

108

[1] κατὰ τοῦτον τὸν καιρὸν ἦκον εἰς τὰ Σοῦσα τρισμῦριοι τῶν Περσῶν, νέοι μὲν παντελῶς ταῖς ἡλικίαις, ἐπιλεγμένοι δὲ ταῖς τῶν σωμάτων εὐπρεπείαις τε καὶ ὤμαϊς. [2] κατὰ δὲ τινὰς ἐντολὰς τοῦ βασιλέως ἠθροισμένοι, χρόνον ἰκανὸν ἐπιστάτας καὶ διδασκάλους ἐσχηκότες τῶν πολεμικῶν ἔργων, πάντες δὲ Μακεδονικαῖς πανοπλίαις πολυτελῶς κεκοσμημένοι, παρεμβολὴν μὲν ἐποίησαντο πρὸ τῆς πόλεως, ἐπιδειξάμενοι δὲ τῷ βασιλεῖ τὴν ἐν τοῖς ὅπλοις ἄσκησιν καὶ μελέτην ἐτιμήθησαν διαφερόντως.

[3] τῶν γὰρ Μακεδόνων πρὸς τὴν τοῦ Γάγγου ποταμοῦ διάβασιν ἀντειπόντων καὶ πολλάκις ἐν ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις καταβοώντων καὶ τὴν ἐξ Ἄμμωνος γένεσιν διασυρόντων τοῦτο τὸ σύστημα κατεσκεύασεν ἐκ μιᾶς μὲν ἡλικίας τῶν Περσῶν καὶ ὁμοίας συνεστηκός, δυνάμενον δὲ ἀντίταγμα γενέσθαι τῇ Μακεδονικῇ φάλαγγι. καὶ τὰ μὲν περὶ Ἀλέξανδρον ἐν τούτοις ἦν.

[1] Now there came to Susa at this time a body of thirty thousand Persians, all very young and selected for their bodily grace and strength. [2] They had been enrolled in compliance with the king's orders and had been under supervisors and teachers of the arts of war for as long as necessary. They were splendidly equipped with the full Macedonian armament and encamped before the city, where they were warmly commended by the king after demonstrating their skill and discipline in the use of their weapons.

[3] The Macedonians had not only mutinied when ordered to cross the Ganges River but were frequently unruly when called into an assembly¹ and ridiculed Alexander's pretence that Ammon was his father. For these reasons Alexander had formed this unit from a single age-group of the Persians which was capable of serving as a counter-balance to the Macedonian phalanx.

...

109

[1] ὁ δὲ Ἀλέξανδρος τῶν Ὀλυμπίων ὄντων ἐκήρυξεν ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ τοὺς φυγάδας πάντας εἰς τὰς πατρίδας κατιέναι πλὴν τῶν ἱεροσύλων καὶ φονέων.

αὐτὸς δ' ἐπιλέξας τοὺς πρεσβυτάτους τῶν πολιτῶν ἀπέλυσε τῆς στρατείας, ὄντας ὡς μυρίους. [2] πυνθανόμενος δὲ πολλοὺς αὐτῶν εἶναι καταδανείους ἐν ἡμέρᾳ μιᾷ τὰ δάνεια βραχὺ λείποντα τῶν μυρίων ταλάντων διέλυσεν. τῶν δ' ἀπολειπομένων Μακεδόνων ἀπειθούντων καὶ κατὰ τὴν ἐκκλησίαν καταβοώντων παροξυνθεὶς κατηγόρησεν αὐτῶν τεθαρρηκότως. καταπληξάμενος δὲ τὸ πλῆθος ἐτόλμησεν αὐτὸς καταβὰς ἀπὸ τοῦ βήματος τοὺς αἰτιωτάτους τῆς ταραχῆς ταῖς ἰδίαις χερσὶ παραδοῦναι τοῖς ὑπηρέταις πρὸς τὴν τιμωρίαν. [3] ἐπὶ πολὺν δὲ τῆς διαφορᾶς ἀξανομένης ὁ μὲν βασιλεὺς ἐκ τῶν ἐκλεγμένων Περσῶν ἡγεμόνας κατέστησε καὶ τούτους προῆγεν ἐπὶ τὸ πρωτεῖον: οἱ δὲ Μακεδόνες μετανοήσαντες καὶ πολλὰ μετὰ δακρῶν δεηθέντες μόγις ἔπεισαν τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον αὐτοῖς διαλλαγῆναι.

[1] While the Olympic Games were being celebrated, Alexander had it proclaimed in Olympia that all exiles should return to their cities, except those who had been charged with sacrilege or murder.

He selected the oldest of his soldiers who were Macedonians and released them from service; there were ten thousand of these. [2] He learned that many of them were in debt, and in a single day he paid their obligations which were little short of ten thousand talents. The Macedonians who remained with him were becoming insubordinate, and when he called them to an assembly, they interrupted him by shouting.² In a fury, he denounced them without regard to his own personal risk; then, having cowed the throng, he leaped down from the platform, seized the ringleaders of the tumult with his own hands, and handed them over to his attendants for punishment. [3] This made the soldiers' hostility even more acute, so that the king appointed generals from specially selected Persians and advanced them into positions of responsibility. At this, the Macedonians were repentant. Weeping, they urgently petitioned Alexander to forgive them, and with difficulty persuaded him to take them back into favour.

110

[1] ἐπ' ἄρχοντος δ' Ἀθήνησιν Ἀντικλέους Ῥωμαῖοι κατέστησαν ὑπάτους Λεύκιον Κορνήλιον καὶ Κόιντον Ποπίλλιον. ἐπὶ δὲ τούτων Ἀλέξανδρος εἰς τὸν τῶν ἀπολελυμένων ἀριθμὸν ἀνεπλήρωσεν ἐκ τῶν Περσῶν καὶ χιλίους αὐτῶν εἰς τοὺς περὶ τὴν αὐλήν ἔταξεν ὑπασπιστὰς καὶ τὸ σύνολον οὐχ ἥττους εἰς πίστιν τῶν Μακεδόνων ὑπέλαβεν. [2] ἦκεν δὲ κατὰ τοῦτον τὸν καιρὸν καὶ Πευκέστης ἄγων Πέρσας τοξότας καὶ σφενδονήτας δισμυρίους: καταμίξας δὲ τούτους τοῖς προϋπάρχουσι στρατιώταις τῇ καινότητι τῆς καινοτομίας κατεσκεύασε τὴν ὅλην δύναμιν κεκραμένην καὶ ἀρμόζουσαν τῇ ἰδίᾳ προαιρέσει.

[1] In the archonship of Anticles at Athens, the Romans installed as consuls Lucius Cornelius and Quintus Popillius. In this year Alexander secured replacements from the Persians equal to the number of these soldiers whom he had released, and assigned a thousand of them to the bodyguards stationed at the court. In all respects he showed the same confidence in them as in the Macedonians. [2] At this time Peucestes arrived with twenty thousand Persian bowmen and slingers. Alexander placed these in units with his other soldiers, and by the novelty of this innovation created a force blended and adjusted to his own idea.

[3] τῶν δὲ Μακεδόνων ἐκ τῶν αἰχμαλωτίδων γεγεννηκότων υἱοὺς τὸν ἀριθμὸν τῶν παίδων ἀκριβῶς ἐσκέψατο, ὄντων δ' αὐτῶν σχεδὸν μυρίων ἅπασι τὰς ἀρμοζούσας πρὸς τροφήν ἐλευθέριον συντάξεις ἀπομερίσας τούτοις μὲν παιδευτὰς ἐπέστησε τοὺς διδάξοντας τὴν ἀρμόζουσαν παιδείαν, αὐτὸς δὲ ἀναλαβὼν τὴν δύναμιν προῆγεν ἐκ τῶν Σούσων καὶ διαβὰς τὸν Τίγριν ἐν ταῖς Κάραις καλουμέναις κώμαις κατεστρατοπέδευσεν.

[3] Since there were by now sons of the Macedonians born of captive women, he determined the exact number of these. There were about ten thousand, and he set aside for them revenues sufficient to provide them with an upbringing proper for freeborn children, and set over them teachers to give them their proper training. After this he marched with his army from Susa, crossed the Tigris, and encamped in the villages called Carae.

...

[8] ἐν οἷς Ἡφαιστίων ἀκαίροις μέθαις χρησάμενος καὶ περιπεσὼν ἀρρωστία τὸν βίον ἐξέλιπεν: ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς χαλεπῶς ἐνέγκας τὸ συμβὰν τὸ σῶμα τοῦ τετελευτηκότος Περδίκκα παρέδωκεν εἰς Βαβυλῶνα κομίσει, βουλόμενος ἐπιφανεστάτην αὐτοῦ ποιήσασθαι τὴν ταφὴν.

[8] In the course of these, Hephaestion drank very much, fell ill, and died. The king was intensely grieved at this and entrusted his body to Perdiccas to conduct to Babylon, where he proposed to celebrate a magnificent funeral for him.

...

112

... [2] ἀπέχοντος δὲ αὐτοῦ τριακοσίους σταδίους τῆς Βαβυλῶνος οἱ Χαλδαῖοι καλούμενοι, μεγίστην μὲν δόξαν ἐν ἀστρολογία περιπεποιημένοι, διὰ δὲ τινος αἰωνίου παρατηρήσεως προλέγειν εἰωθότες τὰ μέλλοντα, προεχειρίσαντο μὲν ἐξ ἑαυτῶν τοὺς πρεσβυτάτους καὶ μεγίστην ἐμπειρίαν ἔχοντας, διὰ δὲ τῆς τῶν ἀστέρων μαντείας γνόντες τὴν μέλλουσαν γίνεσθαι τοῦ βασιλέως τελευτὴν ἐν Βαβυλῶνι προσέταξαν μηνῦσαι τῷ βασιλεῖ τὸν κίνδυνον καὶ παρακελεύσασθαι μηδενὶ τρόπῳ τὴν εἰς τὴν πόλιν εἴσοδον ποιήσασθαι: [3] δύνασθαι δὲ αὐτὸν ἐκφυγεῖν τὸν κίνδυνον, ἐὰν ἀναστήσῃ τὸν καθηρημένον ὑπὸ Περσῶν τοῦ Βήλου τάφον καὶ τὴν βεβουλευμένην ὁδὸν ἐπιστήσας παρέλθῃ τὴν πόλιν. τῶν δὲ ἀποσταλέντων Χαλδαίων ὁ προκριθείς, ὄνομα Βελεφάντης, τῷ μὲν βασιλεῖ συνελθεῖν εἰς λόγους οὐκ ἐτόλμησε διὰ τὸν φόβον, Νεάρχῳ δ' ἐνὶ τῶν Ἀλεξάνδρου φίλων κατ' ἰδίαν ἐντυχῶν καὶ τὰ κατὰ μέρος ἀπαγγείλας ἠξίου δηλῶσαι τῷ βασιλεῖ.

[4] ὁ δ' Ἀλέξανδρος ἀκούσας παρὰ τοῦ Νεάρχου τὴν τῶν Χαλδαίων πρόρρησιν κατεπλάγη καὶ μᾶλλον αἰεὶ τὴν ἀγχίνοιαν τῶν ἀνδρῶν καὶ δόξαν ἀναλογιζόμενος ἐταράττετο τὴν ψυχὴν. τέλος δὲ τοὺς πολλοὺς τῶν φίλων ἀποστείλας εἰς τὴν πόλιν αὐτὸς εἰς ἄλλην ἀτραπὸν μεταβαλὼν παρήλλαξε τὴν Βαβυλῶνα καὶ καταστρατοπεδεύσας ἀπὸ σταδίων διακοσίων ἡσυχίαν εἶχεν. πάντων δὲ θαυμαζόντων ἦκον πρὸς αὐτὸν ἄλλοι τε πλείους τῶν Ἑλλήνων καὶ τῶν φιλοσόφων οἱ περὶ τὸν Ἀνάξαρχον. [5] οὗτοι δὲ μαθόντες τὴν αἰτίαν καὶ τοῖς ἐκ φιλοσοφίας χρησάμενοι λόγοις ἐνεργῶς τοσοῦτον μετέθηκαν αὐτὸν ὥστε καταφρονῆσαι μὲν πάσης μαντικῆς, μάλιστα δὲ τῆς παρὰ Χαλδαίοις προτιμωμένης. διόπερ ὁ βασιλεὺς, ὥσπερ εἰ τετρωμένος τὴν ψυχὴν καὶ τοῖς τῶν φιλοσόφων ὑγιασθεῖς λόγοις, εἰς τὴν Βαβυλῶνα μετὰ τῆς δυνάμεως εἰσῆλθεν.

[2] While he was still three hundred furlongs from Babylon, the scholars called Chaldaeans, who have gained a great reputation in astrology and are accustomed to predict future events by a method based on age-long observations, chose from their number the eldest and most experienced. By the configuration of the stars they had learned of the coming death of the king in Babylon, and they instructed their representatives to report to the king the danger which threatened. They told their envoys also to urge upon the king that he must under no circumstances make his entry into the city; [3] that he could escape the danger if he re-erected the tomb of Belus which had been demolished by the Persians, but he must abandon his intended route and pass the city by. The leader of the Chaldaean envoys, whose name was Belephantes, was not bold enough to address the king directly but secured a private audience with Nearchus, one of

Alexander's Friends, and told him everything in detail, requesting him to make it known to the king.

[4] When Alexander, accordingly, learned from Nearchus about the Chaldaeans' prophecy, he was alarmed and more and more disturbed, the more he reflected upon the ability and high reputation of these people. After some hesitation, he sent most of his Friends into Babylon, but altered his own route so as to avoid the city and set up his headquarters in a camp at a distance of two hundred furlongs. This act caused general astonishment and many of the Greeks came to see him, notably among the philosophers Anaxarchus. [5] When they discovered the reason for his action, they plied him with arguments drawn from philosophy and changed him to the degree that he came to despise all prophetic arts, and especially that which was held in high regard by the Chaldaeans. It was as if the king had been wounded in his soul and then healed by the words of the philosophers, so that he now entered Babylon with his army.

[6] τῶν δ' ἐγχωρίων, καθάπερ καὶ πρότερον, φιλανθρώπως ὑποδεχομένων τοὺς στρατιώτας ἅπαντες ὤρμησαν πρὸς ἄνεσιν καὶ τρυφήν, πολλῆς τῶν ἐπιτηδείων παρεσκευασμένης δαψιλείας. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ἐπράχθη κατὰ τοῦτον τὸν ἐνιαυτόν.

[6] As on the previous occasion, the population received the troops hospitably, and all turned their attention to relaxation and pleasure, since everything necessary was available in profusion. These were the events of this year.

113

[1] ἐπ' ἄρχοντος δ' Ἀθήνησιν Ἀγησίου Ῥωμαῖοι κατέστησαν ὑπάτους Γάιον Πόπλιον καὶ Παπίριον, Ὀλυμπιάς δ' ἤχθη τετάρτη πρὸς ταῖς ἑκατὸν καὶ δέκα, καθ' ἣν ἐνίκα στάδιον Μικίνας Ῥόδιος. κατὰ δὲ τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον ἐξ ἀπάσης σχεδὸν τῆς οἰκουμένης ἦκον πρέσβεις, οἳ μὲν συγχαίροντες ἐπὶ τοῖς κατορθώμασιν, οἳ δὲ στεφανοῦντες, ἄλλοι δὲ φιλίας καὶ συμμαχίας τιθέμενοι, πολλοὶ δὲ δωρεὰς μεγαλοπρεπεῖς κομίζοντες, τινὲς δὲ ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐγκαλουμένων ἀπολογούμενοι. [2] χωρὶς γὰρ τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς Ἀσίας ἔθνων καὶ πόλεων, ἔτι δὲ δυναστῶν πολλοὶ καὶ τῶν ἐκ τῆς Εὐρώπης καὶ Λιβύης κατήντησαν, ἐκ μὲν Λιβύης Καρχηδόνιοι καὶ Λιβυφοίνικες καὶ πάντες οἳ τὴν παράλιον οἰκοῦντες μέχρι τῶν Ἡρακλείων στηλῶν, ἐκ δὲ τῆς Εὐρώπης αἶ τε τῶν Ἑλλήνων πόλεις ἐξέπεμψαν καὶ Μακεδόνες, ἔτι δὲ Ἰλλυριοὶ καὶ τῶν περὶ τὸν Ἀδριακὸν οἰκούντων οἳ πλείους, τὰ τε Θράκια γένη καὶ τῶν πλησιοχώρων Γαλατῶν, ὧν τότε πρῶτον τὸ γένος ἐγνώσθη παρὰ τοῖς Ἕλλησιν.

[1] When Agesias was archon at Athens, the Romans installed as consuls Gaius Publius and Papirius, and the one hundred and fourteenth celebration of the Olympic Games took place, in which Micinas of Rhodes won the foot race. Now from practically all the inhabited world came envoys on various missions, some congratulating Alexander on his victories, some bringing him crowns, others concluding treaties of friendship and alliance, many bringing handsome presents, and some prepared to defend themselves against accusations. [2] Apart from the tribes and cities as well as the local rulers of Asia, many of their counterparts in Europe and Libya put in an appearance; from Libya, Carthaginians and Libyphoenicians and all those who inhabit the coast as far as the Pillars of Heracles; from Europe, the Greek cities and the Macedonians also sent embassies, as well as the Illyrians and most of those who dwell about the Adrfatic Sea, the Thracian peoples and

even those of their neighbours the Gauls, whose people became known then first in the Greek world

[3] ὁ δὲ Ἀλέξανδρος ἀπογραφὴν λαβὼν τῶν πρέσβεων διέταξε τοῖς μὲν πρώτοις δίδοναι τὰς ἀποκρίσεις καὶ τοῖς ἑξῆς ἅπασιν. καὶ πρώτοις μὲν ἐχρημάτισε τοῖς ὑπὲρ τῶν ἱερῶν παραγεγεννημένοις, δευτέροις δὲ τοῖς περὶ τῶν δωρεῶν ἤκουσιν, ἑξῆς δὲ τοῖς ἀμφισβητήσεις ἔχουσι πρὸς τοὺς ὁμόρους, τετάρτοις δὲ τοῖς περὶ τῶν ἰδιωτικῶν ἤκουσι, πέμπτοις δὲ τοῖς ἀντιλέγουσι περὶ τῆς καθόδου τῶν φυγάδων. [4] τοῖς μὲν οὖν Ἡλείοις πρώτοις ἐχρημάτισεν, εἶτα Ἀμμωνιεῦσι καὶ Δελφοῖς καὶ Κορινθίοις, ἔτι δὲ Ἐπιδαυριοῖς καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις, κατὰ τὴν δόξαν τῶν ἱερῶν προκρίνων τὰς ἐντεύξεις. πάσαις δὲ ταῖς πρεσβείαις φιλοτιμηθεὶς κεχαρισμένας δοῦναι τὰς ἀποκρίσεις εὐαρεστούμενας ἀπέλυσε κατὰ τὸ δυνατόν.

[3] Alexander drew up a list of the embassies and arranged a schedule of those to whom first he would give his reply and then the others in sequence. First he heard those who came on matters concerning religion; second, those who brought gifts; next, those who had disputes with their neighbours; fourth, those who had problems concerning themselves alone; and fifth, those who wished to present arguments against receiving back their exiles. [4] He dealt with the Eleians first, then with the Ammonians and the Delphians and the Corinthians, as well as with the Epidaurians and the rest, receiving their petitions in the order of importance of the sanctuaries. In all cases he made every effort to deliver replies which would be gratifying, and sent everyone away content so far as he was able.

114

[1] ἀπολύσας δὲ τὰς πρεσβείας περὶ τὴν ταφὴν ἐγένετο τοῦ Ἡφαιστίωνος. τοσαύτην δὲ σπουδὴν ἐποίησατο πρὸς τὴν τῆς ἐκφορᾶς ἐπιμέλειαν ὥστε μὴ μόνον τὰς προγεγεννημένας παρ' ἀνθρώποις ταφὰς ὑπερβαλέσθαι, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς ἔσομένοις μηδεμίαν ὑπέρθειν καταλιπεῖν. καὶ γὰρ ἠγάπησεν αὐτὸν μάλιστα τῶν ἐν στοργῇ φίλων δοξαζομένων καὶ μετὰ τὴν τελευτὴν ἐτίμησεν αὐτὸν ἀνυπερβλήτως. ζῶντα μὲν γὰρ προετίμησε πάντων τῶν φίλων, καίπερ Κρατεροῦ φίλιαν ἔχοντος ἐνάμιλλον. [2] ἐπεὶ γὰρ τις τῶν ἐταίρων εἶπεν μηδὲν καταδεέστερον Ἡφαιστίωνος τὸν Κρατερόν στέργεσθαι, ἐπεφθέγγετο Κρατερόν μὲν γὰρ εἶναι φιλοβασιλέα, Ἡφαιστίωνα δὲ φιλαλέξανδρον. τῆς δὲ Δαρείου μητρὸς κατὰ τὴν πρώτην ἐντευξίν διὰ τὴν ἄγνοιαν προσκυνούσης τὸν Ἡφαιστίωνα ὡς ὄντα βασιλέα καὶ μετὰ τὴν ἐπίγνωσιν διατρεπομένης εἶπεν, μηδὲν φροντίσης, ὦ μῆτερ: καὶ γὰρ καὶ οὗτος Ἀλέξανδρος.

[3] καθόλου γὰρ ὁ Ἡφαιστίων τοσαύτης ἐξουσίας καὶ φιλικῆς ἐκοινώνει παρρησίας ὡς τῆς Ὀλυμπιάδος ἀλλοτριῶς ἐχούσης πρὸς αὐτὸν διὰ τὸν φθόνον καὶ κατὰ τὰς ἐπιστολάς ἐπιτιμώσης αὐτῷ σκληρότερον καὶ ἀπειλούσης τὰ τε ἄλλα γράψαι πρὸς αὐτὴν ἐπιπληκτικῶς καὶ κατὰ τὴν ἐπιστολὴν ἐπὶ τελευτῆς θεῖναι ταῦτα. 'καὶ πρὸς ἡμᾶς παύου διαβαλλομένη καὶ μὴ χαλέπαινε μηδὲ ἀπειλεῖ: εἰ δὲ μή, μετρίως ἡμῖν μελήσει: οἶδας γὰρ ὅτι Ἀλέξανδρος κρείττων ἀπάντων.'

[1] When the embassies had been dismissed, Alexander threw himself into preparations for the burial of Hephaestion. He showed such zeal about the funeral that it not only surpassed all those previously celebrated on earth but also left no possibility for anything greater in later ages. He had loved Hephaestion most of the group of Friends who were

thought to have been high in his affections, and after his death showed him superlative honour. In his lifetime, he had preferred him to all, although Craterus had a rival claim to his love; [2] so, for example, that when one of the companions said that Craterus was loved no less than Hephaestion, Alexander had answered that Craterus was king-loving, but Hephaestion was Alexander-loving. At their first meeting with Dareius's mother, when she from ignorance had bowed to Hephaestion supposing him to be the king and was distressed when this was called to her attention, Alexander had said: "Never mind, mother. For actually he too is Alexander." [3] As a matter of fact, Hephaestion enjoyed so much power and freedom of speech based on this friendship that when Olympias was estranged from him because of jealousy and wrote sharp criticisms and threats against him in her letters, he felt strong enough to answer her reproachfully and ended his letter as follows: "Stop quarrelling with us and do not be angry or menacing. If you persist, we¹ shall not be much disturbed. You know that Alexander means more to us than anything."

[4] ὁ δ' οὖν βασιλεὺς τὰ πρὸς τὴν ἐκφορὰν παρασκευαζόμενος ταῖς μὲν πλησίον πόλεσι προσέταξε κατὰ δύναμιν συμβάλλεσθαι πρὸς τὸν τῆς ἐκφορᾶς κόσμον, πᾶσι δὲ τοῖς κατὰ τὴν Ἀσίαν οἰκοῦσι προσέταξεν τὸ παρὰ τοῖς Πέρσαις ἱερὸν πῦρ καλούμενον ἐπιμελῶς σβέσαι, μέχρι ἂν τελέσῃ τὴν ἐκφορὰν: τοῦτο δὲ εἰώθασιν οἱ Πέρσαι ποιεῖν κατὰ τὰς τῶν βασιλέων τελευτάς. [5] τὸ δὲ πλῆθος χαλεπὸν οἰωνὸν ἐτίθετο τὸ πρόσταγμα καὶ τὸ θεῖον ὑπελάμβανον προσημαίνειν τὸν τοῦ βασιλέως θάνατον. ἐγένετο δὲ καὶ ἄλλα σημεῖα παράδοξα προδηλοῦντα τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρου τελευτὴν, περὶ ὧν μικρὸν ὕστερον ἐροῦμεν, ὅταν τὸν περὶ τῆς ἐκφορᾶς λόγον ἀποδῶμεν.

[4] As part of the preparations for the funeral, the king ordered the cities of the region to contribute to its splendour in accordance with their ability, and he proclaimed to all the peoples of Asia that they should sedulously quench what the Persians call the sacred fire, until such time as the funeral should be ended. This was the custom of the Persians when their kings died, [5] and people thought that the order was an ill omen, and that heaven was foretelling the king's own death. There were also at this time other strange signs pointing to the same event, as we shall relate shortly, after we have finished the account of the funeral.

115

[1] τῶν γὰρ ἡγεμόνων καὶ φίλων ἕκαστος στοχαζόμενος τῆς τοῦ βασιλέως ἀρρεσκείας κατεσκεύαζεν εἶδωλα δι' ἐλέφαντος καὶ χρυσοῦ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τῶν θαυμαζομένων παρ' ἀνθρώποις, αὐτὸς δὲ τοὺς ἀρχιτέκτονας ἀθροίσας καὶ λεπτοργῶν πλῆθος τοῦ μὲν τείχους καθεῖλεν ἐπὶ δέκα σταδίου, τὴν δ' ὀπτὴν πλίνθον ἀναλεξάμενος καὶ τὸν δεχόμενον τὴν πυρὰν τόπον ὁμαλὸν κατασκευάσας ὠκοδόμησε τετράπλευρον πυρὰν, σταδιαίας οὔσης ἐκάστης πλευρᾶς. [2] εἰς τριάκοντα δὲ δόμους διελόμενος τὸν τόπον καὶ καταστρώσας τὰς ὀροφὰς φοινίκων στελέχεσι τετράγωνον ἐποίησε πᾶν τὸ κατασκευάσμα. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα περιετίθει τῷ περιβόλῳ παντὶ κόσμον, οὗ τὴν μὲν κρηπίδα χρυσαῖ πεντηρικαὶ πρῶραι συνεπλήρουν, οὔσαι τὸν ἀριθμὸν διακόσμαι τεσσαράκοντα, ἐπὶ δὲ τῶν ἐπωτίδων ἔχουσαι δύο μὲν τοξότας εἰς γόνυ κεκαθικότας τετραπήχεις, ἀνδριάντας δὲ πενταπήχεις καθωπλισμένους, τοὺς δὲ μεταξὺ τόπους φοινικίδες ἀνεπλήρουν πηληταί. [3] ὑπεράνω δὲ τούτων τὴν δευτέραν ἐπανεῖχον

χώραν δᾶδες πεντεκαϊδεκαπήχεις, κατὰ μὲν τὴν λαβὴν ἔχουσαι χρυσοῦς στεφάνους, κατὰ δὲ τὴν ἐκφλόγωσιν ἀετοὺς διαπεπετακότας τὰς πτέρυγας καὶ κάτω νεύοντας, παρὰ δὲ τὰς βάσεις δράκοντας ἀφορῶντας τοὺς ἀετούς. κατὰ δὲ τὴν τρίτην περιφορὰν κατεσκεύαστο ζῶων παντοδαπῶν πλῆθος κυνηγουμένων. [4] ἔπειτα ἡ μὲν τετάρτη χώρα κενταυρομαχίαν χρυσὴν εἶχεν, ἡ δὲ πέμπτη λέοντας καὶ ταύρους ἐναλλάξ χρυσοῦς. τὸ δ' ἀνώτερον μέρος ἐπεπλήρωτο Μακεδονικῶν καὶ βαρβαρικῶν ὄπλων, ὧν μὲν τὰς ἀνδραγαθίας, ὧν δὲ τὰς ἥττας σημαινόντων. ἐπὶ πᾶσι δὲ ἐφειστήκεισαν Σειρηῆνες διάκοιλοι καὶ δυνάμεναι λεληθότως δέξασθαι τοὺς ἐν αὐταῖς ὄντας καὶ ἄδοντας ἐπικήδιον θοῆνον τῷ τετελευτηκότι. [5] τὸ δ' ὕψος ἦν ὅλου τοῦ κατασκευάσματος πῆχεις πλείους τῶν ἑκατὸν τριάκοντα. καθόλου δὲ τῶν τε ἡγεμόνων καὶ τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἀπάντων καὶ τῶν πρέσβων, ἔτι δὲ τῶν ἐγχωρίων φιλοτιμηθέντων εἰς τὸν τῆς ἐκφορᾶς κόσμον φασὶ τὸ πλῆθος τῶν ἀναλωθέντων χρημάτων γεγονέναι πλείω τῶν μυριάων καὶ δισχιλίων ταλάντων.

[1] Each of the generals and Friends tried to meet the king's desires and made likenesses of Hephaestion in ivory and gold and other materials which men hold in high regard.¹ Alexander collected artisans and an army of workmen and tore down the city wall to a distance of ten furlongs. He collected the baked tiles and levelled off the place which was to receive the pyre, and then constructed this square in shape, each side being a furlong in length. [2] He divided up the area into thirty compartments and laying out the roofs upon the trunks of palm trees wrought the whole structure into a square shape. Then he decorated all the exterior walls. Upon the foundation course were golden prows of quinqueremes in close order, two hundred and forty in all. Upon the catheads each carried two kneeling archers four cubits in height, and (on the deck) armed male figures five cubits high, while the intervening spaces were occupied by red banners fashioned out of felt. [3] Above these, on the second level, stood torches fifteen cubits high with golden wreaths about their handles. At their flaming ends perched eagles with outspread wings looking downward, while about their bases were serpents looking up at the eagles. On the third level were carved a multitude of wild animals being pursued by hunters. [4] The fourth level carried a centauromachy rendered in gold, while the fifth showed lions and bulls alternating, also in gold. The next higher level was covered with Macedonian and Persian arms, testifying to the prowess of the one people and to the defeats of the other. On top of all stood Sirens, hollowed out and able to conceal within them persons who sang a lament in mourning for the dead. [5] The total height of the pyre was more than one hundred and thirty cubits. All of the generals and the soldiers and the envoys and even the natives rivalled one another in contributing to the magnificence of the funeral, so, it is said, that the total expense came to over twelve thousand talents.

[6] ἀκολουθῶς δὲ ταύτῃ τῇ μεγαλοπρεπείᾳ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων γενομένων κατὰ τὴν ἐκφορὰν τιμῶν τὸ τελευταῖον προσέταξεν ἅπασιν θύειν Ἡφαιστίῳ θεῷ παρέδρω: καὶ γὰρ κατὰ τύχην ἦκεν εἰς τῶν φίλων Φίλιππος, χρησμὸν φέρων παρ' Ἀμμωνος θύειν Ἡφαιστίῳ θεῷ. διόπερ γενόμενος περιχαρῆς ἐπὶ τῷ καὶ τὸν θεὸν κεκυρωκέναι τὴν αὐτοῦ γνώμην πρῶτος τὴν θυσίαν ἐπετέλεσεν καὶ τὸ πλῆθος λαμπρῶς ὑπεδέξατο, μύρια τὸν ἀριθμὸν θύσας ἱερεῖα παντοδαπά.

[6] In keeping with this magnificence and the other special marks of honour at the funeral, Alexander ended by decreeing that all should sacrifice to Hephaestion as god coadjutor.

As a matter of fact, it happened just at this time that Philip, one of the Friends, came bearing a response from Ammon that Hephaestion should be worshipped as a god. Alexander was delighted that the god had ratified his own opinion, was himself the first to perform the sacrifice, and entertained everybody handsomely. The sacrifice consisted of ten thousand victims of all sorts.

116

[1] μετὰ δὲ τὴν ἐκφορὰν εἰς ἀνέσεις καὶ πανηγυρικὸν βίον ἐκτραπέντος τοῦ βασιλέως, δοκοῦντος ἰσχύειν τότε πλεῖστον καὶ μάλιστα εὐδαιμονεῖν, ἢ πεπρωμένη συνήρει τὸν ὑπὸ τῆς φύσεως αὐτῷ συγκεχωρημένον τοῦ ζῆν χρόνον. εὐθὺ δὲ καὶ τὸ θεῖον ἐσήμαινε τὴν τελευτὴν αὐτοῦ, πολλῶν καὶ παραδόξων οἰωνῶν καὶ σημείων συντελουμένων.

[1] After the funeral, the king turned to amusements and festivals, but just when it seemed that he was at the peak of his power and good fortune, Fate cut off the time allowed him by nature to remain alive. Straightway heaven also began to foretell his death, and many strange portents and signs occurred.

[2] τοῦ γὰρ βασιλέως ἀλειφομένου καὶ τῆς βασιλικῆς ἐσθῆτος καὶ διαδήματος ἐπίτινος θρόνου τεθέντος τῶν ἐγχωρίων τις δεδεμένος ἐλύθη τὰς πέδας αὐτομάτως καὶ λαθὼν τοὺς φύλακας διῆλθε διὰ τῶν τῆς αὐλῆς θυρῶν ἀνεπικωλύτως. [3] προσελθὼν δὲ τῷ θρόνῳ καὶ τὴν βασιλικὴν ἐνδυσάμενος ἐσθῆτα καὶ τὸ διάδημα περιθέμενος ἐκάθισεν ἐπὶ τὸν θρόνον καὶ τὴν ἡσυχίαν ἤγε. γνωσθείσης δὲ τῆς πράξεως ὁ βασιλεὺς καταπλαγεὶς τὸ παράδοξον προσῆλθε τῷ θρόνῳ καὶ χωρὶς καταπλήξεως ἡσυχῇ τὸν ἄνθρωπον ἀνέκρινε τίς ὢν καὶ τί βουλόμενος τοῦτο ἔπραξε. [4] τοῦ δὲ εἰπόντος μηδὲν ἀπλῶς γινώσκειν τοῖς μάντεσι προσαναθέμενος περὶ τοῦ σημείου τοῦτον μὲν κατὰ τὴν ἐκείνων κρίσιν ἀπέκτεινεν, ὅπως τὰ σημαινόμενα δυσχερῆ εἰς ἐκεῖνον τρέπεται, αὐτὸς δὲ ἀναλαβὼν τὴν ἐσθῆτα καὶ θεοῖς ἀποτροπαίοις θύσας ἐν ἀγωνίᾳ καθειστήκει καὶ τῆς τῶν Χαλδαίων προρρήσεως ἐμνημόνευσε καὶ τοὺς μὲν συμπεΐσαντας φιλοσόφους παρελθεῖν εἰς τὴν Βαβυλῶνα κατεμέμφετο, τὴν δὲ τέχνην τῶν Χαλδαίων καὶ τὴν τῶν ἀνδρῶν ἀγχίνοιαν ἐθαύμαζε, καθόλου δὲ τοὺς ταῖς εὐρησιλογίαις κατασοφίζομένους τὴν δύναμιν τῆς πεπρωμένης ἐβλασφήμει.

[2] Once when the king was being rubbed with oil and the royal robe and diadem were lying on a chair, one of the natives who was kept in bonds was spontaneously freed from his fetters, escaped his guards' notice, and passed through the doors of the palace with no one hindering. [3] He went to the royal chair, put on the royal dress and bound his head with the diadem, then seated himself upon the chair and remained quiet. As soon as the king learned of this, he was terrified at the odd event, but walked to the chair and without showing his agitation asked the man quietly who he was and what he meant by doing this. [4] When he made no reply whatsoever, Alexander referred the portent to the seers for interpretation and put the man to death in accordance with their judgment, hoping that the trouble which was forecast by his act might light upon the man's own head. He picked up the clothing and sacrificed to the gods who avert evil, but continued to be seriously troubled. He recalled the prediction of the Chaldaeans and was angry with the philosophers who had persuaded him to enter Babylon. He was impressed anew with the skill of the Chaldaeans and their insight, and generally railed at those who used specious reasoning to argue away the power of Fate.

[5] μετ' ὀλίγον δὲ ἄλλο σημεῖον αὐτῷ περὶ τῆς βασιλείας τὸ δαιμόνιον ἐπέστησε. βουλομένου γὰρ αὐτοῦ θεάσασθαι τὴν περὶ τὴν Βαβυλῶνα λίμνην καὶ πλέοντος μετὰ τῶν φίλων ἔν τισιν ἀκάτοις ἐφ' ἡμέρας μὲν τινὰς ἀποσχισθείσης τῆς νεῶς ἀπὸ τῶν ἄλλων σκαφῶν ἐπλανήθη μόνος, ὥστε καὶ τὴν σωτηρίαν ἀπογνῶναι: [6] ἔπειτα διὰ τινος αὐλῶνος στενοῦ καὶ συμπεπυκασμένου δένδρεσι διαπλέοντος καὶ τῶν μὲν ὑπερκειμένων, τοῦ δὲ διαδήματος ὑπὸ τούτων ἀρθέντος καὶ πάλιν εἰς τὴν λίμνην πεσόντος εἰς τῶν ἐρετῶν προσνηξάμενος καὶ βουλόμενος ἀσφαλῶς σῶσαι τὸ διάδημα προσέθετο τῇ κεφαλῇ καὶ προσενήξατο τῷ πλοίῳ. [7] τρεῖς δὲ ἡμέρας καὶ τὰς ἴσας νύκτας διαπλανηθεὶς διεσώθη καὶ τὸ διάδημα περιθέμενος ἀνελπίστως πάλιν τοῖς μάντεσι προσανέφερε περὶ τῶν προσημαινομένων.

[5] A little while later heaven sent him a second portent about his kingship. He had conceived the desire to see the great swamp of Babylonia and set sail with his friends in a number of skiffs. For some days his boat became separated from the others and he was lost and alone, fearing that he might never get out alive. [6] As his craft was proceeding through a narrow channel where the reeds grew thickly and overhung the water, his diadem was caught and lifted from his head by one of them and then dropped into the swamp. One of the oarsmen swam after it and, wishing to return it safely, placed it on his head and so swam back to the boat. [7] After three days and nights of wandering, Alexander found his way to safety just as he had again put on his diadem when this seemed beyond hope. Again he turned to the soothsayers for the meaning of all this.

117

[1] τούτων δὲ παρακελευομένων θυσίας ἐπιτελεῖν τοῖς θεοῖς μεγαλοπρεπεῖς μετὰ πάσης σπουδῆς παρεκλήθη πρὸς τινὰ τῶν φίλων Μήδιον τὸν Θετταλὸν ἐπὶ κῶμον ἐλθεῖν: κάκεῖ πολὺν ἄκρατον ἐμφορηθεὶς ἐπὶ τελευτῆς Ἡρακλέους μέγα ποτήριον πληρώσας ἐξέπιεν. [2] ἄφνω δὲ ὥσπερ ὑπὸ τινος πληγῆς ἰσχυρᾶς πεπληγμένος ἀνεστέναξε μέγα βοήσας καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν φίλων ἀπηλλάττετο χειραγωγούμενος. εὐθὺς δ' οἱ μὲν περὶ τὴν θεραπείαν ἐκδεξάμενοι κατέκλιναν αὐτὸν καὶ προσήδρευον ἐπιμελῶς, [3] τοῦ δὲ πάθους ἐπιτείνοντος καὶ τῶν ἰατρῶν συγκληθέντων βοηθῆσαι μὲν οὐδεὶς ἐδυνήθη, πολλοῖς δὲ πόνοις καὶ δειναῖς ἀλγηδόσι συσχεθεὶς, ἐπειδὴ τὸ ζῆν ἀπέγνω, περιελόμενος τὸν δακτύλιον ἔδωκε Περδίκκᾳ. [4] τῶν δὲ φίλων ἐπερωτῶντων, τίνη τὴν βασιλείαν ἀπολείπεις; εἶπεν, τῷ κρατίστῳ, καὶ προσεφθέγγετο, ταύτην τελευταίαν φωνὴν προέμενος, ὅτι μέγαν ἀγῶνα αὐτῷ ἐπιτάφιον συστήσονται πάντες οἱ πρωτεύοντες τῶν φίλων.

[1] They bade him sacrifice to the gods on a grand scale and with all speed, but he was then called away by Medius, the Thessalian, one of his Friends, to take part in a comus. There he drank much unmixed wine in commemoration of the death of Heracles, and finally, filling a huge beaker, downed it at a gulp. [2] Instantly he shrieked aloud as if smitten by a violent blow and was conducted by his Friends, who led him by the hand back to his apartments.¹ His chamberlains put him to bed and attended him closely, [3] but the pain increased and the physicians were summoned. No one was able to do anything helpful and Alexander continued in great discomfort and acute suffering. When he, at length, despaired of life, he took off his ring and handed it to Perdikkas. [4] His Friends asked: "To whom do you leave the kingdom?" and he replied: "To the strongest." He

added, and these were his last words, that all of his leading Friends would stage a vast contest in honour of his funeral.

[5] οὗτος μὲν οὖν τὸν προειρημένον τρόπον ἐτελεύτησε βασιλεύσας ἔτη δώδεκα καὶ μῆνας ἑπτὰ, πράξεις δὲ μεγίστας κατεργασάμενος οὐ μόνον τῶν πρὸ αὐτοῦ βασιλευσάντων, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν ὕστερον ἐσομένων μέχρι τοῦ καθ' ἡμᾶς βίου. ἐπεὶ δὲ τινες τῶν συγγραφέων περὶ τῆς τελευτῆς τοῦ βασιλέως τούτου διαπεφωνήκασιν, ἀποφαινόμενοι διὰ φαρμάκου θανασίμου γεγονέναι τὸν θάνατον, ἀναγκαῖον ἡγούμεθα δεῖν μὴ παραλιπεῖν αὐτῶν τοὺς λόγους.

[5] This was how he died after a reign of twelve years and seven months.¹ He accomplished greater deeds than any, not only of the kings who had lived before him but also of those who were to come later down to our time.

Since some historians disagree about the death of Alexander, and state that this occurred in consequence of a draught of poison, it seems necessary for us to mention their account also.

118

[1] φασὶ γὰρ Ἀντίπατρον ἐπὶ τῆς Εὐρώπης στρατηγὸν ὑπ' αὐτοῦ καταλειφθέντα διενεχθῆναι πρὸς Ὀλυμπιάδα τὴν μητέρα τοῦ βασιλέως καὶ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον καταφρονεῖν αὐτῆς διὰ τὸ μὴ προσδέχεσθαι τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον τὰς κατ' αὐτοῦ διαβολάς, ὕστερον δ' αἰεὶ τῆς ἔχθρας ἀύξομένης, τοῦ βασιλέως διὰ τὸ πρὸς τὸ θεῖον εὐσεβὲς πάντα βουλομένου τῇ μητρὶ χαρίζεσθαι, πολλὰς ἐμφάσεις διδόναι τῆς πρὸς αὐτὸν ἀλλοτριότητος: πρὸς δὲ τούτοις τῆς Παρμενίωνος καὶ Φιλώτου σφαγῆς φρίκην ἐμποιοῦσης τοῖς φίλοις διὰ τοῦ ἰδίου υἱοῦ τεταγμένου περὶ τὸν κύαθον δοῦναι πιεῖν θανάσιμον φάρμακον τῷ βασιλεῖ. [2] μετὰ δὲ τὴν τελευτὴν πλεῖστον ἰσχύσαντος τῶν κατὰ τὴν Εὐρώπην καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα Κασάνδρου τοῦ υἱοῦ διαδεξαμένου τὴν βασιλείαν πολλοὺς συγγραφεῖς μὴ τολμᾶν γράψαι περὶ τῆς φαρμακείας. φανερὸν δὲ γεγονέναι Κάσανδρον δι' αὐτῶν τῶν πράξεων ἀλλοτριώτατα διακείμενον τοῖς Ἀλεξάνδρου πράγμασι: τὴν τε γὰρ Ὀλυμπιάδα φονεύσαντα ἄταφον ῥίψαι καὶ τὰς ὑπ' ἐκείνου κατασκαφεύσας Θήβας ἀνοικίσει μετὰ πολλῆς σπουδῆς.

[1] They say that Antipater, who had been left by Alexander as viceroy in Europe, was at variance with the king's mother Olympias. At first he did not take her seriously because Alexander did not heed her complaints against him, but later, as their enmity kept growing and the king showed an anxiety to gratify his mother in everything out of piety, Antipater gave many indications of his disaffection. This was bad enough, but the murder of Parmenion and Philotas struck terror into Antipater as into all of Alexander's Friends, so by the hand of his own son, who was the king's wine-pourer, he administered poison to the king. [2] After Alexander's death, Antipater held the supreme authority in Europe and then his son Casander took over the kingdom, so that many historians did not dare write about the drug. Casander, however, is plainly disclosed by his own actions as a bitter enemy to Alexander's policies. He murdered Olympias and threw out her body without burial, and with great enthusiasm restored Thebes, which had been destroyed by Alexander.

Diodoro, *Biblioteca Storica*, XVII 94. 4

[4] διόπερ λεηλατεῖν μὲν αὐτοῖς συνεχώρησε τὴν πολεμίαν χώραν, γέμουσαν παντοίας ὠφελείας: ἐν αἷς δ' ἡμέραις ἢ δύναμις περὶ τὴν προνομὴν ἡσχολεῖτο, συναγαγὼν τὰς γυναῖκας τῶν στρατιωτῶν καὶ τοὺς ἐξ αὐτῶν γεγονότας παῖδας ταύταις μὲν συνεστήσατο κατὰ μῆνα δίδοναι σῖτον, τοῖς δὲ παισὶν ἐπιφορὰς ταγματικὰς ἀπένειμε κατὰ τοὺς τῶν πατέρων συλλογισμούς.

[4] Accordingly he allowed them to ravage the enemy's country, which was full of every good thing. During these days when the army was busy foraging, he called together the wives of the soldiers and their children; to the wives he undertook to give a monthly ration, to the children he distributed a service bonus in proportion to the military records of their fathers.