



This is a digital copy of a book that was preserved for generations on library shelves before it was carefully scanned by Google as part of a project to make the world's books discoverable online.

It has survived long enough for the copyright to expire and the book to enter the public domain. A public domain book is one that was never subject to copyright or whose legal copyright term has expired. Whether a book is in the public domain may vary country to country. Public domain books are our gateways to the past, representing a wealth of history, culture and knowledge that's often difficult to discover.

Marks, notations and other marginalia present in the original volume will appear in this file - a reminder of this book's long journey from the publisher to a library and finally to you.

### Usage guidelines

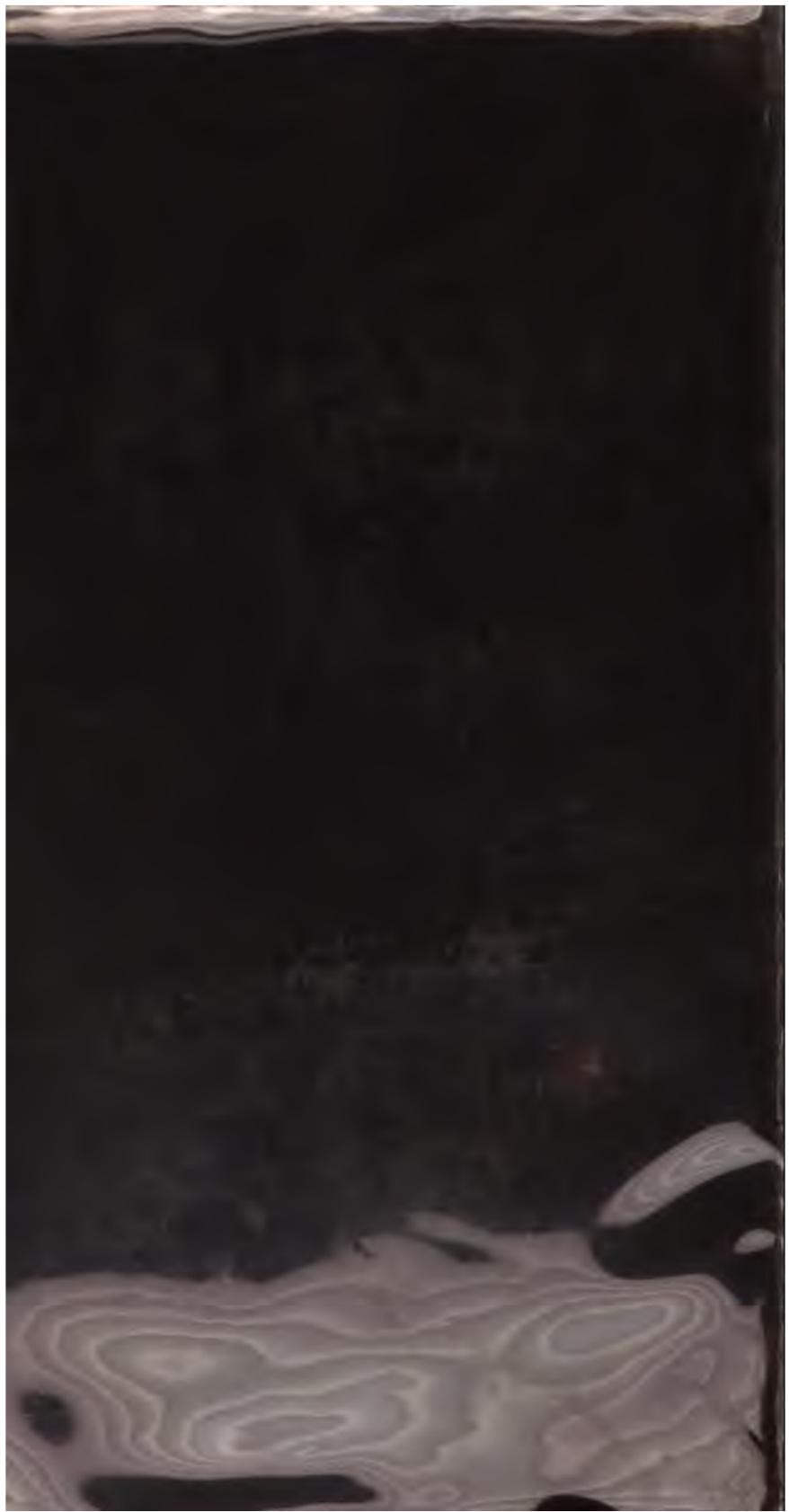
Google is proud to partner with libraries to digitize public domain materials and make them widely accessible. Public domain books belong to the public and we are merely their custodians. Nevertheless, this work is expensive, so in order to keep providing this resource, we have taken steps to prevent abuse by commercial parties, including placing technical restrictions on automated querying.

We also ask that you:

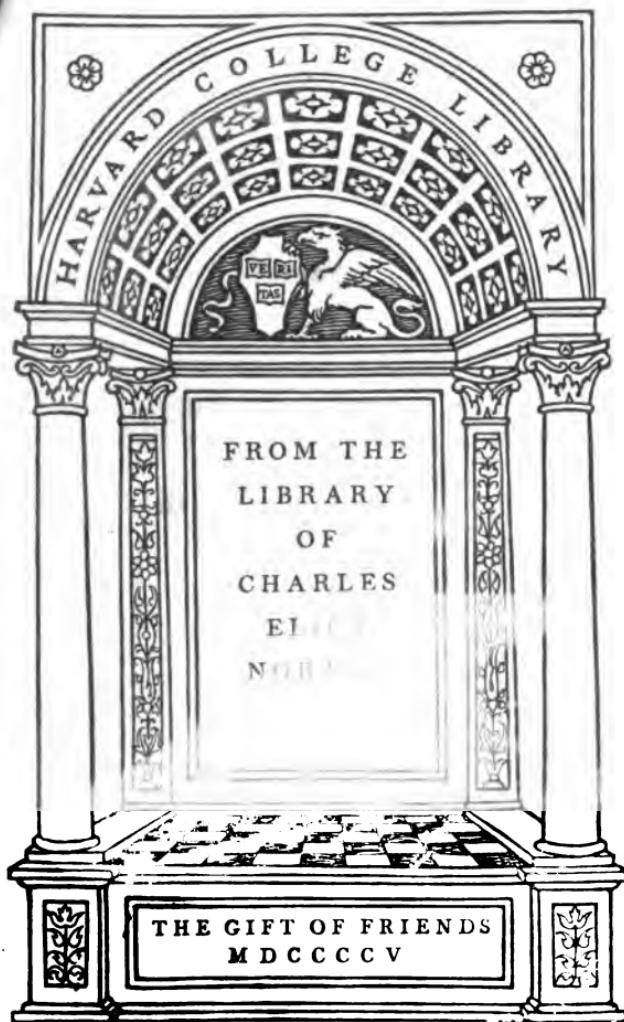
- + *Make non-commercial use of the files* We designed Google Book Search for use by individuals, and we request that you use these files for personal, non-commercial purposes.
- + *Refrain from automated querying* Do not send automated queries of any sort to Google's system: If you are conducting research on machine translation, optical character recognition or other areas where access to a large amount of text is helpful, please contact us. We encourage the use of public domain materials for these purposes and may be able to help.
- + *Maintain attribution* The Google "watermark" you see on each file is essential for informing people about this project and helping them find additional materials through Google Book Search. Please do not remove it.
- + *Keep it legal* Whatever your use, remember that you are responsible for ensuring that what you are doing is legal. Do not assume that just because we believe a book is in the public domain for users in the United States, that the work is also in the public domain for users in other countries. Whether a book is still in copyright varies from country to country, and we can't offer guidance on whether any specific use of any specific book is allowed. Please do not assume that a book's appearance in Google Book Search means it can be used in any manner anywhere in the world. Copyright infringement liability can be quite severe.

### About Google Book Search

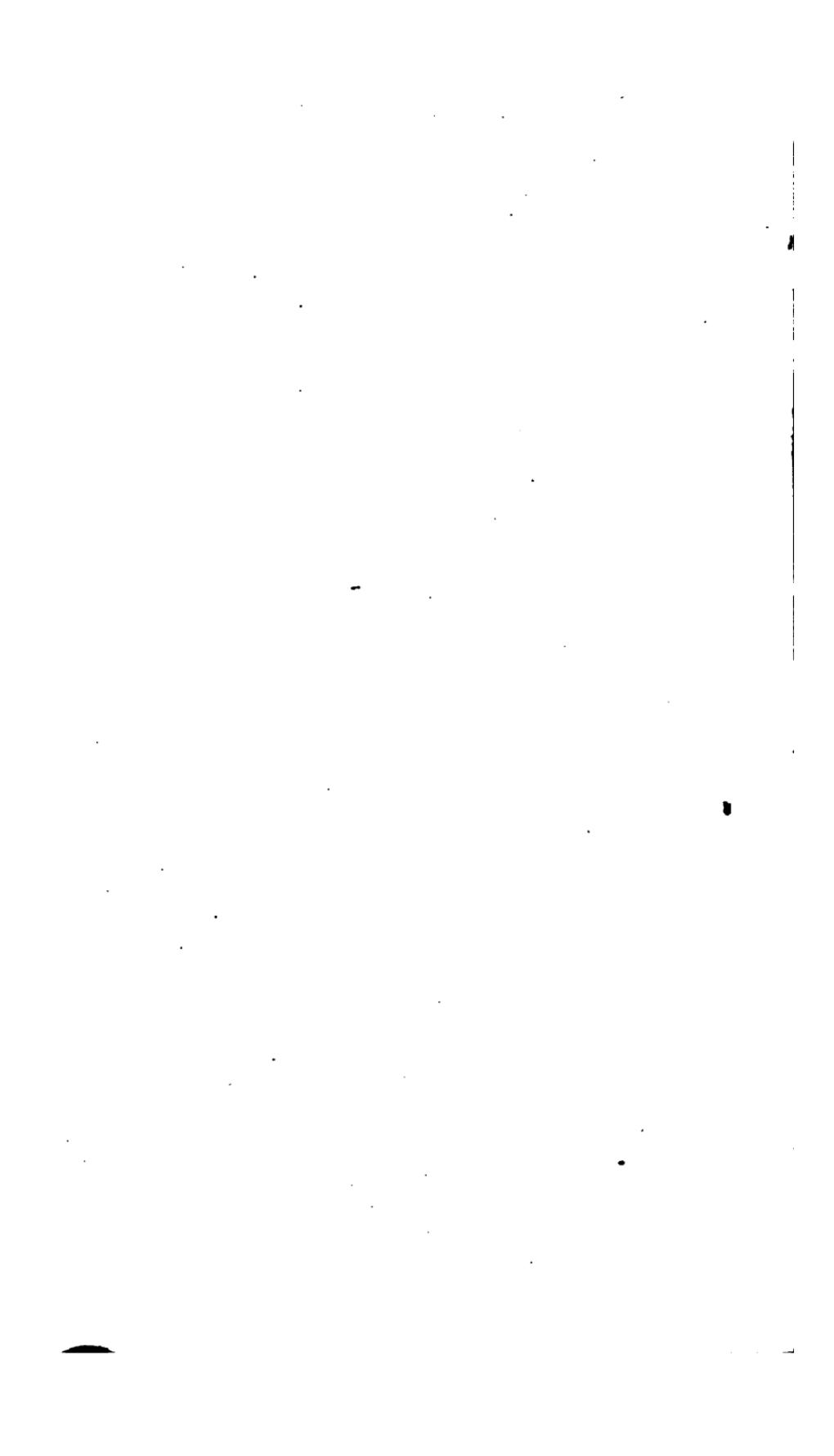
Google's mission is to organize the world's information and to make it universally accessible and useful. Google Book Search helps readers discover the world's books while helping authors and publishers reach new audiences. You can search through the full text of this book on the web at <http://books.google.com/>



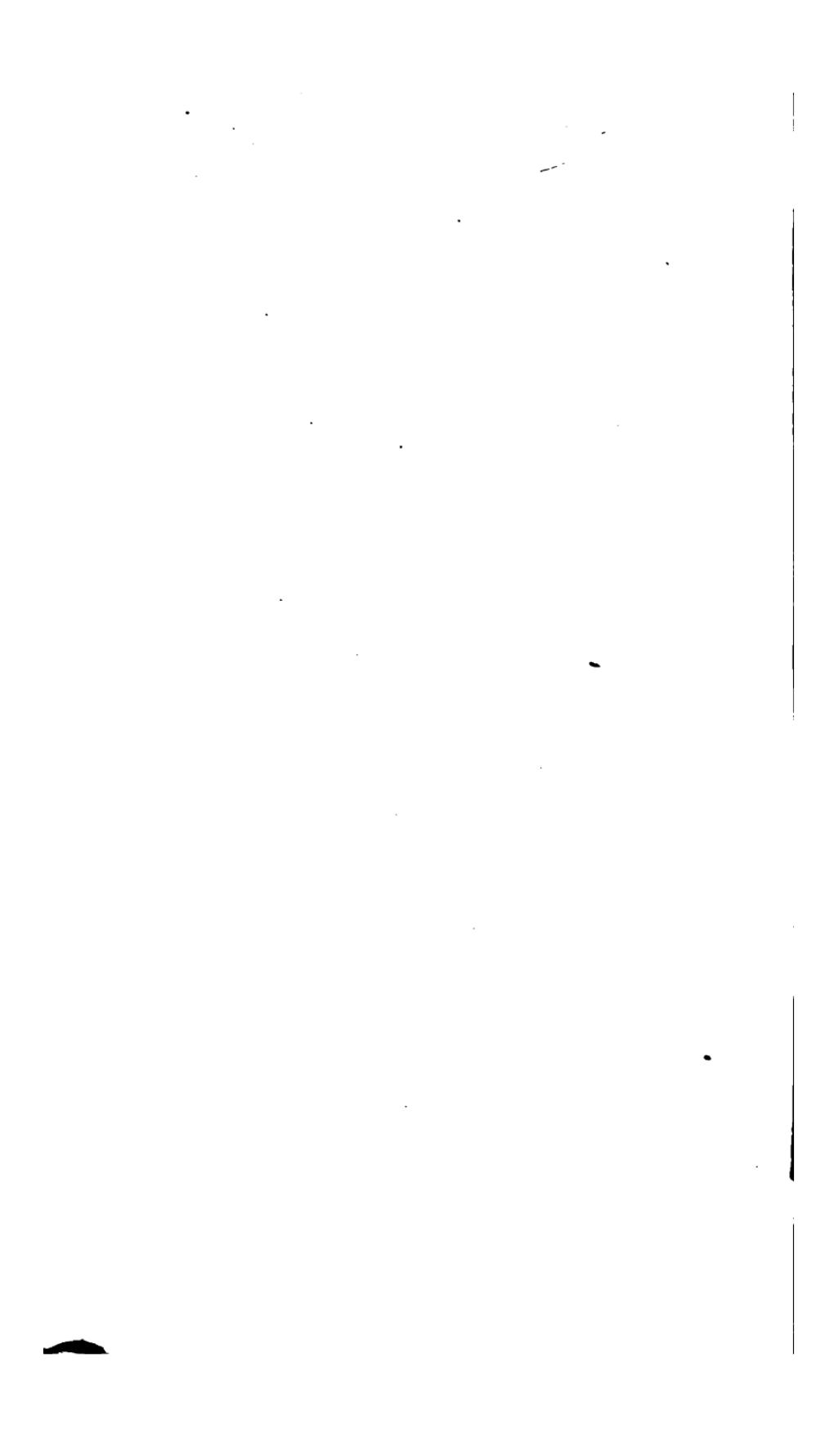
2.192



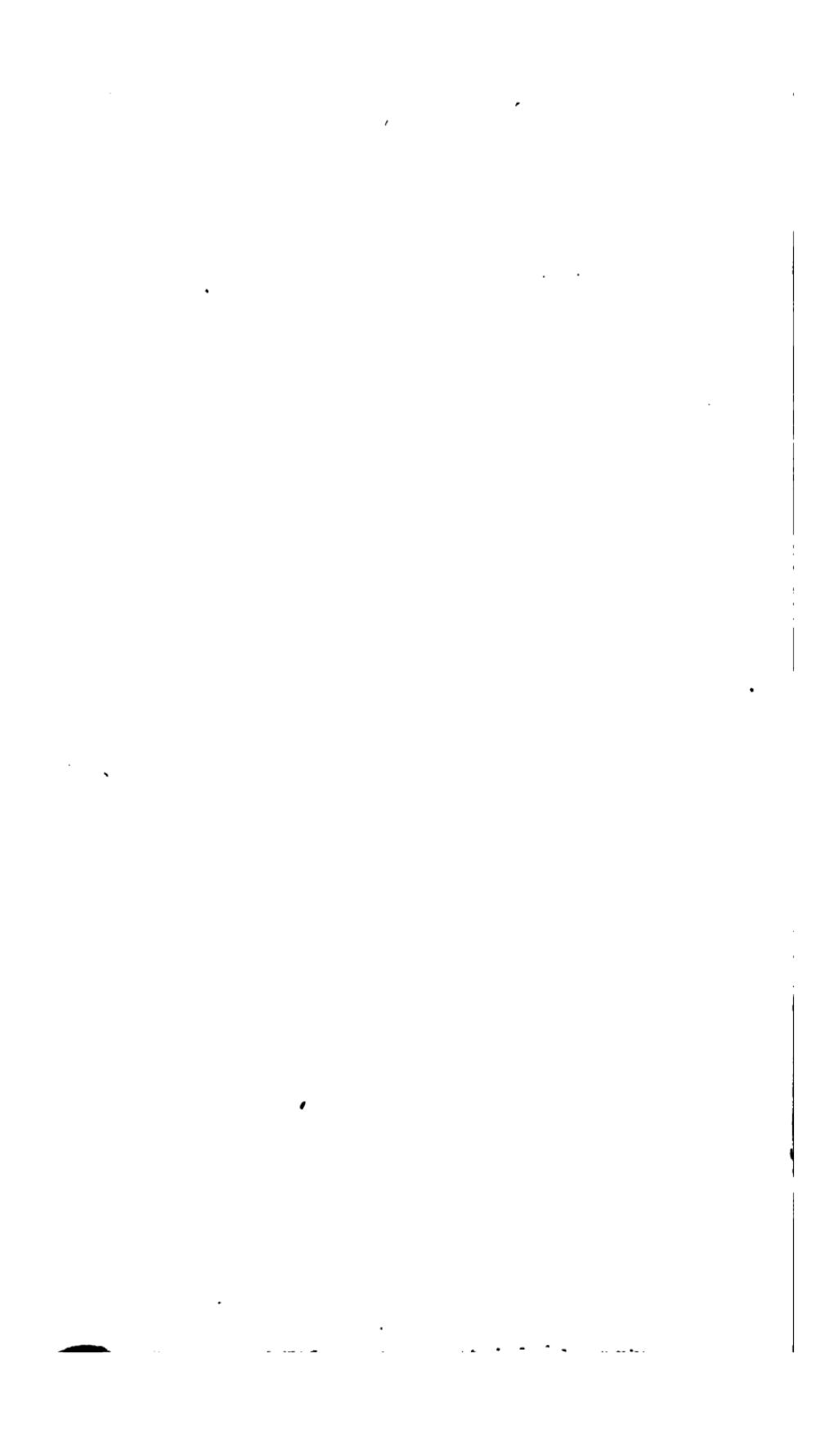












# **QUINTUS CURTIUS RUFUS:**

**LIFE**

**AND**

## **EXPLOITS OF ALEXANDER THE GREAT.**

**EDITED AND ILLUSTRATED WITH**

### **ENGLISH NOTES,**

**BY**

**WM. HENRY CROSBY,**

FORMERLY PROFESSOR OF THE LATIN LANGUAGE AND LITERATURE IN RUTGERS COLLEGE, NEW BRUNSWICK, N.J.

**SECOND EDITION.**

**NEW YORK:**

**D. APPLETON AND COMPANY,**

**846 & 848 BROADWAY.**

**LONDON: 16 LITTLE BRITAIN.**

**MDCCLX.**

Lc 72. 192

Harvard College Library  
Norton Collection,

Feb. 8, 1909

Entered according to Act of Congress in the year 1854,  
By D. APPLETON AND COMPANY,  
In the Clerk's Office of the District Court of the United States for the Southern  
District of New-York.

## P R E F A C E.

It is an undoubted, though unaccountable, fact, that Quintus Curtius' History of the Exploits of Alexander the Great is a work almost unheard of in the Academies and Colleges of the United States, while in England, and more especially on the Continent, it holds a high place in the estimation of classical instructors. The interesting character of its subject, the elegance of its style, and the pureness of its moral sentiments, ought surely to place it on an elevation as high, if not higher, than the Commentaries of Cæsar, or the Histories of Sallust. In conjunction with Arrian, who wrote in Greek, Curtius is the main source whence are derived all those interesting anecdotes of the great Macedonian conqueror, which excited our imagination—perhaps stimulated our ambition—in the days of youth. His youthful courage in taming Bucephalus—his ready boldness in severing the Gordian knot with his good sword—his fortitude in draining to the dregs the cup received from the hands of a physician, against whose treachery he had been warned--his acts of romantic

daring—his magnanimity to his captives—his self-denial in scenes of temptation,—all these, together with his oft-quoted sayings, render this History one of the most entertaining as well as instructive of the Classics.

As to the style of Curtius, nothing can be more pleasing. Heinsius, indeed, with somewhat of a disregard of gender, speaks of him as “*Venus Historicorum*.” Bartholomew Merula applies to his narratives the phrase “*elegantissime conscriptas*,” and Decembrius calls him a writer “*mirae dulcedinis*.” Of the absorbing interest of his narrative, and the attractive character of his style, the following anecdote is preserved : Alphonso VII., King of Spain, being afflicted with serious illness, and having tried in vain the numerous prescriptions of his physicians, attempted to solace his hours of pain by perusing Curtius’ History of Alexander ; and such, it is related, was the happy effect of his new remedy, that he was soon restored to health. When convalescent, he was heard to exclaim, “*Valeant Avicenna, Hippocrates, medici ceteri ; vivat Curtius, sospitator meus !*”

As to the era when Curtius flourished, learned men are completely at fault ; and, accordingly, vary greatly in their conjectures on the subject. Some make him contemporaneous with Cicero,—others bring him down to the time of Theodosius the Great, while between these extremes we find the reigns of Augustus, Tiberius, Claudius, Vespasian, Trajan, and Constantine, each

having its advocates as the time when he flourished. It is hardly necessary to add that his personal history is involved in similar obscurity.

But a worse calamity than mere ignorance of the time of our author's birth, and of the particulars of his life, meets the reader on the very threshold. Time, ever *edax rerum*, has devoured the whole of the first two books, and made sad inroads into one or two of the others. These defects have, in a measure, been supplied by learned men, particularly by John Freinsheim, whose excellent supplements have called forth the remark of a distinguished biographical writer, that "he has been so successful that we almost cease to lament the loss of the original." As the supplements of Freinsheim are very long, the Editor has, in most instances, inserted those of Chris. Cellarius, which, though brief, will supply to the curious student a sufficient outline of the early years of Alexander, and also fill up the *lacunæ* that occur in the course of the narrative.

One word as to the text of the present edition. It has been printed from an *Editio Lugdunensis* of 1810, with such emendations as a collation of other editions, and the suggestions and conjectures of critics seemed to render advisable. In one or two instances only has the Editor ventured to introduce a *reading* of his own, and these are mentioned and defended in the notes.

In conclusion, the Editor would remark that he puts

forth this edition of Quintus Curtius with all confidence, that, if a writer so interesting in his subject, and so captivating in his style, shall once gain a foothold in our American course of classical study, his own merits will suffice to retain him there.

POUGHKEEPSIE, *August*, 1854.

# CHRISTOPHORI CELLARII

## S U P P L E M E N T I

### I N Q. C U R T I U M ,

DE REBUS GESTIS

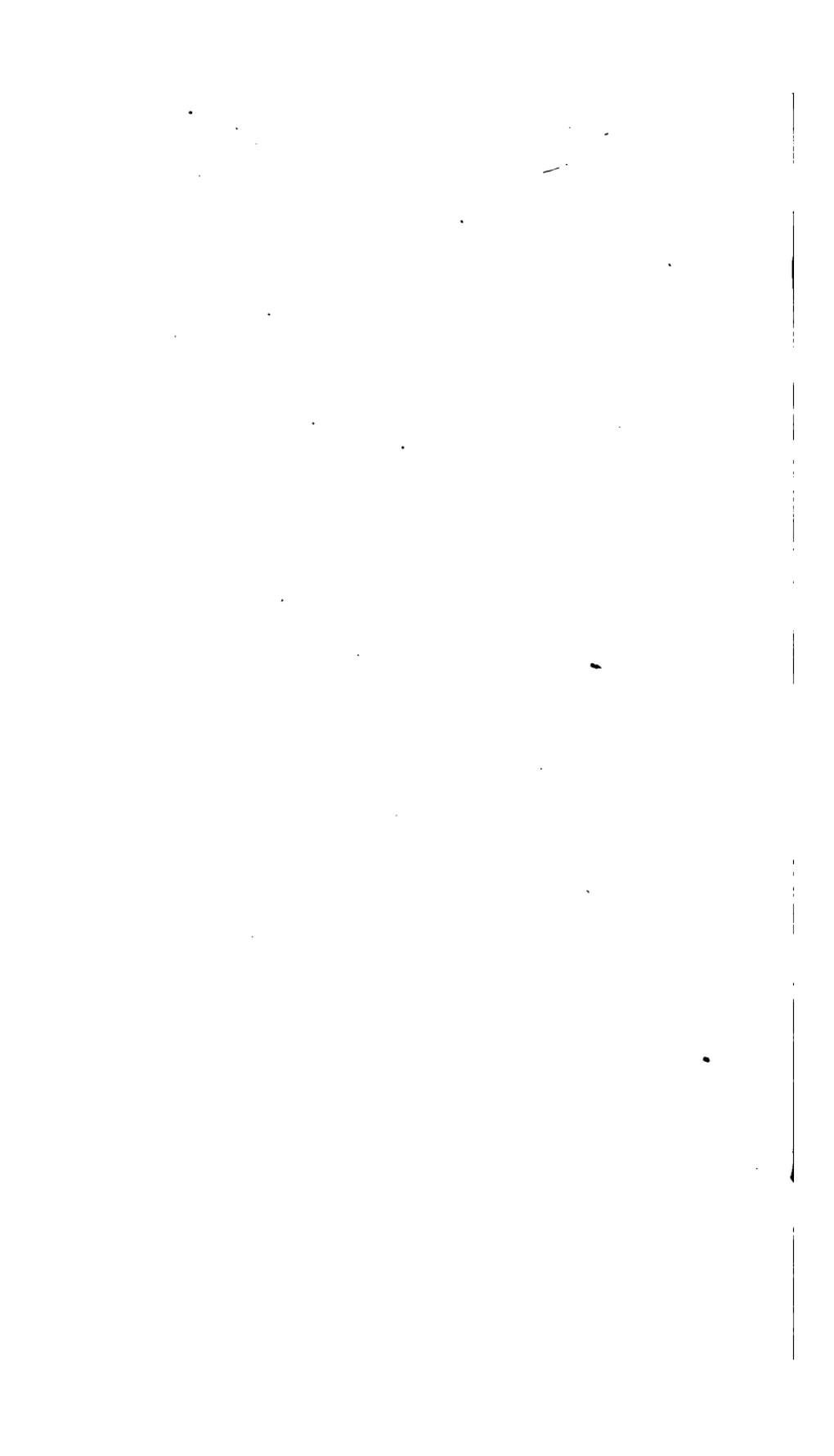
### ALEXANDRI MAGNI,

### L I B E R P R I M U S .

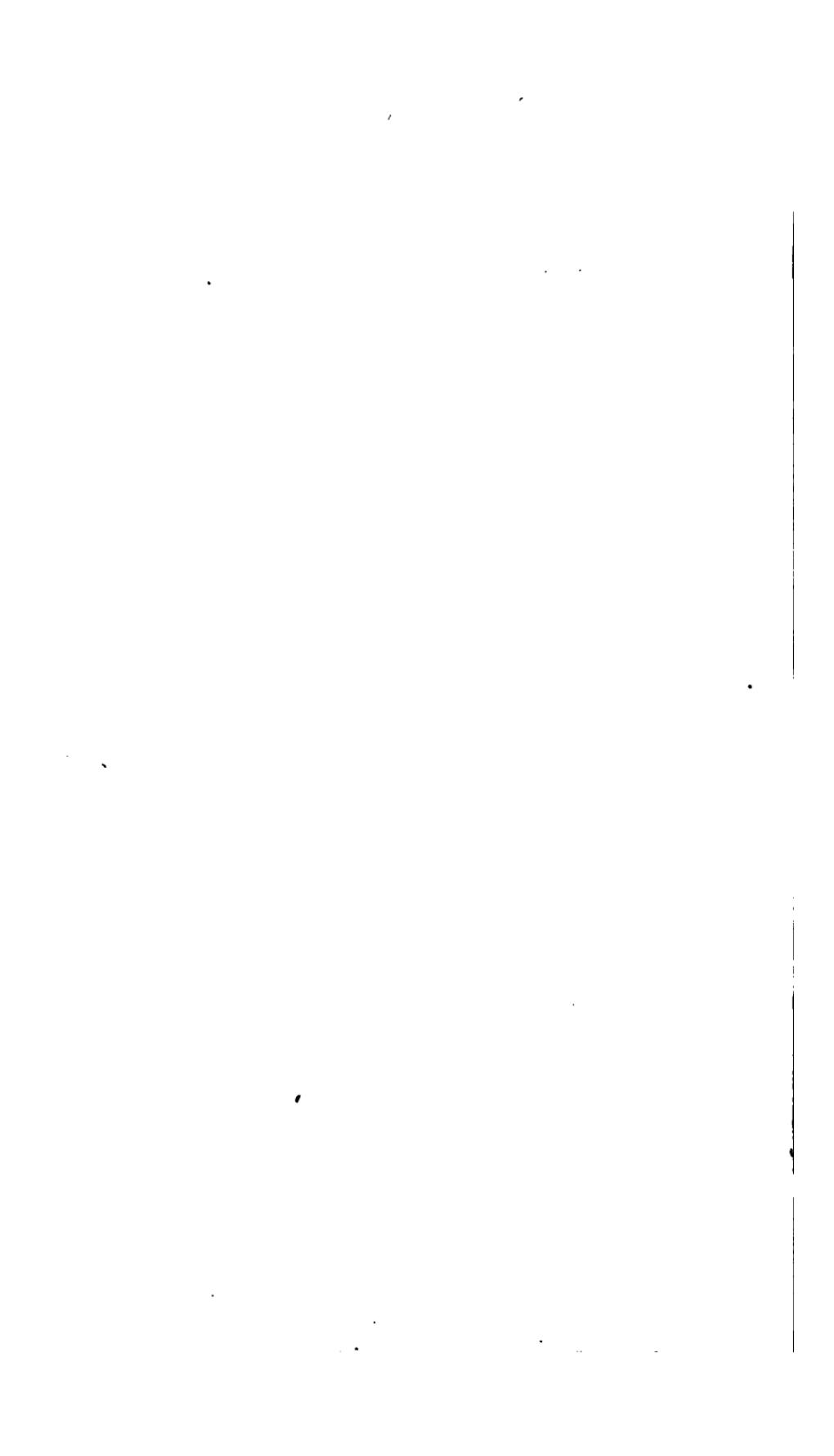
#### ARGUMENT.

Introduction. Pedigree of Alexander. The portents at his birth. His education His early military training. Philip's overthrow of Grecian liberty. Coldness between Alexander and his father. Philip's preparations for invading Persia. His assassination. The vengeance taken by Olympias and Alexander. Alexander made Generalissimo by the Greeks. Risings of the barbarians suppressed. Revolt of the Greeks crushed. The Athenians again on good terms with Alexander.

[ILLORUM, qui Alexandri res gestas scripsere, fide dignissimus Ptolemaeus Lagi videtur, quod ipse rebus interfuerat, nec ulla, si secus scripsisset, suspicio lucri apparebat: proximus Aristobulus, quos longo intervallo Diodorus Siculus, non minus gravis auctor, secutus est. Alexander Philippo, Amyntae filio, et Olympiade Epirenai natus, utroque parente nobilissimus fuit. Pater enim ad Herculem, mater ad Achillem, genus referebat. Sic clarus alii Alexander, sibi obscureus videbatur, nisi, abdicato mortali patre, ab Iove genitus crederetur. Addita insolentiae fabula, draconem in cubili matris visum, quem Jupiter induerit. Philippus per quietem vidit obsignatam Olympiadie alvum annulo, cuius sculptura leonem preferret, quod vates Aristander de fetu generoso et leonina magnitudine animi interpretatus est. Qua nocte autem natus Alexander est, eadem templum Ephesiae Diana celeberrimum deflagravit: quod majoris ruinæ præsgium habuerunt, qui ex fortunæ casu de futuris judicabant, ortam alicubi facem esse, qua Asia regnum conflagraturum







# **QUINTUS CURTIUS RUFUS:**

## **LIFE**

**AND**

### **EXPLOITS OF ALEXANDER THE GREAT.**

**EDITED AND ILLUSTRATED WITH**

**ENGLISH NOTES,**

**BY**

**WM. HENRY CROSBY,**

**FORMERLY PROFESSOR OF THE LATIN LANGUAGE AND LITERATURE IN RUTGERS COLLEGE, NEW BRUNSWICK, N.J.**

**SECOND EDITION.**

**NEW YORK:  
D. APPLETON AND COMPANY,  
846 & 848 BROADWAY.  
LONDON: 16 LITTLE BRITAIN.  
MDCCCLX.**

Lc 72. 192

Harvard College Library  
Norton Collection,

Feb. 8, 1909

Entered according to Act of Congress in the year 1854,  
By D. APPLETON AND COMPANY,  
In the Clerk's Office of the District Court of the United States for the Southern  
District of New-York.

considerere. Cæterum quamduo intra muros fuit, nomen suum retinet. At cùm extra munimenta se evolvit, majore vi ac mole agentem undas, *Lycum* appellant. Alexander quidem urbem destitutam a suis intrat: arcem verò in quam confugerant, oppugnare adortus, 'caduceatorem præmisit, qui denunciaret, 'ni dederent, ipsos ultima esse passuros. Illi caduceatorem in turrim, et situ et opere multùm editam, perdutoum, quanta esset altitudo, intueri jubent, ac nunciare Alexandro, "non eadēm ipsum et incolas sestimatione munimenta metiri: se scire inexpugnabiles esse: "ad ultimum pro fide morituros." Cæterum, ut circumsideri arcem, et omnia sibi in dies arctiora viderunt esse; sexaginta dierum 'indicias pacti, ut, nisi intra eos auxilium Darius ipsis misisset, dederent urbem; postquam nihil inde præsidii mittebatur, ad præstitutam diem permisere se regi.

2. 'Superveniunt inde legati Atheniensium, petentes, ut capti apud Granicum amnem redderentur sibi. Ille, "Non hos modò, sed etiam cæteros Græcos restitui suis, jussurum," respondit, "finito Persico bello." Cæterum Dario imminens, quem nondum Euphratem superâsse cognoverat, undique omnes copias contrahit, totis viribus tanti belli discrimen aditurus. Phrygia erat, per quam ducebatur exercitus, pluribus vicis quam urbibus frequens. Tunc habebat quondam nobilem Midæ regiam; Gordium nomen est urbi, quam Sangarius amnis præterfluit, <sup>8</sup> pari intervallo Pontico et Cilicio mari distantem. Inter hæc maria, angustissimum Asiae spatium esse comperimus; <sup>9</sup> utroque in arctas fauces compellente terram. Quæ quia continent adhæret, sed magnâ ex parte cingitur fluctibus, speciem insulæ præbet; ac, nisi tenue discrimen objiceret, maria, quæ nunc dividit, <sup>10</sup> committeret. Alexander, urbe in suam ditionem redactâ, Jovis templum intrat; vehiculum quo Gordium, Midæ patrem, vectum esse constabat, adsperxit, cultu haud sanè a vilioribus vulgatisque usu abhorrens. <sup>11</sup> Notabile erat jugum adstrictum compluribus nodis in semetipsos implicatis et celantibus nexus. Incolis deinde affirmantibus, "editam esse oraculo sortem, Asiae potiturum, qui inexplicabile

daring—his magnanimity to his captives—his self-denial in scenes of temptation,—all these, together with his oft-quoted sayings, render this History one of the most entertaining as well as instructive of the Classics.

As to the style of Curtius, nothing can be more pleasing. Heinsius, indeed, with somewhat of a disregard of gender, speaks of him as "*Venus Historicorum*." Bartholomew Merula applies to his narratives the phrase "*elegantissime conscriptas*," and Decembrius calls him a writer "*mira dulcedinis*." Of the absorbing interest of his narrative, and the attractive character of his style, the following anecdote is preserved : Alphonso VII., King of Spain, being afflicted with serious illness, and having tried in vain the numerous prescriptions of his physicians, attempted to solace his hours of pain by perusing Curtius' History of Alexander ; and such, it is related, was the happy effect of his new remedy, that he was soon restored to health. When convalescent, he was heard to exclaim, "*Valeant Avicenna, Hippocrates, medici cæteri ; vivat Curtius, sospitator meus !*"

As to the era when Curtius flourished, learned men are completely at fault ; and, accordingly, vary greatly in their conjectures on the subject. Some make him contemporaneous with Cicero,—others bring him down to the time of Theodosius the Great, while between these extremes we find the reigns of Augustus, Tiberius, Claudius, Vespasian, Trajan, and Constantine, each

having its advocates as the time when he flourished. It is hardly necessary to add that his personal history is involved in similar obscurity.

But a worse calamity than mere ignorance of the time of our author's birth, and of the particulars of his life, meets the reader on the very threshold. Time, ever *edax rerum*, has devoured the whole of the first two books, and made sad inroads into one or two of the others. These defects have, in a measure, been supplied by learned men, particularly by John Freinsheim, whose excellent supplements have called forth the remark of a distinguished biographical writer, that "he has been so successful that we almost cease to lament the loss of the original." As the supplements of Freinsheim are very long, the Editor has, in most instances, inserted those of Chris. Cellarius, which, though brief, will supply to the curious student a sufficient outline of the early years of Alexander, and also fill up the *lacunæ* that occur in the course of the narrative.

One word as to the text of the present edition. It has been printed from an *Editio Lugdunensis* of 1810, with such emendations as a collation of other editions, and the suggestions and conjectures of critics seemed to render advisable. In one or two instances only has the Editor ventured to introduce a *reading* of his own, and these are mentioned and defended in the notes.

In conclusion, the Editor would remark that he puts

sunt: <sup>10</sup> ad nutum monentis intenti, sequi signa, ordines servare didicere. Quod imperatur, omnes exaudiunt: <sup>11</sup> obsistere, circumire, discurrere in cornu, mutare pugnam, non duces magis quam milites <sup>12</sup> callent. Et ne auri argenteque studio teneri putes, <sup>13</sup> adhuc illa disciplina paupertate magistrâ stetit, fatigatis humus cubile est: cibus <sup>14</sup> quem occupant, satiat. <sup>15</sup> Tempora somni arctiora quam noctis sunt. Jam <sup>16</sup> Thessali equites et Acarnanes, Ætolique, invicta bello manus, <sup>17</sup> fundi, credo, et <sup>18</sup> hastis igne duratis, repellentur? pari robore opus est. In illâ terrâ, quæ hos genuit, auxilia quærenda sunt. Argentum <sup>19</sup> istud atque aurum ad conducendum militem mitte." Erat Dario mite ac tractabile ingenium, nisi etiam suam naturam plerumque fortuna corrumperet. Itaque veritatis impatiens, hospitem ac supplicem, tunc cum maximè utilia suadentem, abstrahi jussit ad capitale supplicium. Ille, ne tum quidem libertatis oblitus: "Habeo," inquit, "paratum mortis meæ ultorem; <sup>20</sup> expetet poenas mei consilii spreti is ipse, contra quem tibi snasi. Tu quidem licentiâ regni tam subito mutatus, documentum eris posteris, homines, cum se permisere fortunæ, etiam naturam dediscere." Hæc vociferantem, quibus erat imperatum, jugulant. Sera deinde poenitentia subiit Regem: ac vera dixisse confessus, cum sepeliri jussit.

III. 6. Thymodes erat ,Mentoris filius, impiger juvenis, cui præceptum est a Rege; ut omnes <sup>1</sup> peregrinos milites, in queis plurimam habebat spei, a Pharnabazo acciperet, operâ eorum usurpus in bello. Ipsi Pharnabazo tradidit imperium, quod antea Memnoni dederat. Anxium de instantibus curis, agitabant etiam per somnum <sup>2</sup> species imminentium rerum: sive illas ægritudo, sive divinatio animi præsagientis <sup>3</sup> accersit. Castra Alexandri magno ignis fulgore collucere ei visa sunt, et paulò post <sup>4</sup> Alexander adduci ad ipsum in eo vestis habitu, <sup>5</sup> quo ipse fuisset: equo deinde per Babylonem vectus, subito cum ipso equo oculis esse subductus. Ad hæc vates variâ interpretatione <sup>6</sup> curam distrinxerant: alii "lætum id Regi somnium esse," dicebant, "quod castra hostium arsissent, quod Alexandrum depositâ regiâ veste, in Persico et vulgari

habitu perductum esse vidisset." Quidam contra augurabantur: "quippe illustria Macedonum castra visa, fulgorem Alexandro portendere, quem regnum Asiæ occupaturum esse, haud ambigere, quoniam in eodem habitu Darius fuisse, cùm appellatus est Rex. Vetera quoque omina, ut fit, sollicitudo revocaverat; "Darium enim in principio imperii vaginam acinacis Persicam jussisse mutari in eam formam, quæ Græci uterentur; protinusque Chaldaeos interpretatos, imperium Persarum ad eos transiturum, quorum arma esset imitatus." Cæterum ipse et vatum responso, quod edebatur in vulgus, et specie, quæ per somnium oblata erat, admodum lætus, casta ad Euphratem moveri jubet.

7. Patrio more Persarum traditum est, orto sole, demum procedere. <sup>10</sup> Die jam illustri signum e tabernaculo Regis buccinâ dabatur; super tabernaculum, unde ab omnibus conspici posset, <sup>11</sup> imago Solis crystallo inclusa fulgebat. Ordo autem agminis erat talis: Ignis, quem ipsi saecula et æternum vocabant, argenteis altaribus præferebatur. <sup>12</sup> Magi proximi patrium carmen canebant. Magos trecenti et sexaginta quinque juvenes sequebantur, puniceis amiculis velati, <sup>13</sup> diebus totius anni pares numero; quippe Persis quoque in totidem dies descriptus est annus. Currum deinde Jovi sacratum albentes vehebant equi; hos eximiæ magnitudinis equus, quem Solis appellabant, sequebatur. Aureæ virgæ et albæ vestes, <sup>14</sup> regentes equos adornabant. Haud procul erant vehicula decem, multo auro argentoque cœlata. Sequebatur hæc equitatus duodecim gentium, variis armis et moribus. Proximi ibant, quos Persæ <sup>15</sup> immortales vocant, ad decem millia; cultus opulentiae barbaræ non alios magis honestabat. Illi aureos torques, illi vestem auro distinctam habebant, <sup>16</sup> manicasque tunicas, gemmis etiam adornatas. Exiguo intervallo, quos cognatos Regis appellant, decem et quinque millia hominum. Hæc verò turba muliebriter propemodum culta, luxu magis, quam decoris armis conspicua erat. <sup>17</sup> *Doryphori* vocabantur proximum his agmen, soliti vestem excipere regalem. Hi currum Regis anteibant, quo ipse eminens vehebatur. Utrum-

que currūs latus deorum simulacra ex auro argentoque expressa decorabant: distinguebant internitentes gemmæ jugum, ex quo eminebant duo aurea <sup>10</sup> simulacra cubitalia; quorum alterum Nini, alterum Beli gerebat effigiem. Inter haec auream aquilam, <sup>10</sup> pinnas extendenti similem, sacraverant.

8. Cultus Regis inter omnia luxuriā notabatur. <sup>10</sup> Purpureæ tunicæ medium albo intextum erat. Pallam auro distinctam aurei accipitres, velut rostris inter se corruerent, adornabant: et zonā aureā muliebriter cinctus acinacem suspenderat, cui <sup>11</sup> ex gemmā erat vagina. <sup>12</sup> *Cydarim* Persæ regium capitinis vocabant insigne: hoc cœrulea fascia albo distincta circumbat. Currum decem millia hastatorum sequabantur; hastas argento exornatas, spicula auro præfixa gestabant. Dextrâ lœvâque Regem ducenti fermè nobilissimi propinquorum comitabantur. Horum agmen claudebatur triginta millibus peditum, quos equi Regis quadrigeniti sequebantur. Intervallo deinde, unius stadii, matrem Darii Sysigambim currus vehebat, et in alio erat conjux. Turba foeminarum Reginas comitantium equis vectabatur. Quindecim inde, quas <sup>13</sup> *armamaxas* appellant, sequebantur. In his erant liberi Regis, et qui educabant eos, spadonumque grex, haud sanè illis gentibus vilos. Tum regiæ pellices trecentæ sexaginta vehebantur, et ipsæ regali cultu, ornatuque: post quas pecuniam Regis, sexcenti muli, et trecenti camelii vehebant; præsidio sagittariorum prosequente. Propinquorum amicorumque conjuges huic agmini proximæ, <sup>14</sup> lixarumque et calonum greges vehebantur. Ultimi erant cum suis quisque ducibus, qui cogerent agmen, leviter armati. Contrà si quis aciem Macedonum intueretur, dispar acies erat equis virisque non auro, non discolori veste, sed ferro atque ære fulgentibus. Agmen et stare paratum, et sequi, <sup>15</sup> nec turbâ, nec sarcinis prægrave, intentum ad ducis non signum modò, sed etiam nutum. Et castris locus, et exercitui commeatus suppeditabant. Ergo Alexandro in acie miles non defuit. Darius autem tantæ multitudinis Rex, loci, in quo pugnavit, angustiis, redactus est ad paucitatem, quam in hoste contempserat.

IV. 9. Interea Alexander, Abistamene Cappadociae præposito, Ciliciam petens cum omnibus copiis, in regionem, quæ <sup>1</sup>*Castra Cyri* appellatur, pervenerat. <sup>2</sup>Stativa illic habuerat Cyrus, cùm adversus Croesum in Lydiam exercitum duceret. Aberat ea regio quinquaginta stadia ab aditu, quo Ciliciam intramus: *Pylas* incolæ dicunt arctissimas fauces, <sup>3</sup>monimenta quæ manu ponimus, naturali situ imitante. Igitur Arsanes, qui Ciliciæ præerat, reputans quid initio belli Memnon suassisset, <sup>4</sup>quondam salubre consilium serò exsequi statuit: igne ferroque Ciliciam vastat, ut hosti solitudinem faciat: quicquid usui esse potest, corruptit: sterile ac nudum solum, quod tueri nequibat, relicturus. Sed longè utilius <sup>5</sup>fuit angustias aditus, qui Ciliciam aperit, valido occupare præsidio, jugumque, opportunè itineri imminens, obtinere; unde inultus subeuntem hostem aut prohibere, aut opprimere potuisset. Tunc paucis, qui callibus præsiderent, relictis, retrò ipse concessit; populator terræ, quam a populationibus vindicare debuerat. Ergo, qui relictæ erant, proditos se rati, ne conspectum quidem hostis sustinere voluerunt cùm vel pauciores locum <sup>6</sup>obtinere potuissent. Namque <sup>7</sup>perpetuo jugo montis asperi ac prærupti Cilicia includitur, <sup>8</sup>quod cùm a mari surgat, velut sinu quodam flexuque curvatum, rursus altero cornu in diversum littus excurrit. Per hoc dorsum, quæ maximè introrsum mari cedit, asperi tres aditus, et perangusti sunt, quorum uno Cilicia intranda est. <sup>9</sup>Campestris eadem, quæ vergit ad mare, planitiem ejus crebris distinguenteribus rivis.

10. Pyramus et Cydnus, inclyti amnes fluunt. Cydnus, <sup>10</sup>non spatio aquarum, sed liquore memorabilis; quippe, lens tractu à fontibus labens, puro solo excipitur; nec torrentes incurruunt, <sup>11</sup>qui placidè manantis alveum turbent. Itaque in corruptus, idemque frigidissimus; quippe, <sup>12</sup>multa riparum amoenitate inumbratus, <sup>13</sup>ubique fontibus suis similis in mare evadit. Multa in eâ regione monumenta vulgata carminibus, vetustas exederat. Monstrabantur urbium sedes Lyrnessi et Thebes; Typhonis quoque specus, et Corycium nemus, ubi crocum gignitur, cæteraque in quibus nihil præter famam du-

raverat. Alexander fauces jugi, quæ<sup>14</sup> *Pylæ* appellantur, in travit. Contemplatus locorum situm,<sup>15</sup> non aliâs magis dicitur admiratus esse felicitatem suam: obrui potuisse vel saxis confitebatur, si fuissent qui in subeuntes propellerent. Iter vix<sup>16</sup> quaternos capiebat armatos. Dorsum montis imminebat viæ, non angustæ modò, sed plerumque præruptæ, crebris Oberantibus rivis, qui ex radicibus montium manant. Thracas tamen leviter armatos præcedere jusserat, scrutarique calles, ne occultus hostis in subeuntes erumperet. Sagittariorum quoque manus occupaverat jugum: intentos arcus habebant,<sup>17</sup> moniti, non iter ipsos inire, sed prælium. Hoc modo<sup>18</sup> agmen pervenit ad urbem Tarson,<sup>19</sup> cui tum maximè Persæ subjiciebant ignem, ne opulentum oppidum hostis invaderet. At ille, Parmenione ad inhibendum incendium cum expeditâ manu præmisso, postquam barbaros adventu suorum fugatos esse cognoverat, urbem a se conservatam intrat.

V. 11. 'Mediam Cydnus amnis, de quo paulò antè dictum est, interfluit; et tunc æstas erat, cuius calor non aliam magis quam Ciliciæ oram vapore solis accedit; et diei fervidissimum tempus cœperat. Pulvere ac sudore simul perfusum Regem invitavit liquor fluminis, ut calidum adhuc corpus ablueret. Itaque veste depositâ, in conspectu agminis (decorum quoque futurum ratus, si ostendisset suis, levi ac parabili cultu corporis se esse contentum) descendit in flumen, vixque<sup>20</sup> ingressi subito horrore artus rigere cœperunt: pallor deinde suffusus est, et totum propemodum corpus vitalis calor reliquit. Expiranti similem, ministri manu excipiunt, neo satis compotem mentis in tabernaculum deferunt. Ingens sollicitudo, et penè jam luctus in castris erat. Flentes querebantur,<sup>21</sup> in tanto impetu cursuque rerum, omnis ætatis ac memoris clarissimum Regem non in acie saltem, non ab hoste dejectum, sed abluentem aquâ corpus, ereptum esse, et extinctum: instare Darium, 'victorem antequam vidisset hostem. Sibi easdem terras, quas victores peragrâssent, repetendas: omnia aut ipsos, aut hostes populatos: per vastas solitudines, etiamsi nemo insequi velit, euntes, fame atque inopia debellari

posse. Quem signum daturum fugientibus? quem ausurum Alexandro succedere? "Jam ut ad Hellespontum fugâ penetrarent, classem quâ transeant, quem præparaturum?" Rursus in ipsum Regem misericordiâ versâ, "illum florem juventæ, illam vim animi, 'eumdem Regem et commilitonem divelli a se et abripi,' immemores sui querebantur.

12. Inter hæc liberiùs meare spiritus cooperat; allevabat Rex oculos, et paulatim redeunte animo, circumstantes amicos agnoverat: laxataque vis morbi ob hoc solum videbatur, quia magnitudinem mali sentiebat. "Animum autem ægritudo corporis urgebat: quippe Darium quinto die <sup>9</sup> in Ciliciam fore nunciabatur. "Vinctum ergo se tradi, et tantam victoriam eripi sibi e manibus, obscurâque et ignobili morte in tabernaculo extingui se," querebatur. Admissisque amicis pariter et medicis: "In quo me," inquit, <sup>10</sup>" articulo rerum mearum fortuna deprehenderit, cernitis. Strepitum hostilium armorum exaudire mihi video: et qui ultiro intuli bellum, jam provocor. Darius ergo, cùm <sup>11</sup> tam superbas litteras scriberet, <sup>12</sup> fortunam meam in consilio habuit; sed nequidquam, si mihi <sup>13</sup> arbitrio meo curari licet. Lenta remedia et segnes medicos non expectant tempora mea. Vel mori strenuè, quam tardè convalescere, mihi melius est. Proinde, si quid opis, si quid artis in medicis est, sciant, <sup>14</sup> me non tam mortis, quam belli remedium quærere." Ingentem omnibus incusserat curam tam præceps temeritas ejus. Ergo pro se quisque precari coepere, "ne festinatione periculum augeret, sed <sup>15</sup> esset in potestate medentium. Inexperta remedia haud injuriâ ipsiæ esse suspecta, cùm ad perniciem ejus etiam a latere ipsius pecuniâ sollicitaret hostis:" <sup>16</sup>(quippe Darius mille talenta interfectori Alexandri daturum se pronunciari jussерat), "itaque ne ausurum quidem quemquam" arbitrabantur "experiri remedium, quod propter novitatem posset esse suspectum."

VI. 13. Erat inter nobiles medicos e Macedonia Regem secutus Philippus, natione Acarnan, fidus admodum Regi; <sup>1</sup> puero comes, et custos salutis datus, non ut Regem modò, sed etiam ut alumnū eximiâ charitate diligebat. Is non

præceps se, sed <sup>1</sup> strenuum remedium afferre, tantamque vim morbi potionē medicatā levaturum esse promisit. Nulli promissum ejus placebat, præter ipsum <sup>2</sup> cuius periculo pollicebatur. Omnia quippe facilius, quām moram, perpeti poterat. Arma et acies in oculis erant; et victoram in eo positam esse arbitrabatur, si tantum ante signa stare potuisset: id ipsum, quod post diem tertium medicamentum sumpturus esset (ita enim medicus prædixerat) ægrè ferens. Inter hæc a Parmenione fidissimo <sup>3</sup> purpuratorum litteras accipit, quibus ei denunciabat, ne salutem suam Philippo committeret, mille talentis a Dario, et spe nuptiarum sororis ejus esse corruptum. Ingentem animo sollicitudinem litteræ incusserant, et quicquid <sup>4</sup> in utramque partem aut metus, aut spes <sup>5</sup> subjecerat, secretâ aestimatione pensabat. "Bibere perseverem? ut, si venenum datum fuerit, <sup>6</sup> ne immerito quidem, quicquid acciderit, evenisse videatur? Damnem medici fidem? in tabernaculo ergo me opprimi patiar? At satius est alieno me mori scelere, quām metu nostro." Diu animo in diversa versato, nulli quid scriptum esset, enunciat; epistolamque sigillo annuli sui impresso, pulvino, cui incubabat, subjecit.

14. Inter has cogitationes biduo ~~assumpto~~, illuxit a medico destinatus dies. Et ille cum poculo, in quo medicamentum diluerat, intravit. Quo viso Alexander, levato corpore in cubitum, epistolam a Parmenione missam sinistrâ manu tenens, accipit poculum, et <sup>7</sup> haurit interritus: tum epistolam Philippum legere jubet, nec a vultu legentis movit oculos, ratus alias <sup>8</sup> conscientiae notas in ipso ore posse deprehendere. Ille epistolâ perfectâ, plus indignationis, quām favoris ostendit: projectisque <sup>9</sup> amiculô et litteris ante lectum: "Rex," inquit, <sup>10</sup> "semper quidem spiritus meus ex te pependit, sed nunc verè ab isto sacro et venerabili ore trahitur. Crimen <sup>11</sup> parri cidi, quod mihi objectum est, tua salus diluet. Servatus a me vitam mihi dederis. Oro, quæsoque, omisso metu, patere medicamentum concipi venis. Laxa paulisper animum, quem sollicitudine intempestivâ amici sanè fideles, sed molestè seduli turbant." Non securum modò hæc vox, sed etiam læsum Re-

gem, ac plenum bonæ speci fecit. Itaque, <sup>13</sup> “Si Dii,” inquit, “Philippe, tibi permisissent, quo maximè modo animum velles experiri meum, alio profectò voluisses; sed certiorem quām expertus es, ne optässes quidem. Hac epistolâ acceptâ, tamen quod dilueras bîbi; et nunc crede, me non minùs protuâ fide, quām pro meâ salute esse sollicitum.” Hæc elocutus, dexteram Philippo offert.

15. Cæterum tanta vis medicaminis fuit, ut quæ secuta sunt, criminatem Parmenionis adjuverint. Interclusus spiritus arctè meabat, nec Philippus quidquam inexpertum omisit. Ille fomenta corpori adnisiit, ille torpentinum nunc cibi, nunc <sup>14</sup> vini odore excitavit. Atque, ut primum mentis compotem esse sensit, modò matris, sororumque, modò tantæ victorizæ appropinquantis admonere non destitit. Ut verò medicamentum se diffudit in venas, et sensim toto corpore salubritas percipi potuit, primò animus vigorem suum, deinde corpus quoque expectatione maturius recuperavit: quippe post tertium diem, quām in hoc statu fuerat, in conspectum militum venit. Nec avidius ipsum Regem, quām Philippum intuebatur exercitus: pro se quisque dexteram ejus amplexi, grates habebant, velut præsentí Déo. Namque haud facile dictu est, præter ingenitam illi genti erga Reges suos venerationem, quantum hujus utique Regis vel admirationi dediti fuerint, vel charitate flagraverint. Jam primum nihil, sine divinâ ope, aggredi videbatur. <sup>15</sup> Nam cùm esset præstò ubique fortuna, temeritas in gloriam cesserat: <sup>16</sup> setas quoque vix tantis matura rebus, sed abundè sufficiens, omnia etiam ejus opera honestabat: et quæ leviora haberi solent, plerumque in re militari gratiora vulgo sunt; exercitatio corporis inter ipsos, cultus habitusque paululum a privato abhorrens, militaris vigor; queis ille vel ingenii dotibus, vel animi artibus, ut pariter carus ac venerandus esset, effecerat.

VII. 16. At Darius nuncio de adversâ valetudine ejus accepto, celeritate, quantam capere tam grave agmen poterat, ad Euphratem contendit: <sup>17</sup> junctoque eo pontibus, quinque tamen diebus trajecit exercitum, Ciliciam occupare festinans.

Jamque Alexander viribus corporis receptis, ad urbem Solos pervenerat: cuius potitus, ducentis talentis nomine <sup>2</sup> mulctæ exactis, arcis præsidium militum imposuit. <sup>3</sup> Vota deinde pro salute suscepta per ludum atque otium reddens, ostendit quantâ fiduciâ barbaros sperneret: quippe Æsculapio et Mînervæ ludos celebravit. Spectanti <sup>4</sup> nuncius latus affertur ex Halicarnasso, "Persas acie a suis esse superatos, Myndios quoque et Caunios, et pleraque tractus ejus, suæ facta ditionis." Igitur edito spectaculo ludicro, castrisque motis, et Pyramo amne ponte juncto, ad urbem Mallon pervenit: inde <sup>5</sup> alteris castris ad oppidum Castabulum. Ibi Parmenio Regi occurrit, quem præmisserat ad explorandum iter saltus, per quem ad urbem, *Isson* nomine, penetrandum erat. Atque ille angustiis ejus occupatis, et præsidio modico relicto, *Isson* quoque desertam a barbaris ceperat. Inde progressus, <sup>6</sup> deturbatis, qui interiora montium obsidebant, prædiis cuncta firmavit: occupatoque itinere, sicut paulò antè dictum est, <sup>7</sup> idem et auctor et nuncius venit.

17. *Isson* inde Rex copias admovit: ubi consilio habito utrumne ultrò progrediendum foret, an ibi opperiendi essent milites novi, quos ex Macedoniâ adventare constabat; Parmenio non alium locum prælio aptiorem esse censebat. Quippe illic utriusque Regis copias numero futuras pares, cùm angustiæ multitudinem non caperent: planitiem ipsis camposque esse vitandos, ubi circumiri, ubi ancipiti acie opprimi possent: timere, ne non virtute hostium, sed lassitudine suâ vincentur: <sup>8</sup> Persas recentes subinde successuros, si laxius stare potuissent. Facilè ratio tam salubris consilii accepta est. Itaque inter angustias saltus opperiri statuit. Erat in exercitu Regis <sup>9</sup> Sisines Perses, quondam a Prætore Ægypti missus ad Philippum; donisque et omni honore cultus, <sup>10</sup> exilium patriæ sede mutaverat: secutus deinde in Asiam Alexandrum, inter fideles socios habebatur. Huic epistolam Cretensis miles obsignatam annulo, cuius signum haud sanè notum erat, tradidit. Nabarzanes Prætor Darii miserat eam, hortabaturque Sisinem, ut dignum aliquid nobilitate ac moribus suis ederet. <sup>11</sup> magno id ei apud Regem honori fore. <sup>12</sup> Has litteras Sisines,

ut pote innoxius, ad Alexandrum s̄epe deferre tentavit: sed cūm tot curis apparatuque belli Regem videret urgeri, aptius deinde tempus exspectans, suspicionem initi scelesti consilii præbuit. Namque epistola, priusquam ei redderetur, in manus Alexandri pervenerat, lectamque eam ignoti annuli sigillo impresso, Sisini dari juss erat, ad æstimandam fidem barbari. Qui, quia per complures dies non adierat Regem, scelesto consilio eam visus est suppressisse; et in agmine a Cretensibus, haud dubiè jussu Regis, occisus est.

VIII. 18. Jam Graeci milites, quos Thymodes a Pharnabazo acceperat, præcipua spes, et propemodum unica, ad Darium pervenerant. Hi magnopere suadebant, ut retro abiret, spatirosque Mesopotamiaæ campos repeteret. Si id consilium damnaret, at ille divideret saltem copias innumerabiles, neu sub unum fortunæ ictum totas vires regni cadere pateretur. Minùs hoc consilium Regi, quām purpuratis ejus displicebat: “Ancipitem fidem, et mercede venalem proditionem imminere, et dividi non ob aliud copias velle, quām ut ipsi in diversa digressi, si quid commissum esset traderent Alexandro. Nihil tutius fore, quām circumdatos eos exercitu toto obrui telis, documentum non inultæ perfidiæ futuros.” At Darius, ut erat sanctus et mitis, “se verò tantum facinus” negat “esse facturum, ut suam secutos fidem, suos milites, jubeat trucidari. Quam deinde amplius nationum exterarum salutem suam credituram sibi, si tot militum sanguine imbuisset manus? Neminem stolidum consilium capite luere debere. Defuturos eos, qui suaderent, si suasisse periculum esset. Denique ipsos quotidie ad se vocari in consilium, variasque sententias dicere, “ne tamen melioris fidei haberí, qui prudentius suaserint. Itaque Græcis nunciari jubet, “ipsum quidem benevolentiaæ illorum gratias agere; cæterū, si retro ire perget haud dubiè regnum hostibus traditurum. Famâ bella stare; et eum qui recedat, fugere credi. Trahendi verò belli vix ullam esse rationem. Tantæ enim multitudini, utique cūm jam hyems instaret, in regione vastâ, et invicem a suis atque hoste vexatâ, non sufficiens aliments. Ne dividi quidem copias posse, servato more

majorum, qui universas vires semper discriminis bellorum obtulerant. Et hercule terribilem antea Regem et absentiam suam ad vanam fiduciam elatum, postquam adventare se senserit, cautum pro temerario factum, delitusse inter angustias saltus, ritu ignobilium ferarum, quae strepitum prætereuntium auditu, sylvarum latebris se occuluerunt. Jam etiam valetudinis simulatione frustrari suos milites, sed non amplius ipsum esse passurum detrectare certamen. In illo specu, in quem pavidi recessissent, oppressurum esse cunctantes." Hæc magnificenterius jactata, quam verius.

19. Cæterum pecuniâ omni, rebusque pretiosissimis, Damascum Syriæ cum modico præsidio militum missis, reliquias copias in Ciliciam duxit, insequentibus more patrio agmen conjugæ et matre. Virgines quoque cum parvo filio comitantur patrem. Fortè eadem nocte et Alexander ad fauces, quibus Syria aditur, et Darius ad eum locum, quem *Amanicas Pylas* vocant, pervenit. Nec dubitavere Persæ, quin Iesso relictâ, quam ceperant, Macedones fugerent. Nam etiam sauci quidam et invalidi, qui agmen non poterant persequi, excepti erant. Quos omnes, instinctu purpuratorum, barbarâ feritate sævientium, præcisis adustisque manibus circumduci, ut copias suas noscerent; satisque omnibus spectatis, nunciare quæ vidissent, Regi suo jussit. Motis ergo castris, superat Pinorum amnem, in tergis, ut credebat, fugientium hæsus. At illi, quorum amputaverat manus, ad castra Macedonum penetrant, Darium, quam maximo cursu posset, sequi nunciantes. Vix fides habebatur. Itaque speculatores in maritimas regiones præmissos explorare jubet, ipse adesset, an præfectorum aliquis speciem præbuisset universi venientis exercitus. Sed cum speculatores reverterentur, procul ingens multitudo conspecta est. Ignes deinde totis campis collucere cœperunt, omniaque velut continenti incendio ardere visa, cum incondita multitudo maximè propter jumenta laxius tendret. Itaque eo ipso loco metari suos castra jusserat, lætus, "quod omni expetiverat voto, in illis potissimum angustiis decernendum esse.

20. Cæterum, ut solet fieri, cùm ultimi discriminis tempus adventat, in sollicitudinem versa fiducia est. Illam ipsam fortunam, quâ aspirante res tam prosperè gesserat, verebatur, <sup>13</sup> nec injuriâ, ex his quæ tribuisset sibi, quâ mutabilis eset, reputabat: unam superesse noctem, quæ tanti discriminis moraretur eventum. Rursus occurrebat, majora periculis præmia: et sicut dubium eset an vinceret, ita illud utique certum esse, honestè et cum magnâ laude moriturum. Itaque, <sup>14</sup> corpora milites curare jussit, ac deinde tertiam vigiliâ instructos et armatos esse. Ipse in jugum editi montis ascendit, multisque colluecentibus facibus patrio more sacrificium Diis præsidibus loci fecit. Jamque tertium, sicut præceptum erat, <sup>15</sup> signum tubâ miles acceperat, itineri simul paratus et prælio: strenueque jussi procedere, oriente luce pervenerunt ad angustias, quas occupare decreverant. Darium triginta inde stadia abesse, præmissi indicabant. Tunc consistere <sup>16</sup> agmen jubet, armisque ipse sumptis aciem ordinabat.

21. Dario adventum hostium pavidi agrestes nunciaverunt, vix credenti occurrere etiam, quos, ut fugientes, sequebatur. Ergo non mediocris omnium animos formido incesserat: quippe itineri quâ prælio aptiores erant, <sup>17</sup> raptimque arma capiebant. Sed ipsa festinatio discurrentium, suosque ad arma vocantium, majorem metum incussit. Alii in jugum montis evaserant, ut hostium agmen inde prospicerent: equos plerique frenabant: discors exercitus, nec ad <sup>18</sup> unum intentus imperium, vario tumultu cuncta turbaverat. Darius initio, montis jugum cum parte copiarum occupare statuit, et a fronte, et a tergo circumitus hostem: <sup>19</sup> a mari quoque, quo dexterum ejus cornu tegebatur, alios objecturus, ut undique urgeret. Praeter hæc, viginti millia præmissa cum sagittariorum manu, Pinarum amnem, qui duo agmina interfluebat, transire, et objicere sese Macedonum copiis jussérat. Si id prestatre non possent, retrocedere in montes, et occultè circumire ultimos hostium. Cæterum <sup>20</sup> destinata salubriter, omni ratione potentior fortuna discussit: quippe alii præ metu imperium exequi non aude-

bant, alii frustra exsequebantur: quia ubi partes labant, summa turbatur.

IX. 22. Acies autem hoc modo <sup>1</sup> stetit. Nabarzanes equitatū dextrum cornu tuebatur, additis funditorum sagittario-rumque viginti fermē millibus. In eodem Thymodes erat, Græcis peditibus mercede conductis triginta millibus præpositus. Hoc erat haud dubium robur exercitūs, par Macedoniæ phalangi acies. In lævo cornu Aristomedes Thessalus viginti millia Barbarorum peditum habebat. In <sup>2</sup> subsidiis pugnacissimas locaverat gentes. Ipsum Regem in eodem cornu dicimeturum, tria millia delectorum equitum <sup>3</sup> assueta corporis custodiæ, et pedestris acies, quadraginta <sup>4</sup> millia, sequebantur. Hyrcani deinde Medique equites: his proximi cæterarum gentium equites dexterā lævāque dispositi. Hoc agmen, sicut dictum est, instructum, sex millia jaculatorum funditorumque antecedebant. <sup>5</sup> Quidquid in illis angustiis adiri poterat, impleverant copiæ, <sup>6</sup> cornuaque hinc a jugo, illinc a mari stabant. Uxorem matremque Regis, et alium fœminarum gregem, in medium agmen acceperant.

23. Alexander phalangem, quâ nihil apud Macedonas validius erat, in fronte constituit. Dextrum cornu Nicanor Parmenionis filius tuebatur: huic proximi stabant Cœnos, et Perdiccas, et Meleager, et Ptolemæus, et Amyntas, sui quisque agminis duces. In lævo, quod ad mare pertinebat, Craterus et Parmenio erant, sed Craterus Parmenioni parere jussus. Equites ab utroque cornu locati, dextrum Macedones, Thessalis adjunctis, lævum Peloponnenses tuebantur. Ante hanc aciem posuerat funditorum manum sagittariis admixtis; Thraces quoque et Cretenses ante agmen ibant, et ipsi leviter armati. At iis, qui præmissi a Dario jugum montis <sup>7</sup> insederant, <sup>8</sup> Agrianos opposuit, ex Græciâ nuper advectos. Parmenion autem præceperat, ut, quantum posset, agmen ad mare extenderet, quod longius abesset montibus, quos occupaverant Barbari. At illi, neque obstare venientibus, nec circumire prætergressos ausi, funditorum maximè aspectu territi profugerant: <sup>9</sup> eaque res Alexandro tutum agminis latus, quod ne

superne incesseretur, timuerat, præstitit. Triginta et duo armatorum ordines ibant; neque enim latius extendi aciem patiebantur angustiæ. Paulatim deinde se laxare sinus montium, et majus spatium aperire cœperant; ita ut non pedes solum pluribus ordinibus incedere, sed etiam a lateribus circumfundi posset equitatus.

X. 24. Jam in conspectu, sed extra teli jactum utraque acies erat, cùm priores Persæ inconditum et trucem sustulere clamorem. Redditur et a Macedonibus major, <sup>1</sup> exercitus impar numero, sed jugis montium, vastisque saltibus repercussus; <sup>2</sup> quippe semper circumjecta nemora petræque, quantumcumque accepere vocem, multipliato sono referunt. Alexander ante prima signa ibat, identidem manu <sup>3</sup> suos inhibens, ne suspensi, acrius ob nimiam festinationem concitato spiritu, capesserent prælium. Cùmque agmini obequitarer, variâ oratione, ut cujusque animis aptum erat, milites alloquebatur. Macedones tot bellorum in Europâ victores, ad subigendam Asiam atque ultima Orientis, <sup>4</sup> non ipsius magis, quam suo ductu profecti, inveteratae virtutis admonebantur. Illos terrarum <sup>5</sup> orbis liberatores, emensosque olim Herculis et Liberi patris terminos, non Persis modò, sed etiam omnibus gentibus imposituros jugum. <sup>6</sup> Macedonum Bactra et Indos fore: minima esse quæ nunc intuerentur, sed omnia victoriâ parari. Non præruptis petris Illyriorum, et Thraciæ saxis sterilem laborem fore, spolia totius Orientis offerri. Vix gladio futurum opus; totam aciem suo pavore fluctuantem, <sup>7</sup> umbonibus posse propelli. Victor ad hæc Atheniensium Philippus pater invocabatur, domitæque nuper Boœtiæ, et urbis in eâ nobilissimæ, ad solum dirutæ, species repræsentabatur animis: jam Granicum amnem, jam tot urbes aut expugnatas, aut in fidem acceptas, omniaque quæ post tergum erant, strata, et pedibus ipsorum subjecta, memorabat. Cùm adierat Græcos, admonebat, <sup>8</sup> ab iis gentibus illata Græciæ bella, Darii prius, deinde Xerxis insolentiâ, aquam ipsam terramque populantium, ut neque fontium haustum, nec solitos cibos relinquerent. Dein Deum templa ruinis et ignibus esse deleta, urbes eorum ex-

pugnatas, foedera humanī divinique juris violata" referebat. Illyrios verò et Thracas, rapto vivere assuetos, aciem hostium, auro purpurāque fulgentem intueri jubebat, <sup>10</sup> prædam, non arma gestantem. Irent, et imbellibus fœminis aurum <sup>11</sup> viri eriperent. Aspera montium suorum juga, nudosque colles et perpetuo rigentes gelu, ditibus Persarum campis agrisque <sup>12</sup> mutarent.

XI. 25. Jam <sup>1</sup> ad teli jactum pervenerant, cùm Persarum equites ferociter in lævum cornu hostium invecti sunt. <sup>2</sup>Quippe Darius equestri prælio decernere optabat, phalangem Macedonici exercitūs robur esse conjectans. Jamque etiam dextrum Alexandri cornu circumibatur: quod ubi Macedo conspexit, <sup>3</sup>duabus alis equitum ad jugum montis jussis subsistere, cæteros in medium belli discrimen strenuè transfert. Subductis deinde ex acie Thessalis equitibus. Præfectum eorum <sup>4</sup>occultè circumire tergum suorum jubet, Parmenionique conjungi, et quod is imperasset, impigrè exequi. Jamque ipsi in medium Persarum undique circumfusi egregiè se tuebantur: sed conserti, et quasi cohærentes, tela vibrare non poterant. <sup>5</sup>Simul erant emissa, <sup>6</sup> in eosdem concurrentia implicabantur, levique et vano ictu pauca in hostem, plura in humum innoxia cadebant. Ergo cominūs pugnam coacti conserere, gladios impigrè stringunt. Tum verò multū sanguinis fusum est: duæ quippe acies ita cohærebant, ut armis arma pulsarent, <sup>7</sup> mucrones in ora dirigerent: non timido, non ignavo cessaret licuit: <sup>8</sup> collato pede, quasi singuli inter se dimicarent, in eodem vestigio stabant, donec vincendo locum sibi facerent. Tum demum ergo promovebant gradum, cùm hostem prostraverant. At illos novus excipiebat adversarius fatigatos: nec vulnerati, ut aliás solent, acie poterant excedere, cùm hostis instaret a fronte, a tergo sui urgerent.

26. Alexander, non ducis magis quam militis munera exsequebatur; <sup>9</sup> opimum decus cæso Rege expetens. Quippe Darius curru sublimis eminebat, et suis ad se tuendum, et hostibus ad incessendum, ingens <sup>10</sup> incitamentum. Ergo frater ejus Oxathres, cùm Alexandrum instare ei cerneret, equites,

quibus praeerat, ante ipsum currum Regis objecit, armis et robore corporis multum super ceteros eminens, animo vero et pietate <sup>11</sup> in paucissimis; illo utique prælio clarus, alios improvidè instantes prostravit, alios in fugam avertit. At Macedones, qui circa Regem erant, mutua adhortatione firmati, cum ipso in equitum agmen irrumpunt. Tum vero similis ruinæ strages erat. Circa currum Darii jacebant nobilissimi duces, ante oculos Regis egregia morte defuncti, omnes in ora proni, sicut dimicantes procubuerant, <sup>12</sup> adverso corpore vulneribus acceptis. Inter hos Atizyes, et Rheomithres, et Sabaces Praetor Ægypti, magnorum exercituum præfecti, noscitaruntur: circa eos cumulata erat peditum equitumque obscurior turba. Macedonum quoque, non quidem multi, sed promptissimi tamen, cœsi sunt. Inter quos Alexandri dextrum femur leviter mucrone <sup>13</sup> perstrictum est.

27. Jamque, qui Darium vehebant equi confossi hastis, et dolore efferati, jugum quatere, et Regem curru excutere cœperant: cum ille, veritus ne vivus veniret in hostium potestatem, desilit, et in equum, qui <sup>14</sup> ad hoc ipsum sequebatur, imponitur: insignibus quoque Imperii, ne fugam proderent, indecorè abjectis. Tum vero cœteri dissipantur metu; et quæ cuique patebat ad fugam via, erumpunt, arma jacientes, quæ paulò antè ad tutelam corporum sumpserant: <sup>15</sup> adeò pavor etiam auxilia formidat. Instabat fugientibus eques a Parmenione missus, et forte in id cornu omnes fuga abstulerat. At in dextro, Persæ Thessalos equites vehementer urgebant. Jamque una ala ipso impetu proculata erat, <sup>16</sup> cum Thessali dilapsi, strenue circumactis equis, rursus in prælinum redeunt, sparsosque et incompositos victorizæ fiduciâ Barbaros ingenti cœde prosternunt. Equi pariter equitesque Persarum, <sup>17</sup> serie laminarum graves, <sup>18</sup> agmen, quod celeritate maximè constat, ægrè moliebantur: quippe in circumagendis equis suis Thessali multos occupaverant. Hac tam prosperâ pugnâ nunciata, Alexander non antè ausus persecui barbaros, utrimque jam victor instare fugientibus coepit. Haud amplius Regem quam nille equites sequebantur, cum ingens multitudo hostium ca-

deret. Sed quis aut in victoriâ aut in fugâ copias numerat? Agebantur ergo a tam paucis pecorum modo; et idem metus qui cogebat fugere, fugientes morabatur.

28. At Græci, qui in Darii partibus steterant Amyntâ duce, (prætor hic Alexandri fuit, nunc transfuga) abrupti a cæteris, <sup>10</sup> haud sanè fugientibus similes evaserant. Barbari longè diversam fugam intenderunt: alii, quâ rectum iter in Persidem ducebant, quidam circuitu rupes, saltusque montium occultos petivâre, pauci castra Darii. Sed jam illa quoque victor intraverat, omni quidem opulentia ditia. Ingens auri argenteique pondus, non belli, sed luxurie apparatum diripuerant milites. Cùmque plus raperent, passim strata erant itinera vilioribus sarcinis, quas in comparatione meliorum avaritia contempserat. Jamque ad foeminas perventum erat, quibus, quâ cariora ornamenta sunt, violentius detrahebantur; ne corporibus quidem vis, ac libido pareebat. Omnia planetu tumultuque, prout cuique fortuna erat, repleverant: <sup>20</sup> nec ulla facies mali deerat; cùm per omnes ordines etatesque victoris crudelitas ac licentia vagaretur. <sup>21</sup> Tunc verò impotentis fortunæ species conspici potuit, cùm ii, qui tum Dario tabernaculum exornaverant, omni luxu et opulentia instructum, eadem illa Alejandro, quasi veteri domino, reservabant. Namque id solum intactum omiserant milites; ita tradito more, ut victorem victi Regis tabernaculo exciperent.

29. Sed omnium oculos animosque in semet converterant, captiva mater conjuxque Darii. Illa, non majestate solum, sed etiam etate venerabilis; hec, <sup>22</sup> formæ pulchritudine, ne illâ quidem sorte corruptâ. Accoperat in sinum filium, nondum sextum etatis annum egreasum, in spem tantæ fortunæ, quantum paulò antè pater ejus amiserat, genitum. At in gremio annis avise jacebant adulteræ virgines duæ, non suo tantum, sed illius etiam moerore confectæ. Ingens circa eam nobilium feminarum turba constiterat, <sup>23</sup> lacratis orinibus, abscissâque veste, pristini decoris immemores, Reginas, dominasque, <sup>24</sup> veris quondam, tunc alienis nominibus invocantes. Illæ suæ calamitatis oblitæ, utro cornu Darius stetisset, quæ for-

tuna discriminis fuisset, requirebant. Negabant se captas, si viveret Rex. Sed illum, equos subinde mutantem, longius fuga abstulerat. In acie autem <sup>25</sup> cessa sunt Persarum peditum centum millia: decem verò millia interfecta equitum. At a parte Alexandri quatuor et quingenti saucii fuere, triginta omnino et duo ex peditibus desiderati sunt, equitum centum quinquaginta interfecti. Tantulo impendio ingens victoria stetit.

XII. 30. Rex, qui diu Darium persecundo fatigatus erat, postquam et nox appetebat, et eum consequendi spes non erat, in castra paulo antè a suis capta pervenit. Invitari deinde amicos, quibus maximè assueverat, jussit: quippe summa duntaxat cutis in femore perstricta, non prohibebat interesse cónvivio. Tum repente e proximo tabernaculo lugubris clamor, barbaro ululatu, planetuque permixtus, epulantes conterruit. Cohors quoque, quæ excubabat ad tabernaculum regis, verita ne majoris motū principium esset, armare se cœperat. Causa pavoris subiti fuit, quod mater uxorque Darii, cum captivis nobilibus, Regem, quem interfectum esse credebant, ingenti gemitu ejulatuque deflebant. Unus namque e captis spadonibus, qui fortè ante ipsarum tabernaculum steterat, amiculum, (quod Darius, sicut paulò antè dictum est, ne cultu proderetur, abjecerat,) in manibus ejus qui repertum ferebat, agnoverit: ratusque interfecto detractum esse, falsum nuncium mortis ejus attulerat. Hoc mulierum errore comperto, Alexander fortunæ Darii, et pietati earum illacrymâsse fertur. Ac primò Mithrenem, qui Sardes prodiderat, peritum Persicæ linguæ, ire ad consolandas eas jussérat. Veritus deinde, ne proditor captivarum iram doloremque gravaret, Leonatum ex purpuratis suis misit, jussum indicare, falsò lamentari eas vivum. Ille cum paucis <sup>26</sup> armigeris in tabernaculum, in quo captivæ erant, pervenit, missumque a Rege se, nunciari jubet. At ii, qui in vestibulo erant, ut armatos conspexeré, rati actum esse de dominis, in tabernaculum currunt, vociferantes, adesse supremam horam, missosque qui occiderent captas. <sup>27</sup> Itaque, ut quæ nec prohibere possent,

nec admittere auderent, nullo responso dato, tacitee opperiebantur victoris arbitrium. Leonatus, expectato diu qui se intromitteret, postquam nemo prodire audebat, relictis in vestibulo satellitibus, intrat in tabernaculum. Ea ipsa res turbaverat foeminas quod<sup>e</sup> "irrupisse, non admissus, videbatur. Itaque mater et conjux<sup>e</sup> provolutæ ad pedes orare cœperunt, ut, priùs quam interficerentur, Darii corpus ipsis patrio more sepelire permitteret: functas supremo in Regem officio se impigrè morituras. Leonatus, et vivere Darium, et ipsas non incolumes modò, sed etiam apparatu pristinæ fortunæ Reginas fore. Tum demum mater Darii allevari se passa est.

31. Alexander postero die, cùm curam sepeliendis militibus impenderet, quorum corpora invenerat, Persarum quoque nobilissimis eundem honorem haberi jubet, matrique Darii permittit, quos vellet, patrio more sepeliret. Illa paucos arctâ propinquitate conjunctos pro habitu præsentis fortunæ humari jussit, apparatum funerum, quo Persæ supraea officia celebrarent, invidiosum fore existimans, cùm victores haud pretiosè cremarentur. Jamque<sup>e</sup> justis defunctorum corporibus solutis, præmittit ad captivas, qui nunciarent ipsum venire, inhibitâque comitantium turbâ, <sup>10</sup> tabernaculum cum Hephaestione intrat. Is longè omnium amicorum carissimus erat Regi: cum ipso pariter educatus, secretorum omnium<sup>11</sup> arbiter; libertatis quoque in admonendo eo<sup>12</sup> non aliis jus habebat; quod tamen ita usurpabat,<sup>13</sup> ut magis a Rege permissum, quam vindicatum ab eo videretur; et sicut ætate par erat Regi, ita<sup>14</sup> corporis habitu præstabat. Ergo Reginæ illum Regem esse ratæ,<sup>15</sup> suo more veneratae sunt. Inde ex spadonibus captivis, quis Alexander esset,<sup>16</sup> monstrantibus, Sisygambis advoluta est pedibus ejus, ignorationem nunquam anteà visi Regis excusans. Quam manu allevans Rex: "Non errasti," inquit, "mater; <sup>17</sup> nam et hic Alexander est."

32. <sup>18</sup> Evidem, si hac continentia animi ad ultimum vitæ perseverare potuisset, feliciorem fuisse crederem, quam visus est esse, cùm Liberi patris imitaretur triumphum, ab Hellesto usque ad Oceanum omnes gentes victoriâ emensus: sic

vicisset profectò superbiam atque iram, mala invicta, sic absti-  
nuisset inter epulas cædibus amicorum; egregiosque bello  
viro, et tot gentium secum domitores,<sup>11</sup> indictâ causâ veritus  
esset occidere. Sed nondum fortuna se animo ejus<sup>12</sup> super-  
fuderat. Itaque orientem eam, moderatè et prudenter tulit:  
<sup>13</sup> ad ultimum magnitudinem ejus non cepit. Tum quidem ita  
se gessit, ut omnes ante eum Reges, et continentia et clementia  
vinceret. Virgines enim regias excellentis formæ, tam sanctæ  
habuit, quâm si eodem, quo ipse, parente genitæ forent. Con-  
jugem ejusdem, quam nulla ætatis suæ pulchritudine corporis  
vicit,<sup>14</sup> adeo ipse non violavit, ut summam adhibuerit curam,  
<sup>15</sup> ne quis captivo corpori illuderet. Omnem cultum reddi  
feminis jussit, nec quidquam ex pristinæ fortunæ magnificentia  
captivis, præter fiduciam, defuit. Itaque Sisygambis: "Rex,"  
inquit, "mereris, ut ea precemur tibi, quæ Dario nostro quon-  
dam precatae sumus: et, ut video, dignus es, qui tantum Regem  
non felicitate solùm, sed etiam<sup>16</sup> æquitate superaveris. Tu  
quidem matrem me et Reginam vocas, sed ego me tuam famu-  
lam esse confiteor.<sup>17</sup> Et præterite fortunæ fastigium capio,  
et præsentis jugum pati possum.<sup>18</sup> Tuā interest, quantum in  
nos liuerit, si id potius clementia quâm sævitia vis esse tes-  
tatum." Rex bonum animum habere eas<sup>19</sup> jussit: Darii de-  
inde filium collo suo admovit. Atque nil ille conspectu tunc  
primùm a se visi conterritus, cervicem ejus manibus amplecti-  
tur. Motus ergo Rex constantia pueri,<sup>20</sup> Hephaestionem in-  
tuens: "Quam vellem," inquit, "Darius aliquid ex hac indole  
hausisset!" Tum tabernaculo egressus, tribus aris in ripâ  
Pinari amnis, Jovi atque Herculi, Minervæque sacratis, Sy-  
riam petit, Damascum, ubi Regis gaza erat, Parmenione præ-  
misso.

XIII. 33. Atque<sup>1</sup> is cùm præcessisse Darii satrapam  
comperisset, veritus ne paucitas suorum sperneretur, accersere  
majorem manum statuit. Sed fortè in exploratores ab eo  
præmissos incidit natione Mardus, qui ad Parmenionem per-  
ductus, litteras ad Alexandrum, a Praefecto Damasci missas,  
tradidit ei; nec dubitare<sup>2</sup> eum, quin omnem regiam supelleo-

tilem cum pecuniā traderet, adjecit. Parmenio, asservari eo jusso, litteras aperit: in queis erat scriptum, ut maturè Alexander aliquem ex ducibus suis mitteret cum manu exigua. Itaque re cognitā, Mardum datis comitibus ad proditorem remittit. Ille, e manibus custodientium lapsus, Damascum ante lucem intrat. Turbaverat ea res Parmenionis animum insidias timentis et ignotum iter sine duce non audebat ingredi. Felicitati tamen Regis sui confisus, agrestes, qui duces itineris essent, excipi jussit: quibus celeriter repertis, quarto die ad urbem pervenit, jam metuente Præfecto, ne sibi fides habita non esset. Igitur, quasi parum munimentis oppidi fidens, ante solis ortum pecuniam regiam, (*gazam Persæ vocant,*) cùm pretiosissimis rerum efferri jubet, fugam simulans, reverā ut prædam hosti offerret.

34. Multa millia virorum fœminarumque excedentem oppido sequebantur; omnibus miserabilis turba, præter eum, cuius fidei commissa fuerat: quippe, quod major proditionis merces foret, objicere hosti parabat gratiorem omni pecuniā prædam, nobiles viros, Prætorum Darii conjuges liberosque; præter hos, urbium Græcarum legatos, quos Darius velut in arce tutissimā, in proditoris reliquerat manibus. *Gangabas* Persæ vocant humeris onera portantes: hi cùm frigus tolerare non possent (quippe et procella subito nivem effuderat, et humus rigebat gelu) tum astrictas vestes, quas cum pecuniā portabant, auro et purpurā insignes, induunt, nullo prohibere auso; cùm fortuna Regis, etiam humillimis, in ipsum licentiam faceret. Præbuere ergo Parmenioni non spernendi agminis speciem, qui intentiore curā suos, quasi ad justum prælium, paucis adhortatus, equis calcaria subdere jubet, et acri impetu in hostem invehī. At illi, qui sub oneribus erant, omissis illis per metum, capessunt fugam. Armati quoque, qui eos sequebantur, eodem metu arma jactare, ac nota diverticula petere cœperunt. Præfectus quasi et ipse conterritus, simul cuncta pavore compleverat. Jacebant totis campis opes regiæ; illa pecunia stipendio ingenti militum præparata; ille cultus tot nobilium virorum, tot illustrium fœminarum;

aurea vasa; aurei fræni; tabernacula regali magnificentiâ ornata; vehicula quoque a suis destituta, ingentis opulentissima plena: "facies etiam prædantibus tristis, si qua res avaritiam moraretur. "Quippe tot annorum incredibili et fidem excedente fortunâ cumulata, tunc alia stirpibus dilacerata, alia in cœnum demersa eruebantur: non sufficiebant prædantium manus prædæ.

35. Jamque etiam ad eos, qui primi fugerant, ventum erat. Fœminæ pleræque parvos trahentes liberos ibant, inter quas tres fuere virgines, Ochi (qui ante Darium regnaverat) filiæ, olim quidem ex fastigio paterno rerum mutatione detractæ, sed tum sortem earum crudeliùs aggravante fortunâ. In eodem grege uxor quoque ejusdem Ochi fuit, Oxathrisque (frater hic erat Darii) filia, et conjux Artabazi principis purpuratorum: et filius, cui Ilioneo fuit nomen. Pharnabazi quoque, cui summum imperium maritimæ oræ Rex dederat, uxor cum filio excepta est; Mentoris filiæ tres, ac nobilissimi ducis Memnonis conjux, et filius: "vixque ulla domus purpurati fuit tantæ cladis expers. Lacedæmonii quoque, et Athenienses, societatis fide violatæ, Persas seuti: Aristogiton, Dropides, et Iphicrates, inter Athenienses, genere famaque longè clarissimi: Lacedæmonii, Pausippus, et Onomastorides, cum Monimo et Callicratide, ii quoque domi nobiles. Summa " pecuniæ signatæ fuit, talentorum duo millia et sexaginta; " facti argenti pondus quingenta æquabat. Præterea tringita millia hominum, cum septem millibus jumentorum, dorso onera portantium, capta sunt. Cæterum Dii tantæ fortunæ proditorum celeriter debitâ poenâ persecuti sunt. Namque unus e consciis ejus, <sup>18</sup> credo, Regis vicem etiam in illâ sorte reveritus, interficti proditoris caput ad Darium tulit, opportunum solarium prodito: quippe et ultus inimicum erat, et nondum in omnium animis memoriam majestatis suæ exolevisse cernebat.

## LIBER IV.

## ARGUMENTUM.

1. Alexander, litteris a Dario superbè scriptis, regiè respondet. Abdalonymnum Sidonis Regem præficit. Amyntas transfuga, miro modo a Perzis ipsis occiditur. Varie variis locis præfectorum Darii clades.
2. Tyri, Alexandrum recipere recusantes, obidentur.
3. Dubiis belli eventibus Tyri obsidio nobilitatur.
4. Tandem Tyrus vi capta, maximâque hominum strage corrupta, luctuoso deformatur incendio.
5. Darii iterata de pace ad Alexandrum submissior legatio: quâ repudiata, Græci Alexandrum corona aureâ donant: ille autem per præfectos multas in potestatem suam redigit provincias.
6. Ad bellum dum se accingit Darius, Alexander Gazam expugnat: ejusque præfatum Betim crudeli afficit suppicio.
7. Profecto, et varia Alexandri quæsitæ ad Jovis Hammonis oraculum.
8. In Ægypto Alexandria condita; varieque Alexandri bellicæ expeditiones.
9. Darius ad Arbelas pervenit, eoque invito Alexander Tigrim superat.
10. Militæ, ob Luna defectum turbatos, per Ægyptios vates confirmat Alexander: Persas vastatores conjicit in fugam. Darii uxor captiva, mœrora confecta, supremum diem claudit, unde Alexandri lacryma, Darii suspicione, luctus, et vota.
11. Pacem tertio quæsitam Darius non impetrat: imò ad deditiōnem, aut ad bellum, ab Alexandro provocatur.
12. Ad prælium dum Persarum ingens exercitus paratur, Macedones panico quodam defuncti terrore, arma alacriter capassunt.
13. Consilia de nocturno prælio Parmenionis et Polyspercontis Alexander damnat: somnoque refectus, interrito vultu suo ad pugnam accedit.
14. Alexandri ad Græcorum, Dariique ad Persarum exercitus, ante pugnam orationea.
15. Cruenti ad Arbelæ prælli descriptio. Victor Alexander, Darum victimum persequitur.
16. Parmenio in discriminis constitutus, Alexandrum retrahit. Tandem integrâ victoriâ potiti Macedones, reliquos Persas, multis suorum milibus desideratis, fugâ sibi quærere salutem cogunt.

I. 1. DARIUS tanti modò exercitûs Rex, qui triumphantis magis, quam dimicantis more, curru sublimis inierat prælium, per loca, quæ propè immensis agminibus compleverat, jam inania, et ingenti solitudine vasta, fugiebat. Pauci Regem sequebantur. Nam nec eodem omnes fugam intenderant, et deficientibus equis, cursum eorum, quos Rex subinde mutabat, sequare non poterant. Unchas deinde pervenit, ubi exceperè eum Græcorum quatuor millia, cum quibus ad Euphratem

contendit, id demum credens 'fore ipsius, quod celeritate præripere potuisset. At Alexander Parmenionem, 'per quem apud Damascum recepta erat præda, jussum eam ipsam, et captivos diligenter asservare custodiā, Syriæ, quam Cœlen vocant, præfecit. Novum imperium Syri, nondum belli cladibus satis domiti, aspernabantur: sed celeriter subacti, obedienter 'imperata fecerunt. Aradus quoque insula deditur Regi. Maritimam tamen oram, et pleraque longius etiam a mari recedentia, Rex ejus insulæ Strato possidebat: quo in fidem accepto, castra movit ad urbem Marathon. Ibi illi litteræ a Dario redduntur: quibus, ut superbè scriptis, vehementer offensus est. 'Præcipue eum movit, quod Darius sibi Regis titulum, nec eumdem Alexandri nomini adscriperat. 'Postulabat autem magis, quam petebat, ut acceptâ pecuniâ, 'quantamcumque tota Macedonia caperet, matrem sibi, ac conjugem, liberosque restitueret. De regno, 'æquo, si vellet, Marte contenderet. Si saniora consilia tandem pati potuisset, "contentus patrio, cederet alieni imperii finibus; socius amicusque esset: in ea se fidem et dare paratum, et accipere.

2. Contra Alexander in hunc <sup>11</sup> maximè modum rescripsit: "REX ALEXANDER DARIO. Ille, cuius nomen sumpsisti, Darius, Græcos, qui oram Hellesponti tenent, coloniasque Græcorum Ionias omni clade vastavit: cum magno deinde exercitu mare trajecit, illato Macedoniæ et Græciæ bello. Rursus Xerxes gentis ejusdem ad oppugnaudos nos cum immanium barbarorum copiis venit: qui, navali prælio victus, Mardonium tamen reliquit in Græciâ, ut absens quoque popularetur urbes, agros ureret. <sup>12</sup> Philippum verò parentem meum quis ignorat ab his imperfectum esse, quos ingentis pecuniae spe sollicitaverant vestri? Impia enim bella suscipitis, et cùm habeatis arma, <sup>13</sup> licitamini hostium capita, sicut tu <sup>14</sup> proximè talentis mille, tanti exercitus Rex, percussorem in me emere voluisti. Repello igitur bellum, non infero. Et Diis quoque pro meliore stantibus causâ, magnam partem Asiarum in ditionem redegi meam: te ipsum acie vici: quem etsi nihil a me impetrare oportebat, quod petieras, <sup>15</sup> utpote qui ne belli quidem in me

jura servaveris; tamen si veneris supplex, et matrem, et coniugem, et liberos, sine pretio recepturum te esse promitto. Et vincere, et <sup>16</sup> consulere victis scio. Quòd si te nobis committere times, dabimus fidem impunè venturum. De cætero, cùm mihi scribes, <sup>17</sup> memento non solùm Regi te, sed etiam tuo, scribere." Ad hanc perferendam Thersippus missus. <sup>18</sup> Ipse in Phœnicem deindè descendit, et oppidum Byblon traditum recepit.

3. Inde ad <sup>19</sup> Sidona ventum est, urbem vetustate, famâque conditorum inclytam. Regnabat in ea Strato, <sup>20</sup> Darii opibus adjutus; sed quia deditioñem magis popularium, quam suā sponte, fecerat, regno visus indignus, Hephaestionique permisum, ut quem <sup>21</sup> eo fastigio e Sidoniis dignissimum arbitraretur, constitueret Regem. Erant Hephaestionis <sup>22</sup> hospites, clari inter suos juvenes, qui facta ipsis potestate regnandi, <sup>23</sup> negaverunt quemquam patrio more in id fastigium recipi, nisi regiā stirpe ortum. Admiratus Hephaestio magnitudinem animi spernentis, quod alii per ignes ferrumque peterent: "Vos quidem <sup>24</sup> macti virtute," inquit, "estote, qui primi intellexistis, quantò majus esset regnum fastidire, quam accipere. Cæterū date aliquem regiæ stirpis, qui meminerit a vobis acceptum habere se regnum." At illis cùm multos <sup>25</sup> imminentre tantæ spei cernerent, singulis amicorum Alexandri ob nimiam regni cupiditatem adulantes, statuunt neminem esse <sup>26</sup> potiorem, quam Abdalonymum quemdam, longa quidem cognatione stirpi regiæ annexum, sed ob inopiam suburbanum hortum exigua colentem stipe. Causa ei paupertatis, sicut plerisque, probitas erat; intentusque operi diurno, strepitum armorum, qui totam Asiam concusserat, <sup>27</sup> non exaudiebat.

4. <sup>28</sup> Subito deindè, de quibus antè dictum est, cum regis vestis insignibus hortum intrant, <sup>29</sup> quem forte, steriles herbas eligens, Abdalonymus repurgabat. Tunc Rege eo salutato, alter ex his: <sup>30</sup> "Habitus," inquit, "hic vestis quem cernis in meis manibus, cum isto squalore permutandus tibi est. Ablue corpus, illuvie, terræque sordibus squalidum. Cape Regis animum, et in eam fortunam, quam dignus es, istam continen-

tiam profer. Et cùm in regali solio residuebis, vites necisque omnium civium dominus, "cave ne obliviscaris hujus statutis, in quo accipis regnum; imò herculè propter quem." Somnio similis res Abdalonymo videbatur. Interdùm, satisne sani essent, qui tam protervè sibi illuderent, percontabatur. Sed ut cunctanti squalor ablutus est, et "injecta vestis purpurā auroque distincta, et fides a jurantibus facta; seriò jam Rex, iisdem comitantibus, in regiam pervenit. Fama deinde, ut solet, strenuè totā urbe discurrit: "aliorum studium, aliorum indignatio eminebat. Ditissimus quisque humilitatem inopiamque ejus apud amicos Alexandri criminabatur. Admitti eum Rex protinus jussit, diùque contemplatus: "Corporis," inquit, "habitus famæ generis non repugnat: sed libet scire, inopiam quā patientiā tuleris." Tum ille: "Utinam," inquit, "eodem animo regnum pati possim. Hæ manus suffecere desiderio meo: "nihil haventi, nihil defuit." Magnæ indolis specimen ex hoc sermone Abdalonymi cepit. Itaque non Stratonis modò regiam supellectilem attribui ei jussit, sed pleraque etiam ex Persicâ prædâ: regionem quoque urbi apposita, ditioni ejus adjecit.

5. Intereà Amyntas, quem ad Persas ab Alexandre trans fugisse diximus cum quatuor millibus Græcorum, ipsum ex acie persecutis, fuga Tripolim pervenit. Indè in naves militibus impositis, Cyprum transmisit, "et cùm in illo statu rerum id quemque, quod occupasset, habiturum arbitraretur, velut certo jure possessum, Ægyptum petere decrevit. Utrique regi hostis, et semper ex ancipiti mutatione temporum pendens, hortatusque milites ad spem tantæ rei, docet, Sabacem Prætorem Ægypti cecidisse in acie; Persarum præsidium et sine duce esse, et invalidum; Ægyptios semper Prætoribus eorum infenos, pro sociis ipsos, non pro hostibus, æstimaturos. Omnia experiri necessitas cogebat: quippè cùm primas spes for tuna destituit, futura præsentibus videntur esse potiora. Igitur conclamant, "duceret, quò videretur. Atque ille "utendum animis, dūm spe calerent, ratus, ad Pelusii ostium penetrat, simulans a Dario se esse præmissum. Potitus ergò

Pelusii, Memphim copias promovit: ad cuius famam Aegyptii, vana gens, et novandis quam gerendis aptior rebus, ex suis quisque vicis urbibusque " [ad hoc ipsum] concurrunt, ad delenda praesidia Persarum: qui territi, tamen spem retinendi Aegyptum non amiserunt. Sed eos Amyntas, prælio superatos, in urbem compellit, " castrisque positis, victores ad populandos agros, velut in medio positis hostium cunctis, vagabantur. Itaque Mazaces, quanquam infelici prælio suorum animos territos esse cognoverat, tamen palantes et " victoriæ fiduciâ incautos ostentans, perpulit, ne dubitarent ex urbe erumpere, et res amissas recuperare. Id consilium non ratione prudentius, quam eventu felicius fuit. Ad unum omnes cum ipso duce occisi sunt. Has poenas Amyntas utrique Regi dedit, nihilomagis " ei ad quem transfugerat fidus, quam illi, quem deseruerat.

6. Darii Prætores, qui prælio apud Isson superfuerant, cum omni manu, quæ fugientes secuta erat, assumptâ etiam Cappadocum et Paphlagonum juventute, Lydiam recuperare tentabant. Antigonus Prætor Alexandri Lydiæ prærerat: qui, quanquam plerosque militum ex praesidiis ad Regem dimiserat, tamen Barbaris spretis in aciem suos eduxit. Eadem illic quoque fortuna partium fuit. Tribus præliis aliâ atque aliâ regione commissis, Persæ funduntur. Eodem tempore classis Macedonum ex Græciâ accita, Aristomenem, qui ad Hellesponti oram recuperandam a Dario erat missus, captis ejus aut demersis navibus, superat. A Milesiis deinde Pharnabazus " praefectus Persicæ classis pecuniâ exactâ, et praesidio in urbem Chium introducto, centum navibus Andrum, et indè Syphnum petiit: eas quoque insulas praesidiis occupat, pecuniâ multat. Magnitudo belli quod ab opulentissimis Europæ Asieque regibus in spem totius orbis occupandi gerebatur, Græciæ quoque et Cretæ arma commoverat. Agis Lacedæmoniorum Rex, octo millibus Græcorum, qui ex Ciliciâ profugi domos repetierant, contractis, bellum Antipatro Macedoniae praefecto moliebatur. " Cretenses has aut illas partes secuti, nunc Spartanorum, nunc Macedonum praesidiis occupa-

bantur. Sed leviora inter illos fuere discrimina : "unum certamen, ex quo caetera pendebant, intuente fortuna.

II. 7. Jam tota Syria, jam Phœnices quoque, excepta Tyro, Macedonum erat : habebatque Rex castra in continenti, a quo urbem angustum fretum dirimit. Tyrus et claritate et magnitudine ante omnes urbes Syriæ Phœnicesque memorabilis, facilitate societatem Alexandri acceptura videbatur, quam imperium. Coronam igitur auream legati donum afferebant, commeatusque largè et hospitaliter ex oppido advexerant. Ille dona, ut ab amicis, accipi jussit, benigneque legatos allocutus, Herculi, quem præcipue Tyrii colerent, sacrificare velle se dixit : Macedonum Reges credere ab illo Deo ipsos genus ducere : se vero, ut id faceret, etiam oraculo monitum. Legati respondent, esse templum Herculis extra urbem, in ea sede quam Palætyron ipsi vocant : Ibi Regem Deo sacrum ritè facturum. Non tenuit iram Alexander, cuius alioquin potens non erat. Itaque, "Vos quidem," inquit, "fiducia loci, quod insulam incolitis, pedestrem hunc exercitum spernitis : sed brevi ostendam, in continenti vos esse. Proinde sciatis licet, aut intraturum me urbem, aut oppugnaturum." Cum hoc responso dimissos monere amici cooperant, ut Regem, quem Syria, quem Phœnices recepisset, ipsi quoque urbem intrare paterentur. At illi, loco satis fisi, obsidionem ferre decreverunt.

8. Namque urbem a continenti quatuor stadiorum fretum dividit, Africo maximè objectum, crebros ex alto fluctus in littus volventi, nec occipiendo operi, quic Macedones continentis insulam jungere parabant, quidquam magis, quam ille ventus, obstabat. Quippè vix leni et tranquillo mari, moles agi possunt : Africus vero prima quæque congesta, pulsu illisa, mari subruit : nec ulla tam firma moles est, quam non exedant undæ, et per nexus operum manantes, et, ubi acrior flatus exstitit, summi operis fastigio superfusæ. Præter hanc difficultatem, haud minor alia erat : muros turresque urbis præaltum mare ambiebat. Non tormenta, nisi e navibus procul excussa, mitti, non scalæ mœnibus applicari poterant.

'Præceps in salum murus pedestre interceperat iter: naves nec habebat Rex; et, si admovisset, 'pendentes et instabiles missilibus arceri poterant. Inter quæ parva dictu res Tyriorum fiduciam accedit. Carthaginensium legati ad celebrandum anniversarium sacrum more patrio tunc venerant: quippe Carthaginem Tyrii condiderunt, 'semper parentum loco culti. Hortari ergò Pœni coeperunt, ut obsidionem forti animo paterentur, brevi Carthagine auxilia ventura: namque eā tempestate, magnā ex parte, Punicis classibus maria obsidebantur.

9. Igitur bello decreto, per muros turresque tormenta disponunt: arma junioribus dividunt, <sup>10</sup> opificesque, quorum copiā urbs abundabat, in officinas distribuunt. Omnia belli apparatus strepunt: ferreæ quoque manus <sup>11</sup> (*harpagonas* vocant) quas operibus hostium injicerent, corvique et alia tuendis urbibus excogitata, præparabantur. Sed cùm fornacibus ferrum, quod excudi oportebat, impositum esset, admotisque foliibus ignem flatu <sup>12</sup> accenderent, sanguinis rivi sub ipsis flammis extitisse dicuntur; <sup>13</sup> idque omen in Macedonum metum verterrunt Tyrii. <sup>14</sup> Apud Macedonas quoque, cùm fortè panem quidam militum frangeret, manantis sanguinis guttas notaverunt; territoque Rege, Aristander peritissimus vatum, "si extrinsecus cruor fluxisset, Macedonibus id triste futurum," ait: "contrà, cum ab interiore parte manaverit, urbi, quam obsidere destinässent, exitum portendere." Alexander cùm et classem procul haberet, et longam obsidionem magno sibi ad cætera impedimento videret fore, caduceatores, qui ad pacem eos compellerent, misit: quos Tyrii <sup>15</sup> contra jus gentium occisos præcipitaverunt in altum. Atque ille suorum tam indignâ nece commotus, urbem obsidere statuit. Sed antè jacienda moles erat, quæ urbem continentí committeret. Ingens ergò animos militum desperatio incessit, cernentium profundum mare, quod vix divinâ ope posset impleri: "Quæ saxa tam vasta, quas tam proceras arbores posse reperi? <sup>16</sup> exhaustendas esse regiones, ut illud spatium aggeraretur: exæstuarē semper fretum, quòdque arctius volutetur inter insulam et con-

tinentem, hōc acriūs furere." At ille haudquaquam rūdis tractandi militares animos, speciem sibi Herculis in somno oblatam esse pronunciat dextram porrigentis: illo duce, illo aperiente, in urbem intrare se visum. Inter hæc caduceatores imperfectos, gentium jura violata referebat: unam esse urbem, quæ cursum victoris morari ausa esset. "Ducibus deindè negotium datur, ut suos quisque castiget: satisque omnibus stimulatis, opus orsus est. Magna vis saxorum "ad manum erat; Tyro vetere præbente: materies ex Libano monte ratibus et turribus faciendis advehebatur.

10. Jamque a fundo maris in altitudinem modicam opus excreverat, nondū tamen aquæ fastigium sequabat: et quod longius moles agebatur a littore, hōc magis quicquid ingerebatur, præaltum absorbebat mare: Tyrii, parvis navigiis admotis, per ludibrium reprobrabant, "illos, armis inclytos, dorso, sicut jumenta, onera gestare." Interrogabant etiam, "num major Neptuno esset Alexander?" Hæc ipsa <sup>10</sup> insecatio alacritatem militum accedit. Jamque paululum moles aquam eminebat, et simul aggeris latitudo crescebat, urbiq[ue] admovebatur; cùm Tyrii, magnitudine molis, cuius incrementum eos antea fefellerat, conspectā, levibus navigiis <sup>11</sup> nondū commissum opus circumire coeperunt, missilibus eos quoque, qui pro opere stabant, incessere. Multis ergo impunè vulneratis, cùm et removere, et appellere scaphas <sup>12</sup> in expedito esset, ad curam semetipsos tuendi ab opere converterant. <sup>13</sup> Igitur rex munitibus coria velaque jussit obtendi, ut extra teli letum essent; duasque turres ex capite molis erexit, e quibus n subeentes scaphas tela ingeri possent. Contrà, Tyrii navis procul a conspectu hostium littori appellunt, expositisque nilitibus, eos, qui saxa gestabant, obruncant. In Libano quoque Arabum agrestes, incompositos Macedonas aggressi, riginta ferè interficiunt, paucioribus captis.

III. 11. Ea res Alexandrum dividere copias coegit. Et ne segniter assidere uni urbi videretur, operi Perdiccam Cramumque præfecit: ipse cum expeditâ manu Arabiam petiit. Inter hæc, Tyrii navem magnitudine eximiâ, saxis arenâque a

puppi oneratam, ita ut multum prora emineret, bitumine ac sulphure illitam remis concitaverunt: et cum magnam vim venti vela quoque concepissent, celeriter ad molem successit. Tunc prorā ejus accensā, remiges desiliēre in scaphas, quae ad hoc ipsum p̄separatæ sequebantur. Navis autem, igne concepto, latius fundere incendium cœpit: quod, priusquam posset occurri, turres, et cætera opera in capite molis posita comprehendit. At qui desilierant in parva navigia, faces, et quidquid alendo igni aptum erat, in eadem opera ingerunt. Jamque non modò Macedonum turres, sed etiam summa tabulata, conceperant ignem: cum ii, qui in turribus erant, partim haurirentur incendio; partim armis omissis in mare semetipsi immitterent. At Tyrii, qui capere eos, quam interficere malent, natantium manus stipitibus saxisque lacerabant, donec debilitati impunè navigiis excipi possent: nec incendio solùm opera consumpta, sed fortè eodem die vehementior ventus motum ex profundo mare illisit in molem, crebrisque fluctibus compages operis verberatæ se laxavere, saxaque interfluens unda medium opus rupit. Prorutis igitur lapidum cumulis, quibus injecta terra sustinebatur, p̄ceps in profundum ruit, tantæque molis vix ulla vestigia invenit, ab Arabiâ rediens, Alexander.

12. 'Hic (quod in adversis rebus solet fieri) alias in aliud culpam referebat, cum omnes verius de sævitia maris queri possent. 'Rex novi operis molem orsus, in adversum ventum, non latere, sed rectâ fronte, direxit: ea cætera opera velut sub ipsâ latentia tuebatur. Latitudinem quoque aggeri adjectit, ut turres in medio erectæ, procul teli jactu abeasent. Totas autem arbores cum ingentibus ramis in altum jaciebant: deinde saxis onerabant. Rursus cumulo eorum alias arbores injiciebant. Tum humus aggerebatur, superque aliâ strue saxonum arborumque cumulatâ, velut quodam nexu continens opus junxerant. Nec Tyrii, quidquid ad impediemad molem excoigitari poterat, segniter exsequebantur. 'Principium auxilium erat, qui procul hostium conspectu subibant aquam, occultoque lapsu ad molem usque penetrabant, falcibus palmi-

tes arborum <sup>10</sup> eminentium ad se trahentes: quæ ubi secutæ erant, pleraque secum in profundum dabant: tum levatos onere stipites truncosque arborum haud segregè moliebantur. Deinde totum opus, quod stipitibus fuerat innixum, fundamento lapsò, sequebatur. <sup>11</sup> Egro animi Alexandro, et utrum perseveraret an abiret, satis incerto, classis Cypro advenit. Eodemque tempore Cleander cum Græcis militibus in Asiam nuper advectus. Centum et octoginta navium classem in duo dividit cornua. Lævum Pythagoras, Rex Cypriorum, cum Cratero tuebatur; Alexandrum in dextro <sup>12</sup> quinqueremis regia vehebat. Nec Tyrii, quanquam classem habebant, ausi navale inire certamen, tres omnino naves ante ipsa mœnia opposuerunt, quibus Rex invectus, ipsas demersit.

13. Posterā die, classe ad mœnia admotā, undique tormentis, et maximè <sup>13</sup> arietum pulsu, muros quatit; quos Tyrii raptim obstructis saxis refecerunt, <sup>14</sup> interiorem quoque murum, ut si prior fefellisset, illo se tuerentur, undique orsi. Sed undique vis mali urgebat: moles intra teli jactum erat: classis mœnia circumibat: <sup>15</sup> terrestri simul navalique clade obruebantur. <sup>16</sup> Quippe binas quadriremes Macedones inter se ita junxerant, ut proræ cohærerent; puppes intervallo, quantum capere poterant, distarent. Hoc puppium intervallum antennis asseribusque validis deligatis, superque eos pontibus stratis, qui militem sustinerent, impleverant: sic instructas quadriremes ad urbem agebant: inde missilia in propugnantes ingerebantur tutò, quia <sup>17</sup> proris miles tegebatur. Media nox erat, cum classem, sicuti dictum est, paratam, circumire urbem jubet: jamque naves urbi undique <sup>18</sup> admovebantur, et Tyrii desperatione torpebant, cùm subitò spissæ nubes intendere se coelo, et quidquid lucis <sup>19</sup> internitebat, effusæ caligine, extinctum est. Tum inhorrescens mare paulatim levari, deinde acriori vento concitatum fluctus ciere, et inter se navigia collidere. Jamque scindi cœperant vincula, quibus connexæ quadriremes erant, ruere <sup>20</sup> tabulata, et cum ingenti fragore in profundum secum milites trahere. Neque enim conserta navi-gia ullâ ope in <sup>21</sup> turbido regi poterant. Miles ministeria nau-

tarum, remex militis officia turbabat, et, quod in hujusmodi casu accidit, periti ignaris parebant; quippe gubernatores, alias imperare soliti, tum metu mortis jussa exsequebantur. Tandem remis pertinaciūs everberatum mare, veluti eripientibus navigia "classicis" cessit, appulsaque sunt littori, "laceata pleraque.

14. Iisdem forte diebus Carthaginiensium legati triginta superveniunt, majus obsessis solatium quam auxilium: quippe domestico bello Pœnos "impediri, nec de imperio, sed pro salute dimicare nunciabant. "Syracusani tum Africam urebant; et haud procul Carthaginis muris locaverant castra. Non tamen defecere animis Tyrii, quanquam ab ingenti spe destituti erant, sed conjuges liberosque devehendos Carthaginem tradiderunt, "fortius quidquid accideret laturi, si carissimam sui partem extra communis periculi sortem habuissent. Cumque unus e civibus concione indicasset, oblatam esse per somnum sibi speciem Apollinis, quem "eximiā religione colebant, urbem deserentis; molemque a Macedonibus jactam in salo, in sylvestrem saltum esse mutatam: quanquam auctor "levis erat, tamen ad deteriora credenda proni metu, "aurea catena devinxere simulacrum, aræque Herculis, cuius numini urbem dicaverant, inseruere vineulum, quasi illo Deo Apollinem "retenturo. Syracusis id simulacrum devexerant Pœni, et in "majore locaverant patriā, multisque aliis spoliis urbium a semet captarum, non Carthaginem magis, quam Tyrum ornaverant.

15. "Saorum quoque, (quod quidem Diis minimè cordi esse crediderim) multis sæculis intermissum, repetendi auctores quidam erant, ut ingenuus puer Saturno immolaretur. Quod sacrilegium verius quam sacrum, Carthaginenses, a conditoribus traditum, usque ad excidium urbis suæ fecisse dicuntur: ac nisi "Seniores obstitissent, quoram consilio cuncta agebantur, humanitatem dira superstitione viciisset. Cæterum efficacior omni arte imminens necessitas, non usitata modò praesidia, sed quædam etiam nova "admovit. Namque ad implicanda navigia quæ muros subibant, validis asseribus

"corvos et ferreas manus illigaverant, ut, cùm tormento asseres promovissent, subitò laxatis funibus, injicerent. Unci quoque et falces ex iisdem asseribus dependentes, aut propugnatores, aut ipsa navigia lacerabant. Clypeos verò zenoës multo igne torrebant, quos, repletos fervidâ arenâ cenoque de cocto, e muris subitò devolvebant; nec ulla pestis magis timebatur. Quippè ubi loricam "corpusque fervens arena penetraverat, nec ullâ vi excuti poterat, et quidquid attigerat, perurebat; jacientesque arma, laceratis omnibus queis protegi poterant, vulneribus inulti patebant. Corvi verò, et ferreæ manus tormentis emissæ, plerosque rapiebant.

IV. 16. <sup>1</sup>Hic Rex fatigatus statuerat, <sup>2</sup>solutâ obsidione, Ægyptum petere: quippè cùm Asiam ingenti velocitate percurisset, circa muros unius urbis hærebat, tot maximarum rerum opportunitate dimissâ. Cæterum tam discedere <sup>3</sup>irritum, quam morari pudebat; famam quoque, quâ plura quam armis everterat, ratus leviorē fore, si Tyrum, quasi testem se posse vinci, reliquisset. Igitur ne quid inexpertum omitteret, plures naves ad moveri jubet, delectosque militum imponi. Et fortè <sup>4</sup>bellua inusitatæ magnitudinis super ipsos fluctus dorso eminens, ad molem, quam Macedones jecerant, ingens corpus applicuit; diverberatisque fluctibus allevans semet, utrinquè conspecta est. Deindè a capite molis, rursùs alto se immersit: ac modò super undas eminens magnâ sui parte, modò superfuis fluctibus condita, haud proœul munimentis urbis <sup>5</sup>emersit. Utrisque lætus fuit belluæ aspectus. Macedones iter jaciendo operi monstrâsse eam augurabantur; Tyrii, Neptunum occupati maris vindicem ab ripuisse belluam, ac molem brevi profectò ruituram: læstique omine eo, ad epulas <sup>6</sup>dilapsi, oneravere se vino: quo graves, orto sole navigia condescendunt, redimita coronis floribusque: adeò victoriæ non omen modò, sed etiam gratulationem præceperant.

17. Fortè Rex classem in diversam partem agi jussérat, triginta minoribus navigiis relictis in littore; e quibus Tyrii luoibus captis, cætera ingenti terruerant metu; donec, suorum clamore auditio, Alexander classem littori, e quo fremitus

acciderat, admovit. Prima e Macedonum navibus, quinqueremis velocitate inter cæteras eminens, occurrit: quam ut conspexere Tyrii, duæ e diverso in latera ejus invectæ sunt, in quarum alteram quinqueremis eadem concitata, et ipsa rostro icta est, et illam invicem tenuit. Jamque ea, quæ non cohærebat, libero impetu evecta, in aliud quinqueremis latus invehebatur, cùm opportunitate mirâ triremis e classe Alexandri, in eam ipsam, quæ quinqueremi imminebat, tantâ vi impulsa est, ut Tyrius gubernator in mare executeretur e puppi. Plures deinde Macedonum naves superveniunt, et Rex quoque aderat; cùm Tyrii inhibentes remos, sègrè evellère navem quæ hærebat, portumque omnia simul navigia repetunt. Confestim Rex insecurus portum quidem intrare non potuit, cùm procul e muris missilibus submoveretur: naves autem omnes ferè aut mersit, aut cepit.

18. Biduo deindè ad quietem dato militibus, jussisque et classem et machinas pariter admovere, ut undique territis instaret, ipse in altissimam turrim ascendit; ingenti animo, periculo majore: quippè regio insigni, et armis fulgentibus conspicuus, unus præcipue telis petebatur, et digna prorsus spectaculo edidit: multos e muris propugnantes hastâ transfixit, quosdam etiam cominùs gladio clypeoque impulsos præcipitavit: quippè turris, ex quâ dimicabat, muris hostium proximodùm cohærebat. Jamque, crebris arietibus saxorum compage laxatâ, munimenta defecerant, et classis intraverat portum, et quidam Macedonum in turres hostium desertas evaserant: cùm Tyrii, tot simul malis victi, alii supplices in templo configiunt, alii foribus ædium obseratis, occupant liberum mortis arbitrium; nonnulli ruunt in hostem, haud inultè tamen perituri. Magna pars summa tectorum obtinebat, saxa, et quidquid manibus fors dederat, ingerentes subeuntibus. Alexander, exceptis qui in templo configerant, omnes interfici, ignemque tectis injici jubet. His per præcones pronunciatis, nemo tamen armatus opem a Diis petere sustinuit. Pueri virginesque templo compleverant: viri in vestibulo suarum quisque ædium stabant, parata sœvientibus

turba. Multis tamen saluti fuere Sidonii, qui <sup>1</sup> intra Macedonum præsidia erant. Hi urbem quidem inter victores intraverant; sed cognationis cum Tyriis memores, (quippe utramque urbem Agenorem condidisse credebant) multos Tyriorum etiam protegentes ad sua perduxerent navae, quibus occultati, Sidona devecti sunt. Quindecim millia hoc furto subducta sævitiae sunt. Quantumque sanguinis fusum sit, vel ex hoc aestimari potest, quod intra munimenta urbis, sex millia armatorum trucidata sunt. Triste deinde spectaculum victoribus ira præbuit Regis. Duo millia, <sup>2</sup> in quibus occidendi defecerat rabies, crucibus affixi, per <sup>3</sup> ingens littoris spatium pependerunt. Carthaginem legatis pepercit, additâ denunciatione belli, quod præsentium rerum necessitas moratur.

19. Tyrus septimo mense, quam oppugnari copta erat, capta est: urbs et vetustate originis, et crebrâ fortunæ varietate ad memoriam posteritatis insignis. Condita ab Agenore, diu mare, non vicinum modò, sed quocumque classes ejus adierunt, <sup>2</sup> ditionis suæ fecit; et si famæ libet credere, haec gens litteras prima aut docuit, aut didicit. Coloniae certè ejus penè orbe toto diffusæ sunt; Carthago in Africâ, in Boëtiâ Thebæ, Gades ad Oceanum. Credo <sup>3</sup> libero commeantes mari, sœpiusque adeundo cæteris incognitas terras, elegisse sedes juventuti, quâ tunc abundabant: seu quia crebris motibus terræ (nam hoc quoque traditur) cultores ejus fatigati, nova et externa domicilia armis sibimet querere cogebantur. Multis ergo casibus defuncta et post excidium renata, nunc tamen longâ pace cuncta reforente, sub tutelâ Romanæ mansuetudinis adquiescit.

V. 20. Iisdem fermè diebus Darii litteræ allatæ sunt, tandem ut Regi scriptæ. Petebat, <sup>1</sup> uti filiam suam <sup>2</sup> (Statyræ erat nomen) nuptiis Alexander sibi adjungeret. Dotem fore omnem regionem inter Hellespontum et Halyn amnum sitam. <sup>3</sup> Inde Orientem spectantibus terris contentum se fore. Si forte dubitaret, quod offerretur, accipere, <sup>4</sup> nunquam diu eodem vestigio stare fortunam, semperque homines, quantam-

cumque felicitatem habeant, invidiam tamen sentire majorem. Vereri, ne se avium modo, quas naturalis levitas ageret ad sidera, inani ac puerili mentis affectu efficeret. Nihil difficultius esse, quam in illa ætate tantam capere fortunam. " Multas se adhuc reliquias habere, nec semper <sup>in angustiis</sup> posse deprehendi. Transeundum esse Alexandro Euphratem, Tigrimque, et Araxen, et Hydaspen, magna munimenta regni sui. Veniendum in campos, ubi paucitate suorum erubescendum sit. Mediam, Hyrcaniam, Bactra, et Indos, Oceani accolás, quandò aditum, ne Sogdianos et Arachosios, nomen, cæterasque gentes, ad Caucasum et Tanaïm pertinentes? Senescendum fore tantum terrarum vel sine prælio obeunti. " Se verò ad ipsum vocare desineret: namque illius exitio se esse venturum." Alexander, his, qui litteras attulerant, respondit: " Darium <sup>sibi</sup> aliena promittere; quod totum amiserit, velle partiri. Doti sibi dari Lydiam, Ioniām, Æolidem, Hellesponti oram, <sup>victoriæ</sup> suæ præmia: leges <sup>autem</sup> a victoribus dici; accipi a victis. In utro statu ambo essent, si solus ignoraret, quamprimum Marte decerneret: se quoque, cùm transisset mare, non Ciliciam aut Lydiam, (quippè tanti belli exiguam hanc esse mercedem) sed Persepolim, caput regni ejus, Bactra deindè, Ecbatana, ultimique Orientis oram <sup>" imperio suo destinâsse.</sup> Quòcumque ille fugere potuisset, ipsum sequi posse. Desineret terrere fluminibus, quem sciret maria transisse." Reges quidem invicem hæc scripserant.

21. Sed Rhodii urbem suam portusque dedebant Alexander. Ille Ciliciam Socrati tradiderat; Philotâ regioni circa Tyrum jusso præsidere: Syriam, quæ Cœle appellatur, Andromacho Parmenio tradiderat, bello, quod supererat, interfuturus. Rex, Hephaestione Phœnices oram classe prætervehi jusso, ad urbem Gazam cum omnibus copiis venit. Iisdem ferè diebus <sup>" solemne</sup> erat ludicum Isthmiorum, quod conventu totius Græciæ celebratur. In eo concilio, ut sunt Græcorum <sup>" temporaria</sup> ingenia, decernunt, ut duodecim legarentur ad Regem, qui ob res pro salute Græciæ ac libertate gestas,

coronam auream donum victoris ferrent. <sup>14</sup> Idem paulò antè incertæ famæ captaverant auram, ut quocumque pendentes animos tulisset fortuna, sequerentur. <sup>15</sup> Cæterùm non ipse modò Rex obibat urbes, imperii jugum adhuc recusantes: sed Prætores quoque ipsius, egregii duces, pleraque invaserant. Calas Paphlagoniam, Antigonus Lycaoniam, Balacrus, Idarne Prætore Darii superato, Miletum cepit: Amphoterus et Hegelochus, centum sexaginta navium classe, insulas inter Achiam atque Asiam in ditionem Alexandri redegerunt; Tenedo quoque receptâ, Chion, incolis ultrò vocantibus, statuerant occupare. Sed Pharnabazus Darii Prætor, <sup>16</sup> comprehensis qui res ad Macedonas trahebant, rursùs Apollonidi et Athenagoræ suarum partium viris, urbem cum modico præsidio militum tradit. Præfecti Alexandri in obsidione urbis perseverabant, <sup>17</sup> non tam suis viribus, quâm ipsorum, qui obsidebantur, voluntate. Nec fefellit opinio. Namque inter Apollonidem et duces militum orta seditio, irrumpendi in urbem occasionem dedit. Cùmque portâ effractâ cohors Macedonum intrâasset, oppidani, olim consilio prodictionis agitato, aggregant se Amphoteru et Hegelochu; Persarumque præsidio caeso, <sup>18</sup> Pharnabazus cum Apollonide et Athenagorâ vinci traduntur: xii triremes cum suo milite ac remige, praeter eas tringinta inanes et piratici lembi, Græcorumque tria millia a Persis mercede conducta. His <sup>19</sup> in supplementum copiarum suarum distributis, piratisque supplicio affectis, captivos remiges adjecere classi suæ.

22. Fortè Aristonicus Methymnæorum Tyrannus, cum piraticis navibus, ignarus omnium quæ ad Chium acta erant, primâ vigiliâ ad portûs claustra successit: interrogatusque a custodibus, "quis esset; Aristonicum ad Pharnabazum venire," respondit. Illi "Pharnabazum quidem jam quiescere, et non posse tum adiri, cæterùm patere socio atque hospiti portum, et postero die <sup>20</sup> Pharnabazi copiam fore" affirmant. Nec dubitavit Aristonicus primus intrare. Secuti sunt ducem piratici lembi; ac dum applicant navigia crepidini portûs, objicitur a vigilibus claustrum, et qui proximi excubabant, ab iisdem ex-

citantur: nulloque ex his auso repugnare, omnibus catense injectæ sunt: Amphotero deindè, Hegelochoque traduntur. Hinc Macedones transièrē Mitylenem, quām Chares Atheniensis nuper occupatam duorum millium Persarum præsidio tenebat: sed cùm obsidionem tolerare non posset, urbe traditā, pactus, ut incolumi abire liceret, Imbrum petit; deditis Macedones pepererunt.

VI. 23. Darius, desperatā pace, quam per litteras legatosque impetrari posse crediderat, ad reparandas vires, bellumque impigrè renovandum intendit animum. Duces ergò copiarum Babyloniam convenire, Bessum quoque Bactrianorum prætorem, quām maximo posset exercitu coacto, descendere ad se jubet. Sunt autem Bactriani inter illas gentes promptissimi, horridis ingeniis, multūmq; a Persarum luxu abhorribus: siti haud procul Scytharum bellicosissimā gente, et rapto vivere assueti, semper in armis erant. Sed Bessus, suspectā perfidiā, haud sanè æquo animo in secundo se continens gradu, Regem terrebat. Nam cùm regnum affectaret, proditio, quā solā id assequi poterat, timebatur. <sup>1</sup> Cæterūm Alexander, quam regionem Darius petiisset, omni curā vestigans, tamen explorare non poterat, more quodam Persarum, arcana Regum mirā celantium fide. Non metus, non spes elicit vocem, quā prodantur occulta: vetus disciplina Regum silentium vitæ periculo sanxerat. Lingua graviùs castigatur, quām ullum probrum; <sup>2</sup> nec magnam rem sustineri posse credunt ab eo, cui tacere grave sit; quod homini facillimum voluerit esse natura. <sup>3</sup> Ob hanc causam Alexander omnium, quæ apud hostem gererentur, ignarus, urbem Gazam obsidebat. Præerat ei Betis eximiæ in Regem suum fidei, modicoque præsidio muros <sup>4</sup> ingentis operis tuebatur.

24. Alexander, aestimato locorum situ, agi <sup>5</sup> cuniculos iussit, facili ac levi humo acceptante occultum opus: quippè multam arenam vicinum mare evomit, nec saxa cotesque, quæ interpellent <sup>6</sup> specus, obstabant. Igitur ab eâ parte, quam oppidanî, conspicere non possent, opus orsus, <sup>7</sup> ut a sensu ejus averteret turres muris admoveri jubet. Sed eadem humus

admovendis inutilis turribus, <sup>8</sup> desidente sabulo, agilitatem rotarum morabatur, et tabulata turrium perfringebat: multique vulnerabantur impunè, <sup>9</sup> cùm idem recipiendis, qui admovendis turribus, labor eos fatigaret. Ergò receptui signo dato, postero die muros <sup>10</sup> coronā circumdari jussit. Ortoque sole, priusquam admoveret exercitum, <sup>11</sup> opem Deū exposcens, sacrum patrio more faciebat. Fortè prætervolans corvus, <sup>12</sup> glebam, quam unguibus ferebat, subito amisit: quæ cùm Regis capiti incidisset, resoluta defluxit. Ipsa autem avis in proximâ turre consedit. Illita erat turris bitumine ac sulphure, in quâ alis hærentibus frustrâ se allevare <sup>13</sup> conatus, a circumstantibus capitur. Digna res visa, de quâ vates consuleret, ut erat non intactæ a superstitione mentis. Ergò Aristander, cui maxima fides habebatur, <sup>14</sup> urbis quidem excidium augurio illo portendi; cæterùm periculum esse, ne Rex vulnus acciperet: itaque monuit “nequid eo die inciperet.” Ille, quanquam unam urbem sibi, quominus securus Ægyptum intraret, obstare ægrè ferebat, tamen paruit vati, signumque receptui dedit.

25. Hinc animus crevit obsessis, egressique portâ, rece-lentibus inferunt signa: cunctationem hostium fore suam occasionem rati. Sed acriùs quâm constantius prælium inieunt. <sup>15</sup> Quippè ut Macedonum signa circumagi vidêre, repente istunt gradum. Jamque ad Regem prælantium clamor perenerat, cùm denunciati periculi haud sanè memor, loricam tamen, quâm raro in duebat, amicis orantibus sumpsit, et <sup>16</sup> ad rima signa pervenit. Quo conspecto, Arabs quidam, Darii iles, <sup>17</sup> majus fortunâ suâ facinus ausus, clypeo gladium tenuis, quasi transfuga genibus Regis advolvitur. Ille assurre supplicem, recipique inter suos jussit. At gladio barba-s strenuè in dextram translato, cervicem appetit Regis; qui, exiguâ corporis declinatione evitato ictu, in vanum anuni barbari lapsam amputat gladio, denunciato in illum em periculo (ut arbitrabatur ipse) defunctus. Sed, ut opinor, evitabile est fatum: quippè dum inter primores promptiùs niciat, sagittâ ictus est, quam per loricam adactam, <sup>18</sup> stantem

in humero, medicus ejus Philippus evellit. Plurimus deinde sanguis manare cœpit; omnibus territis, quia nunquam tam altè penetrassæ telum loricæ obstante, cognoverant. Ipse, ne oris quidem colore mutato, suppressi sanguinem, et vulnus obligari jussit. Diù ante ipsa signa, vel dissimulato, vel victo dolore "perstiterat, cùm suppressus paulò antè sanguinis medicamento, quo retentus erat, manare latius cœpit; et vulnus, quod recens adhuc dolorem non moverat, frigente sanguine intumuit. "Linqui deinde animo, et "submitti genu cœpit; quem proximi exceptum in castra receperunt. Et Betis, interfectum ratus, urbem ovans victoriā repetit.

26. At Alexander, nondūm percurato vulnere, aggerem, quo mœnium altitudinem sequaret, extruxit, et pluribus cuniculis muros subrui jussit. Oppidani ad pristinum fastigium mœnium, novum extruxere munimentum; sed ne id quidem turres aggeri impositas sequare poterat. Itaque interiora quoque urbis infesta telis erant. Ultima pestis urbis fuit cuniculo subrutus murus, per cuius rainas hostis intravit. Ducebat ipse Rex "antesignanos, et dūm incautiū subit, saxo crus ejus affigitur. Innixus tamen telo, "nondūm prioris vulneris obducta cicatrice, inter primores dimicat: ira quoque accensus, quod duo in obsidione urbis ejus acceperat vulnera. Betim, egregiā editā pugnā, multisque vulneribus confectum, deseruerant sui: nec tamen segniū prælium capessebat, lubricis armis suo pariter atque hostium sanguine: sed cùm undique [ "unus omnium telis peteretur, ad postremum exhaustis viribus vivus in potestatem hostium venit: quo ad Regem] adducto, insolenti gaudio "juvenis elatus, "aliàs virtutis, etiam in hoste mirator: "Non, ut voluisti," inquit, "morieris, Beti: sed quidquid tormentorum in captivum inveniri potest, passurum esse te cogita." Ille, non interrito modò, sed contumaci quoque vultu intuens Regem, nullam ad minas ejus reddidit-vocem. Tum Alexander: "Videtisne obstinatum ad tacendum?" inquit; "num genu posuit? num supplicem vocem misit? Vincam tamen silentium; et si nihil aliud, certè gemitu interpellabo." Iram deinde vertit in rabiem; "jam

tum peregrinos ritus novâ subeunte fortunâ. Per talos enim spirantis lora trajecta sunt, religatumque ad currum traxere circa urbem equi; gloriante Rege Achillem, a quo genus ipse deduceret, imitatum se esse poenâ in hostem capiendâ. Cecidere Persarum Arabumque circa x millia; nec Macedonibus incruenta victoria fuit. Obsidio certè non tam claritate urbis nobilitata est, quâm geminato periculo Regis, qui *Ægyptum* adire festinans, Amyntam cum decem triremibus in Macedoniā <sup>26</sup> ad inquisitionem novorum militum misit. Namque præliis etiam secundis <sup>26</sup> atterebantur copiæ; devictarumque gentium militi, <sup>26</sup> minor quâm domestico fides habebatur.

VII. 27. *Ægyptii* <sup>1</sup> olim Persarum opibus infensi, quippe avarè et superbè imperitatum sibi esse credebant, ad spem adventū ejus erexerant animos, utpotè qui Amyntam quoque transfugam, et <sup>2</sup> cum precario imperio venientem leti receperissent. Igitur ingens multitudo Pelusium, quâ intraturus Rex videbatur, convenerat. Atque ille septimo die, postquam a <sup>3</sup> Gazâ copias moverat, in regionem *Ægypti*, quam nunc <sup>4</sup> castra *Alexandri* vocant, pervenit. Deinde pedestribus copiis Pelusium petere jussis, ipse cum expeditâ delectorum manu, Nilo amne vectus est. Nec sustinuere adventum ejus Persæ, defectione quoque perterriti. Jamque haud procul Memphi erat; in cuius præsidio Mazaces Prætor Darii relitus, <sup>5</sup> [ostio amnis superato], octingenta talenta Alexandre, omnemque regiam supellectilem tradidit. A Memphi, eodem fumine vectus, <sup>6</sup> ad interiora *Ægypti* penetrat; compositisque rebus, ita ut nihil ex patrio *Ægyptiorum* more mutaret, adire Jovis Hammonis oraculum statuit.

28. Iter, expeditis quoque et paucis vix tolerabile, in crediendum erat: terrâ cœloque aquarum penuria est: steriles rēnse jacent; quas ubi vapor solis accedit, fervido solo xurente vestigia, intolerabilis æstus existit: luctandumque st non tantum cum ardore et siccitatem regionis, sed etiam cum enacissimo sabulo, <sup>7</sup> quod præaltum et vestigio cedens ægrè noliuntur pedes. Hæc *Ægyptii* vero majora jactabant ed ingens cupidus animum stimulabat adeundi Jovem,

quem generis sui auctorem, <sup>9</sup> haud contentus mortali fastigio, aut credebat esse, aut credi volebat. Ergò cum iis, quos ducere secum statuerat, secundo amne descendit ad Mareotim paludem. Èd legati Cyrenensium dona attulère; pacem, et ut adiret urbes suas, petentes. Ille, donis acceptis, amicitiaque conjuncta, destinata exsequi pergit. Ac primo quidem et sequenti die, tolerabilis labor visus, nondùm tam vastis nudisque solitudinibus aditis, <sup>10</sup> jam tamen sterili et emoriente terrâ. Sed ut aperuêre se campi alto obruti sabulo, <sup>11</sup> haud secus quam profundum aequor ingressi terram oculis requirebant. Nulla arbor, nullum culti soli occurrebat vestigium. Aqua etiam defecerat, quam <sup>12</sup> utribus camelî devexerant, et in arido solo ac fervido sabulo nulla erat. Ad hæc sol omnia incenderat, siccaque et adusta erant ora, cùm repente, sive illud deorum manus, sive casus fuit, obductæ cœlo nubes condidere solem; ingens æstu fatigatis, etiamsi aqua deficeret, auxilium. Enimvero ut largum quoque imbrex excusserunt procellæ, pro se quisque excipere eum, quidam, <sup>13</sup> ob situm impotentes sui, ore quoque hianti captare cœperunt. Quatriduum per vastas solitudines absumptum est.

29. Jamque haud procul oraculi sede aberant, cùm complures corvi agmini occurrunt, modico volatu prima signa antecedentes: et modò humi residebant, cùm lentiùs agmen incederet, modò se pennis levabant, <sup>14</sup> antecedentium iterque monstrantium ritu. Tandem ad sedem consecratam Deo ventum est. Incredibile dictu, inter vastas solitudines sita, un dique ambientibus ramis, <sup>15</sup> vix in densam umbram cadente sole, contexta est: multique fontes, dulcibus aquis passim manantibus, alunt sylvas. <sup>16</sup> Cœli quoque mira temperies, verno tempori maximè similis, omnes anni partes pari salubritate percurrit. <sup>17</sup> Accolæ sedis sunt ab Oriente proximi Æthiopum: in Meridiem versus Arabes spectant, *Troglodytis* cognomen est. Quorum regio usque ad rubrum mare excurrit. At quæ vergit ad Occidentem, alii Æthiopes colunt, quos *Scenitas* vocant: a Septentrione Nasamones sunt; gens *Syrtica*, <sup>18</sup> navigiorum spoliis questuosa. Quippè obsi-

dent littora, <sup>18</sup> et astiti destituta navigia notis sibi vadis  
tuguriis habent. ~~Incolae~~ nemoris, (Hammonios vocant,) dispersis  
muro circumdatum. ~~Primum~~ pro arce habent, triplie  
regiam clausit: in proxima conjuges eorum, cum liberis eternam  
licibus, habitant. Hic quoque Dei <sup>19</sup> oraculum est. Ultima  
munimenta, satellitum armigerorumque sedes erant. Est  
etiam aliud Hammonis nemus; in medio habet fontem: aquam  
solis vocant. Sub lucis ortum tepida manat: medio die, cum  
vehementissimus est calor, frigida eadem fluit: <sup>20</sup> inclinato in  
vesperam, calescit: mediâ nocte, fervida exæstuat; quoque  
proprius nox vergit ad lucem, multum ex nocturno calore de-  
crescit, <sup>21</sup> donec sub ipsum diei ortum assueto tempore langue-  
cat. Id, quod pro Deo colitur, non eamdem effigiem habet,  
quam vulgo diis artifices accommodaverunt. <sup>22</sup> Umbilio  
maxime similis est habitus, smaragdo et gemmis coagmentatus.  
Hunc, cum responsum petitur, navigio aurato gestant sacer-  
dotes: multis argenteis pateris ab utroque navigii latere pen-  
dentibus. Sequuntur matronæ, virginesque, patrio more  
<sup>23</sup> inconditum quoddam carmen canentes: quo propitiari Jovem  
credunt, ut certum edat oraculum.

30. At tum quidem Regem, proprius adeantem, maximus  
natu e sacerdotibus filium appellat, hoc nomen illi parentem  
Jovem reddere affirmans. Ille vero et accipere se, ait, et  
ignoscere, humanæ sortis oblitus. Consuluit deinde, an totius  
orbis imperium fatis sibi destinaret pater. Vates, sequè in  
indulationem compositus, terrarum omnium rectorem fore ostendit.  
Post hæc <sup>24</sup> institit querere, an omnes <sup>25</sup> parentis sui in-  
erfectores, poenas dedissent. Sacerdos, parentem ejus <sup>26</sup> negat  
illius scelere posse violari: Philippi autem omnes imperfectores  
uisse supplicia; adiicit, invictum fore, donec excederet ad  
Deos. Sacrificio deinde facto, dona et sacerdotibus et Deo  
ata sunt: permissumque amicis, ut ipsi quoque consulerent  
ovem. Nihil amplius quæsiverunt, quam <sup>27</sup> an auctor esset  
ibi divinis honoribus colendi suum Regem. Hoc quoque  
ceptum fore Jovi vates respondit. <sup>28</sup> Verè et salutriter aesti-

manti fidem oraculi, vana profectò responsa videri potuissent: sed fortuna, quos uni sibi credere coegit, magnà ex partì avidos gloriæ magis, "quàm capaces fuit", sed etiam jussit: rerumque se non solum annis, tūn augere vult, tali appellatione corrumpat. "Et Macedones, assueti quidem regio imperio, sed in majore libertatis umbrā quàm cæteræ gentes, immortalitatem affectantem, contumaciùs quàm aut ipsis expediebat aut Regi, adversati sunt. Sed hæc suo quæque tempori reserventur. Nunc cætera exsequi pergam.

VIII. 31. Alexander ab Hammone rediens, ut ad Mareotim paludem haud procul insulâ Pharo sitam venit; contemplatus loci naturam, primum in ipsâ insulâ statuerat urbem novam condere. Indè, ut apparuit <sup>1</sup> magnæ sedis insulam haud capacem, elegit urbi locum ubi nunc est Alexandria, appellationem trahens ex nomine auctoris: complexus quidquid loci est inter paludem et mare, <sup>2</sup> octoginta stadiorum muris ambitum destinat; et qui ædificandæ urbi præsenteret relictis, Memphis petit. Cupido, haud injusta quidem, cæterum <sup>3</sup> intempestiva incesserat, non interiora modò Ægypti, sed etiam <sup>4</sup> Æthiopiam invisere. Memnonis Tithonique celebrata regia cognoscendæ vetustatisavidum trahebat penè extra terminos Solis. Sed <sup>5</sup> imminens bellum, cuius multò major supererat moles, otiosæ peregrinationi tempora exemerat. Itaque Ægypto præfecit Æschylum Rhodium, et Peucestem Mædonem, quatuor millibus militum in præsidium regionis ejus datis: <sup>6</sup> claustra Nili fluminis Polemonem tueri jubet; triginta ad hoc triremes datae. Africæ deindè, quæ Ægypto juncta est, præpositus Appollonius; vectigalibus ejusdem Africæ Ægyptique, Cleomenes. Ex finitimis urbibus commigrare Alexandriam jussis, <sup>7</sup> novam urbem magnâ multitudine implevit. Fama est, cùm Rex urbis futuræ muros polentâ, ut Macedonum mos est, destinâsse, avium greges advolâsse, et polentâ esse pastas. Cùmque id omen pro tristi a plerisque esset acceptum, respondisse vates, magnam illam urbem advenarum

frequentiam <sup>8</sup> culturam, multisque eam terris alimenta præbituram.

32. Regem, cùm secundo amne deflueret, assequi cupiens Hector, Parmenionis filius, eximio statis flore, <sup>9</sup> in paucis Alexandro carus, parvum navigium consoendit; pluribus quām capere posset impositis. Itaque mersa navis omnes destituit. <sup>10</sup> Hector diù flumini obluctatus, cùm madens vestis, et astricti crepidis pedes natare prohiberent, in ripam tamen semianimis evasit; et ut primum fatigatus spiritum laxavit, quem metus et periculum intenderant, nullo adjuvante (quippè in diversum evaserant alii) exanimatus est. Rex <sup>11</sup> amissi ejus desiderio vehementer afflicitus est, repertumque corpus magnifico <sup>12</sup> extulit funere. Oneravit hunc dolorem nuncius mortis Andromachi, quam præfecerat Syriæ: vivum Samaritæ cremaverant. Ad eujus interitum vindicandum, quantâ maximâ celeritate potuit, contendit: advenientique sunt traditi tanti sceleris auctores. Andromacho deindè Memnona substituit; affectis supplicio, qui prætorem interemerant. Tyrannos (inter eos, Methymnaeorum Aristonicum, et Chrysolaum) popularibus suis tradidit, quos illi [<sup>13</sup> innumeræ] ob injurias tortos necaverunt. Atheniensium deindè, Rhodiorumque, et Chiorum legatos audit. Athenienses victoriam <sup>14</sup> gratulabantur, et, ut captivi Græcorum suis restituerentur, orabant. Rhodii et Chii de præsidio querebantur. Omnes æqua desiderare visi, impetraverunt. Mitylensis quoque, ob egregiam in pârtes suas fidem, et pecuniam quam in bellum impenderant, obsides reddidit, et magnam regionem finibus eoram adjecit. Cypriorum quoque regibus, qui et a Dario defecerant ad ipsum, et oppugnanti Tyrum miserant classem, pro merito honos habitus est. Amphoterus deindè classis præfectus ad liberandam Cretam missus, (namque et Persarum et Spartanorum armis <sup>15</sup> pleraque ejus insulæ obsidebantur,) <sup>16</sup> ante omnia mare a piraticis classibus vindicare jussus: quippè <sup>17</sup> obnoxium prædonibus erat, in bellum utroque Rege converso. His compositis, Herculi Tyrio ex auro crateram, cum triginta pateris, dicavit: imminentes que Dario, iter ad Euphratem pronunciari jussit.

IX. 33. At Darius cùm ab Aegypto divertisse in Africam hostem compriisset, dubitaverat, utrumne circa Mesopotamiam subsisteret, an interiora regni sui peteret; haud dubiè potentior auctor præsens futurus ultimis gentibus impigrè bellum capessendi, quas sègrè per Præfectos suos moliebatur. Sed, ut idoneis auctoribus fama vulgavit, Alexandrum cum omnibus copiis, quamcumque ipse adiisset regionem, petiturum, haud ignarus, quām cum strenuo res esset, omnia longinquarem gentium auxilia Babylone in contrahi jussit. Bactriani, Scythæque, et Indi convenerant. Jam et cæterarum gentium copiæ partibus simul affuerunt. Cæterū cùm dimidio fermè major esset exercitus, quām in Ciliciâ fuerat, multis arma deerant; quæ summa curâ comparabantur. Equitibus equisque tegumenta erant ex ferreis laminis, serie inter se connexis. Queis antea præter jacula nihil dederat, scuta gladiisque adjiciebantur: equorumque domandi greges peditibus distributi sunt: ut major pristino esset equitatus; ingensque, ut crediderat, terror hostium, ducentæ falcatae quadrigæ, unicum illarum gentium auxilium, secutæ sunt. Ex summo temene hastæ præfixæ ferro eminebant. Utrumque a jugo ternos direxerant gladios; et inter radios rotarum plura spicula eminebant in adversum. Aliae deindè falces<sup>10</sup> summis rotarum orbibus hærebant, et<sup>11</sup> aliae in terram demissæ, quidquid obvium concitatis equis fuisse, amputatura.

34. Hoc modo instructo exercitu, ac perarmato, Babylone copias movit. A parte dextrâ erat Tigris<sup>12</sup> nobilis fluvius: laevam tegebat Euphrates: agmen Mesopotamia campos impleverat. Tigri deindè superato, cùm audisset haud procul abesse hostem, Satropatem equitum præfectum cum mille delectis præmisit, Mazæo Prætori sex millia data, quibus hostem transitu amnis areceret.<sup>13</sup> Eidem mandatum, ut regionem, quam Alexander esset aditurus, popularetur, atque ureret: quippè credebat, inopâ debellari posse nihil habentem, nisi quod rapiendo occupâasset. Ipsi autem commeatus, alii terra, alii Tigri amne subvehebantur. Jam pervenerat Arbela vicum,<sup>14</sup> nobilem suâ clade facturus. Hic commeatum sarcin-

naremque majore parte depositâ, Lycum amnem ponte juxxit, et per dies quinque, <sup>16</sup> sicut antè Euphratem, trajecit exercitum. Indè octoginta ferè stadiis progressus, ad alterum amnem, (*Boumelo* nomen est,) castra posuit. <sup>17</sup> Opportuna explicandis copiis regio erat, equitabilis et vasta planities: ne stirpes quidem et brevia virgulta operiunt solum, liberque prospectus oculorum, etiam ad ea quæ precul recessere, permittitur. Itaque, <sup>17</sup> si quâ campi eminebant, jussit sequari totumque fastigium extendi.

36. <sup>18</sup> Alexandro, qui numerum copiarum ejus, quantum procul conjectari poterant, aestimabant, vix fecerunt fidem, tot millibus cesis majores copias esse reparatas. Ceterum, omnis periculi, et maximè multitudinis contemptor, <sup>19</sup> undecimis castris pervenit ad Euphratem: quo pontibus juncto, equites primos ire, phalangem sequi jubet; Mazeo, <sup>20</sup> qui ad inhibendum transitum ejus eum sex millibus equitam occurrerat, non auso <sup>21</sup> periculum sui facere. Paucis deindè, non ad quietem, sed ad reparandos animos, diebus datis militi, strenue hostem insequi coepit, metuens ne interiora regni sui peteret, sequendusque esset per loca omni solidudine atque inopiatâ vasta. Igitur quarto die <sup>22</sup> præter Arbela penetrat ad Tigrim. Tota regio ultra amnem recenti fumabat incendio; quippe Masseus, quæcumque adierat, haud secùs quam hostis urebat. Ac primò caligine, quam fumus effuderat, obcurante lucem, insidiarum metu substittit. Deindè ut speculatores præmissi tuta omnia nunciaverunt, paucos equitum ad tentandum vadum fluminis præmisit: cujus altitudo primò summa equerum pectora, mox ut in medium alveum ventum est, cervices quoque sequabat: nec sancte <sup>23</sup> aliis ad Orientis plagam tam violentas invehitur; multorum torrentium non aquas solum, sed etiam saxa secum trahens. Itaque a celeritate, quâ defuit, Tigri nomen est inditum, quia Persica lingua *Tigrim* sagittam appellant.

37. <sup>24</sup> Igitur pedes, velut divisa in cornua, circumdato equitatu, levatis super capita armis, hand segrè ad ipsum alveum penetrat. Primus inter pedites Rex egressus in ripam,

vadum militibus manu, quando vox exaudiri non poterat, ostendit: sed gradum firmare vix poterant, cum modò saxa lubrica vestigium fallerent, modò rapidior unda subduceret. Præcipaus erat labor eorum, qui humeris onera portabant; quippe cùm semetipsos regere non possent, in rapidos gurgites incommodo onere auferebantur. Et dùm sua quisque spolia consequi studet, major inter ipsos, quam cum amne orta luctatio est; cumulique sarcinarum passim fluitantes plerosque perculerant. Rex monere, ut satis haberent arma retinere; cetera se redditaram. Sed neque consilium, neque imperium accipi poterat. Obstrepebat hinc metus; præter hunc, invicem nutantium mutuus clamor. Tandem, quâ leniore tractu amnis aperit vadum, emerseré: nec quidquam præter paucas sarcinas desideratum est.

38. Deleri potuit exercitus, si quis ausus esset vincere. Sed perpetua fortuna Regis avertit inde hostem. Sic Granicum, tot milibus equitum peditumque in ulteriore stantibus ripâ, superavit; sic angustis in Cilicie callibus, tantam multitudinem hostium. Audaciæ quoque, quâ maximè viguit, ratio minni potest: quia nunquam in discrimen venit, an temerè fecisset. Mazeus, qui si transeuntibus flumen supervenisset, hand dubiè oppressurus fuit incompositos, in ripâ demum, et jam perarmatos adequitare coepit. Mille admodum equites præmiserat, quorum pauitate Alexander exploratâ, deinde contemptâ, præfectum Paonum equitum Aristona laxatis habenis invehi jussit. Insignis eo die pugna equitum, et præcipue Aristonis, fuit. Praefectum equitatû Persarum Satrapatem, directâ in gutture hastâ, transfixit; fugientemque per medios hostes consecutus, ex equo præcipitavit, et oblutanti caput gladio dempsit: quod relatum magnâ cum laude ante Regis pedes posuit.

X. 39. Biduo ibi Rex stativa habuit. In proximum deinde iter pronunciari jussit. Sed primâ ferè vigiliâ, Luna deficiens primatum nitorem sideris sui condidit: deinde sanguinis colore suffuso, lumen omne feedavit: sollicitisque sub ipsum tanti discriminis casum ingens religio, et ex ea formido

quendam incussa est. Diis invitis in ultimas terras trahi se querebantur. Jam nec flumina posse adiri, nec sidera pristinum praestare fulgorem. Vastas terras, deserta omnia occursero: 'in unius hominis jactationem tot millium sanguinem impendi: fastidio esse patriam, abdicari Philippum patrem, coelum vanis cogitationibus peti. Jam prope seditionem res erat, cum ad omnia interritas, dueces, principesque militum, frequentes adesse praetorio; *Ægyptiosque vates* quos coeli ac siderum peritissimos esse credebat,' quid sentirent, expromere jubet. At illi, qui satis scirent, 'temporum orbes implere destinatas vies, Lunamque deficere, cum aut terram subiret, aut Sole premeretur, rationem quidem ipsis perceptam non edocent vulgas; ceterum affirmant, Solem Græcorum, Lunam esse Persarum; quoties illa deficit, ruinam stragemque illis gentibus portendi. Veteraque exempla percensent Persidis Regum, quos adversis Diis pugnasse Lunæ ostendisset defectio. Nulla res efficacius multitudinem regit, quam supersticio: alioqui 'impotens, seiva, mutabilis, ubi vanâ religione capta est, melius vatibus, quam ducibus suis paret. Igitur edita in vulgus *Ægyptiorum* responsa rursus ad spem et fiduciam erexere torpentes.

40. Rex impetu animorum utendum ratus, secundâ vigiliâ castra movit. <sup>8</sup> Dextrâ Tigrim habebat, a levâ montes, quos *Gordæos* vocant. Hoc ingresso iter, speculatores, qui præmissi erant, sub lucis ortum, Darium adventare nunciaverunt. Instructo igitur milite, et composito agmine antecedebat. Sed Persarum exploratores erant mille fermè, qui speciem magni agminis fecerant; quippe ubi explorari vera non possunt, falsa per metum augentur. His cognitis, Rex cum paucis suorum assecutus agmen refugientium ad suos, alios cecidit, alios cepit; equitesque præmisit speculatum, simul ut ignem, quo Barbari cremaverant viros, extinguerent; quippe fugientes raptim tectis acervisque frumenti injecerant flamas, quæ cum in summo hisceissent, ad inferiora nondum penetravabant. Extincto igitur igne, plurimum frumenti repertum est; copia aliarum quoque rerum abundare cœperunt. Ea res ipsa militi

ad persequendum hostem animum incendit; quippe urente et populante eo terram, festinandum erat, ne incendio cuneta præriperet. In rationem ergo necessitas versa: quippe Mæzeus, qui anteā <sup>1</sup> per otium vicos incederat, jam fugere contentus, pleraque inviolata hosti reliquit. Alexander haud longius centum quadraginta stadiis Darium abesse compererat. Itaque ad satietatem quoque copiā commeatuum instructus, quatriduo in eodem loco substitit.

41. Interceptæ deindè Darii litteræ sunt, quibus Græci milites sollicitabantur, ut Regem interficerent, aut proderent: dubitavitque an eas pro concione recitaret, satis confusus Graecorum quoque erga se benevolentia ac fidei. Sed Parmenio deterruit, non esse talibus promissis imbuendas aures militum affirmans; <sup>10</sup> patere vel unius insidiis Regem: nihil nefas esse avaritiae. Secutus consilii auctorem, castra movit. Iter facienti, spado unus ex captivis, qui Darii uxorem comitabantur, deficere eam nunciat, et vix spiritum ducere. Itineris continui labore animique sagittitudine fatigata, inter socrūs et virginum filiarum manus <sup>11</sup> collapsa erat; deindè et extincta. <sup>12</sup> Id ipsum nuncians, alius supervenit. Et Rex, haud secūs, quām si parentis mors nunciata esset, crebros edidit gemitus; lacrymisque obortis, quales Darius profudisset, in tabernaculum, in quo mater erat Darii, defuncto assidens corpori, venit. Hic verò renovatus est moeror, ut prostratam humi vidiit: recenti malo priorum quoque admonita receperat in gremium adultas virgines, magna quidem mutui doloris solatia, sed quibus ipsa deberet esse solatio. In conspectu erat nepos parvulus, ob id ipsum miserabilis, <sup>13</sup> quod nondū sentiebat calamitatem, maximā ex parte ad ipsum redundantem. Crederes Alexandrum inter suas necessitudines fieri, et solatia non adhibere, sed quererere. Cibo certè abstinuit, omnemque honorem funeri, patrio Persarum more, servavit: <sup>14</sup> dignus herculè, qui nunc quoque tantæ mansuetudinis et continentiae ferat fructum. Semel omnino eam <sup>15</sup> viderat, quo die capta est, nec ut ipsam, sed ut Darii matrem videret: eximiamque

pulchritudinem formæ ejus, non libidinis habuerat incitamentum, sed gloriæ.

42. E spadonibus, qui circa Reginam erant, Tyriotes inter trepidationem lugentium elapsus, per eam portam, quæ, quia ab hoste aversa erat, levius custodiebatur, ad Darii castra pervenit: exceptusque a vigilibus, in tabernaculum Regis perducitur gemens et veste lacerata. Quem ut conspexit Darius, multiplici doloris exspectatione commotus, et, quid potissimum timeret, incertus: “Vultus tuus,” inquit, “<sup>18</sup> ne scio quod ingens malum præfert: sed <sup>19</sup> cave miseri hominis auribus parcas; didici enim esse infelix; et sœpè calamitatis solarium est nōsse sortem suam. Num, quod maximè suspicor, et loqui timeo, <sup>20</sup> ludibria meorum nunciaturus es mihi, et (ut credo) ipsis quoque omni graviora supplicio?” Ad hæc Tyriotes: “Istud quidem procul abest,” inquit. “<sup>21</sup> Quantuscumque enim Reginis honor ab iis, qui parent, haberi potest, tuis a victore servatus est: sed uxor tua paulò antè excessit e vitâ.” Tum verò non gemitus modò, sed etiam ejulatus totis castris exaudiebantur. Nec dubitavit Darius, quin interficta esset, quia ne quisset contumeliam pati: exclamatque amens dolore: “Quod ego tantum nefas commisi, Alexander? Quem tuorum propinquorum necavi, <sup>22</sup> ut hanc vicem aevitiae mæs reddas? Odisti me, non quidem provocatus. Sed finge justum intulisse te bellum: cùm foeminis ergò agere debueras?” Tyriotes affirmare per Deos patrios, nihil in eam gravius esse consuluum. Ingemuisse etiam Alexandrum morti, et non parciūs levisse, quām ipse lacrymaret. Ob hæc ipsa, amantis animus nō sollicitudinem suspicionemque revolutus est: <sup>23</sup> desiderium aptivæ profectæ a consuetudine stupri ortum esse conjectans. Submotis igitur arbitris, uno duntaxat Tyriote retento, jam on flens, sed suspirans: “Videsne,” inquit, “Tyriote, locum iendacio non esse? Tormenta jam hic erunt: sed ne exspectaveris <sup>24</sup> per Deos, si quid tui tibi Regis reverentia est; num, uod et scire expeto, et quærere pudet, ausus est et Dominus t' juvenis?” Ille <sup>25</sup> quæstiōne corpus offerre, Deos testes in vocare, <sup>26</sup> castè sanctèque habitam esse Reginam. Tandem, ut

fides facta est, vera esse quae affirmaret spado, capite velato diu flevit: manantibusque adhuc lacrymis, veste ab ore rejecta, ad oculum manus tendens: "Dii patrii," inquit, "primum mihi stabilitate regnum: deinde, "si de me jam transactum est, precor, ne quis potius Asiae Rex sit, quam iste tam justus hostis, tam misericors viator."

XI. 43. Itaque quanquam, pace frustrè bis petitâ, omnia in bellum consilia converterat; victus tamen continentia hostis, ad novas pacis conditiones ferendas, decem legatos cognatoram principes, misit: quos Alexander consilio advocate introduci jussit. E quibus maximus natu: "Darium," inquit, "ut pacem a te jam hoc tertio peteret, nulla vis subegit; sed justitia et continentia tua expressit. Matrem, conjugem, liberos que ejus, nisi quodd sine illo sunt, captos esse non sensit. Pudicitiae earum, quae supersunt, curam, haud secus quam parens, agens, Reginas appellas, speciem pristinæ fortunæ retinere pateris. Vultum tuum video, qualis Darii fuit, cum dimitteremur ab eo; et ille tamen uxorem, tu hostem luges. Jam in acie stares, nisi cura te sepulturæ ejus moraretur. Eoquid mirum est, si tam ab amico animo pacem petit? Quid opus est armis, inter quos odia sublata sunt? Antea imperio tuo finem destinabat Halyn amnem, qui Lydiam terminat. Nunc, quidquid inter Hellespontum et Euphratem est, in dotem filie offert, quam tibi tradit. Ochum filium, quem habes, pacis et fidei obsidem retine. Matrem et duas virgines filias redde; pro tribus corporibus triginta millia talentum auri, precatur, accipias. Nisi moderationem animi tui notam haberem, non dicerem hoc esse tempus, quo pacem non dare sollem, sed etiam occupare deberes. Respice, quantum poste reliqueris, intuere quantum petas. Periculorum est prægrave imperium; difficile est continere, quod capere non possis. Videsne ut navigia, quæ modum excedunt, regi nequeant? Nescio an Darius ideo tam multa amiserit, quia nimis opes magnæ jacturæ locum faciunt. Facilius est quædam vincere, quam tueri: quam, hercule, expeditius manus nostræ rapiunt, quam continent! Ipsa mors uxoris Darii te

admonere potest, "minus jam misericordia tuae licere, quam licuit."

44. Alexander, legatis excedere tabernaculo jussis, quid placeret, ad consilium refert. Diù nemo, quid sentiret, assus est dicere, incertâ Regis voluntate. Tandem Parmenio: "Ante suassissem," ait, "ut captivos apud Damascum redientibus redderes: ingentem pecuniam potuisse redigi ex iis, ui multi vineti virorum fortium occuparent manus. Et nunc magnoperè censerem, ut unam anum, et duas puellas, itinerum gminumque impedimenta, triginta millibus talentum auri ermites. Opimum regnum occupari posse conditione, non ello: nec quemquam alium inter Istrum et Euphratem posesse terras, ingenti spatio intervalloque discretas. Macedoniam quoque respiceres potius, quam Bactra et Indos intuereria." Grata oratio Rogi fuit. Itaque ut finem dicendi fecit, "Et o," inquit, "pecuniam quam gloriam mallem, si Parmenio sem. Nuno Alexander de paupertate <sup>10</sup> securus sum, et non mercatorem memini esse, sed Regem. Nihil quidem beo venale: sed fortunam meam utique non vendo. Capti si placet reddi, honestius dono dabimus, quam pretio nittemus."

45. Introductis deinde legatis, ad hunc modum respondit: Iunciate Dario, me, quæ fecerim clementer et liberaliter, amicitiae ejus tribuisse, sed naturæ mesa. Bellum cum tivis et foeminis gerere non soleo; armatus sit oportet, quem rim. Quod si saltem pacem bonâ fide peteret, deliberarem sitan an darem. <sup>11</sup> Verum enim vero, cum <sup>12</sup> modò milites litteris ad proditionem, modò amicos ad perniciem meam uniuersit sollicitet, ad internacionem mihi persequendus est, non uestus hostis, sed ut percussor veneficus. Conditiones vero is, quas adfertis, si accepero, victorem eum faciunt. Quae est Euphratem sunt, <sup>14</sup> liberaliter donat. <sup>15</sup> Ubi igitur me mini? nempe ultra Euphratem sum. Sumam ergo dotis, m promittit, terminum castra mea transeunt. Hinc me deite, ut sciām vestrum esse quo ceditis. Eadem liberalitate mihi filiam suam, <sup>16</sup> nempe quam scio alicui servorum

seorum nupturam. <sup>17</sup> Multum verò mihi præstat, si me Mazæus generum præponit! Ite, nunciate Regi vestro, et quæ amisit, et quæ adhuc habet, præmia esse belli; <sup>18</sup> hoc regente utriusque terminos regni, id quemque habiturum, quod proximæ lucis assignatura fortuna est." Legati respondent: cùm bellum in animo sit, facere eum <sup>19</sup> simpliciter quodd spe pacis non frustraretur: ipsos petere, quâm primùm dimittantur ad Regem: eum quoque bellum parare debere. Dimissi nunciant, adesse certamen.

XII. 46. Ille quidem confestim Mazæum cum tribus millibus equitum, ad itinera, quæ hostis petiturus erat, occupanda, præmisit. Alexander, corpori uxoris ejus justis personatis, omnique <sup>1</sup> graviore comitatu intra eadem manimenta cum modico præsidio relicto, ad hostem contendit. In duo cornua diviserat peditem, utrumque latera equite circumdato: impedimenta sequebantur agmen. Præmissum deinde <sup>2</sup> concitis equis Menidam jubet explorare, ubi Darius esset. At ille, cùm Mazæus haud procul consedisset, non ausus ultrà procedere, nihil aliud quâm fremitum hominum, hinnitumque equorum exaudisse nunciat. Mazæus quoque, conspectis procul exploratoribus, in castra se recipit, adventus hostium nuncius. Igitur Darius, qui in patentibus campis decernere optabat, armari militem jubet, aciemque disponit. In levo cornu Bactriani ibant equites, <sup>3</sup> mille admodum; Dahæ totidem; et Arachosii, Susianique quatuor milia explebant. Hos centum falcati currus sequebantur. Proximus quadrigis erat Bessus cum octo millibus equitum, item Bactrianis. Massagetae duobus millibus <sup>4</sup> agmen ejus cladebant: "pedites his plurium gentium non immixtos, sed suse quisque nationis junxerat copias. Persas deinde cum Mardis, Sogdianisque, Ariobarzanes et Otobates ducebant. Illi partibus copiarum; summae Orsines præerat, a septem Persis oriundus, ad Cyrum quoque nobilissimum regem originem sui referens. Hos aliae gentes, ne sociis quidem satis notæ, sequebantur. Post quas quinquaginta quadrigas Phradates magno Caspianorum agmine antecedebat. Indi, cæterique

' Rubri maris accolae, ' nomina verius quasa auxilia, post currus erant. Claudebatur hoc agmen aliis falcatis curribus quinquaginta: queis ' peregrinum militem adjunxerat. Hunc Armenii quos Minores vocant, Armenios Babylonii, utrosque Belitæ, et qui montes Cossorum incolebant, sequebantur. Post hos ibant Gortuae, gentes quidem Euboicæ, Medos quondam secuti, sed jam degeneres, et patrii moris ignari. Applicuerat his Phrygas, et Cataonas. Parthienorum deinde gens, incolentium terras, quas nunc Parthi Seythiâ profecti tenent, cladebant agmen. Haec sinistri cornu acies fuit.

47. Dextrum tenebat natio majoris Armeniæ, Cadusiique, Cappadoces, et Syri et Medi. His quoque falcati currus erant quinquaginta. Summa totius exercitus: equites xlv. millia: edestræ acies ducenta millia expleverat. Hoc modo instructi, ecem stadia procedunt, jussique subsistere, ' armati hostem spectabant. Alexandri exercitum "pavor, cuius causa non liberat, invasit: quippe lymphati trepidare cœperunt, omnium cœtora occulto metu percurrente. Cœli fulgor tempore æstivo denti similis internitens, ignis præbuit speciem; "flammasse ex Darii castris splendere, velut illati temerè præsidiis, edebant. Quod si perculis Mazæus, qui præsidebat itineri, pervenisset, ingens clades accipi potuit. Nunc, dum ille gnus in eo, quem occupaverat, tumulo sedet, contentus non cessi; Alexander, cognite pavore exercitus, signum ut conterent dari, ante ipsos arma deponere ac levare corpora bet; admonens, nullam subiti causam esse timoris, hostem ocul stare. " Tandem compotes sui pariter arma et animos cepere, nec quidquam " ex præsentibus tutius visum est, in eodem loco castra munire.

48. Postero die Mazæus, qui cum delectis equitum in to colle, ex quo Macedonum prospiciebantur castra, consecrat, sive metu, sive quia "speculari modò jussus erat, ad rium rediit. Macedones eum ipsum collem, quem deuerat, occupaverunt; nam et tutior planicie erat, et inde es hostium, quæ in campo " explicabatur, conspici poterat. " caligo, quam circa humidi effuderant montes, universam

quidem rei faciem non abstulit: ceterum agminum discrimina, atque ordinem, prohibuit perspici. Multitudo inundaverat campos; fremitusque tot millium, etiam procul stantium aures impleverat. Fluctuari animo Rex, et modò suum, modò Parmenionis consilium <sup>11</sup> serâ aestimatione perpendere: quippè eò ventum erat, undè recipi exercitus, nisi victor, sine clade, non posset. Itaque dissimulato pavore, mercenarium equitem ex Pæoniâ præcedere jubet. Ipse phalangem, sicut anteâ dictum est, in duo cornua extenderat. Utrumque cornu equites tegebant. Jamque nitidior lux, discussâ caligine, aciem hostium ostenderat: et Macedones, sive alacritate, <sup>12</sup> sive tædio exspectationis, ingentem pugnantium more edidere clamorem. Redditus et a Persis, nemora vallesque circumjectas terribili sono impleverat. Nec jam contineri Macedones poterant, quin <sup>13</sup> cursu quoque ad hostem contenderent. Melius adhuc ratus Alexander in eodem tumulo castra munire, <sup>14</sup> vallum jaci jussit: strenueque opere perfecto, in tabernaculum, ex quo tota acies hostium conspiciebatur, secessit.

XIII. 49. <sup>1</sup> Tum verò universa futuri discriminis facies in oculis erat. Armis insignibus equi virique splendebant; et omnia intentiore curâ præparari apud hostem, sollicitudo Praetorum agmina sua interequitantium ostendebat; ac <sup>2</sup> pleraque inania, sicut fremitus hominum, equorum hinnitus, armorum internitentium fulgor, sollicitam exspectatione mentem turbaverant. <sup>3</sup> Igitur, sive dubius animi, sive ut suos experiretur, consilium adhibet, quid optimum factu esset, exquires. Parmenio, peritissimus inter duces artium belli, <sup>4</sup> furto, non prælio opus esse censebat: <sup>5</sup> intempestâ nocte posse opprimi hostes: discordes moribus, linguis, ad hæc et somno et improviso pericolo territos, quandò in nocturnâ trepidatione coituros? At interdiù primùm terribiles occursuras facies Seytharum, Bactrianorumque. Hirta illis ora, et intonsas eomas esse. Praeterea eximiam vastorum magnitudinem corporum: vanis et inanibus militem magis, quam justis formidinis causis moveri: deindè, tantam multitudinem circumfundi paucioribus posse: non in Cilicis angustiis, et inviis callibus, sed in apertâ et

— planicie dimicandum fore. Omnes fermè Parmenioni assentiebant: Polyspercon, haud dubiè in eo consilio positam victoriam arbitrabatur. Quem intuens Rex, ("namque Parmenionem nuper acriùs quam vellet increpitum, rursùs castigare non sustinebat,) "Latrunculorum," inquit, "et furum ista solertia est quam præcipitis mihi; quippè illorum votum unicum est, fallere. Mea verò gloriæ semper aut absentiam Darii, aut angustias locorum, aut "furtum noctis obstare non patiar: palam luce aggredi certum est. Malo me fortunæ pœniteat, quam victorïe pudeat. Ad hæc illud quoque accedit: vigilias agere Barbaros, et in armis stare, ut ne decipi quidem possint, compertum habeo. Itaque ad prælium vos parate." Sic incitatos ad corpora curanda dimisit.

50. Darius illud, quod Parmenio suaserat, hostem factaram esse conjectans, frenatos equos stare, magnamque exercitus partem in armis esse, ac vigilias intentiore curâ servari jusserrat. Ergo ignibus tota ejus castra fulgebant. Ipse cum duabus propinquisque agmina in armis stantium circumibat; Solem Mithren, sacrumque et æternum invocans ignem, ut illis dignam vetere gloriâ, majorumque monumentis fortitudinem inspirarent. Et profectò "si qua divinæ epis auguria humanâ mente concipi possent, "Deos stare secum. Illos nuper Macedonum animis subitam incussisse formidinem: "adhuc lymphatos ferri agique, arma jacientes: expetere Præsides Persarum imperii Deos debitas a vecordibus poenæ. Nec "ipsum dueem saniorem esse: quippè, ritu ferarum, prædam modò, quam expeteret, intuentem, in perniciem, quæ ante prædam posita esset, incurrire. Similis apud Macedones quoque sollicitudo erat; noctemque, velut in eam certamine dicto, metu egerunt. Alexander non alias magis territus, ad rotam et preces Aristandrum vocari jubet. Ille in candidâ este, verbenas manu præferens, capite velato, "præibat preces Legi, Jovem, Minervam Victoriamque propitianti. Tunc uidem sacrificio ritè perpetrato, reliquum noctis acquieturus in tabernaculum rediit. Sed nec somnum capere, nec quietem ati poterat. Modò e jugo montis aciem in dextrum Persarum

cornu <sup>11</sup> demittere <sup>12</sup> agitabat, modò rectâ fronte concurrere hosti: interdùm hæsitare <sup>13</sup> an potius in lævum detorqueret agmen. Tandem gravatum animi anxietate corpus <sup>14</sup> altior somnus oppressit.

51. Jamque luce ortâ, duces ad accipienda imperia converant, insolito circa prætorium silentio attoniti. Quippè aliâs accersere ipsos, et interdùm morantes castigare assueverat. Tunc ne ultimo quidem rerum discrimine excitatum esse mirabantur, et non somno quiescere, sed pavore marcere credebant. Non tamen quisquam e custodibus corporis intrare tabernaculum audebat, et jam tempus instabat; nec miles injussu ducis, aut arma capere poterat, aut in ordines ire. Diù Parmenio cunctatus, cibum ut caperent, <sup>15</sup> ipse pronunciat. Jamque exire necesse erat: tunc demùm intrat tabernaculum, saepiusque nomine compellatum, cùm voce non posset, tactu excitavit. "Multa lux," inquit, "est. Instructam aciem hostis admovit: tuus miles adhuc inermis exspectat imperium. Ubi est vigor ille animi tui? nempè excitare vigiles soles." Ad hæc Alexander: "Credisne me priùs somnum capere potuisse, quâm exonerarem animum sollicitudine, quæ quietem morabatur?" signumque pugnæ tubâ dari jussit. Et cùm in eâdem admiratione Parmenio perseveraret: "Minime," inquit, "mirum est. Ego enim, cùm Darius terras ureret, vicos excinseret, aliments corrumperet, <sup>16</sup> potens mei non eram. Nunc verò quid metuam, cùm acie decernere paret? Herculè votum meum implevit; sed hujus quoque consilii ratio posteà reddetur. Vos ite ad copias, quibus quisque præest: ego jam adero, et quid fieri velim, exponam." <sup>17</sup>Rarò admodùm, admonitu magis amicorum quâm metu discriminis quod adeundum erat, uti solebat munimento corporis: tum quoque sumpto, processit ad milites. Haud aliâs tam alacrem viderant Regem; et vultu ejus interrito, certam spem victoriæ augurabantur. Atque ille proruto vallo exire copias jubet, aciemque disponit.

52. In dextro cornu locati sunt equites, quos *Agema* appellant. Præterat his Clitus, cui junxit Philotæ turmas, cæterosque Præfectos equitum lateri ejus applicuit. Ultima

Meleagri ala stabat, quam phalanx sequebatur: post phalan gem Argyraspides erant; his Nicanor Parmenionis filius praeerat: in subsidiis cum manu sua Coenos. Post eum Orestes, Lyncestesque. Post illos Polyspercon, dux peregrini militis. Hujus agminis <sup>20</sup> Amyntas princeps erat: Philippus Balacri <sup>21</sup> regebat eos, <sup>22</sup> in societatem nuper ascitus. Haec dextri cornu facies erat. In laeo Craterus Peloponnesium equites habebat, Achæorumque, et Locrensum et Maleon, turmis sibi adjunctis; hos Thessali equites claudabant, Philippo duce. Peditum acies equitatu tegebatur: frons laevi cornu haec erat. Sed ne circumiri posset a multitudine, <sup>23</sup> ultimum agmen validâ manu cinxerat. Cornua quoque subsidiis firmavit: non rectâ fronte, sed a latere positis, ut, si hostis circumvenire aciem tentasset, parata pugnae forent. Hic Agriani erant, quibus Attalus praeerat, adjunctis sagittariis Cretensibus. <sup>24</sup> Ultimos ordines avertit a fronte, ut totam aciem orbe muniret. Illyrii hic erant, adjuncto milite mercede ducto. Thracas quoque simul objecerat leviter armatos: <sup>25</sup> adeoque aciem versatilem posuit, ut qui ultimi stabant, ne circumirentur, verti tamen et in frontem circumagi possent. Itaque non prima, quam latera; non latera munitiora fuere, quam terga.

53. His ita ordinatis præcipit, ut si falcatus currus cum remitu Barbari emitterent, ipsi, laxatis ordinibus impetum occurentium silentio exciperent: haud dubius, sine noxa ranscursuros, <sup>26</sup> si nemo se opponeret. Sin autem sine frenatu immisissent, eos ipsi clamore terrent, pavidosque equos elis utrimque suffoderent. Qui cornibus praeerant, extendere a jussi, ita ut nec circumvenirentur, si arctius starent, <sup>27</sup> neo amen median aciem exinanirent. Impedimenta cum capillis, inter quos mater liberique Darii custodiebantur, haud rocul ab acie in edito colle constituit; modico præsidio recto. Laevum cornu, sicut alias, Parmenioni tuendum datum: ose in dextro stabat. Nondum ad teli jactum pervenerant, tam Bion quidam transfuga, quanto maximo cursu poterat, ad egem pervenit, nuncians <sup>28</sup> murices ferreos in terram de-

fodisse Darium, quā hostem equites emissurum esse credebat: notatumque certo signo locum, ut fraus a suis evitari posset. Asservari transfugā jusso, duces convocat, expositoque quod nunciatum erat, monet, ut regionem monstratam declinent, equitemque periculum edoceant. Cæterū hortantem exercitus exaudire non poterat, usum aurium intercipiente fremitu duorum agminum: sed in conspectu omnium duces et proximum quemque interequitans alloquebatur.

XIV. 54. "Emensis tot terras in spem victorij de quā dimicandum foret, hoc unum superesse discrimen; Granicum hic amnem, Ciliciæque montes, et Syriam, Aegyptumque præeuntibus raptas, ingentia spei gloriæque incitamenta" referebat. "Reprehensos ex fugâ Persas pugnaturos, quia fugere non possent: tertium diem jam metu exsangues, armis suis oneratos, in eodem vestigio hærere: nullum desperationis illorum majus indicium esse, quām quōd urbes, quōd agros suos, urerent; quidquid non corrupissent, hostium esse confessi. Nomina modò vana gentium ignotarum ne extimescerent: neque enim ad belli discrimen pertinere, qui ab his Scythæ, quive Cadusii appellantur: ob id ipsum, quōd ignoti essent, ignobiles esse; nunquam ignorari viros fortes: at imbelles, ex latebris suis erutos, nihil præter nomina afferre. Macedones virtute assecutos, ne quis toto orbe locus esset, qui tales viros ignoraret. Intuerentur Barbarorum inconditum agmen: alium nihil præter jaculum habere, alium fundâ saxa librare; paucis arma justa esse. Itaque illinc plures stare, hinc plures dimicatuos: nec postulare se, ut fortiter capesserent prælium, ni ipse cæteris fortitudinis fuisse exemplum: se ante prima signa dimicaturum: spondere pro se, quot cicatrices, totidem corporis decora: scire ipsos, unum penè se prædæ communis exsortem: in illis colendis ornatisque usurpare victoriae præmia. Hæc se fortibus viris dicere. Si qui dissimiles eorum essent, illa fuisse dicturum; pervenisse eò, undè fugere non possent: tot terrarum spatia emensis, tot amnibus, montibusque post tergum

objectis, iter in patriam et penates manu esse faciendum." Sic duces, sic proximi militum instincti sunt.

55. Darius in laevo cornu erat, magno suorum agmine, delectis equitum peditumque stipatus: contempseratque paucitatem hostis; <sup>1</sup> vanam aciem esse extensis cornibus ratus. Cæterum, sicut curru eminebat, dextrâ levâque ad circumstantium agmina oculos manusque circumferens: <sup>2</sup> "Terrarum," inquit, "quas <sup>3</sup> Oceanus hinc alluit, illinc claudit Hellespontus, paulò autem domini, jam non de gloriâ, sed de salute, et quod saluti præponitis, de libertate pugnandum est. Hic dies imperium, quo nullum amplius vidi setas, aut constituet, aut finiet. Apud Granicum minimâ virium parte cum hoste certavimus. In Ciliciâ victos Syria poterat expiere. Magna munimenta regni Tigris atque Euphrates erant. Ventum est eò, undè pulsis ne fugâ quidem locus est, omnia iam diutino bello exhausta post tergum sunt. Non incolas uos urbes, non cultores habent terræ. Conjuges quoque et iiberi sequuntur hanc aciem: parata hostibus præda, nisi pro arissimis pignoribus corpora opponimus. <sup>4</sup> Quod mearum uit partium, exercitum, quem penè immensa planities vix aperet, comparavi. Equos, arma distribui; commeatus, ne antæ multitadini deessent, providi: locum, in quo acies exlicari posset, elegi. Cætera in vestrâ potestate sunt: audete modò vincere: <sup>5</sup> famamque, infirmissimum adversus fortis iros telum, contemnите. Temeritas est, quam adhuc prætute timuistis: quæ ubi primum impetum effudit, velut uædam animalia, <sup>6</sup> emisso aculeo, torpet. Hi verò campi derrehendere paucitatem, quam Ciliciæ montes absconderant. idetis ordines raros, cornua extenta, medium aciem vanam et haustam. Nam ultimi, quæ locavit adversos, terga jam cæbent: obteri meherculè equorum ungulis possunt, etiamsi I præster falcatos currus emisero: et bello viceimus, si vimimus prælio: nam ne illis quidem ad fugam locus est. Hinc Euphrates, illinc Tigris prohibet inclusos: et quæ itea pro illis erant, in contrarium conversa sunt. Nostrum obile et expeditum agmén est; illud prædâ grave. Impli-

catos ergò spoliis nostris trucidabimus: eademque res et causa victoris erit, et fructus. Quòd si quem e vobis nomen gentis movet, cogitet Macedonum illic arma esse, non corpora. Multum enim sanguinis invicem hausimus, et semper gravior in paucitate jactura est. Nam Alexander quantuscumque ignavis et timidis videri potest, unum <sup>14</sup> animal est, et si quid mihi creditis, temerarium et vecors, adhuc nostro pavore, quam suā virtute, felicius. Nihil autem potest esse diuturnum, <sup>15</sup> cui non subest ratio. Licet felicitas aspirare videatur, <sup>16</sup> tamen ad ultimum temeritati non sufficit. Præterea breves et mutabiles vices rerum sunt, et fortuna nunquam <sup>17</sup> simpliciter indulget. Forsitan ità Dii fata ordinaverunt, ut Persarum imperium quod secundo cursu per ccxxx. annos ad summum fastigium evexerant, magno motu concuterent magis, quam affligerent, admonerentque nos fragilitatis humanae, cujus nimia in prosperis rebus oblivio est. <sup>18</sup> Modò Græcis ultrò bellum inferebamus: nunc in sedibus nostris propulsamus illatum. Jactamur invicem varietate fortune. Vide licet imperium quod mutuò affectamus, una gens non capit. Cæterùm, etiamsi spes non subasset, necessitas tamen stimulare deberet. Ad extrema perventum est. Matrem meam, duas filias, Ochum in spem hujus imperii genitum, illam sobolem regiæ stirpis, illos principes, duces vestros Regum instar, vincitos habet: <sup>19</sup> nisi quod in vobis est, ipse ego majore parte mei captivus sum. Eripite <sup>20</sup> viscera mea ex vinculis, restituite mihi pignora, pro quibus ipse mori non recuso, parentem, liberos, nam conjugem in illo carcere amisi. Credite nunc omnes hos tendere ad vos manus, implorare patrios Deos; opem vestram, misericordiam, fidem exposcere, ut servitute, ut compedibus, ut <sup>21</sup> precario victu ipsos liberetis. An creditis sequo animo iis servire, quorum Reges esse fastidiunt? Video admoveri hostium aciem: sed quòd proprius discriben accedo, hoc minùs his, quæ dixi, possum esse contentus. <sup>22</sup> Per, ego vos, Deos patrios, æternumque ignem, qui præfertur altari bus fulgoremque solis intra fines regni mei orientis, per æternam memoriam Cyri, qui ademptum Medis Lydisque imperium

primus in Persidem intalit, vindicate ab ultimo dedecore nomen gentemque Persarum. Ite alacres et spe pleni, ut quam gloriam acoepistis a majoribus vestris, posteris relinquatis. In dextris vestris jam libertatem, opem, spem futuri temporis geritis. Effugit mortem, quisquis contempserit: timidissimum quemque consequitur. Ipse non patro more solùm, sed etiam ut conspici possim, curru vehor. Nec reus quo minùs imitemini me, sive fortitudinis exemplum, sive gnaviæ fuero."

XV. 56. Interim Alexander, ut et demonstratum a transiugâ insidiarum locum circumiret, et Dario, qui lœvum cornu uebatur occurreret, agmen obliquum incedere jubet. Darius uoque eodem saum obvertit, Besso admonito, ut Massaetas equites in lœvum Alexandri cornu a latere invehi jubeat. Ipse ante se falcatos currus habebat, quos signo dato diversos in hostem effudit. Ruebant laxatis habenis aurigæ, id plures, nondum satis proviso impetu, obtererent. Alios ergo hastæ multam ultra temonem eminentes, alias ab utroque tere demissæ falces laceravere. Nec sensim Macedones debant, sed effusa turbaverant fugâ ordines. Mazzæus quoque perculsis metum incussit, mille equitibus ad diripienda stis impedimenta circumvehi jussis: ratus captivos quoque, i simul asservabantur, rupturos vincula, cùm suos approximantes vidissent. Non fefellerat Parmenionem, qui in ro cornu erat. Properè igitur Polydamanta mittit ad Ren, qui et periculum ostenderet, et quid fieri juberet, suleret. Ille, auditio Polydamante: "Abi, nuncia," int, "Parmenioni, si acie vicerimus, non nostra solùm nos speratueros, sed omnia, quæ hostium sunt occupatueros. Tocindè non est quod quidquam virium subducat ex acie, ut me et Philippo patre dignum est, contempto sarcinam, fortiter dimicet." Interim Barbari impedimenta averant, cæsisque plerisque custodum, captivi, vinculis suis, quidquid obvium erat, quo armari possent, rapiunt: et regati suorum equitibus, Macedonas ancipiti circumventos invadunt; lastique cirea Sisygambim, viciisse Darium,

ingenti cæde prostratos hostes, ad ultimum etiam impedimentis exutos esse nunciant: quippè eamdem fortunam ubique esse credebant, et victores Persas ad prædam discurrisse. Sisygambis, hortantibus captivis ut animum a mœrore allevaret, in eodem, quo antea fuit, perseveravit. Non vox ulla excidit ei; non oris color vultusve mutatus est: sed immobiles: (credo, "præcoce gaudio verita fortunam irritare,) aded ut, quid mallet, intuentibus eam, fuerit incertum.

57. Inter hæc Menidas præfектus equitum Alexandri, cum paucis turmis opem impedimentis latus advenerat; "incertum, suone consilio, an Regis imperio: sed non sustinuit Cadusiorum, Scytharumque impetum: quippè vix tentato certamine, effugit ad Regem, amissorum impedimentorum testis magis, quam vindex. Jam consilium Alexandri vicebat "dolor, et ne cura recuperandi sua militem a prælio averteret, non immerito verebatur. Itaque Aretem, ducem hastatorum, ("Sarissophoros vocabant,) adversus Scythes mittit. Inter hæc currus, <sup>10</sup> qui circa prima signa turbaverant aciem, in phalangem invecti erant. Macedones, <sup>11</sup> confirmatis animis, in medium agmen accipiunt. Vallo similis acies erat; junxerant hastas, et ab utroque latere temerè <sup>12</sup> incurrentium ilia suffodiebant: circumire deinde currus, et <sup>13</sup> propugnatores præcipitare cœperunt. Ingens ruina equorum aurigarumque aciem compleverat. Hi territos regere non poterant: equi crebrà jactatione cervicum, non jugum modò excusserant, sed etiam currus everterant: vulnerati imperfectos trahebant: nec consistere territi, nec progredi debiles poterant. <sup>14</sup> Pauçæ tamen evaſere quadrigæ in ultimam aciem, iis, quibus inciderunt, miserabili morte consumptis; quippè amputata viorum membra humili jacebant. <sup>15</sup> Et quia calidis adhuc vulneribus aberat dolor, trunci quoque, et debiles, arma tamen non omittebant: donec multo sanguine effuso exanimati procumberent.

58. Interim Aretes, Scytharum, qui impedimenta diripiebant, duce occiso, gravius territis instabat. Supervenire deinde missi a Dario Bactriani, pugnæque vertere fortunam.

Multi ergo Macedonum primo impetu <sup>10</sup> obtriti sunt: plures ad Alexandrum refugerunt. Tum Persæ clamore sublato, qualem victores solent edere, ferociter in hostem quasi ubique profligatum, incurront. Alexander territos castigare, adhortari; prælium, quod jam elanguerat, solus accendere; confirmatisque tandem animis ire in hostem jubet. <sup>11</sup> Rarior acies erat in lævo cornu Persarum: namque indè Bactriani decesserant ad opprimenda impedimenta. Itaque Alexander laxatos ordines invadit, et multa cæde hostium invehitur. At qui in dextro cornu erant Persæ, spe posse eum includi, agmen suum a tergo <sup>12</sup> dimicantis opponunt. <sup>13</sup> Ingensque periculum in medio hærens adiisset, ni equites Agriani, calcaribus subditis, circumfusos Regi Barbaros adorti essent, <sup>14</sup> aversosque cedendo in se obverti coëgissent. Turbata erat utraque cies. Alexander et a fronte et a tergo hostem habebat. Qui averso ei instabant, ab Agrianis militibus premebantur. Bactriani, impedimentis hostium direptis, reversi, ordines suos recuperare non poterant. Plura simul abrupta a cæteris gmina ubicumquè alium alii fors miscuerat, dimicabant. Duo eges, junctis propè agminibus, prælium accendebant. Plures ersæ cadebant. Par fermè utrumque numerū vulneratur. Curru Darius, Alexander equo vehebatur. Utrumque lecti tuebantur, sui immemores: quippè amisso Rege nec lebant salvi esse, nec poterant. Ante oculos sui quisque regis mortem occumbere ducebant egregium. <sup>15</sup> Maximum nūn periculum adibant, quos maximè tuebantur: quippè i quisque cæsi Regis expetebat decus.

59. Cæterū, sive <sup>16</sup> ludibrium oculorum, sive vera species t, qui circa Alexandrum erant, vidisse se crediderunt pauim super caput Regis placidè volantem aquilam; non itu armorum, non gemitu morientium territam; diuque ea equum Alexandri, pendentī magis, quam volanti similis, aruit. Certè Vates Aristander albâ veste indutus, et trā præferens lauream, militibus in pugnam intentis, avem stravit, hand dubium victorïe auspiciū. Ingens ergo ritas ac fiducia paulò antè territos accedit ad pugnam;

utique postquam auriga Darii, qui ante ipsum sedens equo regebat, hastâ transfixus est. Nec aut Persæ, aut Macedones dubitavere, quin ipse Rex esset occisus. Lugubri ergo ululatu, et incondito clamore, gemituque, totam ferè aciem adhuc æquo Marte pugnantium, turbavere cognati Darii et armigeri: "lævoque cornu in fugam effuso, destituerant currum, quem a dextrâ parte stipati in medium agmen receperunt. Dicitur, acinace strioto, Darius dubitasse, an fugæ dedecus honestâ morte vitaret. " Sed eminens curru, nondum omnem suorum aciem prælio excedentem destituere erubescerat. Dum inter spem et desperationem hæsitat, sensim Persæ cedebant, et laxaverant ordines. Alexander, mutato equo, (quippè plures fatigaverat,) resistentium adversa ora fodiebat, fugientium terga. Jamque non pugna, sed cœdes erat, cum Darius quoque currum suum in fugam vertit. " Hærebat in tergis fugientium victor, sed prospectum oculorum nubes pulveris, quæ ad cœlum ferebatur, abstulerat. Ergo haud secùs quam in tenebris errabant, ad sonitum notæ vocis, ut signum, " subinde coeuntes. Exaudiebatur tantum strepitus habenarum, quibus equi eurrum vehentes identidem verberabantur. Haec sola fugientis vestigia excepta sunt.

XVI. 60. At in lævo Macedonum cornu, quod Parmenio, (sicut antè dictum est) tuebatur, longè aliâ fortunâ utriusque partis res gerebatur. Mazæus cum omni suorum equitatu vehementer inventus, urgebat Macedonum alas. <sup>1</sup> Jamque abundans multitudine aciem circumvehi cœperat, cum Parmenio equites nunciare jubet Alexandro, in quo discrimine ipsi essent; nisi maturè subveniretur, non posse sisti fugam. Jam multum viæ præceperat Rex, imminens fugientium tergis, cum a Parmenione tristis nuncius venit. <sup>2</sup> Refrenare equos jussit, qui vehebantur, agmenque constitit: " frendente Alexandro, eripi sibi victoriam e manibus, et Darium feliciter fugere, quam sequi se. Interim ad Mazæum superati Regis fama pervenerat. Itaque quanquam validior erat, fortunâ tamen partium territus, perculsis languidius instabat. Par-

menio ignorabat quidem causam suā sponte pugnæ remissæ : sed occasione vincendi strenuè est usus. Thessalos equites ad se vocari jubet : "Ecquid," inquit, "videtis istos, qui ferociter modò instabant, pedem referre subito pavore perterritos ? Nimirūm 'nobis quoque Regis nostri fortuna vincit. ' Omnia Persarum cœde strata sunt : quid cessatis ? an ne fugientibus quidem pares estis ?" Vera dicere videbatur, et spes languentes quoque exerat : subditis calcaribus proruēre in hostem : et illi jam non sensim, sed citato gradu 'recedebant : nec quidquam fugæ, nisi quod terga nondūm verterant, lejerat. Parmenio tamen ignarus, quænam in dextro cornu fortuna Regis esset, repressit suos. Mazæus, dato pugnæ spatio, non recto itinere, sed majore, et ob id tutiore circuitu, ligrim superat, et Babylonem cum reliquiis devicti exercitus ntrat.

61. Darius, paucis fugæ comitibus ad Lycum amnem conenderat : quo trajecto, dubitavit an solveret pontem : quippe ostem jam affore nunciabatur. Sed tot millia suorum, quæc ondūm ad amnem pervenerant, ponte reciso, prædam hostis ore videbat. Abeuntem, cùm intactum sineret pontem, ixisse constat, ' malle se insequentibus iter dare, quam auferre gientibus. Ipse "ingens spatium fugâ emensus, mediâ ferè ante Arbela pervenit. Quis tot ludibria fortunæ, ducum minumque cœdem multiplicem, devictorum fugam, clades in singulorum, nunc universorum, aut animo assequi quest, t oratione complecti ? Propemodūm a seculi res in unum um diem fortuna cumulavit. Alii quâ brevissimum patebat r, alii diversos saltus, et ignotos sequentibus calles petent. Eques pedesque confusi sine duce, armatis inermes, egris debiles implicabantur. Deindè, misericordiâ in tum versâ, qui sequi non poterant, inter mutuos gemitus serebantur. Sitis præcipue fatigatos et saucios perurebat, isimque omnibus rivis prostraverant corpora, præterfluen- i aquam hianti ore captantes. Quam cùm avidè turbidam isissent, " tendebantur extemplò præcordia premente limo : olutisque et torpibus membris, cùm supervenisset hos.

tis, novis vulneribus excitabantur. Quidam, occupatis proximi-  
mis rivis, diverterant longius, ut, quidquid occulti humoris  
usquam manaret, exciperent. Nec ulla adeo avia et sicca  
lacuna erat, quæ vestigantium sitim falleret. E proximis  
verò itineri vicis, senum ululatus fœminarumque exaudieban-  
tur, barbaro ritu Darium adhuc Regem clamantium.

62. Alexander, <sup>12</sup> ut suprà dictum est, inhibito suorum  
cursu, ad Lycum amnem pervenerat: ubi ingens multitudo  
fugientium oneraverat pontem, et plerique, cùm hostis urgeret  
in flumen se præcipitaverant, gravesque armis, et prælio ac  
fugâ defatigati, gurgitibus hauriebantur. Jamque non pons  
modò fugientes, sed ne amnis quidem capiebat, agmina sua  
improvide subindè cumulantes: quippè ubi intravit animos  
pavor, id solum metuunt, quod primum formidare cœperunt.  
Alexander, (instantibus suis, impune abeuntem hostem sequi  
<sup>13</sup> permitteret;) <sup>14</sup> hebetia tela esse, et manus fatigatas, tan-  
toque cursu corpora exhausta, et præceps in noctem diei tem-  
pus, <sup>15</sup> causatus est. Reverā de lævo cornu, <sup>16</sup> quod adhuc  
in acie stare credebat, sollicitus, reverti ad ferendam opem  
suis <sup>16</sup> statuit. Jamque signa converterat, cùm equites a Par-  
menione missi, illius quoque partis victoriam nunciant. Sed  
nullum eo die majus periculum <sup>17</sup> adiit, quam dūm copias re-  
ducit in castra. Pauci eum et incompositi sequebantur ovantes  
victoriā. Quippè omnes hostes, aut in fugam effusos, aut  
in acie cecidisse credebant. Cùm repente ex adverso apparuit  
agmen equitum, qui primò inhibuere cursum; deindè Mace-  
donum paucitate conspectâ, turmas in obvios concitaverunt.  
Ante signa Rex ibat, <sup>18</sup> dissimulato magis periculo, quam  
spreto. Nec defuit ei perpetua in <sup>19</sup> dubiis rebus felicitas.  
Namque præfectum equitatûs avidum certaminis, et ob id  
ipsum incautiūs in se ruentem, hastâ transfixit. Quo ex  
equo lapsò, proximum, ac deindè plures, eodem telo confudit.  
Invasere turbatos amici quoque, nec Persæ inulti cadebant.  
quippè non <sup>20</sup> universæ acies, quam hæ <sup>21</sup> tumultuarizæ manus  
vehementiūs iniere certamen. Tandem Barbari, cùm obscurâ  
luce fuga tutior videretur esse, quam pugna, diversis agminibus

abiēre. Rex extraordinario periculo defunctus, incolumes suos reduxit ad castra.

63. Cecidere Persarum, quorum numerum victores finire potuerunt, millia XL. Macedonum minus quam ccc desiderati sunt. Cæterum hanc victoriam Rex majore ex parte virtuti, quam fortunæ suæ debuit; " animo, non (ut antea) loco icit. Nam et aciem peritissimè instruxit, et promptissimè pse pugnavit, et " magno consilio jacturam sarcinarum implementorumque contempsit, cum in ipsâ acie summum rei ideret esse discrimen: dubioque adhuc pugnae eventu, pro ictore se gessit. Perculso deinde hostes fudit: fugentes, quod in illo ardore animi vix credi potest, prudentius quam ridiūs persecutus est. Nam si parte exercitus adhuc in iie stante, instare cedentibus perseverasset, aut suâ culpâ ctus esset, aut alienâ virtute vicisset. " Jam si multitudi m equitum occurrentium extimuisset, victori aut fœdè giendum, aut miserabiliter cadendum fuit. " Ne duces idem copiarum suâ laude fraudandi sunt. Quippe vulnera æ quisque exceptit, indicia virtutis sunt. Hephaestionis achium hastâ iustum est. Perdiccas ac Coenus, et Menidas, gittis propè occisi. Et, si verè aestimare Macedonas, " qui erant, volumus, fatebimur, et Regem talibus ministris, et os tanto Rege fuisse dignissimos.

---

## LIBER V.

### ARGUMENTUM.

Dario Medis fines ingresso, Arbelis potitur Alexander, et Babylone, cuius sita, itudo, et corrupti mores describuntur.

Militibus premia proponit, ut iis otium excuteret. Susianam urbem, ac Regum thesauros recipit, et Sisygambini solatur.

Uxorium regione superat. Madatem prefectum, ac deditos et captivos tum ate, tum immunitate donat: Persidemque intrare cogitata, ab Ariobarzane retro e cogitur.

4. Captivo quodam iter paucis cognitum aperiente, Persarum exercitum ipso Arte barzane occiso delet Alexander.
5. Ad Persepolim properans captivorum Græcorum quatuor milia liberat.
6. Opulentissimā Persepoli direptā, interiorem Persidis regionem petit, ac Mardorus domat gentem.
7. Alexander in convivio a Thalde aliisque castrenibus scortis impulsus, Persarum regiam incendit: deinde persequi Darium statuit.
8. Darii suos ad pugnam hortantis oratio.
9. Varie magnatum sententia, ac tumultus, ob Nabarzanis, qui cum Besso proditiois societatem inferat, consilium.
10. Bessi et Nabarzanis de Dario prodendo aut occidendo nefaria deliberatio: quam mira artibus occultant.
11. Insidias proditorum Darii aperiuntur, qui Græcorum praesens tutumque respuit auxilium, paratus perire, si salvum esse nollent sui militea.
12. Besus Darium fictis verbis et lacrymis delusum comprehendit, aureisque vincutum compedibus, in sordido vehiculo deduci curat.
13. Alexander, auditio Darii periculo, ad Persarum exercitum contendit. Besus autem cum parricidis aliis arma vultumque metuens Victoria, Darium multis confossum vulneribus relinquit, fugaque sibi consulere conatur.

I. 1. Quæ interim 'ductu imperioque Alexandri, vel in Græciâ, vel in Illyriis, ac Thraciâ gesta sunt, si quæque 'suis temporibus reddere voluero, interrumpendæ sunt res Asiae, 'quas utique ad fugam mortemque Darii universas in conspectu dari; et sicut inter se cohærent tempore, ita opere ipso conjungi, haud paulò aptius videri potest. Igitur, quæ prælio apud Arbela conjuncta sunt, ordiar dicere. Darius mediâ ferè nocte Arbela pervenerat, eodemque magnæ partis amicorum ejus ac militum fugam fortuna compulerat. Quibus convocatis, exponit, haud dubitare se, quin Alexander celebrimas urbes, agrosque omni copiâ rerum abundantes, petiturus esset: prædam opimam paratamque ipsum et milites ejus spectare. Id suis rebus tali in statu 'saluti fore: quippe se deserta cum expeditâ manu petiturum. Ultima regni adhuc intacta esse: indè bello vires haud ægrè reparaturum. 'Occuparet sanè gazam avidissima gens, et ex longâ fame satiaret se auro, mox futura prædæ sibi. Didicisse usu, pretiosam supellectilem, pellicesque et spadonum agmina, nihil aliud fuisse, quam onera et impedimenta. Eadem trahentem Alexandrum, 'quibus antea vicisset, inferiorem fore. Plena omnibus desperationis videbatur oratio, quippè Babylonem urbem opulentissimam dedi cernentibus: jam Susa, jam cætera orna-

monta regni, causam belli, victorem occupaturum. At ille docere pergit, non speciosa dictu, sed usu necessaria in rebus adversis sequenda esse. Ferro geri bella, non auro; viris, non urbium tectis: <sup>8</sup> omnia sequi armatos. Sic majores suos percuslos in principio rerum, celeriter pristinam reparasse fortunam. Igitur sive confirmatis eorum animis, sive imperium magis, quam consilium sequentibus, Medis fines ingressus est.

2. Paulò post Alexandro Arbela traduntur, regiā supelleoli, ditique gazā repleta. Quatuor millia talentū fuere: rætereā pretiosae vestes, totius (ut suprà dictum est) exercitū pibns in illam sedem congestis. Ingruentibus deindè morbis, uos odor cadaverum totis jacentium campis vulgaverat, iatriūs castra movit. <sup>9</sup> Euntibus a parte laevā Arabia, dorum fertilitate nobilis regio, <sup>10</sup> campestre iter, est. Inter igrin et Euphratem <sup>11</sup> jacentia tam uberi, et pingui solo sunt, t a pastu repellī pecora dicantur, ne satietas perimat. Causa rtilitatis est humor, qui ex utroque amne manat; toto ferē lo propter venas aquarum resudante. Ipsi amnes ex rmeniæ montibus profluunt, ac <sup>12</sup> magno deindè aquarum vortio iter, quod cœperunt, percurrunt. Duo millia et quin̄ta stadia emensi sunt, <sup>13</sup> qui amplissimum intervallum circa rmeniæ montes notaverunt. Idem cùm <sup>14</sup> Medis et Goranorum terras secare cœperunt, paulatim in <sup>15</sup> arctius coēunt, <sup>16</sup> quò longiū manant, hoc angustius inter se spatium terræ inquunt. Vicini maximè sunt in campis, quos incolæ esopotamiam appellant: medium namque ab utroque latere includunt. <sup>17</sup> Idem per Babyloniorum fines in rubrum Mare brumpunt. Alexander quartis castris ad Mennin urbem venit. Caverna ibi est: ex quâ fons ingentem vim bitumi effundit; adeò, ut satis constet, Babylonios muros <sup>18</sup> ingenoperis, hujus fontis bitumine interlitos fuisse.

3. Cæterū Babylonem procedenti Alexandro Mazzeus, ex acie in urbem eam configuerat, cum adultis liberis pplex occurrit, urbem, seque dedens. Gratus adventus ejus Regi: quippe magni operis futura erat obsidio tam nitæ urbis. Ad hoc vir illustris, et <sup>19</sup> manu promptus, fama-

que etiam proximo prælio celebris, et cæteros ad dæditionem sui incitaturus exemplo videbatur. Igitur hunc quidem benignè cum liberis excepit. Cæterum quadrato agmine, quod ipse ducebat, velut in aciem irent, ingredi suos jubet. Magna pars Babyloniorum constiterat in muris, avida cognoscendi novum Regem. Plures obviām egressi sunt. Inter quos Bagophanes, arcis et regiae pecuniae custos, ne studio a Mazæo vinceretur, totum iter floribus coronisque constraverat; argenteis altaribus utroque latere dispositis, quæ non thure modò, sed omnibus odoribus cumulaverat. Eum dona sequabantur, greges pecorum, equorumque: leones quoque et pardales caveis præferebantur. <sup>20</sup> Magi deindè, suo more patrium carmen canentes. Post hos Chaldæi Babyloniorumque non vates modò sed etiam artifices, cum fidibus sui generis ibant: laudes hi Regum canere soliti; Chaldæi siderum motus, et statas temporum vices ostendere. Equites deindè Babylonii, suo atque equorum cultu, <sup>21</sup> ad luxuriam magis, quam ad magnificentiam exacto, ultimi ibant. Rex armatis stipatus, oppidanorum turbam post ultimos pedites ire jussit. Ipse <sup>22</sup> cum curru urbem, ac deindè regiam intravit. Postero die supælectilem Darii, et omnem pecuniam recognovit.

4. Cæterum, <sup>23</sup> ipsius urbis pulchritudo ac vetustas, non Regis modò, sed etiam omnium oculos in semet haud immeritò convertit. Semiramis eam condiderat, vel (ut plerique credidere) Belus, cuius regia ostenditur. Murus instructus <sup>24</sup> laterculo coctili, bitumine interlitus, spatium **xxx** et duorum pedum latitudinem amplectitur: quadrigæ inter se occurrentes sine periculo <sup>25</sup> commare dicuntur. Altitudo muri <sup>26</sup> centum cubitorum eminet spatio. Turres denis pedibus, quam murus, altiores sunt. Totius operis ambitus <sup>27</sup> **ccclxv** stadia complectitur. <sup>28</sup> Singulorum stadiorum structuram singulis diebus perfectam esse, memoriae proditum est. Aedificia non sunt admota muris, sed ferè spatium unius <sup>29</sup> jugeris absunt. Ac ne totam quidem urbem tectis occupaverunt. Per **xc** stadia habitatur: nec omnia <sup>30</sup> continua sunt; credo, quia tutius visum est pluribus locis spargi. Cætera serunt,

coluntque: ut si externa vis ingruat, obcessis alimenta ex ipsius urbis solo subministrentur. Euphrates interfluit, magnæque molis "crepidinibus coërcetur. Sed "omnium operum magnitudinem circumveniunt cavernæ ingentes, "in altitudinem pressæ ad accipiendum impetum fluminis: quod ubi apposites crepidinis fastigium excessit, urbis tecta corriperet, nisi essent specus lacusque, qui exciperent. Coctili laterculo structi sunt. Totum opus bitumine astringitur. Pons lapideus, flumini impositus, "jungit urbem. Hic quoque inter mirabilia Orientis opera numeratus est: quippe Euphrates altum limum vehit, "quo penitus ad fundamenta iacienda egesto, vix suffulcendo operi firmum reperiunt olum. Arenæ autem subindè cumulatæ, et saxis, quibus ons sustinetur, annexæ, morantur amnem: qui retentus criùs, quam si libero cursu mearet, illiditur. Arcem quoque mbitu viginti stadia complexam habet: triginta pedes in terram turrium fundamenta demissa sunt. Ad octoginta immum munimenti fastigium pervenit.

5. Super arcem, vulgatum Græcorum "fabulis miraculum, ensiles horti sunt, summam murorum altitudinem æquantes, ultarumque arborum umbrâ et proceritate amoeni. Saxo pilæ, quæ totum onus sustinent, instructæ sunt. Super las lapide quadrato solum stratum est, patiens terræ, quam am injiciunt, et humoris, quo rigant terras, adeoque validas pores sustinent moles, ut stipites earum octo cubitorum etiam crassitudine æquent, in quinquaginta pedum altitudinem emineant, et frugiferæ sequè sint, ac si terrâ suâ alentur. Et, cùm vetustas non opera solum manu facta, sed iam ipsam naturam paulatim exedendo perimat: hæc moles, e tot arborum radicibus premitur, tantique memoris ponere onerata est, inviolata durat: quippe viginti lati parietes tinent, undecim pedum intervallo distantes, ut procul montibus sylvæ montibus suis imminere videantur. "Syriæ rem Babylone regnantem hoc opus esse molitum, memorias ditum est, "amore conjugis victum, quæ, desiderio nemo sylvarumque in campestribus locis, virum compulit

naturæ genium amoenitate hujus operis imitari. Diutiūs in hāc urbe quām usquam constituit Rex, nec ullus locus disciplinæ militari magis nocuit. Nihil urbis ejus corruptius moribus, nihil ad irritandas illiciendasque immodicas voluptates instructius. Convivales ludi totā Perside Regibus purpuratisque cordi sunt. Babylonii maximè in vinum, et quæ ebrietatem sequuntur, <sup>“</sup> effusi sunt. <sup>“</sup> Fœminarum convivia ineuntium in principio modestus est habitus, dein summa quoque amicula exuunt, paulatimque pudorem profanant; ad ultimum <sup>“(honos auribus habitus sit) ima corporum vela-</sup>menta projiciunt: nec meretricum hoc dedecus est sed matronarum virginumque apud quas comitas habetur vulgati corporis vilitas.

6. Inter hæc flagitia exercitus ille domitor Asie per **xxxiv** dies saginatus, ad ea quæ sequebantur discrimina, haud dubiō debilior futurus <sup>“</sup> fuit, si hostem habuisset. Cæterū, quò minus dampnum sentiret, identidem <sup>“</sup> incremento novabatur. Namque <sup>“</sup> Amyntas Andromenis ab Antipatro Macedonum peditum **sex** millia adduxit: quingentos prætereà ejusdem generis equites. Cùm his dc Thracas, adjunctis peditibus suæ gentis tribus millibus et quingentis. Ex Poloponneso mercenarius miles ad quatuor millia advenerat, cum **ccclxxx** equitibus. Idem Amyntas adduxerat quinquaginta principum Macedoniæ liberos adultos ad custodiam corporis. Quippè inter epulas hi sunt Regis ministri. Iidemque equos ineunti prælium admovent, venantemque comitantur, et <sup>“</sup> vigiliarum vices ante cubiculi fores servant: magnorumque Praefectorum et Ducum hæc <sup>“</sup> incrementa sunt, et rudimenta. Igitur, Rex arcii Babylonie Agathone præsidere jussso, cum septingentis Macedonum, trecentisque mercede conductis, Prætores, qui regioni Babylonie, et civitati præsent, Menetem et Apollodorum reliquit. His duo millia peditum cum mille talentis data. Utrique præceptum, ut ir supplementum milites legerent. Mazzeum transfugam Satrapiæ Babylonie donat. Bagophanem, qui arcem tradiderat, se sequi jussit. Armenia Mithreni Sardium proditori data est.

Ex pecuniâ deindè Babylonis traditâ Macedonum equitibus sexcenti denarii tributi: peregrinus eques quingenos accepit: "ducenos pedes, trium stipendum mensium.

II. 7. His itâ compositis, in regionem, quæ Satrapene vocatur, pervenit. Fertilis terra, copiâ rerum, et omni commeatu abundans. Itaque <sup>1</sup> diutius ibi substitit; ac, ne desides otio demitterent animos, judices dedit, præmiaque propositi de virtute militari certantibus. Novem, qui fortissimi iudicati essent, singulis militum millibus præfuturi erant, (*Chilar-chas* vocabant,) tunc primùm in hunc numerum copiis distributis. <sup>2</sup> Namque anteâ quingenarîe cohortes fuerant, nec fortitudinis præmia cesserant. Ingens militum turba convenierat, egregio interfutura certamini, testis <sup>3</sup> eadem cujusque factorum, et <sup>4</sup> de judicibus latura sententiam: quippe verône an alios honos cuique haberetur, ignorari non poterat. Primus omnium virtutis causâ donatus est Atharrias senior, qui omisum apud Halicarnassum a junioribus prælium, unus maximè eccenderat; proximus ei Antigenes visus est; tertium locum Philotas Angeus obtinuit; quartus Amyntæ datus est; post eos Antigonus, et ab eo Lyncestes Amyntas fuit; septimum cum Theodotus; <sup>\*\*\*</sup>; ultimum obtinuit Hellanicus. In disciplina quoque militaris rei pleraque a majoribus tradita immâ utilitate mutavit. Nam cùm antè equites in suam quisie gentem describerentur, seorsum a cæteris; exempto nationum discrimine, Præfectis, non utique suarum gentium, sed delectis attribuit. Tubâ, cùm castra movere vellet, signum dabat; cuius sonus plerumque, tumultuantum fremitu oriente, haud satis exaudiebatur. Ergo perticam, quæ unquam conspicere posset, supra prætorium statuit; ex qua enim eminebat pariter omnibus conspicuum. Observabatur nisi noctu, fumus interdiu.

8. Jamque Susa <sup>1</sup> ei adituro, Abulites regionis ejus Prætus, sive Darii jussu, ut Alexandrum præda retineret, sive sponte, filium obviam misit, traditurum se urbem promis. Benignè juvenem exceptit Rex, et eo duce ad Choaspensem pervenit, delicatam (ut fama est) vehentem aquam.

Hic Abulites cum donis regalis opulentiae occurrit. Dromades camelii inter dona erant, velocitatis eximiae: duodecim Elephanti a Dario ex Indiâ acciti; non jam terror (ut speraverant) Macedonum, sed auxilium; opes victi ad victorem transferente fortunâ. Ut verò urbem intravit, incredibilem ex thesauris summam pecuniae egessit, quinquaginta millia talentum argenti, non signati formâ, sed rudi pondere. Multi Reges tantas opes longâ ætate cumulaverant liberis, posterisque, ut arbitrabantur; quas una hora in externi Regis manus intulit. Consedit deinde in regiâ sellâ, multò excelsiore, quam pro habitu corporis. Itaque cum pedes imum gradum non contingerent, unus ex Regis pueris mensam subdedit pedibus; et cum spadonem, qui Darii fuerat, ingemiscerentem conspexisset Rex, causam mœstitiae requisivit. Ille indicat, Darium vesci in eâ solitum: seque sacram ejus mensam ad ludibrium residentem sine lacrymis conspicere non posse. Subiit ergo Regem verecundia violandi hospitales Deos. Jamque subduci jubebat, cum Philotas: "Minime verò hæc feceris, Rex, sed omen quoque accipe: mensam, ex quâ libavit hostis epulas, tuis pedibus esse subjectam."

9. Rex, Persidis fines aditurus, Susa urbem Archelao, et præsidium trium milium tradidit. Xenophilo arcis cura mandata est; Macedonum ætate gravibus præsidere arcis custodiæ jussis. Thesaurorum Callierati tutela permissa. Satrapia regionis Susianæ restituta Abuliti. Matrem quoque Darii et liberos in eâdem urbe deponit. Ac fortè Macedonicas vestes, multamque purpuram dono ex Macedoniâ sibi missam, cum his, quæ eam confecerant, tradi Sisygambi jussit, (omni namque honore eam, et filii quoque pietate prosequebatur,) admonerique, ut si cordi quoque vestis esset, conficer eam neptes suas assuefaceret, "donoque doceret dare. Ad hanc vocem lacrymæ obortæ prodidere animum aspernantis id munus: quippè non aliud magis in contumeliam Persarum fœminæ accipiunt, quam admovere lanæ manus. Nunquiant, qui dona tulerant, tristem esse Sisygambim; dignaque res excusatione et solatio visa. Ipse ergo pervenit ad eam,

st, "Mater," inquit, "hanc vestem, quā indutus sum, sororum non solum donum, sed etiam opus vides. Nostri deceperēne morea. 'Cave, obseero,'<sup>10</sup> in contumeliam accipias ignorationem meam. Quae tui moris esse cognovi, ut spero, abundēryata sunt. Scio<sup>11</sup> apud vos filium in conspectu matris efas esse considere, nisi cūm illa permisit: quotiescumque d te veni, donec, ut considerem, annueres, restiti. Proculmenis venerari me sēpē voluisti; inhibui. Dulcissimæ matrīlympiadi nomen debitum, tibi reddo."

III. 10. Mitigato<sup>1</sup> ejus animo, Rex quartis castris permit ad Tigrim fluvium. *Pasitigrim* incolæ vocant. Oritur montibus Uxiorum, et per L stadia sylvestribus ripis præps inter saxa devolvitur. Accipiunt deindè eum campi, os clementiore alveo præterit, jam<sup>2</sup> navium patiens, dc idia sunt mollioris soli, per quod leni tractu aquarum Per-o mari se insinuat. Alexander, amne superato, cum ix llibus peditum, et Agrianis sagittariisque et Græcorum rcenariis militibus, iii additis millibus Thracum, in renem Uxiorum pervenit. Finitima Susis est, et in primam rsidem excurrit: arctum inter se et Susianos aditum relinns. Madates erat hujus regionis Præfectus, haud sanè mporum homo. Quippe ultima pro fide experiri decreverat. periti locorum Alexandrum docent, occultum iter esse per es, et aversum ab urbe: si paucos misisset leviter armatos, er capita hostium evasuros. Cūm consilium placuisse, m itinerum fuerunt duces: mille et quingenti mercede conti, et Agriani ferè mille Tauroni Præfecto dati, ac post occasum iter ingredi jussi. Ipse tertiā vigiliā castris is, circa lucis ortum superaverat angustias: cæsaque eriā cratibus et pluteis faciendis, ut qui turres admonent, <sup>4</sup>extra teli ictum essent, urbem obsidere cœpit. Præ-a erant omnia, saxis et cotibus impedita. Multis ergo eribus depulsi, ut quibus non cum hoste solum, sed etiam loco dimicandum esset, subibant tamen; quia Rex inter os constiterat, interrogans, "tot urbium victores an escerent hærere in obsidione castelli exigui et ignobilis

simul?" Jam inter hæc eminè petebatur; eum, testitudine objectâ, milites, qui, ut indè discederet, perpellere nequivabant, tuebantur.

11. Tandem Tauron super arcem urbis se cum suo agmine ostendit: ad cujus conspectum, et animi hostium labare, et Macedones acriùs prælium inire cœperunt. <sup>1</sup> Anceps oppidanos malum urgebat, nec sisti vis hostium poterat. Paucis ad moriendum, pluribus ad fugam animus fuit. Magna pars in arcem concessit. Indè triginta oratoribus missis ad deprecandum, triste responsum a Rege redditur, non esse veniæ locum. Itaque suppliciorum metu perculti, ad Sisygambim Darii matrem, occulto itinere, ignotoque hostibus, mittunt, qui peterent, ut ipsa Regem mitigaret, haud ignari parentis eam loco diligi, colique. Et Madates sororis ejus filiam secum matrimonio junxerat, Darium propinquâ cognatione contingens. Diù Sisygambis supplicum precibus repugnavit; <sup>2</sup> abnuens deprecationem pro illis convenire fortunæ, in quâ esset: adjecitque, metuere sese ne victoris indulgentiam fatigaret, sæpiùsque cogitare, captivam esse se, quâm reginam fuisse. Ad ultimum victa, litteris Alexandrum itâ deprecata est, ut ipsam excusaret quod deprecaretur: petere se ut illis quoque, <sup>3</sup> si minùs, sibi ignosceret: pro necessario ac propinquo suo, jam non hostile, sed supplice tantùm vitam precari. Moderationem clementiamque Regis, <sup>4</sup> quæ tunc fuit, vel una hæc res possit ostendere: non Madati modò ignovit, sed omnes et deditos et captivos libertate atque immititate donavit, urbem reliquit intactam: agros sine tributo colere permisit. <sup>5</sup> A victore Dario plura mater non impetrâasset. Uxor deindè gentem subactam, Susianorum Satrapiæ <sup>6</sup> contribuit: divisisque cum Parmenione copiis, illum campestri itinere procedere jubet: ipse cum expedito agmine jugum montium cepit, quorum perpetuum dorsum in Persidem excurrit.

12. Omni hac regione vastatâ, tertio die Persidem, quinto angustias, quas illi *Susidas Pylas* vocant, intrat Ariobarzanes has cum viginti quinque millibus peditum occu-

paverat rupes, abscissas et undique præruptas, in quarum cacuminibus extra teli jactum Barbari stabant, <sup>11</sup> de industria quieti, et paventibus similes, donec in arctissimas fauces penetraeret agmen. Quod ubi contemptu sui pergere vident, um verò ingentis magnitudinis saxa per <sup>12</sup> montium prona evolvunt, quæ incussa sæpius subjacentibus petris majore i incedebant: nec singulos modò, <sup>13</sup> sed agmina proterebant. undis quoque excussi lapides, et sagittæ undique ingerebantur. Nec id miserrimum fortibus viris erat, sed quod ulti quidem, ferarum ritu, velut in foveâ deprehensi, cæduntur. Irâ igitur in rabiem versâ, eminentia saxa complexi, ad hostem pervenirent, alias alium levantes conabantur cendere: <sup>14</sup> ea ipsa multorum simul manibus correpta et avulsa, in eos, qui commoverant, recidebant. <sup>15</sup> Nec stare poterant, nec niti, ne testudine quidem protegi poterant, cum itæ molis onera propellerent Barbari. Regem non dolor dò, sed etiam pudor temerè in illas angustias conjecti rectius angebat. Invictus ante eam diem fuerat, nihil strâ ausus: impunè Ciliciæ fauces intraverat; <sup>16</sup> mari quoniam novum iter in Pamphyliam aperuerat. Tunc <sup>17</sup> hæsitabat rehensa felicitas; nec aliud remedium erat, quam reverti à venerat. Itaque signo receptui dato, densatis ordinis scutisque super capita consertis, retrò evadere Rex angus-jubet: triginta fuere stadia, quæ remensi sunt.

IV. 13. Tum castris undique aperto loco positis, non sultare modò quid agendum esset, sed yates quoque ad re cœpit a superstitione animi. <sup>1</sup> Sed quid tunc prædi Aristander, cui tum plurimum credebatur ex vatibus, rat? Itaque damnatis intempestivis sacrificiis, peritos sum convocari jubet. Per Mediam iter ostendebant in apertumque: sed Rex deserere milites insepultos eru-ebat, ita tradito more, ut vix ullum militiæ tam solempne munus, quam humandi suos. Captivos ergò, quos nuper derat, vocari jubet: inter quos erat quidam Græcæ Per-ue linguae peritus, qui frustrâ eum in Persidem mon-dorso exercitum ducere affirmat: sylvestres esse calles,

vix singulis pervios, omnia contegi frondibus, <sup>1</sup> implexosque arborum ramos sylvas committere. Namque Persis ab altero latere perpetuis montium jugis clauditur, <sup>2</sup> quod in longitudinem MDC stadia, in latitudinem CLXX procurrit. Hoc dorsum a Caucaso monte ad <sup>3</sup> rubrum Mare pertinet: <sup>4</sup> quaque deficit mons, aliud munimentum, fretum objectum est. Planities deinde sub radiebus montium spatiose <sup>5</sup> procumbit fertilis terra, multisque vicis atque urbibus frequens. Araxes amnis per hos campos multorum aquas torrentium evolvit in Medium. Medus ad mare, meridiem versus, <sup>6</sup> minor amnis eo quem accepit, evehitur; gignendæque herbae non aliis est aptior, quidquid alluit, floribus vestiens. Platani quoque et populi contegunt ripas, <sup>7</sup> ita ut procul visentibus continuata videantur montibus nemora riparum. Quippe obumbratus amnis, presso in solum dilabitur alveo: imminentque colles, ipsi quoque frondibus læti, radices eorum humore subeunte. Regio <sup>8</sup> non alia totâ Asiâ salubrior habetur: temperat oculum hinc perpetuum jugum opacum et umbrosum, quod æstus levat; illinc mare adjunctum, quod modico tempore terras fovet.

14. His captivus expositis interrogatus a Rege, auditum an oculis comperta haberet, quæ diceret: pastorem se fuisse, et omnes eos calles percurrisse respondit; bis captum, semel a Persis in Lyciâ, iterum ab ipso. Subit animum memoria Regis oraculo editæ sortis. Quippe consulenti responsum erat, ducem in Persidem ferentis viæ Lycium civem fore. <sup>9</sup> Igitur promissis, quanta et præsens necessitas exigebat, et ipsius fortuna capiebat, oneratum, armari jubet Macedonum more: et, quod benè verteret, monstrare iter; quamvis arduum et præceps, evasurum se esse cum paucis: nisi forte crederet, quod ipse pecoris causâisset, Alexandrum pro gloriâ et perpetuâ laude ire non posse. Etiam atque etiam decere captivus, quam difficile iter esset, maximè armatis. Tum Rex: “Prædem me,” inquit, “accipe, neminem eorum qui sequuntur, recusaturum ire quâ duces.” <sup>10</sup> Cratero igitur, ad custodiam castrorum relieto, cum peditibus queis assueverat,

et iis copiis, quas Meleager ducebat, et sagittariis equitibus mille, præcipit, ut castrorum specie manente, plures de industria ignes fieri imperaret; quod magis Barbari crederent, ipsum Regem in castris esse. Cæterum, si fortè Ariobarzanes cognovisset, per callium infractus <sup>13</sup> eum intrare, et ad occupandum iter suum, partem copiarum tentasset opponere; Craterus, in eum <sup>14</sup> illato terrore, retineret ad proprius periculum ionversum agmen. Sin autem ipse hostem fefellisset, et saluum occupasset, cum trepidantium Barbarorum tumultum xaudisset <sup>15</sup> persequentium Regem, id ipsum iter, quo pridiè ulsi fuerant, ne dubitaret ingredi: quippe vacuum fore, hostius in semet aversis.

15. Ipse tertia vigiliâ, silenti agmine, ac ne tubâ quidem ato signo, pergit ad demonstratum iter callium. Tridui aliena portare militem jusserset leviter armatum. Sed præter vias rupes, ac prærupta saxa, vestigium subindè fallentia, ex cumulata vento ingredientes fatigabat. Quippe velut in veas delati hauriebantur, et cum a commilitonibus levarentur, trahebant magis adjuvantes, quam sequebantur. Nox loque, et ignota regio, ac dux, (incertum an satis fidus,) ultipliabant <sup>16</sup> metum, si custodes fefellisset, quasi feras stias ipsos posse deprehendi. Ex unius captivi vel fidei animâ, pendere et Regis salutem et suam. Tandem tære in jugum. A dextrâ iter ad ipsum Ariobarzanem erat. ex Philotam et Cœnon cum Amyntâ et Polysperconte, expe- am habentes manum, reliquit, monitos, "ut quia <sup>17</sup> eques liti erat mixtus, et quâ pinguissimum esset solum, et pa- i fertile, sensim procederent." Duces erant itineris de- tivis dati. Ipse cum armigeris, et alâ, quam *Agema* ap- plant, arduâ semitâ, sed longius a stationibus hostium re- tâ, multâ cum vexatione processit. Medius erat dies, et gatis necessaria quies. Quippe tantumdem itineris super- t, quantum emensi erant, sed minùs præcipitis atque ardui. que refectis cibo somnoque militibus, <sup>18</sup> secundâ vigiliâ rit, et cætera quidem haud ægrè præterit. Cæterum, se jugum montium paulatim ad planiora demittit, <sup>19</sup> in-

gens vorago, concursu cavata torrentium, iter ruperat. Ad hæc arborum rami alius alio implicati et cohaerentes, ut perpetuam objecerant sepem. Desperatio igitur ingens, adeò ut vix lacrymis abstinerent, incesserat. Præcipue obscuritas terrori erat. Nam etiam, si quæ sidera <sup>19</sup> internitebant, continentि fronde tectae arbores conspicere prohibebant. Ne aurium quidem usus supererat; sylvas quatiente vento, qui concutientibus ramis majorem quam pro fiat sonum edebat.

16. Tandem expectata lux omnia, quæ terribilia nox fecerat, minuit. Circumiri brevi spatio poterat eluvies, et sibi quisque dux itineris cooperat fieri. <sup>20</sup> Evadunt ergò in editum verticem, ex quo hostium statione conspecta, strenuè armati a tergo se ostendunt nihil tale metuentibus, quorum pauci, qui congredi ausi erant, cœsi sunt. Itaque hinc morientium gemitus, hinc ad suos recurrentium miserabilis facies, integros quoque, antequam discrimin experimentur, in fugam avertit. Fremitu deinde in castra, queis Craterus præterat, illato, ad occupandas angustias, in quibus pridiè hæsitarat, miles educitur. Simul et Philotas cum Polysperconte, Amyntaque et Ceno, diversum iter ingredi jussus alium terrorem intulit Barbaris. Ergò undique Macedonum armis fulgentibus, ancipi malo oppressi, memorabile tamen prælium edunt. Ut opinor, ignaviam quoque necessitas acvit; et sepe desperatio spei causa est. Nudi complectebantur armatos, et ingenti corporum mole secum ad terram detrahentes, ipsorum telis plerosque fodiebant. Ario barzanes tamen **XL** fermè equitibus et quinque millibus peditum stipatus, per mediam aciem Macedonum cum multo suorum atque hostium sanguine erupit; Persepolim urbem caput regionis occupare festinans. Sed a custodibus urbis exclusus, consecutis strenuè hostibus, cum omnibus fugæ comitibus renovato prælio cecidit. Craterus quoque raptim agmine acto supervenit.

V. 17. Rex eodem in loco, quo hostium copias fuderat, castra communivit. Quanquam enim undique fugati hostes victoriam concesserant, tamen præalteæ præcipitesque <sup>1</sup> fossæ, pluribus locis objectæ, abruperant iter, sensimque et cautè pro-

grediendum erat; jam non hostium, sed locorum fraude suspecta. Procedenti ei litteræ redduntur a Tyridate custode regis pecuniae; indicantes eos, qui in urbe essent, auditio ejus adventu, diripere velle thesauros; properaret occupare dimissos: expeditum iter esse, quanquam Araxes amnis interfluat. Nullam virtutem Regis istius magis, quam celeritatem laudaverim: relictis enim pedestribus copiis, tota nocte cum equitibus itineris tanto spatio fatigatis, ad Araxem primâ luce pervenit. Vici erant in propinquuo: quibus direptis ac dirutis, pontem ex materia eorum subditis saxis strenue induxit. Jamque haud procul urbe erant, cum miserabile ignem, inter pauca fortunæ exempla memorandum, Regi occurrit. Captivi erant Græci ad quatuor millia ferè, quos Persæ vario suppliciorum modo affecerant. Alios pedibus, nosdam manibus auribusque amputatis, inustisque barbarum litterarum notis, in longum sui ludibrium reservaverant; tamen se quoque alienæ ditionis esse cernerent, volentes egredi occurrere non prohibuerant. Inusitata simulacra, non omnes videbantur, nec quidquam in illis praeter vocem potest agnosci. Plures igitur lacrymas commovere, quam pruderant ipsi: quippè in tam multiplici variaque fortunâ similorum, intaentibus similes quidem, sed tamen disparenas, quis maximè miserabilis esset, liquere non poterat. Tamen vero Jovem illi tandem Græcizæ ultorem aperuisse oculos clamavere, omnes pari supplicio affecti sibi videbantur, ex abstensis, quas profuderat lacrymis, bonum habere animi jubet; visuros urbes suas, conjugesque: et castra inde ab urbe stadia communis.

18. Græci excesserant vallo, deliberaturi, quid potissimum Regi peterent. Cumque aliis sedes in Asiâ rogare, aliis certi domos placeret; Euthymon Cymeus ita locutus ad fertur: "Nos qui modò ad opem petendam ex tenebris carcere procedere erubuimus, ut nunc est, suppicia nostra orum nos pudeat magis, an paeniteat, incertum est) ostenses Græcizæ velut letum spectaculum cupimus. At si optimæ serias ferunt, qui abscondunt: nec ulla est tam familiaris

infelibus patria, quām solitudo, et statūs prioris oblivio. Nam qui multum in suorum misericordiā ponunt, ignorant " quām celeriter lacrymæ inarescant. Nemo fideliter diligit, quem fastidit: nam et calamitas querula est, et superba felicitas. Itā suam quisque fortunam in consilium habet, cùm de alienā deliberat: et "nisi mutuō essemus miseri, olim aliis alii potuissemus esse fastidio. Quid mirum est fortunatos semper parem quærere? Obsecro vos, olim vitā defuncti quæramus locum, in quo hæc semesa membra obruamus, ubi horribiles cicatrices celet exilium. "Grati prorsūs conjugibus, quas juvenes duximus, revertemur! Liberi in flore et aetatis et rerum, ut patres, agnoscent ergastuli "detrimenta? Et "quota pars nostri tot obire terras potest? procul Europā in ultima Orientis relegati, senes, debiles, majore membrorum parte mulctati, tolerabimus scilicet quas armatos et victores fatigaverunt? Conjuges deindè, quas captis sors et necessitas unicum solatium applicuit, parvosque liberos trahimus nobiscum, an relinquimus? Cum his venientes nemo agnoscere volet. Relinquemus ergo exemplū præsentia pignora, cùm incertum sit an visuri simus ea quæ petimus? Inter hos latendum est, qui nos miseros nōsse cæperunt."

19. Hæc Euthymon. Contrà Theætetutus Atheniensis orsus est dicere: "Neminem "pium habitu corporis suos aestimatur; utique sævitia hostis, non naturā calamitosos. Dignum esse omni malo, qui erubesceret fortuita: tristem enim de mortalitate ferre sententiam, et desperare misericordiam, quia ipse alteri denegaturus sit. Deos (quod ipsi nunquam ausi optare forent) offerre patriam, conjuges, liberos, et quicquid homines vel "vitā æstimant, vel morte redimunt. "Quin illi ex hoc carcere erumperent: alium domi esse cœli haustum, alium lucis aspectum. Mores, sacra, linguae commercium etiam a Barbaris experti, quæ "ingenita ipsi omissuri sint suā sponte: non ob aliud tam calamitosi, quām quodd illis carere coacti essent. Se certè redditurum ad penates et in patriam, tantoque beneficio Regis usurum. Si quos contubernii, liborumque, quos servitus coëgisset agnoscere, amor detineret,

relinquerent, quibus nil patriâ carius est." Pauci hujus sententiae fuere. Cæteros "consuetudo, naturâ potentior, vicit Jonsenserunt petendum esse a Rege, ut aliquam ipsis attrueret sedem. Centum ad hoc lecti sunt; quos Alexander atus, quod ipse præstare cogitabat, petituros: "Jumenta," quicquid, "assignari, quæ vos veherent, et singulis vestrūm ille denariūm dari jussi. Cùm redieritis in Græciam, præstabo, ne quis statum suum, " si hæc calamitas absit, estro credat esse meliorem." Illi, obortis lacrymis, terram tuebantur, nec aut erigere vultus, aut loqui audebant. andem Rege tristitiae causam exigente, Euthymon similia, quæ in consilio dixerat, respondit. Atque ille, non fornæ solūm eorum, sed etiam " poenitentiae misertus, terrena illia denariūm singulis dari jussit. Dense vestes adjectænt, et armenta cum pecoribus ac frumento data, ut colique attributus iis ager posset.

VI. 20. Postero die convocatos duces copiarum docet, llam infestiorem urbem Græcis esse, quam regiam veterum Persidis Regum. Hinc illa immensa agmina infusa: hinc rium prius, deinde Xerxem, Europæ impium intulisse lum. Excidio illius parentandum esse majoribus. Jam Barbari, deserto oppido, quæ quemque metus agebat, fugerant; cùm Rex phalangem nil cunctatus inducit. Itas urbes refertas opulentia regiâ partim expugnarat, tim in fidem acceperat. Sed urbis hujus divitiae vicere sterita. In hanc totius Persidis opes congesserant Barri: aurum, argentumque cumulatum erat: vestis ingens ius: supellex, non ad usum modò, sed ad ostentationem ius comparata. Itaque inter ipsos victores ferro dimicar. Pro hoste erat qui pretiosiorem occupaverat præ. . . Et cùm omnia quæ recipiebant, capere non possent, res non occupabantur, sed aestimabantur. Lacerabant as vestes, ad se quisque partem trahentes: dolabris prece artis vasa cædebant: nihil neque intactum erat, nec inum ferebatur. Abrupta simulacrorum membra, ut quis avellerat, trahebat: neque avaritia solūm, sed etiam

orudelitas in captâ urbe grassata est. Auro, argentoque onusti, vilia captivorum corpora trucidabant, <sup>¶</sup> passimque obvii cædebantur, quos anteâ pretium sui miserabiles fecerat. Multi ergò hostium manus voluntariâ morte occupaverunt, pretiosissimâ vestium induiti, e muris semetipsos cum conjugibus ac liberis in præceps jactantes. Quidam ignes, <sup>¶</sup> quod paulò post facturus hostis videbatur, subjecerant sèdibus, ut cum suis vivi cremarentur. Tandem <sup>¶</sup> suis Rex corporibus, et cultu fœminarum abstinere jussit. Ingens pecunia captivæ modus traditur, propè ut fidem excedat. Cæterùm aut de aliis quoque dubitavimus, aut credemus in hujus urbis gazâ fuisse <sup>¶</sup>c et xx millia talentum: ad quæ vehenda (namque ad usus belli secum portare decreverat) jumenta et camelos a Susis et Babylone contrahi jussit. Accessere ad hanc pecunia summam captis Persagadis sex millia talentum. Cyrus Persagadum urbem condiderat, quam Alexandro Præfectus ejus Gobares tradidit.

21. Rex arcem Persepolis, tribus milibus Macedonum præsidio relictis, Nicarthiden tueri jubet. Tyridati quoque, qui gazam tradiderat, servatus est honos, quem apud Darium habuerat; magnaue exercitus parte, et impedimentis ibi relictis, Parmenionem Oraterumque præfecit. Ipse cum mille equitibus, peditumque expeditâ manu, interiorem Persidis regionem, sub ipsum <sup>¶</sup>Vergiliarum sidus petiit: multisque imbris et prope intolerabili tempestate vexatus, procedere tamen, quò intenderat, perseveravit. Ventum erat ad iter perpetuis obsitum nivibus, <sup>¶</sup> quas frigoris vis gelu adstrinxerat. Locorum squalor et solidudines <sup>¶</sup> invise fatigatum militem terrebant, humanarum rerum terminos se videre credentes. Omnia vasta, atque sine ullo humani cultûs vestigio, attoniti intuebantur: et <sup>¶</sup> antequam lux quoque et coulum ipsos deficerent, reverti jubebant. Rex castigare territos <sup>¶</sup> supersedit: cæterum ipse equo desiliit, pedesque per nivem et concretam glaciem ingredi cœpit. Erubuerunt non sequi, primùm amici, deinde copiarum duces, ad ultimum milites. Primusque Rex dolabrâ glaciem perfringens, iter sibi fecit.

emplum Regis cæteri imitati sunt. Tandem propemodūm ias sylvas emensi, humani cultūs rara vestigia, et passim antea pecorum greges reperere: et incolæ, qui sparsis uris habitabant, cùm se callibus inviis septos esse credi- ent, ut conspexere hostium agmen, "interfectis qui fu- ites comitari non poterant, devios montes, et obsitos ibus petiverunt. Indè per colloquia captivorum paulatim ate mitigata, tradidere se Regi. Neo in deditos gravius ultum. Vastatis deindè agris Persidis, vicisque com- ibus redactis in potestatem, ventum est in Mardorum em bellicosissimam, et multūm a cæteris Persis cultu abhorrentem. Specus in montibus fodiunt, in quos se- ac conjuges, et liberos condunt. Pecorum aut ferarum e vescuntur. "Ne fœminis quidem pro naturæ habitu iora ingenia sunt. Comæ prominent hirtæ, vestis super a est. Fundâ vinciunt frontem: hoc et ornamentum is, et telum est. Sed hanc quoque gentem idem fortunæ tus domuit. Itaque trigesimo die, postquam a Perse- profectus erat, eodem rediit. Dona deindè amicis cæter- pro cuiusque merito dedit. Propemodūm omnia, quæ in be ceperat, distributa.

II. 22. Cæterūm ingentia animi bona, illam indeolem, mnes Reges antecessit, illam in subeundis periculis con- am, in rebus <sup>1</sup> moliendis efficiendisque velocitatem, in- s fidem, in captivos clementiam, in voluptatibus per- quoque et usitatis temperantiam, haud tolerabili vini- tate foedavit. "Hoste et sœnulo regni reparante tum naximè bellum; nuper subactis, quos vicerat, novum imperium aspernantibus; <sup>2</sup> de die inibat convivia, quibus e intererant, non quidem quas violari nefas esset: quippe es, licentius quam decobat cum armato vivere assuetæ. una <sup>3</sup> Thais, et ipsa temulenta, maximam apud omnes initurum gratiam affirmat, si regiam Persarum jus- incendi: exspectare hoc eos, quorum urbes Barbari at. Ebrio scorto de tantâ re ferenti sententiam, alter, et ipsi mero onerati assentiuntur. Rex quoque

fuit 'avidior, quam patientior: "Quin igitur ulciscimur Græciam, et urbi faces subdimus?" Omnes incaluerant mero. Itaque surgunt temulentii ad incendendam urbem, cui armati pepercerant. Primus Rex ignem regiæ injecit. Tum convivæ et ministri, pellicesque. Multa cedro sedificata erat regia, quæ celeriter igne concepto latè fudit incendium. Quod ubi exercitus, qui haud procul ab urbe tendebat, conspexit, fortuitum ratus, ad opem ferendam concurrit. Sed ut ad vestibulum regiæ ventum est, vident Regem ipsum adhuc aggerentem faces. Omissa igitur, quam portaverant, aquâ aridam materiam in incendium jacere cooperunt.

23. Hunc exitum habuit regia totius Orientis, undè tot gentes anteà jura petebant: patria tot Regum, unicus quondam Græciæ terror, molita mille navium classem, et exercitus, quibus Europa inundata est; <sup>1</sup> contabulato mari milibus, per eosque montibus, in quorum specus fretum immissum est. Ac ne tam longâ quidem ætate, quæ excidium ejus secuta est, surrexit. Alias urbes habuère Macedonum Reges, quas nunc habent Parthi: <sup>10</sup> hujus vestigium non inveniretur, nisi Araxes amnis ostenderet. Haud procul moenibus fluxerat: indè urbem fuisse xx stadiis distantem credunt magis, quam sciunt accolæ. Pudebat Macedones tam præclaram urbem a comes-sabundo Rege deletam esse. <sup>11</sup> Itaque res in serum versa est, et imperaverunt sibi, ut crederent illo potissimum modo fuisse delendam. Ipsum, ut primùm gravatam ebrietate mentem quies reddidit, pœnituisse constat, et dixisse, <sup>12</sup> majores pœnas Persas Græcis datus fuisse, si ipsum in solio, regiâque Xerxis conspicere coacti essent. Postero die, Lycio, itineris quo Persidem intraverat duci, triginta talenta dono dedit. Hinc in regionem Medizæ transiit, ubi supplementum novorum militum e Ciliciâ occurrit. Peditem erant quinque millia, equites mille: utrisque Plato Atheniensis præerat. His copiis auctus, Darium persequi statuit.

VIII. 24. <sup>1</sup> Ille jam Ecbatana pervenerat, caput Mediae. Urbem hanc nunc tenent Parthi: eaque sestiva regibus sedes est. Adire deindè Bactra decreverat: sed veritus ne <sup>2</sup> celeri-

te Alexandri occuparetur, consilium iterque mutavit. Aberat  
eo Alexander stadia MD, sed jam nullum intervallum adver-  
s velocitatem ejus satis longum videbatur. Itaque prælio  
igis quām fugæ se præparabat. Triginta millia peditum  
quebantur: in quibus Græcorum erant quatuor millia, fide  
a Regem ad ultimum invictā. Funditorum quoque et sagit-  
iorum manus quatuor millia expleverat. Præter hos tria  
lia et trecenti equites erant, maximè Bactrianorum. His  
isus præerat, Bactrianae regionis Præfectus. Cum hoc ag-  
e Darius paulùm declinavit viâ militari, jussis præcedere  
s impedimentorum custodibus. Consilio deindè advocateo,  
me cum ignavis," inquit, "et pluris 'qualemcumque vitam  
te honestā æstimantibus, fortuna junxit, tacerem potius,  
im frustrā verba consumerem. Sed majore quām vellea-  
mento, et virtutem vestram et fidem expertus, magis etiam  
iti debo, ut dignus talibus amicis sim, quām dubitare an  
i similes adhuc sitis. Ex tot millibus, quæ sub imperio  
int meo, bis me victum, bis fugientem persecuti estis.  
s vestra, et constantia, ut Regem me esse credam, facit  
litores et tranfugæ in urbibus meis regnant, non herculē  
tanto honore digni habeantur, sed ut præmiis eorum vestri  
tentur animi. Meam tamen fortunam quām victoris ma-  
s sequi: dignissimi quibus, si ego non possim, Dii pro me  
referant: et meherculē referent. Nulla erit tam surda  
ritas, nulla tam ingrata fama, quæ non in cœlum vos debi-  
udibus ferat. Itaque, etiamsi consilium fugæ, a quā  
im abhorret animus, agitassem, vestrā tamen virtute fre-  
bviām issem hosti. Quousque enim in regno exulabo, et  
nes imperii mei fugiam externum et advenam Regem, cùm  
"experto belli fortunam, aut reparare quæ amisi, aut ho-  
morte defungi? nisi fortè satius est exspectare victoris  
ium, et Mazæi, et Mithrenis exemplo precarium accipere  
m nationis unius, "ut jam malit ille gloriæ suæ, quām,  
sequi. Nec Dii siverint, ut 'hoc decus mei capitis aut  
e mihi quisquam, aut condonare 'possit. Nec hoc im-  
a vivus amittam, idemque erit regni mei qui et spiritus

finis. Si hic 'animus, si haec lex, nulli non pars libertas est: nemo e vobis fastidium Macedonum, nemo vulnus superbum ferre cogetur. Sua cuique dextra aut ultiōnem tot malorum pariet, aut finem. Evidēm quām versatilis fortuna sit, documentum ipse sum. "Nec immeritò mitiores vices ejus exspecto. Sed si justa ac pia bella Dii aversantur, fortibus tamen viris licebit honestè mori. Per ego vos decora majorum, qui totius Orientis regna cum memorabili laude tenuerunt; per illos viros, quibus stipendium Macedonia quondam tulit; per tot navium classes, in Græciam missas; per tot tropae Regum, oro et obtestor, ut nobilitate vestrâ gentisque dignos spiritus capiat, ut eādem constantia animorum, qui præterita tolerastis, experiamini quidquid deindè sors tuluerit. Me certè in perpetuum, aut victoria egregia nobilitabit, aut pugna."

IX. 25. Haec dicente Dario, præsentis periculi species omnium simul corda animosque horrore perstrinxerat: nec aut consilium suppeditabat, aut vox; cùm Artabazus vetustissimus amicorum, quem hospitem fuisse Philippi <sup>1</sup> sèpè diximus, "Nos verò," inquit, "pretiosissimam vestem induit, armisque quanto maximo cultu possumus adornati, Regem in aciem sequemur. Èa quidem mente, victoram ut speremus, mortem non recusamus." Assensu excepere casteri hanc vocem. Sed <sup>2</sup> Nabarzanes, qui in eodem consilio erat, cum Besso inauditi ante facinoris societate inita, Regem suum per milites, quibus ambo præerant, comprehendere et vincire decreverant; <sup>3</sup> eā mente, ut si Alexander ipsos insecurus foret, tradito Rege vivo inirent gratiam victoris, 'magni profectò cepisse Darium aestimatur. Sin autem eum effugere potuissent, interfecto Dario, regnum sibi occuparent, bellumque renovarent. Hoc parricidium cùm diū volutassent, Nabarzanes <sup>4</sup> aditum nefariæ spei præparans, "Scio me," inquit, "sententiam esse dicturum primâ specie haudquaquam auribus tuis gratam: sed medici quoque graviores morbos asperis remediis curant: et gubernator, ubi naufragium timet, jacturâ, quidquid servari potest, redimit. Ego tamen, non ut damnum quidem facias, suadeo; sed ut te, <sup>5</sup>

num tuum, salubri ratione conserves. Diis aversis bellum  
mus, et pertinax fortuna Persas urgere non desinit. Novis  
tiis et omnibus opus est. <sup>10</sup> Auspicium et imperium alii trade-  
rim, qui tam diu Rex appelletur, donec Asiā decedat hos-

Victor <sup>11</sup> deinde regnum tibi reddat: hoc autem brevi  
urum ratio promittit. Bactra intacta sunt: Indi et Sacæ  
uā potestate; tot populi, tot exercitus, tot equitum peditum-  
millia ad renovandum bellum vires paratas habent, ut ma-  
belli <sup>12</sup> moles supersit, quām exhausta sit. Quid ruimus  
uarum ritu in perniciem non necessariam? Fortium  
rum est magis mortem contemnere, quām odisse vitam.  
ē tædio laboris <sup>13</sup> ad vilitatem sui compelluntur ignavi: at  
is nihil inexpertum omittit. Itaque ultimum omnium mors  
ad quam non pigrè ire satis est. Proindè si Bactra, quod  
simum receptaculum est, petimus, Praefectum regionis ejus  
um, Regem <sup>14</sup> temporis gratiā statuamus. Compositis re-  
<sup>15</sup> justo Regi tibi <sup>16</sup> fiduciarium restituet imperium."

6. Haud mirum est, Darium non temperasse animo,  
anquam tam impiae voci quantum nefas subesset latebat.  
te, <sup>17</sup> "Pessimū," inquit, "mancipium, reperisti opta-  
tibi tempus, quo parricidium aperires!" strictoque acinace  
ēcturus eum videbatur, <sup>18</sup> nī properè Bessus Bactria-  
, tristium specie, cæterū, si perseveraret, vincunti,  
nstatissent. Nabarzanes interim elapsus, mox et Bessus  
cetus, copias quibus prærant a cætero exercitu secedere  
t, secretum inituri consilium. Artabazus convenientem  
nti fortunæ sententiam orsus, mitigare Darium, <sup>19</sup> tem-  
identidem admonens cepit: "Ferret æquo animo  
mcunque, suorum tamen, vel stultitiam vel errorem.  
e Alexandrum" gravem, etiamsi omnes præstò essent:  
iturum, si persecuti fugam ipsius alienentur?" <sup>20</sup> Ægre  
Artabazo, et quanquam movere castra statuerat, tur-  
tamen omnium animis, eodem in loco substituit. Sed  
us mœstitiā simul et desperatione, tabernaculo se in-

Ergo in castris, quæ nullius regebantur imperio,  
nimorum motus erant: nec in commune, ut anteā, con-

sulebatur. Dux Græcorum militum <sup>10</sup> Patron arma capere suos jubet, paratosque esse ad exsequendum imperium. Persæ secesserant. Bessus cum Bactrianis erat, tentabatque Persas abducere; Bactra, et intactæ regionis opulentiam, simulque, quæ manentibus instarent, pericula ostentans. Persarum omnium eadem ferè fuit vox, nefas esse deserri Regem. Inter hæc Artabazus omnibus imperatoriis fungebatur officiis. Ille Persarum tabernacula circumire, hortari, monere nunc singulos, nunc universos, non antè destituit, quām satis constaret imperata facturos. Idem ægrè a Dario impetravit, <sup>20</sup> ut cibum caperet, animumque Regis.

X. 27. At Bessus et Nabarzanes, olim agitatum scelus exsequi statuunt, regni cupiditate accensi. Dario autem incolumi, tantas opes sperare non poterant. Quippè in illis gentibus Regum <sup>1</sup> eximia majestas est. Ad nomen quoquè Barbari convenient, et pristinæ veneratio fortunæ sequitur adversam. Inflabat impios animos regio cui præerant, armis virisque et spatio locorum nulli earum gentium secunda. Tertiam partem Asiae tenet. Multitudo juniorum exercitus, quos amiserat Darius, æquabat. Itaque non illum modò, sed etiam Alexandrum spernabant; indè vires imperii repetituri, si <sup>2</sup> regionis potiri contigisset. Diù omnibus cogitatis, placuit per milites Bactrianos ad omne obsequium destinatos Regem comprehendere, mittique nuncium ad Alexandrum, qui indicaret vivum asservari eum; si, id quod timebant, proditionem aspernatus esset, <sup>3</sup> occisuri Darium, et Bactra cum suarum gentium manu petituri. Cæterū propalam comprehendi Darius non poterat, tot Persarum millibus laturis opem Regi. Græcorum quoque fides timebatur. Itaque, quod non poterant vi, fraude assequi tentant. Pœnitentiam secessionis simulare decreverant, et excusare apud Regem <sup>4</sup> consternationem suam.

28 Interim qui Persas <sup>5</sup> sollicitarent, mittuntur. Hinc spe, hinc metu militares animos versant: “ruinæ rerum illos subdere capita; in perniciem trahi: cùm Bactra pateant, exceptura eos bonis et opulentia, quam animis concipere non pos-

nt." Haec agitantibus Artabasus supervenit, sive Regis iussu, sive sua sponte, affirmans mitigatum esse Darium, et imdem illis amicitiae gradum patere apud Regem. Illi lacryantes, nunc purgare se, nunc Artabazum orare, ut causam sororum tueretur, precesque perferret. Sic peractâ nocte, sub cœl's ortu, Nabarzanes cum Bactrianis militibus in vestibulo rætorii aderat, <sup>et</sup> titulum solemnis officii occulto sceleri prærens. Darius, signo ad eundum dato, currum pristino more ascendit. Nabarzanes cæterique parricidæ, procumbentes mi, quem paulò post in vinculis habituri erant, <sup>sustinuere</sup> nerari; lacrymas etiam poenitentiae indices, profuderunt: aded manis ingenii parata simulatio est. <sup>Preces</sup> deindè, supceter admotæ, Darium, naturâ simplicem et mitem, non creare modò quæ affirmabant, sed etiam flere coegerunt. Ac ne n quidem cogitati sceleris poenituit, cùm intuerentur, quæ et Regem et virum fallerent. Ille quidem <sup>securus</sup> peri quod instabat, Alexandri manus, quas solas timebat, igere properabat.

XI. 29. Patron autem Græcorum dux præcepit suis, ut ea quæ in sarcinis anteà ferebantur induerent, ad omne imium suum parati, et intenti. Ipse currum Regis sequebatur, casioni imminens alloquendi eum; quippe Bessi facinus senserat. Sed Besus id ipsum metuens, custos verius in comes, a curru non recedebat. Diù ergò Patron cunctac <sup>sæpius</sup> sermone revocato, inter fidem timoremque itans, Regem intuebatur. Qui ut tandem advertit oculos, acem spadonem inter proximos currum sequentem percunjubet, num quid ipsi velit dicere? Patron se verò, sed otis arbitris, loqui velle cum eo respondit. Jussusque pro accedere, sine interprete (nam haud rudis Græcæ linguae ius erat), "Rex," inquit, "ex quinquaginta millibus Græm supersumus pauci, omnes fortunæ tuæ comites: et in tuo statu iidem, qui florente te fuimus, quascumque sedes eris, pro patriâ et domesticis rebus petituri. Secundærsæque res tuæ copulavère nos tecum. Per hanc fidem etiam oro et obtestor, in uostris castris tibi tabernaculum

statue; nos corporis tui custodes esse patiaria. Omisimus Græciam: nulla Bactra sunt nobis. Spes omnis in te, utinam et in cæteris esset! Plura dici non attinet. Custodiam corporis tui externus et alienigena non deposcerem, si crederem alium posse <sup>1</sup> præstare."

30. Bessus quanquam erat Græci sermonis ignarus, tamen stimulante conscientiâ, indicium profecto Patronem detulisse credebat: et, "interpretis Græci relato sermone, exempta dubitatio est. Darius autem, quantum ex vulta conspici poterat, haud sanè territus, percunctari Patrona causam consilii, quod afferret, coepit. Ille non ultrâ differendum ratus, "Bessus," inquit, "et Nabarzanes insidiantur tibi; in ultimo discrimine es fortunæ et vitæ. Hic dies aut parricidis, aut tibi futurus ultimus." Et Patron quidem egregiam conservati Regis gloriam <sup>1</sup> tulerat. Eludant licet quibus fortè temerè humana negotia volvi agique persuasum est: "equidem æternâ constitutione crediderim nexuque causarum latentium, et multò antè destinatarum, suum quemque ordinem immutabili lege percurrere. Darius certè respondit; "Quanquam sibi Græcorum militum fides nota sit, nunquā tamen a popularibus suis recessurum. Difficilius sibi esse damnare, quam decipi; quidquid sors tulisset, inter suos perpeti malle quam transfugam fieri: serò se perire, si salvum esse sui milites nollent." Patron desperatâ salute Regis, ad eos, quibus præerat, rediit; omnia <sup>1</sup> pro fide experiri paratus.

XII. 31. At Bessus occidendi protinus Regis <sup>1</sup> impetum conceperat. Sed veritus, ne gratiam Alexandri, nî vivum eum tradidisset, inire non posset, dilato in proximam noctem sceleris consilio, agere gratias incipit, quod <sup>1</sup> perfidi hominis insidias: jam Alexandri opes spectantis, prudenter cautèque vitasset: donum eum hosti laturum fuisse Regis caput; nec mirari, hominem mercede conductum omnia habere venalia; sine pignore, <sup>1</sup> sine lare, terrarum orbis exsulem, <sup>1</sup> ancipitem hostem, <sup>1</sup> ad nutum licentium circumferri. Purganti deindè se Deosque patrios testes fidei suæ invocanti, Darius vultu assentiebatur, haud dubius quin vera deferrentur a Græcis: sed <sup>1</sup> eò rerum

ventum erat, ut tam periculosum esset non credere suis, quam decipi. Triginta millia erant, quorum inclinata in scelus levitas timebatur. Quatuor millia Patron habebat; quibus si credidisset salutem suam, damnata popularium fide, parricidio excusationem videbat offerri. Itaque præoptabat immerito, quam jure violari. Besso tamen insidiarum consilium purganti, respondit, "Alexandri sibi non minus justitiam, quam virtutem esse perspectam. Falli eos qui proditionis ab eo præmium exspectent. Violatae fidei neminem acriorem fore vindicem ultoremque." Jamque nox appetebat, cum Persæ, more solito armis positis, ad necessaria ex proximo vico ferenda discurrunt. At Bactriani (ut imperatum erat a Besso)  
armati stabant.

32. Inter hæc Darius Artabazum acciri jubet; expositisque quæ Patron detulerat, "haud dubitare," <sup>11</sup> Artabæus, "quin transeundum esset in castra Græcorum," [respondit,] "Persas quoque periculo vulgato secuturos." <sup>12</sup> Destinatus sorti suæ, et jam nullius salubris consilii patiens, unicam in illâ fortunâ opem, Artabazum, ultimum illum visurus, amplectitur; <sup>13</sup> profusisque mutuis lacrymis, inhærentem sibi avelli jubet: capite deindè velato ne inter gemitus digredientem velut a rogo intueretur, in humum pronum corpus abjecit. Tum verò custodizæ ejus assueti, quos Regis salutem <sup>14</sup> vel periculo vitæ tueri oportebat, dilapsi sunt, armatis quos jam adventare credebant haud rati se futuros parea. Ingens ergò in tabernaculo solitudo erat, paucis spadonibus, (quia quod discederent non habebant) circumstantibus Regem. At ille, remotis arbitris, diù aliud atque aliud consilium animo voluntabat. Jamque solitudinem, quam paulò antè pro solatio petiverat, perosus, Bubacem vocari jubet; quem intuens, "Ite," inquit, "consulte vobis; ad ultimum Regi vestro (ut decebat) fide exhibitâ. Ego hic legem fati mei expecto. Forsitan mireris, quod vitam non finiam: alieno scelere quam meo mori malo." Post hanc vocem, spado gemitu non modò tabernaculum, sed etiam castra complevit. Irrupere

deindè alii, laceratisque vestibus, lugubri et barbaro ululatu Regem deplorare cōperunt.

33. Persæ, ad illos clamore perlato, attoniti metu, nec arma capere, ne in Bactrianos inciderent, nec quiescere audebant, ne <sup>16</sup> impie deserere Regem viderentur. Varius ac dissonus clamor sine duce, ac sine imperio, totis castris referebatur. Besso et Nabarzani nunciaverant sui, Regem a semetipso interemptum esse. Planctus eos deceperat. Itaque citatis equis advolant, sequentibus quos ad ministerium sceleris de-legerant: et cùm tabernaculum intrássent, <sup>17</sup> quia Regem vivere spadones indicabant, comprehendi, vinciri que jusserunt. Rex curru paulò antè vectus, et Deorum <sup>18</sup> a suis honoribus cultus, <sup>19</sup> nullā externā ope admotā, captivus servorum suorum, in sordidum vehiculum pellibus undique contectum imponitur. Peounia Regis et supellex, quasi jure belli, diripiunt: onusti-que prædā per scelus ultimum partā, fugam intendunt. Arta-bazus cum iis, qui imperio parebant, Græcisque militibus, Parthienem petebat; omnia tutiora parricidarum contitu-ratus. Persæ promissis Bessi onerati, maximè quia nemo aliis erat quem sequerentur, conjunxere se Bactrianis; agmen eorum tertio assecuti die. Ne tamen honos Regi non habe-retur, aureis compedibus Darium vinciunt, nova ludi-bria sub-indè excogitante fortunā. Et ne fortē cultu regio posset agnoscī, sordidis pellibus vehiculum intexerant. Ignoti jumenta agebant, ne percunctantibus in agmine monstrari posset. Cus-todes procul seqüebantur.

XIII. 34. Alexander, <sup>1</sup> audito Darium movisse ab Ecba-tanis, omissò itinere quod patebat in Mediam, fugientem inse-quì pergit strenuè. Tabas oppidum est in Parætacene ultimā: quò ubi pervenit, ibi transfugæ nunciant, præcipitem fugā Bactra petere Darium. Certiora deindè cognoscit ex Bagysthane Babylonio; "non equidem vinctum Regem, sed in periculo esse aut mortis, aut vinculorum." Rex, ducibus convocatis, "Maximum," inquit, "opus, sed labor brevissimus superest. Darius haud procul, destitutus a suis, aut vinctus, aut oppres-sus, est. In illo corpore posita est victoria nostra, et tanta res

celeritatis est præmium." Omnes pariter conclamant, paras  
tos ipsos sequi: nec labori, nec periculo parceret. Igitur  
raptim agmen, cursus magis quām itineris modo, dicit; ne  
nocturnā quidem quiete diurnum laborem relaxante. Itaque  
quingenta stadia processit, per ventumque erat in vicum, in quo  
Darium Bessus comprehenderat. Ibi Melon Darii interpres  
excipitur: corpore æger, non potuerat agmen sequi: et de-  
prehensus celeritate Regis, transfugam se esse simulabat.  
<sup>3</sup> Ex hoc acta cognoscit: sed fatigatis necessaria quies erat.  
Itaque delectis equitum sex millibus trecentos, quos *Dimachas*  
appellabant, adjungit. <sup>4</sup> Dorso hi graviora arma portabant:  
cæterū equis vehebantur; cùm res locusque posceret, pedes-  
tris acies erat. Hæc agentem Alexandrum adeunt Orsillos et  
Mythracenes, qui Bessi parricidium exosi transfugerant: nun-  
ciabantque, stadia quingenta abesse Persas: ipsos brevius iter  
monstraturos. Gratus Regi adventus transfugarum fuit.  
Itaque primā vesperā, ducibus iisdem, cum expeditā equitum  
manu monstratam viam ingreditur, phalange quantūm festinare  
posset sequi jussā. Ipse quadrato agmine incendens, ita cursum  
regebat, "ut primi conjungi ultimis possent.

35. Trecenta stadia processerant, cùm occurrit Broeubelus  
Maxei filius, Syriae quondam Prætor. Is quoque transfuga  
nunciabat, "Bessum haud ampliū quām ducenta stadia abesse:  
exercitum, ut potè qui nihil præcaveret, incompositum inordi-  
natumque procedere: Hyrcaniam videri petituros; si festinaret  
sequi, palantibus superventurum: Darium adhuc vivere."  
<sup>5</sup> Strenuo alioqui cupiditatem consequendi transfuga injecerat.  
Itaque calcaribus subditis, effuso cursu eunt. Jamque fremitus  
hostium iter ingredientium exaudiebatur: sed prospectum ad-  
emerat pulveris nubes. Paulisper ergò inhibuit cursum, donec  
consideret pulvis. Jamque conspecti a Barbaris erant, et  
<sup>6</sup> abeuntium agmen conspicerant, nequaquam futuri pares, si  
Besso tantū animi fuisse ad prælium, quantūm ad parrici-  
dium fuerat. Namque et Barbari numero præstabant, et  
robore. Ad hoc refecti cum fatigatis certamen inituri erant.  
Sed nomen Alexandri et fama, maximum in bello utique

momentum, pavidos in fugam avertit. Bessus verò et cæteri facinoris ejus participes, vehiculum Darii assecuti, cœperunt hortari eum, "conscenderet equum, et se hosti fugâ eriperet." Ille Deos ultores adesse testatur, et Alexandri fidem im plorans, negat se parricidas velle comitari. Tum verò irâ quoque accensi, tela injiciunt in Regem, multisque confossum vulneribus relinquunt. Jumenta quoque, ne longius prosequi possent, convulnérant; duobus servis, qui Regem comitabantur occisis.

36. Hoc edito facinore, ut vestigia fugæ spargerent, Nabarzanes Hyrcaniam, Bessus Bactra, paucis equitum comitantibus, petebant. Barbari ducibus destituti, quâ quemque aut spes duebat, aut pavor, dissipabantur. Quingenti tantum equites congregaverant se, incerti adhuc, resistere melius esset, an fugere. Alexander, hostium trepidatione competrâ, Nicanorem cum equitum parte ad inhibendam fugam præmittit. Ipse cum cæteris sequitur: tria fermè millia resistentium occisa sunt: reliquum agmen more pecudum intactum agebatur, jubente Rege, ut cædibus abstineretur. Nemo captivorum erat, qui monstrare Darii vehiculum posset: singuli, ut quæque prehenderant, scrutabantur: nec tamen ullum vestigium fugæ Regis exstebat. Festinantem Alexandrum vix tria millia equitum persecuta sunt. At in eos qui lentiùs sequebantur incidebant universa fugientium agmina. Vix credibile dictu, plures captivi, quâm qui caperent erant: <sup>8</sup> adeò omnem sensum territis fortuna penitus excusserat, ut nec hostium paucitatem, nec multitudinem suam satis cernerent. Interim jumenta quæ Darium vehebant, nullo regente, decesserant militari viâ, et errore delata per quatuor stadia, in quâdam valle constiterant, sestu simulque vulneribus fatigata. Haud procul erat fons, ad quem monstratum a peritis Polystratus Macedo siti maceratus accessit. Ac dûm galeâ haustam aquam sorbet, tela jumentorum deficientium corporibus infixa conspexit. Miratusque confossa potius, quâm abacta esse, <sup>9</sup> semivivi

[hominis corpus, cùm propriis accessisset, in sordido vehiculo pellibus contexto situm reperit: atque

Darium, multis quidem vulneribus confosum, adhuc tamen spirantem, esse cognovit. Qui applicito captivo, cum civem ex voce cognovisset, id saltem praesentis fortunae solatium se habere dixit, quod apud intellectum locuturus esset, nec incassum postremas voces emissurus; nescie Alexandro preferri jubet. Se nullis in eum meritorum officiis, maximorum autem illi debitorem mori. Agere tamen ei maximas gratias pro beneficiis in matrem, conjugem, liberosque suos impensis: iis enim vitam, et pristini statu reverentiam, dignitatemque concessam: sibi autem a cognatis atque amicis, quibus et regna et vitam dederit, illa omnia erupta esse. Precari se, ut illi victori terrarum omnium imperium contingat. Ultionem sceleris erga se perpetrati, non solum suam, sed exempli omniumque Regum causam, non negligere, illi cum decorum, tum utile futurum. Jamque deficiens aquam poposcit; quam allatam postquam bibit, Polystrato, qui eam tulerat, "Quisquis es mortalium," inquit, "hoc mihi extreum universae calamitatis genus accidit, ut pro tanto in me beneficio dignas tibi grates referre nequeam. At referet Alexander: Alexandro verò Dii pro ejus summā in meos humanitate ac clementiā. Cui hoc fidei regis unicum dextræ pignus pro me dabia." Haec dicentem, accepta Polystrati manu, vita destituit. Quibus Alexandro nunciatis, ad corpus demortui perveniens, tam indignam illo fastigio mortem lacrymis prosecutus est. Demptaque sibi chlamyde, corpus illius contexit; atque regio ornatum cultu, ad matrem Sisygambim, patrio regioque more sepiendum, atque regiis majorum suorum tumulis inferendum, misit.]

---

## LIBER VI.

## ARGUMENTUM.

1. Praelli inter Lacedæmonios atque Macedones descriptio, et pax ab Alexandro viatore Graecia, qui eo absente defecerant, concessa.
2. Alexander bello invictus, otio et deliciis frangitur; unde rumor in castris, qui tormentum exdat.
3. Hortatoria Alexandri ad milites oratio, ut bellum in Asia inchoatum, persequantur et absolvent.
4. Zieberis miri fluminis descriptio. Alexander Nabarsani per litteras salutem quærenti veniam pollicetur. Deinde mari Caspio et Hyrcanis proximus, quosdam Darii praefectos recipit in gratiam.
5. Artabazo, summā cum animi benevolentia excepto, Graecia, qui Darium adjuve-

rant, parcit Alexander, et Mardorum gente debellatā, Amazonicē cūjusdam Regine petitioni satisfacit.

6. Macedones Alexandri offenduntur moribus, qui ut seditionem averteret, ad bellum Besso inferendum mentem convertit. Quod et stratagemate inchoat: ac Satibarzānem, quōd defecisset, primum persequitur: Barbaros a montibus fortiter dispellit: Artacacnam expugnat.

7. Conjurationem in Alexandrum Dymnus Nicomacho, hic per Cebaliam fratrem Alexandro detegit. Hinc mors Dymni qui ipse sibi manus infert.

8. Amicorum regiorum consilio Philotas Parmenionis filius, conjurationis auctor et participē creditus, capitū, ac velato capite in regiam abducitur.

9. De conjuratione, adversus Philotam expostulatoria Alexandri ad milites oratio, cōram quibus Philotas adductus defensionem parat.

10. Apologetica Philote oratio, quā conjurationis accusationem prolixè refellit.

11. Concio a quodam Belone accensa in Philotam surgit. Is paulò post, ut se cruciatus liberaret, fictae conjurationis circumstantias aperit cumque aliis qui occulantur a Nicomacho, saxis obrutur.

I. 1. [ALEXANDRO in Asiā gravibus bellis occupato, plerique Græcorum occasionem circumspiciebant, quā in libertatem se assererent: eam queinvénisse credebant in Thraciā tumultu, quem Memnon, p̄fectus militum, concitaverat. Duces ceteris Lacedæmonii erant, qui, totā Graciā temporibus serviente, soli Macedonum dominationi restiterant. A Persis pecunia sperabatur ad ampliorem belli usum. Cū ergo Antipater, quicquid militum habebat, in Thraciam duxisset, motum nuper exortum oppressurus, Peloponnesiī, exceptis paucis, bello Macedonas invadunt, Agidi, Lacedæmoniorum regi, summam imperii deferentes, Quo audito, Antipater, utecumque potuit, res in Thraciā componens, adversus Græcos proficisciuit, qui nescioquā pugnā confisi, Megalopolim obſidione cinixerant, et jam in eo erat, ut caperent oppidum, cū Antipater ex Macedonia supervenit. Utrimque acriter pugnatur, et quamquam locus Macedonas, qui numero prævalebant, non capiebat, irruunt tamen, urgent, cedere cogunt. Quod ubi Agis consperit, ut inclinatum suorum aciem firmaret, illico cum regiā cohorte, quæ ex lectissimis constabat, se in medium]

<sup>1</sup> pugnæ discrimen <sup>2</sup> immisit: obtruncatisque qui promptiū resistebant, magnam partem hostium propulit. Cœperant fugere victores, et, donec avidiū sequentes in planum deduxere, multi cadebant. Sed ut primū locus in quo stare possent fuit, æquis viribus dimicatum est. Inter omnes tamen Lacedæmonios Rex eminebat, non armorum modò et corporis specie, sed etiam magnitudine animi, quo uno vinci non potuit. Undiquè, nunc cominus, nunc eminus petebatur, diuque arma circumferens, alia tela clypeo

excipiebat, <sup>3</sup> corpore alia vitabat, donec hastâ femora perfossa, plurimò sanguine effuso, destituére pugnantem. Ergò clypeo suo exceptum armigeri raptim in castra referebant, jactationem vulnerum haud facilè tolerantem.

2. Non tamen omisere Lacedæmonii pugnam; et ut primum sibi, quam hosti æquiore locum capere potuerunt, densatis ordinibus effusi, fluentem in se aciem exceperé. <sup>4</sup> Non aliud discriminè vehementius fuisse memoriae proditum est. Duarum nobilissimarum bello gentium exercitus pari marte pugnabant. Lacedæmonii vetera, Macedones præsentia decora intuebantur. Illi pro libertate, hi pro dominatione pugnabant: Lacedæmoniis dux, Macedonibus locus deerat. Diei quoque unius tam multiplex casus, modò spem, modò metum utriusque partis augebat: velut de industriâ inter fortissimos viros certamen æquante fortunâ. Cæterùm, angustiæ loci, in quo <sup>5</sup> hæserat pugna, non patiebantur totis congregati viribus. Spectabant ergò plures, quam inierant prælium: et qui extra teli jactum erant, clamore invicem suos accendebant. Tandem Laconum acies languescere, lubrica arma sudore vix sustinens; pedem deindè referre cœpit ac, urgente hoste, apertè fugere. Insequebatur dissipatos victor, et emensus cursu omne spatiū, quod acies Laconum obtinuerat, ipsum Agim persecutus. Ille, ut fugam suorum, et proximos hostium conspexit, deponi se jussit: expertusque membra, an impetum animi sequi possent, postquam deficere sensit, <sup>6</sup> poplitibus semet exceptit: galeâque strenuè sumptâ, clypeo protegens corpus, hastam dextrâ vibrabat, <sup>7</sup> ultrò vocans hostem si quis jacenti spolia demere auderet. Nec quisquam fuit, qui sustineret comitius congregati. Procul missilibus appetebatur, ea ipsa in hostem rectorquens, donec lancea nudo pectori infixa est: quâ ex vulnere evulsâ, inclinatum ac deficiens caput clypeo paulisper <sup>8</sup> exceptit. Deindè, linquente spiritu, pariter ac sauguine, moribundus in arma procubuit.

3. Cecidere Lacedæmoniorum quinque millia et ccc: ex Macedonibus haud amplius mille. Cæterùm vix quisquam

nisi saucius revertit in castra. Hæc victoria non Spartam modò sociosque ejus, sed etiam omnes qui fortunam belli spectaverant, fregit. Nec fallebat Antipatrum, <sup>10</sup> dissentire ab animis gratulantium vultus: sed bellum finire cupienti, opus erat decipi; et quanquam fortuna rerum placebat, invidiā tamēn, quia majores res erant, quām quas Praefecti modus caperet, metuebat; quippe Alexander hostes vinci voluerat, Antipatrum viciisse <sup>11</sup> ne tacitus quidem indignabatur; suæ demptum gloriæ existimans, quicquid cessisset alienæ. Itaque Antipater qui probè nōsset spiritus ejus, non est ausus ipse <sup>12</sup> agere arbitria victoriæ: sed concilium Græcorum, quid fieri placeret, consuluit. A quo Lacedæmonii, nihil aliud, quām ut oratores ad Regem mittere liceret, Tegeatæ, veniam defectionis, <sup>•</sup> præter auctores, impetravérunt. Megalopolitanis, quorum urbs erat obsessa a defectionis sociis, Achæi et Elei centum viginti talenta dare jussi sunt. Hic fuit exitus belli, quod repente ortum, priùs tamēn finitum est, quām Darium Alexander apud Arbela superaret.

II. 4. Sed ut primū instantibus curis laxatus est animus, militarium rerum quām quietis otioque patientior, excepere eum voluptates: et quem arma Persarum non fregerant, vitia vicerunt. Intempestiva convivia, et perpotandi pervigilandique <sup>1</sup> insana dulcedo, ludique et greges pellicum, <sup>2</sup> omnia in externum lapsa morem: quem æmulatus quasi potiorem suo, ità popularium animos oculosque pariter offendit, ut a plerisque amicorum pro hoste haberetur. Tenaces quippe disciplinæ suæ, solitosque parco ac parabili victu ad implenda naturæ desideria <sup>3</sup> defungi, in peregrina et devictarum gentium mala impulerat. Hinc sæpiùs comparatæ in caput ejus insidiæ, secessio militum, et <sup>4</sup> liberior inter mutuas querelas dolor: ipsius deindè nunc ira, nunc suspiciones, quas excitabat inconsultus pavor, cæteraque his similia, quæ deindè dicentur. Igitur cùm intempestivis conviviis dies pariter noctesque consumeret, satietatem epularum ludis interpellabat, non contentus artificum quos e Græciâ excitaverat turbâ. Quippe captivæ jubebantur suo ritu canere inconditum et ab-

horrens peregrinis auribus carmen. Inter quas unam Rex ipse conspexit mæstiorum quam cæteras, et producentibus eam verecundè reluctantem. Excellens erat forma, et formam pudor honestabat. Dejectis in terram oculis, et quantum licebat, ore velato, suspicionem præbuit Regi nobiliorem esse, quam ut inter convivales ludos deberet ostendi. Ergo interrogata quænam esset, "neptem se Ochi, qui nuper regnasset in Persis, filio ejus genitam esse," respondit; "uxorem Hystaspis fuisse." Propinquus hic Darii fuerat; magni et ipse exercitus Prætor. Adhuc in animo Regis tenues reliquias pristini moris hærebant. Itaque fortunam regiam stirpe genitæ, et tam celebre nomen reveritus, non dimitti modò captivam sed etiam restitui ei suas opes jussit; virum quoque requiri, ut reperto conjugem redderet. Postero autem die præcepit Hephaestioni ut omnes captivos in regiam juberet adduci; ubi, singulorum nobilitate spectatâ, secrevit a vulgo, quorum eminebat genus. Mille hi fuerunt, inter quos repertus est Oxathres Darii frater, non illius fortuna, quam indole animi sui clarior. XXVI millia talentum proximâ prædâ redacta erant: e queis xii millia in congiarium militum absumpta sunt. Par huic pecuniae summa custodum fraude substracta est. Oxydates erat nobilis Perses, qui, a Dario capitali supplicio destinatus, cohíebatur in vinculis. Huic liberato Satrapiam Mediæ attribuit; fratremque Darii recepit in cohortem amicorum; omni vetustæ claritatis honore servato.

5. Hinc in Parthienem perventum est, tunc ignobilem gentem, nunc caput omnium, qui post Euphratem et Tigrim amnes siti, rubro mari terminantur. Scythæ regionem campestrem ac fertilem occupaverunt, graves adhuc accolæ. Sedes habent et in Europâ, et in Asiâ. Qui super Bosporum colunt, adscribuntur Asiae. At qui in Europâ sunt, a lævo Thraciæ latere ad Borysthenem, atque inde ad Tanaïm alium amnem, rectâ plagâ attinent. Tanaïs Europam et Asiam medius interfluit: nec dubitatur quin Scythæ qui Parthos condidere, non a Bosphoro, sed ex regione Europæ penetraverint. Urbs erat eâ tempestate clara *Hecatompylos*,

condita a Græcis. Ibi stativa Rex habuit, commeatibus undique advectis. Itaque rumor, otiosi militis vitium, sine auctore percrebuit, Regem contentum rebus quas gessisset, in Macedoniam protinus redire statuisse. Discurrunt lymphatis similes in tabernacula, et itineri sarcinas aptant: signum datum crederes, ut vasa colligerent. Totis castris tumultus, hinc contubernales suos requirentium, hinc onerantium plaustra, perfertur ad Regem. Fecerant fidem rumori temere vulgato Græci milites, redire jussi domos; quorum equitibus singulis denariorum sena millia dono dederat. Ipsis quoque finem militiae adesse credebant. Haud secūs quām par erat territus Alexander, qui Indos atque <sup>9</sup> ultima Orientis peragere statuisset, Præfectos copiarum in Prætorium contrahit, obortisque lacrymis, ex medio gloriæ spatio revocari se, victi magis quām victoris fortunam in patriam relaturum, conqueritus est: nec sibi ignaviam militum obstare sed Deorum invidiā, qui fortissimis viris subitum patriæ desiderium admovissent, paulò post in eamdem cum majore laude famaque reddituris. Tùm verò pro se quisque operam suam <sup>10</sup> offerre, difficillima quæque poscere, polliceri militum quoque obsequium, si animos eorum leni et aptā oratione permulcere <sup>11</sup> voluisset. Nunquām infractos et abjectos recessisse, quæc ipsius alacritatem et tanti animi spiritus <sup>12</sup> haurire potuerint. Ita se facturum esse respondit; illi modò vulgi aures præpararent sibi. Satisque omnibus, quæ <sup>13</sup> in rem videbantur esse, compositis, vocari ad concionem exercitum jussit, apud quem talem orationem habuit.

III. 6. “ Magnitudinem rerum quas gessimus, milites, intuentibus vobis, minimè mirum est, et desiderium quietis, et satietatem gloriæ occurtere. Ut omittam Illyrios, Triballos, Boeotiam, Thraciam, Spartam, Achæos, Peloponnesum, quorum alia <sup>1</sup> ductu meo, alia imperio auspicioque perdomui; ecce orsi bellum ad Hellespontum, Ionas, Æolidem, servitio Barbariæ impotentis exemimus. Cariam, Lydiam, Cappadociam, Phrygiam, Paphlagoniam, Pamphyliam, Pisidas, Ciliaciam, Syriam, Phœnicen, Armeniam, Persidem, Medos, Par-

thienen habemus in potestate. Plures Provincias complexus sum, quām alii urbes ceperunt; et nescio an enumeranti mihi quedam ipsarum rerum multitudo subduxerit. Itaque, si crederem satis certam esse possessionem terrarum, quas tantā velocitate domuimus, ego verò, milites, ad penates meos, ad parentem, sororesque, et cæteros cives, vel retinentibus vobis erumperem, ut ibi potissimum partā vobiscum laude et gloriā fruerer, ubi nos uberrima victoriae præmia expectant, liberorum, conjugum, parentumque lætitia, pax, quies, rerum per virtutem partarum secura possessio.

“ Sed in novo, et (si verum fateri volumus) precario imperio, adhuc jugum ejus rigidā cervice subeuntibus Barbaris, tempore, milites, opus est, dum mitioribus ingeniis imbuantur, efferatos mollior consuetudo permulceat. Fruges quoque maturitatem statuto tempore exspectant. Aded etiam illa sensūs omnis expertia, tamen suā lege mitescunt. Quid? creditis tot gentes alterius imperio ac nomine assuetas, non sacris, non moribus, non commercio linguae nobiscum cohærentes, eodem prælio domitas esse quo vietæ sunt? Vestris armis continentur, non suis moribus; et qui præsentes metuunt, in absentiā hostes erunt. Cum feris bestiis res est, quas captas et inclusas, quia ipsarum natura non potest, longior dies mitigat. Et adhuc sic ago, tanquam omnia subacta sint armis, quæ fuerunt in ditione Darii. Hyrcaniam Nabarzanes occupavit. Bactra non solùm possidet parricida Bessus, sed etiam minatur. Sogdiani, Dahæ, Massagetae, Sacæ, Indi, sui juris sunt. Omnes hi, simul terga nostra viderint, sequentur. Illi enim ejusdem nationis sunt, nos alienigenæ et externi. Suis autem quique parent placidiūs, etiam cùm is præest qui magis timeri potest. Proinde aut quæ cepimus omittenda sunt, aut quæ non habemus occupanda. Sicut in corporibus ægris, milites, nihil quod nociturum est medici relinquunt: sic nos, quidquid obstat imperio, recidamus. Parva sæpe scintilla contempta magnum excitavit incendium. Nil tutò in hostile despicitur: quem spreveris, valentiorem negligentia facies. Ne Darius quidem hæreditarium Persa-

rum accepit imperium : sed in sedem Cyri beneficio Bagos  
castrati hominis admissus : ne vos magno labore credatis  
Bessum vacuum regnum occupaturum.

“ Nos verò peccavimus, milites, si Darium ob hoc vicimus,  
ut servo ejus traderemus imperium, qui <sup>10</sup> ultimum ausus  
scelus, Regem suum, etiam <sup>11</sup> externæ opis egentem, certè cui  
nos victores pepercissemus, quasi captivum in vinculis habuit;  
ad ultimum, ne a nobis conservari posset, occidit. Hunc vos  
regnare patiemini? quem equidem cruci affixum videre fes-  
tino, omnibus Regibus gentibusque fidei, quam violavit, meri-  
tas poenas solventem. At herculè, si mox eundem Græcorum  
urbes, aut Hellespontum vastare nunciatum erit vobis, quo  
dolore afficiemini, Bessum præmia vestræ occupasse vitoriæ?  
Tunc ad repetendas res festinabitis: tunc arma capietis.  
Quantò autem præstaret territum adhuc et vix mentis sua  
compotem, opprimere? Quatridui nobis iter superest, qui  
tot proculcavimus nives, tot amnes superavimus, tot montium  
juga transcurrimus. Non mare illud, quod exæstuans iter  
fluctibus occupat, euntes nos moratur: non Ciliciæ fauces,  
et angustiæ includunt. Plana omnia et prona sunt. In ipso  
limine vitoriæ stamus. Pauci nobis fugitivi, et domini  
sui interfectores supersunt. <sup>12</sup> Egregium meherculè opus, et  
inter prima gloriæ vestræ numerandum, posteritati famæque  
tradetis; Darii quoque hostis, finito post mortem ejus odio,  
parricidas esse vos ultos; neminem impium effugisse manus  
vestras. Hoc perpetrato, quantò creditis Persas obsequentiores  
fore, cùm intellexerint, vos pia bella suscipere, et Bessi sceleri,  
non nomini suo irasci.”

IV. 7. Summâ militum alacritate, jubentium quæcumque  
vellet duceret, oratio excepta est. Nec Rex moratus impe-  
tum; tertioque per Parthienen die ad fines Hyrcaniæ pen-  
etrat; Cratero relicto cum iis copiis, quibus præerat, et ea  
manu, quam Amyntas ducebat, additis sexcentis equitibus,  
et totidem sagittariis, ut ab incursione Barbarorum Par-  
thienen tueretur. Eriguum impedimenta, modico præsidio  
dato, campestri itinere ducere jubet. Ipse cum phalange et

equitatu cl stadia emensus, castra in valle, quā Hyrcaniam  
 adeunt, communis. Nemus præaltis densisque arboribus  
 umbrosum est, pingue vallis solum rigantibus aquis, quae  
 ex petris eminentibus manant. Ex ipsis radicibus montium  
 Zioberis amnis effunditur, qui tria ferè stadia in longitudi-  
 nem universus fluit: deinde saxo, quod alveolum inter-  
 pellat, repercussus, duo itinera velut dispensatis aquis  
 aperit. Inde torrens, et saxorum per quae incurrit asperi-  
 tate violentior, terram præceps subit. Per oec stadia con-  
 ditus labitur, rursusque velut ex alto fonte conceptus editur  
 et novum alveum intendit, priore sui parte spatiösior. Quippe  
 in latitudinem xiiii stadiorum diffunditur; rursusque angus-  
 tioribus coërcitus ripis iter cogit: tandem in alterum amnem  
 cadit, (*Rhidago* nomen est.) Incolæ affirmabant, quæcum-  
 que demissa essent in cavernam, quæ propior est fonti, rursus,  
 ubi aliud os amnis aperit, existere. Itaque Alexander duos  
 tauros, quæ subeunt aquæ terram, præcipitari jubet: "quorum  
 corpora, ubi rursus erumpit, expulsa videre, qui missi erant,  
 ut exciperent.

8. Quartum jam diem eodem loco quietem militi dederat,  
 cùm litteras Nabarzanis, qui Darium cum Besso interceperat,  
 accipit, quarum sententia hæc erat: "Se Dario non fuisse in-  
 imicum, imo etiam quæ credidisset utilia esse, suasisse: et  
 quia fidele consilium Regi dedisset, propè occisum ab eo.  
 Agitasse Darium, custodiam corporis sui contra jus fasque  
 peregrino militi tradere, damnata popularium fide, quam per  
 ducentos et triginta annos inviolatam Regibus suis præstis-  
 sent. Se in præcipiti et lubrico stantem, consilium a præsenti  
 necessitate repetisse. Darium quoque, cùm occidisset Bagoam,  
 hac excusatione satisfecisse popularibus, quod insidianem sibi  
 interemisset. Nihil esse miseris mortalibus spiritu carius.  
 Amore ejus ad ultima esse propulsum: sed ea magis esse  
 secutum, quæ coëgisset necessitas, quam quæ optäset. In  
 communi calamitate suam quemque habere fortunam. Si ve-  
 nire se juberet, sine metu esse venturum. Non timere ne fidem  
 datam tantus Rex violaret. Deos a Deo falli non solera. Cæ-

terum, si, cui fidem daret, videretur indignus, multa exilia patere fugienti; patriam esse ubicumquè vir fortis sedem elegerit." Nec dubitavit Alexander fidem, quo Persæ modo accipiebant, dare, inviolatum, si venisset, fore. Quadrato tamen agmine et composito ibat: speculatores subinde præmittens, qui explorarent loca. Levis armatura ducebat agmen: phalanx eam sequebatur: post pedites erant impedimenta. Et gens bellicosa, et naturâ situs difficilis aditu, curam Regis intenderat. Namque perpetua vallis jacet, usque ad mare Caspium patens. <sup>10</sup> Duo terræ ejus, veluti brachia, excurrunt: <sup>11</sup> media flexu modico sinum faciunt, lunæ maximè similem, cùm eminent cornua, nondum totum orbem sidere implente Cercetæ, Mosyni et Chalybes, a lœvâ sunt; ab alterâ parte Leucosyri, et Amazonum campi: <sup>12</sup> et illos, quâ vergit ad Septentrionem, hos ad occasum conversa, prospectat.

9. Mare Caspium, dulcius cæteris, ingentis magnitudinis serpentes alit, et pisces longè diversi ab aliis coloris. Quidam *Caspium*, quidam *Hyrcanum* appellant. Alii sunt, qui Maeotim Paludem in id cadere putent, et argumentum afferunt, aquam quòd dulcior sit, quam cætera maria, infuso paludis humore mitescere. A Septentrione ingens in littus mare incubit, longèque agit fluctus, <sup>13</sup> et magnâ parte exæstuans stagnat. Idem, alio cœli statu, recipit se in fretum, eodemque impetu, quo effusum est, relabens, terram naturæ suæ reddit; et quidam credidere non Caspium mare esse, sed ex Indiâ in Hyrcaniam cadere; <sup>14</sup> cujus fastigium (ut suprà dictum est) perpetuâ valle submittitur. Hinc Rex viginti stadia processit, semitâ propemodum inviâ, cui sylva imminebat, torrentesque et eluvies iter morabantur; nullo tamen hoste obvio, penetravit, tandemque ad ulteriora pervenitum est. Præter alias commeatus, quorum tum copiâ regio abundabat, pomorum quoque ingens modus nascitur, et uberrimum gignendis uvis solum est. Frequens arbor faciem querulus habet, cujus folia multo melle tinguntur: sed nisi solis ortum incole <sup>15</sup> occupaverint, vel modico tepore succus extinguitur. Triginta hinc stadia processerat, cùm Phrataphernes

ei occurrit, seque, et eos qui post Darii mortem profugerant, dedens; quibus benignè exceptis, ad oppidum Arvas pervenit. Hic ei Craterus et Erigyius occurrunt; Præfectum Tapyrorum gentis Phradatem adduxerant. Hic quoque in fidem receptus, multis exemplo fuit experiendi clementiam Regis. Satrapem deindè Hyrcaniæ dedit Menapim. Exul hic, regnante Ocho, ad Philippum pervenerat. Tapyrorum quoque gentem Phradati reddidit.

V. 10. Jamque Rex ultima Hyrcaniæ intraverat, cùm Artabazus, (quem Dario fidelissimum fuisse suprà diximus,) cum propinquis Darii, ac suis liberis, modicâque Græcorum militum manu, occurrit. Dextram venienti obtulit Rex: quippe et hospes Philippi fuerat, cùm, Ocho regnante, exula-ret; <sup>1</sup> et hospitii pignora in Regem suum ad ultimum fides conservata vincebat. Comiter igitur exceptus, "Tu quidem," inquit, "Rex, perpetuâ felicitate floreas. Ego cæteris laetus, hoc uno torqueor, quòd præcipiti senectute diu frui tuâ bonitate non possim." Nonagesimum et quintum annum agebat. Novem juvenes, omnes eâdem matre geniti, patrem comitabantur. Hos Artabazus dextræ Regis admovit, pre-catus ut tamdiu viverent donec utiles Alexandro essent. Rex pedibus iter plerumque faciebat. Tunc admoveri sibi et Artabazo equos jussit, ne, ipso ingrediente pedibus, senex equo vehi erubesceret. Deindè, ut castra sunt posita, Græcos quos Artabazus adduxerat, convocari jubet. At illi, nisi Lacedæmoniis quoque et Sinopensibus fides daretur, respondent, se quid agendum ipsis foret deliberaturos. Legati erant Lacedæmoniorum missi ad Darium, quo victo, applicuerant se Græcis mercede apud Persas militantibus. Rex, omissis sponzionum fideique pignoribus, venire eos jussit, fortunam, quam ipse dedisset, habituros. Diu cunctantes, plerisque consilia variantibus, tandem venturos se pollicen-tur. At Democrates Atheniensis, qui maximè Macedonum opibus semper obstiterat, veniam desperatâ, gladio se transfigit. Cæteri, sicut constituerant, ditioni Alexandri seipso permittunt: mille et d milites erant. Præster hos, legati ad

Darium missi xc. \* In supplementum distributus miles; cæteri remissi domum, præter Lacedæmonios, quos tradi in custodiam jussit.

11. Mardorum erat gens confinis Hyrcanisæ, cultu vita aspera, et latrociniis assueta. Hæc sola nec legatos miserat, nec videbatur imperata factura. Itaque Rex indignatus, si una gens posset efficere ne invictus esset, impedimentis cum præsidio relictis, invictâ manu comitante procedit. Noctu iter fecerat, et primâ luce hostis in conspectu erat: tumultus magis quam prælium fuit. Deturbati ex collibus quos occupaverant, Barbari profugiunt; proximique vici ab incolis deserti capiuntur. Interiora regionis ejus haud sanè adire sine magnâ vexatione exercitus poterant. Juga montium præalte sylvæ rupesque inviae sepiunt: ea quæ plana sunt, novo munimenti genero impediabant Barbari. Arbores densæ sunt ex industriâ consitæ, quarum teneros adhuc ramos manu flectunt, quos intortos rursus inserunt terræ. Inde velut ex aliâ radice lætiores virent trunci. Hos, quæ natura fert, adolescere non sinunt; quippe alium alii quasi nexu conserunt; \* qui ubi multâ fronde vestiti sunt, operiunt terram. Itaque occulti nexus ramorum, velut laquei, perpetuâ sepe iter claudunt. Una ratio erat, cædendo aperire saltum: sed hoc quoque magni operis. Crebri namque nodi duraverant stipites, et in se implicati arborum rami, suspensis circulis similes lento vimine frustrabant ictus. Incolæ autem ritu ferarum virgula subire soliti, tum quoque intraverant saltum, occultisque telis hostem lacescebant.

12. Ille venantium modo, latibula scrutatus, plerosque confudit: ad ultimum circumire saltum milites jubet, ut si quæ pateret, irrumperent. Sed ignotis locis plerique oberrabant. Excepti sunt quidam, inter quos equus Regis, (*Bucephalum* vocabant) quem Alexander non eodem, quo cæstera pecudes, animo æstimabat. \* Namque ille nec in dorso insidere suo patiebatur alium: et Regem, cum vellet ascendere, sponte suâ genua submittens, excipiebat, credebaturque sentire quem veheret. Majore ergò quam decebat irâ simul ac

dolore stimulatus, equum vestigari jubet, et per interpretem pronunciari, ni reddidissent, neminem esse victurum. Hac denunciatione territi, cum cæteris donis equum adducunt. Sed ne sic quidem mitigatus, cædi sylvas jubet, aggestaque humo e montibus, planitem ramis impeditam exaggerari. Jam aliquantulum altitudinis opus creverat, cum Barbari, desperato regionem quam occupaverant posse retineri, gentem suam dedidere. Rex, obsidibus acceptis, Phradati tradere eos jussit. Inde quinto die in stativa revertitur. Artabazum deindè, geminato honore, quem Darius habuerat ei, remittit domum. Jam ad urbem Hyrcaniam, in qua regia Darii fuit, ventum erat. Ibi Nabarzanes accepta fide occurrit, dona ingentia ferens. Inter quæ Bagoas erat specie singulari spado, atque in ipso flore pueritæ: cui et Darius fuerat assuetus, et mox Alexander assuevit; ejusque maximè precibus motus, Nabarzani ignovit.

13. Erat, ut supra dictum est, Hyrcaniam finitima gens Amazonum, circa Thermodoonta amnem, Themiscyræ incolentium campos. Reginam habebant Thalestrim, omnibus inter Caucasum montem et Phasim amnem imperitantem. Hæc cupidine visendi Regis accensa, finibus regni sui excessit: et cum haud procul abesset, præmisit indicantes venisse Reginam, adeundi ejus cognoscendique avidam. Protinus facta potestate veniendi, cæteris jussis subsistere, ccc fœminarum comitata processit. Atque ut primùm Rex in conspectu fuit, equo ipsa desiliit, duas lanceas dextrâ præferens. Vestis non toto Amazonum corpori obducitur: nam lœva pars ad pectus est nuda, cætera inde velantur; nec tamen sinus vestis, quem nodo colligunt, infra genua descendit. Altera papilla intacta servatur, quâ muliebris sexus liberos alant: aduritur dextra, ut arcus facilius intendant, et tela vibrent. Interrito vultu Regem Thalestris intuebatur: habitum ejus haudquaquam rerum famæ parem oculis perlustrans. Quippe omnibus barbaris in corporum majestate veneratio est; magnorumque operum non alios capaces putant, quam quos eximiâ specie donare natura dignata est. Cæterum interrogata, num aliquid petere vellet; haud dubitavit fateri, ad communicandos cum Rege liberos se ve-

nisse; dignam ex qua ipse regni generaret haeredes. Fœminæ sexus se retenturam, marem reddituram patri. Alexander, an cum ipso militare vellet, interrogat; et illa, causata sine custode regnum reliquisse, petere perseverabat ne se irritam spei pateretur abire. Acrior ad Venerem fœminæ cupido, quam Regis, ut paucos dies subsisteret, perpulit. XIII dies in obsequium desiderii ejus absumpti sunt. Tum illa regnum suum, Rex Parthienem, petiverunt.

VI. 14. Hic vero palam cupiditates suas solvit: continentiamque et moderationem, in altissimâ quaque fortunâ eminentia bona, in superbiam ac lasciviam vertit. Patrios mores disciplinamque Macedonum Regum salubriter temperatam, et civilem habitum, velut leviora magnitudine sua ducent, Persicæ regiæ par Deorum potentiae fastigium emulatur. Jacere humi venerabundos ipsum pati coepit, paulatimque servilibus ministeriis tot viatores gentium imbuere, et captivis pares facere expetebat. Itaque purpureum diadema distinctum albo, quale Darius habuerat, capiti circumdedidit, vestemque Persicam sumpsit: ne omen quidem veritus, quod a victoris insignibus in devicti transiret habitum. Et ille se quidem Persarum spolia gestare dicebat, sed cum illis quoque mores induerat: superbiamque habitus animi insolentia sequebatur. Litteras quoque, quas in Europam mitteret, veteris annuli gemmam obsignabat: iis, quas in Asiam scriberet, Darii annulus imprimebatur, ut appareret, unum animum duorum non capere fortunam. Amicos vero et equites, unaque his principes militum, aspernantes quidem sed recusare non ausos, Persicis ornaverat vestibus.

15. Haec luxu et peregrinis infecta moribus, veteres Philippo milites, rudis natio ad voluptates, palam aversabantur: totisque castris unus omnium sensus ac sermo erat, "plus amissum victoriâ, quam bello quæsitum esse." Tum maximè vinci ipsos, dedique alienis moribus et externis: tantæ morte pretium, domos quasi in captivo habitu reversuros: pudere jam sui: Regem, victis quam victoribus similiorem, ex Macedoniæ imperatore Darii Satrapem factum." Ille non ignarus et prin-

cipes amicorum, et exercitum graviter offendit, gratiam liberalitate donisque reparare tentabat. Sed, opinor, liberis pretium servitutis ingratum est. Igitur, ne in seditionem res vertetur, otium interpellandum erat bello, cuius materia opportunè alebatur. Namque Bessus, veste regiâ sumptâ, Artaxerxem appellari se jusserset, Scythasque et cæteros Tanais accolas contrahebat. Hæc Satibarzanes nunciabat; quem receptum in fidem, regioni quam anteâ obtainuerat præfecit. Et cùm grave spoliis apparatuque luxuriæ agmen vix moveretur, suas primùm, deindè totius exercitus sarcinas, exceptis admodùm necessariis, conferri jussit in medium. Planities spatiosa erat, in quam vehicula onusta perduxerant. Exspectantibus cunctis quid deindè esset imperaturus, jumenta jussit abduci, suisque primùm sarcinis face subditâ, cæteras incendi præcepit. Flagabant, exurentibus dominis, <sup>8</sup> quæ ut intacta ex urbibus hostium raperent, sœpe flamas restrinxerant; nullo <sup>9</sup> sanguinis pretium audente deflere, cùm regias opes idem ignis exureret. Brevis deindè oratio mitigavit dolorem; <sup>10</sup> habilesque militiæ, et ad omnia parati lætabantur sarcinarum potiùs, quam disciplinæ fecisse jacturam.

16. <sup>11</sup> Igitur Bactrianam regionem petebant. Sed Niconor Parmenionis filius, subitâ morte corruptus, magno desiderio suî affecerat cunctos. Rex ante omnes mœstus, cupiebat quidem <sup>12</sup> subsistere, funeri affuturus; sed penuria commatum festinare cogebat. Itaque Philotas cum duobus millibus et dc relictus, ut justa fratri persolveret: ipse contendit ad Bessum. Iter facienti litteræ ei afferuntur a finitimis Satraparum, e quibus cognoscit, Bessum quidem hostili animo occurrere cum exercitu: cæterum Satibarzanem, quem Satrapiæ Ariorum ipse præfeciisset, defecisse ab eo. Itaque quanquam Besso imminebat, tamen ad Satibarzanem opprimendum <sup>13</sup> præverti optimum ratus, levem armaturam et equestres copias educit: totâque nocte strenuè facto itinere, improvisus hosti supervenit. Cujus cognito adventu, Satibarzanes cum duebus millibus equitum (nec enim plures subitò contrahi poterant) Bactra perfugit: cætori proximos

montes occupaverunt. Prærupta rupes erat, quæ spectat Occidentem. Eadem, quæ vergit ad Orientem, leniore submissa fastigio, multis arboribus obsita, perennem habet fontem, ex quo largæ aquæ manant. Circuitus ejus triginta et duo stadia comprehendit. In vertice herbidus campus: in hoc multitudinem imbellem considere jubent. Ipsi, quæ rupes desierat, arborum truncos et saxa obmoluntur. XIII millia armata erant.

17. In quorum obsidione Cratero relicto, ipse Satibarzam sequi festinat. Et quia <sup>14</sup> longius eum abesse cognoverat, ad expugnandos eos qui edita montium occupaverant, reddit. <sup>15</sup> Ac primò repurgari jubet, quicquid ingredi possent: deinde, ut occurrebant inviæ cotes, præruptæque rupes; irritus labor videbatur, obstante natura. Ille, ut erat <sup>16</sup> animi semper obluctantis difficultatibus, cum et progreedi arduum, et reverti periculosum esset, versabat se ad omnes cogitationes, aliud atque aliud (ita ut fieri solet, ubi prima quæque damnamus) subjiciente animo: hæsitant, quod ratio non potuit, fortuna consilium subministravit. Vehemens Favonius erat, et multam materiam ceciderat miles, aditum per saxa molitus. Hæc vapore torrida iparuerat. Ergo aggerari alias arbores jubet, et <sup>17</sup> igni dare alimenta: celeriterque stipitibus cumulatis, fastigium montis æquatum est. Tunc undique ignis injectus cuncta comprehendit: flammam in ora hostium ventus ferebat: fumus ingens velut quædam nube absconderat cœlum. Sonabant incendio sylvæ, atque ea quoque, quæ non incenderat miles, concepto igne proxima quæque adurebant. Barbari suppliciorum <sup>18</sup> ultimum, <sup>19</sup> si quæ intermoreretur ignis, effugere tentabant: sed quæ flamma dederat locum, hostis obstabat. Variè igitur clade consumpti sunt. Alii in medios ignes, alii in petras præcipitavere se: quidam manibus hostium se obtulerunt: pauci, semiustulati venere in potestatem.

18. Hinc ad Craterum, qui Artacacna obsidebat, rediit. Ille, omnibus præparatis, Regis exspectabat adventum, <sup>20</sup> captae urbis titulo (sicut par erat) cedens. Igitur Alexander

turem admoveri jubet: ipsoque aspectu territi Barbāri, e muris <sup>21</sup> supinas manus tendentes orare cōperunt, iram in Satibarzanem defectionis auctorem reservaret; supplicibus semet dedentibus parceret. Rex, datā veniā, non obsidionem modò solvit, sed omnia sua incolis reddidit. Ab hāc urbe digresso, supplementum novorum militum occurrit. Zoilus quingentos milites ex Græciā adduxerat: tria millia ex Illyrico Antipater miserat. Thessali equites centum et triginta cum Philippo erant. Ex Lydiā duo millia et sexcenti, peregrinus miles, advenerant: trecenti equites gentis ejusdem sequebantur. Hāc manu adjectā Drangas pervenit. Bellicosa natio est. Satrapes erat Barzaentes, <sup>22</sup> sceleris in Regem suum particeps Besso. Is suppliciorum, quæ meruerat, metu, profugit in Indiam.

VII. 19. Jam nonum diem stativa erant, cūm externā vi non tutus modò Rex, sed invictus, intestino facinore petebatur. Dymnus modicæ apud Regem <sup>1</sup> auctoritatis et gratiæ, exoleti, cui Nicomacho erat nomen, amore flagrabat, obsequio uni sibi dediti corporis vincetus. Is, quod ex vultu quoque perspici poterat, similis attonito remotis arbitris cum juvēne secessit in templum; arcana se et silenda afferre præfatus: suspensumque exspectatione, per mutuam caritatem et pignora utriusque animi rogat, ut affirmet jurejurando, quæ commisisset, silentio esse tecturum. Et <sup>2</sup> ille ratus nihil, <sup>3</sup> quod etiam cum perjūrio detegendum foret, indicaturum, per præsentes Deos jurat. Tum Dymnus aperit, in tertium diem insidias Regi comparatas, seque ejus consilii fortibus viris et illustribus esse <sup>4</sup> participem. Quibus juvenis auditis se verò fidem in parricidio dedisse <sup>5</sup> constanter abnuit, nec ullā religione, ut scelus tegat, posse constringi. Dymnus et amore et metu amens, dextram exoleti complexus et lacrymans, orare, “primum ut particeps consilii operisque fieret: si id sustinere non posset, attamen ne proderet se, cuius erga ipsum benevolentia præter alia hoc quoque haberet fortissimum pignus, quod caput suum permisisset fidei adhuc inexpertæ.” Ad ultimum averari scelus perseverantem metu mortis terret; “<sup>6</sup> ab illo capite

conjuratos pulcherrimum facinus inchoatueros." Alias deinde effeminatum et muliebriter timidum, alias proditorem amatoris appellans, nunc ingentia promittens, interdumque regnum quoque, <sup>9</sup> versabat animum <sup>10</sup> tanto facinore procul abhorrentem: strictum deinde gladium modò illius, modò suo admovens jugulo, supplex idem et infestus <sup>11</sup> expressit, ut tandem non solam silentium, sed etiam operam polliceretur; namque abunde constantis animi, et dignus qui pudicus esset, nihil ex pristinâ voluntate mutaverat: sed se captum Dymni amore, simulabat nihil recusare. Sciscitari deinde pergit, "cum quibus tantæ rei societatem infisset. Plurimum referre, quales viri tam memorabili operi admoturi manus essent." Ille et amore et scelere malè sanus, simul gratias agit, simul gratulatur, quod <sup>12</sup> fortissimus juvenum non dubitasset se adjungere Demetrio corporis custodi, Peucolao, Nicanori. Adjicit his Aphœbetum, Loceum, Dioxenum, Archeopolim et Amyntam.

20. Ab hoc sermone dimissus Nicomachus, ad fratrem (Cebalino erat nomen) quæ acceperat, defert. <sup>13</sup> Placet ipsum subsistere in tabernaculo, ne si regiam intrâsset, non assuetus adire Regem, conjurati proditos se esse resciscerent. Ipse Cebalinus ante vestibulum regiæ (neque enim propius aditus ei patebat) consistit, opperiens aliquem ex primâ cohorte <sup>14</sup> amicorum, quo introduceretur ad Regem. Fortè cæteris dimissis, unus Philotas Parmenionis filius, <sup>15</sup> incertum quam ob causam, substiterat in regiâ. Huic Cebalinus, ore confuso magnæ perturbationis notas præ se ferens, aperit quæ ex fratre comperebat, et sine cunctatione nunciari Regi jubet. Philotas, laudato eo, protinus intrat ad Alexandrum; multoque invicem de aliis rebus consumpto sermone, nihil eorum quæ ex Cebalino cognoverat, nunciat. Sub vesperam eum prodeuntem in vestibulo regiæ excipit juvenis, "an mandatum exsecutus <sup>16</sup> foret," requires. Ille, "non vacâsse sermoni suo Regem," causatus, discessit. Postero die Cebalinus venienti in regiam præstò est: intrantemque admonet pridiè communicatæ cum ipso rei. Ille curæ sibi esse respondet: ac ne tum quidem Regi, quæ audierat, aperit. Cooperat Cebalino esse suspectus. Itaque

non ultrâ interpellandum ratus, nobili juveni (Metron erat ei nomen) supra armamentarium posito, quod scelus pararetur, indicat. Ille, Cebalino in armamentario abscondito, protinus Regi corpus fortè curanti, quid ei index detulisset, ostendit.

21. Rex, ad comprehendendum Dymnum missis satellitibus, armamentarium intrat. Ibi Cebalinus gaudio elatus, "Habeo te," inquit, "incolumem ex impiorum manibus erupsum." Percunctatus deinde Alexander quæ noscenda erant, ordine cuncta cognoscit. Rursusque institutus quererere, quotus dies esset, ex quo Nicomachus ad eum detulisset indicium. Atque illo fatente jam tertium esse, existimans haud incorruptâ fide tantò post deferre quæ audierat, vinciri eum jussit. Ille clamitare cœpit, "eodem temporis momento quo audisset, ad Philotam decurrisse: ab eo percunctaretur." Rex item quærens, "an Philotam adisset, "an institisset ei, ut perveniret ad se;" perseverante eo affirmare quæ dixerat, manus ad cœlum tendens, manantibus lacrymis, hanc sibi a carissimo quondam amicorum relatam gratiam querebatur. Inter hæc Dymnus, haud ignarus, quam ob causam accer- seretur a Rege, gladio quo fortè erat cinctus, graviter se vulnerat: occursuque satellitum inhibitus, perfertur in regiam. Quem intuens Rex: "Quod," inquit, "in te, Dymne, tantum cogitavi nefas, ut tibi Macedonum regno dignior Philotas me quoque ipso videretur?" Illum jam defecerat vox. Itaque edito gemitu, vultuque a conspectu Regis averso, subinde collapsus extinguitur.

22. Rex, Philotâ venire in regiam jusso, "Cebalinus," inquit, "ultimum supplicium meritus, si in caput meum præparatas insidias biduo texisset, hujus criminis reum Philotas substituit, ad quem protinus indicium detulisse se affirmat. <sup>16</sup> Quo propiore gradu amicitiae me contingis, hoc majus est dissimulationis tuae facinus: et ego Cebalino magis quam Philotæ id convenire fateor. Faventem habes judicem, si quod admitti non oportuit, saltem negari potest." Ad hæc Philotas, haud sanè trepidus, si animus vultu æstimaretur, "Cebalimum quidem scorti sermonem ad se de-

tulisse, sed ipsum tam levi auctori nihil credidisse," respondit: "veritum ne jurgium inter amatorem et exoletum, non sine risu aliorum, detulisset. Cùm Dymnus interemerit seipsum, qualiacumque erant, non fuisse reticenda:" complexusque Regem, orare coepit, "ut præteritam vitam potius quam culpam, silentii tamen, non facti ullius, intueretur." Haud facilè dixerim, credideritne ei Rex, an altius iram suppresserit. Dextram reconciliatæ gratiæ pignus obtulit; et contemptum magis quam celatum indicium esse, videri sibi dixit.

VIII. 23. Advocato tamen concilio amicorum, cui tum Philotas adhibitus non est, Nicomachum introduci jubet. Is eadem quæ detulerat ad Regem, ordine exposuit. <sup>1</sup> Erat Craterus Regi carus in paucis, et eò Philotæ, ob simulacrum nem dignitatis, adversus. Neque ignorabat, sœpe Alexandri auribus nimia jactatione virtutis atque operæ gravem fuisse, et ob ea non quidem sceleris sed <sup>2</sup> contumacia tamen suspectum. Non aliam premendi inimici occasionem aptiore futuram ratus, <sup>3</sup> odio suo pietatis præfereus speciem: "Utinam," inquit, "in principio quoque hujus rei nobiscum deliberasses: suassissemus, si Philotæ velles ignoscere, pateris potius ignorare eum, quantum deberet tibi, quam usque ad mortis metum adductum, cogeres potius de periculo suo, quam de tuo cogitare beneficio. Ille enim semper insidiari tibi poterit: tu non semper Philotæ poteris ignoscere. <sup>4</sup> Nec est, quod existimes, eum qui tantum facinus ausus est, venia posse mutari. Scit eos, qui <sup>5</sup> misericordiam consumpserunt, amplius sperare non posse. At ego, etiam si ipse, vel poenitentia, vel beneficio tuo victus, quiescere volet, patrem ejus Parmenionem, tanti ducem exercitū, et <sup>6</sup> inveteratā apud milites tuos auctoritate, haud multū infra magnitudinis tuæ fastigium positum, scio non æquo animo salutem filii sui debiturum tibi. Quædam beneficia odimus. Meruisse mortem confiteri <sup>7</sup> pudet. Superest, ut malit videri injuriam accepisse, quam vitam. Proinde scito, tibi cum illis de salute esse pugnandum. Satis hostium superest, ad quos persequendos ituri sumus. Latus a domes-

ticiois hostibus muni. Hos si submoves, nihil metuo ab extero."

24. Hæc Craterus. Nec cæteri dubitabant, "quin coniunctionis indicium suppressurus non fuisset, nisi auctor aut particeps. <sup>10</sup> Quem enim pium, et bone mentis, non amicum modò, sed ex ultimâ plebe, auditis quæ ad eum delata erant, non protinus ad Regem fuisse cursurum? <sup>11</sup> Ne Cebalini quidem exemplo, qui ex fratre comperta ipsi nunciasset, Parmenionis filium, Præfectum equitatûs, omnium arcanorum Regis arbitrum; simulâsse etiam non vacâsse sermoni suo Regem, ne index alium internuncium quereret. Nicomachum religione quoque Deum adstrictum, <sup>12</sup> conscientiam suam exonerare properasse: Philotam, consumpto per ludum jocumque penè toto die, gravatum esse pauca verba, ad caput Regis pertinentia, tam longo et forsitan supervacuo inserere sermoni. <sup>13</sup> At enim non credidisse talia deferentibus pueris! cur igitur <sup>14</sup> extraxisset biduum, tanquam indicio haberet fidem? Dimittendum fuisse Cebalinum, si delationem ejus damnabat. In suo quemque periculo magnum animum habere: cùm de salute Regis timeretur, credulos esse debere; vana quoque deferentes admittere." Omnes igitur questionem de eo, ut participes sceleris indicare cogeretur, habendam esse decernunt. Rex admonitos, ut consilium silentio premerent, dimittit. Pronunciari deindè iter in posterum diem jubet, ne qua novi initi consilii daretur nota. Invitatus est etiam Philotas ad ultimas ipsi epulas: et rex non cœnare modò, sed etiam familiariter colloqui cum eo quem damnaverat, sustinuit. Secundâ deindè vigiliâ, luminibus extinctis, cum paucis in regiam coœunt Hephaestion, et Craterus, et Coenus, et Erigyius. Hi ex <sup>15</sup> amicis. Ex armigeris autem, Perdiccas, et Leonatus. Per hos imperatum, ut qui Prætorium excubabant, armati vigilarent.

25. Jam ad omnes aditus dispositi milites; equites quoque itinera obsidere jussi, ne quis ad Parmenionem qui tum Mediæ, magnisque copiis præerat, occultus evaderet. Attaras autem cum trecentis armatis intraverat regiam. Huic decem

satellites traduntur, quorum singulos deni armigeri sequabantur. Ii ad alios conjuratos comprehendendos distributi sunt. Attaras cum trecentis ad Philotam missus, clausum aditum domūs moliebatur, quinquaginta juvenum promptissimis stipatus. Nam cæteros cingere undiqnè domum jussérat, ne occulto aditu Philotas posset elabi. Illum, sive securitate animi, sive fatigatione resolutum, somnus oppresserat: quem Attaras torpente<sup>m</sup> adhuc occupat. Tandem ei, sopore discusso, cum injicerentur catenæ, "Vicit," inquit, "bonitatem tuam, Rex, inimicorum meorum aceritas." Nec plura locutum, capite velato, in regiam adducunt. Postero die Rex edixit, omnes armati coirent. Sex millia ferè militum venerant: præterea turba lixarum calonumque impleverant regiam. Philotam armigeri agmine suo tegebant, ne antè conspici posset a vulgo quām Rex allocutus milites esset.<sup>11</sup> De capitalibus rebus vetusto Macedonum modo inquirebat exercitus. In pace<sup>12</sup> erat vulgi. Nihil potestas Regum valebat, nisi priùs valuisse<sup>13</sup> auctoritas. Igitur primū Dymni cadaver infertur, plerisque quid parasset, quove casu extinctus esset, ignaris.

IX. 26. Rex deinde in concionem procedit, vultu præferens dolorem animi. Amicorum quoque mœstitia exspectationem haud parvam rei fecerat. Diù Rex, demisso in terram vultu, attonito stupentique similis stetit. Tandem recepto animo, "Penè," inquit, "milites, paucorum hominum scelere vobis ereptus sum. Deūm<sup>1</sup> providentiā et misericordiā vivo: conspectusque vester<sup>2</sup> venerabilis cogit, ut vehementius parcidis irascar, quoniā supremus, imò unus vitæ meæ fractus est, tot fortissimis viris et de me optimè meritis referre adhuc gratiam posse." Interrupit orationem militum gemitus, obortæque sunt omnibus lacrymæ. Tum Rex: "Quantò," inquit, "majorem in animis vestris motum excitabo, cùm tanti sceleris auctores ostendero, quorum mentionem adhuc reformido, et tanquām salvi esse possint, nominibus abstineo! sed vincenda est memoria pristinæ caritatis, et conjuratio impiorum civium detegenda. Quomodò<sup>3</sup> autem tantum nefas

sileam? Parmenio, 'illâ estate, tot meis, tot parentis mei  
meritis devinctus, omnium nobis amicorum vetustissimus,  
ducem se tanto sceleri præbuit. Minister ejus Philotas,  
Peucolaum, et Demetrium et hunc Dymnum, cuius corpus  
aspicitis, cæterosque ejusdem amentiae, in caput meum subor-  
navit.' Fremitus undique indignantium 'querentiumque  
totâ concione obstrepebat, qualis solet esse multitudinis, et  
maximè militaris, ubi aut studio agitur, aut irâ. Nicoma-  
chus deindè, et Metron et Cebalinus producti, quæ quisque  
detulerat exponunt: nullius eorum indicio Philotas particeps  
sceleris destinabatur. Itaque indignatione pressâ, vox indi-  
cum silentio excepta est. Tum Rex: "Qualis," inquit,  
"ergò animi vobis videtur, qui hujus rei delatum indicium  
ad ipsum suppressit? Quod non fuisse vanum, Dymni exitus  
declarat. Incertam rem deferens tormenta non timuit Ceba-  
linus: Metron ne momentum quidem temporis distulit 'exone-  
rare se, ut eò ubi lavabar irrumperet. Philotas solus nihil  
timuit, nihil credidit. O magni animi virum! 'Iste, si  
Regis periculo commoveretur, vultum non mutaret! indicem  
tantæ rei sollicitus non audiret! Subest nimis silentio  
facinus; et avida spes regni præcipitem animum ad ultimum  
nefas impulit. Pater Medæ præest. Ipse, apud multos  
copiarum duces meis præpotens viribus, majora, 'quæm capit  
sperat. 'Orbitas quoque mea, quod sine liberis sum, sperni-  
tur. Sed errat Philotas. In vobis liberos, parentes, consan-  
guineos habeo; vobis salvis, orbus esse non possum.'

27. Epistolam deindè Parmenionis interceptam, quam  
ad filios Nicanorem et Philotam scripserat, recitat, haud  
sanè indiciorum gravioris consilii præferentem. Namque sum-  
ma ejus hæc erat: "Primum vestri curam agite, deindè  
vestrorum: sic enim, quæ destinavimus, efficiemus." Ad-  
jecitque Rex, sic esse scriptam, ut, sive ad filios pervenisset,  
a conscientia posset intelligi, sive intercepta esset, falleret igna-  
rios. "At enim Dymnus, cum cæteros participes sceleris  
indicaret, Philotam non nominavit. Hoc quidem illius non  
innocentias sed potentias indicium est, quod sic ab iis timetur,

etiam a quibus prodi potest, ut cùm de se fateantur, illum tamen celent. Cæterum Philotam ipsius indicat vita. Hic Amyntæ, qui mihi consobrinus fuit, et in Macedoniâ capiti meo impias comparavit insidias, socium se et concium ad junxit. Hic Attalo, quo graviorem inimicum non habui, sororem suam in matrimonium dedit. Hic, cùm scripsisset ei, pro jure tam familiaris usus atque amicitiae, qualis sors edita esset, Jovis Hammonis oraculo, sustinuit scribere mihi, se quidem gratulari, quod in numerum Deorum receput essem, cæterum misereri eorum quibus vivendum esset sub eo, qui modum hominis excederet. Hæc sunt etiam animi, pridem alienati a me, et invidentis gloriae mœse, indicia: quæ equidem, milites, quam diu licuit, in animo meo pressi. Videbar enim mihi partem <sup>10</sup> viscerum meorum abrumpere, si, in quos tam magna contuleram, <sup>11</sup> viliores mihi facerem. Sed jam non verba punienda sunt; linguae temeritas pervenit ad gladios. Hos (si mihi creditis) Philotas in me acuit. Id si ipse admisit, quod me conferam, milites? cui caput meum credam? Equitatui, optimæ exercitus parti, principibus nobilissimæ juventutis unum præfeci: salutem, spem, victoriam meam, fidei ejus tutelæque commisi: patrem in idem fastigium, in quo me ipsi posuistis, admovi. Medianum, quæ nulla opulentior regio est, et tot civium sociorumque millia, imperio ejus ditionique subjici. Unde præsidium petieram, periculum exstitit. Quam feliciter in acie occidisse; potius hostis præda, quam civis victima! Nunc servatus ex periculis, quæ sola timui, in hæc incidi, quæ timere non debui. Soletis identidem a me, milites, petere, ut saluti mœse parcam. Ipsi mihi præstare potestis, quod suadetis ut faciam. Ad vestras manus, ad vestra arma confugio: invitis vobis salvus esse nolo: volentibus, <sup>12</sup> non possum, nisi vindieor."

28. Tum Philotam, religatis post tergum manibus, obsoleto amiculo velatum, jussit induci. Facile apparebat motus esse tam miserabili habitu, non sine invidiâ paulò antè <sup>13</sup> conspecti. Ducem equitatus pridiè viderant, sciebant Regis interfuisse

invito: repente non reum modò, sed etiam damnatum, imò incutum intuebantur. Subibat animos Parmenionis quoque, nti ducis, tam clari civis, fortuna, qui, modò duobus filiis, ectore et Nicanore, orbatus, "cum eo, quem reliquum calamis fecerat, absens diceret causam. Itaque Amyntas Regis ætor, inclinantem ad misericordiam concionem rursùs aspera Philotam oratione commovit: "Proditos eos esse Barbaris: ninem ad conjugem suam, neminem in patriam et ad parentes se redditum: velut truncum corpus, dempto capite, sine itu, sine nomine, in alienâ terrâ ludibrium hostis futuros." audquaquam pro spe ipsius, Amyntæ oratio grata Regi, quod conjugum, quod patriæ admonitos, pigriores ad cœmunia exsequenda fecisset. Tunc Cœnus, quanquam Phisororem matrimonio secum conjunxerat; tamen acriùs a quisquam in Philotam inventus est, "parricidam esse s, patriæ, exercitus," clamitans: saxumque, quod fortè pedes jacebat, arripuit, emissurus in eum; ut plerique dêre, tormentis subtrahere cupiens: sed Rex manum ejus uit, "dicendæ priùs causæ debere fieri potestatem reo, nec judicari passurum se," affirmans. Tum dicere rursùs pers Philotas, sive conscientiâ sceleris, sive periculi magnamens et attonitus, non attollere oculos, non hiscere it. Lacrymis deindè manantibus, linquente animo, in quo tenebatur, incubuit: abstersisque amiculo ejus oculis, m recipiens spiritum ac vocem, dicturus videbatur. e Rex intuens eum, "Macedones," inquit, "de te judicunt: quæro, an patro sermone sis apud eos usurus?" Philotas: "Præter Macedonas," inquit, "plerique adios faciliùs, quæ dicam, percepturos arbitror, si eadēm uero usus, quâ tu egisti: non ob aliud, credo, quâ ut ia intelligi posset a pluribus." Tum Rex: "Eoquid odio etiam sermonis patrii Philotam teneri? Solus astidit eum dicere. Sed dicat sanè, utcumque cordi est, nineritis, aequè illum a nostro more atque sermone ab- Atque ita concione excessit.

9. Tum Philotas: "Verba," inquit, "innocenti re-

perire facile est, modum verborum misero tenere difficile. Itaque inter optimam conscientiam et iniquissimam fortunam ' destitutus, ignoro quomodo et animo meo et temporis paream. Abest quidem optimus causae meae judex : qui cur me ipse audire noluerit, non mehercule ex cogito, cum illi utique, cognitâ causâ, tam damnare me liceat, quam absolvere. Non cognitâ rerd liberari ab absente non possum, qui a præsente damnatus sum. Sed quanquam vincit hominis non supervacua solum sed etiam invisa defensio est, quæ judicem non docere videtur, sed arguere ; tamen, utcumque licet me dicere, memet ipse non deseram : nec committam ut damnatus etiam meâ sententiâ videar."

" Evidem cujus criminis reus sim non video. Inter conjuratos nemo me nominat. De me Nicomachus nihil dixit. Cebalinus plus quam audierat scire non potuit. Atqui coniurationis caput me fuisse credit Rex. Potuit ergo Dymnus eum præterire, quem sequebatur ? \* præsertim cum querenti socios vel falso fuerim nominandus, quo facilius qui tentabatur, posset impelli. \* Non enim detecto facinore nomen meum præterit, ut posset videri socio pepercisse ; sed Nicomacho, quem tacitum arcana de semetipso credebat, confessus, aliis nominatis, me unum subtrahebat. Quæso, commilitones, si Cebalinus me non adisset, nihil me de conjuratis scire voluisse ; num hodie dicerem causam nullo me nominante ? ' Dymnus sanè et vivat adhuc, et velit mihi parcere : quid cæteri ? qui de se confitebuntur me videlicet subtrahent ? Maligna est calamitas ; et ferè noxijs, cum suo suppicio cruciatitur, acquiescit alieno. Tot consciij, ne in equuleum quidem impositi, verum fatebuntur ? Atqui nemo parcit morituro, nec cuiquam moriturus, ut opinor."

" Ad verum crimen, et \* ad unum revertendum mihi est. Cur rem delatam ad te tacuisti ? cur tam securus audisti ? Hoc qualecumque est, confessio mihi, ubicumque es, Alexander, remisisti : dextram tuam amplexus, reconciliati pignus animi, convivio quoque interfui. Si credidisti mihi, absolutus sum : si pepercisti, \* dimissus. ' Vel judicium tuum serva. Quid

hac proxima nocte, quā digressus sum a mensā tuā feci? quod novum facinus delatum ad te mutavit animum tuum? Gravi opore acquiescebam, cūm me <sup>9</sup> malis indormientem meis, nimici vinciendo excitārunt. Undē et parricidæ et proditori am alti quies somni? <sup>9</sup> scelerati conscientia obstrepente cūm ormirer non possint, agitant eos furiae, non consummato modō, sed et cogitato parricidio. At mihi securitatem primū inno-ntia mea, deindē dextera tua obtulerant. Non timui ne plus ienæ crudelitati apud te liceret, quām clementiæ tuæ."

" Sed ne te mihi credidisse poeniteat; res ad me defereba-  
r a puer, qui non testem, non pignus indicii exhibere pote-  
, <sup>10</sup> impleturus omnes metu, si cœpisset audiri. Amatoris et  
rti jurgio interponi aures meas credidi infelix; et fidem  
s suspectam habui, quod non ipse deferret, sed fratrem pos-  
s subornaret. Timui ne negaret mandasse se Cebalino, et  
viderer multis amicorum Regis fuisse periculi causa. Sic  
que, cūm læserim neminem, <sup>11</sup> inveni, qui mallent perire  
quām incolumem esse. Quid inimicitarum creditis excep-  
im fuisse, <sup>12</sup> si insontes lacessissem? <sup>13</sup> At enim Dymnus  
ccidit. Num igitur facturum eum divinare potui? Mini-

Ita quod solum indicio fidem fecit, id me, cūm a Cebalino  
pellatus sum, movere non poterat. At herculè si <sup>14</sup> con-  
Dymno tanti sceleris fuisse, biduo illo proditos esse nos  
mulare non debui. Cebalinus ipse <sup>15</sup> tolli de medio nullo-  
negotio potuit. Denique, post delatum indicium quo peri-  
eram, cubiculum Regis solus intravi, ferro quidem cinc-  
Cur distuli facinus? An sine Dymno non sum ausus?  
gitur princeps conjurationis fuit: sub illius umbrâ Philo-  
tebam, qui regnum Macedonum affecto. Equis e vobis  
potus est donis? quem Ducem, quem Præfectum impensiūs  
?"

Mihi quidem objicitur, quod societatem patrii sermonis  
er; quod Macedonum mores fastidiam. <sup>16</sup> Sic ergo in-  
quod deditior, immineo? Jam pridem nativus ille ser-  
americo aliarum gentium exolevit: tam victoribus, quām  
peregrina lingua discenda est. Non mehercule ista me

magis lœdunt, <sup>17</sup> quām quōd Amyntas Perdicce filius insidiatus est Regi: cum quo quād amicitia fuerit mihi, non recuso defendere, si <sup>18</sup> fratrem Regis non oportuit diligere nobis. Sin autem in illo fortunæ gradu positum <sup>19</sup> etiam venerari necesse erat, utrūm, quæso, quōd non divinavi, reus sum? An impiorum amicis insontibus quoque moriendum est? <sup>20</sup> Quod si æquum est, cur tam diū vivo? si injustum, cur nunc demum occidor?"

"<sup>21</sup> At enim scripsi, misereri me eorum, quibus vivendum esset sub eo, qui se Jovis filium crederet. <sup>22</sup> Fides amicitiae, veri consilii periculosa libertas, vos me decepistis! vos, quæ sentiebam, ne reticerem, impulisti! Scripsisse me hæc fateor <sup>23</sup> Regi, non de Rege scripsisse. <sup>24</sup> Non enim faciebam invidiā, sed pro eo timebam. Dignior mihi Alexander videbatur qui Jovis stirpem tacitus agnosceret, quām qui prædicatione jactaret. Sed quoniam oraculi fides certa est, sit Deus causæ meæ testis. Retinet me in vinculis, dūm consultur Hammon <sup>25</sup> in arcanum et occultum scelus. Interim qui Regem nostrum dignatus est filium, neminem eorum qui stirpi suæ insidiati sunt, latere patietur. Si certiora oraculis creditis esse tormenta, ne <sup>26</sup> hanc quidem exhibendæ veritatis fidem deprecor."

"Solent rei capitibus adhibere vobis <sup>27</sup> parentes. Duos fratres ego nuper amisi: patrem nec ostendere possum, nec invocare audeo, cùm et ipse tanti criminis reus sit. <sup>28</sup> Parūm est enim tot modò liberorum parentem, in unico filio acquiescentem, eo quoque orbari, n̄ ipse in rogum meum imponitur. Ergo, carissime pater, et propter me morieris, et mecum. Ego tibi vitam adimo, ego senectutem tuam extinguo. <sup>29</sup> Quid enim me procreabas infelicem adversantibus Diis? an ut hos ex me fructus perciperes, qui te manent? Nescio an adolescentia mea miserior sit, an senectus tua. Ego in ipso robore ætatis eripior: tibi carnifex spiritum admet, quem si fortuna <sup>30</sup> expectare voluissest, natura reposcebat."

<sup>31</sup> "Admonuit me patris me mentio, quām timidè et cunctanter, quæ Cebalinus detulerat ad me, indicare debuerim. Parmenio enim cùm audisset yenum a Philippo

redico Regi parari, detergere eum voluit epistolâ scriptâ, quoniam medicamentum biberet, quod medicus dare constituerat. Num creditum est patri meo? Num ullam auctoratem ejus tterea habuerunt? Ego ipse, quoties quæ audieram detuli, in ludibrio credulitatis repulsus sum. Si et cùm indicamus, visi; et cùm tacemus, suspecti sumus, quid facere nos ortet?" Cùmque unus e circumstantium turbâ excla-isset, " "Bene meritis non insidiari :" Philotas, " Rectè," uit, " quisquis es, dicens. Itaque si insidiatus sum, poenam deprecor: et finem facio dicendi, quoniam ultima verba via sunt visa auribus vestris." Abducitur deindè ab iis, custodiebant eum.

XI. 30. Erat inter duces manu strenuus Belon quidam, sartium et civilis habitûs rudis, vetus miles, ab humili ne ad eum gradum, in quo tunc erat, promotus; qui itibus cæteris, stolidâ audaciâ ferox, admonere eos coepit, tates suis quisque diversoriis, quæ occupassent, deturba-set, ut purgamenta servorum Philotæ reciparentur eò, commilitones expulisset: auro argentoque vehicula onusta totis vicis stetisse: ac ne in viciniam quidem sorii quemquam commilitonum receptum esse: sed, per dispositos supra somnum habebat, omnes procul rele-ne fœmina illa murmurantium inter se silentio verius sono, excitaretur. Ludibrio ei fuisse rusticos homines, asque et Paphlagonas appellatos; qui non erubesceret, o natus, homines linguae suæ per interpretem audire. Monem consuli vellet eundem, cuius arguisset menda Alexandrum filium agnoscentis? scilicet veritus, ne in-nesset, quod Dii offerrent. Cùm insidiaretur capit amici, non consuluisse eum Jovem; nunc ad oraculum dum pater ejus sollicitaretur qui præsit in Mediâ, et quæ ejus custodiæ commissa sit, perditos homines ad m sceleris impellat. Ipsos missuros ad oraculum, non em interrogent, quod ex Rege cognoverint; sed qui gant, qui vota pro incolumente Regis optimi persol-gum verò universa concio accensa est, et a corporis

custodibus initium factum, clamantibus, discerendum esse parroidam manibus eorum. Id quidem Philotas, qui graviora supplicia metueret, haud sanè iniquo animo audiebat. Rex in concionem reversus, sive ut in custodiā quoque torqueret, sive ut diligenter cuncta cognosceret, concilium in posterum diem distulit; et quanquam in vesperam inclinabat dies, tamen amicos convocari jubet: et cæteris quidem placebat, Macedonum more obrui saxis. Hephaestion autem et Craterus, et Cœnus, tormentis veritatem exprimendam esse dixerunt: et illi quoque, qui aliud suaserant, in horum sententiam transeunt.

31. Concilio ergò dimisso, Hephaestion cum Cratero et Cœno ad quæstionem de Philotā habendam consurgunt. Rex, Cratero accersito, et sermone habito, cuius summa non edita est, in intimam diversorii partem secessit, et remotis arbitris, in multam noctem quæstionis exspectavit eventum. Tortores in conspectum Philotæ omnia crudelitatis instrumenta propounding. Et ille ultrò: "Quid cessatis," inquit, "Regis inimicum imperfectorem, confitentem occidere? quid quæstione opus est? Cogitavi, volui." Craterus exigere, ut quæ confiteretur, in tormentis quoque diceret. Dùm corripitur, dùm obligantur oculi, dùm vestis exuitur, gentium jura, Deos patrios, nequidquam apud surdas aures invocabat. Per ultimos deinde cruciatus, ut potè et damnatus, et inimicis in gratiam Regis torquentibus, laceratur. Ac primò quanquam hinc ignis, illino verbera, jam<sup>10</sup> non ad quæstionem, sed ad poenam<sup>11</sup> ingerebantur, non vocem modò, sed etiam gemitus<sup>12</sup> habebat in potestate. Sed postquam intumescens corpus ulceribus flagellorum ictus nudis ossibus incussos ferre non poterat, si tormentis adhibituri modum essent, dicturum se, quæ scire expeterent, pollicetur. Sed finem quæstioni fore, jurare eos per Alexandri salutem, volebat, removereque tortores. Et utroque impetrato, Cratero inquit: "Dic quid me velis dicere." Illo indignante ludificari eum, rursusque revocante tortores, tempus petere coepit, dùm recipieret spiritum, cuncta quæ sciret, indicaturus.

32. Interim equites, nobilissimus quisque, et ii maximè, qui Parmenionem propinquâ cognitione contingebant, postquam

Philotam torqueri fama vulgaverat, legem Macedonum veriti, "quâ cautum erat, ut propinqui eorum, qui Regi insidiati erant, cùm ipsis necarentur; alii se interficiunt, alii in devios montes vastasque solitudines fugiunt, ingenti per tota castra terrore diffuso: donec Rex, tumultu cognito, legem se supplicii conjunctis sonitum remittere edixit. Philotas verone an mendacio liberare se a cruciatu voluerit, anceps conjectura est: quoniam et vera confessis, et falsa dicentibus, idem doloris finis ostenditur. "Cæterū, "Pater," inquit, "meus Hegelocho quâm familiariter usus sit, non ignoratis. Illum dico Hegelochum, qui in acie cecidit. Ille omnium malorum nobis causa fuit. Nam cùm primū Jovis filium se salutari jussit Rex, id indignè ferens ille, 'Hunc igitur Regem agnoscimus,' inquit, 'qui Philippum deditnatur patrem?' "Actum est de nobis, si ista perpeti possumus. Non homines solum, sed etiam Deos despicit, qui postulat Deus credi. Amisimus Alexandrum, amisimus Regem: incidimus in superbiam, nec Diis quibus se exæquat, nec hominibus quibus se eximit tolerabilem. Nostrone sanguine Deum fecimus, qui nos fastidiat? qui gravetur mortalium adire concilium? Credite mihi, et nos, si viri sumus, a Diis adoptabimur. Quis proavum hujus Alexandrum, quis deindè Archelaum, quis Perdiccam occisos ultus est? Hic quidem interactoribus patris ignovit.' Hæc Hegelochus dixit super cœnam; et postero die primâ luce a patre accesor. Tristis erat, et me mœstum videbat: audieramus enim quæ sollicitudinem "incuterent. Itaque ut experiremus, utrumne vino gravatus effudisset illa, an altiore concepta consilio, accersi eum placuit. Venit: eodemque sermone ultrò repetito, adjecit, se, sive auderemus duces esse, proximas a nobis partes "vindicaturum: sive deesset animus, consilium silentio esse tecturum. Parmenioni, vivo adhuc Dario, intempestiva res videbatur; "non enim sibi, sed hosti esse occisuros Alexandrum: Dario verò sublato, præmium Regis occisi Asiam, et totum Orientem interactoribus esse cessurum. Approbatoque consilio, in hæc fides data est et accepta. Quod

ad Dymnum pertinet, nihil scio; et haec confessus, intellico non prodesse mihi quod proximi sceleris expers sum."

33. Illi, rursus tormentis admotis, cum ipsis quoque hastis os oculosque ejus "everberarent, expressere, ut hoc quoque crimen confiteretur. Exigentibus deinde, ut ordinem cogitati sceleris exponeret, "cum diu Bactra retentura Regem videbantur, timuisse," respondit, "ne pater septuaginta natus annos, tanti exercitus dux, tante pecuniae custos, interim extingueretur, ipsique spoliato tantis viribus, occidendi Regis "causa non esset. Festinasse ergo se, dum præmium haberet in manibus, repræsentare consilium, cuius patrem expertem fuisse nisi crederent, tormenta, quanquam tolerare non posset, tamen non recusare." Illi collocuti, satis quæsitum videri, ad Regem revertuntur. Qui, postero die, et quæ confessus erat Philotas, recitari; et ipsum, quia "<sup>ii</sup> ingredi non poterat, jussit afferri. Omnia agnoscente eo, Demetrius, qui proximi sceleris particeps esse arguebatur, producitur: multâ affirmatione, animique pariter constantiâ, et vultûs abnuens, quidquam sibi in Regem cogitatum esse, tormenta etiam deposcebat in semetipsum. Tum Philotas, circumlati oculis, "<sup>ii</sup> incidens in Calim quemdam haud procul stantem, propius eum jussit accedere. Illo perturbato, et recusante transire ad eum, "Patieris," inquit, "Demetrium mentiri, rursusque me excruciali?" Calin vox sanguisque defecerant, et Macedones Philotam inquinare innoxios velle suspicabantur; quia nec a Nicomacho, nec ab ipso Philota, cum torqueretur, nominatus esset adolescens: qui ut Præfectos Regis circumstantes se vidit, Demetrium et semetipsum id facinus cogitasse confessus est. Omnes ergo a Nicomacho nominatos, more patrio, dato signo, saxis obruerunt. Magno non modo salutis, sed etiam invidiæ periculo liberatus erat Alexander. Quippè Parmenio et Philotas, principes "<sup>ii</sup> amicorum, nisi palam sontes, sine indignatione totius exercitus non potuissent damnari. " Itaque anceps quæstio fuit. Dum inficiatus est facinus, crudeliter torqueri videbatur: post confessionem, Philotas ne amicorum quidem misericordiam meruit.

## LIBER VII.

## ARGUMENTUM.

1. Alexander Lyncestem majestatis reum interfici curat. Deinde in Amyntam et Sinniam Philote amicos inquirit, qui suam innocentiam gravi oratione tuentur.
2. Amynta et fratribus in gratiam receptis, Polydamas a Rege Iussus, in Medium celeriter profectus, Parmenionem interfici curat. Unde indignatio et seditio, quae tandem extinguitur.
3. Varios populos sub jugum mittit Alexander, ac septendecim diebus cum exercitu Caucasum superat.
4. Bessus de bello adversus Alexandrum, inter epulas, consultat, sapientique Coberis consilio minimè acquiescit. Interim Rex Bactra pervenit, ubi de Graecorum defectione et Satibarzane singulari certamine occiso advenit nuncius.
5. Exercitus Alexandri siti liberatus Oxum amnem industriè trahit. Bessus dolo captus ad Alexandrum adducitur, a quo Darii fratri Oxatri crucifigendus traditur.
6. Barbarorum et Macedonum benevolentia varias expugnat urbes. Sed et Alexandri ad Tanaïm condit amnem, brevissimo tempore absolvit spatio.
7. De Bello Scythis inferendo Alexander aeger ex vulnere cum suis init consilium. Aristander vates Regis voluntati extorum accommodat significata. Menedemus a Spitemene per insidias cum duobus peditum millibus et trecentis equitibus a Dahis interficit: quod callide admodum dissimulat Alexander.
8. Dum exercitus ad bellum accingitur, Scytharum legati adveniunt, ac de pace prorsus egregiam ad Alexandrum orationem habent.
9. Alexander legatis dimissis Tanaïm trahit, bellum Scythis infert; cum victis benignè agit.
10. Sogdianorum nobilium invictus animus. Bessi supplicium: novo milite auctus Alexandri exercitus.
11. Petram urbem amplissimam, situ naturaque loci ferè inexpugnabilem, ad dedicationem cogit Alexander.

I. 1. PHILOTAM, sicut recentibus sceleris ejus vestigiis, jure affectum suppicio censuerant milites; ita, postquam desierat esse, quem odissent, invidia in misericordiam vertit. Moverat et claritas juvenis, et patris ejus senectus atque orbitas. Primus Asiam aperuerat Regi, omnium periculorum ejus particeps: semper <sup>1</sup> alterum in acie cornu defendebat: Philippo quoque ante omnes amicus, et ipsi Alexandratam fidus, ut occidendi Attalum non alio ministro uti mallet. Horum cogitatio subibat exercitum, seditionesque voces referebantur ad Regem: queis ille haud sanè motus, <sup>2</sup> satisque prudens otii vitia negotio discuti, edicit ut omnes in vesti-

bulo regis p̄st̄t̄ sint. Quos ubi frequentes adesse cognovit, in concionem processit. Haud dubiē ex composito Apharias postulare cōp̄it, ut Lyncestes Alexander, qui, multō ante quam Philotas, Regem voluisset occidere, exhiberetur. A duobus indicibus (sicut suprā diximus) delatus, tertium jam annum custodiebatur in vinculis. Eumdem in Philippi quoque cēdēm conjurāsse cum Pausaniā, pro comperto fuit: sed quia primus Alexandrum Regem salutaverat, suppicio magis quām crimini fuerat exemptus. Tum quoque Antipatri socii ejus preces justam Regis iram morabantur. Cæterū recruduit soporatus dolor: quippe veteris periculi memoriā pr̄sentis cura renovabat. Igitur Alexander e custodiā educitur, jussusque dicere, quamquam toto triennio meditatus erat defensionem, tamen hæsitans et trepidus, pauca ex iis quāc̄ composuerat, protulit: ad ultimum non memoria solum, sed etiam mens eum destituit. Nulli erat dubium quin trepidatio conscientiæ indicium esset, non memoriar̄ vitium. Itaque ex iis qui proximē astiterant, oblectantem adhuc oblivioni, lanceis confoderunt.

2. Cujus corpore sublato, Rex introduci jussit Amyntam et Simmiam. Nam Polemon minimus ex fratribus, cūm Philotam torqueri comperisset, profugerat. Omnium Philotæ amicorum hi carissimi fuerant, ad magna et honorata ministeria illius maximē suffragatione producti: memineratque Rex summo studio ab eo conciliatos sibi. Nec dubitabat, hujus quoque ultimi consilii fuisse participes. Olim esse sibi suspectos matris suæ litteris, quibus esset admonitus, ut ab his salutem suam tueretur: cæterū se invitum deterriora credentem, nunc manifestis indicis victimum, jussisse vinciri. Nam pridiē quām detegeretur Philotæ scelus, quin in secreto cum ipso fuissent, non posse dubitari. Fratrem vero qui profugerit, cūm de Philotā quæreretur, aperuisse fugiæ causam. Nuper pr̄ster consuetudinem, officii specie, amotis longiùs cæteris, admovisse semetipsos lateri suo, nullā probabili causā: seque mirantem quodd' non vice suā tali fungerentur officio, et ipsā trepidatione eorum perterritum,

strenuè ad armigeros, qui proximè sequebantur, recessisse.  
<sup>10</sup> Ad hæc accedere, quòd cùm Antiphanes, <sup>11</sup> scriba equitum, Amyntæ denunciâsset, pridiè quâm Philotæ scelus deprehensum esset, ut ex suis equis, more solito, daret iis qui amissent suos; superbè respondisse, nisi incepto desisteret, brevi sciturum quis ipse esset. Jam linguae violentiam, temeritatemque verborum, quæ in semetipsum jacularentur, nihil aliud esse, quâm scelesti animi indicem ac testem: quæ si vera essent, idem meruisse eos quod Philotam: si falsa, exigere ipsum ut refellant. Productus deindè Antiphanes, de equis non traditis, et adjectis etiam superbè minis indicat.

3. Tum Amyntas, factâ dicendi potestate: “<sup>12</sup> Si nihil,” inquit, “interest Regis, peto, ut dum dico, vinculis liberer.” Rex solvi ntrumque jubet: desiderantique Amyntæ ut <sup>13</sup> habitus quoque redderetur, armigeri lanceam dari jussit: quam ut lœvâ comprehendit, evitato eo loco, in quo <sup>14</sup> Alexandri corpus paulò antè jacuerat, “Qualiscumque,” inquit, “exitus nos manet, Rex, confitemur, prosperum eventum tibi debituros; tristiorum, fortunæ imputatuos. Sine præjudicio dicimus causam, liberis corporibus animisque: habitum etiam, in quo te comitari solemus, reddidisti. Causam non possumus, fortunam timere desinemus.”

“Te quæso, permittas mihi id primùm defendere, quod a te ultimum objectum est. Nos, Rex, sermonis adversus majestatem tuam habiti nullius conscië sumus nobis. Dicerem, jam pridem vicisse te invidiam, nisi periculum esset, ne alia malignius dicta crederes blandâ oratione purgari. Cæterum, etiamsi, militis tui vel in agmine defientis et fatigati, vel in acie perclitantis, vel in tabernaculo ægri et vulnera curantis, aliqua vox asperior esset accepta, merueramus fortibus factis, ut malles ea <sup>15</sup> tempori nostro imputare, quâm animo. <sup>16</sup> Cùm quid accidit tristius, omnes rei sunt: corporibus nostris, quæ utique non odimus, infestas admovemus manus. Parentes liberis, si occurrant, et ingrati et invisi sunt. Contrà, cùm donis honoramur, cùm præmiis onusti revertimur, quis <sup>17</sup> ferre nos potest? quis illam animorum alacritatem continere? Militantium nec

" indignatio, nec laetitia moderata est. Ad omnes affectus impetu rapimur; vituperamus, laudamus, miseremur, irascimur, utcumque præsens movit affectio: modò Indiam adire, et Oceanum libet, modò conjugum et liberorum patriæque memoria occurrit. Sed has cogitationes, has inter se colloquentium voces, signum tubâ datum finit. In suos quisque ordines currimus; " et quidquid irarum in tabernaculo conceptum est, in hostium effunditur capita. " Utinam Philotas quoque intra verba peccäset!"

" Proindè ad id prævertar, propter quod rei sumus. Amicitiam, quæ nobis cum Philottâ fuit, " adeò non eo infitias, ut expetisse quoque nos, magnosque ex eâ fructus percepisse confitear. An verò Parmenionis, quem tibi proximum esse volunti, filium, omnes pene amicos tuos dignatione vincentem, cultum a nobis esse miraris? Tu hercule (si verum audire vis) Rex, hujus nobis periculi causa es. Quis enim alius effectit, ut ad Philotam " decurrerent, qui placere vellent tibi? " Ab illo traditi, ad hunc gradum amicitiæ tuae ascendimus. Is apud te fuit, cuius gratiam expetere, et iram timere possemus. An non propemodùm in " tua verba tui omnes, " te præeunte, juravimus, eosdem nos inimicos amicosque habituros esse, quos tu haberis? " hoc sacramento pietatis obstricti aversaremur scilicet, quem tu omnibus præferebas? Igitur si hoc crimen est, tu paucos innocentes habes, imo herculè neminem. Omnes enim Philotæ amici esse voluerant: sed totidem, quot volebant, esse non poterant. Ità si a consciis amicos non dividis, neo ab amicis quidem separabis illos, qui iidem esse voluerunt."

" Quod igitur conscientia affertur indicium? ut opinor, quia pridiè familiariter, et sine arbitris, locutus est nobiscum. At ego purgare non possem, si pridiè quicquam ex vetere vita ac more mutassem. Nunc verò, si, ut omnibus diebus, illo quoque, qui suspectus est, fecimus, consuetudo dilinet crimen."

" Sed equos Antiphani non dedimus; et pridiè quam Philotas detectus est, " haec mihi cum Antiphane res erat! Qui si nos suspectos facere vult, quod illo die equos non dederimus, semetipsum, quod eos desideravit, purgare non poterit. " An-

ceps enim crimen est inter retinentem et exigentem, nisi quòd melior est causa saum non tradentis, quàm poscentis alienum. Cæterùm, Rex, equos decem habui, e queis Antiphanes octo jam distribuerat iis, qui amiserant suos. Omnipotens duos ipse habebam: quos cùm vellet abducere homo superbissimus, certè iniquissimus, nisi pedes militare vellem, retinere cogebat.  
" Nec infitias eo, liberi hominis animo locutum esse me cum ignavissimo, et " hoc unum militis suse usurpante, ut alienos equos pugnaturis distribuas. Huc enim malorum ventum est, ut verba mea eodem tempore et Alexandre excusem, et Antiphani."

" At, herculè, mater de nobis inimicis tuis scripsit. Utinam prudentius esset sollicita pro filio, et non "<sup>1</sup> inanes quoque species anxiò animo figuraret. Quare enim non adscribit metiū sui causam? Denique non ostendit auctorem. Quo facto dictove nostro mota tam trepidas tibi litteras scripsit? O miseram conditionem meam, cui forsitan non periculosius est tacere, quàm dicere! Sed utcunq; cessura res est, malo tibi defensionem meam displicere, quàm causam. Agnoscес autem quæ dicturus sum. Quippe meministi, cùm me ad perducendos ex Macedoniâ milites mitteres, dixisse te, multos "<sup>2</sup> integros juvenes in domo tuæ matris abscondi. Præcepisti igitur mihi, "<sup>3</sup> ne quem præter te intuerer, sed detrectantes militiam perducerem ad te. Quod equidem feci, et liberius quàm expediebat mihi, executas sum imperium tuum. Gorgiam, Hecataeum, et Gorgatam, quorum bona operâ uteris, indè perdux. Quid igitur iniquius est, quàm me, qui, si tibi non paruisse, jure datus fui poenas, nunc perire, quia parui? Neque enim ulla alia matri tuæ persecundi nos causa est, quàm quòd utilitatem tuam muliebri præposuimus gratiæ. Sex millia Macedonum peditum, et sexcentos equites adduxi: quorum pars secutura me non erat, si militiam detrectantibus indulgere voluisse. Sequitur ergò, ut, quia illa propter hanc causam irascitur nobis, tu mitiges matrem, qui iræ ejus nos obtulisti."

II. 4. Dum hæc Amyntas agit, fortè supervenerunt, qui

fratrem ejus Polemonem, de quo antè dictum est, fugientem consecuti, vincutum reducebant. Infesta concio vix inhibui potuit, quin protinus suo more saxa in eum jaceret. Atque ille sanè interitus, "Nihil," inquit, "pro me deprecor, 'modò ne fratum innocentiae fuga imputetur mea. Hæc i defendi non potest, meum crimen sit. Horum ob id ipsum melior est causa, quod ego, qui profugi, suspectus sum." Hæc elocuto universa concio assensa est. <sup>2</sup> Lacrymæ deinde omnibus manare cooperunt, adeò in contrarium repente mutatis, ut solum pro eo esset quod maximè laeserat. Juvenis erat primo ætatis flore pubescens, quem inter equites tormentis Philotse conturbatos <sup>3</sup> alienus terror abstulerat. Desertum eum a comitibus, et hæsitantem inter revertendi fugiendiique consilium, qui secuti erant, occupaverunt. Is tum flere coepit, et os suum converberare, 'moestus non suam vicem, sed proper ipsum periclitantium fratrum. Moveratque jam Regem, non concionem modò: sed unus erat implacabilis frater, qui terribili vultu intuens eum, "Tum," - ait, "demens lacrymare debueras, cùm equo calcaria subderes, fratum desertor, et desertorum comes. Miser, quòd, et unde fugiebas? Efectisti ut reus capitis accusatoriis uterer verbis." Ille peccasse se, sed gravius in fratres, quam in semetipsum, fatebatur.

5. Tum verò, neque lacrymis, neque acclamationibus, quibus studia sua multitudine profitetur, temperaverunt. Una vox erat pari emissâ consensu, ut insontibus et fortibus viris parceret. Amici quoque, datâ misericordiae occasione, consurgunt, flentesque Regem deprecantur. Ille, silentio facto, "Et ipse," inquit, "Amyntam meā sententiâ fratresque ejus absolvo. Vos autem, juvenes, malo beneficij mei oblivisci, quam periculi vestri meminisse. Eādem fide redite in gratiam mecum, quā ipse vobiscum revertor. Nisi quæ delata essent, <sup>4</sup> excussissem, valde dissimulatio mea suspecta esse potuisse. Sed satius est purgatos esse, quam suspectos. Cogitate nō minem absolvî posse, nisi qui dixerit causam. Tu, Amynta, ignosce fratri tuo: erit hoc 'simpliciter etiam mihi recor-

ciliati animi tui pignus." Concione deinde dimissa, Polydama-  
manta vocari jubet. Longè acceptissimus Parmenioni erat,  
proximus lateri in acie stare solitus. Et quanquam conscientia  
fretus in regiam venerat; tamen ut jussus est fratres  
suos exhibere admodum juvenes, et Regi ignotos ob statem,  
fiduciā in sollicitudinem versā, trepidare coepit; sepiùs quae  
nocere possent, quam quibus eluderet, reputans. Jam armi-  
geri quibus imperatum erat, produxerant eos, cùm exsan-  
guem metu Polydamanta propius accedere jubet: submotis  
que omnibus, "Scelere," inquit, "Parmenionis omnes pariter  
appetiti sumus: maximè ego ac tu, quos amicitiae specie  
fefellit: ad quem persequendum puniendumque (vide quan-  
tum fidei tuse credam) te ministro uti statui. Obsides, dum  
hoc peragis, erunt fratres tui. Proficiscere in Medium, et  
ad Praefectos meos litteras scriptas manu meā perfer. Velo-  
citate opus est, quam celeritatem famæ antecedas. Noctu per-  
venire te illuc volo; postero die quae scripta erunt exequi.  
Ad Parmenionem quoque epistolas feres: unam a me, alteram  
Philotæ nomine scriptam. Signum annuli ejus in meā  
potestate est. Sic pater, credens a filio impressum, cùm te  
viderit, nihil metuet."

6. Polydamas tanto liberatus metu, impensiūs etiam quam  
exigebatur, promittit operam. Collaudatusque et promissis  
oneratus, deposita veste quam habebat, Arabicā induitur.  
Duo Arabes, quorum interim conjuges ac liberi, vinculum  
fidei, obsides apud Regem erant, dati comites. Per deserta  
etiam ob siccitatem loca, camelis undecimā die, quod destina-  
verat, perveniunt. Et prius quam ipsius nunciaretur ad-  
ventus, rursus Polydamas vestem Macedonicam sumit, et in  
tabernaculum Cleandri (Prætor hic regius erat) quartā vigiliā  
pervenit. Redditis deinde litteris, constituerunt primā luce  
ad Parmenionem coire. Namque cæteri quoque, quibus  
litteras Regis attulerat, ad eum venturi erant. Jam Par-  
menioni Polydamanta venisse nunciaverunt: qui dum lætatur  
adventu amici, simulque noscendi, quae Rex ageret, avidus  
(quippe longo intervallo nullam ab eo epistolam acceperat)

Polydamanta requiri jubet. Diversoria regionis illius magnos recessus habent, amoenosque nemoribus manu constitutis. Ea præcipue Regum Satraparumque voluptas erat. Spatibatur in nemore Parmenio, medius inter duces, quibus erat imperatum litteris Regis, ut occiderent. Agendæ autem rei constituerant tempus, cum Parmenio a Polydamante litteris traditas legere cœpisset.

7. Polydamas procul veniens, ut a Parmenione conspectus est, vultu lætitiae speciem præferente, ad complectendum eum cucurrit: mutuâque gratulatione functis, Polydamas epistolam a Rege scriptam ei tradidit. Parmenio vinculum epistole solvens, quidnam Rex ageret, requirebat. Ille ex ipsis litteris cognitum esse respondit. Quibus Parmenio lectis, "Rex," inquit, "expeditionem parat in Arachosios. Strenuum hominem et nunquam cessantem! Sed tempus saluti sua, tanti jam partâ gloriâ, parcere." Alteram deinde epistolam Philote nomine scriptam lætus, quod ex vultu notari poterat, legebat. Tum ejus latus gladio haurit Cleander, deinde jugulum ferit: cœteri examinem quoque confodiunt. Et armigeri, qui ad aditum nemoris astiterant, cognitâ cœde, cuius causa ignorabatur, in castra pervenient, et tumultuoso nuncio milites concitant. Illi armati ad nemus, in quo perpetrata cœdes erat, coœunt; et ni Polydamas, cœterique ejusdem noxæ participes dedantar, murum circumdatum nemori eversuros denunciant, omniumque sanguine duci parentatueros. Cleander primores eorum intromitti jubet, litterasque Regis scriptas ad milites recitat, quibus insidiæ Parmenionis in Regem, precesque ut ipsum vindicarent, continebantur. Igitur cognitâ Regis voluntate, non quidem indignatio, sed tamen seditio compressa est. Dilapsis pluribus pauci remanserunt, qui, saltem ut corpus ipsius sepelire permittent, precabantur. Diù id negatum est, Cleandi metu, ne offenderet Regem. Pertinaciūs deinde precantibus, materiam consternationis subtrahendam ratus, capite deciso, truncum humare permisit. Ad Regem caput missum est.

8. Hic exitus Parmenionis fuit, militis demique clari viri. Multa sine Rege prosperè, Rex sine illo nihil magnæ rei gestæ.

it. Felicissimo Regi, et omnia ad fortunæ suæ exigenti momen-  
tum, satisfecit. <sup>9</sup> Septuaginta natus annos, juvenis ducis, et  
epè etiam gregarii militis munia explevit; acer consilio, manu  
renuens, carus principibus, vulgo militum acceptior. <sup>10</sup> Hæc im-  
plerint eum ad regni cupiditatem, an tantum suspectum fece-  
rit, ambigi potest; <sup>11</sup> quia Philotas, ultimis cruciatibus victus,  
ane dixerit, quæ facta probari non poterant, an falsis tor-  
ntorum petierit finem, re quoque recenti, cùm magis posset  
iere, dubitatum est. Alexander, quos libere mortem Par-  
nionis conquestos esse compererat, separandos a cætero exer-  
citus, in unam cohortem secrevit, ducemque his Leonidam  
it, et ipsum Parmenioni quondam intimâ familiaritate con-  
stutum. Ferè iidem erant, quos <sup>12</sup> alioqui Rex habuerat ins-  
s. Nam cùm experiri vellet militum animos, <sup>13</sup> admonuit;  
quis litteras in Macedoniam ad suos scripsisset, iis, quos  
mittebat, perlaturis cum fide, traderet.” <sup>14</sup> Simpliciter ad  
ssarios suos quisque scripserat, quæ sentiebat. Aliis gravis  
plerisque non ingrata militia. Ità et agentium gratias et  
entium litteræ exceptæ sunt. <sup>15</sup> Et qui fortè tedium labo-  
rare litteras erant questi, hanc seorsum cohortem a cæteris  
re ignominiae causâ jubet; fortitudine usurus in bello,  
atem lingue ab auribus credulis remoturus. Et consilium,  
arium forsitan (quippe fortissimi juvenes contumeliis  
i erant), sicut omnia alia felicitas Regis <sup>16</sup> excepit.  
illis ad bella promptius fuit. Incitabat virtutem et  
iniæ demendæ cupido, et quia fortiora facta in paucis  
non poterant.

L. 9. His ità compositis, Alexander, Ariorum Satrape-  
uto, iter pronunciari jubet in Ariaspas; quos jam tunc  
nomine *Evergetas* appellabant, ex quo frigore victus-  
nuriā Cyri exercitum affectum tectis et commeatibus  
at. Quintus dies erat, ut in eam regionem pervenerat;  
sit Satibarzanem, qui ad Bessum defeceraut, cum equitum  
rupisse rursus in Arios. Itaque præmittit Caranum et  
in cum Artabaso et Andronico, et sex millibus Græco-  
ditum: sexcenti equites sequebantur. Ipse sexaginta

diebus gentem Evergetarum ordinavit, magnâ pecunia ob egregiam in Cyrum fidem donatâ. Relicto deinde, qui iis præcesset, Armenide, (scriba is Darii fuerat) Arachosios, quorum regio ad Ponticum mare pertinet, subegit. Ibi exercitus, qui sub Parmenione fuerat, occurrit. Sex millia Mace-  
donum erant, et ducenti nobiles, et quinque millia Græco-  
rum, cum equitibus ducentis, haud dubiè robur omnium virium Regis. Arachosiis datus Memnon Prætor, quatuor millibus peditum, et sexcentis equitibus in præsidium relictis.

10. Ipse Rex nationem ne finitimis quidem satis notam, quippe nullo commercio colentem mutuos usus, cum exercitu intravit. Parapamissadæ appellantur; agreste hominum genus, et inter barbaros maximè inconditum: locorum asperitas hominum quoque ingenia duraverat. Gelidissimum Septentrionis axem ex magnâ parte spectant. Bactrianis ad Occidentem conjuncti sunt. Meridiana Regio ad mare Indicum vergit. Tuguria latere primò struunt. Et quia sterilis est terra materiæ, in nudo etiam montis dorso, usque ad summum ædificiorum fastigium eodem laterculo utuntur. Cæterùm structura latior ab imo, paulatim incremento operis in arctius cogitur; ad ultimum in carinæ maximè modum coit. Ibi foramine relicto, supernè lumen accipiunt. Vites et arbores, si quæ in tanto terræ rigore durare potuerunt, obruunt; penitus hyeme defossæ latent: cùm, nive dis-  
cussâ, aperiri humus cœpit, cœlo solique redduntur. Cæ-  
terùm adeò altæ nives premunt terram, gelu et perpetuo penè rigore constrictæ, ut ne avium quidem feræve ullius vestigium exstet. Obscura cœli veritis umbra, quâ lux, nocti similis premit terram, vix ut quæ propè sunt, conspici possint.

11. In hâc tamen omnis humani cultûs solitudine destitutus exercitus, quidquid malorum tolerari potest, pertulit: inopiam, frigus, lassitudinem, desperationem. Multos exanimavit rigor insolitus nivis: multorum adussit pedes: plurimorum oculis præcipue perniciabilis fuit. Fatigati quoque in ipso gelu deficientia corpora sternebant: quæ cùm moveri desissent, vis frigoris itâ astringebat, ut rursùs ad surgendum

onnihi non possent. A commilitonibus torpentes excitabantur; neque aliud remedium erat, quam ut ingredi cogerentur. Cum demum vitali calore moto, membris aliquis redibat in igit. Si qui tuguria Barbarorum adire potuerunt, celeriter effecti sunt: sed tanta caligo erat, ut aedificia nulla alia res uam fumus ostenderet. Illi nunquam ante in terris suis iuvena viso, cum armatos repente conspicerent, exanimati etu, quidquid in tuguriis erat, afferebant; ut corporibus sorum parceretur, orantes. Rex agmen circumbat pedes, levantes quosdam ergens, et alios, cum segregate sequerentur, idminicula corporis sui excipiens. Nunc ad prima signa, inc in medio, nunc in ultimo agmine itineris multiplicato bore aderat. Tandem ad cultiora perventum est loca, immeatque largo recreatus exercitus; simul et qui consequi n potuerant, in illa castra venerunt.

12. Inde agmen processit ad Caucasum montem, cuius rsum Asiam perpetuo jugo dividit: hinc simul mare, quod Iliciam subit; illinc Caspium fretum, et amnem Araxem, aque regionis Scythie deserta spectat. Taurus secundus gemitinus mons committitur Caucaso; a Cappadociâ se collens Ciliciam praeterit, Armeniæque montibus jungitur. inter se juga velut serie cohærentia perpetuum habent sum, ex quo Asiae omnia ferè flumina, alia in Rubrum, in Caspium mare, alia in Hyrcanum et Ponticum decidunt. Septemdecim dierum spatio Caucasum superavit exercitus. Rupes in eo decem in circuitu stadia complectitur, tuor in altitudinem excedit, in qua vinetum Promethea se antiquitas tradit. Condendæ in radicibus montis urbis electa est; septem millibus servorum Macedonum, et tereâ militibus, quorum operâ uti desisset, permisum in urbem considere. Hanc quoque Alexandriam incole illaverunt.

V. 13. At Bessus Alexandri celeritate perterritus, diis is sacrificio ritè facto, sicut illis gentibus mos est, cum is ducibusque copiarum inter epulas de bello consulta. Graves mero suas vires extollere; hostium nunc teme-

ritatem, nunc paucitatem spernere incipiunt. **P**ræcipue Bessus ferox verbis, et paro per scelus regno superbis, ac vix potens mentis, dicere orditur : "Socordia Darii crevisse hostium famam. Occurrisse enim in Ciliciæ angustissimis fauibus, cùm retrocedendo posset perducere incautos in loca naturæ situ invia, tot fluminibus objectis, tot montium latibris, inter quas deprehensus hostis, ne fugæ quidem, nedum resistendi, occasionem fuerit habiturus. Sibi placere in Sogdianos recedere, Oxum amnem velut murum objecturum hosti, dum ex finitimis gentibus valida auxilia concurrerent. Venturos autem Chorasmios, et Dahas, Sacasque, et Indos, et ultra Tanalm amnem colentes Scythas; quorum neminem ad eum humilem esse, ut humeri ejus non possent Macedonis militis verticem æquare." Conclamant temulent, unam hanc sententiam salubrem esse: et Bessus circumferri merum largius jubet, debellaturus super mensam Alexandrum.

14. Erat in eo convivio Cobares, natione Medus, sed magice artis (si modò est ars, non vanissimi cuiusque ludibrium), magis professione quam scientiâ celeber, alioquin moderatus et probus. Is, cùm præfatus esset, scire, servo esse utilius parere dicto, quam afferre consilium, cùm illos qui pareant, idem quod cæteros, maneat; qui verò suadeant, proprium sibi periculum, \* \* \* \* \* poculum ei, quod habebat in manu, tradidit. Quo accepto, Cobares, "Natura," inquit, "mortaliū hoc quoque nomine prava et sinistra dici potest, quod in suo quisque negotio hebetior est, quam in alieno. Turbida sunt consilia eorum, qui sibi suadent; obstat aliis metus, aliis cupiditas, nonnunquam naturalis eorum, quæ cogitaveris, amor. Nam in te superbia non cadit. Expertus es unumquemque, quod ipse repererit, aut solum, aut optimum ducere. Magnum onus sustines capite, regium insigne. Hoc aut moderatè preferendum est, aut (quod 'abominor) in te ruet. Consilio, non impetu opus est." Adjicit deinde, quod apud Bactrianos vulgo usurpabant; **C**ANEM TIMIDUM VEHEMENTIUS LATRARE, QUAM MORDERE: ALTISSIMA QUEQUE FLUMINA MINIMO SONO LABI. Quæ inserui, ut, qualiscumque inter Barbaros potuit esse pru-

entia, traderetur. Ut audientes suspenderat exspectationem, tum consilium aperit, utilius Besso quam gratius. "In estibulo," inquit, "regiae tuæ 'velocissimus constituit Rex. ntè ille agmen, quam tu mensam istam movebis. Nunc ab anaë exercitum accurses, et armis flumina oppones: scilicet, tu fugiturus es, hostis sequi non potest? iter utriusque immune est; victori tutius. Licet strenuum metum putes me; velocior tamen spes est. 'Quin validioris occupas gram, dedisque te; uteumque cesserit, meliorem fortunam, litus, quam hostis, habiturus? Alienum habes regnum, non faciliter eo careas. Incipies forsitan justus esse rex, non ipse fecerit, qui tibi et dare potest regnum, et eripere. milium habes fidele, 'quod diutius exsequi supervacaneum

Nobilis equus umbrâ quoque virgæ regitur; ignavus ne cari quidem concitari potest." Bessus, et ingenio et multo modo ferox, adeò exarsit, ut vix ab amicis, quominus occideret (nam strinxerat quoque acinacem), contineretur. Certè vivio prosluit, haudquaquam potens mentis. Cobares r tumultum elapsus, ad Alexandrum transfugit.

15. Octo millia Bactrianorum habebat armata Bessus, quamdiu propter cœli intemperiem Indianam potius Maces petituros crediderant, obedienter imperata fecerunt. quam adventare Alexandrum compertum est, in suos que vicos dilapsi, Bessum reliquerunt. Ille cum clientium, qui non mutaverant fidem, Oxo amne superato, exustis navigiis, quibus transierat, ne iisdem hostis uteretur, copias in Sogdianis contrahebat. Alexander Caucasum (ut supra dictum est) transierat: sed inopiâ frumenti ad famem ventum erat. Succo ex sesamâ expresso, seculis quam oleo, artus perungebant. Sed hujus succi quis quadragenis denariis amphoræ singulæ; mellis denar recenis nonagenis, trecenis vini aestimabantur; tritici aut admodum exiguum reperiebatur. *Siros* vocabantur, quos itâ solerter abscondunt, ut nisi qui defoderunt, re non possint. In iis conditæ fruges erant. In qua penuriâ milites fluviatili pisce et herbis sustinebantur.

Jamque haec ipsa alimenta defecerant, cum jumenta, quibus onera portabant, cedere jussi sunt: horum carne, dum in Bactrianos per ventum,<sup>11</sup> traxere vitam.

16. Bactrianae terrae multiplex et varia natura est.<sup>12</sup> Aliibi multa arbor, et vitis largos mitesque fructus alit. Solum pingue crebri fontes rigant. Quæ mitiora sunt, frumento conseruntur. Cætera armentorum pabulo cedunt. Magnam<sup>13</sup> deinde partem ejusdem terræ steriles arenæ tenent. Squallida siccitate regio non hominem, non frugem alit. Cum verò venti a Pontico mari spirant, quicquid sabuli in campis jacet, converrunt. Quod ubi cumulatum est, magnorum collium procul species est; omniaque pristini itineris vestigia interreunt. Itaque qui transeunt campos, navigantium modo noctu sidera observant, ad quorum cursum iter dirigunt: et propemodum clarior est noctis umbra, quam lux. Ergo interdiu invia est regio: quia nec vestigium, quod sequantur, inveniunt, et nitor<sup>14</sup> siderum caligine absconditur. Cæterum si quos ille ventus, qui a mari exoritur, deprehendit, arenâ obruit. Sed quæ mitior terra est, ingens hominum equorumque multitudo gignitur. Ipsa Bactra, regionis ejus caput, sita sunt sub monte Parapamiso. Bactrus amnis præterit moenia. Is urbi et regioni dedit nomen. Hic Regi stativa habenti nunciatur ex Græciâ Peloponnesium Laco-numque defectio. Nondum enim victi erant, cum proficerentur tumultus ejus principia nunciaturi. Et alias præsens terror affertur, Scythes, qui ultra Tanaïm amnem colunt, adventare, Besso ferentes opem.

17. Eodem tempore, quæ in gente Ariorum Caranus et Erigyius gesserant, perforuntur. Commissum erat prælium inter Macedones Ariosque. Transfuga Satibarzanes Barbaris præerat: qui cum pugnam segnem utrinque æquis viribus stare vidisset, in primos ordines adequitavit; demptaque galeæ, inhibitis qui tela jaciebant, si quis viritim dimicare vellet, provocavit ad pugnam, nudum se caput in certamine habiturum. Non tulit ferociam Barbari dux illius exercitus Erigyius, gravis quidem æstate, sed et animi et corporis robore

nulli juvenum postferendus. Is galeā demptā canitiem ostentans, "Venit," inquit, "dies, quo, aut victoriā, aut morte honestissimā, quales amicos et milites Alexander habeat, ostendam." Nec plura elocutus, equum in hostem egit. Crederes imperatum, ut acies utræque tela cohiberent. Protinus certè recesserunt, dato libero spatio,<sup>16</sup> intenti in even-  
tum; non duorum modò, sed etiam suæ sortis; quippe alienum discrimen secuturi. Prior Barbarus emisit hastam; quam Erigius modicā capitis declinatione vitavit. At ipse nfestam sarissam, equo calcaribus concito, in medio Barbari gutture ita fixit, ut per cervicem emineret. Præcipitatus ex equo Barbarus adhuc tamen repugnabat. Sed ille extra-  
am ex vulnere hastam rursus in os dirigit. Satibarzanes astam manu complexus, quò maturiùs interiret, ictum hostis djuvit: et Barbari, duce amisso, quem magis necessitate, uām sponte secuti erant, tunc haud immemores meritorum alexandri, arma Erigio tradunt. Rex his quidem latus, e Spartanis haudquaquam securus, magno tamen animo de-  
ctionem eorum talit, dicens, "Non antè ausos consilia idare, quām ipsum ad fines Indiæ pervenisse cognovissent." Ipse Bessum persequens, copias movit: cui Erigius spolia barbi, ceu<sup>17</sup> opimum bellī decus præferens, occurrit.

V. 18. Igitur Bactrianorum regione Artabazo traditā, scinas et impedimenta ibi cum præsidio reliquit. Ipse cum pedito agmine loca deserta Segdianorum intrat, nocturno iure exercitum ducens. Aquarum (ut antè dictum est) per-  
uria, priùs desperatione, quām desiderio bibendi, sitim endit. Per quadringenta stadia ne modicus quidem humor stit. Arenas vapor aestivi solis accedit, que ubi flagrare perunt, haud secūs quām continentī incendio cuncta torren-  
tia: <sup>18</sup> Caligo deindè, immodice terræ fervore excitata, lucem it: camporumque non alia quām vasti et profundi sequoris cies est. Nocturnum iter tolerabile videbatur, quia rore natutino frigore corpora levabantur. Cæterū eum ipsa sestus oritur, omnemque naturalem absorbet humorem itas: ora visceraque penitus uruntur. Itaque primū, ani-

mi, deindè corpora deficere cœperunt. Pigebat et consistere, et progredi. Pauci a peritis regionis admoniti, præparârant aquam. Hœc paùlisper repressit sitim. Deindè crescente sestu, rursum desiderium humoris accensum est. Ergò quidquid vini oleique erat, oribus ingerebatur. Tantaque dulcedo bibendi fuit, ut in posterum sitis non timeretur. Graves deindè avidè hausto humore, non sustinere arma, non ingredi poterant: et feliciores videbantur quos aqua defecerat; cùm ipsi sine modo infusam vomitu cogerentur egerere.

19. Anxium Regem tantis malis, circumfusi amici, ut meminisset suī, <sup>3</sup>orabant; animi sui magnitudinem unicum remedium deficientis exercitūs esse: cùm ex iis, qui præcesserant ad capiendum locum castris, duo occurrunt, utribus aquam gestantes, ut filiis suis, quos in eodem agmine esse, et ægrè pati sitim non ignorabant, <sup>4</sup>succurrerent. Qui cùm in regem incidissent, alter ex iis, <sup>5</sup>utre resoluto, vas quod simul ferebat, implet, porrigenis Regi: ille percunctatus, quibus aquam portarent, filiis ferre cognoscit. Tunc poculo pleno, sicut oblatum est, redditio, “<sup>6</sup>Ne solus,” inquit, “bibere sustineo, nec tam exiguum dividere omnibus possum. Vos currite, et liberis vestris, quod propter illos attulistiſ, date.” Tandem ad flumen Oxum ipse pervenit primā ferè vesperā. Sed exercitūs magna pars non potuerat consequi. In edito monte ignes jubet fieri, ut ii, qui ægrè sequebantur, haud procul castris se abesse cognoscerent. Eos autem qui primi agminis erant, maturè cibo ac potionē firmatos, implere alios utres, alios vasa, quibuscum aqua posset portari, jussit, ac suis opem ferre. Sed qui intemperantiis hauserant, <sup>7</sup>intercluso spiritu extincti sunt. Multòque major horum numerus fuit, quam ille amiserat prælio. At ille thoracem adhuc indutus, nec aut cibo refectus aut potu, quam veniebat exercitus, constituit. Nec antè ad curandum corpus recessit, quam præterierant, <sup>8</sup>qui agmen sequebantur: totamque eam noctem cum magno animi motu perpetuis vigiliis egit. Nec postero die lætior erat: quia nec navigia habebat, nec pons erigi peterat, circum amnem nudo solo, et materia maximè sterili. Consilium igit̄, quod unam necessitas sub-

ecerat, init. Utres quamplurimos stramentis refertos <sup>9</sup> dividit. His incubantes transnavavere amnem: quique primi transrant, in statione erant, dum trajicerent cæteri. Hoc modo exsto demum die in ulteriore ripâ totum exercitum exposuit.

20. Jamque ad persequendum Bessum statuerat progredi, in ea, quæ in Sogdianis erant, cognoscit. Spitamenes erat ter omnes amicos præcipuo honore cultus a Besso. Sed nul-meritis perfidia mitigari potest: quæ tamen jam minus in invisa esse poterat, <sup>10</sup> quia nihil ulli nefastum in Bessum, erfectorem Regis sui, videbatur. <sup>11</sup> Titulus facinori specio-; præferebatur, vindicta Darii. Sed fortunam, non scelus, erat Bessi. Nam ut Alexandrum flumen Oxum superasse novit, Dataphernem et Catenem, quibus a Besso maxima-; s habebatur, in societatem cogitatæ rei adsciscit. Illi mptiūs adeunt, quam rogabantur; assumptisque octo fortis-; is juvenibus, <sup>12</sup> talem dolum intendunt. Spitamenes pergit Bessum, et, remotis arbitris, comperisse, ait, se, insidiari ei apherinem et Catenem, ut vivum Alexandro traderent: ; itantes a semet occupatos esse, et vincitos teneri. Bessus o merito (ut credebat) obligatus, <sup>13</sup> partim gratias agit, in avidus explendi supplicii adduci eos jubet. Illi, manibus sponte religatis, a participibus consilii trahebantur, quos us truci vultu intuens consurgit, manibus non temperatu-

At illi, simulatione omissâ, circumsistunt eum, et frus-; repugnantemvinciunt, direpto ex capite regni insigni: ataque veste, quam e spoliis occisi Regis induerat. Ille sui sceleris ultores adesse confessus, adjecit, non Dario quos fuisse, quem sic ulciserentur; sed Alexandro propi-; cuius victoriam semper etiam hostis adjuvisset. Multi-; an vindicatura Bessum fuerit, incertum est, nisi illi qui rant, jussu Alexandri fecisse ipsos ementiti, <sup>14</sup> dubios ad-; nimi terruisserent. In equum impositum, Alexandro tradiciunt. Inter haec Rex, <sup>15</sup> quibus matura erat missio: nongentis ferè, equiti bina <sup>16</sup> talenta dedit, pediti terna-; um millia; monitosque ut liberos generarent, remisit

domum. Cæteris gracie actæ, quòd ad reliqua belli navaturos operam pollicebantur.

21. Perventum erat in parvulum oppidum; Branchidæ ejus incolæ erant. Miletō quondam jussu Xerxis, cùm e Græciâ rediret, transierant, et in eâ sede constiterant: quia templum, quòd Didymeon appellatur, in gratiam Xerxis violaverant. Mores patrii nondum exoleverant; sed jam bilingues erant, " paulatim a domestico externo sermone degeneres. Magno igitur gaudio Regem excipiunt, urbem seque dederentes. Ille Milesios, qui apud ipsum militarent, convocari jubet. Vetus odium Milesii gerebant in Branchidarum gentem. " Proditiis ergo, sive injuriæ, sive " originis meminiſſe mallen, liberum de Branchidis permittit arbitrium. Variantibus deindè sententiis, seipsum consideraturum, quid optimum factu esset, ostendit. " Postero die occurrentibus Branchidis secum procedere jubet. Cùmque ad urbem ventum esset, ipse cum expeditâ manu portam intrat. Phalanx moenia oppidi circumire jussa, et dato signo diripere urbem, proditorum receptaculum, iposque ad unum cædere. Illi inermes passim trucidantur; nec aut commercio lingue, aut supplicium velamentis precibusque inhiberi crudelitas potest: tandem, ut dejicerent, fundamenta murorum ab imo moluntur, ne quod urbis vestigium extaret. Nemora lucosque sacros non cædunt modò, sed etiam extirpant, ut vasta solitudo et sterilis humus, excussis etiam radicibus, linqueretur: quæ si in ipsos prodigionis auctores ex cogitata essent, justa ultio esse, non crudelitas videretur. Nunc culpam majorum posteri luere, qui ne viderant quidem Miletum; " adeò Xerxi non potuerant prodere.

22. Indè processit ad Tanaëm amnem. Quòd perductus est Bessus, non vinctus modò, sed etiam " omni velamento corporis spoliatus. Spitamenes eum tenebat, inserta collo catena, tam Barbaris quam Macedonibus gratum spectaculum. Tum Spitamenes, " Et te," inquit, " et Darium, Reges meos ultus, interfectorum domini sui adduxi, eo modo captum, cajus ipse fecit exemplum. " Aperiat ad hoc spectaculum oculos Darius. Existat ab inferis, qui illo suppicio indignus fuit, et hoc solatio

dignus est." Alexander, multum collaudato Spitamene, con-versus ad Bessum, "Cujus," inquit, "ferre rabies occupavit animum tuum, cùm Regem de te optimè meritum, priùs vincere, deindè occidere sustinuisti ?" Sed hujus parcidii mercedem falso Regis nomine persolvisti tibi." Ille "facinus purgare non ausus, Regis titulum se usurpasse dixit; ut gentem suam tradere ipsi posset; "qui si cessasset, alium fuisse regnum occupaturum. At Alexander Oxatrem fratrem Darii, quem inter corporis custodes habebat, propius jussit accedere, radique Bessum ei, ut cruci affixum, mutilatis auribus naribusque, sagittis configerent. Barbari, asservarentque corpus, ut ne aves uidem contingereat. Oxatres cætera sibi cursæ fore police-ri: aves non ab alio quām a Catene posse prohiberi adjicit; simiam ejus artem cupiens ostendere: namque adeò certo tu destinata feriebat, ut aves quoque "exciperet. Nunc si rsitan "sagittandi tam celebri usu minùs admirabilis videri ec ars possit, tamen ingens visentibus miraculum, magnoque nori Cateni fuit. Dona deindè omnibus, qui Bessum ad-ixerant, data sunt. Cæterū supplicium ejus distulit, ut eo o, in quo Darium ipse occiderat, necaretur.

VI. 23. Interea Macedones ad petendum pabulum in-posito agmine egressi, a Barbaris, qui de proximis monti-decurrerunt, opprimuntur; pluresque capti sunt, quām si. Barbari autem, captivos præ se agentes, rurāls montem recesserunt. Viginti millia latronum erant; lis sagittisque pugnam invadunt: quos dum obsidet Rex, r promptissimos dimicans, sagittā ictus est, quæ in medio e fixa reliquerat spiculum. Illum quidem mœsti et atto-Macedones in castra referebant. Sed nec Barbaros lit subductus ex acie Rex: quippe ex edito monte cuncta pexerant. Itaque postero die misere legatos ad Regem, ille protinus jussit admitti; solutisque fasciis magni-em vulneris dissimulans, crus Barbaris ostendit. Illi, considere, affirmant, non Macedonas quām ipsos fuisse ores, cognito vulnere ipsius: cuius si auctorem repe-rit, dedituros fuisse. Cum diis enim pugnare sacrilegos

tantum. Ceterum se gentem in fidem dedere, superatos virtute illius. Rex, fide data, et captivis receptis, gentem in ditionem accepit. Castris inde motis, lectica militari ferrebatur, quam pro se quisque eques pedesque subire certabant. Equites, cum quibus Rex praelia inire solitus erat, sui munieris id esse censebant. Pedites contraria, cum saucios commilitones ipsi gestare assuevissent, eripi sibi proprium officium, tum potissimum, cum Rex gestandus esset, querebantur. Rex in tanto utriusque partis certamine, et sibi difficilem, et praeteritis gravem electionem futuram ratus, in vicem subire eos jussit. Hinc quarto die ad urbem Marscanda perventum est. Septuaginta stadia murus urbis amplectitur; arx illius cingitur muro. Praesidio urbi relicto, proximos vicos depopulatur, atque urit. Legati deinde Abiorum Scytharum superveniunt, liberi ex quo decesserat Cyrus, tum imperata facturi. Justissimos Barbarorum constabat: armis abstinebant nisi laccessiti. Libertatis modico et aequali usu, principibus humiliores pares fecerunt. Hos benignè allocutus, ad eos Scythes, qui Europam incolunt, Berden quemdam misit ex amicis, qui denunciaret eis, ne Tanaim annem regionis injussu Regis transirent. Eadem mandatum, ut contemplaretur locorum situm, et illos quoque Scythes, qui super Bosphoro incolunt, viseret.

25. Condendae urbis sedem super ripam Tanais elegerat, claustrum et jam perdomitorum, et quos deinde adire decreverat. Sed consilium distulit Sogdianorum nunciata defectio, quae Bactrianos quoque traxit. Septem millia equitum erant, quorum auctoritatem ceteri sequebantur. Alexander Spitamenem et Catenem, a quibus ei traditus erat Bessus, haud dubius quin eorum operam redigi possent in potestatem, qui novaverant res, jussit accersi. At illi, defectionis, ad quam coercendam evocabantur, auctores, vulgaverant famam, Bactrianos equites a Rege omnes, ut occiderentur, accersi: idque imperatum ipsis; non sustinuisse tamen exequi, ne inexpiable in populares facinus admitterent: non magis Alexandri saevitiam, quam Bessi parricidium ferre potuisse.

taque suā sponte jam motos, metu pœnæ haud difficulter oncitaverunt ad arma. Alexander, transfugarum defectione compertā, Craterum obsidere Cyopolim jubet. Ipse aliam urbem regionis ejusdem coronā capit: signoque ut puberes terficerentur, dato, reliqui in prædam cessere victoris. Urbs ruta est, ut cæteri cladis ejus exemplo continerentur. Menaceni, valida gens, obsidionem, non ut honestiorem modū, i etiam ut tutiorem ferre decreverant. Ad quorum peraciam mitigandam Rex quinquaginta equites præmisit, i clementiam ipsius in deditos, simulque inexorabilem mun in devictos ostenderent. Illi nec de fide, nec de entiā Regis ipsos dubitare respondent, equitesque tendere ra munimenta urbis jubent. Hospitaliter deinde exceptos, vesque epulis et somno, intempestā nocte adorti interrunt.

26. Alexander haud secūs quām par erat motus, urbem nā circumdedit, munitiorem quām ut primo impetu capi et. Itaque Meleagrum et Perdiccam in obsidione [ejus] iquit; ipse cum reliquis profectus, Crateri quoque copias jungit, Cyopolim, (ut antè dictum est) obsidentes. uerat autem parcere urbi conditæ a Cyro: quippe non i gentium illarum magis admiratus est, quām hunc Semiramim, quos et magnitudine animi, et clar rerum longè emicuisse credebat. Cæterū pertinacia lanorum ejus iram accedit. Itaque captam urbem jussit et deleri. Tum, Memacenis haud injuriā infestus, Meleagrum et Perdiccam redit. Sed non alia urbs forbsidionem tulit; quippe et <sup>10</sup> militum promptissimi ceci et ipse Rex ad ultimum periculum venit. Namque ejus saxo ita iota est, ut oculis caligine offusā collar, <sup>11</sup> ne mentis quidem compos. Exercitus certè velut eo ingemuit. Sed invictus adversus ea quæ cæteros t, nondum <sup>12</sup> percurato vulnere, acriùs obsidioni institit; lem <sup>13</sup> celeritatem irā concitante. Cuniculo ergo <sup>14</sup> suf moenia ingens nudavere spatiū, per quod irrupit, ue urbem dirui jussit.

27. Hinc Menedemum cum tribus millibus peditum, et octingentis equitibus ad urbem Maracanda misit. Spatamenes transfuga, praesidio Macedonum inde dejecto, muris urbis ejus incluserat se, haud oppidanis consilium defectionis approbantibus. Sequi tamen videbantur, quia prohibere non poterant. Interim Alexander ad Tanaïm amnem reddit, et quantum soli occupaverant castris, muro circumdet. Sexaginta stadiorum urbis murus fuit; hanc quoque urbem Alexandriam appellari jussit. Opus tantâ celeritate perfectum est, ut decimo septimo die, quam munimenta excita erant, tecta quoque urbis <sup>16</sup> absolverentur. Ingens militum certamen inter ipsos fuerat, ut suum quisque munus <sup>17</sup> (nam divisum erat) primus ostenderet. Incolæ novæ urbi <sup>17</sup> dati captivi, quos, reddito pretio dominis, liberavit: quorum posteri nunc quoque non apud eos tam longâ aetate, propter memoriam Alexandri, exoleverunt.

VII. 28. At Rex Scytharum, cuius tum ultra Tanaïm imperium erat, ratus eam urbem, quam in ripâ amnis Macedones condiderant, suis impositam esse cervicibus, fratrem, Cartasim nomine, cum magnâ equitum manu misit ad diruendam eam, proculque amne submovendas Macedonum copias. Bactrianos <sup>1</sup> Tanaïs ab Scythis, quos Europæos vocant, dividit. Idem Asiam et Europam finis interfluit. Cæterum Scytharum gens haud procul Thraciâ sita, ab Oriente ad Septentrionem se vertit, Sarmatarumque, ut quidam credidere, non finitima, sed pars est. Rectâ deinde regionem Alaunum ultra Istrum jacentem coit, et ultima Asiae, quæ Bactra sunt, stringit. Habitantur quæ Septentrioni propiora sunt: profundæ inde sylvæ, vastæque solitudines excipiunt. Rursus, quæ et Tanaïm et Bactra spectant, <sup>2</sup> humano cultu haud disparia sunt. Primus cum hac gente non provisum bellum Alexander gesturus, cum in conspectu ejus obequitaret hostis, adhuc aeger ex vulnere, præcipue voce deficiens, quam et modicus cibus, et cervicis extenuabat dolor, amicos in consilium advocari jubet. Terrebat eum non hostis, sed iniquitas temporis. <sup>3</sup> Bactriani defecerant. Scythæ etiam

lacescebant. Ipse non insistere in terrâ, non equo vehi, non docere, non hortari suos poterat. Ancipiti periculo implicitus, Deos quoque incusans, querebatur se jacere segnem, cuius velocitatem nemo anteā valuissest effugere. Vix suos credere non simulari valetudinem. Itaque qui post Darium victum ariolos et vates consulere desierat, rursus ad superstitionem humanarum mentium ludibria revolutus, Aristanrum, cui credulitatem suam addixerat, explorare eventum erum sacrificiis jubet.

29. Mos erat aruspicibus exta sine Rege spectare, et uae portenderentur, referre. Inter haec Rex, dum fibris pedum explorantur eventus latentium rerum, propius ipsum nsidere amicos jubet, ne contentione vocis cicatricem immam adhuc rumperet. Hephaestion, Craterus, et Erygius int cum custodibus in tabernaculum admissi. "Discrētū," inquit, "me occupavit, meliore hostium quā meo temere. Sed nécessitas ante rationem est; maximè in bello, raro permittitur tempora eligere. Defecere Bactriani, quorum cervicibus stamus, et quantum in nobis animi sit, ieno Marte experiuntur. Haud dubiè, si omiserimus thas ultrō arma inferentes, contempti ad illos, qui defecet, revertemur. Si verò Tanaīm transierimus, et ubique cōtos esse nos Scytharum pernicie ac sanguine ostenderi; quis dubitat patere etiam Europam victoribus? Falli qui terminos gloriae nostræ metitur spatio, quod transituri us. Unus ammis interfluit, quem si trajicimus, in Euroarma proferimus. Et quanti aestimandum est, dum m subigimus, in alio quodammodo orbe tropaea statuere, uae tam lengo intervallo natura videtur diremisse, una riā subito committere? At herculè si paululūm cessamus, in tergis nostris Scythes h̄erebunt. An soli sumus, lumina transnare possumus? Multa in nosmetipos dent, quibus adhuc vicimus. Fortuna belli artem victos e docet. Utribus amnem trajiciendi exemplum fecimus. Hoc ut Scythes imitari nesciant, Bactriani deceperint. Præterea unus gentis hujus adhuc exercitus venit,

ceteri exspectantur. Ita bellum vitando alemus, <sup>16</sup> et quod inferre possumus, accipere cogemur. Manifesta est consilii mei ratio. Sed an permissuri sint mihi Macedones animo uti meo, dubito; quia ex quo hoc vulnus accepi, non equo vectus sum, non pedibus ingressus. Sed si me sequi vultis, valeo, amici. Satis virium est ad toleranda ista. Aut si jam adest vitæ meæ finis, in quo tandem opere melius extinguar?"

30. Hæc quassâ adhuc voce <sup>17</sup> subdeficiens, vix proximis exaudientibus, dixerat: cùm omnes a tam præcipiti consilio Regem detergere coeperunt. Erigyius maximè, qui haud sanè auctoritate proficiens apud obstinatum animum, <sup>18</sup> superstitionem, cuius potens non erat Rex, incutere tentavit, dicendo, deos quoque obstarere consilio, magnumque periculum, si flumen transisset ostendi. Intranti Erigyo tabernaculum Regis, Aristander occurrerat, tristia exta fuisse significans. Hæc ex vate comperta Erigyius nunciabat. Quo inhibito, Alexander non irâ solum, sed etiam pudore confusus, quòd superstitione, quam celaverat, detegebatur, Aristandrum vocari jubet. Qui ut venit, intuens eum, "Non Rex," inquit, "sed privatus sum? Sacrificium ut faceres, mandavi. Quid eo portenderetur, cur apud alium quam apud me professus es? Erigyius arcana mea et secreta, te prodente, cognovit <sup>19</sup> quem certum meherculè habeo extorum interprete uti metu suo. <sup>20</sup> Tibi autem, quam potest, denuncio, ipse mihi indices quid ex extis cognoveris, ne possis infitiari dixisse, quæ dixeris." Ille exsanguis attonitoque similis stabat, per metum etiam voce suppressâ. Tandemque eodem metu stimulante, ne Regis exspectationem moraretur, <sup>21</sup> "Magni," inquit, "laboris, non irriti, discrimin instare prædixi. Nec me mea ars, <sup>22</sup> quam benevolentia, perturbat. Infirmitatem valetudinis tue video; et quantum in uno te sit, scio. Vereor ne non præsentि fortunæ tue sufficere possis." Rex jussum confidere felicitati suæ remisit: Sibi enim alia ad gloriam concedere Deos. Consultanti deinde cum iisdem, quonam modo flumen transirent, supervenit Aristander, non alias lætiora exta vi-

disse se affirmans, utique prioribus longè diversa: "tum sollicitudinis causas apparuisse, nunc prorsus egregiè litatum esse.

31. Ceterū quæ subindè nunciata sunt Regi, continuo elicitati rerum ejus imposuerant labem. Menedemum, ut uprā dictum est, miserat ad obsidendum Spitanenem Bacrianæ defectionis auctorem. "Qui, comperto hostis adventu, e muris urbis includeretur, simul fretus excipi posse, quā enturum sciebat, consedit occultus. Sylvestre iter aptum sidiis tegendis erat. Ibi Dahas condidit. Equi binos matos vehunt, quorum invicem singuli repente desiliunt, et uestris pugnæ ordinem turbant. Equorum velocitati part hominum pernicitas. Hos Spitanenes saltum circumire ssos, pariter et a lateribus, et a fronte, et a tergo hosti endit. Menedemus undiquè inclusus, ne numero quidem diù tamen restitit, clamitans, "Nihil aliud superesse orum fraude deceptis, quam honestæ mortis solatium extium cæde." Ipsum prævalens equus vehebat, quo sepius uneos Barbarorum effusis habenis "ejectus, magnâ strage fuderat. Sed cum unum omnes peterent, multis vulneri-exsanguis, Hipsidem quemdam ex amicis, hortatus est, ut suum suum ascenderet, et se fugâ eriperet. Haec agentem defecit, corpusque ex equo defluxit in terram. Hippoterat quidem effugere, sed, amissio amico, mori statuit. erat cura, ne inultus occideret. Itaque, subditis calcari-equo, in medios hostes se immisit, et, memorabili editâ, obrutus telis est. Quod ubi videre qui cœdi supertumulum paulò quam cetera editio rem capiunt: quos menes, fame in deditio nem subacturus, obcedit. Ceci eo prælio peditum duo millia, trecenti equites. Quam n Alexander solerti consilio texit, morte denunciata iis, prælio advenerant, si acta vulgassent.

III. 32. Ceterū cum animo disparem vultum diutius non posset, in tabernaculum, supra ripam fluminis de riâ locatum, secessit. Ibi sine arbitris singula anima ta pensando, noctem vigiliis extraxit, sepe pellibus aculi allevatis, ut consiceret hostium ignes, e quibus

conjectare poterat, quanta hominum multitudo esset. Jamque lux apparebat, cum thoracem indutus, procedit ad milites, tum primum post vulnus proxime acceptum. <sup>3</sup> Tanta erat apud eos veneratio Regis, ut facilè periculi, quod horrebant, cogitationem praesentia ejus excuteret. Laeti ergo, et manantibus præ gaudio lacrymis, consulunt eum; et quod ante recusaverant bellum, feroce depositum. Ille se ratibus equitem phalangemque transportaturum esse pronunciat: super utres jubet nare levius armatos. Plura nec dico res desideravit, nec Rex dicere per valetudinem potuit. Cæterum tanti alacritate militum rates junctæ sunt, ut in triduum ad duodecim millia effectæ sint. Jamque ad transeundum omnis aptaverant: cum legati Scytharum viginti, more gentis per castra equis vecti, nunciari jubent Regi, velle ipsos ad eum mandata perfere. Admissi in tabernaculum, jussique considerare, in vultu Regis defixerant oculos, credo quia magnitudine corporis animum aestimantibus, modicus <sup>4</sup> habitus, haudquaquam famæ par, videbatur. <sup>5</sup> Scythis autem non, ut cæteris Barbaris, rudis et inconditus sensus est. Quidam eorum sapientiam capere dicuntur, quantamcumque gens capit semper armata. Sicque locutos esse apud Regem, memorise proditum est. <sup>6</sup> Abhorrent forsitan moribus nostris et tempora et ingenia cultiora sortitis; sed <sup>7</sup> ut possit oratio eorum sperni, tamen fides nostra non debet: que utcumque tradita sunt, incorrupta preferemus. Igitur unum ex his maximum natu ita locutum accepimus.

33. " Si Dii habitum corporis tui aviditati animi parem esse voluissent, orbis te non caperet. Altera manu Orientem, altera Occidentem contingeres. Et hoc assecutus, scire velles <sup>8</sup> ubi tanti numinis fulgor conderetur. Sic quoque concupiscis, quæ non capis. Ab Europâ petis Asiam: ex Asia transis in Europam. Deinde, si humanum genus omne superaveris, cum sylvis et nivibus, et fluminibus, ferisque bestiis gesturus es bellum. Quid? tu ignoras, arbores magnas diu crescere, unâ horâ extirpari? Stultus est, qui fructus earum spectat, altitudinem non metitur. Vide ne

um ad cacumen pervenire contendis, cum ipsis ramis, quos comprehendenteris, decidas. <sup>12</sup> Leo quoque aliquando miniarum avium pabulum fuit, et ferrum rubigo consumit. Ibil tamen firmum est, cui periculum non sit etiam ab inlido."

"Quid nobis tecum est? nunquam terram tuam attigis. Qui sis, unde venias, <sup>13</sup> licetne ignorare in vastis sylvis ventibus? nec servire ulli possumus; nec imperare desideramus. Dona nobis <sup>14</sup> data sunt, ne Scytharum gentem ores; jugum boum, aratum, hasta, sagitta, et patera. His mur cum amicis, et adversus inimicos. Fruges amicis nus, boum labore quæsitas: patera cum iisdem vinum et libamus: inimicos sagittæ eminūs, hastæ cominūs petimus. Sic Syriæ Regem, et postea Persarum, Medorumque eravimus, patuitque nobis iter usque in *Egyptum*. At qui te gloriaris ad latrones persequendos venire, omnium ium, quas adisti, latro es. Lydiam cepisti, Syriam occupasti, Persidem tenes, Bactrianos habes in potestate, Indos sti; jam etiam ad pecora nostra avaras et insatiabiles us porrigis."

Quid tibi divitiis opus est quæ te esurire cogunt? Primum satietate parasti famem, ut quod plura haberet, quæ non habes, cuperes. <sup>15</sup> Non succurrat tibi, quam circum Bactra haereas? Dum illos subigis, Sogdiani e coeperrunt. Bellum tibi ex victoria nascitur. Nam major fortiorque sis quam quisquam; tamen alienigenam cum pati nemo vult. Transi modò Tanaïm; scies quam pateant, nunquam tamen consequeris Scytha. Pauperista velocior erit, quam exercitus tuus, qui prædam totum vehit. Rursus cum procul abesse nos credes, videbis castris; eadem enim velocitate et sequimur, et fugimus. rum solitudines Græcis etiam proverbiis audio <sup>16</sup> eludi. deserta et humano cultu vacua, magis quam urbes et tos agros <sup>17</sup> sequimur."

'roindè fortunam tuam pressis manibus tene: lubrica c invita teneri potest:<sup>18</sup> Salubre consilium sequens,

quam præsens tempus, ostendet melius; impone felicitati tuæ frænos; facilius illam reges. Nostri sine pedibus dicunt esse fortunam, quæ manus et pinnas tantum habet. Cùm manus porrigit, pinnas quoque <sup>21</sup> comprehendere non sinit. Denique, si Deus es, tribuere mortalibus beneficia debes, non sua eripere. Sin autem homo es, id quod es, semper esse te cogita. <sup>22</sup> Stultum est eorum meminisse propter quæ tui oblivisceris."

"Quibus bellum non intuleris, bonis amicis poteris uti. Nam et firmissima est inter pares amicitia: et videntur pares, qui non fecerunt inter se periculum virium. Quos viceris, amicos tibi esse cave credas. Inter dominum et servum nulla amicitia est: etiam in pace, belli tamen jura servantur. Jurando gratiam Scythas sancire ne credideris: colendo fidem, jurant. Græcorum ista <sup>23</sup> cautio est, quia pacta consignant, et Deos invocant: <sup>24</sup> nos religionem in ipsâ fide novimus. Qui non reverentur homines, fallunt Deos. Nec tibi amico opus est, de cuius benevolentia dubites. Caeterum nos et Asie et Europæ custodes habebis. <sup>25</sup> Bactra, nisi dividat Tanaïs, contingimus. Ultra Tanaïm, usque ad Thraciam, colimus. Thraciae Macedoniam conjunctam esse fama est. Utrique imperio tuo finitimos, hostes an amicos velis esse, considera." Haec Barbarus.

LX. 34. Contrà Rex fortunâ suâ et consiliis eorum se usurum esse respondet, dimisisque legatis, in præparatas rates exercitum imposuit. In proris clypeatos locaverat, jussos in genua subsidere, quò tutiores essent adversus ictus sagittarum. Post hos, qui tormenta intenderent, stabant, et ab utroque latere, et a fronte circumdati armatis. Reliqui, qui post tormenta constiterant, remigem loriciam indutum scutorum testudine armati protegebant. Idem ordo in illis quoque ratibus quæ equitem vehebant, servatus est: major pars <sup>1</sup> a puppe nantes equos loris trahebat. At illos, quos utres stramento repleti vehebant, <sup>2</sup> objectæ rates tuebantur. Ipse Rex cum delectis primus ratem solvit, et in ripam dirigi jussit. Cui Scythes admotos ordines equitum in primo ripæ margine opponunt, ut ne applicari quidem terræ rates possent. Caeterum præter

ne speciem ripis praesidentis exercitus, ingens navigantes terram invaserat. Namque cursum gubernatores, cum oblique mine impellerentur, regere non poterant: vacillantesque lites, et ne excuterentur solliciti, nautarum ministeria turverant. Ne tela quidem, conati nisu, vibrare poterant, in prior standi sine periculo, quam hostem incessandi, cura et. Tormenta saluti fuerunt, quibus in confertos ac temerè offerentes haud frustra excussa sunt tela. Barbari quoque entem vim sagittarum infudere ratibus. Vixque ullum scutum, quod non pluribus simul spiculis perforaretur.

35. Jamque terrae rates applicabantur, cum acies clypeata surgit, et hastas certo ictu, ut potè libero nisu, mittit e ratis. Et ut territos recipientesque equos videre, alacres mu adhortatione in terram desiliere. Turbatis acriter pedem rre coeperrunt. Equitum deinde turmæ, quæ frenatos habant equos, perfregere barbarorum aciem. Interim cæteri in dimicantium tecti aptavere se pugnæ. Ipse Rex, quod ris ægro adhuc corpori deerat, animi firmitate supplebat. adhortantis non poterat audiri, nondum bene obducta rice cervicis: sed dimicantem cuncti videbant. Itaque quidem ducum fungebantur officio: aliasque alium adhor in hostem, salutis immemores, ruere coeperrunt. Tum verò ora, non arma, non clamorem hostium Barbari tolerare runt, omnesque effusis habenis (namque equestris acies capessant fugam: quos Rex, quanquam vexationem ini corporis pati non poterat, per octoginta tamen stadia ui perseveravit. Jamque, linquente animo, suis præcepit, onec lucis aliquid superesset, fugientium tergis inhære-

Ipse, exhaustis etiam animi viribus, in castra se recepit, substituit. Transierant jam Liberi patris terminos, quo nonumenta lapides erant crebris intervallis dispositi; arque proceræ, quarum stipites hedera contexerat. Sed lones ira longius provexit: quippe mediæ ferè nocte in redierunt, multis interfectis, pluribus captis, equosque abegere. Ceciderunt autem Macedonum equites sex pedites centum ferè: mille saucii fuerunt.

36. Hæc expeditio deficientem magnâ ex parte Asiam famâ tam opportunæ victoriæ domuit. Invictos Scythes esse erediderant: quibus fractis nullam gentem Macedonum armis parem fore confitebantur. Itaque Sacæ misere legatos, qui pollicerentur gentem mandata facturam. Moverat eos Regis non virtus magis, quam clementia in devictos Scythes: quippe captivos omnes sine pretio remiserat, ut fidem faceret, sibi cum ferociissimis gentium de fortitudine, non de irâ, fuisse certamen. Benignè igitur exceptis Sacarum legatis, comitem Excipinum dedit, adhuc admodum juvenem, atq[ue]tatis flore conciliatum sibi: qui cum specie corporis sequaret Hephaestionem, lepore haud sanè illi par erat. Ipse, Cratero cum majore parte exercitū modicis itineribus sequi jussso, ad Maracanda urbem tendit: ex quâ Spitamenes, cognito ejus adventu, Bactra perfugerat. Itaque quatriduo Rex longum itineris spatiū emensus, pervenerat in eum locum, in quo, Menedemo duce, duo millia peditam, et trecentos equites amiserat. Horum ossa tumulo contegi jussit, et inferias more patrio dedit. Jam Craterus cum phalange subsequi jussus, ad Regem pervenerat. Itaque ut omnes, qui defecerant, pariter belli clade premerentur, copias dividit, urique agros, et interfici puberes jussit.

X. 37. Sogdiana regio majore ex parte deserta est: octingenta ferè stadia in latitudinem vastæ solitudines tenent. Ingens spatium rectæ regionis est, per quam amnis (Polytimetum vocant incolæ) fertur. Torrentem eum ripæ in tenuem alveum cogunt: deindè caverna accipit, et sub terram rapit. Cursus absconditi indicium est aquæ meantis sonus, cùm ipsum solum, sub quo tantus amnis fluit, ne modico quidem resudet humore. Ex captivis Sogdianorum, ad Regem triginta nobilissimi, corporum robore eximio, perducti erant. Qui ut per interpretem cognoverunt jussu Regis ipsos ad supplicium trahi; carmen lactantium modo canere, tripudiisque, et lascivo corpore motu, gaudium quoddam animi ostentare cœperunt. Admiratus Rex, tantâ magnitudine animi oppetere mortem, revocari eos jussit, causam tam effusæ lactitiae, cum supplicium ante oculos haberent, requirens. Illi, si ab alio occiderentur, tristes

morituros fuisse respondent: nunc a tanto Rege victore omnium gentium majoribus suis redditos, honestam mortem, quam fortes viri voto quoque expeterent, <sup>1</sup> carminibus sui moris lætitiaeque celebrare. Tum Rex admiratus magnitudinem animi, "Quæro itaque," inquit, "an vivere velitis non inimici mihi, cuius beneficio victuri estis?" Illi nunquam se inimicos ei, sed bello laccositos, hostes fuisse respondent. Si quis ipsos beneficio, quam injuriâ experiri maluisset, certaturos fuisse ne vincerentur officio. Interrogantique, quo pignore fidem obligaturi essent; vitam, quam acciperent, pignori futuram esse dixerunt; reddituros, quondamcumque repetisset. Nec promissum fefellerunt. Nam qui remissi domos ierant, in fide continuâ populares. Quatuor inter custodes corporis retenti nulli Macedonum in Regem charitate cesserunt.

38. In Sogdianis Peucolao cum tribus millibus peditum (neque enim majore præsidio indigebat) relichto, Bactra pervenit. Inde Bessum Ecbatana duci jussit, imperfecto Dario poenas capite persoluturum. Iisdem ferè diebus Ptolemæus et Menidas peditum tria millia, et equites mille adduxerunt nercede militaturos: Alexander quoque ex Lyciâ cum paru numero peditum, et quingentis equitibus venit. Totidem Syria Asclepiodorum sequebantur. Antipater Græcorum cto millia, in quæs quingenti equites erant, miserat. Itaque exercitu aucto, ad ea, quæ defectione turbata erant, componenda processit: imperfectisque consternationis auctoribus, uarto die ad flumen Oxum perventum est: hic, quia limum ehit, turbidus semper et insalubris est potu. Itaque puteos niles cooperat fodere. Nec tamen humo altè egestâ existebat umor, cùm in ipso tabernaculo Regis conspectus est fons: nem, quia tardè notaverant, subito extitisse finxerunt. Rex ipse credi voluit, donum Dei id fuisse. Superatis deinde nnibus Ocho et Oxo, ad urbem Marginiam peruenit. Circa sex oppidis condendis electa sedes est. Duo ad meriem versa, quatuor spectantia Orientem, modicis inter se atiis distabant, ne proœul repetendum eset mutuum

auxilium. Hæc omnia sita sunt in editis collibus, <sup>et</sup> tum velut fræni domitarum gentium; nunc originis suæ oblita serviant quibus imperaverunt.

XI. 39. Et cætera quidem pacaverat Rex. Una erat Petra, quam Arimazes Sogdianus cum triginta millibus armatorum obtinebat, alimentis antè congestis, quæ tantæ multitudini vel per biennium suppeterent. Petra <sup>in</sup> altitudinem triginta eminet stadia, circuitu centum et quinquaginta complectitur. Undique abscissa et abrupta semitæ perangustæ aditum. In medio altitudinis spatio habet specum, eujus <sup>os</sup> arctum et obscurum est; paulatim deindè ulteriora panduntur. Ultima etiam altos recessus habent: fontes per totum ferè specum manant; e quibus collatæ aquæ per promontis flumen emitunt. Rex, loci difficultate spectata, statuerat inde abire: cupidus deindè incessit animo, naturam quoque fatigandi. Priùs tamen quām fortunam obsidionis experiretur, Cophan (Artabazi hic filius erat) misit ad Barbaros, qui suaderet ut dederent rupem. Arimazes, loco fretus, superbè multa respondit. Ad ultimum, an Alexander volare possit, interrogat. Quæ, nunciata Regi, sic ascendere animum, ut exhibitis cum quibus consultare erat solitus, indicaret insolentiam Barbari illudentis ipsos, quia pinnas non haberent. Se autem proximâ nocte effecturum, ut crederet, Macedonas etiam volare. "Trecentos," inquit, "pernici-simos juvenes ex suis quisque copiis perducite ad me, qui per calles, et penè invias rupes, domi pecora agere con-sueverint."

40. Illi præstantes et levitate corporum et ardore animorum, strenuè adducunt; quos intuens Rex, "Vobiscum," inquit, "O juvenes, et mei æquales, urbium invictarum antè munimenta superavi: montium juga perenni nive obrata emensus sum: angustias Ciliciæ intravi: Indiæ sine lassitudine vim frigoris sum perpessus. Et <sup>mei</sup> documents vobis dedi, et vestri habeo. Petra, quam videtis, unum aditum habet, quem Barbari obsident, cætera negligunt. Nullæ vigilæ sunt, nisi quæ castra nostra spectant. Inve-

niètis viam, si solerter rimati fueritis aditus ferentes ad cacumen. 'Nihil tam altè natura constituit, quò virtus non possit eniti. Experiendo quæ cæteri desperaverunt, Asiam habemus in potestate. Evadite in cacumen, quod cùm ceperitis, candidis velis signum mihi dabitis: ego, copiis admotis, hostem in nos a vobis convertam. Præmium erit ei qui primus occupaverit verticem, talenta decem. Uno minus accipiet, qui proximus ei venerit: eademque ad decem homines servabitur 'portio. Certum autem habeo, vos non tam liberalitatem intueri meam, quàm voluntatem.' His animis Regem audierunt, ut jam cepisse verticem viderentur: dimissique ferreos cuneos, quos inter saxa defigerent, validosque funes parabant. Rex circumvectus Petram, quâ minime asper ac præruptus aditus videbatur, secundâ vigiliâ '(quod benè verteret) ingredi jubet.

41. Illi, alimentis in biduum sumptis, gladiis modò atque hastis armati subire cœperunt. Ac primò pedibus ingressi sunt: deindè, ut in prærupta perventum est, alii manibus minentia saxa complexi levavere semet, alii adjectis funium iqueis evasere; cùm cuneos inter saxa defigerent queis gravis subinde insisterent: diem inter metum laboremque conimpserunt. Per aspera enixis duriora restabant, et crescere titudo Petræ videbatur. Illa verò miserabilis erat 'facies, in ii, quos instabilis gradus fefellerat, ex præcipiti devolventur: mox eadem in se patienda alieni casus ostendebat exemplum. Per has tamen difficultates enituntur in verticem ontis, omnes fatigatione continuati laboris affecti, quidam illetati parte membrorum; pariterque eos et nox, et somnus pressit. Stratis passim corporibus in inviis et in asperis korum, periculi instantis obliti in lucem quieverunt: tanquam velut ex alto sopore excitati, occultas subjectasque is valles 'rimantes, ignari in quâ parte Petræ tanta vis hostium condita esset, fumum specûs infra seipso evolutum haverunt. Ex quo intellectum est, illam hostium latebram esse. Itaque hastis imposuere quod convenerat signum, totos e numero duos et tringinta in ascensu interiisse cognos-

cunt. Rex non cupidine magis potiundi loci, quām <sup>11</sup> viceem eorum, quos ad tam manifestum periculum miserat, sollicitus, toto die cacumina montis intuens restitit. Noctu demum cūm obscuritas conspectum oculorum ademisset, ad curandum corpus recessit.

42. Postero die nondum satis clarā lucc, primus vela, signum capti verticis, conspexit. Sed ne falleretur <sup>12</sup> acies, dubitare cogebant varietas cœli, nunc internitente lucis fulgore, nunc condito. Verū ut liquidior lux apparuit cœlo, dubitatio exempta est. Vocatumque Cophan, per quem Barbarorum animos tentaverat, mittit ad eos, qui moneret, nunc saltem salubrius consilium inirent. Sin autem fiduciā loci perseverarent, ostendi a tergo jussit, qui ceperant verticem. Cophas admissus suadere cœpit. Arimazi, Petram tradere, gratiam Regis inituro, si tantas res molientem in unius rupis obsidione hærere non coëgisset. Ille, ferociū superbiūque quām antea locutus, <sup>13</sup> abire Cophan jubet. At is prehensum manu Barbarum rogat, ut secum extra specum prodeat: quo impetrato, juvenes in cacumine ostendit, ejusque superbiæ haud immerit illudens, pinnas ait habere milites Alexandri. Jamque e Macedonum castris signorum concensus, et totius exercitus clamor audiebatur. Ea res, <sup>14</sup> sicut pleraque belli vana et inania, Barbaros ad deditiōnem traxit. Quippe occupati metu, paucitatem eorum, qui a tergo erant, sestimare non poterant. Itaque Cophan (nam trepidantes reliquerat) strenue revocant, et cum eo triginta principes mitunt, qui Petram tradant, et ut ineolumibus abire liceat, paciscantur. <sup>15</sup> Ille, quanquam verebatur, ne conspectā juvenum paucitate deturbarent eos Barbari, tamen et fortunæ suæ confisus, et Arimazi superbiæ infensus, nullam se conditionem deditiōnis accipere respondit. Arimazes, desperatis magis quām perditis rebus, cum propinquis nobilissimisque suæ gentis descendit in castra, quos omnes verberibus affectos, sub ipsis radicibus Petræ <sup>16</sup> crucibus jussit affigi. Multitudo deditiorum incolis novarum urbium cum pecuniā captā dono

data est. Artabasus in Petre regionisque, quae apposita esset ei, " tutela relictus est.

---

## LIBER VIII.

### ARGUMENTUM.

1. Massagetas, Dahis, et Sogdianis subactis, Scytha sui Regis filiam Alexandro conjugem offerunt, qui leone interfecto et quatuor milibus ferarum in venatione dejectis, Clitum solemni convivio adhibitum, et liberius loquentem interficit.

2. Seru Alexandri penitentia, quam sequuntur bellices expeditiones adversus Bactrianos transfugas et Sysimithren: Philippi item strenuissimi juvenis, et Erigyi clarissimi ducta, obitus.

3. Spitemenias uxorem, interficti mariti caput afferentem, Alexander castris excedere jubet: provincias quasdam a Praefectorum suorum injuriis vindicat.

4. Frigoris nimia vi penè opprimitur exercitus Gabazam editurus. Alexandri constantia et erga gregarium militem humanitas, ejusdemque cum Roxane matrimonium.

5. Cogitationibus in Bellum Indicum versis, adulatorum fraude, nimia superbìa elatus Alexander, Jovis filius vult salutari: quod Calisthenes gravi oratione improbat.

6. Ex ignominia Hermolai nobili puerō illata nascitur in caput Alexandri conjuratio, quā detectā, inter auctores sceleris innocens Calisthenes conjicitur.

7. Hermolai, Calisthenem justum esse asseverantia, adversus crudelēm Alexandri superbiam invectiva.

8. Alexandri ad Hermolai invectivam responsio: conjuratorum item, atque innocentis Calisthenis supplicium.

9. Indi, Gangis, Dyardenis, India, ejus incolarum, luxu diffluentium Regum, ac sapientum, luculenta descriptio.

10. Variae Indie populos mira felicitate, non tamen sine sanguine, Alexander subiicit.

11. Aornus petra et arx inaccessa ab Alexandre oppugnatur, et ab obsessis relicita capitur.

12. Omphis Rex potentissimus se regnumque suum Alexandre permittit, a quo in integrum restituitur: unde mutua dona regia.

13. Forum Regem, Omphis suos, Alexander antipiti quidem et sub initia periculosisimo aggreditur bello.

14. Indorum et Macedonum insignis et cruenta pugna; Pori captivi magnanimitas, et Alexandri regia clementia.

I. 1. ALEXANDER<sup>1</sup> majore famâ quam gloriâ in ditionem redactâ Petrâ, cùm propter vagum hostem spargendæ manus essent, in tres partes divisit exercitum: Hephaestionem uni, Cœnon alteri duces dederat: ipse cœteris præerat. Sed non

eadem mens omnibus Barbaris fuit. Armis quidam subacti; plures ante certamen imperata fecerunt: quibus eorum, qui in defectione perseveraverant, urbes agrosque jussit attribui. At exules Bactriani cum octingentis equitibus Massagetarum proximos vicos vastaverunt. Ad quos coercendos Attinas regionis ejus Praefectus trecentos equites, insidiarum quæ parabantur ignarus, eduxit. Namque hostis in sylvis, quæ erant forte campo junctæ, armatum militem condidit, paucis propellentibus pecora, ut improvidum ad insidias præda perduceret. Itaque incomposito agmine, solutisque ordinibus, Attinas prædabundus sequebatur: quem prætergressum sylvam, qui in eâ considerant, ex improviso adorti, cum omnibus interemerunt. Celeriter ad Craterum hujus clavis fama perlata est, qui cum omni equitatu supervenit. Et Massagetae quidem jam refugrant. Dahæ mille oppressi sunt: quorum clade, totius regionis finita defectio. Alexander quoque, Sogdianis rursùs subactis, Maracanda repetit.

2. Ibi Berdes, quem ad Scythas super Bosphorum colentes miserat, cum legatis gentis occurrit. Phrataphernes quoque, qui Chorasmii præerat, Massageticis et Dahis regionum confinio adjunctus, miserat, qui facturum imperata pollicerentur. Scythaæ petebant, ut Regis sui filiam matrimonio sibi jungere: si dedignaretur affinitatem, principes Macedonum cum primoribus suæ gentis connubio coire pateretur. Ipsum quoque Regem venturum ad eum pollicebantur. Utrâque legatione benignè auditâ, Hephaestionem et Artabazum opperiens, stativa habuit: quibus adjunctis, in regionem quæ appellatur *Bazaria*, pervenit. Barbaræ opulentissimæ in illis locis haud ulla sunt majora indicia, quam magnis nemoribus saltibusque nobilium ferarum greges clausi. Spatiosas ad hoc eligunt sylvas, crebris perennium aquarum fontibus amoenas. Muris nemora cinguntur, turresque habent venantium receptacula. Quatuor continuis æstatibus intactum saltum fuisse constabat; quem Alexander cum toto exercitu ingressus, agitari undique feras jussit. Inter quas cum leo magnitudinis raræ ipsum Regem invasurus incurreret, forte Lysimachus, [qui postea

\* regnavit,] proximus Alexandro, venabulum objicere feræ cœperat. Quo Rex repulso, et abire jusso, adjecit, tam a semet uno, quam a Lysimacho, leonem interfici posse. Lysimachus enim quondam, cum venaretur in Syriâ, occiderat quidem eximiae magnitudinis feram solus, sed lævo humero usque ad ossa laceratus ad ultimum periculi pervenerat. \* Id ipsum exprobrans ei Rex, fortius quam locutus est, fecit. Nam feram non exceptit modò, sed etiam uno vulnere occidit. Fabulam, quæ objectum leoni a Rege Lysimachum temerè vulgavit, ab eo casu (quem suprà diximus) ortam esse crediderim. Cæterum Macedones, quanquam prospero eventu defunctus erat Alexander, tamen scivere gentis suæ more, ne pedes venaretur, aut sine delectis principum, amicorumque. Ille quatuor milibus ferarum dejectis, in eodem saltu cum toto exercitu epulatus est.

3. Inde Maracanda redditum est: acceptaque ætatis excusatione ab Artabazo, provinciam ejus destinat Clito. Hic erat, qui apud Granicum amnem nudo capite Regem dimicantem clypeo suo texit, et Rhosacis manum capiti Regis imminentem gladio amputavit; vetus Philippi miles, multisque bellicis operibus clarus. Hellanice, quæ Alexandrum educaverat, soror ejus, haud secus quam mater a Rego diligebatur. Ob has causas validissimam imperii partem fidei ejus tutelæque commisit. Jamque iter parare in posterum jussus, solemnî et tempestivo adhibetur convivio. In quo Rex cum multo incaluisset mero, immodicus æstimator sui, celebrare quæ gesserat, cœpit; <sup>14</sup> gravis etiam eorum auribus, qui sentiebant vera memorari. Silentium tamen habuere seniores, donec Philippi res orsus <sup>15</sup> obterere, nobilem apud Chæroneam victoriam <sup>16</sup> sui operis fuisse jactavit, ademptamque sibi malignitate et invidiâ patris tantæ rei gloriam. Illum quidem seditione inter Macedones milites et Græcos mercenarios ortâ, debilitatum vulnera, quod in ea consternatione acceperat, <sup>17</sup> jacuisse, <sup>18</sup> non alias quam simulatione mortis tutiorem: se corpus ejus protexisse clypeo suo, ruentisque in illum suâ manu occisos. Quæ patrem nunquam <sup>19</sup> æquo animo esse confessum, <sup>20</sup> invitum filio

debentem salutem suam. <sup>21</sup> Itaque post expeditionem, quam  
<sup>22</sup> sine eo fecisset ipse in Illyrios, victorem scripsisse se patri,  
 fusos fugatosque hostes, nec affuisse usquam Philippum.  
 Laude dignos esse, non <sup>23</sup> qui Samothracum initia viserent,  
 cùm Asiam uri vastarie oportet; sed eos, qui magnitudine  
 rerum fidem antecessissent.

4. Hæc et his similia læti audièrē juvenes: ingrata  
 senioribus erant, maximè propter Philippum, sub quo diu-  
 tiùs vixerant. Tum Clitus, ne ipse quidem satis sobrius, ad  
 eos, qui infra ipsum <sup>24</sup> cubabant, conversus, <sup>25</sup> Euripidis retulit  
 carmen, <sup>26</sup> ita ut sonus magis quam sermo exaudiri posset  
 a Rego. Quo significabatur, <sup>27</sup> "malè instituisse Græcos  
 quod tropæis Regum duntaxat nomina inscriberentur. <sup>28</sup> Alieno  
 enim sanguine partam gloriam intercipi." Itaque Rex cum  
 suspicaretur <sup>29</sup> malignius habitum esse sermonem, percontari  
 proximos cœpit, quid ex Clito audissent. Et illis ad silen-  
 tium obstinatis, Clitus paulatim majore voce Philippi acta  
 bellaque in Græciâ gesta commemorat, omnia præsentibus  
 præferens. Hinc inter juniores senesque orta contentio est.  
<sup>30</sup> Et Rex, velut patienter audiret, queis Clitus obterebat  
 laudes ejus, ingentem iram conceperat. Cæterùm cùm  
<sup>31</sup> animo videretur imperaturus, si finem procaciter orto ser-  
 moni Clitus imponeret; nihil eo remittente, magis exaspera-  
 batur. Jamque Clitus etiam Parmenionem defendere aude-  
 bat: et Philippi de Atheniensibus victoriam Thebarum  
 præferebat excidio; non vino modò, sed etiam animi pravâ  
 contentione provectus.

5. Ad ultimum, "Si moriendum," inquit, "est pro te,  
 Clitus est primus. At cùm victoriæ arbitrium agis, præ-  
 cipuum ferunt præmium, qui procacissimè patris tui memorie  
 illudunt. Sogdianam regionem mihi attribuis, toties rebellem,  
 et non modò indomitam, sed quæ ne subigi quidem possit.  
 Mittor ad feras bestias, præcipitia ingenia sortitas. Sed quæ  
 ad me pertinent, transeo. Philippi milites spernis, oblitus,  
 nisi hic Atharias senex juniores pugnam detrectantes revo-  
 casset, adhuc nos circa Halicarnassum hæsuros fuisse. Quo

modò ergo Asiam etiam cum istis junioribus subjecisti? Verum est (ut opinor) quod avunculum tuum in Italia dixisse constat: ipsum in viros incidisse, te in foeminas." Nihil ex omnibus inconsultè ac temerè actis Regem magis moverat, quam Parmenionis cum honore mentio illata; dolorem tamen Rex pressit, contentus jussisse ut convivio excederet: nec quidquam aliud adjecit, quam, forsitan eum (si diutiùs locutus foret) "exprobraturum sibi fuisse vitam a semetipso datam: hoc enim superbè saepè jactasse. " Atque illum cunctantem adhuc surgere, qui proximi ei cubuerant, injectis manibus, jurgantes monentesque conabantur abducere. Clitus cùm abstraheretur, ad pristinam "violentiam irā quoque adjectā, " "Suo pectore tergum illius esse defensum; nunc postquam tanti meriti præteriit tempus, etiam memoriam invisam esse," proclamat. Attali quoque cædem "objiciebat: et ad ultimum Jovis, quem patrem sibi Alexander assereret, oraculum eludens, veriora se Regi, quam patrem ejus, respondisse dicebat.

6. "Jam tantum iræ conceperat Rex, quantum vix sobrius ferre potuisset. Enimverò mero olim sensibus victis, ex lecto repente prosiluit. Attoniti amici, ne positis quidem, sed abjectis poculis, consurgunt; in eventum rei, quam tanto impetu acturus esset, intenti. Alexander, raptā lanceā ex manibus armigeri, Clitum adhuc eādem linguae intemperantiā furentem percutere conatus, a Ptolemæo et Perdiccā inhibetur. "Medium complexi, et oblectari perseverantem, morabantur: Lysimachus et Leonatus etiam lanceam abstulerant. Ille militum fidem implorans, comprehendi se a proximis amicorum, "quod Dario nuper accidisset, exclamat: signumque tubā dari, ut ad regiam armati coirent, jubet. Tum verò Ptolemæus et Perdiccas genibus advoluti orant, ne in tam præcipiti irā perseveret, spatiumque potiùs animo det: omnia postero die justiùs executurum. Sed clausæ erant aures, obstrepente irā. Itaque "impotens animi, percurrit in regiæ vestibulum, et, vigili excubanti hastā ablatā, constitit in "aditu, quo necesse erat iis, qui simul coenaverant, egredi. Abierant cæteri: Clitus

ultimus sine lumine exibat. Quem Rex, quisnam esset, interrogat. "Eminebat etiam in voce sceleris, quod parabat, atrocitas. Et ille jam non suæ, sed Regis iræ memor, Clitum esse, et de convivio exire respondit. Hæc dicentis latus hastâ transfixit, morientisque sanguine aspersus, "I nunc," inquit, "ad Philippum, et Parmenionem, et Attalum."

II. 7. <sup>1</sup>Malè humanis ingenii natura consuluit, quod plerumque non futura, sed transacta perpendimus. Quippe Rex postquam ira mente decasserat, etiam ebrietate discussâ, magnitudinem facinoris <sup>2</sup>serâ aestimatione perspexit. <sup>3</sup>Videbat, tunc immodicâ libertate abusum, sed alioqui egregium bello, virum, et, nisi erubesceret fateri, servatorem sui, occisum. Detestabile carnificis ministerium occupaverat Rex, verborum licentiam, qua vino poterat imputari, nefandâ cæde ultus. Manabat toto vestibulo crux <sup>4</sup>paulò antè convivæ: vigiles attoniti et stupentibus similes procul stabant, <sup>5</sup>liberorumque poenitentiam solitudo excipiebat. Ergò hastam ex corpore jacentis evulsam retorsit in semet: jamque admovebat pectori, cum advolant vigiles, et repugnanti e manibus extorquent, allevatumque in tabernaculum deferunt. Ille humi postraverat corpus; gemitu ejulatuque miserabili totâ personante regiâ. Laniare deinde os unguibus, et circumstantes rogare ne se tanto dedecori superstitem esse paterentur. Inter has preces tota nox <sup>6</sup>extracta est: scrutantemque, num irâ Deorum ad tantum nefas actus esset, <sup>7</sup>subit anniversarium sacrificium Libero patri non esse redditum statò tempore. Itaque inter vinum et epulas cæde commissâ, iram Dei fuisse manifestam.

8. <sup>8</sup>Cæterum magis eò movebatur, quod omnium amicorum animos videbat attonitos: neminem cum ipso sociare sermonem postea ausurum. <sup>9</sup>Vivendum esse in solitudine, velut ferre bestias <sup>10</sup>terrenti alias, alias timenti. Prima deinde luce tabernaculo corpus, sicut adhuc cruentum erat, jussit inferri. Quo posito ante ipsum, <sup>11</sup>lacrymis obortis, "Hanc," inquit, "nutrici meæ gratiam retuli, cuius duo filii apud Miletum pro mea gloriâ occubueré mortem; hic frater, unicum orbitatis sola

time, a me inter epulas occisus est. Quò nunc se conferet misera? "Omnibus ejus unus supersum, quem solum sequis oculis videre non poterit. Et ego, servatorum meorum latro, revertar in patriam, ut ne dextram quidem nutrici, "sine memoriā calamitatis ejus, offerre possim!" Et cùm finis lacrymis querelisque non fieret, jussu amicorum corpus ablatum est. Rex triduum jacuit inclusus. Quem ut armigeri corporisque custodes ad moriendum obstinatum esse cognoverunt, universi in tabernaculum irrumpunt, diuque precibus ipsorum reluctatum segrè vicerunt ut cibum caperet. Quoque minùs cœdis puderet, jure imperfectum Clitum Macedones decernunt, sepulturā quoque prohibituri, ni Rex humari jussisset. Igitur decem diebus, "maximè ad confirmandum pudorem, apud Maracanda consumptis, cum parte exercitūs Hephaestionem in regionem Bactrianam misit, commeatus in hyemem paraturum. Quam Clito autem destinaverat provinciam, Amyntæ dedit.

9. Ipse Xenippa pervenit. Scythiæ confinis est regio, habitaturque pluribus ac frequentibus vicis; quia ubertas terræ non indigenas modò detinet, sed etiam advenas invitat. Bactrianorum exulum, qui ab Alexandro defecerant, receptaculum fuerat. Sed postquam Regem adventare compertum est, pulsi ab incolis duo millia ferè et ducenti "congregantur. Omnes equites erant, etiam in pace latrociniis assueti. Tum ferocia ingenia non bellum modò, sed etiam veniæ desperatio efferaverat. Itaque ex improviso adorti Amyntam Prætorem Alexandri, diù anceps prælium fecerant. Ad ultimum septingentis suorum amissis, quorum ccc hostis cepit, dedere terga victoribus haud sanè inulti: quippe lxxx Macedonum interfecerunt, præterque eos trecenti et quinquaginta saucii facti sunt: veniam tamen etiam post "alteram defectionem impetraverunt. His in fidem acceptis, in regionem, quam *Nautaca* appellant, Rex cum toto exercitu venit. Satrapes erat Sysimithres, duobus ex suâ matre filiis genitis: quippe apud eos parentibus stupro coire cum liberis fas est. Is, armatis popularibus, fauces regionis, quæ in arctissimum

cogitur, valido munimento sepserat. <sup>18</sup> Praeterfluebat torrens amnis, qui terga Petræ cludebat: hanc manu perviam incolæ fecerant. Sed aditus specus accipit lucem: interiora, nisi illato lumine, obscura sunt. <sup>19</sup> Perpetuus cuniculus iter præbet in campos ignotum, nisi indigenis. At Alexander, quanquam angustias naturali situ munita validâ manu Barbari tuebantur, tamen arietibus admotis, <sup>20</sup> mumenta, quæ manu adjuncta erant, concussit, fundisque et sagittis propugnantium plerosque dejecit: quos ubi dispersos fugavit, ruinas munimentorum supergressus, ad Petram admovit exercitum.

10. Cæterùm interveniebat fluvius coëuntibus aquis ex superiori fastigio in vallem, magnique operis videbatur tam vastam voraginem explere. Cædi tamen arbores, et saxa congeri jussit. Ingensque Barbaros pavor rudes ad talia opera concusserat, excitatam molem subito cernentes. Itaque Rex ad deditioñem metu posse compelli ratus, Oxarten misit nationis ejusdem, sed ditionis suæ, qui suaderet duci ut traderet Petram. Interim ad augendam formidinem, et turres admovebantur, et excussa tormentis tela <sup>21</sup> emicabant. Itaque verticem Petræ, <sup>22</sup> omni alio præsidio damnato, petiverunt. At Oxartes trepidum diffidentemque rebus suis Sysimithrem cœpit hortari, <sup>23</sup> ut fidem, quam vim Macedonum, mallet experiri; neu moraretur festinationem victoris exercitūs in Indianam tendentis: <sup>24</sup> cui quisquis semet offerret, in suum caput alienam cladem esse versurum. Et ipse quidem Sysimithres <sup>25</sup> deditioñem annuebat: cæterùm mater eademque conjux morituram se antè denuncians quam in ullius veniret potestatem, Barbari animum ad honestiora quam tutiora converterat: pudebatque libertatis majus esse apud foeminas, quam apud viros, <sup>26</sup> pretium. Itaque dimisso internuncio pacis, obsidionem ferre decreverat. Sed cum hostis vires suasque pensaret, rursus muliebris consilii, quod <sup>27</sup> præceps magis quam necessarium esse credebat, pœnitere eum cœpit. Revocatoque strenuè Oxarte, futurum se in Regis potestate respondit: unum precatus, ne voluntatem et consilium matris suæ proderet, quod facilius venia illi quoque impetraretur. Præmis-

sum igitur Oxartem cum matre liberisque, et totius cognationis grege sequebatur, ne exspectato quidem <sup>10</sup> fidei pignore, quod Oxartes promiserat.

11. Rex, equite præmisso, qui reverti eos juberet, opperirique præsentiam ipsius, <sup>10</sup> supervenit, et victimis Minervæ ac Victoriae cæsis, imperium Sysimithri restituit, <sup>10</sup> spe majoris etiam provinciæ facta, si cum fide amicitiam ipsius coluisseisset. Duos illi juvenes patre tradente, secum milituros sequi jussit. Relicta deinde phalange, ad subigendos qui defecerant, cum equite processit. Arduum et impeditum saxis iter primò <sup>11</sup> utcumque tolerabant. Mox equorum non unguis modò attritis, sed corporibus etiam fatigatis, sequi plerique non poterant, et rarius subinde agmen fiebat, pudorem <sup>12</sup> (ut ferè fit) immodico labore vincente. Rex tamen subinde equos mutans, sine intermissione fugientes insequebatur. Nobiles juvenes comitari eum soliti <sup>13</sup> defecerant, præter Philippum; Lysimachi erat frater, tūm primum adultus, et quod facilè appareret, indolis raræ. Is pedos (incredibile dictu) per ducenta stadia <sup>14</sup> vectum Regem comitatus est, sæpe equum suum offerente Lysimacho: nec tamen ut digrederetur a Rege effici potuit, <sup>15</sup> cùm loricâ indutus arma gestaret. Idem, cùm perventum esset in saltum, in quo se Barbari abdiderant, nobilem edidit pugnam, Regem quo comintus cum hoste dimicantem protexit. Sed postquam Barbari in fugam effusi deseruere sylvas, animus, qui in ardore pugnæ corpus sustentaverat, liquit: subitoque ex omnibus membris profuso sudore, arboris proximæ stipiti <sup>16</sup> se applicuit. Deinde, ne illo quidem adminiculo sustinente manibus Regis exceptus est; inter quas collapsus extinguitur. Mœstum Regem aliis haud levis dolor exceptit. Eriyius inter claros duces fuerat, quem extinctum esse, paulò antè quam reverteretur in castra, cognovit. Utriusque funus omni apparatu atque honore celebratum est.

III. 12. Dahas deinde statuerat petere: ibi namque Spitamenem esse cognoverat. <sup>1</sup> Sed hanc quoque expeditiōnem, ut pleraque alia, fortuna, indulgendo ei nunquam fatigata,

pro absente transegit. Spitamenes uxoris immodicè amore flagrabat; quam aegrè fugam et nova subinde exilia tolerantem in omne discriminem comitem trahebat. Illa, malis fatigata, identidem muliebres adhibere blanditias, ut tandem fugam sisteret, victorisque Alexandri clementiam expertus, placaret quem effugere non posset. Tres adulti erant liberi ex eo geniti: quos cùm pectori patris admovisset, ut saltem eorum misereri vellet, orabat. <sup>2</sup> Et quòd efficaciores essent preces, haud procul erat Alexander. <sup>3</sup> Ille se prodi, non moneri ratus, et formæ profectò fiduciâ cupere eam quam-primum dedi Alexandro, acinacem strinxit, percussurus uxorem, nisi prohibitus esset fratrum ejus occursu. Cæterum abire conspectu jubet, addito metu mortis, si se oculis ejus obtulisset; et ad desiderium levandum noctes inter pellices agere cœpit. Sed penitus hærens amor <sup>4</sup> fastidio præsentium accensus est. Itaque rursus uni ei deditus, orare non destitit, ut tali consilio abstineret, patereturque sortem, quamcumque eis fortuna fecisset: sibi mortem deditio esse leviorem. At illa purgare se, <sup>5</sup> quòd quæ utilia esse censebat, muliebriter forsitan, sed fidâ tamen mente suassisset: <sup>6</sup> de cætero futuram in viri potestate.

13. Spitamenes simulato captus obsequio <sup>7</sup> de die convivium apparari jubet: vinoque et epulis gravis, semisomnus in cubiculum fertur. Quem ut <sup>8</sup> alto et gravi somno sopitum esse sensit uxor, gladium, quem veste occultaverat, stringit; caputque ejus abscissum crux respersa servo suo conscio facinoris tradit. Eodem comitante (sicut erat cruentâ veste) in Macedonum castra pervenit, nunciarique Alexandro jubet, esse, quæ ex ipsâ deberet agnoscere. Ille protinus Barbaram jussit admitti. Quam ut aspersam crux conspexit, ratus ad deplorandam contumeliam venisse, dicere quæ vellet, jubet. At illa, servum quem stare in vestibulo jusserrat, introduci desideravit. Qui, quia caput Spitamenis veste tectum habebat, suspectus, scrutantibus quid occuleret, ostendit. Confuderat oris exsanguis notas pallor, nec quis esset nosci satis poterat. Ergò Rex certior factus humanum caput afferre

em, tabernaculo excessit, percontatusque quid rei sit, <sup>8</sup> illo profitente cognoscoit. Variae hinc cogitationes invicem animum diversa agitantem commoverant. <sup>9</sup> Meritum ingens in semet esse credebat, quod transfuga, et proditor, tantis rebus (si vixisset) injecturus moram, interfectus esset. Contra facinus ingens aversabatur, cum optimè meritum de ipsa communium parentem liberorum, per insidias interemisset. <sup>10</sup> Vicit tamen gratiam meriti sceleris atrocitas, denunciarique jussit ut excederet castris, neu licentiae Barbarae exemplar in Graecorum mores et mitia ingenia transferret. Dahæ, Spitanenis cæde compertæ, ~~Daphnem~~ defectionis ejus participem vincetum Alexandro, seque dedunt. Ille maximæ præsentium curarum parte liberatus, convertit animum ad vindicandas injurias eorum, quibus a Prætoribus suis avarè ac superbè imperabatur. Ergo Phratapherni Hyrcaniam, et Mardos cum Tapyris tradidit, mandavitque ut Phradatem, cui succedebat, ad se in custodiam mitteret. Arsani Dranearum Præfecto substitutus est Stasanor. Arsaces in Medium missus, ut Oxydates inde discederet. Babylonia, mortuo Mazæo, Stameni subjecta est.

IV. 14. His compositis, tertio mense ex hybernis movit exercitum, regionem, quæ Gabaza appellatur, aditus. Primus dies quietum iter præbuit: proximus ei, nondum quidem procellosus et tristis, obscurior tamen pristino, non sine minis crescentis mali præterit. Tertio ab omni parte cœli emicare fulgura, et nunc internitente luce, nunc conditâ, non oculos modò meantis exercitûs, sed etiam animos <sup>1</sup> terrere cœperunt. Erat propè continuus cœli fragor, et passim cœdantium fulminum species visebatur: attonitisque auribus stupens agmen, nec progredi, nec considere audebat. Tum repente imber, grandinem incutiens, torrentis modo effunditur. Ac primò quidem armis suis tecti <sup>2</sup> exceperant. Sed jam nec retinere arma lubricæ et rigentes manus poterant, <sup>3</sup> nec ipsi destinare in quam regionem obverterent corpora, cum undique tempestatis violentia major, quam vitabatur, occurreret. Ergo ordinibus solutis, per totum saltum erra-

bundum agmen ferebatur, multique prius metu quam labore defatigati, prostraverant humi corpora, quanquam imbrevis vis frigoris concreto gelu astrinxerat. Alii se stipitibus arborum admoverant: id plurimis adminiculum et suffugium erat. Nec fallebat ipsos morti locum eligere, cum immobiles vitalis calor linqueret. Sed grata erat pigritia corporum fatigatis, nec recusabant extingui quiescendo. Quippe non vehemens modus, sed etiam pertinax vis mali insistebat, lucemque, naturale solatum, praeter tempestatem haud disparem nocti, sylvarum quoque umbra suppresserat.

15. Rex unus tanti mali patiens, circumire milites, contrahere dispersos, allevare prostratos, ostendere procul evolutum ex tuguriis fumum, hortarique, ut proxima quaeque suffugia occuparent. Nec ulla res magis saluti fuit, quam quod multiplicato labore sufficientem malis, quibus ipsi cesserant, Regem deserere erubescerant. Ceterum efficacior in adversis necessitas, quam ratio, frigoris remedium invenit. Dolabris enim sylvas sternere aggressi, passim acervos struesque accenderunt. Continenti incendio ardere crederes saltum, et vix inter flamas agminibus relictum locum. Hic calor stupentia membra commovit, paulatimque spiritus, quem continuerat rigor, meare liberè coepit. Excepere alios tecta Barbarorum, quae in ultimo saltu abdita necessitas investigaverat; alios castra, quae in humido quidem, sed jam cœli mitescente sevitia, locaverunt. Mille militum atque lixarum calonunque <sup>11</sup> pestis illa consumpsit. Memoriam proditum est quosdam applicatos arborum truncis, et non solum viventibus, sed et inter se colloquentibus similes esse conspectos; durante adhuc <sup>12</sup> habitu, in quo mors quemque deprehenderat. Forte Macedo gregarius miles, seque et arma <sup>13</sup> sustentans, tandem in castra pervenerat. Quo viso, Rex, quanquam ipse tunc maximè admoto igne refovebat artus, ex sella sua exsiluit, torpentemque militem, et vix compotem mentis, demptis armis, in suâ sede jussit considere. Ille diu, nec ubi requiesceret, nec a quo esset exceptus, agnovit. Tandem recepto calore vitali, ut regiam sedem Regemque vidit, territus surgit.

Quem intuens Alexander, "Ecquid intelligis, miles," inquit, "quanto meliore sorte, quam Persae, sub Rege vivatis? illis enim in sella Regis consedisse capital foret, tibi saluti fuit." Postero die convocatis amicis copiarumque ducibus, proanunciari jussit, ipsum omnia quae amissa essent redditurum; <sup>14</sup> et promisso fides extitit. Nam Sysimithres multa jumenta et camelorum duo millia adduxit, pecoraque et armenta, quae distributa, pariter militem et damno et fame liberaverunt. "Rex gratiam sibi relatam a Sysimithre prefatas, sex dierum octa cibaria ferre milites jussit, Sacas petens: totam hanc regionem depopulatus, triginta millia pecorum ex praedâ Sysimithri dono dat.

16. Inde pervenit in regionem, cui Oxyartes Satrapes nobilis praeerat, qui se Regis potestati fideique permisit. Ille imperio ei redditio, haud amplius, quam ut duo ex tribus filiis secum militarent, exegit. Satrapes etiam eum, qui penes ipsum relinquebatur, tradit. Barbarâ opulentia convivium, quo Regem accipiebat, instruxerat. Id cum multâ comitate celebraret, introduci triginta nobiles virgines jussit. Inter quas erat filia ipsius, Roxane nomine, eximiâ corporis specie et <sup>15</sup> decore habitus in Barbaris raro. Quae, quanquam inter electas processerat, omnium tamen oculos convertit in se, maximè Regis, <sup>16</sup> minus jam cupiditatibus suis imperantis inter obsequia fortunæ, contra quam non satis cauta mortalitas est. Itaque ille, qui uxorem Darii, qui duas filias virgines, quibus formâ præter Roxanem comparari nulla poterat, haud alio animo quam parentis aspicerat; <sup>17</sup> tunc in amorem virgunculæ, si regis stirpi compararetur, ignobilis, itâ effusus est, ut diceret, ad stabiliendum regnum pertinere, Persas et Macedonas connubio jungi: hoc uno modo et pudorem victis, et superbiam victoribus detrahi posse: Achillem quoque, a quo genus ipse deduceret, cum captivâ coisse. Ne inferri nefas arbitrarentur, <sup>18</sup> itâ matrimonii jure velle jungi. Insperato gaudio lætus pater, sermonem ejus exceptit: et Rex medio cupiditatis ardore jussit afferri patrio more panem, (hoc erat apud Macedonas sanctissimum coëuntium pignus) quem divi-

sum gladio uterque libabat. Credo, eos qui gentis mores considerunt, parco et parabili victu ostendere voluiisse <sup>20</sup> jungentibus opes, quantulo contenti esse deberent. Hoc modo Rex Asiss et Europæ, introductam inter convivales ludos matrimonio sibi adjunxit, e captivâ geniturus, qui victoribus imperaret. Pudebat amicos, super vinum et epulas socorum ex deditis esse electum. Sed post Cliti cœdem libertate sublatâ, vultu, <sup>21</sup> qui maximè servit, assentiebantur.

V. 17. Cœteram Indiam, et inde Oceanum petiturus, ne quid a tergo, quod <sup>1</sup> destinata impedire posset, moveretur, ex omnibus provinciis triginta millia juniorum legi jussit, et ad se armata perduci, obsides simul habiturus et milites, Craterum autem ad persequendos Haustanem et Catenem, qui ab ipso defecerant misit; quorum Haustanes captus est, Catenes in prælio occisus. Polyspercon quoque regionem, quæ Bubacene appellatur, in ditionem redigit. Itaque omnibus compositis, cogitationes in bellum Indicum vertit. Dives regio habebatur, non auro modò, sed gemmis quoque margaritisque, ad <sup>2</sup> luxum magis, quam ad magnificentiam, exulta. <sup>3</sup> Viri equique militares auro et ebore fulgere dicebantur. Itaque, necubi vinceretur, cum cœteris præstaret, scutis argenteas laminas, equis frænos aureos addidit; loricas quoque alias auro, alias argento adornavit. Centum viginti millia armatorum erant, quæ Regem ad id bellum sequebantur. Jamque omnibus præparatis, <sup>4</sup> quod olim pravâ mente conceperat, tunc esse maturum ratus, quonam modo coelestes honores usurparet, cœpit agitare. Jovis filium non dici tantum se, sed etiam credi volebat, tanquam <sup>5</sup> perinde animis imperare posset, ac linguis. Itaque more Persarum Macedonas <sup>6</sup> venerabundos ipsum salutare, prosternentes humi corpora, jussit. Non deerat talia concupiscenti perniciosa adulatio, perpetuum malum Regum, quorum opes sœpiùs assentatio quam hostis evertat. Nec Macedonum hæc erat culpa <sup>7</sup> (nemo enim illorum quidquam ex patro more labare sustinuit), sed <sup>8</sup> Græcorum, qui professionem <sup>9</sup> honestarum artium malis corruperant moribus.

18. Agis, quidam Argivus, (peccimorum carminum<sup>10</sup> post Chærilum conditor,) et ex Siciliâ Cleo, (hic quidem, non ingenii solum, sed etiam nationis vitio, adulator,) et cætera urbium suarum purgamenta, que propinquis etiam, maximorumque exercituum ducibus, a Rege præferebantur; "hi tum cœlum illi aperiebant, Herculemque et patrem Liberum, et cum Polluce Castorem novo numini<sup>11</sup> cessuros esse jactabant. Igitur festo die omni opulentia convivium exornari jubet, cui non Macedones modò, et Græci principes amicorum, sed etiam Barbari nobiles adhiberentur. Cum quibus cùm discubasset Rex, paulisper epulatus, convivio egreditur. Cleo, sicut præparaverat, sermonem cum admiratione laudum ejus instituit. Merita deindè percensuit; quibus uno modo referri gratia posset, si, quem inteligerent Deum esse, confiterentur, exigua thuris impensa tanta beneficia pensaturi. Persas quidem non piè solum, sed etiam prudenter, Reges suos inter Deos colere: "majestatem enim imperii, salutis esse tutelam. Ne Herculem quidem et patrem Liberum priùs dicatos Deos, quām vicissent<sup>12</sup> secum viventium invidiam. Tantumdam quoque posteros credere, quantum præsens ætas<sup>13</sup> spopondisset. Quod si cæteri dubitent, semetipsum, cùm Rex inisset convivium, prostratum humi corpus; debere idem facere cæteros, et in primis sapientia præditos. Ab illis enim cultus in Regem esse prodendum exemplum.

19. Haud perplexè in Calisthenem dirigebatur oratio. Gravitas viri et<sup>14</sup> prompta libertas invisa erat Regi, quasi solus Macedonas paratos ad tale obsequium moraretur. Intum, silentio facto, unum illum intuentibus cæteris, "Si Rex," inquit, "sermoni tuo affuisset, nullius profectò vox responsuri tibi desideraretur. Ipse enim peteret, ne in peregrinos externosque ritus degenerare se cogeres, neu rebus felicissimè gestis<sup>15</sup> invidiam tali adulazione contraheres. Sed quoniam abest, ego tibi pro illo respondeo. "Nullum esse eundem et diuturnum, et præcocem fructum: cœlestesque honores non dare te Regi, sed auferre. Intervallo enim opus est, ut credatur Deus, semperque hanc gratiam magnis viris posteri reddunt.

Ego autem seram immortalitatem precor Regi, ut et vita diurna sit, et eterna maiestas. Hominem consequitur aliquando, nunquam comitatur divinitas. Herculem <sup>19</sup> modū, et patrem Liberum, consecratæ immortalitatis exempla, referebas. Credisse illos unius convivii decreto Deos factos? Prius ab oculis mortalium amolita natura est, quam in cœlum fama pervehheret. <sup>20</sup> Scilicet ego et tu, Cleo, Deos facimus! A nobis divinitatis suæ auctoritatem accepturus est Rex! <sup>21</sup> Potentiam tuam experiri libet. Fac aliquem Regem, si Deum potes facere. <sup>22</sup> Facilius est imperium dare, quam cœlum. <sup>23</sup> Dii propitii sine invidiâ, quæ Cleo dixit, audierint, eodemque cursu, quo fluxere adhuc res, ire patientur: nostris moribus velint nos esse contentos. Non pudet patriæ; nec desidero, ad quem modum Rex mihi colendus sit, a victis discere. Quos equidem victores esse confiteor, si ab illis leges, quæ vivamus, accipimus."

20. Aequis auribus Calisthenes, veluti vindex publicæ libertatis, audiebatur. <sup>24</sup> Expresserat non assensionem modū, sed etiam vocem, seniorum præcipue, quibus gravis erat inverterati moris externa mutatio. Nec quidquam <sup>25</sup> eorum, quæ invicem jactata erant, Rex ignorabat, cum post aulæam, quæ leetos obduxerat, staret. Igitur ad Agim et Cleonem misit, ut sermone finito, Barbaros tantum, cum intrasset, procumbere suo more paterentur. Et paulò post, <sup>26</sup> quasi potiora quædam egisset, convivium repetit. Quem venerantibus Persis, Polyspercon, qui cubabat <sup>27</sup> super Regem, unum ex his mento contingentem humum per ludibrium cœpit hortari, ut vehementius id quateret ad terram: elicuitque iram Alexandri, quam <sup>28</sup> olim animo capere non poterat. Itaque Rex, "Tu autem," inquit, "non veneraberis me? An tibi uni digni videamur esse ludibrio?" Ille <sup>29</sup> nec Regem ludibrio, nec se contemptu dignum esse respondit. Tum detractum eum lecte Rex præcipitat in terram. Et cum is pronus corruisset, "Videsne," inquit, "idem te fecisse, quod in alio paulò ante ridebas?" Et tradi eo in custodiam jusso, convivium solvit. Polysperconti quidem postea, castigato diu, ignovit.

VI. 21. ' In Calisthenem olim contumaciam suspectum, pervicacioris irae fuit, cuius explendens matura obvenit occasio. Mos erat (ut suprà dictum est) principibus Macedonum, adultos liberos Regibus tradere, ' ad munia haud multum servilibus ministeriis abhorrentia. Excubabant, ' servatis noctium vicibus, proximi foribus ejus sedis, in quâ Rex acquiescebat. Iidem acceptos ab agasonibus equos, cùm Rex ascensurus esset, ' admovebant, comitabanturque et venantem, et in præliis; omnibus artibus studiorum liberalium exculti. Præcipiuus honor habebatur, quòd licebat sedentibus vesci cum Rege. Castigandi verberibus eos nullius potestas præter ipsum erat. Haec cohors velut seminarium ducum præfectorumque apud Macedonas fuit. Hinc habuère posteri Reges, quorum ' stirpibus post multas ætates Romani opes ademerunt. ' Igitur Hermolaüs, puer nobilis ex regiâ cohorte, ' cùm aprum telo occupasset, quem Rex ferire destinaverat, jussu ejus verberibus affectus est. Quam ignominiam ægrè ferens, defiere apud Sostratum coepit. Ex eâdem cohorte erat Sostratus, amore ejus ardens: qui cùm laceratum ' corpus, in quo deperibat, intueretur, forsitan olim ob aliam quoque causam Regi infestus, juvenem suâ sponte jam motum, datâ fide, acceptâque perpulit, ut occidendi Regem consilium secum iniret. Nec ' puerili impetu rem exsecuti sunt: quippe solerter legerunt, quos in societatem sceleris asciscerent: Nicostratum, Antipatrum, Asclepiodurumque, et Philotam placuit assumi. Per hos adjecti sunt Anticles, Elaptonius et Epimenes.

22. Cæterum agendæ rei hand sanè facilis patebat via. Opus erat eâdem omnes conjuratos nocte excubare, ne ab expertibus consilii impedirentur. Fortè autem alias alia nocte excubabat. Itaque in permutandis stationum vicibus, cæteroque apparatu exsequendæ rei, triginta et duo dies absumpti sunt. Aderat nox, quâ conjurati excubare debebant, mutuâ fide læti, cuius documentum tot dies fuerant. Neminem metus spesve mutaverat; tanta omnibus vel in Regem ira, vel fides inter ipsos fuit. Stabant igitur ad fores sedis ejus, in quâ Rex vescebatur, ut convivio egressum in cubiculum de-

duerent. Sed fortuna ipsius, simulque epulantum "comitas provexit omnes ad largius vinum. Ludi etiam convivales extraxere tempus: nunc laetis conjuratis, quòd sopitum aggressuri essent: nunc sollicitis ne in lucem convivium extrahetur. Quippe alios in stationem oportebat primâ luce succedere, ipsorum post septem dies redditurâ vice. Nec sperare poterant, in illud tempus omnibus duraturam fidem. Cæterum, cùm jam lux appeteret, et convivium solvit, et conjurati exceperunt Regem laeti occasionem exequendi sceleris admotam; cùm mulier <sup>ii</sup> attonitæ, ut creditum est, mentis, <sup>ii</sup> conversari in regiâ solita, quia <sup>ii</sup> instinctu videbatur futura prædicere, non occurrit modò abeunti, sed etiam semet objecit, vultuque et oculis motum præferens animi, ut rediret in convivium monuit; et ille per ludum, benè Deos suadere, respondit: revocatisque amicis, in horam diei fermè secundam convivii tempus extrahit.

23. Jam alii ex cohorte in stationem successerant, ante cubiculi fores excubaturi. Adhuc tamen conjurati stabant, vice officii sui expletâ: adeò pertinax est spes, quam humane mentes foverunt. Rex benignius quâm alias allocutus, discedere eos ad curanda corpora, quoniam totâ nocte perstitissent, jubet: data sunt singulis quinquaginta sestertia: collaudatis quoque quòd etiam aliis traditâ vice, tamen excubare perseverâssent. Illi tantâ spe destituti domos abeunt: et cæteri quidem exspectabant stationis suæ noctem; Epimenes, sive comitate Regis, quâ <sup>ii</sup> ipsum inter conjuratos exceperat, repente mutatus; sive quia coptis Deos obstare credebat, fratri suo Eurylocho, quem antea expertem esse consilii voluerat, quid pararetur, aperit. Omnibus Philotæ supplicium in oculis erat. Itaque protinus injicit fratri manum, et in regiam pervenit: excitatisque custodibus corporis, ad salutem Regis pertinere, quæ afferret, affirmat. Et tempus quo venerant, et vultus haud sanè securi animi index, et incestitia e duobus alterius, Ptolemæum ac Leonatum, excubantes ad cubiculi limen, excitaverunt. Itaque apertis foribus et lumine illato, sopitum mero ac somno excitant Regem.

Ille, paulatim mente collectâ, quid afferrent, interrogat. Nec cunctatus Eurylochus, non ex toto domum suam aversari Deos, dixit: quia frater ipsius, quanquam impium facinus ausus foret, tamen et "poenitentiam ejus ageret, et per se potissimum profiteretur indicium: in eam ipsam noctem, quae decederet, insidias comparatas fuisse. Auctores scelesti consilii esse, quos minimè crederet Rex. Tum Epimenes cuncta ordine, conciorumque nomina exponit.

24. Calisthenem non ut participem facinoris nominatum esse constabat, sed <sup>16</sup> solitum puerorum sermonibus, vituperantium criminantiumque Regem, faciles aures præbere. Quidam adjiciunt, cùm Hermolaüs apud eum quoque verberatum se a Rege quereretur, dixisse Calisthenem, meminisse debere eos jam viros esse. Idque an <sup>17</sup> ad consolandam patientiam verberum, an ad incitandum juvenum <sup>18</sup> dolorem dictum esset, in ambiguo fuisse. Rex animi corporisque sopore discusso, cùm tanti periculi quod evaserat imago oculis oberraret, Eurylochum quinquaginta talentis, et cujusdam Tyridatis opulentí bonis donat protinus: fratremque, antequam pro salute ejus precaretur, restituit. Sceleris autem auctores, interque eos Calisthenem, vinctos asservari jubet. Quibus in Regiam ad ductis, toto die et nocte proximâ mero ac vigiliis gravis acquievit. Postero autem die, frequens concilium adhibuit, cui patres propinquique eorum, <sup>19</sup> de quibus agebatur, intererant, ne de suâ quidem salute securi: quippe Macedonum more perire debebant, omnium devotis capitibus, qui sanguine contigissent eos. Rex introduci conjuratos, præter Calisthenem, jussit: atque quæ agitaverant sine cunctatione confessi sunt. Increpantibus deinde universis eos, ipse Rex, "quo suo merito tantum in semet cogitâssent facinus?" interrogat.

VII. 25. Stupentibus cæteris, Hermolaüs, "Nos verò," inquit, "quoniam, quasi nescias, quæris, occidendi te consilium inivimus, quia non ut 'ingenuis imperare cœpisti, sed quasi in mancipia dominaris." Primus ex omnibus pater ipsius, Sopolis, parricidam etiam parentis sui clamitans esse, consurgit; et ad os manu objectâ, scelere et malis insanientem ultrâ

negat audiendum. Rex, inhibito patre, dicere Hermolaūm jubet, quæ ex magistro didicisset Calisthene. Et Hermolaüs, "Utor," inquit, "beneficio tuo, et dico quæ nostris malis didici. Quota pars Macedonum sœvitiae tuæ superest? Quotus quidem non e vilissimo sanguine? Attalus, et Philotas, et Parmenio, et Lyncestes Alexander, et Clitus, quantum ad hostes pertinet, vivunt; stant in acie, te clypeis suis protegunt, et pro gloriâ tuâ, pro victoriâ vulnera accipiunt: quibus tu egregiam gratiam retulisti. Alius mensam tuam sanguine suo aspersit. Alius ne simplici quidem morte defunctus est. Duces exercituum tuorum in equuleum impositi, Persis, quos vicerant, fuêre spectaculo. Parmenio, indictâ causâ, trucidatus est, per quem Attalum occideras. Invicem enim miserorum uteris manibus ad expetenda supplicia. Et quos paulò antè ministros cædis habuisti, subitò ab aliis jubes trucidari." Obstrepunt deindè cuncti Hermolao. Pater supremum strinxerat ferrum, percussurus haud dubiè, nî inhibitus esset a Rege: quippe Hermolaūm dicere jussit; petitiique, ut causas supplicii augentem patienter audirent.

26. *Ægrè ergò coërcitis, rursùs Hermolaüs, "Quàm liberaliter,"* inquit, "pueris rudibus ad dicendum agere permitis! At Calisthenis vox carcere inclusa est, quia solus potest dicere. Cur enim non producitur, cùm etiam confessi audiuntur? Nempè quia liberam vocem innocentis audire metais, ac ne vultum quidem pateris. Atqui nihil eum fecisse contendo. Sunt hīc qui mecum rem pulcherrimam cogitaverunt. Nemo est, qui conscient fuisse nobis Calisthenem dicat, cùm morti olim destinatus sit a justissimo et patientissimo Rege. Hæc ergo sunt Macedonum præmia, quorum ut supervacuo et sordido abuteris sanguine! At tibi triginta millia mulorum captivum aurumvehunt, cùm milites nihil domum præter gratuitas cicatrices relaturi sint. Quæ tamen emnia tolerare potuimus, antequam nos Barbaris dederes, et novo more victores sub jugum mitteres. Persarum te vestis et disciplina delectat, patrios mores exosus es. Persarum ergò, non Macedonum Regem occidere veluimus: et te trans-

fugain, belli jure, persequimur. Tu Macedonas voluisti genua tibi ponere, venerarique te ut Deum. Tu Philippum patrem <sup>“</sup>aversaris, et si quis Deorum ante Jovem haberetur, fastidires etiam Jovem. Miraris si liberi homines superbiam tuam ferre non possumus? Quid speramus ex te, quibus aut insontibus moriendum est, aut, quod tristius morte est, in servitute vivendum? Tu quidem, si emendari potes, multum mihi debes. Ex me enim scire coepisti quod ingenui homines ferre non possunt. De cætero parco his, quorum orbam senectutem suppliciis ne oneraveris. Nos jube <sup>“</sup>duci, ut quod ex tuâ morte petieramus, consequamur ex nostrâ.”

Hæc Hermolaüs.

VIII. 27. At Rex, “Quām falsa sint,” inquit, “quæ iste tradita a magistro suo dixit, patientia mea ostendit. Confessum enim ultimum facinus, tamen ut vos quoque, non solum ipse, audiretis, expressi; <sup>‘</sup>non imprudens, cùm permissem huic latroni dicere, usurum eum rabie, quā compulsus est, ut me, quem parentis loco colere deberet, velle occidere.”

“Nuper cùm procacius se in venatione gessisset, more patrio, et ab antiquissimis Macedonis Regibus usurpato, castigari eum jussi. Hoc et oportet ferri, et ferunt a tutoribus pupilli, a maritis uxores: servis quoque pueros hujus ætatis verberare concedimus. Hæc est sævitia in ipsum mea, quam impiâ cœde voluit ulcisci. Nam in cæteros, qui mihi permitunt uti ingenio meo, quām mitis sim, non ignoratis, et commemorare supervacuum est.”

“Hermolao parricidarum supplicia non probari, cùm eadem ipse meruerit, minimè hercule admiror. Nam cùm Parmenionem et Philotam laudat, suse servit causa. Lyncestem verò Alexandrum bis insidiatum capiti meo a duobus indiciis liberavi. Rursus convictum, per biennium tamen distuli, donec vos postularetis ut tandem debito suppicio scelus lueret. Attalum, antequām Rex essem, hostem meo capiti fuisse meministis. Clitus utinam non coegisset me sibi irasci: cuius temerariam linguam probra dicentis mihi et vobis, diutiū tuli,

quām ille eadem me dicentem tulisset. Regum ducumque clementia non in ipsorum modō, sed etiam in illorum, qui parent, ingenii sita est. Obsequio mitigantur imperia: ubi verō reverentia excessit animis, et summa imis confundimus, vi opus est, ut vim repellamus."

" Sed quid ego mirer, <sup>1</sup> istum crudelitatem mihi objecisse, qui avaritiam exprobare ausus sit? Nolo singulos vestrūm excitare, ne invisam liberalitatem mean faciam, si pudori vestro gravem fecero. Totum exercitum aspicite. Qui paulo antē nihil præter arma habebant, nunc argenteis cubant lectis, mensas auro onerant, grages servorum ducunt, spolia de hostibus sustinere non possunt."

" At enim Persæ, quos vicimus, in magno honore sunt apud me! Evidem moderationis mē certissimum indicium est, quod ne victis quidem superbè impero. Veni enim in Asiam, non ut funditus everterem gentes, neo ut dimidiam partem terrarum solitudinem facerem: sed ut illos, quos bello subegisset, victoræ mē non poniteret. Itaque militant vobiscum, pro imperio vestro sanguinem fundunt, qui superbè habitu rebellassent. Non est diuturna possessio, in quam gladio inducimur; beneficiorum gratia sempiterna est. Si habere Asiam, <sup>2</sup> non transire volumus, cum his communicanda est nostra clementia. Horum fides stabile et aeternum faciet imperium: et sane plus habemus, quām capimua. Insatiabilis autem avaritia est, adhuc implere velle, quod jam circumfluit."

" Verumtamen eorum mores in Macedonas transfundo. In multis <sup>3</sup> enim gentibus esse video quae non erubescamus imitari. Nec aliter tantum imperium aptè regi potest, quām ut quēdam et tradamus illis, et ab iisdem discamus."

" Illud penè dignum risu fuit, quod Hermolaüs postulabat a me, ut aversarer Jovem, cuius oraculo agnoscor. An etiam quid Dii respondeant, in mēa potestate est? Obtulit nomen filii mihi: <sup>4</sup> recipere ipsis rebus, quas agimus, haud alienum fuit. Utinam Indi queque Deum esse me credant. Fama

enim bella constant,<sup>10</sup> et sepe etiam quod falso creditum est, veri vicem obtinuit."

"<sup>11</sup> An me luxuriae indulgentem putatis arma vestra auro argentoque adornasse? Assuetis nihil vilius hanc videre materiam volui ostendere, Macedonas, invictos ceteris, ne auro quidem vinci. Oculos ergo primum eorum sordida omnia et humilia spectantium capiam, et docebo nos non auri aut argenti cupidos, sed orbem terrarum subacturos venisse. Quam gloriam tu, parricida, intercipere voluisti, et Macedonas, Regem adempto, devictis gentibus dedere."

"At nunc mones me, ut vestris parentibus parciam. Non oportebat quidem vos scire, quid de his statuissem, quod tristiores periretis, si qua vobis parentum memoria et cura est. Sed olim istum morem occidendi cum scelestis insontes propinquos parentesque<sup>12</sup> solvi: et profiteor in eodem honore futuros omnes eos, in quo fuerunt."

"Nam tuum Calisthenem, cui uni vir videris, quia latro es, scio cur produci velis; ut coram his probra, quae modò in me jecisti, modò audisti, illius quoque ore referantur. Quem, si Makedo esset, tecum introduxissem, dignissimum te discipulo magistrum. Nunc Olynthio non idem juris est."

Post haec concilium dimisit, tradique damnatos hominibus, qui ex eadem cohorte erant, jussit. Illi, ut fidem suam sanctitatem Regi approbarent, excruciatos necaverunt. Calisthenes quoque tortus interiit,<sup>13</sup> initi consilii in caput Regis innoxius: sed haudquaquam aulae et<sup>14</sup> assentantium accommodatus ingenio. Itaque nullius cædes majorem apud Graecos Alexandro excitavit invidiam, quod prædictum optimis moribus artibusque, a quo revocatus ad vitam erat, cum imperfecto Clito mori perseveraret, non tantum occiderit, sed etiam torserit, indictâ quidem causâ. Quam crudelitatem sera poenitentia consecuta est.

IX. 28. Sed ne otium ferendis rumoribus natum aleret, in Indiam movit, semper bello quam post victoriam clarior.  
<sup>1</sup> India tota fermè spectat Orientem, minus in latitudinem quam rectâ regione spatiose. <sup>2</sup> Quæ Austrum accipiunt, in

altius terræ fastigium <sup>3</sup> excedunt. Plana sunt cætera, multis-  
que inlytis amnibus <sup>4</sup> Caucaso monte ortis, placidum per  
campos iter præbent. Indus gelidior est, quam cæteri.  
Aquas vehit a colore maris haud multum abhorrentes.  
Ganges amnis ab ortu eximius, ad meridianam regionem de-  
currit, et magnorum montium juga recto alveo <sup>5</sup> stringit.  
Inde eum objectæ rupes inclinant ad Orientem. Utque rubro  
mari accipitur, <sup>6</sup> findens ripas, multas arbores cum magnâ soli  
parte exsorbet. Saxis quoque impeditus crebrò reverberatur.  
Ubi mollius solum reperit, stagnat, insulasque molitur.  
Acesines Indum auget: decursurum in mare intercipit: mag-  
noque motu amnis uterque colliditur. Quippe asperum os  
influenti objicit; nec repercussæ aquæ cedunt. Dyardenes  
minùs celeber auditu est, quia per ultima Indiæ currit.  
Cæterùm non crocodilos modò, uti Nilus, sed etiam delphines,  
ignotasque aliis gentibus belluas alit. Erimanthus crebris  
flexibus subindè curvatus ab accolis rigantibus carpitur. Ea  
causa est, cur tenues reliquias jam sine nomine in mare emit-  
tat. Multis præter hos amnibus tota regio dividitur, sed ig-  
nobilibus, <sup>7</sup> quia non adeò interfluunt.

29. Cæterùm quæ propiora sunt mari, Aquilones max-  
imè deurunt. Ii, cohibiti jugis montium, ad interiora non  
penetrant, ita alendis frugibus mitia. Sed adeò in illâ plagâ  
mundus statas temporum vices mutat, ut cùm alia fervore  
solis exæstuant, Indiam nives obruant: rursusque ubi cæ-  
tera rigent, illic intolerandus æstus existat: nec aperuit  
se naturæ causa. Mare certè, quo alluitur, ne colore  
quidem abhorret a cæteris. Ab Erythrâ Rege inditum est  
nomen, propter quod ignari rubere aquas credunt. Terra  
lini ferax: indè plerisque sunt vestes. <sup>8</sup> Libri arborum teneri,  
haud secùs quam chartæ, litterarum notas capiunt. Aves ad  
imitandum humanæ vocis sonum dociles sunt: animalia inus-  
tata cæteris gentibus, nisi inventa. Eadem terra rhinocerotas  
alit, <sup>9</sup> non generat. Elephantorum major est vis, quam quos  
in Africâ dominant; et viribus magnitudo respondet. Aurum  
flumina vehunt, quæ leni modicoque lapsu segnes aquas du-

erit. Gemmas margaritasque mare littoribus infundit. Neque alia illis major opulentiae <sup>11</sup> causa est, <sup>11</sup> utique postquam vitiorum commercium vulgavere in exteris gentes: quippe aestimantur purgamenta aestuantis freti pretio quod <sup>11</sup> libido constituit. Ingenia hominum, sicut ubique, apud illos locorum quoque situs format. Corpora usque pedes carboso velant. Soleis pedes, capita linteis vinciunt. Lapilli ex auribus pendent: brachia quoque, et lacertos auro <sup>11</sup> colunt, quibus inter populares aut nobilitas aut opes eminent. <sup>11</sup> Capillum pectunt saepius quam tendunt: mentum semper intonsum est. Reliquam oris cutem ad speciem levitatis excequant.

30. Regum tamen <sup>11</sup> luxuria, quam ipsi magnificentiam appellant, supra omnium gentium vitia. Cum Rex se in publico conspici patitur, thuribula argentea ministri ferunt, totumque iter, per quod ferri destinavit, odoribus complent. Aurea lectica margaritis circumpendentibus recubat. <sup>11</sup> Distincta sunt auro et purpurâ carbasa, quae indutus est: lecticam sequuntur armati corporisque custodes. Inter quos ramis aves pendent, quas cantu seriis rebus obstrepere docuerunt. Regia <sup>11</sup> auratas columnas habet; totas eas vitis <sup>11</sup> auro cælata percurrit, aviumque, quarum visu maximè gaudent, argenteæ effigies opera distingunt. Regia adeuntibus patet. Cum capillum pectit atque ornat, tunc responsa legationibus, tunc jura popularibus reddit. Demptis soleis, odoribus illinuntur pedes. <sup>11</sup> Venatus maximus labor est, inclusa vivario animalia inter vota cantusque pellicum figere. Binum cubitorum sagittæ sunt, quas emituat majore nixu quam effectu: quippe telum, cuius in levitate vis omnis est, <sup>11</sup> inhabili pondere oneratur. Breviora itinera equo conficit. Longior ubi expeditio est, elephanti vehunt currum, et tantarum belluarum corpora tota contegunt auro. Ac ne quid perditis moribus desit, lecticis aureis pellicum longus ordo sequitur. Separatum a Reginæ ordine agmen est, æquatque luxuriæ. Fœminæ epulas parant. Ab iisdem vinum ministratur, cuius omnibus Indis largus est usus. Regem mero somnoque sopitum, in cubi-

culum pellices referunt, patrio carmine noctium invocantes Deos.

31. Quis credat inter haec vitia curam esse sapientiae? Unum agreste et horridum genus est, quos Sapientes vocant. Apud hos <sup>11</sup> occupare fati diem, pulchrum; et vivos se cre-  
mari jubent, quibus aut <sup>12</sup> segnis ætas, aut incommoda vale-  
tudo est: <sup>13</sup> expectatam mortem pro dedecore vita habent.  
Nec ullus corporibus, quæ senectus solvit, honos redditur.  
Inquinari putant ignem, nisi qui spirantes recipit. <sup>14</sup> Illi qui  
in urbibus publicis moribus degunt, siderum motus scitè  
spectare dicuntur, et futura prædicere. <sup>15</sup> Nec quemquam ad-  
movere lethi diem credunt, cui exspectare interrito liceat.  
Deos putant, quidquid colere coeperunt: arbores maximè, quas  
violare capital est. Menses in quinos denos descripserunt  
dies. <sup>16</sup> Anni plena spatia servant. Lunæ cursu notant tem-  
pora, non ut plerique, cùm orbem sidus implevit, sed cùm  
se curvare coepit in cornua; et idcirco breviores habent menses,  
qui spatium eorum ad hunc Lunæ modum dirigunt. Multa et  
alia traduntur, quibus morari ordinem rerum haud sanè <sup>17</sup> operæ  
preatum videbatur.

X. 32. <sup>1</sup> Igitur Alexandro fines Indiæ ingresso gentium  
suarum Reguli occurrerunt, imperata facturi: illum tertium  
Jove genitum ad ipsos pervenisse memorantes: Patrem Libe-  
rum, atque Herculem famâ cognitos esse: ipsum coram adesse  
cernique. Rex benignè exceptos sequi jussit, <sup>2</sup> iisdem itine-  
rum ducibus usurus. Cæterū cùm amplius nemo occurreret,  
Hephæstionem et Perdiccam cum copiarum parte præmisit,  
ad subigendos, qui aversarentur imperium: jussitque ad flumen  
Indum procedere, et navigia facere, queis in ulteriora tran-  
sportari posset exercitus. Illi, quia plura flumina superanda  
erant, sic junxere naves, ut solutæ plaustris vehi possent,  
rursusque conjungi. Post se Cratero cum phalange jusso  
sequi, equitatum ac levem armaturam eduxit, eosque qui  
occurserant, levi prælio in urbem proximam compulit. <sup>3</sup> Jam  
supervenerat Craterus. Itaque ut principio terrorem incuteret,  
genti, nondum arma Macedonum expertæ, præcipit ne cui

parceretur; munitis urbis, quam obsidebat, incensis. Ceterum dum obequitabat moenibus, sagittâ ictus est. Cepit tamen oppidum, et omnibus incolis ejus trucidatis, etiam in tecta ssevitum est. Inde domitâ ignobili gente, ad Nysam urbem pervenit. Fortè castris ante moenia ipsa in sylvestri loco positis, nocturnum frigus vehementius quam aliâs horrore corpora affecit, opportunumque remedium ignis oblatum est. Cessis quippe sylvisflammam excitaverunt: quæ lignis alita oppidanorum sepulchra comprehendit. Vetustâ cedro facta erant, conceptumque ignem latè fudere, donec omnia solo sequata sunt. Et ex urbe primùm canum latratus, deinde etiam hominum fremitus auditus est. Tum et oppidani hostem, et Macedonas ipsos ad urbem venisse cognoscunt.

33. Jamque Rex eduxerat copias, et moenia obsidebat, cùm hostium, qui discri men tentaverant, obruti telis sunt. Aliis ergò ditionem, aliis pugnam experiri placebat: quorum dubitatione compertâ, circumsideri tantum eos, et abstineri cædibus jussit. Tandemque obsidionis malis fatigati dedidere se. A Libero patre conditos se esse dicebant; et vera hæc origo erat. Sita est sub radicibus montis, quem Meron incolæ appellant. Inde Graeci mentiendi traxere licentiam, Jovis femine Liberum patrem esse celatum. Rex, situ montis cognito ex incolis, cum toto exercitu, præmissis commatibus, verticem ejus ascendit. Multa hedera vitisque toto dignitur monte. Multæ perennes aquæ manant. Pomorum quoque varii salubresque succi sunt, suâ sponte fortitorum seminum fruges humo nutriende. Lauri, baccarisque multa in illis rupibus agrestis est sylva. Credo equidem non divino instinctu, sed lasciviâ esse provectos, ut passim hederæ ac vitium folia deerperent, redimitique fronde toto nemore similes bacchantibus vagarentur. Vocibus ergò tot millium, præsidem nemoris ejus Deum adorantium, juga montis colle que resonabant, cùm orta licentia a paucis (ut fere fit) in omnes se repente vulgasset. Quippe, velut in mediâ pace, per herbas congestamque frondem, prostraverant corpora. Et

Rex <sup>9</sup> fortuitam lætitiam non aversatus, largè ad epulas omnibus præbitis, per decem dies <sup>10</sup> Libero patri operatum habuit exercitum. Quis neget eximiam quoque gloriam <sup>11</sup> ssepiùs fortunæ quām virtutis esse beneficium? quippe ne epulantes quidem et sopitos mero aggredi ausus est hostis; haud secus bacchantium ululantiumque fremitu perterritus, quām si præliantium clamor esset auditus. Eadem felicitas ab Oceano revertentes temulentos commessantesque <sup>12</sup> inter ora hostium texit.

34. Hinc ad regionem, quæ Dædala vocatur, perventum est. Deseruerant incolæ sedes, et in avios sylvestresque montes confugrant. Ergo Acadera transit, sequè usta et destituta incolentium fugâ. Itaque rationem belli necessitas mutavit. Divisis enim copiis, pluribus simul locis arma ostendit: oppressique, ubi non exspectaverant hostem, omni clade perdimti sunt. Ptolemæus plurimas urbes, Alexander maximas cepit: rursusque quas distribuerat copias junxit. Superato deinde Choaspe amne, Coenon in obsidione urbis opulentæ (Beziram incolæ vocant) reliquit. Ipse ad Mazagas venit, nuper Assacano (cujus regnum fuerat) demortuo. Regioni quoque urbique præserat mater ejus Cleophas. Triginta millia peditum tuebantur urbem, non situ solùm, sed etiam opere munitam. Nam quâ spectat Orientem, cingitur amne torrenti, qui præruptis utrinque rupibus aditum ad urbem impedit. Ab Occidente et a Meridie, velut de industriâ, rupes præaltas admolita natura est, infra quas cavernæ et voragini longâ vetustate in altum cavatæ jacent: quâque desinunt, fossa ingentis operis objecta est. Triginta quinque stadium murus urbem complectitur, cujus inferiora saxo, superiora crudo latere sunt structa. <sup>13</sup> Lateri vinculum lapides sunt, quos interposuere, ut duriori materiæ fragilis incumberet: simulque terra humore dilutâ, ne tandem <sup>14</sup> universa consideret, interposite erant trabes validæ, quibus injecta tabulata muros et tegebant, et pervios fecerant.

35. Hæc munimenta contemplantem Alexandrum, consiliique incertum (quia nec cavernas, nisi aggere poterat im-

plere, nec tormenta aliter muris admovere) quidam e muro sagittâ percussit.<sup>14</sup> Tum fortè in suram incidit telum, cuius spiculo evalso admoveri equum jussit: quo vectus, ne obligato quidem vulnere, haud segnius destinata exsequebatur. Cæterum etim crux saucium penderet, et crux siccato frigescens vulnus aggravaret dolorem, dixisse fertur: Se quidem Jovis filium dici, sed corporis ægri vitia sentire. Non tamen antè se recepit in castra, quām cuncta prospexit, et quæ fieri vellet, edixit. Ergò, sicut imperatum erat, alii extra urbem tecta demoliebantur, ingentemque vim materiae faciendo aggeri detrahebant; alii magnarum arborum stipites cum ramis ac moles saxorum in cavernas dejiciebant. Jamque agger sequaverat summæ fastigium terræ. Itaque turres erigebantur: quæ opera ingenti militum ardore intra nonum diem absoluta sunt. Ad ea visenda Rex, nondum obductâ vulneri cicatrice, processit: landatisque militibus, admoveri machinas jussit, e quibus ingens vis telorum in propugnatores effusa est. Præcipuè rudes talium operum terrebant mobiles turres: tantisque moles, nullâ ope, quæ cerneretur, adductas, Deorum numine agi credebat. Pila quoque muralia, et excussas tormentis prægraves hastas,<sup>15</sup> negabant convenire mortalibus. Itaque desperatâ urbis tutelâ concessâre in arem. Inde, quia nihil obsessis præter ditionem placebat, legati ad Regem descederunt, veniam petitari. Quâ impetratâ, Regina cum magno nobilium foeminarum grege, aureis pateris vina libantium, processit. Ipsa genibus Regis parvo filio admoto, non veniam modò, sed etiam pristinæ fortunæ impetravit decus: quippe appellata est Regina; et credidère quidam, plus formæ quām miserationi datum. Puero quòque certè, postea ex eâ utecumque genito, Alexandro fuit nomen.

XI. 36. Hinc Polyspercon ad urbem Noram cum exercitu missus, inconditos oppidanos prælio vicit: intra munimenta compulsosecutus, urbem in ditionem redegit. Multa ignobilia oppida deserta a suis venere in Regis potestatem. Quorum incolæ armati, petram Aornin nomine occupaverunt. Hanc ab Hercule frustrâ obsessam esse, terræque motu coactum

absistere, fama vulgaverat. In opem consilii Alexandrum, quia undique præceps et abrupta rupes erat, senior quidam peritus locorum cum duobus filiis adiit, si pretium operi esset, aditum se monstraturum esse promittens. Octoginta talenta constituit daturum Alexander, et altero ex juvenibus obside retento, ipsum ad exsequenda, quæ obtulerat, dimisit. Leviter armatis dux datus est Mullinus scriba Regis. Hos enim circuitu, quo fallerent hostem, in summum jugum placebat evadere. Petra non ut pleræque modicis ac mollibus clivis in sublime fastigium crescit, sed in metes maximè modum erecta est: cujus ima spatiösiora sunt, altiora in arctius coēunt, summa in acutum cacumen exsurgunt. Radices ejus Indus amnis subit, præaltus utrinque asperis ripis. Ab altera parte, voragini eluviesque præruptæ sunt; nec alia expugnandi patebat via, quam ut replerentur. Ad manum sylva erat, quam Rex ita cœdi jussit, ut nudi stipites jacerentur: quippe rami fronde vestiti impedissent ferentes. Ipse primus truncam arborem jecit, clamorque exercitus index alacritatis secutus est, nullo detrectante munus, quod Rex occupasset.

37. Intra septimum diem cavernas expleverant, cùm Rex Sagittarios et Agrianos jubet per ardua niti. Juvenesque fortissimos ex suâ cohorte tringinta de legit. Duces his dati sunt Charus, et Alexander, quem Rex nominis, quod sibi cum eo commune esset, admonuit. Ac primò, quia tam manifestum periculum erat, ipsum Regem discriminem subire non placuit. Sed ut signum tubâ datum est, vir audacie promptæ, conversus ad corporis custodes, sequi se jubet, primusque invadit in rupem. Nec deinde quisquam Macedonum substituit, relictisque stationibus suâ sponte Regem sequebantur. Multorum miserabilis fuit casus; quos ex præruptâ rupe lapsos amnis præterfluens hausit. Triste spectaculum etiam non pericitantibus. Cùm verò alieno exitio, quid ipsis timendum foret, admonerentur, in metum misericordiæ versa, non extintos, sed semetipsos defiebant. Et jam eò perventum erat, unde sine pernicie, nisi victores, redire non possent; ingentia

saxa in subeuntes provolventibus Barbaris; queis perculti, instabili et lubrico gradu præcipites recidebant. Evaserant tamen Alexander et Charus, quos cum triginta delectis præmiserat Rex, et jam pugnare comitius cœperant. Sed cum supernè tela Barbari ingererent, saepius<sup>10</sup> ipsi feriebantur quam vulnerabant. Ergò Alexander et nominis sui, et promissi memor, dum acrius quam cautiùs dimicat, confossus undique obruitur. Quem ut Charus jacentem conspexit, ruere in hostem, orationem præter ultiōmem immemor, cœpit; multosque hastā, quosdam gladio interemit. Sed cum tot unum incessarent manus, super amici corpus procubuit exanimis. Hand seculis quam par erat promptissimorum juvenum cæterorumque militum interitu commotus Rex, signum receptui dedit. Saluti fuit, quod sensim et intrepidi se receperunt. Et Barbari hostem depulisse contenti non institere cedentibus.

38. Cæterum Alexander, cum statuisset desistere incepto, (quippe nulla spes potiundæ petræ offerebatur), tamen speciem ostendit in obsidione perseverantis. Nam et itinera obsideri jussit, et turres admoveri, et fatigatis alios succedere. Cujus pertinaciā cognitā, Indi per biduum quidem, ac duas noctes, cum ostentatione non fiducia modò, sed etiam victoria, epulati sunt, tympana suo more pulsantes. Tertiā verò nocte tympanorum quidem strepitus desierat audiri: cæterum ex tota petræ faces refulgebant, quas accenderant Barbari, ut tutior esset ipsis fuga, obscurā nocte per invia saxa cursuris. Rex, Balacro qui specularetur præmisso, cognoscit petram fugā Indorum esse desertam. Tum dato signo ut universi conclamarent, incompositè fugientibus metum incussit, multique (tanquam adesset hostis) per lubrica saxa, perque invias cotes præcipitati occiderunt. Plures aliquā membrorum parte mulctati ab integris deserti sunt. Rex, locorum magis quam hostium vitor, <sup>11</sup> tamen magnæ victoria sacrificiis et cultu Deum satisfecit. Arae in petræ locatæ sunt Minervæ Victorizæque. Ducibus itineris, quod subire jussérat leviter armatos, etsi promissis minora præstiterant, pretium cum

fide redditum est. Petras, regionisque ei adjunctas, Sisocostam tutela permissa.

XII. 39. Inde processit Embolima, et cum angustias itineris consideri viginti millibus armatorum ab Eryce quodam compresisset, <sup>1</sup> gravius agmen exercitus Oeno ducendum <sup>2</sup> modicis itineribus tradidit. Ipse progressus cum funditore ac sagittario, deturbatis qui considerant saltum, sequentibus se copiis viam fecit. Indi sive odio ducis, sive gratiam victoris Regis inituri, Erycem fugientem adorti interemerunt, caputque ejus atque arma ad Alexandrum detulerunt. Ille facto impunitatem dedit, honorem denegavit exemplo. Hinc ad flumen Indum sextis decimis castris pervenit, omniaque (ut praeceperat) ad trajiciendum preparata ab Hephaestione reperit. <sup>3</sup> Regnabat in eâ regione Omphis, qui <sup>4</sup> patri quoque fuerat auctor dedendi regnum Alexandro. Et post mortem parentis legatos miserat, qui consulerent eum, regnare se interim vellet, an privatum opperiri ejus adventum; <sup>5</sup> permissoque ut regnaret, non tamen jus datum usurpare sustinuit. Is benignè quidem exceperat Hephaestionem, gratuitum frumentum copiis ejus admensus: <sup>6</sup> non tamen ei occurrerat, ne fidem ullius, nisi Regis, experiretur. Itaque venienti obviâ cum armato exercitu egressus est. Elephanti quoque, per modica intervalla militum agmini immixti, procul castellorum fecerant speciem.

40. Ac primò Alexander, non socium, sed hostem adventare credebat. Jamque et ipse arma milites capere, et equites discedere in cornu jussérat, paratos ad pugnam. At Indus, cognito Macedonum errore, jussis subsistere cæteris, ipse concitat equum, quo vehebatur. Idem Alexander quoque fecit: sive hostis, sive amicus occurreret, <sup>7</sup> vel sua virtute, vel illius fide tutus. Coivere, quod ex utriusque vultu posset intelligi, amicis animis: cæterum sine interprete non poterat conseri sermo. Itaque exhibito eo, Barbarus occurrisse se dixit cum exercitu, totas imperii vires protinus traditurum; nec expectasse dum per nuncios daretur fides. Corpus suum et regnum permittere illi, quem sciret <sup>8</sup> gloriæ militantem:

nihil magis quam famam timere perfidiæ. Lætus <sup>9</sup> simplicitate Barbari Rex et dextram fidei suæ pignus dedit, et regnum restituit. Quinquaginta sex elephanti erant, quos tradidit Alexandro, multaque pecora eximiae magnitudinis. <sup>10</sup> Tauros ad tria millia, pretiosum eâ regione, acceptumque animis regnantium armentum. Quærenti Alexandro, plures agricultores haberet, an milites? "cum duobus Regibus belanti sibi, majore militum quam agrestium manu opus esse," respondit. Abisares et Porus erant, sed in Poro eminebat auctoritas. Uterque ultra Hydaspen amnem regnabat; et belli fortunam, quisquis arma inferret, experiri decreverat.

41. Omphis, permittente Alexandro, et regium insigne sumpsit, et more gentis suæ, nomen quod patris fuerat. Taxilem appellavere populares, <sup>11</sup> sequente nomine imperium, in quemcumque transiret. Ergo cùm per triduum hospitaliter Alexandram accepisset, quarto die, et quantum frumenti copiis, quas Hephaestion duxerat, præbitum a se esset, ostendit: et aureas coronas ipsi, amicisque omnibus, præter hæc signati argenti octoginta talenta dono dedit. Quâ benignitate ejus Alexander mirè lætus, et quæ is dederat remisit, et mille talenta ex prædâ, quam vehebat, adjecit: multaque convivia ex auro et argento vasa, plurimum Persicæ vestis, triginta equos ex suis, cum iisdem <sup>12</sup> insignibus queis assueverant, cùm ipsum veherent. Quæ liberalitas, sicut Barbarum adstrinxerat, ita amicos ipius vehementer offendit. E quibus Meleager super coenam largiore vino usus, gratulari se Alexandro dixit, quodd saltem in Indiâ reperisset dignum talentis mille. Rex haud oblitus quam ægrè tulisset, quodd Clitum ob linguae temeritatem occidisset, iram quidem tenuit, sed dixit, "Invidos homines nihil aliud quam ipsorum esse tormenta."

XIII. 42. Postero die, legati Abisarae adièrunt Regem: omnia ditioni ejus, ita ut mandatum erat, permittebant; firmataque invicem fide remittuntur ad Regem. Porum quoque nominis sui famâ ratus ad ditionem posse compelli, misit ad sum Cleocharem, qui denunciaret ei, ut stipendum penderet,

et in primo finium suorum aditu occurreret Regi. Porus alterum ex his facturum sese respondit, <sup>1</sup> ut intranti regnum suum præstò esset, sed armatus. Jam Hydaspem Alexander superare decreverat, cùm <sup>1</sup> Barzaentes defectionis Arachosiis auctor, vinctus, trigintaque elephanti simul capti perducuntur; opportunum adversùs Indos auxilium, quippe plus in belluis quam in exercitu spei ac virium illis erat. Gamaxusque Rex exiguae partis Indorum, qui Barzaenti se conjunxerat, vinctus adductus est. Igitur transfuga et regulo in custodiam, elephantis autem Taxili traditis, ad amnem Hydaspem pervenit: in cuius ulteriore ripâ Porus consederat, transitu prohibitus hostem. Octoginta quinque elephantos objecerat eximio corporum robore; ultraque eos, currus trecentos et pedum triginta ferè millia: in queis erant sagittarii (sicut antè dictum est) <sup>1</sup> gravioribus telis, quam ut aptè excuti possent. Ipsum vehebat elephantus super cæteras belluas eminens: armaque auro et argento distincta corpus raræ magnitudinis honestabant. Par animus robori corporis, et, quanta inter rudes poterat esse, sapientia.

43. Macedonas non conspectus hostium solum, sed etiam fluminis, quod transeundum erat, magnitudo terrebat. Quatuor in latitudinem stadia diffusum profundo alveo et nusquam vada aperiente, speciem vasti maris fecerat. <sup>1</sup> Nec pro spatio aquarum latè stagnantium impetum coercebatur; sed quasi in arctum coëuntibus ripis, torrens, et elius ferebatur: occultaque saxa inesse ostendebant pluribus locis undæ percussæ. Terribilior erat facies ripæ, quam equi virique compleverant. Stabant ingentes vastorum corporum moles, et de industriâ irritatae, horrendo stridore aures fatigabant. Hinc hostis, hinc amnis <sup>1</sup> capacia quidem bonæ spei pectora, et sæpe se experta, improviso tamen pavore percutserant: quippe instabiles rates, nec dirigi ad ripam, nec tutò applicari posse credebant. Erant in medio amne insulæ crebræ, in quas Indi et Macedones nantes, levatis super capita armis, transibant. Ibi <sup>1</sup>levia prælia conferebant, et uterque Rex <sup>1</sup> parvæ rei discrimine summæ experiebatur eventum. Cæste-

rūm in Macedonum exercitu temeritate atque audaciā insignes fuēre Simmachus et Nicanor, nobiles juvenes, et perpetuā partium felicitate ad spernendum omne periculum accensi. Quis ducibus promptissimi juvenum lanceis modō armati transnavēre in insulam, quam frequens hostis tenebat; multosque Indorum, nullā re magis quād audaciā armati, interemerunt. Abire cum gloriā poterant, si unquam temeritas felix inveniret modum. Sed dum supervenientes contemptim et superbè quoque exspectant, circumventi ab his qui occulti enataverant, eminēs obruti telis sunt. Qui effugerant hostem, aut impetu amnis ablati sunt, aut vorticibus impliciti. Eaque pugna multūm fiduciam Pori erexit, cuncta cernentis e ripā.

44. Alexander inops consilii, tandem ad fallendum hostem <sup>10</sup> talem dolum intendit. Erat insula in flumine amplior cæteris, sylvestris eadem, et tegendis insidiis apta. Fossa quoque præalta haud procul a ripā, quam tenebat ipse, non pedites modō, sed etiam cum equis viros poterat abscondere. Ut igitur <sup>11</sup> a custodiā hujus opportunitatis oculos hostium averteret, Ptolemæum cum omnibus turmis obequitare jussit procul ab insulā, et subindē Indos clamore terrere, quasi flumen transnaturus foret. Per complures dies Ptolemæus id fecit, eoque consilio Porum quoque agmen suum ei parti, quam se petere simulabat, coegit advertere. Jam extra conspectum hostis insula erat. Alexander in diversā parte ripæ statui suum tabernaculum jussit, assuetamque comitari ipsum cohortem ante id tabernaculum stare, et omnem apparatum regiæ magnificenziæ hostium oculis de industriā ostendi. Attalum, et <sup>12</sup> æqualem sibi, et haud disparem habitu oris et corporis <sup>13</sup> (utique cùm procul viseretur) veste regiā exornat, præbiturum speciem ipsum Regem illi ripæ præsidere, nec agitare de transitu. Hujus consilii effectum primō morata tempestas est, mox adjuvit: incommoda quōque ad bonos eventus vertente fortunā. Trajicere amnem cum cæteris copiis <sup>14</sup> in regionem insulæ (de quā antè dictum est) parabat; <sup>15</sup> averso hoste in eos, qui cum Ptolemæo <sup>16</sup> inferiorem obsede-

rant ripam: cùm procella imbre vix sub tectis tolerabilem effudit, obrutique milites nimbo in terram refugerunt, navi-giis ratibusque desertis. Sed tumultuantum fremitus, obstre-pentibus ripis, ab hoste non poterat audiri. Deindè momento temporis repressus est imber. Cæterùm adeò spissæ inten-dere se nubes, ut conderent lucem, vixque colloquentium inter ipsos facies noscitarentur. <sup>17</sup> Terruisset alium obducta nox cœlo, cùm ignoto amne navigandum esset, forsitan hoste eam ipsam ripam, quam coeci atque improvidi, et ex périculo gloriā <sup>18</sup> accersentes petebant, occupante: obscuritatem, quæ cæteros terrebat, suam occasionem ratus, dato signo ut omnes silentio ascenderent in rates, eam, quâ ipse vehebatur, primam jussit <sup>19</sup> expelli. Vacua erat ab hostibus ripa, quæ petebatur: quippe adhuc Porus Ptolemaeū tantum intue-batur. Unā ergò navi, quam petræ fluctus illiserat, hærente, cæteræ evadunt: armaque capere milites, et ire in ordinem jussit.

XIV. 45. Jamque agmen in cornua divisum ipse duce-bat, cùm Poro nunciatur, armis virisque ripam obtineri, et <sup>1</sup> rerum adesse discrimin. Ac primò, humani ingenii vitio, spei suæ indulgens, Abisarem belli socium, (et ita convene-rat,) adventare credebat. Mox liquidiore luce aperiente hos-tem, quadrigas, et quatuor millia equitum venienti agmini Porus objegit. Dux erat copiarum, quas præmisit, Hages frater ipsius. Summa virium in curribus. Senos viros singuli vehebant, duos clypeatos, duos sagittarios ab utroque latere dispositos; cæteri aurigæ erant haud sanè inermes: quippe jacula complura, ubi cominus præliandum erat, <sup>2</sup> omis-sis habenis, in hostem ingerebant. Cæterùm vix ullus usus hujus auxiliī eo die fuit. Namque (ut suprà dictum est) imber violentius quam alijs fusus, campos lubricos et inequi-tables fecerat: gravesque et propemodum immobiles currus illuvie et voraginibus hærebant. Contrà Alexander expedito ac levi agmine strenuè inventus est. Scythæ et Dahæ primi omnium invasere Indos: Perdiccam deindè cum equitibus in dextrum cornu hostium emisit.

46. Jam undique pugna se moverat, cùm ii, qui currus agebant, illud ultimum auxilium suorum rati, effusis habenis in medium discrimen ruere cœperunt. Anceps id malum utrisque erat. Nam et Macedonum pedites primo impetu obterebat, et per lubrica atque invia immissi currus excutiebant eos, a quibus regebantur. Aliorum turbati equi non in voragine modò lacunasque, sed etiam in amnem præcipitavere curricula. Pauci tamen hostium telis exacti penetravere ad Porum, acerrimè pugnam carent. Is, ut dissipatos totà acie currus vagari sine rectoribus vident, proximis amicorum distribuit elephans. Post eos posuerat pedites ac sagittarios tympana pulsare solitos. Id pro cantu tubarum Indis erat. Nec strepitū eorum movebantur, olim ad notum sonum auribus mitigatis. Herculis simulacrum agmini peditum præferebatur; id maximum erat bellantibus incitamentum: et deseruisse gestantes militare flagitium habebatur. Capitiis etiam sanxerant pœnam iis, qui ex acie non retulissent; metu, quem ex illo hoste quondam conceperant, etiam in religionem venerationemque converso. Macedonas non belluarum modò, sed etiam ipsius Regis aspectus parumper inhibuit. Belluae, dispositae inter armatos, speciem turrium procul fecerant. Ipse Porus humanæ magnitudinis promedium excesserat formam. Magnitudini adjicere videbatur bellua, quā vehebatur, tantum inter cæteras eminens, quantum aliis ipse præstabat.

47. Itaque Alexander contemplatus et Regem, et agmen Indorum, "Tandem," inquit, "par animo meo periculum video. Cum bestiis simul et cum egregiis viris res est." Intuensque Coenum, "Cùm ego," inquit, "Ptolemæo, Perdiccāque, et Hephaestione comitatus, in lævum hostium cornu impetum fecero, viderisque me in medio ardore certaminis, ipse dextrum move, et turbatis signa infer. Tu, Antigenes, et tu Leonate, et Tauron, invehemini in medium aciem, et urgebitis frontem. Hastæ nostræ prælongæ et validæ non alias magis quam adversus belluas, rectoresque earum usui esse poterunt. Deturbate eos, qui vehuntur, et ipsas con-

fodite. <sup>9</sup> Anceps genus auxilii est, et in suos acriūs furit. In hostem enim imperio, in suos pavore agitur." Hæc elocutus, concitat equum primus. Jamque (ut destinatum erat) invaserat ordines hostium, cùm Cœnus ingenti vi in lævum cornu invehitur. Phalanx quoque medium Indorum aciem uno impetu perrupit. At Porus quâ equitem invehi senserat, belluas agi jussit. Sed tardum, et penè immobile animal, equorum velocitatem sequare non poterat. Ne sagittarum quidem ullus erat Barbaris usus. Quippe longas et prægraves, nisi priùs in terrâ statuerunt arcum, haud satis aptè et commodè imponunt: tum humo lubricâ et ob id impediente conatum, <sup>10</sup> molientes ictus celeritate hostium occupabantur. Ergò spreto Regis imperio (quod ferè fit, ubi turbatis acriūs metus quâ dux imperare cœpit) totidem erant imperatores quot agmina errabant. Alius jungere aciem, alius dividere; stare quidam, et nonnulli circumvehi terga hostium jubebant. <sup>11</sup> Nihil in medium consulebatur. Porus tamen cum paucis, quibus metu potior fuerat pudor, colligere dispersos, obvius hosti ire pergit, elephantesque ante agmen suorum agi jubet. Magnum belluæ injecere terrorem, insolitusque stridor non equos modò, tam pavidum ad omnia animal, sed viros quoque, ordinesque turbaverat.

48. Jam fugæ circumspiciebant locum paulò antè victores, cùm Alexander Agrianos et Thracas leviter armatos, <sup>12</sup> meliorem concursatione, quâ cominùs militem, emisit in belluas. Ingentem ii vim telorum injecere et elephantis et regentibus eos. Phalanx quoque instare constanter territis cœpit. Sed quidam avidius persecuti belluas, in semet irritavère vulneribus. Obtriti ergò pedibus earum cæteris, ut parciùs instant, fuere documentum. Præcipue <sup>13</sup> terribilis illa facies erat, cùm <sup>14</sup> manu arma virosque corriperent, et super se regentibus traderent. Anceps ergò pugna, nunc sequentium nunc fugientium elephatos, in multum diei variū certamen extraxit, donec securibus (id namque genus auxilii præparatum erat) pedes amputare cœperunt. <sup>15</sup> Copidas vocant gladios leviter curvatos, falcibus similes, queis ap-

petebant belluarum manus. Nec quidquam inexpertum, non <sup>18</sup> mortis modò, sed etiam in ipsâ morte, novi supplicii timor omittebat. Ergò elephanti vulneribus tandem fatigati suos impetu sternunt, et qui rexerant eos, præcipitati in terram ab ipsis obtèrebantur. Itaque pecorum modo, magis pavidi quām infesti, ultra aciem exigebantur, cùm Porus, destitutus a pluribus, tela multò antè præparata, in circumfusos, ex elephanto suo cœpit ingerere, multisque eminūs vulneratis, expōsus ipse ad ictus undiquè petebatur. Novem jam vulnera hinc tergo, illinc pectore exceperat: multoque sanguine profuso, languidis manibus <sup>19</sup> magis elapsa, quām excussa tela mittebat. Nec segniūs bellua instincta rabie, nondum saucia, invehebatur ordinibus, donec rector belluæ Regem conspexit <sup>20</sup> fluentibus membris, omissisque armis vix compotem mentis. Tum belluam in fugam concitat, sequente Alexandro. Sed equus ejus multis vulneribus confossus deficiensque prœcubuit, <sup>21</sup> posito magis Rege, quām effuso. Itaque dum equum mutat, tardius insecurus est.

49. Interim frater Taxilis Indorum, præmissus ab Alexandro, monere cœpit Porum, ne ultima experiri perseveraret, dederetque se victori. At ille, quanquām exhaustæ erant vires deficiebatque sanguis, tamen ad notam vocem excitatus, "Agnosco," inquit, "Taxilis fratrem, imperii regnique sui proditoris;" et telum, quod unum fortè non effluxerat, contorsit in eum; quod per medium pectus penetravit ad tergum. Hoc ultimo virtutis opere edito, fugere acriūs cœpit. Sed elephantus quoque, qui multa exceperat tela, deficiebat. Itaque sistit fugam, peditemque sequenti hosti objecit. Jam Alexander consecutus erat, et pertinaciâ Pori cognitâ, vetabat resistentibus parci. Ergò undiquè et in pedites et in ipsum Porum tela congesta sunt, queis tandem gravatus, labi ex belluâ cœpit. Indus, qui elephantum regebat, descendere eum ratus, more solito elephantum procumbere jussit in genua: qui ut se submisit, cæteri quoque (ita enim instituti erant) demisere corpora in terram. Ea res et Porum et cæteros victoribus tradidit.

50. Rex spoliari corpus Pori, interemptum esse credens, jussit: et qui detraherent loricam vestemque, concurrere; cùm bellua dominum tueri, et spoliantes cœpit appetere, levatumque corpus ejus rursus dorso suo imponere. Ergò telis undique obruitur, confossoque eo, in vehiculum Porus impunitur. Quem Rex ut vidit allevantem oculos, non odio, sed miseratione commotus, "Quæ, <sup>20</sup> malum!" inquit, "amentia te coegit, rerum mearum cognitâ famâ, belli fortunam experiri, cùm Taxiles esset in deditos clementiæ meæ tam propinquum tibi exemplum?" At ille, "Quoniam," inquit, "percontaris, respondebo eâ <sup>21</sup> libertate, quam interrogando fecisti. Neminem me <sup>22</sup> fortiorem esse censebam. Meas enim novaram vires, nondum expertus tuas: fortiorem esse te belli docuit eventus. <sup>23</sup> Sed ne sic quidem parum felix sum, secundus tibi." Rursus interrogatus, quid ipse victorem statuere debere censeret: "Quod hic," inquit, "dies tibi suadet, quo expertus es, quâm caduca felicitas esset." Plus monendo profecit, quâm si precatus esset. <sup>24</sup> Quippe magnitudinem animi ejus interritam ac ne fortunâ quidem infractam, non misericordiâ modò, sed etiam honore excipere dignatus est. Ægrum curavit haud secûs quâm si pro ipso pugnâsset. <sup>25</sup> Confirmatum, contra spem omnium, in amicorum numerum recepit. Mox donavit ampliore regno, quâm tenuit. Nec sanè quidquam ingenium ejus solidius aut constantius habuit, quâm admirationem veræ laudis et gloriæ. <sup>26</sup> Simpliciùs tamen famam aestimabat in hoste, quâm in cive: quippe a suis credebat magnitudinem suam destrui posse: eamdem clariorem fore, quâd majores fuissent, quos ipse vicisset.

## LIBER IX.

## ARGUMENTUM.

1. Devicto Poro, in Indiam penetrat Alexander, variasque gentes et urbes, quarum mores describuntur, sibi subjicit.
2. Gangaridas et Pharrassios aggressurus, milites fatigatos et bellum detrectantes prolixâ oratione ad perseverantiam hortatur.
3. Cenus, militum nomine, Alexandro respondet, et paulò pôst morbo extinguitur.
4. Sobilia, et aliis expugnatis, regionem Oxydracarum et Mallorum ingreditur. Oratione ad milites habita, Barbaros fugat, eorumque oppidum, contemptu Demophonte vate, obsidet.
5. Præcipiti saltu in Oxydracarum oppidum se immittans, graviter vulneratur, et fortissimis quibusdam duicibus desideratis, oppioque post aliquot dies expugnato, sibi suisque restituitur.
6. Ab amicis rogatus, ut saluti sue publicèque parceret, generosè respondit; in instituto suo de domando Orbe perseverana.
7. Graecorum quorundam in Bactris defectio repressa. Dum Indorum legatos convivio excipit Alexander, inter Horratam et Dioxippum, qui tandem imparibus armis duello certant, rixa oritur. Paulò post Dioxippus inimicorum columnis ultra modum irritatus, seipsum intermit.
8. Donis a legatis Indorum acceptis, Sabracas, Musicanos, Praestos, alioque populos debellat, Ptolemæo venenâ plagi acceptâ curato, ope cujusdam herbas, cuius species in somnia Alexandre est oblatâ.
9. Cupidine visendi Oceani correptus, non sine periculis propter nautarum imperiam, tandem voti sui compos redditur.
10. Ab Oceano in Arabitarum, Cedrosiorum, et Indorum regiones revertitur: ubi cum fame et pestilentia luctatur exercitus, deinde liberatur, planeque restituitur. Unde secutus est probrosos bacchantium lusus, suppicio Aspastis Satrapis cruentatus.

I. 1. ALEXANDER tam memorabili victoriâ latus, quâ sibi Orientis fines apertos esse censebat, Soli victimis cæsis milites quoque, quod promptioribus animis reliqua belli munia obirent, pro concione laudatos, docuit quicquid Indis virium fuisse, illâ dimicatione prostratum: castera opimam prædam fore, celebratasque opes in eâ regione eminere, quam peterent. Proinde jam vilia et obsoleta esse spolia de Persis: gemmis, margaritisque, et auro atque ebore Macedoniam Græciamque, non suas tantum domos repleturos. Avidi milites pecuniae et gloriae, simul quia nunquam affirmatio ejus fefellerat eos, pollicentur operam: dimissisque cum bona spe, navigia sedificari jubet, ut cum totam Asiam percurrisset, finem terrarum

mare inviseret. Multa materia navalis in proximis montibus erat, quam cedere aggressi, magnitudinis inusitatæ reperere serpentes. Rhinocerotes quoque, rarum alibi animal, in iisdem montibus erant. Cæterum hoc nomen belluis eis inditum a Græcis; sermonis ejus ignari aliud linguâ suâ usurpant. Rex duabus urbibus conditis in utraque fluminis, quod superaverat, ripâ, copiarum duces coronis et mille aureis singulos donat. Cæteris quoque pro portione aut gradus, quem in militiâ obtinebant, aut <sup>3</sup>navatae operæ, honos habitus est. Abisares, qui prius quam cum Poro dimicaretur, legatos ad Alexandrum miserat, rursus alios misit, pollicentes omnia facturum quæ imperasset, modò ne cogeretur corpus suum dedere. Neque enim aut sine regio imperio victurum, aut regnaturum esse captivum. Cui Alexander nunciari jussit, si gravaretur ad se venire, ipsum ad eum esse venturum.

2. Hinc porrò Acesine superato, ad interiora Indiæ processit. Sylvæ erant propè in immensum spatum diffusæ, procerisque et in eximiam altitudinem editis arboribus umbrosæ. <sup>3</sup>Plerique rami instar ingentium stipitum flexi in humum, rursus, quæ se curvaverant, erigebantur, adeò ut species esset non rami resurgentis, sed arboris ex suâ radice generatæ. Cœli temperies salubris: quippe et vim solis umbræ levant, et aquæ largæ manant e fontibus. Cæterum hic quoque serpentium magna vis erat, squamis fulgorem auri reddentibus. Virus haud ullum magis noxiun est: quippe morsum præsens mors sequebatur, donec ab incolis remedium oblatum est. Hinc per deserta ventum est ad flumen Hyarotim. Junctum erat flumini nemus, opacum arboribus alibi inusitatis, agrestiumque pavonum multitudine frequens. Castris inde motis, oppidum haud procul positum coronâ capit, obsidibusque acceptis, stipendum imponit. Ad magnam deindè (ut in eâ regione) urbem pervenit; non muro solum, sed etiam palude munitam. Cæterum Barbari vehiculis inter se junctis dimicaturi occurrerunt. Tela aliis hastæ, aliis secures erant: transiliebantque in vehicula strenuo saltu, cùm succurrere laborantibus suis vellent. Ac

primò insolitum genus pugnæ Macedonas terruit, cùm eminus vulnerarentur. Deindè spreto tam incondito auxilio, ab utroque latere vehiculis circumfusi, repugnantes fodere coeperrunt. Et vincula queis conserta erant, jussit incidi, quod facilius singula circumvenirentur. Itaque octo millibus suorum amissis, in oppidum refugerunt. Postero die scalis undique admotis, muri occupantur. Paucis pernicitas saluti fuit; qui cognito urbis excidio, paludem transnavâre, et in vicina oppida ingentem intulère terrem: invictum exercitum, et Deorum profectò, advenisse memorantes.

3. Alexander, ad vastandam eam regionem Perdiccā cum expeditā manu misso, partem copiarum Eumeni tradit, ut is quoque Barbaros ad deditiōnē compelleret. Ipse cæteros ad urbem validam, in quam aliarum quoque confugerant incolæ, induxit. Oppidani, missis qui Regem deprecarentur, nihilominus bellum parabant: quippe orta seditio in diversa consilia diduxerat vulgum. Alii omnia deditiōne potiora, quidam nullam opem in ipsis esse, ducebant. Sed dum nihil in commune consulitur, qui deditiōni imminebant, apertis pertis hostem recipiunt. Alexander, quanquam belli auctori-bus jure poterat irasci, tamen omnibus veniā datā, et obsidi-bus acceptis, ad proximam deindè urbem castra movit. Obsides ducebantur ante agmen: quos cùm e muris agnovis-sent, utpotè gentis ejusdem, in colloquium convocaverunt. Illi clementiam Regis simulque vim commemorando, ad deditiōnē eos compulrē: cæterasque urbes simili modo deditas in fidem accepit. Hinc in regnum Sopithis perventum est. Gens, 'ut Barbari, sapientiā excellit, bonisque moribus regi-tur. Genitos liberos non parentum arbitrio tollunt aluntque, 'sed eorum, quibus spectandi infantium habitum cura man-data est. Si quos 'insignes aut aliquā membrorum parte inutiles notaverunt, necari jubent. Nuptiis coeunt, non genere ac nobilitate conjunctis, sed electā corporum specie: quia eadem aestimatur in liberis.

4. Hujus gentis oppidum, cui Alexander admovebat copias, ab ipso Sopithe obtinebatur. Clauses erant portæ, sed nulli

in muris turribusque se armati ostendebant: dubitabantque Macedones, deseruissent urbem incolæ, an fraude se occulerent: cùm subitè patefactâ portâ, Rex Indus cum duobus adultis filiis occurrit, multùm inter omnes Barbaros eminens corporis specie. Vestis erat auro purpurâque distincta, quæ etiam crura velabat. Aureis soleis inseruerat gemmas. Lacerti quoque et brachia margaritis ornata erant. Pendebant ex auribus insignes candore et magnitudine lapilli. Baculum aureum berylli distinguebant. Quo tradito, precatus ut sospes acciperet, se, liberosque, et gentem suam dedidit. Nobiles ad venandum canes in eâ regione sunt. Latratu abstinere dicuntur, cùm videre feram; leonibus maximè infesti. Horum vim ut ostenderet Alexandro, in consepto leonem eximie magnitudinis jussit emitti, et quatuor omnino admoveri canes; qui celeriter occupaverunt feram: "tum ex iis, qui assueverant talibus ministeriis, unus, canis leoni cum aliis inhærentis crus avellere, et quia non sequebatur, ferro amputare cœpit: ne sic quidem pertinaciâ victâ, rursus aliam partem secare institit: et indè non segniùs inhærentem ferro subindè cœdebat. Ille in vulnere feræ dentes moribundus quoque fixerat: tantam in illis animalibus ad venandum cupiditatem ingenerâsse naturam memorâ proditum est. Evidem plura transcribo, quam credo. Nam nec affirmare sustineo, de quibus dubito; nec subducere quæ accepi. Relicto " igitur Sopithe in suo regno, ad fluvium Hypasin processit; Hephaestione, qui diversam regionem subegerat, conjuncto. Phegelas erat gentis proximæ Rex; qui popularibus suis colere agros (ut asseverant) jussis, Alexandro cum donis occurrit, nihil quod imperaret detectans.

II. 5. Biduum apud eum substituit Rex: tertio die amnem superare decreverat, transitu difficilem, non spatio solum aquarum, sed etiam saxis impeditum. Percontatus igitur Phegelam, quæ noscenda erant, undecim dierum ultrâ flumen per vastas solitudines iter esse cognoscit: excipere deindè Gangem, maximum totius Indiæ fluminum. Ulteriorem ripam colere gentes Gangaridas et Pharrasios, eorumque Regem

esse Aggrammem, viginti millibus equitum, ducentisque peditam obsidentem vias. Ad hæc quadrigarum duo millia trahere, et præcipuum terrorem elephantes, quos trium millium numerum explore dicebat. Incredibilia regi omnia videbantur. Igitur Porum (nam cum eo erat) percontatur, an vera essent, quæ dicearentur. Ille vires quidem gentis et regni haud falso jactari affirmat; cæterum qui regnaret non modò ignobilem esse, sed etiam ultimæ sortis: quippe patrem ejus tonsorem vix diurno quæstu propulsantem famem, propter habitum haud indecorum <sup>1</sup> cordi fuisse Reginæ. <sup>2</sup> Ab eâ in propiorem ejus, qui tum regnâsset, amicitiae locum admotum, interfecto eo per insidias, sub specie tutelæ liberum, ejus invasisse regnum, necatisque pueris, hunc qui nunc regnat generâsse, invisum vilemque popularibus, magis paternæ fortunæ quam suæ memorem. Affirmatio Pori multiplicem animo Regis injecerat curam: hostem belluasque spernebat, situm locorum et vim fluminum extimescebat. <sup>3</sup> Relegatos in ultimum penè rerum humanarum terminum perséqui, et eruere, arduum videbatur. Rursus avaritia gloriæ, et insatiable cupidio famæ, nihil invium, nihil remotum videri sinebat. Et interdum dubitabat, an Macedones tot emensi spatia terrarum, in acie, et in castris senes facti, per objecta flumina, per tot naturæ obstantes difficultates secuturi essent. <sup>4</sup> Abundantes onustosque prædâ, magis partâ frui velle, quam acquirendâ fatigari. Non <sup>5</sup> idem sibi, et militibus animi esse. Se totius orbis imperium mente complexum, adhuc in operum suorum primordio stare. Militem labore defatigatum, proximum quemque fructum, finito tandem periculo, expetere.

6. Vicit ergo cupidio rationem, et ad concionem vocatis militibus, ad hunc maximè modum disseruit. “Non ignoro, milites, multa, quæ terrere vos possent, ab incolis Indiæ per hos dies <sup>6</sup> de industriâ esse jactata. Sed non est improvisa vobis mentientium vanitas. Sic Ciliciæ fauces, sic Mesopotamiæ campos, Tigrim et Euphratem, quorum alterum vado transivimus, alterum ponte, <sup>7</sup>terribilem fecerant Persæ. <sup>8</sup> Nunquam ad liquidum fâna perducitur. Omnia, illâ tradente

majora sunt vero. <sup>9</sup> Nostra quoque gloria, cùm sit ex solido, plus tamen habet nominis quàm operis. Modò quis belluas offerentes mœnium speciem, quis Hydaspen amnem, quis cœtera auditu majora quàm vero, sustinere posse credebat? Olim herculè fugissemus ex Asiâ, si nos fabulæ debellare potuissent. Creditisne elephantorum greges majores esse quàm usquam armentorum sunt? cùm et rarum sit animal, nec facile capiatur, multoque difficulter mitigetur. Atqui <sup>10</sup> eadem vanitas copias peditum equitumque numeravit. <sup>11</sup> Nam flumen quo latius fusum est, hoc placidius stagnat; quippe angustis ripis <sup>12</sup> coercita, et in angustiorem alveum elisa, torrentes aquas invehunt: contrà <sup>13</sup> spatio alvei segnior cursus est. Præterea in ripâ omne periculum est, ubi applicantes navigia hostis exspectat. <sup>14</sup> Ita quantumcumque flumen intervenit, idem futurum discrimen est evadentium in terram."

"Sed omnia ista vera esse fingamus. Utrumne vos magnitudo belluarum, an multitudo hostium terret? Quod pertinet ad elephantes, præsens habemus exemplum: in suos vehementius, quàm in nos incurserunt. Tam vasta corpora securibus falcibusque mutilata sunt. Quid autem interest, totidem sint, quot Porus habuit, an tria millia, cùm, uno aut altero <sup>15</sup> vulneratis, cœteros in fugam declinare videamus? Deinde paucis quoquè incommodè regunt: congregata verò tot millia ipsa se elidunt, ubi nec stare, nec fugere potuerint inhabiles vastorum corporum moles. Evidem sic animalia ista contempsi, ut cùm haberem, ipse non opposuerim, satis gnarus plus suis quàm hostibus periculi inferre."

<sup>16</sup> "At enim equitum peditumque multitudo vos commovet! <sup>17</sup> Cum paucis enim pugnare soliti estis, et nunc primùm inconditam sustinebitis turbam. Testis adversus multitudinem invicti Macedonum roboris Granicus amnis; et Cilicia inundata cruento Persarum; et Arbela, cujus campi devictorum a nobis ossibus strati sunt. Serò hostium legiones numerare coepistis, postquam <sup>18</sup> solitudinem in Asiâ vincendo fecistis. Cùm per Hellespontum navigaremus, de paucitate nostrâ cogitandum fuit. Nunc nos Scythæ sequuntur, Bas-

triana auxilia præstò sunt, Dahæ, Sogdianique inter nos militant. Nec tamen illi turbæ confido. Vestras manus intueor, vestram virtutem, rerum, quas gesturus sum, vadem prædomque habeo. Quamdiu vobiscum in acie stabo, nec mei nec hostium exercitus numeravero. Vos modò animos mihi plenos alacritatis ac fiduciæ adhibete."

" Non in limine operum laborumque nostrorum, sed in exitu stamus. " Pervenimus ad solis ortum et oceanum, nisi obstat ignavia: inde victores, perdomito fine terrarum, revertemur in patriam. Nolite (quod pigri agricultæ faciunt) maturos fructus per inertiam amittere e manibus. Majora sunt periculis præmia. Dives eadem et imbellis est regio. Itaque non tam ad gloriam vos duco, quam ad prædam. Digni estis, qui opes, quas illud mare littoribus invehit, referatis in patriam; digni qui nihil inexpertum, nihil metu omissum relinquatis."

" Per, ego vos, gloriam vestram, quâ humanum fastigium exceditis, perque et mea in vos, et in me vestra merita, quibus invicti contendimus, oro, quæsoque, ne humanarum rerum terminos adeuntem, alumnū commilitonemque vestrum, ne dicam Regem, deseratis. Cætera vobis imperavi, hoc unum debiturus sum. " Et is vos rogo, qui nihil unquam vobis præcepi, quin primus me periculis obtulerim, qui sëpe aciem clypeo meo texi, ne infregeritis in manibus meis palam, quâ Herculem, Liberumque Patrem, si invidia abfuerit, æquabo. Date hoc precibus meis, et tandem obstinatum silentium rumpite. Ubi est ille clamor, alacritatis vestræ index? ubi ille meorum Macedonum vultus? Non agnosco vos, milites, nec agnisci videor a vobis. Surdas jamdudum aures pulso. Aversos animos et infractos excitare conor."

7. Cumque illi in terram demissis capitibus tacere perseverarent, " Nescio quid," inquit, " imprudens in vos deliri, quòd me ne intueri quidem vultis. In solitudine mihi videor esse. Nemo respondet, nemo saltem negat. Quos alloquor? Quid autem postulo? Vestram gloriam, et magnitudinem vindicamus. Ubi sunt illi, quorum certamen paulò

antè vidi contendentium, qui potissimum vulnerati Regis corpus exciperent? Desertus, destitutus sum, hostibus deditus. Sed solus quoque ire perseverabo. Objicite me fluminibus et belluis, et illis gentibus, quarum nomina horretis. Inveniam qui desertum a vobis sequantur. Scythæ Bactrianique erunt mecum, hostes paulò antè, nunc milites nostri. Mori præstat, "quām precariò Imperatorem esse. Ite reduces domos, ite deserto Rege ovantes. Ego hic a vobis desperatae victoræ, aut honestæ morti locum inveniam."

III. 8. Ne sic quidem ulli militum vox exprimi potuit. Exspectabant ut duces principesque ad Regem perferrent, vulneribus et continuo labore militis fatigatos non detrectare munia, sed sustinere non posse. Cæterum illi metu attoniti in terram ora defixerant. Igitur primò fremitus suā sponte, deindè gemitus quoque oritur, paulatimque liberius delor erigi coepit, manantibus lacrymis, adeo ut Rex, ira in misericordiam versā, ne ipse quidem, quanquam cuperet, temperare oculis potuerit. Tandem universā concione effusiūs flente, Cœnus ausus est, cunctantibus cæteris, propriū tribunal accedere, significans se loqui velle. Quem ut videre milites detrahentem galeam capiti, (ita enim Regem alloqui mos est) hortari coeperunt, ut causam exercitūs ageret.

Tum Cœnus, "Dii prohibeant," inquit, "a nobis impies mentes, et profectò prohibit. Idem animus est tuis qui fuit semper, ire quò jusseria, pugnare, periclitari, sanguine nostro commendare posteritati tuum nomen. Proinde si perseveras, inermes quoque, et nudi, et exsangues, utcumque tibi cordi est, sequimur, vel antecedimus. Sed si andire vis non fictas tuorum militum voces, verùm necessitate ultimā expressas, præbe, queso, propitias aures imperium atque auspiciū tuum constantissimè secutis, et quocumque pergis, securius."

"Vicisti, Rex, magnitudine rerum non hostes modò, sed etiam milites. Quidquid mortalitas capere poterat, implevimus. Emensis maria terrasque, melius nobis, quām incolis omania nota sunt. Penè in ultimo mundi fine consistimus: in

alium orbem paras ire, et Indiam queris Indis quoque ignota. Inter feras serpentesque degentes eruere ex latebris et cubilibus suis expetis, ut plura quam sol videt, victoria lustres. Digna prorsus cogitatio animo tuo, sed altior nostro. Virtus enim tua semper in incremento erit, nostra vis in fine jam est."

"Intaere corpora exanguia, tot perfossa vulneribus, tot cicatricibus putria. Jam tela hebetia sunt, jam arma deficiunt. Vestem Persicam induimus, quia domestica subvehi non potest. In externum degeneravimus cultum. <sup>10</sup> Quoto cuique lorica est? quis equum habet? jube queri quam multos servi ipsorum persecuti sint, quid cuique supersit ex praedâ. Omnium victores, omnium inopes sumus. Neo <sup>11</sup> luxuria laboramus, sed bello instrumenta belli consumpsimus. Hunc tu pulcherrimum exercitum nudum objicies bellui? Quarum <sup>12</sup> ut multitudinem augent de industriâ Barbari, magnum tamen esse numerum <sup>13</sup> etiam ex mendacio intelligo."

"Quod si adhuc penetrare in Indiam certum est, regio a meridie minus vasta est. Quâ subactâ, licebit descurrere in illud mare, quod rebus humanis terminum voluit esse natura. Cur circuitu petis gloriam, quae ad manum posita est? Hic quoque occurrit Oceanus. Nisi mavis errare, <sup>14</sup> pervenimus quod tua fortuna dicit. Haec tecum, quam sine te cum his loqui malui, <sup>15</sup> non ut inirem circumstantis exercitus gratiam, sed ut vocem loquentium potius, quam gemitum murmurantium audires."

9. Ut finem orationi Cœnus imposuit, clamor undique cum ploratu oritur, Regem, patrem, dominum confusis appellantium vocibus. Jamque et alii duces præcipue seniores, queis ob æstatem et excusatio honestior erat et auctoritas major, eadem precabantur. Ille nec castigare obstinatos, nec mitigare poterat iratos. Itaque inops consilii desiluit e tribunali, claudique regiam jussit, omnibus, præter assuetos, adire prohibitis. Biduum iræ datum est, tertio die processit, erique duodecim aras ex quadrato saxe, monumentum expeditionis suse, munimenta quoque castrorum jussit extendi,

cabiliisque amplioris formae, <sup>16</sup> quam pro corporum habita relinquui, ut speciem omnium augeret, posteritati fallax miraculum præparans. Hinc repetens quæ emensus erat, ad flumen Acesinum locat castra. Ibi fortè Cœnus morbo extinctus est. Cujus morte ingemuit Rex quidem; adjecit tamen, <sup>17</sup> propter paucos dies longam orationem eum exorsum, tanquam solus Macedoniam visurus esset. Jam in aquâ classis, quam ædificari jussérat, stabat. Inter hæc Memnon ex Thraciâ in supplementum equitum sex millia, præter eos ab Harpalō peditum septem millia adduxerat; armaque viginti quinque millia auro et argento cælata pertulerat: queis distributis, vetera cremari jussit. <sup>18</sup> Mille navigiis aditus Oceanum, discordes et vetera odia retractantes Porum et Taxilem, Indiæ Reges, firmatâ per affinitatem gratiâ, reliquit in suis regnis, summo in ædificandâ classe amborum studio usus. Oppida quoque duo condidit, quorum alterum *Niceam* appellavit, alterum *Bucephalon*, equi, quem amiserat, memoriae ac nomini dedicans urbem. Elephantis deindè et impedimentis terrâ sequi jussis, secundo amne defluxit, quadraginta fermè stadia singulis diebus procedens, ut opportunis locis exponi subindè copiæ possent.

IV. 10. Perventum erat in regionem, in quâ Hydaspes amnis Acesini committitur. Hinc decurrit in fine Sobiorum. Hi de exercitu Herculis majores suos commemorant ægros reliquos cepisse sedem, <sup>19</sup> quam ipsi obtinebant. Pelles ferarum pro veste, clavæ tela erant. Multaque, etiam cum Græci mores exolevissent, <sup>20</sup> stirpis ostendebant vestigia. Hinc <sup>21</sup> exescensione factâ, ducenta et quinquaginta stadia processit; depopulatusque regionem, oppidum caput ejus coronâ cepit. Quadraginta peditum millia gens in ripâ fluminum opposuerat, quæ, amne superato, in fugam compulit, inclusosque mœnibus expugnat. Puberes imperfecti sunt, cæteri <sup>22</sup> venierunt. Alteram deindè urbem expugnare abortus, magnâque vi defendantium pulsus, multos Macedonum amisit: sed cum in obsidione perseverasset, oppidani, desperata salute, ignem subiecte tectis se quoque ac liberos conjugesque incendie

cremant; quod cùm ipsi augerent, hostes extinguerent, nova forma pugnæ erat. Delebant incolæ urbem, hostes defendebant: adeò etiam naturæ jura bellum in contrarium mutat. Arx erat oppidi intacta, in quâ præsidium dereliquit. Ipse navigio circumvectus est arcem: quippe tria flumina, totâ Indiâ præter Gangem maxima, munito mento arcis applicant undas. A Septentrione Indus alluit, a Meridie Acesines Hydaspi confunditur.

11. Cæterum amnium coitus maritimis similes fluctus movet, multoque ac turbido limo, quod aquarum concursu subinde turbatur, iter, quâ meant navigia, in tenuem alveum cogitur. Itaque cùm crebri fluctus se invehement, et navium hinc proras, hinc latera pulsarent, subducere nautes cœperunt. Sed ministeria eorum, hinc metu, hinc prærapidâ celeritate fluminum occupantur. In oculis duo majora omnium navigia submersa sunt: leviora cùm et ipsa nequirent regi, in ripam tamen <sup>10</sup> innoxia expulsa sunt. Ipse Rex in rapidissimos vortices incidit; quibus intorta navis, obliqua et <sup>11</sup> gubernaculi impatiens, agebatur. Jam vestem detraxerat corpori, projecturus semet in flumen, amicique ut exciperent eum, haud procul nabant: <sup>12</sup> apparebatque anceps periculum, tam nataturi, quam navigare perseverantis. Ergò ingenti certamine concitant remos, quantaque vis humana esse poterat admota est, ut fluctus, qui se invehabant, everberarentur. Findi crederes undas, et retrò gurgites cedere. Quibus tandem navis erepta, non tamen ripæ applicatur, sed in proximum vadum illiditur. Cum amne bellum fuisse crederes. Ergò aris pro numero fluminum positis, sacrificioque facto, triginta stadia processit.

12. Inde ventum est in regionem Oxydracarum Mallorumque; quos aliâs bellare inter se solitos, tunc <sup>13</sup> periculi societas junxerat. Nonaginta millia juniorum peditum in armis erant. Præter hos equitum decem millia nongentæque quadrigæ. At Macedones, qui <sup>14</sup> omni discrimine jam defunctos se esse crediderant, postquam integrum bellum cum ferocissimis Indiae gentibus superesse cognoverunt, improviso

meta territi rursus seditiosis vocibus Regem increpare ceperunt: "Gangem amnem, et quæ ultra essent, non coactos transmittere; non tamen finisse, sed mutasse bellum: indomitibus gentibus se objectos, ut sanguine suo aperirent ei Oceanum. Trahi extra sidera et Solem, cogique adire, quæ mortaliū oculis natura subduxerit. <sup>16</sup> Novis identidem armis novos hostes existere. Quos ut omnes fundant fugentque, quod præmium ipsos manere? caliginem ac tenebras, et perpetuam noctem profundo incubantem; repletum immanium belluarum gregibus fretum; immobiles undas, in quibus emoriens natura deficerit." Rex non suā, sed militum sollicitudine anxius, concione advocatā docet, "imbelles esse, quos metuant. Nihil deinde præter has gentes obstare, quominus terraram spatia emensi, ad finem simul mundi laborumque perveniant: cessisse illis metuentibus Gangem, et multitudinem nationum, quæ ultra amnem essent; declinasse iter eō, ubi par gloria, minus periculum esset. <sup>17</sup> Jam prospicere se Oceanum: jam perflare ad ipsos auram maris: ne inviderent sibi laudem quam peteret: Herculis et Liberi patris terminos transituros illos: Regi suo parvo impendio immortalitatem famæ datus; paterentur se ex Indiā redire, non fugere."

13. Omnis multitudo, et maximè militaris, mobili impetu fertur. Ita seditionis non remedia, quām principia, majora sunt. Non aliās tam alacer clamor ab exercitu est redditus, jubentium duceret Diis secundis, et sequaret gloriā quos semularetur. Lætus his acclamationibus ad hostes protinus castra movit. Validissimæ Indorum gentes erant, et bellum impigrè parabant, ducemque ex natione Oxydracarum <sup>17</sup> spectatæ virtutis elegerant, qui sub radicibus montis castra posuit, latèque ignes, ut speciem multitudinis augeret, ostendit; clamore quoque ac sui moris ululatu identidem acquiescentes Macedones frustrā terrere conatus. Jam lux appetebat, cùm Rex fiduciæ ac spei plenus, alacres milites arma capere, et exire in aciem jubet. Sed metune an seditione obortā inter ipsos, subito profugerunt Barbari. Certè avios montes

et impeditos occupaverunt. Quorum agmen Rex frustrâ persecutus, impedimenta cepit.

14. Per ventum deinde est ad oppidum Oxydracarum, in quod plerique confugerant, <sup>18</sup> haud majore fiduciâ mœnium quam armorum. <sup>19</sup> Jam admovebat Rex, cum vates monere eum coepit, ne committeret, aut certè differret obsidionem: vitæ ejus periculum ostendi. Rex Demophoonta (is namque vates erat) intuens, "Si quis," inquit, "te, arti tuæ intentum, et exta spectantem, sic interpellat, non dubitem quin incommodus ac molestus videri tibi possit." Et cum ille ita prorsus futurum respondisset, "Censesne," inquit, <sup>20</sup> tantas res, non pecudum fibras, ante oculos habenti, ullum esse majus impedimentum, quam vatem superstitione captum?" Nec diutiùs quam respondit moratus, ad moveri jubet scalas, <sup>21</sup> cunctantibusque casteris, evadit in murum. Angusta muri corona erat. <sup>22</sup> Non pinnæ, sicut alibi, fastigium ejus distinxerant, sed perpetua lorica obducta transitum sepserat. Itaque Rex hærebat magis quam stabat in <sup>23</sup> margine, clypeo undique incidentia tela propulsans. Nam undique eminus ex turribus petebatur. Nec subire milites poterant, quia supernæ vi telorum obruebantur. Tandem magnitudinem periculi pudor vicit: quippe cernebant cunctatione suâ dedi hostibus Regem. Sed festinando morabantur auxilia. Nam dum pro se quisque certat evadere, oneravere scalas: <sup>24</sup> queis non sufficientibus, devoluti, unicam spem Regis fefellerunt. Stabat enim in conspectu tanti exercitus, velut in solitudine destitutus.

V. 15. Jamque levam, quam clypeum ad ictus circumferebat, lassaverat, clamantibus amicis, ut ad ipsos desiliret, stabantque excepturi: cum ille rem ausus est incredibilem atque inauditam, <sup>1</sup> multoque magis ad famam temeritatis quam gloriæ insignem. Namque in urbem hostium plenam præcipiti saltu semet ipse immisit, cum vix sperare posset, dimicantem certè et non inultum esse moriturum. Quippe antequam assurgeret, opprimi poterat, et capi vivus: sed fortè ita libraverat corpus, <sup>2</sup> ut se pedibus exciperet. Itaque stans

init pugnam; et, ne circumiri posset, fortuna providerat. Vasta arbor haud procul muro ramos multā fronde vestitos, velut de industriā Regem protegentes, objecerat. Hujus spatiose stipiti corpus applicuit, clypeo tela, quae ex adverso ingerebantur, excipiens. Nam cūm unum procul tot manus peterent, nemo tamen audiebat propius accedere. Missilia ramis plura quam clypeo incidebant. Pugnabat pro Rege primum celebrati nominis fama, deinde desperatio, magnum ad honestē moriendum incitamentum: sed cūm subindē hostis afflueret, jam ingentem vim telorum exceperat clypeo, jam galeam saxa perfregerant, jam continuo labore gravia genua succiderant. Itaque contemptim, et incautē, qui proximi steterant, incurrerunt: e quibus duos gladio ita excepit, ut ante ipsum exanimis procumberent. Nec cuiquam deindē propius incessandi eum animus fuit. Procul jacala sagittasque mittebant.

16. Ille ad omnes ictus expositus, sgrē jam exceptum poplitibus corpus tuebatur, donec Indus duorum cubitorum sagittam (namque Indis, ut antē diximus, hujus magnitudinis sagittae erant) ita excussit, ut per thoracem paulum super latus dextrum infigeret. Quo vulnere afflictus, magna vi sanguinis emicante, remisit arma moribundo similis: adeoque resolutus, ut ne ad vellendum quidem telum sufficeret dextra. Itaque ad expoliandum corpus qui vulneraverat alacer gudio accurrit. Quem ut injicere corpori suo manus sensit, credo, ultimi dedecoris indignitate commotus, linquenter revocavit animum, et nudum hostis latus subjecto mucrone hausit. Jacebant circa Regem tria corpora, procul stupentibus cæteris. Ille, ut antequām ultimus spiritus deficeret, dimicans jam extingueretur, clypeo se allevare conatus est: <sup>10</sup> et postquām ad connitendum nihil supererat virium, dexterā impendentes ramos complexus, tentabat assurgere. Sed ne sic quidem potens corporis, rursus in genua procumbit, manu provocans hostes, si quis congredi auderet.

17. Tandem Peucetes per aliam oppidi partem, deturbatis propugnatoribus, <sup>12</sup> mari vestigia persequens, Regi super-

venit. Quo conspecto, Alexander jam non vita sua, sed mortis solatium supervenisse ratus, clypeo fatigatum corpus exceptit. Subit inde Timæus, et paulò post Leonatus, huic Aristonu supervenit. Indi quòque cùm intra moenia Regem esse comperissent, omissis cæteris illuc concurrerunt, urgebantque protegentea. Ex quibus Timæus multis adverso corpore vulneribus acceptis, egregiâque editâ pugnâ cecidit. Peucestes quòque tribus jaculis confossum, non se tamen scuto, sed Regem tuebatur. Leonatus dum avidè ruentes Barbaros submovet, cervice graviter ictâ, semianimis procubuit ante Regis pedes. Jam et Peucestes vulneribus fatigatus <sup>13</sup> submisserat clypeum. In Aristono spes ultima hærebat. Hic quoque graviter saucijs tantam vim hostium ultrâ sustinere non poterat. <sup>14</sup> Inter haec ad Macedonas, Regem cecidisse, fama perlata est. <sup>15</sup> Terruisset alios, quod illos incitavit. Namque periculi omnis immemores, dolabris perfregere murum, et, quâ moliti erant aditum, irrupere in urbem, Indosque plures fugientes, quâm congredi ausos, ceciderunt. Non senibus, non foeminis, non infantibus parcitur. Quisquis occurserat, ab illo vulneratum Regem esse credebant. <sup>16</sup> Tandemque internecione hostium justæ ire parentatum est. Ptolemaeum, qui postea regnavit, huic pugnæ affuisse anctor est Clitarchus, et Timagenea. Sed ipse <sup>17</sup> scilicet gloriæ sua non refragatus, abfuisse se, missum in expeditionem, memorie tradidit: tanta componentium vetusta rerum monumenta vel <sup>18</sup> securitas, vel, <sup>19</sup> par huic vitium, credulitas fuit!

18. Rege in tabernaculo relato, medici lignum hastæ corpori infixum, <sup>20</sup> ita ne spiculum moveretur, abscedunt. Corpore dein nudato, animadvertunt hamos inesse telo, nec aliter id sine pernicie corporis extrahi posse, quâm ut secando vulnus augerent. <sup>21</sup> Cæterum, ne secantes profluviū sanguinis occuparet, verebantur: quippe ìngens telum adactum erat, et penetrasse in viscera videbatur. Critobulus inter medicos artis eximius, sed in tanto periculo territus, manus admovere metuebat, <sup>22</sup> ne in ipsius caput parum prosperæ curationis recideret eventus.

Lacrymantem eum, ac metuentem, et sollicitudine propemodum exsanguem Rex conspexerat. <sup>22</sup> "Quid," inquit, "quodve tempus exspectas, et non quamprimum hoc dolore me saltem moriturum liberas? An times ne reus sis, cum insanabile vulnus acceperim?" At Critobulus, tandem vel finito, vel dissimilato metu, hortari eum coepit, <sup>23</sup> ut se continendum praeseret, dum spiculum evelleret. <sup>24</sup> Etiam levem corporis motum noxiun fore. Rex, cum affirmasset nihil opus esse iis, qui semet continerent, sicut praeceptum erat, sine motu praebuit corpus. Igitur patefacto latius vulnere, et spiculo evulso, ingens vis sanguinis manare coepit, linquique animo Rex, et caligine oculis offusus, veluti moribundus extendi. Cumque profluivum medicamentis frustra inhiberent, clamor simul atque ploratus amicorum oritur, Regem expirasse credentium. Tandem constitit sanguis, paulatimque animum recepit, et circumstantes coepit agnoscere. Toto eo die, ac nocte, quae secuta est, armatus exercitus regiam obsedit, confessus omnes unius spiritu vivere. Nec prius recesserunt, quam compertum est, somno paulisper acquiescere. Hinc certiorem spem salutis ejus in castra retulerunt.

VI. 19. Rex, <sup>1</sup> septem diebus curato vulnere, needum obducta cicatrice, cum audisset convaluisse apud Barbaros famam mortis suae, duobus navigiis junctis, statui in medium undique conspicuum tabernaculum jussit, ex quo se ostenderet <sup>2</sup> periisse credentibus: conspectusque ab incolis, <sup>3</sup> spem hostium falso nuncio conceptam inhibuit. <sup>4</sup> Secundo deinde amne defluxit, aliquantum intervalli a cetera classe praecipiens, ne quies corpori invalido adhuc necessaria pulsu remorum impediretur. Quarto postquam navigare cooperat die, pervenit in regionem, desertam quidem ab incolis, sed frumento et pecoribus abundantem. Placuit is locus, et ad suam, et ad militum requiem. Mos erat principibus amicorum, et custodibus corporis, excubare ante praetorium, quoties Regi adversa valetudo incidisset. Hoc tum more quoque servato, universi cubiculum ejus intrant. Ille sollicitus, ne

quid novi afferrent, quia simul venerant, percontatur num hostium recens nunciaretur adventus.

20. At Craterus, cui mandatum erat, ut amicorum preces perferret ad eum, “<sup>“</sup>Credisne,” inquit, “adventu magis hostium, ut jam in vallo consisterent, quam curâ salutis tuæ, ut nunc est tibi vilis, nos esse sollicitos? Quantalibet vis omnium gentium conspiret in nos, impleat armis virisque totum orbem, classibus maria consternat, inusitatas belluas inducat, tu nos præstabas invictos. Sed quis Deorum hoc Macedoniam columen ac sidus diuturnum fore polliceri potest, cùm tam avidè manifestis periculis offeras corpus, <sup>“</sup>oblitus tot civium animas trahere te in casum? Quis enim tibi superstes aut optat esse, aut potest? Ed pervenimus, auspicium atque imperium secuti tuum, unde nisi te reduce, nulli ad penates suos iter est.”

“<sup>“</sup>Quod si adhuc de Persidis regno cum Dario dimicares, etsi nemo vellet, tamen ne admirari quidem posset, tam prompte esse te ad omne discrimin audacie. Nam ubi paria sunt periculum ac præmium, et <sup>“</sup>secundis rebus amplior fructus est, et adversis solarium majus. <sup>“</sup>Tuo verò capite ignobilem vicum emi quis ferat, non tuorum modò militum, sed ullius etiam gentis barbaræ <sup>“</sup>civis, qui tuam magnitudinem novit? Horret animus cogitatione rei, quam paulò antè vidimus. <sup>“</sup>Eloqui timeo, invicti corporis spoliis inertissimos manus fuisse injecturos, nisi te <sup>“</sup>interceptum misericors in nos fortuna servasset.”

“Totidem proditores, totidem desertores sumus, quot te non potuimus persequi. <sup>“</sup>Universos licet ignominia notes, nemo recusabit luere id, quod, ne admitteret, præstare non potuit. Patere nos, quæso, alio modo esse viles tibi. Quæcumque jussesis, ibimus: obscura pericula, et ignobiles pugnas nobis deposcimus; temetipsum ad ea serva, quæ magnitudinem tuam <sup>“</sup>capiunt. Cito gloria obsolescit in sordidis hostibus. Nec quidquam indignius est, quam consumi eam, ubi non possit ostendi.” Eadem ferè Ptolemæus, et similia iis cæteri. Jamque confusis vocibus flentes eum orabant,

<sup>16</sup> ut tandem exsatiatae laudi modum faceret, ac saluti suse, id est publicæ, parceret.

21. Grata erat Regi <sup>18</sup> pietas amicorum. Itaque singulos familiariū amplexus, considere jubet, <sup>17</sup> altiusque sermone repetito, "Vobis quidem," inquit, "O fidissimi piissimique civium atque amicorum, grates ago, habeoque, non solum eo nomine, quod hodiè salutem meam vestræ præponitis, sed quod a primordiis belli, nullum erga me benevolentiae pignus atque indicium omisisti: adeò ut confitendum sit, nunquam mihi vitam meam fuisse tam caram, quam esse coepit, ut vobis diu frui possim. <sup>19</sup> Cæterum non eadem est cogitatio eorum, qui pro me mori optant, et mea; qui quidem hanc benevolentiam vestram virtute meruisse me judico. Vos enim diuturnum fructum ex me, forsitan etiam perpetuum, percipere cupitis. Ego me metior non ætatis spatio, sed gloria. Licuit paternais opibus <sup>20</sup> contento intra Macedoniæ terminos per otium corporis exspectare obscuram et ignobilem senectutem. <sup>21</sup> Quanquam ne pigri quidem sibi fata disponunt; sed unicum bonum diuturnam vitam æstimantes sepe acerba mors occupat. Verum ego, qui non annos meos, sed viatorias numero, si munera fortunæ benè computo, diu vixi."

"Orsus a Macedonia imperium Græciæ teneo; Thraciam et Illyrios subegi; Triballis, Medisque impero; Asiam, quæ Hellesponto, quæ rubro mari alluitur, possideo. Jamque haud procul absum a fine mundi. Quem egressus, aliam naturam, aliud orbem aperire mihi statui. <sup>22</sup> Ex Asiâ in Europæ terminos momento unius horæ transivi. Victor utriusque regionis post nonum regni mei, post vigesimum atque octavum ætatis annum, <sup>23</sup> videor me vobis in excolandâ gloriâ, cui me uni devovi, posse cessare? Ego verò non deero, et ubicumque pugnabo, in theatro terrarum orbis esse me credam. Dabo nobilitatem ignobilibus locis. Aperiā cunctis gentibus terras, quas natura longè submoverat. In his operibus extingui mihi (si sors ita feret) pulchrum est. Eâ stirpe sum genitus, ut <sup>24</sup> multam priùs quam longam vitam debeam optare."

"Obsecro vos, cogitate nos pervenisse in terras, " quibus  
feminis ob virtutem celeberrimum nomen est. Quas urbes  
Semiramis condidit? quas gentes rediget in potestatem?  
quanta opera molita est? Nondum feminam sequavimus glo-  
riā, et jam nos laudis satietas cepit? " Dii faveant, majora  
adhuc restant. Sed ita nostra erunt, quae nondum attigimus,  
si nihil parvum duxerimus, in quo magnae gloriae locus est.  
Vos modò me ab intestinā fraude, et domesticorum insidiis  
præstare securum; belli Martisque discrimen impavidus sub-  
ibo. Philippus in acie tutior quam in theatro fuit. Hostium  
manus sepe vitavit, suorum effugere non valuit. Aliorum  
quoque Regum exitus si reputaveritis, plures a suis quam ab  
hoste interemptos numerabitis."

"Cæterū, quoniam olim rei agitatio in animo meo,  
nunc promendæ occasio oblata est; mihi maximus laborum  
atque operum meorum erit fructus, si Olympias mater immor-  
talitati consecretur, quandocumque excesserit vita. " Si  
licuerit, ipse præstabο hoc. Si me "præceperit fatum, " vos  
mandasse mementote." At tum quidem amicos dimisit. Cæ-  
terū per complures dies ibi stativa habuit.

VII. 22. Hæc dum in Indiā geruntur, Græci milites,  
nuper in colonias a Rege deducti circa Bactra, ortā inter ipsos  
seditione, defecerant, non tam Alexandro infensi, quam meta  
supplicii: quippe occisis quibusdam popularium, qui vali-  
diores erant, arma spectare cœperunt. Et Bactrianā arce,  
quæ quasi negligentius asservata erat, occupatā, Barbaros quo-  
que in societatem defectionis impulerant. Athenodorus erat  
princeps eorum, qui Regis quòque nomen assumpserat, non  
tam imperii cupidine, quam in patriam revertendi cum iis, qui  
auctoritatem ipsius sequebantur. Huic Bicon quidam nationis  
ejusdem, sed ob simulationem infestus, comparavit insidias,  
invitatumque ad epulas per Boxum quemdam Macarianum in  
convivio occidit. Postero die concione advocatā Bicon ultrō  
insidiatum sibi Athenodorum plerisque persuaserat. Sed  
aliis suspecta fraus erat Biconis, et paulatim in plures cœpit  
manare suspicio. Itaque Græci milites arma capiunt, occisi

Biconem, si daretur occasio. Cæterum principes eorum iram multitudinis mitigaverunt. Præter spem suam Bicon præsenti periculo ereptus, paulò post insidiatus auctoribus salutis suæ est; cuius dolo cognito, et ipsum comprehendenterunt, et Boxum. Cæterum Boxum protinus placuit interfici, Biconem etiam per cruciatum necari. Jamque corpori tormenta admovebantur, cùm Græci milites, (incertum ob quam causam), lymphatis similes ad arma discurrunt. Quorum fremitu exaudito, qui torquere Biconem jussi erant, omisère, veriti ne id facere tumultuantium vociferatione prohiberentur. Ille, sicut nudatus erat, pervenit ad Græcos, et miserabilis facies supplicio destinati in diversum animos repente mutavit, dimitti que eum jussérunt. Hoc modo poenâ bis liberatus, cum cæteris, qui colonias a Rege attributas reliquerunt, revertit in patriam. Hæc circa Bactra et Scytharum terminos gesta.

23. Interim Regem duarum gentium '(de quibus antè dictum est) centum legati adeunt. Omnes curru vehebantur, eximiâ magnitudine corporum, decoro habitu: lineæ vestes intextæ auro, purpurâque distinctæ. Ei se dedere ipsos, urbes, agrosque referebant, per tot ætates inviolatam libertatem illius primùm fidei ditionique permisuros. Deos sibi deditioñis auctores, non metum: quippe 'intactis viribus jugum excipere. Rex, consilio habito, deditos in fidem accepit, stipendio, quod Arachosiis utraque natio pensitabat, imposito. Praeterea duo millia et quingentos equites imperat: et omnia obedienter a Barbaris facta. Invitatis deinde ad epulas legatis gentium, regulisque, exornari convivium jussit. Centum aurei lecti modicis intervallis positi erant. Lectos circumdederat aulæa, purpurâ auroque fulgentia; 'quidquid aut apud Persas vetere luxu, aut apud Macedonas novâ immutatione corruptum erat, confusis utriusque gentis vitiis, in illo convivio ostendens. Intererat epulis Dioxippus Atheniensis, pugil nobilis, et ob eximiam virtutem virium, jam Regi personus et gratus. Invidi malignique increpabant' per seria et ludum, saginati corporis sequi inutilem belluam; cùm ipsi prælium inirent, oleo madentem præparare ventrem epulis.

Eadem igitur in convivio Horratas Macedo jam temulentus exprobrare ei coepit, et postulare, ut si vir esset, postero die secum ferro decerneret: Regem tandem vel de suâ temeritate, vel de illius ignaviâ judicaturum. Et a Dioxippo, contemptim militarem eludente ferociam, accepta conditio est.

24. Ac postero die Rex, cùm etiam acriùs certamen exposerent quia deterrere non poterat, destinata exsequi passus est. Ingens hic militum, inter quos erant Græci, qui Dioxippem studebant, convenerat multitudo. Macedo <sup>10</sup> justa arma sumpserat: sereum clypeum, <sup>11</sup> hastam, quam *sarissam* vocant, laevâ tenens, dextrâ lanceam: gladioque cinctus, velut cum pluribus simul dimicaturus. Dioxippus oleo nitens, et coronatus, laevâ <sup>12</sup> puniceum amiculum, dextrâ validum nodosumque stipitem præferebat. Ea ipsa res omnium animos exspectatione suspenderat: quippe armato congredi nudum, dementia, non temeritas videbatur. Igitur Macedo, haud dubius eminus interfici <sup>13</sup> posse, lanceam emisit: quam Dioxippus cùm exigua corporis declinatione vitasset, antequam ille hastam transferret in dextram, assiluit et stipite medium eam fregit. Amisso utroque telo, Macedo gladium cooperat strigere: <sup>14</sup> quem occupatum complexu, pedibus repente subductis, Dioxippus arietavit in terram: ereptoque gladio, pedem super cervicem jacentis imposuit, stipitem intentans, <sup>15</sup> elisurusque eo victum, nî prohibitus esset a Rege. Tristis spectaculi eventus non Macedonibus modò, sed etiam Alexandro fuit, maximè quia Barbari affuerant: quippe celebratam Macedonum fortitudinem ad ludibriū recidisse verebatur. Hinc ad criminacionem invidorum adapertæ sunt aures Regis. Et post paucos dies inter epulas aureum poculum <sup>16</sup> ex composito subducitur: ministrique quasi amisissent, quod amoverant, Regem adeunt. Sæpè minus est constantiæ in <sup>17</sup> rubore, quam in culpâ. Conjectum oculorum, quibus ut fur destinabatur, Dioxippus ferre non potuit. Et cùm excessisset convivio, litteris conscriptis, quæ Regi redderentur, ferro se interermit. Graviter mortem ejus tulit Rex, existimans indignationis esse,

non posnitentiae testem ; <sup>10</sup> utique postquam falsò insimulatum eum, nimium invidiorum gaudium ostendit.

VIII. 25. Indorum legati dimissi domos, paucis post diebus cam donis revertuntur. Trecenti erant equites, mille triginta currus, quos quadrijugi equi ducebant; lineæ vestis aliquantum, mille scuta Indica, et <sup>1</sup> ferri candidi talenta centum; leonesque rarsè magnitudinis, et tigres, utrumque animal ad mansuetudinem domitum; lacertarum quoque ingentium pelles, et dorsa testudinum. Cratero deinde imperat Rex, <sup>2</sup> hand procul amne, per quem erat ipse navigaturus, copias duceret. Eos autem, qui comitari eum solebant, imponit in naves, et in fines Mallorum secundo amne devehitur. Inde Sabracas adiit, validam Indiæ gentem, quæ <sup>3</sup> populi, non Regum imperio regebatur. Sexaginta millia peditum habebant, equitum octo millia: has copias currus quingenti sequabantur. Tres duces spectatos virtute bellicâ elegerant. At qui in agris erant proximi flumini, (frequentes autem vicos maximè in ripâ habebant), ut videre totum amnem, <sup>4</sup> quæ prospici poterat, navigiis constratum, et tot militum arma fulgentia, territi novâ facie, Deorum exercitum, et alium Liberum Patrem, celebre in illis gentibus nomen, adventare credebant. <sup>5</sup> Hinc militum clamor, hinc remorum pulsus, varisque nautarum voces hortantium, pavidas aures impleverant. Ergò universi ad eos, qui in armis erant, currunt, <sup>6</sup> furere clamitantes, cum Diis prælium inituros. Navigia non posse numerari, quæ invictos veherent. Tantumque in exercitum suorum intulere terroris, ut legatos mitterent gentem dedituros.

26. His in fidem acceptis, ad alias deinde gentes quarto die pervenit. <sup>7</sup> Nihilò plus animi his fuit, quam cæteris fuerat. Itaque oppido ibi condito, quod Alexandriam appellari jusserat, fines eorum, qui Musicani appellantur, intravit. <sup>8</sup> Hic de Teriolte Satrape, quem Paropamisadis præfecerat, iisdem arguentibus, cognovit: multaque avarè ac superbè fecisse convictum, interfici jussit. Oxartes Prætor Bactriorum non absolutus modò, sed etiam jure amoris amplioris im-

ii donatus est finibus. Musicani deinde in ditionem redacti urbi eorum praesidium imposuit. Inde Praestos, et ipsam diu gentem perventum est. Oxycanus Rex erat, qui se mitis urbi cum magna manu popularium incluserat. Haec exander tertio die quam cooperat obsidere, expugnavit.

Oxycanus cum in arcem confugisset, legatos de conditione ditionis misit ad Regem. Sed antequam adirent eum, duces cum ingenti fragore prociderant, per quarum ruinas iecides evasere in arcem: quā captā, Oxycanus cum 1000 repugnans occiditur. Dirutā igitur arce, et omnibus stativis venundatis, Sabi regis fines ingressus est, multis e oppidis in fidem acceptis, validissimam gentis urbem niculo cepit. Barbaris <sup>1</sup> simile monstri visum est, rudibus litarium operum; quippe in mediā fermè urbe armati terra istebant, <sup>2</sup> nullo suffossi specūs antē vestigio facto. Octo-ita millia Indorum in ea regione cæsa Clitarchus est auctor, illosque captivos <sup>3</sup> sub coronā <sup>4</sup> venisse.

27. Rursus Musicani defecerant, ad quos opprimendos sus est Pithon, qui captum principem gentis, eundemque affectionis auctorem, adduxit ad Regem. Quo Alexander in 1000 sublato, rursus amnem, in quo classem exspectare sserat, repetit. Quarto deinde die, secundo amne pervenit oppidum quā iter in regnum erat Sabi. Nuper se ille diderat, sed oppidani detrectabant imperium, et clauserant portas. Quorum paucitate contemptā, Rex quingentos Agri- os mœnia subire jussérat, et sensim recedentes elicere extra viros hostem, secuturum profectō, si fugere eos crederet. Zriani (sicut imperatum erat) laccessito hoste, subitō tergārtunt, quos Barbari effusè sequentes, in alios, inter quos se Rex erat, incident. Renovato ergo prælio, ex tribus 1000 libus Barbarorum sexcenti cæsi sunt, mille capti, cæteri inibis urbis inclusi. <sup>5</sup> Sed non ut primā specie laeta vic- ria, ita eventus quoque fuit: quippe Barbari veneno tin- xant gladios. Itaque saucii subinde exspirabant. Nec usq; tam <sup>6</sup> strenuæ mortis exegitari poterat a medicis, cùm iam leves plagaæ insanabiles essent. <sup>7</sup> Barbari autem spe-

raverant, incatum et temerarium Regem <sup>11</sup> excipi posse. <sup>11</sup> Et fortè inter promptissimos dimicans, intactus evaserat.

28. Præcipue Ptolemæus, lævo humero leviter quidem sauius, sed <sup>11</sup> majore periculo quam vulnere affectus, Regis sollicitudinem in se converterat. Sanguine conjunctus erat, et quidam Philippo genitum esse credebant; certè pellice ejus ortum constabat. Idem corporis custos, promptissimusque bellator, et pacis artibus, quam militia major et clarior, <sup>11</sup> modico civilique cultu, liberalis imprimis adituque facilis, nihil ex fastu regio assumpserat. Ob haec Regi an popularibus carior esset dubitari poterat: tum certè primùm expertus suorum animos, adeò ut fortunam, in quam postea ascendit, in illo periculo Macedones ominati esse videantur. Quippe non levior illis Ptolemæi fuit cura, quam Regi; qui et prælio et sollicitudine fatigatus cum Ptolemæo assideret, lectum, in quo ipse acquiesceret, jussit inferri. In quem ut se recepit, protinus <sup>11</sup> altior insecurus est somnus. Ex quo excitatus, per quietem vidiisse se exponit speciem draconis <sup>11</sup> oblatam herbam ferentis ore, quam veneni remedium esse monstrasset. Colorem quòque herbae referebat, <sup>11</sup> agniturum, si quis repe-risset, affirmans; inventamque deinde, quippe a multis simul erat requisita, vulneri imposuit: protinusque dolore finito, intra breve spatum cicatrix quòque obducta est. Barbaros ut prima spes fellerat, scipsos urbemque dediderunt. Hinc in proximam gentem *Pataliam* perventum est. Rex erat Moëris, qui urbe desertâ in montes profugerat. Itaque Alexander oppido potitur, agrosque populatur. Magnæ inde prædæ actæ sunt pecorum armentorumque, magna vis reperta frumenti. Ducibus deinde sumptis amnis peritis, defluxit ad insulam medio fermè alveo <sup>11</sup> enatam.

IX. 29. Ibi diutius subsistere coactus, <sup>1</sup> quia duces socordiū asservati profugerant, misit qui conquirerent alios: <sup>1</sup> nec repertis, pervicax cupidio incessit visendi Oceanum, adeundique terminos mundi; ut sine regionis peritis, flumini ignoto caput suum, totque fortissimorum virorum salutem, permitteret. Navigabant ergò, omnium, per quæ ferebantur

mari: quantum indè abesset mare, quæ gentesolerent, iam placidum amnis os, <sup>9</sup> quam patiens longarum navium set, anceps et cœca sestimatio augurabatur. Unum erat meritatis solatium, perpetua felicitas. Jam <sup>10</sup> quadrin gentes adia processerant, cùm gubernatores agnosceret ipsos auram aris, et haud proenl videri sibi Oceanum abesse, indicant egredi. Lætus ille hortari nauticos cœpit, incumberent remis, esse finem laboris omnibus votis expetitum. Jam nihil oris deesse, nihil obstare virtuti. Sine ullo Martis dissimile, sine sanguine orbem terræ ab illis capi. Ne naturam idem longius posse procedere; brevi incognita, nisi immoribus, esse visuros. Paucos tamen navigio emisit in ripam, i agrestes vagos exciperent, e quibus certiora nosci posse erabat. Illi scrutati omnia tuguria, tandem latentes reperi. Qui interrogati quam procul abessent mari, respondeant nullum ipsos mare ne famâ quidem accepisse. Cæterum die perveniri posse ad aquam amaram, quæ corrumperet lcem. Intellectum est mare destinari ab ignaris natureis. Itaque ingenti alacritate nautici remigant, et proxime oque die, <sup>11</sup> quo proprius spes admovebatur, crescebat ardor imorum. Tertio jam die mixtum flumini <sup>12</sup> subibat mare, i adhuc sestu confundente dispare undas. Tum aliam sulam medio amni sitam erecti paulò lentiùs, quia cursus tu reverberabatur, applicant classem, et ad commeatus tendos discurrunt, <sup>13</sup> securi casus ejus qui supervenit igitur.

30. Tertia fermè hora erat, cùm <sup>14</sup> statâ vice Oceanus estuans invehî cœpit, et retro flumen urgere. <sup>15</sup> Quod mò coercitum, deindè vehementius pulsam, majore impetu versus agebatur, quam torrentia præcipiti alveo incurvant. Iota vulgo freti natura erat, monstraque, et iras Deum in iaria cernere videbantur. Identidem intumescere mare, et in ipso paulò antè siccos descendere superfusum. Jamque vatis navigiis, et totâ classe dispersâ, qui expositi erant, lique ad naves trepidi et improviso male attoniti recurront. In tumultu festinatio quæque tarda est. Hi contis navi-

gia applicabant; hi, dum considerent, remos aptari prohibebant. Quidam enavigare properantes, sed non <sup>13</sup> exspectatis qui simul esse debebant, <sup>14</sup> clauda et inhabilia navigia languide moliebantur. Aliæ navium inconsultè ruentes omnes receperant; pariterque et multitudo et paucitas festinantes morabatur. Clamor hinc exspectare, hinc ire jubentium, dissonaque voces nusquam idem ac unum tendentium, non oculorum modò usum, sed etiam aurium abstulerant. Ne in gubernatoribus quidem quidquam opis erat, quorum nec exaudiri vox a tumultuantibus poterat, nec imperium a territis incompositisque servari. Ergò collidi inter se naves <sup>15</sup> abstergerique invicem remi, et alii aliorum navigia urgere cœperunt. Crederes non unius exercitus classem vehi, sed duorum navale inisse certamen. Incutiebantur puppibus proræ, premebantur a sequentibus, qui antecedentes turbaverant. Jurantium ira <sup>16</sup> perveniebat etiam ad manus.

31. Jamque æstus totos circa flumen campos inundaverat, tuzaulis duntaxat eminentibus, veluti insulis parvis, in quos plerique trepidi omissis navigiis enare cœperunt. Dispersa classis partim in præaltâ aquâ stabat, quâ subsederant valles; partim in vado hærebant, utcumque inæquale terræ fastigium occupaverant undæ, cum subitò novus et pristino major terror incutitur. Reciprocare cœpit mare, magno tractu aquis insuum fretum recurrentibus, reddebatque terras paulò antè profundo salo mersas. Igitur destituta navigia, alia præcipitantur in proras, alia in latera procumbunt. Strati erant campi sarcinis, armis, avulsarum tabularum remorumque fragmentis. Miles nec egredi in terram, nec in naves subsistere audebat, identidem præsentibus graviora que sequerentur exspectans. Vix que perpetiebantur, videre ipsos credebant; in sicco naufragia, in amni mare: nec finis malorum; <sup>17</sup> quippe æstum paulò post mare relaturum, quo navigia allevarentur, ignari, famem et ultima sibimet ominabantur. Belluse quoque fluetibus destitutæ, terribiles vagabantur. Jamque nox appetebat, et Regem quodque desperatio salutis sagittidine affecrat. Non tamen invictum animum cures obravunt, quin tota

nocte praevideret in speculis, equitesque præmitteret ad os amnis, ut cùm mare rursùs exsttuare sensissent, præcederent. Navigia quòque lacerata refici, et eversa fluctibus erigi jubet, paratosque esse et intentos cùm rursùs mare terras inundasset.

32. Totâ eâ nocte inter vigilias adhortationesque consumptâ, celeriter equites ingenti cursu refugere, et secutus est sestus. Qui primò, aquis leni tractu subeuntibus, cœpit levare navigia: mox totis campis inundans, etiam impulit classem: plaususque militum nauticorumque, insperatam salutem immodico celebrantium gaudio, littoribus ripisque resonabat. Unde tantum rediasset subito mare? quò pridie refugisset? quoniam asset ejusdem elementi natura, modò discors, modò imperio temporum obnoxia? mirabundi requirebant. Rex cùm ex eo, quod acciderat, conjectaret, post solis ortam<sup>10</sup> statum tempus esse, mediâ nocte, ut sestum occuparet, cum paucis navigiis secundo amne defluxit: evectusque os ejus quadringenta stadia processit in mare. Tandem voti sui compos, præsidibus et maris et locorum Diis sacrificio facto, ad classem rediit.

X. 33. Hinc adversum flumen subiit classis; et altero die appulsa est haud procul lacu salso, cuius ignota natura plerosque decepit, temerè ingresses aquam; quippe scabies corpora invasit: et contagium morbi etiam in alios vulgatum est. Oleum remedio fuit. Leonato deindè præmissæ, ut puto eos foderet, quâ terrestri itinere ducturus exercitum videbatur (quippe sicca erat regio) ipse cum copiis substituit, vernum tempus exspectans. Interim et urbes portusque condidit. Nearcho atque Onesicrito, nautices rei peritis, imperavit, ut validissimas navium ducerent in Oceanum, progressique quoad tutò possent, naturam maris noscerent: vel eodem amne, vel Euphrate subire eos posse, eûna reverti ad se vellent. Jamque mitigatâ hyeme et navibus, quæ inutiles videbantur, crematis, terrâ ducebat exercitum. Nonis castris in regionem Arabitarum, inde totidem diebus in Gedrosiorum regionem perventum est. Liber hic populus, concilio

habito, dedidit se, nec quidquam deditis praeter commeatus imperatum est. Quinto hinc die venit ad flumen; *Arabon* incolæ appellant. Regio deserta et aquarum inops excipit, quam emensus in Oritas transit. Ibi majorem exercitū partem Hephaestioni tradidit: levem armaturam cum Ptolemeo Leonatoque partitus est. Tria simul agmina populabantur Indos, magnæque prædæ actæ sunt. Maritimos Ptolemeus, cæteros ipse Rex et ab aliâ parte Leonatus urebant. In hâc quoque regione urbem condidit, \*deductique sunt in eam Arachosii. Hinc pervenit ad maritimos Indos. Deser-tam vastamque regionem latè tenent, ac ne cum finitimis quidem ullo commercii jure miscentur. Ipsa solitudo natura quoque immitia efficerat ingenia. Prominent ungues nunquam recisi. Comæ hirsutæ, et intonsæ sunt. Tuguria conchis et cæteris purgamentis maris instruant. Ferarum pellibus tecti, piscibus sole duratis, et majorum quoque belluarum, quas fluctus ejicit, carne vescuntur. Consumptis igitur alimentis, Macedones primò inopiam, deindè ad ultimum famem sentire cœperunt, radices palmarum (namque sola ea arbor gignitur) ubique \*rimantes. Sed cùm hæc quoque alimena defecerant, jumenta cædere aggressi, ne equis quidem abstinebant: et cùm deessent quæ sarcinas veherent, spolia de hostibus propter quæ ultima Orientis peragraverant, cremabant incendio.

34. Famem deindè pestilentia secuta est; quippe insalubrium ciborum novi succi, ad hoc itineris labor, et ægritudo animi, vulgaverant morbos; et, nec manere sine clade, nec progredi poterant. Manentes fames, progressos acrior pestilentia urgebat. Ergò strati erant campi penè pluribus semivivis, quād cadaveribus. Ac ne levius quidem ægri sequi poterant: quippe agmen raptim agebatur, \*tantum singulis ad spem salutis ipsos proficere credentibus, quantum itineris festinando præriperent. Igitur qui defecerant, notos ignotosque ut allevarentur, orabant. Sed nec jumenta erant, quibus excipi possent, et miles vix arma portabat, \*imminentisque etiam ipsis facies mali ante oculos erat. Ergò sepius revo-

cati ne respicere quidem suos sustinebant, misericordia in formidinem versâ. Illi relictî 'Deos testes, sacra communia, Regisque implorabant opem. Cùmque frustra surdas aures fatigarent, in rabiem desperatione versi, parem suo exitum, similesque ipsis amicos et contubernales precabantur. Rex dolore simul et pudore anxius, quia causa tantæ glidis ipse esset, ad Phrataphernem Parthorum Satrapem misit, qui juberet camelis cocta cibaria afferre. Alios quoque finitimarum regionum præfatos, certiores 'necessitatis suæ fecit: 'nec cessatum est ab his. Itaque fame duntaxat vindicatus exercitus, tandem in Gedrosiæ fines perducitur. Omnium rerum sola fertilis regio est, in quâ stativa habuit, ut vexatos milites quiete firmaret. Hic Leonati litteras accipit, confixisse ipsum cum octo millibus peditum, et quingentis equitibus Oritarum, prospero eventu. A Cratero quoque nuncius venit, Orzinem et Zariaspem nobiles Persas defectionem molientes oppressos a se, in vinculis esse.

35. Præposito igitur regioni Siburtio (namque Memnon Præfectus ejus nuper interierat morbo) in Carmaniam ipse processit. Aspastes erat Satrapes gentis, suspectus res novare voluisse dum in Indiâ Rex esset. Quem occurrentem, dissimulatâ irâ, comiter allocutus, dum exploraret quæ delata erant, in eodem honore habuit. Cùm Indiæ Præfecti (sicut imperatum erat) equorum, jumentorumque jugalium vim ingentem, ex omni, quæ sub imperio erat, regione misissent, quibus deerant impedimenta, restituit. Arma quoque ad pristinum refecta sunt cultum: quippe haud procul a Perside aberant, non pacatâ modò sed etiam opulentâ. Igitur (ut suprà dictum est) æmulatus Patris Liberi non gloriam solùm, quam ex illis gentibus deportaverat, sed etiam insaniam, (sive illud triumphus fuit ab eo primùm institutus, sive bacchantium lusus), animo super humanum fastigium elato vicos, per quos iter erat, floribus coronisque sterni jubet. Liminibus ædium crateras vino repletas, et alia eximiae magnitudinis vasa disponi. Vehicula deinde "constrata, ut plures capere milites possent, in tabernaculorum modum ornari, alia candi-

dis velis, alia veste pretiosâ. Primi ibant amici, et cohors regia, variis redimita floribus coronisque. Alibi tibicinum cantus, alibi lyræ sonus audiebatur: item in vehiculis pro copiâ cujusque adornatis, commessabundus exercitus, armis, que maximè decora erant, circumpendentibus: ipsum conviviasque currus vehebat, crateris aureis ejusdemque materiæ ingentibus poculis <sup>11</sup> prægravis. Hoc modo per dies septem bacchabundum agmen incessit, <sup>12</sup> parata præda, si quid victis saltem adversus comessantes animi fuisse: mille meherculè viri, modò et sobrii, septem dierum erapulâ graves in suo triumpho capere potuerunt. Sed fortuna, <sup>13</sup> quæ rebus famam pretiumque constituit, hic quodque militiæ probrum vertit in gloriam. Et <sup>14</sup> præsens ætas, et posteritas deinde mirata est, per gentes nondum satis domitas incessisse temulentos, Barbaris, quod temeritas erat, fiduciam esse credentibus. Hunc apparatum carnifex sequebatur. Quippe Satrapes Aspastes (de quo antè dictum est) interfici jussus est: adeò nec luxurie quidquam crudelitas, nec crudelitati luxuria obstat.



## L I B E R X.

### ARGUMENTUM.

1. Cleander et alii duces delictorum veniam impetrant, dum nonnulli minùs facinorosi puniuntur. Alexandri consilium de Occidentali Europe parte periustrandæ: liberalitas erga Abisarî filium; et in Orsinem, nobilissimum Satrapam, crudelitas.
2. Dum turbatum Græcis statum pacare, et ex militibus (ære alleno liberatis) alios remittere domum, alios retinere cogitat, in castris oritur seditio: quam gravi oratione et regia auctoritate compescit.
3. Seditionis supplicio affectis, totius exercitus dissipat consilia, et Persis credit corporis sui custodian.
4. Mors Hephaestionis. Alexander ingreditur Babylonem. Conjuratio in Alexandrum, qui veneno extinguitur.
5. Dicta et gesta ejusdem ante obitum. Quantum a suis fuerit desideratus; præcipue verò a Dari matre; quæ dolori succumbens, paulò pôst extincta est. Alexandri elogium.
6. De successore Alexandri inter magnates consultatio, et variae sententiae.

7. Aridaeus Philippe genitus, Meleagro promovente, a quibusdam Rex salutatur.  
Unde civilis belli semina.

8. Primarii duces Meleagri artibus occurrant. Aridaeus autem, pacis studiosus,  
tam tanta componere mediā quādā ratione conatur.

9. Perdiccas Meleagram et trecentos ferè alios, qui eum secuti fuerant, dolo op-  
primit.

10. Alexandri imperium in partes divisum, cuius summa Arideo tributa, Provincias  
autem magnatibus. Defuncti corpus ab amicis curatum, et tandem Alexandriam  
Egypti translatum est.

I. 1. IISDEM ferè diebus Cleander et Sitalces, et cum Agathone Heracon superveniunt, qui Parmenionem jussu Regis occiderant; <sup>1</sup> quinque millia peditum cum equitibus mille. Sed et accusatores eos <sup>2</sup> e provinciâ, cui præfuerant, sequebantur: nec tot facinora, quot admirerant, compensare poterant cædis perquām gratae Regi ministerio. Quippe cùm omnia profana spoliâssent, ne sacris quidem abstinuerant; virginesque et principes fœminarum, supra perpessæ, corporum ludibria deflebant. Invisum Macedonum nomen avaritia eorum ac libido Barbaris fecerat. Inter omnes tamen eminebat Cleandri furor, qui nobilem virginem constupratam, servo suo pellicem dederat. Plerique amicorum Alexandri, non tam criminum quæ palam objiciebantur, atrocitatem, quām memoriam occisi per eos Parmenionis, <sup>3</sup> quod tacitum prodesse reis apud Regem poterat, intuebantur; læti recidisse iram in iræ ministros, nec ullam potentiam scelere quæsitatam cuiquam esse diuturnam. Rex, cognitâ causâ, pronunciavit, ab accusatoribus unum et id maximum crimen esse præteritum, <sup>4</sup> desperationem salutis suæ; nunquam enim talia ausuros, qui ipsum ex Indiâ sospitem aut optâssent reverti, aut credidissent reversurum. Igitur hos quidem vinxit: dc autem militum, qui sevitiae eorum ministri fuerant, interfici jussit. Eodem die sumptum est supplicium de iis quòque <sup>5</sup> quos autores defectionis Persarum Craterus adduxerat.

2. Haud multò pòst Nearchus et Onesicritus, quos longius in Oceanum procedere jusserat, superveniunt. Nuncibant autem quædam auditæ, alia comperta. Insulam ostio amnis subjectam auro abundare, inopem equorum esse: singulos equos ab iis, qui ex continenti trajicere auderent, singulis

talentis emi. Plenum esse belluarum mare; <sup>1</sup> æstu secundo eas ferri, magnarum navium corpora æquantes: <sup>2</sup> truci cantu deterritas sequi classem, cum magno æquoris strepitu, velut demersa navigia, subisse aquas. <sup>3</sup> Cætera incolis crediderant: inter quæ rubrum mare, non a colore undarum, ut plerique crederent, sed ab Erythrâ Rege appellari. Esse haud procul a continenti insulam palmis frequentibus consitam, et in medio ferè nemore columnam eminere, Erythrae Regis monumentum, litteris gentis ejus scriptam. Adjiciebant, navigia quæ lixas mercatoresque vexissent, famam auri secutis gubernatoribus, in insulam esse transmissa, nec deindè <sup>4</sup> ab his postea visa. Rex cognoscendi plura cupidine accensus, rursus eos <sup>10</sup> terram legere jubet, donec ad Euphratem, appellerent classem; indè adverso amne Babylonem subituros. Ipse animo infinita complexus statuerat, omni ad Orientem maritimâ regione perdomitâ, ex Syriâ petere Africam, Carthagini infensus: indè Numidiæ solitudinibus peragratis, cursum Gades dirigere. Ibi namque columnas Herculis esse, fama vulgaverat. Hispanias deindè, quam Iberiam Graeci a flumine Ibero vocabant, <sup>11</sup> adire, et prætervehi Alpes, Italique oram, undè in Epirum brevis cursus est. Igitur Mesopotamia Prætoribus imperavit, materiâ in Libano monte cæsa, devectâque ad urbem Syriæ Thapsacum, octingentarum carinas navium ponere; septiremes omnes esse, deducique Babylonem: Cypriorum Regibus imperatum, ut æs, stupamque et vela præberent. Hæc agenti, Pori et Taxilis Regum litteræ traduntur, Abisarem morbo, Philippum Præfectum ipsius ex vulnere interiisse, oppressosque qui vulnerâssent eum. Igitur Philippo substituit Eudæmonem: Dux erat Thracum. Abisaris regnum filio ejus attribuit.

3. Ventum est deindè Persagadas: Persica est gens, eujus Satrapes Orsines erat, nobilitate ac divitiis inter omnes Barbaros eminens. Genus ducebat a Cyro, quondam Rege Persarum. Opes et a majoribus traditas habebat, et ipse longâ imperii possessione cumulaverat. Is Regi cum omnis generis donis, non ipsi modò ea, sed etiam amicis ejus datu-

rus, occurrit. Equorum domiti greges sequebantur, currusque argento et auro adornati. Pretiosa supellex, nobiles gemmæ, aurea magni ponderis vasa, vestesque purpureæ, et signati argenti talentū quatuor millia. Cæterū tanta benignitas Barbaro causa mortis fuit. Nam cùm amicos omnes Regis donis super ipsorum vota coluisse, Bagos spadoni, qui Alexandro obsequio corporis devinxerat sibi, nullum honorem habuit: admonitusque a quibusdam, quād Alexandro cordi esset, respondit, amicos Regis, non scorta se colere, hec moris esse Persis, mares ducere, qui stupro effeminarentur. His auditis, spado potentiam, flagitiō et dedecore quæsitatam, in caput nobilissimi et insontis<sup>12</sup> exercuit. Namque gentis ejusdem levissimos falsis criminibus adstruxit, monitos tum demum ea deferre, cùm ipse jussisset. Interim, quoties sine arbitris erat, credulas Regis aures implebat,<sup>13</sup> dissimulans causam iræ, quod gravior criminantis auctoritas esset. Non dum suspectus erat Orsines;<sup>14</sup> jam tamen vilior. Reus enim in secreto agebatur, latentis periculi ignarus: et importunissimum scortum, ne in stupro quidem et dedecoris patientiâ fraudis oblitum, quoties amorem regis in se accenderat, Orsinem modò avaritiae, interdum etiam defectionis arguebat.

4. Jam matura erant in perniciem innocentis mendacia; et fatum, cajus inevitabilis sors est, appetebat. Fortè enim sepulchrum Cyri Alexander jussit aperiri, in quo erat conditum ejus corpus, cui dare volebat inferias. Auro argenteoque repletum esse crediderat: quippe itâ famâ Persæ vulgarerant. Sed præter olypeum ejus putrem, arcus duos Scythicos, et acinacem, nihil reperit. Cæterū coronâ aureâ impossitâ, amiculo, cui assueverat ipse,<sup>15</sup> solium, in quo corpus jacebat, velavit; miratus, tanti nominis Regem, tantis præditum opibus, haud pretiosius sepultum esse, quād si fuisset e plebe. Proximus erat lateri spado, qui Regem intuens, "Quid mirum," inquit, "est, inania sepulchra esse Regum, cùm Satraparum domus aurum indè egestum capere non possint? <sup>16</sup> Quod ad me attinet, ipse hoc bustum antea non vide-

ram, sed ex Dario ita accepi, tria millia talentum condita esse cum Cyro. Hinc illa benignitas in te, ut, quod impunè habere non poterat Orsines, donando etiam gratiam iniret." Concitaverat jam animum in iram, cùm hi, quibus negotium idem dederat, supervenient. Hinc Bagoas, hinc ab eo subornati, falsis criminibus occupant aures. Antequam accusari se suspicaretur Orsines, in vincula traditus est. Non contentus suppicio insontis spado ipse morituro manum injecit. Quem Orsines intuens, "Audieram," inquit, "in Asiā oīm regnasse foeminas: hoc verò novum est, regnare castratum." Hic fuit exitus nobilissimi Persarum, nec insontis modò, sed eximiae quōque benignitatis in Regem.

5. Eodem tempore Phradates regnum affectasse suspectus occiditur. "Cœperat esse præceps" ad representanda supplicia, item ad deteriora credenda. Scilicet res secundæ valent commutare naturam; et raro quisquam "erga bona sua satis cautus est. Idem enim paulò antè Lycestem Alexandrum, delatum a duobus indicibus, damnare non sustinuerat; humiliores quōque reos, contra suam voluntatem, quia cæteris videbantur insontes, passus absolvit: hostibus victis regna rediderat. Ad ultimum a semetipso degeneravit usque adeò, ut, "adversus libidinem animi, arbitrio scorti aliis regna daret, aliis adimeret vitam. Iisdem ferè diebus litteras a Cœno accepit de rebus in Europā et Asiā gestis, dum ipse Indianam subigit. Zopyrio Thraciæ præpositus, dum expeditionem in Getas faceret, tempestatibus procellisque subito coortis, cum toto exercitu oppressus erat. Quā cognitâ clade, Seuthes Odrysas populares suos ad defectiōnem compulerat. Amissâ propemodum Thraciâ, ne Græcia "quidem

[inconcessa tumultu fuit. Cùm enim Alexander, ex Indiâ reversus, præfectos, qui, desperato ejus reditu, superbe imperârant, severius punisset, cæteri quoque, provincialium metuentes accusationem, ope mercenariorum militum, quibus præserant, et fugâ sibi salutem quærebant. Harpalus, Babylonie post Mazzei mortem præfectus, cùm luxuriose vixisset, veniâ desperatâ, v̄ millibus talentum correptis, cum vi millibus mercenariorum in Græciā profugit, quibus persuaserat, se

pecunia effecturum, ut Atheniensium civitas adversus regem arma capiat, et communem causam tueatur.]

II. 6. Igitur triginta navibus Sunium <sup>1</sup> transmittunt, (promontorium est Attice terræ), unde <sup>2</sup> portum urbis petere decreverant. His cognitis, Rex Harpalus Atheniensibusque juxta infestus, classem parari jubet, Athenas protinus peturus. Quod consilium dum agitat, clam litteræ ei redduntur, Harpalum intrâsse quidem Athenas, pecuniâ conciliâsse sibi principum animos: mox, consilio plebis habito, jussum urbe excedere ad Græcos milites pervenisse a quibus intercepimus et a Thimbrone quodam interemptum per insidias. His lætus, in Europam trajiciendi consilium omisit. Sed exules, præter eos qui civili sanguine aspersi erant, recipi ab omnibus Græcorum civitatibus, queis pulsi erant, jussit. Et Græci haud ausi imperium aspernari, quanquam solvendarum legum id principium esse censebant, bona quôque, quæ extarent, restituere damnatis. <sup>3</sup>Soli Athenienses, non suæ modò, sed etiam publicæ vindices libertatis, colluvionem omnium ordinum quia ægre ferebant, (non regio imperio, sed legibus moribusque patriis regi assueti), prohibuere finibus; omnia potius toleraturi, quam purgamenta quondam urbis suæ, tunc etiam exilii, admitterent. Alexander senioribus militum in patriam remissis, tredecim millia peditum, et duo millia equitum, quæ in Asiâ retineret, eligi jussit; existimans, modico exercitu continere posse Asiam, quia pluribus locis præsidia disposuisset; nuperque conditas urbes, quas colonis replæset, res renovare cupientibus obstare credebat.

7. Cæterum, priusquam secerneret quos erat retenturus, edixit, ut omnes milites <sup>4</sup> æs alienum profiterentur. Grave plerisque esse compererat; et quanquam ipsorum luxu contractum erat, dissolvere tamen ipse decreverat. Illi tentari ipsos rati, quod facilius <sup>5</sup>ab integris sumptuosos discerneret, prolatando aliquantum extraxerant temporis. Et Rex satis gnarus, professioni æris pudorem, non contumaciam, obstarere, mensas totis castris poni jussit, et <sup>6</sup>decem millia talentorum proferri. Tum demum <sup>7</sup>fide factâ professi sunt; nec amplius ex tantâ

pecunia quam centum et triginta talenta superfuere: adeo ille exercitus, tot ditissimarum gentium vixor, plus tamen victoriæ quam prædæ deportavit ex Asiâ. Cæterum, ut cognitum est alios remitti domum, alios retineri, perpetuam eum regni sedem in Asiâ habiturum rati, recordes et disciplinae militaris immemores, seditiosis vocibus castra compleant, Regemque ferocius quam aliæ adorti, omnes simul missionem postalare cœperunt, deformia ora cicatricibus, canitiemque capitum ostentantes. Nec aut Præfectorum castigatione, aut verecundiâ Regis deterriti, tumultuoso clamore et militari violentiâ volentem loqui inhibebant; palam professi, nusquam inde, nisi in patriam, vestigium esse moturos. Tandem silentio facto, magis quia <sup>10</sup> motum esse credebant, quam quia ipsi moveri poterant, quidnam acturus esset, exspectabant. Ille, "Quid hæc," inquit, "repens <sup>11</sup> consternatio, et tam procax atque effusa licentia denunciat? Eloqui timeo: palam certè rupistis imperium, et precariò Rex sum, cui non alloquendi, non <sup>12</sup> noscendi monendique, aut intuendi vos jus reliquistis. Equidem cum alios dimittere in patriam, alios mecum paulò post deportare statuerim, tam illos acclamantes video quiabituri sunt, quam hos cum quibus præmissos subsequi statui. Quid hoc est rei? Dispari in causâ idem est omnium clamor. <sup>13</sup> Per velim scire, utrum qui discedunt, an qui retinentur, de me querantur."

8. Crederes uno ore omnes sustulisse clamorem. Ita pariter ex totâ concione responsum est, "Omnès queri." Tum ille, "Non herculè," inquit, "potest fieri, ut <sup>14</sup> adducar, querendi simul omnibus hanc causam esse quam ostenditis, <sup>15</sup> in qua major pars exercitus non est; utpotè cum plures dimiserim, quam retenturus sum. Subest nimirum altius malum, quod omnes avertit a me. Quando enim Regem universus exercitus deseruit? Ne servi quidem uno grege profugint dominos: sed est quidam in illis pudor a cæteris destitutos relinquendi."

"Verum ego tam furiosæ consternationis oblitus, remedia insanabilibus conor adhibere. Omnem herculè spem quam ex

vobis conceperam, damno: nec ut cum militibus meis (jam enim esse destititis) sed, ut cum ingratissimis operis, agere decrevi. Secundis rebus, quæ circumfluent vos, insanire cœpistis, oblii statūs ejus quem beneficio exuistis meo: Digni herculè qui in eodem consenescatis; quoniam facilius est vobis adversam quam secundam regnare fortunam."

"En tandem! Illyriorum paulò antè et Persarum tributariis, Asia et tot gentium spolia fastidio sunt. Modò sub Philippo seminudis, amicula ex purpurâ <sup>18</sup> sordent. Aurum et argentum oculi ferre non possunt. Ligneæ enim vasa desiderant, et ex cratibus scuta, rubiginemque gladiorum. <sup>19</sup> Hoc cultu nitentes vos accepi, et quingenta talenta æris alieni, cùm omnis regia supellex haud amplius quam sexaginta talentorum esset, meorum operum fundamenta; quibus tamen (<sup>18</sup> absit invidia) imperium maximæ terrarum partis imposui."

"Asiæne pertæsum est, quæ vos gloriâ rerum gestarum Diis pares fecit? In Europam ire properatis, Rege deserto, cùm pluribus vestrûm defuturum viaticum fuerit, nî æs alienum luissem, <sup>20</sup> nempè ex Asiaticâ prædâ. Nec pudet <sup>21</sup> profundo ventre devictarum gentium spolia circumferentes, reverti velle ad liberos conjugesque, quibus pauci præmia victoriae potestis ostendere. Nam cæterorum, dum etiam spei vestræ obviâ itis, arma quôque pignori sunt. <sup>22</sup> Bonis verò militibus caritatus sum, pellicum suarum concubinis; quibus hoc solum extantis opibus superest, in quod impenditur."

"Proindè fugientibus me pateant limites. Facessite hinc ocium. Ego cum Persis abeuntium terga tutabor. Neminem teneo: liberate oculos meos, ingratissimi cives. Læti vos excipient parentes liberique, sine vestro Rege redeuntes! obviâ ibunt desertoribus transfugisque! Triumphabo meherculè de fugâ vestrâ: et ubicumque ero, <sup>23</sup> expetam pœnas, hos, cum quibus me relinquitis, colendo, præferendoque vobis. Jam autem sociis, et quantum sine Rege valeat exercitus, et quid opis in me uno sit." Desiluit deindè frendens de tribunal, et in medium armatorum agmen se immisit; notatosque, qui ferocissimè oblocuti erant, singulos manu corripuit:

nec ausos repugnare, tredecim asservandos custodibus corporis tradidit.

III. 9. Quis crederet sœvam paulò antè concionem obtorpuisse subito metu? et, <sup>1</sup> cùm ad supplicium videret trahi, nihil ausos graviora quām cæteros;

[<sup>2</sup> tam effusam antea licentiam, atque seditionem militum violentiam ita compressam, ut non modò nullus ex omnibus irruenti Regi restiterit; verùm etiam cuncti pavore examinati attonitis similes, quid de ipsis quōd Rex statuendum censeret, suspensā mente expectarent? <sup>3</sup> Itaque],

sive nominis, quod gentes quæ sub Regibus sunt inter Deos colunt, sive propria ipsius veneratio, sive fiducia tantà vi exercecentis imperium, conterruit eos, singulare certè ediderunt patientiæ exemplum; adeoque non sunt accensi suppicio commilitonum, cùm sub noctem interfectos esse nōssent, ut nihil omiserint, quod singuli magis obedienter ac piè facerent. Nam cùm postero die prohibiti aditu venissent, Asiaticis modò militibus admissis, lugubrem totis castris edidère clamorem, denunciantes se protinus esse morituros, si Rex perseveraret irasci. At ille pervicacis ad omnia, quæ agitasset, animi, peregrinorum militum concionem advocari jubet, Macedonibus intra castra cohibus; et cùm frequentes cofissent, adhibito interprete, talem orationem habuit:

10. "Cùm ex Europâ trajicerem in Asiam, multas nobiles gentes, magnam vim hominum imperio meo me additurum esse sperabam. Nec deceptus sum, <sup>4</sup> quod de his credidi famæ. Sed ad illa hoc quōd accessit, quōd video fortis viros erga Reges suos pietatis invictæ. Luxu <sup>5</sup> omnia fluere credideram, et nimia felicitate mergi in voluptates. At herculè munia militiæ hoc animorum corporumque robore impigrè toleratis; et cùm fortes viri sitis, non fortitudinem magis quām fidem colitis. Hoc ego nunc primùm profiteor, sed olim scio. Itaque et delectum e vobis juniorum habui, et vos meorum militum corpori immiscui. Idem habitus, eadem arma sunt vobis. Obsequium verdè et patientia imperii longè præstantor est quām cæteris. Ergò ipse Oxatris Persæ filiam

mecum in matrimonio junxi, non dedignatus ex captivâ liberos tollere. <sup>1</sup> Mox deindè cùm stirpem generis mei latiùs propagare cuperem, uxorem Darii filiam duxi; proximisque amicorum auctor fui, ex captivis generandi liberos, ut hoc sacro fœdere omne discriminem victi et victoris excluderem. Proindè genitos esse vos mihi, non ascitos milites, credite. **Asiss** et Europæ unum atque idem regnum est; Macedonum vobis arma do. Inveteravi peregrinam novitatem: et cives mei estis et milites. Omnia eumdem ducunt colorem. Nec Persis Macedonum mores adumbrare, nec Macedonibus Persarum imitari indecorum est. Eiusdem juris esse debent, qui sub eodem Rege <sup>2</sup> victuri sunt.”

[Hac oratione habitâ, Persis corporis sui custodiam creditit. Persas satellites, Persas apparitores fecit. Per quos cùm Macedones, qui huic seditioni occasionem dedissent, vinciti ad supplicia traherentur, unum ex iis auctoritate et aestate gravem, ad Regem ita locutum ferunt.]

IV. 11. “Quousque,” inquit, “animo tuo, etiam per supplicia, <sup>1</sup> et quidem externi moris, obsequeris? Milites tui, cives tui, incognitâ causâ, captivis suis ducentibus, trahuntur ad poenam. Si mortem meruisse judicas, saltem ministros supplicii muta.” <sup>2</sup> Amico animo, si veri patiens fuisset, admonebatur. Sed in rabiem ira pervenerat. Itaque rursus (nam parumper, quibus imperatum erat, dubitaverant) mergi in amnem, sicut vinciti erant, jussit. Ne hoc quidem supplicium seditionem militum movit. Namque copiarum duces atque amicos ejus manipuli adeunt; petentes, ut si quos adhuc prisina noxâ judicaret esse contactos, juberet interfici. Offerre se corpora iræ, <sup>3</sup> trucidaret.

[Tandem constantiâ suâ vicerunt regem, ut ad se prodiret, et reconciliati animi certa signa ostenderet. Decem circiter millia veteranorum, quibus Craterus præfecit, stipendiis donisque auctos in patriam dimisit; literis ad Antipatrum datis, quibus honorem emeritis habere præcepit, ut in primis ordinibus et coronati ludos spectarent, et liberi demortuorum in stipendia paterna succederent. Iisdem literis Antipatrum cum tironibus ad se vocavit, Cratero in locum ejus suffecto. Verebatur enim, ne discordia præfecti et Olympiadis reipublicæ damnum inferret; quippe mutuò ad regem criminati fuerant.

Persis quèque in supplementum lectis, quorum viginti millia Peucestas adduxerat, Susis rex Ecbatana profectus, Hephaestionem principem amicorum amittit, cuius casum immoderatè ferens, sumtuosissimas fieri exequias jussit, nec non, ut Deo, sacrificari. Hinc per Cossæorum gentem, liberam antea, et Persarum imperium aspernantem, Babyloniam proficiscitur, ubi multarum gentium legati ipsum expectabant. Cum cœ ab urbe stadiis abesset, monuerunt vates, ne intraret, quia periculum portenderetur; sed, ab Anaxarcho persuasus, contempsit præsagia ut vana et incerta. Auditis ergo legatis, et peractis quæ ad Hephaestionis funus, per Pallacopam fossam ad Arabum confinia navigavit, irridens Chaldaeos, qui periculum in urbe prædixerant, quam non modo feliciter ingressus esset, sed salvus etiam excessisset. Reversus Babylonem, ludis conviviisque interfuit, et cum ad Medium comediatum fasset, in morbum incidit, qui intra paucos dies ita invaluit, ut spes salutis nulla aut exigua superasset. Milites solicitudine anxii retineri non potuerunt, quin ultimò visuri regem in aulam irrumperent.]

V. 12. Intuentibus lacrymæ obortæ præbuere speciem jam non Regem, sed funus ejus, visentis exercitus. Mœror tamen circumstantium lectum eminebat. Quos ut Rex aspexit, "Invenietis," inquit, "cum excessero, dignum talibus viris Regem?" Incredible dictu, audituque, "in eodem habitu corporis, in quem se composuerat cum admissurus milites esset, durasse, donec a toto exercitu illud ultimum persalutatus est: dimissoque vulgo, velut omni vitæ debito liberatus, fatigata membra rejicit, propiusque adire jussis amicis (nam et vox deficere jam cooperat), detractum annulum digito Perdicæ tradidit, adjectis mandatis, ut corpus suum ad Hammonem ferri juberet. Quarentibusque, cui relinquaret regnum, respondit, ei qui esset optimus; caeterum providere jam se, ob id certamen magnos funebres ludos parari sibi. Rursus, Perdicæ interrogante, quando coelestes honores haberi sibi vellet? dixit, tum velle, cum ipsi felices essent. Suprema haec vox fuit Regis, et paulò post extinguitur. Ac primò ploratu, lamentisque, et planctibus tota regia personabat Mox, velut in vastâ solitudine, omnia tristi silentio muta torpebant, ad cogitationes, quid deinde futurum esset, dolore converso. Nobiles pueri, custodiæ corporis ejus assueti, nec doloris magnitudinem capere, nec seipsos intra vestibulum regis

nere potuerunt; vagique et furentibus similes, totam urbem  
u ac mœrore compleverunt; nullis questibus omissis, quos  
ali casu dolor suggerit.

13. Ergò qui extra regiam astiterant, Macedones pariter  
barique concurrunt, nec poterant victi a victoribus in com-  
uni dolore discerni. Persæ justissimum ac mitissimum do-  
num, Macedones optimum ac fortissimum Regem invocan-  
t certamen quoddam mœroris edebant. Nec moestorum  
im, sed etiam indignantium voces exaudiebantur, tam viri-  
i, et in flore ætatis fortunæque, invidiâ Deum eruptum  
e rebus humanis. Vigor ejus et vultus edacentis in pree-  
n milites, obsidentis urbes, evadentis in muros, fortes viros  
concone donantis, occurrabant oculis. Tum Macedones  
inos honores negâsse ei pœnitiebat; impiosque et ingratos  
sse se confitebantur, quod aures ejus debitâ appellatione  
udâssent. Et cùm diu nunc in veneratione, nunc in de-  
orio Regis hæsissent, in ipsos versa miseratio est. Mace-  
diâ profecti ultrâ Euphratem mediis hostibus novum im-  
ium aspernantibus, destitutos se esse cernebant: sine certo  
gis hærede, publicas vires ad se quemque tracturum. Bella  
ndè civilia, quæ secuta sunt, mentibus augurabantur.  
rum non de regno Asiæ, sed de Rege, ipsis sanguinem  
e fundendum. Novis vulneribus veteres rumpendas cicaces.  
Senes debiles, modò petitâ missione a justo Rege,  
ne morituros pro potentia forsitan satellitis alicujus igno-  
is.

14. Has cogitationes volventibus, nox supervenit, terrorem  
e auxit. Milites in armis vigilabant, Babylonii, aliis e  
iris, alius culmine sui quisque tecti, prospectabant, quasi  
rtiora visuri. Nec quisquam lumina audebat accendere.  
quia oculorum cessabat usus, fremitus vocesque auribus  
ptabant. Ac plerumque vano metu territi, per obscuras  
mitas alius alii occursantes, invicem suspecti et solliciti fere-  
ntur. Persæ, comis suo more detonsis, in lugubri veste  
in conjugibus ac liberis, non ut victorem, et modò hostem,  
d ut gentis suæ justissimum Regem, vero desiderio luge-

bant. Assueti sub Rege vivere, non alium, qui imperaret ipsis, digniorem fuisse confitebantur. Nec muris urbis luctus continebatur, sed proximam regionem ab eâ, deinde magnam partem Asie cis Euphratem tanti mali fama pervaserat. Ad Darii quòque matrem celeriter perlata est. Abscissa ergo veste, quâ induita erat, lugubrem sumpsit: laceratisque crinibus, humili corpus abjecit. Assidebat ei <sup>10</sup> altera ex neptibus, nuper amissum Hephaestionem, cui nupserat, lugens; propriasque causas doloris in communi mœstitiâ <sup>11</sup> retractabat. Sed omnium suorum mala Sysigambis una capiebat. Illa suam, illa neptium vicem flebat. Recens dolor etiam præterita revo-  
caverat. Crederes modò amissum Darium, <sup>12</sup> et pariter misere-  
duorum filiorum exequias esse ducendas. Flebat mortuos  
simul vivosque. Quem enim puellarum acturum esse curam? Quem alium futurum Alexandrum? Iterum esse se captas;  
iterum excidisse regno. Qui mortuo Dario ipsas tueretur,  
reperisse: qui post Alexandrum respiceret, utique non re-  
perturas. Subibat inter hæc animum, octoginta fratres suos  
eodem die ab Ocho sævissimo Regum trucidatos, adjectumque  
stragi tot filiorum patrem. E septem liberis, quos genuisset  
ipsa, <sup>13</sup> unum superesse: ipsum Darium floruisse paulisper,  
ut crudelius posset extingui. Ad ultimum dolori succubuit,  
obvolutoque capite assidentes genibus suis neptem nepotemque  
aversata, cibo pariter abstinuit et luce. Quinto, postquam  
mori statuerat, die extincta est. <sup>14</sup> Magnum profectò Alex-  
andri indulgentiæ in eam, justitiæque in omnes captivos docu-  
mentum est mors hujus: quæ cùm sustinuissest post Darium  
vivere, Alexandro esse superstes erubuit.

15. Et herculè <sup>15</sup> justè æstimantibus Regem liquet, bona  
naturæ ejus fuisse; virtus vel fortunæ, vel ætatis. Vis incre-  
dibilis animi; laboris patientia propemodum nimia; fortitudo  
non inter Reges modò excellens, sed inter illos quòque, quo-  
rum hæc sola virtus fuit; liberalitas sæpè majora tribuentis,  
quæ a Diis petuntur; clementia in devictos; tot regna aut  
reddita, quibus ea Dempserat bello, aut dono data; mortis.  
cujus metus cæteros exanimat, perpetua contemptio; <sup>16</sup> glorie

lisque ut justo major cupido, ita ut juveni et in tantis ad-  
tenda rebus; jam pietas erga parentes, quorum Olympiada  
mortalitati consecrare deoreverat, Philippum ultus erat; jam  
omnes fere amicos benignitas, erga milites benevolentia;  
insilium par magnitudini animi; et quantum vix poterat  
s ejus capere, solertia; modus immodicarum cupiditatum;  
eneris intra naturale desiderium usus, nec ulla, nisi ex per-  
so voluptas; <sup>10</sup> ingentes profectò dotes erant. <sup>11</sup> Illa for-  
se: Diis æquare se, et cœlestes honores accersere, et talia  
dentibus oraculis credere; et deditantibus venerari ipsum  
ementius, quam par esset, irasci: in externum habitum  
tare corporis cultum: imitari deviotarum gentium mores,  
et ante victoriam spreverat. Nam iracundiam et cupidinem  
i, sicuti juventa irritaverat, ità senectus mitigare potuisset.  
endum est tamen, cùm <sup>12</sup> plurimum virtuti debuerit, plus  
uisse fortunæ, quam solus omnium mortalium in potestate  
uit. Quoties illum a morte revocavit? quoties temerè in  
icula vectum perpetuâ felicitate proterit? Vite quoque  
in eudem illi, quem gloriæ, statuit. <sup>13</sup> Expectavére eum  
i, dum Oriente perdomito, aditoque Oceano, quidquid mor-  
tas capiebat, impleret. Huic Regi Ducique successor quære-  
ur. Sed major <sup>14</sup> moles erat, quam ut unus subire eam pos-  
set. Itaque nomen quôque ejus, et fama rerum, in totum pro-  
nodum orbem Reges ac regna diffudit: clarissimique sunt  
igit, <sup>15</sup> qui etiam minimæ parti tantæ fortunæ adhæserunt.

VI. 16. Cæterum Babylone (indè enim divertit oratio)  
poris ejus custodes, in regiam principes amicorum, ducesque  
iarum advocavére: secuta est militum turba, cupientium  
re, in quem Alexandri fortuna esset transitura. Multi  
ces, frequentiâ militum exclusi, regiam intrare non poterant;  
in præco, <sup>1</sup> exceptis qui nominatim citarentur, adire prohib-  
et. Sed <sup>2</sup> precarium spernebatur imperium. Ac primùm  
latus ingens ploratusque renovatus est. Deindè futuri ex-  
statio inhibitis lacrymis silentium fecit. Tunc Perdiccas,  
já sellâ in conspectum vulgi datâ, in quâ diadema vestisque  
alexandri cum armis erant, annulum, sibi pridiè traditum a

Rege, in eādem sede pesuit: quorum aspectu rursus obortee omnibus lacrymæ integravère luctum. Et Perdiceas, "Ego quidem," inquit, "annulum, quo ille regni atque imperii vires obsignare erat solitus, traditum ab ipso mihi, reddo vobis. Cæterū quanquam nulla clades huic, quā affecti sumus, par ab iratis Diis excogitari potest; tamen magnitudinem rerum, quas egit, intuentibus credere licet, 'tantum virum Deos accommodassè rebus humanis, quarum sorte completa, citò repererent eum suæ stirpi. Proindè quoniam nihil aliud ex eo superest, quād quod semper ab immortalitate subducitur, corpori nominique quamprimum justa solvamus, haud obliti in quā urbe, inter quos simus, quali Rege ac Præside spoliati. Tractandum est, commilitones, cogitandumque, 'ut victoriam partam inter hos, de quibus parta est, obtinere possimus. Capite opus est. Hocine uno, an pluribus, in vestrā potestate est. Illud scire debetis, militarem sine duee turbam corpus esse sine spiritu. Sextus mensis est, ex quo Roxane prægnans est. Optamus, ut marem enitatur: ejus regnum Diis approbantibus futurum, quando adoleverit. Interim a quibus regi velitis, destinate." Hæc Perdiccas.

17. Tum Nearchus, Alexandri modò sanguinem ac stirpem regiæ majestati convenire, neminem ait posse mirari: 'cæterū expectari nondum ortum Regem, et qui jam sit, præteriri, nec animis Macedonum convenire, nec tempori rerum: esse e Barsine filium Regis, huic diadema dandum. Nulli placebat oratio. Itaque suo more hastis scuta quatientes, obstrepere perseverabant. Jamque propè ad seditionem pervenerant, Nearcho pervicaciùs tuente sententiam. Tum Ptolemæus, "Digna prorsùs est soboles," inquit, "quæ Macedonum imperi genti, Roxanes vel Barsines filius! cujus nomen quòdque Europam dicere pigebit, majore ex parte captivi. Cur Persas vicerimus, ut stirpi eorum serviamus? quod justi illi Reges Darius et Xerxes tot millium agminibus tantisque classibus nequicquam petiverunt. Mea sententia hæc est, ut sede Alexandri in regiâ positâ, qui consiliis ejus adhibebantur, coēant, quoties in commune consulto opus fuerit:

etque, quod major pars eorum decreverit, stetur: duces, effectique copiarum his pareant." Ptolemæo quidam, potes Perdicæ assentiebantur. Tum Aristonus ortus est cere, Alexandrum consultum, cui relinquaret regnum, volue optimum deligi: judicatum autem ab ipso optimum, Perdicam, cui annulum tradidisset. Neque enim unum eum sedisse morienti, sed circumferentem oculos, ex turbâ amirum delegisse cui traderet. Placere igitur, summam imrii ad Perdiccam deferri. Nec dubitavere, quin vera ceneret. Itaque universi procedere in medium Perdiccam, et egis annulum tollere jubebant. Hærebat inter cupiditatem idoremque, et quod modestius quod expectabat, appeteret, rvicaciū oblaturos esse credebat. Itaque cunctatus, diuine quid ageret incertus, ad ultimum tamen recessit, et est eos, qui sederant proximi, constitit. At Meleager unus ducibus, confirmato animo, quem Perdicæ cunctatio erexit, "Neo Dii siverint," inquit, "ut Alexandri fortuna, utique regni fastigium in istos humeros ruat. Homines certe non ferent. <sup>11</sup> Nihil dico de nobilioribus quam hic est, id de viris tantum, quibus invitis nihil perpeti necesse est. Nec verò interest, Roxanes filium, quandocumque genitus erit, <sup>12</sup> Perdiccam Regem habeatis, cum iste sub tutelæ specie agnum occupatus sit. Itaque nemo ei Rex placet, nisi in nondum natus est. Et in tantâ omnium festinatione, non usqâ modò sed etiam necessariâ, <sup>13</sup> exactos menses solus exceptat, et jam divinat marem esse conceptum; <sup>14</sup> quem vos ubitatis paratum esse vel subdere? Si mediùs fidiùs Alexander hunc nobis Regem pro se reliquisset, id solum ex his uæ imperasset, non faciendum esse censerem. Quin igitur diripiendos thesauros discurritis? harum enim opum egiarum utique <sup>15</sup> populus est hæres." Hæc elocutus, per iedios armatos erupit. Et qui abeunti viam dederant, ipsum d pronunciataam prædam sequebantur.

VII. 18. Jamque armatorum circa Meleagrum frequens lobus erat, in seditionem ac discordiam versâ concione: cum uidam plerisque Macedonum ignotus ex infimâ plebe, "Quid

*opus est,"* inquit, "armis civilique bello, habentibus Regem quem quæritis? Aridæus Philipo genitus, Alexandri paulò antè Regis frater, sacrorum caeremoniarumque consors modò, nunc solus haeres, præteritur a vobis. Quo merito suo? quidve fecit, cur etiam gentium communi jure fraudetur? Si Alexandro similem quæritis, nunquam reperietis: si proximum, hic solus est." His auditis, concio primò silentium velut jussa habuit. Conclamant deinde pariter, Aridæum vocandum esse, mortemque meritos qui concessionem sine eo habuissent. Tum Python, plenus lacrymarum, orditur dicere: nunc vel <sup>1</sup>maximè miserabilem esse Alexandrum, qui tam bonorum civium militumque fructu et præsentia fraudatus esset: nomen enim memoriamque Regis sui tantùm intuentes, <sup>2</sup>ad cætera caligare eos. Haud ambiguè in juvenem, cui regnum destinabatur, impensa probra magis ipsi odium, quam Aridæo contemptum attulerunt. Quippè dum miserentur, etiam favere coeperunt. Igitur non alium se, quam eum, qui ad hanc spem genitus esset, regnare passuros, pertinaci acclamazione declarant, vocarique Aridæum jubent. Quem Meleager infestus, invisusque Perdicæ, strenuè perducit in Regiam, <sup>3</sup>et milites Philippum consulatum Regem appellant.

19. Cæterum hæc vulgi erat vox; principum alia sententia. E quibus Python consilium Perdicæ exequi coepit, tutoresque destinat filio ex Roxane futuro, Perdiccam et Leonatum stirpe regiā genitos. Adjecit, ut in Europâ Craterus et Antipater res administrarent. Tum jusjurandum a singulis exactum, futuros in potestate Regis geniti Alejandro. Meleager, haud injuriā metu supplicii territus, cum suis secesserat. Rursus Philippum trahens secum, irrupit in regiam, clamitans, suffragari spei publicæ, de novo Rege paulò antè conceptæ, robur ætatis: experientur modò stirpem Philippi, et filium ac fratrem Regum duorum: sibimetipsis potissimum crederent. Nullum profundum mare, nullum vastum fretum et procellosum tantos ciet fluctus, quantos multitudo motus habet, <sup>4</sup>utique si novâ et brevi duraturâ libertate luxuriat. Pauci Perdicæ modò electo, plures Philippo quam speraverat, imperium

bant. Nec velle, nec nolle quidquam diu peterant; poenitentia modò consili, modò poenitentia ipsius: ad ultimum men in stirpem regiam inclinavere studiis. Cesserat ex nacione Aridaeus principum auctoritate conterritus: et abente illo, conticuerat magis quam languerat militaris favor. aque revocatus, vestem fratris, eam ipsam, quae in sella usita fuerat, induitur. Et Meleager, thorace sumpto, capitma, novi Regis satelles. Sequitur phalanx hastis clypeos iatiens, expleturam se sanguine illorum, qui affectaverant hil ad ipsos pertinens regnum: in eadem domo familiaque imperii vires remansuras esse gaudebant: hereditarium imperium stirpem regiam vindicaturam: assuetos se nomen ipsum clere venerarique; nec quemquam id capere, nisi genitum ut egnaret.

20. Igitur Perdiccas territus conclave, in quo Alexandri orpus jacebat, obserari jubet. Sexcenti cum ipso erant specatores virtutis. Ptolemæus quodque se adjunxerat ei, puerorum regia cohors. Cæterum haud difficulter a tot millibus armatorum claustra perfracta sunt. Et Rex quodque irruperat, tipatus satellitum turbam, quorum princeps erat Meleager. ratusque Perdiccas hos, qui Alexandri corpus tueri vellent, evocat: sed qui irruperant, eminūs tela in ipsam jaciebant: nullisque vulneratis, tandem seniores, demptis galeis quod aciliis nosci possent, precari, qui cum Perdiocca erant, coepere, ut abstinerent bello, Regique et pluribus cederent. Primus Perdiccas arma depositus, cæterique idem fecere. Meleagro deinde suadente ne a corpore Alexandri discederent, insidiis locum quæri rati, diversâ regiæ parte ad Euphratem fugam intendunt. Equitatus, qui ex nobilissimis juvenum constabat, Perdiccam et Leonatum frequens sequebatur, placebatque excedere urbe et tendere in campis. Sed Perdiocas ne pedites quidem secuturos ipsum desperabat. Itaque, ne abducendo equites abrupisse a cætero exercitu videretur, in urbe substituit.

VIII. 21. At Meleager Regem monere non destitit, jus imperii Perdicce morte sanciendum esse; ni occupetur impo-

tens animus, res novaturum: meminisse<sup>1</sup> eum, quid de Rego  
meruisset: <sup>1</sup>neminem autem ei satis fidum esse, quem metuat.  
Rex patiebatur magis, quam assentiebatur. Itaque Meleager  
silentium pro imperio habuit; misitque Regis nomine qui  
Perdiccam accerserent. Isdem mandatum ut occiderent, si  
venire dubitaret. Perdiccas, nunciato satellitum adventu  
sexdecim<sup>2</sup> omnino pueris regiae cohortis comitatus in limine  
domus suae constitut, <sup>2</sup>castigatosque, et Meleagri mancipia  
identidem appellans, sic animi vultusque constantia terruit,  
ut vix mentis compotes fugerent. Perdiccas pueros jussit  
equos conserdere; et cum paucis amicorum ad Leonatum  
peruenit, jam firmiore praesidio vim propulsaturus, si quis in-  
ferret. Postero die indigna res Macedonibus videbatur, Per-  
diccam ad mortis periculum adductum; et Meleagri temerita-  
tem armis ultum ire decreverant. Atque illi cum Regem  
adissent, interrogare-eum coepere, an Perdiccam comprehendi  
ipse jussisset. Ille, Meleagri instinctu se jussisse, respondit.  
Caeterum non debere tumultuari eos: Perdiccam enim vivera.  
Igitur concione dimissa, Meleager equitum maximè defectione  
perterritus, inopsque concilii (quippe in ipsum periculum reci-  
derat, quod inimico paulò ante intenderat), triduum ferè con-  
sumpsit, incerta consilia volvendo. Et pristina quidem regiae  
species manebat. Nam et legati gentium Regem adibant, et  
copiarum duces aderant, et vestibulum satellites armataque  
compleverant. Sed<sup>3</sup> ingens sua sponte mœstitia ultimæ des-  
perationis index erat; suspectique invicem, non adire pro-  
pius, non colloqui audiebant: secretas cogitationes intra se  
quisque volentes; et ex comparatione Regis novi desiderium  
excitabatur amissi. Ubi ille esset, cuius imperium, cuius aus-  
picium secuti erant, requirebant. Destitutos se inter infestas  
indomitasque gentes, expedituras tot cladium suarum poenas,  
quandocumque oblata esset occasio. His cogitationibus ani-  
mos exedebant, cum annunciatur, equites qui sub Perdicca  
essent, occupatis circa Babylonem campis, frumentum, quod  
in urbem invehebatur, retinuisse. Itaque inopia primùm,  
deinde fames esse coepit. Et qui in urbe erant, aut recon-

iandam gratiam cum Perdicca, aut armis certandum esse  
nsebant.

22. Fortè ita acciderat, ut qui in agris erant, populationem  
larum viororumque veriti, confugerent in urbem; oppidani,  
in ipsos alimenta deficerent, urbe excederent; et utrique  
neri tutior aliena sedes, quam sua, videretur. Quorum con-  
ernationem Macedones veriti, in regiam coēunt, quæque ipso-  
m sententia esset, exponunt. Placebat autem legatos ad  
uites mitti, de finiendâ discordiâ, armisque ponendis. Igitur  
Rege legatur Pasas Thessalus, et Amissas Megalopolitanus,  
Perilaüs. Qui cùm mandata Regis edidissent; non aliter  
situeros arma equites, quam si Rex discordiæ auctores dedis-  
t, tulere responsum. His renunciatis, suā sponte milites  
ma capiunt. Quorum tumultu e regiâ Philippus excitus,  
Nihil," inquit, "seditio est opus: nam inter se certantium  
æmia, qui quieverint, occupabunt. Simul mementote rem  
se cum civibus, quibus spem gratiæ citò abrumpere, ad bel-  
m civile properantium est. Alterâ legatione, an mitigari  
ssint, experiamur: et credo, nondum Regis corpore sepulto,  
l præstanta ei justa omnes esse coituros. Quod ad me  
tinet, reddere hoc imperium malo, quam exercere civium san-  
nine. Et si nulla alia concordiæ spes est, oro quæsoque,  
igite potiorem." Obortis deindè lacrymis, diadema detrahit  
spiti, dextram, quâ id tenebat, protendens, ut, si quis se  
igniorém profiteretur, acciperet. Ingentem spem indolis,  
ite eum diem fratris claritate suppressam, ea moderata ex-  
tavit oratio. Itaque cuncti instare cooperunt, ut quæ agitâ-  
st, exsequi vellet. Eosdem rursus legat, petituros, ut Mele-  
agrum tertium ducem acciperent. Haud ægrè id impetratum  
st. Nam et abducere Meleagrum Perdiccas a Rege cupiebat,  
t unum duobus <sup>imparum</sup> futurum esse censebat. Igitur Me-  
leagro cum phalange obviam egresso, Perdiccas equitum tur-  
nas antecedens occurrit. Utrumque agmen mutuâ salutatione  
ictâ coit, in perpetuum (ut arbitrabantur) concordiâ et pace  
rmata.

IX. 23. Sed jam fatis admovebantur Macedonum genti

bella civilia. <sup>1</sup> Nam et insociabile est regnum, et a pluribus expetebatur. Primùm ergo collegere vires, deinde disperserant; et, cùm pluribus corpus, quām capiebat, onerassent, cætera membra deficere cœperunt: quodque imperium sub uno stare potuisset, dum a pluribus sustinetur, ruit. <sup>2</sup> Proindè jure meritoque populus Romanus salutem se <sup>3</sup> principi suo debere profitetur; cui noctis, quam penè supremam habuimus, novum sidus illuxit. <sup>4</sup> Hujus herculè, non solis, ortus, lucem caliganti reddidit mundo, cùm sine suo capite discordia membra trepidarent. Quot ille tum extinxit faces! quot condidit gladios! quantam tempestatem subitā serenitate discussit! Non ergò revirescit solum, sed etiam flet Imperium. <sup>5</sup> Absit modò invidia, excipiet hujus sæculi tempora, ejusdem domûs, utinam perpetua, certè diurna posteritas. Cæterùm, ut ad ordinem, a quo me contemplatio publice felicitatis averterat, redeam; Perdiccas unicam spem salutis sue in Meleagri morte deponebat: vanum eundem et infidum, celeriterque res novaturum, et sibi maximè infestum, occupandum esse. Sed altâ dissimulatione consilium premebat, ut oppimeret incautum. Ergò clam quosdam ex copiis, quibus præerat, subornavit, ut quasi ignoraret ipse, conquererentur palam, Meleagrum <sup>6</sup> æquatum esse Perdicce. Quorum sermone Meleager ad se relato, furens irâ, Perdicce, quæ comperisset, exponit. Ille, velut novâ re exterritus, admirari, queri, dolentisque speciem ostentare ei cœpit. Ad ultimum convenit, ut comprehendenterentur tam seditiosæ vocis auctores. Agit Meleager gratias, amplexusque Perdiccam, fidem ejus ipse ac benevolentiam collaudat. Tum communi consilio rationem opprimendi noxios ineunt. Placeat exercitum patrio more lustrari: et <sup>7</sup> probabilis causa videbatur praeterita discordia.

24. Macedonum Reges ita lustrare soliti erant milites, ut discissæ canis viscera ultimo in campo, in quem deduceretur exercitus, ab utrâque abjicerentur parte: intra id spatium armati omnes starent; hinc equites, illinc phalanx. Itaque eo die, quem huic sacro destinaverant, Rex cum equitibus

phantisque constituerat <sup>9</sup> contra pedites, quaeis Meleager pre-t. Jam equestre agmen movebatur, et pedites subitis for-line ob recentem discordiam, <sup>10</sup> haud sanè pacati quidquam pectantes, parumper addubitavere, an in urbem subducerent vias: quippe <sup>11</sup> pro equitibus planities erat. Cæterum iti, ne temerè commilitonum fidem damnarent, substitere, separatis ad dimicandum animis, si quis vim inferret. Jam nina coibant, parvumque intervallum erat, quod aciem amque divideret. Itaque Rex cum una alia obequitare litibus cepit, discordie auctores, quos tueri ipse debebat, tinctu Perdicœ ad supplicia deposcens: minabaturque nes turmas cum elephantis inductarum se in recusantes. Apebant improviso malo pedites: nec plus in ipso Meleagro it aut consilii aut animi. <sup>11</sup> Tutissimum ex præsentibus lebatur, expectare potius quam movere fortunam. Tum Perdiccas, ut torpentes et <sup>12</sup> obnoxios vidit, trecentos ferè, qui eleagrum erumpentem ex concione, que prima habita est post irtem Alexandri, secuti erant, a cæteris discretos, elephantis conspectu totius exercitus objicit; omnesque belluarum dibus obtriti sunt, nec prohibente Philippo, nec auctore; apparebatque, id modò pro suo vindicaturum, quod appro-sset eventus. Hoc bellorum civilium Macedonibus et ien, et principium fuit. Meleager, serò intellecta fraude Perdicœ, tum quidem quia ipsius corpori vis non afferebatur, agmine quietus stetit: at mox, damnata spe salutis, <sup>13</sup> cum us nomine quem ipse fecerat Regem, in perniciem suam videntes videret inimicos, confugit in templum. Ac, ne loci idem religione defensus, occiditur.

X. 25. Perdiccas, perduto in urbem exercitu, consilium incipum virorum habuit, in quo imperium ita dividi plauit, ut Rex quidem summam ejus obtineret, Satrapes Ptoleæus Ægypti et Africæ gentium, quæ in ditione erant. aomedonti Syria cum Phœnico data est; Philotæ Cilicia estinata: Lyciam cum Pamphyliâ et majore Phrygiâ <sup>14</sup> ob-nere jussus Antigonos. In Cariam Cassander, Menander in Lydia missi. Phrygiam minorem, Hellesponto adjunctam,

Leonati provinciam esse jusserunt. Cappadocia Eumeni cum Paphlagoniā cessit. Praeceptum est, ut regionem eam usque ad Trapezunta defenderet, bellum cum Ariarathē gereret. Solus hic detrectabat imperium. Pithon Median, Lysimachus Thraciam appositasque Thraciæ Ponticas gentes obtinere jussi. <sup>1</sup>Qui Indiæ, quique Bactris et Sogdianis, cæterisque, aut Oceani, aut rubri maris accolis præerant, quibus quisque finibus habuisset, imperii etiam jus obtineret. Decretum est, ut Perdiccas cum Rege esset, copiisque præcesset, quæ Regem sequebantur. Credidèr quidam testamento Alexandri distributas esse provincias, sed famam ejus rei (quāquam ab auctoribus tradita est) <sup>2</sup>vanam fuisse comperimus. Et quidem suas quisque opes, divisis imperii partibus, tuebantur, quas ipsi fundaverant, si unquam adversus immodicas cupiditates terminus staret. Quippe paulò antè Regis ministri, <sup>3</sup>specie imperii alieni procurandi, singuli ingentia invaserant regna, sublatis certaminum causis, cùm et omnes ejusdem gentis essent, et a cæteris, sui quisque imperii regione, discreti. Sed difficile erat eo contentos esse, quod obtulerat occasio: quippe sordent prima quæque, cùm majora sperantur. Itaque omnibus <sup>4</sup>expeditius videbatur augere regna, quām fuisse accipere.

26. Septimus dies erat, ex quo corpus Regis jacebat in solio; curis omnium ad formandum publicum statum a tam solemni munere aversia. Et non aliis quām Mesopotamiae regione fervidior æstus existit: adeò ut pleraque animalia, quæ in <sup>5</sup>nudo solo deprehendit, extinguat; tantus est vapor solis et cœli, quo cuncta velut igne torrentur. Fontes aquarum et rari sunt et incolentium fraude celantur. Ipsi usus patet, ignotus est advenis. <sup>6</sup>Ut tandem curare corpus exanimum amicis vacavit, nullâ tabe, ne minimo quidem livore corruptum vidère qui intraverant. <sup>7</sup>Vigor quòque, qui constat ex spiritu, non destituerat vultum. Itaque Aegyptii Chaldaeique jussi corpus suo more curare, primò non sunt ausi admovere, velut spiranti, manus: deindè precati ut jus fasque esset mortalibus attractare eum, purgavere corpus,

repletumque est odoribus aureum solium, et capiti adjecta fortunæ ejus insignia. Veneno necatum esse credidere plerique; filium Antipatri inter ministros, Iollam nomine, patris jussu dedisse. Sæpè certè audita erat vox Alexandri, Antipatrum regium affectare fastigium, "majoremque esse præfecti opibus; ac titulo Spartanæ victorïæ inflatum, omnia a se data asserentem sibi. Credebant etiam, Craterum cum veterum militum manu ad interficiendum eum missum. Vim autem veneni, quod in Macedoniâ gignitur, talem esse constat, "ut ferrum quðque exurat. Ungulam jumenti duntaxat patientem esse succi. Stygem appellant fontem, ex quo pestiferum virus emanat. Hoc per Cassandrum allatum traditum que fratri Iollæ, et ab eo supremæ Regis potionis inditum. "Hæc, utcumque sunt tradita, eorum, quos rumor asperserat, mox potentia extinxit. Regnum enim Macedoniæ Antipater, et Græciam quoque invasit. Soboles deinde exceptit, imperfectis omnibus, quicumque Alexandrum etiam longinquâ cognatione contigerant. Cæterum corpus ejus Ptolemæo, cui Ægyptus cesserat, Memphim, et indè paucis post annis Alexandriam translatum est, omnisque memorïæ ac nomini honos habetur.



## NOTES.

---

### LIBER III. CAP. I.

#### Note

1. *Et suas, &c.*—That is: Unpolluted by the mixture of any other streams.
2. *Nymphas*.—Certain inferior deities of the female sex, who presided over groves, fountains, rivers, mountains, &c., under various names as, *Dryades*, *Naiades*, *Oreades*, &c. To them thus Cowper beautifully alludes (Task, vi.):

“Him blind antiquity profaned, not served,  
With self-taught rites and under various names,  
Female and male, Pomona, Palea, Pan,  
And Flora, and Vertumnus; peopling earth  
With tutelary goddesses and gods  
That were not; and commanding, as they would,  
To each some province, garden, field, or grove.”

3. *Caduceatorem*, so called from the *Caduceus* or symbol of peace, which he bore when offering terms of peace to an enemy. The herald, who declared war, was called by the Romans, *Fecialis*.
4. *Ni dederent, &c.*—How much in the spirit of the highwayman's threat, “Your purse or your life.” While pondering over the career of such men as Alexander, Cæsar and Napoleon, we are often reminded of the sentiment of the poet

“One murder makes a villain, millions a hero.”

5. *Ad ultimum, &c.*—“That if matters came to extremities they,” &c.
6. *Inducias pacti, &c.*—Understand *profitentes*, or some similar word, after *pacti*, unless indeed *pacti* itself has a reciprocal meaning, referring both to the thing obtained and to the consideration given therefor.

## Note

7. *Supervenient inde legati*.—According to Arrian, these ambassadors met the king at Gordium.
8. *Pari intervallo*.—Our author's geographical statements are not always to be depended on. His ideas with respect to the position of the Sangarius, and the width of Asia Minor, as expressed in this and the following sentence, are very erroneous, as may be seen by consulting a good map.
9. *Utroque, sc. mari.*
10. *Committeret*.—We give the reading here as we find it; yet cannot avoid thinking that the word should be *committorentur*. The construction, according to the received text, sounds harsh; for *qua*, referring to *terram*, is then the subject of *committeret*, and the literal meaning of the passage would imply, that a piece of land can unite two seas. By making *maria* the subject of *committorentur* the difficulty is avoided.
11. *Notabilia*.—We understand here *negotium*, and translate: “The remarkable thing about it (the chariot) was the yoke, which was fastened,” &c.
12. *Quippe, &c.*.—The readings here vary very much; but the one in the text, when read in the following order, seems to give the sense of the author: *Quippe [rex] aggressus solvere seriem vinculorum ita adstrictam, ut posset percipi nec ratione nec viu unde nexus inciperet, quâve condenseret se, injecerat curam [Macedonibus], ne irritum incaptum verteretur in omen.*
13. *Nequaquam*.—We agree with Freinsheim in preferring this word to *nequicquam*, as more characteristic of Alexander, who was not the one to tarry long at untying a knot, while his good sword was at his side.
14. — *Tuta, sc. loca.*
15. *Liberaturos*, agreeing with *Amphoteron* and *Hegelochum*, and governing *Lesbum*, &c., with *præsidii*, as a verb of “depriving,” according to the grammars, though, in reality, *præsidii* is governed by a preposition.
16. *Talenta*.—The talent of silver was about \$1,056 of our money; the talent of gold, about \$10,555. Our author, when using the word without qualification, is supposed to refer to the talent of silver. See Tables at the end of Anthon's Classical Dictionary.
17. *Præsiderent*.—“Might act as a *præsidium* or defence.”
18. *In expedito*.—An idiomatic phrase, referring originally to the “disentanglement of the feet”; hence “freedom from obstacles,” “readiness.”

## LIB. III. CAP. II.

## Note

1. *Status ipse decernere*.—"Resolved to decide the contest in person."
2. *Circumdato, &c.*.—What a gloomy picture of the *butchery* of war does this passage present, where men are represented as *penned up*, as sheep for the slaughter.
3. *Quam pro numero*.—"Than in proportion to their actual number."
4. *Eques*.—A use of the singular for the plural, common in describing different kinds of troops. We find, in like manner, *miles* used to denote the whole body of the soldiery.
5. *Cetra*.—A small leathern buckler, used by some tribes in Spain, and supposed by the best authors to be of a rhomboidal shape.
6. *Egregii, ut inter illas gentes*.—"Distinguished warriors when measured by the standard of the nations around them."
7. *Millia Græcorum, &c.*.—The Greeks, like the Swiss of modern days, too often disgraced themselves by their mercenary disposition, which frequently led many of them to enlist in ranks opposed to their own countrymen. Williams (Life of Alexander, page 78, Harper's edition) well remarks: "It is difficult to sympathize with men, who for daily pay could be thus brought to array themselves against their fellow-countrymen, and to fight the battles of the barbarians against the captain-general of Greece."
8. *Rubri maris*.—The name, *Mare Rubrum* or *Erythraeum*, properly belongs to the inland sheet of water now known as the "Red Sea" or "Arabian Gulf." The ancients, however, applied the term to the whole extent of ocean washing the southern coasts of Asia. As to the origin of the appellation, learned men are now agreed that it was derived from a certain king Erythras or Erythrus (see Lib. viii. cap. ix. § 29), whom they suppose to have been no other than Esau the son of Isaac. From his selling his birthright for a mess of red pottage, he received the name of *Edom*, "Red"; and as his descendants were called *Edomites*, and settled on the borders of this sea, it was naturally called the Sea of Edom or the "Red Sea,"—the Greeks translating *Edom* by "Erythraeum," the Latins by "Rubrum." The opinion was formerly held by many ancient and modern writers that it derived its name from the colour of its waters, though they differed widely as to the cause of the "redness." The wash of the adjacent soil,—the reflection of the sun's rays from the neighbouring mountains,—the colour of the sand and plants at the bottom of this shallow sea,—have each been advocated as the source of the

**Note**

"redness." Time, however, has exploded all these theories and established the one first mentioned.

9. *Ipsi*, sc. *Dario*.
10. *Purpuratis*.—“Courtiers,” i. e. Those clothed in garments of that hue which for ages has been appropriated to sovereigns and their favourites.
11. *Satiens ei, &c.*.—“Whether he seemed well enough provided to annihilate the enemy!” *Obterendum* is a very strong word. It signifies, “to grind to pieces,” “to crush,” “to waste away by continual rubbing.”
12. *Verum, inquit, &c.* *Verum*: “The truth.” The aversion of tyrants to listen to the truth is well satirized in the following lines of Juvenal, referring to Domitian:

—*Quid violentius aure tyranni,  
Cum quo de pluvia, aut axibus aut nimbo  
Vere locuturi fatum pendedat amici?*

SAT. IV. 85.

13. *Quantum, &c.*.—“To such a degree, that those, who have not been eye-witnesses of it, can form no idea of it in their minds.”
14. *Torva—inculta*.—“Terrible” in their aspect,—“uncouth” in their habiliments.
15. *Cuneos*.—The wedge-like form of drawing up soldiers for an attack has often been successfully employed, both in ancient and modern times.
16. *Concerta robora*.—This expression savours more of Curtius, the rhetorician, than of Charidemus, the rough warrior. And here it is well to put the student in mind that the speeches, so often occurring in this work, are wholly imaginative on the part of the author, or at most, have but a slight foundation in fact. Other historians, both ancient and modern, have put speeches into the mouths of those introduced by them to the scene of action. Raderus justly says, “that in the eloquent character of his speeches, no one is equal to Curtius, certainly no one is superior.”
17. *Phalangem*.—This mode of arranging infantry in close file, marching in *lock step*, and uniting their shields together, so as to oppose an almost impenetrable mass to the onset of the enemy, was peculiar to the Macedonians. The phalanx generally bore the brunt of the action.
18. *Ad nutum monentis*.—This indicates a very high state of military discipline, equalled only by the manœuvres of modern soldiers, conducted by the tap of the drum.

## Notes

18. *Obsistere, &c.*—Critics differ widely as to the meaning of the military phrases here used, as well as to the true punctuation of the passage. *Obsistere*, according to Raderus, signifies “to press upon the enemy in one united mass,” while Freinsheim considers it equivalent to *consistere* “to halt.” *Circumire* literally, “To go around,” that is, “To out-flank” the enemy. *Discurrere in cornu*: “To strengthen the wings by reinforcements from the centre.” *Mutare pugnam*: “to change the ground,” that is: “to move in a body to a place more favourable for fighting.”
20. *Callent*.—This word literally signifies “to grow hard,” or “callous;” hence “to produce hardness” by continual use, like that of the palms of the hands; and, finally, “to acquire skill” by use and practice, “to know thoroughly.”
21. *Adhuc illa, &c.*—“Hitherto that high state of discipline has depended upon the schooling of poverty.”
22. *Quem occupant*.—“Which they find at hand;” more literally, “which they first lay hold of.”
23. *Tempora, &c.*—“The duration of sleep is more contracted than that of night.” That is: They are very early risers.
24. *Thessali equites*.—Thessaly was celebrated during many ages, for the excellence of its cavalry.
25. *Fundis*.—The sling appears to have been a weapon of offence from the earliest ages.
26. *Hastis igne duratis*.—A weapon resorted to by savage and barbarous nations, where the working of metals is unknown or but little attended to.
27. *Istud*.—Charidemus must be supposed to point with scorn to the gold so foolishly lavished on the arms and accoutrements of the Persian soldiers.
28. *Expetet, &c.*—“The very individual, against whom I have given you advice will inflict upon you the penalty incurred by despising my counsel.” *Expetere paenas* “to demand” or “require,”—hence, “to inflict punishment.”
29. *Licentia regni tam subito mutata*.—Charidemus here refers to that change of disposition so apt to be produced by the attainment of absolute power. Two striking instances will occur to the thoughtful student, the one from sacred, the other from profane history. Hazael and Nero became monsters of cruelty when advanced to an absolute throne. Compare Suetonius, (*Nero*), and O. T. (II Kings, viii. 12, &c.)

## LIB. III. CAP. III.

## Note

1. *Peregrinos milites*.—Chiefly the Greek mercenaries.
2. *Species imminentium rerum*.—“Visions of impending events.”
3. *Accerit*.—“Called them up.”
4. *Alexander, sc. visus est*.
5. *Quo ipse fruisset*.—That is: That Alexander appeared in the same dress which Darius wore, before he was made king, and which is called below *vulgaris*, that is: the common dress of the Persians.
6. *Oream distractarant*.—Literally, “Had drawn his anxiety into different directions;” that is: “Had distracted his mind with conflicting cares.”
7. *Quippe illustria, &c.*.—The order is: *Quippe castra Macedonum viva illustria portendere fulgorem Alexandro, quem, [sc. i. e. vatem] haud ambigere, occupaturum esse regnum, &c.*
8. *Ut fit*.—“As is usual.”
9. *Vatum responso*.—Of course this refers to those who interpreted the dream as “*lectum regi*.”
10. *Die jam illustri*.—“When the day began to dawn.”
11. *Imago solia*.—The Persians worshipped the sun as the source and emblem of fire. The worship of the heavenly bodies, as it is the most ancient, so it is the most plausible of all kinds of idolatry. Its antiquity is attested by the fact that it is the only false worship mentioned in the book of Job (xxxii. 26, &c.), and its plausibility is evident when we consider that it was natural for uneducated and barbarous tribes to view the sources of light and heat (appearing too, as they do, with the most attractive splendour) as beneficent deities.
12. *Magi*.—They were the chief priests of the nation, and the principal depositaries of learning. A delegation from their body (three in number, according to tradition) visited the infant Saviour.
13. *Diebus totius anni pares numero*.—The accuracy with which they assigned the proper number to the days of the year was to be expected from those who were probably the first to cultivate the science of astronomy.
14. *Regentes equos — rectores equorum*.
15. *Immortales*.—So called, according to most authors, because, if one fell in battle, his place was immediately supplied, so that there were never more nor less than ten thousand. They were composed of the bravest and most noble of the Persians.

## Note

16. *Manicatas tunicas*.—Tunics with long sleeves, which, by the ancient Romans, were considered very effeminate. Those who came into the presence of the Persian monarch, were required to cover their hands with long sleeves, as a precaution against assassination.
17. *Doryphori*.—An appellation derived from the long spear borne by them;—from their sometimes having a golden apple placed on the point of their spear, they were also called *Melophori*.
18. *Simulaora cubitalia*.—As these images were at least eighteen inches high, it has been supposed that they were hollow and of a light construction, to avoid overburdening the necks of the horses.
19. *Pinnae*.—Whence *pinions*, the wing feathers, as distinguished from *pennas*, the feathers of the body. The distinction, however, does not always hold good.
20. *Purpurea, &c.*.—That is: the general colour of the garment was purple, but the middle was relieved by a stripe of white.
21. *Kk gemnd*.—That is: “of several gema.” In like manner we say “of pearl,” meaning “of several pearls.”
22. *Cydarim*.—This head-dress was not peculiar to the king, except in the form of the *apex*, which, in his, rose to a conical point; in that of others, inclined towards the front.
23. *Armanazas*.—“Litters,” or “covered chariots.”
24. *Lixarum et calonum*.—“Sutlers and baggage slaves.”
25. *Nec turbd*.—The best interpreters apply this to the soldiers alone, and not to the camp followers: and this view of it seems to be justified by what is said below. *Ergo Alexandro, &c.*.—Our author is evidently contrasting the compact, well-armed, well-disciplined, though small body of the Macedonians, with the glittering, but confused and ill-disciplined multitude that followed the standard of Darius.

## LIB. III. CAP. IV.

1. *Castra Cyri*.—See Note 4, Lib. iv. Cap. vii.
2. *Stativa, sc. Castra*. In the same way *Hiberna*, *Hestiva*, &c., are used absolutely.
3. *Munimenta*, governed by *imitante*. May not Curtius have written *imitantes*, referring to *fauces*? and then *naturali sitz* would be the ablative of manner.
4. *Quondam* is to be referred to *salubre*; *serd*, to *statuit*.
5. *Fuit* in the sense of *fuisse*.
6. *Obtinere potuissent*.—“Might have retained possession.”

**Note**

7. *Perpetuo jugo montis asperi ac praecepti.*—“By an unbroken ridge of rough and craggy mountains.”
8. *Quod cùm, &c.*—“Which, taking its rise upon the sea coast and forming, as it were, a semicircular hollow by a gradual curve, again, at its other extremity, runs out upon a different part of the coast.”
9. *Campestris, &c.*—“The same (*i. e. Cilicia*) is level where it inclines towards the sea, numerous streams marking its surface.”
10. *Non spatio, &c.*—“Not by the volume of its waters but by their clearness.”
11. *Qui—turbent.*—“To disturb” or rather “to render turbid.”
12. *Multa riparum, &c.*—“Overshadowed by the abundance of rich foliage on its banks;” literally, “by the great pleasantness of its banks.”
13. *Ubique fontibus, &c.*—That is: Without changing its character during its course.
14. *Pylæ.—Gates.* A common appellation among the Greeks for narrow passes.
15. *Non aliâ.*—“On no other occasion.” See Note 1, Lib. iii. Cap. xii.
16. *Quaternos.*—The distributive numeral, here signifying, “four abreast.”
17. *Moniti, &c.*—That is: They were warned to be as cautious with regard to their movements in passing this defile, as if they were actually to engage in battle.
18. *Agmen.*—A column of troops on a march,—*acies*, the same body in battle array. A striking instance of the difference between these words may be seen in Cæsar’s *Com. de Bell. Gall.* (Lib. vii. c. vi. init.)
19. *Oui tum maximè, &c.*—“Just at the very time the Persians were setting fire to it.”

## LIB. III. CAP. V.

1. *Medium, sc. urbem.*
2. *Levi et parabili cultu corporis.*—Raderus, followed by Zumpt, refers these words to *the dress of the king*, but we can by no means agree with them, and prefer to consider the clause as alluding to the *cheap and ready bath* to which the king resorted in common with the meanest soldier. Perhaps Curtius wrote *vili*, instead of *levi*; though the latter word approaches near enough in sense to the other to make the supposition unnecessary.

## Note

3. *Ingressi*.—In the genitive.
4. *In tanto, &c.*.—“In the midst of such a rapid course of good fortune.”
5. *Victorem*.—In apposition with *Dorium*.
6. *Jam ut, &c.*.—“Grant now that,” &c. “Suppose that already,” &c. For this peculiar meaning of *ut*, see Leverett’s Lexicon.
7. *Eundem regem, &c.*.—“At once their king and fellow-soldier.”
8. *Animum autem, &c.*.—“Moreover the diseased state of his body pressed upon his mind, for,” &c.
9. *In Ciliciam fore*.—A use of the accusative not without precedent in the comic poets, and even in Cicero. Motion is undoubtedly implied.
10. *Articulo*.—“Juncture.”
11. *Tam superbas, &c.*.—Referring to the letter of Darius to his satraps, in which he ordered them to bring the mad son of Philip to him alive and in chains.
12. *Fortunam meam, &c.*.—“Held consultation with my evil fortune.”
13. *Arbitrio meo*.—“At my own discretion.”
14. *Me non tam, &c.*.—“That I seek a remedy, not so much to rescue me from death as to preserve me to finish this war.”
15. *Eoset in potestate, &c.*.—“That he would submit to the control of his physicians.”
16. *Quippe, &c.*.—These and similar statements are to be received with many grains of allowance, as we have no other authority for them than the Greek writers, whose truthfulness and impartiality are not always to be confided in.

## LIB. III. CAP. VI.

1. *Puero comes, &c.*.—The order is: *Datus [Alexandro] puero comes et custos salutis diligebat [eum] eximiâ charitate, non modò ut regem, sed etiam ut alumnum.*
2. *Strenuum*.—“Speedily efficacious.”
3. *Cujus pericula, &c.*.—“At whose risk the pledge was given.”
4. *Purpuratorum*.—See Note 10, Chap. ii.
5. *In utramque partem*.—“In either direction,” i. e., *to drink or not to drink*.
6. *Subjecerat*.—“Had suggested.”
7. *Ne immerito*.—“Not undeservedly” for despising the warnings of his friends.
8. *Haurit interritus: tum, &c.*.—Plutarch and Arrian relate that the letter was first handed to Philip, and that the king took the draught,

## Note

- while the former was reading. Valerius Maximus accords with the statement here given. Our author (Lib. VI., cap. X.) makes Philotas refer to this same incident.
9. *Conscientia*.—"Of a consciousness of innocence or guilt."—The king thought himself able to judge, by the expression of his countenance, whether he was innocent or guilty.
  10. *Amicula*.—"A light cloak," perhaps of a kind peculiar to physicians.
  11. *Semper quidem, &c.*.—Lit., "My breath has always indeed been dependent on thee, but now truly it is drawn from that sacred and honoured mouth of thine." That is: My own life has been always connected with the safety of thine, owing to the responsible station I hold as thy physician, but now truly does the continuance of it depend upon what thou hast just drunk, for, if fatal to thee, it will prove equally fatal to me.
  12. *Parricidi*.—This word, in its primary sense, denoted "the murder of a father," but it came afterwards to signify the killing, by an inferior, of a superior, whom he was under peculiar obligations to love and obey. Hence, also, it is applied figuratively to injury done to one's country. Here it may be rendered "regicide."
  13. *Si Dii, &c.*.—The order is: *Si Dii permisissent tibi, Philippe, experiri meum animum modo, quo maxime velles, profecto voluisse [experiri eum] alio [modo], sed ne optimes quidem certiorem [modum] quidam expertus es.*
  14. *Vixi odore*.—See O. T. (Job xiv., 9.)
  15. *Nam cum, &c.*.—"For since fortune every where attended him, his very rashness turned to glory."
  16. *Altas quoque, &c.*.—That is: Even his extreme youth, which seemed hardly capable of such great undertakings,—but proved abundantly adequate,—added lustre to all his achievements.

## LIB. III. CAP. VII.

1. *Junctoque eo*.—That is: The opposite sides of it.
2. *Mulcta*.—In modern phrase, "a contribution."
3. *Vota*.—"Vows," probably made by both the king and the army.
4. *Nuntius*.—This word signifies "a messenger," or "the news," of which he is the bearer. In this instance, as in the first line of this chapter, it has the latter meaning.
5. *Alteris castris*.—"After the second day's march." As the Romans encamped regularly every night when upon a march, it was natural

## Note

- for their writers to express time in military expeditions by the number of encampments.
6. *Deturbatis, sc. iis.*
  7. *Idem et auctor, &c.*—"At once the performer and informer of these successes."
  8. *Persas recentes, &c.*—"That fresh reinforcements would be constantly coming up to aid the Persians, if they were able [i. e., "permitted"] to take their stand in too spacious a place."
  9. *Sistens, &c.*—This, we believe, is the first instance of hasty and undue severity on the part of Alexander; followed, however, by too many others.
  10. *Exilium patriæ, &c.*—According to our own idiom we should say, "He exchanged the home of his fathers for a life of exile." The Latins, however, usually put the thing given up in the ablative, unless the preposition *cum* be used, as *mutare vestem cum vino*, "to exchange garments for wine."

*Cur vales permuto Sabind  
Divitias operostores.  
(Hor. Carm. III. 1, 47.) See Dr. Anthon's note.*

11. *Magno id ei, &c.*—For the construction of *ei* and *honori* after *fore*, see Anthon's Zumpt's Gram. (§ 422), and Adam's Lat. Gram. (Rule xxii.)
12. *Has literas.*—"This letter."
13. *Lectamque, &c.*—"And when he had read it he impressed upon it the seal," &c.

## LIB. III. CAP. VIII.

1. *Spatioseque, &c.*—Experience, that excellent instructor, seems to have found but indifferent pupils in the Persians: for whatever they had learned under her instructions at Thermopylæ and Salamis, of the necessity of "ample room and verge enough" for the evolutions of mighty hosts, was wholly lost before they engaged in the narrow defiles of Issus.
2. *Ancipitem, &c.*—This passage may be rendered more intelligible to the student by supplying some words and giving the following order: [Qui dicebant, i. e., the courtiers] *ancipitem fidem et proditionem venalem mercenariae imminentis [Persis] et [Gracis] velle copias dividi non ob aliud quam ut ipsi (Graci), digressi in diversea, tradarent Alexandro siquid (— quicquid) commissum esset [ipseis].*
3. *Quam deinde, &c.*—We prefer *quam* to *quem*, the common reading,

## Note

- because we think that if our author had used the latter word, he would have written *ex nationibus exteris*, and not the genitive plural as we find in the text.
4. *Neminem stolidum, &c.*—“That no one should expiate his unwise counsel by the loss of his head.” What a pity that Darius had not entertained such sentiments before he put Charidemus to death. Llorenius quotes here the following appropriate advice from Mæcenas to Augustus. “ You will cheerfully allow all to give their advice free from responsibility for the results. For, on the one hand, if the counsel of any one shall meet your approval, much advantage will thence accrue to you, while on the other hand, if it shall not please you, no harm will result from it. Should you reject the counsels of any, by no means disgrace or even find fault with them, but rather look to the good-will displayed by them in giving the advice, and not to the character of its results.”
  5. *Nec tamen, &c.*—“And yet those who gave the more prudent counsel, were not considered as possessing more fidelity” than the rest.
  6. *Famā bella stare.*—“That wars depend upon rumour.” That is: That wars are often affected in their results by rumours. See also Lib. ix. Cap. v. § 15. (*Pugnabat pro Rege, &c.*)
  7. *Absentiā sūd.*—“While he (Darius) was at a distance.”
  8. *Fortē cādem, &c.*—The two armies, by going through different passes, accidentally avoided each other, until, learning their mutual position, they wheeled about and faced each other in the battle, each with its front towards its own country.
  9. *Reverterentur.*—“Were returning.”
  10. *Incondita.*—“Undisciplined.”
  11. *Quod.*—The matter referred to by this relative follows in the next clause.
  12. *Nec injuriā, &c.*—“Nor did he without reason.”
  13. *Corpora, &c.*—“To attend to their physical wants.”
  14. *Signum tuđ.*—The signal by which the different watches of the night were made known to the soldiers.
  15. *Agmen—aciem.*—See Note 18, Lib. iii. Cap. iv.
  16. *Raptimque, &c.*—Cæsar (Com. de Bell. Gall. ii. 19, &c.) gives a very vivid description of his being rather unexpectedly called into action with the Nervii, but with results widely differing from those that befell Darius.
  17. *Unum.—Unius!*
  18. *A mari quoque, &c.*—“Ready to bring up other troops against

Note

the enemy from the direction of the sea, which protected his right wing."

19. *Destinata*.—The object of *discussit*. Cicero in a letter to his friend Lentulus (ad Fam. i. 8, Lamb. ed. 1584), expresses in striking language the tendency of mankind to praise or blame according to events. "Sed haec sententia et illi et nobis probabatur; ut ex eventu homines de tuo consilio existimaturos videremus; si cecidisset, ut volumus et optamus, omnes te, et sapienter, et fortiter,—sin aliquid esset offensum, eodem illos, et cupide et temere,—fecisses dicturos, \* \* \* \* judicium non tam ex consilio tuo quam ex eventu homines esse facturos."

## LIB. III. CAP. IX.

1. *Stetit*.—"Was formed."
2. *Subsidiae*.—"As reserves."
3. *Assueta*.—This participle, like the verb from which it is derived, is sometimes followed by the dative and sometimes by the ablative.
4. *Millia*, may be in the nominative in apposition with *acies* according to our own punctuation, or in the accusative, and governed by *ad* understood.
5. *Quidquid, sc. loci*.
6. *Cornuaque, dicitur*.—"While the wings *rested*, the one (the left) on the high ground; the other (the right), on the sea."
7. *Insederant*.—"Had posted themselves."
8. *Agrianos opposuit*.—Probably because they were from a mountainous region, and would be most likely to drive an enemy from an elevated position.
9. *Eaque res, dicitur*.—The order is: *Eaque res praestitit latus agminis tutum Alexandro, quod, timuerat, ne incessaretur superna*. The student will probably have observed that the distinction between *acies* and *agmen*, mentioned in a former note, is not always kept up in this description of the battle. In this very sentence *agminis* evidently means the extended line of battle, usually expressed by *acies*. As to *timuerat ne*, see Anthon's Zumpt's Gram. § 533.

## LIB. III. CAP. X.

1. *Clamorem*.—The custom of shouting upon engaging in battle is as natural as it is usual; and, while it tends to terrify the enemy, its reaction upon those shouting is favourable in raising the animal spirits, and thus exciting to more physical activity.

## Note

2. *Exercitus impar numero*.—“Not corresponding with the number of the army”; that is: The shout was louder than would have been expected from a body of men comparatively so small. For this shout’s being *major* than that of the Persians we may infer a reason from our author’s applying the word *inconditum*, “irregular,” (that is: “not all at once,”) to the shout of the Persians. The latter part of the sentence assigns the reason for *impar numero exercitus*.
3. *Quippe semper, &c.*.—Any reference to echo will scarcely fail to recall to the mind of the classical student the epithet, both concise and beautiful, which Horace (Carm. I. 12), bestows upon it.
4. *Suos inhibens, &c.*.—To prevent their exhausting themselves before the battle actually commenced, “lest,” as our author expresses it, “they should engage in the battle out of breath by a too quickened respiration, caused by overhaste.”
5. *Non ipsius, &c.*.—That is: It was not so much the authority of Alexander, as their own desire of fame and their wish to be avenged upon the Persians for the wrongs and indignities they had inflicted upon Greece, that induced the Macedonians to set out on the present war of conquest.
6. *Orbis liberatores*.—Why not *orbem liberatores*?
7. *Emonosque, &c.*.—“And having hereafter attained the limits,” &c.
8. *Macedonum*.—The genitive of possession, in connexion with the verb *fore*.
9. *Umbonibus*.—The *umbo* was a metallic point, (by some stated to be eight inches long), projecting from the centre of the shield, and was used in close combats to repel attacks. It is often translated by the English word “boss.” See O. T. (Job xv. 26.)
10. *Prædam, non arma*.—That is: Gilded arms, which would soon become their prey.
11. *Viri*.—“As men,” in contrast with “*imbellibus feminis*. For a striking instance of the distinction between *vir* and *homo* the student is referred to Cic. Tusc. Quæst. (II. 22).
12. *Mutarent*.—Here this verb governs the accusative of the thing given and the ablative of the thing received. See Note 10, Lib. iii. Cap. 7.

## LIB. III. CAP. XL

1. *Ad teli jactum*.—According to Vegetius the distance that a weapon, thrown by a machine, would reach, was about 575 feet.
2. *Quippe, &c.*.—The Persian monarchs placed great reliance on their cavalry.

## Note

3. *Duabus alis equitum*.—"Two squadrons of cavalry." The term *ala* is derived from their position on the sides or flanks of an army, like the wings of a bird. According to Raderus the *ala* contained 130 horse. Of course this number must have varied with different nations and in different ages.
4. *Occultè circumire, &c.*.—That is: To pass secretly around the rear of the Macedonian army and form a junction with Parmenio.
5. *Simul*.—For *Simul ac.*—"As soon as."
6. *In eodem concurrentia*.—"On their way to the same objects" Literally, "Running together to the same."
7. *Mucronea*.—*Mucro* means the point of any thing,—here of a sword. The combat was so close that they could use their swords in no other manner than by thrusting the point into the faces of their adversaries,—a mode of proceeding urged upon his soldiers by Julius Caesar at the battle of Pharsalia, in the well-known phrase, *Feri faciem, miles.*
8. *Collato pede, &c.*.—Supply *pedi*. "Foot brought against foot." That is: They fought man to man as in single combat.
9. *Opimum*.—This word has reference to the *spolia opima*, "which the commander-in-chief of a Roman army stripped in a field of battle from the leader of the foe." See Anthon's Smith's Antiq.
10. *Incitamentum*.—In apposition with *Darius*.
11. *In paucissimis*.—This phrase and the similar one "*in paucis*" are of frequent occurrence with our author. They cannot be literally translated, but their meaning may be expressed by the word "especially." We may here paraphrase the clause thus, "He had very few equals in courage, and in affection for the king."
12. *Adverso corpore, &c.*.—"Having received their wounds in front;" —which was considered honourable.
13. *Perstrictum est*.—"Was slightly wounded." "Was grazed."
14. *Ad hoc*.—"For the purpose." Aelian (Hist. Anim. vi. 48) says that a mare was employed on this occasion, and that her speed was accelerated by the remembrance of the foal she had left at home. Indeed, he goes so far as to say, that it was a usual custom with Darius, to have a number of mares ready for his sudden flights, their speed being hastened in a way similar to the one mentioned here.
15. *Adeò pavor, &c.*.—Literally, "So much does terror dread even its own protectors." That is: Those blinded by fear are apt to overlook that which would be of service to them.
16. *Cum Thessali dilapsi*.—"When the Thessalians, who had yielded

## Note

ground." We have ventured to alter the position of the word *dilapei*, as more accordant to the sense. The common reading places it after *equis*, which would have been well enough, had the word been *relopei*.

17. *Seris laminarum graves*.—"Encumbered with plate armour." It was no uncommon thing in ancient, as well as more modern times, for horses and riders to be clad in complete armour. See Anthon's Smith's Antiquities.

18. *Ayment quod celeritate, &c.*.—"With difficulty formed into column, a movement which depends upon celerity for its value." We would make *quod* refer to the whole statement and not to the single word *aymen*. This whole passage has been much *censured* by critics, and after all their labours it is by no means free from difficulties.

19. *Haud satis, &c.*.—That is: They were not routed but made an orderly retreat.

20. *Nec ulla facies, &c.*.—"Nor was any form of misery wanting." The picture here displayed has been too faithfully copied by nations calling themselves Christians, as Drogheda, Badajoz, Saragossa, &c., sadly testify.

21. *Tunc verò, &c.*.—"Then truly might be seen an instance of intolerable misfortune." For the successive shades of meaning in the word *impotens*, see Leverett's Lexicon.

22. *Formas pulchritudine*.—"By the beauty of her person."

23. *Laceratis, &c.*.—"With their hair dishevelled and their garments rent:"—the well-known marks of profound grief among Oriental nations.

24. *Veris quondam, &c.*.—"Titles that once were applicable but now no longer belonged to them."

25. *Casae sunt, &c.*.—The numbers here mentioned as slain are large, but seem small in comparison with the numbers that fell in the battle, between Abijah, King of Judah and Jeroboam, King of Israel. See O. T. (II. Chron. xiii. 17.)

## LIB. III. CAP. XII.

1. *Spes non erat*.—"Non may, in many cases, be adjectively translated by the word "no," as in the present instance. "There was no hope."

2. *Cultu*.—"Dress." The order is, *Namque unus e captis spadonibus, qui forte steterat ante ipsarum tabernaculum, agnovit amiculum, (quod Darius, sicut dictum est paulo ante, abjecerat, ne proderetur cultu,) in manibus ejus qui ferebat [id] repertum.*

## Note

3. *Armiger*.—Raderus, after remarking, that *armiger*, which originally denoted “one that bore the weapons” of his master (*Anglicæ, “Exquire”*), came afterwards to signify any heavy-armed soldier, says that the word in this place may admit of either sense.
4. *Actum esse*.—An idiomatic phrase, equivalent to the English one, “It was all over with them.” It occurs frequently in the comic poets. It is here explained by the exclamation of the attendants, “*adesse supremam horam.*”
5. *Itaque ut qua, &c.*.—This whole scene is beautifully described and yet with great simplicity. We can almost see the trembling forms of the pale, yet beautiful, ladies of the harem, as they look upon each other in-despair, expecting each moment to be their last.
6. *Irrupisse, &c.*.—They were not aware of the order he had given to the attendant to announce his coming.
7. *Provoluta*.—This word is expressive of the extreme humility of position assumed by Orientals on occasions like the present. Literally, “Rolled down before.” Something more is implied than mere falling on the knees, which would probably be the last resort of those from western nations. We refer to the generally prevailing custom. There were doubtless many exceptions on both sides. Cicero applies to himself the words *stratum* and *abjectum*, when speaking of his application to several individuals to prevent his banishment.
8. *Leonatus*.—Supply *respondit*.
9. *Justis*.—This word is used absolutely, to express “due ceremonies, whether military or funereal.” Here it is used in the latter sense. Sometimes *funobria* is expressed with it.
10. *Tabernaculum cum, &c.*.—Few of Alexander’s actions have gained him more applause than this visit to his captive queens, and his noble bearing while with them. Such manly and virtuous conduct only renders his subsequent cruelties and immoralities the more inexcusable as proceeding from one “who knew the right, and yet the wrong pursued.”
11. *Arbitor*, in its original sense, means “one who goes to view anything” that he may form an impartial judgment of its character. Hence, to be “a witness of,” “a participator in”; in this last sense it is used here.
12. *Non aliis*.—“No other.” See Note 1 of this chapter.
13. *Ut magis, &c.*.—“That it seemed rather to be accorded to the king than claimed by him.”
14. *Corporis habitu*.—“Personal appearance,” referring principally to his height, which was greater than that of Alexander.

## Note

15. *Suo more*.—That is: by prostration. See Note 7 of this chapter.
16. *Monstrantibus*.—Supply *quibusdam*.
17. *Nam et hic, &c.*.—That is: "He is my other self,"—implying the intimacy that subsisted between them. Alexander used to say of him, that he loved *Alexander*, but that Craterus loved *the king*.
18. *Equidem, si, &c.*.—Every reader will concur in the sentiment here expressed, and will feel the force of our author's remarks the further he proceeds in this interesting biography.
19. *Indicta causa*.—"Without a hearing."
20. *Superfuderat, &c.*.—"Had not overflowed his mind"; "Had not drowned" his better feelings.
21. *Ad ultimum, &c.*.—"At last he was incapable of enduring its greatness." That is: He could not withstand the temptations thrown in his way by constant success.
22. *Adeo ipse—ut*.—"He not only did not himself—but".
23. *Negque, &c.*.—"That no one should trifle with the persons of any of his captives." Zumpt has the following singular note, which is certainly abhorrent to the context: "*Should insult*; namely, by proposals to them to become traitors to Darius."
24. *Aequitate*.—Raderus succinctly contrasts the conduct of Alexander with that of Darius, in the following note. "*Darius Macedonas crudeliter vel mactavit, vel mutilavit, et hoc ante pralium Alexander totum ipsius gynaceum sacrosanctum servavit. Darius percussorem milles talentis in Alexandrum immittere conabatur, cum aeger Tarsi decumberat; hoc nunquam fecit Alexander, qui aperte semper virtute et Marte grossabatur ad gloriam. Praterea, ut ex epistola Alexandri ad Darium infra diices, parens Alexandri, Persarum impulse, ut ipsi gloriabantur, interfactus est,*" &c. Sisygambis had certainly good reason to draw a comparison between Alexander and her own son in favour of the former.
25. *Et praterita, &c.*.—"I am not carried away by the elevation of my former state, and am able to bear the yoke of present adversity." *Capio* is used in the same sense as *capit* above; see Note 21. *Pati jugum*, "to bear the yoke," is a figure of speech obviously taken from the patient endurance of the ox while under the yoke, and is frequently employed in Scripture. The most apposite instance occurs in Lamentations iii. 27. "It is good for a man to bear the yoke in his youth."
26. *Tud interest*.—Zumpt considers *tud* in the ablative; his translator, Schmitz, however, considers it an accusative for *tum*. See Anthon's Zumpt's Gram. § 449, and note. The passage may be ren-

Note

- dered thus: "It is of great importance to you, with regard to the degree of power you may be permitted to exercise over us, if you are willing [that you should be willing] that it should be testified rather by clemency than severity."
27. *Jusit*.—"Requested." This word is frequently used without any idea of positive command, as in the colloquial phrase, "*Jubeo te valere*," and in instances like the present.
28. *Hephæstionem intuens*.—"Addressing Hephaëstion." Literally, "Looking attentively at," but it may be frequently rendered as above.

## LIB. III. CAP. XIII.

1. *Ia*.—Namely, Parmenio.
2. *Eum*, sc. *Mardum*. Curtius here, as in many instances, uses *eum* for *se*.
3. *Comitibus*.—These were nominally "attendants," but, as appears by what follows, were intended to keep him in custody.
4. *Audebat*.—*Audentis* would seem more natural, as connected with *timentis*.
5. *Qui duces, &c.*.—"To act as guides," &c. See Anthon's Zumpt's Gram. § 567.
6. *Omnibus, &c.*.—"A crowd calculated to excite the compassion of all except him," &c.
7. *Viros—conjuges, liberos*.—These accusatives are in apposition with *prædam*.
8. *Abstrictas vestes*.—"Garments which they had tied up in bundlea."
9. *Cum fortuna, &c.*.—"Since the misfortunes of the king permitted even the lowest to indulge in liberties derogatory to him."
10. *Intentiore curd*.—"With great earnestness." The comparative may be used here to indicate, that he was more anxious than the result proved to be necessary.
11. *Justum præium*.—"A regular battle."
12. *Simul*.—The common reading is *simulans*, the force of which is already implied in *quasi et, &c.* *Simulato* and *annulans* have been substituted for it. Freinsheim and Schmieder strike it out altogether. We merely remove the last three letters.
13. *Facies*.—"A spectacle."
14. *Quippe, &c.*.—"For things, that had accumulated during so many years of a prosperity, remarkable even beyond belief, were at that

## Note

- time dragged forth, some having been torn by the bushes, others buried in the mud."
15. *Vixque, &c.*—"And there was scarcely any courtier's house that was exempt from so great a calamity."
  16. *Pecunias signatae.*—"Coined money." Probably golden Daricas. These coins are supposed to have originated with Darius Hystaspis, who, according to Herodotus, reformed the Persian currency. Hesychius says they bore the image of Darius;—but consult Anthon's Smith's Antiq. See also Lib. iii. Cap. i. Note 16.
  17. *Facti argenti.*—"Silver plate."
  18. *Credo, Regis, &c.*—"Having, I believe, a reverence for the king's majesty, even in that time of calamity."

## LIB. IV. CAP. I.

1. *Fugiebat.*—"Was fleeing."
2. *Eorum, sc. equorum.*
3. *Fore ipsius.*—"Would become his own."
4. *Per quem.*—"Through whese instrumentality."
5. *Imperata fecerunt.*—See Note 2, Lib. viii. Cap. i.
6. *Principes eum, &c.*—A similar instance of offence taken at the inscription of a letter occurs in the life of Washington. See Spark's Life of Washington, (page 171, Bost. 1839.)
7. *Postulabat—petebat. Peto, Postulo and Posco have been thus distinguished. Peto, "I ask as a favour." Postulo, "I demand as a right, and rightfully." Posco, "I require whether rightfully or wrongfully."* These distinctions, however, do not always hold good.
8. *Quantumcumque, &c.*—Digby translates thus, "As much money as all Macedonia *was worth*." A sense which *caperet* will hardly bear. We would prefer "As much as all Macedonia *was capable* of furnishing." That is: Darius was willing to pay an amount equal to the *yearly revenue* of the whole of Macedonia.
9. *Aequo—Marte.*—"In a fair fight," that is: Where he would have a fair field for the manœuvres of all his forces, and not be cramped in narrow passes as at Issus.
10. *Contentus patrio, &c.*—"That he should be contented with the dominion inherited from his father, and relinquish territories belonging to the empire of another."
11. *Maxime.*—"Substantially."
12. *Philippum, &c.*—The opinion generally prevalent among those

Note

versed in history is, that private revenge was the sole cause of Philip's death. Doubtless it was matter of rejoicing to the Persians, who were well aware of his designs upon their country. Alexander, however, is not the only conqueror, that has made use of unfounded assertions to justify his rapacity.

13. *Licitamini*.—"You put up at auction." "You expose to sale." "You set a price upon." That is: "You offer the highest rewards for the heads of your enemies." A dastardly course, and yet often thought justifiable in the case of rebels. Thus a price was set on the head of Washington, and, recently, on that of Kossuth, the Hungarian patriot.
14. *Proximè*.—"Very lately."
15. *Upote qui, &c.*.—"Inasmuch as thou art one who hast not," &c.
16. *Consulere victimæ*.—"To take measures for the benefit of the vanquished."
17. *Memento, &c.*.—This answer truly savours of the moral sublime, especially when it is considered that Alexander was in the midst of the enemy's country with a comparatively small army.
18. *Ipsæ, sc. Alexander*.
19. *Sidona*.—A Greek acc. sing.
20. *Darii opibus adjutus, &c.*.—Freinsheim suggests *addictus, et quia*, and the suggestion is favoured by many subsequent editors. It certainly gives a better sense than the reading in the text. Perhaps some words may have fallen out, and the whole passage may have conveyed this meaning; "Strato was reigning in that city, supported by the resources of Darius. *He nevertheless betrayed his trust and surrendered the city*; but because," &c. The words *deditio nem fecerat* certainly imply a previous mention of the fact.
21. *Eo fastigio*.—"That elevation."
22. *Hospites*.—*Hospes* may denote "the entertainer" or "the one entertained";—"the host" or "the guest." Here it signifies those with whom Hephaestion "took up his quarters."
23. *Negaverunt*.—It is often well, in translating, to transfer the negative, contained in this word, to the following verb, as in this instance, "Who declared that no one," &c. Again, *Negavit se venturum esse*, "He declared that he would not come."
24. *Macti*.—Some derive this word from *magis aucti*, others from an obsolete verb *mago*, whence also *magnus, magis, &c.* *Macti virtute* seems, in every instance, to be the expression of a wish on the part of the speaker, for a virtuous and honourable prosperity in behalf of those addressed.

## Note

25. *Imminere*.—"Intent upon."
26. *Potiorē esse*.—"Had stronger claims."
27. *Non exaudiēbat*.—"Did not listen to." "Did not hear so as to pay any attention to." This passage has rather a rhetorical cast.
28. *Subito deinde, &c.*.—"Unexpectedly, then, do those of whom mention has already been made enter," &c.
29. *Quem, &c.*.—"Which Abdalonymus chanced to be weeding and putting in order."
30. *Habitus—hic vestis*.—"This style of dress." That is: "These royal garments." Our author makes use of the same expression. Lib. iii. Cap. iii. § 6.
31. *Cave ne, &c.*.—See Anthon's Zumpt's Gram. § 534. If *cave* be followed by *ne*, we translate: "Be careful not to"—if by *ut* expressed or implied, "Be careful how you," or "Be on your guard against."
32. *Injecta*.—"Thrown upon" his shoulders.
33. *Aliorum studium, &c.*.—"The zeal of some, the vexation of others, was openly manifested."
34. *Corporis—habitus*. See Lib. iii. cap. xiii. Note 14.
35. *Nihil haventi*.—We believe this is the true reading instead of *habenti*, and had so noted it upon the margin, before we met with it in the various readings of Valpy's Delphin ed. Though Freinsheim retains *habenti*, yet his whole comment upon the passage is based upon the sense that *haventi* would give to it.
36. *Magna indolis specimen*.—"The proof of a great mind."
37. *Et cum, &c.*.—The order is: *Et cum arbitraretur, quenque, in illo statu rerum, habiturum id quod occupasset, velut possessum certo jure, decrevit, &c.* *Ilo statu* refers to the confusion produced throughout the Persian dominions by the successes of Alexander.
38. *Duceret*.—Supply *ut*.
39. *Utendum*.—"That he ought to take advantage of."
40. *Ad hoc ipsum*.—We have placed these words in brackets as useless, and having, according to Bothe, very much the appearance of a gloss. Some read *ad ipsum*, i. e., to Amyntas.
41. *Castrisque positis, &c.*.—The Delphin editor justly remarks on this passage, "*Vix illus tota Curtio desperior locus, et qui Curtorum ingenia magis exercuerit*." We are far from assuming to decide the question, but give such a reading as appears to make good sense, though it may not be the language of Curtius.
42. *Victoria fiducia, &c.*.—"Rendered incautious by the confidence inspired by their late victory." A very common cause of disaster to armies. To this Claudian (iv. Cons. Honorii, 384) refers

## Note

—“*Multis damnosa fure*

*Gaudia: disperci pereunt, somnoe soluti.  
Scepis inculta nocuit victoria turba.*”

43. *Ei, sc. Alexandro*—*illi, sc. Dario*.
44. *Praefectus*.—“Admiral.”
45. *Oretenses, has, &c.*—The Cretans, according as they sided with one party or the other, were garrisoned, at one time by the Spartans, at another by the Macedonians.”
46. *Unum certamen*.—“The one great contest;” namely, between Alexander and Darius.

## LIB. IV. CAP. II.

1. *Potens non erat*.—“Had no control.”
2. *Itaque*.—“Accordingly.”
3. *Volventi*.—We give this reading in preference to the common one, *evolvens*; or *evolvit*, the one approved by Schmieder, as more consonant with the passage in Virgil (*Aeneid. I. 86*), which our author is supposed to have had in his eye.

“*Und Eurueque Notusque ruunt creberque procellis  
Africus, et vastos volvunt ad littora fluctus.*”

4. *Nec occipiendo, &c.*—The order is, *Neo quidquam obstabat occipiendo operi, quo Macedones parabant jungere insulam continentem, magis quam ille ventus*. This clause justifies the use of the word *volventi* above, as referring to *Africo*.
5. *Exedant*.—This verb literally signifies “to eat out,” and is here very expressive of the manner in which the waves, by working their way between the interstices of the mole, finally “ate out” and destroyed its stability. Virgil applies the participle of the same verb to a mountain,

—“*Est specus ingens  
Exeat latore in monte.*”—GEORG. IV. 419.

6. *Non*.—See Lib. iii. Cap. xii. Note 1.
7. *Præceps in salum, &c.*—That is: “The wall, by rising perpendicularly from the sea, prevented any footpath around it.”
8. *Pendentes et instabiles, &c.*—“From their flowing and unstable character, they could,” &c.
9. *Semper, &c.*—That is: Tyre was always honoured as the *mother country*.

## Notes

10. *Opifices*.—Tyre was celebrated for her artificers from the earliest period of her history. The estimation in which they were held among the Jews is shown by the part assigned to them in building Solomon's temple 1000 B. C., or 700 years before Alexander's time. For a graphic, and, at the same time, reliable account of the artificers and arts, merchants and merchandise of Tyre, see O. T. (*Ezekiel*, chapp. xxvii. and xxviii.)
11. *Harpagones*, from ἀράγειν, “to seize,” were “iron hooks” fixed at the end of long poles. The *corvi* seem to have been “grappling irons” attached to ropes and thrown into vessels, and, being drawn back, they thus deprived them of their spars and rigging.
12. *Accenderent*.—Supply *Tyrii* or *opifices* as the subject of this verb.
13. *Idque omen, &c.*.—“And the Tyrians interpreted that omen as a dreadful thing for the Macedonians.” *Metum* is here put for the cause of fear.
14. *Apud Macedonas quoque, &c.*.—One omen related by Plutarch deserves mention on account of the ingenuity displayed in its interpretation. “In a dream Alexander thought he saw a satyr playing before him at some distance, and when he advanced to take him, the savage eluded his grasp. However, at last, after much coaxing and taking many circuits around him, he prevailed with him to surrender himself. The interpreters, plausibly enough, divided the Greek term for satyr into two, οὐ τίποι, which signifies *Tyros is thine*.” See Plut. Lives, (Harp. ed., p. 474.)
15. *Contra jus gentium*.—In all ages, and among all people, the persons of ambassadors, heralds, and flag-bearers have been held sacred, and any violence offered to them has been supposed to call down the special vengeance of the Deity. But, alas for man's reverence of the Deity, history furnishes many instances like the present, where they have been put to death by a people too confident of impunity.
16. *Exhauriendas esse, &c.*.—That is: That whole territories would be exhausted to furnish materials to construct a mole to fill up the interval between the island and the main land.
17. *Ad manum*.—“At hand.” Agreeing exactly with the English idiom.
18. *Insectatio*.—“Raillery.”
19. *Nondum commissum*.—“Not yet united in all its parts.”
20. *In expedito esset*.—“It were an easy matter.”
21. *Igitur rex munientibus, &c.*.—Blancard, in a note to his edition of Arrian (p. 132, Amst. 1668), incidentally remarks on this passage,

## Notes

as follows: "Sic legendum e vestigiis vetusta lectionis vidit amicus noster Gronovius, nam quidam expressi, ex jumentis. \* \* \* Idem verò in Curtio legit, ut extra teli ictum essent. Vulgati improbe, jactum."

## LIB. IV. CAP. III.

1. *Capite mola*, both here and a few lines above, denotes "the head or extremity of the mole" as far as it was advanced towards the city. It is probable, therefore, that the towers were of a construction similar to those commonly used in the siege of cities, and accordingly, were furnished with wheels, or rollers, that they might be moved forward as the work advanced.
2. *Summa tabulata*.—Raderus is disposed to consider the roof or covering of the whole work to be here intended, and not merely "the upper stories" of the towers.
3. *Capere eos, quam, &c.*.—In order to extort information from them, or, possibly, to reserve them for crucifixion. Some have thought that their lives were spared that they might act as ambassadors to Alexander, the Tyrians fearing to send any of their own countrymen, lest he might retaliate upon them the slaughter of his heralds.
4. *Hic*.—"In this instance."
5. *Verius*.—"With more reason."
6. *Rex novi, &c.*.—"The king, upon undertaking a mole of a new formation, carried it out, not with the side, but with the direct front against the wind."
7. *Ea cetera, &c.*.—That is: The front of the mole formed a protection for the rest of the works, which lay, as we should say, *under its lee*.
8. *Super* is here used adverbially.
9. *Principium auxilium, &c.*.—Their principal dependence was upon those who, &c.
10. *Eminentium*.—"That projected out from the mass."
11. *Aegro animo Alexander, &c.*.—"When Alexander was quite disheartened, (more literally, "sick at heart,") and doubtful enough, &c." Sallust and other writers of the Augustan age furnish examples of *aeger* followed by a genitive.
12. *Quinqueremis*.—A very good solution of the *verata questio* as to the true meaning of the terms *triremis*, *quinqueremis*, &c., (whether they denote "three," "five," &c. ranks of rowers, seated above each other, or so many tens of rowers, e. g., *triremis*, "a thirty-oared vessel,") which we lately met with, is, that it refers to the number

## Note

- of men to each oar; consequently, *quinqueremis* would be a vessel so large, and having such length of oars, as to require five men to manage each. This explanation is, however, not free from difficulties. See Anthon's Smith's Antiquities.
13. *Arietum*.—The origin of this powerful instrument is lost in the obscurity of antiquity. The invention of battering-cannon soon after that of gunpowder quickly superseded its use, though it is said still to be found among some of the barbarous nations of the interior of Africa, where gunpowder has not been introduced.
14. *Interiorum quoque, &c.*.—“Having also begun [the construction of] an inner wall, in order that,” &c.
15. *Terrestri* refers to the attack upon the walls from the end of the mole: *navali* to that from the ships.
16. *Quippe binas, &c.*.—Our author, having mentioned above that there was not room enough at the foot of the walls even for a foot-path, and having just stated that battering-rams were made use of, here proceeds to show in what manner they were brought near enough to the walls to be of service before the mole was finished. These *floating batteries* certainly indicated great skill in military engineering.
17. *Proris*.—“The prows,” or, in modern parlance, “the bows” of ancient vessels were generally very elevated, and usually curved inward at the top, so as to form a partial covering to those on deck.
18. *Admovebantur*.—“Were advancing against.” The imperfects in this sentence denote the action of the verb as still going on when another action takes place.
19. *Internitebat*.—“Shone forth between times,” “every now and then.”
20. *Tabulata*.—“The staging” or “flooring,” which sustained the *aristes*.
21. *Turbido, sc. mari*.
22. *Classicis*.—“The sailors.” This word, so familiar in its English form as referring to distinguished writers of ancient and modern times, originally refers to the six *classes* into which the people of Rome were divided according to their wealth and standing (See Adams' Rom. Antiq.), and as the first *classis* embraced all the wealth and dignity of the state, “those of that class were called *classicis*, all the rest were said to be *infra classem*.” Hence it came to be applied to authors of eminence. Here it is merely the adjective from *classis* in its signification of “a fleet.”

## Note

23. *Cessit*.—"Yielded." The sea is here, by a fine personification, represented as a conquered enemy, yielding to its persevering conquerors.
24. *Lacerata pleraque*.—"Most of them in a shattered condition."
25. *Impediri*.—"Were embarrassed."
26. *Syracusani tunc, &c.*.—Commentators are generally of opinion that our author is here guilty of an anachronism, as the earliest authentic account of the Syracusans being in Africa is under the reign of their king Agathocles, nearly thirty years subsequent to the siege of Tyre by Alexander. Still they may have made predatory incursions into the territories of the Carthaginians, accounts of which, though extant in the time of Curtius, may have since been lost.
27. *Fortius quidquid, &c.*.—Every husband and father will respond to the force and truth of this remark.
28. *Eximis religione*.—"Extraordinary religious rites" called forth by their pressing necessities.
29. *Levis erat*.—"Had no weight of character."
30. *Aured catend devinxere, &c.*.—Freinheim, in his comment on this passage, exclaims, "Insane and self-destructive superstition! For if they attributed to their gods as much power as it is right and proper to assign to Deity, then why engage in the unequal contest with them? But if, on the other hand, they supposed they could be brought down to their own level, why consider them worthy of divine honours?" The learned commentator goes on to state that many of the Fathers used this argument, with great success, against the idolaters of their day.
31. *Retenturo*.—The usual reading is *retenturi*. But see Anthon's Zumpt's Gram. § 643, where this passage is considered.
32. *Majore patria*.—"The mother country."
33. *Sacrum quoque, &c.*.—The order is: *Quidam quoque erant auctores repetendi sacrum* (a sacrifice) (*quod quidem crediderim minime esse cordi Diis*) *intermission multie aeculis, ut*, (namely, that), &c.
34. *Seniores* seems here to be a term of office equivalent to "The Elders," "The Senate."
35. *Admonit*.—Scheffer's reasoning satisfies us that this reading is better than *admonuit*.
36. *Corvoa*.—The feathered tribe furnishes several words to denote things possessing very few ornithological characteristics. Besides *crows*, *cranes*, *eagles*, &c., in our own language, we have *corvi* and *rostrum* in our author, *aquila* in Tacitus, and the following amusing instance in Plautus (Capt. v. 4.)

## Note

*Nam ubi illi adcent; quasi patricis gueris aut monedula  
Aut anates, aut coturnicosa dantur, quicum iuuent;  
Itidem haec mihi adventus upupa, quod mihi delectum, data est.*

37. *Corpusque.*—Acidalius acutely suggests, *corpus usque.*

## LIB. IV. CAP. IV.

1. *Hic.*—“At this juncture.”
2. *Soluta obcidione, &c.*—“To raise the siege and direct his march to Egypt.”
3. *Irritum.*—“Foiled of his purpose.”
4. *Bellua.*—An American will hardly read this description without calling to mind the sea serpent so famous in the neighbourhood of Boston.
5. *Emersit.*—If the remark of the Delphin editor on the word *abripisse*, a little below, be well founded, namely, *Neptunum sic molem in praeceps daturum, quomodo cetum repente mersisset*, then we think the reading here should be *demersit*, “he plunged into the deep,” signifying to the Tyrians, that thus would the mole, appearing to them like some huge animal, sink into the waters.
6. *Dilapsi.*—This word, literally signifying “gliding in different directions,” admirably represents the well satisfied manner in which a number of persons, who have been overwhelmed in doubts and fears, mutually separate when relieved from those doubts and fears.
7. *Prima e Macedonum, &c.*—“The first of the Macedonian vessels that came up was a quinquereme, distinguished above the rest for its speed.”
8. *E' diverso.*—“From opposite directions.” The idea conveyed by the whole context is this: When the quinquereme found herself attacked on both sides, she turned suddenly around upon one of her adversaries, but, before she could get far enough around to bring her own beak to bear upon the side of her antagonist, and while in the act of turning, she exposed her side to the beak of her opponent, which was forced in so far as to unite the two vessels together.
9. *Excuteretur e puppi.*—Any one who has seen the representations of ancient vessels can easily understand, how much the pilots were exposed to accidents, like the one here mentioned. The unhappy fate of Palinurus (*Aeneid v. 857*) must occur to the reader.

*Vix primos inopina quies lavaverat artus;  
Et super incombene, cum puppis pars revulsa  
Cumque gubernacio, liquidas projectis in undas  
Principitem.*

## Note

10. *Inhibentes remis*.—This phrase expresses what is called in nautical language "backing water." Livy (xxvi. 39) has *Neque retro navem inhiberent, omitting remis*. The following also occurs in Lucan's *Pharsalia* (iii. 659):

*Postquam inhibent remis puppes, ac rostra recedunt.*

11. *Evvellere*.—This verb is in the third plur. perf. ind. act., not the prea. inf. act. We have the authority of Cicero for the use of *evelli* instead of *evulsi*.
12. *Submoveretur*.—"Was kept at a distance."
13. *Ingenti animo, periculo majore*.—"With great courage, with still greater risk." Acidalius thinks that Alexander himself would have preferred, that the adjectives should have exchanged places.
14. *Regio insigni*.—"The royal diadem."
15. *Crebris arietibus*.—"By frequent strokes of the battering ram." Arrian, who describes this whole scene more in detail, states that Alexander gave orders that the ships of the fleet, fitted out with moveable bridges, should attack the whole circuit of the walls, "that the Tyrians pressed on all sides might be thrown into confusion. This was done, and the ship that bore the king having reached a part of the wall, *breached* by the battering ram, the bridge was thrown across the space between the ship and the wall. Admetus, a distinguished warrior, was the first to mount the breach, but was slain by a lance. Alexander himself, with a few attendants, immediately succeeded, and was the first to take possession of any part of the wall." (Lib. ii. sub. fin. p. 146, Blancard's ed. 1668.) For an interesting account of "moveable bridges" for ships of war, see Arnold's *History of Rome*. (Vol. II. p. 156. New York, 1846 D. Appleton & Co.)
16. *Occupant, &c.*.—That is: They anticipate death, while it was in their power to choose the mode.
17. *Nemo tamen armatus, &c.*.—"No one, however, with arms in his hands, could bear to seek aid from the Gods"; that is, by taking refuge in their temples.
18. *Saventibus*.—"The infuriated soldiers."
19. *Intra Macedonum praesidia*.—*Intra praesidia* seems here equivalent to Cicero's *in praesidiis*; that is, "with the army," "belonging to the camp." See *Orat. pro Lig.* v. 69, and *Epist. ad Fam.* 18, 19. Scheffer however remarks, *Suspicor locum non esse satis integrum*.
20. *In quibus occidendi, &c.*.—"In whose case," or "With regard to whom the rage of killing had ceased," through exhaustion on the

**Note**

part of the Macedonians. Some read *occidondis*; but why should those who had been slain be afterwards crucified?

21. *Ingens—spatium*.—About 3½ miles, if we suppose them placed but 10 feet apart.
22. *Ditionis sua fecit*.—“Subjected to its power.”
23. *Liberō—mari*.—That is: Free from rivals.

## LIB. IV. CAP. V.

1. *Tandem* refers to what is narrated above. See Lib. iv. Cap. 1, Note 6.
2. *Statyræ erat nomen*.—Supply *ei*, and see Anthon's Zumpt's Gram., § 421, and Adam's Gram., Rule xxii, obs. 3.
3. *Inde Orientem, &c.*.—“That he (Darius) would be satisfied with the countries extending thence eastward”; literally, “looking east.”
4. *Nunquam diu, &c.*.—Before this clause we may understand *meminerit*. “Let him remember that,” &c.
5. *Multas se adhuc, &c.*.—“That he had many resources left.”
6. *In angustiis*.—Our author seems to make Darius use this phrase both literally and figuratively; referring to his present unfortunate circumstances as well as to the narrow passes at Issus, to which he attributed his late defeat.
7. *Sæ*.—Darius. *Desinoret*, sc. *Alexander*.
8. *Sibi*, the student will observe, depends on *aliena*, not on *promittere*.
9. *Victorias suas præmia*.—Alexander sneers at the mock liberality of Darius in offering to him for a dowry those countries which he was already possessed of as “the fruits of his victories.”
10. *Autem*.—“Moreover.”
11. *Imperio suo destinasse*.—“Had marked out for his empire.”
12. *Solemne, &c.*.—“The regular” or “stated celebration of the Isthmian games.” *Solemnia*, in its original signification, as compounded of the old word *Sollus* (—*Totus*) and *Annum*, denoted that which took place “annually”; but it soon lost that restricted meaning, and was applied to any thing occurring “at stated times,” as in the present case,—the Isthmian games taking place every three years.
13. *Temporaria*.—“Time serving.”
14. *Idem paulò ante, &c.*.—That is: These same Greeks, now so ready to flatter Alexander, upon his conquest of Tyre, had, a little while before, eagerly caught at the slightest reports of a doubtful charac-

## Note

- ter, in order that they might follow the fortunes of the successful party.
15. *Ceterum*.—This word has usually an elliptical signification, and implies some degree of antagonism to what precedes. In the present instance, the ellipsis may be thus supplied: "But, whatever were the sentiments and designs of the Greeks—whatever their motives in sending the crown to Alexander, he not only," &c. It often, however, denotes a mere change of topic.
  16. *Comprehensis qui, &c.*.—"Having seized those who were favouring the Macedonian interests."
  17. *Non tam nisi, &c.*.—That is: They did not depend so much upon the strength of their own army as upon the good will of the besieged, who, they knew, were only restrained from surrendering by the authority of their officers.
  18. *Pharnabazus cum Apollonide-traduntur*.—The grammatical accuracy of this construction, though approved by some modern grammarians with reference to our language, may well be questioned. It is justified on the ground that *cum* has the force of a conjunction.
  19. *In supplementum*.—"To recruit," or "reinforce."
  20. *Pharnabazi copiam*.—"An opportunity of seeing Pharnabazus."

## LIB. IV. CAP. VI.

1. *Ceterum*.—See note 15 of preceding chapter.
2. *Nec magnam rem, &c.*.—"Nor do they believe that any great enterprise can be sustained by one who finds it difficult to maintain secrecy, which nature has willed to be a very easy thing for man."
3. *Ob hanc causam* refers to the secrecy maintained by the Persians.
4. *Ingentis operis*.—"Of great extent." So also below, Lib. v. Cap. 1, § 2, *sub fin.*
5. *Cuniculos*.—This word, according to Littleton, is a diminutive from *cuneus*, "a wedge"; *quia cunei instar findit terram*.
6. *Specus*.—This word here signifies "the hollow passage formed by mining." Vitruvius uses the word to denote what miners technically call "a pit."
7. *Ut a sensu ejus, &c.*.—Literally, "That he might turn them away from the perception of it."
8. *Desidenta*.—"Settling." "Giving way" under the weight of the towers.
9. *Cum idem, &c.*.—Literally, "While the same toil harassed them in carrying back the towers which had done so in moving them forward."

## Note

10. *Cordon*.—"With a cordon of troops."
11. *Open Deum exposcens*.—Alexander's dependence on the Gods for aid, and his strict attention to religious observances, may well put to shame many who profess to believe in the true God.
12. *Glebam*.—"A clod of earth." Arrian (Lib. ii.) says it was a stone, which, if the raven was flying at any considerable distance above the king, would probably have destroyed him.
13. *Conatus*.—This word, of course, refers to the specific term *corvus*, and not to the generic term *avis* in the preceding sentence.
14. *Quippe ut, &c.*.—"For when they saw," &c.
15. *Ad prima signa*.—"To the front rank."
16. *Majus fortund sud facinus ausua*.—"Attempting a deed too great for his fortune"; that is, as some explain it: Too great for one in his humble condition to expect to be successful. Or, as others render it: Too great in comparison with any of his former achievements.
17. *Qui exigud, &c.*.—The order is: *Qui, ictu evitato exigud declinatione corporis, gladio amputat manum barbari lapsam in vanum, [ita] defunctus (ut ipse arbitrabatur) periculo denunciato in illum dicem*. The verb *labor*, whence *lapsam* comes, is used to denote "any gradual" or "unobserved" motion.
18. *Stantem*.—"Lodged."
19. *Perstiterat*.—"Had maintained his position."
20. *Lingui-animo*.—"To faint" or "swoon."
21. *Submitti genu*.—Thus Lucretius (I. 93).

*Muta matu, terram, genibus submissa, petebat.*

22. *Antesignanos*.—These appear to have been a body of troops, "selected for the defence of the standard (*signum*), before which they were stationed." See Anthon's Smith's Dict.
23. *Nondum—obducta cicatrice*.—This refers to the new skin formed on a wound after healing.
24. *Unua*.—The words enclosed in brackets have been supplied to fill up a gap in the manuscripta.
25. *Juvenis*.—Alexander was about 24 years of age at this time.
26. *Alida*.—"On other occasions."
27. *Jam tum peregrinos, &c.*.—"His recent success already sustaining the introduction of foreign customs."
28. *Ad inquisitionem, &c.*.—"To enlist foreign recruits."
29. *Attrebantur*.—"Were wasted away" as if by continued friction.
30. *Minor—fides*.—"Less confidence."

## LIB. IV. CAP. VII.

## Note

1. *Olim*.—“Long since.”
2. *Quam precario imperio*.—That is: With an authority which he held only by sufferance of those whom he governed.
3. *Gazæ*.—According to Josephus, Alexander made an excursion to Jerusalem previous to setting out for Egypt. This expedition is graphically described by the Jewish historian, and the reason of its omission by Curtius and other profane writers is well discussed by Williams. (*Life of Alexander*, p. 127, Harpers’ ed.)
4. *Castra Alexandri*.—We have already met with *Castra Cyri*, and the recurrence here of a similar phrase, denoting a town or settlement on the site of an ancient camp, leads us to remark that the student will find numerous instances of this nature in England. The ancient camps, particularly those of the Romans, were laid out and fortified with such care and strength, that, even when their military occupants had deserted them, the very remains presented conveniences and advantages so superior to those possessed by the rude and barbarous people among whom they were pitched, that they were resorted to by numbers as their best and most secure place of abode. In some cases, as in those which have occasioned this note, the term “camp,” with the name of the hero who pitched it, would adhere to the place. In other cases it would receive an entirely new name from its new occupants. In England a middle course seems generally to have been followed, as there we find the word *Castra* corrupted into *Caster*, *Cester*, *Chester*, &c., and united with the names of those who first took advantage of the departure of their Roman conquerors, as, *Lancaster*, *Cirencester*, *Colchester*, &c.
5. [*Ostio annis superato*.]—We have enclosed these words in brackets from a conviction that the text is altogether corrupt, and that no emendation, hitherto suggested, is wholly free from insuperable objections. The reading in the text, though the best we have met with, is hardly sanctioned by the context, which represents Mazaces as making the surrender in the neighbourhood of Memphis, which was far removed from any *mouth* of the Nile. We may, it is true, overcome this objection by supposing the whole Pelusiac branch (extending from fifteen miles below Memphis to the sea), as intended by *ostia*. In this case Mazaces might very well pass down the left bank of the river and cross the Pelusiac branch at the place where Alexander then was. In this way it agrees with the statement of Arrian (Lib. iii. *init.*),—that Mazaces “received Alexander into his

## Note

cities and province in a friendly manner," while the latter was still on the Pelusiac branch. Zumpt, following the suggestion of Schmieder, reads *Heroon amne superato*, and refers to the canal "from the Pelusian branch of the Nile, past the city of Heroes, to the Red Sea." But the words *eodem flumine*, in the next sentence, in our view, overthrow this conjecture, for how could Alexander pass "from Memphis into the interior of Egypt," north or south, by the river of Heroes. Ortelius suggests *ocrys amne* and *hocce amne*, but neither appears satisfactory. The common reading *Orio* or *Orio* is palpably corrupt. To the multitude of conjectures, we would add *odio·omni superato*, "suppressing (overcoming) every feeling of hostility," not as the undoubted reading, but as, perhaps, suggestive of it to some future annotator. *Odio*, in the sense of "hostility," is found at the close of the 3d chap. of the 6th Book.

6. *Ad interiora Egypti*.—Zumpt very decidedly applies these words to the "western parts of Lower Egypt." We think the word *pene-trat* will hardly justify such a version. The brevity of Curtius in this place is the only argument against the more natural interpretation, viz.: The regions of southern or Upper Egypt. The course of Alexander, as appears to us from a comparison of the narratives of Curtius and Arrian, was this: Having reached the Pelusiac mouth of the Nile in seven days after leaving Gaza, he marched thence on the right bank of the Pelusiac branch to Heliopolis, situate a little above the apex of the Delta. On this march he received the submission of Mazacea. Still keeping on the right bank till he arrived opposite to Memphis (which is on the left, fifteen miles above the apex), he there crossed and spent some days in that city, where he sacrificed to Apis and other deities, and instituted games. Thence he made an excursion up the river *ad interiora Egypti*, of which the particulars are not given, and then, returning to Memphis, arranged his affairs preparatory to setting out for the oracle of Hammon. When all was ready, he moved down the river and through the Canopic branch till he reached the sea, where he founded Alexandria. Thence, marching along the coast, he arrived at Persepolis, from which place he plunged, by a direct southern course, into the deserts that surrounded the temple of Hammon.
7. *Quod proculum, &c.*.—"Through which, as it was very deep and yielding to the footsteps, the feet with difficulty made their way."
8. *Haud contentus, &c.*.—"Not satisfied with the summit of human elevation."
9. *Jam tamen*.—"Already, however."

## Note

10. *Haud secus quidam, &c.*—"They looked in vain for the land [turning] their eyes in every direction, like those who have entered upon the boundless deep." By *terram* is meant something of a firmer character than the loose and moving sand through which they were passing.
11. *Uribus camelī.*—Skins filled with water are still carried on the backs of camels across that desert, as they were 2,000 years ago.
12. *Ob sitim impotentes sui.*—"Having no control over themselves on account of their thirst."
13. *Antecedentium, &c.*—"After the manner of those who go before and point out the way."
14. *Viz.*, the student will observe, refers to *cadente*, not to *contecta est*.
15. *Oestī.*—"Of climate."
16. *Accolas sedis, &c.*—The geography of Curtius, as has been demonstrated by many critics, is very much at fault in this description of the boundaries of the settlement around the temple of Hammon.
17. *Navigiorum spoliis, &c.*—"Who enrich themselves on the spoils of [shipwrecked] vessels."
18. *Et astu, &c.*—"And seize in shallows well known to themselves vessels that have been left by the tide."
19. *Tyrannorum.*—This word is here used in its earliest sense of an absolute monarch, without reference to the manner in which he exercised his authority.
20. *Oraculum.*—This word, like the English "oracle," has a twofold signification, viz., *the place* where a response is given, and *the response itself*.
21. *Inclinato, sc. die.*
22. *Donec sub ipsum, &c.*—"Until about daylight it moderates to its usual lukewarm temperature."
23. *Umbilico maxime, &c.*—This passage has given rise to much discussion among commentators, and various readings have been suggested. We have retained that which appears to be least open to objection. *Habitus* here means "the outward form" or "appearance,"—a sense in which the word is used several times by our author. (See Note 1, Lib. vi. Cap. xi.) As to the visible representation of the deities of the ancients, by "smooth stones," or by a union of gems in the form here indicated, we would refer the inquiring student not only to Freinsheim's note on this passage, but also to Kitto's *Daily Bible Illustrations* (Isaiah and the Prophets, 19th week, Wednesday), and to a learned disquisition on the subject in Godfrey Higgins's *Celtic Druids*, (London, 1829, p. 209.)

Note

Dr. Adam Clarke has some observations on the subject, in his comments on Gen. xxviii. 18, 19. For the origin of the worship of Jupiter Hammon, see Prideaux's *Connexion* (Vol. I p. 374, Harper's edition).

24. *Inconditum quoddam cārmen*.—“A kind of rude strain.”
25. *Institit quādere*.—“He proceeded to inquire.”
26. *Parentis sui interfectorēs*.—He here refers to the instigators and abettors of Pausanias.
27. *Negat*.—See Lib. iv. Cap. i. Note 23.
28. *An auctor esset*.—“Whether he would authorize them.”
29. *Verē et salubriter, dēc.*.—“To one who, in a truthful and healthy state of mind, estimated the credit due to the oracle, the responses would have seemed indeed unworthy of confidence.” Another reading makes this remark apply particularly to Alexander, but the succeeding clause justifies the present reading and its general application.
30. *Quādū capace*.—“Than capable of bearing it with moderation.”
31. *Fanam—corrumpit*.—The Delphin editor (Tellier) justly remarks “that if Alexander could not succeed in persuading people that he was really the son of Jove, he would be branded with insane ambition; if, on the contrary, he did succeed, his exploits, which were wonderful as accomplished by a man, would excite no astonishment as performed by a son of Jupiter.”
32. *Et Macedones, dēc.*.—The order is: *Et Macedones, assuti quidem regio imperio sed in maiore umbrā (semblance) libertatis quādū castere gentes, adversati sunt [cum] affectantem immortalitatem contumaciis quādū expeditiebat aut ipesis aut regi.*

## LIB. IV. CAP. VIII.

1. *Magnas sedia*.—“Of a large settlement.”
2. *Octoginta stadiorū*.—That is: Two miles and a half on each side, supposing the city to be square.
3. *Intempestiva*.—“Unseasonable,” because he had not yet completely subdued Darius, who was all this while strengthening his resources.
4. *Athiopiam*.—It has been well remarked, that, as the ancient geographers, whenever they were at a loss to designate the nations inhabiting the unknown regions of the North, applied to them the general term “Scythians,” so, with like comprehensiveness, they employed the term “Athiopians” to embrace all those tribes in the

**Note**

- Torrid Zone, concerning whom they entertained crude and imperfect notions.
5. *Imminens bellum*.—"An impending war."
  6. *Claustra Nili*.—"The defences at the mouths of the Nile."
  7. *Jussia*.—Supply *civibus* or *hominibus*.
  8. *Culturam*.—"Would court." "Would invite."
  9. *In paucis Alexandro carus*.—"Especially dear to Alexander." The phrase *in paucis* seems rather a favourite one with this author, and in this place appears to convey the idea that, *among the few who were dear to Alexander, Hector was one*.
  10. *Hector, diu, &c.*.—"Hector having struggled long with the current, while his drenched garments and sandals bound to his feet prevented his swimming, at length reached the shore half dead; and, being worn out with his exertions, as soon as he began to draw his breath (literally, "as soon as he loosened his breath"), which fear and exposure had suppressed (more literally, "had overstrained"), he perished through want of assistance, for the rest had escaped in a different direction."
  11. *Amissi ejus desiderio*.—"At his loss." Literally, "By the want of him lost."
  12. *Extulit*.—This word is peculiarly applied to the burial of the dead. See instances in Terence (Andr. i. 1, 90), and Cor. Nepos. (x. 10, xviii. 4, xxv. 18.)
  13. [Innumeratas].—The common reading here is *e muris*, which the Delphin editor has properly enclosed in brackets "as redundant." Many editors consider them as an interpolation, and, accordingly, leave them out. Blancard in a note on page 158 of his edition of Arrian (Amstel. 1668) proposes "by transposing the words and by a slight change" to read the passage thus: *Quos illi ob injurias tortos in muris necaverunt*; adding this remark: "qua ratione tyrannos palam et in conspectu civium occisos voluerit Curtius; id quod non incredibile est." We have supplied a word from conjecture, which, owing to the contracted form of words in manuscripts, might easily have been mistaken by a careless transcriber for *e muris*. It gives also a force to *injurias* which it seemed to need to justify the use of the word *tortos*.
  14. *Gratulabantur*.—This verb is followed by the dative, when applied to the person congratulated;—by the accusative when the subject of congratulation is intended. Indeed in all cases both are implied; for we infer from the signification of the word that

## Note

- there must be a person to be congratulated and a subject of congratulation. In this instance *ei* or *Alexandro* must be supplied.
15. *Pleraque, sc. loca.*
  16. *Ante omnia, &c.*—“Above all things to clear the sea from,” &c.
  17. *Obnoxium.*—“Exposed to.”

## LIB. IV. CAP. IX.

1. *Subsistere.*—“Should make a stand.”
2. *Haud dubiè, &c.*—“As one who would doubtless exert a very powerful influence in person in exciting to an active part in the war those distant tribes, which he with difficulty roused to action by means of his satrapa.”
3. *Sed ut, &c.*—“But as the report was circulated on good authority.”
4. *Haud ignarus, &c.*—“Well knowing with what an active adversary he had to deal.” Supply *sibi* after *esset.*
5. *Partibus simul affuerunt.*—“Were present together to take sides” with Darius.
6. *Quie.*—The old form for *quibus.* Supply *is* before it.
7. *Domandi.*—“That were to be broken in.”
8. *Quadriga.*—The student will bear in mind that the ancients harnessed their horses abreast of each other, irrespective of the number. See Anthon's Smith's Dict. *Bigæ. Curru.*
9. *Unicum—quazilum.*—“A favourite resource.”
10. *Summis rotarum orbibus.*—“On the circumference of the wheels,” technically termed “The felloes.”
11. *Aliæ in terram demissa.*—Scheffer (*De Re Vehiculari*) represents these as attached to the under part of the axletree.
12. *Nobilis.*—“Well known.”
13. *Eidem mandatum, &c.*—Every reader must be struck with the similarity between this injunction and that of the Russian commander-in-chief in Napoleon's ruinous campaign to Moscow. Caesar frequently adopted the same course against his enemies, and compares its effect to that of dieting in the cure of disease.
14. *Nobilem—facturus.*—“Soon to render it famous.” Some have supposed, that Curtius, from his use of the term *vicum* “a village,” when all other writers represent Arbela as a distinguished city (see particularly Strabo, Lib. xvi.), wrote Guagamela, and that Arbela has been foisted into the text by some transcriber, who had only heard of the action as having taken place near that city.

## Note

15. *Sicut and Euphratem*.—This refers to the former passage of Darius across the Euphrates about two years before, when, as in this case, he consumed five days in crossing. See Lib. iii. Cap. vii. *init.*
16. *Opportuna explicandis, &c.*.—“Suitable for the evolutions of his troops.”
17. *Si quā, &c.*.—“If the plains anywhere presented an elevation.”
18. *Alexandro, &c.*.—The order is: [*Illi*], *qui estimabant numerum ejus (Darii) copiarum, quantum poterant conjectari procul, vix fecerunt fidem Alexandro, majores copias esse reparatas, tot millibus cassis.*
19. *Undecimis castris*.—See Note 5, Lib. iii. Cap. vii.
20. *Qui ad inhibendum, &c.*.—“Who had come up with six thousand horse to dispute the passage.” In Arrian we find but 3000.
21. *Periculum sui facere*.—“To test his own strength.”
22. *Prater Arbela, &c.*.—That is; He reaches the Tigris at a point higher up than, or “beyond” Arbela.
23. *Alius, sc. fluvius*.
24. *Igitur pedes, &c.*.—Diodorus represents the troops as uniting their hands together for mutual support in order to withstand the force of the current. That mode could hardly agree with the *levatis super capita armis* of our author. Caesar (De Bell. Civ. i. 64) furnishes an instance very similar to this, where in crossing the Ebro he made use of his cavalry, and also the beasts of burden to protect the infantry.
25. *Modō—modō*.—“At one moment—at another.”
26. *Studet*.—“Is anxious.”
27. *Monere*.—Historical infinitive, dependent upon *cepit* or some similar word understood.
28. *Invičem nutantium*.—These words refer to the involuntary nodding of their heads while endeavouring to maintain their balance in the current.
29. *Superavit*.—This word applies, in the first member of the sentence, to the passage of a river—in the second, to the conquest of an army.
30. *Audacia quoque, &c.*.—That is: The charge of rashness, laid to his account as the quality by which he chiefly prospered, may be somewhat palliated by the fact that it was never brought to the test whether he had acted rashly or not.
31. *Quod relatum—posuit*.—“Which he brought back and laid.”

## LIB. IV. CAP. X.

## Notes

1. *Deficiens*.—“Being eclipsed.”
2. *Condidit*.—“Withdrew.”
3. *Sollicitisque*.—“And great awe and great fear, as a consequence of it, were infused into the soldiers, already anxious as to the results of such a mighty contest as was at hand.”
4. *In usuis, &c.*.—“To promote the vain glory of one man.”
5. *Temporum orbe*.—“The planets that marked the seasons.”
6. *Edocent*.—“Do not give precise information.”
7. *Impotens*.—“Having no control over themselves.” (*Multitude*.)
8. *Dextrâ Tigrim, &c.*.—Another proof that Alexander crossed the Tigris above Arbela.
9. *Per otium*.—“At his leisure.”
10. *Pateret vel, &c.*.—“That the king lay exposed to the treachery of any one person.”
11. *Collapsa, &c.*.—“Had swooned and shortly after died.”
12. *Id ipsum*.—“This latter fact” referring to *extincta*.
13. *Quod nondum, &c.*.—“Because he was not yet sensible of a calamity chiefly overwhelming his own prospects.” If *calamitas* be derived from *calamus* “a reed,” as many etymologists maintain, and indicate the prostration of reeds along shore by the sudden rising of the winds and waves, the use of the term *redundantem* is peculiarly appropriate.
14. *Dignus—qui—ferat*.—Much more elegant than *dignus ferendo*, although, in translating, we may say, “Worthy of reaping the fruits of his clemency.”
15. *Viderat*.—Did not Curtius write *viserat*, “He had gone to see”?
16. *Nescio quod*.—Any case of *quis* thus connected with *nescio* may be resolved into the corresponding case of *aliquia*.
17. *Cave—parcas*.—See Anthon’s Zumpt’s Gram. § 624.
18. *Ludibria meorum*.—“The shameful trifling with the honour of those dear to me.” Did not Curtius write *mearum*?
19. *Quantuscumque, &c.*.—The order is: *Enim quantuscumque honor potest haberi reginis ab iis, qui parent, [tantis honor] servatus est tuis [feminis] a victore.*
20. *Ut hanc vicem*.—“That you thus retaliate.”
21. *Desiderium captiva*.—Darius supposes that Alexander felt the loss of Statyra merely as of one who had contributed to the gratification of his lust.
22. *Per Deos* — “For God’s sake.”

## Note

23. *Quæstioni.*—“To torture.”
24. *Casus sanctèque.*—This clause depends upon *Thesæ*, which is here equivalent to *ad testificandum*. *Habitam*, “Treated.”
25. *Si de me, &c.*—“If already my fate is determined.”

## LIB. IV. CAP. XL

1. *Expressit.*—“Have constrained.” The singular verb understood with the first noun, and expressed with the other. This is often the case, where the nouns have a cognate signification.
2. *Pro tribus corporibus.*—“For their three persons.”
3. *Triginta millia talentum auri.*—This amount of gold is beyond all belief; and, as Diodorus states the sum at 3,000 talents, *triginta* appears to us to be a corrupt reading. Zumpt adheres to the numbers here given, but supposes they refer to talents of silver paid in gold coin. As to value of talent, see Note 18, Lib. iii. Cap. i. The amount in our currency of 30,000 talents of gold would be \$316,650,000.
4. *Notam habem.*—Equivalent to *noverim*. We find also *habeo compertum*, and some other instances where the use of *habeo* is similar to that of our auxiliary verb “to have.”
5. *Pragravis imperium.*—“An overgrown empire.”
6. *Dificile est continere, &c.*—“It is difficult to retain what you cannot grasp.”
7. *Nescio, an Darius, &c.*—“I do not know but that Darius,” &c.
8. *Minus jam, &c.*—“That you have now less room for the display of your compassion than you had.”
9. *Nunc, Alexander.*—“Now, as Alexander.”
10. *Securus* denotes, not safety itself, but only the feeling of security.
11. *Verum enim verò.*—“But now truly.”
12. *Modò—modò.*—“At one time—at another.”
13. *Post Euphratem.*—That is: To the west of the Euphrates.
14. *Liberaliter.*—Used ironically.
15. *Ubi igitur, &c.*—“Where, I pray you, are you addressing me?” *Igitur* seems here to bear a sense similar to that of *tandem* in asking questions of this nature.
16. *Nempe quam, &c.*—“One, forsooth, who would otherwise marry,” &c.
17. *Multum verò.*—“Truly he does me much honour in preferring,” &c.

## Note

18. *Hoc regente, &c.*—“The war deciding upon the boundaries (fixing the limits) of either kingdom, each one shall,” &c.  
 19. *Simpliciter.*—“Candidly.”

## LIB. IV. CAP. XII.

1. *Graviores comitatu* refers to the prisoners, the sick and wounded, and, perhaps, to some of the *heavier baggage*, though that is doubtful, as the word *impedimenta* just below would include it.
2. *Concitis equis.*—Zumpt reads *cum certis equitibus*. There are other various readings. We suggest *cum certis equitibus*.
3. *Mille admodum.*—“A thousand in all.”
4. *Agmen ejus cludebant.*—“Formed (lit. “closed”) the rear of his column.”
5. *Pedites his plurimum, &c.*—“To these each [commander] had annexed the infantry of several nations, not mingled indiscriminately, but each the forces of his own nation.” We are not entirely satisfied with the reading of the text, and yet, perhaps, it is the best that has been suggested. Freinsheim proposes to consider *pedites* in the nominative, and gives this reading and order. “*Pedites plurimum gentium his (praeditis) junxerant copias, non mixtas, sed quiesque sua nationis, scilicet, copias.*”
6. *Rubri Maria.*—See Note 8, Lib. iii. Cap. ii.
7. *Nomina verius quam auxilia.*—“Auxiliaries in name rather than in reality.”
8. *Peregrinum militem.*—viz., The Greek mercenaries.
9. *Armati.*—“Under arms.”
10. *Pavor.*—“A panic.” The curious student who wishes to know the origin of the word “panic” will find it in Polyænus, or, if more convenient, in the extracts from that author in *Græca Majora*, (Vol. I, p. 329.)
11. *Flammasque, &c.*—The order is: *Velutq[ue] illati (sc. Macedones) temerè (unwittingly) præsidii credebant flammas splendere ex castris Darii.*
12. *Tandem compotes sui, &c.*—“At length, having come to their senses, they resumed their arms, and, at the same time, recovered their spirits (courage).”
13. *Ex præsentibus.*—“Under present circumstances.”
14. *Speculari.*—“To reconnoitre.”
15. *Explicabatur.*—“Was drawn up in battle array.”
16. *Caligo.*—“The mist.”

## Note

17. *Sorè estimatione, &c.*—“With too tardy a consideration, he weighed,” &c.
18. *Sive tatio expectationis.*—“Or from very weariness of waiting.”
19. *Cursu.*—Lit. “On a run.”
20. *Vallum.*—“Intrenchments to be thrown up.”

## LIB. IV. CAP. XIII.

1. *Tum vero, &c.*—“Then in truth was a full view of the coming contest before his eyes.”
2. *Pleraque inania.*—“Many things trifling in themselves.”
3. *Igitur, sive, &c.*—“Therefore whether at a loss himself, or for the purpose of testing the views of his generals.”
4. *Furto.*—“Stratagem.”
5. *Intempestā nocte.*—“Late at night.” For the divisions of the night among the Romans, see Adam’s Roman Antiquities.
6. *Namque Parmenionem, &c.*—“For, as he had lately chided Parmenio with more severity than he had intended, he could not bear to find fault with him the second time.”
7. *Latrunculorum.*—“Petty robbers.” A diminutive from *latro*, and used here to express contempt.
8. *Furtum noctis.*—“A nocturnal stratagem.” Alexander, in this speech, implies that the glory of his victories at the Granicus and at Issus had been lessened,—in the former case, by the absence of Darius; in the latter, by the circumstances of the place, which, while favourable to himself, were adverse to the enemy. Now, however, he was determined to contend, in all respects, on equal terms, except in regard to numbers, wherein Darius would have the advantage.
9. *Solem Mithren.*—“Mithra or Mitra, a deity of Persia, generally supposed to have been the sun.” The word is evidently the same as *Mitra*, one of the names of the sun in Sanscrit. See Anthon’s Classical Dict. *ad verb.*
10. *Siqua divina opis auguria.*—“If any tokens of divine aid.”
11. *Deos stare secum.*—“That the gods favoured his cause.” Literally, “stood with him.” We may understand *affirmans*, or a word of similar import, with this and the succeeding clause.
12. *Aduic lymphatos, &c.*—“That they were still carried and driven about like madmen.”
13. *Ipsum ducem, sc. Alexandrum.*

## Note

14. *Proribat preces regi*.—That is: Recited a form of prayer, which the king repeated after him.
15. *Demittere aciem*.—“To charge down.”
16. *Agitabat*.—“He was resolving.”
17. *An potius, &c.*.—“Whether he should not rather hurl down his column upon the left wing of the enemy.” Supply *cornu* after *lavrum*.
18. *Altior*.—“More profound” than it would have been, had it not been preceded by agitation of mind.
19. *Ipse pronunciat*.—That is: Takes upon himself to announce to the soldiers.
20. *Potens mei non eram*.—“I was not myself.” I had no control over my feelings.
21. *Rarè admodum, &c.*.—“Very rarely, and then rather at the entreaty of his friends than from fear of any danger that was to be encountered, was he accustomed to make use of defensive armour; at that time, indeed, he put it on and went forth to the soldiers.” *Quoque* seems to be used here, as is frequently the case in this author, for *quidem*; or it may indicate that now “also” he was acting on the advice of friends. Understand *eo* with *sumpio*.
22. *Amyntas princeps erat*.—Amyntas was now absent in Macedonia, as we find from Lib. iv. § 26, *ad fin.*: consequently mention is here made of him simply as the commander of this division, not as leading it into battle. See the next two notes.
23. *Regebat eos*.—“Was commanding them,” in the absence of Amyntas.
24. *In societatem nuper adscitus*.—“Lately called to this connexion” with the army. We have given this whole passage according to the emendation of Tellier, and as adopted by Zumpt, but are far from being satisfied with it. Freinsheim proposes *Phrygas Balacrus regebat, in soc. nup. adscitus*; though he at the same time observes: “*Omnia haec sunt obsecrissima*.” Perhaps the true reading is: *Filius Balacrus regebat eos, in soc. nup. adscitus*; for we find from Arrian, (Lib. iii. p. 165, Blanc. ed. 1668) that Amyntas had a son Balacrus, and who more likely than he, if in other respects qualified, to command his father’s division during his temporary absence?
25. *Ultimum agmen, &c.*.—“He had protected his rear by a strong body of troops.”
26. *Ultimos ordines avertit, &c.*.—“He caused the rear ranks to face outward”; that is, in a direction opposite to that of the front rank, “that he might protect his army from every quarter.”

Note

27. *Ad eisque aciem, &c.*—"And he disposed his troops with such a reference to their change of front, that those who were posted in the rear could not be surrounded, while yet they could be faced about, and wheeled to the front." Frontinus, as quoted by Freinsheim, remarks: "Alexander ad Arbela—aciem in omnem partem spectantem ordinavit, ut circumventi undique pugnare possent." Zumpt reads *versabilem*; but we prefer *versatilis*, as it is the epithet applied to the flaming sword of the angel stationed to guard the entrance into Paradise. See Vet. Test. Vulg. (Gen. iii. 24.)
28. *Si nemo, &c.*—"If no one threw himself in the way."
29. *Nec tamen, &c.*—"And yet so as not to weaken the main body."
30. *Murices.*—"Caltrops." *Murex* is the name of a shell-fish armed with many sharp points, and is here used to denote an iron instrument with sharp points to injure the feet of men and horses. *Caltrop* originally signifies the "Star thistle," but is used to denote the same instrument intended by *murex*.

## LIB. IV. CAP. XIV.

1. *Præcuntibus, sc. Discriminibus.*
2. *Indicium.*—"Indication." "Evidence."
3. *Quidquid non, &c.*—"Thus acknowledging that whatever they had not destroyed belonged to the enemy."
4. *Stare—dismicatuos.*—Let the student observe the force of these two verbs as applied; the former, to the soldiers of Darius,—the latter to those of Alexander.
5. *Usurpare.*—"Made use of."
6. *Si qui dissimiles, &c.*—"If there were any of a different character, he would make but this remark to them," &c.
7. *Vanam aciem, &c.*—"Thinking their line had been weakened by extending the wings."
8. *Terrorum, &c.*—"You who a little while ago were masters of the countries which, &c., have now to fight, &c." According to the reading in the text *domini* is in the voc. plur., and *vobis* must be understood with *pugnandum*. Freinsheim reads *dominis*, in the dat. plur.
9. *Oceanus.*—Namely: the Indian Ocean.
10. *Quod mearum, &c.*—"As to what has been my share of duty."
11. *Famam.*—By this word Darius probably means the exaggerated reports of the valour of the Macedonians, which valour, in the next sentence, he denominates *temeritas*.

## Note

12. *Enisse acales, &c.*—This refers to what is stated by naturalists, that the bee, after having darted forth her sting, perishes, or as some say, becomes torpid. Livy (xxiii. 42) represents the ambassadors of the Hirpini and Samnites as using the same metaphor when addressing Hannibal.
13. *Hinc Euphrates, &c.*—This is one out of many of our author's geographical inconsistencies. He forgets that Arbela was eastward of the Tigris as well as the Euphrates.
14. *Animal.*—“A living creature,” “a mortal being.” The term is peculiar and striking, and cannot fail to call to mind the epithets given in Scripture to this same conqueror. See Daniel (vii. 6 and viii. 5.)
15. *Oui non subest ratio.*—“Which is not founded on reason.”
16. *Tamen ad ultimum, &c.*—“Still, in the long run, it fails to sustain rashness.”
17. *Simpliciter.*—That is: Without some sinister design. Horace (Carm. i. 84) thus alludes to the fickle character of Fortune:

— *Hinc apicem rapax  
Fortuna cum stridore acuto  
Sustulit, hic posuisse gaudet.*

18. *Modi.*—“Lately.” He refers to the invasions of Greece by Darius Hystaspis and Xerxes.
19. *Nisi quod, &c.*—“With the exception of what I possess in you, I myself, as regards the greater part of me, am a captive.”
20. *Viscera mea.*—“My bowels.” The ancients supposed this part of the body to be the seat of the tender emotions, and hence by a figurative use of the term it was made to denote the objects of those emotions.
21. *Precario victu.*—“A life dependent on the favour of another.”
22. *Per, ego vos, Deos, &c.*—Some read here *Precor vos per Deos*, but this is more elegant. *Oro*, however, must be understood to govern *vos*. We find similar phraseology in Lib. v. § 24, *sub fin.*, and Lib. ix. § 6, *sub fin.*

## LIB. IV. CAP. XV.

1. *Agmen obliquum, &c.*—That is, according to modern military phrase: “He orders the attacking column to move *en échelon*” to the right, for the purposes mentioned.
2. *Suum, sc. agmen.*

## Note

3. *Non secesserat, &c.*—"He had not escaped the observation of Parmenio."
4. *Proinde non est, &c.*—"There is, therefore, no reason for withdrawing any force from the line."
5. *Latiisque circa Sisygambim.*—Supply *illi* before *circa*, as the subject of *nuntiant*. The phrase seems to be something of a Græcism, like *οἱ τετρὰ πλάταναι*.
6. *Præcoce gaudio, &c.*—"Fearful of provoking fortune by premature joy."
7. *Incertum.*—Supply *est*.
8. *Dolor.*—"Vexation." After *sua* understand *impedimenta*.
9. *Sarissophoros.*—So called from the spear (24 feet long) which they bore. See Potter's *Antiq. of Greece*.
10. *Qui circa, &c.*—"Which had thrown the front ranks into confusion."
11. *Confirmatis animis.*—"With their courage established."
12. *Incurrentium, sc. equorum.*—*Illa.*—"Flanks."
13. *Propugnatores precipitare.*—"To throw their defenders headlong."
14. *Paucas tamen, &c.*—"A few, however, of the four-horse chariots made their way through to the rear ranks."
15. *Et quia calidæ, &c.*—"And because no pain attended their wounds while yet warm, though mutilated even and weak, they did not lay aside their arms until they fell prostrate through loss of blood." The armed chariots would, of course, be likely to deprive them of their lower limba.
16. *Obtriti sunt.*—The use of this verb seems to indicate that the Macedonians were overwhelmed by the numbers, and not by the superior bravery of their adversaries.
17. *Rarior.*—"Less dense."
18. *Domicantibus, sc. Alexandri.*
19. *Ingensque periculum, &c.*—"And being caught in the midst he would have incurred," &c.
20. *Averosque cædendo, &c.*—"And by charging upon (lit. "slaying") them in the rear, compelled them to wheel about and face themselves (i. e., the Agrians)."
21. *Qui averso, &c.*—"Those who pressed upon his rear."
22. *Maximum tamen, &c.*—That is: After all, the kings themselves were most exposed to danger, for every one sought the honour of having killed a king. Supply *militias* as the subject of *tuebantur*,
23. *Ludibrium oculorum.*—"An optical illusion."

## Note

24. *Laxiores, &c.*—“And, upon the rout of the left wing, had deserted the chariot, which the crowded ranks on the right immediately received into their division.”
25. *Sed eminens, &c.*—The order is: *Sed eminens curru erubaccebat destitutae aciem suorum nondum omnem excedentem praetio.*
26. *Harebat in teryis, &c.*—“Hung upon the rear of the fugitives.”
27. *Subinde coeuntes.*—“Once in a while uniting their forces.”

## LIB. IV. CAP. XVI

1. *Longe alia, &c.*—“With far different results on both sides.”
2. *Jamque abundans, &c.*—“And now with overwhelming numbers he had begun to surround that division.”
3. *Refrancare equos jussit, &c.*—“He ordered those who were mounted (lit. “were carried”) to draw bridle upon their horses (i. e., “to check the pursuit”), and halted the column of infantry.” Zumpt’s rendering of this passage (in which he reads *jussi*) is, “The horsemen were ordered to take off the bits, that they might give the horses a breath, and then ride off briskly in an opposite direction.” He certainly seems to have mistaken the sense of *refrancare*. We give *constitit* a transitive force which we find it having in a similar passage in Sallust (*Jugur. 49*). Besides as *sistō* is frequently used in a transitive sense, it is probable that its compound *consistō* was used in the same way.
4. *Frenudentes, &c.*—“Gnashing his teeth with vexation that victory should be snatched,” &c.
5. *Nobis quoque.*—“In our behalf too.” This is called by some grammarians the dative of reference.
6. *Omnia Persarum.*—Every thing—horses, chariots, standards, as well as men.
7. *Recedebat.*—“Gave way,” with their faces towards the enemy.
8. *Spatio.*—“A respite.”
9. *Malle se, &c.*—This is one among many instances of the magnanimous disposition of “Darius great and good.”
10. *Ingens spatium.*—This shows that the battle was fought at a great distance from Arbela. Some suppose it to have been sixty miles, and the fact that Darius did not arrive there in his hasty flight till midnight justifies the supposition.
11. *Tendebantur extemplo, &c.*—“Their bowels were at once distended by the pressure of the clay.”
2. *Ut supra dictum.*—See above, Note 3

## Note

13. *Permitteret.*—*Ut* is elegantly omitted before this verb.
14. *Causatus est.*—“Gave as a reason” for not continuing the pursuit.
15. *Quod adhuc in acie, &c.*—“Which, he trusted, still maintained its ground,” “still stood in battle array.”
16. *Statuit.*—The statement contained in this sentence, in Zumpt's opinion “stands in some measure in contradiction to what was said above; namely, that Alexander's return was called forth only by Parmenio's message. Here he forms the resolution spontaneously.” Now we perceive no such contradiction, nor, we think, will a correct understanding of the context justify such a conclusion. Our author states that the king proceeded a considerable distance (*multum vias*) in the pursuit, when messengers from Parmenio arrived informing him, that that general was hard pressed on the left wing. Alexander, though sorely vexed (*frendente*) at being compelled to relinquish the pursuit, nevertheless did so, and, as we suppose, just beyond the Lycus and in full view of the fugitives. After mentioning this halt, our author goes back to the events meanwhile (*interim*) transpiring on the left wing, relates the effect of Darius' flight on Mazeus, the defeat of the latter by means of the Thessalian cavalry, and his final retreat to Babylon. He then states that Darius had hastened (*contenderat*) over the Lycus and reached Arbela by midnight. The mention of Darius having carried him a little forward in the order of time, he returns again to take notice of the sad condition of the fugitives, and refers to what had been already mentioned (*ut supra dictum est*), namely, that Alexander, upon hearing of Parmenio's difficulties, had checked the pursuit (*inhibito cursa*); with the additional circumstance that he had arrived (*pervenerat*) at the Lycus on his way back to assist Parmenio. As soon as the soldiers perceived his intention to give up the pursuit, they urged upon him not to let the fugitives escape with impunity. To this he gives the reply, *hebetia tela, &c.*; true as far as it went, but not the whole truth, for the evil tidings from Parmenio he could not, as a wise general communicate to them. Our author then goes on to state, in the passage before us, that the real reason of his resolution to return was his anxiety about the left wing, and this anxiety he might well feel after the message sent him by Parmenio, although at the same time he was trustful (*credebat*) that it yet maintained its ground. We see nothing in the text that necessarily implies that he returned “spontaneously.” The want of method in Curtius has been

## Note

- the subject of remark by many commentators, and to that cause may be assigned many of his, apparently, contradictory statements.
17. *Adiit*.—"Encountered."
  18. *Dissimulato magis, &c.*—"Rather feigning ignorance of the danger than despising it."
  19. *Dubius rebus*.—"Dangerous circumstances."
  20. *Universae acies*.—"Whole bodies of regular troops."
  21. *Tumultaria manus*.—"Bands hastily collected together."
  22. *Animo non, &c.*—"He overcame by sheer bravery, not (as before) by the strength of his position."
  23. *Magno consilio*.—"With great prudence."
  24. *Quod in illa, &c.*—"Which is scarcely credible in the case of one possessed of so much impetuosity of temper."
  25. *Jam si*.—"Moreover if."
  26. *Ne duces, &c.*—"Nor are the subordinate generals to be robbed of their share of glory."
  27. *Qui tunc erant*.—By this clause the author probably hints at the degeneracy of the Macedonians, who in later times had succumbed to the Roman power.

## LIB. V. CAP. I

1. *Ductu imperioque Alexandri*.—The usual signification of *ductu* requires the presence of the person to whom it is applied, and as Alexander could not have been present during the transaction of the things here referred to, many critics think that Curtius wrote *Antipatri*, whom Alexander left as viceroy of Macedonia. See Note 1, Lib. vi. Cap. iii.
2. *Suis temporibus*.—"In chronological order."
3. *Quas utique, &c.*.—The order is: " *Universas quas, utique ad fugam mortemque Darii, dari in conspicu, et ita conjungi ipso opere, sicut coherent inter se tempore, potest videri hanc paulo aptius.*" "That the whole of these, at least to, &c., should be presented in one view, and be so connected, &c., may seem, in no small degree, the more proper course." The infinitive clauses form the subject of *potest*.
4. *Saluti fore*.—"Would prove advantageous."
5. *Occuparet sane, &c.*—"Grant that that most covetous nation should seize upon," &c.
6. *Quibus*.—Zumpt, following some MSS. and editions, reads *rebus* after *quibus*. The most obvious sense of the passage would suggest, however, that Curtius may possibly use *quibus* (according to a

## Note

- Greek idiom called *attraction*) for *τὰς γυναῖς*, *τὰς* being governed by *inferiorum*. Instances of this nature are certainly not altogether wanting in Latin authors.
7. *Speciosa dictu.*—“Striking in their announcement”; *utus necessaria*, “practically useful.”
  8. *Omnia sequi armatos.*—“That all things follow in the train of those well armed.”
  9. *Euntribus a parts lant, &c.*—This is *locus veratissimus*, and critics have exhausted all their acumen upon it to no purpose. It still remains as unsatisfactory and inexplicable as ever. We have given the reading and punctuation adopted by Zumpt, and we subjoin his note on the passage. “Arabia is here that part of the country between the Euphrates and Tigris, which was occupied by the Arabians. If this district was on the left of the Macedonians, Alexander must have recrossed the Tigris near Arbela, and marched through the middle of Mesopotamia.” It is hardly probable that Alexander, in marching from Arbela to Babylon, though he should cross the Tigris, would go so far westward as to leave that part of Mesopotamia, inhabited by the Arabians, on his *left* hand, when his nearest way would be almost due south, inclining very little to the west. (See Butler’s Ancient Atlas.) The fact is, probably, that Curtius, as in other instances, is a little out in his geography, on which subject he does not appear “to know his right hand from his left.”
  10. *Campestre iter.*—“A level route.”
  11. *Jacentia, sc. looa.*
  12. *Magno deinde, &c.*—“And then after a wide separation of their streams.”
  13. *Qui amplissimum, &c.*—“Those who have noted the greatest interval [between them] have made the distance,” &c.
  14. *Media.*—Another instance of our author’s inaccuracy. Media was far to the east of both rivers. *Gordianorum.*—This word appears in a great variety of forms in different editions, but the true reading, even if ascertainable, would be of small consequence.
  15. *Arctius, sc. spatium.*
  16. *Quod—huc.*—Both these words may be translated by the article “the.” “The farther they flow,” &c.
  17. *Idem.*—Freinsheim conjectures *tandem*, which would be more natural and forcible than the present reading.
  18. *Ingentis operia.*—See Note 4, Lib. iv. Cap. vi.
  19. *Manu promptus.*—“Bold—vigorous in action.”

## Note

20. *Magi*.—See Note 12, Lib. iii. Cap. iii.
21. *Ad luxuriam, &c.*—“More fitted for luxurious indulgence than mere display.”
22. *Cum curva*.—In this expression Curtius undoubtedly has reference to the triumphal entry into Rome of a victorious general.
23. *Ipsius urbis pulchritudo, &c.*—The vastness, beauty, and antiquity of Babylon have long been the theme of admiration; historians and other writers have vied with each other in expatiating on its wonders. For interesting particulars with regard to this famous city, called in Scripture (Isaiah xiii. 19) “*The glory of kingdom*,” “*The beauty of the Chaldees’ excellency*,” we refer the student to Calmet’s *Dictionary*, (Charlestown, 1817, V. 226.) and Pridesaux’s *Connexion* (Harper’s ed. I. 119.)
24. *Laterculo coctili*.—“With small bricks burnt or baked in the fire.” The Vulgate (Gen. xi. 8.), where the first step toward the founding of Babylon is described, has *Faciamus lateres et coquamus eos igni*.
25. *Commixtare*.—“To pass each other.” *Con* here gives a reciprocal force to the simple verb.
26. *Centum cubitorum*.—Some editions read L., but as Herodotus goes as high as two hundred, we think the present reading most likely to be the true one.
27. *COOLXV stadia*.—Equivalent to about 42 of our miles. See table of weights and measures at the end of Anthon’s Clas. Diet.
28. *Singulorum stadiorum, &c.*—This statement will appear almost incredible when we consider, that, if the walls were only one hundred cubits high (Herodotus makes them two hundred royal cubita, which he says are three digits longer than the common ones), there would have been at least 3055238 yards of solid masonry constructed each day. Diodorus (Lib. ii.) states what is more probable, that Semiramis assigned each stadium to a particular individual, furnishing him at the same time with the means, and requiring the whole work to be done within a year.
29. *Jugeris*.—This is usually a superficial measure, but here it answers to the Greek word *πλεθρα*, and indicates mere length. As such it is reckoned at 104 feet.
30. *Continua*.—“Contiguoua.”
31. *Orepidinibus*.—“By sides of heavy masonry”
32. *Omnium operum magnitudinem*.—Equivalent to *Omnia magna opera*.
33. *In altitudinem pressa*.—“Sunk to a great depth.”
34. *Jungit urbem*.—“Connects the two parts of the city.”

## Note

35. *Quo penitus, &c.*—“Which being entirely thrown out for the purpose of laying the foundations.”
36. *Fabulæ*.—“Tales” or “Stories.”
37. *Pilæ*.—These columns were to sustain walls (*parietes*, mentioned below), and across the top of the walls immense flag stones (*lapides quadrati*) were laid, on which the soil was placed.
38. *Syria*.—Here used for *Assyria*.
39. *Amore conjugis victimæ*.—It is said that Nebuchadnezzar built the hanging gardens to gratify the taste of his wife, who, being the daughter of Astyages, king of Media, was accustomed to forests and mountains, and consequently pined for similar scenery when removed to the plains of Babylon. See Prideaux (L 125.)
40. *Effusi sunt*.—“Are given to.”
41. *Feminorum convivia, &c.*.—This statement may account in some measure for the conduct of Vashti, who, being a modest woman, did not wish to take part in a feast probably of this description. See O. T. Esther (i. 12.)
42. *Honos auribus habitus sit*.—“Without offence be it said.” Digby’s translation (Lond. 1747.)
43. *Fuit*.—In the sense of *fuisse*.
44. *Incrementa*.—“By reinforcements.”
45. *Amyntas Andromenæ*.—Supply *filius*.
46. *Vigiliarum vices, &c.*.—“Serve their turn as guards.”
47. *Inorementa—rudimenta*.—“The seeds and first beginnings.”
48. *Ducenos pedes*.—“The infantry two hundred apiece, equal to three months’ pay.” Zumpt reads this much disputed passage thus: *Ducenos pedes, ceteri stipendum dum menseum*. Waiving other objections, whom we would ask, after mentioning the cavalry and infantry, does he intend by the word *ceteri*? We have given what seems to us a plain and natural text, and deduced without violence from some of the various readings

## LIB. V. CAP. II.

1. *Diutius*.—“Longer” than he otherwise would have done.
2. *Namque antea, &c.*.—“For formerly the regiments had consisted of five hundred men, and had not yielded rewards of valour.” That is: The command of a regiment had not been bestowed as a reward. *Cohortes* is the subject of *cesserant*, and is used in this latter clause, as the word “regiment” with us, to signify “the command of a regiment.” In England it is a common form of expression to say

## Note

- "Such a one has purchased a regiment," that is, a colonelcy or command of a regiment.
3. *Hedem*.—"At once."
  4. *De judicibus, &c.*—"Ready to vote upon the decisions of the judges themselves." That is: Ready to see that the judges decided impartially.
  5. \* \* \* \* The name of the eighth Chiliarch has been lost. Some editors read *octo* instead of *noven* in the preceding sentence, but contrary to all the manuscripts.
  6. *Ki editore depend on obviam misit.*
  7. *Non signati, &c.*—"Not coined, but in bullion."
  8. *Donoque doceret dare*.—"And teach them to make presents" of their own handiwork. Zumpt reads *se* before *doceret*, and translates "She should say to them that he (the king) made them a present of it." We much prefer the former rendering.
  9. *Oess* may here be rendered "Do not."
  10. *In contumeliam*.—"As an insult."
  11. *Apud vos*.—"In your country."

## LIB. V. CAP. III.

1. *Ejus, sc. Sisygambia.*
2. *Navium patiens*.—"Navigable."
3. *Temporum homo*.—"A time server." Many copies read *temporum multorum*. The latter word, however, has been rejected by Modius, Gronovius, &c. Anthon's edition of Riddle and Arnold's English-Latin Dictionary, under the word "time-server," gives *homo multorum temporum*.
4. *Extra teli ictum*.—See Lib. iv. Cap. ii. Note 21.
5. *Anceps*.—"Twofold." That is: From opposite quarters.
6. *Abnuensa*.—The remark in Note 23, Lib. iv. Cap. i. will apply to this word.
7. *Si minuta*.—"If not them." That is: If he could not pardon them, at least to pardon her for asking.
8. *Qua tunc fuit*.—*Moderationem* and *clementiam*, being nouns of kindred meaning, will allow a relative and verb after them in the singular.
9. *A victore Dario*.—That is: Had he been victorious instead of Alexander.
10. *Contribuit*.—"He attached."
11. *De industrid*.—"Purposely." An idiomatic phrase.
12. *Montium prona*.—"The declivities of the mountains."

## Note

13. *Agnina*.—“Whole companies.”
14. *Ea ipsa*, sc. *saxa*.
15. *Nec stare ergò nec niti*.—That is: They could not stand where they were, nor were they able to climb higher.
16. *Mari*.—That is: By the sea-shore. This march was probably related in the second book.
17. *Hæsitabat*, &c.—“His good fortune, taken by surprise, seemed to be at a stand.”
18. *Quid*.—Supply *eadem viā* before this word.

## LIB. V. CAP. IV.

1. *Sed quid tunc, &c.*—“But what advice could Aristander then give!” *Praedicere* does not here convey any idea of *foretelling*, but simply of *saying* something *opposite* to the occasion. Leverett furnishes instances from Cicero and Nepos of a similar use of the word.
2. *Implexusque arborum*, &c.—“And that the interwoven branches of the trees formed one continued forest.” Lit. “United the woods.”
3. *Quod in longitudinem, &c.*—What is the antecedent to the relative *quod*? *Latere* is the only word in the sentence of the same gender and number, but that cannot be referred to, for though we can very well understand the length of a side, yet surely the word *latitudinem* would not apply to it. We conclude therefore that the figures apply to the range of mountains and that *quod* refers to the sense, though not to the grammatical construction, of *perpetuis jugis*, which form a *dorsum*, the word used in the next sentence.
4. *Rubrum Mare*.—See Note 8, Lib. iii. Cap. ii.
5. *Quidque deficit*, &c.—“And where the mountain fails, another barrier, the sea, is thrown in the way.”
6. *Procumbit*.—“Lies spread out.”
7. *Minor annis eo quem accepit*.—This remark will apply to the Mississippi, which is smaller than the Missouri, that flows into it.
8. *Ita ut procul, &c.*—The order is: *Ita ut nemora riparum videantur visentibus procul [esse] continuata montibus*.
9. *Non alia*.—See Note 1, Lib. iii. Cap. xii.
10. *Igitur promissis, &c.*—The order is: *Igitur jubet [eum] oneratum promissis quanta et praesens necessitas exigebat et ipsius fortuna capiebat, armari more Macedonum et (quod bene verteret) monstrare iter; [affirmans] se (Alexandrum) evasurum esse cum paucis, quamvis [iter esset] arduum et praeceps, &c. Ipsius fortuna capiebat*, that is: Suit-

## Note

able to his circumstances. *Quod bene videret.* The usual form of wishing success to an undertaking. It may sometimes be rendered, "In the name of God."

11. *Cratero.*—The student will observe that this word is not in the ablative absolute with *relicto*, but in the dative and governed by *principit*.
12. *Eam, sc. Alexandrum.*—Curtius frequently uses this pronoun where *sc.* would seem more proper. Some copies omit *eam*.
13. *Illato terrore.*—"By arousing his fears" from that quarter. More literally, "By striking terror into him."
14. *Persequantium Regem.*—These words are rejected by many, and yet we cannot perceive how the sense would be clear without them. Alexander justly supposed that the barbarians, as soon as they discovered that he had eluded their vigilance, and by means of the Lycian guide had made his way through the defiles, would pursue him with haste and tumult, and, accordingly, he ordered Craterus, as soon as he heard them *pursuing the king*, to enter the narrow pass in which he had been foiled the preceding day, as the ardour of the barbarians in pursuing the king would lead them to neglect it.
15. *Metum.*—We have placed a comma after this word, considering that the infinitive *posse* is to be referred to it. "Increased the apprehension that, if, &c. they might be," &c.
16. *Eques.*—Our author must surely have exaggerated the difficulties of the road in the previous description, when here we find that horses had passed over it, though termed *invium* even for foot passengers.
17. *Secundâ vigiliâ.*—The ancients divided the time from sunset to sunrise into four watches of three hours each, the length of the hours, of course, varying according to the season of the year. The time here mentioned would be about nine o'clock in the evening, so that the troops had eight or nine hours for rest and refreshment.
18. *Ingens vorago.*—"A great chasm."
19. *Internitebant.*—Observe the force of *inter*.
20. *Eradicunt ergo.*—It is stated by some writers that Alexander erected an arch on this spot, with an inscription pointing out the true path through the defiles.

## LIB. V. CAP. V.

1. *Fosse.*—It does not appear clearly whether these ditches were natural or artificial. The etymology of the word and the term *objectæ*, applied to it, would indicate the latter character.

## Note

2. *Indicantes*.—“Intimating.”
3. *Expeditum*.—“Free from obstacles.” Freinsheim considers this inconsistent with what our author mentions in the next sentence, namely, that the Araxes (a broad stream, and which could only be crossed by boats or bridges) was to be passed, and accordingly proposes to read *quād quād* instead of *quamquam*. We think the change unnecessary, the latter word being here employed, as it often is, to modify the foregoing statement. It may be rendered, “Though, to be sure.”
4. *Inter pauca*.—Equivalent to *in paucis*, elsewhere used. See Note 11, Lib. iii. Cap. xi.
5. *Intuentibus*.—Dative after *liquere*, and itself governing *pōnas*.
6. *Similes—dispare*.—“Alike in severity—different in circumstances.”
7. *Omnes, sc. circumstantes*.—“All the by-standers.”
8. *Nos*.—We retain this pronoun as used emphatically. Some copies read *Hī*, others *Kī*.
9. *Familiaris*.—“Friendly.”
10. *Quād celeriter, &c.*.—This is (to use the words of Theetetus a little below) *tristis de mortalitate sententia*, “A sad reflection upon humanity.”
11. *Nisi, &c.*.—We strongly suspect that Curtius wrote *nos* before *nisi*. The emphatic application of what Euthymon had said above (*Nemo fideliter, &c.*) to their own sad case seems to require its presence.
12. *Grati proresus, &c.*.—Said ironically.
13. *Detrimenta*.—“Scrappings.”
14. *Quota pars nostri*.—“How small a part of us.”
15. *Pium*.—This word and its derivatives are probably applied by Latin writers more frequently to the sentiments entertained towards men than to those towards the gods. They are used to designate the affection existing between relatives and friends when carried to a self-denying extent. Hence Aeneas seems to have acquired the epithet of *pius*, in Virgil, for saving the life of his aged father at the risk of his own.
16. *Vitt—morte*.—Ablatives of price.
17. *Quin* appears to be here used elliptically. The ellipsis may be thus supplied, *Quid obstat quin, &c.*
18. *Ingenita*.—“Their birthright.”
19. *Relinquerent*.—“They certainly might leave [this place, their Persian attachments] to whom nothing,” &c. Digby gives a dif-

Note

ferent turn to the passage, and we do not know but that the original will allow it. "They ought to be no hindrance to those to whom," &c. He makes the subject of *relinquerent* to be the same as those intended by *si quos*, and understands *eos* before *qui*. *Relinquare* is sometimes used in the sense "to let alone," and that is probably the sense Digby attached to it here.

20. *Consuetudo*.—"Long usage."
21. *Præstabo*.—"I will warrant"—"will pledge myself"
22. *Si hoc, &c.*.—"Apart from these sad mutilations." See Note 13, Lib. iv. Cap. x.
23. *Penitentia*.—"Change of mind." The king was under the impression that they were, at the beginning, anxious to return to Greece.

## LIB. V. CAP. VI.

1. *Infusa, sc. In Graciam.*
2. *Vicere præterita*.—"Surpassed all that preceded."
3. *Occupaverant*.—This verb almost in every instance indicates "a taking possession in advance of" the efforts of another.
4. *Et cum, &c.*.—The sense of the passage is this: When they were unable to keep all they got on account of the great quantity of plunder, things were no longer seized at once, but the comparative value of every thing was critically estimated, so that they might burden themselves with only the most valuable articles.
5. *Passimque obvii, &c.*.—"And every where as they were met with they were put to death, whom, before [the discovery of such immense treasures] their own value (as slaves) had rendered objects of [apparent] compassion."
6. *Quod*.—This relative refers to *ignes subiecserant cedibus* and is governed by *facturus*.
7. *Suis, sc. militibus.*
8. *O et XX millia talentum—sex millia talentum*.—The sum total will be \$1,880,011,180, or 183,004,340 according to the talent by which we estimate. See Note 16, Lib. iii. Cap. i.
9. *Vergiliarum*.—These are generally called the Pleiades. Critics are not agreed among themselves whether the rising or setting of these stars is meant. Probably our author had no special reference to either of these phenomena, but simply to that season of the year when they are visible in the early evening, and that would, of course, be winter.

## Note

10. *Quas frigoris, &c.*—“ Which the extremity of cold had encrusted with ice.”
11. *Invia.*—This word does not strictly signify “impassable” in this and similar passages, but only implies the greatest degree of difficulty in transit. It is used with an obvious qualification like a kindred word in the famous line of the English poet,

Of mountains *inaccessible*, by shepherds trod.

12. *Antequam lux quoque, &c.*—A striking instance of the ignorance of the times.
13. *Supersedit.*—“Forbore.”
14. *Interfectis, sc. iis.*
15. *Ne foeminis quidem, &c.*—“ Not even do the women, considering their natural characteristics, possess more delicate qualities.”

## LIB. V. CAP. VII.

1. *Moliendis efficiendis que.*—“ Undertaking and completing.”
2. *Hoste et amulo.*—“ While his enemy and rival for the kingdom [of Persia] was renewing the war with the greatest efforts.”
3. *De die.*—That is: Before the day closed. Mark the “customary action” denoted by the imperfect *inbat*.
4. *Pellices.*—Supply *erant* after this word.
5. *Thais.*—Dryden has immortalized this courtesan in the following lines. (*Alexander's Feast*):

“The lovely Thais by his side,  
Sate, like a blooming Eastern bride  
In flower of youth and beauty's pride.”  
 \* \* \* \* \* \* \* \* \* \*  
 “And the king seized a flambeau with zeal to destroy,  
Thais led the way  
To light him to his prey  
And like another Helen fired another Troy.”

6. *Avidior quam patientior.*—That is: The king not only endured the disgraceful proposal, but went further than that,—he was even anxious to engage in carrying it out.
7. *Quin.*—Why not. But see Note 17, Cap. v. of this book.
8. *Tendebat, sc. Tentoria.*—“ Were encamped.”
9. *Contabulato.*—“ Floored over.” This passage obviously refers to the gigantic undertakings of Xerxes in the invasion of Greece.

## Note

10. *Hujus vestigium non.*—“Not a vestige of this.”
11. *Itaque res in seruum, &c.*—“Accordingly the matter took a serious turn, and they forced themselves into the belief that,” &c.
12. *Majores penas, &c.*—That is: The Persians would have suffered a severer infliction, if, instead of the burning of their chief city, they had beheld Alexander permanently seated in the palace and on the throne of Xerxes.

## LIB. V. CAP. VIII.

1. *Ille, sc. Darius.*
2. *Celeritate, and just below, velocitatem.* The frequent application of such terms as these to the career of Alexander cannot fail to remind the reader of what was predicted of him, in this respect, by Daniel (Chap. viii. 5, 6.)
3. *Qualicumque vitam.*—“Any kind of life.”
4. *Quād frustrā, &c.*—“Than waste words upon you.”
5. *Expertio, sc. mihi.*
6. *Ut jam malit.*—“Provided he would now prefer.”
7. *Hoc decus, viz.*—The Cydaris or Tiara.
8. *Possit.*—“May have it in his power.”
9. *Animus.*—“The spirit” or “disposition.” *Lex.*—“The rule of conduct.”
10. *Nec immorit.*—“And not without good reason.”

## LIB. V. CAP. IX.

1. *Sæpe diximus.*—Probably in the two books that are lost.
2. *Nabarzanes,* though in the sing. num. yet being connected by intervening clauses with Bessus, is followed by the plural verb *decreverant.*
3. *Eā mente.*—“With the intention.”
4. *Magni.*—The genitive of value. *Aestimaturi* is to be referred to *victoriae.*
5. *Aditum nefaria, &c.*—“Preparing the way for the fulfilment of his nefarious expectations.”
6. *Auspicium.*—“The chief command.” *Imperium.*—“The imperial authority.”
7. *Deinde.*—“Thereupon.”
8. *Moles.*—“Resources”—such as a *mass* of materials affords.
9. *Ad vilitatem sui.*—Literally, “To a cheapening of themselves.” That is: To put a low estimate on their lives.

## Note

10. *Temporis gratia*.—"To meet the present exigency."
11. *Justo regi*.—"The rightful sovereign."
12. *Fiduciarium*.—"Which he had held in trust."
13. *Quanquam tam, &c.*.—"Although the full extent of crime concealed under such an impious speech was unknown to him." The student will note the force of *sub* in *subesse*.
14. *Pessimum—mancipium*.—"Thou vilest of slaves."
15. *Ni properè Bessus, &c.*.—"Unless with all speed Bessus and the Bactrians, under pretence of being indignant [at the conduct of Nabarzanes], but [in reality] intending if he (Darius) persevered in his purpose, to bind him, had interposed." Lit. "Had stood round." *Tristis* is used in the sense of "angry" by Virgil (*Eneid.* x. 612) and Propertius (i. 6, 10.)
16. *Temporum, &c.*.—"Occasionally reminding him of existing circumstances."
17. *Gravem etiam si, &c.*.—"A formidable enemy even if all his (Darius') friends should be at hand to help him."
18. *Aegre*.—"Reluctantly."
19. *Patron*.—Arrian calls him *Paron*. He seems to have been a man of fine character.
20. *Ut cibum, &c.*.—"That he would partake of food, and assume the spirit expected of a king." We prefer the reading given in the text as consonant with a similar use of the word *capio* (Lib. iv. Cap. i. § 4) *Cape regis animum*. See also Note 12, Lib. iv. Cap. xii. The other readings are: *Animus regis adverteret* and *avertireret*. *Animus regis curis adverteret*. *Animus rebus adverteret*. This last is adopted by Zumpt.

## LIB. V. CAP. IX.

1. *Eximia*.—"Highly esteemed."
2. *Rejonia*.—Zumpt reads *regis* here; but as the arguments for the present reading are very strong we have concluded to retain it.
3. *Occisuri—petituri*.—We should certainly expect to find these words in the dative after *placuit*. As they stand we may supply *essent* with them.
4. *Condernationem*.—"Their mutinous conduct." The word is used in this sense by Tacitus and Livy, as well as repeatedly by our author. See Lib. vii. Cap. ii. § 7, Lib. viii. Cap. i. § 8. (where it is used synonymously with *sedatio*), and Lib. x. Cap. ii. § 7.
5. *Solicitarent*.—"To tamper with."

## Note

6. *Titulum solennis, &c.*—"Manifesting a show of formal duty to cover up a base crime."
7. *Sustinere.*—"Had the effrontery."
8. *Proces.*—Petitions.
9. *Securus periculi, &c.*—"Undisturbed by any fear of the danger that was at hand."

## LIB. V. CAP. XL

1. *Occasioni imminens, &c.*—"On the lookout for an opportunity of addressing him."
2. *Sospitus sermones revocata.*—"Very often checking his utterance, while hesitating between what his fidelity to the king on the one hand, and his fear of giving offence (either to the king or to Bessus) on the other, suggested, he kept his eyes fixed on him." Of the other reading, *sermone revocatus*, Freinsheim says: "Nescio quid sibi velint alii; at revocato sermone est, cum, sepe dicturna, toties se repressisset, vocemque, jam prodire volentem quasi reprehendisset."
3. *Prastare.*—"Perform the duty better."
4. *Interpretis Graci, &c.*—"This relates to the conversation that took place between Patron and the eunuch in relation to the admission of the former to an interview with the king."
5. *In ultimo discrimine, &c.*—"You are in a very critical situation, both as to fortune and life." *Fortuna* here means his condition in life as a prince.
6. *Tulerat.*—We have here an instance of the use of the indicative for the subjunctive. Numerous examples are to be found in the classics. It is common in our own language; a striking instance occurring in our version of the Psalms (cxxiv. 3, 4, 5.)
7. *Eludant licet, &c.*—"Let those indulge in ridicule, who are persuaded that human affairs are set in motion and urged forward by blind chance." Livy (vi. 41) represents Appius as employing the phrase *eludant licet*, and as Curtius is known to have imitated Livy, and, moreover, in this very passage makes use of *forte temeris*, a favourite expression of his, we prefer it to *eludant ridiculus*, the reading adopted by Zumpt.
8. *Equidem eterna, &c.*—"For my part, I would rather believe that according to an eternal constitution of things, and by a chain of hidden causes long before appointed, each individual, by an immutable law, fills up his allotted station." Note the force of the sub-

## Note

junction in *crediderim*. *Aeterna* seems here to be used in its most extensive signification.

## LIB. V. CAP. XII.

1. *Impetum*.—"Hasty resolution." See Leverett's Lexicon.
2. *Perfidii hominis*, sc. *Patronis*. *Vitasset*, sc. *Dariua*. *Eum*, sc. *Patronem*. *Hosti*, sc. *Alexandro*.
3. *Sine lare*.—"Without family ties."
4. *Ancipitem hostem*.—That is: One who would fight on either side, according to his interests.
5. *Ad nutum licentium*.—"At the nod of the bidders." The language is figurative, and refers to the practice of auctioneers, who turn from one bidder to another, according as each rises higher in his offer.
6. *Ed rerum ventum erat*.—"Matters had come to such a pass."
7. *Credidisset*, sc. *Darius*.
8. *Excusationem*.—"Palliation."
9. *Acriorem, &c.*.—"A more energetic protector and avenger."
10. *Armati stabant*.—"Stood to their arms."
11. *Artabazus*.—This word may be the subject of the historical infinitive *dubitare*, or of *respondit*, supplied in brackets between *Græcorum* and *Persarum*. We much prefer the latter construction, as that frequently used by Curtius. See Lib. iv. § 22; vi. § 4; viii. § 42.
12. *Destinatus sorti sua*.—Curtius here employs language in conformity with what he had said above. See Note 8 of preceding chapter.
13. *Profusisque*.—We adopt this reading from Rutgers, instead of the common *perfusisque*.
14. *Vel periculo vitae*.—"Even at the risk of life."
15. *Impiè*.—See Note 15, Cap. v. of this book.
16. *Quia*.—"Inasmuch."
17. *A suis*, sc. *subjectis*.
18. *Nullâ externâ, &c.*.—"No foreign power being employed" against him, or, in this transaction.

## LIB. V. CAP. XIII.

1. *Auditō* forms the ablative absolute with the remainder of the clause. See a similar instance in Cæsar (*De Bell. Gall.* vii. 52.)
2. *Ex hoc acta cognoscit*.—"From him he learns what had taken place."

## Note

3. *Dorsa*.—*Dorsum* is not often applied to the human back. There are, however, instances in Horace and Pliny.
4. *Ut primi, &c.*.—“That the van might keep closely united with the rear.”
5. *Strenuo alioqui, &c.*.—The order is : *Transfuga injecerat [Alexandro] alioqui strenuo cupiditatem consequendi*.
6. *Abeuntium*.—“Fugitivea.”
7. *Fidem*.—“The protection.”
8. *Adeo omnem, &c.*.—“Terrified as they were, fortune had deprived them (lit. “shaken them out”) of their senses to such a degree that they,” &c.
9. *Semiviti*.—The remainder of this book, as written by Curtius, has been lost. The supplement, furnished by Freinsheim, we have annexed in small type, in order to preserve the thread of the story.

## LIB. VI. CAP. I.

1. *Pugna*.—The former part of this chapter, as it came from the hand of Curtius, having been lost, we have prefixed the supplement of Cellarius as more brief than that of Freinsheim.
2. *Inmisi*.—Supply *Agis* and *se* from the preceding supplement as the subject and object of this verb.
3. *Corpore*.—“By a sudden motion of his body.”
4. *Equioreum*.—“More favourable.”
5. *Non aliud*.—See Note 1, Lib. iii. Cap. xii.
6. *Hæserat*.—“Had been confined.” Lit. “had stuck.”
7. *Poplitibus*.—This word indicates the back part of the knees, as *genua* does the front. The distinction is clearly seen in the following passage from Pliny (Nat. Hist. xxviii. 17,) *Item poplites alternis genibus imponi*.
8. *Ultrò*.—“Spontaneously.”
9. *Exceptit*.—“He supported.” We may suppose his shield to have been placed upright on its circumference, and thus, for a while, being on his knees, he leaned his head upon it, when, at length, his strength failing him, through loss of blood, he fell forward with and upon his shield, and upon any other part of his armour that was in front.
10. *Dissentire ab animis*.—“Did not agree with their real feelings.” The sense of this passage (which some have thought incomplete) appears to be this: Antipater, though a conqueror, was yet fearful that his victory would cost him too much if it procured for him the

## Note

jealousy of his colleagues in command and the envy of Alexander; but as he was desirous of bringing the war to a close (which he could not do if he fell out with his generals), it was necessary for him to receive the outward congratulations of his officers as though they were sincere, and thus appear to be deceived. The literal rendering of the words is as follows: "Nor did it escape the observation of Antipater, that the countenances of those who congratulated him did not agree with their real feelings, but to him desirous of finishing the war, there was a necessity that he should [appear to] be deceived; and although the result of the action (for this meaning of *rerum* see Leverett) was pleasing to him, still he was fearful of the envy [of Alexander] because his exploits were greater than what the measure of a viceroy would admit of"; *that is*, he had performed greater deeds than usually fell to the lot of an inferior officer.

11. *Ne tacitus quidem, &c.*—"He openly expressed his vexation."
12. *Ager arbitria*.—"To determine upon the results."
13. *A quo Lacedamoniorum, &c.*—This passage has proved a perfect *cruix criticorum*. We give the reading adopted by Zumpt, with slight changes.

## LIB. VI. CAP. II.

1. *Insana dulcedo*.—"The senseless enjoyment."
2. *Omnia in se*.—"Every thing had glided into [an spring of] foreign [Persian] manners, and, choosing these for a pattern as more excellent than those of his own people, he," &c.
3. *Defungi*.—"To partake of." The word implies that they considered eating a duty to be performed for the sustenance of life, and not to be engaged in for the mere gratification of the palate.
4. *Liberior—dolor*.—"A more free expression of the pain they felt."
5. *Peregrinis* here refers to the Macedonians.
6. *Scorvit, sc. eos*.
7. *Graves adhuc accolæ*.—"Formidable neighbours hitherto."
8. *Rectâ plagâ*.—"A straight tract of country."
9. *Ultima, sc. loca*.
10. *Offerre—poscere—polliceri*.—Historical infinitives, to be translated as imp. ind. act.
11. *Voluisse, sc. Alexander*.
12. *Haurire*.—"To imbibe."
13. *In rem*.—"Suitable to his purpose."

## LIB. VI. CAP. III.

## Note

1. *Ductu meo*.—These words refer to what was done where Alexander commanded in person,—*imperio auspicione*, to what was done by his authority. See Note 1, Lib. v. Cap. i.
2. *Quadam*.—“Some things.” The acc. with the dat. *michi* after the verb *subduzerit*.
3. *Ut ibi potissimum*.—“That there of all places.”
4. *Adhuc jugum, &c.*.—The order is: *Barbaris adhuc subcunctibus jugum ejus [imperiis] rigidè cervice, opus est tempore, milites, dum, &c.*
5. *Potest*, sc. *mitigare*.
6. *Minatur*, sc. *noe*.
7. *Sui juris*, sc. “Their own masters.”
8. *Simil*.—Equivalent to *simil ac.*
9. *Ne vos, &c.*.—There is an ellipsis between this and the preceding clause, which may be thus supplied,—“which I mention, that you may not think,” &c.
10. *Ultimum*.—This word signifies “the furthest removed” from good or bad, according to the connection in which it stands.
11. *Externæ opis egenem*.—“Deprived of foreign aid,” namely, that of Patron and the Greeks. It has occurred to us that possibly Curtius, by these words, intended to convey the idea expressed, Lib. v. Cap. xii. § 33, (*nulld externa ope admota*), and accordingly to mean “that Bessus held in captivity and finally put to death his own king, who, in this way, did not need foreigners to accomplish his ruin”; that is, “was put to death by treacherous subjects.” Such a construction seems harsh at first view, and yet it is in some degree justified by the following clause, *certe cui nos, &c.* Some refer *externa opis* to “the aid” he needed, and obtained from Polystatus, as mentioned in the supplement to the fifth book.
12. *Egregium mehorcula, &c.*.—The order is: *Mehercule tradetis posteritati famæque opus egregium et numerandum inter prima vestra gloria; vos ultos esse parricidas Darii quoque hostis, odio finito post ejus mortem, [et] neminem impium effugisse vestras manus.*

## LIB. VI. CAP. IV.

1. *Adeunt, sc. homines.*
2. *Universus*.—“Entire.” “Undivided.”
3. *Volut dispensatis, &c.*.—“As if by an equal distribution of its waters.”

## Note

4. *Inde torrens, &c.*—The author here describes the course of one branch, bearing the original name, *Zioberis*, which, he says, further on unites with the other called *Rhidago*. The course of the latter, previous to the junction, he does not describe.
5. *Tauros*.—Zumpt, in conformity with some copies, leaves this word out, and supposes that Alexander made use of criminals for his experiment,—a course as unnecessary as cruel.
6. *Quorum corpora, &c.*—The order is: *Quorum corpora [i], qui missi erant ut exciperent [ea], videre expulsa, ubi [annis] rureus erumpit.*
7. *Agitasse Darium, &c.*—“That Darius had had it in contemplation to,” &c.
8. *Ad ultima, &c.*—“That he had been urged forward to extremities, and that he pursued rather those measures which necessity demanded, than what he himself would have preferred.”
9. *Subinde*.—“Every now and then.”
10. *Duo terra*.—“Two points of land.”
11. *Media, sc. loca*.—“The intermediate space by a gentle curve forms a bay.”
12. *Et illos, &c.*—The order is: *Et [pars vallis], quā vergit ad Septentrionem, prospectat illos, [pars] conversa ad Occasum [prospectat] hos.*
13. *Et magna parte, &c.*—“And ebbing out again in a great measure it leaves stagnant pools.”
14. *Cujus fastigium, &c.*—“Whose elevated ridges, as we have already said, gradually fall into a continuous valley.”
15. *Occupaverint*.—“Shall have anticipated.”

## LIB. VI. CAP. V.

1. *Et hospitii, &c.*—The order is: *Et fides in regem, conservata ad ultimum, vincebat pignora hospitiū.*
2. *In supplementum*.—“To fill up the ranks.”
3. *Adhuc* refers to *teneros*, not to *flectunt*.
4. *Quā natura fert*.—“According to their natural tendency.”
5. *Qui*.—*Alium alii* together form the antecedent to this relative.
6. *Namque ille, sc. equus*.
7. *Desperato*.—This participle with the rest of the clause forms an ablative absolute. See Note 1, Lib. v. Cap. xiii.
8. *Ad pectus*.—“To the chest.”
9. *Habitu ejus, &c.*—“Closely surveying his personal appearance

Note

- which by no means corresponded with his exploits." See Note 14, Lib. iii. Cap. xii. and Note 1, Lib. vi. Cap. xi.
10. *Sexta*.—The genitive of the qualifying noun. See Anthon's Zumpt's Gram. §§ 426, 427, and Adams' Lat. Gram. Rule vii.
11. *Retenturam*.—Supply *problem* as the object of the participle.
12. *Irritam spēi*.—"Disappointed in her expectations."

## LIB. VI. CAP. VI.

1. *Cupiditates suās solvit*.—"He gave loose to his passions."
2. *In altissimā quidque fortund*.—"In every condition of life, even the most exalted."
3. *Civilem habitum* here seems to mean "the mode of life adopted by his countrymen."
4. *Servilibus ministeriis, &c.*.—"To initiate the conquerors of so many nations into servile ministrations, and to place them on a par with captives."
5. *Ut appareret, &c.*.—"Whence it would appear that the mind of one monarch is not capacious enough for the fortune of two."
6. *Tum*.—"At such a time." That is: Upon the occasion of a victory.
7. *Tanta mora pretium*.—"As a remuneration for their long absence." More literally, "for their long delay in returning."
8. *Quia ut intacta*.—Why not, *qui* (sc. domini), *ut intactas* (sc. sarcinas)?
9. *Sanguinis pretium*.—Referring to the wounds received in battle.
10. *Habilesque militiae*.—Namely, by the removal of useless incumbrances.
11. *Igitur*.—"Accordingly."
12. *Subsistere*.—"To halt."
13. *Præverti*.—"To turn out of his course first."
14. *Longius*.—"Too far."
15. *Ac primò, &c.*.—That is: He required every possible mode of access to be thoroughly cleared out. *Re* in composition not unfrequently denotes "thoroughness."
16. *Animi*.—The genitive of qualification. See Note 10 of preceding chapter.
17. *Igni dari alimenta*.—"Material to be supplied for the fire" that was about to be kindled. That it was not yet kindled is evident from the clause *Tunc undique, &c.*
18. *Ultimum*.—See Note 10, Lib. vi. Cap. iii.

## Note

19. *Si quæ informoreretur ignis.*—If any where the fire went out. Literally, “Died out at intervals” of space.
20. *Captio urbis titulo, &c.*—“Yielding as was proper to his claim of having taken the city.” See a similar instance of royal and military etiquette in O. T. (Il. Sam. xii. 27.)
21. *Supinas manus.*—That is: With their hands thrown up with the palms open towards the enemy, showing them to be unarmed.
22. *Sceleris—particeps Besso.*—*Particeps*, like *conscius*, is construed with a genitive and dative. See Anthon’s Zumpt’s Gram. § 437, Note 2, and Bullion’s Lat. Gram. Rule xvi. Obs. 5.

## LIB. VI. CAP. VII

1. *Auctoritatis et gratiae.*—See Note 11, Cap. v. of this book.
2. *Ille, sc. Nicomachus.*—*Indicaturum, sc. Dymnum.*
3. *Quod etiam, &c.*—“Which he would be required to disclose even at the cost of perjury.”
4. *Participem.*—See last note of preceding chapter.
5. *Constanter.*—“With firmness.”
6. *Ab illo capite.*—He must be supposed here to point to the head of Nicomachus.
7. *Aliùs—aliùs.*—“At one time—at another.”
8. *Quoquæ* is often used by our author in the sense of *etiam*.
9. *Verabat.*—“Tried every means to move.” See Leverett.
10. *Tanto facinore.*—Singular fastidiousness on the part of one who had spent his life in the commission of the most detestable crimes! But such were the perverted ideas of right and wrong among heathen nations.
11. *Expressit ut tandem, &c.*—“He extorted from him at length a promise not only of silence but even of coöperation.” *Expressit.*—Literally, “He squeezed out.”
12. *Fortissimus juvenum.*—Said by way of flattery.
13. *Placet, sc. utrique.*—*Ipsum, sc. Nicomachum.*
14. *Amicorum.*—This word is merely the translation of the Greek word *ērapsōn*, the name of a chosen body of cavalry in the Macedonian army, the first cohort of which was charged with the care of the king’s person. Williams in his Life of Alexander always terms them *The Companion Cavalry*.
15. *Incertum, sc. est.*
16. *Foret for fuisset.*—See instances in Ovid (Epist. vi. 144; Amor. ii. 12, 17; Metam. xii. 8.)

## Note

17. *An insticest, dn.*—“Whether he had urged him (Philotas) to come to him (Alexander) to divulge the conspiracy.
18. *Quo proprio—hoc magis.*—“The more intimate—the greater.”

## LIB. VI. CAP. VIII.

1. *In paucia.*—See Note 9, Lib. iv. Cap. viii.
2. *Contumacia.*—“Arrogance.” From *con* and *tumescere*, “to swell up.”
3. *Odio suo, &c.*—“Concealing his hatred (of Philotas) under a pretext of reverential affection for the king.” The literal meaning of *Proferens* is “Carrying in front or before,” hence “Carrying one thing in front of another so as to conceal it.” As to *pietatis*, see Note 15, Lib. v. Cap. v.
4. *Quogua.*—See Note 8 of preceding chapter.
5. *Nec est quod existimes.*—“Nor have you reason to suppose.”
6. *Misericordiam, &c.*—“Have exhausted the streams of mercy.”
7. *Invetorat.*—“Strengthened by time.”
8. *Pudet, sc. quemlibet.*
9. *Suppresurus, sc. Philotas.*
10. *Quem enim, &c.*—This infinitive clause depends on *scibant*, or a word of similar import, understood.
11. *Ne Cebalini quidem, &c.*—We prefer giving this passage an affirmative character and not an interrogative one as in most editions. We supply *egisset* and give the following order: *Filium Parmenionis, prefectum equitatus, arbitrum omnium arcanorum regis, ne [egisset] quidem exemplo Cebalini, qui nuncidisset ipsi [regi eo] comperta ex fratre; simulasse etiam Regem, &c.*
12. *Conscientiam suam exonerare.*—“To unburden his conscience.” The word *exonerare* is usually applied to the *unloading* of ships and to the *emptying* of rivers into the ocean.
13. *At enim, &c.*—These words always imply an ellipsis, which in this case may be thus supplied: “But Philotas says that he ought to be excused for he did not give credit, &c.”
14. *Extraxisset.*—“We may supply *eos* (*sc. pueros*) as the object of this verb and translate; “Why then should he have put *them* off for two days?” Or we may consider *biduum* the direct object and give this rendering: “Why then should he have frittered away *two days?*” See Leverett for this latter meaning of *Extraha*.
15. *Amicis.*—See Note 14 of preceding chapter,
16. *Adhuc* is to be applied to *torpenter*,

## Note

17. *De capitalibus, &c.*—This applies to a time of war as the next clause shows.
18. *Erat vulgi.*—Supply *inquirere de capitalibus rebus.*
19. *Auctoritas, sc. populi.*—The meaning is: The royal prerogative is powerless unless backed by the *expressed will of the people.*

## LIB. VI. CAP. IX.

1. *Providentia et misericordia.*—“By the merciful providence.”
2. *Venerabilis* is here used in an active sense: “Your reverential aspect.” See a similar instance Val. Max. (II. iv. 4.)
3. *Autem* may here be rendered by “I ask,” “Tell me,” or some similar phrase.
4. *Illa aetate.*—At that age you know him to have attained; that is: “At his advanced age.” The same phrase is employed (Lib. iv. Cap. v. *init.*) to denote youth.
5. *Querentium.*—“Complaining.” Curtius may have written *querentium*, “Making inquiries;” for we find above that a great part of the assembly were ignorant of what had been done, and it was natural for them when the king paused to put questions to each other with regard to the details of the conspiracy, the mere outlines of which he had disclosed.
6. *Exonerare.*—See Note 12 of preceding chapter.
7. *Iste, si Regis, &c.*—This is a passage abounding in *various readings.* We have given the common one, merely substituting marks of exclamation instead of those of interrogation. We suppose this to be the sense, first premising, that the king must be considered as pointing to Philotas. “That that individual, if he were so disturbed at the danger of the king, should not change countenance! That, anxious about so important a matter, he should yet be unwilling to listen to the informer! [I can't believe it, No.] the fact is (*nimirum*) under all this studied indifference (*silentio*) is concealed,” &c.
8. *Quam capit.*—“Than he is capable of.”
9. *Orbitas* here signifies “that want of support” which is afforded to a parent and especially to a monarch by the possession of children.
10. *Viscerum meorum.*—See Note 20, Lib. iv. Cap. xiv.
11. *Mihi.*—“In my own estimation.”
12. *Non possum, sc. salvus esse.*
13. *Conspecti, sc. ejus,* i. e. *Philotas*, which is governed by *habitu.*

*Note*

14. *Omnis ea*.—That is: Parmanio was impleaded with his surviving son in the same charge.
15. *Haud quaque pro, &c.*—“In no way was the speech of Amyntas as pleasing to the king, as he expected.”
16. *Parricidem*.—See Note 12, Lib. iii. Cap. xii.
17. *Equivid videtis*.—“Do you not perceive?” *Equivid* usually requires a negative form of interrogation in English.
18. *Odio—teneri*.—The reading adopted here by Zumpt as well as by many before him, is *adeo—tadere*. We prefer the one given in the text, because it is a form of expression similar to that used by our author (Lib. iii. Cap. ii. § 5, *cir. med.*)—because it is perfectly correct in itself,—because *tadere* is too closely allied in signification to *fastidit* in the next clause,—and because *adeo* seems hardly required to give force to the sentence.
19. *Ita*.—“With this remark.”

## LIB. VI. CAP. X.

1. *Destitutus*.—Perhaps Curtius wrote *distractus*.
2. *Prassertim cum querenti*.—Philotas here refers to what is mentioned, Lib. vi. Cap. vii. § 19, *sub. fin.* (*Scisitari deinde, &c.*) The literal rendering of the passage is this: “Especially since to him (Nicomachus), making inquiries as to who were accomplices, I must have been named, though falsely, in order that he who was tampered with (“was fearful” if we read *verebatur*) might be more readily urged forward.”
3. *Non enim, &c.*—“For he did not omit my name after the crime was discovered that he might seem to spare a friend, but in making known the matter to Nicomachus, who, he believed, would be silent as to secrets that concerned himself, he mentioned others and kept back my name alone.” The text here, as well as throughout this section, is very much disputed.
4. *Dymnus san̄d, &c.*—“Grant that Dymnus were both alive yet and willing to spare me; what will the rest [of the conspirators do]? Will they, forsooth, who confess their own guilt keep back my name?” The argument of Philotas is this: Even if Dymnus were alive and willing to spare me, the other conspirators, if I were guilty, would not; but as they do not inform against me, it is a fair proof of my innocence.
5. *Unum*.—“The only one.”
6. *Dimissus*.—“Discharged.”

## Note

7. *Vel.*—"At least."
8. *Malis indormientem, &c.*—"Sleeping secure in the midst of impending evils."
9. *Scelerati, &c.*—The order is: *Cum scelerati non possint dormire, conscientia obstrepente, furiae agitant, &c.*
10. *Impleturus.*—"Though about to fill."
11. *Inveni, sc. eos.*
12. *Si insonentes, &c.*—"If I had harassed the innocent" by giving credit to and reporting to the king unfounded charges of conspiracy.
13. *At enim.*—Supply the ellipsis, implied by these words, thus: "But you ought to have given credit to the charge for Dymnus," &c.
14. *Conscius Dymno, &c.*—See Note 22, Lib. vi. Cap. vi.
15. *Tolli de medio, &c.*—"Might have been made way with, and that without difficulty."
16. *Sic ergo.*—"So then."
17. *Quam quod Amyntas.*—"Than the fact that Amyntas."
18. *Fratrem regis.*—He was in reality the cousin of Alexander; but collateral relatives were frequently called brothers among the ancients. See Lib. vi. Cap. ix. § 27, *prop. init.*
19. *Etiam venerari.*—By the use of these terms our author makes Philotas covertly inveigh against Alexander's recent requirements with regard to Persian obeisance.
20. *Quod si, &c.*—"If it is just."
21. *At enim.*—The student will remember that these words imply an ellipsis and endeavour to supply it.
22. *Fides amicitiae, &c.*—An eloquent passage.
23. *Regi.*—"For the benefit of the king." *Datus commodi.*
24. *Non enim, &c.*—That is: I was not exciting odium against the king, but was only fearful that the course he was pursuing in claiming divine honours for himself, would bring it upon him.
25. *In arcānum, &c.*—*In* here means "with regard to;" in which sense it is used by Cicero and other standard writers. Zumpt leaves it out, and says *scelus* is used for *de scelere*.
26. *Hanc fidem.*—"This reliable method."
27. *Parentes* is used here in the general sense of "relations," as the French use *les parents*.
28. *Parum est.*—"It is not enough."
29. *Quid.*—Supply *propter* before it.
30. *Expectare voluisse.*—"Had been willing to wait for awhile." *Quam* is the object of *expectare* and refers to *spiritum*.

**Note**

31. *Admonuit*.—“Has reminded me.”  
 32. *Bone meritis, &c.*—“Not to plot against those who have deserved well of you.” This is the answer to the question of Philotas, *Quis facere, &c.*

## LIB. VI. CAP. XI.

1. *Civilis habitus*.—“The habits of civilized life.” The Delphin editor in a note at this place gives seven different significations in which *habitus* is used by our author. 1. “Clothing” (iii. 3); 2. “Bodily form and stature” (iii. 12, vi. 5, vii. 8); 3. “Posture of the body” (viii. 4); 4. “Peculiar badge” (vii. 1); 5. “Condition” (iii. 12); 6. “Quality or character” (v. 7); 7. “Mode of life” (vi. 6, 11.)
2. *Diversorii*.—“Soldiers’ quarters” or “Mess-rooms.”
3. *Purgamenta servorum*.—“The meanest of his slaves.” Lit. “The offscourings of,” &c.
4. *Femina illa*.—Namely, *Philotas*, whom he represents as very effeminate.
5. *Rusticos homines*.—By these he means his uneducated fellow-soldiers.
6. *Qui* refers to *ei*, i. e. *Philotas*.
7. *Homines lingua sua*.—See Note 11, Lib. vi. Cap. v.
8. *Scilicet veritum, &c.*—“Fearful, forsooth, lest what the gods bestowed (upon the king) might prove the source of ill-will.”
9. *Transeunt*.—This is a term derived from the mode of delivering opinions in the Roman Senate, where “a decree of the senate was made by a separation of the senators to different parts of the house. He who presided said, *Qui hoc censetis, illuc TRANSEITE. Qui alia, &c.*” See Adams’ Rom. Antiquities.
10. *Non ad questionem*.—“Not to elicit the truth.”
11. *Ingerebantur*.—“Were brought to bear upon him.” Lit. “Were heaped upon him.”
12. *Habebat in potestate*.—“He controlled.”
13. *Quid caustum erat*.—“By which it was provided.”
14. *Caeterum*.—“Be that as it may.” See Note 15, Lib. iv. Cap. v.
15. *Actum est de nobis*.—“We are undone.”
16. *Inciterent*.—“Might well excite.”
17. *Vindicaturum*.—“Would claim for himself.”
18. *Non enim sibi sed hosti*.—“Not for their own, but the enemy’s benefit.” *Dativi commodi*.
19. *Everberarent*.—This word is used in a similar connection by Quintilian (Inst. II. 4. 1.)

## Note

20. *Causa non.*—"No reason for." That is: "No advantage in."
21. *Ingradi non poterat.*—"Was unable to walk."
22. *Incidere.*—"Lighting upon."
23. *Amicorum.*—See Note 14, Cap. vii. of this book.
24. *Itaque ances quæstio fuit.*—"And thus the torture was uncertain in its results." Civilized nations have generally been led to see the uselessness of torture as a means of eliciting truth, and have, accordingly, abolished it.

## LIB. VII. CAP. I.

1. *Alterum in acie, &c.*—"Had been the main support of one wing of the army" by commanding it "in battle."
2. *Satisque prudens, &c.*—"And sufficiently aware that the evils arising from inactivity are dissipated by constant employment," &c. Armies have not been the only sufferers from *ipsius inertiae dulcedo*, as Tacitus (Agric. 8) finely expresses it.
3. *Haud dubit, &c.*—"Doubtless by arrangement.
4. *Conscientia.*—"Consciousness of guilt."
5. *Ex iis.*—Supply *quidam* as the subject of *confederunt*.
6. *Obluctantem, &c.*—"While yet struggling with his want of memory."
7. *Olim esse sibi, &c.*—"That long since they had been made objects of suspicion to him by a letter from his mother in which," &c.
8. *Ceterum se invitum, &c.*—"But that he, unwilling to believe the worst, was now convinced, &c., and had ordered," &c.
9. *Non vice sed.*—"Out of their turn."
10. *Ad hoc accedere.*—"Moreover."
11. *Scriba equitum.*—Perhaps answering to the "muster master" of a modern army.
12. *Si nihil interest regis.*—"If it make no difference to the king."
13. *Habitus.*—In military phrase "accoutrements." Here, however, we may infer from what follows, it has reference only to the lance, which formed the "peculiar badge" of the corps to which Amyntas belonged. See Note 1 of preceding chapter.
14. *Alexandri.*—Namely, Lyncester Alexander.
15. *Tempori nostro.*—"To our peculiar circumstances."
16. *Cum quid, &c.*—Amyntas here enlarges upon the idea conveyed by the words *tempori nostro* in the previous sentence.
17. *Ferre nos.*—"Endure our arrogance."
18. *Indignatio.*—"Vexation," as contrasted with *lætitia*.

## Note

19. *Et quidquid, &c.*—A noble sentiment and one worthy of more extended application.
20. *Utinam Philotas, &c.*—That is: Would that Philotas had transgressed only by a few hasty expressions.
21. *Adeo non eo infitias*—“I am so far from denying.” *Eo infitias* is an idiomatic phrase, which, literally rendered, would be, “I go a denial.” In our own language the vulgar phrases, “I cannot go that,” “I'll go a treat,” &c., resemble it. Some copies have *infitor* the verb.
22. *Decurverent*.—“Should resort to.”
23. *Ab illo traditi*.—“Commanded by him.”
24. *In tua verba*.—“According to the form prescribed by you.”
25. *Tu praevenire*.—See Note 14, Lib. iv. Cap. xiii. The phrase might possibly allude to the king's *passing along* the ranks, as the soldiers severally took the oath; we think, however, the sense referred to is the true one.
26. *Hoc sacramento, &c.*—“Bound as we were by this oath of attachment, should we, forsooth, turn our backs upon one whom you,” &c.! Others, including Zumpt, read this clause affirmatively, but of course ironically.
27. *Hoc mihi cum, &c.*—“I had this affair with Antiphanes.”
28. *Ancepit est*.—“Has an equal bearing upon,” &c.
29. *Nec infitias eo*.—See above, Note 21.
30. *Hoc unum, &c.*—“This single duty of his military calling.”
31. *Inanes—species*.—“Mere phantoms.”
32. *Integros*.—From *in*, “not,” and *tango*, “I touch.” Here it means “unouched by the hardships of military life.” The word is also applied to “fresh troops” brought forward on the field of battle.
33. *No quem, &c.*—“That I should pay no regard to any one but you.”

## LIB. VII. CAP. II.

1. *Modò ne, &c.*—“Only let not my flight be reckoned as adverse to the,” &c.
2. *Lacrymæ deinde, &c.*—The sudden change in the feelings of the soldiers, after the noble speech of Polemon, is graphically described; indeed the whole scene is fine.
3. *Alienus terror*.—That is: A panic inspired by the example of others.
4. *Mæstus non, &c.*—That is: *Mæstus non [ob] suam vicem sed [ob vicem] fratrum periclitantium propter ipsum.* For the construc-

## Note

- tion of *vicem* without a preposition, see Anthon's Zumpt's Gram. §§ 458, 459.
5. *Excusissem*.—Curtius, in the use of this word, probably refers to the Roman method of searching the person by *shaking out* the *toga*, in order that any thing concealed might fall out.
  6. *Simpliciter*.—"Sincerely," to be referred to *reconciliati*.
  7. *Tumultuoso*.—Used actively. "Calculated to excite a tumult."
  8. *Consternationia*.—See Note 4, Lib. v. Cap. ix.
  9. *Septuaginta natus, &c.*—"Though seventy years of age, he discharged," &c.
  10. *Haec impulerint, &c.*—Understand *an* before this clause.
  11. *Quia Philotas, &c.*—*Quia dubitatum est, Philotasne, virtus ultimis cruciatisbus, dixerit vera, quae non poterant probari [esse] facta, an petierit finem tormentorum falsis re quoque, &c.*
  12. *Alioqui*.—"For other reasons."
  13. *Admonuit*.—"He gave notice."
  14. *Simpliciter*.—"Frankly."
  15. *Et qui forte, &c., hanc scornum, &c.*—The grammatical connection between these two clauses is very awkward; hence Acidalius, Schmieder, and others, have thought the former clause an interpolation. Some editions reject it altogether.
  16. *Excepit*.—"Sustained." "Did not give way under."

## LIB. VII. CAP. IV.

1. *Cum illos, &c.*—The order is: *Cum idem [periculum], quod manet osteros, maneat illos qui parcent; verò periculum proprium sibi [maneat eos] qui suadeant.*
2. \* \* \* \* \*.—There are evidently some words wanting here, for *Bessus* is necessarily the subject of *tradidit*, according to the requirements of the sense, while, according to the grammatical construction, *Ie*, i. e. *Cobares* would be the subject. Zumpt proposes to insert the words *a Besso dicere, quae in animo haberet, jesus est*, —making *Ie* the subject of *jesus est*, and *Bessus* (understood) the subject of *tradidit*.
3. *Hoc quoque nomine*.—"For this reason, among others."
4. *Abominor*.—This expression answers to the Greek " $\mu\eta\gamma\acute{e}v\sigma\tau\alpha$ ," and to the English "God forbid."
5. *Velocissimus*.—See Note 2, Lib. v. Cap. viii.
6. *Ille, sc. movebit.*
7. *Quin*.—"Why not."

## Note

8. *Quo facilitus, &c.*—“On which account you may the more readily bear the loss of it.”
9. *Fecerit, sc. to regem.*
10. *Quod diutine, &c.*—“Which it is unnecessary to mention any farther in detail.”
11. *Traetra.*—“They prolonged.”
12. *Aliibi.*—“In various places.”
13. *Deinde.*—“Then again.”
14. *Siderum* may here be rendered “The Heavens”; “The Firmament.” We find the word used in a like sense by Juvenal (xi. 63, xiii. 47.)
15. *Intenti in, &c.*—“Intently fixed upon the result, not only as it concerned the two combatants, but themselves, since they would share in the fate of another.” That is: would have their lot decided by the success or defeat of their champion.
16. *Guttura.*—“The front”; *Cervice,* “the back” of the neck.
17. *Opimum bell'i ducus.*—Our author here refers to the well-known Roman custom, which permitted the commanding general of an army, if he had slain with his own hands the commander of the enemy, to bear before him the spoils he had taken from the dead body, and which were called *opima spolia*. See Anthon's Smith's Dict., p. 907.

## LIB. VII. CAP. V.

1. *Prius desperatione, &c.*—“Sooner by the despair of obtaining any than by the actual want of it.”
2. *Caligo.*—“A dark mist.”
3. *Orabant, &c., cum ex iis, &c.*—“They were entreating, &c., when two of those, &c.”
4. *Succurrerent.*—We have no doubt that this is the true reading, instead of *occurrerent*, as our author would not unnecessarily make use of the same verb twice in the same sentence. Besides, *succurrerent* is much better suited to the sense.
5. *Utre resoluto.*—This refers to the mode of opening the skins, viz., by loosening the string around the neck.
6. *Nec solus, &c.*—“I cannot endure to drink alone.”
7. *Intercluso spiritu.*—That is: By suffocation.
8. *Qui agmen, &c.*—“Who brought up the rear.”
9. *Dividit.*—“He distributes.” See a similar meaning of this verb in Horace (Carm. I. 15. 15, and I. 36. 6.)

## Note

10. *Quia nihil illa, &c.*—This sentiment is founded on that general principle laid down by Ovid (Art. Am. I. 655);

— *Noque enim lex aequor illa,  
Quam nec artifices arte perire sud,*

11. *Titulus.*—“The pretext.”
12. *Talem* — Sequentem.
13. *Agitantes, &c.*—“That in the act of plotting they had been,” &c.
14. *Partim—partim.*—“On the one hand—on the other.”
15. *Iniquos—proprios, sc. Deos.*
16. *Dubios adhuc animi.*—“As yet hesitating in their purpose.”
17. *Quibus matura, &c.*—“Whose discharge was at hand.” That is: Whose term of service was just expiring.
18. *Talenta.*—See Note 16, Lib. iii. Cap. i.
19. *Paulatim a domestico, &c.*—“Having gradually degenerated from the purity of their own (*domestico*) tongue by the introduction of a foreign one (*externo*).”
20. *Proditio, sc. Milesia.* Dative after *permittit*.
21. *Originis.*—That is: Their common origin as Milesiana, for Branchus, from whom the family of the Branchides descended, presided over the temple of Apollo near Miletus.
22. *Postero die, &c.*—“The next day as the Branchides came [out of the city] to meet him, he orders them to proceed with him.” That is: to re-enter the city with him, that no one might escape the slaughter. This passage has puzzled critics much, most of them applying *occurrentibus* to Alexander's Milesian soldiers; but, as it is mentioned above that the Branchides received Alexander gladly and gave themselves up to him, we can readily imagine that great numbers would leave the city to *meet* the advancing army. We have accordingly adopted a reading suggested by Modius. *Occurrentibus Branchidis* may be the dative governed by *jubet* (which would be an unusual construction) or the ablative absolute,—*eos* to be supplied before *procedere*.
23. *Adeo.*—“Consequently.”
24. *Omni velamento, &c.*—This, to an Eastern nobleman, would, in itself, be a very severe punishment.
25. *Aperiat—existat.*—Understand *Utinam* before these verbs.
26. *Sed hujus, &c.*—“But you repaid yourself (considered yourself repaid) for this murder by the empty title of king.”
27. *Facinus purgare.*—“To justify his crime.”
28. *Qui has se* for its antecedent.

## Note

29. *Emiperet*.—“Would take off.” The literal translation of this word corresponds very well with the English idiom in the same connection. Understand *volantes* with *avea*.
30. *Sagittandi, &c.*.—“When the practice of archery has become so frequent,” &c.

## LIB. VII. CAP. VI.

1. *Lutronum*.—“Predatory barbarians.”
2. *Pugnam invadunt*.—“They engage in battle.”
3. *Tunc potissimum*.—“Just at that time of all others.”
4. *Pristeritis*.—“Overlooked.” “Passed by.” That is: Not permitted to carry him.
5. *Liberi ex quo, &c.*.—“Independent since the death of Cyrus,” who, according to some, perished among the Scythians.
6. *Justissimos, sc. eos esse*.
7. *Europam*.—Our author here labours under the error (doubtless derived from his Greek authorities), of supposing that Alexander was now on the confines of Europe, and that the Jaxartes, now before him, was the Tanais or Don. This error pervades this part of his narrative, and, of course, renders it impossible to reconcile many of his geographical statements with the truth.
8. *Quae*.—Supply *corrum* before *qua*.
9. *Idque imperaturum, &c.*.—“And [though] that duty had been enjoined upon them, yet they could not bear to perform it.”
10. *Militum, sc. Macedonum*.
11. *Ne mentis, &c.*.—That is: He was rendered insensible, or, perhaps, delirious.
12. *Percurso*.—“Thoroughly healed.”
13. *Ostentation*.—“Activity.”
14. *Suffosca*.—“Undermined.”
15. *Adeodorenfer*.—“Were completed.”
16. *Nam divizum, &c.*.—“For each had his allotted task.” A similar instance of the division of labour, in building the walls of a city, is mentioned in O. T. (Nehem. Chap. iii.)
17. *Dati*.—“Were assigned.”

## LIB. VII. CAP. VII.

1. *Tunisia*.—Williams, in his Life of Alexander (p. 191, Harp. ed.), makes the following remark with regard to this frequent erroneous mention of the Tanais. “The Macedonians, either from ignorance

**Note**

- or flattery, called the Jaxaytes, the Tanais, and boasted that their victorious king had passed into Europe through the northwestern boundaries of Asia."
2. *Humano cultu, &c.*—That is: They bear the marks of civilization.  
*Cultu* for *culta*.
  3. *Modicus cibus*.—“Spare diet.”
  4. *Bactriani*.—Namely, that branch known as the *Sogdiani*.
  5. *Vix suos, &c.*—“That his soldiers would scarcely believe that his sickness was not feigned.”
  6. *Ludibria*.—“The delusion.”
  7. *Sine Rege*.—“When the king was not present.”
  8. *Ne contentiones vocia*.—“Lest by raising his voice.”
  9. *Discrimen*.—“A great crisis.”
  10. *Alieno Marte*.—That is: By exciting another nation (the Scythians) against us.
  11. *Committere*.—“To unite.”
  12. *Recidere*.—“Will recoil.”
  13. *Quibus*.—“By the aid of which.”
  14. *Ut Scytha*.—“Grant that the Scythians.”
  15. *Unus—adhuc exercitus*.—“But one army as yet.”
  16. *Et quod inferre, &c.*—That is: Instead of acting on the offensive, we shall be compelled to act on the defensive.
  17. *Subdeficiens*.—“Half fainting.” *Sub* always diminishes the force of the word to which it is prefixed; *per*, on the other hand, increases it.
  18. *Superstitionem—incutere*.—“To inspire superstitious fear.” A little below, *supersticio* may be rendered “superstitious feelings.”
  19. *Quem certum, &c.*—The order is:—*Quem, mehercule, habeo certum, uti suo motu, interprete extorum*. *Quem* is the subject of *uti*. *Certum*, acc. neut., qualifying the statement contained in the text of the clause.
  20. *Tibi autem, &c.*—This is a much contested passage. The following are some of the various readings: *Tibi sapius haud quād potest. Tibi autem sapius quād potest. Tibi autem qui sapius quād potest denuntiat ipse*. Zumpt reads: *Tibi autem quietius quād potest denuntio*, and thus translates: “with more quietness than is possible”; that is, “than you might expect from me.” The reading in the text is from Modius, who calls it *elegans*, to which Raderus assents. We confess that we are not satisfied with any, and therefore suggest the following: *Tibi autem, cū potest, denuntio*. The king had just asked in anger the question, “Am I a king or a mere

## Note

private individual!" and, after chiding Aristander for revealing the secrets of his art to Erygius instead of to himself, he says that the latter had made "his fear the interpreter of the entrails," and exclaims "But now, while it is in my power, I lay my orders upon you to make known to me," &c. *Cum* being written in the form *quām*, might readily have been superseded by *quād*.

21. *Magni*, &c.—"I have foretold that a crisis, involving great but not useless toil, is at hand."
22. *Quād*, for *magis quād*.
23. *Tum sollicitudinis*, &c.—"That at that time causes of anxiety had been apparent; that now the sacrifice was altogether propitious." The ready compliance of Aristander with Alexander's wishes, by forcing the sacrifices to have propitious results, makes one think of the remark of Cicero in the person of Cotta (*De Naturā Deor.* L 26, init.), *Mirabile videtur, quod non rideat aruspex, cum aruspicom viderit.* Cicero, in another place, (*De Divin. II. 24. init.*), speaks of it as a remark of Cato. *Vetus autem illud Catonis admodum scitum est, qui mirari se siebat, quod non rideret aruspex, aruspicom cùm vidiisset.*
24. *Qui*, sc. *Spartam*en.
25. *Simul fretus*, &c.—"And, at the same time, trusting that he (the enemy) might be intercepted, &c., lay in ambush."
26. *Eiectus*.—"Borne out of" his own ranks.

## LIB. VII. CAP. VIII.

1. *Animo disparem*.—"At variance with his feelings."
2. *Ibi sine arbitrio*, &c.—"There in solitude (lit. "without witnesses"), weighing every purpose of his mind, he passed the night in watching."
3. *Tenta erat*, &c.—This whole scene again reminds us of similar ones in the campaigns of the French emperor.
4. *Rer.*—"The nature of the case."
5. *Habitus*.—See Note 1, Lib. vi. Cap. xi.
6. *Scythis autem*, &c.—"The Scythians do not, like other barbarians, possess a genius rude and uncultivated."
7. *Quidam eorum*, &c.—"Some of them are said to acquire a degree of knowledge as great as a nation, always in arms, is capable of."
8. *Abhorrent*.—The subject of this verb is *ea qua locuti sunt* (understood.)
9. *Sortitiae*.—"Which have fallen upon."

## Note

10. *Ut*.—For *ut*. Perhaps Curtius wrote the latter.
11. *Ubi tanti, &c.*.—That is: You would endeavour to find out what becomes of the sun during the night.
12. *Leo quoque, &c.*.—“There are occasions also when even the lion,” &c.
13. *Licetne, sc. nobis.*
14. *Data sunt, sc. a Diis.*
15. *Non succurrat tibi, &c.*.—“Does it not occur to you how long you are at a stand in the neighbourhood of Bactra?” That is: How long it is taking you to subdue Bactra.
16. *Ut*.—See above, Note 10.
17. *Pateant, sc. Scythæ.*
18. *Eludi*.—“Are held up to scorn.”
19. *Sequimur*.—“We court.”
20. *Salubre consilium, &c.*.—The future will place the salutary character of our advice in a clearer view than the present.
21. *Comprehendere*.—“To lay hold of.”
22. *Stultum est, &c.*.—“It is sheer folly to be mindful of those things which lead you to forget yourself.”
23. *Cautio*.—“A precaution.”
24. *Nos religionem, &c.*.—“We recognize the claims of religion by our good faith.”
25. *Bactra nisi, &c.*.—That is: We are separated from Bactra only by the Tanais.

## LIB. VII. CAP. IX.

1. *A puppe*.—It is difficult to determine whether these words refer to the persons seated *on the stern*, and holding their horses, or to the horses themselves swimming *at the stern*.
2. *Objecit*.—That is: Interposed between them and the enemy.
3. *Conati nisu*.—Lit. “Endeavouring with exertion.” That is: Striving with all their might.
4. *Utpote libero nisu*.—“Since their exertions were no longer restrained,” &c. by the motion of the raft.
5. *Territos recipienteque, sc. Scythæ*.—Some, however, have considered *equos* as put for *equites*. In that case, *sc.* must be understood with *recipiente*.
6. *Turbatis, &c.*.—“They began to charge boldly upon them (the Scythians) thrown into confusion.”
7. *Efusis habenis*.—“At full speed.” Lit. “with loosened reins.”

## Note

8. *Quoniam, &c.*—“Although unable to endure [without injury] the shaking of his weak frame.”
9. *Ut fidem, &c.*—The order is: *Ut faceret fidem certamen fuisse sibi cum ferociissimis gentium de fortitudine, non de irâ.*

## LIB. VII. CAP. X.

1. *Carminibus, &c.*—“With songs peculiar to themselves.”
2. *Inimicos.*—“Personal enemies.” *Hostes.*—“Public enemies.”
3. *Condernationis.*—See Note 4, Lib. v. Cap. x.
4. *Tum velut, &c.*—“At that time, as it were, bridles upon the surrounding nations.” We find the term *bridle* applied to the city of Gath as far back as the time of David, who is represented as taking METHEG-AMMAH, *the bridle* of Ammah. Compare II. Sam. viii. 1. with I. Chron. xviii. 1.

## LIB. VII. CAP. XI.

1. *In altitudinem.*—The perpendicular height is not intended, but the distance from the foot to the top of the rock.
2. *Ostium, &c.*—There is a sort of climax, in this description, from the “narrow opening” to the “lofty chambers in the interior.”
3. *Pernicisimæ.*—This word here means “Most active in every respect,”—in climbing and leaping, as well as running.
4. *Mei documenta.*—“Evidences of my character.”
5. *Nihil tam, &c.*—“Nature has placed nothing so high that true valour cannot reach.”
6. *Portio*—“Proportion.”
7. *His-talibus.*
8. *Quod bene, &c.*—See Note 9, Lib. v. Cap. iv.
9. *Facies.*—“Sight”—“Spectacle.”
10. *Rimantes.*—“Searching”—“Prying into.”
11. *Vicem.*—See Note 4, Lib. vii. Cap. ii.
12. *Acies.*—“His eyesight.”
13. *Abire.*—“To be off.”
14. *Sicut plaga, &c.*—“Like many of the vain and trivial occurrences in war.”
15. *Ille, sc. Alexander.*
16. *Crucibus jussit, &c.*—What innate cruelty there must be in the human heart when orders like this can be coolly given.
17. *Tutus.*—“In charge.”

## LIB. VIII. CAP. I.

## Note

1. *Mayore fama, &c.*—“With more of present notoriety than lasting glory.”
2. *Imperata fecerunt.*—*Imperata* or *mandata facere*, phrases of frequent occurrence in our author, as well as in Caesar, Nepos, and others, are generally equivalent to *se dedere* or *deditio nem facere*.
3. *Incomposito agmine, &c.*—“With a disordered column and broken ranks.”
4. *Prædabundus.*—Adjectives with this termination denote “a proneness to,” “a tendency towards,” and, as in the case before us, “an immediate purpose to.”
5. *Quibus adjuncta.*—“On their forming a junction with him.”
6. *Regnavit.*—“Was king,” &c. of Thrace.
7. *Quandam* is here equivalent to our phrase “Once upon a time.”
8. *Id ipsum, &c.*—“Upbraiding him with that very thing.”
9. *Temere vulgarit.*—“Reported without any grounds.”
10. *Scivere.*—“Decreed.”
11. *Pedes.*—“On foot.”
12. *In posterum, sc. diem.*
13. *Multo incaluisse, &c.*—“Had become heated with excess of wine.”
14. *Gravius etiam, &c.*—“Making himself offensive even,” &c.
15. *Obterere.*—“To disparage.”
16. *Sui operis, &c.*—“Had been the result of his efforts.”
17. *Jacuisse.*—“Lay prostrate.”
18. *Non aliâ.*—“In no other way.”
19. *Aequo animo.*—“From a sense of justice.”
20. *Invitum filio.*—“Unwillingly indebted to his son for safety.”
21. *Itaque.*—“And so too.”
22. *Sine eo.*—“Without his father.”
23. *Qui Samothracum, &c.*—“Who went to see the mysteries of the Samothracians.” *Viso* usually includes the combined meanings of *Eo* and *Video*. We find numerous instances of it in the dramatic poets. Digby “in his translation of Curtius” sadly mistakes the word *initia*, which he renders “borders.”
24. *Cubabant.*—“Were reclining at table,”—according to the prevailing customs of most nations at that time, and for many centuries thereafter. See Anthon’s Smith’s Dict. (*Triclinium*.)
25. *Euripidis retulit carmen.*—“Repeated some verses of Euripides.” (Androm. 693.)
26. *Ita ut, &c.*—“In such a way that the sound could be heard, rather

## Note

- than any articulate remark be understood." *Eccudio* signifies "to hear so as to understand."
27. *Malè instituisse, &c.*—"That it was a faulty institution (custom) of the Greeks."
28. *Alios enim, &c.*—"For (in this way) the glory acquired by the blood of others was carried off by them."
29. *Malignus habitum, &c.*—"That an ill-natured remark had been made."
30. *Et Rex velut, &c.*—"And the king, while apparently listening with patience to the remarks by which Clitus was disparaging his fame, was in reality very much enraged." Lit. "Had conceived great wrath."
31. *Animo—temperaturus.*—"About to restrain his temper."
32. *Exprobaturum sibi, &c.*—"Would upbraid him with the fact that his life was a gift from him (Clitus)." That is: That Clitus had saved his life at the battle of Granicus.
33. *Atque illum, &c.*—The order is: *Atque [iH], qui cubuerant proximi ei, jurgantes monentesque, conabantur, injectis manibus, abducere illum, adhuc cunctantem surgere.*
34. *Violentiam.*—Some copies read *Vinolentiam*.
35. *Suo pectore, &c.*—"That his (Alexander's) back had been protected by his (Clitus') breast; that now after the occasion of such a meritorious deed had passed away, even the remembrance of it had become odious." The contrast implied in the words *tergum* and *pectora* would of course be very offensive to Alexander.
36. *Objiciebat.*—"He taunted him with."
37. *Jam.*—"By this time."
38. *Medium complexi, &c.*—"Seizing him by the waist—they held him back."
39. *Quod—nuper, &c.*—Referring to the seizure of Darius by Bessus and his accomplices.
40. *Impotens animi.*—"Having no longer any control over his wrath."
41. *Aditu.*—"Passage-way."
42. *Eminebat, &c.*—"The dreadful character of the crime he was meditating disclosed itself even in the tones of his voice."

## LIB. VIII. CAP. II.

1. *Malè humanis, &c.*—That is: It is an unfortunate provision of nature with regard to the human mind that usually we do not ponder well upon the results of our actions, while those results are in the future, but only when they are past recall.

## Note

2. *Serd.*—“Too late.”
3. *Videbat tunc, &c.*—The order is: *Videbat virum, tunc abusum immodecum libertate, sed alioqui egregium bello, et, nisi erubesceret fateri, servatorem sui, occisum [fuisse a se ipso].*
4. *Pando antò conviva.*—“Of one who had just been his guest.”
5. *Liberioremque paenitentiam.*—“Freer scope for penitential feelings.”
6. *Extracta est.*—Lit. “Was dragged out.” The word implies that he passed a long and weary night.
7. *Subit.*—“It occurs to.”
8. *Casterum magis, &c.*—“Again he was disturbed the more because,” &c.
9. *Vivendum esse, sc. sibi.*
10. *Terrenti alias, &c.*—This is very forcibly expressed whether we consider *alias* as an adjective agreeing with *feras* understood, or as an adverb, and translate, “at one time—at another.”
11. *Lacrymis abortis, &c.*—“With gushing tears, he exclaims: *These are the thanks that I have returned,*” &c.
12. *Omnibus ejus, &c.*—“Of all her friends I am the only one that survives and, at the same time, the only one that she,” &c.
13. *Sine memorid, &c.*—“Without putting her in mind of her misfortune.”
14. *Maxime ad confirmandum pudorem.*—“Chiefly for the purpose of regaining his complexion” (for, as *Rubor* is sometimes put for *Pudor*, so we find *Pudor* for *Rubor*)—or, “Chiefly for the purpose of giving strength to the shame (and penitence)” he felt for his murderous deed—or, lastly, “Chiefly for the purpose of (regaining and) strengthening the reverence” of the soldiers for him.
15. *Congregantur.*—“They unite together.”
16. *Alteram defectionem.*—“Their second revolt.”
17. *Is, armatis, &c.*—“He, having armed his countrymen, had hedged in, by a strong fortification, the entrance into the country, where it was compressed into a narrow space.”
18. *Pratorfluebat.*—“In front flowed a rapid stream.”
19. *Perpetuus cuniculus.*—“A continuous underground passage.”
20. *Munimenta—manu adjuncta.*—That is: The artificial defences. *Manu* is opposed to *naturali situ*.
21. *Emicabant.*—“Became conspicuous”—“Attracted attention.”
22. *Omni alio, &c.*—“Rejecting every other method of defence.”
23. *Ut fidem, &c.*—“That he had better make trial of the good faith.”

## Note

24. *Oui quisquis, &c.*—“That whosoever threw himself in its way (opposed it) would bring upon his own head the calamities destined for others.”
25. *Deditioem annuebat.*—“Assented to a surrender.”
26. *Pretium.*—“The value.”
27. *Præceps.*—“Rash.”
28. *Fidei, sc. Regie.*
29. *Supervenit.*—“Came up.”
30. *Spe—factd.*—“The hope being held out to him.”
31. *Utcunque.*—“As well as they could.”
32. *Ut fore fit.*—“As is generally the case.”
33. *Defecranc, &c.*—“Had given out, with the exception of Philip.”
34. *Vectum.*—“Who was on horseback.”
35. *Cum lorica, &c.*—“Although, clad in mail, he was carrying his arms.”
36. *Se applicuit.*—“He leaned against.”

## LIB. VIII. CAP. III.

1. *Sed hanc quoque, &c.*—“But the objects of this expedition as in most other instances, fortune, never weary of bestowing favours upon him, accomplished in his behalf during his absence.”
2. *Et quo efficaciores, &c.*—“And to render entreaties more forcible, Alexander was not,” &c.
3. *Ille, se prodi, &c.*—The order is: *Ille, ratus se prodi, non moneri, et eam, profectò (doubtless) fiducia formæ, cupere dedi quād primūm Alexandro, strinaxit, &c.*
4. *Fastidio presentium.*—“By the disgust he felt for those around him,” sc. *pellicum.*
5. *Quod.*—“Inasmuch.”
6. *De cæstro.*—“For the future.”
7. *De die conviviam.*—See Note 8, Lib. v. Cap. vii.
8. *Alto et gravi somno.*—*Alto* refers to the soundness of the sleep, from which it would be difficult to awaken him;—*gravi* to the hard breathing and uneasiness produced by excess in eating and drinking.
9. *Illo profitente.*—“Upon his making a statement of facts.”
10. *Moritum ingens in semet.*—“Of great service to himself.”
11. *Vicit tamen, &c.*—“The atrocity of the crime, however, overcame gratitude for the service rendered.”

## LIB. VIII. CAP. IV.

Note

1. *Terrere*.—This word must be differently rendered, according as it is applied to *oculos* or *animos*. With the former it means “to dazzle” —with the latter, “to terrify.”
2. *Excepérant*.—“They had borne up against it.” Lit. “They had received it.”
3. *Nec ipsi, sc. poterant*.
4. *Quanquam imbrem, &c.*.—That is: The ground was one sheet of ice from the rain freezing on it as it fell.
5. *Nec fallebat, &c.*.—“Nor did it fail to occur to them that they were choosing a place to die, as soon as,” &c.
6. *Pertinax*.—“Long continued.”
7. *Lucemque, &c.*.—The order is: *Praterque tempestatem haud disperam nocti, umbra quoque sylvarum suppresserat lucem naturale solatium*.
8. *Nec ulla res, &c.*.—“Nor did any thing tend more to their safety, than their being ashamed to desert their king, who with manifold toil, was able to bear up against the evils to which they succumbed.” *Multiplicato* refers to Alexander’s cares and duties as commander-in-chief, as well as his personal exertions.
9. *Commovit*.—“Aroused.”
10. *Rigor*.—“Extreme cold.”
11. *Pestia*.—This word is applied to any dire calamity, such as, war, pestilence, or famine. Here it refers to a severe storm accompanied with extremity of cold.
12. *Habitu*.—“Outward appearance.” See Note 1, Lib. vi. Cap. xi.
13. *Sustentans*.—This participle seems to require *agre*, *vix*, or some word of like import to qualify it.
14. *Et promisso, &c.*.—“And a faithful performance followed the promise.”
15. *Rex gratiam, &c.*.—“The king, after saying that Syamithres had made a return for his kindness,” &c. *Habens gratiam*, or *Gratias agere*, “To feel thankful for,” or “To return thanks in words.” *Referto gratiam*, “To show gratitude by deeds.”
16. *Decore habitus*.—Many commentators have referred these words to Roxane’s “commanding form,” and have paraphrased it by *statura elegantia*. Others, with more reason, apply it to the “gracefulness of her attire.”
17. *Minus jam, &c.*.—“Who already, amid the favours of fortune

Note

- (against whom mankind are not sufficiently on their guard), exerted too little control over his desires."
18. *Tunc in amorem, &c.*—"Was at that time so given up to the love of a silly girl (who, in comparison with the royal family, was of low birth), as to declare," &c.
  19. *Ra.*—That is: As Achilles was married to Briseia.
  20. *Jungentibus opea.*—"Uniting their interests."
  21. *Qui maxime, &c.*—"Which most readily obeys the behests of others."

## LIB. VIII. CAP. V.

1. *Destinata.*—"Designs."
2. *Luxum magis, &c.*—That is: More for the purpose of extravagant profuseness than of a reasonable display of wealth. The meaning of the author is not very obvious. See § 30 of this book, *ad init.*
3. *Viri equique.*—We adopt here the conjecture of Snakenburg founded on our author's use of this phrase (Lib. iv. Cap. xiii. § 1 and Lib. viii. Cap. xiii. § 43.) It is strengthened by what follows, where Alexander is represented as adorning both men and horses with gold and silver, confessedly in imitation of the Indians. The more common readings are *Periti* and *Olypei*. The former is adopted by Zumpt.
4. *Quod.*—Supply *id.* That is: His purpose of claiming divine honours.
5. *Perinde* is to be united with *ac* in translating.
6. *Venerabundus.*—See Note 4, Lib. viii. Cap. i.
7. *Nemo enim, &c.*—"For no one of them could endure that there should be any falling away from," &c.
8. *Gracorum, sc. Culpa.*
9. *Honestarum artium.*—By these he means painting, sculpture, &c., in which the Greeks excelled.
10. *Pot Chærilum.*—"With the exception of Chærilus,"—not, as Digby translates, "since Chærilus," for he was at this time accompanying Alexander, though probably he did not unite with the others in their abject servility. He is mentioned by Horace (Epia. II. i. 232) in no very complimentary terms.

*Gratus Alexandro regi Magno fuit ille  
Chærilus, incultis qui versibus et male natis  
Retulit acceptos, regale numisma, Philippes.*

11. *Hē* is in apposition with *Agis, Oeo* and *purgamenta*.

## Note

12. *Ocseruos esse.*—“Would yield precedence.”
13. *Majestatem enim, &c.*—That is: The exalted character of the throne was its safeguard.
14. *Secum viventium.*—“Their contemporaries.”
15. *Spopondisset.*—“Had guaranteed” or “pledged itself for.”
16. *Prompta libertas.*—“His ready freedom of speech.”
17. *Invidiam—contraherea.*—“Bring odium upon.”
18. *Nullum esse, &c.*—“That no fruit is at the same time lasting.”
19. *Modò.*—“Just now.”
20. *Scilicet.*—“Forsooth.”
21. *Potentiam tuam, &c.*—“You may test your power if you please.”
22. *Facilius est, &c.*—“It is easier to bestow an earthly empire upon one than heaven.” That is: Than to make him a god—therefore I call upon you to perform the easier task before you attempt the more difficult one.
23. *Diis propitiis—audierint—patientur—velint.*—These subjunctives are to be translated as if preceded by *Utinam.*
24. *Expresserat, &c.*—“He had elicited not only the silent assent, but the expressed approbation of,” &c.
25. *Eorum qua, &c.*—“Of the remarks which had been thrown out on either side.”
26. *Quasi potiora, &c.*—“Although he had been engaged in some more important business.”
27. *Super regem.*—As in a room with three couches at the table the middle one was the most honourable, so on a couch containing three persons the middle position was the most honourable, while the next in honour was held by him who reclined in front, or on the bosom, of the other, as was the case with St. John (John xiii. 28.) See Anthon's Smith's Dict. (*Triclinium*.)
28. *Olim.*—“Long since.”
29. *Nec regem, &c.*—“That the king was not a worthy subject of derision, nor himself of degradation.”

## LIB. VIII. CAP. VI.

1. *In Calisthenem, &c.*—“Against Calisthenes, who had been for some time suspected of arrogant stubbornness, his wrath was of a more determined character.”
2. *Ad munia.*—“For the discharge of duties.”
3. *Servatis, &c.*—“Observing their nightly turns.”
4. *Adnovebant.*—“Brought them up” to the place where the king mounted.

Notes

5. *Stirpibus*.—By these are meant the kings of Egypt, Syria, Macedonia, &c., afterwards (but not many ages afterwards) conquered by the Romans.
6. *Igitur*.—“Well then.” That is: After this preliminary statement, I will proceed with the incident I was about to relate. *Igitur* is often used to introduce the main topic after a slight digression or preliminary statement.
7. *Omnis aprum, &c.*.—That is: Had anticipated others, and particularly the king, in striking a wild boar with his javelin.
8. *Corpus in quo, &c.*.—“That form on which he doted.”
9. *Puerili impetu*.—“With boyish impetuosity.”
10. *Comitas*.—“The agreeable character.”
11. *Attenuatio mentis*.—“With a mind divinely inspired.”
12. *Conversum in regia*.—“To have the freedom of the palace.”
13. *Instinctu*.—“By a divine impulse.”
14. *Inter conjuratos*.—“As well as the other conspirators.”
15. *Panitentiam ejus, sc. facinoria*.—“Was sorry for it.” “Repented of it.”
16. *Sed solitum—faciles cures presbere*.—“But as one accustomed to lend a ready ear.”
17. *Ad consilandum, &c.*.—“To soothe the sufferings inflicted by the scourge.”
18. *Dolorem*.—“Anger.”
19. *De quibus agebatur*.—“Whose cause was to be tried.”

## LIB. VIII. CAP. VII.

1. *Ingenuis*.—“Of noble birth.”
2. *Quota pars*.—“How few.”
3. *Quantum ad, &c.*.—As far as regards the enemy.
4. *Simplici morte*.—That is: Without torture.
5. *Ad expetenda*.—“To inflict.”
6. *Justissimo et patientissimo*.—Spoken ironically.
7. *Hæc ergo*.—“These then.”
8. *Gratuitas*.—“Unrecompensed.”
9. *Novo more* does not refer to any new method of passing under the yoke, but signifies that it was a new thing altogether for conquerors to be subjected to that or any other punishment.
10. *Aversaria*.—“Turn your back.”
11. *Duci, sc. ad supplicium*.

## LIB. VIII. CAP. VIII.

Note

1. *Confessum enim, &c.*—This is, as Freinsheim remarks, *mala affectus locus*. The readings vary greatly, though the sense is obviously this: That Hermolaus had confessed the worst of crimes, and yet the king had compelled him to utter what he had to say, not only that he himself, but that the soldiers also might hear. Zumpt's reading, *Tamen non solum audivi sed ut ipsi audiretis*, leaves the passage still *mala affectum*.
2. *Non imprudens*.—“Not unaware.”
3. *Iustum*.—“That that fellow” probably pointing to him.
4. *Excitare*.—“To call up to testify,” in which sense this word is used by Cicero (Pro. Rab. Postumo, 12.)
5. *Superbè habiti*.—“If treated with arrogance.”
6. *Non transire*.—“Not merely to overrun it.”
7. *Verum tamen, &c.*—“But still” (there is another charge), “I infuse,” &c.
8. *Enim*.—(This charge is trivial) “for,” &c.
9. *Recipere, sc. id nomen*.
10. *Et saepe etiam, &c.*—“And often that, which has been believed without good grounds, has served the purpose of truth.”
11. *An me luxuria, &c.*—“Do you suppose that it was for the purpose of indulging in luxury that I,” &c.
12. *Solvi*.—“I abrogated.”
13. *Initi consilii, &c.*—“Guiltless of having joined the conspiracy against the king's life.”
14. *Assentantium*.—“Courtiers.”

## LIB. VIII. CAP. IX.

1. *India tota ferme, &c.*—Curtius, in this passage, states that the greater part of India *lies toward* the east, that is, as he explains it, its breadth from north to south is less than its length from west to east. The ancients supposed the habitable earth (including land and water) to extend to an indefinite distance, east and west; but that it was circumscribed by very narrow limits on the north and south. The former they imagined to be the regions of perpetual frost and snow; the latter to be consumed by eternal fire. Hence the terms, *rectâ plagâ, rectâ regione*, when employed by them with reference to the points of the compass, usually, if not always,

## Note

- denoted the direction east and west. The statement of Curtius, we may observe, is erroneous, as it is much further from the Himalaya mountains to the southern promontory of Ceylon, than from the Indus to the Brahmaputra.
2. *Quia Austrum accipiunt.*—"The regions which receive the south wind." That is: The southern parts. Some read *aspiciunt*.
  3. *Excedunt.*—"Extend."
  4. *Caucaso.*—In reality the *Parapamisus*, which our author seems to consider a continuation of the Caucasian range.
  5. *Stringit.*—"Passes along."
  6. *Findens ripas.*—"Wearing away its banks." Lit. "Cutting."
  7. *Quia non aded, &c.*—"Because they do not flow so far." "Are not as large rivers" as those above mentioned.
  8. *Libri.*—*Liber* denotes "the inner,"—*cortex*, "the outer bark" of a tree.
  9. *Non generat.*—As this statement is so contrary to the fact, perhaps Curtius wrote *necnon*.
  10. *Causa.*—"Source."
  11. *Ulique postquam.*—"At all events since."
  12. *Libido.*—"A passion for extravagance."
  13. *Colunt.*—"They adorn."
  14. *Capillum pectunt, &c.*—"They comb their hair frequently, they seldom cut it." The literal translation, we think, would hardly present the author's meaning.
  15. *Luxuria—magnificentiam.*—See Note 2, Cap. v. of this book.
  16. *Distincta sunt.*—"Are embroidered."
  17. *Auratas columnas.*—Probably covered with plates of gold.
  18. *Auro caleta.*—"Carved in gold."
  19. *Venatus.*—This word has given trouble to critics, some considering it the nominative; others, the genitive case. Scheffer views it as a gloss and rejects it. We retain it a genitive.
  20. *Inhabili.*—"Unmanageable."
  21. *Occupare fati diem.*—"To anticipate the day of fate." That is: To put an end to one's self before the day appointed by fate.
  22. *Segnis aetas.*—"A dull, inactive life."
  23. *Expectatam mortem.*—"A death that is waited for."
  24. *Illi qui in, &c.*—"Those (wise men) who live in cities according to the customs of those around them," &c.
  25. *Nec quengquam, &c.*—"That no one anticipates death (by suicide) who can await its approach without terror."
  26. *Anni plena spatia servant.*—Some editors read *servantur*. Ac-

## Note

ording to the text *Anni* may be the subject of *servant* or the genitive limiting *spatia*, and then *servant* will have the same subject as *descripserunt*. If we read *servantur*, then *spatia* is the subject of the verb and *anni* the genitive.

27. *Opera pretium*.—“Worth while.”

## LIB. VIII. CAP. X.

1. *Igitur*.—See Note 6, Lib. viii. Cap. vi.
2. *Iisdem, &c.*.—“Intending to make use of these same persons as guides.”
3. *Jam*.—“By this time.”
4. *Opportunum remedium*.—“The seasonable relief.”
5. *Cum, hostium, &c.*.—“When those of the enemy who had ventured an engagement.”
6. *Pomorum, &c.*.—Equivalent to, *Poma quoque sunt variorum salubriumque succorum*. “There are fruits of diversified and healthful flavour.”
7. *Fortuitorum*.—“Accidentally deposited.”
8. *Fortuitam laetitiam*.—“The boisterous mirth that had sprung up by chance.” *Laetitia* expresses a more extravagant joy than *gaudium*, or rather, *gaudium* is the inward feeling—*laetitia* the outward expression of it.
9. *Libero patri, &c.*.—“He kept his army engaged in the performance of sacred rites to Father Bacchus.” *Operari* is a term peculiar to religious rites. The *opus operatum* holds a prominent place in modern religious discussions.
10. *Sæpius fortuna, &c.*.—“Is oftener the result of good fortune (“good luck,” if the reader prefer it) than of personal virtue.
11. *Inter ora hostium*.—“In the face of the enemy.” He is anticipating here what he relates more fully in Lib. ix. Cap. x.
12. *Lateri vinculum*.—“The stones, which they have interposed serve as binders to the brick work.”
13. *Universa*.—Supply *materia*. This passage has given rise to much discussion among critics, and we are very far from pretending *tantas componere lites*. We give the reading which appears to us to have the best claims to correctness and simplicity. The following paraphrase expresses our view of the sense of the place. “And, at the same time, lest, as the soil was saturated with moisture, the whole mass might settle, strong beams were interposed *perpendicularly* along the wall, at proper distances, their ends projecting a little

## Note

above the top so as to receive the roofing, which served both to protect the wall and to afford a passage along the top of it." Zumpt reads *imposita*, but fails to tell us how beams, laid along the top of a wall, would prevent it from settling.

14. *Tum*.—"At this time." He had been wounded on two other occasions,—in the shoulder (Lib. iv. § 25)—in the neck (Lib. vii. § 26.)
15. *Negabant*.—See Note 23, Lib. iv. Cap. i.

## LIB. VIII. CAP. XI

1. *Senior*—*Senex*.
2. *Si pretium operi esset*.—"If well paid for his trouble."
3. *Metas*.—These were of a conical or pyramidal form.
4. *Voragines eluviesque*.—"Ravines and gullies."
5. *Truncam*.—"Stripped of its branches."
6. *Nullo detectante, &c.*.—"No one hesitating to discharge a duty in which the king was the first to engage."
7. *Placuit, sc. suis militibus*.
8. *Trieste spectaculum*.—We had a similar passage in the last book, § 41.
9. *Evaserant*.—"Had gained the summit." That is: The comparatively level surface near the top of the rock, but, as the next sentence shows, there were higher prominences above them.
10. *Ipsi, sc. Charus et Alexander*.
11. *Tamen magnæ, &c.*.—That is: He offered the same sacrifices as he would have done for a great victory.
12. *Quo, sc. itinere*.

## LIB. VIII. CAP. XII

1. *Gravius agmen, &c.*.—"The more heavy armed troops."
2. *Modicis itineribus*.—"By easy marches."
3. *Regnabat*.—"Was king of."
4. *Patri—fuerat auctor*.—"Had counselled his father."
5. *Permitto*.—The participle in the ablative joined with the phrase *ut regnaret*, and thus forming an ablative absolute. We have several instances of the kind in our author. See Lib. v. Cap. xiii. § 1, and note.
6. *Non tamen, &c.*.—"He had had, however, no personal intercourse with him."

**Note**

7. *Vel*,—*vel*.—“In the one case,—in the other.”
8. *Gloria*.—“For glory.” Dative of reference.
9. *Simplicitate*.—“Frankness.”
10. *Tauros*.—We may supply *tradidit etiam* before this word.
11. *Sequente nomine imperium*.—“The name accompanying the royal authority.”
12. *Insignibus*.—“Trappings.”

## LIB. VIII. CAP. XIII.

1. *Ut intranti, &c.*.—“Namely, to be ready for him,” &c.
2. *Barzaentes*.—See Lib. vi § 18, *ad fin.*
3. *Gravioribus, &c.*.—“With arrows too heavy to be properly discharged.”
4. *Nec pro spatio, &c.*.—“Nor, as would be supposed from the extent of its waters which resembled a wide lake, was its impetuosity retarded.”
5. *Capacia bona, &c.*.—“Hearts capable of high hopes, and which had often been tried.”
6. *Lertia prælia*.—“Light skirmishes.”
7. *Parva rei, &c.*.—“By the issue of a trifling engagement was experimenting on the results of a pitched battle.”
8. *Partium* refers to the Macedonians, and may be familiarly rendered “Of their side.”
9. *Si unquam, &c.*.—“If ever successful rashness would set bounds to itself.”
10. *Talem—sequentem*.
11. *A custodiâ, &c.*.—“From watching a spot so suitable to his purposes.”
12. *Æqualem sibi, sc. aetate*.
13. *Utique*.—“At all events.”
14. *In regionem insulae*.—“Towards the island.”
15. *Averso, sc. ab Alexandro*.
16. *Inferiorem—ripam*.—“The bank lower down.”
17. *Terruisset alium, &c.*.—“The darkness that overspread the sky would have alarmed any other general.”
18. *Accersentes*.—“Summoning.” A fine expression—as though glory were at their beck and only awaited *the summons* to attend them.
19. *Expelli*.—“To be pushed off” from the shore.

## LIB. VIII. CAP. XIV.

## Note

1. *Rerum adesse, &c.*—"That a decisive action was at hand."
2. *Omissis habenis.*—"Letting fall the reins." *Effusis habenis.*—"With loosened reins," that is: At full speed.
3. *Movebantur, sc. Elephanti.*
4. *Habebatur.*—The subject of this verb is *deservisse gestantes*.
5. *Ex illo hoste.*—"From him when an enemy."
6. *Dextrum move.*—"Throw the right wing of the enemy into confusion." Critics agree that there is an error here, but how to solve it, they are not agreed. It would be more natural to apply *move* to the right wing of the Macedonians, but the king commanded that. Again, it is difficult to apply it to the *right* wing of the enemy, for Curtius subsequently states, that Cœnus charged the *left*. We leave it to others to remove the difficulty.
7. *Non aliis.*—"In no other way."
8. *Ipeas, sc. belluas.*
9. *Anceps.*—"Hazardous."
10. *Molientes ictus.*—"While preparing to discharge their arrows."
11. *Nihil in, &c.*—"No regard was paid to the common good in their counsels."
12. *Meliorem, &c.*—"A kind of soldiery better adapted to a sudden onset than to a steady hand-to-hand fight."
13. *Terribilis illa facies.*—See Note 9, Lib. vii. Cap. xi.
14. *Manu.*—"The trunk" or "proboscis."
15. *Copidas.*—Literally, "Cutters."
16. *Mortis—supplicii.*—Critics are at variance with regard to the construction of these genitives;—some making them to refer to *quidquam*, and, among these Zumpt, who thus translates: "The fear (which they had of the elephants) left no means untried not only to kill them, but even to inflict in death some additional pain." The learned commentator then naïvely subjoins the following observation: "*That the soldiers had any intention to inflict unnecessary pain upon the animals we cannot for a moment believe; the statement is a mere rhetorical exaggeration.*" Others, however (and with them we coincide in opinion), prefer connecting the genitives with *timor*, and give this sense to the passage: "The fear, not only of death, but of new tortures in death, left nothing untried," by which the attacks of the elephants might be repelled. The idea thus suggested follows very naturally after the mention of *copidas* in the preceding sen-

## Note

- tence. *Novi supplicii* refers to what he had stated above in the clause, *Præcipue terribilis, &c.*
17. *Magis clapsa, &c.*—“ Which fell rather than were hurled.”
  18. *Fluentibus membris.*—“ His limbs relaxed.”
  19. *Porito magis, &c.*—“ Depositing the king gently on the ground rather than throwing him down with violence.”
  20. *Malum!*—An exclamation frequent in Latin authors, and equivalent to “ The mischief!” of our vernacular.
  21. *Libertate.*—“ Frankness ”—“ Freedom.”
  22. *Fortiorem* both here and just below refers, not to the personal strength or bravery of the kings, but to their resources, and consequently may be rendered “ more powerful.”
  23. *Sed ne sic quidem.*—“ But not even under these circumstances.”
  24. *Quippe magnitudinem, &c.*—Lit. “ For he (Alexander) deemed it a worthy thing to receive (to meet), not only with pity but also with honour, his greatness of mind, which showed no fear and which was unbroken indeed by adverse fortune.”
  25. *Confirmatum, contra, &c.*—“ When contrary to the expectation of all he recovered his strength,” &c.
  26. *Simplicius.*—“ With more impartiality.”

## LIB. IX. CAP. I.

1. *Affirmatio ejus.*—“ His assurances.”
2. *Navatae opera.*—“ Of service performed.”
3. *Plerique rami.*—The description here given seems to denote the celebrated Banyan tree under the shade of whose branches a whole regiment can find shelter. Milton (Par. Lost, ix. 1100) thus alludes to it:

————— “ There soon they chose,  
The fig-tree; not that kind for fruit renown'd,  
But such as at this day, to Indians known,  
In Malabar or Deccan spreads her arms  
Branching so broad and long, that in the ground  
The bended twigs take root, and daughters grow  
About the mother tree, a pillar'd shade  
High over-arched, and echoing walks between.”

4. *Ut barbari.*—“ For barbarians.” That is: Considering they were barbarians.
5. *Eorum, sc. arbitrio.*
6. *Insignes.*—“ Remarkable for blemishes.”
7. *Obtinebatur.*—“ Was held.”

## Note

2. *Baculum*.—“His sceptre.”
2. *Omnino*.—“In all,” i. e. “only.”
10. *Tum ex iis, &c.*.—The order is: *Tum unus ex iis, qui assueveram: talibus ministeriis, caput avellere crux canis inharentis cum aliis leoni, et quis, &c.*
11. *Igitur*.—“To return from our digression.” See Note 6, Lib. viii. Cap. vi.

## LIB. IX. CAP. II.

1. *Cordi fuisse*.—“Was beloved.”
2. *Ab eo in, &c.*.—The order is: [Eum] admotum ab eo in propiorem locum amicitia ejus, qui tum regnabat, eo interficto per insidias, invasisse regnum sub specie tutela ejus liberum, noctisq[ue] pueris generasse nunc qui, &c.
3. *Relegatos, &c.*.—“Banished almost to the utmost bounds of human society.”
4. *Abundantes onustosque, &c.*.—This clause cannot very well depend upon *dubitabat*; and, therefore, it is better to understand *arbitrabatur enim*, or some phrase of like import.
5. *Idem*.—Used substantively and governing *animi* in the genitive.
6. *De industria*.—“Purposely.”
7. *Terribilem*.—This adjective, though in the singular to agree with the last noun, must in sense be connected with all.
8. *Nunquam ad, &c.*.—“Never is common rumour guided to that which is certain.” Why not *perducit*?
9. *Nostro quoque, &c.*.—“Our own glory, though founded on something substantial, owes more to rumour than to what we have actually performed.” See Note 6, Lib. iii. Cap. viii.; also, Lib. viii. Cap. viii. *Faud enim bella constant, &c.*
10. *Eadem vanitas*.—“The same disregard for truth.”
11. *Nam flumen, &c.*.—“For as to the river, the more widely,” &c.
12. *Coercita, sc. flumina*.
13. *Spatio alvei*.—“In a widely extended channel.”
14. *Ita, quantumcumque, &c.*.—“Accordingly, whatever may be the size of the river, the risk in making a landing will be the same.”
15. *Vulneratis*.—According to the strict rule of grammar this should be *vulnerata*. Perhaps Curtius wrote *uno et altero*.
16. *At enim*.—These words imply an ellipsis which the student will supply.
17. *Omnis paucis, &c.*.—Spoken ironically.
18. *Solitudinem—secessit*.—These words naturally call to mind the

## Note

- pithy remark of the barbarian chief, (Tacitus, *Agric.* 80): *Ubi soliditudinem faciunt, pacem appellant.*
19. *Pervenimus.*—“We are coming to.”
  20. *Per, ego vos, gloriam, &c.*—See Note 22, Lib. iv. Cap. xiv.
  21. *Et is vos, &c.*—“And I, that now ask you, am he that never,” &c.
  22. *Nescio quid, &c.*—“I have unwittingly done you some wrong which makes you unwilling even to look upon me.” For *nescio quid* see Note 16, Lib. iv. Cap. x.
  23. *Quam precario, &c.*—“Than to be a general, dependent upon the caprice of others.”

## LIB. IX. CAP. III.

1. *Non detrectare, &c.*—“Did not shrink from a discharge of their duties, but had not the ability to perform them.”
2. *Fremitus.*—“Murmuring.” *Gemitus.*—“Groans.” *Dolor.*—“Grief.”
3. *Erigi.*—“To become more prominent,” as that which is elevated above other things.”
4. *Temperare oculis.*—“Restrain his eyes”; i. e., “Refrain from weeping.”
5. *Impiae.*—That is: Towards Alexander. See Note 15, Lib. v. Cap. v.
6. *Idem animus, &c.*—“Your soldiers have the same disposition they have always had, to go,” &c.
7. *Proinde si, &c.*—“Accordingly, if you adhere to your purpose.”
8. *Sed etiam, &c.*—“But even your own soldiers.” That is: You have worn out your soldiers in your numerous campaigns. Hein-sius conjectures *tuos* before *milites*; the sense seems to require it.
9. *Capere poterat.*—“Was capable of.”
10. *Quotocunque, &c.*—“How few possess a coat of mail.”
11. *Nec luxurid, &c.*—“Nor is luxury the cause of our distress.”
12. *Ut.*—“Grant that.” For *de industrid*, see Note 6 of preceding chapter.
13. *Etiam ex mendacio.*—“Even from their exaggerated accounts.”
14. *Pervenimus.*—“We have already arrived.”
15. *Non ut iatrem, &c.*—“Not to curry favour with,” &c.
16. *Quam pro corporum habitu.*—“Than in proportion to the size of their bodies.” A foolish artifice, and one obviously detracting from the glory of his conquests.
17. *Propter paucos, &c.*—“That for the sake of a few days, [as it turned out], he had made a long speech, as though he were the

## Note

only one about to revisit Macedonia," whereas he was the first to die.

18. *Mille, &c.*—The order is: *Aditurus Oceanum mille navigiis rebuit in suis regnis Forum et Taxilem, Reges Indiae, discordes [olim] et vetera odia retractantes, [nunc] gratia firmata per affinitatem, uses summo, &c.*

## LIB. IX. CAP. IV.

1. *Quem ipsi obtinebant.*—“Which they themselves were now in possession of.”
2. *Stirpis, &c.*—“Exhibited traces of their origin.”
3. *Excassione facta.*—“Landing with his troops.” Literally, “A debarkation having been made.”
4. *Venerunt,* the student will observe, is from *venero.*
5. *Delebant—defendebant.*—Imperfects, in the sense here intended, are expressed, in familiar English, by the word “kept” “The inhabitants kept destroying,” &c.
6. *Quippe tria, &c.*—“For three rivers, the largest in all India, with the exception of the Ganges, dash their waves against the fortifications of the citadel.” The Delphin editor justly exclaims, with regard to this and the succeeding passage, “*Inno, Hercule, Curtius ipso Geographia ac Historia rationes confundit.*”
7. *Iter, quā, &c.*—That is: The channel.
8. *Subducere, sc. naves.*—“To run the vessels ashore.” Zumpt reads *vela* after *naves*; translating, “To take in sail.”
9. *Ministeria, &c.*—“The discharge of their duties is prevented, on the one hand by,” &c.
10. *Innoxia.*—“Uninjured.” Used passively.
11. *Gubernaculi impatiens.*—“Not minding the helm.”
12. *Apparebatque, &c.*—“And it appeared equally as hazardous for him to attempt to swim as to continue on shipboard.”
13. *Periculi societas.*—“A community of danger.”
14. *Omni discriminē, &c.*—“That they had already arrived at the end of all danger.”
15. *Novis identidem, &c.*—“That as often as they were supplied with new arms, so often there arose new enemies.” See above. § 9. (*armaque vigilanti, &c.*) Zumpt supposes *novis armis* to refer to “new expeditions, new countries into which they carried their arms.” The sense above given seems the more natural.
16. *Jam prospicere, &c.*—“That they already beheld the ocean in the distance.

## Note

17. *Spectato virtutis*.—"Of tried valour."
18. *Haud magis, &c.*—"With no greater confidence in their walls than in their own bravery." Lit., "their arms."
19. *Jam admovebat*.—"Was already advancing against it."
20. *Tantus res, non, &c.*—"To one having his eyes fixed on such great objects, not the mere entrails," &c.
21. *Cunctantibus ceteris*.—"While the rest were hesitating."
22. *Non pinnae, &c.*—"No battlements, as elsewhere, marked its summit, but a continuous parapet carried along the top prevented a passage over it."
23. *Margine* here means the narrow coping of the wall.
24. *Quis non, &c.*—"Which not sustaining them, they fell down," &c.

## LIB. IX. CAP. V.

1. *Multoque, &c.*—"Much more likely to give him a reputation for rashness than to add to his glory."
2. *Ut se, &c.*—"So as to light on his feet."
3. *Desperatio*.—"Hopelessness of assistance."
4. *Cum subinde, &c.*—"While the enemy were from time to time surging in upon him." The figure is taken from the ebb and flow of the waves on the seashore, or rather against an opposing rock.
5. *Jam continuo, &c.*—"Already had his knees, wearied with continual toil, failed to support him."
6. *Jam exceptum, &c.*—Here again the distinction above noted (Note 7, Lib. vi. Cap. i.), between *genua* and *poplitea*, holds good; for the thigh (and with it the whole body), in the position in which Alexander is represented to have been, falls towards the inner, not the outer, part of the knee.
7. *Remisit*.—"Let fall." "Relaxed his hold upon."
8. *Resolutus*.—"Weakened."
9. *Ut ne ad, &c.*—"That there was not strength enough left in his right hand to draw out the arrow" with which he had been pierced. Zumpt, strangely enough, translates thus: "*His right hand had not power even to bend the bow slightly, far less to draw it to its full extent (evellere).*"
10. *Subjecto mucrone*.—"By an underthrust of his dagger"—his adversary being in the act of stooping over him.
11. *Et postquam, &c.*—"And when there was not sufficient strength left for him to make that exertion, he attempted," &c.
12. *Muri vestigia, &c.*—This is a doubtful passage and has given rise

Note

to various conjectural readings;—that of the text is the common one and is thus explained by Zumpt: “*Following the foot of the wall*; that is: *going along the bottom of it*.” Of this reading, Schmieder says, *Quod Latinum esse dubito: vestigia extant, muro proter fundamenta delecto*. Heinius proposes *fastigia* instead of *vestigia*, which certainly connects better with *de turbatis propugnatoribus*, as their station would be along the top of the wall. Perhaps the following may be the true reading, *det. pro. muri, vestigia persequens Regis, superseruit*. That is: Though Peucestes mounted the wall at a different part of the city, yet he *traced the course the king had taken* and *came up* to his assistance. At all events the objection to this reading (namely, that *persequens vestigia* necessarily denotes an actual following in the footsteps of another) is no more insuperable than that against the reading in the text.

13. *Subenisorat clypeum*.—“Had let fall his shield.”
14. *Inter haec*.—“Meanwhile.”
15. *Terruisse, &c.*.—“That which excited their courage would have terrified other soldiers.”
16. *Tandemque, &c.*.—“And at length by the indiscriminate massacre,” &c.
17. *Scilicet gloria, &c.*.—“Certainly not likely to stand in the way of,” &c.
18. *Socuritas*.—“Carelessness.”
19. *Par huic vitium*.—“Which is just as bad.”
20. *Ita, ne spiculum, &c.*.—“In such a way that the iron point should not be disturbed,” and thus irritate the wound.
21. *Caterum, &c.*.—“But they were afraid that a flow of blood would interfere with the performance of the operation.”
22. *Nec in ipius, &c.*.—“Lest the consequences of an unsuccessful remedy might recoil upon his own head.”
23. *Quid—quedes tempus, &c.*.—“What do you wait for? Or why delay so long, and not free me as soon as possible from this pain? since, at all events, I shall soon die.”
24. *Ut se continendum, &c.*.—“That he would permit himself to be held.”
25. *Etiam levem, &c.*.—“That even a slight motion,” &c.

## LIB. IX. CAP. VI.

## Note

1. *Septem dæbus, &c.*—"After the wound had been healing for seven days, and before it was yet completely cicatrized."
2. *Periisse credentibus.*—"To those who believed that he had perished."
3. *Spem—inhibuit.*—"Put an end to their hopes."
4. *Secundo anno.*—"Down the river," or, "With the current."
5. *Credidisse—adventu, &c.*—The order is: *Credidisse nos esse magis sollicitos adventu hostium, ut (though) jam consistenter in vallo, quād curd tue salutis ut vilis (however valueless) nunc est tibi.*
6. *Oblitus tot, &c.*—"Forgetting that you expose to danger the lives of so many of your countrymen."
7. *Quod si, &c.*—"But if you were still contending, &c., although no one would wish [to see such hazardous displays of valour] yet no one could wonder that you manifested such ready boldness," &c.
8. *Secundis rebus, &c.*—"There are richer fruits (higher joys) attending success, and greater consolation in the want of it."
9. *Tuo verò, &c.*—"But that a miserable village should be acquired at the risk of your life," &c. Craterus calls the town where Alexander was wounded, *ignobilem vicum* to disparage its value, compared with the king's life. As we have seen, it was a well fortified city.
10. *Civis.*—*Civium* would seem the proper word here as governed by *quis* and connected by *sed* to *militum*. *Civis* is omitted altogether in some editions.
11. *Eloqui timeo, &c.*—"I shudder at mentioning that the most cowardly were on the point of laying their hands upon the spoils of your invincible person."
12. *Interceptum—servasset.*—"Had rescued and preserved you."
13. *Universos licet, &c.*—"You may brand the whole body of soldiers with disgrace, yet no one will refuse to expiate that fault, the commission of which it was not in his power to prevent."
14. *Capiant.*—"Are adapted to." More literally, "Have a capacity for."
15. *Ut tandem, &c.*—"That at length he would set bounds to that thirst for fame, of which he had had his full share."
16. *Pietas*, and a little below, *Piissimi*. See Note 15, Lib. v. Cap. v. As to *piissimi* Cicero has the following remark (Philipp. xiii. 19): *Tu porro ne piis quidem sed piissimos queris; et quod verbum*

## Note

*omnino nullum in lingua Latina est, id, propter tuam diuinam pietatem, novum inducis.*

17. *Altiusque, &c.*—“And commencing his remarks in a higher tone of voice.” Or, it may mean, “Commencing a set speech,” for we find Cicero using the phrase *alta petitio sermons* with that signification. As the king was still suffering from the effects of his wound, perhaps, after all, the true meaning is, “Commencing his remarks in a somewhat low tone.”
18. *Ceterum non, &c.*—“But those who express a willingness to die for me (and I think I merit in some degree their good will by my bravery) do not entertain the same sentiments with myself.”
19. *Contento, sc. mihi.*
20. *Quanquam ne, &c.*—“Although indeed the slothful have not the disposal of their own fate.”
21. *Ex Asia, &c.*—This remark is founded on the error (already noted) of mistaking the Jaxartes for the Tanais.
22. *Videorū vobis.*—“Do you think that” Lit. “Do I seem to you.”
23. *Multam—vitam.*—That is: A life with much in it. A life full of stirring incident. The Delphin editor has doubts as to the correctness of this Latinity, and suspects that some word like *famam* has fallen out after *multam*.
24. *Quibus, sc. in.*
25. *Dii faveant.*—“By the favour of the gods.”
26. *Ceterum quoniam, &c.*—“And now since an occasion is afforded me of bringing forward a subject, long agitated in my mind,” &c.
27. *Si licuerit.*—“If I shall be permitted” by the continuance of life.
28. *Præcepert.*—“Shall have taken me away before” the death of my mother.
29. *Vos mandasse, &c., i. e. Vos momentote [me] mandasse [hoc vobis.]*

## LIB. IX. CAP. VII.

1. *Non tam, &c.*—“Not so much from hostility to Alexander.”
2. *Qui.*—The antecedent to this relative is not *popularium* as the student might infer from its proximity, but is found in the subject of *caperunt*.
3. *Miserabilis facies, &c.*—“The wretched appearance of one appointed to torture suddenly turned their feelings into a different channel.”

## Note

4. *De quibus ante, &c.*—See Lib. ix. Cap. iv. § 12, *ad init.*
  5. *Intexta, &c.*—“Interwoven with gold and embroidered with purple.”
  6. *Intactis viribus.*—With their power not materially diminished,—literally, “untouched;” but as we find from Arrian that they had met with some reverses, *intactis* must be received with some qualification.
  7. *Equites imperat, sc. sis.*—That is: He requires of them so many horsemen. The phrase is elliptical and *aut præberent* or some similar words may be supplied.
  8. *Quidquid aut, &c.*—“Making a display of whatever was corrupt among the Persians from luxury of long continuance, or among the Macedonians by their recent adoption of new *customæ*.”
  9. *Per seria et ludum.*—“Half in jest, half in earnest,” or it may possibly mean “during hours of business and of leisure.” That is: “On all occasions.”
  10. *Justa arma.*—“The arms which he usually bore.” We are reminded by this description of Goliath’s equipment to meet David.
  11. *Hastam.*—“A spear,” to be retained in the hand;—*Lanceam.*—“A javelin,” to be hurled.
  12. *Puniceum amiculum.*—There is some doubt as to what this *amiculum* was. Some suppose it to have been a light purple cloak worn on the *left shoulder* for ornament;—others, with more reason, that it was a purple scarf carried in the *left hand*, to be used in some way as a defence against the weapons of his adversary.
  13. *Posse, sc. Dioxippum.*
  14. *Quem occupatum, &c.*—“Whom, seized in his grasp before [he could draw his sword], Dioxippus, by suddenly tripping up his feet, dashed to the ground.”
  15. *Elisurusque, &c.*—Literally, “About to dash the life out of him.”
  16. *Ex composito.*—“By an arrangement among themselves.”
  17. *Rubore.*—“Innocence.” The effect for the cause. That *rubor* should imply “innocence” is contrary to the dictum of Shakespeare who says (*Love’s Lab. Lost*, i. 2):
- “For blushing cheeks by faults are bred,  
And fears by pale white shown.”
18. *Utique postquam.*—“At all events [such was his opinion] after the immoderate joy of his enemies showed that he had been falsely accused.”

## LIB. IX. CAP. VIII.

## Note

1. *Ferri candidi*.—Commentators differ as to the meaning of these words,—some supposing “tin,” others “steel,” to be intended. The latter opinion is best supported.
2. *Haud procul*.—Supply *ut*.
3. *Populi-imperio*.—An early instance of a democratic government, and where we should least expect to find it.
4. *Quod prospici poterat*.—“As far as could be seen.”
5. *Hinc*.—“Hence.” “On this supposition.”
6. *Fuere clamitantes, &c.*.—“Crying out that they were mad to wage war with the gods.”
7. *Nihilo plus animi*.—Compare this with O. T. (Joshua, v. 1.)
8. *Hic de Teriolte, &c.*.—“Here he instituted an inquiry into the case of Terioltes, whom he had made prefect of the Paropamisadae, and upon their accusation.”
9. *Simile monstri*.—“Like a miracle.”
10. *Nullo suffosi, &c.*.—“Not the slightest indication of an underground passage having been previously exhibited.”
11. *Sub corond*.—“At auction.” Some explain the phrase by supposing it to have been the custom to place a *wreath* of some common material around the heads of captives exposed for sale, while others refer it to the *circle* of soldiers stationed to prevent the escape of the captives.
12. *Venisse*.—From *veneo*.
13. *Sed non ut, &c.*.—“But the victory was not as joyful in its results as in its first appearance”; i. e., “as it promised to be.”
14. *Strenua*.—“Speedy.” The word is employed by Columella in reference to *toxicum*, “poison,” to express its speedy operation.
15. *Barbari autem*.—“Now the barbarians.”
16. *Excipi posse*.—“Might be taken off.”
17. *Et forte, &c.*.—“And it was by a mere chance that he,” &c.
18. *Majore periculo, &c.*.—That is: Exposed to more danger from the poison than from the wound by itself considered.
19. *Modico, &c.*.—That is: His mode of life was temperate, and like that of a common citizen.
20. *Altior*.—“More profound” than usual with him.
21. *Oblatam* is to be referred to *speciem*, not to *herbam*.
22. *Agniturn signis, &c.*.—“Declaring that he would recognize it, if any one should find it.”
23. *Enatam* probably refers to the formation of the island from the

**Note**

*west* of the river, as is often the case in the Mississippi and other large streams.

**L I B . IX . C A P . IX .**

1. *Quia duces, &c.*—"Because the guides, too carelessly watched, had run off."
2. *Nec repertis.*—"Although more were found."
3. *Quād patiens, &c.*—"How commodious for large vessels."
4. *Quadrinēta stadia.*—About forty-six miles.
5. *Auram maris.*—"The sea breeze."
6. *Quō propius, &c.*—"The nearer their hopes were to being realized."
7. *Subibat mare.*—The flowing in of the tide is here referred to, as also in the succeeding passage *quia cursus, &c.*
8. *Insulam—ejecti.*—Our author has repeated instances of the omission of the preposition after this participle.
9. *Securi casūs, &c.*—"Regardless of the evil that comes upon the incautious."
10. *Statā vice, &c.*—"According to its regular course, the sea at full flood began to rush in and force back the current of the river."
11. *Quod—coercitum, &c.*—Those who have observed the force of the tides at New York, along the wharves on the East River, can form some idea of the justness of this description.
12. *Levatis navigis.*—That is: "Raised up" from the shore on which they had been *beached*, according to the custom of the ancients.
13. *Expectatis, sc. iis.*
14. *Clāuda et inhabilia.*—"Shattered and unmanageable."
15. *Abstergeri.*—"To be swept away."
16. *Perveniebat, &c.*—"Came even to blows."
17. *Quippe, &c.*—The order is: *Quippe, ignari astum paulo post relaturum mare, quo navigia allevarentur, ominabantur sibimet famem et ultima.*
18. *Statum tempus.*—"The fixed" or "regular time" for the return of the tide.

**L I B . IX . C A P . X .**

1. *Scabies.*—This is the general term for cutaneous affections, such as "the itch," "the leprosy," &c.
2. *Qua terrestri, &c.*—"Along the route by which, by a land march, he thought he should conduct his army." *Videor mihi* is often

## Note

- properly rendered "I think"; so here *videbatur [sibi]*, "He thought."
3. *Deducti sunt*.—This is the word usually employed by Livy and other Roman writers to denote the planting of a colony.
  4. *Rimantes* agrees with *Macedones*, and governs *radices*.
  5. *Tantum, &c.*.—The order is: *Singulis credentibus ipos proficere tantum ad spem salutis quantum itineris prariperent festinando.*
  6. *Inminentisque, &c.*.—"And, moreover, the appearance of evil impending over themselves was ever before their eyes."
  7. *Deos testes*.—Witnesses of their sad state, and the cruel desertion of their fellow-soldiers.
  8. *Necessitatis sua*.—"Of his destitute condition."
  9. *Nec cessatum, &c.*.—"Nor did they delay to comply with his orders."
  10. *Constrata*.—"Floored over."
  11. *Prægravia*.—"Loaded down."
  12. *Parata præda, &c.*.—"A ready prize—an easy prey, if the conquered had possessed any spirit, at least against a troop of revelers."
  13. *Quæ rebus, &c.*.—"Which establishes the character and value of things."
  14. *Præsens ætae*.—"The age *then* present."

## LIB. X. CAP. I.

1. *Quinque millia, &c.*.—Zumpt places these words in apposition with *Cleander, &c.* Others supply *cum his erant*. In one manuscript *adducentes* is found after *mille*, and that may have been the true reading.
2. *E provinciâ*.—Namely, from Media, as we learn from Lib. vii. Cap. ii. § 6.
3. *Quod tacitum, &c.*.—"Which thing, though not openly mentioned, might be of service to the accused in the view of the king."
4. *Desperationem*.—In apposition with *crimen*.
5. *Quos auctores, &c.*.—See Lib. ix. Cap. x. § 34, *ad fin.*
6. *Aetu secundo, &c.*.—"That they are carried along with the tide."
7. *Truci cantu, &c.*.—"That, when by horrible shouts, they were deterred from following the ships, they plunged into the waters like sinking ships with a great roaring of the sea." *Deterritas a sequenda classe* or *deterritas quod minus sequerentur classem* would have been the more usual forms. Digby gives a different sense to the

## Note

- passage: "That they were frightened at the horrible noise made on purpose from on board the fleet, notwithstanding which they followed the same," &c.
8. *Cetera, &c.*—"As to other things they had relied," &c.
  9. *Ab his, sc. incolis.*
  10. *Terram legere.*—"To coast along shore."
  11. *Adire—prætervehi.*—These infinitives are to be referred to *statuerat* in the preceding sentence.
  12. *Exercuit.*—"Wielded."
  13. *Dissimulans causam, &c.*—"Not mentioning the reason of his enmity, in order that the authority of the accuser might have more weight."
  14. *Jam tamen, &c.*—"Though already held in less esteem."
  15. *Solum* here signifies a sarcophagus or stone coffin. Suetonius (Nero 50) employs it in this sense in the following passage: *In eo monumento solum Porphyretici marmoris superstans Lumenti ard, circumseptum est lapide Thasio.*
  16. *Quod ad me, &c.*—"As far as regards myself."
  17. *Ceperat, sc. Alexander.*
  18. *Ad representanda, &c.*—"To carry punishment into immediate execution." *Ad deteriora credenda.*—"To give credit to evil reports."
  19. *Erga bona, &c.*—"Sufficiently on his guard against prosperity."
  20. *Adversus, &c.*—"Contrary to the natural bent of his disposition."
  21. *Quidem.*—What follows, to the end of the chapter, we have supplied from Cellarius.

## LIB. X. CAP. II.

1. *Transmittunt.*—The subject of this verb is Harpalus and his followers, as mentioned in the supplement.
2. *Portum urbis.*—That is: The Piræus, seven miles from the city, and connected with it by two long walls.
3. *Soli Athenienses, &c.*—"This whole passage," as the Delphin editor remarks, "has been subjected to the tinkering of critics, without being bettered by it." The true reading cannot be ascertained with any degree of certainty. We give that which seems to us to afford the most suitable meaning: *Athenienses soli, vindices non modò suæ, sed etiam publicæ libertatis, quia ægre ferebant colluvionem omnium ordinum (assueti regi non regio imperio sed patriis legibus moribusque) prohibuère [eos, i. e., Harpalum, &c.] finibus, toleraturi omnia, &c.*

## Note

4. *Ab alienum, &c.*—“Should make known their indebtedness.”
5. *Ab integris.*—Lit., “From the sound.” Those whose property was whole or untouched, that is: “from the frugal.”
6. *Professioni.*—Corresponding with *profiterentur* above.
7. *Decem milia talentorum.*—See Note 16, Lib. iii. Cap. i.
8. *Fide facta.*—“Their confidence having been gained.”
9. *Verecundia regis.*—“Reverence for the king.”
10. *Motum esse, sc. regem.*
11. *Consternatio.*—See Note 4, Lib. v. Cap. iv.
12. *Noescendi.*—“Of discriminating.”
13. *Pervelut scire.*—“I am very anxious to know.”
14. *Adducar.*—*Ut credam* may supply the ellipsis after this word.
15. *In quā, &c.*—“In which the greater part of the army has no interest since,” &c.
16. *Sordent.*—“Are despised.”
17. *Hoc cultu nitentes.*—This is said ironically.
18. *Abeit invidia.*—“Without boasting.” Livy has *abit serbo invidia* in the same sense. Taken literally, it is merely deprecatory of the envy that naturally arises on account of self-praise.
19. *Nempe ex, &c.*—“And that too out of the spoils of that very Asia” which you despise.
20. *Profundo ventre, &c.*—He here chides them for having wasted in sensual pleasures all the spoils they had acquired in war.
21. *Bonis, &c.*—Spoken in irony. “Fine soldiers, truly.”
22. *Expetam, &c.*—“I will seek revenge by courting,” &c.

## LIB. X. CAP. III.

1. *Cum ad supplicium, &c.*—“When they (the assembly) saw that those who had attempted no graver offences than the rest were dragged off to punishment,” &c.
2. *Tam effusam—itaque.*—Supplied by some other hand.
3. *Itaque, &c.*—The order is: *Itaque sive veneratio nominis, quod gentes, quae sunt sub regibus, colunt inter deos, sive [veneratio] propria ipsius [Alexandri] sive fiducia exercentis imperium tantā vi, conterruit eos, certe ediderunt, &c.*
4. *Pervicacis, &c.*—“Being of a determined purpose with regard to every thing that he had well considered.” *Animi* is the genitive of qualification.
5. *Quod, &c.*—“In so far as I trusted,” &c.

Note

6. *Omnia fluere*.—“That all things were relaxed; were in a state of languor and inactivity.”
7. *Hoc ego nunc, &c.*—“I now, for the first time, make this open acknowledgment.”
8. *Mox deinde*.—“Soon afterwards.”
9. *Victuri sunt*.—For the remaining words of this chapter we are indebted to an unknown hand.

## LIB. X. CAP. IV.

1. *Et quidem, &c.*—“And those too of a foreign character.” The words *mergi in amnem*, a little below, explain his meaning. *Moris*, the genitive of qualification.
2. *Amico animo, &c.*—“The advice was given to him with kind intentions, if he had only been willing to bear with the truth.”
3. *Trucidaret*.—Hence, to the end of the chapter, follows the supplement of Cellarius.

## LIB. X. CAP. V.

1. *Eminebat*.—“Was conspicuous.”
2. *In eodem, &c.*—“In the same posture.”
3. *Membra rejecit, &c.*—“He threw back on his couch, at full length, his weary limba.”
4. *Providere jam, &c.*—“He already foresaw that with reference to that contest (viz. *qui esset optimus*) great funeral games,” &c.
5. *Certamen, &c.*—“Engaged, as it were, in a contest of grief.”
6. *Evidentis, &c.*—“Scaling the walls.”
7. *Non de regno, &c.*—That is: Not to obtain for themselves and their beloved monarch the empire of Asia, but to decide who should be king.
8. *Pro potentia*.—“To maintain the authority.”
9. *Fremitus, &c.*—“They were catching at the murmurs and exclamations.”
10. *Altera ex neptibus*.—According to Arrian (Blanc. ed. 1868, p. 447) this was Drypetis.
11. *Retractabat*.—“Felt again.”
12. *Et pariter, &c.*—“And that the funeral rites of two sons were to be performed at the same time by the wretched woman.”
13. *Unum*.—From Lib. vii. Cap. v. we learn that his name was Oxa-thres, and that he was one of the king’s body-guard.

## Note

14. *Magnum—Alexando—documentum*.—“Strong evidence in Alexander's behalf.”
15. *Juste estimantibus, &c.*.—“To those who estimate rightly, it is clear,” &c.
16. *Glorie, &c.*.—“A fondness for glory and praise, which, while it exceeded the bounds of propriety, *must be pardoned* in a young man engaged in such mighty undertakings.” We find Plautus (Trin. 1, 2, 44) using *admittere* in the sense here given.
17. *Consilium*.—“His sagacity.”
18. *Veneris intra, &c.*.—It is hard to reconcile this statement with what has been related in the first chapter of this book with regard to Bagoas. *Usus* is the noun.
19. *Ingentes, &c.*.—“Were in truth great endowments.”
20. *Illa fortuna*.—“The following may be attributed to his prosperity.” Understand *erant* after *fortuna*.
21. *Plurimum*.—“Very much.” *Plus*.—“More.”
22. *Expectavere, &c.*.—“Destiny waited for him, until, having conquered the East and advanced to the ocean, he had accomplished whatever humanity was capable of.”
23. *Moles, sc. imperii*.—“The weight of government was too great for one man to undertake.”
24. *Qui—adhucserunt*.—“Who were connected with”; that is: obtained the smallest share of his immense empire.

## LIB. X. CAP. VI

1. *Exceptis qui, &c.*.—“Prohibited access, except for those who were cited by name.”
2. *Precarium*.—“Held by sufferance.”
3. *Imperi vires obsignare*.—We agree with the suggestion of the Delphin editor, that Curtius wrote some other word instead of *vires*, unless indeed we suppose the sense to be this: “With which he gave the stamp of authority to every exertion of the power of,” &c.
4. *Tantum virum, &c.*.—“That the gods had loaned so great a man for the benefit of human affairs, in order that when they were duly arranged, they might speedily reclaim him for their own race.” The language is figurative and refers to the loaning of money as is evident from the terms *accommodesse*, “To lend,” *sors*, “capital,” and *repotent*, “to seek the return of that which was lent.”
5. *Ut obtinere, &c.*.—“How we may obtain.”

Note

6. *Illiud*—“One thing.”
7. *Cæterum, &c.*—The order is: *Cæterum regem nondum ortum exspectari, et [eum], qui jam sit, præteriri, convenire nec animis Macedonum nec tempori rerum.*
8. *Digna, &c.*—Ironically spoken.
9. *Captivi*.—Genitive in apposition with *cujus*.
10. *Etique stetur*.—“Let that plan be adhered to.” Literally, “Let it be stood to that.”
11. *Nihil dico, &c.*—“I do not refer to those who are of more noble birth than Perdiccas.”
12. *Exactos mentes*.—That is: Till her full time is come.
13. *Quem vos, &c.*—“Do you doubt his readiness even to substitute one (a male child) in case Roxane brings forth a female?”
14. *Populus* here means “the common soldiers.”

## LIB. X. CAP. VII.

1. *Maxime miserabilem*.—“Chiefly to be pitied.”
2. *Ad cætera, &c.*—“They were blind to other things.”
3. *Et milites, &c.*—“And the soldiers, saluting him by the name of Philip, proclaim him king.”
4. *Utique luxuriant*.—“Especially if it is rioting,” &c.
5. *Inclinavere studiis*.—“They inclined in their affections.”
6. *Qui affectaverant, &c.*—“Who had aimed at a kingdom that did not belong to them”—“to which they had no claim.”
7. *Nisi genitum ut regnaret*.—“Unless born to command.”
8. *Et pluribus*.—“And to the majority.”
9. *Discederent rati*—intendunt, sc. *Perdiccas*, and his party.

## LIB. X. CAP. VIII.

1. *Eum, sc. Perdiccam*.
2. *Neminem, &c.*—“And, besides, that no one is very faithful to one whom he dreads.”
3. *Omnino*.—“In all.”
4. *Castigatores, sc. satellites*.—“As being under the lash.”
5. *Ingens, &c.*—“A wide-spread and involuntary gloom.”
6. *Expedituras, &c.*—“Who should seek revenge for so many defeats.”

## Note

7. *Quibus opem, &c.*—"In a rash and hasty manner to deprive them (the citizens) of the hope of being again received into favour, is the part of those who are hurrying on to civil wars."
8. *Imparem.*—"Not a match."

## LIB. X. CAP. IX.

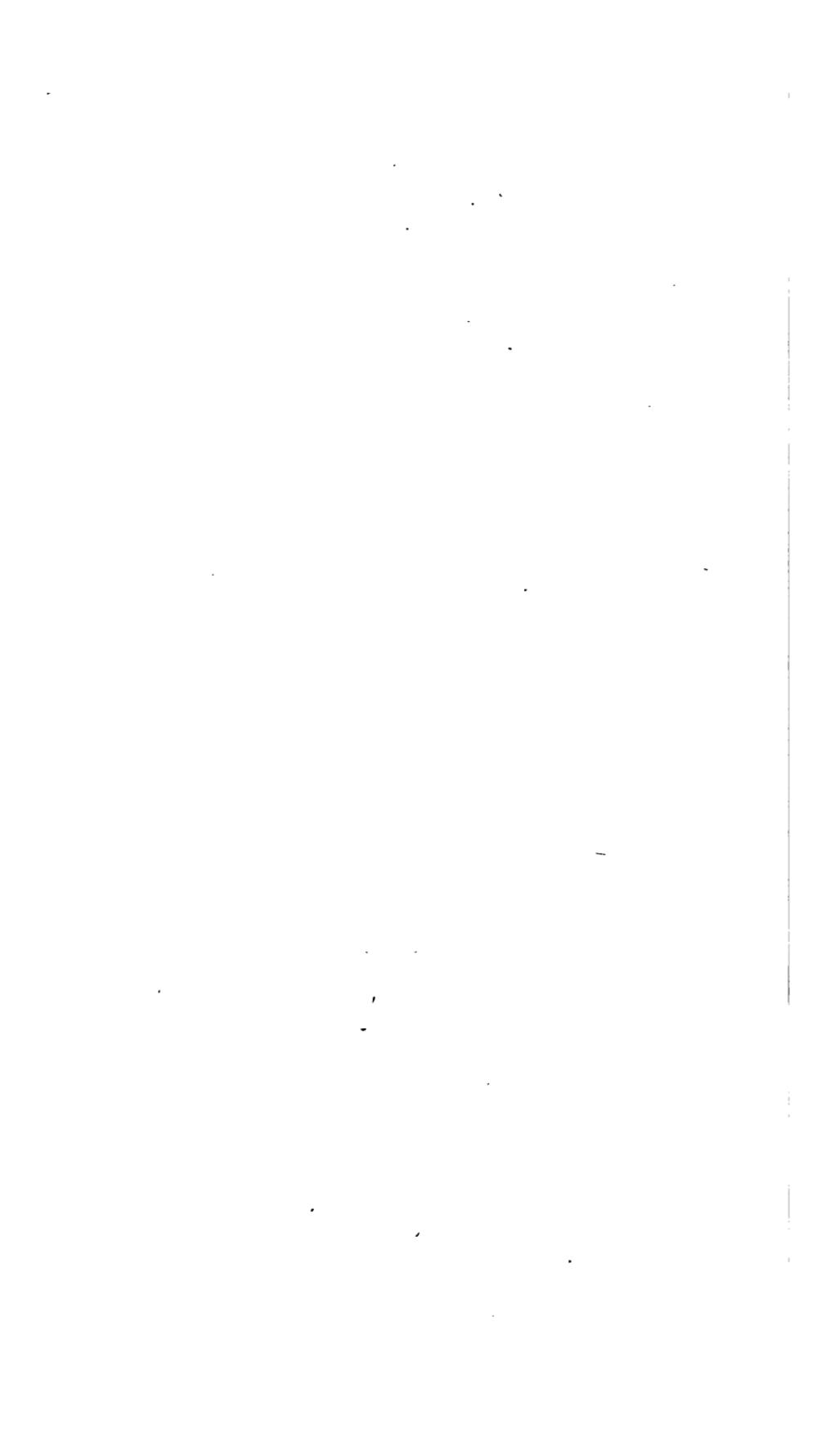
1. *Nam et, &c.*—"For royal power admits no partner, and in this case it was sought for by many."
2. *Proinde.*—"It is on this account that."
3. *Principi.*—According to the varying opinions of critics this has been supposed to allude to Augustus, Tiberius, Claudius, Vespasian, Titus, Trajan, Constantine and Justinian.
4. *Hujus, sc. sideris.*
5. *Abeit modo, &c.*—"Provided envy throw no obstacles in the way, the posterity of this same house shall certainly for a long time (would that it were for ever) prolong the circumstances of this age."
6. *Æquatum, &c.*—"Had been placed on an equality with Perdiccas.
7. *Probabilis.*—"Plausible."
8. *Contra.*—"Opposite."
9. *Haud sane, &c.*—"Expecting nothing at all of a peaceful character," that is: from the *equites*.
10. *Pro equitibꝫ.*—"Favourable to the cavalry."
11. *Tutissimum ex, &c.*—"The safest course under present circumstances."
12. *Obnoxios.*—"Abject"—"Not disposed to resist."
13. *Apparebatque, &c.*—The order is: *Apparebatque [Philippum] vindicaturum id modō pro suo, quod eventus approbasset.*
14. *Cum ejus, &c.*—The order is: *Cum videret inimicos abutentes nomine ejus, quem fecerat regem, in suam perniciem, &c.*

## LIB. X. CAP. X.

1. *Gentium, governed by imperium.*
2. *Obtinere.*—"To retain."
3. *Qui—praerant.*—"Those who had been prefects over," &c.
4. *Vanam.*—"Unfounded."
5. *Specie imperii, &c.*—"Under pretence of taking charge of the empire of another," viz.: of Philip Aridæus.
6. *Expeditius.*—"An easier matter."

## Note

7. *Nudo solo*.—That is: Unprotected by trees.
8. *Ut tandem, &c.*.—“ When at length his friends had leisure.”
9. *Vigor*.—“ The life-like colour.”
10. *Majorem*.—“ Greater” than was justified by the resources of a prefect.
11. *Ut ferrum, &c.*.—“ As to consume even iron.”
12. *Hoc vicinque, &c.*.—“ Whatever may have been the character of these traditions, the power of those, whom rumour had aspersed, soon stifled them.”







LDPE

07-04

Due JUL 9 1980

~~Due APR 26 1981~~



Lc 72.192  
Quintus Curtius Rufus,  
Widener Library

00



3 2044 085 198

