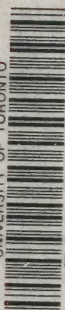


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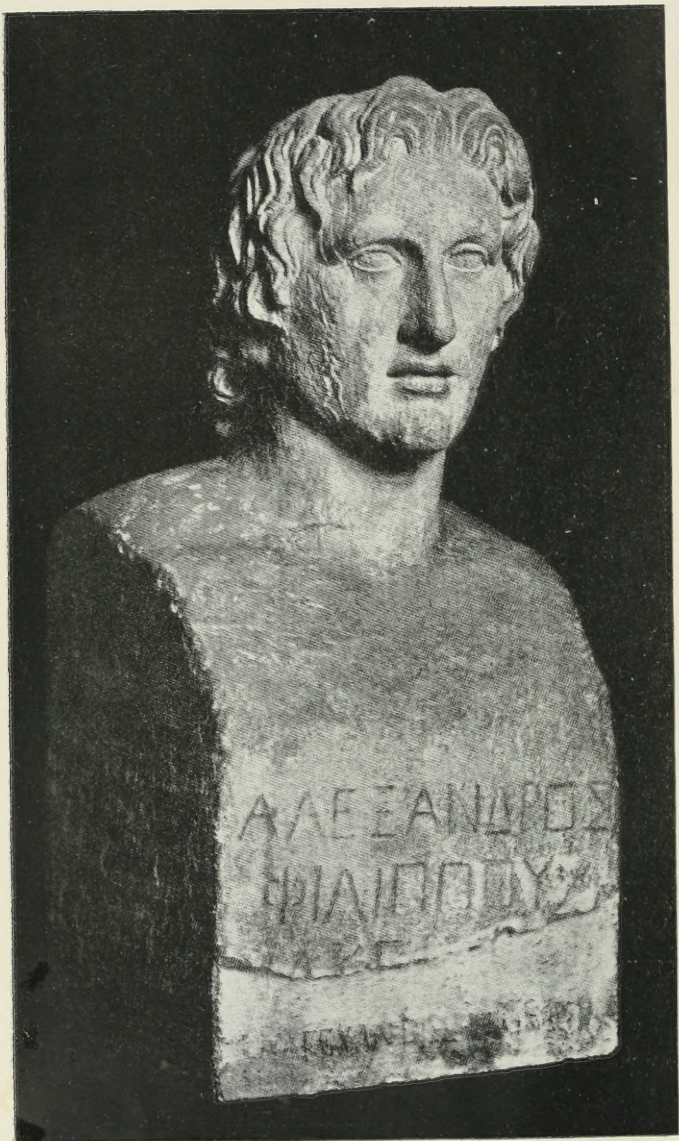
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ALEXANDER (Louvre).



# ARRIAN—ANABASIS

*BOOKS I, II.*

BY

H. W. AUDEN, M.A.

ASSISTANT-MASTER AT FETTES COLLEGE;  
LATE SCHOLAR OF CHRIST'S COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE,  
AND BELL UNIVERSITY SCHOLAR

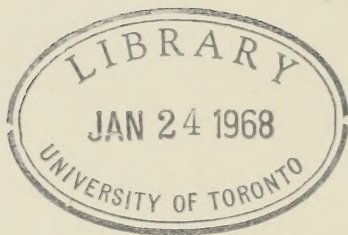
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## PREFACE.

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THERE is, as far as I know, no English edition of Arrian's *Anabasis of Alexander*. This in itself would seem sufficient justification for the present work. Of further recommendations which Arrian's *Anabasis* possesses as a reading-book, it may be enough to mention that it is the history of an expedition which transformed the world and has had lasting effect on European civilisation ; it is the history of a great *personality*, Alexander as general, statesman, conqueror, scientist ; as a chapter, too, in military history no student can neglect it—Napoleon at any rate did not. Alexander's generalship is a thing for all time ; and if there is truth in the old saying that "every gentleman must know the history of at least one campaign," we may as well, when we can convey useful and interesting information by means of Greek, seize the opportunity and thus combat one of the great objections urged against Greek studies. It is necessary also to add (for the benefit of those still dominated by the tyranny of Atticism) that Arrian's Greek is hardly more un-Attic than that of Xenophon.

I wish to acknowledge gratefully the assistance I have received from my colleagues, Mr H. R. Pyatt and Mr C. P. Evers, who kindly read the proofs of the Introduction, and from Mr A. N. C. Kittermaster of Dulwich College, who performed a like service in the case of the Appendix on "Alexander and his Army."

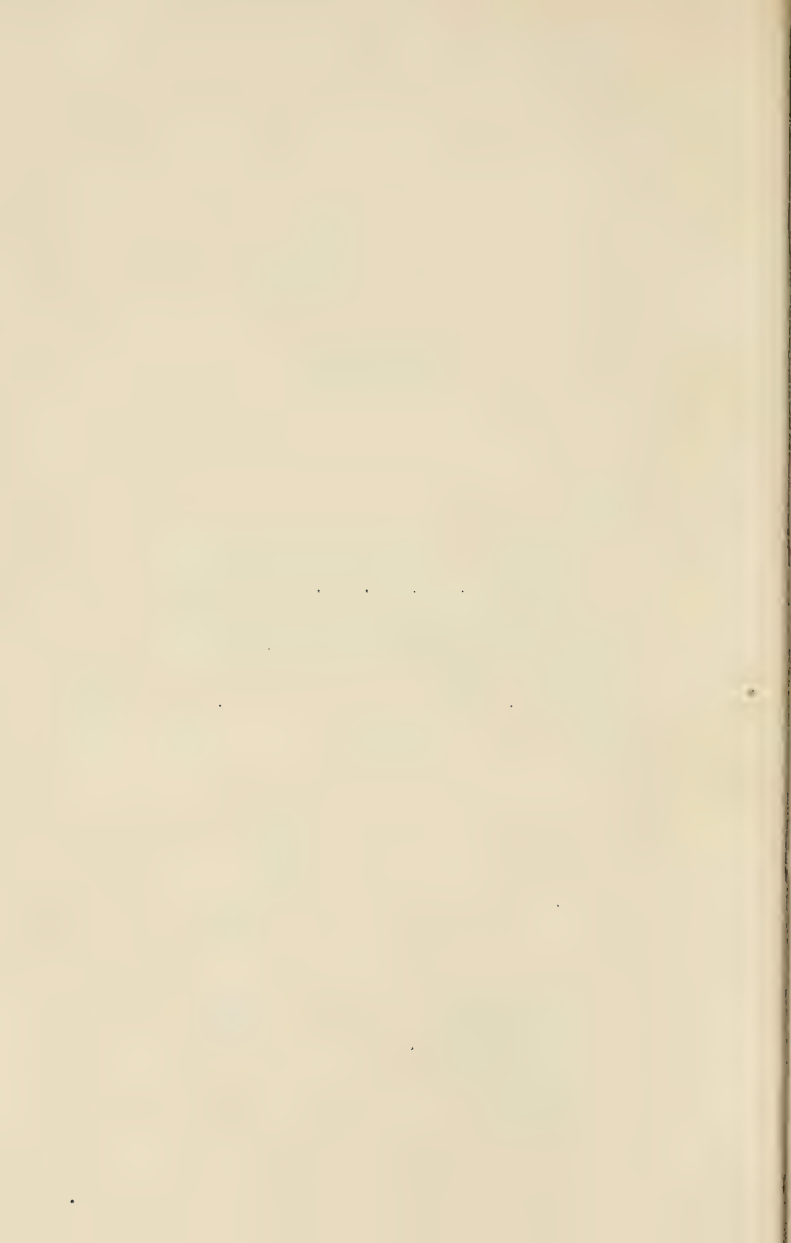
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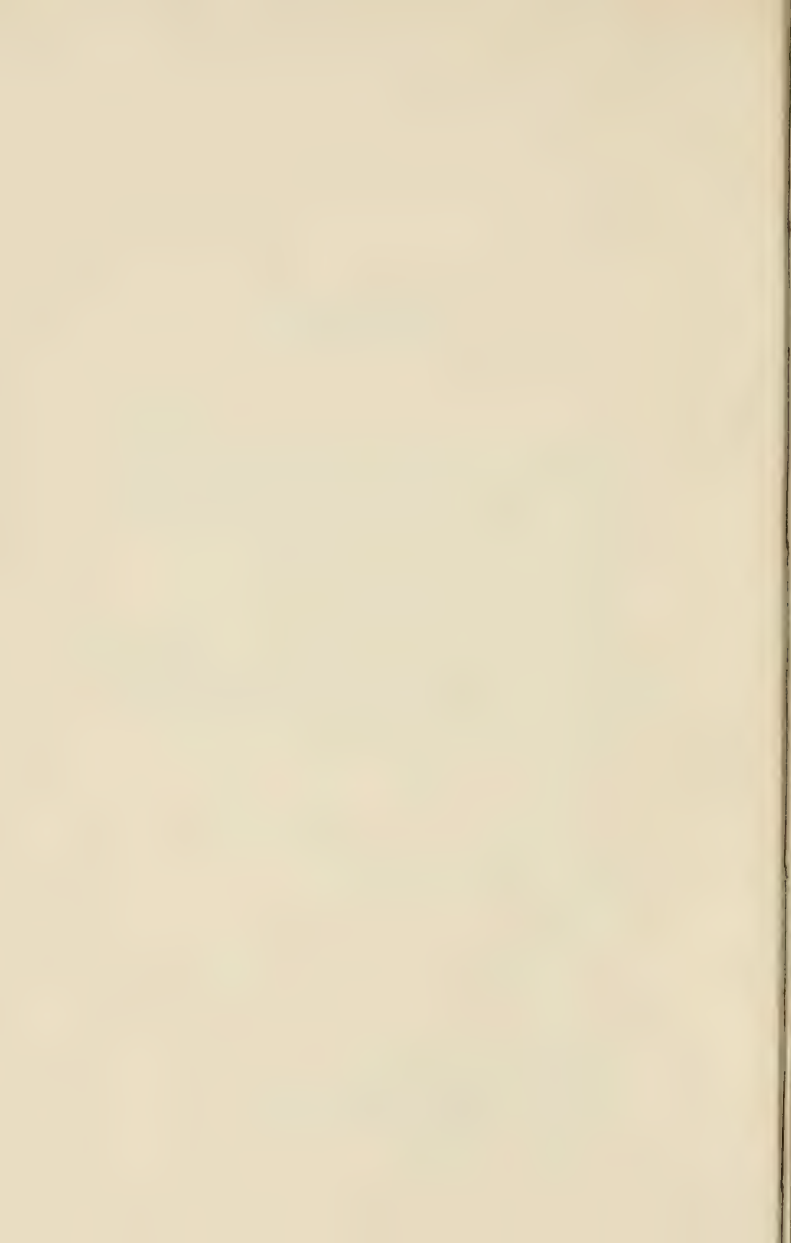
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# INTRODUCTION.

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## I. ALEXANDER.

§ 1. IT has been said with truth that "no single personality, excepting the carpenter's son of Nazareth, has **His im-  
portance.** done so much to make the world of civilisation we live in what it is as Alexander of Macedon." With him an old epoch of the universe ends and a new one begins. In the East as well as the West he opened out a new world, and gave it that shape and impress which, carefully fostered under Roman administration, produced the civilisation on which all European life is based. To Alexander as founder of a new epoch few will refuse the praise he deserves, but as to whether true worth or chance made him such, opinions will always differ. We may, as Grote<sup>1</sup> does, regard him as a mere phenomenon—a brilliant but baneful disturber of the world's system; a half-mad idealist

<sup>1</sup> It is now generally admitted that Grote's estimate of Alexander is biased. As the avowed historian of Greek democracy, he looks at Alexander through the eyes of Demosthenes, and regards him as "the destroyer of Greek freedom"—in reality the dispeller of unthinking belief in the old-world institutions of petty city states now long past maturity. As a general, however, Grote does concede to him the title "Great."

with Achilles on the brain, always posing for theatrical effect; an unthinking opportunist on whom fortune smiled, over whose ever-restless mind blood-lust and greed and cruelty held sway. Or we may with more impartial historians look on him as the ideal of a true founder of Empire, instinct with a desire to do all he can for the welfare of mankind, whether by spreading Greek culture or by developing the commerce of a new-found world. The results of Alexander's life-work are certain; certain too is it that he

**A great person-ality.** is a unique personality not only in Greek history but in the history of the world. It is the personal Alexander who interests us: where he is, there is history; in all that he does we see the triumph of mind over matter.

§ 2. Born in 356 B.C., the child who was destined to mark a new epoch inherited from both his parents notable characteristics. From Philip—"taken all in all the greatest man that Europe has produced," in the testimony of Theopompus (*Jlor.* B.C. 350)—he inherited that unswerving determination ever ready for action and that sound insight into the characters of men, while to Olympias and her wild Epirot blood was due the passionate, romantic, generous side of his nature.<sup>1</sup> On his father's side, according to the national belief, he was descended from Heracles; on his mother's, from Achilles. To natural gifts was added a most careful education. His infant years were watched over by his mother and by a Macedonian lady of good birth, Hellenice, the sister of Clitus. In his seventh year he was entrusted to the Epirot Leonidas, a relation of Olympias, who maintained strict discipline over his boyish pupil. Up

<sup>1</sup> It has been justly said, "There was in Alexander a great deal of the stuff that saints are made of—the power of passionate repentance, the power of most austere self-denial."

to the age of seventeen his personal wants were attended to by Lysimachus, an Acarnanian. It was an Acarnanian too—the physician Philippus—who was responsible for the boy's health and physical development. But Alexander's real education lay with Aristotle, to whom, as **Aristotle.** the greatest thinker and scholar of his age, Philip entrusted his son. Aristotle, in the solitude of a small Emathian town called Mieza, instructed his royal pupil not only in philosophy, ethics, and politics, but also in natural science and medicine. He awoke in him a broad desire for knowledge, and a love of research and discovery in every sphere of thought. In rhetoric the young prince received lessons from Anaximenes of Lampsacus, whilst in music and poetry he attained to as high a standard as was expected of the average Athenian gentleman.

§ 3. Alexander began his apprenticeship to government in his sixteenth year (340 B.C.), when his father, setting **Training** out on his expedition against Byzantium, left **in state-** his son as regent; and during this year the boy-**craft.** prince successfully conducted a small campaign against a rebellious mountain tribe on the upper Strymon. From this time onwards he shared in all his father's plans and aspirations. In 338 he fought by his father's side at Chæronea, but in 337 a slight estrangement grew up between Philip and Alexander, for Olympias, jealous of a supposed rival, the Macedonian princess Cleopatra, prompted her son to champion her cause against his father. In 336 his father's murder called him to the throne

§ 4. Round Alexander as king history centres for the next twelve years. To review briefly the tendencies of Greek history which made Alexander the conqueror possible, and to consider his position in that history—

After the Peloponnesian war, Sparta regains her supremacy in the eastern sphere of Greek life—*i.e.*, in Greece proper, whilst in the western sphere (Magna Græcia) Syracuse attains to the hegemony. The harsh and arrogant dominion of Sparta proves harder to bear than the rule of Athens, and Thebes, under Epaminondas, breaks the Spartan power; but all unity in Hellas is destroyed, and all capability of resisting a common foe is lost.

Both in the western and eastern centres of Hellenic life—in Magna Græcia and in Greece proper—*Northern* races intervene. In the west they are repulsed; but in the east, Philip, the semi-foreign Macedonian monarch, in spite of Demosthenes' opposition, subdues the whole peninsula and deprives the petty Greek republics of all political importance abroad. Greece tends more and more to become a mere plaything in the hands of the Macedonians, and by them is led on to a higher destiny. Alexander conquers an empire for the Greek people, who Hellenise it from the Euxine to the Nile. In Syria, Asia Minor, Egypt, the Hellenic race takes possession of every sphere of activity, and puts its impress on every movement of thought. In the west the Greek colonies hold their own against Carthage but are subjugated by Rome, who finally conquers Greece itself, to be conquered in her turn by the spirit of Athenian Greece, and thus bear the civilisation of Athens through lands conquered by Greeks and Macedonians.

§ 5. In estimating Alexander's aims we must carefully distinguish two stages in their development: (*a*) before the battle of Issus, (*b*) after it. There seems little doubt that his primary designs were conquest and discovery—conquest, to avenge the injuries

**Alex-  
ander's  
position  
in Greek  
history.**

**Alex-  
ander's  
aims.**

done by Xerxes to the most favoured of nations, the Greeks; discovery, which might provide further spheres of knowledge in which the ever inquisitive Greek mind might find expansion. But these plans became by force of circumstances merged in a larger scheme: he had gone too far for his original objects. The battle of Issus gave him Syria and Egypt, lands which he could only maintain in the character of an Eastern potentate. Thus the final form of his ambition was the foundation of an absolute empire on the oriental model, tempered and enlightened by Greek civilisation and Greek ideas of government—such an empire, but on a far larger scale, as was so successfully maintained in Egypt by his successors, the Ptolemies. One thing is certain, that in the earlier stages of his career neither the king himself nor his political adviser, Aristotle, had the least suspicion of the magnitude of the empire he was destined to found. After Issus, it seems as if urged by policy to adopt the habits of an eastern king, he gradually became dazzled by the brilliancy of his almost superhuman success, and more and more played the part of an oriental monarch. When he saw Darius' tent at Issus he exclaimed, "Well, this *is* something like royalty"; and his answer to the conquered Darius was, "Come to me as Lord of Asia"—two remarks which sufficiently indicate the trend of his thoughts. However, that he was not solely bent on conquest or on self-aggrandisement is clearly shown by the importance he attached to well-organised government, the care he took in founding new cities in good situations such as Herat and Alexandria, in establishing better communication between city and city, the subjugation of brigand tribes, the establishment of new trade-stations and new sea-routes, and the opening up of new countries such as Arabia.

## SOME RESULTS OF ALEXANDER'S CONQUESTS.

A. *To Greece.*

§ 6. That Greece lost her freedom through Alexander is true to this extent, that she now absolutely gave up all her political importance. The old system of city-state life was played out. There remained still some hope of strength for such combinations as the Ætolian and Achæan Leagues; but urban life—the true Greek life—had now no place in Greece, and we must seek it in such cities as Rhodes, Alexandria, Antioch, and Byzantium. But to say that Alexander threatened Greece with actual servitude is unfair; hegemony was what he aimed at—to lead the Greeks, not drive them. Had Alexander not appeared, it would have been such mercenary adventurers as Memnon and Mentor who would have been tyrants of the Greek cities; and the exploitation of Greece by Persia (for this was what Demosthenes' policy amounted to) would have continued, and Persian gold would have caused a civil war between the leading Greek states, Thebes and Athens. At any rate, the Macedonian conquest of Persia left the so-called Greek freedom in no worse position than before, whilst it added considerably to the prestige of the Greek name.

§ 7. The question is often asked how far Alexander was the representative of Greece. Here was a young, high-souled soldier-king—Achilles in stature and in mind—ready to undertake the war against the hereditary foes of Greece, which had long floated before the imagination of the Greeks as a most righteous war of revenge. Alexander ought to have been the favoured champion

**Alexander  
and Greek  
opinion.**

**Did  
Alexander  
destroy  
Greek  
freedom?**



ALEXANDER (Munich).





of Greece, but he was not, much though he longed to really *lead* the Greeks to victory. In *sentiment* the Greeks were with him; revenge for the wrongs done by Xerxes had long been an ideal desire. Isocrates and the best men of Greece all held this view. But in reality the Greeks did not wish Persia to be conquered; practical men preferred to acquiesce in the present position. Athens was still strongly republican, whilst Macedon was a typical monarchy. The Greeks were accustomed to Persia and to Persian gold, and during the Peloponnesian war we see now Athens, now Sparta, striving for the favour of the Persian king. There were few towns in Greece whose citizens had not relatives serving in the Persian army; moreover, practical Greeks considered the conquest of Persia utterly impossible. Alexander was certainly elected general against Persia, but the election had no political significance, he was recognised half-heartedly as leader of the Greeks, whilst in the meantime the agitation against Macedon grew apace, fostered by Persian gold. That Alexander himself at the **Difficulties** beginning of his reign was in a very difficult **of Alex-** position most Greeks knew. Among the dangers **ander's** threatening him from without must be reckoned **position.** the revived hostility of Athens and Sparta, and the revolt of the Thracian, Pæonian, and Illyrian tribes; whilst at home his rule was menaced by the partisans of Cleopatra—Olympias' rival, whom Philip had now married—and by her uncle Attalus, who set himself up as aspirant for the throne. The position has been well summed<sup>1</sup> up thus: "Alexander, a genuine Greek himself but a typical monarch, endeavours to enlist the sympathy of the republican Greeks for his national aims, but is not successful. To attain that object he has first to conquer Greece, which then holds sulkily aloof from the war against Persia. After this he has to

<sup>1</sup> Holm. Greek Hist. iii. 310.

subdue the Asiatic Greeks and the Greek mercenaries of the Persians into the bargain. When this had been done Persia falls almost of her own accord."

### B. *Result to Asia and the Eastern World.*

§ 8. As a result of Alexander's conquests Syria, Asia Minor, and Egypt were thoroughly Hellenised, and remained Hellenised—so till the fifth century A.D., while over the whole **ing of Asia.** Eastern world (for a time) Greek civilisation prevailed, which, though short lived, could not but have lasting effects. This Hellenising meant to Asia better government and contented subjects, better communication between town and town, and greater commercial activity, this latter being especially due to the fact that the accumulated hoards of Persian gold were put into circulation. But it was especially by the foundation of cities that the Eastern world was benefited. The πόλις of the Greeks is Hellenism in the concrete. Seventy centres of city-life based on the Greek system did Alexander plant in the East. In these all that was good in Greek urban life prevailed, but their citizens had wider views of life and more appreciation of the equality of man and man. The Greek language soon became the *lingua franca* of the East, not in its pure Attic idiom, but the universal form (ἡ κοινὴ—sc. διάλεκτος), the parent of medieval and modern Greek; and Parthians, even in the second century A.D., used Greek as their official language. Thus Alexander was pre-eminently the missionary of Hellenism, and his short life epitomises the history of Greek civilisation, just as he himself is a poetical embodiment of the whole Greek character.

§ 9. What Alexander *might* have done it is useless to conjecture; his untimely death removed the master-hand

when its work was but just begun. The Asiatic empire was but half-transformed; whether, as some **What might have been.** authorities are inclined to believe, the tendency towards orientalism,<sup>1</sup> already discernible in Alexander's character, would have been still further developed and longer life have found in him only another Darius, we cannot surmise, any more than we can surmise what would have been the result had Alexander matched his forces against those of Rome; but this is certain that his successors maintained the tolerant Hellenism they learned from Alexander. Thus indirectly was the way prepared for the armies of Rome, and for the spread of universal religion, and Gervinus's<sup>2</sup> famous statement must always remain true—"Long before Christ appeared Alexander smoothed the path for the Christian doctrine of the equality of men by the way in which he destroyed the prejudices of Greeks and Macedonians on the subject of the hierarchy of mankind, of Hellene and barbarian; and without the introduction of Greek civilisation into the East, Christianity could never have firmly taken root."

## II. ALEXANDER'S EXPEDITION AGAINST PERSIA.

§ 10. As stated above, the era of Alexander saw the death of the old Greece and the birth of the new. How was Alexander possible in history? Why did the Macedonian Empire prove a solution of the difficulties of the time? The great factors in the history of the period are three—Greece, Macedonia, and Persia: what was the position and relation of each?

The position of the old Greece may best be summed up

<sup>1</sup> Cf. § 5. p. xv.

<sup>2</sup> History of German Poetry.

by saying that it was "paralysed by the petty narrow life of its small states." Everything in Greece was essentially *small*—small in its area, its cities, its horizon, and its standard of life. Its states and their institutions all lost character with enlargement. The *individualism*, too, of Greek states is very marked: thus within a radius of sixteen miles might be found three flourishing and crowded cities—Dorian Megara, Ionian Athens, and Thebes, which was chiefly Æolian. Each of these communities differed considerably in customs, institutions, dress, and language. The petty cantons of old Greece were mutually isolated.

All this was soon to be changed: Greece enters on her period of great men; the political ideas of the fourth century were of a more sober and practical type than formerly; we hear less of the old conflict between aristocracy and democracy. The republics of Greece still have lofty ideas of "liberty," but their lack of national inspiration and their mutual animosities entirely prevent all united action. Autonomous states are now impossible, and, what is more important, thoughtful Greeks realised this. Equally impossible was a united Greek empire, though if the Greeks had, in the spirit of Isocrates, openly entered into a voluntary alliance with Macedonia, a modified Greek empire over Asia would have been feasible. The grouping of Greek civilisation in the fourth century may be thus divided: Thebes, Athens, the North (*i.e.*, Macedonia, Thessaly, and Thrace). Thebes is ambitious and famous, strong in men, but, as a power, weak, owing to its non-maritime position and the hostility of Bœotia. Athens is still republican and strong, though lack of capable generals and her unwieldy foreign interests impair her strength. Monarchical Macedonia has still to make its name, but is rich in men born to rule, strong in its king, who represents

the national idea, but without whom its power abroad is futile: strong, too, in a population of brave fighting men. Beside these stands Persia, a tottering colossus.<sup>1</sup>

## THE PERSIAN EMPIRE.

§ 11. The Persian<sup>2</sup> Empire, which Alexander set out to conquer, was at least fifty times as large as Macedonia.

**Its size.** From east to west its length was about twice as far as from Paris to St Petersburg, comprising all the country from the Hellespont to the Punjab, from Lake Aral to the Nile cataracts.<sup>3</sup> In it dwelt men of every colour and language, communities of the most varied type held together by merely the law of inertia, and by the one unifying bond—obedience to one absolutely autocratic despot who governed this huge tract of country for purely selfish ends and whose will was law.

The resources of this kingdom were almost inexhaustible. Thus the land-tax alone, a very small portion of the whole amount of tribute, yielded nearly £2,000,000<sup>4</sup> annually. This was a money-tax, but most of the contributions were in kind. Thus the Arabians annually furnished 1000 talents of frankincense; Armenia, 10,000

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Holm. Greek Hist. iii. 244.

<sup>2</sup> The name Persia; Greek Περσίς = old name Párša (now Párs or Fars), applied to both land and people, Πέρσαι = probably originally Πήρσαι, having come through Ionic Greek. The oldest mention of the name is in Ezekiel xxvii. 10; xxxviii. 5. The term Iran, often applied to Persia, originally = the whole upland country from Kurdistan to Afghanistan; Iran = Sanskrit Arya (cf. Herodt. vii. 62, \*Ἀριοι), is used as an old name of the Medes. The word occurs in several Persian names—*c.g.*, Ἀριαράμνης = Ariyarámna, Ἀριοβαρζάνης, &c.

<sup>3</sup> The Persian Empire extended over about 2,000,000 square miles. The population was about 50,000,000 souls.

<sup>4</sup> 7600 talents.

foals; Egypt, 120,000 bushels of wheat; whilst each satrapy had to supply its quota of men and supplies for the army. The vast wealth stored up in the various royal treasuries may be inferred from the fact that Alexander obtained from Persepolis £30,000,000, from Susa £12,000,000, and from Pasargadæ £1,000,000.

For purposes of administration the empire was divided into twenty provinces or satrapies (satraps = *khsathrapâvan*, protectors of the kingdom). In each of these the **Government.** satrap was absolute in power, being responsible only to the king. To ensure good and loyal government, the king frequently visited the various satrapies or sent his confidential commissioner or overseer, whose official title was "the king's eye." The king also possessed a sort of private detective force who were known as "the king's ears."

§ 12. What surprises us with regard to the Persian Empire is its cohesion. How did such a vast realm keep together at all? This may be partially answered by the **Strong points as an empire.** following considerations. The elements composing the Persian Empire were so various that a wide sympathy with each other's wrongs was rare and almost impossible; one section of tributaries might revolt, but the revolt did not spread. The smaller dynasties were by degrees extirpated, and the various nations, with oriental impassivity, considered that the Achæmenides were as good as any other royal house, especially since they followed the regular Persian policy, which was to meddle only with taxation and military service, allowing each nation to follow its national customs. Moreover, the empire still retained the impress of the vigour and wisdom of Cyrus and Darius,<sup>1</sup> its founders, and the true Persians still maintained their high level in personal courage and matters of religious belief.

<sup>1</sup> Darius = Dârajavalus of the Iranian records.

§ 13. The weakest spots in the Persian Empire were those parts of it which touched on other high civilisations—*e.g.*, the western provinces, Asia Minor and Egypt. For eighty years these portions had been tending towards separation. The revolt of Egypt was followed closely by that of Cyprus, and in 360 all the western provinces were as good as lost to Persia. But in 335 B.C., owing to the energy of Ochus, Egypt, Phœnicia, and Cyprus



*Head of Darius III. (Codomannus) showing στρεπτὸς.*

had been again brought back to Persia, whilst in Western Asia, Mentor and Memnon had restored Persian prestige, and the Persian Empire was to all appearances in a most flourishing condition. How, then, came about its dissolution at the hands of “a small body of Greek adventurers”? The fatal defects of Persian administration were these:—

(i) From a military point of view the Persians were en-

tirely out of date: they had no idea of tactics; they still trusted in numbers, in bravery, and in scythe-chariots. The battle of Cunaxa had taught them nothing except to hire more Greek mercenaries.

- (ii) In war everything depended on the king as general. Darius was no general; he knew nothing of strategy, and was, moreover, a weak-minded coward.
- (iii) In everything a master-mind was wanting. There was no forceful controlling personality to sway the various elements that made up both empire and army.

§ 14. Darius failed at first to realise that an attack on his kingdom was actually intended by this boy of twenty—**Darius's policy.** two—whose name even he did not know—and took no special steps to avert it, but merely pursued his ordinary policy towards Grecian affairs—to foster internal dissension in Greece by entering into relations with Greek towns, to send them several large remittances of money,<sup>1</sup> and to strengthen his own forces by enlisting more Greek mercenaries. That most discontented Greek towns sided with Persia, and that there was during the campaign a real danger of Alexander's Greeks deserting to the Persian side, is shown by Alexander's continual apprehensions on that account,<sup>2</sup> and by his persistent efforts to win over Greek sentiment to his side.

#### MACEDON.

§ 15. The Macedonians were not originally a united state but rather a congeries of tribes—a collection of petty

<sup>1</sup> Diod. xvii. 4; Arr. ii. 14; Dinarch., p. 91, § 10; Æschines, Ctes. §§ 239, 259.

<sup>2</sup> Arr. i. 18. 8; ii. 17. 2.



principalities occupying the tract of territory north of Thessaly and Epirus, separated from Thrace by the river Strymon, but possessing no well-defined limits towards Illyria and Pæonia on the north and west. The district may be roughly described as a large plain shut in on three sides by lofty mountains, traversed by three rivers, the valleys of which are wide and fertile. The sea-coast line was small, but afforded greater facilities for maritime enterprise than did that of the neighbouring land of Thessaly, the interior of which is only open to the sea through the narrow vale of Tempe. The land was such as would naturally produce mountaineers and peasants.

The Macedonians were Greeks in the wide sense of the term;<sup>1</sup> their language—a mere patois—differed little from the Æolic Greek dialect,<sup>2</sup> and the higher classes were all acquainted with Attic Greek. Their manners and customs, too, were undoubtedly Greek in spirit, though more primitive than those of the Greeks proper. It was Demosthenes, in his anti-Macedonian enthusiasm, who first insisted that all Macedonians were *βάρβαροι*. To the generality of Greeks they probably represented the outer rim of the Greek race, the extreme end of a chain of civilisation, the first link of which was Athens. As to the claim of the ruling family of the Argeadæ to be considered true Greeks, it was never doubted, and Alexander was allowed to take part in all the Greek national festivals without demur.

The people themselves were a vigorous peasant population,

<sup>1</sup> Ethnologically, the Macedonian nation contained two elements, the "Phrygian" or "Pelagic," dwellers in the hill-country, and the "Hellenic," inhabitants of the plains on the coast-line.

<sup>2</sup> The Macedonian language was apparently never written, and our knowledge of it is limited to a few words which were adopted by the Greeks. We know that Greek *Φίλιππος* = Mac. *Bilippos*; Greek *ὄφρυς* = Mac. *abrutes*; *Φερενίκη* = Mac. *Berenice*.

passionately devoted to war and hunting, and too frequently to hard drinking. The Macedonians were, as has **People.** been often said, Greeks at the Homeric<sup>1</sup> stage of civilisation—*i.e.*, they clung closely to the older institutions of kingship and tribal administration; with them *personal* authority was everything, written law nothing. The king can do no wrong; he is a clan-chieftain, supreme and absolute.

§ 16. As time went on the various clans of which the so-called Macedonian State was composed—the Elymiots, **History of Macedonian power.** Orestæ, Lyncestæ, &c.—were united by the masterful ability of successive princes, especially Archelaus, by whose instrumentality the leading family of the Argeadæ, who traced their descent from the Argive Heraclidæ, maintained their ascendancy as *the* kingly family. But it was Philip who really made the Macedonian nation and gave it a common national ideal. He it was who first inaugurated an imperial policy and saw the importance of obtaining complete power over the Macedonian sea-board, which up to his time had been practically in the hands of the Greek colonies situated there. With the acquisition of power over the sea-coast, Macedonia becomes a factor in European history. It was Philip who added Præonia and Illyria to his kingdom, though they were even in Alexander's time unruly vassals; and it was an overlordship rather than a kingship that he exercised over that part of his empire, which was, as we often see, a continual source of anxiety to him. The battle of Chæronea was an outcome of his policy of imperial expansion, and from that date

<sup>1</sup> This may in a way account for Alexander's love for Homer. He was used to a "Homeric" civilisation; he felt at home in the society Homer describes.

(338 B.C.) Philip was lord of Hellas. He then turned his mind to wider schemes, and wished to win the favour of Greece, that he might be appointed as the champion of Hellenism to lead a united Greece against its hereditary enemy, Persia. Nominally he was successful. The Greeks appointed him their generalissimo, but it was merely an extortion of assent, and he received no real support. In 336 he was murdered, and left the fulfilment of his ambitious schemes to his son Alexander.

### III. ARRIAN.

§ 17. The course of events is more clearly established for the history of Alexander than for any section of Greek history with the exception of the periods dealt with by Herodotus, Thucydides, and Xenophon. This is due in the main to the work of Arrian, or νέος Ξενοφῶν, as he was called. Of his life we know but little. Born about A.D.

**Life of** 100, at Nicomedia in Asia Minor, he first came  
**Arrian.** before the public as the editor of the Lectures of Epictetus, the philosopher, his friend and teacher. In 124 A.D. he attracted the notice of Hadrian, the emperor, during his journey through Greece, and received from him the gift of Roman citizenship; and from this date he used the name Flavius Arrianus. At Rome Arrian soon attained considerable power.<sup>1</sup> In 136 A.D. he was appointed Prefect of Cappadocia, and successfully repelled, in 137, an invasion of his province by the Alani or Massagetæ. In 146 Arrian

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *Anab.* i. 12. 5, where he states that both he himself and the office he held (ἀρχή) were well known to his readers. Cf. Lucian, *Alc.* 2, Ἀρριανὸς ὁ τοῦ Ἐπικτήτου μαθητῆς ἀνὴρ Ῥωμαίων ἐν τοῖς πρώτοις καὶ παιδεία παρ' ὄλον τὸν βίον συγγεγόμενος.

was consul. In 150 he retired from public life to his native town of Nicomedia, where he held the office of priest of Demeter. It is probable that he used this period of comparative leisure for composing his *Anabasis* and *Indica*. The date of his death is uncertain.

§ 18. Διατριβαὶ Ἐπικτήτου, Epictetus's lectures, in eight Arrian's books, four still extant. A most comprehensive Works. treatise on the Stoic philosophy.

Ἐγχειρίδιον Ἐπικτήτου, a handbook, abstract of Stoic philosophy; extant.

Περὶ τοῦ βίου Ἐπικτήτου; lost.

These philosophical works belong to the earlier period of Arrian's literary activity.

Κυνηγητικός, a treatise on hunting, intended as a sort of supplement to Xenophon's Κυνηγητικός.<sup>1</sup>

Ἀνάβασις Ἀλεξάνδρου, in seven books (*vide* § 20).

Τὰ Ἰνδικὰ or Ἰνδική, a continuation in Ionic dialect of the *Anabasis*. Often printed as an eighth book of the *Anabasis*. Based on the work of the geographer Eratosthenes of Cyrene and on the Παράπλους of Nearchus, Alexander's admiral (*vide* § 20), its object was to refute the popular but untrustworthy and fabulous account of the East given by Ctesias of Cnidus in his *Indica*.

Βιθυνικά, eight books. In this work Arrian gave, *inter alia*, an account of his upbringing and education, so that the loss of it is much to be deplored.

Παρθικά, seventeen books; lost.

Ἀλανικὴ ἱστορία, a work dealing with Arrian's prefectship

<sup>1</sup> Arrian imitated Xenophon not only in his style but in the subjects of his works. Thus he wrote, as Xenophon did, an Ἀνάβασις in seven books, a Τακτικά, and a Κυνηγητικός. Corresponding to Xenophon's Ἑλληνικά and Ἀπομνημονεύματα Σωκράτους, Arrian wrote Παρθικά, Βιθυνιακά, Ἀλανικά, and the Διατριβαὶ Ἐπικτήτου.

of Cappadocia and his repulse of the Alani. Of this only a fragment is extant, ἔκταξις κατ' Ἀλανῶν—*i.e.*, position of troops and field-orders in the fight against the Alani.

Τέχνη τακτική, handbook of tactics, in fourteen books, of which fragments remain. This was probably written as a practical guide to tactics for the use of subordinate officers in Cappadocia.

§ 19. The materials that were available to Arrian for his *Anabasis*, and his method of dealing with them, are discussed on p. xxxii. His general qualifications as a historian were many and considerable: strong-headed, practical common-sense, combined with much experience as a general and as an administrator; sound judgment and acute critical power, fostered by his philosophic training in the Stoic schools; literary power, evidenced by the ability to describe events accurately and concisely; and last, but not least, that element of hero-worship—the fervid admiration for the central figure of his history which supplies a semi-poetic strain and picturesqueness of description, without which the narration of even the greatest events is dull and lifeless. Arrian, though one of the latest historians of Alexander, is the best.

Arrian's avowed object in writing the *Anabasis* was to give a straightforward account (a strictly veracious account, as distinct from the many fabulous narratives which were in circulation) of the military exploits of Alexander, whom he held to be the greatest general and tactician the world had seen.<sup>1</sup> In accordance with the tenets of his Stoic teacher Epictetus, Arrian probably had also an ethical aim in writing his *Anabasis*. History was to be a guide to posterity (vii. 30, ὠφελείας

<sup>1</sup> In his accounts of battles and sieges, we recognise Arrian as a specialist in tactical knowledge—*c.g.*, i. 14. 20; iii. 10; v. 7. 2.

ἔνεκα τῆς ἐς ἀνθρώπους), and the study of the virtues of great men was to inspire emulation in others.<sup>1</sup>

Of any appreciation of Alexander as the missionary of civilisation and apostle of Hellenism in the East we find no trace. He criticises the acts of his hero, but never analyses their possible result.

§ 20. Alexander, like all the Macedonian kings, arranged that official records should be kept of every event that occurred in his kingdom.<sup>2</sup> These were the ἐφημερίδες βασιλικοί, also called ὑπομνήματα βασιλικά, γράμματα μνημόσυνα τῶν ἡμερῶν. During Alexander's expedition these journals were kept by his chief secretary (ἀρχιγραμματεὺς), Eumenes, and by Diodotus of Erythræ. These are made use of by Arrian (and also Plutarch) only in detailing the last days of Alexander. Possibly records of the distance covered, and probably notes on the topography of the country, were kept by the βηματισταί (lit., step-measurers), who were the survey-officers attached to Alexander's suite. It was by the king's orders, too, that Chares the chamberlain (εἰσαγγελεύς) wrote περὶ Ἀλέξανδρον ἱστορίαι, and that Nearchus, the admiral of Alexander's Indian fleet, wrote an account of his coasting voyage (παράπλους) to explore the district between the mouths of the Indus and Euphrates. This diary Arrian reproduces in his *Indica* (ch. xviii. sqq.) We have references also to Alexander's letters, of which a

<sup>1</sup> Other traces of Stoic influence may be found in his praise of self-restraint as the basis of all virtues (iv. 9. 1; 20. 3; vi. 26), in his recognition of a higher power working in everything and manifesting its will by signs and oracles and omens (i. 9. 6; ii. 6. 6; iii. 3. 6; vii. 30. 2).

<sup>2</sup> This custom of keeping a court-journal had been borrowed from Asiatic monarchs. Cf. Herodt. viii. 90, where the Persian king's γραμματισταί are mentioned as being present at the battle of Salamis.

collection was made. Arrian, however, does not often<sup>1</sup> refer to them, and it is probable that in course of time many forgeries had been interpolated in them.

Of professed historians who accompanied Alexander's expedition the number is very large. The most prominent are :—

Callisthenes<sup>2</sup> of Olynthus, a cousin of Aristotle. By his alternate flattery and abuse he made himself so obnoxious to Alexander that he was accused of **Rhetorical historians.** a plot to assassinate the king and was put to death (iv. 14. 3).

Anaximenes of Lampsacus, one of Alexander's tutors, wrote τὰ περὶ Ἀλέξανδρον.

Onesicritus of Astypalæa, ἀρχικυβερνήτης of Alexander's flagship. According to Gellius (ix. 4. 3) his historical works were *miraculorum fabularumque pleni*.

Clitarchus, who in 304 wrote an account of his experiences in the expedition. He wrote for a Greek public in a bombastic, rhetorical style, with small regard for actual truth. His narrative forms the basis for the works of Curtius and Justin. Several passages in Strabo are derived from him.

All these four wrote rather to amuse than to instruct in facts, and their accounts are only partially trustworthy.

**Practical historians.** Two others, however, of Alexander's suite wrote reliable narratives—viz. :

Ptolemy, son of Lagus, who afterwards, as King of Egypt, distinguished himself by his capable administration of his

<sup>1</sup> Cf. i. 10. 4; ii. 14. 4; 25. 3; vi. 1. 4; vii. 23.

<sup>2</sup> The works of this Callisthenes must be kept distinct from the collection of almost miraculous tales about Alexander attributed to him (usually cited as pseudo-Callisthenes). This collection was made at a later date in Alexandria. It is extant in a Latin translation, but is historically valueless.

kingdom and by his enthusiasm for Greek art and literature, evidenced by his founding of the museum and library at Alexandria. His work was semi-official, and was devoted for the most part to military consideration of the campaign. (Cf. Arrian, *Proæmium* to Book I.)

Aristobulus of Cassandria, who wrote a practical, unpretentious history of the expedition, probably giving special attention to questions of topography.

Arrian based his *Anabasis* on the works of these two historians, probably taking Ptolemy as his authority in military matters<sup>1</sup> and Aristobulus for the rest.<sup>2</sup> The relative position and value of materials for Alexander's history is given in the following table:—

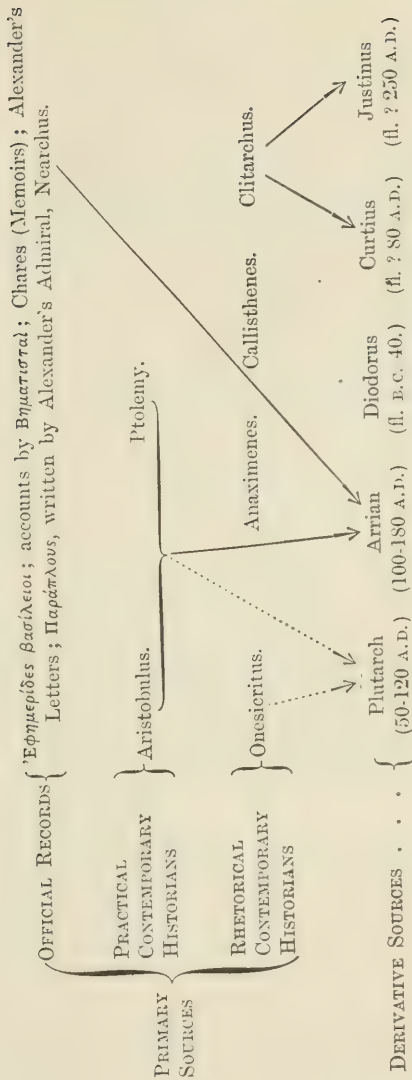
<sup>1</sup> Cf. i. 2. 7; ii. 11; iii. 3. 5; 4. 5; 17. 1; iv. 3. 14; v. 14. 5, &c.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. ii. 3. 7; iii. 3. 3; iv. 3. 5; 6. 1; v. 14. 3; vi. 22. 28.

[ALEXANDER.



ALEXANDER.



*The lines and arrows show whence each writer probably derived his information.*

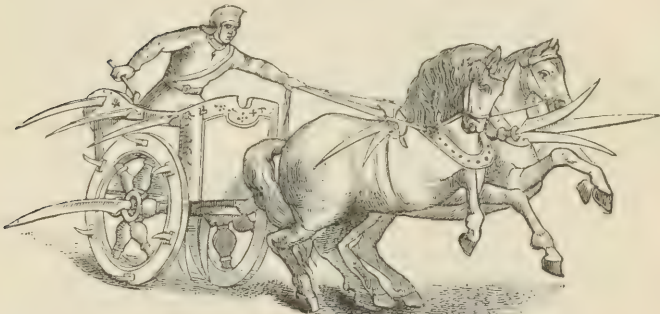
## § 22. CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE.

B.C.

336. Philip murdered. Alexander succeeds (September). Anti-Macedonian movement in Greece suppressed by Alexander, who rapidly marches into Greece. Is accepted by the Amphictyonic Council and by Athens. Is appointed, as his father had been, generalissimo of Greeks against Persia. }  
 Plut. Al. 10, 11.  
 Diod. xvi. 91-94.  
 Cf. Arr. ii. 14, 15.
335. Alexander subdues Thracians and Triballi. Reduces the Illyrians, thus acquiring a large body of efficient cavalry and light-armed troops. Revolt and destruction of Thebes. }  
 Arr. i. 1-10.  
 Plut. Al. 11.  
 Diod. xvii. 8.
334. Crosses the Hellespont in early spring into Persia with 30,000 infantry and 5000 cavalry. }  
 Arr. i. 11-14.  
 Diod. xvii. 17.  
 Plut. Al. 15.
- Conquers the Persian satraps at the Granicus (May) and subdues western Asia Minor. Most of the Hellenic towns submit. In these, democracies are established. Miletus and Halicarnassus resist. At Halicarnassus, the centre of Persian influence, Memnon, the leader of the Greek mercenaries under Persia, makes a stubborn resistance, but the city is finally taken. Alexander winters in Lycia. }  
 Arr. i. 11-29.  
 Diod. xvii. 17-28.  
 Plut. Al. 15-18.
333. Alexander marches through Pisidia into Phrygia. Collects his forces at Gordium. }  
 Arr. ii. 3-12.  
 Plut. 18.  
 Curt. iii.  
 Polyb. 12. 17-22.
- Successes of Persian fleet in the Ægean under Memnon, who captures Chios and Lesbos. Death of Memnon. }  
 Arr. i. 3.  
 Arr. ii. 1, 2.
- Alexander marches to the Taurus. Falls ill at Tarsus. Defeats Darius at Issus (November). Darius negotiates: proposes to be "friend and ally." }  
 Arr. iv. 7-11  
 Diod. 31.  
 Plut. 19.

332. Alexander begins to destroy the Persian sea-power, and lays siege to Tyre and Gaza. } Arr. ii. 13-iii. 5.
- Conquest of Syria, Phœnicia, Palestine, and Egypt. Foundation of Alexandria. } Diod. xvii. 40-51.  
Plut. Al. 24-28.  
Curt. iv. 1-8.
331. Alexander marches through Phœnicia; crosses Tigris; enters interior of Persian empire. Battle at Gaugamela near Arbela (October 1). } Arr. iii. 6-15.  
Diod. xvii. 52-61.  
Curt. iv. 8-16.  
Plut. Al. 29-33.
- Darius flees to Media. Overthrow of Persian Empire. Alexander in Babylon, Susa, and Persepolis. } Arr. iii. 16-18.  
Diod. xvii. 64-72.  
Curt. v. 1-7.  
Plut. 34-42.
- Anti-Macedonian revolt at Sparta and Elis under Agis III. Alexander despatches a fleet to the Peloponnese. } Arr. ii. 13. 4, 6.  
Diod. xvii. 48.  
Arr. iii. 6, 3.
330. Antipater, Alexander's general in command in Greece, crushes Spartans and their allies. Alexander pursues Darius through Media and Parthia (August). Conspiracy against Darius, who is murdered by Bessus. Pursuit of Bessus through Areia (Herat), Drangiana (Seistan), Arachosia (Candahar), to Bactria. } Diod. xvii. 62, 63.  
Æschin. Ctes. §§ 133, 165.  
Curt. vi. 1.  
Arr. iii. 19-22.  
Curt. v. 8-13.  
Plut. Al. 42, 43.  
Diod. xvii. 73.
329. Subdues Bactria; captures Bessus; massacres the Branchidæ. Crossing of the Jaxartes. } Arr. iii. 29.  
Curt. vii. 5.  
Arr. iv. 4, 5.
328. War in Sogdiana continued. Army, in five divisions, march through country, uniting at Marakanda (Samarcand). Murder of Clitus. } Arr. iv. 16, 17.  
Curt. vii. 10-viii. 3.
327. Sogdiana completely subdued. Capture of the Rock of Oxyartes, whose daughter, Roxana, Alexander marries. Crosses Paropomismus (Hindoo Koosh) into India (June). } Arr. iv. 22-30.  
Curt. viii. 9-12.  
Diod. xvii. 84, 85.
326. Crosses Indus (March). Advances to the Hydaspes (Jhelum). } Arr. v. 3 to end.  
Curt. viii. 12-ix. 3.
- Battle with Porus. Crosses the Acesines (Jhenab), Hydraotes (Rawi), to the Hyphasis (Sutlej), where he is compelled to turn back by his discontented army. Marches back to Hydaspes (September). }

325. Alexander proceeds—partly by water, on the rivers Hydaspes, Acesines, and Indus, partly along their banks—to the mouth of the Indus (August). } Arr. vi. 120.  
} Arr. Ind. xviii.,  
} xix.  
} Curt. ix. 3-10.  
} Diod. xvii. 95-104.
- Nearchus, with the fleet, looks for a sea-road to Persian Gulf, while Alexander marches through Gedrosia and Carmania to Persepolis. } Arr. Ind. xxi. to  
} end.  
} Arr. vi. 20-30.  
} Curt. ix. 10-x. i.
324. March to Susa, where the fleet joins the army. Attempts at fusion of Persians and Macedonians by intermarriage. Investigation into conduct of satraps and generals. Mutiny at Opis. March to Ecbatana. } Arr. vii. 4-15.  
} Diod. xvii. 107-  
} 111.
323. Alexander commands the Greek towns to receive back their exiles. His plans for conquest of Arabia. His death at Babylon (June 13). } Diod. xvii. 109.  
} Curt. x. 2, 4.



*Scythed chariot as used by the Persians.*

# ΑΡΡΙΑΝΟΥ

## ΑΝΑΒΑΣΕΩΣ ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ

### ΒΙΒΛΙΟΝ ΠΡΩΤΟΝ

Πτολεμαῖος ὁ Λάγου καὶ Ἀριστόβουλος ὁ Ἀριστο- **I**  
βούλου ὅσα μὲν ταῦτ' ἄμφω περὶ Ἀλεξάνδρου τοῦ  
Φιλίππου ξυνέγραψαν, ταῦτα ἐγὼ ὡς πάντη  
ἀληθῆ ἀναγράφω, ὅσα δὲ οὐ ταυτ' αὐτῶν τὰ  
πιστότερα ἐμοὶ φαινόμενα καὶ ἅμα ἀξιαφη-  
γητότερα ἐπιλεξάμενος. ἄλλοι μὲν δὴ ἄλλα ὑπὲρ **2**  
Ἀλεξάνδρου ἀνέγραψαν, οὐδ' ἔστιν ὑπὲρ ὅτου πλείονες  
ἢ ἀξυμφωνότεροι ἐς ἀλλήλους· ἀλλ' ἐμοὶ Πτολεμαῖός  
τε καὶ Ἀριστόβουλος πιστότεροι ἔδοξαν ἐς τὴν ἀφήγη-  
σιν, ὁ μὲν ὅτι συνεστράτευσε βασιλεῖ Ἀλεξάνδρῳ, Ἀρι-  
στόβουλος· Πτολεμαῖος δὲ πρὸς τῷ ξυστρατεῦσαι ὅτι  
καὶ αὐτῷ βασιλεῖ ὄντι αἰσχροτέρον ἢ τῷ ἄλλῳ ψεύσασ-  
θαι ἦν· ἄμφω δέ, ὅτι τετελευτηκότος ἤδη Ἀλεξάνδρου  
ξυγγράφουσιν αὐτοῖς ἢ τε ἀνάγκη καὶ ὁ μισθὸς τοῦ  
ἄλλως τι ἢ ὡς συνηέχθη ξυγγράψαι ἀπῆν. ἔστι δὲ ἅ **3**  
καὶ πρὸς ἄλλων ξυγγεγραμμένα, ὅτι καὶ αὐτὰ ἀξια-  
φηγητὰ τέ μοι ἔδοξε καὶ οὐ πάντη ἄπιστα, ὡς λεγό-  
μενα μόνον ὑπὲρ Ἀλεξάνδρου ἀνέγραψα. ὅστις δὲ  
θαυμάσεται ἀνθ' ὅτου ἐπὶ τοσούτοις συγγραφεῦσι καὶ  
ἐμοὶ ἐπὶ νουν ἦλθεν ἠδὲ ἢ συγγραφῆ, τὰ τε ἐκείνων

πάντα τις ἀναλεξάμενος καὶ τοῖσδε τοῖς ἡμετέροις ἐντυχὼν οὕτω θαυμαζέτω.

I.—*Events in Greece and Macedonia before Alexander's Persian Expedition.*

Λέγεται δὴ Φίλιππος μὲν τελευτῆσαι ἐπὶ ἄρχουτος I.  
 Πυθοδήμου Ἀθήνησι· παραλαβόντα δὲ τὴν βασιλείαν  
 Ἀλέξανδρον, παῖδα ὄντα Φιλίππου, ἐς Πελοπόννησον  
 παρελθεῖν· εἶναι δὲ τότε ἀμφὶ τὰ εἴκοσιν  
 ἔτη Ἀλέξανδρον. ἐνταῦθα ξυναγαγόντα τοὺς 2  
 Ἕλληνας ὅσοι ἐντὸς Πελοποννήσου ἦσαν  
 αἰτεῖν παρ' αὐτῶν τὴν ἡγεμονίαν τῆς ἐπὶ  
 τοὺς Πέρσας στρατιᾶς, ἦντινα Φιλίππῳ ἤδη  
 ἔδοσαν. καὶ αἰτήσαντα λαβεῖν παρ' ἐκάστων πλὴν  
 Λακεδαιμονίων· Λακεδαιμονίους δὲ ἀποκρίνασθαι μὴ  
 εἶναί σφισι πάτριον ἀκολουθεῖν ἄλλοις, ἀλλ' αὐτοὺς  
 ἄλλων ἐξηγεῖσθαι. νεωτερίσαι δὲ ἅττα καὶ τῶν Ἀθη-  
 ναίων τὴν πόλιν. ἀλλὰ Ἀθηναίους γε τῇ πρώτῃ ἐφόδῳ 3  
 Ἀλεξάνδρου ἐκπλαγέντας καὶ πλείονα ἔτι τῶν Φιλίππῳ  
 δοθέντων Ἀλεξάνδρῳ εἰς τιμὴν ξυγχωρῆσαι. ἐπανελ-  
 θόντα δὲ ἐς Μακεδονίαν ἐν παρασκευῇ εἶναι τοῦ ἐς τὴν  
 Ἀσίαν στόλου.

Ἄμα δὲ τῷ ἡρι ἐλαύνειν ἐπὶ Θράκης, ἐς Τριβαλλοὺς 4  
 καὶ Ἰλλυριοὺς, ὅτι τε νεωτερίζειν ἐπέθετο Ἰλλυριοὺς  
 τε καὶ Τριβαλλοὺς, καὶ ἅμα ὁμόρους ὄντας  
 οὐκ ἐδόκει ὑπολείπεσθαι ὅτι μὴ πάντῃ ταπεινω-  
 θέντας οὕτω μακρὰν ἀπὸ τῆς οἰκείας στελλό-  
 μενον. ὀρμηθέντα δὴ ἐξ Ἀμφιπόλεως ἐμ- 5  
 βαλεῖν ἐς Θράκην τὴν τῶν αὐτονόμων καλουμένων

His wars  
 against  
 the  
 Thracian  
 tribes.

Θρακῶν, Φιλίππους πόλιν ἐν ἀριστερᾷ ἔχοντα καὶ τὸν Ὀρβηλον τὸ ὄρος. διαβὰς δὲ τὸν Νέσσον ποταμὸν λέγουσιν ὅτι δεκαταίος ἀφίκετο ἐπὶ τὸ ὄρος τὸν Αἴμον. καὶ ἐνταῦθα ἀπὴντων αὐτῷ κατὰ τὰ στενὰ τῆς ἀνόδου 6 τῆς ἐπὶ τὸ ὄρος τῶν τε ἐμπόρων πολλοὶ ὀπλισμένοι καὶ οἱ Θρᾶκες οἱ αὐτόνομοι, παρεσκευασμένοι εἶργειν τοῦ πρόσω κατειληφότες τὴν ἄκραν τοῦ Αἴμου τὸν στόλον, παρ' ἣν ἦν τῷ στρατεύματι ἡ πάροδος. ξυνα- 7 γαγόντες δὲ ἀμάξας καὶ προβαλόμενοι πρὸ σφῶν ἅμα μὲν χάρακι ἐχρῶντο ταῖς ἀμάξαις εἰς τὸ ἀπομάχεσθαι ἀπ' αὐτῶν, εἰ βιάζοντο· ἅμα δὲ ἐν νῷ εἶχον ἐπαφιέναι ἀνιούσιν ἢ ἀποτομώτατον τοῦ ὄρους ἐπὶ τὴν φάλαγγα τῶν Μακεδόνων τὰς ἀμάξας. γιῶμην δὲ πεποιήντο ὅτι ὄσφ πυκνοτέρα τῇ φάλαγγι καταφερόμεναι συμμίζουσιν αἱ ἅμαξαι, τοσῶδε μᾶλλον τι διασκεδάσουσιν αὐτὴν βία ἐμπεσοῦσαι.

Ἄλεξάνδρῳ δὲ βουλή γίγνεται ὅπως ἀσφαλέστατα 8 ὑπερβαλεῖ τὸ ὄρος· καὶ ἐπειδὴ ἐδόκει διακινδυνευτέα, οὐ γὰρ εἶναι ἄλλη τὴν πάροδον, παραγγέλλει τοῖς ὀπλίταις, ὅποτε καταφέρουτο κατὰ τοῦ ὀρθίου αἱ ἅμαξαι ὅσοις μὲν ὁδὸς πλατεῖα οὔσα παρέχοι λῦσαι τὴν τάξιν, τούτους δὲ διαχωρῆσαι, ὡς δι' αὐτῶν ἐκπεσεῖν τὰς ἀμάξας· ὅσοι δὲ περικαταλαμβάνοντο, ξυννεύσαντας, τοὺς δὲ καὶ 9 πεσόντας ἐς γῆν συγκλείσαι ἐς ἀκριβὲς τὰς ἀσπίδας, τοῦ κατ' αὐτῶν φερομένης τὰς ἀμάξας καὶ τῇ ρύμῃ κατὰ τὸ εἶκος ὑπερπηδῶσας ἀβλαβῶς ἐπελθεῖν. καὶ οὕτω ξυνέβη ὅπως παρήνεσέ τε Ἄλέξανδρος καὶ εἴκασεν. 10 οἱ μὲν γὰρ διέσχον τὴν φάλαγγα, αἱ δὲ ὑπὲρ τῶν ἀσπίδων ἐπικυλισθεῖσαι ὀλίγα ἔβλαψαν· ἀπέθανε δὲ

οὐδεὶς ὑπὸ ταῖς ἀμάξαις. ἔνθα δὴ οἱ Μακεδόνες θαρσήσαντες, ὅτι ἀβλαβεῖς αὐτοῖς, ὡς μάλιστα ἐδεδίεσαν, αἱ ἀμαξαι ἐγένοντο, σὺν βοῇ ἐς τοὺς Θρᾶκας ἐνέβαλον. Ἄλέξανδρος δὲ τοὺς τοξότας μὲν ἀπὸ τοῦ δεξιοῦ κέρως I I πρὸ τῆς ἄλλης φάλαγγος, ὅτι ταύτη εὐπορώτερα ἦν, ἐλθεῖν ἐκέλευσε καὶ ἐκτοξεύειν ἐς τοὺς Θρᾶκας ὅπη προσφέρουτο· αὐτὸς δὲ ἀναλαβὼν τὸ ἄγλημα καὶ τοὺς ὑπασπιστὰς καὶ τοὺς Ἀγριῶνας κατὰ τὸ εὐώνυμον ἤγεν. ἔνθα δὴ οἱ τοξόται βάλλοντες τοὺς προεκθέοντας τῶν I 2 Θρακῶν ἀνέστελλον· καὶ ἡ φάλαγξ προσμίξασα οὐ χαλεπῶς ἐξέωσεν ἐκ τῆς χώρας ἀνθρώπους ψιλούς καὶ κακῶς ὀπλισμένους βαρβάρους, ὥστε Ἄλέξανδρον ἀπὸ τοῦ εὐωνύμου ἐπάγοντα οὐκέτι ἐδέξαντο, ἀλλὰ ρίψαντες ὡς ἐκάστοις προῦχώρει τὰ ὅπλα κατὰ τοῦ ὄρους ἔφυγον. καὶ ἀπέθανον μὲν αὐτῶν ἐς χιλίους καὶ πεντακοσίους, ζῶντες δὲ ἄνδρες μὲν ὀλίγοι ἐλίφθησαν δι' ὠκύτητα καὶ τῆς χώρας ἐμπειρίαν, γυναῖκες δὲ ὅσαι ξυνείποντο αὐτοῖς ἐάλωσαν πᾶσαι, καὶ τὰ παιδάρια καὶ ἡ λεία πᾶσα ἐάλω.

Ἄλέξανδρος δὲ τὴν μὲν λείαν ὀπίσω ἀπέπεμψεν ἐς II. τὰς πόλεις τὴν ἐπὶ θαλάσῃ, Λυσανίαν καὶ Φιλώτα παραδοὺς διατίθεσθαι· αὐτὸς δὲ τὸ ἄκρον ὑπερβαλὼν προῆει διὰ τοῦ Αἴμου ἐς Τριβαλλούς, καὶ ἀφικνεῖται ἐπὶ τὸν Λύγιον ποταμόν· ἀπέχει δὲ οὗτος ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἰστρου ὡς ἐπὶ τὸν Αἴμον ἰόντι σταθμοὺς τρεῖς. Σύρμος δὲ ὁ 2 τῶν Τριβαλλῶν βασιλεύς, ἐκ πολλοῦ πυνθανόμενος τοῦ Ἄλεξάνδρου τὸν στόλον, γυναῖκας μὲν καὶ παῖδας τῶν Τριβαλλῶν προῦπεμψεν ἐπὶ τὸν Ἰστρον διαβαίνειν κελεύσας τὸν ποταμόν ἐς νῆσόν τινα τῶν ἐν τῷ Ἰστρῷ·

The  
Triballi  
retire to  
Peuce;  
their  
defeat.



Πεύκη ὄνομα τῆ νήσῳ ἐστίν. ἐς ταύτην δὲ τὴν νῆσον καὶ 3  
οἱ Θρᾶκες οἱ πρόσχωροι τοῖς Τριβαλλοῖς προσάγοντος  
Ἀλεξάνδρου συμπεφευγότες ἦσαν καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ Σύρμος  
ἐς ταύτην ζυμπεφεύγει ζὺν τοῖς ἀμφ' αὐτόν· τὸ δὲ  
πολὺ πλήθος τῶν Τριβαλλῶν ἔφυνγεν ὀπίσω ἐπὶ τὸν  
ποταμόν, ἔθενπερ τῆ προτεραίᾳ ὠρμήθη Ἀλέξαν-  
δρος.

Ὡς δὲ ἔμαθεν αὐτῶν τὴν ὀρμὴν, καὶ αὐτὸς ὑποστρέ- 4  
ψας τὸ ἔμπαλιν ἐπὶ τοὺς Τριβαλλοὺς ἦγε, καὶ κατα-  
λαμβάνει καταστρατοπεδεύοντας ἤδη. καὶ οἱ μὲν  
καταληφθέντες πρὸς τῷ νάπει τῷ παρὰ τὸν ποταμόν  
παρετάσσοντο· Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς τὴν μὲν φά-  
λαγγα ἐς βάθος ἐκτάξας ἐπῆγε, τοὺς τοξότας δὲ καὶ  
τοὺς σφειδονήτας προεκθέοντας ἐκέλευσεν ἐκτοξεύει-  
τε καὶ σφειδονῶν ἐς τοὺς βαρβάρους, εἴ πως προκα-  
λέσαιο αὐτοὺς ἐς τὰ ψιλὰ ἐκ τοῦ νάπου. οἱ δὲ ὡς 5  
ἐντὸς βέλους ἐγένοντο, πειόμενοι ἐξέθεον ἐπὶ τοὺς  
τοξότας, ὅπως ἐς χεῖρας ζυμμίξειαν γυμνοῖς οὔσι τοῖς  
τοξόταις. Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ ὡς προήγαγεν αὐτοὺς ἐκ  
τῆς νάπης ἔξω, Φιλώταν μὲν ἀναλαβόντα τοὺς ἐκ τῆς  
ἄνωθεν Μακεδονίας ἰππέας προσέταξεν ἐμβάλλειν κατὰ  
τὸ κέρας τὸ δεξιόν, ἥπερ μάλιστα προῦκεχωρήκεσαν ἐν  
τῆ ἐκδρομῇ· Ἡρακλείδην δὲ καὶ Σώπολιν τοὺς ἐκ  
Βοττιαίας τε καὶ Ἀμφιπόλεως ἰππέας κατὰ τὸ  
εὐάνυμον κέρας ἐπάγειν ἔταξε. τὴν δὲ φάλαγγα τῶν 6  
πέζων καὶ τὴν ἄλλην ἵππον πρὸ τῆς φάλαγγος παρα-  
τεῖνας κατὰ μέσους ἐπῆγε. καὶ ἔστε μὲν ἀκροβολισμὸς  
παρ' ἐκατέρων ἦν οἱ Τριβαλλοὶ οὐ μείον εἶχον· ὡς δὲ ἦ  
τε φάλαγξ πυκνὴ ἐνέβαλλεν ἐς αὐτοὺς ἐρρωμένως καὶ οἱ

ἰππεῖς οὐκ ἀκοντισμῶ ἔτι, ἀλλ' αὐτοῖς ἵπποις ὠθοῦντες ἄλλη καὶ ἄλλη προσέπιπτον, τότε δὴ ἐτράπησαν διὰ τοῦ νάπου εἰς τὸν ποταμόν. καὶ ἀποθνήσκουσι μὲν 7  
 τρισχίλιοι ἐν τῇ φυγῇ, ζῶντες δὲ ὀλίγοι καὶ τούτων ἐλήφθησαν, ὅτι ὕλη τε δασεῖα πρὸ τοῦ ποταμοῦ ἦν καὶ νύξ ἐπιγενομένη τὴν ἀκρίβειαν τῆς διώξεως ἀφείλετο τοὺς Μακεδόνας. αὐτῶν δὲ Μακεδόνων τελευτῆσαι λέγει Πτολεμαῖος ἰππέας μὲν ἔνδεκα, πεζοὺς δὲ ἀμφὶ τοὺς τεσσαράκοντα.

Ἄπο δὲ τῆς μάχης τριταῖος ἀφικνεῖται Ἀλέξαν- III.  
 δρος ἐπὶ τὸν ποταμόν τὸν Ἰστρον, ποταμῶν τῶν κατὰ  
 τὴν Εὐρώπην μέγιστον ὄντα καὶ πλείστην  
 γῆν ἐπερχόμενον καὶ ἔθνη μαχιμώτατα ἀπείρ-  
 γοντα, τὰ μὲν πολλὰ Κελτικά, ὅθεν γε καὶ 2  
 αἱ πηγαὶ αὐτῷ ἀνίσχουσιν, ὧν τελευταίους  
 Κουάδους καὶ Μαρκομάνους· ἐπὶ δὲ Σαυροματῶν  
 μοῖραν, Ἰάζυγας· ἐπὶ δὲ Γέτας τοὺς ἀπαθανατίζοντας·  
 ἐπὶ δὲ Σαυρομάτας τοὺς πολλοὺς· ἐπὶ δὲ Σκύθας ἔστε  
 ἐπὶ τὰς ἐκβολάς, ἵνα ἐκδιδοῖ κατὰ πέντε στόματα εἰς 3  
 τὸν Εὐξεῖνον πόντον. ἐνταῦθα καταλαμβάνει αὐτῷ  
 ἠκούσας ναῦς μακρὰς ἐκ Βυζαντίου διὰ τοῦ πόντου τοῦ  
 Εὐξείνου κατὰ τὸν ποταμόν. ταύτας ἐμπλήσας  
 τοξοτῶν τε καὶ ὀπλιτῶν τῇ νήσῳ ἐπέπλει ἵνα οἱ  
 Τριβαλλοὶ τε καὶ οἱ Θράκες συμπεφευγότες ἦσαν, καὶ  
 ἐπειράτο βιάζεσθαι τὴν ἀπόβασιν. οἱ δὲ βάρβαροι 4  
 ἀπὴντων ἐπὶ τὸν ποταμόν ὅποι αἱ νῆες προσπίπτοιεν·  
 αἱ δὲ ὀλίγαι τε ἦσαν καὶ ἡ στρατιὰ οὐ πολλὴ ἢ ἐπ'  
 αὐτῶν, καὶ τῆς νήσου τὰ πολλὰ ἀπότομα εἰς προσ-  
 βολὴν, καὶ τὸ ρεῦμα τοῦ ποταμοῦ τὸ παρ' αὐτήν, οἶα

Campaign  
 on the  
 Danube,  
 and  
 against the  
 Getae.

δὴ ἐς στενὸν συγκεκλεισμένοι, ὄξυ καὶ ἄπορον προσ-  
φέρεσθαι.

Ἐνθα δὴ Ἀλέξανδρος ἀπαγαγὼν τὰς ναῦς ἔγνω 5  
διαβαίνειν τὸν Ἰστρον ἐπὶ τοὺς Γέτας τοὺς πέραν τοῦ  
Ἰστροῦ ὀκισμένους, ὅτι τε συνειλεγμένους ἑώρα πολ-  
λοὺς ἐπὶ τῇ ὄχθῃ τοῦ Ἰστροῦ, ὡς εἶρξοντας, εἰ δια-  
βαίνοι (ἦσαν γὰρ ἵππεις μὲν ἐς τετρακισχιλίους, πεζοὶ  
δὲ πλείους τῶν μυρίων) καὶ ἅμα πόθος ἔλαβεν αὐτὸν  
ἐπ' ἐκεῖνα τοῦ Ἰστροῦ ἐλθεῖν. τῶν μὲν δὴ νεῶν 6  
ἐπέβη αὐτός· τὰς δὲ διφθέρας ὑφ' αἷς ἐσκήνουν τῆς  
κάρφης πληρώσας καὶ ὅσα μονόξυλα πλοῖα ἐκ τῆς  
χώρας ξυναγαγὼν (ἦν δὲ καὶ τούτων εὐπορία πολλή,  
ὅτι τούτοις χρῶνται οἱ πρόσοικοι τῷ Ἰστροῦ ἐφ' ἀλιεία  
τε τῇ ἐκ τοῦ Ἰστροῦ καὶ εἶποτε παρ' ἀλλήλους ἀνὰ  
τὸν ποταμὸν στέλλοιντο καὶ ληστεύοντες ἀπ' αὐτῶν  
οἱ πολλοί) ταῦτα ὡς πλείστα ξυναγαγὼν διεβίβαζεν  
ἐπ' αὐτῶν τῆς στρατιάς ὅσους δυνατὸν ἦν ἐν τῇ  
τοιῆδε τρόπῳ. καὶ γίνονται οἱ διαβάντες ἅμα  
Ἀλεξάνδρῳ ἵππεις μὲν ἐς χιλίους καὶ πεντακοσίους,  
πεζοὶ δὲ ἐς τετρακισχιλίους.

Διέβαλον δὲ τῆς νυκτὸς ἢ λήιον ἦν σίτου βαθύ· IV.  
καὶ ταύτῃ μᾶλλον τι ἔλαθον προσσχόντες τῇ ὄχθῃ.  
ὑπὸ δὲ τὴν ἑὸν Ἀλέξανδρος διὰ τοῦ ληίου ἦγε,  
Destruc-  
tion of the  
capital of  
the Getae. παραγγείλας τοῖς πεζοῖς πλαγίαις ταῖς σαρίσ-  
σαις ἐπικλίνοντας τὸν σίτον οὕτω προάγειν  
ἐς τὰ οὐκ ἐργάσιμα. οἱ δὲ ἵππεις ἔστε μὲν διὰ τοῦ  
ληίου προΐει ἢ φάλαγξ ἐφείποντο· ὡς δὲ ἐκ τῶν 2  
ἐργασίμων ἐξήλασαν, τὴν μὲν ἵππον ἐπὶ τὸ δεξιὸν κέρας  
αὐτὸς Ἀλέξανδρος παρήγαγε, τὴν φάλαγγα δὲ ἐν

πλαισίῳ Νικάνορα ἄγειν ἐκέλευσε. καὶ οἱ Γέται οὐδὲ 3  
 τὴν πρώτην ἐμβολὴν τῶν ἰππέων ἐδέξαντο· παράδοξος  
 μὲν γὰρ αὐτοῖς ἡ τόλμα ἐφάνη τοῦ Ἀλεξάνδρου, ὅτι  
 εὐμαρῶς οὕτω τὸν μέγιστον τῶν ποταμῶν διεβεβήκει ἐν  
 μιᾷ νυκτὶ τὸν Ἴστρον οὐ γεφυρώσας τὸν πόρον,  
 φοβερὰ δὲ καὶ τῆς φάλαγγος ἡ ξύγκλεισις, βιαία δὲ  
 ἡ τῶν ἰππέων ἐμβολή. καὶ τὰ μὲν πρῶτα ἐς τὴν πόλιν 4  
 καταφεύγουσιν, ἡ δὲ ἀπεῖχεν αὐτοῖς ὅσον παρασάγγην  
 τοῦ Ἴστρον· ὡς δὲ ἐπάγοντα εἶδον σπουδῇ Ἀλέξανδρον  
 τὴν μὲν φάλαγγα παρὰ τὸν ποταμόν, ὡς μὴ κυκλω-  
 θεῖέν πη οἱ πεζοὶ ἐνεδρευσάντων τῶν Γετῶν, τοὺς  
 ἰππέας δὲ κατὰ μέτωπον, λείπουσιν αὐ καὶ τὴν πόλιν  
 οἱ Γέται κακῶς τετειχισμένην, ἀναλαβόντες τῶν παιδ-  
 αρίων καὶ τῶν γυναικῶν ἐπὶ τοὺς ἵππους ὅσα φέρειν  
 οἱ ἵπποι ἠδύναντο· ἦν δὲ αὐτοῖς ἡ ὄρμη ὡς πορρω-  
 τάτω ἀπὸ τοῦ ποταμοῦ ἐς τὰ ἔρημα. Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ  
 τὴν τε πόλιν λαμβάνει καὶ τὴν λείαν πᾶσαν ὅσῃν οἱ  
 Γέται ὑπελείποντο. καὶ τὴν μὲν λείαν Μελεάγρῳ καὶ  
 Φιλίππῳ ἐπαναγαγεῖν δίδωσιν· αὐτὸς δὲ κατασκάψας 5  
 τὴν πόλιν θύει τε ἐπὶ τῇ ὄχθῃ τοῦ Ἴστρον Διὶ  
 Σωτῆρι καὶ Ἡρακλεῖ καὶ αὐτῷ τῷ Ἴστρον, ὅτι οὐκ  
 ἄπορος αὐτῷ ἐγένετο, καὶ ἐπανάγει αὐτῆς ἡμέρας σώους  
 σύμπαντας ἐπὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον.

Ἐνταῦθα ἀφίκοντο πρέσβεις ὡς Ἀλέξανδρον παρά 6  
 τε τῶν ἄλλων ὅσα αὐτόνομα ἔθνη προσοικεῖ τῷ Ἴστρον  
 καὶ παρὰ Σύρμου τοῦ Τριβαλλῶν βυσιλέως·  
 καὶ παρὰ Κελτῶν δὲ τῶν ἐπὶ τῷ Ἰονίῳ κόλπῳ  
 ὠκισμένων ἦκον· μεγάλοι οἱ Κελτοὶ τὰ  
 σώματα καὶ μέγα ἐπὶ σφίσι φρονούντες· πάντες δὲ

Envoys  
 sent by  
 Triballi  
 and Celts.

φιλίας τῆς Ἀλεξάνδρου ἐφιέμενοι ἦκειν ἔφασαν. καὶ 7  
 πᾶσιν ἔδωκε πίστεις Ἀλέξανδρος καὶ ἔλαβε· τοὺς  
 Κελτοὺς δὲ καὶ ἤρετο ὅτι μάλιστα δεδίττεται αὐτοὺς  
 τῶν ἀνθρωπίνων, ἐλπίσας ὅτι μέγα ὄνομα τὸ αὐτοῦ καὶ  
 ἐς Κελτοὺς καὶ ἔτι προσωτέρω ἦκει καὶ ὅτι αὐτὸν  
 μάλιστα πάντων δεδιέναι φήσουσι. τῷ δὲ παρ' ἐλπίδα 8  
 ξυνέβη τῶν Κελτῶν ἡ ἀπόκρισις· οἶα γὰρ πόρρω τε  
 ὤκισμένοι Ἀλεξάνδρου καὶ χωρία δύσπορα οἰκοῦντες  
 καὶ Ἀλεξάνδρου ἐς ἄλλα τὴν ὁρμὴν ὀρῶντες ἔφασαν  
 δεδιέναι μήποτε ὁ οὐρανὸς αὐτοῖς ἐμπέσοι. καὶ τού-  
 τους φίλους τε ὀνομάσας καὶ ξυμμάχους ποιησάμενος  
 ὀπίσω ἀπέπεμψε, τοσοῦτον ὑπειπὼν ὅτι ἀλαζόνες  
 Κελτοὶ εἰσιν.

Αὐτὸς δὲ ἐπ' Ἀγριάνων καὶ Παιόνων προὔχῳρει. V.  
 ἔνθα δὴ ἄγγελοι ἀφίκοντο αὐτῷ Κλείτον τε τὸν Βαρ-  
 δύλεω ἀφεστάναι ἀγγέλλοντες καὶ Γλαυκίαν  
 προσκεχωρηκέναι αὐτῷ τὸν Ταυλαντίων βασι-  
 λέα· οἱ δὲ καὶ τοὺς Αὐταριάτας ἐπιθήσεσθαι  
 αὐτῷ κατὰ τὴν πορείαν ἐξήγγελλον· ὧν δὴ  
 ἕνεκα κατὰ σπουδὴν ἔδοκει ἀναζευγνύναι. Λάγγαρος 2  
 δὲ ὁ τῶν Ἀγριάνων βασιλεὺς ἔτι μὲν καὶ Φιλίππου  
 ζώντος ἀσπαζόμενος Ἀλέξανδρον δῆλος ἦν καὶ ἰδίᾳ  
 ἐπρέσβευσε παρ' αὐτόν, τότε δὲ παρῆν αὐτῷ μετὰ τῶν  
 ὑπασπιστῶν, ὅσους τε καλλίστους καὶ εὐοπλοτάτους  
 ἀμφ' αὐτὸν εἶχε· καὶ ἐπειδὴ ἔμαθεν ὑπὲρ τῶν Αὐταρια- 3  
 τῶν πυνθανόμενον Ἀλέξανδρον οἵτινές τε καὶ ὀπόσοι  
 εἶεν, οὐκ ἔφη χρῆναι ἐν λόγῳ τίθεσθαι Αὐταριάτας·  
 εἶναι γὰρ ἀπολεμωτάτους τῶν ταύτη· καὶ αὐτὸς  
 ἐμβαλεῖν ἐς τὴν χώραν αὐτῶν, ὡς ἀμφὶ τὰ σφέτερα

Revolt of  
 Clitus the  
 Illyrian  
 and  
 Glaucias.

μᾶλλον τι ἔχοιεν. καὶ κελεύσαντος Ἀλεξάνδρου ἐμβάλλει ἐς αὐτούς· καὶ ἐμβαλὼν ἦγε καὶ ἔφερε τὴν χώραν αὐτῶν.

Αὐταριῦται μὲν δὴ ἀμφὶ τὰ αὐτῶν εἶχον· Λάγ- 4  
γαρος δὲ τὰ τε ἄλλα ἐτιμήθη μεγάλως πρὸς Ἀλεξάνδρου καὶ δῶρα ἔλαβεν ὅσα μέγιστα παρὰ βασιλεῖ τῷ Μακεδόνων νομίζεται· καὶ τὴν ἀδελφὴν τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρου Κύναν καὶ ταύτην ὠμολόγησε δώσειν αὐτῷ Πέλλαν ἀφικομένῳ Ἀλέξανδρος.

Ἀλλὰ Λάγγαρος μὲν ἐπανελθὼν οἴκαδε νόσῳ 5  
ἐτελεύτησεν. Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ παρὰ τὸν Ἐριγόνα ποταμὸν πορευόμενος ἐς Πήλιον πόλιν ἐπέλλετο. ταύτην γὰρ κατειλῖφει ὁ Κλεῖτος ὡς ὀχυρωτάτην τῆς χώρας· καὶ πρὸς ταύτην ὡς ἦκεν Ἀλέξανδρος, καταστρατοπεδεύσας πρὸς τῷ Ἑορδαϊκῷ ποταμῷ τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ ἐγνώκει προσβάλλειν τῷ τείχει. οἱ δὲ ἀμφὶ 6  
τὸν Κλεῖτον τὰ κύκλῳ τῆς πόλεως ὄρη, ὑπερδέξιά τε ὄντα καὶ δασέα, κατεῖχον, ὡς πάντοθεν ἐπιτίθεσθαι, τοῖς Μακεδόσιν, εἰ τῇ πόλει προσβάλλοιεν· Γλαυκίας δὲ αὐτῷ ὁ τῶν Ταυλαντίων βασιλεὺς οὕπω παρῆν. Ἀλέξανδρος μὲν δὴ τῇ πόλει προσῆγεν· οἱ δὲ πολέ- 7  
μιοι σφαιγιασάμενοι παῖδας τρεῖς καὶ κόρας ἴσας τὸν ἀριθμὸν καὶ κριοὺς μέλανας τρεῖς, ὥρμητο μὲν ὡς δεξόμενοι ἐς χεῖρας τοὺς Μακεδόνας· ὁμοῦ δὲ γενομένων ἐξέλιπον καίτοι καρτερὰ ὄντα τὰ κατειλημμένα πρὸς σφῶν χωρία, ὥστε καὶ τὰ σφάγια αὐτῶν κατε-  
λήφθη ἔτι κείμενα.

Ταύτῃ μὲν δὴ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ κατακλείσας αὐτοὺς ἐς 8  
τὴν πόλιν καὶ στρατοπεδευσάμενος πρὸς τῷ τείχει

ἐγνώκει περιτειχισμῷ ἀποκλείσαι αὐτούς· τῇ δὲ ὑστεραία  
 παρῆν μετὰ πολλῆς δυνάμεως Γλαυκίας ὁ  
 Alexander before Pelion, Clitas' Capital. τῶν Ταυλαντίων βασιλεύς. ἔνθα δὴ Ἀλέξαν-  
 δρος τὴν μὲν πόλιν ἀπέγνω ἐλεῖν ἂν ξὺν τῇ  
 παρούσῃ δυνάμει, πολλῶν μὲν ἐς αὐτὴν καὶ  
 μαχίμων ξυμπεφευγόντων, πολλῶν δὲ ἅμα τῷ Γλαυκία  
 προσκεισομένων, εἰ αὐτὸς τῷ τείχει προσμάχοιτο.  
 Φιλώταν δὲ ἀναλαβόντα τῶν ἰππέων ὅσους ἐς προφυ- 9  
 λακὴν καὶ τὰ ὑποζύγια τὰ ἐκ τοῦ στρατοπέδου ἐς  
 ἐπισιτισμὸν ἔπεμπεν. καὶ ὁ Γλαυκίας μαθὼν τὴν ὀρμὴν  
 τῶν ἀμφὶ Φιλώταν ἐξελαύνει ἐπ' αὐτούς, καὶ καταλαμ-  
 βάνει τὰ κύκλω ὄρη τοῦ πεδίου, ὅθεν οἱ ξὺν Φιλώτα  
 ἐπισιτιεῖσθαι ἔμελλον. Ἀλέξανδρος δέ, ἐπειδὴ ἀπηγ- 10  
 γέλθη αὐτῷ ὅτι κινδυνεύουσιν οἳ τε ἰππεῖς καὶ τὰ  
 ὑποζύγια, εἰ νῦξ αὐτούς καταλήψεται, αὐτὸς μὲν ἀνα-  
 λαβὼν τοὺς τε ὑπασπιστὰς καὶ τοὺς τοξότας καὶ τοὺς  
 Ἀγριᾶνας καὶ ἰππέας ἐς τετρακοσίους ἐβοήθει σπουδῇ·  
 τὸ δὲ ἄλλο στράτευμα πρὸς τῇ πόλει ἀπέλιπεν, ὡς μὴ  
 ἀποχωρήσαντος παντὸς τοῦ στρατοῦ καὶ οἱ ἐκ τῆς  
 πόλεως ἐπιδραμόντες τοῖς ἀμφὶ Γλαυκίαν ξυμμίξειαν.  
 ἔνθα δὴ Γλαυκίας προσάγοντι Ἀλέξανδρον αἰσθόμε- 11  
 νος ἐκλείπει τὰ ὄρη· οἱ δὲ ξὺν Φιλώτα ἀσφαλῶς ἐπὶ  
 τὸ στρατόπεδον διεσώθησαν. ἐδόκουν δ' ἔτι τὸν  
 Ἀλέξανδρον ἐν δυσχωρίᾳ ἀπειληφέναι οἱ ἀμφὶ τὸν  
 Κλείτον καὶ Γλαυκίαν· τὰ τε γὰρ ὄρη τὰ ὑπερδέξια  
 κατείχον πολλοῖς μὲν ἰππεῦσι, πολλοῖς δὲ ἀκοντισταῖς  
 καὶ σφενδονήταις καὶ ὀπλίταις δὲ οὐκ ὀλίγοις, καὶ  
 οἱ ἐν τῇ πόλει κατελιγμένοι προσκείσεσθαι ἀπαλ-  
 λαττομένοις ἔμελλον· τὰ τε χωρία δι' ὧν ἡ πάροδος 12

ἦν τῷ Ἀλεξάνδρῳ στενὰ καὶ ὑλώδη ἐφαίνετο, τῇ μὲν πρὸς τοῦ ποταμοῦ ἀπειργόμενα, τῇ δὲ ὄρος ὑπερύψηλον ἦν καὶ κρημνοὶ πρὸς τοῦ ὄρους, ὥστε οὐδὲ ἐπὶ τεσσάρων ἀσπίδων ἂν τῷ στρατεύματι ἢ πάροδος ἐγένετο.

Ἐνθα δὴ ἐκτάσσει τὸν στρατὸν Ἀλέξανδρος ἐς VI.  
 ἑκατὸν καὶ εἴκοσι τὸ βάθος τῆς φάλαγγος· ἐπὶ τὸ  
 κέρασ δὲ ἐκατέρωθεν διακοσίους ἰππέας ἐπιτάξας  
 παρήγγελλε σιγῇ ἔχειν, τὸ παραγγελλόμενον  
 ὀξέως δεχομένους· καὶ τὰ μὲν πρῶτα ἐσήμηνεν 2  
 ὀρθὰ ἀνατείνειν τὰ δόρατα τοὺς ὀπλίτας, ἔπειτα ἀπὸ  
 ξιθήματος ἀποτείνει ἐς προβολήν, καὶ νῦν μὲν ἐς τὸ  
 δεξιὸν ἐγκλίνας τῶν δοράτων τὴν σύγκλεισιν, αὐθις δὲ  
 ἐπὶ τὰ ἀριστερά· καὶ αὐτὴν δὲ τὴν φάλαγγα ἔς τε τὸ  
 πρόσω ὀξέως ἐκίνησε καὶ ἐπὶ τὰ κέρατα ἄλλοτε ἄλλῃ  
 παρήγαγε. καὶ οὕτω πολλὰς τάξεις τάξας τε καὶ 3  
 μετακοσμήσας ἐν ὀλίγῳ χρόνῳ, κατὰ τὸ εὐώνυμον  
 οἶον ἔμβολον ποιήσας τῆς φάλαγγος ἐπήγεν ἐπὶ τοὺς  
 πολεμίους. οἱ δὲ πάλαι μὲν ἐθαύμαζον τὴν τε ὀξύ-  
 τητα ὀρῶντες καὶ τὸν κόσμον τῶν δρωμένων· τότε  
 δὲ προσάγοντας ἤδη τοὺς ἀμφὶ Ἀλέξανδρον οὐκ  
 ἐδέξαντο, ἀλλὰ λείπουσι τοὺς πρώτους λόφους. ὁ 4  
 δὲ καὶ ἐπαλαλάξαι ἐκέλευσε τοὺς Μακεδόνας καὶ τοῖς  
 δόρασι δουπήσαι πρὸς τὰς ἀσπίδας· οἱ δὲ Γαυλάντιοι  
 ἔτι μᾶλλον ἐκπλαγέντες πρὸς τῆς βοῆς ὡς πρὸς τὴν  
 πόλιν ἐπανήγαγον σπουδῇ τὸν στρατὸν.

Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ λόφον τινὰς κατέχοντας ἰδὼν οὐ 5  
 πολλοὺς τῶν πολεμίων, παρ' ὃν αὐτῷ ἢ πάροδος  
 ἐγίγνετο, παρήγγειλε τοῖς σωματοφύλαξι καὶ τοῖς



ἀμφ' αὐτὸν ἑταίροις, ἀναλαβόντας τὰς ἀσπίδας ἀνα-  
 βαίνειν ἐπὶ τοὺς ἵππους καὶ ἐλαύνειν ἐπὶ τὸν γήλο-  
 φον· ἐκεῖσε δὲ ἐλθόντας, εἰ ὑπομένοιεν οἱ κατειλη-  
 φότες τὸ χωρίον, τοὺς ἡμίσεας καταπηδήσαι ἀπὸ τῶν  
 ἵππων καὶ ἀναμιχθέντας τοῖς ἵππεῦσι πεζοὺς μάχε- 6  
 σθαι. οἱ δὲ πολέμοι τὴν ὀρμὴν τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρου  
 ἰδόντες λείπουσι τὸν γήλοφον καὶ παρεκκλίνουσιν ἐφ'  
 ἑκάτερα τῶν ὄρων. ἔνθα δὴ καταλαβὼν Ἀλέξανδρος  
 τὸν γήλοφον σὺν τοῖς ἑταίροις τοὺς τε Ἀγριᾶνας  
 μεταπέμπεται καὶ τοὺς τοξότας, ὄντας ἐς δισχιλίους·  
 τοὺς δὲ ὑπασπιστὰς διαβαίνειν τὸν ποταμὸν ἐκέλευσε  
 καὶ ἐπὶ τούτοις τὰς τάξεις τῶν Μακεδόνων· ὁπότε  
 δὲ διαβάντες τύχοιεν, ἐπ' ἀσπίδα ἐκτάσσεσθαι, ὡς  
 πυκνὴν εὐθὺς διαβάντων φαίνεσθαι τὴν φάλαγγα·  
 αὐτὸς δὲ ἐν προφυλακῇ ὢν ἀπὸ τοῦ λόφου ἀφεώρα  
 τῶν πολεμίων τὴν ὀρμὴν. οἱ δέ, ὄρωντες διαβαίνου- 7  
 σαν τὴν δύναμιν, κατὰ τὰ ὄρη ἀντεπήεσαν, ὡς τοῖς  
 μετὰ Ἀλεξάνδρου ἐπιθησόμενοι τελευταίοις ἀποχω-  
 ροῦσιν. ὁ δὲ πελαζόντων ἤδη αὐτὸς ἐκθεῖ σὺν τοῖς  
 ἀμφ' αὐτόν, καὶ ἡ φάλαγξ, ὡς διὰ τοῦ ποταμοῦ  
 ἐπιούσα, ἐπηλάλαξεν· οἱ δὲ πολέμοι πάντων ἐπὶ  
 σφᾶς ἐλαυνόντων ἐγκλίναντες ἔφευγον· καὶ ἐν τούτῳ  
 ἐπήγεν Ἀλέξανδρος τοὺς τε Ἀγριᾶνας καὶ τοὺς τοξό-  
 τας δρόμῳ ὡς ἐπὶ τὸν ποταμὸν. καὶ πρῶτος μὲν 8  
 αὐτὸς φθάσας διαβαίνει· τοῖς τελευταίοις δὲ ὡς εἶδεν  
 ἐπικειμένους τοὺς πολεμίους ἐπιστήσας ἐπὶ τῇ ὄχθῃ  
 τὰς μηχανὰς ἐξακοντίζει ὡς πορρωτάτῳ ἀπ' αὐτῶν  
 ἐκέλευσεν ὅσα ἀπὸ μηχανῶν βέλη ἐξακοντίζεται· καὶ  
 τοὺς τοξότας δὲ ἐκ μέσου τοῦ ποταμοῦ ἐκτοξεύειν

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

Τρίτῃ δὲ ἀπ' ἐκείνης ἡμέρῃ καταμαθὼν Ἀλέξαν- 9  
δρος κακῶς ἀλιζομένους τοὺς ἀμφὶ Κλείτον καὶ  
Γλαυκίαν, καὶ οὔτε φυλακὰς ἐν τῇ τάξει αὐτοῖς  
φυλαττομένας οὔτε χάρακα ἢ τάφρον προβεβλημένους,  
οἷα δὴ ξὺν φόβῳ ἀπηλλάχθαι οἰομένων Ἀλέξανδρον,  
ἐς μῆκος δὲ οὐκ ὠφέλιμον ἀποτεταμένην αὐτοῖς τὴν  
τάξιν, ὑπὸ νύκτα ἔτι λαθὼν διαβαίνει τὸν ποταμόν,  
τοὺς τε ὑπασπιστὰς ἅμῃ οἱ ἄγων καὶ τοὺς Ἀγριῶνας  
καὶ τοὺς τοξότας καὶ τὴν Περδίκκου καὶ Κοΐνου  
τάξιν. καὶ προστέτακτο μὲν ἀκολουθεῖν τὴν ἄλλην 10  
στρατιάν· ὡς δὲ καιρὸν εἶδεν εἰς ἐπίθεσιν, οὐ προσ-  
μείνας ὁμοῦ γενέσθαι πάντας ἐφῆκε τοὺς τοξότας  
καὶ τοὺς Ἀγριῶνας· οἱ δὲ ἀπροσδόκητοί τε ἐπιπεσόν-  
τες καὶ φάλαγγι κατὰ κέρασ, ἥπερ ἀσθενεστάτους  
αὐτοῖς καρτερωτάτῃ τῇ ἐμβολῇ προσμίζειν ἔμελλον,  
τοὺς μὲν ἔτι ἐν ταῖς εἰναῖς κιατέκτεινον, τοὺς δὲ  
φεύγοντας εὐμαρῶς αἰροῦντες, ὥστε πολλοὶ μὲν αὐτῶ  
ἐγκατελήφθησαν καὶ ἀπέθανον, πολλοὶ δὲ ἐν τῇ ἀπο-  
χωρήσει ἀτάκτῳ καὶ φοβερᾷ γενομένη· οὐκ ὀλίγοι  
δὲ καὶ ζῶντες ἐλήφθησαν. ἐγένετο δὲ ἡ διωξις τοῖς 11  
ἀμφὶ Ἀλέξανδρον μέχρι πρὸς τὰ ὄρη τῶν Ταυλαν-  
τίων· ὅσοι δὲ καὶ ἀπέφυγον αὐτῶν, γυμνοὶ τῶν  
ὄπλων διεσώθησαν. Κλείτος δὲ ἐς τὴν πόλιν τὸ  
πρῶτον καταφυγὼν ἐμπρήσας τὴν πόλιν ἀπηλλάγη  
παρὰ Γλαυκίαν ἐς Ταυλαντίους.

Ἐν τούτῳ δὲ τῶν φυγάδων τινὲς τῶν ἐκ Θηβῶν VII.  
 φευγόντων παρελθόντες νύκτωρ εἰς τὰς Θήβας ἐπα-  
 γομένων τιῶν αὐτοῖς ἐπὶ νεωτερισμῷ ἐκ τῆς  
 πόλεως Ἀμύνταν μὲν καὶ Τιμόλαον τῶν τὴν  
 Καδμείαν ἔχόντων οὐδὲν ὑποτοπήσαντας πο-  
 λέμιον ἔξω τῆς Καδμείας ὑπέκτειναν ξυλλα-  
 βόντες· ἐς δὲ τὴν ἐκκλησίαν παρελθόντες ἐπῆραν τοὺς 2  
 Θηβαίους ἀποστῆναι ἀπὸ Ἀλεξάνδρου, ἐλευθερίαν τε  
 προῖσχύμενοι καὶ παρρησίαν, παλαιὰ καὶ καλὰ ὀνόματα,  
 καὶ τῆς βαρύτητος τῶν Μακεδόνων ἤδη ποτὲ ἀπαλλα-  
 γῆναι. πιθανώτεροι δὲ εἰς τὸ πλῆθος ἐφαίνοντο  
 τεθηκέναι Ἀλέξανδρον ἰσχυρίζομενοι ἐν Ἰλλυριοῖς·  
 καὶ γὰρ καὶ πολὺς ὁ λόγος οὗτος καὶ παρὰ πολλῶν 3  
 ἐφοίτα, ὅτι τε χρόνον ἀπὴν οὐκ ὀλίγον καὶ ὅτι οὐδεμία  
 ἀγγελία παρ' αὐτοῦ ἀφίκτο, ὥστε, ὅπερ φιλεῖ ἐν τοῖς  
 τοιοῖσδε, οὐ γνώσκουσιν τὰ ὄντα τὰ μάλιστα καθ'  
 ἡδονὴν σφισιν εἴκαζον.

Πυθομένῳ δὲ Ἀλεξάνδρῳ τὰ τῶν Θηβαίων οὐδαμῶς 4  
 ἐδόκει ἀμελητέα εἶναι, τὴν τε τῶν Ἀθηναίων πόλιν δι'  
 ὑποψίας ἐκ πολλοῦ ἔχοιτι καὶ τῶν Θηβαίων τὸ τόλ-  
 μημα οὐ φάλλον ποιουμένῳ, εἰ Λακεδαιμόνιοί τε πάσαι  
 ἤδη ταῖς γνώμαις ἀφεστηκότες καὶ τινες καὶ ἄλλοι τῶν  
 ἐν Πελοποννήσῳ καὶ Διτωλοῖ οὐ βέβαιοι ὄντες συνεπι-  
 λήφονται τοῦ νεωτερισμοῦ τοῖς Θηβαίοις. ἄγων δὲ 5  
 παρὰ τὴν Ἑορδαίαν τε καὶ τὴν Ἐλιμιῶτιν καὶ παρὰ τὰ  
 τῆς Στυμφαίας καὶ Παραναίας ἄκρα ἐβδομαῖος ἀφικ-  
 νεῖται εἰς Περίνναν τῆς Θετταλίας. ἔνθεν δὲ ὀρμηθεὶς  
 ἕκτη ἡμέρᾳ ἐσβάλλει εἰς τὴν Βοιωτίαν, ὥστε οὐ πρόσθεν  
 οἱ Θηβαῖοι ἔμαθον εἶσω Πυλῶν παρεληλυθότα αὐτὸν

Anti-  
Macedo-  
nian rising  
in Thebes,  
Sept. 335.

πρὶν ἐν Ὀγχιστῷ γενέσθαι ξὺν τῇ στρατιᾷ πάσῃ. καὶ τότε δὲ οἱ πράξαντες τὴν ἀπόστασιν στρατεύματα ἐκ 6  
Μακεδονίας Ἀντιπάτρου ἀφίχθαι ἔφασκον, αὐτὸν δὲ  
Ἀλέξανδρον τεθνάναι δυσχυρίζοντο, καὶ τοῖς ἀπαγ-  
γέλλουσιν ὅτι οὗτος αὐτὸς προσάγει Ἀλέξανδρος  
χαλεπῶς εἶχον· ἄλλον γάρ τινα ἦκειν Ἀλέξανδρον τὸν  
Ἀερόπου.

Ὁ δὲ Ἀλέξανδρος ἐξ Ὀγχιστοῦ ἄρας τῆ ὑστεραία 7  
προσηγε πρὸς τὴν πόλιν τῶν Θηβαίων κατὰ τὸ τοῦ  
Ἰολάου τέμενος· οὗ δὴ καὶ ἐστρατοπέδευσεν,  
ἐνδιδούς ἔτι τοῖς Θηβαίοις τριβὴν, εἰ μεταγ-  
Alexander appears before Thebes. νόντες ἐπὶ τοῖς κακῶς ἐγνωσμένοις πρεσ-  
βεύσαιντο παρ' αὐτόν. οἱ δὲ τοσούτου ἐδέξαν 8  
ἐνδόσιμόν τι παρασχεῖν ἐς ξύμβασιν, ὥστε ἐκθέοντες  
ἐκ τῆς πόλεως οἱ τε ἵππεῖς καὶ τῶν ψιλῶν οὐκ ὀλίγοι  
ἔστε ἐπὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον ἠκροβολίζοντο ἐς τὰς  
προφυλακὰς, καὶ τινὰς καὶ ἀπέκτειναν οὐ πολλοὺς  
τῶν Μακεδόνων. καὶ Ἀλέξανδρος ἐκπέμπει τῶν ψιλῶν 9  
καὶ τοξοτῶν, ὥστε αὐτῶν ἀναστεῖλαι τὴν ἐκδρομὴν· καὶ  
οὔτοι οὐ χαλεπῶς ἀνέστειλαν ἤδη τῷ στρατοπέδῳ αὐτῷ  
προσφερομένους. τῇ δὲ ὑστεραία ἀναλαβὼν τὴν στρα-  
τιὰν πᾶσαν καὶ περιελθὼν κατὰ τὰς πύλας φερούσας  
ἐπ' Ἐλευθερίας τε καὶ τὴν Ἀττικὴν, οὐδὲ τότε προσέ-  
μιξε τοῖς τείχεσιν αὐτοῖς, ἀλλ' ἐστρατοπέδευσεν οὐ  
πολὺ ἀπέχων τῆς Καδμείας, ὥστε ἐγγὺς εἶναι ὠφέλειαν  
τῶν Μακεδόνων τοῖς τὴν Καδμείαν ἔχουσιν. οἱ γὰρ 10  
Θηβαῖοι τὴν Καδμείαν διπλῷ χάρακι ἐφρούρουσαν ἀπο-  
τειχίσαντες, ὡς μήτε ἔξωθεν τινα τοῖς ἐγκατελιημ-  
μένοις δύνασθαι ἐπωφελεῖν, μήτε αὐτοὺς ἐκθέοντας

βλάπτειν τι σφίς ὁπότε τοῖς ἔξω πολεμίοις προσφέ-  
 ρουτο. Ἄλεξανδρος δέ (ἔτι γὰρ τοῖς Θηβαίοις διὰ  
 φιλίας ἐλθεῖν μᾶλλον τι ἢ διὰ κινδύνου ἤθελε) διέτριβε  
 πρὸς τῇ Καδμείᾳ κατεστρατοπεδευκώς. ἔνθα δὲ τῶν I I  
 Θηβαίων οἱ μὲν τὰ βέλτιστα ἐς τὸ κοινὸν γιγνώσκοντες  
 ἐξελθεῖν ὄρμητο παρ' Ἄλεξανδρον καὶ εὐρέσθαι συγ-  
 γνώμην τῷ πλήθει τῶν Θηβαίων τῆς ἀποστάσεως· οἱ  
 φυγάδες δὲ καὶ ὅσοι τοὺς φυγάδας ἐπικέκλημένοι ἦσαν,  
 οὐδενὸς φιλανθρώπου τυχεῖν ἂν παρ' Ἄλεξανδρου  
 ἀξιοῦντες, ἄλλως τε καὶ βοιωταρχοῦντες ἔστιν οἱ αὐτῶν,  
 παντάπασιν ἐνήγον τὸ πλῆθος ἐς τὸν πόλεμον. Ἄλε-  
 ξανδρος δὲ οὐδ' ὡς τῇ πόλει προσέβαλεν.

Ἄλλὰ λέγει Πτολεμαῖος ὁ Λάγου ὅτι Περδίκκας, VIII.

προτεταγμένος τῆς φυλακῆς τοῦ στρατοπέδου σὺν τῇ  
 αὐτοῦ τάξει καὶ τοῦ χάρακος τῶν πολεμίων  
 οὐ πολὺ ἀφεστηκώς, οὐ προσμείνας παρ'  
 Ἄλεξανδρον τὸ ἐς τὴν μάχην ξύνημα αὐτὸς  
 πρῶτος προσέμιξε τῷ χάρακι καὶ διασπάσας  
 αὐτὸν ἐρέβαλεν ἐς τῶν Θηβαίων τὴν προφυλακὴν. τούτῳ 2  
 δὲ ἐπόμενος Ἀμύντας ὁ Ἀνδρομένους, ὅτι καὶ ξυντε-  
 ταγμένος τῷ Περδίκκᾳ ἦν, ἐπήγαγε καὶ αὐτὸς τὴν  
 αὐτοῦ τάξιν, ὡς εἶδε τὸν Περδίκκᾳ προεληλυθότα εἴσω  
 τοῦ χάρακος. ταῦτα δὲ ἰδὼν Ἄλεξανδρος, ὡς μὴ μόνοι  
 ἀποληφθέντες πρὸς τῶν Θηβαίων κινδυνεύσειαν, ἐπήγε  
 τὴν ἄλλην στρατιάν. καὶ τοὺς μὲν τοξότας καὶ τοὺς 3  
 Ἀγρίανας ἐκδραμεῖν ἐσήμηνεν εἴσω τοῦ χάρακος, τὸ  
 δὲ ἄγρημά τε καὶ τοὺς ὑπασπιστάς ἔτι ἔξω κατείχεν.  
 ἔνθα δὲ Περδίκκας μὲν τοῦ δευτέρου χάρακος εἴσω  
 παρελθεῖν βιαζόμενος αὐτὸς μὲν βληθεὶς πίπτει αἰ-

Thebes  
 razed to  
 the  
 ground,  
 335 B.C.

τοῦ· καὶ ἀποκομίζεται κακῶς ἔχων ἐπὶ τὸ στρατόπε-  
 δον, καὶ χαλεπῶς διεσώθη ἀπὸ τοῦ τραύματος· τοὺς  
 μέντοι Θηβαίους ἐς τὴν κοίλην ὁδὸν τὴν κατὰ τὸ  
 Ἑράκλειον φέρουσαν οἱ ἅμα αὐτῷ εἰσπεσόντες ὁμοῦ  
 τοῖς παρ' Ἀλεξάνδρου τοξόταις συνέκλεισαν. καὶ ἔστε 4  
 μὲν ἐπὶ τὸ Ἑράκλειον ἀναχωροῦσιν εἶποντο τοῖς  
 Θηβαίοις· ἐντεῦθεν δὲ ἐπιστρεψάντων αὐθις σὺν βοῇ  
 τῶν Θηβαίων φυγὴ τῶν Μακεδόνων γίγνεται· καὶ  
 Εὐρυβώτας τε ὁ Κρής πίπτει ὁ τοξάρχης καὶ αὐτῶν  
 τῶν τοξοτῶν ἐς ἑβδομήκοντα· οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ κατέφυγον  
 πρὸς τὸ ἄγλημα τὸ τῶν Μακεδόνων καὶ τοὺς ὑπασ-  
 πιστὰς τοὺς βασιλικούς. κὰν τούτῳ Ἀλέξανδρος τοὺς 5  
 μὲν αὐτοῦ φεύγοντας κατιδὼν, τοὺς Θηβαίους δὲ λευκ-  
 ότας ἐν τῇ διώξει τὴν τάξιν, ἐμβάλλει ἐς αὐτοὺς  
 συντεταγμένη τῇ φάλαγγι· οἱ δὲ ὠθοῦσι τοὺς Θηβαίους  
 εἴσω τῶν πυλῶν· καὶ τοῖς Θηβαίοις ἐς τοσόδε ἢ φυγὴ  
 φοβερὰ ἐγίγνετο, ὥστε διὰ τῶν πυλῶν ὠθούμενοι ἐς  
 τὴν πόλιν οὐκ ἔφθισαν συγκλείσαι τὴν πύλιν· ἀλλὰ  
 συνεισπίπτουσι γὰρ αὐτοῖς εἴσω τοῦ τείχους ὅσοι τῶν  
 Μακεδόνων ἐγγὺς φευγόντων εἶχοντο, ἅτε καὶ τῶν  
 τειχῶν διὰ τὰς προφυλακὰς τὰς πολλὰς ἐρήμων ὄντων.  
 καὶ παρελθόντες εἰς τὴν Καδμείαν οἱ μὲν ἐκεῖθεν κατὰ 6  
 τὸ Ἀμφεῖον σὺν τοῖς κατέχουσι τὴν Καδμείαν ἐξέβαινον  
 ἐς τὴν ἄλλην πόλιν· οἱ δὲ κατὰ τὰ τεῖχη, ἐχόμενα ἦδη  
 πρὸς τῶν συνεισπεσόντων τοῖς φεύγουσιν, ὑπερβάντες  
 ἐς τὴν ἀγορὰν δρόμῳ ἐφέροντο. καὶ ὀλίγον μὲν τινα 7  
 χρόνον ἔμειναν οἱ τεταγμένοι τῶν Θηβαίων κατὰ τὸ  
 Ἀμφεῖον· ὡς δὲ πανταχόθεν αὐτοῖς οἱ Μακεδόνες  
 καὶ Ἀλέξανδρος ἄλλοτε ἄλλῃ ἐπιφανόμενος προσέ-

κειντο, οἱ μὲν ἰππεῖς τῶν Θηβαίων διεκπεσόντες διὰ τῆς πόλεως ἐς τὸ πεδῖον ἐξέπιπτον, οἱ δὲ πεζοὶ ὡς ἐκάστοις προὐχώρει ἐσώζοντο. ἔνθα δὴ ὀργῇ οὐχ 8 οὔτως τι οἱ Μακεδόνες, ἀλλὰ Φωκεῖς τε καὶ Πλαταιεῖς καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι δὲ Βοιωτοὶ οὐδὲ ἀμυνομένους ἔτι τοὺς Θηβαίους οὐδενὶ κόσμῳ ἔκτεινον, τοὺς μὲν ἐν ταῖς οἰκίαις ἐπείσπιπτοντες, οὓς δὲ καὶ ἐς ἀλκὴν τετραμμένους, τοὺς δὲ καὶ πρὸς ἱεροῖς ἰκετεύοντας, οὔτε γυναικῶν οὔτε παίδων φειδόμενοι.

Καὶ πάθος τοῦτο Ἑλληνικὸν μεγέθει τε τῆς IX. ἀλούσης πόλεως καὶ ὀξύτητι τοῦ ἔργου, οὐχ ἦκιστα δὲ καὶ τῷ παραλόγῳ ἐς τε τοὺς παθόντας καὶ τοὺς δράσαντας, οὐ μείον τι τοὺς ἄλλους Ἑλλήνας ἢ καὶ αὐτοὺς τοὺς μετασχόντας τοῦ ἔργου ἐξέπληξε. τὰ μὲν γὰρ περὶ Σικελίαν 2

Ἀθηναίοις ξυνενεχθέντα, εἰ καὶ πλήθει τῶν ἀπολομένων οὐ μείονα τὴν ξυμφορὰν τῇ πόλει ἤνεγκεν, ἀλλὰ τῷ τε πόρρω ἀπὸ τῆς οἰκείας διαφθαρῆναι αὐτοῖς τὸν στρατόν, καὶ τὸν πολὺν ξυμμαχικὸν μᾶλλον ἢ οἰκείον ὄντα, καὶ τῷ τὴν πόλιν αὐτοῖς περιλειφθῆναι, ὡς καὶ ἐς ὕστερον ἐπὶ πολὺ τῷ πολέμῳ ἀντισχεῖν Λακεδαιμονίοις τε καὶ τοῖς ξυμμάχοις καὶ μεγάλῳ βασιλεῖ πολεμοῦντας, οὔτε αὐτοῖς τοῖς παθοῦσιν ἴσην τὴν αἴσθησιν τῆς ξυμφορᾶς προσέθηκεν, οὔτε τοῖς ἄλλοις Ἑλλησι τὴν ἐπὶ τῷ πάθει ἐκπληξιν ὁμοίαν παρέσχε. καὶ τὸ ἐν Αἰγὸς 3 ποταμοῖς αὖθις Ἀθηναίων πταῖσμα ναυτικόν τε ἦν καὶ ἡ πόλις οὐδὲν ἄλλο ὅτι μὴ τῶν μακρῶν τειχῶν καθαιρέσει καὶ νεῶν τῶν πολλῶν παραδύσει καὶ στερήσει τῆς ἀρχῆς ἐς ταπεινότητα ἀφικομένη τό τε

Digres-  
sion.  
Reflections  
on the  
disaster.

σχῆμα τὸ πάτριον ὅμως ἐφύλαξε καὶ τὴν δύναμιν οὐ  
 διὰ μακροῦ τὴν πάλαι ἀνέλαβεν, ὡς τὰ τε μακρὰ  
 τείχη ἐκτειχίσαι καὶ τῆς θαλάσσης αὐθις ἐπικρατῆσαι  
 καὶ τοὺς τότε φοβεροὺς σφισι Λακεδαιμονίους καὶ  
 παρ' ὀλίγον ἐλθόντας ἀφανίσαι τὴν πόλιν αὐτοὺς ἐν  
 τῷ μέρει ἐκ τῶν ἐσχάτων κινδύνων διασώσασθαι.  
 Λακεδαιμονίων τε αὖ τὸ κατὰ Λεῦκτρα καὶ Μαρτί- 4  
 ρειαν πταῖσμα τῷ παραλόγῳ μᾶλλον τι τῆς ξυμφορᾶς  
 ἢ τῷ πλήθει τῶν γε ἀπολομένων τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους  
 ἐξέπληξεν· ἢ τε ξὺν Ἐπαμεινώνδᾳ Βοιωτῶν καὶ  
 Ἀρκάδων γενομένη προσβολὴ πρὸς τὴν Σπάρτην καὶ  
 αὐτῇ τῷ αἰθεῖ τῆς ὕψεως μᾶλλον ἢ τῇ ἀκριβείᾳ τῶν  
 κινδύνων αὐτοὺς τε τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους καὶ τοὺς  
 ξυμμετασχόντας αὐτοῖς τῶν τότε πραγμάτων ἐφόβη-  
 σεν. ἢ δὲ δὴ Πλαταιέων ἄλωσις τῆς πόλεως τῇ σμι- 5  
 κρότητι τῶν ἐγκαταληφθέντων, ὅτι οἱ πολλοὶ αὐτῶν  
 διαπειφύγεσαν πάλαι ἐς τὰς Ἀθήνας, οὐ μέγα πύ-  
 θημα ἐγένετο· καὶ ἢ Μήλου καὶ Σκιώνης ἄλωσις,  
 νησιωτικά τε πολίσματα ἦν καὶ τοῖς δράσασιν αἰσχύ-  
 νην μᾶλλον τι προσέβαλεν ἢ ἐς τὸ ξύμπαν Ἑλληνικὸν  
 μέγαν τὸν παράλογον παρέσχέ.

Θηβαίοις δὲ τὰ τῆς ἀποστάσεως ὀξεία καὶ ξὺν 6  
 οὐδενὶ λογισμῷ γειόμενα, καὶ ἢ ἄλωσις δι' ὀλίγου  
 τε καὶ οὐ ξὺν πόνῳ τῶν ἐλόντων ξυνενεχθεῖσα, καὶ  
 ὁ φόνος πολὺς, οἷα δὴ ἐξ ὁμοφύλων τε καὶ παλαιῆς  
 ἀπεχθείας ἐπεξιόντων, καὶ ὁ τῆς πόλεως παντελῆς  
 ἀνδραποδισμός, δυνάμει τε καὶ δόξῃ ἐς τὰ πολέμια  
 τῶν τότε προεχούσης ἐν τοῖς Ἑλλησιν, οὐκ ἔξω τοῦ  
 εἰκότος εἰς μῆνιν τὴν ἀπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ ἀνηνέχθη, ὡς 7



τῆς τε ἐν τῷ Μηδικῷ πολέμῳ προδοσίας τῶν Ἑλλήνων διὰ μακροῦ ταύτην δίκην ἐκτίσαντας Θηβαίους, καὶ τῆς Πλαταιῶν ἐν τε ταῖς σπονδαῖς καταλήψεως καὶ τοῦ παντελοῦς ἀνδραποδισμοῦ τῆς πόλεως, καὶ τῆς τῶν παραδόντων σφῆς Λακεδαιμονίοις οὐχ Ἑλληνικῆς γενομένης διὰ Θηβαίους σφαγῆς, καὶ τοῦ χωρίου τῆς ἐρημώσεως ἐν ᾧ οἱ Ἕλληνες παραταξάμενοι Μήδοις ἀπόσαντο τῆς Ἑλλάδος τὸν κίνδυνον, καὶ ὅτι Ἀθηναίους αὐτοὶ τῇ ψήφῳ ἀπόλλυνον ὅτε ὑπὲρ ἀνδραποδισμοῦ τῆς πόλεως γνώμη προὔτεθι ἐν τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίων ζυμμάχοις. ἐπεὶ καὶ πρὸ τῆς ζυμφορᾶς 8  
πολλὰ ἀπὸ τοῦ θείου ἐπισημῆναι ἐλέγετο, ἃ δὴ ἐν μὲν τῷ παραντίκῳ ἡμελίθη, ὕστερον δὲ ἡ μνήμη αὐτὰ ἐς λογισμὸν τοῦ ἐκ πάλαι ἐπὶ τοῖς ζυνεεχθεῖσι προσημανθῆναι ἀνήνεγκε.

Τοῖς δὲ μετασχούσι τοῦ ἔργου ζυμμάχοις, οἷς δὴ 9  
καὶ ἐπέτρεψεν Ἀλέξανδρος τὰ κατὰ τὰς Θήβας διαθεῖναι, τὴν μὲν Καδμείαν φρουρὰ κατέχειν ἔδοξε, τὴν πόλιν δὲ κατασκάψαι εἰς ἔδαφος, καὶ τὴν χώραν κατανεῖμαι τοῖς ζυμμάχοις ὅση μὴ ἱερὰ αὐτῆς· παῖδας δὲ καὶ γυναῖκας καὶ ὅσοι ὑπελείποντο Θηβαίων, πλὴν τῶν ἱερέων τε καὶ ἱερείων καὶ ὅσοι ξένοι Φιλίππου ἢ Ἀλεξάνδρου ἢ ὅσοι πρόξενοι Μακεδόνων ἐγένοντο, ἀνδραποδίσαι. καὶ τὴν Πινδάρου δὲ 10  
τοῦ ποιητοῦ οἰκίαν καὶ τοὺς ἀπογόνους τοῦ Πινδάρου λέγουσιν ὅτι διεφύλαξεν Ἀλέξανδρος αἰδοῖ τῇ Πινδάρου. ἐπὶ τούτοις Ὁρχόμεον τε καὶ Πλαταιὰς ἀναστῆσαί τε καὶ τειχίσαι οἱ ζύμμαχοι ἔγνωσαν.

**Treatment  
of the  
Thebans.**

Ἔς δὲ τοὺς ἄλλους Ἑλληνας ὡς ἐξηγγέλθη τῶν X.  
 Θηβαίων τὸ πάθος, Ἀρκάδες μὲν ὅσοι βοηθήσαντες  
 Θηβαίοις ἀπὸ τῆς οἰκείας ὠρμίσθησαν θάνατον  
 κατεψηφίσαντο τῶν ἐπαράντων σφῶς ἐς τὴν  
 βοήθειαν. Ἡλείοι δὲ τοὺς φυγάδας σφῶν  
 κατεδέξαντο, ὅτι ἐπιτήδειοι Ἀλεξάνδρῳ ἦσαν.  
 Αἰτωλοὶ δὲ πρεσβείας σφῶν κατὰ ἔθνη πέμ- 2  
 ψαντες ξυγγνώμης τυχεῖν ἐδέοντο, ὅτι καὶ  
 αὐτοὶ τι πρὸς τὰ παρὰ τῶν Θηβαίων ἀπαγγελθέντα  
 ἐνωτέρισαν. Ἀθηναῖοι δέ, μυστηρίων τῶν μεγάλων  
 ἀγομένων ὡς ἠκόν τινες τῶν Θηβαίων ἐξ αὐτοῦ τοῦ ἔργου,  
 τὰ μὲν μυστήρια ἐκπλαγέντες ἐξέλιπον, ἐκ δὲ τῶν ἀγρῶν  
 ἐσκευαγώγουν ἐς τὴν πόλιν. ὁ δῆμος δὲ ἐς ἐκκλησίαν 3  
 συνελθὼν Δημάδου γράψαντος δέκα πρέσβεις ἐκ πάντων  
 τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἐπιλεξιόμενος πέμπει παρὰ Ἀλέξανδρον  
 οὐστίας ἐπιτηδειοτάτους Ἀλεξάνδρῳ ἐγίγνωσκοι, ὅτι τε  
 σῶος ἐξ Ἰλλυριῶν καὶ Τριβαλλῶν ἐπανῆλθε χαίρειν τὸν  
 δῆμον τῶν Ἀθηναίων οὐκ ἐν καιρῷ ἀπαγγελουῦντας  
 καὶ ὅτι Θηβαίους τοῦ νεωτερισμοῦ ἐτιμωρήσατο. ὁ 4  
 δὲ τὰ μὲν ἄλλα φιλανθρώπως πρὸς τὴν πρεσβείαν  
 ἀπεκρίνατο, ἐπιστολὴν δὲ γράψας πρὸς τὸν δῆμον  
 ἐξήτει τοὺς ἀμφὶ Δημοσθένην καὶ Λυκοῦργον· καὶ  
 Ὑπερείδην δὲ ἐξήτει καὶ Πολύευκτον καὶ Χάριτα καὶ  
 Χαρίδημον καὶ Ἐφιάλτην καὶ Διότιμον καὶ Μοιρο-  
 κλέα· τούτους γὰρ αἰτίους εἶναι τῆς τε ἐν Χαιρω- 5  
 νείᾳ ξυμφορᾶς τῇ πόλει γενομένης καὶ τῶν ὕστερον  
 ἐπὶ τῇ Φιλίππου τελευτῇ πλημμεληθέντων ἕς τε αὐ-  
 τὸν καὶ ἐς Φίλιππον· καὶ Θηβαίοις δὲ τῆς ἀποστά-  
 σεως ἀπέφαινε αἰτίους οὐ μείον ἢ τοὺς αὐτῶν Θη-

Effect on  
Greece.  
Arcadians,  
Aetolians,  
and  
Athenians  
send en-  
voys to  
Alexander,

βαίων νεωτερίσαντας. Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ τοὺς μὲν ἄνδρας 6  
 οὐκ ἐξέδοσαν, πρεσβεύονται δὲ αὐθις παρὰ  
 Ἰσχυροῦ Ἀλέξανδρον, ἀφείναι δεόμενοι τὴν ὄργην τοῖς  
 ἐξαιτηθεῖσι· καὶ Ἀλέξανδρος ἀφῆκε, τυχὸν μὲν  
 αἰδοῖ τῆς πόλεως, τυχὸν δὲ σπουδῇ τοῦ ἐς τὴν  
 Ἀσίαν στόλου, οὐκ ἐθέλων οὐδὲν ὑποπτὸν ἐν τοῖς Ἑλ-  
 λησιν ὑπολείπεσθαι. Χαρίδημον μόντοι, μόνον τῶν ἐξαι-  
 τηθέντων τε καὶ οὐ δοθέντων φεύγειν ἐκέλευσε· καὶ φεύγει  
 Χαρίδημος ἐς τὴν Ἀσίαν παρὰ βασιλείου Δαρείου.

Who is  
willingly  
reconciled  
with  
Athens.

Crossing of  
the Helles-  
pont.  
Alexander  
at Troy.

II.—*Events in Macedonia and Asia Minor before the battle of the Granicus.*

Ταῦτα δὲ διαπραξάμενος ἐπανῆλθεν εἰς Μακεδονίαν· XI.  
 καὶ τῷ τε Διὶ τῷ Ὀλυμπίῳ τὴν θυσίαν τὴν ἀπ' Ἀρχελίου  
 ἔτι καθεστῶσαν ἔθυσε καὶ τὸν ἀγῶνα ἐν  
 Αἰγαῖς διέθηκε τὰ Ὀλύμπια· οἱ δὲ καὶ ταῖς  
 Μούσαις λέγουσιν ὅτι ἀγῶνα ἐποίησε. καὶ ἐν 2  
 τούτῳ ἀγγέλλεται τὸ Ὀρφέως τοῦ Οἰάγρου  
 τοῦ Θρακὸς ἄγαλμα τὸ ἐν Πιερίδι ἰδρῶσαι ξυνεχῶς·  
 καὶ ἄλλοι ἄλλα ἐπεθείαζον τῶν μύθων, Ἀρίστανδρος  
 δέ, ἀνὴρ Τελμισσεύς, μάντις, θαρρεῖν ἐκέλευσεν Ἀλέξ-  
 ανδρον· δηλοῦσθαι γὰρ ὅτι ποιηταῖς ἐπῶν τε καὶ μελῶν  
 καὶ ὅσοι ἀμφὶ ἴδῃν ἔχουσι πολὺς πόνος ἔσται ποιεῖν τε  
 καὶ ἄδειν Ἀλέξανδρον καὶ τὰ Ἀλεξάνδρου ἔργα.

Ἄμα δὲ τῷ ἡρὶ ἀρχομένῳ ἐξελαίνει ἐφ' Ἑλλησπόντου, 3  
 τὰ μὲν κατὰ Μακεδονίαν τε καὶ τοὺς Ἕλληνας Ἀντι-  
 πάτρω ἐπιτρέψας, αὐτὸς δὲ ἄγων πεζοὺς μὲν  
 334 B.C. σὺν ψιλοῖς τε καὶ τοξόταις οὐ πολλῷ πλείους  
 τῶν τρίσυριων, ἰππέας δὲ ὑπὲρ τοὺς πεντακισχι-

λίους. ἦν δὲ αὐτῷ ὁ στόλος παρὰ τὴν λίμνην τὴν  
 Κερκινίτιν ὡς ἐπ' Ἀμφίπολιν καὶ τοῦ Στρυμόνος  
 ποταμοῦ τὴς ἐκβολᾶς. διαβὰς δὲ τὸν Στρυμόνα 4  
 παρήμειβε τὸ Πάγγαιον ὄρος τὴν ὡς ἐπ' Ἀβδηρα καὶ  
 Μαρώνειαν, πόλεις Ἑλληνίδας ἐπὶ θαλάσση ὄκισμέ-  
 νας. εἶθεν δὲ ἐπὶ τὸν Ἐβρον ποταμὸν ἀφικόμενος  
 διαβαίνει καὶ τὸν Ἐβρον εὐπετῶς. ἐκεῖθεν δὲ διὰ  
 τῆς Παιτικῆς ἐπὶ τὸν Μέλανα ποταμὸν ἔρχεται. δια- 5  
 βὰς δὲ καὶ τὸν Μέλανα εἰς Σηστόν ἀφικνεῖται ἐν  
 εἴκοσι ταῖς πάσαις ἡμέραις ἀπὸ τῆς οἴκοθεν ἐξορ-  
 μήσεως. ἐλθὼν δὲ εἰς Ἐλαιούντα θύει Πρωτεσιλάῳ  
 ἐπὶ τῷ τάφῳ τοῦ Πρωτεσιλάου, ὅτι καὶ Πρωτεσίλαος  
 πρῶτος ἐδόκει ἐκβῆναι εἰς τὴν Ἀσίαν τῶν Ἑλλήνων τῶν  
 ἅμα Ἀγαμέμνονι εἰς Ἴλιον στρατευσάντων. καὶ ὁ νοῦς  
 τῆς θυσίας ἦν ἐπιτυχεστέραν οἱ γενέσθαι ἢ Πρωτεσιλάῳ  
 τὴν ἀπόβασιν.

Παρμενίων μὲν δὴ τῶν πεζῶν τοὺς πολλοὺς καὶ 6  
 τὴν ἵππον διαβιβάσαι ἐτάχθη ἐκ Σηστοῦ εἰς Ἀβυδον·  
 καὶ διέβησαν τριήρεσι μὲν ἑκατὸν καὶ ἐξήκοντα, πλοίοις  
 δὲ ἄλλοις πολλοῖς στρογγύλοις. Ἀλέξανδρον δὲ  
 ἐξ Ἐλαιούντος εἰς τὸν Ἀχαιῶν λιμένα κατᾶραι ὁ  
 πλείων λόγος κατέχει, καὶ αὐτόν τε κυβερνῶντα τὴν  
 στρατηγίδα ναῶν διαβύλλειν καὶ ἐπειδὴ κατὰ μέσον  
 τὸν πόρον τοῦ Ἑλλησπόντου ἐγένετο, σφάξαντα ταῦ-  
 ρον τῷ Ποσειδῶνι καὶ Νηρηῖσι σπένδειν ἐκ χρυσῆς  
 φιάλης εἰς τὸν πόντον. λέγουσι δὲ καὶ πρῶτον ἐκ τῆς 7  
 νεῶς σὺν τοῖς ὄπλοις ἐκβῆναι αὐτὸν εἰς τὴν γῆν τὴν  
 Ἀσίαν καὶ βωμοὺς ἰδρύσασθαι ὅθεν τε ἐστᾶλη ἐκ τῆς  
 Εὐρώπης καὶ ὅπου ἐξέβη τῆς Ἀσίας Διὸς ἀποβα-

τηρίου καὶ Ἀθηνᾶς καὶ Ἡρακλέους· ἀνελθόντα δὲ ἐς Ἴλιον τῇ τε Ἀθηνᾷ θῦσαι τῇ Ἰλιάδι, καὶ τὴν πανοπλίαν τὴν αὐτοῦ ἀναθεῖναι ἐς τὸν νεών, καὶ καθελεῖν ἀντὶ ταύτης τῶν ἱερῶν τινα ὄπλων ἔτι ἐκ τοῦ Τρωικοῦ ἔργου σωζόμενα. καὶ ταῦτα λέγουσιν ὅτι οἱ ὑποσπισταὶ 8 ἔφερον πρὸ αὐτοῦ ἐς τὰς μάχας. θῦσαι δὲ αὐτὸν καὶ Πριάμῳ ἐπὶ τοῦ βωμοῦ τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ Ἐρκείου λόγος κατέχει, μῆνιν Πριάμου παραιτούμενον τῷ Νεοπτολέμου γένει, ὃ δὴ ἐς αὐτὸν καθῆκεν.

Ἀνιόντα δ' αὐτὸν ἐς Ἴλιον Μεινοίτιός τε ὁ κυβερνήτης χρυσῷ στεφάνῳ ἐστεφάνωσε καὶ ἐπὶ τούτῳ Χάρης XII.

ὁ Ἀθηναῖος ἐκ Σιγείου ἐλθὼν καὶ τινες καὶ ἄλλοι, οἱ μὲν Ἕλληνες, οἱ δὲ ἐπιχώριοι· ὁ δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς τὸν Ἀχιλλέως ἄρα τάφον ἐστεφάνωσεν· Ἡφαιστίωνα δὲ λέγουσιν ὅτι τοῦ

Alexander at Achilles' tomb; comparison of the two heroes.

Πατρόκλου τὸν τάφον ἐστεφάνωσε· καὶ εὐδαιμόνισεν ἄρα, ὡς λόγος, Ἀλέξανδρος Ἀχιλλέα, ὅτι Ὁμήρου κήρυκος ἐς τὴν ἔπειτα μνήμην ἔτυχε. καὶ 2 μέντοι καὶ ἦν Ἀλεξάνδρῳ οὐχ ἡκιστα τούτου ἕνεκα εὐδαιμονιστέος Ἀχιλλεύς, ὅτι αὐτῷ γε Ἀλεξάνδρῳ, οὐ κατὰ τὴν ἄλλην ἐπιτυχίαν, τὸ χωρίον τοῦτο ἐκλιπὲς ξυνέβη οὐδὲ ἐξηνέχθη ἐς ἀνθρώπους τὰ Ἀλεξάνδρου ἔργα ἐπαξίως· οὐτ' οὖν καταλογάδην οὔτε τις ἐν μέτρῳ ἐποίησεν, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ ἐν μέλει ἦσθη Ἀλέξανδρος, ἐν ὅτῳ Ἱέρων τε καὶ Γέλων καὶ Θήρων καὶ πολλοὶ ἄλλοι οὐδέν τι Ἀλεξάνδρῳ ἐπεοικότες, ὥστε πολὺ μείον γιγνώσκεται τὰ Ἀλεξάνδρου ἢ τὰ φανλότατα τῶν πάλαι ἔργων· ὁπότε καὶ ἡ τῶν μυρίων σὺν Κύρῳ 3 ἰνὸδος ἐπὶ βασιλεῖα Ἀρταξέρξην καὶ τὰ Κλεάρχου τε

καὶ τῶν ἅμα αὐτῷ ἀλόντων παθήματα καὶ ἡ κατά-  
 βασίς αὐτῶν ἐκείνων, ἦν Ξενοφῶν αὐτοὺς κατήγαγε,  
 πολὺ τι ἐπιφανέστερα ἐς ἀνθρώπους Ξενοφώντος  
 ἕνεκά ἐστιν ἢ Ἀλέξανδρός τε καὶ τὰ Ἀλεξάνδρου  
 ἔργα. καίτοι Ἀλέξανδρος οὔτε ζῆν ἄλλω ἐστράτευ- 4  
 σεν, οὔτε φεύγων μέγαν βασιλέα τοὺς τῆ καθόδῳ τῆ  
 ἐπὶ θάλατταν ἐμποδίων γιγνομένους ἐκράτησεν· ἀλλ'  
 οὐκ ἐστὶν ὅστις ἄλλος εἰς ἀνὴρ τοσαῦτα ἢ τηλικαῦτα  
 ἔργα κατὰ πλῆθος ἢ μέγεθος ἐν Ἑλλησιν ἢ βαρβά-  
 ροις ἀπεδείξατο. ἔνθεν καὶ αὐτὸς ὀρμηθῆναί φημι  
 ἐς τήνδε τὴν ξυγγραφὴν, οὐκ ἀπαξιώσας ἑμαυτὸν  
 φανερὰ καταστήσειν ἐς ἀνθρώπους τὰ Ἀλεξάνδρου  
 ἔργα. ὅστις δὲ ὦν ταῦτα ὑπὲρ ἑμαυτοῦ γινώσκω, 5  
 τὸ μὲν ὄνομα οὐδὲν δέομαι ἀναγράψαι, οὐδὲ γὰρ  
 οὐδὲ ἄγνωστον ἐς ἀνθρώπους ἐστὶν, οὐδὲ πατρίδα  
 ἣτις μοί ἐστιν οὐδὲ γένος τὸ ἐμόν, οὐδὲ εἰ δὴ τινα  
 ἀρχὴν ἐν τῆ ἑμαυτοῦ ἦρξα· ἀλλ' ἐκείνο ἀναγράφω,  
 ὅτι ἐμοὶ πατρίς τε καὶ γένος καὶ ἀρχαὶ οἶδε οἱ λόγοι  
 εἰσί τε καὶ ἀπὸ νέου ἔτι ἐγένοντο. καὶ ἐπὶ τῷδε  
 οὐκ ἀπαξιῶ ἑμαυτὸν τῶν πρώτων τῶν ἐν τῆ φωνῇ  
 τῆ Ἑλλάδι εἶπερ οὖν καὶ Ἀλέξανδρος τῶν ἐν τοῖς  
 ὅπλοις.

Ἐξ Ἰλίου δὲ ἐς Ἀρίσβην ἦκεν, οὐ πᾶσα ἡ δύνα- 6  
 μίς αὐτῷ διαβεβηκυῖα τὸν Ἑλλησπόντον ἐστρατοπε-  
 δεύκει, καὶ τῆ ὑστεραία ἐς Περκώτην· τῆ δὲ  
 ἀλλῇ Λάμψακον παραμείψας πρὸς τῷ Πρακ-  
 τίῳ ποταμῷ ἐστρατοπέδευσεν, ὃς ρέων ἐκ τῶν  
 ὄρων τῶν Ἰδαίων ἐκδιδοῖ ἐς θάλασσαν τὴν  
 μεταξὺ τοῦ Ἑλλησπόντου τε καὶ τοῦ Εὐξείνου

Preliminary  
 movements  
 against the  
 Persians.

πόντου. ἔνθεν δὲ εἰς Ἐρμωτον ἀφίκετο, Κολωνὰς πόλιν παραμείψας. σκοποὶ δὲ αὐτῷ ἐπέμποντο πρὸ τοῦ στρατεύματος· καὶ τούτων ἡγεμῶν ἦν Ἀμύντας ὁ Ἄρραβαίου, ἔχων τῶν τε ἐταίρων τὴν ἴλην τὴν ἐξ Ἀπολλωνίας, ἧς ἰλάρχης ἦν Σωκράτης ὁ Σάθωνος, καὶ τῶν προδρόμων καλουμένων Ἰλας τέσσαρας. κατὰ δὲ τὴν πάροδον Πρίαπον πόλιν ἐνδοθεῖσαν πρὸς τῶν ἐνοικούντων τοὺς παραληψομένους ἀπέστειλε σὺν Πανηγόρῳ τῷ Λυκαγόρου, ἐνὶ τῶν ἐταίρων.

Περσῶν δὲ στρατηγοὶ ἦσαν Ἀρσίμης καὶ Ῥεομίθρης καὶ Πετίνης καὶ Νιφάτης καὶ ξὺν τούτοις Σπιθριδάτης ὁ Λυδίας καὶ Ἰωνίας σατράπης καὶ Ἀρσίτης ὁ τῆς πρὸς Ἑλλησπόντῳ Φρυγίας ὑπαρχος. οὗτοι δὲ πρὸς Ζελυία πόλει κτεστρυτοπεδευκότες ἦσαν ξὺν τῇ ἵππῳ τε τῇ βαρβαρικῇ καὶ τοῖς Ἑλλησι τοῖς μισθοφόροις. βουλευομένοις δὲ αὐτοῖς ὑπὲρ τῶν παρόντων, ἐπειδὴ Ἀλέξανδρος διαβεβηκῶς ἡγγέλλετο, Μέμνιον ὁ Ῥόδιος παρήγει μὴ διὰ κινδύνου ἵεναι πρὸς τοὺς Μακεδόνας, τῷ τε πεζῷ πολὺ περιόντας σφῶν καὶ αὐτοῦ Ἀλεξάνδρου παρόντος, αὐτοῖς δὲ ἀπόντος Δαρείου· προϊόντας

Memnon's  
policy  
rejected.

δὲ τὸν τε χιλὸν ἀφανίζειν καταπατοῦντας τῇ ἵππῳ καὶ τὸν ἐν τῇ γῆ καρπὸν ἐμπιπράναι, μηδὲ τῶν πόλεων αὐτῶν φειδομένους. οὐ γὰρ μενεῖν ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ Ἀλεξάνδρον ἀπορία τῶν ἐπιτηδείων. Ἀρσίτην δὲ λέγεται εἰπεῖν ἐν τῷ συλλόγῳ τῶν Περσῶν ὅτι οὐκ ἂν περιίδοι μίαν οἰκίαν ἐμπρησθεῖσαν τῶν ὑπὸ οἷ τεταγμένων ἀνθρώπων· καὶ τοὺς Πέρσας Ἀρσίτη προσθέσθαι, ὅτι καὶ ὑποπτὸν τι αὐτοῖς ἦν εἰς τὸν Μέμνονα, τριβὰς

ἐμποιεῖν ἐκόντα τῷ πολέμῳ τῆς ἐκ βασιλέως τιμῆς ἕνεκα.

Ἐν τούτῳ δὲ Ἀλέξανδρος προὔχῳρει ἐπὶ τὸν Γρανικὸν ποταμὸν συντεταγμένῳ τῷ στρατῷ, διπλὴν μὲν τὴν φάλαγγα τῶν ὀπλιτῶν τάξας, τοὺς δὲ ἰππέας κατὰ τὰ κέρατα ἄγων, τὰ σκευοφόρα δὲ κατόπιν ἐπιτάξας ἔπεισθαι· τοὺς δὲ προκατασκευασμένους τὰ τῶν πολεμίων ἦγεν αὐτῷ Ἡγέλοχος, ἰππέας μὲν ἔχων τοὺς σαρισσοφόρους, τῶν δὲ ψιλῶν ἐς πεντακοσίους. καὶ Ἀλέξανδρός τε οὐ πολὺ ἀπέιχε τοῦ ποταμοῦ τοῦ Γρανικοῦ καὶ οἱ ἀπὸ τῶν σκοπῶν σπουδῇ ἐλαύνοντες ἀπήγγελλον ἐπὶ τῷ Γρανικῷ πέραν τοὺς Πέρσας ἐφεστάναι τεταγμένους ὡς ἐς μάχην. ἔνθα δὴ Ἀλέξανδρος μὲν τὴν στρατιὰν πᾶσαν συνέταπτεν ὡς μαχουμένους· Παρμενίων δὲ προσελθὼν λέγει Ἀλεξάνδρῳ τάδε. Ἐμοὶ δοκεῖ, βασιλεῦ, ἀγαθὸν εἶναι ἐν τῷ παρόντι καταστριτοπεδεῦσαι ἐπὶ τοῦ ποταμοῦ τῇ ὄχθῃ ὡς ἔχομεν. τοὺς γὰρ πολεμίους οὐ δοκῶ τολμήσειν πολὺ τῷ πεζῷ λειπομένους πλησίον ἡμῶν ἀνλισθῆναι, καὶ ταύτῃ παρέξιν ἔωθεν εὐπετῶς τῷ στρατῷ διαβαλεῖν τὸν πόρον· ὑποφθάσομεν γὰρ αὐτοὶ περάσαντες πρὶν ἐκείνους ἐς τάξιν καθίστασθαι. νῦν δὲ οὐκ ἀκινδύνως μοι δοκοῦμεν ἐπιχειρήσειν τῷ ἔργῳ, ὅτι οὐχ οἷόν τε ἐν μετώπῳ διὰ τοῦ ποταμοῦ ἄγειν τὸν στρατόν. πολλὰ μὲν γὰρ αὐτοῦ ὀράται βαθέα, αἱ δὲ ὄχθαι αὐταὶ ὀρᾶς ὅτι ὑπερύψηλοι καὶ κρημνώδεις εἰσὶν αἱ αὐτῶν· ἀτάκτως τε οὖν καὶ κατὰ κέρας, ἥπερ ἀσθενέστατον, ἐκβαίνουσιν ἐπικείμενοι ἐς φάλαγγα συντεταγμένοι τῶν πολεμίων οἱ

Par-  
menion  
counsels  
delay;  
Alexander  
refuses.

XIII

2

3

4

5



ἰππεῖς· καὶ τὸ πρῶτον σφάλμα ἔς τε τὰ παρόντα χαλεπὸν. καὶ ἔς τὴν ὑπὲρ παντὸς τοῦ πολέμου κρίσιν σφαλερόν.

Ἄλεξανδρος δέ, ταῦτα μὲν, ἔφη, ὦ Παρμενίων, 6  
 γιγνώσκω· αἰσχύνομαι δέ, εἰ τὸν μὲν Ἑλλησποντιον  
 διέβην εὐπετῶς, τοῦτο δέ, σμικρὸν ρεῦμα (οὕτω τῷ  
 ὀνόματι τὸν Γρανικὸν ἐκφασίνας), εἶρξει ἡμᾶς τοῦ  
 μὴ οὐ διαβῆναι ὡς ἔχομεν. καὶ τοῦτο οὔτε πρὸς Μακε- 7  
 δόνων τῆς δόξης οὔτε πρὸς τῆς ἐμῆς ἐς τοὺς κινδύνους  
 ὀξύτητος ποιοῦμαι· ἀναθαρρήσειν τε δοκῶ τοὺς Πέρσας  
 ὡς ἀξιωμαχοῦς Μακεδόσιν ὄντας, ὅτι οὐδὲν ἄξιον τοῦ  
 σφῶν δέους ἐν τῷ παραυτίκα ἔπαθον.

III.—*Battle of the Granicus, May, 334 B.C.*

Ταῦτα εἰπὼν Παρμενίωνα μὲν ἐπὶ τὸ εὐώνυμον XIV  
 κέρας πέμπει ἡγησόμενον, αὐτὸς δὲ ἐπὶ τὸ δεξιὸν  
 παρήειν. προετάχθησαν δὲ αὐτῷ τοῦ μὲν  
 δεξιοῦ Φιλώτας ὁ Παρμενίωνος, ἔχων τοὺς  
 ἐταίρους τοὺς ἰππέας καὶ τοὺς τοξότας καὶ  
 τοὺς Ἀγριᾶνας τοὺς ἀκοντιστάς· Ἀμύντας δὲ ὁ Ἀρρα-  
 βαίου τοὺς τε σαρισσοφόρους ἰππέας ἔχων Φιλώτα  
 ἐπετάχθη καὶ τοὺς Παίονας καὶ τὴν ἴλην τὴν Σωκρά- 2  
 τούς. ἐχόμενοι δὲ τούτων ἐτίχθησαν οἱ ὑπασπισταὶ  
 τῶν ἐταίρων, ὧν ἡγεῖτο Νικάνωρ ὁ Παρμενίωνος· ἐπὶ  
 δὲ τούτοις ἡ Περδίκκου τοῦ Ὀρόντου φάλαγξ· ἐπὶ δὲ  
 ἡ Κοίνου τοῦ Πολεμοκράτους· ἐπὶ δὲ ἡ Κρατέρου 3  
 τοῦ Ἀλεξάνδρου· ἐπὶ δὲ ἡ Ἀμύντου τοῦ Ἀνδρο-  
 μέους· ἐπὶ δὲ ὧν Φίλιππος ὁ Ἀμύντου ἦρχε. τοῦ

Mace-  
donian  
order of  
battle.

δὲ εὐωνύμου πρῶτοι μὲν οἱ Θετταλοὶ ἵππεῖς ἐτάχθησαν ὦν ἠγεῖτο Κάλας ὁ Ἀρπάλου· ἐπὶ δὲ τούτοις οἱ ξυμμαχοὶ ἵππεῖς, ὦν ἦρχε Φίλιππος ὁ Μελεάου· ἐπὶ δὲ τούτοις οἱ Θραῖκες, ὦν ἦρχεν Ἀγάθων· ἐχόμε οὐ δὲ τούτων πεζοὶ ἢ τε Κρατέρου φάλαγξ καὶ ἡ Μελεάγου καὶ ἡ Φιλίππου ἔσταν ἐπὶ τὸ μέσον τῆς ξυμπάσης τάξεως.

Περσῶν δὲ ἵππεῖς μὲν ἦσαν ἐς δισμυρίους, ξένοι 4  
 and δὲ πεζοὶ μισθοφόροι ὀλίγον ἀποδέοντες δισ-  
 Persian. μυρίων· ἐτάχθησαν δὲ τὴν μὲν ἵππον παρα-  
 τείναντες τῷ ποταμῷ κατὰ τὴν ὄχθην ἐπὶ φάλαγγα  
 μακρὰν, τοὺς δὲ πεζοὺς κατόπιν τῶν ἵππέων· καὶ γὰρ  
 ὑπερδέξια ἦν τὰ ὑπὲρ τὴν ὄχθην χωρία. ἦ δὲ Ἀλεξαν-  
 δρον αὐτὸν καθέωρων (δῆλος γὰρ ἦν τῶν τε ὄπλων τῆ  
 λιμπρότητι καὶ τῶν ἀμφ' αὐτὸν τῆ σὺν ἐκπλήξει θερα-  
 πείᾳ) κατὰ τὸ εὐώνυμον σφῶν ἐπέχοντα, ταύτῃ πυκνὰς  
 ἐπέταξαν τῆ ὄχθῃ τὰς ἴλας τῶν ἵππέων.

Χρόνον μὲν δὴ ἀμφοτέρω τὰ στρατεύματα ἐπ' 5  
 ἄκρου τοῦ ποταμοῦ ἐφειστώτες ὑπὸ τοῦ τὸ μέλλον  
 ὀκνεῖν ἡσυχίαν ἠγον καὶ σιγῇ ἦν πολλὴ ἀφ'  
 Alexander, ἐκατέρω. οἱ γὰρ Πέρσαι προσέμενον τοὺς  
 at the head of his cavalry, crosses the river. Μακεδόνας, ὁπότε ἐσβήσονται ἐς τὸν πόρον,  
 ὡς ἐπικεισόμενοι ἐκβαίνουσιν· Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ 6

ἀναπηδήσας ἐπὶ τὸν ἵππον καὶ τοῖς ἀμφ'  
 αὐτὸν ἐγκελευσάμενος ἔπεισθαί τε καὶ ἄνδρας ἀγαθοὺς  
 γίνεσθαι, τοὺς μὲν προδρόμους ἵππέας καὶ μὴν καὶ  
 τοὺς Παίονας προεμβάλλει εἰς τὸν ποταμὸν ἔχοντα  
 Ἀμύνταν τὸν Ἀρραβαίου καὶ τῶν πεζῶν μίαν τάξιν,  
 καὶ πρὸ τούτων τὴν Σωκράτους ἴλην Πτολεμαῖον τὸν

Φιλίππου ἄγοντα, ἣ δὴ καὶ ἐτύγχανε τὴν ἡγεμονίαν  
 τοῦ ἱππικοῦ παντὸς ἔχουσα ἐκείνῃ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ· αὐτὸς δὲ <sup>7</sup>  
 ἄγων τὸ δεξιὸν κέρας ὑπὸ σαλπύγγων τε καὶ τῷ  
 Ἐνναλίῳ ἀλαλάζοντας ἐμβαίνει εἰς τὸν πόρον, λοξὴν  
 αἰὲ παρατείνων τὴν τάξιν ἣ παρείλκε τὸ ρεύμα, ἵνα δὴ  
 μὴ ἐκβαίνοντι αὐτῷ οἱ Πέρσαι κατὰ κέρας προσπίπ-  
 τοιεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐτὸς ὡς ἀνυστὸν τῇ φάλαγγι προσ-  
 μίξῃ αὐτοῖς.

Οἱ δὲ Πέρσαι ἦ πρῶτοι οἱ ἀμφὶ Ἀμύνταν καὶ <sup>XV.</sup>  
 Σωκράτην προσέσχον τῇ ὄχθῃ, ταύτῃ καὶ αὐτοὶ ἀνωθεν  
 ἔβαλλον, οἱ μὲν αὐτῶν ἀπὸ τῆς ὄχθης ἐξ  
 ὑπερδεξίου εἰς τὸν ποταμὸν ἐσακοντίζοντες,  
 οἱ δὲ κατὰ τὰ χθαμαλώτερα αὐτῆς ἔστε ἐπὶ  
 τὸ ὕδωρ καταβαίνοντες. καὶ ἦν τῶν τε ἱππέων ἄθισμός, <sup>2</sup>  
 τῶν μὲν ἐκβαίνειν ἐκ τοῦ ποταμοῦ, τῶν δ' εἶργειν τὴν  
 ἔκβασιν, καὶ παλτῶν ἀπὸ μὲν τῶν Περσῶν πολλὴ  
 ἄφρασις, οἱ Μακεδόνες δὲ ζῆν τοῖς δόρασιν ἐμάχοντο.  
 ἀλλὰ τῷ τε πλήθει πολὺν ἐλαττούμενοι Μακεδόνες  
 ἐκακοπάθουν ἐν τῇ πρώτῃ προσβολῇ καὶ αὐτοὶ ἐξ  
 ἀβεβαίου τε καὶ ἅμα κάτωθεν ἐκ τοῦ ποταμοῦ ἀμνύ-  
 μενοι, οἱ δὲ Πέρσαι ἐξ ὑπερδεξίου τῆς ὄχθης· ἄλλως  
 τε καὶ τὸ κράτιστον τῆς Περσικῆς ἵππου τῷτῃ ἐπε-  
 τέτακτο, οἱ τε Μέμνονος παῖδες καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ Μέμ-  
 νων μετὰ τούτων ἐκινδύνευε. καὶ οἱ μὲν πρῶτοι τῶν <sup>3</sup>  
 Μακεδόνων ζυμμίξαντες τοῖς Πέρσαις κυτεκόπησαν  
 πρὸς αὐτῶν, ἄνδρες ἀγαθοὶ γενόμενοι, ὅσοι γε μὴ πρὸς  
 Ἀλέξανδρον πελάζοντα ἀπέκλιναν αὐτῶν. Ἀλέξαν-  
 δρος γὰρ ἤδη πλησίον ἦν, ἅμα οἱ ἄγων τὸ κέρας  
 τὸ δεξιόν, καὶ ἐμβάλλει εἰς τοὺς Πέρσας πρῶτος ἵνα

**Descrip-  
 tion of the  
 battle.**

τὸ πᾶν στίφος τῆς ἵππου καὶ αὐτοὶ οἱ ἡγεμόνες τῶν  
 Περσῶν τεταγμένοι ἦσαν· καὶ περὶ αὐτὸν ξυριστήκει  
 μάχῃ καρτερά· καὶ ἐν τούτῳ ἄλλαι ἐπ' ἄλλαις τῶν 4  
 τάξεων τοῖς Μακεδόσι διέβαινον οὐ χαλεπῶς ἤδη, καὶ  
 ἦν μὲν ἀπὸ τῶν ἵππων ἡ μάχῃ, πεζομαχία δὲ μᾶλλον  
 τι ἐόκει. ξυνεχόμενοι γὰρ ἵπποι τε ἵπποις καὶ ἄνδρες  
 ἀνδράσιν ἠγωνίζοντο, οἱ μὲν ἐξῶσαι εἰς ἅπαν ἀπὸ τῆς  
 ὄχθης καὶ ἐς τὸ πεδίον βιάσασθαι τοὺς Πέρσας, οἱ  
 Μακεδόνες, οἱ δὲ εἶρξαι τε αὐτῶν τὴν ἔκβασιν, οἱ 5  
 Πέρσαι, καὶ ἐς τὸν ποταμὸν αὐθις ἀπόσασθαι, καὶ ἐκ  
 τούτου ἐπλεονέκτου ἤδη οἱ σὺν Ἀλεξάνδρῳ τῇ τε  
 ἄλλῃ ρόμῃ καὶ ἐμπειρίᾳ καὶ ὅτι ξυστοῖς κρανεῖνοις  
 πρὸς παλτὰ ἐμάχοντο.

Ἐνθα δὴ καὶ Ἀλεξάνδρῳ ξυτρίβεται τὸ δόρυ ἐν 6  
 τῇ μάχῃ· ὁ δὲ Ἄρετιν ἦτι δόρυ ἕτερον, ἀναβολέει  
 τῶν βασιλικῶν· τῷ δὲ καὶ αὐτῷ πονουμένῳ συντε-  
 τριμένον τὸ δόρυ ἦν, ὁ δὲ τῷ ἡμίσει κεκλασμένου  
 τοῦ δόρατος οὐκ ἀφανῶς ἐμάχετο, καὶ τοῦτο δείξας  
 Ἀλεξάνδρῳ ἄλλον αἰτεῖν ἐκέλευε· Δημάριτος δέ,  
 ἀνὴρ Κορίνθιος, τῶν ἀμφ' αὐτὸν ἐταίρων, δίδωσιν  
 αὐτῷ τὸ αὐτοῦ δόρυ· καὶ ὃς ἀναλαβὼν καὶ ἰδὼν 7  
 Μιθριδάτην τὸν Δαρείου γαμβρὸν πολὺ πρὸ τῶν  
 ἄλλων προῖππεύοντα καὶ ἐπάγοντα ἅμα οἱ ὥσπερ  
 ἔμβολον τῶν ἱππέων, ἐξελαύνει καὶ αὐτὸς πρὸ τῶν  
 ἄλλων· καὶ πάσας ἐς τὸ πρόσωπον τῷ δόρατι κατα-  
 βάλλει τὸν Μιθριδάτην. ἐν δὲ τούτῳ Ῥοισάκης μὲν  
 ἐπελαύνει τῷ Ἀλεξάνδρῳ καὶ παίει Ἀλεξάνδρου τὴν  
 κεφαλὴν τῇ κοπίδι· καὶ τοῦ μὲν κράνους τι ἀπέθριψε, 8  
 τὴν πληγὴν δὲ ἔσχε τὸ κράνος· καὶ καταβάλλει καὶ

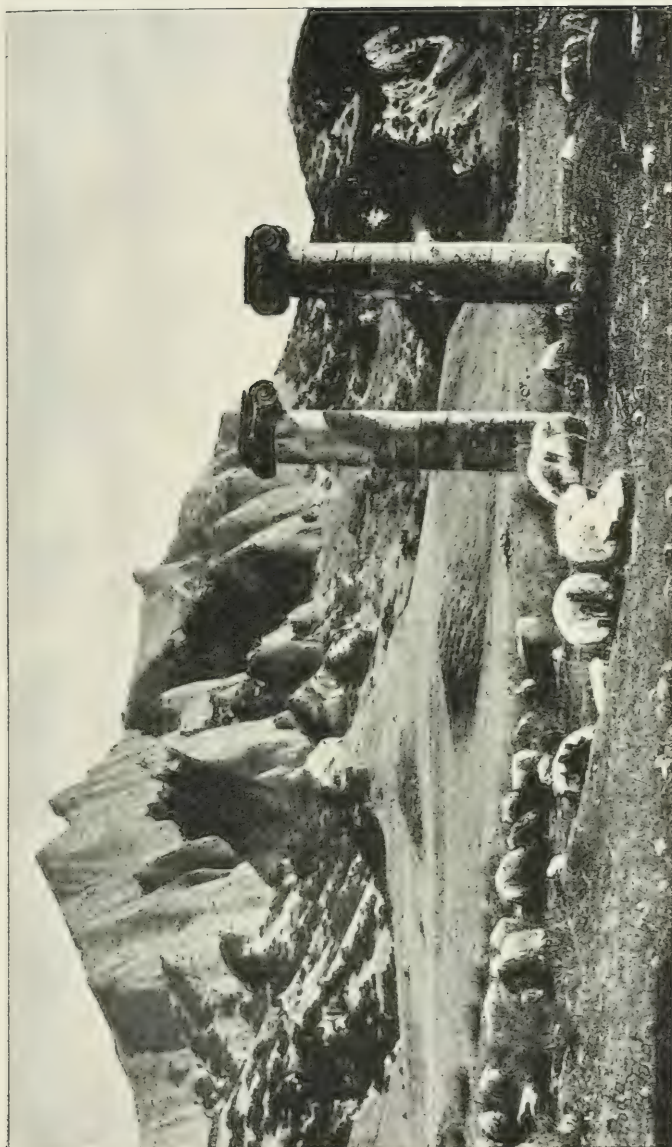
τούτον Ἀλέξανδρος παίσας τῷ ξυστῷ διὰ τοῦ θώρακος ἐς τὸ στέρνον. Σπιθριδάτης δὲ ἀνετέτατο μὲν ἤδη ἐπ' Ἀλέξανδρον ὕπισθεν τὴν κοπίδα. ὑποφθάσας δὲ αὐτὸν Κλεῖτος ὁ Δρωπίδου παίει κατὰ τοῦ ὤμου καὶ ἀποκόπτει τὸν ὤμον τοῦ Σπιθριδάτου ξὺν τῇ κοπίδι καὶ ἐν τούτῳ ἐπεκβαίνοντες αἰ τῶν ἰππέων ὅσοις προῦχώρει κατὰ τὸν ποταμὸν προσεγίγνοντο τοῖς ἀμφ' Ἀλέξανδρον.

Καὶ οἱ Πέρσαι παιόμενοι τε πανταχόθεν ἤδη ἐς τὰ πρόσωπα αὐτοῖ τε καὶ ἵπποι τοῖς ξυστοῖς καὶ πρὸ τῶν ἰππέων ἐξωθούμενοι, πολλὰ δὲ καὶ πρὸς τῶν ψιλῶν ἀναμεμιγμένων τοῖς ἰππεῦσι βλαπτόμενοι ἐγκλίνουσι ταύτῃ πρῶτον ἢ Ἀλέξανδρος προεκινδύνευεν. ὡς δὲ τὸ μέσον ἐνεδεδώκει αὐτοῖς, παρερρήγνυτο δὴ καὶ τὰ ἐφ' ἑκάτερα τῆς ἵππου, καὶ ἦν δὴ φυγὴ καρτερά. τῶν μὲν δὴ ἰππέων τῶν Περσῶν ἀπέθανον ἐς χιλίους. οὐ γὰρ πολλὴ ἡ δίωξις ἐγένετο, ὅτι ἐξετράπη Ἀλέξανδρος ἐπὶ τοὺς ξένους τοὺς-μισθοφόρους· ὦν τὸ στίφος ἢ τὸ πρῶτον ἐτάχθη ἐκπλήξει μᾶλλον τι τοῦ παραλόγου ἢ λογισμῷ βεβαίῳ ἔμενε. καὶ τούτοις τὴν τε φάλαγγα ἐπαγαγὼν καὶ τοὺς ἰππέας πάντῃ προσπεσεῖν κελεύσας ἐν μέσῳ δι' ὀλίγου κατακόπτει αὐτούς, ὥστε διέφυγε μὲν οὐδεὶς, ὅτι μὴ διέλαθέ τις ἐν τοῖς νεκροῖς, ἐζωγρήθησαν δὲ ἀμφὶ τοὺς δισχιλίους. ἔπεσον δὲ καὶ ἡγεμόνες τῶν Περσῶν Νιφάτης τε καὶ Πετίνης καὶ Σπιθριδάτης ὁ Λυδίας σατράπης, καὶ ὁ τῶν Καππαδοκῶν ὑπαρχος Μιθροβουζάνης καὶ Μιθριδάτης ὁ Δαρείου γαμβρὸς καὶ Ἀρβουπάλης ὁ Δαρείου τοῦ Ἀρταξέρξου παῖς καὶ

Φαρνάκης, ἀδελφὸς οὗτος τῆς Δαρείου γυναικός, καὶ ὁ τῶν ξένων ἡγεμὼν Ὁμήρης. Ἀρσίτης δὲ ἐκ μὲν τῆς μάχης φεύγει εἰς Φρυγίαν, ἐκεῖ δὲ ἀποθνήσκει αὐτὸς πρὸς αὐτοῦ, ὡς λόγος, ὅτι αἴτιος ἐδόκει Πέρσαις γενέσθαι τοῦ ἐν τῷ τότε πταίσματος.

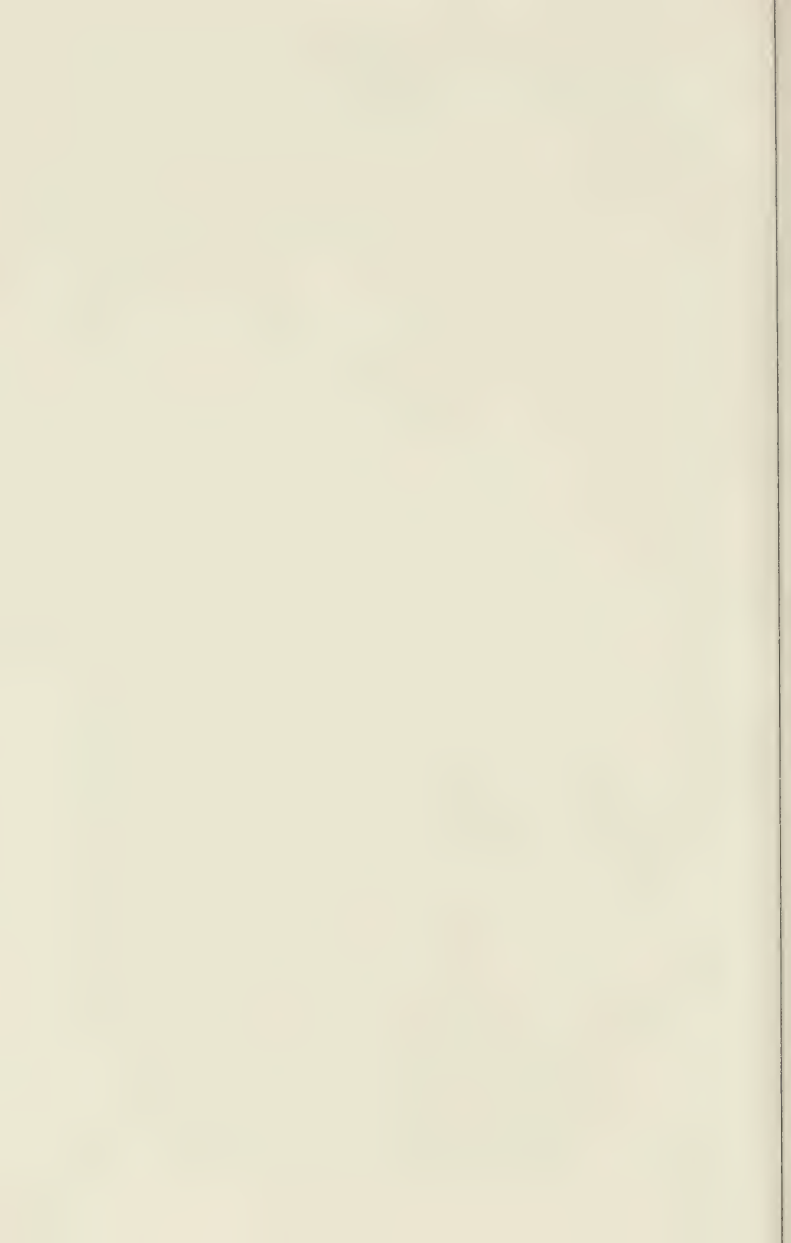
Μακεδόνων δὲ τῶν μὲν ἐταίρων ἀμφὶ τοὺς εἴκοσι 4  
καὶ πέντε ἐν τῇ πρώτῃ προσβολῇ ἀπέθανον· καὶ  
τούτων χαλκαὶ εἰκόνες ἐν Δίῳ ἐστᾶσιν, Ἀλεξ-  
άνδρου κελεύσαντος Λύσιππον ποιῆσαι, ὅσπερ  
καὶ Ἀλέξανδρον μόνος προκριθεὶς ἐποίει· τῶν  
δὲ ἄλλων ἰππέων ὑπὲρ τοὺς ἐξήκοντα, πεζοὶ δὲ εἰς  
τοὺς τριάκοντα. καὶ τούτους τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ ἔθαψεν Ἀλέξ- 5  
άνδρος ζῆν τοῖς ὅπλοις τε καὶ ἄλλῳ κόσμῳ· γονεῦσι δὲ  
αὐτῶν καὶ παισὶ τῶν τε κατὰ τὴν χώραν ἀτέλειαν ἔδωκε  
καὶ ὅσαι ἄλλαι ἢ τῷ σώματι λειτουργίαι ἢ κατὰ τὰς  
κτήσεις ἐκάστων εἰσφοραί. καὶ τῶν τετρωμένων δὲ  
πολλὴν πρόνοιαν ἔσχεν, ἐπελθὼν τε αὐτὸς ἐκάστους  
καὶ τὰ τραύματα ἰδὼν καὶ ὅπως τις ἐτρώθη ἐρόμενος  
καὶ ὅ τι πρᾶττων εἰπεῖν τε καὶ ἀλαζονεύσασθαί οἱ  
παρασχών. ὁ δὲ καὶ τῶν Περσῶν τοὺς ἡγεμόνας 6  
ἔθαψεν· ἔθαψε δὲ καὶ τοὺς μισθοφόρους Ἕλληνας  
οἱ ζῆν τοῖς πολεμίοις στρατεύοντες ἀπέθανον· ὅσους  
δὲ αὐτῶν αἰχμυλώτους ἔλαβε, τούτους δὲ δῆσας ἐν  
πέδαις εἰς Μακεδονίαν ἀπέπεμψε ἐργάζεσθαι, ὅτι  
παρὰ τὰ κοινῇ δόξαντα τοῖς Ἕλλησιν Ἕλληνες ὄντες  
ἐναντία τῇ Ἑλλάδι ὑπὲρ τῶν βαρβάρων ἐμάχοντο.  
ἀποπέμπει δὲ καὶ εἰς Ἀθήνας τριακοσίας πανοπλίας 7  
Περσικὰς ἀνάθημα εἶναι τῇ Ἀθηναῖ ἐν πόλει· καὶ  
ἐπίγραμμα ἐπιγραφῆναι ἐκέλευε τόδε· Ἀλέξανδρος

The losses  
on both  
sides.



*Photo by E. F. M. S. Co., Ltd., R. I. 1910.*

SARDIS: RUINS OF TEMPLE OF CYBELE.





Φιλίππου καὶ οἱ Ἕλληνες πλὴν Λακεδαιμονίων ἀπὸ τῶν βαρβάρων τῶν τὴν Ἀσίαν κατοικοῦντων.

IV.—*Settlement of the Conquered Districts. Further Conquests in Western and South-Western Asia Minor, up to the Occupation of Phrygia.*

Καταστήσας δὲ Κάλαν σατραπεύειν ἧς Ἀρσίτης XVII.  
ἦρχε καὶ τοὺς φόρους τοὺς αὐτοὺς ἀποφέρειν τάξας  
οὔσπερ Δαρείῳ ἔφερον, ὅσοι μὲν τῶν βαρ-  
**Alexander**  
**in Sardis.** βάρων κατιόντες ἐκ τῶν ὀρῶν ἐνεχειρίζον  
σφᾶς, τούτους μὲν ἀπαλλύττεσθαι ἐπὶ τὰ αἰτῶν ἐκάσ-  
τους ἐκέλευε· Ζελεΐτας δὲ ἀφῆκε τῆς αἰτίας, ὅτι πρὸς 2  
βίαν ἔγνω συστρατεῦσαι τοῖς βαρβάροις· Δασκύλιον  
δὲ παραληψόμενον Παρμενίωνα ἐκπέμπει· καὶ παρα-  
λαμβάνει Δασκύλιον Παρμενίων ἐκλιπόντων τῶν  
φρουρῶν.

Αὐτὸς δὲ ἐπὶ Σάρδεων προὔχῳρει· καὶ ἀπέχοντος 3  
αὐτοῦ ὅσον ἐβδομήκοντα σταδίου Σάρδεων ἦκον παρ'  
αὐτὸν Μιθρίνης τε ὁ φρούραρχος τῆς ἀκροπόλεως  
τῆς ἐν Σάρδεσι καὶ Σαρδιανῶν οἱ δυνατώτατοι, ἐνδι-  
δόντες οἱ μὲν τὴν πόλιν, ὁ δὲ Μιθρίνης τὴν ἄκραν καὶ  
τὰ χρήματα. Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ αὐτὸς μὲν κατεστρα- 4  
τοπέδευσεν ἐπὶ τῷ Ἐρμῶ ποταμῷ· ἀπέχει δὲ ὁ  
Ἐρμος ἀπὸ Σάρδεων σταδίου ὅσον εἴκοσιν· Ἀμύνταν  
δὲ τὸν Ἀνδρομέου τὴν ἄκραν παραληψόμενον ἐκ-  
πέμπει εἰς Σάρδεις· καὶ Μιθρίνην μὲν ἐν τιμῇ ἅμα οἷ  
ἦγε, Σαρδιανούς δὲ καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους Λυδοὺς τοῖς νόμοις

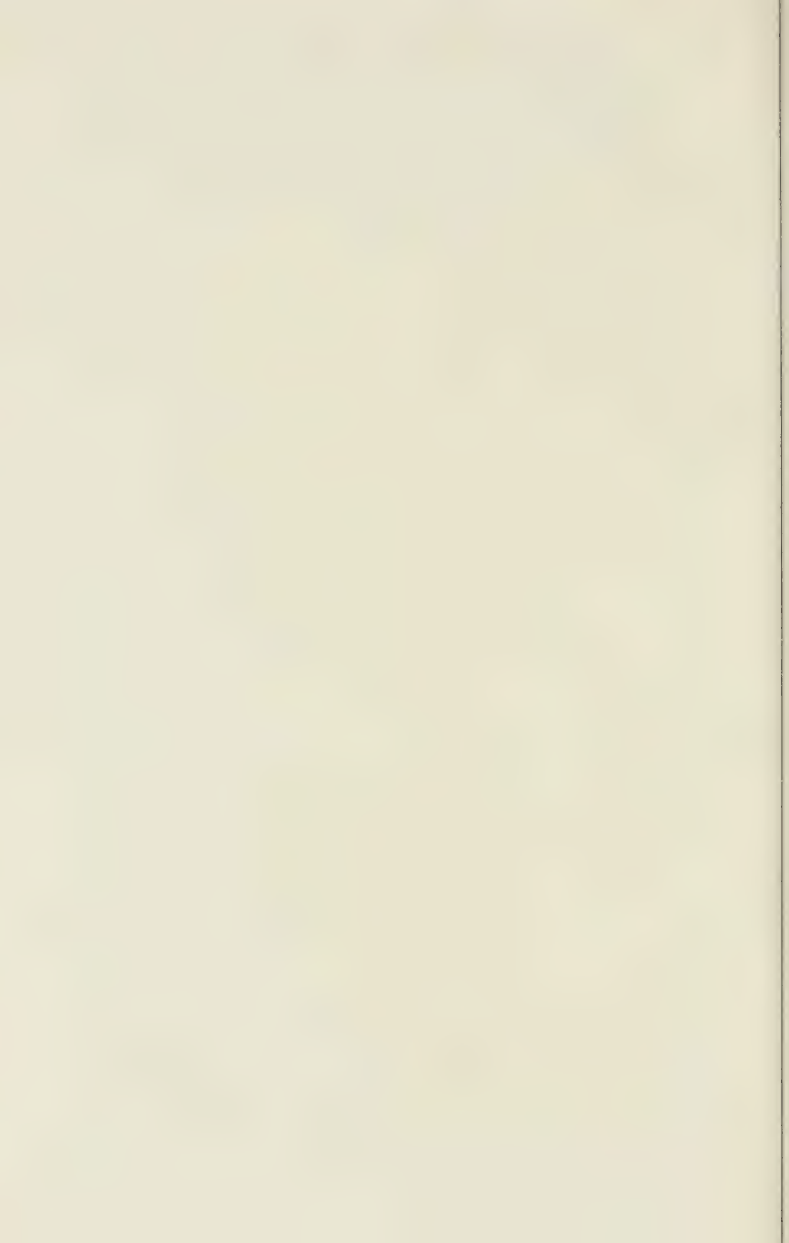
τε τοῖς πάλαι Λυδῶν χρῆσθαι ἔδωκε καὶ ἐλευθέρους  
 εἶναι ἀφῆκεν. ἀνήλθε δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς εἰς τὴν ἄκραν, ἵνα 5  
 τὸ φρούριον ἦν τῶν Περσῶν· καὶ ἔδοξεν αὐτῷ ὄχυρὸν  
 τὸ χωρίον· ὑπερύψηλόν τε γὰρ ἦν καὶ ἀπότομον πάντη  
 καὶ τριπλῶ τείχει πεφραγμένον· αὐτὸς δὲ ἐπὶ τῇ ἄκρα  
 ναὸν τε οἰκοδομῆσαι Διὸς Ὀλυμπίου ἐπειθεί, καὶ βωμὸν  
 ἰδρύσασθαι. σκοποῦντι δὲ αὐτῷ τῆς ἄκρας ὅπερ ἐπι- 6  
 τηδειότατον χωρίον ὥρα ἔτους ἐξαίφνης χειμῶν ἐπιγίγ-  
 νεται καὶ βρονταὶ σκληραὶ καὶ ὕδωρ ἐξ οὐρανοῦ πίπτει  
 οὐ τὰ τῶν Λυδῶν βασιλεία· καὶ ἐντεῦθεν Ἀλεξάν-  
 δρῳ ἔδοξεν ἐκ θεοῦ σημαθῆναι ἵνα χρῆ οἰκοδομῆσθαι  
 τῷ Διὶ τὸν νεῶν, καὶ οὕτως ἐκέλευσε. κατέλιπε δὲ 7  
 τῆς μὲν ἄκρας τῆς Σάρδεων ἐπιμελητὴν Παισανίαν  
 τῶν ἐταίρων, τῶν δὲ φόρων τῆς συντάξεώς τε καὶ  
 ἀποφορᾶς Νικίαν, Ἄσανδρον δὲ τὸν Φιλώτα Λυδίας  
 καὶ τῆς ἄλλης τῆς Σπιθριδάτου ἀρχῆς, δούς αὐτῷ  
 ἰππέας τε καὶ ψιλοὺς ὅσοι ἱκανοὶ πρὸς τὰ παρόντα  
 ἐδόκουν. Κάλαν δὲ καὶ Ἀλέξανδρον τὸν Ἀερόπου ἐπὶ 8  
 τὴν χώραν τὴν Μέμνονος ἐκπέμπει, ἄγοντας τοὺς τε  
 Πελοποννησίους καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ξυμμάχων τοὺς πολλοὺς  
 πλὴν Ἀργείων· οὗτοι δὲ ἐν Σάρδεσι κατελείφθησαν  
 τὴν ἄκραν φυλάττειν.

Ἐν τούτῳ δὲ ὡς τὰ ὑπὲρ τῆς ἵππομαχίας ἐξηγ- 9  
 γέλθη, οἳ τε τὴν Ἐφεσον φρουροῦντες μισθοφόροι  
 ᾤχοντο φεύγοντες, δύο τριήρεις τῶν Ἐφεσίων λα-  
 βόντες, καὶ ξύν αὐτοῖς Ἀμύντας ὁ Ἀντιόχου, ὃς  
 ἔφυγεν ἐκ Μακεδονίας Ἀλέξανδρον, παθὼν μὲν οὐδὲν  
 πρὸς Ἀλέξανδρον, δυσνοία δὲ τῇ πρὸς Ἀλέξανδρον  
 καὶ αὐτὸς ἀπαξιώσας τι παθεῖν πρὸς αὐτοῦ ἄχαρι.



*Photo by F. Frith & Co., Ltd., Kelzate.*

**VIEW NEAR EPHEBUS.**



Τετάρτη δὲ ἡμέρα ἐς Ἐφεσον ἀφικόμενος τοὺς 10  
 τε φυγάδας ὅσοι δι' αὐτὸν ἐξέπεσον τῆς πόλεως  
 κατήγαγε καὶ τὴν ὀλιγαρχίαν καταλύσας  
 δημοκρατίαν κατέστησε· τοὺς δὲ φόρους  
 ὅσους τοῖς βαρβάροις ἀπέφερον τῇ Ἀρτέμιδι ξυντε-  
 λεῖν ἐκέλευσεν. ὁ δὲ δῆμος ὁ τῶν Ἐφεσίων, ὡς 11  
 ἀφηρέθη αὐτοῖς ὁ ἀπὸ τῶν ὀλίγων φόβος, τοὺς τε  
 Μέμνονα ἐπαγαγομένους καὶ τοὺς τὸ ἱερόν συλή-  
 σαντας τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος καὶ τοὺς τὴν εἰκόνα τὴν Φιλιπ-  
 που τὴν ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ καταβαλόντας καὶ τὸν τάφον ἐκ  
 τῆς ἀγορᾶς ἀνορύξαντας τὸν Ἡροπύθου τοῦ ἐλευ-  
 θερώσαντος τὴν πόλιν ὥρμησαν ἀποκτείνειν. καὶ Σύρ- 12  
 φακα μὲν καὶ τὸν παῖδα αὐτοῦ Πελάγοντα καὶ τοὺς  
 τῶν ἀδελφῶν τοῦ Σύρφακος παῖδας ἐκ τοῦ ἱεροῦ  
 ἐξαγαγόντες κατέλευσαν· τοὺς δὲ ἄλλους διεκώλυσεν  
 Ἀλέξανδρος προσωτέρω ἐπιζητεῖν καὶ τιμωρεῖσθαι.  
 γνοὺς ὅτι ὁμοῦ τοῖς αἰτίοις καὶ οὐ ξὺν δίκη τινάς, τοὺς  
 μὲν κατ' ἔχθραν, τοὺς δὲ κατὰ ἀρπαγὴν χρημάτων  
 ἀποκτενεῖ, ξυγχωρηθὲν αὐτῷ, ὁ δῆμος. καὶ εἰ δὴ τῷ  
 ἄλλῳ, καὶ τοῖς ἐν Ἐφέσῳ πραχθεῖσιν Ἀλέξανδρος  
 ἐν τῷ τότε εὐδοκίμει.

Ἐν τούτῳ δὲ ἐκ Μαγνησίας τε καὶ Τράλλων παρ' XVIII  
 αὐτὸν ἦκον ἐνδιδόντες τὰς πόλεις· καὶ ὅς πέμπει Παρ-  
 μενίωνα, δούς αὐτῷ δισχιλίους καὶ πεντα-  
 κοσίους πεζοὺς τῶν ξένων καὶ Μακεδόνας  
 παραπλησίους, ἰππέας δὲ τῶν ἐταίρων ἐς  
 διακοσίους. Λυσίμαχον δὲ τὸν Ἀγαθοκλέους ἐπὶ τὰς  
 Αἰολίδας τε πόλεις ξὺν δυνάμει οὐκ ἐλάττονι ἐξέπεμψε  
 καὶ ὅσαι Ἰωνικαὶ ὑπὸ τοῖς βαρβάροις ἔτι ἦσαν. καὶ 2

Ephesus  
 occupied.

Surrender  
 of Mag-  
 nesia and  
 Tralles.

τὰς μὲν ὀλιγαρχίας πανταχοῦ καταλύειν ἐκέλευσε, δημοκρατίας δὲ ἐγκαθιστάναι καὶ τοὺς νόμους τοὺς σφῶν ἐκάστοις ἀποδοῦναι, καὶ τοὺς φόρους ἀνεῖναι ὅσους τοῖς βαρβάροις ἀπέφερον. αὐτὸς δὲ ὑπομείνας ἐν Ἐφέσῳ θυσίαν τε ἔθυσσε τῇ Ἀρτέμιδι καὶ πομπὴν ἔπεμψε ξὺν τῇ στρατιᾷ πάσῃ ὀπλισμένη τε καὶ ὡς ἐς μάχην ξυντεταγμένη.

Τῇ δ' ὑστεραία ἀναλαβὼν τῶν τε πεζῶν τοὺς λοι- 3  
ποὺς καὶ τοὺς τοξότας καὶ τοὺς Ἀγριῖνας καὶ τοὺς Θρα-

*Alexander before Miletus.* κας ἰππέας καὶ τῶν ἐταίρων τὴν τε βασιλικὴν Ἴλην καὶ πρὸς ταύτῃ τρεῖς ἄλλας ἐπὶ Μιλήτου ἐστέλλετο· καὶ τὴν μὲν ἔξω καλουμένην πόλιν

ἐξ ἐφόδου ἔλαβεν ἐκλιπούσης τῆς φυλακῆς, ἐνταῦθα δὲ καταστρατοπεδεύσας ἔγνω ἀποτειχίζειν τὴν εἰσω πό- 4  
λιν. Ἡγησίστρατος γάρ, ὅτῳ ἢ φρουρὰ ἢ Μιλησίων

ἐκ βασιλέως ἐπετέτραπτο, πρόσθεν γράμματα παρ' Ἀλέξανδρον ἔπεμπεν ἐνδιδούς τὴν Μίλητον· τότε δὲ ἀναθαρρήσας ἐπὶ τῷ Περσῶν στρατῷ οὐ μακρὰν ὄντι διασώζειν τοῖς Πέρσαις ἐπενόει τὴν πόλιν. Νι- 5  
κάνωρ δὲ τὸ Ἑλληνικὸν ναυτικὸν ἄγων ὑποφθάνει

τοὺς Πέρσας τρισὶν ἡμέραις πρότερος καταπλεύσας ἢ τῇ Μιλήτῳ τοὺς Πέρσας προσσχεῖν, καὶ ὀρμίζεται 5  
ναυσὶν ἐξήκοντα καὶ ἑκατὸν ἐν τῇ νήσῳ τῇ Λάδῃ· κείται δὲ αὕτη ἐπὶ τῇ Μιλήτῳ. αἱ δὲ τῶν Περσῶν

νῆες ὑστερήσασαι, ἐπειδὴ ἔμαθον οἱ ναύαρχοι τῶν ἀμφὶ

*Occupation of the island Lade.* Νικάνωρα τὴν ἐν τῇ Λάδῃ προκαταγωγὴν, πρὸς τῇ Μυκάλῃ τῷ ὄρει ὀρμίσθησαν. τὴν

γὰρ Λάδην τὴν νῆσον προκατειλήφει Ἀλέξανδρος, οὐ τῶν νεῶν μόνον τῇ ἐγκαθορμίσει, ἀλλὰ καὶ

τοὺς Θρᾶκας καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ξένων ἐς τετρακισχιλίουσ  
 διαβιβάσας ἐς αὐτήν. ἦσαν δὲ τῶν βαρβάρων αἱ νῆες  
 ἀμφὶ τὰς τετρακοσίας.

Παρμενίων μὲν δὴ καὶ ὡς παρήνει Ἄλεξάνδρῳ ναυ- 6  
 μαχεῖν, τά τε ἄλλα κρατήσῃν τῷ ναυτικῷ τοὺς Ἕλληνας  
 ἐπελπίζων καὶ τι καὶ θεῖον ἀνέπειθεν αὐτόν,  
 ὅτι ἀετὸς ὄφθη καθήμενος ἐπὶ τοῦ αἰγιαλοῦ  
 κατὰ πρύμναν τῶν Ἄλεξάνδρου νεῶν. καὶ  
 γὰρ δὴ νικήσαντας μὲν μεγάλα ὠφεληθήσεσθαι  
 ἐς τὰ ὄλα· νικηθεῖσι δὲ οὐ παρὰ μέγα ἔσεσθαι τὸ πταῖ-  
 σμα· καὶ ὡς γὰρ θαλαττοκρατεῖν τοὺς Πέρσας. καὶ  
 αὐτὸς δὲ ἔφη ἐπιβῆναι ἐθέλειν τῶν νεῶν καὶ τοῦ κινδύνου  
 μετέχειν. Ἄλεξάνδρος δὲ τῇ τε γνώμῃ ἀμαρτάνειν 7  
 ἔφη Παρμενίωνα καὶ τοῦ σημείου τῇ οὐ κατὰ τὸ εἰκὸς  
 ξυμβλήσει· ὀλίγαις τε γὰρ ναυσὶ πρὸς πολλῷ πλείους  
 ξὺν οὐδενὶ λογισμῷ ναυμαχήσῃν καὶ οὐ μεμελετηκότι  
 τῷ σφῶν ναυτικῷ πρὸς ἡσκημένον τὸ τῶν Κυπρίων  
 τε καὶ Φουίκων· τὴν τε ἐμπειρίαν τῶν Μακεδόνων 8  
 καὶ τὴν τόλμαν ἐν ἀβεβαίῳ χωρίῳ οὐκ ἐθέλειν παρα-  
 δοῦναι τοῖς βαρβάροις· καὶ ἡττηθεῖσι τῇ ναυμαχίᾳ  
 οὐ μικρὰν τὴν βλάβην ἔσεσθαι ἐς τοῦ πολέμου τὴν  
 πρώτην δόξαν, τά τε ἄλλα καὶ τοὺς Ἕλληνας νεωτε-  
 ρεῖν πρὸς τοῦ ναυτικοῦ πταίσματος τὴν ἐξαγγελίαν  
 ἐπαρθέιτας. ταῦτα μὲν τῷ λογισμῷ ξυντιθεῖς οὐκ 9  
 ἐν καιρῷ ἀπέφαινε ναυμαχεῖν· τὸ θεῖον δὲ αὐτὸς  
 ἄλλη ἐξηγεῖσθαι· εἶναι μὲν γὰρ πρὸς αὐτοῦ τὸν  
 ἀετόν, ἀλλ' ὅτι ἐπὶ γῆς καθήμενος ἐφαίνετο, δοκεῖν  
 οἱ μᾶλλον τι σημαίνειν ὅτι ἐκ γῆς κρατήσῃ τοῦ Περσῶν  
 ναυτικοῦ.

Parmenion's advice, to attack the Persian fleet, rejected.

Καὶ ἐν τούτῳ Γλαύκιππος, ἀνὴρ τῶν δοκίμων ἐν XIX.  
 Μιλήτῳ, ἐκπεμφθεὶς παρὰ Ἀλέξανδρον παρὰ τοῦ δήμου  
**Siege of** τε καὶ τῶν ξένων τῶν μισθοφόρων, οἷς μᾶλλον  
**Miletus.** τι ἐπετέτραπτο ἢ πόλις, τὰ τε τείχη ἔφη  
 ἐθέλειν τοὺς Μιλησίους καὶ τοὺς λιμένας παρέχειν κοι-  
 νούς Ἀλεξάνδρῳ καὶ Πέρσαις· καὶ τὴν πολιορκίαν ἐπὶ  
 τούτοις λύειν ἠξίου. Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ Γλαυκίππῳ μὲν 2  
 προστάσσει ἀπαλλάττεσθαι κατὰ τάχος ἐς τὴν πόλιν  
 καὶ Μιλησίοις ἐπαγγέλλειν παρασκευάζεσθαι ὡς μαχου-  
 μένους ἔωθεν. αὐτὸς δ' ἐπιστήσας τῷ τείχει μηχανάς,  
 καὶ τὰ μὲν καταβαλὼν δι' ὀλίγου τῶν τειχῶν, τὰ δὲ  
 κατασεισας ἐπὶ πολὺ προσῆγε τὴν στρατιὰν ὡς ἐπι-  
 βησομένους ἢ κατερήριπτο ἢ ἐσεσάλευτο τὸ τεῖχος,  
 ἐφομαρτούντων καὶ μόνον οὐ θεωμένων τῶν Περσῶν  
 ἀπὸ τῆς Μυκάλης πολιορκουμένους τοὺς φίλους σφῶν  
 καὶ ξυμμάχους.

Ἐν τούτῳ δὲ καὶ οἱ ἀμφὶ Νικάνορα ἀπὸ τῆς Λάδης 3  
 τὴν ὄρμην τῶν ξῖν Ἀλεξάνδρῳ κατιδόντες ἐς τὸν λιμένα  
 ἐπέπλεον τῶν Μιλησίων παρὰ γῆν τὴν εἰρεσίαν  
**Its cap-** ποιούμενοι, καὶ κατὰ τὸ στόμα τοῦ λιμένος  
**ture.** ἦπερ στενότατον ἦν ἀντιπρώρους βύζην τὰς τριήρεις  
 ὀρμίσαντες ἀποκεκλείεσαν τῷ μὲν Περσικῷ ναυτικῷ  
 τὸν λιμένα, τοῖς Μιλησίοις δὲ τὴν ἐκ τῶν Περσῶν  
 ὠφέλειαν. εἶθα οἱ Μιλησίοί τε καὶ οἱ μισθοφόροι 4  
 πανταχόθεν ἤδη προσκειμένων σφίσι τῶν Μακεδόνων  
 οἱ μὲν αὐτῶν ῥιπτοῦντες σφᾶς ἐν τῇ θαλάσῃ ἐπὶ  
 τῶν ἀσπίδων ὑπτίως ἐς νησιῶνά τινα ἀνώνυμον τῇ  
 πόλει ἐπικειμένην διενήχοντο· οἱ δὲ ἐς κελύτια  
 ἐμβαίνοντες καὶ ἐπειγόμενοι ὑποφθάσαι τὰς τριήρεις



τῶν Μακεδόνων ἐγκατελήφθησαν ἐν τῷ στόματι τοῦ λιμένος πρὸς τῶν τριηρῶν· οἱ δὲ πολλοὶ ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ πόλει ἀπόλλυντο.

Ἄλέξανδρος δὲ ἐχομένης ἤδη τῆς πόλεως ἐπὶ 5 τοὺς ἐς τὴν νῆσον καταπεφευγότας ἐπέπλει αὐτός, κλίμακας φέρειν ἐπὶ τὰς πύργους τῶν τριηρῶν κελεύσας, ὡς κατὰ τὰ ἀπότομα τῆς νήσου, καθάπερ πρὸς τεῖχος, ἐκ τῶν νεῶν τὴν ἀπόβασιν ποιησόμενος. ὡς 6 δὲ διακινδυνεύειν ἐθέλοντας τοὺς ἐν τῇ νήσῳ ἑώρα, οἶκτος λαμβάνει αὐτὸν τῶν ἀνδρῶν, ὅτι γενναῖοί τε καὶ πιστοὶ αὐτῷ ἐφαίνοντο, καὶ σπένδεται πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἐπὶ τῷδε ὡς αὐτῷ ξυστρατεῖν· ἦσαν δὲ οὗτοι μισθοφόροι Ἕλληνες ἐς τριακοσίους. αὐτοὺς δὲ Μιλησίους, ὅσοι μὴ ἐν τῇ καταλήψει τῆς πόλεως ἔπεσον, ἀφήκε καὶ ἐλευθέρους εἶναι ἔδωκεν.

Οἱ δὲ βάρβαροι ἀπὸ τῆς Μυκάλης ὀρμώμενοι ταῖς 7 μὲν ἡμέραις ἐπέπλεον τῷ Ἑλληνικῷ ναυτικῷ, προκαλέσασθαι ἐς ναυμαχίαν ἐλπίζοντες· τὰς δὲ νύκτας πρὸς τῇ Μυκάλῃ οὐκ ἐν καλῷ ὀρμίζοντο, ὅτι ὑδρεύεσθαι ἀπὸ τοῦ Μαιάνδρου ποταμοῦ τῶν ἐκβολῶν διὰ μακροῦ ἠναγκάζοντο. Ἄλέξανδρος δὲ ταῖς μὲν νασι 8 τὸν λιμένα ἐφύλαττε τῶν Μιλησίων, ὡς μὴ βιάσαιντο οἱ βάρβαροι τὸν ἔσπλον, ἐκπέμπει δ' ἐς τὴν Μυκάλην Φιλώταν, ἄγοντα τοὺς τε ἰππέας καὶ τῶν πεζῶν τάξεις τρεῖς, παραγγείλας εἶργειν τῆς ἀποβάσεως τοὺς ἀπὸ τῶν νεῶν. οἱ δέ, ὕδατός τε σπάνει καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἐπιτηδείων οὐδὲν ἄλλο ὅτι μὴ πολιορκούμενοι ἐν ταῖς νασίν, ἐς Σάμον ἀπέπλευσαν· ἐκείθεν δὲ ἐπισιτισάμενοι αὐθις ἐπέπλεον τῇ

Μιλήτῳ. καὶ τὰς μὲν πολλὰς τῶν νεῶν πρὸ τοῦ 9  
 λιμένος ἐν μετεώρῳ παρέταξαν, εἴ πη ἐκκαλέσαιντο  
 εἰς τὸ πέλαγος τοὺς Μακεδόνας· πέντε δὲ αὐτῶν  
 εἰσέπλευσαν εἰς τὸν μεταξὺ τῆς τε Λάδης νήσον καὶ  
 τοῦ στρατοπέδου λιμένα, ἐλπίσαντες κενὰς κατα-  
 λήψεσθαι τὰς Ἀλεξάνδρου ναῦς, ὅτι τοὺς ναύτας  
 ἀποσκεδάννυσθαι τὸ πολὺ ἀπὸ τῶν νεῶν τοὺς μὲν  
 ἐπὶ φρυγανισμῶ, τοὺς δὲ ἐπὶ ξυγκομιδῇ τῶν ἐπιτη-  
 δείων, τοὺς δὲ καὶ εἰς προνομὰς ταττομένους, πεπυσ-  
 μένοι ἦσαν. ἀλλὰ μέρος μὲν τι ἀπὴν τῶν ναυτῶν·  
 ἐκ δὲ τῶν παρόντων συμπληρώσας Ἀλέξανδρος δέκα 10  
 ναῦς, ὡς προσπλεύσας τὰς πέντε τῶν Περσῶν κατ-  
 εἶδε, πέμπει ἐπ' αὐτὰς κατὰ σπουδὴν, ἐμβάλλειν  
 ἀντιπρώρους κελεύσας. οἱ δὲ ἐν ταῖς πέντε ναυσὶ  
 τῶν Περσῶν, ὡς παρ' ἐλπίδα ἀναγομένους τοὺς Μα-  
 κεδόνας ἐπὶ σφῶς εἶδον, ὑποστρέψαντες ἐκ πολλοῦ  
 ἔφευγον πρὸς τὸ ἄλλο ναυτικόν. καὶ ἡ μὲν Ἰασσέων 11  
 ναῦς ἀλίσκεται αὐτοῖς ἀνδράσιν ἐν τῇ φυγῇ, οὐ ταχυ-  
 ναυτοῦσα· αἱ δὲ τέσσαρες ἔφθασαν καταφυγεῖν εἰς τὰς  
 οἰκείας τριήρεις. οὕτω μὲν δὴ ἀπέπλευσαν ἄπρακτοι ἐκ  
 Μιλήτου οἱ Πέρσαι.

Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ καταλῦσαι ἔγνω τὸ ναυτικόν χρη- XX.  
 μάτων τε ἐν τῷ τότε ἀπορία καὶ ἅμα οὐκ ἀξιόμαχον  
 ὄρων τὸ αὐτοῦ ναυτικόν τῷ Περσικῷ, οὐκ οὐκ  
 ἐθέλων οὐδὲ μέρει τινὶ τῆς στρατιᾶς κιν-  
 δυνεύειν. ἄλλως τε ἐπειθεί, κατέχων ἤδη τῷ  
 πεζῷ τὴν Ἀσίαν, ὅτι οὔτε ναυτικοῦ ἔτι δέοιτο, τὰς τε  
 παραλίους πόλεις λαβὼν καταλύσει τὸ Περσῶν ναυτι-  
 κόν, οὔτε ὁπόθεν τὰς ὑπηρεσίας συμπληρώσουσιν οὔτε

Siege of  
 Halicar-  
 nassus.

ὅπη τῆς Ἀσίας προσέξουσιν ἔχοντας. καὶ τὸν ἀετὸν ταύτη συνέβαλλεν ὅτι ἐσήμηνεν αὐτῷ ἐκ τῆς γῆς κρατήσειν τῶν νεῶν.

Ταῦτα δὲ διαπραξάμενος ἐπὶ Καρίας ἐστελλετο, 2 ὅτι ἐν Ἀλικαρνασσῶ συνεστηκέναι οὐ φαύλην δύναμιν τῶν τε βαρβάρων καὶ ξένων ἐξηγγελλετο. ὅσαι δὲ ἐν μέσῳ πόλεις Μιλήτου τε καὶ Ἀλικαρνασοῦ, ταύτας ἐξ ἐφόδου λαβὼν καταστρατοπεδεύει πρὸς Ἀλικαρνασσῶ, ἀπέχων τῆς πόλεως ἐς πέντε μάλιστα 3 σταδίου, ὡς ἐπὶ χρονίῳ πολιορκίᾳ. ἢ τε γὰρ φύσις τοῦ χωρίου ὀχυρὸν ἐποίει αὐτὸ καὶ ὅπη τι ἐνδεῖν ὡς πρὸς ἀσφάλειαν ἐφαίνετο, ζύμπαντα ταῦτα Μέμνων τε αὐτὸς παρών, ἤδη ἀποδεδειγμένος πρὸς Δαρείου τῆς τε κάτω Ἀσίας καὶ τοῦ ναυτικοῦ παιτὸς ἡγεμών, ἐκ πολλοῦ παρεσκευάκει, καὶ στρατιῶται πολλοὶ μὲν ξένοι μισθοφόροι ἐν τῇ πόλει ἐγκατελείφθησαν, πολλοὶ δὲ καὶ Περσῶν αὐτῶν· αἱ τε τριήρεις ἐφόρμουν τῷ λιμένι, ὡς καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν ναυτῶν πολλὴν ὠφέλειαν γίγνεσθαι ἐς τὰ ἔργα.

Τῇ μὲν δὴ πρώτῃ ἡμέρᾳ προσάγοντος Ἀλεξάνδρου τῷ 4 τείχει κατὰ τὰς ἐπὶ Μύλασα φερούσας πύλας ἐκδρομὴ τε γίγνεται τῶν ἐκ τῆς πόλεως καὶ ἀκροβολισμός· καὶ τούτους οὐ χαλεπῶς ἀνέστειλάν τε οἱ παρ' Ἀλεξάνδρου ἀντεκδραμόντες καὶ ἐς τὴν πόλιν κατέκλεισαν.

Οὐ πολλαῖς δὲ ὕστερον ἡμέραις Ἀλέξανδρος ἀνα- 5 λαβὼν τοὺς τε ὑπασπιστὰς καὶ τὴν τῶν ἐταίρων ἵππον καὶ τὴν Ἀμύντου τε καὶ Περδίκκου καὶ Myndus. Μελεάγρου τάξιν τὴν πέζικὴν καὶ πρὸς τούτοις τοὺς τοξότας καὶ τοὺς Ἀγριᾶνας περιῆλθε

τῆς πόλεως ἐς τὸ πρὸς Μύνδου μέρος, τό τε τείχος κατοψόμενος, εἰ ταύτῃ ἐπιμαχώτερον τυγχάνει ὄν ἐς τὴν προσβολὴν καὶ ἅμα εἰ τὴν Μύνδον ἐξ ἐπιδρομῆς δύνατο λαθῶν κατασχεῖν· ἔσσεσθαι γὰρ οὐ σμικρὰν τὴν ὠφέλειαν ἐς τὴν τῆς Ἀλικαρνασσοῦ πολιορκίαν τὴν Μύνδον οἰκείαν γενομένην· καὶ τι καὶ ἐνεδίδοτο αὐτῷ ἐκ τῶν Μυρδίων, εἰ λάθοι νυκτὸς προσελθών. 6 αὐτὸς μὲν δὴ κατὰ τὰ συγκείμενα ἀμφὶ μέσας νύκτας προσῆλθε τῷ τείχει· ὡς δὲ οὐδὲν ἐνεδίδοτο ἀπὸ τῶν ἔνδον, αἱ τε μηχαναὶ καὶ αἱ κλίμακες αὐτῷ οὐ παρήσαν, οἷα δὴ οὐκ ἐπὶ πολιορκίαν στυαλέντι, ἀλλ' ὡς ἐπὶ προδοσίᾳ ἐνδιδομένης τῆς πόλεως, προσήγαγε καὶ ὡς τῶν Μακεδόνων τὴν φύλαγμα, ὑπορύπτειν κελεύσας τὸ τείχος. καὶ ἓνα γε πύργον κατέβαλον οἱ Μακεδόνες· οὐ μέντοι ἐγύμνωσέ γε τὸ τείχος πεσών· καὶ 7 οἱ ἐκ τῆς πόλεως ἅμα εὐρώστως ἀμυνόμενοι καὶ ἐκ τῆς Ἀλικαρνασσοῦ κατὰ θάλασσαν πολλοὶ ἤδη παραβοηθηκότες ἄπορον ἐποίησαν τῷ Ἀλεξάνδρῳ τὴν αὐτοσχεδιὸν τε καὶ ἐξ ἐπιδρομῆς κατάληψιν τῆς Μύνδου. οὕτω μὲν δὴ ἐπιανέρχεται Ἀλέξανδρος οὐδὲν πράξας ὧν ἕνεκα ὠρμήθη, καὶ τῇ πολιορκίᾳ τῆς Ἀλικαρνασσοῦ αὐθις προσεῖχε.

Καὶ τὰ πρῶτα μὲν τὴν τάφρον ἢ πρὸ τῆς πόλεως 8 ὀρώρικτο αὐτοῖς, πλάτος μὲν τριάκοντα μάλιστα πήχεων, βάθος δὲ ἐς πεντεκαίδεκα, ἐχώννε, τοῦ ῥαδίου εἶναι τὴν προσαγωγὴν τῶν τε πύργων ἀφ' ὧν ἔμελλε τοὺς ἀκροβολισμοὺς ἐς τοὺς προμαχομένους τοῦ τείχους ποιεῖσθαι καὶ τῶν ἄλλῶν μηχανῶν αἷς κατασεῖειν ἐπενόει τὸ τείχος. καὶ ἢ τε τάφρος αὐτῷ ἐχώσθη οὐ χαλεπῶς

καὶ οἱ πύργοι προσηύγοντο ἤδη. οἱ δὲ ἐκ τῆς Ἀλικαρ- 9  
 νισσοῦ κικτὸς ἐκδραυόντες, ὥς ἐμπρῆσαι τοὺς τε  
 πύργους καὶ ὅσαι ἄλλαι μηχαναὶ προσηγμένα ἢ οὐ  
 πόρρω τοῦ προσάγεσθαι ἦσαν, ὑπὸ τῶν φυλακῶν τε  
 Μακεδόνων καὶ ὅσοι ἐν αὐτῷ τῷ ἔργῳ ἐξεγερθέντες  
 παρεβοήθηται αὐ χυλίστας καταλεισθήσασιν ἐν τῷ τείχε  
 αὐτοῖς. καὶ ἀπέθανον αὐτῶν ἄλλοι τε ἐς ἑβδομήκοιτα 10  
 καὶ ἑκατὸν καὶ Νεοπτόλεμος ὁ Ἀργυραῖος, τοῦ Ἀμεί-  
 του υἱὸς Ἀφῶν, τῶν παρὰ Διμήσιον αὐτομολογητῶν·  
 τῶν δ' Ἀλεξάνδρου στρατιωτῶν ἀπέθανον μὲν ἐκ ἑκατά-  
 δεκα, τριμυριάσι δὲ ἐγένετο ἐς τριμυριάσις, ὅτι ἐν  
 κικτὶ γενομένῳ τῆς ἐκδραυῆς ἀφυλακτότεροι ἐς τὸ  
 τιτρώσκεσθαι ἦσαν.

Οἱ πολλοὶ δὲ ἡμέραις ὑπερὸν δύο τῶν Μακε- XX  
 δόνων ὀπλιται ἐκ τῆς Περδίκκου τάξεως ξυσκηνοῦντές  
 τε καὶ αὐτοὶ ξυμπύοντες αὐτοῖς τε καὶ τὰ αὐτοῖς  
 ἐκάτερας ἐπὶ μέγα τῷ λόγῳ ἤρει. ἐνθα δὲ φι-  
 λουταῖα τε ἐπίπτει αὐτοῖς, καὶ τι καὶ ὁ οἶνος  
 ὑπερέρμαιον, ὥστε ὀπλιτάμενοι αὐτοὶ ἐπὶ σφῶν προσ-  
 βάλλουσι τῷ τείχει κατὰ τὴν ἄκρην τὴν πρὸς Μύλασα  
 μάλιστα τετραμμένην, ὥς ἐπίδειξιν τῆς σφῶν ράϊος  
 μᾶλλον τι ἢ πρὸς πολεμίους μετὶ κινδύνου τοῖς ἀγῶνα  
 ποιησάμενοι. καὶ τούτοις λατιώοντες τιμὴ τῶν ἐκ 2  
 τῆς πόλεως δύο τε ἄντας καὶ αὐ ξὺν λογισμῷ προσ-  
 φεραμένους τῷ τείχει ἐπεκθύνοντο. οἱ δὲ τοὺς μὲν  
 ἐγγὺς πελάσαιτας ἀπέκτειναν, πρὸς δὲ τοὺς ἀφροστη-  
 κότας ἠκροβολίζοντο, πλεονεκτούμενοι τῷ τε πλήθει  
 καὶ τοῦ χωρίου τῆ χαλεπότητι, ὅτι ἐξ ὑπερδεξίου τοῖς  
 πολεμίους ἢ ἐπίδρομή τε καὶ ὁ ἠκροβολισμὸς ἐγένετο.

Severe  
fighting  
before the  
walls.

10

XX

2

καὶ ἐν τούτῳ ἀντέκθούσι τινες καὶ ἄλλοι τῶν τοῦ 3  
 Περδίκκου στρατιωτῶν, καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς Ἀλικαρνασσοῦ  
 ἄλλοι καὶ ξυμπίπτει μάχη καρτερὰ πρὸς τῷ τείχει·  
 καὶ κατακλείονται αὖθις πρὸς τῶν Μακεδόνων εἴσω  
 τῶν πυλῶν οἱ ἐπεκδραμόντες. παρ' ὀλίγον δὲ ἦλθε καὶ 4  
 ἄλῶναι ἢ πόλις. τὰ τε γὰρ τείχη ἐν τῷ τότε οὐκ ἐν  
 ἀκριβεῖ φυλακῇ ἦν καὶ δύο πύργοι καὶ μεσοπύργιον ἐς  
 ἔδαφος καταπεπτωκότα οὐ χαλεπὴν ἂν τῷ στρατεύ-  
 ματι, εἰ ἅπαν προσήψατο τοῦ ἔργου, τὴν ἐς τὸ τείχος  
 πάροδον παρέσχε. καὶ ὁ τρίτος πύργος κατασεισ-  
 μένος οὐδὲ οὗτος χαλεπῶς ἂν ἠρείφθη ὑπορυσσόμενος·  
 ἀλλὰ ἔφθησαν γὰρ ἀντὶ τοῦ πεπτωκότος τείχους  
 ἔσωθεν πλίνθινον μνηοειδὲς ἀντοικοδομησάμενοι οὐ χαλε-  
 πῶς ὑπὸ πολυχειρίας.

Καὶ τούτῳ ἐπῆγε τῇ ὑστεραία τὰς μηχανὰς Ἀλέξαν- 5  
 δρος· καὶ ἐκδρομὴ αὖθις γίνεται τῶν ἐκ τῆς πόλεως ἐπὶ  
 τῷ ἐμπρῆσαι τὰς μηχανάς. καὶ μέρος μὲν τι  
 τῶν πλησίον τοῦ τείχους γερρῶν καὶ ἐνὸς τῶν  
 πύργων τῶν ξυλίνων κατεκαύθη, τὰ δὲ ἄλλα  
 διεφύλαξαν οἱ περὶ Φιλώταν τε καὶ Ἑλλάνικον, οἷς ἢ  
 φυλακὴ αὐτῶν ἐπετέτραπτο· ὡς δὲ καὶ Ἀλέξανδρος  
 ἐπεφάνη ἐν τῇ ἐκδρομῇ, τὰς τε δαῖδας ὅσας ἔχοντες  
 ἐκβεβοηθήκεσαν ἀφέντες καὶ τὰ ὄπλα οἱ πολλοὶ αὐ-  
 τῶν ρίψαντες εἴσω τοῦ τείχους ἔφευγον. καίτοι τὰ 6  
 γε πρῶτα τῇ φύσει τε τοῦ χωρίου, ὑπερδεξίου ὄντος,  
 ἐπεκράτουν καὶ οὐ κατὰ μέτωπον μόνον ἠκροβολί-  
 ζοντο ἐς τοὺς προμαχομένους τῶν μηχανῶν, ἀλλὰ  
 καὶ ἐκ τῶν πύργων, οἱ δὲ ἐκατέρωθεν τοῦ ἐρημιμένου  
 τείχους αὐτοὶ ὑπολελειμμένοι ἐκ πλαγίου τε καὶ μόνον

Sally by  
 the be-  
 sieged.

οὐ κατὰ νότου παρείχον ἀκροβολίζεσθαι ἐς τοὺς τῷ ἀντφκοδομημένῳ τείχει προσάγοντας.

Οὐ πολλαῖς δὲ ὕστερον ἡμέραις ἐπάγοντος αὐθις Ἀλεξάνδρου τὰς μηχανὰς τῷ πλινθίνῳ τῷ ἐντὸς τείχει

Second  
sally by  
the be-  
sieged.

καὶ αὐτοῦ ἐφεστηκότος τῷ ἔργῳ, ἐκδρομὴ γίγνεται πανδημεὶ ἐκ τῆς πόλεως τῶν μὲν κατὰ τὸ

ἐρημιμμένον τείχος, ἣ αὐτὸς Ἀλέξανδρος ἐπέ-  
τέτακτο, τῶν δὲ κατὰ τὸ Τρίπυλον, ἣ οὐδὲ πάνυ τι  
προσδεχομένοις τοῖς Μακεδόσιν ἦν. καὶ οἱ μὲν δῆδ' αὖτε

ταῖς μηχαναῖς ἐνέβαλλον καὶ ὅσα ἄλλα ἐς τὸ ἐξάψαι τε  
φλόγα καὶ ἐπὶ μέγα προκαλέσασθαι· τῶν δὲ ἀμφ'

Ἀλέξανδρον αὐτῶν τε ἐμβαλλόντων ἐς αὐτοὺς ἐρρωμέ-  
νως καὶ ταῖς μηχαναῖς ἀπὸ τῶν πύργων λίθων τε μεγά-  
λων ἀφιεμένων καὶ βελῶν ἐξακοντίζομένων οὐ χαλεπῶς

ἀπεστράφησάν τε καὶ ἔφυγον ἐς τὴν πόλιν. καὶ φό-  
νος ταύτῃ οὐκ ὀλίγος ἐγένετο, ὅσῳ πλείονές τε καὶ

ξὺν μείζονι τῇ τόλμῃ ἐξέδραμον. οἱ μὲν γὰρ εἰς χεῖρ-  
ας ἐλθόντες τοῖς Μακεδόσιν ἀπέθανον, οἱ δὲ ἀμφὶ  
τῷ τείχει τῷ καταπεπτωκότι, στενοτέρας τε ἢ κατὰ

τὸ πλῆθος αὐτῶν τῆς παρόδου οὕσης καὶ τῶν κατε-  
ρημιμμένων τοῦ τείχους χαλεπὴν τὴν ὑπέρβασιν αὐτοῖς  
παρεχόντων.

Τοῖς δὲ κατὰ τὸ Τρίπυλον ἐκδραμοῦσιν ἀπὴντα Πτο-  
λεμαῖος ὁ σωματοφύλαξ ὁ βασιλικός. τὴν τε Ἀρδαίου

καὶ Τιμάνδρου ἅμα οἱ τάξιν ἄγων καὶ ἔστιν  
οὓς τῶν ψιλῶν· καὶ οὗτοι οὐδὲ αὐτοὶ χαλεπῶς  
ἐτρέψαντο τοὺς ἐκ τῆς πόλεως. ξυνέβη δὲ καὶ

τούτοις ἐν τῇ ἀποχωρήσει κατὰ στενὴν γέφυραν τὴν  
ἐπὶ τῆς τάφρου πεποιημένην φεύγουσι τὴν τε γέφυ-

The fight-  
ing at the  
gates.

XXII.

2

3

4

5

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

Ἐνθα δὴ ξυνηλθόντες οἱ ἡγεμόνες τῶν Περσῶν, Ὀρονο- XXIII  
τοβάτης τε καὶ Μέμνων, καὶ ἐκ τῶν παρόντων γνόντες σφῶς τε οὐ δυναμένους ἐπὶ πολὺ ἀντέχειν τῇ πολιορκίᾳ καὶ τοῦ τείχους τὸ μὲν τι καταπεπρωκὸς ἤδη ὄρωντες, τὸ δὲ καὶ κατασεσεισμένον, πολλοὺς δὲ τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἐν ταῖς ἐκδρομαῖς τοὺς μὲν διεφθαρμένους, τοὺς δὲ καὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ τετρωσθαι ἀπομάχους ὄντας, ταῦτα ἐν νῶ λαβόντες ἀμφὶ δευτέραν φυλακὴν τῆς νυκτὸς τὸν τε ξύλινον πύργον ὃν αὐτοὶ ἀντωκοδόμησαν ταῖς μηχαναῖς τῶν πολεμίων ἐμπιπράσι καὶ τὰς στοὰς ἐν αἷς τὰ βέλη αὐτοῖς ἀπέκειτο. ἐνέβα-

**Destruction of the city.**

2



λον δὲ καὶ ταῖς οἰκίαις πῦρ ταῖς πλησίον τοῦ τείχους· 3  
 τῶν δὲ καὶ προσήψατο ἡ φλόξ ἀπὸ τε τῶν στοῶν καὶ  
 τοῦ πύργου πολλὴ ἐπενεχθεῖσα καὶ τι καὶ τοῦ ἀνέμου  
 ταύτῃ ἐπιφέροντος· αὐτῶν δὲ οἱ μὲν ἐς τὴν ἄκραν  
 τὴν ἐν τῇ νήσῳ ἀπεχώρησαν, οἱ δὲ ἐς τὴν Σαλμακίδα 4  
 οὕτω καλουμένην. Ἀλεξάνδρῳ δὲ ὦ, ἐξηγγέλθη  
 ταῦτα πρὸς τιῶν αὐτομολησάιτων ἐκ τοῦ ἔργου καὶ  
 τὸ πῦρ πολὺ καθεώρα αὐτός, καίτοι ἀμφὶ που μέσας  
 νύκτας ἦν τὸ γιγνόμενον, ὁ δὲ καὶ ὡς ἐξαγαγὼν τοὺς  
 Μακεδόνας τοὺς μὲν ἔτι ἐμπιπράντας τὴν πόλιν  
 ἔκτεινεν· ὅσοι δὲ ἐν ταῖς οἰκίαις καταλαμβάνοντο τῶν  
 Ἀλικαρνασσέων, τούτους δὲ σώζειν παρήγγειλεν.

Ἦδη τε ἕως ὑπέφαινε καὶ κατιδὼν τὰς ἄκρας ἄς 5  
 οἱ τε Πέρσαι καὶ οἱ μισθοφόροι κατειλήφesan, ταύτας  
 μὲν ἀπέγνω πολιορκεῖν, τριβὴν τε ἐπινοῶν  
 οὐκ ὀλίγην ἔσεσθαί οἱ ἀμφ' αὐτὰς τῇ φύσει  
 τῶν χωρίων καὶ οὐ παρὰ μέγα εἶναι ἐξελόντι  
 οἱ τὴν πόλιν ἤδη πᾶσαν. θύψας δὲ τοὺς 6  
 ἀποθανόντας ἐν τῇ νυκτὶ τὰς μὲν μηχανῆς ἐς Τράλ-  
 λεις ἀπαγαγεῖν ἐκέλευσε τοὺς ἐπ' αὐταῖς τεταγμένους·  
 αὐτὸς δὲ τὴν πόλιν εἰς ἔδαφος κατασκάψας αὐτῆς  
 τε ταύτης καὶ τῆς ἄλλης Καρίας φυλακὴν ἐγ-  
 καταλιπὼν ξένους μὲν πεζοὺς τρισχιλίους, ἰππέας  
 δὲ ἐς διακοσίους καὶ Πτολεμαῖον ἡγεμόνα αὐτῶν  
 ἐπὶ Φρυγίας ἐστέλλετο. τῆς δὲ Καρίας ξυμπάσης 7  
 σατραπεύειν ἔταξεν Ἄδαν, θυγατέρα μὲν Ἐκα-  
 τόμνου, γυναῖκα δὲ Ἰδριέως, ὃς καὶ ἀδελφὸς αὐτῇ  
 ὦν κατὰ νόμον τῶν Καρῶν ξυνῶκει. καὶ ὁ μὲν  
 Ἰδριεὺς τελευτῶν ταύτῃ ἐπέτρεψε τὰ πράγματα,

Princess  
 Ada ap-  
 pointed to  
 govern  
 Caria.

νενομισμένον ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ ἔτι ἀπὸ Σεμεράμεως καὶ γυναικας ἄρχειν ἀνδρῶν. Πιξώδιος δὲ τὴν μὲν ἐκβάλλει τῆς ἀρχῆς, αὐτὸς δὲ κατεῖχε τὰ πράγματα. τελευτήσαντος δὲ Πιξωδάρου Ὀροντοβάτης τὴν Κα- 8 ρῶν ἀρχὴν ἐκ βασιλέως πεμφθεὶς εἶχε, γαμβρὸς ὢν Πιξωδάρου. Ἄδα δὲ Ἄλιδα μόνον κατεῖχε, χωρίον τῆς Καρίας ἐν τοῖς ὀχυρώτατον, καὶ ἐσβαλόντι Ἀλεξάνδρῳ ἐς Καρίαν ἀπήντα, τά τε Ἄλιδα ἐνδιδοῦσα καὶ παῖδά οἱ τιθεμένη Ἀλέξανδρον. καὶ Ἀλέξανδρος τά τε Ἄλιδα αὐτῇ ἐπέτρεψε καὶ τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ παιδὸς οὐκ ἀπηξίωσε, καὶ ἐπειδὴ Ἀλικαρνασσὸν τε ἐξείλε καὶ τῆς ἄλλης Καρίας ἐπεκράτησεν, αὐτῇ ἄρχειν ἀπάσης ἔδωκε.

Τῶν Μακεδόνων δὲ ἔστιν οἱ συνεστρατευμένοι Ἀλεξ- XXIV  
 ἀνδρῳ ἦσαν νεωστὶ πρὸ τῆς στρατείας γεγαμηκότες· καὶ τούτων ἔγνω οὐκ ἀμελητέα εἶναί οἱ Ἀλέξ-  
 ανδρος, ἀλλ' ἐπέμπει γὰρ αὐτοὺς ἐκ Καρίας  
 διαχειμάζοντας ἐν Μακεδονίᾳ ἅμα ταῖς γυ-  
 ναιξίν, ἐπιτάξας αὐτοῖς Πτολεμαῖόν τε τὸν  
 Σελεύκου, εἷνα τῶν σωματοφυλάκων τῶν βα-  
 σιλικῶν, καὶ τῶν στρατηγῶν Κοῖνόν τε τὸν Πολεμο-  
 κράτους καὶ Μελέαγρον τὸν Νεοπτολέμου, ὅτι καὶ 2  
 αὐτοὶ τῶν νεογάμων ἦσαν, προστάξας, ἐπειδὴν αὐτοὶ τε  
 ἐπανίωσι καὶ τοὺς μετὰ σφῶν ἐκπεμφθέντας ἐπ-  
 αναγάγωσι, καταλέξαι ἰππέας τε καὶ πεζοὺς ἐκ τῆς  
 χώρας ὅσους πλείστους. καὶ τῷ ἔργῳ τῷδε, εἶπερ  
 τινὶ ἄλλῳ, εὐδοκίμησε παρὰ Μακεδόσιν Ἀλέξανδρος.  
 ἔπεμφε δὲ καὶ Κλέανδρον τὸν Πολεμοκράτους ἐπὶ  
 ζυλλογῇ στρατιωτῶν εἰς Πελοπόννησον.

Παρμενίωνα δὲ πέμπει ἐπὶ Σάρδεων, δούς αὐτῷ τῶν 3

Furlough  
 granted  
 to newly  
 married  
 Mace-  
 donians.

τε ἑταίρων ἰππαρχίαν καὶ τοὺς Θετταλοὺς ἰππέας  
 Alexander καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ξυμμάχους καὶ τὰς ἀμάξας  
 in Lycia ἄγειν· καὶ κελεύει προῖεναι ἀπὸ Σάρδεων ἐπὶ  
 and Pam- Φρυγίαν. αὐτὸς δὲ ἐπὶ Λυκίας τε καὶ Παμ-  
 phylia. φυλίας ἦει, ὡς τῆς παραλίου κρατήσας ἀχρεῖον κατα-  
 στηῆσαι τοῖς πολεμίοις τὸ ναυτικόν. καὶ πρῶτον 4  
 μὲν ἐν παρόδῳ Ὑπαρινά, χωρίον ὄχυρόν, φυλακὴν  
 ἔχον ξένους μισθοφόρους, ἐξ ἐφόδου ἔλαβεν· οἱ δ' ἐκ  
 τῆς ἄκρας ξένοι ὑπόσπονδοι ἐξῆλθον. ἔπειτα εἰς-  
 βαλὼν ἐς Λυκίαν Τελμισσέας μὲν ὁμολογία προσηγά-  
 γετο· περάσας δὲ τὸν Ξάνθον ποταμὸν Πίναρα καὶ  
 Ξάνθον τὴν πόλιν καὶ Πάταρα ἐνδοθέντα ἔλαβεν καὶ  
 ἄλλα ἐλάττω πολίσματα ἐς τριάκοντα.

Ταῦτα καταπράξας ἐν ἀκμῇ ἤδη τοῦ χειμῶνος ἐς τὴν 5  
 Μιλυάδα καλουμένην χώραν ἐσβάλλει, ἣ ἔστι μὲν τῆς  
 Winter, μεγάλης Φρυγίας, ξυνετέλει δὲ ἐς τὴν Λυκίαν  
 334-333. τότε, οὕτως ἐκ βασιλέως μεγάλου τεταγμένον.  
 καὶ ἐνταῦθα Φασηλιτῶν πρέσβεις ἦκον περὶ φιλίας τε  
 καὶ χρυσῷ στεφάνῳ στεφανῶσαι Ἀλέξανδρον· καὶ  
 ὑπὲρ τῶν αὐτῶν ἐπικηρυκεύομενοι ἐπρέσβευον Λυκίων  
 τῶν κάτω οἱ πολλοί. Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ Φασηλίτας τε 6  
 καὶ Λυκίους παραδοῦναι τὰς πόλεις τοῖς ἐπὶ τούτῳ στελ-  
 λομένοις ἐκέλευτε· καὶ παρεδόθησαν ξύμπασαι. αὐτὸς  
 δὲ ὀλίγον ὕστερον ἐς τὴν Φασηλίδα παραγενόμενος  
 συνεξαίρει αὐτοῖς φρούριον ὄχυρόν, ἐπιτετειχισμένον τῇ  
 χώρῃ πρὸς Πισιδῶν, ὅθεν ὀρμώμενοι οἱ βάρβαροι  
 πολλὰ ἔβλαπτον τῶν Φασηλιτῶν τοὺς τὴν γῆν ἐργα-  
 ζομένους.

Ἔτι δὲ αὐτῷ περὶ τὴν Φασηλίδα ὄντι ἐξαγγέλλεται XXV.

Ἄλέξανδρον τὸν Ἀερόπου ἐπιβουλεύειν, τὰ τε ἄλλα  
 τῶν ἐταίρων ὄντα καὶ ἐν τῷ τότε Θεσσαλῶν  
 τῆς Ἴππου ἄρχοντα. ἦν μὲν δὴ ὁ Ἄλέξανδρος  
 οὗτος ἀδελφὸς Ἡρομένου τε καὶ Ἀρραβαίου  
 τῶν ξυνεπιλαβόντων τῆς σφαγῆς τῆς Φιλίππου· καὶ 2  
 τότε αἰτίαν σχόντα αὐτὸν Ἄλέξανδρος ἀφῆκεν, ὅτι ἐν  
 πρώτοις τε ἀφίκετο τῶν φίλων παρ' αὐτόν, ἐπειδὴ  
 Φίλιππος ἐτελεύτησε, καὶ τὸν θώρακα ἐνδὺς συνηκο-  
 λούθησεν αὐτῷ εἰς τὰ βασίλεια· ὕστερον δὲ καὶ ἐν τιμῇ  
 ἀμφ' αὐτὸν εἶχε, στρατηγὸν τε ἐπὶ Θράκης στείλας καὶ  
 ἐπειδὴ Κάλας ὁ τῶν Θετταλῶν ἵππαρχος ἐπὶ σατρα-  
 πείᾳ ἐξεπέμφθη, αὐτὸν ἀπέδειξεν ἄρχειν τῆς Θεσσα-  
 λικῆς Ἴππου. τὰ δὲ τῆς ἐπιβουλῆς ἐξηγγέλθη ὧδε.

Δαρεῖος, ἐπειδὴ Ἀμύντας αὐτομολήσας παρ' αὐτὸν 3  
 λόγους τέ τινας καὶ γράμματα παρὰ τοῦ Ἀλεξάνδρου  
 τούτου ἐκόμισε, καταπέμπει ἐπὶ θάλασσαν Σισίνην,  
 ἄνδρα Πέρσῃν τῶν ἀμφ' αὐτὸν πιστόν, πρόφασιν μὲν  
 παρὰ Ἀντιζύην τὸν Φρυγίας σατράπην, τῇ δὲ ἀληθείᾳ  
 τῷ Ἀλεξάνδρῳ τούτῳ συνεσόμενον καὶ πίστει δώσοντα,  
 εἰ ἀποκτείνειε βασιλέα Ἄλέξανδρον, αὐτὸν βασιλέα  
 καταστήσειν Μακεδονίας καὶ χρυσίου τάλαντα πρὸς τῇ  
 βασιλείᾳ ἐπιδώσειν χίλια. ὁ δὲ Σισίνης ἰλοὺς πρὸς 4  
 Παρμενίωνος λέγει πρὸς Παρμενίωνα ὧν ἔνεκα ἀπεσ-  
 τάλη· καὶ τοῦτον αὐτίκα ἐν φυλακῇ πέμπει Παρ-  
 μενίων παρ' Ἄλέξανδρον, καὶ πυνθάνεται ταῦτα παρ'  
 αὐτοῦ Ἄλέξανδρος. συναγαγὼν δὲ τοὺς φίλους βουλήν  
 προὔτιθει ὅ τι χρὴ ὑπὲρ Ἀλεξανδρου γινῶναι. καὶ ἐδόκει  
 τοῖς ἐταίροις μῆτε πάλαι εὖ βεβουλευσθαι τὸ κράτισ- 5  
 τον τοῦ ἵππικου ἀνδρὶ οὐ πιστῷ ἐπιτρέψας, νῦν τε

χρῆναι αὐτὸν κατὰ τάχος ἐκποδῶν ποιεῖσθαι, πρὶν καὶ  
 ἐπιτηδειότερον γενόμενον τοῖς Θετταλοῖς ξὺν αὐτοῖς  
 τι νεωτερίσαι. καὶ τι καὶ θεῖον ἐφόβει αὐτούς. ἔτι 6  
 γὰρ πολιορκοῦντος αὐτοῦ Ἀλεξάνδρου Ἀλικαρνασσὸν  
 ἀναπαύεσθαι μὲν ἐν μεσημβρία, χελιδόνα δὲ περιπέ-  
 τεσθαι ὑπὲρ τῆς κεφαλῆς τρύζουσαν μεγάλα καὶ τῆς  
 εὐνῆς ἄλλη καὶ ἄλλη ἐπικαθίζειν, θορυβωδέστερον ἢ  
 κατὰ τὸ εἰωθὸς ἤδουσαν. τὸν δὲ ὑπὸ καμάτου ἐγερ- 7  
 θῆναι μὲν ἀδυνάτως ἔχειν ἐκ τοῦ ὕπνου, ἐνοχλούμενον  
 δὲ πρὸς τῆς φωνῆς τῇ χειρὶ οὐ βαρέως ἀποσοβῆσαι  
 τὴν χελιδόνα· τὴν δὲ τοσοῦτου ἄρα δεῖσθαι ἀποφυγεῖν  
 πληγεῖσαν ὥστε ἐπὶ τῆς κεφαλῆς αὐτῆς τοῦ Ἀλεξάν-  
 δρου καθημένην μὴ πρόσθεν ἀνεῖναι πρὶν παιτελῶς  
 ἐξεγερθῆναι Ἀλέξανδρον. καὶ Ἀλέξανδρος οὐ φαῦλον 8  
 ποιησάμενος τὸ τῆς χελιδόνος ἀνεκοίνωσεν Ἀριστάν-  
 δρῳ τῷ Τελμισσεῖ, μάντει· Ἀρίστανδρον δὲ ἐπιβουλήν  
 μὲν ἔκ του τῶν φίλων σημαίνεσθαι αὐτῷ εἰπεῖν· σημα-  
 νεσθαι δὲ καὶ ὅτι καταφανὴς ἔσται. τὴν γὰρ χελιδόνα  
 σύντροφόν τε εἶναι ὄρνιθα καὶ εὖνον ἀνθρώποις καὶ  
 λάλον μᾶλλον ἢ ἄλλην ὄρνιθα.

Ταῦτά τε οὖν καὶ τὰ ἀπὸ τοῦ Πέρσου ξυνηθεῖς 9  
 πέμπει ὡς Παρμενίωνα Ἀμφοτερόν τὸν Ἀλεξάνδρου  
 μὲν παῖδα, ἀδελφὸν δὲ Κρατέρον. καὶ ξυμ-  
 πέμπει αὐτῷ τῶν Περγαίων τινὰς τὴν ὁδὸν  
 ἠγησομένους. καὶ ὁ Ἀμφοτερὸς στολήν  
 ἐνδύς ἐπιχώριον, ὡς μὴ γνώριμος εἶναι κατὰ τὴν ὁδόν.  
 λανθάνει ἀφικόμενος παρὰ Παρμενίωνα· καὶ γράμ- 10  
 ματα μὲν οὐ κομίζει παρ' Ἀλεξάνδρου· οὐ γὰρ ἔδοξε  
 γράφειν ὑπὲρ οὐδενὸς τοιούτου ἐς τὸ ἐμφανές· τὰ δὲ

his arrest  
 by Par-  
 menio.

ἀπὸ γλώσσης οἱ ἐντεταλμένα ἐξήγγειλε. καὶ οὕτω  
 ξυλλαμβάνεται ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος οὗτος καὶ ἐν φυλακῇ ἦν.

Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ ἄρας ἐκ Φασηλίδος μέρος μὲν τι XXV

τῆς στρατιάς διὰ τῶν ὀρῶν πέμπει ἐπὶ Πέργης, ἣ

ὠδοπεποιήκεσαν αὐτῷ οἱ Θράκες χαλεπὴν

Half the  
 army cross  
 the  
 Taurus,  
 the other,  
 under  
 Alexander,  
 march to  
 the coast.

ἄλλως καὶ μακρὴν οὖσαν τὴν πάροδον· αὐτὸς

δὲ παρὰ τὴν θάλασσαν διὰ τοῦ αἰγιαλοῦ ἦγε

τοὺς ἀμφ' αὐτόν. ἔστι δὲ ταύτη ἡ ὁδὸς οὐκ

ἄλλως ὅτι μὴ τῶν ἀπ' ἄρκτου ἀνέμων πνεόν-

των· εἰ δὲ νότοι κατέχοιεν, ἀπόρως ἔχει διὰ

τοῦ αἰγιαλοῦ ὁδοιπορεῖν. τότε δ' ἐκ νότων σκληρῶν 2

βορέαι ἐπιπνεύσαντες, οὐκ ἄνευ τοῦ θεοῦ, ὡς αὐτὸς τε

καὶ οἱ ἀμφ' αὐτόν ἐξηγοῦντο, εὐμαρῇ καὶ ταχεῖαν τὴν

πάροδον παρέσχον. ἐκ Πέργης δὲ ὡς προΐει, ἐντυγχά-

νουσιν αὐτῷ κατὰ τὴν ὁδὸν πρέσβεις Ἀσπενδίων αὐτο-

κράτορες, τὴν μὲν πόλιν ἐνδιδόντες, φρουρὰν δὲ μὴ

εἰτάγειν δεόμενοι. καὶ περὶ μὲν τῆς φρουρᾶς πράξαντες 3

ἀπῆλθον ὅσα ἠξίου· πεντήκοντα δὲ τάλαντα κελεύει

τῇ στρατιᾷ δοῦναι αὐτοῖς ἐς μισθὸν καὶ τοὺς ἵππους οὓς

δασμὸν βασιλεῖ ἔτρεφον. οἱ δὲ ὑπὲρ τε τοῦ ἀργυ-

ρίου καὶ τοὺς ἵππους παραδώσειν ξυνθέμενοι ἀπῆλθον.

Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ ἐπὶ Σίδης ἦει. εἰσὶ δὲ οἱ Σιδῆται 4

Κυμαῖοι ἐκ Κύμης τῆς Αἰολίδος· καὶ οὗτοι λέγουσιν

ὑπὲρ σφῶν τόνδε τὸν λόγον, ὅτι ὡς κατῆράν

Capture  
 of Side.

τε ἐς τὴν γῆν ἐκείνην οἱ πρῶτοι ἐκ Κύμης

σταλέντες καὶ ἐπὶ οἰκισμῷ ἐξέβησαν, ἀντίκα τὴν μὲν

Ἑλλάδα γλώσσαν ἐξελάθοντο, εὐθὺς δὲ βάρβαρον

φωνὴν ἴεσαν, καὶ οὐδὲ τῶν προσχώρων βαρβάρων, ἀλλὰ

ἰδίαν σφῶν οὕτω πρόσθεν οὖσαν τὴν φωνὴν· καὶ ἐκ

τότε οὐ κατὰ τοὺς ἄλλους προσχώρους Σιδῆται ἐβαρ-  
 βάριζον. καταλιπὼν δὲ φρουρὰν ἐν Σίδῃ προῆει ἐπὶ 5  
 Σύλλιον, χωρίον ὄχυρόν καὶ φρουρὰν ἔχον ξένων μισ-  
 θοφόρων καὶ αὐτῶν τῶν ἐπιχωρίων βαρβάρων. ἀλλ'  
 οὔτε τὸ Σύλλιον ἐξ ἐφόδου αὐτοσχεδίου ἠδυνήθη λα-  
 βεῖν, ἐπεὶ τε ἠγγέλθη αὐτῷ κατὰ τὴν ὁδὸν τοὺς Ἀσ-  
 πενδίους ὅτι οὐδὲν τῶν ξυγκειμένων πράξαι ἐθελοῖεν,  
 οὔτε τοὺς ἵππους παραδοῦναι τοῖς πεμφθεῖσιν οὔτε  
 ἀπαριθμῆσαι τὰ χρήματα, καὶ τὰ ἐκ τῆς χώρας ὅτι  
 ἀνασκευασάμενοι ἐς τὴν πόλιν τὰς τε πύλας ἀποκε-  
 κλείκασιν τοῖς παρ' Ἀλεξάνδρου καὶ τὰ τείχη ὅπη  
 πεπονηκότα ἦν ἐπισκευάζουσι, ταῦτα πυθόμενος ἐπὶ  
 Ἀσπένδου ἀνεζεύγνυν.

Ἦκιστα δὲ τῆς Ἀσπένδου τὰ μὲν πολλὰ ἐπὶ ἄκρα 5  
 ὄχυρᾷ καὶ ἀποτόμῳ καὶ παρ' αὐτὴν τὴν ἄκραν ὁ Εὐρυ-  
 μέδων ποταμὸς ρεῖ· ἦσαν δὲ αὐτοῖς καὶ περὶ  
 τῇ ἄκρᾳ ἐν τῷ χθαμαλῷ οὐκ ὀλίγαι οἰκῆσεις  
 καὶ τείχος περιεβέβλητο αὐταῖς οὐ μέγα.  
 τὸ μὲν δὴ τείχος εὐθύς ὡς προσάγοντα Ἀλέξ- 2  
 ανδρον ἔγνωσαν, ἐκλείπουσιν ὅσοι ἐπάκουον καὶ τὰς  
 οἰκίας ὅσας ἐν τῷ χθαμαλῷ ἤκισμένας οὐκ ἐδόκουν  
 διαφυλάξαι ἂν δύνασθαι· αὐτοὶ δὲ ἐς τὴν ἄκραν συμφεύ-  
 γουσιν. Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ ὡς ἀφίκετο ξὺν τῇ δυναμει, εἶσω  
 τοῦ ἐρήμου τείχους παρελθὼν κατεστρατοπέδευσεν ἐν  
 ταῖς οἰκίαις ταῖς καταλελειμμέναις πρὸς τῶν Ἀσπενδίων.  
 οἱ δὲ Ἀσπένδιοι ὡς εἶδον αὐτὸν τε Ἀλέξανδρον παρ' 3  
 ἐλπίδα ἤκοντα καὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον ἐν κύκλῳ σφῶν  
 πάντη, πέμψαντες πρέσβεις ἐδέοντο ἐφ' οἷσπερ τὸ  
 πρότερον συμβῆναι. καὶ Ἀλέξανδρος τό τε χωρίον

**Aspendus  
 besieged,  
 surrenders  
 under hard  
 terms.**

XX

2

3

ὄχυρόν ἰδὼν καὶ αὐτὸς ὡς οὐκ ἐπὶ χρόνιον πολιορκίαν  
 παρεσκευασμένος ἐπὶ τοῖς αὐτοῖς μὲν οὐδὲ ὡς ξυνέβη  
 πρὸς αὐτούς· ὁμήρους δὲ δοῦναι σφῶν τοὺς δυνατωτά- 4  
 τούς ἐκέλευσε καὶ τοὺς ἵππους οὓς πρόσθεν ὠμολό-  
 γησαν καὶ ἑκατὸν τάλαντα ἀντὶ τῶν πενήκοντα, καὶ  
 πείθεσθαι τῷ σατράπῃ τῷ ὑπ' Ἀλεξάνδρου ταχθέντι  
 καὶ φόρους ἀποφέρειν ὅσα ἔτη Μακεδόσι, καὶ ὑπὲρ τῆς  
 χώρας διακριθῆναι ἢν τῶν προσχώρων οὖσαν βία κατέ-  
 χειν ἐν αἰτία ἦσαν.

Ὡς δὲ πάντα οἱ ἐπεχώρησαν, ἀνέζευξεν ἐς Πέργην, 5  
 κἀκείθεν ἐς Φρυγίαν ὠρμητο· ἦν δὲ αὐτῷ ἡ πορεία  
 παρὰ Τερμησσὸν πόλιν. οἱ δὲ ἄνθρωποι

**Alexander**  
**in**  
**Phrygia.**  
**Siege of**  
**Termes-**  
**sus.**

οὗτοι τὸ μὲν γένος Πισίδαι εἰςὶ βάρβαροι,  
 χώριον δὲ οἰκοῦσιν ὑπερύψηλον καὶ πάντη  
 ἀπότομον· καὶ ἡ ὁδὸς παρὰ τὴν πόλιν  
 χαλεπή. καθίκει γὰρ ἐκ τῆς πόλεως ὄρος 6  
 ἔσπε ἐπὶ τὴν ὁδόν, καὶ τοῦτο μὲν αὐτοῦ ἐν τῇ ὁδῷ  
 ἀποπαύεται· ἀντίπορον δὲ αὐτῷ ἄλλο ὄρος ἐστὶν οὐ  
 μείον ἀπότομον. καὶ ταῦτα τὰ ὄρη ὥσπερ πύλας  
 ποιεῖ ἐπὶ τῇ ὁδῷ, καὶ ἔστιν ὀλίγη φυλακῆ κατέχοντας  
 τὰ ὄρη ταῦτα ἄπορον ποιεῖν τὴν πάροδον. καὶ τότε  
 οἱ Τερμησσεῖς πανδημεῖ ἐκβεβοηθηκότες ἀμφότερα τὰ  
 ὄρη κατεῖχον. ταῦτα δὴ ἰδὼν Ἀλέξανδρος στρατο- 7  
 πεδεύεσθαι αὐτοῦ ὅπως εἶχον ἐκέλευε τοὺς Μακεδόνας,  
 γνοὺς ὅτι οὐ μενοῦσι πανδημεῖ οἱ Τερμησσεῖς ἀλι-  
 ζομένους σφᾶς ἰδόντες, ἀλλ' ἀποχωρήσουσιν ἐς τὴν  
 πόλιν πλησίον οὖσαν οἱ πολλοὶ αὐτῶν, ὅσον φυλακὴν  
 καταλιπόντες ἐπὶ τοῖς ὄρεσι. καὶ ξυνέβη ὅπως εἰκάζεν·  
 οἱ μὲν γὰρ πολλοὶ αὐτῶν ἀπῆλθον, αἱ φυλακαὶ δὲ



ἐγκατέμειναν. καὶ ἐπὶ τούτους εὐθὺς ἀναλαβὼν τοὺς 8  
 τε τοξότας καὶ τὰς τῶν ἀκοντιστῶν τάξεις καὶ τῶν  
 ὀπλιτῶν ὅσοι κουφότεροι ἐπήγαγεν. οἱ δὲ οὐκ ἔμειναν  
 βαλλόμενοι, ἀλλὰ ἔλιπον τὸ χωρίον· καὶ Ἀλέξαν-  
 δρος ὑπερβαλὼν τὰ στενὰ πρὸς τῇ πόλει κατεστρα-  
 τοπέδευσε.

Καὶ ἐνταῦθα ἀφικνοῦνται παρ' αὐτὸν Σελγέων πρέσ- XXV  
 βεις. οἱ δὲ εἰσι καὶ αὐτοὶ Πισίδαι βάρβαροι καὶ πόλιν  
 μεγάλην οἰκοῦσι καὶ αὐτοὶ μάχιμοί εἰσιν· ὅτι  
 Negotia-  
 tions with  
 the  
 Selgians. δὲ πολέμιοι τοῖς Τερμησσεῦσιν ἐκ παλαιοῦ  
 ἐτύγχανον, ὑπὲρ φιλίας πρὸς Ἀλέξανδρον  
 πεπρεσβευμένοι ἦσαν. καὶ πρὸς τούτους σπένδεται  
 Ἀλέξανδρος, καὶ ἐκ τούτου πιστοῖς ἐς ἅπαντα ἐχρήσατο. 2  
 τὴν Τερμησσὸν δὲ ἀπέγνω ἐλεῖν ἂν ἐν ὀλίγῳ χρόνῳ,  
 ἀλλ' ἐπὶ Σαγαλασσοῦ ἐστέλλετο. ἦν δὲ καὶ αὕτη οὐ  
 μικρὰ πόλις· Πισίδαι καὶ ταύτην ᾤκουν, καὶ ἐδόκουν  
 πάντων Πισιδῶν μαχίμων ὄντων αὐτοὶ εἶναι οἱ μαχι-  
 μώτατοι· καὶ τότε τὸν λόφον τὸν πρὸ τῆς πόλεως,  
 ὅτι καὶ οὗτος οὐ μείον τοῦ τείχους ὀχυρὸς ἐς τὸ  
 ἀπομάχεσθαι ἦν, κατειληφότες προσέμενον. Ἀλέξ- 3  
 ανδρος δὲ τὴν μὲν φάλαγγα τῶν Μακεδόνων τάττει  
 ὧδε. ἐπὶ μὲν τοῦ δεξιοῦ κέρως, ἵνα καὶ αὐτὸς ἐπετέ-  
 τακτο, τοὺς ὑπασπιστὰς εἶχεν, ἐχομένους δὲ τούτων  
 τοὺς πεζεταίρους ἔσπε ἐπὶ τὸ εὐώνυμον παρατείνας,  
 ὡς ἐκάστοις τῶν στρατηγῶν ἡ ἡγεμονία τῆς τάξεως  
 ἐν τῇ τότε ἡμέρᾳ ἦν. ἐπὶ δὲ τῷ εὐωνύμῳ ἐπέταξεν 4  
 ἡγεμόνα Ἀμύνταν τὸν Ἀρραβαίου. προετάχθησαν  
 δὲ αὐτῷ τοῦ μὲν δεξιοῦ κέρως οἱ τε τοξόται καὶ οἱ  
 Ἀγριᾶνες· τοῦ δὲ εὐωνύμου οἱ ἀκοντισταὶ οἱ Θράκες,

ὧν ἠγεῖτο Σιτάλκης· οἱ γὰρ ἰππεῖς αὐτῷ οὐκ ὠφέλιμοι ἐν τῇ δυσχωρίᾳ ἦσαν. τοῖς Πισίδαϊς δὲ καὶ Τερμηστῆσι προσβεβηθηκότες ζυνετάζαντο.

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

Ἐντεῦθεν δὲ ἦει ἐπὶ Φρυγίας παρὰ τὴν λίμνην ἢ XXIX. ὄνομα Ἀσκανία, ἐν ἣ ἄλες πηγννται αὐτόματοι, καὶ τούτοις χρῶνται οἱ ἐπιχώριοι οὐδὲ θαλάσσης τι ἐπὶ

τούτῳ δέονται· καὶ ἀφικνεῖται ἐς Κελαιναῖς πεμπταῖος.

**Surrender  
of  
Celaenæ.**

ἐν δὲ ταῖς Κελαιναῖς ἄκρα ἦν πάντη ἀπότομος,  
καὶ ταύτην φυλακὴ κατεῖχεν ἐκ τοῦ σατράπου  
τῆς Φρυγίας Κῆρες μὲν χίλιοι, Ἕλληνες δὲ  
μισθοφόροι ἑκατόν. καὶ οὗτοι πρεσβεύονται παρ' 2  
Ἀλέξανδρον, ἐπαγγελλλόμενοι, εἰ μὴ ἀφίκοιτό σφισι  
βοήθεια ἐν ἡμέρᾳ ἧ ξυνέκειτο, φράσαντες τὴν ἡμέραν,  
ὅτι παραδώσουσι τὸ χωρίον. καὶ ἔδοξε ταῦτα Ἀλεξ-  
άνδρῳ ὠφελιμώτερα ἢ πολιορκεῖν ἄπορον πάντη  
προσφέρεσθαι τὴν ἄκραν. πρὸς μὲν δὴ ταῖς Κελαι- 3  
ναῖς φλακὴν καταλείπει στρατιώτας ἐς χιλίους καὶ  
πεντακοσίους. μένεις δὲ αὐτοῦ ἡμέρας δέκα καὶ  
σατράπην ἀποδείξας Φρυγίας Ἀντίγονον τὸν Φιλίπ-  
που, ἐπὶ δὲ τοὺς συμμαχοὺς ἀντ' ἐκείνου στρατηγὸν  
Βάλακρον τὸν Ἀμύντου ἐπιτάξας, αὐτὸς ἐπὶ Γορδίου  
ἐστέλλετο. καὶ Παρμενίῳ ἐπέστειλεν, ἄγοντα ἅμα

**Junction  
with  
Parmenio.**

οἱ τὴν δύναμιν ἐκείσε ἀπαντᾶν· καὶ ἀπήντα ξὺν  
τῇ δυνάμει Παρμενίων. καὶ οἱ νεόγαμοι δὲ οἱ 4  
ἐπὶ Μακεδονίας σταλέντες εἰς Γόρδιον ἦκον  
καὶ ξὺν αὐτοῖς ἄλλη στρατιὰ καταλεχθεῖσα, ἣν ἤγε  
Πτολεμαῖός τε ὁ Σελεύκου καὶ Κοῖνος ὁ Πολεμοκρά-  
τους καὶ Μελέαγρος ὁ Νεοπτολέμου, πεζοὶ μὲν Μακε-  
δόνες τριςχίλιοι ἱππεῖς δὲ ἐς τριακοσίους καὶ Θεσσαλῶν  
ἱππεῖς διακόσιοι, Ἡλείων δὲ ἑκατόν καὶ πενήκοντα, ὧν  
ἠγείτο Ἀλκίας ὁ Ἡλείος.

Τὸ δὲ Γόρδιον ἔστι μὲν τῆς Φρυγίας τῆς ἐφ' Ἕλλη- 5  
σπόντου, κεῖται δὲ ἐπὶ τῷ Σαγγαρίῳ ποταμῷ· τοῦ δὲ  
Σαγγαρίου αἱ μὲν πηγαὶ ἐκ Φρυγίας εἰσὶν· αὐτὸς δὲ  
διὰ τῆς Θρακῶν τῶν Βιθυνῶν χώρας ἐξήησιν εἰς τὸν

Εὐξείνου πόντον. ἐνταῦθα καὶ Ἀθηναίων πρεσβεία παρ' Ἀλέξανδρον ἀφίκετο, δεόμενοι Ἀλεξάνδρου ἀφείναι σφισι τοὺς αἰχμαλώτους οἱ ἐπὶ Γρα-  
 Alexander before Gordium: νικῶ ποταμῶ ἐλήφθησαν Ἀθηναίων ζυστρατευόμενοι τοῖς Πέρσiais καὶ τότε ἐν Μακεδονίᾳ ζῦν τοῖς δισχιλίοις δεδεμένοι ἦσαν· καὶ ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν ἄπρακτοι 6 ἐν τῷ τότε ἀπῆλθον. οὐ γὰρ ἐδόκει ἀσφαλὲς εἶναι Ἀλεξάνδρῳ ἔτι συνεστῶτος τοῦ πρὸς τὸν Πέρσην πολέμου ἀνεῖναι τι τοῦ φόβου τοῖς Ἑλλησιν ὅσοι ἐναντία τῇ Ἑλλάδι στρατεύεσθαι ὑπὲρ τῶν βαρβάρων οὐκ ἀπηξίωσαν· ἀλλ' ἀποκρίνεται, ἐπειδὴν τὰ παρόντα καλῶς γένηται, τότε ἦκειν ὑπὲρ τῶν αὐτῶν πρεσβενομέ-  
 νους

## BIBLION ΔΕΥΤΕΡΟΝ.

### I.—*Persian operations in the Aegean (1-2).*

Ἐκ δὲ τούτου Μέμνων τοῦ τε ναυτικοῦ παντὸς ἡγε- I.  
 μῶν ἐκ βασιλέως Δαρείου καθεστηκῶς καὶ τῆς παραλίου  
 Memnon's attack on Mitylene. ξυμπάσης, ὡς ἐς Μακεδονίαν τε καὶ τὴν Ἑλ-  
 λάδα ἀποστρέψων τὸν πόλεμον, Χίον μὲν λαμβάνει προδοσίᾳ ἐνδοθεῖσαν· ἔνθεν δὲ ἐπὶ Λέσβου πλεύσας, ὡς οὐ προσείχον αὐτῷ οἱ Μιτυληναῖοι, τὰς ἄλλας πόλεις τῆς Λέσβου προσηγάγετο. ταύτας 2 δὲ παραστησάμενος καὶ προσσχὼν τῇ Μιτυλίῃ τὴν μὲν πόλιν χάρακι διπλῶ ἐκ θαλάττης ἐς θάλατταν ἀπετείχισε, στρατόπεδα δὲ πέντε ἐποικοδομησάμενος τῆς γῆς ἐκράτει οὐ χαλεπῶς. καὶ μέρος μὲν τι τῶν νεῶν τὸν λιμένα αὐτῶν ἐφύλασσε, τὰς δὲ ἐπὶ τὴν

ἄκραν τῆς Λέσβου τὸ Σίγριον, ἵνα ἡ προσβολὴ μάλιστά ἐστι ταῖς ἀπὸ τε Χίου καὶ Γεραιστοῦ καὶ Μαλέας ὀλκάσιν, ἀποστείλας τὸν παράπλουον ἐν φυλακῇ εἶχεν, ὡς μὴ τινα ὠφελειαν κατὰ θάλατταν γίγνεσθαι τοῖς Μιτυληναίοις. καὶ ἐν τούτῳ 3

**His death.** αὐτὸς μὲν νόσῳ τελευτᾷ, καὶ εἶπερ τι ἄλλο καὶ τοῦτο ἐν τῷ τότε ἔβλαψε τὰ βασιλέως πράγματα. Αὐτοφραδάτης δὲ καὶ Φαρνάβαζος ὁ Ἄρταβάζου, ὅτῳ καὶ ἐπέτρεψε τελευτῶν ὁ Μένων τὴν αὐτοῦ ἀρχὴν ἔστε Δαρείον τι ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς γνῶναι, ἀδελφιδῶ αὐτοῦ ὄντι, οὔτοι τῇ πολιορκίᾳ οὐκ ἀρρώστως προσέκειντο. καὶ οἱ Μιτυληναῖοι τῆς τε γῆς εἰργόμενοι καὶ 4

**Mitylene surrenders to his successor, Pharnabazus.** ἀπὸ θαλάττης πολλαῖς ναυσὶν ἐφορμούσαις φρουρούμενοι πέμψαντες παρὰ τὸν Φαρνάβαζον ὁμολογίας ἐποιήσαντο, τοὺς μὲν ξένους τοὺς παρ' Ἀλεξάνδρου σφίσι κατὰ συμμαχίαν ἤκοντας ἀπελθεῖν, Μιτυληναίους δὲ καθελεῖν μὲν τὰς πρὸς Ἀλέξανδρόν σφισι γενομένας στήλας, ξυμμάχους δὲ εἶναι Δαρείου κατὰ τὴν εἰρήνην τὴν ἐπ' Ἄνταλκίδου γενομένην πρὸς βασιλέα Δαρείον, τοὺς φυγάδας δὲ αὐτῶν κατιέναι ἐπὶ τοῖς ἡμίσεσι τῶν τότε ὄντων ὅτε ἔφυγον. ἐπὶ τούτοις μὲν δὴ ἡ ξύμβασις 5

τοῖς Μιτυληναίοις πρὸς τοὺς Πέρσας ξυνέβη. Φαρνάβαζος δὲ καὶ Αὐτοφραδάτης, ὡς παρήλθον ἄπαξ εἴσω τῆς πόλεως, φρουράν τε ἐς αὐτὴν εἰσήγαγον καὶ φρούραρχον ἐπ' αὐτῇ Λυκομήδην Ῥόδιον, καὶ τύραννον ἐγκατέστησαν τῇ πόλει Διογένην, ἕνα τῶν φυγάδων· χρήματά τε εἰσέπραξαν τοὺς Μιτυληναίους τὰ μὲν βία ἀφελόμενοι τοὺς ἔχοντας, τὰ δὲ ἐς τὸ κοινὸν ἐπιβαλόντες.

Ταῦτα δὲ διαπραξάμενοι Φαρνάβαζος μὲν ἔπλει II.  
 ἐπὶ Λυκίας ἄγων τοὺς μισθοφόρους· Αὐτοφραδάτης  
 δὲ ἐπὶ τὰς ἄλλας νήσους. καὶ ἐν τούτῳ κατα-  
The  
Persians  
capture  
Tenedos; πέμπει Δαρείος Θυμῶνδαν τὸν Μέντορος,  
 αὐτὸν μὲν τοὺς ξένους παρὰ Φαρναβάζου  
 παραληψόμενον καὶ ἀνίξοντα παρὰ βασιλέα, Φαρνα-  
 βάζῳ δὲ ἐρούντα ἄρχειν ὅσων Μένμων ἦρχε. καὶ 2  
 παραδοὺς τούτῳ τοὺς ξένους Φαρνάβαζος ἔπλει παρ'  
 Αὐτοφραδάτην ἐπὶ τὰς ναῦς. ὡς δὲ ὁμοῦ ἐγένοντο,  
 δέκα μὲν ναῦς στέλλουσιν ἐπὶ τὰς Κυκλάδας νήσους  
 Δατάμην ἄνδρα Πέρσῃν ἄγοντα, αὐτοὶ δὲ ναυσὶν  
 ἑκατὸν ἐπὶ Τενέδου ἔπλευσαν· κατακομισθέντες δὲ  
 τῆς Τενέδου εἰς τὸν Βόρειον καλούμενον λιμένα πέμ-  
 πουσι παρὰ τοὺς Τενεδίους καὶ κελεύουσι τὰς στήλας  
 τὰς πρὸς Ἀλέξανδρον καὶ τοὺς Ἕλληνας γενομένης  
 σφίσι, ταύτας μὲν καθελεῖν, πρὸς Δαρείον δὲ ἄγειν  
 τὴν εἰρήνην ἣν ἐπὶ Ἀνταλκίδου Δαρείῳ συνέθειτο.  
 Τενεδίοις δὲ τὰ μὲν τῆς εὐνοίας ἐς Ἀλέξανδρόν τε 3  
 καὶ τοὺς Ἕλληνας ἐποίει μᾶλλον· ἐν δὲ τῷ παρόντι  
 ἄπορον ἄλλως ἐδόκει ὅτι μὴ προσχωρήσαντας τοῖς  
 Πέρσαις σῶζεσθαι· ἐπεὶ οὐδὲ Ἠγελόχῳ, ὄτῳ προσε-  
 τέτακτο ὑπὲρ Ἀλεξάνδρου αὐθις ξυναγαγεῖν δύναμιν  
 ναυτικὴν, τοσαύτη ξυνηγμένη ἦν ὡς δι' ὀλίγου προσ-  
 δοκᾶν ἔσεσθαι ἂν σφίσι παρ' αὐτοῦ τινα ὠφέλειαν.  
 οὕτω μὲν δὴ οἱ ἀμφὶ Φαρνάβαζον τοὺς Τενεδίους  
 φόβῳ μᾶλλον ἢ ἐθέλοντας παρεστήσαντο.

Ἐν δὲ τούτῳ Πρωτέας ὁ Ἀνδρονίκου ἐτύγχανε 4  
 μὲν ξυναγαγὼν ἐξ Εὐβοίας τε καὶ Πελοποννήσου  
 ναῦς μακρὰς ὑπὸ Ἀντιπάτρου τεταγμένος, ὡς εἰναί

τινα ταῖς τε νήσοις φυλακὴν καὶ αὐτῇ τῇ Ἑλλάδι, εἰ, κα-  
θάπερ ἐξηγγέλλετο, ἐπιπλέοιεν οἱ βάρβαροι·

but are  
defeated  
in a sea-  
fight off  
Siphnos.

πυθόμενος δὲ Δατάμην περὶ Σίφνον ὀρμῆν

δέκα ναυσὶν, αὐτὸς ἔχων πεντεκαίδεκα νυκτὸς

ἀνάγεται ἀπὸ Χαλκίδος τῆς ἐπὶ τῷ Εὐρίπῳ·

καὶ προσσχὼν ἔωθεν Κύθῳ τῇ νήσῳ τὴν μὲν ἡμέραν 5

αὐτοῦ ἀνλίζεται, ὡς σαφέστερόν τε διαπυθέσθαι τὰ περὶ

τῶν δέκα νεῶν καὶ ἅμα ἐν νυκτὶ φοβερώτερον προσπεσεῖν

τοῖς Φοίνιξιν· ὡς δὲ ἔμαθε σαφῶς τὸν Δατάμην ξὺν

ταῖς ναυσὶν ἐν Σίφνῳ ὀρμοῦντα, ἐπιπλεύσας ἔτι νυκ-

τὸς ὑπ' αὐτὴν τὴν ἔω καὶ ἀπροσδοκίτοις ἐπιπεσὼν

ὀκτὼ μὲν ναῦς αὐτοῖς ἀνδράσιν ἔλαβε· Δατάμης δὲ

μετὰ δυοῖν τριηροῖν ἐν τῇ πρώτῃ προσμίζει τῶν ἅμα

Πρωτέα νεῶν ὑπεκφυγῶν ἀπεσώθη πρὸς τὸ ἄλλο

ναυτικόν.

II.—*Alexander's movements in Central and South-East Asia Minor (ch. 4-5), in Northern Asia Minor (6-12), in South Syria, as far as Gaza (13-27).*

Ἄλέξανδρος δὲ ὡς ἐς Γόρδιον παρήλθε, πόθος III.

λαμβάνει αὐτὸν ἀνελθόντα ἐς τὴν ἄκραν, ἵνα καὶ τὰ

βασίλεια ἦν τὰ Γορδίου καὶ τοῦ παιδὸς αὐτοῦ

Continuation of  
narrative.  
Alexander  
at Gordium.

Μίδου, τὴν ἅμαξαν ἰδεῖν τοῦ Γορδίου καὶ τοῦ

ζυγοῦ τῆς ἀμάξης τὸν δεσμόν. λόγος δὲ περὶ 2

τῆς ἀμάξης ἐκείνης παρὰ τοῖς προσχώροις

πολὺς κατείχε, Γόρδιον εἶναι τῶν πάλαι Φρυ-

γῶν ἄνδρα πένητα καὶ ὀλίγην εἶναι αὐτῷ γῆν ἐργάζεσθαι

καὶ ζεύγη βοῶν δύο· καὶ τῷ μὲν ἄροτριᾶν, τῷ δὲ ἅμα-

ξεύειν τὸν Γόρδιον. καὶ ποτε ἀρούντος αὐτοῦ ἐπιπτῆναι 3  
 ἐπὶ τὸν ζυγὸν αἰτὸν καὶ ἐπιμεῖναι ἔστε ἐπὶ βουλευτὸν  
 καθήμενον· τὸν δὲ ἐκπλαγέντα τῇ ὄψει ἰέναι κοινώσοντα  
 ὑπὲρ τοῦ θείου παρὶ τοὺς Τελμισσέας τοὺς μάντεις·  
 εἶναι γὰρ τοὺς Τελμισσέας σοφοὺς τὰ θεῖα ἐξηγεῖσθαι  
 καὶ σφισιν ἀπὸ γένους δεδύσθαι αὐτοῖς καὶ γυναιξὶ καὶ  
 παισὶ τὴν μαντείαν. προσάγοντα δὲ κώμη τινὶ τῶν 4  
 Τελμισσέων ἐντυχεῖν παρθένῳ ὕδρευομένη καὶ πρὸς  
 ταύτην εἰπεῖν ὅπως οἱ τὸ τοῦ αἰετοῦ ἔσχε· τὴν δέ,  
 εἶναι γὰρ καὶ αὐτὴν τοῦ μαντικοῦ γένους, θύειν  
 κελευῖσαι τῷ Διὶ τῷ βασιλεῖ, ἐπανελθόντα εἰς τὸν  
 τόπον αὐτόν. καὶ δεηθῆναι γὰρ αὐτῆς Γόρδιον,  
 τὴν θυσίαν ξυνεπισπομένην οἱ αὐτὴν ἐξηγήσασθαι,  
 θῦσαί τε ὅπως ἐκείνη ὑπετίθετο τὸν Γόρδιον καὶ  
 ξυγγενέσθαι ἐπὶ γάμῳ τῇ παιδὶ καὶ γενέσθαι αὐτοῖν  
 παῖδα Μίδαυ ὄνομα. ἤδη τε ἄνδρα εἶναι τὸν Μίδαυ 5  
 καλὸν καὶ γενναῖον καὶ ἐν τούτῳ στάσει πιεζέσθαι  
 ἐν σφίσι τοὺς Φρύγας, καὶ γενέσθαι αὐτοῖς χρῆσμον  
 ὅτι ἄμαξα ἄξει αὐτοῖς βασιλέα καὶ ὅτι οὗτος αὐτοῖς  
 καταπαύσει τὴν στάσιν. ἔτι δὲ περὶ αὐτῶν τούτων  
 βουλευομένοις ἐλθεῖν τὸν Μίδαυ ὁμοῦ τῷ πατρὶ καὶ  
 τῇ μητρὶ καὶ ἐπιστῆναι τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ αὐτῇ ἁμάξῃ.  
 τοὺς δέ, ξυμβalόντας τὸ μαντεῖον τούτον ἐκείνον 6  
 γνῶναι ὄντα ὄντινα ὁ θεὸς αὐτοῖς ἔφραζεν ὅτι ἄξει  
 ἡ ἄμαξα· καὶ καταστήσαι μὲν αὐτοὺς βασιλέα τὸν  
 Μίδαυ, Μίδαυ δὲ αὐτοῖς τὴν στάσιν καταπαῦσαι,  
 καὶ τὴν ἄμαξαν τοῦ πατρός ἐν τῇ ἄκρᾳ ἀναθεῖναι  
 χαριστήρια τῷ Διὶ τῷ βασιλεῖ ἐπὶ τοῦ αἰετοῦ τῇ  
 πομπῇ. πρὸς δὲ δὴ τούτοις καὶ τότε περὶ τῆς ἁμάξης



ἐμυθεύετο, ὅστις λύσειε τοῦ ζυγοῦ τῆς ἀμάξης τὸν  
 δεσμόν, τοῦτον χρῆναι ἄρξαι τῆς Ἀσίας. ἦν δὲ ὁ 7  
 δεσμὸς ἐκ φλοιοῦ κρανείας καὶ τούτου οὔτε τέλος  
 οὔτε ἀρχὴ ἐφαίνετο. Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ ὡς ἀπόρως μὲν  
 εἶχεν ἐξευρεῖν λύσιν τοῦ δεσμοῦ, ἄλυτον δὲ περιδεῖν  
 οὐκ ἤθελε, μὴ τινα καὶ τοῦτο ἐς τοὺς πολλοὺς κίνη-  
 σιν ἐργάσῃται, οἱ μὲν λέγουσιν ὅτι παίσας τῷ ξίφει  
 διέκοψε τὸν δεσμόν καὶ λελύσθαι ἔφη· Ἀριστόβουλος  
 δὲ λέγει ἐξελόντα τὸν ἔστορα τοῦ ῥυμοῦ, ὃς ἦν τύλος  
 διαβεβλημένος διὰ τοῦ ῥυμοῦ διαμπάξ, ξυνέχων τὸν  
 δεσμόν, ἐξελκύσαι ἔξω τοῦ ῥυμοῦ τὸν ζυγόν. ὅπως 8  
 μὲν δὴ ἐπράχθη τὰ ἀμφὶ τῷ δεσμῷ τούτῳ Ἀλεξάν-  
 δρῳ οὐκ ἔχω ἰσχυρίσασθαι. ἀπηλλάγη δ' οὖν ἀπὸ  
 τῆς ἀμάξης αὐτός τε καὶ οἱ ἀμφ' αὐτὸν ὡς τοῦ  
 λογίου τοῦ ἐπὶ τῇ λύσει τοῦ δεσμοῦ ξυμβεβηκότος.  
 καὶ γὰρ καὶ τῆς νυκτὸς ἐκείνης βρονταί τε καὶ σέλας  
 ἐξ οὐρανοῦ ἐπεσήμηναν· καὶ ἐπὶ τούτοις ἔθυε τῇ  
 ὑστεραίᾳ Ἀλέξανδρος τοῖς φήμασι θεοῖς τά τε σημεῖα  
 καὶ τοῦ δεσμοῦ τὴν λύσιν.

Αὐτὸς δὲ τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ ἐπ' Ἀγκύρας τῆς Γαλατικῆς IV.  
 ἐστέλλετο· κακεῖ αὐτῷ πρεσβεία ἀφικνεῖται Παφλα-  
 γόνων, τό τε ἔθνος ἐνδιδόντων καὶ ἐς ὁμολο-  
 γίαν ξυμβαινόντων· ἐς δὲ τὴν χώραν ξὺν τῇ  
 δυνάμει μὴ ἐσβαλεῖν ἐδέοντο. τούτοις μὲν δὴ 2  
 προστάσσει Ἀλέξανδρος ὑπακούειν Κάλᾳ τῷ  
 σατράπῃ τῆς Φρυγίας. αὐτὸς δὲ ἐπὶ Καππαδοκίας  
 ἐλάσας ξύμπασαν τὴν ἐντὸς Ἄλνυος ποταμοῦ προσηγά-  
 γετο καὶ ἔτι ὑπὲρ τὸν Ἄλυν πολλήν· καταστήσας δὲ  
 Καππαδοκῶν Σαβίκταν σατράπην αὐτὸς προῆγεν ἐπὶ

March  
 through  
 Galatia  
 and Cap-  
 padocia.

τὰς πύλας τὰς Κιλικίας. καὶ ἀφικόμενος ἐπὶ τὸ Κύρου 3  
 τοῦ ξὺν Ξενοφῶντι στρατόπεδον, ὡς κατεχομέναις τὰς  
 πύλας φυλακαῖς ἰσχυραῖς εἶδε, Παρμενίωνα μὲν  
 αὐτοῦ καταλείπει σὺν ταῖς τάξεσι τῶν πεζῶν ὅσοι  
 βαρύτερον ὀπλισμένοι ἦσαν· αὐτὸς δὲ ἀμφὶ πρώτην  
 φυλακὴν ἀναλαβὼν τοὺς τε ὑπασπιστὰς καὶ τοὺς  
 τοξότας καὶ τοὺς Ἀγριῶνας προῆγε τῆς νυκτὸς ἐπὶ  
 τὰς πύλας, ὡς οὐ προσδεχομένοις τοῖς φύλαξιν ἐπιπε-  
 σεῖν. καὶ προσάγων μὲν οὐκ ἔλαθεν, ἐς ἴσον δὲ 4  
 αὐτῷ κατέστη ἡ τόλμα. οἱ γὰρ φύλακες αἰσθόμενοι  
 Ἀλέξανδρον αὐτὸν προσάγοντα λιπόντες τὴν φυλα-  
 κὴν ἔρχοντο φεύγοντες. τῇ δὲ ὑστεραίᾳ ἅμα τῇ ἔφ-  
 ξὺν τῇ δυνάμει πάση ὑπερβαλὼν τὰς πύλας κατέ-  
 βαινε ἐς τὴν Κιλικίαν. καὶ ἐνταῦθα ἀγγέλλεται 5  
 αὐτῷ Ἀρσάμης ὅτι πρόσθεν μὲν ἐπειοίει διασώζειν  
 Πέρσαις τὴν Ταρσόν, ὡς δὲ ὑπερβεβληκότες ἤδη τὰς  
 πύλας ἐπέθετο Ἀλέξανδρον ἐκλιπεῖν ἐν ἠφ' ἔχει τὴν  
 πόλιν· δεδιέναι οὖν τοὺς Ταρσέας μὴ ἐφ' ἀρπαγὴν  
 τραπεῖς οὕτω τὴν ἀπόλειψιν τῆς Ταρσοῦ ποιήσεται.  
 ταῦτα ἀκούσας δρόμῳ ἦγεν ἐπὶ τὴν Ταρσὸν τοὺς τε 6  
 ἰππέας καὶ τῶν ψιλῶν ὅσοι κουφότατοι, ὥστε ὁ  
 Ἀρσάμης μαθὼν αὐτοῦ τὴν ὁρμὴν σπουδῇ φεύγει ἐκ τῆς  
 Ταρσοῦ παρὰ βασιλέα Δαρεῖον οὐδὲν βλάβας τὴν πόλιν.

Ἀλέξανδρος δέ, ὡς μὲν Ἀριστοβούλῳ λέλεκται, ὑπὸ 7  
 καμάτου ἐνόσησεν· οἱ δὲ εἰς τὸν Κύνδον ποταμὸν λέ-

Alexan-  
 der's ill-  
 ness at  
 Tarsus;

γουσι ρίψαντα νήξασθαι, ἐπιθυμήσαντα τοῦ  
 ὕδατος, ἰδρῶντα καὶ καύματι ἐχόμενον. ὁ δὲ

Κύνδος ρεῖ διὰ μέσης τῆς πόλεως· οἶα δὲ ἐκ  
 τοῦ Ταύρου ὄρους τῶν πηγῶν οἱ ἀνισχουσῶν καὶ διὰ

χώρου καθαροῦ ῥέων, ψυχρός τὲ ἐστὶ καὶ τὸ ὕδωρ καθα-  
 ρός· σπασμῶ τε οὖν ἔχεται Ἀλέξανδρον καὶ θέρμαις 8  
 ἰσχυραῖς καὶ ἀγρυπνία ζυνεχεί. καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἄλλους  
 ἰατροὺς οὐκ οἶεσθαι εἶναι βιώσιμον· Φίλιππον δὲ  
 Ἀκαρνᾶνα, ἰατρόν, ζυνόντα Ἀλεξάνδρῳ καὶ τὰ τε  
 ἀμφὶ ἰατρικὴν ἐς τὰ μάλιστα πιστευόμενον καὶ τὰ  
 ἄλλα οὐκ ἀδόκιμον ἐν τῷ στρατῷ ὄντα, καθῆραι  
 ἐθέλειν Ἀλέξανδρον φαρμάκῳ· καὶ τὸν κελεύειν  
 καθῆραι. τὸν μὲν δὴ παρασκευάζειν τὴν κύλικα· 9  
 ἐν τούτῳ δὲ Ἀλεξάνδρῳ δοθῆναι ἐπιστολὴν παρὰ  
 Παρμενίωνος φυλάξασθαι Φίλιππον· ἀκούειν γὰρ  
 διεφθάρθαι ὑπὸ Δαρείου χρήμασιν ὥστε φαρμάκῳ  
 ἀποκτεῖναι Ἀλέξανδρον. τὸν δέ, ἀναγνόντα τὴν  
 ἐπιστολὴν καὶ ἔτι μετὰ χεῖρας ἔχοντα αὐτὸν μὲν  
 λαβεῖν τὴν κύλικα ἐν ἧ ἦν τὸ φάρμακον· τὴν ἐπιστο-  
 λὴν δὲ τῷ Φιλίππῳ δοῦναι ἀναγνῶναι, καὶ ὁμοῦ 10  
 τόν τε Ἀλέξανδρον πίνειν καὶ τὸν Φίλιππον ἀνα-  
 γινώσκειν τὰ παρὰ τοῦ Παρμενίωνος. Φίλιππον δὲ  
 εὐθὺς ἐνδηλον γενέσθαι ὅτι κυλῶς οἱ ἔχει τὰ τοῦ  
 φαρμάκου· οὐ γὰρ ἐκπλιγῆναι πρὸς τὴν ἐπιστολὴν,  
 ἀλλὰ τοσόνδε μόνον παρακαλέσαι Ἀλέξανδρον, καὶ  
 ἐς τὰ ἄλλα οἱ πείθεσθαι ὅσα ἐπαγγέλλοιτο· σωθῆ-  
 σεσθαι γὰρ πειθόμενον. καὶ τὸν μὲν καθαρθῆναι 11  
 τε καὶ ράϊσαι αὐτῷ τὸ νόσημα· Φιλίππῳ δὲ  
 ἐπιδείξει ὅτι πιστός ἐστιν αὐτῷ φίλος καὶ  
 τοῖς ἄλλοις δὲ τοῖς ἀμφ' αὐτὸν ὅτι αὐτοῖς τε τοῖς  
 φίλοις βέβαιος εἰς τὸ ἀνύποπτον τυγχάνει ὢν καὶ πρὸς  
 τὸ ἀποθανεῖν ἔρρωμένος.

his re-  
covery.

Ἐκ δὲ τούτου Παρμενίωνα μὲν πέμπει ἐπὶ τὰς V.

ἄλλας πύλας, αἱ δὲ ὀρίζουσι τὴν Κιλικῶν τε καὶ Ἀσσυ-  
 ρίων χώραν, προκαταλαβεῖν καὶ φυλάσσειν  
 τὴν πάροδον, δούς αὐτῷ τῶν τε ξυμμάχων  
 τοὺς πεζοὺς καὶ τοὺς Ἑλληνας τοὺς μισθοφό-  
 ρους καὶ τοὺς Θράκας, ὧν Σιτάλκης ἠγάετο,  
 καὶ τοὺς ἱππέας δὲ τοὺς Θετταλοὺς. αὐτὸς δὲ ὕστερος 2  
 ἄρας ἐκ Ταρσοῦ τῇ μὲν πρώτῃ εἰς Ἀγχιάλον πόλιν  
 ἀφικνεῖται. ταύτην δὲ Σαρδανάπαλον κτίσαι τὸν  
 Ἀσσύριον λόγος· καὶ τῷ περιβόλῳ δὲ καὶ τοῖς θεμε-  
 λίοις τῶν τειχῶν δήλη ἐστὶ μεγάλη τε πόλις κτισθεῖσα  
 καὶ ἐπὶ μέγα ἐλθοῦσα δυνάμεως. καὶ τὸ μνήμα τοῦ 3  
 Σαρδαναπάλου ἐγγὺς ἦν τῶν τειχῶν τῶν  
 Ἀγχιάλου· καὶ αὐτὸς ἐφειστήκει ἐπ' αὐτῷ  
 Σαρδανάπαλος συμβεβληκῶς τὰς χεῖρας ἀλλή-  
 λαις ὡς μάλιστα ἐς κρότον συμβάλλονται,  
 καὶ ἐπίγραμμα ἐπεγέγραπτο αὐτῷ Ἀσσύρια γράμ-  
 ματα· οἱ μὲν Ἀσσύριοι καὶ μέτρον ἔφασκον ἐπεῖναι 4  
 τῷ ἐπιγράμματι, ὁ δὲ νοῦς ἦν αὐτῷ ὃν ἔφραζε τὰ  
 ἔπη, ὅτι Σαρδανάπαλος ὁ Ἀνακυνδαράξου παῖς  
 Ἀγχιάλον καὶ Ταρσὸν ἐν ἡμέρᾳ μιᾷ ἐδείματο.  
 σὺ δέ, ὦ ξέने, ἔσθιε καὶ πῖνε καὶ παῖζε, ὡς  
 τᾶλλα τὰ ἀνθρώπινα οὐκ ὄντα τούτου ἄξια·  
 τὸν ψόφον αἰνισσόμενος ὄνπερ αἱ χεῖρες ἐπὶ τῷ κρότῳ  
 ποιούσι· καὶ τὸ παῖζε ῥαδιουργότερον ἐγγεγράφθαι  
 ἔφασαν τῷ Ἀσσυρίῳ ὀνόματι.

Ἐκ δὲ τῆς Ἀγχιάλου ἐς Σόλους ἀφίκετο· καὶ 5  
 φρουρὰν ἐσήγαγεν ἐς Σόλους καὶ ἐπέβαλεν αὐτοῖς  
 τάλαντα ἀργυρίου διακόσια ζημίαν, ὅτι πρὸς τοὺς  
 Πέρσας μᾶλλον τι τὸν νοῦν εἶχον. ἔνθεν δὲ ἀνα- 6

λαβῶν τῶν μὲν πεζῶν τῶν Μακεδόνων τρεῖς τάξεις, τοὺς τοξότας δὲ πάντας καὶ τοὺς Ἀγριῖνας ἐξελαύνει ἐπὶ τοὺς τὰ ὄρη κατέχοντας Κίλικας. καὶ ἐν ἑπτὰ ταῖς πάσαις ἡμέραις τοὺς μὲν βία ἐξελών, τοὺς δὲ ὁμολογίᾳ παραστησάμενος ἐπαῖνεσεν ἐς τοὺς Σόλους. καὶ ἐνταῦθα μαθηταίνει Πτολεμαῖον καὶ Ασάνδρον ὅτι ἐκράτησαν Ὀροντοβάτου τοῦ Πέρσου, ὅς τὴν τε ἄκραν τῆς Ἀλικαρνασσοῦ ἐφύλασσε καὶ Μύνδον καὶ Καῦνον καὶ Θήραν καὶ Καλλίπολιν κατείχε· προσῆκτο δὲ καὶ Κῶ καὶ Τριόπιον. τοῦτον ἠττήσθαι ἔγραφον μάχῃ μεγάλῃ· καὶ ἀποθανεῖν μὲν τῶν ἀμφ' αὐτὸν πέζους ἐς ἑπτακοσίους καὶ ἰππέας ἐς πεντήκοντα, ἀλῶναι δὲ οὐκ ἐλάττους τῶν χιλίων. Ἀλεξάνδρος δὲ ἐν Σόλοις θύσας τε τῷ Ἀσκληπιῷ καὶ πομπεύσας αὐτὸς τε καὶ ἡ στρατιὰ πᾶσα καὶ λαμπάδα ἐπίτελέσας καὶ ἀγῶνα διαθεῖς γυμνικὸν καὶ μουσικὸν Σολεῦσι μὲν δημοκρατεῖσθαι ἔδωκεν· αὐτὸς δὲ ἀναζεύξας εἰς Ταρσὸν τοὺς μὲν ἰππέας ἀπέστειλε Φιλώτα δούς ἄγειν διὰ τοῦ Ἀλφίου πεδίου ἐπὶ τὸν ποταμὸν τὸν Πύραμον· αὐτὸς δὲ σὺν τοῖς πέζοις καὶ τῇ Ἰλῆ τῇ βασιλικῇ ἐς Μαγαρσὸν ἦκε καὶ τῇ Ἀθηνᾷ τῇ Μαγαρσίδι ἔθυσεν. ἐντεύθεν δὲ ἐς Μαλλὸν ἀφίκετο καὶ Ἀμφιλόχῳ ὅσα ἥρωι ἐνήγισε· καὶ στασιάζοντας καταλαβὼν τὴν στάσιν αὐτοῖς κατέπαυσε· καὶ τοὺς φόρους οὓς βασιλεῖ Δαρείῳ ἀπέφερον ἀνήκεν, ὅτι Ἀργείων μὲν Μαλλωταὶ ἄποικοι ἦσαν, αὐτὸς δὲ ἀπ' Ἀργους τῶν Ἡρακλειδῶν εἶναι ἠξίου.

Ἔτι δὲ ἐν Μαλλῷ ὄντι αὐτῷ ἀγγέλλεται Δαρείῳ VI. ἐν Σώχοις ζῆν τῇ πάσῃ δυνάμει στρατοπεδεύειν. ὁ

δὲ χῶρος οὗτος ἔστι μὲν τῆς Ἀσσυρίας γῆς, ἀπέχει  
 δὲ τῶν πυλῶν τῶν Ἀσσυρίων ἐς δύο μίλιστα  
 σταθμούς. ἔνθα δὴ ξυναγαγὼν τοὺς ἐταίρους  
 φράζει αὐτοῖς τὰ ἐξηγγελμένα ὑπὲρ Δαρείου  
 τε καὶ τῆς στρατιᾶς τῆς Δαρείου. οἱ δὲ  
 αὐτόθεν ὡς εἶχεν ἄγειν ἐκέλευον. ὁ δὲ τότε μὲν ἐπ- 2  
 αινέσας αὐτοὺς διέλυσε τὸν ξύλλογον· τῇ δὲ ὑστεραίᾳ  
 προῆγεν ὡς ἐπὶ Δαρείον τε καὶ τοὺς Πέρσας. δευτε-  
 ραῖος δὲ ὑπερβαλὼν τὰς πύλας ἐστρατοπέδευσε πρὸς  
 Μυριάνδρῳ πόλει· καὶ τῆς νυκτὸς χειμὼν ἐπιγίγνεται  
 σκληρὸς καὶ ὕδωρ τε ἐξ οὐρανοῦ καὶ πνεῦμα βίαιον·  
 τοῦτο κατέσχευεν ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ Ἀλέξανδρον.

Δαρείος δὲ τέως μὲν ζῆν τῇ στρατιᾷ διέτριβεν, 3  
 ἐπιλεξάμενος τῆς Ἀσσυρίας γῆς πεδίον πάντῃ ἀνα-  
 πεπταμένον καὶ τῷ τε πλήθει τῆς στρατιᾶς ἐπι-  
 τήδειον καὶ ἐνιππίασθαι τῇ ἵππῳ ξύμφορον.  
 καὶ τοῦτο τὸ χωρίον ξυμβούλευσεν αὐτῷ μὴ  
 ἀπολείπειν Ἀμύντας ὁ Ἀντιόχου, ὁ παρ'  
 Ἀλεξάνδρου αὐτόμολος· εἶναι γὰρ τὴν εὐρυ-

χωρίαν πρὸς τοῦ πλήθους τε καὶ τῆς σκευῆς τῶν Περσῶν.  
 καὶ ἔμενε Δαρείος. ὡς δὲ Ἀλεξάνδρῳ πολλὴ μὲν ἐν 4  
 Ταρσῷ τριβὴ ἐπὶ τῇ νόσῳ ἐγίγνετο, οὐκ ὀλίγη δὲ ἐν  
 Σόλοις, ἵνα ἔθυέ τε καὶ ἐπόμπευε, καὶ ἐπὶ τοὺς ὄρεινους  
 Κίλικας διέτριψεν ἐξελάσας, τοῦτο ἔσφηλε Δαρείου  
 τῆς γνώμης· καὶ αὐτὸς τε ὃ τί περ ἡδιστον ἦν δοξασ-  
 θέν, ἐς τοῦτο οὐκ ἀκουσίως ὑπήχθη καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν καθ'  
 ἡδονῆν ζυνόντων τε καὶ ζυνεσομένων ἐπὶ κακῷ τοῖς  
 αἰὲ βασιλεύουσιν ἐπαιρόμενος ἔγνω μηκέτι Ἀλέξαν-  
 δρον ἐθέλειν προϊέναι τοῦ πρόσω· ἀλλ' ὀκνεῖν γὰρ 5

Alexander  
 encamps  
 before  
 Myrian-  
 drus.

Darius,  
 against the  
 advice of  
 Amyntas,  
 marches  
 to meet  
 him.

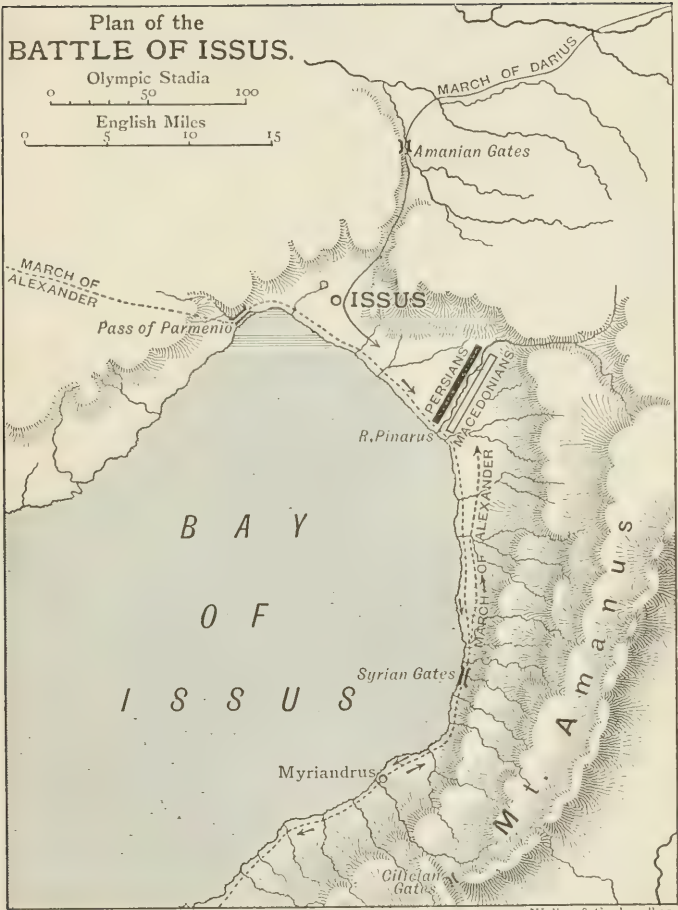
# Plan of the BATTLE OF ISSUS.

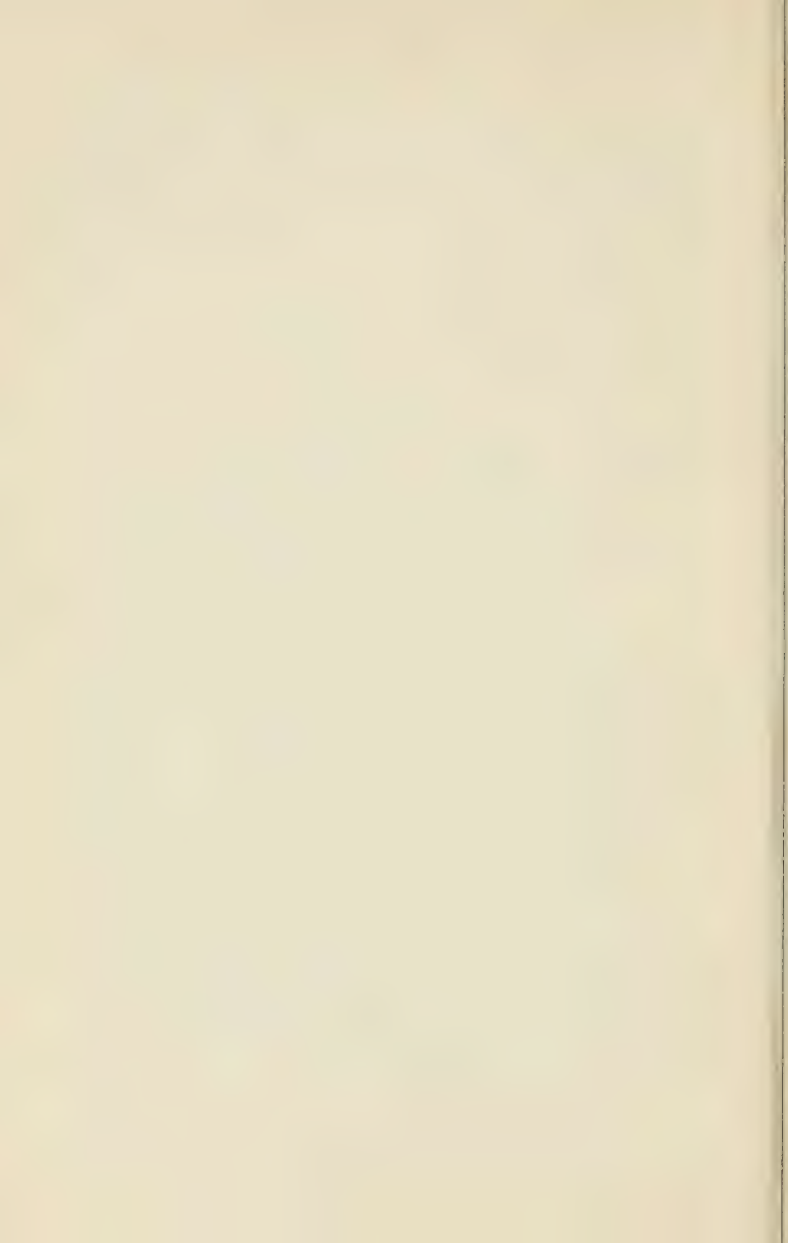
Olympic Stadia

0 50 100

English Miles

0 5 10 15







πυθθανόμενοι ὅτι αὐτὸς προσάγοι· καταπατήσῃν τε τῇ ἵππῳ τῶν Μακεδόνων τὴν στρατιὰν ἄλλος ἄλλοθεν αὐτῷ ἐπαίροντες ἔλεγον· καίτοι γε Ἀμύντας ἤξειν 6 τε Ἀλέξανδρον ἰσχυρίζετο ὅπου ἂν πύθῃται Δαρεῖον ὄντα, καὶ αὐτοῦ προσμένειν ἐκέλευεν. ἀλλὰ τὰ χεῖρω μᾶλλον, ὅτι καὶ ἐν τῷ παραυτίκα ἠδῖω ἀκοῦσαι ἦν, ἔπειθε· καί τι καὶ δαιμόνιον τυχὸν ἦγεν αὐτὸν εἰς ἐκείνον τὸν χῶρον οὐ μήτε ἐκ τῆς ἵππου πολλὴ ὠφέλεια αὐτῷ ἐγένετο, μήτε ἐκ τοῦ πλήθους αὐτοῦ τῶν τε ἀνθρώπων καὶ τῶν ἀκοντίων τε καὶ τοξευμάτων, μηδὲ τὴν λαμπρότητα αὐτὴν τῆς στρατιᾶς ἐπιδείξαι ἠδυνήθη, ἀλλὰ Ἀλεξάνδρῳ τε καὶ τοῖς ἄμφ' αὐτὸν εὐμαρῶς τὴν νίκην παρέδωκεν. ἐχρῆν γὰρ ἤδη καὶ Πέρσας πρὸς Μακε- 7 δόνων ἀφαιρεθῆναι τῆς Ἀσίας τὴν ἀρχήν, καθάπερ οὖν Μῆδοι μὲν πρὸς Περσῶν ἀφηρέθησαν, πρὸς Μήδων δὲ ἔτι ἔμπροσθεν Ἀσσύριοι.

### III.—*Battle of Issus (7-17).*

Ὑπερβαλὼν δὲ τὸ ὄρος Δαρεῖος τὸ κατὰ τὰς πύλας VII. τὰς Ἀμανικὰς καλουμένας ὡς ἐπὶ Ἴσσον προῆγε· καὶ ἐγένετο κατόπιον Ἀλεξάνδρου λαθῶν. τὴν δὲ **Darius at** Ἴσσον κατασχῶν, ὅσους διὰ νόσον ὑπολελειμ- **Issus.** μένους αὐτοῦ τῶν Μακεδόνων κατελαβε, τούτους χαλεπῶς αἰκισάμενος ἀπέκτεινεν· ἐς δὲ τὴν ὑστεραίαν προῦχώρει ἐπὶ τὸν ποταμὸν τὸν Πίναρον. καὶ Ἀλέξανδρος 2 ὡς ἤκουσεν ἐν τῷ ὕπισθεν αὐτοῦ ὄντα Δαρεῖον, ἐπεὶ οὐ πιστὸς αὐτῷ ὁ λόγος ἐφαίνετο, ἀναβιβάσας εἰς τριακόντορον τῶν ἐταίρων τινὰς ἀποπέμπει ὀπίσω ἐπὶ

Ἴσόν, κατασκευασμένους εἰ τὰ ὄντα ἐξαγγέλλεται. οἱ δὲ ἀναπλεύσαντες τῇ τριακοντόρῳ, ὅτι κολπώδης ἦν ἡ ταύτη θάλασσα, μᾶλλον τι εὐπετῶς κατέμαθον αὐτοῦ στρατοπεδεύοντας τοὺς Πέρσας· καὶ ἀπαγγέλλουσιν Ἀλεξάνδρῳ ἐν χερσὶν εἶναι Δαρείον.

Ὁ δὲ συγκαλέσας στρατηγούς τε καὶ ἰλάρχας καὶ τῶν 3  
 ζυμμάχων τοὺς ἡγεμόνας παρεκάλει θαρρεῖν μὲν ἐκ τῶν  
 ἤδη σφίσι καλῶς κεινδυνευμένων καὶ ὅτι πρὸς  
 νεικημένους ὁ ἀγὼν νεικηκόσιν αὐτοῖς ἔσται  
 καὶ ὅτι ὁ θεὸς ὑπὲρ σφῶν στρατηγεῖ ἄμεινον,  
 ἐπὶ νοῦν Δαρείῳ ἀγαγὼν καθείρξει τὴν δύναμιν ἐκ  
 τῆς εὐρυχωρίας ἐς τὰ στενόπορα, ἵνα σφίσι μὲν ζύμ-  
 μετρον τὸ χωρίον ἀναπτύξει τὴν φάλαγγα, τοῖς δὲ  
 ἀχρεῖον τὸ πλῆθος ὅτι ἔσται τῇ μάχῃ, οὔτε τὰ σώ-  
 ματα οὔτε τὰς γνώμας παραπλησίσις. Μακεδόνας τε 4  
 γὰρ Πέρσαις καὶ Μήδοις, ἐκ πάνυ πολλοῦ τρυφῶσιν,  
 αὐτοὺς ἐν τοῖς πόνοις τοῖς πολεμικοῖς πάλαι ἤδη  
 μετὰ κινδύνων ἀσκουμένους, ἄλλως τε καὶ δούλοις  
 ἀνθρώποις ἐλευθέρους, ἐς χεῖρας ἤξειν· ὅσοι τε  
 Ἕλληνας Ἕλλησιν, οὐχ ὑπὲρ τῶν αὐτῶν μαχεῖσθαι,  
 ἀλλὰ τοὺς μὲν ξὺν Δαρείῳ ἐπὶ μισθῷ καὶ οὐδὲ τούτῳ  
 πολλῷ κινδυνεύοντας· τοὺς δὲ ξὺν σφίσι, ὑπὲρ  
 τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἐκόντας ἀμυνομένους· βαρβάρων τε 5  
 Θράκας καὶ Παιόνας καὶ Ἰλλυριοὺς καὶ Ἀγριῆνας  
 τοὺς εὐρωσποτάτους τε τῶν κατὰ τὴν Εὐρώπην καὶ  
 μαχιμωτάτους πρὸς τὰ ἀπονώτατά τε καὶ μαλακώτατα  
 τῆς Ἀσίας γένη ἀντιτάξεσθαι· ἐπὶ δὲ Ἀλεξάνδρον  
 ἀντιστρατηγεῖν Δαρείῳ. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ἐς πλεονεξίαν 6  
 τοῦ ἀγῶνος ἐπεξῆμι. τὰ δὲ ἄθλα ὅτι μεγάλα ἔσται

Alexander  
addresses  
his troops.

σφίσι τοῦ κινδύνου ἐπεδείκνυεν. οὐ γὰρ τοὺς σα-  
 τράπας τοὺς Δαρείου ἐν τῷ τότε κρατήσκειν, οὐδὲ τὴν  
 ἵππον τὴν ἐπὶ Γρανικῷ ταχθεῖσαν, οὐδὲ τοὺς δισμυ-  
 ρίους ξένους τοὺς μισθοφόρους, ἀλλὰ Περσῶν τε ὅ-  
 τι περ ὄφελος καὶ Μήδων καὶ ὅσα ἄλλα ἔθνη Πέρ-  
 σαις καὶ Μήδοις ὑπήκοα ἐποικεῖ τὴν Ἀσίαν καὶ αὐτὸν  
 μέγαν βασιλέα παρόντα, καὶ ὡς οὐδὲν ὑπολειφθή-  
 σεται σφισιν ἐπὶ τῷδε τῷ ἀγῶνι ὅτι μὴ κρατεῖν τῆς  
 Ἀσίας ξυμπάσης καὶ πέρασ τοῖς πολλοῖς πόνοις ἐπι-  
 θεῖναι. ἐπὶ τούτοις δὲ τῶν τε εἰς τὸ κοινὸν ξὺν 7  
 λαμπρότητι ἤδη πεπραγμένων ὑπεμίμησκε καὶ εἰ-  
 δὴ τῷ ἰδίᾳ τι διαπρεπὲς ἐς κάλλος τετολημμένον,  
 ὀνομαστὶ ἕκαστον ἐπὶ τῷ ἔργῳ ἀνακαλῶν. καὶ τὸ  
 αὐτοῦ οὐκ ἀκίνδυνον ἐν ταῖς μάχαις ὡς ἀνεπαχ-  
 θέστατα ἐπεξῆει. λέγεται δὲ καὶ Ξενοφῶντος καὶ τῶν 8  
 ἄμα Ξενοφῶντι μυρίων ἐς μνήμην ἐλθεῖν, ὡς οὐδὲν  
 τι οὔτε κατὰ πλῆθος οὔτε κατὰ τὴν ἄλλην ἀξίωσιν  
 σφίσι ἐπεοικότες, οὐδὲ ἱππέων αὐτοῖς παρόντων  
 Θεσσαλῶν, οὐδὲ Βοιωτῶν ἢ Πελοποννησίων, οὐδὲ  
 Μακεδόνων ἢ Θρακῶν, οὐδ' ὅση ἄλλη σφίσι ἵππος  
 ξυντέτακται, οὐδὲ τοξοτῶν ἢ σφενδοιητῶν, ὅτι μὴ  
 Κρητῶν ἢ Ῥοδίων ὀλίγων, καὶ τούτων ἐν τῷ κινδύνῳ  
 ὑπὸ Ξενοφῶντος αὐτοσχεδιασθέντων, οἱ δὲ βασιλέα 9  
 τε ξὺν πάσῃ τῇ δυνάμει πρὸς Βαβυλῶνι αὐτῇ ἐτρέ-  
 ψαντο καὶ ἔθνη ὅσα κατιόντων εἰς τὸν Εὐξείνιον  
 πόντον καθ' ὁδὸν σφισιν ἐπεγένετο μικῶντες ἐπῆλ-  
 θον· ὅσα τε ἄλλα ἐν τῷ τοιῷδε πρὸ τῶν κινδύνων  
 ἐς παράκλησιν ἀνδράσι ἀγαθοῖς ἐξ ἀγαθοῦ ἠγε-  
 μόνος παραινέσθαι εἰκός. οἱ δὲ ἄλλος ἄλλοθεν δεξιού-

μεοί τε τὸν βασιλέα καὶ τῷ λόγῳ ἐπαίροντες ἄγειν ἤδη ἐκέλευον.

Ὁ δὲ τότε μὲν δειπνοποιεῖσθαι παραγγέλλει· προ- VIII.  
πέμπει δὲ ὡς ἐπὶ τὰς πύλας τῶν τε ἰππέων ὀλίγους καὶ  
τῶν τοξοτῶν προκατασκευασμένους τὴν ὁδὸν  
Macedo- τὴν ὀπίσω· καὶ αὐτὸς τῆς νυκτὸς ἀναλαβὼν  
nian order of battle. τὴν στρατιὰν πᾶσαν ἦει, ὡς κατασχεῖν αὐθις  
τὰς πύλας. ὡς δὲ ἀμφὶ μέσας νύκτας ἐκράτησεν αὐθις 2  
τῶν παρόδων, ἀνέπαυε τὴν στρατιὰν τὸ λοιπὸν τῆς  
νυκτὸς αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ τῶν πετρῶν, προφυλακὰς ἀκριβεῖς  
καταστησάμενος. ὑπὸ δὲ τὴν ἔω κατῆει ἀπὸ τῶν  
φυλῶν κατὰ τὴν ὁδόν· καὶ ἕως μὲν πάντῃ στενόπορα  
ἦν τὰ χωρία, ἐπὶ κέρως ἦγεν· ὡς δὲ διεχώρει ἐς  
πλάτος, ἀνέπτυσσεν αἰὲ τὸ κέρας ἐς φάλαγγα, ἄλλην  
καὶ ἄλλην τῶν ὀπλιτῶν τάξιν παράγων, τῇ μὲν ὡς  
ἐπὶ τὸ ὄρος, ἐν ἀριστερᾷ δὲ ὡς ἐπὶ τὴν θάλασσαν.  
οἱ δὲ ἰππεῖς αὐτῷ τέως μὲν κατόπιν τῶν πεζῶν 3  
τεταγμένοι ἦσαν, ὡς δὲ ἐς τὴν εὐρυχωρίαν προήεσαν,  
συνέτασσαν ἤδη τὴν στρατιὰν ὡς ἐς μάχην, πρώτους  
μὲν ἐπὶ τοῦ δεξιοῦ κέρως πρὸς τῷ ὄρει τῶν πεζῶν  
τό τε ἄγλημα καὶ τοὺς ὑπασπιστάς, ὧν ἠγῆτο Νικά-  
νωρ ὁ Παρμενίωνος, ἐχομένην δὲ τούτων τὴν Κοῖνου  
τάξιν, ἐπὶ δὲ τούτοις τὴν Περδίκκου. οὗτοι μὲν ἔσπε  
ἐπὶ τὸ μέσον τῶν ὀπλιτῶν ἀπὸ τοῦ δεξιοῦ ἀρξα-  
μένῳ τεταγμένοι ἦσαν. ἐπὶ δὲ τοῦ εὐωνύμου πρώτη 4  
μὲν ἡ Ἀμύντου τάξις ἦν, ἐπὶ δὲ ἡ Πτολεμαίου, ἐχο-  
μένη δὲ ταύτης ἡ Μελεάγρου. τοῦ δὲ εὐωνύμου τοῖς  
πεζοῖς μὲν Κράτερος ἐπετέτακτο ἄρχειν, τοῦ δὲ ξύμ-  
παντος εὐωνύμου Παρμενίων ἠγείτο· καὶ παρήγγελο

αὐτῷ μὴ ἀπολείπειν τὴν θάλασσαν, ὡς μὴ κυκλωθεῖεν ἐκ τῶν βαρβάρων, ὅτι πάντα ὑπερφαλαγγήσειν αὐτῶν διὰ πλήθος ἔμελλον.

Δαρεῖος δέ, ἐπειδὴ ἐξηγγέλθη αὐτῷ προσάγων ἤδη 5  
 Ἄλέξανδρος ὡς ἐς μάχην, τῶν μὲν ἰππέων διαβιβάζει  
*That of* πέραν τοῦ ποταμοῦ τοῦ Πινάρου ἐς τρισμυρ-  
*Darius.* *ίου*ς μάλιστα τὸν ἀριθμὸν καὶ μετὰ τούτων  
 τῶν ψιλῶν ἐς δισμυρίους, ὅπως τὴν λοιπὴν δύναμιν  
 καθ' ἡσυχίαν συντάξειε. καὶ πρώτους μὲν τοῦ ὀπλι- 6  
 τικοῦ τοὺς Ἕλληνας τοὺς μισθοφόρους ἔταξεν ἐς  
 τρισμυρίους κατὰ τὴν φάλαγγα τῶν Μακεδόνων·  
 ἐπὶ δὲ τούτοις τῶν Καρδάκων καλουμένων εἶθεν  
 καὶ ἔνθεν ἐς ἑξακισμυρίους· ὀπλίται δὲ ἦσαν καὶ  
 οὔτοι. τοσοῦτους γὰρ ἐπὶ φάλαγγος ἀπλῆς ἐδέχετο  
 τὸ χωρίον ἵνα ἐτάσσοντο. ἐπέταξε δὲ καὶ τῷ ὄρει 7  
 τῷ ἐν ἀριστερᾷ σφῶν κατὰ τὸ Ἀλεξάνδρου δεξιὸν  
 ἐς δισμυρίους· καὶ τούτων ἔστιν οἱ κατὰ νότου ἐγένοντο  
 τῆς Ἀλεξάνδρου στρατιᾶς. τὸ γὰρ ὄρος ἵνα  
 ἐπετάχθησαν πῆ μὲν διεχώρει ἐς βάθος καὶ κολπῶδες  
 τι αὐτοῦ ὥσπερ ἐν θαλάσση ἐγένετο· ἔπειτα ἐς ἐπι-  
 καμπὴν προῖον τοὺς ἐπὶ ταῖς ὑπωρεῖαις τεταγμένους  
 κατόπιν τοῦ δεξιοῦ κέρως τοῦ Ἀλεξάνδρου ἐποίει. τὸ 8  
 δὲ ἄλλο πλήθος αὐτοῦ ψιλῶν τε καὶ ὀπλιτῶν, κατὰ  
 ἔθνη συντεταγμένον ἐς βάθος οὐκ ὠφέλιμον, ὅπισθεν  
 ἦν τῶν Ἑλλήνων τῶν μισθοφόρων καὶ τοῦ ἐπὶ φάλαγγος  
 τεταγμένου βαρβαρικοῦ. ἐλέγετο γὰρ ἢ πᾶσα ἢ  
 ξὺν Δαρείῳ στρατιὰ μάλιστα ἐς ἑξήκοντα μυριάδας  
 μαχίμους εἶναι.

Ἄλέξανδρος δέ, ὡς αὐτῷ πρόσω ἰόντι τὸ χωρίον 9

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

Δαρείος δέ, ὡς συντεταγμένη ἤδη ἦν αὐτῷ ἡ φά- 10  
λαγξ, τοὺς ἰππέας οὕστινας πρὸ τοῦ ποταμοῦ ἐπὶ  
τῷδε προτετάχει ὅπως ἀσφαλῶς αὐτῷ ἡ ἔκταξις τῆς  
στρατιᾶς γένοιτο, ἀνεκάλεσεν ἀπὸ ξυνήματος. καὶ  
τούτων τοὺς μὲν πολλοὺς ἐπὶ τῷ δεξιῷ κέρα πρὸς  
τῇ θαλάσῃ κατὰ Παρμενίωνα ἔταξεν, ὅτι ταύτη  
μᾶλλον τι ἰππάσιμα ἦν· μέρος δέ τι αὐτῶν καὶ ἐπὶ  
τὸ εὐώνυμον πρὸς τὰ ὄρη παρήγαγεν. ὡς δὲ ἀχρεῖοι 11  
ἐνταῦθα διὰ στενότητα τῶν χωρίων ἐφαίνοντο, καὶ  
τούτων τοὺς πολλοὺς παριππεύσαι ἐπὶ τὸ δεξιὸν  
κέρως σφῶν ἐκέλευσεν. αὐτὸς δὲ Δαρείος τὸ μέσον  
τῆς πάσης τάξεως ἐπέιχε, καθάπερ νόμος τοῖς Περ-  
σῶν βασιλεῦσι τετάχθαι· καὶ τὸν νοῦν τῆς τάξεως  
ταύτης Ξενοφῶν ὁ τοῦ Γρύλλου ἀναγέγραφεν.

Ἐν τούτῳ δὲ Ἀλέξανδρος κατιδὼν ὀλίγου πᾶσαν 1X.  
τὴν τῶν Περσῶν ἵππον μετακεχωρηκυῖαν ἐπὶ τὸ εὐώνυμον

τὸ ἑαυτοῦ ὡς πρὸς τὴν θάλασσαν, αὐτῷ δὲ  
τοὺς Πελοποννησίους μόνους καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους  
τῶν ξυμμάχων ἰππέας ταύτη τεταγμένους,  
πέμπει κατὰ τάχος τοὺς Θεσσαλοὺς ἰππέας ἐπὶ τὸ  
εὐώνυμον, κελύσας μὴ πρὸ τοῦ μετώπου τῆς πάσης  
τάξεως παριππεύσαι, τοῦ μὴ καταφανεῖς τοῖς πολε-  
μίοις γενέσθαι μεταχωροῦντας, ἀλλὰ κατόπιν τῆς

φάλαγγος ἀφανῶς διελθεῖν. προέταξε δὲ τῶν μὲν 2  
 ἰππέων κατὰ τὸ δεξιὸν τοὺς προδρόμους, ὧν ἠγείτο  
 Πρωτόμαχος, καὶ τοὺς Παίονας, ὧν ἠγείτο Ἀρίστων·  
 τῶν δὲ πεζῶν τοὺς τοξότας, ὧν ἦρχεν Ἀντίοχος·  
 τοὺς δὲ Ἀγριῖνας, ὧν ἦρχεν Ἀτταλος, καὶ τῶν  
 ἰππέων τινὰς καὶ τῶν τοξοτῶν ἐς ἐπικαμπὴν πρὸς  
 τὸ ὄρος τὸ κατὰ νώτου ἔταξεν, ὥστε κατὰ τὸ δεξιὸν  
 αὐτῷ τὴν φάλαγγα ἐς δύο κέρατα διέχουσιν τετάχ-  
 θαι, τὸ μὲν ὡς πρὸς Δαρεῖόν τε καὶ τοὺς πέραν τοῦ  
 ποταμοῦ τοὺς πάντας Πέρσας· τὸ δὲ ὡς πρὸς τοὺς  
 ἐπὶ τῷ ὄρει κατὰ νώτου σφῶν τεταγμένους. τοῦ  
 δὲ εὐώνυμον προετάχθησαν τῶν πεζῶν οἱ τε Κρῆτες 3  
 τοξόται καὶ οἱ Θυράκες, ὧν ἠγείτο Σιτάλκης· πρὸ  
 τούτων δὲ ἢ ἵππος ἢ κατὰ τὸ εὐώνυμον. οἱ δὲ μισθο-  
 φόροι ξένοι πᾶσιν ἐπετάχθησαν. ἐπεὶ δὲ οὔτε πυκνὴ  
 αὐτῷ ἢ φάλαγξ κατὰ τὸ δεξιὸν τὸ ἑαυτοῦ ἐφαίνετο,  
 πολὺ τε ταύτῃ ὑπερφαλαγγήσειν οἱ Πέρσαι ἐδόκουν,  
 ἐκ τοῦ μέσου ἐκέλευσε δύο ἴλας τῶν ἐταίρων, τὴν τε  
 Ἀνθεμουσίαν, ἧς ἰλάρχης ἦν Περοΐδας ὁ Μενεσθέως,  
 καὶ τὴν Λευγαίαν καλουμένην, ἧς ἠγείτο Παντόρδανος  
 ὁ Κλεάνδρου, ἐπὶ τὸ δεξιὸν ἀφανῶς παρελθεῖν. καὶ 4  
 τοὺς τοξότας δὲ καὶ μέρος τῶν Ἀγριῶνων καὶ τῶν  
 Ἑλλήνων μισθοφόρων ἔστιν οὓς κατὰ τὸ δεξιὸν τὸ  
 αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ μετώπου παραγαγὼν ἐξέτεινεν ὑπὲρ τὸ  
 τῶν Περσῶν κέρας τὴν φάλαγγα. ἐπεὶ γὰρ οἱ ὑπὲρ  
 τοῦ ὄρους τεταγμένοι οὔτε κατήεσαν, ἐκδρομῆς τε ἐπ'  
 αὐτοὺς τῶν Ἀγριῶνων καὶ τῶν τοξοτῶν ὀλίγων κατὰ  
 πρόσταξιν Ἀλεξάνδρου γενομένης ῥαδίως ἀπὸ τῆς  
 ὑπωρείας ἀνασταλέντες ἐς τὸ ἄκρον ἀνέφυγον, ἔγνω

καὶ τοῖς κατ' αὐτοὺς τεταγμένοις δυνατὸν ὄν χρήσασθαι ἐς ἀναπλήρωσιν τῆς φάλαγγος· ἐκείνοις δὲ ἰππέας τριακοσίους ἐπιτάξαι ἐξήρκεσεν.

Οὕτω δὴ τεταγμένους χρόνον μὲν τινα προῆγεν X. ἀναπαύων, ὥστε καὶ πάνυ ἔδοξε σχολαία γενέσθαι αὐτῶν ἢ πρόσοδος. τοὺς γὰρ βαρβάρους, ὅπως τὰ πρῶτα ἐτάχθησαν, οὐκέτι ἀντεπῆγε Δαρείος, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τοῦ ποταμοῦ ταῖς ὄχθαις, πολλαχῆ μὲν ἀποκρήμνους οὔσαις, ἔστι δὲ ὄπου καὶ χάρακα παρατείνας αὐταῖς, ἵνα εὐεφοδότερα ἐφαίνετο, οὕτως ἔμενε. καὶ ταύτη εὐθύς δηλὸς ἐγένετο τοῖς ἀμφ' Ἀλέξανδρον τῇ γνώμῃ δεδουλωμένος. ὡς δὲ ὁμοῦ ἤδη ἦν τὰ στρατόπεδα, ἐνταῦθα 2 παριππεύων πάντῃ Ἀλέξανδρος παρεκάλει ἀνδρας ἀγαθοὺς γίγνεσθαι, οὐ τῶν ἡγεμόνων μόνον τὰ ὀνόματα ξὺν τῷ πρέποντι κόσμῳ ἀνακαλῶν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἰλάρχας καὶ λοχαγοὺς ὀνομαστί καὶ τῶν ξένων τῶν μισθοφόρων ὅσοι κατ' ἀξίωσιν ἢ τινα ἀρετὴν γνωριμώτεροι ἦσαν καὶ αὐτῷ πανταχόθεν βοή ἐγίγνετο μὴ διατρίβειν, ἀλλὰ ἐσβάλλειν ἐς τοὺς πολεμίους. ὁ δὲ ἦγεν ἐν τάξει 3 ἔτι, τὰ μὲν πρῶτα, καίπερ ἐν ἀπόπτῳ ἤδη ἔχων τὴν Δαρείου δύναμιν, βάδην, τοῦ μὴ διασπασθῆναί τι ἐν τῷ ξυντονωτέρῳ πορείᾳ ἐκκυμῆναν τῆς φάλαγγος· ὡς δὲ ἐντὸς βέλους ἐγίγνοντο, πρῶτοι δὴ οἱ κατ' Ἀλέξανδρον καὶ αὐτὸς Ἀλέξανδρος ἐπὶ τοῦ δεξιοῦ τεταγμένος δρόμῳ ἐς τὸν ποταμὸν ἐρέβαλον, ὡς τῇ τε ὀξύτητι τῆς ἐφόδου ἐκπλήξαι τοὺς Πέρσας καὶ τοῦ θάσσον ἐς χεῖρας ἐλθόντας ὀλίγα πρὸς τῶν τοξοτῶν βλάπτεσθαι. καὶ ξυνέβη ὅπως εἴκασεν Ἀλέξανδρος.

Alexander drives in the Persian left wing.



εὐθὺς γὰρ ὡς ἐν χερσὶν ἡ μάχη ἐγένετο, τρέπονται 4  
 τοῦ Περσικοῦ στρατεύματος οἱ τῷ ἀριστερῷ κέρα  
 ἐπιτεταγμένοι· καὶ ταύτη μὲν λαμπρῶς ἐνίκα Ἀλέξ-  
 ανδρός τε καὶ οἱ ἀμφ' αὐτόν. οἱ δὲ Ἕλληνες  
 οἱ μισθοφόροι οἱ σὺν Δαρείῳ, ἧ διέσχε τῶν  
 Μακεδόνων ἡ φάλαγξ ὡς ἐπὶ τὸ δεξιὸν κέρασ  
 παραρραγεῖσα, ὅτι Ἀλέξανδρος μὲν σπουδῇ ἐς τὸν 5  
 ποταμὸν ἐμβαλὼν καὶ ἐν χερσὶ τὴν μάχην ποιήσας  
 ἐξώθει ἤδη τοὺς ταύτη τεταγμένους τῶν Περσῶν, οἱ δὲ  
 κατὰ μέσον τῶν Μακεδόνων οὔτε τῇ ἴσῃ σπουδῇ ἤψαντο  
 τοῦ ἔργου καὶ πολλαχῇ κρημνώδεσι ταῖς ὄχθαις ἐντυγ-  
 χάνοντες τὸ μέτωπον τῆς φάλαγγος οὐ δυνατοὶ ἐγέν-  
 οντο ἐν τῇ αὐτῇ τάξει διασώσασθαι, ταύτη ἐμβάλ-  
 λουσιν οἱ Ἕλληνες τοῖς Μακεδόσιν ἧ μάλιστα διεσ-  
 πασμένην αὐτοῖς τὴν φάλαγγα κατεῖδον. καὶ τὸ 6  
 ἔργον ἐνταῦθα καρτερόν ἦν, τῶν μὲν ἐς τὸν ποτα-  
 μὸν ἀπώσασθαι τοὺς Μακεδόνας καὶ τὴν νίκην τοῖς  
 ἤδη φεύγουσιν αὐτῶν ἀνασώσασθαι· τῶν Μακεδό-  
 νων δὲ τῆς τε Ἀλεξάνδρου ἤδη φαινομένης εὐπραγίας  
 μὴ λειφθῆναι καὶ τὴν δόξαν τῆς φάλαγγος, ὡς ἀμάχου  
 δὴ ἐς τὸ τότε διαβεβοημένης, μὴ ἀφανίσει. καὶ τι  
 καὶ τοῖς γένεσι τῷ τε Ἑλληνικῷ καὶ τῷ Μακεδονικῷ 7  
 φιλοτιμίας ἐρέπεσεν ἐς ἀλλήλους. καὶ ἐνταῦθα πίπτει  
 Πτολεμαῖός τε ὁ Σελεύκου, ἀνὴρ ἀγαθὸς γενόμενος, καὶ  
 ἄλλο. ἐς εἴκοσι μάλιστα καὶ ἑκατὸν τῶν οὐκ ἡμελημένων  
 Μακεδόνων.

Ἐν τούτῳ δὲ αἱ ἀπὸ τοῦ δεξιοῦ κέρως τάξεις, τετ- XI.  
 ραμμένους ἤδη τοὺς κατὰ σφᾶς τῶν Περσῶν ὀρώντες,  
 ἐπὶ τοὺς ξένους τε τοὺς μισθοφόρους τοὺς Δαρείου

καὶ τὸ πονοῦμενον σφῶν ἐπικάμψαντες ἀπὸ τε τοῦ  
 ποταμοῦ ἀπώσαντο αὐτούς, καὶ κατὰ τὸ παρερ-  
 ρώγος τοῦ Περσικοῦ στρατεύματος ὑπερφα-  
 λαγγήσαντες ἐς τὰ πλάγια ἐμβεβληκότες ἤδη  
 ἔκοπτον τοὺς ξένους· καὶ οἱ ἵππεις δὲ οἱ τῶν Περσῶν 2  
 κατὰ τοὺς Θετταλοὺς τεταγμένοι οὐκ ἔμειναν ἐντὸς τοῦ  
 ποταμοῦ ἐν αὐτῷ τῷ ἔργῳ, ἀλλ' ἐπιδιαβάντες εὐρώ-  
 στως ἐνέβαλλον εἰς τὰς ἴλας τῶν Θετταλῶν. καὶ  
 ταύτῃ ξυνέστη ἵππομαχία καρτερά· οὐδὲ πρόσθεν  
 ἐνέκλιναν οἱ Πέρσαι πρὶν Δαρειόν τε πεφευγότα  
 ἦσθοντο καὶ πρὶν ἀπορραγῆναι σφῶν τοὺς μισθο-  
 φόρους συγκοπέντας ὑπὸ τῆς φάλαγγος. τότε δὲ 3  
 ἤδη λαμπρά τε καὶ ἐκ πάντων ἡ φυγὴ ἐγίγνετο·  
 καὶ οἱ τε τῶν Περσῶν ἵπποι ἐν τῇ ἀναχωρήσει ἐκα-  
 κοπάθουν, βαρέως ὀπλισμένους τοὺς ἀμβάτας σφῶν  
 φέροντες, καὶ αὐτοὶ οἱ ἵππεις κατὰ στενὰς ὁδοὺς  
 πλήθει τε πολλοὶ καὶ πεφοβημένως σὺν ἀταξίᾳ ἀπο-  
 χωροῦντες οὐ μείον ὑπ' ἀλλήλων καταπατούμενοι  
 ἢ πρὸς τῶν διωκόντων πολεμίων ἐβλάπτοντο. καὶ  
 οἱ Θετταλοὶ εὐρώστως αὐτοῖς ἐπέκειντο, ὥστε οὐ  
 μείον ἢ τῶν πεζῶν φόνος ἐν τῇ φυγῇ τῶν ἱπέων  
 ἐγίγνετο.

Δαρεῖος δέ, ὡς αὐτῷ τὸ πρῶτον ὑπ' Ἀλεξάνδρου 4  
 ἐφοβήθη τὸ κέρας τὸ εὐώνυμον καὶ ταύτῃ ἀπορρηγ-  
 νύμενον κατείδε τοῦ ἄλλου στρατοπέδου,  
 εὐθὺς ὡς εἶχεν ἐπὶ τοῦ ἄρματος σὺν τοῖς  
 πρώτοις ἔφευγε. καὶ ἔστε μὲν ὀμαλοῖς χωρίοις ἐν τῇ 5  
 φυγῇ ἐνετύγχανεν, ἐπὶ τοῦ ἄρματος διεσώζετο· ὡς δὲ  
 φάραγξί τε καὶ ἄλλαις δυσχωρίαις ἐνέκυρσε, τὸ μὲν

**Rout of  
the Per-  
sians.**

**Flight of  
Darius.**

ἄρμα ἀπολείπει αὐτοῦ καὶ τὴν ἀσπίδα καὶ τὸν κίνδυνον ἐκδύς· ὁ δὲ καὶ τὸ τόξον ἀπολείπει ἐπὶ τοῦ ἄρματος· αὐτὸς δὲ ἵππου ἐπιβὰς ἔφευγε· καὶ ἡ νύξ οὐ διὰ μακροῦ ἐπιγενομένη ἀφείλετο αὐτὸν τὸ πρὸς Ἀλεξάνδρου ἀλῶναι. Ἀλέξανδρος γὰρ ἔσπευε μὲν φάος ἦν ἀνὰ 6 κράτος ἐδίωκεν· ὡς δὲ συνεσκόταζε τε ἤδη καὶ τὰ πρὸ ποδῶν ἀφανῆ ἦν, ἐς τὸ ἔμπαλιν ἀπετρέπετο ὡς ἐπὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον, τὸ μέντοι ἄρμα τὸ Δαρείου ἔλαβε καὶ τὴν ἀσπίδα ἐπ' αὐτῷ καὶ τὸν κίνδυνον καὶ τὸ τόξον. καὶ γὰρ καὶ ἡ δίωξις βραδυτέρα αὐτῷ 7 ἐγεγόνει, ὅτι ἐν τῇ πρώτῃ παραρρήξει τῆς φάλαγγος ἐπιστρέψας καὶ αὐτὸς οὐ πρόσθεν ἐς τὸ διώκειν ἐτρέπετο πρὶν τοὺς τε μισθοφόρους τοὺς ξένους καὶ τὸ τῶν Περσῶν ἵππικὸν ἀπὸ τοῦ ποταμοῦ ἀπωσθέντας κατείδε.

Τῶν δὲ Περσῶν ἀπέθανον Ἀρσάμης μὲν καὶ Ῥεο- 8 μίθρης καὶ Ἀτιζύης τῶν ἐπὶ Γρανικῷ ἠγησαμένων τοῦ ἵππικου· ἀποθνήσκει δὲ καὶ Σαβάκης ὁ Αἰγύπτου σατράπης καὶ Βουβάκης τῶν ἐντίμων Περσῶν· τὸ δὲ ἄλλο πλῆθος εἰς δέκα μάλιστα μυριάδας καὶ ἐν τούτοις ἵππεις ὑπὲρ τοὺς μυρίους, ὥστε λέγει Πτολεμαῖος ὁ Λάγου, ξυνεπισπόμενος τότε Ἀλεξάνδρῳ, τοὺς μετὰ σφῶν διώκοντας Δαρείον, ὡς ἐπὶ φάραγγί τι ἐν τῇ δίωξει ἐγένοντο, ἐπὶ τῶν νεκρῶν διαβῆναι τὴν φάραγγα. τό τε στρατόπεδον τὸ Δαρείου εὐθὺς ἐξ 9 ἐφόδου ἐάλω καὶ ἡ μήτηρ καὶ ἡ γυνή, αὐτὴ δὲ καὶ ἀδελφὴ Δαρείου, καὶ υἱὸς Δαρείου νήπιος· καὶ θυγατέρες δύο ἐάλωσαν καὶ ἄλλαι ἀμφ' αὐτὰς Περσῶν τῶν ὁμοτίμων γυναῖκες οὐ πολλαί. οἱ γὰρ ἄλλοι Πέρσαι τὰς γυναῖκας σφῶν

Capture  
of Persian  
camp and  
princesses.

ξὺν τῇ ἄλλῃ κατασκευῇ εἰς Δαμασκὸν ἔτυχον ἑσταλκότες·  
 ἐπεὶ καὶ Δαρείος τῶν τε χρημάτων τὰ πολλὰ καὶ ὅσα 10  
 ἄλλα μεγάλῳ βασιλεῖ εἰς πολυτελῆ δίαιταν καὶ στρατευο-  
 μένῳ ὅμως συνέπεται πέπόμφει εἰς Δαμασκόν, ὥστε ἐν  
 τῷ στρατεύματι οὐ πλείονα ἢ τρισχίλια τάλαντα ἔάλω.  
 ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰ ἐν Δαμασκῷ χρήματα ὀλίγον ὕστερον  
 ἔάλω ὑπὸ Παρμενίωνος ἐπ' αὐτὸ τοῦτο σταλέντος.  
 τοῦτο τὸ τέλος τῇ μάχῃ ἐκείνῃ ἐγένετο ἐπὶ ἄρχοντος  
 Ἀθηναίους Νικοκράτους μηνὸς Μαιμακτηριῶνος.

Τῇ δὲ ὑστεραία, καίπερ τετρωμένος τὸν μηρὸν ξίφει XII.  
 Ἀλέξανδρος, ὁ δὲ τοὺς τραυματίας ἐπῆλθε, καὶ τοὺς

Alexan- νεκροὺς ξυναγαγὼν ἔθαψε μεγαλοπρεπῶς σὺν  
 der's care τῇ δυνάμει πάσῃ ἐκτεταγμένη λαμπρότατα ὡς  
 for the τῇ δυνάμει πάσῃ ἐκτεταγμένη λαμπρότατα ὡς  
 wounded; ἐς πόλεμον· καὶ λόγῳ τε ἐπεκόσμησεν ὅσοις τι  
 διαπρεπῆς ἔργον ἐν τῇ μάχῃ ἢ αὐτὸς ξυνέγνω εἰργα-  
 σμένον ἢ ἀκοῇ συμφωνούμενον ἔμαθε· καὶ χρημάτων  
 ἐπιδόσει ὡς ἐκάστους σὺν τῇ ἀξίᾳ ἐτίμησε. καὶ Κιλικίας 2  
 μὲν ἀποδεικνύει σατράπην Βάλακρον τὸν Νικάνορος,

ἕνα τῶν σωματοφυλάκων τῶν βασιλικῶν· ἀντὶ  
 his re- δὲ τούτου εἰς τοὺς σωματοφύλακας κατέλεξε  
 wards for Μένητα τὸν Διονυσίου· ἀντὶ δὲ Πτολε-  
 bravery; μαίου τοῦ Σελεύκου τοῦ ἀποθανόντος ἐν τῇ μάχῃ  
 Πολυσπέρχοντα τὸν Σιμμίου ἄρχειν ἀπέδειξε τῆς  
 ἐκείνου τάξεως. καὶ Σολεῦσι τὰ τε πεντήκοντα  
 τάλαντα ἃ ἔτι ἐνδεᾶ ἦν ἐκ τῶν ἐπιβληθέντων σφίσι  
 χρημάτων ἀνήκε καὶ τοὺς ὀμίρους ἀπέδωκεν.

Ὁ δὲ οὐδὲ τῆς μητρὸς τῆς Δαρείου οὐδὲ τῆς γυναικὸς 3  
 ἢ τῶν παίδων ἠμέλησεν. ἀλλὰ λέγουσί τινες τῶν τὰ  
 Ἀλεξάνδρου γραψάντων, τῆς νυκτὸς αὐτῆς ἢ ἀπὸ τῆς

διώξεως τῆς Δαρείου ἐπανῆκεν ἐς τὴν σκηνὴν παρελθ-  
 όντα αὐτὸν τὴν Δαρείου, ἣτις αὐτῷ ἐξηρη-  
 his kind  
 treatment  
 of the Per-  
 sian royal  
 ladies.  
 μένη ἦν, ἀκοῦσαι γυναικῶν οἰμωγὴν καὶ ἄλλον  
 τοιοῦτον θόρυβον οὐ πόρρω τῆς σκηνῆς·  
 πυθέσθαι οὖν αἵτινες γυναῖκες καὶ ἀνθ' ὅτου 4  
 οὕτως ἐγγὺς παρασκηνοῦσαι· καὶ τινα ἐξαγγεῖλαι, ὅτι,  
 ᾧ βασιλεῦ, ἡ μήτηρ τε καὶ ἡ γυνὴ Δαρείου καὶ οἱ  
 παῖδες, ὡς ἐξηγγέλη αὐταῖς ὅτι τὸ τόξον τε τὸ  
 Δαρείου ἔχεις καὶ τὸν κίνδυνον τὸν βασιλικὸν καὶ ἡ  
 ἀσπίς ὅτι κεκόμισται ὀπίσω ἡ Δαρείου ὡς ἐπὶ τεθν- 5  
 εῶτι Δαρείῳ ἀνοιμώζουσι. ταῦτα ἀκούσαντα Ἀλέξ-  
 ανδρον πέμψαι πρὸς αὐτάς· Λεοννάτον, ἕνα τῶν  
 ἐταίρων, ἐντειλάμενον φράσαι ὅτι ζῆ Δαρείος· τὰ  
 δὲ ὄπλα καὶ τὸν κίνδυνον ὅτι φεύγων ἀπέλιπεν ἐπὶ  
 τῷ ἄρματι καὶ ταῦτα ὅτι μόνα ἔχει Ἀλέξανδρος. καὶ  
 Λεοννάτον παρελθόντα ἐς τὴν σκηνὴν τὰ τε περὶ  
 Δαρείου εἰπεῖν καὶ ὅτι τὴν θεραπείαν αὐταῖς ξυγ-  
 χωρεῖ Ἀλέξανδρος τὴν βασιλικὴν καὶ τὸν ἄλλον  
 κόσμον καὶ καλεῖσθαι βασιλίσσας, ἐπεὶ οὐδὲ κατὰ  
 ἔχθραν οἱ γενέσθαι τὸν πόλεμον πρὸς Δαρείον, ἀλλ'  
 ὑπὲρ τῆς ἀρχῆς τῆς Ἀσίας διαπεπολεμῆσθαι ἐννόμ-  
 ως. ταῦτα μὲν Πτολεμαῖος καὶ Ἀριστόβουλος  
 λέγουσι· λόγος δὲ ἔχει καὶ αὐτὸν Ἀλέξανδρον τῆ 6  
 ὑστεραία παρελθεῖν εἰσω ζῆν Ἡφαιστίῳ μόνῳ τῶν  
 ἐταίρων· καὶ τὴν μητέρα τὴν Δαρείου, ἀμφιγνοήσασαν  
 ὅστις ὁ βασιλεὺς εἶη αὐτοῖν, ἐστάλθαι γὰρ ἄμφω τῷ  
 αὐτῷ κόσμῳ, τὴν δὲ Ἡφαιστίῳ προσελθεῖν καὶ  
 προσκυνῆσαι, ὅτι μείζων αὐτῇ ἐφάνη ἐκεῖνος. ὡς δὲ ὁ 7  
 Ἡφαιστίων τε ὀπίσω ὑπεχώρησε καὶ τις τῶν ἀμφ'

αὐτήν, τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον δείξας, ἐκείνον ἔφη εἶναι Ἀλέξανδρον, τὴν μὲν καταιδεσθεῖσαν τῇ διαμαρτία ὑποχωρεῖν, Ἀλέξανδρον δὲ οὐ φάναι αὐτὴν ἀμαρτεῖν· καὶ γὰρ καὶ ἐκείνον εἶναι Ἀλέξανδρον. καὶ ταῦτα ἐγὼ 8 οὐθ' ὡς ἀληθὴ οὔτε ὡς πάντα ἄπιστα ἀνέγραψα. ἀλλ' εἶτε οὕτως ἐπράχθη ἐπαινω Ἀλέξανδρον τῆς τε ἐς τὰς γυναῖκας κατοικτίσεως καὶ τῆς εἰς τὸν ἐταῖρον πίστεως καὶ τιμῆς· εἶτε πιθανὸς δοκεῖ τοῖς συγγράψασιν Ἀλέξανδρος ὡς καὶ ταῦτα ἄν πράξας καὶ εἰπὼν καὶ ἐπὶ τῷδε ἐπαινω Ἀλέξανδρον.

Δαρείος δὲ τὴν μὲν νύκτα ξὺν ὀλίγοις τοῖς ἀμφ' αὐτὸν ἔφυγε, τῇ δὲ ἡμέρᾳ ἀναλαμβάνων ἀεὶ τῶν τε

**Darius' flight over the Euphrates.** Περσῶν τοὺς διασωθέντας ἐκ τῆς μάχης καὶ τῶν ξένων τῶν μισθοφόρων, ἐς τετρακισχιλίους ἔχων τοὺς πάντας, ὡς ἐπὶ Θάψακόν τε πόλιν καὶ τὸν Εὐφράτην ποταμὸν σπουδῇ ἤλαυνεν, ὡς τάχιστα μέσον αὐτοῦ τε καὶ Ἀλεξάνδρου τὸν Εὐφράτην ποιῆσαι.

Ἀμύντας δὲ ὁ Ἀντιόχου καὶ Θυμῶνδας ὁ Μέντορος 2

**The Macedonian deserters retreat to Tripolis, and then to Cyprus and Egypt.** καὶ Ἀριστομήδης ὁ Φεραῖος καὶ Βιάνωρ ὁ Ἀκαρνάν, συμπάντες οὗτοι αὐτόμολοι, μετὰ τῶν ἀμφ' αὐτοὺς στρατιωτῶν ὡς ὀκτακισχιλίων εὐθὺς ὡς τεταγμένοι ἦσαν κατὰ τὰ ὄρη φεύγοντες ἀφίκοντο ἐς Τρίπολιν τῆς

Φοινίκης· καὶ ἐνταῦθα καταλαβόντες τὰς ναῦς νενεωκ- 3 ημένας ἐφ' ὧν πρόσθεν ἐκ Λέσβου διακεκομισμένοι ἦσαν, τούτων ὅσαι μὲν ἱκαναὶ σφισιν ἐς τὴν κομιδὴν ἐδόκουν, ταύτας καθελκύσαντες, τὰς δὲ ἄλλας αὐτοῦ ἐν τοῖς νεωρίοις κατακαύσαντες, ὡς μὴ παρασχεῖν ταχεῖαν σφῶν τὴν δίωξιν, ἐπὶ Κύπρον ἔφευγον

καὶ ἐκείθεν εἰς Αἴγυπτον, ἵναπερ ὀλίγον ὕστερον πολυπραγμονῶν τι Ἄμύντας ἀποθνήσκει ὑπὸ τῶν ἐγχωρίων.

Φαρνάβαζος δὲ καὶ Αὐτοφραδάτης τέως μὲν περὶ 4  
τὴν Χίον διέτριβον· καταστήσαντες δὲ φρουρὰν τῆς  
Χίου τὰς μὲν τινὰς τῶν νεῶν ἐς Κῶ καὶ Ἄλι-  
καρνασσὸν ἔστειλαν· αὐτοὶ δὲ ἑκατὸν ναυσὶ  
ταῖς ἄριστα πλεούσαις ἀναγόμενοι ἐς Σίφνον  
κατέσχον. καὶ παρ' αὐτοὺς ἀφικνεῖται Ἄγισ  
ὁ τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων βασιλεὺς ἐπὶ μιᾷς τριή-  
ρους, χρήματά τε αἰτήσων ἐς τὸν πόλεμον  
καὶ δύναμιν ναυτικὴν τε καὶ πεζικὴν ὅσῃν πλείστην  
ἀξιῶσων συμπέμψαι οἱ ἐς τὴν Πελοπόννησον. καὶ 5  
ἐν τούτῳ ἀγγελία αὐτοῖς ἔρχεται τῆς μάχης τῆς πρὸς  
Ἰσσοῦ γενομένης. ἐκπλαγέντες δὲ πρὸς τὰ ἐξαγγελ-  
θέντα Φαρνάβαζος μὲν σὺν δώδεκα τριήρεσι καὶ τῶν  
μισθοφόρων ξένων ξὺν χιλίοις καὶ πεντακοσίοις ἐπὶ  
Χίου ἐστάλη, δείσας μὴ τι πρὸς τὴν ἀγγελίαν τῆς  
ἡττης οἱ Χίοι νεωτερίσωσιν. Ἄγισ δὲ παρ' Αὐτο- 6  
φραδάτου τάλαντα ἀργυρίου λαβὼν τριάκοντα καὶ τριήρ-  
εις δέκα, ταύτας μὲν Ἴππῖαν ἄξοντα ἀποστέλλει  
παρὰ τὸν ἀδελφὸν τὸν αὐτοῦ Ἀγησίλαον ἐπὶ Ταί-  
ναρον. καὶ παραγγέλλειν ἐκέλευσεν Ἀγησιλάῳ, δι-  
δόντα τοῖς ναύταις ἐντελὴ τὸν μισθὸν πλείν τὴν ταχί-  
στην ἐπὶ Κρήτης, ὡς τὰ ἐκεῖ καταστησόμενον. αὐτὸς  
δὲ τότε μὲν αὐτοῦ ἐν ταῖς νήσοις ὑπέμενον, ὕστερον  
δὲ εἰς Ἄλικαρνασσὸν παρ' Αὐτοφραδάτην ἀφίκετο.

Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ σατράπην μὲν Συρίᾳ τῇ κοιλῇ 7  
Μένωνα τὸν Κερδίμμα ἐπέταξε, δοὺς αὐτῷ εἰς φυλακὴν

Negotia-  
tions be-  
tween  
Apis, king  
of Sparta,  
and the  
Persian  
admirals.

τῆς χώρας τοὺς τῶν συμμάχων ἰππέας. αὐτὸς δὲ ἐπὶ

Φοινίκης ἦει. καὶ ἀπαντᾷ αὐτῷ κατὰ τὴν  
 ὁδὸν Στράτων ὁ Γηροστράτου παῖς τοῦ Ἀραδ-  
 ῖων τε καὶ τῶν Ἀράδῳ προσοίκων βασιλέως ·  
 ὁ δὲ Γηρόστρατος αὐτὸς μετ' Αὐτοφραδάτου

ἔπλει ἐπὶ τῶν νεῶν, καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι οἳ τε τῶν Φοινίκων  
 καὶ οἱ τῶν Κυπρίων βασιλεῖς καὶ αὐτοὶ Αὐτοφραδάτη  
 ξυνέπλεον. Στράτων δὲ Ἀλεξάνδρῳ ἐντυχὼν στε- 8  
 φανοῖ χρυσῷ στεφάνῳ αὐτόν, καὶ τὴν τε Ἀραδον  
 αὐτῷ τὴν νῆσον καὶ τὴν Μάραθον τὴν καταντικρὺ τῆς  
 Ἀράδου ἐν τῇ ἠπείρῳ ὠκισμένην πόλιν, μεγάλην καὶ  
 εὐδαίμονα, καὶ Σιγῶνα καὶ Μαριάμμην πόλιν καὶ τὰλλα  
 ὅσα τῆς σφῶν ἐπικρατείας ἐνδίδωσιν.

Ἔτι δὲ ἐν Μαράθῳ Ἀλεξάνδρου ὄντος ἀφίκοντο XIV.

παρὰ Δαρείου πρέσβεις, ἐπιστολὴν τε κομιζόντες

Δαρείου καὶ αὐτοὶ ἀπὸ γλώσσης δεησόμενοι  
 ἀφεῖναι Δαρείῳ τὴν μητέρα καὶ τὴν γυναῖκα  
 καὶ τοὺς παῖδας. ἐδήλου δὲ ἡ ἐπιστολή, ὅτι 2

Φιλίππῳ τε πρὸς Ἀρταξέρξην φιλία καὶ συμμαχία  
 ἐγένετο. καὶ ἐπειδὴ Ἀρσης ὁ υἱὸς Ἀρταξέρξου ἐβασί-

λευσεν, ὅτι Φιλιππος ἀδικίας πρῶτος ἐς βασιλέα Ἀρσην  
 ἤρξεν οὐδὲν ἄχαρι ἐκ Περσῶν παθῶν. ἐξ οὗ δὲ αὐτὸς

βασιλεύει Περσῶν, οὔτε πέμψαι τινὰ Ἀλέξανδρον  
 παρ' αὐτόν ἐς βεβαίωσιν τῆς πάλαι οὔσης φιλίας τε

καὶ συμμαχίας, διαβῆναί τε ξὺν στρατιᾷ ἐς τὴν Ἀσίαν  
 καὶ πολλὰ κακὰ ἐργάσασθαι Πέρσας. τούτου ἕνεκα 3

καταβῆναι αὐτὸς τῇ χώρᾳ ἀμυνῶν καὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν τὴν  
 πατρῶαν ἀνασώσων. τὴν μὲν δὴ μάχην ὡς θεῶν τῷ

ἔδοξεν, οὔτω κριθῆναι · αὐτὸς δὲ βασιλεὺς παρὰ βασιλ-

Occupation of Phœnician towns by Alexander.

Darius' letter to Alexander.



ἕως γυναῖκά τε τὴν αὐτοῦ αἰτεῖν καὶ μητέρα καὶ παῖδας τοὺς ἀλόντας, καὶ φιλίαν ἐθέλειν ποιήσασθαι πρὸς Ἀλέξανδρον καὶ ζύμμαχος εἶναι Ἀλεξάνδρῳ· καὶ ὑπὲρ τούτων πέμπει ἡξίου Ἀλέξανδρον παρ' αὐτὸν ζῆν Μενίσκῳ τε καὶ Ἀρσίμα τοῖς ἀγγέλοις τοῖς ἐκ Περσῶν ἡκουσι τοὺς τὰ πιστὰ ληψομένους τε καὶ ὑπὲρ Ἀλεξάνδρου δώσοντας.

Πρὸς ταῦτα ἀντιγράφει Ἀλέξανδρος καὶ ζυμπέμπει 4  
 τοῖς παρὰ Δαρείου ἐλθοῦσι Θέρσιππον, παραγγέλλας  
 τὴν ἐπιστολὴν δοῦναι Δαρείῳ, αὐτὸν δὲ μὴ  
 ἀλεξάνδρου ὡδε ἔχει. Οἱ ὑμέτεροι πρόγονοι  
 ἐλθόντες εἰς Μακεδονίαν καὶ εἰς τὴν ἄλλην Ἑλλάδα  
 κακῶς ἐποίησαν ἡμᾶς οὐδὲν προηδικημένοι· ἐγὼ δὲ  
 τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἡγεμὼν κατασταθεὶς καὶ τιμωρήσασθαι  
 βουλόμενος Πέρσας διέβην εἰς τὴν Ἀσίαν, ὑπαρξάντων ὑμῶν. καὶ γὰρ Περικλῆσι ἐβοηθήσατε, 5  
 οἳ τὸν ἐμὸν πατέρα ἠδίκουν, καὶ εἰς Θράκην, ἧς ἡμεῖς ἤρχομεν, δύναμιν ἔπεμψεν Ὠχσος. τοῦ δὲ πατρὸς ἀποθανόντος ὑπὸ τῶν ἐπιβουλευσάντων, οὓς ὑμεῖς συνετάξατε, ὡς αὐτοὶ ἐν ταῖς ἐπιστολαῖς πρὸς ἅπαντας ἐκομπάσατε, καὶ Ἀρσιν ἀποκτείναντός σου μετὰ Βαγῶου, καὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν κατασχόντος οὐ δικαίως οὐδὲ κατὰ τὸν Περσῶν νόμον, ἀλλὰ ἀδικούντος Πέρσας, καὶ ὑπὲρ ἐμοῦ πρὸς τοὺς Ἑλληνας γράμματα οὐκ ἐπιτήδεια πέμποντος, ὅπως πρὸς με 6  
 πολεμῶσι, καὶ χρήματα ἀποστέλλοντος πρὸς Λακεδαιμονίους καὶ ἄλλους τινὰς τῶν Ἑλλήνων, καὶ τῶν μὲν ἄλλων πόλεων οὐδεμίᾳ δεχομένης, Λακε-

Alexan-  
 der's  
 answer.

δαιμονίων δὲ λαβόντων, καὶ τῶν παρὰ σοῦ πεμφθέντων τοὺς ἐμοὺς φίλους διαφθειράντων καὶ τὴν εἰρήνην ἣν τοῖς Ἑλλησι κατεσκεύασα διαλύειν ἐπιχειρούντων ἐστράτευσα ἐπὶ σὲ ὑπάρξαντος σοῦ τῆς ἔχθρας. ἐπειδὴ δὲ μάχῃ νενίκηκα πρότερον μὲν τοὺς 7  
 σοὺς στρατηγούς καὶ σατράπας, νῦν δὲ σὲ καὶ τὴν μετὰ σοῦ δύναμιν, καὶ τὴν χώραν ἔχω, τῶν θεῶν μοι δόντων, ὅσοι τῶν μετὰ σοῦ παραταξαμένων μὴ ἐν τῇ μάχῃ ἀπέθανον, ἀλλὰ παρ' ἐμὲ κατέφυγον, τούτων ἐπιμέλομαι καὶ οὐκ ἄκοντες παρ' ἐμοί εἰσιν, ἀλλὰ αὐτοὶ ἐκόντες ζυστρατεύονται μετ' ἐμοῦ. ὡς 8  
 οὖν ἐμοῦ τῆς Ἀσίας ἀπάσης κυρίου ὄντος ἦκε πρὸς ἐμέ. εἰ δὲ φοβῆ μὴ ἐλθὼν πάθῃς τι ἐξ ἐμοῦ ἄχαρι, πέμπε τινὰς τῶν φίλων τὰ πιστὰ ληψομένους. ἐλθὼν δὲ πρὸς με τὴν μητέρα καὶ τὴν γυναῖκα καὶ τοὺς παῖδας καὶ εἰ ἄλλο τι ἐθέλεις αἶτει καὶ λάμβανε. ὅτι γὰρ ἂν πείθῃς ἐμὲ ἔσται σοι. καὶ τοῦ λοιποῦ ὅταν 9  
 πέμπῃς, παρ' ἐμὲ ὡς βασιλέα τῆς Ἀσίας πέμπε, μηδὲ ἂ βούλει ἐξ ἴσου ἐπίστελλε, ἀλλ' ὡς κυρίῳ ὄντι πάντων τῶν σῶν φράζε εἶ του δέῃ· εἰ δὲ μή, ἐγὼ βουλεύσομαι περὶ σοῦ ὡς ἀδικοῦντος. εἰ δὲ ἀντιλέγεις περὶ τῆς βασιλείας, ὑπομείνας ἔτι ἀγώνισαι περὶ αὐτῆς καὶ μὴ φεῦγε, ὡς ἐγὼ ἐπὶ σὲ πορεύσομαι οὗ ἂν ᾗς.

Πρὸς μὲν Δαρεῖον ταῦτα ἐπέστειλεν. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἔμαθε XV.  
 τά τε χρήματα ὅσα σὺν Κωφῆμ τῷ Ἀρταβάζου ἀποπεπόμφει ἐς Δαμασκὸν Δαρεῖος ὅτι ἐάλωκε, καὶ ὅσοι Περσῶν ἀμφ' αὐτὰ ἐγκατελείφθησαν σὺν τῇ ἄλλῃ βασιλικῇ κατασκευῇ ὅτι καὶ οὗτοι ἐάλωσαν, ταῦτα μὲν

ὀπίσω κομίσαντα ἐς Δαμασκὸν Παρμενίωνα φυλάσσειν  
 ἐκέλευε. τοὺς δὲ πρέσβεις τῶν Ἑλλήνων οἱ 2  
 πρὸς Δαρεῖον πρὸ τῆς μάχης ἀφιγμένοι  
 ἦσαν, ἐπεὶ καὶ τούτους ἐαλωκένας ἔμαθε,  
 παρ' αὐτὸν πέμπειν ἐκέλευεν. ἦσαν δὲ Εὐθυ-  
 κλῆς μὲν Σπαρτιάτης, Θεσσαλίσκος δὲ Ἴσμη-  
 νίου καὶ Διονυσόδωρος Ὀλυμπιονίκης, Θηβαῖοι, Ἰφικράτης  
 δὲ ὁ Ἰφικράτους τοῦ στρατηγοῦ, Ἀθηναῖος. καὶ 3  
 οὔτοι ὡς ἦκον παρ' Ἀλέξανδρον, Θεσσαλίσκον μὲν  
 καὶ Διονυσόδωρον, καίπερ Θηβαίους ὄντας, εὐθύς  
 ἀφῆκε, τὸ μὲν τι κατοικτίσει τῶν Θηβῶν, τὸ δὲ  
 ὅτι συγγνωστὰ δεδρακένας ἐφαίνοντο, ἠνδραποδισ-  
 μένης ὑπὸ Μακεδόνων τῆς πατρίδος σφίσιν τε ἠντινα  
 ἠδύναντο ὠφέλειαν εὐρισκόμενοι καὶ εἰ δὴ τινα καὶ  
 τῇ πατρίδι ἐκ Περσῶν καὶ Δαρεῖου, ταῦτα μὲν ὑπὲρ  
 ἀμφοῖν ἐπιεικῇ ἐνθυμηθεῖς, ἰδίᾳ δὲ Θεσσαλίσκον μὲν 4  
 αἰδοῖ τοῦ γένους ἀφιέναι εἶπεν, ὅτι τῶν ἐπιφανῶν  
 Θηβαίων ἦν, Διονυσόδωρον δὲ ἐπὶ τῇ νίκῃ τῶν Ὀλυμ-  
 πίων. Ἰφικράτην δὲ φιλίᾳ τε τῆς Ἀθηναίων πόλεως  
 καὶ μνήμῃ τῆς δόξης τοῦ πατρὸς ζῶντά τε ἀμφ' αὐτὸν  
 ἔχων ἐς τὰ μάλιστα ἐτίμησε καὶ νόσφ' τελευτήσαντος  
 τὰ ὀστέα ἐς τὰς Ἀθήνας τοῖς πρὸς γένους ἀπέπεμψε.  
 Εὐθυκλέα δὲ, Λακεδαιμόνιον τε ὄντα, πόλεως περι- 5  
 φανῶς ἐχθρᾶς ἐν τῷ τότε, καὶ αὐτὸν οὐδὲν ἰδίᾳ εὐρισκό-  
 μενον ἐς ξυγγνώμην ὅ τι καὶ λόγου ἄξιον, τὰ μὲν  
 πρῶτα ἐν φυλακῇ ἀδέσμῳ εἶχεν. ὕστερον δὲ ἐπεὶ  
 μεγάλα εὐτύχει, καὶ τοῦτον ἀφῆκεν.

Ἐκ Μαραθίου δὲ ὀρμηθεῖς Βύβλον τε λαμβάνει 6  
 ὁμολογία ἐνδοθεῖσαν, καὶ Σιδῶνα αὐτῶν Σιδωνίων

ἐπικαλεσαμένων κατὰ τὸ ἔχθος τὸ Περσῶν καὶ  
 Δαρείου. ἐντεῦθεν δὲ προὔχῳρει ὡς ἐπὶ  
 Τύρον· καὶ ἐντυγχάνουσιν αὐτῷ κατὰ τὴν  
 ὁδὸν πρέσβεις Τυρίων ἀπὸ τοῦ κοινοῦ ἐσταλ-  
 μένοι ὡς ἐγνωκότων Τυρίων πράσσειν ὅ τι ἂν  
 ἐπαγγέλλῃ Ἄλέξανδρος. ὁ δὲ τὴν τε πόλιν

ἐπαινέσας καὶ τοὺς πρέσβεις (καὶ γὰρ ἦσαν τῶν ἐπι- 7  
 φανῶν ἐν Τύρῳ οἳ τε ἄλλοι καὶ ὁ τοῦ βασιλέως τῶν  
 Τυρίων παῖς. αὐτὸς δὲ ὁ βασιλεὺς Ἀζέμιλκος μετ'  
 Αὐτοφραδάτου ἔπλει) ἐκέλευσεν ἐπανελθόντας φράσαι  
 Τυρίοις ὅτι ἐθέλει παρελθὼν εἰς τὴν πόλιν θῦσαι τῷ  
 Ἡρακλεῖ.

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

Capture  
 of the  
 Phœnician  
 towns,  
 except  
 Tyre.

Digres-  
 sion. The  
 cult of  
 Heracles  
 at Tyre.

κλέα, ἵνα καὶ στῆλαί τινες Ἑρακλέους ὀνομασμένα  
 εἶσι, δοκῶ ἐγὼ τὸν Τύριον εἶναι Ἑρακλέα, ὅτι Φοι-  
 νίκων κτίσμα ἢ Ταρτησὸς καὶ τῷ Φοινίκων νόμῳ  
 ὃ τε νεὸς πεποιήται τῷ Ἑρακλεῖ τῷ ἐκεῖ καὶ αἱ  
 θυσίαι θύονται. Γηρυόνην δέ, ἐφ' ὄντινα ὁ Ἀργεῖος 5  
 Ἑρακλῆς ἐστάλη πρὸς Εὐρυσθέως τὰς βοῦς ἀπελάσαι  
 τὰς Γηρυόνου καὶ ἀγαγεῖν ἐς Μυκῆνας, οὐδέν τι προσ-  
 ἤκειν τῇ γῆ τῶν Ἰβήρων Ἐκαταῖος ὁ λογοποιὸς λέγει. 6  
 οὐδὲ ἐπὶ νῆσόν τινα Ἐρύθειαν ἔξω τῆς μεγάλης θαλάσσης  
 σταλῆναι Ἑρακλέα, ἀλλὰ τῆς ἠπείρου τῆς περὶ Ἀμ-  
 βρακίαν τε καὶ Ἀμφιλόχους βασιλέα γενέσθαι Γηρυόνην  
 καὶ τῆς ἔξ ἠπείρου ταύτης ἀπελάσαι Ἑρακλέα τὰς  
 βοῦς, οὐδὲ τοῦτον φαῦλον ἄθλον τιθέμενον. οἶδα δὲ 7  
 ἐγὼ καὶ εἰς τοῦτο ἔτι εὐβοτον τὴν ἠπειρον ταύτην  
 καὶ βοῦς τρέφουσαν καλλίστας· καὶ ἐς Εὐρυσθέα τῶν  
 μὲν ἔξ Ἠπείρου βοῶν κλέος ἀφίχθαι καὶ τοῦ βασι-  
 λέως τῆς Ἠπείρου τὸ ὄνομα τὸν Γηρυόνην οὐκ ἔξω  
 τοῦ εἰκότος τίθεμαι· τῶν δὲ ἐσχάτων τῆς Εὐρώπης  
 Ἰβήρων οὐτ' ἂν τοῦ βασιλέως τὸ ὄνομα γινώσκειν  
 Εὐρυσθέα, οὔτε εἰ βοῦς καλαὶ ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ ταύτῃ  
 νέμονται, εἰ μὴ τις τὴν Ἠραν τούτοις ἐπάγων, ὡς  
 αὐτὴν ταῦτα Ἑρακλεῖ δι' Εὐρυσθέως ἐπαγγέλλουσαν,  
 τὸ οὐ πιστὸν τοῦ λόγου ἀποκρύπτειν ἐθέλοι τῷ  
 μύθῳ.

Τούτῳ τῷ Ἑρακλεῖ τῷ Τυρίῳ ἔφη ἐθέλειν θῆσαι 8  
 Ἀλέξανδρος. ὡς δὲ ἀπηγγέλθη ταῦτα πρὸς τῶν  
 πρέσβειων εἰς τὴν Τύρον, τὰ μὲν ἄλλα ἔδοξέ σφισι  
 ποιεῖν ὅ τι περ ἐπαγγέλλει Ἀλέξανδρος, εἰς δὲ  
 τὴν πόλιν μήτε τινὰ Περσῶν μήτε Μακεδόνων

δέχεσθαι, ὡς τοῦτο ἔς τε τὰ παρόντα τῷ λόγῳ εὐ-  
 πρεπέστατον καὶ ἐς τοῦ πολέμου τὴν κρίσιν,  
 ἀδηλον ἔτι οὖσαν, ἀσφαλέστατόν σφισι γενι-  
 σόμενον· ὡς δὲ ἐξηγγέλη Ἀλεξάνδρῳ τὰ 9  
 ἐκ τῆς Τύρου, τοὺς μὲν πρέσβεις πρὸς  
 ὀργὴν ὀπίσω ἀπέπεμψεν. αὐτὸς δὲ ξυνα-  
 γαγὼν τοὺς τε ἐταίρους καὶ τοὺς ἡγεμόνας τῆς  
 στρατιᾶς καὶ ταξιάρχας καὶ ἰλάρχας ἔλεξεν ὧδε.

Alexan-  
 der's re-  
 quest to  
 sacrifice to  
 Heracles  
 refused.

IV.—*Siege of Tyre (17-24).*

Ἄνδρες φίλοι καὶ ξύμμαχοι, ἡμῖν οὔτε τὴν ἐπ' XVII.  
 Αἰγύπτου πορείαν ἀσφαλῆ ὀρῶ θαλασσοκρατούντων  
 Περσῶν, Δαρείον τε διώκειν ὑπολειπομένους  
 αὐτὴν τε ὀπίσω τὴν τῶν Τυρίων πόλιν ἀμφί-  
 βολον καὶ Αἴγυπτον καὶ Κύπρον ἐχομένους  
 πρὸς Περσῶν, οὐδὲ τοῦτο ἀσφαλές ἔς τε τὰ  
 ἄλλα καὶ μάλιστα δὴ ἐς τὰ Ἑλληνικὰ πράγ-  
 ματα, μὴ ποτ' ἄρα ἐπικρατησάντες αὖτις τῶν ἐπὶ 2  
 θαλάσῃ χωρίων οἱ Πέρσαι, προχωρησάντων ἡμῶν ξὺν  
 τῇ δυνάμει ὡς ἐπὶ Βαβυλῶνά τε καὶ Δαρείον, αὐτοὶ ξὺν  
 πλείονι στόλῳ μεταγάγοιεν τὸν πόλεμον ἐς τὴν Ἑλλάδα,  
 Λακεδαιμονίων μὲν ἐκ τοῦ εὐθέως ἡμῖν πολεμούντων, τῆς  
 δὲ Ἀθηναίων πόλεως φόβῳ μᾶλλον τι ἢ εὐνοίᾳ τῇ πρὸς  
 ἡμᾶς πρὸς τὸ παρὸν κατεχομένης. ἐξαιρεθείσης δὲ 3  
 Τύρου ἢ τε Φοινίκη ἔχοιτο ἂν πᾶσα καὶ τὸ ναυτικὸν  
 ὅπερ πλείστον τε καὶ κράτιστον τοῦ Περσικοῦ, τὸ Φοιν-  
 ἰκῶν, παρ' ἡμᾶς μεταχωρήσειν εἰκός· οὐ γὰρ ἀνέξ-  
 ονται οὔτε οἱ ἐρέται οὔτε οἱ ἐπιβάται Φοίνικες ἐχομένων

The coun-  
 cil of war.  
 Alexander  
 urges the  
 capture of  
 Tyre.

σφίσι τῶν πόλεων αὐτοὶ ὑπὲρ ἄλλων πλείοντες κιν-  
 δυνεύειν· Κύπρος δὲ ἐπὶ τῷδε ἢ οὐ χαλεπῶς ἡμῖν  
 προσχωρήσει ἢ ἐξ ἐπίπλου εὐμαρῶς ληφθήσεται. καὶ 4  
 ταῖς τε ἐκ Μακεδονίας νασι καὶ ταῖς Φοινίσσαις πλεόν-  
 των ἡμῶν τὴν θάλασσαν καὶ Κύπρου ἅμα προσγενο-  
 μένης θαλασσοκρατοῦμέν τε ἂν βεβαίως καὶ ὁ ἐς Αἴγυπ-  
 τον στόλος εὐμαρῶς ἡμῖν ἐν ταύτῳ γίγνεται. Αἴγυπτον  
 δὲ παραστησαμένοις ὑπὲρ τῆς Ἑλλάδος καὶ τῆς  
 οἰκείας οὐδὲν ἔτι ὑποπτον ὑπολείπεται, τὸν τε ἐπὶ  
 Βαβυλῶνος στόλον μετὰ τοῦ ἐς τὰ οἴκοι ἀσφαλούς καὶ  
 ξὺν μείζονι ἅμα ἀξιώσει ποιησόμεθα ἀποτετμημένοι τὴν  
 τε θάλασσαν Περσῶν ζύμπασαν καὶ τὴν ἐπὶ τάδε τοῦ  
 Εὐφράτου γῆν.

Ταῦτα λέγων οὐ χαλεπῶς ἔπειθεν ἐπιχειρεῖν τῇ Τύρῳ· XVII  
 καὶ τι καὶ θεῖον ἀνέπειθεν αὐτόν, ὅτι ἐνύπνιον αὐτῆς  
 ἐκείνης τῆς νυκτὸς ἐδόκει αὐτὸς μὲν τῷ τείχει  
 προσάγειν τῶν Τυρίων, τὸν δὲ Ἡρακλέα  
 δεξιούσθαι τε αὐτόν καὶ ἀνάγειν ἐς τὴν πόλιν.  
 καὶ τοῦτο ἐξηγεῖτο Ἀρίστανδρος ὡς ξὺν πόνῳ ἀλωσο-  
 μένην τὴν Τύρον, ὅτι καὶ τὰ τοῦ Ἡρακλέους ἔργα  
 ξὺν πόνῳ ἐγένετο. καὶ γὰρ καὶ μέγα ἔργον τῆς  
 Τύρου ἢ πολιορκία ἐφαίνετο. νῆσός τε γὰρ αὐτοῖς ἢ 2  
 πόλις ἦν καὶ τείχεσιν ὑψηλοῖς πάντη ὠχύρωτο·  
 καὶ τὰ ἀπὸ θαλάσσης πρὸς τῶν Τυρίων μᾶλλον  
 τι ἐν τῷ τότε ἐφαίνετο, τῶν τε Περσῶν ἔτι θαλασ-  
 σοκρατούντων καὶ αὐτοῖς τοῖς Τυρίοις νεῶν ἔτι πολλῶν  
 περιουσῶν.

Ὡς δὲ ταῦτα ὅμως ἐκράτησε, χῶμα ἔγνω χωννύ- 3  
 ναι ἐκ τῆς ἠπείρου ὡς ἐπὶ τὴν πόλιν. ἔστι δὲ πορθμὸς

Alexan-  
 der's  
 dream.

Siege of  
 Tyre.

τεναγώδης τὸ χωρίον· καὶ τὰ μὲν πρὸς τῇ ἠπείρῳ τῆς  
θαλάσσης βραχέα καὶ πηλώδη αὐτοῦ, τὰ δὲ

**Construc-  
tion of a  
mole from  
mainland  
to island.**

πρὸς αὐτῇ τῇ πόλει, ἵνα τὸ βαθύτατον τοῦ  
διάπλου, τριῶν μάλιστα ὀργυιῶν τὸ βάθος.

ἀλλὰ λίθων τε πολλῶν ἀφθονία ἦν καὶ ὕλης,

ἦντινα τοῖς λίθοις ἄνωθεν ἐπεφόρουσαν· χάρακές τε οὐ  
χαλεπῶς κατεπήγνυντο ἐν τῷ πηλῷ καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ πηλὸς  
ξύνδεσμος τοῖς λίθοις ἐς τὸ ἐπιμένειν ἐγίγνετο. καὶ 4  
προθυμία τῶν Μακεδόνων εἰς τὸ ἔργον καὶ Ἀλεξάν-  
δρου πολλή ἦν παρόντος τε αὐτοῦ καὶ ἕκαστα ἐξη-  
γουμένου καὶ τὰ μὲν λόγῳ ἐπαίροντος, τὰ δὲ καὶ  
χρήμασι τοὺς τι ἐκπρεπέστερον κατ' ἀρετὴν πονου-  
μένους ἐπικουφίζοντος. ἀλλ' ἔσπε μὲν τὸ πρὸς τῇ  
ἠπείρῳ ἐχώννυτο, οὐ χαλεπῶς προὐχώρει τὸ ἔργον,  
ἐπὶ βάθος τε ὀλίγον χωνύμενον καὶ οὐδενὸς ἐξείρ-  
γοντος. ὡς δὲ τῷ τε βαθυτέρῳ ἤδη ἐπέλαζον καὶ 5  
ἅμα τῇ πόλει αὐτῇ ἐγγὺς ἐγίγνοντο, ὑπὸ τε τῶν  
τειχῶν, ὑψηλῶν ὄντων, βαλλόμενοι ἐκακοπάθουν,  
ἄτε καὶ ἐπ' ἐργασίᾳ μᾶλλον τι ἢ ὡς ἐς μάχην ἀκρι-  
βῶς ἐσταλμένοι, καὶ ταῖς τριήρεσιν ἄλλη καὶ ἄλλη  
τοῦ χώματος ἐπιπλέοντες οἱ Τύριοι, ἄτε δὴ θαλασσο-  
κρατοῦντες ἔτι, ἄπορον πολλαχῇ τὴν πρόσχωσιν τοῖς  
Μακεδόσιν ἐποίουν. καὶ οἱ Μακεδόνες πύργους 6  
ἐπάνω τοῦ χώματος, ὃ τι περ προκεχωρήκει αὐτοῖς  
ἐπὶ πολὺ τῆς θαλάσσης, ἐπέστησαν δύο καὶ μηχανὰς  
ἐπὶ τοῖς πύργοις. προκαλύμματα δὲ δέρρεις καὶ  
διφθέραι αὐτοῖς ἦσαν, ὡς μήτε πυρφόροις βέλεσιν  
ἀπὸ τοῦ τείχους βάλλεσθαι, τοῖς τε ἐργαζομένοις  
προβολὴν ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ εἶναι πρὸς τὰ τοξεύματα· ἅμα



τε ὅσοι προσπλέοντες τῶν Τυρίων ἔβλαπτον τοὺς χωνυύτας, ἀπὸ τῶν πύργων βαλλόμενοι οὐ χαλεπῶς ἀνασταλήσεσθαι ἔμελλον.

Οἱ δὲ Τύριοι πρὸς ταῦτα ἀντιμηχανῶνται τοιοῦνδε. XIX  
 ναῦν ἰππαγωγὸν κλημάτων τε ξηρῶν καὶ ἄλλης ὕλης  
 εὐφλέκτου ἐμπλήσαντες δύο ἰστούς ἐπὶ τῇ  
 πρῶτῃ καταπηγνύουσι καὶ ἐν κύκλῳ περιφράσσουσιν  
 εἰς ὅσον μακρότατον, ὡς φορυτόν τε ταύτη καὶ δάδας ὕσας πλείστας δέξασθαι.  
 πρὸς δὲ πίσσαν τε καὶ θεῖον καὶ ὕσα ἄλλα ἐς τὸ  
 παρακαλέσαι μεγάλην φλόγα ἐπὶ ταύτῃ ἐπεφόρησαν.  
 παρέτειναν δὲ καὶ κεραΐαν διπλῆν ἐπὶ τοῖς ἰστούς 2  
 ἀμφοτέροις, καὶ ἀπὸ ταύτης ἐξήρτησαν ἐν λέβητιν ὕσα ἐπιχυθέντα ἢ ἐπιβληθέντα ἐπὶ μέγα τὴν φλόγα ἐξάψειν ἔμελλον.  
 ἔρματά τε ἐς τὴν πρύμναν ἐνέθεσαν, τοῦ ἐξῆραι εἰς ὕψος  
 τὴν πρῶταν πιεζομένης κατὰ πρύμναν τῆς νεώς.  
 ἔπειτα ἄνεμον τηρήσαντες ὡς ἐπὶ τὸ χῶμα 3  
 ἐπιφέροντα ἐξάψαντες τριήρεσι τὴν ναῦν κατ' οὐρὰν εἶλκον.  
 ὡς δὲ ἐπέλαζον ἤδη τῷ τε χῶματι καὶ τοῖς πύργοις,  
 πῦρ ἐμβαλόντες εἰς τὴν ὕλην καὶ ὡς βιαιότατα ἅμα ταῖς  
 τριήρεσιν ἐπαιελεύσαντες τὴν ναῦν ἐνσείουσιν ἄκρῳ τῷ  
 χῶματι· αὐτοὶ δὲ οἱ ἐν τῇ νηϊ καιομένη ἤδη ἐξεϊήζαντο  
 οὐ χαλεπῶς. καὶ ἐν τούτῳ ἢ 4  
 τε φλόξ πολλὴ ἐνέπιπτε τοῖς πύργοις καὶ αἱ κεραΐαι  
 περικλασθεῖσαι ἐξέχεαν ἐς τὸ πῦρ ὅσα ἐς ἔξαψιν τῆς  
 φλογὸς παρεσκευασμένα ἦν. οἱ δὲ ἀπὸ τῶν τριηρῶν  
 πλησίον τοῦ χῶματος ἀνακωχέοντες ἐτόξενον ἐς τοὺς  
 πύργους, ὡς μὴ ἄσφαλές εἶναι πελάσαι ὅσοι σβεστήριόν  
 τι τῇ φλογὶ ἐπέφερον. καὶ ἐν τούτῳ 5

The  
Tyrians  
destroy  
the mole,  
and the  
artillery  
on it.

κατεχομένων ἤδη ἐκ τοῦ πυρὸς τῶν πύργων ἐκδρα-  
 μόντες ἐκ τῆς πόλεως πολλοὶ καὶ ἐς κελίτια ἐμβάν-  
 τες ἄλλη καὶ ἄλλη ἐποκείλαντες τοῦ χώματος τόν  
 τε χάρακα οὐ χαλεπῶς διέσπασαν τὸν πρὸ αὐτοῦ  
 προβεβλημένον καὶ τὰς μηχανὰς ξυμπάσας κατέφλε-  
 ξαν ὅσας μὴ τὸ ἀπὸ τῆς νεῶς πῦρ ἐπέσχευ. Ἄλεξαν- 6  
 δρος δὲ τό τε χῶμα ἀπὸ τῆς ἠπείρου ἀρξαμένους  
 πλατύτερον χωννύει, ὡς πλέονας δέξασθαι πύργους,  
 καὶ τοὺς μηχανοποιούς μηχανὰς ἄλλας κατασκευάζειν  
 ἐκέλευσεν. ὡς δὲ ταῦτα παρεσκευάζετο, αὐτὸς τοὺς  
 ὑπασπιστὰς ἀναλαβὼν καὶ τοὺς Ἀγριῶνας ἐπὶ Σιδῶ-  
 νος ἐστάλη, ὡς ἀθροίσων ἐκεῖ ὅσαι ἤδη ἦσαν αὐτῷ  
 τριήρεις, ὅτι ἀπορώτερα τὰ τῆς πολιορκίας ἐφαίνετο  
 θαλασσοκρατούντων τῶν Τυρίων.

Ἐν τούτῳ δὲ Γηρόστρατός τε ὁ Ἀράδου βασιλεὺς X  
 καὶ Ἐνυλος ὁ Βύβλου ὡς ἔμαθον τὴν πόλιν σφῶν  
 ὑπ' Ἀλεξάνδρου ἐχομένην, ἀπολιπόντες Ἀν-  
 τοφραδάτην τε καὶ τὰς ξὺν αὐτῷ νέας παρ'  
 Ἀλέξανδρον σὺν τῷ ναυτικῷ τῷ σφετέρῳ  
 ἀφίκοντο καὶ αἱ τῶν Σιδωνίων τριήρεις σὺν αὐτοῖς, ὥστε  
 Φοινίκων μὲν νῆες ὀγδοήκοντα μάλιστα αὐτῷ παρεγένοντο.  
 ἦγον δὲ ἐν ταῖς αὐταῖς ἡμέραις καὶ ἐκ Ῥόδου τριήρεις 2  
 ἢ τε περίπολος καλουμένη καὶ ξὺν ταύτῃ ἄλλαι ἐννέα,  
 καὶ ἐκ Σόλων καὶ Λυκίας δέκα, ἐκ Μακεδονίας δὲ πεντη  
 κόντορος, ἐφ' ἧς Πρωτέας ὁ Ἀνδρονίκου ἐπέπλει. οὐ 3  
 πολλῶ δ' ὕστερον καὶ οἱ τῆς Κύπρου βασιλεῖς ἐς τὴν  
 Σιδῶνα κατέσχον ναυσὶν ἑκατὸν μάλιστα καὶ εἰκοσιν,  
 ἐπειδὴ τὴν τε ἦσαν τὴν κατ' Ἰσθμὸν Δαρείου ἐπύθοντο  
 καὶ ἡ Φοινίκη πᾶσα ἐχομένη ἤδη ὑπ' Ἀλεξάνδρου

Alexander  
 strength-  
 ens his  
 fleet.

ἐφόβει αὐτούς. καὶ τούτοις πᾶσιν ἔδωκεν Ἀλέξανδρος ἄδειαν τῶν πρόσθεν, ὅτι ὑπ' ἀνάγκης μᾶλλον τι ἢ κατὰ γνώμην τὴν σφῶν ἐδόκουν ζυνταχθῆναι τοῖς Πέρσαις ἐς τὸ ναυτικόν.

Ἐν ᾧ δὲ αἱ τε μηχαναὶ αὐτῷ ζυνεπήγνυντο καὶ αἱ 4  
 νῆες ὡς εἰς ἐπίπλουν τε καὶ ναυμαχίας ἀπόπειραν ἐξηρτύοντο, ἐν τούτῳ δὲ ἀναλαβὼν τῶν τε ἰππέων ἴλις ἔστιν ὡς καὶ τοὺς Ἀγριῦνίς τε καὶ τοὺς τοξότας ἐπ' Ἀραβίας στέλλεται εἰς τὸν Ἀντιλίβανον καλούμενον τὸ ὄρος· καὶ τὰ μὲν βία τῶν ταύτη ἐξελὼν, τὰ 5  
 δὲ ὁμολογίᾳ παραστησάμενος ἐν δέκα ἡμέραις ἐπανῆγεν εἰς τὴν Σιδῶνα, καὶ καταλαμβάνει Κλέανδρον τὸν Πολεμοκράτους ἐκ Πελοποννήσου ἠκοντα καὶ ζῦν αὐτῷ μισθοφόρους Ἑλληνας ἐς τετρακισχιλίους.

Ὡς δὲ συνετέτακτο αὐτῷ τὸ ναυτικόν, ἐπιβιβάσας 6  
 τοῖς καταστρώμασι τῶν ὑπασπιστῶν ὅσοι ἱκανοὶ ἐδό-  
 κουν ἐς τὸ ἔργον, εἰ μὴ διέκπλοις μᾶλλον τι ἢ  
 ἐν χερσὶν ἢ ναυμαχία γίγνοιτο, ἄρας ἐκ τῆς  
 Σιδῶνος ἐπέπλει τῇ Τύρῳ ζυντεταγμέναις  
 ναυσὶν αὐτὸς μὲν κατὰ τὸ δεξιὸν κέρασ, ὃ δὴ ἐς τὸ  
 πέλαγος αὐτῷ ἀνείχε, καὶ ζῦν αὐτῷ οἱ τε Κυπρίων  
 βασιλεῖς καὶ ὅσοι Φοινίκων, πλὴν Πνυταγόρου. οὗτος  
 δὲ καὶ Κράτερος τὸ εὐώνυμον κέρασ εἶχον τῆς πάσης  
 τάξεως. τοῖς δὲ Τυρίοις πρότερον μὲν ναυμαχεῖν 7  
 ἐγνωσμένον ἦν, εἰ κατὰ θάλατταν ἐπιπλέοι σφίσιν Ἀλέξανδρος. τότε δὲ πλεθος νεῶν πολὺ ἀπροσδοκη-  
 τως κατιδόντες (οὐ γάρ πω πεπυσμένοι ἦσαν τὰς  
 τε Κυπρίων ναῦς καὶ τὰς Φοινίκων συμπάσας Ἀλέξ-  
 ανδρον ἔχοντα) καὶ ἅμα ζυντεταγμένως τοῦ ἐπίπλου 8

He offers  
 battle; the  
 Tyrians  
 refuse.

γιγνομένου (ὀλίγοι γὰρ πρὶ προσσχεῖν τι πόλει ἀνεκώχευσαν ἔτι πελάγαι αἱ ξὺν Ἄλεξάνδρῳ νῆες, εἴ πως ἄρα ἐς ναυμαχίαν τοὺς Τυρίους προκαλέσαιντο, ἔπειτα οὕτω ξυνταξάμενοι, ὡς οὐκ ἀντανήγοντο, πολλῶ τῷ ῥοθίῳ ἐπέπλεον) ταῦτα ὀρῶντες οἱ Τύριοι ναυμαχεῖν μὲν ἀπέγνωσαν· τρηήρεσι δὲ ὅσας τῶν λιμένων τὰ στόματα ἐδέχοντο βύζην τὸν ἔσπλουν φραξίμενοι ἐφύλασσαν, ὡς μὴ ἐς τῶν λιμένων τινὰ ἐγκαθορισθῆναι τῶν πολεμίων τὸν στόλον.

Ἄλεξανδρος δέ, ὡς οὐκ ἀντανήγοντο οἱ Τύριοι, 9 ἐπέπλει τῇ πόλει· καὶ ἐς μὲν τὸν λιμένα τὸν πρὸς Σιδῶνος βιάζεσθαι ἀπέγνω διὰ στεν-

The  
blockade  
by sea  
now estab-  
lished.

ότητα τοῦ στόματος καὶ ἅμα ἀντιπρώ-  
ροις τρηήρεσι πολλαῖς ὀρῶν πεφρυγμένον  
τὸν ἔσπλουν· τρεῖς δὲ τὰς ἐξωτάτω ἐφορ-

μούσας τῷ στόματι τρηήρεις προσπεσόντες οἱ Φοίνικες καὶ ἀντίπρωροι ἐμβαλόντες καταδύουσιν· οἱ δὲ ἐν ταῖς ναυσὶν οὐ χαλεπῶς ἀπενήξαντο ἐς τὴν γῆν, φιλίαν οὔσαν· τότε μὲν δὴ οὐ πόρρω τοῦ ποιητοῦ 10 χώματος κατὰ τὸν αἰγιαλόν, ἵνα σκέπη τῶν ἀνέμων ἐφαίνετο, οἱ σὺν Ἄλεξάνδρῳ ὠρμίσαντο. τῇ δὲ ὑστεραία τοὺς μὲν Κυπρίους ξὺν ταῖς σφετέραις ναυσὶ καὶ Ἀνδρομάχῳ τῷ ναύαρχῳ κατὰ τὸν λιμένα τὸν ἐκ Σιδῶνος φέροντα ἐκέλευσεν ἐφορμεῖν τῇ πόλει, τοὺς δὲ Φοίνικας κατὰ τὸν ἐπ' ἐκείνα τοῦ χώματος τὸν πρὸς Αἴγυπτον ἀνέχοντα, ἵνα καὶ αὐτῷ ἢ σκηνὴ ᾗν.

Ἦδη δὲ καὶ μηχανοποιῶν αὐτῷ πολλῶν ἕκ τε Κύπρου καὶ Φοινίκης ἀπάσης συλλελεγμένων μηχαναὶ πολλαὶ XXI.

συμπεπηγμέναι ἦσαν, αἱ μὲν ἐπὶ τοῦ χῶματος, αἱ  
 δὲ ἐπὶ τῶν ἱππαγωγῶν νεῶν, ὡς ἐκ Σιδῶνος  
 ἄμα οἱ ἐκόμισεν, αἱ δὲ ἐπὶ τῶν τριηρῶν ὅσαι  
 αὐτῶν οὐ ταχυνναυτοῦσαι ἦσαν. ὡς δὲ παρεσ- 2  
 κεύαστο ἤδη ξύμπαντα, προσῆγον τὰς μηχανὰς κατὰ  
 τε τὸ ποιητὸν χῶμα καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν νεῶν ἄλλη καὶ  
 ἄλλη τοῦ τείχους προσορμιζομένων τε καὶ ἀποπειρω-  
 μένων τοῦ τείχους.

Οἱ δὲ Τύριοι ἐπὶ τε τῶν ἐπάλξεων τῶν κατὰ τὸ 3  
 χῶμα πύργους ξυλίλους ἐπέστησαν, ὡς ἀπομάχεσθαι ἀπ'  
 αὐτῶν, καὶ εἴ πη ἄλλη αἱ μηχαναὶ προσήγοντο,  
 βέλεσί τε ἠμύνοντο καὶ πυρφόροις οἰστοῖς  
 ἔβαλλον αὐτὰς τὰς ναῦς, ὥστε φόβον παρέχειν  
 τοῖς Μακεδόσι πελάζειν τῷ τείχει. ἦν δὲ 4  
 αὐτοῖς καὶ τὰ τείχη κατὰ τὸ χῶμα τό τε ὕψος εἰς  
 πεντή, τα καὶ ἑκατὸν μάλιστα πόδας καὶ ἐς πλάτος  
 ξύμμετρον λίθοις μεγάλοις ἐν γύψῳ κειμένοις ξυμπε-  
 πηγῶτα. ταῖς δὲ ἱππαγωγαῖς τε καὶ ταῖς τριήρεσι τῶν  
 Μακεδόνων, ὅσαι τὰς μηχανὰς προσῆγον τῷ τείχει, καὶ  
 ταύτη οὐκ εὐπορον ἐγίγνετο πελάζειν τῇ πόλει, ὅτι  
 λίθοι πολλοὶ ἐς τὸ πέλαγος προβεβλημένοι ἐξείργον  
 αὐτῶν τὴν ἐγγὺς προσβολήν. καὶ τούτους Ἀλέξανδ- 5  
 ρος ἔγνω ἐξελκύσαι ἐκ τῆς θαλάσσης· ἠνύετο δὲ  
 χαλεπῶς τοῦτο τὸ ἔργον, οἷα δὲ ἀπὸ νεῶν καὶ οὐκ  
 ἀπὸ γῆς βεβαίου γινόμενον, ἄλλως τε καὶ οἱ Τύριοι  
 ναῦς καταφράξαντες παρὰ τὰς ἀγκύρας ἐπήγον τῶν  
 τριηρῶν καὶ ὑποτέμνοντες τὰς σχοίνους τῶν ἀγκυ-  
 ρῶν ἄπορον τὴν προσόρμισιν ταῖς πολεμίαις ναυσὶν  
 ἐποίουν. Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ τριακοντόρους πολλὰς ἐς τὸν 6

Alexan-  
 der's new  
 siege-  
 engines.

Ingenious  
 defensive  
 measures  
 of the  
 besieged.

αὐτὸν τρόπον φράξας ἐπέστησεν ἐγκαρσίας πρὸ τῶν ἀγκυρῶν, ὡς ὑπ' αὐτῶν ἀναστέλλεσθαι τὸν ἐπίπλουν τῶν νεῶν. ἀλλὰ καὶ ὡς ὕψυλοι κολυμβηταὶ τὰς σχοίνοὺς αὐτοῖς ὑπέτεμνον. οἱ δὲ ἀλύσεσιν ἀντὶ σχοίων εἰς τὰς ἀγκύρας χρώμενοι, οἱ Μακεδόνες, καθίεσαν, ὥστε μηδὲν ἔτι πλέον τοῖς κολυμβηταῖς γίγνεσθαι. ἐξάπτοντες οὖν βρόχους τῶν λίθων ἀπὸ τοῦ χώματος ἀνέσπων αὐτοὺς ἔξω τῆς θαλάσσης· ἔπειτα μηχαναῖς μετεωρίσαντες κατὰ βάθους ἀφίεσαν, ἵνα οὐκέτι προβεβλημένοι βλάβῃεν ἔμελλον. ὅπου δὲ καθαρὸν πεποιήτο τῶν προβόλων τὸ τεῖχος, οὐ χαλεπῶς ἤδη ταύτη αἰ νῆες προσεῖχον.

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

Alexander succeeds in getting his ships up to the walls.

Attack by the Tyrians on the Cyprian fleet blockading the Sidonian harbour.

7

8

9

ρᾶσθαι ἦσαν, τότε δὴ ξὺν βοῇ τε πολλῇ καὶ ἐγκελευσμῶ ἐς ἀλλήλους καὶ ἅμα τῇ εἰρεσία ξυντόνω ἐπεφέροντο.

Ξυνέβη δὲ ἐκείνη μὲν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ Ἀλέξανδρον ἀποχω- XXII  
ρῆσαι ἐπὶ τὴν σκηπὴν, οὐ διατρίψαντα δὲ κατὰ τὸ

**Successful** εἰωθός, δι' ὀλίγου ἐπὶ τὰς ναῦς ἐπανελθεῖν. οἱ 2

**sally by**  
**the be-**  
**sieged,** δὲ Τύριοι προσπεσόντες ἀπροσδοκῆτως ταῖς  
ναυσὶν ὀρμούσαις, καὶ ταῖς μὲν πάντῃ κεναῖς  
ἐπιτυχόντες, τῶν δ' ὑπ' αὐτὴν τὴν βοῆν καὶ τὸν ἐπί-  
πλουν χαλεπῶς ἐκ τῶν παρόντων πληρουμένων, τὴν  
τε Πινταγόρου τοῦ βασιλέως πεντήρη εὐθὺς ὑπὸ τῇ  
πρώτῃ ἐμβολῇ κατέδυσαν καὶ τὴν Ἀνδροκλέους τοῦ  
Ἀμαθουσίου καὶ τὴν Πασικράτους τοῦ Κουριέως, τὰς  
δὲ ἄλλας ἐς τὸν αἰγιαλὸν ἐξωθοῦντες ἔκοπτον.

Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ ὡς ἦσθετο τὸν ἔκπλουν τῶν Τυρίων 3  
τριηρῶν, τὰς μὲν πολλὰς τῶν ξὺν αὐτῷ νεῶν, ὅπως

ἐκάστη πληρωθεῖη, ἐπὶ τῷ στόματι τοῦ  
**but**  
**Alexander**  
**intercepts**  
**their**  
**vessels.** λιμένος ἀνακωχέειν ἔταξεν, ὡς μὴ καὶ ἄλλαι  
ἐκπλεύσειαν τῶν Τυρίων νῆες· αὐτὸς δὲ πεν-  
τήρεις τε τὰς ξὺν αὐτῷ ἀναλαβὼν καὶ τῶν

τριηρῶν ἐς πέντε μάλιστα, ὅσαι ἔφθισαν αὐτῷ κατὰ  
τάχος πληρωθεῖσαι, περιέπλει τὴν πόλιν ὡς ἐπὶ τοὺς  
ἐκπεπλευκότας τῶν Τυρίων. οἱ δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ τείχους, 4

τόν τε ἐπίπλουν τῶν πολεμίων κατιδόντες καὶ Ἀλέξανδ-  
ρον αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τῶν νεῶν, βοῇ τε ἐπανάγειν ἐνεκελεύοντο  
τοῖς ἐκ τῶν σφετέρων νεῶν καὶ ὡς οὐκ ἐξακουσ-  
τὸν ἦν ὑπὸ θορύβου ξυνεχομένων ἐν τῷ ἔργῳ, σημείοις  
ἄλλοις καὶ ἄλλοις ἐπεκάλουν ἐς τὴν ἀναχώρησιν.

οἱ δὲ ὄψέ ποτε αἰσθόμενοι τὸν ἐπίπλουν τῶν ἀμφ'  
Ἀλέξανδρον ὑποστρέψαντες εἰς τὸν λιμένα ἔφευγον. 5

καὶ ὀλίγοι μὲν τῶν νεῶν φθάνουσιν ὑπεκφυγούσαι, ταῖς δὲ πλείους ἐμβαλοῦσαι αἱ ξὺν Ἀλεξάνδρῳ τὰς μὲν αὐτῶν ἄπλους ἐποίησαν, πεντήρης δὲ τις καὶ τετρήρης αὐτῶν ἐπ' αὐτῷ τῷ στόματι τοῦ λιμένος ἐλήφθησαν. φόνος δὲ τῶν ἐπιβατῶν οὐ πολὺς ἐγένετο. ὡς γὰρ ἦσθοντο ἐχομένας τὰς ναῦς ἀπειήξαντο οὐ χαλεπῶς ἐς τὸν λιμένα.

Ὡς δὲ οὐδεμία ἔτι τοῖς Τυρίοις ἐκ τῶν νεῶν ὠφέλεια ἦν, ἐπήγον ἤδη οἱ Μακεδόνες τὰς μηχανὰς τῷ τείχει αὐτῷ. κατὰ μὲν δὴ τὸ χῶμα προσαγόμεναι 6  
 He brings his artillery to bear on the walls. διὰ ἰσχὴν τοῦ τείχους οὐδὲν ἦνον ὅ τι καὶ λόγου ἄξιον· οἱ δὲ κατὰ τὸ πρὸς Σιδῶνα τετραμμένον τῆς πόλεως τῶν νεῶν τινὰς τῶν μηχανοφόρων προσῆγον. ὡς δὲ οὐδὲ ταύτη ἦνεν, ἐς 7  
 τὸ πρὸς νότον αὐτῶν ἄνεμον καὶ πρὸς Αἴγυπτον ἀνέχον τείχος μετῆι, πάντη ἀποπειρώμενος τοῦ ἔργου. καὶ ἐνταῦθα πρῶτον κατεσείσθη τε τὸ τείχος ἐπὶ μέγα καὶ τι καὶ κατηρέφθη αὐτοῦ παραρραγόν. τότε μὲν δὴ ὅσον ἐπιβαλὼν γεφύρας ἢ ἐρήριπτο τοῦ τείχους, ἀπεπειράθη ἐς ὀλίγον τῆς προσβολῆς· καὶ οἱ Τύριοι οὐ χαλεπῶς ἀπεκρούσαντο τοὺς Μακεδόνας.

Τρίτῃ δὲ ἀπὸ ταύτης ἡμέρᾳ νηνεμίαν τε φυλάξας XXIII  
 καὶ παρακάλεσας τοὺς ἡγεμόνας τῶν τάξεων ἐς τὸ ἔργον ἐπήγε τῇ πόλει ἐπὶ τῶν νεῶν τὰς μηχαν-  
 Tyre captured. νὰς. καὶ πρῶτα μὲν κατέσεισε τοῦ τείχους ἐπὶ μέγα. ὡς δὲ ἀποχρῶν εἰς πλάτος ἐφάνη τὸ παρερρηγμένον, τὰς μὲν μηχανοφόρους ναῦς ἐπανάγειν ἐκέλευσεν· ὁ δὲ δύο ἄλλας ἐπήγεν, αἱ τὰς γεφύρας αὐτῷ 2  
 ἔφερον, ἃς δὴ ἐπιβάλλειν ἐπενόει τῷ κατερρηγμένῳ τοῦ



τείχους. καὶ τὴν μὲν μίαν τῶν νεῶν οἱ ὑπασπισταὶ ἔλαβον, ἦ ἔπετέτακτο Ἄδμητος, τὴν ἑτέραν δὲ ἡ Κοίνου τάξις οἱ πεζέταιροι καλούμενοι· καὶ αὐτὸς ξὺν τοῖς ὑπασπισταῖς ἐπιβήσεσθαι τοῦ τείχους ἦ παρ- 3  
 ρεῖκοι ἔμελλε. τὰς τριήρεις δὲ τὰς μὲν ἐπιπλεῖν κατὰ τοὺς λιμένας ἀμφοτέρους ἐκέλευσεν, εἴ πως πρὸς σφᾶς τετραμμένων τῶν Τυρίων βιάσαιτο τὸν ἔσπλουν· ὅσαι δὲ αὐτῶν βέλη ἀπὸ μηχανῶν βαλλόμενα εἶχον ἢ ὅσαι τοξότας ἐπὶ τῶν καταστρωμάτων ἔφερον, ταύτας δὲ ἐκέλευσεν ἐν κύκλῳ περιπλεούσας τὸ τείχος ἐποκέλλειν 3  
 τε ὅπη παρεῖκοι καὶ ἀνακωχεύειν ἐντὸς βέλους, ἔστε τὸ ἐποκέλλαι ἄπορον γίγνοιτο, ὡς πανταχόθεν βαλλομέ-  
 νους τοὺς Τυρίους ἐν τῷ δεινῷ ἀμφιβόλους γίγνεσθαι.

Ὡς δὲ αἱ τε νῆες αἱ ξὺν Ἀλεξάνδρῳ προσέσχον 4  
 τῇ πόλει καὶ αἱ γέφυραι ἐπεβλήθησαν τῷ τείχει ἀπ' αὐτῶν, ἐνταῦθα οἱ ὑπασπισταὶ εὐρώστως κατὰ ταύ-  
 τας ἀνέβαινον ἐπὶ τὸ τείχος, ὃ τε γὰρ Ἄδμητος ἀνὴρ ἀγαθὸς ἐν τῷ τότε ἐγένετο καὶ ἅμα Ἀλέξανδρος εἶ-  
 πετο αὐτοῖς, τοῦ τε ἔργου αὐτοῦ καρτερῶς ἀπτόμε-  
 νος καὶ θεατῆς τῶν ἄλλων ὅτῳ τι λαμπρὸν κατ' ἀρετὴν ἐν τῷ κινδύνῳ ἐτολμάτο. καὶ ταύτῃ πρῶτον 4  
 ἦ ἔπετέτακτο Ἀλέξανδρος ἐλήφθη τὸ τείχος, οὐ 5  
 χαλεπῶς ἀποκρουσθέντων ἀπ' αὐτοῦ τῶν Τυρίων, ἐπειδὴ πρῶτον βεβαίῳ τε καὶ ἅμα οὐ πάντῃ ἀποτόμῳ τῇ προσβάσει ἐχρήσαντο οἱ Μακεδόνες. καὶ Ἄδμητος μὲν, πρῶτος ἐπιβὰς τοῦ τείχους καὶ τοῖς ἀμφ' αὐτὸν ἐγκελευόμενος ἐπιβαίνειν, βληθεὶς λόγχῃ ἀποθνήσκει αὐτοῦ· ἐπὶ δὲ αὐτῷ Ἀλέξανδρος ἔσχε τὸ τείχος ξὺν 6  
 τοῖς ἐταίροις. ὡς δὲ εἶχοντο αὐτῷ πύργοι τε ἔστιν οἱ

καὶ μεταπύργια, αὐτὸς μὲν παρήει διὰ τῶν ἐπάλξεων ὡς ἐπὶ τὰ βασίλεια, ὅτι ταύτη εὐπορωτέρα ἐφαίνετο ἐς τὴν πόλιν ἢ καθόδος.

Οἱ δὲ ἐπὶ τῶν νεῶν, οἳ τε Φοίνικες κατὰ τὸν λιμένα XXIV.  
τὸν πρὸς Αἰγύπτου, καθ' ὄνπερ καὶ ἐφορμοῦντες ἐτύγ-  
Massacre  
by the  
Macedo-  
nians.
 χανον, βιασάμενοι καὶ τὰ κλείθρα διασπάσαν-  
 τες ἔκοπτον τὰς ναῦς ἐν τῷ λιμένι, ταῖς μὲν  
 μετεώροις ἐμβάλλοντες, τὰς δὲ ἐς τὴν γῆν  
 ἐξωθοῦντες, καὶ οἱ Κύπριοι κατὰ τὸν ἄλλον λιμένα  
 τὸν ἐκ Σιδῶνος φέροντα, οὐδὲ κλείθρον τοῦτόν γε  
 ἔχοντα, εἰσπλεύσαντες εἶλον εὐθὺς ταύτη τὴν πόλιν.  
 τὸ δὲ πλῆθος τῶν Τυρίων τὸ μὲν τεῖχος, ὡς ἐχό- 2  
 μενον εἶδον, ἐκλείπουσιν. ἄθροισθέντες δὲ κατὰ τὸ  
 Ἄγηνόριον καλούμενον ἐπέστρεψαν ταύτη ἐπὶ τοὺς  
 Μακεδόνας. καὶ Ἀλέξανδρος ξὺν τοῖς ὑπασπισταῖς  
 ἐπὶ τούτους χωρήσας τοὺς μὲν αὐτοῦ μαχομένους  
 διέφθειρεν αὐτῶν, τοῖς δὲ φεύγουσιν ἐφείπετο. καὶ 3  
 φόνος ἦν πολὺς, τῶν τε ἀπὸ τοῦ λιμένος ἐχόντων ἤδη  
 τὴν πόλιν καὶ τῆς Κοίνου τάξεως παρεληλυθυίας εἰς  
 αὐτήν. ὀργῇ γὰρ ἐχώρουν ἐπὶ πᾶν οἱ Μακεδόνες, τῆς  
 τε πολιορκίας τῇ τριβῇ ἀχθόμενοι καὶ ὅτι λαβόντες  
 τινὰς αὐτῶν οἱ Τύριοι πλέοντας ἐκ Σιδῶνος ἐπὶ τὸ  
 τεῖχος ἀναβιβάσαντες, ὅπως ἀποπτον εἶη ἀπὸ τοῦ  
 στρατοπέδου, σφάζαντες ἔρριψαν εἰς τὴν θάλασσαν.  
 ἀπέθανον δὲ τῶν μὲν Τυρίων ἐς ὀκτακισχιλίους· τῶν 4  
 Μακεδόνων δὲ ἐν τῇ τότε προσβολῇ Ἄδμητός τε, ὁ  
 πρῶτος ἐλὼν τὸ τεῖχος, ἀνὴρ ἀγαθὸς γενόμενος, καὶ ξὺν  
 αὐτῷ εἴκοσι τῶν ὑπασπιστῶν· ἐν δὲ τῇ πάσῃ πολιορκίᾳ  
 μάλιστα ἐς τετρακοσίους.

Τοῖς δὲ ἐς τὸ ἱερόν τοῦ Ἡρακλέους καταφυγούσιν 5  
 (ἦσαν δὲ αὐτῶν τε τῶν Τυρίων οἱ μάλιστα ἐν τέλει καὶ  
 ὁ βασιλεὺς Ἀζέμιλκος καὶ Καρχηδονίων τινὲς  
 θεωροὶ ἐς τιμὴν τοῦ Ἡρακλέους κατὰ δὴ τινα  
 νόμον παλαιὸν εἰς τὴν μητρόπολιν ἀφικόμε-  
 νοι) τούτοις ζύμπασιν ἄδειαν δίδωσιν Ἀλέξανδρος·  
 τοὺς δὲ ἄλλους ἠνδραπόδισε, καὶ ἐπράθησαν Τυρίων τε  
 καὶ τῶν ξένων ὅσοι ἐγκατελήφθησαν, μάλιστα ἐς  
 τρισμυρίους. Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ τῷ Ἡρακλεῖ ἔθυσέ τε 6  
 καὶ πομπὴν ἔστειλε ζῆν τῇ δυνάμει ὠπλισμένη· καὶ αἱ  
 νῆες ξυνεπόμπευσαν τῷ Ἡρακλεῖ, καὶ ἀγῶνα γυμνικὸν  
 ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ καὶ λαμπάδα ἐποίησε· καὶ τὴν μηχανὴν  
 ἣ τὸ τεῖχος κατεσείσθη ἀνέθηκεν εἰς τὸν νεῶν· καὶ  
 τὴν ναῦν τὴν Τυρίαν τὴν ἱεράν τοῦ Ἡρακλέους, ἦν-  
 τινα ἐν τῷ ἐπίπλῳ ἔλαβε, καὶ ταύτην τῷ Ἡρακλεῖ  
 ἀνέθηκε καὶ ἐπίγραμμα ἐπ' αὐτῇ, ἣ αὐτὸς ποιήσας  
 ἢ ὅτου δὴ ἄλλου ποιήσαντος, οὐκ ἄξιον μνήμης τὸ  
 ἐπίγραμμα· διὰ τοῦτο καὶ ἐγὼ αὐτὸ ἀναγράψαι  
 ἀπηξίωσα. Τύρος μὲν δὴ οὕτως ἐάλω ἐπὶ ἄρχοντος  
 Ἀνικίτου Ἀθήνησι μὴνὸς Ἑκατομβαιῶνος.

Ἔτι δὲ ἐν τῇ πολιορκίᾳ τῆς Τύρου ξυνεχομένου XXV  
 Ἀλεξάνδρου ἀφίκοντο παρὰ Δαρείου πρέσβεις ὡς  
 αὐτόν, ἀπαγγέλλοιτες μύρια μὲν τάλαντα  
 ὑπὲρ τῆς μητρὸς τε καὶ τῆς γυναικὸς καὶ τῶν  
 παιδῶν δοῦναι ἐθέλειν Ἀλεξάνδρῳ Δαρείον· τὴν  
 δὲ χώραν πᾶσαν τὴν ἐντὸς Εὐφράτου ποταμοῦ  
 ἔσπε ἐπὶ θάλασσαν τὴν Ἑλληνικὴν Ἀλεξάνδρου εἶναι·  
 γήμαντα δὲ τὴν Δαρείου παῖδα Ἀλέξανδρον φίλον τε  
 εἶναι Δαρείῳ καὶ ζύμμαχον. καὶ τούτων ἐν τῷ ξυλλόγῳ 2

Alexan-  
 der's sac-  
 rifice to  
 Hercules.

Alexander  
 rejects the  
 peace pro-  
 posals of  
 Darius.

τῶν ἐταίρων ἀπαγγελθέντων Παρμενίωνα μὲν λέγουσιν Ἄλεξανδρῳ εἰπεῖν ὅτι αὐτὸς ἂν Ἄλέξανδρος ὢν ἐπὶ τούτοις ἠγάπησε καταλύσας τὸν πόλεμον μηκέτι πρόσω κινδυνεύειν· Ἄλεξανδρον δὲ Παρμενίῳ ἀποκρίνασθαι ὅτι καὶ αὐτὸς ἂν, εἴπερ Παρμενίων ἦν, οὕτως ἔπραξεν, ἐπεὶ δὲ Ἄλεξάνδρος ἐστίν, ἀποκρίνεσθαι Δαρείῳ ἕπερ δὴ καὶ ἀπεκρίνατο. ἔφη γὰρ οὔτε χρημάτων δεῖσθαι 3 παρὰ Δαρείου οὔτε τῆς χώρας λαβεῖν ἀντὶ τῆς πάσης τὸ μέρος· εἶναι γὰρ τά τε χρήματα καὶ τὴν χώραν αὐτοῦ πᾶσαν· γῆμαί τε ἂν ἐθέλη τὴν Δαρείου παῖδα, γῆμαι ἂν καὶ οὐ διδόντος Δαρείου· ἐκέλευέ τε αὐτὸν ἡκεῖν, εἴ τι εὐρέσθαι ἐθελοι φιλάνθρωπον παρ' αὐτοῦ. ταῦτα ὡς ἤκουσε Δαρείος, τὰς μὲν ξυμβάσεις ἀπέγνω τὰς πρὸς Ἄλεξανδρον, ἐν παρασκευῇ δὲ τοῦ πολέμου αἴθις ἦν.

Ἄλέξανδρος δὲ ἐπὶ Αἰγύπτου ἔγνω ποιεῖσθαι τὸν 4 στόλον. καὶ ἦν αὐτῷ τὰ μὲν ἄλλα τῆς Παλαιστίνης καλουμένης Συρίας προσκεχωρηκότα ἤδη. εὐρουῆχος δὲ τις, ᾧ ὄνομα ἦν Βάτις, κρατῶν τῆς Γαζαίων πόλεως, οὐ προσεῖχεν Ἄλεξανδρῳ, ἀλλὰ Ἀραβὰς τε μισθωτοὺς ἐπαγόμενος καὶ σίτον ἐκ πολλοῦ παρεσκευακῶς διαρκῆ ἐς χρόνιον πολιορκίαν καὶ τῷ χωρίῳ πιστεύων, μήποτε ἂν βία ἀλῶναι, ἔγνω μὴ δέχεσθαι τῇ πόλει Ἄλεξανδρον.

Ἀπέχει δὲ ἡ Γάζα τῆς μὲν θαλάσσης εἴκοσι μάλιστα XXVI. σταδίου. καὶ ἔστι ψαμμώδης καὶ βαθεῖα ἐς αὐτὴν ἡ ἄνοδος καὶ ἡ θάλασσα ἡ κατὰ τὴν πόλιν τεναγώδης πᾶσα. μεγάλη δὲ πόλις ἡ Γάζα ἦν καὶ ἐπὶ χώματος ὑψηλοῦ ἄκιστο καὶ τεῖχος περιεβέβλητο αὐτῇ ὄχυρόν. ἐσχάτη δὲ

He deter-  
mines on  
the expe-  
dition to  
Egypt.

Prepara-  
tions for  
the siege  
of Gaza.

ᾠκείτο ὡς ἐπ' Αἴγυπτον ἐκ Φοινίκης ἰόντι ἐπὶ τῇ ἀρχῇ  
τῆς ἐρήμου.

Ἄλεξανδρος δὲ ὡς ἀφίκετο πρὸς τὴν πόλιν, τῇ 2  
μὲν πρώτῃ κατεστρατοπέδευσε ἢ μάλιστα ἐπίμαχον  
αὐτῷ ἐφαίνετο τὸ τεῖχος, καὶ μηχανὰς συμπηγνύει  
ἐκέλευσε. οἱ δὲ μηχανοποιοὶ γνώμην ἀπεδείκνυτο  
ἄπορον εἶναι βία ἐλεῖν τὸ τεῖχος διὰ ὕψος τοῦ χώματος.  
ἀλλ' Ἄλεξάνδρῳ αἰρετέον ἐδόκει εἶναι ὅσῳ ἀπορώτερον· 3  
ἐκπλήξειν γὰρ τοὺς πολεμίους τὸ ἔργον τῷ παραλόγῳ  
ἐπὶ μέγα, καὶ τὸ μὴ ἐλεῖν αἰσχρὸν εἶναι οἱ λεγόμενον ἔς  
τε τοὺς Ἕλληνας καὶ ἐς Δαρεῖον. ἐδόκει δὴ χῶμα ἐν  
κύκλῳ τῆς πόλεως χωνύειν, ὡς ἐξ ἴσου ἀπὸ τοῦ χωσ-  
θέντος ἐπάγεσθαι τὰς μηχανὰς τοῖς τεῖχεσι. καὶ  
ἐχώννυτο κατὰ τὸ νότιον μάλιστα τῆς πόλεως τεῖχος,  
ἵνα ἐπιμαχώτερα ἐφαίνετο. ὡς δὲ ἐδόκει ἐξηρῆθαι συμ- 4  
μέτρως τὸ χῶμα, μηχανὰς ἐπιστήσαιτες οἱ Μακεδόνες  
ἐπῆγον ὡς ἐπὶ τὸ τεῖχος τῶν Γαζαίων. καὶ  
ἐν τούτῳ θύοντι Ἄλεξάνδρῳ καὶ ἐστεφα-  
νωμένῳ τε καὶ κατάρχεσθαι μέλλοσι τοῦ  
πρώτου ἱερείου κατὰ νόμον τῶν τις σαρκοφάγων  
ὀρνίθων ὑπερπετόμενος τοῦ βωμοῦ λίθον ἐμβάλλει  
ἐς τὴν κεφαλὴν ὄντινα τοῖν ποδοῖν ἔφερε. καὶ  
Ἄλεξανδρος ἤρετο Ἀρίστανδρον τὸν μάντιν ὅ τι νοοῖ  
ὁ οἰωνός. ὁ δὲ ἀποκρίνεται ὅτι, ὦ βασιλεῦ, τὴν μὲν  
πόλιν αἰρήσεις, αὐτῷ δὲ σοι φυλακτέα ἐστὶν ἐπὶ τῆδε  
τῇ ἡμέρᾳ.

Γαῦτα ἀκούσας Ἄλεξανδρος τέως μὲν πρὸς ταῖς XXV  
μηχαναῖς ἔξω βέλους αὐτὸν εἶχεν· ὡς δὲ ἐκδρομὴ τε ἐκ  
τῆς πόλεως καρτερὰ ἐγίγνετο καὶ πῦρ τε ἐπέφερον

ταῖς μηχαναῖς οἱ Ἄραβες καὶ τοὺς Μακεδόνας  
 ἀμυνομένους κάτωθεν αὐτοὶ ἐξ ὑπερδεξίου τοῦ  
 χωρίου ἔβαλλόν τε καὶ ὄθουν κατὰ τοῦ ποιητοῦ  
 χώματος, ἐνταῦθα ἢ ἐκὼν ἀπειθεὶ Ἀλέξανδρος  
 τῷ μάντει ἢ ἐκπλαγεὶς ἐν τῷ ἔργῳ οὐκ ἐμνημόνευσε  
 τῆς μαντείας, ἀλλ' ἀναλαβὼν τοὺς ὑπασπιστὰς παρε-  
 βοήθει ἵνα μάλιστα ἐπιέζοντο οἱ Μακεδόνες. καὶ 2  
 τούτους μὲν ἔσχε τοῦ μὴ οὐκ αἰσχυρᾷ φυγῇ ὡσθῆναι  
 κατὰ τοῦ χώματος· αὐτὸς δὲ βιάλλεται καταπέλτη διὰ  
 τῆς ἀσπίδος διαμπάξ καὶ τοῦ θώρακος ἐς τὸν ὦμον. ὡς  
 δὲ ἔγνω τὰ ἀμφὶ τὸ τραῦμα ἀληθεύσαντα τὸν Ἀρί-  
 στανδρον, ἐχάρη, ὅτι καὶ τὴν πόλιν δὴ αἰρήσειν ἐδόκει  
 Ἀριστάνδρου ἕνεκα.

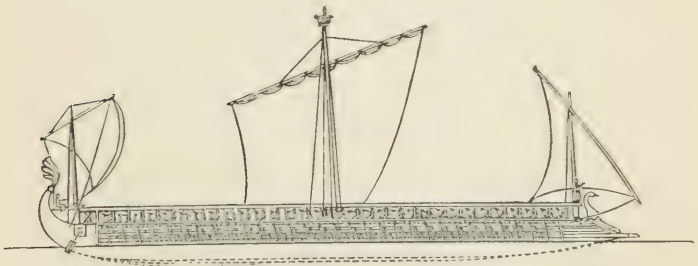
Καὶ αὐτὸς μὲν τὸ τραῦμα ἐθεραπεύετο χαλεπῶς· 3  
 ἀφικνοῦνται δ' αὐτῷ μετάπεμπτοι ἀπὸ θαλάσσης αἱ  
 μηχαναὶ αἷς Τύρον εἶλε. καὶ χῶμα χωνύνας  
 ἐν κύκλῳ πάντοθεν τῆς πόλεως ἐκέλευσεν,  
 εὖρος μὲν ἐς δύο σταδίους, ὕψος δὲ ἐς πόδας  
 πενήκοντα καὶ διακοσίους. ὡς δὲ αἱ τε μηχαναὶ αὐτῷ 4  
 ἐποιήθησαν καὶ ἐπαχθεῖσαι κατὰ τὸ χῶμα κατέσεισαν  
 τοῦ τείχους ἐπὶ πολὺ, ὑπονόμων τε ἄλλη καὶ ἄλλη ὀρυσ-  
 σομένων καὶ τοῦ χοῦ ἀφανῶς ἐκφερομένου τὸ τείχος  
 πολλαχῇ ἠρείπετο ὑφίζάνον κατὰ τὸ κενούμενον, τοῖς  
 τε βέλεσιν ἐπὶ πολὺ κατεῖχον οἱ Μακεδόνες, ἀναστέλ-  
 λοντες τοὺς προμαχομένους ἐκ τῶν πύργων, ἐς μὲν  
 τρεῖς προσβολὰς οἱ ἐκ τῆς πόλεως ἀποθνησκόντων  
 τε αὐτοῖς πολλῶν καὶ τιτρωσκομένων ὅμως ἀντεῖχον.  
 τῇ τετάρτῃ δὲ τῶν Μακεδόνων τὴν φάλαγγα πάν- 5  
 τοθεν προσαγαγὼν Ἀλέξανδρος τῇ μὲν ὑπορυσσό-

Alexan-  
 der  
 wounded.

Gaza  
 taken by  
 assault.

μενον τὸ τεῖχος καταβάλλει, τῇ δὲ παιόμενον ταῖς μηχαναῖς κατασεῖει ἐπὶ πολὺ, ὡς μὴ χαλεπὴν ταῖς κλίμαξι τὴν προσβολὴν κατὰ τὰ ἐρημιμμένα ἐνδοῦναι. αἱ τε οὖν κλίμακες προσήγοντο τῷ τείχει καὶ ἕρις 6 πολλὴ ἦν τῶν Μακεδόνων ὅσοι τι ἀρετῆς μετεποιοῦντο ὅστις πρῶτος αἰρήσει τὸ τεῖχος· καὶ αἰρεῖ πρῶτος Νεοπτόλεμος τῶν ἐταίρων τοῦ Αἰακιδῶν γένους· ἐπὶ δὲ αὐτῷ ἄλλαι καὶ ἄλλαι τάξεις ὁμοῦ τοῖς ἡγεμόσιν ἀέβαινον. ὡς δὲ ἅπαξ παρήλθόν τινες ἐντὸς 7 τεύχος τῶν Μακεδόνων, κατασχίσαντες ἄλλας καὶ ἄλλας πύλας, ὅσαις ἕκαστοι ἐπετύγγανον, δέχονται εἴσω τὴν στρατιὰν πᾶσαν. οἱ δὲ Γαζαῖοι καὶ τῆς πολέως σφισιν ἤδη ἐχομένης ξυνεστηκότες ὁμῶς ἐμάχοντο· καὶ ἀπέθανον πάντες αὐτοῦ μαχόμενοι ὡς ἕκαστοι ἐτάχθησαν· παῖδας δὲ καὶ γυναῖκας ἐξηνδραπόδισεν αὐτῶν Ἀλέξανδρος. τὴν πόλιν δὲ ξυνοικίσας ἐκ τῶν περιοίκων ἐχρήτη ὅσα φρουρίῳ ἐς τὸν πόλεμον.

Used as an  
arsenal  
during  
the war.



Greek Trireme.

# NOTES.

## BOOK I.

### PREFACE.

- § 1. For Ptolemy and Aristobulus, *vide* Introd., § 20.  
ξυνέγραψαν—ἀναγράφω, “they compiled,” “I write out, record.” ἀναγράφω refers to the mere recording of facts.  
πιστότερα, predicate.  
ἐπιλεξάμενος, “choosing out.” Cf. Herod., *passim*. On Arrian’s historical methods, *vide* Introd., § 19.
- § 2. ὑπὲρ = περὶ.  
πλείονες. For other authorities used by Arrian, *vide* Introd., § 20.  
συνηγήθη = Att. συνέβη, “it happened.”
- § 3. ὡς λεγόμενα μόνον, “mere verbal tradition” opposed to facts vouched for historically. Alexander’s exploits soon passed into the sphere of legend (*vide* App. B, “Alexander in Legend,” p. 155.  
ἀναλεξάμενος, “when he reads them”; usually ἀναγιγνώσκειν.

### CHAPTER I.

- § 1. δῆ, “so then,” implying that the subject of Philip has only been hinted at before, but is now to be discussed.  
τελευτήσαι. Philip was murdered in 336 B.C. by Pausanias.  
Ἀλέξανδρον. Change from nom. and infin. to acc. and infin.
- § 2. ἔδοσαν, 337 B.C. The Lacedæmonians alone had refused to grant Philip the hegemony.



νεωτερίσαι = *novis rebus studuisse*. This was at the instigation of Demosthenes.

- § 4. ἦρι, 335 B.C.  
Τριβαλλοί. On the importance of these tribes as mounted troops, *vide* App. A.  
ὅτι μὴ = εἰ μὴ, "except."
- § 5. Φίλιπποι. *Vide* map at end of book.
- § 6. ἐμπόρων, if the reading is right = merchants who, in huge caravans strongly guarded by mounted men, traded between the Danube district and the confines of Macedon and Greece.  
τὸν στόλον after εἵργειν.
- § 7. ἀμάξας προβαλόμενοι. Cf. the formation of a South African laager.  
ἀπομάχεσθαι, "to fight from a position of advantage."  
ἦ with τοῦ ὄρους.  
ἀποτομώτατον—*sc.* ἦν, "at that point of the mountain which was most precipitous."  
φάλαγγι. *Vide* App. A, p. 142.
- § 8. εἶναι (of Alexander's thought), infinitive, governed by general sense.
- § 9. περικαταλαμβάνοντο, "were caught in a narrow place."  
ξυννεύσαντας, "pressing close to each other."  
συγκλείσαι = *συνασπισμός*. *Vide* App. A, p. 153.  
τοῦ . . . ἐπέλθειν, genitive of purpose.
- § 11. τοξότας. On the use of bowmen, *vide* App. A, p. 145.  
ἄγημα. *Vide* App. A, p. 145.
- § 12. ἀνέστελλον, "drove back."  
ὡς ἐκάστοις προύχῳρει, "as best they could," refers to ἐφυγον.

## CHAPTER II.

- § 1. τὰς πόλεις, Neapolis and Eion, the seaports of Philippi and Amphipolis.  
ἰόντι—*sc.* τινί, "as one goes."  
σταθμός = in Xen. Anab. "a day's march," lit., a resting-place, a stage. Roughly speaking it averaged 5 parasangs = 150 stades = about 18 English miles.
- § 2. ἐκ πολλοῦ, "long before," temporal.
- § 3. ξυμπεφεύγει. No augment. Cf. App. C, "Arrian's Language."  
τὸ πολὺ πλῆθος, "the main body."
- § 4. ἐς βάθος ἐκτάξας, so that the front of the fighting line was

deeper than it was broad. The opposite = *ἐς μῆκος τάσσεσθαι*.  
*Vide* App. A, "Tactical Terms," p. 152.

*ἐς τὰ ψιλὰ*, "into the open."

- § 5. *ἰππέας . . . κατὰ τὸ κέρας . . .* On Alexander's cavalry tactics, *vide* App. A, p. 148.

### CHAPTER III.

- § 1. *ἀπείργοντα*, "forming the boundary of," an Herodotean expression.

- § 2. *ἀνίσχουσι*, intrans., "arise," "have their origin."

*Κουάδους*, on the Quadi and Marcomanni, really Teutons, not Celts, *vide* Index of Proper Names. Arrian is of course here talking of his own times (100 A. D.)

*ἐπὶ δὲ = deinde*, adverbial.

*ἀπαθανατίζοντας*, "who consider themselves immortal." Cf. Herod. iv. 94, where these Getae are said to believe that they do not die but go to their god Zalmoxis after leaving this earth. Every five years a messenger is sent to Zalmoxis—*i.e.*, a victim is sacrificed.

*πέντε στόματα*. According to Strabo, seven mouths; now three.

- § 5. *ἔγνω*, "determined."

- § 6. *τῆς κάρφης*, "sufficient hay." *τῆς = the hay which was necessary.*

*μονόξυλα*, "dug-outs," "canoes," such as the Rhine pirates used (Plin. H. N., 16. 40) and the South Sea islanders still use.

### CHAPTER IV.

- § 1. *διέβαλον = διέβαινον*,

*πλαγίαις*, "with their lances held sideways." For the 15-foot sarissa, *vide* App. A, p. 142.

*ἐπικλίνοντας*, accusative, though grammatically referring to *πέζοις*.

- § 2. *ἐν πλαισίῳ*. *Vide* App. A, p. 153.

- § 4. *ὄσον*, "about."

*παρασάγγην = 30 stades = about 3 $\frac{3}{4}$  miles.*

*τὰ ἔρημα*, "the steppes."

- § 5. *ἐπαναγαγεῖν*, "to convey back."

*αὐτῆς ἡμέρας*, "before nightfall."

- § 7. *πίστεις*, "pledges of friendship," including probably oaths of alliance, giving of hostages, hand-shaking, &c.

δεδίπτεται, "what in this world inspired them most with fear?"

- § 8. ἐς ἄλλα τὴν ὁρμὴν, "that A. was intent on other conquests"—*i.e.*, they felt they might be rude with impunity.  
ἀλαζόνες, "braggarts." ἀλαζῶν = *simulator*, opp. to εἴρων = *dissimulator*.

## CHAPTER V.

- § 1. Κλείτος. *Vide* Index of Proper Names.  
ἀναξευγνύναι, "to break up camp," "to start."  
§ 3. ἀμφὶ τὰ σφέτερα, "so that they might have their own business to mind," "might have something to do at home." A colloquial expression.  
§ 6. ὡς . . . ἐπιτίθεσθαι, "intending to surround and fall upon."  
§ 7. προσῆγεν—*sc.* τὸ στράτευμα.  
καίτοι, with participle = *καίπερ* in pure Attic.  
§ 8. ἀπέγνω ἐλεῖν ἄν, in *or. rect.* = οὐκ ἄν ἔλοιμι.  
§ 10. κινδυνεύουσι, καταλήψεται. Indicative of *or. rect.* retained for the sake of vividness.  
§ 11. ἐδόκουγ, "expected," "thought."  
ἀπαλλαττομένοις, "as they withdrew."  
§ 12. τῇ μὲν . . . ἀπειργόμενα, "on the one side bounded by the river . . ."  
ἐπὶ τεσσάρων ἀσπίδων, "four men deep." ἀσπίς here = ἀσπιδόφορος. *Vide* App. A, "Tactical Terms," p. 152.

## CHAPTER VI.

- § 1. ὀξέως δεχομένους, "took up, obeyed, the order smartly." Cf. Thuc. 2. 11, τὰ παραγγελόμενα ὀξέως δεχόμενοι.  
§ 2. ἀποτείνειν ἐς, "to lower their lances for a charge." So καθιέναι, Xen. Anab. vi. 5. 25.  
παρήγαγε—*i.e.*, he made the phalanx advance smartly, while men from the rear marched up on the left and right.  
§ 3. ἔμβολον. *Vide* App. A, p. 153.  
τῶν δρωμένων, "the manœuvre."  
§ 5. σωματαφύλαξι, ἑταίροις. For the king's bodyguard, *vide* App. A, p. 145.  
καταπηδήσαι ἀπο τῶν ἵππων—*i.e.*, to act as mounted infantry. For Alexander's use of cavalry, *vide* p. 148.  
§ 6. ἐπ' ἀσπίδα, "to the left"; opp. ἐπὶ δόρυ, "to the right." There

was always a tendency in Greek armies to acquire a sort of sideways movement and press to the right.

- § 7. πάντων . . . ἐλαυνόντων. This was what the Taulantii thought; the phalanx, however, only made a feint at an attack.
- § 8. μηχανὰς, "artillery," such engines as καταπέλται, πετροβόλοι. ἐπεσβάντας, lit. = "that the bowmen who had already followed him into the river should shoot from there—the bowmen too," that is, as well as the μηχαναί. καὶ τούτους—sc. ἐκτοξεύειν is added almost as an afterthought.
- § 9. ἐν τῇ τάξει, "along the line which they had taken up." ἅμα οἱ, in Attic, usually αὐτῶ.
- § 10. φάλαγγι κατὰ κέρας—i.e., "with their own troops in phalanx-formation." They fell upon the enemy when they were in files.  
αἰρούντες, "overtaking."
- § 11. μέχρι πρὸς, so μέχρι ἐπὶ, εἰς, rare in Attic.

## CHAPTER VII.

- § 2. προῖσχύμενοι, "holding out the fine prospect of . . ." πιθανώτεροι ἔς τινα, usually τινα. The line of thought is that the statement that Alexander had died in Illyria had more influence on the mind of the mob than the fine talk about liberty and freedom of speech.
- § 3. καὶ γὰρ καὶ, "for in actual fact," a stronger form of καὶ γὰρ = *etenim etiam*.
- § 4. φαῦλον ποιῆσθαι (= ἡγεῖσθαι), "to think light of."
- § 5. ἑβδομαῖος, a quick march. Alexander had trained his heavy infantry to cover thirty or thirty-five miles a day. This was made possible by the absence of baggage-trains, camp-followers, &c., each man carrying his own provisions—bread, olives, onions, and salt fish.
- § 9. ψιλῶν καὶ τοξοτῶν, "light-armed troops, especially bowmen."
- § 10. διὰ κινδύνου ἐλθεῖν, to adopt a combative course, attitude.
- § 11. βοιωταρχοῦντες. The eleven administrative officials of the Theban confederacy were called Bœotarchs.  
ἔστιν οἱ = ἔμοι, more commonly, in Arrian and elsewhere, εἰσὶν οἱ.  
οὐδ' ὥς = *ne sic quidem*.

## CHAPTER VIII.

- § 1. αὐτὸς, "on his own initiative."
- § 5. ἔφθησαν συγκλείσαι = ἔ. συγκλείσαντες.  
ἀλλὰ . . . γὰρ, an ellipse, "but the fact was."
- § 6. παρέλθόντες. The monument of Amphion lay outside the city.  
Cf. Pausan. ix. 17. 3.  
ἔχόμενα πρὸς, "held by."
- § 8. ὄργῃ, "since their blood was up," "in exasperation."  
οὐχ οὕτως τι, Herodotean expression, "not so much the Macedonians as . . ."
- Φωκεῖς. The Phocians had a grudge against the Thebans because the latter had begun the Sacred War against them; the Plataeans, because the Thebans had sacked Plataea. The number of Thebans killed was more than 6000, whilst 30,000 were sold as slaves.

## CHAPTER IX.

- § 1. Ἑλληνικὸν, predicate. The fact that the disaster happened to a Greek city increased the horror of it. In translating, break up the sentence—*e.g.*, "this disaster, happening as it did to Greeks, filled with horror not only those who were directly affected by it, but the whole of the Greek world; for not only was the city captured—a most important one—and its capture effected with terrible celerity, but the sudden nature of the blow came as a surprise to both the victims and victors."
- § 2. Σικελίαν—*i.e.*, the Sicilian expedition, 415-413 B.C.
- § 3. Αἰγὸς ποταμοί, B.C. 405.  
ἐπικρατήσαι, by Conon's victory over the Spartans at Cnidus in 394 B.C. Cf. Xen. Hellen. iv. 8. 9.  
Διασώσασθαι. Thebes, about the year 374 B.C. allied with most of the states of the Peloponnese, was pressing Sparta hard. Athens retired from this league.
- § 4. At Leuctra, in 371 B.C., the Thebans under Epaminondas gained a decisive victory over the Spartans under Cleombrotus. At Mantinea, in 362 B.C., Epaminondas defeated the Lacedæmonians, but was himself killed.
- § 5. Πλαταιέων ἄλωσις, in 427 B.C. Cf. Thuc. iii. 52. Melos was taken from the Spartans by Athens in 416; Scione, in 421

B.C. (cf. Thuc. v. 32); for the monstrous treatment of the Melians, *vide* Thuc. v. 84.

ἡ . . . ἄλωσις, *nominativus pendens*.

§§ 6, 7. All one sentence. In English, break up into several.

τὰ τῆς ἀποστάσεως, "the circumstances connected with their revolt."

ὄξεια, adverbial.

ἐξ ὁμοφύλων—*sc.* *γενόμενος*.

οὐκ ἔξω τοῦ εἰκότος, "not unnaturally."

ἀνηνέχθη, "was referred, attributed to."

§ 7. ἐκτίσαντας, accus. absolute.

σπονδαῖς. The thirty years' truce began in 445 B.C. In spite of the truce, in 431 B.C., 300 Theban aristocrats attacked Plataea, but with no success.

ἀνδραποδιομοῦ. After a heroic resistance for three years Plataea surrendered to the Spartans, who at Thebes's instigation executed 200 Plataeans and sold the other inhabitants as slaves. The Thebans then razed Plataea to the ground.

γνώμη, "proposal," "proposition."

§ 8. ἐπεὶ καὶ refers to § 6, εἰς μῆνιν . . . ἀνηνέχθη, giving a further reason for such a supposition.

ἐπισημῆναι, intransitive.

§ 10. Πινδάρου. Cf. Milton—

"The great Emathian conqueror bid spare  
The house of Pindarus, when temple and tower  
Went to the ground."

## CHAPTER X.

§ 1. ἐπιτήδειοι, "were on friendly terms with."

§ 2. Αἰτωλοὶ . . . κατὰ ἔθνη, "each of the Ætolian clans."

μυστηρίων—*i.e.*, the Eleusinian mysteries, which took place in September (15-23 Boedromion).

§ 3. Δημάδου, for Dēmādēs. *Vide* Index of Proper Names.

οὐκ ἐν καιρῷ, Arrian's opinion, implying that their congratulations might have been made earlier.

§ 4. Πολύευκτον. Nothing is known of him or of the names that follow.

§ 5. πλημμεληθέντων. What these insults were is told by Æschines in Ctes. 160. The Athenians, at Demosthenes' instigation,

celebrated Philip's death by holding a solemn festival and erecting a shrine to his murderer Pausanias. They also spoke very slightingly of Alexander, nicknaming him Margites—the man who knew many things but knew them all badly.

- § 6. *πρεσβεύονται*. Phocian was spokesman on this occasion. *τυχὸν*, acc. absol. (cf. *ἔξον, παρὸν*)=*sive* . . . *sive*.

## CHAPTER XI.

- § 1. Ἀρχελάου. *Vide* *Introd.*, § 16.
- § 2. ἰδρῶσαι. The sweating of statues was a dangerous omen. Cf. *Apoll. Rhod.* iv. 1285; *Cic. Div.* ii. 27. 58.  
*ποιεῖν*, "to tell in verse."
- § 3. *τρισμυρίων*. For the numbers of Alexander's force, *vide* *App. A*, p. 147.
- § 5. ὅτι καὶ, "both for other reasons, and because . . ."  
*νοῦς*, "the object," "the idea."
- § 6. *πλοῖα στρογγύλα* = *nares onerariae*, freight vessels; opp. *μακρὰ νῆες*, "warships."  
ὁ λόγος κατέχει. For the legendary element in Alexander's history and its subsequent developments, *vide* *Appendix B*, "Alexander in Legend."
- § 7. *καθελεῖν*, take down from the temple wall.
- § 8. *παραιτούμενον*, "praying Priam not to be wroth with Neoptolemus's stock, from which, as a matter of fact (*δῆ*), Alexander traced his descent"—lit., "which came down to him." Alexander on his mother's side was an *Aeacid*, the family of Achilles and Neoptolemus. *Vide* *Introd.*, § 2.

## CHAPTER XII.

- § 1. *Πατρόκλου*. Hephastion wished by crowning Patroclus's tomb to imply that he was to Alexander as Patroclus was to Achilles.
- § 2. *καὶ μέντοι καὶ*, "and certainly Alexander *was* justified in . . ."  
*κατὰ*="in proportion to," "on a par with."  
*ἐκλιπὲς* . . . *τὸ χῶριον*, "this point was not done justice to," "in this sphere there were deficiencies." The phrase occurs *Thuc.* i. 97.  
*καταλογάδην*, in narrative prose.  
*μέλει*, properly = a lyric ode such as Pindar wrote.

ἦσθη, from ἄδειν.

For the facts about historians of Alexander, *vide* Introd., § 19.

Hiero, Thero, and Gelo were all celebrated in the writings of Pindar and Bacchylides.

§ 3. Arrian as an imitator of Xenophon, *vide* Introd., § 18.

§ 4. οὔτε ξὺν ἄλλω οὔτε φεύγων . . . Referring to the ten thousand Greeks who were mercenaries under Cyrus, and who retreated (φεύγων) after Cunaxa.

§ 5. ἀρχήν. On the "office" held by Arrian, *vide* Introd., § 17.

οἶδε οἱ λόγοι, "this history is to me Fatherland and family and office"—*i.e.*, on this historical work—the Anabasis—since I was a youth I have spent all my energy; it is more to me than Fatherland, &c., and so (ἐπὶ τῷδε) I consider I have a right to describe the greatest deeds ever told of in the Greek language (τῶν πρώτων ἐν τῇ φωνῇ τῇ Ἑλλάδι).

εἴπερ οὖν . . . justifies the statement that Alexander's acts were greatest (πρώτων), "for as a fact Alexander was one of the greatest warriors." τῶν—*sc.* πρώτων (masc.) The verb of the sentence is ἔσται understood.

§ 6. ἐς θάλασσαν—*i.e.*, the Propontis.

§ 7. Ὡλην. *Vide* App. A, p. 146.

§ 8. σατράπης and ὑπαρχος are often used without distinction.

Properly ὑπαρχος was the subordinate officer of a satrap.

For satraps, *vide* Introd., § 11.

§ 9. Μέμνων. For his good generalship, *vide* App. A, p. 148.

χιλὸν, "fodder."

§ 10. προσθέσθαι—*sc.* τὴν ψῆφον, "agreed with." Cf. Herod. vi. 109.

τιμῆς ἕνεκα. He wished to retain as long as possible the high office he held from the king—*i.e.*, the satrapy of Phrygia.

### CHAPTER XIII.

§ 1. διπλῆν. This double column was necessary, as there was little room for manœuvres. *Vide* plan, p. 149.

§ 3. As to Arrian's use of speeches, *vide* Introd., § 19.

τῷ πρὸς ἡλιπομένους, "weaker in infantry."

ταύτη, "consequently."

§ 4. ἐν μετώπῳ } For the tactics, *vide* App. A, p. 152  
κατὰ κέρας }

§ 6. οὔτω ἐκφαλλίσας, explanation by Arrian.

ποιοῦμαι = ἡγοῦμαι.



ὡς ἔχομεν = *ut sumus*, "unhesitatingly," "at once."

ὅτι . . . ἔπαθον—*i.e.*, they had not up to the present time experienced anything at the hands of the Macedonians which might reasonably make them fear them.

## CHAPTER XIV.

§ 1. παρήιεν, Ionic = παρήει. The MSS. have παρήγεν, which is not found intransitively. ΠΑΡΗΙΕΝ may easily have got changed into ΠΑΡΗΓΕΝ.

ἐπετάχθη, ἐπι = "next to him was drawn up."

§ 4. ὑπερδέξια—*i.e.*, the high ground afforded an advantageous position.

ἐπέχοντα, "had advanced."

§ 5. στρατεύματα, neut., ἐπεστῶτες plural; *constructio secundum sensum*.

§ 6. ἔχοντα Ἀμύνταν, "under the command of A."

§ 7. λοξὴν αἰέ . . . "letting his line extend sideways in the direction in which the river flowed."

παρείλκε, intransitive; expect *παρείλκετο*. Alexander advanced into the river in a sort of *échelon* formation, so that on landing his line should present as broad a front as possible, and the enemy might not fall upon the head of his column (*κατὰ κέρας*).

ὡς ἀνυστὸν = ὡς δυνατὸν. Cf. Xen. Anab. i. 8. 11.

τῇ φάλαγγι—*i.e.*, in close order and with a broad front.

## CHAPTER XV.

§ 2. παλτῶν, short javelins about three feet long. Cf. Xen. Cyr. i. 3. 9: ἔχειν δὲ δεῖ . . . παλτὰ δύο ὥστε τὸ μὲν ἀφεῖναι τῷ δὲ, ἂν δέη, ἐκ χειρὸς χρῆσθαι.

§ 3. ὅσοι γε . . . αὐτῶν, "except those of them who turned aside to meet Alexander when he advanced." *Vide* xiv. 4. It was a careful piece of strategy on Alexander's part to draw attention to himself by his brilliant equipment (*ὄπλων λαμπρότητι*) and sounding of trumpets. The Persian cavalry concentrated opposite him, and as he moved down the river sideways they followed, thus weakening their line at other points, and enabling Amyntas and the Paonian cavalry to force a passage.

§ 4. ἐξῶσαι after ἠγωνίζοντο.

εἰς ἅπαν, "utterly," "completely."

§ 5. ξυστοῖς = δόρασιν, lances for thrusting with.

§ 6. ἀναβολέα, lit., an attendant who helps his master to mount his horse. Then, generally an aide-de-camp.

βασιλικῶν—sc. ἀναβολέων.

τῷ ἡμίσει. The sarissa had a sharp-pointed butt (σανρωτήρ, στύραξ) for fixing in the ground; it could if necessary be used as a weapon.

§ 7. καὶ ὅς, "so he." The old deictic use of the pronoun.

τῇ κοπίδι, "with his scimitar."

§ 8. ἔσχε, "held against the blow."

ἀνετέτατο, "had swung aloft."

ἐπεκβαίνοντες, the subject = (οὔτοι) ὕσσις προῦχώρει.

## CHAPTER XVI.

§ 1. πολλὰ δὲ with βλαπτόμενοι.

παρερρήγγυτο δὴ . . . "naturally both the cavalry wings were broken through."

§ 2. χιλίους, according to Diodorus, 2000.

ἐκπλήξει, κ.τ.λ., "in astonishment at the sudden movement rather than from cool steady resolution."

§ 3. γυναικός, Statira.

§ 4. ἐποίει, "reproduced," "figured." These twenty-five bronze equestrian statues were taken by Metellus from Macedonia to adorn the portico he built. Cf. Plin., H. N., xxxiv. 9. 6.

§ 5. ἀτέλειαν τῶν κατὰ τὴν χώραν, "immunity from all ground-rents."

τῷ σώματι λειτουργίαι, "service as vassals."

κατὰ τὰς κτήσεις εἰσφοραί, "income-tax."

οἱ = ἐκάστῳ, "giving each an opportunity," "encouraging him."

§ 6. τούτους δὲ, apodotic.

§ 7. ἐν πόλει—i.e., ἐν ἀκροπόλει.

ἀπὸ—i.e., taken from.

## CHAPTER XVII.

§ 1. ἦς—i.e., σατραπείας.

§ 4. ἔδωκε, "granted," "allowed."

§ 6. ὥρα ἔτους, "for it was summer-time," lit., owing to the season of the year.

- § 8. Μέμνονος. Not Memnon the Rhodian.  
 § 9. καὶ αὐτὸς. The thought present in Arrian's mind is *δύσνοιος ὡς Ἀλεξάνδρῳ καὶ αὐτὸς τὴν ἐκείνου δύσνοιαν ἐφοβεῖτο*.  
 ἀπαξιώσας, "thinking it not unlikely."  
 § 10. κατήγαγε. Cf. *κατίεναι*, of returning exiles.  
 § 12. ξυγχαρηθὲν, acc. absol. Cf. *προσταχθὲν*, *νενομισμένον* (i. 23. 7); *τεταγμένον* (i. 24. 5); *παρηγγελμένον*, *προσῆκον*, *δέον*, *παρὸν*, *ἐξόν*, &c.

## CHAPTER XVIII.

- § 1. καὶ ὅς, "so he." Cf. i. 15. 7.  
 τὰς Αἰολίδας, the eleven Æolic towns.  
 § 3. βασιλικὴ ἴλη. Cf. App. A, p. 146.  
 ἐξ ἐφόδου, "directly he marched against it."  
 § 4. στρατῶ—sc. *ναυτικῶ*.  
 § 6. τὰ τε ἄλλα . . . καὶ, "for other reasons . . . and especially because . . ."  
 κατὰ πρύμναν. The stern of the boat was usually backed on to the land. Cf. Virg. *Æn.* vi. 3, *obvertunt pelago proas*.  
 παρὰ μέγα, "of great account." Cf. *παρὰ πολὺ* (iii. 10), *παρ' ὀλίγον*, *παρ' οὐδὲν*.  
 § 7. ξυμβλήσει, "interpretation of." Cf. 20. 1, *συνέβαλλον*.  
 οὐ μεμελητηκότι. οὐ, not μὴ, because οὐ goes closely with *μεμ*.  
 § 8. πρὸς with *τὴν ἐξαγγελίαν*, "in view of," "considering."

## CHAPTER XIX.

- § 1. ἐπὶ τούτοις = *his condicionibus*.  
 § 2. μαχομένους. Strict grammar demands a dative to agree with *Μιλησίοις*, but the construction is *natural* (*κατὰ ξύνεσιν*).  
 μόνον οὐ = *tantum non*, "almost."  
 § 3. ἀπὸ τῆς Δάδης with *κατιδόντες*.  
 ἀντιπρώρους, with their bows towards the sea, in case an attack was made by the Persian fleet.  
 § 4. ἐν τῇ θαλάσσει with *διενήχοντο*. With *ρίπτοῦντες* supply *ἐς τὴν θαλάσσαν*.  
 § 6. ἐπὶ τῷδε ὡς = *ea condicione ut* . . .  
 ἔδωκεν, "granted," "allowed."  
 § 7. οὐκ ἐν καλῷ, "in an unsatisfactory anchorage."

- διὰ μακροῦ of distance, usually of time. Miletus was eighty stades from the mouth of the Mæander (*vide* map).
- § 8. οὐδὲν ἄλλο ὅτι μὴ, “as good as,” “practically.”
- § 9. τὸ πολὺ, “for the most part,” “usually.”  
παρόντων—*sc.* ναυτῶν.
- § 11. ἡ μὲν Ἴασσέων, “one ship, that of the I.”

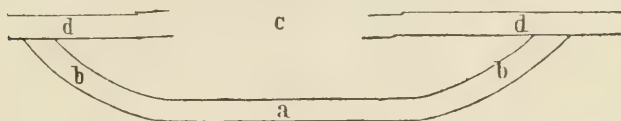
## CHAPTER XX.

- § 1. οὔτε . . . τε, “on the one hand not . . . on the other hand.”  
δέοιτο . . . καταλύσει, optative of a mere conjecture; future indic. of a sure expectation.  
ἔχοντας refers to τὸ ναυτικόν.  
συνέβαλλον, “interpreted in this way.”
- § 3. ὡς γίνεσθαι, to express *purpose*. Cf. vi. 6.
- § 4. ἀνέστειλαν, “drove back,” “repulsed.”
- § 5. τὸ πρὸς Μύνδου μέρος, “the part towards, off, Myndus.”  
Myndus lies a few miles west of Halicarnassus.  
τὴν ἀφέλειαν, “the advantage that would accrue.”  
τι ἐνεδίδото, “certain proposals to hand over the city had been made.” Cf. xxii. 7.
- § 6. καὶ ὡς, lit., “even thus.”
- § 7. ἐγύμνωσε. The fall of the tower did not cause a breach, as Alexander hoped.
- § 8. τριάκοντα πήχων = about 45 feet 6 inches. πῆχος (lit., forearm, Lat. *cubitus* or *ulna*) = 24 δάκτυλοι or 6 παλαισταί (palms) = 18½ inches.
- § 9. ἐν αὐτῷ τῷ ἔργῳ, “only when the operation had actually begun.”
- § 10. ὅτι gives the reason for the large proportion of wounded.

## CHAPTER XXI.

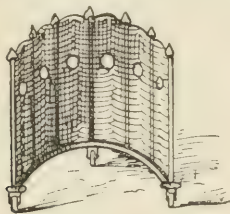
- § 1. ἦρεν, MS. ἤγεν. For αἶρειν λόγῳ, lit., to raise, make boastful by conversation, cf. ii. 7. 9. λόγῳ ἐπαίρειν.  
αὐτοὶ ἐπὶ σφῶν, “on their own account.”
- § 4. μεσοπύργιον. Cf. Thuc. 3. 23, μεταπύργιον of the lines round Plataea; in military language “a curtain.” Cf. Pliny, H. N., xxxv. 14, *paries intergerivus*.

οὐδὲ οὗτος=καὶ οὗτος οὐ. Cf. the English idiom “nor . . . this tower either.”  
 μηννοειδές. The position may be shown thus—



- a, b.* τὸ μηννοειδές τεῖχος.  
*c.* τὸ ἐρημιμμένον τεῖχος, the breach.  
*d.* τὸ τεῖχος.

§ 5. γέφυρα (= *plutei*; cf. *vinca*) were pent-houses, mantlets, sheds made of hurdles covered with raw hides. They were usually on wheels; their chief use was to protect archers and slingers.



§ 6. ἐπεκράτουν, “they had the advantage.”  
 ἐκ πλαγίου—*i.e.*, the inner emergency wall (*a, b* in plan), now taken by the Macedonians, was crescent-shaped.

## CHAPTER XXII.

§ 1. αὐτοῦ ἐφειστηκότος. For Alexander’s rashness, *vide* App. A, p. 148.

Τρίπυλον, a gate with three entrances, the centre one probably for vehicles. Cf. Δίπυλον, used for the Thriasian gate at Athens.

οὐδὲ πάνυ=καὶ πάνυ οὐ, “absolutely not.”

§ 2. οἱ μὲν corresponds to τοῖς δε in § 4.

§ 3. ἢ κατὰ=Lat. *quam pro*.

- § 4. Πτολεμαῖος. There were six officers of this name among Alexander's staff.  
οὐδὲ αὐτοί—*i.e.*, as easily as Alexander.
- § 7. ἀνεκαλέσατο, "recalled." τῇ σάλπιγγι is often added.  
οὐκ ἡμελημένων=*haud ignobilium*. Cf. ii. 10. 7.

## CHAPTER XXIII.

- § 2. ἀμφὶ δευτέραν φυλακὴν. Arrian uses the division of time adopted by the Romans, who divided the night into four *vigiliae*. This is shown by μέσας νύκτας in § 4.
- § 3. νήσῳ—*i.e.*, Arconnesus.
- § 4. καίτοι=καίπερ. Cf. i. 5. 7.  
δὲ, *in apodosi*. Cf. Herod., *passim*.
- § 5. εἶναι—*sc.* as subject τὰς ἄκρας (ἀλούσας).
- § 6. φυλακὴν τῆς Καρίας. For Alexander's care in establishing seabases, *vide* App. A, p. 148.
- § 7. ξυνώκει, "was married to."  
νενομισμένον, acc. absol. Cf. i. 17. 12.
- § 8. ἐν τοῖς, "above all others," "pre-eminently." An old phrase, the history of which is uncertain. Prob. τοῖς represents the old deictic pronominal use of ὁ, *lit.*, "among these."

## CHAPTER XXIV.

- § 2. ἐπανίωσι—*i.e.*, returned to Alexander's army.
- § 3. ἵππαρχίαν, a squadron of about 500 men. Five of these made up the "companion cavalry" (ἐταῖροι).
- § 4. ἐξ ἐφόδου. Cf. xviii. 3.  
περάσας. Arrian is wrong: Pinara lay on this side the Xanthus, at the foot of Mount Cragus.
- § 5. ξυνετέλει, "belonged to," "was classed as"; *lit.*, paid tribute in the same class as. A phrase borrowed from the municipal system of Athens.
- § 6. ἐπὶ τούτῳ, "for this purpose."  
ἐπιτετειχισμένον, ἐπιτειχίζειν=*to fortify a position as part of an offensive policy—e.g.*, applied to Decelea.

## CHAPTER XXV.

- § 2. τότε . . . ἀφήκεν. Alexander, though he was convinced of his namesake's guilt, dared not then (τότε) put him to death, as he feared to offend Greek opinion.
- § 3. πρόφασιν, "under the pretence of," opp. to τῇ δὲ ἀληθείᾳ. Cf. Thuc., *passim*.  
 χρυσίου τάλαντα . . . χίλια, nearly £250,000. If, however, the Babylonian talent is meant, which stands to the Attic as 13 : 10, the sum would be considerably larger.
- § 6. αὐτοῦ, added to distinguish the king (αὐτός) from his namesake. ἀναπάνεσθαι, some verb must be supplied from ἐφόβει—*c.g.*, "they told each other anxiously."
- § 7. ἄρα, "as it turned out," contrary to expectation. Cf. App. D, p. 159.
- § 10. οὐ γὰρ ἔδοξε, "it did not seem advisable."  
 ἐν φυλακῇ ἦν, he was executed three years later with Philotas. Cf. § 2.

## CHAPTER XXVI.

- § 1. ταύτη. An elaborate description is given by the geographer Strabo (xiv. 3). On the one side of the path lay the sea, on the other a steep ridge of Mount Taurus, made up of a series of small precipices one above the other. Hence the name Mount Climax (κλίμαξ, a ladder).
- § 2. οὐκ ἄνευ τοῦ θείου. Cf. Plut. Alex. xvii. Similarly the people of Thapsacus, when Cyrus and his army crossed the Euphrates without boats, said the river itself made way for him to come and receive the crown (Xen. Anab. i. 4).
- § 3. ὑπέρ, κ.τ.λ.—*i.e.*, ὑπέρ τε τοῦ ἀργυρίου ξυυθήμενοι καὶ ἵππου παραδώσειν ξυυθήμενοι.
- § 5. πεπονηκότα, "dilapidated."

## CHAPTER XXVII.

- § 3. ἐφ' οἷσπερ—*i.e.*, ἐπὶ τούτοις ξυυβῆναι ἐφ' οἷσπερ τὸ πρότερον ξυυέβη.
- § 7. ὅσον φυλακῆν, "sufficient to garrison." Cf. i. 5. 9.

## CHAPTER XXVIII.

- § 1. καὶ αὐτοὶ—*i.e.*, as well as the βάρβαροι mentioned in xxvii. 5.
- § 2. Σαγαλασσοῦ. Noted for its high citadel, the beautiful scenery of the neighbourhood, and the extensive ruins near the modern village of Allahsun.
- § 4. προετάχθησαν—*i.e.*, to protect the flanks.
- § 5. λόχοις, “in ambuscades,” but the reading is uncertain, possibly ὀρθίοις λόχοις=“in long columns.”
- § 8. ἐχόμενος, “refraining from pursuit of . . .”

## CHAPTER XXIX.

- § 1. πῆγνυνται. Cf. Herod. iv. 53.
- § 2. ξυνέκειτο. The pluperfect seems to imply some previous arrangement with Darius.  
ἄπορον, with ἄκραν, “the fortified rock which was unassailable at all points,” lit., “inaccessible to attack.”
- § 4. Γόρδιον, a strong “strategic point” (cf. App. A, p. 151). Situate between three seas, and commanding the route to the southern coast, it was a useful base for reinforcements. At Gordium, “in the valley of the Sakkaria, a natural route from the Sea of Marmora—in part now the line of a railway—meets the track of the royal Anatolian highroad of antiquity.”—Hogarth, ‘Alexander,’ p. 182.
- § 6. ἀνείναι τι τοῦ φόβου. On the attitude of Greece towards Alexander, *vide* Introd., § 7.  
τὰ πάροντα, “his present undertaking.”



## BOOK II.

## CHAPTER I.

- § 1. ἀποστρέψων with λαμβάνει, “with the design of moving the seat of war . . . got possession of.”  
προσείχον (cf. ii. 25. 4), “came over to him,” “submitted.”  
τὰς ἄλλας πόλεις, Methymna, Antissa, Eresus, Pyrrha.
- § 2. χάρακι διπλῶ—*i.e.*, a double stockade.  
στρατόπεδα, probably small fortified “blockhouses” for the defence of the wall.  
Σίγριον, now Cape Sigri, the westernmost point of the island.  
προσβολή. Cf. Thuc. iv. 53. ὀλκάδων προσβολή = καταγωγή,  
“landing-place.”
- § 3. ἀδελφιδῶ. Artabazus had married Memnon’s sister.
- § 4. στήλας, the pillars on which the terms of the peace were inscribed.  
ἐπ’ Ἀνταλκίδου. In 387 the Spartans, wishing to break down the supremacy of Athens at all costs, concluded a disgraceful treaty with the Persians, handing over to them all the Greek colonies in Asia and stipulating that all Greek states should be autonomous.  
ἐπὶ τοῖς ἡμίσεσι, “on condition they received back half the property which they had when they were banished.”
- § 5. ἐπιβαλόντες, “imposing as a tax on the whole community.”

## CHAPTER\* II.

- § 2. τῆς Τενέδου, genitive of connection, akin to the partitive genitive. Cf. vi. 28. The position of Tenedos (now Bogdtscha-Adassi), along the coast of Troas, was strategically important: the Persians might make a diversion in the rear of the Macedonians and close the Hellespont against them.
- § 3. τὰ μὲν . . . ἐποίει, imitated from Thuc. ii. 8, ἡ εὐνοια . . . ἐποίει . . . ἐς τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους. ποιεῖν ἐς τινα = lit., to be active for some one, to incline towards.
- § 4. Ἀντιπάτρου, regent of Greece and Macedonia in Alexander’s absence.

## CHAPTER III.

- § 1. Gordium. Cf. i. 29. 5.
- § 3. ἐπιπτήναι, poetical for ἐπίπτεσθαι.  
ἀπὸ γένους, "from generation to generation."
- § 4. προσάγοντα—sc. τὴν ἄμαξαν.  
καὶ δεηθῆναι γὰρ. καὶ goes with ἐξηγήσασθαι. The explanatory γὰρ clause would more naturally come last, but is here, as frequently in Herodotus, placed first.
- § 6. ἐν τῇ ἀκρᾷ, *in templo Jovis* (Justin. xi. 7).
- § 8. δ' οὖν resumes after a digression, "be that as it may." Cf. Lat. *ceterum*. Vide App. D.  
ξύμβεβηκότος, "as if the oracle had been fulfilled."

## CHAPTER IV.

- § 4. ἐς ἕσον . . . "his boldness served him equally well"—*i.e.*, as if his approach had been stealthy and unobserved.  
ἐς τὴν Κιλικίαν. Curtius (iii. 11) says Alexander himself wondered at his own good luck in not finding the pass more strongly held. The defile (*Tauri p̄jhe, porta Cilicia*) is the chief pass over the Taurus, and might easily be held by a very few men. It is 3600 feet above the sea. The main road from Asia Minor towards Cilicia still runs through it. The modern name is Golek-Boghas, and until Ibrahim Pasha, sixty years ago, blasted away some of the rocks in the defile, every camel had to be unloaded before it could pass.
- § 7. ῥίψαντα = ῥίψαντα ἑαυτὸν.
- § 8. καθῆραι . . . φαρμάκῳ, "administer a purgative medicine."  
τὸν—*i.e.*, Alexander.
- § 10. καλῶς οἱ ἔχει, "that he had a clear conscience in administering the dose."
- § 11. φίλους βέβαιος. Yet four years later he barbarously murdered Philotas (iii. 26; iv. 14).

## CHAPTER V.

- § 1. τὰς ἄλλας πύλας—*i.e.*, the pass called the "Syrian Gates," now the Bailan Pass. The road runs close to the sea, and is cut out of the limestone rock. Cyrus marched through this pass (Xen. Anab. i. 4).

- § 2. ἐπὶ μέγα ἔλθοῦσα. Cf. Thuc. i. 118, ἐπὶ μέγα ἐχώρησαν δυνάμεις.
- § 3. ἐς κρότον, "when applauding." Strabo, however (xiv. 5), says the king was represented as snapping his fingers in derision. Ἄσσύρια γράμματα, probably cuneiform or arrow-headed hieroglyphics.
- § 4. νοῦς, "the sense." Cf. Herod. vii. 162. ὡς ὄντα, acc. absol. Cf. i. 9. 7. τούτου—i.e., τοῦ ψόφου. ῥαδιουργότερον, "was expressed more flippantly, less delicately . . ."
- § 5. ἐπέβαλεν. Cf. i. 5. διακόσια τάλαντα, about £49,000.
- § 7. Πτολεμαῖον, anticipatory accusative.
- § 8. Ἄσκληπιῶ, in gratitude for his recovery from his illness at Tarsus. πομπεύσας, "conducted a procession of . . ." Cf. i. 18. λαμπάδα ἐπιτελέσας=λαμπαδοδρομία or λαμπαδηφορία, a torch-race, of which there were several varieties. The most usual procedure was that young men ran with lighted torches to a certain point, and whoever reached the goal first with his torch alight was winner; but other young men without torches ran after the torch-bearers, who, if overtaken, had to hand over their torch to their captor, who might then make for the goal himself. The torch-race was always run at night, and sometimes on horseback. ἀγῶνα γυμνικόν, probably the πένταθλον—i.e., ἄλμα, ποδοκείην, δίσκον, ἄκοντα, παλῆν. Ἄληίου. Homer (II. vi. 201) mentions this fruitful plain. Cf. Herod. vi. 95.
- § 9. ἴλη βασιλικῆ. Cf. App. A, p. 146. ὄσα—sc. ἐναγίζειν δεῖ. ἐναγίζειν, i. e. for sacrificing to a hero. Cf. Herod. ii. 44. τῶν Ἡρακλειδῶν explains Ἄργους, from Argos, and consequently one of the Heraclidæ. Karanos, the mythical founder of the Macedonian royal house, was descended from the Heraclid Temenos, King of Argos.

## CHAPTER VI.

- § 1. Σώχοις. The locality is unknown. ὡς εἶχεν, "at once," "as they were."
- § 4. ὃ τί περ . . . "whatever decision was most agreeable to his wishes."

καθ' ἡδονὴν ξυνότων. *οἱ ξύνοντες* is often used for "followers," "courtiers," "advisers." So here of false advisers, who only gave advice which they knew would please.

καὶ ξυνεσομένων. Translate as a parenthesis: "—for kings will always have advisers to give mischievous advice—."

§ 6. ἦγεν. For a similar sentiment as to fate, cf. vii. 16. 7.

§ 7. ἐχρῆν, "it was fated."

Μῆδοι. The Median power, under Astyages, was overthrown by Cyrus in 558 B.C.; the Assyrian power, by Cyaxares, at the destruction of Nineveh, 606 B.C.

#### CHAPTER VII.

§ 2. ἐν χερσίν, "at hand."

§ 3. ἀναπτύξαι, "to expand." Cf. App. A, p. 152.

§ 6. ἐς πλεονεξίαν . . . "to prove their superiority in the coming struggle."

Περσῶν ὅτι περ ὄφελος, "all the serviceable troops of . . ."

§ 7. διαπρεπῆς, with ἐς κάλλος, "pre-eminent and glorious."

ὡς ἀνεπαχθέστατα, with ἐπεξῆει, "he recapitulated most modestly," "in the best taste possible."

§ 8. αὐτοσχεδιασθέντων. Cf. Xen. Anab. iii. 3.

§ 9. πρὸς Βαβυλῶνι αὐτῇ, "under the very walls of Babylon," but, according to Xenophon (Anab. ii. 2), Cunaxa was 360 stades from Babylon.

κατιόντων, gen. absol. We expect *κατιούσι*, agreeing with *σφισίν*.

#### CHAPTER VIII.

§ 1. For the tactics employed in the battle, *vide* App. A, p. 147.

§ 2. ἐπὶ κέρως. *Vide* App. A, p. 152.

§ 3. ἀρξαμένῳ. Cf. i. 2. 1, *ἴοντι*.

§ 4. ὑπερφαλαγγήσειν. According to Callisthenes, the distance between the sea and the mountain was about a mile and a half.

§ 6. ἕθεν καὶ ἕθεν, "on both sides of these."

ἐπὶ φάλαγγος ἀπλῆς—*i.e.*, in one combined body, not in separate *τάξεις*. *Vide* App. A, p. 152.

§ 7. ἐς ἐπικαμπὴν προῖον, "bending forward."

κατόπιν with *ἐποίηε*.

8. ἐξήκοντα . . . Diodorus and Plutarch give this number, but

Justin says the Persians had 400,000 infantry and 100,000 cavalry. It took five days for the army to cross the Euphrates.

- § 11. τὸν νοῦν, "the reason, ground."  
 Ξενοφῶν. *Vide* Anab. i. 8. 21, 22; cf. Arr. iii. 11.

## CHAPTER IX.

- § 1. ὀλίγου, more usually ὀλίγου δεῖν.  
 § 2. ἐς ἐπικαμπήν. For this "angle-formation," *vide* App. A, p. 152, and cf. Xen. Cyr. vii. 1. 6.  
 § 3. Ἀνθεμουσίαν—*i.e.*, from Anthemus. For the territorial division of the Macedonian cavalry, *vide* App. A, p. 142, and cf. i. 2; i. 12.  
 § 4. ἀνασταλέντες. Cf. i. 1. 12.

## CHAPTER X.

- § 1. τῇ γνώμῃ δουλοῦσθαι is a Thucydidean expression = "cowed in spirit." Cf. Thuc. iv. 31.  
 § 2. ἀξίωσις, "rank" "position."  
 § 3. ἐν τάξει—*i.e.*, still in close column.  
 βάδην, opp. to δρόμῳ.  
 τοῦ μῆ, of purpose. Cf. i. 1. 9.  
 ἔκκυμναν, lit., "swell out like a wave"—*i.e.*, "fluctuate from the line."  
 ὡς ἐκπλήξαι, "in order to alarm."  
 § 4. ἧ διέσχε. This gap had been caused by the battalions of the Macedonian centre, which had crossed the river, failing to keep their line and pressing too far towards the right wing.  
 § 5. ταύτη corresponds to ᾗ in § 4.  
 § 6. ἀπόσασθαι is governed by the idea of effort in τὸ ἔργον.  
 λείπεσθαι, "to fall short of."  
 § 7. εἴκοσι καὶ ἑκατὸν. Diodorus says 450, Justin 280.

## CHAPTER XI.

- § 1. τὸ πονοῦμενον = τοὺς πονουμένους, "hard-pressed." Thuc. uses πόνουον (v. 73).  
 κατὰ τὸ παρερρωγός, "on the side which had been broken"—*i.e.*, on the Persian left wing.

- § 2. καὶ . . . δὲ, "but also." Cf. i. 4.
- § 3. ἀμβάτης = ἀναβάτης, an Ionic form used frequently in Xenophon. πλήθει πολλοί, Herodotean. Cf. v. 44; v. 31.
- § 4. Curtius and Diodorus give a vivid account of a charge made by Alexander on Darius—a hand-to-hand fight between Alexander's bodyguard and the Persian nobles. Arrian's account seems the most trustworthy.
- § 7. καὶ γὰρ καὶ, "for in fact," "for actually."
- § 8. δέκα μυριάδες. Plutarch gives the number of the Persian casualties as 110,000, but Diodorus and Curtius agree with Arrian.
- Πτολεμαῖος. Vide Introd., p. xxix.
- § 9. νήπιος. According to Diodorus he was nearly six years old. ὁμότιμοι were the peers of the realm, nobles who were all equal in honour among themselves and next in honour to the king. Cf. Xen. Cyr. ii. 1. 3; vii. 5. 85.
- § 10. καὶ στρατευομένῳ ὅμως, "even though he was campaigning." Μαιμακτηρίων = the end of October and beginning of November.

## CHAPTER XII.

- § 1. ξυνέγνω = knew from observation, almost = ἔγνω. συμφωνούμενον, "corroborated." σὺν τῇ ἀξίᾳ = *pro meritis*.
- § 2. σωματοφυλάκων. Vide App. A, p. 145. πεντήκοντα τάλαντα, about £12,000.
- § 5. θεραπεία, "royal state."
- § 6. μητέρα τὴν Δαρείου—*i.e.*, Sisygambis.
- § 8. εἴτε πιθανὸς, "even if it seems probable to historians that A. would have done this . . ."

## CHAPTER XIII.

- § 2. ὡς τεταγμένοι ἦσαν *ipsa ex acie*—*i.e.*, though drawn up for battle they deserted their posts.
- § 3. πολυπραγμονῶν. Amyntas attempted to set himself up as despot of Egypt, but was killed in battle near Memphis. Cf. Xen. Anab. v. 1. 15.
- § 4. Ἄγης = Agis II., who reigned from 338-330 B.C. He subsequently, with the help of Darius's Greek mercenaries, attempted to free Greece from Macedonian rule. He was

finally defeated, and killed by Antipater, Alexander's lieutenant, in 330 B.C.

- § 7. Συρία ἢ κοιλή, properly = the broad fertile valley between Lebanon and Anti-Lebanon, but the term is loosely used to denote the whole of southern Syria.
- § 8. ὄσα—*sc.* ἦν.

## CHAPTER XIV.

- § 1. ἀπὸ γλώσσης. Cf. i. 25. 10.
- § 2. Ἀρταξέρξης—*i.e.*, Ochus (362-339 B.C.) The Persian form of the name was Artakhshathra, meaning "the true, or legitimate, kingdom."  
ἦρξεν. As early as 336 Philip, after being appointed generalissimo of the Greeks, had sent Attalus and Parmenio to prepare for his campaign against Persia.
- § 3. παρὰ βασιλέως. Darius thus recognises Alexander as a king, and his equal.  
τὰ πιστὰ, "pledges of good faith."
- § 4. ὑπαρξάντων—*sc.* τῆς ἔχθρας—*i.e.*, having commenced hostilities.
- § 5. οὐ δικαίως, because Bistanes, Ochus's son, had a better claim to the throne.
- § 8. κυρίου τῆς Ἀσίας. For Alexander's gradual assumption of the character of an oriental despot, *vide* Introd., p. xiii.
- § 9. ἐξ ἴσου = *tamquam ad parem*.

## CHAPTER XV.

- § 3. Θηβαίους, who as rebels could not expect anything but harsh treatment.  
εὐρισκόμενοι, tentative, "trying to . . ."  
εἰ δὴ—*sc.* εὐρωιντο.  
ἐνθυμηθεῖς—*sc.* ἀφῆκε.
- § 5. αὐτὸν, "personally."  
εὐρισκόμενον, "able to produce on his own behalf any plea."
- § 6. Βύβλος = Djebel (1 Kings v. 32) = "mountain-district," was an old strongly fortified city of the Phœnicians.
- § 7. Ἀζέμιλκος, a Hebrew name = "the strength of the king."

## CHAPTER XVI.

The Heracles of the Tyrians is the Assyrian deity Baal (= "lord"), worshipped at Tyre under the name of Melcarth (= "lord of the city"). Thus, like many of the so-called Greek gods, Heracles came from Babylonia to Greece through Phœnician channels. The travels of the "myth-complex" of Heracles may be represented roughly thus: the Semites possessed, as almost all nations did, a sun-god; he is worshipped at various places, and acquires various local attributes, usually by absorbing the cult of some local deity—*e.g.*, at Tyre, Melcarth. Phœnician sailors and settlers carried this cult to Greece, where there probably existed a local deity, Hercules or Heracles, who possessed some attributes similar to those of Melcarth. The deities and cults are fused, and the result is Heracles Melicertes, a god possessing the attributes of both Assyrian and Greek deities. Thus we have an instance of the borrowing of a "myth-complex" owing to similarity of *attribute*. Following up its history, we find an instance of borrowing caused by similarity of *name*. When Greece began to influence Rome, the Greek hero Hercules or Heracles (the latter form probably being due to popular etymology, deriving it from Ἡρα and κλέος) was connected by the Romans with their indigenous god Herclus, the god of the home-enclosure and farm, so that we may say that the Roman Hercules is probably made up of a Semitic sun-god plus a Greek local deity plus an Italic deity. The various steps, however, in his journey from east to west must remain somewhat conjectural.

§ 1. παλαιότατον. According to Herod. (ii. 44) the temple must have been built 2750 B.C.

Θήβας, Cadmus (*i.e.*, Hebrew *Qadmi*, "an Eastern man") was said to have migrated to Thebes, 1366 B.C.

§ 2. κατὰ Δάβδακόν, "in the time of."

§ 3. ἄγουσιν = νομίζουσιν.

ἄλλον τοῦτον Διονύσον. We expect ἄλλον Δ. τὸν Διὸς, κ.τ.λ. τοῦτον is put in to explain "just as the Athenians worship another Dionysus, the son," &c.—lit., "worship the son . . . a different Dionysus this."

Ἰακχος, "the chant Iacchus," "the Iacchus song." This was sung in the great procession of priests and people through the streets of Athens on the sixth day of the great Eleusinia.

§ 4. ὡς . . . γε . . . δοκῶ, "so also . . . I think that . . ."



στήλαι (cf. Herod. ii. 33; iv. 152)—*i.e.*, at the Straits of Gibraltar.

§ 6. τῆς μεγάλης θαλάσσης—*i.e.*, the Mediterranean.

τιθέμενον = ἡγούμενον.

§ 7. εἰς τοῦτο, *adhuc*.

§ 8. ἐς τὰ παρόντα, “under existing circumstances.”

§ 9. πρὸς ὀργήν, “angrily.” Cf. πρὸς βίαν, “violently.”

## CHAPTER XVII.

§ 1. ἀσφαλῆ—*sc.* οὔσαν.

διώκειν depends on ἀσφαλές below. Supply ἡμῶς, “that we should leave behind us . . . Tyre . . . and pursue Darius.”

§ 2. μὴ ποτε depends on the general idea of apprehension in § 1.

§ 3. ἀνέξονται with infin., usually with participle.

§ 4. παραστησαμένοις. Cf. i. 2.

μετὰ τοῦ ἐς τὰ οἴκοι ἀσφαλοῦς, “with a feeling of safety with regard to home affairs.”

ἐπὶ τάδε, “on this side of.” Cf. i. 3. 1, ἐπ’ ἐκεῖνα τοῦ . . .

## CHAPTER XVIII.

§ 1. ἐνύπνιον, “in his sleep,” an acc. in apposition to the sentence.

Cf. II. ii. 56, θεῖός μοι ἐνύπνιον ἦλθεν ὄνειρος.

ἐξηγείτο, “interpreted.”

καὶ γὰρ καὶ, “for in fact,” “for certainly.”

§ 2. νῆσος. The island was about half a mile from the mainland (*vide* map).

§ 3. ταῦτα—*i.e.*, the arguments advanced by Alexander in favour of besieging the city. Strategically Alexander was compelled to take Tyre, otherwise the Phœnician fleet and the Persian fleet might have combined and ruined his prospects.

χῶμα. This mole was 200 feet across (Diod. xvii. 40).

αὐτοῦ—*sc.* τοῦ χωρίου.

§ 4. χρήμασι, presents of money.

§ 6. δέρρεις = raw hides; διφθέραι, prepared tanned hides. Cf. Thuc. ii. 75.

## CHAPTER XIX.

- § 1. ταύτη, "there"—*i.e.*, within the enclosure.  
 § 2. ἕρματα, "ballast."  
 § 3. ἐνσελούσιν, "they dashed it against . . ."  
 ἐξενήξαντο. Curtius says the men did not swim ashore but jumped into small boats which were waiting for them.  
 § 5. ἔπεσχεν, "reached." Diodorus and Curtius state that the palisade was mostly demolished by a tempest, not by fire.

## CHAPTER XX.

- § 2. περίπολος, lit., a patrol-vessel or guard-ship similar to the Salaminia and Paralus at Athens.  
 § 4. ἐπ' Ἀραβίας, because, according to Curtius, a party of about thirty Macedonians, whilst collecting timber on Lebanon, had been killed by Arabs.  
 § 5. τὰ μὲν τῶν ταύτη almost=τοὺς μὲν—*i.e.*, some of the mountaineers of that district.  
 ἐπανήγεν—*sc.* στρατὸν.  
 § 6. διέκπλους was almost the only naval manœuvre practised by the ancients (cf. Herod. vi. 12; Thuc. i. 49). We gather that it consisted in rowing a ship at full speed through the enemy's line so close to one or two of their ships as to break the oars and possibly the rudder. The attacking ship then turned round and grappled with the disabled ship.  
 § 8. τὰ στόματα ἐδέχοντο, Attic ἐδέχετο. Cf. App. C, p. 157.  
 § 9. ἀντιπρώροις—*i.e.*, with their prows turned towards him.

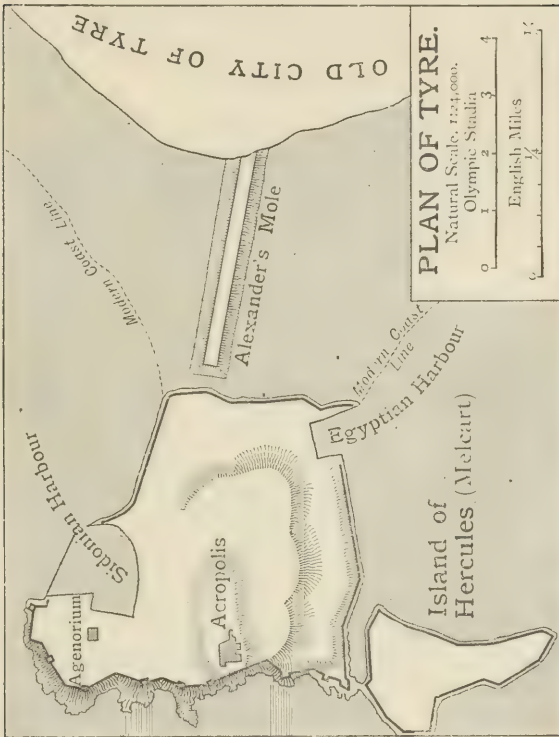
## CHAPTER XXI.

- § 3. ἀπομάχεσθαι. Cf. i. 1. 7.  
 § 4. καὶ τὰ τείχη. In addition to the means of defence mentioned in § 3, there was also (καὶ) the height of the walls to be considered.  
 κατὰ τὸ χῶμα, "opposite."  
 ἐς πλάτος ξύμμετρον, "with a breadth in proportion to their height."  
 § 5. οἶα δῆ. Cf. i. 3. 4.  
 § 6. μηδὲν πλεόν γίγνεσθαι; οὐδὲν πλεόν μοι γίγνεται (cf. Herod.)=I get no further; I get no advantage; I do no good.

§ 7. τῶν προβόλων—i.e., τῶν προβεβλημένων λίθων.

§ 8. ἐκ πολλοῦ, “for a long time.”

§ 9. ἐπὶ μίας νεῶς=in single file. Cf. Thuc. ii. 90.



Walker & Cockerell sc.

Plan of Tyre.

κέλευστής was the man who gave the time to the rowers, *hortator remigum* (Plaut. Merc. iv. 2. 5), κέλευσμα being the song or chant of the rowers. On large boats a flute-player (τριηραύλης) was also employed.

τὰς κώπας παραφέρειν = ἐρέσσειν.

## CHAPTER XXII.

- § 2. ἐκ τῶν παρόντων, masculine.  
ἔκοπτον, "shattered," used especially of the damage done by one boat ramming another.
- § 4. ἐπανάγειν—sc. τὰς ναῦς.  
ἔξακουστὸν—i.e., τὸ ἐγκελευσθῆν.
- § 7. μετῆι—sc. Alexander.  
ἐπὶ μέγα = ἐπὶ πολὺ, "to a considerable extent."  
ὅσον, &c. = τοσοῦτον ἀπεπειράθη ὅσον ἐπιβαλὼν γεφύρας τις ἀποπειρᾶται. The sense is: Alexander made an assault to the extent of throwing a bridge over to the part of the wall where the breach was.

## CHAPTER XXIII.

- § 1. φυλάξας = ἐπιτηρήσας.  
τοῦ τείχους depends on ἐπὶ μέγα.
- § 2. πεζέταιροι. Cf. App. A, p. 145.  
ἢ παρείκοι. Cf. Thuc. iii. 1, ὅπη παρείκοι, "where it was possible, practicable."
- § 3. ἀμφιβόλους, in Thuc. iv. 36, "exposed to a cross fire," but here = distracted, in doubt. It is possible that Arrian misunderstood Thucydides' use of the word.
- § 5. οὐ πάντη ἀποτόμῳ, not abruptly precipitous on every side as the walls were.
- § 6. ἐπὶ δὲ αὐτῷ, "after him."  
διὰ τῶν ἐπάλξεων. The ἐπάλξεις on parapets were only a few feet thick; behind them was a space of at least six feet to allow the defenders fighting-room.

## CHAPTER XXIV.

- § 1. μετέωροι, "in deep water," usually "on the high seas."
- § 2. Ἀγηνόριον, the shrine of Agenor, the reputed founder of Tyre.
- § 3. τριβῆ, a delay of seven months.
- § 5. οἱ ἐν τέλει, "those in authority."  
θεωροὶ. The sending of these sacred envoys to the mother-city, Tyre, implied that Carthage recognised her duties as

a colony, and we know that the promise of Carthaginian aid had encouraged the Tyrians in their resistance.

§ 6. ἀγῶνα. Cf. ii. 5.

ἡ ὄτου, κ.τ.λ. = ἡ ἄλλου ποιήσαντες ὅστις δὴ ἐποίησε.

ἄρχοντος, 332 B.C.

Ἐκατομβαιῶν = the first month of the Attic year—the second half of July and the first half of August.

#### CHAPTER XXV.

§ 1. πρέσβεις. For the first embassy, *vide* chap. xiv.

τὴν χώραν—*i.e.*, Upper Syria and the whole of Asia Minor.

εἶναι depends on δοῦναι.

παῖδα, Statira by name.

§ 3. οὐ δίδοντος = *recusantis*. Cf. οὐκ ἐᾶν = *prohibere*.

#### CHAPTER XXVI.

§ 1. Γάζα = Hebrew *Azzah*, a fortress, now *Ghazza*. Its situation on the border of Palestine and Egypt made it a strategic point of great importance.

εἴκοσι—*i.e.*, about 2½ miles, but Strabo says the city was only seven stades distant from the sea.

χώματος, this round hill on which the modern town is built is about sixty feet high and about two miles in circumference.

§ 2. τῇ πρώτῃ—*sc.* ἡμέρα.

§ 3. ὅσω ἀπορώτερον, as if τοσοῦτω μᾶλλον had preceded.

παραλόγῳ. Cf. i. 9.

§ 4. συμμέτρως—*i.e.*, to a level with the city walls.

κατάρχεσθαι, a technical term of sacrifice, to begin the first sacred rite—usually to cut a lock of hair from the forehead of the victim.

ἐμβάλλει. Curtius states that the bird then settled on a tower and was caught by the bystanders.

#### CHAPTER XXVII.

§ 1. ἐξ ὑπερδεξίου. Cf. i. 15, "from their commanding position."

ἐκπλαγείς—*i.e.*, losing his self-control in the excitement of the action.

- § 2. καταπέλτη, a bolt from a catapult.
- § 4. ὑπονόμων. Cf. Thuc. ii. 76 (the siege of Plataea).  
κατείχον, "commanded," "held."
- § 5. ἐνδοῦναι, supply as subject τὸ τεῖχος.
- § 7. ἀπέθανον. According to other authorities 10,000 of the enemy were killed, amongst them Batis, whom Alexander dragged naked round the city tied to his chariot, in imitation of Achilles' treatment of Hector.
- ξυνοικίσας, having re-peopled the city.

## APPENDIX A.

## ALEXANDER AND HIS ARMY.

The army with which Alexander conquered the East was in the main the creation of his father Philip. Philip, after six years' careful efforts, had produced what was before unknown—a **Greek armies before Philip.** professional army with a national spirit. Before his time the art of war in Greece exhibited all the traits of amateur soldiery. Thus in the fifth century all warfare is hoplite warfare; every land battle (down to 400 B.C.) was decided by the hoplites. All tactics, too, were uniform: each party drew up a long line with a level front, the object being to bring all the men into action at the same moment and let them fight it out, while there was an entire want of co-operation between the two wings and between cavalry and infantry. Everything, in fact, agreed with the old Greek idea of a battle—it was an ἀγών, a duel, in which the victory is an end, not a means: when the heavy troops had won the day the battle was over; pursuit was very rare; everything was a question of satisfying honour.<sup>1</sup>

Philip altered all this. Developing the principles of Iphicrates, Epaminondas, and Dionysius of Syracuse, he formed an army **Philip's army.** the chief characteristics of which were: (1) it possessed excellent cavalry and light-armed troops; (2) a body of heavily armed troops (the phalanx), which was more mobile than the best hoplites of the day, the Thebans; (3) it was well provided with siege artillery. It was well armed and well led. Moreover, by a carefully graduated system of privileges<sup>2</sup> and exercise of strict discipline, the true Macedonian element was so success-

<sup>1</sup> Demosthenes complains that Philip does not fight like a gentleman because he carries on a campaign in winter.

<sup>2</sup> *E.g.*, the honourable terms βασιλικοί, ἀγήματα, ἑταῖροι, πεζέταιροι.

fully welded with the material supplied by the feudatory hill tribes, that the result was a national patriotic standing army.

The reorganisation<sup>1</sup> of this army by Alexander in reality affected its form very little. He increased the cavalry, especially the lighter branch of that arm, after Arbela. His reorganisation of the infantry amounted to this: he transformed a Macedonian into a Hellenistic force, enrolling 30,000 barbarians, and making such changes as would ensure the amalgamation of the various elements of his army.

The composition of Alexander's army was as follows:—

**Changes made by Alexander.** The *πεζεταῖροι*, heavy infantry. These formed the phalanx in the narrowest sense. With regard to the phalanx it may be noted that it was *not* the most important element in the Macedonian fighting line; that it was *not* one body, but had a number of independent units (*τάξεις*); that it was *not* a cumbrous immobile formation when compared with the average hoplite body of the day.<sup>2</sup> The phalanx was divided territorially into six<sup>3</sup> independent *τάξεις*, divisions made up originally by the contingents furnished by the six districts of Macedonia. Arrian frequently uses for the phalanx (*ἡ μακεδονικὴ φάλαγξ*) the terms *αἱ τάξεις τῶν Μακεδόνων*, *αἱ τάξεις τῶν πέζων*, as well as *οἱ πεζεταῖροι*. The latter term is, strictly speaking, a title of honour="comrades-in-arms of the king," applied to various branches of the service. In fact, in dealing with the composition of the Macedonian army, the difficulty is to distinguish terms which are strictly technical from those which are merely used as complimentary titles.

The phalanx was armed with a short sword, with long lance or pike (*σάρισσα*) twelve to sixteen feet<sup>4</sup> long, and the usual body armour—helmet, cuirass, and greaves. Usually formed in a square eighteen deep,<sup>5</sup> the front lines holding their pikes stretched out, the other lines resting theirs on the shoulders of the men before them and at the same time leaning the weight of their body forward, such a compact body resulted that its impetus was irresistible

<sup>1</sup> Arr. iii. 16. 11; vi. 21. 3; vii. 23. 3; 25. 6.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. the quick sectional movement by which the phalanx opened to let Darius' scythe-chariots or the Thracian waggons pass through the lines (Arr. i. 1).

<sup>3</sup> After Issus, probably nine. The term *φάλαγγες* is sometimes employed for *τάξεις*. Both *φάλαγξ* and *τάξις* are used loosely.

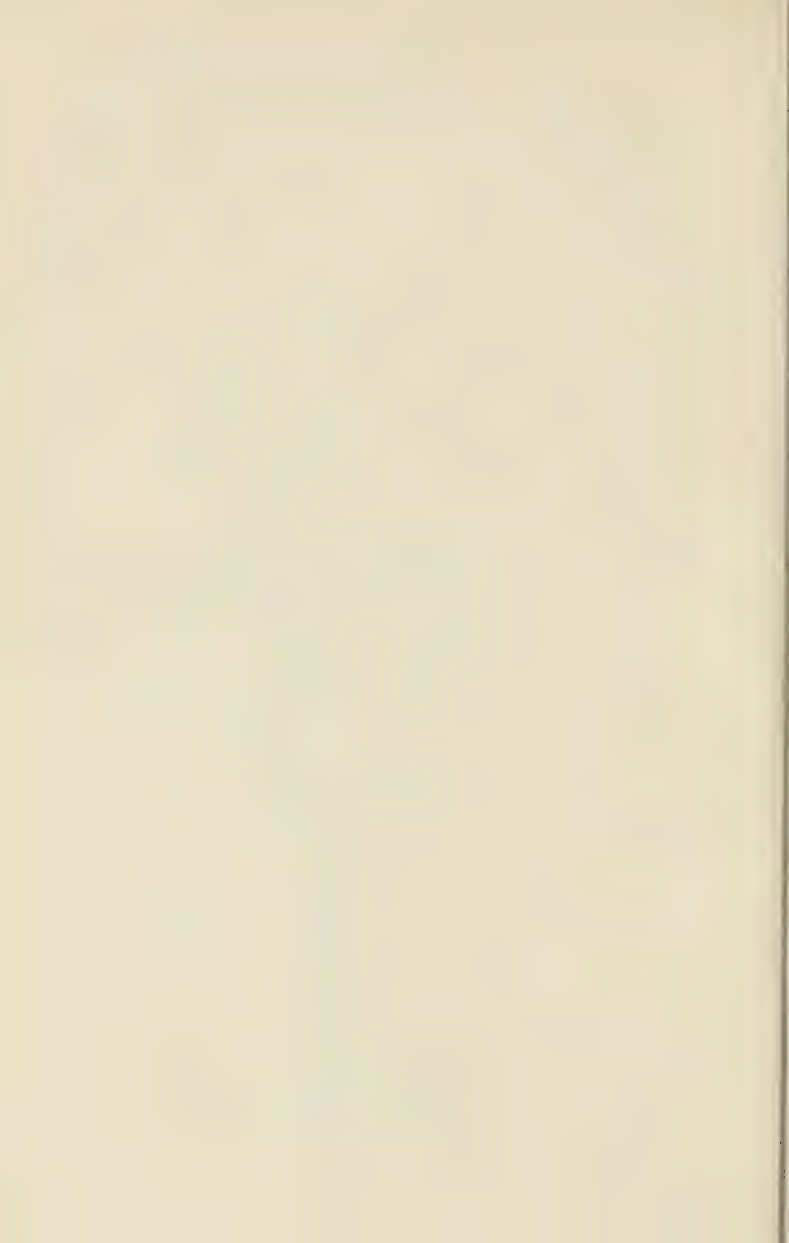
<sup>4</sup> In later times it seems to have been eighteen feet long, according to the evidence of Roman writers on the Macedonian phalanx.

<sup>5</sup> Later, 16. Cf. Polybius, xii. 19. 6; Arr. vi. 1.





*Greek peltast.*



(ἐμβολήν οὐ φορητὴν γίγνεσθαι, Arr. Tact. 12. 6). In addition to the phalanx of Macedonians, the Greek mercenaries must be counted as heavy infantry; they were armed as hoplites with a large shield and a small spear.

Intermediate between the *πεζεταῖροι* and the *ψιλοὶ* (*vide infra*) were the *ὑπασπισταί*. They were originally "household troops" or "footguards," but by degrees their numbers were increased and they were formed into a regularly organised branch of the service. Their equipment was probably, roughly speaking, that of the peltasts of Iphierates—a linen corselet, sandals, Macedonian hat, a short spear for thrusting with, and perhaps a long sword. The hypaspists were used by Alexander for assaults<sup>1</sup> on fortified positions, for rapid night-marches, but especially for all quick field-maneuvres in an attack. The cavalry and the *ψιλοὶ* began the engagement, the *ὑπασπισταί* followed, supported by the phalanx. A picked body of the hypaspists, called the *ἄγημα* or *ὑπασπισταί βασιλικοὶ* (cf. Arr. v. 13. 4), served with the cavalry *ἄγημα* as bodyguard of the king.

The various bodies of troops classed as *ψιλοὶ* served for the most part as scouts and skirmishers. Under this head must be classed *ψιλοὶ*. *τοξόται* (archers), *ἀκοντισταί* (javelin-throwers), *σφενδονῆται* (slingers). These troops were for the most part drawn from Thracian tribes, especially the Agriani, who occupied the mountainous districts of Paeonia. The Agriani were, like Zouaves and Bersagliere, especially useful for storming precipitous positions or pursuing the enemy over rough country.

The original bodyguard of *ὑπασπισταί* being no longer retained in that capacity, the personal safety of the king was intrusted to a strong picked corps, the *σωματοφύλακες* (also called *ὑπασπισταί οἱ βασιλικοὶ*), who always accompanied him on the field (cf. i. 6. 5; iii. 17. 2). They were apparently a sort of corps of pages, enrolled from the sons of Macedonian noblemen (*βασιλικοὶ παῖδες*). But the protection of the king in fight was not their only duty: they acted in every way as general staff officers, seven of their number (afterwards eight—cf. vi. 18. 4) being prominent as brigadier-generals.

Alexander's father had early recognised the importance of cavalry, and widely developed this branch of the service. The **Cavalry.** mounted troops in Alexander's army consisted of—

(1) Heavy cavalry, *ἐταῖροι* (or *οἱ ἐταῖροι ἰππεῖς, ἢ ἵππος ἢ ἑταιρικὴ*,

<sup>1</sup> Arr. ii. 20, 23; iii. 18.

lit., "brothers-in-arms"). This was an exclusively Macedonian body, officered by Macedonian landowners according to a territorial system. The divisions of the *ἑταιρική ἵππος* are very uncertain, and undoubtedly were frequently changed. It is probable that usually they were divided into fifteen *ἴλαι*, an *ἴλη* containing from 150 to 250 troopers. There was, however, a sixteenth *ἴλη*—the *ἴλη βασιλική* or *ἄγημα*, who acted as Alexander's cavalry bodyguard, and at whose head he usually rode in a charge. In addition to the Macedonian *ἑταῖροι*, the Thessalian mounted troops under Thessalian leaders must be classed as heavy cavalry. All were armed with a short sword and a *ξυστόν*, a short thrusting spear.

(2) As light cavalry we find the *σαρισσοφόροι* employed. They were lancers, as their name implies—about 1000 in all. They were armed with a shorter and lighter form of the infantry sarissa. They corresponded almost exactly to the Cossacks of the Russian army, and were employed by Alexander almost entirely in outpost duty, scouting, and clearing large districts of the enemy.

## SUMMARY.

### A. Infantry.

1. *Phalanx* (in narrowest sense), heavy infantry armed with *σάρισσαι*. These were accompanied by a force of volunteers—mostly Greeks—more lightly armed, but similarly.
2. *Πηπασπιστῶν*, light infantry, footguards (*ἄγημα*).
3. *ψιλοί*—i.e., slingers, archers, javelin-throwers (mostly Thracians and Pæonians).

### B. Cavalry.

4. *ἑταῖροι*, heavy cavalry, the old national yeomanry force, drawn from Macedon and Thrace.
5. *σαρισσοφόροι*, light infantry.

This force was accompanied by as complete a siege-train as then could be devised, composed of such artillery as *κατάπελται*, *πετροβόλοι*, *ἀφετήρια ὄργανα*. The successful sieges of Tyre and Gaza (ii. 18-23; 26. 27) sufficiently attest Alexander's skilful use of such apparatus.

As to the numbers of Alexander's army we cannot always be certain. The following is the account given by Diodorus of them at the review held before the battle of the Granicus.

<i>Infantry.</i>		Men.
Macedonian phalanx and hypaspistæ . . . . .		12,000
Allies . . . . .		7,000
Mercenaries . . . . .		5,000
Odryse, Triballi, Illyrii, } <i>ψιλοὶ</i> . . . . .		5,000
Agriani and archers, } . . . . .		1,000
		30,000
<i>Cavalry.</i>		Men.
Heavy Macedonian cavalry, under Philotas . . . . .		1,500
Heavy Thessalian cavalry, under Callas . . . . .		1,500
Irregular Greek cavalry . . . . .		600
Light Thracian cavalry, under Cassander . . . . .		900
		4,500

Thus in numbers Alexander's force seems small (it probably never numbered more than 40,000 fighting men), but, for a rapid campaign with long marches through an enemy's country, a larger force would have been unwieldy.

Alexander usually drew up his fighting-line in the following order: the army was practically divided into two wings—the left under Parmenio, the right under Alexander—making up a line about half-a-mile long. The wings were everything, the centre nothing. The duty of the right wing was to deliver the attack, the left to stand fast and resist the enemy. Beginning on the left, the troops were probably arranged as follows: (1) the Thessalian and allied cavalry; (2) phalangitæ, *πεζεταῖροι*; (3) *ὑπασπισταὶ*; (4) cavalry, *ἐταῖροι*; (5) the heavy cavalry (*ἀγῆμα*) supported by light Pæonian cavalry; (6) Agrianians and bowmen. The subjoined plan (p. 149) shows the probable arrangement of the fighting-line at the Granicus.

Alexander, like Cromwell, won all his battles by charges of heavy cavalry. It was the irresistible onset of his heavy life-guards, with himself at their head, which won the day. The phalanx played a secondary part: divided into two columns, it threatened the enemy's right and centre, exhausted their energy,

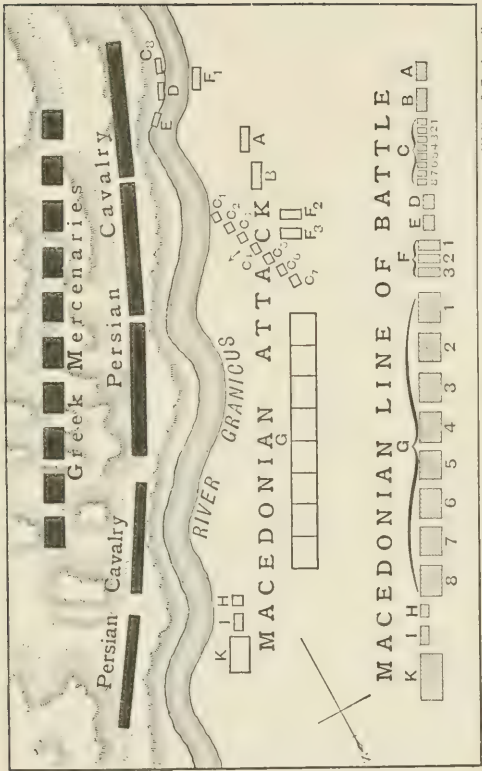
and kept them engaged whilst the main Macedonian attack was delivered. Alexander usually, as, for instance, at the battle of the Granicus, advanced his squadrons by a quick movement in *echelon* ("step-formation") to the right to induce the enemy to extend their left wing for fear of being outflanked, thus making a weak point in their left centre; on this point he then delivered a heavy-cavalry attack and succeeded in breaking their line.

Alexander was above all a cavalry general: he realised that the strength of the East lies in its cavalry.<sup>1</sup> To meet Eastern cavalry tactics he developed his cavalry. At the time of his death he was even breaking up the phalanx into lighter order; and from this time forward no general thought of fighting on foot, as Epaminondas had always done. The weak point in Alexander's generalship lay in the fact that he always himself led his cavalry charges, and thus exposed himself to unnecessary risks. For though such a personal example must have inspired confidence in his men, yet as a general he should have remembered that with his death the campaign must end.

Alexander as a tactician is not so out-of-date when compared with those of more modern times as might be at first supposed, and there are many parallels which can be drawn between his military methods and those of later times, and even lessons in generalship to be learned from his example. Napoleon, as we know, professed himself a pupil of Alexander, and in several points seems to have carefully followed the tactics of his master. Among the points of good generalship which are valid for all time and were prominent features of Alexander's campaigns one may note his extreme care for sea-bases, and the maintaining communication between fleet and army. Thus after Granicus he carefully established several secondary sea-bases such as Halicarnassus, a most necessary precaution; for if the Persians had followed Memnon's advice, which was strategically the only plan possible, to retire slowly and deliberately, destroying all provisions—as Wellington did in Portugal in 1810—and at the same time to create a diversion by harassing Macedonian bases in Greece, there is no doubt that Alexander would have found himself in a very serious position.

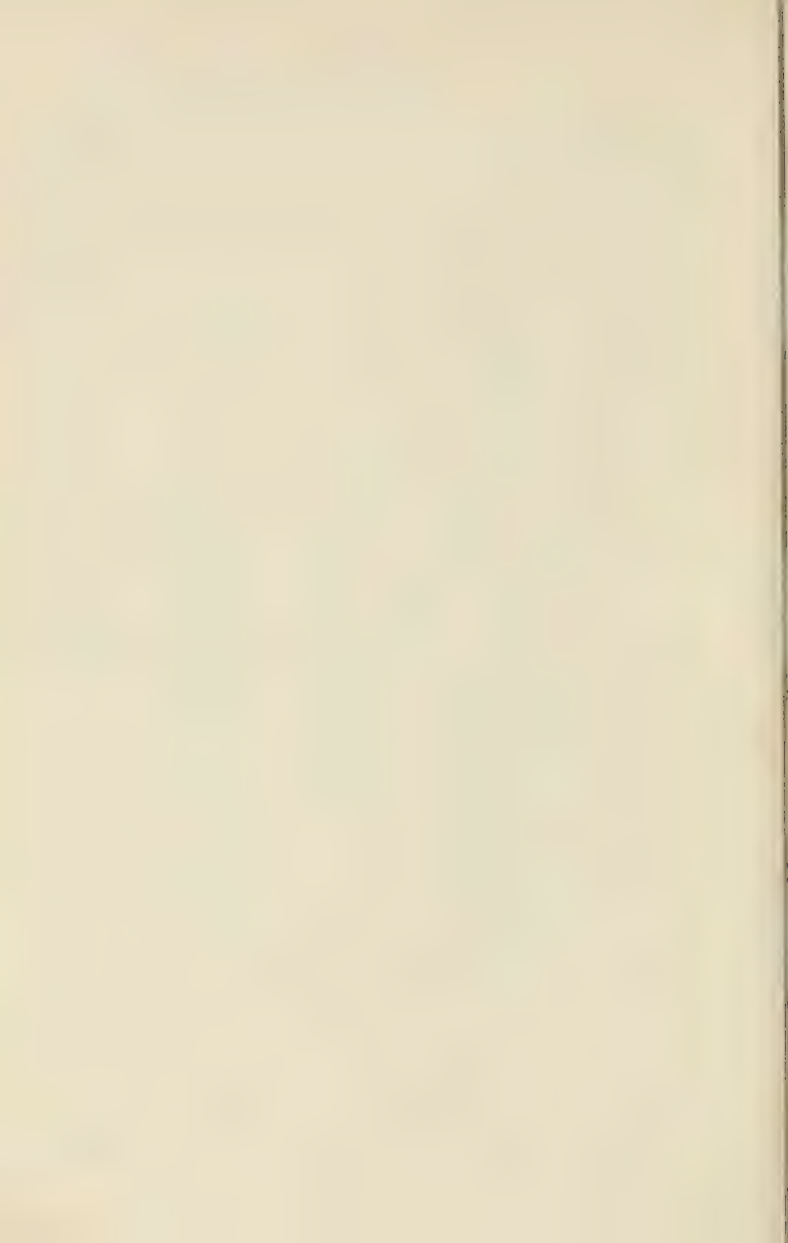
Alexander, too, was an ideal general in possessing the faculty of

<sup>1</sup> The history of the East shows that this has always been so. Persians, Parthians, Arabs, Huns, Magyars, Turks of the middle ages, Cossacks, are all essential types of Eastern cavalry.



Walker & Cockerell sc.

*Order of Battle at the Granicus.*





grasping a situation at once—knowing where the enemy's line was most vulnerable, what position must be taken either to ensure the passage of his army or cut off the retreat of his foe. “Many of the ‘strategic points’ from the Hellespont to Lahore are merely landmarks set up by his

**His quick perception.**

intuitive skill in mastering the relation of geography to war.”<sup>1</sup> Alexander, when once he had determined on taking a position or making a movement, never lost time: “forward and strike” might have been his motto as much as it was that of the great Russian Suvarrof. Any one who has read the history of any of our small Indian frontier wars—such as Churchill's ‘With the Malakand Field Force’—and then reads the fourth and fifth books of Arrian's ‘Anabasis,’ will at

**His skill in mountain warfare.**

once see how similar were the methods of mountain warfare of Macedonians and English. The country covered is the same; the state of native society is the same; the men of Bajour pursue the same tactics in 1897 as their ancestors did when their city was still Bazira (Anab. iv. 27. 5). The result, too, is the same—victory rested with the troops that were able to storm and hold the positions commanding the mountain passes.

The parallel between Alexander and Cromwell as cavalry-leaders has been mentioned above. The development, too, of the cavalry arm in the times of both leaders is very similar. In the Civil War the infantry consisted of pikemen and musketeers, and the object of a good cavalry general was to attack the musketeers when unprotected by the

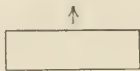
**His similarity to Cromwell.**

ground, roll them back up to the pikemen, and in the confusion break through the pikemen and cut them down. Cohesion and impact were now realised to be the two points of excellence in cavalry. They were no longer to be mere “pistoleers,” who rode up, fired, then wheeled away to reload—as they were until the tactics of Gustavus Adolphus were introduced into England. At Dunbar, at Naseby, at Marston Moor, the battle was won by heavy cavalry driving off the enemy's cavalry, then charging upon the flank or rear of the pikemen and musketeers and routing them, just as at Granicus and Issus the cavalry of the guard drove in the cavalry on the Persian flank and then charged again and again through the Persian infantry (cf. p. 148).

<sup>1</sup> ‘Military Geography’: Cambridge Geographical Series, p. 285.

THE MORE IMPORTANT TACTICAL TERMS  
IN ARRIAN.

**συντεταγμένος ὁ στρατὸς** = *acies instructa*, the army drawn up ready for battle, either ἐπὶ φάλαγγος (ἐν φάλαγγι), in deep close column, or ἐν μετώπῳ, with extended front. ἡ φάλαγξ may be roughly defined as a brigade made up of hoplites, light-armed troops, and cavalry, with two wings. The whole front of an army in this order = μέτωπον or στόμα; the centre τὸ μέσον; the wings τὰ κέρατα; the flanks πλευραὶ; the rear οὐρά. Opposed to the phalanx-order, which may be represented thus—



was the order called κατὰ κέρας or ἐπὶ κέρως (= *longum agmen*).



The usual order of marching, the men walking by twos or fours, sometimes in single file. If an attack was expected, the front was extended by advancing the rear-files (either ἐπ' ἀσπίδα, to the left, or ἐπὶ δορὺν, to the right). The opposite movement, making the front narrower, was called ἐς βάθος τὴν φάλαγγα ἐπάγειν or ἐκτάττειν.

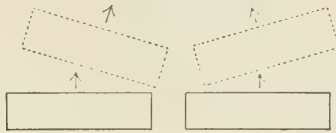
**ἀμφίστομος** is applied to φάλαγξ when its formation consisted of two fighting lines facing different ways, thus—



The object of this was to prevent flanking movements (cf. *Anab.* iii. 12. 1, and *Arr. Tact.* 29).

**ἐπικάμπιος τάξις**, “angular” formation (cf. ἐς ἐπικαμπὴν τάττειν) = an order of battle in which one or both of the wings of the front are

thrown forward at an angle with the centre to take the enemy in flank, or thrown back to prevent outflanking by the enemy (*ὑπερφάλαγγίωσις*, ii. 9. 2).



*ἔμβολος* (peg, wedge) - wedge-shaped formation, used for breaking an enemy's line (Lat. *acies cuneata*).



*ἐν πλαισίῳ* (oblong) or *ἐν πλινθίῳ* (a brick) = formation in squares, either when stationary or on the march; in the latter case it = Lat. *agmen quadratum*.

*ὄρθιοι λόχοι*, "in column," was the formation used when troops advanced in bodies many men deep but with a comparatively small front, with an interval between each body. The phalanx not being very mobile on rough ground, *λόχοι ὄρθιοι*, column formation, was almost always employed against strong positions held by the enemy, or fortresses.

*συνασπισμὸς* (= *συγκλείσαι τὰς ἀσπίδας*, i. 1. 9), lit. = "joining of shields together." Greek soldiers in open order (marching order) were 6 feet from each other, in close fighting order (phalanx) 3 feet, whilst in the *συνασπισμὸς* there was only  $1\frac{1}{2}$  foot between man and man. Arrian (Tact. ii.) defines this "joining of shields" as being such a compact formation of the phalanx that the men individually have no room to move; the shields are held partly over the head, partly over the side, according to the position of the men in centre or the outside of the formation. The Roman *testudo* owed its origin to this formation.

## APPENDIX B.

## ALEXANDER IN LEGEND.

The numberless legends which have clustered around the name of Alexander in all countries and throughout all ages show clearly how deep was the impression he made upon the world. These legends seem to have originated in Egypt and then spread into the East, gathering new features as they went. The earliest collection of them is found in the so-called pseudo-Callisthenes (*vide* Introd., p. xxxi), of which a Latin translation by Julius Valerius is extant, as also versions in Armenian and Syriac. The Persian poet Firdousi tells of the exploits of Iskander (Alexander) as a Persian national hero, and several Arabian poets repeat the marvellous tales with variations. In Europe, too, we find many versions of the Alexander legend, the most noticeable of which is the twelfth-century compilation by Lambrecht. There are extant, too, several Christian Ethiopic texts on the same subject. Even to-day the natives of Kafiristan consider themselves to be descended from Alexander's soldiers, and attribute various mounds and forts in the Dera-Ismail Khan district to Sikundar Backhu, about whom and his charger Bucephalus native tradition has much to say. In all countries where the Alexander legend prevails it varies but little, and is always wildly fantastic and marvellous in the extreme. Thus Alexander builds a brazen wall 500 yards high as a defence against Zájûj and Májûj (Gog and Magog); whilst monsters with camel's heads and such large ears that one is used as a bed and the other as a tent are foiled in their attempt to enter Alexander's realm. Again, armies of monstrous ants oppose his march; he penetrates the land of darkness and finds the source of life; he meets human beings with six hands and six feet, sees fishes which have a jewel in their stomach and can be cooked in cold water; and in one romance, as Alexander lies dying of poison, Bucephalus comes to him, weeps tears over him, and after rending the poisoner in pieces, falls dead himself. Rûm (Rome—*i.e.*, Europe) and Iran (Persia—*i.e.*, the East) contend for Alexander's corpse, which an oracle decrees shall be laid at Alexandria. An epitome of Valerius's translation of the pseudo-Callisthenes was in the ninth century probably the most widely read

book in Europe. This, together with the 'Letters from Alexander to Dindimus, King of the Brahmans,' and 'Alexander's Letter to Aristotle on the Wonders of India,' both of which probably, like the pseudo-Callisthenes, took their origin in Alexandria about 200 A.D., are the basis of all the Alexander-epics which form an integral part of almost every country's literature in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. There is no nation which in its poetry has not coveted the honour of Alexander's birth and career,—“East and West have associated his name with all that is great, and Christian and heathen poets have thrown open to him the gates of Paradise” (Gerwinus).

The huge thirteenth-century epic of more than 20,000 lines—the 'Roman d'Alexandre'—the work in the main of Lambert le Tort and Alexandre de Bernay, may be regarded as a typical<sup>1</sup> Alexander romance in several ways. It contains work by very different hands, and it finds no freak of fancy incredible, blending tales from Egypt, Chaldaea, Palestine, and medieval Europe in the most naive and hopelessly contradictory fashion. Thus Alexander, after receiving his education from Aristotle and the enchanter Nectanebus (who was also Alexander's father), captures Tyre and Ascalon and proceeds to Jerusalem, where he receives a splendid welcome—the three latter facts being a reminiscence of the Crusades. He then attacks Darius, who sends him a huge quantity of very fine flour to betoken the immense numbers of the Persian host. Alexander sends back a glove full of pepper, figuratively showing the biting spirit of his soldiers. Darius conquered, Alexander vanquishes Porus and proceeds to investigate India's wealth and wonders not only on land but also at sea; for in a barrel of glass he descends to the depths of ocean and holds converse with strange monsters. He then pursues Porus's allies—Gos and Magos (Gog and Magog)—to the Pillars of Hercules, a pursuit involving new marvels and new adventures,—mermaids, dog-headed men, men with heads and chests split into two parts, a forest of flower-maidens which grow out of the earth in spring and die down in winter—these are some of the least marvellous episodes. Not content with exploring earth and sea, Alexander sails through the skies in a light boat of wood and leather drawn by four griffins, to which he presents meat on the end of a spear, holding it above their heads when he wishes to rise, below them when he wishes to descend; and so on beyond the wildest dreams of fantasy. To us such tales are interesting only as showing what the world thought of Alexander as a mighty hero and as a searcher after knowledge of every kind.

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<sup>1</sup> It was partly translated into English by Eustace of Kent.

## APPENDIX C.

## ARRIAN'S LANGUAGE AND STYLE.

Simplicity and straightforwardness are the main characteristics of Arrian's writings. Verbosity, exaggeration, and rhetorical declamation are entirely foreign to his spirit, and so absent from his style; yet his simplicity never degenerates into baldness of expression and monotony. These his careful training in oratory enabled him to avoid by introducing occasionally speeches and dialogues. Some of these speeches strike a higher note than most, notably that in vii. 9. 10, when the king appeals to the mutinous army. Although ancient authorities<sup>1</sup> all remark on him as being an imitator of Xenophon, yet a close comparison<sup>2</sup> reveals very little actual linguistic similarity, and we must consider that the name *νέος Ξενοφών* applied rather to inclinations and pursuits, and especially to the close parallel which exists between the relation of Arrian to Epictetus and Xenophon to his master Socrates.

In style Arrian is more virile and less invertebrate than Xenophon. Considering the time at which Arrian wrote, his language is singularly free from un-Attic expressions and usages. The following are

<sup>1</sup> Beginning at Photius, cod. 58, who says, *ισχνὸς δὲ τὴν φράσιν ἐστὶ καὶ μιμητὴς ὡς ἀληθῶς.*

<sup>2</sup> As a matter of fact, Arrian seems to more often have followed Herodotus in his diction than Xenophon, as the following list of Herodotean usages indicates: *φρενῆρης*, iii. 22. 3; *δαήμων*, iv. 29. 7; *θαμβεῖν*, v. 1. 5; *λειποψυχία*, vi. 11. 2; *ἀτρεκής*, iii. 3. 1; *ἀμαυρὸς*, v. 6. 7; *ἀστιβής*, v. 11. 1; *ἐπικερτομεῖν*, vi. 8; *ἡῖών*, vi. 26; *ἀτάσθαλος*, vi. 27; *ἐλύσειν*, iii. 15; *κληρίζεσθαι*, vii. 7; *ἀρίδηλος*, vii. 14; *ξυνειστήκει μάχη*, i. 15 (cf. Herod. i. 74); *μεγέθει μέγας*, v. 19; *πλήθει πολλοί*, ii. 11; *συγγιγνώσκειν τινί τι*, ii. 12; *τῶν τις*, ii. 26. 4; *ἐπὶ δὲ*, "moreover," i. 3. 2; *πόθος λαμβάνει μιν*, i. 3. 5; *ἐς ἀλκὴν τρέπεσθαι*, i. 8. 8; *ὅτι μὴ*=*nisi*, i. 9. 3; *ἐν νῶ λαμβάνειν*, i. 23. 2; *ξυνερέχθη*=*ξυνέβη*, i. 1. 2; *πρῶτος ἤρξε*, ii. 14. 2; *οὐδὲν ἄχαρι παθεῖν*, ii. 14. 5; *ἐπιφρασθεῖς*, iii. 2; *διαχρήσθαι*, "kill," iv. 8. 9; *οὐδαμοί*=*οὐδένες*, v. 4; *ἄρα*, "care," iv. 18; *μετεξέτεροι*=*ἐνιοί*, vi. 26. 1.

more noticeable cases where he expresses himself otherwise than an Athenian of 350 B.C. would have done :—

The neuter plural subject is occasionally followed by a plural verb, usually to emphasise the plurality (cf. ii. 20. 8 ; vi. 91. 1).

οἱ, σφῶν, σφίσι, used as *direct* reflexive. Cf. i. 6. 9.

τοὺς ὑπασπιστάς ἅμα οἱ (= αὐτῶ) ἄγων. So i. 1. 7.

δς and ὅστις, often hardly distinct.

οὐδὲ, to connect an *affirmative* sentence = Attic καὶ οὐ. Cf. iii. 11. 3 ; iv. 15. 7.

πρὶν, with infin. after negative clauses (i. 7. 5 ; v. 11).

καίτοι, with part. = καίπερ (i. 5. 7 ; iii. 26).

Optative, after primary tense in main clause (v. 6. 6 ; vii. 7. 5).

ἀλλὰ γὰρ = ἀλλὰ.

κελεύειν, with dative (i. 26 ; vii. 12) ; so ὠφελεῖν (vi. 11. 3).

μέλλειν, with present infin.

ὑπὲρ = περὶ. Cf. Dem.

ἀμφὶ, with dat. (i. 22. 3).

“Unattic” forms : ὑποφθάσω, κατασχεθῆναι, συμπέπηγμαι, ἐκπεριπλεύσοντα, διαρπαγῆναι, διασκεδάσουσι.

## APPENDIX D.

## GREEK PARTICLES.

## Copulative—

καὶ sometimes emphasises a word = “at all”; εἰ τῶ καὶ δοκοῦμεν . . . (Thuc. ii. 11).

δὲ, initial “now”; ἦν δὲ τίς ποτε . . . “now there was once upon a time.”

μὲν . . . δὲ, often used to introduce *balance* of clauses in Greek, where English is content to leave the connection implied; in such cases often = “whilst,” “whereas.”

καὶ . . . γὰρ, “yes . . . for,” “for in fact.”

καὶ . . . γέ, “yes . . . and.”

καὶ μὴν καί, “and moreover.”

## Adversative—

ἀλλὰ, “but” = strong contrast.

ἀλλὰ . . . γὰρ, “but enough for,” . . . “but the truth is.”

οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ, “not but what,” “nevertheless.”

ἀλλὰ μὴν, “but indeed.”

ὅμως δὲ, “but still.”

δ' οὖν, “be that as it may”; resumes after a digression.

μέντοι, “however,” “nevertheless.”

καίτοι, “and yet”; weaker than preceding.

οὐχ ὅτι, “not but that” (lit., I was not going to deny that; parenthetically).

μὴ ὅτι, “not to say” . . . “not suffering us to say”; “much less,” “much more.”

μὴ τί γε δὴ, “much less.”

οὐχ ὅπως . . . “much less”; οὐχ ὅπως ἐγέλασα ἀλλ' οὐδὲ ἐθαύμασα, “I did not even wonder, much less laugh”; so, μὴ ὅπως, μὴ ὅτι.

ἀλλὰ νῆ Διᾶ, “Oh! but I shall be told” = *at enim*.



## Causal and illative—

γάρ, “for”; often to carry on the sense=“yes,” “no”; οὔτω γὰρ πᾶσιν δῆλον γενήσεσθαι, “thus, they said, the matter would be explained.”

τοίνυν, “so,” “therefore”; cf. *autem*, rather colourless; common in the orators.

ἄρα, “then,” “after all,” “so,” specially with imperfect and aorist; Κύπρις οὐκ ἄρ’ ἦν θεὸς, “Cypris, it turns out, is not a goddess.”

οὖν, “so,” “therefore”; often resumes.

πανὸ μὲν οὖν, “yes, most certainly.”

ἅτε, “inasmuch as,” “whereas,” always with participles; frequent; ἅτε διώκοντες ἐσπούδαζον, “since they were pursuing, they made haste.”

ἄλλως τὲ καὶ, “especially since” . . .

## Transitional—

τί δέ, “again”=Lat., *quid*; an anticipatory question, which forms a transition, and draws attention to the sentence which follows.

καὶ μὴν καὶ, “and again.”

## Affirmative and corrective—

γε, “at least”; in Plato often=“yes”; παντάπασί γε.

τοι, “let me tell you,” “rest assured”; the confidential particle.

δήπου, “I suppose you know”; ironical.

γούν, “at any rate”; gives a special instance of a general statement.

μὲν οὖν, “nay, rather”; Lat., *immo*.

αὐτίκα, “for instance.”

ἄληθες, “you don’t mean to say so?” ironical; Lat., *itaue vero?*

δὴ implies strong emphasis; τότε δὴ=“then, and only then”;

Lat., *tum demum*. Note δὴ, of implied untruth—“as they said.” Also resumptive, “as I mentioned above.”

δῆτα, “indeed,” usually in questions; τί δῆτα, “what, pray?”

ἦ μὴν, of very strong asseveration; “I swear it.”

δῆθεν, like δὴ and ἄρα, a “dramatic” particle, representing the tone or feeling of the speaker; often implies irony.

## INDEX OF PROPER NAMES.

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*The references are to book, chapter, and section. Where the reference only is given, sufficient explanation will be found in the text or notes.*

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- Ἄβδηρα, a city of Thrace, near the mouth of the Nestus. I. 11. 4.  
 Ἄβυδος (now Avido), a city on the Asiatic shore of the Hellespont, which is here seven stades broad. I. 11. 5.  
 Ἄγηνόριον, Agenor's shrine in Tyre. II. 24.  
 Ἄγησγλαος. II. 13. 6.  
 Ἄγισ, king of Sparta, 338-330 B.C.; rebelled against Alexander. II. 13.  
 Ἄγκυρα, a city of Galatia (now Angora). II. 4.  
 Ἄγριᾶνες, a tribe of Paonia (modern Croatia, Bosnia). They furnished a useful contingent of light horse and scouts to Alexander. I. 1.  
 Ἄδα, daughter of Hecatomnus, King of Caria, appointed queen-satrap of Caria by Alexander. I. 23.  
 Ἄδδαῖος. I. 22.  
 Ἄέροπος, a chieftain of Lyncestis in Upper Macedonia. I. 7. 6.  
 Ἄξιμλκος, King of Tyre. II. 15; 24.  
 Αἰγαί, the residence of the Macedonian kings (now Vodena). I. 11.  
 Αἰγὸς ποταμὸι. I. 9. 3.  
 Αἶμος, the Balkan range reaching from Pontus to Mount Skomios. The chief pass in Mount Hæmus is the *Porta Trajani*, now the pass of Skapi. I. 1. 5.  
 Ἄλεξανδρος, son of Æropus. I. 7. 6.  
 Ἄλεξανδρος. *Introd.*, p. xii.  
 Ἄλήϊον πῆδιον, a fruitful plain between the Saros and Pyramus rivers (cf. *Hom. Il. vi. 201*). II. 5. 8.  
 Ἄλικάρνασος, capital of Caria (now Budrun), besieged by Alexander. I. 20.  
 Ἄλύς, chief river of Asia Minor. II. 4.

- Ἄμαθοῦς, a town in Cyprus. II. 22.
- Ἄμανικὰ πύλαι, the pass from Cilicia to Syria through which Darius passed to the plain of Issus (now the pass of Marasch). II. 7. 1.
- Ἄμφειον, Amphion's shrine in Thebes. I. 8. 6.
- Ἄμφίπολις, a city on the Strymon. I. 1. 5.
- Ἄνθεμουσία Ἰλη, the cavalry contingent from the Macedonian town, Anthemus. II. 9. 3; *vide* App. A, p. 142.
- Ἄνίκητος, ἄρχων. II. 24. 6.
- Ἄνταλκίδου εἰρήνη. II. 1. 4.
- Ἄντίπατρος, father of Cassander; one of Philip's most trusty generals. I. 7. 6; II. 2. 4.
- Ἄπολλωνία, a town of Mygdonia. I. 12. 7.
- Ἄραβες. Used of the Arab population of Gaza and also of the Bedouins of Lebanon. II. 25. 4; 27. 1.
- Ἄραδος, a small island (now Ruad) on the coast of Phœnicia. II. 13. 8.
- Ἄρέτης, leader of Alexander's light horse at Gaugamela. I. 15. 6.
- Ἄριστανδρος, Alexander's favourite seer and prophet. I. 11. 2; 25. 8; 26. 4.
- Ἄριστόβουλος, historian. Preface, 1; II. 3. 7; *vide* Introd., p. xxxii.
- Ἄριστοτέλης, the philosopher. Introd., p. xiii.
- Ἄρσάμης, satrap of Cilicia and Persian general. I. 12. 8; II. 4. 5.
- Ἄρσης, King of Persia. II. 14. 2.
- Ἄρσίτης, satrap of Phrygia; defeated at Granicus. He committed suicide. I. 12. 8.
- Ἄρταξέρξης the Second. I. 12. 3.
- Ἄρταξέρξης the Third; Ochus, King of Persia, 362-338. II. 14. 2.
- Ἄρτεμις. I. 17. 9.
- Ἄσκανία, a sea-water lake in Phrygia on the road to Celenæ. Cf. Herod. vii. 30. I. 29. 1.
- Ἄσσυρία = Συρία. II. 5. 1; 6. 1.
- Ἄτταλος, leader of the Agrianian light troops. II. 9. 2.
- Ἀὐτοφραδάτης, Persian general. II. 1. 3.
- Ἀχιλλεύς. I. 12. 1.
- Βαβυλών = Bab-ilu—*i.e.*, the gate of God, capital of Babylonia, situated on both sides of the Euphrates; population over two millions; area three times that of London. A few ruins at the village of Hillah mark its ancient site. II. 14. 8; 16. 5.
- Βαγώας, an Egyptian, a favourite of Artaxerxes III., who was poisoned by him. He put Codomannus on the throne, and was afterwards executed by him. II. 14. 5.

Βάτις. II. 25. 4.

Βύβλος, one of the oldest Phœnician cities, now Djebel. II. 15. 6.

Βύζαντιον = Constantinople, founded 667 B.C. I. 3. 1.

Γάζα, a well-fortified town in south of Palestine. Very important strategically, as it commanded the road connecting Palestine and Egypt. II. 26. 1; 27. 6.

Γέται οἱ ἀθανατίζοντες, a Thracian tribe from the banks of the Ister (Danube). I. 3. 2.

Γλαυκίας, king of the Taulantii. I. 5. 1.

Γόρδιον, formerly the residence of the Phrygian kings, situated on the Sangarius river (now the Sakkaria). Strategically important because here the natural route from the Sea of Marmora—in part now the line of a railway—meets the great Anatolian highway. I. 29. 3; II. 3. 1.

Γρανικός, a small river in N.W. Asia Minor; rises in Ida and flows into the Propontis. I. 13. 1.

Δαμασκός = modern Esh Sham; built in an oasis; capital of Coelesyria. II. 11. 9.

Δαρείος Κοδομάννος. Introd., p. xxii; I. 12. 4; II. 6. 1; 8. 1; 14. 1.

Δασκύλιον, a town on the Propontis, centre of the satrapies of Mysia and Phrygia Minor. I. 17. 2.

Δημάδης, one of the ten Attic orators; violent opponent of Demosthenes and his anti-Macedonian policy. I. 10. 3.

Δημάρατος, a Corinthian, one of Alexander's staff. I. 15. 6.

Δημοσθένης, the orator, leader of the patriotic anti-Macedonian party. I. 10. 4.

Διόνυσος. II. 16. 3.

Ἐβρος, the largest river of Thrace (now the Maritza). I. 11. 4.

Ἐκαταῖος, one of the earliest *λογοποιοί* (chroniclers); fl. 550-476 B.C. at Miletus. Herodotus borrows largely from his works. II. 16. 5.

Ἑλλάνικος, one of Alexander's generals. I. 21. 5.

Ἐνυλος, King of Byblus. II. 20. 1.

Ἐπαμεινώνδας, leader of Thebes during the "Theban supremacy" (cf. App. A). I. 9. 4.

Ἐρμος, a river, flows through Phrygia and Lydia (now the Sarabat). I. 17. 4.

Ἐϋβοία. II. 2. 4.

Εὐρυμέδων, a river of Pamphylia. I. 27. 1.

- "**Ἐφεσος**, the richest city of Ionia. Its site, at the mouth of the Cayster, is now marked by the ruins near the village of Ayasalouk (*vide* illustration, p. 36). I. 17. 9.
- Ζέλεια**, a city at the foot of Mount Ida. I. 12. 8.
- "**Ἠγέλοχος**, admiral of the Macedonian fleet. II. 2. 3.
- "**Ἡρακλέους στῆλαι** = Calpe (Gibraltar) and Abyla (Ceuta). II. 16. 4.
- "**Ἡρακλῆς**. II. 24. 6 (note).
- "**Ἡρόδοτος** of Halicarnassus, "the father of history," fl. 443 B.C. Frequently imitated by Arrian (cf. App. C, note). II. 16. 3.
- "**Ἡφαιστίων**, Alexander's bosom-friend and comrade; captain of the *ἄγημα* (the "king's own" corps); adjutant-general of the army. I. 12. 1; II. 12. 6.
- Θάψακος** = Tiphseh (the ford) of 1 Kings iv. 24; once the farthest city of Solomon's kingdom, now ruins near El Hama; important city commanding the trade-route from Syria to the interior of Asia. II. 13. 1.
- Θεσσαλοί**. I. 14. 3; II. 7. 8.
- Θῆβαι**. I. 7. 1.
- Θήρων**, tyrant of Agrigentum. I. 12. 2.
- Θράκη**, the north coast of the Aegean from the Strymon to the Bosphorus, a rough mountainous district, nominally tributary to Macedonia. I. 1. 4.
- "**Ίάγυγες**, a branch of the Iagyges (a tribe dwelling on the banks of the Dnieper) who had settled between the Danube and the Theiss. I. 3. 2.
- "**Ίακχος**, the festal song sung at the Eleusinia in honour of Dionysus. II. 16. 3.
- "**Ίβηρες**, the inhabitants of the Spanish peninsula. II. 6. 4.
- "**Ίλιον**. I. 11. 8.
- "**Ίλλύριοι**, tribes akin to the Thracians, inhabiting the modern Dalmatia, Bosnia, and Southern Croatia. I. 1. 4.
- "**Ίόλαος**, a friend and charioteer of Heracles, worshipped at Thebes. I. 7. 7.
- "**Ίππίας**. II. 13. 6.
- "**Ίσός**, a small town at the north foot of the *Αμανική πύλη*, situated in a narrow valley. II. 7. 1; 20. 3.
- "**Ίστρος**, Thracian name for the lower reaches of the Danube, later called by the Celtic name Danuvius; formed the northern border of Alexander's kingdom. I. 2. 1; 3. 1.
- "**Ίφικράτης**. II. 15. 2, 4; App. A, p. 145.

**Καδμεία**, the citadel of Thebes; since 338 B.C. held by the Macedonians. I. 7. 1.

**Κάδμος** (=Kedem, Qadmi, an Eastern man), the legendary founder of Thebes. II. 16. 1.

**Καππαδοκία**, a province of Asia Minor, between Cilicia and the Black Sea. I. 16. 3.

**Καρία**, a south-western province of Asia Minor. I. 20. 2; 23. 6-8.

**Καρχηδόνιοι**, Carthage (=Phœn. Kirjath-Hadeschath—*i.e.*, Newtown), the most populous and powerful city of N. Africa. II. 24. 5.

**Κελαιναί**, a town in Phrygia. I. 29. 1.

**Κελταί**, a widely spread branch of the Aryan people occupying at one time France, Britain, Spain, and a large part of S. Germany. I. 3. 1.

**Κερκινίτις**, now the lake of Terkino (cf. Herod. v. 15). I. 11. 3.

**Κιλικία**. II. 4. 2; 12. 2.

**Κλέαρχος**. I. 22. 7.

**Κοῖνος**, leader of Alexander's phalanx. I. 6. 9; II. 8. 3; 23. 2.

**Κολωναί**, a small city of Mysia. I. 12. 6.

**Κουάδαι**, the Quadi, a powerful Teutonic race (wrongly called Celts by Arrian) occupying, in Arrian's time (120 A.D.), S.E. Germany between the Hercynian Forest and the Danube. I. 3. 2.

**Κουριεύς**, an inhabitant of Curion, a town of Cyprus. II. 22. 2.

**Κρατερός**, Alexander's most valued heavy-infantry general. I. 14. 2; II. 8. 4.

**Κύδνος**, a river of Cilicia (now the Carasu). II. 4. 7.

**Κύμη**, the largest of the Æolian cities of Asia Minor, mother-city of Side in Pamphylia and Cumæ in Campania. I. 26. 4.

**Κύνα**, Alexander's sister. I. 5. 4.

**Κύπριοι**. Cyprus supplied the best sailors for Alexander's fleet. I. 18. 7; II. 20. 7.

**Κύρος**, Cyrus the younger. I. 12. 3; II. 4. 3.

**Κῶς**, an island off the coast of Asia Minor near Halicarnassus. II. 5. 7.

**Λάγγαρος**, king of the Agriani. I. 5. 2.

**Λάγος Πτολεμαῖος**. Introd., p. xxxi.

**Λάδη**, an island off Miletus. I. 18. 4; 19. 3.

**Λάμψακος**, a city on the Hellespont (now Lapsaci). I. 12. 6.

**Λεόννατος**, a Macedonian prince, Alexander's adjutant-general. II. 12. 4.

**Λέσβος**, a large and fertile island off Mysia. II. 1. 1.

**Λευγαία Ἔλη**. II. 9. 3.

- Λυδία**, the central district of the west coast of Asia Minor. I. 12. 8.
- Λυκοῦργος**, a leader of the patriotic anti-Macedonian party at Athens, the most honest statesman and soundest finance minister that Athens ever possessed. I. 10. 4.
- Λύσιππος** of Sicyon, one of the greatest Greek statuaries, fl. 330 B.C. His works, said to have numbered 1500, were almost all in bronze. I. 16. 4.
- Μαγαρσός**, a city of Cilicia. II. 5. 9.
- Μαγνησία**, a town in Caria, on a tributary of the Mæander. I. 18. 1.
- Μαίανδρος**, a river of Ionia, flows into Ionian Sea about ten miles north of Miletus. I. 19. 7.
- Μαιμακτηρίων**, the fifth Attic month = end of October and beginning of November. II. 11. 10.
- Μακεδόνες**. Introd., p. xxiv.
- Μαλλός**, a city on the coast of Cilicia. II. 5. 9.
- Μαντίνεια**, a city in Arcadia. Here, in 362 B.C., Epaminondas defeated the Spartans, but received his death-wound. I. 9. 4.
- Μαριάμμη**. II. 13. 8.
- Μαρκόμαννοι**, a Teutonic nation (not, as Arrian says, Celtic) who originally lived in the S.W. of Germany, but about B.C. 20, under Maroboduus, migrated into the country of the Boii (Bohemia) and founded a powerful kingdom extending as far south as the Danube. I. 3. 2.
- Μελέαγρος**, one of the leaders of the Macedonian phalanx. I. 4. 5; II. 8. 4.
- Μέμων**, the Rhodian leader of Darius's Greek mercenaries, the only sound strategist on the Persian side (cf. App. A, p. 148). I. 12. 9; II. 1. 1.
- Μένης**. II. 12. 2.
- Μέντωρ**, brother of Memnon; like him, a leader of Darius's Greek mercenaries. II. 2. 1.
- Μένων**, Alexander's governor of Cœlesyria. II. 13. 7.
- Μήδοι** (= Pers. *Mâda*), the people of Media—*i.e.*, west of the great Iranian plateau, the most important province of the Persian Empire. I. 9. 7; II. 6. 7.
- Μίδας**, son of Gordius, King of Phrygia. II. 3. 1.
- Μιθριδάτης**, Darius's brother-in-law. I. 15. 7.
- Μιθρίνης**, Persian commander of Sardis. I. 17. 3.
- Μίλητος**, a flourishing seaport town of the Ionic Greeks, south of Mycale (*vide infra*). I. 18. 3.
- Μυκάλη**, a promontory on west coast of Asia Minor opposite Samos, headquarters of Persian fleet. I. 18. 5.

Νέαρχος. *Introd.*, p. xxx.

Νέσσος, a river of Thrace (now the Mesto). I. 1. 5.

Νικάνωρ, son of Parmenio, commander of the Argyraspides—*i.e.*, king's light-armed bodyguard. I. 18. 4.

Νιφάτης, Persian general. I. 12. 8.

Ξενοφῶν, son of Gryllus, historian of the 'Anabasis' of the ten thousand Greeks. I. 12. 3; II. 4. 3.

Οιδίπους, mythical king of Thebes. II. 16. 2.

Ὀλύμπια, in Elis on the Alpheus; here, every fifth year at the beginning of July, the Olympic games took place. I. 11. 5.

Ὀλυμπίας, Alexander's mother. *Introd.*, p. xii.

Ὀμηρος. I. 12. 1.

Ὀμότιμοι, the Persian "peers." II. 11. 9.

Ὀρονταβάτης, satrap of Caria. I. 23. 1.

Πάγγαιον, a spur of Mount Rhodope between the Strymon and the Nessus, which Alexander crossed on his way to Asia. Xerxes had followed the same route towards Greece (*Herod.* v. 16). I. 11. 4.

Παιονία, northern part of Macedonia, which furnished Alexander with some of his best light horse. I. 5. 1; II. 7. 5.

Παιτική χώρα. I. 11. 4.

Παρμενίων, Alexander's most distinguished general; had served under Philip; executed in 330 with his son Philotas for supposed complicity in a conspiracy.

Πάταρα, a town of Lycia, famous for its Apollo-cult. I. 24. 4.

Πάτροκλος, Achilles' bosom-friend, slain by Hector. I. 12. 1.

Παφλαγόνες, inhabitants of N. Asia Minor on the Black Sea. II. 4. 1.

Πέλλα, a fortified town in Lower Macedonia, residence of the kings. *Introd.*, p. xxvi.

Πέργη, a town in Pamphylia. I. 26. 1.

Περδίκκας, the son of Orontes; on him, as one of Alexander's leading generals, the chief authority devolved after the king's death. I. 6. 9; 14. 2; II. 8. 3.

Περκώτη, a town in Phrygia. I. 12. 6.

Πέρσαι. *Introd.*, p. xxi; II. 14. 4.

Πετίνης. I. 12. 8.

Πεύκη, an island in the Danube. I. 2. 2.

Πήλιον, a fortress on the border of Macedonia and Illyria. I. 5. 5.

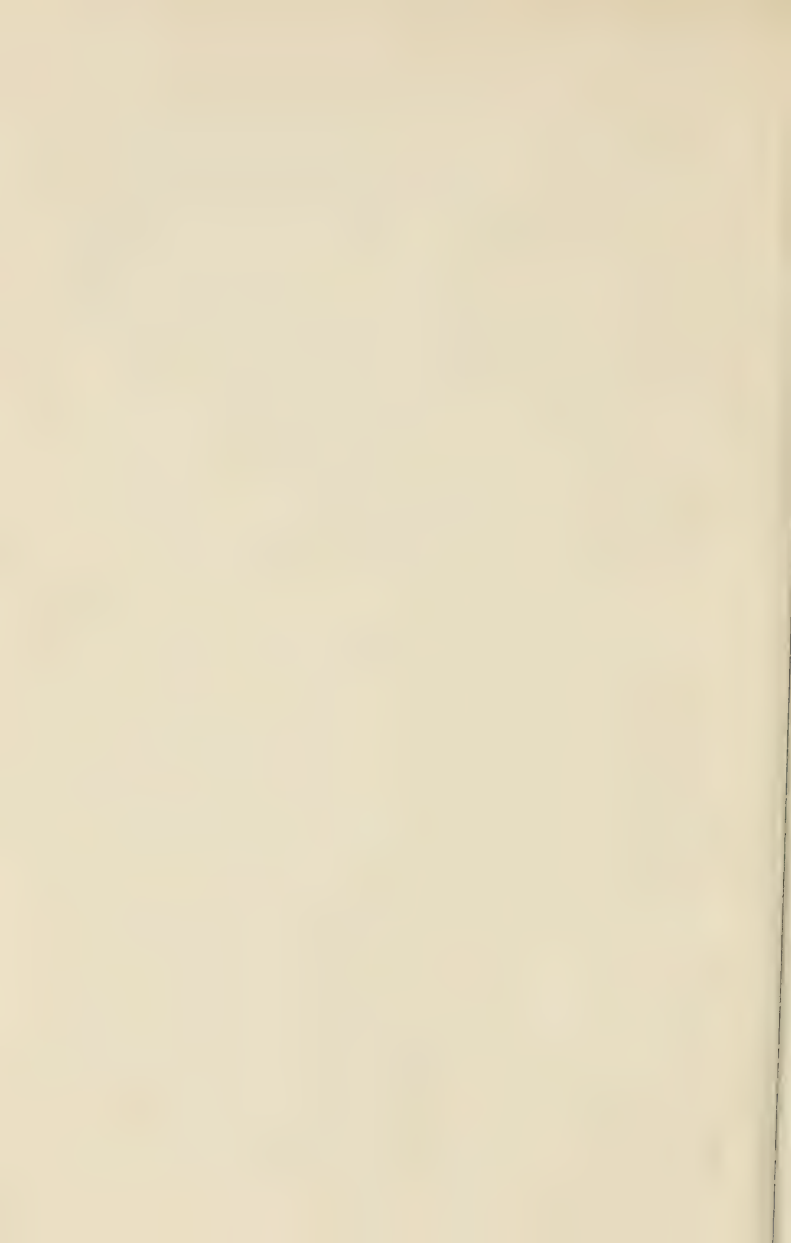
Πίνδαρος, the greatest Greek lyric poet, born near Thebes 522 B.C. I. 9. 10.



- Πισίδαι, inhabitants of the mountainous district in N. Pamphylia. I. 24. 6.
- Πλαταιαί, an ancient city of Beotia; here, in 479 B.C., the Persians were defeated. I. 8. 8.
- Πολυσπέρχων, a commander of the Macedonian phalanx. II. 12. 2.
- Πριάμος, last king of Troy, slain by Neoptolemus. I. 11. 8.
- Πρίαπος, god of plenty and of the generative powers of nature. I. 12. 7.
- Πτολεμαῖος, son of Lagus (*vide* Introd., p. xxxi). II. 11. 8.
- Πύλαι = Θερμοπύλαι—*i.e.*, the pass between the Malian Gulf and a spur of Mount Œta; it was about 50 feet broad and could be closed with a gate. Here, in 480 B.C., Leonidas resisted the Persians. I. 7. 5.
- Πύραμος, a river of Cilicia. II. 5. 8.
- Ῥεομίθρης, a satrap of Darius, killed at Issus. I. 12. 8.
- Ῥοισάκης, satrap killed by Alexander himself at Granicus. I. 15. 7.
- Σαρδανάπαλος, mythical king of Nineveh. His fall and death are supposed to have taken place in 876 B.C. II. 5. 3.
- Σάρδεις, the capital of Lydia, populous and well fortified. Its ruins are now called *Sart* (*vide* illustration, p. 34). I. 17. 3.
- Σαυρομάται, a wild Scythian tribe = Latin *Sarmates*. I. 3. 2.
- Σεμέλη, in mythology the mother of Dionysus; had important cult at Thebes; probably to be identified with "Semlath of the vineyard." II. 16. 1.
- Σεμίραμις, mythical foundress of Nineveh. I. 23. 7.
- Σεστός, a Thracian city at the narrowest part of the Hellespont, opposite to Abydos (now Jalova). I. 11. 5.
- Σίδων, the oldest city of Phœnicia (now Saida), twenty miles north of Tyre. II. 15. 6; II. 19-24.
- Σιτάλκης, chief and leader of the Thracians. I. 28. 4; II. 5. 1.
- Σκύθαι, a nomad people of Indo-Germanic stem, extending from the Sea of Aral to the Don. I. 3. 2.
- Σόλοι, a coast-town of Cilicia. II. 5. 5.
- Σπιθραδάτης, satrap of Ionia. I. 12. 8.
- Στυμφαία, a district in the south-west of Macedonia. I. 7. 5.
- Συρμος, king of the Triballi. I. 2. 2.
- Σύρφαξ, leader of Ephesians. I. 17. 12.
- Σωκράτης, one of Alexander's cavalry leaders. I. 12. 7.
- Σώπολις, leader of Macedonian heavy cavalry. I. 2. 5.
- Σῶχοι, a people and district of Syria. II. 6. 1.

- Τάρσος**, a populous city of Cilicia on the Cydnus; the scene of Alexander's severe illness. II. 4. 5
- Ταρτησός**, an important colony of the Phœnicians in S. Spain on the Guadalquivir (the Tarshish of the Bible). II. 16. 4.
- Ταυλάντιοι**, a small Illyrian clan near Dyrrhachium. I. 5. 1.
- Ταῦρος**, a mountain-range of Cilicia and Lydia. II. 4. 7.
- Τελμισσοί**, a town of Caria. I. 24. 4.
- Τερμησσός**, a Pisidian town on Mount Taurus. I. 27. 5.
- Τιμόλαος**, one of the Spartan garrison of the Cadmea. I. 7. 1.
- Τριβαλλοί**, an unruly Thracian tribe dwelling near the Danube, reduced by Alexander and compelled to furnish troops for his army. I. 1. 4.
- Τρίπολις**, an important town of Phœnicia, famous as a great trade-centre (now Tripoli). II. 13. 2.
- Τύρος** (= Phœnician *Sor*—*i.e.*, rock), the most populous and flourishing seaport and manufacturing city of Phœnicia. The city proper lay on two small rocky islands 1600 yards from the land, whilst the large suburbs, Palætyrus (Old Tyre), were situated on the mainland (cf. map, p. 137). II. 15. 6-24.
- Ἵππεύδης**, one of the ten Attic orators, a leader of the anti-Macedonian patriotic party and a friend of Demosthenes. He was killed by order of Antipater in 322 B.C. I. 10. 4.
- Φαρνάβαζος**, son of Artabazus, successor of Memnon as Darius's adviser. II. 1. 3.
- Φίλιππος**, Alexander's father (*vide* Introd., p. xxvi). I. 1. 1.
- Φιλώτας**, son of Parmenio; boon-companion of Alexander; leader of Macedonian heavy cavalry; executed by Alexander for supposed complicity in a conspiracy. I. 2. 1.
- Φοίνικες**, the inhabitants of the centre of the Syrian coast-line. I. 18. 7; II. 2. 5.
- Φρυγία**, one of the chief districts of Asia Minor, was divided into Greater Phrygia between Bithynia and Pisidia, and Lesser Phrygia on the Hellespont. I. 12. 8.
- Χάρης**, Athenian politician of the anti-Macedonian party. I. 10. 4.
- Ἐμάρης**, a commander of mercenaries under Darius. I. 16. 3.
- Ἐλχος**, King of Persia before Darius Codomannus. Introd., p. xxiii.





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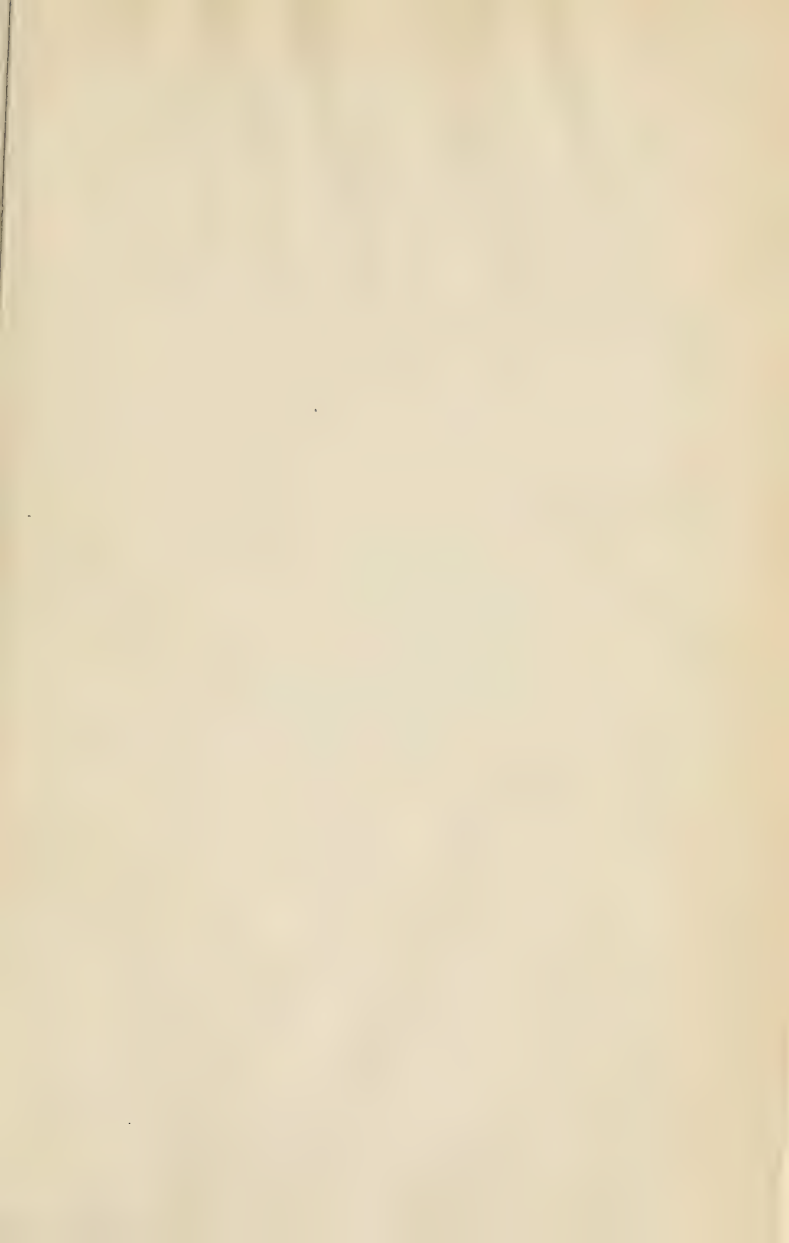
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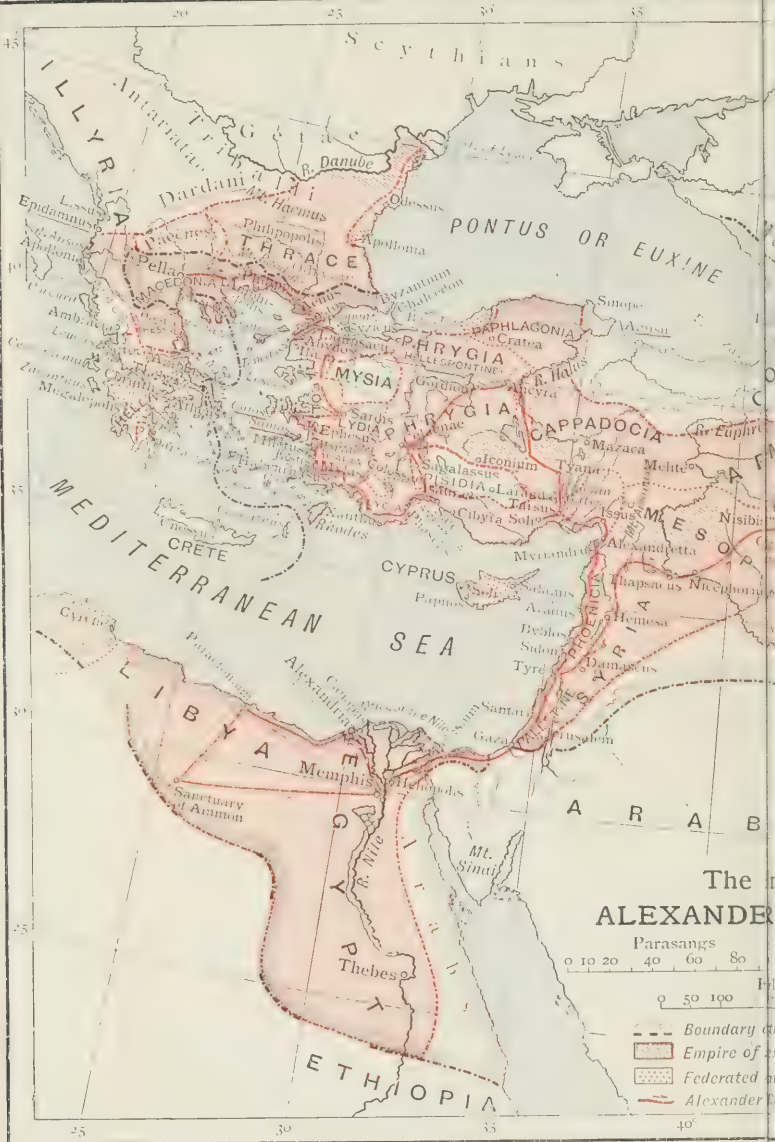
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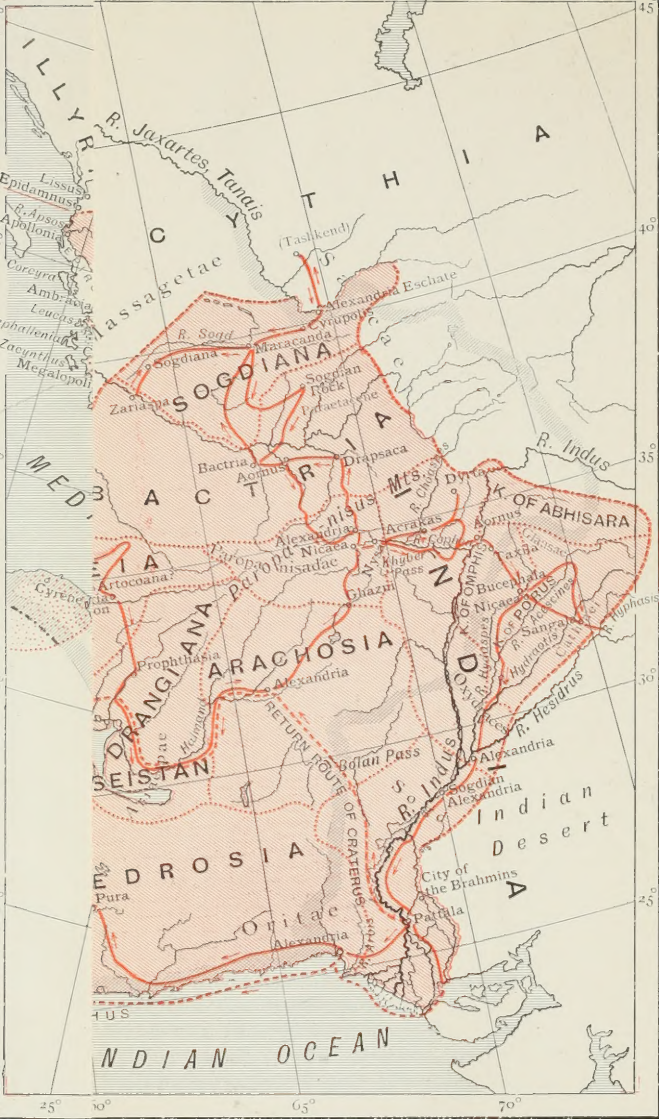


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