ πολλῶν νεῶν ἐν ταύτῳ ἐρεσσομένων, καὶ βοῆ ἀπὸ τε τῶν κελευστῶν ἐνδιδόντων τὰς ἀρχὰς τε καὶ ἀναπαύλας τῇ εἰρεσίᾳ καὶ τῶν ἐρετῶν ὁπότε ἀθροοὶ ἐπίπτοντες τῷ ῥοθίῳ ἐπαλαλάξειαν· αἱ τε ὄχθαι, ὑψηλότεραι τῶν νεῶν πολλαχῆ οὔσαι, ἐς στενόν τε τὴν βοῆν ξυνάγουσαι καὶ τῇ ξυναγωγῇ αὐτῇ ἐπὶ μέγα ηὔξημένην ἐς ἀλλήλας ἀντέπεμπον, καὶ πον καὶ νάπαι ἐκατέρωθεν τοῦ ποταμοῦ τῇ τε ἐρημίᾳ καὶ τῇ ἀντιπέμφει τοῦ
 4 κτύπου καὶ αὐταὶ ξυνεπελάμβανον· οἳ τε ἵπποι διαφαινόμενοι διὰ τῶν ἵππαγωγῶν πλοίων, οὐ πρόσθεν ἵπποι ἐπὶ νεῶν ὀφθέντες ἐν τῇ Ἰνδῶν γῆ (καὶ γὰρ καὶ τὸν Διονύσου ἐπ' Ἰνδοῦς στόλον οὐκ ἐμέμνηντο γενέσθαι ναυτικόν), ἔκπληξιν παρείχον τοῖς θεωμένοις τῶν βαρβάρων, ὥστε οἱ μὲν αὐτόθεν
 5 τῇ ἀναγωγῇ παραγενόμενοι ἐπὶ πολὺ ἐφωμάρτουν, ἐς ὅσους δὲ τῶν ἤδη Ἀλεξάνδρῳ προσκεχωρηκότων Ἰνδῶν ἢ βοῆ τῶν ἐρετῶν ἢ ὁ κτύπος τῆς εἰρεσίας ἐξίκετο, καὶ οὗτοι ἐπὶ τῇ ὄχθῃ κατέθειον καὶ ξυνείποντο ἐπάδοντες βαρβαρικῶς. φιλωδοὶ γάρ, εἴπερ τινὲς ἄλλοι, Ἰνδοὶ καὶ φιλορχήμονες ἀπὸ Διονύσου

gods to whom he usually made offering, he bade the bugle sound for departure. On the sound of the bugle they started in due order.¹ For instructions had been given how far apart the baggage vessels, the horse transports and the warships should be, so that they should not collide with each other by sailing irregularly down the stream. Even the fast sailing ships were not allowed to move ahead out of
 3 formation. There was nothing like the sound of the rowing, with so many ships rowing at one and the same moment, and the shouts of the boatswains giving the time for every stroke, and of the rowers when they struck the foaming water all together and huzza'd. The banks, which were often higher than the ships, enclosed the shouts into a narrow funnel, and this compression made them even more resonant, as they reverberated from side to side, and here and there on either side of the river glens helped to swell the sound, as they
 4 echoed it from their empty spaces. No horses had hitherto been seen on shipboard in India (for the Indians had no recollection that Dionysus² had also made his expedition against them by ship); hence the sight of the horses in the transports astonished the barbarian onlookers, so that those present at the departure of the
 5 fleet escorted it a long way, and Indians who had come over to Alexander and were in earshot of the shouting of the oarsmen and the beat of the oars also came running down to the bank and followed, singing barbarian incantations. For none have more love of song and dance than the Indians

1 *Ind.* 18, 11 f. is complementary. Al's reverence for Ammon: vi 19, 4; vii 14, 7; 23, 6; *Ind.* 35, 8; App. V 10; cf. Bosworth, *Greece and the Eastern Mediterranean*, ed. K. H. Kinzl, 51 ff.

2 App. XVI, esp. 8. From Ar.?

ἔτι καὶ τῶν ἅμα Διονύσῳ βακχευσάντων κατὰ τὴν Ἰνδῶν γῆν.

4. Οὕτω δὴ πλέων τρίτῃ ἡμέρᾳ κατέσχευεν, ἵνα περ
Ἡφαιστιώνι τε καὶ Κρατερῶ κατὰ τὸ αὐτὸ στρατοπεδεύειν ἐπὶ
ταῖς ἀντιπέρας ὄχθαις παρήγγελλτο. μέινας δὲ ἐνταῦθα ἡμέρας
δύο, ὡς καὶ Φίλιππος αὐτῷ ξὺν τῇ λοιπῇ στρατιᾷ ἀφίκετο,
τοῦτον μὲν ἐπὶ τὸν Ἀκεσίην ποταμὸν ἐκπέμπει ξὺν οἷς ἔχων
ἦκε, τάξας παρὰ τοῦ Ἀκεσίου ποταμοῦ τὴν ὄχθην
πορεύεσθαι τοὺς δὲ ἀμφὶ Κρατερὸν τε καὶ Ἡφαιστίωνα αὖθις
2 ἐκπέμπει, παραγγείλας ὅπως χρῆ τὴν πορείαν ποιείσθαι.
αὐτὸς δὲ ἔπλει κατὰ τὸν Ὑδάσπην ποταμὸν οὐδαμοῦ μείονα
ἐν τῷ κατάπλω εἴκοσι σταδίων τὸ εὖρος. προσορμιζόμενος δὲ
ὅπῃ τύχοι ταῖς ὄχθαις τοὺς προσοικούντας τῷ Ὑδάσπῃ
Ἰνδοὺς τοὺς μὲν ἐνδιδόντας σφᾶς ὁμολογίαις παρελάμβανεν,
3 ἤδη δὲ τινὰς καὶ ἐς ἀλκὴν χωρήσαντας βία κατεστρέφατο.
αὐτὸς δὲ ὡς ἐπὶ τὴν Μαλλῶν τε καὶ Ὀξυδρακῶν γῆν σπουδῇ
ἔπλει, πλείστους τε καὶ μαχιμωτάτους τῶν ταύτῃ Ἰνδῶν
πυνθανόμενος καὶ ὅτι ἐξηγγέλλοντο αὐτῷ παῖδας μὲν καὶ
γυναῖκας ἀποτεθείσθαι εἰς τὰς ὀχυρωτάτας τῶν πόλεων, αὐτοὶ
δὲ ἐγνωκέναι διὰ μάχης ἵεναι πρὸς αὐτόν. ἐφ' ὅτῳ δὴ καὶ
σπουδῇ πλείονι ἐποιεῖτο τὸν πλοῦν, ὅπως μὴ καθεστηκόσιν
4 αὐτοῖς, ἀλλὰ ἐν τῷ ἐνδεεῖ τε ἔτι τῆς παρασκευῆς καὶ
τεταραγμένῳ προσφέρηται. ἐνθεν δὲ ὠρμήθη τὸ δεύτερον, [καὶ]
πέμπτη ἡμέρᾳ ἀφίκετο ἐπὶ τὴν ξυμβολὴν τοῦ τε Ὑδάσπου καὶ
τοῦ Ἀκεσίου. ἵνα δὲ ξυμβάλλουσι οἱ ποταμοὶ οὗτοι,
στενότατος εἰς ποταμὸς ἐκ τοῖς δυοῖν γίγνεται καὶ τὸ ρεῦμα
αὐτῷ ὀξὺ ἐπὶ τῇ στενότητι καὶ δῖναι ἄτοποι ὑποστρέφοντος

ever since the days of Dionysus and of those who shared his revels
in India.

4. Sailing in this way, on the third day Alexander put in at a
place where orders had been given to both Hephaestion and
Craterus to camp, though on opposite banks. There he stayed two
days, and when Philip joined him with the rest of the army, he sent
him to the river Acesines with the troops he had brought, with
orders to march along the bank of the Acesines. The troops with
Craterus and Hephaestion were sent on again with instructions as
2 to their route, while he himself sailed on down the river Hydaspes,
which was never narrower during the descent than twenty stades.
He put in to the banks where chance determined, and would grant
terms of submission to the Indians living by the Hydaspes who
surrendered; some who resorted to resistance he had already
3 subdued by force. He himself was set on sailing against the land of
the Mallians and the Oxydracae, as he was informed that they were
the most numerous and the most warlike of the Indians in these
parts, and because it was reported to him that they had removed
their wives and children to the strongest of their cities and were
themselves determined to do battle with him; for this reason he
urged on his voyage with the greater speed, so that he might attack
them when they had not yet made their arrangements but were still
short in their preparations and in a state of confusion. On the fifth¹
4 day from his second start he came to the meeting of the Hydaspes
and the Acesines. Where these two rivers meet, they form one very
narrow river; its current is rapid because of the narrows, and the

1 Perhaps amend to 'fifteenth', though QC. ix 3, 24 makes the
daily distance covered only 40 stades.

τοῦ ῥοῦ, καὶ τὸ ὕδωρ κυμαίνεται τε καὶ καχλάζει ἐπὶ μέγα, ὡς
 5 καὶ πόρρω ἔτι ὄντων ἐξακούεσθαι τὸν κτύπον τοῦ κύματος. καὶ
 ἦν μὲν προεξηγγελμένα ταῦτα Ἀλεξάνδρῳ ἐκ τῶν ἐγχωρίων
 καὶ <ἐξ> Ἀλεξάνδρου τῇ στρατιᾷ· ὁμως δὲ ἐπειδὴ ἐπέλαζεν
 αὐτῷ ταῖς ξυμβολαῖς ὁ στρατός, ἐς τοσόνδε ὁ ἀπὸ τοῦ ῥοῦ
 κτύπος κατεῖχεν, ὥστε ἐπέστησαν τὰς εἰρεσίας οἱ ναῦται, οὐκ
 ἐκ παραγγέλματος, ἀλλὰ τῶν τε κελευστῶν ὑπὸ θαύματος
 ἐκσιωπησάντων καὶ αὐτοὶ μετέωροι πρὸς τὸν κτύπον
 γενόμενοι.

5. Ὡς δὲ οὐ πόρρω τῶν ξυμβολῶν ἦσαν, ἐνταῦθα δὴ οἱ
 κυβερνήται παραγγέλλουσιν ὡς βιαιοτάτῃ εἰρεσία χρωμένους
 ἐξελαύνειν ἐκ τῶν στενῶν, τοῦ μὴ ἐμπιπτούσας τὰς ναῦς ἐς
 2 τὰς δίνας ἀναστρέφεσθαι πρὸς αὐτῶν, ἀλλὰ κρατεῖν γὰρ τῇ
 εἰρεσία τῶν ἐπιστροφῶν τοῦ ὕδατος. τὰ μὲν δὴ στρογγύλα
 πλοῖα ὅσα καὶ ἔτυχεν αὐτῶν περιστραφέντα πρὸς τοῦ ῥοῦ,
 οὐδέν τι παθόντα ἐν τῇ ἐπιστροφῇ ὅτι μὴ ταραξάντα τοὺς
 ἐμπλέοντας, κατέστη ἐς εὐθύ, πρὸς αὐτοῦ τοῦ ῥοῦ ὀρθωθέντα·
 αἱ δὲ μακρὰ νῆες οὐχ ὡσαύτως ἀπαθείς ἀπήλθον ἐν τῇ
 ἐπιστροφῇ, οὔτε μετέωροι ἐπὶ τοῦ ἐπικαχλάζοντος κύματος
 ὡσαύτως οὔσαι, ὅσαι τε δίκροτοι αὐτῶν τὰς κάτω κώπας οὐκ
 3 ἐπὶ πολὺ ἔξω ἔχουσαι τοῦ ὕδατος· καὶ αἱ κώπαι δὲ αὐτοῖς
 πλαγίοις ἐν ταῖς δύναις γενομένοις συνετρίβοντο, ὅσων γε
 ἐγκατελήφθησαν ὑπὸ τοῦ ὕδατος οὐ φθασάντων αὐτὰς
 μετεωρίσαι, ὡς πολλὰς μὲν πονῆσαι τῶν νεῶν, δύο δὲ δὴ
 περιπεσούσας ἀλλήλαις αὐτὰς τε διαφθαρῆναι καὶ τῶν
 ἐμπλεόντων ἐν αὐταῖς πολλούς. ὡς δὲ ἐς πλάτος ἤδη ὁ
 ποταμὸς διέσχεν, ἐνταῦθα δὴ ὁ τε ῥοὺς οὐκέτι ὡσαύτως
 χαλεπὸς ἦν καὶ

swirling of the stream produces extraordinary whirlpools; the water
 billows and roars loudly, so that from far off one can hear the din of
 5 the waves. All this had been told to Alexander beforehand by the
 inhabitants, and he had warned his men; yet when they got near the
 meeting waters, the din of the stream was so loud that the sailors
 stopped their rowing, not by order, but because the boatswains
 were struck dumb with amazement and the sailors themselves were
 confused by the din.

5. But when they were not far from the meeting of the waters,
 the steersmen directed them to row as strenuously as possible and
 get out of the narrows, so that the ships might not be caught in the
 whirlpools and be capsized by them, but that they should master
 2 the eddies of the water by their rowing. The round boats in their
 service, though actually twisted about by the stream, suffered
 nothing serious in the swirl, though they caused much anxiety to
 those aboard; they kept a straight course, righted by the current
 itself, but the long ships did not come off so scathless in the swirl;
 they did not ride so high over the roaring waters; and those with
 two tiers of oars hardly kept their lower tier clear of the stream; and
 3 when the boats were brought broadside on in the eddies their oars
 were broken, at any rate if they were caught by the water and did
 not first lift their oars in anticipation, so that many ships were in
 distress, and two collided and were themselves wrecked, and many
 of those aboard lost. But when the river broadened out, at least the
 stream no longer ran so roughly;

- 4 αἰ δῖναι οὐχ ὁμοία τῇ βία ἐπέστρεφον. προσορμίσας οὖν τῇ ἐν δεξιᾷ ὄχθῃ Ἀλέξανδρος τὸν στρατὸν, ἵνα σκέπη τε ἦν τοῦ ῥοῦ καὶ προσβολὴ ταῖς ναυσὶν καὶ τις καὶ ἄκρα τοῦ ποταμοῦ ἐπιτηδείως ἀνείχεν ἐς τῶν ναυαγίων τε τὴν ξυναγωγὴν καὶ εἴ τινες ἐπ' αὐτῶν ζῶντες ἔτι ἐφέροντο, τούτους τε διέσωσε καὶ ἐπισκευάσας τὰς πεπονηκυίας τῶν νεῶν Νέαρχον μὲν καταπλεῖν κελεύει ἔστ' ἂν ἀφίκηται ἐπὶ τὰ ὄρια τοῦ Μαλλῶν ἔθλους, αὐτὸς δὲ τῶν βαρβάρων τῶν οὐ προσχωρούντων καταδρομὴν τῆς χώρας ποιησάμενος καὶ κωλύσας ἐπικουρῆσαι αὐτοὺς τοῖς Μαλλοῖς, οὕτω δὲ αὐθις ξυνέμιξε τῷ ναυτικῷ.
- 5 Καὶ ἐνταῦθα Ἡφαιστίων τε αὐτῷ καὶ Κρατερὸς καὶ Φίλιππος ξὺν τοῖς ἀμφ' αὐτοὺς ὁμοῦ ἤδη ἦσαν. ὁ δὲ τοὺς μὲν ἐλέφαντας καὶ τὴν Πολυπέρχοντος τάξιον καὶ τοὺς ἵπποτοξότας καὶ Φίλιππον ξὺν τῇ ἀμφ' αὐτὸν στρατιᾷ διαβιβάσας τὸν Ὑδάσπην ποταμὸν Κρατερῷ ἄγειν προσέταξε. Νέαρχον δὲ
- 6 ξὺν τῷ ναυτικῷ πέμπει τρισὶν ἡμέραις τὴν στρατιὰν κελεύσας φθάνειν κατὰ τὸν πλοῦν. τὸν δὲ ἄλλον στρατὸν τριχῆ διένειμε· καὶ Ἡφαιστίωνα μὲν πέντε ἡμέραις προΐεναι ἔταξεν, ὡς εἴ τινες τοὺς ξὺν αὐτῷ τεταγμένους φεύγοντες ἐς τὸ πρόσω κατὰ σπουδὴν ἴοιεν, τοῖς ἀμφὶ Ἡφαιστίωνα ἐμπίπτοντες ἀλίσκωνται. Πτολεμαῖον δὲ τὸν Λάγου δούς καὶ τούτῳ τῆς στρατιᾶς μέρος τρισὶν ἡμέραις ὑπολειπόμενον ἔπεσθαι ἐκέλευσεν, ὡς ὅσοι τὸ ἔμπαλι ὑποστρέφουεν αὐτὸν φεύγοντες,
- 7 οὗτοι δὲ ἐς τοὺς ἀμφὶ τὸν Πτολεμαῖον ἐμπίπτοιεν. ἐπὰν δὲ ἀφίκωνται ἐς τὰς ξυμβολὰς τοῦ τε Ἀκεσίνου καὶ τοῦ

- and the eddies did not whirl the ships about with so much violence.¹ Alexander then brought his fleet to land on the right bank, where there was shelter from the current and a landing place for the ships, and where a headland ran out into the river conveniently for gathering in the wrecks and anyone still alive on them, and so saved the survivors and repaired the damaged ships. After this he ordered Nearchus to sail down till he reached the boundaries of the Mallian people, while he himself raided the country of the tribesmen who had not submitted to him, and so prevented them from bringing help to the Mallians. Then he again joined the flotilla.

326 B.C.

326/5 B.C.

- 5 Here Hephaestion and Craterus and Philip with their troops joined him again. Alexander put the elephants, Polyperchon's battalion, the mounted archers² and Philip with his army across the river Hydaspes, and ordered Craterus to take command of them; Nearchus was sent with the fleet and ordered to proceed three days in advance of the army down stream. Alexander divided the
- 6 remaining forces into three parts; Hephaestion was ordered to go on five days ahead, so that any who fled from his own force and moved rapidly ahead would fall in with Hephaestion's troops and be captured, while Ptolemy son of Lagus, to whom he also handed over part of the army, was told to follow him at an interval of three days, so that any who turned back again, fleeing from himself, might fall in with Ptolemy and his troops. The advance guard was
- 7 ordered as soon as they arrived at the junction of the Acesines and

1 D. 97. QC. 4, 8 ff. reserves the terrors (with Al. almost drowning) to other confluences and inserts an outbreak of mutinous feeling.

2 Here, or in 6, 1, the mounted javelin men must be meant.

Ἵδραώτου ποταμοῦ, ἐνταῦθα δὴ τοὺς τε φθάνοντας ὑπομένειν ἐκέλευσεν, ἔστ' ἂν ἦκη αὐτός, καὶ τοὺς ἀμφὶ Κρατερὸν καὶ Πτολεμαῖον αὐτῷ ξυμβαλεῖν.

6. Αὐτὸς δὲ ἀναλαβὼν τοὺς ὑπασπιστάς τε καὶ τοὺς τοξότας καὶ τοὺς Ἀγριαῖνας καὶ τῶν ἀσθηταίων¹ καλουμένων τὴν Πείθωνος τάξιν καὶ τοὺς ἵπποτοξότας τε πάντας καὶ τῶν ἱππέων τῶν ἐταίρων τοὺς ἡμίσεας διὰ γῆς ἀνύδρου ὡς ἐπὶ
 2 Μαλλοὺς ἦγεν, ἔθνος Ἰνδικὸν Ἰνδῶν τῶν αὐτονόμων. καὶ τῇ μὲν πρώτη κατεστρατοπέδευσε πρὸς ὕδατι οὐ πολλῷ, ὃ δὴ ἀπέειχε τοῦ Ἀκεσίνου ποταμοῦ σταδίου ἐς ἑκατόν· δειπνοποιησάμενος δὲ καὶ ἀναπαύσας τὴν στρατιάν οὐ πολὺν χρόνον παραγγέλλει ὅτι τις ἔχει ἄγγος ἐμπλήσαι ὕδατος. διελθὼν δὲ τῆς τε ἡμέρας τὸ ἔτι ὑποκλειπόμενον καὶ τὴν νύκτα ὅλην ἐς τετρακοσίους μάλιστα σταδίου ἅμα ἡμέρα
 3 πρὸς πόλιν ἀφίκετο, ἐς ἣν ξυμπεφεύγεσαν πολλοὶ τῶν Μαλλῶν. οἱ δὲ οὐποτ' ἂν οἰηθέντες διὰ τῆς ἀνύδρου ἐλθεῖν ἐπὶ σφᾶς Ἀλέξανδρον ἔξω τε τῆς πόλεως οἱ πολλοὶ καὶ ἄνοπλοι ἦσαν· ἐφ' ὅτῳ καὶ δῆλος ἐγένετο ταύτην ἀγαγὼν Ἀλέξανδρος, ἦν ὅτι αὐτῷ ἀγαγεῖν χαλεπὸν ἦν, ἐπὶ τῷδε οὐδὲ τοῖς πολεμίοις ὅτι ἄξει πιστὸν ἐφαίνετο. τούτοις μὲν δὴ οὐ προσδοκήσασιν ἐπιπεσῶν τοὺς μὲν πολλοὺς ἀπέκτεινεν αὐτῶν οὐδὲ ἐς ἀλκὴν οἶα δὴ ἀνόπλους τραπέντας· τῶν δὲ ἄλλων εἰς τὴν πόλιν κατειληθέντων κύκλῳ περιστήσας τῷ τείχει τοὺς ἱππέας, ὅτι
 4 μήπω ἢ φάλαγξ τῶν πεζῶν ἠκολουθήκει αὐτῷ, ἀντὶ χάρακος ἐχρήσατο τῇ ἵππῳ. ὡς δὲ τάχιστα οἱ πεζοὶ ἀφίκοντο, Περδίκκαν μὲν τὴν τε αὐτοῦ ἵππαρχίαν ἔχοντα καὶ τὴν Κλείτου καὶ τοὺς

1 See Introduction n. 99.

Hydraotes to wait there till he arrived in person and till the forces of Craterus and Ptolemy joined him.

6. Then he himself took with him the hypaspists, the archers, the Agrianians and Pithon's battalion of the so-called *asthetairoi*, with all the mounted archers and half the Companion cavalry,¹ and led them through a waterless country against the Mallians, an Indian tribe, one of those which were self-governing. On the first
 2 day he camped about a hundred stades from the river Acesines where there was a small supply of water, and, after dining and resting his army a short time, he passed the word along that every vessel any one had was to be filled with water. Marching about four hundred stades during the remainder of that day and through the night, at daybreak he arrived at a city into which many of the
 3 Mallians had congregated in flight; never supposing that Alexander would attack them through this waterless region, they were mostly outside the city and unarmed; even his enemies did not think it credible that he would take this route, for the very reason (as it was now plain) that he had taken it, the mere fact of its difficulty. As then his attack was unexpected, he killed most of them without their attempting resistance, unarmed as they were. The rest were cooped in the city, and Alexander stationed his cavalry round the wall in a cordon, using them like a palisade, since his infantry
 4 phalanx had not yet come up with him. But as soon as the infantry arrived, he sent Perdikkas with his own hipparchy, that of Clitus, and the Agrianians, against another

1 Cf. 5, 5 n.; App. XIX 3. Divergent accounts of subsequent operations with exaggerated enemy numbers in D. and QC., see App. XVII 25–7. *Asthetairoi*: v 22 n.2.

Ἀγριᾶνας πρὸς ἄλλην πόλιν ἐκπέμπει τῶν Μαλλῶν, οἱ
 ξυμπεφευγότες ἦσαν πολλοὶ τῶν ταύτη Ἰνδῶν, φυλάσσειν
 τοὺς ἐν τῇ πόλει κελεύσας, ἔργου δὲ μὴ ἔχεσθαι ἔστ' ἂν
 ἀφίκηται αὐτός, ὡς μηδὲ ἀπὸ ταύτης τῆς πόλεως διαφυγόντας
 τινὰς αὐτῶν ἀγγέλους γενέσθαι τοῖς ἄλλοις βαρβάροις ὅτι
 5 προσάγει ἤδη Ἀλέξανδρος· αὐτὸς δὲ προσέβαλλεν τῷ τείχει.
 οἱ δὲ βάρβαροι τὸ μὲν τεῖχος ἐκλείπουσιν, ὡς οὐκ ἂν
 διαφυλάξαντες αὐτὸ ἔτι, πολλῶν ἐν τῇ καταλήψει τεθνηκότων,
 τῶν δὲ καὶ ἀπὸ τραυμάτων ἀπομάχων γεγενημένων· ἐς δὲ τὴν
 ἄκραν ξυμφυγόντες χρόνον μὲν τινα ἡμύνοντο ἐξ ὑπερδεξίου
 τε χωρίου καὶ χαλεποῦ ἐς προσβολήν, προσκειμένων δὲ
 πάντοθεν εὐρώστως τῶν Μακεδόνων καὶ αὐτοῦ Ἀλεξάνδρου
 ἄλλοτε ἄλλη ἐπιφαινομένου τῷ ἔργῳ ἢ τε ἄκρα κατὰ κράτος
 ἐάλω καὶ οἱ ξυμφυγόντες ἐς αὐτὴν πάντες ἀπέθανον· ἦσαν δὲ
 ἐς δισχιλίους.

6 Περδίκκας δὲ ἐς τὴν πόλιν ἐφ' ἣντινα ἐστάλη ἀφικόμενος
 τὴν μὲν πόλιν ἐρήμην καταλαμβάνει, μαθὼν δὲ ὅτι οὐ πρὸ
 πολλοῦ πεφεύγεσαν ἐξ αὐτῆς οἱ ἐνοικοῦντες δρόμῳ ἤλαυνε
 κατὰ στίβον τῶν φευγόντων· οἱ δὲ ψιλοὶ ὡς τάχους ποδῶν
 εἶχον αὐτῷ ἐφείποντο. καταλαβὼν δὲ τῶν φευγόντων
 κατέκοψεν ὅσοι γε μὴ ἔφθασαν ἐς τὰ ἔλη ξυμφυγόντες.

7. Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ δειπνοποιησάμενός τε καὶ ἀναπαύσας
 τοὺς ἀμφ' αὐτὸν ἔστε ἐπὶ πρώτην φυλακὴν ἦει τοῦ πρόσω καὶ
 τὴν νύκτα διελθὼν πολλὴν ὁδὸν ἅμα ἡμέρα ἀφίκετο πρὸς τὸν
 Ὑδραώτην ποταμόν. ἔνθα δὴ τῶν Μαλλῶν τοὺς μὲν πολλοὺς
 διαβεβηκότας ἤδη ἔμαθεν, τοῖς δὲ καὶ

city of the Mallians, where many Indians of the district had taken
 refuge, with orders to watch the men in the city, but not to engage
 in action till he arrived himself; thus they were to prevent anyone
 from this city escaping to tell the other barbarians that Alexander
 was already close at hand. He himself attacked the city wall. The
 5 barbarians deserted it, in despair of defending it further, many
 having perished in the assault, while others had been incapacitated
 for service from wounds. Taking refuge in the citadel, for some time
 they continued to defend themselves from a commanding position,
 difficult to assail. But as the Macedonians pressed on vigorously
 from all sides, and as Alexander himself appeared here, there and
 everywhere in the action, the citadel was taken by assault, and all
 who had taken refuge there perished, to the number of about two
 thousand.

6 Perdiccas arrived at the city which he had been sent against,
 and found it empty, but, learning that the inhabitants had not long
 fled, he rode at full speed on the track of the fugitives, and the
 light-armed followed with the best speed they could make on foot.
 He caught up with and massacred all the fugitives who had not first
 found refuge in the marshes.²

7. After seeing that his troops had dined and rested, Alexander
 began his advance again about the first watch. He marched a
 considerable distance in the night and at daybreak arrived at the
 river Hydraotes. There he learned that most of the Mallians had
 already crossed, but he fell in with

² Presumably Perdiccas rejoined Al. (cf. 9, 1) before Pithon was
 detached with two hipparchies (7, 2); cf. App. XIX 3.

- 2 διαβαίνουσιν ἐπιγενόμενος περὶ αὐτὸν τὸν πόρον πολλοὺς αὐτῶν διέφθειρε. καὶ αὐτὸς ὡς εἶχε ξυνδιαβὰς κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν πόρον διώκων εἶχετο τῶν φθασάντων ἐς τὴν ἀποχώρησιν. καὶ πολλοὺς μὲν ἀπέκτεινεν αὐτῶν, τοὺς δὲ καὶ ζῶντας ἔλαβεν, οἱ πλείους δὲ κατέφυγον ἐς τι χωρίον ὄχυρὸν καὶ τετειχισμένον. Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ, ὡς οἱ πεζοὶ ἀφίκοντο αὐτῷ, ἀποστέλλει ἐπὶ τούτους Πείθωνα τὴν τε αὐτοῦ τάξιν ἔχοντα καὶ τῶν ἱππέων
- 3 δύο ἱππαρχίας. καὶ οὗτοι δὴ ἐξ ἐφόδου προσβαλόντες λαμβάνουσι τὸ χωρίον καὶ τοὺς καταπεφευγότας ἐς αὐτὸ ἠνδραπόδισαν, ὅσοι γε μὴ ἐν τῇ προσβολῇ διεφθάρησαν. ταῦτα δὲ οἱ ἀμφὶ τὸν Πείθωνα διαπραξάμενοι ἐπανῆλθον αὐθις ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον.
- 4 Αὐτὸς δὲ Ἀλέξανδρος ὡς ἐπὶ τῶν Βραχμάνων τινὰ πόλιν ἦγεν, ὅτι καὶ ἐς ταύτην ξυμπεφευγέναι τινὰς τῶν Μαλλῶν ἔμαθεν. ὡς δὲ ἀφίκετο πρὸς αὐτήν, ἐπήγε τῷ τείχει πάντοθεν πυκνήν τὴν φάλαγγα. οἱ δὲ ὑπορουσσόμενα τὰ τείχη ἰδόντες καὶ ἐκ τῶν βελῶν ἀναστελλόμενοι τὰ μὲν τείχη καὶ οὗτοι ἐκλείπουσιν, ἐς δὲ τὴν ἄκραν ξυμφυγόντες ἐκεῖθεν ἠμύνοντο· ξυνεισπεσόντων δὲ αὐτοῖς ὀλίγων Μακεδόνων μεταβαλλόμενοι καὶ ξυστραφέντες τοὺς μὲν ἐξέωσαν αὐτῶν, ἀπέκτειναν δὲ ἐν
- 5 τῇ ὑποστροφῇ ἐς πέντε καὶ εἴκοσι. καὶ ἐν τούτῳ Ἀλέξανδρος τὰς τε κλίμακας πάντοθεν κελεύει προστιθέναι τῇ ἄκρα

- others who were actually crossing, and destroyed many of them
- 2 during the passage. He himself with no more ado crossed along with them by the same ford, and continued to pursue and hold on to those who had got away in their retreat. Many were killed, some captured alive, but the greater number took refuge in a strong, fortified position. But as soon as his infantry came up with him, Alexander sent Pithon against them with his own battalion and two
- 3 hipparchies of cavalry. They attacked without a pause, captured the place, and enslaved all those who had taken refuge there, except for those who had fallen in the assault. Then Pithon and his detachment, having finished all this, returned back again to the camp.
- 4 Alexander himself was now advancing against a city of the Brachmanes,¹ as he had learned that some of the Mallians had taken refuge there too. On arrival, he led his phalanx in close formation on all sides up to the wall. When they saw their walls undermined, and were pushed back by the missiles, they too deserted the walls and took refuge in the citadel where they continued their defence. A few Macedonians broke in with them, whereupon they turned round, formed a solid mass and drove out the attackers, killing about twenty-five while they attempted to
- 5 withdraw. At this point Alexander ordered ladders to be set up on all sides against the

1 But for 16, 5 and 17, 2 one would take Brachmanes to denote a people (so D. 102, 6). The term was used by Ar. and N. (S. xv 1, 61 and 66) for the class A. normally calls 'sophists' (vii 1, 5; 2 f.; *Ind.* 11, from Meg., cf. S. xv 1, 39). Meg. restricted it to one sect of 'philosophers,' contrasted with Garmanes (ib. 58 ff.), and distinguished warriors (47). Neither he nor any writer except A. (perhaps following Pt.) referred to them as warriors (J. W. McCrindle, *Anc. India as described in Class. Lit.* 1901, 167–86 collects later evidence). Perhaps Pt. meant that they controlled the government, but cf. Meg. (S. xvi 49 ff.).

καὶ ὑπορύττειν τὸ τεῖχος. ὡς δὲ πύργος τε ἔπεσεν
 ὑπορυσσόμενος καὶ τοῦ μεταπυργίου τι παραρραγὲν
 ἐπιμαχωτέραν ταύτη ἐποίησε τὴν ἄκραν, πρῶτος Ἀλέξανδρος
 6 ἐπιβὰς τοῦ τείχους ὠφθη ἔχων τὸ τεῖχος. καὶ τοῦτον ἰδόντες
 οἱ ἄλλοι Μακεδόνες αἰσχυνθέντες ἄλλος ἄλλη ἀνήεσαν. εἵχετό
 τε ἤδη ἡ ἄκρα, καὶ τῶν Ἰνδῶν οἱ μὲν τὰς οἰκίας
 ἐνεπίμπρασαν καὶ ἐν αὐταῖς ἐγκαταλαμβανόμενοι
 ἀπέθνησκον, οἱ πολλοὶ δὲ μαθόμενοι αὐτῶν. ἀπέθανον δὲ οἱ
 πάντες ἐς πεντακισχιλίους, ζῶντες δὲ δι' ἀνδρείααν ὀλίγοι
 ἐλήφθησαν.

8. Μείνας δὲ αὐτοῦ μίαν ἡμέραν καὶ ἀναπαύσας τὴν
 στρατιὰν τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ προὔχῳρι ὡς ἐπὶ τοὺς ἄλλους
 Μαλλούς. καὶ τὰς μὲν πόλεις ἐκλελοιπότας καταλαμβάνει,
 2 αὐτοὺς δὲ ἔμαθεν ὅτι πεφευγότες εἶεν ἐς τὴν ἔρημον. καὶ
 ἐνταῦθα αὖθις μίαν ἡμέραν ἀναπαύσας τὴν στρατιὰν ἐς τὴν
 ἐπιούσαν Πείθωνα μὲν καὶ Δημήτριον τὸν ἱππάρχην πρὸς τὸν
 ποταμὸν ὀπίσω ἀπέπεμψεν, ὧν τε αὐτοὶ ἡγοῦντο ἄγοντας καὶ
 3 πρὸς τούτοις ψιλῶν τάξεις δούς αὐτοῖς ὅσαι ἱκαναὶ πρὸς τὸ
 ἔργον. προσέταξε δὲ παρὰ τῇ ὄχθῃ τοῦ ποταμοῦ ἰόντας, εἴ
 τισι περιτυγχάνοιεν τῶν ἐς τὰς ὕλας ξυμπεφευγόντων, αἱ δὴ
 πολλαὶ πρὸς τῇ ὄχθῃ τοῦ ποταμοῦ ἦσαν, τούτους κτείνειν,
 ὅσοι μὴ ἐθελονταὶ σφᾶς ἐνδιδοῖεν. καὶ πολλοὺς καταλαμβάνοντες
 ἐν ταῖς ὕλαις οἱ ἀμφὶ Πείθωνα τε καὶ Δημήτριον ἀπέκτειναν.
 4 Αὐτὸς δὲ ἦγεν ἐπὶ τὴν μεγίστην τῶν Μαλλῶν πόλιν, ἵνα
 καὶ ἐκ τῶν ἄλλων πόλεων πολλοὺς ξυμπεφευγέναι αὐτῷ
 ἐξηγγέλλετο. ἀλλὰ καὶ ταύτην ἐξέλιπον οἱ Ἰνδοὶ ὡς
 προσάγοντα Ἀλέξανδρον ἔμαθον. διαβάντες δὲ τὸν Ὑδραώτην
 ποταμὸν ἐπὶ ταῖς ὄχθαις

citadel, and the wall to be undermined. When a tower was
 undermined and fell, and a breach in part of the curtain wall made
 the citadel easier of assault on that side, Alexander was first to
 6 mount the wall and was seen holding it. At the sight, the rest of the
 Macedonians mounted, out of shame, one here and one there. And
 by this time the citadel was in their hands; some of the Indians set
 fire to their houses, and perished imprisoned in them, but most of
 them died fighting. Up to five thousand in all fell, but such was
 their courage that few were captured alive.

8. Alexander remained there one day and rested his army, and
 on the next day went on against the remaining Mallians. He found
 the cities abandoned and learned that the inhabitants had fled into
 2 the desert. There again he rested his army one day, and on the next
 day sent Pithon and Demetrius the hipparch back to the river with
 the troops they themselves commanded¹ and, in addition, as many
 battalions of light troops as were enough for their task. He directed
 3 them to go along the river bank and, if they should come across any
 of those who had taken refuge together in the woods, of which
 there were many along the river bank, to kill all who did not
 voluntarily surrender. Pithon's and Demetrius' troops did, in fact,
 find and kill many in the woods.

4 Alexander himself marched against the greatest city of the
 Mallians, where he was told many from the other cities had taken
 refuge together. But even this city was deserted by the Indians
 when they learned of Alexander's approach; they crossed the
 Hydraotes and stood their ground, marshalled on the

1 Presumably Pithon's foot battalion and Demetrius' hipparchy.

5 αὐτοῦ, ὅτι ὑψηλαὶ αἱ ὄχθαι ἦσαν, παρατεταγμένοι ἔμενον, ὡς εἶρξοντες τοῦ πόρου Ἀλέξανδρον. καὶ ταῦτα ὡς ἤκουσεν, ἀναλαβὼν τὴν ἵππον τὴν ἅμα αὐτῷ πάσαν ἦει ὡς ἐπὶ τὸν Ὑδραώτην, ἵνα περ παρατετάχθαι τοὺς Μαλλοὺς ἐξηγγέλλετο. οἱ δὲ πεζοὶ ἔπεισθαι αὐτῷ ἐτάχθησαν. ὡς δὲ ἀφίκετό τε ἐπ' αὐτὸν καὶ ἐν τῷ πέραν τοὺς πολεμίους τεταγμένους κατείδεν,

6 ὡς εἶχεν ἐκ τῆς ὁδοῦ ἐμβάλλει ἐς τὸν πόρον ξὺν τῇ ἵππῳ μόνῃ. οἱ δὲ ἰδόντες ἐν μέσῳ τοῦ ποταμοῦ ὄντα ἤδη Ἀλέξανδρον κατὰ σπουδὴν μὲν, ξυντεταγμένοι δὲ ὁμῶς ἀπεχώρουν ἀπὸ τῆς ὄχθης· καὶ Ἀλέξανδρος ξὺν μόνῃ τῇ ἵππῳ εἶπετο. ὡς δὲ κατείδον ἱππέας μόνους, ἐπιστρέψαντες οἱ Ἴνδοὶ καρτερῶς ἐμάχοντο πλῆθος ὄντες ἐς πέντε μυριάδας. καὶ Ἀλέξανδρος ὡς τὴν τε φάλαγγα αὐτῶν πυκνὴν κατείδε καὶ αὐτῷ οἱ πεζοὶ ἀπήσαν, προσβολὰς μὲν ἐποιεῖτο ἐς κύκλους

7 παριππεύων, ἐς χεῖρας δὲ οὐκ ἦει τοῖς Ἴνδοῖς. καὶ ἐν τούτῳ παραγίγνονται αὐτῷ οἳ τε Ἀγριᾶνες καὶ ἄλλαι τάξεις τῶν ψιλῶν, ἃς δὴ ἐπιλέκτους ἅμα οἱ ἦγε, καὶ οἱ τοξόται οὐ πόρρω δὲ οὐδὲ ἢ φάλαγξ ἐφαίνετο τῶν πεζῶν. καὶ οἱ Ἴνδοὶ ὁμοῦ σφισι πάντων τῶν δεινῶν προσκειμένων ἀποστρέψαντες ἤδη

8 προτροπάδην ἔφενγον ἐς πόλιν ὀχυρωτάτην τῶν πλησίων. καὶ Ἀλέξανδρος ἐπόμενός τε αὐτοῖς πολλοὺς ἔκτεινε καὶ ὡς ἐς τὴν πόλιν οἱ διαφυγόντες κατειλήθησαν, πρῶτα μὲν τοῖς ἱππεύσιν ἐξ ἐφόδου ἐκυκλώσατο τὴν πόλιν· ὡς δὲ οἱ πεζοὶ αὐτῷ παρήσαν, ταύτῃ μὲν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ περιστρατοπεδεύει ἐν κύκλῳ τοῦ τείχους, ὅτι οὐ πολὺ τε τῆς ἡμέρας ὑπελείπετο ἐς τὴν προσβολὴν καὶ ἡ στρατιὰ αὐτῷ ὑπὸ τε πορείας μακρᾶς οἱ πεζοὶ καὶ

banks, since the banks were high, to prevent Alexander from
 5 crossing. When he heard this, he took all the cavalry he had with him and made for the Hydraotes, where it was reported that the Mallians were marshalled; the infantry were ordered to follow. When he reached the river and saw the enemy in battle order on the far side, he plunged just as he was from the road into the ford
 6 with the cavalry only. Seeing Alexander already in midstream, the enemy retired from the bank rapidly, but in good order. Alexander followed with only his cavalry. But when the Indians saw cavalry by themselves, they turned about and offered a vigorous resistance, in number about fifty thousand. Alexander saw that their infantry formation was solid and, with his own foot not yet on the field, kept circling round and making charges, without coming to close
 7 quarters with the Indians. And now he was joined by the Agrianians and other battalions of the light troops, picked units he had in his own force, and by the archers. Not far off the phalanx of infantry was visible. The Indians with all these terrors converging upon them turned and, now in full flight, sought refuge in a city which was the strongest in the neighbourhood. Alexander followed them
 8 and killed many, and when the fugitives had been cooped up in the city he first, without a pause, threw his cavalry in a circle round the city. When his infantry came up, for this day he encamped all round the wall, since little daylight was left for the attack, and his army was much fatigued, the infantry from their long

ὑπὸ διώξεως συνεχούς οἱ ἵπποι καὶ οὐχ ἤκιστα κατὰ τὸν πόρον τοῦ ποταμοῦ τεταλαιπωρήκεσαν.

9. Τῇ δὲ ὑστεραία διχῆ διελὼν τὸν στρατὸν τοῦ μὲν ἑτέρου αὐτὸς ἡγούμενος προσέβαλλε τῷ τείχει, τὸ δὲ ἕτερον Περδίκκας προσῆγε. καὶ ἐν τούτῳ οὐ δεξάμενοι οἱ Ἴνδοι τῶν Μακεδόνων τὴν ὄρμην τὰ μὲν τείχη τῆς πόλεως λείπουσιν, αὐτοὶ δὲ ἐς τὴν ἄκραν ξυνέφενγον. Ἀλέξανδρος μὲν οὖν καὶ οἱ
- 2 ἀμφ' αὐτὸν πυλῖδα τινὰ κατασχίσαντες παρήλθον ἐς τὴν πόλιν πολὺ πρὸ τῶν ἄλλων. οἱ δὲ ὁμοῦ Περδίκκα τεταγμένοι ὑστέρησαν ὑπερβαίνοντες κατὰ τὰ τείχη οὐκ εὐπετῶς, οὐδὲ τὰς κλίμακας οἱ πολλοὶ αὐτῶν φέροντες, ὅτι ἐαλωκέναι αὐτοῖς ἐδόκει ἢ πόλις, ἐρημούμενα τῶν προμαχομένων τὰ τείχη ὡς κατείδον. ὡς δὲ ἢ ἄκρα ἐχομένη πρὸς τῶν πολεμίων καὶ πρὸ ταύτης τεταγμένοι εἰς τὸ ἀπομάχεσθαι πολλοὶ ἐφάνησαν,
- 3 ἐνταῦθα δὲ οἱ μὲν ὑπορύσσοντες τὸ τείχος, οἱ δὲ προσθέσει ὅπη παρείκοι τῶν κλιμάκων βιάσασθαι ἐπειρῶντο ἐς τὴν ἄκραν. Ἀλέξανδρος δέ, ὡς βλακεύειν αὐτῷ ἐδόκουν τῶν Μακεδόνων οἱ φέροντες τὰς κλίμακας, ἀρπάσας κλίμακα ἑνὸς τῶν φερόντων προσέθηκε τῷ τείχει αὐτὸς καὶ εἰληθεὶς ὑπὸ τῇ ἀσπίδι ἀνέβαινεν· ἐπὶ δὲ αὐτῷ Πευκέστας ὁ τὴν ἱερὰν ἀσπίδα φέρων, ἣν ἐκ τοῦ νεῶ τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς τῆς Ἰλιάδος λαβὼν ἅμα οἱ εἶχεν Ἀλέξανδρος καὶ πρὸ αὐτοῦ ἐφέρετο ἐν ταῖς μάχαις· ἐπὶ δὲ τούτῳ Λεοννάτος ἀνήει κατὰ τὴν αὐτὴν κλίμακα ὁ σωματοφύλαξ· κατὰ δὲ ἄλλην κλίμακα Ἀβρέας τῶν
- 4 διμοιριτῶν τις στρατευομένων. ἤδη τε πρὸς τῇ ἐπάλξει τοῦ τείχους ὁ βασιλεὺς ἦν καὶ ἐρείσας ἐπ' αὐτῇ τὴν ἀσπίδα τοὺς μὲν ὥθει εἴσω τοῦ τείχους τῶν Ἰνδῶν, τοὺς δὲ καὶ

march, the cavalry from their continuous pursuit; worst of all was the crossing of the river.

9. Next day Alexander divided his army in two and, taking the command of one part himself, began to attack the wall. Perdiccas brought up the other half. At this point the Indians did not withstand the onslaught of the Macedonians, but deserted the walls of the city, and sought their own safety in mass flight to the citadel. Now Alexander and his troops tore down a small gate and penetrated into the city far in advance of the rest, whereas those
- 2 under Perdiccas' command fell behind, finding difficulty in getting over the wall; most of them were not even carrying ladders, since they thought the city had actually been captured when they saw the walls deserted by their defenders. When, however, the citadel was seen to be in the enemy's hands and large numbers drawn up for its protection, some at once began undermining the wall, others set ladders wherever opportunity offered and tried to force a way into
- 3 the citadel. Thinking that the Macedonians who were bringing the ladders were laggard, Alexander seized a ladder from one of the bearers, set it up himself against the wall, huddled under his shield and mounted up; next went Peucestas, carrying the sacred shield, which Alexander had taken from the temple of Athena of Ilium and always kept by him, and which was carried before him in battle, then Leonnatus, the bodyguard, went up by the same ladder, and by another ladder Abreas, one of the soldiers with double pay.¹ By
- 4 this time the king was by the battlement of the wall and, propping his shield on it, he pushed off some of the Indians within

1 Perhaps an N.C.O.; cf. vii 23, 3.

αὐτοῦ τῷ ξίφει ἀποκτείνας γεγυμνώκει τὸ ταύτη τείχος· καὶ οἱ ὑπασπισταὶ ὑπέρφοβοι γενόμενοι ὑπὲρ τοῦ βασιλέως σπουδῇ ὠθούμενοι κατὰ τὴν αὐτὴν κλίμακα συντρίβουσιν αὐτήν, ὥστε οἱ μὲν ἤδη ἀνιόντες αὐτῶν κάτω ἔπεσον, τοῖς δὲ ἄλλοις ἄπορον ἐποίησαν τὴν ἀνοδον.

- 5 Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ ὡς ἐπὶ τοῦ τείχους σταῖς κύκλω τε ἀπὸ τῶν πλησίον πύργων ἐβάλλετο, οὐ γὰρ πελάσαι γε ἐτόλμα τις αὐτῷ τῶν Ἰνδῶν, καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν ἐκ τῆς πόλεως, οὐδὲ πόρρω τούτων γε ἐσακουτιζόντων (ἔτυχε γάρ τι καὶ προσκεχωσμένου ταύτη πρὸς τὸ τείχος), δῆλος μὲν ἦν Ἀλέξανδρος ὦν τῶν τε ὀπλων τῇ λαμπρότητι καὶ τῷ ἀτόπῳ τῆς τόλμης, ἔγνω δὲ ὅτι αὐτοῦ μὲν μένων κινδυνεύσει μηδὲν ὅ τι καὶ λόγου ἄξιον ἀποδεικνύμενος, καταπηδήσας δὲ εἴσω τοῦ τείχους τυχὸν μὲν αὐτῷ τούτῳ ἐκπλήξει τοὺς Ἰνδοὺς, εἰ δὲ μή, καὶ κινδυνεύειν δέοι, μεγάλα ἔργα καὶ τοῖς ἔπειτα πυθέσθαι ἄξια ἐργασάμενος οὐκ ἀσπουδεὶ ἀποθανεῖται—ταῦτα γνοὺς
- 6 καταπηδᾷ ἀπὸ τοῦ τείχους ἐς τὴν ἄκραν. ἔνθα δὴ ἐρεισθεὶς πρὸς τῷ τείχει τοὺς μὲν τινὰς ἐς χεῖρας ἐλθόντας καὶ τὸν γε ἡγεμόνα τῶν Ἰνδῶν προσφερόμενόν οἱ θρασύτερον παίσας τῷ ξίφει ἀποκτείνει· ἄλλον δὲ πελάζοντα λίθῳ βαλὼν ἔσχε καὶ ἄλλον λίθῳ, τὸν δὲ ἐγγυτέρω προσάγοντα τῷ ξίφει αὐθις. οἱ δὲ βάρβαροι πελάζειν μὲν αὐτῷ οὐκέτι ἤθελον, ἔβαλλον δὲ πάντοθεν περιεστηκότες ὅ τι τις ἔχων βέλος ἐτύγγανεν ἢ ἐν τῷ τότε ἔλαβεν.

10. Ἐν τούτῳ δὲ Πευκέστας τε καὶ ὁ διμοιρίτης Ἀβρέας καὶ ἐπ' αὐτοῖς Λεοννάτος, οἱ δὲ μόνον ἔτυχον πρὶν ξυντριβῆναι τὰς κλίμακας ἀναβεβηκότες

the wall, there and then killed others with his sword, and had thus cleared that part of the wall; but the hypaspists became over-anxious for the king, hurriedly jostled up the same ladder and broke it, so that the men already mounting fell down, and as a result the rest had no way up.

- 5 Standing as he was upon the wall, Alexander was shot at all round from the neighbouring towers (for none of the Indians dared approach him) and also by the men in the citadel, and they were actually within short range, as at this point there happened to be a mound near the wall. Conspicuous as Alexander was both by the splendour of his arms and by his extraordinary audacity, he decided that by remaining where he was he would be in danger, while not even performing any deed of note, but that if he leapt down within the wall he might perhaps by this very action strike the Indians with panic but, if not and danger was inevitable, he might do great deeds, worth hearing to men of later generations, and that glory would attend his death. On this decision he leapt down from the
- 6 wall into the citadel. There he propped himself against the wall and, when some Indians came to close quarters and their commander set on him rather boldly, he struck and killed them with his sword. He checked the approach of others, one after another, by hurling stones, but any one who moved too close was again struck with the sword, till the barbarians were unwilling to approach him, but surrounding him on all sides threw any missiles they happened to have or could at the moment lay their hands on.

10. At this point Peucestas and Abreas, 'the double-pay man,' and on their heels Leonnatus, the only men who had actually got on to the wall before

ἐπὶ τὸ τεῖχος, καταπηδήσαντες καὶ αὐτοὶ πρὸ τοῦ βασιλέως ἐμάχοντο. καὶ Ἀβρέας μὲν ὁ διμοιρίτης πίπτει αὐτοῦ τοξευθεὶς ἐς τὸ πρόσωπον, Ἀλέξανδρος <δὲ> βάλλεται καὶ αὐτὸς διὰ τοῦ θώρακος ἐς τὸ στήθος τοξεύματι ὑπὲρ τὸν μαστόν, ὥστε λέγει

2 Πτολεμαῖος ὅτι καὶ πνεῦμα ὁμοῦ τῷ αἵματι ἐκ τοῦ τραύματος ἐξεπνείτο. ὁ δέ, ἔσπε μὲν ἔτι θερμὸν ἦν αὐτῷ τὸ αἷμα, καίπερ κακῶς ἔχων ἠμύνετο· πολλοῦ δὲ δὴ τοῦ αἵματος καὶ ἀθρόου οἷα δὴ ξὺν πνεύματι ἐκρύνεντος, ἱλιγγός τε αὐτὸν καὶ λειποψυχία κατέσχε καὶ πίπτει αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ τὴν ἀσπίδα ξυννεύσας. Πευκέστας δὲ περιβὰς πεπτωκότι καὶ ὑπερσυχῶν τὴν ἱερὰν τὴν ἐξ Ἰλίου ἀσπίδα πρὸ αὐτοῦ [εἶχε], καὶ Λεοννάτος ἐς τὰ ἐπὶ θάτερα, οὗτοί τε βάλλονται ἀμφότεροι

3 καὶ Ἀλέξανδρος ἐγγὺς ἦν ἤδη ὑπὸ τοῦ αἵματος ἐκλιπεῖν. τοῖς γὰρ Μακεδόσι καὶ ταύτῃ ἐν ἀπόρῳ γεγένητο τὰ τῆς προσβολῆς, ὅτι οἱ τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον βαλλόμενόν τε ἐπὶ τῷ τείχει ἰδόντες καὶ πηδῶντα ἔσω ἐς τὴν ἄκραν, ὑπὸ σπουδῆς τε καὶ φόβου μὴ τι αὐτοῖς ὁ βασιλεὺς πάθῃ οὐ ξὺν νόῳ κινδυνεύων, τὰς κλίμακας ξυντετριφότες ἄλλοι ἄλλας μηχανὰς ἐς τὸ ἀνελθεῖν ἐπὶ τὸ τεῖχος ὡς ἐν ἀπόροις ἐμηχανῶντο, οἱ μὲν πασσάλους ἐμπηγνύοντες ἐς τὸ τεῖχος γήϊνον ὄν, καὶ κατὰ τούτους ἐκκρεμαννύμενοι χαλεπῶς

4 ἀνείρπον, οἱ δὲ ἄλλοι ἐπ' ἄλλους ἐπιβαίνοντες. ὁ δὲ πρῶτος ἀνελθὼν ἐνρίπτει αὐτὸν κατὰ τοῦ τείχους ἐς τὴν πόλιν, ἵνα περ τὸν βασιλέα ἐώρων κείμενον, ξὺν οἰμωγῇ καὶ ἀλαλαγμῷ πάντες. ἤδη τε ἀμφ' αὐτῷ πεπτωκότι καρτερὰ μάχη ξυνειστήκει ἄλλου ἐπ' ἄλλῳ τῶν Μακεδόνων προασπίζοντος, καὶ ἐν τούτῳ οἱ μὲν τὸν μοχλὸν ὄτῳ εἶχετο ἢ κατὰ τὸ

the ladders broke, also leapt down and fought to defend the king. Abreas the double-pay man fell there, shot with an arrow in the face, and Alexander himself was struck, right through the corslet into his chest above the breast, so that, according to Ptolemy, breath as well as blood spouted from the wound. Yet as long as his blood

2 was still warm, he continued to defend himself, though distressed, but when a good deal of blood poured out all at once, which naturally happened as he breathed out, he was overcome with dizziness and faintness, and fell there bending over his shield. Peucestas stepped astride him as he lay there, and held over him the sacred shield from Ilium to protect him, Leonnatus was on the other side, and they two received the showers of missiles while

3 Alexander from loss of blood was near to death. For the Macedonian assault had also come into great difficulties at this point. Those who saw Alexander exposed to missiles on the wall and leaping inside into the citadel were impelled by ardour and fear that their king should come to harm by his thoughtless daring and, as they had broken the ladders to pieces, they contrived various expedients in this difficulty for scaling the wall; some fixed pegs in the wall, which was of earth, and clinging to them crept up with difficulty; others mounted on their comrades' shoulders. The first to

4 ascend threw himself down from the wall into the citadel, where he saw the king lying; and all groaned and raised their battle-cry. Already a fierce battle had been joined round the fallen king, with now one, now another of the Macedonians holding his shield over him, when some severed the bar with which the gate in the curtain

μεταπύργιον πύλη κατασχίσαντες ἐπ' ὀλίγους παρήεσαν, οἱ δὲ καθ' ὃ τι ἡ πύλη διέσχε τοὺς ὤμους ὑποθέντες καὶ ὤσαντες ἐς τὸ ἔσω τὸ τεῖχος ἀνεπέτασαν ταύτη τὴν ἄκραν.

11. Ἐν τούτῳ δὲ οἱ μὲν ἔκτεινον τοὺς Ἴνδούς, καὶ ἀπέκτεινάν γε πάντας οὐδὲ γυναῖκα ἢ παῖδα ὑπελείποντο, οἱ δὲ ἐξέφερον τὸν βασιλέα ἐπὶ τῆς ἀστίδος κακῶς ἔχοντα, οὐπω γινώσκοντες βιώσιμον ὄντα. τὸ δὲ βέλος ἐξεκκύσαι ἐκ τοῦ τραύματος ἐπιτεμόντα τὴν πληγὴν οἱ μὲν Κριτόδημον ἀνέγραψαν, ἰατρὸν Κῶον, τὸ γένος τῶν Ἀσκληπιαδῶν, οἱ δὲ Περδίκκαν τὸν σωματοφύλακα, οὐ παρόντος ἐν τῷ δεινῷ ἰατροῦ, ἐγκελευσαμένου Ἀλεξάνδρου τῷ ξίφει ἐπιτεμεῖν τὴν
- 2 πληγὴν καὶ κομίσασθαι τὸ βέλος. ἐν δὲ τῇ κομιδῇ φορὰ αἵματος πολλοῦ γίνεται, ὥστε λειποψυχῆσαι αὐθις Ἀλέξανδρον καὶ οὕτω σχεθῆναι αὐτῷ τὸ αἷμα ὑπὸ τῇ λειποψυχίᾳ. πολλὰ δὲ καὶ ἄλλα ἀναγέγραπται τοῖς ξυγγραφεῦσιν ὑπὲρ τοῦ παθήματος, καὶ ἡ φήμη παραδεξαμένη αὐτὰ κατὰ τοὺς πρώτους ψευσαμένους ἔτι καὶ εἰς ἡμᾶς διασώζει, οὐδὲ ἀφήσει παραδιδούσα καὶ ἐφεξῆς ἄλλοις τὰ ψευδῆ, εἰ μὴ ὑπὸ τῆσδε τῆς ξυγγραφῆς παύσεται.
- 3 Αὐτίκα ἐν Ὀξυδράκαις τὸ πάθημα τοῦτο γενέσθαι Ἀλεξάνδρῳ ὁ πᾶς λόγος κατέχει· τὸ δὲ ἐν Μαλλοῖς ἔθνει αὐτονόμῳ Ἰνδικῷ ξυνέβη, καὶ ἡ τε πόλις Μαλλῶν ἦν καὶ οἱ βαλόντες Ἀλέξανδρον Μαλλοί, οἳ δὴ ἐγνώκεσαν μὲν ξυμμίξαντες τοῖς Ὀξυδράκαις οὕτω διαγωνίζεσθαι, ἔφθη δὲ διὰ τῆς ἀνύδρου ἐπ' αὐτοὺς ἐλάσας πρὶν τινα ὠφέλειαν

wall was fastened, and got through a few at a time, while others put their shoulders to the place where the gate provided an aperture, pushed it back within the wall, and opened up the citadel on this side.

11. At this point, while some were slaughtering the Indians, and they killed all, leaving neither woman nor child, others carried off the king on his shield, in such bad condition that they did not yet know if he could live. Some authorities¹ recorded that Critodemus, a physician of Cos, of the family of the Asclepiads, drew out the arrow from the wound, cutting the part it had struck; others that Perdiccas the bodyguard, no surgeon being at hand in the emergency, cut the wound with his sword at Alexander's express
- 2 command, and so extracted the missile. In the extraction there was a great flow of blood, so that Alexander fainted again and the haemorrhage was thus checked by his fainting. Many other stories have been written by the historians about the misfortune, and tradition has received them as the first falsifiers told them, and still keeps them alive to this day, nor indeed will it ever cease handing on the falsehoods to others in turn, unless it is checked by this history.

- 3 To begin with, it is universally told and believed that the misfortune happened to Alexander among the Oxydracae,² whereas it took place among the Mallians, an independent Indian tribe; the city was a Mallian city, and it was Mallians who wounded Alexander; to be sure, they had determined to join the Oxydracae and so fight together, but Alexander reached them too quickly, marching through the desert, before any help could reach them from the

1 'Vulgate.' QC. ix 5, 25 writes 'Critobulus.'

2 So QC. ix 4, 26 ff. (D. is vague), but not P. 63 nor S. xv 1, 33 (on which see App. XVII 18).

- 4 αὐτοῖς παρὰ τῶν Ὀξύδρακῶν γενέσθαι ἢ αὐτοὺς ἐκείνοις τι ἐπωφελῆσαι. ἐπεὶ καὶ τὴν τελευταίαν μάχην τὴν πρὸς Δαρείου γενομένην, καθ' ἣντινα ἔφυγε Δαρείος οὐδὲ πρόσθεν ἔληξε τῆς φυγῆς πρὶν ξυλληφθῆναι ὑπὸ τῶν ἀμφὶ Βῆσσον καὶ προσάγοντος ἤδη Ἀλεξάνδρου ἀποθανεῖν, πρὸς Ἀρβήλοις γενέσθαι ὁ πᾶς λόγος κατέχει, καθάπερ οὖν καὶ τὴν πρὸ
- 5 ταύτης ἐν Ἴσσω καὶ τὴν πρώτην ἵππομαχίαν πρὸς Γρανίκῳ. ἀλλὰ πρὸς Γρανίκῳ μὲν ξυνέβη <ἡ> μάχη ἢ ἱππικὴ καὶ πρὸς Ἴσσω ἢ αὖθις πρὸς Δαρείου μάχη, Ἀρβηλα δὲ τοῦ χώρου, ἐν ᾧ τὴν ἐσχάτην μάχην Δαρείος τε καὶ Ἀλέξανδρος ἐμαχέσαντο, οἱ μὲν τὰ πλείστα ξυγγράψαντες λέγουσιν ὅτι ἑξακοσίους σταδίους ἀπέχει, οἱ δὲ τὰ ἐλάχιστα, ὅτι ἐς πεντακοσίους. ἀλλὰ ἐν Γαυγαμήλοις γὰρ γενέσθαι τὴν μάχην
- 6 πρὸς ποταμῷ Βουμήλῳ λέγει Πτολεμαῖος καὶ Ἀριστόβουλος. πόλις δὲ οὐκ ἦν τὰ Γαυγάμηλα, ἀλλὰ κώμη μεγάλη, οὐδὲ ὀνομαστὸς ὁ χώρος οὐδὲ ἐς ἀκοὴν ἠδὲ τὸ ὄνομα· ἔνθεν δὴ μοι δοκεῖ πόλις οὖσα τὰ Ἀρβηλα ἀπηνέγκατο τὴν δόξαν τῆς μεγάλης μάχης. εἰ δὲ πρὸς Ἀρβήλοις χρὴ οἶεσθαι γενέσθαι τὸ ἔργον ἐκείνο ἐς τοσόνδε Ἀρβήλων ἀπέχον, καὶ τὴν ἐν Σαλαμῖνι γενομένην ναυμαχίαν πρὸς ἰσθμῷ τῷ Κορινθίων ἔξεστι λέγειν ὅτι ἐγένετο, καὶ τὴν ἐπ' Ἀρτεμισίῳ τῆς Εὐβοίας πρὸς Αἰγίνῃ ἢ Σουνίῳ.
- 7 Καὶ μὴν ὑπὲρ τῶν ὑπερασπισάντων ἐν τῷ κινδύνῳ Ἀλεξάνδρου, Πευκέσταν μὲν γενέσθαι ξύμπαντες ὁμολογοῦσιν, ὑπὲρ Λεοννάτου δὲ οὐκέτι συμφέρονται οὐδὲ ὑπὲρ Ἀβρέου τοῦ διμοιρίτου. καὶ οἱ μὲν ξύλῳ πληγέντα κατὰ τοῦ κράνουσ Ἀλέξανδρον καὶ ἰλιγγιάσαντα πεσεῖν, αὖθις δὲ ἀναστάντα

- Oxydracae, and indeed before they gave any to the Oxydracae. In
- 4 the same way, it is universally told and believed that the last battle with Darius, in which Darius fled, never ceasing his flight until he was arrested by Bessus and his followers, and perished when Alexander was already close at hand, took place at Arbela, and the battle before this at Issus, and the first cavalry battle by Granicus.
- 5 But while a cavalry battle did take place by Granicus, and the second battle against Darius near Issus, Arbela is six hundred stades distant from the place where Darius and Alexander fought their last battle, according to writers who give the highest figure, five hundred stades on the lowest figure. But Ptolemy and Aristobulus state that the battle took place at Gaugamela by the river Bumodus.
- 6 Gaugamela was not a city but a large village; it was not a famous place, and the name has an unpleasing sound; and so I suppose Arbela, as a city, carried off the glory of the great battle,³ though, if we must ascribe this action to Arbela, it is legitimate to say that the naval battle at Salamis took place by the Isthmus of Corinth, and the battle of Euboean Artemisium near Aegina or Sunium.
- 7 Then again, as to those who protected Alexander in his danger with their shields, one and all agree that Peucestas was there, but agreement ceases about Leonnatus as well as about Abreas, the double-pay man. Then some say that Alexander was struck on the helmet with a club, became dizzy and fell, but rose up again and was then struck by a missile in the

3 Here A., S. xvi 1, 3 (with the same explanation) and P. 31, 3 probably follow Ar., whom all three had read. Cf. App. V2.

βληθῆναι βέλει διὰ τοῦ θώρακος ἐς τὸ στῆθος· Πτολεμαῖος δὲ
 8 ὁ Λάγου ταύτην μόνην τὴν πληγὴν πληγῆναι λέγει τὴν ἐς τὸ
 στῆθος. τὸ δὲ δὴ μέγιστον πλημμέλημα τῶν ξυγγραψάντων
 τὰ ἀμφὶ Ἀλέξανδρον ἐκείνο τίθεμαι ἕγωγε. Πτολεμαῖον γὰρ
 τὸν Λάγου ἔστιν οἱ ἀνέγραψαν ξυναναβῆναί τε Ἀλεξάνδρῳ
 κατὰ τὴν κλίμακα ὁμοῦ Πευκέστα καὶ ὑπερασπίσαι κειμένου,
 καὶ ἐπὶ τῷδε Σωτήρα ἐπικληθῆναι τὸν Πτολεμαῖον· καίτοι
 αὐτὸς Πτολεμαῖος ἀναγέγραφεν οὐδὲ παραγενέσθαι τούτῳ τῷ
 ἔργῳ, ἀλλὰ στρατιᾶς γὰρ αὐτὸς ἡγούμενος ἄλλας μάχεσθαι
 μάχας καὶ πρὸς ἄλλους βαρβάρους. ταῦτα μὲν δὴ ἐν ἐκβολῇ
 τοῦ λόγου ἀναγεγράφθω μοι, ὡς μὴ ἀταλαίπωρον γίνεσθαι
 τοῖς ἔπειτα ἀνθρώποις τὴν ὑπὲρ τῶν τηλικούτων ἔργων τε καὶ
 παθημάτων ἀφήγησιν.

12. Ἐν ᾧ δὲ Ἀλέξανδρος αὐτοῦ μένων τὸ τραῦμα
 ἐθεραπεύετο, ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον, ἔνθεν περ ὠρμήθη ἐπὶ τοὺς
 Μαλλούς, ὁ μὲν πρῶτος λόγος ἦκεν ὅτι τεθνηκῶς εἶη ἐκ τοῦ
 τραύματος. καὶ τὰ μὲν πρῶτα οἰμωγὴ ἦν τῆς στρατιᾶς
 ξυμπάσης ἄλλου ἄλλῳ παραδιδόντος τὴν φήμην· παυσάμενοι
 δὲ τῆς οἰμωγῆς ἄθυμοί τε καὶ ἄποροι ἦσαν, ὅστις μὲν
 2 ἐξηγούμενος ἔσται τῆς στρατιᾶς (πολλοῖς γὰρ δὴ ἐν ἴσῳ τὰ
 τῆς ἀξιόσεως ἐδόκει πρὸς τε αὐτοῦ Ἀλεξάνδρου

chest through his breastplate. But Ptolemy son of Lagus states that
 there was only the one wound, in the chest.⁴ But in my own
 8 estimation the greatest error of the historians of Alexander is this:
 some recorded⁵ that Ptolemy son of Lagus mounted with Alexander
 up the ladder together with Peucestas, and held his shield over him
 when he had fallen, and that for this reason he was surnamed
 Saviour, and yet Ptolemy himself has recorded that he was not so
 much as present in this action, but was at the head of his own force,
 fighting other battles against other barbarians.⁶ This I had to write,
 by way of digression, so that later generations may take some care
 in the narration of such great deeds and misfortunes.

12. While Alexander stayed here getting treatment for his
 wound, the first report at the camp from which he had set out
 against the Mallians suggested that he had died from the wound.
 And first lament was raised by the army as a whole, as one passed
 on the report to another; when they ceased the lament, they were
 disheartened and could not see who would be the future leader of
 2 the army (for in fact in the opinion both of Alexander and of the
 Macedonians

4 Leonnatus is named alone, D. 99 (cf. A vii 5, 5 from Pt./Ar.);
 with Timaeus and Aristonous, QC. 5, 14; with Limnaeus, P. 63. Ar. put
 the wound in the neck (Plut. *Mor.* 341 C). The club wound is not
 attested elsewhere. Hamilton on P. 63 notes other minute
 divergencies.

5 E.g. Clitarchus (Plut. 327 B), cf. v 11, 3; vi, 16, 5 nn.

6 QC. ix 5, 21 notes that Pt., though no detractor of his own
 glory, recorded that he was absent on an expedition, and castigates
 Clitarchus and Timagenes (Jacoby no. 88) for alleging his presence: did
 he and A. have a common source? Pt. was called 'Saviour' first by the
 Rhodians for aiding them in 304, and in Egypt (so far as we know) only
 after his death (*RE* xxiii 1623; 1638). As a contemporary Alexandrian,
 Clitarchus would have known the origin of the name, and whenever he

καὶ πρὸς Μακεδόνων καθεστηκέναι), ὅπως δὲ ἀποσωθήσονται ἐς τὴν οἰκίαν, τοσούτων μὲν ἔθνῶν μαχίμων περιειργόντων σφᾶς ἐν κύκλῳ, τῶν μὲν οὐπω προσκεχωρηκότων, ἃ δὲ ὑπὲρ τῆς ἐλευθερίας εἵκαζον ἀγωνιῆσθαι καρτερῶς, τῶν δὲ ἀποστησομένων ἀφαιρεθέντος αὐτοῖς τοῦ Ἀλεξάνδρου φόβου, ποταμῶν τε ἐν μέσῳ ἀδιαβάτων τότε δὴ ἐδόκουν εἶναι καὶ

3 πάντα σφίσιν ἄπορα καὶ ἀμήχανα ἐρήμοις Ἀλεξάνδρου ἐφαίνετο. ὡς δὲ ἦκέ ποτε λόγος ὅτι ζῆ Ἀλέξανδρος, τούτῳ μὲν μόγις ξυνεχώρησαν, εἰ δὲ καὶ βιώσιμός ἐστιν, οὐπω ἐπιστεύετο. ὡς δὲ καὶ γράμματα παρ' αὐτοῦ ἦκεν ὅτι ὅσον οὐπω κατελεύσεται ἐπὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον, οὐδὲ ταῦτα τοῖς πολλοῖς ὑπὸ τοῦ ἄγαν δέους πιστὰ ἐφαίνετο, ἀλλὰ πλάττεσθαι γὰρ πρὸς τῶν ἀμφ' αὐτὸν σωματοφυλάκων τε καὶ στρατηγῶν εἰκάζετο.

13. Καὶ ταῦτα ἐννοήσας Ἀλέξανδρος, μή τι νεωτερισθείη ἐν τῇ στρατιᾷ, ὅτε πρῶτον ἠδυνήθη κομίζεται ἐπὶ τοῦ ποταμοῦ τοῦ Ὑδραώτου τὰς ὄχθας· καὶ πλέων κατὰ τὸν ποταμόν (ἦν γὰρ τὸ στρατόπεδον ἐπὶ ταῖς ξυμβολαῖς τοῦ τε Ὑδραώτου καὶ τοῦ Ἀκεσίνου, ἵνα Ἡφαιστίων τε ἐπὶ τῆς στρατιᾶς ἦν καὶ Νέαρχος τὸ ναυτικὸν αὐτῷ εἶχεν), ὡς [δὲ] ἐπέλαζεν ἡ ναῦς ἤδη τῷ στρατοπέδῳ τὸν βασιλέα φέρουσα, κελεύει δὴ ἀφελεῖν τὴν

2 σκηνὴν ἀπὸ τῆς πρύμνης, ὡς καταφανῆς εἶναι πάσιν. οἱ δὲ ἔτι ἠπίστουν, ὡς νεκροῦ δῆθεν κομιζομένου Ἀλεξάνδρου, πρὶν γε δὴ προσχούσης τῆς νεὸς τῇ ὄχθῃ ὃ μὲν τὴν χεῖρα ἀνέτεινεν ἐς τὸ πλῆθος· οἱ δὲ ἀνεβόησαν, ἐς τὸν οὐρανὸν ἀνασχόντες τὰς χεῖρας, οἱ δὲ πρὸς αὐτὸν Ἀλέξανδρον πολλοῖς δὲ καὶ δάκρυα ἐπὶ τῷ ἀνεπίστῳ προεχύθη ἀκούσια. καὶ

many possessed an equal reputation), and how they would get back safe to their own homes, with so many warlike nations hemming them in all round, some of whom had not yet come over, and were in their view likely to fight vigorously for their freedom, while others would revolt, once their dread of Alexander was removed. Then they believed that they were in the midst of impassable rivers. Everything seemed to them impracticable and hopeless if they were

3 bereft of Alexander. When news eventually came that Alexander was alive, they hardly believed it; and they still had no confidence that he would yet survive. But when a letter came from him that he would very shortly come to the camp, most of them could not believe it for excess of fear, but they guessed that it was forged by his bodyguards and generals.

13. On consideration of this, to prevent any disturbance in the army, Alexander was conveyed as soon as he was able to the bank of the river Hydraotes, and sailed downstream, as the camp was at the junction of the Hydraotes and Acesines, where Hephaestion was in command of the army and where Nearchus had his fleet; as soon as the boat with the king on board drew near to the camp, he ordered the awning to be taken off the stern, so that everyone might see

2 him. Yet they were still incredulous, as they thought Alexander's dead body was being brought down, until the moment when the ship actually put in to the bank, and Alexander held up his hand to the crowd, and they shouted, holding up their hands to heaven, others towards Alexander himself; many even wept involuntarily in surprise.

οἱ μὲν τῶν ὑπασπιστῶν κλίνην προσέφερον αὐτῷ
 3 ἐκκομιζομένῳ ἐκ τῆς νεώς, ὁ δὲ τὸν ἵππον προσαγαγείν
 ἐκέλευσεν. ὡς δὲ ἐπιβάς τοῦ ἵππου ὤφθη αὐθις, κρότῳ δὴ
 πολλῷ ἐπεκτύπησεν ἢ στρατιὰ πᾶσα, ἐπήχησαν δὲ αἱ τε
 ὄχθαι καὶ αἱ πλησίον αὐτῶν νάπαι. προσάγων δὲ ἤδη τῇ
 σκηνῇ καταβαίνει ἀπὸ τοῦ ἵππου, ὥστε καὶ βαδίζων ὀφθῆναι.
 οἱ δὲ ἐπέλαζον ἄλλος ἄλλοθεν, οἱ μὲν χειρῶν, οἱ δὲ γονάτων,
 οἱ δὲ τῆς ἐσθήτος αὐτῆς ἀπτόμενοι, οἱ δὲ καὶ ἰδεῖν ἐγγύθεν
 καί τι καὶ ἐπευφημήσαντες ἀπελθεῖν· οἱ δὲ ταινίαις ἔβαλλον,
 οἱ δὲ ἄνθεσι, ὅσα ἐν τῷ τότε ἢ Ἰνδῶν γῆ παρείχε.
 4 Νέαρχος δὲ λέγει, ὅτι χαλεποὶ αὐτῷ τῶν φίλων ἐγένοντο
 ὅσοι ἐκάκιζον, ὅτι αὐτὸς πρὸς τῆς στρατιᾶς κινδυνεύου· οὐ
 γὰρ στρατηγού ταῦτα, ἀλλὰ στρατιώτου εἶναι. καὶ μοι δοκεῖ
 ἄχθεσθαι Ἀλέξανδρος τοῖσδε τοῖς λόγοις, ὅτι ἀληθεῖς τε
 ὄντας ἐγίγνωσκε καὶ αὐτὸν ὑπαίτιον τῇ ἐπιτιμῆσει. καὶ ὁμως
 ὑπὸ μένους τε τοῦ ἐν ταῖς μάχαις καὶ τοῦ ἔρωτος τῆς δόξης,
 5 καθάπερ οἱ ἄλλης τινὸς ἡδονῆς ἐξηττώμενοι, οὐ καρτερὸς ἦν
 ἀπέχεσθαι τῶν κινδύνων. ἄνθρωπον δέ τινα πρεσβύτερον
 λέγει Βοιωτίου, τὸ δὲ ὄνομα τοῦ ἀνθρώπου οὐ λέγει, ὡς
 ἀχθόμενόν τε πρὸς τὰς ἐπιτιμῆσεις τῶν φίλων κατέμαθεν
 Ἀλέξανδρον καὶ ἐσκυθρωπακότα, προσελθόντα τοῦτον
 βοιωτιάζοντα ἅμα τῇ φωνῇ ταῦτα φάναι ὦ Ἀλέξανδρε,
 ἀνδρῶν τὰ ἔργα· καί τι καὶ ἰαμβεῖον ὑπειπεῖν, τὸν δὲ νοῦν
 εἶναι τοῦ ἰαμβεῖου ὅτι τῷ τι δρῶντι καὶ παθεῖν ἐστὶν
 ὀφειλόμενον. καὶ τοῦτον ἔν τε τῷ παραντίκα εὐδοκιμήσαι καὶ
 ἐπιτηδειότερον ἐς τὸ ἔπειτα Ἀλεξάνδρῳ γενέσθαι.

14. Ἐν τούτῳ δὲ ἀφίκοντο παρὰ Ἀλέξανδρον

Some of the hypaspists brought a litter for him as he was being
 carried out of the ship; but he ordered his horse to be brought
 3 alongside. When he was seen once more to have mounted the
 horse, the whole army clapped their hands again and again, and the
 banks and glens nearby echoed the sound. As Alexander drew near
 his tent, he dismounted from his horse, so as to be seen walking too.
 Then they got near to him on this side and that, touching his hands,
 knees or clothing, or just to look at him close at hand, cast a blessing
 upon him and go away; some showered wreaths upon him or the
 flowers the country of India produced at that season.
 4 Nearchus tells us that he was pained by some of his friends who
 blamed him for running a personal risk in advance of his army; this,
 they said, was a soldier's part, not a commander's. My own idea is
 that Alexander was irritated with these remarks because he knew
 that they were true and that he had laid himself open to this
 censure. And yet his rage in battle and passion for glory made him
 like men overcome by any other form of pleasure, and he was not
 strong-minded enough to keep out of dangers. Nearchus says that
 5 an oldish man, a Boeotian—he does not give his name—on learning
 of Alexander's anger with his friends' reproaches and sullen looks,
 came up to him and in his Boeotian dialect said: 'Alexander, deeds
 are men's work;' that he added an iambic verse of which the general
 tenor was that suffering too is the doer's due,¹ and won Alexander's
 immediate approval and thenceforward his close friendship.

14. At this time envoys from the rest of the

1 Aeschylus fr. 444 Nauck²: δράσαντι γάρ τοι καὶ παθεῖν
 ὀφείλεται.

τῶν Μαλλῶν τῶν ὑπολειπομένων πρέσβεις ἐνδιδόντες τὸ ἔθνος, καὶ παρὰ Ὀξύδρακῶν οἳ τε ἡγεμόνες τῶν πόλεων καὶ οἱ νομάρχαι αὐτοὶ καὶ ἄλλοι ἅμα τούτοις ἑκατὸν καὶ πενήκοντα οἱ γνωριμώτατοι αὐτοκράτορες περὶ σπονδῶν δῶρά τε ὅσα μέγιστα παρ'. Ἰνδοῖς κομίζοντες καὶ τὸ ἔθνος καὶ οὗτοι ἐνδιδόντες. συγγνωστὰ δὲ ἀμαρτεῖν ἔφασαν οὐ πάλαι παρ' αὐτὸν πρεσβευσάμενοι· ἐπιθυμεῖν γάρ, ὥσπερ τινὲς ἄλλοι, ἔτι μᾶλλον αὐτοὶ ἐλευθερίας τε καὶ αὐτόνομοι εἶναι, ἣντινα ἐλευθερίαν ἐξ ὅτου Διόνυσος ἐς Ἰνδοὺς ἦκε σῶαν σφίσιν εἶναι ἐς Ἀλέξανδρον· εἰ δὲ Ἀλεξάνδρῳ δοκοῦν ἐστίν, ὅτι καὶ Ἀλέξανδρον ἀπὸ θεοῦ¹ γενέσθαι λόγος κατέχει, σατράπην τε ἀναδέξασθαι, ὅντινα τάττοι Ἀλέξανδρος, καὶ φόρους ἀποίσειν τοὺς Ἀλεξάνδρῳ δόξαντας· δίδοναι δὲ καὶ ὁμήρους ἐθέλειν ὅσους ἂν αἰτῇ Ἀλέξανδρος. ὁ δὲ χιλίους ἤτησε τοὺς κρατιστεύοντας τοῦ ἔθνους, οὓς, εἰ μὲν βούλοιτο, ἀντὶ ὁμήρων καθέξειν, εἰ δὲ μή, ξυστρατεύοντας ἔξειν ἔστ' ἂν διαπολεμηθῇ αὐτῷ πρὸς τοὺς ἄλλους Ἰνδοὺς. οἱ δὲ τοὺς τε χιλίους ἔπεμψαν, τοὺς κρατίστους καὶ μεγίστους σφῶν ἐπιλεξάμενοι, καὶ ἄρματα πεντακόσια οὐκ αἰτηθέντες καὶ τοὺς ἀμβάτας τῶν ἀρμάτων. Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ σατράπην μὲν τούτοις τε καὶ τῶν Μαλλῶν τοῖς ἔτι σωζομένοις ἐπέταξε Φίλιππον· τοὺς ὁμήρους δὲ αὐτοῖς ἀφήκεν, τὰ δὲ ἄρματα ἔλαβεν.

4 Ὡς δὲ ταῦτα αὐτῷ κεκόσμητο καὶ πλοῖα ἐπὶ τῇ διατριβῇ τῇ ἐκ τοῦ τραύματος πολλὰ προσενεναυπήγητο, ἀναβιβάσας ἐς τὰς ναῦς τῶν μὲν

1 θεοῦ is the reading of all MSS. of the *excerpta de legationibus*: θεῶν A.

Mallians reached Alexander offering the tribe's surrender, and the Oxydracae sent the governors of their cities and their nomarchs in person, along with one hundred and fifty others of their chief personages, as plenipotentiaries to discuss terms; they brought the most precious Indian gifts, and they too offered surrender of their tribe.¹ They urged that their fault was pardonable in not sending envoys long before; like some other peoples but in a still higher degree, they desired freedom and self-government; that freedom they had preserved intact from the days when Dionysus came into India until Alexander's time, but, if it so pleased Alexander, since the story prevailed that Alexander too was born to a god,² they would accept a satrap whom Alexander might appoint, pay tribute determined by him, and also give as many hostages as he might require. He demanded a thousand of the chief men of the tribe, to keep as hostages if he desired or, if not, to have them serving with his army, till he finished his wars against the rest of the Indians. They sent the thousand men, choosing the most important and greatest men of their people, with five hundred chariots which had not been demanded, and men to drive them. Alexander appointed Philip as satrap for them and the surviving Mallians,³ returned the hostages to them, but took the chariots.

When he had settled these affairs, and a large number of additional boats had been constructed during the delay his convalescence occasioned, he

1 With § 1–3 contrast QC. ix 7, 12–15; 8, 1 f.

2 App. XVI, esp. 6–8. With a different reading (see critical note), we must render 'descended of gods,' but the Greek is less natural; cf. App. V 8.

3 Cf. 15, 2 n.

ἑταίρων ἰππέας ἑπτακοσίους καὶ χιλίους, τῶν ψιλῶν δὲ ὄσουςπερ καὶ πρότερον, πεζοὺς δὲ ἔς μυρίους, ὀλίγον μὲν τι τῷ Ὑδραώτῃ ποταμῷ κατέπλευσεν, ὡς δὲ συνέμιξεν ὁ Ὑδραώτης τῷ Ἀκεσίῃ, ὅτι ὁ Ἀκεσίῃης κρατεῖ τοῦ Ὑδραώτου [ἐν] τῇ ἐπωνυμία, κατὰ τὸν Ἀκεσίῃην αὖ ἔπλει, ἔστε ἐπὶ τὴν
 5 ξυμβολὴν τοῦ Ἀκεσίῃου καὶ τοῦ Ἰνδοῦ ἤκεν. τέσσαρες γὰρ οὗτοι μεγάλοι ποταμοὶ καὶ ναυσίποροι οἱ τέσσαρες εἰς τὸν Ἰνδὸν ποταμὸν τὸ ὕδωρ ξυμβάλλουσιν, οὐ ξὺν τῇ σφετέρᾳ ἕκαστος ἐπωνυμία, ἀλλὰ ὁ Ὑδάσπης μὲν ἔς τὸν Ἀκεσίῃην ἐμβάλλει, ἐμβαλὼν δὲ τὸ πᾶν ὕδωρ Ἀκεσίῃην παρέχεται καλούμενον· αὐθις δὲ ὁ Ἀκεσίῃης οὗτος ξυμβάλλει τῷ Ὑδραώτῃ, καὶ παραλαβὼν τοῦτον ἔτι Ἀκεσίῃης ἐστί· καὶ τὸν Ὑφασιν ἐπὶ τούτῳ ὁ Ἀκεσίῃης παραλαβὼν τῷ αὐτοῦ δὴ ὀνόματι ἔς τὸν Ἰνδὸν ἐμβάλλει· ξυμβαλὼν δὲ ξυγχωρεῖ δὴ τῷ Ἰνδῷ. ἔνθεν δὴ ὁ Ἰνδὸς πρὶν ἔς τὸ Δέλτα σχισθῆναι οὐκ ἀπιστῶ ὅτι καὶ ἔς ἑκατὸν σταδίους ἔρχεται καὶ ὑπὲρ τοὺς ἑκατὸν τυχόν, ἵναπερ λιμνάζει μᾶλλον.

15. Ἐνταῦθα ἐπὶ ταῖς ξυμβολαῖς τοῦ Ἀκεσίῃου καὶ Ἰνδοῦ προσέμενεν ἔστε ἀφίκετο αὐτῷ ξὺν τῇ στρατιᾷ Περδίκκας καταστρεψάμενος ἐν παρόδῳ τὸ Ἀβαστανῶν ἔθνος αὐτόνομον. ἐν τούτῳ δὲ ἄλλαι τε προσγίγνονται Ἀλεξάνδρῳ τριακόντοροι καὶ πλοῖα στρογγύλα ἄλλα, ἃ δὴ ἐν Ξάθροις ἐναυπηγήθη αὐτῷ, καὶ <Σόγδοι> ἄλλο ἔθνος Ἰνδῶν αὐτόνομον προσεχώρησαν. καὶ παρὰ Ὀσσαδίων, καὶ τούτου γένους
 2 αὐτονόμου Ἰνδικοῦ, πρέσβεις ἤκον, ἐνδιδόντες καὶ οὗτοι τοὺς Ὀσσαδίους. Φιλίππῳ μὲν δὴ τῆς σατραπείας ὄρους ἔταξε τὰς συμβολὰς

embarked on the ships seventeen hundred cavalry of the Companions, the same number as before of the light-armed troops, and up to ten thousand infantry, and sailed a short way down the Hydraotes; but where the Hydraotes joined the Acesines, since there the name Acesines takes precedence over Hydraotes, he sailed down the Acesines too till he came to its meeting with the
 5 Indus. These four great, navigable rivers pour their waters into the Indus, though they do not all keep their original name; the Hydaspes runs into the Acesines, and pouring in its whole stream takes the name Acesines; then again the Acesines meets the Hydraotes⁴ and, taking in this tributary, retains its own name; next it takes in the Hyphasis, keeping its own name till it runs into the Indus; after this confluence it loses its name to the Indus. From this point until it splits into the delta, the Indus, I do not question, is some hundred stades broad, and perhaps more, where it becomes more like a lake than a river.⁵

15. There at the junction of the Acesines and Indus Alexander remained till Perdikkas reached him with his army, after subduing on his march an independent tribe of Abastanes. At this time also Alexander was joined by more *triacontoroi* and round vessels, which had been built for him among the Xathrians, and the Sogdians,¹ another independent Indian tribe, came over to him. Envoys came too from the Ossadians,² also an independent tribe of Indians; they
 2 offered their submission. Alexander then fixed as the boundaries of Philip's satrapy the junction of the

4 *Ind.* 4, 8 and 13 n.

5 See v 20, 10 n.

1 Conjecturally inserted by Roos, cf. § 4.

2 On 15–17 cf. App. XVII 28.

- τοῦ Ἀκεσίνου καὶ Ἰνδοῦ καὶ ἀπολείπει ξὺν αὐτῷ τοὺς τε
 Θρᾶκας πάντας καὶ ἐκ τῶν τάξεων ὅσοι ἐς φυλακὴν τῆς
 χώρας ἱκανοὶ ἐφαίνοντο, πόλις τε ἐνταῦθα κτίσαι ἐκέλευσεν
 ἐπ' αὐτῇ τῇ ξυμβολῇ τοῖν ποταμοῖν, ἐλπίσας μεγάλην τε
 3 ἔσσεσθαι καὶ ἐπιφανῆ ἐς ἀνθρώπους, καὶ νεωσοίκους
 ποιηθῆναι. ἐν τούτῳ δὲ καὶ Ὀξυάρτης ὁ Βάκτριος, ὁ Ῥωξάνης
 τῆς γυναικὸς τῆς Ἀλεξάνδρου πατήρ, ἦκε παρ' Ἀλέξανδρον
 καὶ προστίθησιν αὐτῷ Παραπαμισαδῶν σατραπεύειν,
 ἀπαλλάξας Τυρίεσπιν τὸν πρόσθεν σατράπην, ὅτι οὐκ ἐν
 κόσμῳ ἐξηγείσθαι αὐτῷ ὁ Τυρίεσπις ἐξήγγελλτο.
- 4 Ἐνθα δὲ διαβιβάσας Κρατερόν τε καὶ τῆς στρατιᾶς τὴν
 πολλὴν καὶ τοὺς ἐλέφαντας ἐπ' ἀριστερὰ τοῦ Ἰνδοῦ ποταμοῦ,
 ὅτι εὐπορώτερά τε ταύτη τὰ παρὰ τὸν ποταμὸν στρατιᾶ
 βαρεῖα ἐφαίνετο καὶ τὰ ἔθνη τὰ προσοικούντα οὐ πάντη φίλια
 ἦν, αὐτὸς κατέπλει ἐς τῶν Σόγδων τὸ βασίλειον. καὶ ἐνταῦθα
 πόλις τε ἐτείχιζεν ἄλλην καὶ νεωσοίκους ἐποίει ἄλλους καὶ τὰ
 πλοῖα αὐτῷ τὰ πεπονηκότα ἐπεσκευάσθη. τῆς δὲ ἀπὸ τῶν
 ξυμβολῶν τοῦ τε Ἰνδοῦ καὶ Ἀκεσίνου χώρας ἔστε ἐπὶ
 θάλασσαν σατράπην ἀπέδειξε [ν' Ὀξυάρτην καὶ] Πείθωνα ξὺν
 τῇ παραλίᾳ πάσῃ τῆς Ἰνδῶν γῆς.
- 5 Καὶ Κρατερόν μὲν ἐκπέμπει αὐθις ξὺν τῇ στρατιᾶ

- Acesines and the Indus, and left with him all the Thracians, and as
 many men from the (other) units as seemed enough to garrison the
 country. He ordered him to found a city there just at the meeting of
 the two rivers, as he expected it would be great and famous in the
 3 world, and dockyards to be built.³ At this time Oxyartes the
 Bactrian, father of Roxane, Alexander's wife, came to Alexander;
 and Alexander gave him in addition⁴ the satrapy of the
 Parapamisadae, removing Tyriespis the former satrap, since he had
 heard reports that Tyriespis' conduct of affairs was outrageous.
- 4 Here he had Craterus and the greater part of the army and the
 elephants ferried across to the left bank of the river Indus, since the
 route by the river seemed easier on that side to an army heavily
 encumbered, and not all the neighbouring tribes were friendly. He
 himself sailed down towards the royal city of Sogdia. There he
 fortified a new city, and constructed new ship-stations and had his
 damaged boats refitted. As satrap of the country from the meeting
 of the Indus and the Acesines up to the sea, with all the coastline of
 the country of India, he appointed [Oxyartes and] Pithon.
- 5 Craterus was again sent off with his army [through

3 Cf. iii 1, 5 n. 4. D. 102, 4 (10,000 inhabitants) and QC. ix 8, 8
 may refer to this city or that in § 4 (Tarn ii 237). Philip is son of
 Machatas (Berve no. 780).

4 In addition to being Al's father-in-law? QC. ix 8, 9, who here
 records the execution of 'Terioltes' (Tyriespis? Cf. iv 22, 5) for greedy
 and arrogant acts and the acquittal of O. on unspecified charges, calls
 him 'praetor Bactrianorum' and says he was now given a more
 extensive government, pre- sumably Parapamisis, of which he was
 satrap on Al's death (D. xviii 3, 7). But at that time Philip (Berve no.
 785) was satrap of Bactria (ibid.) and if O. had replaced Amyntas (A. iv
 22, 3) as a result of the mercenary revolt in Bactria (D. 99, 5 f.; QC. ix
 7, 1-11) this is nowhere else attested, and O. must later have been
 removed from that satrapy.

διὰ τῆς Ἀραχωτῶν καὶ Δραγγῶν γῆς,¹ αὐτὸς δὲ κατέπλει ἐς
 τὴν Μουσικανοῦ ἐπικράτειαν, ἦντινα εὐδαιμονεστάτην τῆς
 Ἰνδῶν γῆς εἶναι ἐξηγγέλλετο, ὅτι οὐπω οὔτε ἀπηντήκει αὐτῷ
 Μουσικανὸς ἐνδιδοὺς αὐτόν τε καὶ τὴν χώραν οὔτε πρέσβεις
 ἐπὶ φιλίᾳ ἐκπέμπει, οὐδέ τι οὔτε αὐτὸς ἐπεπόμφει ἅ δὴ
 6 *μεγάλῳ βασιλεῖ εἰκός, οὔτε τι ἠτήκει ἐξ Ἀλεξάνδρου. καὶ*
γίγνεται αὐτῷ ὁ πλοῦς κατὰ τὸν ποταμὸν ἐς τοσόνδε
ἐσπουδασμένος ὥστε ἔφθη ἐπὶ τοῖς ὀρίοις γενέσθαι τῆς
Μουσικανοῦ χώρας, πρὶν πυθέσθαι Μουσικανὸν ὅτι ὤρμηται
ὡς ἐπ' αὐτὸν Ἀλέξανδρος. οὕτω δὴ ἐκπλαγεὶς κατὰ τάχος
ἀπήντα Ἀλεξάνδρῳ, δῶρά τε τὰ πλείστου ἄξια παρ' Ἰνδοῖς
κομίζων καὶ τοὺς ἐλέφαντας ξύμπαντας ἄγων καὶ τὸ ἔθνος τε
καὶ αὐτὸν ἐνδιδοὺς καὶ ὁμολογῶν ἀδικεῖν, ὅπερ μέγιστον παρ'
 7 *Ἀλεξάνδρῳ ἦν ἐς τὸ τυχεῖν ὧν τις δέοιτο. καὶ οὖν καὶ*
Μουσικανῷ ἐπὶ τοῖσδε ἄδεια ἐδόθη ἐξ Ἀλεξάνδρου, καὶ τὴν
πόλιν ἐθαύμασεν Ἀλέξανδρος καὶ τὴν χώραν, καὶ ἄρχειν
αὐτῆς Μουσικανῷ ἔδωκεν. Κρατερὸς δὲ ἐν τῇ πόλει ἐτάχθη
τὴν ἄκραν ἐκτειχίσαι καὶ παρόντος ἔτι ἐτειχίσθη Ἀλεξάνδρου
καὶ φυλακὴ κατεστάθη, ὅτι ἐπιτήδειον αὐτῷ ἐφάνη τὸ χωρίον
ἐς τὸ κατέχεσθαι τὰ κύκλῳ ἔθνη φυλαττόμενα.

1 See note to translation.

the Arachotian and Drangian country]⁵ while he himself sailed
 downstream towards the kingdom of Musicanus, which was
 reported to be the richest of all India, since Musicanus had not yet
 met him to surrender himself and his country, nor had sent envoys
 to establish friendly relations, nor indeed any gifts suitable for a
 great king, nor had he made any request from Alexander. The
 6 voyage down the river proved so swift that he arrived at the border
 of Musicanus' country before Musicanus learned that Alexander
 had started to move against him. He was so panic-stricken that he
 promptly went to meet Alexander, bringing gifts of the greatest
 value among the Indians, leading all his elephants, submitting
 himself and his people and acknowledging his error, the most
 potent method with Alexander for anyone to obtain what he might
 7 desire. And, sure enough, Musicanus received pardon from
 Alexander, who much admired his city and country and granted the
 government to Musicanus. Craterus was ordered to fortify the
 citadel in the city, and it was fortified while Alexander was still
 there, and a garrison placed there, since the place seemed to him
 convenient for watching and keeping a hold over the tribes round
 about.

5 The words bracketed here and in 4 are usually regarded as glosses, since the statement on O. is false (last note), and Craterus is still with the main army in § 7, and his march to Arachotia is dated later in 17, 3; wrongly according to Bosworth, *CQ* 1976, who argues that A. found incompatible accounts in his main sources and inadvertently gave both. He is surely right (in his note on iii 25, 7) that A's oscillation between Drangian and Zarangian, as here and in 17, 3, shows that Ar. and Pt. adopted different forms; A. used whichever he found in the source he was following (one indication that, whichever A. preferred, the military narrative sometimes follows Ar.). But 'Drangian' was the usual Greek form, which a glossator too would naturally have used. In § 4 the singular 'satrap' can surely stand in apposition to only one person, i.e. Pithon, son of Azenor (Berve no.

16. Ἐνθεν δὲ ἀναλαβὼν τοὺς τε τοξότας καὶ τοὺς Ἀγριᾶνας καὶ τὴν ἵππον τὴν ἅμα οἱ πλέουσιν ἐξελαύνει ἐπὶ τὸν νομάρχην τῆς ταύτης γῆς, ὄνομα δὲ ἦν Ὀξικανός, ὅτι μήτε αὐτὸς ἀφίκετο μήτε πρέσβεις παρ' αὐτοῦ ἦκον ἐνδιδόντες

2 αὐτόν τε καὶ τὴν χώραν. δύο μὲν δὴ τὰς μεγίστας πόλεις τῶν ὑπὸ τῷ Ὀξικανῷ ἐξ ἐφόδου κατὰ κράτος ἔλαβεν, ἐν δὲ τῇ ἑτέρᾳ τούτων καὶ αὐτὸς Ὀξικανὸς ἐάλω. ὁ δὲ τὴν μὲν λείαν τῇ στρατιᾷ δίδωσι, τοὺς ἐλέφαντας δὲ ἅμα οἱ ἤγε· καὶ <αἱ> ἄλλαι δὲ πόλεις αὐτῷ αἱ ἐν τῇ αὐτῇ χώρᾳ ἐνεδίδοντο ἐπιόντι οὐδέ τις ἐτρέπετο ἐς ἀλκὴν· οὕτω καὶ Ἴνδοι πάντες ἐδεδούλωντο ἤδη τῇ γνώμῃ πρὸς Ἀλεξάνδρου τε καὶ τῆς Ἀλεξάνδρου τύχης.

3 Ὁ δὲ ἐπὶ Σάμβον αὐτὸν ἤγε τῶν ὀρείων Ἰνδῶν σατράπην ὑπ' αὐτοῦ κατασταθέντα, ὃς πεφηνγέναι αὐτῷ ἐξηγγέλλετο ὅτι Μουσικανὸν ἀφειμένον πρὸς Ἀλεξάνδρου ἐπύθετο καὶ τῆς χώρας τῆς ἑαυτοῦ ἄρχοντα· τὰ γὰρ πρὸς Μουσικανὸν αὐτῷ

4 πολέμια ἦν. ὡς δὲ ἐπέλαζεν ἤδη τῇ πόλει Ἀλέξανδρος, ἦντινα μητρόπολιν εἶχεν ἢ τοῦ Σάμβου χώρα, ὄνομα δὲ ἦν τῇ πόλει Σινδίμανα, αἱ τε πύλαι αὐτῷ ἀνοίγονται προσάγοντι καὶ οἱ οἰκῆοι οἱ τοῦ Σάμβου τὰ τε χρήματα ἀπηρίθμησαν καὶ τοὺς ἐλέφαντας μετὰ σφῶν ἄγοντες ἀπήντων· οὐ γὰρ δὴ

5 Ἀλεξάνδρῳ γε πολεμίως ἔχοντα Σάμβον φυγεῖν, ἀλλὰ Μουσικανοῦ τὴν ἄφεσιν δείσαντα. ὁ δὲ καὶ ἄλλην πόλιν ἐν τούτῳ ἀποστάσαν εἶλεν καὶ τῶν Βραχμάνων, οἳ δὴ σοφισταὶ τοῖς Ἰνδοῖς εἰσιν, ὅσοι αἴτιοι τῆς ἀποστάσεως ἐγένοντο ἀπέκτεινεν. ὑπὲρ ὧν ἐγὼ τῆς σοφίας, εἰ δὴ τίς ἐστιν, ἐν τῇ Ἰνδικῇ ξυγγραφῇ δηλώσω.

16. From there Alexander, taking with him the archers, the Agrianians and the cavalry sailing with him, made an expedition against the nomarch of this district named Oxicanus, since he had neither come himself nor sent envoys, to surrender himself and his

2 land. Two of the largest cities in Oxicanus' realm were taken by assault without delay, and in the second of these Oxicanus himself was captured. Alexander handed over all the plunder to the army, but took away the elephants himself. The other cities in the same country surrendered on Alexander's approach, no one resisting, so completely had the spirit of all the Indians been broken by Alexander and Alexander's fortune.

3 Next Alexander advanced against Sambus, appointed by himself satrap of the Indian hillmen; he was reported to have fled on learning that Alexander had released Musicanus and made him ruler of his own land, for Sambus and Musicanus were at enmity.

4 But when Alexander was already close to the capital city of Sambus' territory, named Sindimana, the gates were opened to him at his coming, and the relatives of Sambus counted out his treasure and went to meet Alexander with the elephants; they represented that Sambus' flight had not been due to enmity with Alexander, but to fear at his release of Musicanus. At this point Alexander captured

5 yet another city which had rebelled, and put to death those of the Brahmans, the Indian philosophers, who had been responsible for the revolt.¹ The wisdom of these men, if such it is, I shall explain in my Indian treatise.

1 Cf. 7, 4 n.; Hamilton on P. 64. D. 102, 6 and QC. ix 8, 21 f. interpose a story of Al. curing Pt. of poison, flattering to Pt. (from Clitarchus, cf. 11, 8 n. 6), which S. xv 2, 7 locates in the Oritan country, perhaps following N. (App. XVIII).

17. Καὶ ἐν τούτῳ Μουσικανὸς αὐτῷ ἀφειστάναι ἐξηγγέλλετο. καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦτον μὲν ἐκπέμπει Πείθωνα τὸν Ἀγήνορος σατράπην ξὺν στρατιᾷ ἀποχρώσῃ, αὐτὸς δὲ τὰς πόλεις τὰς ὑπὸ Μουσικανῷ τεταγμένας ἐπελθὼν τὰς μὲν ἐξανδραποδίσας αὐτῶν κατέσκαψεν, εἰς ἃς δὲ φρουρὰς εἰσήγαγε καὶ ἄκρας ἐξετείχισε. ταῦτα δὲ διαπραξάμενος ἐπὶ
 2 τὸ στρατόπεδόν τε ἐπανῆκε καὶ τὸν στόλον. ἔνθα δὴ Μουσικανὸς τε ξυλληφθεὶς ἄγεται πρὸς Πείθωνος, καὶ τοῦτον κρεμάσαι κελεύει Ἀλέξανδρος ἐν τῇ αὐτοῦ γῇ, καὶ τῶν Βραχμάνων ὅσοι αἴτιοι τῆς ἀποστάσεως τῷ Μουσικανῷ κατέστησαν. ἀφίκετο δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ ὁ τῶν Πατάλων τῆς χώρας ἄρχων, ὃ δὴ τὸ Δέλτα ἔφην εἶναι τὸ πρὸς τοῦ ποταμοῦ τοῦ Ἰνδοῦ ποιούμενον, μείζον ἔτι τοῦ Δέλτα τοῦ Αἰγυπτίου, καὶ οὗτος τὴν τε χώραν αὐτῷ ἐνεδίδου πᾶσαν καὶ αὐτόν τε καὶ τὰ
 3 αὐτοῦ ἐπέτρεψεν. τοῦτον μὲν δὴ ἐπὶ τῇ αὐτοῦ ἀρχῇ ἐκπέμπει αὐθις παραγγείλας παρασκευάζειν ὅσα ἐς ὑποδοχὴν τῇ στρατιᾷ· αὐτὸς δὲ Κρατερὸν μὲν τὴν τε Ἀττάλου τάξιον ἄγοντα καὶ τὴν Μελεάγρου καὶ Ἀντιγένους καὶ τῶν τοξοτῶν ἔστιν οὗς καὶ τῶν ἐταίρων τε καὶ ἄλλων Μακεδόνων ὄσους ἐς Μακεδονίαν ἀπομάχους ὄντας ἤδη ἔστελλε τὴν ἐπὶ Ἀραχωτῶν
 4 καὶ Ζαραγγῶν ἔπεμπεν ἐς Καρμανίαν, καὶ τοὺς ἐλέφαντας τούτῳ ἄγειν ἔδωκεν· τὴν δὲ ἄλλην στρατιάν, ὅση γε μὴ ξὺν αὐτῷ κατέπλει ὡς ἐπὶ θάλασσαν, Ἡφαιστίων ἐπετάχθη,¹ Πείθωνα δὲ τοὺς τε ἵππακοντιστὰς ἄγοντα καὶ τοὺς Ἀγριᾶνας ἐς τὴν

1 Roos suggested that the lacuna might be filled *exempli gratia* <διχῇ διένειμε· καὶ τῇ μὲν πλείστη μοίρᾳ>.

17. At this point the revolt of Musicanus was reported. Alexander sent against him Pithon son of Agenor the satrap with a sufficient force. He himself advanced against the cities subject to Musicanus, some of which he razed to the ground and sold their inhabitants into slavery; in others he established garrisons and fortified citadels. When he had completed this, he returned to the
 2 camp and fleet. Here too Musicanus was brought as a captive by Pithon, and Alexander ordered him to be hanged in his own land, together with the Brahmans who had been the instigators of his revolt. There also arrived the ruler of the land of Patala,¹ which, as I said, is the delta made by the river Indus and is still larger than the Egyptian delta; he too surrendered all his territory and committed himself and all that he had to Alexander. Alexander sent him back to
 3 his own realm, with orders to prepare everything for the reception of the army. He despatched Craterus with the battalions of Attalus, Meleager and Antigones, some of the archers and all the Companions and other Macedonians that he had already decided to send back to Macedonia as being past service, to go by the road through the Arachotians and Zarangians² to Carmania; he also gave Craterus the elephants to take with him. The rest of his forces
 4 which were not sailing in his company downstream to the sea were divided in two; the largest part was put under the command of Hephaestion³; Pithon with the mounted

1 See v 4, 1 and 2 n. D. 104, 2 credits Patala with a dual kingship and elders; Onesicritus found other Spartan analogies in Musicanus' kingdom (S. xv 1, 34).

2 Cf. 15, 5 n.; App. XVII 29.

3 A lacuna is filled conjecturally; the text may also have specified on which bank H. was to march.

ἐπέκεινα ὄχθην τοῦ Ἰνδοῦ διαβιβάσας, οὐχ ἤπερ Ἑφαιστιῶν τὴν στρατιὰν ἄγειν ἤμελλε, τὰς τε ἐκτετειχισμένας ἤδη πόλεις ξυνοικίσαι ἐκέλευσε καὶ εἰ δὴ τινα νεωτερίζοιτο πρὸς τῶν ταύτῃ Ἰνδῶν καὶ ταῦτα ἐς κόσμον καταστήσαντα ξυμβάλλειν οἱ ἐς τὰ Πάταλα.

- 5 Ἦδη δὲ τρίτην ἡμέραν αὐτῷ τοῦ πλοῦ ἔχοντι ἐξαγγέλλεται ὅτι ὁ τῶν Πατάλων ὑπαρχος ξυλλαβὼν τῶν Παταλέων τοὺς πολλοὺς ἀποδεδρακῶς οἴχοιτο ἀπολιπὼν τὴν χώραν ἔρημον καὶ ἐπὶ τούτῳ πλείονι ἢ πρόσθεν σπουδῇ κατέπλει Ἀλέξανδρος. ὡς δὲ ἀφίκετο ἐς τὰ Πάταλα, τὴν τε
- 6 πόλιν καὶ τὴν χώραν ἔρημον καταλαμβάνει τῶν ἐνοικούντων τε καὶ ἐπεργαζομένων. ὁ δὲ κατὰ δίωξιν τῶν φευγόντων ἐκπέμψας τῆς στρατιᾶς τοὺς κουφοτάτους, ἐπεὶ τινες αὐτῶν ξυνελήφθησαν, ἀποπέμπει τούτους παρὰ τοὺς ἄλλους, ἐντειλάμενος ἐπανιέναι θαρροῦντας· εἶναι γὰρ αὐτοῖς τὴν τε πόλιν οἰκεῖν ὡς πρόσθεν καὶ τὴν χώραν ἐργάζεσθαι. καὶ ἐπανήλθον οἱ πολλοὶ αὐτῶν.

18. Αὐτὸς δὲ Ἑφαιστιῶνι προστάξας τειχίζειν ἐν τοῖς Πατάλοις ἄκραν ἀποπέμπει ἐς τὴν ἄνδρον τῆς πλησίον γῆς φρέατά τε ὀρύξοντας καὶ οἰκήσιμον τὴν χώραν κατασκευάσοντας. καὶ τούτοις ἐπέθεντο τῶν προσχώρων τινὲς βαρβάρων, καὶ ἔστι μὲν οὐς διέφθειραν αὐτῶν ἄφνω προσπεσόντες, πολλοὺς δὲ καὶ σφῶν ἀποβαλόντες ἔφυγον ἐς τὴν ἔρημον, ὥστε ἐπιτελεσθῆναι τοῖς ἐκπεμφθείσι τὰ ἔργα προσγενομένης αὐτοῖς καὶ ἄλλης στρατιᾶς, ἣν Ἀλέξανδρος πυθόμενος τῶν βαρβάρων τὴν ἐπίθεσιν ἐστάλκει μεθέξοντας τοῦ ἔργου.

- 2 Περὶ δὲ τοῖς Πατάλοις σχίζεται τοῦ Ἰνδοῦ τὸ

javelin-men⁴ and the Agrianians were put across on the side of the Indus opposite to that by which Hephaestion was to take his army, with orders to muster inhabitants for the cities already fortified and, if any rebellion were to break out among the Indians in these parts, to establish order and finally meet him at Patala.

- 5 On the third day of the voyage, he received news that the hyparch of Patala had taken with him most of the tribesmen and had absconded, leaving his country deserted; on this Alexander sailed down with greater speed than before. When he arrived at Patala, he found the city and land empty of inhabitants and
- 6 labourers. He despatched the nimblest of his troops in pursuit of the fugitives and, when some had been captured, sent them off to enjoin the rest to come back without fear; for the city was theirs to dwell in as before, and the country to till. Most of them did come back.⁵

18. Alexander ordered Hephaestion to fortify the citadel in Patala, and sent out men to the desert in the adjoining country to dig wells and to make the country inhabitable. Some of the neighbouring tribesmen set upon them and destroyed a number by the suddenness of their attack, but they also lost many of their own people and fled into the desert, so that those who had been sent out completed the work, another force having joined them, which Alexander, on hearing of the barbarian attack, had sent to help with the work.

- 2 Round Patala the stream of the Indus parts into

⁴ Bosworth, *JHS* 1980, conjecturally identifies them with the *prodromoi*, *contra* *Introd.* 60.

⁵ Cities established in the delta (*QC.* ix 10, 3) were probably refoundations.

ὔδωρ ἐς <δύο> ποταμοὺς μεγάλους, καὶ οὗτοι ἀμφότεροι
 σώζουσι τοῦ Ἰνδοῦ τὸ ὄνομα ἔστε ἐπὶ τὴν θάλασσαν. ἐνταῦθα
 ναύσταθμόν τε καὶ νεωσοίκους ἐποίει Ἀλέξανδρος· ὡς δὲ
 προὔκεχωρήκει αὐτῷ τὰ ἔργα, ὁ δὲ καταπλεῖν ἐπενόει ἔστε ἐπὶ
 3 τὴν ἐκβολὴν τοῦ ἐν δεξιᾷ ῥέοντος ποταμοῦ ἐς τὴν θάλασσαν.
 Λεοννάτον μὲν δὴ δούς αὐτῷ τῶν τε ἰππέων ἐς χιλίους καὶ τῶν
 ὀπλιτῶν τε καὶ ψιλῶν ἐς ὀκτακισχιλίους κατὰ τὴν νῆσον τὰ
 Πάταλα ἐκπέμπει ἀντιπαράγειν τῷ στόλῳ, αὐτὸς δὲ τὰς
 μάλιστα τῶν νεῶν ταχυναντούσας ἀναλαβὼν ὅσαι τε ἡμιόλιαι
 καὶ τὰς τριακοντόρους πάσας καὶ τῶν κερκούρων ἔστιν οὗς
 4 ἔπλει κατὰ τὸν ποταμὸν τὸν ἐν δεξιᾷ. οὐκ ἔχοντι δὲ αὐτῷ
 ἡγεμόνα τοῦ πλοῦ, ὅτι πεφεύγεσαν οἱ ταύτη Ἰνδοί, ἀπορώτερα
 τὰ τοῦ κατάπλου ἦν χειμῶν τε ἐπιγίγνεται ἐς τὴν ὑστεραίαν
 ἀπὸ τῆς ἀναγωγῆς καὶ ὁ ἄνεμος τῷ ῥόῳ πνέων ὑπεναντίος
 κοῖλόν τε ἐποίει τὸν ποταμὸν καὶ τὰ σκάφη διέσειεν, ὥστε
 ἐπόνησαν αὐτῷ αἱ πλείσται τῶν νεῶν, τῶν δὲ τριακοντόρων
 ἔστιν αἱ καὶ πάντῃ διελύθησαν. ἔφθησαν δὲ ἐποκέιλαντες
 5 αὐτὰς πρὶν παντάπασιν διαπεσεῖν ἐν τῷ ὕδατι. ἕτεραι οὖν
 ξυνεπήγνυντο. καὶ τῶν ψιλῶν τοὺς κουφοτάτους ἐκπέμψας ἐς
 τὴν προσωτέρω τῆς ὄχθης χώραν ξυλλαμβάνει τινὰς τῶν
 Ἰνδῶν, καὶ οὗτοι τὸ ἀπὸ τοῦδε ἐξηγοῦντο αὐτῷ τὸν πόρον. ὡς
 δὲ ἦκον ἵναπερ ἀναχέεται ἐς εὖρος ὁ ποταμός, ὡς καὶ
 διακοσίους ταύτη σταδίους ἐπέχειν ἦπερ εὐρύτατος αὐτὸς
 αὐτοῦ ἦν, τό τε πνεῦμα κατῆει μέγα ἀπὸ τῆς ἔξω θαλάσσης
 καὶ αἱ κῶπαι ἐν κλύδωνι χαλεπῶς ἀνεφέροντο, ξυμφεύγουσιν
 αὖ ἐς διώρυχα, ἐς ἣντινα οἱ ἡγεμόνες αὐτῷ καθηγήσαντο.

two large rivers, both of these retaining the name Indus till they
 reach the sea. Here Alexander began to build a ship-station and
 dockyards, and, when his works had advanced well, he planned to
 sail down to the outlet of the right-hand stream into the sea. He
 3 gave Leonnatus a thousand of the cavalry and about eight thousand
 of the heavy and light armed troops and sent him to the island of
 Patala, to march alongside the fleet, while he himself, taking the
 swiftest sailers of his fleet, that is, the *hemioliai*, all the *triacontoroi*
 and some of the *kerkouroi*, sailed down the right-hand river.¹ But as
 4 he had no pilot, since all the Indians of these parts had fled, there
 were grave difficulties in the descent and, on the day after the fleet
 weighed, a storm came on and the wind blowing contrary to the
 current made troughs in the stream and battered the hulls; most of
 the ships were damaged, and some of the *triacontoroi* were actually
 complete wrecks, though they were run ashore before totally
 5 breaking up in the water. Other ships therefore were built, and he
 sent off the lightest of his light armed troops to the country on the
 farther bank to capture some of the Indians, and they showed him
 the channel thereafter. When they came to the broadening of the
 river, which makes it extend here at its broadest to two hundred
 stades, the wind was blowing violently from the ocean, the oars
 could hardly be lifted in the surf, and they ran for shelter into a
 canal, to which Alexander's pilots directed them.

1 v 3, 6; vi 2, 4 nn. Cf. D. 104; QC. ix 9, 1 ff. with other useful
 information. H. T. Lambrick, *Sind*, Hyderabad, 1964, gives an
 excellent account of the country from personal knowledge. It seems
 unlikely that Leonnatus could have carried out the plan, in the flooded
 delta. A. probably follows N. in 18, 2–21, 2 (App. XVII 5); cf. 20, 2 n.

19. Ἐνταῦθα ὀρμισάντων τὸ πάθημα ἐπιγίγνεται τῆς μεγάλης θαλάσσης ἢ ἄμπωτις, ὥστε ἐπὶ ξηροῦ ἀπελήφθησαν αὐτοῖς αἱ νῆες. καὶ τοῦτο οὐπω πρότερον ἐγνωκόσι τοῖς ἀμφ' Ἀλέξανδρον ἔκπληξιν μὲν καὶ αὐτὸ οὐ σμικρὰν παρέσχε, πολὺ δὲ δὴ ἔτι μείζονα, ὁπότε διελθούσης τῆς ὥρας προσήει
 2 τε τὸ ὕδωρ καὶ τὰ σκάφη <ἐ>μετεωρίζοντο. ὅσας μὲν δὴ τῶν νεῶν ἐν τῷ πηλῷ ἐδραίας κατέλαβεν, αὐταὶ δὲ ἀβλαβῶς τε ἐμετεωρίσθησαν καὶ οὐδὲν χαλεπὸν παθούσαι ἔπλεον αὐθις· ὅσαι δὲ ἐν ξηροτέρῳ τε τῇ γῆ καὶ οὐ βεβαίως τὴν στάσιν ἔχουσαι ὑπελείφθησαν, αὐταὶ δὲ ἀθρόον ἐπελθόντος τοῦ κύματος αἱ μὲν αὐτῶν ἐμπεσοῦσαι ἐς ἀλλήλας, αἱ δὲ πρὸς τῇ
 3 γῆ ἀρ[ρ]αχθεῖσαι συνετρίβησαν. ταύτας τε οὖν ἐπεσκεύασεν Ἀλέξανδρος ἐκ τῶν παρόντων καὶ ἐν κερκούροις δυοῖν προπέμπει κατὰ τὸν ποταμὸν τοὺς κατασκευομένους τὴν νῆσον, ἐς ἣντινα οἱ ἐπιχώριοι ἔφασκον ὀρμιστέα εἶναι αὐτῷ κατὰ τὸν πλοῦν τὸν ἐς τὴν θάλασσαν· Κίλλοντα δὲ τῇ νήσῳ τὸ ὄνομα ἔλεγον. ὡς δὲ ἐξηγγέλθη ὅτι ὄρμοι τε ἐν τῇ νήσῳ εἰσὶ καὶ αὐτὴ μεγάλη καὶ ὕδωρ ἔχουσα, ὁ μὲν ἄλλος αὐτῷ στόλος ἐς τὴν νῆσον κατέσχευε, αὐτὸς δὲ ταῖς ἄριστα πλεύσαις τῶν νεῶν ἐπέκεινα προύχωρει, ὡς ἀπιδεῖν τοῦ
 4 ποταμοῦ τὴν ἐκβολὴν τὴν ἐς τὴν θάλασσαν, εἰ παρέχει τὸν ἔκπλου εὐπορον. προελθόντες δὲ ἀπὸ τῆς νήσου σταδίους ὅσον διακοσίους ἀφορώσιν ἄλλην νῆσον, ταύτην ἤδη ἐν τῇ θαλάσσει. τότε μὲν δὴ ἐπανῆλθον ἐς τὴν ἐν τῷ ποταμῷ νῆσον, καὶ πρὸς τοῖς ἄκροις αὐτῆς καθορμισθεὶς θύει τοῖς θεοῖς Ἀλέξανδρος ὅσοις ἔφασκεν ὅτι παρὰ τοῦ Ἄμμωνος ἐπηγγελμένον ἦν θῦσαι αὐτῷ. ἐς δὲ τὴν

19. When they had anchored there, the ebb-tide, characteristic of the great sea, followed; as a result their ships were left high and dry.¹ Alexander's men had not known of this before, and it was another thing that gave them a severe shock, repeated with still more force when the time passed and the tide came up again and
 2 the ships were lifted up. Ships which the tide found comfortably settled on the mud were lifted off unharmed, and floated once more without sustaining damage; but those which were caught on a drier bottom and were not on an even keel, as the onrushing tide came in all together, either collided with each other or were dashed
 3 on the land and shattered. Alexander repaired them as best he could, and despatched men in two *kerkouroi* to explore the island which, they said, was called Cilluta, where the natives affirmed he must anchor on his voyage down to the sea. They reported that there was good anchorage on the island and that it was large and had fresh water; so the rest of his fleet put in at the island while Alexander himself with the best sailing ships went to its far side, to get a view of the outlet of the river into the sea, and discover if it
 4 offered a safe passage out. Going about two hundred stades beyond the island, they sighted a second island, right out in the sea. For the time being they returned to the river island, and anchoring by its headland Alexander sacrificed to the gods to which, he used to say, Ammon had enjoined him to sacrifice. Next day he sailed

¹ Tides and tidal bores were unfamiliar to Mediterranean dwellers.

ὑστεραίαν κατέπλει ὡς ἐπὶ τὴν ἄλλην τὴν ἐν τῷ πόντῳ νῆσον, καὶ προσχὼν καὶ ταύτῃ ἔθνε καὶ ἐνταῦθα ἄλλας αὖ θυσίας ἄλλοις τε θεοῖς καὶ ἄλλῳ τρόπῳ καὶ ταύτας δὲ κατ'
 5 ἐπιθεσπισμὸν θύειν <ἔφασκε> τοῦ Ἄμμωνος. αὐτὸς δὲ ὑπερβαλὼν τοῦ Ἰνδοῦ ποταμοῦ τὰς ἐκβολὰς ἐς τὸ πέλαγος ἀνέπλει, ὡς μὲν ἔλεγεν, ἀπιδεῖν εἴ ποῦ τις χώρα πλησίον ἀνίσχει ἐν τῷ πόντῳ, ἐμοὶ δὲ δοκεῖ, οὐχ ἤκιστα ὡς πεπλευκέναι τὴν μεγάλην τὴν ἔξω Ἰνδῶν θάλασσαν. ἐνταῦθα ταύρους τε σφάξας τῷ Ποσειδῶνι ἀφῆκεν ἐς τὴν θάλασσαν καὶ σπείσας ἐπὶ τῇ θυσίᾳ τὴν τε φιάλην χρυσοῦσαν καὶ κρατήρας χρυσοῦς ἐπέβαλεν ἐς τὸν πόντον χαριστήρια, εὐχόμενος σῶόν οἱ παραπέμψαι τὸν στρατὸν τὸν ναυτικόν, ὄντινα ξὺν Νεάρχῳ ἐπενόει στέλλειν ὡς ἐπὶ τὸν κόλπον τὸν Περσικὸν καὶ τὰς ἐκβολὰς τοῦ τε Εὐφράτου καὶ τοῦ Τίγρητος.

20. Ἐπανελθὼν δὲ ὀπίσω ἐς τὰ Πάταλα τὴν τε ἄκραν τετειχισμένην καταλαμβάνει καὶ Πείθωνα ξὺν τῇ στρατιᾷ ἀφιγμένον καὶ τούτῳ ξύμπαντα καταπεπραγμένα ἐφ' οἷσπερ ἐστάλη. Ἡφαιστίων μὲν δὴ ἐτάχθη παρασκευάζειν τὰ πρὸς τὸν ἐκτειχισμόν τε τοῦ ναυστάθμου καὶ τῶν νεωσοίκων τὴν κατασκευὴν· καὶ γὰρ καὶ ἐνταῦθα ἐπενόει στόλον ὑπολείπεσθαι νεῶν οὐκ ὀλίγων πρὸς τῇ πόλει τοῖς Πατάλοις, ἵναπερ ἐσχίζετο ὁ ποταμὸς ὁ Ἰνδός.

2 Αὐτὸς δὲ κατὰ τὸ ἕτερον στόμα τοῦ Ἰνδοῦ κατέπλει αὖθις ἐς τὴν μεγάλην θάλασσαν, ὡς καταμαθεῖν, ὅπῃ εὐπορωτέρα ἢ ἐκβολὴ τοῦ Ἰνδοῦ ἐς τὸν πόντον γίγνεται· ἀπέχει δὲ ἀλλήλων τὰ στόματα τοῦ ποταμοῦ τοῦ Ἰνδοῦ ἐς σταδίους μάλιστα ὀκτακοσίους

down to the other island in the sea, put in there, and sacrificed there too, performing different sacrifices to different gods with different ceremonial; these sacrifices also, he said, he offered in
 5 accordance with the oracle given by Ammon. Passing the mouths of the river Indus, he sailed out in person to the sea, to observe, as he said, if any country stood out nearby in the ocean, but in my own judgment chiefly that he might have voyaged in the great sea outside India.² Then he sacrificed bulls to Posidon, and cast them into the sea, and after the sacrifice poured a libation and cast into the sea the cup made of gold and golden bowls as thank-offerings, praying that Posidon would safely convoy the naval force he intended to despatch with Nearchus towards the Persian Gulf and the mouths of the Euphrates and Tigris.

20. On return to Patala, he found the citadel fortified, and Pithon arrived with his army, after successfully accomplishing his whole mission.¹ Hephaestion was now ordered to get ready everything necessary for fortifying the ship-station and building the dockyards; for he intended to leave behind there a fleet of many ships, near the city of Patala, where the river Indus divided.

² He himself sailed down to the ocean again by the other mouth of the Indus, to learn by which branch the outlet of the Indus to the ocean was easier; the mouths of the river Indus are above eighteen hundred

² Al. had achieved his purpose by sailing in the Ocean, cf. *Ind.* 20, 2; vii 1; D. 104, 1; QC. ix 9, 27. Sacrifices: *Ind.* 20, 10, cf. vi 3, 2 n. and esp. Bosworth there cited.

¹ As usual, no particulars of a subordinate's mission. Citadel: 18, 1.

3 καὶ χιλίους. ἐν δὲ τῷ κατάπλω ἀφίκετο τῆς ἐκβολῆς τοῦ ποταμοῦ ἐς λίμνην μεγάλην, ἣντινα ἀναχεόμενος ὁ ποταμός, τυχὸν δὲ καὶ [ἐκ]¹ τῶν πέριξ ὑδάτων ἐμβαλλόντων ἐς αὐτήν, μεγάλην τε ποιεῖ καὶ κόλπῳ θαλάσσης μάλιστα ἐοικυῖαν καὶ γὰρ ἰχθύες ἤδη ἐν αὐτῇ τῶν ἀπὸ θαλάσσης ἐφαίνοντο, μείζονες τῶν ἐν τῇδε τῇ ἡμετέρᾳ θαλάσσει. προσορμισθεὶς οὖν κατὰ τὴν λίμνην ἵναπερ οἱ καθηγεμόνες ἐξηγοῦντο, τῶν μὲν στρατιωτῶν τοὺς πολλοὺς καταλείπει σὺν Λεοννάτῳ αὐτοῦ

4 καὶ τοὺς κερκούρους ξύμπαντας, αὐτὸς δὲ ταῖς τριακοντόροις τε καὶ ἡμιολίαις ὑπερβαλὼν τὴν ἐκβολὴν τοῦ Ἰνδοῦ καὶ προελθὼν καὶ ταύτῃ ἐς τὴν θάλασσαν εὐπορωτέραν τε κατέμαθεν τὴν ἐπὶ τάδε τοῦ Ἰνδοῦ ἐκβολὴν καὶ αὐτὸς προσορμισθεὶς τῷ αἰγιαλῷ καὶ τῶν ἰππέων τινὰς ἅμα οἱ ἔχων παρὰ θάλασσαν ἦει σταθμοὺς τρεῖς, τὴν τε χώραν ὅποια τίς ἐστὶν ἢ ἐν τῷ παράπλω ἐπισκεπτόμενος καὶ φρέατα

5 ὀρύσσεσθαι κελεύων, ὅπως ἔχοιεν ὑδρεύεσθαι οἱ πλείοντες. αὐτὸς μὲν δὴ ἐπανελθὼν ἐπὶ τὰς ναῦς ἀνέπλει ἐς τὰ Πάταλα μέρος δέ τι τῆς στρατιᾶς τὰ αὐτὰ ταῦτα ἐργασομένους κατὰ τὴν παραλίαν ἔπεμψεν, ἐπανιέναι καὶ τούτοις προστάξας ἐς τὰ Πάταλα. αὐθις δὲ ὡς ἐπὶ τὴν λίμνην καταπλεύσας ἄλλον ναύσταθμον καὶ ἄλλους νεωσοίκους ἐνταῦθα κατεσκεύασε, καὶ φυλακὴν καταλιπὼν τῷ χωρίῳ σῖτόν τε ὅσον καὶ ἐς τέτταρας μῆνας ἐξαρκέσαι τῇ στρατιᾷ ἐσηγάγετο καὶ τᾶλλ' ὅσα [ἐν] τῷ παράπλω παρεσκεύαζεν.

1 I adopt Sintenis' deletion.

3 stades apart from one another.² In the descent he reached the point where the river debouches into a great lake; the river spreads out, and perhaps the surrounding streams empty into it, and help to make it large, very like a gulf of the sea; in fact sea fish were already to be seen in it, bigger than those in our own sea. Anchoring then at a point in the lake where the pilots directed, he left behind most of

4 the troops there with Leonnatus, and all the *kerkouroi*, while with the *triacontoroi* and *hemioliai* he himself passed beyond the outlet of the Indus, and proceeding by this passage reached the sea again and discovered that the outlet of the Indus on our side was easier to navigate.³ He then anchored by the shore and taking with him some of the cavalry went three days' march along the coast, observing the nature of the country for the coast voyage, and ordering wells to be dug, so that the voyagers might be able to get water. Then while he

5 himself, after returning to his ships, sailed back to Patala, he sent part of the army along the foreshore to carry on this same work, with instructions also to return to Patala. He sailed once more down to the lake, and built another ship-station and other dockyards there; and leaving a garrison in the place, brought in four months' grain for the army and made all other preparations for the coast voyage.

2 N's figure: Onesicritus gave 2000 and Ar. 1000 (about right), cf. S. xv 1, 33; all estimates were hearsay, as it was impossible to traverse the flooded coast (Lambrick), and N. did not sail along the coast (*Ind.* 21, 2 n.).

3 For the translation, Hammond, CQ 1980, 465–7; Lambrick had already seen that N. actually sailed from the western outlet. But the next sentence (*pace* Hammond) now makes nonsense; even if the cavalry could have marched along the swampy foreshore (Ones. *ap.* S. xv 1, 20 and 34, right), it was not for the purpose A. gives, clearly misunderstanding his source; perhaps he marched eastwards in exploration.

21. Ἦν δὲ ἐν μὲν τῷ τότε ἄπορος ἢ ὥρα ἐς τὸν πλοῦν· οἱ γὰρ ἐτησῖαι ἄνεμοι κατεῖχον, οἳ δὴ τῇ ὥρᾳ ἐκείνῃ οὐ καθάπερ παρ' ἡμῖν ἀπ' ἄρκτου, ἀλλ' ἀπὸ τῆς μεγάλης θαλάσσης κατὰ νότον μάλιστα ἄνεμον ἴστανται. ἀπὸ δὲ τοῦ χειμῶνος τῆς ἀρχῆς τὸ ἀπὸ Πλειάδων δύσεως ἔστε ἐπὶ τροπᾶς, ἃς ἐν χειμῶνι ὁ ἥλιος ἐπιστρέφει, πλοῖμα εἶναι ταύτῃ ἐξηγγέλλετο. τότε γὰρ κατὰ γῆν μᾶλλον οἷα δὴ πολλῶ ὕδατι ἐξ οὐρανοῦ βεβρεγμένην αὔρας ἴστασθαι μαλθακὰς καὶ ἐς τὸν παράπλου ταις τε κώπαις καὶ τοῖς ἰστίοις ξυμμέτρους.

3 Νέαρχος μὲν δὴ ἐπιταχθεὶς τῷ ναυτικῷ προσέμενε τὴν ὥραν τοῦ παράπλου, αὐτὸς δὲ ἄρας ἐκ Πατάλων ἔστε μὲν ἐπὶ τὸν ποταμὸν τὸν Ἀράβιον ξὺν τῇ στρατιᾷ πάσῃ προὔχῳρει. ἐκείθεν δὲ ἀναλαβὼν τῶν ὑπασπιστῶν τε καὶ τῶν τοξοτῶν τοὺς ἡμίσεας καὶ τῶν ἀσθηταίρων¹ καλουμένων τὰς τάξεις καὶ τῆς ἵππου τῆς ἐταιρικῆς τό τε ἄγημα καὶ ἴλην ἀφ' ἐκάστης ἵππαρχίας καὶ τοὺς ἵπποτοξότας ξύμπαντας ὡς ἐπὶ τὴν θάλασσαν ἐς ἀριστερὰ ἐτράπετο, ὕδατά τε ὀρύσσειν, ὡς κατὰ τὸν παράπλου ἀφθονα εἶη τῇ στρατιᾷ τῇ παραπλεύουσῃ, καὶ ἅμα ὡς τοῖς Ὀρείταις² τοῖς ταύτῃ Ἰνδοῖς αὐτονόμοις ἐκ πολλοῦ οὔσιν ἄφνω ἐπιπεσεῖν, ὅτι μηδὲν φίλιον αὐτοῖς ἐς αὐτόν τε καὶ τὴν στρατιὰν ἐπέπρακτο. τῆς δὲ ὑπολειφθείσης δυνάμεως Ἡφαιστίων αὐτῷ ἀφηγεῖτο. Ἀραβῖται μὲν δὴ, ἔθνος καὶ τοῦτο αὐτόνομον τῶν περὶ τὸν Ἀράβιον ποταμὸν νεμομένων, οὔτε ἀξιόμαχοι δόξαντες

1 Introduction n. 99.

2 Salmasius here inserted καὶ to produce agreement with *Ind.* 22, 10, but see note *ad loc.*

21. The season, however, at that time was impracticable for sailing, for the trade winds were blowing continuously; in that season they blow not, as with us, from the north, but from the great sea and a roughly southerly quarter. But from the beginning of winter, the setting of the Pleiads, to the winter solstice, navigation was reported to be possible here; for, as is natural when the land is drenched with heavy rains, there are light land breezes, convenient for the coast voyage whether by oars or sails.

3 Nearchus, the admiral of the fleet, awaited the season for the voyage, while Alexander left Patala and advanced with his entire force as far as the river Arabius¹; and thence, taking with him half of the hypaspists and the archers, the battalions of the so-called *asthetairoi*, the *agema* of the Companions' cavalry and a squadron from each hipparchy² and all the mounted archers, he turned left towards the sea, to dig wells, so that there might be plenty of water for the forces sailing along the coast, and also to make a surprise attack on the Oritans³ and the Indians in these parts who had long been independent, since they had done no friendly services to Alexander and the army. Hephaestion was put in command of the force left behind. The Arabitae, another of the independent peoples who dwell about the river Arabius, did not think themselves capable of resisting Alexander,

1 In *Indica* A. writes 'Arabis' after N. (river Hab). For 21–26 see App. XVIII; cf. XVII 3–5; 24 on sources and chronology.

2 On some views, each hipparchy had an Oriental squadron, cf. Introd. 59; App. XIX 2.

3 *Ind.* 22, 10 n.

εἶναι Ἀλεξάνδρῳ οὔτε ὑποδύναμι ἐθελήσαντες, ὡς προσάγοντα ἐπύθοντο Ἀλέξανδρον, φεύγουσιν εἰς τὴν ἔρημον. Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ διαβὰς τὸν Ἀράβιον ποταμὸν στενὸν τε καὶ ὀλίγου ὕδατος καὶ διελθὼν ἐν νυκτὶ τῆς ἐρήμου τὴν πολλὴν ὑπὸ τὴν ἕω πρὸς τῇ οἰκουμένην ἦν καὶ τοὺς μὲν πεζοὺς ἐν τάξει ἐκέλευσεν ἔπεσθαι, τοὺς δὲ ἰππέας ἀναλαβὼν αὐτὸς καὶ εἰς Ἴλας καταλείμας, ὅπως ἐπὶ πλείστον τοῦ πεδίου ἐπέχοιεν, ἐπήγει τὴν
 5 χώραν τῶν Ὀρειτῶν. ὅσοι μὲν δὴ εἰς ἀλκὴν αὐτῶν ἐτράποντο κατεκόπησαν πρὸς τῶν ἰππέων, πολλοὶ δὲ καὶ ζῶντες ἐάλωσαν. ὁ δὲ τότε μὲν κατεστρατοπέδευσε πρὸς ὕδατι οὐ πολλῷ, ὡς δὲ καὶ οἱ περὶ Ἡφαιστίωνα αὐτῷ ὁμοῦ ἤδη ἦσαν, προὔχῳ εἰς τὸ πρόσω. ἀφικόμενος δὲ εἰς κώμην, ἥπερ ἦν
 20 μέγιστη τοῦ ἔθνους τοῦ Ὀρειτῶν, Ῥαμβακία ἐκαλεῖτο ἡ κώμη, τὸν τε χῶρον ἐπήνεσε καὶ ἐδόκει ἂν αὐτῷ πόλις ξυνοικισθεῖσα μεγάλη καὶ εὐδαίμων γενέσθαι. Ἡφαιστίωνα μὲν δὴ ἐπὶ τούτοις ὑπελείπετο.

22. Αὐτὸς δὲ ἀναλαβὼν αὐθις τῶν ὑπασπιστῶν καὶ τῶν Ἀγριάνων τοὺς ἡμίσεας καὶ τὸ ἄγλημα τῶν ἰππέων καὶ τοὺς ἰπποτοξότας προῆει ὡς ἐπὶ τὰ ὄρια τῶν τε Γαδρωσῶν καὶ Ὀρειτῶν, ἵνα περὶ στενὴν τε ἢ πάροδον αὐτῷ εἶναι ἐξηγγέλλετο καὶ οἱ Ὀρείται τοῖς Γαδρωσοῖς ξυντεταγμένοι πρὸ τῶν στενῶν
 2 στρατοπεδεύειν, ὡς εἴρξοντες τῆς παρόδου Ἀλέξανδρον. καὶ ἦσαν μὲν ταύτῃ τεταγμένοι, ὡς δὲ προάγων ἤδη ἐξηγγέλλετο, οἱ μὲν πολλοὶ ἔφυγον ἐκ τῶν στενῶν λιπόντες τὴν φυλακὴν, οἱ δὲ

and yet did not choose to submit; when they learned that Alexander was approaching, they fled into the desolate country. Alexander crossed the river Arabius, a narrow river with little water, traversed most of the desert by night, and at dawn was close to the inhabited region. Here he ordered his infantry to follow in marching order, but took the cavalry with him and divided it into squadrons, in order that they might cover the greatest extent of the plain, and thus invaded the territory of the Oritans. Those who offered
 5 resistance were cut down by the cavalry; many were captured alive. For the time being, Alexander encamped near a small sheet of water,⁴ but when Hephaestion and his troops had come close he advanced further. Arriving at the largest village of the Oritans, called Rhambacia, he expressed admiration of the site and thought that, if people were settled together in a city there, it would become great and prosperous. Hephaestion then was left behind to attend to this.⁵

22. Alexander, taking with him again half of the hypaspists and the Agrianians, the *agema* of the cavalry and the mounted archers, advanced towards the borders of the Gadrosians and Oritans, where it was reported to him that the approach was by a defile, and that the Gadrosians and Oritans were drawn up together encamped in front of the defile to bar his approach. They were, in fact, arrayed
 2 there; but when news was brought that he was advancing, most of them fled from the defile, deserting their post; the

⁴ Literally 'near water that was not large.'

⁵ Rhambacia should lie near the modern Las Bela, where ancient remains have been found; even though the coast has receded (Engels 139), it was inland, and D. 104, 8 must be wrong in attributing to it a sheltered harbour; none is mentioned in *Ind.* 23. Onesicritus *ap.* Pliny, *NH* vi 97 called it Alexandria founded by Leonnatus on Al's order; presumably L. completed Hephaestion's work, cf. 22, 3.

- ἡγεμόνες τῶν Ὀρειτῶν ἀφίκοντο παρ' αὐτὸν σφᾶς τε αὐτοὺς
καὶ τὸ ἔθνος ἐνδιδόντες. τούτοις μὲν δὴ προστάττει
ξυγκαλέσαντας τὸ πλῆθος τῶν Ὀρειτῶν πέμπειν ἐπὶ τὰ
σφέτερα ἦθη, ὡς δεινὸν οὐδὲν πεισομένους· σατράπην δὲ καὶ
3 τούτοις ἐπιτάσσει Ἀπολλοφάνην· καὶ ξὺν τούτῳ ἀπολείπει
Λεοννάτον τὸν σωματοφύλακα ἐν Ὀροις, ἔχοντα τοὺς τε
Ἀγριαῖνας ξύμπαντας καὶ τῶν τοξοτῶν ἔστιν οὓς καὶ τῶν
ἰπέων καὶ ἄλλους πεζοὺς τε καὶ ἰππέας Ἑλληνας
μισθοφόρους, τό τε ναυτικὸν ὑπομένειν ἔστ' ἂν περιπλεύσῃ
τὴν χώραν καὶ τὴν πόλιν ξυνοικίζειν καὶ τὰ κατὰ τοὺς
Ὀρείτας κοσμεῖν, ὅπως μᾶλλον τι προσέχοιεν τῷ σατράπῃ
τὸν νοῦν. αὐτὸν δὲ ξὺν τῇ στρατιᾷ τῇ πολλῇ, καὶ γὰρ καὶ
Ἑφαιστίων ἀφίκετο ἄγων αὐτῷ τοὺς ὑπολειφθέντας,
προὔχῳρι ὡς ἐπὶ Γαδρωσοὺς ἔρημον τὴν πολλήν.
- 4 Καὶ ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ ταύτῃ λέγει Ἀριστόβουλος σμύρνης
πολλὰ δένδρα πεφυκέναι μείζονα ἢ κατὰ τὴν ἄλλην σμύρναν,
καὶ τοὺς Φοίνικας τοὺς κατ' ἐμπορ[ε]ίαν τῇ στρατιᾷ
ξυνεπομένους ξυλλέγοντας τὸ δάκρυον τῆς σμύρνης (πολὺ
γὰρ εἶναι, οἷα δὴ ἐκ μεγάλων τε τῶν πρέμων καὶ οὐπω
5 πρόσθεν ξυλλελεγμένον) ἐμπλήσαντας τὰ ὑποζύγια ἄγειν.
ἔχειν δὲ τὴν ἔρημον ταύτην καὶ νάρδου ρίζαν πολλήν τε καὶ
εὐδομον καὶ ταύτην ξυλλέγειν τοὺς Φοίνικας· πολὺ δὲ εἶναι
αὐτῆς τὸ καταπατούμενον πρὸς τῆς στρατιᾶς, καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ
πατουμένου ὁδμὴν ἠδεῖαν κατέχειν ἐπὶ πολὺ τῆς χώρας.
- 6 τοσόνδε εἶναι τὸ πλῆθος· εἶναι δὲ καὶ ἄλλα δένδρα ἐν τῇ
ἐρήμῳ, τὸ μὲν τι δάφνη εἰκὸς τὸ φύλλον, καὶ τοῦτο ἐν τοῖς
προσκλυζομένοις τῇ θαλάσῃ χωρίοις

- chiefs of the Oritans came to him to surrender themselves and their
nation. He commanded them to call together the mass of the
Oritans and send them to their own homes with the assurance that
they would suffer no harm; as satrap over them he appointed
3 Apollophanes. With him Leonnatus, the bodyguard, was left behind
in Ora in command of all the Agrianians, some of the archers and
cavalry, and other foot and horse, Greek mercenaries; he was to
await the fleet until it sailed past this district, to people the city, and
to settle affairs in the country of the Oritans, so that they might be
more obedient to the satrap. Then Alexander himself with the
larger part of his army, for Hephaestion had arrived with the men
left behind, proceeded towards the Gadrosians, through country
that was mostly desert.
- 4 In this desert Aristobulus says that many myrrh trees grow,
taller than the ordinary myrrh, and that the Phoenicians who
followed the army as traders collected the gum of the myrrh, for it
was abundant, coming from such large trunks and never having
been collected before, and took it away, loading their pack-mules.
- 5 He adds that this desert also produces gingergrass, plentiful and
fragrant, which was also gathered by the Phoenicians; much of it
was trodden underfoot by the army, and this wafted a delightful
fragrance for some distance over the country, such was its
6 abundance. According to Aristobulus there are other trees in the
desert,¹ one with a leaf like laurel, which grows in places washed by
the sea; the trees

1 Mangroves, seen on the coastal stretch of the march (26, 5).

πεφυκέναι καὶ ἀπολείπεσθαι μὲν τὰ δένδρα πρὸς τῆς ἀμπώτεως ἐπὶ ξηροῦ, ἐπελθόντος δὲ τοῦ ὕδατος ἐν τῇ θαλάσση πεφυκότα φαίνεσθαι τῶν δὲ καὶ αἰεὶ τὰς ρίζας τῇ θαλάσση ἐπικλύζεσθαι, ὅσα ἐν κοίλοις χωρίοις ἐπεφύκει, ἔνθεν περ οὐχ ὑπενόσται τὸ ὕδωρ, καὶ ὁμως οὐ διαφθείρεσθαι
 7 τὸ δένδρον πρὸς τῆς θαλάσσης. εἶναι δὲ τὰ δένδρα ταύτη πῆχεων καὶ τριάκοντα ἔστιν ἅ αὐτῶν, τυχεῖν τε ἀνθούντα ἐκείνη τῇ ὥρᾳ, καὶ τὸ ἄνθος εἶναι τῷ λευκῷ μάλιστα ἴσῳ προσφερές, τὴν ὁσμὴν δὲ πολὺ τι ὑπερφέρον. καὶ ἄλλον εἶναι καυλὸν ἐκ γῆς πεφυκότα ἀκάνθης, καὶ τούτῳ ἐπέιναι ἰσχυρὰν τὴν ἄκανθαν, ὥστε ἤδη τινῶν καὶ παριππευόντων ἐμπλακείσαν τῇ ἐσθήτῃ κατασπάσαι ἀπὸ τοῦ ἵππου μᾶλλον τι
 8 τὸν ἵππεα ἢ αὐτὴν ἀποσχισθῆναι ἀπὸ τοῦ καυλοῦ. καὶ τῶν λαγῶν λέγεται ὅτι παραθεόντων εἶχοντο ἐν ταῖς θριξίν αἱ ἄκανθαι καὶ ὅτι οὕτως ἠλίσκοντο οἱ λαγῶ, καθάπερ ὑπὸ ἰξοῦ αἱ ὄρνιθες ἢ τοῖς ἀγκίστροις οἱ ἰχθύες, σιδήρῳ δὲ ὅτι διακοπῆναι οὐ χαλεπὴ ἦν· καὶ ὁπὸν ὅτι ἀνίει πολὺν ὁ καυλὸς τῆς ἀκάνθης τεμνομένης, ἔτι πλείονα ἢ αἱ συκαὶ τοῦ ἥρος καὶ δριμύτερον.

23. Ἐνθεν δὲ διὰ τῆς Γαδρωσῶν χώρας ἦει ὁδὸν χαλεπὴν καὶ ἀπορον τῶν ἐπιτηδείων, τῶν τε ἄλλων καὶ ὕδωρ πολλαχού τῇ στρατιᾷ οὐκ ἦν· ἀλλὰ νύκτωρ ἠναγκάζοντο γῆν πολλὴν πορεύεσθαι καὶ προσωτέρω ἀπὸ θαλάσσης, ἐπεὶ αὐτῷ γε ἐν σπουδῇ ἦν ἐπελθεῖν¹ τὰ παρὰ τὴν θάλασσαν τῆς χώρας καὶ λιμένας τε ἰδεῖν τοὺς ὄντας καὶ ὅσα γε ἐν παρόδῳ δυνατὰ γένοιτο τῷ ναυτικῷ παρασκευάσαι, ἢ φρέατα ὀρύξαντας ἢ ἀγορᾶς πονεῖν ἢ ὄρμου

1 Krüger: ἐλθεῖν A, Roos.

are left high and dry by the ebb-tide, but when the water has come in they appear to be growing in the sea; indeed when they grow in hollow places where the water does not recede the roots are washed by the sea continuously, and yet the tree is not killed by the sea
 7 water. By his account the trees here are sometimes thirty cubits high, and at that season they were in flower, the flower being most like a white violet, but of a very much sweeter perfume, and there is also a stalk of thorn growing out of the soil, on which the thorn is so strong that it actually tangled with the clothes of a man just riding past, and pulled him from his horse rather than come away from its
 8 stalk. It is also said that the hares as they run through get their fur caught in the thorns, and are captured in this way just as birds are with bird-lime or fishes with hooks, but that it was easy to cut it through with an axe, and that the stalk of the thorn when cut emits juice more abundant and sharper to the taste than figs in spring.

23. From there Alexander went through the country of the Gadrosians by a difficult route, wholly lacking in supplies; in particular, the army often found no water; but they were obliged to traverse much ground by night, and rather far from the sea. And yet Alexander was anxious to traverse the land by the coast, to see what harbours there were and on his march through to get ready all he could for the fleet either by digging wells or perhaps by providing

- 2 ἐπιμεληθέντας. ἀλλὰ ἦν γὰρ ἔρημα παντάπασιν τὰ πρὸς τῇ
θαλάσση τῆς Γαδρωσῶν γῆς, ὁ δὲ Θόαντα τὸν Μανδροδώρου
καταπέμπει ἐπὶ θάλασσαν ξὺν ὀλίγοις ἰππεῦσιν,
κατασκευόμενον εἴ πού τις ὄρμος ὦν τυγχάνει ταύτῃ ἢ ὕδωρ
3 οὐ πόρρω ἀπὸ θαλάσσης ἢ τι ἄλλο τῶν ἐπιτηδείων. καὶ οὗτος
ἐπανελθὼν ἀπήγγειλεν ἀλιέας τινὰς καταλαβεῖν ἐπὶ τοῦ
αἰγιαλοῦ ἐν καλύβαις πνιγηραῖς· πεποιῆσθαι δὲ τὰς καλύβας
ξυνθέντας τὰς κόγχας· στέγην δὲ εἶναι αὐταῖς τὰς ἀκάνθας
τῶν ἰχθύων· καὶ τούτους τοὺς ἀλιέας ὕδατι ὀλίγῳ διαχρῆσθαι
χαλεπῶς διαμωμένους τὸν κάχληκα, καὶ οὐδὲ τούτῳ πάντῃ
γλυκεῖ τῷ ὕδατι.
- 4 Ὡς δὲ ἀφίκετο Ἀλέξανδρος ἐς χώρον τινα τῆς Γαδρωσίας
ἵνα ἀφθονώτερος ἦν σῖτος, διανέμει ἐς τὰ ὑποζύγια τὸν
καταληφθέντα καὶ τοῦτον σημηνάμενος τῇ ἑαυτοῦ σφραγίδι
κατακομίζεσθαι κελεύει ὡς ἐπὶ θάλασσαν. ἐν ᾧ δὲ ἦει ὡς ἐπὶ
τὸν σταθμόν, ἔνθεν περ ἐγγυτάτῳ ἦν ἡ θάλασσα, ἐν τούτῳ
ὀλίγα φροντίσαντες οἱ στρατιῶται τῆς σφραγίδος αὐτοὶ τε οἱ
φύλακες τῷ σίτῳ ἐχρήσαντο καὶ ὅσοι μάλιστα λιμῷ ἐπιέζοντο
5 καὶ τούτοις μετέδωκαν. ἐς τοσόνδε γὰρ πρὸς τοῦ κακοῦ
ἐνικῶντο, ὡς τὸν πρόδηλον καὶ παρόντα ἤδη ὄλεθρον τοῦ
ἀφανοῦς τε καὶ πρόσω ἔτι ὄντος ἐκ τοῦ βασιλέως κινδύνου
ξὺν λογισμῷ ἔδοξέ σφισιν ἔμπροσθεν ποιήσασθαι. καὶ
Ἀλέξανδρος καταμαθὼν τὴν ἀνάγκην ξυνέγνω τοῖς πράξασιν.
αὐτὸς δέ, ὅσα ἐκ τῆς χώρας ἐπιδραμῶν ξυναγαγεῖν ἠδυνήθη
εἰς ἐπισιτισμὸν τῇ στρατιᾷ τῇ περιπλεύσει ξὺν τῷ στόλῳ,
6 ταῦτα κομίσοντα πέμπει Κρηθέα τὸν Καλλατιανόν. καὶ τοῖς
ἐγχωρίοις προσετάχθη ἐκ τῶν ἄνω τόπων

- 2 for a market or an anchorage. But the Gadrosian country was
entirely desert along the coast-line, and he sent Thoas son of
Mandrodorus down to the sea with a few cavalry, to see if there was
actually any anchorage there, or water near the sea, or any other
3 supplies. He returned with the report that he had found some
fishermen on the beach in stifling cabins, made out of shells fixed
together, and roofed with the backbones of fishes, but that these
fishermen had little fresh water for use, as they dug it with difficulty
from the shingle, and even then it was not always fresh.¹
- 4 Once Alexander had reached a place in Gadrosiawhere food was
more plentiful, he distributed what he had seized among the
baggage trains, sealed it with his own seal, and ordered it to be
conveyed to the sea. But while he was going towards the halting-
place nearest the sea, the troops, including the guards themselves,
paying little regard to the seal, used the food, sharing it out among
those suffering most from hunger. So far were they overcome by
5 their distress that in their calculations they took more account of the
death immediately before their eyes than of the uncertain and still
distant danger from the king. Understanding the necessity,
Alexander pardoned the offenders. For his own part, he sent
Cretheus of Callatis to convey the supplies he had been able to get
together by forays from the country to provision the force sailing
6 round with the fleet. The inhabitants also were commanded to
grind and bring down

1 Cf. *Ind.* 24–9, esp. 24, 9; 29, 9 ff.

σίτον τε ὅσον δυνατοὶ ἦσαν κατακομίσαι ἀλέσαντας καὶ τὰς βαλάνους τὰς τῶν φοινίκων καὶ πρόβατα ἐς ἀγορὰν τῷ στρατῷ. καὶ ἐς ἄλλον αὖ τόπον Τήλεφον κατέπεμψε τῶν ἐταίρων σὺν σίτῳ οὐ πολλῷ ἀληλεσμένῳ.

24. Αὐτὸς δὲ προὔχῳρι ὡς ἐς τὰ βασιλεια τῶν Γαδρωσῶν, ὁ δὲ χῶρος Πούρα ὀνομάζεται, ἵναπερ ἀφίκετο ἐξ Ὀρων ὀρμηθεὶς ἐν ἡμέραις ταῖς πάσαις ἐξήκοντα. καὶ λέγουσιν οἱ πολλοὶ τῶν ξυγγραψάντων τὰ ἀμφ' Ἀλέξανδρον οὐδὲ τὰ ξύμπαντα ὅσα ἐταλαιπώρησεν αὐτῷ κατὰ τὴν Ἀσίαν ἢ
 2 στρατιὰ ξυμβληθῆναι ἄξια εἶναι τοῖς τῆδε πονηθείσι πόνοις. οὐ μὴν ἀγνοήσαντα Ἀλέξανδρον τῆς ὁδοῦ τὴν χαλεπότητα ταύτη ἐλθεῖν, τοῦτο μὲν μόνος Νέαρχος λέγει ὧδε, ἀλλὰ ἀκούσαντα γὰρ ὅτι οὐπω τις πρόσθεν διελθὼν ταύτη ξὺν στρατιᾷ ἀπεσώθη, ὅτι μὴ Σεμίραμις ἐξ Ἰνδῶν ἔφυγε. καὶ ταύτην δὲ ἔλεγον οἱ ἐπιχώριοι σὺν εἴκοσι μόνοις τῆς στρατιᾶς ἀποσωθῆναι, Κύρον δὲ τὸν Καμβύσου σὺν ἑπτὰ μόνοις καὶ
 3 τοῦτον. ἐλθεῖν γὰρ δὴ καὶ Κύρον ἐς τοὺς χώρους τούτους ὡς ἐσβαλοῦντα ἐς τὴν Ἰνδῶν γῆν, φθάσαι δὲ ὑπὸ τῆς ἐρημίας τε καὶ ἀπορίας τῆς ὁδοῦ ταύτης ἀπολέσαντα τὴν πολλὴν τῆς στρατιᾶς. καὶ ταῦτα Ἀλεξάνδρῳ ἐξαγγελλόμενα ἔριν ἐμβαλεῖν πρὸς Κύρον καὶ Σεμίραμιν. τούτων τε οὖν ἕνεκα καὶ ἅμα ὡς τῷ ναυτικῷ ἐγγύθεν ἐκπορίζεσθαι τὰ ἀναγκαῖα, λέγει
 4 Νέαρχος ταύτην τραπήναι Ἀλέξανδρον. τό τε οὖν καῦμα ἐπιφλέγον καὶ τοῦ ὕδατος τὴν ἀπορίαν πολλὴν τῆς στρατιᾶς διαφθεῖραι καὶ μάλιστα δὴ τὰ ὑποζύγια· ταῦτα μὲν πρὸς τοῦ βάθους τε τῆς ψάμμου καὶ τῆς θερμῆς,

from the upper parts all the grain they could spare for supplies for the fleet, with dates from the palm trees, and sheep for the army market, and he sent Telephus, one of the Companions, to yet another place with a small supply of ground corn.

24. He himself advanced towards the Gadrosian capital; the place is called Pura¹; and he arrived there from Ora in a total of sixty days. Most historians of Alexander say that all the trials that the army endured for him in Asia were not comparable, taken
 2 together, with the miseries they suffered here. In their view, however, Alexander did not go that way in ignorance of the difficulty of the route (Nearchus alone makes this claim); but because he had heard that no one yet had got through safely this way with an army, except for Semiramis fleeing from India. Even she, according to the local story, only escaped with twenty of her whole force, and Cyrus son of Cambyses with only seven; in most
 3 accounts Cyrustoo was said to have reached these parts, intending to invade India, though before he could do so he lost the greater part of his army from the barrenness and difficulty of this route. The relation of these stories to Alexander is said to have inspired him with emulation of Cyrus and Semiramis.² It was then on this account, and also to be close to the fleet, and provide it with
 4 necessaries that according to Nearchus he chose this route. It is said that the scorching heat and want of water destroyed a great part of the army and most particularly the baggage animals; that the depth of the sand and its heat, burning as it

1 In the Bampur basin.

2 A. obscures the fact that N. said this (S. xv 1, 5). See also *Ind.* 1, 1 n. and 5, 7 n. N. as the source for what follows: App. XVIII.

ὅτι κεκαυμένη ἦν, τὰ πολλὰ δὲ καὶ δύσει ἀπόλλυσθαι· καὶ γὰρ
καὶ γηλόφοις ἐπιτυγχάνειν ὑψηλοῖς ψάμμον βαθείας, οὐ
νεναγμένης, ἀλλ' οἷας δέχεσθαι καθάπερ ἐς πηλὸν ἢ ἔτι
5 μᾶλλον ἐς χιόνα ἀπάτητον ἐπιβαίνοντας. καὶ ἅμα ἐν ταῖς
προσβάσεσσί τε καὶ καταβαίνοντας τοὺς τε ἵππους καὶ τοὺς
ἡμιόνους ἔτι μᾶλλον κακοπαθεῖν τῷ ἀνωμάλῳ τῆς ὁδοῦ καὶ
ἅμα οὐ βεβαίῳ, τῶν τε σταθμῶν τὰ μήκη πιέσαι οὐχ ἤκιστα
τὴν στρατιάν· ἀπορία γὰρ ὕδατος οὐ ξύμμετρος οὔσα μᾶλλον
6 τι ἦγε πρὸς ἀνάγκην τὰς πορείας ποιεῖσθαι. ὁπότε μὲν δὴ τῆς
νυκτὸς ἐπελθόντες τὴν ὁδὸν ἦντινα ἀνύσαι ἐχρῆν ἔωθεν πρὸς
ὑδωρ ἔλθοιεν, οὐ πάντῃ ἐταλαιπωροῦντο· προχωρούσης δὲ τῆς
ἡμέρας ὑπὸ μήκους τῆς ὁδοῦ, εἰ ὁδοιποροῦντες ἔτι
ἐγκαταληφθεῖεν, ἐνταῦθα ἂν ἐταλαιπώρουν πρὸς τοῦ καύματός
τε καὶ ἅμα δύσει ἀπαύστῳ συνεχόμενοι.

25. Τῶν δὲ δὴ ὑποζυγίων πολὺς ὁ φθόρος καὶ ἐκούσιος τῇ
στρατιᾷ ἐγίνετο· ξυνιόντες γάρ, ὁπότε ἐπιλίποι σφᾶς τὰ
σιτία, καὶ τῶν ἵππων τοὺς πολλοὺς ἀποσφάζοντες καὶ τῶν
ἡμιόνων τὰ κρέα ἐσιτοῦντο καὶ ἔλεγον δύσει ἀποθανεῖν αὐτοὺς
ἢ ὑπὸ καμάτου ἐκλιπόντας· καὶ ὁ τὴν ἀτρέκειαν τοῦ ἔργου
2 ἐξελέγξων ὑπὸ τε τοῦ πόνου οὐδεὶς ἦν καὶ ὅτι ξύμπαντες τὰ
αὐτὰ ἡμάρτανον. καὶ Ἀλέξανδρον μὲν οὐκ ἐλελήθει τὰ
γιγνόμενα, ἴασιν δὲ τῶν παρόντων ἑώρα τὴν τῆς ἀγνοίας
προσποίησιν μᾶλλον τι ἢ τὴν ὡς γινωσκομένων ἐπιχώρησιν.
οὔκουν οὐδὲ τοὺς νόσῳ κάμνοντας τῆς στρατιᾶς οὐδὲ τοὺς διὰ
κάματος ὑπολειπομένους ἐν ταῖς ὁδοῖς ἄγειν ἔτι ἦν εὐμαρῶς
ἀπορία τε τῶν ὑποζυγίων καὶ ὅτι τὰς ἀμάξας αὐτοὶ
κατέκοπτον,

was, and in most cases thirst as well brought about their
destruction, as they even came across high hills of deep sand, not
beaten down, but letting them sink in as they stepped on it, like
liquid mud or, to put it better still, untrodden snow, that in addition
5 in ascents and descents the horses and mules suffered still further
from the uneven and unstable nature of the road. Then the lengths³
of the marches, it is said, did most to distress the army; for want of
water, which was found at irregular intervals, drove them to make
6 their marches as necessity dictated. In fact whenever they covered
the distance which had to be traversed at night and at dawn came
upon water, their misery was not total; but if the march was
prolonged by its length into the day, and they were caught still
marching, then they were tormented in the grip of heat combined
with ceaseless thirst.

25. The loss of transport animals was heavy and caused
deliberately by the army; for whenever their provisions failed them,
they would club together and kill off most of their horses and mules
and eat their flesh, saying that they had perished from thirst or
collapsed from fatigue; and there was no one to investigate the
actual facts, because of the distress and because they were all
involved in the same offence. Alexander was not unaware of these
2 happenings, but he saw that the remedy for the situation lay rather
in his pretending ignorance than in recognizing and permitting the
practice. Nor was it easy any longer to bring along the troops who
were suffering from sickness, or left dying on the road from fatigue,
as there was a shortage of transport animals, and the men
themselves kept breaking up the waggons, which

3 App. XVIII 6.

- ἀπόρους οὔσας αὐτοῖς ὑπὸ βάθους τῆς ψάμμου ἄγεσθαι καὶ ὅτι ἐν τοῖς πρώτοις σταθμοῖς διὰ ταῦτα ἐξηναγκάζοντο οὐ τὰς βραχυτάτας ἰέναι τῶν ὁδῶν, ἀλλὰ τὰς εὐπορωτάτας τοῖς
- 3 ζεύγεσι. καὶ οὕτως οἱ μὲν νόσῳ κατὰ τὰς ὁδοὺς ὑπελείποντο, οἱ δὲ ὑπὸ καμάτου ἢ καύματος ἢ τῷ δύσει οὐκ ἀντέχοντες, καὶ οὔτε οἱ ἄξοντες ἦσαν οὔτε οἱ μένοντες θεραπεύσοντες· σπουδῆ γὰρ πολλῇ ἐγίγνετο ὁ στόλος, καὶ ἐν τῷ ὑπὲρ τοῦ παντὸς προθύμῳ τὸ καθ' ἑκάστους ξὺν ἀνάγκῃ ἡμελείτο· οἱ δὲ καὶ ὑπὸ κάτοχοι κατὰ τὰς ὁδοὺς γενόμενοι οἷα δὴ νυκτὸς τὸ πολὺ τὰς πορείας ποιοῦμενοι, ἔπειτα ἐξαναστάντες, οἷς μὲν δύναμις ἔτι ἦν κατὰ τὰ ἴχνη τῆς στρατιᾶς ἐφομαρτήσαντες ὀλίγοι ἀπὸ πολλῶν ἐσώθησαν, οἱ πολλοὶ δὲ ὥσπερ ἐν πελάγει ἐκπεσόντες ἐν τῇ ψάμμῳ ἀπώλλυντο.
- 4 Ξυνηρέχθη δὲ τῇ στρατιᾷ καὶ ἄλλο πάθημα, ὃ δὴ οὐχ ἠκιστα ἐπίεσεν αὐτοὺς τε καὶ τοὺς ἵππους καὶ τὰ ὑποζύγια. ὕεται γὰρ ἡ Γαδρωσίῳ γῆ ὑπ' ἀνέμων τῶν ἐτησίῳν, καθάπερ οὖν καὶ ἡ Ἰνδῶν γῆ, οὐ τὰ πεδία τῶν Γαδρωσίῳν, ἀλλὰ τὰ ὄρη, ἵνα περ προσφέρονται τε αἱ νεφέλαι ἐκ τοῦ πνεύματος καὶ
- 5 ἀναχέονται, οὐχ ὑπερβάλλουσαι τῶν ὄρων τὰς κορυφάς. ὡς δὲ ἠὺλίσθη ἡ στρατιὰ πρὸς χειμάρρῳ ὀλίγου ὕδατος, αὐτοῦ δὴ ἔνεκα τοῦ ὕδατος, ἀμφὶ δευτέραν φυλακὴν τῆς νυκτὸς ἐμπλησθεὶς ὑπὸ τῶν ὄμβρων ὁ χειμάρρῳς ὁ ταύτη ῥέων ἀφανῶν τῇ στρατιᾷ γεγεννημένων τῶν ὄμβρων τοσοῦτῳ ἐπήλθε τῷ ὕδατι, ὡς γύναια καὶ παιδάρια τὰ πολλὰ τῶν ἐπομένων τῇ στρατιᾷ διαφθεῖραι καὶ τὴν κατασκευὴν τὴν βασιλικὴν ξύμπασαν ἀφανίσαι καὶ τῶν

- it was impossible to drag along owing to the depth of the sand, and because in the earlier marches they had been compelled for this reason not to go by the shortest routes but by those that were
- 3 easiest for the teams. And so some were left behind on the roads from sickness, others from weariness or heat or inability to hold out against thirst; there was no one to help them forward, and no one to stay behind and take care of them; for the march was pressed hurriedly on, and in concern for the whole army the welfare of individuals was necessarily neglected. Sleep too overpowered men on the roads, since it was by night that they generally made their stages. In that case on waking, if they still had the strength, they would follow in the tracks of the army, but few out of many were saved: most of them were lost in the sand, like men who fall overboard at sea.
- 4 The army suffered also a further disaster, which more than anything else distressed the troops, horses and transport animals. Rain is brought to Gadrosia, just as it is to India, by the trade winds, but not to the Gadrosian plains, only to the hills, where the clouds borne by the breeze pour down without passing over the mountain
- 5 tops. Now the army had bivouacked near a torrent bed with a little water—it was actually for the water that the site was chosen—when about the second watch in the night the stream here, swollen by rains of which the army had seen nothing, came down with so great a spate of water that it killed most of the women and children following the army and swept away all the royal equipment and the surviving

ὑποζυγίων ὅσα ὑπελείπετο,¹ αὐτοὺς δὲ μόλις καὶ χαλεπῶς ξὺν
 6 τοῖς ὅπλοις οὐδὲ τούτοις πάσιν ἀποσωθῆναι. οἱ πολλοὶ δὲ καὶ
 πίνοντες, ὅποτε ἐκ καύματός τε καὶ δίψους ὕδατι ἀθρόω
 ἐπιτύχοιεν, πρὸς αὐτοῦ τοῦ ἀπαύστου ποτοῦ ἀπώλλυντο. καὶ
 τούτων ἔνεκα Ἀλέξανδρος τὰς στρατοπεδείας οὐ πρὸς τοῖς
 ὕδασι αὐτοῖς τὸ πολὺ ἐποιεῖτο, ἀλλὰ ἀπέχων ὅσον εἴκοσι
 σταδίους μάλιστα, ὡς μὴ ἀθρόους ἐμπίπτοντας τῷ ὕδατι
 αὐτοὺς τε καὶ κτήνη ἀπόλλυσθαι καὶ ἅμα τοὺς μάλιστα
 ἀκράτορας σφῶν ἐπεμβαίνοντας ἐς τὰς πηγὰς ἢ τὰ ρεύματα
 διαφθείρειν καὶ τῇ ἄλλῃ στρατιᾷ τὸ ὕδωρ.

26. Ἐνθα δὴ ἔργον καλὸν εἶπερ τι ἄλλο τῶν Ἀλεξάνδρου
 οὐκ ἔδοξέ μοι ἀφανίσαι, ἢ ἐν τῇδε τῇ χώρᾳ πραχθὲν ἢ ἔτι
 ἔμπροσθεν ἐν Παραπαμισάδαις, ὡς μετεξέτεροι ἀνέγραψαν.
 ἰέναι μὲν τὴν στρατιὰν διὰ ψάμμου τε καὶ τοῦ καύματος ἤδη
 ἐπιφλέγοντος, ὅτι πρὸς ὕδωρ ἐχρῆν ἐξανύσαι· τὸ δὲ ἦν
 πρόσθεν τῆς ὁδοῦ· καὶ αὐτόν τε Ἀλέξανδρον δίψει
 κατεχόμενον μόλις μὲν καὶ χαλεπῶς, πεζὸν δὲ ὁμως ἠγγεῖσθαι
 ὡς δὲ καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους στρατιώτας, οἷάπερ φιλεῖ ἐν τῷ τοιῶδε,
 2 κουφοτέρως φέρειν τοὺς πόνους ἐν ἰσότητι τῆς
 ταλαιπωρήσεως. ἐν δὲ τούτῳ τῶν ψιλῶν τινὰς κατὰ ζήτησιν
 ὕδατος ἀποτραπέντας ἀπὸ τῆς στρατιᾶς εὐρεῖν ὕδωρ
 συλλελεγμένον ἐν τινι χαράδρᾳ οὐ βαθείᾳ, ὀλίγην καὶ
 φαύλην πίδακα· καὶ τοῦτο οὐ χαλεπῶς συλλέξαντας σπουδῇ
 ἰέναι παρ' Ἀλέξανδρον, ὡς μέγα δὴ τι ἀγαθὸν φέροντας· ὡς
 δὲ ἐπέλαζον ἤδη,

1 Castiglioni: ἀπελείπετο codd.

transport animals; and indeed the troops themselves were only
 saved with great difficulty, with their weapons only, and not even all
 6 of these. To very many of them even drinking, whenever they found
 abundant water, was fatal after the heat and thirst, by reason of
 their intemperate draughts; and for this reason Alexander did not,
 as a rule, camp close to the watercourses, but about twenty stades
 away,¹ to prevent a general rush to the stream, in which they would
 perish themselves with their beasts; so too those with least self-
 control would not step into the springs or streams and spoil the
 water for the rest of the army.

26. Now at this point a noble deed, as noble as any of
 Alexander's, in my judgement is not to be left in obscurity, whether
 it was performed in this country, or still earlier among the
 Parapamisadae, as some other accounts have it.¹ The story goes as
 follows. The army was marching through sand with the heat already
 burning, since they were obliged to get to water at the end of the
 march, and this was some distance ahead. Alexander himself was in
 the grip of thirst, and it was with much difficulty that he persisted
 in leading the way on foot, so that the rest of the troops should (as
 usually happens in such a case) bear their sufferings more easily,
 with all sharing the distress equally. At this moment some light-
 2 armed troops left the army to look for water, and found some,
 collected in a shallow torrent-bed, a poor and wretched water-hole;
 they easily collected it and hurried to Alexander, feeling that they
 were bringing something of great value, and, when they came near,

1 App. XXV 7 f.

1 Probably 'vulgate,' but QC. vii 4, 19 locates the incident in
 Sogdiana, so there were at least three versions.

- 3 ἐμβαλόντας ἐς κράνος τὸ ὕδωρ προσευγκεῖν τῷ βασιλεῖ. τὸν δὲ λαβεῖν μὲν καὶ ἐπαινέσαι τοὺς κομίσαντας, λαβόντα δὲ ἐν ὄψει πάντων ἐκχέαι· καὶ ἐπὶ τῷδε τῷ ἔργῳ ἐς τοσόνδε ἐπιρρωσθῆναι τὴν στρατιὰν ξύμπασαν ὥστε εἰκάσαι ἂν τινα πότον γενέσθαι πᾶσιν ἐκείνο τὸ ὕδωρ τὸ πρὸς Ἀλεξάνδρου ἐκχυθέν. τοῦτο ἐγώ, εἴπερ τι ἄλλο, τὸ ἔργον εἰς καρτερίαν τε καὶ ἅμα στρατηγίαν ἐπαινῶ Ἀλεξάνδρου.
- 4 Ξυνηχέθη δέ τι καὶ τοιόνδε τῇ στρατιᾷ ἐν τῇ γῆ ἐκείνῃ. οἱ γὰρ ἠγεμόνες τῆς ὁδοῦ τελευτώντες οὐκέτι μεμνήσθαι ἔφασκον τὴν ὁδόν, ἀλλ' ἀφανισθῆναι τὰ σημεῖα αὐτῆς πρὸς τοῦ ἀνέμου ἐπιπνεύσαντος· καὶ—οὐ γὰρ εἶναι ἐν τῇ ψάμμῳ πολλῇ τε καὶ ὁμοίᾳ πάντῃ νενημένη ὅτῳ τεκμηριώσονται τὴν ὁδόν, οὔτ' οὖν δένδρα ξυνήθη παρ' αὐτὴν πεφυκότα, οὔτε τινα γήλοφον βέβαιον ἀνεστηκότα· οὐδὲ πρὸς τὰ ἄστρα ἐν νυκτὶ ἢ μεθ' ἡμέραν πρὸς τὸν ἥλιον μεμελετῆσθαί σφισι τὰς πορείας, καθάπερ τοῖς ναύταις πρὸς τῶν ἄρκτων τὴν μὲν Φοίνιξι, τὴν
- 5 ὀλίγην, τὴν δὲ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἀνθρώποις, τὴν μείζονα—ἐνθα δὴ Ἀλέξανδρον ξυνέντα ὅτι ἐν ἀριστερᾷ <δεῖ> ἀποκλίναντα ἄγειν, ἀναλαβόντα ὀλίγους ἅμα οἱ ἱππέας <προχωρήσαι> ὡς δὲ καὶ τούτων οἱ ἵπποι ἐξέκαμνον ὑπὸ τοῦ καύματος, ἀπολιπεῖν καὶ τούτων τοὺς πολλούς, αὐτὸν δὲ ξὺν πέντε τοῖς πᾶσιν ἀφιππάσασθαι καὶ εὐρεῖν τὴν θάλασσαν, διαμησάμενόν τε αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τοῦ αἰγιαλοῦ τὸν κάχληκα ἐπιτυχεῖν ὕδατι γλυκεῖ καὶ καθαρῷ καὶ οὕτω μετελθεῖν τὴν στρατιὰν πᾶσαν· καὶ ἐς ἑπτὰ ἡμέρας ἰέναι παρὰ τὴν θάλασσαν ὑδρευομένους ἐκ τῆς ἡϊόνος. ἐνθεν

- poured the water into a helmet and offered it to the king. He took it
 3 and thanked them, but then poured it out in the sight of every one; and at this action the army was so much heartened that you would have guessed that all had drunk what Alexander had poured away. This deed of Alexander's I specially commend as a proof of his endurance and also of his generalship.
- 4 Another incident happened to the army in this district as follows.² The guides finally said that they could not remember the way, as the marks of direction had been obliterated by the blast of the wind; and, of course, in the mass of sand which was all alike, heaped up on all sides, there was nothing by which one could determine the road, no ordinary trees growing along it and no solid hillock standing up; nor were they practised in making their marches by the stars at night or the sun in the day in the way that the Phoenician sailors go by the Little Bear and other men at sea by
 5 the Great Bear. Then Alexander, realizing that he ought to lead the army by a course swerving to the left, took a few horsemen with him and rode on ahead; and when even their horses began to weary beneath the heat, he left most of them behind, rode off with no more than five of them and found the sea; by digging on the shingle shore, he came on fresh, pure water. So the whole army followed and for seven days they marched by the sea, getting water from the shore. From this point on,

2 Perhaps from Ar. rather than N.

δέ, ἤδη γὰρ γινώσκειν τὴν ὁδὸν τοὺς ἡγεμόνας, ἐπὶ τῆς μεσογαίας ποιείσθαι τὸν στόλον.

27. Ὡς δὲ ἀφίκετο ἐς τῶν Γαδρωσίων τὰ βασίλεια, ἀναπαύει ἐνταῦθα τὴν στρατιάν. καὶ Ἀπολλοφάνην μὲν παύει τῆς σατραπείας, ὅτι οὐδενὸς ἔγνω ἐπιμεληθέντα τῶν προεπηγγελμένων, Θόαντα δὲ σατραπεύει τῶν ταύτη ἔταξε· τούτου δὲ νόσῳ τελευτήσαντος Σιβύρτιος τὴν σατραπείαν ἐκδέχεται· ὁ αὐτὸς δὲ καὶ Καρμανίας σατράπης ἦν νεωστὶ ἐξ Ἀλεξάνδρου ταχθείς· τότε δὲ τούτῳ μὲν Ἀραχωτῶν τε καὶ τῶν Γαδρωσίων ἄρχειν ἐδόθη, Καρμανίαν δὲ ἔσχε Τληπόλεμος ὁ Πυθοφάνους. ἤδη τε ἐπὶ Καρμανίας προὔχωρει ὁ βασιλεὺς καὶ ἀγγέλλεται αὐτῷ Φίλιππον τὸν σατράπην τῆς Ἰνδῶν γῆς ἐπιβουλευθέντα πρὸς τῶν μισθοφόρων δόλῳ ἀποθανεῖν, τοὺς δὲ ἀποκτείναντας ὅτι οἱ σωματοφύλακες τοῦ Φιλίππου οἱ Μακεδόνες τοὺς μὲν ἐν αὐτῷ τῷ ἔργῳ, τοὺς δὲ καὶ ὕστερον λαβόντες ἀπέκτειναν. ταῦτα δὲ ὡς ἔγνω, ἐκπέμπει γράμματα ἐς Ἰνδοὺς παρὰ Εὐδαμόν τε καὶ Ταξίλην ἐπιμελεῖσθαι τῆς χώρας τῆς πρόσθεν ὑπὸ Φιλίππῳ τεταγμένης ἔστ' ἂν αὐτὸς σατράπην ἐκπέμψῃ ἐπ' αὐτῆς.
- 3 Ἦδη δ' ἐς Καρμανίαν ἤκουτος Ἀλεξάνδρου Κρατερός ἀφικνεῖται, τὴν τε ἄλλην στρατιάν ἅμα οἱ ἄγων καὶ τοὺς ἐλέφαντας καὶ Ὀρδάνην τὸν

as the guides now knew the way, he marched into the interior.

27. After arriving at the Gadrosian capital, Alexander rested his army there.¹ He removed Apollophanes from the satrapy, finding that he had neglected all his orders,² and appointed Thoas satrap in his stead; but as he died of sickness, Sibyrtius received the office. He had been recently appointed by Alexander satrap of Carmania, but now was given charge of both the Arachotians and the Gadrosians, and Tlepolemus son of Pythophanes took over Carmania.³ Alexander was already on the way towards Carmania when it was reported to him that Philip, the satrap of the Indian land, had been treacherously killed in a plot against him by the mercenaries, but that Philip's Macedonian bodyguards had killed the assassins, some in the act, and others after capture. On learning this, he despatched letters to India to Eudamus and Taxilas telling them to take charge of the district formerly under Philip, until he himself sent a satrap to govern it.⁴
- 3 When Alexander had reached Carmania,⁵ Craterus arrived bringing with him the rest of the army and the elephants and Ordanes, who had revolted and caused

1 Not for long, S. xv 2, 7 (Ar.); *contra* QC. ix 10, 18?

2 A. failed to note that N's account (*Ind.* 23, 5) shows that he was not to blame (presumably for not forwarding supplies). Al. cannot yet have heard of his death in battle. Cf. App. XXIII 9. Bosworth (*CQ* 1971, 124) conjectures that A. has confused Astaspes (next note) and Apollophanes: this would be a double error, as A. plainly refers to the satrap of Gadrosia.

3 QC. ix 10, 21 f., cf. 29, says that Al. made Sibyrtius satrap of Arachosia *vice* Menon (iii 28, 1), and dissembled his suspicions of the loyalty of Astaspes, satrap of Carmania (never named by A.) till he reached the Carmanian capital, and then put him to death (cf. *Ind.* 36, 8); if so, A. has reported these appointments too early.

4 v 8, 3; vi 14, 3; 15, 2; App. XVII 31.

ἀποστάντα καὶ νεωτερίσαντα συνειληφώς. ἐνταῦθα δὲ
 Στασάνωρ τε ὁ Ἀρείων καὶ ὁ Ζαραγγῶν σατράπης ἦκεν καὶ
 ξὺν αὐτοῖς Φαρισμάνης ὁ Φραταφέρνου τοῦ Παρθυαίων καὶ
 Ἵρκανίων σατράπου παῖς. ἦκον δὲ καὶ οἱ στρατηγοὶ οἱ
 ὑπολειφθέντες ἅμα Παρμενίωνι ἐπὶ τῆς στρατιᾶς τῆς ἐν
 4 Μηδία, Κλέανδρός τε καὶ Σιτάλκης καὶ Ἡράκων, τὴν πολλὴν
 τῆς στρατιᾶς καὶ οὗτοι ἄγοντες. τοὺς μὲν δὴ ἀμφὶ Κλέανδρόν
 τε καὶ Σιτάλκην πολλὰ ἐπικαλούντων αὐτοῖς τῶν τε ἐγχωρίων
 καὶ τῆς στρατιᾶς αὐτῆς, ὡς ἱερά τε πρὸς αὐτῶν σεσυλημένα
 καὶ θήκας παλαιὰς κεκινημένας καὶ ἄλλα ἄδικα ἔργα <ἐς>
 τοὺς ὑπηκόους τετολμημένα καὶ ἀτάσθαλα, ταῦτα ὡς
 ἐξηγγέλθη,¹ τοὺς μὲν ἀπέκτεινεν, ὡς καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις δέος
 εἶναι, ὅσοι σατράπαι ἢ ὑπαρχοὶ ἢ νομάρχαι ἀπολείποντο, τὰ
 5 ἴσα ἐκείνοις πλημμελοῦντας πείσεσθαι. (καὶ τοῦτο, εἶπερ τι
 ἄλλο, κατέσχευεν ἐν κόσμῳ τὰ ἔθνη τὰ ἐξ Ἀλεξάνδρου
 δοριάλωτα ἢ ἐκόντα προσχωρήσαντα, τοσαῦτα μὲν πλήθει
 ὄντα, τόσον δὲ ἀλλήλων ἀφεστηκότα, ὅτι οὐκ ἐξῆν ὑπὸ τῆ
 Ἀλεξάνδρου βασιλείᾳ ἀδικεῖσθαι τοὺς ἀρχομένους ὑπὸ τῶν
 ἀρχόντων.) Ἡράκων δὲ τότε μὲν ἀφείθη τῆς αἰτίας· ὀλίγον δὲ
 ὕστερον ἐξελεγχθεὶς πρὸς ἀνδρῶν Σουσίων σεσυληκέναι τὸ ἐν
 Σούσοις ἱερόν καὶ

1 codd.: ἐξηλέγχθη Sintenis.

trouble, but whom he had captured.⁶ There Alexander was also
 joined by Stasanor, satrap of the Areians and the Zarangians,⁷ along
 with Pharismanes, son of Phrataphernes, satrap of Parthyaea and
 Hyrcania, and by the generals who had been left behind with
 Parmenio in command of the army in Media, Cleander, Sitalces and
 Heracon; they too brought the greater part of their army.⁸ Both the
 4 natives and the army itself brought many charges against Cleander,
 Sitalces and their followers of having plundered temples, disturbed
 ancient tombs, and perpetrated other acts of injustice against the
 subjects with presumptuous audacity. On receiving this report,⁹
 Alexander executed these two, to make the other remaining satraps,
 hyparchs or nomarchs fear that if they committed the like crimes
 5 they would suffer the like fate. Nothing did more to keep order
 among the peoples that Alexander had conquered by force or that
 had voluntarily come over to him, numerous as they were and
 widely separated from each other, than that in Alexander's realm
 the rulers were not allowed to wrong the subjects. Heracon was for
 the time acquitted of the charge; but soon afterwards was convicted
 by men from Susa of having plundered the temple of Susa, and paid the

6 Cf. App. XVII 29. A. suppresses explanatory details. QC. ix 10, 19 says that Al. had heard at Pura of Craterus' arrest of 'Ozines' and Zariaspes, rebel Persian nobles; they were now put to death (x 1, 9).

7 Stasanor held both satrapies (iii 29, 5; iv 18, 1 and 3; D. xviii 3, 3).

8 QC. x 1, 1 ff., who adds the name of Agathon (A. i 14, 3; iii 12, 4), and says that they brought 5000 foot and 1000 horse (App. XIII 5 f.), that they were hated for their part in killing Parmenio (A. iii 26), that they had gravely oppressed the subjects, but that Al., who thought it their worst crime to have despaired of his safety, put them in bonds, while executing 600 of their soldiers as instruments in their tyranny; he does not record their own execution. Heracon, who had for some time

6 οὗτος ἔδωκεν δίκην. οἱ δὲ σὺν Στασάνορι καὶ Φραταφέρνῃ
 πλήθος τε ὑποζυγίων παρ' Ἀλέξανδρον ἄγοντες ἦλθον καὶ
 καμήλους πολλάς, ὡς ἔμαθον ὅτι τὴν ἐπὶ Γαδρωσίων ἄγει,
 εἰκάσαντες ὅτι τὰ αὐτὰ ἐκεῖνα πείσεται αὐτῷ ἢ στρατιὰ ἃ δὴ
 ἔπαθε· καὶ οὖν καὶ ἐν καιρῷ μὲν καὶ οὗτοι ἀφίκοντο, ἐν καιρῷ
 δὲ αἱ κάμηλοί τε καὶ τὰ ὑποζύγια· διένειμε γὰρ ξύμπαντα
 Ἀλέξανδρος τοῖς μὲν ἡγεμόσι κατ' ἄνδρα, τοῖς δὲ κατ' ἴλας τε
 καὶ ἑκατοστύας, τοῖς δὲ κατὰ λόχους, ὅπως τὸ πλήθος τῶν
 ὑποζυγίων τε καὶ καμήλων αὐτῷ ξυνέβαιεν.

28. Ἦδη δέ τινες καὶ τοιαύδε ἀνέγραψαν, οὐ πιστὰ ἐμοὶ
 λέγοντες, ὡς συζεύξας δύο ἄρμαμάξας κατακείμενος ξὺν τοῖς
 ἐταίροις <καὶ>¹ καταυλούμενος τὴν διὰ Καρμανίας ἦγεν, ἢ
 στρατιὰ δὲ αὐτῷ ἐστεφανωμένη τε καὶ παίζουσα εἶπετο,
 προῦκειτο δὲ αὐτῇ σῖτά τε καὶ ὄσα ἄλλα ἐς τρυφήν παρὰ τὰς
 ὁδοὺς συγκεκομισμένα πρὸς τῶν Καρμανίων, καὶ ταῦτα πρὸς
 2 μίμησιν τῆς Διονύσου βακχείας ἀπεικάσθη Ἀλεξάνδρῳ, ὅτι
 καὶ ὑπὲρ ἐκείνου λόγος ἐλέγεται καταστρεψάμενον Ἰνδοὺς
 Διόνυσον οὕτω τὴν πολλὴν τῆς Ἀσίας ἐπελθεῖν, καὶ Θριάμβόν
 τε αὐτὸν ἐπικληθῆναι τὸν Διόνυσον καὶ τὰς ἐπὶ ταῖς νίκαις
 ταῖς ἐκ πολέμου πομπὰς ἐπὶ τῷ αὐτῷ τούτῳ θριάμβους. ταῦτα
 δὲ οὔτε Πτολεμαῖος ὁ Λάγου οὔτε Ἀριστόβουλος ὁ
 Ἀριστοβούλου ἀνέγραψαν οὐδέ τις ἄλλος ὄντινα ἱκανὸν ἂν τις
 ποιήσαιτο τεκμηριῶσαι ὑπὲρ τῶν τοιῶνδε, καὶ μοι ὡς οὐ
 πιστὰ ἀναγεγράφθαι

1 Inserted by Polak.

6 penalty. Stasanor and Phrataphernes and their men brought
 Alexander a large number of transport animals and many camels,
 having guessed, when they learned of his march into Gadrosia, that
 his army would undergo the very sufferings it did. Their coming
 was indeed timely, as was that of the camels and animals, for
 Alexander distributed them all, to officers individually, to the others
 by squadrons and centuries or companies in proportion to the total
 number of camels and transport animals he received.¹⁰

28. Some writers have recounted a story, which I do not myself
 credit, that Alexander bound together two war-chariots, and drove
 through Carmania reclining with his Companions to the sound of
 the pipes, while his army followed behind, garlanded and sporting;
 that provisions and everything else that could make for luxury had
 been brought together along their path by the Carmanians; and that
 this pageantry was devised by Alexander in imitation of the Bacchic
 2 revelry of Dionysus, since there was a story about Dionysus that,
 after subduing India, he traversed the greater part of Asia in this
 way, that he himself was surnamed 'Triumph,' and that processions
 after victories in war were for this very reason called 'triumphs'.
 This is not recorded by Ptolemy son of Lagus or Aristobulus son of
 Aristobulus or any other author who could be regarded as offering
 adequate evidence on such transactions.¹ My own obligation has
 been adequately discharged by including the story, unreliable
 though it is.

10 Cf. P. 66, 3; App. XVIII 3.

1 Cf. Hamilton on P. 67; App. XV 4. Vines in Carmania: S. xv 2,
 14. 'Triumph' as a victory procession is purely Roman; A. is thus citing
 a late version of the 'vulgate' (not Clitarchus).

- 3 ἐξήρκεσαν. ἀλλὰ ἐκεῖνα ἤδη Ἀριστοβούλῳ ἐπόμενος
 ξυγγράφῳ, θύσαι ἐν Καρμανίᾳ Ἀλέξανδρον χαριστήρια τῆς
 κατ' Ἰνδῶν νίκης καὶ ὑπὲρ τῆς στρατιᾶς, ὅτι ἀπεσώθη ἐκ
 Γαδρωσίων, καὶ ἀγῶνα διαθεῖναι μουσικόν τε καὶ γυμνικόν·
 καταλέξει δὲ καὶ Πευκέσταν ἐς τοὺς σωματοφύλακας, ἤδη μὲν
 ἐγνωκότα σατράπην καταστήσαι τῆς Περσίδος, ἐθέλοντα δὲ
 πρὸ τῆς σατραπείας μηδὲ ταύτης τῆς τιμῆς καὶ πίστεως
 4 ἀπείρατον εἶναι ἐπὶ τῷ ἐν Μαλλοῖς ἔργῳ· εἶναι δὲ αὐτῷ ἐπτὰ
 εἰς τότε σωματοφύλακας, Λεοννάτον † Ἀντέου,¹ Ἡφαιστίωνα
 τὸν Ἀμύντορος, Λυσίμαχον Ἀγαθοκλέους, Ἀριστόνου
 Πεισαίου, τούτους μὲν Πελλαίους, Περδίκκαν δὲ Ὀρόντου ἐκ
 τῆς Ὀρεστίδος, Πτολεμαῖον δὲ Λάγου καὶ Πείθωνα Κρατεύα
 Ἐορδαίου· ὄγδοον δὲ προσγενέσθαι αὐτοῖς Πευκέσταν τὸν
 Ἀλεξάνδρου ὑπερασπίσαντα.
 5 Ἐν τούτῳ δὲ καὶ Νέαρχος περιπλεύσας τὴν Ὠρων τε καὶ
 Γαδρωσῶν γῆν καὶ τὴν τῶν Ἰχθυοφάγων κατήρεν ἐς τῆς
 Καρμανίας τὰ πρὸς θάλασσαν ὤκισμένα· ἐνθεν δὲ ἀνελθὼν
 σὺν ὀλίγοις Ἀλεξάνδρῳ ἀπήγγειλε τὰ ἀμφὶ τὸν περίπλου τὸν
 6 γενόμενον αὐτῷ κατὰ τὴν ἔξω θάλασσαν. τοῦτον μὲν δὴ
 καταπέμπει αὐθις ἐκπεριπλεύσουντα ἔσπε ἐπὶ τὴν Σουσιανῶν τε
 γῆν καὶ τοῦ Τίγρητος ποταμοῦ τὰς ἐκβολάς· ὅπως δὲ
 ἐπλεύσθη αὐτῷ τὰ ἀπὸ τοῦ

1 See textual note on iii 5, 5.

- 3 However, following Aristobulus, I do record that in Carmania
 Alexander sacrificed thank-offerings for his conquest of India and
 his army's safe transit through Gadrosia, that he conducted musical
 and athletic games,² and that he enrolled Peucestas as an additional
 bodyguard; Aristobulus says that he had already decided to make
 him satrap of Persia, but wished him first to enjoy this honour and
 mark of confidence as well, because of his exploit among the
 4 Mallians, and that, while up to this time Alexander's bodyguards
 were seven in number, Leonnatus son of Anteus,³ Hephaestion son
 of Amyntor, Lysimachus son of Agathocles, Aristonous son of
 Pisaeus, all from Pella, Perdikkas son of Orontes from Orestis,
 Ptolemy son of Lagus and Pithon son of Crateuas from Eordaea, an
 eighth was now added—Peucestas who had protected Alexander
 with his shield.⁴
 5 Meanwhile⁵ Nearchus, after completing his voyage round the
 country of the Oritans, the Gadrosians and the Fish-Eaters, put in
 to the inhabited part of the Carmanian seashore; thence he went up
 with a few of his men to Alexander and reported his experiences on
 6 the voyage in the outer ocean. Alexander sent him back again to
 continue his voyage along the coast to the land of Susia and the
 mouths of the river Tigris. But I shall record separately, following

325 B.C.

324 B.C.

2 Evidently Ar., not Pt., was A's source for § 4 f.: he alone recorded these games.

3 See textual note on iii 5, 5.

4 N. in *Ind.* 18 gives Aristonous and Pithon different origins; perhaps they had fiefs in two places.

5 The Greek phrase often means this (e.g. i 7, 1). *Contra* Badian, *Yale Cl. St.*, 1975, 162 ff., A. does not here belie N's story (*Ind.* 33–6) that he arrived before the games; he is reverting to Pt., who ignored the games and could not put N's arrival before or after. As for other evidence, D. 106, 4 is wholly inaccurate, P. 68, 1 vague chronologically, and QC. x 1, 10 ff. does no more than put the arrival both of Cleander

Ἰνδοῦ ποταμοῦ ἐπὶ τὴν θάλασσαν τὴν Περσικὴν καὶ τὸ στόμα τοῦ Τίγρητος, ταῦτα ἰδίᾳ ἀναγράψω αὐτῷ Νεάρχῳ ἐπόμενος, ὡς καὶ τήνδε εἶναι ὑπὲρ Ἀλεξάνδρου Ἑλληνικὴν τὴν συγγραφὴν. ταῦτα μὲν δὴ ἐν ὑστέρῳ ἔσται τυχόν, εἰ [ς] ὃ τε θυμός [τέ] με καὶ ὁ δαίμων ταύτῃ ἄγοι.

7 Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ Ἡφαιστίωνα μὲν σὺν τε τῇ πλείστῃ μοίρᾳ τῆς στρατιᾶς καὶ τοῖς ὑποζυγίοις καὶ τοὺς ἐλέφαντας ἅμα οἱ ἔχοντα τὴν παρὰ θάλασσαν ἀπὸ Καρμανίας ὡς ἐπὶ τὴν Περσίδα ἄγειν ἐκέλευσεν, ὅτι χειμῶνος ὥρα γιγνομένου αὐτῷ τοῦ στόλου τὰ πρὸς τῇ θαλάσῃ τῆς Περσίδος ἀλεεινά τε ἦν καὶ τῶν ἐπιτηδείων ἀφθόνως ἔχοντα.

29. Αὐτὸς δὲ ξὺν τοῖς κουφοτάτοις τῶν πεζῶν καὶ ξὺν τῶν ἰππέων τοῖς ἐταίροις καὶ μέρει τινὶ τῶν τοξοτῶν ἦει τὴν ἐπὶ Πασαργάδας τῆς Περσίδος. Στασάνορα δὲ καταπέμπει ἐπὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν τὴν ἑαυτοῦ. ὡς δὲ ἐπὶ τοῖς ὄροις ἦν τῆς Περσίδος, Φρασαόρτην μὲν οὐ κατέλαβε σατραπεύοντα ἔτι (νόσῳ γὰρ τετελευτηκῶς ἐτύγχανεν ἐν Ἰνδοῖς ἔτι Ἀλεξάνδρου ὄντος), Ὁρξίνης δὲ ἐπεμέλετο τῆς Περσίδος, οὐ πρὸς Ἀλεξάνδρου κατασταθείς, ἀλλ' ὅτι οὐκ ἀπηξίωσεν αὐτὸν ἐν κόσμῳ Πέρσας
2 διαφυλάξαι Ἀλεξάνδρῳ οὐκ ὄντος ἄλλου ἄρχοντος. ἦλθε δὲ ἐς Πασαργάδας καὶ Ἀτροπάτης ὁ Μηδ [ε]ίας σατράπης, ἄγων Βαρνάξην ἄνδρα Μηδὸν συνειλημμένον, ὅτι ὀρθὴν τὴν κίδαριν περιθέμενος βασιλέα προσεῖπεν αὐτὸν Περσῶν καὶ Μήδων, καὶ ξὺν τούτῳ τοὺς μετασχόντας αὐτῷ τοῦ

Nearchus himself, the incidents of his voyage from the river Indus to the Persian sea and the mouth of the Tigris, so that this too will be an account of Alexander in pure Greek, but it will be written later, maybe, if inclination and divine power should so move me.

7 Alexander despatched Hephaestion with the largest part of the army, the baggage train and elephants along the sea-coast from Carmania to Persia; as his expedition was in winter, the coastal parts of Persia were then sunny and well supplied with all necessaries.⁶

29. Alexander himself with the nimblest of the infantry, the cavalry Companions and part of the archers proceeded towards Pasargadae in Persia; he despatched Stasanor to his own country.¹

2 When he was on the Persian border, he found that Phrasaortes was no longer satrap, for he had actually died of sickness while Alexander was still in India, but Orxines² was in charge of Persia, not by appointment of Alexander, but because he felt that he was the right person, in the absence of any other governor, to keep the
3 Persians in order for Alexander. Atropates, the satrap of Media, also came to Pasargadae with Baryaxes a Mede, whom he had arrested, since he had worn the tiara upright³ and assumed the title of king of the Persians and Medes; with him were his

6 No coastal route was practicable (Herzfeld, *Klio*, 1908, 20); doubtless H. kept closer to the coast than Al., but A's source, no doubt Pt., was ignorant, cf. *N. ap. Ind.* 40, 2. Engels' notion (p. 118) that N's fleet provisioned Hephaestion is refuted by N's silence.

1 The 'Testament of Alexander' (vii 27, 1 n.) makes Stasanor present at Babylon when Al. died; for his return cf. vii 6, 1 n.

2 See iii 8, 5; QC. x 1, 22; cf. iv 12, 8.

3 App. XIV 2.

νεωτερισμοῦ τε καὶ τῆς ἀποστάσεως. τούτους μὲν δὴ ἀπέκτεινεν Ἀλέξανδρος.

- 4 Ἐλύπησε δὲ αὐτὸν ἡ παρανομία ἢ ἐς τὸν Κύρου τοῦ Καμβύσου τάφον, ὅτι διορωρυγμένον τε καὶ σεσυλημένον κατέλαβε [τοῦ Κύρου τὸν τάφον],¹ ὡς λέγει Ἀριστόβουλος. εἶναι γὰρ ἐν Πασαργάδαις ἐν τῷ παραδείσῳ τῷ βασιλικῷ Κύρου ἐκείνου τάφον καὶ περὶ αὐτὸν ἄλσος πεφυτεῦσθαι δένδρων παντοίων καὶ ὕδατι εἶναι κατάρρυντον καὶ πόαν
- 5 βαθείαν πεφυκέσαι ἐν τῷ λειμῶνι, καὶ αὐτὸν δὲ τὸν τάφον τὰ κάτω λίθου τετραπέδου ἐς τετράγωνον σχῆμα πεποιήσθαι, ἄνωθεν δὲ οἴκημα ἐπέιναι λίθινον ἐστεγασμένον, θυρίδα ἔχου φέρουσαν ἔσω στενήν, ὡς μόλις ἂν <εἶναι> ἐνὶ ἀνδρὶ οὐ μεγάλῳ πολλὰ κακοπαθοῦντι παρελθεῖν. ἐν δὲ τῷ οἰκῆματι πύελον χρυσοῦν κείσθαι, ἵνα τὸ σῶμα τοῦ Κύρου ἐτέθαπτο, καὶ κλίνην παρὰ τῇ πύελῳ πόδας δὲ εἶναι τῇ κλίνῃ χρυσοῦς σφυρηλάτους καὶ τάπητα ἐπίβλημα τῶν Βαβυλωνίων καὶ
- 6 καννάκας πορφυροῦς ὑποστρώματα. ἐπέιναι δὲ καὶ κάνδυσ καὶ ἄλλους χιτῶνας τῆς Βαβυλωνίου ἐργασίας. καὶ ἀναξυρίδες Μηδικαὶ καὶ στολαὶ ὑακινθινοβαφεῖς λέγει ὅτι ἔκειντο, αἱ δὲ πορφύρας αἱ δὲ ἄλλης καὶ ἄλλης χροῆας, καὶ στρεπτοὶ καὶ ἀκινάκαι καὶ ἐνώτια χρυσοῦ τε καὶ λίθων κολλητά, καὶ τράπεζα ἔκειτο. ἐν μέσῳ δὲ <τῆς τραπέζης καὶ>² τῆς κλίνης ἢ
- 7 πύελος ἔκειτο ἢ τὸ σῶμα τὸ Κύρου ἔχουσα. εἶναι δὲ ἐντὸς τοῦ περιβόλου πρὸς τῇ ἀναβάσει τῇ ἐπὶ τὸν τάφον φερούσῃ

1 Deleted by Polak.

2 Without the addition of such words, proposed by Polak, the sentence seems either nonsensical or inconsistent with what has been said before.

associates in revolution and rebellion. Alexander put them to death.

- 4 He was distressed by the outrage on the tomb of Cyrus son of Cambyses, since (as Aristobulus relates)⁴ he found it broken into and rifled. The tomb of the famous Cyrus was in Pasargadae in the royal park; a grove had been planted round it with all sorts of trees and irrigated, and deep grass had grown in the meadow; the tomb
- 5 itself in the lower parts was built of stones cut square and was rectangular in form. Above, there was a stone chamber with a stone roof and a door leading into it so narrow that it was hard and caused much distress for a single man of low stature to get through. In the chamber lay a golden sarcophagus, in which Cyrus' body had been buried; a couch stood by its side with feet of wrought gold; a Babylonian tapestry served as a coverlet and purple rugs as a carpet.
- 6 There was placed on it a sleeved mantle and other garments of Babylonian workmanship. According to Aristobulus, Median trousers and robes dyed blue lay there, some dark, some of other varying shades, with necklaces, scimitars and earrings of stones set in gold, and a table stood there. It was between the table and the couch that the sarcophagus containing Cyrus' body was placed.
- 7 Within the enclosure and by the ascent to the tomb itself there was a small building put up

4 Ar's first-hand evidence refutes the accounts of Onesicritus (but cf. Pearson 93 n. 38) and Aristos *ap.* S. xv 3, 7 (cf. 8), and of QC. x 1, 30 ff.

οἴκημα σμικρὸν τοῖς Μάγοις πεποιημένον, οἳ δὴ ἐφύλασσον τὸν Κύρου τάφον ἔτι ἀπὸ Καμβύσου τοῦ Κύρου, παῖς παρὰ πατρὸς ἐκδεχόμενος τὴν φυλακὴν. καὶ τούτοις πρόβατόν τε ἐς ἡμέραν ἐδίδοτο ἐκ βασιλέως καὶ ἀλεύρων τε καὶ οἴνου

- 8 τεταγμένα καὶ ἵππος κατὰ μῆνα ἐς θυσίαν τῷ Κύρῳ. ἐπεγέγραπτο δὲ ὁ τάφος Περσικοῖς γράμμασι καὶ ἐδήλου Περσιστὶ τάδε ὦ ἄνθρωπε, ἐγὼ Κύρός εἰμι ὁ Καμβύσου ὁ τὴν ἀρχὴν Πέρσαις καταστησάμενος καὶ τῆς Ἀσίας βασιλεύσας. μὴ οὖν φθονήσης μοι τοῦ μνήματος.
- 9 Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ (ἐπιμελὲς γὰρ ἦν αὐτῷ, ὅποτε ἔλθοι <ἐς>¹ Πέρσας, παριέναι ἐς τοῦ Κύρου τὸν τάφον) τὰ μὲν ἄλλα καταλαμβάνει ἐκπεφορημένα πλὴν τῆς πυέλου καὶ τῆς κλίνης· οἳ δὲ καὶ τὸ σῶμα τοῦ Κύρου ἐλωβήσαντο ἀφελόντες τὸ πῶμα τῆς πυέλου καὶ τὸν νεκρὸν ἐξέβαλον· αὐτὴν δὲ τὴν πύελον ἐπειρῶντο εὐογκόν. σφισι ποιήσασθαι καὶ ταύτη εὐφορον τὰ μὲν παρακόπτοντες, τὰ δὲ ξυνθλῶντες αὐτῆς. ὡς δὲ οὐ προκῦχῶρει αὐτοῖς τοῦτο τὸ ἔργον, οὕτω δὴ ἐάσαντες τὴν
- 10 πύελον ἀπῆλθον. καὶ λέγει Ἀριστόβουλος αὐτὸς ταχθῆναι πρὸς Ἀλεξάνδρου κοσμήσαι ἐξ ὑπαρχῆς τῷ Κύρῳ τὸν τάφον. καὶ τοῦ μὲν σώματος ὅσα περ ἔτι σῶα ἦν καταθεῖναι ἐς τὴν πύελον καὶ τὸ πῶμα ἐπιθεῖναι, ὅσα δὲ λελώβητο αὐτῆς κατορθῶσαι καὶ τὴν κλίνην ἐντεῖναι ταινίαις καὶ τὰλλα ὅσα ἐς κόσμον ἔκειτο κατὰ ἀριθμόν τε καὶ τοῖς πάλαι ὅμοια ἀποθεῖναι καὶ τὴν θυρίδα δὲ ἀφανίσαι τὰ

1 ἔλθοι ἐς Pflugk and A. Miller: ἔλοι codd. See note to translation.

for the Magians who used to guard Cyrus' tomb, from as long ago as Cambyses, son of Cyrus, an office transmitted from father to son. The king used to give them a sheep a day, a fixed amount of meal and wine, and a horse each month to sacrifice to Cyrus. There was

8 an inscription on the tomb in Persian letters; it signified this in Persian: 'Mortal! I am Cyrus son of Cambyses, who founded the Persian empire, and was King of Asia. Grudge me not then my monument.'

- 9 Alexander, who made it his business to visit Cyrus' tomb whenever he went to the Persian capital,⁵ found everything else removed except the sarcophagus and the couch. The robbers had even violated the body of Cyrus, for they had removed the top of the sarcophagus and had thrown out the body; they had tried to reduce the size of the sarcophagus itself, chipping some parts away and crushing others, and so make it easy to carry away. Not succeeding in this attempt, they left the sarcophagus where it was
- 10 and went off. Aristobulus says that he himself received orders from Alexander to put the tomb in its pristine order, to deposit any whole parts of the body in the sarcophagus again, and put on the lid, to repair it where it was damaged, to spread the couch with ribands, to restore, just like the originals, everything else that had been placed there by way of ornament, piece by piece, to obliterate the door

5 S's summary of Ar. (xv 3, 7) shows that both Al. and he visited the tomb in 331; hence I adopt an emendation; the manuscript reading makes Al. intend to visit it 'whenever he might conquer the Persians.'

11 μὲν αὐτῆς λίθῳ ἐνοικοδομήσαντα, τὰ δὲ πηλῷ ἐμπλάσαντα,
καὶ ἐπιβαλεῖν τῷ πηλῷ τὸ σημεῖον τὸ βασιλικόν. Ἀλέξανδρος
δὲ ξυλλαβῶν τοὺς Μάγους τοὺς φύλακας τοῦ τάφου
ἐστρέβλωσεν, ὡς κατειπεῖν τοὺς δράσαντας, οἱ δὲ οὐδὲν οὔτε
σφῶν οὔτε ἄλλου κατείπον στρεβλούμενοι, οὐδὲ ἄλλη πη
ἐξηλέγχοντο ξυνειδότες τῷ ἔργῳ· καὶ ἐπὶ τῷδε ἀφείθησαν ἐξ
Ἀλεξάνδρου.

30. Ἐνθεν δὲ εἰς τὰ βασίλεια ἦει τὰ Περσῶν, ἃ δὴ
πρόσθεν κατέφλεξεν αὐτός, ὡς μοι λέλεκται, ὅτε οὐκ ἐπήνουν
τὸ ἔργον· ἀλλ' οὐδ' αὐτὸς Ἀλέξανδρος ἐπανελθὼν ἐπήνει. καὶ
μὲν δὴ καὶ κατὰ Ὀρξίνου πολλοὶ λόγοι ἐλέχθησαν πρὸς
2 Περσῶν, ὃς ἦρξε Περσῶν ἐπειδὴ Φρασαόρτης ἐτελεύτησε. καὶ
ἐξηλέγχθη Ὀρξίνης ἱερά τε ὅτι σεσυλήκει καὶ τάφους
βασιλικούς, καὶ Περσῶν πολλοὺς ὅτι οὐ ξὺν δίκῃ ἀπέκτεινε.
τοῦτον μὲν δὴ οἷς ἐτάχθη ὑπὸ Ἀλεξάνδρου ἐκρέμασαν,
σατράπην δὲ Πέρσαις ἔταξε Πευκέσταν τὸν σωματοφύλακα,
πιστόν τε οἱ εἰς τὰ μάλιστα τιθέμενος τά τε ἄλλα καὶ ἐπὶ τῷ
ἐν Μαλλοῖς ἔργῳ, ἵνα προεκινδύνευσέ τε καὶ συνεξέσωσεν
3 Ἀλέξανδρον, καὶ ἄλλως τῷ βαρβαρικῷ τρόπῳ τῆς διαίτης οὐκ
ἀξύμφορον· ἐδήλωσε δὲ ἐσθῆτά τε εὐθὺς ὡς κατεστάθη
σατραπεύειν Περσῶν μόνος τῶν ἄλλων Μακεδόνων
μεταβαλὼν τὴν Μηδικὴν καὶ φωνὴν τὴν Περσικὴν ἐκμαθὼν
καὶ τὰλλα ξύμπαντα εἰς τρόπον τὸν Περσικὸν
κατασκευασάμενος. ἐφ' οἷς Ἀλέξανδρός γε ἐπήνει αὐτὸν καὶ

partly by walling it up in stone and partly by plastering it with clay,
and then to set the royal seal on the clay. Alexander seized the
11 Magians who were the guardians of the tomb and tortured them to
make them denounce the perpetrators, but under torture they did
not denounce themselves or anyone else,⁶ nor was any other proof
found of their complicity; and so Alexander let them go.

30. Then Alexander proceeded to the Persian palace to which
he himself had formerly set fire, as I related while expressing my
condemnation of his act. In fact Alexander himself did not approve
it on his return.¹ And now many allegations were made by the
Persians against Orxines too, who governed them after the death of
2 Phrasaortes. It was proved that he had rifled temples and royal
tombs, and that he used to put many Persians to death unjustly. He
was hanged by persons Alexander appointed. As satrap of the
Persians he appointed Peucestas the bodyguard, whom he regarded
as especially loyal to him, chiefly on account of his exploit among
the Mallians, where he risked his life and helped to save Alexander,
and as otherwise well suited to the post because of his barbarian
mode of life, which he publicly adopted as soon as he was made
3 satrap of Persia; he was the only Macedonian to change over to the
Median dress and learn the Persian language, and in all other
respects assimilated himself to Persian ways. This brought him
Alexander's commendations,

6 S. says explicitly that this exonerated the satrap. Ar. surely had
in mind the charges against Orxines (30, 2).

1 Cf. iii 18, 12.

ARRIAN

οἱ Πέρσαι ὡς τὰ παρὰ σφίσι πρὸ τῶν πατρίων πρεσβεύοντι ἔχαιρον.

ANABASIS OF ALEXANDER VI

and the Persians were gratified that he preferred their ways to those of his own ancestors.²

324 B.C.

² Acc. to Ar., Al. had decided to make Peucestas satrap before he reached Persia (28, 3), i.e. before he could have known of the charges brought against Orxines, who was guiltless on at least one count (29, 11 n.); QC. x 1, 22 ff. says that Al's favourite eunuch, Bagoas, falsely accused him of removing 3000 Talents of gold from Cyrus' tomb. A. is now following Pt's apologetic version, cf. Badian, *CQ* 1958, 144 ff.; App. XXIII 9. Peucestas sided with Pt's enemies after 323, and Pt. did not necessarily approve of his Orientalism, cf. vii 6, 3; 23, 3; D. (Hieronymus) xix 14, 5 (who says that he alone was permitted by Al. to dress in Persian style); 48, 5 (cf. Bosworth, *JHS* 1980, 12).

BIBΛION EBΔOMON

1. Ὡς δὲ ἐς Πασαργάδας τε καὶ ἐς Περσέπολιν ἀφίκετο Ἀλέξανδρος, πόθος λαμβάνει αὐτὸν καταπλεῦσαι κατὰ τὸν Εὐφράτην τε καὶ κατὰ τὸν Τίγρητα ἐπὶ τὴν θάλασσαν τὴν Περσικὴν καὶ τῶν τε ποταμῶν ἰδεῖν τὰς ἐκβολὰς τὰς ἐς τὸν
- 2 πόντον, καθάπερ τοῦ Ἰνδοῦ, καὶ τὴν ταύτη θάλασσαν. οἱ δὲ καὶ τάδε ἀνέγραψαν, ὅτι ἐπενόει Ἀλέξανδρος περιπλεῦσαι τὴν τε Ἀραβίαν τὴν πολλὴν καὶ τὴν Αἰθιοπῶν γῆν καὶ τὴν Λιβύην τε καὶ τοὺς Νομάδας ὑπὲρ τὸν Ἄτλαντα τὸ ὄρος ὡς ἐπὶ Γάδειρα ἕσω ἐς τὴν ἡμετέραν θάλασσαν καὶ τὴν Λιβύην τε καταστρεψάμενος καὶ Καρχηδόνα οὕτω δὴ τῆς Ἀσίας
- 3 πάσης δικαίως ἂν βασιλεὺς καλεῖσθαι τοὺς γάρ τοι Περσῶν καὶ Μήδων βασιλέας οὐδὲ τοῦ πολλοστοῦ μέρους τῆς Ἀσίας ἐπάρχοντας οὐ σὺν δίκη καλεῖν σφᾶς μεγάλους βασιλέας. ἔνθεν δὲ οἱ μὲν, ὅτι ἐς τὸν πόντον τὸν Εὐξείνιον ἐσπλεῖν ἐπενόει ἐς Σκύθας τε καὶ τὴν λίμνην τὴν Μαιώτιν, οἱ δέ, ὅτι ἐς Σικελίαν τε καὶ ἄκραν Ἰαπυγίαν ἤδη γὰρ καὶ ὑποκινεῖν αὐτὸν τὸ Ῥωμαίων ὄνομα προχωροῦν ἐπὶ μέγα.
- 4 Ἐγὼ δὲ ὅποια μὲν ἦν Ἀλεξάνδρου τὰ ἐνθυμήματα οὔτε ἔχω ἀτρεκῶς ξυμβαλεῖν οὔτε μέλει ἔμοιγε εἰκάζειν, ἐκείνο δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς ἂν μοι δοκῶ ἰσχυρίσασθαι, οὔτε μικρόν τι καὶ φαῦλον ἐπινοεῖν Ἀλέξανδρον οὔτε μείναι ἂν ἀτρεμοῦντα ἐπ' οὐδενὶ τῶν ἤδη κεκτημένων, οὐδὲ εἰ τὴν Εὐρώπην

BOOK VII

1. After reaching Pasargadae and Persepolis Alexander was seized with a longing¹ to sail down the Euphrates and Tigris to the Persian Sea, and to see the outlets of the rivers into the sea, like
- 2 that of the Indus, and the sea in that region. Some have also recorded that Alexander was planning to sail round most of Arabia, Ethiopia, Libya and the Nomads beyond Mount Atlas, Gadeira [Cadiz] and into our sea and, after subduing Libya and Carthage,
- 3 finally to earn the title of king of all Asia; as for the Persian and Median kings, in his view they had not ruled even a fraction of Asia, and so had no right to call themselves Great Kings. Thereafter, in some accounts, he planned to sail into the Euxine [Black] Sea to Scythia [Russia] and Lake Maeotis [Sea of Azov], in others to make for Sicily and the Iapygian promontory [Capo S. Maria di Leuca], as he was already rather disturbed that Rome's fame was advancing to a great height.
- 4 For my part I cannot determine with certainty what sort of plans Alexander had in mind, and it is no purpose of mine to make guesses, but there is one thing I think I can assert myself, that none of Alexander's plans were small and petty and that, no matter what he had already conquered, he would not have stopped there quietly, not even if he had

1 App. V 3, cf. *Ind.* 20, 2 n. On 1–4 see App. XXIII 2–5.

τῇ Ἀσία προσέθηκεν, οὐδ' εἰ τὰς Βρεττανῶν νήσους τῇ
 Εὐρώπῃ, ἀλλὰ ἔτι ἂν ἐπέκεινα ζητεῖν τι τῶν ἠγνωσμένων, εἰ
 5 καὶ μὴ ἄλλω τῷ, ἀλλὰ αὐτόν γε αὐτῷ ἐρίζοντα. καὶ ἐπὶ τῷδε
 ἐπαινώ τοὺς σοφιστὰς τῶν Ἰνδῶν, ὧν λέγουσιν ἔστιν οὐς
 καταληφθέντας ὑπ' Ἀλεξάνδρου ὑπαιθρίους ἐν λειμῶνι, ἵναπερ
 αὐτοῖς διατριβαὶ ἦσαν, ἄλλο μὲν οὐδὲν ποιῆσαι πρὸς τὴν
 ὄψιν αὐτοῦ τε καὶ τῆς στρατιᾶς, κρούειν δὲ τοῖς ποσὶ τὴν γῆν
 ἐφ' ἧς βεβηκότες ἦσαν. ὡς δὲ ἤρετο Ἀλέξανδρος δι' ἐρμηνέων
 6 ὃ τι νοοῖ αὐτοῖς τὸ ἔργον, τοὺς δὲ ὑποκρίνασθαι ὧδε βασιλεῦ
 Ἀλέξανδρε, ἄνθρωπος μὲν ἕκαστος τοσόνδε τῆς γῆς κατέχει
 ὅσονπερ τοῦτό ἐστιν ἐφ' ὅτῳ βεβήκαμεν· σὺ δὲ ἄνθρωπος ὧν
 παραπλήσιος τοῖς ἄλλοις, πλήν γε δὴ ὅτι πολυπράγμων καὶ
 ἀτάσθαλος, ἀπὸ τῆς οἰκείας τοσαύτην γῆν ἐπεξέρχῃ
 πράγματα ἔχων τε καὶ παρέχων ἄλλοις. καὶ οὖν καὶ ὀλίγον
 ὕστερον ἀποθανὼν τοσοῦτον καθέξεις τῆς γῆς ὅσον ἐξαρκεῖ
 ἐντεθάφθαι τῷ σώματι.

2. Κἀνταῦθα ἐπήνεσε μὲν Ἀλέξανδρος τοὺς τε λόγους
 αὐτοῦς καὶ τοὺς εἰπόντας, ἔπρασσε δὲ ὁμῶς ἄλλα καὶ
 τὰναντία οἷς ἐπήνεσεν. ἐπεὶ καὶ Διογένην τὸν ἐκ Σινώπης
 θαυμάσαι λέγεται, ἐν Ἰσθμῷ ἐντυχὼν τῷ Διογένει
 κατακειμένῳ ἐν ἡλίῳ, ἐπιστὰς σὺν τοῖς ὑπασπισταῖς καὶ τοῖς
 πεζεταίροις καὶ ἐρόμενος εἴ του δέοιτο· ὁ δὲ Διογένης ἄλλου
 μὲν ἔφη δεῖσθαι οὐδενός, ἀπὸ τοῦ ἡλίου δὲ ἀπελθεῖν ἐκέλευσεν
 2 αὐτόν τε καὶ τοὺς σὺν αὐτῷ. οὕτω τοι οὐ πάντα ἔξω τοῦ
 ἐπινοεῖν τὰ

added Europe to Asia and the Britannic Islands to Europe, but that
 he would always have searched far beyond for something unknown,
 in competition with himself in default of any other rival. In this
 5 connection I commend the Indian sophists, some of whom, the story
 goes, were found by Alexander in the open air in a meadow, where
 they used to have their disputations; when they saw Alexander and
 his army, they did nothing more than beat with their feet on the
 ground they stood on. When Alexander enquired through
 interpreters what their action meant, they replied: 'King Alexander,
 6 each man possesses no more of this earth than the patch we stand
 on; yet you, though a man like other men, except of course that you
 are restless and presumptuous, are roaming over so wide an area
 away from what is your own, giving no rest to yourself or others.
 And very soon you too will die, and will possess no more of the
 earth than suffices for the burial of your body.'²

2. On that occasion Alexander commended their remarks and
 the speakers, but his actions were different from and contrary to
 what he commended. So too he is said to have expressed surprise at
 Diogenes of Sinope, when he found him on the Isthmus lying in the
 sun; he halted with the hypaspists and infantry Companions and
 asked if he needed anything. Diogenes answered that he needed
 nothing else, but told him and his followers to stand out of the
 2 sunlight.¹ Thus, while Alexander was not wholly beyond

² App. XX, also on ch. 2 f.

¹ As the date of Diogenes' death is unknown, a meeting cannot
 be excluded on chronological grounds but, like other anecdotes about
 Diogenes and Al. (RE v 767 f.), this is surely late and apocryphal.

κρείττω ἦν Ἀλέξανδρος, ἀλλ' ἐκ δόξης γὰρ δεινῶς ἐκρατεῖτο. ἐπεὶ καὶ ἐς Τάξιλα αὐτῷ ἀφικομένῳ καὶ ἰδόντι τῶν σοφιστῶν <τῶν> Ἰνδῶν τοὺς γυμνοὺς πόθος ἐγένετο ξυνεῖναι τινὰ οἱ τῶν ἀνδρῶν τούτων, ὅτι τὴν καρτερίαν αὐτῶν ἐθαύμασε· καὶ ὁ μὲν πρεσβύτατος τῶν σοφιστῶν, ὅτου ὁμιληταὶ οἱ ἄλλοι ἦσαν, Δάνδαμις ὄνομα, οὔτε αὐτὸς ἔφη παρ' Ἀλέξανδρον ἤξειν οὔτε
 3 τοὺς ἄλλους εἶα, ἀλλὰ ὑποκρίνασθαι γὰρ λέγεται ὡς Διὸς υἱὸς καὶ αὐτὸς εἶη, εἶπερ οὖν καὶ Ἀλέξανδρος, καὶ ὅτι οὔτε δέοιτό του τῶν παρ' Ἀλεξάνδρου, ἔχει <ν> γὰρ οἱ εὖ τὰ παρόντα, καὶ ἅμα ὄραν τοὺς ξὺν αὐτῷ πλανωμένους τοσαύτην γῆν καὶ θάλασσαν ἐπ' ἀγαθῷ οὐδενί, μηδὲ πέρας τι αὐτοῖς γινόμενον τῶν πολλῶν πλανῶν. οὔτ' οὖν ποθεῖν τι αὐτὸς ὅτου κύριος ἦν Ἀλέξανδρος δοῦναι, οὔτε αὖ δεδιέναι, ὅτου κρατοῖη
 4 ἐκεῖνος, ἔστιν οὖν εἶργεσθαι· ζῶντι μὲν γὰρ οἱ τὴν Ἰνδῶν γῆν ἐξαρκεῖν φέρουσιν τὰ ὠραία, ἀποθανόντα δὲ ἀπαλλαγῆσεσθαι οὐκ ἐπιεικοῦς ξυνοίκου τοῦ σώματος. οὔκουν οὐδὲ Ἀλέξανδρον ἐπιχειρῆσαι βιάσασθαι γνόντα ἐλεύθερον ὄντα τὸν ἄνδρα, ἀλλὰ Κάλανον γὰρ ἀναπεισθῆναι τῶν ταύτη σοφιστῶν, ὄντινα μάλιστα δὴ αὐτοῦ ἀκράτορα Μεγασθένης ἀνέγραψεν αὐτοὺς τοὺς σοφιστὰς λέγειν κακίζοντας τὸν Κάλανον, ὅτι ἀπολιπὼν τὴν παρὰ σφίσιν εὐδαιμονίαν ὁ δὲ δεσπότην ἄλλον ἢ τὸν θεὸν ἐθεράπευε.

3. Ταῦτα ἐγὼ ἀνέγραψα, ὅτι καὶ ὑπὲρ Καλάνου ἐχρῆν εἰπεῖν ἐν τῇ περὶ Ἀλεξάνδρου συγγραφῇ· μαλακισθῆναι γὰρ τι τῷ σώματι τὸν Κάλανον ἐν τῇ Περσίδι γῆ, οὔπω πρόσθεν νοσήσαντα· οὔκουν οὐδὲ δίαιταν διαιτᾶσθαι θέλειν ἀρρώστου ἀνδρός,

comprehension of better courses, he was fearfully mastered by love of fame. For when on his arrival at Taxila he saw those of the Indian sophists who go naked, a longing came to him that one of these men should live with him, since he admired their endurance. The oldest of the sophists, called Dandamis (the others were his disciples), said he would not join Alexander nor let any of the others do so; in fact
 3 he said to have replied that he himself was just as much a son of Zeus² as Alexander, and that he had no need of anything Alexander could give, since he was contented with what he had; he saw, moreover, that Alexander's companions were wandering about over all that land and sea to no profit, and that there was no limit to their many wanderings. He did not then yearn for anything that Alexander could give him, and equally did not fear being denied
 4 anything Alexander might control. So long as he lived, the land of India was all he needed, producing fruits in season; and when he died, he would merely be released from an uncomfortable companion, his body. Nor indeed did Alexander try to coerce him, realizing that the man was free. But a certain Calanus, one of the sophists there, was over-persuaded into joining Alexander; by Megasthenes' account, he was a man they themselves regarded as specially lacking self-control; they reproached Calanus because he deserted the happiness to be found with them and served a master other than God.

3. All this I have narrated because it was impossible to write a history of Alexander without mention of Calanus. The story goes that his body grew enfeebled in Persia, though he had never been ill before; yet he would not submit to the regimen of an

ἀλλὰ εἰπεῖν γὰρ πρὸς Ἀλέξανδρον, καλῶς αὐτῷ ἔχειν ἐν τῷ
 τοιῷδε καταστρέψαι, πρὶν τινος ἐς πείραν ἐλθεῖν παθήματος ὃ
 2 τι περ ἔξαναγκάσει αὐτὸν μεταβάλλειν τὴν πρόσθεν δίαιταν.
 καὶ Ἀλέξανδρον ἀντειπεῖν μὲν αὐτῷ ἐπὶ πολὺ· ὡς δ' οὐχ
 ἠττησόμενον ἐώρα, ἀλλὰ ἄλλως ἂν ἀπαλλαγέντα, εἰ μὴ τις
 ταύτη ὑπεικάθοι, οὕτω δὴ ὅπῃ ἐπήγγελλεν αὐτός, κελεύσαι
 νησθῆναι αὐτῷ πυρὰν, καὶ ταύτης ἐπιμεληθῆναι Πτολεμαίου
 τὸν Λάγου τὸν σωματοφύλακα. οἱ δὲ καὶ πομπὴν τινα
 προπομπεῦσαι αὐτοῦ λέγουσιν ἵππους τε καὶ ἄνδρας, τοὺς μὲν
 ὀπλισμένους, τοὺς δὲ θυμιάματα παντοῖα τῇ πυρᾷ
 ἐπιφέροντας· οἱ δὲ καὶ ἐκπώματα χρυσᾶ καὶ ἀργυρᾶ καὶ
 3 ἐσθῆτα βασιλικὴν λέγουσιν ὅτι ἔφερον. αὐτῷ δὲ
 παρασκευασθῆναι μὲν ἵππον, ὅτι βαδίσαι ἀδυνάτως εἶχεν ὑπὸ
 τῆς νόσου· οὐ μὴν δυνηθῆναί γε οὐδὲ τοῦ ἵππου ἐπιβῆναι,
 ἀλλὰ ἐπὶ κλίνης γὰρ κομισθῆναι φερόμενον, ἐστεφανωμένον
 τε τῷ Ἰνδῶν νόμῳ καὶ ἄδοντα τῇ Ἰνδῶν γλώσσει. οἱ δὲ Ἰνδοὶ
 4 λέγουσιν ὅτι ὕμνοι θεῶν ἦσαν καὶ αὐτῶν ἔπαινοι. καὶ τὸν μὲν
 ἵππον τοῦτον ὅτου ἐπιβήσεσθαι ἔμελλε, βασιλικὸν ὄντα τῶν
 Νησαίων, πρὶν ἀναβῆναι ἐπὶ τὴν πυρὰν Λυσιμάχῳ
 χαρίσασθαι, τῶν τιμιωτέρων αὐτὸν ἐπὶ σοφίᾳ· τῶν δὲ
 δὴ ἐκπωμάτων ἢ στρωμάτων ὅσα ἐμβληθῆναι εἰς τὴν πυρὰν
 5 κόσμον αὐτῷ τετάχει Ἀλέξανδρος, ἄλλα ἄλλοις δοῦναι τῶν
 ἀμφοτέρων. οὕτω δὴ ἐπιβάντα τῇ πυρᾷ κατακλιθῆναι μὲν ἐν
 κόσμῳ, ὁρᾶσθαι δὲ πρὸς τῆς στρατιᾶς ξυμπάσης. Ἀλεξάνδρῳ
 δὲ οὐκ ἐπιεικὲς φανῆναι τὸ θέαμα ἐπὶ φίλῳ ἀνδρὶ γιγνόμενον·
 ἀλλὰ τοῖς γὰρ ἄλλοις θαῦμα παρασχέσθαι οὐδέν τι
 παρακινήσαντα ἐν τῷ πυρὶ

invalid, but told Alexander that he was glad to make an end as he
 was, before experiencing any suffering that would force him to
 change his old regimen. Alexander argued with him at some length;
 2 but when he saw that Calanus would not give in, but would depart
 in another way, if balked at this point, he ordered that in
 conformity with his own instructions a pyre should be built for him
 and that Ptolemy son of Lagus, the bodyguard, should be in charge
 of it. Some say that he also had a great procession formed, horses
 and men, some in full armour, others carrying all sorts of incense
 for the pyre; others again say that they carried gold and silver cups
 and royal raiment. For Calanus himself a horse was made ready,
 3 since he could not walk because of his illness; and yet he could not
 even mount the horse, but was borne upon a litter, lying down,
 crowned with garlands in the Indian fashion and chanting in the
 Indian tongue. The Indians say that these chants were hymns of
 4 praise to gods. It is said that the horse on which he was to have
 mounted was a royal horse belonging to the Nesaeans,¹ that before
 he climbed the pyre it was presented to Lysimachus, one of those
 who attended on him for instruction, and that he distributed among
 his associates the cups and rugs which Alexander had ordered to be
 5 heaped on the pyre in his honour. So then according to the story he
 climbed the pyre and lay down with decorum in the sight of the
 whole army. Alexander did not approve of the spectacle afforded by
 a friend, but the rest were astonished to see that Calanus did not
 move any part of his body in the

1 vii 13, 1.

6 τοῦ σώματος. ὡς δὲ τὸ πῦρ ἐς τὴν πυρὰν ἐνέβαλον οἷς προστεταγμένον ἦν, τὰς τε σάλπιγγας φθέγγασθαι λέγει Νέαρχος, οὕτως ἐξ Ἀλεξάνδρου προστεταγμένον, καὶ τὴν στρατιὰν ἐπαλαλάξαι πᾶσαν ὁποῖόν τι καὶ ἐς τὰς μάχας ἰούσα ἐπηλάλαζε, καὶ τοὺς ἐλέφαντας συνεπηχῆσαι τὸ ὄξύ καὶ πολεμικόν, τιμῶντας Κάλανον. ταῦτα καὶ τοιαῦτα ὑπὲρ Καλάνου τοῦ Ἰνδοῦ ἱκανοὶ ἀναγεγράφασιν, οὐκ ἀχρεῖα πάντα ἐς ἀνθρώπους, ὅτῳ γνῶναι ἐπιμελές, [ὅτι] ὡς καρτερόν τε ἐστὶ καὶ ἀνίκητον γνώμη ἀνθρωπίνη ὃ τι περ ἐθέλοι ἐξεργάσασθαι.

4. Ἐν τούτῳ δὲ Ἀλέξανδρος Ἀτροπάτην μὲν ἐπὶ τὴν αὐτοῦ σατραπείαν ἐκπέμπει παρελθὼν ἐς Σούσα, Ἀβουλίτην δὲ καὶ τὸν τούτου παῖδα Ὀξάθρην, ὅτι κακῶς ἐπεμελοῦντο¹ τῶν Σουσίων, συλλαβῶν ἀπέκτεινε. πολλὰ μὲν δὴ ἐπεπλημμέλητο ἐκ τῶν κατεχόντων τὰς χώρας ὅσαι δορίκτητοι πρὸς Ἀλεξάνδρου ἐγένοντο ἕς τε τὰ ἱερά καὶ τάφους καὶ αὐτοὺς τοὺς ὑπηκόους, ὅτι χρόνιος ὁ εἰς Ἰνδοὺς στόλος ἐγεγένητο τῷ βασιλεῖ καὶ οὐ πιστὸν ἐφαίμετο ἀπονοστήσειν αὐτὸν ἐκ τοσῶνδε ἐθνῶν καὶ τοσῶνδε ἐλεφάντων, ὑπὲρ τὸν Ἰνδόν τε καὶ Ἰδάσπην καὶ τὸν Ἀκεσίνην καὶ Ἰφασιν φθειρόμενον. καὶ αἱ ἐν Γαδρωσίῳ δὲ αὐτῷ ξυμφοραὶ ξυνενεχθεῖσαι ἔτι μᾶλλον ἐπήραν τοὺς [ἐν] ταύτῃ σατραπεύοντας καταφρονῆσαι αὐτοῦ τῆς οἴκοι ἀπονοστήσεως. οὐ μὲν ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐτὸς Ἀλέξανδρος ὀξύτερος λέγεται γενέσθαι ἐν τῷ τότε ἐς τὸ πιστεῦσαί τε τοῖς ἐπικαλουμένοις ὡς πιθανοῖς δὴ ἐν παντὶ οὔσι, καὶ ἐπὶ τὸ τιμωρήσασθαι μεγάλως

1 Polak: ἐπεμελείτο codd.

6 flames. When the fire was lit by those detailed for the task, the trumpets (says Nearchus) sounded, as Alexander had ordered, and the whole army raised the shout they would raise when entering battle, and the elephants trumpeted their shrill war-cry, in honour of Calanus. Competent authorities have recorded these and similar stories of Calanus the Indian, which are not altogether valueless to mankind, at least for anyone who cares to realize how strong and invincible is human resolution to carry out whatever it may desire.

4. At this time Alexander despatched Atropates to his satrapy, after reaching Susa.¹ There he arrested Abulites and his son Oxathres for bad administration of the Susians and put them to death. In fact many offences had been committed by those in control of countries Alexander had conquered, against temples, tombs, and the subjects themselves, since the king had been a long time on his Indian expedition, and it did not seem credible that he would return, escaping so many peoples and elephants; he would perish beyond the Indus, Hydaspes, Acesines, and Hyphasis. The disasters too in which he was involved in Gadosia did still more to encourage the satraps on this side to scout any idea of his return. Not but what Alexander himself is said at this time to have grown quicker to give credit to accusations, as if they were reliable in all circumstances, and to punish severely

1 A. neglects to record the junction with N., probably at Ahvaz (*Ind.* 42), which is implied in 4, 6; 5, 5 and misleadingly mentioned in 7, 1; having deserted his main sources, he did not resume at the right point. Date: not earlier than late March, 324 (*App.* XXIII 1).

τούς καὶ ἐπὶ μικροῖς ἐξελεγχθέντας, ὅτι καὶ τὰ μεγάλα ἂν ἐδόκουν αὐτῷ τῇ αὐτῇ γνώμῃ ἐξεργάσασθαι.

- 4 Ὁ δὲ καὶ γάμους ἐποίησεν ἐν Σούσοις αὐτοῦ τε καὶ τῶν ἐταίρων· αὐτὸς μὲν τῶν Δαρείου θυγατέρων τὴν πρεσβυτάτην Βαρσίνην ἠγάγετο, ὡς δὲ λέγει Ἀριστόβουλος, καὶ ἄλλην πρὸς ταύτην, τῶν Ὀχου θυγατέρων τὴν νεωτάτην Παρύσατιν.
- 5 ἤδη δὲ ἦν αὐτῷ ἠγμένη καὶ ἡ Ὀξυάρτου τοῦ Βακτρίου παῖς Ῥωξάνη. Δρύπετιν δὲ Ἐφαιστίῳ δίδωσι, Δαρείου παῖδα καὶ ταύτην, ἀδελφὴν τῆς αὐτοῦ γυναῖκος· ἐθέλειν γάρ οἱ ἀνεψιούς τῶν παίδων γενέσθαι τοὺς Ἐφαιστίωνος παῖδας· Κρατερῷ δὲ Ἀμαστρίνην τὴν Ὀξυάτρου τοῦ Δαρείου ἀδελφοῦ παῖδα·
- 6 Περδίκκα δὲ τὴν Ἀτροπάτου τοῦ Μηδίας σατράπου παῖδα ἔδωκεν· Πτολεμαίῳ δὲ τῷ σωματοφύλακι καὶ Εὐμενεῖ τῷ γραμματεῖ τῷ βασιλικῷ τὰς Ἀρταβάζου παῖδας τῷ μὲν Ἀρτακάμαν, τῷ δὲ Ἄρτωνιν· Νεάρχῳ δὲ τὴν Βαρσίνης τε καὶ Μέντορος παῖδα· Σελεύκῳ δὲ τὴν Σπιταμένους τοῦ Βακτρίου παῖδα· ὡσαύτως δὲ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἐταίροις τὰς δοκιμωτάτας Περσῶν τε καὶ Μήδων παῖδας ἐς ὀγδοήκοντα· οἱ γάμοι δὲ
- 7 ἐποιήθησαν νόμῳ τῷ Περσικῷ· θρόνοι ἐτέθησαν τοῖς νυμφίοις ἐφεξῆς καὶ μετὰ τὸν πότον ἦκον αἱ γαμούμεναι

those who were convicted even of slight faults on the ground that in the same frame of mind they might commit grave crimes.²

- 4 He also held weddings at Susa for himself and for the Companions³; he himself married Darius' eldest daughter Barsine, and, as Aristobulus says, another wife as well, Parysatis, the youngest daughter of Ochus. He had already taken to wife Roxane,⁵ the daughter of Oxyartes the Bactrian.⁴ To Hephaestion he gave Drypetis, another daughter of Darius, sister to his own wife (for he desired Hephaestion's children to be cousins to his own)⁵; to Craterus, Amastrine daughter of Oxyartes, Darius' brother; to
- 6 Perdikkas, a daughter of Atropates, satrap of Media; to Ptolemy the bodyguard and Eumenes the royal secretary, the daughters of Artabazus, Artacama and Artonis respectively; to Nearchus the daughter of Barsine⁶ and Mentor; to Seleucus the daughter of Spitamenes the Bactrian,⁷ and similarly to the other Companions the noblest daughters of Persians and Medes, numbering about eighty. These weddings were solemnized in the Persian style; chairs
- 7 were placed for the bride-grooms in order, then, after the healths had been

2 P. 68 (before Al's arrival in Persepolis) says that Al. arrested Abulites for supplying money instead of provisions and killed his son with a spear (cf. 57, 2 for parallel). Oxathres: iii 19, 2. Cf. App. XXIII 9.

3 Cf. Chares (Jacoby no. 125) F. 4 (92 marriages); D. 107, 6; P. 70 with some variant details.

4 Philip II had also practised polygamy (Athenaeus 557 DE). Barsine, named Statira in all other sources, with her sister was murdered after Al's death by Roxane, when she was 6 or 8 months with child (Berve no. 688). Ochus is Artaxerxes III (359–38). Either Pt. is the sole source for all other names, or on all others Ar. concurred. We cannot tell if A. had a complete list of marriages and selected for mention only the most important.

5 App. XXIV 3.

6 Another daughter of Artabazus, mother to Al's bastard son

καὶ παρεκαθέζοντο ἑκάστη τῷ ἑαυτῆς· οἱ δὲ ἐδέξιώσαντό τε αὐτὰς καὶ ἐφίλησαν· πρῶτος δὲ ὁ βασιλεὺς ἤρξεν· ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ γὰρ πάντων ἐγίγνοντο οἱ γάμοι. καὶ τοῦτο, εἴπερ τι ἄλλο, 8 ἔδοξε δημοτικόν τε καὶ φιλέταιρον πράξαι Ἀλέξανδρον. οἱ δὲ παραλαβόντες ἀπήγον τὴν αὐτοῦ ἕκαστος· προίκας δὲ ξυμπάσαις ἐπέδωκεν Ἀλέξανδρος. καὶ ὅσοι δὲ ἄλλοι ἡγμένοι ἦσαν Μακεδόνες τῶν Ἀσιανῶν τινὰς γυναικῶν, ἀπογραφῆναι ἐκέλευσε καὶ τούτων τὰ ὀνόματα, καὶ ἐγένοντο ὑπὲρ τοὺς μυρίους, καὶ τούτοις δωρεαὶ Ἀλεξάνδρου ἐδόθησαν ἐπὶ τοῖς γάμοις.

5. Καὶ τὰ χρέα ἐπιλύσασθαι τῆς στρατιᾶς ὅσοις χρέα ἦν ἐν καιρῷ οἱ ἔδοξε, καὶ κελεύει ἀπογράφεσθαι ὅποσον ὀφείλει ἕκαστος, ὡς ληψομένους. καὶ τὰ μὲν πρῶτα ὀλίγοι ἀπέγραψαν σφῶν τὰ ὀνόματα δεδιότες ἐξ Ἀλεξάνδρου μὴ πείρα αὕτη εἶη 2 καθειμένη, ὅτῳ οὐκ ἀποχρῶσα ἢ μισθοφορὰ τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἐστι καὶ ὅτῳ πολυτελῆς ἢ δίαυτα. ὡς δὲ ἐξήγγελλτο ὅτι οὐκ ἀπογράφουσι σφᾶς οἱ πολλοί, ἀλλ' ἐπικρύπτουσιν ὅτῳ τι εἶη συμβόλαιον, τὴν μὲν ἀπιστίαν τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἐκάκισεν· οὐ γὰρ χρῆναι οὐτ' οὖν τὸν βασιλέα ἄλλο τι ἢ ἀληθεύειν πρὸς 3 τοὺς ὑπηκόους, οὔτε τῶν ἀρχομένων τινὰ ἄλλο τι ἢ ἀληθεύειν δοκεῖν τὸν βασιλέα. καταθεὶς δὲ τραπέζας ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ καὶ ἐπὶ τούτων χρυσίον καὶ τοὺς ἐπιμελησομένους τῆς δόσεως ἑκάστοις, ὅστις συμβόλαιον ἐπεδείκνυτο, ἐπιλύεσθαι τὰ χρέα ἐκέλευεν οὐκ ἀπογραφομένους ἔτι τὰ

drunk, the brides came in and each sat down by the side of her bridegroom, and the men took them by the hand and kissed them, the king setting the example, for all the weddings took place together. None of Alexander's actions was thought to show more 8 affability and comradeship. After receiving his bride each bridegroom led her home. Alexander gave them all dowries. All other Macedonians who had married Asian women had their names registered by Alexander's orders; they proved to be more than ten thousand, and Alexander gave them too wedding gifts.⁸

5. He thought this a convenient moment to discharge all the debts any of his soldiers had incurred and ordered each man to register what he owed, on the basis that they would receive the money. At first only a few registered their names in the fear that Alexander had merely tried an experiment, to see which soldiers had not lived on their pay and which had been extravagant; but 2 when he was informed that most were not registering their names but concealing any bonds, he reproved the troops for not trusting him; the king, he said, must always speak the truth to his subjects, and none of the subjects must ever suppose that the king speaks 3 anything but the truth.¹ He set up tables in the camp with gold on them and instructed the persons who were to administer the grants to discharge the debts to all who produced a bond, without any further registration

8 P. 70 says that Al. spent 9870 Talents on paying the debts of all soldiers who had taken Asian wives, QC. x 2, 8 has the same sum for all soldiers' debts (20,000 in A. 5, 3; J. xii 11, 1 f.); D. 109, 2 has 10,000 for debts of those soldiers who were sent home to Macedon.

1 Cf. A's preface 2; Bosworth *ad loc.* makes veracity a conventional virtue of the ideal king, but cf. Brunt, *JRS* 1974, 9.

ὀνόματα. καὶ οὕτω δὴ ἐπίστευσάν τε ἀληθεύειν Ἀλέξανδρον καὶ σὺν χάριτι μείζονι ἐγίγνετο αὐτοῖς τὸ μὴ γνωσθῆναι μᾶλλον τι ἢ τὸ παύσασθαι ὀφείλοντας. λέγεται δὲ γενέσθαι ἢ δόσεις αὕτη τῇ στρατιᾷ ἐς τάλαντα δισμύρια.

- 4 Ἔδωκεν δὲ καὶ δῶρα ἄλλοις ἄλλα, ὅπως τις κατ' ἀξίωσιν ἐτιμᾶτο ἢ κατ' ἀρετὴν εἴ τις ἐπιφανῆς ἐγεγόνει ἐν τοῖς κινδύνοις. καὶ ἐστεφάνωσε χρυσοῖς στεφάνοις τοὺς ἀνδραγαθία διαπρέποντας, πρῶτον μὲν Πευκέσταν τὸν
- 5 ὑπερασπίσαντα, ἔπειτα Λεοννάτον, καὶ τοῦτον ὑπερασπίσαντα, καὶ διὰ τοὺς ἐν Ἰδοῖς κινδύνους καὶ τὴν ἐν Ὀροῖς νίκην γενομένην, ὅτι παραταξάμενος σὺν τῇ ὑπολειφθείσῃ δυνάμει πρὸς τοὺς νεωτερίζοντας τῶν τε Ὀρειτῶν καὶ τῶν πλησίον τούτων ὠκισμένων τῇ τε μάχῃ
- 6 ἐκράτησε καὶ τὰ ἄλλα καλῶς ἔδοξε τὰ ἐν Ὀροῖς κοσμήσαι. ἐπὶ τούτοις δὲ Νέαρχον ἐπὶ τῷ περίπλω τῷ ἐκ τῆς Ἰνδῶν γῆς κατὰ τὴν μεγάλην θάλασσαν ἐστεφάνωσε· καὶ γὰρ καὶ οὗτος ἤδη ἀφυγμένος ἐς Σούσα ἦν· ἐπὶ τούτοις δὲ Ὀνησίκριτον τὸν κυβερνήτην τῆς νεῶς τῆς βασιλικῆς· ἔτι δὲ Ἡφαιστίωνα καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους τοὺς σωματοφύλακας.

6. Ἦκον δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ οἱ σατράπαι οἱ ἐκ τῶν πόλεων τε τῶν νεοκτίστων καὶ τῆς ἄλλης γῆς τῆς δοριαλώτου παῖδας ἠβάσκοντας ἤδη ἐς τρισμυρίους ἄγοντες τὴν αὐτὴν ἡλικίαν γεγονότας, οὓς Ἐπιγόνους ἐκάλει Ἀλέξανδρος, κεκοσμημένους Μακεδονικοῖς ὅπλοις καὶ τὰ πολέμια ἐς τὸν τρόπον τὸν

of names. As a result they actually came to believe that Alexander was speaking the truth, and they were more gratified by the concealment of their names than by the extinction of the debts. This grant to the army is said to have amounted to twenty thousand Talents.²

- 4 He also gave presents to others, varying in proportion to the honour that rank conferred or to conspicuous courage displayed in dangers. He decorated with gold crowns those distinguished for bravery. Peucestas was first, for having shielded him; then came
- 5 Leonnatus for the same service and for the risks he incurred in India and the victory he gained in Ora; with the force left him he had faced the rebel Oritans and neighbouring peoples, mastered them in the battle and was then held to have made a good
- 6 settlement in general of affairs in Ora.³ Next he decorated Nearchus for his coasting voyage from India by the great sea (Nearchus too had now arrived at Susa) and next, Onesicritus, the helmsman of the royal ship; and in addition Hephaestion and the other bodyguards.⁴

6. He was also joined by the satraps from the new cities he had founded, and the other land he had conquered, bringing about thirty thousand boys now growing up, all of the same age, whom Alexander called Epigoni (Successors), dressed in Macedonian dress and trained to warfare in the Macedonian

² 4, 7 n.

³ Cf. vi 11, 7; *Ind.* 23, 5 ff.

⁴ *Ind.* 42, 9 n.

- 2 Μακεδονικὸν ἤσκημένους. καὶ οὗτοι ἀφικόμενοι λέγονται ἀνιᾶσαι Μακεδόνας, ὡς πάντα δὴ μηχανωμένου Ἀλεξάνδρου ὑπὲρ τοῦ μηκέτι ὡσαύτως δεῖσθαι Μακεδόνων· εἶναι γὰρ οὖν καὶ Μηδικὴν τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρου στολὴν ἄλγος οὐ σμικρὸν Μακεδόσιν ὀρωμένην καὶ τοὺς γάμους ἐν τῷ νόμῳ τῷ Περσικῷ ποιηθέντας οὐ πρὸς θυμοῦ γενέσθαι τοῖς πολλοῖς αὐτῶν, οὐδὲ τῶν γημάντων ἔστιν οἷς, καίτοι τῇ ἰσότητι τῇ ἐς τὸν βασιλέα μεγάλως τιμημένοις. Πευκέστας τε ὁ Περσῶν σατράπης τῇ τε σκευῇ καὶ τῇ φωνῇ περσίζων ἐλύπει αὐτούς, ὅτι τῷ βαρβαρισμῷ αὐτοῦ ἔχαιρεν Ἀλέξανδρος, καὶ οἱ Βακτρίων δὲ καὶ οἱ Σογδιανῶν καὶ Ἀραχωτῶν ἱππεῖς καὶ Ζαραγγῶν δὲ καὶ Ἀρείων καὶ Παρθυαίων καὶ ἐκ Περσῶν οἱ Εὐάκαι καλούμενοι ἱππεῖς καταλοχισθέντες εἰς τὴν ἵππον τὴν ἑταιρικὴν ὅσοι αὐτῶν κατ' ἀξίωσιν καὶ κάλλει τοῦ σώματος ἢ τῇ ἄλλῃ ἀρετῇ ὑπερφέροντες ἐφαίνοντο, καὶ

- 2 style.¹ It is said² that their arrival aggrieved the Macedonians, as if Alexander was actually contriving every means of reducing his dependence on Macedonians in future, that in fact they were greatly pained to see Alexander wearing the Median dress,³ while the marriages celebrated in the Persian style did not correspond to the desires of most of them, including even some of the bridegrooms, despite the great honour of being raised to equality with the king. They were also aggrieved at the adoption by Peucestas, satrap of Persia, of the Persian apparel and language because Alexander approved of him going barbarian⁴; at the incorporation of the Bactrian, Sogdianian, Arachotian, Zarangian, Areian and Parthyaean cavalrymen and of the Persian troopers called Euacae in the Companion cavalry, in so far as they seemed to be specially distinguished by rank,

1 Not previously mentioned by A. See D. 108, 1; P. 47, 3; 71, 1; QC. viii 5, 1; Bosworth, *JHS* 1980, 17 f., who seems to think that by satraps A. here means 'city commandants'; however, Stasanor at least had joined Al. by his death (vi 29, 1 n.). Various Alexandrias (Droysen, *Gesch. des Hellenismus* iii2 187 ff.; Berve 291 ff.; Tarn ii 232 ff.) could have been founded by satraps on Al's orders, not by Al. personally. D. 108 ff. places at Susa (*contra* A. 7, 1) the discharge of veterans and mutiny with the sequel described by A. 12, as well as the arrival of Peucestas and formation of mixed units described in A. 23! Large lacunae in QC. obscure his account, but like J. xii 11 f. he closely connected the discharge of veterans and the payment of soldiers' debts (x 2, 8 ff.), and like D. he interposed before the mutiny an account of Harpalus' doings, which A. reported later, probably implying that Al. heard of it after the mutiny (cf. App. XXIII 8).

2 This might suggest use of vulgate, explaining the mutiny, which the vulgate placed at Susa; the causes are again recorded in 8, 2 at the proper place in A's narrative. Yet the return to direct speech in § 3-5 better fits derivation from one of A's chief sources; this is supported by the use of 'Zarangian' in § 3 (cf. vi 15, 5 n.); in that case either Pharismenes (vi 27, 3 with 'Zarangian') or Phradasmenes here is an

4 πέμπτη ἐπὶ τούτοις ἵππαρχία προσγενομένη, οὐ βαρβαρικὴ ἢ
 πάσα, ἀλλὰ ἐπαυξηθέντος γὰρ τοῦ παντὸς ἵππικοῦ
 κατελέγησαν ἐς αὐτὸ τῶν βαρβάρων, τῷ τε ἀγήματι
 προσκαταλεγέντες Κωφῆς τε ὁ Ἄρταβάζου καὶ Ἰδάρνης καὶ
 5 Ἄρτιβόλης οἱ Μαζαίου, καὶ Σισίνης καὶ Φραδασμένης [καὶ] οἱ
 Φραταφέρνου τοῦ Παρθναίων καὶ Ἰρκανίας σατράπου παῖδες,
 καὶ Ἰτάνης Ὀξυάρτου μὲν παῖς, Ῥωξάνης δὲ τῆς γυναικὸς
 Ἀλεξάνδρου ἀδελφός, καὶ Αἰγοβάρης καὶ ὁ τούτου ἀδελφός
 Μιθροβαῖος, καὶ ἡγεμῶν ἐπὶ τούτοις ἐπισταθεὶς Ἰστιάσπης ὁ
 Βάκτριος, καὶ τούτοις δόρατα Μακεδονικὰ ἀντὶ τῶν
 βαρβαρικῶν μεσαγκύλων δοθέντα, — ταῦτα πάντα ἐλύπει
 τοὺς Μακεδόνας, ὡς πάντῃ δὴ βαρβαρίζοντος τῇ γνώμῃ
 Ἀλεξάνδρου, τὰ δὲ Μακεδονικὰ νόμιμά τε καὶ αὐτοὺς
 Μακεδόνας ἐν ἀπίμῳ χώρᾳ ἄγοντος.

7. Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ τῆς μὲν πεζῆς στρατιᾶς τὴν πολλὴν
 Ἐφαιστιῶνα ἄγειν κελεύει ἔστω ἐπὶ τὴν θάλασσαν τὴν
 Περσικὴν, αὐτὸς δὲ ἀναπλεύσαντος αὐτῷ τοῦ ναυτικοῦ ἐς τὴν
 Σουσίαν γῆν ἐπιβὰς τῶν νεῶν ξὺν τοῖς ὑπασπισταῖς τε καὶ τῷ
 ἀγήματι καὶ τῶν ἵππέων τῶν ἐταίρων ἀναβιβασάμενος οὐ
 πολλοὺς κατέπλει κατὰ τὸν Εὐλαῖον ποταμὸν ὡς ἐπὶ

4 physical beauty or any other good quality⁵; at the addition to these
 of a fifth hipparchy, though it was not entirely barbarian, but when
 the whole cavalry force had been augmented, barbarians had been
 enrolled for the purpose⁶; at the further enrolment in the *agema* of
 Cophen, son of Artabazus, Hydarnes and Artiboles, sons of
 Mazaeus, Sisines and Phradasmenes, sons of Phrataphernes, satrap
 5 of Parthyaea and Hyrcania, Itanes, son of Oxyartes and brother of
 Alexander's wife, Roxane, and Aegobares and his brother,
 Mithrobaeus, at the appointment of Hystaspes the Bactrian as their
 commander,⁷ and at the issue to them of Macedonian lances in
 place of barbarian thonged javelins. All this aggrieved the
 Macedonians, as they thought that Alexander was going utterly
 barbarian at heart, and treating Macedonian customs and
 Macedonians themselves without respect.

7. Alexander ordered Hephaestion to take most of the infantry
 force to the Persian Sea and, now that his fleet had put in to Susian
 land, embarked himself with the hypaspists, the *agema* and a few of
 the Companion cavalry, and sailed down the river Eulaeus to

⁵ See now Bosworth, *JHS*1980, 14 ff. But whether 'incorporation'
 means the formation of barbarian units (*lochoi*) within the hipparchies
 or enrolment of individuals, it is incorporation in the Companion
 cavalry, and no reader of A. could have taken this to mean, in the
 absence of an explicit statement, that these cavalrymen formed their
 own barbarian hipparchies distinct from the Companion cavalry of the
 past who were Macedonians; the reference to the special qualities of
 those enrolled also suggests that they were not very numerous, but an
 élite, though of lesser rank than those admitted to the *agema* (§ 4), and
 therefore a minority in all hipparchies except the fifth; 8, 2 also attests
 admission of Orientals to the Companions. Hipparchies: App. XIX 3.

⁶ The text is not sound, cf. Bosworth 20 f., but I would not now
 confidently defend any emendation; the general sense is that unlike
 the rest the fifth hipparchy was mostly barbarian, no doubt with a
 Macedonian cadre (for parallel 23, 3). Whether or not Orientals had

- 2 θάλασσαν. ἤδη δὲ πλησίον ὧν τῆς ἐκβολῆς τῆς ἐς τὸν πόντον τὰς μὲν πλείονάς τε καὶ πεπονηκυίας τῶν νεῶν καταλείπει αὐτοῦ, αὐτὸς δὲ ταῖς μάλιστα ταχυναυτούσαις παρέπλει ἀπὸ τοῦ Εὐλαίου ποταμοῦ κατὰ τὴν θάλασσαν ὡς ἐπὶ τὰς ἐκβολὰς τοῦ Τίγρητος· αἱ δὲ ἄλλαι αὐτῷ νῆες ἀνακομισθεῖσαι κατὰ τὸν Εὐλαῖον ἔσταν ἐπὶ τὴν διώρυχα, ἣ τέτμηται ἐκ τοῦ Τίγρητος ἐς τὸν Εὐλαῖον, ταύτη διεκομίσθησαν ἐς τὸν Τίγρητα.
- 3 Τῶν γὰρ δὴ ποταμῶν τοῦ τε Εὐφράτου καὶ τοῦ Τίγρητος, οἳ τὴν μέσην σφῶν Ἀσσυρίαν ἀπείργουσι, ὅθεν καὶ τὸ ὄνομα Μεσοποταμία πρὸς τῶν ἐπιχωρίων κληῖζεται, ὁ μὲν Τίγρης πολὺ τι ταπεινότερος ῥέων τοῦ Εὐφράτου διώρυχάς τε πολλὰς ἐκ τοῦ Εὐφράτου ἐς αὐτὸν δέχεται καὶ πολλοὺς ἄλλους ποταμοὺς παραλαβὼν καὶ ἐξ αὐτῶν αὐξηθεὶς ἐσβάλλει ἐς τὸν πόντον τὸν Περσικόν, μέγας τε καὶ οὐδαμοῦ
- 4 διαβατὸς ἔσταν ἐπὶ τὴν ἐκβολήν, καθότι οὐ καταναλίσκεται αὐτοῦ οὐδὲν ἐς τὴν χώραν. ἔσταν γὰρ μετεωροτέρα ἢ ταύτη γῆ τοῦ ὕδατος οὐδὲ ἐκδίδωσι οὗτος κατὰ τὰς διώρυχας οὐδὲ ἐς
- 5 ἄλλον ποταμόν, ἀλλὰ δέχεται γὰρ ἐκείνους μᾶλλον, ἄρδεσθαί τε ἀπὸ οὗ τὴν χώραν οὐδαμῇ παρέχει. ὁ δὲ Εὐφράτης μετέωρός τε ῥεῖ καὶ ἰσοχείλης πανταχῇ τῇ γῆ, καὶ διώρυχες δὲ πολλὰ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ πεποιήνται, αἱ μὲν ἀέναοι, ἀφ' ὧν ὑδρεύονται οἱ παρ' ἐκάτερα ὠκισμένοι, τὰς δὲ καὶ πρὸς καιρὸν ποιοῦνται, ὅποτε σφίσιν ὕδατος ἐνδεῶς ἔχοι, ἐς τὸ ἐπάρδειν τὴν χώραν· οὐ γὰρ ὕεται τὸ πολὺ ἢ γῆ αὕτη ἐξ οὐρανοῦ· καὶ οὕτως ἐς οὐ πολὺ ὕδωρ ὁ Εὐφράτης τελευτῶν καὶ τεναγῶδες [ἐς] τοῦτο οὕτως ἀποπαύεται.

- 2 the sea.¹ Once he was near the estuary, he left most of his ships there including those which had been damaged, and with the faster sailers coasted himself by sea from the river Eulaeus to the mouths of the Tigris, while the rest of his flotilla were brought back by the Eulaeus as far as the canal cut between the Tigris and Eulaeus, by which they entered the Tigris.
- 3 Now of these rivers Euphrates and Tigris, which enclose Assyria between them—hence the name Mesopotamia ('between-rivers land')—the Tigris, which runs through much lower ground, receives many canals from the Euphrates, and takes in many tributaries, thus increasing its volume, runs into the Persian ocean and is large and cannot be crossed at any point down to its mouth, since none of
- 4 the water is used up on the land. For the land is here higher than the river, and the Tigris does not empty its water into canals or into any other river, but instead receives theirs; hence it does not provide irrigation for the land. The bed in which the Euphrates
- 5 flows is, however, higher; its banks are level with the land at all points, and many canals have been cut from it, some of which are always running and supply water to the inhabitants on either bank, while others are constructed as occasion requires, whenever they are short of water to irrigate the land; for in general this country gets no rain. Thus the Euphrates, coming to an end in little water, and that swampy, ceases to flow.

1 4, 1 n. For the ch. see App. XXVI. A. perhaps follows E. in § 3–5, and probably Ar. in 7 (cf. 19–21; S. xvi 1, 9–11; App. XXVIII 23).

6 Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ περιπλεύσας κατὰ τὴν θάλασσαν ὅσον
 μεταξὺ τοῦ τε Εὐλαίου ποταμοῦ καὶ τοῦ Τίγρητος ἐπέειχεν ὁ
 αἰγιαλὸς τοῦ κόλπου τοῦ Περσικοῦ ἀνέπλει κατὰ τὸν Τίγρητα
 ἔσπε ἐπὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον, ἵνα Ἡφαιστίων αὐτῷ τὴν δύναμιν
 πᾶσαν ἔχων ἐστρατοπεδεύκει. ἐκεῖθεν δὲ αὖθις ἔπλει εἰς Ὀπιιν,
 7 πόλιν ἐπὶ τοῦ Τίγρητος ὠκισμένην. ἐν δὲ τῷ ἀνάπλω τοὺς
 καταρράκτας τοὺς κατὰ τὸν ποταμὸν ἀφανίζων ὁμαλὸν πάντη
 ἐποίει τὸν ροῦν, οἳ δὴ ἐκ Περσῶν πεποιημένοι ἦσαν τοῦ μή
 τινα ἀπὸ θαλάσσης ἀναπλεύσαι εἰς τὴν χώραν αὐτῶν νηίτη
 στόλῳ κρατήσαντα. ταῦτα δὲ μεμηχάνητο ἅτε δὴ οὐ ναυτικοῖς
 τοῖς Πέρσαις· οὕτω δὴ συνεχεῖς οἱ καταρράκται πεποιημένοι
 ἄπορον τὸν ἀνάπλου ἐποίουν τὸν κατὰ τὸν Τίγρητα.
 Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ οὐκ ἔφη τῶν κρατούντων τοῖς ὄπλοις εἶναι τὰ
 τοιαῦτα σοφίσματα· οὐκ οὐκ πρὸς αὐτοῦ ἐποιεῖτο ταύτην τὴν
 ἀσφάλειαν, ἥντινα ἔργῳ οὐδὲ λόγῳ ἀξίαν ἀπέφηνε οὐ
 χαλεπῶς διακόψας τῶν Περσῶν τὰ σπουδάσματα.

8. Ὡς δὲ εἰς τὴν Ὀπιιν ἀφίκετο, συναγαγὼν τοὺς
 Μακεδόνας προεῖπεν ὅτι τοὺς ὑπὸ γήρωσ ἢ πηρώσεως τοῦ
 σώματος ἀχρείους εἰς τὰ πολέμια ὄντας παραλύει μὲν τῆς
 στρατιᾶς, ἀποπέμπει δὲ εἰς τὰ σφέτερα ἤθη, ἐπιδώσει δὲ
 <τοῖς> μένουσιν¹ ὅσα αὐτοὺς τε ζηλωτοτέρους ποιήσει τοῖς
 2 οἴκοι καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους Μακεδόνας ἐξορμήσει εἰς τὸ ἐθέλειν τῶν
 αὐτῶν κινδύνων τε καὶ πόνων μετέχειν. Ἀλέξανδρος μὲν ὡς
 χαριούμενος δῆθεν τοῖς Μακεδόσιν

1 <τοῖς> Hammond. Roos deleted μένουσιν.

6 After sailing by sea along the whole length of the coast of the
 Persian gulf between the Eulaeus and the Tigris, Alexander sailed
 up the Tigris to the camp where Hephaestion had encamped with
 all his force. From there he sailed on to Opis, a city situated on the
 7 Tigris.² In the voyage upstream he removed the weirs in the river
 and made the stream level throughout; these weirs had been made
 by the Persians to prevent anyone sailing up to their country from
 the sea and mastering it with a naval force. The Persians had
 constructed them because they had no naval power, and the weirs,
 built up at such regular intervals, made the voyage on the Tigris
 impracticable. Alexander, however, said that contrivances of this
 kind were the work of men lacking military supremacy; he
 therefore regarded this precaution as of no advantage to himself,
 and showed by his action in destroying with ease works on which
 the Persians had spent their energy that it was of no value.

8. On reaching Opis, he summoned his Macedonians and
 announced that he was discharging from the army and sending
 home men unfit for active service because of old age or physical
 disability.¹ He would give those who remained with him² enough to
 make them objects of envy to those at home, and stir up the rest of
 the Macedonians to readiness for sharing the same dangers and
 2 hardships.³ Alexander said this, no doubt, to show his favour to the
 Macedonians.

2 A large place till supplanted by Seleucia close by. The Tigris
 was navigable up to Opis, where it was linked by a royal canal with the
 Euphrates, 30 km. distant (S. xvi 1, 9; RE xviii 683).

1 The vulgate misplaced the discharge and mutiny of troops at
 Susa.

2 For text see Hammond, CQ 1980.

3 This implies that Al. had further conquests in mind.

ταῦτα ἔλεγεν οἱ δὲ ὡς ὑπερορώμενοί τε ἤδη πρὸς Ἀλεξάνδρου καὶ ἀχρεῖοι πάντη ἐς τὰ πολέμια νομιζόμενοι οὐκ ἀλόγως αὐτῷ λόγῳ ἠχθέσθησαν τῷ πρὸς Ἀλεξάνδρου λεχθέντι, κατὰ τὴν στρατιὰν ταύτην πᾶσαν πολλοῖς καὶ ἄλλοις ἀχθεσθέντες, ὅτι πολλάκις ἤδη ἐλύπει αὐτοὺς ἢ τε ἐσθῆς ἢ Περσικῆ ἐς ταῦτό² φέρουσα καὶ τῶν Ἐπιγόνων τῶν βαρβάρων <ἢ ἐς> τὰ Μακεδονικὰ ἦθη κόσμησις καὶ ἀνάμιξις τῶν ἀλλοφύλων

³ ἰππέων ἐς τὰς τῶν ἐταίρων τάξεις. οὐκ οὐκ σιγῇ ἔχοντες ἐκαρτέρησαν, ἀλλὰ πάντας γὰρ ἀπαλλάττειν στρατιᾶς ἐκέλευον, αὐτὸν δὲ μετὰ τοῦ πατρὸς στρατεύεσθαι, τὸν Ἄμμωνα δὴ τῷ λόγῳ ἐπικερτομοῦντες. ταῦτα ἀκούσας Ἀλέξανδρος (ἦν γὰρ δὴ ὀξύτερός τε ἐν τῷ τότε καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς βαρβαρικῆς θεραπείας οὐκέτι ὡς πάλαι ἐπιεικῆς ἐς τοὺς Μακεδόνας) καταπηδήσας σὺν τοῖς ἀμφ' αὐτὸν ἡγεμόσιν ἀπὸ τοῦ βήματος ξυλλαβεῖν τοὺς ἐπιφανεστάτους τῶν ταραξάντων τὸ πλῆθος κελεύει, αὐτὸς τῇ χειρὶ ἐπιδεικνύων τοῖς ὑπασπισταῖς οὕστινας χρὴ συλλαμβάνειν· καὶ ἐγένοντο οὗτοι ἐς τρισκαίδεκα. τούτους μὲν δὴ ἀπάγειν κελεύει τὴν ἐπὶ θανάτῳ. ὡς δὲ κατεσιώπησαν οἱ ἄλλοι ἐκπλαγέντες, ἀναβὰς αὐθις ἐπὶ τὸ βῆμα ἔλεξεν ὧδε.

9. Οὐχ ὑπὲρ τοῦ καταπαῦσαι ὑμῶν, ὦ Μακεδόνες, τὴν οἴκαδε ὄρμην λεχθήσεται μοι ὅδε ὁ λόγος, ἔξεστι γὰρ ὑμῖν ἀπιέναι ὅποι βούλεσθε ἐμοῦ γε ἕνεκα, ἀλλὰ ὡς γνῶναι ὑμᾶς πρὸς ὁποῖους τινὰς ἡμᾶς ὄντας ὁποῖοί τινες αὐτοὶ γενόμενοι ἀπαλλάσσεσθε.

² Polak: τοῦτο codd., Roos.

But they supposed that they were by now objects of his contempt and that he thought them wholly useless in his wars; they were, not without reason, aggrieved once more by the speech he had delivered. In the whole of their expedition they had had many sources of discontent; on many previous occasions they had been vexed by his Persian dress, which suggested the same thing, by the equipment of the barbarian Epigoni in Macedonian style and the introduction of foreign horsemen in the ranks of the Companions.⁴

³ Consequently, they did not endure in silence, but called on him to discharge them all from the army, and to campaign himself in company with his father, referring in mockery to Ammon.⁵ Hearing this Alexander, who had become by this time quicker-tempered and, courted as he now was in the barbarian manner, had ceased to be so kindly as in old times to the Macedonians, leapt down from the platform with the officers round him and ordered them to arrest the most conspicuous of the popular agitators, personally pointing out to the hypaspists with his finger whom they were to arrest; they numbered about thirteen. He ordered them to be led away to execution but, as the others were stunned and remained in dead silence, he remounted the platform and spoke as follows⁶:

9. 'It is not to put an end to your passion for home, Macedonians, that I shall deliver this speech, for you may depart wherever you wish for all I care, but to make you understand your own character and ours and the way you have behaved to us, at the time

⁴ Cf. 6, 2–5 with nn. The policies complained of went back only to 330.

⁵ App. V 8 ff.

⁶ App. XXVI 6. QC. also inserts a speech.

2 καὶ πρῶτά γε ἀπὸ Φιλίππου τοῦ πατρός, ἥπερ καὶ εἰκός, τοῦ λόγου ἄρξομαι. Φίλιππος γὰρ παραλαβὼν ὑμᾶς πλανήτας καὶ ἀπόρους, ἐν διφθέραις τοὺς πολλοὺς νέμοντας ἀνὰ τὰ ὄρη πρόβατα ὀλίγα καὶ ὑπὲρ τούτων κακῶς μαχομένους Ἰλλυριοῖς καὶ Τριβαλλοῖς καὶ τοῖς ὁμόροις Θραξίν, χλαμύδας μὲν ὑμῖν ἀντὶ τῶν διφθερῶν φορεῖν ἔδωκεν, κατήγαγε δὲ ἐκ τῶν ὄρων ἐς τὰ πεδία, ἀξιομάχους καταστήσας τοῖς προσχώροις τῶν βαρβάρων, ὡς μὴ χωρίων ἔτι ὀχυρότητι πιστεύοντας μᾶλλον ἢ τῇ οἰκείᾳ ἀρετῇ σώζεσθαι, πόλεων τε οἰκήτορας ἀπέφηνε

3 καὶ νόμοις καὶ ἔθεσι χρηστοῖς ἐκόσμησεν. αὐτῶν δὲ ἐκείνων τῶν βαρβάρων, ὑφ' ὧν πρόσθεν ἤγεσθε καὶ ἐφέρεσθε αὐτοί τε καὶ τὰ ὑμέτερα, ἡγεμόνας κατέστησεν ἐκ δούλων καὶ ὑπηκόων, καὶ τῆς Θράκης τὰ πολλὰ τῇ Μακεδονίᾳ προσέθηκεν, καὶ τῶν ἐπὶ θαλάττῃ χωρίων τὰ ἐπικαιρότατα καταλαβόμενος τὴν ἐμπορίαν τῇ χώρᾳ ἀνεπέτασε, καὶ τῶν

4 μετάλλων τὴν ἐργασίαν ἀδεῆ παρέσχε, Θεσσαλῶν δὲ ἄρχοντας, οὓς πάλαι ἐτεθνήκειτε τῷ δέει, ἀπέφηνε, καὶ τὸ Φωκέων ἔθνος ταπεινώσας τὴν ἐς τὴν Ἑλλάδα πάροδον πλατείαν καὶ εὐπορον ἀντὶ στενῆς τε καὶ ἀπόρου ὑμῖν ἐποίησεν, Ἀθηναίους τε καὶ Θηβαίους ἐφεδρεύοντας αἰεὶ τῇ Μακεδονίᾳ ἐς τοσόνδε ἐταπείνωσεν, ἤδη ταῦτά γε καὶ ἡμῶν αὐτῷ ξυμπονούτων, ὡς ἀντὶ τοῦ φόρους τελεῖν Ἀθηναίοις καὶ ὑπακούειν Θηβαίων, παρ' ἡμῶν ἐν τῷ μέρει

2 you leave. First of all, I shall begin my speech with Philip, my father, as is only fair. Philip took you over when you were helpless vagabonds, mostly clothed in skins, feeding a few animals on the mountains and engaged in their defence in unsuccessful fighting with Illyrians, Triballians and the neighbouring Thracians. He gave you cloaks to wear instead of skins, he brought you down from the mountains to the plains; he made you a match in battle for the barbarians on your borders, so that you no longer trusted for your safety to the strength of your positions so much as to your natural courage. He made you city dwellers and established the order that

3 comes from good laws and customs.¹ It was due to him that you became masters and not slaves and subjects of those very barbarians who used previously to plunder your possessions and carry off your persons. He annexed the greater part of Thrace to Macedonia² and, by capturing the best placed positions by the sea, he opened up the country to trade; he enabled you to work the mines in safety; he made you the rulers of the Thessalians, who in

4 the old days made you dead with terror; he humbled the Phocian people and gave you access into Greece that was broad and easy instead of being narrow and hard. The Athenians and Thebans were always lying in wait to attack Macedonia; Philip reduced them so low, at a time when we were actually sharing in his exertions, that instead of our paying tribute to the Athenians³ and taking orders from the Thebans it

1 An exaggeration, see Hammond, *Hist. of Mac.* ii 647 ff., but also 657 ff. for Ph's solid improvements in military security and material prosperity.

2 Not all, cf. Hammond 656 f.; 672 ff.; A. i 25, 2; D 62, 5; QC. x 1, 43.

3 False Athenian propaganda (cf. Ps-Dem. vii 12), unlikely to come from Pt/Ar

- 5 ἐκείνους τὴν ἀσφάλειάν σφισι πορίζεσθαι. ἐς Πελοπόννησον δὲ παρελθὼν τὰ ἐκεῖ αὖ ἐκόσμησε καὶ ἡγεμὼν αὐτοκράτωρ συμπάσης τῆς ἄλλης Ἑλλάδος ἀποδειχθεὶς τῆς ἐπὶ τὸν Πέρσῃν στρατιᾶς οὐχ ἑαυτῷ μᾶλλον τι τὴν δόξαν τήνδε ἢ τῷ κοινῷ τῶν Μακεδόνων προσέθηκεν.
- 6 Ταῦτα μὲν τὰ ἐκ τοῦ πατρὸς τοῦ ἐμοῦ ἐς ὑμᾶς ὑπηργμένα, ὡς μὲν αὐτὰ ἐφ' ἑαυτῶν σκέψασθαι μεγάλα, μικρὰ δὲ ὡς γε δὴ πρὸς τὰ ἡμέτερα ξυμβαλεῖν. ὃς παραλαβὼν παρὰ τοῦ πατρὸς χρυσᾶ μὲν καὶ ἀργυρᾶ ἐκπώματα ὀλίγα, τάλαντα δὲ οὐδὲ ἐξήκοντα ἐν τοῖς θησαυροῖς, χρεῶν δὲ ὀφειλόμενα ὑπὸ Φιλίππου ἐς πεντακόσια τάλαντα, δανεισάμενος ἐπὶ τούτοις αὐτὸς ἄλλα ὀκτακόσια ὀρμηθεὶς ἐκ τῆς χώρας τῆς γε οὐδὲ ὑμᾶς αὐτοὺς βοσκοῦσης καλῶς εὐθὺς μὲν τοῦ Ἑλλησπόντου
- 7 ὑμῖν τὸν πόρον θαλασσοκρατούντων ἐν τῷ τότε Περσῶν ἀνεπέτασα· κρατήσας δὲ τῇ ἵππῳ τοὺς σατράπας τοὺς Δαρείου τὴν τε Ἰωνίαν πᾶσαν τῇ ὑμετέρῃ ἀρχῇ προσέθηκα καὶ τὴν Αἰολίδα πᾶσαν καὶ Φρύγας ἀμφοτέρους καὶ Λυδοὺς, καὶ Μίλητον εἶλον πολιορκίᾳ· τὰ δὲ ἄλλα πάντα ἐκόντα
- 8 προσχωρήσαντα λαβὼν ὑμῖν καρποῦσθαι ἔδωκα· καὶ τὰ ἐξ Αἰγύπτου καὶ Κυρήνης ἀγαθὰ, ὅσα ἀμαχεὶ ἐκτησάμην, ὑμῖν ἔρχεται, ἢ τε κοίλη Συρία καὶ ἡ Παλαιστίνη καὶ ἡ μέση τῶν ποταμῶν ὑμέτερον κτῆμά εἰσι, καὶ Βαβυλῶν καὶ Βάκτρα καὶ Σοῦσα ὑμέτερα, καὶ ὁ

5 was we in our turn who gave them security. He entered the Peloponnese and there too he settled affairs, and his recognition as leader with full powers⁴ over the whole of the rest of Greece in the expedition against the Persians did not perhaps confer more glory on himself than on the commonwealth of the Macedonians.⁵

6 These services which my father rendered you, great as they are when considered by themselves alone, are actually small in comparison with our own. Inheriting from my father only a few gold and silver cups and not so much as sixty Talents⁶ in the treasury, with debts Philip had contracted of about five hundred Talents, I myself borrowed another eight hundred in addition and, setting out from the land from which you did not get a fair subsistence yourselves, I at once opened up for you the Hellespontine straits, although at that time the Persians controlled

7 the sea, and after my cavalry victory over the satraps of Darius I added all Ionia to your empire and all Aeolis, both Phrygia and Lydia; I captured Miletus by siege, and gave you the enjoyment of all the other countries that voluntarily surrendered to my power. All

8 the benefits from Egypt and Cyrene,⁷ which I won without a blow, go to you; "hollow" Syria, Palestine, Mesopotamia, are your possessions; Babylon, Bactria, Susa are yours, and yours are the wealth of

4 An exaggeration of which Al. was doubtless capable.

5 Xenophon's 'commonwealth of the Persians' (*Cyrop.* i 5, 8) could have suggested this phrase; in any case Hammond, *CQ* 1980, 461–5 subverts my remarks in *Introd.* 28 to some extent; in practice the Macedonian people could not control a strong king.

6 Ar. gave 70 (P. 15)—so A. is not following him—and Onesicritus put the debt at 200 (ib.); A's first two figures are those of QC. x 2, 24, the third is unique.

7 D. 49; QC. iv 7, 9 for embassy from Cyrene (332/1), which could have been construed as submission. A's silence does not imply

Λυδῶν πλοῦτος καὶ οἱ Περσῶν θησαυροὶ καὶ τὰ Ἰνδῶν ἀγαθὰ
 9 καὶ ἡ ἔξω θάλασσα ὑμέτερα· ὑμεῖς σατράπαι, ὑμεῖς
 στρατηγοί, ὑμεῖς ταξιάρχαι. ὡς ἔμοιγε αὐτῷ τί περίεστιν ἀπὸ
 τούτων τῶν πόνων ὅτι μὴ αὕτη ἡ πορφύρα καὶ τὸ διάδημα
 τοῦτο; κέκτημαι δὲ ἰδίᾳ οὐδέν, οὐδὲ ἔχει τις ἀποδείξαι
 θησαυροὺς ἐμοὺς ὅτι μὴ ταῦτα, ὑμέτερα κτήματα ἢ ὅσα ἔνεκα
 ὑμῶν φυλάττεται. ἐπεὶ οὐδὲ ἔστιν ἰδίᾳ μοι ἐς ὃ τι φυλάξω
 αὐτοῦς, σιτουμένῳ τε τὰ αὐτὰ ὑμῖν σιτία καὶ ὕπνον τὸν αὐτὸν
 αἰρουμένῳ· καίτοι οὐδὲ σιτία ἐμοὶ δοκῶ τὰ αὐτὰ τοῖς
 τρυφῶσιν ὑμῶν σιτεῖσθαι· προαγρυπνῶν δὲ ὑμῶν οἶδα, ὡς
 καθεύδειν ἔχοιτε ὑμεῖς.

10. Ἀλλὰ ταῦτα γὰρ ὑμῶν ποιούντων καὶ
 ταλαιπωρουμένων ἐκτησάμην αὐτὸς ἀπόνως καὶ ἀταλαιπώρως
 ἐξηγούμενος. καὶ τίς ὑμῶν ἢ πονήσας οἶδεν ἐμοῦ μᾶλλον . . .
 . . ἢ ἐγὼ ὑπὲρ ἐκείνου; ἄγε δὴ καὶ ὅτῳ τραύματα ὑμῶν ἐστι
 2 γυμνώσας αὐτὰ ἐπιδειξάτω καὶ ἐγὼ τὰ ἐμὰ ἐπιδείξω ἐν μέρει
 ὡς ἔμοιγε οὐκ ἔστιν ὃ τι τοῦ σώματος τῶν γε δὴ ἔμπροσθεν
 μερῶν ἄτρωτον ὑπολέλειπται, οὐδὲ ὄπλον τι ἔστιν ἢ ἐκ χειρὸς
 ἢ τῶν ἀφιεμένων οὗ γε οὐκ ἴχνη ἐν ἐμαντῷ φέρω· ἀλλὰ καὶ
 ξίφει ἐκ χειρὸς τέτρωμαι καὶ τετόξευμαι ἤδη καὶ ἀπὸ μηχανῆς
 βέβλημαι, καὶ λίθοις πολλαχῆ καὶ ξύλοις παιόμενος ὑπὲρ
 ὑμῶν καὶ τῆς ὑμετέρας δόξης καὶ τοῦ ὑμετέρου πλούτου
 νικῶντας ὑμᾶς ἄγω διὰ πάσης γῆς καὶ θαλάσσης καὶ πάντων
 3 ποταμῶν καὶ ὀρῶν καὶ πεδίων πάντων, γάμους τε ὑμῖν τοὺς

the Lydians, the treasures of the Persians, the bounty of India and
 the outer sea. It is you who are satraps, generals and taxiarchs.⁸ If
 9 you consider me, what is there still in my possession after these
 exertions but this purple and diadem⁹? I have acquired nothing for
 myself; no one can point to treasures of mine, but only to your
 possessions or what is kept in trust for you, for I have nothing to
 gain by keeping them for my own use; I eat the same food as you
 do, I sleep as you do, except that my food is not, I think, as
 luxurious as some of you consume, and that I know that on your
 behalf I am wakeful, so that you may be able to slumber soundly.

10. 'But, you may say, the exertions and hardships were yours
 and all these acquisitions were mine, while I direct you without any
 personal exertion or hardship! Yet which of you is conscious that he
 exerted himself more in my behalf than I in his? Come then, let any
 of you strip and display his own wounds, and I will display mine in
 2 turn; in my case there is no part of the body, or none in front, that
 has been left unwounded, and there is no weapon of close combat,
 no missile whose scars I do not bear on my person, but I have been
 wounded by the sword hand to hand, shot by arrows and struck by a
 catapult, and I am often struck by stones and clubs for your interest,
 your glory and your riches, while I lead you as conquerors through
 every land and sea, river, mountain and plain. I have made the same
 3 marriages

⁸ Tarn supposes that Al. here turned to the officers, but the narrative does not suggest that they had manifested any opposition; this is a point suitable for a rhetorician who had forgotten the historic circumstances of the speech. Cf. 10, 3 nn.

⁹ App. XIV 2. Bosworth, *JHS* 1980, 8 ff. shows that Al. was now affecting more regal splendour, see e.g. 22, 2; 24, 2; Athenaus xii 537 D-540 A.

αὐτοὺς γεγάμηκα καὶ πολλῶν ὑμῶν οἱ παῖδες συγγενεῖς ἔσονται τοῖς παισὶ τοῖς ἐμοῖς. ἔτι δὲ ᾧ χρέα ἦν, οὐ πολυπραγμονήσας ἐφ' ὅτῳ ἐγένετο, τοσαῦτα μὲν μισθοφορούντων, τοσαῦτα δὲ ἀρπαζόντων, ὅποτε ἐκ πολιορκίας ἀρπαγὴ γίγνοιτο, διαλέλυμαι ταῦτα. στέφανοί τε χρυσοῖ τοῖς πλείστοις ὑμῶν εἰσι μνημεῖα τῆς τε ἀρετῆς τῆς 4 ὑμετέρας καὶ τῆς ἐξ ἐμοῦ τιμῆς ἀθάνατα. ὅστις δὲ δὴ καὶ ἀπέθανεν, εὐκλεῆς μὲν αὐτῷ ἢ τελευτῇ ἐγένετο, περιφανῆς δὲ ὁ τάφος, χαλκαῖ δὲ αἱ εἰκόνες τῶν πλείστων οἴκοι ἐστᾶσιν, οἱ γονεῖς δ' ἔντιμοί εἰσι λειτουργίας τε ξυμπάσης καὶ εἰσφορᾶς ἀπηλλαγμένοι οὐ γάρ τις γε φεύγων ὑμῶν ἐτελεύτα ἐμοῦ ἄγοντος.

5 Καὶ νῦν τοὺς ἀπολέμους ὑμῶν ζηλωτοὺς τοῖς οἴκοι ἀποπέμψειν ἤμελλον· ἀλλ' ἐπειδὴ πάντες ἀπιέναι βούλεσθε, ἄπιτε πάντες, καὶ ἀπελθόντες οἴκοι ἀπαγγείλατε ὅτι τὸν βασιλέα ὑμῶν Ἀλέξανδρον, νικῶντα μὲν Πέρσας καὶ Μήδους 6 καὶ Βακτρίους καὶ Σάκας, καταστρεψάμενον δὲ Οὐξίους τε καὶ Ἀραχωτοὺς καὶ Δράγγας, κεκτημένον δὲ καὶ Παρθυαίους καὶ Χορασμίους καὶ Ὑρκανίους ἔσθε ἐπὶ τὴν θάλασσαν τὴν Κασπίαν, ὑπερβάντα δὲ τὸν Καύκασον ὑπὲρ τὰς Κασπίας πύλας, καὶ περάσαντα Ὅξον τε ποταμὸν καὶ Τάναϊν, ἔτι δὲ τὸν Ἰνδὸν ποταμὸν, οὐδενὶ ἄλλῳ ὅτι μὴ Διονύσῳ περαθέντα, 7 καὶ τὸν Ὑδάσπην καὶ τὸν Ἀκεσίνην καὶ τὸν Ὑδραώτην, καὶ τὸν Ὑφασιν διαπεράσαντα ἄν, εἰ μὴ ὑμεῖς ἀπωκνήσατε, καὶ ἐς τὴν μεγάλην θάλασσαν κατ' ἀμφότερα τοῦ Ἰνδοῦ τὰ στόματα ἐμβαλόντα,

as you, and many of your children will be the kin of mine.¹

Furthermore, if you contracted debts, I did not make it my business to discover why, despite the enormous sums you gained by pay and plunder, whenever a besieged place was plundered, but I discharged them all. Most of you have gold crowns² as memorials of your own courage, but also of the honour that I have accorded you, 4 and that will last all time. Indeed, when a man died, glory came to him by his death, splendour in his funeral, and brazen images have been erected for most of them at home, while his parents enjoy the honour of being freed from every public duty and tax³; of course not a man of you died in flight under my command.

5 'And now it was my intention to send away only men unfit for war, to be the envy of those at home but, as you all desire to go, let all of you begone, return to your homes and report that your king, Alexander, defeated Persians, Medes, Bactrians, Sacae, subdued 6 Uxians, Arachotians, Drangians, conquered Parthyaean, Chorasmians,⁴ Hyrcanians as far as the Caspian⁵ sea, went over the Caucasus beyond the Caspian gates,⁶ crossed the river Oxus and the Tanais, and even the river Indus which no one but Dionysus had crossed before, and the Hydaspes and Acesines and Hydraotes, and 7 would have crossed the Hyphasis as well but for your apprehensions, and that he burst out on the great sea by both mouths of

1 Absurd in relation to the common soldiers: an invention perhaps influenced by 11, 7.

2 For officers, e.g. vii 5, 4 ff.

3 Cf. i 16, 4 f. with Bosworth *ad loc.*

4 Pharasmanes' visit (iv 15, 4) could have been taken as submission.

5 *Contra* Tarn ii 294, Al's contemporaries did use this name as well as 'Hyrcanian sea,' cf. 16, 2 (so too Hdt. i 203).

καὶ διὰ τῆς Γαδρωσίας τῆς ἐρήμου ἐλθόντα, ἧ οὐδεὶς πω
 πρόσθεν σὺν στρατιᾷ ἦλθε, καὶ Καρμανίαν ἐν παρόδῳ
 προσκτησάμενον καὶ τὴν Ὀρειτῶν γῆν, περιπεπλευκότος δὲ
 ἤδη αὐτῷ τοῦ ναυτικοῦ τὴν ἀπ' Ἰνδῶν γῆς εἰς Πέρσας
 θάλασσαν, ὡς εἰς Σούσα ἐπανηγάγετε, ἀπολιπόντες οἴχεσθε,
 παραδόντες φυλάσσειν τοῖς νενικημένοις βαρβάροις. ταῦτα
 ὑμῖν καὶ πρὸς ἀνθρώπων ἴσως εὐκλεᾶ καὶ πρὸς θεῶν ὅσια
 δήπου ἔσται ἀπαγγελθέντα. ἄπιτε.

11. Ταῦτα εἰπὼν κατεπήδησέ τε ἀπὸ τοῦ βήματος ὀξέως
 καὶ ἐς τὰ βασιλεια παρελθὼν οὔτε ἐθεράπευσεν τὸ σῶμα οὔτε
 τῷ ὄφθῃ τῶν ἐταίρων· ἀλλ' οὐδὲ ἐς τὴν ὑστεραίαν ὄφθῃ. τῇ
 τρίτῃ δὲ καλέσας εἴσω τῶν Περσῶν τοὺς ἐπιλέκτους τὰς τε
 ἡγεμονίας αὐτοῖς τῶν τάξεων διένειμε καὶ ὄσους συγγενεῖς
 2 ἀπέφηνε, τούτοις δὲ νόμιμον ἐποίησε φιλεῖν αὐτὸν μόνοις. οἱ
 δὲ Μακεδόνες ἔν τε τῷ παραντίκα ἀκούσαντες τῶν λόγων
 ἐκπεπληγμένοι συγῆ ἔμενον αὐτοῦ πρὸς τῷ βήματι οὐδέ τις
 ἠκολούθησε τῷ βασιλεῖ ἀπαλλαττομένῳ ὅτι μὴ οἱ ἀμφ' αὐτὸν
 3 ἑπαῖροί τε καὶ οἱ σωματοφύλακες, οἱ δὲ πολλοὶ οὔτε μένοντες
 ὅ τι πράττωσιν ἢ λέγωσιν εἶχον, οὔτε ἀπαλλάσσεσθαι
 ἤθελον. ὡς δὲ τὰ Περσῶν τε καὶ Μήδων αὐτοῖς ἐξηγγέλλετο,
 αἶ τε ἡγεμονίαι Πέρσαις διδόμεναι καὶ ἡ στρατιὰ ἡ
 βαρβαρικὴ ἐς λόχους τε καταλεγομένη καὶ τὰ Μακεδονικὰ
 ὀνόματα ἄγημά τι Περσικὸν καλούμενον

the Indus, and came through the Gadrosian desert, where no one
 had ever before gone with an army, and acquired Carmania and the
 land of the Oritans as he passed through, while the fleet had already
 sailed along the coast from India to Persia, and that when you
 returned to Susa⁷ you deserted him and went off, handing him over
 to the protection of the barbarians he had conquered. This is a
 report that will perhaps win you a fine reputation with men and will
 doubtless be holy in the sight of heaven. Begone!⁸

11. After his speech he leapt down swiftly from his platform
 and, passing into the palace, paid no attention to his bodily needs,
 and was not seen by any of the Companions, not even on the
 following day.¹ But on the third day he summoned inside the picked
 men among the Persians and divided the commands of the
 he declared his kinsmen. The Macedonians had been immediately
 2 stunned by his speech, and stayed in silence there by the platform,
 none following the king when he left except for the attendant
 Companions and bodyguards; but the mass, though they stayed
 behind, had nothing to say and yet were unwilling to depart. But
 3 when they heard about the Persians and the Medes, and the
 commands given to the Persians, and the Oriental force being
 drafted into the units, and the Macedonian names—an *agema*
 called Persian,² and Persian

7 A. presupposes the accuracy of the vulgate, contradicting his narrative.

8 Tarn ii 295 thinks the ending (also imitated in QC's speech at the Beas, ix 2, 34) beyond a Greek rhetorician, and thus an authentic utterance of Al. But cf. Lysias xi 18; xii 100.

1 For what follows cf. D. 109; QC. x 3, 1 ff. (with a speech of Al. to the foreign troops); P. 71; J. xii 1, all with variant details.

2 Cf. 29, 4; Bosworth, *JHS* 1980, 9, citing D. 110, 1 f.; xviii 27, 1;

καὶ πεζέταιροι Πέρσαι καὶ ἀσθέτεροι ἄλλοι ¹ καὶ
 ἀργυρασπίδων τάξις Περσικὴ καὶ ἡ τῶν ἐταίρων ἵππος καὶ
 4 ταύτης ἄλλο ἄγλημα βασιλικόν, οὐκέτι καρτεροὶ σφῶν ἦσαν,
 ἀλλὰ ξυνδραμόντες ὡς πρὸς τὰ βασιλεία τὰ μὲν ὄπλα αὐτοῦ
 πρὸ τῶν θυρῶν ἐρρίπτουν, ἱκετηρίας ταύτας τῷ βασιλεῖ, αὐτοὶ
 δ' ἐβόων πρὸ τῶν θυρῶν ἐστηκότες δεόμενοι παρελθεῖν εἴσω
 τοὺς τε αἰτίους τῆς ἐν τῷ τότε ταραχῆς καὶ τοὺς ἄρξαντας τῆς
 βοῆς ἐκδιδόναι ἐθέλειν· οὐκ οὐκ ἀπαλλαγῆσθαι τῶν θυρῶν
 οὔτε ἡμέρας οὔτε νυκτός, εἰ μὴ τινα οἴκτον σφῶν ἔξει
 Ἀλέξανδρος.

5 Ταῦτα ὡς ἀπηγγέλλετο αὐτῷ, ὁ δὲ σπουδῆ ἐξέρχεται καὶ
 ἰδὼν τε ταπεινῶς διακειμένους καὶ ἀκούσας σὺν οἰμωγῇ τῶν
 πολλῶν βοῶντων καὶ αὐτῷ προχέεται δάκρυα. καὶ ὁ μὲν
 6 ἀνήγετο ὡς τι ἐρώων, οἱ δὲ ἔμενον λιπαροῦντες. καὶ τις αὐτῶν
 καθ' ἡλικίαν τε καὶ ἵππαρχίαν τῆς ἵππου τῆς ἐταιρικῆς οὐκ
 ἀφανῆς, Καλλίνης ὄνομα, τοιαῦτα εἶπεν· ὦ βασιλεῦ, τὰ
 λυποῦντά ἐστι Μακεδόνας ὅτι σὺ Περσῶν μὲν τινὰς ἤδη
 πεποίησαι σταντῷ συγγενεῖς καὶ καλοῦνται Πέρσαι συγγενεῖς
 7 Ἀλεξάνδρου καὶ φιλοῦσί σε, Μακεδόνων δὲ οὔπω τις γέγενται
 ταύτης τῆς τιμῆς. ἐνθα δὴ ὑπολαβὼν Ἀλέξανδρος, ἀλλ' ὑμᾶς
 τε, ἔφη, ξύμπαντας ἐμαντῷ τίθεμαι συγγενεῖς καὶ τό γε ἀπὸ
 τούτου οὕτως καλέσω. ταῦτα εἰπόντα προσελθὼν ὁ Καλλίνης
 τε ἐφίλησε καὶ ὅστις ἄλλος φιλήσαι ἠθέλησε. καὶ οὕτω δὴ
 8 ἀναλαβόντες τὰ ὄπλα βοῶντές τε καὶ παιωνίζοντες ἐς τὸ
 στρατόπεδον ἀπήεσαν. Ἀλέξανδρος

1 See Introduction n. 99.

'foot-companions', and *astheteroi* too, and a Persian battalion of
 'silver-shields',³ and the cavalry of the Companions which now
 included a new royal *agema*—they could no longer contain
 4 themselves, but all ran together to the palace and, throwing down
 their arms there before the doors as signs of supplication to the
 king, they themselves stood shouting before the doors begging to be
 let in. They said they would give up the instigators of the late
 disturbance and those who began the clamour; they would depart
 from the doors neither by day nor by night unless Alexander would
 have some pity on them.

5 When this was reported to Alexander, he quickly came out, and
 seeing them so humble, and hearing most of them lamenting loudly,
 he too shed tears. He came forward as if to say something, while
 6 they stayed there in supplication. One of them called Callines, a
 man distinguished by age and hipparchy⁴ in the Companions'
 cavalry, said something like this: 'What grieves the Macedonians,
 Sire, is that you have now made some of the Persians your kinsmen
 and that Persians are called "Alexander's kinsmen", and permitted
 to kiss you, but no Macedonian has yet enjoyed this privilege.' On
 7 this Alexander broke in: 'But I regard all of you as my kinsmen, and
 from this time forth I shall give you that name.' When he had said
 this, Callines approached and kissed him, and so did any other who
 wished.⁵ So they took up their arms again and returned to the camp
 8 shouting and singing their victory song. On

3 This name, applied after Al. to some or all of the hypaspists, could have come into use before his death, implying of course an issue to them of silver shields, cf. Bosworth, *JHS* 1980 n. 64.

4 A cavalry officer, but not a hipparch.

5 Introd. 32, cf. iv 11, 3; 12, 3–5.

δὲ ἐπὶ τούτοις θυσίαν τε θύει τοῖς θεοῖς οἷς αὐτῷ νόμος καὶ
 θοίνην δημοτελή ἐποίησε, καθήμενός τε αὐτὸς καὶ πάντων
 καθημένων, ἀμφ' αὐτὸν μὲν Μακεδόνων, ἐν δὲ τῷ ἐφεξῆς
 τούτων Περσῶν, ἐπὶ δὲ τούτοις τῶν ἄλλων ἔθνῶν ὅσοι κατ'
 ἀξίωσιν ἢ τινα ἄλλην ἀρετὴν πρεσβευόμενοι, καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ
 αὐτοῦ κρατήρος αὐτὸς τε καὶ οἱ ἀμφ' αὐτὸν ἀρνούμενοι
 ἔσπενδον τὰς αὐτὰς σπονδὰς καταρχομένων τῶν τε Ἑλλήνων
 9 μάντεων καὶ τῶν Μάγων. εὔχετο δὲ τά τε ἄλλα [καὶ τὰ] ἀγαθὰ
 καὶ ὁμόνοιάν τε καὶ κοινωνίαν τῆς ἀρχῆς Μακεδόσι καὶ
 Πέρσαις. εἶναι δὲ κατέχει λόγος τοὺς μετασχόντας τῆς θοίνης
 ἑννακισχιλίους, καὶ τούτους πάντας μίαν τε σπονδὴν σπείσαι
 καὶ ἐπ' αὐτῇ παιωνίσαι.

12. Ἐνθα δὴ ἐθελονταὶ ἤδη αὐτῷ ἀπήεσαν τῶν Μακεδόνων
 ὅσοι διὰ γῆρας ἢ τινα ἄλλην ξυμφορὰν ἀπόλεμοι ἦσαν καὶ
 οὗτοι αὐτῷ ἐγένοντο ἐς τοὺς μυρίους. τούτοις δὲ τὴν τε
 μισθοφορὰν οὐ τοῦ ἐξήκοντος ἤδη χρόνου ἔδωκεν Ἀλέξανδρος
 μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῦ ἐς τὴν ἀπονόστησιν τὴν οἴκαδε
 2 ξυμβαίνοντος. ἐπέδωκεν δὲ καὶ τάλαντον ἐκάστῳ ὑπὲρ τὴν
 μισθοφορὰν παῖδες δὲ εἴ τῳ ἦσαν ἐκ τῶν Ἀσιανῶν γυναικῶν,
 παρὰ οἷ καταλιπεῖν ἐκέλευσε μηδὲ στάσιν κατάγειν ἐς
 Μακεδονίαν ἀλλοφύλους τε καὶ ἐκ τῶν βαρβάρων γυναικῶν
 παῖδας τοῖς οἴκοι ὑπολειμμένοις παισὶ τε καὶ μητράσιν
 αὐτῶν αὐτὸς δὲ ἐπιμελήσεσθαι ὡς ἐκτρέφοντο Μακεδονικῶς
 τά τε ἄλλα καὶ ἐς τὰ πολέμια

this Alexander sacrificed to the gods to whom it was his custom to
 sacrifice, and gave a public banquet, seated all the Macedonians
 round him, and next to them Persians,⁶ and then any persons from
 the other peoples who took precedence for rank or any other high
 quality,⁷ and he himself and those around him drank from the same
 bowl and poured the same libations, with the Greek soothsayers
 9 and Magi initiating the ceremony. Alexander prayed for various
 blessings and especially that the Macedonians and Persians should
 enjoy harmony as partners in the government.⁸ The story prevails
 that those who shared the banquet were nine thousand, and that
 they all poured the same libation and gave the one victory cry as
 they did so.⁹

12. And now such of the Macedonians as were unfit for service
 from old age or any other circumstance were ready to leave him;
 they numbered about ten thousand.¹ Alexander gave them the pay
 due not only for the time already served but also for that of their
 journey home; in addition he also gave each man a gratuity of a
 2 Talent. If they had children by Asian wives, he ordered them to
 leave them behind with him, and not take home to Macedonia a
 source of conflict between foreigners and children of foreign wives
 and the children and mothers they had left behind them; he
 promised personally to see that they were brought up in the
 Macedonian way, particularly in military training; when they were
 grown to man-

6 The Macedonians enjoy precedence.

7 Presumably Greeks and non-Persian Orientals.

8 Here 'Macedonians' doubtless includes Greek Companions (e.g. *Ind.* 18, 4 and 10) and 'Persians' includes non-Persian notables like Roxane's father. Tarn, App. 25, was refuted by Badian, *Historia* 1958, 425 ff., cf. Bosworth, *JHS* 1980, 2 ff.

9 Vulgate?

- 3 κοσμούμενοι, γενομένους δὲ ἄνδρας ἄξειν αὐτὸς ἐς
Μακεδονίαν καὶ παραδώσειν τοῖς πατράσιν. ταῦτά τε
ἀπαλλαττομένοις ἀστάθμητα καὶ ἀτέκμαρτα ἐπηγγέλλετο, καὶ
ὅπως ἔχει φιλίας τε καὶ πόθου ἐς αὐτοὺς τὸ ἀτρεκέστατον
τεκμήριον ἐκείνο ποιείσθαι ἠξίου, ὅτι τὸν πιστότατόν τε αὐτῷ
καὶ ὄντινα ἴσον τῇ ἑαυτοῦ κεφαλῇ ἄγει, Κρατερόν, ξυμπέμπει
αὐτοῖς φύλακά τε καὶ ἡγεμόνα τοῦ στόλου. οὕτω δὴ
- 4 ἀσπασάμενος ξύμπαντας αὐτὸς τε δακρύων καὶ δακρύνοντας
ἐκείνους ἀπὸ οὗ ἀπήλλαξε. Κρατερῷ δὲ τούτους τε ἄγειν
ἐκέλευσε καὶ ἀπαγαγόντι Μακεδονίας τε καὶ Θράκης καὶ
Θετταλῶν ἐξηγείσθαι καὶ τῶν Ἑλλήνων τῆς ἐλευθερίας·
Ἀντίπατρον δὲ διαδόχους τοῖς ἀποπεμπομένοις ἄγειν
Μακεδόνας τῶν ἀκμαζόντων ἐκέλευσεν. ἔστειλε δὲ καὶ
Πολυπέρχοντα ὁμοῦ τῷ Κρατερῷ, δεύτερον δὲ ἀπὸ Κρατεροῦ
ἡγεμόνα, ὡς εἴ τι κατὰ πορείαν Κρατερῷ συμπίπτει, ὅτι καὶ
μαλακῶς τὸ σῶμα ἔχοντα ἀπέπεμπεν αὐτόν, μὴ ποθῆσαι
στρατηγὸν τοὺς ἰόντας.
- 5 Λόγος δέ τις οὗτος ἐφοίτα ἀφανῆς παρὰ τοῖς τὰ βασιλικὰ
πράγματα, ὅσῳ ἐπικρύπτεται, τοσῶδε φιλοτιμότερον
ἐξηγουμένοις, καὶ τὸ πιστὸν ἐς τὸ χεῖρον μᾶλλον, ἢ τὸ εἰκός
τε καὶ ἡ αὐτῶν μοχθηρία ἄγει, ἢ πρὸς τὸ ἀληθὲς ἐκτρέπουσιν,
ἐξηττώμενον Ἀλέξανδρον ἤδη τῆς μητρὸς τῶν διαβολῶν τῶν
- 6 ἐς Ἀντίπατρον ἀπαλλάξαι ἐθέλειν ἐκ Μακεδονίας Ἀντίπατρον.
καὶ τυχὸν οὐκ ἐς ἀτιμίαν τὴν Ἀντιπάτρου ἢ μετάπεμψις αὐτοῦ
ἔφερεν, ἀλλ' ὡς

hood, he would take them back himself to Macedonia and hand
3 them over to their fathers.² While making these vague and uncertain
promises to them at their departure, he also thought fit to give
them the most solid proof of his love and affection for them by
sending with them Craterus, his most loyal follower, whom he loved
as dearly as his own life, to protect and lead them on their march.
So then having bidden them all farewell, with tears in his eyes, and
4 tears in theirs, he dismissed them. Craterus was not only appointed
to be their leader but, after conducting them back, he was to take
charge of Macedonia, Thrace, Thessaly and the freedom of the
Greeks,³ while Antipater was to bring drafts of Macedonians of full
age to replace the men being sent home. He also despatched
Polyperchon with Craterus, as the officer next in seniority to
Craterus, so that in case of harm coming to Craterus on the way,
since he was an invalid when sent off, they should not want a
general on their route.

- 5 But a story⁴ was going about surreptitiously among those who
explain the policies of kings all the more eagerly the more they are
kept secret, and perversely put their faith in the more sinister
interpretation, to which conjecture and their own malice lead them,
rather than in the truth: it was said that Alexander was already a
victim of his mother's calumnies about Antipater and wished to
remove him from Macedonia. Perhaps his recall was not meant in
6 fact to disgrace him, but to prevent mutual unpleasantness

2 D. 110, 3; P. 71, 5.

3 Introd. 39. On 4–7 see App. XXIII 10. Plut. *Eumenes* 6, 2
(Hieronymus) says that Craterus incurred Al's displeasure and won
popularity by opposition to Al's 'Orientalizing' (Bosworth, *JHS* 1980,
7).

4 A rumour going about, which Pt./Ar. sought to discredit.

μή τι ἐκ τῆς διαφορᾶς αὐτοῖς γένοιτο ἄχαρι ἐς ἀλλήλους καὶ οὐδὲ αὐτῷ ἰάσιμον. ἐπεὶ οὐδὲ ἐπαύοντο Ἀλεξάνδρῳ γράφοντες ὁ μὲν τὴν αὐθάδειάν τε τῆς Ὀλυμπιάδος καὶ ὀξύτητα καὶ πολυπραγμοσύνην, ἥκιστα δὴ τῇ Ἀλεξάνδρου μητρὶ εὐσχήμονα, ὥστε καὶ λόγος τις τοιόσδε ἐφέρετο Ἀλεξάνδρου ἐφ' οἷς ὑπὲρ τῆς μητρὸς αὐτῷ ἐξηγγέλλετο, βαρὺ δὴ τὸ

7 ἐνοίκιον τῶν δέκα μηνῶν εἰσπράττεσθαι αὐτοῦ τὴν μητέρα· ἢ δέ, ὑπέρογκον εἶναι τῇ τε ἀξιώσει καὶ τῇ ἄλλῃ θεραπείᾳ Ἀντίπατρον οὐδὲ μεμνήσθαι τοῦ καταστήσαντος ἔτι, ἀλλ' αὐτὸν γὰρ ἀξιῶν τὰ πρῶτα φέρεσθαι ἐν τοῖς ἄλλοις Μακεδόσι τε καὶ Ἑλλησι. καὶ ταῦτα μᾶλλον τι ἰσχύειν παρ' Ἀλεξάνδρῳ ἐφαίνετο ὅσα ἐς τοῦ Ἀντιπάτρου τὴν διαβολὴν φέροντα ἦν, οἷα δὴ καὶ φοβερώτερα ἐν βασιλείᾳ ὄντα. οὐ μέντοι καταφανές γέ τι ἢ ἔργον ἢ λόγος ἐξηγγέλλετο Ἀλεξάνδρου ἐφ' ὅτῳ ἂν τις συνέθηκεν οὐχ ὡσαύτως εἶναι αὐτῷ πρὸς θυμοῦ Ἀντίπατρον

.

Ἡφαιστίων.

13. Τούτῳ τῷ λόγῳ ὑποπτήξαντα Ἡφαιστίωνα συναλλαγῆναι Εὐμενεῖ, οὐχ ἐκόντα ἐκόντι. ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ ὁδῷ καὶ τὸ πεδῖον λέγεται ἰδεῖν Ἀλέξανδρον τὸ ἀνεκμῆνον ταῖς ἵπποις ταῖς βασιλικαῖς, αὐτό τε πεδῖον Νησαῖον καλούμενον καὶ αἱ ἵπποι ὅτι Νησαῖαι κληῖζονται λέγει Ἡρόδοτος· εἶναι δὲ πάλαι μὲν ἐς πεντεκαίδεκα μυριάδας τῶν ἵππων, τότε δὲ Ἀλέξανδρον οὐ πολὺ πλείονας τῶν πέντε

arising out of their disagreement, beyond Alexander's own ability to heal. In fact they never ceased writing letters to Alexander: Antipater would describe the headstrong nature of Olympias, her sharp temper and interfering ways, most unfitting to the mother of Alexander, so that a remark was even imputed to Alexander in reference to the accounts of his mother's doings, to the effect that she was exacting a heavy price from him for housing him for ten

7 months, while Olympias accused Antipater of being swollen with dignity and the court paid to him and of forgetting who had appointed him and claiming for himself preeminence among the other Macedonians and Greeks.⁵ And it appeared that these charges were gaining force with Alexander, tending as they did to discredit Antipater, since they were of just the kind to inspire apprehension in a monarchy. And yet no overt act or word was recorded of Alexander which might have led one to conclude that Antipater was not as high as ever in his regard . . .⁶

13. It is said that Hephaestion was prevailed on by this argument to make up his quarrel with Eumenes, though with a reluctance Eumenes did not share.¹ It was on this journey that Alexander is said to have also seen the plain in which the royal mares were pastured; the plain itself was called the Nesaeian and the horses Nesaeian, as Herodotus tells us; and there were originally about a hundred and fifty thousand mares, but at that time Alexander found no more

5 D. 118, 1 A's source claimed to know only the general tenor of the letters; no allusion to the spurious collection (Intro. 15).

6 For the lacuna see App. XXIII 8 f.

1 Not necessarily from 'vulgate,' cf. 14, 9.

καταλαβείν· πρὸς ληστῶν γὰρ διαρπαγῆναι τὰς πολλὰς αὐτῶν.

- 2 Ἐνταῦθα λέγουσιν ὅτι Ἀτροπάτης ὁ τῆς Μηδίας σατράπης γυναῖκας ἑκατὸν αὐτῷ ἔδωκεν, ταύτας φάσκων εἶναι τῶν Ἀμαζόνων, καὶ ταύτας σκευῇ ἀνδρῶν ἰππέων ἐσταλμένας, πλήν γε δὴ ὅτι πελέκεις ἀντὶ δοράτων ἐφόρουν καὶ ἀντὶ ἀσπίδων πέλτας· οἱ δὲ καὶ τὸν μαστὸν λέγουσιν ὅτι μείονα
- 3 εἶχον τὸν δεξιόν, ὃν δὴ καὶ ἔξω εἶχον ἐν ταῖς μάχαις. ταύτας μὲν δὴ ἀπαλλάξαι τῆς στρατιᾶς Ἀλέξανδρον, μή τι νεωτερισθείη κατ' αὐτὰς ἐς ὕβριν πρὸς τῶν Μακεδόνων ἢ βαρβάρων· κελεύσαι δὲ ἀπαγγεῖλαι πρὸς τὴν βασίλισσαν σφῶν ὅτι αὐτὸς ἤξει πρὸς αὐτὴν παιδοποιησόμενος. ταῦτα δὲ οὔτε Ἀριστόβουλος οὔτε Πτολεμαῖος οὔτε τις ἄλλος
- 4 ἀνέγραψεν ὅστις ἱκανὸς ὑπὲρ τῶν τηλικούτων τεκμηριῶσαι. οὐδὲ δοκεῖ μοι ἐν τῷ τότε σώζεσθαι τὸ γένος τῶν Ἀμαζόνων, οὐδ' ἔτι πρὸ Ἀλεξάνδρου, ἢ Ξενοφῶν ἀν' ἐμνήσθη αὐτῶν, Φασιανῶν τε μνησθεὶς καὶ Κόλχων καὶ ὅσα ἄλλα ἀπὸ Τραπεζοῦντος ὀρμώμενοι ἢ πρὶν ἐς Τραπεζοῦντα κατελθεῖν οἱ Ἕλληνες ἐπήλθον ἔθνη βαρβαρικά, ἵνα περ καὶ ταῖς Ἀμαζόνισιν
- 5 ἐντετυχήκεσαν <ἄν>, εἶπερ οὖν ἔτι ἦσαν Ἀμαζόνες. μὴ γενέσθαι μὲν γὰρ παντελῶς τὸ γένος τούτων τῶν γυναικῶν οὐ πιστὸν δοκεῖ ἔμοιγε, πρὸς τοσοῦτων καὶ τοιούτων ὑμνηθέν. ὡς Ἡρακλέα τε ἐπ' αὐτὰς λόγος κατέχει ὅτι ἐστάλη καὶ ζωστήρῃ τινα Ἰππολύτης τῆς βασιλίσσης αὐτῶν ὅτι ἐς τὴν Ἑλλάδα ἐκόμισε, καὶ οἱ ξὺν Θησεῖ Ἀθηναῖοι ὅτι ἐπιούσας τὰς γυναῖκας ταύτας τὴν Εὐρώπην πρῶτοι μάχῃ νικήσαντες ἀνέστειλαν· καὶ γέγραπται ἢ Ἀθηναίων καὶ Ἀμαζόνων

than fifty thousand, as most of them had been driven off by robbers.²

- 2 They say that there Atropates, the satrap of Media, gave him a hundred women, saying that they belonged to the Amazons; they were equipped like cavalry troopers, except that they carried axes instead of spears, and small targets instead of shields. Some say their right breast was smaller, and was uncovered in battle.
- 3 According to the story³ Alexander sent them away from the army, in case they suffered any outrage from the Macedonians or barbarian troops, but he told them to inform their queen that he would come to see her to get children by her. This, however, neither Aristobulus nor Ptolemy nor any other reliable author on such matters has
- 4 attested. Nor do I myself think that the race of Amazons survived at that time, or even before Alexander, or Xenophon would have referred to them as he referred to Phasians and Colchians and other barbarian races which the Greeks met either when starting from Trapezus or before they reached Trapezus, where they certainly would have met Amazons too if any had still remained. And yet I do
- 5 not think it credible that this race of women never existed at all, as so many eminent writers have descanted on them. The story prevails that Heracles was sent against them and brought back to Greece the girdle of Hippolyte their queen, and that the Athenians with Theseus were the first to defeat these women in battle and repel them when invading Europe; and Micon painted the battle of the Athenians and Amazons,

² Perhaps from Ar. (App. XXVIII 22). Cf. D. 110, 6; Hdt. iii 106; vii 40.

³ App. XXI.

6 μάχη πρὸς Μίκωνος οὐ μείον ἢπερ ἡ Ἀθηναίων καὶ Περσῶν.
καὶ Ἡροδότῳ πολλάκις περὶ τῶν γυναικῶν τούτων πεποιήται,
καὶ ὅσοι Ἀθηναίων τοὺς ἐν πολέμῳ τελευτήσαντας λόγῳ
ἐκόσμησαν, καὶ τοῦ πρὸς Ἀμαζόνας ἔργου Ἀθηναίων ἐν τοῖς
μάλιστα μνήμην ἐποιήσαντο. εἰ δὲ ἰππικὰς δὴ τινὰς γυναικὰς
Ἀτροπάτης ἔδειξεν Ἀλεξάνδρῳ, βαρβάρους τινὰς ἄλλας
γυναικὰς ἰππεύειν ἡσκημένας δοκῶ ὅτι ἔδειξεν ἐς τὸν
λεγόμενον δὴ τῶν Ἀμαζόνων κόσμον ἐσταλμένας.

14. Ἐν Ἐκβατάνοις δὲ θυσίαν τε ἔθυσεν Ἀλέξανδρος,
ὥσπερ αὐτῷ ἐπὶ ξυμφοραῖς ἀγαθαῖς νόμος, καὶ ἀγῶνα
ἐπετέλει γυμνικόν τε καὶ μουσικόν, καὶ πότοι αὐτῷ ἐγίνοντο
παρὰ τοῖς ἐταίροις. καὶ ἐν τούτῳ Ἡφαιστίων ἔκαμε τὸ σῶμα
ἐβδόμη τε ἡμέρα ἤδη ἦν αὐτῷ τῆς νόσου καὶ λέγουσι τὸ μὲν
στάδιον πλήρες εἶναι παίδων γὰρ ἀγῶν ἦν ἐκείνη τῇ ἡμέρᾳ
γυμνικός· ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐξηγγέλλετο Ἀλεξάνδρῳ ὅτι κακῶς ἔχοι
Ἡφαιστίων, ὁ δὲ παρ' αὐτὸν ἐλθὼν σπουδῇ οὐκέτι ζῶντα
κατέλαβεν.

2 Ἐνθα δὲ καὶ ἄλλοι ἄλλα ἀνέγραψαν ὑπὲρ τοῦ πένθους τοῦ
Ἀλεξάνδρου· μέγα μὲν γενέσθαι αὐτῷ τὸ πένθος, πάντες τοῦτο
ἀνέγραψαν, τὰ δὲ πραχθέντα ἐπ' αὐτῷ ἄλλοι ἄλλα, ὡς
3 ἕκαστος ἢ εὐνοίας πρὸς Ἡφαιστίωνα ἢ φθόνου εἶχεν ἢ καὶ
πρὸς αὐτὸν Ἀλέξανδρον. ὧν οἱ τὰ ἀτάσθαλα ἀναγράψαντες οἱ
μὲν ἐς κόσμον φέρει <ν> μοι δοκοῦσιν οἰηθῆναι Ἀλεξάνδρῳ
ὅσα ὑπεραλγήσας ἔδρασεν ἢ εἶπεν ἐπὶ τῷ πάντων δὲ
ἀνθρώπων

just as he did the battle of the Greeks and Persians. Then
6 Herodotus often mentions them, and all the Athenians who
pronounced eulogies on the war-dead specially commemorated the
Athenian action against the Amazons. But if Atropates did show
Alexander any women riders on horse, I think they were some other
barbarian women taught to ride, whom he exhibited, dressed in the
traditional Amazon fashion.

14. At Ecbatana [Hamadan] Alexander offered a sacrifice, as he
usually did after some successful event, and held athletic and
musical games and drinking bouts with the Companions. At this
time Hephaestion fell ill, and his illness had run seven days, they
say,¹ when the race-course was filled with people, as there were
athletic sports that day for boys; but when Alexander heard that
Hephaestion was seriously ill, he left the course and hurried to him,
but found him no longer living.

2 At this point indeed historians have given varied accounts of
Alexander's grief. That it was great, all have related; as to the actions
it occasioned, they differ according to the good-will or malice each
felt towards Hephaestion or even towards Alexander himself. The
3 writers who have recounted his excesses appear to me to have
thought either that anything redounds to Alexander's credit that he
did or said in extremity of grief for the dearest of his

1 Perhaps Pt./Ar., though Ar. will hardly have mentioned the
drinking bouts (29, 4), for which see the hostile accounts of Ehippus
(iii 5, 3 n.; App. XIV 2) and Nicobule (Jacoby nos. 126 f.). Pt./Ar. must
be among the authorities cited in § 7 f., cf. 23, 6 n. Cf. D. 110, 7 f. and
114; P. 72 (with Hamilton's notes) and Tarn ii 4, 57 and 78 on the
multiplicity of variants. Al's irrational grief was a count against him for
Stoics (Seneca, *ep.* 113, 29), not for A. Hephaestion: App. XXIV 4.

φιλτάτω, οἱ δὲ ἐς αἰσχύνην μᾶλλον τι ὡς οὐ πρόποντα οὔτ' οὖν βασιλεῖ οὔτε Ἀλεξάνδρῳ, οἱ μὲν, τὸ πολὺ μέρος τῆς ἡμέρας ἐκείνης ἐρριμμένον ἐπὶ τοῦ σώματος τοῦ ἐταίρου ὀδύρεσθαι οὐδ' ἐθέλειν ἀπαλλαγῆναι, πρὶν γε δὴ πρὸς βίαν
 4 ἀπηνέχθη πρὸς τῶν ἐταίρων· οἱ δέ, τὴν τε ἡμέραν ὅλην καὶ τὴν νύκτα ὅλην ἐρριφθαι ἐπὶ τῷ σώματι· οἱ δὲ καί, τὸν ἰατρὸν Γλαυκίαν ὅτι ἐκρέμασε, καὶ τοῦτο[ν] ὡς ἐπὶ φαρμάκῳ κακῶς δοθέντι, οἱ δέ, ὅτι οἴνου περιεΐδεν ἐμπλησθέντα θεωρῶν αὐτός· καὶ κείρασθαι Ἀλέξανδρον ἐπὶ τῷ νεκρῷ τὴν κόμην τά τε
 5 ἄλλα οὐκ ἀπεικότα τίθεμαι καὶ κατὰ ζῆλον τὸν Ἀχιλλέως, πρὸς ὄντινα ἐκ παιδὸς φιλοτιμία αὐτῷ ἦν· οἱ δὲ καί, τὸ ἄρμα ἐφ' ὅτῳ τὸ σῶμα ἐφέρετο αὐτὸς ἔστιν ὅτε <ὅτι> ἠνιόχει, τοῦτο οὐδαμῇ πιστὸν ἔμοιγε λέγοντες· ἄλλοι δέ, ὅτι καὶ τοῦ Ἀσκληπιοῦ τὸ ἔδος ἐν Ἐκβατάνοις κατασκάψαι ἐκέλευσε, βαρβαρικὸν τοῦτό γε καὶ οὐδαμῇ Ἀλεξάνδρῳ πρόσφορον, ἀλλὰ τῇ Ξέρξου μᾶλλον τι ἀτασθαλία τῇ ἐς τὸ θεῖον καὶ ταῖς πέδαις ἃς λέγουσιν ἐς τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον καθεῖναι Ξέρξην,
 6 τιμωρούμενον δῆθεν τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον. ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐκείνο οὐ πάντῃ ἔξω τοῦ εἰκότος ἀναγεγράφθαι μοι δοκεῖ, ὡς ἐπὶ Βαβυλῶνος ἤλαυνεν Ἀλέξανδρος, ἐντυχεῖν αὐτῷ κατὰ τὴν ὁδὸν πολλὰς πρεσβείας ἀπὸ τῆς Ἑλλάδος, εἶναι δὲ δὴ ἐν τούτοις Ἐπιδαυρίων πρέσβεις· καὶ τούτους ὧν τε ἐδέοντο ἐξ Ἀλεξάνδρου τυχεῖν καὶ ἀνάθημα δοῦναι αὐτοῖς Ἀλέξανδρον κομίζειν τῷ Ἀσκληπιῷ, ἐπειπόντα ὅτι· καίπερ οὐκ ἐπιεικῶς

friends, or that all was to his discredit, since it was not becoming either for a king or for Alexander. Some say that for the greater part of that day he lay prostrate and weeping on his companion's body and would not be parted, till he was actually carried away by the
 4 Companions, others that he lay prostrate on the body all day and all night, others again that he hanged Glaucias the doctor, and that for a drug wrongly given, or alternatively because Glaucias had seen Hephaestion drinking most immoderately and had not stopped him. I regard it as not unlikely that Alexander cut off his hair over the corpse, especially considering his emulation of Achilles, with whom
 5 he had a rivalry from boyhood. Some add that Alexander himself for a time drove the car in which the body was borne, but I regard this statement as quite incredible.² Yet others tell us that he ordered the temple of Asclepius³ at Ecbatana to be razed to the ground, but this would have been barbaric, and not at all characteristic of Alexander, but more suitable to Xerxes' presumption towards heaven and the fetters they say he let down into the Hellespont, in the belief he
 6 could punish it.⁴ But there is also a story recorded which I think not wholly beyond the bounds of likelihood, that when Alexander was going to Babylon many emissaries from Greece met him on the way, including Epidaurian envoys; they obtained from Alexander what they sued for, and Alexander gave them a votive offering to take back to Asclepius, adding: 'Yet Asclepius has not been

2 As disreputable for Al. as for Nero (Tacitus, *Annals* xv 67)!

3 In the story some native god was identified with Asclepius, perhaps because his cult included incubation. Epictetus had heard that Al. ordered all temples of Asclepius to be burned (ii 22, 17).

4 Hdt. vii 34 f.

κέχρηταί μοι ὁ Ἀσκληπιός, οὐ σώσας μοι τὸν ἐταῖρον ὄντινα
 7 ἴσον τῇ ἔμαντοῦ κεφαλῇ ἦγον. ἐναγίζειν τε ὅτι ἀεὶ ἥρωϊ
 ἐκέλευεν Ἥφαιστίῳ, τοῦτο μὲν πρὸς τῶν πλείστων
 ἀναγέγραπται· οἱ δὲ λέγουσιν ὅτι καὶ εἰς Ἄμμωνος ἔπεμψεν
 ἐρησομένους τὸν θεὸν εἰ καὶ ὡς θεῷ θύειν συγχωρεῖ
 Ἥφαιστίῳ, τὸν δὲ οὐ ξυγχωρήσαι.
 8 Ἐκεῖνα δὲ πρὸς πάντων ξυμφωνούμενα, ἐς τρίτην ἀπὸ τοῦ
 θανάτου τοῦ Ἥφαιστίῳ ἡμέραν μήτε σίτου γεύσασθαι
 Ἀλέξανδρον μήτε τινὰ θεραπείαν ἄλλην θεραπεῦσαι τὸ σῶμα,
 ἀλλὰ κείσθαι γὰρ ἢ ὀδυρόμενον ἢ πενθικῶς σιγῶντα· καὶ
 πυρὰν κελεύσαι αὐτῷ ἐτοιμάζεσθαι ἐν Βαβυλῶνι ἀπὸ
 9 ταλάντων μυρίων, οἱ δὲ καὶ πλειόνων ἀνέγραψαν· καὶ ὅτι
 πένθος ποιείσθαι περιηγγέλη κατὰ πᾶσαν τὴν χώραν τὴν
 βάρβαρον· καὶ ὅτι πολλοὶ τῶν ἐταίρων τῶν Ἀλεξάνδρου ἐς
 θεραπείαν τὴν ἐκείνου σφᾶς τε αὐτοῦς καὶ τὰ ὄπλα
 Ἥφαιστίῳ ἀνέθεσαν ἀποθανόντι· πρῶτον δὲ Εὐμενῆ ἄρξαι
 τοῦ σοφίσματος, ὄντινα ὀλίγω πρόσθεν ἔφαμεν ὅτι διηνέχθη
 πρὸς Ἥφαιστίῳ· καὶ τοῦτο δὲ δρᾶσαι, τῷ Ἀλεξάνδρῳ ὡς μὴ
 10 ἐφήδεσθαι δοκοίη τελευτήσαντι Ἥφαιστίῳ. οὐκ οὐδὲ
 ἄλλον τινὰ ἔταξεν ἀντὶ Ἥφαιστίῳ χιλίαρχον ἐπὶ τῇ ἵππῳ
 τῇ ἐταιρικῇ Ἀλέξανδρος, ὡς μὴ ἀπόλοιτο τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ
 Ἥφαιστίῳ ἐκ τῆς τάξεως, ἀλλὰ Ἥφαιστίῳ τε ἢ
 χιλιαρχία ἐκαλεῖτο καὶ τὸ σημεῖον αὐτῆς ἠγείτο <τὸ> ἐξ
 Ἥφαιστίῳ πεποιημένον. ἀγῶνά τε ἐπεινέει ποιῆσαι
 γυμνικόν τε καὶ μουσικὸν πλήθει τε τῶν ἀγωνιζομένων καὶ τῇ
 εἰς αὐτὸν χορηγία πολὺ τι τῶν ἄλλων τῶν πρόσθεν
 ἀριδηλότερον·

kind to me, in failing to save for me the comrade whom I valued as
 7 much as my life.' Most authorities have recorded that he ordered
 that the kind of sacrifice appropriate to a hero should always be
 offered to Hephaestion; some say that he sent to the oracle of
 Ammon to enquire of the god if he permitted Hephaestion to
 receive the kind of sacrifice appropriate to a god, but that the oracle
 refused permission.
 8 The following, however, harmonizes in all accounts, that for two
 days after Hephaestion's death Alexander tasted no food and took
 no care of his body, but lay either moaning or in a sorrowful silence,
 that he ordered a pyre to be made ready for him in Babylon at a
 cost of ten thousand Talents (by some accounts, even more)⁵ and
 9 commanded mourning throughout the whole barbarian country; and
 that many of Alexander's Companions in respect for him dedicated
 themselves and their arms to the dead Hephaestion; and that the
 first to initiate this expedient was Eumenes, of whose quarrel with
 Hephaestion we spoke a little earlier, and that he did this to prevent
 Alexander thinking that he rejoiced at Hephaestion's death. At any
 10 rate Alexander never appointed anyone in place of Hephaestion as
 chiliarch over the Companions' cavalry, so that the name of
 Hephaestion might never be lost to the unit; the chiliarchy was still
 called Hephaestion's, and the standard went before it which had
 been made by his order. Alexander also planned athletic and
 musical games far more splendid than any before in the number of
 competitions and the cost of production; he provided

⁵ Details in D. 115.

τρισχιλίους γὰρ ἀγωνιστὰς τοὺς σύμπαντας παρεσκεύασε.
καὶ οὗτοι ὀλίγον ὕστερον ἐπ' Ἀλεξάνδρου τῷ τάφῳ λέγουσιν
ὅτι ἠγωνίσαντο.

15. Χρόνος τε ἦν συχνὸς τῷ πένθει καὶ αὐτὸς τε αὐτὸν ἤδη
μετεκάλει ἀπ' αὐτοῦ καὶ οἱ ἐταῖροι μᾶλλον τι ἐν τῷ τοιῷδε
ἦντον. ἔνθα δὴ ἐξέλασιν ποιεῖται ἐπὶ Κοσσαίους, ἔθνος
2 πολεμικὸν ὄμορον τῷ Οὐξίων. εἰσὶ δὲ ὄρειοι οἱ Κοσσαῖοι καὶ
χωρία ὄχυρὰ κατὰ κόμας νέμονται, ὅποτε προσάγοι δύναμις
ἐς τὰ ἄκρα τῶν ὄρων ἀποχωροῦντες ἀθρόοι ἢ ὅπως ἂν
προχωρῆ ἐκάστοις οὕτω διαφεύγουσιν, ἐς ἀπορίαν βάλλοντες
τοὺς ξὺν δυνάμει σφίσιν ἐπιχειροῦντας· ἀπελθόντων δὲ αὐθις
3 εἰς τὸ ληστεύειν τρεπόμενοι ἀπὸ τούτου τὸν βίον ποιοῦνται.
Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ ἐξείλεν αὐτῶν τὸ ἔθνος καίπερ χειμῶνος
στρατεύσας. ἀλλ' οὔτε <ὁ> χειμῶν ἐμποδὼν ἐγένετο αὐτῷ οὔτε
αἱ δυσχωρίαί, οὔτε αὐτῷ οὔτε Πτολεμαίῳ τῷ Λάγῳ, ὃς μέρος
τῆς στρατιᾶς ἐπ' αὐτοὺς ἠγεῖν. οὕτως οὐδὲν ἄπορον
Ἀλεξάνδρῳ τῶν πολεμικῶν ἦν ἐς ὃ τι ὀρμήσειε.
4 Κατιόντι δὲ αὐτῷ ἐς Βαβυλῶνα Λιβύων τε πρεσβεῖαι
ἐνετύγχανον ἐπαινούντων τε καὶ στεφανούντων ἐπὶ τῇ
βασιλείᾳ τῆς Ἀσίας, καὶ ἐξ Ἰταλίας Βρέττιοί τε καὶ Λευκανοὶ
καὶ Τυρρηνοὶ ἐπὶ τοῖς αὐτοῖς ἐπρέσβευον. καὶ Καρχηδονίους
τότε πρεσβεῦσαι λέγεται καὶ ἀπὸ Αἰθιοπῶν πρέσβεις ἐλθεῖν
καὶ Σκυθῶν τῶν ἐκ τῆς Εὐρώπης, καὶ Κελτοὺς καὶ Ἰβήρας,
ὑπὲρ φιλίας δεησομένους· ὧν τὰ τε ὀνόματα καὶ τὰς σκευὰς
τότε πρῶτον ὀφθῆναι πρὸς

three thousand performers in all.⁶ Those were the men, it is said,
who competed a little later at Alexander's burial. 324 B.C.

15. A long time passed in mourning before at last Alexander
began to recall his own energies from it; the Companions were
more successful in such efforts. It was now then that he made an
expedition against the Cossaeans,¹ a warlike race bordering on the

- 2 Uxians. These Cossaeans are mountaineers, and dwell in village
strongholds; whenever a force drew near, they would move off in
mass, or each as best he could, to the summits of the mountains,
and thereby escape, baffling those who assailed them by force.
When the enemy had gone, they would again turn to the
brigandage from which they make their livelihood. But Alexander
3 reduced the tribe, although he campaigned in winter. Neither the
wintry season nor the difficulties of the country stood in his way;
not in his, nor in that of Ptolemy son of Lagus, who led part of the
army against them. In fact Alexander found nothing impossible in
any military operations he undertook.²

- 4 As he was going down to Babylon embassies³ from the Libyans
met him, congratulating him and offering him a crown on his
becoming king of Asia; from Italy also Bruttians, Lucanians and
Etruscans sent envoys for the same purpose. It is said that the
Carthaginians sent envoys at this time, and that others came from
Ethiopia and the European Scyths, and Celts and Iberians, to ask
for his friendship, and that it was then that Greeks and
Macedonians first came to be acquainted with their names and
appearances. 323 B.C.

6 Pt./Ar. Chiliarchy: App. XXIV 4.

1 *Ind.* 40, 6–8; P. 72, 3; D. 111, 5 f.

2 Pt's comment?

3 App. XXII. For Carthage cf. Bosworth on ii 24, 5.

5 Ἑλλήνων τε καὶ Μακεδόνων. τοὺς δὲ καὶ ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐς ἀλλήλους διαφορῶν λέγουσιν ὅτι Ἀλεξάνδρῳ διακρίναι ἐπέτρεπον· καὶ τότε μάλιστα αὐτόν τε αὐτῷ Ἀλέξανδρον καὶ τοῖς ἀμφ' αὐτὸν φανῆναι γῆς τε ἀπάσης καὶ θαλάσσης κύριον. Ἄριστος δὲ καὶ Ἀσκληπιάδης τῶν τὰ Ἀλεξάνδρου ἀναγραφάντων καὶ Ῥωμαίους λέγουσιν ὅτι ἐπρέσβευσαν· καὶ ἐντυχόντα ταῖς πρεσβείαις Ἀλέξανδρον ὑπὲρ Ῥωμαίων τι τῆς ἐς τὸ ἔπειτα ἐσομένης δυνάμεως μαντεύσασθαι, τὸν τε κόσμον τῶν ἀνδρῶν ἰδόντα καὶ τὸ φιλόπονον τε καὶ ἐλευθέριον καὶ

6 περὶ τοῦ πολιτεύματος ἅμα διαπυθάνομενον. καὶ τοῦτο οὔτε ὡς ἀτρεκὲς οὔτε ὡς ἄπιστον πάντῃ ἀνέγραψα· πλήν γε δὴ οὔτε τις Ῥωμαίων ὑπὲρ τῆς πρεσβείας ταύτης ὡς παρὰ Ἀλέξανδρον σταλείσης μνήμην τινὰ ἐποιήσατο, οὔτε τῶν τὰ Ἀλεξάνδρου γραφάντων, οἷσσισι μᾶλλον ἐγὼ ξυμφέρομαι, Πτολεμαῖος ὁ Λάγου καὶ Ἀριστόβουλος· οὐδὲ τῷ Ῥωμαίων πολιτεύματι ἐπεικὸς ἦν ἐλευθέρῳ δὴ τότε ἐς τὰ μάλιστα ὄντι, παρὰ βασιλέα ἀλλόφυλον ἄλλως τε καὶ ἐς τοσόνδε ἀπὸ τῆς οἰκείας πρεσβεῦσαι, οὔτε φόβου ἐξαναγκάζοντος οὔτε κατ' ἐλπίδα ὠφελείας, μίσει τε, εἴπερ τινὰς ἄλλους, τοῦ τυραννικοῦ γένους τε καὶ ὀνόματος κατεχομένους.

16. Ἐκ τούτου δὴ Ἡρακλείδην τὸν Ἀργαίου ἐκπέμπει ἐς Ἵρκανίαν ναυπηγοὺς ἅμα οἱ ἄγοντα, κελεύσας ὕλην τεμόντα ἐκ τῶν ὄρων τῶν Ἵρκανίων ναυπηγεῖσθαι ναῦς μακρὰς

2 ἀφράκτους τε καὶ πεφραγμένας ἐς τὸν κόσμον τὸν Ἑλληνικόν. πόθος γὰρ εἶχεν αὐτὸν καὶ ταύτην ἐκμαθεῖν τὴν θάλασσαν τὴν Κασπίαν τε καὶ Ἵρκανίαν καλουμένην ποία τινὶ ξυμβάλλει θαλάσση, πότερα τῇ τοῦ πόντου τοῦ Εὐξείνου ἢ ἀπὸ τῆς ἐώας τῆς κατ' Ἰνδοὺς ἐκπεριερχομένη

5 Some, it is said, even appealed to Alexander to arbitrate in their differences with each other, and it was then more than ever that both in his own estimation and in that of his entourage Alexander appeared to be master of every land and sea. Aristus and Asclepiades among the historians of Alexander say that even the Romans sent envoys, and that when Alexander met their embassy he prognosticated something of their future power on observing their orderliness, industry and freedom, and at the same time

6 investigating their constitution. This I have recorded as neither true nor wholly incredible, except that no Roman ever referred to this embassy sent to Alexander, nor did the historians of Alexander whom I prefer to follow, Ptolemy son of Lagus and Aristobulus; nor was it suitable for the Roman government, at a time when it enjoyed freedom in the highest degree, to send envoys to a foreign king, especially so far from their own home, without the compulsion of fear or the hope of advantage, given that no other people was so possessed by hatred of despotism and its very name.

16. After this Alexander sent Heraclides son of Argaeus to Hyrcania with shipwrights, with orders to cut wood from the Hyrcanian mountains and build warships, both decked and open, in

2 the Greek style. For he was seized with a longing¹ to discover what other sea is joined by this sea, called both Caspian and Hyrcanian, whether it joins the Euxine, or whether on the east side towards India the great sea

1 App. V 3, *Ind.* 20, 2 n. Geographical problem: App. XII. 'Jaxartes' is not certain (critical note on § 3).

ἡ μεγάλη θάλασσα ἀνακείται εἰς κόλπον τὸν Ὑρκάνιον, καθάπερ οὖν καὶ τὸν Περσικὸν ἐξεύρε, τὴν Ἐρυθρὰν δὴ
 3 καλουμένην θάλασσαν, κόλπον οὖσαν τῆς μεγάλης θαλάσσης. οὐ γάρ πω ἐξεύρηντο αἱ ἀρχαὶ τῆς Κασπίας θαλάσσης, καίτοι ἐθνῶν τε αὐτὴν <περι>οικούντων οὐκ ὀλίγων καὶ ποταμῶν πλοίμων ἐμβαλλόντων ἐς αὐτήν· ἐκ Βάκτρων μὲν Ὅξος, μέγιστος τῶν Ἀσιανῶν ποταμῶν, πλήν γε δὴ τῶν Ἰνδῶν, ἐξίησι ἐς ταύτην τὴν θάλασσαν, διὰ Σκυθῶν δὲ
 4 Ἰαξάρτης¹· καὶ τὸν Ἀράξην δὲ τὸν ἐξ Ἀρμενίων ῥέοντα ἐς ταύτην ἐσβάλλειν ὁ πλείων λόγος κατέχει. μέγιστοι μὲν οὗτοι· πολλοὶ δὲ δὴ καὶ ἄλλοι ἔς τε τούτους ἐμβάλλοντες καὶ αὐτοὶ ἐπὶ σφῶν ἐς τὴν θάλασσαν ταύτην ἐξιᾶσιν, οἱ μὲν καὶ γνωσκόμενοι πρὸς τῶν ἀμφ' Ἀλέξανδρον ἐπελθόντων τὰ ἔθνη ταῦτα, οἱ δὲ κατὰ τὰ ἐπέκεινα τοῦ κόλπου, ὡς εἰκός, κατὰ τοὺς Σκύθας τοὺς Νομάδας, ὃ δὴ ἄγνωστον πάντη ἐστίν.
 5 Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ ὡς τὸν Τίγρητα ποταμὸν ξὺν τῇ στρατιᾷ διέβη ἐλαύνων ἐπὶ Βαβυλῶνος, ἐνταῦθα ἐντυγχάνουσι αὐτῷ Χαλδαίων οἱ λόγιοι, καὶ ἀπαγαγόντες ἀπὸ τῶν ἐταίρων ἐδέοντο ἐπισχεῖν τὴν ἐπὶ Βαβυλῶνος ἔλασιν. λόγιον γὰρ γεγονέναι σφίσι

1 Blancard: Ὁξυαρτής A. Cf. App. XII.

circling round pours into a gulf, the Hyrcanian, just as he had discovered the Persian Sea [Gulf] or, to use its actual name, the Red Sea, to be only a gulf of the ocean. For no one had yet
 3 discovered the sources of the Caspian sea,² though many tribes dwell round it and navigable rivers flow into it; from Bactria the river Oxus, the greatest of the Asian rivers, except for the Indian, has its outlet in this sea; so does the Jaxartes [Syr Darya] flowing through Scythia, and the majority account is that the Araxes flowing
 4 from Armenia runs into this sea.³ These are the greatest rivers; many others, as their tributaries or independently, find their outlet in this sea; some of them actually became known to Alexander and his men when they came upon the peoples in these parts, but probably others flowed into the gulf on its far side, in the region of the Nomad Scythians, which is in fact utterly unknown.⁴
 5 When he had crossed the Tigris with his army on his march towards Babylon, Alexander was met by the Chaldaean seers, who drew him aside from the Companions and begged him to stop the march to Babylon; it is said⁵ that they had an oracle from their

2 A. no doubt held that E. had shown the Caspian to be a gulf of Ocean.

3 Like Hdt. i 202 (cf. Wells *ad loc.*), Callisthenes was confused about the Arak (S. xi 14, 13); probably Ar. reported what in his day was still only 'the majority account', which A. repeats, as if it had not long been *known* to be true! Stadter 187 offers a lame defence.

4 Still true in A's day.

5 The story in § 5 f. harmonizes with 17, 1–4, but hardly with the advice recorded in § 6 f., which Al. tried to follow (17, 5); hence the emphatic allusion to Ar. in 17, 5 suggests that he is *not* the source for the former story. If true, it should rest on the authority of one in Al's counsels, either Pt. or N. But N. figures prominently in D. 112 (cf. P. 73, 1; J. xii 13), where we hear nothing of Al's suspicions of the Chaldaeans, who also tell him that he can escape by rebuilding the *tomb* (cf. S. xvi 1, 5), not the *temple* (17, 1), of Belus; this version surely goes back to N. and A's to Pt. The mixture of direct and indirect

6 ἐκ τοῦ θεοῦ τοῦ Βήλου μὴ πρὸς ἀγαθοῦ οἱ εἶναι τὴν πάροδον
τὴν ἐς Βαβυλῶνα ἐν τῷ τότε. τὸν δὲ ἀποκρίνασθαι αὐτοῖς
λόγος τοῦ Εὐριπίδου τοῦ ποιητοῦ ἔπος· ἔχει δὲ τὸ ἔπος
Εὐριπίδῃ ὧδε·

Μάντις δ' ἄριστος ὅστις εἰκάζει καλῶς.

σὺ δέ, ὦ βασιλεῦ, ἔφασαν οἱ Χαλδαῖοι, μὴ πρὸς δυσμὰς
ἀφορῶν αὐτὸς μηδὲ τὴν στρατιὰν ταύτη ἐπέχουσαν ἄγων
7 παρελθεῖν, ἀλλὰ ἐκπεριελθὼν πρὸς ἕω μᾶλλον. τῷ δὲ οὐδὲ
τούτο εὐμαρὲς διὰ δυσχωρίαν ξυνέβη· ἀλλὰ ἦγε γὰρ αὐτὸν
ταύτη τὸ δαιμόνιον ἢ παρελθόντα ἐχρῆν ἤδη τελευτῆσαι. καὶ
που τυχὸν καὶ ἄμεινον αὐτῷ ἦν ἐν ἀκμῇ τῆς τε ἄλλης δόξης
καὶ τοῦ πόθου τοῦ παρ' ἀνθρώπων ἀπηλλάχθαι, πρὶν τινα
ξυμβῆναι αὐτῷ ξυμφορὰν ἀνθρωπίνην, ἧς ἔνεκα καὶ Σόλωνα
Κροίσῳ παραινέσαι εἰκὸς τέλος ὄραν μακροῦ βίου μηδὲ
8 πρόσθεν τινὰ ἀνθρώπων ἀποφαίνειν εὐδαίμονα. ἐπεὶ καὶ αὐτῷ
Ἄλεξάνδρῳ ἢ Ἡφαιστίωνος τελευτῇ οὐ σμικρὰ ξυμφορὰ
γεγένητο, ἧς καὶ αὐτὸς Ἄλέξανδρος προαπελθεῖν ἂν δοκεῖ μοι
ἐθελῆσαι μᾶλλον ἢ ζῶν πειραθῆναι, οὐ μείον ἢ καὶ Ἀχιλλέα
δοκῶ ἂν ἐλέσθαι προαποθανεῖν Πατρόκλου μᾶλλον ἢ τοῦ
θανάτου αὐτῷ τιμωρὸν γενέσθαι.

17. Ἦν δέ τι καὶ ὑποπτον αὐτῷ ἐς τοὺς Χαλδαίους, ὡς οὐ
κατὰ μαντείαν τι μᾶλλον ἢ ἐς ὠφέλειαν τὴν αὐτῶν φέροι
αὐτοῖς ἢ κώλυσις τῆς Ἄλεξάνδρου ἐς Βαβυλῶνα ἐν τῷ τότε
ἐλάσεως. ὁ γὰρ τοῦ Βήλου νεῶς ἐν μέσῃ τῇ πόλει ἦν τῶν
2 Βαβυλωνίων, μεγέθει τε μέγιστος καὶ ἐκ πλίνθου ὀπτῆς ἐν
ἀσφάλτῳ ἡρμοσμένης. τούτον τὸν νεῶν, ὥσπερ καὶ τὰ ἄλλα
ἱερὰ τὰ Βαβυλωνίων, Ξέρξης κατέσκαψεν, ὅτε ἐκ τῆς
Ἑλλάδος ὀπίσω ἀπενόστησεν·

god Belus [Baal] that his entry into Babylon at that time would do
6 him harm, but that he answered them with a verse of Euripides the
poet; it runs thus:

The best of prophets he who guesses well.

‘But, Sire,’ the Chaldaeans said, ‘do not yourself look towards
the setting sun, and do not enter at the head of your army facing in
that direction, but take a detour and come in rather on the east
7 side.’ However, this course actually turned out not to be so easy
because of the difficulty of the country; the fact was that divine
power led him on the path which once taken determined his
immediate death. And it may be that it was really better for him to
die at the height of his fame, when men felt most regret for him and
before any ordinary disaster befell him; it was probably for that
reason that Solon advised Croesus to look to the end of a long life,
and not to declare any man happy till then.⁶ In fact the death of
8 Hephaestion had proved a great misfortune to Alexander himself,
and Alexander, I believe, would have preferred to have gone first
himself rather than experience it during his lifetime, just as I think
Achilles would have preferred to die before Patroclus rather than to
have been the avenger of his death.

17. He was also rather suspicious of the Chaldaeans, thinking
that it might be not so much prophetic skill as private advantage
that made them try to prevent his march to Babylon at that time.
The temple of Belus [Baal] was in the centre of the city of Babylon,
unequaled in size, and made of baked brick with bitumen for
2 mortar; like the other shrines of Babylon, Xerxes had razed it to the
ground when he returned from Greece. and Alexander had it in

6 Hdt. i 32.

Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ ἐν νῶ εἶχεν ἀνοικοδομεῖν οἱ μὲν λέγουσιν ὅτι ἐπὶ τοῖς θεμελίοις τοῖς πρόσθεν, καὶ τούτου ἕνεκα τὸν χοῦν ἐκφέρειν ἐκέλευε τοὺς Βαβυλωνίους, οἱ δέ, ὅτι καὶ μείζονα ἔτι
 3 τοῦ πάλαι ὄντος. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀποστάντος αὐτοῦ μαλθακῶς ἀνθήψαντο τοῦ ἔργου οἷς ταῦτα ἐπετέτραπτο, ὁ δὲ τῇ στρατιᾷ πάσῃ ἐπενόει τὸ ἔργον ἐργάσασθαι. εἶναι δὲ τῷ θεῷ τῷ Βήλῳ
 4 πολλὴν μὲν τὴν χώραν ἀνειμένην ἐκ τῶν Ἀσσυρίων βασιλέων, πολλὴν δὲ χρυσόν. καὶ ἀπὸ τούτου πάλαι μὲν τὸν νεῶν ἐπισκευάζεσθαι καὶ τὰς θυσίας τῷ θεῷ θύεσθαι, τότε δὲ τοὺς Χαλδαίους τὰ τοῦ θεοῦ νέμεσθαι, οὐκ ὄντος ἐς ὃ τι ἀναλωθήσεται τὰ περιγυγνόμενα. τούτων δὴ εἵνεκα ὑποπτοὶ Ἀλεξάνδρῳ ἦσαν οὐκ ἐθέλειν παρελθεῖν εἰς Βαβυλῶνος Ἀλέξανδρον, ὡς μὴ δι' ὀλίγου τὸν νεῶν ἐπιτελεσθέντα
 5 ἀφελέσθαι αὐτοὺς τὰς ἐκ τῶν χρημάτων ὠφελείας. ὁμῶς δὲ τά γε τῆς ἐπιστροφῆς τῆς κατὰ τὴν εἴσοδον τὴν ἐς τὴν πόλιν ἐθελῆσαι αὐτοῖς πεισθῆναι λέγει Ἀριστόβουλος, καὶ τῇ πρώτῃ μὲν παρὰ τὸν ποταμὸν τὸν Εὐφράτην καταστρατοπεδεύσαι, ἐς δὲ τὴν ὑστεραίαν ἐν δεξιᾷ ἔχοντα τὸν ποταμὸν παρ' αὐτὸν πορεύεσθαι, θέλοντα ὑπερβάλλειν τῆς πόλεως τὸ μέρος τὸ ἐς
 6 δυσμὰς τετραμμένον, ὡς ταύτῃ ἐπιστρέψαντα πρὸς ἕω ἄγειν· ἀλλὰ οὐ γὰρ δυναθῆναι ὑπὸ δυσχωρίας οὕτως ἐλάσαι ξὺν τῇ στρατιᾷ, ὅτι τὰ ἀπὸ δυσμῶν τῆς πόλεως εἰσιόντι, εἰ ταύτῃ πρὸς ἕω ἐπέστρεφεν, ἐλώδη τε καὶ τεναγώδη ἦν. καὶ οὕτω καὶ ἐκόντα καὶ ἄκοντα ἀπειθῆσαι τῷ θεῷ.

18. Ἐπεὶ καὶ τοιούδε τινα λόγον Ἀριστόβουλος ἀναγέγραφεν, Ἀπολλόδωρον τὸν Ἀμφιπολίτην τῶν

mind to rebuild it, some say on the original foundations, and that for this reason he ordered the Babylonians to remove the mound of earth; others say that he wished to make it even larger than the old
 3 one. But since those charged with the work had been slack in handling it after his departure, he planned to complete it now with the help of his entire army. The god Belus had a large endowment
 4 of land and gold from the Assyrian kings, from which in old times the temple was kept in repair and the sacrifices were offered to the god, but at that time the Chaldaeans were in enjoyment of the revenues of the god, as there was nothing on which to spend the surpluses. All this made Alexander suspect that they did not desire him to enter Babylon, so that the rapid completion of the temple would not deprive them of the benefit of these moneys. However,
 5 Aristobulus states that Alexander was quite ready to follow their advice for the deviation in his entry into the city, and that he camped the first day by the river Euphrates, and the next day marched with the river close on his right, in the wish to pass by the part of the city with a western aspect, so as to wheel there and
 6 march eastward; but that he was simply unable to proceed this way with his army because of the difficulty of the ground, since anyone entering the western sector and wheeling eastwards there found it marshy and full of pools, so that his disobedience to the god was both intentional and involuntary.

18. Moreover, Aristobulus records a story as follows.¹

Apollodorus of Amphipolis, one of Alexander's

1 Cf. P. 73 (with other bad omens); Appian, *Civil Wars* ii 152 f. (also with parallels to 16 f. and 22; I doubt if he used A.: contrast 149 with A. i 26; in 152 he substitutes 'Oxydracan' for 'Mallian' town; and 154 cannot come from A.).

ἑταίρων τῶν Ἀλεξάνδρου, στρατηγὸν τῆς στρατιᾶς ἦν παρὰ Μαζαίῳ τῷ Βαβυλῶνος σατράπῃ ἀπέλιπεν Ἀλέξανδρος, ἐπειδὴ συνέμιξεν ἐπανιόντι αὐτῷ ἐξ Ἰνδῶν, ὁρῶντα πικρῶς τιμωρούμενον τοὺς σατράπας ὅσοι ἐπ' ἄλλη καὶ ἄλλη χώρα τεταγμένοι ἦσαν, ἐπιστεῖλαι Πειθαγόρα τῷ ἀδελφῷ, μάντιν γὰρ εἶναι τὸν Πειθαγόραν τῆς ἀπὸ σπλάγχων μαντείας,

2 μαντεύσασθαι καὶ ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ τῆς σωτηρίας. ἀντεπιστεῖλαι δὲ αὐτῷ Πειθαγόραν πυνθανόμενον τίνα μάλιστα φοβούμενος χρήσασθαι ἐθέλοι τῇ μαντεία. τὸν δὲ γράψαι αὐθις ὅτι τὸν τε βασιλέα αὐτὸν καὶ Ἡφαιστίωνα. θύεσθαι δὲ τὸν Πειθαγόραν πρῶτα μὲν ἐπὶ τῷ Ἡφαιστίῳ ὡς δὲ ἐπὶ τοῦ ἥπατος τοῦ ἱερείου ὁ λοβὸς ἀφανῆς ἦν, οὕτω δὲ ἐγγράψαντα καὶ κατασημνόμενον τὸ γραμματίον πέμψαι παρὰ τὸν Ἀπολλόδωρον ἐκ Βαβυλῶνος εἰς Ἐκβάτανα, δηλοῦντα μηδέν

3 τι δεδιέναι Ἡφαιστίωνα· ἔσεσθαι γὰρ αὐτοῖς ὀλίγου χρόνου ἐκποδῶν. καὶ ταύτην τὴν ἐπιστολὴν λέγει Ἀριστόβουλος κομίσασθαι Ἀπολλόδωρον μιᾷ πρόσθεν ἡμέρᾳ ἢ τελευτῆσαι Ἡφαιστίωνα. αὐθις δὲ θύεσθαι τὸν Πειθαγόραν ἐπὶ τῷ Ἀλεξάνδρῳ <καὶ> γενέσθαι καὶ ἐπ' Ἀλεξάνδρῳ ἄλοβον τὸ ἥπαρ τοῦ ἱερείου. καὶ Πειθαγόραν τὰ αὐτὰ καὶ ὑπὲρ Ἀλεξάνδρου γράψαι Ἀπολλοδώρῳ. Ἀπολλόδωρον δὲ οὐ κατασιωπῆσαι, ἀλλὰ φράσαι γὰρ πρὸς Ἀλέξανδρον τὰ ἐπεσταλμένα, ὡς εὖνοιαν μᾶλλον τι ἐπιδειξόμενον τῷ βασιλεῖ,

4 εἰ φυλάττεσθαι παραινέσειε μή τις αὐτῷ κίνδυνος ἐν τῷ τότε ξυμπέσοι. καὶ Ἀπολλοδώρον τε λέγει ὅτι Ἀλέξανδρος ἐπήνεσε καὶ τὸν Πειθαγόραν, ἐπειδὴ παρήλθεν εἰς Βαβυλῶνα, ἤρετο ὅτου γενομένου αὐτῷ

Companions, commander of the force Alexander left behind with Mazaeus the satrap of Babylon, after he had met Alexander on his return from India and observed that he was punishing severely the satraps appointed over various provinces, wrote to Pithagoras his brother, as he was one of those seers who prophesy from the flesh of victims, to prophesy about his own welfare. Pithagoras wrote in

2 answerasking who it was that he chiefly feared that he wanted the help of prophecy, and he replied that it was the king himself and Hephaestion. Pithagoras then sacrificed first in regard to Hephaestion and, as the lobe could not be seen on the liver of the victim, he reported this, and sealing his letter sent it to Apollodorus from Babylon to Ecbatana, showing that he had nothing to fear from Hephaestion, as in a short time he would be out of their way.

3 Apollodorus receivedthis letter, Aristobulus says, on the day before Hephaestion died. Then Pithagoras sacrificed again in regard to Alexander, and again the liver of the victim had no lobe. Pithagoras wrote to Apollodorus in the same terms about Alexander. But Apollodorus did not keep his counsel; instead he told Alexander the news he had received, with the idea of showing loyalty in higher degree to the king by advising him to beware in case any danger

4 came upon him at this time. He says that Alexander thanked Apollodorus and, when he reached Babylon, asked Pithagoras what particular sign caused him to write

σημείου ταῦτα ἐπέστειλεν πρὸς τὸν ἀδελφόν· τὸν δὲ εἰπεῖν ὅτι ἄλοβόν οἱ τὸ ἦπαρ ἐγένετο τοῦ ἱερείου· ἐρομένου δὲ ὅ τι νοοῖ τὸ σημεῖον μέγα εἰπεῖν εἶναι χαλεπόν. Ἀλέξανδρον δὲ τοσοῦτου δεῆσαι χαλεπήναι τῷ Πειθαγόρα, ὡς καὶ δι' ἐπιμελείας ἔχειν αὐτὸν πλείονος, ὅτι ἀδόλως τὴν ἀλήθειάν οἱ ἔφρασε. ταῦτα αὐτὸς Ἀριστόβουλος λέγει παρὰ Πειθαγόρου πυθέσθαι· καὶ Περδίκκα δὲ μαντεύσασθαι αὐτὸν λέγει καὶ Ἀντιγόνῳ χρόνῳ ὕστερον· καὶ τοῦ αὐτοῦ σημείου ἀμφοῖν γενομένων Περδίκκαν τε ἐπὶ Πτολεμαίου στρατεύσαντα ἀποθανεῖν καὶ Ἀντίγονον ἐν τῇ μάχῃ τῇ πρὸς Σέλευκον καὶ Λυσίμαχον τῇ ἐν Ἰψῷ γενομένη. καὶ μὲν δὴ καὶ ὑπὲρ Καλάνου τοῦ σοφιστοῦ τοῦ Ἰνδοῦ τοιόσδε τις ἀναγέγραπται λόγος, ὁπότε ἐπὶ τὴν πυρὰν ἦει ἀποθανούμενος, τότε τοὺς μὲν ἄλλους ἐταίρους ἀσπάζεσθαι αὐτόν, Ἀλεξάνδρῳ δὲ οὐκ ἐθελῆσαι προσελθεῖν ἀσπασόμενον, ἀλλὰ φάναι γὰρ ὅτι ἐν Βαβυλῶνι αὐτῷ ἐντυχὼν ἀσπάζεται. καὶ τοῦτον τὸν λόγον ἐν μὲν τῷ τότε ἀμεληθῆναι, ὕστερον δέ, ἐπειδὴ ἐτελεύτησεν ἐν Βαβυλῶνι Ἀλέξανδρος, ἐς μνήμην ἐλθεῖν τῶν ἀκουσάντων, ὅτι ἐπὶ τῇ τελευτῇ ἄρα τῇ Ἀλεξάνδρου ἐθειάσθη.

19. Παρελθόντι δ' αὐτῷ ἐς Βαβυλῶνα πρεσβεῖαι παρὰ τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἐνέτυχον, ὑπὲρ ὧν μὲν ἕκαστοι πρεσβευόμενοι οὐκ ἀναγέγραπται, δοκεῖν δ' ἔμοιγε αἱ πολλαὶ στεφανούντων τε αὐτὸν ἦσαν καὶ ἐπαινούντων ἐπὶ ταῖς νίκαις ταῖς τε ἄλλαις καὶ μάλιστα ταῖς Ἰνδικαῖς, καὶ ὅτι σῶος ἐξ Ἰνδῶν ἐπανήκει χαίρειν φασκόντων. καὶ τούτους δεξιωσάμενός τε καὶ τὰ εἰκότα τιμήσας ἀποπέμψαι ὀπίσω λέγεται. ὅσους δὲ ἀνδριάντας ἢ ὅσα ἀγάλματα

this to his brother. He replied that he found the liver of his victim without a lobe. When asked what this sign portended, he said: 'Something very serious.' However, Alexander was so far from being incensed against Pithagoras that he actually paid him more respect for speaking the truth without deceit. Aristobulus says he learned this at first hand from Pithagoras, and that Pithagoras prophesied later to Perdiccas and Antigonus; after the same portent had appeared for both, Perdiccas perished in his campaign against Ptolemy, and Antigonus in the battle against Seleucus and Lysimachus which took place at Ipsus.² Besides this, a story on these lines³ had been recorded of Calanus, the Indian sophist: when he was going to the funeral pyre to die, he greeted all the Companions, but refused to approach Alexander and greet him, saying that he would meet him at Babylon, and greet him there. This saying was ignored at the time, but later, when Alexander died at Babylon, it came to the recollection of the hearers that he had been truly inspired to foretell Alexander's death.

19. When Alexander had entered Babylon, embassies came to meet him from the Greeks; it is not recorded for what purposes each embassy came, but I am inclined to think that most of them were to offer him wreaths and to congratulate him on all his victories, especially those in India, and also to express their greetings to him at his safe return from India.¹ He is said to have received them graciously, sent them home with appropriate honour and given them to

2 301 B.C. (wrong in Introd. 11).

3 'Vulgate.'

1 App. XXII.

ἢ εἰ δὴ τι ἄλλο ἀνάθημα ἐκ τῆς Ἑλλάδος. Ξέρξης ἀνεκόμισεν ἐς Βαβυλῶνα ἢ ἐς Πασαργάδας ἢ ἐς Σούσα ἢ ὅπη ἄλλη τῆς Ἀσίας, ταῦτα δοῦναι ἄγειν τοῖς πρέσβεσι καὶ τὰς Ἀρμοδίου καὶ Ἀριστογείτονος εἰκόνας τὰς χαλκᾶς οὕτω λέγεται ἀπενεχθῆναι ὀπίσω ἐς Ἀθήνας καὶ τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος τῆς Κελκίας¹ τὸ ἔδος.

- 3 Κατέλαβε δὲ ἐν Βαβυλῶνι, ὡς λέγει Ἀριστόβουλος, καὶ τὸ ναυτικόν, τὸ μὲν κατὰ τὸν Εὐφράτην ποταμὸν ἀναπεπλευκὸς ἀπὸ θαλάσσης τῆς Περσικῆς, ὃ τι περ σὺν Νεάρχῳ ἦν, τὸ δὲ ἐκ Φοινίκης ἀνακεκομισμένον, πεντήρεις μὲν δύο τῶν ἐκ Φοινίκων, τετρήρεις δὲ τρεῖς, τριήρεις δὲ δώδεκα, τριακοντόρους δὲ ἐς τριάκοντα ταύτας ξυντηθείσας κομισθῆναι ἐπὶ τὸν Εὐφράτην ποταμὸν ἐκ Φοινίκης ἐς
- 4 Θάψακον πόλιν, ἐκεῖ δὲ ξυμπηχθείσας αὐθις καταπλεῦσαι ἐς Βαβυλῶνα. λέγει δὲ ὅτι καὶ ἄλλος αὐτῷ ἐναυπηγεῖτο στόλος τέμνοντι τὰς κυπαρίσσους τὰς ἐν τῇ Βαβυλωνίᾳ· τούτων γὰρ μόνων τῶν δένδρων εὐπορίαν εἶναι ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ τῶν Ἀσσυρίων, τῶν δὲ ἄλλων ὅσα ἐς ναυπηγίαν ἀπόρως ἔχειν τὴν γῆν ταύτην· πληρώματα δὲ ἐς τὰς ναῦς καὶ τὰς ἄλλας ὑπηρεσίας πορφυρέων τε πλήθος καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ὅσοι ἐργάται τῆς θαλάσσης ἀφίχθαι αὐτῷ ἐκ Φοινίκης τε καὶ τῆς ἄλλης παραλίας· λιμένα τε ὅτι πρὸς Βαβυλῶνι ἐποίει ὀρυκτὸν ὅσον χιλίαις ναυσὶ μακραῖς ὄρμον εἶναι καὶ νεωσοίκους ἐπὶ τοῦ
- 5 λιμένος. καὶ Μίκαλος ὁ Κλαζομένιος μετὰ πεντακοσίων ταλάντων ἐπὶ Φοινίκης τε καὶ Συρίας ἐστέλλετο, τοὺς μὲν μισθῷ πείσων, τοὺς δὲ καὶ ὠνησόμενος

1 Κελκαίας may be the right form; see note by Roos.

take back all the statues Of images or other votive offerings Xerxes removed from Greece to Babylon, Pasargadae, Susa or anywhere else in Asia, and it is said that the bronze statues of Harmodius and Aristogiton were taken back to Athens in this way, as well as the seated figure of Celcean Artemis.²

- 3 Aristobulus says that Alexander also found the fleet at Babylon; the part which was with Nearchus had sailed up the Euphrates from the Persian Sea, but the rest had been brought up from Phoenicia, two Phoenician quinqueremes, three quadriremes, twelve triremes and some thirty *triacontoroi*, which had been broken up and carried across from Phoenicia to the Euphrates, to the city of Thapsacus,³ put together again there, and sailed down to
- 4 Babylon. Aristobulus says that yet another flotilla was being built for him, by cutting down the cypresses in Babylonia, as this is the only tree which grows freely in the Assyrian country, a land bare of everything else necessary for shipbuilding, that as crews for the ships and for the other naval services a mass of purple-shell divers and other sea-faring men reached him from Phoenicia and the rest of the coast, and that Alexander excavated a harbour at Babylon, large enough to be an anchorage for a thousand ships of war, with
- 5 dockyards in the harbour. Further, Miccalus of Clazomenae was despatched to Phoenicia and Syria with five hundred Talents, to hire recruits or purchase

2 'Vulgate'? Cf. iii 16, 7 f. (where the return of the statues is not expressly dated), with Bosworth *ad loc.*

3 App. VII.

ὄσοι θαλάττιοι ἄνθρωποι. τὴν τε γὰρ παραλίαν τὴν πρὸς τῷ κόλπῳ τῷ Περσικῷ κατοικίζειν ἐπενόει καὶ τὰς νήσους τὰς ταύτη. ἐδόκει γὰρ αὐτῷ οὐ μείον <ἂν> Φοινίκης εὐδαίμων ἢ χώρα αὕτη γενέσθαι. ἦν δὲ αὐτῷ τοῦ ναυτικοῦ ἢ παρασκευῆ ὡς ἐπὶ Ἄραβας τοὺς πολλούς, πρόφασιν μὲν, ὅτι μόνοι τῶν ταύτη βαρβάρων οὔτε πρεσβείαν ἀπέστειλαν οὔτε τι ἄλλο ἐπικικῆς ἢ ἐπὶ τιμῇ ἐπέπρακτο Ἄραβιν ἐς αὐτόν· τὸ δὲ ἀληθές, ὡς γέ μοι δοκεῖ, ἄπληστος ἦν τοῦ κτᾶσθαι τι αἰεὶ Ἀλέξανδρος.

20. Λόγος δὲ κατέχει ὅτι ἤκουεν Ἄραβας δύο μόνον τιμᾶν θεούς, τὸν Οὐρανόν τε καὶ τὸν Διόνυσον, τὸν μὲν Οὐρανὸν αὐτόν τε ὀρώμενον καὶ τὰ ἄστρα ἐν οἷ ἔχοντα τά τε ἄλλα καὶ τὸν ἥλιον, ἀφ' ὅτου μεγίστη καὶ φανοτάτη ὠφέλεια ἐς πάντα ἦκει τὰ ἀνθρώπεια, Διόνυσον δὲ κατὰ δόξαν τῆς ἐς Ἰνδοὺς στρατιᾶς. οὔκουν ἀπαξιούν καὶ αὐτὸν τρίτον ἂν νομισθῆναι πρὸς Ἀράβων θεόν, οὐ φαυλότερα ἔργα Διονύσου ἀποδειξάμενον, εἴπερ οὖν καὶ Ἀράβων κρατήσας ἐπιτρέψειεν αὐτοῖς, καθάπερ Ἰνδοῖς, πολιτεύειν κατὰ τὰ σφῶν νόμιμα. τῆς τε χώρας ἢ εὐδαιμονία ὑπεκίνει αὐτόν, ὅτι ἤκουεν ἐκ μὲν τῶν λιμνῶν τὴν κασίαν γίγνεσθαι αὐτοῖς, ἀπὸ δὲ τῶν δένδρων τὴν σμύρναν τε καὶ τὸν λιβανωτόν, ἐκ δὲ τῶν θάμνων τὸ κιννάμωμον τέμνεσθαι, οἱ λειμῶνες δὲ ὅτι νάρδον αὐτόματοι

men accustomed to seafaring. For Alexander was planning to colonize the coast along the Persian Gulf and the islands there, as he thought that it would become just as prosperous a country as 6 Phoenicia. His naval preparations were directed at the greater number of the Arabs, on the pretext that they alone of the barbarians in these parts had sent no envoys and had taken no other action reasonable or honorific to him. The truth in my own belief is that Alexander was always insatiate in winning possessions.⁴

20. A story is prevalent¹ that he heard that the Arabs honoured only two gods, Uranus² and Dionysus, Uranus because he is visible and contains within himself the stars and especially the sun, from which the greatest and most obvious benefit comes to all human affairs, Dionysus in view of his reported expedition to India, and that Alexander therefore thought himself worthy to be regarded as a third god by the Arabs, since his achievements were as magnificent as those of Dionysus, given that he would conquer the Arabians too and permit them, like the Indians, to be governed by their own 2 customs. The prosperity of the country was also an incitement, since he heard that cassia grew in their marshes, that the trees produced myrrh and frankincense, that cinnamon was cut from the bushes,³ and that spike-

4 S. xvi 1, 9 ff., also drawing on Ar., says that though Al's pretext for war was the failure of the Arabians to send an embassy to him, in truth he desired to be 'lord of all' (§ 11). A. adopted Ar's opinion as his own. Cf. *Ind.* 9, 11 (Meg.).

1 S. (see last note) substitutes Zeus for Uranus and does not allude to Dionysus' Indian expedition (perhaps because he did not believe in it); he makes Al. assume that after conquest and restoration of their autonomy the Arabians would honour him as a god (the autocrat would let his opinion be known and expect it to be adopted!). Exactly what Ar. wrote is uncertain from the two versions; evidently it was consonant with the 'vulgate.' He remains A's source for 20–22, except for 20, 9 f. (N.) and the last sentence of 22, cf. 20, 5; 21, 1 n.;

ἐκφέρουσι τό <τε> μέγεθος τῆς χώρας, ὅτι οὐκ ἐλάττων ἢ παράλιος τῆς Ἀραβίας ἤπερ ἢ τῆς Ἰνδικῆς αὐτῶ ἐξηγγέλλετο, καὶ νῆσοι αὐτῇ προσκείσθαι πολλαί, καὶ λιμένες πανταχοῦ τῆς χώρας ἐνεῖναι, οἷοι παρασχέιν μὲν ὄρμους τῷ ναυτικῷ, παρασχέιν δὲ καὶ πόλεις ἐνοικισθῆναι καὶ ταύτας γενέσθαι εὐδαίμονας.

- 3 Δύο δὲ νῆσοι κατὰ τὸ στόμα τοῦ Εὐφράτου πελάγαι ἐξηγγέλλοντο αὐτῶ, ἡ μὲν πρώτη οὐ πρόσω τῶν ἐκβολῶν τοῦ Εὐφράτου, ἐς ἑκατὸν καὶ εἴκοσι σταδίους ἀπέχουσα ἀπὸ τοῦ αἰγιαλοῦ τε καὶ τοῦ στόματος τοῦ ποταμοῦ, μικροτέρα αὕτη καὶ δασεῖα ὕλη παντοία· εἶναι δὲ ἐν αὐτῇ καὶ ἱερὸν Ἀρτέμιδος
- 4 καὶ τοὺς οἰκήτορας αὐτῆς ἀμφὶ τὸ ἱερὸν τὴν δίαυταν ποιεῖσθαι· νέμεσθαί τε αὐτὴν αἰξί τε ἀγρίαις καὶ ἐλάφοις, καὶ ταύτας ἀνείσθαι ἀφέτους τῇ Ἀρτέμιδι, οὐδὲ εἶναι θέμις θήραν ποιεῖσθαι ἀπ' αὐτῶν, ὅτι μὴ θύσαι τινα τῇ θεῷ ἐθέλοντα· ἐπὶ
- 5 τῷδε γὰρ θηρᾶν μόνον οὐκ¹ εἶναι ἀθέμιτον. καὶ ταύτην τὴν νῆσον λέγει Ἀριστόβουλος ὅτι Ἴκαρον ἐκέλευσε καλεῖσθαι Ἀλέξανδρος ἐπὶ τῆς νήσου τῆς Ἰκάρου τῆς ἐν τῷ Αἰγαίῳ πόντῳ, ἐς ἣντινα Ἴκαρον τὸν Δαιδάλου τακέντος τοῦ κηροῦ ὄτῳ προσήρητο τὰ πτερὰ πεσεῖν λόγος κατέχει, ὅτι οὐ κατὰ τὰς ἐντολὰς τοῦ πατρὸς πρὸς τῇ γῆ ἐφέρετο, ἀλλὰ μετέωρος γὰρ ὑπὸ ἀνοίας πετόμενος παρέσχε τῷ ἡλίῳ θάλψαι τε καὶ ἀνεῖναι τὸν κηρόν, καὶ ἀπὸ ἑαυτοῦ τὸν Ἴκαρον τῇ τε νήσῳ
- 6 καὶ τῷ πελάγει τὴν ἐπωνυμίαν ἐγκαταλιπεῖν τὴν μὲν Ἴκαρον καλεῖσθαι, τὸ δὲ Ἰκάριον. ἡ δὲ ἕτερα

1 Castiglioni: ἐπὶ τῷδε θηρᾶν μόνον· ἐπὶ τῷδε γὰρ οὐκ codd., Roos (unintelligible).

nard grew self-sown in their meadows. Then there was also the size of their territory, since he was informed that the sea-coast of Arabia was nearly as long as that of India, and that there were many islands off-shore and harbours everywhere in the country, enough to give anchorages for his fleet, and to permit cities to be built on them, which were likely to prosper.

- 3 He was informed of two islands out at sea near themouth of the Euphrates. The first was not far from its outlets about a hundred and twenty stades from the shore and the river mouth; this one is smaller, thickly wooded with every kind of tree; it also contained a shrine of Artemis, and the island's inhabitants spent their lives
- 4 round the shrine; it pastured wild goats and deer which were consecrated to Artemis and could range free, and no one was allowed to hunt them unless he desired to sacrifice one to the goddess: only on this condition was hunting not forbidden.
- 5 According to Aristobulus, Alexander commanded this island to be called Icarus, after the island Icarus in the Aegean Sea, upon which according to the prevalent story Icarus, son of Daedalus, fell when the wax with which his wings had been fastened melted, because he did not follow his father's in junctions and fly low near the ground, but was mad enough to fly high, allowed the sun to melt and loose the wax, and left his name to both the island Icarus and the Icarian
- 6 sea.⁴ The other island was said to be

4 Ar. could have told the story (App. XXVIII 22). Islands: App. XXVI 3.

νήσος ἀπέχει μὲν ἀπὸ τοῦ στόματος τοῦ Εὐφράτου ἐλέγετο ὅσον πλοῦν ἡμέρας καὶ νυκτὸς κατ' οὖρον θεούσης νηΐ· Τύλος δὲ αὐτῇ εἶναι ὄνομα· μεγάλη δὲ εἶναι καὶ οὔτε τραχεῖα ἢ πολλή οὔτε ὑλώδης, ἀλλ' οἷα καρπούς τε ἡμέρους ἐκφέρειν καὶ πάντα ὥραϊα.

- 7 Ταυτὶ ἀπηγγέθη Ἀλεξάνδρῳ τὰ μὲν πρὸς Ἀρχίου, ὃς ξὺν τριακοντόρῳ ἐκπεμφθεὶς ἐπὶ κατασκοπὴν τοῦ παράπλου τοῦ ὡς ἐπὶ τοὺς Ἄραβας μέχρι μὲν τῆς νήσου τῆς Τύλου ἦλθε, τὸ πρόσω δὲ οὐκέτι περαιωθῆναι ἐτόλμησεν· Ἀνδροσθένης δὲ ξὺν ἄλλῃ τριακοντόρῳ σταλεὶς καὶ τῆς χερρονήσου τι τῶν Ἀράβων παρέπλευσε· μακροτάτῳ δὲ τῶν ἐκπεμφθέντων προὔχωρησεν Ἰέρων ὁ Σολεὺς ὁ κυβερνήτης, λαβὼν καὶ οὗτος
- 8 παρ' Ἀλεξάνδρου τριακόντορον· ἦν μὲν γὰρ αὐτῷ προστεταγμένοι περιπλεῦσαι τὴν χερρόνησον τὴν Ἀράβων πᾶσαν ἔσπε ἐπὶ τὸν κόλπον τὸν πρὸς Αἰγύπτῳ τὸν Ἀράβιον τὸν καθ' Ἡρώων πόλιν· οὐ μὲν ἐτόλμησέ γε τὸ πρόσω ἐλθεῖν, καίτοι ἐπὶ τὸ πολὺ παραπλεύσας τὴν Ἀράβων γῆν· ἀλλ' ἀναστρέψας γὰρ παρ' Ἀλέξανδρον ἐξήγγειλεν τὸ μέγεθός τε τῆς χερρονήσου θαυμαστόν τι εἶναι καὶ ὅσον οὐ πολὺ
- 9 ἀποδέον τῆς Ἰνδῶν γῆς, ἅκραν τε ἀνέχειν ἐπὶ πολὺ τῆς μεγάλης θαλάσσης· ἦν δὲ καὶ τοὺς σὺν Νεάρχῳ ἀπὸ τῆς Ἰνδικῆς πλέοντας, πρὶν ἐπικάμψαι ἐς τὸν κόλπον τὸν Περσικόν, οὐ πόρρω ἀνατείνουσαν ἰδεῖν τε καὶ παρ' ὀλίγον ἐλθεῖν διαβαλεῖν ἐς αὐτήν, καὶ Ὀνησικρίτῳ τῷ κυβερνήτῃ ταύτῃ δοκοῦν· ἀλλὰ Νεάρχος λέγει ὅτι αὐτὸς διεκώλυσεν, ὡς ἐκπεριπλεύσας τὸν κόλπον τὸν Περσικὸν ἔχοι ἀπαγγεῖλαι
- 10 Ἀλεξάνδρῳ ἐφ' οἷσσι πρὸς αὐτοῦ ἐστάλη· οὐ γὰρ ἐπὶ τῷ πλεῦσαι τὴν μεγάλην θάλασσαν ἐστάλθαι, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ

about a day and night's sail distant from the mouth of the Euphrates for a ship running before the wind; it was called Tylus, and was large and neither rough nor wooded for the most part but of a kind to bear cultivated crops and all things in due season.

- 7 This was told to Alexander, partly by Archias,⁵ who had been sent with a *triacontor* to reconnoitre the coastal voyage towards Arabia, and reached the island Tylus, though he did not venture further. Androstenes⁶ was despatched with another *triacontor*, and sailed round part of the Arabian peninsula; but of all those sent off, Hieron of Soli the steersman, who also received a *triacontor* from
- 8 Alexander, went furthest, yet, though his sailing orders were to coast round the whole Arabian peninsula till he reached the Arabian Gulf [Red Sea] on the Egyptian side at Heroonpolis,⁷ he did not dare to go further, though he had sailed round the greater part of Arabia, but turned about and reported to Alexander that the peninsula was vast in size and nearly as large as India and that a promontory ran
- 9 far into the great sea. Nearchus' crews, when sailing from India before they altered course for the Persian Gulf, had seen it stretching out not far away, and they were on the point of putting in there, as advised by Onesicritus the helmsman. But Nearchus says that he himself forbade this; having completed his voyage round the Persian Gulf, he had to report to Alexander on the commission for
- 10 which he had been despatched, that in fact he had not been sent to navigate the Ocean, but to reconnoitre the coast lying

5 *Ind.* 18, 3; 27 f.; 34 f.; 43, 8 f.

6 A. evidently did not know his book (Jacoby no. 711). See in general S. xvi 3, 1–6.

7 In the Suez isthmus.

τῷ καταμαθεῖν τὴν χώραν τὴν προσεχὴ τῇ θαλάσσῃ καὶ τοὺς κατοικοῦντας αὐτὴν ἀνθρώπους, ὄρμους τε ἐν αὐτῇ καὶ ὕδατα καὶ τὰ νόμια τῶν ἀνδρῶν καὶ εἴ τις ἀγαθὴ καρπὸς ἐκφέρειν ἢ εἴ τις κακὴ καὶ οὖν καὶ τοῦτο αἴτιον γενέσθαι ἀποσωθῆναι Ἀλεξάνδρῳ τὸν στρατὸν· οὐ γὰρ ἂν σωθῆναι πλεύσαντας ὑπὲρ τῆς Ἀραβίας τὰ ἔρημα, ἐφ' ὧ καὶ ὁ Ἰέρων ἐπιστρέψαι ὀπίσω λέγεται.

21. Ἐν ᾧ δὲ αὐτῷ ἐναυπηγοῦντο μὲν αἱ τριήρεις, ὁ λιμὴν δὲ πρὸς Βαβυλῶνι ὠρύσσετο, ἐκπλεῖ ἐκ Βαβυλῶνος κατὰ τὸν Εὐφράτην ὡς ἐπὶ τὸν Πολλακόπαν καλούμενον ποταμόν. ἀπέχει δὲ οὗτος τῆς Βαβυλῶνος σταδίου ὅσον ὀκτακοσίους,
 2 καὶ ἔστι διώρυξ αὕτη [ὁ Πολλακόπας] ἐκ τοῦ Εὐφράτου, οὐχὶ δὲ ἐκ πηγῶν τις ἀνίσχων ποταμός. ὁ γὰρ Εὐφράτης ποταμὸς ῥέων ἐκ τῶν Ἀρμενίων ὄρων χειμῶνος μὲν ὥρα προχωρεῖ κατὰ τὰς ὄχθας, οἷα δὲ οὐ πολλοῦ ὄντος αὐτῷ τοῦ ὕδατος· ἤρος δὲ ὑποφαίνοντος καὶ πολὺ δὴ μάλιστα ὑπὸ τροπᾶς, ἄστινας τοῦ θέρους ὁ ἥλιος ἐπιστρέφει, μέγας τε ἐπέρχεται καὶ
 3 ὑπερβάλλει ὑπὲρ τὰς ὄχθας ἐς τὴν γῆν τὴν Ἀσσυρίαν· τηνικαῦτα γὰρ αἱ χιόνες αἱ ἐπὶ τοῖς ὄρεσι τοῖς Ἀρμενίοις κατατηκόμεναι αὔξουσιν αὐτῷ τὸ ὕδωρ ἐπὶ μέγα. ὅτι δὲ ἐπιπολῆς ἔστιν αὐτῷ καὶ ὑψηλὸς ὁ ῥοῦς, ὑπερβάλλει ἐς τὴν χώραν, εἰ μὴ τις ἀναστομώσας αὐτὸν κατὰ τὸν Πολλακόπαν ἐς τὰ ἔλη τε ἐκτρέψει καὶ τὰς λίμνας, αἱ δὲ ἀρχόμεναι ἀπὸ ταύτης τῆς διώρυχος <διήκουσιν> ἔσται ἐπὶ τὴν ξυνεχῆ τῇ Ἀράβων γῆ, καὶ ἔνθεν μὲν ἐς τέναγος ἐπὶ πολὺ, ἐκ δὲ τοῦ ἐς
 4 θάλασσαν κατὰ πολλά τε καὶ ἀφανῆ στόματα ἐκδίδωσι. τετηκυίας δὲ τῆς χιόνος ἀμφὶ Πλειάδων μάλιστα

on the Ocean, the inhabitants of the coast, its anchorages, water supplies and the manners and customs of the people, and to discover if any part of the coast was fertile or not; and that this was the reason that Alexander's force came through safely, for they would have been lost if they had sailed past the desert parts of Arabia. On this ground Hieron too is said to have turned about.⁸

21. While his triremes were being built, and the harbour at Babylon dug out, Alexander sailed from Babylon down the Euphrates to the so-called river Pollacopas.¹ This is eight hundred stades away from Babylon, and it is a canal from the Euphrates, not
 2 a river that rises from its own springs. For the Euphrates river flowing from the Armenian mountains runs within its banks in the winter season, as the volume of water is not large; but once spring just shows, and especially about the time of the summer solstice, its flow is great and it breaks its banks on to the Assyrian land. For it is
 3 then that the snows on the Armenian mountains melt and increase its volume enormously. Since the bed of the stream is lifted high up, it would overflow into the surrounding country unless it were given an outlet along the Pollacopas and so turned into the marshes and the lakes, which begin with this canal and continue as far as the land nearest to Arabia, and thence it runs mostly into lagoons and thereafter into the sea by many unnoticed mouths. When the
 4 melting of the

⁸ Cf. *Ind.* 32. The final comment probably echoes N.

¹ *Ar. ap.* S. xvi 1, 9 and 11 with further particulars.

- δύσιν ὀλίγος τε ὁ Εὐφράτης ῥέει καὶ οὐδὲν μείον τὸ πολὺ αὐτοῦ κατὰ τὸν Πολλακόπαν ἐκδιδοί ἐς τὰς λίμνας. εἰ δὴ τις μὴ ἀποφράξει <ε> τὸν Πολλακόπαν αὐθις, ὡς κατὰ τὰς ὄχθας ἐκτραπὲν φέρεσθαι τὸ ὕδωρ κατὰ πόρου, ἐκένωσεν ἂν τὸν
- 5 Εὐφράτην ἐς αὐτόν, ὡς μηδ' ἐπάρδεσθαι ἀπ' αὐτοῦ τὴν Ἀσσυρίαν γῆν. ἀλλὰ ἀπεφράσσοντο γὰρ αἱ ἐς τὸν Πολλακόπαν τοῦ Εὐφράτου ἐκβολαὶ πρὸς τοῦ σατράπου τῆς Βαβυλωνίας πολλῶ πόνῳ, καίπερ οὐ χαλεπῶς ἀναστομούμεναι, ὅτι ἰλυώδης τε ἡ ταύτη γῆ καὶ πηλὸς ἡ πολλὴ αὐτῆς, οἷα δεχομένη τὸ ὕδωρ τοῦ ποταμοῦ μὴ εὐμαρῆ τὴν ἀποστροφὴν αὐτοῦ παρέχειν· ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐς τρίτον μῆνα Ἀσσυρίων ἄνδρες ὑπὲρ τοὺς μυρίους ἐν τῷδε τῷ πόνῳ ξυνείχοντο.
- 6 Ταῦτα ἀπαγγελθέντα ἐπήγαγεν Ἀλέξανδρον ὠφελῆσαι τι τὴν χώραν τὴν Ἀσσυρίαν. ἔνθεν μὲν δὴ ἐς τὸν Πολλακόπαν ἐτρέπετο τοῦ Εὐφράτου ὁ ῥοῦς, ταύτη δὲ ἔγνω βεβαίως ἀποκλείσαι τὴν ἐκβολὴν· προελθόντι δὲ ὅσον σταδίους τριάκοντα ὑπόπετρος ἡ γῆ ἐφαίνετο, οἷα διακοπέϊσα, εἰ ξυναφῆς ἐγένετο τῇ πάλαι διώρυχι τῇ κατὰ τὸν Πολλακόπαν, οὔτ' ἂν διαχεῖσθαι παρέχειν τὸ ὕδωρ ὑπὸ στερρότητος τῆς
- 7 γῆς, τὴν τε ἀποστροφὴν αὐτοῦ τῇ τεταγμένη ὥρᾳ μὴ χαλεπῶς γίγνεσθαι. τούτων ἕνεκα ἐπὶ τε τὸν Πολλακόπαν ἔπλευσε καὶ κατ' αὐτὸν καταπλεῖ ἐς τὰς λίμνας ὡς ἐπὶ Ἀράβων γῆν. ἔνθα χῶρόν τινα ἐν καλῷ ἰδὼν πόλιν ἐξωκοδόμησέ τε καὶ ἐτείχισε, καὶ ἐν ταύτῃ κατώκισε τῶν Ἑλλήνων τινὰς τῶν μισθοφόρων, ὅσοι τε ἐκόντες καὶ ὅσοι ὑπὸ γήρωσ ἢ κατὰ πῆρωσιν ἀπόλεμοι ἦσαν.
22. Αὐτὸς δὲ ὡς ἐξελέγξας δὴ τῶν Χαλδαίων

- snow is over about the setting of the Pleiads, the level of the Euphrates is low, and yet all the same most of the water flows by the Pollacopas into the lakes. If, then, the Pollacopas were not dammed in its turn, so that the water is diverted to run in the channel between its own banks, it would have drained off the Euphrates into it, and then it would never water the Assyrian plain.
- 5 Hence the satrap of Babylon used to dam the outlets of the Euphrates into the Pollacopas with considerable effort, even though they were easily opened, since the earth there is muddy and mostly soft clay, such as lets through the river water and makes it none too easy to turn the river back; for over 2 months more than ten thousand Assyrians used to be engaged on this task.
- 6 When this was reported to Alexander, it incited him to improve the land of Assyria. At the point where the stream of Euphrates was turned into the Pollacopas, he determined to close the outlet securely, but when he had gone about thirty stades he found the earth appearing rather stony, suggesting that if it were quarried, and then united with the old canal along the Pollacopas, it would not permit the water to pass through because of the solidity of the soil, and yet the water could easily be diverted at the appointed season.
- 7 For these reasons he sailed to the Pollacopas and down it to the lakes in the direction of Arabia. There, having seen a good site, he built and fortified a city and settled in it some of the Greek mercenaries, volunteers and men unfit for service through age or wounds.

22. As if he had proved the Chaldaeans' prophecy

τὴν μαντείαν, ὅτι οὐδὲν πεπόνθοι ἐν Βαβυλῶνι ἄχαρι,
καθάπερ ἐκείνοι ἐμαντεύσαντο, ἀλλὰ ἔφθη γὰρ ἐλάσας ἕξω
Βαβυλῶνος πρὶν τι παθεῖν, ἀνέπλει αὖθις κατὰ τὰ ἔλη
θαρρῶν, ἐν ἀριστερᾷ ἔχων τὴν Βαβυλῶνα· ἵνα δὴ καὶ
ἐπλανήθη αὐτῷ μέρος τοῦ ναυτικοῦ κατὰ τὰ στενὰ ἀπορία
ἡγεμόνος, πρὶν γε δὴ αὐτὸς πέμψας τὸν ἡγησόμενον
2 ἐπανήγαγεν αὐτοὺς ἐς τὸν πόρον. λόγος δὲ λέγεται τοιούσδε.
τῶν βασιλέων τῶν Ἀσσυρίων τοὺς τάφους ἐν ταῖς λίμναις τε
εἶναι τοὺς πολλοὺς καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἔλεσι δεδομημένους. ὡς δὲ
ἔπλει Ἀλέξανδρος κατὰ τὰ ἔλη, κυβερνᾶν γὰρ αὐτὸν λόγος
τὴν τριήρη, πνεύματος μεγάλου ἐμπεισόντος αὐτῷ ἐς τὴν
καυσίαν καὶ τὸ διάδημα αὐτῇ συνεχόμενον, τὴν μὲν δὴ οἶα
βαρύτεραν πεσεῖν ἐς τὸ ὕδωρ, τὸ διάδημα δὲ ἀπενεχθὲν πρὸς
τῆς πνοῆς σχεθῆναι ἐν καλάμῳ· τὸν κάλαμον δὲ τῶν
3 ἐπιπεφυκότων εἶναι τάφῳ τινὶ τῶν πάλαι βασιλέων. τοῦτό τε
οὖν αὐτὸ πρὸ τῶν μελλόντων σημήναι καὶ ὅτι τῶν τις ναυτῶν
ἐκνηξάμενος ὡς ἐπὶ τὸ διάδημα ἀφελὼν τοῦ καλάμου αὐτὸ
μετὰ χεῖρας μὲν οὐκ ἤνεγκεν, ὅτι νηχομένου ἂν αὐτοῦ
4 ἐβρέχετο, περιθεὶς δὲ τῇ κεφαλῇ τῇ αὐτοῦ οὕτω διήνεγκε. καὶ
οἱ μὲν πολλοὶ τῶν ἀναγραφάντων τὰ Ἀλεξάνδρου λέγουσιν
ὅτι τάλαντου μὲν ἔδωρήσατο αὐτῷ Ἀλέξανδρος τῆς προθυμίας
ἕνεκα, ἀποτεμεῖν δὲ ἐκέλευσε τὴν κεφαλὴν, τῶν μάντεων ταύτη
ἐξηγησαμένων, μὴ περιδεῖν σώαν ἐκείνην τὴν κεφαλὴν ἣτις
τὸ διάδημα ἐφόρησε τὸ βασιλείον· Ἀριστόβουλος δὲ τάλαντον
μὲν ὅτι ἔλαβε λέγει αὐτόν, ἀλλὰ πληγὰς λαβεῖν τῆς
5 περιθέσεως ἕνεκα τοῦ διαδήματος. Ἀριστόβουλος μὲν δὴ τῶν
τινα Φοινίκων τῶν ναυτῶν λέγει ὅτι τὸ διάδημα

false, since he had suffered none of the unpleasantness in Babylon
they had prophesied, but had marched out of Babylon again before
any misfortune, Alexander himself again sailed up the marsh lands
in confidence, with Babylon on his left hand; but here some of his
flotilla lost its way in the narrows for want of a pilot, until he himself
sent them a pilot and brought them back into the stream. A tale is
2 told as follows. Most of the tombs of the kings of Assyria¹ are built in
the lakes and marsh lands. And as Alexander was sailing in the
marshes, according to the tale he was steering the trireme himself,
a strong breeze struck his cap and the diadem attached to it and, as
the hat was heavy, it fell into the stream, while the diadem was
carried off by the breeze and caught on one of the reeds which
3 grew on a tomb of the old kings. This in itself seemed to presage his
destiny, as did the fact that one of the sailors who had swum off to
fetch the diadem, after removing it from the reed, did not carry it in
his hands, since it would have become wet as he swam, but bound it
4 round his head and so brought it across. Most of the historians of
Alexander say that he gave him a reward of a Talent for his
keenness, but ordered his head to be cut off, since the prophets
prescribed in their interpretation of the incident that the head
which had worn the royal diadem should not be suffered to live.
But Aristobulus says that he received the Talent, but was flogged
for fastening the diadem about his head. Aristobulus in fact says
5 that it was one of the Phoenician sailors who brought back his

1 Al. inspected them (Ar. ap. S. xv 1, 11).

τῷ Ἀλεξάνδρῳ ἐκόμισεν, εἰσὶ δὲ οἱ Σέλευκον λέγουσιν. καὶ τοῦτο τῷ τε Ἀλεξάνδρῳ σημήναι τὴν τελευτὴν καὶ τῷ Σελεύκῳ τὴν βασιλείαν τὴν μεγάλην. Σέλευκον γὰρ μέγιστον τῶν μετὰ Ἀλέξανδρον διαδεξαμένων τὴν ἀρχὴν βασιλέα γενέσθαι τὴν τε γνώμην βασιλικώτατον καὶ πλείστης γῆς ἐπάρξαι μετὰ γε αὐτὸν Ἀλέξανδρον οὗ μοι δοκεῖ ἴεναι ἐς ἀμφίλογον.

23. Ἐπανελθὼν δὲ ἐς Βαβυλῶνα καταλαμβάνει Πευκέσταν ἦκοντα ἐκ Περσῶν, ἄγοντα στρατιὰν Περσῶν ἐς δισμυρίους· ἦγε δὲ καὶ Κοσσαίων καὶ Ταπούρων οὐκ ὀλίγους, ὅτι καὶ ταῦτα ἔθνη τῶν προσχώρων τῇ Περσίδι μαχιμώτατα εἶναι ἐξηγγέλλετο. ἦκε δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ Φιλόξενος στρατιὰν ἄγων ἀπὸ Καρίας καὶ Μένανδρος ἐκ Λυδίας ἄλλους καὶ Μενίδας τοὺς
 2 ἰππέας ἄγων τοὺς αὐτῷ ξυнтаχθέντας. καὶ πρεσβείαι δὲ ἐν τούτῳ ἐκ τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἦκον, καὶ τούτων οἱ πρέσβεις αὐτοῖ τε ἐστεφανωμένοι Ἀλεξάνδρῳ προσῆλθον καὶ ἐστεφάνουν αὐτὸν στεφάνοις χρυσοῖς, ὡς θεωροὶ δῆθεν ἐς τιμὴν θεοῦ ἀφιγμένοι. τῷ δὲ οὐ πόρρω ἄρα ἢ τελευτῇ ἦν.

3 Ἐνθα δὴ τοὺς τε Πέρσας ἐπαινέσας τῆς προθυμίας, ὅτι πάντα Πευκέστα ἐπέιθοντο, καὶ αὐτὸν Πευκέσταν τῆς ἐν κόσμῳ αὐτῶν ἐξηγήσεως, κατέλεγεν αὐτοὺς ἐς τὰς Μακεδονικὰς τάξεις, δεκαδάρχην μὲν τῆς δεκάδος ἡγεῖσθαι Μακεδόνα καὶ ἐπὶ τούτῳ διμοιρίτην Μακεδόνα καὶ δεκαστάτηρον, οὕτως ὀνομαζόμενον ἀπὸ τῆς μισθοφορᾶς, ἦντινα

diadem to Alexander. But some say it was Seleucus, and that this portended death to Alexander and his great kingdom to Seleucus. For in my view it is beyond dispute that Seleucus was the greatest king of those who succeeded Alexander, of the most royal mind, and ruling over the greatest extent of territory, next to Alexander himself.²

23. On his return to Babylon Alexander found that Peucestas had arrived from Persia with an army of about twenty thousand Persians; he had also brought a number of Cossaeans and Tapurians,¹ because it was reported that these tribes were the most warlike of those bordering on Persia. Alexander was also joined by Philoxenus with an army from Caria, by Menander with other troops from Lydia, and by Menidas with the cavalry which had been placed under his command.² Embassies too came from Greece at
 2 this juncture and their envoys, crowned themselves, came forward and crowned Alexander with golden crowns, as if actually come on a sacred embassy to honour a god.³ And yet he was not far from his end.

3 Then he commended the Persians for their enthusiasm and entire obedience to Peucestas, and Peucestas himself for his orderly government of them, and he enrolled them in the Macedonian battalions, with a Macedonian decadarch to lead each decad and next to him a Macedonian on double pay and a 'ten-stater' man, so called from the pay, which was less

² 'Vulgate', not from Clitarchus (cf. D. 116, 5 ff.), since glorification of Seleucus and not Pt. would not be his aim; it probably postdates 281, when S. briefly re-united most of the empire. Cf. v 13, 1 and 4 nn.; Appian, *Syrian Wars* 56 (probably from a collection of prodigies on Seleucus' future greatness). App. XIX 7.

¹ If Bosworth is right on iii 8, 4, Ar. called them Topeirians, and A. must here be following Pt.

³ App. XXII.

- 4 μείονα μὲν τοῦ διμοιρίτου, πλείονα δὲ τῶν οὐκ ἐν τιμῇ
στρατευομένων ἔφερεν· ἐπὶ τούτοις δὲ δώδεκα Πέρσας καὶ
τελευταῖον τῆς δεκάδος Μακεδόνα, δεκαστάτηρον καὶ τοῦτον,
ὥστε ἐν τῇ δεκάδι τέσσαρας μὲν εἶναι Μακεδόνας, τοὺς μὲν
τῇ μισθοφορᾷ προὔχοντας, τὸν δὲ τῇ ἀρχῇ τῆς δεκάδος,
δώδεκα δὲ Πέρσας, τοὺς μὲν Μακεδόνας τὴν πάτριον ὄπλισιν
ὠπλισμένους, τοὺς δὲ Πέρσας τοὺς μὲν τοξότας, τοὺς δὲ καὶ
μεσάγκυλα ἔχοντας.
- 5 Ἐν τούτῳ δὲ πολλάκις μὲν τοῦ ναυτικοῦ ἀπειρεῖατο,
πολλὰ δὲ ἔριδες αὐτῷ τῶν τριήρων καὶ ὅσαι τετρήρεις κατὰ
τὸν ποταμὸν ἐγίγνοντο, καὶ ἀγῶνες τῶν τε ἐρετῶν καὶ τῶν
κυβερνητῶν καὶ στέφανοι τῶν νικόντων.
- 6 Ἦκον δὲ καὶ παρὰ Ἄμμωνος οἱ θεωροὶ οὐστίνας ἐστάλκει
ἐρησομένους ὅπως θέμις αὐτῷ τιμᾶν Ἡφαιστίωνα· οἱ δὲ ὡς
ἥρωϊ ἔφησαν ὅτι θύειν θέμις ὁ Ἄμμων λέγει. ὁ δὲ ἔχαιρέ τε
τῇ μαντείᾳ καὶ τὸ ἀπὸ τούδε ὡς ἥρωα ἐγέραιρε. καὶ
Κλεομένει, ἀνδρὶ κακῷ καὶ πολλὰ ἀδικήματα ἀδικήσαντι ἐν
Αἰγύπτῳ, ἐπιστέλλει ἐπιστολήν. καὶ ταύτην τῆς μὲν ἐς
Ἡφαιστίωνα καὶ ἀποθανόντα φιλίας ἔνεκα καὶ μνήμης οὐ
7 μέμφομαι ἔγωγε, ἄλλων δὲ πολλῶν ἔνεκα μέμφομαι. ἔλεγε
γὰρ ἢ ἐπιστολὴ κατασκευασθῆναι Ἡφαιστίῳ ἡρώον ἐν
Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ τῇ Αἰγυπτίᾳ, ἐν τε τῇ πόλει αὐτῇ καὶ ἐν τῇ νήσῳ
τῇ Φάρῳ, ἵνα ὁ πύργος ἐστὶν ὁ ἐν τῇ νήσῳ, μεγέθει τε
μέγιστον καὶ πολυτελείᾳ ἐκπρεπέστατον, καὶ ὅπως
ἐπικρατήσῃ ἐπικαλεῖσθαι ἀπὸ Ἡφαιστίνου, καὶ τοῖς
8 ἐγγράφεσθαι τὸ ὄνομα Ἡφαιστίνου. ταῦτα μὲν οὐκ ἔχω
μέμψασθαι,

- than the men on double pay, but more than the rank and file
- 4 received, then twelve Persians and last of the decad a Macedonian,
also a 'ten-stater' man. Thus the decad comprised four
Macedonians, three on extra pay and one in charge, and twelve
Persians; the Macedonians were equipped with their traditional
arms and the Persians were either archers or were provided with
thonged javelins.
- 5 At this time Alexander was testing out the fleet constantly, and
there were many competitions between the triremes and such
quadriremes as were on the river, and contests between oarsmen
and helmsmen and crowns for the victors.
- 6 The sacred envoys from Ammon also arrived, whom Alexander
had sent to enquire what honour it was lawful to pay Hephaestion;
they reported that Ammon said that it was lawful to sacrifice to him
as a hero. Alexander was pleased with the oracle and henceforward
gave him heroic honours.⁴ Cleomenes, a rascal who had been guilty
of many wrongful acts in Egypt, was sent a letter which I personally
censure, not for its affectionate recollection of Hephaestion even in
7 death but for many other reasons; it said that a hero's shrine was to
be built in Egyptian Alexandria, not just in the city itself but
actually on the isle of Pharos, where the tower stands on the island;
it was to be unparalleled in dimensions and sumptuous splendour,
and he was to insist that it be called after Hephaestion, and that his
name should be written into the contracts by which traders do
8 business with each other. All this I cannot censure,

4 So P. 72, 2. Perhaps Pt./Ar. reported that Al. asked Ammon if
H. should be god or hero (cf. 14, 7). D. 115, 6 and J. xii 12, 12 wrongly
say that he was deified. Enforced hero cult at Athens: Hyperides vi 21.

πλήν γε δὴ ὅτι οὐκ ἐπὶ μεγάλοις μεγάλως διεσπουδάζετο.
ἐκείνα δὲ καὶ πάνυ μέμφομαι. ἦν γὰρ καταλάβω ἐγώ, ἔλεγε
τὰ γράμματα, τὰ ἱερά τὰ ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ καλῶς κατεσκευασμένα
καὶ τὰ ἡρώα τὰ Ἡφαιστίωνος, εἴ τέ τι πρότερον ἡμάρτηκας,
ἀφήσω σε τούτου, καὶ τὸ λοιπόν, ὀπηλίκον ἂν ἀμάρτης, οὐδὲν
πίση ἐξ ἐμοῦ ἄχαρι. τοῦτο ἀνδρὶ ἄρχοντι πολλῆς μὲν χώρας,
πολλῶν δὲ ἀνθρώπων ἐκ βασιλείως μεγάλου ἐπεσταλμένον,
ἄλλως τε καὶ κακῶ ἀνδρὶ, οὐκ ἔχω ἐπαινέσαι.

24. Ἄλλα γὰρ αὐτῷ ἤδη Ἀλεξάνδρῳ ἐγγὺς ἦν τὸ τέλος. καί
τι καὶ τοιόνδε πρὸ τῶν μελλόντων σημήναι λέγει
Ἄριστόβουλος· καταλοχίζει μὲν αὐτὸν τὴν στρατιὰν τὴν σὺν
Πευκέστῃ τε ἐκ Περσῶν καὶ ἀπὸ θαλάσσης ξὺν Φιλοξένῳ καὶ
Μενάνδρῳ ἦκουσαν ἐς τὰς Μακεδονικὰς τάξεις· διψήσαντα δὲ
2 ἀποχωρήσαι ἐκ τῆς ἑδρας καταλιπόντα ἔρημον τὸν θρόνον
τὸν βασιλείου. εἶναι δὲ κλίνας ἐκατέρωθεν τοῦ θρόνου
ἀργυρόποδας, ἐφ' ὧν οἱ ἀμφ' αὐτὸν ἑταῖροι ἐκάθηντο. τῶν
τινα οὖν ἡμελημένων ἀνθρώπων, οἱ δὲ καὶ τῶν ἐς φυλακῆν
ἀδέσμῳ ὄντα λέγουσιν, ἔρημον ἰδόντα τὸν θρόνον καὶ τὰς
κλίνας, περὶ τῷ θρόνῳ δὲ ἐστηκότας τοὺς εὐνούχους, καὶ γὰρ
καὶ οἱ ἑταῖροι ξυνανέστησαν τῷ βασιλεῖ ἀποχωροῦντι,
διελθόντα διὰ τῶν εὐνούχων ἀναβῆναί τε ἐπὶ τὸν θρόνον καὶ
3 καθέζεσθαι. τοὺς δὲ οὐκ ἀναστήσαι μὲν αὐτὸν ἐκ τοῦ θρόνου
κατὰ δὴ τινα νόμον Περσικόν, περιρρηξαμένους δὲ τύπτεσθαι
τά τε στήθη καὶ τὰ πρόσωπα ὡς ἐπὶ μεγάλῳ κακῷ. ταῦτα ὡς
ἐξηγγέλθη Ἀλεξάνδρῳ, κελεῦσαι στρεβλωθῆναι τὸν
καθίσαντα, μήποτε ἐξ ἐπιβουλῆς ξυντεταγμένον τοῦτο ἑδρασε
γῶναι

except in so far as he was showing such great care over matters of
no great importance. But what follows I do censure strongly. The
letter ran: 'If I find these temples set in good order in Egypt, and
these shrines of Hephaestion, whatever wrong you have hitherto
done, I pardon it; and for the future, of whatever nature your fault
may be, you shall receive no harm at my hands.' I cannot approve
this mandate from a great king to a man who was ruling a large and
populous area, all the more as the man was wicked.⁵

24. But in fact Alexander's own end was now close. Aristobulus
says that there was a further portent of what was to come.
Alexander was distributing among the Macedonian battalions the
troops who had come with Peucestas from Persia and from the
ocean with Philoxenus and Menander and, feeling thirsty, he went
away from the tribunal, and left the royal throne empty. On either
2 side of the throne were couches with silver feet, on which the
Companions in attendance on him used to sit. Some quite obscure
person—some say a prisoner under open arrest—saw the throne
and couches vacant, and the eunuchs standing round about the
throne (the Companions had all risen with the king when he left),
passed through the eunuchs, and went up and sat on the throne.
3 Owing to some Persian custom they did not drag him off the throne
but rent their garments and beat themselves on their breasts and
faces as if some terrible disaster had happened. When Alexander
learned this, he ordered the man who had sat on the throne to be
put to the rack, desiring to know if he had done this by

⁵ App. XXVII 7.

ἐθέλοντα. τὸν δὲ οὐδὲν ἄλλο κατειπεῖν ὅτι μὴ ἐπὶ νοῦν οἱ ἐλθὼν οὕτω πράξαι ἢ δὴ καὶ μᾶλλον ἐπ' οὐδενὶ ἀγαθῷ ξυμβῆναι αὐτῷ οἱ μάντις ἐξηγοῦντο.

4 Ἡμέραι τε οὐ πολλαὶ ἐπὶ τούτῳ ἐγένοντο καὶ τεθυκῶς τοῖς θεοῖς τὰς τε νομιζομένας θυσίας ἐπὶ ξυμφοραῖς ἀγαθαῖς καὶ τινας καὶ ἐκ μαντείας εὐωχεῖτο ἅμα τοῖς φίλοις καὶ ἔπινε πόρρω τῶν νυκτῶν. δοῦναι δὲ λέγεται καὶ τῇ στρατιᾷ ἱερέια καὶ οἶνον κατὰ λόχους καὶ ἑκατοστύας. ἀπὸ δὲ τοῦ πότου αὐτὸν μὲν ἀπαλλάττεσθαι ἐθέλειν ἐπὶ κοιτῶνα εἰσὶν οἱ ἀνέγραψαν. Μήδιον δὲ αὐτῷ ἐντυχόντα, τῶν ἐταίρων ἐν τῷ τότε τὸν πιθανώτατον, δεηθῆναι κωμάσαι παρὰ οἱ γενέσθαι γὰρ ἂν ἡδὺν τὸν κῶμον.

25. Καὶ αἱ βασιλικοὶ ἐφημερίδες ὧδε ἔχουσιν πίνειν παρὰ Μηδίῳ αὐτὸν κωμάσαντα· ἔπειτα ἐξαναστάντα καὶ λουσάμενον καθεύδειν τε καὶ αὐθις δειπνεῖν παρὰ Μηδίῳ καὶ αὐθις πίνειν πόρρω τῶν νυκτῶν· ἀπαλλαχθέντα δὲ τοῦ πότου λούσασθαι· καὶ λουσάμενον ὀλίγον τι ἐμφαγεῖν καὶ καθεύδειν αὐτοῦ, ὅτι ἤδη ἐπύρεσεν. ἐκκομισθέντα δὲ ἐπὶ κλίνης πρὸς τὰ ἱερά θῦσαι ὡς νόμος ἐφ' ἑκάστη ἡμέρα, καὶ τὰ ἱερά ἐπιθέντα κατακεῖσθαι ἐν τῷ ἀνδρῶνι ἔσπε ἐπὶ κνέφας. ἐν τούτῳ δὲ τοῖς ἡγεμόσι

arrangement as part of a plot. He would only say that the idea had come to him to do so. This actually made the seers readier to interpret what had happened as portending no good for Alexander.¹

4 Not many days later Alexander offered the gods the customary sacrifices for good fortune as well as some that were enjoined by prophecy and then began feasting with his friends and drinking far into the night.² It is said that he also gave the army sacrificial victims and wine by their companies and centuries. Some have recorded that when he was ready to leave the carouse and retire to his bedroom, Medius, one of his most trusted Companions at that time, met him and asked him to come and share his celebration, for it would be a merry party.

25. The royal journals have this account.¹ He drank and made merry with Medius, and then, after rising and bathing, went to sleep; he afterwards dined with Medius, and again drank till late in the night, and then breaking off from the carouse bathed, and after bathing ate a little and slept just where he was, as he was already in a fever. However, he was carried out on a couch to perform the sacrifices custom prescribed for each day; after making the offerings he lay down in the men's apartments till

1 Al's last days: see also D. 116 f.; P. 73 ff. Note eunuchs and Oriental ceremony (Ar.), cf. 9, 9 n.

2 Not Ar., cf. 29, 4; he made Al. drink only after fever had come on (P. 75, 3), *contra* the 'journal' (25, 1), which neither he, nor probably Pt. (26, 2 n.), can have used. A. might have known of it only through the 'vulgate' source he goes on to cite for a story also in P. 75, 3, who likewise attaches to it the record from the 'journal.' I suppose that A. treats as factual what that source professedly drew from the 'journal.' The source of D. 117 and J. xii 13 is different, presumably Clitarchus, who wrote too early to bring Sarapis in. Medius of Larissa (Jacoby no. 129) figures in most versions of Al's death, cf. 25; 27, 2.

1 P's shorter version (76) both omits and adds details; so neither he nor A. quoted *verbatim*. *Contra* Introd. xx 14 their versions are

παραγγέλλειν ὑπὲρ τῆς πορείας καὶ τοῦ πλοῦ, τοὺς μὲν ὡς
 πεζῇ ἰόντας παρασκευάζεσθαι ἐς τετάρτην ἡμέραν, τοὺς δὲ
 3 ἅμα οἱ πλείοντας ὡς εἰς πέμπτην πλευσομένους. ἐκεῖθεν δὲ
 κατακομισθῆναι ἐπὶ τῆς κλίνης ὡς ἐπὶ τὸν ποταμόν, καὶ
 πλοίου ἐπιβάντα διαπλεύσαι πέραν τοῦ ποταμοῦ ἐς τὸν
 παράδεισον, κακεῖ αὖθις λουσάμενον ἀναπαύεσθαι. ἐς δὲ τὴν
 ὑστεραίαν λούσασθαι τε αὖθις καὶ θῦσαι τὰ νομιζόμενα· καὶ
 εἰς τὴν καμάραν εἰσελθόντα κατακεῖσθαι διαμυθολογούντα
 4 πρὸς Μήδιον· παραγγεῖλαι δὲ καὶ τοῖς ἡγεμόσιν ἀπαντῆσαι
 ἕωθεν. ταῦτα πράξαντα δειπνῆσαι ὀλίγον· κομισθέντα δὲ
 αὖθις ἐς τὴν καμάραν πυρέσσειν ἤδη ξυνεχῶς τὴν νύκτα
 ὄλην· τῇ δὲ ὑστεραία λούσασθαι καὶ λουσάμενον θῦσαι.
 Νεάρχῳ δὲ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἡγεμόσι παραγγεῖλαι τὰ ἀμφὶ τὸν
 πλοῦν ὅπως ἔσται ἐς τρίτην ἡμέραν. τῇ δὲ ὑστεραία
 λούσασθαι αὖθις καὶ θῦσαι τὰ τεταγμένα, καὶ τὰ ἱερά
 ἐπιθέντα οὐκέτι ἐλινύειν πυρέσσοντα. ἀλλὰ καὶ ὡς τοὺς
 ἡγεμόνας εἰσκαλέσαντα παραγγέλλειν τὰ πρὸς τὸν ἕκπλον
 ὅπως αὐτῷ ἔσται ἔτοιμα· λούσασθαι τε ἐπὶ τῇ ἑσπέρα, καὶ
 5 λουσάμενον ἔχειν ἤδη κακῶς. τῇ δὲ ὑστεραία μετακομισθῆναι
 ἐς τὴν οἰκίαν τὴν πρὸς τῇ κολυμβήθρα καὶ θῦσαι μὲν τὰ
 τεταγμένα, ἔχοντα δὲ πονήρως ὅμως ἐσκαλέσαι τῶν ἡγεμόνων
 τοὺς ἐπικαιριωτάτους καὶ ὑπὲρ τοῦ πλοῦ αὖθις παραγγέλλειν.
 τῇ δ' ἐπιούσῃ μόγις ἐκκομισθῆναι πρὸς τὰ ἱερά καὶ θῦσαι,
 6 καὶ μηδὲν μείον ἔτι παραγγέλλειν ὑπὲρ τοῦ πλοῦ τοῖς
 ἡγεμόσιν. ἐς δὲ τὴν ὑστεραίαν κακῶς ἤδη ἔχοντα ὅμως θῦσαι
 τὰ τεταγμένα. παραγγεῖλαι δὲ τοὺς μὲν στρατηγούς
 διατρίβειν κατὰ τὴν αὐλήν, χιλιάρχας

dark. At this time he gave the officers instructions for the march
 and the voyage; the foot were to prepare for departure after three
 3 days, and those who were to sail with him after four. Thence he was
 carried on his couch to the river, and embarking on a boat sailed
 across the river to the garden, and there again bathed and rested.
 Next day again he bathed and offered the usual sacrifices; after
 going into his canopied bed he lay down, conversing with Medius.
 After instructing his officers to meet him at dawn he dined lightly,
 4 was carried again to the canopied bed and remained in a high fever
 the whole night. Next day he bathed, and after bathing sacrificed
 and explained to Nearchus and the other officers all about the
 voyage, and how it was to be conducted in two days' time. Next day
 he bathed again, and offered the appointed sacrifices, and after
 making the offerings he no longer had any respite from fever. Even
 so he summoned the officers and ordered them to see that all was
 ready for the voyage; he bathed in the evening, and after bathing
 5 was now very ill. Yet next day he was carried again to the house near
 the diving place and offered the appointed sacrifices and, ill though
 he was, summoned the most important officers and gave them
 further instructions for the voyage. Next day he just contrived to be
 carried out to the sacrifices and offered them, and yet still
 continued giving instructions to his officers for the voyage. Next
 6 day, being now very ill, he still offered the appointed sacrifices but
 ordered the generals to wait in the court and the chiliarchs and

δὲ καὶ πεντακοσιάρχας πρὸ τῶν θυρῶν. ἤδη δὲ παντάπασι πονήρως ἔχοντα διακομισθῆναι ἐκ τοῦ παραδείσου ἐς τὰ βασίλεια. εἰσελθόντων δὲ τῶν ἡγεμόνων γινῶναι μὲν αὐτοὺς, φωνῆσαι δὲ μηδὲν ἔτι, ἀλλὰ εἶναι ἄναυδον καὶ τὴν νύκτα πυρέσσειν κακῶς καὶ τὴν ἡμέραν, καὶ τὴν ἄλλην νύκτα καὶ τὴν ἡμέραν.

26. Οὕτως ἐν ταῖς ἐφημερίσι ταῖς βασιλείοις ἀναγέγραπται, καὶ ἐπὶ τούτοις ὅτι οἱ στρατιῶται ἐπόθησαν ἰδεῖν αὐτόν, οἱ μὲν, ὡς ζῶντα ἔτι ἴδοιεν, οἱ δέ, ὅτι τεθνηκένοι ἤδη ἐξηγγέλλετο, ἐπικρύπτεσθαι δὲ αὐτοῦ ἐτόπαζον πρὸς τῶν σωματοφυλάκων τὸν θάνατον, ὡς ἔγωγε δοκῶ τοὺς πολλοὺς <δὲ> ὑπὸ πένθους καὶ πόθου τοῦ βασιλέως βιάσασθαι ἰδεῖν Ἀλέξανδρον. τὸν δὲ ἄφωνον μὲν εἶναι λέγουσι παραπορευομένης τῆς στρατιᾶς, δεξιούσθαι δὲ ὡς ἐκάστους

² τὴν τε κεφαλὴν ἐπαίροντα μόγις καὶ τοῖν ὀφθαλμοῖν ἐπισημαίνοντα. λέγουσι δὲ αἱ ἐφημερίδες αἱ βασίλαιοι ἐν τοῦ Σαράπιδος τῷ ἱερῷ Πείθωνά τε ἐγκοιμηθέντα καὶ Ἄτταλον καὶ Δημοφῶντα καὶ Πευκέσταν, πρὸς δὲ Κλεομένην τε καὶ Μενίδα καὶ Σέλευκον, ἐπερωτᾶν τὸν θεὸν εἰ λῶν καὶ ἄμεινον Ἀλεξάνδρῳ εἰς τὸ ἱερόν τοῦ θεοῦ κομισθέντα καὶ ἰκετεύσαντα θεραπεύεσθαι πρὸς τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ γενέσθαι φήμην τινὰ ἐκ τοῦ

³ θεοῦ μὴ κομίζεσθαι εἰς τὸ ἱερόν, ἀλλὰ αὐτοῦ μένοντι ἔσεσθαι ἄμεινον. ταῦτά τε ἀπαγγεῖλαι τοὺς ἐπαίρους καὶ Ἀλέξανδρον οὐ πολὺ ὕστερον ἀποθανεῖν, ὡς

pentacosiarchs² outside the doors. He was now extremely ill and was carried from the garden to the palace. When the officers came in, he knew them, but said no more; he was speechless. He was in high fever that night and day, and also the next night and day.

26. All this is written in the royal journals, which add that his soldiers longed to see him, some simply to see him still alive, and others because it was being put about that he was already dead and they suspected that his death was being concealed by the bodyguards (at least so I think), but the majority pressed in to see Alexander from grief and longing for their king. They say that he was already speechless when the army filed past, but that he greeted one and all, raising his head, though with difficulty, and

² making a sign to them with his eyes.¹ The royal journals say that Pithon, Attalus, Demophon and Peucestas, with Cleomenes, Menidas and Seleucus, slept in the temple of Sarapis² enquiring of the god whether it would be more desirable and better for Alexander to be brought into the temple of the god and after supplication to receive care from the god, but that an oracle was given from the god that he should not be brought into the temple,

³ and that it would be better for him to stay where he was, and that, shortly after the Companions announced this,

² Griffith, *Hist. Maced.* ii 420. The cult of this god was first established (on the best evidence) late in Pt's reign (P. M. Fraser, *Ptol. Alexandria* 246 ff.; *Opusc. Athen.* 1967, 23–45). Bosworth, *CQ* 1970, 118 ff. conjectured that an earlier cult of Osiris-Apis could have been equated by contemporaries with that of Bel-Marduk. Let that be so: the *form* Sarapis still proves that the 'journal' has at least been tampered with; if in one point, why not in others? Pt. would hardly have interpolated an appeal to the god whose cult he propagated, where it proved ineffective. Cf. *Introd.* 14.

¹ Variants in QC. x 5, 1 ff.; J. xii 15.

τούτο ἄρα ἤδη ὄν τὸ ἄμεινον. οὐ πόρρω δὲ τούτων οὔτε Ἀριστοβούλῳ οὔτε Πτολεμαίῳ ἀναγέγραπται. οἱ δὲ καὶ τάδε ἀνέγραψαν, ἐρέσθαι μὲν τοὺς ἐταίρους αὐτὸν ὅτῳ τὴν βασιλείαν ἀπολείπει, τὸν δὲ ὑποκρίνασθαι ὅτι τῷ κρατίστῳ οἱ δέ, προσθεῖναι πρὸς τούτῳ τῷ λόγῳ ὅτι μέγαν ἐπιτάφιον ἀγῶνα ὄρα ἐφ' αὐτῷ ἐσόμενον.

27. Πολλὰ δὲ καὶ ἄλλα οἶδα ἀναγεγραμμένα ὑπὲρ τῆς Ἀλεξάνδρου τελευτῆς, καὶ φάρμακον ὅτι ἐπέμφθη παρὰ Ἀντιπάτρου Ἀλεξάνδρῳ καὶ ἐκ τοῦ φαρμάκου ὅτι ἀπέθανε· καὶ τὸ φάρμακον ὅτι Ἀριστοτέλης μὲν Ἀντιπάλτρω ἐξεύρε δεδοικῶς ἤδη Ἀλέξανδρον Καλλισθένους ἕνεκα, Κάσσανδρος¹ δὲ ὁ Ἀντιπάλτρου ἐκόμισεν· οἱ δὲ καὶ ὅτι ἐν ἡμίονου ὀπλῆ ἐκόμισε
 2 καὶ τούτο ἀνέγραψαν. δοῦναι δὲ αὐτὸ Ἰόλλαν τὸν ἀδελφὸν τὸν Κασάνδρου τὸν νεώτερον· εἶναι γὰρ οἰνοχόου βασιλικὸν τὸν Ἰόλλαν καὶ τι καὶ λελυπήσθαι πρὸς Ἀλεξάνδρου ὀλίγῳ πρόσθεν τῆς τελευτῆς· οἱ δὲ καὶ Μήδιον μετασχεῖν τοῦ ἔργου, ἐραστὴν ὄντα τοῦ Ἰόλλα· καὶ αὐτὸν γὰρ εἶναι τὸν εἰσηγητὴν γενόμενον Ἀλεξάνδρῳ τοῦ κώμου· ὀδύνην τε αὐτῷ ἐπὶ τῇ
 3 κύλικι γενέσθαι ὀξείαν, καὶ ἐπὶ τῇ ὀδύνῃ ἀπαλλαγῆναι ἐκ τοῦ πότου. ἤδη δὲ τις οὐκ ἠσχύνθη ἀναγράψαι ὅτι αἰσθόμενος οὐ βιώσιμον ὄντα αὐτὸν Ἀλέξανδρος ἐς τὸν Εὐφράτην ποταμὸν ἤει ἐμβαλῶν, ὡς ἀφανῆς

1 Κάσσανδρος would be the more correct form.

Alexander died; so it was in fact this that was now 'better'³ Aristobulus and Ptolemy have recorded no more than this.⁴ Some have also recorded that his Companions asked him to whom he was leaving his kingdom, and he replied, 'To the best man'; others that he added that he saw that there would be a great funeral contest over him.

27. I am aware, of course, that there are many other versions recorded of Alexander's death; for instance, that Antipater sent him a drug, of which he died, and that it was made up for Antipater by Aristotle, as he had already come to fear Alexander on account of Callisthenes' death, and brought by Cassander, Antipater's son.¹ Others have even said that it was conveyed in a mule's hoof, and
 2 given to Alexander by Iollas, Cassander's younger brother, as he was the royal cup-bearer and had been aggrieved by Alexander not long before his death. Others again hold that Medius had some hand in the business, as he was Iollas' lover, on the grounds that it was Medius who suggested to Alexander the drinking-bout, and that Alexander had a sharp feeling of pain after quaffing the cup, and on feeling this he retired from the carouse. One writer has had the
 3 impudence to record that Alexander, feeling that he would not survive, went to throw himself into the Euphrates, so

3 As comment? Or did it stand in the journal?

4 They supplied no further details; this only shows that their perhaps brief records did not contradict those in the 'journal'. Evidently they stopped with Al's death, and ignored anything such as the following story ('vulgate') relating to the succession, or the rumours reported in ch. 27; more on these topics in D. 117 f.; QC. x 5 and J. xii 14 f.

1 D. and QC. merely reported, P. rejected, J. accepted the story of poison, implicating numerous magnates, which probably originated in or before 321 and not first in 318 (P. 77; D. xix 11), cf. R.

ἐξ ἀνθρώπων γενόμενος πιστοτέραν τὴν δόξαν παρὰ τοῖς ἔπειτα ἐγκαταλείπει ὅτι ἐκ θεοῦ τε αὐτῷ ἢ γένεσις ξυνέβη καὶ παρὰ θεοῦς ἢ ἀποχώρησις. Ῥωξάνην δὲ τὴν γυναῖκα οὐ λαθεῖν ἐξιόντα, ἀλλὰ εἰργόμενον γὰρ πρὸς αὐτῆς ἐποιμώξαντα εἰπεῖν ὅτι ἐφθόνησεν ἄρα αὐτῷ δόξης τῆς ἐς ἅπαν, ὡς θεῷ δὴ γεγενημένῳ. καὶ ταῦτα ἐμοὶ ὡς μὴ ἀγνοεῖν δόξαιμι μᾶλλον ὅτι λεγόμενά ἐστιν ἢ ὡς πιστὰ ἐς ἀφήγησιν ἀναγεγράφθω.

28. Ἐτελεύτα μὲν δὴ Ἀλέξανδρος τῇ τετάρτῃ καὶ δεκάτῃ καὶ ἑκατοστῇ Ὀλυμπιάδι ἐπὶ Ἡγησίου ἄρχοντος Ἀθήνησιν ἐβίω δὲ δύο καὶ τριάκοντα ἔτη καὶ τοῦ τρίτου μῆνας ἐπέλαβεν ὀκτώ, ὡς λέγει Ἀριστόβουλος· ἐβασίλευσε δὲ δώδεκα ἔτη καὶ τοὺς ὀκτὼ τούτους μῆνας, τό τε σῶμα κάλλιστος καὶ φιλοπονώτατος καὶ ὀξύτατος γενόμενος καὶ τὴν γνώμην ἀνδρειότατος καὶ φιλοτιμώτατος καὶ φιλοκινδυνώτατος καὶ τοῦ

2 θείου ἐπιμελέστατος· ἡδονῶν δὲ τῶν μὲν τοῦ σώματος ἐγκρατέστατος, τῶν δὲ τῆς γνώμης ἐπαίνου μόνου ἀπληστότατος· ξυνιδεῖν δὲ τὸ δέον ἔτι ἐν τῷ ἀφανεί ὄν δεινόςτατος, καὶ ἐκ τῶν φαινομένων τὸ εἶκος ξυμβαλεῖν ἐπιτυχέστατος, καὶ τάξαι στρατιὰν καὶ ὀπλίσαι τε καὶ κοσμήσαι δαημονέστατος· καὶ τὸν θυμὸν τοῖς στρατιώταις ἐπάραι καὶ ἐλπίδων ἀγαθῶν ἐμπλήσαι

that he might disappear from the world and make more credible to posterity the belief that his birth was by a god and that it was to the gods that he had departed, but that Roxane, his wife, noticed that he was going out and stopped him, when he groaned and said that she was really grudging him the everlasting fame accorded to one who had been born a god. So much for stories which I have set down to show that I know they are told rather than because they are credible enough to recount.

28. Alexander died in the hundred and fourteenth Olympiad and the archonship of Hegesias at Athens.¹ According to Aristobulus, he lived thirty-two years and eight months; his reign lasted twelve years and the same eight months.² He excelled in physical beauty,³ in zest for exertions, in shrewdness of judgement, in courage, in love of honour and danger, and in care for religion.

² Over bodily pleasures he exercised the greatest self-control: as for those of the mind, it was praise alone for which he was absolutely insatiate. He had the most wonderful power to discern the right course, when it was still unclear, and was most successful in inferring from observed facts what was likely to follow.⁴ His skill in marshalling, arming and equipping a force, in raising the morale of his troops, filling them with

¹ To judge from other archon dates in A., either he or a copyist has omitted the Attic month. A Babylonian document shows that Al. died on 10/11 June 323 (A. E. Samuel, *Ptol. Chronology*, 1962, 46 f.).

² This puts his birth in October 356 (P. 3, 3 dates it to about July) and accession in October 336, cf. Bosworth on i 1, 1.

³ Cf. P. 4. QC. x 5, 26 ff. has a similar list of qualities, omitting beauty, piety, the technique of generalship and everything in A. § 3, except generosity (shown especially to friends and troops); he adds devotion to his parents, Philip (whom he avenged) and Olympias, and clemency to the conquered; he suggests that his love of danger and glory was excessive, but that he restricted the indulgence of his passions to what was natural

3 καὶ τὸ δεῖμα ἐν τοῖς κινδύνοις τῷ ἀδεεῖ τῷ αὐτοῦ ἀφανίσαι, ξύμπαντα ταῦτα γενναιότατος. καὶ οὖν καὶ ὅσα ἐν τῷ ἐμφανεῖ πράξει, ξὺν μεγίστῳ θάρσει ἔπραξεν, ὅσα τε φθάσας ὑφαρπάσαι τῶν πολεμίων, πρὶν καὶ δεῖσαί τινα αὐτὰ ὡς ἐσόμενα, προλαβεῖν δεινότατος· καὶ τὰ μὲν ξυντεθέντα ἢ ὁμολογηθέντα φυλάξαι βεβαιότατος, πρὸς δὲ τῶν ἐξαπατώντων μὴ ἀλῶναι ἀσφαλέστατος, χρημάτων τε ἐς μὲν ἡδονὰς τὰς αὐτοῦ φειδωλότατος, ἐς δὲ εὐποιῖαν τῶν πέλας ἀφθονώτατος.

29. Εἰ δέ τι ἐπλημμελήθη Ἀλεξάνδρῳ δι' ὀξύτητα ἢ ὑπ' ὀργῆς, ἢ εἴ τι ἐς τὸ ὑπερογκότερον προήχθη βαρβαρίσαι, οὐ μέγала τίθεμαι ἔγωγε, εἰ τὴν νεότητά τέ τις τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρου μὴ ἀνεπιεικῶς ἐνθυμηθείη καὶ τὸ διηνεκὲς τῆς εὐτυχίας καὶ τοὺς πρὸς ἡδονήν, οὐκ ἐπὶ τῷ βελτίστῳ, τοῖς βασιλεῦσι ξυνόντας τε καὶ ἐπὶ κακῷ ξυνεσομένους· ἀλλὰ μεταγνώναί γε ἐφ' οἷς ἐπλημμέλησε μόνῳ οἶδα τῶν πάλαι βασιλέων

2 Ἀλεξάνδρῳ ὑπάρξει ὑπὸ γενναιότητος. οἱ δὲ πολλοί, εἰ καί τι ἔγνωσαν πλημμελήσαντες, οἱ δὲ τῷ προηγορεῖν αὐτοῦ, ὡς καλῶς δὴ πραχθέντος, ἐπικρύψειν οἴονται τὴν ἀμαρτίαν, κακῶς γιννώσκοντες. μόνῃ γὰρ ἔμοιγε δοκεῖ ἴασις ἀμαρτίας ὁμολογεῖν τε ἀμαρτόντα καὶ δῆλον εἶναι ἐπ' αὐτῷ μεταγιγνώσκοντα, ὡς τοῖς τε παθοῦσί τι ἄχαρι

confidence and banishing their fear in dangers by his own fearlessness was altogether most admirable. In fact, when what was³ to be done was clear, he displayed the utmost daring, and whenever he had to snatch a success from the enemy by anticipation, before any one could even apprehend what was to happen, he had a most wonderful ability to strike first. No one was more reliable in keeping pacts or agreements, or more secure from being trapped by the fraudulent.⁵ As for money, he was very sparing in using it for his own pleasures, but most liberal in employing it for the benefit of others.

29. If Alexander was at all guilty of misdeeds due to haste or anger, or if he was led on to adopt barbarian practices involving too much pretension, I do not personally regard it as important; only consider in charity his youth, his unbroken good fortune,¹ and the fact that it is men that seek to please and not to act for the best who are and will be the associates of kings, exercising an evil influence.² But remorse for his misdeeds³ was to my knowledge peculiar to Alexander among the kings of old times, and resulted from his² noble nature. Most people, even if they have recognized their guilt, suppose that they will conceal it by defending their action as actually right. This shows bad judgement, for in my view there is no remedy for a misdeed unless a man admits it and makes his repentance plain; then those who have sustained some harm would not feel their sufferings

⁵ E.g. iv 27, 3 f.!

¹ Cf. 30, 1; QC. x 5, 26, cf. 29, likewise excuses errors by youth and fortune.

² Cf. ii 6, 4; iv 8, 3 and 9, 7–9 (vii 12, 5 is a little different); this theme was conventional, see e.g. Seneca, *de Beneficiis* vi 30 ff.; the model king would choose virtuous and candid advisers, see Dio Chrysostom i 17; 31; iii 86–129.

³ iv 9, 2 and 6; vi 13, 4; 30, 1. QC. also illustrates Al's remorse: v,

οὐ πάντῃ χαλεπὰ τὰ παθήματα φαινόμενα, εἰ ὁ δράσας αὐτὰ
ξυγχωροίῃ ὅτι οὐ καλὰ ἔδρασεν, αὐτῷ τέ τινι ἐς τὸ μέλλον
ταύτην ἐλπίδα ἀγαθὴν ὑπολειπομένην, μή ποτε ἂν

- 3 παραπλήσιόν τι ἀμαρτεῖν, εἰ τοῖς πρόσθεν πλημμεληθείσιν
ἀχθόμενος φαίνοιτο. ὅτι δὲ ἐς θεὸν τὴν γένεσιν τὴν αὐτοῦ
ἀνέφερεν, οὐδὲ τοῦτο ἐμοὶ δοκεῖ μέγα εἶναι αὐτῷ τὸ
πλημμέλημα, εἰ μὴ καὶ σόφισμα ἦν τυχὸν ἐς τοὺς ὑπηκόους
τοῦ σεμνοῦ ἕνεκα. οὐκ οὐκ δοκεῖ ἔμοιγε ἢ Μίνωος γενέσθαι
βασιλεὺς ἀφανέστερος ἢ Αἰακοῦ ἢ Ῥαδαμάνθους, οἷς δὴ ἐς
Δία ἀνευχεθείσα ἡ γένεσις πρὸς τῶν πάλαι ἀνθρώπων
οὐδεμιᾶ αὐτῶν ὑβρεῖ προστίθεται, οὐδὲ Θησέως τοῦ
- 4 Ποσειδῶνος οὐδὲ Ἰωνος τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος. ὡς ἔμοιγε καὶ ἡ
Περσικὴ σκευὴ σόφισμα δοκεῖ εἶναι πρὸς τε τοὺς βαρβάρους,
ὡς μὴ πάντῃ, ἀλλότριον αὐτῶν φαίνεσθαι τὸν βασιλέα, καὶ
πρὸς τοὺς Μακεδόνας, ὡς ἀποστροφὴν τινα εἶναι αὐτῷ ἀπὸ
τῆς ὀξύτητός τε καὶ ὑβρεως τῆς Μακεδονικῆς· ἐφ' ὅτῳ δὴ καὶ
ἐγκαταμίξαι μοι δοκεῖ ταῖς τάξεσιν αὐτῶν τοὺς Πέρσας τοὺς
μηλοφόρους καὶ τοῖς ἀγῆμασι τοὺς ὁμοτίμους. καὶ οἱ πότοι
δέ, ὡς λέγει Ἀριστόβουλος, οὐ τοῦ οἴνου ἕνεκα μακροὶ αὐτῷ
ἐγίνοντο, οὐ γὰρ πίνειν πολλὸν οἶνον Ἀλέξανδρον, ἀλλὰ
φιλοφροσύνης τῆς ἐς τοὺς ἐταίρους.

30. Ὅστις δε κακίζει Ἀλέξανδρον, μὴ μόνον ὅσα ἄξια
κακίζεσθαι ἐστὶ προφερόμενος

to be intolerable, if the offender were to concede the wrongfulness
of his action, and he himself would be left with good hope for the
future in the thought that he would never do like wrong again, if he
were plainly distressed by his former transgressions. Again even

3 Alexander's practice of referring his own birth to a god was not in
my opinion a grave fault on his part⁴; and perhaps it was no more
than an expedient to make him impressive to his subjects. Indeed in
my own view he was not less distinguished as a king than Minos or
Aeacus or Rhadamanthys, whose birth was actually referred to Zeus
by the men of old without incurring any imputation of insolence, or
than Theseus, son of Posidon, and Ion, son of Apollo. So too in my

4 opinion his Persian dress was a device designed for the barbarians,
to make the king not wholly alien from them in appearance, and for
the Macedonians as well, to give him some protection from the
sharpness and insolence of Macedonian behaviour; indeed in my
opinion it was also for this reason that he introduced the Persian
'apple-bearers' into the Macedonian battalions⁵ and the Persian
peers into the *agemas*. His drinking bouts too, as Aristobulus says,
were prolonged not for the sake of the wine, for he drank little
wine, but out of courtesy to the Companions.⁶

30. Any one who reproaches Alexander should not do so by
merely citing actions that merit reproach,

4 Cf. Brunt, *op. cit* 45 ff. for P's more thorough-going defence. QC. x 5, 53 f. seems to excuse Al's claim to divinity and adoption of Persian practices by his 'fortune.' A. acknowledges the claim as a historic fact (cf. App. V), but does not concede its truth; even though he thinks Al. enjoyed divine aid or inspiration (30, 2), the claim can at best be excused, partly as a means of impressing the 'subjects,' among whom he may well include here Macedonians as well as Orientals. His judgement in § 4 is incompatible with iv 7, 4, cf. App. XXVIII 34.

5 See iii 11, 5; vii 11, 3 nn.

6 App. XIV 4; vii 14, 1; 24, 4 nn.

κακιζέτω, ἀλλὰ ξύμπαντα τὰ Ἀλεξάνδρου εἰς ἓν χωρίον
 ξυναγαγὼν οὕτω δὴ ἐκλογιζέσθω ὅστις τε ὢν αὐτὸς καὶ ὁποία
 τύχη κεχρημένος ὄντινα γενόμενον ἐκείνιον καὶ ἐς ὅσον
 εὐτυχίας τῆς ἀνθρωπίνης ἐλθόντα βασιλέα τε ἀμφοῖν τοῖν
 ἠπείροιον ἀναμφιλογώτατα γενόμενον καὶ ἐπὶ πᾶν ἐξικόμενον
 τῷ αὐτοῦ ὀνόματι κακίζει, σμικρότερός τε ὢν αὐτὸς καὶ ἐπὶ
 2 σμικροῖς πονούμενος καὶ οὐδὲ ταῦτα ἐν κόσμῳ τιθέμενος. ὡς
 ἔγωγε δοκῶ ὅτι οὔτε τι ἔθνος ἀνθρώπων οὔτε τις πόλις ἐν τῷ
 τότε ἦν οὔτε τις εἰς ἄνθρωπος εἰς ὃν οὐ πεφοιτῆται τὸ
 Ἀλεξάνδρου ὄνομα. οὐκ οὐδὲ ἐμοὶ ἔξω τοῦ θείου φῦναι ἂν
 δοκεῖ ἀνὴρ οὐδενὶ ἄλλῳ ἀνθρώπων ἐοικώς. καὶ ταῦτα χρησμοὶ
 τε ἐπισημῆναι ἐπὶ τῇ τελευτῇ τῇ Ἀλεξάνδρου λέγονται καὶ
 φάσματα ἄλλα ἄλλοις γενόμενα καὶ ἐνύπνια φανέντα ἄλλα
 ἄλλοις καὶ ἡ ἐς τοῦτο ἐξ ἀνθρώπων τιμὴ τε αὐτοῦ καὶ μνήμη
 οὐκ ἀνθρωπίνη οὔσα, καὶ νῦν δὲ διὰ τοσούτου ἄλλοι χρησμοὶ
 3 ἐπὶ τῇ τιμῇ αὐτοῦ τῷ ἔθνει τῷ Μακεδόνων χρησθέντες. ἐπεὶ
 καὶ αὐτὸς ἐμεμψάμην ἔστιν ἂ ἐν τῇ ξυγγραφῇ τῶν
 Ἀλεξάνδρου ἔργων, ἀλλὰ αὐτόν γε Ἀλέξανδρον οὐκ
 αἰσχύνομαι θαυμάζων· τὰ δὲ ἔργα ἐκείνα ἐκάκισα ἀληθείας τε
 ἕνεκα τῆς ἐμῆς καὶ ἅμα ὠφελείας τῆς ἐς ἀνθρώπους· ἐφ' ὅτῳ
 ὠρμήθη οὐδὲ αὐτὸς ἄνευ θεοῦ ἐς τήνδε τὴν ξυγγραφὴν.

but should collect all his actions together, and then carefully reflect
 who he himself is and what kind of fortune he enjoys, that he can
 condemn Alexander, given what Alexander became and the height
 of human good fortune he attained, the unquestioned king of both
 continents whose name reached every part of the world, whereas he
 is himself a lesser man, whose energies are spent on petty things
 2 and who does not even get these things right. In my own view there
 was no race of men, no city in those days, no single man whom the
 name of Alexander had not reached. For this reason I do not
 believe that a man peerless among mankind would have been born
 without divine agency. Signs of this are said to have been given by
 oracles on Alexander's death, by various visions seen by different
 persons and dreams that appeared to different men, and by the
 honour mankind pay him to this day and the more than human
 memory preserved of him,¹ and even now after so long a passage of
 time other oracles in his honour have been given to the
 3 Macedonian people. So, while I myself have censured some of
 Alexander's acts in my history of them, I am not ashamed to express
 admiration of Alexander himself; I have made those criticisms from
 my own respect for truth and also for the good of mankind: it was
 for that purpose that I embarked on this history, and like Alexander
 not without God's help.

1 Cults of Al. persisted in Roman times in Greek cities of Asia, where Al. could be seen as a liberator (S. xiv 1, 31; OGIS 3; 222; SEG iv 521), cf. App. XXVIII 29, as in Egyptian Alexandria (*Sammelbuch* 6611).

1. Τὰ ἔξω Ἰνδοῦ ποταμοῦ τὰ πρὸς ἐσπέρην ἔστε ἐπὶ
 2 ποταμὸν Κωφήνα Ἀστακηνοὶ καὶ Ἀσσακηνοί, ἔθνεα Ἰνδικά,
 3 ἐποικέουσιν, ἀλλ' οὔτε μεγάλοι τὰ σώματα, καθάπερ οἱ ἐντὸς
 4 τοῦ Ἰνδοῦ ὠκισμένοι, οὔτε ἀγαθοὶ ὡσαύτως τὸν θυμὸν οὐδὲ
 5 μέλανες ὡσαύτως τοῖς πολλοῖς Ἰνδοῖσιν. οὗτοι πάλαι μὲν
 6 Ἀσσυρίοις ὑπήκοοι ἦσαν, ἔπειτα Μήδοισιν, ἐπὶ δὲ Μήδοισι
 7 Περσέων ἤκουον, καὶ φόρους ἀπέφερον Κύρῳ τῷ Καμβύσου
 8 ἐκ τῆς γῆς σφῶν, οὓς ἔταξε Κύρος. Νυσαῖοι δὲ οὐκ Ἰνδικὸν
 9 γένος ἐστίν, ἀλλὰ τῶν ἅμα Διονύσῳ ἐλθόντων ἐς τὴν γῆν τὴν
 10 Ἰνδῶν, τυχὸν μὲν [καὶ] Ἑλλήνων, ὅσοι ἀπόμαχοι αὐτῶν
 11 ἐγένοντο ἐν τοῖς πολέμοις οὔστινας πρὸς Ἰνδοῦς Διόνυσος
 12 ἐπολέμησε, τυχὸν δὲ καὶ τῶν ἐπιχωρίων τοὺς ἐθέλοντας τοῖς
 13 Ἑλλησι συνώκισε, τὴν τε χώραν Νυσαίην ὠνόμασεν ἀπὸ τοῦ
 14 ὄρους¹ τῆς Νύσης Διόνυσος καὶ τὴν πόλιν αὐτὴν Νῦσαν. καὶ
 15 τὸ ὄρος τὸ πρὸς τῇ πόλει, ὅτου ἐν τῆσιν

1 I have restored the reading of A. Roos emended to τῆς τροφοῦ, cf. *Anab.* v 1, 6.

1. All the territory that lies beyond the boundary of the river
 Indus westwards to the river Cophen [Kabul] is inhabited by
 Astaceni and Assaceni, Indian tribes.¹ But they are not, like
 2 the Indians dwelling within the boundary of the river Indus, tall of
 3 stature, nor as brave in spirit, nor as black as most Indians. They
 4 were subject long ago to the Assyrians, then to the Medes, and after
 5 the Medes to the Persians; and they paid such tribute from their
 6 land to Cyrus son of Cambyses as he commanded. The Nysaeans
 are not an Indian race, but part of those who came with Dionysus to
 India, perhaps Greeks who became unfit for service in the wars
 5 Dionysus waged with the Indians, perhaps also volunteers of the
 neighbouring tribes whom Dionysus settled there together with the
 Greeks. He called the country Nysaea from the mountain Nysa,²
 6 and the city itself Nysa. The mountain near the city, on whose foot-

x Roos' notes refer to relevant ancient texts and some modern works. I adopt his spellings of proper names, normally without indicating where he, or other scholars, deviate from the manuscript. Sources for 1–17: App. XVII 1–9.

1 A. tries to reconcile E's view that the Indus was the western boundary of India (App. XVII 7) with the presence of Indians as far west as the Kabul by differentiating their qualities from those of Indians east of the Indus and by pointing out that they had been conquered before A's time, probably following Meg. (cf. 5, 4 ff.). There is no other evidence for Assyrian or Median rule even in the Kabul valley, i.e. in Gandara or Gandaritis (*RE* vii 696 ff.), but, already Persian at the accession of Darius I (c. 518 BC), it had probably been subdued by Cyrus (*CHI* 329 ff.); the report here is not incongruent with vi 24, 2 (N.) nor with *Ind.* 9, 10 (Meg.), if Meg. thought that the region was not part of 'India'. He and every one had forgotten Darius' conquest of Sind (App. XV). Astaceni (not named in *Anab.*): probably subjects of Astis, who ruled in 'Peucelaotis' (iv 22, 8); the forms

ὑπωρείησιν ᾧκισται ἡ Νύσα, Μηρὸς κληίζεται ἐπὶ τῇ
 7 συμφορῇ ἧτινι ἐχρήσατο εὐθύς γενόμενος. ταῦτα μὲν οἱ
 ποιηταὶ ἐπὶ Διονύσῳ ἐποίησαν, καὶ ἐξηγείσθων αὐτὰ ὄσοι
 8 λόγιοι Ἑλλήνων ἢ βαρβάρων· ἐν Ἀσσακηνοῖσι δὲ Μάσσακα,
 πόλις μεγάλη, ἵναπερ καὶ τὸ κράτος τῆς γῆς ἐστὶ τῆς
 Ἀσσακίης· καὶ ἄλλη πόλις Πευκελαῖτις, μεγάλη καὶ αὐτή, οὐ
 μακρὰν τοῦ Ἰνδοῦ. ταῦτα μὲν ἔξω τοῦ Ἰνδοῦ ποταμοῦ ᾧκισται
 πρὸς ἐσπέρην ἔστε ἐπὶ τὸν Κωφήνα·

2. τὰ δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἰνδοῦ πρὸς ἔω, τοῦτό μοι ἔστω ἡ Ἰνδῶν
 γῆ καὶ Ἰνδοὶ οὗτοι ἔστωσαν.

2 ὄροι δὲ τῆς Ἰνδῶν γῆς πρὸς μὲν βορέου ἀνέμου ὁ Ταῦρος
 τὸ ὄρος. καλέεται δὲ οὐ Ταῦρος ἔτι ἐν τῇ γῇ ταύτῃ, ἀλλὰ
 ἄρχεται μὲν ἀπὸ θαλάσσης ὁ Ταῦρος τῆς κατὰ Παμφύλους τε
 καὶ Λυκίην καὶ Κίλικας παρατείνει τε ἔστε τὴν πρὸς ἔω
 3 θάλασσαν, τέμνων τὴν Ἀσίην πᾶσαν, ἄλλο δὲ ἄλλη καλέεται
 τὸ ὄρος, τῇ μὲν Παραπάμισος, τῇ δὲ Ἡμωδός, ἄλλη δὲ
 4 Ἰμαον κληίζεται, καὶ τυχὸν ἄλλα καὶ ἄλλα ἔχει οὐνόματα.
 Μακεδόνες δὲ οἱ ξὺν Ἀλεξάνδρῳ στρατεύσαντες Καύκασον
 αὐτὸ ἐκάλεον, ἄλλον τοῦτον Καύκασον, οὐ τὸν Σκυθικόν, ὡς
 5 καὶ [τὸν] ἐπέκεινα τοῦ Καυκάσου λόγον κατέχειν ὅτι ἦλθεν
 Ἀλέξανδρος. τὰ πρὸς ἐσπέρην δὲ τῆς Ἰνδῶν γῆς ὁ ποταμὸς ὁ
 Ἰνδὸς ἀπείργει ἔστε ἐπὶ τὴν μεγάλην θάλασσαν, ἵναπερ
 αὐτὸς κατὰ δύο στόματα ἐκδιδοί, οὐ συνεχέα ἀλλήλοισι τὰ
 6 στόματα, κατὰπερ τὰ πέντε τοῦ Ἰστροῦ ἐστὶ συνεχέα, ἀλλ'
 ὡς τὰ τοῦ Νείλου, ὑπ' ὧτων τὸ Δέλτα ποιεῖται τὸ Αἰγύπτιον,
 ὧδέ τι καὶ τῆς Ἰνδῶν γῆς Δέλτα ποιεῖ ὁ Ἰνδὸς ποταμὸς, οὐ
 μείον τοῦ Αἰγυπτίου, καὶ τοῦτο

hills Nysa is built, is also called Merus (thigh) because of the
 incident at the moment of Dionysus' birth. All this the poets sang of
 7 Dionysus; and I leave interpretation to learned Greeks or
 8 barbarians. In Assacenic territory lies Massaca, a great city which
 has the dominion in the Assacian land, and another city Peucelaïtis,
 which is also large, not far from the Indus. These then are the
 inhabited places beyond the Indus west to the river Cophen.

2. It is the parts east of the Indus that I shall call India, and its
 inhabitants Indians.

The northern boundary of the land of India is Mount Taurus.

2 That is not the name given to it in this land: in fact, while Taurus
 begins from the sea by Pamphylia and Lycia and Cilicia and reaches
 3 as far as the Eastern Ocean, cutting right through Asia, the
 mountain has different names in different places: in one
 Parapamisus, in another Emodus, elsewhere Imaon, and perhaps it
 has all sorts of other names. The Macedonians who fought with
 4 Alexander called it Caucasus, a different Caucasus from the
 Scythian; so that the story ran that Alexander penetrated beyond
 5 the Caucasus.¹ The western part of India is bounded by the river
 Indus right down to the Ocean, where it runs out by two mouths,
 not joined together like the five² mouths of the Ister, but like those
 6 of the Nile which form the Egyptian delta; an Indian delta is
 formed in the same way by the river Indus, as large as the Egyptian,
 and is called Patala in the Indian

1 Cf. v 5, 1-4; S. xv 1, 11; App. XII 3. This chapter comes from E.
 Emodus and Imaon (6, 4), meaning 'snowy' (Pliny, NH vi 64, cf.
 Sanskrit 'himavat'), represent the Himalayas.

2 Evidently from E., cf. i 3, 2; v 4, 1; A. repeats what he finds in
 his source, ignorant or oblivious of the 7 mouths known since
 Augustus' time (RE iv 2117 f.).

7 Πάταλα τῇ Ἰνδῶν γλώσση καλέεται. τὸ δὲ πρὸς νότου τε
 8 ἀνέμου καὶ μεσαμβρίας αὐτῆ ἢ μεγάλη θάλασσα ἀπείργει
 9 τὴν Ἰνδῶν γῆν, καὶ τὰ πρὸς ἕω ἢ αὐτῆ θάλασσα ἀπείργει. τὰ
 μὲν πρὸς μεσημβρίας κατὰ Πάταλά τε καὶ τοῦ Ἰνδοῦ τὰς
 ἐκβολὰς ὤφθη πρὸς τε Ἀλεξάνδρου καὶ Μακεδόνων καὶ
 πολλῶν Ἑλλήνων· τὰ δὲ πρὸς ἕω Ἀλέξανδρος μὲν οὐκ ἐπήλθε
 τὰ [δὲ] πρόσω ποταμοῦ Ἰφάσιος, ὀλίγοι δὲ ἀνέγραψαν τὰ
 μέχρι ποταμοῦ Γάγγεω καὶ ἵνα τοῦ Γάγγεω αἱ ἐκβολαὶ καὶ
 πόλις Παλίμβοθρα μεγίστη Ἰνδῶν πρὸς τῷ Γάγγη.

3. ἐμοὶ δὲ Ἐρατοσθένης ὁ Κυρηναῖος πιστότερος ἄλλου
 2 ἔστω, ὅτι γῆς περιόδου περί ἔμελεν Ἐρατοσθένει. οὗτος ἀπὸ
 τοῦ ὄρεος τοῦ Ταύρου, ἵνα τοῦ Ἰνδοῦ αἱ πηγαί, παρ' αὐτὸν
 <τὸν> Ἰνδὸν ποταμὸν ἰόντι ἔστε ἐπὶ τὴν μεγάλην θάλασσαν
 καὶ τοῦ Ἰνδοῦ τὰς ἐκβολὰς μυρίους σταδίους καὶ τρισχιλίους
 3 τὴν πλευρὴν λέγει ἐπέχειν τῆς γῆς τῆς Ἰνδῶν. ταυτησί δὲ
 ἀντίπορον πλευρὴν ποιεῖ τὴν ἀπὸ τοῦ αὐτοῦ ὄρεος παρὰ τὴν
 ἑώην θάλασσαν, οὐκέτι ταύτῃ τῇ πλευρῇ ἴσην, ἀλλὰ ἄκρην
 γὰρ ἀνέχειν ἐπὶ μέγα εἴσω εἰς τὸ πέλαγος, ἕς τρισχιλίους
 σταδίους μάλιστα ἀνατείνουσιν τὴν ἄκρην εἴη ἂν ὦν αὐτῷ ἢ
 πλευρῇ τῆς Ἰνδῶν γῆς <ἢ> πρὸς ἕω μυρίους καὶ
 4 ἑξακισχιλίους σταδίους ἐπέχουσα. τοῦτο μὲν αὐτῷ πλάτος τῆς
 Ἰνδῶν γῆς συμβαίνει, μήκος δὲ τὸ ἀπ' ἐσπέρης ἐπὶ ἕω ἔστε
 μὲν ἐπὶ πόλιν Παλίμβοθρα μεμετρημένον σχοῖνοισι λέγει
 ἀναγράφειν καὶ — εἶναι γὰρ ὁδὸν βασιλῆϊν — τοῦτο ἐπέχειν
 5 ἕς μυρίους σταδίους· τὰ δὲ ἐπέκεινα οὐκέτι ὡσαύτως ἀτρεκέα·
 φήμας δὲ ὅσοι ἀνέγραψαν, ξὺν τῇ ἄκρῃ τῇ ἀνεχούσῃ ἕς τὸ
 πέλαγος

7 tongue. On the south side the Ocean itself bounds the land of India,
 8 as also on the east. The southern part near Patala and the mouths of
 the Indus were seen by Alexander and Macedonians and many
 Greeks; as for the eastern part, Alexander did not penetrate beyond
 9 the river Hyphasis. A few writers have described the parts up to the
 Ganges and round its mouths and the city of Palimbothra, the
 greatest Indian city near the Ganges.

3. I shall take Eratosthenes of Cyrene to be more trustworthy
 than any other writer, since he concerned himself with a general
 2 chart of the earth. He states that starting from Mount Taurus,
 where the Indus rises,¹ and following the course of the river to the
 Ocean and the mouths of the Indus, the side of India is thirteen
 3 thousand stades in length. The opposite side from the same
 mountain to the Eastern Ocean he reckons as more than equal to
 this side, since it has a promontory running far out into the sea,
 stretching to about three thousand stades. So then he would give
 this side of India on the east a total length of sixteen thousand
 4 stades. So this is his estimate of the breadth of India; as for its
 length, from west to east as far as the city of Palimbothra, he says
 that he records it according to the measurement in *schoinoi*² (for
 there is a royal road) giving an extent of ten thousand stades;
 beyond Palimbothra the information is not so accurate. Those who
 5 have followed common talk say that including the promontory that

1 Cf. v 4, 1 n. On what follows see App. XVII 7 f.

2 Each of 40 stades on E's system, Pliny, *NH* xii 53.

ἐς μυρίους σταδίους μάλιστα ἐπέχειν λέγουσιν· εἶναι δὲ ἂν ὦν
 6 τὸ μῆκος τῆς Ἰνδῶν γῆς σταδίων μάλιστα δισμυρίων.
 Κτησίης δὲ ὁ Κνίδιος τὴν Ἰνδῶν γῆν ἴσην τῇ ἄλλῃ Ἀσίῃ
 λέγει, οὐδὲν λέγων, οὐδὲ Ὀνησίκριτος, τρίτην μοῖραν τῆς
 7 πάσης γῆς. Νέαρχος δὲ μηνῶν τεσσάρων ὁδὸν τὴν δι' αὐτοῦ
 τοῦ πεδίου τῆς Ἰνδῶν γῆς. Μεγασθένης δὲ τὸ ἀπὸ ἀνατολῶν
 ἐς ἐσπέρην πλάτος ἐστὶ τῆς Ἰνδῶν γῆς ὃ τι περ οἱ ἄλλοι
 8 μῆκος ποιέουσιν καὶ λέγει Μεγασθένης μυρίων καὶ
 ἑξακισχιλίων σταδίων εἶναι ἵνα περ τὸ βραχύτατον αὐτοῦ. τὸ
 δὲ ἀπὸ ἄρκτου πρὸς μεσημβρίην, τοῦτο δὲ αὐτῷ μῆκος
 9 γίνεται, καὶ ἐπέχει <σταδίους> τριηκοσίους καὶ δισχιλίους καὶ
 δισμυρίους ἵνα περ τὸ στενότατον αὐτοῦ.

ποταμοὶ δὲ τοσοῖδε εἰσὶν ἐν τῇ Ἰνδῶν γῇ ὅσοι οὐδὲ ἐν τῇ
 πάσῃ Ἀσίῃ. μέγιστοι μὲν ὁ Γάγγης τε καὶ ὁ Ἰνδός, ὅτου καὶ
 ἡ γῆ ἐπώνυμος, ἄμφω τοῦ τε Νείλου τοῦ Αἰγυπτίου καὶ τοῦ
 10 Ἰστροῦ τοῦ Σκυθικοῦ, καὶ εἰ ἐς ταῦτ' οὐ συνέλθοι αὐτοῖσι τὸ
 ὕδωρ, μέζονες. δοκέειν δὲ ἕμοιγε, καὶ ὁ Ἀκεσίνης μέζων ἐστὶ
 τοῦ τε Ἰστροῦ καὶ τοῦ Νείλου, ἵνα περ παραλαβὼν ἅμα τὸν τε
 Ἰνδόν, ὡς καὶ τριάκοντα αὐτῷ στάδια τὸ πλάτος ταύτη εἶναι
 καὶ τυχὸν καὶ ἄλλοι πολλοὶ μέζονες ποταμοὶ ἐν τῇ Ἰνδῶν γῇ
 ῥέουσιν.

4. ἀλλὰ οὐ μοι ἀτρεκέες ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐπέκεινα Ἰφάσιος
 ποταμοῦ ἰσχυρίσασθαι, ὅτι οὐ πρόσω τοῦ Ἰφάσιος ἦλθεν
 2 Ἀλέξανδρος. αὐτοῖν δὲ τοῖν μεγίστοις ποταμοῖς τοῦ τε
 Γάγγεω καὶ τοῦ Ἰνδοῦ τὸν Γάγγεα μεγέθει πολὺ τι
 3 ὑπερφέρει Μεγασθένης ἀνέγραψε, καὶ ὅσοι ἄλλοι μνήμην
 τοῦ Γάγγεω ἔχουσιν· αὐτὸν τε γὰρ μέγαν

runs into the sea India extends over about ten thousand stades; but
 farther north its length is about twenty thousand stades. Ctesias of
 6 Cnidus, who says that the land of India is equal to the rest of Asia, is
 talking nonsense, like Onesicritus, who makes it a third of the entire
 world. Nearchus states that the journey through the actual plain of
 7 India takes four months. Megasthenes would take the breadth of
 India as running east and west, which others call its length, and says
 that it is sixteen thousand stades at its shortest stretch; the line from
 8 north to south then becomes for him its length, extending twenty-
 two thousand three hundred stades at its narrowest point.

9 The Indian rivers are superior to those of all Asia; the greatest
 are the Ganges and the Indus, whence the land gets its name, both
 greater than the Nile in Egypt and the Scythian Ister [Danube],
 10 even if their streams were to unite³; my own idea is that even the
 Acesines is greater than the Ister and the Nile at the point where,
 having taken in the Hydaspes, Hydraotes, and Hyphasis, it runs into
 the Indus, so that its breadth there becomes thirty stades.⁴ Possibly
 also many other greater rivers run through the land of India.

4. But I can make no accurate assertions about lands on the
 other side of the Hyphasis, since Alexander did not proceed beyond
 2 the Hyphasis.¹ As for the two greatest rivers, the Ganges and the
 Indus, Megasthenes wrote that the Ganges is much greater than the
 Indus, and so do all others who mention the Ganges; for (they say)
 3 the Ganges is

3 Still from E., who mentioned the rivers in the same context (S. xv 1, 13); Meg. (ib. 35) ranked Danube before Nile.

4 E. probably took this from Ar. or N.

1 A. echoes E., cf. 6, 1; S. xv 1, 37.

ἀνίσχειν ἐκ τῶν πηγέων, δέχεσθαι τε ἐς ἑωυτὸν τὸν τε Καϊνὰν ποταμὸν καὶ τὸν Ἐραννοβοῶν καὶ τὸν Κοσσόανον, πάντας πλωτοὺς, ἔτι δὲ Σῶνόν τε ποταμὸν καὶ Σιπτόκατιν καὶ

4 Σολόματιν, καὶ τούτους πλωτοὺς, ἐπὶ δὲ Κονδοχάτην τε καὶ Σάμβον καὶ Μάγωνα καὶ Ἀγόρανιν καὶ Ὠμαλιν. ἐμβάλλουσι δὲ ἐς αὐτὸν Κομμινάσης τε μέγας ποταμὸς καὶ Κάκουθις καὶ

5 Ἀνδώματις ἐξ ἔθνεος Ἰνδικοῦ τοῦ Μαδυανδιῶν ῥέων, καὶ ἐπὶ τούτοισιν Ἀμυστις παρὰ πόλιν Καταδούπην, καὶ Ὀξύμαγισ ἐπὶ <τοῖσι> Παζάλαις καλουμένοισιν καὶ Ἐρέννεσις ἐν

6 Μάθαις, ἔθνη Ἰνδικῶ, συμβάλλει τῷ Γάγγη. τούτων λέγει Μεγασθένης οὐδένα εἶναι τοῦ Μαιάνδρου ἀποδέοντα, ἵνα περ

7 ναυσίπορος ὁ Μαίανδρος. εἶναι ὦν τὸ εὖρος τῷ Γάγγη, ἔνθα περ αὐτὸς ἑωυτοῦ στεινότατος, ἐς ἑκατὸν σταδίους· πολλαχῆ δὲ καὶ λιμνάζειν, ὡς μὴ ἄποπτον εἶναι τὴν πέρην

8 χώρην, ἵνα περ χθαμαλή τέ ἐστι καὶ οὐδαμῆ γηλόφοισιν ἀνεστηκυῖα. τῷ δὲ Ἰνδῶ ἐς ταῦτὸν ἔρχεται. Ὑδραώτης μὲν ἐν Καμβισθόλοις, παρειληφῶς τὸν τε Ὑφασιν ἐν Ἀστρύβαις καὶ

9 τὸν Σαράγγην ἐκ Κηκαίων καὶ τὸν Νεῦδρον¹ ἐξ Ἀττακηνῶν <ῥέοντα>, ἐς Ἀκεσίνην ἐμβάλλει. Ὑδάσπης δὲ ἐν Συδράκαις² ἄγων ἅμα οἱ τὸν Σίναρον ἐν Ἀρίσπησιν ἐς τὸν Ἀκεσίνην

10 ἐκδιδοῖ καὶ οὗτος. ὁ δὲ Ἀκεσίνης ἐν Μαλλοῖς ξυμβάλλει τῷ Ἰνδῶ καὶ Τούταπος δὲ μέγας ποταμὸς ἐς τὸν Ἀκεσίνην ἐκδιδοῖ. τούτων ὁ Ἀκεσίνης ἐμπλησθεὶς καὶ τῇ ἐπικλήσει

11 ἐκνικήσας αὐτὸς τῷ ἑωυτοῦ ἤδη ὀνόματι ἐσβάλλει ἐς τὸν Ἰνδόν. Κωφὴν δὲ ἐν Πευκελαίτιδι,

1 A: Σύδρον Marquart, Roos.

2 Marquart: Οὐδράκαις A, Ὀξυδράκαις in most editions.

actually large where it rises, and it receives as tributaries the Caïnas, Erannoboas and Cossoanus, all navigable; and in addition the Sonus, Sittocatis and Solomatis, which are also navigable.

4 Besides there are the Condochates, Sambus, Magon, Agoranis and Omalis; and it is joined by the Comminases, a great river, and the Cacuthis and Andomatis, flowing from the Indian tribe of the

5 Madyandini, and afterwards by the Amystis at the city of Catadupe and the Oxymagis at the place called Pazalae; the Errenesis also joins the Ganges among the Mathae, an Indian tribe.² Megasthenes

6 says that none of these is inferior to the Maeander, where the

7 Maeander is navigable. The breadth of the Ganges at its narrowest is about a hundred stades³; often it spreads into lakes, so that the

8 opposite side cannot be seen where it is low and does not rise up in

9 hillocks. It is the same with the Indus. The Hydraotes [Ravi] in the territory of the Cambistholians, after taking over the waters of the Hyphasis [Beas] in that of the Astrybae, of the Saranges from the Cecaeanes, and the Neudrus from the Attacenians, flows into the

10 Acesines [Chenab]. In the territory of the Sydracae the Hydaspes [Jhelum], carrying along the Sinarus in that of the Arispae, also flows out into the Acesines. The Acesines joins the Indus in Mallian

11 territory. The Tutapus too, a large river, flows into the Acesines. All these rivers swell the Acesines, which triumphantly keeps its own name till it flows into the Indus. The Cophen [Kabul] in Peucelaïtis,

2 Not all these rivers can be identified. See O. Stein, *RE* xv 287

ff.

3 App. XVII 22.

- 12 ἅμα οἱ ἄγων Μαλάμαντόν τε καὶ Σόαστον καὶ Γαροΐαν,
 ἐκδιδοῖ ἐς τὸν Ἰνδόν. καθύπερθε δὲ τουτέων Πάρεννος καὶ
 Σάπαρνος, οὐ πολὺ διέχοντες, ἐμβάλλουσιν ἐς τὸν Ἰνδόν.
 Σόανος δὲ ἐκ τῆς ὄρεινῆς τῆς Ἀβισσαρέων ἔρημος ἄλλου
 ποταμοῦ ἐκδιδοῖ ἐς αὐτόν. καὶ τουτέων τοὺς πολλοὺς
 13 Μεγασθένης λέγει ὅτι πλωτοὶ εἰσιν. οὐκ οὐκ ἀπιστίαν χρῆ
 ἔχειν ὑπὲρ τε τοῦ Ἰνδοῦ καὶ τοῦ Γάγγεω μηδὲ συμβλητοὺς
 14 εἶναι αὐτοῖσι τὸν τε Ἰστρον καὶ τοῦ Νείλου τὸ ὕδωρ. ἐς μὲν
 γε τὸν Νεῖλον οὐδένα ποταμὸν ἐκδιδόντα ἴσμεν, ἀλλ' ἀπ'
 15 αὐτοῦ διώρυχας τετμημένας κατὰ τὴν χώραν τὴν Αἰγυπτίην· ὁ
 δὲ Ἰστρος ὀλίγος μὲν ἀνίσχει ἀπὸ τῶν πηγέων, δέχεται δὲ
 πολλοὺς ποταμούς, ἀλλὰ οὔτε πλήθει ἴσους τοῖς Ἰνδῶν
 ποταμοῖσιν, οἳ ἐς τὸν Ἰνδὸν καὶ τὸν Γάγγην ἐκδιδοῦσιν,
 πλωτοὺς δὲ δὴ καὶ κάρτα ὀλίγους, ὧν τοὺς μὲν αὐτὸς ἰδὼν
 16 οἶδα, τὸν Ἔνον τε καὶ τὸν Σάον. Ἔνος μὲν ἐν μεθορίῳ τῆς
 Νωρικῶν καὶ Ῥαιτῶν γῆς μίγνυται τῷ Ἰστροῦ, ὁ δὲ Σάος
 κατὰ Παίονας. ὁ δὲ χώρος, ἵνα περ συμβάλλουσιν οἱ ποταμοί,
 Ταυροῦνος καλεῖται. ὅστις δὲ καὶ ἄλλον οἶδε ναυσίπορον τῶν
 ἐς τὸν Ἰστρον ἐκδιδόντων, ἀλλὰ οὐ πολλοὺς που οἶδε.

- with it the Malamantus, Soastus [Swat], and the Garoeas
 12 [Panjkora], empties into the Indus. Above these the Parennus and
 Saparnus, not far from one another, flow into the Indus. The Soanus
 from the mountains of the Abissarians, without any tributary,
 empties into it. Most of these rivers Megasthenes reports to be
 13 navigable.⁴ It should not then be incredible that neither Nile nor
 Ister can be even compared with Indus or Ganges in volume of
 14 water, for we know of no tributary to the Nile; instead canals have
 been cut from it through the land of Egypt. As for the Ister, when it
 15 rises from its springs it is a feeble stream and, though it receives
 many tributaries, they are not equal in number to the Indian
 tributaries that empty into Indus or Ganges, and very few are
 navigable; from my own observations I know of the Enus [Inn] and
 16 Saus [Save].⁵ The Enus joins the Ister on the boundary of Noricum
 and Raetia, the Saus in Pannonia. The country where the rivers join
 is called Taurunus. Anybody who knows of other navigable
 tributaries of the Ister doubtless does not know many.

4 Meg. lists 15 tributaries (cf. v 6, 8; S. xv 1, 32 writes of 15 notable tributaries). Contrary to fact and A's opinion (vi 14, 5, cf. *Ind.* 3, 10), he makes the Beas a tributary of the Ravi (§ 8); evidently he had no personal knowledge of the lower Punjab, and read his sources carelessly. If the manuscript text is right, he also ignored the Sutlej, yet he must have crossed it on his way to Palimbothra, and it appears as Sydrus in Pliny, *NH*vi 63, ultimately from his account. Now Al's men never saw the Sutlej, nor its confluence with the Beas; they did see the confluence of the united stream with the Chenab, but local boatmen, as in later times, may have given that stream the same name as the Beas, whereas modern geographers treat it as the Sutlej. Meg., for his part, need not have realized that the Sutlej was a tributary of the Indus at all. Hence Marquart's emendation of Neydrus to Sydrus (Sutlej), which would involve Meg. in the error of making it a tributary of the Ravi, is not justified. Lassen posited a lacuna after 'Cambistholians,' in which Meg. could have said that Ravi flowed into Indus and that Sutlej

5. τὸ δὲ αἴτιον ὅστις ἐθέλει φράζειν τοῦ πλήθεός τε καὶ
 2. μεγέθεος τῶν Ἰνδῶν ποταμῶν, φραζέτω ἐμοὶ δὲ καὶ ταῦτα ὡς
 ἀκοὴ ἀναγεγράφθω. ἐπεὶ καὶ ἄλλων πολλῶν ποταμῶν
 οὐνόματα Μεγασθένης ἀνέγραψεν, οἳ ἔξω τοῦ Γάγγεώ τε καὶ
 τοῦ Ἰνδοῦ ἐκδιδοῦσιν ἐς τὸν ἐϋόν τε καὶ μεσημβρινὸν τὸν ἔξω
 πόντον, ὥστε τοὺς πάντας ὀκτὼ καὶ πεντήκοντα λέγει ὅτι
 3. εἰσὶν Ἰνδοὶ ποταμοί, ναυσίποροι παντες. ἀλλ' οὐδὲ
 Μεγασθένης πολλὴν δοκέει μοι ἐπελθεῖν τῆς Ἰνδῶν χώρας,
 πλήν γε <δὴ> ὅτι πλεῦνα ἢ οἱ ξὺν Ἀλεξάνδρῳ τῷ Φιλίππου
 ἐπελθόντες· συγγενέσθαι γὰρ Σανδροκόττῳ λέγει, τῷ μεγίστῳ
 4. βασιλεῖ Ἰνδῶν, καὶ Πώρου ἔτι τούτῳ μείζονι. οὗτος ὦν ὁ
 Μεγασθένης λέγει, οὔτε Ἰνδοὺς ἐπιστρατεῦσαι οὐδαμοῖσιν
 5. ἀνθρώποισιν, οὔτε Ἰνδοῖσιν ἄλλους ἀνθρώπους, ἀλλὰ
 Σέσωστριν μὲν τὸν Αἰγύπτιον, τῆς Ἀσίας καταστρεψάμενον
 6. τὴν πολλήν, ἔστε ἐπὶ τὴν Εὐρώπην σὺν στρατιῇ ἐλάσαντα
 ὀπίσω ἀπονοστήσαι, Ἰδάνθυρσον δὲ τὸν Σκύθια ἐκ Σκυθίης
 ὀρμηθέντα πολλὰ μὲν τῆς Ἀσίας ἔθνεα καταστρέψασθαι,
 7. ἐπελθεῖν δὲ καὶ τὴν Αἰγυπτίων γῆν κρατέοντα. Σεμίραμιν δὲ
 τὴν Ἀσσυρίην ἐπιχειρεῖν μὲν στέλλεσθαι εἰς Ἰνδοὺς,
 ἀποθανεῖν δὲ πρὶν τέλος ἐπιθεῖναι τοῖς βουλευμασιν. ἀλλὰ
 8. Ἀλέξανδρον γὰρ στρατεῦσαι ἐπ' Ἰνδοὺς μόνον. καὶ πρὸ
 Ἀλεξάνδρου Διονύσου μὲν περί πολλὸς λόγος κατέχει ὡς καὶ
 τούτου στρατεύσαντος ἐς Ἰνδοὺς καὶ καταστρεψαμένου
 9. Ἰνδοὺς, Ἡρακλέος δὲ περί οὐ πολλός. Διονύσου μὲν γε καὶ
 Νῦσα πόλις μνήμα οὐ φαῦλον τῆς στρατηλασίης, καὶ ὁ

5. Let anyone who desires to explain the cause of the number
 and size of the Indian rivers do so; my task is to record what I have
 heard on these matters. Megasthenes has in fact recorded the
 2 names of many other rivers beyond the Ganges and the Indus
 which run into the eastern and southern outer sea, so that he states
 the total number of Indian rivers to be fifty-eight,¹ all navigable.
 3 But even Megasthenes, so far as I can see, did not visit much of
 India, though he visited more than the followers of Alexander, son
 of Philip, did; he states that he was in the company of Sandracottus,
 the greatest of the Indian kings, even greater than Poms.² This
 4 Megasthenes says that the Indians did not attack any other people,
 5 and none attacked them, but as for Sesostris the Egyptian, after
 subduing most of Asia and invading Europe with an army, he
 6 returned home again, while Idanthysus the Scythian who started
 from Scythia subdued many tribes of Asia, and traversed even
 7 Egypt victoriously³; Semiramis⁴ the Assyrian woman did attempt an
 expedition to India, but died before she could carry out her plans; it
 8 was in fact Alexander alone who actually invaded India. There is a
 prevalent report that before Alexander Dionysus too invaded India
 and subdued the Indians; about Heracles the report is not strong.
 9 As for Dionysus, the city of Nysa is a fine memorial of his
 expedition

1 Seneca *ap.* Pliny vi 60 rounded off the number to 60.

2 The text is amended, as Meg. knew that Chandragupta was
 more powerful than Porus.

3 For Meg's rejection of these stories S. xv 1, 6, cf. *RE* ii A 1865
 ff.

4 A legendary figure modelled on Schammuramut, queen regent
 of Assyria (810–806), whose unhistorical invasion of India (*Ctesias ap.*
D. ii 4–20) was credited by Al. and N. (vi 24, 2), but denied by Meg.,
 cf. 9, 9 ff. See Lenschau, *RE* vii 1204 ff.

Μηρὸς τὸ ὄρος, καὶ ὁ κισσὸς ὅτι ἐν τῷ ὄρει τούτῳ φύεται, καὶ αὐτοὶ οἱ Ἴνδοι ὑπὸ τυμπάνων τε καὶ κυμβάλων στελλόμενοι ἐς τὰς μάχας, καὶ ἐσθῆς αὐτοῖσι κατάστικτος ἐούσα, κατάπερ
 10 τοῦ Διονύσου τοῖσι βάκχοισιν· Ἡρακλῆος δὲ οὐ πολλὰ ὑπομνήματα. ἀλλὰ τὴν Ἄορνον γὰρ πέτρην, ἣντινα Ἀλέξανδρος βίῃ ἐχειρώσατο, ὅτι Ἡρακλῆς οὐ δυνατὸς ἐγένετο ἐξελεῖν, Μακεδονικὸν δοκέει μοί τι κόμπασμα, κατάπερ ὦν καὶ τὸν Παραπάμισον Καύκασον ἐκάλεον
 11 Μακεδόνες, οὐδέν τι προσήκοντα τούτῳ τῷ Καυκάσῳ. καί τι καὶ ἄντρον ἐπιφρασθέντες ἐν Παραπαμισάδαισι, τοῦτο ἔφασαν ἐκεῖνο εἶναι τοῦ Προμηθέως τοῦ Τιτηῆνος τὸ ἄντρον, ἐν
 12 ὧτῳ ἐκρέματο ἐπὶ τῇ κλοπῇ τοῦ πυρός. καὶ δὴ καὶ ἐν Σίβαισιν, Ἰνδικῶ γένει, ὅτι δορὰς ἀμπεχομένους εἶδον τοὺς Σίβας, ἀπὸ τῆς Ἡρακλέους στρατηλασίας ἔφασκον τοὺς ὑπολειφθέντας εἶναι τοὺς Σίβας· καὶ γὰρ καὶ σκυτάλην φορέουσιν τε οἱ Σίβαι καὶ τῆσι βουσὶν αὐτῶν ῥόπαλον
 13 ἐπικέκασται, καὶ τοῦτο ἐς μνήμην ἀνέφερον τοῦ ῥοπάλου τοῦ Ἡρακλέους. εἰ δέ τῳ πιστὰ ταῦτα, ἄλλος ἂν οὗτος Ἡρακλῆς εἴη, οὐχ ὁ Θηβαῖος ἢ ὁ Τύριος [οὗτος] ἢ ὁ Αἰγύπτιος, ἢ τις καὶ κατὰ τὴν ἄνω χώραν οὐ πόρρω τῆς Ἰνδῶν γῆς ὠκισμένος μέγας βασιλεύς.

6. ταῦτα μὲν μοι ἐκβολὴ ἔστω τοῦ λόγου ἐς τὸ μὴ πιστὰ φαίνεσθαι ὅσα ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐπέκεινα τοῦ Ἰφάσιος ποταμοῦ Ἰνδῶν μετεξέτεροι ἀνέγραψαν· (ἔστε γὰρ ἐπὶ τὸν Ἰφασιν οἱ τῆς Ἀλεξάνδρου στρατηλασίας μετασχόντες οὐ πάντη
 2 ἄπιστοί εἰσιν)· ἐπεὶ καὶ τόδε λέγει Μεγασθένης ὑπὲρ ποταμοῦ Ἰνδικοῦ, Σίλαν μὲν εἶναί οἱ ὄνομα, ῥέειν δὲ

together with Mount Merus and the ivy growing on this mountain, and the habit of the Indians themselves in setting out to battle to the sound of drums and cymbals, and their dappled costume, like
 10 that worn by the Bacchanals of Dionysus. But of Heracles there are few memorials; as for the story that Heracles could not capture Aornos, a rock which Alexander reduced by force, I am inclined to think it a Macedonian boast. In the same way the Macedonians called Parapamisus by the name of Caucasus, though it has nothing
 11 to do with Caucasus and, on learning that there was a cave among the Parapamisadae, they said it was the cave of Prometheus the Titan, in which he was hung up for his theft of the fire. And after
 12 noticing that the Sibae, an Indian tribe, were clad in skins, they actually claimed that the Sibae had been left behind after Heracles' expedition. What is more, as the Sibae carry a club, and brand their cattle with a club, they attributed this too to a recollection of
 13 Heracles' club.⁵ If anyone believes this, at least it must be a different Heracles, not the Theban, but the Tyrian or Egyptian, or some great king at home in the upper country near India.⁶

6. This must be regarded as a digression, so that too much credence should not be given to the stories some others have recorded of the Indians beyond the Hyphasis; up to that limit those
 2 who served under Alexander are not entirely untrustworthy. To take an instance, Megasthenes tells us of an Indian river

⁵ See v 3, 4; App. XVI. O. Stein (*RE* xv 303 f.) notes that Indians did brand cattle and that Krishna has a club.

⁶ App. XVI 10. *Contra* Jacoby all except § 10–13 (where A. repeats E's doubts) can come from Meg., who 'proved' that Heracles and Dionysus had been in India.

ἀπὸ κρήνης ἐπωνύμου τοῦ ποταμοῦ διὰ τῆς χώρας τῆς
 3 Σιλαίων, καὶ τούτων ἐπωνύμων τοῦ ποταμοῦ τε καὶ τῆς
 κρήνης, τὸ δὲ ὕδωρ παρέχεσθαι τοιόνδε. οὐδὲν εἶναι ὅτω
 ἀντέχει τὸ ὕδωρ, <καὶ> οὔτε τι νήχεσθαι ἐπ' αὐτοῦ οὔτε τι
 ἐπιπλεῖν, ἀλλὰ πάντα γὰρ ἐς βυσσὸν δύνειν· οὕτω τι
 ἀμειννότερον πάντων εἶναι τὸ ὕδωρ ἐκείνο καὶ ἡεροειδέστερον.
 4 ὕεται δὲ ἡ Ἰνδῶν γῆ τοῦ θέρεος, μάλιστα μὲν τὰ ὄρεα,
 Παραπάμισός τε καὶ ὁ Ἡμωδὸς καὶ τὸ Ἰμαϊκὸν ὄρος, καὶ ἀπὸ
 5 τουτέων μεγάλοι καὶ θολεροὶ οἱ ποταμοὶ ῥέουσιν. ὕεται δὲ τοῦ
 θέρους καὶ τὰ πεδία τῶν Ἰνδῶν, ὥστε λιμνάζει τὰ πολλὰ
 αὐτέων. καὶ ἔφυγεν ἡ Ἀλεξάνδρου στρατιὴ ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἀκεσίνου
 6 ποταμοῦ μέσου θέρεος, ὑπερβαλόντος τοῦ ὕδατος ἐς τὰ πεδία.
 ὥστε ἀπὸ τῶνδε ἔξεστι τεκμηριούσθαι καὶ τοῦ Νείλου τὸ
 πάθημα τοῦτο, ὅτι εἰκὸς [εἶναι] ὕεσθαι τὰ Αἰθιοπῶν ὄρεα τοῦ
 θέρεος, καὶ ἀπ' ἐκείνων ἐπιπλάμενον τὸν Νεῖλον ὑπερβάλλειν
 7 ὑπὲρ τὰς ὄχθας ἐς τὴν γῆν τὴν Αἰγυπτίην. θολερὸς ὦν καὶ
 οὗτος ῥέει ἐν τῇδε τῇ ὥρῃ, ὡς οὔτε ἂν ἀπὸ χιόνος τηκομένης
 ἔρρεεν, οὔτε εἰ πρὸς τῶν ὥρῃ θέρεος πνεόντων ἐτησίων ἀνέμων
 8 ἀνεκόπτετό οἱ τὸ ὕδωρ· ἄλλως τε οὐδὲ χιονόβλητα εἶη ἂν
 Αἰθιοπῶν ὄρεα ὑπὸ καύματος. ὕεσθαι δὲ κατάπερ τὰ Ἰνδῶν
 οὐκ ἔξω ἐστὶ τοῦ εἰκότος, ἐπεὶ καὶ τᾶλλα <ἢ> Ἰνδῶν γῆ οὐκ
 ἀπέουκε τῆς Αἰθιοπίας καὶ οἱ ποταμοὶ οἱ Ἰνδοὶ ὁμοίως τῷ
 Νείλῳ τῷ Αἰθιοπηίῳ τε καὶ Αἰγυπτίῳ κροκοδείλους τε
 φέρουσιν, ἔστιν δὲ οἱ αὐτῶν καὶ ἰχθύας καὶ ἄλλα

named Silas, which flows from a spring of the same name as the
 river through the territory of the Silaeans, the people also getting
 their name from both the river and the spring; he says that its water
 3 manifests this phenomenon: nothing is supported by it, nothing can
 swim in it or float upon it, but everything goes straight to the
 bottom, as this water is so unresisting, and more aery than any
 other.¹

4 Rain falls in India in the summer, especially on the mountains,
 Parapamisus, Hemodus and the Imaic mountain, and the flow of
 the rivers rising there is great and turbulent. The plains of India
 5 also get rain in summer, so that large parts become swamps; and
 Alexander's army had an escape from the river Acesines in
 midsummer, when the water had overflowed on to the plains.²
 6 From these facts one can then infer that the flooding of the Nile is
 probably due to summer rains in the mountains of Ethiopia, which
 swell the Nile, so that it overflows its banks on to the land of Egypt.
 7 So in the Nile too the flow is turbid at this time of the year, as it
 would not be from melting snow, nor if its stream were dammed up
 by the seasonal winds that blow in the summer: and besides, the
 mountains of Ethiopia would not be subject to snow-showers on
 8 account of the heat.³ But it is not at all improbable that they receive
 rain as India does, since in other respects India is not unlike
 Ethiopia, and in the Indian rivers crocodiles are found, as in the
 Ethiopian and Egyptian Nile, and in some of them fish and other
 large water animals like

1 Greeks located such a marvel in several lands, but Meg. drew on a genuine Indian story (Stein, *RE* xv 244 f.; 307).

2 App. XII 3; XVII 11 and 18. I suspect that Meg. remains the source throughout this chapter as in 3 and 7, 1, cf. n. 4 below; he could have taken over N's comparison of Nile and Indus valleys (S. xv 1, 18 and 25).

κήτεια ὅσα ὁ Νεῖλος πλὴν ἵππου τοῦ ποταμίου, —

9 Ὀνησίκριτος δὲ καὶ τοὺς ἵππους τοὺς ποταμίους λέγει ὅτι φέρουσι — τῶν τε ἀνθρώπων αἱ ἰδέαι οὐ πάντη ἀπάδουσι αἱ Ἰνδῶν τε καὶ Αἰθιοπῶν. οἱ μὲν πρὸς νότου ἀνέμου Ἰνδοὶ τοῖς Αἰθίοψι μᾶλλον τι εἰκόασι μέλανές τε ιδέσθαι εἰσὶ καὶ ἡ κόμη αὐτοῖς μέλαινα, πλὴν γε δὴ ὅτι σιμοὶ οὐχ ὡσαύτως οὐδὲ οὐλόκρανοι ὡς Αἰθίοπες. οἱ δὲ βορειότεροι τούτων κατ' Αἰγυπτίους μάλιστα ἂν εἶεν τὰ σώματα.

7. ἔθνεα δὲ Ἰνδικὰ εἴκοσι καὶ ἑκατὸν τὰ ἅπαντα λέγει Μεγασθένης, δυοῖν δέοντα. καὶ πολλὰ μὲν εἶναι ἔθνεα Ἰνδικὰ καὶ αὐτὸς συμφέρομαι Μεγασθένει, τὸ δὲ ἀτρεκὲς οὐκ ἔχω εἰκάσαι ὅπως ἐκμαθὼν ἀνέγραψεν, οὐδὲ πολλοστὸν μέρος τῆς Ἰνδῶν γῆς ἐπελθὼν, οὐδὲ ἐπιμιξίης πᾶσι τοῖς γένεσιν ἐούσης ἐς ἀλλήλους. πάλαι μὲν δὴ νομάδας εἶναι Ἰνδοὺς, καθάπερ Σκυθῶν τοὺς οὐκ ἀροτήρας, οἱ ἐπὶ τῆσιν ἀμάξησι πλανώμενοι ἄλλοτε ἄλλην τῆς Σκυθίης ἀμείβουσιν, οὔτε πόλης οἰκέοντες οὔτε ἱερὰ θεῶν σέβοντες. οὕτω μὴδὲ Ἰνδοῖσι πόλης εἶναι μὴδὲ ἱερὰ θεῶν δεδομημένα, ἀλλ' ἀμπίσχεσθαι μὲν δορὰς θηρίων ὅσων κατακάνοιεν, σιτέεσθαι δὲ τῶν δενδρέων τὸν φλοιόν. καλέεσθαι δὲ τὰ δένδρεα ταῦτα τῆ Ἰνδῶν φωνῇ τάλα, καὶ φύεσθαι ἐπ' αὐτῶν, κατάπερ τῶν φοινίκων ἐπὶ τῆσι κορυφήσιν, οἷά περ τολύπας. σιτέεσθαι δὲ καὶ τῶν θηρίων ὅσα ἔλοιεν ὠμοφαγέοντας, πρὶν γε δὴ Διόνυσον ἐλθεῖν ἐς τὴν χώραν τῶν Ἰνδῶν. Διόνυσον δὲ ἐλθόντα, ὡς καρτερὸς ἐγένετο Ἰνδῶν, πόληάς τε οἰκίσαι καὶ νόμους θέσθαι τῆσι πόλεσιν, οἴνου τε δοτῆρα Ἰνδοῖς γενέσθαι κατάπερ Ἑλλησι, καὶ σπείρειν διδάξαι τὴν γῆν διδόντα αὐτὸν σπέρματα,

those of the Nile, except for the hippopotamus, though Onesicritus⁹ states that this too is found.⁴ The appearance of the inhabitants is also not very different in India and Ethiopia: the southern Indians are rather more like Ethiopians as they are black to look on, and their hair is black; only they are not so snub-nosed or woolly-haired as the Ethiopians; the northern Indians are most like the Egyptians physically.

7. Megasthenes states that there are in all one hundred and eighteen tribes. I agree with Megasthenes myself that the Indian tribes are numerous, but I cannot conjecture how he learned and recorded the exact number, since he visited only a small proportion of India, and these peoples do not all mix with each other.¹ The² Indians, he says, were originally nomads, like the non-agricultural Scythians, who wander in their waggons and move from one part of Scythia to another, not dwelling in cities and not reverencing³ shrines of the gods. Just so the Indians had no cities and built no temples, but were clothed with the skins of wild animals they would kill, and ate the bark of trees; these trees were called in the Indian tongue Tala, and what look like clews of wool grew on them, just as on the tops of palm trees.² They also fed on what game they had⁴ captured, eating it raw, at least until Dionysus reached India. But⁵ when he arrived and became master of India, he founded cities, gave them laws, bestowed wine on the Indians as on the Greeks, and taught them to sow

4 Ar. rightly denied this (S. xv 1, 45). S. xv 1, 13 is so similar to 8 f. that both he and A. evidently followed Meg. No proof that A. read Onesicritus.

1 E's criticism? 7, 1–9, 8, in indirect speech, is all from Meg. (cf. Jacoby F 12. f. for confirmatory texts), except for A's own comments in 7, 6 (?), 8, 9, and 9, 4–7. Cf. App. XVI 1 f.

2 A. seems to mix up the cotton plant with another 'tree.'

6 ἢ οὐκ ἐλάσαντος ταύτη Τριπτολέμου, ὅτε περ ἐκ Δήμητρος
 ἐστάλη σπείρειν τὴν γῆν πάσαν, ἢ πρὸ Τριπτολέμου τις
 οὗτος Διόνυσος ἐπελθὼν τὴν Ἰνδῶν γῆν σπέρματά σφισιν
 7 ἔδωκε καρποῦ τοῦ ἡμέρον. βόας τε ὑπ' ἄροτρον ζεύξαι
 Διόνυσον πρῶτον καὶ ἀροτήρας ἀντὶ νομάδων ποιῆσαι Ἰνδῶν
 8 τοὺς πολλοὺς καὶ ὀπλίσει ὄπλοισι τοῖσιν ἀρηίοισι. καὶ θεοὺς
 σέβειν ὅτι ἐδίδαξε Διόνυσος ἄλλους τε καὶ μάλιστα δὴ
 ἑωυτὸν κυμβαλίζοντας καὶ τυμπανίζοντας· καὶ ὄρχησιν δὲ
 ἐκδιδάξαι τὴν σατυρικήν, τὸν κόρδακα παρ' Ἑλλησι
 9 καλούμενον, καὶ κομᾶν [Ἰνδοῦς] τῷ θεῷ μιτρηφορέειν τε
 ἀναδείξαι καὶ μύρων ἀλοιφὰς ἐκδιδάξαι, ὥστε καὶ εἰς
 Ἀλέξανδρον ἔτι ὑπὸ κυμβάλων τε καὶ τυμπάνων ἐς τὰς μάχας
 Ἰνδοὶ καθίσταντο.

8. ἀπιόντα δὲ ἐκ τῆς Ἰνδῶν γῆς, ὡς οἱ ταῦτα κεκοσμέατο,
 καταστήσασθαι βασιλέα τῆς χώρας Σπατέμβαν, τῶν ἐταίρων ἕνα
 τὸν βακχωδέστατον· τελευτήσαντος δὲ Σπατέμβαν τὴν
 2 βασιληίην ἐκδέξασθαι Βουδύαν τὸν τούτου παῖδα. καὶ τὸν μὲν
 πενήτην καὶ δύο ἔτεα βασιλεύσει Ἰνδῶν, τὸν πατέρα, τὸν
 3 δὲ παῖδα εἴκοσιν ἔτεα. καὶ τούτου παῖδα ἐκδέξασθαι τὴν
 βασιληίην Κραδεύαν, καὶ τὸ ἀπὸ τούδε τὸ πολὺ μὲν κατὰ
 γένος ἀμείβειν τὴν βασιληίην, παῖδα παρὰ πατρὸς
 ἐκδεχόμενον· εἰ δὲ ἐκλείποι τὸ γένος, οὕτω δὴ ἀριστίνδην
 4 καθίστασθαι Ἰνδοῖσι βασιλέας. Ἡρακλέα δέ, ὄντινα ἐς
 5 Ἰνδοῦς ἀφικέσθαι λόγος κατέχει, παρ' αὐτοῖσιν Ἰνδοῖσι
 γηγενέα λέγεσθαι. τούτου τὸν Ἡρακλέα μάλιστα πρὸς
 Σουρασηνῶν γεραίρεσθαι, Ἰνδικοῦ ἔθνεος, ἵνα δύο πόλεις
 μεγάλαι, Μέθορά τε καὶ Κλεισόβορα· καὶ ποταμὸς Ἰωμάνης
 πλωτὸς διαρρεῖ

6 their land, giving them seed. (Either Triptolemus did not come this
 way when he was sent out by Demeter to sow the entire earth, or it
 was earlier than Triptolemus that this Dionysus, whoever he was,³
 traversed India and gave the Indians seeds of domesticated plants.)
 7 Dionysus first yoked oxen to the plough and made most of the
 Indians agriculturalists instead of nomads, and equipped them also
 8 with the arms of warfare. He also taught them to reverence various
 gods, but especially of course himself, with clashing of cymbals and
 beating of drums; he instructed them to dance in the Satyric
 9 fashion, the dance called among Greeks the 'cordax', and showed
 them how to wear long hair in honour of the god with the conical
 cap, and instructed them in the use of perfumed ointments, so that
 even against Alexander the Indians came to battle to the sound of
 cymbals and drums.⁴

8. When departing from India, after setting all this in order,
 Dionysus made Spatembas king of the land, one of his Companions
 who was most expert in Bacchic rites; when Spatembas died,
 Budyas his son reigned in his stead; the father was king of India
 2 fifty-two years, and the son twenty; his son Cradeuas came to the
 3 throne and his descendants mostly received the kingdom in
 succession, son succeeding father; if the succession failed, then
 Indian kings were appointed for merit. As for a Heracles reaching
 4 India, as the prevalent story goes, the Indians themselves call him
 5 'Indigenous'. This Heracles is chiefly honoured by the Surasenians,
 an Indian tribe, with two great cities, Methora and Clisobora; the
 navigable river

3 It may be A. himself who toys with the idea of a different
 Dionysus, cf. App. XVI 10.

4 See S's criticism in xv 1, 58, doubtless from E.

6 τὴν χώραν αὐτῶν τὴν σκευὴν δὲ οὗτος ὁ Ἡρακλῆς ἦντινα
 ἐφόρει Μεγασθένης λέγει ὅτι ὁμοίην τῷ Θηβαίῳ Ἡρακλεῖ, ὡς
 αὐτοὶ Ἴνδοι ἀπηγγέονται. καὶ τούτῳ ἄρσενας μὲν παῖδας
 πολλοὺς κάρτα γενέσθαι ἐν τῇ Ἰνδῶν γῆ — πολλῆσι γὰρ δὴ
 γυναιξὶν ἐς γάμον ἐλθεῖν καὶ τοῦτον τὸν Ἡρακλέα —,
 7 θυγατέρα δὲ μουνογενέην. οὖνομα δὲ εἶναι τῇ παιδί Πανδαίην,
 καὶ τὴν χώραν, ἵνα τε ἐγένετο καὶ ἦστινος ἐπέτρεψεν αὐτῇ
 ἄρχειν Ἡρακλῆς, Πανδαίην <καλεῖσθαι> τῆς παιδὸς
 ἐπώνυμον. καὶ ταύτῃ ἐλέφαντας μὲν γενέσθαι ἐκ τοῦ παρὸς ἐς
 8 πεντακοσίους, ἵππων δὲ ἐς τετρακισχιλίην, πεζῶν δὲ ἐς τὰς
 τρεῖς καὶ δέκα μυριάδας. καὶ τάδε μετεξέτεροι Ἰνδῶν περὶ
 Ἡρακλέους λέγουσιν, ἐπελθόντα αὐτὸν πᾶσαν γῆν καὶ
 θάλασσαν καὶ καθήραντα ὃ τι περ κακόν, καινὸν εἶδος
 9 ἐξευρεῖν ἐν τῇ θαλάσση κόσμον γυναικείου, ὄντινα καὶ εἰς
 τοῦτο ἔτι οἱ τε ἐξ Ἰνδῶν τῆς χώρας τὰ ἀγώγιμα παρ' ἡμέας
 ἀγινέοντες σπουδῇ ὠνεόμενοι ἐκκομίζουσι, καὶ Ἑλλήνων δὲ
 πάλαι καὶ Ῥωμαίων νῦν ὅσοι πολυκτέανοι καὶ εὐδαίμονες
 μέζονι ἔτι σπουδῇ ὠνεύονται, τὸν μαργαρίτην δὴ τὸν
 10 θαλάσσιον οὕτω τῇ Ἰνδῶν γλώσση καλεόμενον. τὸν γὰρ
 Ἡρακλέα, ὡς καλὸν οἱ ἐφάνη τὸ φόρημα, ἐκ πάσης τῆς
 θαλάσσης ἐς τὴν Ἰνδῶν γῆν συναγινέειν τὸν μαργαρίτην δὴ
 11 τοῦτον, τῇ θυγατρὶ τῇ ἑωυτοῦ εἶναι κόσμον. καὶ λέγει
 Μεγασθένης, θηρεύεσθαι τὴν κόγχην αὐτοῦ δικτύοισι,
 νέμεσθαι δ' ἐν τῇ θαλάσση κατὰ ταῦτ' ὅσας κόγχας,
 κατάπερ τὰς μελίσσας. καὶ εἶναι γὰρ καὶ τοῖσι μαργαρίτησι
 12 βασιλέα ἢ βασίλισσαν, ὡς τῆσι μελίσσησι. καὶ ὅστις μὲν
 ἐκείνον κατ' ἐπιτυχίην συλλάβῃ, τοῦτον δὲ εὐπετέως

6 Iomanes flows through their territory. Megasthenes says that the
 garb this Heracles wore was like that of the Theban Heracles by the
 account of the Indians themselves¹; he also had a great many sons
 in this country, for this Heracles too wedded many wives, but he
 7 had only one daughter. Her name was Pandaea, and the country in
 which she was born, the government of which Heracles entrusted
 to her, was called Pandaea after the girl; here she possessed some
 five hundred elephants given by her father, four thousand
 horsemen, and a hundred and thirty thousand foot-soldiers. Some
 8 other Indians tell of Heracles that, after he had traversed every land
 and sea, and purged them of all evil monsters, he found in the sea a
 9 new form of womanly ornament. And thus, even to our day, those
 who bring merchandise from India to our country are at pains to
 purchase these jewels and export them, and rich and prosperous
 Greeks in the past, and Romans today, are still more eager to buy
 the sea margarita [pearl] as it is called² in the Indian tongue.
 10 Heracles was in fact so taken with the beauty of the ornament that
 he collected this pearl from every sea and brought it to India to
 11 adorn his daughter. Megasthenes also says that the pearl's oyster is
 caught with nets; and that many oysters live together in the sea like
 bees; for the pearl oysters too have a king or queen, like bees.
 12 Should anyone by chance catch the king, he can easily cast a net
 around the swarm of the re-

1 Perhaps Meg. left it open whether Heracles was indigenous or Theban.

2 Apparently untrue, see O. Stein, *RE* xv 299.

περιβάλλειν καὶ τὸ ἄλλο σμῆνος τῶν μαργαριτῶν· εἰ δὲ
 διαφύγοι σφᾶς ὁ βασιλεύς, τούτῳ δὲ οὐκέτι θηρατοὺς εἶναι
 τοὺς ἄλλους. τοὺς ἐλόντας δὲ περιορᾶν κατασαπῆναί σφισι
 13 τὴν σάρκα, τῷ δὲ ὀστέῳ ἐς κόσμον χρῆσθαι. καὶ εἶναι γὰρ
 καὶ παρ' Ἰνδοῖσι τὸν μαργαρίτην τριστάσιον κατὰ τιμὴν
 πρὸς χρυσίον τὸ ἄπεφθον, καὶ τοῦτο ἐν τῇ Ἰνδῶν γῆ
 ὀρυσσόμενον.

9. ἐν δὲ τῇ χώρῃ ταύτῃ, ἵνα ἐβασίλευσεν ἡ θυγάτηρ τοῦ
 Ἑρακλέος, τὰς μὲν γυναῖκας ἐπταέτεις ἐούσας ἐς ὥρην γάμου
 2 ἵεναι, τοὺς δὲ ἄνδρας τεσσαράκοντα ἔτεα τὰ πλείεστα
 βιώσκεσθαι. καὶ ὑπὲρ τούτου λεγόμενον λόγον εἶναι παρὰ
 Ἰνδοῖσιν. Ἑρακλέα, ὀψιγόνου οἱ γενομένης τῆς παιδός, ἐπεὶ
 τε δὴ ἐγγὺς ἔμαθεν ἑαυτῷ ἐούσαν τὴν τελευταίην, οὐκ ἔχοντα
 ὄτῳ ἀνδρὶ ἐκδῶ τὴν παιδα ἐωυτοῦ ἐπαξίῳ, αὐτὸν μιγῆναι τῇ
 παιδί ἐπταέτει ἐούσῃ, ὡς γένος ἐξ οὗ τε κακείνης
 3 ὑπολείπεσθαι Ἰνδῶν βασιλέας. ποιῆσαι ὦν αὐτὴν Ἑρακλέα
 ὠραίην γάμον καὶ ἐκ τούδε ἅπαν τὸ γένος τοῦτο ὅτου ἡ
 4 Πανδαίη ἐπήρξε, ταῦτον τοῦτο γέρας ἔχειν παρὰ Ἑρακλέος.
 ἐμοὶ δὲ δοκεῖ, εἴπερ ὦν τὰ ἐς τοσόνδε ἄτοπα Ἑρακλέης οἶός
 τε ἦν ἐξεργάζεσθαι, κἂν αὐτὸν ἀποφῆναι μακροβιώτερον, ὡς
 5 ὠραίη μιγῆναι τῇ παιδί. ἀλλὰ γὰρ εἰ ταῦτα ὑπὲρ τῆς ὥρης
 τῶν ταύτῃ παίδων ἀτρεκέα ἐστίν, ἐς ταῦτον φέρειν δοκεῖ
 ἔμοιγε ἐς ὃ τι περ καὶ <τὰ> ὑπὲρ τῶν ἀνδρῶν τῆς ἡλικίης ὅτι
 6 τεσσαρακοντούτεες ἀποθνήσκουσιν οἱ πρεσβύτατοι αὐτῶν. οἷς
 γὰρ τό τε γῆρας τοσῶδε ταχύτερον ἐπέρχεται καὶ ὁ θάνατος
 7 ὁμοῦ τῷ γῆρα, πάντως που καὶ ἡ ἀκμὴ πρὸς λόγον τοῦ τέλεος
 ταχύτερη ἐπανθείει. ὥστε τριακοντούτεες

maintaining oysters; but should the king slip through, then the others
 cannot be caught.³ The fishermen let the flesh rot, but use the
 skeleton as an ornament. For among the Indians too the pearl is
 13 worth three times its weight in refined gold, and gold is also mined
 in India.⁴

9. In this country where Heracles' daughter was queen, the girls
 are marriageable at seven years, and the men do not live longer
 2 than forty years. There is a story about this among the Indians, that
 Heracles, whose daughter was born to him late in life, realizing that
 his own end was near, and having no man of his own worth to whom
 he might give his daughter, copulated with her himself when she
 was seven, so that their progeny might be left behind as Indian
 3 kings. Thus Heracles made her marriageable and thenceforward
 the whole of this line which began with Pandaea inherited this very
 4 same privilege from Heracles. But I think that if Heracles was able
 to accomplish anything so extraordinary, he could have lengthened
 his own life, so as to copulate with the girl when mature. But really
 5 if this story about the bloom of the girls here is quite true, it seems
 to me to tend the same way as what we are told of the men's age,
 that the oldest of them die at forty years.¹ For when old age comes
 6 on so much sooner and death along with age, the bloom of maturity
 7 will, I suppose, evidently be earlier in proportion to the end, so that

3 Cf. Pliny ix 111.

4 Contrast v 4, 4.

1 Meg., cf. § 8. Onesicritus (S. xv 1, 34) credited the subjects of
 Musicanus with longevity.

μὲν ὠμογέροντες ἂν πού εἰεν αὐτοῖσιν οἱ ἄνδρες, εἴκοσι δὲ ἔτεα γεγονότες οἱ ἔξω ἡβῆς νεηνίσκοι, ἡ δὲ ἀκροτάτη ἡβῆ ἀμφὶ τὰ πεντεκαίδεκα ἔτεα· καὶ τῆσι γυναιξὶν ὥρη τοῦ γάμου
8 κατὰ λόγον ἂν οὕτω ἐς τὰ ἑπτὰ ἔτεα συμβαίνοι. καὶ γὰρ τοὺς καρποὺς ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ χώρῃ πεπαίνεσθαι τε ταχύτερον [μὲν] τῆς ἄλλης αὐτὸς οὗτος Μεγασθένης ἀνέγραψεν καὶ φθίνειν ταχύτερον.

9 ἀπὸ μὲν δὴ Διονύσου βασιλέας ἠρίθμεον Ἴνδοι ἐς Σανδρόκοττον τρεῖς καὶ πενήκοντα καὶ ἑκατόν, ἔπεα δὲ δύο καὶ τεσσαράκοντα καὶ ἑξακισχίλια· ἐν δὲ τούτοισι τρεῖς τὸ πᾶν εἰς ἐλευθερίην¹ τὴν δὲ καὶ ἐς τριακόσια, τὴν δὲ
10 εἴκοσιν τε ἐτέων καὶ ἑκατόν. πρεσβύτερόν τε Διόνυσον Ἡρακλέος δέκα καὶ πέντε γενεῆσιν Ἴνδοι λέγουσιν· ἄλλον δὲ οὐδένα ἐμβαλεῖν ἐς γῆν τὴν Ἰνδῶν ἐπὶ πολέμῳ, οὐδὲ Κῦρον τὸν Καμβύσεω, καίτοι ἐπὶ Σκύθας ἐλάσαντα καὶ τᾶλλα πολυπραγμονέστατον δὴ τῶν κατὰ τὴν Ἀσίαν βασιλέων
11 γενόμενον τὸν Κῦρον. ἀλλὰ Ἀλέξανδρον γὰρ ἐλθεῖν τε καὶ
12 κρατῆσαι [πάντων] τοῖς ὅπλοις ὅσους γε δὴ ἐπήλθε· καὶ ἂν καὶ πάντων κρατῆσαι, εἰ ἡ στρατιὴ ἤθελεν. οὐ μὲν δὴ οὐδὲ Ἰνδῶν τινὰ ἔξω τῆς οἰκείης σταλήναι ἐπὶ πολέμῳ διὰ δικαιοσύνην.

10. λέγεται δὲ καὶ τάδε, μνημεῖα ὅτι Ἴνδοι τοῖς τελευτήσασιν οὐ ποιέουσιν, ἀλλὰ τὰς ἀρετὰς γὰρ τῶν ἀνδρῶν
2 ἱκανὰς ἐς μνήμην τίθενται τοῖσιν ἀποθανούσι καὶ τὰς ὥδὰς αἱ αὐτοῖσιν ἐπάδονται. πόλεων δὲ καὶ ἀριθμὸν οὐκ εἶναι ἂν ἀτρεκέως ἀναγράψαι

1 Words have clearly fallen out, e.g. <μεταβαλέειν τὴν πολιτείην· καὶ ἐς ἔτεα μὲν . . . τὴν πρώτην ὑπάρξαι ἐλευθερίην>.

men would be on the threshold of old age at thirty and young at twenty but passed beyond the first flush of youth; its prime would be at about fifteen, so that by analogy the women might be
8 marriageable at seven. For even the fruits ripen earlier in this country than elsewhere, and decay earlier, as once again Megasthenes tells us.

9 From Dionysus to Sandracottus the Indians counted a hundred and fifty-three kings, over six thousand and forty-two years, and during these years three times in all of liberty . . .² another for three
10 hundred years, another for a hundred and twenty years. The Indians say that Dionysus was fifteen generations earlier than Heracles, but no one else ever invaded India, not even Cyrus son of Cambyses, though he attacked the Scythians, and in other ways was
11 the most energetic of the kings in Asia. Only Alexander came and conquered by force of arms all the countries he assailed, and would have conquered the whole world, had his army been willing. Nor
12 did any Indians ever set out beyond their own country on a warlike expedition, because of their respect for justice.

10. It is also said that Indians do not put up memorials to the dead, but regard their virtues as sufficient memorials for the departed, together with songs sung in their honour.¹ As for the
2 cities of India, it would be impossible to record their number

2 The missing words might have this sense: 'was the political system converted into one of liberty, the first lasting . . . years, another . . .' A. here uses direct speech but plainly follows Meg. Cf. 1, 1 n.

1 S. xv 1, 54: 'their funerals are simple and their mounds small.' Both he and A. seem to be summarizing Meg., one or both inexactly.

τῶν Ἰνδικῶν ὑπὸ πλήθεος· ἀλλὰ γὰρ ὄσαι παραποτάμια
 3 αὐτέων ἢ παραθαλάσσια, ταύτας μὲν ξυλίνας ποιέεσθαι· οὐ
 γὰρ ἂν ἐκ πλίνθου ποιηόμενας διαρκέσαι ἐπὶ χρόνον τοῦ τε
 ὕδατος ἕνεκα τοῦ ἐξ οὐρανοῦ καὶ ὅτι οἱ ποταμοὶ αὐτοῖσιν
 ὑπερβάλλοντες ὑπὲρ τὰς ὄχθας ἐμπιμπλάσι τοῦ ὕδατος τὰ
 4 πεδία. ὄσαι δὲ ἐν ὑπερδεξίοις τε καὶ μετεώροις τόποισι καὶ
 5 τούτοισι ψιλοῖσιν ὤκισμένοι εἰσὶ, ταύτας δὲ ἐκ πλίνθου τε καὶ
 πηλοῦ ποιέεσθαι. μεγίστην δὲ πόλιν Ἰνδοῖσιν εἶναι <τὴν>
 Παλίμβοθρα καλεομένην, ἐν τῇ Πρασίῳ γῆ, ἵνα αἱ συμβολαί
 εἰσι τοῦ τε Ἐραννοβόα ποταμοῦ καὶ τοῦ Γάγγεω· τοῦ μὲν
 Γάγγεω, τοῦ μεγίστου ποταμῶν· ὁ δὲ Ἐραννοβόας τρίτος μὲν
 ἂν εἴη τῶν Ἰνδῶν ποταμῶν, μέζων δὲ τῶν ἄλλῃ καὶ οὗτος,
 6 ἀλλὰ ξυγχωρεῖ αὐτὸς τῷ Γάγγῃ, ἐπειδὴν ἐμβάλη ἐς αὐτὸν τὸ
 ὕδωρ. καὶ λέγει Μεγασθένης μῆκος μὲν ἐπέχει τὴν πόλιν
 καθ' ἑκατέρην τὴν πλευρὴν, ἵνα περ μακροτάτη αὐτὴ ἐωντῆς
 7 ὤκισται, ἐς ὀγδοήκοντα σταδίους, τὸ δὲ πλάτος ἐς
 πεντεκαίδεκα. τάφρον δὲ περιβεβλήσθαι τῇ πόλει τὸ εὖρος
 ἐξάπλεθρον, τὸ δὲ βάθος τριήκοντα πήχεων· πύργους δὲ
 ἐβδομήκοντα καὶ πεντακοσίους ἔχει τὸ τεῖχος καὶ πύλας
 8 τέσσαρας καὶ ἐξήκοντα. εἶναι δὲ καὶ τόδε μέγα ἐν τῇ Ἰνδῶν
 9 γῆ, πάντας Ἰνδοὺς εἶναι ἐλευθέρους, οὐδέ τινα δούλον εἶναι
 Ἰνδόν. τοῦτο μὲν Λακεδαιμονίοισιν ἐς ταῦτο συμβαίνει καὶ
 Ἰνδοῖσι. Λακεδαιμονίοις μὲν γε οἱ εἰλωτες δούλοί εἰσιν καὶ τὰ
 δούλων ἐργάζονται, Ἰνδοῖσι δὲ οὐδὲ ἄλλος δούλός ἐστι, μήτι
 γε Ἰνδῶν τις.

accurately because there are so many. Those on rivers or on the
 3 coast are built of wood; if they were built of brick, they could not
 last long because of the moisture due to rain, and to the fact that
 the rivers overflow their banks and fill the plains with water. Only
 4 where the cities are situated in commanding and lofty places and
 these are bare, are they built of brick and clay. The greatest of the
 5 Indian cities is called Palimbothra,² in the district of the Prasians, at
 the confluence of the Erannoboas [Son] and the Ganges; the
 Ganges is the greatest of all rivers, while the Erannoboas may be
 third of the Indian rivers but it is still greater than the rivers of
 other countries, though it yields precedence to the Ganges after
 6 joining it. And Megasthenes says that the length of the city on
 either side, where it is longest, extends to eighty stades, its breadth
 7 to fifteen, and that a ditch has been dug round the city, six plethra
 in breadth, thirty cubits deep; the wall has five hundred and seventy
 towers and sixty-four gates. It is also a great thing in India that all
 8 Indians are free, and that no Indian at all is a slave.³ The same is
 true of the Lacedaemonians, but they have Helots for slaves, who
 perform the duties of slaves,⁴ whereas the Indians have no slaves of
 any kind, let alone Indian slaves.

2 S. xv 1, 36; App. XVII 6.

3 Onesicritus *ap.* S. xv 1, 54 (mistranslated in Loeb edition) held that the absence of slavery was peculiar to Musicanus' realm. In fact, slavery is abundantly documented in Sanskrit literature (*CHI*, index *s.v.*).

4 Helotry lasted only 'till the Roman supremacy' (S. vii 5, 4 f.), perhaps only till Nabis (cf. Polyb. xvi 13, 1). A. is transcribing a statement of Meg., long obsolete.

11. *νενέμηνται δὲ οἱ πάντες Ἴνδοι ἐς ἑπτὰ μάλιστα γένεα. ἐν μὲν αὐτοῖσιν οἱ σοφισταὶ εἰσι, πλήθει μὲν μείους τῶν
 2 ἄλλων, δόξῃ δὲ καὶ τιμῇ γεραρώτατοι οὔτε γὰρ τι τῷ σώματι ἐργάζεσθαι ἀναγκαίη σφιν προσκέαται οὔτε τι ἀποφέρειν ἀφ' ὅτων πονέουσιν ἐς τὸ κοινόν. οὐδέ τι ἄλλο ἀνάγκης ἀπλῶς ἐπέειναι τοῖς σοφιστῆσιν, ὅτι μὴ θύειν τὰς θυσίας τοῖσι
 3 θεοῖσιν ὑπὲρ τοῦ κοινοῦ <τῶν> Ἰνδῶν· καὶ ὅστις δὲ ἰδίᾳ θύει, ἐξηγητῆς αὐτῷ τῆς θυσίης τῶν τις σοφιστῶν τούτων γίνεται,
 4 ὡς οὐκ ἂν ἄλλως κεχαρισμένα τοῖς θεοῖς θύσαντας. εἰσὶ δὲ καὶ μαντικῆς οὔτοι μῦνοι Ἰνδῶν δαήμονες, οὐδὲ ἐφέϊται ἄλλῳ
 5 μαντεύεσθαι ὅτι μὴ σοφιστῆ ἀνδρὶ. μαντεύονται δὲ ὅσα ὑπὲρ τῶν ὠρέων τοῦ ἔτεος καὶ εἴ τις ἐς τὸ κοινὸν συμφορῇ καταλαμβάνει· τὰ ἴδια <δὲ> ἐκάστοισιν οὐ σφιν μέλει μαντεύεσθαι, ὡς οὐκ ἐξικνεομένης τῆς μαντικῆς ἐς τὰ
 6 μικρότερα ἢ ὡς οὐκ ἄξιον <ὄν> ἐπὶ τούτοις πονέεσθαι. ὅστις δὲ ἀμάρτοι ἐς τρεῖς μαντευσάμενος, τούτῳ δὲ ἄλλο μὲν κακὸν γίνεσθαι οὐδέν, σιωπᾶν δὲ εἶναι ἐπάναγκες τοῦ λοιποῦ· καὶ οὐκ ἔστιν ὅστις ἐξαναγκάσει τὸν ἄνδρα τούτον φωνῆσαι, ὅτου
 7 ἢ σιωπῆ κατακέκριται. οὔτοι γυμνοὶ διαιτῶνται οἱ σοφισταί, τοῦ μὲν χειμῶνος ὑπαίθριοι ἐν τῷ ἡλίῳ, τοῦ δὲ θέρεος, ἐπὴν ὁ ἥλιος κατέχη, ἐν τοῖς λειμῶσι καὶ τοῖσιν ἔλεσιν ὑπὸ δένδρεσι μεγάλοισιν, ὧν τὴν σκιὴν Νέαρχος λέγει ἐς πέντε πλέθρα ἐν κύκλῳ ἐξικνεέσθαι, καὶ ἂν καὶ μυρίους ἀνθρώπους ὑπὸ ἐνὶ
 8 δένδρεϊ σκιάζεσθαι· τηλικαῦτα εἶναι ταῦτα τὰ δένδρεα. σιτέονται δὲ <τὰ> ὠραῖα καὶ τὸν φλοιὸν τῶν δένδρων, γλυκύν τε ὄντα τὸν φλοιὸν καὶ τρόφιμον οὐ μείον ἢπερ αἱ βάλανοι τῶν φοινίκων.*

11. All the Indians are divided into generally seven classes.¹ One consists of the sophists; they are less numerous than the rest, but grandest in reputation and honour, for they are under no
 2 necessity to do any bodily labour, nor to contribute from the results of their work to the common store; in fact, no sort of constraint whatever rests on the sophists, save to offer the sacrifices to the gods on behalf of the common weal of the Indians. Whenever
 3 anyone sacrifices privately, one of the sophists directs him in the sacrifice, on the ground that otherwise it would not prove
 4 acceptable to the gods. Alone of the Indians they are expert in prophecy, and none save a sophist is allowed to prophesy. They
 5 prophesy only about the seasons of the year and any public calamity; it is not their concern to prophesy on private matters to individuals, either because the art of prophecy does not condescend to petty affairs, or because it is undignified for the sophists to trouble about them. Anyone who has made three errors in prophecy
 6 does not suffer any harm but must keep silence in future, and no one will ever force the man to speak on whom sentence of silence
 7 has been passed. These sophists spend their time naked, during the winter in the open air and sunshine, but in summer, when the sun is strong, in the meadows and marsh lands under great trees, whose shade, according to Nearchus,² reaches five plethra all round, and which are so large that as many as ten thousand men could take
 8 shade under one tree. The sophists eat produce in season and the bark of trees, a bark that is no less sweet and nutritious than palm dates.

1 Castes and especially Brahmans: App. XVII 9 and XX.

2 A's insertion in an account otherwise derived from Meg. For the many versions of the marvel see Jacoby on Nearchus F. 6.

- 9 δεύτεροι δ' ἐπὶ τούτοις οἱ γεωργοὶ εἰσιν, οὗτοι πλήθει
πλείστοι Ἰνδῶν ἔοντες. καὶ τούτοις οὔτε ὄπλα ἐστὶν ἀρήγια
οὔτε μέλει τὰ πολεμῆια ἔργα, ἀλλὰ τὴν χώραν οὗτοι
ἐργάζονται, καὶ τοὺς φόρους τοῖς τε βασιλεῦσι καὶ τῆσι
10 πόλεσιν, ὅσαι αὐτόνομοι, οὗτοι ἀποφέρουσι. καὶ εἰ πόλεμος ἐς
ἀλλήλους τοῖσιν Ἰνδοῖσι τύχει, τῶν ἐργαζομένων τὴν γῆν οὐ
θέμις σφιν ἄπτεσθαι οὐδὲ αὐτὴν τὴν γῆν τέμνειν, ἀλλὰ οἱ μὲν
πολεμοῦσι καὶ κατακαίνουσι ἀλλήλους ὅπως τύχοιεν, οἱ δὲ
πλησίον αὐτῶν κατ' ἡσυχίαν ἀρούσι ἢ τρυγῶσι ἢ κλαδῶσι
ἢ θερίζουσι.
- 11 τρίτοι δὲ εἰσιν Ἰνδοῖσιν οἱ νομέες, οἱ ποιμένες τε καὶ
βουκόλοι. καὶ οὗτοι οὔτε κατὰ πόλιν οὔτε ἐν τῆσι κώμησιν
οἰκέουσι νομάδες τέ εἰσι καὶ ἀνὰ τὰ ὄρεα βιοτεύουσι. φόρον
δὲ καὶ οὗτοι ἀπὸ τῶν κτηνῶν ἀποφέρουσι, καὶ θηρεύουσι
οὗτοι ἀπὸ τὴν χώραν ὄρνιθας τε καὶ ἄγρια θηρία.
12. τέταρτον δὲ ἐστὶ τὸ δημιουργικὸν τε καὶ καπηλικὸν
γένος. καὶ οὗτοι λειτουργοὶ εἰσι καὶ φόρον ἀποφέρουσι ἀπὸ
τῶν ἔργων τῶν σφετέρων, πλήν γε δὴ ὅσοι τὰ ἀρήγια ὄπλα
ποιέουσι· οὗτοι δὲ καὶ μισθὸν ἐκ τοῦ κοινοῦ
προσλαμβάνουσι. ἐν δὲ τούτῳ τῷ γένει οἱ τε ναυπηγοὶ καὶ οἱ
ναῦταί εἰσιν, ὅσοι κατὰ τοὺς ποταμοὺς πλώουσι.
- 2 πέμπτον δὲ γένος ἐστὶν Ἰνδοῖσιν οἱ πολεμισταί, πλήθει
μὲν δεύτερον μετὰ τοὺς γεωργούς, πλείστη δὲ ἐλευθερίῃ τε καὶ
εὐθυμίῃ ἐπιχρεόμενοι. καὶ οὗτοι ἀσκηταὶ μόνων τῶν
3 πολεμικῶν ἔργων εἰσίν· τὰ δὲ ὄπλα ἄλλοι αὐτοῖς ποιέουσι καὶ
ἵππους ἄλλοι παρέχουσι καὶ διακονοῦσι ἐπὶ στρατοπέδου
ἄλλοι, οἱ τοὺς τε ἵππους αὐτοῖς θεραπεύουσι καὶ τὰ ὄπλα

- 9 Second to them come the farmers, who are the most numerous
of Indians; they have no weapons and no concern in warfare, but
they till the land and pay the taxes to the kings and the self-
10 governing cities; and if there is internal war among the Indians, it is
not lawful for them to touch these land workers, nor even to
devastate the land itself; but while some are making war and killing
each other as opportunity may serve, others close by are peacefully
ploughing or picking fruits or pruning or harvesting.
- 11 The third class of Indians are the herdsmen, who pasture sheep
and cattle, and do not dwell in cities or in villages: they are nomads
and get their living on the hillsides. They too pay taxes from their
animals, and they hunt birds and wild beasts in the country.
12. The fourth class is of artisans and shopkeepers; they too
perform public duties, and pay tax on the receipts from their work,
except for those who make weapons of war and actually receive a
wage from the community. In this class are the shipwrights and
sailors, who ply on the rivers.
- 2 The fifth class of Indians consists of the soldiers, next to the
farmers in number; they enjoy the greatest freedom and most
agreeable life. They are devoted solely to military activities. Others
3 make their arms and provide their horses; others too serve in the
camps, grooming their horses and polishing

- 4 ἐκκαθαίρουσι καὶ τοὺς ἐλέφαντας ἄγουσι καὶ τὰ ἄρματα
κοσμένουςί τε καὶ ἠνιοχεύουσιν. αὐτοὶ δέ, ἔστ' ἂν μὲν
πολεμεῖν δέη, πολεμοῦσιν, εἰρήνης δὲ γενομένης εὐθυμέονται
καὶ σφιν μισθὸς ἐκ τοῦ κοινοῦ τοσόσδε ἔρχεται ὡς καὶ
ἄλλους τρέφειν ἀπ' αὐτοῦ εὐμαρέως.
- 5 ἕκτοι δὲ εἰσιν Ἰνδοῖσιν οἱ ἐπίσκοποι καλεόμενοι. οὗτοι
ἐφορῶσι τὰ γινόμενα κατὰ τε τὴν χώραν καὶ κατὰ τὰς
πόλεις, καὶ ταῦτα ἀναγγέλλουσι τῷ βασιλεῖ, ἵνα περ
βασιλεύονται Ἰνδοί, ἢ τοῖς τέλεσιν, ἵνα περ αὐτόνομοί εἰσι.
καὶ τούτοις οὐ θέμις ψεῦδος ἀγγεῖλαι οὐδέν, οὐδέ τις Ἰνδῶν
αἰτίην ἔσχε ψεύσασθαι.
- 6 ἑβδομοὶ δὲ εἰσιν οἱ ὑπὲρ τῶν κοινῶν βουλευόμενοι ὁμοῦ τῷ
7 βασιλεῖ ἢ κατὰ πόλεις ὅσαι αὐτόνομοι σὺν τῆσιν ἀρχῆσι.
πλήθει μὲν ὀλίγον τὸ γένος τοῦτό ἐστι, σοφίῃ δὲ καὶ
δικαιοσύνῃ ἐκ πάντων προκεκριμένον. ἐνθεν οἱ τε ἄρχοντες
αὐτοῖσιν ἐπιλέγονται καὶ ὅσοι νομάρχαι καὶ ὑπαρχοὶ καὶ
θησαυροφύλακες τε καὶ στρατοφύλακες, ναύαρχοί τε καὶ
ταμίαι καὶ τῶν κατὰ γεωργίην ἔργων ἐπιστάται.
- 8 γαμέειν δὲ ἐξ ἑτέρου γένεος οὐ θέμις, οἷον τοῖσι
γεωργοῖσιν ἐκ τοῦ δημιουργικοῦ ἢ ἔμπαλιν. οὐδὲ δύο τέχναι
ἐπιτηδεύειν τὸν αὐτὸν οὐδὲ τοῦτο θέμις, οὐδὲ ἀμείβειν ἐξ
ἑτέρου γένεος εἰς ἕτερον, οἷον γεωργικὸν ἐκ νομέως γενέσθαι ἢ
9 νομέα ἐκ δημιουργικοῦ. μόνον σφισιν ἀνείηται σοφιστὴν ἐκ
παντὸς γένεος γενέσθαι, ὅτι οὐ μαλθακὰ τοῖσι σοφιστῆσιν
εἰσι τὰ πρήγματα ἀλλὰ πάντων ταλαιπωρότατα.

- their arms, driving the elephants, and keeping the chariots in order
4 and driving them. They fight so long as they have to fight, but in
time of peace they make merry; and they receive so much pay from
the community that they can easily support others from their pay.
- 5 The sixth class of Indians are those called overseers. They
supervise everything that goes on in the country and cities, and
report it to the king, where the Indians are governed by kings, or to
the authorities, where they are self-governing. It is not lawful to
make any false report to them; and no Indian was ever accused of
such falsification.
- 6 The seventh class are those who deliberate about public affairs
with the king, or in self-governing cities with the authorities. In
7 number this class is small, but in wisdom and justice it is the most
distinguished of all; it is from this class that they select their rulers,
nomarchs, hyparchs, treasurers, generals, admirals, comptrollers,
and supervisors of agricultural works.¹
- 8 To marry out of any class is unlawful—as, for instance, into the
farmer class from the artisans, or the other way; nor again is it even
lawful for one man to practise two crafts or to change from one
class to another, as to turn farmer from shepherd, or shepherd from
9 artisan. Only a sophist can be drawn from any class; for this way of
life is not soft, but the hardest of all.²

1 Cf. App. XVII 9. S. is much fuller, but only A. mentions self-governing cities, as often in *Anab.*; cf. CHI 175 ff.; 199 f. Conceivably Meg., concerned only with Chandragupta's kingdom, did not do so, and we have here an insertion made by A. from his recollections of Pt. and Ar., or from N.

2 But S. xv 1, 49 and D. ii 41 say that only the philosophers could undertake the functions of other castes; we do not know what Meg. really wrote.

13. θηρώσι δὲ Ἴνδοι τὰ μὲν ἄλλα ἄγρια θηρία κατάπερ καὶ Ἕλληνες, ἢ δὲ τῶν ἐλεφάντων σφιν θήρα οὐδέν τι ἄλλη
 2 ἔοικεν, ὅτι καὶ ταῦτα τὰ θηρία οὐδαμοῖσιν ἄλλοισι θηρίοις ἐπέοικεν. ἀλλὰ τόπον γὰρ ἐπιλεξάμενοι ἄπεδον καὶ
 3 καυματώδεα ἐν κύκλῳ τάφρον ὀρύσσουσιν, ὅσον μεγάλῳ στρατοπέδῳ ἐπαυλίσασθαι. τῆς δὲ τάφρου τὸ εὖρος ἐς πέντε ὀργυῖας ποιέονται, βάθος τε ἐς τεσσαρας. τὸν δὲ χοῦν ὄντινα ἐκβάλλουσιν ἐκ τοῦ ὀρύγματος, ἐπὶ τὰ χεῖλεα ἐκάτερα τῆς
 4 τάφρου ἐπιφορήσαντες ἀντὶ τείχεος διαχρέονται, αὐτοὶ δὲ ὑπὸ τῷ χώματι τῷ ἐπὶ τοῦ χείλεος τοῦ ἔξω τῆς τάφρου σκηνας σφιν ὀρυκτὰς ποιέονται, καὶ διὰ τουτέων ὅπας ὑπολείπονται, δι' ὧν φῶς τε αὐτοῖσιν εἰσέρχεται καὶ τὰ θηρία προσάγοντα
 5 καὶ ἐσελαύνοντα ἐς τὸ ἔρκος σκέπτονται. ἐνταῦθα ἐντὸς τοῦ ἔρκους καταστήσαντες τῶν τινας θηλέων τρεῖς ἢ τέσσαρας, ὅσαι μάλιστα τὸν θυμὸν χειροήθεις, μίαν εἴσοδον ἀπολιμπάνουσι κατὰ τὴν τάφρον, γεφυρώσαντες τὴν τάφρον καὶ ταύτῃ χοῦν τε καὶ πόαν πολλὴν ἐπιφέρουσι τοῦ μὴ
 6 ἀρίδηλον εἶναι τοῖσι θηρίοισι τὴν γέφυραν, μή τινα δόλον οἰσθῶσιν. αὐτοὶ μὲν οὖν ἐκποδῶν σφᾶς <ποι>λέουσι κατὰ τῶν σκηνέων τῶν ὑπὸ τῇ τάφρῳ δεδυκότες, οἱ δὲ ἄγριοι ἐλέφαντες ἡμέρης μὲν οὐ πελάζουσιν τοῖσιν οἰκουμένοισι, νύκτωρ δὲ πλανῶνται τε πάντα καὶ ἀγεληδὸν νέμονται τῷ μεγίστῳ καὶ
 7 γενναιοτάτῳ σφῶν ἐπόμενοι, κατάπερ αἱ βόες τοῖσι ταύροισιν. ἐπεὰν ὧν τῷ ἔρκει πελάσῳσι, τὴν τε φωνὴν ἀκούοντες τῶν θηλέων καὶ τῇ ὁσμῇ αἰσθόμενοι, δρόμῳ ἵενται ὡς ἐπὶ τὸν χώρον τὸν πεφραγμένον· ἐκπεριελθόντες δὲ τῆς τάφρου τὰ χεῖλεα εὖτ' ἂν τῇ γεφύρῃ ἐπιτύχωσιν, κατὰ ταύτην

13. The Indians hunt wild animals in general in the same way as the Greeks, but their way of hunting elephants is unique, like the animals themselves.¹ They choose a level place, open to the sun's
 2 heat, and dig a ditch in a circle, large enough for a great army to camp in, about thirty feet broad and 24 deep. The earth thrown out
 3 of the ditch is heaped on either side, and used as a wall; then they
 4 make dug-out shelters for themselves beneath the mound on the outside lip of the ditch, and leave small windows in them through which the light reaches them, and they can see the animals coming up to and charging up to the enclosure. Within the enclosure they
 5 put three or four of the tamest females and leave only one entrance in the ditch by making a bridge over it, where they heap a great deal of earth and grass so that the animals cannot distinguish the
 6 bridge, in case they might suspect a trap. The hunters themselves keep out of the way, hiding in the shelters under the ditch. Now the wild elephants do not approach inhabited places by daylight, but at night they wander everywhere and feed in herds, following the largest and finest of their number, as cows follow bulls. When they
 7 get near the enclosure and hear the voice of the females and scent their presence, they charge to the enclosed place and, working round the outside edge of the ditch, find the bridge and shove their way

1 From Meg., cf. S. xv 1, 42 f., cf. D. ii 42 for chs. 13 f. S. adds information from N. and Onesicritus.

8 ἐς τὸ ἔρκος ὠθέονται. οἱ δὲ ἄνθρωποι αἰσθόμενοι τὴν ἔσοδον
 τῶν ἐλεφάντων τῶν ἀγρίων, οἱ μὲν αὐτῶν τὴν γέφυραν ὀξέως
 ἀφείλον, οἱ δὲ ἐπὶ τὰς πέλας κώμας ἀποδραμόντες
 9 ἀγγέλλουσι τοὺς ἐλέφαντας ὅτι ἐν τῷ ἔρκει ἔχονται· οἱ δὲ
 ἀκούσαντες ἐπιβαίνουσι τῶν κρατίστων τε τὸν θυμὸν καὶ
 [τῶν] χειροηθεστάτων ἐλεφάντων, ἐπιβάντες δὲ ἐλαύνουσι ὡς
 ἐπὶ τὸ ἔρκος, ἐλάσαντες δὲ οὐκ αὐτίκα μάχης ἄπτονται, ἀλλ'
 ἐῶσι γὰρ λιμῷ τε ταλαιπωρηθῆναι τοὺς ἀγρίους ἐλέφαντας
 10 καὶ ὑπὸ τῷ δίψει δουλωθῆναι. εὐτ' ἂν δέ σφισι κακῶς ἔχειν
 δοκέωσι, τηνικαῦτα ἐπιστήσαντες αὐθις τὴν γέφυραν
 ἐλαύνουσί τε ὡς ἐς τὸ ἔρκος, καὶ τὰ μὲν πρῶτα μάχη ἴσταται
 κρατερῇ τοῖσι ἡμέροισι τῶν ἐλεφάντων πρὸς τοὺς ἐαλωκότας·
 ἔπειτα κρατέονται μὲν κατὰ τὸ εἰκὸς οἱ ἄγριοι ὑπὸ τε τῇ
 11 ἀθυμίῃ καὶ τῷ λιμῷ ταλαιπωρούμενοι. οἱ δὲ ἀπὸ τῶν
 ἐλεφάντων καταβάντες παρειμένοισιν ἤδη τοῖσι ἀγρίοισι
 τοὺς πόδας ἄκρους συνδέουσιν, ἔπειτα ἐγκελεύονται τοῖσι
 ἡμέροισι πληγαῖς σφᾶς κολάζειν πολλαῖς, ἔστ' ἂν ἐκεῖνοι
 ταλαιπωρούμενοι ἐς γῆν πέσωσι. παραστάντες δὲ βρόχους
 περιβάλλουσι αὐτοῖσι κατὰ τοὺς ἀνχένας, καὶ αὐτοὶ
 12 ἐπιβαίνουσι κειμένοισι. τοῦ δὲ μὴ ἀποσείεσθαι τοὺς ἀμβάτας
 μηδέ τι ἄλλο ἀτάσθαλον ἐργάζεσθαι, τὸν τράχηλον αὐτοῖσι
 ἐν κύκλῳ μαχαιρίῳ ὀξείῃ ἐπιτέμνουσι, καὶ τὸν βρόχον κατὰ
 τὴν τομὴν περιδέουσιν, ὡς ἀτρέμα ἔχειν τὴν κεφαλὴν τε καὶ
 13 τὸν τράχηλον ὑπὸ τοῦ ἔλκεος. εἰ γὰρ περιστρέφοντο ὑπὸ
 ἀτασθαλίας, τρίβεται αὐτοῖσι τὸ ἔλκος ὑπὸ τῷ κάλῳ. οὕτω
 μὲν ὦν ἀτρέμα ἴσχουσι καὶ αὐτοὶ γνωσιμαχέοντες ἤδη
 ἄγονται κατὰ τὸν δεσμὸν πρὸς τῶν ἡμέρων.

8 over it into the enclosure. The hunters observe the entry of the wild
 elephants; some smartly remove the bridge, others run off to the
 neighbouring villages and report that the elephants are caught in
 9 the enclosure, and the inhabitants on hearing the news mount the
 most spirited and manageable elephants and drive them towards
 the enclosure, but on arrival they do not at once join battle, but let
 the wild elephants grow distressed by hunger and mastered by
 10 thirst. Only when they think they are in a bad way, do they erect the
 bridge again, and drive into the enclosure. At first there is a fierce
 battle between the tame elephants and the captives, and then, as
 one would expect, the wild elephants are overcome, distressed as
 they are by sinking of their spirits and hunger. Then the men
 11 dismount from their elephants, tie together the feet of the wild
 elephants, which are now exhausted, and then order the tame
 elephants to punish the rest by repeated blows, till in their distress
 they fall to the ground; they then stand by them, throw nooses
 12 round their necks and climb on them as they lie there. To prevent
 them tossing their drivers or doing them an injury, they make an
 incision round their necks with a sharp knife, and bind the noose
 round the cut, so that the sore makes them keep their head and
 13 neck still; if they were to turn round to do mischief, the wound
 beneath the rope would chafe them. So they keep quiet and,
 knowing themselves beaten, they are roped to the tame elephants
 and led away.

14. ὅσοι δὲ νήπιοι αὐτῶν ἢ διὰ κακότητα οὐκ ἄξιοι
 2 ἐκτῆσθαι, τούτους ἐὼσι ἀπαλλάττεσθαι ἐς τὰ σφέτερα ἤθεα.
 ἀγκαγόντες δὲ εἰς τὰς κόμας τοὺς ἀλόντας τοῦ τε χλωροῦ
 3 καλάμου καὶ τῆς πόας τὰ πρῶτα ἐμφαγεῖν ἔδοσαν, οἱ δὲ ὑπὸ
 ἀθυμίας οὐκ ἐθέλουσιν οὐδὲν σιτέεσθαι, τοὺς δὲ περιστάμενοι
 οἱ Ἴνδοι ῥδαῖσι τε καὶ τυμπάνοισι καὶ κυμβάλοισιν ἐν κύκλῳ
 4 κρούοντές τε καὶ ἐπάδοντες κατευνάζουσι. θυμόσοφον γὰρ
 εἶπερ τι ἄλλο θηρίου ὁ ἐλέφας, καὶ τινες ἤδη αὐτῶν τοὺς
 ἀμβάτας σφῶν ἐν πολέμῳ ἀποθανόντας ἄραντες αὐτοὶ
 ἐξήνεγκαν ἐς ταφήν, οἱ δὲ καὶ ὑπερήσπισαν κειμένους, οἱ δὲ
 καὶ πεσόντων προεκινδύνευσαν, ὁ δὲ τις πρὸς ὀργὴν
 5 ἀποκτείνας τὸν ἀμβάτην ὑπὸ μετανοίης τε καὶ ἀθυμίας
 ἀπέθανεν. εἶδον δὲ ἔγωγε καὶ κυμβαλίζοντα ἤδη ἐλέφαντα καὶ
 ἄλλους ὀρχομένους, κυμβάλου τῷ κυμβαλίζοντι πρὸς τοῖν
 σκελοῖν τοῖν ἔμπροσθεν προσηρτημένοι, καὶ πρὸς τῇ
 6 προβοσκίδι καλομένη ἄλλον κυμβάλου ὁ δὲ ἐν μέρει τῇ
 προβοσκίδι ἔκρουε τὸ κύμβαλον ἐν ῥυθμῷ πρὸς ἑκατέρου
 τοῖν σκελοῖν, οἱ δὲ ὀρχεόμενοι ἐν κύκλῳ τε ἐχόρευον, καὶ
 ἐπαίροντές τε καὶ ἐπικάμπτοντες τὰ ἔμπροσθεν σκέλεα ἐν τῷ
 7 μέρει ἐν ῥυθμῷ καὶ οὗτοι ἔβαινον, καθότι ὁ κυμβαλίζων
 σφίσις ὑφηγέετο. βαίνεται δὲ ἐλέφας ἡρὸς ὄρη, κατάπερ βοῦς
 ἢ ἵππος, ἐπεὰν τῆσι θηλέησιν αἱ παρὰ τοῖσι κροτάφοισιν
 ἀναπνοαὶ ἀνοιχθεῖσαι ἐκπνέωσιν. κύει δὲ τοὺς ἐλαχίστους μὲν
 ἐκκαίδεκα μῆνας, τοὺς πλείστους δὲ ὀκτωκαίδεκα. τίκει δὲ ἔν,
 8 κατάπερ ἵππος, καὶ τοῦτο ἐκτρέφει τῷ γάλακτι ἐς ἔτος ὄγδοον.
 ζῶσι δὲ ἐλεφάντων οἱ πλείστα ἔτεα ζῶντες ἐς διηκόσια,
 πολλοὶ δὲ νόσῳ προτελευτῶσιν

14. Elephants not yet full grown or not worth acquiring because
 of a defect are released to their own haunts. The captives are led off
 2 to the villages and first of all given green stalks and grass to eat;
 3 from want of spirit they are not willing to eat anything; so the
 Indians range themselves round about them and lull them to sleep
 with songs, drums and cymbals, beating and singing. For if there is
 4 an intelligent animal, it is the elephant. Some elephants, when their
 drivers have died in battle, have actually caught them up and
 carried them to burial; others have protected them where they lay
 or risked their own lives for the fallen; one indeed, who in a passion
 killed his driver, died from remorse and grief. I myself have seen an
 5 elephant actually clanging the cymbals and others dancing; two
 cymbals were fastened to the player's forelegs, and another on his
 6 trunk, and with his trunk he rhythmically beat the cymbal on either
 leg in turn; the dancers danced in a circle; raising and bending their
 forelegs in turn, they too kept in rhythm as their cymbalist gave the
 7 beat. The elephants mate in spring, like cattle and horses, when the
 breathing places by the temples of the females open and exhale; she
 gives birth after sixteen months at the least, eighteen at most; she
 has one foal, like a mare, which she suckles till its eighth year.¹ The
 8 longest-lived elephants survive to two hundred years, if they reach
 old age, though

¹ Six years in S. xv 1, 43; D. ii 42; probably A. or a copyist is at fault.

9 αὐτῶν γήρα δὲ ἐς τόσον ἔρχονται. καὶ ἔστιν αὐτοῖσι τῶν μὲν
ὀφθαλμῶν ἴαμα τὸ βόειον γάλα ἐγχεόμενον, πρὸς δὲ τὰς
ἄλλας νόσους ὁ μέλας οἶνος πινόμενος, ἐπὶ δὲ τοῖσιν ἔλκεσι
τὰ ὕβρια κρέα ὀπτώμενα καὶ καταπλασσομένα· ταῦτα παρ'
Ἰνδοῖσιν ἔστιν αὐτοῖσι ἰάματα.

15. τοῦ δὲ ἐλέφαντος τὴν τίγριν πολλόν τι ἀλκιμωτέραν
Ἰνδοὶ ἄγουσι. τίγριος δὲ δορὴν μὲν ἰδεῖν λέγει Νέαρχος,
αὐτὴν δὲ τίγριν οὐκ ἰδεῖν· ἀλλὰ τοὺς Ἰνδοὺς γὰρ ἀπηγγέσθαι,
τίγριν εἶναι μέγεθος μὲν ἡλίκον τὸν μέγιστον ἵππον, τὴν δὲ
2 ὠκύτητα καὶ ἀλκὴν οἶην οὐδενὶ ἄλλῳ εἰκάσαι· τίγριν γὰρ
ἐπεὰν ὁμοῦ ἔλθῃ ἐλέφαντι, ἐπιπηδᾶν τε ἐπὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν τοῦ
3 ἐλέφαντος καὶ ἄγχειν εὐπετέως. ταύτας δέ, ἄστινας καὶ ἡμεῖς
4 ὀρέομεν καὶ τίγριας καλέομεν, θῶας εἶναι αἰόλους καὶ μέζονας
ἤπερ τοὺς ἄλλους θῶας. ἐπεὶ καὶ ὑπὲρ τῶν μυρμηκῶν λέγει
Νέαρχος μύρμηκα μὲν αὐτὸς οὐκ ἰδέειν, ὁποῖον δὲ τινα
μετεξέτεροι διέγραψαν γίνεσθαι ἐν τῇ Ἰνδῶν γῆ, δορὰς δὲ καὶ
τούτων ἰδεῖν πολλὰς ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον κατακομισθείσας τὸ
5 Μακεδονικόν. Μεγασθένης δὲ καὶ ἀτρεκέα εἶναι ὑπὲρ τῶν
μυρμηκῶν τὸν λόγον ἱστορεῖ τούτους εἶναι τοὺς τὸν χρυσὸν
ὀρύσσοντας, οὐκ αὐτοῦ τοῦ χρυσοῦ ἕνεκα, ἀλλὰ φύσι γὰρ
κατὰ τῆς ὀρύσσουσιν, ἵνα φωλεύσασιν, κατάπερ οἱ ἡμέτεροι οἱ
6 σμικροὶ μύρμηκες ὀλίγον τῆς γῆς ὀρύσσουσιν. ἐκείνους δέ—
εἶναι γὰρ ἀλωπεκέων μέζονας—πρὸς λόγον τοῦ μεγέθους
σφῶν καὶ τὴν γῆν ὀρύσσειν· τὴν δὲ γῆν χρυσίτιν εἶναι, καὶ
7 ἀπὸ ταύτης γίνεσθαι Ἰνδοῖσι τὸν χρυσόν. ἀλλὰ Μεγασθένης
τε ἀκοὴν ἀπηγγέεται, καὶ ἐγὼ ὅτι οὐδὲν τούτου ἀτρεκέστερον
ἀναγράψαι ἔχω, ἀπίημι

9 many die before that of disease. A remedy for affections of their
eyes is pouring in cows' milk, for their other sicknesses a draught of
dark wine, and for their wounds swine's flesh roasted and plastered
on. These are remedies the Indians apply to them.

15. The Indians regard the tiger as much stronger than the
elephant. Nearchus says that he had only seen a tiger's skin but not
a tiger, but that by Indian accounts the tiger is equal in size to the
largest horse, and its swiftness and strength unequalled, for, when a
2 tiger meets an elephant, it leaps on his head and throttles him
3 easily; he adds that the creatures *we* see and call tigers are jackals,
4 dappled and larger than the other jackals.¹ As for the ants,
Nearchus says that he himself saw none of the sort which some
writers have described as native to India but that he did see many
5 of their skins brought into the Macedonian camp.² Megasthenes,
however, recounts that the story told of the ants is true: these ants
do dig up gold, not indeed for the gold itself, but they naturally
burrow in the earth to make hiding holes, just as our small ants
6 excavate a little earth; but these ants, which are bigger than foxes,
also dig up earth proportionate to their size; the earth is auriferous,
and the Indians get their gold from it. Megasthenes, however,
7 merely recounts hearsay, and as I have no more accurate
information to record on the subject I readily pass over the tale

1 See Jacoby on Nearchus F. 7, cf. perhaps D. ii 50, 2. A. ignores the account of Meg., who had seen tigers (S. xv 1, 37).

2 A. ignores N's statement that they were like leopard skins; for Meg's account cf. S. xv 1, 44. See v 4, 3 n.; Hdt. iii 102 ff.; O. Stein, *RE* xv 236 ff.; it was perhaps an Indian legend, cf. § 7 ('hearsay').

8 ἐκὼν τὸν ὑπὲρ τῶν μυρμηκῶν λόγον. σιττακοὺς δὲ Νέαρχος
 μὲν ὡς δὴ τι θαῦμα ἀπηγγέεται ὅτι γίνονται ἐν τῇ Ἰνδῶν γῆ,
 9 καὶ ὁποῖος ὄρνις ἐστὶν ὁ σιττακός, καὶ ὅπως φωνὴν ἴει
 ἀνθρωπίνην. ἐγὼ δὲ ὅτι αὐτός τε πολλοὺς ὁπώπεα καὶ ἄλλους
 ἐπισταμένους ἤδεα τὸν ὄρνιθα, οὐδὲν ὡς <ὑπὲρ> ἀτόπου δῆθεν
 ἀπηγγέσομαι· οὐδὲ ὑπὲρ τῶν πιθήκων τοῦ μεγέθεος, ἧ ὅτι
 καλοὶ παρ' Ἰνδοῖς πίθηκοί εἰσιν, οὐδὲ ὅπως θηρῶνται ἐρέω.
 καὶ γὰρ ταῦτα γνώριμα ἐρῶ, πλήν γε δὴ ὅτι καλοὶ πού
 10 πίθηκοί εἰσιν. καὶ ὄφιας δὲ λέγει Νέαρχος θηρευθῆναι
 αἰόλους μὲν καὶ ταχέας, μέγαθος δέ, ὃν μὲν λέγει ἐλεῖν
 Πείθωνα τὸν Ἀντιγένεος, πήχεων ὡς ἐκκαίδεκα. αὐτοὺς δὲ τοὺς
 11 Ἰνδοὺς πολὺ μείζονας τούτων λέγειν εἶναι τοὺς μεγίστους
 ὄφιας. ὅσοι δὲ ἰητροὶ Ἑλληνες, τούτοισιν οὐδὲν ἄκος
 ἐξεύρητο ὅστις ὑπὸ ὄφεως δηχθείη Ἰνδικοῦ· ἀλλ' αὐτοὶ γὰρ οἱ
 Ἰνδοὶ ἰῶντο τοὺς πληγέντας. καὶ ἐπὶ τῷδε Νέαρχος λέγει
 <ὅτι> συλλελεγμένους ἀμφ' αὐτὸν εἶχεν Ἀλέξανδρος Ἰνδῶν
 ὅσοι ἰητρικὴν σοφώτατοι, καὶ κεκήρυκτο ἀνὰ τὸ στρατόπεδον,
 12 ὅστις δηχθείη, ἐπὶ τὴν σκηνὴν φοιτᾶν τὴν βασιλέως. οἱ δὲ
 αὐτοὶ οὗτοι καὶ τῶν ἄλλων νούσων τε καὶ παθέων ἰητροὶ
 ἦσαν. οὐ πολλὰ δὲ ἐν Ἰνδοῖσι πάθηα γίνεται, ὅτι αἱ ὄραι
 σύμμετροί εἰσιν αὐτόθι· εἰ δέ τι μείζον καταλαμβάνοι, τοῖσι
 σοφιστῆσιν ἀνεκοινοῦντο· καὶ ἐκεῖνοι οὐκ ἄνευ θεοῦ ἐδόκεον
 ἰῆσθαι ὅ τι περ ἰήσιμον.

16. ἐσθήτη δὲ Ἰνδοὶ λινέη χρέονται, κατάπερ

8 about the ants. Nearchus recounts as a kind of marvel that parrots
 are found in India, and describes the sort of bird a parrot is and
 how it utters a human voice. But as I have seen many myself and
 9 know that others are acquainted with the bird, I shall of course not
 say anything of it as an oddity, nor shall I speak of the size of the
 apes, of the beauty of some found in India or of the method of
 capture. For I should only say what everyone knows, except
 10 perhaps that there are beautiful apes.³ Nearchus also says that
 snakes were hunted there, dappled and swift; and that the snake he
 says Pithon son of Antigenes caught was about sixteen cubits long,
 but that the Indians themselves say that the largest snakes are much
 11 larger. No Greek physicians discovered a remedy against Indian
 snakebite, but the Indians themselves used to cure those who were
 struck, and Nearchus adds that Alexander had collected and kept by
 him all the Indians most skilled in medicine, and had it announced
 in camp that anyone bitten by a snake was to go to the royal tent.
 12 The same men were physicians for other diseases and injuries as
 well. But there are not many illnesses in India, since the seasons are
 temperate there. If anyone were seriously ill, they would inform the
 sophists, who were thought to use divine help to cure what could be
 cured.⁴

16. The Indians wear linen garments according to

3 Yet the stories in Clitarchus F. 19 (cf. D. 90) and S. xv 1, 29, a chapter probably derived from Ar. (cf. App. XVII 18), are remarkable. A. now takes no account of Ar.

4 Cf. S. xv 1, 45 (N.) and 60 (Meg. on Indian medicine). A. writes of Indian snakes nowhere else, but see also Onesicritus and Ar. *ap.* S. xv 1, 28 and 45; 2, 7 (N.); Clitarchus F. 18; D. 90: they were among the most feared perils of the Indian campaigns.

λέγει Νέαρχος, λίνου τοῦ ἀπὸ τῶν δεινδρέων, ὑπὲρ ὅτων μοι ἤδη λέλεκται. τὸ δὲ λίνον τοῦτο ἢ λαμπρότερον τὴν χροίην ἔστιν ἄλλου λίνου παντός, ἢ μέλανες αὐτοὶ ἐόντες
 2 λαμπρότερον τὸ λίνον φαίνεσθαι ποιέουσιν. ἔστι δὲ κιθῶν λίνεος αὐτοῖς ἔσται ἐπὶ μέσην τὴν κνήμην, εἶμα δὲ τὸ μὲν περὶ
 3 τοῖσιν ὤμοισι περιβεβλημένον, τὸ δὲ περὶ τῆσι κεφαλῆσιν εἰλιγμένον. καὶ ἐνώτια Ἴνδοι φορέουσιν ἐλέφαντος ὅσοι κάρτα
 4 εὐδαίμονες· οὐ γὰρ πάντες Ἴνδοι φορέουσι. τοὺς δὲ πώγωνα λέγει Νέαρχος ὅτι βάπτονται Ἴνδοί, χροίην δὲ ἄλλην καὶ ἄλλην <βάπτονται>, οἱ μὲν ὡς λευκοὺς φαίνεσθαι οἶους λευκοτάτους, οἱ δὲ κυανέους, τοῖς δὲ φοινικέους εἶναι, τοῖς δὲ
 5 καὶ πορφυρέους, ἄλλοις πρασοειδέας· καὶ σκιάδια ὅτι προβάλλονται τοῦ θέρεος ὅσοι οὐκ ἡμελημένοι Ἰνδῶν. ὑποδήματα δὲ λευκοῦ δέρματος φορέουσι, περιπτῶς καὶ ταῦτα ἡσκημένα· καὶ τὰ ἴχνη τῶν ὑποδημάτων αὐτοῖσι ποικίλα καὶ ὑψηλά, τοῦ μέζονας φαίνεσθαι.
 6 ὀπλίσιος δὲ τῆς Ἰνδῶν οὐκ ὠντὸς εἰς τρόπον ἄλλ' οἱ μὲν πεζοὶ αὐτοῖσι τόξον τε ἔχουσι, ἰσόμηκες τῷ φορέοντι τὸ τόξον, καὶ τοῦτο κάτω ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν θέντες καὶ τῷ ποδὶ τῷ ἀριστερῷ ἀντιβάντες, οὕτως ἐκτοξεύουσι, τὴν νευρὴν ἐπὶ μέγα
 7 ὀπίσω ἀπαγαγόντες· ὁ γὰρ ὀιστὸς αὐτοῖσιν ὀλίγον ἀποδέων τριπήχεος, οὐδέ τι ἀντέχει τοξευθὲν πρὸς Ἰνδοῦ ἀνδρὸς τοξικῶ, οὔτε ἀσπίς οὔτε θώρηξ οὔτε <εἶ> τι <τὸ κάρτα> καρτερὸν ἐγένετο. ἐν δὲ τῆσιν ἀριστερῆσιν πέλται εἰσὶν αὐτοῖσιν ὠμοβόιναι, στεινότεραι μὲν ἢ κατὰ τοὺς φορέοντας,
 9 μήκει δὲ οὐ πολλὸν ἀποδέουσι. τοῖσι δὲ ἄκοντες ἀντὶ τόξων εἰσὶ. μάχαιραν δὲ πάντες φορέουσι, πλατεῖην δὲ καὶ τὸ μήκος οὐ

Nearchus, the linen coming from the trees of which I have already made mention.¹ This linen is brighter in colour than any other, or else the people's own blackness makes it appear brighter. They wear
 2 a linen tunic down to the middle of the calf, one garment thrown about their shoulders, and another wound round their heads. Some
 3, 4 wear ivory earrings, but only if they are very rich. Nearchus says that they dye their beards but with various colours; some make them look as white as possible, others are dark-blue, crimson,
 5 purple or grass-green. All the respectable Indians use sunshades against the summer heat. They have sandals of white skin, and these elaborately fashioned; and the heels of their sandals are of different colours, and high to make them look taller.
 6 Indian war equipment is not all the same; the infantry have a bow as tall as the archer, which they base on the ground, and set their left foot on it before shooting, drawing the bowstring a very
 7 long way back; for their arrows are little short of three cubits, and an arrow shot by an Indian archer penetrates anything, shield or breastplate or any armour, however strong. In their left hands they
 8 carry small shields of raw hide, narrower than their bodies, but not
 9 much shorter. Others have javelins in place of bows. All carry a broad sword, not less than three cubits long.

1 Cotton, cf. 7, 3. See Strabo xv 1, 20 (N. and Ar.): Onesicritus F. 23; Theophrastus, *Hist. of Plants* iv, 4, 8; 7, 7; QC. viii 9, 21. A. omits most of what N. and others wrote on Indian plants (S. 20 f.), and selects only a few items from N's account of Indian customs (S. 66 f.); in this ch. he follows N. in preference to Meg. (S. 53-6).

μείω τριπήχεος· καὶ ταύτην, ἐπεὰν συστάδην καταστή
 αὐτοῖσιν ἢ μάχη—τὸ δὲ οὐκ εὐμαρέως Ἰνδοῖσιν ἐς ἀλλήλους
 γίνεται—ἀμφοῖν τοῖν χεροῖν καταφέρουσιν ἐς τὴν πληγὴν, τοῦ
 10 καρτερὴν τὴν πληγὴν γενέσθαι. οἱ δὲ ἵππῆες ἀκόντια δύο
 αὐτοῖσιν ἔχουσιν, οἷα τὰ σαύνια ἀκόντια, καὶ πέλτην [τὴν]
 μικροτέρην τῶν πεζῶν. οἱ δὲ ἵπποι αὐτοῖσιν οὐ σεσαγμένοι
 εἰσίν, οὐδὲ χαλινοῦνται τοῖσιν Ἑλληνικοῖσι χαλινοῖσιν ἢ
 11 τοῖσι Κελτικοῖσιν ἐμφερέως, ἀλλὰ περὶ ἄκρω τῷ στόματι τοῦ
 ἵππου ἐν κύκλῳ ἔχουσι δέρμα ὠμοβόινον ῥαπτὸν
 περιηρημένον, καὶ ἐν τούτῳ χάλκεα κέντρα ἢ σιδήρεα, οὐ
 κάρτα ὀξέα, ἔσω ἐστραμμένα· τοῖσι δὲ πλουσίοισιν
 ἐλεφάντινα κέντρα ἐστίν. ἐν δὲ τῷ στόματι σίδηρον αὐτοῖσιν
 12 οἱ ἵπποι ἔχουσιν, οἷόν περ ὀβελόν, ἔνθεν ἐξηρητημένοι εἰσίν
 αὐτοῖσιν οἱ ῥυτήρες· ἐπεὰν ὦν ἐπαγάγωσι τὸν ῥυτήρα, ὃ τε
 ὀβελὸς κρατεῖ τὸν ἵππον, καὶ τὰ κέντρα, οἷα δὴ ἐξ αὐτοῦ
 ἠρητημένα, κεντέοντα οὐκ ἔα ἄλλο τι ἢ πείθεσθαι τῷ ῥυτήρι.

17. τὰ δὲ σώματα ἰσχυροὶ τέ εἰσιν Ἰνδοὶ καὶ εὐμήκεες, καὶ
 κούφοι πολλόν τι ὑπὲρ τοὺς ἄλλους ἀνθρώπους. ὀχήματα δὲ
 τοῖς μὲν πολλοῖς Ἰνδῶν κάμηλοὶ εἰσιν καὶ ἵπποι καὶ ὄνοι, τοῖς
 2 δὲ εὐδαίμοσιν ἐλέφαντες. βασιλικὸν γὰρ ὄχημα ἐλέφας παρ'
 Ἰνδοῖς ἐστί, δεύτερον δὲ τιμῇ ἐπὶ τούτῳ τὰ τέθριππα, τρίτον
 3 δὲ αἱ κάμηλοι. τὸ δὲ ἐφ' ἐνὸς ἵππου ὀχέεσθαι ἄτιμον. αἱ
 γυναῖκες δὲ αὐτοῖσιν, ὅσαι κάρτα σώφρονες, ἐπὶ μὲν ἄλλῳ
 μισθῷ οὐκ ἂν τι διαμάρτοιεν, ἐλέφαντα δὲ λαβοῦσα γυνή
 μίσγεται τῷ δόντι οὐδὲ αἰσχρὸν Ἰνδοὶ ἄγουσι τὸ ἐπὶ
 ἐλέφαντι μιγῆναι, ἀλλὰ καὶ σεμνὸν δοκεῖ τῆσι

and when they have a hand to hand fight—and Indians do not
 readily fight in this way among themselves—they bring it down with
 both hands in smiting, so as to make the stroke heavy. Their
 10 horsemen have two javelins, like lances, and a small shield, smaller
 than the infantry. Their horses are not saddled nor do they use bits
 like the Greek or Celtic, but a band of stitched rawhide is fitted
 11 round the muzzle of the horse, with bronze or iron goads, not very
 sharp, turned inwards. The rich use goads of ivory. Inside their
 mouths their horses have a piece of iron like a spit, to which the
 reins are attached. And so when the rein is pulled, the spit controls
 12 the horse and, since the goads are attached to it, they prick the
 horse and compel him to obey the rein.

17. Physically the Indians are lean, tall and much lighter in
 movement than other men.¹ Most of them ride on camels, horses
 and asses, the rich on elephants. For the elephant in India is a royal
 2 mount; second to it in dignity is a four-horse chariot, and camels
 3 come third; to ride on a single horse is low. All their very modest
 women would not misconduct themselves for any reward, except
 that they have intercourse with anyone who gives them an elephant;
 nor do the Indians regard intercourse as a disgrace at the price of
 an elephant, but they actually think it splendid for

¹ N. is the source for § 3 f. (S. xv 1, 43 and 66) and presumably
 throughout the ch. Contrast Meg. (ib. 41; cf. D. ii 36, 1), who wrote
 perhaps only of Chandragupta's kingdom.

4 γυναιξὶν ἀξίην τὸ κάλλος φανῆναι ἐλέφαντος. γαμέουσι δὲ
 οὔτε τι διδόντες οὔτε λαμβάνοντες, ἀλλὰ ὅσαι ἤδη ὠραῖαι
 γάμου, ταύτας οἱ πατέρες προάγοντες ἐς τὸ ἐμφανὲς
 καθιστάσιν ἐκλέξασθαι τῷ νικήσαντι πάλην ἢ πῦξ ἢ δρόμον
 5 ἢ κατ' ἄλλην τινὰ ἀνδρείαν προκριθέντι. σιτοφάγοι δὲ καὶ
 ἀροτῆρες Ἴνδοί εἰσιν, ὅσοι γε μὴ ὄρειοι αὐτῶν· οὔτοι δὲ τὰ
 θήρεια κρέα σιτέονται.
 6 ταῦτά μοι ἀπόχρη δεδηλωσθαι ὑπὲρ Ἰνδῶν, ὅσα
 7 γνωριμώτατα Νέαρχός τε καὶ Μεγασθένης, δοκίμω ἄνδρε,
 ἀνεγραψάτην, ἐπεὶ οὐδὲ ἡ ὑπόθεσις μοι τῆσδε τῆς συγγραφῆς
 τὰ Ἰνδῶν νόμιμα ἀναγράψαι ἦν, ἀλλ' ὅπως γὰρ παρεκομίσθη
 Ἀλεξάνδρῳ ἐς Πέρσας ἐξ Ἰνδῶν ὁ στόλος· ταῦτα δὲ ἐκβολή
 μοι ἔστω τοῦ λόγου.

18. Ἀλέξανδρος γάρ, ἐπειδὴ οἱ παρεσκευάστο τὸ ναυτικὸν
 ἐπὶ τοῦ Ὑδάσπεω τῆσιν ὄχθησιν, ἐπιλεγόμενος ὅσοι τε
 Φοινίκων καὶ ὅσοι Κύπριοι ἢ Αἰγύπτιοι εἶποντο ἐν τῇ ἄνω
 στρατηλασίῃ, ἐκ τούτων ἐπλήρου τὰς νέας, ὑπηρεσίας τε
 2 αὐτῆσι καὶ ἐρέτας ἐπιλεγόμενος ὅσοι τῶν θαλασσίων ἔργων
 δαήμονες. ἦσαν δὲ καὶ νησιῶται ἄνδρες οὐκ ὀλίγοι ἐν τῇ
 3 στρατιῇ οἷς ταῦτα ἔμελε, καὶ Ἴωνες καὶ Ἑλλησπόντιοι.
 τριήραρχοι δὲ αὐτῷ ἐπεστάθησαν ἐκ Μακεδόνων μὲν
 Ἐφαιστίων τε Ἀμύντορος καὶ Λεόννατος ὁ Εὔνου¹ καὶ
 Λυσίμαχος ὁ Ἀγαθοκλέους καὶ Ἀσκληπιόδωρος ὁ Τιμάνδρου
 καὶ Ἄρχων

1 See textual note on *Anab.* iii 5, 5. Jacoby proposed ὁ < . . . καὶ
 Ἀσκληπιόδωρος ὁ > Εὐκνί > κου.

the women that their beauty should seem to be as valuable as an
 4 elephant. They marry without giving or receiving anything; all girls
 at the marriageable age are brought out by their fathers and
 exposed to the public choice of victors in wrestling, boxing or
 running, or anyone distinguished for any other manly quality. The
 5 Indians eat grain and till the ground, except the mountaineers, who
 eat the flesh of game.²

6 This must be enough by way of description of the Indians; I
 have given the most notable things recorded by Nearchus and
 Megasthenes, men worthy of credit, but as it was not even my main
 7 subject in this work to record Indian customs but the way in which
 Alexander's navy reached Persia from India, this must all be
 accounted a digression.

18. When the fleet was made ready for Alexander on the banks
 of the Hydaspes, he picked out all the Phoenicians, Cypriotes and
 Egyptians who had followed the expedition up-country and used
 them to man his ships, picking out for their crews and rowers all
 2 who were skilled in seafaring. There were also a good many
 islanders in the army, practised in these things, and Ionians and
 3 Hellenes.¹ As trierarchs² he appointed the following
 Macedonians: Hephaestion son of Amyntor, Leonnatus son of
 Eunous,³ Lysimachus son of Agathocles, Asclepiodorus son of
 Timander, Archon son of Clinias,

2 Cf. 11, 9 f. A. is deficient on the economy (App. XVII 9).

1 For 18 f. (N.) see vi 1–4 (mainly Pt.) with notes. Crews: vi 1, 6;
 App. XXV 1 f.

2 The title is presumably honorific; no triremes are mentioned in
 the flotilla or in the Ocean fleet (contrast vii 19, 3). The men named
 include many of the most eminent Companions, some of whom
 marched by land throughout.

3 So the MS reads, but cf. critical note.

ὁ Κλεινίου καὶ Δημόνικος ὁ Ἀθηναίου καὶ Ἀρχίας ὁ
 4 Ἀναξιδότου καὶ Ὀφέλλας Σειληνοῦ καὶ Τιμάνθης Παντιάδου.
 οὗτοι μὲν Πελλαῖοι· ἐκ δὲ Ἀμφιπόλεως ἦγον οἶδε [ἐκ Κρήτης]²
 Νέαρχος Ἀνδροτίμου, ὃς τὰ ἀμφὶ τῷ παράπλω ἀνέγραψε, καὶ
 5 Λαομέδων Λαρίχου, καὶ Ἀνδροσθένης Καλλιστράτου· ἐκ δὲ
 Ὀρεστίδος Κράτερός τε ὁ Ἀλεξάνδρου καὶ Περδίκκας ὁ
 Ὀρόντεω· Ἐορδαῖοι δὲ Πτολεμαῖός τε ὁ Λάγου καὶ
 Ἀριστόνους ὁ Πεισαίου. ἐκ Πύδνης δὲ Μήτρων τε ὁ
 6 Ἐπιχάρμου καὶ Νικαρχίδης ὁ Σίμου. ἐπὶ δὲ Ἄτταλός τε ὁ
 Ἀνδρομένεος Τυμφαῖος καὶ Πευκέστας Ἀλεξάνδρου Μιεζεύς
 καὶ Πείθων Κρατεῦα Ἀλκομενεὺς καὶ Λεόννατος Ἀντιπάτρου
 Αἰγαῖος καὶ Πάνταυχος Νικολάου Ἀλωρίτης καὶ Μυλλέας
 7 Ζωΐλου Βεροιαῖος. οὗτοι μὲν οἱ σύμπαντες Μακεδόνες·
 Ἑλλήνων δὲ Μήδιος μὲν Ὀξυθέμιδος Λαρισαῖος, Εὐμένης δὲ
 Ἱερωνύμου ἐκ Καρδίας, Κριτόβουλος δὲ Πλάτωνος Κῶος, καὶ
 8 Θόας Μανδροδώρου¹ καὶ Μαΐανδρος Μανδρογένεος Μάγνητες,
 ἄνδρων δὲ Καβήλεω Τήμιος. Κυπρίων δὲ Νικοκλέης
 Πασικράτεος Σόλιος καὶ Νιθάφων Πνυταγόρεω Σαλαμίνιος.
 9 ἦν δὲ δὴ καὶ Πέρσης αὐτῷ τριήραρχος, Βαγώας ὁ
 Φαρνούχεος. τῆς δὲ αὐτοῦ Ἀλεξάνδρου

² See historical note.

¹ Μηνοδώρου codd., Roos, but cf. *Anab.* vi 23, 2; Berve ii 181 n. 1.

Demonicus son of Athenaeus, Archias son of Anaxidotus, Ophelias
 son of Silenus, Timanthes son of Pantiades, all from Pella. The
 4 following commanders came from Amphipolis⁴: Nearchus son of
 Androtimus, who recorded the coastal voyage, Laomedon son of
 Larichus, Androstheneis son of Callistratus; the following from
 5 Orestis: Craterus son of Alexander, and Perdikkas son of Orontes.
 Ptolemy son of Lagos and Aristonous son of Pisaeus were
 Eordaeans; Metron son of Epicharmus and Nicarchides son of
 6 Simus came from Pydna. In addition, Attalus son of Andromenes
 came from Tympha, Peucestas son of Alexander from Mieza, Pithon
 son of Crateuas from Alcomenae, Leonnatus son of Antipater from
 Aegae, Pantauchus son of Nicolaus from Aloris, Mylleeas son of
 7 Zoilus from Beroea. All these were Macedonians. As for Greeks,
 Medius son of Oxythemis came from Larisa, Eumenes son of
 Hieronymus from Cardia, Critobulus son of Plato from Cos, Thoas
 son of Mandrodorus and Maeander son of Mandrogenes from
 8 Magnesia, Andron son of Cabeleus from Teos; Nicocles son of
 Pasicrates from Soli, and Nithaphon son of Pnytagoras⁵ from
 Salamis were Cypriotes. Alexander also even appointed a Persian,
 Bagoas son of Pharnuches, trierarch. The helmsman of Alexander's
 9 own

⁴ The MS here reads 'from Crete Nearchus' (cf. § 10), but this is clearly a gloss; N. classes himself among the Macedonians (cf. § 3 and 6), along with other Companions who were not of Macedonian blood, Laomedon a Mitylenaeon (Berve no. 464) and Androstheneis a Thasian (ib. 80); they had all (we must infer) received fiefs in Amphipolis, a Greek city but now part of Macedon; it contributed a squadron to the Companion cavalry (i 2, 5). Cf. *Introd.* 25 and n. 43 (vol. I). Greek fiefholders held high posts in Al's army and administration: e.g. Laomedon's brother, Erigyus (iii 6, 5), now dead. Lysimachus is probably wrongly reported elsewhere to be a Thessalian (Berve no. 480). Oddly Eumenes (§ 7) had apparently not been 'naturalized', but like Medius (vii 24 ff.) he must have ranked as a Companion (v 24, 6

νεὸς κυβερνήτης ἦν Ὀνησίκριτος Ἀστυπалаεὺς, γραμματεὺς
 10 δὲ τοῦ στόλου παντὸς Εὐαγόρας Εὐκλέωνος Κορίνθιος.
 ναύαρχος δὲ αὐτοῖσιν ἐπεστάθη Νέαρχος Ἀνδροτίμου, τὸ
 11 γένος μὲν Κρής ὁ Νέαρχος, ὧκει δὲ ἐν Ἀμφιπόλει τῇ ἐπὶ
 Στρυμόνι. ὡς δὲ ταῦτα ἐκεκόσμητο Ἀλεξάνδρῳ, ἔθνε τοῖς
 θεοῖσιν ὅσοι τε πατριοὶ ἢ μαντευτοὶ αὐτῷ καὶ Ποσειδῶνι καὶ
 Ἀμφιτρίτῃ καὶ Νηρηῖσι καὶ αὐτῷ τῷ Ὠκεανῷ, καὶ τῷ
 Ὑδάσπῃ ποταμῷ, ἀπ' ὅτου ὠρμάτο, καὶ τῷ Ἀκεσίνῃ, ἐς ὅντινα
 12 ἐκδιδοὶ ὁ Ὑδάσπης, καὶ τῷ Ἰνδῷ, ἐς ὅντινα ἄμφω ἐκδιδοῦσιν·
 ἀγῶνές τε αὐτῷ μουσικοὶ καὶ γυμνικοὶ ἐποιεῦντο, καὶ ἱερεῖα τῇ
 στρατιῇ πάσῃ κατὰ τέλεα ἐδίδοτο.

19. ὡς δὲ πάντα ἐξήρτυτο αὐτῷ ἐς ἀναγωγὴν, Κράτερον
 μὲν τὰ ἐπὶ θάτερα τοῦ Ὑδάσπεω ἰέναι σὺν στρατιῇ [πεζῇ]
 ἐκέλευσε πεζικῇ τε καὶ ἰππικῇ· ἐς τὸ ἐπὶ θάτερα <δὲ>
 Ἐφαιστίων αὐτῷ παρεπορεύετο σὺν ἄλλῃ στρατιῇ πλείονι ἔτι
 τῆς Κρατέρῳ συντεταγμένης. καὶ τοὺς ἐλέφαντας Ἐφαιστίων
 2 αὐτῷ ἤγε, ὄντας ἐς διακοσίους. αὐτὸς δὲ τοὺς τε ὑπασπιστὰς
 καλεομένους ἅμα οἱ ἤγε καὶ τοὺς τοξότας πάντας καὶ τῶν
 ἰππέων τοὺς ἐταίρους καλεομένους, τοὺς πάντας ἐς
 3 ὀκτακισχιλίους. τοῖσι μὲν δὴ ἄμφι Κράτερον καὶ Ἐφαιστίωνα
 4 ἐτέτακτο ἵνα προπορευθέντες ὑπομένοινεν τὸν στόλον. Φίλιππον
 δέ, ὃς αὐτῷ σατράπης τῆς χώρας ταύτης ἦν, ἐπὶ τοῦ Ἀκεσίνου
 5 ποταμοῦ τὰς ὄχθας πέμπει, ἅμα στρατιῇ πολλῇ καὶ τοῦτον·
 ἤδη γὰρ καὶ δώδεκα μυριάδες αὐτῷ μάχιμοι εἶποντο σὺν οἷς
 ἀπὸ θαλάσσης τε αὐτὸς ἀνήγαγε καὶ αὖθις οἱ ἐπὶ συλλογὴν
 αὐτῷ στρατιᾶς πεμφθέντες

ship was Onesicritus from Astypalaea⁶; and the secretary for the
 whole fleet was Evagoras son of Eucleon from Corinth. As admiral
 10 he appointed Nearchus, son of Androtimus, a Cretan by lineage,
 11 who lived in Amphipolis on the Strymon. When Alexander had
 made all these dispositions, he sacrificed to his ancestral gods and
 those designated by oracle,⁷ to Posidon, Amphitrite, the Nereids, to
 Ocean himself, to the river Hydaspes, whence he started, to the
 Acesines, into which the Hydaspes runs, and to the Indus, into
 12 which both run; and he instituted musical and athletic games, and
 victims for sacrifice were given to all the army, regiment by
 regiment.

19. When everything had been made ready for him to start the
 voyage, he ordered Craterus to march along one side of the
 Hydaspes with an army of cavalry and infantry; Hephaestion had
 already started along the other, with another army even bigger than
 that under Craterus. Hephaestion took with him the elephants,
 numbering about two hundred. Alexander himself took with him
 2 the so-called hypaspists, all the archers, and that part of the cavalry
 called 'Companions in all about eight thousand. Craterus and
 3 Hephaestion with their forces had been instructed where they were
 4 to await the fleet after marching ahead. Philip, whom he had made
 satrap of this country, was sent to the banks of the river Acesines,
 5 and he too had a considerable force; for by this time a hundred and
 twenty thousand fighting men were following him, including those
 he had himself brought up from the sea-coast and those whom his
 officers, sent to recruit

6 App. XVII 4.

7 Ammon? Cf. vi 3, 2 n.

6 ἦκον ἔχοντες, παντοῖα ἔθνεα βαρβαρικὰ ἅμα οἱ ἄγοντι καὶ
 πᾶσαν ἰδέην ὀπλισμένα. αὐτὸς δὲ ἄρας ταῖς ναυσὶ κατέπλει
 7 Ἐδάσπεω τὰς συμβολάς. νῆες δὲ αἱ σύμπασαι αὐτῷ
 ὀκτακόσκιαι ἦσαν, αἶ τε μακραὶ καὶ ὅσα στρογγύλα πλοῖα καὶ
 8 ἄλλαι ἵππαγωγοὶ καὶ σιτία ἅμα τῇ στρατιῇ ἄγουσαι. ὅπως
 μὲν δὴ κατὰ τοὺς ποταμοὺς κατέπλευσεν αὐτῷ ὁ στόλος, καὶ
 ὅσα ἐν τῷ παράπλῳ ἔθνεα κατεστρέψατο, καὶ ὅπως διὰ
 κινδύνου αὐτὸς ἐν Μαλλοῖς ἦκε, καὶ τὸ τρώμα ὃ ἐτρώθη ἐν
 Μαλλοῖς, καὶ Πευκέστας τε καὶ Λεόννατος ὅπως ὑπερήσπισαν
 9 αὐτὸν πεσόντα, πάντα ταῦτα λέλεκται μοι ἤδη ἐν τῇ ἄλλῃ τῇ
 Ἀττικῇ ξυγγραφῇ. ὁ δὲ λόγος ὅδε τοῦ παράπλου μοι
 ἀφήγησίς ἐστιν, ὃν Νέαρχος σὺν τῷ στόλῳ παρέπλευσεν ἀπὸ
 τοῦ Ἰνδοῦ τῶν ἐκβολέων ὀρμηθεὶς κατὰ τὴν θάλασσαν τὴν
 μεγάλην ἔσπε ἐπὶ τὸν κόλπον τὸν Περσικόν, ἣν δὴ Ἐρυθρὴν
 θάλασσαν μετεξέτεροι καλέουσι.

20. Νεάρχῳ δὲ λέλεκται ὑπὲρ τούτων ὅδε ὁ λόγος. πόθον
 μὲν εἶναι Ἀλεξάνδρῳ ἐκπεριπλῶσαι τὴν θάλασσαν τὴν ἀπὸ
 2 Ἰνδῶν ἔσπε ἐπὶ τὴν Περσικὴν, ὀκνέειν δὲ αὐτὸν τοῦ τε πλόου
 τὸ μῆκος καὶ μή τιμι ἄρα χώρα ἐρήμῳ ἐγκύρσαντες ἢ ὀρμων
 ἀπόρῳ ἢ οὐ ξυμμέτρως ἐχούσῃ τῶν ὀραίων, οὕτω δὴ
 διαφθαρή αὐτῷ ὁ στόλος, καὶ οὐ φαύλη κηλὶς αὕτη τοῖς
 ἔργοισιν αὐτοῦ τοῖσι μεγάλοισιν ἐπιγενομένη τὴν πᾶσαν
 εὐτυχίην αὐτῷ ἀφανίσῃ· ἀλλὰ

forces, had brought with them; at the same time he led all sorts of
 barbarian tribes, armed in every fashion.¹ He himself raised anchor
 6 and sailed down the Hydaspes to the confluence of the Acesines
 7 and Hydaspes. His whole fleet of ships was eight hundred,²
 including ships of war, merchantmen and horse transports, besides
 8 others carrying provisions as well as troops. I have already told in
 my other history in the Attic dialect of his fleet's voyage down the
 rivers, of all the tribes he conquered on the way, and of the danger
 he himself ran among the Mallians, the wound he received there,
 and the way in which Peucestas and Leonnatus protected him with
 their shields when he had fallen. My present work, however, is a
 9 story of the coastal voyage that Nearchus successfully undertook
 with his fleet, starting from the mouths of the Indus by the great sea
 to the Persian Gulf, which others indeed call the Red Sea.

20. Of this Nearchus has given the following account: Alexander
 had a longing to sail out into the sea and round from India to
 2 Persia, but was apprehensive of the length of the voyage and the
 risk that they would find a land uninhabited or destitute of
 roadsteads or inadequately provided with natural products, so that
 his whole fleet might be actually destroyed; such a sequel to his
 great achievements would be a serious stain on them and would
 obliterate

1 App. XIII 8; XIX 3. Cf. vi 2 (with some divergencies). In particular N. omits the Agrianians but includes all the Companions in § 2. A's reference to two chiliarchies of archers (iv 24, 10) was held by Berve (133) to imply that there were at least three. With 3000 hypaspists (Introd. 61), this leaves about 2000 Companions, not incompatible with vi 14, 4.

2 App. XXV 2. Emendation to '1800' is unnecessary.

3 ἐκνικῆσαι γὰρ αὐτῷ τὴν ἐπιθυμίην τοῦ καινόν τι αἰεὶ καὶ
 ἄτοπον ἐργάζεσθαι. ἀπόρως δὲ ἔχειν ὄντινα οὐκ ἀδύνατόν τε
 ἐς τὰ ἐπινοούμενα ἐπιλέξαιτο καὶ ἅμα τῶν ἐν νηὶ ἀνδρῶν, ὡς
 καὶ [τῶν] τοιοῦτον στόλον στελλομένων, ἀφελεῖν τὸ δεῖμα τοῦ
 4 δὴ ἡμελημένως αὐτοὺς ἐς προὔπτου κίνδυνου ἐκπέμπεσθαι.
 λέγει δὴ ὁ Νεάρχος ἐωυτῷ ξυνοῦσθαι τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον ὄντινα
 προχειρίσθαι ἐξηγέεσθαι τοῦ στόλου. ὡς δὲ ἄλλον καὶ ἄλλου
 ἐς μνήμην ἰόντα τοὺς μὲν ὡς οὐκ ἐθέλοντας κινδυνεύειν ὑπὲρ
 οὐ ἀπολέγειν, τοὺς δὲ ὡς μαλακοὺς τὸν θυμόν, τοὺς δὲ ὡς
 5 πόθῳ τῆς οἰκίης κατεχομένους, τοῖς δὲ ἄλλο καὶ ἄλλο
 ἐπικαλέοντα, τότε δὴ αὐτὸν ὑποστάντα εἰπεῖν ὅτι “ὦ βασιλεῦ,
 ἐγὼ τοι ὑποδέκομαι ἐξηγήσεσθαι τοῦ στόλου, καὶ εἰ τὰ ἀπὸ
 τοῦ θείου ξυνεπιλαμβάνοι, περιιάξω τοι σῶας τὰς νέας καὶ
 τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ἔστω ἐπὶ τὴν Περσίδα γῆν, εἰ δὴ πλωτός τέ
 6 ἐστὶν ὁ ταύτη πόντος καὶ τὸ ἔργον οὐκ ἄπορον γνώμη
 ἀνθρωπινή.” Ἀλέξανδρον δὲ λόγῳ μὲν οὐ φάναι ἐθέλειν ἐς
 τοσὴνδε ταλαιπωρίην καὶ τοσόνδε κίνδυνον τῶν τινα ἑαυτοῦ
 7 φίλων ἐμβάλλειν, αὐτὸν δὲ ταύτη δὴ καὶ μᾶλλον οὐκ ἀνιέναι
 ἀλλὰ λιπαρεῖν. οὕτω δὴ ἀγαπήσασαί τε Ἀλέξανδρον τοῦ
 8 Νεάρχου τὴν προθυμίην, καὶ ἐπιστήσασαί αὐτὸν ἄρχειν τοῦ
 στόλου παντός. καὶ τότε δὴ ἔτι μᾶλλον τῆς στρατιῆς ὃ τι περ
 ἐπὶ τῷ παράπλῳ τῷδε ἐτάσσετο καὶ τὰς ὑπηρεσίας ἴλεω ἔχειν

his good fortune. Yet his perpetual desire to do something new and
 extraordinary won the day.¹ But he was in a quandary whom to
 3 choose capable of carrying out his plans and removing the fear of
 the men on board ship, despatched on an expedition of this kind,
 that they were being sent off without due thought into manifest
 4 danger. Nearchus says that Alexander discussed with him whom he
 should select as admiral of the fleet; but as he thought of one after
 another, Alexander rejected them on the ground that they were not
 willing to risk themselves for his sake, or as chickenhearted, or as
 mastered by a yearning for home, and accused each of them of
 5 different faults.² Then Nearchus spoke and made his offer: ‘I
 undertake, Sire, to lead your fleet myself, and, if heaven grants its
 aid, I will bring ships and men safe to Persia, if this sea is navigable
 at all and the task is not impracticable for human intelligence.’
 6 Alexander replied in word³ that he would not allow one of his own
 friends to endure such hardships and incur such danger, but
 Nearchus did not give up for that reason but pressed more urgently,
 7 and so Alexander, well pleased with his eagerness, appointed him
 8 admiral of the entire fleet. The men in the army and the rowers
 detailed to sail on this coastal voyage were then more ready to take
 a favourable opinion of it, on

1 App. V 3. This passage shows best of all that whatever Herodotean echoes the allusions to *pothos* may have (Bosworth on i 3, 5), they remain significant for Al's personality as seen by those who knew him. Cf. also App. XXV 1 f.

2 N's story is dishonest, if the work of Scylax was known, but that is unproven and unlikely (App. XXV 1). The objections of Badian (*Yale Cl. St.* 1975, 160 ff.) do not convince me; Al. had found his officers mostly craven at the Beas, and would perhaps not have considered sparing some whom he did trust, such as Hephaestion. Of course we cannot check what N. tells of a private conversation.

3 The Greek λέγει μὲν seems to require an antithesis, e.g. 'but

τὴν γνώμην, ὅτι δὴ Νέαρχόν γε οὐποτε ἂν Ἀλέξανδρος
 9 προήκατο ἐς κίνδυνον καταφανέα, εἰ μὴ σφί σωθήσεσθαι
 ἔμελλεν. λαμπρότης τε πολλὴ τῇ παρασκευῇ ἐποῦσα καὶ
 κόσμος τῶν νεῶν καὶ σπουδαὶ τῶν τριηράρχων ἀμφὶ τὰς
 ὑπηρεσίας τε καὶ τὰ πληρώματα ἐκπρεπέες καὶ τοὺς πάντ'²
 ἤδη πάλαι κατοκνέοντας ἐς ῥώμην ἅμα καὶ ἐλπίδας
 10 χρηστοτέρας ὑπὲρ τοῦ παντὸς ἔργου ἐπηρκότα ἦν. πολὺ δὲ δὴ
 συνεπιλαβέσθαι ἐς εὐθυμίην τῇ στρατιῇ τὸ δὴ αὐτὸν
 Ἀλέξανδρον ὀρμηθέντα κατὰ τοῦ Ἰνδοῦ τὰ στόματα ἀμφότερα
 ἐκπλώσαι ἐς τὸν πόντον σφάγιά τε τῷ Ποσειδῶνι ἐντεμεῖν καὶ
 11 ὅσοι ἄλλοι θεοὶ θαλάσσιοι, καὶ δῶρα μεγαλοπρεπέα τῇ
 θαλάσση χαρίσασθαι. τῇ τε ἄλλῃ τῇ Ἀλεξάνδρου παραλόγῳ
 εὐτυχίῃ πεποιθότας οὐδὲν ὅ τι οὐ τολμητόν τε ἐκείνω καὶ
 ἐρκτὸν ἠγγέεσθαι.

21. ὡς δὲ τὰ ἐτήσια πνεύματα ἐκοιμήθη, ἃ δὴ τοῦ θέρεος
 τὴν ὥρην πᾶσαν κατέχει ἐκ τοῦ πελάγεος ἐπιπνέοντα ἐπὶ τὴν
 γῆν καὶ ταύτῃ ἄπορον τὸν πλοῦν ποιέοντα, τότε δὴ ὠρμῶντο
 ἐπὶ ἄρχοντος Ἀθήνησι Κηφισοδώρου, εἰκάδι τοῦ
 Βοηδρομιῶνος μηνός καθότι Ἀθηναῖοι ἄγουσιν, ὡς δὲ
 Μακεδόνες τε καὶ Ἀσιανοὶ ἠγόν <μηνὸς Ὑπερβερεταίου, ἔτος>
 2 τὸ ἐνδέκατον βασιλεύοντος Ἀλεξάνδρου. θύει δὲ καὶ Νέαρχος
 πρὸ τῆς ἀναγωγῆς Διὶ Σωτήρι καὶ ἀγῶνα ποιεῖ καὶ οὗτος

the ground that Nearchus was the last person Alexander would have
 exposed to an obvious danger unless they were likely to come
 9 through safe.⁴ Then the great splendour incidental to the
 preparations, the fine equipment of the ships and the conspicuous
 energy of the trierarchs in providing for the rowers and other
 personnel had raised the courage of men who were previously full
 of apprehension and made them more hopeful of the whole
 10 enterprise; and really it contributed much to the good spirit of the
 force that Alexander himself had started down both outlets of the
 Indus and sailed out into the sea, and had offered victims to
 Posidon and all the other sea gods, and given splendid gifts to the
 11 sea. Trusting in Alexander's incalculable good fortune in other
 ventures, they thought that there was nothing that he might not
 both dare and carry through.⁵

21. When the seasonal winds had sunk to rest, which continue
 blowing from the Ocean on to the land all the summer season, thus
 making it impossible to sail, they at last set out, in the archonship at
 Athens of Cephisodorus, on the twentieth day of the month
 Boedromion, as the Athenians reckon it; but as the Macedonians
 and Asians counted it, it was in the month of Hyperberetaeus and
 the eleventh year of Alexander's reign.¹ Nearchus too sacrificed,
 2 before weighing anchor, to Zeus the Saviour, and he too

4 Cf. iii 6, 5.

5 Cf. vi 19, 4 f. Sacrifices and games (which were also religious
 celebrations), so often mentioned in the *Anabasis*, were evidently
 important for morale. Good fortune was often viewed as proof of
 divine favour. Cf. 21, 2.

1 Sept. 325, cf. App. XVII 24 and, on the archon date, 15, but cf.
 vii 28, 1 n. According to S. xv 2, 5 N. said that he started (a) when Al.
 was completing his Gadrosian march; (b) in autumn, at the western
 rising of the Pleiads, though the winds were not yet favourable (cf. n.
 5; vi 21, 1-3), since the Indians on Al's departure attacked and tried to
 drive him out. Here (a) is clearly a misunderstanding. The Indian

γυμνικόν. ἄραυτες δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ ναυστάθμου τῆ πρώτῃ ἡμέρῃ
 κατὰ τὸν Ἰνδὸν ποταμὸν ὀρμίζονται πρὸς διώρυχι μεγάλῃ,
 καὶ μένουσιν αὐτοῦ δύο ἡμέρας· Στοῦρα δὲ ὄνομα ἦν τῷ
 3 χώρῳ· σταδίοι ἀπὸ τοῦ ναυστάθμου ἐς ἑκατόν. τῆ τρίτῃ δὲ
 ἄραυτες ἔπλεον ἔστε ἐπὶ διώρυχα ἄλλην σταδίους τριάκοντα,
 ἀλμυρὴν ἤδη ταύτην τὴν διώρυχα· ἀνήγει γὰρ ἡ θάλασσα ἐς
 αὐτήν, μάλιστα μὲν τῆσι πλημμυρίῃσιν, ὑπέμενε δὲ καὶ ἐν
 τῆ<σιν> ἀμπώτεσι τὸ ὕδωρ μεμιγμένον τῷ ποταμῷ· Καύμανα
 4 δὲ οὖνομα ἦν τῷ χώρῳ. ἐνθένδε εἴκοσι σταδίους
 5 καταπλώσαντες ἐς Κορέεστιν ὀρμίζονται ἔτι κατὰ τὸν
 ποταμόν. ἐνθένδε ὀρμηθέντες ἔπλεον οὐκ ἐπὶ πολλόν· ἔρμα
 γὰρ ἐφάνη αὐτοῖσι κατὰ τὴν ἐκβολὴν τὴν ταύτη τοῦ Ἰνδοῦ
 καὶ τὰ κύματα ἐρρόχθει πρὸς τῆ ἡϊόνι, καὶ ἡ ἡϊὼν αὕτη
 6 τραχεῖα ἦν. ἀλλὰ ἵναπερ μαλθακὸν ἦν τοῦ ἔρματος, ταύτη
 διώρυχα ποιήσαντες ἐπὶ σταδίους πέντε, διήγον τὰς νέας,
 7 ἐπειδὴ ἡ πλήμμυρα ἐπήλθει ἢ ἐκ τοῦ πόντου.
 ἐκπεριπλώσαντες δὲ σταδίους πεντήκοντα καὶ ἑκατόν
 ὀρμίζονται ἐς Κρώκαλα νῆσον ἀμμώδεα καὶ μένουσιν αὐτοῦ
 τὴν ἄλλην ἡμέραν. προσοικέει δὲ ταύτη ἔθνος Ἰνδικόν, οἱ
 8 Ἀράβιες καλεόμενοι, ὧν καὶ ἐν τῆ μέζονι ξυγγραφῇ μνήμην
 ἔσχον, καὶ ὅτι εἰσὶν ἐπώνυμοι ποταμοῦ Ἀράβιος, ὃς διὰ τῆς
 9 γῆς αὐτῶν ῥέων ἐκδιδοῖ ἐς θάλασσαν, ὀρίζων τούτων τε τὴν
 χώραν καὶ τὴν Ὀρειτέων. ἐκ δὲ Κρωκάλων ἐν δεξιᾷ μὲν
 ἔχοντες ὄρος τὸ καλεόμενον αὐτοῖσιν Εἶρον, ἐν ἀριστερᾷ δὲ
 νῆσον ἀλιτενεᾶ ἔπλεον· ἡ δὲ νῆσος παρατεταμένη τῆ ἡϊόνι
 10 κόλπον στεινὸν ποιεῖ. διεκπλεύσαντες δὲ ταύτην ὀρμίζονται

held athletic games. Then, moving out from the ship-station, they
 anchored on the first day in the Indus river near a great canal, and
 remained there two days; the place was called Stura and was about
 3 100 stades from the shipstation.² On the third day they started out
 and sailed to another canal, 30 stades' distance; this canal was
 already salt, as the sea came up into it, especially at full tide, and
 then at the ebb the sea water remained there, mixed with the river.
 4 The place was called Caumana. Thence they sailed 25 stades down
 to Coreëstis, and anchored still in the river. Thence they started and
 5 sailed a little way, for they saw a reef at the outlet of the river Indus
 here, and the waves were breaking violently on the shore, and the
 6 shore itself was rough. But in a softer part of the reef they dug a
 channel 5 stades long, and brought the ships through it, when the
 7 flood tide came up from the sea. Then sailing round 150 stades,
 they anchored at a sandy island called Crocala, and stayed there the
 next day. The people living there were an Indian tribe called
 8 Arabies, mentioned in my larger treatise, where I stated that they
 take their name from the river Arabis [Hab], which runs through
 their country and finds its outlet in the sea, forming a boundary
 9 between their country and that of the Oritans.³ From Crocala they
 sailed on, keeping the hill they call Irus on the right, and a low-lying
 island on the left; the island running parallel with the shore makes a
 10 narrow bay. When they had sailed through this, they an-

2 Where this was is disputed. Onesicritus *ap.* Pliny vi 96 is also
 vague. As N. does not describe the coast of the Indus delta, he
 evidently did not sail down the eastern branch, as at first intended (vi
 20, 3–5), perhaps because it ceased to be so easily navigable as the
 water-level sank.

3 See vi 21, 4, where A. writes 'Arabitae' and 'Arabius'.

ἐν λιμένι εὐόρμῳ. ὅτι δὲ μέγας τε καὶ καλὸς ὁ λιμήν, Νεάρχῳ
 11 ἔδοξεν ἐπονομάζειν αὐτὸν Ἀλεξάνδρου λιμένα. νῆσος δὲ ἐστὶν
 ἐπὶ τῷ στόματι τοῦ λιμένος ὅσον σταδίους δύο ἀπέχουσα·
 Βίβακτα ὄνομα τῇ νήσῳ, ὃ δὲ χῶρος ἅπας Σάγγαδα. ἡ δὲ
 12 νῆσος καὶ τὸν λιμένα, προκειμένη πρὸ τοῦ πελάγεος, αὐτῇ
 ἐποίειεν. ἐνταῦθα πνεύματα μεγάλα ἐκ τοῦ πόντου ἔπνεε καὶ
 συνεχέα, καὶ Νεάρχος δείσας τῶν βαρβάρων μή τινες
 13 συνταχθέντες ἐφ' ἀρπαγὴν τοῦ στρατοπέδου τραποίατο,
 ἐκτειρίζει τὸν χῶρον λιθίνῳ τείχει. τέσσαρες δὲ καὶ εἴκοσιν
 ἡμέραι τῇ μονῇ ἐγένοντο. καὶ λέγει ὅτι μύας τε ἐθήρων τοὺς
 θαλασσίους οἱ στρατιῶται, καὶ ὄστρεια δὲ καὶ τοὺς σωλήνας
 καλεομένους, ἄτοπα τὸ μέγεθος, ὡς τοῖσιν ἐν τῇδε τῇ ἡμετέρῃ
 θαλάσῃ συμβαλέειν· καὶ ὕδωρ ὅτι ἀλμυρὸν ἐπίνετο.

22. ἅμα τε ὁ ἄνεμος ἐπαύσατο καὶ οἱ ἀνήγοντο. καὶ
 περαιωθέντες σταδίους ἐς ἐξήκοντα ὀρμίζονται πρὸς αἰγιαλῷ
 2 ψαμμώδεϊ· νῆσος δὲ ἐπὶ τῷ αἰγιαλῷ ἐρήμη. ταύτην δὲ
 πρόβλημα ποιησάμενοι ὠρμίσθησαν· Δόμαι οὖνομα τῇ νήσῳ.
 ὕδωρ δὲ οὐκ ἦν ἐν τῷ αἰγιαλῷ, ἀλλὰ προελθόντες ἐς τὴν
 3 μεσογαίην ὅσον εἴκοσι σταδίους ἐπιτυγχάνουσιν ὕδατι καλῷ.
 τῇ δὲ ὑστεραίῃ ἐς νύκτα αὐτοῖς ὁ πλόος ἐγίνετο ἐς Σάραγγα
 σταδίους τριακοσίους, καὶ ὀρμίζονται πρὸς αἰγιαλῷ, καὶ ὕδωρ
 4 ἦν ἀπὸ τοῦ αἰγιαλοῦ ὅσον ὀκτὼ σταδίους. ἐνθένδε πλώσαντες
 ὀρμίζονται ἐν Σακάλοισι, τόπῳ ἐρήμῳ. καὶ διεκπλώσαντες
 σκοπέλους δύο, οὕτω τι ἀλλήλοις πελάζοντας, ὥστε τοὺς
 ταρσοὺς τῶν νεῶν ἄπτεσθαι

chored in a harbour with good anchorage; and as the harbour was
 fine and large Nearchus decided to call it Alexander's haven.⁴ An
 11 island, about 2 stades away, called Bibacta, lies at the mouth of the
 harbour; the whole area is called Sangada. This island, forming a
 barrier to the sea, of itself makes a harbour. There constant strong
 12 winds were blowing off the ocean, and Nearchus, fearing that some
 of the natives might collect to plunder the camp, fortified the place
 13 with a stone wall. He stayed there twenty-four days⁵; and through
 that time, he says, the soldiers hunted for mussels, oysters, and
solenes, as they are called, of unusual size by comparison with those
 of our seas, and they also drank briny water.

22. As soon as the wind fell, they weighed anchor, and after
 sailing 60 stades moored off a sandy shore; there was a desert island
 2 near the shore. They used this, therefore, as a breakwater and
 moored there; the island was called Domai. On the shore there was
 no water, but after proceeding some 20 stades inland they found
 3 good water. Next day they sailed till nightfall 300 stades to Saranga,
 and moored off the beach, and water was found about 8 stades from
 4 the beach. Thence they sailed and moored at Sacala, a desert spot,
 and, making their way between two rocks so close together that the
 oar-blades of the ships touched the rocks to port and starboard, they
 moored at Morontobara,¹ after sailing some 300

4 See 22, 4 n.

5 He had to await the end of the S.W. monsoon (22, 1); the N.E. trade wind seems not to have blown strongly till later (24, 1).

1 A. omits distance to Sacala; for similar omissions see 21, 9; 26, 4 f.; 27, 2; 29, 2 f.; 32, 2-5; 37, 8. Note resort to oars. Very short voyages could be due to lack of favouring winds or currents, need for foraging, ship-repairs, perhaps reconnoitring in advance or out at sea (cf. 31, 3), matters that N. may have recorded in his report to Al. and in his book. H. T. Lambrick, *Sind* 117 ff. argues convincingly that Morontabara is Karachi, and Alexander's harbour near the village of Gujo, the sea having receded since.

ἔνθεν καὶ ἔνθεν τῶν πετρῶν, καθορμίζονται ἐν
 5 Μοροντοβάροις, σταδίους διελθόντες ἐς τριακοσίους· ὁ δὲ
 λιμὴν μέγας καὶ εὐκυκλος καὶ βαθὺς καὶ ἄκλυστος, ὁ δὲ
 ἔσπλους ἐς αὐτὸν στεινός. τοῦτον τῇ γλώσση τῇ ἐπιχωρίῃ
 6 Γυναικῶν λιμένα ἐκάλεον, ὅτι γυνὴ τοῦ χώρου τούτου πρώτη
 ἐπήρξεν. ὡς δὲ διὰ τῶν σκοπέλων διεξέπλεον, κύμασι τε
 7 μεγάλοις ἐνέκυρσαν καὶ τῇ θαλάσση ῥοώδει. ἀλλὰ
 ἐκπεριπλώσαι γὰρ ὑπὲρ τοὺς σκοπέλους μέγα ἔργον ἐφαίνετο.
 ἐς δὲ τὴν ὑστεραίην ἔπλεον νῆσον ἐν ἀριστερᾷ ἔχοντες πρὸ
 τοῦ πελάγεος οὕτω τι τῷ αἰγιαλῷ συναφέα ὥστε εἰκάσαι ἂν
 διώρυχα εἶναι τὸ μέσον τοῦ τε αἰγιαλοῦ καὶ τῆς νήσου·
 8 στάδιοι οἱ πάντες ἐβδομήκοντα τοῦ διέκπλου. καὶ ἐπὶ τε τοῦ
 αἰγιαλοῦ δένδρεα ἦν πολλὰ καὶ δασέα, καὶ ἡ νῆσος ὕλη
 παντοίη σύσκιος. ὑπὸ δὲ τὴν ἔω ἔπλεον ἔξω τῆς νήσου κατὰ
 ῥηχίην στενήν· ἔτι γὰρ ἡ ἀνάπτωσις κατεῖχε. πλώσαντες δὲ ἐς
 ἑκατὸν καὶ εἴκοσι σταδίους ὀρμίζονται ἐν τῷ στόματι τοῦ
 Ἀράβιος ποταμοῦ· καὶ λιμὴν μέγας καὶ καλὸς πρὸς τῷ
 στόματι, ὕδωρ δὲ οὐκ ἦν πόσιμον· τοῦ γὰρ Ἀράβιος αἱ
 9 ἐκβολαὶ ἀναμιγμέναι τῷ πόντῳ ἦσαν. ἀλλὰ τεσσαράκοντα
 σταδίους ἐς τὸ ἄνω προχωρήσαντες λάκκῳ ἐπιτυγχάνουσι,
 10 καὶ ἔνθεν ὑδρευσάμενοι ὀπίσω ἀπενόστησαν. νῆσος δὲ ἐπὶ τῷ
 λιμένι ὑψηλὴ καὶ ἔρημος, καὶ περὶ ταύτην ὀστρείων τε καὶ
 ἰχθύων παντοδαπῶν θήρα. μέχρι μὲν τοῦδε Ἀράβιος, ἔσχατοι
 Ἰνδῶν ταύτη ὠκισμένοι, τὰ δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦδε Ὀρείται ἐπέειχον.

5 stades. The harbour is spacious, circular, deep and calm, but its
 entrance is narrow. It was called in the local language 'Woman's
 harbour since a woman was the first sovereign of this district. When
 6 they had got safe through the rocks, they met great waves, and the
 sea running strong, but it seemed very hazardous to sail seaward of
 7 the rocks. For the next day, however, they sailed with an island on
 their left breaking the sea, so close indeed to the beach that one
 would have conjectured that the space between the island and the
 coast was an artificial channel. The entire passage was of some 70
 stades. On the beach were many trees, set thick, and the island was
 8 shaded with a forest of every variety. About dawn, they sailed
 outside the island, by a narrow rough passage, as the tide was still
 falling. When they had sailed some 120 stades they anchored in the
 mouth of the river Arabis [Hab]. There was a fine large harbour by
 its mouth but no drinking water, as the outlets of the Arabis were
 mixed with sea-water. However, after proceeding 40 stades inland
 9 they found a pool, and after drawing water thence returned back
 10 again. By the harbour was a lofty desert island, and round it one
 could catch oysters and all kinds of fish. Up to this point the
 country of the Arabies extended; they are the last Indians settled
 here; from here on the territory of the Oritans begins.²

2 Cf. 24, 2 f. and 9; D. 105, 1 f.; Clitarchus F 27. The Oritans on
 the coast resembled the Fish-Eaters, cf. vi 23, 3 (Ar.?). N. and
 Onesicritus (Pliny vi 95) distinguished them from Indians (cf. 25, 2),
contra manuscript text of vi 21, 3 (probably Pt., who was indifferent to
 ethnography; no need then to emend); linguistic evidence confirms
 their view. A. does not make clear how long N. stayed at the mouth of
 the Arabis. Pliny vi 96 makes him found a town there, perhaps
 misunderstanding Onesicritus' account of the wall at Alexander's
 harbour (21, 12). But a march inland of 40 stades and back implies
 more than a night's stay.

23. ὀρμηθέντες δὲ ἐκ τῶν ἐκβολῶν τοῦ Ἀράβιος παρέπλεον τῶν Ὀρειτέων τὴν χώραν. καὶ ὀρμίζονται ἐν Παγάλοισι, πλώσαντες σταδίους ἐς διακοσίους, πρὸς ῥηχίη. ἀλλὰ ἀγκύρησι γὰρ ἐπήβολος ἦν ὁ χῶρος. τὰ μὲν οὖν πληρώματα ἀπεσάλευον ἐν τῆσι νηυσίν, οἱ δὲ ἐφ' ὕδωρ ἐκβάντες
 2 ὕδρεύοντο. τῇ δ' ὑστεραίῃ ἀναχθέντες ἅμα ἡμέρη καὶ πλώσαντες σταδίους ἐς τριάκοντα καὶ τετρακοσίους κατάγονται ἐσπέριοι ἐς Κάβανα, καὶ ὀρμίζονται πρὸς αἰγιαλῶ ἐρήμῳ. καὶ ἐνταῦθα ῥηχίη τραχείη ἦν, καὶ ἐπὶ τῷδε μετεώρους
 3 τὰς νέας ὀρμίσαντο. κατὰ τοῦτον τὸν πλόον πνεῦμα ὑπολαμβάνει τὰς νέας μέγα ἐκ πόντου, καὶ νέες δύο μακρὰ διαφθείρονται ἐν τῷ πλόῳ, καὶ κέρκουρος· οἱ δὲ ἄνθρωποι
 4 σῶζονται ἀπονηξάμενοι, ὅτι οὐ πόρρω τῆς γῆς ὁ πλόος ἐγίνετο. ἀμφὶ δὲ μέσας νύκτας ἀναχθέντες πλέουσιν ἔσπε ἐπὶ Κώκαλα, <ἄ> τοῦ αἰγιαλοῦ, ἔνθεν ὀρμήθησαν, ἀπέιχε σταδίους διακοσίους· καὶ αἱ μὲν νῆες σαλεύουσαι ὄρμεον, τὰ πληρώματα δὲ ἐκβιβάσας Νέαρχος πρὸς τῇ γῇ ἠὺλίσθη, ὅτι ἐπὶ πολλὸν τεταλαιπωρηκότες ἐν τῇ θαλάσῃ ἀναπαύσασθαι
 5 ἐπόθεον· στρατόπεδον δὲ περιεβάλετο τῶν βαρβάρων τῆς φυλακῆς ἔνεκα. ἐν τούτῳ τῷ χώρῳ Λεόννατος, ὅτῳ τὰ Ὀρειτῶν ἐξ Ἀλεξάνδρου ἐπετέτραπτο, μάχη μεγάλη νικᾷ Ὀρείταις τε καὶ ὅσοι Ὀρείταις συνεπέλαβον τοῦ ἔργου. καὶ κτείνει αὐτῶν ἑξακισχιλίους, καὶ τοὺς

23. Leaving the outlets of the Arabis they coasted along the territory of the Oritans and anchored at Pagala after a voyage of some 200 stades, near a breaking sea, but they were able all the same to cast anchor. The crews rode out the rough water in their vessels, while some disembarked in search of water, and procured
 2 it. Next day they set off at dawn and, after making about 430 stades, put in towards evening at Cabana and moored on a desert shore. There too the breakers were rough, so they anchored their vessels
 3 well out to sea. It was on this part of the voyage that a heavy squall from seaward caught the fleet, and two warships and one galley were lost on the voyage; the men swam off and got to safety, as they
 4 were sailing quite near the land. About midnight¹ they weighed anchor and sailed as far as Cocala, which was 200 stades from the beach off which they had anchored. The ships were tossing at anchor, but Nearchus disembarked the crews and bivouacked on shore, since after all these hardships they longed to rest awhile. The
 5 this place Leonnatus, who had been charged by Alexander with operations against the Oritans, beat them in a great battle, along with others who had joined their enterprise. He killed some six thousand of them, including

1 Schiwiek thinks night voyages too risky without local pilots, but he ignores the possibility of reconnoitring voyages (22, 4 n.). Surely N. had no pilots before Mosarna (27, 1). His knowledge of place names etc. shows only that he had local interpreters.

ἡγεμόνας πάντας· τῶν δὲ σὺν Λεοννάτῳ ἰππεῖς μὲν
 ἀποθνήσκουσι πεντεκαίδεκα, τῶν δὲ πεζῶν ἄλλοι τε οὐ πολλοὶ
 6 καὶ Ἀπολλοφάνης ὁ Γαδρωσίων σατράπης. ταῦτα μὲν δὴ ἐν
 τῇ ἄλλῃ ξυγγραφῇ ἀναγέγραπται, καὶ ὅπως Λεόννατος ἐπὶ
 7 τῷδε ἐστεφανώθη πρὸς Ἀλεξάνδρου χρυσῷ στεφάνῳ ἐν
 Μακεδόσιν. ἐνταῦθα σῖτος ἦν νενημένος κατὰ πρόσταγμα
 Ἀλεξάνδρου ἐς ἐπισιτισμὸν τῷ στρατῷ, καὶ ἐμβάλλονται
 8 σιτία ἡμερέων δέκα ἐς τὰς νέας. καὶ τῶν νεῶν ὅσαι
 πεπονήκεσαν κατὰ τὸν πλόον μέχρι τούδε ἐπεσκεύασαν, καὶ
 τῶν ναυτέων ὅσοι ἐν τῷ ἔργῳ βλακεύειν ἐφαίνοντο Νεάρχῳ,
 τούτους μὲν πεζῇ ἄγειν Λεοννάτῳ ἔδωκεν, αὐτὸς δὲ ἀπὸ τῶν
 σὺν Λεοννάτῳ στρατιωτῶν συμπληροῖ τὸ ναυτικόν.

24. ἐνθένδε ὀρμηθέντες ἔπλεον ἀκραεῖ, καὶ διελθόντες
 σταδίους ἐς πεντακοσίους ὠρμίζοντο πρὸς ποταμῷ χειμάρρῳ
 2 Τόμηρος ὄνομα ἦν τῷ ποταμῷ. καὶ λίμνη ἦν ἐπὶ ταῖς
 ἐκβολαῖς τοῦ ποταμοῦ, τὰ δὲ βράχεια τὰ πρὸς τῷ αἰγιαλῷ
 ἐπώκειον ἄνθρωποι ἐν καλύβαις πνιγηραῖς. καὶ οὗτοι ὡς
 προσπλέοντας εἶδον, ἐθάμβησάν τε καὶ παρατείναντες σφᾶς
 3 παρὰ τὸν αἰγιαλὸν ἐτάχθησαν ὡς ἀπομαχοῦμενοι πρὸς τοὺς
 ἐκβαίνοντας. λόγχας δὲ ἐφόρεον παχείας, μέγεθος ὡς
 ἑξαπήχειας· ἀκωκὴ δὲ οὐκ ἐπῆν σιδηρῆ, ἀλλὰ τὸ ὄξυ αὐτῆσι
 4 πεπυρακτωμένον ταῦτὸ ἐποίει. πλήθος δὲ ἦσαν ὡς ἑξακόσιοι.
 καὶ τούτους Νεάρχος ὡς ὑπομένοντάς τε καὶ παρατεταγμένους
 κατείδε, τὰς μὲν νέας ἀνακωχεύειν κελεύει ἐντὸς βέλους, ὡς τὰ
 τοξεύματα ἐς τὴν γῆν ἀπ' αὐτῶν ἐξικνεῖσθαι· αἱ γὰρ τῶν
 βαρβάρων λόγχαι παχέαι φαινόμεναι ἀγχέμαχοι μὲν, ἄφοβοι
 δὲ ἐς τὸ

all the leaders; fifteen of his cavalry, a few footsoldiers, and
 Apollophanes satrap of Gadosia were lost. I have related this in my
 6 other treatise, and told how Leonnatus was crowned by Alexander
 for this exploit with a golden crown in the presence of the
 7 Macedonians.² Corn had been piled up there by Alexander's orders
 to victual the expedition, and they took on board ten days' rations.
 8 The ships that had suffered in the voyage so far were repaired, and
 Nearchus handed over to Leonnatus' command for infantry service
 any of his sailors whom he thought slack at their work, while he
 himself filled the gaps in his fleet from Leonnatus' soldiers.

24. Thence they set sail, and sailed with a fresh wind, and after a
 passage of about 500 stades they anchored by a torrential river
 called Tomerus.¹ There was a lagoon at the outlets of the river, and
 2 on the shallows near the shore men were living in stifling cabins.
 Seeing the ships approaching they were astounded, and lined the
 shore in battle array to repel the landing. They carried thick spears,
 3 about six cubits long, which had no iron tips, but were just as sharp
 through hardening the point with fire. They numbered about six
 4 hundred. Nearchus, observing them standing firm and drawn up in
 order, instructed the ships to ride at anchor within range, so that
 their arrows might reach the shore, for the natives' spears, whose
 thickness was apparent, were good for close fighting but had no
 terrors in a battle

² In fact there is only the allusion in vii 5, 5. Cf. also vi 22, 2 f.;
 27, 1 n.; D. 105, 8; QC. ix 10, 19. N. is now near the mouth of the
 Purali (App. XVIII 4). A. surely omits his record of the duration of the
 stay.

¹ Presumably the Hingol, falsely described as navigable, like
 other rivers, in Pliny vi 96 ff. (Onesicritus).

5 ἔσακοντίζεσθαι ἦσαν. αὐτὸς δὲ τῶν στρατιωτῶν ὅσοι αὐτοὶ τε
 κουφότατοι καὶ κουφότατα ὀπλισμένοι τοῦ τε νεῖν
 6 δαημονέστατοι, τούτους δὲ ἐκνήξασθαι κελεύει ἀπὸ
 ξυνηθήματος. πρόσταγμα δὲ σφισιν ἦν, ὅπως τις ἐκνηξάμενος
 σταίῃ ἐν τῷ ὕδατι, προσμένειν τὸν παραστάτην οἱ ἐσόμενον,
 μηδὲ <ἐμ>βάλλειν πρόσθεν ἐς τοὺς βαρβάρους, πρὶν ἐπὶ
 7 τριῶν ἐς βάθος ταχθῆναι τὴν φάλαγγα, τότε <δὲ> δρόμῳ ἤδη
 ἰέναι ἐπαλαλάξαντας. ἅμα δὲ ἐρρίπτουν ἑωυτοὺς οἱ ἐπὶ τῷδε
 τεταγμένοι ἐκ τῶν νεῶν ἐς τὸν πόντον, καὶ ἐνήχοντο ὀξέως,
 καὶ ἴσταντο ἐν κόσμῳ, καὶ φάλαγγα ἐκ σφῶν ποιησάμενοι
 δρόμῳ ἐπήεσαν αὐτοὶ τε ἀλαλάζοντες τῷ Ἐνναλίῳ καὶ οἱ ἐπὶ
 τῶν νεῶν ξυνεπήχεον, τοξεύματά τε καὶ ἀπὸ μηχανῶν βέλεα
 8 ἐφέροντο ἐς τοὺς βαρβάρους. οἱ δὲ τὴν τε λαμπρότητα τῶν
 ὀπλῶν ἐκπλαγέντες καὶ τῆς ἐφόδου τὴν ὀξύτητα καὶ πρὸς τῶν
 τοξευμάτων τε καὶ τῶν ἄλλων βελῶν βαλλόμενοι, οἷα δὴ
 ἡμίγυμνοι ἄνθρωποι, οὐδὲ ὀλίγον ἐς ἀλκὴν τραπέντες
 ἐγκλίνουσι. καὶ οἱ μὲν αὐτοῦ φεύγοντες ἀποθνήσκουσιν, οἱ δὲ
 9 καὶ ἀλίσκονται· ἔστι δὲ οἱ καὶ διέφυγον ἐς τὰ ὄρεα. ἦσαν δὲ
 οἱ ἀλόντες τὰ τε ἄλλα σώματα δασέες καὶ τὰς κεφαλὰς, καὶ
 τοὺς ὄνυχας θηριώδεις· τοῖς γὰρ δὴ ὄνυξιν ὅσα σιδήρῳ
 διαχρᾶσθαι ἐλέγοντο καὶ τοὺς ἰχθύας τούτοις παρασχίζοντες
 κατεργάζεσθαι καὶ τῶν ξύλων ὅσα μαλακώτερα. τὰ δὲ ἄλλα
 τοῖς λίθοις τοῖσιν ὀξέσιν ἔκοπτον· σίδηρος γὰρ αὐτοῖσιν οὐκ
 ἦν. ἐσθήτα δὲ ἐφόρεον δέρματα θήρεια, οἱ δὲ καὶ ἰχθύων τῶν
 μεγάλων [τε] τὰ παχέα.

25. ἐνταῦθα νεωλοκῶσι τὰς νέας, καὶ ὅσαι πεπονηκυῖαι
 αὐτῶν ἐπισκευάζουσι. τῇ δὲ ἕκτῃ ἡμέρῃ

5 of missiles. Nearchus took all the nimblest and lightest-armed
 troops, who were also the most experienced swimmers, and bade
 them swim off as soon as the signal was given. Their orders were
 6 that as soon as any swimmer found bottom he should wait for the
 man who was to stand alongside him and not attack the barbarians
 till they had their phalanx three deep, but that they should then
 7 raise their battle cry and charge at the double. All together, those
 detailed for this service dived from the ships into the sea, swam
 smartly, found their footing in proper order and, having formed a
 phalanx, charged at the double, raising their battle cry to the God of
 War, while those on shipboard raised the cry along with them; and
 arrows and other missiles from the engines were hurled at the
 8 natives. Panic-stricken by the flash of the armour and the swiftness
 of the charge, and attacked by showers of arrows and other missiles,
 half naked as they were, they never stopped to resist but gave way.
 Some were killed there in flight, others were captured, but some
 9 escaped to the hills. The prisoners had thick hair on their heads as
 on the rest of their bodies; their nails were rather like beasts' claws;
 they used their nails (according to report) as if they were iron tools,
 and prepared fishes with them for use by tearing them in pieces, as
 they also did with the softer kinds of wood; everything else they cut
 with sharp stones, for they did not possess any iron. As clothes they
 wore skins of animals and in some cases thick skins of large fishes.

25. Here the crews beached their ships and repaired those
 which had been damaged.¹ On the sixth

1 The wind in 24, 1 had been a little too fresh!

ἔστέλλοντο, καὶ πλώσαντες σταδίους ἐς τριακοσίους
 2 ἀφικνέονται ἐς χώρον, ὃς δὴ ἔσχατος ἦν τῆς Ὀρειτῶν γῆς·
 Μάλανα τῷ χώρῳ ὄνομα. Ὀρεῖται δὲ ὅσοι ἄνω ἀπὸ θαλάσσης
 οἰκέουσιν, ἐσταλμένοι μὲν κατάπερ Ἰνδοί εἰσι, καὶ τὰ ἐς
 πόλεμον ὡσαύτως παραρτέονται γλῶσσα δὲ ἄλλη αὐτοῖσι
 3 καὶ ἄλλα νόμια. μῆκος τοῦ παράπλου παρὰ μὲν χώραν τὴν
 Ἀραβίων ἐς χιλίους μάλιστα σταδίους, ἔνθενπερ ὠρμήθησαν,
 4 παρὰ δὲ τὴν Ὀρειτῶν γῆν ἑξακόσιοι καὶ χίλιοι.
 παραπλεόντων δὲ τὴν Ἰνδῶν γῆν (τὸ ἐντεῦθεν γὰρ οὐκέτι
 Ἰνδοί εἰσι) λέγει Νέαρχος ὅτι αἱ σκιαὶ αὐτοῖσιν οὐ ταῦτο
 5 ἐποίεον· ἀλλὰ ὅπου μὲν ἐπὶ πολὺ τοῦ πόντου ὡς πρὸς
 μεσημβρίαν προχωρήσειαν, αἱ δὲ καὶ αὐταὶ [αἱ σκιαὶ] πρὸς
 μεσημβρίην τετραμμένοι ἐφαίνοντο· ὁπότε δὲ τὸ μέσον τῆς
 6 ἡμέρης ἐπέχοι ὁ ἥλιος, ἤδη δὲ καὶ ἔρημα σκιῆς πάντα ὤφθη
 αὐτοῖσι. τῶν τε ἀστέρων ὅσους πρόσθεν μετέωρους κατεώρων,
 οἱ μὲν ἀφανέες πάντη ἦσαν, οἱ δὲ πρὸς αὐτῇ τῇ γῆ ἐφαίνοντο,
 7 καταδύνοντές τε καὶ αὐτίκα ἀνατέλλοντες οἱ πάλαι ἀειφανέες.
 καὶ ταῦτα οὐκ ἀπεικότα δοκέει μοι ἀναγράψαι Νέαρχος· ἐπεὶ
 καὶ ἐν Συήνῃ τῇ Αἰγυπτίῃ, ἐπεὰν τροπὰς ἄγῃ θέρεος ὦρῃ ὁ
 ἥλιος, φρέαρ ἀποδεδειγμένον ἐστί, καὶ τοῦτο ἄσκιον ἐν
 8 μεσημβρίῃ φαίνεται· ἐν Μερῳῇ δὲ πάντα ἄσκια τῇ αὐτῇ ὦρῃ.
 εἰκὸς ὦν καὶ ἐν Ἰνδοῖσιν, ἅτε πρὸς μεσημβρίην ὠκισμένοισι,
 τὰ αὐτὰ δὴ πάθρα ἐπέχειν, καὶ μάλιστα δὴ κατὰ τὸν πόντον
 τὸν Ἰνδικόν, ὅσῳ μᾶλλον αὐτοῖσιν ἢ θάλασσα πρὸς
 μεσημβρίην κέκλιται. ταῦτα μὲν δὴ ὧδε ἐχέτω.

26. ἐπὶ δὲ Ὀρείτησι κατὰ μὲν μεσογαίην Γαδρώσιοι
 ἐπέιχον, ὦν τὴν χώραν χαλεπῶς διεξῆλθεν

day from this they set sail and, after voyaging about 300 stades, they
 came to a place that was the last point in the territory of the
 Oritans, called Malana.² The Oritans who live inland, away from the
 2 sea, are dressed like Indians and equipped similarly for warfare, but
 their language and other customs differ. The length of the coasting
 3 voyage along the territory of the Arabies was about 1000 stades
 from the point of departure, but along the Oritan land 1600.³
 4 Nearchus states that when men were sailing along the land of India
 (from that point the people were no longer Indians) their shadows
 were not always cast in the same way; wherever they were sailing a
 5 long distance by sea on a southerly course, their shadows were seen
 to fall southerly too; but whenever the sun was at midday, then
 everything appeared to them shadowless. Further, of the stars they
 6 had seen hitherto in the sky, some were completely hidden, others
 showed themselves low down towards the earth; those which had
 never set before were now observed both setting and at once rising
 7 again.⁴ I think Nearchus' record here not implausible, since in
 Egyptian Syene, when the sun is at the summer solstice, people
 show a well where at midday one sees no shadow; and in Meroë, at
 the same season, no shadows are cast. So it seems reasonable that
 8 the same natural phenomena occur among the Indians too, since
 they are far south, and especially in the Indian Ocean, since the sea
 falls still further south. But here I must leave this subject.

26. Next to the Oritans in the interior dwelt the Gadrosians,
 whose country Alexander and his army

2 Ras Malan.

3 App. XXV 7.

4 Ib. 3. A's comment comes from E., cf. S. ii 5, 7.

ἄμα τῇ στρατιῇ Ἀλέξανδρος, καὶ κακὰ τοσαῦτα ἔπαθεν, ὅσα
 οὐδὲ τὰ σύμπαντα τῆς συμπάσης στρατηλασίης. ταῦτά μοι ἐν
 2 τῇ μέζονι συγγραφῇ ἀναγέγραπται. κάτω δὲ Γαδρωσίων
 παρὰ τὴν θάλασσαν αὐτὴν οἱ Ἴχθυοφάγοι καλεόμενοι
 οἰκοῦσι παρὰ τούτων τὴν γῆν ἔπλεον. τῇ μὲν πρώτη ἡμέρῃ
 3 περὶ τὴν δευτέρην φυλακὴν ἀναχθέντες καταίρουσιν εἰς
 Βαγίσαρα· στάδιοι τοῦ παράπλου ἑξακόσιοι. λιμὴν τε ἐν
 αὐτόθι εὖορμος, καὶ κώμη Πάσιρα, ἀπέχουσα ἀπὸ θαλάσσης
 4 ἑξήκοντα σταδίου, καὶ οἱ πρόσοικοι αὐτῆς Πασιρέες. ἐς δὲ
 τὴν ὑστεραίαν πρῶτερον τῆς ὥρης ἀναχθέντες περιπλέουσιν
 5 ἄκρην ἐπὶ πολὺ τε ἀνέχουσιν ἐς τὸν πόντον καὶ αὐτὴν
 ὑψηλὴν καὶ κρημνώδεα. φρέατα δὲ ὀρύξαντες, ὕδωρ [οὐκ]
 ὀλίγον καὶ πονηρὸν ἀρυσάμενοι ταύτῃ μὲν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἐπὶ
 6 ἀγκυρέων ὤρμεον, ὅτι ῥηχίη κατὰ τὸν αἰγιαλὸν ἀνεΐχεν· ἐς δὲ
 τὴν ὑστεραίην καταίρουσιν ἐς Κόλτα, σταδίου ἐλθόντες
 διακοσίους. ἐνθένδε ἔωθεν πλεύσαντες σταδίου ἑξακοσίους ἐν
 Καλίμοισιν ὀρμίζονται. κώμη πρὸς τῷ αἰγιαλῷ, φοίνικες δὲ
 περὶ αὐτὴν ὀλίγοι πεφύκεσαν, καὶ βάλανοι ἐπ' αὐτοῖσι
 χλωραὶ ἐπήσαν. καὶ νῆσος ὡς ἑκατὸν σταδίου ἀπὸ τοῦ
 7 αἰγιαλοῦ ἀπέχουσα, Καρνίνη ὄνομα. ἐνταῦθα ξένια Νεάρχῳ
 προσφέρουσιν οἱ κωμηῆται πρόβατα καὶ ἰχθύας· καὶ τῶν
 προβάτων τὰ κρέα λέγει ὅτι ἦν ἰχθυώδεα, ἴσα τοῖς τῶν
 8 ὀρνίθων τῶν πελαγίων, ὅτι καὶ αὐτὰ ἰχθύων σιτέεται· πόα γὰρ
 οὐκ ἐν ἐν τῇ χώρῃ. ἀλλὰ τῇ ὑστεραίῃ πλεύσαντες ἐς
 σταδίου διακοσίους ὀρμίζονται πρὸς αἰγιαλῷ καὶ κώμη ἀπὸ
 θαλάσσης ἐς σταδίου τριάκοντα ἀπεχούση· ἡ μὲν κώμη
 Κύσα ἐκαλέετο, Καρβὶς δὲ τῷ αἰγιαλῷ ὄνομα ἦν.

had much difficulty in traversing; they suffered more here than
 during all the rest of his expedition; all this I have related in my
 2 larger treatise. Below the Gadrosians, as you follow the actual coast,
 dwell the people called the Fish-eaters. The fleet sailed past their
 country. On the first day they hove anchor about the second watch
 and put in at Bagisara, a voyage along the coast of 600 stades. There
 3 is a safe harbour for anchoring there, and a village called Pasira 60
 stades from the sea; the inhabitants of the neighbourhood are called
 4 Pasireans. The next day they weighed anchor and very early in the
 morning sailed round a promontory which jutted far out into the
 5 sea and was itself high and precipitous. They dug wells and
 obtained a little water of poor quality; that day they rode at anchor,
 6 because there was heavy surf on the beach. Next day they put in at
 Colta after a voyage of 200 stades. Thence they departed at dawn,
 and after sailing 600 stades anchored at Calima. A village is near the
 shore, a few date-palms grew round it, bearing dates, still green.
 About 100 stades from the beach is an island called Carnine. There
 7 the villagers brought gifts to Nearchus, sheep and fishes; the
 mutton, he says, had a fishy taste like the flesh of sea-birds, since
 even the sheep feed on fish as there is no grass in the country. On
 8 the next day they sailed 200 stades and moored off a beach and a
 village about 30 stades from the sea, called Cysa; Carbis was the
 name of the

9 ἐνταῦθα πλοίοις ἐπιτυγχάνουσι σμικροῖσιν, οἷα ἀλιέων εἶναι
πλοῖα οὐκ εὐδαιμόνων· αὐτοὺς δὲ οὐ καταλαμβάνουσιν, ἀλλ'
ἔφυγον γὰρ καθορμιζόμενας κατιδόντες τὰς νέας. σίτος τε
αὐτόθι οὐκ ἐνῆν, καὶ ἐπιλελοίπει τὴν στρατιὴν ὁ πολλός· ἀλλὰ
10 αἶγας ἐμβαλόμενοι ἐς τὰς νέας, οὕτω δὴ ἀπέπλεον. καὶ
περιπλώσαντες ἄκρην ὑψηλὴν ὅσον πεντήκοντα καὶ ἑκατὸν
σταδίους ἀνέχουσιν ἐς τὸν πόντον, κατάγονται ἐν λιμένι
ἀκλύστῳ. καὶ ὕδωρ αὐτόθι ἦν, καὶ ἀλιέες ὤκειον· Μόσαρνα
ὄνομα ἦν τῷ λιμένι.

27. ἐνθένδε καὶ ἡγεμῶν τοῦ πλόου λέγει Νέαρχος ὅτι
συνέπλωσεν αὐτοῖσιν, Ὑδράκης ὄνομα, Γαδρώσιος· ὑπέστη δὲ
Ὑδράκης καταστήσειν αὐτοὺς μέχρι Καρμανίης. τὸ δὲ ἀπὸ
τοῦδε οὐκέτι χαλεπὰ ἦν, ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον τι † ὀνομαζόμενα,¹ ἔστε
2 ἐπὶ τὸν κόλπον τὸν Περσικόν. ἐκ δὲ Μοσάρνων νυκτὸς
ἐπάραντες πλώουσι σταδίους ἑπτακοσίους καὶ πεντήκοντα ἐς
Βάλωμον αἰγιαλόν· ἐνθένδε ἐς Βάρνα κώμην σταδίους
τετρακοσίους, ἵνα φοίνικες τε πολλοὶ ἐνήσαν καὶ κῆπος, καὶ
ἐν τῷ κήπῳ μύρριναι ἐπεφύκεσαν καὶ ἄλλα ἄνθηα, ἀφ' ὧν
στεφανώματα τοῖσι κωμήτησιν ἐπλέκοντο· ἐνταῦθα πρῶτον
3 δένδρεά τε εἶδον ἡμέρα, καὶ ἀνθρώπους οὐ πάντη θηριώδεις
ἐποικέοντας. ἐνθένδε ἐς διακοσίους σταδίους περιπλώσαντες
καταίρουσιν ἐς Δενδρόβοσα, καὶ αἱ νέες ἐπ' ἀγκυρέων
4 ἐσάλευσαν. ἐνθένδε ἀμφὶ μέσας νύκτας ἄραντες ἐς Κώφαντα
λιμένα ἀπίκοντο, τετρακοσίους μάλιστα σταδίους

1 See historical note.

9 shore. There they found some small boats, the sort that poor
fishermen might use, but they did not find the fishermen, who fled
as soon as they saw the ships anchoring. There was no corn there,
and the expedition had used most of its supply, but they embarked
10 some goats and then started away. Rounding a high cape jutting
some 150 stades into the sea, they put into a calm harbour; there
was water there, and fishermen inhabitants; the harbour was called
Mosarna.¹

27. Nearchus tells us that from this point a pilot sailed with
them, a Gadrosian called Hydraces.¹ He promised to take them as
far as Carmania; from there the difficulties ceased but there were
2 more . . . up to the Persian Gulf.² From Mosarna they started at
night and sailed 750 stades to the beach of Balomus. Thence again
400 stades to Barna, a village, where there were many date-palms
and a garden, with myrtles and flowers growing in it, of which
wreaths were woven by the natives. There for the first time they
saw cultivated trees, and inhabitants not quite like animals.³ Thence
3 they coasted a further 200 stades and put in at Dendrobosa where
4 the ships tossed at anchor. Thence starting out about midnight they
reached a harbour, Cophas, after a voyage

1 Pasni(?).

1 He was only the chief pilot, cf. 30, 3; 31, 4; 32, 7(?); S. xv 2, 12.

2 Roos thought the text corrupt. Emendations to mean 'with
better harbours (anchorages)' or 'better populated' give good sense,
but are not palaeographically plausible. Schiwiek keeps the manuscript
reading, which means literally 'rather more named' and understands
'whose names were rather better known'. I doubt (a) if this is tolerable
Greek; (b) if the names were known (as he thinks) from the Persian
archives (App. XXV 3).

3 Perhaps Gwadar, now the chief place on the coast.

- 5 διεκπλώσαντες· ἐνταῦθα ἀλιέες τε ᾤκεον, καὶ πλοῖα αὐτοῖσιν
 ἦν μικρὰ καὶ πονηρά· καὶ ταῖς κώπαις οὐ κατὰ σκαλμὸν
 ἤρεσσον ὡς ὁ Ἑλλήνων νόμος, ἀλλ' ὥσπερ ἐν ποταμῶ¹ τὸ
 ὕδωρ ἐπιβάλλοντες ἔνθεν καὶ ἔνθεν, κατάπερ οἱ σκάπτοντες
 6 τὴν γῆν. ὕδωρ δὲ πολὺ τε ἦν ἐν τῷ λιμένι καὶ καθαρὸν. περὶ
 δὲ πρώτην φυλακὴν ἄραντες καταίρουσιν ἐς Κύζα, ἐς
 ὀκτακοσίους σταδίους διεκπλώσαντες, ἵνα αἰγιαλὸς τε ἔρημος
 7 ἦν καὶ ραχίη. αὐτόθι ὦν ἐπ' ἀγκυρέων ὤρμεον, κατὰ ναῦν τε
 ἐδειπνοποιέοντο. ἐνθένδε διεκπλώσαντες σταδίους
 πεντακοσίους ἀπίκοντο ἐς τινα πόλιν μικρὴν, οἰκομένην ἐπὶ
 8 γηλόφου οὐ πόρρω τοῦ αἰγιαλοῦ. καὶ Νέαρχος ἐπιφρασθεὶς
 ὅτι σπείρεσθαι τὴν χώραν εἰκός, λέγει πρὸς Ἀρχίην, ὃς ἦν
 Ἀναξιδότου μὲν παῖς, Πελλαῖος, συνέπλει δὲ Νεάρχῳ, τῶν ἐν
 9 αἴνῃ ὦν Μακεδόνων—πρὸς τοῦτον λέγει ὅτι καταληπτέον
 σφίσις εἴη τὸ χωρίον· ἐκόντας τε γὰρ οὐκ ἂν οἶεσθαι δοῦναι
 τῇ στρατιῇ σιτία, βίη τε οὐχ οἶόν τε εἶναι ἐξαιρέειν,
 πολιορκίης δὲ καὶ τριβῆς δεήσειν, σφᾶς δὲ ἐπιλελοιπέναι τὰ
 σιτία. ὅτι δὲ ἡ γῆ σιτοφόρος, τῇ καλάμῃ τεκμηριούσθαι,
 10 ἦντινα οὐ πόρρω τοῦ αἰγιαλοῦ ἀφεώρων βαθέην. ταῦτα ἐπεὶ
 σφισιν ἐδόκεε, τὰς μὲν ἄλλας νέας κελεύει παραρτέεσθαι ὡς
 ἐς πλόον, καὶ ὁ Ἀρχίης αὐτῷ ἐξήρτυε τὰ ἐς τὸν πλόον· αὐτὸς
 δὲ ὑπολειφθεὶς μετὰ μιῆς νεῶς ἐπὶ θέαν δῆθεν τῆς πόλιος ἦει.
 28. προσάγοντι δὲ αὐτῷ πρὸς τὰ τείχεα φιλίως ξένια
 ἔφερον ἐκ τῆς πόλιος θύννους τε ἐν κριβάνοισιν ὀπτούς
 —οὔτοι γὰρ ἔσχατοι τῶν Ἰχθυοφάγων

1 I see no reason to suspect the reading, *contra* Roos.

- 5 of about 400 stades; here fishermen dwelt, with wretched small
 boats; and they did not row with their oars in a tholepin in the
 Greek way; but as you do in a river, propelling the water on this side
 and that, like labourers digging the soil. Water in the harbour was
 6 abundant and pure. About the first watch they weighed anchor and,
 after a passage of some 800 stades, put in at Cyiza, where there was
 a desert beach and a heavy surf. Here then they rode at anchor and
 made their supper aboard the ships. Thence they voyaged 500
 7 stades and reached a small town built near the shore on a hill.
 8 Noting that the land was probably cultivated, Nearchus told Archias
 of Pella, son of Anaxidotus, a Macedonian of distinction who was
 sailing with him,⁴ that they must surprise the place, since he did not
 9 suppose that the natives would willingly give the army provisions,
 and he could not capture it by force; this would require a siege and
 delay, while their provisions had failed. That the land produced
 corn he gathered from the straw they saw lying deep near the
 10 beach.⁵ After they reached this decision, he ordered the rest of the
 ships to get ready as if to put to sea, and Archias made the
 preparations for him, while Nearchus himself was left behind with a
 single ship and went off as if merely to look at the town.

28. As he approached the walls, the natives brought him in a
 friendly way gifts from the city, tunny-fish baked in earthen pans
 (for these people

4 Cf. 18, 3; 34; vii 20, 7.

5 Probably the coast of Gwatar bay, enriched by the rivers Dasht
 and Silup.

οϊκέοντες πρῶτοι ἐν αὐτοῖσιν ὤφθησαν οὐκ ὠμοφαγέοντες—
 2 καὶ πέμματα ὀλίγα καὶ βαλάνους τῶν φοινίκων. ὁ δὲ ταῦτα
 μὲν ἀσμένως δέκεσθαι ἔφη, ἐθέλειν δὲ θεήσασθαι τὴν πόλιν·
 3 οἱ δὲ εἶων παρελθεῖν. ὡς δὲ εἴσω πυλῶν παρήλθε, δύο μὲν τῶν
 τοξοτῶν κατέχειν κελεύει τὴν πυλίδα, αὐτὸς δὲ μετὰ δύο
 ἄλλων καὶ τοῦ ἐρμηνέως ἐπὶ τὸ τεῖχος τὸ ταύτη ἀνελθὼν
 ἐσήμηνε τοῖς ἀμφὶ τὸν Ἀρχίην ὅπως συνέκειτο. συνέκειτο γὰρ
 4 τὸν μὲν σημήναι, τὸν δὲ συμβαλόντα ποιεῖν τὸ τεταγμένον.
 ἰδόντες δὲ τὸ σημήμιον οἱ Μακεδόνες ἐπώκελλον τε κατὰ τάχος
 τὰς νέας καὶ ἐξεπήδων σπουδῇ ἐς τὴν θάλασσαν, οἱ δὲ
 5 βάρβαροι ἐκπλαγέντες τοῖς γινομένοις ἐπὶ τὰ ὄπλα ἔθεον. ὁ
 δὲ ἐρμηνεύς ὁ σὺν Νεάρχῳ ἐκήρυσσε σῖτον διδόναι τῇ
 στρατιῇ, εἰ σώαν ἐθέλουσιν ἔχειν τὴν πόλιν· οἱ δὲ ἠρνοῦντο
 εἶναι σφίσι, καὶ ἅμα προσέβαλλον τῷ τείχει. ἀλλὰ
 6 ἀνέστελλον αὐτοὺς οἱ τοξόται οἱ ἀμφὶ τὸν Νεάρχον, ἐξ
 ὑπερδεξίου τοξεύοντες. ὡς δὲ ἔμαθον ἐχομένην τε ἤδη καὶ
 ὅσον οὐπω ἀνδραποδισθησομένην σφίσι τὴν πόλιν, τότε δὲ
 δὴ ἐδέοντο τοῦ Νεάρχου τὸν μὲν σῖτον ὅσπερ ἦν αὐτοῖσι
 7 λαβόντα ἀπάγειν, τὴν πόλιν δὲ μὴ διαφθεῖραι. Νεάρχος δὲ
 τὸν μὲν Ἀρχίην κελεύει καταλαβεῖν τὰς πύλας καὶ τὸ κατ'
 αὐτὰς τεῖχος, αὐτὸς δὲ συμπέμπει τοὺς κατοικομένους τὸν
 8 σῖτον εἰ ἀδόλως δεικνύουσιν. οἱ δὲ τὸ μὲν ἀπὸ τῶν ἰχθύων τῶν
 ὀπτῶν ἀληλεσμένον ἄλευρον πολὺ ἐδείκνυσαν, πυροὺς δὲ καὶ
 κριθὰς ὀλίγας· καὶ γὰρ καὶ ἐτύγχανον σίτῳ μὲν τῷ ἀπὸ τῶν
 9 ἰχθύων, τοῖσι δὲ ἄρτοισιν ὅσα ὄψῳ διαχρεόμενοι. ὡς δὲ τὰ
 ὄντα ἐπεδείκνουν, οὕτω δὴ ἐκ τῶν παρόντων ἐπισιτισάμενοι
 ἀνήγοντο, καὶ ὀρμίζονται

were the last of the Fish-eaters and the first they saw who did not
 eat fish raw) and a few cakes and dates from the palms. He said that
 2 he accepted these gratefully, but wished to view the town, and they
 3 permitted him to enter. As soon as he had passed inside the gates,
 he ordered two of the archers to occupy the postern, while he
 himself with two others and the interpreter mounted the wall on
 the near side and signalled to Archias and his men as had been
 arranged; the arrangement was that Nearchus should send the
 signal and Archias should note it and act as instructed. On seeing
 4 the signal the Macedonians beached their ships with all speed and
 leapt in haste into the sea, while the natives, astounded at what was
 5 happening, ran to their arms. The interpreter with Nearchus
 proclaimed that they should give corn to the army, if they wanted to
 save their city; the natives replied that they had none, and at the
 same time attacked the wall. But the archers with Nearchus,
 shooting from above, easily held them back and, when the natives
 6 saw that their town was already occupied and almost on the way to
 being enslaved, they then at last begged Nearchus to take away
 what corn they had and retire, but not to destroy the town.
 7 Nearchus ordered Archias to seize the gates and the neighbouring
 wall, while he himself sent some soldiers with the natives to see
 8 whether they would reveal their corn without trickery. They showed
 plenty of meal ground from baked fish, but only a little corn and
 barley. In fact their staple food came from the fish, and they
 9 consumed bread loaves as a delicacy. When they had shown him
 what they had, the Greeks provisioned themselves from what was
 available and put to sea, anchoring by

πρὸς ἄκρην, ἦντινα οἱ ἐπιχώριοι ἱρὴν Ἑλίου ἦγον· οὖνομα τῇ ἄκρῃ Βάγεια.

29. ἐνθένδε ἀμφὶ μέσας νύκτας ἄραντες διεκπλώουσι σταδίους ἐς χιλίους ἐς Τάλμενα λιμένα¹ εὖορμον. ἐνθένδε ἐς Κανασίδα πόλιν ἐρήμην σταδίους ἐς τετρακοσίους, ἵνα τινὶ φρέατι ὀρυκτῶ ἐπιτυγχάνουσι, καὶ φοίνικες ἄγριοι

- 2 ἐπεφύκεσαν. τούτων τοὺς ἐγκεφάλους κόπτοντες ἐσιτέοντο· σίτος γὰρ ἐπελελοίπει τὴν στρατιήν. καὶ κακῶς ἤδη ὑπὸ λιμοῦ ἔχοντες ἔπλεον τὴν τε ἡμέρην καὶ τὴν νύκτα, καὶ
- 3 ὀρμίζονται πρὸς αἰγιαλῶ ἐρήμῳ. Νέαρχος δὲ καταδείσας μὴ ἄρα ἐς τὴν γῆν ἐκβάντες ἀπολίποιν τὰς νέας ὑπὸ ἀθυμίας,
- 4 ἐπὶ τῷδε μετεώρους ἔσχε τὰς νέας ἐπ' ἀγκυρέων. ἐνθένδε ἀναχθέντες ἐς Κανάτην ὀρμίζονται, σταδίους ὡς ἑπτακοσίους καὶ πεντήκοντα διεκπλώσαντες. ἔστι δὲ καὶ αἰγιαλὸς ἐνταῦθα
- 5 καὶ διώρυχες βραχεῖαι. ἐνθένδε σταδίους ὀκτακοσίους πλώσαντες ἐν Ταοῖσιν ὀρμίζονται, κῶμαι δὲ μικραὶ καὶ πονηραὶ ἐπήσαν. καὶ οἱ μὲν ἄνθρωποι ἐκλείπουσι τὰ οἰκία, αὐτοὶ δὲ σίτῳ τινὶ ὀλίγῳ ἐπιτυγχάνουσι, καὶ βαλάνοις ἐκ φοινίκων. καὶ καμήλους ἑπτὰ ὄσαι ἐγκατελήφθησαν
- 6 κατακόψαντες, ἀπὸ τούτων τὰ κρέα ἐσιτέοντο. ὑπὸ δὲ τὴν ἕω ἀναχθέντες σταδίους τριακοσίους πλώουσι, καὶ καθορμίζονται
- 7 ἐς Δαγάσειρα· ἐνθα νομάδες τινὲς ἄνθρωποι ὤκεον. ἐνθένδε ἄραντες τὴν τε νύκτα καὶ τὴν ἡμέρην οὐδέν τι ἐλινύοντες ἔπλεον, ἀλλὰ διελθόντες γὰρ σταδίους χιλίους τε καὶ ἑκατὸν ἐξέπλωσαν τὸ ἔθνος τῶν Ἰχθυοφάγων, πολλὰ κακὰ ταύτῃ παθόντες ἀπορίῃ

1 Tomaschek proposed ἐς Τείσα λιμένα, cf. Ptolem. vi 8, p. 414,

a headland which the inhabitants regarded as sacred to Helios (the Sun), called Bagia.

29. Thence, weighing anchor about midnight,¹ they voyaged another 1000 stades to Talmena,² a harbour giving good anchorage, and to Canasis, a deserted town, 400 stades further, where they found a well sunk, and wild date-palms growing near by. They cut out the hearts of these and ate them, for the expedition had run
- 2 short of food. In fact they were now really distressed by hunger and sailed on for the day and night, and anchored off a desolate shore.
- 3 Afraid that they would disembark and leave their ships from faint-heartedness, Nearchus purposely kept the ships anchored at sea.
- 4 They sailed thence and anchored at Canate, after a voyage of 750
- 5 stades. Here there is a beach with shallow channels. Thence they sailed 800 stades, anchoring at Taa; there were small wretched villages on the coast. The inhabitants deserted their homes and they found a little corn there, and dates from the palms. They slaughtered the seven camels captured there and ate their flesh.
- 6 About daybreak they weighed anchor and sailed 300 stades, and anchored at Dagasira; there some wandering tribe dwelt. Starting
- 7 thence, they sailed without rest all night and day, and after a voyage of 1100 stades they got past the people of Fish-eaters, in whose land they had been much distressed

1 N. must have recorded the name of the town and length of stay; to fit Onesicritus' statement (Pliny vi 97) that the voyage on the Fish-eaters' coast lasted 20 days, N. left on the second night.

2 Probably read: 'to Tis, a harbour'.

8 τῶν ἀναγκαίων. ὀρμίζονται δὲ οὐ πρὸς τῇ γῆ—ρήχιή γὰρ ἦν ἐπὶ πολλὸν ἀνέχουσα—, ἀλλὰ μετέωροι ἐπ’ ἀγκυρέων μῆκος τοῦ παράπλου τῶν Ἰχθυοφάγων τῆς χώρας ὀλίγω πλεῦνες στάδιοι μύριοι.

9 οὗτοι οἱ Ἰχθυοφάγοι σιτέονται, κατ’ ὅ τι περ καὶ κληίζονται, ἰχθύας, ὀλίγοι μὲν αὐτῶν ἀλιεύοντες τοὺς ἰχθύας—ὀλίγοισι γὰρ καὶ πλοῖα ἐπὶ τῷδε πεποιήται καὶ τέχνη ἐξεύρηται ἐπὶ τῇ θήρῃ τῶν ἰχθύων—, τὸ πολὺ δὲ ἢ ἀνάπωτις αὐτοῖσι παρέχει. οἱ δὲ δίκτυα ἐπὶ τῷδε πεποιήνται, μέγαθος καὶ ἐς δύο σταδίους τὰ πολλὰ αὐτῶν. πλέκουσι δὲ αὐτὰ ἐκ τοῦ φλοιοῦ τῶν φοινίκων, στρέφοντες τὸν φλοιὸν ὥσπερ λίνον. ἐπεὰν δὲ ἢ θάλασσα ὑπονοστήσῃ καὶ γῆ ὑπολειφθῇ, ἵνα μὲν ξηρὴ ἢ γῆ ὑπολείπεται, ἐρήμη τὸ πολὺ ἐστὶν ἰχθύων· ἔνθα δὲ βαθέα ἐστίν, ὑπολείπεται τι τοῦ ὕδατος καὶ ἐν τῷδε κάρτα πολλοὶ ἰχθύες, οἱ μὲν πολλοὶ σμικροὶ αὐτῶν, οἱ δὲ καὶ μέζονες· τούτοις περιβάλλοντες τὰ δίκτυα αἰρέουσι. σιτέονται δὲ ὠμοὺς μὲν, ὅπως ἀνειρύουσιν ἐκ τοῦ ὕδατος, τοὺς ἀπαλωτάτους αὐτῶν· τοὺς δὲ μέζονάς τε καὶ σκληροτέρους ὑπὸ ἡλίῳ ἀναίνοντες, εὐτ’ ἂν ἀφανανθῶσι, καταλοῦντες ἄλευρα ἀπ’ αὐτῶν ποιέονται καὶ ἄρτους, οἱ δὲ μάζας ἐκ τούτων τῶν ἀλεύρων πέσσουσι. καὶ τὰ βοσκήματα αὐτοῖσι τοὺς ἰχθύας ξηροὺς σιτέονται· ἢ γὰρ χώρα ἔρημος λειμώνων οὐδὲ ποίην φέρει. θηρεύουσι δὲ καὶ καράβους πολλαχῇ καὶ ὄστρεα καὶ τὰ κογχύλια· ἄλλες δὲ αὐτόματοι γίνονται ἐν τῇ χώρῃ· ἀπὸ τούτων ἔλαιον ποιέουσιν. οἱ μὲν δὲ

8 by want of necessaries. They did not moor near shore, as there was a long line of surf, but at anchor in the open sea. The length of the voyage along the coast of the Fish-eaters is a little above 10,000 stades.³

9 These Fish-eaters⁴ live on fish, hence their name; only a few of them are active fishing, as only a few have made boats for the purpose and acquire any skill in the art of catching fish, but for the most part the receding tide supplies them. They have nets made for this purpose mostly about two stades in length.⁵ They plait them from bark of the date-palm, twisting the bark like twine. When the sea recedes and exposes the land, the fish are not found as a rule where the earth is left dry, but where there are hollows some water is left, containing a very large number of fish, mostly small, but some large ones too, which they catch by throwing nets over them.

12 They eat the tenderest raw, just as they pull them out of the water; larger and tougher fish are dried in the sun till they are desiccated, and then pounded and made into meal and bread; some even make cakes of this flour. Even their flocks are fed on the dried fish, for the country has no meadows and produces no grass. In many places they also catch crayfish, oysters and mussels; there are many natural salts in the country, and from these ingredients they make an oily sauce. Some of them inhabit desert tracts,

3 App. XXV 7.

4 Cf. 22, 11 n.; 26, 7-9; 27, 2, 5 and 9; 28, 1 and 7 f.; 29, 5; S. xv 2, 2 (with further details from N.) and 13; D. 105, 3-5; QC. ix 10, 8 ff. (who wrongly calls the Fish-eaters Indians).

5 Whatever the length of N's stade (App. XXV 7 f.), N. probably wrote that the nets extended altogether for two stades.

αὐτῶν ἐρήμους τόπους οἰκέουσιν ἄδενδρόν τε τὴν χώραν καὶ
 ἄφορον καρπῶν ἡμέρων, τούτοις ἀπὸ τῶν ἰχθύων ἢ πᾶσα
 δίαίτα πεποιήται· ὀλίγοι δὲ αὐτῶν σπείρουσιν ὅσον τῆς
 χώρας, καὶ τούτῳ κατάπερ ὄψω, χρῶνται πρὸς τοὺς ἰχθύας· ὁ
 16 γὰρ σίτος αὐτοῖσιν εἰσιν οἱ ἰχθύες. οἰκία δὲ πεποιήνται οἱ μὲν
 εὐδαιμονέστατοι αὐτῶν ὅσα κήτεια ἐκβάλλει ἢ θάλασσα
 τούτων τὰ ὀστᾶ ἐπιλεγόμενοι <καὶ> τούτοις ἀντὶ ξύλων
 χρεόμενοι, καὶ θύρας τὰ ὀστέα ὅσα πλατέα αὐτῶν ἀλίσκεται
 ἀπὸ τούτων ποιέονται· τοῖσι δὲ πολλοῖς καὶ πενεστέρουσιν ἀπὸ
 τῶν ἀκανθῶν τῶν ἰχθύων τὰ οἰκία ποιέεται.

30. Κήτεια δὲ μεγάλα ἐν τῇ ἔξω θαλάσῃ βόσκεται, καὶ
 2 ἰχθύες πολὺν μέζονες ἢ ἐν τῇδε τῇ εἴσω. καὶ λέγει Νέαρχος,
 ὁπότε ἀπὸ Κυζίων παρέπλεον, ὑπὸ τὴν ἔω ὀφθῆναι ὕδωρ ἄνω
 ἀναφυσόμενον τῆς θαλάσσης οἷά περ ἐκ πρηστήρων βία
 3 ἀναφερόμενον, ἐκπλαγέντας δὲ σφᾶς πυνθάνεσθαι τῶν
 κατηγομένων τοῦ πλόου ὃ τι εἶη καὶ ἀπ' ὅτου τὸ πάθημα·
 τοὺς δὲ ὑποκρίνασθαι ὅτι κήτεια ταῦτα φερόμενα κατὰ τὸν
 πόντον ἀναφυσᾶ ἐς τὸ ἄνω τὸ ὕδωρ. καὶ τοῖσι ναύτησιν
 4 ἐκπλαγείσιν ἐκ τῶν χειρῶν τὰ ἔρετμὰ ἐκπεσεῖν, αὐτὸς δὲ
 ἐπιὼν παρακαλεῖν τε καὶ θαρσύνειν, καὶ κατ' οὔστινας
 παραπλέων ἐγένετο, ἐς μέτωπόν τε κελεύσαι καταστήσαι ὡς
 ἐπὶ ναυμαχίῃ τὰς νέας, καὶ ἐπαλαλάζοντας ὁμοῦ τῷ ῥοθίῳ
 5 πυκνήν τε καὶ ξὺν κτύπῳ πολλῶ τὴν εἰρεσίην ποιέεσθαι.
 οὕτως ἀναθαρσήσαντας ὁμοῦ δὴ πλέειν ἀπὸ ξυνθήματος. ὡς
 δὲ ἐπέλαζον ἤδη τοῖσι θηρίοισιν, ἐνταῦθα αὐτοὺς μὲν ὅσον αἱ
 κεφαλαὶ αὐτοῖσιν ἐχώρειν ἐπαλαλάξαι, τὰς δὲ σάλπιγγας
 σημήναι, καὶ τὸν κτύπον ἀπὸ τῆς εἰρεσίης ὡς ἐπὶ

country without trees and fruits produced by cultivation, and their
 whole diet consists in fish, but a few sow a little land, using the corn
 as a relish to the fish, for fish forms their staple. The richest among
 16 them have built huts by collecting the bones of any large sea
 animal⁶ the sea casts up, and using them in place of beams, with
 doors made from any flat bones which they get hold of. But the
 majority, and the poor, have huts made from the backbones of
 ordinary fishes.

30. Monstrously large sea animals feed in the outer ocean, much
 larger than those in our inland sea. Nearchus says that when they
 2 were sailing along the coast from Cyiza, about daybreak they saw
 water being blown upwards from the sea as it might be shot
 3 upwards by the force of a waterspout. They were astonished, and
 asked the pilots what it might be and how it was caused; they
 replied that it was these great animals spouting up the water as they
 moved about in the sea. The sailors were so startled that the oars
 4 fell from their hands. Nearchus went along the line encouraging
 and cheering them, and whenever he sailed past them he signalled
 them to turn the ships in line towards the animals as if to give them
 battle, to raise their battle cry in time with the splash of oars and to
 row with rapid strokes and with a great deal of noise. So they all
 5 took heart and sailed together according to signal. But when they
 were actually nearing the beasts, then they shouted with all the
 power of their throats, the trumpets gave the signal, and the rowers
 made the utmost splashings

⁶ Whales.

6 μήκιστον κατασχεῖν. οὕτω δὴ ὄρώμενα ἤδη κατὰ τὰς πρῶρας
 τῶν νεῶν τὰ κήτεα ἐς βυθὸν δύναι ἐκπλαγέντα, καὶ οὐ πολλῶ
 ὕστερον κατὰ τὰς πρύμνας ἀναδύντα ἀνασχεῖν καὶ τῆς
 7 θαλάσσης αὐθις ἀναφυσῆσαι ἐπὶ μέγα. ἔνθεν κρότον τε ἐπὶ
 τῇ παραλόγῳ σωτηρία γενέσθαι τῶν ναυτέων, καὶ αἶνον ἐς
 8 τὸν Νέαρχον τῆς τε τόλμης καὶ τῆς σοφίης. τούτων
 μετεξέτερα τῶν κητέων ἐποκέλλειν πολλαχοῦ τῆς χώρας,
 ἐπειδὴν ἀνάπτως κατάσχη, ἐν τοῖσι βράχεσιν ἐχόμενα, τὰ δὲ
 καὶ ὑπὸ χειμώνων σκληρῶν ἐς τὴν χέρσον ἐξωθέεσθαι, καὶ
 οὕτω δὴ καὐτὰ σηπόμενα ἀπόλλυσθαι τε καὶ τὰς σάρκας
 9 αὐτοῖσι περιρρεούσας ὑπολείπειν τὰ ὀστέα χρῆσθαι τοῖσιν
 ἀνθρώποισιν ἐς τὰ οἰκία. εἶναι ὦν τὰ μὲν ἐν τῆσι πλευρῆσιν
 αὐτῶν ὀστέα δοκοὺς τοῖσιν οἰκήμασιν ὅσα μεγάλα, τὰ δὲ
 μικρότερα στρωτῆρας· τὰ δὲ ἐν τῆσι σιαγόσι, ταῦτα δὲ εἶναι
 τὰ θύρετρα, οἷα δὴ πολλῶν καὶ εἰς εἴκοσι καὶ πέντε ὀργυιάς
 ἀνηκόντων τὸ μέγεθος.

31. εὔτε δὲ παρέπλεον τὴν χώραν τῶν Ἰχθυοφάγων, λόγον
 ἀκούουσι περὶ νήσου τινός, ἣ κείται μὲν ἀπέχουσα τῆς ταύτης
 2 ἡπείρου σταδίου ἐς ἑκατόν, ἐρήμη δὲ ἐστὶν οἰκητόρων.
 ταύτην ἱρὴν Ἡλίου ἔλεγον εἶναι οἱ ἐπιχώριοι καὶ Νόσαλα
 καλέεσθαι, οὐδέ τινα ἀνθρώπων καταίρειν ἐθέλειν ἐς αὐτήν·
 3 ὅστις δ' ἂν ἀπειρήνῃ προσχῆ, γίνεσθαι ἀφανέα. ἀλλὰ λέγει
 Νέαρχος κέρκουρον σφι ἓνα πλήρωμα ἔχοντα Αἰγυπτίων οὐ
 πόρρω τῆς νήσου ταύτης γενέσθαι ἀφανέα, καὶ ὑπὲρ τούτου
 τοὺς ἡγεμόνας τοῦ πλόου ἰσχυρίζεσθαι ὅτι ἄρα κατάραντες

6 with their oars. So the animals, now visible at the bows of the ships,
 were scared and dived into the depths; then not long afterwards
 they came up to the surface astern and again spouted water over a
 7 great expanse of sea. The sailors clapped at their unexpected escape
 from destruction and praised Nearchus for his courage and
 8 cleverness. Some of these large fishes go ashore at many parts of
 the coast, and when the ebb comes are caught in the shallows, while
 some are cast on the dry land by heavy storms and as a result
 putrefy and die; their flesh rots away and the bones are left, to be
 used by the natives for their huts. In fact the bones in their ribs
 9 served for the larger beams of their dwellings, the smaller for
 rafters and the jawbones for doorposts, since many of these
 creatures reached a length of five-and-twenty fathoms.¹

31. While they were coasting along the territory of the Fish-
 eaters, they heard a story of an uninhabited island which lies some
 100 stades from the mainland here.¹ The local people said that it
 2 was sacred to Helios and called Nosala, and that no human being
 put in there of his own will, but that anyone who touched there in
 ignorance disappeared. However, Nearchus says that when one of
 3 his *kerkouroi* with an Egyptian crew disappeared with all hands not
 far from this island, and the pilots explained

1 Summarizing N., whom he suspected of exaggerating the danger from the whales (xv 2, 12 f.), S. gives '23'; one or the other figure is corrupt. Cf. 39, 3 n.; other figures in Onesicritus F 28 and 31; D. 106, 6 f.; QC. x 1, 12. S's version of N. (xv 2, 13) shows that he landed with an escort. QC. x 1, 13 f., who confuses the island with that in 37, 3, like Pliny, vi 97, purporting to summarize N. and Onesicritus, does not reveal that N. refuted the legend. For modern speculations on island and legend see Schiwiek 58.

4 ὑπ' ἀγνοίης εἰς τὴν νῆσον γένοιτο ἀφανέες. Νέαρχος δὲ
πέμπει κύκλῳ περὶ τὴν νῆσον τριηκόντορον, κελεύσας μὴ
κατασχεῖν μὲν εἰς τὴν νῆσον, ἐμβοᾶν δὲ τοῖς ἀνθρώποις ὡς
5 μάλιστα ἐν χρῶ παραπλέοντας, καὶ τὸν κυβερνήτην
ὀνομάζοντας καὶ ὅτου ἄλλου οὐκ ἀφανὲς τὸ οὖνομα. ὡς δὲ
οὐδένα ὑπακούειν, τότε δὲ αὐτὸς λέγει πλεύσαι εἰς τὴν νῆσον
καὶ κατασχεῖν δὴ προσαναγκάσαι τοὺς ναύτας οὐκ ἐθέλοντας,
καὶ ἐκβῆναι αὐτὸς καὶ ἐλέγξει κενὸν μῦθον ἔοντα τὸν περὶ
6 τῆς νήσου λόγον. ἀκούσαι δὲ καὶ ἄλλον λόγον ὑπὲρ τῆς
νήσου ταύτης λεγόμενον, οἰκῆσαι τὴν νῆσον ταύτην μίαν τῶν
Νηρηίδων· τὸ δὲ οὖνομα οὐ λέγεσθαι τῆς Νηρηίδος. ταύτη δὲ
ὅστις πελάσειε τῇ νήσῳ, τούτῳ συγγίνεσθαι μὲν, ἰχθὺν δὲ
7 αὐτὸν ἐξ ἀνθρώπου ποιέουσιν ἐμβάλλειν εἰς τὸν πόντον.
Ἡλιον δὲ ἀχθεσθέντα τῇ Νηρηίδι κελεύειν μετοικίζεσθαι
αὐτὴν ἐκ τῆς νήσου· τὴν δὲ ὁμολογεῖν μὲν ὅτι ἐξοικισθήσεται,
8 δεῖσθαι δὲ οἱ τὸ πάθημα <πανθῆναι>. καὶ τὸν Ἡλιον
ὑποδέξασθαι, τοὺς δὲ δὴ ἀνθρώπους οὕστινας [ἀν] ἰχθύας ἐξ
ἀνθρώπων πεποιήκει κατελεήσαντα ἀνθρώπους αὐθις ἐξ
9 ἰχθύων ποιῆσαι, καὶ ἀπὸ τούτων τῶν Ἰχθυοφάγων τὸ γένος
καὶ εἰς Ἀλέξανδρον κατελθεῖν. καὶ ταῦτα ὅτι ψεύδεα ἐξελέγχει
Νέαρχος, οὐκ ἐπαινῶ αὐτὸν ἔγωγε τῆς σχολῆς τε καὶ σοφίης,
οὔτε κάρτα χαλεπὰ ἐξελεγχθῆναι ἔοντα, ταλαίπωρόν τε ὄν
γιγνώσκων τοὺς παλαιούς λόγους ἐπιλεγόμενον ἐξελέγχειν
ὄντας ψευδέας.

32. ὑπὲρ τοὺς Ἰχθυοφάγους Γαδρώσιοι εἰς τὸ ἄνω οἰκέουσι
γῆν πονηρὴν καὶ ψαμμώδεα, ἔνθεν καὶ τὰ πολλὰ κακὰ ἢ
στρατιῇ τε Ἀλεξάνδρῳ ἔπαθεν

this by asserting that it was because they had touched ignorantly on
4 the island that they had disappeared, he sent a triacontor to sail
round the island, with orders that they should not put in, but that
the crew should shout loudly, while coasting round as near as they
dared, and should call on the lost helmsman by name, or on any of
5 the crew whose name they knew. He tells us that as no one
answered he himself sailed up to the island, and compelled his crew
to put in against their will; he went ashore and exploded this island
6 fairy-tale. They heard another story current about this island, that
one of the Nereids dwelt there, whose name was not told; she
would have intercourse with anyone who approached the island, but
7 then turn him into a fish and throw him into the sea. Helios became
irritated with the Nereid and ordered her to leave the island, and
she agreed to move, but begged that the misery she caused be
8 ended; Helios consented and in compassion for the men she had
turned into fishes turned them back again into human beings; they
were the ancestors of the people of Fish-eaters down to Alexander's
9 day. Nearchus shows that all this is false, but I do not commend him
for his learned discussion, as in my judgement the stories are easy
enough to refute and it is tedious to relate the old tales and then
prove them false.

32. Beyond the Fish-eaters the Gadrosians inhabit the interior, a
poor and sandy territory, where Alexander's army and Alexander
himself suffered so seriously,

2 καὶ αὐτὸς Ἀλέξανδρος, ὡς μοι ἤδη ἐν τῷ ἄλλῳ λόγῳ
 ἀπήγηται. ὡς δὲ ἐς τὴν Καρμανίην ἀπὸ τῶν Ἰχθυοφάγων
 κατήρην ὁ στρατός, ἐνταῦθα ἵνα πρῶτον τῆς Καρμανίης
 ὠρμίσαντο, ἐπ' ἀγκυρέων ἐσάλευσαν, ὅτι ῥηχίη παρετέτατο ἐς
 3 τὸ πέλαγος τρηχίη. ἐνθένδε οὐκέτι ὡσαύτως πρὸς ἡλίου
 δυομένου ἔπλων, ἀλλὰ τὸ μεταξὺ δύσιός τε ἡλίου καὶ τῆς
 4 ἄρκτου μᾶλλον τι αἰ πρῶραι αὐτοῖσιν ἐπέιχον, καὶ ἡ
 Καρμανίη¹ τῶν Ἰχθυοφάγων τῆς γῆς καὶ τῶν Ὠρειτῶν
 εὐδενδροτέρη τε καὶ εὐκαρποτέρη ἐστὶ καὶ ποιώδης μᾶλλον τι
 5 καὶ ἔνυδρος. ὀρμίζονται δὲ ἐν Βάδει χώρῳ τῆς Καρμανίης
 οἰκουμένῳ, δένδρεά τε πολλὰ ἡμερα πεφυκότα ἔχοντι πλὴν
 6 ἐλαίης, καὶ ἀμπέλους ἀγαθᾶς, καὶ σιτοφόρῳ. ἐνθένδε
 ὀρμηθέντες καὶ διεκπλώσαντες σταδίους ὀκτακοσίους πρὸς
 αἰγιαλῷ ὀρμίζονται ἐρήμῳ, καὶ καθορῶσιν ἄκρην μακρὴν
 7 ἀνέχουσαν ἐπὶ πολλὸν ἐς τὸ πέλαγος· ἀπέχει δὲ ἐφαίνετο ἡ
 ἄκρη πλόου ὡς ἡμέρης. καὶ οἱ τῶν χώρων ἐκείνων δαήμονες
 τῆς Ἀραβίης ἔλεγον τὴν ἀνίσχουσαν ταύτην ἄκρην,
 καλέεσθαι <δὲ> Μάκετα· ἔνθεν τὰ κιννάμωμά τε καὶ ἄλλα
 8 τοιουτότροπα ἐς Ἀσσυρίους ἀγινέεσθαι. καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ αἰγιαλοῦ
 τούτου, ἵναπερ ὁ στόλος ἐσάλευε, καὶ τῆς ἄκρης, ἦντινα
 καταντικρὺ ἀφεώρων ἀνέχουσαν ἐς τὸ πέλαγος, ὁ κόλπος
 —ἐμοί τε δοκεῖ καὶ Νεάρχῳ ὡσαύτως ἐδόκεεν—ἐς τὸ εἶσω
 9 ἀναχέεται, ὅπερ εἰκὸς ἢ Ἐρυθρῇ θάλασσᾳ. ταύτην τὴν ἄκρην
 ὡς κατέιδον, Ὀνησίκριτος μὲν ἐπέχοντας ἐπ' αὐτὴν πλέειν
 ἐκέλευεν,

1 οὕτω μᾶλλον . . . οὕτω ἢ Καρμανίη codd. I follow Hercher
 in deleting οὕτω in both cases.

as I have already related in my other book. But when the fleet,
 2 leaving the Fish-eaters, put in at Carmania, at the point where they
 first touched Carmania, they rode at anchor, since the surf extended
 3 along the coast out to sea and was rough. From there they sailed no
 further due west, but steered with their bows pointing rather
 between north and west.¹ Carmania is better wooded than the
 4 country of the Fish-eaters and the Oritans and bears more fruits; it
 5 has more grass and is well watered. They moored at an inhabited
 place called Badis in Carmania with many cultivated trees growing
 (but not the olive), and good vines; it also produced corn. Setting
 6 out from there, they voyaged 800 stades and moored off a desert
 shore, where they sighted a long cape jutting out far into the ocean;
 7 it seemed as if the headland itself was a day's sail away. Those who
 had knowledge of the district said that this jutting promontory
 belonged to Arabia, and was called Maceta,² and that it was from
 there that cinnamon and other such commodities were imported
 8 into Assyria.³ From this beach, off which the fleet anchored in the
 open roadstead, and from the promontory which they sighted
 opposite them jutting out into the sea, the bay (in my opinion, and
 that of Nearchus) runs back into the interior, and would seem to be
 9 the Red Sea.⁴ When they sighted this cape, Onesicritus urged them
 to make for it in their voyage,

1 They had turned the Ras el Kuh headland; § 1 repeats 26, 1.

2 Ras Masandam; A. omits N's estimate of the distance to the
 Carmanian coast as a day's sailing (S. xv 2, 14, with description of
 Carmania from N. or Onesicritus).

3 I.e. Mesopotamia (*RE* ii 2701; *Ar. ap.* vii 19, 4; 21, 5 for
 parallels). See App. XXV 3.

4 App. XXV 1.

- 10 ὡς μὴ κατὰ τὸν κόλπον ἐλαστρέοντας ταλαιπωρέεσθαι.
 Νέαρχος δὲ ὑποκρίνεται νήπιον εἶναι Ὀνησίκριτον, εἰ ἀγνοεῖ
- 11 ἐπ' ὅτῳ ἐστάλη πρὸς Ἀλεξάνδρου ὁ στόλος. οὐ γὰρ ὅτι
 ἀπορίη ἦν περὶ διασωθῆναι πάντα αὐτῷ τὸν στρατόν, ἐπὶ
 τῷδε ἄρα ἐκπέμψαι τὰς νέας, ἀλλὰ ἐθέλοντα αἰγιαλοὺς τε τοὺς
 κατὰ τὸν παράπλου κατασκεύασθαι καὶ ὄρμους καὶ νησιῖδας,
 καὶ ὅστις κόλπος ἐσέχοι ἐκπεριπλῶσαι τοῦτον, καὶ πόλιας
- 12 ὅσαι ἐπιθαλάσσιαι, καὶ εἴ τις ἔγκαρπος γῆ καὶ εἴ τις ἐρήμη.
 σφᾶς ὧν οὐ χρῆναι ἀφανίσαι τὸ ἔργον, πρὸς τέρματι ἤδη
 ἐόντας τῶν πόνων, ἄλλως τε οὐδὲ ἀπόρως ἔτι τῶν ἀναγκαίων
 ἐν τῷ παράπλω ἔχοντας. δεδιέναι τε, ὅτι ἡ ἄκρη ἐς
- 13 μεσημβρίην ἀνέχει, μὴ ἐρήμῳ τε τῇ ταύτῃ γῆ καὶ ἀνύδρῳ καὶ
 φλογώδει ἐγκύρσειαν. ταῦτα ἐνίκα, καὶ μοι δοκεῖ περιφανέως
 σῶσαι τὴν στρατιὴν τῆδε τῇ βουλῇ Νέαρχος· τὴν γὰρ δὴ
 ἄκρην ἐκείνην καὶ τὴν πρὸς αὐτῇ χώραν πᾶσαν ἐρήμην τε
 εἶναι λόγος κατέχει καὶ ὕδατος ἀπορίη ἔχεσθαι.

33. ἀλλὰ ἔπλωον γὰρ ἀπὸ τοῦ αἰγιαλοῦ ἄραντες τῇ γῆ
 προσεχές, καὶ πλώσαντες σταδίους ὡς ἑπτακοσίους ἐν ἄλλῳ

2 αἰγιαλῷ ὠρμίσαντο· Νεόπτανα ὄνομα τῷ αἰγιαλῷ. καὶ αὐθις
 ὑπὸ τὴν ἕω ἀνήγοντο, καὶ πλεύσαντες σταδίους ἑκατὸν
 ὠρμίζονται κατὰ ποταμὸν Ἄναμιν· ὁ δὲ χῶρος Ἄρμόζεια
 ἐκαλέετο. δαψιλέα δὲ ἤδη καὶ πάμφορα <τὰ>

- to avoid the hardship of rowing right round the bay. Nearchus
 replied that he was childish, if he was 10 ignorant of Alexander's
 purpose in despatching the expedition; it was certainly not because
- 11 he was unequal to bringing all his force safely through on foot that
 he had despatched the fleet: he desired to reconnoitre the coasts
 that lay on the line of the voyage and the roadsteads and islets, to
 explore thoroughly every bay which they found, to learn about all
 the cities on the sea-coast, and to discover which land was fruitful
- 12 and which desert. They must therefore not nullify the enterprise
 when they were almost at the close of their hardships, especially as
 they no longer had any problem about necessities on the coasting
 voyage. His own fear was that, since the cape ran southward, they
 would find the land there desert, waterless and sun-scorched. This
- 13 view prevailed; and I think that Nearchus manifestly saved the
 expedition by this decision, for it is the prevalent story that this
 cape and the country near it are entirely desert and denuded of
 water.⁵

33. So on leaving the shore they hugged the land in their
 voyage, and after some 700 stades they anchored off another beach,
 2 called Neoptana. At dawn they put off again and, after sailing 100
 stades, moored by the river Anamis at a place called Harmoia.¹
 Here there was an abundance of products of

5 As alternative paraphrase in vii 20, 10 shows that here too he is simply endorsing N's self-justification; 'the prevalent story' was doubtless based on the reports of voyages in vii 20, 7-9, to which N. appealed. Schiwiek 72 f. argues that Onesicritus merely proposed a short cut across the Straits of Hormuz to the Carmanian coast, not sailing up the Arabian coast to the Euphrates mouth. This course would still have contravened Al's instructions and N. would then have by-passed Harmoia.

1 At the Minab mouth. Badian, *Yale Cl. St.* 1975, 160 ff. justifiably doubts N's veracity here. It is odd to find Greeks wandering about (A 5) and small Macedonian parties safely traversing (34) an

3 ταύτη ἦν, πλὴν ἐλαίαι οὐ πεφύκεσαν. ἐνταῦθα ἐκβαίνουσί τε
 ἐκ τῶν νεῶν καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν πολλῶν πόνων ἄσμενοι ἀνεπαύοντο,
 μεμνημένοι ὅσα κακὰ κατὰ τὴν θάλασσαν πεπονθότες ἦσαν
 καὶ πρὸς τῇ γῇ τῶν Ἴχθυοφάγων, τὴν τε ἐρημίην τῆς χώρας
 4 καὶ τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ὅπως θηριώδεις καὶ τὰς σφῶν ἀπορίας
 ἐπιλεγόμενοι. καὶ τινες αὐτῶν ἀπὸ θαλάσσης ἐς τὸ πρόσω
 5 ἀνήλθον, ἀποσκεδασθέντες τῆς στρατιῆς κατὰ ζήτησιν ἄλλος
 ἄλλον. ἐνταῦθα ἄνθρωπός σφισιν ὤφθη χλαμύδα τε φορῶν
 Ἑλληνικὴν καὶ τὰ ἄλλα ὡς Ἕλληνα ἐσκευασμένος, καὶ φωνὴν
 Ἑλλάδα ἐφώνεε. τοῦτον οἱ πρῶτοι ἰδόντες δακρῦσαι ἔλεγον·
 οὕτω τι παράλογόν σφισι φανῆναι ἐκ τῶν τοσῶνδε κακῶν
 6 Ἕλληνα μὲν ἄνθρωπον ἰδεῖν, Ἑλλάδος δὲ φωνῆς ἀκούσαι.
 ἐπηρώτων τε ὀπόθεν ἦκοι καὶ ὅστις ὦν ὁ δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ
 στρατοπέδου τοῦ Ἀλεξάνδρου ἀποσκεδασθῆναι ἔλεγε, καὶ
 7 εἶναι οὐ πόρρω τὸ στρατόπεδον καὶ αὐτὸν Ἀλέξανδρον. τοῦτον
 τὸν ἄνθρωπον βοῶντές τε καὶ κροτέοντες ἀνάγουσι παρὰ τὸν
 Νέαρχον· καὶ Νέαρχω πάντα ἔφρασε, καὶ ὅτι πέντε ἡμερέων
 8 ὁδὸν ἀπέχει τὸ στρατόπεδον καὶ ὁ βασιλεὺς ἀπὸ τῆς
 θαλάσσης. τὸν τε ὑπαρχον τῆς χώρας ταύτης δείξειν ἔφη
 Νέαρχω, καὶ ἔδειξε· καὶ μετὰ τούτου Νέαρχος γνώμην
 9 ποιέεται, ὅπως ἀναβήσεται πρὸς βασιλέα. τότε μὲν δὴ ἐπὶ τὰς
 νέας ἀπήλθον· ὑπὸ δὲ τὴν ἕω τὰς νέας ἐνεώλκεεν, ἐπισκευῆς τε
 εἵνεκα, ὅσαι αὐτῶν κατὰ τὸν πλοῦν πεπονήκεσαν, καὶ ἅμα ὅτι
 10 ἐν τῷ χώρῳ τούτῳ ὑπολείπεσθαί οἱ ἐδόκεε τὸν πολλὸν
 στρατόν. χάρακά τε ὦν περιβάλλεται διπλοῦν περὶ τῷ
 ναυστάθμῳ, καὶ τείχος γήινον καὶ τάφρον βαθεῖν, ἀπὸ τοῦ
 ποταμοῦ τῆς

3 all kinds, except that olives did not grow. They disembarked, and
 had a welcome rest from their numerous hardships, remembering
 the miseries they had endured by sea and on the coast of the Fish-
 eaters and reflecting on the desolation of the country, the bestial
 nature of the men, and their own difficulties. Some of them went
 4 off inland from the sea and dispersed from the main force with
 5 varying quests. There they met a man in a Greek cloak, dressed in
 other ways like a Greek, and also speaking Greek. Those who first
 sighted him said that they burst into tears, so contrary to
 expectation did it seem after all these miseries to see a Greek, and
 6 to hear Greek spoken. They asked where he came from and who he
 was; and he said that he had strayed from Alexander's camp and
 that the camp, and Alexander himself, were not very far distant.
 7 Shouting and clapping, they brought him to Nearchus, and he told
 Nearchus everything, and that the camp and the king himself were
 8 five days' journey distant from the coast. He also promised to show
 Nearchus the hyparch of this district, and did so. With his help
 Nearchus decided how to go inland to the King. For the moment
 9 indeed they returned to the ships, but at dawn he had them drawn
 up on shore, to repair any that had been damaged on the voyage,
 and also because it was in his mind to leave the greater part of the
 10 force behind here. So he had a double stockade built round the
 ships' station, and an earthen wall with a deep trench,

ὄχθης ἀρξάμενος ἔσπε ἐπὶ τὸν αἰγιαλόν, ἵνα αἱ νέες αὐτῷ ἀνειρυσμέναι ἦσαν.

34. ἐν ᾧ δὲ ὁ Νέαρχος ταῦτα ἐκόσμεε, τῆς χώρας ὁ ὑπαρχος πεπυσμένος ὅπως ἐν μεγάλῃ φροντίδι ἔχοι Ἀλέξανδρος τὰ ἀμφὶ τὸν στόλον τοῦτον, μέγα δὴ τι ἀγαθὸν ἐξ Ἀλεξάνδρου ἂν ἔγνω πείσεσθαι, εἰ πρῶτός οἱ ἀπαγγεῖλει τοῦ στρατοῦ τὴν σωτηρίην καὶ τὸν Νέαρχον ὅτι οὐ πολλῷ ὕστερον ἀφίξεται ἐς ὄψιν τὴν βασιλέως. οὕτω δὴ τὴν βραχυτάτην ἐλάσας ἀπαγγέλλει Ἀλεξάνδρῳ ὅτι Νέαρχος οὗτος προσάγει ἀπὸ τῶν νεῶν. τότε μὲν δὴ καίπερ ἀπιστέων τῷ λόγῳ Ἀλέξανδρος ἀλλὰ ἐχάρη γε κατὰ τὸ εἶκός τῆ ἀγγελίῃ· ὡς δὲ ἡμέρη τε ἄλλη ἐξ ἄλλης ἐγίνετο, καὶ ξυντιθέντι αὐτῷ τῆς ἀγγελίης τὸν χρόνον οὐκέτι πιστὰ τὰ ἐξηγγελμένα ἐφαίνετο, πεμπόμενοί τε ἄλλοι ἐπ' ἄλλοισιν ὡς ἐπὶ κομιδῇ τοῦ Νεάρχου οἱ μὲν τινες ὀλίγον τῆς ὁδοῦ προελθόντες καὶ οὐδενὶ ἐγκύρσαντες κενοὶ ἐπανήσαν, οἱ δὲ καὶ πορρωτέρω ἐλθόντες καὶ διαμαρτόντες τῶν ἀμφὶ τὸν Νέαρχον οὐδὲ αὐτοὶ ἐπανήσαν, ἐνταῦθα δὴ τὸν μὲν ἄνθρωπον ἐκείνου, ὡς κενά τε ἀγγείλαντα καὶ λυπηρότερα οἱ τὰ πρήγματα ποιήσαντα τῆ ματαίῃ εὐφροσύνῃ, συλλαβεῖν κελεύει Ἀλέξανδρος, αὐτὸς δὲ τῆ τε ὄψει καὶ τῆ γνώμῃ δῆλος ἦν μεγάλῳ ἄχει βεβλημένος. ἐν τούτῳ δὲ τῶν τινες κατὰ ζήτησιν τοῦ Νεάρχου ἐσταλμένων ἵππους τε ἐπὶ κομιδῇ αὐτῶν καὶ ἀπήνας δὲ ἄγοντες ἐντυγχάνουσι κατὰ τὴν ὁδὸν αὐτῷ τε Νεάρχῳ καὶ τῷ Ἀρχίῃ καὶ πέντε ἢ ἐξ ἅμα αὐτοῖσιν· μετὰ τοσοῦτων γὰρ ἀνήει. καὶ ἐντυχόντες οὔτε αὐτὸν ἐγνώρισαν οὔτε τὸν Ἀρχίην — οὕτω τοι κάρτα ἄλλοιοι ἐφάνησαν, κομόωντές τε καὶ ῥυπόωντες καὶ

beginning from the bank of the river and going on to the beach where his ships had been dragged ashore.

34. While Nearchus was making these arrangements, the hyparch of the country, who had been told that Alexander felt the deepest concern about this expedition, concluded that he would receive a great reward from Alexander if he were the first to tell him of the safety of the expedition, and that Nearchus would soon appear before the king. So he rode by the shortest route and announced that Nearchus was coming from the ships. On this Alexander, though sceptical of the report, was naturally pleased by the news. But when day succeeded day and Alexander, reckoning the time when he received the news, could not any longer believe it, when, moreover, relay after relay sent to escort Nearchus either went a little way and, meeting no one, came back unsuccessful, or went on further, missed Nearchus' party and did not themselves return at all, Alexander at last ordered the man to be arrested for bringing an idle tale, and aggravating his distress with false happiness, and showed by both his looks and decision the great pain he was suffering. Meanwhile, however, some of those sent to search for Nearchus, with horses and chariots to convey him, did meet Nearchus himself on the way with Archias and five or six others; so small was his party on his journey inland. On this meeting they did not recognize either Nearchus or Archias; so greatly altered did they appear, with their hair long, unwashed, covered with brine, wizened,

8 μεστοὶ ἄλμης καὶ ῥικνοὶ τὰ σώματα καὶ ὠχροὶ ὑπὸ ἀγρυπνίης
 τε καὶ τῆς ἄλλης ταλαιπωρίας — ἀλλὰ ἐρομένοις γὰρ αὐτοῖς
 ἵναπερ εἶη Ἀλέξανδρος, ὑποκρινάμενοι τὸν χῶρον οἱ δὲ
 9 παρήλαντον. Ἀρχίης δὲ ἐπιφρασθεὶς λέγει πρὸς Νέαρχον “ὦ
 Νέαρχε, τούτους τοὺς ἀνθρώπους δι’ ἐρημίας ἐλαύνειν τὴν
 αὐτὴν ἡμῖν ὁδὸν οὐκ ἐπ’ ἄλλω τινὶ συντίθημι [ἦ] ὅτι μὴ κατὰ
 10 ζήτησιν τὴν ἡμετέραν ἀπεσταλμένους. ὅτι δὲ οὐ
 γινώσκουσιν ἡμέας, οὐκ ἐν θώματι ποιέομαι· οὕτω γάρ τι
 ἔχομεν κακῶς ὡς ἄγνωστοι εἶναι. φράσωμεν αὐτοῖσιν οἷτινές
 11 εἴμεν, καὶ αὐτοὺς ἐρώμεθα καθότι ταύτη ἐλαύνουσιν.” ἔδοξε τῷ
 Νεάρχῳ ἐναίσιμα λέγειν· καὶ ἤρουντο ὅποι ἐλαύνουσιν· οἱ δὲ
 ὑποκρίνονται ὅτι κατὰ ζήτησιν Νεάρχου τε καὶ τοῦ στρατοῦ
 12 τοῦ ναυτικοῦ. ὁ δὲ “οὗτος” ἔφη “ἐγὼ εἰμι Νεάρχος, καὶ Ἀρχίας
 οὗτος. ἀλλ’ ἄγετε ἡμέας· ἡμεῖς δὲ τὰ ὑπὲρ τῆς στρατιῆς
 Ἀλεξάνδρῳ ἀπηγησόμεθα.”

35. ἀναλαβόντες <ὧν> αὐτοὺς ἐπὶ τὰς ἀπήνας ὀπίσω
 ἤλαντον. καὶ τινες αὐτῶν τούτων ὑποφθάσαι ἐβελήσαντες τὴν
 ἀγγελίην, προδραμόντες λέγουσιν Ἀλεξάνδρῳ ὅτι “οὗτός τοι
 Νεάρχος, καὶ σὺν αὐτῷ Ἀρχίης καὶ πέντε ἄλλοι κομίζονται
 2 παρὰ σέ,” ὑπὲρ δὲ τοῦ στρατοῦ παντὸς οὐδὲν εἶχον
 ὑποκρίνασθαι. τοῦτο ἐκείνο συνθεὶς Ἀλέξανδρος, τοὺς μὲν
 παραλόγως ἀποσωθῆναι, τὴν στρατιὴν δὲ πᾶσαν διεφάρθαι
 αὐτῷ, οὐ τοσόνδε τοῦ Νεάρχου τε καὶ τοῦ Ἀρχίου τῇ σωτηρίῃ
 3 ἔχαιρεν, ὅσον ἐλύπει αὐτὸν ἀπολομένη ἢ στρατιὴ πᾶσα. οὕπω
 πάντα ταῦτα εἶρητο, καὶ ὁ Νεάρχός τε καὶ ὁ Ἀρχίης
 προσῆγον. τοὺς δὲ μόγις καὶ χαλεπῶς ἐπέγνω Ἀλέξανδρος,
 ὅτι τε κομόωντας καὶ κακῶς ἐσταλμένους

pale from sleeplessness and their other hardships; when they asked
 8 where Alexander might be, the search party told them the place and
 9 were driving on. Archias, however, had a thought and said to
 Nearchus: ‘I suspect, Nearchus, that these persons who are
 traversing the same road as we through desert country have been
 sent for the express purpose of finding us; as for their failure to
 10 recognize us, I do not wonder at that; we are in such bad condition
 as to be unrecognizable. Let us tell them who we are, and ask them
 why they are driving this way.’ Nearchus approved; they did ask
 11 where they were driving, and had the reply: ‘To look for Nearchus
 12 and his naval force.’ Then Nearchus said: ‘I am Nearchus and this is
 Archias. Lead on; we ourselves will report to Alexander about the
 expedition.’

35. The soldiers took them up in their cars and drove back
 again. Some of them, anxious to be beforehand with the news, ran
 ahead and told Alexander: ‘Here is Nearchus with Archias and five
 others being brought before you.’ They could not, however, answer
 any questions about the fleet as a whole. Fastening on this,
 2 Alexander concluded that these few had been miraculously saved,
 but that his whole expedition had been lost, and did not feel so
 much pleasure at the safe arrival of Nearchus and Archias as pain at
 3 the loss of all his force. Hardly had the soldiers told him this much,
 when Nearchus and Archias approached; Alexander recognized
 them

καθεώρα, ταύτη μάλλον τι βεβαιότερον αὐτῷ τὸ ἄχος ὑπὲρ
 4 τῆς στρατιῆς τῆς ναυτικῆς ἐγένετο. ὁ δὲ τὴν δεξιὰν τῷ
 Νεάρχῳ ἐμβαλὼν καὶ ἀπαγαγὼν μόνον αὐτὸν ἀπὸ τῶν
 5 ἐταίρων τε καὶ τῶν ὑπασπιστῶν, πολλὸν ἐπὶ χρόνον ἐδάκρυνεν
 ὁψὲ δὲ ἀνενεγκὼν “ἀλλὰ ὅτι σύ γε ἡμῖν ἐπανήκεις σῶος” ἔφη
 “καὶ Ἀρχίης οὗτος, ἔχει ἂν ἔμοιγε ὡς ἐπὶ συμφορῇ τῇ ἀπάσῃ
 6 μετρίως· αἱ δέ τοι νέες καὶ ἡ στρατιὴ κοίῳ τινὶ τρόπῳ
 διεφθάρησαν;” ὁ δὲ ὑπολαβὼν “ὦ βασιλεῦ,” ἔφη “καὶ αἱ νέες
 τοι σῶαί εἰσι καὶ ὁ στρατός· ἡμεῖς δὲ οὗτοι ἄγγελοι τῆς
 7 σωτηρίας αὐτῶν ἤκομεν.” ἔτι μάλλον ἐδάκρυνεν Ἀλέξανδρος,
 καθότι ἀνέλπιστός οἱ ἡ σωτηρίη τοῦ στρατοῦ ἐφαίνετο, καὶ
 ὅπου ὀρμέουσιν αἱ νέες ἀνηρώτα. ὁ δὲ “αὐταὶ” ἔφη “ἐν τῷ
 8 στόματι τοῦ Ἀνάμιδος ποταμοῦ ἀνειρυσμέναι ἐπισκευάζονται.”
 Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ τὸν τε Δία τὸν Ἑλλήνων καὶ τὸν Ἀμμωνα τὸν
 Λιβύων ἐπόμνυσιν, ἡ μὲν μειζόνως ἐπὶ τῆδε τῇ ἀγγελίῃ
 χαίρειν ἢ ὅτι τὴν Ἀσίην πᾶσαν ἐκτημένος ἔρχεται. καὶ γὰρ
 καὶ τὸ ἄχος οἱ ἐπὶ τῇ ἀπωλείῃ τῆς στρατιῆς ἀντίρροπον
 γενέσθαι τῇ ἄλλῃ πάσῃ εὐτυχίῃ.

36. ὁ δὲ ὑπαρχος τῆς χώρας, ὄντινα συνειλήφει
 Ἀλέξανδρος ἐπὶ τῆς ἀγγελίης τῇ ματαιότητι, παρόντα
 2 κατιδὼν τὸν Νεάρχον, πίπτει τε αὐτῷ πρὸς τὰ γόνατα, καὶ
 “οὗτός τοι” ἔφη “ἐγὼ εἰμι, ὃς ἀπήγγειλα Ἀλεξάνδρῳ ὅτι σῶοι
 ἦκετε· ὀρᾶς ὅπως διάκειμαι.” οὕτω δὴ δέεται Ἀλεξάνδρου
 3 Νεάρχος ἀφείναι τὸν ἄνδρα, καὶ ἀφίεται. Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ
 σωτήρια τοῦ στρατοῦ ἔθνε Διὶ Σωτήρι καὶ Ἡρακλεῖ καὶ
 Ἀπόλλωνι Ἀλεξικάκῳ καὶ Ποσειδῶνι τε καὶ ὅσοι ἄλλοι
 θαλάσσιοι θεοί, καὶ ἀγῶνα ἐποίεε γυμνικόν

only with great difficulty and, seeing them as he did long-haired
 and ill-clad, his grief for the whole naval expedition received further
 4 confirmation. Giving his right hand to Nearchus and leading him
 aside from the Companions and hypaspists, he wept for a long time,
 5 but at last recovered himself and said: ‘Your safe return and that of
 Archias may mitigate my pain at the whole disaster, but how were
 6 the ships and the force destroyed?’ ‘Sire,’ he replied, ‘your ships and
 force are both safe; we are come to tell with our own lips of their
 7 safety.’ On this Alexander wept still the more, since the safety of the
 force had seemed too good to be true, and enquired where the
 ships were anchored. Nearchus replied: ‘They are all hauled up at
 the mouth of the river Anamis, and are being refitted.’ Alexander
 8 then swore by Zeus of the Greeks and the Libyan Ammon¹ that he
 really rejoiced more at the news than at having come as a conqueror
 through all Asia, since the distress he had felt at the supposed loss
 of the fleet actually ballanced all his other good fortune.

36. The hyparch of the province, whom Alexander had arrested
 for a false report, seeing Nearchus there on the spot, fell at his
 2 knees and said: ‘I am the man who reported your safe arrival to
 Alexander; you see my plight.’ So at Nearchus’ intercession he was
 3 released. Alexander then engaged in sacrificing thank-offerings for
 the safety of the expedition, to Zeus the Saviour, Heracles, Apollo
 the Averter of Evil, Posidon and all the gods of the sea, and holding

1 App. V 7.

τε καὶ μουσικόν, καὶ πομπὴν ἔπεμπε· καὶ Νέαρχος ἐν
 4 πρώτοισιν ἐπόμπευε ταινίησί τε καὶ ἄνθεσι πρὸς τῆς στρατιῆς
 βαλλόμενος. ὡς δὲ ταῦτά οἱ τέλος εἶχε, λέγει πρὸς Νέαρχον
 “ἐγὼ σε, ὦ Νέαρχε, οὐκέτι θέλω τὸ πρόσω οὔτ’ οὖν
 κινδυνεύειν οὔτε ταλαιπωρέεσθαι, ἀλλὰ ἄλλος γὰρ τοῦ
 5 ναυτικοῦ ἐξηγήσεται τὸ ἀπὸ τοῦδε ἔσσε καταστήσαι αὐτὸ ἐς
 Σοῦσα.” Νέαρχος δὲ ὑπολαβὼν λέγει “ὦ βασιλεῦ, ἐγὼ μὲν τοι
 πάντα πείθεσθαι ἐθέλω τε καὶ ἀναγκαίη μοί ἐστιν. ἀλλὰ εἰ δὴ
 τι καὶ σὺ ἐμοὶ χαρίζεσθαι ἐθέλεις, μὴ ποιήσης ὧδε, ἀλλὰ με
 6 ἔασον ἐξηγήσασθαι ἐς ἅπαν τοῦ στρατοῦ, ἔσσε σοι σῶας
 καταστήσω ἐς Σοῦσα τὰς νέας, μηδὲ τὰ μὲν χαλεπὰ αὐτοῦ τε
 καὶ ἄπορα ἐμοὶ ἐπιτετραμμένα ἐκ σοῦ ἔστω, τὰ δὲ εὐπετέα τε
 καὶ κλέους ἤδη ἐτοίμου ἐχόμενα, ταῦτα δὲ ἀφαιρεθέντα ἄλλω
 7 ἐς χεῖρας διδόσθω.” ἔτι λέγοντα παύει αὐτὸν Ἀλέξανδρος, καὶ
 χάριν προσωμολόγει εἰδέναι. οὕτω δὴ καταπέμπει αὐτόν,
 8 στρατιὴν δούς ἐς παραπομπὴν ὡς διὰ φιλίας ἰόντι ὀλίγην. τῷ
 δὲ οὐδὲ τὰ τῆς ὁδοῦ τῆς ἐπὶ θάλασσαν ἔξω πόνου ἐγένετο,
 ἀλλὰ συλλεγεμένοι γὰρ οἱ κύκλω βάρβαροι τὰ ἐρυμνὰ τῆς
 χώρας τῆς Καρμανίης κατέειχον, ὅτι καὶ ὁ σατράπης αὐτοῖσι
 τετελευτήκει κατὰ πρόσταξιν Ἀλεξάνδρου, ὁ δὲ νεωστὶ
 9 καθεστηκὼς Τληπόλεμος οὐπω βέβαιον τὸ κράτος εἶχε. καὶ
 δις ὦν καὶ τρίς τῇ αὐτῇ ἡμέρῃ ἄλλοισι καὶ ἄλλοισι τῶν
 βαρβάρων ἐπιφαινομένοισιν ἐς χεῖρας ἦεσαν, καὶ οὕτως οὐδέν
 τι ἐλινύσαντες μόλις καὶ χαλεπῶς ἐπὶ θάλασσαν
 ἀπεσώθησαν. ἐνταῦθα θύει Νέαρχος Διὶ Σωτήρι καὶ ἀγῶνα
 ποιεῖ γυμνικόν.

athletic and musical games and a procession; Nearchus was one of
 the first in the procession, and the troops showered on him ribbons
 4 and flowers.¹ At the end of the procession Alexander said to
 Nearchus: ‘I will not let you in future, Nearchus, run risks or suffer
 hardships again; some one else shall command the navy from this
 time till he brings it to Susa.’ Nearchus took him up by saying: ‘I am
 5 ready and indeed bound, Sire, to obey all your orders, but if you
 were really disposed to show me favour, do not do this, but let me
 command your fleet right up to the end, till I bring the ships safe to
 6 Susa for you. Let it not be said that you entrusted me with the
 difficult and desperate work, but that the easy task, with fame sure
 to follow, was taken away and put into another’s hands.’ Alexander
 7 checked his speaking further and acknowledged that he deserved
 gratitude; so he sent him back again, giving him a force as escort,
 but a small one, as he was going through friendly territory.

8 Yet his journey to the sea was not untroubled; the barbarians
 round about had mustered and were in possession of the strong
 places of Carmania, since their satrap had been put to death by
 Alexander’s orders, and his successor recently appointed,
 9 Tlepolemus, had not yet established his authority.² On one and the
 same day they came to blows two or even three times with different
 bodies of barbarians who kept coming up, and thus without resting
 they only just managed to get safe to the sea-coast. Then Nearchus
 sacrificed to Zeus the Saviour and held athletic games.

1 vi 28, 5 n.

2 vi 27, 1 n. 3.

37. ὡς δὲ αὐτῷ τὰ θεία ἐν κόσμῳ πεποίητο, οὕτω δὴ ἀνήγοντο. παραπλώσαντες δὲ νῆσον ἐρήμην τε καὶ τραχείην ἐν ἄλλῃ νήσῳ ὀρμίζονται, μεγάλη ταύτη καὶ οἰκουμένη, 2 πλώσαντες σταδίους τριηκοσίους ἔνθεν περ ὠρμήθησαν. καὶ ἡ μὲν ἐρήμη νῆσος Ὀργάνα ἐκαλέετο, ἐς ἣν δὲ ὠρμίσθησαν Ὀάρακτα, ἄμπελοί τε ἐν αὐτῇ ἐπεφύκεσαν καὶ φοίνικες, καὶ σιτοφόρος <ἦν>· τὸ δὲ μῆκος [ἦν] τῆς νήσου στάδιοι ὀκτακόσιοι. καὶ ὁ ὑπαρχὸς τῆς νήσου Μαζήνης συνέπλει 3 αὐτοῖσι μέχρι Σούσων ἐθελουτῆς ἡγεμῶν τοῦ πλόου. ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ νήσῳ ἔλεγον καὶ τοῦ πρώτου δυναστεύσαντος τῆς χώρας ταύτης δείκνυσθαι τὸν τάφον· ὄνομα δὲ αὐτῷ Ἐρύθρην εἶναι, ἀπ' οὗ καὶ τὴν ἐπωνυμίην τῇ θαλάσῃ ταύτῃ εἶναι 4 [Ἐρυθρὴν καλέεσθαι].¹ ἐνθένδε ἐκ τῆς νήσου ἄραντες ἔπλεον· καὶ τῆς νήσου αὐτῆς παραπλώσαντες ὅσον διακοσίους σταδίους ὀρμίζονται ἐν αὐτῇ αὖθις, καὶ καθορώσιν ἄλλην νῆσον, ἀπέχουσαν τῆς μεγάλης ταύτης τεσσαράκοντα 5 μάλιστα σταδίους. Ποσειδῶνος ἱρὴ ἐλέγετο εἶναι καὶ ἄβατος. ὑπὸ δὲ τὴν ἔω ἀνήγοντο, καὶ καταλαμβάνει αὐτοὺς ἀνάπωτις οὕτω τι καρτερή, ὥστε τρεῖς τῶν νεῶν ἐποκείλασαι ἐν τῷ ξηρῷ ἐσχέθησαν, αἱ δὲ ἄλλαι χαλεπῶς διεκπλώουσαι τὰς 6 ῥηχίας ἐς τὰ βάθρα ἀπεσώθησαν. αἱ δὲ ἐποκείλασαι τῆς πλημμυρίδος ἐπιγενομένης αὖθις ἐξέπλωσαν τε καὶ δευτεραῖαι κατήγοντο ἵνα περ ὁ πᾶς στόλος. ὀρμίζονται δὲ ἐς νῆσον 7 ἄλλην, διέχουσαν τῆς ἡπείρου

1 A gloss (Hercher).

37. When he had duly performed his religious duties, they weighed anchor. Coasting along a rugged and deserted island, they anchored at another large, inhabited island after sailing 300 stades 2 from their point of departure. The desert island was called Organa, and that where they moored Oaracta. Vines and date-palms grew there, and it produced corn; its length was 800 stades. The hyparch of the island, Mazenes, sailed with them as far as Susa as a 3 volunteer pilot. They said that in this island the tomb of the first ruler of this territory was shown; his name was Erythres, and hence 4 came the name of the sea.¹ Then they weighed anchor and sailed onward, and when they had coasted about 200 stades along the island itself, they anchored there once more and sighted another island, about 40 stades from this large one. It was said to be sacred 5 to Posidon, and not to be trod by foot of man.² About dawn they put out to sea, and found themselves in the grip of so violent an ebb-tide that three of the ships ran ashore and were held hard and fast on dry land, and the rest only just sailed through the surf and 6 got safe into deep water. However the ships which ran aground were floated off when the next flood came, and next day overtook 7 the main fleet. They moored at another

1 Red (*erythraios*) Sea is in A. our 'Persian Gulf,' though it could also refer to our 'Arabian Sea' (S. xvi 3, 1); origin of name: ib. 4, 20; Pliny vi 107. Our 'Red Sea' is A's 'Arabian Gulf' (ch. 43). N. and Orthagoras both told that the grave of Erythres was on Ogyris (*RE* xvii 2080 f. for possible identification with Masira), 2000 stades from Carmania, of which they heard from a banished Persian grandee (S. xvi 3, 5 and 7; cf. *QC.* x 1, 14). A. is grossly inaccurate in summarizing N.

2 Hengam. N. equated native gods of traders and seafarers (cf. § 10 f.; *Ones. ap.* Pliny vi 111) with appropriate Greek gods (*Schiwek* 76). However, Organa [Hormuz] and Cataea [Qeys] were not yet thriving commercial centres, as later (Tomaschek).

8 ὅσον τριακοσίους σταδίους, πλώσαντες τετρακοσίους. ἐντεῦθεν
 ὑπὸ τὴν ἕω ἔπλεον, νῆσον ἐρήμην ἐν ἀριστερᾷ παραμείβοντες·
 ὄνομα δὲ τῇ νήσῳ Πύλωρα. καὶ ὀρμίζονται πρὸς † ἰδωδώνη,
 πολυχνίῳ σμικρῷ καὶ πάντων ἀπόρῳ ὅτι μὴ ὕδατος καὶ
 9 ἰχθύων· ἰχθυοφάγοι γὰρ καὶ οὗτοι ὑπ' ἀναγκαίης ἦσαν, ὅτι
 πονηρὸν γῆν νέμονται. ἐνθένδε ὑδρευσάμενοι καταίρουσιν ἐς
 Ταρσίην ἄκρην ἀνατείνουσιν ἐς τὸ πέλαγος, πλώσαντες
 10 σταδίους τριακοσίους. ἐνθεν ἐς Καταίην, νῆσον ἐρήμην,
 11 ἀλιτενέα· αὕτη ἱερὴ Ἑρμέω καὶ Ἀφροδίτῃς ἐλέγετο· στάδιοι
 τοῦ πλόου τριηκόσιοι. ἐς ταύτην ὅσα ἔτη ἀφίεται ἐκ τῶν
 περιοίκων πρόβατα καὶ αἰγες ἰρὰ τῷ Ἑρμῇ καὶ τῇ Ἀφροδίτῃ,
 καὶ ταῦτα ἀπηγριωμένα ἦν ὁρᾶν ὑπὸ χρόνου τε καὶ ἐρημίας.

38. μέχρι τοῦδε Καρμανίη· τὰ δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦδε Πέρσαι ἔχουσι.
 μῆκος τοῦ πλόου παρὰ τὴν Καρμανίην χώραν στάδιοι
 τρισχίλιοι καὶ ἑπτακόσιοι. ζῶουσι δὲ κατάπερ Πέρσαι, ὅτι καὶ
 2 ὁμοροὶ εἰσι Πέρσησι, καὶ τὰ ἐς τὸν πόλεμον ὡσαύτως
 κοσμέονται. ἐνθένδε ἄραυτες ἐκ τῆς νήσου τῆς ἱρής παρὰ τὴν
 Περσίδα ἤδη ἔπλεον, καὶ κατάγονται ἐς Ἴλαν χώρον, ἵνα
 λιμὴν πρὸς νήσου σμικρῆς καὶ ἐρήμης γίνεται· οὐνομα τῇ
 3 νήσῳ Καϊκανδρος, ὃ δὲ πλόος στάδιοι τετρακόσιοι. ὑπὸ δὲ
 τὴν ἕω ἐς ἄλλην νῆσον πλεύσαντες ὀρμίζονται οἰκουμένην,
 ἵνα καὶ μαργαρίτην θηρᾶσθαι λέγει Νέαρχος κατάπερ ἐν τῇ
 Ἰνδῶν θαλάσῃ. ταύτης τῆς νήσου τὴν ἄκρην
 παραπλώσαντες σταδίους ὡς τεσσαράκοντα, ἐνταῦθα
 ὀρμίσθησαν. ἐνθένδε πρὸς ὄρει ὀρμίζονται ὑψηλῷ — Ὄχος
 4, 5 ὄνομα τῷ ὄρει — ἐν λιμένι εὐόρμῳ, καὶ ἀλιέες αὐτοῦ ὤκεον.
 καὶ ἐνθεν

island, about 300 stades from the mainland, after a voyage of 400.
 8 They sailed off about dawn, and passed on the left a desert island
 named Pylora. Then they anchored at, a desolate little
 township, destitute of everything but water and fish; here again the
 natives were fish-eaters of necessity, as their soil was wretched.
 9 They got water there and reached Cape Tarsias, which runs right
 10 out into the sea, after a voyage of 300 stades, and next came to
 Cataea, a desert, low-lying island, said to be sacred to Hermes and
 Aphrodite; the voyage was of 300 stades. Every year the people
 round about send sheep and goats consecrated to Hermes and
 Aphrodite, which could be seen, quite wild from lapse of time and
 want of handling.

38. So far Carmania extends; beyond this is Persia. The length
 of the voyage along the Carmanian coast is 3700 stades.¹ The
 people live like the Persians, as they are their neighbours, and have
 2 the same military equipment.² Starting from the sacred island, and
 sailing along the Persian coast, they put in at a place called Ilas,
 where a harbour is formed by a small desert island, called
 Caïcandrus; the voyage is 400 stades. At daybreak they sailed to
 3 another island, inhabited, and anchored there; according to
 Nearchus there is pearl fishing here, as in the Indian Sea.³ They
 sailed past the point of this island, about 40 stades, and moored
 4 there. Next they anchored off a high mountain, called Ochus, in a
 5 safe harbour inhabited by fishermen. From there they sailed 450

1 App. XXV 7. As he passed south of Qeshm, N. did not in fact sail along the Carmanian coast throughout.

2 N. also said that their language was the same (S. xv 2, 14).

3 Cf. Pliny vi 110 (Ones.); Athenaeus iii 92 F-94 B. A. omits some other information from N. hereabouts (S. xvi 3, 7).

πλώσαντες σταδίους τετρακοσίους τε καὶ πενήκοντα
 ὀρμίζονται ἐν Ἀποστάνοισι καὶ πλοῖα πολλὰ αὐτόθι ὥρμει,
 6 κώμη τε ἐπὴν ἀπέχουσα ἀπὸ θαλάσσης σταδίους ἑξήκοντα.
 νυκτὸς δὲ ἐπάραντες ἔνθεν ἐσπλώουσιν ἐς κόλπον
 συνοικεόμενον πολλῆσι κώμησι. στάδιοι τοῦ πλόου
 τετρακόσιοι ὀρμίζονται δὲ πρὸς ὑπωρείην. ταύτη φοίνικες τε
 7 πολλοὶ ἐπεφύκεσαν καὶ ὅσα ἄλλα ἀκρόδρνα ἐν τῇ Ἑλλάδι γῆ
 φύεται. ἔνθεν ἄραντες ἐς Γώγανα παραπλεύουσι σταδίους
 μάλιστα ἐς ἑξακοσίους ἐς χώραν οἰκουμένην ὀρμίζονται δὲ
 τοῦ ποταμοῦ τοῦ χειμάρρου — ὄνομα δὲ Ἀρεῶν — ἐν τῆσιν
 ἐκβολῆσιν. ἐνταῦθα χαλεπῶς ὀρμίζονται στεινὸς γὰρ ἦν ὁ
 8 ἔσπλους κατὰ τὸ στόμα, ὅτι βράχεια τὰ κύκλω αὐτοῦ ἢ
 ἀνάπωτις ἐποίεε. καὶ ἔνθεν αὖ ἐν στόματι ἄλλου ποταμοῦ
 ὀρμίζονται, διεκπλώσαντες σταδίους ἐς ὀκτακοσίους. Σιτακὸς
 ὄνομα τῷ ποταμῷ ἦν οὐδὲ ἐν τούτῳ εὐμαρέως ὀρμίζονται, καὶ
 9 ὁ πλόος ἅπας οὗτος ὁ παρὰ τὴν Περσίδα βράχεια τε ἦσαν καὶ
 ῥηχίαι καὶ τενάγεια. ἐνταῦθα σῖτον καταλαμβάνουσι πολὺν
 ξυγκεκομισμένον κατὰ πρόσταξιν βασιλέως, ὡς σφίσι εἶναι
 ἐπισιτίσασθαι ἐνταῦθα ἔμειναν ἡμέρας τὰς πάσας μίαν καὶ
 εἴκοσι, καὶ τὰς ναῦς ἀνειρυσάμενοι, ὅσαι μὲν πεπονήκεσαν
 ἐπεσκεύαζον, τὰς δὲ ἄλλας ἐθεράπευον.

39. ἐνθένδε ὀρμηθέντες εἰς Ἰέρατιν πόλιν ἀφίκοντο, ἐς
 χώρον οἰκούμενον. ἑπτακόσιοι καὶ πενήκοντα στάσιοι ὁ
 πλόος ὥρμισθησαν δὲ ἐν διώρυχι ἀπὸ τοῦ ποταμοῦ
 2 ἐμβεβλημένη ἐς θάλασσαν, ἣ ὄνομα ἦν Ἡράτεμις. ἅμα δὲ
 ἠλίῳ ἀνίσχοντι παραπλεύουσιν ἐς ποταμὸν χειμάρρουν, ὄνομα
 Πάδαργον, ὁ δὲ χώρος χερρόνησος ἅπας. καὶ ἐν

stades, and anchored at Apostana; many boats were anchored there,
 and there was a village about 60 stades from the sea. They weighed
 6 anchor at night and sailed thence to a gulf with many village
 settlements. This was a voyage of 400 stades, and they anchored
 near foothills, on which grew many date-palms and all the other
 fruit-trees that flourish in Greece. There they unmoored and sailed
 7 along to Gogana, about 600 stades, to an inhabited district and
 anchored off the torrential river called Areon at its outlet. The
 anchorage was uncomfortable; the entrance was narrow at the
 mouth, since the ebb tide made shallows all round. After this they
 8 anchored again at another river-mouth, after a voyage of about 800
 stades. The river was called Sitacus.⁴ Even here, however, they did
 not find easy anchorage; in fact this whole voyage along Persia was
 9 shallows, surf and lagoons. They found in the place a great supply of
 corn conveyed by the king's orders for their provisioning, and stayed
 twenty-one days in all; they hauled the ships ashore, and spent the
 time refitting those which were damaged, while maintaining the
 rest.

39. Starting from this point, they reached a city called Hieratis,
 an inhabited place, after a voyage of 750 stades; they anchored in a
 channel running from the river to the sea and called Heratemis. At
 2 sunrise they sailed along the coast to a torrential river called
 Padargus; the whole place forms a peninsula.

⁴ Perhaps the Mand.

3 αὐτῷ κῆποι τε πολλοὶ καὶ ἀκρόδρυα παντοῖα ἐφύετο· ὄνομα τῷ
 χώρῳ Μεσαμβρία. ἐκ Μεσαμβρίας δὲ ὀρμηθέντες καὶ
 διεκπλώσαντες σταδίους μάλιστα ἐς διακοσίους ἐς Ταόκη
 ὀρμίζονται ἐπὶ ποταμῷ Γράνιδι. καὶ ἀπὸ τούτου ἐς τὸ ἄνω
 4 <τὰ> Περσῶν βασιλεία ἦν, ἀπέχοντα τοῦ ποταμοῦ τῶν
 ἐκβολέων σταδίους ἐς διακοσίους. κατὰ τοῦτον τὸν παράπλου
 λέγει Νέαρχος ὀφθῆναι κῆτος ἐκβεβλημένον ἐς τὴν ἡμίονα, καὶ
 τοῦτο προσπλώσαντάς τινας τῶν ναυτῶν ἐκμετρήσαι καὶ
 5 φάναι εἶναι πῆχεων πεντήκοντα· δέρμα δὲ αὐτῷ εἶναι
 φοιδωτόν, οὕτω τι ἐς βάθος ἦκον ὡς καὶ ἐπὶ πῆχυν ἐπέχειν,
 ὄστρειά τε καὶ λοπάδας καὶ φυκία πολλὰ ἔχειν ἐπιπεφυκότα.
 καὶ δελφίνας λέγει ὅτι καθορᾶν ἦν πολλοὺς ἀμφὶ τῷ κῆτει,
 6 καὶ τῶν ἐν τῇ ἔσω θαλάσσει μείζονας τοὺς δελφίνας. ἐνθένδε
 ὀρμηθέντες κατάγονται ἐς Ῥώγονιν ποταμὸν χειμάρρου ἐν
 7 λιμένι εὐόρμῳ μῆκος τοῦ παράπλου στάδιοι διακόσιοι.
 ἐνθένδε τετρακοσίους σταδίους διεκπλώσαντες αὐλίζονται ἐν
 ποταμῷ χειμάρρῳ Βρίζανα τῷ ποταμῷ ὄνομα. ἐνταῦθα
 8 χαλεπῶς ὠρμίσαντο, ὅτι ῥηχίη ἦν καὶ βράχεια, καὶ χοιράδες
 ἐκ τοῦ πόντου ἀνείχον. ἀλλ' ὅτε ἡ πλήμμυρα ἐπήει, τότε
 ὠρμίσαντο· ὑπονοστήσαντος δὲ τοῦ ὕδατος, ἐπὶ ξηρῷ
 ὑπελείφθησαν αἱ νῆες. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἡ πλημμυρὶς ἐν τάξει
 9 ἀμείβουσα ἐπήλθε, τότε δὴ ἐκπλώσαντες ὀρμίζονται ἐπὶ
 ποταμῷ ὄνομα δὲ τῷ ποταμῷ Ἄροσις, μέγιστος τῶν ποταμῶν,
 ὡς λέγει Νέαρχος, ὅσοι ἐν τῷ παράπλῳ τῷδε ἐμβάλλουσιν ἐς
 τὸν ἔξω πόντον.

There were many gardens, and all sorts of fruit trees were growing
 there; the name of the place was Mesambria.¹ From Mesambria
 3 they set out and after a voyage of about 200 stades anchored at
 Taoce on the river Granis. Inland from here there was a Persian
 royal residence, about 200 stades from the mouth of the river.
 4 Nearchus says that on this coastal voyage a great sea animal (whale)
 was seen stranded on the shore, that some of the sailors sailed up to
 5 it, measured it and reported its length as 50 cubits,² that its hide
 was scaly and actually as much as a cubit thick, and that it had many
 oysters, shell-fish and seaweeds growing on it. Nearchus adds that
 they could see many dolphins round the animal, larger than those of
 6 the inner sea. Going on from there, they put in at the torrential
 river Rogonis in a good harbour; the length of this voyage was 200
 7 stades. From there they sailed 400 stades and bivouacked on a
 torrential river named Brizana, where it was difficult to anchor, with
 surf and shallows and reefs showing above the sea. When the flood
 8 tide came in, they were at anchor, but when the water went out
 again the ships were left high and dry. However, when the flood
 duly returned, they sailed out and anchored in a river called Arosis
 9 (?), the greatest, according to Nearchus, of all the rivers which on
 this coastal voyage run into the Ocean.³

1 Bushēhr.

2 I.e. 76 feet, or on Tarn's view (ii 169 f.) 60: credible, unlike the
 measurements in 30, 9 (150 or 120 feet). The largest recorded
 specimen was 110 feet.

3 The MS. may be corrupt, cf. Oroatis in S. xv 3, 1 (from N.);
 Ptol. vi 4, 2; Oratis, Pliny vi 111; 136, though Ones, or Juba wrote
 Zarotis (ib. 99). This should be the Jarrāhi, the only considerable river
 on the whole coast, with outlet at Bandar e Mashur (Herzfeld, *Klio*
 1908).

40. μέχρι τοῦδε Πέρσαι οἰκέουσι, τὰ δὲ ἀπὸ τούτων
 Σούσιοι. Σουσίων δὲ ἔθνος αὐτόνομον κατύπερθε προσοικέει·
 Οὔξιοι καλοῦνται, ὑπὲρ ὧν λέλεκταί μοι ἐν τῇ ἄλλῃ
 συγγραφῇ ὅτι λησται εἰσι. μήκος τοῦ παράπλου τῆς
 2 Περσίδος χώρας στάδιοι τετρακόσιοι καὶ τετρακισχίλιοι. τὴν
 δὲ Περσίδα γῆν τρίχα νενομῆσθαι τῶν ὠρέων λόγος κατέχει.
 3 τὸ μὲν αὐτῆς πρὸς τῇ Ἐρυθρῇ θαλάσσει οἰκόμενον ἀμμώδες
 τε εἶναι καὶ ἄκαρπον ὑπὸ καύματος, τὸ δὲ ἐπὶ τῷδε ὡς πρὸς
 ἄρκτον τε καὶ βορέην ἄνεμον ἰόντων καλῶς κεκράσθαι τῶν
 ὠρέων, καὶ τὴν χώραν ποιώδεά τε εἶναι καὶ λειμῶνας
 4 ὑδρηλούς, καὶ ἄμπελον πολλὴν φέρειν καὶ ὅσοι ἄλλοι καρποὶ
 πλὴν ἐλαίης, παραδείσοις τε παντοίοισι τεθηλέναι καὶ
 ποταμοῖσι καθαροῖσι διαρρέεσθαι καὶ λίμνησι, καὶ ὄρνισιν
 ὀκόσοισιν ἀμφὶ ποταμούς τε καὶ λίμνας ἐστὶ τὰ ἡθεα ἵπποισί
 τε ἀγαθὴν εἶναι καὶ τοῖσιν ἄλλοισιν ὑποζυγίοισι νέμεσθαι,
 5 καὶ ὑλώδεά τε πολλαχῇ καὶ πολύθηρον. τὴν δὲ πρόσω ἔτι ἐπὶ
 ἄρκτον ἰόντων χειμερινὴν τε καὶ νιφετώδεα * * *, ὥστε
 πρέσβεις τινὰς ἐκ τοῦ Εὐξείνου πόντου λέγει Νέαρχος κάρτα
 ὀλίγην ὁδὸν διελθόντας ἐντυχεῖν κατ' ὁδὸν ἰόντι τῆς Περσίδος
 6 καὶ θῶμα γενέσθαι Ἀλεξάνδρῳ καὶ εἰπεῖν Ἀλεξάνδρῳ τῆς
 ὁδοῦ τὴν βραχύτητα. Σουσίους δὲ πρόσκοικοι ὅτι εἰσὶν Οὔξιοι
 λέλεκταί μοι, κατάπερ Μάρδοι μὲν Πέρσαισι προσεχέες
 7 οἰκέουσι, λησται καὶ οὗτοι, Κοσσαῖοι δὲ Μήδοισι. καὶ ταῦτα
 πάντα τὰ ἔθνεα

40. The Persians dwell up to this point and the Susians beyond.
 Above the Susians on their border lives another independent tribe
 called Uxians, and in my earlier history I have described them as
 brigands.¹ The length of the voyage along the Persian coast was
 2 4400 stades.² The Persian land is divided on the prevalent account
 into three climatic zones. The inhabited part which lies by the Red
 3 Sea is sandy and sterile owing to the heat. The next zone, going
 northward, has a temperate climate; the country is grassy with
 water meadows, many vines and all other fruits except the olive; it is
 4 rich with all sorts of gardens, has pure rivers running through and
 lakes, and is good for all sorts of birds that haunt rivers and lakes,
 and for horses; it provides pasture for the other domestic animals, is
 well wooded, and has plenty of game. The next zone, still going
 5 northward, is wintry and snowy . . .³ Nearchus tells us of some
 envoys from the Black Sea who after quite a short journey met
 Alexander traversing Persia and caused him no small astonishment
 by telling him how short the journey was.⁴ The Uxians are
 6 neighbours to the Susians, as I have said, as the Mardians who are
 also brigands live next to the Persians,⁵ and the Cossaeans next to
 7 the Medes. Alexander pacified all

1 Not explicit in iii 17. N. so classified them, cf. § 6.

2 App. XXV 7.

3 The account is perhaps that of E., rather than N., cf. S. xv 3, 1 (which suggests a lacuna).

4 In fact (say) 1800 km. from Trabzon by air. E. knew better (S. xv 3, 1).

5 S. xi 13, 6 shows that A. omits the Elymaeans (cf. xv 3, 12; xvi 1, 8) from N's list, perhaps because (as N. may have said) Al. did not attack them. N. also said that all four tribes exacted tribute from the Persian kings; Al. made his attacks in winter on the Cossaeans in Luristan (vii 15), the Uxians in Khuzistan (iii 17) and the Persian Mardians in the Zagros range near Persepolis (QC. v 6, 17, cf. App. VIII 6) doubtless because the tribesmen could not then take refuge in

8 ἡμέρωσεν Ἀλέξανδρος, χειμῶνος ὥρη ἐπιπεσὼν αὐτοῖσιν, ὅτε
 ἄβατον σφῶν τὴν χώραν ἦγον. καὶ πόλης ἐπέκτισε τοῦ μὴ
 νομάδας ἔτι εἶναι ἀλλὰ ἀροτῆρας καὶ γῆς ἐργάτας, καὶ ἔχειν
 ὑπὲρ ὄτων δειμαίνοντες μὴ κακὰ ἀλλήλους ἐργάζονται.
 9 ἐνθένδε τὴν Σουσίων γῆν παρήμειβεν ὁ στρατός. καὶ ταῦτα
 οὐκέτι ὡσαύτως ἀτρεκέως λέγει Νέαρχος ὅτι ἔστιν οἱ
 10 ἐκφράσαι, πλήν γε δὴ τοὺς ὄρμους τε καὶ τὸ μῆκος τοῦ
 πλόου· τὴν χώραν γὰρ τεναγώδεά τε εἶναι τὴν πολλὴν καὶ
 ῥηχίησιν ἐπὶ μέγα ἐς τὸν πόντον ἐσέχουσιν καὶ ταύτη
 σφαλερὴν ἐγκαθορμίζεσθαι πελαγίοισιν ὧν σφίσι τὴν
 11 κομιδὴν τὸ πολὺ γίνεσθαι. ὄρμηθῆναι μὲν δὴ ἐκ τοῦ ποταμοῦ
 τῶν ἐκβολέων, ἵνα περ ἠὺλίσθησαν ἐπὶ τοῖσιν οὖροισι τῆς
 Περσίδος, ὕδωρ δὲ ἐμβαλέσθαι καὶ πέντε ἡμερέων· οὐκ
 ἔφασκον γὰρ εἶναι ὕδωρ οἱ καθηγεμόνες τοῦ πλόου.

41. σταδίους δὲ πεντακοσίους κομισθέντες ὀρμίζονται ἐπὶ
 στόματι λίμνης ἰχθυώδεος, ἧ οὖνομα Κατάδερβις· καὶ νησις
 2 ἐπὴν τῷ στόματι Μαργάστανα τῇ νησίδι οὖνομα. ἐνθένδε ὑπὸ
 τὴν ἕω ἐκπλώσαντες κατὰ βράχεια ἐκομίζοντο ἐπὶ μιᾶς νεῶς·
 πασσάλους δὲ ἔνθεν καὶ ἔνθεν πεπηγόσιν ἀπεδηλοῦτο τὸ
 βράχεια, κατὰ περ ἐν τῷ μεσσηγῶν Λευκάδος τε νήσου ἰσθμῷ
 καὶ Ἀκαρνανίης ἀποδέδεικται σημεῖα τοῖσι ναυτιλλομένοισι
 3 τοῦ μὴ ἐποκέλλειν ἐν τοῖσι βράχεσι τὰς νεάς. ἀλλὰ τὰ μὲν
 κατὰ Λευκάδα ψαμμώδεα ὄντα καὶ τοῖσιν ἐποκέλασι ταχείαν
 τὴν ὑπονόστησιν ἐνδιδοῖ· κείθι δὲ πηλός ἐστιν ἐφ' ἐκάτερα τοῦ
 πλεομένου βαθύς καὶ ἰλυώδης, ὥστε οὐδεμιᾶ μηχανῇ
 4 ἐποκέλασιν ἦν ἀποσωθῆναι. οἱ τε γὰρ κοντοὶ κατὰ τοῦ πηλοῦ

these tribes, falling upon them in winter-time, when they thought
 8 their country unapproachable. He also founded cities so that they
 should no longer be nomads but cultivators and tillers of the ground
 and, having a stake in the country, might be deterred from injuring
 one another.⁶ From here the fleet passed along the Susian land.
 9 Nearchus says that he cannot describe this part of the voyage in
 accurate detail, except for the roadsteads and the length of the
 10 voyage. This is because the country is mostly marshy and runs out
 well into the sea, with breakers, and is very hard to get safe
 anchorage in. So their voyage was mostly in the open sea. They
 11 sailed out from the outlets of the river, where they had encamped
 on the Persian border, and took on board water for five days, as the
 pilots said that water was lacking.⁷

41. After traversing 500 stades, they anchored at the mouth of a
 lake, full of fish, called Cataderbis, off which lay a small island
 2 called Margastana. From there, they sailed about daybreak and in
 single line ahead passed the shallows, which were marked on either
 side by poles driven in, just as in the strait between the island of
 Leucas and Acarnania signposts have been set up for navigators to
 3 prevent the ships grounding in the shallows.¹ However, the shallows
 round Leucas are sandy and allow those aground to get off quickly;
 but here there is mud on both sides of the channel, both deep and
 4 viscous; and no device could save them once aground there, as the

6 But cf. P. 72, 3. D. xix 19 shows that Al. did not permanently pacify them.

7 I.e. Mazenes and followers; N. said that he could obtain no local pilots (S. xv 3, 11).

1 An interpolation by A. in N's account?

δύνοντες αὐτοὶ οὐδέν τι ἐπωφέλου, ἀνθρώπων τε ἐκβῆναι τοῦ
 ἀπῶσαι τὰς νέας ἐς τὰ πλεόμενα ἄπορον ἐγένετο· ἔδυνον γὰρ
 5 κατὰ τοῦ πηλοῦ ἔστε ἐπὶ τὰ στήθεα. οὕτω δὴ χαλεπῶς
 διεκπλώσαντες σταδίους ἑξακοσίους κατὰ ναῦν ἕκαστοι
 6 ὀρμισθέντες ἐνταῦθα δείπνου ἐμνήσθησαν. τὴν νύκτα δὲ ἤδη
 κατὰ βάθρα ἔπλεον καὶ τὴν ἐφεξῆς ἡμέρην ἔστε ἐπὶ βουλυτόν·
 καὶ ἦλθον σταδίους ἑνακοσίους, καὶ καθωρμίσθησαν ἐπὶ τοῦ
 στόματος τοῦ Εὐφράτου πρὸς κώμη τινὴ τῆς Βαβυλωνίης
 7 χώρας — ὄνομα δὲ αὐτῇ Διρίδωτις —, ἵνα λιβανωτόν τε ἀπὸ
 8 τῆς Γερραίων γῆς οἱ ἔμποροι ἀγινέουσι καὶ τὰ ἄλλα ὅσα
 θυμιάματα ἢ Ἀράβων γῆ φέρει. ἀπὸ δὲ τοῦ στόματος τοῦ
 Εὐφράτου ἔστε Βαβυλῶνα πλοῦν λέγει Νέαρχος σταδίους
 εἶναι ἐς τρισχιλίους καὶ τριακοσίους.

42. ἐνταῦθα ἀγγέλλεται Ἀλέξανδρον ἐπὶ Σούσων
 στέλλεσθαι. ἔνθεν καὶ αὐτοὶ τὸ ὀπίσω ἔπλεον, ὡς κατὰ τὸν
 2 Πασιτίγριν ποταμὸν ἀναπλώσαντες συμμίξαι Ἀλεξάνδρῳ.
 ἔπλεον δὴ τὸ ἔμπαλιν ἐν ἀριστερᾷ τὴν γῆν τὴν Σουσίδα
 3 ἔχοντες, καὶ παραπλέουσι λίμνην, ἐς ἣν ὁ Τίγρης ἐσβάλλει
 ποταμός, ὃς ῥέων ἐξ Ἀρμενίης παρὰ πόλιν Νίνον, πάλαι ποτὲ
 μεγάλην καὶ εὐδαίμονα, τὴν μέσσην ἑωντοῦ τε καὶ τοῦ
 4 Εὐφράτου ποταμοῦ γῆν Μεσοποταμίην ἐπὶ τῷδε κληίεσθαι
 ποιέει. ἀπὸ δὲ τῆς λίμνης ἐς αὐτὸν τὸν ποταμὸν ἀνάπλους

punt-poles sank into the mud and gave them no help, and it became
 impossible for the men to disembark and push the ships off into the
 sailable water, for they sank up to their breasts in the ooze. So they
 5 sailed out with difficulty, traversed 600 stades, and after anchoring
 attended to supper on board, each in their own ships. During the
 6 night, however, they were sailing in deep water and next day also till
 the evening; they made 900 stades and anchored in the mouth of
 the Euphrates near a village of Babylonia, called Diridotis; here the
 7 merchants gather together frankincense from the land of Gerrha
 8 and all the other sweet-smelling spices Arabia produces.² Nearchus
 says it is a voyage of about 3300 stades from the mouth of the
 Euphrates to Babylon.³

42. There they heard that Alexander was on his way to Susa.
 They therefore sailed back themselves in order to sail up the
 Pasitigris and meet him.¹ They sailed back with the land of Susia on
 2 their left and went along the lake into which the Tigris runs. It flows
 3 from Armenia past the city of Ninus [Nineveh], once great and
 prosperous, and gives the region between itself and the Euphrates
 4 the name of Mesopotamia (between the rivers). The voyage is 600
 stades from the lake up to the river itself at a

2 S. xvi 3, 2 and others call the place Teredon; it was in Babylonia (Jacoby 122 F 3), hence on the right bank of the Euphrates, which was the boundary of Susiana. See also App. XXVI.

3 N. made the voyage, vii 19, 3. For the distance cf. Pliny vi 124, citing N. and Onesicritus (412 m. = 3296 stades); E. ap. S. ii 1, 26 (rounded off as 3000). These estimates correspond fairly well to the distance from Babylon (near Hilla) to the coast at Qasr as Subiya (about 600 km.), if the stade is taken to be 185 m. (cf. App. XXV 8).

1 Topography: App. XXVI. It is impossible to suppose that the length of the Susian coast (§ 4) could have much exceeded 200 km.

στάδιοι ἑξακόσιοι, ἵνα καὶ κώμη τῆς Σουσίδος, ἣν καλέουσιν Ἄγινιν· αὕτη δὲ ἀπέχει Σούσων σταδίους ἑς πεντακοσίους. μήκος τοῦ παράπλου τῆς Σουσίων γῆς ἔστε ἐπὶ <τὸ> στόμα
 5 τοῦ Πασιτίγριδος ποταμοῦ στάδιοι δισχίλιοι. ἐνθένδε κατὰ τὸν Πασιτίγριν ἄνω ἀνέπλεον διὰ χώρας οἰκουμένης καὶ εὐδαίμονος. ἀναπλώσαντες δὲ σταδίους ὡς πεντήκοντα καὶ ἑκατὸν αὐτοῦ ὀρμίζονται, προσμένοντες οὕστινας ἐστάλκει
 6 Νέαρχος σκεφομένους ἵνα ὁ βασιλεὺς εἴη. αὐτὸς δὲ ἔθνε θεοῖς
 7 τοῖς σωτήρησι, καὶ ἀγῶνα ἐποίει, καὶ ἡ στρατιὴ ἡ ναυτικὴ πᾶσα ἐν εὐθυμίῃσιν ἦν. ὡς δὲ προσάγων ἤδη Ἀλέξανδρος ἠγγέλλετο, ἔπλεον ἤδη αὖθις ἑς τὸ ἄνω κατὰ τὸν ποταμόν· καὶ
 8 πρὸς τῇ σχεδίῃ ὀρμίζονται, ἐφ' ἣ τὸ στράτευμα διαβιβάσειν ἔμελλεν Ἀλέξανδρος ἑς Σούσα. ἐνταῦθα ἀνemίχθη ὁ στρατός, καὶ θυσίαι πρὸς Ἀλεξάνδρου ἐθύοντο ἐπὶ τῶν νεῶν τε καὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων τῇ σωτηρίῃ, καὶ ἀγῶνες ἐποιέοντο· καὶ Νέαρχος ὅποι παραφανείη τῆς στρατιῆς, ἀνθεσί τε καὶ ταινίησιν
 9 ἐβάλλετο. ἐνθα καὶ χρυσᾶ στεφάνῳ στεφανοῦνται ἐξ Ἀλεξάνδρου Νέαρχος τε καὶ Λεόννατος, Νέαρχος μὲν ἐπὶ τοῦ ναυτικοῦ τῇ σωτηρίῃ, Λεόννατος δὲ ἐπὶ τῇ νίκῃ, ἣν Ὀρείταις
 10 τε ἐνίκησε καὶ τοὺς Ὀρείταις προσοικέοντας βαρβάρους. οὕτω μὲν ἀπεσώθη Ἀλεξάνδρω ἐκ τοῦ Ἰνδοῦ τῶν ἐκβολέων ὀρμηθεὶς ὁ στρατός.

43. τὰ δὲ ἐν δεξιᾷ τῆς Ἐρυθρῆς θαλάσσης ὑπὲρ τὴν Βαβυλωνίην Ἀραβίη ἡ πολλή ἐστι, καὶ ταύτης τὰ μὲν κατήκει ἔστε ἐπὶ τὴν θάλασσαν τὴν κατὰ Φοινίκην τε καὶ τὴν Παλαιστίνην Συρίην, πρὸς δυομένου δὲ ἡλίου ὡς ἐπὶ τὴν εἴσω θάλασσαν

point where a village of Susia lies, called Aginis, 500 stades from Susa. The length of the coastal voyage along Susian territory to the mouth of the Pasitigris is 2000 stades. From there they sailed up
 5 the Pasitigris through inhabited and prosperous country. When they had sailed up about 150 stades, they moored, waiting for the scouts whom Nearchus had sent to see where the king might be. Nearchus
 6 himself sacrificed to the Saviour gods and held games, and the
 7 whole naval force made merry. And when news was brought that Alexander was actually approaching, they again sailed up river, and moored near the pontoon bridge on which Alexander intended to
 8 take his army over to Susa.² There the two forces met; Alexander offered sacrifices for the preservation of his ships and men, and games were held, and, wherever Nearchus appeared in the camp, the troops pelted him with ribbons and flowers. Thereupon too
 9 Nearchus and Leonnatus were crowned by Alexander with a golden crown, Nearchus because of the safety of the ships, Leonnatus for the victory he had achieved among the Oritans and the barbarians who dwelt next to them.³ This was how Alexander received back in
 10 safety the navy which had started from the mouths of the Indus.

43. On the right side of the Red Sea beyond Babylonia lies the main part of Arabia; some of it extends to the sea of Phoenicia and Palestinian Syria,¹ while on the west towards the inner sea the

² A. omits the distance, sc. to Ahwaz.

³ Contrast vii 5, 6. If A. has correctly reported N., he misplaced the festivities and exaggerated the extent to which they celebrated his own success.

¹ It was not usual to make Arabia extend to the Mediterranean (on the coast south of Gaza?). This chapter is an addendum by A., the purpose and sources of which are obscure.

- 2 Αἰγύπτιοι τῇ Ἀραβίῃ ὁμορεύουσι. κατὰ δὲ Αἴγυπτον εἰσέχων
 ἐκ τῆς μεγάλης θαλάσσης κόλπος δῆλον ποιέει ὅτι ἕνεκά γε
 τοῦ σύρρον εἶναι τὴν ἕξω θάλασσαν περίπλους ἂν ἦν ἐκ
 Βαβυλῶνος ἐς τὸν κόλπον τοῦτον <τὸν> ἐπέχοντα ὡς ἐπ’
 3 Αἴγυπτον. ἀλλὰ γὰρ οὐ τις παρέπλωσε ταύτη οὐδαμῶν
 4 ἀνθρώπων ὑπὸ καύματος καὶ ἐρημίας, εἰ μὴ τινές γε πελάγιοι
 κομιζόμενοι. ἀλλὰ οἱ ἀπ’ Αἰγύπτου γὰρ ἐς Σοῦσα
 ἀποσωθέντες τῆς στρατιῆς τῆς Καμβύσεω καὶ οἱ παρὰ
 Πτολεμαίου τοῦ Λάγου παρὰ Σέλευκον τὸν Νικάτορα
 5 σταλέντες ἐς Βαβυλῶνα διὰ τῆς Ἀραβίης χώρας ἰσθμὸν τινα
 διαπορευθέντες ἐν ἡμέρησιν ὀκτὼ ταῖς πάσαις ἄνδρον καὶ
 ἐρήμην χώραν ἐπήλθον ἐπὶ καμήλων σπουδῇ ἐλαύνοντες ὕδωρ
 6 γὰρ ἡμέρας ὑπαίθριοι ἀνέχεσθαι διὰ καῦμα ἀδύνατοι ἦσαν.
 τοσοῦτου δεῖ τά γε ἐπέκεινα ταύτης τῆς χώρας, ἣντινα ἰσθμὸν
 ἀπεφαίνομεν ἐκ τοῦ κόλπου τοῦ Ἀραβίου κατήκοντα ἐς τὴν
 Ἐρυθρὰν θάλασσαν, οἰκεόμενα εἶναι, ὅποτε τὰ πρὸς ἄρκτον
 7 μᾶλλον αὐτῶν ἀνέχοντα ἔρημά τέ ἐστι καὶ ψαμμώδεια. ἀλλὰ
 γὰρ ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἀραβίου κόλπου τοῦ κατ’ Αἴγυπτον ὀρμηθέντες
 ἄνθρωποι ἐκπεριπλώσαντες τὴν πολλὴν Ἀραβίην ἐλθεῖν ἐς
 τὴν κατὰ Σοῦσά τε καὶ Πέρσας θάλασσαν, ἐς τοσόνδε ἄρα
 παραπλώσαντες τῆς Ἀραβίης ἐς ὅσον σφίσι τὸ ὕδωρ
 8 ἐπήρκεσε τὸ ἐμβληθὲν ἐς τὰς νέας, ἔπειτα ὀπίσω
 ἀπενόστησαν. ἐκ Βαβυλῶνός

- 2 Egyptians are on the Arabian borders. A gulf [the Red Sea] running
 from the Great Sea [the Arabian Sea] by Egypt makes it clear that,
 as the gulf is connected with the outer sea, it is possible to sail
 round from Babylon into this gulf which runs up to Egypt. Yet, in
 3 point of fact, no one has yet sailed round the coast this way because
 of the heat and desert, if we disregard any who cross the open
 4 water.² But the survivors from the army of Cambyses who reached
 Susa from Egypt³ and the troops who were sent by Ptolemy son of
 Lagus to Seleucus Nicator at Babylon through Arabia crossed an
 5 isthmus in eight days in all, a waterless and desert country, riding
 fast upon camels, carrying water for themselves on their camels;
 they travelled by night, as during the day they could not come into
 the open air because of the heat.⁴ So far from being inhabited is the
 6 region on the other side of this stretch of land, which we describe
 as an isthmus from the Arabian gulf [Red Sea] running into the Red
 Sea [Arabian Sea], inasmuch as its more northerly parts are a sandy
 7 desert. Yet people have started from the Arabian gulf in its
 Egyptian sector [Red Sea] and have circumnavigated the main part
 of Arabia hoping to reach the sea by Susa and Persia but, after
 sailing as far round the Arabian coast as the amount of fresh water
 taken aboard their vessels permitted, have then returned home
 8 again. And though the men Alexander sent

2 A. reflects the state of knowledge in E’s time, when the Arabian
 coasts were known only in the Red Sea and in the Persian Gulf as far
 as Cape Maceta (S. xvi 3 f.). In the *Periplus of the Red Sea*, perhaps
 best dated to A’s time (*Oxf. Class. Diet.* 2 802 for bibliography), there
 was trading all round the coast. This was already known to Pliny. A. is
 out-of-date, but is vaguely aware of the direct sea-voyages to India
 (App. XVII 8).

3 The story is wholly incompatible with all known accounts of
 Cambyses’ Egyptian campaign.

τε οὐστυνας ἔστειλεν Ἀλέξανδρος ὡς ἐπὶ μήκιστον πλέοντας
ἐν δεξιᾷ τῆς Ἐρυθρῆς θαλάσσης γνῶναι τοὺς ταύτη χώρους,
οὗτοι νήσους μὲν τινὰς κατεσκέψαντο ἐν τῷ παράπλω

- 9 κειμένας, καὶ πού καὶ τῆς ἠπείρου τῆς Ἀραβίης προσέσχον,
τὴν δὲ ἄκρην, ἣντινα κατανατικρὺ τῆς Καρμανίης ἀνέχουσαν
λέγει φανῆναι σφίσι Νέαρχος, οὐκ ἔστιν ὅστις ὑπερβαλὼν
10 ἐπικάμψαι ἐς τὸ ἐπὶ θάτερα δυνατὸς ἐγένετο. δοκέω δὲ ὡς
εἴπερ πλωτά τε ἦν καὶ βαδιστὰ <τὰ> ταύτη, ὑπ' Ἀλεξάνδρου
11 ἂν τῆς πολυπραγμοσύνης ἐξελέληγκτο πλωτά τε καὶ βαδιστὰ
έόντα. καὶ Ἄννων δὲ ὁ Λίβυς ἐκ Καρχηδόνας ὀρμηθεὶς ὑπὲρ
μὲν Ἡρακλείας στήλας ἐξέπλωσεν ἐς τὸν ἕξω πόντον, ἐν
ἀριστερᾷ τὴν Λιβύην γῆν ἔχων, καὶ ἔστε μὲν πρὸς ἀνίσχοντα
12 ἥλιον ὁ πλόος αὐτῷ ἐγένετο τὰς πάσας πέντε καὶ τριάκοντα
ἡμέρας· ὡς δὲ δὴ ἐς μεσημβρίην ἐξετράπετο, πολλῆσιν
ἀμηχανίησιν ἐνετύγχανεν ὕδατός τε ἀπορίῃ καὶ καύματι
13 ἐπιφλέγοντι καὶ ῥύαξι πυρὸς ἐς τὸν πόντον ἐμβάλλουσιν. ἀλλ'
ἢ Κυρήνη γὰρ τῆς Λιβύης ἐν τοῖς ἐρημοτέροις πεπολισμένη
ποιώδης τέ ἐστι καὶ μαλθακὴ καὶ εὐδρος καὶ ἄλσρα καὶ
λειμῶνες, καὶ καρπῶν παντοίων καὶ κτηνέων πάμφορός <ἐστι>
ἔστε ἐπὶ τοῦ σιλφίου τὰς ἐκφύσεις· ὑπὲρ δὲ τὸ σίλφιον τὰ
ἄνω αὐτῆς ἔρημα καὶ ψαμμώδεα.
14 οὗτός μοι ὁ λόγος ἀναγεγράφθω, φέρων καὶ αὐτὸς ἐς
Ἀλέξανδρον τὸν Φιλίππου, τὸν Μακεδόνα.

- from Babylon, to sail as far as they could on the right of the Red Sea
[Persian Gulf] and discover the regions there, sighted certain
islands lying on their coastal course, and doubtless put in at places
9 on the mainland of Arabia, yet the cape which Nearchus says his
party sighted running out into the sea opposite Carmania has never
been rounded, and no one has been able to turn inwards on the far
10 side. I think that, had it been possible to proceed by sailing this way,
it would have been proved possible so to proceed and sail by the
indefatigable energy of Alexander. Hanno the Libyan started out
11 from Carthage and sailed beyond the pillars of Heracles [Gibraltar]
into the outer sea, with Libya on his left, and sailed on towards the
east, five-and-thirty days all told. But when at last he turned
12 southward, he fell in with every sort of difficulty, want of water,
blazing heat, and fiery streams running into the sea. However,
13 Cyrene, though it is a city lying in the more desert parts of Africa, is
grassy, mild and well-watered with groves and meadows and bears
all sorts of fruits and animals, up to the region where the silphium
grows; beyond this silphium belt its upper parts are bare and
sandy.⁵
14 Let this be the end of my record, which also bears on Alexander
of Macedon, son of Philip.

5 The sequence of thought is puzzling. What has an inaccurately reported voyage on the west coast of Africa (*Oxf. Class. Dict. s.v. Hanno*), or the fertility of Cyrene, to do with the circumnavigation of Arabia?