

Plinio, *Storia Naturale*, III 57

Theophrastus, qui primus externorum aliqua de Romanis diligentius scripsit - nam Theopompus ante quem nemo mentionem habuit, urbem dumtaxat a Gallis captam dixit, Clitarchus ab eo proximus legationem tantum ad Alexandrum missam - hic iam plus quam ex fama Cerceiorum insulae et mensuram posuit stadia LXXX in eo volumine quod scripsit Nicodoro Atheniensium magistratu qui fuit urbis nostrae CCCCXL anno.

Theophrastus, the first foreigner to write with special care about the Romans—for Theopompus, before whom nobody mentioned them, merely states that Rome was seized by the Gauls; Kleitarchos, the next after him, only (says) that an embassy was sent to Alexander—this man, relying on more than a rumour, has actually given the measurement of the island of Circeo as 80 furlongs in the volume that he wrote in the archonship of Nikodoros at Athens, which was the 440th year of our city (314/13 BC).

Curzio Rufo, *Storie di Alessandro*, X 10. 9-20

9 Septimus dies erat, ex quo corpus regis iacebat in solio curis omnium ad formandum publicum statum a tam sollemni munere aversis. 10 Et non alia quam Mesopotamiae regione fervidior aestus existit, adeo ut pleraque animalia, quae in nudo solo deprehendit, extinguat: tantus est vapor solis et caeli, quo cuncta velut igne torrentur. 11 Fontes aquarum et rari sunt et incolentium fraude celantur: ipsis usus patet, ignotus est advenis. 12 Traditum magis quam creditum refero: ut tandem curare corpus exanimus amicis vacavit, nulla tabe, ne minimo quidem livore corruptum videre, qui intraverant. Vigor quoque, qui constat ex spiritu, non destituerat vultum. 13 Itaque Aegyptii Chaldaei, iussi corpus suo more curare, primo non sunt ausi admovere velut spiranti manus. Deinde precati, ut ius fasque esset mortalibus attrectare deum, purgavere corpus: repletumque est odoribus aureum solium et capiti adiecta fortunae eius insignia. 14 Veneno necatum esse credidere plerique: filium Antipatri inter ministros, Iollam nomine, patris iussu dedisse. Saepe certe audita erat vox Alexandri, Antipatrum regium adfectare fastigium maioremque esse praefecti opibus ac titulo Spartanae victoriae inflatum, omnia a se data adserentem sibi: 15 credebant etiam Craterum cum veterum militum manu ad interficiendum eum missum. 16 Vim autem veneni, quod in Macedonia gignitur, talem esse constat, ut ferrum quoque exurat: ungulam iumentum dumtaxat patientem esse constat suci. 17 Stygem appellant fontem, ex quo pestiferum virus emanat. Hoc per Cassandrum adlatum traditumque fratri Iollae et ab eo supremae regis potioni inditum. 18 Haec,

utcumque sunt credita, eorum, quos rumor adsperserat, mox potentia extinxit. 19 Regnum enim Macedoniae Antipater et Graeciam quoque invasit: suboles deinde excepit interfectis omnibus, quicumque Alexandrum etiam longinqua cognatione contigerant.

20 Ceterum corpus eius a Ptolemaeo, cui Aegyptus cesserat, Memphim et inde paucis post annis Alexandriam translatum est omnisque memoriae ac nomini honos habitus.

Ateneo, *Sofisti a banchetto*, III 91 120c-d

Μακεδόνες δ, ὡς φησιν Ἐφίππος ὁ Ὀλύνθιος ἐν τῷ Περὶ τῆς Ἀλεξάνδρου καὶ Ἡφαιστίωνος ταφῆς, οὐκ ἠπίσταντο πίνειν εὐτάκτως, ἀλλ' εὐθέως ἐχρῶντο μεγάλας προπόσεις, ὥστε μεθύειν ἔτι παρακειμένων τῶν πρώτων τραπεζῶν καὶ μὴ δύνασθαι τῶν σιτίων ἀπολαύειν.

But the Makedonians, as Ehippos of Olynthos observes in his *On the funeral of Alexander and Hephaistion*, never understood how to drink in moderation, but rather drank heavily at the beginning of the feast. Hence they were drunk while the first courses were still being served and could not enjoy their food.

Ateneo, *Sofisti a banchetto*, X 44 434a-b

ἔπινε δὲ καὶ Πρωτέας ὁ Μακεδῶν πλειῖστον, ὡς φησιν Ἐφίππος ἐν τῷ Περὶ τῆς Ἀλεξάνδρου καὶ Ἡφαιστίωνος ταφῆς, καὶ εὐρώστωι τῷ σώματι διῆγε, καίτοι τῷ πιεῖν ἐγγε- γυμνασμένος ὢν. Ἀλέξανδρος γοῦν αἰτήσας ποτὲ ποτήριον δίχουν καὶ πιῶν προῦπτε τῷ Πρωτέαι· καὶ ὅς λαβῶν καὶ πολλὰ ὑμνήσας τὸν βασιλέα ἔπιεν, ὡς ὑπὸ πάντων κροταλισθῆναι. καὶ μετ' ὀλίγον τὸ αὐτὸ ποτήριον αἰτήσας ὁ Πρωτέας καὶ πάλιν πιῶν προῦπτε τῷ βασιλεῖ. ὁ δὲ Ἀλέξανδρος λαβῶν ἔσπασε μὲν γενναίως, οὐ μὴν ὑπήνεγκεν, ἀλλ' ἀπέκλινεν ἐπὶ τὸ προσκεφάλαιον ἀφείς τῶν χειρῶν τὸ ποτήριον. καὶ ἐκ τούτου νοσήσας ἀπέθανε, «τοῦ Διονύσου» φησί «μηνίσαντος αὐτῷ, διότι τὴν πατρίδα αὐτοῦ τὰς Θήβας ἐπολιόρησεν.»

Proteas of Makedon, also, drank a very great deal, as Ehippos says in his *On the funeral of Alexander and Hephaistion*, and enjoyed a sturdy physique throughout his life, although he was completely devoted to the practice of drinking. Alexander, for example, once called for a six-quart cup and after a drink proposed the health of Proteas. He took the cup, and when he had sung the king's praises he drank, to the applause of everybody. A little while afterwards Proteas demanded the same cup, and again drinking, pledged the king. Alexander took it and pulled at it bravely, but could not hold out; on the contrary he sank

back on his cushion and let the cup drop from his hands. As he result, he fell ill and died, because, as Ehippos says, Dionysos was angry at him for besieging his native city, Thebes.

Ateneo, *Sofisti a banchetto*, XII 53 537d

περὶ δὲ τῆς Ἀλεξάνδρου τοῦ πάνυ τρυφῆς Ἐφιππος μὲν ὁ Ὀλύνθιος ἐν τῷ Περὶ τῆς Ἡφαιστίωνος καὶ Ἀλεξάνδρου τελευτῆς φησιν ὅτι ἐν τῷ παραδείσῳ ἔκειτο αὐτῷ χρυσοῦς θρόνος καὶ κλῖναι ἀργυρόποδες, ἐφ' ὧν καθεζόμενος ἐχρημάτιζε μετὰ τῶν ἐταίρων.

But, concerning the luxury of Alexander, Ehippos the Olynthian, in his treatise *On the Death of Alexander and Hephaistion*, says that he had in his *paradeisos* a golden throne, and couches with silver feet, on which he used to sit and transact business with his companions.

Ateneo, *Sofisti a banchetto*, XII 53 537e–538b

Ἐφιππος δὲ φησιν ὡς Ἀλέξανδρος καὶ τὰς ἱεράς ἐσθῆτας ἐφόρει ἐν τοῖς δεῖπνοις, ὅτε μὲν τὴν τοῦ Ἀμμωνος πορφυρίδα καὶ περισχιδεῖς καὶ κέρατα καθάπερ ὁ θεός, ὅτε δὲ τὴν τῆς Ἀρτεμιδος, ἣν καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ ἄρματος ἐφόρει πολλάκις, ἔχων τὴν Περσικὴν στολὴν, ὑποφαίνων ἄνωθεν τῶν ὤμων τό τε τόξον καὶ τὴν σιβύνην, ἐνίοτε δὲ καὶ τὴν τοῦ Ἑρμοῦ· τὰ μὲν ἄλλα σχεδὸν καὶ καθ' ἑκάστην ἡμέραν, χλαμύδα τε πορφυρᾶν καὶ χιτῶνα μεσόλευκον καὶ τὴν καυσίαν ἔχουσιν τὸ διάδημα τὸ βασιλικόν, ἐν δὲ τῇ συνουσίᾳ τὰ τε πέδιλα καὶ τὸν πέτασον ἐπὶ τῇ κεφαλῇ καὶ τὸ κηρύκειον ἐν τῇ χειρὶ· πολλάκις δὲ καὶ λεοντὴν καὶ ῥόπαλον ὥσπερ ὁ Ἡρακλῆς· [...]

ἔρρανε δὲ ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος καὶ μύρωι σπουδαίω καὶ οἴνω εὐώδει τὸ δάπεδον· ἐθυμιάτο δὲ αὐτῷ σμύρνα καὶ τὰ ἄλλα θυμιάματα. εὐφημία δὲ καὶ σιγὴ κατεῖχε πάντας ὑπὸ δέους τοὺς παρόντας· ἀφόρητος γὰρ ἦν καὶ φονικός· ἐδόκει γὰρ εἶναι μελαγχολικός. ἐν Ἐκβατάνοις δὲ ποιήσας τῷ Διονύσῳ θυσίαν καὶ πάντων δαψιλῶς ἐν τῇ θοίνῃ παρασκευασθέντων, καὶ Σατραβάτης (?) ὁ σατράπης τοὺς στρατιώτας εἰστίασε πάντας. ἀθροισθέντων δὲ πολλῶν ἐπὶ τὴν θέαν, φησὶν ὁ Ἐφιππος, κηρύγματα ἐγένετο ὑπερήφανα καὶ τῆς Περσικῆς ὑπεροψίας αὐθαδέστερα. ἄλλων γὰρ ἄλλο τι ἀνακηρυττόντων καὶ στεφανούντων τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον, εἰς τις τῶν ὀπλοφυλάκων ὑπερπεπαικῶς πᾶσαν κολακείαν κοινωσάμενος τῷ Ἀλεξάνδρῳ ἐκέλευσε τὸν κήρυκα ἀνειπεῖν ὅτι Τόργος ὁ ὀπλοφύλαξ Ἀλέξανδρον Ἀμμωνος υἱὸν στεφανοῖ χρυσοῖς τρισχιλίαις· καὶ ὅταν Ἀθήνας πολιορκῆι, μυρίαίς πανοπλίαις καὶ τοῖς ἴσοις καταπέλταις καὶ πᾶσι τοῖς ἄλλοις βέλεσιν εἰς τὸν πόλεμον ἱκανοῖς·

And Ehippos tells us that Alexander used to wear even the sacred vestments at his entertainments; and sometimes he would wear the purple robe, and cloven sandals, and horns of Ammon, as if he had been the god; and sometimes he would imitate Artemis, whose dress he often wore while driving in his chariot; having on also a Persian robe, but displaying above his shoulders the bow and javelin of the goddess. Sometimes also he would appear in the guise of Hermes; at other times, and indeed almost every day, he would wear a purple cloak, and a tunic shot with white, and a *kausia* which had a royal diadem attached to it. And when he was in private with his friends he wore the sandals of Hermes, and the *petasus* on his head, and held the caduceus in his hand. Often also he wore a lion's skin, and carried a club, like Herakles [...]

Alexander sprinkled the very floor with valuable perfumes and scented wine. In his honour myrrh and other kinds of incense went up in smoke; a religious stillness and silence born of fear held fast all who were in his presence. For he was hot-tempered and murderous, and reputed, in fact, to be melancholy-mad.

At Ekbatana he arranged a festival in honour of Dionysos, everything being supplied at the feast with lavish expense, and Satrabates the satrap entertained all the soldiers. When a great multitude was collected to see the spectacle, says Ehippos, proclamations were made which were exceedingly boastful and more insolent even than Persian arrogance. For among the various proclamations made at the crowning of Alexander, one man in particular, one of the keepers of his armoury, overstepped all the bounds of flattery and, having previously arranged the matter with Alexander, ordered the herald to proclaim that Gorgos, the keeper of the armoury, presents Alexander, the son of Ammon, with three thousand gold pieces, and promised that whenever he should besiege Athens, he would give ten thousand complete suits of armour, an equal number of catapults and all missiles required for the war.

Ateneo, *Sofisti a banchetto*, XII 53 538b-539a

Χάρης δ' ἐν τῇ δεκάτῃ τῶν Περὶ Ἀλέξανδρον Ἱστοριῶν «ὅτε» φησὶν «εἶλε Δαρεῖον, γάμους συνετέλεσεν ἑαυτοῦ τε καὶ τῶν ἄλλων φίλων, ἐνενήκοντα καὶ δύο θαλάμους κατασκευασάμενος ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ τόπῳ. ἦν δὲ ὁ οἶκος ἑκατοντάκλινος, ἐν ᾧ ἐκάστη ἦν κλίνη κεκοσμημένη στολῆι γαμικῆι εἴκοσι μνῶν ἀργυρᾶι· ἡ δὲ αὐτοῦ χρυσόπους ἦν. συμπαρέλαβεν δὲ εἰς τὸ συμ- πόσιον καὶ τοὺς ἰδιοξένους ἅπαντας καὶ κατέκλινεν ἀντιπροσώπους ἑαυτῷ τε καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις νυμφίοις, τὴν δὲ λοιπὴν δύναμιν πεζὴν τε καὶ <ίππικὴν καὶ> ναυτικὴν καὶ τὰς πρεσβείας καὶ τοὺς παρεπιδημοῦντας ἐν τῇ αὐλῇ. κατεσκεύαστο δὲ ὁ οἶκος πολυτελῶς καὶ μεγαλοπρεπῶς ἱματίοις τε καὶ ὀθονίοις πολυτελέσιν, ὑπὸ δὲ ταῦτα πορφυροῖς καὶ φοινικοῖς χρυσοῦφέσιν. τοῦ δὲ

μένειν τὴν σκηνὴν ὑπέκειντο κίονες εἰκοσαπήχεις περίχρσοι καὶ διάλιθοι καὶ περιάργυροι. περιεβέβληντο δὲ ἐν τῷ περιβόλῳ πολυτελεῖς αὐλαῖαι ζωῶτοὶ καὶ διάχρσοι, κανόνας ἔχουσαι περιχρύσους καὶ περιαργύρους. τῆς δ' αὐλῆς ἦν τὸ περίμετρον στάδιοι τέσσαρες. ἐγένετο δὲ τὰ δεῖπνα πρὸς σάλπιγγα τότε μὲν ἐν τοῖς γάμοις καὶ ἄλλως δ' αἰεὶ ὅτε τύχοι σπονδοποιούμενος, ὥστε πᾶν εἰδέναι τὸ στρατόπεδον. ἐπὶ πέντε δ' ἡμέρας ἐπετελέσθησαν οἱ γάμοι, καὶ ἐλειτούργησαν πάνυ πολλοὶ καὶ βαρβάρων καὶ Ἑλλήνων, † καὶ οἱ ἀπὸ τῆς Ἰνδικῆς θαυματοποιοὶ ἦσαν διαπρέποντες, † Σκύμνος Ταραντίνος καὶ Φιλιστίδης Συρακόσιος Ἡράκλειτος τε ὁ Μιτυληναῖος· μεθ' οὗς ἐπεδείξατο ῥαψωιδὸς Ἀλεξίς Ταραντίνος. παρῆλθον δὲ καὶ ψιλοκιθαρισταὶ Κρατῖνος Μηθυμναῖος, Ἀριστώνυμος Ἀθηναῖος, Ἀθηνόδωρος Τήσιος· ἐκιθαρώδησαν δὲ Ἡράκλειτος τε ὁ Ταραντίνος καὶ Ἀριστοκράτης ὁ Θηβαῖος. αὐλωδοὶ δὲ παρῆλθον Διονύσιος ὁ Ἡρακλεώτης, Ὑπέροβλος Κυζικηνός. παρῆλθον δὲ καὶ αὐληταί, οἱ πρῶτον τὸ Πύθικόν ἠύλησαν, εἰθ' ἕξῃς μετὰ τῶν χορῶν, Τιμόθεος, Φρόνιχος. Καφισίας, Διόφαντος, ἔτι δὲ Εὐῖος ὁ Χαλκιδεύς. καὶ ἔκτοτε οἱ πρότερον καλούμενοι Διονυσοκόλακες Ἀλεξανδροκόλακες ἐκλήθησαν διὰ τὰς τῶν δώρων ὑπεροβολάς, ἐφ' οἷς καὶ ἦσθη ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος. ὑπεκρίθησαν δὲ τραγωῖδοι μὲν Θεσσαλὸς καὶ Ἀθηνόδωρος καὶ Ἀριστόκριτος, κωμῶδοι δὲ Λύκων καὶ Φορμίων καὶ Ἀρίστων. παρῆν δὲ καὶ Φρασίμηλος ὁ ψάλτης. οἱ δὲ πεμφθέντες» φησί, «στέφανοι ὑπὸ τῶν πρεσβευτῶν καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν ταλάντων ἦσαν μυρίων πεντακισχιλίων.»

Chares reports in his tenth book of his *Histories of Alexander* : After he had defeated Dareios, he arranged marriages for himself and his friends. He installed 92 bed-chambers on the same spot. The installation could hold 100 couches. Every couch inside was made of silver worth 20 mines and adorned with a marriage robe. His own couch had golden feet. He brought all his personal friends to the banquet, and made them recline vis-à-vis himself and the other bridegrooms. The rest of the army, infanterists and < cavallerists and > members of the fleet, embassies and other visitors to the court were hosted in the courtyard. The installation was splendidly and generously adorned with precious wall draperies and linen cloths, while the floor was decorated with purple and scarlet carpets woven with gold. To fix the tent, its canopy was supported by columns 30 feet high, that were covered with gold and silver and set with jewels. Inside the court were costly curtains, into which images of animals were woven with gold that extended around the perimeter, held by rods covered with gold and silver. The circumference of the courtyard was four stades. The banquets were announced by the sound of trumpets. These were heard during the marriage ceremonies and also whenever he happened to make a libation in order to inform the whole army about what was going on. The marriages were celebrated five days long. Many of the barbarians and Greeks participated in the staging of the event and the Indian magicians were particularly brilliant ... Skymnos of Tarentum,

Philistides of Syrakuse, and Herakleitos of Mytilene. After them, the rhapsode Alexis of Tarentum performed. Then Kratinos of Methymna who played the kithara, Aristonymos of Athens, and Athenodoros of Teos followed. Herakleitos of Tarentum and Aristokrates of Thebes played the kithara and sang. Also, the *aulodes* Dionysios of Herakleia and Hyperbolos of Kyzikos put on a show. There were also additional aulos-players, who first performed the *Pythikon*, then came, together with their choirs, Timotheos, Phrynichos, Kaphisias and Diophantos, along with Euios of Chalkis. From then on the people formerly known as the flatterers of Dionysos were known as the flatterers of Alexander, due to the lavish gifts given to the performers Alexander enjoyed. The tragic actors Thessalos, Athenodoros and Aristokritos performed as well as the comic actors Lykon, Phormion and Ariston. There was also the harp-player Phasimelos. The garlands sent by the ambassadors and the other guests were worth 15.000 talents, as Chares says.

#### Giustino *Epitome*, XII 4. 2-11

1 Inter haec indignatio omnium totis castris erat, a Philippo illum patre tantum degenerasse, ut etiam patriae nomen eiuraret moresque Persarum adsumeret, quos propter tales mores uicerat. 2 Sed ne solus uitiiis eorum quos armis subiecerat, succubuisse uideretur, militibus quoque suis permisit, si quarum captiuarum consuetudine tenerentur, ducere uxores, 3 existimans minorem in patriam reditus cupiditatem futuram habentibus in castris imaginem quandam larum ac domesticae sedis ; 4 simul et laborem militiae molliorem fore dulcedine uxoribus. 5 In supplementa quoque militum minus exauriri posse Macedoniam, si ueteranis patribus tirones filii succederent militaturi in uallo in quo essent nati, 6 constantioresque futuri si non solum tirocinia, uerum et incunabula in ipsis castris posuissent. 7 Quae consuetudo in successoribus quoque Alexandri mansit. 8 Igitur et alimenta pueris statuta et instrumenta armorum equorumque iuuenibus data, et patribus pro numero filiorum praemia statuta. 9 Si quorum patres occidissent, nihilo minus pupilli stipendia patrum trahebant, quorum pueritia inter uarias expeditiones militia erat. 10 Itaque a paruula aetate laboribus periculisque indurati inuictus exercitus fuere, neque castra aliter quam patriam neque pugnam aliud umquam quam uictoriam duxere. 11 Haec suboles nomen habuit Epigoni.

During the course of these proceedings, there arose throughout the camp a general indignation that he had so degenerated from his father Philip as to abjure the very name of his country, and to adopt the manners of the Persians, whom, from the effect of such manners, he had overcome. But that he might not appear to be the only person who yielded to the vices of those whom he had conquered in the field, he permitted his soldiers also, if they had formed a connexion with any of the female captives, to marry them;

thinking that they would feel less desire to return to their country, when they had some appearance of a house and home in the camp, and that the fatigues of war would be relieved by the agreeable society of their wives. He saw, too, that Macedonia would be less drained to supply the army, if the sons, as recruits, should succeed their veteran fathers, and serve within the ramparts within which they were born, and would be likely to show more courage, if they passed, not only their earliest days of service, but also their infancy, in the camp. This custom was also continued under Alexander's successors. Maintenance was provided for the boys, and arms and horses were given them when they grew up; and rewards were assigned to the fathers in proportion to the number of their children. If the fathers of any of them were killed, the orphans notwithstanding received their father's pay; and their childhood was a sort of military service in various expeditions. Inured from their earliest years to toils and dangers, they formed an invincible army; they looked upon their camp as their country, and upon a battle as a prelude to victory.

Giustino, *Epitome*, XII 11-15

1 Tunc ad contionem exercitum uocat et promittit se aes alienum omnium propria inpena soluturum, ut praedam praemiaque integra domos ferant. 2 Insignis haec munificentia non summa tantum, uerum etiam titulo muneris fuit nec a debitoribus magis quam a creditoribus gratius excepta, quoniam utrisque exactio pariter ac solutio difficilis erat. 3 XX milia talentum in hos sumptus expensa. 4 Dimissis ueteranis exercitum iunioribus supplet. Sed retenti ueteranorum discessum aegre ferentes missionem et ipsi flagitabant nec annos, sed stipendia sua numerari iubebant, pariter in militiam lectos pariter sacramento solui aequin censentes. 6 Nec iam precibus, sed conuicio agebant, iubentes eum solum cum patre suo Hammone inire bella, quatenus milites suos fastidiat. 7 Contra ille nunc castigare milites, nunc lenibus uerbis monere, ne gloriosam militiam seditionibus infusarent. 8 Ad postremum cum uerbis nihil proficeret, ad corripiendos seditionis auctores e tribunali in contionem armatam inermis ipse desiluit et nemine prohibente tredecim correptos manu sua ipse ad supplicium duxit. 9 Tantam uel illis moriendi patientiam metus regis uel huic exigendi supplicii constantiam disciplina militaris dabat.

12.1 Inde separatim auxilia Persarum in contione adloquitur. 2 Laudat perpetuam illorum cum in se tum in pristinos reges fidem ; sua in illos beneficia commemorat ut numquam quasi uictos, sed ueluti uictoriae socios habuerit, denique se in illorum, non illos in gentis suae morem transisse, adfinitatibus conubiorum uictos uictoribus miscuisse. 3 Tum quoque ait custodiam corporis sui non Macedonibus tantum se, uerum et illis crediturum. 4 Atque ita mille ex his iuuenes in numerum satellitum legit auxiliorumque portionem formatam in disciplinam Macedonum exercitui suo miscet. 5 Quam rem aegre Macedones

tulerunt, iactantes hostes suos in officium suum a rege subiectos. **6** Tunc uniuersi flentes regem adeunt ; orant suppliciis suis potius saturaret se quam contumeliis. **7** Qua modestia obtinuerunt ut undecim milia militum ueteranorum exauctoraret ; **8** sed et ex amicis dimissi senes Polypercon, Clitos, Gorgias, Polydamas, Amadas, Antigene. **9** Dimissis Crateros praeponitur, iussus praeesse Macedonibus in Antipatri locum, Antipatrumque cum supplemento tironum in locum eius euocat. **10** Stipendia reuertentibus ueluti militantibus data. **11** Dum haec aguntur, unus ex amicis eius Hephaestion decedit, dotibus primo formae pueritiaeque, mox obsequiis regi percarus. **12** Quem contra decus regium Alexander diu luxit tumulumque ei duodecim milium talentum fecit eumque post mortem coli ut deum iussit.

**11** He next assembled the army, and promised that "he would pay all their debts at his own expense," so that they might carry home their spoil and prizes undiminished. This munificence was highly prized, not only for the sum given, but for the character of the gift, and was received not more thankfully by the debtors than by the creditors, exaction being as troublesome to the one as payment to the other. Twenty thousand talents were expended in this largess. Discharging some of the veterans, he recruited the army with younger soldiers. But those that were retained, murmuring at the discharge of the older men, demanded that they themselves should be released likewise; desiring that "their years, not of life, but of service, should be counted," and thinking it reasonable that "those who had been enlisted in the service together, should together be set free from the service." Nor did they address the king only with entreaties, but also with reproaches, bidding him "carry on his wars alone, with the aid of his father Ammon, since he looked with disdain on his soldiers." Alexander, on the other hand, sometimes upbraided his men, and sometimes charged them in gentle terms, "not to tarnish their glorious services by mutiny." At last, when he could produce no effect by words, he leaped unarmed from his tribunal among the armed multitude, to lay hands on the authors of the mutiny; and not a man daring to oppose him, he led thirteen of them, whom he had seized with his own hand, to punishment. Such submission to death did the fear of their king produce in the men; or such courage in inflicting punishment had his knowledge of military discipline given the king.

**12** He then addressed himself, in a public speech, to the auxiliary troops of the Persians apart from the Macedonians. He extolled their constant fidelity, as well as to himself as to their former kings; he mentioned the kindnesses which he had shown them, saying that "he had never treated them as a conquered people, but always as sharers in his successes; that he had gone over to the usages of their nation, not they to those of his; and that he had mingled the conquerors with the conquered by matrimonial connexions. And now," he



added, "he would entrust the guardianship of his person, not to the Macedonians only, but also to them." Accordingly, he enrolled a thousand of their young men among his bodyguard; and at the same time incorporated into his army a portion of the auxiliaries, trained after the discipline of the Macedonians. At this proceeding the Macedonians were much dissatisfied, exclaiming that "their enemies were put into their places by their king;" and at length they all went to Alexander in a body, beseeching him with tears "to content himself rather with punishing than ill-treating them." By this modest forbearance they produced such an effect upon him, that he released eleven thousand veterans more. Of his own friends, too, were sent away the old men, Polysperchon, Clitus, Gorgias, Polydamas, Amadas, and Antigenes. Of those that were sent home Craterus was appointed leader, and commissioned to take the government of Macedonia in the room of Antipater, whom he sent for, with a body of recruits, to supply the place of Craterus. Pay was allowed to those that went home, as if they had been still in the service. In the course of those proceedings, Hephaestion, one of his friends, died; a man who was a great favourite with Alexander, at first on account of his personal qualities in youth, and afterwards from his servility. Alexander mourned for him longer than became his dignity as a king, built a monument for him that cost twelve thousand talents, and gave orders that he should be worshipped as a god.

**13.1** Ab ultimis litoribus Oceani Babyloniam reuertenti nuntiatur legationes Karthaginensium ceterarumque Africae ciuitatum, sed et Hispaniarum, Siciliae, Galliae, Sardiniae, nonnullas quoque ex Italia aduentum eius Babyloniae opperiri. **2** Adeo uniuersum terrarum orbem nominis eius terror inuaserat, ut cunctae gentes ueluti destinato sibi regi adularentur. **3** Hac igitur ex causa Babyloniam festinanti, uelut conuentum terrarum orbis acturo, quidam ex magis praedixit ne urbem introiret, testatus hunc locum ei fatalem fore. **4** Ob haec omissa Babylonia in Borsipam urbem trans Euphraten, desertam olim, concessit. **5** Ibi ab Anaxarcho philosopho compulsus est rursus magorum praedicta contemnere ut falsa et incerta et, si fatis constent, ignota mortalibus ac si naturae debeantur, inmutabilia. **6** Reuersus igitur Babyloniam multis diebus otio datis intermissum olim conuiuium sollempniter instituit; **7** totusque in laetitiam effusus cum diei noctem peruigilem iunxisset, recedentem iam e conuiuio Medius Thessalus instaurata comisatione et ipsum et sodales eius inuitat. **8** Accepto poculo media portione repente uelut telo confixus ingemuit **9** elatusque conuiuio semianimis tanto dolore cruciatus est, ut ferrum in remedia posceret tactumque hominum uelut uulnera indolesceret. **10** Amici causas morbi intemperiem ebrietatis disseminauerunt, re autem uera insidiae fuerunt, quarum infamiam successorum potentia oppressit.

13 As he was returning to Babylon, from the distant shores of the ocean, he was acquainted that embassies from the Carthaginians, and other states of Africa, as well as from the Spains, Sicily, Gaul, and Sardinia, and some also from Italy, were waiting his arrival at that city. So powerfully had the terror of his name diffused itself through the world, that all nations were ready to bow to him as their destined monarch. When he was hastening to Babylon, therefore, to hold an assembly, as it were, of the states of the world, one of the Magi warned him "not to enter the city," for that the "place would be fatal to him." He accordingly avoided Babylon, and turned aside to Borsippa, a city on the other side of the Euphrates, that had been for some time uninhabited. Here again he was persuaded by Anaxarchus the philosopher, to slight the predictions of the Magi as fallacious and uncertain; observing that, "if things were fixed by fate, they were unknown to mortals, and if they were dependent on the course of nature, were unchangeable." Returning, therefore, to Babylon, and allowing himself several days for rest, he renewed, in his usual manner, the entertainments which had been for some time discontinued, resigning himself wholly to mirth, and joining in his cups the night to the day. As he was returning, on one occasion, from a banquet, Medius, a Thessalian, proposing to renew their revelling, invited him and his attendants to his house. Taking up a cup, he suddenly uttered a groan while he was drinking, as if he had been stabbed with a dagger, and being carried half dead from the table, he was excruciated with such torture that he called for a sword to put an end to it, and felt pain at the touch of his attendants as if he were all over wounds. His friends reported that the cause of his disease was excess in drinking, but in reality it was a conspiracy, the infamy of which the power of his successors threw into the shade.

14.1 Auctor insidiarum Antipater fuit, qui cum carissimos amicos eius interfectos uideret, Alexandrum Lyncestarum, generum suum, occisum, 2 se magnis rebus in Graecia gestis non tam gratum apud regem quam inuidiosum esse, 3 a matre quoque eius Olympiade uariis se criminationibus uexatum. 4 Huc accedebant ante paucos dies supplicia in praefectos deuictarum nationum crudeliter habita. 5 Ex quibus rebus se quoque a Macedonia non ad societatem militiae, sed ad poenam uocatum arbitratur. 6 Igitur ad occupandum regem Cassandrum filium dato ueneno subornat, qui cum fratribus Philippo et Iolla ministrare regi solebat, 7 cuius ueneni tanta uis fuit, ut non aere, non ferro, non testa contineretur, nec aliter ferri nisi in ungula equi potuerit ; praemonito filio, ne alii quam Thessalo et fratribus crederet. 8 Hac igitur causa apud Thessalum paratum repetitumque conuiuium est. 9 Philippus et Iollas praegustare ac temperare potum regis soliti in aqua frigida uenenum habuerunt, quam praegustatae iam potioni supermiserunt.

**14** The author of this conspiracy was Antipater, who, seeing that his dearest friends were put to death, that Alexander Lyncestes, his son-in-law, was cut off, and that he himself, after his important services in Greece, was not so much liked by the king as envied by him, and was also persecuted with various charges by his mother Olympias; reflecting, too, on the severe penalties inflicted, a few days before, on the governors of the conquered nations, and hence imagining that he was sent for from Macedonia, not to share in the war, but to suffer punishment, secretly, in order to be beforehand with Alexander, furnished his son Cassander with poison, who, with his brothers Philippus and Iollas, was accustomed to attend on the king at table. The strength of this poison was so great, that it could be contained neither in brass, nor iron, nor shell, nor could be conveyed in any other way than in the hoof of a horse. Cassander had been warned to trust nobody but the Thessalian and his brothers; and hence it was that the banquet was prepared and renewed in the house of the Thessalian. Philippus and Iollas, who used to taste and mix the king's drink, had the poison ready in cold water, which they put into the drink after it had been tasted.

**15.1** Quarto die Alexander indubitam mortem sentiens agnoscere se fatum domus maiorum suorum ait, nam plerosque Aeacidarum intra XXX annum defunctos. **2** Tumultuantes deinde milites insidiisque perire regem suspicantes ipse sedauit eosque omnes, cum prolatus in editissimum urbis locum esset, ad conspectum suum admisit osculandamque dexteram suam flentibus porrexit. **3** Cum lacrimarent omnes, ipse non sine lacrimis tantum, uerum sine ullo tristioris mentis argumento fuit, ut quosdam impatientius dolentes coinsolatus sit, quibusdam mandata ad parentes eorum dederit : **4** adeo sicuti in hostem, ita et in mortem inuictus animus fuit. **5** Dimissis militibus circumstantes amicos percontatur, uideanturne similem sibi reperturi regem. **6** Tacentibus cunctis tum ipse, ut hoc nesciat, ita illud scire uaticinarique se ac paene oculis uidere dixit, quantum sit in hoc certamine sanguinis fusura Macedonia, quantis caedibus, quo cruore mortuo sibi parentatura. **7** Ad postremum corpus suum in Hammonis templum condi iubet. **8** Cum deficere eum amici uiderent, quaerunt, quem imperii faciat heredem. Respondit "dignissimum". **9** Tanta illi magnitudo animi fuit ut, cum Herculem filium, cum fratrem Arridaeum, cum Roxanen uxorem praegnantem relinqueret, oblitus necessitudinum dignissimum nuncuparit heredem : **10** prorsus quasi nefas esset uiro forti alium quam uirum fortem succedere, aut tanti regni opes aliis quam probatis relinquere. **11** Hac uoce ueluti bellicum inter amicos cecinisset aut malum Discordiae misisset, ita omnes in aemulationem consurgunt et ambitione uulgi tacitum fauorem militum quaerunt. **12** Sexta die praeclusa uoce exemptum digito anulum Perdiccae tradidit, quae res gliscentem amicorum dissensionem sedauit. **13** Nam etsi non uoce nuncupatus heres, iudicio tamen electus uidebatur.

15 On the fourth day, Alexander, finding that death was inevitable, observed that "he perceived the approach of the fate of his family, for the most of the Aeacidae had died under thirty years of age." He then pacified the soldiers, who were making a tumult, from suspecting that the king was the victim of a conspiracy, and, after being carried to the highest part of the city, admitted them to his presence, and gave them his right hand to kiss. While they all wept, he not only did not shed a tear, but showed not the least token of sorrow; so that he even comforted some who grieved immoderately, and gave others messages to their parents; and his soul was as undaunted at meeting death, as it had formerly been at meeting an enemy. When the soldiers were gone, he asked his friends that stood about him, "whether they thought they should find a king like him?" All continuing silent, he said that, "although he did not know that, he knew, and could foretel, and almost saw with his eyes, how much blood Macedonia would shed in the disputes that would follow his death, and with what slaughters, and what quantities of gore, she would perform his obsequies." At last he ordered his body to be buried in the temple of Jupiter Ammon. When his friends saw him dying, they asked him "whom he would appoint as the successor to his throne?" He replied, "The most worthy." Such was his nobleness of spirit, that though he left a son named Hercules, a brother called Aridaeus, and his wife Roxane with child, yet, forgetting his relations, he named only "the most worthy" as his successor; as though it were unlawful for any but a brave man to succeed a brave man, or for the power of so great an empire to be left to any but approved governors. But as if, by this reply, he had sounded the signal for battle among his friends, or had thrown the apple of discord amongst them, they all rose in emulation against each other, and tried to gain the favour of the army by secretly paying court to the common soldiers. On the sixth day from the commencement of his illness, being unable to speak, he took his ring from his finger, and gave it to Perdiccas, an act which tranquillized the growing dissension among his friends; for though Perdiccas was not expressly named his successor, he seemed intended to be so in Alexander's judgment.