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The History of Alexander

Curtius Rufus

Historiae Alexandri Magni

The History of Alexander

Part One: Books III–VI

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with a word-for-word interlinear English translation

preserving the original word order



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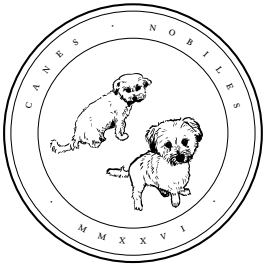

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BOOK III

I · THE GORDIAN KNOT

Alexander sends Cleander to hire troops in the Peloponnese and comes to Celaenae, on the Marsyas. The citadel's garrison boasts it is impregnable, then surrenders when Darius sends no help within sixty days. Athenian envoys ask for the Granicus prisoners; he will return all the Greeks when the war ends. At Gordium he cuts the yoke's knot with his sword. He gives Amphoterus the fleet and Hegelochus the land forces, takes Paphlagonia, and enters Cappadocia.

Inter haec Alexander ad conducendum ex Peloponneso
among these-things Alexander for hiring from the-Peloponnese
militem Cleandro cum pecunia misso Lyciae Pamphyliaeque
soldiery with-Cleander with money sent of-Lycia and-of-Pamphylia
rebus conpositis ad urbem Celaenas exercitum admovit.
with-affairs settled to the-city Celaenae the-army he-moved
Media illa tempestate moenia interfluebat Marsyas, amnis
the-middle at-that time walls was-flowing-through the-Marsyas river
fabulosis Graecorum carminibus inclitus. Fons eius ex
by-fabulous of-the-Greeks songs famed the-source its from
summo montis cacumine excurrens in subiectam petram
the-top of-a-mountain summit running-out onto the-underlying rock
magno strepitu aquarum cadit, inde diffusus circumiectos
with-great noise of-waters falls thence spread-out the-surrounding
rigat campos, liquidus et suas dumtaxat undas trahens.
it-waters fields clear and its-own only waters drawing
Itaque color eius placido mari similis locum poetarum
and-so the-color its to-a-calm sea like occasion of-the-poets
mendacio fecit: quippe traditum est nymphas amore amnis
for-a-lie has-made for handed-down it-is nymphs by-love of-the-river
retentas in illa rupe considere. Ceterum quamdiu intra muros
held in that rock to-settle but as-long-as within the-walls

fluit, nomen suum retinet, at cum extra munimenta se
it-flows the-name its-own it-keeps but when outside the-fortifications itself
evolvit, maiore vi ac mole agentem undas Lycum appellant.
it-rolls-out with-greater force and mass driving waters Lycus they-call
Alexander quidem urbem destitutam ab suis intrat,
Alexander indeed the-city abandoned by its-own-people enters
arcem vero, in quam confugerant, oppugnare adortus
the-citadel but into which they-had-fled to-attack having-undertaken
caduceatorem praemisit, qui denuntiaret, ni dederent, ipsos
a-herald he-sent-ahead who should-announce unless they-surrendered themselves
ultima esse passuros. Illi caduceatorem in turrem et situ
the-last-things to-be going-to-suffer they the-herald into a-tower both by-site
et opere multum editam perductum, quanta esset altitudo,
and by-work much raised led-up how-great was the-height
intueri iubent ac nuntiare Alexandro, non eadem ipsum
to-look-at they-bid and to-report to-Alexander not by-the-same himself
et incolas aestimatione munimenta metiri: se scire
and the-inhabitants estimation the-fortifications to-measure themselves to-know
inexpugnabiles esse, ad ultimum pro fide morituros. Ceterum
impregnable to-be to the-last for loyalty going-to-die but
ut circumsederi arcem et omnia sibi in dies artiora
when to-be-besieged the-citadel and all-things for-themselves by days narrower
esse viderunt, sexaginta dierum indutias pacti, ut, nisi intra
to-be they-saw sixty of-days a-truce having-agreed that unless within
eos auxilium Dareus ipsis misisset, dederent urbem,
them help Darius to-them had-sent they-would-surrender the-city
postquam nihil inde praesidii mittebatur, ad praestitutam
after nothing thence of-protection was-sent by the-appointed
diem permisere se regi. Superveniunt deinde legati
day they-surrendered themselves to-the-king arrive then envoys
Atheniensium petentes, ut capti apud Granicum amnem
of-the-Athenians asking that the-captured at the-Granicus river

redderentur sibi. Ille non hos modo, sed etiam ceteros
should-be-returned to-them he not these only but also the-other
Graecos restitui suis iussurum respondit finito
Greeks to-be-restored to-their-own going-to-order replied with-finished
Persico bello. Ceterum Dareo imminens, quem nondum
the-Persian war but on-Darius pressing whom not-yet
Euphraten superasse cognoverat, undique omnes copias
the-Euphrates to-have-crossed he-had-learned from-everywhere all forces
contrahit totis viribus tanti belli discrimen aditurus.
he-draws-together with-whole strength of-so-great a-war the-crisis going-to-approach
Phrygia erat, per quam ducebatur exercitus: pluribus vicis
Phrygia it-was through which was-led the-army in-more villages
quam urbibus frequens tunc habebat nobilem quondam Midae
than cities populous then it-had the-noble once of-Midas
regiam. Gordium nomen est urbi, quam Sangarius amnis
palace Gordium the-name is to-the-city which the-Sangarius river
praeterfluit pari intervallo Pontico et Cilicio mari
flows-past at-equal distance from-the-Pontic and the-Cilician sea
distantem. Inter haec maria angustissimum Asiae spatium
standing-apart between these seas the-narrowest of-Asia space
esse conperimus utroque in artas fauces conpellente terram.
to-be we-learn with-each into narrow straits forcing the-land
Quae quia continenti adhaeret, sed magna ex parte cingitur
which because to-the-mainland it-clings but great from part is-girded
fluctibus, speciem insulae praebet ac, nisi tenue discrimen
by-waves the-appearance of-an-island offers and unless a-thin partition
obiceret, quae nunc dividit maria, committeret. Alexander
it-put-between which now it-divides seas it-would-join Alexander
urbe in dicionem suam redacta Iovis templum intrat.
with-the-city into control his-own brought of-Jupiter the-temple enters
Vehiculum, quo Gordium, Midae patrem, vectum esse
the-wagon in-which Gordius of-Midas father carried to-have-been

constabat, aspexit cultu haud sane a vilioribus vulgatisque
it-was-agreed he-looked-at in-finish not indeed from cheaper and-common
usu abhorrens. Notabile erat iugum adstrictum compluribus
in-use differing remarkable was the-yoke bound by-several
nodis in semetipsos inplicatis et celantibus nexus.
knots into themselves entwined and concealing the-fastenings
Incolis deinde adfirmantibus editam esse oraculo
with-the-inhabitants then asserting given-out to-have-been by-the-oracle
sortem, Asiae potiturum, qui inexplicabile vinculum
a-prophecy of-Asia going-to-gain-possession who the-inextricable bond
solvisset, cupido incessit animo sortis eius explendae.
should-have-loosed desire entered his-mind of-prophecy that to-be-fulfilled
Circa regem erat et Phrygum turba et Macedonum, illa
around the-king was both of-Phrygians a-crowd and of-Macedonians that
expectatione suspensa, haec sollicita ex temeraria regis
by-expectation in-suspense this anxious from the-rash of-the-king
fiducia: quippe serie vinculorum ita adstricta, ut, unde
confidence for with-the-series of-bonds so bound that whence
nexus inciperet quove se conderet, nec ratione nec visu
the-fastening began or-where itself it-hid neither by-reason nor by-sight
perspici posset, solvere adgressus iniecerat curam ei,
to-be-seen-through could to-loose having-attempted had-cast anxiety on-him
ne in omen verteretur irritum inceptum. Ille nequaquam
lest into an-omen should-be-turned the-vain undertaking he by-no-means
diu luctatus cum latentibus nodis: 'Nihil,' inquit, 'interest,
long having-struggled with hidden knots nothing he-says it-matters
quomodo solvantur,' gladioque ruptis omnibus loris
how they-are-loosed and-by-the-sword with-broken all thongs
oraculi sortem vel elusit vel implevit. Cum deinde Dareum,
of-the-oracle the-prophecy either he-eluded or fulfilled when then Darius
ubicumque esset, occupare statuisset, ut a tergo tuta
wherever he-was to-forestall he-had-decided that from the-rear safe-things

relinqueret, Amphoterum classi ad oram Hellesponti,
he-might-leave Amphoterus over-the-fleet at the-coast of-the-Hellespont
copiis autem praefecit Hegelochum, Lesbum et
over-the-forces however he-put-in-command Hegelochus Lesbos and
Chium Coumque praesidiis hostium liberaturos. His
Chios and-Cos from-the-garrisons of-the-enemy going-to-free to-these
talenta ad belli usum quingenta attributa, ad Antipatrum et
talents for of-war use five-hundred assigned to Antipater and
eos, qui Graecas urbes tuebantur, DC missa, ex foedere
those who the-Greek cities were-guarding six-hundred sent from the-treaty
naves sociis imperatae, quae Hellesponto praesiderent.
ships on-the-allies imposed which over-the-Hellespont should-stand-guard
Nondum enim Memnonem vita excessisse cognoverat, in
not-yet for Memnon from-life to-have-departed he-had-learned on
quem omnes intenderat curas, satis gnarus cuncta in expedito
whom all he-had-turned cares enough knowing all-things in readiness
fore, si nihil ab eo moveretur. Iamque ad urbem Ancyram
going-to-be if nothing by him were-moved and-now to the-city Ancyra
ventum erat: ubi numero copiarum inito Paphlagoniam
come it-had-been where with-the-number of-the-forces counted Paphlagonia
intrat. Huic iuncti erant Heneti, unde quidam Venetos
he-enters to-this joined were the-Heneti whence some the-Veneti
trahere originem credunt. Omnis haec regio paruit regi,
to-draw origin believe all this region obeyed the-king
datisque obsidibus tributum, quod ne Persis quidem
and-with-given hostages tribute which not to-the-Persians even
tulissent, pendere ne cogerentur, inpetraverunt. Calas
they-had-paid to-pay that-not they-should-be-compelled they-obtained Calas
huic regioni praepositus est, ipse adsumptis, qui ex
over-this region placed was he-himself with-taken-on who from
Macedonia nuper advenerant, Cappadociam petiit.
Macedonia recently had-arrived Cappadocia sought

Hearing that Memnon is dead, Darius resolves to fight in person and counts his vast army at Babylon by Xerxes' method. Delighted, he asks the Athenian exile Charidemus whether it is enough to crush the enemy. Charidemus answers that the Persian host glitters with gold, but the Macedonian phalanx is disciplined and hardened by poverty; Darius should hire such men. Darius orders him killed. Charidemus foretells his avenger, and Darius later repents and buries him.

At Dareus nuntiata Memnonis morte haud secus, quam par
but Darius with-reported of-Memnon death not otherwise than proper
erat, motus omissa omni alia spe statuit ipse decernere:
was moved with-abandoned all other hope he-decided himself to-fight-it-out
quippe quae per duces suos acta erant, cuncta
for which-things through generals his-own done had-been all
damnabat, ratus pluribus curam, omnibus afuisse
he-condemned thinking from-the-many care from-all to-have-been-absent
fortunam. Igitur castris ad Babylona positis, quo maiore
fortune therefore with-the-camp at Babylon pitched that with-greater
animo capesserent bellum, universas vires in conspectum
spirit they-might-take-up the-war all forces into view
dedit et circumdato vallo, quod decem milium armatorum
he-gave and with-surrounded a-rampart which of-ten thousand armed-men
multitudinem caperet, Xerxis exemplo numerum copiarum
a-multitude could-hold of-Xerxes after-the-example the-number of-the-forces
iniit. Orto sole ad noctem agmina, sicut discripta erant,
he-took with-risen sun to night the-columns as divided they-had-been
intravere vallum. Inde emissa occupaverant Mesopotamiae
entered the-rampart thence sent-out they-had-occupied of-Mesopotamia
campos, equitum peditumque propemodum innumerabilis
the-plains of-cavalry and-of-infantry well-nigh innumerable
turba, maiorem quam pro numero speciem ferens. Persarum
a-throng greater than for the-number an-appearance bearing of-Persians

erant centum milia, in quis eques XXX inplebat.
there-were a-hundred thousand among whom the-cavalry thirty filled
Medi decem milia equitum, quinquaginta peditum habebant.
the-Medes ten thousand of-cavalry fifty of-infantry had
Barcanorum equitum duo milia fuere, armati bipennibus
of-the-Barcani of-cavalry two thousand there-were armed with-two-edged-axes
levibusque scutis maxime cetrae speciem reddentibus,
and-light shields most of-a-buckler the-appearance giving
peditum decem milia equitum pari armatu sequebantur.
of-infantry ten thousand of-cavalry with-equal arming followed
Armenii quadraginta milia miserant peditum additis septem
the-Armenians forty thousand had-sent of-infantry with-added seven
milibus equitum. Hyrcani egregiorum equitum, ut inter
thousand of-cavalry the-Hyrcanians of-outstanding horsemen as among
illas gentes, sex milia expleverant additis equitibus mille
those peoples six thousand had-made-up with-added horsemen a-thousand
Tapuris. Derbices quadraginta peditum milia armaverant:
the-Tapuri the-Derbices forty of-infantry thousand had-armed
pluribus aere aut ferro praefixae hastae, quidam lignum
for-most with-bronze or with-iron tipped spears some wood
igni duraverant. Hos quoque duo milia equitum ex
by-fire had-hardened these also two thousand of-cavalry from
eadem gente comitata sunt. A Caspio mari octo milium
the-same people accompanied have from the-Caspian sea eight thousand
pedester exercitus venerat, ducenti equites. Cum iis erant
an-infantry army had-come two-hundred horsemen with them were
ignobiles aliae gentes: duo milia peditum, equitum duplicem
obscure other peoples two thousand of-infantry of-cavalry double
paraverant numerum. His copiis triginta milia Graecorum
they-had-provided the-number to-these forces thirty thousand of-Greeks
mercede conducta egregiae iuventutis adiecta. Nam Bactrianos
by-pay hired of-excellent youth added for the-Bactrians

et Sogdianos et Indos ceterosque Rubri maris accolas,
and the-Sogdians and the-Indians and-the-other of-the-Red sea dwellers
ignota etiam Persis gentium nomina, festinatio prohibebat
unknown even to-the-Persians of-the-peoples the-names haste prevented
acciri. Nec quicquam illi minus quam multitudo
to-be-summoned nor anything to-him less than the-multitude
militum defuit. Cuius tum universae aspectu admodum
of-soldiers was-lacking of-which then whole by-the-sight very
laetus purpuratis solita vanitate spem eius inflantibus
glad with-the-purple-clad with-accustomed vanity the-hope his puffing-up
conversus ad Charidemum, Atheniensem belli peritum et
turned to Charidemus the-Athenian in-war skilled and
ob exilium infestum Alexandro — quippe Athenis
on-account-of exile hostile to-Alexander for from-Athens
iubente eo fuerat expulsus—, percontari coepit, satisne
with-ordering him he-had-been expelled to-ask he-began whether-enough
ei videretur instructus ad obterendum hostem. At ille et
to-him it-seemed equipped for crushing the-enemy but he both
suae sortis et regiae superbiae oblitus: 'Verum,' inquit, 'et
his-own lot and royal of-the-pride forgetful the-truth he-says both
tu forsitan audire nolis et ego, nisi nunc dixero,
you perhaps to-hear may-be-unwilling and I unless now I-shall-have-told
alias nequiquam confitebor. Hic tanti apparatus
at-another-time in-vain shall-confess this of-so-great equipment
exercitus, haec tot gentium et totius Orientis excita
army this of-so-many peoples and of-the-whole East roused
sedibus suis moles finitimis potest esse terribilis: nitet
from-seats its-own mass to-the-neighbors can be terrible it-shines
purpura auroque, fulget armis et opulentia, quantam, qui
with-purple and-with-gold it-gleams in-arms and in-opulence so-great-as those-who
oculis non subiecere, animis concipere non possunt. Sed
to-the-eyes not have-put-before in-their-minds to-conceive not can but

Macedonum acies, torva sane et inculta, clipeis hastisque
of-the-Macedonians the-line grim indeed and unkempt by-shields and-spears
immobiles cuneos et conferta robora virorum tegit. Ipsi
immovable wedges and close-packed strength of-men covers they-themselves
phalangem vocant, peditum stabile agmen: vir viro, armis
the-phalanx call of-infantry a-steady column man to-man arms
arma conserta sunt. Ad nutum monentis intenti sequi
to-arms joined are at the-nod of-one-warning attentive to-follow
signa, ordines servare didicerunt: quod imperatur, omnes
the-standards the-ranks to-keep they-have-learned what is-commanded all
exaudiunt. Obsistere, circumire, discurrere in cornu, mutare
hear to-stand-firm to-go-around to-run-apart into a-wing to-change
pugnam non duces magis quam milites callent. Ac ne auri
the-fight not the-leaders more than the-soldiers know-how and lest of-gold
argentique studio teneri putes, adhuc illa disciplina
and-of-silver by-desire to-be-held you-should-think still that discipline
paupertate magistra stetit: fatigatis humus cubile est, cibus,
with-poverty as-teacher has-stood for-the-wearied the-ground a-bed is the-food
quem occupati rapiunt, satiat, tempora somni artiora quam
which busy they-snatch satisfies the-times of-sleep shorter than
noctis sunt. Iam Thessali equites et Acarnanes Aetolique,
of-the-night are now the-Thessalian horsemen and the-Acarnanians and-the-Aetolians
invicta bello manus, fundis, credo, et hastis igne duratis
unconquered in-war a-band by-slings I-believe and by-spears with-fire hardened
repellentur! Pari robore opus est. In illa terra, quae hos
will-be-repelled of-equal strength need is in that land which these
genuit, auxilia quaerenda sunt: argentum istud atque
has-produced reinforcements to-be-sought are the-silver that and
aurum ad conducendum militem mitte.' Erat Dareo mite
gold for hiring soldiery send there-was to-Darius a-mild
ac tractabile ingenium, nisi etiam naturam plerumque fortuna
and tractable nature unless even nature mostly fortune

corrumperet. Itaque veritatis inpatiens hospitem ac supplicem,
should-corrupt and-so of-truth intolerant his-guest and suppliant
tunc cum maxime utilia suadentem, abstrahi iussit
then when most useful-things advising to-be-dragged-off he-ordered
ad capitale supplicium. Ille ne tum quidem libertatis oblitus:
to capital punishment he not then even of-freedom forgetful
'Habeo,' inquit, 'paratum mortis meae ultorem: expetet
I-have he-says ready of-death my an-avenger he-will-exact
poenas consilii mei spreti is ipse, contra quem tibi suasi. Tu
the-penalty of-counsel my spurned he himself against whom to-you I-advised you
quidem licentia regni tam subito mutatus documentum
indeed by-the-license of-royal-power so suddenly changed a-lesson
eris posteris, homines, cum se permisere fortunae,
you-will-be to-posterity men when themselves they-have-surrendered to-fortune
etiam naturam dediscere.' Haec vociferantem, quibus
even nature to-unlearn these-things crying-out those-to-whom
imperatum erat, iugulant. Sera deinde paenitentia subiit
ordered it-had-been they-cut-the-throat late then repentance came-upon
regem, ac vera dixisse confessus sepeliri eum iussit.
the-king and the-truth to-have-spoken having-confessed to-be-buried him he-ordered

III · THE PERSIAN COLUMN

Darius gives Thymondas the Greek mercenaries and Pharnabazus Memnon's command. He dreams that Alexander's camp blazes and that Alexander, in Darius' own coronation dress, rides through Babylon and vanishes; the seers read it both ways. The column sets out at sunrise with the sacred fire, the Magi, the Immortals, Darius in his chariot, the queens, and the treasure. The Macedonian army gleams with iron and bronze, ready at a nod; in the narrows Darius will be reduced to the fewness he despised.

Thymondas erat, Mentoris filius, inpiger iuvenis: cui
Thymondas was of-Mentor the-son an-energetic young-man to-whom
praeceptum est a rege, ut omnes peregrinos milites, in
ordered it-was by the-king that all foreign soldiers in
quis plurimum habebat spei, a Pharnabazo acciperet,
whom the-most he-had of-hope from Pharnabazus he-should-receive
opera eorum usurus in bello. Ipsi Pharnabazo tradit
the-services of-them going-to-use in war himself to-Pharnabazus he-hands-over
imperium, quod antea Memnoni dederat. Anxium deinde
the-command which before to-Memnon he-had-given anxious then
instantibus curis agitabant etiam per somnum species
with-pressing cares were-troubling even through sleep images
imminentium rerum, sive illas aegritudo, sive divinatio
of-impending events whether those distress or the-divination
animi praesagientis accersiit. Castra Alexandri magno ignis
of-a-mind foreseeing summoned the-camp of-Alexander with-great of-fire
fulgore conlucere ei visa sunt et paulo post Alexander
glare to-shine to-him seen were and a-little after Alexander
adduci ad ipsum in eo vestis habitu, quo ipse factus
to-be-brought to himself in that of-dress style in-which himself made
rex fuisset, equo deinde per Babylona vectus subito
king he-had-been on-a-horse then through Babylon carried suddenly
cum ipso equo oculis esse subductus. Ad haec vates
with the-very horse from-the-eyes to-be withdrawn at these-things the-seers
varia interpretatione curam distrinxerant: alii laetum
with-varied interpretation his-anxiety had-divided some favorable
id regi somnium esse dicebant, quod castra hostium
that to-the-king dream to-be said because the-camp of-the-enemy
arsissent, quod Alexandrum deposita regia veste in Persico
had-burned because Alexander with-laid-aside royal dress in Persian
et vulgari habitu perductum ad se vidisset, quidam
and common style brought to himself he-had-seen some

non: augurabantur quippe inlustria Macedonum castra visa
not they-were-divining for bright of-the-Macedonians the-camp seen
fulgorem Alexandro portendere: cui vel regnum Asiae
splendor to-Alexander to-portend to-whom even the-kingdom of-Asia
occupare fatum esse, haud ambigue doceri, quoniam in
to-seize destined to-be not ambiguously to-be-shown since in
eodem habitu Dareus fuisset, cum appellatus est rex. Vetera
the-same style Darius had-been when hailed he-was king the-old
quoque omina, ut fere, sollicitudo revocaverat: recensebant
also omens as usually anxiety had-recalled they-recounted
enim Dareum in principio imperii vaginam acinacis
for Darius at the-beginning of-his-rule the-scabbard of-the-scimitar
Persicam iussisse mutari in eam formam, qua Graeci
Persian to-have-ordered to-be-changed into that form which the-Greeks
uterentur, protinusque Chaldaeos interpretatos, imperium
used and-at-once the-Chaldeans to-have-interpreted the-rule
Persarum ad eos transiturum, quorum arma esset imitatus.
of-the-Persians to those going-to-pass whose arms he-had imitated
Ceterum ipse et vatum responso, quod edebatur in
but he-himself both by-the-seers' response which was-given-out to
vulgus, et specie, quae per somnum oblata erat,
the-common-people and by-the-vision which through sleep offered had-been
admodum laetus castra ad Euphraten moveri iubet. Patrio
very glad the-camp to the-Euphrates to-be-moved orders by-ancestral
more Persarum traditum est orto sole demum procedere.
custom of-the-Persians handed-down it-is with-risen sun only to-advance
Die iam inlustri signum e tabernaculo regis
with-the-day already bright the-signal from the-tent of-the-king
bucina dabatur: super tabernaculum, unde ab omnibus
by-a-trumpet was-given over the-tent whence by all
conspici posset, imago solis crystallo inclusa fulgebat.
to-be-seen it-could an-image of-the-sun in-crystal enclosed was-gleaming

Ordo autem agminis erat talis. Ignis, quem ipsi
the-order however of-the-column was such the-fire which they-themselves
sacrum et aeternum vocabant, argenteis altaribus praeferebatur.
sacred and eternal called on-silver altars was-carried-in-front
Magi proximi patrium carmen canebant. Magos trecenti
the-magi nearest the-ancestral hymn were-singing the-magi three-hundred
et sexaginta quinque iuvenes sequebantur puniceis amiculis
and sixty five young-men followed in-scarlet cloaks
velati, diebus totius anni pares numero: quippe Persis
covered to-the-days of-the-whole year equal in-number for for-the-Persians
quoque in totidem dies discriptus est annus. Currum
also into as-many days divided is the-year a-chariot
deinde Iovi sacratum albentes vehebant equi: hos eximiae
then to-Jupiter consecrated white were-drawing horses these of-exceptional
magnitudinis equus, quem Solis appellabant, sequebatur.
size a-horse which of-the-Sun they-called followed
Aureae virgae et albae vestes regentes equos adornabant.
golden wands and white robes the-drivers the-horses adorned
Haud procul erant vehicula decem multo auro argentoque
not far were wagons ten with-much gold and-silver
caelata. Sequebatur haec equitatus duodecim gentium variis
embossed followed these the-cavalry of-twelve peoples in-various
armis et moribus. Proximi ibant, quos Persae Inmortales
arms and customs next went those-whom the-Persians Immortals
vocant, ad decem milia. Cultus opulentiae barbarae non
call to ten thousand the-garb of-opulence barbaric no
alios magis honestabat: illi aureos torques, illi vestem
others more adorned those golden collars those a-robe
auro distinctam habebant manicatasque tunicas gemmis
with-gold picked-out had and-sleeved tunics with-gems
etiam adornatas. Exiguo intervallo, quos cognatos regis
even adorned at-a-short interval those-whom kinsmen of-the-king

appellant, decem et quinque milia hominum. Haec vero
they-call ten and five thousand of-men this however
turba muliebriter propemodum culta luxu magis quam
throng womanishly nearly decked by-luxury more than
decoris armis conspicua erat. Doryphoroe vocabantur proximum
by-fitting arms conspicuous was spear-bearers were-called next
his agmen, soliti vestem excipere regalem. Hi currum
to-these the-column accustomed the-dress to-take-up royal these the-chariot
regis anteibant, quo ipse eminens vehebatur. Utrumque
of-the-king preceded in-which himself high he-was-carried each
currus latus deorum simulacra ex auro argentoque expressa
of-the-chariot side of-the-gods images from gold and-silver wrought
decorabant: distinguebant internitentes gemmae iugum,
adorned picked-out glittering-among-them gems the-yoke
ex quo eminebant duo aurea simulacra cubitalia avorum,
from which rose two golden statues a-cubit-high of-the-ancestors
alterum Nini, alterum Beli. Inter haec aquilam auream
one of-Ninus the-other of-Belus between these an-eagle golden
pennas extendenti similem sacraverant. Cultus regis inter
its-wings to-one-spreading like they-had-consecrated the-dress of-the-king among
omnia luxuria notabatur: purpureae tunicae medium album
all-things for-luxury was-marked of-the-purple tunic the-middle white
intextum erat, pallam auro distinctam aurei accipitres, velut
woven-in was the-cloak with-gold picked-out golden hawks as-if
rostris inter se concurrerent, adornabant, ex zona aurea
with-beaks among themselves they-clashed adorned from a-belt golden
muliebriter cinctus acinacem suspenderat, cui ex gemma
womanishly girt a-scimitar he-had-hung for-which from a-gem
vagina erat. Cidarim Persae vocabant regium capitis
the-scabbard was the-cidaris the-Persians called the-royal of-the-head
insigne: hoc caerulea fascia albo distincta circumibat.
emblem this a-blue band with-white picked-out went-around

Currum decem milia hastatorum sequebantur: hastas argento
the-chariot ten thousand of-spearmen followed spears with-silver
exornatas, spiculo aureo praefixas gestabant. Dextra
adorned with-a-point golden tipped they-carried on-the-right
laevaque regem ducenti ferme nobilissimi propinquorum
and-on-the-left the-king two-hundred about the-noblest of-his-kinsmen
comitabantur. Horum agmen claudebatur triginta milibus
accompanied of-these the-column was-closed by-thirty thousand
peditum, quos equi regis CCCC sequebantur. Intervallo
of-infantry whom horses of-the-king four-hundred followed at-an-interval
deinde unius stadii matrem Darei, Sisigambim, currus
then of-one stade the-mother of-Darius Sisigambis a-chariot
vehebat, et in alio erat coniunx. Turba feminarum reginas
carried and in another was his-wife a-throng of-women the-queens
comitantium equis vectabatur. Quindecim deinde, quas
accompanying on-horses was-carried fifteen then which
armamaxas appellabant, sequebantur: in his erant liberi
harmamaxae they-called followed in these were the-children
regis et, quae educabant eos, spadonumque grex, haud
of-the-king and those-who were-rearing them and-of-eunuchs a-herd not
sane illis gentibus vilis. Tum regiae pelices trecentae et
indeed among-those peoples cheap then the-royal concubines three-hundred and
sexaginta vehebantur, et ipsae regali cultu ornatuque. Post
sixty were-carried and themselves in-royal attire and-adornment after
quas pecuniam regis sexcenti muli et trecenti cameli
which the-money of-the-king six-hundred mules and three-hundred camels
vehebant praesidio sagittariorum prosequente. Propinquorum
were-carrying with-a-guard of-archers escorting of-the-kinsmen
amicorumque coniuges huic agmini proximae lixarumque
and-of-the-friends the-wives to-this column next and-of-camp-followers
et calonum greges vehebantur. Ultimi erant cum suis
and of-servants herds were-carried the-last were with their-own

quisque ducibus, qui cogerent agmen, leviter armati.
each leaders who should-close the-column lightly armed
Contra si quis aciem Macedonum intueretur, dispar
on-the-other-hand if anyone the-line of-the-Macedonians should-look-at a-different
facies erat equis virisque non auro, non discolori
face it-was with-horses and-men not with-gold not with-many-colored
veste, sed ferro atque aere fulgentibus: agmen et stare
dress but with-iron and bronze gleaming a-column both to-stand
paratum et sequi, nec turba nec sarcinis praegrave,
ready and to-follow neither by-a-throng nor by-baggage overburdened
intentum ad ducis non signum modo, sed etiam nutum.
attentive to of-the-leader not the-signal only but also the-nod
Et castris locus et exercitui commeatus suppetebant. Ergo
both for-the-camp a-place and for-the-army supplies were-at-hand therefore
Alexandro in acie miles non defuit, Dareus, tantae
to-Alexander in the-line the-soldier not was-lacking Darius of-so-great
multitudinis rex, loci, in quo pugnavit, angustiis
a-multitude king of-the-place in which he-fought by-the-narrowness
redactus est ad paucitatem, quam in hoste contempserat.
reduced was to the-fewness which in the-enemy he-had-despised

IV · THE CILICIAN GATES

Alexander reaches the Camp of Cyrus, near the pass into Cilicia called the Gates. Arsames, its governor, lays the province waste when he should have held the pass, and his few men there flee at the sight of the enemy. Cilicia is ringed by mountains, and the Pyramus and the clear, cold Cydnus cross its plain. Alexander passes the Gates, marveling at his luck. Reaching Tarsus as the Persians fire it, he sends Parmenio ahead and saves the city.

Interea Alexander Sabistamene Cappadociae praeposito Ciliciam
meanwhile Alexander with-Sabistamenes over-Cappadocia placed Cilicia
petens cum omnibus copiis in regionem, quae Castra Cyri
seeking with all forces into the-region which the-Camp of-Cyrus
appellatur, pervenerat: stativa illic habuerat Cyrus, cum
is-called had-come a-standing-camp there had-had Cyrus when
adversus Croesum in Lydiam duceret. Aberat ea regio
against Croesus into Lydia he-was-leading was-distant that region
quinquaginta stadia ab aditu, quo Ciliciam intramus:
fifty stades from the-approach by-which Cilicia we-enter
Pylas incolae dicunt artissimas fauces munimenta, quae
the-Gates the-inhabitants call the-narrowest straits the-fortifications which
manu ponimus, naturali situ imitantes. Igitur Arsames,
by-hand we-set-up by-natural position imitating therefore Arsames
qui Ciliciae praeerat, reputans, quid initio belli
who over-Cilicia was-in-command reflecting what at-the-beginning of-the-war
Memno suasisset, quondam salubre consilium sero exequi
Memnon had-advised once a-wholesome counsel late to-carry-out
statuit: igni ferroque Ciliciam vastat, ut hosti
decided with-fire and-sword Cilicia he-lays-waste that for-the-enemy
solitudinem faciat, quidquid usui potest esse, corrumpit
a-desert he-may-make whatever for-use can be he-spoils
sterile ac nudum solum, quod tueri nequibat, relicturus. Sed
barren and bare the-soil which to-protect he-could-not going-to-leave but
longe utilius fuit angustias aditus, qui Ciliciam aperit,
far more-useful it-was the-narrows of-the-approach which Cilicia opens
valido occupare praesidio iugumque opportune itineri
with-a-strong to-seize garrison and-the-ridge conveniently over-the-route
imminens obtinere, unde inultus subeuntem hostem aut
hanging to-hold whence unpunished the-one-coming-up the-enemy either
prohibere aut opprimere potuisset: nunc paucis, qui callibus
to-check or to-crush he-could-have now with-a-few who over-the-paths

praesiderent, relictis retro ipse concessit, populator terrae,
should-stand-guard left back himself withdrew a-ravager of-the-land
quam a populationibus vindicare debebat. Ergo qui
which from ravagings to-protect he-ought therefore those-who
relicti erant, proditos se rati ne conspectum quidem
left had-been betrayed themselves thinking not the-sight even
hostis sustinere valuerunt, cum vel pauciores locum
of-the-enemy to-endure were-able although even fewer the-place
obtinere potuissent. Namque perpetuo iugo montis asperi
to-hold could-have for with-a-continuous ridge of-mountain rough
ac praerupti Cilicia includitur: quod cum a mari adsurgat,
and steep Cilicia is-enclosed which since from the-sea it-rises
velut sinu quodam flexuque curvatum rursus altero cornu
as-if in-a-bay a-certain and-a-bend curved again with-the-other horn
in diversum litus excurrit. Per hoc dorsum, qua maxime
toward an-opposite shore runs-out through this ridge where most
introrsus mari cedit, asperi tres aditus et perangusti
inward from-the-sea it-yields rough three approaches and very-narrow
sunt, quorum uno Cilicia intranda est. Campestris eadem,
there-are of-which by-one Cilicia to-be-entered is level the-same
qua vergit ad mare, planitiem eius crebris distinguentibus
where it-slopes to the-sea the-plain its with-frequent dividing
rivis: Pyramus et Cydnus, incliti amnes, interfluunt. Cydnus
streams the-Pyramus and the-Cydnus famous rivers flow-through the-Cydnus
non spatio aquarum, sed liquore memorabilis: quippe leni
not for-volume of-waters but for-clearness memorable for with-gentle
tractu e fontibus labens puro solo excipitur, nec torrentes
course from its-springs gliding by-pure soil it-is-received nor torrents
incurrunt, qui placide manantis alveum turbent. Itaque
rush-in which calmly of-the-flowing bed might-disturb and-so
incorruptus idemque frigidissimus, quippe multa riparum
unspoiled and-the-same coldest for much of-the-banks

amoenitate inumbratus, ubique fontibus suis similis in mare
by-the-pleasantness shaded everywhere to-springs its-own like into the-sea
evadit. Multa in ea regione monumenta vulgata carminibus
it-issues many in that region monuments celebrated in-songs
vetustas exederat: monstrabantur urbium sedes Lyrnesi et
age had-eaten-away were-shown of-cities the-seats of-Lyrnesus and
Thebes, Typhonis quoque specus et Corycium nemus, ubi
of-Thebe of-Typhon also the-cave and the-Corycian grove where
crocum gignitur, ceteraque, in quibus nihil praeter famam
saffron is-produced and-the-other-things in which nothing except fame
duraverat. Alexander fauces iugi, quae Pylae appellantur,
had-lasted Alexander the-straits of-the-ridge which the-Gates are-called
intravit. Contemplatus locorum situm non alias
entered having-surveyed of-the-places the-position not at-other-times
magis dicitur admiratus esse felicitatem suam: obrui
more is-said admired to-have good-fortune his to-be-overwhelmed
potuisse vel saxis confitebatur, si fuissent, qui
to-have-been-able even by-stones he-confessed if there-had-been those-who
in subeuntes propellerent. Iter vix quaternos capiebat
onto those-coming-up should-push-them the-way scarcely four-abreast held
armatos: dorsum montis imminebat viae non angustae
armed-men the-ridge of-the-mountain overhung the-road not narrow
modo, sed plerumque praeruptae crebris oberrantibus rivis,
only but mostly steep with-frequent wandering streams
qui ex radicibus montium manant. Thracas tamen leviter
which from the-roots of-the-mountains flow the-Thracians yet lightly
armatos praecedere iusserat scrutarique calles, ne occultus
armed to-go-ahead he-had-ordered and-to-search the-paths lest a-hidden
hostis in subeuntes erumperet. Sagittariorum quoque manus
enemy on those-coming-up should-burst-out of-archers also a-band
occupaverat iugum: intentos arcus habebant moniti, non
had-occupied the-ridge drawn bows they-held warned not

iter ipsos inire, sed proelium. Hoc modo agmen pervenit
a-march themselves to-enter but a-battle in-this way the-column arrived
ad urbem Tarson, cui tum maxime Persae subiciebant
at the-city Tarsus to-which then most-of-all the-Persians were-setting
ignem, ne opulentum oppidum hostis invaderet. At ille
fire lest the-wealthy town the-enemy should-enter but he
Parmenione ad inhibendum incendium cum expedita manu
with-Parmenio for checking the-fire with an-unencumbered band
praemisso, postquam barbaros adventu suorum fugatos
sent-ahead after the-barbarians by-the-arrival of-his-men put-to-flight
esse cognovit, urbem a se conservatam intrat.
to-have-been he-learned the-city by himself saved enters

V · THE CYDNUS

On a burning summer day Alexander, covered in dust and sweat, bathes in the Cydnus before his army. A chill stiffens him, and he is carried to his tent almost lifeless. The camp mourns a king lost in a river, and fears being left among enemies with no one to lead them home. Reviving, he hears that Darius will be in Cilicia in five days, and asks his physicians for a quick remedy. Since Darius has offered a thousand talents for his death, no one dares an untried cure.

Mediam Cydnus amnis, de quo paulo ante dictum est,
the-middle the-Cydnus river about which a-little before said it-has-been
interfluit, et tunc aestas erat, cuius calor non aliam
flows-through and then summer was whose heat no other
magis quam Ciliciae oram vapore solis accendit, et
more than of-Cilicia the-coast with-the-heat of-the-sun inflames and
diei fervidissimum tempus esse coeperat. Pulvere simul
of-the-day the-hottest time to-be had-begun with-dust at-once
ac sudore perfusum regem invitavit liquor fluminis, ut
and with-sweat drenched the-king invited the-water of-the-river that

calidum adhuc corpus ablueret: itaque veste deposita
his-hot still body he-should-wash and-so with-his-clothing laid-aside
in conspectu agminis — decorum quoque futurum ratus, si
in view of-the-column becoming also going-to-be thinking if
ostendisset suis levi et parabili cultu corporis se esse
he-had-shown to-his-men with-light and easily-got care of-the-body himself to-be
contentum — descendit in flumen. Vixque ingressi
content he-goes-down into the-river and-scarcely of-him-having-entered
subito horrore artus rigere coeperunt, pallor deinde suffusus
suddenly with-shivering his-limbs to-stiffen began a-pallor then spread-over
est et totum propemodum corpus vitalis calor liquit. Expiranti
was and whole almost the-body the-vital heat left to-one-dying
similem ministri manu excipiunt nec satis compotem
like the-attendants in-hands take-up nor quite master
mentis in tabernaculum deferunt. Ingens sollicitudo et paene
of-his-mind into the-tent carry huge anxiety and almost
iam luctus in castris erat: flentes querebantur in tanto impetu
now grief in the-camp was weeping they-complained in so-great a-rush
cursuque rerum omnis aetatis ac memoriae clarissimum regem
and-career of-events of-all time and memory the-most-famous king
non in acie saltem, non ab hoste deiectum, sed abluentem
not in the-line at-least not by the-enemy struck-down but washing
aqua corpus ereptum esse et extinctum. Instare Dareum
in-water his-body snatched-away to-have-been and extinguished pressing-on Darius
victorem, antequam vidisset hostem. Sibi easdem terras,
a-victor before he-had-seen the-enemy for-themselves the-same lands
quas victoria peragrassent, repetendas: omnia aut ipsos aut
which in-victory they-had-traveled to-be-sought-again all-things either themselves or
hostes populatos. Per vastas solitudines, etiam si nemo
the-enemy to-have-laid-waste through vast wildernesses even if no-one
insequi velit, euntes fame atque inopia debellari posse.
to-pursue should-wish them-going by-hunger and by-want to-be-subdued could

Quem signum daturum fugientibus? quem ausurum Alexandro
who the-signal going-to-give to-those-fleeing who going-to-dare Alexander
succedere? Iam ut ad Hellespontum fuga penetrarent,
to-succeed now that to the-Hellespont in-flight they-might-make-their-way
classem, qua transeant, quem praeparaturum? Rursus in
the-fleet by-which they-might-cross who going-to-prepare again onto
ipsum regem misericordia versa illum florem iuventae, illam
the-very king with-their-pity turned that flower of-youth that
vim animi, eundem regem et commilitonem divelli a se
force of-spirit the-same king and fellow-soldier to-be-torn from them
et abrumpi inmemores sui querebantur. Inter haec
and to-be-broken-off forgetful of-themselves they-complained among these-things
liberius meare spiritus coeperat, adlevaratque rex oculos et
more-freely to-pass the-breath had-begun and-had-raised the-king his-eyes and
paulatim redeunte animo circumstantes amicos agnoverat,
gradually with-returning consciousness the-standing-around friends he-had-recognized
laxataque vis morbi ob hoc solum videbatur, quia
and-relaxed the-force of-the-illness on-account-of this alone seemed because
magnitudinem mali sentiebat. Animi autem aegritudo
the-greatness of-the-evil he-felt of-the-mind however the-distress
corpus urgebat: quippe Dareum quinto die in Cilicia fore
the-body pressed for Darius on-the-fifth day in Cilicia going-to-be
nuntiabatur. Vinctum ergo se tradi et tantam
was-announced bound therefore himself to-be-handed-over and so-great
victoriam eripi sibi ex manibus obscuraque et
a-victory to-be-snatched from-him out-of his-hands and-by-an-obscure and
ignobili morte in tabernaculo extingui se querebatur.
ignoble death in the-tent to-be-extinguished himself he-complained
Admissisque amicis pariter ac medicis: 'In quo me,' inquit,
and-with-admitted friends equally and physicians in what me he-says
'articulo rerum mearum fortuna deprehenderit, cernitis.
crisis of-affairs my fortune has-caught you-see

Strepitum hostilium armorum exaudire mihi videor et, qui
the-din of-hostile arms to-hear to-me I-seem and I-who
ultro intuli bellum, iam provocor. Dareus ergo cum
of-my-own-accord brought war now am-challenged Darius then when
tam superbas litteras scriberet, fortunam meam in consilio
so arrogant letters he-was-writing fortune my in counsel
habuit, sed nequiquam, si mihi arbitrio meo curari
had but in-vain if for-me by-judgment my to-be-treated
licet. Lenta remedia et segnes medicos non expectant
it-is-allowed slow remedies and sluggish physicians not await
tempora mea: vel mori strenue quam tarde convalescere mihi
the-times my even to-die briskly than slowly to-recover for-me
melius est. Proinde, si quid opis, si quid artis in medicis
better is accordingly if any of-help if any of-skill in the-physicians
est, sciant me non tam mortis quam belli remedium
is they-should-know me not so-much of-death as of-war a-remedy
quaerere.' Ingentem omnibus incusserat curam tam praeceps
to-seek huge into-all had-struck anxiety so headlong
temeritas eius. Ergo pro se quisque precari coepere, ne
rashness his therefore for himself each to-entreat began lest
festinatione periculum augeret, sed esset in potestate
by-haste his-danger he-should-increase but should-be in the-power
medentium: inexperta remedia haud iniuria ipsis esse
of-those-healing untried remedies not unjustly to-themselves to-be
suspecta, cum ad perniciem eius etiam a latere ipsius
suspect since for the-destruction his even from the-side of-himself
pecunia sollicitaret hostis. Quippe Dareus mille talenta
with-money was-tempting the-enemy for Darius a-thousand talents
interfectori Alexandri daturum se pronuntiari iusserat.
to-the-slayer of-Alexander going-to-give himself to-be-proclaimed had-ordered

Itaque ne ausurum quidem quemquam arbitrabantur experiri
and-so not going-to-dare even anyone they-thought to-try
remedium, quod propter novitatem posset esse suspectum.
a-remedy which on-account-of novelty could be suspect

VI · PHILIP THE PHYSICIAN

Philip of Acarnania promises a strong potion, to be taken on the third day. A letter from Parmenio warns that Darius has bribed Philip with a thousand talents and his sister's hand. Alexander hides the letter, and when Philip brings the cup he drinks it while handing him the letter, watching his face. Philip, indignant rather than afraid, begs him to trust the drug. It nearly kills him, but Philip revives him, and three days later the army thanks Philip like a god.

Erat inter nobiles medicos ex Macedonia regem secutos
there-was among the-noble physicians from Macedonia the-king having-followed
Philippus, natione Acarnan, fidus admodum regi: puero
Philip by-nation an-Acarnanian loyal very to-the-king as-a-boy
comes et custos salutis datus non ut regem modo, sed
companion and guardian of-his-health given not as the-king only but
etiam ut alumnum eximia caritate diligebat. Is non
also as a-foster-son with-exceptional affection he-loved he not
praeceps se, sed strenuum remedium adferre tantamque
a-headlong himself but a-vigorous remedy to-bring and-so-great
vim morbi potione medicata levaturum esse promisit.
the-force of-the-illness by-a-potion medicated going-to-relieve to-be promised
Nulli promissum eius placebat praeter ipsum, cuius periculo
to-no-one promise his was-pleasing except himself at-whose risk
pollicebatur. Omnia quippe facilius quam moram perpeti
he-was-promising all-things for more-easily than delay to-endure
poterat: arma et acies in oculis erant, et victoriam in
he-could arms and the-line before his-eyes were and victory in

eo positam esse arbitrabatur, si tantum ante signa stare
this placed to-be he-judged if only before the-standards to-stand
potuisset, id ipsum, quod post diem tertium medicamentum
he-could-have that itself that after day the-third the-medicine
sumpturus esset — ita enim medicus praedixerat — aegre
going-to-take he-was so for the-physician had-foretold with-difficulty
ferens. Inter haec a Parmenione, fidissimo purpuratorum,
bearing among these-things from Parmenio the-most-loyal of-the-purple-clad
litteras accipit, quibus ei denuntiabat, ne salutem suam
a-letter he-receives in-which to-him he-was-warning lest health his
Philippo committeret: mille talentis a Dareo et
to-Philip he-should-entrust with-a-thousand talents by Darius and
spe nuptiarum sororis eius esse corruptum. Ingentem
with-hope of-marriage of-the-sister his to-have-been bribed huge
animo sollicitudinem litterae incusserant, et, quidquid in
in-his-mind anxiety the-letter had-struck and whatever into
utramque partem aut metus aut spes subiecerat, secreta
either part either fear or hope had-suggested in-secret
aestimatione pensabat. ‘Bibere perseverem? ut, si venenum
estimation he-weighed to-drink shall-I-persist that if poison
datum fuerit, ne inmerito quidem, quidquid acciderit,
given shall-have-been not undeservedly even whatever shall-have-happened
evenisse videatur? Damnem medici fidem? in
to-have-turned-out it-may-seem shall-I-condemn of-the-physician the-loyalty in
tabernaculo ergo me opprimi patiar? At satius est
the-tent therefore me to-be-overwhelmed shall-I-allow but better is
alieno me mori scelere quam metu nostro.’ Diu animo
by-another's me to-die crime than by-fear our long with-his-mind
in diversa versato nulli, quid scriptum esset, enuntiat
in opposite-directions turned to-no-one what written had-been he-discloses
epistulamque sigillo anuli sui inpresso pulvino, cui
and-the-letter with-the-seal of-ring his impressed under-the-pillow on-which

incubabat, subicit. Inter has cogitationes biduo absumpto
he-was-lying he-puts among these thoughts with-two-days spent
inluxit a medico destinatus dies, et ille cum poculo, in
dawned by the-physician appointed the-day and he with a-cup in
quo medicamentum diluerat, intravit. Quo viso Alexander
which the-medicine he-had-dissolved entered with-which seen Alexander
levato corpore in cubili epistulam a Parmenione missam
with-raised body on the-couch the-letter by Parmenio sent
sinistra manu tenens accipit poculum et haurit interritus:
in-the-left hand holding takes the-cup and drains-it undaunted
tum epistulam legere Philippum iubet nec a vultu legentis
then the-letter to-read Philip he-orders nor from the-face of-the-reader
movit oculos, ratus, aliquas conscientiae notas in ipso ore
he-moved his-eyes thinking some of-guilt marks in the-very face
posse deprehendere. Ille epistula perlecta plus indignationis
to-be-able to-detect he with-the-letter read-through more of-indignation
quam pavoris ostendit proiectisque amiculo et litteris
than of-fear showed and-with-thrown-down his-cloak and the-letter
ante lectum: 'Rex,' inquit, 'semper quidem spiritus meus ex
before the-couch king he-says always indeed breath my from
te pependit, sed nunc vere arbitror sacro et venerabili ore
you has-hung but now truly I-think by-sacred and revered mouth
trahi tuo. Crimen parricidii, quod mihi obiectum est,
to-be-drawn your the-charge of-parricide which to-me laid has-been
tua salus diluet: servatus a me vitam mihi dederis.
your recovery will-wash-away saved by me life to-me you-will-have-given
Oro quaesoque, omisso metu patere medicamentum
I-beg and-I-entreat with-laid-aside fear allow the-medicine
concipi venis: laxa paulisper animum, quem intempestiva
to-be-taken-into your-veins relax for-a-little your-mind which with-untimely
sollicitudine amici sane fideles, sed moleste seduli turbant.'
anxiety friends indeed loyal but annoyingly zealous disturb

Non securum modo haec vox, sed etiam laetum regem
not untroubled only this word but also glad the-king
ac plenum bonae spei fecit. Itaque: 'Si di,' inquit,
and full of-good hope made and-so if the-gods he-says
'Philippe, tibi permisissent, quo maxime modo velles,
Philip to-you had-permitted in-what most manner you-wished
animum experiri meum, alio profecto voluisses, sed
the-mind to-test my in-another surely you-would-have-wished but
certiore, quam expertus es, ne optasses quidem:
more-certain than tested you-have not you-would-have-desired even
hac epistula accepta tamen, quod dilueras, bibi. Et
with-this letter received yet what you-had-dissolved I-drank and
nunc crede me non minus pro tua fide quam pro mea
now believe me not less for your loyalty than for my
salute esse sollicitum.' Haec elocutus dextram Philippo
safety to-be anxious these-things having-spoken his-right-hand to-Philip
offert. Ceterum tanta vis medicamenti fuit, ut, quae
he-offers but so-great the-force of-the-medicine was that the-things-which
secuta sunt, criminationem Parmenionis adiuverint: interclusus
followed have the-accusation of-Parmenio helped stopped
spiritus arte meabat. Nec Philippus quicquam inexpertum
the-breath narrowly passed nor Philip anything untried
omisit: ille fomenta corpori admovit, ille torpentem nunc
left-out he poultices to-the-body applied he the-torpid-man now
cibo, nunc vini odore excitavit. Atque ut primum
with-food now of-wine with-the-scent roused and as soon-as
mentis compotem esse sensit, modo matris sororumque,
of-his-mind master to-be he-perceived now of-his-mother and-of-his-sisters
modo tantae victoriae adpropinquantis admonere non destitit.
now of-so-great victory approaching to-remind not he-ceased
Ut vero medicamentum se diffudit in venas et sensim
but when the-medicine itself spread into the-veins and gradually

toto corpore salubritas percipi potuit, primum animus
in-the-whole body health to-be-felt could first the-mind
vigorem suum, deinde corpus quoque expectatione maturius
vigor its-own then the-body also than-expectation sooner
recuperavit: quippe post tertium diem, quam in hoc statu
recovered for after the-third day than in this state
fuerat, in conspectum militum venit. Nec avidius ipsum
he-had-been into view of-the-soldiers he-came nor more-eagerly himself
regem quam Philippum intuebatur exercitus: pro se quisque
the-king than Philip was-looking-at the-army for himself each
dextram eius amplexi grates habebant velut praesenti deo.
the-right-hand his having-embraced thanks they-gave as-if to-a-present god
Namque haud facile dictu est, praeter ingenitam illi genti
for not easy to-say is besides the-inborn in-that people
erga reges suos venerationem quantum huius utique regis
toward kings their-own veneration how-much of-this especially king
vel admiratione dediti ei fuerint vel caritate flagraverint.
either with-admiration devoted to-him they-were or with-affection they-burned
Iam primum nihil sine divina ope adgredi videbatur: nam
now first nothing without divine help to-attempt he-seemed for
cum praesto esset ubique fortuna, et temeritas in gloriam
since at-hand was everywhere fortune even rashness into glory
cesserat. Aetas quoque vix tantis matura rebus, sed
had-turned his-age also scarcely for-so-great ripe things but
abunde sufficiens omnia eius opera honestabat. Et quae
abundantly sufficient all his deeds graced and those-which
leviora haberi solent plerumque, militari gratiora vulgo
lighter to-be-held are-wont mostly to-the-military more-pleasing crowd
sunt, exercitatio corporis inter ipsos, cultus habitusque
are exercise of-the-body among the-men-themselves dress and-bearing
paulum a privato abhorrens, militaris vigor: quis ille
a-little from a-private-man's differing military vigor by-which he

vel ingenii dotibus vel animi artibus, ut pariter carus
either of-talent by-gifts or of-character by-arts that equally dear
ac venerandus esset, effecerat.
and revered he-might-be had-brought-about

VII · THE ROAD TO ISSUS

Darius crosses the Euphrates in five days and hurries toward Cilicia. Alexander, recovered, takes Soli, holds games, and hears of victories at Halicarnassus. He moves by Mallus and Castabalum to Issus, where Parmenio has seized the pass. A council resolves to await the enemy in the narrows. Sisines, a Persian exile, receives a letter from Nabarzanes urging a great deed; when he does not show it to the king, who has read it, Cretans kill him, surely at Alexander's order.

At Dareus nuntio de adversa valitudine eius accepto celeritate,
but Darius with-news about the-adverse health his received with-speed
quantam capere tam grave agmen poterat, ad Euphraten
as-much-as to-hold so heavy a-column could to the-Euphrates
contendit iunctoque eo pontibus quinque tamen diebus
hastened and-with-joined it by-bridges five yet in-days
traiecit exercitum Ciliciam occupare festinans. Iam Alexander
took-across the-army Cilicia to-seize hastening now Alexander
viribus corporis receptis ad urbem Solos pervenerat: cuius
with-the-strength of-his-body recovered to the-city Soli had-come of-which
potitus ducentis talentis multae nomine exactis
having-gained-possession with-two-hundred talents of-a-fine under-the-name exacted
arci praesidium militum inposuit. Vota deinde pro
on-the-citadel a-garrison of-soldiers he-placed the-vows then for
salute suscepta per ludum atque otium reddens ostendit,
his-recovery undertaken through games and leisure paying he-showed
quanta fiducia barbaros sperneret: quippe Aesculapio et
with-how-great confidence the-barbarians he-spurned for to-Aesculapius and

Minervae ludos celebravit. Spectanti nuntius laetus adfertur
to-Minerva games he-celebrated to-him-watching news glad is-brought
Halicarnaso Persas acie a suis esse superatos,
at-Halicarnassus the-Persians in-battle by his-men to-have-been overcome
Myndios quoque et Caunios et pleraque tractus eius suae
the-Myndians also and the-Caunians and most of-the-tract of-that his-own
facta dicionis. Igitur edito spectaculo ludicro castrisque
made of-dominion therefore with-given the-show of-games and-with-the-camp
motis et Pyramo amne ponte iuncto ad urbem Mallum
moved and with-the-Pyramus river by-a-bridge joined to the-city Mallus
pervenit, inde alteris castris ad oppidum Castabalum. Ibi
he-came thence with-a-second camp to the-town Castabalum there
Parmenio regi occurrit: praemiserat ad explorandum iter
Parmenio the-king meets he-had-sent-ahead for exploring the-route
saltus, per quem ad urbem Isson nomine penetrandum erat.
of-the-pass through which to the-city Issus by-name to-be-penetrated it-was
Atque ille angustiis eius occupatis et praesidio modico
and he with-the-narrows its seized and with-a-garrison moderate
relicto Isson quoque desertam a barbaris ceperat. Inde
left Issus also abandoned by the-barbarians had-taken thence
progressus deturbatis, qui interiora montium obsidebant,
having-advanced with-dislodged who the-inner-parts of-the-mountains were-occupying
praesidiis cuncta firmavit occupatoque itinere, sicut paulo ante
garrisons all-things he-secured and-with-occupied the-route as a-little before
dictum est, idem et auctor et nuntius venit. Isson
said it-has-been the-same-man both doer and messenger came to-Issus
deinde rex copias admovit. Ubi consilio habito, utrumne
then the-king his-forces moved where with-a-council held whether
ultra progrediendum foret, an ibi opperiendi essent novi
further to-be-advanced it-would-be or there to-be-awaited would-be the-new
milites, quos ex Macedonia adventare constabat, Parmenio
soldiers whom from Macedonia to-be-approaching it-was-agreed Parmenio

non alium locum proelio aptiorem esse censebat. Quippe
no other place for-battle more-suitable to-be judged for
illic utriusque regis copias numero futuras pares, cum
there of-both kings the-forces in-number going-to-be equal since
angustiae multitudinem non caperent: planitiem ipsis
the-narrows the-multitude not could-hold the-plain to-themselves
camposque esse vitandos, ubi circumiri, ubi ancipiti acie
and-the-fields to-be to-be-avoided where to-be-surrounded where by-a-twofold line
opprimi possent. Timere, ne non virtute hostium, sed
to-be-overwhelmed they-could to-fear lest not by-the-valor of-the-enemy but
lassitudine sua vincerentur: Persas recentes subinde
by-weariness their-own they-should-be-conquered the-Persians fresh repeatedly
successuros, si laxius stare potuissent. Facile ratio tam
going-to-come-up if more-loosely to-stand they-could easily the-reasoning so
salubris consilii accepta est. Itaque inter angustias saltus
wholesome of-counsel accepted was and-so among the-narrows of-the-pass
hostem opperiri statuit. Erat in exercitu regis Sisines
the-enemy to-await he-decided there-was in the-army of-the-king Sisines
Perses: quondam a praetore Aegypti missus ad Philippum
a-Persian once by the-governor of-Egypt sent to Philip
donisque et omni honore cultus exilium patria sede
and-with-gifts and with-every honor courted exile for-his-ancestral seat
mutaverat, secutus deinde in Asiam Alexandrum inter
had-exchanged having-followed then into Asia Alexander among
fideles socios habebatur. Huic epistulam Cretensis miles
loyal allies he-was-held to-him a-letter a-Cretan soldier
obsignatam anulo, cuius signum haud sane notum erat,
sealed with-a-ring whose seal not indeed known was
tradidit. Nabarzanes, praetor Darei, miserat eam hortabaturque
handed Nabarzanes governor of-Darius had-sent it and-was-urging
Sisinem, ut dignum aliquid nobilitate atque moribus suis
Sisines that worthy something of-nobility and character his-own

ederet: magno id ei apud regem honori fore. Has
he-should-perform great it to-him with the-king an-honor going-to-be this
litteras Sisines, utpote innoxius, ad Alexandrum saepe deferre
letter Sisines as-being innocent to Alexander often to-bring
temptavit, sed cum tot curis apparatuque belli regem
tried but since with-so-many cares and-preparation of-war the-king
videret urgueri, aptius subinde tempus expectans suspicionem
he-saw to-be-pressed a-fitter repeatedly time awaiting suspicion
initi scelesti consilii praebuit. Namque epistula, priusquam
of-entered criminal counsel he-gave for the-letter before
ei redderetur, in manus Alexandri pervenerat, lectamque
to-him it-was-delivered into the-hands of-Alexander had-come and-read
eam et ignoti anuli sigillo inpresso Sisini dari
it and of-an-unknown ring with-the-seal impressed to-Sisines to-be-given
iusserat ad aestimandam fidem barbari. Qui quia per
he-had-ordered for estimating the-loyalty of-the-barbarian he because for
conplures dies non adierat regem, scelesto consilio eam
several days not had-approached the-king with-criminal design it
visus est suppressisse et in agmine a Cretensibus haud
seemed he-has to-have-suppressed and on the-march by the-Cretans not
dubie iussu regis occisus.
doubtfully by-order of-the-king killed

VIII · DARIUS ADVANCES

Darius' Greek mercenaries urge him to fall back to Mesopotamia or divide his army; his courtiers call them traitors, but Darius spares them. He sends his treasure to Damascus and enters Cilicia. Finding the sick Macedonians at Issus, the Persians cut off their hands. Alexander sacrifices at night on a mountain and halts at dawn in the narrows. The surprised Persians scramble for arms, and fear and confusion undo Darius' plan to surround the enemy.

Iamque Graeci milites, quos Thymondas a Pharnabazo
and-now the-Greek soldiers whom Thymondas from Pharnabazus
acceperat, praecipua spes et propemodum unica, ad Dareum
had-received the-chief hope and almost the-only to Darius
pervenerant. Hi magnopere suadebant, ut retro abiret
had-come these earnestly were-urging that back he-should-go
spatiososque Mesopotamiae campos repeteret: si id
and-the-spacious of-Mesopotamia plains he-should-seek-again if that
consilium damnaret, at ille divideret saltem innumerabiles
plan he-condemned but he he-should-divide at-least the-countless
copias neu sub unum fortunae ictum totas vires regni
forces nor under one of-fortune blow the-whole strength of-the-kingdom
cadere pateretur. Minus hoc regi quam purpuratis eius
to-fall should-allow less this to-the-king than to-the-courtiers his
displicebat: ancipitem fidem et mercede venalem proditioni
displeased doubtful loyalty and for-pay for-sale on-treachery
imminere et dividi non ob aliud copias velle,
to-be-intent and to-be-divided not on-account-of other-reason the-forces to-want
quam ut ipsi in diversa digressi, si quid
than that themselves in different-directions having-parted if anything
commissum esset, traderent Alexandro: nihil tutius
entrusted had-been they-might-hand-over to-Alexander nothing safer
fore quam circumdatos eos exercitu toto obrui
going-to-be than surrounded them by-the-army whole to-be-overwhelmed
telis, documentum non inultae perfidiae futuros. At
by-missiles a-warning not of-unpunished treachery going-to-be but
Dareus, ut erat sanctus ac mitis, se vero tantum facinus
Darius as he-was upright and mild himself indeed so-great a-crime
negat esse facturum, ut suam secutos fidem, suos
denies to-be going-to-do that his-own having-followed loyalty his-own
milites iubeat trucidari: quem deinde amplius nationum
soldiers he-should-order to-be-butchered who then any-more of-the-nations

exterarum salutem suam crediturum sibi, si tot militum
foreign safety his going-to-entrust to-him if so-many of-soldiers
sanguine inbuisset manus? Neminem stolidum consilium
with-the-blood he-had-stained his-hands no-one a-foolish counsel
capite luere debere: defuturos enim, qui suaderent,
with-his-head to-pay ought going-to-be-lacking for those-who would-advise
si suasisse periculosum esset. Denique ipsos cotidie ad
if to-have-advised dangerous were finally themselves daily to
se advocari in consilium variasque sententias dicere, nec
himself to-be-summoned into council and-various opinions to-speak nor
tamen melioris fidei haberi, qui prudentius suaserit. Itaque
yet of-better loyalty to-be-held who more-prudently has-advised and-so
Graecis nuntiari iubet, ipsum quidem benivolentiae
to-the-Greeks to-be-announced he-orders himself indeed for-the-goodwill
illorum gratias agere, ceterum, si retro ire pergat, haud
of-them thanks to-give but if back to-go he-proceeds not
dubie regnum hostibus traditurum: fama bella stare et
doubtfully the-kingdom to-the-enemies going-to-hand-over by-repute wars to-stand and
eum, qui recedat, fugere credi. Trahendi vero belli vix
him who withdraws to-flee to-be-believed of-dragging-out but the-war scarcely
ullam esse rationem: tantae enim multitudini, utique cum
any to-be method for-so-great for a-multitude especially since
iam hiems instaret, in regione vasta et invicem a suis
now winter was-pressing in a-region vast and in-turn by its-own-men
atque hoste vexata non suffectura alimenta. Ne
and by-the-enemy ravaged not to-be-going-to-suffice provisions not
dividi quidem copias posse servato more maiorum,
to-be-divided even the-forces to-be-able with-observed the-custom of-the-ancestors
qui universas vires discrimini bellorum semper obtulerint. Et,
who the-whole strength to-the-crisis of-wars always had-exposed and
hercule, terribilem antea regem et absentia sua ad vanam
by-Hercules terrifying before the-king and by-absence his to empty

fiduciam elatum, postquam adventare se senserit,
confidence raised after to-be-approaching himself he-had-perceived
cautum pro temerario factum delituisse inter angustias
cautious instead-of rash made to-have-hidden among the-narrows
saltus ritu ignobilium ferarum, quae strepitu
of-the-pass in-the-manner of-ignoble wild-beasts which with-the-noise
praetereuntium audito silvarum latebris se occulerent.
of-passers-by heard of-the-woods in-the-lairs themselves hide
Iam etiam valitudinis simulatione frustrari suos milites.
now even of-illness by-pretense to-cheat his soldiers
Sed non amplius ipsum esse passurum detrectare certamen:
but not any-longer himself to-be going-to-allow to-decline the-contest
in illo specu, in quem pavidi recessissent, oppressurum
in that cave into which frightened they-had-retreated going-to-overwhelm
esse cunctantes. Haec magnificentius iactata quam verius.
to-be the-delayers these-things more-grandly boasted than more-truly
Ceterum pecunia omni rerumque pretiosissimis Damascum
but with-the-money all and-of-things with-the-most-precious to-Damascus
Syriae cum modico praesidio militum missis reliquas
of-Syria with a-modest garrison of-soldiers sent the-remaining
copias in Ciliciam duxit insequentibus more patrio
forces into Cilicia he-led with-following in-the-custom ancestral
agmen coniuge ac matre. Virgines quoque cum parvo filio
the-column his-wife and mother the-maidens also with the-little son
comitabantur patrem. Forte eadem nocte et Alexander ad
accompanied their-father by-chance on-the-same night both Alexander to
fauces, quibus Syria aditur, et Dareus ad eum locum, quem
the-jaws by-which Syria is-entered and Darius to that place which
Amanicas Pylas vocant, pervenit. Nec dubitavere Persae, quin
the-Amanic Gates they-call arrived nor did-doubt the-Persians that
Isso relicta, quam ceperant, Macedones fugerent: nam
with-Issus abandoned which they-had-taken the-Macedonians were-fleeing for

etiam saucii quidam et invalidi, qui agmen non poterant
even wounded some and sick who the-column not could
persequi, excepti erant. Quos omnis instinctu purpuratorum
follow captured had-been whom all at-the-instigation of-the-courtiers
barbara feritate saevientium praecisis adustisque manibus
with-barbarian ferocity raging with-cut-off and-cauterized hands
circumduci, ut copias suas noscerent, satisque omnibus
to-be-led-round that the-forces his they-might-know and-sufficiently with-all
spectatis nuntiare, quae vidissent, regi suo iussit. Motis
viewed to-report what they-had-seen to-king their he-ordered with-moved
ergo castris superat Pinarum amnem in tergis, ut credebat,
therefore the-camp he-crosses the-Pinarus river on the-backs as he-believed
fugientium haesurus. At illi, quorum amputaverat manus,
of-the-fleeing going-to-cling but those whose he-had-cut-off hands
ad castra Macedonum penetrant Dareum, quanto maximo
to the-camp of-the-Macedonians make-their-way Darius with-what greatest
cursu posset, sequi nuntiantes. Vix fides habebatur:
speed he-could to-be-following announcing scarcely belief was-had
itaque speculatores mari in eas regiones praemissos explorare
and-so scouts by-sea into those regions sent-ahead to-find-out
iubet, ipse adesset, an praefectorum aliquis speciem
he-orders himself whether-he-was-present or of-the-officers someone the-appearance
praebuisset universi venientis exercitus. Sed dum speculatores
had-offered of-the-whole approaching army but while the-scouts
reverterentur, procul ingens multitudo conspecta est. Ignes
were-returning far-off a-huge multitude seen was fires
deinde totis campis conlucere coeperunt, omniaque
then over-the-whole plain to-gleam began and-all-things
velut continenti incendio ardere visa, cum incondita
as-if with-a-continuous conflagration to-burn seemed since the-disorderly
multitudo maxime propter iumenta laxius tenderet.
multitude chiefly because-of the-pack-animals more-widely was-encamping

Itaque eo ipso loco metari suos castra iusserat,
and-so in-that very place to-measure-out his-men a-camp he-had-ordered
laetus — quod omni expetierat voto — in illis potissimum
glad that with-every he-had-sought vow in those especially
angustiis decernendum fore. Ceterum, ut solet fieri,
narrows to-be-decided it-would-be but as is-wont to-happen
cum ultimi discriminis tempus adventat, in sollicitudinem
when of-the-final crisis the-time approaches into anxiety
versa fiducia est. Illam ipsam fortunam, qua adspirante
turned confidence is that very fortune with-which favoring
res tam prospere gesserat, verebatur nec iniuria ex his,
things so prosperously he-had-done he-was-fearing nor wrongly from these
quae tribuisset sibi, quamque mutabilis esset, reputabat:
which it-had-granted to-him and-how changeable it-was he-was-reckoning
unam superesse noctem, quae tanti discriminis moraretur
one to-remain night which of-so-great a-crisis was-delaying
eventum. Rursus occurrebat, maiora periculis praemia et,
the-outcome again it-occurred greater than-the-dangers the-rewards and
sicut dubium esset, an vinceret, ita illud utique
just-as doubtful it-was whether he-would-conquer so that at-any-rate
certum esse, honeste et cum magna laude moriturum.
certain to-be honorably and with great praise going-to-die
Itaque corpora milites curare iussit ac deinde tertia
and-so their-bodies the-soldiers to-refresh he-ordered and then at-the-third
vigilia instructos et armatos esse: ipse in iugum editi
watch drawn-up and armed to-be himself onto the-ridge of-a-lofty
montis escendit multisque conlucentibus facibus patrio
mountain climbed and-with-many gleaming torches in-the-ancestral
more sacrificium dis praesidibus loci fecit. Iamque
manner a-sacrifice to-the-gods guardians of-the-place made and-now
tertium, sicut praeceptum erat, signum tuba miles
the-third as ordered had-been the-signal by-trumpet the-soldier

acceperat itineri simul paratus ac proelio, strenueque
had-received for-the-march at-once ready and for-battle and-briskly
iussi procedere oriente luce pervenerunt ad angustias,
ordered to-advance with-rising light they-arrived at the-narrows
quas occupare decreverant. Dareum XXX inde stadia
which to-seize they-had-decided Darius thirty from-there stades
abesse praemissi indicabant. Tunc consistere agmen
to-be-distant the-men-sent-ahead indicated then to-halt the-column
iubet armisque ipse sumptis aciem ordinat. Dareo
he-orders and-with-arms himself taken-up the-line he-arrays to-Darius
adventum hostium pavidi agrestes nuntiaverunt vix credenti
the-arrival of-the-enemy frightened peasants announced scarcely believing
occurrere etiam, quos ut fugientes sequebatur. Invadebat
to-be-meeting-him even those-whom as fleeing he-was-pursuing was-seizing
ergo non mediocris omnium animos formido — quippe
therefore no slight of-all the-minds dread for
itineri quam proelio aptiores erant—, raptimque arma
for-a-march than for-battle readier they-were and-hurriedly arms
capiebant. Sed ipsa festinatio discurrentium suosque
they-were-taking but the-very haste of-men-running-about and-their-comrades
ad arma vocantium maiorem metum incussit: alii in
to arms calling greater fear struck some onto
iugum montis evaserant, ut hostium agmen inde
the-ridge of-the-mountain had-climbed that of-the-enemy the-column from-there
prospicerent, equos plerique frenabant. Discors exercitus
they-might-look-out horses most were-bridling the-discordant army
nec ad unum intentus imperium vario tumultu cuncta
nor to one intent command with-varied uproar all-things
turbaverat. Dareus initio iugum montis cum parte
had-thrown-into-confusion Darius at-first the-ridge of-the-mountain with part
copiarum occupare statuit, et a fronte et a tergo
of-the-forces to-occupy decided both from the-front and from the-rear

circumiturus hostem, a mari quoque, quo dextrum eius
going-to-surround the-enemy from the-sea also by-which the-right his
cornu tegebatur, alios obiecturus, ut undique urgueret.
wing was-covered others going-to-set-against that on-all-sides he-might-press
Praeter haec viginti milia praemissa cum sagittariorum manu
besides these twenty thousand sent-ahead with of-archers a-band
Pinarum amnem, qui duo agmina interfluebat, transire et
the-Pinarus river which the-two columns flowed-between to-cross and
obicere sese Macedonum copiis iusserat: si id
to-throw themselves of-the-Macedonians against-the-forces he-had-ordered if that
praestare non possent, retrocedere in montes et occulte
to-accomplish not they-could to-fall-back into the-mountains and secretly
circumire ultimos hostium. Ceterum destinata salubriter
to-go-round the-last of-the-enemy but plans-made wisely
omni ratione potentior fortuna discussit: quippe alii
than-every reckoning more-powerful fortune scattered for some
prae metu imperium exequi non audebant, alii frustra
for fear the-order to-carry-out not dared others in-vain
exequebantur, quia, ubi partes labant, summa turbatur.
carried-it-out because where the-parts totter the-whole is-thrown-into-confusion

IX · THE LINES AT ISSUS

On the Persian right stand Nabarzanes' cavalry and Thymondas' thirty thousand Greek mercenaries, the army's strength; on the left Aristomedes' twenty thousand foot and Darius with his picked horse, the women in the middle. Alexander sets the phalanx in front, the right under Nicanor, the left under Craterus and Parmenio, the horse on both wings. The Persians on the hills flee from the slingers, and as the mountains open the Macedonian ranks and cavalry spread out.

Acies autem hoc modo stetit. Nabarzanes equitatu dextrum
the-line moreover in-this manner stood Nabarzanes with-the-cavalry the-right
cornu tuebatur additis funditorum sagittariorumque viginti
wing was-guarding with-added of-slingers and-of-archers twenty
fere milibus. In eodem Thymondas erat Graecis peditibus
about thousand in the-same Thymondas was to-the-Greek infantry
mercede conductis, triginta milibus, praepositus. Hoc erat haud
for-pay hired thirty thousand put-in-command this was not
dubie robur exercitus, par Macedonicae phalangi acies. In
doubtfully the-strength of-the-army equal to-the-Macedonian phalanx line in-the
laevo cornu Aristomedes Thessalus XX milia barbarorum
left wing Aristomedes the-Thessalian twenty thousand of-barbarian
peditum habebat. In subsidiis pugnacissimas locaverat gentes.
infantry had in the-reserves the-most-warlike he-had-placed nations
Ipsum regem in eodem cornu dimicaturum tria milia
the-very king in the-same wing going-to-fight three thousand
delectorum equitum, adsueta corporis custodia, et pedestris
of-picked horsemen accustomed of-the-body to-the-guard and the-infantry
acies, quadraginta milia sequebantur, Hyrcani deinde
line forty thousand followed the-Hyrcanian then
Medique equites, his proximi ceterarum gentium ultra eos
and-Median horsemen to-these nearest of-the-other nations beyond them
dextra laevaque dispositi. Hoc agmen, sicut dictum est,
on-the-right and-left arranged this column as said it-has-been
instructum VI milia iaculatorum funditorumque antecedebant.
drawn-up six thousand of-javelin-men and-of-slingers preceded
Quidquid in illis angustiis adiri poterat, inpleverant
whatever in those narrows to-be-approached could had-filled
copiae, cornuaque hinc ab iugo, illinc a mari stabant,
the-forces and-the-wings on-this-side from the-ridge on-that from the-sea stood
uxorem matremque regis et alium feminarum gregem in
the-wife and-mother of-the-king and the-other of-women herd into

medium agmen acceperant. Alexander phalangem, qua
the-middle column they-had-received Alexander the-phalanx than-which
nihil apud Macedonas validius erat, in fronte constituit.
nothing among the-Macedonians stronger was in front set-up
Dextrum cornu Nicanor, Parmenionis filius, tuebatur: huic
the-right wing Nicanor of-Parmenio the-son was-guarding to-him
proximi stabant Coenos et Perdiccas et Meleager et
nearest stood Coenus and Perdiccas and Meleager and
Ptolomaeus et Amyntas, sui quisque agminis duces. In
Ptolemy and Amyntas of-his-own each column leaders on-the
laevo, quod ad mare pertinebat, Craterus et Parmenio erant,
left which to the-sea reached Craterus and Parmenio were
sed Craterus Parmenioni parere iussus. Equites ab utroque
but Craterus to-Parmenio to-obey ordered the-horsemen on each
cornu locati: dextrum Macedones Thessalis adiunctis,
wing placed the-right the-Macedonians with-the-Thessalians joined
laevum Peloponnesii tuebantur. Ante hanc aciem posuerat
the-left the-Peloponnesians were-guarding before this line he-had-placed
funditorum manum sagittariis admixtis. Thraces quoque et
of-slingers a-band with-archers mixed the-Thracians also and
Cretenses ante agmen ibant, et ipsi leviter armati. At
the-Cretans before the-column went and themselves lightly armed but
iis, qui praemissi ab Dareo iugum montis insederant,
against-those who sent-ahead by Darius the-ridge of-the-mountain had-occupied
Agrianos opposuit ex Thraecia nuper advectos. Parmenioni
the-Agrianians he-set from Thrace recently brought to-Parmenio
autem praeceperat, ut, quantum posset, agmen ad mare
moreover he-had-instructed that as-far-as he-could the-column toward the-sea
extenderet, quo longius abesset acies montibus, quos
he-should-extend so-that farther might-be-distant the-line from-the-mountains which
occupaverant barbari. At illi neque obstare venientibus nec
had-occupied the-barbarians but they neither to-block the-approaching nor

circumire praetergressos ausi funditorum maxime aspectu
to-go-round those-who-had-passed having-dared of-the-slingers chiefly by-the-sight
territi profugerant, eaque res Alexandro tutum agminis
terrified had-fled and-this thing for-Alexander a-safe of-the-column
latus, quod ne superne incesseretur, timuerat, praestitit. XXX
flank which lest from-above it-be-attacked he-had-feared provided thirty
et duo armatorum ordines ibant: neque enim latius extendi
and two of-armed-men ranks went nor for wider to-be-extended
aciem patiebantur angustiae. Paulatim deinde laxare semet
the-line allowed the-narrows gradually then to-loosen themselves
sinus montium et maius spatium aperire coeperant, ita
the-curves of-the-mountains and greater space to-open had-begun so
ut non pedes solum pluribus in ordinem incedere,
that not the-infantry only in-greater-numbers in rank to-advance
sed etiam lateribus circumfundi posset equitatus.
but even on-the-flanks to-be-spread-around could the-cavalry

X · ALEXANDER EXHORTS HIS MEN

The Persians raise a savage shout, and the Macedonians answer with one that the ridges echo beyond their numbers. Alexander rides along the line holding his men back and speaks to each nation in its own terms: the Macedonians hear of their valor, of Philip, of Boeotia's noblest city razed, and of the East to be won; the Greeks, of the wars of Darius and Xerxes; the Illyrians and Thracians, of gold to be stripped from unwarlike women.

Iam in conspectu, sed extra teli iactum utraque acies
now in sight but beyond of-a-missile the-cast each line
erat, cum priores Persae inconditum et trucem sustulere
was when the-front Persians a-disorderly and fierce raised
clamorem. Redditur et a Macedonibus, maior exercitus
shout it-is-returned also by the-Macedonians greater of-the-army

numero, iugis montium vastisque saltibus repercussus:
than-the-number by-the-ridges of-the-mountains and-the-vast passes echoed
quippe semper circumiecta nemora petraeque, quantamcumque
for always the-surrounding groves and-rocks however-great
accepere vocem, multiplicato sono referunt. Alexander
they-have-received a-voice with-multiplied sound give-back Alexander
ante prima signa ibat identidem manu suos
before the-first standards was-going repeatedly with-his-hand his-men
inhibens, ne suspensi acrius ob nimiam festinationem
checking lest breathless more-keenly on-account-of excessive haste
concitato spiritu capesserent proelium. Cumque agmini
with-roused breath they-should-take-up the-battle and-when along-the-column
obequitaret, varia oratione, ut cuiusque animis aptum erat,
he-rode with-varied speech as to-each's mind suited it-was
milites adloquebatur. Macedones, tot bellorum in Europa
the-soldiers he-was-addressing the-Macedonians of-so-many wars in Europe
victores, ad subigendam Asiam atque ultima Orientis non
conquerors for subduing Asia and the-farthest-parts of-the-East not
ipsius magis quam suo ductu profecti, inveteratae
his more than by-their-own leadership having-set-out of-their-long-standing
virtutis admonebantur: illos terrarum orbis liberatores
valor were-reminded they of-the-lands of-the-world liberators
emensosque olim Herculis et Liberi patris terminos non
and-having-traversed once of-Hercules and of-Liber father the-boundaries not
Persis modo, sed etiam omnibus gentibus inposituros
on-the-Persians only but even on-all nations going-to-impose
iugum. Macedonum provincias Bactra et Indos fore.
the-yoke of-the-Macedonians provinces Bactra and the-Indians going-to-be
Minima esse, quae nunc intuerentur, sed omnia victoria
the-least to-be what now they-were-looking-at but all-things by-victory
aperiri. Non in praeruptis petris Illyriorum et Thraciae saxis
to-be-opened not on precipitous rocks of-the-Illyrians and of-Thrace crags

sterilem laborem fore, spolia totius Orientis offerri.
barren the-toil going-to-be the-spoils of-the-whole East to-be-offered
Vix gladio futurum opus: totam aciem suo pavore
scarcely of-the-sword going-to-be need the-whole line with-its-own fear
fluctuantem umbonibus posse propelli. Victor ad haec
wavering with-shield-bosses to-be-able to-be-driven-on the-conqueror besides this
Atheniensium Philippus pater invocabatur, domitaeque nuper
of-the-Athenians Philip his-father was-invoked and-of-subdued recently
Boeotiae et urbis in ea nobilissimae ad solum dirutae
Boeotia and of-the-city in it most-noble to the-ground razed
species repraesentabatur animis. Iam Granicum amnem, iam
the-picture was-represented to-their-minds now the-Granicus river now
tot urbes aut expugnatas aut in fidem acceptas omniaque,
so-many cities either stormed or into allegiance received and-all-things
quae post tergum erant, strata et pedibus ipsorum subiecta
which behind their-back were laid-low and under-the-feet of-them placed
memorabat. Cum adierat Graecos, admonebat ab his
he-recalled when he-had-approached the-Greeks he-was-reminding by these
gentibus inlata Graeciae bella Darei prius, deinde Xerxis
nations brought on-Greece the-wars of-Darius first then of-Xerxes
insolentia, aquam ipsos terramque poscentium, ut
by-the-insolence water from-them and-earth of-those-demanding so-that
neque fontium haustum nec solitos cibos relinquerent
neither of-springs the-draft nor the-accustomed food they-would-leave
deditis. Ab his templa ruinis et ignibus esse
to-the-surrendered by these the-temples with-ruins and with-fires to-have-been
deleta, urbes eorum expugnatas, foedera divini humanique
destroyed the-cities their stormed the-treaties of-divine and-of-human
iuris violata referebat. Illyrios vero et Thracas rapto
law violated he-was-relating the-Illyrians but and the-Thracians by-plunder
vivere adsuetos aciem hostium auro purpuraque fulgentem
to-live accustomed the-line of-the-enemy with-gold and-purple gleaming

intueri iubebat, praedam, non arma gestantem: irent
to-look-at he-was-bidding plunder not arms carrying they-should-go
et inbellibus feminis aurum viri eriperent, aspera
and from-unwarlike women the-gold as-men they-should-snatch the-rough
montium suorum iuga nudasque calles et perpetuo rigentes
of-the-mountains their-own ridges and-the-bare paths and with-perpetual stiffening
gelu divitibus Persarum campis agrisque mutarent.
frost for-the-rich of-the-Persians plains and-fields they-should-exchange

XI · THE BATTLE OF ISSUS

The Persian horse charge Alexander's left, and he sends the Thessalians to Parmenio. The fight closes to swords. Darius' brother Oxathres shields his chariot, nobles die around it, and Alexander is grazed in the thigh. Darius leaps onto a horse, discards his insignia, and flees. The Thessalians break the Persian cavalry, the camp is plundered, and Darius' family is taken. A hundred thousand Persian foot fall; Alexander loses 302 foot and 150 horse.

Iam ad teli iactum pervenerant, cum Persarum equites
now to of-a-missile the-cast they-had-come when of-the-Persians the-horsemen
ferociter in laevum cornu hostium invecti sunt: quippe
fiercely against the-left wing of-the-enemy charged were for
Dareus equestri proelio decernere optabat phalangem
Darius by-a-cavalry battle to-decide wished the-phalanx
Macedonici exercitus robur esse coniectans. Iamque etiam
of-the-Macedonian army the-strength to-be guessing and-now even
dextrum Alexandri cornu circumibatur. Quod ubi Macedo
the-right of-Alexander wing was-being-surrounded which when the-Macedonian
conspexit, duabus alis equitum ad iugum montis iussis
saw with-two squadrons of-horsemen on the-ridge of-the-mountain ordered
subsistere ceteros in medium belli discrimen strenue
to-halt the-rest into the-middle of-the-battle crisis briskly

transfert. Subductis deinde ex acie Thessalis equitibus
he-transfers with-withdrawn then from the-line the-Thessalian horsemen
praefectum eorum occulte circumire tergum suorum iubet
the-commander their secretly to-go-round the-rear of-his-own-men he-orders
Parmenionique coniungi et, quod is imperasset, inpigre
and-with-Parmenio to-be-joined and what he had-ordered energetically
exequi. Iamque immissi in medium Persarum undique
to-carry-out and-now sent-in into the-midst of-the-Persians on-all-sides
circumfusi egregie tuebantur se, sed conferti et quasi
surrounded excellently they-were-defending themselves but crowded and as-if
cohaerentes tela vibrare non poterant: simul erant emissa
clinging-together missiles to-hurl not they-could as-soon-as were hurled
in hostem, concurrentia inplicabantur levique et vano
into the-enemy running-together they-were-entangled and-with-light and empty
ictu pauca in hostem, plura in humum innoxia cadebant.
blow few on the-enemy more on the-ground harmless fell
Ergo comminus pugnam coacti conserere gladios inpigre
therefore hand-to-hand the-fight compelled to-join their-swords energetically
stringunt. Tum vero multum sanguinis fusum est: duae
draw then indeed much of-blood shed was the-two
quippe acies ita cohaerebant, ut armis arma pulsarent,
for lines so clung-together that with-arms arms they-struck
mucrones in ora dirigerent. Non timido, non ignavo
their-points into faces they-directed not for-the-timid not for-the-coward
cessare tum licuit: collato pede, quasi singuli inter
to-hold-back then it-was-allowed with-brought-together foot as-if singly among
se dimicarent, in eodem vestigio stabant, donec vincendo
themselves they-were-fighting in the-same footprint they-stood until by-conquering
locum sibi facerent. Tum demum ergo promovebant
room for-themselves they-might-make then at-last therefore they-moved-forward
gradum, cum hostem prostraverant. At illos novus excipiebat
their-step when the-enemy they-had-laid-low but them a-new received

adversarius fatigatos, nec vulnerati, ut alias solent,
adversary exhausted nor the-wounded as at-other-times they-are-wont
acie poterant excedere, cum hostis instaret a fronte,
from-the-line could withdraw since the-enemy pressed from the-front
a tergo sui urgerent. Alexander non ducis magis
from the-rear their-own-men urged Alexander not of-a-general more
quam militis munia exequebatur opimum decus caeso
than of-a-soldier the-duties was-performing the-rich honor with-a-slain
rege expetens: quippe Dareus curru sublimis eminebat,
king seeking for Darius in-his-chariot high was-conspicuous
et suis ad se tuendum et hostibus ad incessendum
both to-his-own-men to himself defending and to-the-enemy for attacking
ingens incitamentum. Ergo frater eius Oxathres, cum
a-huge incitement therefore the-brother his Oxathres when
Alexandrum instare ei cerneret, equites, quibus praeerat,
Alexander to-press him he-saw the-horsemen whom he-commanded
ante ipsum currum regis obiecit. Armis et robore corporis
before the-very chariot of-the-king threw-in in-arms and in-strength of-body
multum super ceteros eminens, animo vero et pietate
much above the-rest towering in-spirit but and loyalty
in paucissimis, illo utique proelio clarus alios inprovide
among the-very-few in-that at-any-rate battle famous some incautiously
instantes prostravit, alios in fugam avertit. At Macedones
pressing he-laid-low others into flight he-turned but the-Macedonians
circa regem — et erant mutua adhortatione firmati — cum
around the-king and were by-mutual exhortation strengthened with
ipso in equitum agmen inrumpunt. Tum vero similis
him into of-the-horsemen the-column burst then indeed like
ruinae strages erat. Circa currum Darei iacebant nobilissimi
a-collapse the-slaughter was around the-chariot of-Darius lay the-most-noble
duces ante oculos regis egregia morte defuncti, omnes in
leaders before the-eyes of-the-king by-a-splendid death having-died all on

ora proni, sicut dimicantes procubuerant adverso corpore
their-faces prone as fighting they-had-fallen in-the-front body
vulneribus acceptis. Inter hos Atizyes et Rheomithres et
with-the-wounds received among these Atizyes and Rheomithres and
Sabaces, praetor Aegypti, magnorum exercituum praefecti,
Sabaces governor of-Egypt of-great armies commanders
noscitabantur: circa eos cumulata erat peditum equitumque
were-recognized around them heaped-up was of-infantry and-of-cavalry
obscurior turba. Macedonum quoque non quidem multi, sed
an-obscurer crowd of-the-Macedonians also not indeed many but
promptissimi tamen caesi sunt: inter quos Alexandri dextrum
the-most-ready yet killed were among whom of-Alexander the-right
femur leviter mucrone perstrictum est. Iamque, qui Dareum
thigh lightly with-a-point grazed was and-now who Darius
vehebant equi, confossi hastis et dolore efferati iugum
were-drawing the-horses pierced by-spears and with-pain maddened the-yoke
quatere et regem curru excutere coeperant, cum ille
to-shake and the-king from-the-chariot to-throw had-begun when he
veritus, ne vivus veniret in hostium potestatem, desilit
having-feared lest alive he-should-come into of-the-enemy the-power leaps-down
et in equum, qui ad hoc ipsum sequebatur, inponitur
and onto a-horse which for this very-purpose followed is-placed
insignibus quoque imperii, ne fugam proderent, indecore
with-the-insignia also of-empire lest his-flight they-should-betray disgracefully
abiectis. Tum vero ceteri dissipantur metu et, qua cuique
thrown-away then indeed the-rest are-scattered by-fear and where to-each
ad fugam patebat via, erumpunt arma iacientes, quae paulo
for flight lay-open a-way they-burst-out arms throwing-away which a-little
ante ad tutelam corporum sumpserant: adeo pavor etiam
before for the-protection of-their-bodies they-had-taken-up so-much fear even
auxilia formidat. Instabat fugientibus eques a Parmenione
help dreads there-pressed-on the-fleeing the-cavalry by Parmenio

emissus, et forte in illud cornu omnes fuga abstulerat.
sent-out and by-chance into that wing all flight had-carried
At in dextro Persae Thessalos equites vehementer
but on-the right the-Persians the-Thessalian horsemen vehemently
urgebant, iamque una ala ipso inpetu proculcata
were-pressing and-now one squadron by-the-very charge trampled
erat, cum Thessali strenue circumactis equis dilapsi
had-been when the-Thessalians briskly with-wheeled-round horses having-scattered
rursus in proelium redeunt sparsosque et inconpositos
again into the-battle return and-the-scattered and disordered
victoriae fiducia barbaros ingenti caede prosternunt. Equi
of-victory by-confidence barbarians with-huge slaughter they-lay-low horses
pariter equitesque Persarum serie lamnarum obsiti, genus
alike and-horsemen of-the-Persians with-a-series of-plates covered a-kind
grave tegmine, quod celeritate maxime constat, aegre
heavy in-covering which on-speed most depends with-difficulty
moliebantur: quippe in circumagendis equis illos Thessali
were-working for in wheeling-round their-horses them the-Thessalians
inulti occupaverant. Hac tam prospera pugna nuntiata
unpunished had-overtaken with-this so successful battle announced
Alexander, non ante ausus persequi barbaros, utrimque
Alexander not before having-dared to-pursue the-barbarians on-both-sides
iam victor instare fugientibus coepit. Haud amplius regem
now victorious to-press-on the-fleeing began not more the-king
quam mille equites sequebantur, cum ingens multitudo
than a-thousand horsemen were-following when a-huge multitude
hostium cederet: sed quis aut in victoria aut in fuga copias
of-the-enemy was-yielding but who either in victory or in flight forces
numerat? Agebantur ergo a tam paucis pecorum modo,
counts they-were-driven therefore by so few of-cattle in-the-manner
et idem metus, qui cogebat fugere, fugientes morabatur.
and the-same fear which was-compelling to-flee the-fleeing was-delaying

At Graeci, qui in Darei partibus steterant, Amynta duce —
but the-Greeks who on of-Darius the-side had-stood with-Amyntas as-leader
praetor hic Alexandri fuerat, tunc transfuga — abrupti
governor this-man of-Alexander had-been then a-deserter broken-off
a ceteris haud sane fugientibus similes evaserant. Barbari
from the-rest not at-all to-fleeing-men like had-got-away the-barbarians
longe diversam fugam intenderunt: alii, qua rectum iter
far different flight directed some where straight the-route
in Persidem ducebat, quidam circumitu rupes saltusque
into Persis led some by-a-circuit the-rocks and-passes
montium occultos petivere, pauci castra Darei. Sed iam illa
of-the-mountains hidden sought a-few the-camp of-Darius but now that
quoque victor intraverat omni quidem opulentia ditia. Ingens
also the-victor had-entered with-all indeed wealth rich a-huge
auri argentique pondus, non belli, sed luxuriae apparatum,
of-gold and-of-silver weight not of-war but of-luxury the-equipment
diripuerant milites, cumque plus raperent, quam capere
had-plundered the-soldiers and-since more they-were-seizing than to-carry
possent, passim strata erant itinera vilioribus sarcinis, quas
they-could everywhere strewn were the-roads with-the-cheaper baggage which
in conparatione meliorum avaritia contempserat. Iamque ad
in comparison with-the-better greed had-scorned and-now to
feminas perventum erat. Quibus quo cariora ornamenta
the-women come had-been to-whom by-how-much dearer the-ornaments
sunt, violentius detrahebantur: ne corporibus quidem vis
are the-more-violently they-were-pulled-off not on-their-bodies even force
ac libido parcebat. Omni planctu tumultuque, prout
and lust was-sparing with-every lamentation and-uproar according-as
cuique fortuna erat, castra repleverant, nec ulla facies
to-each fortune was the-camp they-had-filled nor any face
mali deerat, cum per omnes ordines aetatesque victoris
of-evil was-lacking since through all ranks and-ages of-the-victor

crudelitas ac licentia vagaretur. Tunc vero inpotentis fortunae
the-cruelty and license was-roaming then indeed of-uncontrolled fortune
species conspici potuit, cum ii, qui Dareo tabernaculum
the-image to-be-seen could when those who for-Darius the-tent
exornaverant omni luxu et opulentia instructum, eadem illa
had-adorned with-all luxury and wealth furnished the-same that
Alexandro, quasi veteri domino, reservabant. Namque id
for-Alexander as-if for-an-old master were-keeping for that
solum intactum omiserant milites ita tradito more,
alone untouched had-left the-soldiers so with-handed-down custom
ut victorem victi regis tabernaculo exciperent. Sed
that the-victor of-the-conquered king with-the-tent they-should-receive but
omnium oculos animosque in semet averterant captivae
of-all the-eyes and-minds on themselves had-turned the-captive
mater coniunxque Darei: illa non maiestate solum, sed
mother and-wife of-Darius that-one not by-majesty only but
etiam aetate venerabilis, haec formae pulchritudine ne
also by-age venerable this-one of-her-form by-the-beauty not
illa quidem sorte corruptae. Receperat in sinum filium
by-that even fortune spoiled she-had-taken into her-lap her-son
nondum sextum annum aetatis egressum, in spem tantae
not-yet the-sixth year of-age having-passed into the-hope of-so-great
fortunae, quantam pater eius paulo ante amiserat, genitum.
fortune as-great-as father his a-little before had-lost born
At in gremio anus aviae iacebant adultae duae virgines
but in the-lap of-the-old grandmother lay grown two maidens
non suo tantum, sed etiam illius maerore confectae.
not by-their-own only but also by-her grief worn-out
Ingens circa eam nobilium feminarum turba constiterat
a-huge around her of-noble women a-crowd had-gathered
laceratis crinibus abscissaque veste, pristini decoris inmemores,
with-torn hair and-with-rent clothing of-former dignity unmindful

reginas dominasque veris quondam, tunc alienis nominibus
queens and-mistresses by-true once then by-another's titles
invocantes. Illae suae calamitatis oblitae, in utro cornu
invoking they of-their-own calamity forgetful on which wing
Dareus stetisset, quae fortuna discriminis fuisset, requirebant:
Darius had-stood what the-fortune of-the-crisis had-been were-asking
negabant se captas, si viveret rex. Sed illum equos
they-denied themselves captured if were-living the-king but him horses
subinde mutantem longius fuga abstulerat. In acie autem
repeatedly changing farther flight had-carried in the-battle moreover
caesa sunt Persarum peditum C milia, decem equitum,
slain were of-the-Persians of-infantry a-hundred thousand ten of-horsemen
at a parte Alexandri ad quattuor milia quingenti saucii
but on the-side of-Alexander about four thousand five-hundred wounded
fuere, ex peditibus CCC omnino et duo desiderati sunt,
were of the-infantry three-hundred altogether and two missing were
equitum centum quinquaginta interfecti. Tantulo inpendio
of-horsemen a-hundred fifty killed at-so-small a-cost
ingens victoria stetit.
a-huge victory stood

XII · THE CAPTIVE QUEENS

Alexander hears wailing: Darius' mother and wife, told of his abandoned cloak, think him dead. Leonnatus, sent to say he lives, alarms them by entering without warning. Alexander buries the dead and visits with Hephaestion, whom the queens take for the king; he tells Sisigambis she has not erred. He treats the captives with honor, and Curtius regrets he lost this restraint. He embraces Darius' son, raises altars by the Pinarus, and makes for Syria, sending Parmenio ahead to Damascus.

Rex avidius Dareum persequendo fatigatus, postquam et
the-king too-eagerly Darius in-pursuing wearied after both
nox adpetebat et consequendi spes non erat, in castra paulo
night was-approaching and of-overtaking hope not was into the-camp a-little
ante a suis capta pervenit. Invitari deinde amicos, quibus
before by his-men taken came to-be-invited then the-friends to-whom
maxime adsueverat, iussit — quippe summa dumtaxat
most he-had-been-accustomed he-ordered for the-top merely
cutis in femine perstricta non prohibebat interesse convivio—,
the-skin on the-thigh grazed not was-preventing to-attend the-banquet
cum repente e proximo tabernaculo lugubris clamor
when suddenly from the-nearest tent a-mournful cry
barbaro ululatu planctuque permixtus epulantes conterruit.
with-barbarian wailing and-lamentation mingled the-feasters terrified
Cohors quoque, quae excubabat ad tabernaculum regis,
the-cohort also which was-keeping-watch at the-tent of-the-king
verita, ne maioris motus principium esset, armare se
having-feared lest of-a-greater commotion the-beginning it-might-be to-arm itself
coeperat. Causa subiti pavoris fuit, quod mater uxorque
had-begun the-cause of-the-sudden panic was that the-mother and-wife
Darei cum captivis nobilibus regem, quem interfectum esse
of-Darius with the-captive noblewomen the-king whom killed to-be
credebant, ingenti gemitu eiulatuque deflebant. Unus namque
they-believed with-huge groaning and-wailing were-mourning one for
e captivis spadonibus, qui forte ante ipsarum tabernaculum
of the-captive eunuchs who by-chance before their-own tent
steterat, amiculum, quod Dareus, sicut paulo ante dictum
had-stood the-cloak which Darius as a-little before said
est, ne cultu proderetur, abiecerat, in manibus eius,
it-was lest by-his-dress he-be-betrayed had-thrown-away in the-hands of-him
qui repertum ferebat, agnovit ratusque interfecto
who having-found-it was-carrying recognized and-having-thought from-him-killed

detractum esse falsum nuntium mortis eius attulerat. Hoc
stripped to-be false news of-the-death his had-brought with-this
mulierum errore conperto Alexander fortunae Darei et
of-the-women mistake learned Alexander at-the-fortune of-Darius and
pietati earum inlacrimasse fertur. Ac primo Mithrenem,
at-the-devotion their to-have-wept is-said and at-first Mithrenes
qui Sardis tradiderat, peritum linguae Persicae, ire ad
who Sardis had-handed-over skilled in-the-language Persian to-go to
consolandas eas iusserat: veritus deinde, ne proditor
console them he-had-ordered having-feared then lest the-traitor
captivarum iram doloremque renovaret, Leonnatum ex
of-the-captives the-anger and-grief should-renew Leonnatus from-among
purpuratis suis misit iussum indicare, falso lamentari
the-courtiers his-own he-sent ordered to-show falsely to-be-lamenting
eas vivum. Ille cum paucis armigeris in tabernaculum,
them the-living-man he with a-few armor-bearers into the-tent
in quo captivae erant, pervenit missumque se a rege
in which the-captives were came and-sent himself by the-king
nuntiari iubet. At ii, qui in vestibulo erant, ut
to-be-announced orders but those who in the-vestibule were when
armatos conspexere, rati actum esse de dominis in
the-armed-men they-saw having-thought done to-be with their-mistresses into
tabernaculum currunt vociferantes, adesse supremam horam
the-tent run crying-out to-be-present the-final hour
missosque, qui occiderent captas. Itaque, ut quae nec
and-sent-men who should-kill the-captives and-so as women-who neither
prohibere possent nec admittere auderent, nullo responso
to-prevent could nor to-admit dared with-no answer
dato tacitae opperiebantur victoris arbitrium. Leonnatus
given silent awaited of-the-victor the-judgment Leonnatus
expectato diu, qui se introduceret, postquam nemo
having-waited long for-someone-who him should-introduce after no-one

procedere audebat, relictis in vestibulo satellitibus intrat
to-come-forward dared with-left in the-vestibule the-attendants enters
in tabernaculum. Ea ipsa res turbaverat feminas, quod
into the-tent that very thing had-alarmed the-women that
inrupisse, non admissus videbatur: itaque mater et coniunx
to-have-burst-in not admitted he-seemed and-so the-mother and wife
provolutae ad pedes orare coeperunt, ut, priusquam
having-thrown-themselves at his-feet to-beg began that before
interficerentur, Darei corpus ipsis patrio more sepelire
they-were-killed of-Darius the-body to-them in-the-ancestral manner to-bury
permitteret, functas supremo in regem officio inpigre
he-should-allow having-performed the-last for the-king duty readily
esse morituras. Leonnatus et vivere Dareum ait et ipsas
to-be going-to-die Leonnatus both to-be-alive Darius says and themselves
non incolumes modo, sed etiam apparatu pristinae
not unharmed only but also with-the-equipment of-former
fortunae reginas fore. Tum demum Darei mater adlevari
fortune queens going-to-be then at-last of-Darius the-mother to-be-raised
se passa est. Alexander postero die cum cura sepultis
herself allowed has Alexander on-the-following day with care with-buried
militibus, quorum corpora invenerat, Persarum quoque
the-soldiers whose bodies he-had-found of-the-Persians also
nobilissimis eundem honorem haberi iubet matrique Darei
to-the-most-noble the-same honor to-be-paid orders and-the-mother of-Darius
permittit, quos vellet, patrio more sepeliret. Illa
allows those-whom she-wished in-the-ancestral manner she-should-bury she
paucos arta propinquitate coniunctos pro habitu
a-few by-close kinship joined in-keeping-with the-condition
praesentis fortunae humari iussit, apparatum funerum,
of-present fortune to-be-buried ordered the-equipment of-funerals
quo Persae suprema officia celebrarent, invidiosum
with-which the-Persians the-last offices might-celebrate invidious

fore existimans, cum victores haud pretiose cremarentur.
going-to-be thinking since the-victors not expensively were-cremated
Iamque iustis defunctorum corporibus solutis praemittit
and-now with-the-due-rites of-the-dead to-their-bodies paid he-sends-ahead
ad captivas, qui nuntiarent ipsum venire, inhibitaque
to the-captives men-who should-announce himself to-be-coming and-with-held-back
comitantium turba tabernaculum cum Hephaestione intrat.
of-the-companions the-crowd the-tent with Hephaestion enters
Is longe omnium amicorum carissimus erat regi: cum
he by-far of-all the-friends dearest was to-the-king with
ipso pariter eductus, secretorum omnium arbiter libertatis
him alike brought-up of-the-secrets of-all the-witness of-frankness
quoque in admonendo eo non alius plus habebat, quod
also in admonishing him not another more had which
tamen ita usurpabat, ut magis a rege permissum quam
yet so he-was-exercising that rather by the-king permitted than
vindicatum ab eo videretur. Et sicut aetate par erat regi,
claimed by him it-might-seem and as in-age equal he-was to-the-king
ita corporis habitu praestabat: ergo reginae illum esse
so in-the-body's bearing he-surpassed therefore the-queens him to-be
regem ratae suo more veneratae sunt. Inde ex
the-king having-thought in-their-own manner venerated have then from-among
captivis spadonibus, quis Alexander esset, monstrantibus
the-captive eunuchs who Alexander was showing
Sisigambis advoluta est pedibus eius ignorationem numquam
Sisigambis threw-herself has at-the-feet his her-ignorance never
antea visi regis excusans. Quam manu adlevans rex:
before seen of-the-king excusing whom by-the-hand raising the-king
'Non errasti,' inquit, 'mater: nam et hic Alexander
not you-erred he-says mother for also this-man Alexander
est.' Equidem hac continentia animi si ad ultimum vitae
is indeed with-this restraint of-mind if to the-end of-life

perseverare potuisset, feliciorem fuisse crederem, quam
to-persevere he-could-have happier to-have-been I-would-believe than
visus est esse, cum Liberi Patris imitaretur triumphum
seemed he-has to-be when of-Liber Father he-imitated the-triumph
usque ab Hellesponto ad Oceanum omnes gentes victoria
all-the-way from the-Hellespont to the-Ocean all nations by-victory
emensus. Sic vicisset profecto superbiam atque
having-traversed thus he-would-have-conquered surely pride and
iram, mala invicta, sic abstinuisset inter epulas
anger evils unconquered thus he-would-have-refrained amid the-feasts
caedibus amicorum egregiosque bello viros et tot
from-the-slaughters of-friends and-outstanding in-war men and so-many
gentium secum domitores indicta causa veritus esset
of-nations with-himself the-conquerors with-unpleaded case feared would-have
occidere. Sed nondum fortuna se animo eius superfuderat:
to-kill but not-yet fortune itself into-the-mind his had-poured-over
ita, qui orientem tam moderate et prudenter tulit, ad
so who rising so moderately and wisely bore at
ultimum magnitudinem eius non cepit. Tunc quidem ita
the-last the-greatness its not did-contain then indeed so
se gessit, ut omnes ante eum reges et continentia
himself he-conducted that all before him kings both in-restraint
et clementia vincerentur: virgines reginas excellentis formae
and in-clemency were-surpassed the-maidens princesses of-surpassing beauty
tam sancte habuit, quam si eodem quo ipse parente
as chastely he-kept as if by-the-same as he-himself parent
genitae forent, coniugem eandemque sororem, quam nulla
born they-had-been the-wife and-the-same sister whom no-woman
aetatis suae pulchritudine corporis vicit, adeo ipse non
of-the-age her-own in-beauty of-body surpassed so-far he-himself not
violavit, ut summam adhibuerit curam, ne quis captivo
did-violate that the-utmost he-applied care lest anyone the-captive

corpori inluderet. Omnem cultum reddi feminis iussit,
body should-mock all apparel to-be-restored to-the-women he-ordered
nec quicquam ex pristinae fortunae magnificentia captivis
nor anything of the-former fortune's magnificence to-the-captives
praeter fiduciam defuit. Itaque Sisigambis: 'Rex,' inquit,
except confidence was-lacking and-so Sisigambis king she-says
'mereris, ut ea precemur tibi, quae Dareo nostro
you-deserve that those-things we-pray for-you which for-Darius our
quondam precatae sumus, nec nostro odio dignus es, qui
once prayed we-have nor of-our hatred worthy are-you who
tantum regem non felicitate solum, sed etiam aequitate
so-great a-king not in-good-fortune only but also in-fairness
superaveris. Tu quidem matrem me et reginam vocas, sed
have-surpassed you indeed mother me and queen call but
ego me tuam famulam esse confiteor. Et praeteritae fortunae
I myself your handmaid to-be confess both of-past fortune
fastigium capio et praesentis iugum pati possum: tua
the-height I-grasp and of-present the-yoke to-bear I-can for-you
interest, quantum in nos licuerit, si id potius clementia
it-matters how-much against us was-allowed if that rather by-clemency
quam saevitia vis esse testatum.' Rex bonum animum
than by-cruelty you-wish to-be attested the-king good spirits
habere eis iussis Darei filium collo suo admovit, atque
to-have with-them ordered of-Darius the-son to-neck his he-moved and
nihil ille conspectu tum primum a se visi conterritus
nothing the-boy by-the-sight then for-the-first-time by himself seen terrified
cervicem eius manibus amplectitur. Motus ergo rex
the-neck his with-his-hands embraces moved therefore the-king
constantia pueri Hephaestionem intuens: 'Quam vellem,'
by-the-steadiness of-the-boy at-Hephaestion looking how I-would-wish
inquit, 'Dareus aliquid ex hac indole hausisset!' Tum
he-says Darius something of this nature had-drawn then

tabernaculo egressus. Tribus aris in ripa Pinari amnis
from-the-tent having-gone-out with-three altars on the-bank of-the-Pinarus river
Iovi atque Herculi Minervaeque sacratis Syriam petit
to-Jupiter and to-Hercules and-Minerva consecrated Syria he-makes-for
Damascum, ubi regis gaza erat, Parmenione praemisso.
Damascus where of-the-king the-treasure was with-Parmenio sent-ahead

XIII · THE TREASURE OF DAMASCUS

Parmenio intercepts the letter in which the governor of Damascus offers to betray Darius' treasure. Feigning flight, the governor brings it out with the nobles' families and Greek envoys; the porters, numb in a snowstorm, put on the royal robes. Parmenio's horse charge, the escort flees, and riches strew the fields. Ochus' daughters, Memnon's wife, and many others are taken, with 2,600 talents of coin. An accomplice brings the traitor's head to Darius.

At ille cum praecessisse se et Darei satrapam conperisse
but he when to-have-gone-ahead himself and of-Darius the-governor to-have-learned
cognosset, veritus, ne paucitas suorum sperneretur, accersere
had-found-out having-feared lest the-fewness of-his-men be-scorned to-summon
maiorem manum statuit. Sed forte in exploratores ab
a-greater band decided but by-chance upon scouts by
eo praemissos incidit natione Mardus, qui ad Parmeniona
him sent-ahead fell by-nation a-Mardian who to Parmenio
perductus litteras ad Alexandrum a praefecto Damasci
brought-before a-letter to Alexander from the-governor of-Damascus
missas tradit ei nec dubitare eum, quin omnem regiam
sent hands-over to-him nor to-doubt him that all the-royal
supellectilem cum pecunia traderet, adiecit. Parmenio
furniture with the-money he-would-hand-over added Parmenio
adservari eo iusso litteras aperit, in quis erat scriptum,
to-be-guarded with-him ordered the-letter opens in which was written

ut mature Alexander aliquem ex ducibus suis mitteret
that promptly Alexander someone from-among the-generals his should-send
cum manu exigua, cui, quae rex penes ipsum reliquisset,
with a-band small to-whom what the-king with himself had-left
traderet. Itaque Mardum datis comitibus ad proditorem
he-might-hand-over and-so the-Mardian with-given companions to the-traitor
remittit. Ille e manibus custodientium elapsus Damascum
he-sends-back he from the-hands of-his-guards having-slipped Damascus
ante lucem intrat. Turbaverat ea res Parmenionis animum
before light enters had-disturbed that thing of-Parmenio the-mind
insidias timentis, et ignotum iter sine duce non audebat
an-ambush fearing and the-unknown route without a-guide not he-dared
ingredi: felicitati tamen regis sui confisus agrestes, qui
to-enter in-the-good-fortune yet of-king his having-trusted peasants who
duces itineris essent, excipi iussit. Quibus celeriter repertis
guides of-the-route might-be to-be-caught he-ordered with-whom quickly found
quarto die ad urbem pervenit iam metuente praefecto, ne
on-the-fourth day to the-city he-came now with-fearing the-governor lest
sibi fides habita non esset. Igitur quasi parum munimentis
to-himself credit given not had-been therefore as-if too-little in-the-fortifications
oppidi fidens ante solis ortum pecuniam regiam — gazam
of-the-town trusting before of-the-sun the-rising the-money royal gaza
Persae vocant — cum pretiosissimis rerum efferri iubet,
the-Persians call-it with the-most-precious of-things to-be-carried-out he-orders
fugam simulans, re vera, ut praedam hosti offerret.
flight pretending in fact that as-plunder to-the-enemy he-might-offer-it
Multa milia virorum feminarumque excedentem oppido
many thousands of-men and-women leaving from-the-town
sequebantur, omnibus miserabilis turba praeter eum, cuius
followed to-all pitiable crowd except him to-whose
fidei commissa erat. Quippe, quo maior proditionis merces
loyalty entrusted it-had-been for that greater of-the-treachery the-price

foret, obicere hosti parabat gratiorem omni pecunia
might-be to-throw-before to-the-enemy he-was-preparing more-welcome than-any money
praedam, nobiles viros, praetorum Darei coniuges liberosque,
a-plunder noble men of-the-governors of-Darius the-wives and-children
praeter hos Graecarum urbium legatos, quos Dareus, velut in
besides these of-the-Greek cities the-envoys whom Darius as-if in
arce tutissima, in proditoris reliquerat manibus. Gaugabas
a-citadel most-safe in of-the-traitor had-left the-hands gaugabae
Persae vocant humeris onera portantes: ii cum tempestatis
the-Persians call-them on-their-shoulders loads carrying they when of-the-storm
vim tolerare non possent — quippe et procella subito nivem
the-force to-bear not could for both a-gale suddenly snow
effuderat, et humus rigebat gelu tum adstricta—, vestes,
had-poured-out and the-ground was-stiff with-frost then bound the-garments
quas cum pecunia portabant, auro et purpura insignes
which with the-money they-were-carrying with-gold and purple conspicuous
induunt nullo prohibere auso, cum fortuna regis etiam
they-put-on with-no-one to-prevent having-dared since the-fortune of-the-king even
humillimis in ipsum licentiam faceret. Praebuere ergo
to-the-humblest against him license was-making they-presented therefore
Parmenioni non spernendi agminis speciem: qui intentiore
to-Parmenio not of-a-to-be-scorned column the-appearance who with-closer
cura suos quasi ad iustum proelium paucis adhortatus
care his-men as-if for a-regular battle in-a-few-words having-exhorted
equis calcaria iubet subdere et acri impetu in hostem
to-the-horses spurs orders to-apply and with-a-keen charge against the-enemy
evehi. At illi, qui sub oneribus erant, omissis his per metum
to-ride but those who under loads were with-dropped these through fear
capessunt fugam: armati quoque, qui eos prosequebantur,
take-to flight the-armed-men also who them were-escorting
eodem metu arma iactare ac nota deverticula petere
with-the-same fear their-arms to-throw-away and familiar by-ways to-seek

coeperunt. Praefectus, quasi esset ipse conterritus, simulans
began the-governor as-if he-were himself terrified pretending
cuncta pavore conpleverat. Iacebant totis campis opes
all-things with-panic had-filled there-lay over-the-whole plain the-riches
regiae, illa pecunia stipendio ingenti militum praeparata, ille
royal that money for-the-pay huge of-the-soldiers prepared that
cultus tot nobilium virorum, tot inlustrium feminarum,
apparel of-so-many noble men of-so-many distinguished women
aurea vasa, aurei freni, tabernacula regali magnificentia
golden vessels golden bridles tents with-royal magnificence
ornata, vehicula quoque a suis destituta ingentis
adorned wagons also by their-own-men abandoned of-huge
opulentiae plena, facies etiam praedantibus tristis, si qua
wealth full a-sight even to-the-plunderers sad if any
res avaritiam moraretur. Quippe tot annorum incredibili
thing greed could-delay for of-so-many years by-an-incredible
et fidem excedente fortuna cumulata tunc alia stirpibus
and belief surpassing fortune heaped-up then some by-the-stumps
lacerata, alia in caenum demersa cernebantur: non sufficiebant
torn some into the-mud sunk were-seen not were-sufficing
praedantium manus praedae. Iamque etiam ad eos, qui primi
of-the-plunderers the-hands for-the-plunder and-now even to those who first
fugerant, ventum erat: feminae pleraeque parvos trahentes
had-fled come had-been women most small dragging
liberos ibant. Inter quas tres fuere virgines, Ochi, qui ante
children were-going among whom three were maidens of-Ochus who before
Dareum regnaverat, filiae, olim quidem ex fastigio paterno
Darius had-reigned daughters once indeed from the-height paternal
rerum mutatione detractae, sed tum sortem earum crudelius
of-things by-a-change brought-down but then the-lot their more-cruelly
adgravante fortuna. In eodem grege uxor quoque eiusdem
with-aggravating fortune in the-same herd the-wife also of-the-same

Ochi fuit Oxathrisque — frater hic erat Darei — filia et
Ochus was and-of-Oxathres brother this-man was of-Darius the-daughter and
coniunx Artabazi, principis purpuratorum, filiusque: Hystanes
the-wife of-Artabazus chief of-the-courtiers and-the-son Hystanes
fuit nomen. Pharnabazi quoque, cui summum imperium
was his-name of-Pharnabazus also to-whom the-supreme command
maritimae orae rex dederat, uxor cum filio excepta est,
of-the-maritime coast the-king had-given the-wife with her-son captured was
Mentoris filiae tres ac nobilissimi ducis Memnonis coniunx
of-Mentor the-daughters three and of-the-most-noble general Memnon the-wife
et filius, vixque ulla domus purpurati afuit tantae
and son and-scarcely any house of-a-courtier was-absent from-so-great
cladi. Lacedaemonii et Athenienses societatis fide
a-disaster the-Lacedaemonians and the-Athenians of-the-alliance with-the-loyalty
violata Persas secuti: Aristogiton et Dropides et
violated the-Persians having-followed Aristogiton and Dropides and
Iphicrates, inter Athenienses genere famaque longe clarissimi,
Iphicrates among the-Athenians in-birth and-fame by-far the-most-famous
Lacedaemonii Pasippus et Onomastorides cum Onomante et
the-Lacedaemonians Pasippus and Onomastorides with Onomas and
Callicratide, hi quoque domi nobiles. Summa pecuniae signatae
Callicratidas these also at-home noble the-sum of-the-money coined
fuit talentum II milia et sescenta, facti argenti pondus
was of-talents two thousand and six-hundred of-wrought silver the-weight
quingenta aequabat. Praeterea XXX milia hominum cum VII
five-hundred equaled besides thirty thousand of-people with seven
milibus iumentorum dorso onera portantium capta sunt.
thousand of-pack-animals on-their-back loads carrying captured were
Ceterum tantae fortunae proditorem dei ultores celeriter
but of-so-great fortune the-betrayer the-gods avengers quickly
debita poena persecuti sunt. Namque unus e consciis eius,
with-the-due penalty pursued have for one of the-accomplices his

credo, regis vicem etiam in illa sorte reveritus, interfecti
I-believe of-the-king the-plight even in that lot having-respected of-the-slain
proditoris caput ad Dareum tulit, opportunum solacium
traitor the-head to Darius brought a-timely consolation
prodito: quippe et ultus inimicum erat, et nondum in
to-the-betrayed for both avenged his-enemy he-had and not-yet in
omnium animis memoriam maiestatis suae exolevisse cernebat.
of-all the-minds the-memory of-majesty his-own to-have-faded he-was-seeing

BOOK IV

I · ABDALONYMUS

Darius flees to the Euphrates. Alexander sets Parmenio over Coele Syria. At Marathus a letter from Darius, not calling him king, demands his family for a ransom; Alexander replies that Darius must come as a suppliant and write to him as king. At Sidon two young nobles refuse the throne and name Abdalonymus, a poor gardener of royal blood, who is made king. Amyntas the deserter dies in Egypt, the Persians fail to retake Lydia, and Agis stirs war in Greece.

Dareus, tanti modo exercitus rex, qui triumphantis
Darius of-so-great just-now an-army the-king who of-one-triumphing
magis quam dimicantis more curru sublimis inierat
rather than of-one-fighting in-the-manner in-a-chariot high had-entered
proelium, per loca, quae prope inmensis agminibus
the-battle through places which almost with-boundless columns
inpleverat, iam inania et ingenti solitudine vasta fugiebat.
he-had-filled now empty and by-a-huge solitude desolate was-fleeing
Pauci regem sequebantur: nam nec eodem omnes fugam
few the-king were-following for neither the-same-way all flight
intenderant et deficientibus equis cursum eorum, quos rex
had-directed and with-failing horses the-course of-those whom the-king
subinde mutabat, aequare non poterant. Onchas deinde
repeatedly was-changing to-equal not they-could to-Onchae then
pervenit, ubi excepere eum Graecorum quattuor milia:
he-came where received him of-Greeks four thousand
non segnius tamen ad Euphraten contendit, id demum
not more-slowly yet toward the-Euphrates he-hastened that only
credens fore ipsius, quod celeritate praecipere potuisset.
believing going-to-be his-own which by-speed to-seize-first he-could-have
At Alexander Parmenionem, per quem apud Damascum
but Alexander Parmenio through whom at Damascus

recepta erat praeda, iussum eam ipsam et captivos
received had-been the-plunder ordered that very-plunder and the-captives
diligenti adservare custodia, Syriae, quam Coelen vocant,
with-careful to-keep guard over-Syria which Coele they-call
praefecit. Novum imperium Syri nondum belli cladibus
he-put-in-charge the-new rule the-Syrians not-yet of-war by-the-disasters
satis domiti aspernabantur: sed celeriter subacti oboedienter
sufficiently subdued were-spurning but quickly subjugated obediently
imperata fecerunt. Aradus quoque insula deditur regi.
the-orders did Aradus also the-island is-surrendered to-the-king
Maritimam tum oram et pleraque longius etiam a mari
the-maritime then coast and most-places farther even from the-sea
recedentia rex eius insulae, Strato, possidebat: quo
receding the-king of-that island Strato was-holding with-whom
in fidem accepto castra movit ad urbem Marathon.
into allegiance received the-camp he-moved to the-city Marathus
Ibi illi litterae a Dareo redduntur, quibus ut superbe
there to-him a-letter from Darius is-delivered by-which as arrogantly
scriptis vehementer offensus est: praecipue eum movit,
written vehemently offended he-was especially him it-moved
quod Dareus sibi regis titulum nec eundem Alexandri
that Darius to-himself of-king the-title nor the-same to-Alexander's
nomini adscripserat. Postulabat autem magis quam petebat,
name had-added he-was-demanding moreover rather than asking
ut accepta pecunia, quantamcumque tota Macedonia
that with-accepted money however-much the-whole Macedonia
caperet, matrem sibi et coniugem liberosque restitueret:
could-hold the-mother to-him and wife and-children he-should-restore
de regno aequo, si vellet, Marte contenderet. Si saniora
about the-kingdom by-equal if he-wished Mars he-should-contend if sounder
consilia tandem pati potuisset, ut contentus patrio
counsels at-last to-bear he-could that content with-his-father's

cederet alieni imperii finibus, socius amicusque
he-should-withdraw another's rule from-the-boundaries an-ally and-friend
esset. In ea se fidem et dare paratum et accipere.
he-should-be in that himself a-pledge both to-give ready and to-receive
Contra Alexander in hunc maxime modum rescripsit: 'Rex
in-reply Alexander in this especially manner wrote-back king
Alexander Dareo S. Cuius nomen sumpsisti, Dareus
Alexander to-Darius greeting whose name you-have-taken Darius
Graecos, qui oram Hellesponti tenent, coloniasque Graecorum
the-Greeks who the-coast of-the-Hellespont hold and-the-colonies of-the-Greeks
Ionias omni clade vastavit, cum magno deinde exercitu
Ionian with-every disaster laid-waste with a-great then army
mare traiecit inlato Macedoniae et Graeciae bello. Rursus
the-sea crossed with-brought on-Macedonia and Greece war again
Xerxes gentis eiusdem ad oppugnandos nos cum inmanium
Xerxes of-the-race the-same for attacking us with of-monstrous
barbarorum copiis venit: qui navali proelio victus Mardonium
barbarians forces came who in-a-naval battle defeated Mardonius
tamen reliquit in Graecia, ut absens quoque popularetur
yet left in Greece that absent too he-might-ravage
urbes, agros ureret. Philippum vero, parentem meum, quis
the-cities the-fields burn Philip but parent my who
ignorat ab iis interfectum esse, quos ingentis pecuniae
does-not-know by those killed to-have-been whom of-huge money
spe sollicitaverant vestri? Inpia enim bella suscipitis
with-the-hope had-tempted yours impious for wars you-undertake
et, cum habeatis arma, licemini hostium capita, sicut tu
and though you-have arms you-bid-for of-enemies the-heads as you
proxime talentis mille, tanti exercitus rex, percussorem
most-recently for-talents a-thousand of-so-great an-army the-king an-assassin
in me emere voluisti. Repello igitur bellum, non infero.
against me to-buy wished I-repel therefore war not I-bring

Et di quoque pro meliore stant causa: magnam partem
and the-gods too for the-better stand cause a-great part
Asiae in dicionem redegi meam, te ipsum acie
of-Asia into dominion I-have-brought my you yourself in-battle
vici. Quem etsi nihil a me inpetrare oportebat,
I-have-conquered whom though nothing from me to-obtain it-was-fitting
utpote qui ne belli quidem in me iura servaveris,
as one-who not of-war even toward me the-laws have-kept
tamen, si veneris supplex, et matrem et coniugem et
yet if you-come a-suppliant both the-mother and the-wife and
liberos sine pretio recepturum esse promitto. Et vincere
the-children without price going-to-receive to-be I-promise both to-conquer
et consulere victis scio. Quodsi te committere
and to-take-thought-for the-conquered I-know but-if yourself to-entrust
nobis times, dabimus fidem inpune venturum. De cetero,
to-us you-fear we-shall-give a-pledge with-impunity going-to-come about the-rest
cum mihi scribes, memento non solum regi te, sed
when to-me you-write remember not only to-a-king you but
etiam tuo scribere.' Ad hanc perferendam Thersippus
also to-your-own to-write to this to-be-carried Thersippus
est missus. In Phoenicen dein descendit et oppidum
was sent into Phoenicia then he-descended and the-town
Byblon traditum recepit. Inde ad Sidona ventum est, urbem
Byblus handed-over received thence to Sidon come it-was a-city
vetustate famaque conditorum inclitam. Regnabat in ea
by-age and-the-fame of-its-founders renowned there-reigned in it
Strato, Darei opibus adiutus: is quia deditionem magis
Strato by-Darius' resources aided he because the-surrender rather
popularium quam sua sponte fecerat, regno visus
of-the-people than of-his-own accord he-had-made of-the-kingdom seemed
indignus, Hephaestionique permissum, ut, quem eo fastigio
unworthy and-to-Hephaestion it-was-permitted that whom of-that eminence

e Sidoniis dignissimum arbitraretur, constitueret regem.
of the-Sidonians most-worthy he-should-judge he-should-set-up as-king
Erant Hephaestioni duo hospites, clari inter suos
there-were to-Hephaestion two hosts distinguished among their-own
iuvenes: qui facta ipsis potestate regnandi negaverunt
young-men who with-given to-themselves the-power of-reigning denied
quemquam patrio more in id fastigium recipi nisi
anyone by-ancestral custom into that eminence to-be-received unless
regia stirpe ortum. Admiratus Hephaestion magnitudinem
of-royal stock sprung having-admired Hephaestion the-greatness
animi spernentis, quod alii per ignes ferrumque peterent:
of-a-mind scorning what others through fires and-steel would-seek
'Vos quidem macte virtute,' inquit, 'estote, qui primi
you indeed bravo for-your-virtue he-says be who first
intellexistis, quanto maius esset regnum fastidire quam
have-understood how-much greater it-was a-kingdom to-disdain than
accipere. Ceterum date aliquem regiae stirpis, qui meminerit
to-accept but give someone of-royal stock who will-remember
a vobis acceptum habere se regnum.' Atque illi, cum
from you received to-have himself the-kingdom and they when
multos imminere tantae spei cernerent singulis amicorum
many to-be-hanging-over so-great a-hope they-saw to-each of-the-friends
Alexandri iam ob nimiam regni cupiditatem adulantis,
of-Alexander now on-account-of excessive of-kingship desire fawning
statuunt neminem esse potiorem quam Abdalonymum
decide no-one to-be preferable than Abdalonymus
quendam, longa quidem cognatione stirpi regiae adnexum,
a-certain by-long indeed kinship to-the-stock royal linked
sed ob inopiam suburbanum hortum exigua colentem
but on-account-of poverty a-suburban garden for-a-small cultivating
stipe. Causa ei paupertatis sicut plerisque probitas erat,
pittance the-cause to-him of-poverty as to-most honesty was

intentusque operi diurno strepitum armorum, qui totam
and-intent on-his-work daily the-din of-arms which the-whole
Asiam concusserat, non exaudiebat. Subito deinde, de
Asia had-shaken not be-heard suddenly then about
quibus ante dictum est, cum regiae vestis insignibus hortum
whom before said it-was with of-royal clothing the-insignia the-garden
intrant, quem forte steriles herbas eligens Abdalonymus
enter which by-chance barren weeds picking-out Abdalonymus
repurgabat. Tum rege eo salutato alter ex his: 'Habitus,'
was-clearing then as-king with-him saluted one of them the-dress
inquit, 'hic vestis, quem cernis in meis manibus, cum
he-says this of-clothing which you-see in my hands with
isto squalore permutandus tibi est. Ablue corpus inluvie
that squalor to-be-exchanged for-you is wash your-body of-the-filth
terrenisque sordibus squalidum: cape regis animum et in
and-with-earthly dirt grimy take of-a-king the-mind and into
eam fortunam, qua dignus es, istam continentiam perfer.
that fortune of-which worthy you-are that restraint carry
Et cum in regali solio residebis vitae necisque omnium
and when on the-royal throne you-will-sit of-life and-of-death of-all
civium dominus, cave obliviscaris status, in quo accipis
the-citizens master beware you-forget the-condition in which you-receive
regnum, immo, hercule, propter quem.' Somnio similis res
the-kingdom nay by-Hercules because-of whom to-a-dream like the-thing
Abdalonymo videbatur: interdum, satisne sani essent,
to-Abdalonymus seemed sometimes whether-sufficiently sane they-were
qui tam proterve sibi inluderent, percontabatur. Sed ut
who so impudently on-him were-making-sport he-asked but when
cunctanti squalor ablutus est et iniecta vestis
from-the-hesitating-man the-squalor washed was and thrown-on the-clothing
purpura auroque distincta et fides a iurantibus facta,
with-purple and-gold picked-out and assurance by those-swearing given

serio iam rex iisdem comitantibus in regiam pervenit.
in-earnest now king with-the-same companions into the-palace he-came
Fama deinde, ut solet, strenue tota urbe discurrit:
rumor then as is-wont briskly over-the-whole city runs-about
aliorum studium, aliorum indignatio eminebat, divitissimus
of-some the-enthusiasm of-others the-indignation stood-out the-richest
quisque humilitatem inopiamque eius apud amicos Alexandri
each the-lowliness and-poverty his before the-friends of-Alexander
criminabatur. Admitti eum rex protinus iussit diuque
was-accusing to-be-admitted him the-king at-once ordered and-for-long
contemplatus: 'Corporis,' inquit, 'habitus famae generis
having-contemplated of-the-body he-says the-bearing the-report of-your-birth
non repugnat, sed libet scire, inopiam qua patientia
not contradicts but it-is-pleasing to-know poverty with-what patience
tuleris.' Tum ille: 'Utinam,' inquit, 'eodem animo
you-have-borne then he I-wish he-says with-the-same spirit
regnum pati possim! hae manus suffecere desiderio meo:
the-kingdom to-bear I-may-be-able these hands sufficed for-the-desire my
nihil habenti nihil defuit.' Magnae indolis specimen
for-me-having nothing nothing was-lacking of-a-great nature a-specimen
ex hoc sermone Abdalonymi cepit. Itaque non Stratonis
from this speech of-Abdalonymus he-took and-so not of-Strato
modo regiam supellectilem attribui ei iussit, sed
only the-royal furniture to-be-assigned to-him he-ordered but
pleraque etiam ex Persica praeda: regionem quoque urbi
most-things also from the-Persian plunder a-region too to-the-city
adpositam dicioni eius adiecit. Interea Amyntas, quem ad
adjoining to-the-dominion his he-added meanwhile Amyntas whom to
Persas ab Alexandro transfugisse diximus, cum quattuor
the-Persians from Alexander to-have-deserted we-said with four
milibus Graecorum ipsius ex acie persecutis fugam
thousand of-Greeks his-own from the-battle-line having-followed the-flight

Tripolin pervenit. Inde in naves militibus inpositis Cyprum
to-Tripolis came thence onto ships with-the-soldiers put to-Cyprus
transmisit et, cum in illo statu rerum id quemque, quod
crossed and since in that state of-affairs that each-man which
occupasset, habiturum arbitraretur velut certo iure possessum,
he-had-seized going-to-hold judged as-if by-sure right possessed
Aegyptum petere decrevit, utrique regi hostis et semper
Egypt to-seek he-decided to-both kings an-enemy and always
ex ancipiti mutatione temporum pendens. Hortatusque
on the-doubtful change of-the-times hanging and-having-encouraged
milites ad spem tantae rei docet Sabacen, praetorem
the-soldiers to the-hope of-so-great a-thing he-informs-them Sabaces the-governor
Aegypti, cecidisse in acie: Persarum praesidium et sine
of-Egypt to-have-fallen in the-battle of-the-Persians the-garrison both without
duce esse et invalidum, Aegyptios semper praetoribus eorum
a-leader to-be and weak the-Egyptians always to-the-governors their
infestos pro sociis ipsos, non pro hostibus aestimaturos.
hostile as allies them not as enemies going-to-reckon
Omnia experiri necessitas cogebat: quippe cum primas
all-things to-try necessity was-compelling for when the-first
spes fortuna destituit, futura praesentibus videntur esse
hopes fortune has-forsaken the-future-things than-the-present seem to-be
potiora. Igitur conclamant, duceret, quo videretur. Atque
preferable therefore they-shout-together let-him-lead where it-might-seem-good and
ille utendum animis, dum spe calerent, ratus
he to-be-used the-spirits while with-hope they-were-glowing having-thought
ad Pelusium ostium penetrat, simulans a Dareo se esse
to the-Pelusian mouth penetrates pretending by Darius himself to-be
praetorem missum. Potitus ergo Pelusii Memphim copias
governor sent having-gained therefore Pelusium to-Memphis his-forces
promovit. Ad cuius famam Aegyptii, vana gens et
he-moved-forward at whose report the-Egyptians a-fickle race and

novandis quam gerendis aptior rebus, ex suis quisque
for-making-new than for-conducting fitter things from their-own each
vicis urbibusque huc ipsi concurrunt ad delenda praesidia
villages and-cities hither themselves run-together to destroy the-garrisons
Persarum. Qui territi tamen spem retinendi Aegyptum non
of-the-Persians who terrified yet the-hope of-keeping Egypt not
omiserunt. Sed eos Amyntas proelio superatos in urbem
abandoned but them Amyntas in-battle overcome into the-city
conpellit castrisque positis victores ad populandos agros.
drives and-with-the-camp pitched the-victors to ravage the-fields
Velut in medio positis bonis hostium cuncta agebantur:
as-if in the-middle with-placed the-goods of-the-enemy everything was-done
itaque Mazaces, quamquam infelici proelio suorum animos
and-so Mazaces although by-the-unlucky battle of-his-men the-minds
territos esse cognoverat, tamen palantes et victoriae
terrified to-be he-had-learned yet those-straggling and of-victory
fiducia incautos ostentans perpulit, ne dubitarent ex
by-confidence careless displaying he-drove-them lest they-should-hesitate from
urbe erumpere et res amissas reciperare. Id consilium
the-city to-burst-out and the-things lost to-recover that plan
non ratione prudentius quam eventu felicius fuit:
not in-reasoning wiser than in-outcome more-fortunate was
ad unum omnes cum ipso duce occisi sunt. Has
to one all with himself the-leader killed were these
poenas Amyntas utrique regi dedit, nihilo magis ei,
penalties Amyntas to-both kings paid in-nothing more to-him
ad quem transfugerat, fidus quam illi, quem deseruerat.
to whom he-had-deserted loyal than to-him whom he-had-deserted
Darei praetores, qui proelio apud Isson superfuerant,
of-Darius the-governors who from-the-battle at Issus had-survived
cum omni manu, quae fugientes secuta erat, adsumpta
with all the-band which fleeing followed had with-added

etiam Cappadocum et Paphlagonum iuventute Lydiam
also of-the-Cappadocians and of-the-Paphlagonians the-youth Lydia
reciperare temptabant. Antigonus, praetor Alexandri, Lydiae
to-recover were-attempting Antigonus governor of-Alexander over-Lydia
praeerat: qui quamquam plerosque militum ex praesidiis
was-in-command who although most of-the-soldiers from the-garrisons
ad regem dimiserat, tamen barbaris spretis in aciem
to the-king he-had-sent-away yet with-the-barbarians scorned into the-line
suos eduxit. Eadem illic quoque fortuna partium fuit:
his-men led-out the-same there also the-fortune of-the-sides was
tribus proeliis alia atque alia regione commissis Persae
with-three battles in-one and another region joined the-Persians
funduntur. Eodem tempore classis Macedonum ex Graecia
are-routed at-the-same time the-fleet of-the-Macedonians from Greece
accita Aristomenen, qui ad Hellesponti oram reciperandam
summoned Aristomenes who for of-the-Hellespont the-coast to-recover
a Dareo erat missus, captis eius aut eversis navibus
by Darius had been-sent with-captured his or overturned ships
superat. A Milesiis deinde Pharnabazus, praefectus Persicae
overcomes from the-Milesians then Pharnabazus commander of-the-Persian
classis, pecunia exacta et praesidio in urbem Chium
fleet with-money exacted and with-a-garrison into the-city of-Chios
introducto centum navibus Andrum et inde Siphnum
brought-in with-a-hundred ships Andros and then Siphnos
petiit. Has quoque insulas praesidiis occupat, pecunia multat.
sought these also islands with-garrisons he-occupies with-money he-fines
Magnitudo belli, quod ab opulentissimis Europae Asiaeque
the-greatness of-the-war which by the-wealthiest of-Europe and-Asia
regibus in spem totius orbis occupandi gerebatur, Graeciae
kings in hope of-the-whole world of-seizing was-waged of-Greece
quoque et Cretae arma commoverat. Agis, Lacedaemoniorum
also and of-Crete the-arms had-stirred Agis of-the-Lacedaemonians

rex, octo milibus Graecorum, qui ex Cilicia profugi
king with-eight thousand Greeks who from Cilicia fugitives
domos repetierant, contractis bellum Antipatro, Macedoniae
their-homes had-sought-again gathered war against-Antipater of-Macedonia
praefecto, moliebatur. Cretenses has aut illas partes secuti
governor was-contriving the-Cretans these or those sides having-followed
nunc Spartanorum, nunc Macedonum praesidiis occupabantur.
now by-the-Spartans' now by-the-Macedonians' garrisons were-occupied
Sed leviora inter illos fuere discrimina unum certamen, ex
but lighter among them were the-struggles one contest from
quo cetera pendebant, intuente fortuna.
which the-rest were-hanging with-watching fortune

II · TYRE DEFIES ALEXANDER

Tyre sends Alexander a golden crown but will not let him sacrifice to Hercules in the city, and he resolves to take it. The island lies four stades offshore with walls rising from deep water, and Carthaginian envoys promise help. When the Tyrians kill his heralds, he starts a mole; the soldiers despair until he tells of a dream of Hercules. The Tyrians harass the workmen, he screens the mole with hides and towers, and Arab peasants kill about thirty Macedonians.

Iam tota Syria, iam Phoenice quoque excepta Tyro
now all Syria now Phoenicia also excepted Tyre
Macedonum erat, habebatque rex castra in continenti, a
of-the-Macedonians was and-was-having the-king his-camp on the-mainland from
qua urbem angustum fretum dirimit. Tyros, et magnitudine
which the-city a-narrow strait separates Tyre both by-size
et claritate ante omnes urbes Syriae Phoenicesque memorabilis,
and by-renown before all the-cities of-Syria and-Phoenicia memorable
facilius societatem Alexandri acceptura videbatur quam
more-readily the-alliance of-Alexander going-to-accept seemed than

imperium. Coronam igitur auream donum legati adferebant
the-rule a-crown therefore golden as-a-gift the-envoys were-bringing
commeatusque large et hospitaliter ex oppido advexerant.
and-provisions generously and hospitably from the-town they-had-brought
Ille dona ut ab amicis accipi iussit benigneque
he the-gifts as from friends to-be-accepted ordered and-kindly
legatos adlocutus Herculi, quem praecipue Tyrii colerent,
the-envoys having-addressed to-Hercules whom especially the-Tyrians worshiped
sacrificare velle se dixit: Macedonum reges credere ab
to-sacrifice to-wish himself he-said of-the-Macedonians the-kings to-believe from
illo deo ipsos genus ducere, se vero, ut id faceret,
that god themselves their-descent to-draw himself moreover that it he-should-do
etiam oraculo monitum. Legati respondent esse templum
even by-an-oracle warned the-envoys reply to-be a-temple
Herculis extra urbem in ea sede, quam Palaetyron ipsi
of-Hercules outside the-city in that site which Palaetyrus they-themselves
vocent: ibi regem deo sacrum rite facturum. Non
call there the-king to-the-god the-sacrifice duly going-to-perform not
tenuit iram, cuius alioqui potens non erat. Itaque: 'Vos
he-held his-anger of-which otherwise in-control not he-was and-so you
quidem,' inquit, 'fiducia loci, quod insulam incolitis,
indeed he-says in-the-confidence of-your-position because an-island you-inhabit
pedestrem hunc exercitum spernitis, sed brevi ostendam in
infantry this army scorn but shortly I-shall-show on
continenti vos esse. Proinde sciatis licet, aut intraturum me
the-mainland you to-be therefore know you-may either going-to-enter me
urbem aut oppugnaturum.' Cum hoc responso dimissi suos
the-city or going-to-attack-it with this answer dismissed their-people
monere coeperunt, ut regem, quem Syria, quem Phoenice
to-advise began that the-king whom Syria whom Phoenicia
recepisset, ipsi quoque urbem intrare paterentur. At illi
had-received they-themselves also the-city to-enter should-allow but they

loco satis fisi obsidionem ferre decreverant.
in-their-position sufficiently having-trusted the-siege to-bear had-decided
Namque urbem a continenti quattuor stadiorum fretum
for the-city from the-mainland of-four stades a-strait
dividit Africo maxime obiectum crebros ex alto
divides to-the-southwest-wind chiefly exposed frequent from the-deep
fluctus in litus evolventi. Nec accipiendo operi, quo
waves onto the-shore rolling nor for-receiving the-work by-which
Macedones continenti insulam iungere parabant, quicquam
the-Macedonians to-the-mainland the-island to-join were-preparing anything
magis quam ille ventus obstabat. Quippe vix leni et
more than that wind was-hindering for scarcely in-a-gentle and
tranquillo mari moles agi possunt, Africus vero
calm sea moles to-be-driven can the-southwest-wind but
prima quaeque congesta pulsu inlisi maris subruit,
first each heaped-up by-the-blow of-the-dashed sea undermines
nec ulla tam firma moles est, quam non exedant undae
nor any so firm a-mole is which not eat-away the-waves
et per nexus operum manantes et, ubi acrior flatus
both through the-joints of-the-works seeping and where a-keener blast
existit, summi operis fastigio superfusae. Praeter hanc
arises of-the-topmost work over-the-summit poured-over besides this
difficultatem haud minor alia erat. Muros turresque
difficulty not lesser another there-was the-walls and-towers
urbis praealtum mare ambiebat: non tormenta nisi e
of-the-city a-very-deep sea surrounded not artillery unless from
navibus procul excussa mitti, non scalae moenibus adplicari
ships from-afar launched to-be-shot not ladders to-the-walls to-be-applied
poterant, praeceps in salum murus pedestre interceperat iter:
could sheer into the-sea the-wall the-infantry had-cut-off route
naves nec habebat rex et, si admovisset, pendentes et
ships nor had the-king and if he-had-moved-them-up hanging and

instabiles missilibus arceri poterant. Inter quae parva
unsteady by-missiles to-be-kept-off they-could among which-things small
dictu res Tyriorum fiduciam accendit. Carthaginiensium
to-tell a-thing of-the-Tyrians the-confidence kindled of-the-Carthaginians
legati ad celebrandum sacrum anniversarium more patrio
envoys for celebrating the-sacrifice annual by-custom ancestral
tunc venerant: quippe Carthaginem Tyrii condiderunt
then had-come for Carthage the-Tyrians founded
semper parentum loco culti. Hortari ergo Poeni
always of-parents in-the-place revered to-urge therefore the-Carthaginians
coeperunt, ut obsidionem forti animo paterentur: brevi
began that the-siege with-brave mind they-should-bear shortly
Carthagine auxilia ventura. Namque ea tempestate magna
from-Carthage aid going-to-come for at-that time great
ex parte Punicis classibus maria obsidebantur. Igitur bello
in part by-Punic fleets the-seas were-beset therefore with-war
decreto per muros turresque tormenta disponunt, arma
decreed along the-walls and-towers artillery they-distribute arms
iunioribus dividunt, opifices, quorum copia urbs
to-the-younger-men they-divide the-craftsmen of-whom with-abundance the-city
abundabat, in officinas distribuunt. Omnia belli apparatu
was-abounding into workshops they-distribute everything of-war with-the-preparation
strepunt: ferreae quoque manus — harpagonas vocant—, quas
resounds iron also hands grapnels they-call-them which
operibus hostium inicerent, corvique et alia tuendis
onto-the-works of-the-enemy they-might-throw and-ravens and other-things for-defending
urbibus excogitata praeparabantur. Sed cum fornacibus ferrum,
cities devised were-made-ready but when on-the-furnaces the-iron
quod excudi oportebat, inpositum esset, admotisque follibus
which to-be-forged it-was-needed placed had-been and-with-applied bellows
ignem flatu accenderent, sanguinis rivi sub ipsis
the-fire with-a-blast they-were-kindling of-blood streams under the-very

flammis extitisse dicuntur: idque omen in Macedonum
flames to-have-arisen are-said and-that omen into of-the-Macedonians
interitum verterunt Tyrii. Apud Macedonas quoque cum
the-destruction turned the-Tyrians among the-Macedonians also when
forte panem quidam militum frangerent, manantis sanguinis
by-chance bread some of-the-soldiers were-breaking of-oozing blood
guttas notaverunt, territoque rege Aristander, peritissimus
drops they-noticed and-with-terrified king Aristander most-skilled
vatum, si extrinsecus cruor fluxisset, Macedonibus id triste
of-seers if from-outside the-gore had-flowed for-the-Macedonians it sad
futurum ait: contra, cum ab interiore parte manaverit,
going-to-be says on-the-contrary since from the-inner part it-has-oozed
urbi, quam obsidere destinassent, exitium portendere.
for-the-city which to-besiege they-had-determined destruction to-portend
Alexander cum et classem procul haberet et longam
Alexander since both his-fleet far-off he-had and a-long
obsidionem magno sibi ad cetera inpedimento videret
siege a-great to-himself for the-rest hindrance he-saw
fore, caduceatores, qui ad pacem eos conpellerent, misit:
going-to-be heralds who to peace them might-urge he-sent
quos Tyrii contra ius gentium occisos praecipitaverunt
whom the-Tyrians against the-law of-nations killed threw-headlong
in altum. Atque ille suorum tam indigna morte commotus
into the-deep and he of-his-men by-so unworthy death moved
urbem obsidere statuit. Sed ante iacienda moles erat, quae
the-city to-besiege decided but first to-be-thrown a-mole was which
continenti urbem committeret. Ingens ergo animis militum
to-the-mainland the-city might-join huge therefore the-minds of-the-soldiers
desperatio incessit cernentibus profundum mare, quod vix
despair came-upon seeing the-deep sea which scarcely
divina ope posset inpleri: quae saxa tam vasta, quas tam
by-divine help could to-be-filled what rocks so vast what so

proceras arbores posse reperiri? exhauriendas esse regiones,
tall trees to-be-able to-be-found to-be-exhausted to-be regions
ut illud spatium exaggeraretur: exaestuare semper fretum,
that that space might-be-heaped-up to-surge always the-strait
quoque artius volutetur inter insulam et continentem,
and-the-more narrowly it-is-rolled between the-island and the-mainland
hoc acrius furere. At ille haudquaquam rudis pertractandi
the-more fiercely to-rage but he not-at-all unskilled in-handling
militares animos speciem sibi Herculis in somno oblatam
military minds a-vision to-himself of-Hercules in sleep presented
esse pronuntiat dextram porrigentis: illo duce, illo
to-have-been proclaims his-right-hand stretching-out with-him as-leader with-him
aperiente in urbem intrare se visum. Inter haec
opening into the-city to-enter himself to-have-seemed among these-things
caduceatores interfectos, gentium iura violata referebat:
the-heralds killed of-nations the-laws violated he-was-relating
unam esse urbem, quae cursum victoris morari ausa esset.
one to-be the-city which the-course of-the-victor to-delay dared had
Ducibus deinde negotium datur, ut suos quisque castiget,
to-the-generals then the-task is-given that his-men each should-chastise
satisque omnibus stimulatis opus orsus est. Magna vis
and-sufficiently with-all spurred the-work begun he-has a-great quantity
saxorum ad manum erat Tyro Vetere praebente, materies
of-stones at hand was with-Tyre the-Old supplying timber
ex Libano monte ratibus et turribus faciendis advehebatur.
from Lebanon mountain for-rafts and towers to-be-made was-brought
Iamque a fundo maris in altitudinem modicam opus
and-now from the-bottom of-the-sea to a-height moderate the-work
creverat, nondum tamen aquae fastigium aequabat, cum
had-grown not-yet yet of-the-water the-surface it-was-equaling when
Tyrii parvis navigiis admotis per ludibrium exprobrabant,
the-Tyrians with-small boats moved-up in mockery taunted

illos armis inclitos dorso sicut iumenta onera gestare:
them in-arms renowned on-their-back like pack-animals loads to-carry
interrogabant etiam, num maior Neptuno Alexander esset.
they-asked even whether greater than-Neptune Alexander was
Haec ipsa insectatio alacritatem militum accendit. Iamque
this very taunting the-eagerness of-the-soldiers kindled and-now
paulum moles aqua eminebat, et simul
a-little the-mole above-the-water was-standing-out and at-the-same-time
aggeris latitudo crescebat urbique admovebatur, cum
of-the-causeway the-breadth was-growing and-to-the-city was-being-moved-up when
Tyrii magnitudine molis, cuius incrementum eos antea
the-Tyrians with-the-size of-the-mole whose growth them before
fefellerat, conspecta levibus navigiis nondum commissum opus
had-escaped seen with-light boats not-yet joined the-work
circumire coeperunt, missilibus quoque eos, qui pro opere
to-go-round began with-missiles also those who in-front-of the-work
stabant, incessere. Multis ergo inpune vulneratis, cum
were-standing to-attack with-many therefore with-impunity wounded since
et removere et adpellere scaphas in expedito esset, ad curam
both to-withdraw and to-bring-in their-skiffs in readiness it-was to the-care
semet ipsos tuendi ab opere converterant. Et, quo longius
themselves selves of-defending from the-work they-had-turned and the farther
moles agebatur a litore, hoc magis, quidquid ingerebatur,
the-mole was-driven from the-shore the more whatever was-heaped-in
praealtum absorbebat mare. Igitur rex munientibus coria
the-very-deep was-swallowing sea therefore the-king for-the-builders hides
velaque iussit obtendi, ut extra teli iactum essent,
and-sails ordered to-be-stretched-before that beyond of-a-missile the-cast they-might-be
duasque turres ex capite molis erexit, e quibus in
and-two towers from the-head of-the-mole he-erected from which onto
subeuntes scaphas tela ingeri possent. Contra Tyrii
the-approaching skiffs missiles to-be-heaped could in-reply the-Tyrians

navigia procul a conspectu hostium litori adpellunt
their-boats far from the-sight of-the-enemy to-the-shore put-in
expositisque militibus eos, qui saxa gestabant, obtruncant.
and-with-landed soldiers those who stones were-carrying cut-down
In Libano quoque Arabum agrestes inconpositos Macedonas
on Lebanon also of-the-Arabs peasants the-disordered Macedonians
adorti XXX fere interficiunt paucioribus captis.
having-attacked thirty about kill with-fewer captured

III · THE SIEGE OF TYRE

While Alexander is in Arabia, a Tyrian fireship burns the mole's towers and a storm breaks the work apart. He builds a wider mole facing the wind, of trees and stones, but Tyrian divers drag it down. A fleet from Cyprus arrives, and his paired ships attack the walls by night until a storm scatters them. Carthage, at war with Syracuse, cannot help. The Tyrians send their families away, chain Apollo's statue, and pour burning sand on the attackers.

Ea res Alexandrum dividere copias coegit et, ne segniter
that thing Alexander to-divide his-forces compelled and lest idly
adsidere uni urbi videretur, operi Perdiccan Crateronque
to-sit-before one city he-might-seem over-the-work Perdiccas and-Craterus
praefecit, ipse cum expedita manu Arabiam petiit. Inter
he-put-in-charge himself with a-light-armed band Arabia sought among
haec Tyrii navem magnitudine eximia saxis harenaque
these-things the-Tyrians a-ship of-size exceptional with-stones and-sand
a puppi oneratam, ita ut multum prora emineret, bitumine
at the-stern loaded so that much the-prow stood-out with-bitumen
ac sulphure inlitam remis concitaverunt, et, cum magnam
and sulfur smeared with-oars drove and when a-great
vim venti vela quoque concepissent, celeriter ad molem
force of-wind the-sails also had-caught quickly to the-mole

successit. Tum prora eius accensa remiges desiluere in
it-came-up then with-the-prow its set-on-fire the-rowers leapt-down into
scaphas, quae ad hoc ipsum praeparatae sequebantur, navis
skiffs which for this very-purpose prepared were-following the-ship
autem igne concepto latius fundere incendium coepit,
moreover with-fire caught more-widely to-spread the-blaze began
quod, priusquam posset occurri, turres et cetera opera
which before it-could to-be-met the-towers and the-other works
in capite molis posita conprehendit. At qui desiluerant
on the-head of-the-mole placed seized but those-who had-leapt-down
in parva navigia, faces et, quidquid alendo igni aptum
into small boats torches and whatever for-feeding fire suitable
erat, in eadem opera ingerunt. Iamque non imae modo
was onto the-same works heap and-now not the-lowest only
Macedonum turres, sed etiam summa tabulata conceperant
of-the-Macedonians towers but also the-topmost stories had-caught
ignem, cum ii, qui in turribus erant, partim haurirentur
fire when those who in the-towers were partly were-swallowed
incendio, partim armis omissis in mare semet ipsi
by-the-blaze partly with-arms dropped into the-sea themselves they-themselves
inmitterent. At Tyrii, qui capere eos quam interficere
threw but the-Tyrians who to-capture them than to-kill
mallent, natantium manus stipitibus saxisque lacerabant,
preferred of-the-swimmers the-hands with-stakes and-stones were-mangling
donec debilitati inpune navigiis excipi possent. Nec
until weakened with-impunity by-boats to-be-picked-up they-could nor
incendio solum opera consumpta, sed forte eodem die
by-fire only the-works consumed but by-chance on-the-same day
vehementior ventus motum ex profundo mare inlisit in
a-more-violent wind stirred from the-deep the-sea dashed against
molem, crebrisque fluctibus conpages operis verberatae
the-mole and-with-frequent waves the-joints of-the-work beaten

laxavere se, saxaque interfluens unda medium opus
loosened themselves and-the-stones flowing-between the-water the-middle work
rupit. Prorutis igitur lapidum cumulis, quibus iniecta
burst with-brought-down therefore of-stones the-heaps by-which the-thrown-on
terra sustinebatur, praeceps in profundum ruit, tantaeque
earth was-supported headlong into the-deep it-collapsed and-of-so-great
molis vix ulla vestigia invenit Arabia rediens Alexander.
a-mole scarcely any traces found from-Arabia returning Alexander
Hic, quod in adversis rebus solet fieri, alius in
here as in adverse circumstances is-wont to-happen one onto
alium culpam referebant, cum omnes verius de saevitia
another the-blame were-casting though all more-truly about the-cruelty
maris queri possent. Rex novi operis molem orsus
of-the-sea to-complain could the-king of-a-new work the-mole having-begun
in adversum ventum non latere, sed recta fronte
into the-facing wind not with-its-side but with-straight front
direxit: ea cetera opera velut sub ipsa latentia tuebatur:
directed it the-other works as-if under it lying-hidden protected
latitudinem quoque aggeri adiecit, ut turres in medio
the-breadth also to-the-causeway he-added that the-towers in the-middle
excitatae procul teli iactu abessent. Totas autem
raised far from-a-missile's cast might-be-distant whole moreover
arbores cum ingentibus ramis in altum iaciebant, deinde
trees with huge branches into the-deep they-were-throwing then
saxis onerabant rursusque cumulo eorum alias arbores
with-stones they-loaded and-again on-the-heap of-them other trees
iniciebant, tum humus aggerebatur: superque alia strue
they-threw-on then earth was-heaped-up and-over-it another pile
saxorum arborumque cumulata velut quodam nexu continens
of-stones and-trees heaped as-if by-some bond continuous
opus iunxerant. Nec Tyrii, quidquid ad inpediendam
the-work they-had-joined nor the-Tyrians whatever for hindering

molem excogitari poterat, segniter exequebantur. Praecipuum
the-mole could-be-devised could idly carried-out the-chief
auxilium erat, qui procul hostium conspectu subibant
help was those-who far-from of-the-enemy sight went-under
aquam occultoque lapsu ad molem usque penetrabant,
the-water and-by-bidden gliding to the-mole right-up penetrated
falcibus palmites arborum eminentium ad se trahentes.
with-hooks the-boughs of-the-trees projecting to themselves dragging
Quae ubi secutae erant, pleraque secum in profundum
which when followed had most-things with-themselves into the-deep
dabant: tum levatos onere stipites truncosque arborum haud
they-gave then lightened of-the-load the-stakes and-trunks of-trees not
aegre moliebantur, deinde totum opus, quod stipitibus
with-difficulty they-were-shifting then the-whole work which on-stakes
fuerat innixum, fundamento lapso sequebatur. Aegro animi
had leaned with-the-foundation fallen followed with-sick at-heart
Alexandro nec, perseveraret an abiret, satis certo classis
Alexander nor whether-to-persevere or depart sufficiently sure the-fleet
Cypro advenit eodemque tempore Cleander cum Graecis
from-Cyprus arrived and-at-the-same time Cleander with Greek
militibus in Asiam nuper advectis. C et XC navigia
soldiers into Asia recently brought a-hundred and ninety ships
in duo dividit cornua: laevum Pnytagoras, rex Cypriorum,
into two he-divides wings the-left Pnytagoras king of-the-Cyprians
cum Cratero tuebatur, Alexandrum in dextro quinqueremis
with Craterus was-guarding Alexander on the-right a-quinquereme
regia vehebat. Nec Tyrii, quamquam classem habebant,
royal was-carrying nor the-Tyrians although a-fleet they-had
ausi navale inire certamen: tris omnino ante ipsa moenia
dared a-naval to-enter contest three in-all before the-very walls
opposuerunt, quibus rex invectus ipse eas demersit.
set-against-him which the-king having-charged himself them sank

Postera die classe ad moenia admota undique tormentis
on-the-following day with-the-fleet to the-walls moved-up on-all-sides with-artillery
et maxime arietum pulsu muros quatit: quos Tyrii
and especially of-rams with-the-blow the-walls he-shakes which the-Tyrians
raptim obstructis saxis refecerunt, interiorem quoque murum,
hastily with-blocked stones repaired an-inner also wall
ut, si prior fefellisset, illo se tuerentur, munire orsi.
that if the-former had-failed by-that themselves they-might-protect to-fortify began
Sed undique vis mali urguebat: mole intra teli
but on-all-sides the-force of-evil was-pressing with-the-mole within of-a-missile
iactum erant, classis moenia circumibat, terrestri simul
the-cast they-were the-fleet the-walls was-circling by-land at-once
navalique clade obruebantur. Quippe binas quadriremes
and-by-sea disaster they-were-overwhelmed for two-by-two quadriremes
Macedones inter se ita iunxerant, ut prorae cohaererent,
the-Macedonians among themselves so had-joined that the-prows clung-together
puppes intervallo, quantum capere poterant, distarent: hoc
the-sterns by-an-interval as-much-as to-take they-could stood-apart this
puppium intervallum antemnis asseribusque validis deligatis
of-the-sterns interval with-yards and-beams strong bound
superque eos pontibus stratis, qui militem sustinerent,
and-over them with-bridges laid which the-soldier might-support
inpleverant. Sic instructas quadriremes ad urbem agebant:
they-had-filled thus equipped quadriremes to the-city they-drove
inde missilia in propugnantes ingerebantur tuto, quia
from-there missiles onto the-defenders were-heaped safely because
proris miles tegebatur. Media nox erat, cum classem sic,
by-the-prows the-soldier was-covered mid night it-was when the-fleet thus
uti dictum est, paratam circumire muros iubet. Iamque
as said it-has-been prepared to-go-round the-walls he-orders and-now
naves urbi undique admovebantur, et Tyrii desperatione
ships to-the-city on-all-sides were-being-moved-up and the-Tyrians with-despair

torpebant, cum subito spissae nubes intendere se caelo
were-numb when suddenly thick clouds to-spread themselves over-the-sky
et, quidquid lucis internitebat, offusa caligine extinctum
and whatever of-light was-shining-through with-spread-over gloom extinguished
est. Tum inhorrescens mare paulatim levari, deinde acriore
was then bristling the-sea gradually to-rise then by-a-keener
vento concitatum fluctus ciere et inter se navigia
wind roused waves to-stir-up and against each-other the-ships
conlidere. Iamque scindi coeperunt vincula, quibus conexae
to-dash and-now to-be-torn began the-bonds by-which joined
quadriremes erant, ruere tabulata et cum ingenti fragore in
the-quadriremes were to-collapse the-decks and with huge crash into
profundum secum milites trahere. Neque enim conserta
the-deep with-them the-soldiers to-drag nor for fastened-together
navigia ulla ope in turbido regi poterant: miles
the-ships by-any means in the-turbulence to-be-steered could the-soldier
ministeria nautarum, remex militis officia turbabat, et,
the-tasks of-the-sailors the-rower of-the-soldier the-duties was-confusing and
quod in eiusmodi casu accidit, periti ignaris parebant.
what in of-that-kind situation happens the-skilled the-ignorant obeyed
Quippe gubernatores alias imperare soliti tum metu
for the-helmsmen at-other-times to-command accustomed then from-fear
mortis iussa exequebantur. Tandem remis pertinacius
of-death the-orders were-carrying-out at-last by-oars more-stubbornly
everberatum mare veluti eripientibus navigia classicis cessit,
beaten the-sea as-though snatching the-ships to-the-sailors yielded
adpulsaque sunt litori lacerata pleraque. Isdem forte
and-driven were to-the-shore battered most at-the-same by-chance
diebus Carthaginiensium legati XXX superveniunt, magis
days of-the-Carthaginians envoys thirty arrive more
obsessis solacium quam auxilium. Quippe domestico bello
for-the-besieged a-consolation than a-help for by-a-domestic war

Poenos inpediri nec de imperio, sed pro salute dimicare
the-Carthaginians to-be-hindered nor for empire but for survival to-fight
nuntiabant. Syracusani tum Africam urebant et haud procul
they-announced the-Syracusans then Africa were-burning and not far
Carthaginis muris locaverant castra. Non tamen defecere
from-Carthage's walls had-placed their-camp not yet failed
animis Tyrii, quamquam ab ingenti spe destituti erant,
in-spirit the-Tyrians although from huge hope abandoned they-were
sed coniuges liberosque devehendos Carthaginem tradiderunt,
but their-wives and-children to-be-carried-off to-Carthage they-handed-over
fortius, quidquid accideret, laturi, si carissimam sui
more-bravely whatever might-happen going-to-bear if the-dearest of-themselves
partem extra sortem communis periculi habuissent. Cumque
part outside the-lot of-the-common danger they-should-have and-when
unus e civibus in contione indicasset, oblatam esse per
one of the-citizens in the-assembly had-reported presented to-have-been in
somnum sibi speciem Apollinis, quem eximia religione
sleep to-himself an-apparition of-Apollo whom with-exceptional reverence
colerent, urbem deserentis molemque a Macedonibus in salo
they-worshiped the-city deserting and-the-mole by the-Macedonians into the-sea
iactam in silvestrem saltum esse mutatam, quamquam
thrown into a-wooded glade to-have-been changed though
auctor levis erat, tamen ad deteriora credenda proni metu
the-source unreliable was yet to worse-things for-believing inclined from-fear
aurea catena devinxere simulacrum araeque Herculis,
with-a-golden chain they-bound the-statue and-to-the-altar of-Hercules
cuius numini urbem dicaverant, inseruere vinculum quasi
to-whose divinity the-city they-had-dedicated fastened the-chain as-if
illo deo Apollinem retenturo. Syracusis id simulacrum
with-that god Apollo going-to-hold-back from-Syracuse that statue
devexerant Poeni et in maiore locaverant patria
had-carried-off the-Carthaginians and in the-greater had-placed homeland

multisque aliis spoliis urbium a semet captarum non
and-with-many other spoils of-cities by themselves captured not
Carthaginem magis quam Tyrum ornaverant. Sacrum quoque,
Carthage more than Tyre they-had-adorned a-rite also
quod equidem dis minime cordi esse crediderim, multis
which I-indeed to-the-gods least dear to-be would-believe for-many
saeculis intermissum repetendi auctores quidam erant, ut
ages discontinued of-renewing advocates certain were that
ingenuus puer Saturno immolaretur — quod sacrilegium verius
a-freeborn boy to-Saturn should-be-sacrificed which sacrilege more-truly
quam sacrum Carthaginienses a conditoribus traditum
than rite the-Carthaginians from their-founders handed-down
usque ad excidium urbis suae fecisse dicuntur—, ac
right to the-destruction of-city their to-have-performed are-said and
nisi seniores obstitissent, quorum consilio cuncta agebantur,
unless the-elders had-opposed by-whose counsel everything was-done
humanitatem dira superstitio vicisset. Ceterum
humanity a-dreadful superstition would-have-conquered but
efficacior omni arte necessitas non usitata modo praesidia,
more-effective than-every art necessity not customary only defenses
sed quaedam etiam nova admovit. Namque ad inplicanda
but some also new brought-to-bear for for entangling
navigia, quae muros subibant, validos asseres funibus
the-ships which the-walls approached strong beams with-ropes
inligaverant, ut, cum tormento asseres promovissent, subito
they-had-bound that when by-a-machine the-beams they-had-pushed-forward suddenly
laxatis funibus inicerent. Unci quoque et falces
with-loosened ropes they-might-throw-them hooks also and scythes
ex isdem asseribus dependentes aut propugnatores aut
from the-same beams hanging either the-defenders or
ipsa navigia lacerabant. Clipeos vero aereos multo igne
the-very ships were-mangling shields moreover bronze with-much fire

torrebant, quos repletos fervida harena caenoque decocto
they-were-beating which filled with-boiling sand and-mud boiled-down
e muris subito devolvebant. Nec ulla pestis magis
from the-walls suddenly they-were-rolling-down nor any plague more
timebatur: quippe ubi inter loricam corpusque fervens harena
was-feared for where between breastplate and-body the-boiling sand
penetraverat, nec ulla vi excuti poterat et, quidquid
had-penetrated nor by-any force to-be-shaken-out could and whatever
attigerat, perurebat, iacientesque arma laceratis omnibus,
it-had-touched burned-through and-throwing-away their-arms with-torn all
quis protegi poterant, vulneribus inulti patebant. Corvi
by-which to-be-protected they-could to-wounds unavenged lay-open the-ravens
vero et ferreae manus tormento remissae plerosque rapiebant.
moreover and iron hands by-machine let-go most were-snatching

IV · THE FALL OF TYRE

Alexander nearly abandons the siege, but a huge sea beast surfaces by the mole, and both sides take it as a good omen. The Tyrians feast, attack his ships at dawn, and lose nearly all their own. Alexander fights from a tower, the rams breach the walls, and the city is taken. The Sidonians secretly save fifteen thousand Tyrians; six thousand are slaughtered and two thousand crucified. Tyre falls in its seventh month, and Curtius recalls its founding, letters, and colonies.

Hic rex fatigatus statuerat soluta obsidione Aegyptum
here the-king wearied had-decided with-raised the-siege Egypt
petere. Quippe cum Asiam ingenti velocitate percucurrisset,
to-seek for though Asia with-huge speed he-had-run-through
circa muros unius urbis haerebat tot maximarum rerum
around the-walls of-one city he-was-stuck with-so-many of-the-greatest things
opportunitate dimissa. Ceterum tam discedere inritum quam
the-opportunity let-slip but as to-depart unsuccessful as

morari pudebat, famam quoque, qua plura quam armis
to-delay he-was-ashamed his-fame also by-which more-things than by-arms
everterat, ratus leviorem fore, si Tyrum quasi testem,
he-had-overthrown thinking lighter going-to-be if Tyre as-if a-witness
se posse vinci, reliquisset. Igitur ne quid inexpertum
himself to-be-able to-be-conquered he-should-leave therefore lest anything untried
omitteret, plures naves admoveri iubet delectosque militum
he-should-omit more ships to-be-moved-up he-orders and-picked of-the-soldiers
inponi. Et forte belua invisitatae magnitudinis
to-be-put-aboard and by-chance a-sea-beast of-unseen size
super ipsos fluctus dorso eminens ad molem, quam
above the-very waves with-its-back standing-out to the-mole which
Macedones iecerant, ingens corpus adplicuit diverberatisque
the-Macedonians had-thrown its-huge body brought-against and-with-lashed-apart
fluctibus adlevans semet utrimque conspecta est: deinde
waves raising itself from-both-sides seen was then
a capite molis rursus alto se inmersit ac modo
from the-head of-the-mole again in-the-deep itself plunged and now
super undas eminens magna sui parte, modo superfusis
above the-waves standing-out with-a-great of-itself part now with-poured-over
fluctibus condita haud procul munimentis urbis se
waves hidden not far from-the-fortifications of-the-city itself
mersit. Utrisque laetus fuit beluae aspectus: Macedones
sank to-both glad was of-the-beast the-sight the-Macedonians
iter iaciendo operi monstrasse eam augurabantur, Tyrii
the-route for-throwing the-work to-have-shown it were-divining the-Tyrians
Neptunum, occupati maris vindicem, abripuisse beluam
Neptune of-the-seized sea the-avenger to-have-carried-off the-beast
ac molem brevi profecto ruituram. Laetique omine eo
and the-mole shortly surely going-to-collapse and-glad at-the-omen that
ad epulas dilapsi oneravere se vino, quo graves
to feasts having-dispersed loaded themselves with-wine by-which heavy

orto sole navigia conscendunt redimita floribus coronisque:
with-risen sun the-ships they-board wreathed with-flowers and-garlands
adeo victoriae non omen modo, sed etiam gratulationem
so-far of-victory not the-omen only but also the-celebration
praeceperant. Forte rex classem in diversam partem
they-had-anticipated by-chance the-king the-fleet into a-different direction
agi iusserat XXX minoribus navigiis relictis in litore:
to-be-driven had-ordered with-thirty smaller ships left on the-shore
e quibus Tyrii duobus captis cetera ingenti terruerunt
of which the-Tyrians with-two captured the-rest with-huge terrified
metu, donec suorum clamore audito Alexander classem
fear until of-his-men with-the-shout heard Alexander the-fleet
litori, a quo fremitus acciderant, admovit. Prima e
to-the-shore from which the-roars had-come moved-up the-first of
Macedonum navibus quinqueremis velocitate inter ceteras
of-the-Macedonians ships a-quinquereme in-speed among the-rest
eminens occurrit: quam ut conspexere Tyriae, duae ex
outstanding met-them which when they-saw Tyrian two from
diverso in latera eius invectae sunt, in quarum alteram
opposite into the-sides its charged were into of-which the-one
quinqueremis eadem concitata et ipsa rostro icta est et
the-quinquereme the-same driven and itself by-a-beak struck was and
illam invicem tenuit. Iamque ea, quae non cohaerebat,
that-one in-turn held and-now that-one which not was-clinging
libero impetu est vecta in aliud quinqueremis latus.
with-free charge was carried into the-other of-the-quinquereme side
Invehebatur tum opportunitate mira triremis e classe
there-charged then with-opportuneness wonderful a-trireme from the-fleet
Alexandri in eam ipsam, quae quinqueremi inminebat,
of-Alexander against that very-one which the-quinquereme was-threatening
tanta vi, ut Tyrius gubernator in mare excuteretur e
with-such force that the-Tyrian helmsman into the-sea was-thrown from

puppi. Plures deinde Macedonum naves superveniunt, et
the-stern more then of-the-Macedonians ships come-up and
rex quoque aderat, cum Tyrii inhibentes remis
the-king also was-present when the-Tyrians backing with-their-oars
aegre evellere navem, quae haerebat, portumque omnia
with-difficulty wrenched-free the-ship which was-stuck and-the-harbor all
simul navigia repetunt. Confestim rex insecutus portum
at-once the-ships seek-again at-once the-king having-pursued the-harbor
quidem intrare non potuit, cum procul e muris missilibus
indeed to-enter not could since from-afar from the-walls by-missiles
summoveretur, naves autem omnes fere aut demersit aut
he-was-driven-off the-ships but all nearly either he-sank or
cepit. Biduo deinde ad quietem dato militibus iussisque
captured with-two-days then for rest given to-the-soldiers and-with-ordered
et classem et machinas pariter admovere, ut undique
both the-fleet and the-machines equally to-move-up that on-all-sides
territis instaret, ipse in altissimam turrem ascendit
on-the-terrified he-might-press himself into the-highest tower climbed
ingenti animo, periculo maiore: quippe regio insigni
with-huge courage with-danger greater for by-the-royal insignia
et armis fulgentibus conspicuus unus praecipue telis
and by-arms gleaming conspicuous alone especially with-missiles
petebatur. Et digna prorsus spectaculo edidit: multos
he-was-aimed-at and worthy altogether of-the-spectacle he-performed many
e muris propugnantes hasta transfixit, quosdam etiam
from the-walls defenders with-his-spear he-pierced some also
comminus gladio clipeoque inpulsos praecipitavit. Quippe
hand-to-hand with-sword and-shield driven he-threw-headlong for
turris, ex qua dimicabat, muris hostium propemodum
the-tower from which he-was-fighting to-the-walls of-the-enemy almost
cohaerebat. Iamque crebris arietibus saxorum conpage
was-clinging and-now with-frequent rams of-the-stones the-structure

laxata munimenta defecerant et classis intraverat portum et
loosened the-fortifications had-given-way and the-fleet had-entered the-harbor and
quidam Macedonum in turres hostium desertas evaserant,
some of-the-Macedonians onto the-towers of-the-enemy abandoned had-climbed
cum Tyrii tot simul malis victi alii supplices
when the-Tyrians by-so-many at-once evils overcome some suppliants
in templa confugiunt, alii foribus aedium obseratis
into the-temples flee others with-the-doors of-their-houses barred
occupant liberum mortis arbitrium, nonnulli ruunt in
seize the-free of-death choice some rush against
hostem haud inulti tamen perituri, magna pars summa
the-enemy not unavenged yet going-to-perish a-great part the-tops
tectorum obtinebat saxa et, quidquid fors in manus dederat,
of-the-roofs was-holding stones and whatever chance into their-hands had-given
ingerentes subeuntibus. Alexander exceptis, qui in templa
heaping-on the-approaching Alexander except those-who into the-temples
confugerant, omnes interfici ignemque tectis inici iubet.
had-fled all to-be-killed and-fire on-the-roofs to-be-thrown orders
His per praecones pronuntiatis nemo tamen armatus
with-these through heralds proclaimed no-one yet armed
opem a dis petere sustinuit: pueri virginesque templa
help from the-gods to-seek endured boys and-maidens the-temples
conpleverant, viri in vestibulo suarum quisque aedium
had-filled the-men in the-vestibule of-their-own each houses
stabant, parata saevientibus turba. Multis tamen saluti fuere
stood ready for-the-raging the-mob to-many yet for-salvation were
Sidonii, qui intra Macedonum praesidia erant. Hi urbem
the-Sidonians who within of-the-Macedonians the-garrisons were these the-city
quidem inter victores intraverant, sed cognationis cum Tyriis
indeed among the-victors had-entered but of-kinship with the-Tyrians
memores — quippe utramque urbem Agenorem condidisse
mindful for each city Agenor to-have-founded

credebant — multos Tyriorum clam protegentes ad sua
they-believed many of-the-Tyrians secretly protecting to their-own
perduxere navigia: quibus occultatis Sidona devecti sunt. XV
brought ships in-which hidden to-Sidon carried-off were fifteen
milia hoc furto subducta saevitiae sunt. Quantumque
thousand by-this theft withdrawn from-the-cruelty were and-how-much
sanguinis fusum sit, vel ex hoc aestimari potest, quod
of-blood shed was even from this to-be-reckoned can that
intra munimenta urbis VI milia armatorum trucidata
within the-fortifications of-the-city six thousand of-armed-men slaughtered
sunt. Triste deinde spectaculum victoribus ira praebuit
were a-sad then spectacle to-the-victors the-anger presented
regis: II milia, in quibus occidendis defecerat rabies,
of-the-king two thousand in whose killing had-given-out the-fury
crucibus adfixi per ingens litoris spatium pependerunt.
on-crosses fastened along a-huge of-the-shore stretch hung
Carthaginiensium legatis pepercit addita denuntiatione
of-the-Carthaginians to-the-envoys he-spared with-added a-declaration
belli, quod praesentium rerum necessitas moraretur. Tyros
of-war which of-present affairs the-necessity was-delaying Tyre
septimo mense, quam oppugnari coepta erat, capta est, urbs
in-the-seventh month after to-be-attacked begun it-had taken was a-city
et vetustate originis et crebra fortunae varietate ad
both by-the-antiquity of-its-origin and by-the-frequent of-fortune variation for
memoriam posteritatis insignis. Condita ab Agenore diu mare
the-memory of-posterity notable founded by Agenor long the-sea
non vicinum modo, sed, quodcumque classes eius adierunt,
not the-neighboring only but whatever the-fleets its approached
dicionis suae fecit. Et, si famae libet credere, haec gens
of-dominion its-own it-made and if the-report one-cares-to believe this race
litteras prima aut docuit aut didicit. Coloniae certe eius
letters first either taught or learned colonies certainly its

paene orbe toto diffusae sunt: Carthago in Africa, in
almost over-the-world whole spread are Carthage in Africa in
Boeotia Thebae, Gades ad Oceanum. Credo libero conmeantes
Boeotia Thebes Gades by the-Ocean I-believe by-the-free traveling
mari saepiusque adeundo ceteris incognitas terras elegisse
sea and-more-often by-approaching to-others unknown lands to-have-chosen
sedes iuventuti, qua tunc abundabant, sive quia crebris
as-seats for-the-youth in-which then they-abounded or because by-frequent
motibus terrae — nam hoc quoque traditur — cultores eius
tremors of-the-earth for this also is-handed-down the-inhabitants its
fatigati nova et externa domicilia armis sibimet quaerere
wearied new and foreign homes by-arms for-themselves to-seek
cogebantur. Multis ergo casibus defuncta et post
were-compelled by-many therefore misfortunes having-passed-through and after
excidium renata nunc tandem longa pace cuncta refovente
destruction reborn now at-last with-long peace all-things reviving
sub tutela Romanae mansuetudinis adquiescit.
under the-protection of-Roman clemency it-rests

V · DARIUS OFFERS HIS DAUGHTER

Darius writes again, offering his daughter Statira and all the land from the Hellespont to the Halys, and warns that fortune never stands still. Alexander answers that victors set the terms and that he means to take Persepolis, Bactra, and Ecbatana. Rhodes surrenders, he marches on Gaza, and the Greeks at the Isthmian games vote him a golden crown. His generals win Asia Minor and the islands; Pharnabazus and Aristonicus are taken at Chios, and Chares yields Mytilene.

Isdem ferme diebus Darei litterae adlatae sunt tandem
at-the-same about days of-Darius a-letter brought was at-last
ut regi scriptae. Petebat, uti filiam suam — Statirae
as to-a-king written he-was-asking that the-daughter his Statira

erat nomen — nuptiis Alexander sibi adiungeret: dotem
was her-name in-marriage Alexander to-himself should-join the-dowry
fore omnem regionem inter Hellespontum et Halyn
going-to-be all the-region between the-Hellespont and the-Halys
amnem sitam, inde orientem spectantibus terris
river situated from-there the-east facing with-the-lands
contentum se fore. Ne dubitaret, quod offerretur,
content himself going-to-be not he-should-hesitate what was-offered
accipere: numquam diu eodem vestigio stare fortunam,
to-accept never long in-the-same footprint to-stand fortune
semperque homines, quantamcumque felicitatem habeant,
and-always men however-great good-fortune they-have
invidiam tamen sentire maiorem. Vereri se, ne avium
the-envy yet to-feel greater he-feared himself lest of-birds
modo, quas naturalis levitas ageret ad sidera, inani ac
in-the-manner which natural lightness drives to the-stars with-an-empty and
puerili mente se efferret: nihil difficilius esse quam
childish mind himself he-should-carry-away nothing more-difficult to-be than
in illa aetate tantam capere fortunam. Multas se adhuc
at that age so-great to-contain fortune many himself still
reliquias habere nec semper inter angustias posse deprehendi:
remnants to-have nor always among narrows to-be-able to-be-caught
transeundum esse Alexandro Euphraten Tigrimque et Araxen
to-be-crossed to-be by-Alexander the-Euphrates and-the-Tigris and the-Araxes
et Choaspen, magna munimenta regni sui, veniendum in
and the-Choaspes great bulwarks of-kingdom his to-be-come into
campos, ubi paucitate suorum erubescendum sit, in
plains where by-the-fewness of-his-men to-be-ashamed it-would-be into
Mediam, Hyrcaniam, Bactra: et Indos, Oceani accolas,
Media Hyrcania Bactra and the-Indians of-the-Ocean the-dwellers
quando aditurum, ne Sogdianos et Arachosios nominem
when going-to-approach not-to the-Sogdians and the-Arachosians mention

ceterasque gentes ad Caucasum et Tanain pertinentes?
and-the-other nations to the-Caucasus and the-Tanais reaching
Senescendum fore tantum terrarum vel sine proelio
to-grow-old going-to-be so-much of-lands even without battle
obeunti. Se vero ad ipsum vocare desineret: namque
for-one-traversing himself however to himself to-summon he-should-cease for
illius exitio se esse venturum. Alexander iis, qui
of-him to-the-destruction himself to-be going-to-come Alexander to-those who
litteras attulerant, respondit, Dareum sibi aliena promittere
the-letter had-brought replied Darius to-him another's to-promise
et, quod totum amiserit, velle partiri. Doti sibi dari
and what wholly he-has-lost to-want to-share as-dowry to-himself to-be-given
Lydiam, Ionas, Aeolidem, Hellesponti oram, victoriae suae
Lydia the-Ionians Aeolis of-the-Hellespont the-coast of-victory his-own
praemia. Leges autem a victoribus dici, accipi a
the-rewards terms moreover by the-victors to-be-stated to-be-received by
victis: in utro statu ambo essent, si solus ignoraret, quam
the-conquered in which state both were if alone he-did-not-know as-soon
primum Marte decerneret. Seque, cum transiret mare,
as-possible by-Mars he-should-decide and-himself when he-was-crossing the-sea
non Ciliciam aut Lydiam — quippe tanti belli exiguam
not Cilicia or Lydia for of-so-great a-war small
hanc esse mercedem—, sed Persepolim, caput regni eius,
this to-be the-wage but Persepolis the-capital of-kingdom his
Bactra deinde et Ecbatana ultimique Orientis oram imperio
Bactra then and Ecbatana and-the-farthest of-the-East coast for-his-rule
destinasse. Quocumque ille fugere potuisset, ipsum sequi
to-have-marked-out wherever he to-flee could-have himself to-follow
posse: desineret terrere fluminibus, quem sciret maria
to-be-able let-him-cease to-frighten with-rivers one-whom he-knew seas
transisse. Reges quidem haec invicem scripserant. Sed
to-have-crossed the-kings indeed these-things in-turn had-written but

Rhodii urbem suam portusque dedebant Alexandro.
the-Rhodians city their-own and-harbors were-surrendering to-Alexander
Ille Ciliciam Socrati tradiderat Philota regioni circa
he Cilicia to-Socrates had-handed-over with-Philotas over-the-region around
Tyrum iusso praesidere. Syriam, quae Coele appellatur,
Tyre ordered to-preside Syria which Coele is-called
Andromacho Parmenio tradiderat bello, quod supererat,
to-Andromachus Parmenio had-handed-over for-the-war which was-left
interfuturus. Rex Hephaestione Phoenices oram classe
going-to-take-part the-king with-Hephaestion of-Phoenicia the-coast with-the-fleet
praetervehi iusso ad urbem Gazam cum omnibus copiis venit.
to-sail-along ordered to the-city Gaza with all his-forces came
Isdem fere diebus sollemne erat ludicrum Isthmiorum,
at-the-same about days the-solemn was the-show of-the-Isthmian-games
quod conventu totius Graeciae celebratur: in eo concilio
which by-a-gathering of-the-whole of-Greece is-celebrated at that assembly
Graeci, ut sunt temporaria ingenia, decernunt, ut XV
the-Greeks as they-are time-serving temperaments decree that fifteen
legarentur ad regem, qui ob res pro salute
should-be-sent-as-envoys to the-king who on-account-of the-deeds for the-safety
ac libertate Graeciae gestas coronam auream donum victoriae
and freedom of-Greece done a-crown golden as-a-gift of-victory
ferrent. Idem paulo ante incertae famae captaverant
should-bring the-same-men a-little before of-uncertain report had-caught
auram, ut, quocumque pendentes animos tulisset fortuna,
the-breeze so-that wherever their-hanging minds should-carry fortune
sequerentur. Ceterum non ipse modo rex obibat urbes
they-might-follow but not himself only the-king was-visiting the-cities
adhuc iugum imperii recusantes, sed praetores quoque ipsius,
still the-yoke of-empire refusing but the-governors also his
egregii duces, pleraque invaserant, Calas Paphlagoniam,
outstanding generals many-places had-invaded Calas Paphlagonia

Antigonus Lycaoniam: Balacrus Hydarne, Darei praetore,
Antigonus Lycaonia Balacrus with-Hydarnes of-Darius the-governor
superato denuo Miletum cepit, Amphoterus et Hegelochus
overcome again Miletus took Amphoterus and Hegelochus
CLX navium classe insulas inter Achaiam atque
of-a-hundred-and-sixty of-ships with-a-fleet the-islands between Achaea and
Asiam in dicionem Alexandri redegerunt. Tenedo quoque
Asia into the-dominion of-Alexander brought with-Tenedos also
recepta Chium incolis ultro vocantibus statuerant
recovered Chios with-the-inhabitants voluntarily calling they-had-decided
occupare, sed Pharnabazus, Darei praetor, conprehensis,
to-seize but Pharnabazus of-Darius the-governor with-arrested
qui res ad Macedones trahebant, rursus Apollonidi
those-who the-state to the-Macedonians were-drawing again to-Apollonides
et Athenagorae, suarum partium viris, urbem cum modico
and Athenagoras of-his-own side men the-city with a-modest
praesidio militum tradit. Praefecti Alexandri in obsidione
garrison of-soldiers hands-over the-commanders of-Alexander in the-siege
urbis perseverabant non tam suis fisi viribus
of-the-city were-persevering not so-much in-their-own trusting strength
quam ipsorum, qui obsidebantur, voluntate. Nec fefellit
as of-those-themselves who were-besieged in-the-will nor did-deceive
opinio: namque inter Apolloniden et duces militum
the-expectation for between Apollonides and the-leaders of-the-soldiers
orta seditio inrumpendi in urbem occasionem dedit,
having-arisen a-quarrel of-bursting into the-city the-opportunity gave
cumque porta effracta cohors Macedonum intrasset,
and-when with-the-gate broken-open a-cohort of-the-Macedonians had-entered
oppidani olim consilio proditionis agitato adgregant se
the-townsfolk long-since with-the-plan of-betrayal debated join themselves
Amphotero et Hegelocho, Persarumque praesidio caeso
to-Amphoterus and Hegelochus and-with-the-Persians' garrison slain

Pharnabazus cum Apollonide et Athenagora vincti traduntur,
Pharnabazus with Apollonides and Athenagoras bound are-handed-over
XII triremes cum suo milite ac remige, praeter eas XXX
twelve triremes with their soldiers and oarsmen besides them thirty
inanes et piratici lembi Graecorumque III milia a Persis
empty and pirate cutters and-of-Greeks three thousand by the-Persians
mercede conducta. His in supplementum copiarum suarum
for-pay hired with-these in reinforcement of-forces their-own
distributis piratisque supplicio adfectis captivos remiges
distributed and-with-the-pirates by-punishment visited the-captive oarsmen
adiecere classi suae. Forte Aristonicus, Methymnaeorum
they-added to-the-fleet their-own by-chance Aristonicus of-the-Methymnaeans
tyrannus, cum piraticis navibus ignarus omnium, quae apud
the-tyrant with pirate ships ignorant of-all-that which at
Chium acta erant, prima vigilia ad portus claustra
Chios done had-been at-the-first watch to of-the-harbor the-barrier
successit interrogatusque a custodibus, quis esset, Aristonicum
came-up and-asked by the-guards who he-was Aristonicus
ad Pharnabazum venire respondit. Illi Pharnabazum
to Pharnabazus to-be-coming he-replied they Pharnabazus
quidem iam quiescere et non posse tum adiri,
indeed now to-be-resting and not to-be-able then to-be-approached
ceterum patere socio atque hospiti portum et postero
but to-lie-open to-an-ally and guest the-harbor and on-the-following
die Pharnabazi copiam fore adfirmant. Nec dubitavit
day of-Pharnabazus access going-to-be they-affirm nor did-hesitate
Aristonicus primus intrare, secuti sunt ducem piratici lembi,
Aristonicus first to-enter followed have the-leader the-pirate cutters
ac, dum adplicant navigia crepidini portus, obicitur a
and while they-bring-up the-ships to-the-quay of-the-harbor is-thrown-across by
vigilibus claustrum, et, qui proximi excubabant, ab
the-watchmen the-barrier and those-who nearest were-keeping-watch by

isdem excitantur. Nullo ex iis auso repugnare omnibus
the-same are-roused with-none of them having-dared to-resist on-all
catenae iniectae sunt, Amphotero deinde Hegelochoque
chains thrown were to-Amphoterus then and-Hegelochus
traduntur. Hinc Macedones transiere Mytilenen. Quam
they-are-handed-over from-here the-Macedonians crossed to-Mytilene which
Chares Atheniensis nuper occupatam II milium Persarum
Chares the-Athenian recently seized of-two thousand of-Persians
praesidio tenebat, sed, cum obsidionem tolerare non posset,
with-a-garrison was-holding but since the-siege to-bear not he-could
urbe tradita pactus, ut incolumi abire liceret,
with-the-city handed-over having-bargained that unharmed to-depart it-be-allowed
Imbrum petit. Deditis Macedones pepercerunt.
Imbros seeks the-surrendered the-Macedonians spared

VI · THE SIEGE OF GAZA

Darius gathers his forces and summons Bessus, whose ambition is feared. Alexander besieges Gaza, held by the loyal Betis; his towers sink in the sand. A raven drops a clod on his head, and Aristander foretells the city's fall and a wound to the king. A sham Arab deserter loses a hand, but an arrow pierces Alexander's shoulder. Wounded again in the leg, he takes Gaza by a mine and drags Betis alive behind a chariot, as Achilles did. Amyntas is sent to Macedonia for recruits.

Dareus desperata pace, quam per litteras legatosque
Darius with-despaired-of peace which through letters and-envoys
inpetrari posse crediderat, ad reparandas vires bellumque
to-be-obtained to-be-able he-had-believed to repairing his-strength and-the-war
inpigre renovandum intendit animum. Duces ergo
energetically to-renewing turned his-mind the-generals therefore
copiarum Babyloniam convenire, Bessum quoque, Bactrianorum
of-his-forces to-Babylon to-assemble Bessus also of-the-Bactrians

praetorem, quam maximo posset exercitu coacto, descendere
the-governor with-as great-an as-he-could army gathered to-come-down
ad se iubet. Sunt autem Bactriani inter illas gentes
to himself orders are moreover the-Bactrians among those nations
promptissimi horridis ingeniis multumque a Persarum
the-readiest with-rough temperaments and-much from of-the-Persians
luxu abhorrentibus: siti haud procul Scytharum
the-luxury shrinking situated not far of-the-Scythians
bellicosissima gente et rapto vivere adsueta semper in
most-warlike from-the-race and by-plunder to-live accustomed always in
armis erant. Sed Bessus suspecta perfidia haud sane aequo
arms they-were but Bessus with-suspected treachery not at-all with-even
animo in secundo se continens gradu regem terrebat: nam
mind in the-second himself containing rank the-king was-alarming for
cum regnum adfectaret, proditio, quo sola id adsequi
since the-kingdom he-was-aiming-at treachery by-which alone it to-attain
poterat, timebatur. Ceterum Alexander, quam regionem Dareus
he-could was-feared but Alexander what region Darius
petisset, omni cura vestigans tamen explorare non poterat
had-sought with-every care tracking-down yet to-find-out not could
more quodam Persarum arcana regum mira celantium
by-a-custom certain of-the-Persians the-secrets of-kings with-wonderful concealing
fide: non metus, non spes elicit vocem, qua prodantur
loyalty not fear not hope draws-out a-word by-which are-betrayed
occulta. Vetus disciplina regum silentium vitae periculo
hidden-things an-old discipline of-the-kings silence of-life with-the-peril
sanxerat: lingua gravius castigatur quam ullum probrum,
had-sanctioned the-tongue more-severely is-punished than any disgrace
nec magnam rem Magi sustineri posse credunt ab eo,
nor a-great matter the-Magi to-be-sustained to-be-able believe by him
cui tacere grave sit, quod homini facillimum voluerit
for-whom to-keep-silent burdensome is what for-a-man easiest has-willed

esse natura. Ob hanc causam Alexander omnium, quae
to-be nature on-account-of this reason Alexander of-all-things which
apud hostem gererentur, ignarus urbem Gazam obsidebat.
with the-enemy were-done ignorant the-city Gaza was-besieging
Praeerat urbi Betis eximiae in regem suum fidei
was-in-command-of the-city Betis of-exceptional toward king his loyalty
modicoque praesidio muros ingentis operis tuebatur.
and-with-a-modest garrison the-walls of-huge construction was-defending
Alexander aestimato locorum situ agi cuniculos iussit
Alexander with-assessed of-the-places the-site to-be-driven mines ordered
facili ac levi humo acceptante occultum opus: quippe
with-easy and light soil receiving hidden work for
multam harenam vicinum mare evomit, nec saxa cotesque,
much sand the-neighboring sea vomits-up nor rocks and-crags
quae interpellent specus, obstant. Igitur ab ea parte,
which might-interrupt the-tunnels stand-in-the-way therefore from that side
quam oppidani conspicere non possent, opus orsus, ut
which the-townsfolk to-see not could the-work having-begun that
a sensu eius averteret, turres muris admoveri
from the-perception of-it he-might-turn-them towers to-the-walls to-be-moved-up
iubet. Sed eadem humus movendis inutilis turribus desidente
orders but the-same soil for-moving useless towers with-subsiding
sabulo agilitatem rotarum morata etiam tabulata turrium
sand the-mobility of-the-wheels having-delayed even the-stories of-the-towers
perfringebat, multique vulnerabantur inpune, cum idem
was-breaking and-many were-wounded with-impunity since the-same
recipiendis qui admovendis turribus labor eos fatigaret.
in-withdrawing as in-moving-up the-towers toil them was-exhausting
Ergo receptui signo dato postero die muros corona
therefore for-retreat with-the-signal given on-the-following day the-walls with-a-ring
circumdari iussit. Ortoque sole, priusquam admoveret
to-be-surrounded he-ordered and-with-risen sun before he-moved-up

exercitum, opem deum exposcens sacrum patrio more
the-army the-help of-the-gods imploring a-sacrifice in-the-ancestral manner
faciebat. Forte praetervolans corvus glebam, quam unguibus
was-making by-chance flying-past a-raven a-clod which in-its-claws
ferebat, subito amisit: quae cum regis capiti incidisset,
it-was-carrying suddenly let-fall which when on-the-king's head had-fallen
resoluta defluxit, ipsa autem avis in proxima turre consedit.
broken-up slid-off the-very however bird on the-nearest tower settled
Inlita erat turris bitumine ac sulphure, in qua alis
smeared was the-tower with-bitumen and sulfur on which with-its-wings
haerentibus frustra se adlevare conatus a circumstantibus
sticking in-vain itself to-raise having-tried by the-bystanders
capitur. Digna res visa, de qua vates consuleret: et erat
is-caught worthy the-thing seemed about which the-seers he-should-consult and he-was
non intactae a superstitione mentis. Ergo Aristander, cui
not untouched by superstition of-mind therefore Aristander to-whom
maxima fides habebatur, urbis quidem excidium ait augurio
the-greatest credit was-given of-the-city indeed the-destruction says by-augury
illo portendi: ceterum periculum esse, ne rex vulnus
that to-be-portended but danger to-be lest the-king a-wound
acciperet. Itaque monuit, ne quid eo die inciperet.
should-receive and-so he-warned that-not anything on-that day he-should-begin
Ille quamquam unam urbem sibi, quo minus securus
he although one city to-himself by-which less securely
Aegyptum intraret, obstare aegre ferebat, tamen
Egypt he-might-enter to-stand-in-the-way with-difficulty was-bearing yet
paruit vati signumque receptui dedit. Hinc animus crevit
obeyed the-seer and-the-signal for-retreat gave from-this courage grew
obsessis, egressique porta recedentibus inferunt signa
in-the-besieged and-having-gone-out by-the-gate on-the-retiring they-bear standards
cunctationem hostium suam fore occasionem rati. Sed
the-hesitation of-the-enemy their-own going-to-be opportunity thinking but

acrius quam constantius proelium inierunt: quippe ut
more-keenly than more-steadily the-battle they-entered for when
Macedonum signa circumagi videre, repente sistunt
of-the-Macedonians the-standards to-be-wheeled-round they-saw suddenly they-halt
gradum. Iamque ad regem proeliantium clamor pervenerat,
their-step and-now to the-king of-the-fighters the-shout had-reached
cum denuntiati periculi haud sane memor loricam tamen,
when of-the-announced danger not at-all mindful a-breastplate yet
quam raro induebat, amicis orantibus sumpsit et ad
which rarely he-put-on with-his-friends begging he-took-up and to
prima signa pervenit. Quo conspecto Arabs quidam,
the-first standards came with-whom seen an-Arab certain
Darei miles, maius fortuna sua facinus ausus, gladium
of-Darius a-soldier greater than-fortune his-own a-deed having-dared his-sword
clipeo tegens quasi transfuga genibus regis advolvitur.
with-his-shield covering as-if a-deserter at-the-knees of-the-king throws-himself
Ille adsurgere supplicem recipique inter suos iussit. At
he to-rise the-suppliant and-to-be-received among his-men ordered but
barbarus gladio strenue in dextram translato cervicem
the-barbarian with-his-sword briskly into his-right-hand transferred the-neck
adpetiit regis. Qui exigua corporis declinatione evitato
aimed-at of-the-king who with-a-slight of-the-body turning with-avoided
ictu in vanum manum barbari lapsam amputat gladio,
blow into vain the-hand of-the-barbarian slipping cuts-off with-the-sword
denuntiato in illum diem periculo, ut arbitrabatur ipse,
from-the-announced for that day danger as he-thought himself
defunctus. Sed, ut opinor, inevitabile est fatum: quippe
having-been-released but as I-think unavoidable is fate for
dum inter primores promptius dimicat, sagitta ictus est,
while among the-foremost more-readily he-fights by-an-arrow struck he-was
quam per loricam adactam, stantem in humero medicus
which through the-breastplate driven standing in the-shoulder physician

eius Philippus evellit. Plurimus deinde sanguis manare coepit
his Philip pulled-out very-much then blood to-flow began
omnibus territis, quia non, quam alte penetrasset telum,
with-all terrified because not how deep had-penetrated the-missile
lorica obstante cognoverant. Ipse ne oris quidem
with-the-breastplate obstructing they-had-learned he not of-his-face even
colore mutato supprimi sanguinem et vulnus obligari iussit.
with-color changed to-be-stanched the-blood and the-wound to-be-bound ordered
Diu ante ipsa signa vel dissimulato vel victo dolore
long before the-very standards either with-hidden or with-conquered pain
perstiterat, cum suppressus paulo ante sanguis labente
he-had-stood-fast when stanched a-little before the-blood with-slipping
ligamento, quo retentus erat, manare largius coepit, et
bandage by-which held-back it-was to-flow more-abundantly began and
vulnus, quod tepens adhuc dolorem non moverat, frigente
the-wound which warm still pain not had-caused with-cooling
sanguine intumuit. Linqui deinde animo et submitti genu
blood swelled to-faint then in-spirit and to-be-lowered at-the-knee
coepit, quem proximi exceptum in castra receperunt. Et
he-began whom the-nearest caught into the-camp took-back and
Betis interfectum ratus urbem ovans victoria repetit.
Betis killed thinking-him the-city exulting in-victory sought-again
At Alexander nondum percurato vulnere aggerem, quo
but Alexander with-not-yet fully-healed the-wound a-causeway by-which
moenium altitudinem aequaret, extruxit pluribusque cuniculis
of-the-walls the-height he-might-equal built and-with-more mines
muros subrui iussit. Oppidani ad pristinum fastigium
the-walls to-be-undermined ordered the-townsfolk to the-former height
moenium novum extruxere munimentum, sed ne id quidem
of-the-walls a-new built bulwark but not that even
turres aggeri inpositas poterat aequare. Itaque interiora
the-towers on-the-causeway placed could equal and-so the-inner-parts

quoque urbis infesta telis erant. Ultima pestis urbis fuit
also of-the-city exposed to-missiles were the-final plague of-the-city was
cuniculo subrutus murus, per cuius ruinas hostis intravit.
by-a-mine undermined the-wall through whose ruins the-enemy entered
Ducebat ipse rex antesignanos, et, dum incautius
was-leading himself the-king the-front-rank and while more-incautiously
subit, saxo crus eius adfligitur. Innixus tamen telo
he-comes-up by-a-stone the-leg his is-struck leaning yet on-a-spear
nondum prioris vulneris obducta cicatrice inter primores
not-yet of-the-earlier wound closed with-a-scar among the-foremost
dimicat, ira quoque accensus, quod duo in obsidione
he-fights by-anger also inflamed that two in the-siege
urbis eius vulnera acceperat. Betim egregia edita
of-the-city of-this wounds he-had-received Betis with-an-outstanding fought
pugna multisque vulneribus confectum deseruerunt sui,
battle and-with-many wounds worn-out deserted his-own-men
nec tamen segnius proelium capessebat lubricis armis
nor yet more-slowly the-battle he-was-engaging-in with-slippery arms
suo pariter atque hostium sanguine. Sed cum undique
with-his-own equally and of-the-enemy blood but when on-all-sides
telis *** Quo adducto insolenti gaudio iuvenis
by-missiles (lacuna) with-whom brought with-insolent joy the-young-man
elatus, alias virtutis etiam in hoste mirator: ‘Non,
carried-away at-other-times of-valor even in an-enemy admirer not
ut voluisti,’ inquit, ‘morieris, sed, quidquid in captivum
as you-wished he-says you-will-die but whatever against a-captive
inveniri potest, passurum esse te cogita.’ Ille non interrito
to-be-found can going-to-suffer to-be you consider he not with-unterrified
modo, sed contumaci quoque vultu intuens regem nullam
only but defiant also face looking-at the-king no
ad minas eius reddidit vocem. Tum Alexander: ‘Videtisne
to the-threats his returned word then Alexander do-you-see-him

obstinatum ad tacendum?' inquit, 'num genu posuit? num
obstinate for keeping-silent he-says has his-knee he-bent has
vocem supplicem misit? Vincam tamen silentium et, si
a-word suppliant he-uttered I-shall-conquer yet the-silence and if
nihil aliud, certe gemitu interpellabo.' Ira deinde vertit
nothing else at-least with-a-groan I-shall-break-it the-anger then turned
in rabiem iam tum peregrinos ritus nova subiciente
into madness already then foreign rites with-new suggesting
fortuna. Per talos enim spirantis lora traiecta
fortune through the-ankles for of-the-breathing-man thongs passed
sunt, religatumque ad currum traxere circa urbem equi
were and-bound to a-chariot dragged-him around the-city the-horses
gloriante rege, Achillen, a quo genus ipse deduceret,
with-boasting king Achilles from whom his-descent he-himself derived
imitatum se esse poena in hostem capienda. Cecidere
imitated himself to-have in-the-punishment on an-enemy to-be-taken fell
Persarum Arabumque circa X milia, nec Macedonibus
of-the-Persians and-Arabs about ten thousand nor for-the-Macedonians
incruenta victoria fuit. Obsidio certe non tam claritate urbis
bloodless the-victory was the-siege certainly not so by-the-fame of-the-city
nobilitata est quam geminato periculo regis. Qui Aegyptum
made-famous was as by-the-twofold danger of-the-king who Egypt
adire festinans Amyntan cum X triremibus in Macedoniam
to-approach hastening Amyntas with ten triremes into Macedonia
ad conquisitionem novorum militum misit. Namque etiam
for the-levying of-new soldiers sent for even
secundis atterebantur tamen copiae, devictarumque gentium
by-successes were-being-worn-down yet the-forces and-of-the-conquered nations
militi minor quam domestico fides habebatur.
to-the-soldier less than to-the-native trust was-given

Egypt welcomes Alexander, and Mazaces surrenders Memphis and its treasure. Alexander resolves to visit the oracle of Ammon, whom he claims as his ancestor. Rain relieves the thirsty desert march, and ravens guide the column to the oasis, whose spring of the sun runs cold at noon and boils at midnight. The priest hails him as Jupiter's son and promises him rule of the world. His friends are told to worship him as a god, and Curtius says the title spoiled his fame.

Aegyptii olim Persarum opibus infensi — quippe avare
the-Egyptians long-since of-the-Persians to-the-power hostile for greedily
et superbe imperitatum sibi esse credebant — ad
and arrogantly ruled over-them to-have-been they-believed at
spem adventus eius erexerant animos, utpote qui Amyntam
the-hope of-the-coming his had-raised their-spirits as-being-men who Amyntas
quoque transfugam et cum precario imperio venientem laeti
even a-deserter and with a-precarious command coming gladly
recepissent. Igitur ingens multitudo Pelusium, qua intraturus
had-received therefore a-huge multitude at-Pelusium where going-to-enter
videbatur, convenerat. Atque ille septimo die, postquam
he-seemed had-gathered and he on-the-seventh day after
a Gaza copias moverat, in regionem Aegypti, quam nunc
from Gaza his-forces he-had-moved into the-region of-Egypt which now
Castra Alexandri vocant, pervenit. Deinde pedestribus copiis
the-Camp of-Alexander they-call came then with-the-infantry forces
Pelusium petere iussis ipse cum expedita delectorum manu
Pelusium to-seek ordered himself with a-light-armed of-picked-men band
Nilo amne vectus est. Nec sustinuere adventum eius
by-the-Nile river carried was nor did-withstand the-coming his
Persae defectione quoque perterriti. Iamque haud procul
the-Persians by-the-defection also terrified and-now not far
Memphi erat: in cuius praesidium Mazaces, praetor Darei,
from-Memphis he-was for whose garrison Mazaces governor of-Darius

relictus sponte amne superato octingenta talenta
left of-his-own-accord with-the-river crossed eight-hundred talents
Alexandro omnemque regiam supellectilem tradidit. A
to-Alexander and-all the-royal furniture handed-over from
Memphi eodem flumine vectus ad interiora Aegypti penetrat
Memphis by-the-same river carried into the-interior of-Egypt he-penetrates
conpositisque rebus ita, ut nihil ex patrio Aegyptiorum
and-with-settled affairs so that nothing of the-ancestral of-the-Egyptians
more mutaret, adire Iovis Hammonis oraculum statuit.
custom he-changed to-approach of-Jupiter Ammon the-oracle decided
Iter expeditis quoque et paucis vix tolerabile
the-route for-the-unencumbered even and for-few scarcely bearable
ingrediendum erat: terra caeloque aquarum penuria est,
to-be-entered was on-land and-in-the-sky of-waters a-scarcity there-is
steriles harenae iacent. Quas ubi vapor solis accendit,
barren sands lie which when the-heat of-the-sun has-kindled
fervido solo exurente vestigia intolerabilis aestus existit,
with-the-boiling ground burning the-footsteps an-intolerable heat arises
luctandumque est non solum cum ardore et siccitate regionis,
and-to-be-struggled it-is not only with the-heat and dryness of-the-region
sed etiam cum tenacissimo sabulo, quod praealtum et
but also with the-most-clinging sand which very-deep and
vestigio cedens aegre moliuntur pedes. Haec Aegyptii
to-the-footstep yielding with-difficulty they-work the-feet these-things the-Egyptians
vero maiora iactabant: sed ingens cupido animum stimulabat
indeed greater were-boasting but a-huge desire the-mind was-spurring
adeundi Iovem, quem generis sui auctorem haud contentus
of-approaching Jupiter whom of-the-race his the-author not content
mortali fastigio aut credebat esse aut credi volebat.
with-mortal eminence either he-believed to-be or to-be-believed wished
Ergo cum iis, quos ducere secum statuerat, secundo
therefore with those whom to-lead with-him he-had-decided down-the-current

amne descendit ad Mareotin paludem. Eo legati Cyrenensium
river he-went-down to the-Mareotic marsh there envoys of-the-Cyrenaeans
dona attulere pacem et, ut adiret urbes suas, petentes.
gifts brought peace and that he-should-approach the-cities their seeking
Ille donis acceptis amicitiaque coniuncta destinata
he with-the-gifts accepted and-with-friendship joined the-things-determined
exequi pergit. Ac primo quidem et sequente die tolerabilis
to-carry-out proceeds and at-first indeed and on-the-following day bearable
labor visus nondum tam vastis nudisque solitudinibus aditis,
the-toil seemed with-not-yet so vast and-bare solitudes approached
iam tamen sterili et emoriente terra. Sed ut aperuere
already yet with-barren and dying land but when opened
se campi alto obruti sabulo, haud secus quam
themselves the-plains with-deep buried sand not otherwise than
profundum aequor ingressi terram oculis requirebant:
the-deep sea having-entered land with-their-eyes they-were-seeking
nulla arbor, nullum culti soli occurrebat vestigium. Aqua
no tree no of-cultivated soil met-them trace water
etiam defecerat, quam utribus cameli vexerant, et in arido
also had-given-out which in-skins the-camels had-carried and in the-arid
solo ac fervido sabulo nulla erat. Ad hoc sol omnia
soil and boiling sand none there-was to this the-sun everything
incenderat, siccaque et adusta erant ora, cum repente —
had-set-on-fire and-dry and parched were their-mouths when suddenly
sive illud deorum munus sive casus fuit — obductae caelo
whether that of-the-gods a-gift or chance was drawn-over the-sky
nubes condidere solem, ingens aestu fatigatis, etiam si
clouds hid the-sun a-huge by-the-heat to-those-wearied even if
aqua deficeret, auxilium. Idem vero, ut largum quoque
water were-lacking a-help the-same moreover when an-abundant also
imbrem excusserunt procellae, pro se quisque excipere eum,
shower shook-out the-storms for himself each to-catch it

quidam ob sitim inpotentes sui ore quoque
some on-account-of thirst out-of-control of-themselves with-mouth even
hianti captare coeperunt. Quadriduum per vastas solitudines
gaping to-catch began four-days through vast solitudes
absumptum est. Iamque haud procul oraculi sede
spent was and-now not far of-the-oracle from-the-seat
aberant, cum conplures corvi agmini occurrunt: modico
they-were-distant when several ravens the-column meet with-moderate
volatu prima signa antecedentes modo humi residebant,
flight the-first standards preceding now on-the-ground settled
cum lentius agmen incederet, modo se pennis
when more-slowly the-column advanced now themselves with-their-wings
levabant ducentium iterque monstrantium ritu. Tandem
raised of-those-leading and-the-route showing in-the-manner at-last
ad sedem consecratam deo ventum est. Incredibile dictu,
to the-seat consecrated to-the-god come it-was incredible to-tell
inter vastas solitudines sita undique ambientibus ramis
amid vast solitudes situated on-all-sides with-surrounding branches
vix in densam umbram cadente sole contecta est, multique
scarcely into thick shade with-falling sun covered it-is and-many
fontes dulcibus aquis passim manantibus alunt silvas. Caeli
springs with-sweet waters everywhere flowing nourish woods of-the-sky
quoque mira temperies, verno tepori maxime similis,
also a-wonderful mildness to-springtime warmth most similar
omnes anni partes pari salubritate percurrit. Accolae
all of-the-year the-parts with-equal healthfulness runs-through the-neighbors
sedis sunt ab oriente proximi Aethiopum. In meridiem
of-the-seat are on the-east the-nearest of-the-Ethiopians toward the-south
versam Arabes spectant — Trogodytis cognomen est—:
turned the-Arabs look Trogodytes surname is
horum regio usque ad Rubrum mare excurrit. At qua
of-these the-region as-far as the-Red sea runs-out but where

vergit ad occidentem, alii Aethiopes colunt, quos Simos
it-slopes toward the-west other Ethiopians dwell whom Simi
vocant. A septentrione Nasamones sunt, gens Syrtica,
they-call on the-north the-Nasamones are a-race of-the-Syrtes
navigiorum spoliis quaestuosa: quippe obsident litora et
of-ships from-the-spoils gainful for they-beset the-shores and
aestu destituta navigia notis sibi vadis occupant.
by-the-tide stranded ships known to-themselves by-the-shallows they-seize
Incolae nemoris, quos Hammonios vocant, dispersis tuguriis
the-inhabitants of-the-grove whom Ammonians they-call in-scattered huts
habitant: medium nemus pro arce habent, triplici muro
dwell the-middle grove as a-citadel they-have with-a-triple wall
circumdatum. Prima munitio tyrannorum veterem regiam
surrounded the-first fortification of-the-tyrants the-old palace
clausit, in proxima coniuges eorum cum liberis et pelicibus
enclosed in the-next wives their with children and concubines
habitabant — hic quoque dei oraculum est—, ultima
lived here also of-the-god the-oracle is the-last
munimenta satellitum armigerorumque sedes erant. Est
fortifications of-the-guards and-of-the-armor-bearers seats were there-is
et aliud Hammonis nemus: in medio habet fontem —
also another of-Ammon grove in the-middle it-has a-spring
Solis aquam vocant—: sub lucis ortum tepida manat,
the-Sun's water they-call-it toward of-light the-rising warm it-flows
medio die, cuius vehementissimus est calor, frigida eadem
at-mid day whose most-violent is heat cold the-same
fluit, inclinato in vesperam calescit, media nocte
flows with-the-day-declined toward evening it-grows-warm at-mid night
fervida exaestuat, quoque nox propius vergit ad lucem,
boiling it-seethes and-the-more night nearer inclines toward light
multum ex nocturno calore decrescit, donec sub ipsum
much from its-nocturnal heat it-decreases until toward the-very

diei ortum adsueto tepore languescat. Quod pro
of-day rising with-its-accustomed warmth it-languishes that-which as
deo colitur, non eandem effigiem habet, quam vulgo
a-god is-worshiped not the-same likeness has which commonly
diis artifices accommodaverunt: umbilico maxime similis
to-the-gods craftsmen have-fitted to-a-navel most similar
est habitus zmaragdo et gemmis coagmentatus. Hunc, cum
is its-form with-emerald and gems fastened-together this when
responsum petitur, navigio aurato gestant sacerdotes multis
a-response is-sought in-a-boat gilded carry the-priests with-many
argenteis pateris ab utroque navigii latere pendentibus:
silver bowls from each of-the-boat side hanging
sequuntur matronae virginesque patrio more inconditum
follow the-matrons and-maidens in-the-ancestral manner an-artless
quoddam carmen canentes, quo propitiari Iovem credunt,
certain song singing by-which to-be-propitiated Jupiter they-believe
ut certum edat oraculum. Ac tum quidem regem propius
that a-sure he-may-give oracle and then indeed the-king nearer
adeuntem maximus natu e sacerdotibus filium appellat, hoc
approaching the-eldest by-birth of the-priests son calls this
nomen illi parentem Iovem reddere adfirmans. Ille se
name to-him his-father Jupiter to-give affirming he himself
vero et accipere ait et adgnoscere humanae sortis oblitus.
indeed both to-accept says and to-recognize of-human lot forgetful
Consuluit deinde, an totius orbis imperium fatis
he-consulted then whether of-the-whole world the-rule by-the-fates
sibi destinaretur. Pater aeque in adulationem conpositus
for-him was-destined the-father equally for flattery composed
terrarum omnium rectorem fore ostendit. Post haec
of-lands all the-ruler going-to-be shows after these-things
institit quaerere, an omnes parentis sui interfectores
he-pressed-on to-ask whether all of-father his the-killers

poenas dedissent. Sacerdos parentem eius negat ullius
the-penalty had-paid the-priest father his denies of-anyone
scelere posse violari, Philippi autem omnes luisse
by-the-crime to-be-able to-be-violated of-Philip however all to-have-paid
supplicia: adiecit, invictum fore, donec excederet ad
the-penalties he-added unconquered going-to-be until he-should-depart to
deos. Sacrificio deinde facto dona et sacerdotibus et
the-gods with-a-sacrifice then made gifts both to-the-priests and
deo data sunt, permissumque amicis, ut ipsi
to-the-god given were and-permitted-it-was to-the-friends that they-themselves
quoque consulerent Iovem. Nihil amplius quaesierunt quam,
also should-consult Jupiter nothing more they-asked than
an auctor esset sibi divinis honoribus colendi
whether the-author he-would-be to-them with-divine honors of-worshiping
suum regem. Hoc quoque acceptum fore Iovi vates
their king this also acceptable going-to-be to-Jupiter the-seers
respondent. Vera et salubri aestimatione fidem oraculi
answer by-a-true and sound estimate the-credibility of-the-oracle
vana profecto responsa eludere potuissent, sed fortuna,
empty surely the-responses to-mock could-have but fortune
quos uni sibi credere coegit, magna ex parte avidos
those-whom alone in-herself to-trust she-has-compelled great in part greedy
gloriae magis quam capaces facit. Iovis igitur filium se
for-glory rather than capable makes of-Jupiter therefore the-son himself
non solum appellari passus est, sed etiam iussit rerumque
not only to-be-called allowed has but also ordered and-of-things
gestarum famam, dum augere vult tali appellatione,
done the-fame while to-increase he-wishes with-such a-title
corrupit. Et Macedones, adsueti quidem regio imperio, sed in
spoiled and the-Macedonians accustomed indeed to-royal rule but in
maiore libertatis umbra quam ceteri degentes, inmortalitatem
a-greater of-freedom shadow than the-rest living immortality

adfectantem contumacius, quam aut ipsis expediebat aut
one-aiming-at more-stubbornly than either to-themselves was-expedient or
regi, aversati sunt. Sed haec suo quaeque
to-the-king turned-away-from have but these-things to-their-own each
tempori reserventur: nunc cetera exequi pergam.
time let-them-be-reserved now the-rest to-pursue I-shall-proceed

VIII · ALEXANDRIA

Back from Ammon, Alexander founds Alexandria between the Mareotic marsh and the sea; birds eat the barley marking its walls, and the seers read it as a sign of plenty. He longs to see Ethiopia, but the war calls him, so he settles Egypt's government. Hector, Parmenio's son, dies exhausted on the Nile bank after his boat sinks, and Alexander mourns him. He punishes Andromachus' killers, hears envoys, rewards Mytilene and Cyprus, sends Amphoterus to Crete, and marches for the Euphrates.

Alexander ab Hammone rediens ad Mareotin paludem haud
Alexander from Ammon returning to the-Mareotic marsh not
procul insula Pharo sitam venit. Contemplatus loci
far from-the-island Pharos situated came having-contemplated of-the-place
naturam primum in ipsa insula statuerat urbem novam
the-nature first on the-very island he-had-decided a-city new
condere: inde ut adparuit magnae sedis insulam haud
to-found then when it-appeared of-a-great settlement the-island not
capacem esse, elegit urbi locum, ubi nunc est Alexandrea,
capable to-be he-chose for-the-city a-place where now is Alexandria
appellationem trahens ex nomine auctoris. Conplexus,
its-name drawing from the-name of-its-founder embracing
quidquid soli est inter paludem ac mare, octoginta
whatever of-ground is between the-marsh and the-sea of-eighty
stadiorum muris ambitum destinat et, qui exaedificandae
stades for-the-walls a-circuit he-marks-out and those-who to-be-built

urbi praeessent, relictis Memphin petit. Cupido haud
over-the-city should-preside with-left Memphis seeks a-desire not
iniusta quidem, ceterum intempestiva incesserat non
unjust indeed but untimely had-come-upon-him not
interiora modo Aegypti, sed etiam Aethiopiam invisere:
the-interior only of-Egypt but also Ethiopia to-visit
Memnonis Tithonique celebrata regia cognoscendae vetustatis
of-Memnon and-Tithonus the-celebrated palace for-learning of-antiquity
avidum trahebat paene extra terminos solis. Sed imminens
one-eager was-drawing almost beyond the-bounds of-the-sun but the-impending
bellum, cuius multo maior supererat moles, otiosae
war of-which much greater was-left the-mass for-a-leisurely
peregrinationi tempora exemerat. Itaque Aegypto praefecit
journey the-time had-taken-away and-so over-Egypt he-set
Aeschylum Rhodium et Peucesten Macedonem quattuor
Aeschylus the-Rhodian and Peucestes the-Macedonian with-four
milibus militum in praesidium regionis eius datis, claustra
thousand of-soldiers for the-defense of-region that given the-barriers
Nili fluminis Polemonem tueri iubet: XXX ad hoc
of-the-Nile river Polemon to-guard he-orders thirty for this
triremes datae. Africae deinde, quae Aegypto iuncta est,
triremes were-given over-Africa then which to-Egypt joined is
praepositus Apollonius, vectigalibus eiusdem Africae Aegyptique
was-set Apollonius over-the-revenues of-the-same Africa and-Egypt
Cleomenes. Ex finitimis urbibus commigrare Alexandream
Cleomenes from the-neighboring cities to-migrate to-Alexandria
iussis novam urbem magna multitudine inplevit. Fama
with-ordered the-new city with-a-great multitude he-filled the-story
est, cum rex orbem futuri muri polenta, ut
is when the-king the-circle of-the-future wall with-barley-meal as
Macedonum mos est, destinasse, avium greges advolasse
of-the-Macedonians the-custom is had-marked-out of-birds flocks to-have-flown-up

et polenta esse pastas: cumque id omen pro tristi
and on-the-barley-meal to-have fed and-when that omen as sad
a plerisque esset acceptum, respondisse vates, magnam
by most had been-taken to-have-replied the-seers great
illam urbem advenarum frequentiam culturam, multisque
that city of-newcomers a-throng going-to-cultivate and-to-many
eam terris alimenta praebituram. Regem, cum secundo
it lands nourishment going-to-provide the-king as down-the-current
amni deflueret, adsequi cupiens Hector, Parmenionis filius,
river he-was-floating to-overtake desiring Hector of-Parmenio the-son
eximio aetatis flore, in paucis Alexandro carus, parvum
in-the-exceptional of-age flower among the-few to-Alexander dear a-small
navigium conscendit pluribus, quam capere posset, inpositis.
boat boarded with-more than to-hold it-could put-aboard
Itaque mersa navis omnes destituit. Hector diu flumini
and-so sunk the-ship all abandoned Hector long with-the-river
obluctatus, cum madens vestis et adstricti crepidis pedes
having-struggled when his-soaked clothing and bound by-sandals feet
natare prohiberent in ripam tamen semianimis evasit et, ut
to-swim prevented onto the-bank yet half-dead got-out and as
primum fatigatus spiritum laxavit, quem metus et periculum
soon-as wearied his-breath he-relaxed which fear and danger
intenderat, nullo adiuvante — quippe in diversum
had-strained with-no-one helping for in different-directions
evaserant alii — exanimatus est. Amissi eius desiderio
had-escaped the-others expired he-was for-the-lost-man his with-longing
vehementer adflictus est repertumque corpus magnifico
vehemently afflicted was and-the-found body with-a-magnificent
extulit funere. Oneravit hunc dolorem nuntius mortis
he-carried-out funeral loaded this grief the-news of-the-death
Andromachi, quem praefecerat Syriae: vivum Samaritae
of-Andromachus whom he-had-set-over Syria alive the-Samaritans

cremaverant. Ad cuius interitum vindicandum, quanta maxima
had-burned for whose death avenging with-what greatest
celeritate potuit, contendit, advenientique sunt traditi tanti
speed he-could he-hastens and-to-him-arriving were handed-over of-so-great
sceleris auctores. Andromacho deinde Menona substituit
a-crime the-authors for-Andromachus then Menon he-substituted
adfectisque supplicio, qui praetorem interemerant, tyrannos,
and-with-visited by-punishment those-who the-governor had-killed the-tyrants
inter quos Methymnaeorum Aristonicum et Stesilaum,
among whom of-the-Methymnaeans Aristonicus and Stesilaus
popularibus suis tradidit: quos illi ob iniurias
to-the-countrymen their he-handed-over whom they on-account-of their-wrongs
tortos necaverunt. Atheniensium deinde, Rhodiorum et
tortured killed of-the-Athenians then of-the-Rhodians and
Chiorum legatos audit: Athenienses victoriam gratulabantur
of-the-Chians the-envoys he-hears the-Athenians on-the-victory congratulated
et, ut captivi Graecorum suis restituerentur, orabant,
and that the-captives of-the-Greeks to-their-own should-be-restored begged
Rhodii et Chii de praesidio querebantur. Omnes aequa
the-Rhodians and the-Chians about the-garrison complained all fair-things
desiderare visi inpetraverunt. Mytilenaeis quoque ob
to-desire seeming obtained to-the-Mytilenaeans also on-account-of
egregiam in partes fidem et pecuniam, quam in bellum
their-exceptional to-his side loyalty and the-money which on the-war
inpenderant, reddidit et magnam regionem finitimam adiecit.
they-had-spent he-returned and a-great region neighboring added
Cypriorum quoque regibus, qui et a Dareo defecerant ad
of-the-Cyprians also to-the-kings who both from Darius had-defected to
ipsum et oppugnanti Tyrum miserant classem, pro merito
himself and to-him-besieging Tyre had-sent a-fleet according-to merit
honos habitus est. Amphoterus deinde, classis praefectus,
honor paid was Amphoterus then of-the-fleet commander

ad liberandam Cretam missus — namque et Persarum et
for freeing Crete was-sent for both of-the-Persians and
Spartanorum armis pleraque eius insulae obsidebantur —
of-the-Spartans by-the-arms most-parts of-that island were-occupied
ante omnia mare a piraticis classibus vindicare iussus:
before everything the-sea from the-pirate fleets to-free ordered
quippe obnoxium praedonibus erat bello utrumque in
for exposed to-pirates it-was with-the-war each-side against
regem converso. His conpositis Herculi Tyrio ex auro
the-king turned with-these settled to-Hercules the-Tyrian of gold
crateram cum XXX pateris dicavit inminensque Dareo
a-mixing-bowl with thirty bowls he-dedicated and-threatening to-Darius
ad Euphraten iter pronuntiari iussit.
toward the-Euphrates the-march to-be-proclaimed he-ordered

IX · THE CROSSING OF THE TIGRIS

Darius gathers a still greater army at Babylon and equips two hundred scythed chariots. He crosses the Tigris, leaves his baggage at Arbela, and camps by the Bumelus, while Mazaeus burns the country before the enemy. Alexander crosses the Euphrates unopposed and fords the swift Tigris, losing baggage to the current; Curtius notes that an enemy there could have destroyed them. Ariston kills the Persian horse commander Satropates and lays his head at the king's feet.

At Dareus, cum Aegypto devertisse in Africam hostem
but Darius when from-Egypt to-have-turned-aside into Africa the-enemy
conperisset, dubitaverat, utrumne circa Mesopotamiam
had-learned had-hesitated whether around Mesopotamia
subsisteret an interiora regni sui peteret, haud dubie
he-should-halt or the-interior of-kingdom his should-seek not doubtfully
potentior auctor praesens futurus ultimis gentibus
a-more-powerful instigator present going-to-be for-the-farthest nations

inpigre bellum capessendi, quas aegre per praefectos
energetically war to-take-up which with-difficulty through governors
suos moliebatur. Sed ut idoneis auctoribus fama vulgavit
his he-was-stirring but when by-suitable sources rumor spread
Alexandrum cum omnibus copiis, quamcumque ipse
Alexander with all his-forces whatever himself
adisset regionem, petiturum, haud ignarus, quam cum
should-approach region going-to-seek not ignorant how with
strenuo res esset, omnia longinquarum gentium
an-energetic-man the-business was all of-distant nations
auxilia Babyloniam contrahi iussit. Bactriani Scythaeque
the-auxiliaries to-Babylonia to-be-gathered he-ordered the-Bactrians and-Scythians
et Indi convenerant iam, et ceterarum gentium copiae
and the-Indians had-assembled now and of-the-other nations the-forces
partibus simul adfuerunt. Ceterum cum dimidio ferme maior
in-parts at-once were-present but since by-half almost greater
esset exercitus, quam in Cilicia fuerat, multis arma deerant.
was the-army than in Cilicia it-had-been to-many arms were-lacking
Quae summa cura conparabantur: equitibus equisque
which with-the-utmost care were-procured for-horsemen and-horses
tegumenta erant ex ferreis lamminis serie inter se
coverings were of iron plates in-a-series among themselves
conexis, quis antea praeter iacula nihil dederat, scuta
joined to-whom before besides javelins nothing he-had-given shields
gladiique adiciebantur, equorumque greges peditibus distributi
and-swords were-added and-of-horses herds to-the-infantry distributed
sunt, ut maior pristino esset equitatus. Ingensque,
were that greater than-the-former might-be the-cavalry and-huge
ut credebat, hostium terror ducentae falcatae quadrigae,
as he-believed of-the-enemy the-terror two-hundred scythed four-horse-chariots
unicum illarum gentium auxilium, secutae sunt: ex summo
the-sole of-those nations help followed have from the-top

temone hastae praefixae ferro eminebant, utrimque a iugo
of-the-pole spears fixed-in-front with-iron projected on-both-sides from the-yoke
ternos direxerat gladios, inter radios rotarum plura spicula
three-each he-had-directed swords between the-spokes of-the-wheels more points
eminebant in adversum, aliae deinde falces summissae e
projected toward the-front other then scythes let-down from
rotarum orbibus haerebant et aliae in terram demissae,
the-wheels' rims hung and others onto the-ground let-down
quidquid obvium concitatis equis fuisset, amputaturae. Hoc
whatever in-the-way with-driven-on horses had-been going-to-cut-off in-this
modo instructo exercitu ac perarmato Babylone copias movit.
manner with-equipped the-army and fully-armed from-Babylon his-forces he-moved
A parte dextra erat Tigris, nobilis fluvius, laevam tegebat
on the-side right was the-Tigris a-famous river the-left covered
Euphrates, agmen Mesopotamiae campos inpleverat. Tigri
the-Euphrates the-column of-Mesopotamia the-plains had-filled with-the-Tigris
deinde superato cum audisset haud procul abesse hostem,
then crossed when he-had-heard not far to-be-distant the-enemy
Satropaten, equitum praefectum, cum mille delectis
Satropates of-the-horsemen the-commander with a-thousand picked-men
praemisit. Mazaeo praetori sex milia data, quibus hostem
he-sent-ahead to-Mazaeus the-governor six thousand were-given with-which the-enemy
transitu amnis arceret: eidem mandatum, ut
from-the-crossing of-the-river he-might-keep-off to-the-same-man it-was-instructed that
regionem, quam Alexander esset aditurus, popularetur
the-region which Alexander was going-to-approach he-should-ravage
atque ureret. Quippe credebat inopia debellari posse nihil
and burn for he-believed by-want to-be-defeated to-be-able one-having
habentem, nisi quod rapiendo occupasset: ipsi autem
nothing except what by-plundering he-had-seized for-themselves however
commeatus alii terra, alii Tigri amne subvehebantur. Iam
the-supplies some by-land others by-the-Tigris river were-brought-up now

pervenerat Arbela, vicum ignobilem, nobilem sua clade
he-had-come to-Arbela a-village obscure famous by-his-own disaster
facturus. Hic commeatuum sarcinarumque maiore parte
going-to-make here of-the-supplies and-baggage with-the-greater part
deposita Lycum amnem ponte iunxit et per dies quinque
deposited the-Lycus river with-a-bridge he-joined and over days five
sicut ante Euphraten traiecit exercitum. Inde octoginta fere
as before the-Euphrates he-took-across the-army thence eighty about
stadia progressus ad alterum amnem — Boumelo nomen
stades having-advanced to another river Bumelus its-name
est — castra posuit. Opportuna explicandis copiis regio
is a-camp he-pitched suitable for-deploying forces the-region
erat, equitabilis et vasta planities: ne stirpes quidem et
was fit-for-riding and a-vast plain not stumps even and
brevia virgulta operiunt solum, liberque prospectus oculorum
short shrubs cover the-soil and-a-free view of-the-eyes
etiam ad ea, quae procul recessere, permittitur: atque,
even to those-things which far-off have-receded is-allowed and
si qua campi eminebant, iussit aequari totumque
if any-parts of-the-plain stood-out he-ordered to-be-leveled and-the-whole
fastigium extendi. Alexandro, qui numerum copiarum
surface to-be-extended to-Alexander those-who the-number of-the-forces
eius, quantum procul coniectari poterat, aestimabant, vix
his as-far-as from-afar to-be-guessed could were-estimating scarcely
fecerunt fidem tot milibus caesis maiores copias esse
made credible with-so-many thousands slain greater forces to-have-been
reparatas. Ceterum omnis periculi et maxime multitudinis
restored but of-every danger and especially of-numbers
contemptor undecimis castris ad Euphraten pervenit. Quo
a-despiser at-the-eleventh camp to the-Euphrates he-came with-which
pontibus iuncto equites primos ire, phalangem sequi iubet
by-bridges joined the-horsemen first to-go the-phalanx to-follow orders

Mazaeo, qui ad inhibendum transitum eius cum sex milibus
with-Mazaeus who for checking the-crossing his with six thousand
equitum occurrerat, non auso periculum sui facere.
horsemen had-come-to-meet not having-dared a-trial of-himself to-make
Paucis deinde non ad quietem, sed ad praeparandos animos
with-a-few then not for rest but for preparing their-spirits
diebus datis militi strenue hostem insequi coepit metuens,
days given to-the-soldier briskly the-enemy to-pursue he-began fearing
ne interiora regni sui peteret sequendusque esset per
lest the-interior of-kingdom his he-should-seek and-to-be-followed he-should-be through
loca omni solitudine atque inopia vasta. Igitur quarto
places with-every desolation and want vast therefore on-the-fourth
decimo die praeter Armeniam penetrat ad Tigrin. Tota
tenth day past Armenia he-penetrates to the-Tigris the-whole
regio ultra amnem recenti fumabat incendio: quippe Mazaeus,
region beyond the-river with-recent was-smoking fire for Mazaeus
quaecumque adierat, haud secus quam hostis urebat.
whatever-places he-had-approached not otherwise than an-enemy was-burning
Ac primo caligine, quam fumus effuderat, obscurante lucem
and at-first with-the-murk which the-smoke had-poured-out darkening the-light
insidiarum metu substitit, deinde ut speculatores praemissi
of-ambush from-fear he-halted then when the-scouts sent-ahead
tuta omnia nuntiaverunt, paucos equitum ad temptandum
safe all-things announced a-few of-the-horsemen for trying
vadum fluminis praemisit. Cuius altitudo primo summa
the-ford of-the-river he-sent-ahead whose depth at-first the-top
equorum pectora, mox, ut in medium alveum ventum
the-horses' chests soon when into the-middle-of the-channel come
est, cervices quoque aequabat. Nec sane alius amnis ad
it-was the-necks also was-equaling nor indeed another river toward
Orientis plagam tam violentus invehitur multorum torrentium
of-the-East the-quarter so violent is-borne of-many torrents

non aquas solum, sed etiam saxa secum trahens. Itaque a
not the-waters only but also stones with-it dragging and-so from
celeritate, qua defluit, Tigri nomen est inditum, quia
the-speed with-which it-flows-down to-the-Tigris the-name is given because
Persica lingua tigrin sagittam appellant. Igitur pedes velut
in-the-Persian tongue tigris an-arrow they-call therefore the-infantry as-if
divisus in cornua circumdato equitatu, levatis super capita
divided into wings with-surrounded cavalry with-raised above their-heads
armis haud aegre ad ipsum alveum penetrat. Primus inter
arms not with-difficulty to the-very channel penetrates first among
pedites rex egressus in ripam vadum militibus manu,
the-infantry the-king having-gone-out onto the-bank the-ford to-the-soldiers with-his-hand
quando vox exaudiri non poterat, ostendit. Sed gradum
since his-voice to-be-heard not could showed but their-step
firmare vix poterant, cum modo saxa lubrica vestigium
to-steady scarcely they-could since now stones slippery the-footstep
fallerent, modo rapidior unda subduceret. Praecipuus erat
deceived now the-swifter wave withdrew-it the-chief was
labor eorum, qui humeris onera portabant: quippe cum
toil of-those who on-their-shoulders loads were-carrying for since
semetipsos regere non possent, in rapidos gurgites incommodo
themselves to-steer not they-could into swift whirlpools by-their-awkward
onere auferebantur, et dum sua quisque spolia consequi
load they-were-swept-away and while his-own each spoils to-overtake
studet, maior inter ipsos quam cum amni orta luctatio est,
strives a-greater among themselves than with the-river arisen a-struggle was
cumulique sarcinarum passim fluitantes plerosque perculerant.
and-heaps of-baggage everywhere floating most had-knocked-down
Rex monere, ut satis haberent arma retinere: cetera
the-king warned that enough they-should-consider their-arms to-keep the-rest
se redditurum. Sed neque consilium neque imperium
himself going-to-restore but neither advice nor command

accipi poterat: obstrepebat hinc metus, praeter hunc
to-be-taken could was-drowning-it-out on-this-side fear besides this
invicem luctantium mutuus clamor. Tandem, qua leniore
in-turn of-men-struggling the-mutual shouting at-last where with-a-gentler
tractu amnis aperit vadum, emersere, nec quicquam praeter
stretch the-river opens a-ford they-emerged nor anything except
paucas sarcinas desideratum est. Deleri potuit exercitus,
a-few baggage-packs missed was to-be-destroyed could the-army
si quis vincere ausus esset, sed perpetua fortuna regis
if anyone to-conquer dared had but the-perpetual fortune of-the-king
avertit inde hostem. Sic Granicum tot milibus
turned-away from-there the-enemy thus the-Granicus with-so-many thousands
equitum peditumque in ulteriore stantibus ripa superavit, sic
of-horsemen and-infantry on the-farther standing bank he-overcame thus
angustis in Ciliciae callibus tantam multitudinem hostium:
narrow in of-Cilicia paths so-great a-multitude of-the-enemy
audaciae quoque, qua maxime viguit, ratio minui
of-the-boldness also in-which most he-flourished the-reckoning to-be-lessened
potest, quia numquam in discrimen venit, an temere
can because never into the-test it-came whether rashly
fecisset. Mazaeus, qui, si transeuntibus flumen supervenisset,
he-had-acted Mazaeus who if on-them-crossing the-river he-had-come-upon
haud dubie oppressurus fuit inconpositos, in ripa demum
not doubtfully going-to-overwhelm was the-disordered on the-bank only
ad iam perarmatos adequitare coepit. Mille admodum
to now the-fully-armed to-ride-up began a-thousand only
equites praemiserat: quorum paucitate Alexander explorata,
horsemen he-had-sent-ahead with-whose fewness Alexander ascertained
deinde contempta praefectum Paeonum equitum Aristona
then despised the-commander of-the-Paeonian horsemen Ariston
laxatis habenis invehi iussit. Insignis eo die pugna
with-loosened reins to-charge ordered notable on-that day the-fight

equitum et praecipue Aristonis fuit: praefectum equitatus
of-the-horsemen and especially of-Ariston was the-commander of-the-cavalry
Persarum Satropaten directa in guttur hasta transfixit
of-the-Persians Satropates with-directed into the-throat spear pierced
fugientemque per medios hostes consecutus ex equo
and-fleeing through the-midst-of the-enemy having-overtaken from his-horse
praecipitavit et obluctanti gladio caput dempsit. Quod
threw-down and from-him-struggling with-the-sword the-head took-off which
relatum magna cum laude ante regis pedes posuit.
brought-back great with praise before of-the-king the-feet he-placed

X · THE ECLIPSE AND THE DEATH OF DARIUS' WIFE

An eclipse of the moon terrifies the army, until the Egyptian seers declare that it portends ruin for the Persians. Alexander routs a thousand Persian horse and saves the grain they fired. On Parmenio's advice he suppresses a letter of Darius urging the Greeks to kill him. Darius' wife dies, worn out by the march, and Alexander weeps and buries her royally. The eunuch Tyriotes tells Darius she was kept chaste, and Darius prays that only so just an enemy rule Asia after him.

Biduo ibi stativa rex habuit: in proximum deinde
for-two-days there a-standing-camp the-king had into the-next then
pronuntiari iter iussit. Sed prima fere vigilia luna
to-be-proclaimed the-march ordered but at-the-first about watch the-moon
deficiens primum nitorem sideris sui condidit, deinde
failing first the-brightness of-star its-own hid then
sanguinis colore suffuso lumen omne foedavit, sollicitisque
of-blood with-the-color suffused the-light all fouled and-on-the-anxious
sub ipsum tanti discriminis casum ingens religio
just-before the-very of-so-great a-crisis event a-huge religious-dread
et ex ea formido quaedam incussa est. Dis invitis in
and from it a-fear certain struck-in was with-the-gods unwilling into

ultimas terras trahi se querebantur: iam nec flumina
the-farthest lands to-be-dragged themselves they-complained now neither rivers
posse adiri nec sidera pristinum servare fulgorem,
to-be-able to-be-approached nor the-stars their-former to-keep brightness
vastas terras, deserta omnia occurrere: in unius hominis
vast lands deserted all-things to-meet-them for one man's
iactationem tot milium sanguinem inpendi, fastidio
the-vainglory of-so-many thousands the-blood to-be-spent in-disdain
esse patriam, abdicari Philippum patrem, caelum vanis
to-be the-homeland to-be-disowned Philip as-father heaven with-vain
cogitationibus petere regem. Pro seditione res erat, cum
thoughts to-seek the-king for mutiny the-thing was when
ad omnia interritus duces principesque militum frequentes
to everything undaunted the-generals and-chief-men of-the-soldiers in-numbers
adesse praetorio iubet Aegyptiosque vates, quos caeli ac
to-attend at-headquarters he-orders and-the-Egyptian seers whom of-the-sky and
siderum peritissimos esse credebat, quid sentirent, expromere.
of-the-stars most-skilled to-be he-believed what they-thought to-set-forth
At illi, qui satis scirent temporum orbes inplere destinatas
but they who well knew of-the-times the-cycles to-fulfill appointed
vices lunamque deficere, cum aut terram subiret aut
changes and-the-moon to-fail when either the-earth it-went-under or
sole premeretur, rationem quidem ipsis perceptam non
by-the-sun was-pressed the-reasoning indeed by-themselves grasped not
edocent vulgus: ceterum adfirmant solem Graecorum,
do-teach the-common-people but they-affirm the-sun of-the-Greeks
lunam esse Persarum, quotiensque illa deficiat, ruinam
the-moon to-be of-the-Persians and-whenever it fails ruin
stragemque illis gentibus portendi, veteraque exempla
and-slaughter for-those nations to-be-portended and-old examples
percensent Persidis regum, quos adversis dis pugnasse lunae
they-review of-Persis kings whom with-hostile gods to-have-fought of-the-moon

ostendisset defectio. Nulla res multitudinem efficacius regit
had-shown the-eclipse no thing the-multitude more-effectively rules
quam superstitio: alioqui inpotens, saeva, mutabilis, ubi
than superstition otherwise uncontrollable savage changeable when
vana religione capta est, melius vatibus quam ducibus
by-empty religion seized it-has-been better the-seers than leaders
suis paret. Igitur edita in vulgus Aegyptiorum
its-own it-obeys therefore published among the-common-people the-Egyptians'
responsa rursus ad spem et fiduciam erexere torpentes.
answers again to hope and confidence raised the-torpid
Rex impetu animorum utendum ratus secunda vigilia
the-king the-impulse of-their-minds to-be-used thinking at-the-second watch
castra movit: dextra Tigrim habebat, a laeva montes,
the-camp moved on-the-right the-Tigris he-had on the-left the-mountains
quos Gordyaeos vocant. Hoc ingressis iter speculatores,
which Gordyaean they-call this to-them-entering route the-scouts
qui praemissi erant, sub lucis ortum Dareum adventare
who sent-ahead had-been toward of-light the-rising Darius to-be-approaching
nuntiaverunt. Instructo igitur milite et conposito agmine
announced with-drawn-up therefore the-soldier and with-arranged the-column
antecedebat. Sed Persarum moratores erant, mille ferme,
he-went-ahead but of-the-Persians delayers they-were a-thousand about
qui speciem magni agminis fecerant: quippe ubi explorari
who the-appearance of-a-great column had-made for where to-be-explored
vera non possunt, falsa per metum augentur. His
the-truth not can false-things through fear are-magnified with-these
cognitis rex cum paucis suorum adsecutus agmen
learned the-king with a-few of-his-men having-overtaken the-column
refugientium ad suos alios cecidit, cepit alios: equitesque
of-those-fleeing-back to their-own some he-slew captured others and-the-horsemen
praemisit speculatum, simul ut ignem, quo barbari
he-sent-ahead to-reconnoiter at-the-same-time that the-fire with-which the-barbarians

cremaverant vicos, extinguerent. Quippe fugientes raptim
had-burned the-villages they-might-put-out for the-fleeing hastily
tectis acervisque frumenti iniecerant flammas, quae cum
on-the-roofs and-heaps of-grain had-thrown flames which since
in summo haesissent, ad inferiora nondum penetraverant.
on the-top they-had-clung to the-lower-parts not-yet had-penetrated
Extincto igitur igne plurimum frumenti repertum est:
with-put-out therefore the-fire very-much grain found was
copia aliarum quoque rerum abundare coeperunt. Ea res
with-abundance of-other also things to-abound they-began that thing
ipsa militi ad persequendum hostem animum incendit:
itself in-the-soldier for pursuing the-enemy the-spirit fired
quippe urente et populante eo terram festinandum erat,
for with-burning and ravaging him the-land to-be-hurried it-was
ne incendio cuncta praeciperet. In rationem ergo necessitas
lest by-fire everything he-should-forestall into reason therefore necessity
versa est: quippe Mazaeus, qui antea per otium vicos
turned was for Mazaeus who before at leisure the-villages
incenderat, iam fugere contentus pleraque inviolata hosti
had-burned now to-flee content most-things unviolated to-the-enemy
reliquit. Alexander haud longius CL stadiis Dareum
left Alexander not farther-than a-hundred-and-fifty stades Darius
a se abesse conpererat: itaque ad satietatem quoque
from himself to-be-distant had-learned and-so to satiety also
copia commeatuum instructus quadriduo in eodem
with-an-abundance of-supplies furnished for-four-days in the-same
loco substitit. Interceptae deinde Darei litterae sunt, quibus
place he-halted intercepted then of-Darius a-letter was by-which
Graeci milites sollicitabantur, ut regem aut interficerent aut
the-Greek soldiers were-being-tempted that the-king either they-should-kill or
proderent, dubitavitque, an eas pro contione recitaret,
betray and-he-hesitated whether it before the-assembly he-should-read-out

satis confisus Graecorum quoque erga se benivolentiae
sufficiently trusting of-the-Greeks also toward himself the-goodwill
ac fidei. Sed Parmenio deterruit non esse talibus promissis
and loyalty but Parmenio deterred-him not to-be with-such promises
inbuendas aures militum adfirmans: patere vel unius
to-be-imbued the-ears of-the-soldiers affirming to-lie-open even of-one-man
insidiis regem, nihil nefas esse avaritiae. Secutus consilii
to-the-plots the-king nothing wicked to-be for-greed having-followed of-the-counsel
auctorem castra movit. Iter facienti spado e
the-author the-camp he-moved the-march to-him-making a-eunuch from-among
captivis, qui Darei uxorem comitabantur, deficere eam
the-captives who of-Darius the-wife were-accompanying to-be-failing her
nuntiat et vix spiritum ducere. Itineris continui labore
announces and scarcely breath to-draw of-the-march continuous by-the-toil
animique aegritudine fatigata inter socrus et virginum
and-of-mind by-the-distress worn-out between of-her-mother-in-law and of-the-maiden
filiarum manus conlapsa erat, deinde et extincta. Id
daughters the-hands collapsed she-had then also died that
ipsum nuntians alius supervenit. Et rex haud secus,
very-thing announcing another arrived and the-king not otherwise
quam si parentis mors nuntiata esset, crebros edidit
than if of-a-parent the-death announced had-been frequent uttered
gemitus lacrimisque obortis, qualis Dareus profudisset, in
groans and-with-tears welling-up such-as Darius would-have-poured-out into
tabernaculum, in quo mater erat Darei defuncto adsidens
the-tent in which the-mother was of-Darius the-dead sitting-beside
corpori, venit. Hic vero renovatus est maeror, ut prostratam
body came here indeed renewed was the-grief when prostrate
humi vidit. Recenti malo priorum quoque admonita
on-the-ground he-saw-her by-the-fresh evil of-the-former also reminded
receperat in gremium adultas virgines, magna quidem mutui
she-had-taken into her-lap the-grown maidens great indeed of-mutual

doloris solacia, sed quibus ipsa deberet esse solacio.
grief consolations but for-whom she-herself ought to-be a-consolation
In conspectu erat nepos parvulus, ob id ipsum
in sight was her-grandson little on-account-of that very-reason
miserabilis, quod nondum sentiebat calamitatem ex maxima
pitiable because not-yet he-was-feeling the-calamity in the-greatest
parte ad ipsum redundantem. Crederes Alexandrum
part onto himself overflowing you-would-believe Alexander
inter suas necessitudines flere et solacia non adhibere,
among his-own kin to-weep and consolations not to-apply
sed quaerere. Cibo certe abstinuit omnemque honorem
but to-seek from-food certainly he-abstained and-all honor
funeri patrio Persarum more servavit, dignus hercule,
to-the-funeral in-the-ancestral of-the-Persians manner he-kept worthy by-Hercules
qui nunc quoque tantae et mansuetudinis et continentiae
who now also of-so-great both gentleness and restraint
ferat fructum. Semel omnino eam viderat, quo die
should-reap the-fruit once only her he-had-seen on-which day
capta est, nec ut ipsam, sed ut Darei matrem videret,
taken she-was nor that herself but that of-Darius the-mother he-might-see
eximiamque pulchritudinem formae eius non libidinis
and-the-exceptional beauty of-the-form her not of-lust
habuerat invitamentum, sed gloriae. E spadonibus, qui circa
he-had-held an-invitation but of-glory of the-eunuchs who around
reginam erant, Tyriotes inter trepidationem lugentium elapsus
the-queen were Tyriotes amid the-panic of-the-mourners slipping-out
per eam portam, quae, quia ab hoste aversa erat,
through that gate which because from the-enemy turned-away it-was
levius custodiebatur, ad Darei castra pervenit exceptusque
more-lightly was-guarded to of-Darius the-camp came and-received
a vigilibus in tabernaculum regis perducitur gemens et
by the-watchmen into the-tent of-the-king is-brought groaning and

veste lacerata. Quem ut conspexit Dareus, multiplici
with-his-clothing torn whom when saw Darius by-a-manifold
doloris expectatione commotus et, quid potissimum timeret,
of-grief expectation moved and what most he-should-fear
incertus: 'Vultus,' inquit, 'tuus nescio quod ingens malum
uncertain your-face he-says your I-know-not what huge evil
praefert, sed cave miseri hominis auribus parcas: didici
shows but beware of-a-wretched man the-ears you-spare I-have-learned
esse infelix, et saepe calamitatis solacium est nosse sortem
to-be unfortunate and often of-calamity a-consolation it-is to-know lot
suam. Num, quod maxime suspicor, eloqui timeo, ludibria
one's-own surely-not what most I-suspect to-speak-out I-fear the-outrages-to
meorum nuntiaturus es mihi et, ut credo, ipsis
my-family going-to-announce are-you to-me and as I-believe to-themselves
quoque omni tristiora supplicio?' Ad haec Tyriotes: 'Istud
also than-any more-grievous punishment to this Tyriotes that
quidem procul abest,' inquit: 'quantuscumque enim reginis
indeed far is-away he-says however-great for to-queens
honos ab his, qui parent, haberi potest, tuis a victore
honor by these who obey to-be-paid can for-your-family by the-victor
servatus est. Sed uxor tua paulo ante excessit e vita.' Tunc
kept it-is but wife your a-little before departed from life then
vero non gemitus modo, sed etiam eiulatus totis castris
indeed not groans only but also wailing over-the-whole camp
exaudiebatur. Nec dubitavit Dareus, quin interfecta esset,
was-heard nor did-doubt Darius that killed she-had-been
quia nequisset contumeliam perpeti, exclamatque amens
because she-had-been-unable the-outrage to-endure and-exclaims maddened
dolore: 'Quod ego tantum nefas commisi, Alexander? quem
by-grief what I so-great a-crime have-committed Alexander whom
tuorum propinquorum necavi, ut hanc vicem redderes
of-your kinsmen have-I-killed that this exchange you-should-repay

saevitiae meae? Odisti me non quidem provocatus: sed
for-the-cruelty my you-hate me not indeed provoked but
finge iustum intulisse te bellum, cum feminis ergo
suppose just to-have-brought you the-war with women then
agere debueras?' Tyriotes adfirmare per deos patrios nihil
to-deal you-ought-to-have Tyriotes affirmed by the-gods ancestral nothing
in eam gravius esse consultum: ingemuisse etiam
against her more-harshly to-have-been resolved to-have-groaned even
Alexandrum morti et non parcius flevisse, quam
Alexander at-her-death and not more-sparingly to-have-wept than
ipse lacrimaret. Ob haec ipsa amantis animus
he-himself was-weeping on-account-of these-things very of-the-lover the-mind
in sollicitudinem suspicionemque revolutus est, desiderium
into anxiety and-suspicion rolled-back was the-longing
captivae profecto a consuetudine stupri ortum esse
for-the-captive surely from intimacy of-debauchery sprung to-be
coniectans. Summotis igitur arbitris, uno dumtaxat Tyriote
guessing with-removed therefore the-witnesses with-one only Tyriotes
retento iam non flens, sed suspirans: 'Videsne,' inquit, 'Tyriote,
kept now not weeping but sighing do-you-see he-says Tyriotes
locum mendacio non esse? tormenta iam hic erunt, sed ne
room for-a-lie not to-be the-tortures soon here will-be but not
expectaveris per deos, si quid tibi tui regis reverentiae est:
wait by the-gods if any in-you for-your king of-reverence there-is
num, quod et scire expeto et quaerere pudet, ausus est
whether what both to-know I-long and to-ask am-ashamed dared has
et dominus et iuvenis?' Ille quaestioni corpus offerre, deos
both master and young-man he for-the-question his-body offered the-gods
testes invocare, caste sancteque habitam esse reginam.
as-witnesses invoked chastely and-reverently kept to-have-been the-queen
Tandem ut fides facta est vera esse, quae adfirmaret spado,
at-last when credibility made was true to-be what he-affirmed the-eunuch

capite velato diu flevit manantibusque adhuc lacrimis,
with-his-head veiled long wept and-with-flowing still tears
veste ab ore reiecta ad caelum manus tendens: 'Di
with-the-garment from his-face thrown-back to heaven his-hands stretching gods
patrii,' inquit, 'primum mihi stabilite regnum, deinde, si de
ancestral he-says first for-me establish the-kingdom then if about
me iam transactum est, precor, ne quis potius Asiae rex
me now done it-is I-pray that-not anyone rather of-Asia king
sit quam iste tam iustus hostis, tam misericors victor.'
be than that-man so just an-enemy so merciful a-victor

XI · DARIUS' LAST OFFER

Darius' kinsmen bring new terms: the land between the Hellespont and the Euphrates as his daughter's dowry, and thirty thousand talents for his mother and two daughters. They warn that too large an empire cannot be held. Parmenio urges acceptance; Alexander says he would take the money if he were Parmenio. He tells the envoys that he wars on armed men, that Darius bribes his men to kill him, and that the dowry is already his. The envoys report that battle is near.

Itaque quamquam frustra pace bis petita omnia in bellum
and-so although in-vain with-peace twice sought all-his into war
consilia converterat, victus tamen continentia hostis ad
plans he-had-turned conquered yet by-the-restraint of-the-enemy for
novas pacis condiciones ferendas legatos, cognatorum principes,
new of-peace terms to-be-carried envoys of-his-kinsmen the-chief-men
misit: quos Alexander consilio advocato introduci iussit.
he-sent whom Alexander with-a-council summoned to-be-brought-in ordered
E quibus maximus natu: 'Dareum,' inquit, 'ut pacem a te
of whom the-eldest by-birth Darius he-says that peace from you
iam hoc tertio peteret, nulla vis subegit, sed iustitia
now this the-third-time he-should-seek no force has-compelled but justice

tua et continentia expressit. Matrem, coniugem, liberos
your and restraint has-wrung-out the-mother wife children
eius, nisi quod sine illo sunt, captos esse non sensimus:
his except that without him they-are captured to-be not we-have-felt
pudicitiae earum, quae supersunt, curam haud secus quam
of-the-chastity of-them who survive care not otherwise than
parens agens reginas appellas, speciem pristinae fortunae
a-parent taking queens you-call the-appearance of-former fortune
retinere pateris. Vultum tuum video, qualis Darei fuit,
to-keep you-allow the-face your I-see such-as of-Darius was
cum dimitteremur ab eo: et ille tamen uxorem, tu hostem
when we-were-dismissed by him and he yet a-wife you an-enemy
luges. Iam in acie stares, nisi cura te sepulturae
mourn now in the-battle-line you-would-stand unless the-care you of-the-burial
eius moraretur. Ecquid mirum est, si tam ab amico animo
her were-delaying is-it-any wonder is if so from friendly a-mind
pacem petit? Quid opus est armis, inter quos odia sublata
peace he-seeks what need is of-arms between whom hatreds removed
sunt? Antea imperio tuo finem destinabat Halym amnem,
are before to-empire your as-a-limit he-was-marking-out the-Halys river
qui Lydiam terminat: nunc, quidquid inter Hellespontum
which Lydia bounds now whatever between the-Hellespont
et Euphraten est, in dotem filiae offert, quam tibi
and the-Euphrates is as dowry for-his-daughter he-offers whom to-you
tradit. Ochum filium, quem habes, pacis et fidei
he-hands-over Ochus his-son whom you-hold of-peace and of-good-faith
obsidem retine, matrem et duas virgines filias redde: pro
as-a-hostage keep the-mother and the-two maiden daughters return for
tribus corporibus XXX milia talentum auri precatur accipias.
the-three persons thirty thousands of-talents of-gold he-prays you-accept
Nisi moderationem animi tui notam haberem, non dicerem
unless the-moderation of-mind your known I-had not I-would-say

hoc esse tempus, quo pacem non dare solum, sed etiam
this to-be the-time at-which peace not to-give only but also
occupare deberes. Respice, quantum post te reliqueris: intuere,
to-seize you-ought look-back how-much behind you you-have-left look-at
quantum petas. Periculosum est praegrave imperium: difficile
how-much you-seek dangerous is an-overheavy empire difficult
est enim continere, quod capere non possis. Videsne, ut
it-is for to-hold what to-grasp not you-can do-you-see how
navigia, quae modum excedunt, regi nequeant? Nescio,
ships which the-measure exceed to-be-steered cannot I-do-not-know
an Dareus ideo tam multa amiserit, quia nimiae
whether Darius for-this-reason so many-things lost because excessive
opes magnae iacturae locum faciunt. Facilius quidem vincere
riches for-great loss room make more-easily indeed to-conquer
quam tueri: quam, hercule, expeditius manus nostrae rapiunt
than to-keep how by-Hercules more-readily hands our snatch
quam continent! Ipsa mors uxoris Darei admonere te
than they-hold the-very death of-the-wife of-Darius to-remind you
potest, minus iam misericordiae tuae licere, quam licuit.'
can less now to-mercy your to-be-allowed than was-allowed
Alexander legatis excedere tabernaculo iussis, quid placeret,
Alexander with-the-envoys to-leave the-tent ordered what was-pleasing
ad consilium refert. Diu nemo, quid sentiret, ausus est dicere
to the-council refers long no-one what he-thought dared has to-say
incerta regis voluntate: tandem Parmenio antea suasisse
with-uncertain the-king's will at-last Parmenio before to-have-advised
ait, ut captivos apud Damascum redimentibus redderet:
says that the-captives at Damascus to-those-ransoming he-should-return
ingentem pecuniam potuisse redigi ex his, qui multi
a-huge sum to-have-been-able to-be-raised from these who many
vincti virorum fortium occuparent manus. Et nunc magnopere
bound of-brave men occupied the-hands and now greatly

censere, ut unam anum et duas puellas, itinerum
to-recommend that one old-woman and two girls of-marches
agminumque inpedimenta, XXX milibus talentum auri
and-of-columns the-hindrances for-thirty thousand talents of-gold
permutaret. Opimum regnum occupare posse condicione,
he-should-exchange a-rich kingdom to-seize to-be-able by-agreement
non bello, nec quemquam alium inter Histrum et Euphraten
not by-war nor anyone else between the-Ister and the-Euphrates
possedisse terras ingentiore spatio intervalloque discretas.
to-have-possessed lands by-a-huger an-extent and-interval separated
Macedoniam quoque potius respiceret, quam Bactra et
Macedonia also rather he-should-look-back-at than Bactra and
Indos intueretur. Ingrata oratio regi fuit: itaque ut
the-Indians gaze-at unwelcome the-speech to-the-king was and-so when
finem dicendi fecit: 'Et ego,' inquit, 'pecuniam quam gloriam
an-end of-speaking he-made and I he-says money than glory
mallem, si Parmenion essem: nunc Alexander de paupertate
would-prefer if Parmenio I-were now Alexander about poverty
securus sum et me non mercatorem memini esse, sed
untroubled I-am and myself not a-merchant I-remember to-be but
regem. Nihil quidem habeo venale, sed fortunam meam
a-king nothing indeed I-have for-sale but fortune my
utique non vendo. Captivos si placet reddi, honestius
at-any-rate not I-sell the-captives if it-is-pleasing to-be-returned more-honorably
dono dabimus, quam pretio remittemus.' Introductis deinde
as-a-gift we-shall-give than for-a-price we-shall-release with-brought-in then
legatis ad hunc modum respondit: 'Nuntiate Dareo me,
the-envoys in this manner he-replied announce to-Darius me
quae fecerim clementer et liberaliter, non amicitiae eius
what I-have-done mercifully and generously not to-friendship his
tribuisse, sed naturae meae. Bellum cum captivis et
to-have-granted but to-nature my war with captives and

feminis gerere non soleo: armatus sit oportet,
women to-wage not I-am-accustomed armed must-be it-is-necessary
quem oderim. Quodsi saltem pacem bona fide peteret,
whom I-hate but-if at-least peace in-good faith he-sought
deliberarem forsitan, an darem. Verum enimvero, cum
I-would-deliberate perhaps whether I-should-grant-it but in-truth since
modo milites meos litteris ad proditionem, modo amicos
now soldiers my by-letters to treachery now friends
ad perniciem meam pecunia sollicitet, ad internecionem
to destruction my with-money he-tempts to extermination
mihi persequendus est, non ut iustus hostis, sed ut
by-me to-be-pursued he-is not as a-just enemy but as
percussor veneficus. Condiciones vero pacis, quas adfertis,
an-assassin a-poisoner the-terms moreover of-peace which you-bring
si accepero, victorem eum faciunt. Quae post Euphraten
if I-accept victor him make what beyond the-Euphrates
sunt, liberaliter donat. Ubi igitur me adeatis, obliti
are generously he-gives where then me you-would-approach forgotten
estis: nempe ultra Euphraten sum. Liberalissimum ergo
you-have surely beyond the-Euphrates I-am most-generous therefore
dotis, quam promittit, terminum castra mea transeunt.
of-the-dowry which he-promises the-boundary camp my crosses
Hinc me depellite, ut sciam vestrum esse, quo ceditis.
from-here me drive that I-may-know yours to-be what you-yield
Eadem liberalitate dat mihi filiam suam: nempe quam
with-the-same generosity he-gives me daughter his surely whom
scio alicui servorum eius nupturam. Multum vero mihi
I-know to-one of-the-slaves his going-to-marry much indeed to-me
praestat, si me Mazaeo generum praeponit! Ite, nuntiate
he-affords if me to-Mazaeus as-son-in-law he-prefers go announce
regi vestro et, quae amisit, et, quae adhuc habet, praemia
to-king your both what he-has-lost and what still he-has the-prizes

esse belli: hoc regente utriusque terminos regni, id
to-be of-the-war with-this ruling of-each the-boundaries kingdom that
quemque habiturum, quod proximae lucis adsignatura fortuna
each going-to-have which of-the-next day going-to-assign fortune
est.' Legati respondent, cum bellum in animo sit, facere
is the-envoys reply since war in mind it-is to-act
eum simpliciter, quod spe pacis non frustraretur. Ipsos
he frankly in-that by-hope of-peace not he-was-deceiving themselves
petere, ut quam primum dimittantur ad regem: eum quoque
to-ask that as-soon as-possible they-be-dismissed to the-king him also
bellum parare debere. Dimissi nuntiant adesse certamen.
war to-prepare ought dismissed they-announce to-be-at-hand the-contest

XII · BEFORE GAUGAMELA

Darius sends Mazaeus ahead, and Alexander buries Darius' wife and marches. Darius sets Bactrians, Dahae, Arachosians, and Bessus with eight thousand horse on the left, and Armenians, Cappadocians, and Medes on the right: forty-five thousand horse and two hundred thousand foot. A causeless panic seizes the Macedonians, and Alexander calms them. Mazaeus leaves his hill, which they occupy. When the mist lifts, the Macedonians shout to charge, but Alexander fortifies a camp.

Ille quidem confestim Mazaeum cum tribus equitum milibus
he indeed at-once Mazaeus with three of-horsemen thousand
ad itinera, quae hostis petiturus erat, occupanda praemisit.
for the-routes which the-enemy going-to-seek was to-be-seized sent-ahead
Alexander corpori uxoris eius iustis persolutis omnique
Alexander to-the-body of-the-wife his with-due-rites paid and-with-all
graviore comitatu intra eadem munimenta cum modico
the-heavier retinue within the-same fortifications with a-modest
praesidio relicto ad hostem contendit. In duo cornua
garrison left toward the-enemy hastened into two wings

diviserat peditem utrique lateri equite circumdato:
he-had-divided the-infantry on-each flank with-the-cavalry placed-around
inpedimenta sequebantur agmen. Praemissum deinde cum suis
the-baggage followed the-column sent-ahead then with his
equitibus Menidan iubet explorare, ubi Dareus esset. At ille,
horsemen Menidas he-orders to-find-out where Darius was but he
cum Mazaeus haud procul consedisset, non ausus ultra
since Mazaeus not far had-encamped not having-dared further
procedere, nihil aliud quam fremitum hominum hinnitumque
to-advance nothing other than the-din of-men and-the-neighing
equorum exaudisse nuntiat. Mazaeus quoque conspectis
of-horses to-have-heard reports Mazaeus also with-seen
procul exploratoribus in castra se recepit, adventus
from-afar the-scouts into the-camp himself withdrew of-the-coming
hostium nuntius. Igitur Dareus, qui in patentibus campis
of-the-enemy a-messenger therefore Darius who in open plains
decernere optabat, armari militem iubet aciemque disponit.
to-decide wished to-be-armed the-soldier orders and-the-line arranges
In laevo cornu Bactriani ibant equites, mille admodum,
on the-left wing the-Bactrian were-going horsemen a-thousand fully
Dahae totidem, et Arachosii Susianique quattuor milia
the-Dahae as-many and the-Arachosians and-Susians four thousand
explebant. Hos centum falcati currus sequebantur. Proximus
were-making-up these a-hundred scythed chariots followed next
quadrigis erat Bessus cum VIII milibus, equitibus
to-the-four-horse-chariots was Bessus with eight thousand horsemen
item Bactrianis. Massagetae duobus milibus agmen eius
likewise Bactrian the-Massagetae with-two thousand the-column his
claudebant. Pedites his plurium gentium non inmixtos,
closed the-infantry to-these of-several nations not intermingled
sed suae cuiusque nationis iunxerat copias. Persas deinde
but of-its-own each nation he-had-joined the-forces the-Persians then

cum Mardis Sogdianisque Ariobarzanes et Orontobates
with the-Mardians and-Sogdians Ariobarzanes and Orontobates
ducebant. Illi partibus copiarum, summae Orsines praeerat,
were-leading they over-parts of-the-forces over-the-whole Orsines was-in-command
a septem Persis oriundus, ad Cyrum quoque, nobilissimum
from the-seven Persians sprung to Cyrus also the-most-noble
regem, originem sui referens. Hos aliae gentes ne sociis
king the-origin of-himself tracing these other nations not to-the-allies
quidem satis notae sequebantur. Post quas L quadrigas
even sufficiently known followed after which fifty four-horse-chariots
Phradates magno Caspiorum agmine antecedebat. Indi
Phradates with-a-great of-Caspians column was-preceding the-Indians
ceterique Rubri maris accolae, nomina verius quam
and-the-other of-the-Red Sea dwellers names more-truly than
auxilia, post currus erant. Claudebatur hoc agmen aliis
auxiliaries behind the-chariots were was-closed this column by-other
falcatis curribus, quis peregrinum militem adiunxerat. Hunc
scythed chariots to-which foreign soldiery he-had-joined this
Armenii, quos minores appellant, Armenios Babylonii,
the-Armenians whom the-Lesser they-call Armenians the-Babylonians
utrosque Belitae et, qui montes Cossaeorum incolebant,
both the-Belitae and those-who the-mountains of-the-Cossaei inhabited
sequebantur. Post hos ibant Gortuae, gentis quidem Euboicae,
followed after these went the-Gortuae of-a-race indeed Euboean
Medos quondam secuti, sed iam degeneres et patrii
the-Medes once having-followed but now degenerate and of-the-ancestral
moris ignari. Adplicuerat his Phrygas et Cataonas.
custom ignorant he-had-attached to-these the-Phrygians and Cataonians
Parthyaeorum deinde gens incolentium terras, quas nunc
of-the-Parthyaeans then the-race inhabiting the-lands which now
Parthi Scythia profecti tenent, claudebant agmen. Haec
the-Parthians from-Scythia having-set-out hold closed the-column this

sinistri cornus facies fuit. Dextrum tenebant natio
of-the-left wing the-appearance was the-right held the-nation
Maioris Armeniae Cadusiique et Cappadoces et Syri
of-Greater Armenia and-the-Cadusians and the-Cappadocians and the-Syrians
ac Medi. His quoque falcati currus L erant. Summa
and the-Medes for-these also scythed chariots fifty there-were the-total
totius exercitus, equites XLV milia, pedestris acies
of-the-whole army horsemen forty-five thousand the-infantry line
CC milia expleverat. Hoc modo instructi X stadia
two-hundred thousand had-made-up in-this manner drawn-up ten stades
procedunt iussique subsistere armati hostem expectabant.
they-advance and-ordered to-halt armed the-enemy awaited
Alexandri exercitum pavor, cuius causa non suberat, invasit:
of-Alexander the-army a-panic whose cause not lay-beneath came-upon
quippe lymphati trepidare coeperunt omnium pectora occulto
for frenzied to-tremble they-began of-all the-hearts with-hidden
metu percurrente. Caeli fulgor tempore aestivo ardenti
fear running-through of-the-sky the-glow at-time summer to-a-burning
similis internitens ignis praebuit speciem, flammasque
similar shining-through of-fire offered the-appearance and-flames
ex Darei castris splendere velut inlati temere praesidiis
from of-Darius the-camp to-shine as-if brought rashly to-the-outposts
credebant. Quodsi perculsis Mazaeus, qui praesidebat itineri,
they-believed but-if on-the-stricken Mazaeus who was-guarding the-route
supervenisset, ingens clades accipi potuit: nunc, dum ille
had-come-upon a-huge disaster to-be-suffered could-have as-it-was while he
segnis in eo, quem occupaverat, tumulo sedet, contentus non
idle on that which he-had-occupied mound sits content not
lacessi, Alexander cognito pavore exercitus signum, ut
to-be-provoked Alexander with-learned the-panic of-the-army the-signal that
consisterent, dari, ante ipsos arma deponere ac levare
they-should-halt to-be-given before themselves their-arms to-lay-down and to-rest

corpora iubet, admonens nullam subiti causam esse terroris,
their-bodies orders advising no of-the-sudden cause to-be terror
hostem procul stare. Tandem compotes sui pariter arma
the-enemy far-off to-stand at-last masters of-themselves equally arms
et animos recepere. Nec quicquam ex praesentibus tutius
and spirits recovered nor anything of present-courses safer
visum est quam eodem loco castra munire. Postero
seemed it-was than in-the-same place the-camp to-fortify on-the-following
die Mazaeus — cum delectis equitum in edito colle, ex
day Mazaeus with picked-men of-horsemen on a-lofty hill from
quo Macedonum prospiciebantur castra, consederat — sive
which of-the-Macedonians were-seen the-camp had-settled whether
metu sive, quia speculari modo iussus erat, ad Dareum
from-fear or because to-reconnoiter only ordered he-had-been to Darius
rediit. Macedones eum ipsum collem, quem deseruerat,
returned the-Macedonians that very hill which he-had-abandoned
occupaverunt: nam et tutior planitie erat, et inde acies
occupied for both safer than-the-plain it-was and from-there the-line
hostium, quae in campo explicabatur, conspici poterat. Sed
of-the-enemy which in the-plain was-being-deployed to-be-seen could but
caligo, quam circa humidi effuderant montes, universae
the-mist which around damp had-poured-out the-mountains of-the-whole
quidem rei faciem non abstulit, ceterum agminum
indeed of-the-thing the-view not took-away but of-the-columns
discrimina atque ordinem prohibuit perspici. Multitudo
the-divisions and order it-prevented to-be-seen-clearly the-multitude
inundaverat campos, fremitusque tot milium etiam procul
had-flooded the-plains and-the-din of-so-many thousands even far-off
stantium aures inpleverat. Fluctuari animo rex et modo
of-those-standing the-ears had-filled wavered in-mind the-king and now
suum, modo Parmenionis consilium sera aestimatione
his-own now of-Parmenio the-counsel with-late assessment

perpendere: quippe eo ventum erat, unde recipi
weighed for to-that-point come it-was whence to-be-withdrawn
exercitus nisi victor sine clade non posset. Itaque dissimulato
the-army unless victorious without disaster not could and-so with-concealed
animo mercennarium equitem ex Paeonia praecedere iubet.
mind the-mercenary cavalry from Paeonia to-go-ahead he-orders
Ipse phalangem, sicut antea dictum est, in duo cornua
himself the-phalanx as before said it-has-been into two wings
extenderat: utrumque cornu equites tegebant. Iamque
had-extended each wing the-horsemen covered and-now
liquidior lux discussa caligine aciem hostium ostenderat,
clearer the-light with-dispersed mist the-line of-the-enemy had-shown
et Macedones sive alacritate sive taedio expectationis
and the-Macedonians whether from-eagerness or from-weariness of-waiting
ingentem pugnantium more edidere clamorem. Redditus
a-huge of-fighters in-the-manner raised shout returned
et a Persis nemora vallesque circumiectas terribili sono
also by the-Persians the-groves and-valleys around with-terrible sound
inpleverat, nec iam contineri Macedones poterant, quin
had-filled nor now to-be-restrained the-Macedonians could but-that
cursu quoque ad hostem contenderent. Rex melius adhuc
running even toward the-enemy they-should-hasten the-king better still
ratus in eodem tumulo castra munire, vallum iaci
thinking on the-same mound a-camp to-fortify a-rampart to-be-thrown-up
iussit strenueque opere perfecto in tabernaculum, ex
ordered and-briskly with-the-work completed into his-tent from
quo tota acies hostium conspiciebatur, secessit.
which the-whole line of-the-enemy was-seen withdrew

Parmenio urges a night attack; Alexander refuses to steal a victory. Darius keeps his army under arms all night, praying to the Sun, Mithras, and the eternal fire. Alexander sacrifices with Aristander, then sleeps so deeply that Parmenio must wake him: his anxiety ended when Darius chose to fight. He arms and draws up his line, with reserves on the flanks against encirclement and ranks ready to open for the chariots. A deserter warns of caltrops, and he alerts his officers.

Tum vero universa futuri discriminis facies in
then indeed the-whole of-the-coming crisis appearance before
oculis erat: armis insignibus equi virique splendebant, et
their-eyes was with-arms conspicuous horses and-men were-gleaming and
omnia intentiore cura praeparari apud hostem sollicitudo
everything with-closer care to-be-prepared among the-enemy the-anxiety
praetorum agmina sua interequitantium ostendebat, ac
of-the-governors columns their-own riding-among showed and
pleraque inania, sicut fremitus hominum, equorum hinnitus,
most-things empty such-as the-din of-men of-horses the-neighing
armorum internitentium fulgor, sollicitam expectatione
of-arms shining-through the-gleam anxious with-expectation
mentem turbaverant. Igitur sive dubius animi sive, ut suos
the-mind had-disturbed therefore whether doubtful in-mind or that his-men
experiretur, consilium adhibet, quid optimum factu esset,
he-might-test a-council he-calls what best to-do might-be
exquirens. Parmenio, peritissimus inter duces artium belli,
inquiring Parmenio most-skilled among the-generals in-the-arts of-war
furto, non proelio opus esse censebat. Intempesta nocte
by-stealth not by-battle the-need to-be judged at-dead-of night
opprimi posse hostes: discordis moribus, linguis, ad hoc
to-be-overwhelmed to-be-able the-enemy discordant in-customs in-tongues to this
somno et inproviso periculo territos quando in nocturna
by-sleep and by-unforeseen danger terrified when in nocturnal

trepidatione coituros? At interdiu primum terribiles
panic going-to-come-together but by-day first terrifying
occursuras facies Scytharum Bactrianorumque: hirta illis
going-to-meet-them the-faces of-the-Scythians and-of-the-Bactrians shaggy to-them
ora et intonsas comas esse, praeterea eximiam vastorum
faces and unshorn hair to-be besides the-exceptional of-huge
magnitudinem corporum. Vanis et inanibus militem magis
size of-bodies by-empty and vain the-soldier more
quam iustis formidinis causis moveri. Deinde tantam
than by-just of-fear causes to-be-moved then so-great
multitudinem circumfundi paucioribus posse, cum non in
a-multitude to-be-spread-around around-the-fewer to-be-able since not in
Ciliciae angustiis et inviis callibus, sed in aperta et lata
of-Cilicia the-narrows and pathless tracks but in an-open and wide
planitie dimicarent. Omnes ferme Parmenioni adsentiebantur:
plain they-would-fight all almost with-Parmenio agreed
Polypercon haud dubie in eo consilio positam victoriam
Polyperchon not doubtfully in that plan placed victory
arbitrabatur. Quem intuens rex — namque Parmenionem nuper
judged at-whom looking the-king for Parmenio recently
acrius, quam vellet, increpitum rursus castigare
more-sharply than he-would-have-wished rebuked again to-chastise
non sustinebat—: 'Latrunculorum,' inquit, 'et furum ista
not he-could-bear of-petty-bandits he-says and of-thieves that
sollertia est, quam praecipitis mihi: quippe illorum votum
cunning is which you-recommend to-me for of-them the-wish
unicum est fallere. Meae vero gloriae semper aut absentiam
sole is to-deceive to-my but glory always either the-absence
Darei aut angustias locorum aut furtum noctis obstare non
of-Darius or the-narrows of-the-places or the-stealth of-night to-obstruct not
patiar. Palam luce adgredi certum est: malo me meae
I-shall-allow openly by-daylight to-attack resolved it-is I-prefer me of-my

fortunae paeniteat, quam victoriae pudeat. Ad haec illud
fortune to-repent than of-my-victory to-be-ashamed to this that
quoque accedit: vigilias agere barbaros et in armis stare,
also is-added watches to-keep the-barbarians and in arms to-stand
ut ne decipi quidem possint, conpertum habeo. Itaque
so-that not to-be-deceived even they-can found-out I-hold and-so
ad proelium vos parate.' Sic incitatos ad corpora curanda
for battle yourselves prepare thus roused to their-bodies to-be-tended
dimisit. Dareus id, quod Parmenio suaserat, hostem
he-dismissed-them Darius that which Parmenio had-advised the-enemy
facturum esse coniectans frenatos equos stare magnamque
going-to-do to-be guessing bridled horses to-stand and-a-great
exercitus partem in armis esse ac vigilias intentiore cura
of-the-army part in arms to-be and the-watches with-closer care
servari iusserat: ergo ignibus tota eius castra fulgebant.
to-be-kept had-ordered therefore with-fires the-whole his camp was-gleaming
Ipse cum ducibus propinquisque agmina in armis stantium
himself with the-generals and-kinsmen the-columns in arms of-those-standing
circumibat, Solem et Mithrem sacrumque et aeternum
was-going-round the-Sun and Mithras and-the-sacred and eternal
invocans ignem, ut illis dignam vetere gloria maiorumque
invoking fire that into-them worthy of-the-old glory and-of-the-ancestors'
monumentis fortitudinem inspirarent. Et profecto, si qua
monuments courage they-might-breathe and surely if any
divinae opis auguria humana mente concipi possent,
of-divine help omens by-the-human mind to-be-conceived could
deos stare secum. Illos nuper Macedonum animis subitam
the-gods to-stand with-him them recently in-the-Macedonians' minds a-sudden
incussisse formidinem, adhuc lymphatos ferri agique
to-have-struck fear still frenzied to-be-carried and-driven
arma iacientes, expetere praesides Persarum imperii debitas
arms throwing-away to-demand the-guardians of-the-Persian empire due

e vaecordibus poenas. Nec ipsum ducem saniorem esse:
from the-madmen penalties nor himself the-leader saner to-be
quippe ritu ferarum praedam modo, quam expeteret,
for in-the-manner of-wild-beasts the-prey only which he-sought
intuentem in perniciem, quae ante praedam posita esset,
looking-at into the-destruction which before the-prey placed was
incurrere. Similis apud Macedones quoque sollicitudo erat,
to-run-into similar among the-Macedonians also anxiety was
noctemque velut in eam certamine edicto metu egerunt.
and-the-night as-if for it with-the-contest proclaimed in-fear they-spent
Alexander non alias magis territus ad vota et preces
Alexander not at-other-times more terrified to vows and prayers
Aristandrum vocari iubet. Ille in candida veste verbenas
Aristander to-be-called orders he in a-white robe sacred-boughs
manu praeferens capite velato praeibat preces regi
in-his-hand carrying-before with-his-head veiled was-leading the-prayers for-the-king
Iovem Minervamque Victoriam propitianti. Tunc quidem
Jupiter and-Minerva Victory propitiating then indeed
sacrificio rite perpetrato reliquum noctis adquieturus
with-the-sacrifice duly performed for-the-rest of-the-night going-to-rest
in tabernaculum rediit. Sed nec somnum capere nec
into his-tent he-returned but neither sleep to-take nor
quietem pati poterat: modo e iugo montis aciem
rest to-bear he-could now from the-ridge of-the-mountain the-line
in dextrum Persarum cornu demittere agitabat, modo
against the-right of-the-Persians wing to-send-down he-was-pondering now
recta fronte concurrere hosti, interdum haesitare, an
with-straight front to-clash with-the-enemy sometimes he-hesitated whether
potius in laevum detorqueret agmen. Tandem gravatum animi
rather to the-left he-should-turn the-column at-last weighed-down of-mind
anxietate corpus altior somnus oppressit. Iamque luce
by-anxiety his-body a-deeper sleep overwhelmed and-now with-the-light

orta duces ad accipienda imperia convenerant insolito
risen the-generals for receiving orders had-assembled at-the-unaccustomed
circa praetorium silentio attoniti: quippe alias accersere
around the-headquarters silence astonished for at-other-times to-summon
ipsos et interdum morantes castigare adsueverat, tunc
them and sometimes those-delaying to-rebuke he-had-been-accustomed then
ne ultimo quidem rerum discrimine excitatum esse
not by-the-final even of-affairs crisis roused to-have-been
mirabantur et non somno quiescere, sed pavore marcere
they-wondered and not in-sleep to-rest but with-fear to-languish
credebant. Non tamen quisquam ex custodibus corporis
they-believed not yet anyone of the-guards of-the-body
intrare tabernaculum audebat. Et iam tempus instabat, nec
to-enter the-tent dared and now the-time was-pressing nor
miles iniussu ducis aut arma capere poterat aut in
the-soldier without-the-order of-the-leader either arms to-take-up could or into
ordines ire. Diu Parmenio cunctatus, cibum ut caperent,
ranks to-go long Parmenio having-hesitated food that they-should-take
ipse pronuntiat. Iamque exire necesse erat: tunc demum
himself proclaims and-now to-go-out necessary it-was then at-last
intrat tabernaculum saepiusque nomine conpellatum, cum
he-enters the-tent and-often by-name addressed since
voce non posset, tactu excitavit. ‘Multa lux,’ inquit, ‘est:
by-voice not he-could by-touch roused-him much light he-says is
instructam aciem hostis admovit, tuus miles adhuc inermis
the-drawn-up line the-enemy has-moved-up your soldier still unarmed
expectat imperium. Ubi est vigor ille animi tui? nempe
awaits the-order where is vigor that of-mind your surely
excitare vigiles soles.’ Ad haec Alexander: ‘Credisne
to-rouse the-watchmen you-are-accustomed to this Alexander do-you-believe
me prius somnum capere potuisse, quam exonerarem
me earlier sleep to-take to-have-been-able than I-unburdened

animum sollicitudine, quae quietem morabatur?' signumque
my-mind of-the-anxiety which rest was-delaying and-the-signal
pugnae tuba dari iussit. Et cum in eadem admiratione
of-battle by-trumpet to-be-given he-ordered and when in the-same astonishment
Parmenio perseveraret, quod solutum se curis somnum
Parmenio persisted because released himself from-cares sleep
cepisse dixisset: 'Minime,' inquit, 'mirum est: ego enim,
to-have-taken he-had-said not-at-all he-says strange it-is I for
cum Dareus terram ureret, vicos excinderet, alimenta
when Darius the-land was-burning the-villages was-destroying the-provisions
corrumperet, potens mei non eram: nunc vero quid metuam,
was-spoiling master of-myself not I-was now indeed what should-I-fear
cum acie decernere paret? Hercule, votum meum
when in-the-battle-line to-decide he-is-preparing by-Hercules wish my
inplevit. Sed huius consilii postea quoque ratio reddetur:
he-has-fulfilled but of-this plan afterward also the-reason shall-be-given
vos ite ad copias, quibus quisque praeest, ego iam adero
you go to the-forces which each commands I soon will-be-present
et, quid fieri velim, exponam.' Raro admodum, admonitu
and what to-be-done I-wish I-shall-explain rarely very by-the-urging
magis amicorum quam metu discriminis adeundi, thorace
more of-his-friends than from-fear of-the-crisis to-be-faced a-breastplate
uti solebat: tunc utique munimento corporis sumpto
to-use he-was-accustomed then at-any-rate with-the-protection of-the-body taken-up
processit ad milites. Haud alias tam alacrem viderant
he-advanced to the-soldiers not at-other-times so eager had-they-seen
regem et ex vultu eius interrito certam spem victoriae
the-king and from the-face his undaunted sure hope of-victory
augurabantur. Atque ille proruto vallo exire copias iubet
they-were-divining and he with-torn-down rampart to-go-out the-forces orders
aciemque disponit. In dextro cornu locati sunt equites, quos
and-the-line arranges on the-right wing placed were the-horsemen whom

agema appellabant: praeerat his Clitus, cui iunxit
the-agema they-called was-in-command-of these Clitus to-whom he-joined
Philotae turmas, ceterosque praefectos equitum lateri eius
of-Philotas the-squadrons and-the-other commanders of-horsemen to-flank his
adplicuit. Ultima Meleagri ala stabat, quam phalanx
he-attached the-last of-Meleager the-squadron stood which the-phalanx
sequebatur. Post phalangem Argyraspides erant: his Nicanor,
followed after the-phalanx the-Silver-Shields were these Nicanor
Parmenionis filius, praeerat. In subsidiis cum manu sua
of-Parmenio the-son commanded in the-reserves with band his-own
Coenos, post eum Orestae Lyncestaeque sunt positi, post illos
Coenus after him the-Orestae and-Lyncestae were placed after them
Polypercon, mox peregrini milites. Huius agminis princeps
Polyperchon next the-foreign soldiers of-this column the-chief
Amyntas aberat: Philippus Balacri eos regebat in societatem
Amyntas was-absent Philip of-Balacrus them was-ruling into the-alliance
nuper adscitus. Haec dextri cornus facies erat. In
recently admitted this of-the-right wing the-appearance was on
laevo Craterus Peloponnesium equites habebat Achaeorum
the-left Craterus of-the-Peloponnesians the-horsemen had of-the-Achaeans
et Locrensium et Malieon turmis sibi adiunctis.
and of-the-Locrians and of-the-Malians with-the-squadrons to-himself joined
Hos Thessali equites claudebant Philippo duce. Peditum
these the-Thessalian horsemen closed with-Philip as-leader the-infantry
acies equitatu tegebatur. Frons laevi cornus haec erat.
line by-the-cavalry was-covered the-front of-the-left wing this was
Sed ne circumiri posset a multitudine, ultimum agmen
but lest to-be-surrounded it-could by the-multitude the-last column
valida manu cinxerat. Cornua quoque subsidiis firmavit
with-a-strong band he-had-girded the-wings also with-reserves he-strengthened
non recta fronte, sed a latere positis, ut, si hostis
not with-straight front but from the-flank placed so-that if the-enemy

circumvenire aciem temptasset, parata pugnae forent. Hic
to-surround the-line should-have-tried ready for-battle they-might-be here
Agriani erant, quibus Attalus praeerat, adiunctis sagittariis
the-Agrianians were whom Attalus commanded with-joined archers
Cretensibus. Ultimos ordines avertit a fronte, ut totam
Cretan the-last ranks he-turned from the-front that the-whole
aciem orbe muniret. Illyrii hic erant adiuncto milite
line with-a-circle he-might-fortify the-Illyrians here were with-added soldiery
mercede conducto, Thracas quoque simul obiecerat
for-pay hired the-Thracians also at-the-same-time he-had-set-against
leviter armatos. Adeoque aciem versabilem posuit, ut, qui
lightly armed and-so the-line flexible he-placed that those-who
ultimi stabant, ne circumirentur, verti tamen et in
last stood lest they-be-surrounded to-be-turned yet and into
frontem circumagi possent. Itaque non prima quam latera,
the-front to-be-wheeled could and-so not the-front than the-flanks
non latera munitiora fuere quam terga. His ita ordinatis
not the-flanks more-fortified were than the-rear with-these thus arranged
praecipit, ut, si falcatos currus cum fremitu barbari
he-instructs that if the-scythed chariots with a-roar the-barbarians
emitterent, ipsi laxatis ordinibus impetum incurrentium
should-send-out they-themselves with-opened ranks the-charge of-those-rushing
silentio exciperent, haud dubius sine noxa transcursuros, si
in-silence should-receive not doubtful without harm going-to-run-through if
nemo se opponeret: sin autem sine fremitu inmisissent,
no-one himself should-oppose but-if however without a-roar they-had-sent-in
eos ipsi clamore terrerent pavidosque equos telis
them they-themselves with-shouting should-frighten and-the-frightened horses with-missiles
utrimque suffoderent. Qui cornibus praeerant, extendere
on-both-sides should-stab those-who the-wings commanded to-extend
ea iussi ita, ut nec circumvenirentur, si artius starent,
them ordered so that neither they-should-be-surrounded if more-closely they-stood

nec tamen ultimam aciem exinanirent. Inpedimenta cum
nor yet the-last line they-should-empty the-baggage with
captivis, inter quos mater liberique Darei custodiebantur,
the-captives among whom the-mother and-children of-Darius were-guarded
haud procul acie in edito colle constituit modico
not far from-the-line on a-lofty hill he-placed with-a-modest
praesidio relicto. Laevum cornu, sicut alias, Parmenioni
garrison left the-left wing as at-other-times to-Parmenio
tuendum datum, ipse in dextro stabat. Nondum ad iactum
to-be-guarded was-given himself on the-right stood not-yet to the-cast
teli perventum erat, cum Bion quidam transfuga, quanto
of-a-missile come it-was when Bion a-certain deserter with-what
maximo cursu poterat, ad regem pervenit nuntians, murices
greatest speed he-could to the-king came announcing caltrops
ferreos in terram diffudisse Dareum, qua hostem equites
of-iron on the-ground to-have-scattered Darius where the-enemy cavalry
emissurum esse credebat, notatumque certo signo locum,
going-to-send-out to-be he-believed and-marked with-a-sure sign the-place
ut fraus evitari a suis posset. Adservari transfuga
that the-trick to-be-avoided by his-own-men could to-be-guarded with-the-deserter
iusso duces convocat expositoque, quod nuntiatum erat,
ordered the-generals he-calls-together and-with-set-forth what announced had-been
monet, ut regionem monstratam declinent equitemque
he-warns that the-region shown they-should-avoid and-the-cavalry
periculum edoceant. Ceterum hortantem exercitus exaudire
of-the-danger should-inform but him-exhorting the-army to-hear
non poterat usum aurium intercipiente fremitu duorum
not could the-use of-ears with-intercepting the-din of-the-two
agminum, sed in conspectu omnium duces et proximum
columns but in the-sight of-all the-generals and nearest
quemque interequitans adloquebatur:
each riding-among he-was-addressing

Alexander tells his men this is their last battle: the Persians fight only because they cannot flee, are numb with fear, and bring only the names of unknown nations. He will fight before the standards, as his scars prove. Darius tells his troops they now fight for survival and freedom, with nowhere left to flee. He has chosen the plain, and Alexander's rash luck cannot last. He begs them to free his captive family and rides in his chariot so that they may follow him.

Emensis tot terras in spem victoriae, de qua
to-men-having-traversed so-many lands in hope of-victory about which
dimicandum foret, hoc unum superesse discrimen. Granicum
to-be-fought it-was this one to-remain crisis the-Granicus
hic amnem Ciliciaeque montes et Syriam Aegyptumque
here river and-of-Cilicia the-mountains and Syria and-Egypt
praetereuntibus raptas, ingentia spei gloriaeque incitamenta,
to-men-passing-by seized huge of-hope and-glory incitements
referebat. Reprehensos ex fuga Persas pugnaturos, quia
he-was-recalling caught-again from flight the-Persians going-to-fight because
fugere non possent. Tertium iam diem metu exangues,
to-flee not they-could the-third now day with-fear bloodless
armis suis oneratos in eodem vestigio haerere. Nullum
with-arms their-own weighed-down in the-same footprint to-be-stuck no
desperationis illorum maius indicium esse, quam quod urbes,
of-despair their greater sign to-be than that cities
quod agros suos urerent, quidquid non corrupissent,
that fields their-own they-burned whatever not they-had-spoiled
hostium esse confessi. Nomina modo vana gentium
of-the-enemy to-be having-confessed the-names only empty of-nations
ignotarum ne extimescerent: neque enim ad belli discrimen
unknown that-not they-should-fear nor for to of-war the-crisis
pertinere, qui ab iis Scythae quive Cadusii appellarentur.
to-pertain who by them Scythians or-who Cadusians were-called

Ob id ipsum, quod ignoti essent, ignobiles esse:
on-account-of that very-thing that unknown they-were obscure to-be
numquam ignorari viros fortes, at inbelles ex latebris
never to-be-unknown men brave but the-unwarlike from hiding-places
suis erutos nihil praeter nomina adferre. Macedonas virtute
their-own dug-out nothing except names to-bring the-Macedonians by-valor
adsecutos, ne quis toto orbe locus esset, qui tales
to-have-attained that-not any in-the-whole world place should-be which such
viros ignoraret. Intuerentur barbarorum inconditum agmen:
men did-not-know they-should-look-at of-the-barbarians the-disorderly column
alium nihil praeter iaculum habere, alium funda saxa
one nothing except a-javelin to-have another with-a-sling stones
librare, paucis iusta arma esse. Itaque illinc plures stare,
to-hurl for-few proper arms to-be and-so on-that-side more to-stand
hinc plures dimicaturos. Nec postulare se, ut fortiter
on-this-side more going-to-fight nor to-demand himself that bravely
capesserent proelium, ni ipse ceteris fortitudinis fuisset
they-should-take-up the-battle unless he-himself to-the-rest of-bravery had-been
exemplum: se ante prima signa dimicaturum. Spondere
an-example himself before the-first standards going-to-fight to-pledge
pro se tot cicatrices, totidem corporis decora: scire
for himself so-many scars as-many of-his-body ornaments to-know
ipsos unum paene se praedae communis exortem
themselves alone almost himself of-the-plunder common without-share
in illis colendis ornandisque usurpare victoriae praemia.
in those to-be-honored and-to-be-adorned to-use of-victory the-rewards
Haec se fortibus viris dicere. Si qui dissimiles eorum
these-things himself to-brave men to-say if any unlike of-them
essent, illa fuisse dicturum: pervenisse eos, unde
there-were those-things to-have-been going-to-say to-have-come them whence
fugere non possent. Tot terrarum spatia emensis,
to-flee not they-could so-many of-lands stretches to-men-having-traversed

tot amnibus montibusque post tergum obiectis iter in
with-so-many rivers and-mountains behind their-back placed the-way to
patriam ad penates manu esse faciendum. Sic duces, sic
the-homeland to the-hearths by-hand to-be to-be-made thus the-generals thus
proximi militum instincti sunt. Dareus in laevo cornu erat
the-nearest of-the-soldiers spurred were Darius on the-left wing was
magno suorum agmine, delectis equitum peditumque, stipatus
by-a-great of-his-own column by-picked of-horsemen and-infantry surrounded
contempseratque paucitatem hostis vanam aciem esse
and-he-had-despised the-fewness of-the-enemy empty the-line to-be
extentis cornibus ratus. Ceterum, sicut curru eminebat,
with-extended wings thinking but as in-his-chariot he-towered
dextra laevaque ad circumstantia agmina oculos manusque
on-the-right and-left toward the-surrounding columns his-eyes and-hands
circumferens: 'Terrarum,' inquit, 'quas Oceanus hinc adluit,
turning-round of-the-lands he-says which the-Ocean on-this-side washes
illinc claudit Hellespontus, paulo ante dominis iam non
on-that-side shuts the-Hellespont a-little before by-masters now not
de gloria, sed de salute et, quod saluti praeponitis,
about glory but about survival and what to-survival you-prefer
libertate pugnandum est: hic dies imperium, quo nulla
freedom to-be-fought it-is this day an-empire than-which no
amplius vidit aetas, aut constituet aut finiet. Apud Granicum
greater has-seen age either will-establish or will-end at the-Granicus
minima virium parte cum hoste certavimus, in
with-the-smallest of-our-strength part with the-enemy we-contended in
Cilicia victos Syria poterat excipere, magna munimenta
Cilicia the-conquered Syria could receive great bulwarks
regni Tigris atque Euphrates erant. Ventum est eo,
of-the-kingdom the-Tigris and the-Euphrates were come it-is to-that-point
unde pulsis ne fugae quidem locus est. Omnia
whence for-the-driven-back not for-flight even room there-is everything

tam diutino bello exhausta post tergum sunt: non incolas
by-so long-lasting a-war exhausted behind our-back is not inhabitants
suos urbes, non cultores habent terrae. Coniuges quoque
their-own the-cities not cultivators have the-lands wives also
et liberi sequuntur hanc aciem, parata hostibus praeda, nisi
and children follow this line ready for-the-enemy plunder unless
pro carissimis pignoribus corpora opponimus. Quod mearum
for our-dearest pledges our-bodies we-set-against what of-my
fuit partium, exercitum, quem paene inmensa planities vix
was part an-army which almost a-boundless plain scarcely
caperet, conparavi: equos, arma distribui, commeatus
could-contain I-have-gathered horses arms I-have-distributed supplies
ne tantae multitudini deessent, providi, locum,
that-not to-so-great a-multitude they-should-be-lacking I-have-provided a-place
in quo acies explicari posset, elegi. Cetera in vestra
in which the-line to-be-deployed could I-have-chosen the-rest in your
potestate sunt: audete modo vincere famamque, infirmissimum
power is dare only to-conquer and-rumor the-weakest
adversus fortes viros telum, contemnite. Temeritas est,
against brave men weapon despise rashness it-is
quam adhuc pro virtute timuistis: quae ubi primum
which till-now as valor you-have-feared which when first
impetum effudit, velut quaedam animalia emisso
its-charge it-has-poured-out like certain animals with-discharged
aculeo, torpet. Hi vero campi deprehendere paucitatem,
sting grows-numb these indeed plains have-caught the-fewness
quam Ciliciae montes absconderant. Videtis ordines raros,
which of-Cilicia the-mountains had-hidden you-see the-ranks thin
cornua extenta, mediam aciem exhaustam: nam ultimi, quos
the-wings extended the-middle line exhausted for the-last whom
locavit aversos, terga iam praebent. Obteri, mehercule,
he-placed turned-around their-backs already present to-be-crushed by-Hercules

equorum ungulis possunt, etiam si nihil praeter falcatos
of-horses by-the-hoofs they-can even if nothing except the-scythed
currus emisero. Et bello vicerimus, si vicimus
chariots I-shall-have-sent-out and in-the-war we-shall-have-conquered if we-conquer
proelio. Nam ne illis quidem ad fugam locus est: hinc
in-the-battle for not for-them even for flight room there-is on-this-side
Euphrates, illinc Tigris prohibet inclusos. Et, quae antea
the-Euphrates on-that-side the-Tigris hinders them-shut-in and what before
pro illis erant, in contrarium versa sunt. Nostrum mobile
for them were into the-opposite turned are our mobile
et expeditum agmen est, illud praeda grave. Inplicatos
and unencumbered the-column is that with-plunder heavy entangled
ergo spoliis nostris trucidabimus, eademque res et causa
therefore in-the-spoils our we-shall-slaughter and-the-same thing both the-cause
erit victoriae et fructus. Quodsi quem e vobis nomen
will-be of-victory and the-fruit but-if anyone of you the-name
gentis movet, cogitet Macedonum illic arma esse,
of-the-nation moves let-him-consider of-the-Macedonians there the-arms to-be
non corpora. Multum enim sanguinem invicem hausimus,
not the-bodies much for blood in-turn we-have-drawn
et semper gravior in paucitate iactura est. Nam Alexander,
and always heavier in fewness the-loss is for Alexander
quantuscumque ignavis et timidis videri potest, unum
however-great to-the-cowardly and the-timid to-seem he-can one
animal est et, si quid mihi creditis, temerarium et vaecors,
animal is and if anything me you-believe rash and mad
adhuc nostro pavore quam sua virtute felicius. Nihil
till-now by-our fear than by-his-own valor more-fortunate nothing
autem potest esse diuturnum, cui non subest ratio. Licet
however can be lasting for-which not lies-beneath reason granted
felicitas adspirare videatur, tamen ad ultimum temeritati
good-fortune to-breathe-favorably may-seem yet at the-last for-rashness

non sufficit. Praeterea breves et mutabiles vices rerum
not it-suffices besides brief and changeable the-turns of-things
sunt, et fortuna numquam simpliciter indulget. Forsitan
are and fortune never simply indulges perhaps
ita dii fata ordinaverint, ut Persarum imperium, quod
so the-gods the-fates have-ordered that of-the-Persians the-empire which
secundo cursu per CCXXX annos ad summum
with-favorable course through two-hundred-and-thirty years to the-highest
fastigium evexerant, magno motu concuterent magis
summit they-had-carried with-a-great shock they-should-shake rather
quam adfligerent admonerentque nos fragilitatis humanae,
than should-strike-down and-should-warn us of-frailty human
cuius nimia in prosperis rebus oblivio est. Modo
of-which too-great in prosperous circumstances forgetfulness there-is lately
Graecis ultro bellum inferebamus: nunc in sedibus nostris
on-the-Greeks unprovoked war we-were-bringing now in seats our
propulsamus inlatum. Iactamur invicem varietate fortunae.
we-repel brought-upon-us we-are-tossed in-turn by-the-variety of-fortune
Videlicet imperium, quia mutuo adfectamus, una gens non
evidently the-empire because mutually we-aim-at one nation not
capit. Ceterum, etiam si spes non subesset, necessitas tamen
contains but even if hope not lay-beneath necessity yet
stimulare deberet. Ad extrema perventum est. Matrem
to-spur ought to the-extremes come it-is the-mother
meam, duas filias, Ochum in spem huius imperii genitum,
my two daughters Ochus into the-hope of-this empire born
principes, illam subolem regiae stirpis, duces vestros reorum
the-chief-men that offspring of-royal stock leaders your of-defendants
instar vinctos habet: nisi quid in vobis spei est, ego
like bound he-holds unless any in you of-hope there-is I
maiore mei parte captivus sum. Eripite viscera mea ex
by-the-greater of-myself part a-captive am snatch flesh my from

vinculis, restituite mihi pignora, pro quibus ipsi mori
chains restore to-me the-pledges for which you-yourselves to-die
non recusatis, parentem, liberos: nam coniugem in illo carcere
not refuse a-parent children for my-wife in that prison
amisi. Credite nunc omnes hos tendere ad vos manus,
I-have-lost believe now all these to-be-stretching to you their-hands
inplorare patrios deos, opem vestram, misericordiam, fidem
to-be-imploring the-ancestral gods help your mercy loyalty
exposcere, ut compedibus, ut servitute, ut precario victu
to-be-demanding that from-fetters that from-slavery that from-precarious living
ipsos liberetis. An creditis aequo animo iis servire,
them you-should-free or do-you-believe with-even mind to-those to-be-slaves
quorum reges esse fastidiunt? Video admoveri hostium
of-whom kings to-be they-disdain I-see to-be-moved-up of-the-enemy
aciem: sed, quo propius discrimen accedo, hoc minus
the-line but the nearer to-the-crisis I-approach the less
iis, quae dixi, possum esse contentus. Per ego vos
with-those-things which I-have-said I-can be content by I you
deos patrios aeternumque ignem, qui praefertur altaribus,
the-gods ancestral and-the-eternal fire which is-carried-before the-altars
fulgoremque solis intra fines regni mei orientis, per
and-the-brightness of-the-sun within the-boundaries of-kingdom my rising by
aeternam memoriam Cyri, qui ademptum Medis Lydisque
the-eternal memory of-Cyrus who taken-from from-the-Medes and-Lydians
imperium primus in Persidem intulit, vindicate ab ultimo
the-empire first into Persis brought save from the-ultimate
dedecore nomen gentemque Persarum. Ite alacres et spiritus
disgrace the-name and-the-nation of-the-Persians go eager and of-spirit
pleni, ut, quam gloriam accepistis a maioribus vestris,
full that which glory you-have-received from ancestors your
posteris relinquatis. In dextris vestris iam libertatem, opem,
to-posterity you-may-leave in right-hands your now freedom help

spem futuri temporis geritis. Effugit mortem, quisquis
hope of-the-future time you-carry escapes death whoever
contempserit: timidissimum quemque consequitur. Ipse non
shall-have-despised-it the-most-timid each it-overtakes I-myself not
patrio more solum, sed etiam, ut conspici possim,
by-ancestral custom only but also that to-be-seen I-may-be-able
curru vehor nec recuso, quo minus imitemini me,
in-a-chariot am-carried nor do-I-refuse that the-less you-should-imitate me
sive fortitudinis exemplum sive ignaviae fuero.'
whether of-bravery an-example or of-cowardice I-shall-have-been

XV · GAUGAMELA

Alexander marches obliquely past the caltrops. The scythed chariots first scatter the Macedonians, but the phalanx takes them in and stabs them, and few break through. Mazaeus' horsemen plunder the baggage, and Sisigambis, told Darius has won, does not stir. Alexander attacks the thinned Persian right, and the Agrianians save him from encirclement. An eagle flies over him. When Darius' charioteer falls, the Persians think the king dead; Darius flees, lost in the dust.

Interim Alexander, ut et demonstratum a transfuga
meanwhile Alexander that both the-shown by the-deserter
insidiarum locum circumiret et Dareo, qui cornu tuebatur,
of-the-ambush place he-might-go-round and Darius who the-wing was-guarding
occurreret, agmen obliquum incedere iubet. Dareus quoque
he-might-meet the-column obliquely to-advance orders Darius also
eodem suum obvertit Besso admonito, ut Massagetas
to-the-same-side his-own turns with-Bessus advised that the-Massagetan
equites in laevum Alexandri cornu a latere invehi
horsemen against the-left of-Alexander wing from the-flank to-charge
iuberet. Ipse ante se falcatos currus habebat: quos
he-should-order himself before himself the-scythed chariots had which

signo dato universos in hostem effudit. Ruebant
with-the-signal given all-together against the-enemy he-poured-out rushed-on
laxatis habenis aurigae, quo plures nondum satis
with-loosened reins the-charioteers that more not-yet sufficiently
proviso impetu obtererent. Alios ergo hastae multum
foreseen by-the-charge they-might-crush some therefore spears far
ultra temonem eminentes, alios ab utroque latere demissae
beyond the-pole projecting others on each side let-down
falces laceravere. Nec sensim Macedones cedebant, sed
scythes mangled nor gradually the-Macedonians were-yielding but
effusa fuga turbaverant ordines. Mazaeus quoque perculsis
with-headlong flight had-disordered their-ranks Mazaeus also on-the-stricken
metum incussit mille equitibus ad diripienda hostis
fear struck with-a-thousand horsemen for plundering the-enemy's
inpedimenta circumvehi iussis, ratus captivos quoque,
baggage to-ride-round ordered thinking the-captives also
qui simul adservabantur, rupturos vincula, cum suos
who together were-guarded going-to-break their-chains when their-own
adpropinquantes vidissent. Non fefellerat Parmenionem, qui
approaching they-saw not had-it-escaped Parmenio who
in laevo erat: propere igitur Polydamanta mittit qui regi
on the-left was hastily therefore Polydamas he-sends who to-the-king
et periculum ostenderet et, quid fieri iuberet, consuleret.
both the-danger should-show and what to-be-done he-ordered should-consult
Ille audito Polydamante: 'Abi, nuntia,' inquit, 'Parmenioni, si
he with-heard Polydamas go announce he-says to-Parmenio if
acie vicerimus, non nostra solum nos recuperaturos,
in-battle we-shall-have-conquered not our-own only we going-to-recover
sed etiam, quae hostium sunt, occupaturos. Proinde non est,
but even what of-the-enemy is going-to-seize therefore not it-is
quod virium quicquam subducat ex acie, sed, ut me,
why of-strength anything he-should-withdraw from the-line but as me

ut Philippo patre dignum est, contempto sarcinarum damno
as of-Philip father worthy it-is with-despised of-the-baggage the-loss
fortiter dimicet.' Interim barbari inpedimenta turbaverant
bravely he-should-fight meanwhile the-barbarians the-baggage had-disordered
caesisque plerisque custodum captivi vinculis ruptis, quidquid
and-with-slain most of-the-guards the-captives with-chains broken whatever
obvium erat, quo armari possent, arripiunt et adgregati
in-the-way was by-which to-be-armed they-could seize and joined
suorum equitibus Macedonas ancipiti circumventos malo
of-their-own to-the-horsemen the-Macedonians by-twofold surrounded evil
invadunt. Laeti, qui circa Sisigambim erant, vicisse
attack glad those-who around Sisigambis were to-have-conquered
Dareum, ingenti caede prostratos hostis, ad ultimum etiam
Darius with-huge slaughter laid-low the-enemy at the-end even
inpedimentis exutos esse nuntiant: quippe eandem fortunam
of-their-baggage stripped to-be announce for the-same fortune
ubique esse credebant et victores Persas ad praedam
everywhere to-be they-believed and the-victorious Persians to plunder
discurrisse. Sisigambis hortantibus captivis, ut animum a
to-have-run-off Sisigambis with-exhorting captives that her-spirit from
maerore adlevaret, in eodem, quo antea fuit, perseveravit.
grief she-should-raise in the-same which before was persisted
Non vox ulla excidit ei, non oris color vultusve mutatus
not a-word any fell-from her not of-face the-color or-expression changed
est: sedit inmobilis — credo, praecoqui gaudio verita
was she-sat unmoved I-believe by-premature joy having-feared
inritare fortunam—, adeo ut, quid mallet, intuentibus
to-provoke fortune so-far that what she-would-prefer to-those-looking-at
eam fuerit incertum. Inter haec Menidas, praefectus
her was uncertain among these-things Menidas commander
equitum Alexandri, cum paucis turmis opem inpedimentis
of-the-horsemen of-Alexander with a-few squadrons help to-the-baggage

laturus advenerat — est incertum, suone consilio an
going-to-bring had-come it-is uncertain whether-on-his-own counsel or
regis imperio—, sed non sustinuit Cadusiorum Scytharumque
the-king's by-order but not he-withstood of-the-Cadusians and-Scythians
impetum: quippe vix temptato certamine refugit ad regem,
the-charge for scarcely with-tried contest he-fled-back to the-king
amissorum inpedimentorum testis magis quam vindex. Iam
of-the-lost baggage a-witness rather than an-avenger now
consilium Alexandri dolor vicerat, et, ne cura recuperandi
the-counsel of-Alexander grief had-overcome and lest the-care of-recovering
sua militem a proelio averteret, non inmerito verebatur:
their-own the-soldier from the-battle should-turn not undeservedly he-was-fearing
itaque Areten, ducem hastatorum — sarisophoros vocabant —
and-so Aretes leader of-the-spearmen sarissa-bearers they-called-them
adversus Scythas mittit. Inter haec currus, qui circa
against the-Scythians he-sends among these-things the-chariots which around
prima signa turbaverant aciem, in phalangem invecti erant:
the-first standards had-disordered the-line against the-phalanx charged had
Macedones confirmatis animis in medium agmen accipiunt.
the-Macedonians with-strengthened spirits into the-middle-of the-column receive-them
Vallo similis acies erat: iunxerant hastas et ab utroque
to-a-rampart similar the-line was they-had-joined spears and from each
latere temere incurrentium ilia suffodiebant. Circumire
side rashly of-those-rushing-in the-flanks they-stabbed to-surround
deinde et currus et propugnatores praecipitare coeperunt.
then both the-chariots and the-fighters to-throw-down they-began
Ingens ruina equorum aurigarumque aciem conpleverat: hi
a-huge wreck of-horses and-charioteers the-line had-filled these
territos regere non poterant, qui crebra iactatione cervicum
the-terrified to-guide not could which by-frequent tossing of-their-necks
non iugum modo excusserant, sed etiam currus everterant,
not the-yoke only had-shaken-off but also the-chariots had-overturned

vulnerati interfectos trahebant, nec consistere territi nec
wounded the-killed they-were-dragging nor to-stand terrified nor
progredi debiles poterant. Paucae tamen evasere quadrigae
to-advance crippled could a-few yet got-through four-horse-chariots
in ultimam aciem iis, quibus inciderunt, miserabili morte
into the-last line with-those on-whom they-fell by-a-pitiable death
consumptis: quippe amputata virorum membra humi
consumed for cut-off of-men the-limbs on-the-ground
iacebant, et, quia calidis adhuc vulneribus aberat dolor,
lay and because with-hot still wounds was-absent pain
trunci quoque et debiles quidam arma non omittebant,
maimed also and crippled some arms not let-go
donec multo sanguine effuso exanimati procumberent.
until with-much blood poured-out lifeless they-fell-forward
Interim Aretes Scytharum qui inpedimenta diripiebant,
meanwhile Aretes of-the-Scythians who the-baggage were-plundering
duce occiso gravius territis instabat. Supervenere
with-the-leader killed more-severely on-the-terrified pressed came-up
deinde a Dareo Bactriani pugnaeque vertere fortunam.
then from Darius the-Bactrians and-of-the-battle turned the-fortune
Multi ergo Macedonum primo impetu obtriti sunt, plures
many therefore of-the-Macedonians at-the-first charge crushed were more
ad Alexandrum refugerunt. Tum Persae clamore sublato,
to Alexander fled-back then the-Persians with-a-shout raised
qualem victores solent edere, ferociter in hostem quasi
such-as victors are-wont to-raise fiercely against the-enemy as-if
ubique profligatum incurrerunt. Alexander territos castigare,
everywhere routed charged Alexander the-terrified rebukes
adhortari, proelium, quod iam elanguerat, solus accendere:
exhorts the-battle which already had-flagged alone rekindles
confirmatisque tandem animis ire in hostem iubet. Rarior
and-with-strengthened at-last spirits to-go against the-enemy orders thinner

acies erat in dextro cornu Persarum: namque inde Bactriani
the-line was on the-right wing of-the-Persians for from-there the-Bactrians
discesserant ad opprimenda inpedimenta. Itaque Alexander
had-gone-off to overwhelm the-baggage and-so Alexander
laxatos ordines invadit et multa caede hostium invehitur.
the-loosened ranks attacks and with-much slaughter of-the-enemy charges-in
At qui in laevo cornu erant Persae, spe posse
but those-who on the-left wing were the-Persians in-the-hope to-be-able
eum includi agmen suum a tergo dimicantis opponunt:
him to-be-shut-in column their-own at the-rear of-him-fighting set
ingensque periculum in medio haerens adisset, ni
and-a-huge danger in the-middle stuck he-would-have-faced unless
equites Agriani calcaribus subditis circumfusos regi
the-horsemen Agrianian with-spurs applied the-spread-round round-the-king
barbaros adorti essent aversosque caedendo in se
barbarians attacked had and-the-turned-away by-cutting-down toward themselves
obverti coegissent. Turbata erat utraque acies. Alexander
to-turn had-compelled thrown-into-confusion was each line Alexander
et a fronte et a tergo hostem habebat. Qui averso
both from the-front and from the-rear the-enemy had those-who turned-away
ei instabant, et ipsi ab Agrianis equitibus premebantur.
on-him were-pressing and themselves by the-Agrianian horsemen were-pressed
Bactriani inpedimentis hostium direptis reversi ordines
the-Bactrians with-the-baggage of-the-enemy plundered having-returned ranks
suos recuperare non poterant, plura simul abrupta a ceteris
their-own to-recover not could more at-once broken-off from the-rest
agmina, ubicumque alium alii fors miscuerat, dimicabant. Duo
columns wherever one others chance had-mingled were-fighting the-two
reges iunctis prope agminibus proelium accenderant. Plures
kings with-joined almost columns the-battle had-kindled more
Persae cadebant, par ferme utrimque numerus vulnerabatur.
Persians were-falling an-equal about on-both-sides number was-wounded

Curru Dareus, Alexander equo vehebatur. Utrumque
in-a-chariot Darius Alexander on-horseback was-carried each
delecti tuebantur sui immemores: quippe amisso rege
picked-men guarded of-themselves unmindful for with-lost king
nec volebant salvi esse nec poterant. Ante oculos sui
neither they-wished safe to-be nor could before the-eyes of-his-own
quisque regis mortem occumbere ducebat egregium. Maximum
each king death to-meet considered splendid the-greatest
tamen periculum adibant, quos maxime tuebantur: quippe
yet danger faced those-whom most they-guarded for
sibi quisque caesi regis expetebat decus. Ceterum,
for-himself each of-the-slain king sought the-glory but
sive ludibrium oculorum sive vera species fuit, qui
whether a-trick of-the-eyes or a-true sight it-was those-who
circa Alexandrum erant, vidisse se crediderunt paulum
around Alexander were to-have-seen themselves believed a-little
super caput regis placide volantem aquilam, non sono
above the-head of-the-king calmly flying an-eagle not by-the-sound
armorum, non gemitu morientium territam, diuque circa
of-arms not by-the-groaning of-the-dying terrified and-long around
equum Alexandri pendenti magis quam volanti similis adparuit.
the-horse of-Alexander to-hanging more than to-flying similar it-appeared
Certe vates Aristander alba veste indutus et dextra
certainly the-seer Aristander in-white robe clad and in-his-right-hand
praeferens lauream militibus in pugnam intentis avem
carrying-before laurel to-the-soldiers on the-fight intent the-bird
monstrabat haud dubium victoriae auspicium. Ingens ergo
was-showing not doubtful of-victory omen huge therefore
alacritas et fiducia paulo ante territos accendit ad pugnam,
eagerness and confidence a-little before the-terrified kindled for the-fight
utique postquam auriga Darei, qui ante ipsum sedens
especially after the-charioteer of-Darius who before him sitting

equos regebat, hasta transfixus est. Nec aut Persae aut
the-horses was-guiding by-a-spear pierced was nor either the-Persians or
Macedones dubitavere, quin ipse rex esset occisus. Ergo
the-Macedonians doubted that himself the-king had been-killed therefore
lugubri ululatu et incondito clamore gemituque totam
with-mournful wailing and disorderly shouting and-groaning the-whole
fere aciem adhuc aequo Marte pugnantium turbavere
almost line still with-even Mars of-the-fighters threw-into-confusion
cognati Darei et armigeri. Laevumque cornu in fugam
the-kinsmen of-Darius and the-armor-bearers and-the-left wing into flight
effusum destituerat currum, quem a dextra parte stipati in
poured had-abandoned the-chariot which from the-right side crowding into
medium agmen receperunt. Dicitur acinace stricto Dareus
the-middle column received it-is-said with-the-scimitar drawn Darius
dubitasse, an fugae dedecus honesta morte vitaret:
to-have-hesitated whether of-flight the-disgrace by-an-honorable death he-should-avoid
sed eminens curru nondum omnem suorum aciem
but conspicuous in-the-chariot not-yet all of-his-own line
proelio excedentem destituere erubescebat, dumque inter
from-the-battle withdrawing to-abandon he-was-ashamed and-while between
spem et desperationem haesitat, sensim Persae cedebant et
hope and despair he-hesitates gradually the-Persians were-yielding and
laxaverant ordines. Alexander mutato equo — quippe plures
had-loosened their-ranks Alexander with-changed horse for more
fatigaverat — resistentium adversa ora fodiebat, fugientium
he-had-tired of-the-resisting the-facing faces he-was-stabbing of-the-fleeing
terga. Iamque non pugna, sed caedes erat, cum is Dareus
the-backs and-now not a-battle but a-slaughter it-was when that Darius
quoque currum suum in fugam vertit. Haerebat in tergis
also the-chariot his-own into flight turned there-clung on the-backs
fugientium victor, sed prospectum oculorum nubes pulveris,
of-the-fleeing the-victor but the-view of-the-eyes a-cloud of-dust

quae ad caelum efferebatur, abstulerat: ergo haud secus
which to the-sky was-borne-up had-taken-away therefore not otherwise
quam in tenebris errabant ad sonum notae vocis
than in darkness they-were-wandering at the-sound of-a-known voice
aut signum subinde coeuntes. Exaudiebant tamen strepitus
or a-signal repeatedly coming-together they-heard-plainly yet the-cracking
habenarum, quibus equi currum vehentes identidem
of-the-reins with-which the-horses the-chariot drawing again-and-again
verberabantur: haec sola fugientis vestigia excepta sunt.
were-lashed these alone of-the-fugitive the-traces caught were

XVI · THE VICTORY

Parmenio, hard pressed by Mazaeus, calls for help, and Alexander halts the pursuit. News of Darius' defeat shakes Mazaeus; the Thessalians drive him off, and he retreats to Babylon. Darius spares the Lycus bridge for his own men and reaches Arbela by midnight. Thirsty fugitives drink mud; many drown at the Lycus. Returning, Alexander kills an attacking band's leader. Forty thousand Persians fall and fewer than three hundred Macedonians. Curtius praises the king and his generals.

At in laevo Macedonum cornu — Parmenio, sicut ante est
but on the-left of-the-Macedonians wing Parmenio as before it-is
dictum, tuebatur — longe alia fortuna utriusque partis res
said was-guarding by-far other with-fortune of-each side the-thing
gerebatur. Mazaeus cum omni suorum equitatu vehementer
was-being-done Mazaeus with all of-his-own cavalry vehemently
invectus urguebat Macedonum alas. Iamque abundans
having-charged was-pressing of-the-Macedonians the-squadrons and-now abounding
multitudine aciem circumvehi coeperat, cum Parmenio equites
in-numbers the-line to-ride-round had-begun when Parmenio horsemen

nuntiare iubet Alexandro, in quo discrimine ipsi
to-announce orders to-Alexander in what crisis they-themselves
essent: ni mature subveniretur, non posse sisti fugam.
were unless promptly help-came not to-be-able to-be-stopped the-flight
Iam multum viae praeceperat rex inminens fugientium
now much of-the-way had-gained the-king pressing-on of-the-fleeing
tergis, cum a Parmenione tristis nuntius venit. Refrenare
the-backs when from Parmenio the-grim news came to-rein-in
equos iussi, qui vehebantur, agmenque constitit frendente
the-horses ordered who were-riding and-the-column halted with-gnashing-teeth
Alexandro, eripi sibi victoriam e manibus et
Alexander to-be-snatched from-him the-victory from his-hands and
Dareum felicius fugere quam se sequi. Interim
Darius more-successfully to-flee than himself to-pursue meanwhile
ad Mazaeum superati regis fama pervenerat: itaque,
to Mazaeus of-the-defeated king the-report had-come and-so
quamquam validior erat, tamen fortuna partium territus
although stronger he-was yet by-the-fortune of-the-sides terrified
perculsis languidius instabat. Parmenio ignorabat quidem
on-the-stricken more-feebly pressed Parmenio did-not-know indeed
causam sua sponte pugnae remissae, sed occasione
the-cause of-its-own accord of-the-battle relaxed but the-opportunity
vincendi strenue est usus. Thessalos equites ad se
of-conquering briskly he-has used the-Thessalian horsemen to himself
vocari iubet: 'Ecquid videtis,' inquit, 'istos, qui ferociter
to-be-called orders at-all see he-says those who fiercely
modo instabant, pedem referre subito pavore perterritos?
just-now were-pressing their-foot to-draw-back with-sudden panic terrified
Nimirum nobis quoque regis nostri fortuna vicit. Omnia
doubtless for-us also of-king our the-fortune has-conquered everything
Persarum caede strata sunt. Quid cessatis? an ne
with-the-Persians' slaughter strewn is why do-you-hang-back or not

fugientibus quidem pares estis?' Vera dicere videbatur, et
to-the-fleeing even equal are-you true-things to-say he-seemed and
spes languentis quoque erexerat: subditis calcaribus prorupere
hope the-flagging also had-raised with-spurs applied they-burst-forth
in hostem. Et illi iam non sensim, sed citato gradu
against the-enemy and they now not gradually but at-quickened pace
recedebant, nec quicquam fugae, nisi quod nondum terga
were-retreating nor anything of-flight except that not-yet their-backs
verterant, deerat. Parmenio tamen ignarus, quaenam in
they-had-turned was-lacking Parmenio yet ignorant what on
dextro cornu fortuna regis esset, repressit suos. Mazaeus
the-right wing the-fortune of-the-king was held-back his-men Mazaeus
dato pugnae spatio non recto itinere, sed maiore et
with-given of-fighting room not by-a-direct route but by-a-greater and
ob id tutiore circuitu Tigrin superat et Babylona cum
on-account-of that safer circuit the-Tigris crosses and Babylon with
reliquiis devicti exercitus intrat. Dareus paucis fugae
the-remnants of-the-conquered army enters Darius with-few of-flight
comitibus ad Lycum amnem contenderat: quo traiecto
companions to the-Lycus river had-hastened with-which crossed
dubitavit, an solveret pontem. Quippe hostem iam
he-hesitated whether he-should-break the-bridge for the-enemy now
adfore nuntiabatur. Sed tot milia suorum, quae nondum
to-be-near was-announced but so-many thousands of-his-own which not-yet
ad amnem pervenerant, ponte rescisso videbat hostis
to the-river had-come with-the-bridge cut-down he-saw of-the-enemy
praedam fore. Abeuntem, cum intactum sineret pontem,
the-prey going-to-be departing when untouched he-allowed the-bridge
dixisse constat malle se sequentibus iter dare quam
to-have-said it-is-agreed to-prefer himself to-the-pursuers a-way to-give than
auferre fugientibus. Ipse ingens spatium fuga emensus
to-take-away from-the-fleeing himself a-huge distance in-flight having-traversed

media fere nocte Arbela pervenit. Quis tot ludibria
at-mid about night to-Arbela came who so-many mockeries
fortunae, ducum, agminum caedem multiplicem, devictorum
of-fortune of-leaders of-columns the-slaughter manifold of-the-conquered
fugam, clades nunc singulorum, nunc universorum, aut
the-flight the-disasters now of-individuals now of-all either
animo adsequi queat aut oratione conplecti? Propemodum
in-mind to-grasp could or in-speech to-embrace almost
saeculi res in unum illum diem, pro! fortuna cumulavit.
of-an-age the-events into one that day alas fortune heaped
Alii, qua brevissimum patebat iter, alii devios saltus
some where the-shortest lay-open way others out-of-the-way passes
et ignotas sequentibus calles petebant. Eques pedesque
and unknown to-pursuers paths were-seeking horse and-foot
confusi sine duce, armatis inermes, integris debiles
mixed without a-leader with-the-armed the-unarmed with-the-sound the-crippled
inplicabantur. Deinde misericordia in metum versa, qui
were-entangled then pity into fear turned those-who
sequi non poterant, inter mutuos gemitus deserebantur.
to-follow not could amid mutual groans were-abandoned
Sitis praecipue fatigatos et saucios perurebat, passimque
thirst especially the-exhausted and wounded was-burning-up and-everywhere
omnibus rivis prostraverant corpora praeterfluentem aquam
at-all-the streams they-had-thrown-down their-bodies the-flowing-past water
hianti ore captantes. Quam cum avide turbidam hausissent,
with-gaping mouth catching which when greedily muddy they-had-drunk
tendebantur extemplo praecordia premente limo resolutisque
were-distended at-once their-stomachs with-pressing silt and-with-relaxed
et torpentibus membris, cum supervenisset hostis, novis
and numbed limbs when had-come-upon the-enemy by-new
vulneribus excitabantur. Quidam occupatis proximis rivis
wounds they-were-roused some with-occupied the-nearest streams

deverterant longius, ut, quidquid occulti humoris usquam
had-turned-aside farther that whatever of-hidden moisture anywhere
manaret, exciperent, nec ulla adeo avia et sicca lacuna
was-flowing they-might-catch nor any so out-of-the-way and dry pool
erat, ut vestigantium sitim falleret. E proximis vero
was that of-the-searchers the-thirst it-escaped from-the nearest indeed
itineri vicis ululatus senum feminarumque exaudiebantur
to-the-route villages the-wailing of-old-men and-women was-heard
barbaro ritu Dareum adhuc regem clamantium. Alexander,
in-barbarian rite Darius still king calling Alexander
ut supra dictum est, inhibito suorum impetu ad
as above said it-has-been with-checked of-his-men the-charge to
Lycum amnem pervenerat, ubi ingens multitudo fugientium
the-Lycus river had-come where a-huge multitude of-the-fleeing
oneraverat pontem, et plerique, cum hostis urgeret, in
had-loaded the-bridge and most since the-enemy was-pressing into
flumen se praecipitaverant gravesque armis et proelio ac
the-river themselves had-thrown and-heavy with-arms and by-battle and
fuga defetigati gurgitibus hauriebantur. Iamque non pons
flight worn-out by-the-whirlpools were-swallowed and-now not the-bridge
modo fugientes, sed ne amnis quidem capiebat agmina sua
only the-fleeing but not the-river even was-holding columns its-own
inprovide subinde cumulantis: quippe ubi intravit animos
improvidently repeatedly heaping-up for when has-entered minds
pavor, id solum metuunt, quod primum formidare coeperunt.
panic that only they-fear which first to-dread they-have-begun
Alexander instantibus suis, ne inpune abeuntem hostem
Alexander with-urging his-men that-not with-impunity departing the-enemy
intermitteret sequi, hebetia esse tela et manus fatigatas
he-should-let-go to-follow blunt to-be their-weapons and hands tired
tantoque cursu corpora exhausta et praeceps in noctem
and-by-so-great running bodies exhausted and headlong into night

diei tempus causatus est, re vera de laevo cornu, quod
of-the-day the-time pleaded he-has in fact about the-left wing which
adhuc in acie stare credebat, sollicitus reverti ad ferendam
still in the-line to-stand he-believed anxious to-return to bring
opem suis statuit. Iamque signa converterat, cum
help to-his-own decided and-now the-standards he-had-turned when
equites a Parmenione missi illius quoque partis victoriam
horsemen by Parmenio sent of-that also side the-victory
nuntiant. Sed nullum hoc die maius periculum adiit quam,
announce but no on-this day greater danger he-faced than
dum copias reducit in castra. Pauci eum et inconpositi
while his-forces he-leads-back into the-camp few him and disorderly
sequebantur ovantes victoria — quippe omnes hostes aut
were-following exulting in-victory for all the-enemy either
in fugam effusos aut in acie cecidisse credebant—:
into flight poured or in the-battle to-have-fallen they-believed
cum repente ex adverso apparuit agmen equitum, qui
when suddenly from opposite appeared a-column of-horsemen who
primo inhibuere cursum, deinde Macedonum paucitate
at-first checked their-course then of-the-Macedonians with-the-fewness
conspecta turmas in obvios concitaverunt. Ante
seen their-squadrons against those-meeting-them drove before
signa rex ibat dissimulato magis periculo quam
the-standards the-king was-going with-concealed rather the-danger than
spreto. Nec defuit ei perpetua in dubiis rebus
despised nor was-lacking to-him the-perpetual in doubtful circumstances
felicitas. Namque praefectum equitatus avidum certaminis et
good-fortune for the-commander of-the-cavalry eager for-the-contest and
ob id ipsum incautius in se ruentem hasta
on-account-of that very-reason more-incautiously at him rushing with-a-spear
transfixit: quo ex equo lapso proximum ac dein
he-pierced with-whom from his-horse having-slipped the-next and then

plures eodem telo confodit. Invasere turbatos amici
more with-the-same weapon he-stabbed attacked the-disordered the-friends
quoque. Nec Persae inulti cadebant: quippe non universae
also nor the-Persians unavenged were-falling for not entire
acies quam hae tumultuariae manus vehementius iniere
lines than these improvised bands more-vehemently entered
certamen. Tandem barbari, cum obscura luce tutior fuga
the-contest at-last the-barbarians since in-obscure light safer flight
videretur esse quam pugna, dispersis agminibus abiere. Rex
seemed to-be than fight with-dispersed columns departed the-king
extraordinario periculo defunctus incolumis suos reduxit
from-extraordinary danger released unharmed his-men led-back
in castra. Cecidere Persarum, quorum numerum victores
into the-camp fell of-the-Persians whose number the-victors
finire potuerunt, milia XL, Macedonum minus quam
to-determine could thousands forty of-the-Macedonians fewer than
CCC desiderati sunt. Ceterum hanc victoriam rex
three-hundred missed were but this victory the-king
maiore ex parte virtuti quam fortunae suae debuit: animo,
the-greater from part to-valor than to-fortune his-own owed by-courage
non, ut antea, loco vicit. Nam et aciem peritissime
not as before by-position he-conquered for both the-line most-skillfully
instruxit et promptissime ipse pugnavit et magno consilio
he-drew-up and most-readily himself fought and with-great judgment
iacturam sarcinarum inpedimentorumque contempsit, cum in
the-loss of-the-baggage and-equipment despised since in
ipsa acie summae rei videret esse discrimen, dubioque
the-very battle of-the-supreme matter he-saw to-be the-crisis and-with-doubtful
adhuc pugnae eventu pro victore se gessit. Perculsos
still of-the-battle outcome as victor himself he-conducted the-stricken
deinde hostis ut fudit, fugientes, quod in illo ardore
then enemy when he-routed the-fleeing which in that ardor

animi vix credi potest, prudentius quam avidius
of-mind scarcely to-be-believed can more-prudently than more-eagerly
persecutus est. Nam si parte exercitus adhuc in acie
pursued he-has for if with-part of-the-army still in the-line
stante instare cedentibus perseverasset, aut culpa sua
standing to-press the-retreating he-had-persisted either by-fault his-own
victus esset aut aliena virtute vicisset.
conquered he-would-have-been or by-another's valor would-have-conquered
Iam si multitudinem equitum occurrentium extimuisset,
now if the-multitude of-the-horsemen meeting-him he-had-feared
victori aut foede fugiendum aut miserabiliter cadendum
for-the-victor either shamefully to-be-fled or pitiably to-be-fallen
fuit. Ne duces quidem copiarum sua laude fraudandi
it-was not the-leaders even of-the-forces of-their-own praise to-be-cheated
sunt. Quippe vulnera, quae quisque excepit, indicia virtutis
are for the-wounds which each received signs of-valor
sunt: Hephaestionis brachium hasta ictum est, Perdicca et
are of-Hephaestion the-arm by-a-spear struck was Perdiccas and
Coenos et Menidas sagittis prope occisi. Et, si vere aestimare
Coenus and Menidas by-arrows almost killed and if truly to-assess
Macedonas, qui tunc erant, volumus, fatebimur et regem
the-Macedonians who then were we-wish we-shall-confess both the-king
talibus ministris et illos tanto rege fuisse dignissimos.
of-such servants and them of-so-great a-king to-have-been most-worthy

BOOK V

I · BABYLON

Curtius keeps the story of Asia whole. At Arbela, Darius says he will raise forces in the untouched east while Alexander seeks the rich cities, and Darius enters Media. Alexander takes Arbela's treasure and Babylon's surrender from Mazaeus, entering amid flowers and gifts. Curtius describes Semiramis' walls and the hanging gardens, and condemns the luxury in which the army lingers twenty-four days. Reinforcements arrive, and Alexander settles the province and pays the men.

Quae interim ductu imperioque Alexandri vel in
what-things meanwhile under-the-leadership and-command of-Alexander either among
Graecis vel Illyriis ac Thraecia gesta sunt, si suis
the-Greeks or the-Illyrians and Thrace done were if to-their-own
quaeque temporibus reddere voluero, interrumpendae sunt
each times to-render I-should-wish to-be-interrupted are
res Asiae, quas utique ad fugam mortemque Darei
the-affairs of-Asia which at-any-rate up-to the-flight and-death of-Darius
universas in conspectum dari et, sicut inter se
all into view to-be-given and as among themselves
cohaerent, ita opere ipso coniungi haud paulo aptius
they-cohere so in-the-work itself to-be-joined not a-little more-fitting
videri potest. Igitur, quae proelio apud Arbela coniuncta
to-seem can therefore what to-the-battle at Arbela joined
sunt, ordiar dicere. Dareus media fere nocte Arbela
are I-shall-begin to-tell Darius at-mid about night to-Arbela
pervenerat, eodemque magnae partis amicorum eius
had-come and-to-the-same-place of-a-great part of-the-friends his
ac militum fugam fortuna conpulerat. Quibus convocatis
and of-the-soldiers the-flight fortune had-driven with-whom called-together
exponit haud dubitare se, quin Alexander celeberrimas
he-sets-forth not to-doubt himself that Alexander the-most-famous

urbes agrosque omni copia rerum abundantes petiturus
cities and-fields with-every abundance of-things abounding going-to-seek
esset: praedam opimam paratamque ipsum et milites eius
was the-plunder rich and-ready him and the-soldiers his
spectare. Id suis rebus tali in statu saluti fore: quippe
to-look-to that for-his-own affairs such in a-state for-safety going-to-be for
se deserta cum expedita manu petiturum. Ultima
himself the-deserts with a-light-armed band going-to-seek the-farthest-parts
regni sui adhuc intacta esse: inde bello vires haud
of-kingdom his still untouched to-be from-there for-war strength not
aegre reparaturum. Occuparet sane gazam avidissima
with-difficulty going-to-restore let-it-seize by-all-means the-treasure the-greediest
gens et ex longa fame satiaret se auro, mox futura
race and from long hunger let-it-sate itself with-gold soon going-to-be
praedae sibi: usu didicisse pretiosam supellectilem
for-plunder for-himself by-experience to-have-learned the-precious furniture
pelicesque et spadonum agmina nihil aliud fuisse quam
and-the-concubines and of-eunuchs the-columns nothing other to-have-been than
onera et inpedimenta. Eadem trahentem Alexandrum,
burdens and hindrances the-same-things dragging Alexander
quibus rebus antea vicisset, inferiorem fore. Plena
by-which things before he-had-conquered inferior going-to-be full
omnibus desperationis videbatur oratio: quippe Babylona,
to-all of-despair seemed the-speech for Babylon
urbem opulentissimam, dedi cernentibus: iam Susa,
the-city most-opulent to-be-surrendered seeing now Susa
iam cetera ornamenta regni, causam belli, victorem
now the-other ornaments of-the-kingdom the-cause of-the-war the-victor
occupaturum. At ille docere pergit non speciosa dictu, sed
going-to-seize but he to-teach proceeds not the-showy to-tell but
usu necessaria in rebus adversis sequenda esse: ferro
in-use the-necessary in circumstances adverse to-be-followed to-be by-iron

geri bella, non auro, viris, non urbium tectis. Omnia
to-be-waged wars not by-gold by-men not of-cities by-the-roofs everything
sequi armatos: sic maiores suos perculsos in principio
to-follow the-armed thus ancestors his struck-down in the-beginning
rerum celeriter pristinam reparasse fortunam. Igitur sive
of-things quickly their-former to-have-restored fortune therefore whether
confirmatis eorum animis sive imperium magis quam
with-strengthened their minds or the-command rather than
consilium sequentibus Mediae fines ingressus est. Paulo
the-counsel following of-Media the-borders entered he-has a-little
post Alexandro Arbela traduntur regia supellectile ditique
after to-Alexander Arbela is-handed-over with-royal furniture and-rich
gaza repleta: IIII milia talentum fuere, praeterea pretiosae
treasure filled four thousand of-talents there-were besides precious
vestes, totius, ut supra dictum est, exercitus opibus
garments of-the-whole as above said it-is of-the-army with-the-riches
in illam sedem congestis. Ingruentibus deinde morbis,
into that seat brought-together with-attacking then diseases
quos odor cadaverum totis iacentium campis vulgaverat,
which the-stench of-corpses over-all lying the-plains had-spread
maturius castra movit. Euntibus a parte laeva Arabia,
more-promptly the-camp he-moved to-those-going on the-side left Arabia
odorum fertilitate nobilis regio: campestre iter est in
of-perfumes for-the-fertility famous region a-level route is in
terra inter Tigrin et Euphraten iacenti tam uberi et
a-land between the-Tigris and the-Euphrates lying so rich and
pingui, ut a pastu repelli pecora dicantur, ne satietas
fat that from grazing to-be-driven-back the-flocks are-said lest surfeit
perimat. Causa fertilitatis est humor, qui ex utroque
kill-them the-cause of-the-fertility is the-moisture which from each
amne manat, toto fere solo propter venas aquarum
river seeps with-the-whole almost soil through veins of-waters

resudante. Ipsi amnes ex Armeniae montibus profluunt
sweating-out the-rivers themselves from of-Armenia the-mountains flow-forth
ac magno deinde aquarum divortio iter, quod coeperunt,
and by-a-great then of-waters parting the-course which they-have-begun
percurrunt: II milia et quingenta stadia emensi sunt,
run-through two thousand and five-hundred stades measured have
qui amplissimum intervallum circa Armeniae montes
those-who the-widest interval around of-Armenia the-mountains
notaverunt. Idem cum Mediam et Gordyaeorum terram
have-noted the-same when Media and of-the-Gordyaeans the-land
secare coeperunt, paulatim in artius coeunt et, quo
to-cut they-have-begun gradually into narrower come-together and the
longius manant, hoc angustius inter se spatium terrae
farther they-flow the narrower between themselves a-space of-land
relinquunt. Vicini maxime sunt in campis, quos incolae
leave nearest most they-are in the-plains which the-inhabitants
Mesopotamiam appellant: mediam namque ab utroque latere
Mesopotamia call the-middle for from each side
cludunt. Tandem per Babyloniorum fines in Rubrum
they-enclose at-last through of-the-Babylonians the-territory into the-Red
mare inrumpunt. Alexander quartis castris ad Mennim
sea they-burst Alexander at-the-fourth camp to Mennis
urbem pervenit. Caverna ibi est, ex qua fons ingentem
the-city came a-cave there is from which a-spring a-huge
bituminis vim effundit, adeo ut satis constet Babylonios
of-bitumen quantity pours-out so that well it-is-agreed the-Babylonian
muros ingentis operis huius fontis bitumine interlitos
walls of-huge construction of-this spring's with-bitumen cemented
esse. Ceterum Babylona procedenti Alexandro Mazaeus,
to-have-been but to-Babylon advancing to-Alexander Mazaeus
qui ex acie in eam urbem confugerat, cum adultis
who from the-battle into that city had-fled with grown

liberis supplex occurrit urbem seque dedens. Gratus
children a-suppliant comes-to-meet-him the-city and-himself surrendering welcome
adventus eius regi fuit: quippe magni operis obsidio
the-coming his to-the-king was for of-great labor the-siege
futura erat tam munitae urbis. Ad hoc vir inlustris et
going-to-be was of-so fortified a-city to this a-man distinguished and
manu promptus famaque etiam proximo proelio celebris et
in-hand ready and-by-fame also from-the-latest battle celebrated and
ceteros ad deditionem suo incitaturus exemplo videbatur.
the-rest to surrender by-his-own going-to-spur example he-seemed
Igitur hunc quidem benigne cum liberis excipit: ceterum
therefore him indeed kindly with his-children he-receives but
quadrato agmine, quod ipse ducebat, velut in aciem
in-square column which he-himself was-leading as-if into battle
irent, ingredi suos iubet. Magna pars Babyloniorum
they-were-going to-enter his-men orders a-great part of-the-Babylonians
constiterat in muris avida cognoscendi novum regem, plures
had-stood on the-walls eager of-getting-to-know the-new king more
obviam egressi sunt. Inter quos Bagophanes, arcis et
to-meet-him gone-out have among whom Bagophanes of-the-citadel and
regiae pecuniae custos, ne studio a Mazaeo vinceretur,
of-the-royal money the-keeper lest in-zeal by Mazaeus be-should-be-outdone
totum iter floribus coronisque constraverat argenteis altaribus
the-whole route with-flowers and-garlands had-strewn with-silver altars
utroque latere dispositis, quae non ture modo, sed
on-each side placed which not with-incense only but
omnibus odoribus cumulaverat. Dona eum sequebantur greges
with-all perfumes he-had-heaped gifts him followed herds
pecorum equorumque, leones quoque et pardales caveis
of-cattle and-of-horses lions also and leopards in-cages
praeferebantur. Magi deinde suo more carmen canentes,
were-carried-before the-Magi then in-their-own manner a-chant singing

post hos Chaldaei Babyloniorumque non vates modo, sed
after these the-Chaldaeans and-of-the-Babylonians not the-seers only but
etiam artifices cum fidibus sui generis ibant: laudes
also the-craftsmen with lyres of-their-own kind went the-praises
hi regum canere soliti, Chaldaei siderum motus et
these of-the-kings to-sing accustomed the-Chaldaeans of-the-stars the-motions and
statas vices temporum ostendere. Equites deinde Babylonii
the-fixed changes of-the-seasons to-show the-horsemen then Babylonian
suo equorumque cultu ad luxuriam magis quam ad
with-their-own and-of-the-horses apparel to luxury rather than to
magnificentiam exacto ultimi ibant. Rex armatis stipatus
magnificence perfected last went the-king by-armed-men surrounded
oppidanorum turbam post ultimos pedites ire iussit: ipse
of-the-townsfolk the-crowd after the-last infantry to-go ordered himself
cum curru urbem ac deinde regiam intravit. Postero die
with his-chariot the-city and then the-palace entered on-the-following day
supellectilem Darei et omnem pecuniam recognovit. Ceterum
the-furniture of-Darius and all the-money he-inspected but
ipsius urbis pulchritudo ac vetustas non regis modo,
of-the-very city the-beauty and antiquity not of-the-king only
sed etiam omnium oculos in semet haud inmerito convertit.
but also of-all the-eyes on itself not undeservedly turned
Samiramis eam condiderat, non, ut plerique credidere, Belus,
Semiramis it had-founded not as most have-believed Belus
cuius regia ostenditur. Murus instructus laterculo coctili
whose palace is-shown the-wall built of-brick baked
bitumine interlito spatium XXX et duorum pedum in
with-bitumen cemented a-space of-thirty and two feet in
latitudinem amplectitur: quadrigae inter se occurrentes
breadth embraces four-horse-chariots against each-other meeting
sine periculo commeare dicuntur. Altitudo muri L
without danger to-pass are-said the-height of-the-wall fifty

cubitorum eminet spatio: turres denis pedibus quam murus
cubits rises in-space the-towers by-ten-each feet than the-wall
altiores sunt. Totius operis ambitus CCCLXV
higher are of-the-whole work the-circuit three-hundred-and-sixty-five
stadia conplectitur: singulorum stadiorum structuram singulis
stades embraces of-each stade the-structure in-single
diebus perfectam esse memoriae proditum est. Aedificia
days completed to-have-been to-memory handed-down it-is the-buildings
non sunt admota muris, sed fere spatium iugeri unius
not are adjoined to-the-walls but about the-space of-an-acre one
absunt. Ac ne totam quidem urbem tectis occupaverunt —
are-distant and not the-whole even city with-houses they-have-occupied
per LXXX stadia habitabatur—, nec omnia continua sunt,
for eighty stades it-was-inhabited nor all continuous are
credo, quia tutius visum est pluribus locis spargi.
I-believe because safer seemed it-was in-more places to-be-scattered
Cetera serunt coluntque, ut, si externa vis ingruat,
the-rest they-sow and-cultivate so-that if external force attack
obsessis alimenta ex ipsius urbis solo subministrentur.
for-the-besieged provisions from the-very city's soil may-be-supplied
Euphrates interfluit magnaeque molis crepidinibus coercetur.
the-Euphrates flows-through and-of-great mass by-embankments is-confined
Sed omnium operum magnitudinem circumveniunt cavernae
but of-all the-works the-magnitude surpass caves
ingentem in altitudinem pressae ad accipiendum impetum
huge to depth sunk for receiving the-onrush
fluminis: quod ubi adpositae crepidinis fastigium excessit,
of-the-river which when of-the-placed embankment the-top it-has-exceeded
urbis tecta corriperet, nisi essent specus lacusque,
the-city's houses would-sweep-away unless there-were tunnels and-pools
qui exciperent. Coctili laterculo structi sunt, totum opus
which would-receive-it of-baked brick built they-are the-whole work

bitumine adstringitur. Pons lapideus flumini inpositus iungit
with-bitumen is-bound a-bridge of-stone on-the-river placed joins
urbem. Hic quoque inter mirabilia Orientis opera numeratus
the-city this too among the-wonderful of-the-East works counted
est. Quippe Euphrates altum limum vehit, quo penitus
is for the-Euphrates deep mud carries with-which deep-down
ad fundamenta iacienda egesto vix suffulciendo operi
for the-foundations to-be-laid dug-out scarcely for-supporting the-work
firmum reperiunt solum: harenae autem subinde cumulatae
firm they-find soil the-sands however repeatedly heaped-up
et saxis, quis pons sustinetur, adnexae morantur
and to-the-stones by-which the-bridge is-supported attached delay
amnem, qui retentus acrius, quam si libero cursu mearet,
the-river which held-back more-violently than if with-free course it-flowed
inliditur. Arcem quoque ambitu XX stadia conplexam
is-dashed the-citadel also in-circuit twenty stades embracing
habent. XXX pedes in terram turrium fundamenta demissa
they-have thirty feet into the-earth of-the-towers the-foundations let-down
sunt, ad LXXX summum munimenti fastigium pervenit.
are to eighty the-topmost of-the-fortification summit comes
Super arcem, vulgatum Graecorum fabulis miraculum,
above the-citadel the-famous of-the-Greeks in-the-tales wonder
pensiles horti sunt, summam murorum altitudinem aequantes
the-hanging gardens are the-top of-the-walls height equaling
multarumque arborum umbra et proceritate amoeni. Saxo
and-of-many trees by-the-shade and height pleasant of-stone
pilae, quae totum onus sustinent, instructae sunt: super
the-pillars which the-whole weight support built are on
pilas lapide quadrato solum stratum est patiens terrae,
the-pillars of-stone squared a-floor laid is enduring of-the-earth
quam altam iniciunt, et humoris, quo rigant terras:
which deep they-heap-on and of-the-moisture with-which they-water the-lands

adeoque validas arbores sustinet moles, ut stipites earum
and-so-much strong trees supports the-mass that the-trunks of-them
VIII cubitorum spatium crassitudine aequent, in L pedum
of-eight cubits the-space in-thickness equal to fifty feet
altitudinem emineant frugiferaeque sint, ut si terra sua
in-height rise and-fruitful are as if in-earth their-own
alerentur. Et, cum vetustas non opera solum manu facta,
they-were-nourished and since age not works only by-hand made
sed etiam ipsam naturam paulatim exedendo perimat, haec
but also itself nature gradually by-eating-away destroys this
moles, quae tot arborum radicibus premitur tantique
mass which by-so-many trees' roots is-pressed and-of-so-great
nemoris pondere onerata est, inviolata durat: quippe
a-grove with-the-weight loaded is unharmed lasts for
XX pedes lati parietes sustinent XI pedum intervallo
twenty feet wide walls support-it by-eleven feet of-interval
distantes, ut procul visentibus silvae montibus suis
distant so-that from-afar to-those-viewing woods over-mountains their-own
inminere videantur. Syriae regem Babylone regnantem hoc
to-overhang may-seem of-Syria a-king at-Babylon reigning this
opus esse molitum memoriae proditum est, amore coniugis
work to-have contrived to-memory handed-down it-is by-love of-his-wife
victum, quae desiderio nemorum silvarumque in campestribus
overcome who from-longing for-groves and-woods in level
locis virum conpulit amoenitatem naturae genere huius
places her-husband compelled the-pleasantness of-nature by-the-kind of-this
operis imitari. Diutius in hac urbe quam usquam constitit
work to-imitate longer in this city than anywhere stayed
rex, nec alio loco disciplinae militari magis nocuit.
the-king nor in-other place to-discipline military more did-he-harm
Nihil urbis eius corruptius moribus, nihil ad inritandas
nothing of-the-city its more-corrupt than-the-morals nothing for provoking

inliciendasque inmodicas cupiditates instructius. Liberos
and-enticing immoderate desires more-equipped children
coniugesque cum hospitibus stupro coire, modo pretium
and-wives with guests in-debauchery to-join provided the-price
flagitii detur, parentes maritique patiuntur. Convivales ludi
of-the-shame be-given parents and-husbands allow convivial games
tota Perside regibus purpuratisque cordi sunt, Babylonii
in-the-whole Persis to-kings and-courtiers dear are the-Babylonians
maxime in vinum et, quae ebrietatem sequuntur,
most to wine and the-things-which drunkenness follow
effusi sunt. Feminarum convivia ineuntium in principio
given-over are of-the-women the-banquets entering at the-beginning
modestus est habitus, dein summa quaeque amicula
modest is the-dress then the-uppermost each garments
exuunt paulatimque pudorem profanant, ad ultimum —
they-take-off and-gradually their-modesty they-profane at the-last
honos auribus habitus sit — ima corporum velamenta
honor to-the-ears paid be the-lowest of-their-bodies coverings
proiciunt. Nec meretricum hoc dedecus est, sed matronarum
they-throw-off nor of-harlots this disgrace is but of-matrons
virginumque, apud quas comitas habetur vulgati corporis
and-of-maidens among whom courtesy is-held of-a-prostituted body
vilitas. Inter haec flagitia exercitus ille domitor Asiae per
the-cheapness amid these disgraces the-army that tamer of-Asia for
XXIIII dies saginatus ad ea, quae sequebantur, discrimina
twenty-four days fattened for the-things which were-following crises
haud dubie debilior futurus fuit, si hostem habuisset.
not doubtfully weaker going-to-be was if an-enemy it-had-had
Ceterum, quo minus damnum sentiret, identidem incremento
but that less the-damage it-should-feel repeatedly by-increase
renovabatur. Namque Amyntas Andromeni ab Antipatro
it-was-renewed for Amyntas son-of-Andromenes from Antipater

Macedonum peditum VI milia adduxit, D praeterea
of-Macedonian infantry six thousand brought five-hundred besides
eiusdem generis equites, cum his DC Thracas adiunctis
of-the-same kind horsemen with these six-hundred Thracians with-joined
peditibus suae gentis III milibus D, et ex
infantry of-their-own nation three thousand five-hundred and from
Peloponneso mercennarius miles ad IIII milia advenerat cum
the-Peloponnese mercenary soldiery about four thousand had-come with
trecentis octoginta equitibus. Idem Amyntas adduxerat L
three-hundred eighty horsemen the-same Amyntas had-brought fifty
principum Macedoniae liberos adultos ad custodiam corporis.
of-the-chief-men of-Macedonia sons grown for the-guard of-the-body
Quippe inter epulas hi sunt regibus ministri idemque
for at banquets these are to-kings servants and-the-same
equos ineuntibus proelium admovent venantesque comitantur
the-horses to-them-entering battle bring-up and-hunting accompany
et vigiliarum vices ante cubiculi fores servant:
and of-the-watches the-turns before of-the-bedchamber the-doors keep
magnorumque praefectorum et ducum haec incrementa sunt
and-of-great commanders and generals these the-beginnings are
et rudimenta. Igitur rex arci Babylone Agathone
and the-first-lessons therefore the-king over-the-citadel at-Babylon with-Agathon
praesidere iusso cum septingentis Macedonum trecentisque
to-preside ordered with seven-hundred Macedonians and-three-hundred
mercede conductis praetores, qui regioni Babyloniae ac
for-pay hired as-governors who over-the-region of-Babylonia and
Ciliciae praeessent, Meneta et Apollodorum relinquit. II
of-Cilicia should-preside Menes and Apollodorus he-leaves two
milia his militum cum mille talentis data: utrique
thousand to-these of-soldiers with a-thousand talents given to-both
praeceptum, ut in supplementum milites legerent. Mazaeum
it-was-instructed that for reinforcement soldiers they-should-levy Mazaeus

transfugam satrapea Babylone donat, Bagophanem, qui
the-deserter with-the-satrapy of-Babylon he-presents Bagophanes who
arcem tradiderat, se sequi iussit, Armenia Mithreni,
the-citadel had-handed-over him to-follow he-ordered Armenia to-Mithrenes
Sardium proditori, data est. Ex pecunia deinde Babylone
of-Sardis the-betrayer given was from the-money then at-Babylon
tradita Macedonum equitibus sesceni denarii tributi:
handed-over to-the-Macedonian horsemen six-hundred-each denarii were-assigned
peregrinus eques quingenos accepit, ducenos pedes
the-foreign horseman five-hundred-each received two-hundred-each the-infantryman
domesticus, mercennarius duorum stipendium mensum.
native the-mercenary of-two pay of-months

II · SUSA

In Sittacene Alexander holds a contest of valor, makes the winners commanders of a thousand, and sets a signal pole above his headquarters. Abulites surrenders Susa, where fifty thousand talents of uncoined silver are found. A eunuch weeps to see Darius' table under Alexander's feet, but Philotas calls it an omen. Alexander offers Sisigambis Macedonian cloth and its weavers; she weeps at the insult, and he apologizes, honoring her as a mother.

His ita conpositis in regionem, quae Sittacene vocatur,
with-these thus settled into the-region which Sittacene is-called
pervenit: fertilis terra copia rerum et omni commeatu
he-came a-fertile land with-abundance of-things and with-all provisions
abundans. Itaque diutius ibi substitit ac, ne desides otio
abounding and-so longer there he-halted and lest idle with-leisure
demitterent animos, iudices dedit praemiaque proposuit
they-should-let-sink their-spirits judges he-appointed and-prizes proposed
de virtute militari certantibus nova: qui fortissimi
about valor military to-those-contending new who the-bravest

iudicati essent, singulis militum milibus praefuturi erant —
judged had-been over-single of-soldiers thousands going-to-command were
chiliarchas vocabant — tunc primum in hunc numerum
chiliarchs they-called-them then for-the-first-time into this number
copiis distributis: namque antea quingenariae cohortes
with-the-forces distributed for before of-five-hundred cohorts
fuerant nec fortitudini praemia cesserant. Ingens militum
there-had-been nor to-bravery prizes had-fallen a-huge of-soldiers
turba convenerat egregio interfutura certamini, testis
crowd had-assembled at-the-outstanding going-to-be-present contest a-witness
eadem cuiusque factorum et de iudicibus latura
the-same each-man's deeds and about the-judges going-to-bring
sententiam: quippe verone an falso honos cuique haberetur,
a-verdict for whether-truly or falsely honor to-each was-paid
ignorari non poterat. Primus omnium virtutis causa donatus
to-be-unknown not could the-first of-all for-valor's sake rewarded
est Atarrhias senior, qui omissum apud Halicarnason
was Atarrhias an-older-man who the-abandoned at Halicarnassus
a iunioribus proelium unus maxime accenderat, proximus
by the-younger-men battle alone most had-rekindled next
ei Antigenes visus est, tertium locum Philotas Augaeus
to-him Antigenes seemed was the-third place Philotas Augaeus
obtinuit, quartus Amyntae datus, post hos Antigonus et
held the-fourth to-Amyntas was-given after these Antigonus and
ab eo Lyncestes Amyntas fuit, septimum locum Theodotus,
after him Lyncestes Amyntas was the-seventh place Theodotus
ultimum obtinuit Hellanicus. In disciplina quoque militari
the-last held Hellanicus in discipline also military
relicta a maioribus pleraque summa utilitate mutavit. Nam
left by the-ancestors most-things with-the-greatest advantage he-changed for
cum ante equites in suam quisque gentem discriberentur
whereas before the-horsemen into his-own each nation were-assigned

seorsus a ceteris, exempto nationum discrimine praefectis
apart from the-rest with-removed of-nations the-distinction to-commanders
non utique suarum gentium, sed delectis attribuit.
not necessarily of-their-own nations but picked he-assigned-them
Tuba, cum castra movere vellet, signum dabat, cuius
with-the-trumpet when the-camp to-move he-wished the-signal he-was-giving whose
sonus plerumque tumultuantium fremitu exoriente haud
sound mostly of-men-making-uproar with-the-din arising not
satis exaudiebatur: ergo perticam, quae undique conspici
sufficiently was-heard therefore a-pole which on-all-sides to-be-seen
posset, supra praetorium statuit, ex qua signum eminens
could above the-headquarters he-set-up from which a-signal standing-out
pariter omnibus conspicuum observabatur ignis noctu, fumus
equally to-all conspicuous was-watched-for fire by-night smoke
interdiu. Iamque Susa ei adituro Abulites, regionis
by-day and-now Susa to-him going-to-approach Abulites of-region
eius praefectus, sive Darei iussu, ut Alexandrum praeda
that the-governor whether of-Darius by-order that Alexander by-plunder
retineret, sive sua sponte filium obviam misit,
he-might-hold-back or of-his-own accord his-son to-meet-him sent
traditurum se urbem promittens. Benigne iuvenem
going-to-hand-over himself the-city promising kindly the-young-man
excepit rex et eodem duce ad Choaspin amnem
received the-king and with-the-same-man as-guide to the-Choaspes river
pervenit, delicatam, ut fama est, vehentem aquam. Hic
came delicate as the-report is carrying water here
Abulites cum donis regalis opulentiae occurrit. Dromades
Abulites with gifts of-royal opulence meets-him dromedary
cameli inter dona erant velocitatis eximiae, XII elephanti
camels among the-gifts were of-speed exceptional twelve elephants
a Dareo ex India acciti, iam non terror, ut speraverat,
by Darius from India summoned now not a-terror as he-had-hoped

Macedonum, sed auxilium, opes victi ad victorem
to-the-Macedonians but a-help the-riches of-the-conquered to the-victor
transferente fortuna. Ut vero urbem intravit, incredibilem ex
with-transferring fortune when indeed the-city he-entered an-incredible from
thesauris summam pecuniae egessit, L milia talentum
the-treasuries sum of-money he-brought-out fifty thousand of-talents
argenti non signati forma, sed rudi pondere. Multi reges
of-silver not of-coined in-shape but in-rough weight many kings
tantas opes longa aetate cumulaverant liberis posterisque,
so-great riches over-a-long age had-heaped-up for-children and-posterity
ut arbitrabantur: quas una hora in externi regis manus
as they-thought which one hour into of-a-foreign king the-hands
intulit. Consedit deinde in regia sella multo excelsiore quam
brought he-sat then on the-royal throne much higher than
pro habitu corporis. Itaque, cum pedes imum gradum
in-proportion-to the-stature of-his-body and-so since his-feet the-lowest step
non contingerent, unus ex regiis pueris mensam subdidit
not reached one of the-royal pages a-table put-under
pedibus. Et cum spadonem, qui Darei fuerat, ingemiscentem
his-feet and when a-eunuch who of-Darius had-been groaning
conspexisset rex, causam maestitiae requisivit. Ille indicat
he-had-seen the-king the-cause of-his-sorrow asked he points-out
Dareum vesci in ea solitum, seque sacram eius mensam
Darius to-eat on it accustomed and-himself the-sacred his table
ad ludibrium recidentem sine lacrimis conspicere non posse.
to mockery falling without tears to-behold not to-be-able
Subiit ergo regem verecundia violandi hospitales deos,
came-upon therefore the-king shame of-violating the-hospitable gods
iamque subduci iubebat, cum Philotas: 'Minime vero
and-now to-be-withdrawn he-was-ordering when Philotas not-at-all indeed
haec feceris, rex, sed omen quoque accipe, mensam, ex
this you-should-do king but the-omen also accept the-table from

qua libavit hostis epulas, tuis pedibus esse subiectam.'
which has-tasted the-enemy the-feasts your feet to-be placed-under
Rex Persidis finem aditurus Susa urbem Archelao
the-king of-Persis the-border going-to-approach Susa the-city to-Archelaus
et praesidium III milium tradidit, Xenophilo arcis
and a-garrison of-three thousand handed-over to-Xenophilus of-the-citadel
cura mandata est mille Macedonum aetate gravibus
the-care entrusted was with-a-thousand of-the-Macedonians with-age heavy
praesidere arcis custodiae iussis, thesaurorum Callicrati
to-preside over-the-citadel's guard ordered of-the-treasuries to-Callicrates
tutela permissa, satrapea regionis Susianae restituta
with-the-protection entrusted with-the-satrapy of-the-region Susian restored
Abulitae. Matrem quoque et liberos Darei in eadem urbe
to-Abulites the-mother also and children of-Darius in the-same city
deponit. Ac forte Macedonicas vestes multamque purpuram
he-sets-down and by-chance Macedonian garments and-much purple
dono ex Macedonia sibi missam cum iis, quae confecerant,
as-a-gift from Macedonia to-him sent with those who had-made-them
tradi Sisigambi iubet — omni namque honore eam
to-be-handed-over to-Sisigambis he-orders with-every for honor her
et filii quoque pietate prosequebatur — admonerique, ut,
and of-a-son also with-devotion he-attended and-to-be-advised that
si cordi ei quoque vestis esset, conficere eam neptes
if dear to-her also the-garment were to-make it the-granddaughters
suas adsuefaceret, donoque se, quae docerent, dare. Ad
her-own she-should-accustom and-as-a-gift himself those-who might-teach to-give at
hanc vocem lacrimae obortae prodidere animum aspernantis
this word tears welling-up betrayed the-mind of-one-spurning
id munus: quippe non aliud magis in contumeliam Persarum
that gift for not anything more as an-insult of-the-Persians
feminae accipiunt quam admovere lanae manus. Nuntiant,
women take than to-put to-wool their-hands they-announce

qui dona tulerant, tristem esse Sisigambim, dignaque res
those-who the-gifts had-brought sad to-be Sisigambis and-worthy the-thing
et excusatione et solacio visa. Ipse ergo pervenit ad eam
both of-excuse and of-consolation seemed he therefore came to her
et: 'Mater,' inquit, 'hanc vestem, qua indutus sum, sororum
and mother he-says this garment in-which clothed I-am of-my-sisters
non donum solum, sed etiam opus vides: nostri decepere me
not the-gift only but also the-work you-see our deceived me
mores. Cave, obsecro, in contumeliam acceperis ignorationem
customs beware I-beg-you as an-insult you-take ignorance
meam. Quae tui moris esse cognovi, ut spero, abunde
my what-things of-your custom to-be I-have-learned as I-hope abundantly
servata sunt. Scio apud vos filio in conspectu matris
kept are I-know among you for-a-son in sight of-his-mother
nefas esse considere, nisi cum illa permisit: quotienscumque
wrong to-be to-sit-down unless when she has-permitted whenever
ad te veni, donec, ut considerem, adnueres, ipse
to you I-have-come until that I-should-sit-down you-nodded I-myself
steti. Procumbens venerari me saepe voluisti: inhibui.
stood prostrating to-do-reverence to-me often you-have-wished I-prevented
Dulcissimae matri Olympiadi nomen debitum tibi reddo.'
to-my-sweetest mother Olympias the-name due to-you I-give

III · THE UXII AND THE SUSIAN GATES

Alexander crosses the Pasitigris and attacks the Uxii, whose governor Medates holds out in his town. Tauron appears above the citadel by a hidden path, and the town gives way. The Uxii beg Sisigambis to intercede, and Alexander pardons Medates, her kinsman, and frees them all. He divides his army with Parmenio and enters the Susian Gates, where Ariobarzanes' men roll boulders onto the column. Unable to fight back, the Macedonians retreat.

Mitigato animo eius rex quartis castris pervenit ad
with-softened the-mind her the-king at-the-fourth camp came to
Tigrim fluvium: Pasitigrim incolae vocant. Oritur in
the-Tigris river Pasitigris the-inhabitants call-it it-rises in
montibus Uxiorum et per L stadia silvestribus ripis
the-mountains of-the-Uxii and for fifty stades between-wooded banks
praeceps inter saxa devolvitur. Accipiunt deinde eum campi,
headlong among rocks rolls-down receive then it the-plains
quos clementiore alveo praeterit, iam navium patiens. DC
which with-a-gentler channel it-passes now of-ships capable six-hundred
sunt stadia mollioris soli, per quod leni tractu aquarum
there-are stades of-softer soil through which with-gentle flow of-waters
Persico mari se insinuat. Amne superato cum VIIII
into-the-Persian sea itself it-winds-in with-the-river crossed with nine
milibus peditum et Agrianis sagittariisque atque Graecorum
thousand of-infantry and the-Agrianians and-archers and of-the-Greek
mercennariorum tribus milibus additis mille Thracum
mercenaries three thousand with-added a-thousand of-Thracians
in regionem Uxiorum pervenit. Finitima Susis est et in
into the-region of-the-Uxii he-came bordering on-Susa it-is and into
primam Persidem excurrit artum inter se et Susianos
the-first-part-of Persis runs-out a-narrow between itself and the-Susians
aditum relinquens. Medates erat regionis praefectus, haud
approach leaving Medates was of-the-region the-governor not
sane temporum homo: quippe ultima pro fide experiri
at-all of-the-times a-man for the-extremes for loyalty to-experience
decreverat. Sed periti locorum Alexandrum docent occultum
he-had-decided but men-skilled in-the-places Alexander inform a-hidden
iter esse per calles et aversum ab urbe: si paucos
route to-be through paths and turned-away from the-city if a-few
misisset leviter armatos, super capita hostium evasuros.
he-should-send lightly armed above the-heads of-the-enemy going-to-come-out

Cum consilium placuisset, idem itinerum fuerunt duces.
when the-plan was-approved the-same of-the-routes were the-guides
M et D mercede conducti et Agriani fere
a-thousand and five-hundred for-pay hired and Agrianians about
M Tauroni praefecto dati ac post solis occasum
a-thousand to-Tauron as-commander given and after of-the-sun the-setting
iter ingredi iussi. Ipse tertia vigilia castris motis
the-route to-enter ordered himself at-the-third watch with-the-camp moved
circa lucis ortum superat angustias caesaque materia cratibus
around of-light the-rising overcomes the-narrows and-with-cut timber for-hurdles
et pluteis faciundis, ut, qui turres admoverent, extra
and mantlets to-be-made that those-who the-towers were-moving-up beyond
teli iactum essent, urbem obsidere coepit. Praerupta erant
of-a-missile the-cast might-be the-city to-besiege began sheer were
omnia saxis et cotibus inpedita. Multis ergo vulneribus
all-things with-rocks and crags obstructed with-many therefore wounds
depulsi, ut quibus non cum hoste solum, sed etiam
driven-back as men-for-whom not with the-enemy only but also
cum loco dimicandum esset, subibant tamen, quia rex
with the-place to-be-fought was they-went-up yet because the-king
inter primos constiterat interrogans, tot urbium victores
among the-first had-stood asking of-so-many cities the-conquerors
an erubescerent haerere in obsidione castelli exigui et
whether they-were-ashamed to-stick in the-siege of-a-fort small and
ignobilis, simul admonens Tauronem mox auxilium esse
obscure at-the-same-time reminding-them Tauron soon help to-be
laturum. Inter haec eminus petebatur: quem testudine
going-to-bring among these-things from-afar he-was-aimed-at whom with-the-tortoise
obiecta milites — ut recederet, expellere nequierant —
set-against the-soldiers that he-should-withdraw to-drive could-not
tuebantur. Tandem Tauron super arcem urbis se cum
they-were-protecting at-last Tauron above the-citadel of-the-city himself with

suo agmine ostendit. Ad cuius conspectum et hostium animi
his column showed at whose sight both of-the-enemy the-spirits
labare et Macedones acrius proelium inire coeperunt.
to-totter and the-Macedonians more-keenly the-battle to-enter began
Anceps oppidanos malum urguebat, nec sisti vis
a-twofold the-townsfolk evil was-pressing nor to-be-stopped the-force
hostium poterat. Paucis ad moriendum, pluribus ad fugam
of-the-enemy could for-few to dying for-more to flight
animus fuit, magna pars in arcem concessit. Inde XXX
the-mind was a-great part into the-citadel withdrew from-there with-thirty
oratoribus missis ad deprecandum triste responsum a rege
spokesmen sent for begging-pardon a-grim answer from the-king
redditur, non esse veniae locum. Itaque suppliciorum quoque
is-given not to-be for-pardon room and-so of-punishments also
metu perculsi ad Sisigambim, Darei matrem, occulto itinere
by-fear struck to Sisigambis of-Darius the-mother by-a-hidden route
ignotoque hostibus mittunt, qui peterent, ut ipsa regem
and-unknown to-the-enemy they-send men-who should-ask that she-herself the-king
mitigaret, haud ignari, parentis eam loco diligi colique.
should-soften not ignorant in-a-parent's her place to-be-loved and-cherished
Et Medates sororis eius filiam secum matrimonio iunxerat,
and Medates of-sister her the-daughter to-himself in-marriage had-joined
Dareum propinqua cognatione contingens. Diu Sisigambis
Darius by-near kinship touching long Sisigambis
supplicum precibus repugnavit abnuens deprecationem pro
of-the-suppliants the-prayers resisted refusing intercession for
illis convenire fortunae, in qua esset, adiecitque metuere sese,
them to-suit the-fortune in which she-was and-she-added to-fear herself
ne victoris indulgentiam fatigaret, saepiusque cogitare,
lest of-the-victor the-indulgence she-should-weary and-more-often to-think
captivam esse se quam reginam fuisse. Ad ultimum
a-captive to-be herself than a-queen to-have-been at the-last

victa litteris Alexandrum ita deprecata est, ut ipsum
overcome by-a-letter Alexander so entreated she-has that the-very-thing
excusaret, quod deprecaretur: petere se, ut illis quoque,
she-excused because she-entreated to-ask herself that to-them also
si minus, sibi ignosceret: pro necessario ac propinquo
if less to-herself he-would-forgive for a-relative and kinsman
suo, iam non hoste, sed supplice, tantum vitam precari.
her-own now not an-enemy but a-suppliant only life to-beg
Moderationem clementiamque regis, quae tunc fuit, vel una
the-moderation and-clemency of-the-king which then was even one
haec res possit ostendere: non Medati modo ignovit, sed
this thing could show not Medates only he-pardoned but
omnes et deditos et captivos libertate atque inmunitate
all both the-surrendered and the-captured with-freedom and immunity
donavit, urbem reliquit intactam, agros sine tributo colere
he-presented the-city he-left untouched the-fields without tribute to-cultivate
permisit. A victore Dareo plura mater non inpetrasset.
he-allowed from victorious Darius more-things his-mother not would-have-obtained
Uxiorum dein gentem subactam Susianorum satrapae contribuit
of-the-Uxii then the-race subdued to-the-Susians' satrap he-assigned
divisisque cum Parmenione copiis illum campestri itinere
and-with-divided with Parmenio the-forces him by-the-level route
procedere iubet, ipse cum expedito agmine iugum montium
to-advance orders himself with a-light-armed column the-ridge of-the-mountains
cepit, quorum perpetuum dorsum in Persidem excurrit.
took whose continuous spine into Persis runs-out
Omni hac regione vastata tertio die Persidem, quinto
with-all this region laid-waste on-the-third day Persis on-the-fifth
angustias, quas illi Susidas pylas vocant, intrat. Ariobarzanes
the-narrows which they Susian Gates call he-enters Ariobarzanes
has cum XXV milibus peditum occupaverat, rupes undique
these with twenty-five thousand of-infantry had-occupied rocks on-all-sides

praeruptas, in quarum cacuminibus extra teli iactum
sheer on whose summits beyond of-a-missile the-cast
barbari stabant de industria quieti et paventibus similes,
the-barbarians stood on purpose quiet and to-the-terrified similar
donec in artissimas fauces penetraret agmen. Quod ubi
until into the-narrowest jaws should-penetrate the-column which when
contemptu sui pergere vident, tum vero ingentis
in-contempt of-themselves to-proceed they-see then indeed of-huge
magnitudinis saxa per montium prona devolvunt, quae
size rocks along of-the-mountains the-slopes they-roll-down which
incussa saepius subiacentibus petris maiore vi incidebant
dashed more-often against-the-underlying crags with-greater force fell
nec singulos modo, sed agmina proterebant. Fundis quoque
nor individuals only but columns they-crushed from-slings also
excussi lapides et sagittae undique ingerebantur. Nec id
hurled stones and arrows from-all-sides were-heaped nor that
miserrimum fortibus viris erat, sed quod inulti, quod
the-most-wretched-thing for-brave men was but that unavenged that
ferarum ritu veluti in fovea deprehensi caederentur.
of-wild-beasts in-the-manner as-if in a-pit caught they-were-slaughtered
Ira igitur in rabiem versa eminentia saxa conplexi,
with-anger therefore into madness turned the-projecting rocks embracing
ut ad hostem pervenirent, alius alium levantes conabantur
that to the-enemy they-might-reach one another raising they-were-trying
ascendere: ea ipsa multorum simul manibus convolsa
to-climb those very of-many at-once by-the-hands wrenched-away
in eos, qui conmoverant, recidebant. Nec stare ergo
onto those who had-moved-them fell-back nor to-stand therefore
poterant nec niti, ne testudine quidem protegi, cum
could nor to-struggle-up not by-the-tortoise even to-be-protected since
tantae molis onera propellerent barbari. Regem non dolor
of-so-great a-mass loads were-pushing the-barbarians the-king not grief

modo, sed etiam pudor temere in illas angustias coniecti
only but also shame rashly into those narrows thrown
exercitus angebat. Invictus ante eam diem fuerat nihil
of-the-army was-tormenting unconquered before that day he-had-been nothing
frustra ausus, inpune Ciliciae fauces intraverat, mare
in-vain having-dared with-impunity of-Cilicia the-jaws he-had-entered the-sea
quoque novum in Pamphyliam iter aperuerat: tunc haesitabat
also a-new into Pamphylia route had-opened then was-faltering
deprehensa felicitas, nec aliud remedium erat quam reverti,
caught good-fortune nor other remedy was than to-return
qua venerat. Itaque signo receptui dato densatis
where he-had-come and-so with-the-signal for-retreat given with-closed-up
ordinibus scutisque super capita consertis retro evadere
ranks and-with-shields above their-heads interlocked back to-get-out
ex angustiis iubet. XXX fuere stadia, quae remensi sunt.
from the-narrows he-orders thirty were the-stades which retraced they-have

IV · THE PATH AROUND THE GATES

A captive shepherd, once taken in Lycia, tells of a path over the wooded mountains, recalling an oracle that a Lycian would guide Alexander into Persis. Leaving Craterus in camp with extra fires, Alexander leads a light force by night through snow, a chasm, and thick woods. At dawn he appears behind the Persians while Craterus storms the pass. Ariobarzanes breaks out toward Persepolis, is shut out by its guards, and falls.

Tum castris undique aperto loco positis non consultare
then with-the-camp on-all-sides in-an-open place pitched not to-consult
modo, quid agendum esset, sed vates quoque adhibere
only what to-be-done might-be but seers also to-call-in
coepit a superstitione animi. Sed quid tunc praedicere
he-began from superstition of-mind but what then to-foretell

Aristander, cui tum plurimum credebat ex vatibus, poterat?
Aristander whom then most he-trusted of the-seers could
Itaque damnatis intempestivis sacrificiis peritos locorum
and-so with-condemned untimely sacrifices men-skilled in-the-places
convocari, iubet: per Mediam iter ostendebant tutum
to-be-called-together he-orders through Media a-route they-were-showing safe
apertumque. Sed rex deserere milites insepultos erubescebat
and-open but the-king to-abandon the-soldiers unburied was-ashamed
ita tradito more, ut vix ullum militiae tam sollemne
so with-handed-down custom that scarcely any of-soldiering so solemn
esset munus quam humandi suos. Captivos ergo, quos
might-be a-duty as of-burying one's-own the-captives therefore whom
nuper exceperat, vocari iubet. Inter quos erat quidam
recently he-had-taken to-be-called he-orders among whom was a-certain-man
Graecae Persicaeque linguae peritus, qui frustra eum in
in-the-Greek and-Persian language skilled who in-vain him into
Persidem montium dorso exercitum ducere adfirmat,
Persis by-the-mountains' ridge the-army to-lead declares
silvestres esse calles vix singulis pervios, omnia contegi
wooded to-be the-paths scarcely for-single-men passable everything to-be-covered
frondibus inplexosque arborum ramos silvas committere.
with-foliage and-the-entangled of-trees branches the-woods to-join
Namque Persis ab altero latere perpetuis montium iugis
for Persis on the-other side by-continuous of-mountains ridges
clauditur. Hoc dorsum, quod in longitudinem MDC,
is-shut-in this ridge which in length sixteen-hundred
in latitudinem CLXX stadia procurrit, a Caucaso
in breadth a-hundred-and-seventy stades runs-forward from the-Caucasus
monte ad Rubrum mare pertinet, quaque defecit mons,
mountain to the-Red sea reaches and-where has-failed the-mountain
aliud munimentum, fretum, obiectum est. Planities deinde
another bulwark the-strait set-against is a-plain then

sub radicibus montium spatiosa procumbit, fertilis terra
under the-roots of-the-mountains spacious stretches a-fertile land
multisque vicis atque urbibus frequens. Araxes amnis per
and-with-many villages and cities thronged the-Araxes river through
hos campos multorum aquas torrentium evolvit in Medum:
these plains of-many the-waters of-torrents rolls into the-Medus
Medus ad mare ad meridiem versus — minor amnis eo,
the-Medus to the-sea toward the-south turned a-smaller river than-that
quem accepit — evehitur, gignendaeque herbae non alius est
which it-received is-carried and-for-producing grass not another is
aptior, quidquid adluit, floribus vestiens. Platani quoque et
more-suited whatever it-washes with-flowers clothing plane-trees also and
populi contegunt ripas, ita ut procul visentibus continuata
poplars cover the-banks so that from-afar to-those-viewing continuous
videantur montibus nemora riparum. Quippe obumbratus
may-seem with-the-mountains the-groves of-the-banks for shaded
amnis presso in solum alveo delabitur, inminentque colles,
the-river with-sunk into the-soil channel glides-down and-overhang hills
ipsi quoque frondibus laeti, radices eorum humore
themselves also with-foliage luxuriant the-roots of-them with-moisture
subeunte. Regio non alia tota Asia salubrior habetur:
going-under the-region not other in-the-whole Asia healthier is-considered
temperat caelum hinc perpetuum iugum opacum et
tempers the-sky on-this-side a-continuous ridge dark and
umbrosum, quod aestus levat, illinc mare adiunctum,
shady which the-heat relieves on-that-side the-sea adjoining
quod modico tepore terras fovet. His captivus expositis
which with-moderate warmth the-lands cherishes with-these the-captive set-forth
interrogatus a rege, auditune an oculis conperta haberet,
asked by the-king whether-by-hearing or by-eyes ascertained he-held
quae diceret, pastorem se fuisse et omnes eas calles
what he-was-saying a-shepherd himself to-have-been and all those paths

percurrisse respondit: bis captum, semel a Persis in
to-have-run-through replied twice captured once by the-Persians in
Lycia, iterum ab ipso. Subit animum regis memoria
Lycia a-second-time by himself came-into the-mind of-the-king the-memory
oraculo editae sortis: quippe consulenti responsum erat,
by-the-oracle of-the-given lot for to-him-consulting the-answer had-been
ducem in Persidem ferentis viae Lycium civem fore.
the-guide into Persis bearing of-the-way a-Lycian citizen going-to-be
Igitur promissis, quanta et praesens necessitas exigebat
therefore with-promises as-much-as both the-present necessity demanded
et ipsius fortuna capiebat, oneratum armari iubet
and of-the-man-himself the-fortune could-hold loaded to-be-armed he-orders
Macedonum more et, quod bene verteret, monstrare
in-the-Macedonian manner and that it might-turn-out-well to-show
iter quamvis arduum et praeceps: evasurum se esse
the-route however steep and headlong going-to-get-through himself to-be
cum paucis, nisi forte crederet, qua ipse pecoris causa
with a-few unless perchance he-believed where he-himself of-his-flock for-the-sake
isset, Alexandrum pro gloria et perpetua laude ire non
had-gone Alexander for glory and lasting praise to-go not
posse. Etiam atque etiam docere captivus, quam difficile
to-be-able again and again explains the-captive how difficult
iter esset, maxime armatis. Tum rex: 'Praedem,' inquit,
the-route was especially for-armed-men then the-king as-surety he-says
'me accipe neminem eorum, qui secuntur, recusaturum ire,
me accept no-one of-those who follow going-to-refuse to-go
qua duces.' Cratero igitur ad custodiam castrorum relicto
where you-lead with-Craterus therefore for the-guarding of-the-camp left
cum peditibus, quis adsueverat, et iis copiis, quas
with the-infantry to-whom he-had-been-accustomed and those forces which
Meleager ducebat, et sagittariis equitibus M praecipit,
Meleager was-leading and the-archers horsemen a-thousand he-instructs

ut castrorum specie manente plures de industria
that of-the-camp with-the-appearance remaining more on purpose
ignes fieri imperet, quo magis barbari credant
fires to-be-made he-should-order so-that the-more the-barbarians might-believe
ipsum regem in castris esse. Ceterum, si forte Ariobarzanes
himself the-king in the-camp to-be but if perchance Ariobarzanes
cognovisset per callium anfractus intrare se et ad
had-learned through of-the-paths the-windings to-enter himself and for
occupandum iter suum partem copiarum temptasset opponere,
seizing route his-own part of-the-forces had-tried to-set-against
Craterus eum inlato terrore retineret ad propius
Craterus him with-brought-on terror should-hold-back toward the-nearer
periculum conversurum agmen: sin autem ipse hostem
danger going-to-turn the-column but-if however himself the-enemy
fefellisset et saltum occupasset, cum trepidantium barbarorum
he-had-deceived and the-pass had-seized when of-the-panicking barbarians
tumultum exaudisset, persequens tum regem id ipsum iter,
the-uproar he-had-heard pursuing then the-king that very route
quo pridie pulsi fuerant, ne dubitaret ingredi:
by-which the-day-before driven-back they-had-been not he-should-hesitate to-enter
quippe vacuum fore hostibus in semet aversis. Ipse
for empty going-to-be of-the-enemy against himself turned himself
tertia vigilia silenti agmine ac ne tuba quidem dato
at-the-third watch with-silent column and not by-trumpet even with-given
signo pergit ad demonstratum iter callium: tridui alimenta
signal proceeds to the-shown route of-paths of-three-days provisions
portare militem iusserat leviter armatum. Sed praeter
to-carry the-soldier he-had-ordered lightly armed but besides
invias rupes ac praerupta saxa vestigium subinde fallentia
pathless crags and sheer rocks the-footstep repeatedly deceiving
nix cumulata vento ingredientis fatigabat: quippe velut
snow heaped by-the-wind the-man-entering wearied for as-if

in foveas delati hauriebantur et, cum a commilitonibus
into pits carried-down they-were-swallowed and when by their-comrades
adlevarentur, trahebant magis adiuvantes quam sequebantur.
they-were-raised they-dragged more the-helpers than they-followed
Nox quoque et ignota regio ac dux — incertum an
night also and the-unknown region and a-guide uncertain whether
satis fidus — multiplicabant metum: si custodes fefellisset,
sufficiently loyal were-multiplying their-fear if the-guards he-had-deceived
quasi feras bestias ipsos posse deprehendi. Ex unius
like wild beasts themselves to-be-able to-be-caught on one
captivi vel fide vel anima pendere et regis salutem et
captive's either loyalty or life to-hang both the-king's safety and
suam. Tandem venere in iugum. A dextra iter ad ipsum
their-own at-last they-came onto the-ridge on the-right a-route to himself
Ariobarzanen erat: hic Philotam et Coenon cum Amynta et
Ariobarzanes was here Philotas and Coenus with Amyntas and
Polyperconte expeditam habentes manum relinquit, monitos,
Polyperchon a-light-armed having band he-leaves warned
ut, quia et eques pediti iret mixtus et
that because both the-horseman with-the-infantryman was-going mixed and
quam pinguissimum esset solum et pabuli fertile, sensim
as most-fertile was the-soil and in-fodder rich gradually
procederent: duces erant itineris de captivis dati. Ipse cum
they-should-advance guides were of-the-route from the-captives given himself with
armigeris et ala, quam agema appellabant, ardua
the-armor-bearers and the-squadron which agema they-called by-a-steep
semita, sed longius a stationibus hostium remota multa
path but farther from the-posts of-the-enemy removed much
cum vexatione processit. Medius erat dies et fatigatis
with harassment advanced mid was the-day and for-the-weary
necessaria quies — quippe tantundem itineris supererat,
necessary rest for as-much of-the-route remained

quantum emensi erant, sed minus praecipitis atque ardui—:
as traversed they-had but less headlong and steep
itaque refectis cibo somnoque militibus secunda vigilia
and-so with-refreshed by-food and-sleep the-soldiers at-the-second watch
surgit. Et cetera quidem haud aegre praeterit, ceterum,
he-rises and the-rest indeed not with-difficulty he-passes but
qua se montium iugum paulatim ad planiora demittit,
where itself of-the-mountains the-ridge gradually to more-level-parts lets-down
ingens vorago concursu cavata torrentium iter ruperat. Ad
a-huge chasm by-the-meeting hollowed of-torrents the-route had-broken to
hoc arborum rami alius alio inplicati et cohaerentes
this of-trees the-branches one in-another entangled and clinging
ut perpetuam obiecerant saepem. Desperatio igitur ingens,
as a-continuous had-set-against hedge despair therefore huge
adeo ut vix lacrimis abstinerent, incesserat. Praecipue
so that scarcely from-tears they-refrained had-come-upon-them especially
obscuritas terrori erat: nam etiam si qua sidera internitebant,
the-darkness a-terror was for even if any stars were-shining-through
continenti fronde tectae arbores conspicere prohibebant.
with-continuous foliage covered the-trees to-see prevented
Ne aurium quidem usus supererat silvas quatiente vento,
not of-the-ears even the-use remained the-woods with-shaking the-wind
qui concurrentibus ramis maiorem quam pro flatu
which with-clashing branches a-greater than in-proportion-to the-blast
sonum edebat. Tandem expectata lux omnia, quae terribiliora
sound gave-out at-last the-awaited light all-things which more-terrible
nox fecerat, minuit: circumiri brevi spatio poterat
the-night had-made diminished to-be-gone-round in-a-short distance could
eluvies, et sibi quisque dux itineris coeperat fieri.
the-flood-channel and for-himself each guide of-the-route had-begun to-become
Evadunt ergo in editum verticem: ex quo hostium
they-get-out therefore onto a-lofty peak from which with-the-enemy's

statione conspecta strenue armati a tergo se ostendunt
post seen briskly armed from the-rear themselves show
nihil tale metuentibus. Quorum pauci, qui congredi ausi
nothing such to-men-fearing of-whom the-few who to-engage dared
erant, caesi sunt. Itaque hinc morientium gemitus,
had slain were and-so on-this-side of-the-dying the-groans
hinc ad suos recurrentium miserabilis facies integros
on-that-side to their-own of-those-running-back the-pitiable sight the-unhurt
quoque, antequam discrimen experirentur, in fugam avertit.
also before the-crisis they-could-test into flight turned
Fremitu deinde in castra, quis Craterus praesidebat, inlato
with-the-din then into the-camp over-which Craterus presided brought
ad occupandas angustias, in quibus pridie haeserant,
for seizing the-narrows in which the-day-before they-had-stuck
miles educitur. Simul et Philotas cum Polyperconte
the-soldier is-led-out at-the-same-time also Philotas with Polyperchon
Amyntaque et Coeno diversum iter ingredi iussus alium
and-Amyntas and Coenus a-different route to-enter ordered another
terrorem intulit barbaris. Undique ergo Macedonum
terror brought on-the-barbarians on-all-sides therefore by-the-Macedonians'
armis fulgentibus ancipiti malo oppressi memorabile tamen
arms gleaming by-a-twofold evil overwhelmed a-memorable yet
proelium edunt. Ut opinor, ignaviam quoque necessitas acuit,
battle they-give as I-think cowardice also necessity sharpens
et saepe desperatio spei causa est. Nudi conplectebantur
and often despair of-hope the-cause is the-unarmed were-embracing
armatos et ingenti corporum mole secum ad terram
the-armed and with-the-huge of-their-bodies mass with-themselves to the-ground
detrahentes ipsorum telis plerosque fodiebant. Ariobarzanes
dragging with-their-own weapons most they-stabbed Ariobarzanes
tamen XL ferme equitibus et V milibus peditum stipatus
yet by-forty about horsemen and five thousand infantry surrounded

per mediam aciem Macedonum cum multo suorum
through the-middle-of the-line of-the-Macedonians with much his-own-men's
atque hostium sanguine erupit, Persepolim urbem, caput
and the-enemy's blood burst-out Persepolis the-city capital
regionis, occupare festinans. Sed a custodibus urbis
of-the-region to-seize hastening but by the-guards of-the-city
exclusus consecutis strenue hostibus cum omnibus fugae
shut-out with-having-overtaken briskly the-enemy with all his-flight
comitibus renovato proelio cecidit. Craterus quoque raptim
companions with-renewed battle he-fell Craterus also hastily
agmine acto supervenit.
with-the-column driven came-up

V · THE MUTILATED GREEKS

Warned that the treasury may be plundered, Alexander bridges the Araxes. Four thousand Greek captives meet him, their hands, feet, or ears cut off and their bodies branded. He weeps and promises them home. Euctemon of Cyme urges them to stay in Asia and hide their shame; Theaetetus of Athens argues for returning, but most side with Euctemon. Alexander, who had offered each a thousand denarii, gives three thousand, ten garments, herds, grain, and land.

Rex eodem loco, quo hostium copias fuderat, castra
the-king in-the-same place where of-the-enemy the-forces he-had-routed a-camp
communit. Quamquam enim undique fugati hostes victoriam
fortifies although for on-all-sides routed the-enemy the-victory
concesserant, tamen praealtae praecipitesque fossae pluribus
had-conceded yet very-deep and-sheer ditches in-many
locis obiectae abruperant iter, sensimque et caute
places set-across had-broken the-route and-gradually and cautiously
progrediundum erat iam non hostium, sed locorum fraude
to-be-advanced it-was now not of-the-enemy but of-the-places the-treachery

suspecta. Procedenti ei litterae redduntur a Tiridate,
suspected advancing to-him a-letter is-delivered from Tiridates
custode pecuniae regiae, indicantes eos, qui in urbe essent,
the-keeper of-the-money royal indicating those who in the-city were
audito eius adventu diripere velle thesauros: properaret
with-heard his coming to-plunder to-wish the-treasures he-should-hasten
occupare thesauros dimissos: expeditum iter esse, quamquam
to-seize the-treasures abandoned unobstructed the-route to-be although
Araxes amnis interfluat. Nullam virtutem regis iustius
the-Araxes river flows-between no virtue of-the-king more-justly
quam celeritatem laudaverim: relictis pedestribus copiis tota
than speed would-I-praise with-left the-infantry forces the-whole
nocte vectus cum equitibus itineris tanto spatio fatigatis
night carried with the-horsemen by-the-march's so-great distance wearied
ad Araxen prima luce pervenit. Vici erant in propinquo:
to the-Araxes at-first light he-came villages there-were in the-vicinity
quibus dirutis pontem ex materia eorum subditis saxis
with-which demolished a-bridge from the-timber of-them with-placed-under stones
strenue induxit. Iamque haud procul urbe erant, cum
briskly he-laid and-now not far from-the-city they-were when
miserabile agmen inter pauca fortunae exempla memorandum
a-pitiable column among few of-fortune examples to-be-remembered
regi occurrit. Captivi erant Graeci ad IIII milia fere,
the-king met captives they-were Greeks about four thousand about
quos Persae vario suppliciorum modo adfecerant. Alios
whom the-Persians with-varied of-punishments manner had-afflicted some
pedibus, quosdam manibus auribusque amputatis inustisque
with-feet some with-hands and-ears cut-off and-with-branded
barbararum litterarum notis in longum sui ludibrium
of-barbarian letters marks for long of-themselves as-a-mockery
reservaverant et, cum se quoque alienae dicionis esse
they-had-kept and since themselves also another's dominion to-be

cernerent, volentes regi occurrere non prohibuerant. Invisitata
they-saw willing the-king to-meet not they-had-prevented unseen
simulacra, non homines videbantur, nec quicquam in illis
phantoms not men they-seemed nor anything in them
praeter vocem poterat agnosci. Plures igitur lacrimas
except the-voice could to-be-recognized more therefore tears
commovere, quam profuderant ipsi: quippe in tam multiplici
they-moved than they-had-shed themselves for in so manifold
variaque fortuna singulorum intuentibus similes quidem,
and-varied a-fortune of-individuals to-the-onlookers similar indeed
sed tamen dispares poenas, quis maxime miserabilis esset,
but yet unequal punishments who most pitiable was
liquere non poterat. Ut vero Iovem illi tandem, Graeciae
to-be-clear not could when indeed Jupiter they at-last of-Greece
ultorem, aperuisse oculos conclamavere, omnes pari
the-avenger to-have-opened their-eyes shouted all with-equal
supplicio adfecti sibi videbantur. Rex abstersis, quas
punishment afflicted to-themselves they-seemed the-king with-wiped-away which
profuderat, lacrimis bonum habere animum iubet, visuros
he-had-shed the-tears good to-have spirit bids going-to-see
urbes suas coniugesque, et castra ibi duo ab urbe stadia
the-cities their and-wives and the-camp there two from the-city stades
communit. Graeci excesserant vallo deliberaturi, quid
he-fortifies the-Greeks had-gone-out from-the-rampart going-to-deliberate what
potissimum a rege peterent: cumque aliis sedem in
most from the-king they-should-ask and-when to-some a-seat in
Asia rogare, aliis reverti domos placeret, Euctemon Cymaeus
Asia to-ask to-others to-return home was-pleasing Euctemon of-Cyme
ita locutus ad eos fertur: ‘Ii, qui modo etiam ad opem
thus having-spoken to them is-said we who just-now even for help
petendam ex tenebris et carcere procedere erubuimus, ut
to-be-sought from darkness and prison to-come-forth were-ashamed as

nunc est, supplicia nostra — quorum nos pudeat magis
now it-is the-punishments our of-which us it-shames more
an paeniteat, incertum est — ostentare Graeciae velut laetum
or it-repents uncertain it-is to-show to-Greece as-if a-glad
spectaculum cupimus. Atqui optime miserias ferunt, qui
spectacle desire yet best miseries bear those-who
abscondunt, nec ulla tam familiaris est infelicibus patria
hide-them nor any so familiar is for-the-unfortunate a-homeland
quam solitudo et status prioris oblivio. Nam qui
as solitude and of-the-state former forgetfulness for those-who
multum in suorum misericordia ponunt, ignorant, quam
much in of-their-own the-pity place do-not-know how
celeriter lacrimae inarescant. Nemo fideliter diligit, quem
quickly tears dry-up no-one faithfully loves whom
fastidit: nam et calamitas querula est et superba felicitas.
he-loathes for both calamity querulous is and haughty prosperity
Ita suam quisque fortunam in consilio habet, cum de
thus his-own each fortune in counsel has when about
aliena deliberat. Nisi mutuo miseri essemus, olim alius
another's he-deliberates unless mutually wretched we-were long-ago one
alii potuissemus esse fastidio: quid mirum et fortunatos
to-another we-could-have been for-loathing what wonder also the-fortunate
semper parem quaerere? Obsecro vos, olim vita defuncti
always their-equal to-seek I-beseech you long-ago of-life having-done
quaeramus locum, in quo haec semesa obruamus. Grati
let-us-seek a-place in which these half-eaten-remains we-may-bury welcome
prorsus coniugibus, quas iuvenes duximus, revertemur! Liberi
surely to-the-wives whom young we-married we-shall-return children
in flore et aetatis et rerum agnoscent patres ergastuli
in the-flower both of-age and of-fortune will-recognize their-fathers of-the-workhouse
detrimenta! Et quota pars nostri tot obire terras potest?
the-damages and how-small a-part of-us so-many to-traverse lands can

Procul Europa in ultima Orientis relegati, senes debiles,
far-from Europe into the-farthest-parts of-the-East banished old crippled
maiore membrorum parte mulcati tolerabimus scilicet,
with-the-greater of-our-limbs part maimed we-shall-endure doubtless
quae armatos et victores fatigarunt! Coniuges deinde,
what-things the-armed and victorious have-wearied the-wives then
quas captis fors et necessitas unicum solacium adplicuit,
whom to-the-captured chance and necessity as-sole consolation joined
parvosque liberos trahimus nobiscum an relinquimus? Cum
and-the-little children do-we-drag with-us or leave-behind with
his venientes nemo agnoscere volet: relinquemus ergo
these coming no-one to-recognize will-wish shall-we-leave-behind therefore
extemplo praesentia pignora, cum incertum sit, an visuri
at-once the-present pledges when uncertain it-be whether going-to-see
simus illa, quae petimus? Inter hos latendum est, qui
we-are those-things which we-seek among these to-be-hidden it-is who
nos miseros nosse coeperunt.' Haec Euctemon. Contra
us wretched to-know have-begun these-things Euctemon on-the-other-side
Theaetetus Atheniensis orsus est dicere: Neminem pium
Theaetetus the-Athenian begun has to-say no-one dutiful
habitu corporis suos aestimaturum, utique saevitia
by-the-condition of-body his-own going-to-judge especially by-the-cruelty
hostis, non natura calamitosos. Dignum esse omni malo,
of-the-enemy not by-nature calamitous worthy to-be of-every evil
qui erubesceret fortuito: tristem enim de mortalitate
him-who should-blush at-the-accidental a-grim for about mortality
ferre sententiam et desperare misericordiam, quia ipse
to-bring a-verdict and to-despair of-pity because he-himself
alteri denegaturus sit. Deos, quod ipsi numquam
to-another going-to-deny be the-gods what they-themselves never
optare ausi forent, offerre: patriam, coniuges, liberos et,
to-wish dared would-have offer a-homeland wives children and

quidquid homines vel vita aestimant vel morte redimunt.
whatever men either above-life value or by-death ransom
Quin illi ex hoc carcere erumperent? alium domi esse
why-not they from this prison should-burst-out another at-home to-be
caeli haustum, alium lucis aspectum. Mores, sacra, linguae
of-the-sky the-draft another of-light the-sight customs rites of-the-tongue
commercium etiam a barbaris expeti, quae ingenita ipsi
the-exchange even by barbarians to-be-sought which inborn they-themselves
omissuri sint sua sponte, non ob aliud tam
going-to-abandon are of-their-own accord not on-account-of other-reason so
calamitosi, quam quod illis carere coacti essent. Se certe
calamitous than that them to-lack compelled they-had-been himself certainly
rediturum ad penates et in patriam tantoque beneficio
going-to-return to the-hearths and into the-homeland and-of-so-great a-kindness
regis usurum: si quos contubernii liberorumque, quos
of-the-king going-to-make-use if any of-cohabitation and-of-children whom
servitus coegisset agnoscere, amor detineret, relinquerent,
slavery had-compelled to-acknowledge love should-detain let-them-leave-behind
quibus nihil patria carius esset. Pauci huius
those-to-whom nothing than-the-homeland dearer was few of-this
sententiae fuere, ceteros consuetudo natura potior vicit.
opinion were the-rest habit than-nature stronger conquered
Consenserunt petendum esse a rege, ut aliquam ipsis
they-agreed to-be-asked to-be from the-king that some to-them
attribueret sedem. C ad hoc electi sunt. Quos Alexander
he-should-assign seat a-hundred for this chosen were whom Alexander
ratus, quod ipse praestare cogitabat, petituros: 'Iumenta,'
thinking what he-himself to-provide was-planning going-to-ask pack-animals
inquit, 'adsignari, quae vos veherent, et singulis vestrum
he-says to-be-assigned which you might-carry and to-each of-you
milia denarium dari iussi. Cum redieritis in
a-thousand denarii to-be-given I-have-ordered when you-return into

Graeciam, praestabo, ne qui statum suum, si haec
Greece I-shall-ensure that-not anyone condition his-own if this
calamitas absit, vestro credat esse meliorem.' Illi obortis
calamity be-absent than-yours believe to-be better they with-welling-up
lacrimis terram intuebantur nec aut erigere vultus aut
tears on-the-ground were-looking nor either to-raise their-faces or
loqui audebant: tandem rege tristitiae causam exigente
to-speak dared at-last with-the-king of-their-sadness the-cause demanding
Euctemon similia iis, quae in consilio dixerat, respondit.
Euctemon things-similar to-those which in the-council he-had-said replied
Atque ille non fortunae solum eorum, sed etiam paenitentiae
and he not at-the-fortune only their but also at-the-repentance
miseritus terna milia denariorum singulis dari iussit:
having-pitied three-each thousand denarii to-each to-be-given ordered
denae vestes adiectae sunt et armenta cum pecoribus ac
ten-each garments added were and herds with flocks and
frumento data, ut coli serique attributus iis ager posset.
grain given that to-be-tilled and-sown the-assigned to-them land might

VI · PERSEPOLIS

Alexander calls Persepolis the city most hostile to the Greeks and leads the phalanx in. The soldiers fight over the plunder and kill captives, and many inhabitants take their own lives until he orders the women spared. One hundred twenty thousand talents are found, and six thousand more at Pasargadae. Alexander leads a light force through snow into inner Persis, breaking the ice himself, subdues the cave-dwelling Mardi, and returns after thirty days.

Postero die convocatos duces copiarum docet nullam
on-the-following day the-called-together generals of-the-forces he-informs no
infestiorem urbem Graecis esse quam regiam veterum Persidis
more-hostile city to-the-Greeks to-be than the-palace of-the-old of-Persis

regum: hinc illa inmensa agmina infusa, hinc Dareum
kings from-here those boundless columns poured-in from-here Darius
prius, dein Xerxem Europae inpium intulisse bellum:
first then Xerxes on-Europe an-impious to-have-brought war
excidio illius parentandum esse maioribus. Iamque
by-the-destruction of-it to-be-offered-as-sacrifice to-be to-the-ancestors and-now
barbari deserto oppido, qua quemque metus agebat,
the-barbarians with-deserted town where each fear was-driving
diffugerant, cum rex phalangem nihil cunctatus inducit.
had-scattered when the-king the-phalanx nothing having-delayed leads-in
Multas urbes refertas opulentia regia partim expugnaverat,
many cities filled with-wealth royal partly he-had-stormed
partim in fidem acceperat, sed urbis huius divitiae vicere
partly into allegiance received but of-the-city this the-riches surpassed
praeterita. In hanc totius Persidis opes congesserant
the-past into this of-the-whole of-Persis the-riches had-brought-together
barbari: aurum argentumque cumulatum erat, vestis ingens
the-barbarians gold and-silver heaped-up was of-clothing a-huge
modus, supellex non ad usum, sed ad ostentationem luxus
amount furniture not for use but for display of-luxury
conparata. Itaque inter ipsos victores ferro dimicabatur:
acquired and-so among themselves the-victors with-the-sword it-was-fought
pro hoste erat, qui pretiosiorem occupaverat praedam.
as an-enemy was he-who a-more-precious had-seized plunder
Et cum omnia, quae reperiebant, capere non possent,
and since everything which they-were-finding to-carry not they-could
iam res non occupabantur, sed aestimabantur. Lacerabant
now things not were-seized but were-valued they-were-tearing
regias vestes ad se quisque partem trahentes, dolabris
the-royal garments to themselves each a-part dragging with-axes
pretiosae artis vasa caedebant, nihil neque intactum
of-precious workmanship vessels they-were-hacking nothing either untouched

erat neque integrum ferebatur, abrupta simulacrorum membra,
was or whole was-carried broken-off of-statues the-limbs
ut quisque avellerat, trahebat. Neque avaritia solum,
as each had-wrenched-them he-dragged nor greed alone
sed etiam crudelitas in capta urbe grassata est: auro
but also cruelty in the-captured city raged has with-gold
argentoque onusti vilia captivorum corpora trucidabant,
and-silver loaded the-cheap of-the-captives bodies they-were-slaughtering
passimque obvii caedebantur, quos antea pretium sui
and-everywhere those-met were-cut-down whom before the-price of-themselves
miserabilis fecerat. Multi ergo hostium manus voluntaria
pitiable had-made many therefore the-enemy's hands by-voluntary
morte occupaverunt pretiosissima vestium induti e muris
death anticipated in-the-most-precious of-garments dressed from the-walls
semetipsos cum coniugibus ac liberis in praeceps iacientes.
themselves with wives and children into headlong throwing
Quidam ignes, quod paulo post facturus hostis videbatur,
some fires which a-little later going-to-do the-enemy seemed
subiecerant aedibus, ut cum suis vivi cremarentur. Tandem
had-set-beneath their-houses that with their-own alive they-might-be-burned at-last
suos rex corporibus et cultu feminarum abstinere iussit.
his-men the-king from-the-bodies and the-apparel of-the-women to-abstain ordered
Ingens captivae pecuniae modus traditur, prope ut fidem
huge of-the-captured money the-amount is-reported almost so-that belief
excedat. Ceterum aut de aliis quoque dubitabimus aut
it-exceeds but either about others also we-shall-doubt or
credemus in huius urbis gaza fuisse C et XX
we-shall-believe in of-this city the-treasury to-have-been a-hundred and twenty
milia talentum. Ad quae vehenda — namque ad usus belli
thousand of-talents for which to-be-carried for for the-uses of-war
secum portare decreverat — iumenta et camelos et a
with-him to-carry he-had-decided pack-animals and camels both from

Susis et a Babylone contrahi iussit. Accessere ad hanc
from-Susa and from Babylon to-be-gathered he-ordered there-were-added to this
pecuniae summam captis Parsagadis sex milia talentum.
of-money sum with-captured Pasargadae six thousand talents
Cyrus Parsagada urbem condiderat, quam Alexandro praefectus
Cyrus Pasargadae the-city had-founded which to-Alexander the-governor
eius Gobares tradidit. Rex arcem Persepolis tribus milibus
of-it Gobares handed-over the-king the-citadel of-Persepolis with-three thousand
Macedonum praesidio relictis Nicarchiden tueri iubet. Tiridati
Macedonians as-a-garrison left Nicarchides to-guard orders for-Tiridates
quoque, qui gazam tradiderat, servatus est honos, quem
also who the-treasure had-handed-over kept was the-honor which
is apud Dareum habuerat. Magnaque exercitus parte et
he with Darius had-had and-with-a-great of-the-army part and
inpedimentis ibi relictis Parmeniona Craterumque praefecit.
the-baggage there left Parmenio and-Craterus he-put-in-charge
Ipse cum mille equitibus peditumque expedita manu
himself with a-thousand horsemen and-of-infantry a-light-armed band
interiorem Persidis regionem sub ipsum Vergiliarum sidus
the-inner of-Persis region at the-very Pleiades' constellation
petiit multisque imbribus et prope intolerabili tempestate
sought and-by-many rains and almost intolerable storm
vexatus procedere tamen, quo intenderat, perseveravit. Ventum
harassed to-advance yet where he-had-aimed persisted come
erat ad iter perpetuis obsitum nivibus, quas frigoris vis
it-was to a-route with-continuous covered snows which of-the-cold the-force
gelu adstrinxerat, locorumque squalor et solitudines inviae
with-frost had-bound and-of-the-places the-squalor and the-solitudes pathless
fatigatum militem terrebant humanarum rerum terminos se
the-wearied soldier terrified of-human affairs the-bounds himself
videre credentem. Omnia vasta atque sine ullo humani
to-see believing all-things desolate and without any human

cultus vestigio attoniti intuebantur et, antequam lux
of-cultivation trace astonished they-were-gazing and before the-light
quoque et caelum ipsos deficerent, reverti iubebant. Rex
also and the-sky them should-fail to-return they-bade the-king
castigare territos supersedit, ceterum ipse equo desiluit
to-rebuke the-terrified refrained but himself from-his-horse leapt-down
pedesque per nives et concretam glaciem ingredi coepit.
and-on-foot through the-snows and congealed ice to-advance began
Erubuerunt non sequi primum amici, deinde copiarum
they-were-ashamed not to-follow first the-friends then of-the-forces
duces, ad ultimum milites. Primusque rex dolabra glaciem
the-leaders at the-last the-soldiers and-first the-king with-an-axe the-ice
perfringens iter sibi fecit: exemplum regis ceteri imitati
breaking-through a-path for-himself made the-example of-the-king the-rest imitated
sunt. Tandem propemodum invias silvas emensi humani
have at-last almost pathless woods having-traversed of-human
cultus rara vestigia et passim errantes pecorum greges
cultivation rare traces and everywhere wandering of-cattle herds
repperere: et incolae, qui sparsis tuguriis habitabant, cum
they-found and the-inhabitants who in-scattered huts dwelt since
se callibus inviis saeptos esse credidissent, ut conspexere
themselves by-paths pathless fenced to-be they-had-believed when they-saw
hostium agmen, interfectis, qui comitari fugientes non
of-the-enemy the-column with-killed those-who to-accompany the-fleeing not
poterant, devios montes et nivibus obsitos petiverunt.
could out-of-the-way mountains and with-snows covered sought
Inde per colloquia captivorum paulatim feritate
then through conversations with-captives gradually with-their-fierceness
mitigata tradidere se regi. Nec in deditos
softened they-surrendered themselves to-the-king nor against the-surrendered
gravius consultum. Vastatis inde agris Persidis vicisque
more-harshly was-resolved with-ravaged then the-fields of-Persis and-with-villages

conpluribus redactis in potestatem ventum est in Mardorum
several brought into power come it-was to of-the-Mardians
gentem bellicosam et multum a ceteris Persis cultu
the-race warlike and much from the-other Persians in-manner
vitae abhorrentem. Specus in montibus fodiunt, in quos
of-life differing caves in the-mountains they-dig into which
seque ac coniuges et liberos condunt, pecorum aut
both-themselves and wives and children they-hide of-cattle or
ferarum carne vescuntur. Ne feminis quidem pro
of-wild-beasts on-the-flesh they-feed not in-the-women even according-to
naturae habitu molliora ingenia sunt: comae prominent
of-nature the-habit softer temperaments are hair projects
hirtae, vestis super genua est, funda vinciunt frontem:
shaggy the-garment above the-knees is with-a-sling they-bind the-forehead
hoc et ornamentum capitis et telum est. Sed hanc quoque
this both an-ornament of-the-head and a-weapon is but this too
gentem idem fortunae impetus domuit. Itaque tricesimo
race the-same of-fortune onrush tamed and-so on-the-thirtieth
die, postquam a Persepoli profectus erat, eodem
day after from Persepolis set-out he-had to-the-same-place
redit. Dona deinde amicis ceterisque pro cuiusque
he-returns gifts then to-the-friends and-to-the-others according-to each's
merito dedit. Propemodum omnia, quae in ea urbe ceperat,
merit he-gave almost everything which in that city he-had-taken
distributa.
was-distributed

Curtius laments that drink stained Alexander's virtues. At a feast the drunken courtesan Thais urges him to burn the Persian palace for the Greeks' sake. The king throws the first torch, and the army joins in. The palace that once sent a fleet of a thousand ships against Greece is destroyed, and only the Araxes marks the place. Sober, Alexander repents, rewards his Lycian guide, and with new troops from Cilicia sets out after Darius.

Ceterum ingentia animi bona, illam indolem, qua omnes
but the-huge of-mind goods that nature by-which all
reges antecessit, illam in subeundis periculis constantiam, in
kings he-surpassed that in undergoing dangers steadfastness in
rebus moliendis efficiendisque velocitatem, in deditos
affairs undertaking and-accomplishing speed toward the-surrendered
fidem, in captivos clementiam, in voluptatibus permissis
good-faith toward the-captives clemency in pleasures permitted
quoque et usitatis temperantiam haud tolerabili vini
even and customary moderation not by-a-bearable for-wine
cupiditate foedavit. Hoste et aemulo regni reparante
craving he-befouled with-the-enemy and rival for-the-kingdom renewing
cummaxime bellum, nuper subactis, quos vicerat,
at-that-very-time war with-the-recently subdued whom he-had-conquered
novumque imperium aspernantibus de die inibat convivia,
and-the-new rule spurning by day he-entered-on banquets
quibus feminae intererant, non quidem quas violari nefas
at-which women were-present not indeed those-whom to-violate wrong
esset, quippe pelices licentius, quam decebat, cum armato
would-be for concubines more-freely than was-fitting with armed-men
vivere adsuetae. Ex his una, Thais, et ipsa temulenta
to-live accustomed of these one Thais also she-herself drunk
maximam apud omnes Graecos initurum gratiam adfirmat, si
the-greatest with all the-Greeks going-to-gain favor declares if

regiam Persarum iussisset incendi: expectare hoc eos, quorum
the-palace of-the-Persians he-ordered to-be-burned to-expect this those whose
urbes barbari delessent. Ebrio scorto de tanta re
cities the-barbarians had-destroyed with-the-drunken harlot on so-great a-matter
ferente sententiam unus alter, et ipsi mero onerati,
bringing an-opinion one a-second and they-too with-unmixed-wine loaded
adsentiuntur. Rex quoque avidior vini quam patientior:
agree the-king also more-greedy for-wine than more-enduring
'Quin igitur ulciscimur Graeciam et urbi faces subdimus?'
why-not then do-we-avenge Greece and to-the-city torches set
Omnes incaluerant mero: itaque surgunt temulenti ad
all had-grown-hot with-wine and-so they-rise drunk for
incendendam urbem, cui armati pepercerant. Primus rex
burning the-city which armed they-had-spared first the-king
ignem regiae iniecit, tum convivae et ministri pelicesque.
fire on-the-palace threw then the-guests and the-servants and-the-concubines
Multa cedro aedificata erat regia, quae celeriter igne
with-much cedar built was the-palace which quickly with-fire
concepto late fudit incendium. Quod ubi exercitus, qui
caught widely spread the-blaze which when the-army which
haud procul urbe tendebat, conspexit, fortuitum ratus
not far from-the-city was-encamped saw accidental thinking-it
ad opem ferendam concurrit. Sed ut ad vestibulum regiae
for help bringing ran-together but when to the-vestibule of-the-palace
ventum est, vident regem ipsum adhuc aggerentem faces.
come it-was they-see the-king himself still heaping-on torches
Omissa igitur, quam portaverant, aqua ipsi aridam
with-abandoned therefore which they-had-carried the-water themselves dry
materiem in incendium iacere coeperunt. Hunc exitum
timber into the-blaze to-throw began this end
habuit regia totius Orientis, unde tot gentes antea iura
had the-palace of-the-whole East whence so-many nations before laws

petebant, patria tot regum, unicus quondam Graeciae
were-seeking the-homeland of-so-many kings the-sole once of-Greece
terror, molita mille navium classem et exercitus,
terror having-contrived of-a-thousand ships a-fleet and armies
quibus Europa inundata est, contabulato mari molibus
by-which Europe flooded was with-planked-over sea by-moles
perfossisque montibus, in quorum specus fretum inmissum
and-with-dug-through mountains into whose caves the-strait let-in
est. Ac ne tam longa quidem aetate, quae excidium eius
was and not in-so long even an-age which the-destruction of-it
secuta est, resurrexit. Alias urbes vastavere Macedonum reges,
followed has has-it-risen-again other cities laid-waste the-Macedonian kings
quas nunc habent Parthi: huius vestigium non inveniretur,
which now hold the-Parthians of-this a-trace not would-be-found
nisi Araxes amnis ostenderet. Haud procul moenibus
unless the-Araxes river showed-it not far from-the-walls
fluxerat: inde urbem fuisse XX stadiis distantem
it-had-flowed from-there the-city to-have-been by-twenty stades distant
credunt magis quam sciunt accolae. Pudebat Macedones
believe rather than know the-neighbors it-shamed the-Macedonians
tam praeclaram urbem a comissabundo rege deletam esse:
so splendid a-city by a-reveling king destroyed to-have-been
itaque res in serium versa est, et imperaverunt sibi,
and-so the-affair into earnest turned was and they-commanded themselves
ut crederent illo potissimum modo fuisse delendam.
that they-should-believe in-that especially manner to-have-been to-be-destroyed
Ipsum, ut primum gravato ebrietate mentem quies
himself as soon-as to-him-weighed-down by-drunkenness his-mind rest
reddidit, paenituisse constat et dixisse maiores poenas
restored to-have-repented it-is-agreed and to-have-said greater penalties
Graecis Persas daturos fuisse, si ipsum in solio
to-the-Greeks the-Persians going-to-pay to-have-been if him on the-throne

regiaque Xerxis conspicere coacti essent. Postero die
and-palace of-Xerxes to-see compelled they-had-been on-the-following day
Lycio, itineris, quo Persidem intraverat, duci, XXX
to-the-Lycian of-the-route by-which Persis he-had-entered the-guide thirty
talenta dono dedit. Hinc in regionem Mediae transiit: ubi
talents as-a-gift he-gave from-here into the-region of-Media he-crossed where
supplementum novorum e Cilicia militum occurrit. Peditum
a-reinforcement of-new from Cilicia soldiers met-him of-infantry
erant V milia, equites M: utrisque Platon Atheniensis
there-were five thousand horsemen a-thousand over-both Plato the-Athenian
praeerat. His copiis auctus Dareum persequi statuit.
was-in-command with-these forces increased Darius to-pursue he-decided

VIII · DARIUS AT ECBATANA

Darius, at Ecbatana with thirty thousand foot, four thousand of them Greeks, and Bessus' Bactrian horse, resolves to fight rather than flee. He tells his followers that their loyalty makes him still a king, that traitors reign in his cities, and that he would rather restore his fortune or die honorably than take a kingdom on Alexander's sufferance. He appeals to the glories of their ancestors and asks them to face whatever chance brings with the courage they showed in the past.

Ille iam Ecbatana pervenerat. Caput Mediae urbs haec:
he now Ecbatana had-reached the-capital of-Media a-city this
nunc tenent Parthi, eaque aestiva agentibus sedes
now hold the-Parthians and-it for-those-spending the-summer the-seat
est. Adire deinde Bactra decreverat, sed veritus, ne
is to-approach then Bactra he-had-decided but having-feared lest
celeritate Alexandri occuparetur, consilium iterque mutavit.
by-the-speed of-Alexander he-should-be-overtaken his-plan and-route he-changed
Aberat ab eo Alexander stadia MD, sed iam nullum
was-distant from him Alexander stades fifteen-hundred but now no

intervallum adversus velocitatem eius satis longum videbatur:
interval against the-speed his sufficiently long seemed
itaque proelio magis quam fugae se praeparabat. XXX
and-so for-battle rather than for-flight himself he-was-preparing thirty
milia peditum sequebantur, in quibus Graecorum erant
thousand of-infantry followed among whom of-Greeks there-were
IIII milia fide vetere erga regem ad ultimum invicta.
four thousand in-loyalty long-standing toward the-king to the-last unconquered
Funditorum quoque et sagittariorum manus IIII milia
of-slingers also and of-archers a-band four thousand
expleverat: praeter hos III milia et CCC equites erant,
had-made-up besides these three thousand and three-hundred horsemen were
maxime Bactrianorum. Bessus praeerat, Bactrianae regionis
mostly of-the-Bactrians Bessus commanded of-the-Bactrian region
praefectus. Cum hoc agmine paulum declinavit via
the-governor with this column a-little he-turned-aside from-the-road
militari iussis praecedere lixis inpedimentorumque
military with-ordered to-go-ahead the-camp-followers and-of-the-baggage
custodibus. Consilio deinde advocato: 'Si cum ignavis,'
the-guards with-a-council then called if with cowards
inquit, 'et pluris qualemcumque vitam quam honestam
he-says and higher any-sort-of life than an-honorable
mortem aestimantibus fortuna me iunxisset, tacerem potius
death valuing fortune me had-joined I-would-be-silent rather
quam frustra verba consumerem. Sed maiore, quam vellem,
than in-vain words waste but by-a-greater than I-would-wish
documento et virtutem vestram et fidem expertus magis
proof both valor your and loyalty having-tested more
etiam coniti debeo, ut dignus talibus amicis sim, quam
even to-strive I-ought that worthy of-such friends I-may-be than
dubitare, an vestri similes adhuc sitis. Ex tot milibus,
to-doubt whether of-yourselves similar still you-are out-of so-many thousands

quae sub imperio fuerunt meo, bis me victum, bis fugientem
which under command were my twice me conquered twice fleeing
persecuti estis. Fides vestra et constantia, ut regem me
followed you-have your loyalty and steadfastness that king me
esse credam, facit. Proditores et transfugae in urbibus meis
to-be I-may-believe makes traitors and deserters in cities my
regnant, non, hercule, quia tanto honore digni habentur, sed
reign not by-Hercules because of-so-great honor worthy they-are-held but
ut praemiis eorum vestri sollicitentur animi. Meam fortunam
that by-the-rewards of-them your may-be-tempted minds my fortune
tamen quam victoris maluistis sequi, dignissimi, quibus,
yet than the-victor's you-have-preferred to-follow most-worthy to-whom
si ego non possim, dii pro me gratiam referant. Et,
if I not can the-gods on my-behalf thanks may-return and
mehercule, referent. Nulla erit tam surda posteritas, nulla
by-Hercules they-will-return no will-be so deaf posterity none
tam ingrata fama, quae non in caelum vos debitis laudibus
so ungrateful report which not to heaven you with-due praises
ferat. Itaque etiam si consilium fugae, a qua multum
will-carry and-so even if a-plan of-flight from which much
abhorret animus, agitassem, vestra tamen virtute fretus
shrinks my-mind I-had-been-pondering your yet by-valor relying
obviam issem hosti. Quo usque enim in regno
to-meet I-would-have-gone the-enemy how long for in my-kingdom
exulabo et per fines imperii mei fugiam externum et
shall-I-be-an-exile and through the-bounds of-empire my flee a-foreign and
advenam regem, cum liceat experto belli fortunam
newcomer king when it-is-allowed for-one-who-has-tried of-war the-fortune
aut reparare, quae amisi, aut honesta morte defungi?
either to-restore what I-have-lost or by-an-honorable death to-be-done-with-life
Nisi forte satius est expectare victoris arbitrium et Mazaei
unless perhaps better it-is to-await the-victor's judgment and of-Mazaeus

et Mithrenis exemplo precarium accipere regnum nationis
and of-Mithrenes after-the-example a-precarious to-receive kingdom of-a-nation
unius, ut iam malit ille gloriae suae quam irae obsequi.
one as already may-prefer he to-glory his-own than to-anger to-obey
Nec di siverint, ut hoc decus mei capitis aut demere
nor the-gods may-permit that this ornament of-my head either to-take-away
mihi quisquam audeat aut condonare, nec imperium vivus
from-me anyone dare or to-grant nor the-empire alive
amittam, idemque erit regni mei, qui spiritus finis. Vobis
shall-I-lose and-the-same will-be of-kingdom my as of-breath the-end for-you
si hic animus, si haec lex, nulli non parta libertas est.
if this spirit if this law for-none not won freedom is
Nemo e vobis fastidium Macedonum, nemo vultum superbum
no-one of you the-disdain of-the-Macedonians no-one the-face proud
ferre cogetur: sua cuique dextera aut ultionem tot
to-bear will-be-compelled his-own to-each right-hand either the-vengeance of-so-many
malorum pariet aut finem. Equidem, quam versabilis
evils will-bring-forth or the-end I-indeed how changeable
fortuna sit, documentum ipse sum nec inmerito mitiores vices
fortune is an-example myself am nor undeservedly milder turns
eius expecto. Sed si iusta ac pia bella di aversantur,
of-it I-expect but if just and dutiful wars the-gods turn-away-from
fortibus tamen viris licebit honeste mori. Per ego
for-brave yet men it-will-be-allowed honorably to-die by I
vos decora maiorum, qui totius Orientis regna cum
you the-glories of-the-ancestors who of-the-whole East the-kingdoms with
memorabili laude tenuerunt, per illos viros, quibus stipendium
memorable praise held by those men to-whom tribute
Macedonia quondam tulit, per tot navium classes in
Macedonia once paid by so-many of-ships fleets into
Graeciam missas, per tot tropaea regum oro et obtestor,
Greece sent by so-many trophies of-kings I-pray and I-implore

ut nobilitate vestra gentisque dignos spiritus capiatis, ut
that of-nobility your and-of-the-nation worthy spirits you-may-take that
eadem constantia animorum, qua praeterita tolerastis,
with-the-same steadfastness of-minds with-which the-past you-have-endured
experiamini, quidquid deinde fors tulerit: me certe in
you-may-test whatever then chance shall-have-brought me certainly in
perpetuum aut victoria egregia nobilitabit aut ruina.'
perpetuity either victory outstanding will-ennoble or ruin

IX · NABARZANES' PROPOSAL

Artabazus pledges to follow Darius into battle. Nabarzanes, who has plotted with Bessus to seize the king, proposes that Darius yield his power to Bessus for a time. Darius draws his sword, and Nabarzanes slips away; he and Bessus withdraw their troops. Darius shuts himself in his tent in despair. Patron arms the Greeks, Bessus tries to lead off the Persians, who refuse to desert the king, and Artabazus persuades Darius to eat.

Haec dicente Dareo praesentis periculi species omnium
these-things with-saying Darius of-the-present danger the-sight of-all
simul corda animosque horrore perstrinxerat, nec aut
at-once the-hearts and-minds with-horror had-gripped nor either
consilium suppetebat aut vox, cum Artabazus, vetustissimus
counsel was-available or voice when Artabazus the-oldest
amicorum, quem hospitem fuisse Philippi supra diximus:
of-the-friends whom the-guest to-have-been of-Philip above we-said
'Nos vero,' inquit, 'pretiosissimam vestem induti armisque,
we indeed he-says the-most-precious clothing having-put-on and-with-arms
quanto maximo cultu possumus, adornati regem in aciem
with-as-much the-greatest finery we-can adorned the-king into battle
sequemur, ea quidem mente, ut victoriam speremus,
shall-follow with-that indeed mind that victory we-may-hope

mortem non recusemus.' Adsensu excepere ceteri hanc
death not we-may-refuse with-assent received the-others this
vocem, sed Nabarzanes, qui in eodem consilio erat, cum
word but Nabarzanes who in the-same council was with
Besso inauditi antea facinoris societate inita regem
Bessus of-an-unheard-of before crime with-a-partnership entered-into king
suum per milites, quibus ambo praeerant, conprehendere
their-own through the-soldiers whom both commanded to-seize
et vincire decreverant, ea mente, ut, si Alexander ipsos
and to-bind had-decided with-that mind that if Alexander them
insecutus foret, tradito rege vivo inirent gratiam
pursued should-have with-handed-over the-king alive they-might-gain the-favor
victoris, magni profecto cepisse Dareum aestimaturi,
of-the-victor a-great-thing surely to-have-captured Darius going-to-reckon
sin autem eum effugere potuissent, interfecto Dareo regnum
but-if however him to-escape they-could-have with-killed Darius the-kingdom
ipsi occuparent bellumque renovarent. Hoc parricidium
themselves would-seize and-the-war would-renew this parricide
cum diu volutassent, Nabarzanes aditum nefariae spei
when long they-had-turned-over Nabarzanes an-approach for-his-wicked hope
praeparans: 'Scio me,' inquit, 'sententiam esse dicturum prima
preparing I-know myself he-says an-opinion to-be going-to-state at-first
specie haudquaquam auribus tuis gratam: sed medici quoque
sight by-no-means to-ears your pleasing but physicians also
graviores morbos asperis remediis curant, et gubernator, ubi
the-graver diseases by-harsh remedies cure and a-helmsman when
naufragium timet, iactura, quidquid servari potest, redimit.
shipwreck he-fears by-jettison whatever to-be-saved can buys
Ego tamen, non ut damnum quidem facias, suadeo, sed
I yet not that a-loss even you-make I-advise but
ut te ac regnum tuum salubri ratione conserves.
that yourself and kingdom your by-a-wholesome plan you-may-preserve

Dis adversis bellum inimus, et pertinax fortuna Persas
with-the-gods hostile war we-enter and stubborn fortune the-Persians
urgere non desinit: novis initiis et ominibus opus est.
to-press not ceases new beginnings and omens need there-is
Auspicium et imperium interim alii trade, qui tam
the-auspices and the-command meanwhile to-another hand-over who so
diu rex appelletur, donec Asia decedat hostis, victor deinde
long king may-be-called until Asia departs the-enemy as-victor then
regnum tibi reddat. Hoc autem brevi futurum ratio
the-kingdom to-you may-return this moreover shortly to-be-going-to-be reason
promittit: Bactra intacta sunt, Indi et Sacae in tua
promises Bactra untouched are the-Indians and the-Sacae in your
potestate, tot populi, tot exercitus, tot equitum
power so-many peoples so-many armies so-many of-horsemen
peditumque milia ad res novandas vires paratas habent,
and-infantry thousands for affairs to-be-renewed strength ready have
ut maior belli moles supersit quam exhausta sit. Quid
so-that greater of-the-war the-mass remains than exhausted has-been why
ruimus beluarum ritu in perniciem non necessariam?
rush-we of-beasts in-the-manner into destruction not necessary
Fortium virorum est magis mortem contemnere quam
of-brave men it-is rather death to-despise than
odisse vitam: saepe taedio laboris ad vilitatem sui
to-hate life often by-weariness of-toil to cheapness of-themselves
conpelluntur ignavi. At nihil virtus inexpertum omittit.
are-driven the-cowardly but nothing valor untried leaves
Utique ultimum omnium mors est, ad quam non pigre ire
at-any-rate the-last of-all-things death is to which not sluggishly to-go
satis est. Proinde si Bactra, quod tutissimum receptaculum
enough it-is therefore if Bactra which the-safest refuge
est, petimus, praefectum regionis eius, Bessum, regem
is we-seek the-governor of-region that Bessus king

temporis gratia constituamus: rebus conpositis iusto
for-the-time's sake let-us-appoint with-affairs settled to-the-rightful
regi tibi fiduciarium restituet imperium.' Haud mirum est
king to-you the-entrusted he-will-restore rule not strange it-is
Dareum non temperasse animo, quamquam eum, impiae
Darius not to-have-controlled his-mind although from-him to-the-impious
voci quantum nefas subesset, latebat. Itaque: 'Pessimum,'
voice how-much wickedness lay-beneath was-hidden and-so most-worthless
inquit, 'mancipium, repperisti exoptatum tibi tempus,
he-says slave you-have-found the-longed-for to-you time
quo parricidium aperires?' strictoque acinace interfecturus
in-which the-parricide you-might-reveal and-with-drawn scimitar going-to-kill
eum videbatur, ni propere Bessus Bactrianique, quasi
him he-seemed unless hastily Bessus and-the-Bactrians as-if
deprecarentur, tristium specie, ceterum, si perseveraret,
they-were-interceding of-the-sorrowful in-the-appearance but if he-should-persist
vincturi circumstetissent. Nabarzanes interim elapsus, mox
going-to-bind had-surrounded-him Nabarzanes meanwhile slipped-away soon
et Bessus est secutus: copias, quibus praeerant, a cetero
also Bessus has followed the-forces which they-commanded from the-rest
exercitu secedere iubent secretum inituri consilium.
of-the-army to-withdraw they-order a-secret going-to-enter-on council
Artabazus convenientem praesenti fortunae sententiam orsus
Artabazus a-suiting to-the-present fortune opinion having-begun
mitigare Dareum temporum identidem admonens coepit:
to-soothe Darius of-the-times repeatedly reminding began
ferret aequo animo qualiumcumque, suorum tamen vel
let-him-bear with-even mind of-whatever-sort of-his-own yet either
stultitiam vel errorem. Instare iam ei Alexandrum, gravem,
the-folly or the-error to-press now on-him Alexander heavy
etiam si omnes praesto essent: quid futurum, si persecuti
even if all present were what would-be if those-who-followed

fugam ipsius alienentur? Aegre paruit Artabazo et,
the-flight his-own should-be-estranged reluctantly he-obeyed Artabazus and
quamquam movere castra statuerat, turbatis tamen omnium
although to-move the-camp he-had-decided with-disturbed yet of-all
animis eodem in loco substitit. Sed attonitus maestitia
the-minds the-same in place he-stayed but stunned by-sorrow
simul et desperatione tabernaculo se inclusit. Ergo in
at-once and by-despair in-his-tent himself he-shut-up therefore in
castris, quae nullius regebantur imperio, varii animorum
the-camp which by-no-one's was-ruled command various of-minds
motus erant, nec in commune ut ante consulebatur.
the-movements were nor in common as before was-counsel-taken
Dux Graecorum militum, Patron, arma capere suos iubet
the-leader of-the-Greek soldiers Patron arms to-take-up his-men orders
paratosque esse ad exequendum imperium. Persae secesserant:
and-ready to-be for carrying-out the-command the-Persians had-withdrawn
Bessus cum Bactrianis erat temptabatque Persas abducere,
Bessus with the-Bactrians was and-was-trying the-Persians to-lead-off
Bactra et intactae regionis opulenta simulque, quae
Bactra and of-the-untouched region the-riches and-at-the-same-time what
manentibus instarent pericula, ostentans. Persarum omnium
to-those-staying pressed dangers displaying of-the-Persians all
eadem fere fuit vox, nefas esse deseri regem. Inter
the-same nearly was the-voice wrong to-be to-be-abandoned the-king among
haec Artabazus omnibus imperatoriis fungebatur officiis:
these-things Artabazus all of-a-general was-performing the-duties
ille Persarum tabernacula circumire, hortari, monere nunc
he of-the-Persians the-tents to-go-round to-exhort to-warn now
singulos, nunc universos non ante destitit, quam satis
individuals now all not before ceased than sufficiently

constaret imperata facturos. Idem aegre a Dareo
it-was-agreed the-orders going-to-do the-same-man with-difficulty from Darius
inpetravit, ut cibum caperet animumque rebus adverteret.
obtained that food he-should-take and-his-mind to-affairs should-turn

X · THE CONSPIRATORS FEIGN REPENTANCE

Bessus and Nabarzanes plan to seize Darius and offer him alive to Alexander, or else kill him and make for Bactra. Unable to take him openly among the Persians, and fearing the Greeks, they pretend to repent. Artabazus tells them Darius is reconciled, and they weep and beg his help. At dawn they prostrate themselves before Darius, who, simple and gentle, believes them and weeps too, unaware of the danger closer than Alexander.

At Bessus et Nabarzanes olim agitatum scelus exequi
but Bessus and Nabarzanes long-since pondered the-crime to-carry-out
statuunt regni cupiditate accensi: Dareo autem incolumi
decide of-kingship by-desire inflamed with-Darius moreover unharmed
tantas opes sperare non poterant. Quippe in illis gentibus
such-great riches to-hope not they-could for among those nations
regum eximia maiestas est: ad nomen quoque barbari
of-kings exceptional the-majesty is at the-name also the-barbarians
conveniunt, et pristinae veneratio fortunae sequitur adversam.
come-together and of-former the-veneration fortune follows adverse
Inflabat inpios animos regio, cui praeerant, armis virisque
puffed-up the-impious minds the-region which they-governed in-arms and-men
et spatio locorum nulli earum gentium secunda: tertiam
and in-extent of-places to-none of-those nations second a-third
partem Asiae tenet, multitudo iuniorum exercitus, quos
part of-Asia holds the-multitude of-young-men the-armies which
amiserat Dareus, aequabat. Itaque non illum modo, sed etiam
had-lost Darius equaled and-so not him only but also

Alexandrum spernebant, inde vires imperii repetituri,
Alexander they-despised from-there the-strength of-empire going-to-seek-again
si regis potiri contigisset. Diu omnibus cogitatis
if of-the-king to-gain-possession should-befall long with-everything considered
placuit per milites Bactrianos ad omne obsequium
it-was-decided through the-soldiers Bactrian to every obedience
destinatos regem conprehendere mittique nuntium ad
destined the-king to-seize and-to-be-sent a-messenger to
Alexandrum, qui indicaret vivum adservari eum: si, id quod
Alexander who should-indicate alive to-be-kept him if that which
timebant, proditionem aspernatus esset, occisuri Dareum et
they-feared the-betrayal spurned he-had going-to-kill Darius and
Bactra cum suarum gentium manu petituri. Ceterum propalam
Bactra with of-their-own nations a-band going-to-seek but openly
conprehendi Dareus non poterat tot Persarum milibus
to-be-seized Darius not could with-so-many of-Persians thousands
laturis opem regi: Graecorum quoque fides timebatur.
going-to-bring help to-the-king of-the-Greeks also the-loyalty was-feared
Itaque, quod vi non poterant, fraude adsequi temptant:
and-so what by-force not they-could by-fraud to-attain they-try
paenitentiam secessionis simulare decreverant et excusare
repentance of-their-secession to-pretend they-had-decided and to-excuse
apud regem consternationem suam. Interim, qui Persas
before the-king the-dismay their-own meanwhile men-who the-Persians
sollicitarent, mittuntur. Hinc spe, hinc metu militares
might-tamper-with are-sent on-this-side by-hope on-that by-fear the-soldiers'
animos versant: ruinae rerum subdere illos capita, in
minds they-turn of-the-ruin of-affairs to-put-under them their-heads to
perniciem trahi, cum Bactra pateant exceptura eos bonis
destruction to-be-dragged when Bactra lies-open going-to-receive them with-goods
et opulentia, animis quam concipere non possint. Haec
and wealth by-minds which to-conceive not they-can these-things

agitantibus Artabazus supervenit sive regis iussu sive
to-those-pondering Artabazus comes-up whether by-the-king's order or
sua sponte adfirmans mitigatum esse Dareum et eundem
of-his-own accord affirming soothed to-be Darius and the-same
illis amicitiae gradum patere apud regem. Illi lacrimantes
to-them of-friendship rank to-lie-open with the-king they weeping
nunc purgare se, nunc Artabazum orare, ut causam
now cleared themselves now Artabazus begged that the-cause
ipsorum tueretur precesque perferret. Sic peracta nocte
their-own he-should-protect and-the-prayers convey thus with-completed the-night
sub lucis exortum Bessus et Nabarzanes cum Bactrianis
toward of-light the-rising Bessus and Nabarzanes with the-Bactrian
militibus in vestibulo praetorii aderant titulum sollemnis
soldiers in the-vestibule of-the-headquarters were-present the-title of-solemn
officii occulto sceleri praeferentes. Dareus signo ad
duty to-the-hidden crime holding-before Darius with-the-signal for
eundum dato currum pristino more conscendit. Nabarzanes
going given the-chariot in-the-former manner mounted Nabarzanes
ceterique parricidae procumbentes humi, quem paulo post
and-the-other parricides prostrating-themselves on-the-ground whom a-little later
in vinculis habituri erant, sustinuere venerari, lacrimas etiam
in chains going-to-hold they-were endured to-do-reverence tears also
paenitentiae indices profuderunt: adeo humanis ingeniis parata
of-repentance the-signs they-shed so-much to-human natures ready
simulatio est. Preces deinde suppliciter admotae Dareum natura
pretense is the-prayers then suppliantly applied Darius by-nature
simplicem et mitem non credere modo, quae adfirmabant, sed
simple and gentle not to-believe only what they-affirmed but
flere etiam coegerunt. Ac ne tum quidem cogitati sceleris
to-weep also compelled and not then even of-the-planned crime
paenituit, cum intuerentur, qualem et regem et virum
did-they-repent when they-saw what-sort-of both a-king and a-man

fallerent. Ille quidem securus periculi, quod instabat,
they-were-deceiving he indeed unconcerned about-the-danger which was-pressing
Alexandri manus, quas solas timebat, effugere properabat.
of-Alexander the-hands which alone he-feared to-escape was-hastening

XI · PATRON'S WARNING

Patron, leader of the Greek mercenaries, warns Darius in Greek that Bessus and Nabarzanes are plotting, and begs him to camp among the Greeks and let them guard him. Bessus, suspecting the warning though he knows no Greek, never leaves the king's side. Darius replies that he trusts the Greeks but will not abandon his own people: he would rather be deceived than condemn them, and would rather suffer among his own than become a deserter.

Patron autem, Graecorum dux, praecipit suis, ut arma,
Patron moreover of-the-Greeks the-leader instructs his-men that the-arms
quae in sarcinis antea ferebantur, induerent ad omne
which in the-baggage before were-carried they-should-put-on for every
imperium suum parati et intenti. Ipse currum regis
command his ready and alert himself the-chariot of-the-king
sequebatur occasioni inminens adloquendi eum: quippe
was-following for-the-opportunity watching of-addressing him for
Bessi facinus praesenserat. Sed Bessus id ipsum metuens,
of-Bessus the-crime he-had-sensed but Bessus that very-thing fearing
custos verius quam comes, a curru non recedebat.
a-guard more-truly than a-companion from the-chariot not withdrew
Diu ergo Patron cunctatus ac saepius sermone revocatus,
long therefore Patron having-delayed and more-often from-speech called-back
inter fidem timoremque haesitans, regem intuebatur. Qui ut
between loyalty and-fear hesitating the-king was-looking-at who when
tandem advertit oculos, Bubacen spadonem inter proximos
at-last he-noticed the-eyes Bubaces the-eunuch among the-nearest

currum sequentem percontari iubet, numquid ipsi velit
the-chariot following to-ask orders whether-anything to-himself he-wished
dicere. Patron se vero, sed remotis arbitris loqui velle cum
to-say Patron himself indeed but with-removed witnesses to-speak to-wish with
eo respondit iussusque propius accedere sine interprete —
him replied and-ordered nearer to-approach without interpreter
nam haud rudis Graecae linguae Dareus erat—: 'Rex,' inquit,
for not unskilled in-the-Greek language Darius was king he-says
'ex L milibus Graecorum supersumus pauci, omnis fortunae
of fifty thousand of-Greeks we-survive few of-all fortune
tuae comites et in hoc tuo statu idem, qui florente te
your the-companions and in this your condition the-same who with-flourishing you
fuimus, quascumque terras elegeris, pro patria et domesticis
we-were whatever lands you-shall-choose for homeland and domestic
rebus petituri. Secundae adversaeque res tuae copulavere
affairs going-to-seek favorable and-adverse fortunes your have-coupled
nos tecum. Per hanc fidem invictam oro et obtestor, in
us with-you by this loyalty unconquered I-beg and I-implore in
nostris castris tibi tabernaculum statue: nos corporis
our camp for-yourself your-tent set-up us of-the-body
tui custodes esse patiaris. Omisimus Graeciam, nulla Bactra
your the-guards to-be allow we-have-left Greece no Bactra
sunt nobis, spes omnis in te: utinam etiam ceteris esset.
is for-us hope all in you would-that also in-the-others it-were
Plura dici non attinet. Custodiam corporis tui externus
more to-be-said not is-relevant the-guarding of-the-body your a-foreigner
et alienigena non deposcerem, si crederem alium posse
and alien not I-would-demand if I-believed another to-be-able
praestare.' Bessus quamquam erat Graeci sermonis ignarus,
to-provide-it Bessus although he-was of-the-Greek language ignorant
tamen stimulante conscientia indicium profecto Patronem
yet with-goading conscience information surely Patron

detulisse credebat: et interpretes celato sermone
to-have-brought believed and from-the-interpreters with-the-concealed speech
Graeci exempta dubitatio est. Dareus autem, quantum
of-the-Greek removed doubt was Darius however as-far-as
ex voltu concipi poterat, haud sane territus percontari
from his-face to-be-gathered could not at-all terrified to-ask
Patrona causam consilii, quod adferret, coepit. Ille non ultra
Patron the-reason of-the-plan which he-brought began he not further
differendum ratus: 'Bessus,' inquit, 'et Nabarzanes insidiantur
to-be-put-off thinking-it Bessus he-says and Nabarzanes are-plotting
tibi, in ultimo discrimine es fortunae tuae et vitae, hic
against-you in the-final crisis you-are of-fortune your and of-life this
dies aut parricidis aut tibi futurus ultimus.' Et Patron
day either for-the-parricides or for-you going-to-be the-last and Patron
quidem egregiam conservati regis gloriam tulerat. Eludant
indeed the-outstanding of-a-preserved king glory had-won let-them-mock
fidem licet, quibus forte temere humana negotia volvi
belief granted to-whom perchance at-random human affairs to-be-rolled
agique persuasum est nexuve causarum latentium et
and-driven persuaded it-is or-by-the-chain of-causes hidden and
multo ante destinatarum suum quemque ordinem inmutabili
long before appointed its-own each order by-unchangeable
lege percurrere: Dareus certe respondit, quamquam sibi
law to-run-through Darius certainly replied although to-him
Graecorum militum fides nota sit, numquam tamen a
of-the-Greek soldiers the-loyalty known be never yet from
popularibus suis recessurum. Difficilius sibi esse damnare
countrymen his-own going-to-withdraw harder for-himself to-be to-condemn
quam decipi. Quidquid fors tulisset, inter suos perpeti
than to-be-deceived whatever chance should-bring among his-own to-endure
malle quam transfugam fieri. Sero se perire, si salvum
to-prefer than a-deserter to-become too-late himself to-perish if safe

sese milites sui nollent. Patron desperata regis salute ad
himself soldiers his-own did-not-wish Patron with-despaired-of the-king's safety to
eos, quibus praeerat, rediit omnia pro fide experiri paratus.
those whom he-commanded returned everything for loyalty to-try ready

XII · DARIUS IN CHAINS

Bessus delays the murder and thanks Darius for escaping the Greek's plot; Darius answers that Alexander punishes traitors. At nightfall the Bactrians stand armed. Darius refuses Artabazus' advice to join the Greeks, embraces him, and is deserted by his guards. The eunuchs' wailing makes the conspirators think him dead; finding him alive, they bind him and carry him off in a hide-covered wagon, later in golden chains. Artabazus makes for Parthiene, and the Persians join Bessus.

At Bessus occidendi protinus regis impetum ceperat: sed
but Bessus of-killing at-once the-king the-impulse had-taken but
veritus, ne gratiam Alexandri, nisi vivum eum tradidisset,
having-feared lest the-favor of-Alexander unless alive him he-handed-over
inire non posset, dilato in proximam noctem sceleris
to-gain not he-could with-postponed into the-next night of-the-crime
consilio agere gratias incipit, quod perfidi hominis insidias
the-plan to-give thanks begins because of-a-treacherous man the-plots
iam Alexandri opes spectantis prudenter cauteque
already of-Alexander the-resources looking-to wisely and-cautiously
vitasset: donum eum hosti laturum fuisse regis
he-had-avoided as-a-gift he to-the-enemy going-to-bring to-have-been of-the-king
caput. Nec mirari hominem mercede conductum omnia
the-head nor to-wonder a-man for-pay hired everything
habere venalia: sine pignore, sine lare, terrarum orbis
to-hold for-sale without pledge without home of-lands of-the-world
exulem, ancipitem hostem ad nutum licentium circumferri.
an-exile a-doubtful enemy at the-nod of-the-bidders to-be-carried-about

Purganti deinde se deosque patrios testes fidei suae
to-him-clearing then himself and-the-gods ancestral as-witnesses of-loyalty his-own
invocanti Dareus vultu adsentiebatur, haud dubius, quin
invoking Darius with-his-face assented not doubtful that
vera deferrentur a Graecis: sed eo rerum ventum
true-things were-reported by the-Greeks but to-that of-affairs come
erat, ut tam periculosum esset non credere suis quam
it-was that so dangerous it-was not to-trust one's-own as
decipi. XXX milia erant, quorum inclinata in scelus
to-be-deceived thirty thousand there-were whose inclined to crime
levitas timebatur, IIII milia Patron habebat: quibus si
fickleness was-feared four thousand Patron had in-whom if
credidisset salutem suam damnata popularium fide,
he-had-trusted safety his-own with-condemned of-his-countrymen the-loyalty
parricidio excusationem videbat offerri. Itaque praeoptabat
for-parricide an-excuse he-saw to-be-offered and-so he-preferred
inmerito quam iure violari. Besso tamen insidiarum
undeservedly than rightly to-be-violated to-Bessus yet of-the-plot
consilium purganti respondit, Alexandri sibi non minus
the-design clearing he-replied of-Alexander to-himself not less
iustitiam quam virtutem esse perspectam. Falli eos,
the-justice than the-valor to-be perceived to-be-deceived those
qui proditionis ab eo praemium expectent: violatae fidei
who of-betrayal from him the-reward expect of-violated loyalty
neminem acriorem fore vindicem ultoremque. Iamque nox
no-one keener going-to-be a-punisher and-avenger and-now night
adpetebat, cum Persae more solito armis positis ad
was-approaching when the-Persians in-the-manner usual with-arms laid-down for
necessaria ex proximo vico ferenda discurrunt. At Bactriani,
necessities from the-nearest village to-be-brought run-off but the-Bactrians
ut imperatum a Besso erat, armati stabant. Inter haec
as ordered by Bessus it-had-been armed stood among these-things

Dareus Artabazum acciri iubet, expositisque, quae Patron
Darius Artabazus to-be-summoned orders and-with-set-forth what Patron
detulerat, haud dubitare Artabazus, quin transeundum esset
had-reported not doubts Artabazus that to-be-crossed it-was
in castra Graecorum: Persas quoque periculo vulgato
into the-camp of-the-Greeks the-Persians also with-the-danger made-known
secuturos. Destinatus sorti suae et iam nullius salubris
going-to-follow fixed on-lot his-own and now of-no wholesome
consilii patiens unicam in illa fortuna opem Artabazum,
counsel tolerant the-only in that fortune help Artabazus
ultimum illud visurus, amplectitur perfususque mutuis
for-the-last that-time going-to-see embraces and-bathed in-mutual
lacrimis inhaerentem sibi avelli iubet: capite
tears him-clinging to-himself to-be-torn-away he-orders with-his-head
deinde velato, ne inter gemitus digredientem velut a rogo
then veiled lest amid groans him-departing as-if from a-pyre
intueretur, in humum pronum corpus abiecit. Tum vero
he-should-see on the-ground prone his-body he-threw then indeed
custodiae eius adsueti, quos regis salutem vel periculis vitae
to-the-guarding his accustomed whom the-king's safety even with-dangers of-life
tueri oportebat, dilapsi sunt, clam armatis, quos
to-protect it-behooved slipped-away have secretly from-the-armed-men whom
iam adventare credebant, haud rati se futuros pares.
now to-be-approaching they-believed not thinking themselves going-to-be equal
Ingens ergo in tabernaculo solitudo erat paucis spadonibus,
a-huge therefore in the-tent solitude was with-a-few eunuchs
quia, quo discederent, non habebant, circumstantibus regem.
because where they-might-go not they-had standing-around the-king
At ille remotis arbitris diu aliud atque aliud consilium
but he with-removed witnesses long one and another plan
animo volutabat. Iamque solitudinem, quam paulo ante pro
in-mind was-turning-over and-now the-solitude which a-little before as

solacio petiverat, perosus Bubacen vocari iubet. Quem
a-consolation he-had-sought having-come-to-hate Bubaces to-be-called orders whom
intuens: 'Ite,' inquit, 'consulite vobis ad ultimum regi
looking-at go he-says take-thought for-yourselves to the-last to-king
vestro, ut decebat, fide exhibita: ego hic legem fati mei
your as was-fitting with-loyalty shown I here the-law of-fate my
expecto. Forsitan mireris, quod vitam non finiam: alieno
await perhaps you-may-wonder that life not I-end by-another's
scelere quam meo mori malo.' Post hanc vocem spado
crime than by-my-own to-die I-prefer after this word the-eunuch
gemitu non tabernaculum modo, sed etiam castra conplevit.
with-groaning not the-tent only but also the-camp filled
Inrupere deinde alii laceratisque vestibus lugubri et barbaro
burst-in then others and-with-torn clothes with-mournful and barbarian
ululatu regem deplorare coeperunt. Persae ad illos clamore
wailing the-king to-lament began the-Persians to them with-the-shout
perlato attoniti metu nec arma capere, ne in Bactrianos
carried stunned by-fear neither arms to-take-up lest on the-Bactrians
inciderent, nec quiescere audebant, ne inpie deserere regem
they-should-fall nor to-keep-quiet dared lest impiously to-desert the-king
viderentur. Varius ac dissonus clamor sine duce ac sine
they-should-seem varied and discordant shouting without leader and without
imperio totis castris referebatur. Besso et Nabarzani
command over-the-whole camp was-carried-back to-Bessus and to-Nabarzanes
nuntiaverant sui regem a semetipso interemptum esse —
had-announced their-men the-king by himself killed to-be
planctus eos deceperat—: itaque citatis equis advolant
the-lamentation them had-deceived and-so with-spurred horses they-fly-up
sequentibus, quos ad ministerium sceleris delegerant, et,
with-following those-whom for the-service of-the-crime they-had-chosen and
cum tabernaculum intrassent, quia regem vivere spadones
when the-tent they-had-entered because the-king to-be-alive the-eunuchs

indicabant, conprehendi vincirique iusserunt. Rex curru
indicated to-be-seized and-bound they-ordered the-king in-a-chariot
paulo ante vectus et deorum auspiciis ac summis honoribus
a-little before carried and of-the-gods by-the-auspices and by-the-highest honors
cultus nulla externa ope admota captivus servorum suorum
revered with-no external help brought a-captive of-slaves his-own
in sordidum vehiculum pellibus undique contectum inponitur.
into a-squalid wagon with-hides on-all-sides covered is-put
Pecunia regis et supellex quasi belli iure diripitur,
the-money of-the-king and furniture as-if of-war by-right is-plundered
onustique praeda per scelus ultimum parta fugam intendunt.
and-loaded with-plunder by crime the-ultimate won flight they-direct
Artabazus cum iis, qui imperio parebant, Graecisque militibus
Artabazus with those who his-command obeyed and-the-Greek soldiers
Parthienen petebat omnia tutiora parricidarum comitatu
Parthiene was-seeking everything safer of-the-parricides than-the-company
ratus. Persae promissis Bessi onerati maxime, quia nemo
thinking the-Persians with-the-promises of-Bessus loaded most-of-all because no-one
alius erat, quem sequerentur, coniunxere se Bactrianis
else there-was whom they-might-follow joined themselves to-the-Bactrians
agmen eorum tertio adsecuti die. Ne tamen honos
the-column of-them on-the-third having-overtaken day lest yet honor
regi non haberetur, aureis conpedibus Dareum vinciunt
to-the-king not be-paid with-golden fetters Darius they-bind
nova ludibria subinde excogitante fortuna. Et ne forte
new mockeries repeatedly with-devising fortune and lest perhaps
cultu regio posset agnosci, sordidis pellibus vehiculum
by-the-dress royal he-could to-be-recognized with-squalid hides the-wagon
intexerant, ignoti iumenta agebant, ne percontantibus
they-had-covered unknown-men the-pack-animals drove lest to-those-asking
in agmine monstrari posset, custodes procul sequebantur.
in the-column to-be-pointed-out he-could the-guards far-off followed

Alexander pursues Darius in forced marches, guided by deserters, with ever fewer and faster troops. As he overtakes the column, Bessus and his accomplices urge Darius to mount a horse; he refuses, and they wound him mortally and flee, Nabarzanes to Hyrcania and Bessus to Bactra. The team drawing Darius strays from the road into a valley, and Polystratus, a Macedonian seeking water, finds the beasts stabbed rather than driven off and comes on a man half alive; there the text breaks off.

Alexander audito, Dareum movisse ab Ecbatanis, omisso
Alexander with-heard Darius to-have-moved from Ecbatana with-abandoned
itinere, quod petebat, in Mediam, fugientem insequi pergit
the-route which he-was-seeking into Media the-fugitive to-pursue proceeds
strenue. Tabas — oppidum est in Paraetacene ultima —
briskly Tabae a-town is in Paraetacene the-farthest-part
pervenit: ibi transfugae nuntiant praecipiti fuga Bactra
he-came there deserters report in-headlong flight Bactra
petere Dareum. Certiora deinde cognoscit ex Bagistane
to-be-seeking Darius more-certain-things then he-learns from Bagistanes
Babylonio, qui nondum vinctum regem, sed in periculo esse
the-Babylonian who not-yet bound the-king but in danger to-be
aut mortis aut vinculorum adfirmabat. Rex ducibus
either of-death or of-chains affirmed the-king with-the-generals
convocatis: 'Maximum,' inquit, 'opus, sed labor brevissimus
called-together the-greatest he-says work but the-toil shortest
superest. Dareus haud procul destitutus a suis aut oppressus:
remains Darius not far abandoned by his-own or overwhelmed
in illo corpore posita est nostra victoria, et tanta res
in that person placed is our victory and so-great a-thing
celeritatis est praemium.' Omnes pariter conclamant paratos
of-speed is the-reward all alike shout ready

ipsos sequi: nec labori nec periculo parceret. Igitur raptim
themselves to-follow nor toil nor danger should-he-spare therefore hastily
agmen cursus magis quam itineris modo ducit ne
the-column of-a-run rather than of-a-march in-the-manner he-leads not
nocturna quidem quiete diurnum laborem relaxante. Itaque
with-nocturnal even rest the-daytime toil relaxing and-so
D stadia processit, perventumque erat in vicum,
five-hundred stades he-advanced and-come had-been into the-village
in quo Dareum Bessus conprehenderat. Ibi Melon, Darei
in which Darius Bessus had-seized there Melon of-Darius
interpres, excipitur: corpore aeger non potuerat agmen
the-interpreter is-caught in-body sick not he-had-been-able the-column
adsequi et deprehensus celeritate regis transfugam se
to-overtake and caught by-the-speed of-the-king a-deserter himself
esse simulabat. Ex hoc acta cognoscit. Sed fatigatis
to-be pretended from this-man what-was-done he-learns but for-the-weary
necessaria quies erat: itaque delectis equitum VI milibus
necessary rest was and-so to-picked of-horsemen six thousand
CCC, quos dimachas appellabant, adiungit. Dorso hi
three-hundred whom dimachae they-called he-joins on-their-back these
graviora arma portabant, ceterum equis vehebantur: cum
heavier arms carried but on-horses they-rode when
res locusque posceret, pedestris acies erant. Haec
the-situation and-place demanded infantry the-line they-were these-things
agentem Alexandrum adeunt Orsines et Mithracenes: Bessi
him-doing Alexander approach Orsines and Mithracenes of-Bessus
parricidium exosi transfugerant nuntiabantque stadia D
the-parricide hating had-deserted and-were-reporting stades five-hundred
abesse Persas, ipsos brevius iter monstraturos. Gratus
to-be-distant the-Persians themselves a-shorter route going-to-show welcome
regi adventus transfugarum fuit. Itaque prima vespera
to-the-king the-arrival of-the-deserters was and-so at-first evening

ducibus isdem cum expedita equitum manu monstratam viam
with-guides the-same with a-light-armed of-horsemen band the-shown way
ingreditur phalange, quantum festinare posset, sequi iussa.
he-enters with-the-phalanx as-fast to-hurry it-could to-follow ordered
Ipse quadrato agmine incedens ita cursum regebat, ut primi
himself in-square column advancing so his-course he-was-guiding that the-first
coniungi ultimis possent. CCC stadia processerant, cum
to-be-joined to-the-last could three-hundred stades they-had-advanced when
occurrit Brochubelus, Mazaei filius, Syriae quondam praetor:
meets-him Brochubelus of-Mazaeus the-son of-Syria once governor
is quoque transfuga nuntiabat Bessum haud amplius quam
he also as-a-deserter was-reporting Bessus not more than
CC stadia abesse, exercitum, utpote praedae avidum,
two-hundred stades to-be-distant the-army as-being for-plunder greedy
inconpositum inordinatumque procedere. Hyrcaniam videri
disorderly and-unordered to-advance Hyrcania to-seem
petituros: si festinaret sequi palantes, superventurum. Dareum
going-to-seek if he-hurried to-follow the-stragglers going-to-come-upon Darius
adhuc vivere. Strenuo alioqui cupiditatem consequendi
still to-be-alive in-an-energetic-man otherwise the-desire of-overtaking
transfuga iniecerat: itaque calcaribus subditis effuso cursu eunt.
the-deserter had-instilled and-so with-spurs applied at-full speed they-go
Iamque fremitus hostium iter ingredientium exaudiebatur,
and-now the-din of-the-enemy the-route entering was-heard
sed prospectum ademerat pulveris nubes. Paulisper ergo
but the-view had-taken-away of-dust a-cloud for-a-little therefore
inhibuit cursum, donec consideret pulvis. Iamque conspecti
he-checked the-run until should-settle the-dust and-now seen
a barbaris erant et abeuntium agmen conspexerant
by the-barbarians they-were and the-departing column they-had-seen
nequaquam futuri pares, si Besso tantum animi fuisset
by-no-means going-to-be equal if in-Bessus as-much of-spirit had-been

ad proelium, quantum ad parricidium fuerat. Namque et
for battle as for parricide it-had-been for both
numero barbari praestabant et robore: ad hoc refecti cum
in-number the-barbarians were-superior and in-strength to this refreshed with
fatigatis certamen inituri erant. Sed nomen Alexandri
the-weary a-contest going-to-enter they-were but the-name of-Alexander
et fama, maximum in bello utique momentum, pavidos
and the-repute the-greatest in war at-any-rate weight the-frightened
in fugam avertit. Bessus vero et ceteri facinoris eius
into flight turned Bessus however and the-other of-the-crime his
participes vehiculum Darei adsecuti coeperunt hortari
sharers the-wagon of-Darius having-overtaken began to-urge
eum, conscenderet equum et se hosti fuga eriperet.
him to-mount a-horse and himself from-the-enemy by-flight to-snatch
Ille deos ultores adesse testatur et Alexandri fidem
he the-gods as-avengers to-be-present testifies and of-Alexander the-good-faith
inplorans negat se parricidas velle comitari. Tum vero
imploring denies himself the-parricides to-wish to-accompany then indeed
ira quoque accensi tela coiciunt in regem multisque
by-anger also inflamed their-weapons they-hurl at the-king and-with-many
confossum vulneribus relinquunt. Iumenta quoque, ne
pierced wounds they-leave-him the-pack-animals also lest
longius prosequi possent, convulnerant duobus servis, qui
farther to-follow they-could they-wound with-two slaves who
regem comitabantur, occisis. Hoc edito facinore, ut vestigia
the-king accompanied killed with-this done crime that the-traces
fugae spargerent, Nabarzanes Hyrcaniam, Bessus Bactra
of-their-flight they-might-scatter Nabarzanes Hyrcania Bessus Bactra
paucis equitum comitantibus petebant. Barbari ducibus
with-a-few of-horsemen accompanying were-seeking the-barbarians by-their-leaders
destituti, qua quemque aut spes ducebat aut pavor,
abandoned where each either hope led or panic

dissipabantur: D tantum equites congregaverant se
were-scattered five-hundred only horsemen had-gathered themselves
incerti adhuc, resistere melius esset an fugere. Alexander
uncertain still to-resist better were or to-flee Alexander
hostium trepidatione conperta Nicanorem cum equitum
of-the-enemy with-the-panic learned Nicanor with of-the-horsemen
parte ad inhibendam fugam emittit, ipse cum ceteris sequitur.
part for checking the-flight sends-out himself with the-rest follows
Tria ferme milia resistentia occisa sunt, reliquum agmen
three about thousand resisting killed were the-remaining column
pecudum more intactum agebatur iubente rege, ut
of-cattle in-the-manner untouched was-driven with-ordering the-king that
caedibus abstineretur. Nemo captivorum erat, qui monstrare
from-slaughter they-should-refrain no-one of-the-captives was who to-point-out
Darei vehiculum posset: singula, ut quaeque prenderent,
of-Darius the-wagon could each as each they-seized
scrutabantur, nec tamen ullum vestigium fugae regis
they-searched nor yet any trace of-the-flight of-the-king
extabat. Festinantem Alexandrum vix III milia equitum
was-extant hurrying Alexander scarcely three thousand horsemen
persecuta sunt. At in eos, qui lentius sequebantur, incidebant
followed have but upon those who more-slowly were-following fell
universa fugientium agmina. Vix credibile dictu, plures
whole of-the-fleeing columns scarcely credible to-tell more
captivi quam, qui caperent, erant: adeo omnem sensum
captives than those-who captured were so-much all sense
territis fortuna penitus excusserat, ut nec hostium
from-the-terrified fortune utterly had-shaken-out that neither of-the-enemy
paucitatem nec multitudinem suam satis cernerent. Interim
the-fewness nor the-multitude their-own sufficiently they-saw meanwhile
iumenta, quae Dareum vehebant, nullo regente decesserant
the-pack-animals which Darius were-drawing with-no-one guiding had-gone-off

militari via et errore delata per quattuor stadia in
from-the-military road and by-straying carried over four stades in
quadam valle constiterant aestu simulque vulneribus
a-certain valley had-stopped by-the-heat and-at-the-same-time by-wounds
fatigata. Haud procul erat fons: ad quem monstratum a
exhausted not far was a-spring to which shown by
peritis Polystratus Macedo siti maceratus accessit ac,
men-skilled Polystratus a-Macedonian by-thirst wasted went and
dum galea haustam aquam sorbet, tela iumentorum
while in-his-helmet the-drawn water he-sips the-weapons of-the-pack-animals
deficientium corporibus infixa conspexit. Miratusque,
failing in-the-bodies fixed he-saw and-having-wondered
confossa potius quam abacta esse, semivivi hominis ***
pierced rather than driven-off to-be of-a-half-alive man (lacuna)

BOOK VI

I · THE DEATH OF AGIS

The text resumes in a battle in Greece, where Agis, king of Sparta, has thrown himself into the crisis of the fight and driven the enemy back, until a spear through the thigh disables him. The Spartans fight on until they give way. Agis, fighting from his knees, dares anyone to strip him, until a lance pierces his chest. Five thousand three hundred Spartans fall. Antipater, fearing Alexander's jealousy, leaves the terms to the Greek council, and the war ends before Arbela.

*** pugnae discrimen inmisit obtruncatisque, qui
(lacuna) of-the-battle crisis threw and-with-cut-down those-who
promptius resistebant, magnam partem hostium propulit.
more-readily resisted a-great part of-the-enemy he-drove-back
Coeperant fugere victores et, donec avidius sequentes in
they-had-begun to-flee the-victors and until too-eagerly pursuing onto
planum deduxere, inulti cadebant: sed ut primum locus, in
the-level they-drew-them unavenged they-were-falling but as soon-as a-place in
quo stare possent, fuit, aequis viribus dimicatum est. Inter
which to-stand they-could there-was with-equal strength fought it-was among
omnes tamen Lacedaemonios rex eminebat, non armorum
all yet the-Lacedaemonians the-king stood-out not of-arms
modo et corporis specie, sed etiam magnitudine animi,
only and of-body by-the-appearance but also by-the-greatness of-spirit
quo uno vinci non potuit. Undique nunc comminus,
by-which alone to-be-conquered not he-could on-all-sides now hand-to-hand
nunc eminus petebatur diuque arma circumferens alia
now from-afar he-was-aimed-at and-long his-arms turning-about some
tela clipeo excipiebat, corpore alia vitabat, donec
missiles with-his-shield he-caught with-his-body others he-avoided until
hasta femina perfossa plurimo sanguine effuso destituere
by-a-spear the-thighs pierced with-very-much blood shed failed-him

pugnantem. Ergo clipeo suo exceptum armigeri raptim
fighting therefore on-shield his-own received the-armor-bearers hastily
in castra referebant iactationem vulnerum haud facile
into the-camp carried-him the-jolting of-his-wounds not easily
tolerantem. Non tamen omisere Lacedaemonii pugnam et, ut
bearing not yet gave-up the-Lacedaemonians the-fight and as
primum sibi quam hosti aequiorum locum capere
soon-as for-themselves than for-the-enemy more-favorable a-place to-take
potuerunt, densatis ordinibus effuse fluentem in se aciem
they-could with-closed-up ranks the-loosely streaming against them line
excepere. Non aliud discrimen vehementius fuisse memoriae
they-received not another conflict more-violent to-have-been to-memory
proditum est. Duarum nobilissimarum bello gentium exercitus
handed-down it-is of-two most-noble in-war nations the-armies
pari Marte pugnabant: Lacedaemonii vetera, Macedones
with-equal Mars were-fighting the-Lacedaemonians their-old the-Macedonians
praesentia decora intuebantur, illi pro libertate, hi pro
their-present glories were-looking-at those for freedom these for
dominatione pugnabant, Lacedaemoniis dux, Macedonibus
domination were-fighting for-the-Lacedaemonians a-leader for-the-Macedonians
locus deerat. Diei quoque unius tam multiplex casus
room was-lacking of-the-day also one so manifold the-fortune
modo spem, modo metum utriusque partis augebat velut de
now hope now fear of-each side was-increasing as-if on
industria inter fortissimos viros certamen aequante fortuna.
purpose among the-bravest men the-contest with-equalizing fortune
Ceterum angustiae loci, in quo haeserat pugna, non
but the-narrows of-the-place in which had-stuck the-battle not
patiebantur totis ingredi viribus: spectabant ergo plures,
allowed with-all to-engage strength were-watching therefore more
quam inierant proelium, et, qui extra teli iactum erant,
than had-entered the-battle and those-who beyond of-a-missile the-cast were

clamore invicem suos accendebant. Tandem Laconum
with-shouting in-turn their-own-men were-firing at-last of-the-Laconians
acies languescere lubrica arma sudore vix sustinens, pedem
the-line to-flag slippery arms with-sweat scarcely supporting its-foot
deinde referre coepit. Ut urgente hoste apertius fugere,
then to-draw-back began when with-pressing the-enemy more-openly to-flee
insequebatur dissipatos victor et emensus cursu omne
pursued the-scattered the-victor and having-traversed at-a-run the-whole
spatium, quod acies Laconum obtinuerat, ipsum Agin
space which the-line of-the-Laconians had-held himself Agis
persequebatur. Ille ut fugam suorum et proximos hostium
was-pursuing he when the-flight of-his-men and the-nearest of-the-enemy
conspexit, deponi se iussit: expertusque membra,
he-saw to-be-set-down himself ordered and-having-tested his-limbs
an impetum animi sequi possent, postquam deficere
whether the-impulse of-his-spirit to-follow could after to-fail
sensit, poplitibus semet excepit galeaque strenue sumpta
he-felt on-his-knees himself he-caught and-with-his-helmet briskly taken-up
clipeo protegens corpus hastam dextera vibrabat
with-his-shield protecting his-body his-spear with-his-right-hand brandished
ultro provocans hostem, si quis iacenti spolia
voluntarily challenging the-enemy if any from-the-prostrate-man the-spoils
demere auderet. Nec quisquam fuit, qui sustineret comminus
to-strip dared nor anyone was who endured hand-to-hand
congredi: procul missilibus adpetebatur, ea ipsa in hostem
to-engage from-afar with-missiles he-was-aimed-at those very at the-enemy
retorquens, donec lancea nudo pectori infixa est. Qua
hurling-back until a-lance into-his-bare breast fixed was with-which
ex vulnere evolsa inclinatum ac deficiens caput clipeo
from the-wound pulled-out sinking and failing his-head on-his-shield
paulisper excepit, dein linquente spiritu pariter ac sanguine
for-a-little caught then with-leaving his-breath alike and blood

moribundus in arma procubuit. Cecidere Lacedaemoniorum
dying onto his-arms he-fell fell of-the-Lacedaemonians
V milia et CCC, ex Macedonibus haud amplius M:
five thousand and three-hundred of the-Macedonians not more-than a-thousand
ceterum vix quisquam nisi saucius revertit in castra. Haec
but scarcely anyone unless wounded returned into the-camp this
victoria non Spartam modo sociosque eius, sed etiam omnis,
victory not Sparta only and-the-allies her but also all
qui fortunam belli expectaverant, fregit. Nec fallebat
who the-fortune of-the-war had-awaited broke nor did-it-escape
Antipatrum dissentire ab animis gratulantium vultus: sed
Antipater to-disagree with the-minds of-the-congratulators the-faces but
bellum finire cupienti opus erat decipi, et, quamquam
the-war to-end for-one-desiring need there-was to-be-deceived and although
fortuna rerum placebat, invidiam tamen, quia maiores res
the-fortune of-affairs pleased-him the-envy yet because greater the-deeds
erant quam, quas praefecti modus caperet, metuebat.
were than those-which of-a-governor the-measure could-contain he-feared
Quippe Alexander hostes vinci voluerat, Antipatrum
for Alexander the-enemy to-be-conquered had-wished Antipater
vicisse ne tacitus quidem indignabatur suae
to-have-conquered not silently even he-resented from-his-own
demptum gloriae existimans, quidquid cessisset alienae. Itaque
taken-away glory thinking whatever had-gone to-another's and-so
Antipater, qui probe nosset spiritus eius, non est ausus
Antipater who well knew the-spirits his not has dared
ipse agere arbitria victoriae, sed concilium Graecorum,
himself to-exercise the-judgments of-victory but the-council of-the-Greeks
quid fieri placeret, consuluit. A quo Lacedaemonii
what to-be-done pleased consulted from which the-Lacedaemonians
nihil aliud quam, ut oratores mittere ad regem liceret,
nothing other than that spokesmen to-send to the-king it-be-allowed

Tegeatae veniam defectionis praeter auctores inpetraverunt,
the-Tegeans pardon for-the-revolt except the-ringleaders obtained
Megalopolitanis, quorum urbs obsessa erat a defectionis
to-the-Megalopolitans whose city besieged had-been by the-revolt's
sociis, Achaei et Elei centum XX talenta dare iussi
allies the-Achaeans and the-Eleans a-hundred twenty talents to-give ordered
sunt. Hic fuit exitus belli, quod repente ortum prius tamen
were this was the-end of-the-war which suddenly arisen earlier yet
finitum est, quam Dareum Alexander apud Arbela superaret.
ended was than Darius Alexander at Arbela overcame

II · THE FALSE RUMOR

Freed from pressing cares, Alexander gives himself to feasts, drinking, and Persian customs, offending his Macedonians. He frees a modest captive singer, granddaughter of Ochus and wife of Hystaspes, and restores her property. He sets apart the noblest captives, among them Darius' brother Oxathres, and makes Oxydates satrap of Media. At Hecatompylos a rumor that the king is going home sweeps the camp. Alexander complains to his officers, who promise to win the army back.

Sed ut primum instantibus curis laxatus est animus
but as soon-as from-pressing cares relaxed was his-mind
militarium rerum quam quietis otiique patientior, excepere
of-military affairs than of-quiet and-leisure more-tolerant received
eum voluptates, et, quem arma Persarum non fregerant, vitia
him pleasures and one-whom the-arms of-the-Persians not had-broken vices
vicerunt: tempestiva convivia et perpotandi pervigilandique
conquered early banquets and of-drinking-deep and-of-staying-awake
insana dulcedo ludique et greges pelicum. Omnia in
the-mad sweetness and-games and herds of-concubines everything into
externum lapsa morem. Quem ille aemulatus quasi potiorem
foreign slipped custom which he having-emulated as-if better

suo ita popularium animos oculosque pariter offendit,
than-his-own so of-his-countrymen the-minds and-eyes alike offended
ut a plerisque amicorum pro hoste haberetur. Tenaces
that by most of-the-friends as an-enemy he-was-held tenacious
quippe disciplinae suae solitosque parco ac parabili
for of-discipline their-own and-accustomed with-sparing and easily-got
victu ad inplenda naturae desideria defungi in peregrina et
fare for filling of-nature the-wants to-be-content into foreign and
devictarum gentium mala inpulerat. Hinc saepius conparatae
of-conquered nations evils he-had-driven from-here more-often prepared
in caput eius insidiae, secessio militum et liberior inter
against the-head his plots mutiny of-the-soldiers and freer amid
mutuas querellas dolor, ipsius deinde nunc ira, nunc
mutual complaints resentment of-his-own then now anger now
suspiciones, quas excitabat inconsultus pavor, ceteraque his
suspicions which roused ill-advised panic and-the-rest to-these
similia, quae deinde dicentur. Igitur cum tempestivis conviviis
similar which later will-be-told therefore when in-early banquets
dies pariter noctesque consumeret, satietatem epularum ludis
days alike and-nights he-was-spending the-surfeit of-feasts with-shows
interpellabat non contentus artificum, quos e Graecia
he-was-interrupting not content of-the-artists whom from Greece
exciverat, turba: quippe captivae iubebantur suo
he-had-called-out with-the-crowd for the-captive-women were-ordered in-their-own
ritu canere inconditum et abhorrens peregrinis auribus
rite to-sing an-artless and grating-on foreign ears
carmen. Inter quas unam rex saepe conspexit maestiorem
song among whom one the-king often noticed sadder
quam ceteras et producentibus eam verecunde reluctantem.
than the-rest and to-those-bringing-forward her modestly resisting
Excellens erat forma, et formam pudor honestabat: deiectis
outstanding she-was in-beauty and the-beauty modesty graced with-cast

in terram oculis et, quantum licebat, ore velato
onto the-ground eyes and as-much-as was-permitted with-face veiled
suspicionem praebuit regi, nobiliorem esse, quam ut
suspicion she-gave to-the-king nobler to-be than that
inter convivales ludos deberet ostendi. Ergo interrogata,
among convivial shows she-ought to-be-shown therefore asked
quaenam esset, neptim se Ochi, qui nuper regnasset
who she-was granddaughter herself of-Ochus who recently had-reigned
in Persis, filio eius genitam esse respondit, uxorem
among the-Persians from-a-son his born to-be she-replied wife
Hystaspis fuisse. Propinquus hic Darei fuerat, magni
of-Hystaspes to-have-been a-kinsman this-man of-Darius had-been of-a-great
et ipse exercitus praetor. Adhuc in animo regis tenues
also himself army governor still in the-mind of-the-king slight
reliquiae pristini moris haerebant: itaque fortunam regia
remnants of-former character clung and-so the-fortune from-royal
stirpe genitae et tam celebre nomen Ochi reveritus non
stock of-one-born and so famous a-name of-Ochus having-respected not
dimitti modo captivam, sed etiam restitui ei suas opes
to-be-released only the-captive but also to-be-restored to-her her riches
iussit, virum quoque requiri, ut reperto coniugem
he-ordered her-husband also to-be-sought that with-him-found her-spouse
redderet. Postero autem die praecepit Hephaestioni,
he-might-return on-the-following moreover day he-instructed Hephaestion
ut omnes captivos in regiam iuberet adduci. Ibi
that all the-captives into the-palace he-should-order to-be-brought there
singulorum nobilitate spectata secrevit a vulgo, quorum
of-each with-the-nobility observed he-separated from the-common those-whose
eminebat genus. M hi fuerunt: inter quos repertus est
stood-out birth a-thousand these were among whom found was
Oxathres, Darei frater, non illius fortuna quam indole
Oxathres of-Darius the-brother not of-him by-the-fortune than by-the-nature

animi sui clarior. XXVI milia talentum proxima
of-mind his-own more-illustrious twenty-six thousand of-talents from-the-latest
praeda redacta erant omnino: duodecim milia in congiarium
plunder collected had-been in-all twelve thousand on largess
militum absumpta sunt, par huic pecuniae summa custodum
of-the-soldiers spent were equal to-this money a-sum by-the-guards'
fraude subtracta est. Oxydates erat nobilis Perses, qui a
fraud abstracted was Oxydates was a-noble Persian who by
Dareo capitali supplicio destinatus cohibebatur in vinculis:
Darius for-capital punishment destined was-held in chains
huic liberato satrapeam Mediae attribuit fratremque Darei
to-him freed the-satrapy of-Media he-assigned and-the-brother of-Darius
recepit in cohortem amicorum omni vetustae claritatis
he-received into the-cohort of-friends with-all of-old distinction
honore servato. Hinc in Parthienen perventum est, tunc
honor kept from-here into Parthiene come it-was then
ignobilem gentem, nunc caput omnium, qui post Euphraten
an-obscure nation now the-head of-all who beyond the-Euphrates
et Tigrim amnes siti Rubro mari terminantur. Scythae
and the-Tigris rivers situated by-the-Red Sea are-bounded the-Scythians
regionem campestrem ac fertilem occupaverant, graves adhuc
the-region level and fertile had-occupied troublesome still
accolae. Sedes habent et in Europa et in Asia: qui
neighbors seats they-have both in Europe and in Asia those-who
super Bosphorum colunt, adscribuntur Asiae, at, qui in
above the-Bosporus dwell are-assigned to-Asia but those-who in
Europa sunt, a laevo Thraciae latere ad Borysthenem atque
Europe are from the-left of-Thrace side to the-Borysthenes and
inde ad Tanaim recta plaga attinent. Tanais Europam
thence to the-Tanais in-a-straight tract reach the-Tanais Europe
et Asiam medius interfluit. Nec dubitatur, quin Scythae,
and Asia in-the-middle flows-between nor is-it-doubted that the-Scythians

qui Parthos condidere, non a Bosphoro, sed ex Europae
who the-Parthians founded not from the-Bosporus but from of-Europe
regione penetraverint. Urbs erat ea tempestate clara
the-region penetrated a-city there-was at-that time famous
Hecatompylos, condita a Graecis: ibi stativa rex habuit
Hecatompylos founded by the-Greeks there a-standing-camp the-king had
commeatibus undique advectis. Itaque rumor, otiosi militis
with-supplies from-everywhere brought-in and-so a-rumor of-the-idle soldier
vitium, sine auctore percrebruit, regem contentum rebus,
the-vice without author spread the-king content with-the-things
quas gessisset, in Macedoniam protinus redire statuisse.
which he-had-done into Macedonia at-once to-return to-have-decided
Discurrunt lymphatis similes in tabernacula et itineri
they-run-about to-the-frenzied like into the-tents and for-the-march
sarcinas aptant: signum datum crederes, ut vasa
their-baggage they-fit the-signal given you-would-believe that the-gear
colligerent totis castris. Tumultus hinc contubernales
they-should-collect over-the-whole camp the-uproar on-this-side tentmates
suos requirentium, hinc onerantium plaustra perfertur ad
their-own of-those-seeking-out on-that of-those-loading the-wagons is-carried to
regem. Fecerant fidem rumori temere vulgato Graeci milites
the-king had-made credit to-the-rumor rashly spread the-Greek soldiers
redire iussi domos: quorum equitibus singulis denarium sena
to-return ordered home whose to-horsemen to-each of-denarii six-each
milia cum data essent, peditibus singula milia, ipsis
thousand when given had-been to-the-infantry one-each thousand to-themselves
quoque finem militiae adesse credebant. Haud secus, quam
also an-end of-service to-be-at-hand they-believed not otherwise than
par erat, territus, qui Indos atque ultima Orientis
proper was alarmed he-who the-Indians and the-farthest-parts of-the-East
peragrare statuisset, praefectos copiarum in praetorium
to-traverse had-decided the-commanders of-the-forces into the-headquarters

contrahit obortisque lacrimis ex medio gloriae spatio
draws-together and-with-welling-up tears from the-middle glory's course
revocari se victi magis quam victoris fortunam in
to-be-recalled himself of-a-conquered-man rather than of-a-victor the-fortune into
patriam relaturum conquestus est: nec sibi ignaviam
the-homeland going-to-carry-back complained has nor to-himself the-cowardice
militum obstare, sed deum invidiam, qui fortissimis
of-the-soldiers to-stand-in-the-way but of-the-gods the-envy who in-the-bravest
viris subitum patriae desiderium admovissent paulo post
men a-sudden of-the-homeland longing had-moved-in a-little later
in eandem cum maiore laude famaque redituris. Tum vero
to the-same with greater praise and-fame going-to-return then indeed
pro se quisque operam suam offerre, difficillima quaeque
for himself each service his-own he-offered the-most-difficult each
poscere, polliceri militum quoque obsequium, si animos
he-demanded he-promised of-the-soldiers also the-obedience if the-minds
eorum leni et apta oratione permulcere voluisset:
of-them with-gentle and suitable speech to-soothe he-would-wish
numquam infractos et abiectos recessisse, quotiens ipsius
never broken and dejected to-have-withdrawn whenever of-himself
alacritatem et tanti animi spiritus haurire potuissent.
the-eagerness and of-so-great a-mind the-spirit to-draw-in they-could-have
Ita se facturum esse respondit: illi modo vulgi aures
so himself going-to-do to-be he-replied they only of-the-crowd the-ears
praepararent sibi. Satisque omnibus, quae in rem
should-prepare for-him and-sufficiently with-all-things which to the-purpose
videbantur esse, conpositis vocari ad contionem exercitum
seemed to-be arranged to-be-called to assembly the-army
iussit, apud quem talem orationem habuit:
he-ordered before which such a-speech he-made

Alexander tells the army that their weariness and longing for home are natural after so many conquests. But the empire is new and held by fear, and Hyrcania, Bactra, and the eastern peoples remain unconquered. Bessus, the slave who killed his king, must be punished before he ravages the Greek cities. Only four days' march remains, and the deed would be glorious. It would also teach the Persians that the Macedonians wage dutiful wars against crimes, not names.

'Magnitudinem rerum, quas gessimus, milites, intuentibus
the-greatness of-the-things which we-have-done soldiers looking-at
vobis minime mirum est et desiderium quietis et satietatem
to-you least strange it-is both a-longing for-rest and surfeit
gloriae occurrere. Ut omittam Illyrios, Triballos, Boeotiam,
of-glory to-occur that I-may-omit the-Illyrians the-Triballi Boeotia
Thraciam, Spartam, Achaeos, Peloponnesum, quorum alia
Thrace Sparta the-Achaeans the-Peloponnese of-which some
ductu meo, alia imperio auspicioque perdomui,
under-leadership my others by-command and-auspices I-have-thoroughly-subdued
ecce orsi bellum ab Hellesponto Ionas, Aeolidem
look having-begun the-war from the-Hellespont the-Ionians Aeolis
servitio barbariae inpotentis exemimus, Cariam, Lydiam,
from-the-slavery of-barbarism uncontrolled we-have-freed Caria Lydia
Cappadociam, Phrygiam, Paphlagoniam, Pamphyliam, Pisidas,
Cappadocia Phrygia Paphlagonia Pamphylia the-Pisidians
Ciliciam, Syriam, Phoenicen, Armeniam, Persidem, Medos,
Cilicia Syria Phoenicia Armenia Persis the-Medes
Parthienen habemus in potestate. Plures provincias conplexus
Parthiene we-hold in power more provinces embraced
sum, quam alii urbes ceperunt, et nescio an enumeranti
I-have than others cities have-taken and I-know-not whether enumerating
mihi quaedam ipsarum rerum multitudo subduxerit. Itaque
to-me some of-the-things themselves the-multitude has-withdrawn and-so

si crederem satis certam esse possessionem terrarum, quas
if I-believed sufficiently certain to-be the-possession of-the-lands which
tanta velocitate domuimus, ego vero, milites, ad penates
with-so-great speed we-have-tamed I indeed soldiers to hearths
meos, ad parentem sororesque et ceteros cives vel retinentibus
my to my-parent and-sisters and the-other citizens even with-holding-me
vobis erumperem, ut ibi potissimum parta vobiscum laude
you I-would-burst-forth that there especially won with-you the-praise
et gloria fruerer, ubi nos uberrima victoriae praemia
and glory I-might-enjoy where us the-richest of-victory rewards
expectant, liberum, coniugum parentumque laetitia, pax, quies,
await of-children of-wives and-of-parents the-joy peace rest
rerum per virtutem partarum secura possessio. Sed in novo
of-things through valor won the-secure possession but in a-new
et, si verum fateri volumus, precario imperio adhuc iugum
and if the-truth to-confess we-wish precarious empire still the-yoke
eius rigida cervice subeuntibus barbaris tempore, milites,
of-it with-stiff neck going-under the-barbarians time soldiers
opus est, dum mitioribus ingeniis inbuuntur et efferatos
need there-is while with-milder natures they-are-imbued and the-savage
melior consuetudo permulcet. Fruges quoque maturitatem
a-better custom soothes the-crops also ripeness
statuto tempore expectant: adeo etiam illa sensus
at-the-appointed time await so-far even those-things of-sense
omnis expertia tamen sua lege mitescunt. Quid?
all without-share yet by-their-own law grow-mild what
creditis tot gentes alterius imperio ac nomine adsuetas,
do-you-believe so-many nations to-another's rule and name accustomed
non sacris, non moribus, non commercio linguae nobiscum
not by-rites not by-customs not by-exchange of-language with-us
cohaerentes eodem proelio domitas esse, quo victae
cohering in-the-same battle tamed to-have-been in-which conquered

sunt? Vestris armis continentur, non suis moribus et,
they-were by-your arms they-are-held not by-their-own customs and
qui praesentes metuunt, in absentia hostes erunt. Cum
those-who present fear in absence enemies will-be with
feris bestiis res est, quas captas et inclusas, quia
wild beasts the-business is which captured and shut-up because
ipsarum natura non potest, longior dies mitigat. Et adhuc
their-own nature not can a-longer time tames and still
sic ago, tamquam omnia subacta sint armis, quae fuerunt in
thus I-act as-though all-things subdued were by-arms which were in
dicione Darei. Hyrcaniam Nabarzanes occupavit, Bactra non
the-dominion of-Darius Hyrcania Nabarzanes has-seized Bactra not
possidet solum parricida Bessus, sed etiam minatur, Sogdiani,
possesses only the-parricide Bessus but also threatens the-Sogdians
Dahae, Massagetae, Sacae, Indi sui iuris sunt. Omnes
the-Dahae the-Massagetae the-Sacae the-Indians of-their-own right are all
hi, simul terga nostra viderint, illos sequentur: illi enim
these as-soon-as backs our they-see them will-follow they for
eiusdem nationis sunt, nos alienigenae et externi. Suis
of-the-same nation are we foreigners and outsiders to-his-own
quisque autem placidius paret, etiam cum is praeest, qui
each moreover more-calmly submits even when he is-in-charge who
magis timeri potest. Proinde aut, quae cepimus, omittenda
more to-be-feared can therefore either what we-have-taken to-be-abandoned
sunt aut, quae non habemus, occupanda. Sicut in corporibus
are or what not we-hold to-be-seized as in bodies
aegris, milites, nihil, quod nociturum est, medici relinquunt,
sick soldiers nothing which going-to-harm is physicians leave
sic nos, quidquid obstat imperio, recidamus. Parva saepe
so we whatever obstructs the-empire let-us-cut-away a-small often
scintilla contempta magnum excitavit incendium. Nil tuto
spark despised a-great has-roused blaze nothing safely

in hoste despicitur: quem spreveris, valentiorem neglegentia
in an-enemy is-despised whom you-scorn stronger by-neglect
facias. Ne Dareus quidem hereditarium Persarum accepit
you-make not Darius even hereditary of-the-Persians received
imperium, sed est in sedem Cyri beneficio Bagoae, castrati
the-empire but was into the-seat of-Cyrus by-the-favor of-Bagoas a-castrated
hominis, admissus: ne vos magno labore credatis Bessum
man admitted lest you with-great toil should-believe Bessus
vacuum regnum occupaturum. Nos vero peccavimus, milites,
an-empty kingdom going-to-seize we indeed have-erred soldiers
si Dareum ob hoc vicimus, ut servo eius
if Darius on-account-of this we-have-conquered that to-the-slave his
traderemus imperium, qui ultimum ausus scelus regem
we-might-hand-over the-empire who the-ultimate having-dared crime king
suum, etiam externae opis egentem, certe cui nos victores
his-own even of-foreign help in-need certainly whom we victorious
pepercissemus, quasi captivum in vinculis habuit, ad ultimum,
would-have-spared as-if a-captive in chains held to the-last
ne a nobis conservari posset, occidit. Hunc vos regnare
lest by us to-be-saved he-could killed this-man you to-reign
patiemini? Quem equidem cruci adfixum videre festino,
will-you-allow whom I-indeed to-a-cross fastened to-see hasten
omnibus regibus gentibusque et fidei, quam violavit,
to-all kings and-nations and to-the-good-faith which he-violated
meritas poenas solventem. At, hercules, si mox eundem
the-deserved penalties paying but by-Hercules if soon the-same-man
Graecorum urbes aut Hellespontum vastare nuntiatum erit
the-Greeks' cities or the-Hellespont to-be-ravaging announced will-be
vobis, quo dolore adficiemini Bessum praemia vestrae
to-you with-what grief will-you-be-afflicted Bessus the-prizes of-your
occupavisse victoriae? Tunc ad repetendas res festinabitis,
to-have-seized victory then to recover things you-will-hasten

tunc arma capietis. Quanto autem praestat territum adhuc
then arms you-will-take-up how-much moreover it-is-better the-terrified still
et vix mentis suae compotem opprimere! Quadridui nobis
and scarcely of-mind his-own master to-overwhelm of-four-days for-us
iter superest, qui tot proculcavimus nives, tot amnes
a-march remains we-who so-many have-trampled snows so-many rivers
superavimus, tot montium iuga transcucurrimus. Non mare
have-crossed so-many of-mountains ridges have-run-across not the-sea
illud, quod exaestuans iter fluctibus occupat, euntes nos
that which surging the-route with-waves occupies going us
moratur, non Ciliciae fauces et angustiae includunt: plana
delays not of-Cilicia the-jaws and narrows shut-us-in level
omnia et prona sunt. In ipso limine victoriae stamus.
all-things and sloping are on the-very threshold of-victory we-stand
Pauci nobis fugitivi et domini sui interfectores supersunt.
few for-us fugitives and of-master their-own the-killers remain
Egregium, mehercule, opus et inter prima gloriae vestrae
an-outstanding by-Hercules work and among the-first of-glory your
numerandum posteritati famaeque tradetis, Dareum
to-be-counted to-posterity and-to-fame you-will-hand-down Darius
quoque hostem finito post mortem illius odio parricidae
too an-enemy with-ended after the-death of-him hatred of-the-parricide
caede esse vos ultos, neminem impium effugisse
by-the-slaughter to-have yourselves avenged no-one impious to-have-escaped
vestras manus. Hoc perpetrato quanto creditis Persas
your hands with-this accomplished how-much do-you-believe the-Persians
obsequentiores fore, cum intellexerint vos pia bella
more-obedient going-to-be when they-understand you dutiful wars
suscipere et Bessi sceleri, non nomini suo irasci?'
to-undertake and of-Bessus at-the-crime not at-name their-own to-be-angry

The army cheers, and Alexander enters Hyrcania, where the Stiboetes vanishes underground for three hundred stades and reemerges. Nabarzanes writes to excuse his part in seizing Darius and asks for a pledge of safety, which Alexander gives. Curtius describes the Caspian Sea, its sweet water, and its tides. Phrataphernes and others surrender. The king makes Amminapes satrap of Hyrcania and gives the Tapuri to Phradates.

Summa militum alacritate iubentium, quocumque vellet,
with-the-highest of-the-soldiers eagerness bidding-him wherever he-wished
ducere oratio excepta est. Nec rex moratur impetum
to-lead the-speech received was nor the-king delays their-impulse
tertioque per Parthienen die ad fines Hyrcaniae
and-on-the-third through Parthiene day to the-borders of-Hyrcania
penetrat Cratero relicto cum iis copiis, quibus praeerat,
he-penetrates with-Craterus left with those forces which he-commanded
et ea manu, quam Amyntas ducebat, additis DC
and that band which Amyntas was-leading with-added six-hundred
equitibus et totidem sagittariis, ut ab incursione barbarorum
horsemen and as-many archers that from the-incursion of-the-barbarians
Parthienen tueretur. Erigyium inpedimenta modico
Parthiene he-might-protect Erigyius the-baggage with-a-modest
praesidio dato campestri itinere ducere iubet. Ipse cum
guard given by-the-level route to-lead he-orders himself with
phalange et equitatu CL stadia emensus castra
the-phalanx and cavalry a-hundred-and-fifty stades having-traversed a-camp
in valle, qua Hyrcaniam adeunt, communit. Nemus
in the-valley by-which Hyrcania they-approach fortifies a-grove
praealtis densisque arboribus umbrosum est pingue vallis
with-very-tall and-dense trees shady is fat of-the-valley
solum rigantibus aquis, quae ex petris imminentibus manant.
the-soil with-watering waters which from the-rocks overhanging flow

Ex ipsis radicibus montium Stiboetes amnis effunditur,
from the-very roots of-the-mountains the-Stiboetes river pours-forth
qui tria fere stadia in longitudinem universus fluit, deinde
which three about stades in length entire flows then
saxo, quod alveolum interpellat, repercussus duo itinera
by-a-rock which the-little-channel interrupts thrown-back two courses
velut dispensatis aquis aperit. Inde torrens et saxorum,
as-if with-distributed waters opens thence a-torrent and of-the-rocks
per quae incurrit, asperitate violentior terram praeceps
over which it-runs by-the-roughness more-violent the-earth headlong
subit. Per CCC stadia conditus labitur rursusque velut
enters for three-hundred stades hidden it-glides and-again as-if
ex alio fonte conceptus editur et novum alveum
from another spring conceived is-brought-forth and a-new channel
intendit priore sui parte spatiosior — quippe in
extends than-the-former of-itself part more-spacious for in
latitudinem X et trium stadiorum diffunditur — rursusque
breadth ten and three stades it-spreads and-again
angustioribus coercitus ripis iter cogit. Tandem in
by-narrower confined banks its-course compresses at-last into
alterum amnem cadit: Rhidagno nomen est. Incolae
another river it-falls Rhidagnus its-name is the-inhabitants
adfirmabant, quaecumque demissa essent in cavernam, quae
affirmed whatever let-down had-been into the-cavern which
propior est fonti, rursus, ubi aliud os amnis aperitur,
nearer is to-the-source again where another mouth of-the-river opens
existere: itaque Alexander boves, qua subeunt aquae terram,
to-emerge and-so Alexander oxen where go-under the-waters the-earth
praecipitari iubet, quorum corpora, ubi rursus erumpit,
to-be-thrown-down orders whose bodies where again it-bursts-out
expulsa videre, qui missi erant, ut exciperent.
expelled saw those-who sent had-been that they-might-catch-them

Quartum iam diem eodem loco quietem militi dederat,
the-fourth now day in-the-same place rest to-the-soldier he-had-given
cum litteras Nabarzanis, qui Dareum cum Besso interceperat,
when a-letter of-Nabarzanes who Darius with Bessus had-seized
accepit, quarum sententia haec erat: se Dareo non fuisse
he-received of-which the-meaning this was himself to-Darius not to-have-been
inimicum, immo etiam, quae credidisset utilia esse, suasisse
hostile nay even what he-had-believed useful to-be to-have-advised
et, quia fidele consilium regi dedisset, prope occisum
and because faithful counsel to-the-king he-had-given almost killed
ab eo. Agitasse Dareum custodiam corporis sui contra
by him to-have-planned Darius the-guarding of-body his-own against
ius fasque peregrino militi tradere damnata popularium
right and-law to-foreign soldiery to-hand-over with-condemned of-his-countrymen
fide, quam per ducentos et triginta annos inviolatam
the-loyalty which for two-hundred and thirty years inviolate
regibus suis praestitissent. Se in praecipiti et lubrico
to-the-kings their-own they-had-shown himself on a-precipice and slippery-place
stantem consilium a praesenti necessitate repetisse. Dareum
standing a-plan from the-present necessity to-have-sought Darius
quoque, cum occidisset Bagoan, hac excusatione satisfecisse
also when he-had-killed Bagoas with-this excuse to-have-satisfied
popularibus, quod insidiantem interemisset. Nihil esse miseris
his-countrymen that the-plotter he-had-slain nothing to-be to-wretched
mortalibus spiritu carius: amore eius ad ultima esse
mortals than-breath dearer by-love of-it to the-extremes to-have-been
propulsum. Sed ea magis esse secutum quam optasse.
driven but those-things rather to-have followed than to-have-wished
In communi calamitate suam quemque habere fortunam.
in a-common calamity his-own each to-have fortune
Si venire se iuberet, sine metu esse venturum. Non
if to-come himself he-bade without fear to-be going-to-come not

timere, ne fidem datam tantus rex violaret: deos a deo
to-fear lest the-pledge given so-great a-king should-violate the-gods by a-god
falli non solere. Ceterum si, cui fidem daret,
to-be-deceived not to-be-wont but if to-whom a-pledge he-should-give
videretur indignus, multa exilia patere fugienti: patriam
he-seemed unworthy many exiles to-lie-open for-the-fugitive the-homeland
esse, ubicumque vir fortis sedem sibi elegerit. Nec
to-be wherever a-man brave a-seat for-himself has-chosen nor
dubitavit Alexander fidem, quo Persae modo accipiebant,
did-hesitate Alexander a-pledge in-which the-Persians manner were-accepting-it
dare, inviolatum, si venisset, fore. Quadrato tamen agmine
to-give unharmed if he-came going-to-be in-square yet column
et conposito ibat speculatores subinde praemittens, qui
and arranged he-went scouts repeatedly sending-ahead who
explorarent loca. Levis armatura ducebat agmen, phalanx
might-reconnoiter the-places the-light armament was-leading the-column the-phalanx
eam sequebatur, post pedites erant inpedimenta. Et gens
it was-following behind the-infantry were the-baggage and the-nation
bellicosa et naturae situs difficilis aditu curam regis
warlike and of-nature the-situation difficult in-approach the-care of-the-king
intenderat. Namque perpetua vallis iacet usque ad mare
had-intensified for a-continuous valley lies right to the-sea
Caspium patens, quo terrae eius velut brachia excurrunt:
Caspian opening where the-lands its as-if arms run-out
media flexu modico sinum faciunt lunae maxime
in-the-middle with-a-curve moderate a-bay they-make to-the-moon most
similem, cum eminent cornua nondum totum orbem sidere
similar when stand-out the-horns not-yet the-whole circle with-the-star
inplente. Cercetae et Mossyni et Chalybes a laeva sunt
filling the-Cercetae and the-Mossyni and the-Chalybes on the-left are
et ab altera parte Leucosyri et Amazonum campi: et
and on the-other side the-Leucosyri and of-the-Amazons the-plains and

illos, qua vergit ad septentrionem, hos ad occasum
those where it-slopes toward the-north these toward the-west
conversa prospectat. Mare Caspium dulcius ceteris ingentis
turned it-looks-out-on the-sea Caspian sweeter than-the-rest of-huge
magnitudinis serpentes alit: piscium in eo longe diversi ab
size serpents nourishes of-fish in it far different from
aliis colores. Quidam Caspium, quidam Hyrcanium appellant:
others the-colors some Caspian some Hyrcanian call-it
alii sunt, qui Maeotiam paludem in id cadere putent
others there-are who the-Maeotic marsh into it to-fall think
et argumentum adferant aquam, quod dulcior sit quam
and as-proof bring the-water because sweeter it-is than
cetera maria, infuso paludis humore mitescere. A
the-other seas with-poured-in of-the-marsh moisture to-grow-mild from
septentrione ingens in litus mare incumbit longeque agit
the-north huge onto the-shore the-sea leans and-far drives
fluctus et magna parte exaestuans stagnat: idem alio
its-waves and over-a-great part surging stagnates the-same in-another
caeli statu recipit in se fretum eodemque impetu,
of-the-sky state takes-back into itself the-strait and-with-the-same impetus
quo effusum est, relabens terram naturae suae reddit.
with-which poured-out it-was flowing-back the-land to-nature its-own restores
Et quidam credidere non Caspium mare esse, sed ex India
and some have-believed not Caspian a-sea to-be but from India
in Hyrcaniam Oceanum cadere, cuius fastigium, ut supra
into Hyrcania the-Ocean to-fall whose top as above
dictum est, perpetua valle submittitur. Hinc rex XX
said it-is by-the-continuous valley is-lowered from-here the-king twenty
stadia processit semita propemodum invia, cui silva
stades advanced by-a-path almost pathless over-which a-wood
inminebat, torrentesque et eluvies iter morabantur: nullo
hung and-torrents and floods the-route delayed with-no

tamen hoste obvio penetratum tandemque ad cultiora
yet enemy met it-was-penetrated and-at-last to more-cultivated-parts
perventum est. Praeter alios commeatus, quorum tum
come it-was besides other supplies of-which then
copia regio abundabat, pomorum quoque ingens modus
with-abundance the-region abounded of-fruits also a-huge amount
nascitur, et uberrimum gignendis uvis solum est. Frequens
grows and very-rich for-producing grapes the-soil is a-frequent
arbor faciem quercus habet, cuius folia multo melle
tree the-look of-an-oak has whose leaves with-much honey
tinguntur, sed, nisi solis ortum incolae occupaverint,
are-dyed but unless of-the-sun the-rising the-inhabitants anticipate
vel modico tepore sucus extinguitur. XXX hinc stadia
even by-moderate warmth the-juice is-extinguished thirty from-here stades
processerat, cum Phrataphernes ei occurrit seque et eos, qui
he-had-advanced when Phrataphernes him meets himself and those who
post Darei mortem profugerant, dedens: quibus benigne
after of-Darius the-death had-fled surrendering with-whom kindly
exceptis ad oppidum Arvas pervenit. Hic ei Craterus et
received to the-town Arvae he-came here him Craterus and
Erigyius occurrunt. Praefectum Tapurorum gentis, Phradatem,
Erigyius meet the-governor of-the-Tapuri nation Phradates
adduxerant: hic quoque in fidem receptus multis exemplo
they-had-brought this-man also into allegiance received for-many an-example
fuit experiendi clementiam regis. Satrapen deinde Hyrcaniae
was of-trying the-clemency of-the-king as-satrap then of-Hyrcania
dedit Amminaspin: exul hic regnante Ocho ad Philippum
he-gave Amminapes an-exile this-man with-reigning Ochus to Philip
pervenerat. Tapurorum quoque gentem Phradati reddidit.
had-come of-the-Tapuri also the-nation to-Phradates he-restored

Artabazus, aged ninety-five, meets Alexander with his nine sons and a band of Greek soldiers, and the king welcomes him. The Greeks submit, but the Athenian Democrates kills himself. Alexander subdues the Mardi in their woods of interwoven trees and recovers Bucephalas by threatening to kill them all. Nabarzanes surrenders with the eunuch Bagoas. Thalestris, queen of the Amazons, comes to bear Alexander's child, and after thirteen days she returns home.

Iamque ultima Hyrcaniae intraverat, cum Artabazus,
and-now the-farthest-parts of-Hyrcania he-had-entered when Artabazus
quem Dareo fidissimum fuisse supra diximus, cum
whom to-Darius most-loyal to-have-been above we-said with
propinquis Darei ac suis liberis modicaque Graecorum
the-kinsmen of-Darius and his-own children and-with-a-modest of-Greek
militum manu occurrit. Dextram venienti obtulit rex:
soldiers band met-him his-right-hand to-him-coming offered the-king
quippe et hospes Philippi fuerat, cum Ocho regnante
for both the-guest of-Philip he-had-been when with-Ochus reigning
exularet, et hospitii pignora in regem suum ad
he-was-an-exile and of-hospitality the-pledges toward king his-own to
ultimum fides conservata vincebat. Comiter igitur exceptus:
the-last loyalty kept was-surpassing courteously therefore received
'Tu quidem,' inquit, 'rex, deos quaeso, perpetua felicitate
you indeed he-says king the-gods I-pray with-perpetual good-fortune
floreas: ego ceteris laetus hoc uno torqueor, quod
may-flourish I in-all-else glad by-this one-thing am-tormented that
praecipiti senectute diu frui tua bonitate non possum.'
from-headlong old-age long to-enjoy your kindness not I-can
Nonagesimum et quintum annum agebat. Novem iuvenes,
the-ninetieth and fifth year he-was-living nine young-men
omnes eadem matre geniti, patrem comitabantur: hos
all of-the-same mother born their-father were-accompanying these

Artabazus dexterae regis admovit precatus, ut tam diu
Artabazus to-the-right-hand of-the-king brought having-prayed that so long
viverent, donec utiles Alexandro essent. Rex pedibus
they-might-live as-long-as useful to-Alexander they-should-be the-king on-foot
iter plerumque faciebat: tunc admoveri sibi et Artabazo
his-route mostly made then to-be-brought to-himself and to-Artabazus
equos iussit, ne ipso ingrediente pedibus senex
horses he-ordered lest with-himself walking on-foot the-old-man
equo vehi erubesceret. Ut deinde castra sunt posita,
on-a-horse to-be-carried should-be-ashamed when then the-camp was pitched
Graecos, quos Artabazus adduxerat, convocari iubet:
the-Greeks whom Artabazus had-brought to-be-called-together he-orders
at illi, nisi fides Lacedaemoniis quoque et Sinopensibus
but they unless a-pledge to-the-Lacedaemonians also and the-Sinopeans
daretur, respondent se, quid agendum ipsis foret,
were-given reply themselves what to-be-done by-them might-be
deliberaturos. Legati erant Lacedaemoniorum missi ad
going-to-deliberate envoys they-were of-the-Lacedaemonians sent to
Dareum: quo victo adplicuerant se Graecis mercede
Darius with-whom conquered had-attached themselves to-the-Greeks for-pay
apud Persas militantibus. Rex omissis sponsionum
among the-Persians serving the-king with-omitted of-guarantees
fideique pignoribus venire eos iussit, fortunam, quam
and-of-good-faith pledges to-come them ordered the-fortune which
ipse dedisset, habituros. Diu cunctantes plerisque consilia
he-himself should-give going-to-have long hesitating with-most their-counsels
variantibus tandem venturos se pollicentur. At Democrates
varying at-last going-to-come themselves they-promise but Democrates
Atheniensis, qui maxime Macedonum opibus semper
the-Athenian who most of-the-Macedonians to-the-power always
obstiterat, desperata venia gladio se transfigit. Ceteri,
had-opposed with-despaired-of pardon with-a-sword himself pierces the-rest

sicut constituerant, dicioni Alexandri ipsos se
as they-had-decided to-the-dominion of-Alexander they-themselves themselves
permittunt. M et D milites erant, praeter hos
surrender a-thousand and five-hundred soldiers they-were besides these
legati ad Dareum missi XC. In supplementum distributus
the-envoys to Darius sent ninety into reinforcement distributed
miles, ceteri remissi domum praeter Lacedaemonios, quos
the-soldiery the-rest sent-back home except the-Lacedaemonians whom
tradi in custodiam iussit. Mardorum erat gens
to-be-handed-over into custody he-ordered of-the-Mardians was the-nation
confinis Hyrcaniae, cultu vitae aspera et latrociniis adsueta:
bordering on-Hyrcania in-manner of-life rough and to-brigandage accustomed
haec sola nec legatos miserat nec videbatur imperata factura.
this alone neither envoys had-sent nor seemed the-orders going-to-do
Itaque rex indignatus, si una gens posset efficere, ne
and-so the-king indignant if one nation could bring-about that-not
invictus esset, inpedimentis cum praesidio relictis valida
unconquered he-should-be with-the-baggage with a-guard left with-a-strong
manu comitante procedit. Noctu iter fecerat, et prima
band accompanying advances by-night the-march he-had-made and at-first
luce hostis in conspectu erat: tumultus magis quam proelium
light the-enemy in sight was an-uproar rather than a-battle
fuit. Deturbati ex collibus, quos occupaverant, barbari
it-was dislodged from the-hills which they-had-occupied the-barbarians
profugerunt, proximique vici ab incolis deserti capiuntur.
fled and-the-nearest villages by the-inhabitants deserted are-taken
Interiora regionis eius haud sane adiri sine magna
the-interior of-the-region that not at-all to-be-approached without great
vexatione exercitus poterant: iuga montium praealtae silvae
harassment of-the-army could the-ridges of-the-mountains very-tall woods
rupesque inviae saepiunt, ea, quae plana sunt, novo
and-crags pathless fence those-parts which level are with-a-new

munimenti genere inpedierant barbari. Arbores densae sunt
of-fortification kind had-obstructed the-barbarians trees thick are
de industria consitae: quarum teneros adhuc ramos manu
on purpose planted of-which the-tender still branches by-hand
flectunt, quos intortos rursus inserunt terrae: inde velut
they-bend which twisted again they-insert into-the-earth from-there as-if
ex alia radice laetiores virent trunci. Hos, qua natura
from another root more-luxuriant flourish the-trunks these where nature
fert, adolescere non sinunt: quippe alium alii quasi nexu
brings to-grow-up not they-allow for one to-another as-if in-a-bond
conserunt. Qui ubi multa fronde vestiti sunt, operiunt
they-join which when with-much foliage clothed they-are cover
terram: itaque occulti ramorum velut laquei perpetua
the-earth and-so hidden of-branches like snares with-a-continuous
saepe iter cludunt. Una ratio erat caedendo aperire
hedge the-route close one method was by-cutting to-open
saltum, sed hoc quoque magni operis. Crebri namque nodi
the-pass but this also of-great labor frequent for knots
duraverant stipites, et in se inplicati arborum rami
had-hardened the-trunks and in each-other entangled of-the-trees the-branches
suspensis circulis similes lento vimine frustrabantur ictus.
to-suspended hoops similar with-pliant withy were-baffling the-blows
Incolae autem ritu ferarum virgulta subire soliti
the-inhabitants moreover in-the-manner of-wild-beasts the-thickets to-go-under accustomed
tum quoque intraverant saltum occultisque telis hostem
then also had-entered the-pass and-with-hidden missiles the-enemy
lacessebant. Ille venantium modo latibula scrutatus
were-harassing he of-hunters in-the-manner the-lairs having-searched
plerosque confodit, ad ultimum circumire saltum milites
most he-stabbed at the-last to-surround the-pass the-soldiers
iubet, ut, si qua pateret, inrumperent. Sed ignotis locis
he-orders that if anywhere it-lay-open they-might-burst-in but in-unknown places

plerique oberrabant, exceptique sunt quidam, inter quos
most were-wandering and-caught were some among whom
equus regis — Bucephalam vocabant—, quem Alexander non
the-horse of-the-king Bucephalas they-called-him whom Alexander not
eodem quo ceteras pecudes animo aestimabat. Namque ille
with-the-same as the-other cattle mind valued for he
nec in dorso insidere suo patiebatur alium et regem, cum
neither on the-back to-sit his-own allowed another and the-king when
vellet escendere, sponte genua submittens excipiebat
he-wished to-mount of-his-own-accord his-knees lowering received
credebaturque sentire, quem veheret. Maiore ergo, quam
and-was-believed to-sense whom he-carried with-greater therefore than
decebat, ira simul ac dolore stimulatus equum vestigari
was-fitting anger at-once and grief spurred the-horse to-be-tracked
iubet et per interpretem pronuntiari, ni reddidissent,
he-orders and through an-interpreter to-be-proclaimed unless they-returned-him
neminem esse victurum. Hac denuntiatione territi cum ceteris
no-one to-be going-to-live by-this threat terrified with other
donis equum adducunt. Sed ne sic quidem mitigatus caedi
gifts the-horse they-bring but not thus even softened to-be-cut
silvas iubet adgestaque humo e montibus planitiem
the-woods he-orders and-with-heaped-up earth from the-mountains the-plain
ramis inpeditam exaggerari. Iam in aliquantum altitudinis
by-branches obstructed to-be-raised now to some of-height
opus creverat, cum barbari desperato regionem, quam
the-work had-grown when the-barbarians with-despaired-of the-region which
occupaverant, posse retineri, gentem suam dedidere. Rex
they-had-occupied to-be-able to-be-held nation their-own surrendered the-king
obsidibus acceptis Phradati parere eos iussit. Inde quinto
with-hostages received to-Phradates to-obey them he-ordered from-there on-the-fifth
die in stativa revertitur. Artabazum deinde geminato
day to the-standing-camp he-returns Artabazus then with-doubled

honore, quem Dareus habuerat ei, remittit domum. Iam ad
honor which Darius had-held to-him sends-back home now to
urbem Hyrcaniae, in qua regia Darei fuit, ventum erat: ibi
the-city of-Hyrcania in which the-palace of-Darius was come it-was there
Nabarzanes accepta fide occurrit dona ingentia ferens. Inter
Nabarzanes with-received pledge meets-him gifts huge bringing among
quae Bagoas erat, specie singulari spado atque in ipso flore
which Bagoas was of-beauty singular a-eunuch and in the-very flower
pueritiae, cui et Dareus adsuerat et mox Alexander
of-boyhood to-whom both Darius had-been-intimate and soon Alexander
adsuevit: eiusque maxime precibus motus Nabarzani
became-intimate and-his most-of-all by-prayers moved Nabarzanes
ignovit. Erat, ut supra dictum est, Hyrcaniae finitima
he-pardoned there-was as above said it-is to-Hyrcania bordering
gens Amazonum, circa Thermodonta amnem Themiscyrae
the-nation of-the-Amazons around the-Thermodon river of-Themiscyra
incolentium campos. Reginam habebant Thalestrin, omnibus
inhabiting the-plains a-queen they-had Thalestris over-all
inter Caucasum montem et Phasin amnem imperitantem.
between the-Caucasus mountain and the-Phasis river ruling
Haec cupidine visendi regis accensa finibus regni sui
she by-desire of-seeing the-king inflamed from-the-borders of-kingdom her-own
excessit et, cum haud procul abesset, praemisit indicantes,
departed and when not far she-was-distant sent-ahead men-indicating
venisse reginam adeundi eius cognoscendique avidam.
to-have-come the-queen of-approaching him and-of-getting-to-know eager
Protinus facta potestas est veniendi ceteris iussis subsistere.
at-once given permission was of-coming with-the-rest ordered to-halt
Trecentis feminarum comitata processit atque, ut primum
by-three-hundred women accompanied she-advanced and as soon-as
rex in conspectu fuit, equo ipsa desiluit duas
the-king in sight was from-her-horse she-herself leapt-down two

lanceas dextera praeferens. Vestis non tota Amazonum
lances in-her-right-hand carrying-before the-garment not whole on-the-Amazons'
corpori obducitur: nam laeva pars ad pectus est nuda,
body is-drawn for the-left part to the-breast is bare
cetera deinde velantur. Nec tamen sinus vestis, quem
the-rest then are-veiled nor yet the-fold of-the-garment which
nodo colligunt, infra genua descendit. Altera papilla intacta
in-a-knot they-gather below the-knees descends one breast untouched
servatur, qua muliebris sexus liberos alant: aduritur
is-kept with-which of-the-female sex the-children they-may-nourish is-burned
dextera, ut arcus facilius intendant et tela vibrent.
the-right that the-bow more-easily they-may-stretch and missiles brandish
Interrito vultu regem Thalestris intuebatur habitum eius
with-undaunted face the-king Thalestris was-looking-at the-bearing his
haudquaquam rerum famae parem oculis perlustrans:
by-no-means of-his-deeds to-the-fame equal with-her-eyes surveying
quippe omnibus barbaris in corporum maiestate veneratio
for among-all the-barbarians in of-bodies majesty veneration
est, magnorumque operum non alios capaces putant, quam
is and-of-great deeds not others capable they-think than
quos eximia specie donare natura dignata est. Ceterum
those-whom with-exceptional beauty to-endow nature deigned has but
interrogata, num aliquid petere vellet, haud dubitavit fateri
asked whether anything to-ask she-wished not she-hesitated to-confess
ad communicandos cum rege liberos se venisse, dignam,
for sharing with the-king children herself to-have-come worthy
ex qua ipse regni generaret heredes: feminini sexus
from whom he-himself of-his-kingdom might-beget heirs of-the-female sex
se retenturam, marem reddituram patri. Alexander, an
herself going-to-keep the-male going-to-return to-the-father Alexander whether
cum ipso militare vellet, interrogat: at illa causata,
with himself to-serve she-wished asks but she having-pleaded

sine custode regnum reliquisse, petere perseverabat, ne
without a-guard the-kingdom to-have-left to-ask persisted that-not
se inritam spei abire pateretur. Acrior ad venerem
her disappointed of-her-hope to-depart he-should-allow keener for love
feminae cupido quam regis, ut paucos dies subsisteret,
of-the-woman the-desire than of-the-king so-that a-few days he-should-halt
perpulit. XIII dies in obsequium desiderii eius absumpti
prevailed thirteen days in the-indulgence of-desire her spent
sunt. Tum illa regnum suum, rex Parthienen petiverunt.
were then she kingdom her-own the-king Parthiene sought

VI · PERSIAN DRESS AND SATIBARZANES

Alexander now openly adopts the Persian diadem, dress, and concubines, seeks prostration, and seals with Darius' ring, and the veterans say victory has cost them more than war. To end the idleness he marches on Bessus, who now calls himself Artaxerxes, and burns the baggage, his own first. Nicanor, Parmenio's son, dies. Satibarzanes revolts and flees, and Alexander burns his men out of a wooded crag with a west wind. Artacana is spared, and Barzaentes flees to India.

Hic vero palam cupiditates suas solvit continentiamque
here indeed openly the-desires his-own he-let-loose and-restraint
et moderationem, in altissima quaque fortuna eminentia
and moderation in the-loftiest each fortune outstanding
bona, in superbiam ac lasciviam vertit. Patrios mores
goods into arrogance and wantonness he-turned the-ancestral customs
disciplinamque Macedonum regum salubriter temperatam et
and-discipline of-the-Macedonian kings wholesomely tempered and
civilem habitum velut leviora magnitudine sua ducens
the-citizen bearing as-if lighter than-greatness his-own considering
Persicae regiae par deorum potentiae fastigium aemulabatur:
of-the-Persian palace equal of-the-gods to-the-power the-height he-was-emulating

iacere humi venerabundos ipsum paulatimque servilibus
to-lie on-the-ground prostrate-in-reverence himself and-gradually to-servile
ministeriis tot victores gentium inbuere et captivis pares
duties so-many conquerors of-nations to-accustom and to-captives equal
facere expetebat. Itaque purpureum diadema distinctum albo,
to-make he-sought and-so a-purple diadem picked-out with-white
quale Dareus habuerat, capiti circumdedit vestemque
such-as Darius had-had around-his-head he-placed and-a-garment
Persicam sumpsit, ne omen quidem veritus, quod a
Persian he-took-up not the-omen even having-feared that from
victoris insignibus in devicti transiret habitum. Et
the-victor's insignia into the-conquered-man's he-was-passing dress and
ille se quidem spolia Persarum gestare dicebat, sed cum
he himself indeed the-spoils of-the-Persians to-wear said but with
illis quoque mores induerat, superbiamque habitus animi
them also the-customs he-had-put-on and-the-arrogance of-dress of-mind
insolentia sequebatur. Litteras quoque, quas in Europam
the-insolence followed the-letters also which into Europe
mitteret, veteris anuli gemma obsignabat, iis, quas in
he-sent of-his-old ring with-the-gem he-sealed on-those which into
Asiam scriberet, Darei anulus inprimebatur, ut adpareret
Asia he-wrote of-Darius the-ring was-impressed so-that it-might-appear
unum animum duorum non capere fortunam. Amicos vero
one mind of-two not to-contain the-fortune his-friends moreover
et equites unaque principes militum, aspernantes quidem,
and the-horsemen and-together the-chief-men of-the-soldiers spurning-it indeed
sed recusare non ausos, Persicis ornaverat vestibus. Pelices
but to-refuse not daring with-Persian he-had-adorned garments concubines
CCC et LXV, totidem quot Darei fuerant, regiam
three-hundred and sixty-five as-many as of-Darius had-been the-palace
inplebant, quas spadonum greges et ipsi muliebria pati
filled whom of-eunuchs herds and themselves woman's-things to-suffer

adsueti sequebantur. Haec luxu et peregrinis infecta
accustomed followed these-things with-luxury and with-foreign tainted
moribus veteres Philippi milites, rudis natio ad voluptates,
customs the-veteran of-Philip soldiers an-unskilled race for pleasures
palam aversabantur, totisque castris unus omnium sensus
openly turned-from and-over-the-whole camp one of-all feeling
ac sermo erat, plus amissum victoria quam bello esse
and talk was more lost by-victory than by-war to-have-been
quaesitum: cummaxime vinci ipsos deditos alienis
gained at-this-very-moment to-be-conquered themselves surrendered to-another's
moribus et externis. Quo tandem ore domos quasi in
customs and foreign with-what then face home as-if in
captivo habitu reversuros? Pudere iam sui regem:
captive dress going-to-return to-be-ashamed now of-himself the-king
victis quam victoribus similiorem ex Macedoniae
to-the-conquered than to-the-victors more-like out-of Macedonia's
imperatore Darei satrapen factum. Ille non ignarus, et
commander of-Darius a-satrap made he not ignorant both
principes amicorum et exercitum graviter offendi, gratiam
the-chief of-his-friends and the-army gravely to-be-offended the-favor
liberalitate donisque reparare temptabat. Sed, opinor, liberis
by-generosity and-gifts to-repair tried but I-think to-the-free
pretium servitutis ingratum est. Igitur, ne in seditionem
the-price of-slavery unwelcome is therefore lest into mutiny
res verteretur, otium interpellandum erat bello, cuius
the-thing should-turn the-idleness to-be-interrupted was by-war for-which
materia opportune alebatur. Namque Bessus veste
material conveniently was-being-fed for Bessus with-the-garment
regia sumpta Artaxerxen appellari se iusserat Scythasque
royal taken-up Artaxerxes to-be-called himself had-ordered and-the-Scythians
et ceteros Tanais accolas contrahebat. Haec Satibarzanes
and the-other of-the-Tanais dwellers was-gathering these-things Satibarzanes

nuntiabat: quem receptum in fidem regioni, quam antea
was-reporting whom received into allegiance over-the-region which before
obtinuerat, praefecit. Et cum grave spoliis apparatuque
he-had-held he-set and since heavy with-spoils and-the-apparatus
luxuriae agmen vix moveretur, suas primum, deinde
of-luxury the-column scarcely could-be-moved his-own first then
totius exercitus sarcinas exceptis admodum necessariis
of-the-whole army the-baggage except very necessary-things
conferri iussit in medium. Planities spatiosa erat,
to-be-brought-together he-ordered into the-middle a-plain spacious there-was
in quam vehicula onusta perduxerant. Expectantibus cunctis,
into which the-wagons loaded they-had-brought with-awaiting all
quid deinde esset imperaturus, iumenta iussit abduci
what then he-was going-to-command the-pack-animals he-ordered to-be-led-away
suisque primum sarcinis face subdita ceteras incendi.
and-to-his-own first baggage with-a-torch applied the-rest to-be-burned
Flagrabant exurentibus dominis, quae ut intacta ex
there-burned with-the-burning owners things-which that untouched from
urbibus hostium raperent, saepe flammas restinxerant,
the-cities of-the-enemy they-might-snatch often the-flames they-had-extinguished
nullo sanguinis pretium audente deflere, cum regias
with-no-one of-blood the-price daring to-bewail since the-royal
opes idem ignis exureret. Brevi deinde ratio mitigavit
riches the-same fire was-burning shortly then reason softened
dolorem, habilesque militiae et ad omnia parati laetabantur
the-grief and-ready for-soldiering and for everything prepared they-rejoiced
sarcinarum potius quam disciplinae fecisse iacturam. Igitur
of-their-baggage rather than of-discipline to-have-made the-loss therefore
Bactrianam regionem petebant. Sed Nicanor, Parmenionis
the-Bactrian region they-were-seeking but Nicanor of-Parmenio
filius, subita morte correptus magno desiderio sui
the-son by-a-sudden death seized with-a-great longing for-himself

adfecerat cunctos. Rex ante omnis maestus cupiebat quidem
had-affected all the-king before all sad wished indeed
subsistere funeri adfuturus, sed penuria commeatuum
to-halt at-the-funeral going-to-be-present but the-scarcity of-supplies
festinare cogebat: itaque Philotas cum duobus milibus
to-hurry compelled and-so Philotas with two thousand
et DC relictus, ut iusta fratri persolveret, ipse
and six-hundred left that the-rites to-his-brother he-might-pay himself
contendit ad Bessum. Iter facienti ei litterae adferuntur
hastens toward Bessus the-route making to-him a-letter is-brought
a finitimis satraparum, e quibus cognoscit Bessum
from the-neighboring of-the-satraps from which he-learns Bessus
quidem hostili animo occurrere cum exercitu, ceterum
indeed with-hostile mind to-be-coming with an-army but
Satibarzanen, quem satrapeae Ariorum ipse praefecisset,
Satibarzanes whom over-the-satrapy of-the-Arii he-himself had-set
defecisse ab eo. Itaque quamquam Besso imminebat,
to-have-defected from him and-so although over-Bessus he-was-impending
tamen ad Satibarzanen opprimendum praeverti optimum ratus
yet for Satibarzanes overwhelming to-turn-first best thinking
levem armaturam et equestres copias educit totaque
the-light armament and the-cavalry forces he-leads-out and-the-whole
nocte itinere strenue facto inprovisus hosti supervenit.
night with-the-march briskly made unforeseen on-the-enemy came-upon
Cuius cognito adventu Satibarzanes cum duobus milibus
with-whose learned arrival Satibarzanes with two thousand
equitum — nec plures subito contrahi poterant — Bactra
of-horsemen nor more suddenly to-be-gathered could to-Bactra
perfugit, ceteri proximos montes occupaverunt. Praerupta
fled the-rest the-nearest mountains occupied a-sheer
rupes est, qua spectat occidentem, eadem, qua vergit ad
crag there-is where it-faces the-west the-same where it-slopes toward

orientem, leniore summissa fastigio: multis arboribus obsita
the-east with-gentler lowered slope with-many trees covered
perennem habet fontem, ex quo large aquae manant.
a-perennial it-has spring from which abundantly waters flow
Circuitus eius XXX et duo stadia conprehendit. In vertice
the-circuit of-it thirty and two stades embraces on the-summit
herbidus campus: in hoc multitudinem inbellem considere
a-grassy plain on this the-multitude unwarlike to-settle
iubent. Ipsi, qua rupes sedit, arborum truncos et saxa
they-order they-themselves where the-crag sank of-trees trunks and rocks
obmoliuntur. XIII milia armata erant. In quorum obsidione
pile-up thirteen thousand armed were in whose siege
Cratero relicto ipse Satibarzanen sequi festinat. At, quia
with-Craterus left himself Satibarzanes to-follow hastens but because
longius abesse eum cognoverat, ad expugnandos eos, qui
farther to-be-distant him he-had-learned for storming those who
edita montium occupaverant, redit. Ac primo repurgari
the-heights of-the-mountains had-occupied he-returns and at-first to-be-cleared
iubet, quidquid ingredi possent, deinde, ut occurrebant inviae
he-orders whatever to-enter could then as were-met-with pathless
cotes praeruptaeque rupes, inritus labor videbatur obstante
crags and-sheer rocks fruitless the-labor seemed with-obstructing
natura. Ille, ut erat animi semper obluctantis difficultatibus,
nature he as he-was of-a-mind always struggling-against difficulties
cum et progredi arduum et reverti periculosum esset,
since both to-advance steep and to-return dangerous it-was
versabat se ad omnes cogitationes aliud atque aliud — ita
was-turning himself to all thoughts one and another so
ut fieri solet, ubi prima quaeque damnamus — subiciente
as to-happen is-wont when the-first each we-condemn with-suggesting
animo. Haesitanti, quod ratio non potuit, fortuna consilium
mind to-the-hesitating-man what reason not could fortune a-plan

subministravit. Vehemens favonius erat, et multam materiam
supplied a-violent west-wind it-was and much timber
ceciderat miles aditum per saxa molitus. Haec vapore
had-felled the-soldier an-approach through the-rocks contriving this by-the-heat
torrida flamma arserat: ergo adgeri alias arbores iubet
parched by-flame had-burned therefore to-be-heaped-on other trees he-orders
et igni dari alimenta, celeriterque stipitibus cumulatis
and to-the-fire to-be-given fuel and-quickly with-trunks heaped
fastigium montis aequatum est. Tunc undique ignis
the-top of-the-mountain leveled was then on-all-sides fire
iniectus cuncta conprehendit. Flammam in ora hostium
thrown-in everything seized the-flame into the-faces of-the-enemy
ventus ferebat, fumus ingens velut quadam nube absconderat
the-wind was-carrying smoke huge as-if with-a-kind-of cloud had-hidden
caelum. Sonabant incendio silvae, atque ea quoque, quae non
the-sky resounded with-fire the-woods and those also which not
incenderat miles, concepto igne proxima quaeque adurebant.
had-set-on-fire the-soldier with-caught fire the-nearest each were-burning
Barbari suppliciorum ultimum, si qua intermoreretur
the-barbarians of-punishments the-last if anywhere died-down
ignis, effugere temptabant, sed, qua flamma dederat locum,
the-fire to-escape tried but where the-flame had-given room
hostis obstabat. Varia igitur caede consumpti sunt:
the-enemy blocked with-varied therefore slaughter consumed they-were
alii in medios ignis, alii petris praecipitavere se,
some into the-midst-of fires others from-rocks threw-headlong themselves
quidam hostium manibus obtulerunt, pauci semustulati
some to-the-enemy's hands offered-themselves a-few half-burned
venere in potestatem. Hinc ad Craterum, qui Artacana
came into power from-here to Craterus who Artacana
obsidebat, redit. Ille omnibus praeparatis regis expectabat
was-besieging he-returns he with-everything prepared the-king's was-awaiting

adventum captae urbis titulo, sicut par erat, cedens.
arrival of-the-captured city the-title as fitting it-was yielding
Igitur Alexander turres admoveri iubet: ipsoque aspectu
therefore Alexander the-towers to-be-moved-up orders and-by-the-very sight
barbari territi e muris supinas manus tendentes orare
the-barbarians terrified from the-walls their-upturned hands stretching to-beg
coeperunt: iram in Satibarzanen, defectionis auctorem,
began the-anger against Satibarzanes of-the-revolt the-author
reservaret, supplicibus semet dedentibus parceret. Rex
he-should-reserve the-suppliants themselves surrendering he-should-spare the-king
data venia non obsidionem modo solvit, sed omnia sua
with-given pardon not the-siege only raised but all their-things
incolis reddidit. Ab hac urbe digresso supplementum
to-the-inhabitants restored from this city having-departed a-reinforcement
novorum militum occurrit: Zoilus D equites ex
of-new soldiers met-him Zoilus five-hundred horsemen from
Graecia adduxerat, III milia ex Illyrico Antipater miserat,
Greece had-brought three thousand from Illyricum Antipater had-sent
Thessali equites C et XXX cum Philippo erant, ex
Thessalian horsemen a-hundred and thirty with Philip were from
Lydia II milia et sescenti, peregrinus miles, advenerant,
Lydia two thousand and six-hundred foreign soldiery had-arrived
CCC equites gentis eiusdem sequebantur. Hac manu
three-hundred horsemen of-the-race the-same followed with-this band
adiecta adit Drangas: bellicosa natio est. Satrapes erat
added he-approaches the-Drangae a-warlike nation it-is the-satrap was
Barzaentes, sceleris in regem suum particeps Besso: is
Barzaentes in-the-crime against king his-own a-partner with-Bessus he
suppliciorum, quae meruerat, metu profugit in Indiam.
of-the-punishments which he-had-deserved from-fear fled into India

Dymnus tells his lover Nicomachus of a plot to kill the king in three days and names his fellows. Nicomachus feigns agreement and tells his brother Cebalinus, who asks Philotas to inform the king; Philotas, twice reminded, says nothing. Cebalinus reaches Alexander through Metron and is bound for the delay. Dymnus stabs himself and dies. Philotas says he took the tale for a lovers' quarrel, and Alexander gives him his hand, whatever he believed.

Iam nonum diem stativa erant, cum externa vi non
now the-ninth day the-standing-camp had-been when by-external force not
tutus modo rex, sed invictus intestino facinore petebatur.
safe only the-king but unconquered by-an-internal crime was-attacked
Dymnus, modicae apud regem auctoritatis et gratiae,
Dymnus of-modest with the-king influence and favor
exoleti, cui Nicomacho erat nomen, amore flagrabat
for-a-catamite to-whom Nicomachus was the-name with-love was-burning
obsequio uni sibi dediti corporis vinctus. Is, quod
by-the-compliance to-one to-himself devoted of-body bound he as
ex vultu quoque perspici poterat, similis attonito
from the-face also to-be-perceived could like a-thunderstruck-man
remotis arbitris cum iuvene secessit in templum arcana
with-removed witnesses with the-young-man withdrew into a-temple secret-things
se et silenda adferre praefatus suspensumque
himself and to-be-kept-silent to-bring having-said-in-preface and-the-suspended
expectatione per mutuam caritatem et pignora utriusque
with-expectation by their-mutual affection and the-pledges of-each
animi rogat, ut adfirmet iureiurando, quae commisisset,
mind he-asks that he-affirm by-oath what he-should-entrust
silentio esse tecturum. Et ille ratus nihil, quod etiam
in-silence to-be going-to-cover and he thinking nothing which even
cum periurio detegendum foret, indicaturum per praesentes
with perjury to-be-revealed would-be going-to-disclose by the-present

deos iurat. Tum Dymnus aperit in tertium diem regi
gods swears then Dymnus discloses for the-third day against-the-king
insidias conparatas seque eius consilii fortibus viris et
a-plot prepared and-himself of-that plan with-brave men and
inlustribus esse participem. Quibus iuvenis auditis se
distinguished to-be a-sharer with-which the-young-man heard himself
vero fidem in parricidio dedisse constanter abnuit nec
indeed his-pledge in a-parricide to-have-given steadfastly denied nor
ulla religione, ut scelus tegat, posse constringi.
by-any religious-scruple that the-crime he-should-cover to-be-able to-be-bound
Dymnus et amore et metu amens dexteram exoleti
Dymnus both by-love and by-fear maddened the-right-hand of-the-catamite
conplexus et lacrimans orare primum, ut particeps consilii
embracing and weeping he-begged first that a-sharer of-the-plan
operisque fieret: si id sustinere non posset, attamen
and-the-deed he-should-become if that to-endure not he-could yet
ne proderet se, cuius erga ipsum benivolentiae praeter
that-not he-should-betray him of-whose toward him goodwill besides
alia hoc quoque haberet fortissimum pignus, quod
other-things this also he-should-have as-the-strongest pledge that
caput suum permisisset fidei adhuc inexpertae. Ad
the-head his-own he-had-entrusted to-a-loyalty still untried at
ultimum aversari scelus perseverantem mortis metu terret:
the-last to-turn-from the-crime the-one-persisting of-death with-fear he-terrifies
ab illo capite coniuratos pulcherrimum facinus incohaturos.
by that head the-conspirators the-most-splendid deed going-to-begin
Alias deinde effeminatum et muliebriter timidum, alias
at-one-time then effeminate and womanishly timid at-another
proditorem amatoris appellans, nunc ingentia promittens,
a-betrayer of-his-lover calling-him now huge-things promising
interdumque regnum quoque, versabat animum tanto
and-sometimes the-kingship also he-was-working-on a-mind from-so-great

facinore procul abhorrentem. Strictum deinde gladium modo
a-crime far shrinking a-drawn then sword now
illius, modo suo admovens iugulo, supplex idem et
to-his now to-his-own bringing throat suppliant the-same-man and
infestus, expressit tandem, ut non solum silentium, sed
hostile he-squeezed-out at-last that not only silence but
etiam operam polliceretur. Namque abunde constantis animi
also help he-should-promise for amply of-steadfast mind
et dignus, qui pudicus esset, nihil ex pristina voluntate
and worthy who chaste should-be nothing from his-former will
mutaverat, sed captum Dymni amore simulabat nihil
had-changed but captivated by-Dymnus' love he-pretended nothing
recusare. Sciscitari inde pergit, cum quibus tantae rei
to-refuse to-inquire then he-proceeds with whom of-so-great a-thing
societatem inisset: plurimum referre, quales viri tam
the-partnership he-had-entered very-much to-matter what-sort-of men so
memorabili operi admoturi manus essent. Ille et amore
memorable to-a-work going-to-apply their-hands were he both by-love
et scelere male sanus simul gratias agit, simul gratulatur,
and by-crime badly sane at-once thanks gives at-once congratulates
quod fortissimis iuvenum non dubitasset se adiungere,
that to-the-bravest of-young-men not he-had-hesitated himself to-join
Demetrio, corporis custodi, Peucolao, Nicanori: adicit his
Demetrius of-the-body the-guard Peucolaus Nicanor he-adds to-these
Aphobetum, Iolaum, Theoxenum, Archepolim, Amyntam. Ab
Aphobetus Iolaus Theoxenus Archepolis Amyntas from
hoc sermone dimissus Nicomachus ad fratrem — Cebalino
this talk dismissed Nicomachus to his-brother Cebalinus
erat nomen — quae acceperat, defert. Placet ipsum
was his-name what he-had-received reports it-is-decided himself
subsistere in tabernaculo, ne, si regiam intrasset non adsuetus
to-stay in the-tent lest if the-palace he-entered not accustomed

adire regem, coniurati proditos se esse resciscerent.
to-approach the-king the-conspirators betrayed themselves to-be should-find-out
Ipse Cebalinus ante vestibulum regiae — neque enim
himself Cebalinus before the-vestibule of-the-palace nor for
propius aditus ei patebat — consistit opperiens aliquem ex
nearer approach to-him lay-open stands waiting-for someone of
prima cohorte amicorum, a quo introduceretur ad regem.
the-first cohort of-friends by whom he-might-be-brought-in to the-king
Forte ceteris dimissis unus Philotas, Parmenionis filius —
by-chance with-the-rest dismissed alone Philotas of-Parmenio the-son
incertum quam ob causam — substiterat in regia:
uncertain what on-account-of reason had-stayed in the-palace
huic Cebalinus ore confuso magnae perturbationis notas
to-this-man Cebalinus with-face confused of-great agitation signs
prae se ferens aperit, quae ex fratre conpererat, et
before himself bearing discloses what from his-brother he-had-learned and
sine dilatione nuntiari regi iubet. Philotas conlaudato
without delay to-be-announced to-the-king bids Philotas with-praised
eo protinus intrat ad Alexandrum multoque invicem de
him at-once goes-in to Alexander and-with-much in-turn about
aliis rebus sermone consumpto nihil eorum, quae ex
other things talk spent nothing of-those-things which from
Cebalino cognoverat, nuntiat. Sub vesperam eum prodeuntem
Cebalinus he-had-learned announces toward evening him coming-out
in vestibulo regiae excipit iuvenis, an mandatum
in the-vestibule of-the-palace catches the-young-man whether the-commission
executus foret, requirens. Ille non vacasse sermoni suo
carried-out he-had asking he not to-have-had-time for-talk his
regem causatus discessit. Postero die Cebalinus venienti
the-king pleading departed on-the-following day Cebalinus to-him-coming
in regiam praesto est intrantemque admonet pridie
into the-palace at-hand is and-him-entering reminds the-day-before

communicatae cum ipso rei. Ille curae sibi esse respondet:
of-the-shared with him matter he care to-himself to-be replies
ac ne tum quidem regi, quae audierat, aperit. Coeperat
but not then even to-the-king what he-had-heard discloses he-had-begun
Cebalino esse suspectus: itaque non ultra interpellandum
to-Cebalinus to-be suspect and-so not further to-be-interrupted
ratus nobili iuveni — Metron erat ei nomen — super
thinking to-a-noble young-man Metron was to-him the-name over
armamentarium posito, quod scelus pararetur, indicat.
the-armory placed what crime was-being-prepared he-indicates
Ille Cebalino in armamentario abscondito protinus regi
he with-Cebalinus in the-armory hidden at-once to-the-king
corpus forte curanti, quid index detulisset, ostendit.
his-body by-chance tending what the-informer had-reported shows
Rex ad conprehendendum Dymnum missis satellitibus
the-king for seizing Dymnus with-sent guards
armamentarium intrat. Ibi Cebalinus gaudio elatus: 'Habeo
the-armory enters there Cebalinus with-joy carried-away I-have
te,' inquit, 'incolumem ex inpiorum manibus ereptum.'
you he-says unharmed from of-the-impious the-hands snatched
Percontatus deinde Alexander, quae noscenda erant, ordine
having-asked then Alexander what to-be-known were in-order
cuncta cognoscit. Rursusque institit quaerere, quotus dies
everything learns and-again he-pressed-on to-ask which day
esset, ex quo Nicomachus ad eum detulisset indicium.
it-was from which Nicomachus to him had-brought the-information
Atque illo fatente iam tertium esse, existimans haud
and with-him confessing now the-third to-be thinking not
incorrupta fide tanto post deferre, quae audierat, vinciri
uncorrupted by-loyalty so-long after to-report what he-had-heard to-be-bound
eum iussit. At ille clamitare coepit eodem temporis
him he-ordered but he to-cry-out began at-the-same of-time

momento, quo audisset, ad Philotan decucurrisse: ab eo
moment in-which he-had-heard to Philotas to-have-run-down by him
operiri conperta. Rex identidem quaerens, an Philotan
to-be-hidden the-discoveries the-king repeatedly asking whether Philotas
adisset, an institisset ei, ut pervenirent ad se,
he-had-approached whether he-had-pressed him that they-should-come to himself
perseverante eo adfirmare, quae dixerat, manus ad caelum
with-persisting him to-affirm what he-had-said his-hands to heaven
tendens manantibus lacrimis hanc sibi a carissimo
stretching with-flowing tears this to-himself from the-dearest
quondam amicorum relatam gratiam querebatur. Inter haec
once of-his-friends returned gratitude he-complained among these-things
Dymnus haud ignarus, quam ob causam accerseretur
Dymnus not ignorant what on-account-of reason he-was-summoned
a rege, gladio, quo forte erat cinctus, graviter
by the-king with-the-sword with-which by-chance he-was girded gravely
se vulnerat occursuque satellitum inhibitus perfertur in
himself wounds and-by-the-rush of-the-guards checked is-carried into
regiam. Quem intuens rex: 'Quod,' inquit, 'in te, Dymne,
the-palace whom looking-at the-king what he-says against you Dymnus
tantum cogitavi nefas, ut tibi Macedonum regno dignior
so-great have-I-planned a-wrong that to-you of-the-Macedonians kingdom worthier
Philotas me quoque ipso videretur?' Illum iam defecerat
Philotas than-me also myself should-seem him now had-failed
vox: itaque edito gemitu vultuque a conspectu regis
his-voice and-so with-uttered groan and-with-face from the-sight of-the-king
averso subinde conlapsus extinguitur. Rex Philota venire
turned-away soon collapsing dies the-king with-Philotas to-come
in regiam iusso: 'Cebalinus,' inquit, 'ultimum supplicium
into the-palace ordered Cebalinus he-says the-ultimate punishment
meritus, si in caput meum praeparatas insidias biduo
having-deserved if against head my prepared a-plot for-two-days

texit: sed huius criminis Philotan reum substituit, ad
he-covered but of-this charge Philotas as-defendant he-has-substituted to
quem protinus indicium detulisse se adfirmat. Quo
whom at-once the-information to-have-reported himself he-affirms by-how-much
propiore gradu amicitiae me contingis, hoc maius est
by-a-nearer degree of-friendship me you-touch by-this the-greater is
dissimulationis tuae facinus, et ego Cebalino magis quam
of-concealment your the-crime and I to-Cebalinus more than
Philotae id convenire fateor. Faventem habes iudicem, si, quod
to-Philotas it to-suit confess a-favoring you-have judge if what
admitti non oportuit, saltem purgari potest.' Ad haec
to-be-admitted not ought at-least to-be-cleared can to this
Philotas haud sane trepidus, si animus vultu aestimaretur,
Philotas not at-all frightened if the-mind by-the-face were-judged
Cebalinum quidem scorti sermonem ad se detulisse,
Cebalinus indeed of-a-harlot the-talk to himself to-have-brought
sed ipsum tam levi auctore nihil credidisse respondit,
but himself on-so light an-authority nothing to-have-believed replied
veritum, ne iurgium inter amatorem et exoletum non sine
having-feared lest a-quarrel between a-lover and a-catamite not without
risu aliorum detulisset: cum Dymnus semet interemerit,
the-laughter of-others he-should-report since Dymnus himself has-killed
qualiacumque erant, non fuisse reticenda. Conplexusque
of-whatever-sort they-were not to-have-been to-be-kept-quiet and-embracing
regem orare coepit, ut praeteritam vitam potius quam culpam,
the-king to-beg he-began that his-past life rather than the-fault
silentii tamen, non facti ullius, intueretur. Haud facile
of-silence yet not of-a-deed any he-should-consider not easily
dixerim, credideritne ei rex an altius iram suppresserit:
would-I-say whether-believed him the-king or more-deeply his-anger he-suppressed

dexteram reconciliatae gratiae pignus obtulit et contemptum
his-right-hand of-reconciled favor as-a-pledge he-offered and despised
magis quam celatum indicium esse videri sibi dixit.
rather than concealed the-information to-be to-seem to-himself he-said

VIII · THE ARREST OF PHILOTAS

Nicomachus repeats his story to the council. Craterus, Philotas' rival, warns that Philotas can always plot and that Parmenio would resent owing his son's life to the king, and the council decrees that Philotas be tortured to name his accomplices. Alexander dines with him that night, then guards the camp and roads so no word reaches Parmenio in Media. Atarrhias seizes Philotas asleep. Next day the army assembles to judge, by Macedonian custom, and Dymnus' body is brought in.

Advocato tum consilio amicorum, cui tamen Philotas
with-called then a-council of-friends to-which yet Philotas
adhibitus non est, Nicomachum introduci iubet. Is
called-in not was Nicomachus to-be-brought-in he-orders he
eadem, quae detulerat frater ad regem, ordine exposuit.
the-same-things which had-reported his-brother to the-king in-order set-forth
Erat Craterus regi carus in paucis et eo Philotae
was Craterus to-the-king dear among the-few and for-that-reason to-Philotas
ob aemulationem dignitatis adversus neque ignorabat
on-account-of rivalry of-rank hostile nor was-he-unaware
saepe Alexandri auribus nimia iactatione virtutis atque operae
often to-Alexander's ears by-excessive boasting of-valor and of-service
gravem fuisse et ob ea non quidem sceleris,
burdensome to-have-been and on-account-of those-things not indeed of-crime
sed contumaciae tamen esse suspectum. Non aliam premendi
but of-defiance yet to-be suspect no other of-crushing
inimici occasionem aptiorem futuram ratus odio suo
his-enemy opportunity more-fitting going-to-be thinking to-hatred his-own

pietatis praeferens speciem: 'Utinam,' inquit, 'in principio
of-devotion holding-before the-appearance would-that he-says at the-beginning
quoque huius rei nobiscum deliberasses! Suasissemus,
also of-this affair with-us you-had-deliberated we-would-have-advised
si Philotae velles ignoscere, patereris potius ignorare
if Philotas you-wished to-pardon you-should-allow rather not-to-know
eum, quantum deberet tibi, quam usque ad mortis metum
him how-much he-owed to-you than right to of-death fear
adductum saepius de periculo suo quam de tuo cogitare
brought more-often about danger his-own than about your to-think
beneficio. Ille enim semper insidiari tibi poterit, tu non
kindness he for always to-plot-against you will-be-able you not
semper Philotae poteris ignoscere. Nec est, quod existimes
always Philotas will-be-able to-pardon nor is why you-should-think
eum, qui tantum ausus est, venia posse mutari. Scit
him who so-much dared has by-pardon to-be-able to-be-changed he-knows
eos, qui misericordiam consumpserunt, amplius sperare non
those who mercy have-used-up more to-hope not
posse. At ego, etiam si ipse vel paenitentia vel beneficio
to-be-able but I even if he-himself either by-repentance or by-kindness
tuo victus quiescere volet, patrem eius Parmenionem, tanti
your overcome to-be-quiet will-wish the-father his Parmenio of-so-great
ducem exercitus et inveterata apud milites suos auctoritate
a-leader army and with-long-standing among soldiers his-own authority
haud multum infra magnitudinis tuae fastigium positum,
not much below of-greatness your the-summit placed
scio non aequo animo salutem filii sui debiturum tibi.
I-know not with-even mind the-life of-son his-own going-to-owe to-you
Quaedam beneficia odimus. Meruisse mortem confiteri
certain kindnesses we-hate to-have-deserved death to-confess
pudet: superest, ut malit videri iniuriam accepisse quam
it-shames it-remains that he-prefer to-seem an-injury to-have-received than

vitam. Proinde scito tibi cum illis de salute esse
life therefore know for-you with them about survival to-be
pugnandum. Satis hostium superest, ad quos persequendos
to-be-fought enough of-enemies remains to whom to-be-pursued
ituri sumus: latus a domesticis hostibus muni. Hos si
going we-are your-flank from domestic enemies fortify these if
summoves, nihil metuo ab externo.' Haec Craterus. Nec
you-remove nothing I-fear from the-external these-things Craterus nor
ceteri dubitabant, quin coniurationis indicium suppressurus
the-rest doubted that of-the-conspiracy the-information going-to-suppress
non fuisset nisi auctor aut particeps. Quem enim
not he-would-have-been unless the-author or a-sharer whom for
pium et bonae mentis, non amicum modo, sed ex ultima
dutiful and of-good mind not a-friend only but from the-lowest
plebe, auditis, quae ad eum delata erant, non protinus
common-people with-heard which to him reported had-been not at-once
ad regem fuisse cursurum? ne Cebalini quidem exemplo,
to the-king to-have-been going-to-run not of-Cebalinus even by-the-example
qui ex fratre conperta ipsi nuntiasset, commotum esse
who from his-brother discoveries to-him had-reported moved to-have-been
Parmenionis filium, praefectum equitatus, omnium arcanorum
of-Parmenio the-son the-commander of-the-cavalry of-all the-secrets
regis arbitrum! Simulasse etiam, non vacasse
of-the-king the-witness to-have-pretended even not to-have-had-time
sermoni suo regem, ne index alium internuntium
for-talk his the-king lest the-informer another go-between
quaereret. Nicomachum religione quoque deum adstrictum
should-seek Nicomachus by-religious-awe also of-the-gods bound
conscientiam suam exonerare properasse: Philotam consumpto
conscience his-own to-unburden to-have-hastened Philotas with-spent
per ludum iocumque paene toto die gravatum esse
in game and-jest almost the-whole day reluctant to-have-been

pauca verba pertinentia ad caput regis tam longo et
few words pertaining to the-life of-the-king into-so long and
forsitan supervacuo inserere sermoni. At eum non credidisse
perhaps superfluous to-insert talk but he not to-have-believed
talia deferentibus pueris! Cur igitur extraxisset biduum,
such-things reporting boys why then had-he-dragged-out two-days
tamquam indicio haberet fidem? Dimittendum fuisse
as-if in-the-information he-had belief to-be-dismissed to-have-been
Cebalinum, si delationem eius damnabat. In suo quemque
Cebalinus if the-accusation his he-condemned in his-own each
periculo magnum animum habere: cum de salute regis
danger a-great spirit to-have when about the-safety of-the-king
timeretur, credulos esse debere, vana quoque deferentis
it-was-feared credulous to-be they-ought empty-things also those-reporting
admittere. Omnes igitur quaestionem de eo, ut participes
to-admit all therefore an-examination concerning him that the-sharers
sceleris indicare cogeretur, habendam esse decernunt.
of-the-crime to-disclose he-might-be-compelled to-be-held to-be decree
Rex admonitos, uti consilium silentio premerent, dimittit.
the-king warned that the-plan with-silence they-should-keep dismisses-them
Pronuntiari deinde iter in posterum iubet, ne qua
to-be-proclaimed then the-march for the-next-day he-orders lest any
noxiis initi consilii daretur nota. Invitatus est etiam
to-the-guilty of-the-entered plan be-given sign invited was also
Philotas ad ultimas ipsi epulas, et rex non cenare modo,
Philotas to the-last for-him feast and the-king not to-dine only
sed etiam familiariter conloqui cum eo, quem damnaverat,
but also familiarly to-converse with him whom he-had-condemned
sustinuit. Secunda deinde vigilia luminibus extinctis cum
endured at-the-second then watch with-lights put-out with
paucis in regiam coeunt Hephaestion et Craterus et
a-few into the-palace come-together Hephaestion and Craterus and

Coenus et Erigyius, hi ex amicis, ex armigeris autem
Coenus and Erigyius these from the-friends from the-armor-bearers moreover
Perdiccas et Leonnatus. Per hos imperatum, ut qui
Perdiccas and Leonnatus through these it-was-ordered that those-who
ad praetorium excubabant, armati vigilarent. Iam ad omnes
at the-headquarters kept-watch armed should-be-awake now at all
aditus dispositi erant equites, itinera quoque obsidere
the-approaches posted were horsemen the-routes also to-beset
iussi, ne quis ad Parmenionem, qui tum Mediae magnisque
ordered lest anyone to Parmenio who then over-Media and-great
copiis praeerat, occultus evaderet. Atarrhias autem cum
forces was-in-command hidden should-get-out Atarrhias moreover with
CCC armatis intraverat regiam: huic decem satellites
three-hundred armed-men had-entered the-palace to-this-man ten guards
adduntur, quorum singulos deni armigeri sequebantur.
are-added of-whom each ten-each armor-bearers followed
Hi ad alios coniuratos conprehendendos distributi sunt,
these to other conspirators to-be-seized distributed were
Atarrhias cum trecentis ad Philotam missus clausum aditum
Atarrhias with three-hundred to Philotas sent the-shut entrance
domus moliebatur L iuvenum promptissimis stipatus:
of-the-house was-forcing by-fifty of-young-men the-readiest surrounded
nam ceteros cingere undique domum iusserat, ne occulto
for the-rest to-gird on-all-sides the-house he-had-ordered lest by-a-bidden
aditu Philotas posset elabi. Illum sive securitate animi
entrance Philotas could slip-away him whether from-unconcern of-mind
sive fatigatione resolutum somnus oppresserat: quem Atarrhias
or from-fatigue relaxed sleep had-overwhelmed whom Atarrhias
torpentem adhuc occupat. Tandem ei sopore discusso
drowsy still seizes at-last from-him with-sleep shaken-off
cum inicerentur catenae: 'Vicit,' inquit, 'bonitatem tuam,
when were-thrown-on the-chains has-overcome he-says kindness your

rex, inimicorum meorum acerbitas.' Nec plura elocutum
king of-enemies my the-bitterness nor more having-spoken
capite velato in regiam adducunt. Postero die rex
with-head veiled into the-palace they-bring-him on-the-following day the-king
edixit, omnes armati coirent. VI milia fere militum
proclaimed all armed should-assemble six thousand about of-soldiers
venerant, praeterea turba lixarum calonumque inpleverant
had-come besides a-crowd of-camp-followers and-servants had-filled
regiam. Philotan armigeri agmine suo tegebant, ne ante
the-palace Philotas the-armor-bearers with-column their were-covering lest before
conspici posset a vulgo, quam rex adlocutus milites esset.
to-be-seen he-could by the-crowd than the-king addressed the-soldiers had
De capitalibus rebus vetusto Macedonum modo inquirebat
about capital matters in-the-old of-the-Macedonians manner investigated
rex, iudicabat exercitus — in pace erat vulgi—, et nihil
the-king judged the-army in peace it-was of-the-crowd and nothing
potestas regum valebat, nisi prius valuisset auctoritas. Igitur
the-power of-kings availed unless first had-availed the-authority therefore
Dymni primum cadaver infertur plerisque, quid parasset
of-Dymnus first the-corpse is-brought-in with-most what he-had-prepared
quove casu extinctus esset, ignaris.
or-by-what chance killed he-was ignorant

IX · THE ACCUSATION

Alexander tells the assembly he has been saved from a plot led by Parmenio and Philotas. The informers speak, though none names Philotas. The king reads Parmenio's letter to his sons and recalls Philotas' friendship with Amyntas, his tie to Attalus, and his mockery of the oracle of Ammon. Philotas is brought in bound, stirring pity. Amyntas and Coenus attack him. Philotas declines to speak Macedonian, and the king says he scorns Macedonian ways.

Rex deinde in contionem procedit vultu praeferens
the-king then into the-assembly comes-forward on-his-face carrying-before
dolorem animi. Amicorum quoque maestitia expectationem
the-grief of-his-mind of-the-friends also the-sadness an-expectation
haud parvam rei fecerat. Diu rex demisso in terram
not small of-the-matter had-made long the-king with-lowered onto the-ground
vultu attonito stupentique similis stetit, tandem recepto
face to-a-thunderstruck and-dazed-man like stood at-last with-recovered
animo: 'Paene,' inquit, 'milites, hominum scelere vobis
spirit almost he-says soldiers by-men's crime from-you
ereptus sum: deum providentia et misericordia vivo.
snatched I-have-been by-the-gods' providence and mercy I-live
Conspectusque vestri venerabilis coegit, ut vehementius
and-the-sight of-you venerable has-compelled that more-vehemently
parricidis irascerer, quoniam is primus, immo unus vitae
with-the-parricides I-should-be-angry since this first nay only of-life
meae fructus est, tot fortissimis viris et de me optime
my the-fruit is to-so-many most-brave men and of me best
meritis referre adhuc gratiam posse.' Interrupit orationem
deserving to-return still thanks to-be-able interrupted the-speech
militum gemitus, obortaeque sunt omnibus lacrimae. Tum
of-the-soldiers the-groaning and-welled-up have in-all tears then
rex: 'Quanto,' inquit, 'maiorem in animis vestris motum
the-king how-much he-says greater in the-minds your a-commotion
excitabo, cum tanti sceleris auctores ostendero! Quorum
I-shall-rouse when of-so-great a-crime the-authors I-shall-show whose
mentionem adhuc reformido et, tamquam salvi esse possint,
mention still I-dread and as-if safe to-be they-could
nominibus abstineo. Sed vincenda est memoria pristinae
from-their-names I-refrain but to-be-overcome is the-memory of-former
caritatis et coniuratio impiorum civium detegenda. Quomodo
affection and the-conspiracy of-impious citizens to-be-revealed how

autem tantum nefas sileam? Parmenio, illa aetate,
moreover so-great a-wrong should-I-keep-silent Parmenio at-that age
tot meis, tot parentis mei meritis devinctus, omnium
by-so-many my by-so-many of-father my services bound of-all
nobis amicorum vetustissimus, ducem se sceleri tanto
to-us of-friends the-oldest leader himself to-the-crime so-great
praebuit. Minister eius Philotas Peucolaum et Demetrium
offered the-agent his Philotas Peucolaus and Demetrius
et nunc Dymnum, cuius corpus aspicitis, ceterosque eiusdem
and now Dymnus whose body you-see and-the-others of-the-same
amentiae in caput meum subornavit.' Fremitus undique
madness against head my suborned the-din on-all-sides
indignantium querentiumque tota contione obstrepebat,
of-the-indignant and-complaining in-the-whole assembly resounded
qualis solet esse multitudinis et maxime militaris, ubi aut
such-as is-wont to-be of-a-multitude and especially a-military-one when either
studio agitur aut ira. Nicomachus deinde et Metron
by-zeal it-is-driven or by-anger Nicomachus then and Metron
et Cebalinus producti, quae quisque detulerat, exponunt.
and Cebalinus brought-forward what each had-reported set-forth
Nullius eorum indicio Philotas ut particeps sceleris
of-none of-them by-the-information Philotas as a-sharer of-the-crime
destinabatur. Itaque indignatione expressa vox invicem
was-marked-out and-so by-indignation pressed-out their-voice in-turn
silentio excepta est. Tum rex: 'Qualis,' inquit, 'ergo animi
by-silence taken-up was then the-king of-what-sort he-says then of-mind
vobis videtur, qui huius rei delatum indicium ad ipsum
to-you does-he-seem who of-this matter the-reported information to himself
suppressit? Quod non fuisse vanum Dymni exitus declarat.
suppressed which not to-have-been empty of-Dymnus the-end declares
Incertam rem deferens tormenta non timuit Cebalinus, nec
an-uncertain thing reporting torture not did-fear Cebalinus nor

Metron ne momentum quidem temporis distulit exonerare
Metron not-a moment even of-time put-off to-unburden
se, ut eo, ubi lavabar, inrumperet: Philotas solus
himself so-that there where I-was-bathing he-burst-in Philotas alone
nihil timuit, nihil credidit. O magni animi virum! Iste
nothing feared nothing believed O of-great mind a-man he
regis periculo commoveretur, vultum mutaret, indicem
by-the-king's danger should-be-moved his-face should-change the-informer
tantae rei sollicitus audiret! Subest nimirum silentio
of-so-great a-thing anxiously should-hear lies-beneath doubtless the-silence
facinus, et avida spes regni praecipitem animum ad
a-crime and a-greedy hope of-kingship his-headlong mind to
ultimum nefas inpulit. Pater Mediae praeest: ipse apud
the-ultimate wrong has-driven his-father over-Media presides himself among
multos copiarum duces meis praepotens viribus maiora,
many the-forces' leaders by-my mighty strength greater-things
quam capit, spirat. Orbitas quoque mea, quod sine
than he-can-contain breathes the-childlessness also my that without
liberis sum, spernitur. Sed errat Philotas. In vobis liberos,
children I-am is-scorned but errs Philotas in you children
parentes, consanguineos habeo: vobis salvis orbus esse non
parents kinsmen I-have with-you safe bereaved to-be not
possum.' Epistulam deinde Parmenionis interceptam, quam ad
I-can a-letter then of-Parmenio intercepted which to
filios Nicanorem et Philotan scripserat, recitat haud sane
his-sons Nicanor and Philotas he-had-written he-reads-out not at-all
indicium gravioris consilii praeferentem. Namque summa eius
a-sign of-a-graver design showing for the-substance of-it
haec erat: 'Primum vestri curam agite, deinde vestrorum:
this was first of-yourselves care take then of-yours
sic enim, quae destinavimus, efficiemus.' Adiecitque rex
so for what we-have-determined we-shall-accomplish and-added the-king

sic esse scriptam, ut, sive ad filios pervenisset, a consciis
so to-be written that whether to his-sons it-had-come by the-accomplices
posset intellegi, sive intercepta esset, falleret ignaros.
it-could to-be-understood or-if intercepted it-was it-would-deceive the-ignorant
'At enim Dymnus, cum ceteros participes sceleris indicaret,
but indeed Dymnus when the-other sharers of-the-crime he-was-naming
Philotan non nominavit! Hoc quidem illius non innocentiae,
Philotas not named this indeed of-his not innocence
sed potentiae indicium est, quod sic ab iis timetur etiam,
but of-power a-sign is that thus by those he-is-feared even
a quibus prodi potest, ut, cum de se fateantur,
by whom to-be-betrayed he-can that when about themselves they-confess
illum tamen celent. Ceterum Philotan ipsius indicat vita.
him yet they-conceal but Philotas his-own shows life
Hic Amyntae, qui mihi consobrinus fuit et in Macedonia
this-man to-Amyntas who to-me a-cousin was and in Macedonia
capiti meo impias conparavit insidias, socium se et
against-head my an-impious prepared plot as-ally himself and
conscium adiunxit. Hic Attalo, quo graviorem inimicum
accomplice joined this-man to-Attalus than-whom a-heavier enemy
non habui, sororem suam in matrimonium dedit. Hic, cum
not I-have-had sister his in marriage gave this-man when
scripsissem ei pro iure tam familiaris usus
I-had-written to-him in-accordance-with the-right of-so familiar intercourse
atque amicitiae, qualis sors edita esset Iovis Hammonis
and friendship what-sort-of lot given had-been of-Jupiter Ammon's
oraculo, sustinuit rescribere, mihi se quidem gratulari,
by-the-oracle endured to-write-back to-me himself indeed to-congratulate
quod in numerum deorum receptus essem, ceterum misereri
that into the-number of-the-gods received I-had-been but to-pity
eorum, quibus vivendum esset sub eo, qui modum hominis
those to-whom to-be-lived it-was under him who the-measure of-a-man

excederet. Haec sunt et iam pridem animi alienati a me
exceeded these are both now long-since of-a-mind estranged from me
et invidentis gloriae meae indicia. Quae equidem, milites,
and envying glory my the-signs which I-indeed soldiers
quamdiu licuit, in animo meo pressi. Videbar enim
as-long-as it-was-allowed in mind my pressed-down I-seemed for
mihi partem viscerum meorum abrumpere, si, in quos tam
to-myself a-part of-flesh my to-break-off if on whom so
magna contuleram viliores mihi facerem. Sed iam non verba
great-things I-had-conferred cheaper to-me I-should-make but now not words
punienda sunt: linguae temeritas pervenit ad gladios. Hos,
to-be-punished are of-the-tongue the-rashness has-come to swords these
si mihi creditis, Philotas in me acuit, si ipsi, admisit.
if me you-believe Philotas against me has-sharpened if himself he-admitted
Quo me conferam, milites? cui caput meum credam?
where myself shall-I-take soldiers to-whom head my shall-I-entrust
Equitatui, optimae exercitus parti, principibus nobilissimae
over-the-cavalry the-best of-the-army part over-the-chief-men of-the-noblest
iuventutis, eum praefeci, salutem, spem, victoriam meam
youth him I-set safety hope victory my
fidei eius tutelaeque commisi. Patrem in idem fastigium,
to-the-loyalty his and-protection I-entrusted his-father into the-same height
in quo me ipsi posuistis, admovi, Mediam, qua nulla
in which me yourselves you-placed I-moved Media than-which no
opulentior regio est, et tot civium sociorumque milia
richer region is and so-many of-citizens and-allies thousands
imperio eius dicionique subieci. Unde praesidium petieram,
to-the-command his and-dominion I-subjected whence protection I-had-sought
periculum extitit. Quam feliciter in acie occidissem, potius
danger has-arisen how happily in battle I-would-have-fallen rather
hostis praeda quam civis victima! Nunc servatus ex
of-the-enemy the-prey than of-a-citizen the-victim now saved from

periculis, quae sola timui, in haec incidi, quae timere
dangers which alone I-feared into these I-have-fallen which to-fear
non debui. Soletis identidem a me, milites, petere, ut
not I-ought you-are-wont repeatedly from me soldiers to-ask that
saluti meae parcam. Ipsi mihi praestare potestis, quod
life my I-spare you-yourselves to-me to-provide can what
suadetis, ut faciam. Ad vestras manus, ad vestra arma
you-advise that I-should-do to your hands to your arms
confugio: invitis vobis salvus esse nolo, volentibus
I-flee with-unwilling you safe to-be I-do-not-wish with-you-willing
non possum, nisi vindicor.' Tum Philotan religatis post
not I-can unless I-am-avenged then Philotas with-bound behind
tergum manibus obsoleto amiculo velatum iussit induci.
his-back hands in-a-shabby cloak veiled he-ordered to-be-brought-in
Facile adparebat, motos esse tam miserabili habitu non
easily it-was-apparent moved to-be by-so pitiable a-condition not
sine invidia paulo ante conspecti. Ducem equitatus
without envy a-little before of-one-seen the-commander of-the-cavalry
pridie viderant, sciebant regis interfuisse convivio:
the-day-before they-had-seen they-knew at-the-king's to-have-attended banquet
repente reum quidem, sed iam damnatum, immo vinctum
suddenly a-defendant indeed but already condemned nay bound
intuebantur. Subibat animos Parmenionis quoque, tanti
they-were-looking-at there-came-into their-minds of-Parmenio too of-so-great
ducis, tam clari civis, fortuna, qui modo duobus filiis,
a-general of-so famous a-citizen the-fortune who lately of-two sons
Hectore ac Nicanore, orbatus cum eo, quem reliquum
Hector and Nicanor bereaved with him whom the-remainder
calamitas fecerat, absens diceret causam. Itaque Amyntas,
calamity had-made absent would-plead his-case and-so Amyntas
regius praetor, inclinatam ad misericordiam contionem rursus
the-king's officer the-inclined to pity assembly again

aspera in Philotan oratione commovit: proditos eos esse
with-harsh against Philotas speech stirred betrayed them to-be
barbaris: neminem ad coniugem suam in patriam et ad
to-the-barbarians no-one to wife his-own into the-homeland and to
parentes suos esse rediturum, velut truncum corpus dempto
parents his to-be going-to-return like a-mutilated body with-removed
capite sine spiritu, sine nomine aliena terra ludibrium
head without breath without name in-a-foreign land a-mockery
hostis futuros. Haudquaquam pro spe ipsius Amyntae
of-the-enemy going-to-be not-at-all according-to the-hope himself of-Amyntas
oratio grata regi fuit, quod coniugum, quod patriae
the-speech welcome to-the-king was because of-wives because of-homeland
admonitos pigriores ad cetera munia exequenda fecisset.
reminded the-more-sluggish for the-other duties to-be-performed it-had-made
Tum Coenus, quamquam Philotae sororem matrimonio
then Coenus although of-Philotas the-sister in-marriage
secum coniunxerat, tamen acrius quam quisquam in
to-himself had-joined yet more-sharply than anyone against
Philotan invectus est parricidam esse regis, patriae,
Philotas inveighed has the-parricide to-be of-the-king of-the-homeland
exercitus clamitans saxumque, quod forte ante pedes iacebat,
of-the-army shouting and-a-stone which by-chance before his-feet lay
corripuit emissurus in eum, ut plerique crediderunt, tormentis
seized going-to-hurl at him as most believed from-torture
subtrahere cupiens. Sed rex manum eius inhibuit dicendae
to-withdraw-him desiring but the-king hand his checked of-pleading
prius causae debere fieri potestatem reo nec aliter
first the-case to-have-to to-be-given the-opportunity to-the-defendant nor otherwise
iudicari passurum se adfirmans. Tum dicere iussus Philotas,
to-be-judged going-to-allow himself affirming then to-speak ordered Philotas
sive conscientia sceleris sive periculi magnitudine amens
whether from-consciousness of-crime or of-the-danger from-greatness maddened

et attonitus, non attollere oculos, non hiscere audebat.
and stunned not to-raise his-eyes not to-open-his-mouth dared
Lacrimis deinde manantibus, linquente animo in eum, a quo
with-tears then flowing with-failing spirit onto him by whom
tenebatur, incubuit abstersisque amiculo eius oculis paulatim
he-was-held he-sank and-with-wiped by-the-cloak his eyes gradually
recipiens spiritum ac vocem dicturus videbatur. Iamque rex
recovering breath and voice going-to-speak he-seemed and-now the-king
intuens eum: 'Macedones,' inquit, 'de te iudicaturi sunt:
looking-at him the-Macedonians he-says about you going-to-judge are
quaero, an patrio sermone sis apud eos usurus.' Tum
I-ask whether the-ancestral language you-are before them going-to-use then
Philotas: 'Praeter Macedonas,' inquit, 'plerique adsunt, quos
Philotas besides the-Macedonians he-says very-many are-present who
facilius, quae dicam, percepturos arbitror, si eadem lingua
more-easily what I-shall-say going-to-grasp I-think if the-same tongue
fuero usus, qua tu egisti, non ob aliud, credo,
I-shall-have used which you used not on-account-of other-reason I-believe
quam ut oratio tua intellegi posset a pluribus.' Tum
than that speech your to-be-understood could by more then
rex: 'Ecquid videtis adeo etiam sermonis patrii Philotan
the-king do you-see so-much even of-the-language ancestral Philotas
taedere? Solus quippe fastidit eum discere. Sed dicat
to-be-weary alone for he-disdains it to-learn but let-him-speak
sane, utcumque ei cordi est, dum memineritis aeque
by-all-means however to-him dear it-is provided you-remember equally
illum a nostro more quam sermone abhorrere.'
him from our custom as language to-shrink

Alexander leaves, and Philotas argues that no conspirator named him. He thought a boy's tale unreliable, and he was later alone and armed with the king and did nothing. All now speak foreign tongues, and his friendship with Amyntas was no crime. He offers to wait in chains while Ammon is consulted, laments that his father will die with him, and recalls Parmenio's ignored warning about the physician. When a bystander heckles him, he ends his speech and is led away.

Atque ita contione excessit. Tum Philotas: 'Verba,'
and so from-the-assembly he-went-out then Philotas words
inquit, 'innocenti reperire facile est, modum verborum
he-says for-an-innocent-man to-find easy it-is the-measure of-words
misero tenere difficile. Itaque inter optimam conscientiam
for-a-wretched-man to-hold difficult and-so between the-best conscience
et iniquissimam fortunam destitutus ignoro, quomodo et
and the-most-unjust fortune abandoned I-do-not-know how both
animo meo et tempori paream. Abest quidem optimus
to-mind my and to-the-occasion I-should-submit is-absent indeed the-best
causae meae iudex: qui cur me ipse audire noluerit, non,
of-cause my judge who why me himself to-hear he-did-not-wish not
mehercule, excogito, cum illi utrimque cognita causa tam
by-Hercules I-devise since for-him on-both-sides with-heard case as-much
damnare me liceat quam absolvere, non cognita vero liberari
to-condemn me it-is-allowed as to-acquit not with-heard indeed to-be-freed
absenti non possum, qui a praesente damnatus sum.
by-the-absent not I-can who by the-present condemned I-have-been
Sed quamquam vincti hominis non supervacua solum, sed
but although of-a-bound man not superfluous only but
etiam invisa defensio est, qui iudicem non docere videtur,
also odious the-defense is who the-judge not to-inform seems
sed arguere, tamen, utcumque licet me dicere, memet
but to-accuse yet however-much it-is-allowed me to-speak myself

ipse non deseram nec committam, ut damnatus etiam
I not shall-abandon nor I-shall-bring-it-about that condemned even
mea sententia videar. Equidem, cuius criminis reus
by-my-own verdict I-may-seem I-indeed of-what charge the-defendant
sim, non video: inter coniuratos nemo me nominat, de me
I-am not I-see among the-conspirators no-one me names about me
Nicomachus nihil dixit, Cebalinus plus, quam audierat, scire
Nicomachus nothing said Cebalinus more than he-had-heard to-know
non potuit. Atqui coniurationis caput me fuisse credit
not could and-yet of-the-conspiracy the-head me to-have-been believes
rex! Potuit ergo Dymnus eum praeterire, quem sequebatur,
the-king could then Dymnus him to-pass-over whom he-was-following
praesertim cum quaerenti socios vel falso fuerim
especially since to-him-seeking allies even falsely I-would-have-been
nominandus, quo facilius, qui temptabatur, posset inpelli?
to-be-named by-which more-easily he-who was-being-tempted could to-be-driven
Non enim detecto facinore nomen meum praeteriit, ut
not for with-the-revealed crime name my he-passed-over so-that
possit videri socio pepercisse: Nicomacho, quem taciturum
he-could to-seem an-ally to-have-spared to-Nicomachus whom going-to-keep-silent
arcana de semetipso credebat, confessus aliis nominatis
the-secrets about himself he-believed having-confessed with-others named
me unum subtrahebat. Quaeso, commilitones, si Cebalinus
me alone he-was-withdrawing I-ask fellow-soldiers if Cebalinus
me non adisset, nihil me de coniuratis scire voluisset,
me not had-approached nothing me about the-conspirators to-know he-had-wished
num hodie dicerem causam nullo me nominante?
whether today I-would-plead my-case with-no-one me naming
Dymnus sane ut vivat adhuc et velit mihi parcere,
Dymnus by-all-means that he-be-alive still and wish me to-spare
quid ceteri? Qui de se confitebuntur, me videlicet
what the-others who about themselves will-confess me doubtless

subtrahent! Maligna est calamitas, et fere noxius, cum
they-will-withdraw spiteful is calamity and generally the-guilty-man when
suo supplicio crucietur, adquiescit alieno. Tot conscii
with-his-own punishment he-is-tortured rests in-another's so-many accomplices
ne in eculeum quidem inpositi verum fatebuntur? Atqui nemo
not on the-rack even placed the-truth will-confess and-yet no-one
parcit morituro nec cuiquam moriturus, ut opinor.
spares a-man-going-to-die nor anyone a-man-going-to-die as I-think
Ad verum crimen et ad unum revertendum mihi est: cur
to the-true charge and to the-one to-be-returned for-me it-is why
rem delatam ad te tacuisti? cur tam securus audisti?
the-thing reported to you did-you-keep-silent why so untroubled did-you-hear
Hoc, qualecumque est, confesso mihi, ubicumque es,
this whatever-sort it-is having-confessed to-me wherever you-are
Alexander, remisisti: dexteram tuam amplexus, reconciliati
Alexander you-remitted-it right-hand your having-embraced of-a-reconciled
pignus animi, convivio quoque interfui. Si credidisti mihi,
the-pledge mind at-the-banquet also I-was-present if you-believed me
absolutus sum, si pepercisti, dimissus: vel iudicium tuum
acquitted I-am if you-spared-me released at-least judgment your
serva. Quid hac proxima nocte, qua digressus sum a
keep what on-this last night in-which went-away I-have from
mensa tua, feci? quod novum facinus delatum ad te mutavit
table your did-I-do what new crime reported to you has-changed
animum tuum? Gravi sopore adquiescebam, cum me malis
the-mind your in-heavy sleep I-was-resting when me in-my-evils
indormientem mei inimici vinciendo excitaverunt. Unde et
sleeping my enemies by-binding roused whence both
parricidae et prodito tam alti quies somni? Scelerati
for-the-parricide and for-the-betrayed-man so deep the-rest of-sleep the-criminals
conscientia obstrepente condormire non possunt: agitant eos
with-conscience clamoring to-sleep not can drive them

Furiae cogitato modo, nedum consummato parricidio. At
the-Furies with-the-planned only much-less with-the-accomplished parricide but
mihi securitatem primum innocentia mea, deinde tua dextera
to-me untroubledness first innocence my then your right-hand
obtulerat: non timui, ne plus alienae crudelitati apud te
had-offered not I-feared lest more to-another's cruelty with you
liceret quam clementiae tuae. Sed ne te mihi credidisse
were-allowed than to-clemency your but lest you me to-have-trusted
paeniteat, res ad me deferebatur a puero, qui non testem,
should-repent the-thing to me was-reported by a-boy who not a-witness
non pignus indicii exhibere poterat, inpleturus omnes
not a-pledge of-the-information to-show could going-to-fill all
metu, si coepisset audiri. Amatoris et scorti iurgio
with-fear if he-had-begun to-be-heard of-a-lover and harlot in-a-quarrel
interponi aures meas credidi infelix et fidem eius
to-be-interposed ears my I-believed unhappy and the-good-faith his
suspectam habui, quod non ipse deferret, sed fratrem
suspect I-held because not himself he-was-reporting but his-brother
potius subornaret. Timui, ne negaret mandasse se
rather he-was-suborning I-feared lest he-should-deny to-have-commissioned himself
Cebalino et ego viderer multis amicorum regis fuisse
to-Cebalinus and I should-seem to-many of-the-friends of-the-king to-have-been
periculi causa. Sic quoque, cum laeserim neminem, inveni,
of-danger the-cause thus even when I-have-harmed no-one I-have-found
qui mallet perire me quam incolumem esse: quid
one-who would-prefer to-perish me than unharmed to-be what
inimicitiarum creditis excepturum fuisse, si insontes
of-enmities do-you-believe going-to-incur to-have-been if the-innocent
lacessissem? At enim Dymnus se occidit! Num igitur
I-had-provoked but indeed Dymnus himself killed surely-not then
facturum eum divinare potui? Minime. Ita, quod solum
going-to-do him to-divine could-I not-at-all so what alone

indicio fidem fecit, id me, cum a Cebalino interpellatus
to-the-information credit gave that me when by Cebalinus interrupted
sum, movere non poterat. At hercules, si conscius Dymno
I-was to-move not could but by-Hercules if an-accomplice of-Dymnus
tanti sceleris fuissem, biduo illo, proditos esse nos,
of-so-great a-crime I-had-been during-two-days those betrayed to-be ourselves
dissimulare non debui: Cebalinus ipse tolli de medio
to-dissemble not I-ought Cebalinus himself to-be-removed from the-middle
nulloque negotio potuit. Denique post delatum indicium,
with-no trouble could finally after the-reported information
quod operturus eram, cubiculum regis solus intravi, ferro
which going-to-cover I-was the-bedroom of-the-king alone I-entered with-iron
quidem cinctus. Cur distuli facinus? An sine Dymno
indeed girded why did-I-put-off the-deed or without Dymnus
non sum ausus? Ille igitur princeps coniurationis fuit! sub
not I-have dared he then the-chief of-the-conspiracy was under
illius umbra Philotas latebam, qui regnum Macedonum
his shadow Philotas I-was-lying-hidden I-who the-kingship of-the-Macedonians
adfecto! Ecquis e vobis corruptus est donis? Quem
aim-at is-anyone of you corrupted has-been by-gifts what
ducem, quem praefectum inpensius colui? Mihi quidem
general what officer more-lavishly did-I-court to-me indeed
obicitur, quod societatem patrii sermonis asperner, quod
it-is-objected that the-sharing of-the-ancestral language I-spurn that
Macedonum mores fastidiam. Sic ego imperio, quod
of-the-Macedonians the-customs I-disdain thus I over-an-empire which
dedignor, immineo! Iam pridem nativus ille sermo commercio
I-disdain hang now long-since native that language by-intercourse
aliarum gentium exolevit: tam victoribus, quam victis
of-other nations has-faded as-much for-the-victors as for-the-conquered
peregrina lingua discenda est. Non, mehercule, ista
a-foreign tongue to-be-learned is not by-Hercules those-things

me magis laedunt, quam quod Amyntas, Perdiccae filius,
me more hurt than that Amyntas of-Perdiccas the-son
insidiatus est regi. Cum quo quod amicitia fuerit
plotted has against-the-king with whom that friendship there-was
mihi, non recuso defendere, si fratrem regis non oportuit
to-me not I-refuse to-defend if the-brother of-the-king not it-behooved
diligi a nobis. Sin autem in illo fortunae gradu positum
to-be-loved by us but-if however in that of-fortune rank placed
etiam venerari necesse erat, utrum, quaeso, quod non
even to-revere necessary it-was whether I-ask because not
divinavi, reus sum, an impiorum amicis insontibus
I-divined a-defendant am-I or of-the-impious for-the-friends innocent
quoque moriendum est? Quod si aequum est, cur tam diu
too to-be-died it-is but if just it-is why so long
vivo? si iniustum, cur nunc tamen occidor? At enim scripsi
do-I-live if unjust why now yet am-I-killed but indeed I-wrote
misereri me eorum, quibus vivendum esset sub eo, qui
to-pity me those to-whom to-be-lived it-was under him who
se Iovis filium crederet. Fides amicitiae, veri consilii
himself of-Jupiter the-son believed the-good-faith of-friendship of-true counsel
periculosa libertas, vos me decepistis! vos, quae sentiebam,
the-dangerous freedom you me have-deceived you what I-felt
ne reticerem, inpulistis! Scripsisse me haec fateor
that-not I-should-keep-silent drove to-have-written me these-things I-confess
regi, non de rege. Non enim faciebam invidiam, sed
to-the-king not about the-king not for I-was-making odium but
pro eo timebam. Dignior mihi Alexander videbatur, qui
for him I-was-fearing worthier to-me Alexander seemed who
Iovis stirpem tacitus agnosceret, quam qui praedicatione
of-Jupiter the-stock silently should-acknowledge than who by-proclamation
iactaret. Sed quoniam oraculi fides certa est, sit deus
should-boast but since of-the-oracle the-trust certain is let-be the-god

causae meae testis: retinete me in vinculis, dum consulitur
of-cause my the-witness keep me in chains while is-consulted
Hammo, num arcanum et occultum scelus inierim.
Ammon whether a-secret and hidden crime I-have-entered-on
Qui regem nostrum dignatus est filium nominare, neminem
who king our deigned has son to-name none
eorum, qui stirpi suae insidiati sunt, latere patietur.
of-those who against-the-stock his plotted have to-lie-hidden will-allow
Si certiora oraculis creditis esse tormenta, ne hanc quidem
if more-certain than-oracles you-believe to-be tortures not this even
exhibendae veritatis fidem deprecor. Solent rei capitis
of-exhibiting the-truth proof do-I-decline are-wont defendants on-capital-charge
adhibere vobis parentes. Duos fratres ego nuper amisi,
to-bring-in before-you their-parents two brothers I recently have-lost
patrem nec ostendere possum nec invocare audeo, cum et
my-father neither to-show can-I nor to-invoke dare-I since both
ipse tanti criminis reus sit. Parum est enim tot
himself of-so-great a-charge the-defendant is too-little it-is for of-so-many
modo liberum parentem, in unico filio adquiescentem, eo
just-now children a-parent in his-only son resting of-him
quoque orbari, nisi ipse in rogum meum inponitur.
also to-be-bereaved unless he-himself onto pyre my is-placed
Ergo, carissime pater, et propter me morieris et mecum:
therefore dearest father both because-of me you-will-die and with-me
ego tibi vitam adimo, ego senectutem tuam extinguo.
I from-you life take-away I old-age your extinguish
Quid enim me procreabas infelicem adversantibus diis? an,
why for me did-you-beget unhappy with-opposing gods or
ut hos ex me fructus perciperes, qui te manent? Nescio,
that these from me fruits you-might-gather which you await I-know-not
adulescentia mea miserior sit an senectus tua: ego in
youth my more-wretched may-be or old-age your I in

ipso robore aetatis eripior, tibi carnifex spiritum
the-very strength of-age am-snatched-away from-you the-executioner breath
adimet, quem, si fortuna expectare voluisset, natura poscebat.
will-take which if fortune to-await had-wished nature was-demanding
Admonuit me patris mei mentio, quam timide et cunctanter,
has-reminded me of-father my the-mention how timidly and hesitantly
quae Cebalinus detulerat ad me, indicare debuerim. Parmenio
what Cebalinus had-reported to me to-disclose I-ought-to-have Parmenio
enim, cum audisset venenum a Philippo medico regi
for when he-had-heard poison by Philip the-physician for-the-king
parari, deterrere eum voluit epistula scripta, quo minus
to-be-prepared to-deter him wished by-a-letter written by-which the-less
medicamentum biberet, quod medicus dare constitueret.
the-medicine he-should-drink which the-physician to-give should-decide
Num creditum est patri meo? num ullam auctoritatem
surely-not believed was to-father my surely-not any authority
eius litterae habuerunt? Ego ipse quotiens, quae audieram,
his letter had I myself how-often what I-had-heard
detuli et cum ludibrio credulitatis repulsus sum! Si et,
have-reported and with mockery of-credulity rebuffed I-have-been if both
cum indicamus, invisi et, cum tacemus, suspecti sumus,
when we-disclose we-are-hated and when we-keep-silent suspected are-we
quid facere nos oportet?' Cumque unus e circumstantium
what to-do us behooves and-when one from the-bystanders'
turba exclamasset: 'Bene meritis non insidiari!' Philotas:
crowd had-shouted well the-deserving not to-plot-against Philotas
'Recte,' inquit, 'quisquis es, dicis. Itaque si insidiatus
rightly he-says whoever you-are you-say and-so if plotted
sum, poenam non deprecor et finem facio dicendi, quoniam
I-have the-penalty not I-decline and an-end I-make of-speaking since

ultima verba gravia sunt visa auribus.' Abducitur deinde ab
the-last words heavy have seemed to-the-ears he-is-led-away then by
iis, qui custodiebant eum.
those who were-guarding him

XI · THE TORTURE OF PHILOTAS

Bolon, an old soldier, rouses the assembly against Philotas' arrogance, and the guards demand his death. Hephaestion, Craterus, and Coenus press for torture. During the torture Parmenio's kinsmen kill themselves or flee until the king remits the law. Philotas confesses that Hegelochus railed against the king's divinity and that he and Parmenio agreed to kill Alexander once Darius was dead. Calas confesses, and all Nicomachus named are stoned.

Erat inter duces manu strenuus Bolon quidam, pacis
there-was among the-generals in-hand vigorous Bolon a-certain of-peace
artium et civilis habitus rudis, vetus miles, ab humili ordine
of-the-arts and of-civil bearing ignorant an-old soldier from a-humble rank
ad eum gradum, in quo tunc erat, promotus: qui tacentibus
to that grade in which then he-was promoted who with-silent
ceteris stolida audacia ferox admonere eos coepit, quotiens
the-others with-stupid boldness fierce to-remind them began how-often
suis quisque deversoriis, quae occupassent, proturbatus
from-their-own each lodgings which they-had-occupied driven-out
esset, ut purgamenta servorum Philotae reciperentur eo,
he-had-been that the-scum of-the-slaves of-Philotas might-be-received there
unde commilitones expulissent. Auro argentoque vehicula eius
whence their-fellow-soldiers they-had-expelled with-gold and-silver the-wagons his
onusta totis vicis stetisse, ac ne in viciniam quidem
loaded in-all the-villages to-have-stood and not into the-neighborhood even
deversorii quemquam commilitonum receptum esse, sed
of-his-lodging any of-the-fellow-soldiers received to-have-been but

per dispositos, quos supra somnum habebat, omnis procul
by the-men-posted whom over his-sleep he-had all far
relegatos, ne femina illa murmurantium inter se silentio
relegated lest woman that of-men-murmuring among themselves by-silence
verius quam sono excitaretur. Ludibrio ei fuisse
more-truly than by-sound should-be-roused a-mockery to-him to-have-been
rusticos homines Phrygasque et Paphlagonas appellatos, qui
the-country men and-Phrygians and Paphlagonians called who
non erubesceret, Macedo natus, homines linguae suae
not was-ashamed a-Macedonian born men of-tongue his-own
per interpretem audire. Nunc eum Hammonem consuli
through an-interpreter to-hear now him Ammon to-be-consulted
velle: at eundem Iovis arguisse mendacium Alexandrum
to-wish but the-same-man of-Jupiter to-have-accused the-lie Alexander
filium agnoscentis, scilicet veritum, ne invidiosum esset,
as-son acknowledging doubtless having-feared lest invidious it-should-be
quod dii offerrent. Cum insidiaretur capiti regis
what the-gods offered when he-was-plotting against-the-life of-the-king
et amici, non consuluisse eum Iovem: nunc ad oraculum
and of-his-friend not to-have-consulted him Jupiter now to the-oracle
mittere, dum pater eius sollicitet, quibus praesit in Media,
to-send while father his tempts those-whom he-commands in Media
et pecunia, cuius custodia commissa sit, perditos homines
and with-the-money whose keeping entrusted has-been desperate men
ad societatem sceleris impellat. Ipsos missuros ad oraculum,
to the-partnership of-the-crime should-drive themselves going-to-send to the-oracle
non qui Iovem interrogent, quod ex rege cognoverint,
not men-to Jupiter ask what from the-king they-have-learned
sed qui gratias agant, qui vota pro incolumitate regis
but men-to thanks give men-to vows for the-safety of-the-king
optimi persolvant. Tum vero universa contio accensa est,
best pay then indeed the-whole assembly inflamed was

et a corporis custodibus initium factum clamantibus,
and from the-body guards the-beginning made shouting
discerpendum esse parricidam manibus eorum. Id quidem
to-be-torn-apart to-be the-parricide by-the-hands their that indeed
Philotas, qui graviora supplicia metueret, haud sane iniquo
Philotas who heavier punishments was-fearing not at-all with-hostile
animo audiebat: at rex in contionem reversus, sive
mind was-hearing but the-king into the-assembly having-returned whether
ut in custodia quoque torqueret, sive ut diligentius
that in custody too he-might-torture-him or that more-carefully
cuncta cognosceret, concilium in posterum diem distulit et,
everything he-might-learn the-council to the-next day put-off and
quamquam in vesperam inclinabat dies, tamen amicos
although toward evening was-declining the-day yet the-friends
convocari iubet. Et ceteris quidem placebat, Macedonum
to-be-called-together he-orders and to-the-rest indeed it-seemed-good in-the-Macedonians'
more obrui saxis, Hephaestio autem et Craterus
manner to-be-overwhelmed with-stones Hephaestion however and Craterus
et Coenos tormentis veritatem exprimendam esse dixerunt:
and Coenus by-torture the-truth to-be-wrung-out to-be said
et illi quoque, qui aliud suaserant, in horum sententiam
and those also who other-things had-advised to their opinion
transeunt. Consilio ergo dimisso Hephaestion cum Cratero
cross-over with-the-council therefore dismissed Hephaestion with Craterus
et Coeno ad quaestionem de Philota habendam consurgunt.
and Coenus for the-examination about Philotas to-be-held rise
Rex Cratero accersito et sermone habito, cuius summa
the-king with-Craterus summoned and with-talk held whose substance
non edita est, in intimam deversorii partem secessit et
not published was into the-innermost of-his-lodging part withdrew and
remotis arbitris in multam noctem quaestionis expectavit
with-removed witnesses into much-of the-night of-the-examination awaited

eventum. Tortores in conspectum Philotae omnia crudelitatis
the-outcome the-torturers into the-sight of-Philotas all of-cruelty
instrumenta proponunt. Et ille ultro: 'Quid cessatis,' inquit,
the-instruments set-forth and he voluntarily why do-you-delay he-says
'regis inimicum, interfectorem confitentem occidere? Quid
of-the-king the-enemy the-killer confessing to-kill what
quaestione opus est? cogitavi, volui.' Craterus exigere, ut, quae
of-examination need is I-planned I-wished Craterus demanded that what
confiteretur, in tormentis quoque diceret. Tum corripitur et,
he-was-confessing in tortures also he-should-say then he-is-seized and
dum obligantur oculi, dum vestis exuitur, deos patrios,
while are-bound his-eyes while his-clothing is-taken-off the-gods ancestral
gentium iura nequiquam apud surdas aures invocabat. Per
of-nations the-laws in-vain before deaf ears he-was-invoking through
ultimos deinde cruciatus, utpote et damnatus et inimicis in
the-ultimate then tortures as-one both condemned and with-enemies for
gratiam regis torquentibus, laceratur. Ac primo, quamquam
the-favor of-the-king torturing he-is-mangled and at-first although
hinc ignis, illinc verbera iam non ad quaestionem, sed ad
on-this-side fire on-that lashes now not for examination but for
poenam ingerebantur, non vocem modo, sed etiam gemitus
punishment were-heaped-on not his-voice only but also his-groans
habuit in potestate: sed postquam intumescens corpus ulceribus
he-had in power but after swelling his-body with-sores
flagellorum ictus nudis ossibus incussos ferre non poterat,
of-the-scourges the-blows on-bare bones struck to-bear not he-could
si tormentis adhibituri modum essent, dicturum se, quae
if to-the-tortures going-to-apply a-limit they-were going-to-say himself what
scire expeterent, pollicetur. Sed finem quaestioni fore,
to-know they-desired he-promises but an-end to-the-examination going-to-be
iurare eos per Alexandri salutem volebat removerique tortores.
to-swear them by Alexander's safety he-wished and-to-be-removed the-torturers

Et utroque inpetrato: 'Cratere,' inquit, 'dic, quid me velis
and with-both obtained Craterus he-says tell what me you-want
dicere.' Illo indignante ludificari eum rursusque revocante
to-say with-him indignant to-be-mocked him and-again recalling
tortores tempus petere coepit, dum reciperet spiritum, cuncta,
the-torturers time to-ask he-began until he-recovered his-breath everything
quae sciret, indicaturus. Interim equites, nobilissimus quisque
which he-knew going-to-disclose meanwhile the-horsemen the-noblest each
et ii maxime, qui Parmenionem propinqua cognatione
and those most-of-all who Parmenio by-near kinship
contingebant, postquam Philotan torqueri fama vulgaverat,
touched after Philotas to-be-tortured rumor had-spread
legem Macedonum veriti, qua cautum erat, ut propinqui
the-law of-the-Macedonians having-feared by-which provided it-was that the-kinsmen
eorum, qui regi insidiati essent, cum ipsis necarentur,
of-those who against-the-king plotted had with them should-be-killed
alii se interficiunt, alii in devios montes vastasque
some themselves kill others into out-of-the-way mountains and-vast
solitudines fugiunt ingenti per tota castra terrore diffuso,
solitudes flee with-huge through all the-camp terror spread
donec rex tumultu cognito legem se de supplicio
until the-king with-the-uproar learned the-law himself about the-punishment
coniunctorum sontibus remittere edixit. Philotas verone
of-the-connected to-the-guilty to-remit proclaimed Philotas whether-by-truth
an mendacio liberare se a cruciatu voluerit, anceps
or by-lie to-free himself from torture wished doubtful
coniectura est, quoniam et vera confessis et falsa
the-conjecture is since both true-things to-those-confessing and falsehoods
dicentibus idem doloris finis ostenditur. Ceterum: 'Pater,'
to-those-telling the-same of-pain end is-shown but father
inquit, 'meus Hegelocho quam familiariter usus sit, non
he-says my with-Hegelochus how familiarly associated has not

ignoratis: illum dico Hegelochum, qui in acie cecidit:
you-are-ignorant him I-mean Hegelochus who in battle fell
omnium malorum nobis is fuit causa. Nam cum primum
of-all evils for-us he was the-cause for when first
Iovis filium se salutari iussit rex, id indigne ferens
of-Jupiter as-son himself to-be-saluted ordered the-king it unworthily bearing
ille: "Hunc igitur regem agnoscimus," inquit, "qui Philippum
he this then as-king do-we-acknowledge he-says who Philip
dedignatur patrem? Actum est de nobis, si ista perpeti
disdains as-father done it-is with us if those-things to-endure
possumus. Non homines solum, sed etiam deos despicit,
we-can not men only but also the-gods he-despises
qui postulat deus credi. Amisimus Alexandrum, amisimus
who demands a-god to-be-believed we-have-lost Alexander we-have-lost
regem: incidimus in superbiam nec dis, quibus se
a-king we-have-fallen into arrogance neither to-the-gods to-whom himself
exaequat, nec hominibus, quibus se eximit, tolerabilem.
he-equals nor to-men from-whom himself he-exempts bearable
Nostrone sanguine deum fecimus, qui nos fastidiat? qui
with-our-own blood a-god have-we-made who us disdains who
gravetur mortalium adire concilium? Credite mihi, et nos, si
is-reluctant of-mortals to-attend the-council believe me too we if
viri sumus, a dis adoptabimur. Quis proavum huius
men we-are by the-gods shall-be-adopted who the-great-grandfather of-this-man
Alexandrum, quis deinde Archelaum, quis Perdiccan occisos
Alexander who then Archelaus who Perdiccas slain
ultus est? Hic quidem interfectoribus patris ignovit."
avenged has this-man indeed to-the-killers of-his-father pardoned
Haec Hegelochus dixit super cenam: et postero die prima
these-things Hegelochus said over dinner and on-the-following day at-first
luce a patre accersor. Tristis erat et me maestum videbat:
light by my-father I-am-summoned sad he-was and me sorrowful he-saw

audieramus enim, quae sollicitudinem incuterent. Itaque, ut
we-had-heard for what anxiety might-strike and-so that
experiremur, utrumne vino gravatus effudisset illa an
we-might-test whether by-wine heavy he-had-poured-out those-things or
altiore concepta consilio, accersi eum placuit. Advenit
by-deeper conceived design to-be-summoned him it-was-decided came
ille eodemque sermone ultro repetito adiecit, se, sive
he and-with-the-same talk voluntarily repeated he-added himself whether
auderemus duces esse, proximas a nobis partes vindicaturum,
we-dared leaders to-be the-next after us parts going-to-claim
sive deesset animus, consilium silentio esse tecturum.
or-if was-lacking courage the-plan in-silence to-be going-to-cover
Parmenioni vivo adhuc Dareo intempestiva res videbatur:
to-Parmenio with-alive still Darius untimely the-thing seemed
non enim sibi, sed hosti esse occisuros Alexandrum,
not for for-themselves but for-the-enemy to-be going-to-kill Alexander
Dareo vero sublato praemium regis occisi Asiam et
with-Darius however removed as-the-reward of-the-king killed Asia and
totum Orientem interfectoribus esse cessura. Adprobatoque
the-whole East to-the-killers to-be going-to-yield and-with-approved
consilio in haec fides et data est et accepta. Quod ad
plan for this a-pledge both given was and received what to
Dymnum pertinet, nihil scio et haec confessus intellego
Dymnus pertains nothing I-know and these-things having-confessed I-understand
non prodesse mihi, quod praesentis sceleris expers sum.'
not to-profit me that of-the-present crime without-share I-am
Illi rursus tormentis admotis, cum ipsis quoque hastis os
they again with-tortures applied when with-the-very also spears his
oculosque eius everberarent, expressere, ut hoc quoque crimen
face and-eyes they-lashed squeezed-out that this also charge
confiteretur. Exigentibus deinde, ut ordinem cogitati sceleris
he-should-confess with-demanding then that the-order of-the-planned crime

exponeret, cum diu Bactra retentura regem viderentur,
he-should-set-forth since long Bactra going-to-detain the-king they-seemed
timuisse respondit, ne pater LXX natus annos, tanti
to-have-feared he-replied lest his-father seventy born years of-so-great
exercitus dux, tantae pecuniae custos, interim extingueretur,
an-army leader of-so-great money the-keeper meanwhile should-be-extinguished
ipsique spoliato tantis viribus occidendi regis causa non
and-to-himself despoiled of-so-great strength of-killing the-king a-reason not
esset. Festinasse ergo se, dum praemium in manibus
would-be he-had-hastened therefore himself while the-reward in hand
haberet, repraesentare consilium: cui patrem afuisse
he-had to-carry-out-at-once the-plan from-which his-father to-have-been-absent
nisi crederent, tormenta, quamquam iam tolerare non posset,
unless they-believed the-tortures although now to-bear not he-could
tamen non recusare. Illi conlocuti satis quaesitum videri
yet not to-refuse they having-conferred enough asked to-seem
ad regem revertuntur, qui postero die et, quae confessus
to the-king return who on-the-following day both what confessed
erat Philotas, recitari et ipsum, quia ingredi non poterat,
had Philotas to-be-read-out and himself because to-walk not he-could
iussit adferri. Omnia agnoscente eo Demetrius, qui
ordered to-be-carried-in all with-acknowledging him Demetrius who
proximi sceleris particeps esse arguebatur, producitur. Multa
of-the-latest crime the-sharer to-be was-accused is-brought-forward with-much
adfirmatione animique pariter constantia et vultus abnuens,
affirmation and-of-mind alike steadfastness and of-face denying
quicquam sibi in regem cogitatum esse, tormenta
anything by-himself against the-king planned to-have-been tortures
etiam deposcebat in semetipsum: cum Philotas circumlatis
even he-demanded against himself when Philotas with-cast-round
oculis, ut incidere in Calan quendam haud procul stantem,
eyes as-they fell upon Calas a-certain not far standing

propius eum iussit accedere. Illo perturbato et recusante
nearer him ordered to-approach with-him agitated and refusing
transire ad eum: 'Patieris,' inquit, 'Demetrium mentiri
to-cross to him will-you-allow he-says Demetrius to-lie
rursusque me excruciari?' Calan vox sanguisque defecerant, et
and-again me to-be-tortured to-Calas voice and-blood had-failed and
Macedones Philotan inquinare innoxios velle suspicabantur,
the-Macedonians Philotas to-stain the-harmless to-wish suspected
quia nec a Nicomacho nec ab ipso Philota, cum torqueretur,
because neither by Nicomachus nor by himself Philotas when he-was-tortured
nominatus esset adulescens: qui ut praefectos regis
named had-been the-youth who when the-officers of-the-king
circumstantes se vidit, Demetrium et semetipsum id facinus
standing-around himself he-saw Demetrius and himself that crime
cogitasse confessus est. Omnes ergo a Nicomacho nominati
to-have-planned confessed has all therefore by Nicomachus named
more patrio dato signo saxis obruti sunt. Magno
in-the-manner ancestral with-given signal with-stones overwhelmed were from-a-great
non salutis, sed etiam invidiae periculo liberatus erat
not of-safety but also of-odium danger freed had-been
Alexander: quippe Parmenio et Philotas, principes amicorum,
Alexander for Parmenio and Philotas the-chief of-the-friends
nisi palam sontes sine indignatione totius exercitus non
unless openly guilty without the-indignation of-the-whole army not
potuissent damnari. Itaque dum anceps quaestio fuit,
could-have been-condemned and-so while doubtful the-examination was
dum infitiatus est facinus, crudeliter torqueri videbatur: post
while denied he-has the-crime cruelly to-be-tortured he-seemed after
confessionem etiam Philotae amicorum misericordia vana erat.
the-confession even Philotas' friends the-pity empty was