PRESENTED BY

The University of Cambridge

through the Committee formed in the Old Country

to aid in replacing the loss caused by the Disastrous Fire of February the 14th, 1890.
A PORTION OF THE HISTORY

OF

QUINTUS CURTIUS
London: C. J. CLAY AND SONS, CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY PRESS WAREHOUSE, AVE MARIA LANE.

Cambridge: DEIGHTON, BELL, AND CO.
Leipzig: F. A. Brockhaus.
Pitt Press Series.

ALEXANDER IN INDIA.

A PORTION OF THE HISTORY OF

QUINTUS CURTIUS

EDITED FOR SCHOOLS AND COLLEGES

BY

W E HEITLAND M.A.,
FELLOW AND LECTURER OF ST JOHN'S COLLEGE CAMBRIDGE,

AND

T E RAVEN B.A.,
ASSISTANT MASTER IN SHERBORNE SCHOOL, LATE SCHOLAR OF
GONVILLE AND CAIUS COLLEGE CAMBRIDGE.

EDITED FOR THE SYNDICS OF THE UNIVERSITY PRESS.

Cambridge:
AT THE UNIVERSITY PRESS.

1889

[All Rights reserved.]
illae Pellaei proles uesanae Philippi, felix praedo, iacet terrarum uindice fato raptus: sacratis totum spargenda per orbem membra uiri posuere adytis: fortuna perpercit manibus, et regni duravit ad ultima fatum. nam sibi libertas unquam si redderet orbem, ludibrio seruatus erat, non utile mundo editus exemplum, terras tot posse sub uno esse uiro. Macetum fines, latebrasque suorum discernit, uiectaque patri desperit Athenas: perque Asiae populos, fatis urgentibus actus, humana eum strage ruuit, gladiumque per omnes exigit gentes: ignotos misuit amnes, Persarum Euphraten, Indorum sanguine Gangen: terrarum fatale malum, fulmenque quod omnes percuteret pariter populos, et sidus iniquum gentibus. oceano classes inferre parabat exteriore mari. non illi flamma, nec undae, nec sterilis Libye, nec Syrticus obstitit Ammon. isset in occasus, mundi deuexa sectus, ambissetque polos, Nilumque a fonte bibisset: occurrrit suprema dies naturaque solum hunc potuit finem uesano ponere regi, qui secum inuidia, qua totum ceperat orbem, abstulit imperium; nulloque haecrede relicto totius fati, lacrandas praebuit urbes. sed ecedit Babylone sua, Parthoque uerendus. pro pudor! ei proptuis timuere savissas quam nune pila timent populi. licet usque sub Arcto regnum, Zephyriique domos, terrasque prenamus flagrantis post terga Noti; cadem in ortus Arsacidum domino. non felix Parthia Crassis exiguae secura fuit provincia Pellae.

Lucan Pharsalia x 20—52.
PREFACE.

In attempting to bring before English classical students a portion of the work of an author once widely read both elsewhere and in this country, but now used seldom—at least in England—, we hope that we have not undertaken a thankless task. The want of variety in Latin prose authors read in schools has often been felt by schoolmasters; and, if none but the writers of the purest Latin are to be studied, we are at once thrown back upon Caesar and Cicero alone. And it may with reason be held that University students would not lose by reading portions of a wider range of authors than they now usually do. The claims of Curtius are dealt with in the introduction.

As we are not preparing this book with the view of furnishing candidates for some particular examination with a short and simple means to mark-getting, but seek to help and instruct several different classes of students, we have not thought fit to restrict our notes to the clearing up of difficulties in each separate sentence,—in fact to the repeating of things that ‘every fourth form boy’ ought to know and does not. On the contrary, while dealing with grammatical questions of an even elementary nature, we have freely illustrated the matter by quotation and reference. The notes on the first chapter are mainly of an
illustrative character, as the nature of the subject required.

In the spelling of Indian names we have generally followed the best *modern* authorities; but in citing authorities we have used the spelling adopted by the several writers. Thus we write *Brahman*, but in citing Elphinstone *Bramin*, and so forth.

A copious index will make up for some deficiencies in cross reference, and appendix D will help in understanding the plan of Alexander's Indian expedition generally.

The notes on the first chapter are the work of Mr Heitland: the rest are all written in common. Mr Raven has supplied the index and list of names, Mr Heitland the introductions and appendices.

When quotations from Greek writers seemed not to require to be left in the original for some good cause, we have generally given an English translation or abstract. Mr Heitland is responsible for the text, which is based on that of Hedicke; also for the maps, which depend mainly on General Cunningham's *Ancient Geography of India*.

Elphinstone's *History of India* has been cited from the fifth (Cowell's) edition, and Thirlwall's *History of Greece* from the first edition in Lardner's Cabinet Cyclopaedia. Perhaps the most specially useful book to us has been Otto Eichert's lexicon to Curtius (Hanover 1870). The help got from other books is acknowledged on occasion in the notes.

W E H
T E R.

*March 1879*
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section</th>
<th>Pages</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Introduction</td>
<td>9–31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abstract of the Narrative</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Text</td>
<td>33–83</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Variations from Hedicke's text</td>
<td>85, 86</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Notes</td>
<td>87–179</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Appendices</td>
<td>180–189</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Short list of names</td>
<td>190–194</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Index</td>
<td>195–204</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
INTRODUCTION.

A. Curtius and his book.

(1) Of Quintus Curtius Rufus the author of the work before us we know perhaps less than of any other writer ancient or modern whose name has come down to us with his book. We know nothing whatever as to who he was, unless indeed we identify him with the adventurer spoken of\(^1\) by Tacitus and the younger Pliny under the same name. But this has been so gravely questioned by Orelli Nipperdey and Teuffel\(^2\) that it would not be safe to assume it here. This however is not all: we are not certain even as to the time at which he wrote, and shall have to content ourselves with probabilities. On the very meagre and obscure evidence of a passage in the tenth book (9 §§ 3—6) the date of the com-

\(^1\) Tac ann xi 20, 21, Plin epp vii 27. It is argued that Tacitus would have mentioned his writings, had he been speaking of the present Curtius. But he seems not to have mentioned those of Corbulo and Frontinus, of whom he speaks; and here there is no question as to the personal identity. Again it is said that our writer in describing battles shews ignorance of military matters, and so cannot have been the man who was proconsul of Africa. Is this inference so very certain? It might further be asked, would so mean-born a man as the proconsul have had the rhetorical training that our author clearly had? Might this not have been the very means whereby he gained the praetorship which he held before the proconsulate?

\(^2\) Geschichte der Römischen literatur § 292.
position of his history has been fixed variously by different critics; some find therein an allusion to Augustus, others to Claudius, to Vespasian, or even to Septimius Severus. Of these interpretations that which refers the words to the accession of Claudius seems the most plausible. And with this view, which would place him between Velleius and Petronius, his Latin style agrees well. He is perhaps to be identified with the rhetorician mentioned by Suetonius in his treatise de rhetoribus, for that Q Curtius Rufus must have flourished in this period.

(2) In forming our judgment as to the merits of his work it is most necessary first to arrive at some notion of the object with which it was composed. One of the first things that strikes the reader is the unevenness of the writer. Like Tigellius in Horace, *nil fuit umquam sic impar sibi.* In the many well-wrought speeches with which his work is after the manner of ancient writers¹ copiously adorned, and in the picturesque and telling descriptions of important or striking incidents, we are conscious that our author is doing his best to equal the dignity of the subject and fix the attention of his readers. But in the ordinary course of the narrative, when the matter has no striking interest of its own to take the common fancy, we find him generally meagre and occasionally dull. This seems to indicate that his purpose was to present his readers with a series of interesting pictures, and by a quiet and compressed narrative to bind them into a whole: so that we should fairly judge him not by the bare and lifeless passages which serve to make transition, but rather by the more effective scenes² which he has set himself specially to portray. This view of his purpose suits well with the probable opinion that he followed

¹ See the remarks of Diodorus xx 1, 2. Voltaire in the preface to his history of Russia under Peter the Great § 7 says well ‘Les harangues sont une autre espèce de mensonge oratoire que les historiens se sont permis autrefois. On faisait dire à ses héros ce qu’ils auraient pu dire.’ The Curtian speeches, like those in Livy and Lucan, are good but rather wanting in distinctive character.

² Such as VIII 13, 14, IX 4, 5, 9.
mainly the authority of Klitarchus¹, an Alexandrine historian who wrote about 300 B.C, and is said to have sacrificed truth to effect; not trusting to the solid merits of his work (which were considerable) but seeking to render it attractive by fabulous and exaggerated² descriptions. Probably Curtius, whether drawing direct from Klitarchus or not, dressed up or recast many of his exaggerations as he saw fit at the time, but was too sober to load his book with recounting other marvels which were most likely at once dreary and incredible. There is also reason to think that Curtius, though in the main a reporter rather than a historian, did sometimes³ check the statements of his guide by those of more trustworthy authors such as Ptolemy, who with Aristobulus is the writer most relied upon by the judicious Arrian⁴. While therefore we must conclude that much in the work before us is overdrawn, the singular accuracy observable in many small points⁵ and in some descriptions of places⁶ forbids us to regard it as a mere romance to be ranked with Xenophon’s Cyropaedia or Johnson’s Rasselas. That Curtius is above all things a rhetorician we may readily admit; but looking to the close con-

¹ Quintilian X i § 74 *Clitarchi probatur ingenium, fides insamatur.* Pliny the elder reports some of his marvels in the ‘Natural History,’ and Strabo in his Geography. See in particular Strabo VII 2 § 1. From Diodorus II 7 and Strabo XI 5 § 4 it has been wrongly inferred that he had been with Alexander on his expedition. For a definite and unfavourable opinion of him see Cic de legibus I § 7.

² Voltaire well says in his preface to the history of Russia under Peter the Great § 7: *‘une troisième espèce de mensonge, et la plus grossière de toutes, mais qui fut longtemps la plus séduisante, c’est le merveilleux: il domine dans toutes les histoires anciennes, sans en excepter une seule.’* The last sentence is a little too sweeping, but not much. Lucian’s papers called ‘A true history’ and ‘How to write history’ are not quite so sweeping in their denunciation but to the full as severe.

³ See on IX i § 34, 5 § 21.

⁴ See the preface to his *anabasis.*

⁵ See on VIII 9 § 4 *gelidior etc*, 12 § 14 *Taxilen.*

⁶ Such as in the passage of the Hydaspes VIII 13, and the adventure with the fleet in the Indus estuary IX 9.
nexion maintained by Roman writers between rhetoric and history\(^1\)—particularly in the days of the empire—this is only what we should expect. The same may be said in various degrees of Sallust Livy and Tacitus. This, as well as the epigrammatic sentences with which his work is studded, is nothing but the natural result of an age of recitations\(^2\), when books were composed rather with a view to afford a choice of extracts fit to tickle the ears of a lecture-room audience than to supply solid information to the student in his closet. So too, if not critical, he is to some extent imaginative\(^3\): he is seldom at a loss to infer the motive for an action, or draw a bold and appropriate moral.

(3) It has often been remarked that Curtius was an imitator of Livy, and this is an indubitable fact. It has also been well pointed out by Vogel that, if we suppose him to have published his book in 41 or 42 AD, it is quite credible that he may in his youth have seen and even been a pupil of that eminent master. All that has been said above of his merits and defects as a writer in respect of manner and matter will apply with slight modification to Livy also; and the two

---

1 Quintilian x i §§ 31—34 allows the oratorical student to read history, but sparingly, as it is a sort of poetry in prose, \textit{et scribitur ad narrandum non ad probandum}. It has a sort of poetic license in expression, so as to enliven the narrative. The conciseness of Sallust is wasted on a jury, \textit{neque illa Livii lactea ubertas satis docebit eum qui non speciem expositionis sed fidem quaerit}. In digressions the orator may now and then allow himself the sleek plumpness of historical style. In fact the orator must be content generally with a tamer style than the historian. So too Pliny epp v 8 §§ 9—11, though \textit{vii 17 § 3} has another sound. The pretensions of Livy in his preface are not to be taken as meaning the same as we now should by the same words. Style had in fact with all ancient historians an undue prominence. So Tacitus \textit{Agr} 10 refers to Livy and Rusticus as \textit{eloquentissimi auctores} when merely citing a statement of theirs.

2 See Mayor on Juvenal iii 9, particularly pp 180, 181, where their effect in causing the whole of a book to be sacrificed to the parts is clearly and fully detailed: also Quintil i 8 § 9.

3 See Thirlwall chapter 49 p 154 note, chapter 52 p. 304.
have this further trait in common with the mass of Roman writers, that they utterly miss the high aims and far-sightedness which give its true grandeur to the character of Alexander. To them—whether from national jealousy or imperfect information—the Macedonian youth is merely the brilliant conqueror of insatiate ambition, Fortune’s very darling. To us the partial view of Plutarch seems nearer the truth, that he was ever at odds with Fortune and became great in spite of her.

(4) The Latin of Curtius is probably a good average specimen of the Latin of the early Empire, the so-called silver-age. Inferior in vigour to the balanced sermon style of Seneca or the painful and muscular energy of the Tacitean Annals, it reminds us in descriptive passages of the elder Pliny, and generally (both in the speeches and elsewhere) of the earlier writings of Tacitus. His imitation of Livy is sufficiently transparent, and in common with most writers of his day he betrays frequently an attentive study of Virgil. To enter into minute details concerning the peculiarities of his diction and syntax is beyond the scope of the present edition. It may be remarked in general that his vocabulary is a limited and commonplace one, containing few strange words but many familiar words in strange senses. His habit of using the very same construction and even the same phrase over and over again has a tiresome effect; but this is a common fault in the later Greek and Latin writers. Still with all its defects the style of Curtius has the merit of being terse and generally clear; if he now and then strains too hard after antithesis, at least he succeeds in bringing his point home to the reader. A few of his more notable usages may perhaps be recorded with advantage here.

(a) the continual use of quippe (= ‘you see’) as an equivalent for nam, enim, scilicet.

(b) the equally frequent use of ceterum, as = sed, autem.

(c) ipsum, ipsos, ipsius, ipsorum, ipsi, ipsis, where se, siēi, suus would have been used in the best Latin. This is very characteristic of Curtius. See note on viii 10 § 1.
(d) the misplacement of quoque, very common in Livy.
(e) the omission of the demonstrative before the relative (qui = ei qui and so on), even where some obscurity is caused thereby.
(f) the frequent ending of a sentence with a participle or adjective.
(g) the sudden change (or omission) of the subject of the sentence.
(h) the frequent use of the future participle active (usurus etc) to express a purpose.
(i) a certain looseness in the use of the ablative absolute, where a parenthetical or additional clause would have been better for both sound and sense.
(k) the use of the pluperfect = perfect with an adverb (such as paulisper etc). See VIII 12 § 17, 13 § 11, 14 § 23, IX 6 § 22, 7 § 20, 8 § 6, 9 §§ 14, 23.
(l) the preference shewn for the construction with the pluperfect active over the simpler passive construction. So VIII 13 § 10 quam compleverant etc rather than quae completa erat etc. See also IX 1 §§ 29, 33, 4 § 30, 7 § 15, 8 § 22, 9 § 19. In some cases the effect is thus rather more vivid, in others the usage is inappropriate and affected.
(m) the occasionally strange order of words. See VIII 12 § 10, 14 §§ 13, 14.
(n) the use of poetical language.

It must not be supposed that these usages are peculiar to Curtius. On the contrary they are for the most part mannerisms common to him with Livy and other writers, and only take the attention as they do from the want of Livian brilliancy to carry them off. And if he is less pleasant than Livy to read he is also less difficult.

(5) Curtius has since the revival of learning down to recent times been a popular author, and has been repeatedly edited by scholars on the continent. But so entirely has he passed out of the notice of our schools that this will possibly be
news to many modern English schoolmasters. His popularity was probably owing in the first instance to the deep interest felt in the subject of his book. Men got their first impressions\(^1\) of the Macedonian hero from the account of Curtius. Four English translations of him deserve mention,

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{John Brende}^2 & \quad \text{London 1553} \\
\text{Robert Codrington} & \quad \text{1652} \\
\text{John Digby} & \quad \text{1747} \\
\text{Peter Pratt} & \quad \text{1809, 2nd ed 1821},
\end{align*}
\]

while Arrian remained untranslated in English till he was taken in hand by John Rooke\(^3\) (1729, 2nd ed 1821). The controversy, which had long been on foot respecting the merits of the two writers had then been finally decided in Arrian's favour. That there should ever have been a dispute as to their relative historical values shews well what a strong hold Curtius once had as a historian. But he had other claims on the readers and teachers of the age of revival. Before the rise of historical criticism, when wisdom was sought directly\(^4\) from 'the ancients,' his moral sentences and epigrammatic phrases would be certain to find favour. A narrative of stirring events sprinkled with neat expressions of elevated sentiment was at once a quarry for the moralist and a fit model for the schoolboy. Voltaire\(^5\) has,

\(^1\) It is well known that there was a legendary history of Alexander current in the Middle Ages (see Col Yule's Marco Polo introd p 110) which took the place of the true one. But it seems to have been quite distinct from the latter, with which alone we are here concerned. See appendix C.

\(^2\) A specimen of this fine old English version is given in appendix B.

\(^3\) A poor version, but it has prefixed to it the dissertation of Le Clerc on Curtius.

\(^4\) Witness the authority long assigned to Aristotle's explanations of phenomena and Pliny's statements taken for fact. The appetite for proverbs and sayings is shewn by the popularity of such books as the Adages and Apophthegms of Erasmus. So Hamlet will (I v 100) wipe from his memory 'all saws of books.'

\(^5\) History of Charles XII book 1 'Dès qu'il eut quelque connaissance
INTRODUCTION.

told us how 'Swedish Charles' was in his boyhood fascinated by the story—by the matter even more than the manner. And if the conditions of school teaching are now so far changed that these claims would in themselves hardly suffice to restore Curtius to favour, we have now a further one to urge—that it is desirable that the habit of reading critically, without light unreasoning belief, should be acquired early, and that Curtius is eminently adapted for this purpose. However little we may know of the author's personality, we soon feel that he was a real man with human weaknesses and vanities, one on whom the temptation to self-display had a constant influence, and whose statements require continual checking and correction.

(6) It is to be hoped that the portion of his work which we have here striven to explain will be found to have a special interest from its connexion with India. It is not necessary to enter here into a detailed examination of the knowledge of that country possessed by Greek and Roman writers. We now know that the companions of Alexander and other early travellers (such as Megasthenes) were mistaken in some of their impressions of the Hindus, and that the stories set afloat by some of them concerning the country and its inhabitants were absurd and fabulous. But making every allowance it must be admitted that the best of them reported what they saw with scrupulous accuracy and that their geographical knowledge—obtained no doubt mainly from native informants—was marvelously correct. That the tendency to romance, observable in the narratives of Alexander's campaigns, corrupted also the

de la langue latine, on lui fit traduire Quinte-Curce: il prit pour ce lière un goût que le sujet lui inspirait beaucoup plus encore que le style.' Digby, Godesfridus 14 (p 114) cites the case of Turenne.

1 A translation of the fragments of this valuable author has just appeared under the title 'Ancient India as described by Megasthenes and Arrian', by J W McCrindle, Principal of the Government College Patna (London, Trübner and Co). It is always to be remembered that the accounts of the early Greek travellers, referring to widely distant parts of India, were confused and mingled by later writers who used them. There is a collection of the Alexandri Magni historiarum scriptores actate supparces by R Geier (Leipsic 1844).
accounts of the country and products, was remarked by Strabo. But this applies to some of the accounts far more strongly than to others; particularly to that of the notorious\(^1\) Onesikritus. It therefore was of the first importance to later writers that they should use the best authorities and use them with judgment. In this regard it must be admitted that Curtius on the whole has acquitted himself very creditably. It is plain throughout the digression on India (viii 9) that he is rather looking for points of contrast\(^2\) to the state of things with which he and his readers were familiar, than composing the best and fullest account in his power. So did Tacitus in his ‘Germany’, a book written in a very similar spirit. But, with all this temptation to adopt the most striking and exaggerated accounts, he has kept himself singularly free from such blame: so far as it goes, there is little in his description that calls for censure on the ground of levity or loose writing.

\(^1\) See note on ix 10 § 3.

\(^2\) This defect seems to be (in various degrees) common to all the ancient Greek and Roman writers who speak of India.

**B. A sketch of Alexander's career.**

(1) How the Greek states wore themselves out in struggles for the first place, and brought themselves down to one dead level of weariness and exhaustion, while the Macedonians rested in strength unimpaired though as yet not organized: how Philip on ascending the Macedonian throne devoted himself to the consolidation of the power and development of the resources of
Macedonia, and the formation of a national army; how he took advantage of the weakness and mutual jealousies of the Greek states to win for himself a place among them; how he then by various arts overcame them one by one and made himself lord of Hellas:—all this is well known to the readers of Grecian history, and needs not to be here further dealt with than by way of allusion. Being now at the height of his power in Europe, Philip purposed to invade Asia and assail and perhaps overthrow the Persian monarchy. But he fell in BC 336 by the sword of an assassin, and Alexander, his son by Olympias, reigned in his stead.

(2) This youth, born to be the ruler of a people just emerging from barbarism, newly conscious of their strength and proud of their recent conquests, had received a training perhaps more complete in its kind than has fallen to the lot of any other great king or conqueror. From Leonidas he acquired the spare habits and bodily hardihood which carried him through so many long and severe campaigns; from Lysimachus he learnt to know and love the Homeric poems, and so his naturally ambitious spirit was fostered by emulation of the hero Achilles, whom indeed he claimed as a mythical ancestor of his race. Under these influences, backed only by his early experience of warfare, he might indeed have become a great conqueror, but not Alexander the Great. It is only fair in accordance with the testimony of antiquity to assign the greatest weight in the matter of his education to the teaching of Aristotle. Had not the prince studied under the first of living philosophers—one unrivalled in the extent of his learning as in clearness of thought—he could hardly have attained that intellectual development which made conspicuous for true judgment and wise forecast a youth who came suddenly to the throne at the age of twenty and died before he was thirty-three.

1 Thirlwall cc 41—46, Grote cc 86—90. 2 See on 1x 6 § 25.
3 Plut Alex 5, 22, 25, Quintil 1 1 § 9.
4 Plut Alex 5. 5 Thirlwall c 47.
6 Plut Alex 7, 8, Diog Laert v § 4, Quintil 1 1 § 23.
(3) On his father's death he became king of the Macedonians, and found himself in possession of no inheritance of ease. The Greeks were looking to the recovery of their lost freedom; there were risings in Illyria and Thrace; and the young king's power was not yet safely established in his own kingdom of Macedonia. But by the time he had been a year and a half on the throne all was quiet again. By rapid campaigns in the Illyrian mountains and on the Danube he had pacified the North; the Greeks had once more submitted to his yoke, and Thebes had paid the penalty of her rebellion by being destroyed utterly; and all domestic disaffection had been suppressed. He now made preparations for carrying out on a grander scale the darling project of his father, the invasion of Asia.

(4) The Persian empire had long been falling into decay. Extending as it did from the western coast of Asia Minor to the Jaxartes and the Indus, it comprised within its borders many races speaking divers tongues and widely differing from one another in their feelings and modes of life. Some of these races had never been thoroughly subdued: indeed of the hill tribes nominally included in the empire, while some professed allegiance to the Great King but set his commands at nought, others openly refused to make a show of submission, and even levied black-mail on the monarch and his officers for safe conduct through their passes. The only way in which it was possible to rule such a vast domain was by parcelling it out among governors and making them severally responsible for their districts. Thus the Persian empire was divided into satrapies each under the rule of a governor called the Satrap, somewhat resembling a Turkish Pacha. But such governors could do little unless entrusted with ample powers: and accordingly we find that in practice little notice was taken of the proceedings of a satrap or the condition of affairs in his satrapy, so long as he did not rebel against the Great King and regularly sent up to the royal treasury the amount of tribute with which

---

1 Thirlwall c 47.
2 Thirlwall c 48, Grote c 92.
3 Thirlwall c 48.
4 Grote c 72.
His district stood charged\(^1\) in the imperial registers at Susa. Under such circumstances it was impossible that the central power should remain strong and efficient. The satrapies in many cases became by custom hereditary governments: the cohesion of the empire was weakened, and the Great King, happy if not troubled by local rebellions, was forced to look helplessly on while the jealousies of the satraps led them into quarrels and intrigues or even into open war. But the imperial treasuries were known\(^2\) to be filled with hoards of untold wealth: and, though since the days of Plataea and Salamis the Greeks had made light of the prowess of the Persians in open fight, none seriously thought of assailing in his own dominions a prince who could set in motion at will the fleets of Tyre and Sidon and the clouds of nomad horsemen from the plains of Asia. It seemed easy to penetrate into the Persian empire, but hard to retreat. But the successful retreat of the 10,000 Greeks from the field of Kunaxa, in spite of all that force or guile could do to stop them, shewed plainly for all to see the inner weakness of that empire, and Philip and his son had both learnt the lesson well. So too had the Persian kings, who now ceased to rely on their Asiatic infantry, and more and more used their stores of gold in hiring mercenary Greeks to give some steadiness to their huge ill-trained armies.

(5) Early in 334 BC Alexander crossed over into Asia with 30,000 foot and 5000 horse. He now began a course of conquest which it is impossible to describe adequately in this short sketch\(^3\). After defeating the Persians in three great battles, and taking Tyre by siege—one of the most famous sieges of history—he entered Susa as a conqueror in 331. The Great King

\(^1\) Grote c 45 note on the convention between Athens and Persia.
\(^2\) Grote c 93 note on the imperial treasures.
\(^3\) Granikus 334, Issus 333, siege of Tyre 332, Gaugamela or Arbela 331 BC. The expedition to Egypt in 332—1 BC, though important as including the foundation of Alexandria and the visit to the oracle of Ammon, does not affect the narrative of his military progress. Read the story in Thirlwall c 50.
Darius\(^1\) was now a fugitive, yet not without some hopes of better fortune. But Alexander left him no rest. He pushed on at once to Persepolis, and early in the following year (330) entered Ekbatana, the ancient capital of the Medes. Four years had thus sufficed to drive Darius from his throne and put the Macedonian king in possession of all the chief seats of government. His object now was to secure by rapid pursuit the person of Darius, and in this he nearly succeeded: but Bessus the Satrap of Baktria and the other traitors who had accompanied the Great King in his flight\(^2\) slew their master themselves when he refused to fly further; for they feared lest he should fall alive into the hands of Alexander.

(6) The throne of the great Medo-Persian empire was now vacant, and Alexander saw that he must at once ascend it\(^3\). He would thus appear to the nations of the East not only as a great conqueror but also as the successor of the great Cyrus by whom the empire lately held by the Persians had of old been wrested from the Medes. He saw too with the clear discernment which distinguished him that as Great King he could no longer remain Macedonian: he must adopt somewhat of the Oriental pomp and splendour which the subjects of the Persian government looked for in their ruler: if he would continue to conquer he must not cease to be an Alexander; if he would rule over the conquered peoples he must put on something of a Darius. His Macedonian generals might take it ill that their young king, with whom they had lived almost as equals in the camp and by whose side they had fought at Issus and Gaugamela, should now withdraw himself from them as a being apart, and surround himself with the circumstantial formalities of an Eastern court; nay more, that he should even clothe his person in a mongrel dress, wherein a Macedonian eye jealously marked the Persian garments. But so it must needs be, for the king had made up his mind on the point and the common soldiers were not deeply moved by the change: so

---

1 Codomannus, who on his accession had taken the name of Darius.
2 Thirlwall c 51, Grote c 94.
3 See Thirlwall c 51, Grote c 94.
the murmuring generals sullenly gave way. It was of far greater moment that in taking on himself the outward semblance of the Great King Alexander seemed to have caught something of the arbitrary and suspicious bearing of an Eastern despot. The readiness with which he accepted informations against Parmenion and Philotas, the murder of Kleitus in a fit of drunken rage, the unjust execution of the sophist Kallisthenes, all seem to shew that he was to some extent at least undergoing a moral deterioration at this time.

(7) But none the less he went on from victory to victory, putting down rebellions, founding colonies, and extending his conquests. The year 329 found him on the Jaxartes; and, after much severe fighting on his march thence towards the south, he reached the Indus by about the end of 327. He had made great preparations for this Indian expedition, which had for some time been one of his most cherished schemes. He rightly judged that the undertaking would prove an arduous one, and was resolved not to fail in it: he must not be foiled in the attempt to learn the truth concerning the things that he had heard of the wealth and wonders of the distant East. So, taking advantage of the jealousies of the Indian rajas to form useful alliances, he passed the Indus early in 326 and entered the Panjab. By dexterous strategy he succeeded in passing the Hydaspes, and in the ensuing battle defeated and secured

---

1 For these see Thirlwall c 52.
2 Mr Wheeler well says 'his oriental indulgences had perverted his moral sense, but had not vitiated his military and political culture.'
3 The Syr Darya or river Syr, for which see Schuyler's Turkistan.
4 Through the Khaiber or Khuram. Authorities differ as to the identification of the pass, and the question must be settled by the experts.
5 Wondrous tales had been current concerning India before the time of Herodotus. See Rawlinson on Herod iii 98—106, and Wheeler's Geography of Herodotus, Asia c 5. Also 'The commerce and navigation of the ancients in the Indian Ocean, by William Vincent DD, Dean of Westminster'. London 1807.
6 See appendix D.
the submission of king Porus. In this interesting campaign Alexander got as far as the river Hyphasis\(^1\), beyond which his army refused to advance: so, getting over his disappointment as best he might, he retraced his steps to the Hydaspes, which he prepared to descend with a fleet in order to reach the Indus and whatever sea might lie beyond.

(8) This eventful voyage, in the course of which Alexander established his supremacy in the part of India now known as Sindh, brought him to Patala (at the head of the Indus delta) early in 325. He now sent some of his army home by an inland route under Kraterus, and occupied the time while the nautical preparations were going on at Patala in exploring the branches of the river and in other excursions with a view to render more easy the homeward passage of his forces by sea and land. The hardships endured by the fleet under Nearchus in its voyage\(^2\) from the mouth of the Indus to the Persian Gulf, and the still greater sufferings of the land force under the king himself in their march through the deserts of Gedrosia\(^3\), are famous in the records of antiquity, and presented beyond doubt a memorable example of what is possible to unflinching unrelenting determination. In the hour of their triumph the survivors strove to forget what they had endured in that terrible journey.

(9) But Alexander soon tore himself from revelry and went up into the heart of his vast empire, giving earnest attention to administrative reforms and more than ever bent on accomplishing that fusion of the races beneath his sway to which he had long looked as the only sure tie by which he could bind together\(^4\)

---

\(^1\) See 'The voyage of Nearchus, and the Periplus of the Erythraean sea, translated from the Greek by William Vincent DD, Dean of Westminster'. Oxford 1809. 

\(^2\) Now Bias, at a point south of its present junction with the Hesundra (Satlej). But it seems probable that in the time of Alexander these two rivers did not meet at all before joining the Akesines (Chenab). See General Cunningham p 222 and map 5.

\(^3\) See 'Travels in Beloochistan and Sinde, accompanied by a geographical and historical account of those countries' etc. By Lieut Henry Pottinger. London 1816.

\(^4\) Thirlwall c 55.
such a motley throng of subjects. His frontiers were advanced up to the Jaxartes and the Danube and beyond the Indus and the Nile. A serious rising in Greece (B.C. 330) had been crushed by his lieutenant Antipater; other risings in the East had been put down effectually, at least for the present: all seemed to be going well when the conqueror held his great marriage feast at Susa in the year 324. On this occasion he himself and many of his generals had taken wives of the conquered peoples; the West was holding out hands to the East¹. What might have been the result, had the hero lived to carry on his work, it would now be vain to enquire. His days were numbered, and at the height of his power and glory he died at Babylon² in 323. His empire at once fell to pieces, and out of the fragments his generals carved out kingdoms and founded great dynasties of their own. The most noteworthy of these was that of the Ptolemies³ in Egypt, founded by Ptolemy Lagus one of Alexander's best generals, who when king wrote the history of his great master's campaigns. It was natural that Ptolemy more than any other man should recall the memories of those conquests, having ever before him one of Alexander's master-strokes of genius,—the new port of Alexandria rising into wealth and greatness day by day. To this city⁴ he artfully contrived to transport the remains of its royal founder, and laid them in a fitting sepulchre.

¹ Arrian vii. 4 §§ 4—8, Curtius x. 3 §§ 10—14.
² See Mayor on Juvenal x. 171—2. According to some accounts he was buried there.
³ For the Ptolemies see Strabo xvii. 1 §§ 11 beginning Πτολεμαῖος γὰρ ὁ Αὔγους ὀιδέξας Ἀλέξανδρον etc.
⁴ See Diodorus xviii. 28, Herodian iv. 8 § 9, Lucan x. 20, 21, Dion Cassius li. 16 § 5, Lucian dial mort. 13 § 5, Aelian var hist. xii. 64, Suet. Aug. 18, Cal. 52, and Curtius x. 10 § 20. Also 'The tomb of Alexander, a dissertation on the sarcophagus brought from Alexandria and now in the British Museum', by Edward Daniel Clarke LL.D, Fellow of Jesus College Cambridge.
fully deserved this title, if ever man did. As a warrior, he rivallcd the finest soldiers of his army in endurance of toil and hardship and in reckless bravery on the battle-field; while few even of the greatest generals have equalled him in the patient and skilful forethought with which his plans were laid, or in the speed and vigour with which he carried them out. Even plans of doubtful wisdom succeeded by reason of his rapidity of movement. The confidence he inspired in his soldiers under the most trying circumstances produced a ready obedience to discipline even in the hour of victory. The power—indispensable in a general—of rapidly taking advantage of his adversary's mistakes and correcting his own was possessed by him in a very high degree. As a king, though his designs were crude and though with the hopefulness of youth he fondly deemed that the possible work of centuries might be surely accomplished in years, there was in him a grandeur of conception, a liberal breadth of view, which places him in the first rank among the rulers of mankind. His freedom from prejudice and readiness to do justice to the merits of others are wonderful, if we consider his age and circumstances: his ambition and occasional acts of cruelty have had their parallels in all ages not excepting our own. With a true kindliness of heart and manner and a benevolent zeal¹ for the welfare of his subjects he united a love of order and a capacity for affairs² which would bear comparison with the coldest and most calculating ministers of modern times. When he had to choose between two great difficulties, the risk of offending Macedonian pride on the one hand or of trying to hold down so many nations by sheer force

¹ He even made provision for soldiers' orphan children. Plut Alex 71.
² Plut Alex 42 notes the wonderful extent and minuteness of his correspondance among his manifold other occupations. To his mother and his lieutenants (Antipater and others) he wrote constantly, and also to Aristotle and Leonidas his teachers, to Pausanias the doctor, to Phokion at Athens, to the Athenians etc, and also kept journals of his doings (ἐφημερίδες).
INTRODUCTION.

on the other, his ‘clear spirit’ never faltered in the choice: so they would be his good obedient subjects, Macedonian Greek Indian and Baktorian to him were all alike. But if he approached more nearly than any other man has done to his own ideal, the Homeric Agamemnon.

yet this was not all; as an explorer he must stand high, eager as he was for discovery and never losing an opportunity of extending the knowledge of the geography and products of foreign lands and of the laws customs and ideas of their inhabitants. Not only was he in general an encourager of all research, but we are credibly informed in particular that Aristotle’s studies in natural history were materially assisted by the magnificent and judicious help of his former pupil.

His defects were mainly of a kind that it is at this distance of time most difficult to judge fairly. They were failings of temper, excusable in a quick-witted and warm-hearted youth, but annoying and even alarming to his companions, particularly when he had conquered the East and when life or death hung upon his smile or frown. It must be admitted that his temper did not improve with years. His marshals and literary courtiers must often have drawn a sigh of relief when released safely from a banquet which they could not refuse to attend and at which they had been sitting within a few feet of a fiery and capricious despot who became every moment more drunk and therefore more dangerous. In connexion with this social defect we may mention other weak points upon which the judgment of his contemporaries was probably too lenient, at least from our point of view. We should think his magnificence

1 Plut de Alex fort I 6 says that Aristotle had advised him to rule Greeks as subjects and barbarians as slaves but Alexander knew better, and brought the nations together as an impartial ruler, and blended various elements.

2 Iliad 111 179.

3 Plin nat hist VIII § 44, Plut Alex S, de Alex fort I 10, Athenaeus IX p 398 e.
and generosity too ostentatious, and his clemency too exclusively the result of calculation: but judged by the standard of his own day these would pass for unmixed heroic virtues. His ambition seems to us somewhat deformed by a too ready acceptance of flattery and by the vanity which led him to claim a divine origin. But to find fault with such weaknesses in a young conqueror situated as he was is merely saying that he was a man. His tender affection for Hephaestion, and the unwavering love he bore to the high-spirited mother from whom he inherited his self-willed and ambitious temperament, shew that he remained inwardly sound and amiable to the last.

(12) If we try Alexander by a test commonly applied to great kings—the permanence of their work—we shall not find him wanting. That his vast empire, won as it was by only ten years of conquest, should have fallen to pieces when the master’s hand was so untimely withdrawn, is no blot on his fame: it could not have held together. But that any of his work, performed in such haste, should have stood the test of time is indeed a marvel. Yet not only did the kingdoms of his successors in the West attain to great strength, but there was formed in the East a kingdom of Baktria which lasted for centuries and long retained the traces of its Greek or Macedonian origin. The Greeks at home had long lost the power of combining to form a really powerful state; and it

1 See Arrian vii 29 §§ 1, 3, Curtius x 5 §§ 29, 33.
2 Curtius x 5 § 39, Plut Alex 39.
3 Plutarch has preserved a neat remark made at the time, that the Macedonian army on losing its leader resembled the Cyclops with his one eye put out.
4 For the long vivid and still enduring memory of the great Iskender or Sekander in Asia, and for the Baktrian kingdom, see Marco Polo 29 and Col Yule’s note, also on iii 15, iv 21, Schuyler’s Turkistan c 3 (vol i p 115), c 11 (vol ii p 142), app ii (vol i p 366), note on c 9 (vol ii p 50), D’Herbelot’s bibliothèque orientale vol i p 649, Elphinstone app iv, Wheeler vol iii p 177. There has just appeared a treatise on Alexander’s successors in Baktria and India by A von Sallet.
5 The general decay of Greek life and feeling at this time is vividly described by Mommsen in his History of Rome bk iii c 14.
was perhaps well that they should bear the Macedonian yoke for a while and learn—some of them at least—to seek a humbler road to freedom in the unambitious federation of the Achaean League. The spread of Greek civilization in Asia Minor and Syria was due in the first instance to the conquests of Alexander; but of all that he did nothing is so truly a monument of his greatness as the city of Alexandria. He knew that he had found a site for a great and wealthy port, and the result more than fulfilled his expectation. Under the wise care of the Ptolemies there arose in this great mart of commerce such a system of libraries museums observatories lecture-rooms and other means of learning as the world had never yet seen and of which it did not, after their destruction, see the like for many centuries. Here were wrought out the most solid achievements of the Greek mind, those of the mathematicians whose astonishing progress in many sciences formed a starting-point for the great advances of modern times. Here too in the days of the Roman Empire was one of the chief seats of the theologistic Christianity of the East. We see then that what he had done left it possible for smaller men to found smaller kingdoms of a Greekish character in Asia and Africa; and that a hybrid race was to a great extent produced on his very plan, by the fusion of the Oriental and the Greek.

(13) Such a test is however hardly necessary in the case

1 τὴν Ἑλλάδα σπείρα, as Plut de Alex. 10 makes him say. See also c 5 of the same work, and Mommsen bk v c 7 (iv p 301 Eng tr library ed).

2 See the description of the city in Strabo xvii 1 § 13. He calls it μέγιστον ἐμπόρον τῆς οἰκουμένης, writing in the time of Augustus. Also Gibbon c 10.

3 For instance Euclid, Konon, Hero, Ktesibius, Eratosthenes, Apollonius, Hipparchus, Ptolemy (the astronomer and geographer), and Pappus. The great Archimedes studied there.

4 See Gibbon cc 15, 21, 28.

5 Whether this Hellenizing of the East produced a desirable type of character, is a different question, and may well be doubted from our point of view. See Juvenal 111 58—125.
of Alexander. The mere fact of the general interest that so many generations have taken in his career shews that he must have had in him something to distinguish him from the ordinary run of kings and conquerors. He became the favourite theme\(^1\) of the rhetoricians. Imagination revelled in the fancy of all he might have thought or said at the critical moments of his life. The vocabulary of praise was exhausted\(^2\) in finding names of attributes sufficient to portray the perfection of his character. There is at the same time some reason to suspect that, in order to account for the misdeeds of a hero so apparently faultless, his tendency to drunkenness has been exaggerated. We have good authority\(^3\) for believing that he drank sparingly and rather by way of good-fellowship than from a liquorish appetite; while we know that he was naturally quick-tempered and passionate. There are still extant, chiefly in Plutarch, a number of tales of his boyhood and youth shewing him to have been a daring and wayward but generous lad, swelling with pride and ambition, of quick wit, active and inquisitive. These anecdotes are probably true enough in the main; at all events he grew up such as these glimpses of his early years would lead us to expect. Among the most interesting stories of his manhood are those describing his interview\(^4\) with the Greek Cynic philosopher Diogenes and his curiosity concerning the Indian Brahmans\(^5\). He saw that

---

1 See Cic ad Att xiii 23, de orat ii § 341, de fin ii § 116, Mayor on Juv x 168, and appendix A at end of our notes.

2 Plutarch in his two orations or pamphlets περὶ τῆς Ἀλεξάνδρου τίχης ἢ ἀρετῆς assigns him the following qualities; εὐβουλία, καρτερία, ἀνδρεία, σωφροσύνη, μεγαλοψυχία, συνειδ., ἀνδραγαθία, δικαιοσύνη, πράσινός, κόσμος, εὐτέλεια, πίστις, εὐπρεπί, ἐγκράτεια, εὐποιία, ἀφοβία, εὐψεία, φιλανθρωπία, ὀμιλία εὐάρμοστος, ἀγευμένοις ἐδοκίμασα, εὐστάθεια ἐν βουλαίς, τάχος ἐν πράξει, ἀρχικές, προαίρεσις ἐν τῷ καλῷ τελεσιουργῷ, and speaks of him as φιλόσοφος, ἡγεμόνις κοινῶς, βασιλεύς φιλανθρωπός, ἀληθές καὶ πεπνυμένος τῷ λογισμῷ πάντα πράττων.

3 See Arrian vii 29 § 4, Plutarch Alex 4, 23.

4 Plut Alex 14.

5 See Arrian vii i § 5—3 § 6, Strabo xv i §§ 61—65, Plut Alex 64, 65, de Alex fort i 10, Thirlwall c 53, Wheeler vol iii p 169.
to be content with a little was merely another way of achieving the satisfaction which he himself sought by vast labour; were he not Alexander the conqueror, he would rather live the life of a recluse or ascetic than be vexed by the vain unfulfilled desires that torment ordinary men and send them disappointed to their graves. In later times the name of Alexander became a proverbial expression for ambition, and was constantly used to point the moral that great and small alike must 'come to dust'. As to his personal appearance we are told that his well-grown figure indicated great strength and activity; his countenance was fair and ruddy, his eyes soft and pleasing. His profile on coins and gems shews the marked prominence of the lower part of the forehead which we often notice in men of an eager and pushing temperament. He was blessed with a good digestion, and, in spite of all the trials to which he subjected his constitution, he enjoyed on the whole excellent health. It is certain that he died leaving the execution of many even of his prepared schemes wholly unattempted. Whether the papers found in his cabinet after his death relating to several such schemes were all or in part genuine cannot be determined. But he seems not to have conceived any definite plan for attacking the Roman republic now growing into a formidable power in the West. If however he had lived twenty years longer there would probably have been a collision between

1 Everywhere. See in particular Seneca cpp 119 § 7 'numquam parum est quod satis est, et numquam multum est quod satis non est: post Darcum et Indos pauper est Alexander; and de benef 1 13.

2 Juvenal X 168—173, Statius silv II 7 93—5, and epigram 437 in Riese's anthology quisquis adhuc nondum fortunae mobile regnum nec sortem varias eredes habere vices, aspice Alexandri positum memorabile corpus: abscondit tantum putum harena virum. See Hamlet V i 191—200.

3 Plut Alex 4, Curtius X 5 § 27.

4 Unless we are to believe the statement of some writers whom Arrian VII I § 3 quotes without naming and evidently does not believe. See however Plin nat hist III § 57 and Dante de monarchia II 9.
them. It was this consideration that led the Greeks to say in after times that Rome never had a greater stroke of luck than in the early death of Alexander. Roman writers were not at a loss for answers to the sneer. But their main argument, the taking of Hannibal’s failure as a case in point, is utterly worthless. Not only was the destructive Hannibal far inferior to the constructive Alexander, but Rome in the fourth century B.C had not that solid organization of power throughout Italy which foiled the genius of the Phoenician adventurer in the third. The controversy is interesting to us as shewing the interest felt not only in what Alexander actually did but in what he might have done.

(14) Here then we take our leave of our hero, perhaps the most striking figure in all antiquity; one who roused even to despair the widely different ambitions of Caesar and Julian, and is perhaps only commensurable with one other character in history—the emperor Charles the Great.

1 Plutarch περὶ τῆς Παμαίων τύχης chapter 13. Weissenborn thinks that the remark had been already made by Timagenes, and that the retort of Livy ix 17—19 is very likely directed against this writer.
2 See Suet Jul 7, and Julian p 253 a, b.

[Note. It may be well to remark that the name Panjab, the land of the ‘five streams’, is well explained and illustrated by Mr Isaac Taylor in ‘Words and Places’ c 9 pp 131—133. The five are Jhelam, Chenab, Ravi, Bias, Satlej.]
ABSTRACT OF THE NARRATIVE.

VIII 9 Description of India.

10, 11 Alexander's operations in the country to the west of the Indus.

12, 13 Passage of the Indus, and submission of certain rajas. Alexander brought face to face with Porus on the Jhelam. Strategic movements and passage of the river.

14 Battle on the Eastern bank, and defeat of the Hindu army.

IX 1 Alexander's advance through the Panjab. Submission of rajas. Products and customs described.

2 Schemes and enquiries of Alexander. He tries in a speech to induce his army to advance further.

3 Answer of Coenus on behalf of the army. March back to the Jhelam and descent of the river.

4, 5 Operations in descending the Jhelam and Chenab. Great danger of Alexander.


9 Alexander explores the mouths of the Indus. The fleet in great danger from the rise and fall of the tide.

10 The homeward march.
Sed ne otium serendis rumoribus natum aleret, in 9
India movit, semper bello quam post victoriam clarior.
India tota ferme spectat orientem, minus in latitudinem, 2
quam recta regione spatisa. quae austrum accipiunt, in 3
altius terrae fastigium excedunt: plana sunt cetera multisque
inclitis amnibus Caucaso monte ortis placidum per campos
iter praebent. Indus gelidior est, quam ceteri: aquas vehit 4
a colore maris haud multum abhorrentes. Ganges, om-
nium ab Oriente fluvius eximius, ad meridianam regionem
decurrir et magnorum montium iuga recto alveo stringit:
inde eum obiectae rupes inclinant ad orientem. uterque 6
rubro mari accipitur. Indus ripas multasque arbores cum
magna soli parte exsorbet, saxis quoque impeditus, quis 7
crebro reverberatur: ubi mollius solum reperit, stagnat in-
sulasque molitur. Acesines eum auget. Ganges decur-
surum in mare Iomanen intercipit, magnoque motu amnis
uterque colliditur: quippe Ganges asperum os influenti
obicit, nec repercussae aquae cedunt. Dyardenes minus 9
celeber auditu est, quia per ultima Indiae currit: ceterum
non crocodilos modo, uti Nilus, sed etiam delphinos igno-
tasque aliiis gentibus beluas alit. Ethimantus, crebris 10
flexibus subinde curvatus, ab accolis rigantibus carpitur:
ca causa est, cur tenues reliquias iam sine nomine in mare

C.
emittat. multis praeter hos amnibus tota regio dividitur, sed ignobilibus, quia non adeo interfluunt. ceterum quae propiora sunt mari, aquilone maxime deuruntur: is cohibitus iugis montium ad interiora non penetrat, ita alendis frugibus mitia. sed adeo in illa plaga mundus statas temporum vices mutat, ut, cum alia fervore solis exaestuant, Indiam nives obruant, rursusque, ubi cetera rigent, illic intolerandus aestus existat. nec, cur inverterit se natura, causa. mare certe, quo adluitur, ne colore quidem abhorret a ceteris. ab Erythro rege inditum est nomen: propter quod ignari rubere aquas eredunt. terra lini ferax: inde plerisque sunt vestes. libri arborum teneri haud secus quam chartae litterarum notas capiunt. aves ad imitandum humanae vocis sonum dociles sunt. animalia invisi-
tata ceteris gentibus nisi inventa. eadem terra rhinocerotas alit, non generat. elephasorum maior est vis, quam quos in Africa domitant, et viribus magnitudo respondet. aurum flumina vehunt, quae leni modicoque lapsu segnes aquas ducunt. gemmas margaritasque mare litoribus infundit: neque alia illis maior opulentiae causa est, utique postquam vitiorum commercium vulgavere in exteras gentes: quippe aestimantur purgamenta exaestuantis freti pretio, quod libido constituit. ingenia hominum, sicut ubique, apud illos locorum quoque situs format. corpora usque pedes carbaso velant, soleis pedes, capita linteis vinciunt. lapilli ex auribus pendent, brachia quoque et laceros auro colunt, quibus inter populares aut nobilitas aut opes eminent. cap-
pillum pectunt saepius, quam tendent, mentum semper intonsum est, reliquam oris cutem ad speciem levitatis exae-
quant. regum tamen luxuria, quam ipsi magnificentiam appellant, super omnium gentium vitia. cum rex semet in publico conspici patitur, turibula argentea ministri ferunt totumque iter, per quod ferri destinavit, odoribus conplent.
aurea lectica margaritis circumpendentibus recubat: distincta sunt auro et purpura carbasa, quae indutus est: lecticam sequuntur armati corporisque custodes, inter quos ramis aves pendent, quas cantu seriis rebus obstrepere docuerunt. regia auratas columnas habet: totas eas vitis auro caelata percurrit, aviumque, quarum visu maxime gaudent, argenteae effigies opera distinguunt. regia ad-euntibus patet, cum capillum pectit atque ornat: tunc responsa legationibus, tunc iura popularibus reddit. demptis soleis odoribus inlinuntur pedes. venatus maximus labor est inclusa vivario animalia inter vota cantusque pelicu-cum figere. binum cubitorum sagittae sunt, quas emittunt maiore nisu quam effectu: quippe telum, cuius in levitate vis omnis est, inhabili pondere oneratur. breviora itinera equo conficit: longior ubi expeditio est, elephanti vehunt currum, et tantarum beluarum corpora tota conegunt auro. ac ne quid perditis moribus desit, lectis aureis pelicum longus ordo sequitur: separatum a reginae ordine agmen est aequatque luxuriam. feminae epulas parant. ab isdem vinum ministratur, cuius omnibus Indis largus est usus. regem mero sonnoque sopitum in cubiculum pelices referunt, patrio carmine noctium invocantes deos. quis credat inter haec vitia curam esse sapientiae? unum agreste et horridum genus est, quod sapientes vocant. apud hos occupare fati diem pulchrum, et vivos se cremari iubent, quibus aut segnis aetas aut incommoda valitudo est: ex-pectatam mortem pro dedecore vitae habent, nec ullus corporibus, quae senectus solvit, honos redditur: inquinari putant ignem, nisi qui spirantes recipit. illi, qui in urribus publicis moribus degunt, siderum motus scite spectare dicuntur et futura praedicere. nec quemquam admovere leti diem credunt, cuii expectare interrrito liceat. deos pu-tant, quidquid colere coeperunt, arbores maxime, quas vio-
lare capital est. menses in quinos denos discipserunt dies, 
anni plena spatia servantur. lunae cursu notant tempora, 
non, ut plerique, cum orbem sidus inplevit, sed cum se 
curvare coepit in cornua, et idcirco breviores habent menses, 
qui spatium eorum ad hunc lunae modum dirigunt. multa 
et alia traduntur, quibus morari ordinem rerum haud sane 
operae videbatur.

10 Igitur Alexandro fines Indiae ingresso gentium suarum 
reguli occurrerunt, imperata facturi, illum tertium Iove 
genitum ad ipsos pervenisse memorantes: patrem Liberum 
atque Herculem fama cognitos esse, ipsum eorum adesse 
cernique. rex benigne exceptos sequos iussit, isdem itinerem 
ducibus usurus. ceterum cum amplius nemo occurreret, 
Hephaestionem et Perdiecan cum copiarum parte praemisit 
ad subigendos, qui aversarentur imperium: iussitque ad 
flumen Indum procedere et navigia facere, quis in ulteriora 
transportari posset exercitus. illi, quia plura flumina supe-
randata erant, sic iunxere naves, ut solutae plaustris vehi 
possent rursusqueconiungi. post se Cratero cum phalange 
iusso sequis equitatum ac levet armaturam eduxit eosque, 
quii occurrerunt, levi proelio in urbem proximam conpulit. 
iam supervenerat Craterus. itaque ut principio terorem 
incuteret genti nondum arma Macedonum expertae, prae-
cipit, ne cui parceretur, munimentis urbis, quam obsidebat, 
incensis. ceterum, dum obequitat moenibus, sagitta ictus 
cepit tamen oppidum, et omnibus incolis eius trucidatis 
etiam in tecta saevitum est.

7 Inde domita ignobili gente ad Nysam urbem pervenit. 
forte castris ante ipsa moenia in silvestri loco positis no-
turnum frigus vehementius quam alias horrore corpora 
adfecit, opportunumque remedium ignis oblatum est. caesis 
quippe silvis flammam excitaverunt, quae igni alita oppida-
norum sepulcra comprehendit. vetusta cedro erant facta
conceptumque ignem late fudere, donec omnia solo aequata sunt. et ex urbe primum canum latratus, deinde etiam hominum fremitus auditus est. tum et oppidani hostem, et Macedones ad urbem ipsos venisse cognoscunt. iamque rex eduxerat copias et moenia obsidebat, cum hostium, qui discrimen temptaverant, obruti telis sunt. aliis ergo dedicationem, aliis pugnam experiri placebat: quorum dubitatione conperta circumscriberi tantum eos et abstineri caedibus iussit: tandemque obsidionis malis fatigati dedidere se. a Libero patre conditos se esse dicebant: et vera haec origo erat. sita est sub radicibus montis, quem Meron incolae appellant. inde Graeci mentiendi traxere licentiam, Iovis femine Liberum patrem esse celatum. rex situ montis cognito ex incolis cum toto exercitu praemissis commeatibus verticem eius ascendit. multa hedera vitisque toto gignitur monte, multae perennes aquae manant. pomorum quoque varii salubresque suci sunt sua sponte fortuitorum seminum fruges humo nutriente. lauri baccarisque multa in illis rupibus agrestis est Silva. credo equidem non divino instinctu, sed lascivia esse provectos, ut passim hederae ac vitium folia decerperent redimitique fronde toto nemore similis bacchantibus vagarentur. vocibus ergo tot milium praesidem nemoris eius deum adorantium iuga montis collesque resonabant, cum orta licentia a paucis, ut fere fit, in omnes se repente vulgasset. quippe velut in media pace per herbas adgestamque frondem prostravere corpora. et rex fortuitam laetitiam non aversatus large ad epulas omnibus praebitis per x dies Libero patri operatum habuit exercitum. quis neget eximiam quoque gloriam saepius fortunae quam virtutis esse beneficium? quippe ne epulantes quidem et sopitos mero adgredi ausus est hostis, haud secus bacchantium ululantiumque fremitu perterritus, quam si proeliantium clamor esset auditus. eadem felicitas ab oceano.
revertentes temulentos comissantesque inter ora hostium textit.

19 Hinc ad regionem, quae Daedala vocatur, perventum est. deseruerant incolae sedes et in avios silvestresque montes confugerant. ergo Acadira transit, acque usta et des-
tituta incolentium fuga. itaque rationem belli necessitas
mutavit. divisis enim copiis pluribus simul locis arma
ostendit, oppressique, ubi non expectaverant hostem, omni
clade perdomiti sunt. Ptolomaeus plurimas urbes, Alexander
maximas cepit: rursusque, quas distribuerat, copias iunxit.
22 superato deinde Choaspe amne Coenon in obsidione urbis
opulentae—Beiram incolae vocant—reliquit: ipse ad Maza-
gas venit. nuper Assacano, cuius regnum fuerat, demortuo
regioni urbique pracerat mater eius Cleophis. xxxviii milia
peditum tuebantur urbem non situ solum, sed etiam opere
munitam. nam qua spectat orientem, cingitur amne tor-
renti, qui praeruptis utrimque ripis ad urbem inpedit.
24 ad occidentem et a meridie velut de industria rupes prae-
altas admolita natura est, infra quas cavernae et voragines
longa vetustate in altum cavatae iacent, quaque desinunt,
25 fossa ingentis operis obiecta est. xxxv stadium murus
urbem complectitur, cuius inferiora saxo, superiora crudo
latere sunt structa. lateri vinculum lapides sunt, quos inter-
posuere, ut duriori materiae fragilis incumberet, simulque
terra humore diluta. ne tamen universa consideret, inpositae
erant trabes validae, quibus iniecta tabulata muros et tege-
bant et pervios fecerant. haec munimenta contemplantem
Alexandrum consiliique incertum, quia nec cavernas nisi
aggere poterat inplere nec tormenta aliter muris admovere,
23 quidam e muro sagitta percussit. tum forte in suram
incidit telum: cuius spiculo evolso ad moveri equum iussit:
quo vectus ne obligato quidem vulnere haud segnius desti-
nata exequebatur. ceterum cum crus saucium penderet, et
cruore siccato frigescens vulnus adgravaret dolorem, dixisse fertur se quidem Iovis filium dici, sed corporis aegri vitia sentire. non tamen ante se recepit in castra, quam cuncta perspexit, et, quae fieri vellet, edixit. ergo, sicut imperatum erat, aliis extra urbem tecta moliebantur ingentemque vinum materiae faciendo aggeri detrahebant, aliis magnarum arborum stipites cum ramis ac moles saxorum in cavernas deiciebant. iamque agger aequaverat summae fastigium terrae: itaque turres erigebant, quae opera ingenti militum ardore intra nonum diem absoluta sunt. ad ea visenda rex nondum obducta vulneri cicatrice processit laudatisque militibus admoveri machinas iussit, e quibus ingens vis telorum in propugnatores effusa est. praeципue rudes talium operum terrebant mobiles turres, tantasque moles nulla ope, quae cerneretur, adiutae deorum numine agi credebant: pila quoque muralia et excussas tormentis praegraves hastas negabant convenire mortalibus. itaque desperata urbis tutela concessere in arcem. inde, quia nihil obsessis praeter deditionem patebat, legati ad regem descenderunt veniam petiri. qua inpetrata regina venit cum magno nobilibus feminarum grege aureis pateris vina libantium. ipsa genibus regis parvo filio admoto non veniam modo, sed etiam pristinae fortunae inpetravit decus. quippe appellata regina est: et credidere quidam plus formae quam miserationi datum. puero quoque certe postea ex ea utcumque genito Alexandro fuit nomen.

Hinc Polypercon ad urbem Noram cum exercitu missus inconditos oppidanos proelio vicit: intra munimenta compressos secutus urbem in dicionem redegit. multa ignobilia oppida deserta a suis venere in regis potestatem. quorum incolae armati petram Aornim nomine occupaverunt. hanc ab Hercule frustra obsessam esse terraeque motu coactum absistere fama vulgaverat. inopem consili Alexandre, quia
undique praeceps et abrupta rupes erat, senior quidam peritus locorum cum duobus filiis adiit, si pretium operaæ esset, aditum se monstraturum esse promittens. l.xxx talenta constituit daturum Alexander et altero ex iuvenibus obside retento ipsum ad exequenda, quae obtulerat, dimisit. leviter armatis dux datus est Mullinus, scriba regis. hos enim circuitu, quo fallerent hostem, in summum iugum placebat evadere. petra non, ut pleraeque, modicis ac mollibus clivis in sublime fastigium crescit, sed in metae maxime modum erecta est, cuibus ima spathosiora sunt, altiora in artius coeunt, summa in acutum cacumen exurgunt. radices eius Indus amnis subit, praebat, utrimque asperis ripis: ab altera parte voragines eluviesque praeruptae sunt. nec alia expugnandi patebat via, quam ut replerentur. ad manum silva erat, quam rex ita caedi iussit, ut nudi stipites iacerentur: quippe rami fronde vestiti impeditissent ferentes. ipse primus truncam arborem iecit, clamorque exercitus, index alacritatis, secutus est nullo detectante munus, quod rex occupavisset. intra septimum diem cavernas expleverant, cum rex sagittarios et Agrianos iubet per ardua niti: iuvenesque promptissimos ex sua cohorte xxx delegit. duces his dati sunt Charus et Alexander, quem rex nominis, quod sibi cum eo commune esset, admonuit. ac primo, quia tam manifestum periculum erat, ipsum regem discrimen subire non placuit: sed ut signum tumba datum est, vir audaciae promptae conversus ad corporis custodes sequi se iubet primusque invadit in rupem. nec deinde quisquam Macedonum substitit, relictisque stationibus sua sponte regem sequabantur. multorum miserabilis fuit casus, quos ex praerupta rupe lapsos amnis praeterfluens hausit, triste spectaculum etiam non periclitantibus: cum vero alieno exitio, quid ipsis timendum foret, admonerentur, in metum misericordia versa non extinctos, sed semetipsos deflebant. et iam eo perventum
erat, unde sine pernicie nisi victores redire non possent, ingenia saxa in subeuntes provolventibus barbaris, quis perculsi instabili et lubrico gradu praecipites recidebant. evaserant tamen Alexander et Charus, quos cum xxx delectis praemiserat rex, et iam pugnare comminus coeperant: sed cum superne tela barbari ingererent, saepius ipsi feriebantur, quam vulnerabant. ergo Alexander et nominis sui et promissi memor, dum acrius quam cautius dimicat, confossus undique obruitur. quem ut Charus iacentem conspexit, ruere in hostem omnium praeter ultionem inmemor coepit multosque hasta, quosdam gladio interemit: sed cum tot unum incesserent manus, super amici corpus procubuit examinis. haud secus, quam par erat, promptissimorum inuenum ceterorumque militum interitu commotus rex signum receptui dedit. saluti fuit, quod sensim et in-trepidi se receperunt, et barbari hostem depulisse contenti non institere cedentibus. ceterum Alexander cum statuisset desistere incepto—quippe nulla spes potiundae petrae offerebatur—tamen speciem ostendit in obsidione perseverantis. nam et itinera obsideri iussit et turres ad moveri et fatigatis aliis succedere. cuius pertinacia cognita Indi per biduum quidem ac duas noctes cum ostentatione non fiduciae modo, sed etiam victoriae, epulati sunt, tympana suo more pulsantes. tertia vero nocte tympanorum quidem strepitus desierat audiri, ceterum ex tota petra faces refulgebant, quas accenderant barbari, ut tutior esset ipsis fuga, obscura nocte per invia saxa cursuris. rex Balacro, qui specularetur, praemisso cognoscit petram fuga Indorum esse desertam. tum dato signo, ut universi clamarent, inconposite fugientibus metum incussit: multique, tamquam adesset hostis, per lubrica saxa perque invias cotes praecipitati occiderunt, plures aliquo membrorum parte mulcati ab integris deserti sunt. rex locorum magis quam hostium
victor tamen magnae victoriae speciem sacrificiis et cultu
deum fecit. arae in petra locatae sunt Minervae Victoriae-
que. ducibus itineris, quo subire iusserat leviter armatos,
et si promissis minora praestiterant, pretium cum fide red-
ditum est. petrae regionisque ei adiunctae Sisocosto tutela
permissa.

Inde processit Ecbolima: et cum angustias itineris ob-
sideri xx milibus armatorum ab Erice quodam conperisset,
gravius agmen exercitus Coeno ducendum modicus itineribus
tradidit: ipse praegressus per funditores ac sagittarios detur-
batis, qui obsederant saltum,sequentibus se copiis viam fecit.

Indi sive odio ducis, sive gratiam victoris inituri Ericen fugi-
entem adorit interemerunt caputque eius atque arma ad
Alexandrum detulerunt. ille facto inpunitatem dedit,
honorem denegavit exemplo.

Hinc ad flumen Indum sextisdecumis castris pervenit
omniaque, ut praeciperat, ad traiciendum praeparata ab
Hephaestione repperit. regnabat in ea regione Omphis,
qui patri quoque fuerat auctor dedendi regnum Alexandro et
post mortem parentis legatos miserat, qui consulerent eum,
regnare se interim vellet, an privatum opperiri eius adven-
tum. permissoque ut regnaret, non tamen ius datum usur-
pare sustinuit. is benigne quidem exceperat Hephaestionem,
gratuitum frumentum copiis eius admensus, non tamen ei
occurrerat, ne fidem ullius nisi regis experiretur. itaque
venienti obviam cum armato exercitu egressus est; elephanti
quoque per modica intervalla militum agmini inmixti procul
castellorum fecerant speciem. ac primo Alexander non
socium, sed hostem adventare credebat, iamque et ipse arma
milites capere et equites discedere in cornua iusserat, paratus
ad pugnam. at Indus cognito Macedonum errore iussis
subsistere ceteris ipse concitat equum, quo vehebatur: idem
Alexander quoque fecit, sive hostis sive amicus occurreret,
vel sua virtute vel illius fide tutus. coivere, quod ex utriusque vultu posset intelligi, amicis animis: ceterum sine interprete non poterat conseri sermo. itaque adhibito eo barbarus occurrisse se dixit cum exercitu totas imperii vires protinus traditum nec expectasse, dum per nuntios dare tur fides. corpus suum et regnum permittere illi, quem sciret gloriae militantem nihil magis quam famam timere perfidia. laetus simplicitate barbari rex et dexteram, fidei suae pignus, dedit et regnum restituit. LVI elephanti erant, quos tradidit Alexandro, multaque pecora eximiae magnitudinis, tauros ad III milia, pretiosum in ea regione acceptumque animis regnantium armentum. quae renti Alexandro, plures agricultores haberet, an milites, cum duobus regibus bellanti sibi maiore militum quam agrestium manu opus esse respondit. Abisares et Porus erant, sed in Pore eminebat auctoritas. uterque ultra Hydaspen annem regnabat et belli fortunam, quisquis arma inferret, experiri decreverat. Omphis permittente Alexandro et regium insigne sumpsit et more gentis suae nomen, quod patris fuerat: Taxilen appellavere populares, sequente nomine imperium, in quemcumque transiret. igitur cum per triduum hospitaliter Alexandrum accepisset, quarto die et, quantum frumenti copiis, quas Hephaestion duxerat, praebitum a se esset, ostendit et aureas coronas ipsi amicisque omnibus, praeter haec signati argenti LXXX talenta dono dedit. qua benignitate eius Alexander mire laetus et, quae is dederat, remisit et mille talenta ex praeda, quam vehebat, adiecit multaque convivalia ex auro et argento vasa, plurimum Persicae vestis, XXX equos ex suis cum isdem insignibus, quis adsueverant, cum ipsum veherent. quae liberalitas sicut barbarum obstrinxerat, ita amicos ipsius vehementer offendit. e quibus Meleager super cenam largiorem vino usus gratulari se Alexandro dixit, quod saltim in India repperisset dignum talentis mille. rex haud oblitus, quam
aegre tulisset, quod Clitum ob linguae temeritatem occidisset, iram quidem tenuit, sed dixit invidos homines nihil alind quam ipsorum esse tormenta.

13 Postero die legati Abisarae adiere regem. omnia diciani eius, ita ut mandatum erat, permittebant: firmataque invicem fide remittuntur ad regem. Porum quoque nominis sui fama ratus ad deditionem posse compelli, misit ad eum Cleocharen, qui denuntiaret ei, ut stipendium penderet et in primo suorum finium aditu occurreret regi. Porus alterum ex his facturum sese respondit, ut intranti regnum suum praesto esset, sed armatus. iam Hydaspen Alexander superare decreverat, cum Barzaentes, deflectionis Arachosiis auctor, vincit trigintaque elephanti simul capiti perducuntur, opportunum adversus Indos auxilium; quippe plus in beluis, quam in exercitu spei ac virium illis erat. Samaxus quoque, rex exiguae partis Indorum, qui Barzaenti se coniunxerat, vincit adductus est. igitur transfuga et regulo in custodiam, elephantis autem Taxili traditis ad annem Hydaspen pervenit, in cuius ulteriore ripa Porus consederat transitu prohibitus hostem. LXXX et V elephanto obierat eximio corporum robore ultraque eos currus CCC et peditum XXX fere milia, in quis erant sagittarii, sicuti ante dictum est, gravioribus telis, quam ut apte excuti possent. ipsum vehabat elephantis super ceteras beluas eminens, armaque auro et argento distincta corpus rarae magnitudinis honestabant. par animus robori corporis, et quanta inter rudes poterat esse sapientia. Macedonas non conspectus hostium solum, sed etiam fluminis, quod transeundum erat, magnitudo terrebat. III in latitudinem stadia diffusus profundo alveo et husquam vada aperiente speciem vasti maris fecerat. nec pro spatio aquarium late stagnantium impetum coercerabat, sed quasi in artum coeuntibus ripis torrens et elius ferebatur, occultae saxa inesse ostendebant pluribus locis undae re-
percussae. terribilior erat facies ripae, quam equi virique conpleverant. stabant ingentes vastorum corporum moles et de industria irritatae horrendo stridore aures fatigabant. hinc amnis, hinc hostis capacia quidem bonae spei pectora et saepe se experta improviso tamem pavore percusserant. quippe inhabiles rates nec dirigi ad ripam, nec tuto adplicari posse credebant. erant in medio amne insulae crebrae, in quas et Indi et Macedones nantes levatis super capita armis transibant. ibi levia proelia conserebantur, et uterque rex parvae rei discrimine summae experiebatur eventum. ceterum in Macedonum exercitu temeritate atque audacia insignes fuere Symmachus et Nicanor, nobiles iuvenes et perpetua partium felicitate ad spernendum omne periculum accensi. quis ducibus promptissimi iuvenum lanceis modo armati transnavere in insulam, quam frequens hostis tenebat, multosque Indorum, nulla re melius quam audacia armati, interemerunt. abire cum gloria poterant, si umquam temeritas felix inveniret modum: sed dum supervenientes contemptim et superbe quoque expectant, circumventi ab iis, qui occulti enaverant, eminus obruti telis sunt. qui effugerant hostem, aut impetu amnis ablati sunt aut verticibus impliciti. eaque pugna multitum Pori fiduciam erexit cuncta cernentis e ripa. Alexander inops consilii tandem ad fallendum hostem tales dolum intendit. erat insula in flumine amplior ceteris, silvestris eadem et tegendis insidiis apta. fossa quoque praealta haud procul ripa, quam tenebat ipse, non pedites modo, sed etiam cum equis viros poterat abscondere. igitur ut a custodia huius opportunitatis oculos hostium averteret, Ptolomaeum omnibus turmis obequitare iussit procul insula et subinde Indos clamore terrere, quasi flumen transnaturus foret. per conplures dies Ptolomaeus id fecit eoque consilio Porum quoque agmen suum ei parti, quam se petere simulabat, coegit advertere. iam extra conspectum hostis insula erat.
Alexander in diversa parte ripae statui suum tabernaculum iussit adsuetamque comitari ipsum cohortem ante id tabernaculum stare et omnem apparatum regiae magnificentiae hostium oculis de industria ostendi. Attalum etiam, aequalem sibi et haud disparem habitu oris et corporis, utique cum procul viseretur, veste regia exornat, praebiturum speciem, ipsum regem illi ripae praesidere nec agitare de transitu. huius consilii effectum primo morata tempestas est, mox adiuvit, incommoda quoque ad bonos eventus vertente fortuna. traiere annem cum ceteris copiis in regionem insulae, de qua dictum est, parabat, averso hoste in eos, qui cum Ptolomaeo inferiorem obsederant ripam, cum procella imbrem vix sub tectis tolerabilem effundit. obrutique milites nimbo in terram refugerunt navigiis ratibusque desertis. sed tumultuantium fremitus obstrepentibus ventis ab hoste non poterat audiri. deinde momento temporis repressus est imber: ceterum adeo spissae intendere se nubes, ut conderent lucem, vixque conloquium inter ipsos facies noscitarentur. terruisset alium obducta nox caelo, cum ignoto amne navigandum esset, forsitan hoste eam ipsam ripam, quam caeci atque inprovidi petebant, tenente. at rex periculo gloriam accersens et obscuritatem, quae ceteros terrebat, suam occasionem ratus dato signo, ut omnes silentio ascenderent in rates, eam, qua ipse vehebatur, primam iussit expelli. vacua erat ab hostibus ripa, quae petebatur: quippe adiuc Porus Ptolomaeum tantum intuebatur. una ergo navi, quam petrae fluctus inliserat, haerente ceterae evadunt: armaque capere milites et ire in ordinem iussit.

Iamque agmen in cornua divisum ipse ducebat, cum Poro nutiatur armis virisque ripam obtineri et rerum adesse discrimen. ac primo humani ingenii vitio spei suae indulgentis Abisaren belli socium—et ita convenerat—adventare credebat. mox liquidiore luce aperiens aciem hostium c
quadrigas et IIII milia equitum venienti agmini obiecit. dux erat copiarum, quas praemisit, Hages, frater ipsius, summa virium in curribus: senos viros singuli vehebant, duos elipatos, duos sagittarios, ab utroque latere dispositos: aurigae erant ceteri, haud sane inermes; quippe iacula conplura, ubi comminus proeliandum erat, omissis habenis in hostem ingerebant. ceterum vix ullus usus huius auxiliio eo die fuit. namque, ut supra dictum est, imber violentius quam alias fusus campos lubricos et inequitabiles fecerat, gravesque et propemodum inmobiles currus inluvie ac voraginibus haerebant. contra Alexander expedito ac levi agmine strenue infectus est. Scythae et Dahae primi omnium invasere Indos: Perdiccam deinde cum equitibus in dextrum cornu hostium emisit. iam undique pugna se moverat, cum ii, qui currus agebant, illud ultimum auxilium suorum rati effusis habenis in medium discernen ruere coeperunt. anceps id malum utrisque erat: nam et Macedonum pedites primo impetu obterebantur et per lubrica atque invia inmissi currus excutiebant eos, a quibus regebantur: aliorum turbati equi non in voragines modo lacunasque, sed etiam in amnem praecipitavere curricula: pauci telis hostium exacti penetraverunt ad Porum acerrime pugnam ciment. is, ut dissipatos tota acie currus vagari sine rectoribus vidit, proximis amicorum distribuit elephantos. post eos posuerat peditem ac sagittarios et tympana pulsare solitos. id pro cantu tubarum Indis erat, nec strepitu eorum movebantur, olim ad notum sonum auribus mitigatis. Herculis simulacrum agmini peditem praeferebatur. id maximum erat bellantibus incitamentum, et deseruisse gestantes militare flagitium habebatur. capitis etiam sanxerant poenam iiis, qui ex acie non rettulissent, metu, quem ex illo hoste quondam conceperant, etiam in religionem venerationemque converso. Macedonas non beluarum modo, sed etiam ipsius regis aspectu, parum-
per inhibuit. beluae dispositae inter armatos speciem turrium procul fecerant. ipse Porus humanae magnitudinis prae-
modum exesserat formam. magnitudinem corpori adicere videbatur belua, qua vehebatur, tantum inter ceteras eminens,
quanto aliis ipse praestabat. itaque Alexander contemplatus et regem et agmen Indorum, 'tandem', inquit, 'par animo
meo periculum video. cum bestiis simul et cum egregiis
viris res est.' intuensque Coenon, 'cum ego', inquit, 'Pto-
lomaeo Perdiccaque et Hephaestione comitatus in laevum
hostium cornu impetum fecero, viderisque me in medio
ardore certaminis, ipse dextrum move et turbatis signa infer.
tu, Antigene, et tu, Leonnate, et Tauron, invehemini in
medium aciem et urgebitis frontem. hastae nostrae prae-
longae et valida non alias magis quam adversus beluas
rectoresque earum usui esse poterunt: deturbate eos, qui ve-
huntur, et ipsas confodite. aniceps genus auxilii est et in
suos acrius furit. in hostem enim imperio, in suos pavore
agitur.' haec elocutus concitat equum primus: iamque, ut
destinatum erat, invaserat ordines hostium, cum Coenus in-
genti vi in laevum cornu invehitur. phalanx quoque medium
Indorum aciem uno impetu perrupit. at Porus, qua equitem
invehi senserat, beluas agi iussit: sed tardum et paene in-
mobile animal equorum velocitatem aequare non poterat. ne
sagittarum quidem ullus erat barbaris usus: quippe longas et
praegraves, nisi prius in terra statuerent arcum, haud satis
apte et commode inponunt: tum humo lubrica et ob id in-
pediente conatum molientes ictus celeritate hostium occu-
pantur. ergo spreto regis imperio—quod fere fit, ubi turbatis
acrius metus quam dux imperare coepit—totidem erant im-
peratores, quot agmina errabant. alius iungere aciem, alius
dividere, stare quidam et nonnulli circumvehi terga hostium
iubebant. nihil in medium consulebatur. Porus tamen cum
paucis, quibus metu potior fuerat pudor, colligere dispersos,
obvius hosti ire pergit elephasque ante agmen suorum agi iubet. magnum beluae iniecer terrorem, insolitusque stridor non equos modo, tam pavidum ad omnia animal, sed viros quoque ordinesque turbaverat. iam fugae circum-
spiciebant locum paulo ante victores, cum Alexander Agrianos et Thracas leviter armatos, meliorem concursationem quem comminus militem, emisit in beluas. ingentem hi vim telorum iniecer et elephas et regentibus eos. phalanx quoque instare constanter territis coepit. sed quidam avidius persecuti beluas in semet inritavere vulneribus. obtiri ergo pedibus earum ceteris, ut parcius instarent, fuere documentum. praecipue terribilis illa facies erat, cum manu arma virosque corriperent et super se regentibus traderent. anceps ergo pugna nunc sequentium, nunc fugientium ele-
phantos in multum diei varium certamen extraxit: donec securibus—id namque genus auxilii praeparatum erat—pedes amputare coeperunt. copidas vocabant gladios leviter cur-
vatos, falcibus similes, quis adpetebant beluarum manus. nec quicquam inexpertum non mortis modo, sed etiam in ipsa morte novi supplicii timor omittebat. ergo elepha
terminibus tandem fatigati suos impetu sternunt, et, qui rexerant eos, praecipitati in terram ab ipsis obterebantur. itaque pecorum modo magis pavidi quam infesti ultra aciem exige-
bantur, cum Porus, destitutus a pluribus, tela multo ante praeparata in circumfusos ex elephanto suo coepit ingerere multisque eminus vulneratis expositus ipse ad ictus undique petebatur. novem iam vulnera hinc tergo, illinc pectore ex-
cepterat multoque sanguine profuso languidis manibus magis elapsa quam excusa tela mittebat. nec segnius belua in-
stantia rabie, nondum saucia, invehebatur ordinibus, donec rector beluae regem conspexit fluentibus membris omissisque armis vix compotem mentis. Tum beluam in fugam con-
citat sequente Alexandro: sed equus eius multis vulneribus
confossus deficiensque procubuit posito magis rege, quam effuso. itaque dum equum mutat, tardius insecutus est. interim frater Taxilis, regis Indorum, praemissus ab Alexandro monere coepit Porum, ne ultima experiri perseveraret dederetque se victori. at ille, quamquam exhaustae erant vires, deficiebatque sanguis, tamen ad notam vocem excitatus, 'adgnosco', inquit, 'Taxilis fratem, imperii regnique sui proditoris': et telum, quod unum forte non effuxerat, contorsit in eum: quod per medium pectus penetravit ad tergum. hoc ultimo virtutis opere edito fugere acrius coepit: sed elephantus quoque, qui multa exceperat tela, deficiebat. itaque sistit fugam peditemque sequenti hosti obiecit. iam Alexander consecutus erat et pertinacia Pori cognita vetabat resistentibus parci. ergo undique et in pedites et in ipsum Porum tela congesta sunt: quis tandem gravatus labi ex belua coepit. Indus, qui elephantum regebat, descendere eum ratus more solito elephantum procumbere iussit in genua: qui ut se submisit, ceteri quoque—ita enim instituti erant—demisere corpora in terram. ea res et Porum et ceteros victoribus tradidit. rex spoliari corpus Pori, interemptum esse credens, iubet, et, qui detrahirerent loricam vestemque, concurrere: cum belua dominum tueri et spoliantes coepit adpetere levatumque corpus eius rursus dorso suo inponere. ergo telis undique obruitur, confossoque eo in vehiculum Porus inponitur. quem rex ut vidit adlevan- tem oculos, non odio, sed miseratione commotus, 'quae, malum', inquit, 'amentia te coegit rerum meorum cognita fama belli fortunam experiri, cum Taxilis esset in deditos clementiae meae tam propinquum tibi exemplum?' at ille, 'quoniam', inquit, 'percontaris, respondebo ea libertate, quam interrogando fecisti. neminem me fortiorem esse cen- sebam. meas enim noveram vires, nondum expertus tuas: forticrem esse te belli docuit eventus. sed ne sic quidem
parum felix sum, secundus tibi.’ rursus interrogatus, quid ipse victorem statuere debere censeret, ‘quod hic’, inquit, ‘dies tibi suadet, quo expertus es, quam caduca felicitas esset.’ plus monendo profecit, quam si precatus esset: quippe magnitudinem animi eius interritam ac ne fortuna quidem infractam non misericordia modo, sed etiam honore excipere dignatus est. acgrum curavit haud secus, quam si pro ipso pugnasset: confirmatum contra spem omnium in amicorum numerum receptit, mox donavit ampliore regno, quam tenuit. nec sane quicquam ingenium eius solidius aut constantius habuit, quam admirationem verae laudis et gloriae: simplicius tamen famam aestimabat in hoste, quam in cive. quippe a suis credebat magnitudinem suam destrui posse, eandem clariorem fore, quo maiores fuissent, quos ipse vicissset.
LIBER IX.

Alexander, tam memorabili victoria laetus, qua sibi orientis finis apertos esse censebat, Soli victimis caesis milites quoque, quo promptioribus animis reliqua belli obirent, pro contione laudatos docuit, quidquid Indis virium fuisse, illa dimicatione prostratum: cetera optimam praedam fore celebratasque opes in ea regione eminere, quam peterent. proinde iam vilia et obsoleta esse spolia de Persis: gemmis margaritisque et auro atque ebore Macedoniam Graeciamque, non suas tantum domos repleatum ire. avidi milites et pecuniae et gloriae, simul quia numquam eos adfirmatio eius sefellerat, pollicentur operam: dimissisque cum bona spe navigia exaedificari iubet, ut, cum totam Asiam percucurrisset, finem terrarum, mare, inviseret. multa materia navalis in proximis montibus erat: quam caedere adgressi magnitu- dinis inuisitatae repperere serpentes. rhinocerotes quoque, rarum alibi animal, in isdem montibus erant. ceterum hoc nomen beluis inditum a Graecis: sermonis eius ignari alius lingua sua usurpant. rex duabus urbis conditius in utraque fluminis, quod superaverat, ripa copiarum duces coronis et mille aureis singulos donat: ceteris quoque pro portione aut gradus, quem in amicitia obtinebant, aut navatae operae honos habitus est. Abisares, qui prius, quam cum Poro dimicare tur, legatos ad Alexandrum miserat, rursus alios misit pollicentes, omnia facturum, quae imperasset, modo ne cogeretur corpus suum dedere: neque enim aut sine regio imperio victurum, aut regnaturum esse captivum. cui
Alexander nuntiari iussit, si gravaretur ad se venire, ipsum ad eum esse venturum.

Hinc porro amne superato ad interiora Indiae processit. silvae erant prope in inmensum spatium diffusae prociris-que et in eximiam altitudinem editis arboribus umbrosae. plerique rami instar ingentiun stipitum flexi in humum rursus, qua se curvaverant, erigebantur, adeo ut species esset non rami resurgentis, sed arboris ex sua radice generatae. caeli temperies salubris: quippe et vim solis umbrae levant et aquae large manant e fontibus. ceterum hic quoque serpentium magna vis erat squamis fulgorem auri reddentibus. virus haud ullum magis noxium est: quippe morsum praesens mors sequebatur, donec ab incolis remedium oblatum est. hinc per deserta ventum est ad flumen Hyarotim. iunctum erat flumini nemus, opacum arboribus alibi insitatis agrestiumque pavonum multitudine frequens. castris inde motis oppidum haud procul positum corona capit obsidibusque acceptis stipendium inponit.

Ad magnam deinde, ut in ea regione, urbem pervenit, non muro solum, sed etiam palude munitam. ceterum bari vehiculis inter se iunctis dimicaturi occurrerunt: tela aliiis hastae, aliiis secures erant, transiliebantque in vehicula strenuo saltu, cum succurrere laborantibus suis vellent. ac primo insolitum genus pugnae Macedonas terruit, cum eminus vulnerarentur: deinde spreto tam incondito auxilio ab utroque latere vehiculis circumfusi repugnantes fodere coeperunt. et vincula, quis conserta erant, iussit incidi, quo facilius singula circumvenirentur. itaque VIII milibus suorum anissis in oppidum refugerunt. postero die scalis undique admotis muri occupantur: paucis pernicitas saluti fuit. qui cognito urbis excidio paludem transnavere, in vicina oppida ingentem intulere terrorem, invictum exercitum et deorum profecto advenisse memorantes.
Alexander ad vastandum eam regionem Perdicca cum expedita manu missa partem copiarum Eumeni tradidit, ut is quoque barbaros ad deditionem compelleret: ipse ceteros ad urbem validam, in quam aliarum quoque confugerant, nihil minus bellum parabant. quippe orta seditio in diversa consilia diduxerat vulgum: alii omnia deditione potiora, quidam nullam opem in ipsis esse ducebant. sed dum nihil in commune consultit, qui deditioni inminebant, apertas portis hostem recipiunt. Alexander quamquam bellii auctoriibus iure poterat irasci, tamen omnibus venia data et obsidibus acceptis ad proximam deinde urbem castra movit. obsides ducebantur ante agmen. quos cum ex muris adgnovissent, utpote gentis eiusdem, in conloquium convocaverunt. illi clementiam regis simulque vim commemorando ad deditionem eos compulere: ceterasque urbes similsi modo domitas in fidem accepit.

Hinc in regnum Sopithis perventum est. gens, ut barbari credunt, sapientia excellet bonisque moribus regitur. genitos liberos non parentum arbitrio tollunt alununque, sed eorum, quibus spectandi infantum habitum cura mandata est, si quos insignes aut aliqua parte membrorum inutiles notaverunt, necari iubent. nuptis coeunt non genere ac nobilitate coniunctis, sed electa corporum specie, quia cadem aestimatur in liberis. huius gentis oppidum, cui Alexander advovaret copias, ab ipso Sopithe obtinabatur. clausae erant portae, sed nulli in muris turribusque se armati ostendebant, dubitabantque Macedones, deseruissent urbem incolae, an fraude se occulerent: cum subito patefacta porta rex Indus cum duobus adultis filiis occurrit, multum inter omnes barbaros eminens corporis specie. vestis erat auro purpuraque distincta, quae etiam crura velabat: aureis soleis inseruerat gemmas, lacerti quoque et
brachia margaritis ornata erant. pendebant ex auribus insignes candore ac magnitudine lapilli. baculum aureum berylli distinguebant: quo tradito precatus, ut sospes acciperet, et liberosque et gentem suam dedidit. nobiles ad venandum canes in ea regione sunt: latratu abstinere dicuntur, cum viderunt feram, leonibus maxime infesti. horum vim ut ostenderet Alexandro, in consequent lionem eximiae magnitudinis iussit emitti et IIII omnino ad moveri canes, qui celeriter feram occupaverunt. tum ex iis, qui adsueverant talibus ministeriis, unus canis leoni cum alis inhaerentis crus avellere et, quia non sequebatur, ferro amputare coepit: ne sic quidem pertinacia victa rursus aliam partem secure institiit et inde non segnius inhaerentem ferro subinde caedebat. ille in vulnere ferae dentes moribundus quoque inixerat: tantam [in] illis animalibus ad venandum cupiditatem ingenerasse naturam memoriae proditum est. equidem plura transcribo, quam credo: nam nec adfirmare sustineo, de quibus dubito, nec subducere, quae accepi. relicito igitur Sophis in suo regno ad fluvium Hypasin processit, Hephaestione, qui diversam regionem subegerat, coniuncto. Phegeus erat gentis proximae rex: qui popularibus suis colere agros, ut adsueverant, iussis Alexandro cum donis occurrit, nihil, quod imperaret, detrectans.

Biduum apud eum substitit rex: tertio die amnem suerare decreverat, transitu difficilem non spatio solum aquarum, sed etiam saxis inpeditum. percontatus igitur Phegea, quae noscenda erant, XI dierum ultra flumen per vastas solitudines iter esse cognoscit: excipere deinde Gangen, maximum totius Indiae fluminum: ulteriorum ripam colere gentes Gangaridas et Prasios eorumque regem esse Aggrammen, XX milibus equitum ducentisque peditum obsidentem vias. ad hoc quadrigarum II milia trahere et praecipuum terrorem elephasos, quos III milium numerum explere
Q. CURTI RUFI

dicebat. incredibilia regi omnia videbantur. igitur Porum—nam cum eo erat—percontatur, an vera essent, quae dice-
rentur. ille vires quidem gentis et regni haud falsa iactari adfirmat: ceterum, qui regnaret, non modo ignobilem esse, sed etiam ultimae sortis: quippe patrem eius, tonsorem vix diurno quaestu propulsantem famem, propter habitum haud indecorum cordi fuisse reginae. ab ea in propriorem eius, qui tum regnasset, amicitiae locum admotum interfecto eo per insidias sub specie tutelae liberum eius invasisse regnum necatisque pueris hunc, qui nunc regnat, generasse, invisum vilemque popularibus, magis paternae fortunae quam suae memorem. adfirmatio Pori multiplicem animo regis inie-
cerat curam. hostem belulasque spernebat, situm locorum et vim fluminum extimescebat: relegatos in ultimum paene rerum humanarum terminum persequi et eruere arduum videbatur. rursus avaritia gloriae et insatiabilis cupido famae nihil invium, nihil remotum videri sinebat. et inter-
dum dubitabat, an Macedones, tot emensi spatia terrarum, in acie et in castris senes facti, per obiecta flumina, per tot naturae obstantes difficultates secuturi essent: abundantes onustosque praeda magis parta frui velle, quam adquirenda fatigari. non idem sibi et militibus animi esse: se totius orbis imperium mente complexum adhuc in operum suorum primordio stare: militem labore defetigatum proximum quemque fructum finito tandem periculo expetere. vicit ergo cupidio rationem, et ad contionem vocatis militibus ad hunc maxime modum disseruit: 'non ignoro, milites, multa, quae terrere vos possent, ab incolis Indiae per hos dies de industria esse iactata: sed non est improvisa vobis mentien-
tium vanitas. sic Ciliciae fauces, sic Mesopotamiae campos, Tigrim et Euphraten, quorum alterum vado transivimus, alterum ponte, terribilem fecerant Persae. numquam ad liquidum familia perducitur: omnia illa tradente maiora sunt
vero. nostra quoque gloria, cum sit ex solido, plus tamen habet nominis, quam operis. modo quis beluas offerentes moenium speciem, quis Hydaspen amnem, quis cetera auditu maiora quam vero sustineri posse credebat? olim, hercule, fugissesmus ex Asia, si nos fabulae debellare potuisissent. creditisne elephantorum greges maiores esse, quam usquam armentorum sunt, cum et rarum sit animal nec facile capiatur multoque difficilius mitigetur? atquieadem vanitas copias peditum equitumque numeravit. nam flumen, quo latius fusum est, hoc placidius stagnat: quippe angustis ripis coercita et in angustiorem alveum elisa torrentes aquas invehunt, contra spatio alvei segnior cursus est. praeterea in ripa omne pericum est, ubi adplicantes navigia hostis expectat. ita quantumcumque flumen intervenit, idem futurum discrimen est evadentium in terram. sed omnia ista vera esse fingamus. utrumne vos magnitudo beluarum an multitudo hostium terret? quod pertinet ad elephantos, praesens habemus exemplum: in suos vehementius quam in nos incucurrerunt: tam vasta corpora securibus falcibusque mutilata sunt. quid autem interest, totidem sint, quot Porus habuit, an III milia, cum uno aut aliter vulneratis ceteros in fugam declinari videamus? dein paucos quoque incommodo regunt: congregata vero tot milia ipsa se elidunt, ubi nec stare nec fugere potuerint inhabiles vastorum corporum moles. equidem sic animalia ista contempti, ut, cum habe-rem ipse, non opposuerim, satis gnarus, plus suis quam hostibus periculi inferre. at enim equitum peditumque multitudo vos commovet! cum paucis enim pugnare soliti estis et nunc primum inconditam sustinebitis turbam. testis adversus multitudinem invicti Macedonum roboris Granicus amnis et Cilicia inundata cruore Persarum et Arbela, cuius campi devictorum a nobis ossibus strati sunt. sero hostium legiones numerare coepistis, postquam solitudinem in Asia
vincendo fecistis. cum per Hellespontum navigaremus, de paucitate nostra cogitandum fuit: nunc nos Scythae sequuntur, Bactriana auxilia praesto sunt, Dahae Sogdianique inter nos militant. nec tamen illi turbae confido. vestras manus intueor, vestram virtutem rerum, quas gesturus sum, vadem praedemque haveo. quamdiu vobiscum in acie stabo, nec mei nec hostium exercitus numero: vos modo animos mihi plenos alacritatis ac fiduciae adhibete. non in limine operum laborumque nostrorum, sed in exitu stamus: pervenimus ad solis ortum et oceanum: nisi obstat ignavia, inde victores perdomito fine terrarum revertetur in patriam. nolite, quod pigri agricolae faciunt, maturos fructus per inertiam amittere e manibus. maiora sunt periculis praemia: dives eadem et inbellis est regio. itaque non tam ad gloriarn vos duco, quam ad praedam. digni estis, qui opes, quas illud mare litoribus invehit, referatis in patriam, digni, qui nihil inexpertum, nihil metu omissum relinquatis. per vos gloriarnque vestram, qua humanum fastigium exceditis, perque et mea in vos et in me vestra merita, quibus invicti contendimus, oro quaesque, ne humanarum rerum terminos adeuntem alumnum commilitonemque vestrum, ne dicam regem, deseratis. cetera vobis imperavi: hoc unum debitus sum. et is vos rogo, qui nihil umquam vobis praecipi, quin primus me periculis obtulerim, qui saepe aciem clipeo meo texi, ne infregeritis in manibus meis palmam, qua Herculem Liberumque patrem, si invidia aferuit, aequabo. date hoc precibus meis et tandem obstinatum silentium rumpite. ubi est ille clamor, alacritatis vestrae index? ubi ille meorum Macedonum vultus? non adgnosco vos, milites, nec adgnosci videor a vobis. surdas iamdudum aures pulso: aversos animos et infractos excitare conor.’ cumque illi in terram demissis capitisbus tacere perseverarent, ‘nescio quid’, inquit, ‘in vos inprudens deliqui, quod me ne intuevi
quidem vultis. in solitudine mihi videor esse. nemo respondet, nemo saltem negat. quos adloquor? quid autem postulo? vestram gloriam et magnitudinem vindicamus. ubi sunt illi, quorum certamen paulo ante vidi contendentium, qui potissimum vulnerati regis corpus exciperent? desertus, destitutus sum, hostibus deditus. sed solus quoque irre perseverabo. obicite me fluminibus et beluis et illis gentibus, quarum nomina horretis. inveniam, qui desertum a vobis sequantur: Scythae Bactrianique erunt mecum, hostes paulo ante, nunc milites nostri. mori praestat, quam precario imperatorem esse. ite reduces domos! ite deserto rege ovantes! ego hic a vobis desperatae victoriae aut honestae morti locum inveniam.' ne sic quidem ulli militum vox exprimi potuit. expectabant, ut duces principesque ad regem perferrent, vulneribus et continuo labore militiae fatigatos non detrectare munia, sed sustinere non posse. ceterum illi metu attoniti in terram ora defixerant. igitur primo fremitus sua sponte, deinde gemitus quoque oritur, paulatimque liberius dolor erigi coepit manantibus lacrimis, adeo ut rex ira in misericordiam versa ne ipse quidem, quamquam cuperet, temperare oculis potuerit. tandem universa contione effusius flente Coenus ausus est cunctantibus ceteris propius tribunal accedere, significans se loqui velle. quem ut videre milites detrahentem galeam capiti—ita enim regem adloqui mos est—hortari coeperunt, ut causam exercitus ageret. tum Coenus, 'dii prohibeant', inquit, 'a nobis inpias mentes: et profecto prohibent. idem animus est tuis, qui fuit semper, ire, quo iusseris, pugnare, periclitari, sanguine nostro commendare posteritati tuum nomen. proinde si perseveras, inermes quoque et nudi et exangues, utcumque tibi cordi est, sequimur vel antecedimus. sed si audire vis non fictas tuorum militum voces, verum necessitate ultima expressas, praebe, quaeso, propitias aures
imperium atque auspiciam tuum constantissime secutis et,
quocumque pergis, secuturis. vicisti, rex, magnitudine rerum
non hostes modo, sed etiam milites. quidquid mortalitas
capere poterat, inplevimus. emensis maria terrasque melius
nobis quam incolis omnia nota sunt. paene in ultimo mundi
fine consistimus. in alium orbem paras ire et Indiam quaeris
Indis quoque ignotam: inter feras serpentexque degentes
eruere ex latebris et cubilibus suis expetis, ut plura, quam
sol videt, victoria lustres. digna prorsus cogitatio animo
tuo, sed altior nostro. virtus enim tua semper in incremento
erit, nostra vis iam in fine est. intuere corpora exanguia, tot
perfossa vulneribus, tot cicatricibus putria. iam tela hebetia
sunt: iam arma deficiunt. vestem Persicam induimus, quia
domestica subvehi non potest. in externum degeneravimus
cultum. quo quot quacunque loricam est? quis equum habet? iube
quaeris, quam multos servi ipsorum persecuti sint, quid cuique
supersit ex praeda. omnium victores omnium inopes sumus.
nec luxuria laboramus, sed bello instrumenta belli consump-
simus. hunc tu pulcherrimum exercitum nudum obicies
beluis? quorum ut multitudinem augeant de industria bar-
bari, magnum tamen esse numerum etiam ex mendacio
intelleag. quodsi adhuc penetrare in Indiam certum est,
regio a meridie minus vasta est: qua subacta licebit decur-
rere in illud mare, quod rebus humanis terminum voluit esse
natura. cur circuitu petis gloriam, quae ad manum posita
est? hic quoque occurrit oceanus. nisi mavis errare, per-
venimus, quo tua fortuna ducit. haec tecum, quam sine te
cum his, loqui malui, non uti inirem circumstantis exercitus
gratiam, sed ut vocem loquentium potius quam gemitum
murmurantium audieres. ut finem orationi Coenus impo-
suit, clamor undique cum ploratu oritur, regem, patrem,
dominum confusis appellantium vocibus. iamque et alii
duces praecipueque seniores, quis ob actatem et excusatio
honestior erat et auctoritas maior, eadem precabantur. ille nec castigare obstinatos nec mitigare poterat iratos. itaque inops consilii desiluit e tribunali claudique regiam iussit omnibus praeter adsuetos adire prohibitis. biduum irae datum est: tertio die processit erigique duodecim aras ex quadrato saxo, monumentum expeditionis suae, munimenta quoque castrorum iussit extendi cubiliaque amplioris formae, quam pro corporum habitu, relinqui, ut speciem omnium augeret, posteritati fallax miraculum praeparans.

Hinc repetens, quae emensus erat, ad flumen Acesinem locat castra. ibi forte Coenus morbo extinctus est: cuius morte ingemuit quidem rex, adiecit tamen, propter paucos dies longam orationem eum exorsum, tamquam solus Macedoniam visurus esset. iam in aqua classis, quam aedificari iussisset, stabat. inter haec Memnon ex Thracia in supplementum equitum v milia, praeter eos ab Harpalo peditum vii milia adduxerat armaque xxv milibus auro et argento caelata pertulerat, quis distributis vetera cremari iussit. mille navigiis aditus oceanum discordesque et vetera odia retractantes Porum et Taxilen, Indiae reges, firmatae per adfinitatem gratiae relinquit in suis regnis, summo in aedificanda classe amborum studio usus. oppida quoque duo condidit, quorum alterum Nicaeam appellavit, alterum Bucephala, equi, quem amiserat, memoriae ac nomini dedicans urbem. elephantis deinde et inpedimentis terra sequi iussis secundo amne defluxit, quadraginta ferme stadia singulis diebus procedens, ut opportunis locis exponi subinde copiae possent.

Perventum erat in regionem, in qua Hydaspes annis Acesini committitur. hinc decurrat in fines Siborum. hi de exercitu Herculis maiores suos esse memorant: aegros relictos esse, cepisse sedem, quam ipsi obtinebant. pelles ferarum pro veste, clavae tela erant: multaque, etiam cum
4 Graeci mores exolevissunt, stirpis ostendebant vestigia. hinc excensione facta cc et l stadia excessit depopulatusque regionem oppidum, caput eius, corona cepit. XL peditum milia gens in ripa fluminum opposuerat: quae amne superato in fugam compulit inclusaque moenibus expugnati. puberes interfecti sunt, ceteri venierunt. alteram deinde urbem expugnare adortus magnaque vi defendentium pulsus multos Macedonum amisit. sed cum in obsidione perseverasset, oppidani desperata salute ignem subiecere tectis seque ac liberos coniugesque incendio cremant. quod cum ipsi augerent, hostes extinguerent, nova forma pugnae erat. de lebant incolae urbem, hostes defendebant: adeo ctiam naturae iura bellum in contrarium mutat. arx erat oppidi in tacta, in qua praeсидium dereliquit: ipsa navigis circum vectus est arcem. quippe III flumina tota India praeter Gangen maxima munimento arcis adplicant undas. a septentrione Indus adluit, a meridie Acesines Hydaspi con funditur. ceterum amnium coetus maritimis similes fluctus movet, multoque ac turbido limo, quod aquarum concursu subinde turbatur, iter, qua meant navigia, in tenuem alveum cogitur. itaque cum crebri fluctus se inveherent et navium hinc proras, hinc latera pulsarent, subducere nautae vela coeperunt. sed ministeria eorum hinc metu, hinc praerapida celeritate fluminum occupantur. in oculis omnium duo maiora navigia submersa sunt: leviola, cum et ipsa nequist rent regi, in ripam tamen innoxia expulsa sunt. ipse rex in rapidissimos vertices incidit, quibus intorta navis obliqua et gubernaculi inpatiens agebatur. iam vestem detraxerat corpori proiecturus semet in flumen, amicique, ut exciperent eum, haud procul nabant, adparebatque anceps periculum tam nataturi, quam navigare perseverantis. ergo ingenti certamine concitant remos, quantaque vis humana esse pote rat, admota est, ut fluctus, qui se invehebant, everberarentur.
findi crederes undas et retro gurgites cedere. quibus tandem navis crepta, non tamen ripae adpecatur, sed in proximum vadum inluditur. cum amni bellum fuisse crederes. ergo aris pro numero fluminum positis sacrificioque facto xxx stadia processit.

Inde ventum est in regionem Sudracarum Mallorumque, quos alias bellare inter se solitos tunc periculi societas iunxerat. nonaginta milia iuniorum peditum in armis erant, praeter hos equitum x milia nongentaeque quadrigae. at Macedones, qui omni discrimine iam defunctos se esse crediderant, postquam integrum bellum cum ferocissimis Indiae gentibus superesse cognoverunt, improviso metu territi rursus seditionis vocibus regem increpare coeperunt: Gangen amnem et, quae ultra essent, coactum transmittere, non tamen finisse, sed mutasse bellum. indomitis gentibus se obiectos, ut sanguine suo aperirent ei oceana. trahi extra sidera et solem cogique adire, quae mortalium oculis natura subduxerit. novis identidem armis novos hostes existere. quos ut omnes fundant fugentque, quod praemium ipsos manere? caliginem ac tenebras et perpetuam noctem profundo incubantem mari, repletum inmanium beluarum gregibus fretum, inmobiles undas, in quibus emoriens natura defecerit. rex non sua, sed militum sollicitudine anxius contione advocata docet, inbelles esse, quos metuant. nihil deinde praeter has gentes obstare, quominus terrarum spatia emensi ad finem simul mundi laborumque perveniant. cesso illis metuentibus Gangen et multitudinem nationum, quae ultra amnem essent: declinasse iter eo, ubi par gloria, minus periculum esset. iam prospicere se oceanum, iam perflare ad ipsos auram maris: ne inviderent sibi laudem, quam peteret. Herculis et Liberi patris terminos transituros illos, regi suo parvo inpendio inmortalitatem famae daturos. paterentur se ex India redire, non fugere. omnis multitudo
et maxime militaris mobili impetu effertur. ita seditionis non remedia quam principia maiora sunt. non alias tam alacer clamor ab exercitu est redditus, iubentium duceret dis secundis aequaretique gloria, quos aemularetur. lactus his adclamationibus ad hostes protinus castra movit. validissimae Indorum gentes erant et bellum inpigre parabant ducemque ex natione Sudracarum spectatae virtutis elegerant, qui sub radicibus montis castra posuit lateque ignes, ut speciem multitudinis augeret, ostendit, clamore quoque ac sui moris ululatu identidem adquiescentes Macedonas frustra terrere conatus. iam lux adpetebat, cum rex fiduciae ac spei plenus alacres milites arma capere et exire in aciem iubet. sed haud traditur, metune an oborta seditione inter ipsos subito profugerint barbari: certe avios montes et inpeditos occupaverunt, quorum agmen rex frustra persecutus inpedimenta cepit.

Perventum deinde est ad oppidum Sudracarum, in quodplerique confugerant, haud maiore fiducia moenium, quamarmorum. iam admovebat rex, cum vates monere eum coepit, ne committeret aut certe differret obsidionem: vitae eius periculum ostendi. rex Demophontem—is namque vates erat—intuens, ‘si quis’, inquit, ‘te arti tuae intentum et exta spectantem sic interpellet, non dubitem, quin incom-modus ac molestus videri tibi possit.’ et cum ille ita prorsus futurum respondisset, ‘censesne’, inquit, ‘tantas res, non pecudum fibras ante oculos habenti ullam esse maius inpe-dimentum, quam vatem superstitione captum?’ nec diutius, quam respondit, moratus admoveri iubet scalas cunctantisbusque ceteris evadit in murum. angusta muri corona erat: non pinnae sicut alibi fastigium eius distinxerant, sed per-petua lorica obducta transitum saepserat. itaque rex haere-bat magis quam stabet in margine, clipeo undique incidentia tela propulsans: nam ubique eminus ex turribus petebatur.
nec subire milites poterant, quia superne vi telorum obrue-
32 bantur. tandem magnitudinem periculi pudor vicit: quippe
cernebant cunctatione sua dedi hostibus regem. sed fes-
33 tinando morabantur auxilia. nam dum pro se quisque
certat evadere, oneravere scalas: quis non sufficientibus
devoluti unicam spem regis fesellerunt. stabat enim in
conspectu tanti exercitus velut in solitudine destitutus. iam-
que laevam, qua clipeum ad ictus circumserebat, lassaverat
clamantibus amicis, ut ad ipsos desiliret, stabantque excep-
turi: cum ille rem ausus est incredibilem atque inauditam
multoque magis ad famam temeritatis quam gloriae insignem.
namque in urbem hostium plenam praecipi saltu s^metipse
inmisit, cum vix sperare posset, dimicantem certe et non
inultum esse moritum: quippe antequam adsurgeret, op-
primi poterat et capi vivus. sed forte ita libraverat corpus,
ut se pedibus exciperet. itaque stans init pugnam: et, ne
circumiri posset, fortuna providerat. vetusta arbor haud
procul muro ramos multa fronde vestitos, velut de industria
regem protegentes, obiecerat: huius spatiose stipiti corpus,
ne circumiri posset, adpecuit, clipeo tela, quae ex adverso
ingerebantur, excipiens. nam cum unum procul tot manus
peterent, nemo tamen audebat propius accedere: missilia
ramis plura quam clipeo incidebant. pugnabat pro rege
primum celebrati nominis fama, deinde desperatio, mag-
nun ad honeste moriendum incitamentum. sed cum
subinde hostis adflueret, iam ingentem vim telorum ex-
ceperat clipeo, iam galeam saxa perfregerant, iam continuo
labore gravia genua succiderant. itaque contemptim et
incaute, qui proximi steterant, incurrerunt: e quibus duos
gladio ita exceptit, ut ante ipsum examines procumberent.
nec cuiquam deinde propius incessendi eum animus fuit:
procul iacula sagittasque mittebant. ille ad omnes ictus
expositus non aegre tamen exceptum poplitibus corpus tue-
c.
batur, donec Indus duorum cubitorum sagittam—namque Indis, ut antea diximus, huius magnitudinis sagittae erant—ita excussit, ut per thoracem paulum super latus dextrum insigeret. quo vulnere adfectus magna vi sanguinis emicante remisit arma moribundo similis adeoque resolutus, ut ne ad vellendum quidem telum sufficeret dextera. itaque ad spoliandum corpus, qui vulneraverat, alacer gaudio accurrît. quem ut incerere corpori suo manus sensit, credo, ultimi dedecoris indignitate commotus linquentem revocavit animum et nudum hostis latus subiecit mucrone hausit. iacebant circa regem tria corpora procul stupentibus ceteris: ille ut, antequam ultimus spiritus deficeret, dimicans iam extingueretur, clipeo se adlevare conatus est et, postquam ad conitendum nihil supererat virium, dextera inpendentes ramos conplexus temptabat adsurgere. sed ne sic quidem potens corporis rursus in genua procumbit, manu provocans hostes, si quis congredi auderet. tandem Peucestes per aliam oppidi partem deturbatis propugnatoribus muri vestigia persequens regi supervenit. quo conspecto Alexander, iam non vitae suae, sed mortis solacium supervenisse ratus, clipeo fatigatum corpus exceptit. subit inde Timaeus et paulo post Leonnatus, huic Aristonus supervenit. Indi quoque, cum intra moenia regem esse conperissent, omissis ceteris illuc concurrerunt urgebantque protegentes. ex qui-bus Timaeus multis adverso corpore vulneribus acceptis egregiaque edita pugna cecidit: Peucestes quoque tribus iaculis confossus non se tamen scuto, sed regem tuebatur: Leonnatus, dum avide ruentes barbaros submovet, cervice graviter icta semianimis procubuit ante regis pedes. iam et Peucestes vulneribus fatigatus submiserat clipeum: in Aristono spes ultima haerebat. hic quoque graviter sauciis tantam vim hostium ultra sustinere non poterat. inter haec ad Macedonas regem cecidisse fama perlata est. terruisset...
alios, quod illos incitavit. namque periculi omnis inmementres dolabris perfregere murum et, qua moliti erant aditum, inrupere in urbem Indosque plures fugientes, quam congregi ausos ceciderunt. non senibus, non feminis, non infantibus parcituras: quisquis occurrerat, ab illo vulneratum regem esse credebant. tandemque internecione hostium iustae irae parentatum est. Ptolomaeum, qui postea regnavit, huic pugnae adfuisse auctor est Clitarchus et Timagenes. sed ipse, silicet gloriae suae non refragatus, afuisse se, missum in expeditionem, memoriae tradidit. tanta componentium vetusta rerum monumenta vel securitas vel, par huic vitium, credulitas fuit! rege in tabernaculum relato medici lignum sagittaee corpori infixum ita, ne spiculum moveretur, abscondunt. corpore deinde nudato animadvertunt hansom inesse telo, nec aliter id sine purrenc corporis extrahi posse, quam ut secando vulnus augerent. ceterum, ne secantes profluvium sanguinis occuparet, verebantur: quippe ingens telum adactum erat et penetrasse in viscera videbatur. Critobulus, inter medicos artis eximiae, sed in tanto periculo territus, manus admovere metuebat, ne in ipsius caput parum prosperae curationis recideret eventus. lacrimantem eum ac metuentem et sollicitudine propemodum exanguem rex conspexerat. 'quid', inquit, 'quodve tempus expectas et non quamprimum hoc dolore me saltem moriturum liberas? an times, ne reus sis, cum insanabile vulnus acceperim?' at Critobulus tandem vel finito vel dissimulato metu hortari eum coepit, ut se continendum praeberner, dum spiculum evelleret: etiam levem corporis motum noxium fore. rex cum adfirmasset nihil opus esse iis, qui semet continerent, sicut praecptum erat, sine motu praebuit corpus. igitur patefacto latius vulnere et spiculo evolso ingens vis sanguinis manare coepit lingUE animo rex et caligine oculos offusa velut moribundus extendi. cumque profluvium medi-
camentis frustra inhiberent, clamor simul atque ploratus amicorum oritur, regem expirasse credentium. tandem con-
stitit sanguis, paulatimque animum recepit et circumstantes
coepit adgnoscere. toto eo die ac nocte, quae secuta est,
armatus exercitus regiam obsedit, confessus omnes unius
spiritu vivere. nec prius recesserunt, quam convertum
est somno paulisper adquiescere. hinc certiorem spem
salutis eius in castra retulerunt.

6 Rex vii diebus curato vulnere needum obducta cicatrice,
cum audisset convaluisset apud barbaros famam mortis suae.
duobus naviis iunetis statui in medium undique conspicium	
tabernaculum iussit, ex quo se ostenderet perisse credenti-
bus: conspectusque ab incolis spem hostium falsa nuntio
conceptam inhibuit. secundo deinde amne defluxit, ali-
quantum intervalli a cetera classe praecipiens, ne quies cor-
pori invalido adhuc necessaria pulsu remorum impediretur.

2 Quarto, postquam navigare coeperat, die pervenit in
regionem desertam quidem ab incolis, sed frumento et
pecoribus abundantem. placuit is locus et ad suam et ad
militum requiem. mos erat principibus amicorum et custo-
dibus corporis excubare ante praeceptorium, quotiens adversa
regi valutudo incidisset. hoc tum quoque more servato uni-
versi cubiculum eius intrant. ille sollicitus, ne quid novi
adferrent, quia simul venerant, percontatur, num hostium
recens nuntiaretur adventus. at Craterus, cui mandatum
erat, ut amicorum preces perferret ad eum. ‘Credisne’, in-
quit, ‘adventu magis hostium—ut iam in vallo consisterent—
sollicitos esse, quam cura salutis tuae, ut nunc est, tibi vilis?
quantalibet vis omnium gentium conspriet in nos, inpleat
armis virisque totum orbem, classibus maria consternat,
inuisitatas beluas inducat: tu nos praestabis invictos. sed
quis deorum hoc Macedoniae column ac sidus diuturnum
fore polliceri potest, cum tam avide manifestis periculis
.. Historiarum Alexandri IX, 6. 

offeras corpus, oblitus tot civium animas trahere te in casum? quis enim tibi superstes aut optat esse aut potest? eo per-
venimus auspicium atque imperium secuti tuum, unde nisi te reduce nulli ad penates suos iter est. quodsi adhuc de 
Persidis regno cum Dareo dimicares, etsi nemo vellet, tamen ne admirari quidem posset, tam promptae esse te ad omne 
discrimen audaciae: nam ubi paria sunt periculum ac praemium, et secundis rebus amplior fructus est et adversis 
solacium maius: tuo vero capite ignobilem vicum emi, quis ferat non tuorum modo militum, sed ullius gentis barbarae 
civilis, qui tuam magnitudinem novit? horret animus cogita-
tionem rei, quam paulo ante vidimus. eloqui timeo, invicti 
corporis spolia inertissimas manus fuisse infecturas, nisi te 
interceptum misericors in nos fortuna servasset. totidem pro-
ditores, totidem desertores sumus, quot te non potuimus per-
sequi. universos licet milites ignominia notes, nemo recusabit 
luere id, quod ne admireret, praestare non potuit. patere nos, 
quaeo, alio modo esse viles tibi. quocumque iussersis, ibimus. 
obscura pericula et ignobiles pugnas nobis depossimus: temet-
 ipsum ad ea serva, quae magnitudinem tuam capiunt. cito 
gloria obsolescit in sordidis hostibus, nec quicquam dignius 
est, quam consumi eam, ubi non possit ostendi. cadem fere 
Ptolomaeus et similia his ceteri. iamque confusis vocibus 
flentes eum orabant, ut tandem exsatiatus laudi modum 
faceret ac saluti suae, id est publicae, parceret. grata erat 
regi pietas amicorum. itaque singulos familiarius amplexus 
considere iubet. altiusque sermone repetito, 'vobis quidem', 
inquit, 'o fidissimi piissimique civium atque amicorum, 
grates ago habeoque non solum eo nomine, quod hodie 
salutem meam vestrae praeponitis, sed quod a primordiis 
belli nullum erga me benivolentiae pignus atque indicium 
omisistis, adeo ut confitendum sit numquam mihi vitae 
meam fuisset tam caram, quam esse coepit, ut vobis diu frui
possim. ceterum non cadem est cogitatio eorum, qui pro me mori optant, et mea, qui quidem hane benivolentiam vestram virtute meruisse me iudico. vos enim diurnum fructum ex me, forsitan etiam perpetuum percipere cupiatis: ego me metior non actatis spatio, sed gloriae. licuit paternis opibus contento intra Macedoniae terminos per otium corporis expectare obscuram et ignobilem senectutem: quamquam ne pigri quidem sibi fata disponunt, sed unicum bonum diuturnam vitam existimantes saepe acerba mors occupat: verum ego, qui non annos meos, sed victorias numero, si munera fortunae bene computo, diu vixi. orsus a Macedonia imperium Graeciae teneo, Thraciam et Illyrios subegi, Triballis Maedisque imperito, Asian, qua Hellesponto, qua rubro mari subluitur, possideo. iamque haud procul absum fine mundi, quem egressus aliam naturam, alium orbem aperire mihi statui. ex Asia in Europae terminos momento unius horae transivi. victor utriusque regionis post nonum regni mei, post vicesimum atque octavum actatis annum, videorne vobis in excolenda gloria, cui me uni devovi, posse cessare? ego vero non decero et, ubicumque pugnabo, in theatro terrarum orbis esse me credam. dabo nobiletam ignobilitatem ignobilibus locis, aperiam cunctis gentibus terras, quas natura longe submoverat. in his operibus extingui mihi, si fors ita feret, pulchrum est: ea stirpe sum genitus, ut multam prius quam longam vitam debeam optare. obscero vos, cogitate nos pervenisse in terras, quibus feminae ob virtutem celeberrimum nomen est. quas urbes Samiramis condidit! quas gentis redigit in potestatem! quanta opera molita est! nondum feminam aequavimus gloria, et iam nos laudis satietas cepit? di faveant, maiora adhuc restant. sed ita nostra crunt, quae nondum attigimus, si nihil parvum duxerimus, in quo magnae gloriae locus est. vos modo me ab intestina fraude et domesticorum insidiis praestate securum: belli
Martisque discriminem inpavidus subibo. Philippus in acie tutior, quam in theatro fuit: hostium manus saepe vitavit, suorum effugere non valuit. aliorum quoque regum exitus si reputaveritis, plures a suis quam ab hoste interemptos numerabitis. ceterum, quoniam olim rei agitatae in animo meo nunc promendae occasio oblata est, mihi maximus laborum atque operum meorum erit fructus, si Olympias mater inmortalitati consecretur, quandoque exsesserit vita. si licuerit, ipse praestabo hoc: si me praeciperit fatum, vos mandasse mementote. ac tum quidem amicos dimisit: ceterum per conplures dies ibi stativa habuit.

Haec dum in India geruntur, Graeci milites nuper in colonias a rege deducti circa Bactra orta inter ipsos seditione defecerant, non tam Alexandro infensi, quam metu supplicii. quippe occisis quibusdam popularium, qui validiores erant, arma spectare coeperunt et Bactriana arce, quae casu neglegentius adservata erat, occupata barbaros quoque in societatem inpulerant. Athenodorus erat princeps eorum, qui regis quoque nomen adsumpserat, non tam imperii cupidine, quam in patriam revertendi cum iis, qui auctoritatem ipsius sequabantur. huic Biton quidam nationis eiusdem, sed ob aemulationem infestus conparavit insidias invitatumque ad epulas per Boxum quendam Marginum in convivio occidit. postero die contione advocata Bito ultero insidiatum sibi Athenodorum plerisque persuaserat: sed aliis suspecta erat fraus Bitonis, et paulatim in plures coepit manare suspicio. itaque Graeci milites arma capiunt occisuri Bitonem, si daretur occasio: ceterum principes eorum iram multitudinis mitigaverunt. praeter spem suam Biton praesenti periculo ereptus paulo post est insidiatus auctoribus salutis suae: cuius dolo cognito et ipsum comprehendenterunt et Boxum. ceterum Boxum protinus placuit interfici, Bitonem etiam per cruciatur necari. iamque corpori tormenta admovebantur, cum
milites—inertum ob quam causam—lymphatis similes ad arma discurrunt. quorum fremitu exaudito, qui torquere Bitonem iussi erant, omisere, veriti, ne id facere tumultu-antium vociferatione prohiberentur. ille, sicut nudatus erat. pervenit ad Graecos, et miserabilis facies supplicio destinati in diversum animos repente mutavit, dimittique cum iussu-runt. hoc modo poena bis liberatus cum ceteris, qui colonias a rege attributas reliquerunt, revertit in patriam. haec circa Bactra et Scytharum terminos gesta.

Interim regem duarum gentium, de quibus ante dictum est, c legati adeunt. omnes curru vehebantur, eximia magnitudo corporum, decoro habitu: lineae vestes intexto auro purpuraque distinctae. ei se dedere ipsos, urbes agrosque referebant, per tot aetates inviolatam libertatem illius primum fidei dicionique permissuros: deos sibi deditionis auctores, non metum: quippe intactis viribus iugum excipere.

rex consilio habito deditos in fidem accepit, stipendio, quod Arachosiis utrque natio pensitabat, inposito. praeterea 11 milia et d equites imperat: et omnia oboedienter a barbaris facta. invitatis deinde ad epulas legatis gentium regulisque exornari convivium iussit. c aurei lecti modicis intervallis positi erant, lectis circumderat aulaea purpura auroque fulgentia; quidquid aut apud Persas vetere luxu aut apud Macedonas nova inmutatione corruptum erat, confusis utriusque gentis vitiiis, in illo convivio ostendens. intererat epulis Dioxippus Atheniensis, pugil nobilis et ob eximiam virtutem virium iam regi pernotus et gratus. invidi malignique inrepabat per seria et ludum saginati corporis sequi inutilem beluam: cum ipsi proelium inirent, oleo madentem praeparare ventrem epulis. eadem igitur in convivio Horratas Macedo iam temulentus exprobrare ei coepit et postulare, ut, si vir esset, postero die secum ferro decerneret: regem tan-dem vel de sua temeritate vel de illius ignavia iudicaturum.
et a Dioxyippo contemptim militarem eludente ferociam accepta condicio est. ac postero die rex, cum etiam acrius certamen exposerent, quia deterrere non poterat, destinata exequi passus est. ingens hic militum conventus erat, inter quos qui erant Graeci Dioxyippo studebant. Macedo iusta arma sumpserat, aereum clipeum, hastam, quam sarisam vocant, laeva tenens, dextera lanceam gladioque cinctus, velut cum pluribus simul dimicaturus. Dioxyippus oleo nitens et coronatus laeva punicum amicum, dextra vahdum nodosumque stipitem praefcerbat. ea ipsa res omnium animos expectatione suspenderat: quippe armato congredi nudum dementia, non teneritas videbatur. igitur Macedo, haud dubius eminus interfici posse, lanceam emisit: quam Dioxyippus cum exigua corporis declinatione vitasset, antequam ille hastam transferret in dextram, adsiluit et stipite mediam eam fregit. amisso utroque telo Macedo gladium coeperat stringere: quem occupatum complexu pedibus repente subductis Dioxyippus arietavit in terram ereptoque gladio pedem super cervicem iacenti inposuit, stipitem intentans elisursumque eo victum, ni prohibitus esset a rege. tristis spectaculi eventus non Macedonibus modo, sed etiam Alexandro fuit, maxime quia barbari adhuerant: quippe celebratam Macedonum fortitudinem ad ludibrium recidisse verebatur. hinc ad criminationem invidorum adapertae sunt aures regis. et post paucos dies inter epulas aureum polum ex composito subducitur, ministrique, quasi amisissent, quod amoverant, regem adeunt. saepe minus est constantiae in rubore, quam in culpa. coniectum oculorum, quibus ut fur destinabatur, Dioxyippus ferre non potuit et, cum excessisset convivio, litteris conscriptis, quae regi redderentur, ferro se interemit. graviter mortem eius tulit rex, existimans indignationis esse, non paenitentiae testem, utique postquam falsa insimulatum eum nimium invidorum gaudium ostendit.
Indorum legati dimissi domos paucis post diebus cum donis revertuntur. cccc erant equites, mxxx currus, quos quadriungi equi ducebant, lineae vestis aliquidum; mille scuta Indica et ferri candidi talenta c leonesque rarae magnitudinis et tigres, utrumque animal ad mansuetudinem domitum, lacertarum quoque ingentium pelles et dorsa testudinum. Cratero deinde imperat rex, haud procul amne, per quem erat ipse navigaturus, copias duceret: eos autem, qui comitari cum solebant, inponit in naves et in fines Mallorum secundo amne devexitur.

Inde Sabarcas adiit, validam Indiae gentem, quae populi, non regum imperio regebatur. LX milia peditum habebant, equitum sex milia: has copias currus D sequabant. III duces spectatos virtute bellica elegerant. at qui in agris erant proximi flumini—frequentes autem vicos maxime in ripa habebant—ut videre totum amnem, qua prospici poterat, navigis constratum et tot militum arma fulgentia, territi nova facie, deorum exercitum et alium Liberum patrem, celebre in illis gentibus nomen, adventare credebant. hinc militum clamor, hinc remorum pulsus variaeque nautarum voces hortantium pavidas aures inpleverant. ergo universi ad eos, qui in armis erant, currunt, furere clamitantes et cum dis proelium inituros: navigia non posse numerari, quae invictos viros veherent. tantumque in exercitum suorum intulere terroris, ut legatos mitterent gentem dedituros.

His in fidem acceptis ad alias deinde gentes quarto die pervenit. nihilo plus animi his fuit, quam ceteris fuerat. itaque oppido ibi condito, quod Alexandream appellari iussurat, fines eorum, qui Musicani appellantur, intravit. hic de Teriolte satrape, quem Parapamisadis praefecerat, isdem arguentibus cognovit multaque avare ac superbe fecisse convictum interfici iussit. Oxyartes, praetor Bactrianorum, non absolutus modo, sed etiam iure amoris amplioris imperii
Historiarum Alexandri IX, 8.

Donatus est finibus. Musicanis deinde in dicionem redactis urbi eorum praesidium imposuit.

Inde Praestos, et ipsam Indiae gentem, perventum est. Porticanus rex erat, qui se munitae urbi cum magna manu popularium incluserat. hanc Alexander tertio die, quam coeperat obsidere, expugnavit. et Porticanus, cum in arcem confugisset, legatos de condicione deditis misit ad regem: sed antequam adirent eum, duae turrem cum ingenti fragore prociderant, per quarum ruinas Macedones evasere in arcem, qua capta Porticanus cum paucis repungnans occiditur.

Diruta igitur arce et omnibus captivis venundatis Sambi regis fines ingressus est multisque oppidis in fidem acceptis validissimam gentis urbem cuniculo cepit. barbaris simile monstris visum est, rudibus militarium operum; quippe in media ferme urbe armati terra existebant, nullo suffossi specus ante vestigio facto. LXXX milia Indorum in ea regione caesa Clitarchus est auctor multosque captivos sub corona venisse. rursus Musicani defecerunt, ad quos opprimendos missus est Pithon, qui captum principem gentis eundemque defectionis auctorem adduxit ad regem. quo Alexander in crucem sublato rursus annem, in quo classem expectare se iussaret, repetit.

Quarto deinde die secundo amne pervenit ad oppidum, quod in regno imo erat Sambi. nuper se ille dediderat, sed oppidani detrectabant imperium et clauserant portas. rum paucitate contempta rex d Agrianos moenia subire iussit et sensim recedentes elicere extra muros hostem, secuturum proiecto, si fugere eos crederet. Agriani, sicut imperatum erat, laccisito hoste subito terga verterunt: quos barbari effuse sequentes in alios, inter quos ipse rex erat, incidunt. renovato ergo proelio ex III milibus barbarorum de caesi sunt, mille capti, ceteri moenibus urbis inclusi. sed non ut prima specie laeta victoria, ita eventu quoque fuit: quippe
barbari veneno tixerant gladios. itaque saucii subinde expirabant, nec causa tam strenuae mortis excogitari poterat a medicis, cum etiam leves plagae insanabiles essent. barbari autem speraverant incautam et temerariam regem excipi posse. et forte inter promptissimos dimicans intactus evas-erat. praecepue Ptolomaeus, laevo humero leviter quidem saucius, sed maiore periculo quam vulnere adspectus, regis sollicitudinem in se converterat. sanguine coniunctus erat, et quidam Philippo genitur esse credebant, certe pelice eius ortum constabat. idem corporis custos promptissimus-que bellator et pacis artibus quam militiae maior et clarior modico civilique cultu liberalis in primis adituque facili nihil ex fastu regiae adsumpserat. ob haec regi an popularibus carior esset, dubitari poterat, tum certe primum expertus suorum animos, adeo ut fortunam, in quam postea ascendit, in illo periculo Macedones ominati esse videantur. quippe non levior illis Ptolomaei fuit cura, quam regis: qui et proe-lio et sollicitudine fatigatus cum Ptolomaeo adsideret, lect-tum, in quo ipse adquiesceret, iussit inferri. in quem ut se recepit, protinus altior insecutus est somnus. ex quo excita-tatus per quietem vidisse se exponit speciem draconis obla-tam herbam ferentis ore, quam veneni remedium esse mon-strasset: colorem quoque herbae referebat, adgniturum, si quis reperrerisset, adiurans. inventam deinde—quippe a multis simul erat requisita—vulneri inposuit, protinusque dolore finito intra breve spatium cicatrix quoque obducta est. barba-

ros ush prima spes fefellerat, se ipsos urbemque dediderunt.

Hinc in proximam gentem Patalam perventum est. rex erat Moeris, qui urbe deserta in montes profluerat. itaque Alexander oppido potitur agrosque populatur. magnae inde praedae actae sunt pecorum armentorumque, magna vis reperta frumenti. ducibus deinde sumptis amnis peritis defluxit ad insulam medio ferme alveo enatam.
Ibi diutius subsistere coactus, quia duces socordius adservati profugerant, misit, qui conquirerent alios, nec pertis pervicax cupido visendi oceanum adeundique terminos mundi sine regionis peritis flumini ignoto caput suum totque fortissimorum virorum salutem permittere cogit. navigabat ergo omnium, per quae ferebantur, ignari. quantum inde abesset mare, quae gentes coherent, quam placidum amnis os, quam patiens longarum navium esset, anceps et caeca aestimatio augurabatur: unum erat temeritatis solacium perpetua felicitas. iam cccc stadia processerant, cum gubernatores adgnoscere ipsos auram maris et haud procul videri sibi oceanum abesse indicant regi. laetus ille hortari nauticos coepit, incumberent remis: adesse finem laboris omnibus votis expetitum: iam nihil gloriae deesse, nihil obstare virtuti, sine ullo Martis discrimine, sine sanguine orbem terrae ab illis capi: ne naturam quidem longius posse procedere: brevi incognita nisi immortalibus esse visuros. paucos tamen navigio emisit in ripam, qui agrestes vagos exciperent, e quibus certiora nosci posse sperabat. illi scrutati omnia tuguria tandem latentes repperere. qui interrogati, quam procul abesset mare, responderunt nullum ipsos mare ne fama quidem accepisse: ceterum tertio die perveniri posse ad aquam amaram, quae corrumperet dulcem. intellectum est mare destinari ab ignaris naturae eius. itaque ingenti alacritate nautici remigant, et proximo quoque die, quo proprius spes admovebatur, crescebat ardor animorum. tertio iam die mixtum flumini subibat mare, leni adhuc aestu confundente dispares undas. tum aliam insulam medio amni sitam evecti paulo lentius, quia cursus aestu reverberabatur, adplicant classem et ad commeatus petendos discurrunt, securi casus eius, qui supervenit ignaris. tertia ferme hora erat, cum stata vice oceanus exaestuans inveh
coepit et retro flumen urgere: quod primo coercitum, deinde vehementius pulsum maiore impetu adversum agebatur, quam torrentia praecipiti alveo incurrunt. ignota vulgo freti natura erat, monstrosa et irae deum indicia cernere videbatur. identidem intumescens mare et in campos paulo ante siccos descendere superfusum, iamque levatis navigiis et tota classe dispersa, qui expositi erant, undique ad naves trepide et inproviso malo attoniti recurrunt. sed in tumultu festinatio quoque tarda est. hi contis navigia pellebant, hi, dum remos aptari prohibebant, consederant: quidam enavigare properantes, sed non expectatis, qui simul esse debebant, clauda et inhabilia navigia languide moliebantur, aliae navium inconsulite ruentes non receperant: pariterque et multitudine et paucitate festinantes morabatur. clamor hinc expectare, hinc ire iubentium dissonaeque voces numquam idem atque unum tendentium non oculorum modo usum, sed etiam aurium abstulerant. ne in gubernatoribus quidem quicquam opis erat, quorum nec exaudiri vox a tumultuanti-bus poterat nec imperium a territis inconpositisque servari. ergo conlidi inter se naves abstergerique invicem remi et alli aliorum navigia urgere coeperunt. crederes non unius exercitum classem vehi, sed duorum navale inisse certamen. incutiebantur puppibus prorae: premebantur a sequentibus, qui antecedentes turbaverant: iurgantium ira perveniebat etiam ad manus. iamque aestus toto circa flumen campos inundaverat tumulis dumtaxat eminentibus velut insulis parvis, in quos plerique trepide ommissis navigiis enare prope-rant. dispersa classis partim in praecta aqua stabat, qua subsederant valles, partim in vado haerebat, utcunque inae- quale terrae fastigium occupaverant undae: cum subito novus et pristino maior terror incutitur. reciprocari coepit mare magno tractu aquis in suum fretum recurrentibus red-
debateque terras paulo ante profundo salo mersas.igitur destituta navigia alia præcipitantur in proras, alia in latera procumbunt. strati erant campi sarcinis, armis, avulsarum tabularum remorumque fragmentis. miles nec egredi in terram nec in nave subsistere audebat, identidem præsentibus graviora, quae sequerentur, expectans. vix, quae perpetiebantur, videre ipsos credebat, in sicco naufragia, in amni mare. nec finis malorum: quippe aestum paulo post mare relatum, quo navigia adlevarentur, ignari, famem et ultima sibimet ominabantur. beluae quoque fluctibus destitutae terribiles vagabantur. iamque nox adpetebat, et regem quoque desperatio salutis aegritudine adsecerat. non tamen invictum animum curae obruunt, quin tota nocte persideret in speculis equitesque praemitteret ad os amnis, ut, cum mare rursus exaestuare sensissent, praecederent. navigia quoque et lacerata refici et reversa fluctibus erigi iubet parasque esse et intentos, cum rursus mare terras inundasset. tota ea nocte inter vigilias adhortationesque consumpta celebrite et equites ingenti cursu refugere et secutus est aestus. qui primo aquis leni tractu subeuntibus coepit levare navigia, mox totis campis inundatis etiam inpulit classem. plau susque militum nauticorumque insperatam salutem inmodico celebrantium gaudio litoribus ripisque resonabat. unde tantum redisset subito mare, quo pridie refugisset, quaenam esset eiusdem elementi natura, modo discors, modo imperio temporum obnoxia, mirabundi requirebant. rex cum ex eo, quod acciderat, coniectaret post solis ortum statum tempus esse, media nocte, ut aestum occuparet, cum paucis navigiis secundo amne defluxit. evectusque os eius cccc stadia processit in mare, tandem voti sui compos: praesidibusque et maris et locorum dis sacrificio facto ad classem redit.
Hinc adversum flumen subit classis et altero die adpulsa est haud procul lacu salso, cuius incognita natura pleraque decepit temere ingressos aquam. quippe scabies corpora invasit, et contagium morbi etiam in alios vulgatum est. oleum remedio fuit. Leonnato deinde praemisso, ut puteos foderet, qua terrestri itinere ducturus exercitum videbatur — quippe sicca erat regio — ipse cum copiis substitit, vernum tempus expectans. interim et urbes plerisque condidit. Ne-archo atque Onesicrito nauticae rei peritis imperavit, ut vali- dissimas navium deducerent in oceanum progressique, quoad tuto possent, naturam maris noscerent: vel eodem amne vel Euphrate subire eos posse, cum reverti ad se vellent.

Iamque mitigata hieme et navibus, quae inutiles vide- bantur, crematis terra ducebat exercitum. nonis castris in regionem Arabitonic, inde totidem diebus in Cedrosiorum perventum est. liber hic populus concilio habito dedidit se, nec quicquam deditis praeter commeatus imperatum est. quinto hinc die venit ad flumen: Arabum incolae appellant. regio deserta et aquarum inops excipit. quam emensus in Oritas transit: ibi maiorem exercitus partem Hephaestionis tradidit, levem armaturam cum Ptolomaeo Leonnatoque partitus est. tria simul agmina populabantur Indos, mag- naeque praediae actae sunt: maritos Ptolomaeos, ceteros ipse rex et ab alia parte Leonnatus urebat. in hac quoque regione urbem condidit, deductique sunt in cam Arachosii.

Hinc pervenit ad maritos Indos. desertam vastamque regionem late tenent ac ne cum finitimis quidemullo com- mercii iure miscentur. ipsa solitudo natura quoque inmitia efferavit ingeni: prominent ungues numquam recisi, comae hirsutae et intonsae sunt. tuguria conchis et ceteris purga- mentis maris instruunt. ferarum pellibus tecti piscibus sole
duratis et maiorum quoque beluarum, quas fluctus eiecit, carne vescuntur. consumptis igitur al\textit{imentis Macedones primo inopiam, deinde ad ultimum famem sentire coeperunt, radices palmarum, namque sola ea arbor gignitur, ubique rimantes. sed cum haec quoque al\textit{imenta defe\textit{cerant, iu\textit{menta caedere ad\textit{gressi ne quidem abstinebant: et cum deessent, quae sarcinas ve\textit{herent, spolia de hostibus, propter quae ultima Orientis peragraverant, cremabant incendio. famem deinde pestilentia secuta est, quippe insalubrium ciborum novi suci, ad hoc itineris labor et aegritudo animi vul\textit{gaverant morbos, et nec man\textit{ere sine clade nec pro\textit{redi poterant: manentes fames, progressos acrior pest\textit{ilentia urgeb\textit{at. ergo strati erant campi pa\textit{ne pluribus sem\textit{ivivis quam cadaveribus. ac ne levius quidem aegri sequi poterant: quippe agmen raptim agebatur tantum singul\textit{is ad spem salutis ipsos proficere credentibus, quantum itineris festinal\textit{do praecipere. igitur qui defecerant, notos ignatosque, ut adlevarenter, orabant: sed nec iumenta erant, quibus excipi possent, et miles vix arma portabat, imminentesque et ipsis facies mali ante oculos erat. ergo saepius revocati ne respicer\textit{e quidem suos sustiner\textit{bant misericordia in formidin\textit{em versa. illi re\textit{licti deos testes et sacra comm\textit{unia regis\textit{que in\textit{plorabant opem: cumque frustra surdas aures fatigarent, in rabiem des\textit{peratione versa pare\textit{m suo exitum similesque ipsis amicos et contubernales precab\textit{untur. rex dolore simul ac pudore an\textit{xius, quia causa tantae cladis ipse es\textit{set, ad Phrataphernen, Parthyaeorum satrapen, misit, qui iuberet camelis cocta cibaria adferri, aliosque finitima\textit{rum regionum pra\textit{efectos certiores necessitatis suae fecit. nec cessat\textit{um est ab his. itaque fame dumtaxat vindicatus exercitus tandem in Cedrosiae fines perduced tur. omnium rerum sola fertili\textit{s regio est, in qua stativa habuit, ut vexatos C.
milites quiete firmaret. hic Leonnati litteras acceptit con-
flixisse ipsum cum vīth milibus peditum et ccc equitibus
Oritarum prospero eventu. a Cratero quoque nuntius venit
Ozīnen et Zariaspen, nobilis Persas, defectionem molientes
opressos a se in vinculis esse. praeposito igitur regioni
Sibyrtio—namque Menon, praefectus eius, nuper interierat
morbo—in Carmaniam ipse processit. Aspastes erat satra-
pes gentis, suspectus res novare voluisse, dum in India rex
est. quem occurrentem dissimulata ira comiter adlocutus,
dum explorare, quae delata erant, in eodem honore habuit.
cum inde praefecti, sicut imperatum erat, equorum iument-
orumque iugalium vim ingentem ex omni, quae sub imperio
erat, regione misissent, quibus deereant inpedimenta, resti-
tuit. arma quoque ad pristinum refecta sunt cultum: quippe
haud procul a Perside aberant, non pacata modo, sed etiam
opulenta. igitur, ut supra dictum est, aemulatus patris Liberi
non gloriam solum, quam ex illis gentibus deportaverat, sed
etiam famam, sive illud triumphus fuit ab eo primum insti-
tutus, sive bacchantium lusus, statuit imitari, animo super
humanum fastigium elato. vicos, per quos iter erat, floribus
coronisque sterni iubet, liminibus aedium crateras vino re-
pletas et alia eximiae magnitudinis vasa disponi: vehicula
deinde constrata, ut plures capere milites possent, in taber-
naculorum modum ornari, alia candidis veils, alia veste præ-
tiosa. primi ibant amici et cohors regia, variis redivita
floribus coronisque: alibi tibicinum cantus, alibi lyrae sonus
audiēbatur: item in vehiculis pro copia cuiusque adorna-
tis comissabundus exercitus, armis, quae maxime decora
erant, circumpendentibus. ipsum convivasque currus vehē-
bat crateris aureis eiusdemque materiae ingentibus poculis
praegravis. hoc modo per dies vīth bacchabundum agmen
incessit, parata praeda, si quid victis saltem adversus comis-
santes animi fuisset: mille, hercule, viri modo et sobrii vii dierum crapula graves in suo triumpho capere potuerunt. sed fortuna, quae rebus famam pretiumque constituit, hoc quoque militiae probrum vertit in gloriam. et praesens aetas et posteritas deinde mirata est per gentes nondum satis domitas incessisse temulentos, barbaris, quod temeritas erat, fiduciam esse credentibus. hunc apparatum carnifex sequitur: quippe satrapes Aspastes, de quo ante dictum est, interfici iussus est: adeo nec luxuriae quicquam crudelitas nec crudelitati luxuria obstat.
## Variations from the Text of Hedicke

(Berlin, 1867)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Hedicke.</th>
<th>Ethimantus Z F</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>VIII § 9</td>
<td>Ethymandrus Z M F</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>§ 10</td>
<td>mitis Z</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>§ 12</td>
<td>seminum Z M F V</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>§ 14</td>
<td>germinum</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>baccarisque [et]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>§ 24</td>
<td>obmolita V</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>§§ 27, 28</td>
<td>percussit eum.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>forte V</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>§ 30</td>
<td>demoliebantur V</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>§ 32</td>
<td>admotas F</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11 § 8</td>
<td>exercitus [se] index V</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>§ 25</td>
<td>quo subire M</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14 § 13</td>
<td>magnitudini Pori Z M F</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IX § 2</td>
<td>terminum persequi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>§ 9</td>
<td>Z M F</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>§ 21</td>
<td>quoque [et]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>§ 25</td>
<td>adhibite (? misprint)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>§ 28</td>
<td>invicem</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 § 21</td>
<td>xxv milia Z M F V</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 § 6</td>
<td>subicere V</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>§ 9</td>
<td>qua meatur navigiis V</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>§ 10</td>
<td>aestu F</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>§ 15</td>
<td>Oxydracarum Z M F</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>§ 23</td>
<td>ducere</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>acquareque</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>§ 24</td>
<td>Oxydracarum Z M F</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>§ 26</td>
<td>Oxydracarum Z M F</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>§ 27</td>
<td>ni omitteret, at</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>metu M</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Sudracarum V</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>duceret Z M F V</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>acquaretque Z M F V</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Sudracarum V</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Sudracarum V</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ne committeret aut Z M F V</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
§ 32 magnitudinem terrorem
§ 35 cum comminus unum
§ 32 perinvalido V
§ 23 Sameranis
§ 5 suspicio Z M F V
§ 16 virium etiam regi
§ 19 ingens vis militia, inter quos erant Graeci. Dioxippostudebant
§ 7 viros (misprint)
§ 11 in Depraestos
§ 1 instigabat
cogit [conjecture of Freinsheim and Z]
§ 13 [non] receperant
§ 18 copia fertilis V

The letters subjoined to readings in this table are initials denoting the texts of the editions of Zumpt (Brunswick 1849), Mützell (Berlin 1841), Foss (Leipsic 1857), and Vogel (Leipsic 1872). The critical edition of Hediecke is the basis of the present text, and has never been departed from without grave reasons and careful deliberation, and only once or twice without the support of a preponderance of manuscript or other authority. Where difficult questions arise they are briefly discussed in the notes.
[Since this book was first issued there has appeared 'The Indian Empire' by W W Hunter. Mr Hunter is well known as the first of Indian statisticians, and I cannot do better than refer the reader once for all to this work, which has a good index and is a model of clearness and learning. W E Heitland. July 1882.]

NOTES.

BOOK VIII, CHAPTER IX.

§ 1. ne...aleret] Curtius, like Livy and other rhetorical historians, gives the motives of actions with the utmost confidence.

natum] for the construction compare Terence adelph 545 nisi me credo huic esse natum rei, ferundis miseris, Horace de art poet 82 natum rebus agentibus. For the matter see Curtius VI 2 § 15 rumor, otiosi militis vitium.

in Indiam movit Arrian IV 22 § 3 says in much the same sense προβάτωρι Ὑδρί εἰς Ἠβραίοις. For movit intransitive or = movit castra compare V 13 § 1 auido Darem movisse ab Ecbatanis, IX 4 § 27, Livy XXI 39 § 6, XXII 1 § 1.

semper...clarior] this dry remark is particularly suggested by the matter of the four chapters just preceding, namely the unjust accusation and death of the sophist Kallisthenes. Curtius means that Alexander did himself no credit by his acts during an interval of rest. For clarior compare IX 8 § 23.

§ 2. spectat orientem] 'lies towards the East'. Curtius speaks from the point of view of one coming from central Asia as Alexander did. That the above rendering is correct seems to be shewn by VII 10 § 15 circa eam VI oppidis condendis electa sedes est, duo ad meridiem versa, quattuor spectantia orientem, VIII 10 § 23, VI 6 § 23 praerupta rupestr est qua spectat occidentem, and other such passages. Pratt renders 'slopes eastward', but his reasons seem weak. We must remember that the ancients knew very little of India [see Strabo XV 1 §§ 1—12], and that Eratosthenes [in Strabo XV 1 § 11] evidently makes the Indus flow north and south, and places the southern angle of the rhomboid to which he likens India a good way to the east of the northern one. See also Arrian Indica 3.

in latitudinem...recta regione] 'broadways'...'straightways', that is 'in breadth' and 'straight ahead' = 'in length'. That writers differed, some reckoning the length from north to south and the breadth from east to west, while others adopted the contrary arrangement, is clear from Arrian Indica 3. Curtius seems to reckon the length from east to west. See on § 6 rubro mari. For in latitudinem compare VII 10 § 1 octingenta fere stadia in latitudinem vastae solitudines tenent. For recta regione compare VII 7 § 4 recta deinde regione saltum ultra
§ 3. *fustigium*] peak, ridge, slope. The word is often used of the gable slope of a roof. The metaphorical sense is common, as in *ix* 2 § 28, *io* § 24. Compare our use of ‘pitch’ in both senses. See on *io* § 31 below, and compare *ii* § 6, *ix* 9 § 19.

*exciplet* rise, stand out. Compare *vi* 3 § 22 *rupes quattuor (stoutia) in altitudinem excipit.* Müntz remarks that the parts spoken of are the Vindhya mountains and the Deckan.

*planum* this bold statement is rather sweeping, but more nearly accurate than that of Pliny *N* *ii* vi § 60 where speaking of the northern mountains he says *iunguntur inter se Imaus Emodus Paropamisus Caucasius, a quibus lota (India) decurrit in planitiem immensam et Aegypto similum.* Strabo and Arrian more cautiously speak of *ta pedia.*

*Caucasius* this name was given generally to the mountains north of India by the Greeks, especially to the range of the Hindu Kush. *Arrian Indica* 2 §§ 3, 4 *αλλά δὴ ἄλλο καλέσται τῷ ὄντω, τῇ μὲν Παραπαμισός, τῇ δὲ 'Ημωδός. *Αλλάς δὲ 'Ιμαον κλησταί, καὶ τυχών ἄλλα καὶ ἄλλα ἑξαί οὐνόματα.* Μακεδόνες δὲ οἱ σὺν 'Αλεξάνδρῳ στρατεύσατες Κάκασον αὐτὸ ἐκάλεσον, ἄλλον τοῦτον Κάκασον, οὐ τὸν Σκύθικον. So before him Strabo *XV* 1 § 11, following Eratosthenes; in § 13 he says of the rivers *ἀπατεῖς δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ Καύκασου τῷ ἄρχην ἐξοσσι.* See also Curtius *VII* 3 §§ 19—22, Pliny *N* *II* vi §§ 60, 71, *Horace* carm *i* 22 7.

§ 4. *Indus*] the name is interesting. Prof M Williams (Hinduism chap 1) says, speaking of the districts near the river Sindhu [now called the Indus] *‘the Persians pronounced this word Hindū, and named their Aryan brethren Hindūs.* The Greeks, who probably gained their first idea of India from the Persians, dropped the hard aspirate and called the Hinduus *'Indus.*” Compare the words of Pliny *N* *H* *ii* vi § 71 *Indus incolis Sindus appellatus.* This river was generally recognized as the western boundary of India, though that name was occasionally extended. See *ix* 10 § 7 and Elphinstone appendix *iii* on the Greek accounts of *India.* The river and its affluents are described by Strabo *XV* 1 § 13, *Arrian Indica* 4 §§ 8—13, *Pomponius Mela* *III* 7, *Pliny N* *II* vi §§ 71, 72, and are often referred to by other authors. It was regarded as the greatest of all rivers but the Ganges. Herod *IV* 44 *Ἰνδόν ποταμόν, δὲ κροκόδειλον δεύτερος οὗτος ποταμών πάντων παρέχεται,* Lucan *III* 236 *vastis Indus aquis mixtum non sentit Hydaspen.*

*gelidior*] this statement and that concerning the colour of the water are supported by Burnes [Travels into Bokhara vol i pp 74, 77, 79], quoted by Müntz with the remark that the coldness of the Indus is in interesting contrast to the warmth of the Ganges.

§ 5. *Ganges*] the Ganga or Ganges, thought by the ancients to be the greatest river in the world, is described by Strabo *XV* 1 § 13, *Arrian Indica* 4 §§ 2—7, *Pomponius Mela* *III* 7, *Pliny N* *H* *ii* vi § 65. It is often referred to by other authors as representing the far east. Lucan *III* 229—234, Juvenal *x* 1, *2 omnibus in terris quae sunt a Cadibus usque Auroram et Ganges.*
omnium] genitive after eximius, which is equivalent to a superlativa. Compare Statius Theb vi 15 eximii regum.

ab oriente] on the eastern side of the world, in the east. Compare the similar usage of a meridie in io § 24, and other expressions. This reading, being adopted by Zumpt Mützell Foss and Hedicke and having the MSS authority on its side, has been retained. But the sense thus given is feeble in the extreme. Aldus read ab ortu which he probably meant to mean ‘from its source’, and he may have had authority for the reading. Anyhow Arrian says of the Ganges on the authority of Megasthenes autOn te yap mepon anisexen ek twv pi7eov, and Pliny alii (dixerunt) cum magno fragore ipsius statim fontis erumpere, statements such as Curtius loves to make.

recto alveo] with straight bed = running straight ahead. Compare recta regione above.


inclinat] see Strabo xv i § 13, speaking of the Indian rivers, apanties o' apo tos Kaukasous toon arxhyn exousi kai fereonta mev eli tov meneyvrion to prwte, eli' ovi nev menouv en eli tov auths forais kai maidstva ovi elis tov Indon symbalkovtes, ovi o' epistrefonta pros evw katapex kai o Tavga h potamos. ouvov mev ouv katabaex ev tov orewv evpetiav ayxvta tov pedvov epistrefyas pros evw kai mev exa para ta Palisbotha megisth v6lun proeoxv en eli tov tauth b6llastan, also § 72. Mützelf points out that modern researches confirm the statement of Curtius assigning objectae ripes as the cause of the river’s change of course.

§ 6. rubro mari] this of course stands for the Indian ocean generally. So often in Curtius and in rhetorical or poetical writers. See iii 2 § 9 Indos ceterosque rubri maris accolas, iv 12 § 9, vi 2 § 12, ix 6 § 20, x 10 § 4, Virgil Aen viii 686 (compare 605), Horace carm i 35 32, pseudo-Tibullus iv 2 19 et quasqueque niger rubro de litore conchas proximius cois colligit Indius aquis. If the text be sound here, the making both rivers (Indus and Ganges) run into the same sea is in favour of the view put forth in a note on § 2, that Curtius thought India longer from east to west than from north to south; he being in fact ignorant that there was a great tongue of land projecting southwards. Ptolemy afterwards had the same imperfect conception.

§ 7. reverberat] compare ix 9 § 8.

stagnal] forms pools or meres. Arrian vi 14 § 5 says that the river may perhaps be more than 100 stadia broad inaperv lumavaei maallon. In his Indica 6 § 5 he speaks of the summer floods in the Indian rivers generally, so too Strabo xv i § 13 brexetai tois themois drmois h Indikh kai lumnavei ta peda, also §§ 17—20.

insulae] alluvial banks. For these vast silt deposits see ix 8 § 30, Strabo xv i § 16, and for the Indus in particular Pliny N H vi § 71.

molitur] builds up, forms. Compare Virgil Aen iii 132 ergo avius muros optatae molor urbis and other passages.
§ 8. Acesines] now the Chenab. For this river and its affluents Hydaspes (Jhelam) Hydraotes (Ravi) and Hyphasis (Satlej), the waters of which it carries to the Indus, see Arrian vi 14 § 5. The Hyphasis (or Hyphasis, Vipasa) seems properly to mean the Bias river, but to have been applied to the stream formed by the junction of that river with the Satlej. See however note 1 on § 7 of introduction B.

Iomanen] a clever conjectural insertion, due to Hedicke. Foss had suspected some such omission, as the old attempt to make the Acesines run into the Ganges by finding some other modern name for it was preposterous. For the junction of the Jamna and Ganges see Pliny N. H. vi § 63 ad confluentem Iomanis amnitis et Gangis, § 69 amnitis Iomanes in Gangen per Palibothros decurrat.

quippe] this word is especially frequent in Curtius in the sense of 'the fact is', 'in truth'. Compare § 19, 10 § 35, 11 § 19, 13 § 3, IX 7 §§ 2, 23 and elsewhere. See introduction Λ § 3.

or] used generally of the mouth of a river, here of the mouth or face that one river presents to another at their junction. Render 'in truth the Ganges presents a rough face to its entrance, and its waters though beaten back (in eddies) do not give way'.

vipersusae] see on 13 § 9.

§ 9. Dyardenes] cannot be identified. It is however worth comparing the report given in Strabo xv i § 72 of Artemidorus' account of the Ganges, where an obscure river-name occurs, with a description very like that of the Dyardenes; τὸν δὲ συνεργόντων εἰς αὐτὸν Οἰδάνυν τυά καλεῖ τρέφειν δὲ καὶ κροκοδίλους καὶ δελφίνας θέγει δὲ καὶ ἄλλα τυά, συγκεκυμένως δὲ καὶ ἀργός, οὐ οὐ φροντιστέον. This passage has been noticed by Mützell.

uti Nilus] Alexander on seeing crocodiles in the Indus jumped to the conclusion that he had found the source of the Nile. See Arrian vi i §§ 2, 3; Herod iv 44 (quoted on § 4), Strabo xv i § 25 (of the Hydaspes), Arrian Indica 6 § 8 (of Indian rivers in general).

delphinos] this, as Zumpt remarks, is the proper Latin form of the accusative plural, and should be kept in prose.

§ 10. Ethimantus] this spelling has been kept, as nearer to the MSS. Mützell has shown that Ritter was wrong in identifying this with the Ethimandrus of Arrian iv 6 § 6.

subinde] 'now and then', 'often'. The regular silver-age use of the word. Compare 13 § 18, IX 3 § 24, 4 § 9, 5 § 7.

rigantibus] Strabo xv i § 50 speaks of a board charged with the supervision of irrigation works, but this is from Megasthenes, and refers to the Ganges.

carpitum] is spent, used up. Compare Virgil georg iii 215 carpit enim vires paulatim, Aen iv 2 caeco carpitur igni, 32 solane perpetua maeres eartpere inventa. The word is used in military history of cutting off stragglers and detachments (carpere agmen), or of dividing an army into portions. See Livy vi 32, xxii 32, xxvii 46, xxvi 38.

ea causa] 'that is the reason'. The pronoun as usual is attracted to
the gender of the substantive instead of being made neuter. Compare Virgil Aen IV 379 seilicet is superis labor est, Tacitus ann III 38 quae causa fuit.

*iam sine nomine*] which by that time have ceased to have a name, ἵδη ἀνάξιμα.

§ 11. *non adeo*] the theory of the construction will be best explained by Virgil Aen XI 436, 437 *non adeo* has exosa manus V génia fugit ut tantu quiequam pro spe temptare recusem. Here if completed it would run *non adeo* interfluent ut nobiles fiant.

*interfluent*] run through. Compare III i § 12 Gordium nomen est urbi, quam Sangarius amnis interfluit.

§ 12. *eterum*] like the Greek ὅ' ὤν, resuming the thread of narrative after a parenthesis or digression. Here we turn back to § 3, since which we have been dealing with rivers.

*aquilone*] how this mention of a hot north wind can possibly refer to the storms and rains of the SW Monsoon [see Elphinstone introd p 5]. Meadows Taylor bk 1 c 11 is just what Zumpt and Mützel do not explain, though they refer it to that season. Nor will the NE Monsoon, blowing in October and November on the Coromandel coast, answer the description. Pratt does really try to meet the difficulty, remarking ‘As to the heat attributed to the north wind, it may be acquired by passing over torrefied deserts in the last stages of its course’, and quoting from Elphinstone’s *Cautul* p 133 ‘We experienced a whole night of strong hot wind from the North-West’ [at Peshawer].

*decurrunt*] may either refer to the effect of heat or (as in Livy xi. 45) to that of cold. How to explain the statement of Curtius on either supposition is very far from clear. The MSS read *aquiloni* and *decurrunt* which if retained would need some other explanation than that of Zumpt.

*ita...mitia*] ‘which thus (=for this reason) are mild and nourish the crops’. As ὄβεο so *ita* often means ‘under such conditions’. See ix 4 § 22. In this place however there is no verb and the clause is so to speak participial. Compare use of *ideo* in Plin N H III § 78. If we had *ea* after *ita* we might put aicolon at *penetrat* and understand *sunt*.

§ 13. *adeo*] to such an extent.

*mundus*] the world, or universal order of things, ὅ κόσμος. See IV 11 § 22 nec mundus dinobus solibus potest regi. The exaggeration of the differences between the climate of India and that of Europe is quite in Curtius’ rhetorical manner. Pliny N H vi § 58 is more sober and accurate. Pratt well remarks ‘Possibly the Macedonian-Greeks might have encountered extreme cold in the elevated mountain tracts of India, in the season corresponding to summer in a European climate; and again, in descending the valleys of the south, have experienced oppressive heat when the rigours of winter prevail in their own country; and on these unexpected vicissitudes have founded the erroneous conclusion that the *times* of both seasons were inverted in respect to Europe’. See Strabo XV 1 §§ 17, 18, and introduction A § 5.
Q. CURTI RUFUS HIST. ALEX. [viii 9

...statas temporum vices] 'the regular changes of seasons'. Compare IX 9 §§ 9, 27.

inverterit se] has turned itself round, as we say 'wrong way about'. The text is very uncertain here. For the present compare the inversi mores of Horace carm III 5 7.

causa] that is, satis constat or apparent. The MSS are corrupt here, and Hedicke's emended reading is only accepted provisionally. It must be granted that the omission of the verb is harsh. See Tac Germ 45.

§ 14. Erythra] so in the report of Nearchus after his voyage to the Persian gulf, X I §§ 13, 14, and Arrian Indica 37 § 3 ev taũthη tη̂ νήςωv ελεγον και τοῦ πρώτου δύναστεύσατος tη̂ς χωρίς ταυτης δέλμασθαι των τάφων οὖνων δε αὐτῷ. 'Ερυθρην εἶναι, ἀπ' ὄντος καὶ τῆν ἐπωνυμίαν τῇ θαλάσσῃ ταὐτη εἶναι, ἐνυφην καλεσθαι.

§ 15. lini] this usually stands for flax, though here perhaps cotton is meant. Compare Strabo XV I § 13 βρέχεται τῶν θερνοσ ὀμβρος ἣ 'Ινδική, καὶ λιμανὲς τὰ πεδία ἐν μὲν ὄντος τοῖς ὀμβρος λινον σπει- ρεται καὶ κέρκυρος, προὶ τοῦτοι σάκαμον ὄρψα βάςμαρκον.

testes] see IX 7 § 12, 8 § 1, Strabo XV I § 71, Arriana Indica 16 §§ 1, 2 εἰσβητε δὲ 'Ἰνδόν λινή χρεώνται, κατάπερ λέγει Νέαρχος, λίνον του ἀπὸ τῶν δενδρῶν ὑπὲρ ὄντων μοι ἤγη λέκεται. τὸ δὲ λίνον τοῦτο ἤ λαμπρό- τερον τὴν χροῖν ἔστιν ἄλλοι λίνον παντός, ἤ πέλανα αὐτοὶ ἐντες λαμπρό- τερον τὸ λίνον φαίνεσθαι πολέσσιν. ἐστὶ δὲ κιόσων λινον αἰτωσιν ἔστε ἐπὶ μέσῳ τῆς κυνηγίας, εἰμι δὲ τὸ μὲν περι τοῦτον ὄρμας περιβεβλημένον, τὸ δὲ περὶ τῇς κεφαλής εἰλημένον. Pomponius Mela III 7 calls the cotton lana (lana feracis soli ut...lanae silvae ferarit) and says of the people lino alii vestimenta aut lanis suas diximus, alii aevum ferarumque pellitum; pars nindi estunt. Herodotus (III 160) had heard of the 'tree-wool'. Compare Virgil georg II 130, 121. Meadows Taylor bk I c 3 'The costume of the male Hindoos, as depicted in ancient sculptures, is still used. It consists of two pieces of broad cotton cloth, one of which is folded round the waist, reaching to the calf of the leg, the other cast gracefully over the shoulders'. The latter, says Elphinstone bk III c II p 201 'is occasionally stretched over the head, which has no other covering'. See below § 21.

libri] liber originally means 'bark' (see Virgil georg II 77), then 'book'. charta is the papyrus-paper, so extensively used in ancient times. Pliny NH xiii §§ 68—89 describes the growth and preparation of it: in § 69 he remarks in palmarum folios primum scriptitum, dein quarrandum arborum libris. Strabo XV I §§ 67, 73 mentions Indian writing on fine pressed linen and on skins, but says nothing of the bark-paper. Pratt quotes Hamilton's Description of India to the effect that bark is used for writing upon in Kashmir.

§ 16. axos] Pliny NH x §§ 117—120 treats of birds taught to talk. In § 117 he says super omnia humanas voce reditunt, psittaci quidem etiam sermocinantes. India hanc axem mittit, septagen vacat, viriinde tot corros, torque tantum miniatu in cervice distinctam. imperatores salutat et quae accipit verba prounitat, in vino præcipue lasciva. Arrian Indica I: §§ 8, 9, Strabo XV I § 69, Ovid amores II 6 psittacus
$13-19$] 

**NOTES.**

Eois imitatrix ales ab Indis. Elphinstone introd p 10 speaks of 'parrots, or rather perequots' in India.

*invititata* some editors prefer the form *inuisitata* here and in IX i § 4 and other places. Both words are recognized and there is hardly any perceptible difference in sense. Mützzell on v 5 § 7 discusses the question with much learning. We may render either 'uncommon' or 'unknown'. The frequentative form has here as in many other cases lost its proper meaning. See for instance Virgil Aen vi 258 *advent-ante dea.* The strange animals referred to are probably the gold-digging ants, flying snakes and scorpions, griffins and other marvellous creatures of fabulous or exaggerated powers. See Arrian v 4 § 3, Indica 15 §§ 1—10, Strabo xv i §§ 35, 37, 44, 69, Pomponius Mela iii 7, Pliny NH xi § 3, xxxiii § 66, vii §§ 21—30.

*nist* so IX 9 § 4 incognita nisi inmortalibus.

*alit non general* for the words compare Horace carni i 22 13—16. As to the matter Mützzell well observes that the statement is found only in Curtius, who seems to contradict himself in IX i § 5. Elphinstone intr p 9 says that the rhinoceros is found in India but is confined to the forests. It would seem therefore to be indigenous. See Aelian hist anim xvi 20 translated by McCrindle p 59.

§ 17. *elephantorum* for the use of elephants in India in ancient times, and the method of catching and taming them etc see Strabo xv i §§ 41—43, Arrian Indica 13, 14, 17, Diodorus ii 35, 42, Elphinstone bk iii 31 p 201.

*magnitude* the superiority of the Indian to the African elephants in size and strength is set forth in Strabo (only on the authority of Onesikritus) and Diodorus.

§ 18. *aurum* see Herod iii 106, Strabo xv i §§ 57, 69.

§ 19. *genmna* for the precious stones of India and their use by the natives see Pliny NH xxxvii §§ 76—80, 84—96, 100, 101, 105, 110, 114, 115, 121, 122, 128—132, 177, 185, 200. Mützzell well compares Strabo ii 3 § 4 of the voyage of Eudoxus to India πλείνατα δὴ μετὰ δόρων ἐπανελθείν ἀντιφορτισάμενον ἀρώματα καὶ λίθους πολυτελεῖς ὄντος μὲν καταφέροντοι οἱ παταμοὶ μετὰ τῶν ψῆφων τοὺς ὀρκυκοὺς εὐρισκομένοι πεπηγώτας εξ ύγροῦ καθάπερ τὰ κρυστάλλια παρ᾽ ἡμῖν. See Elphinstone intr p 10, Strabo xv i § 67.

*margaritas* 'most of the pearls in the world, and all the best, are taken up from beds near Ceylon.' Elphinstone. Athenaeus iii 93a refers to Theophrastus de lapidibus § 30 which runs τῶν σπουδαζομένων δὲ λίθων ἐστὶ καὶ ὁ μαργαρίτης καλούμενος, διαφανής μὲν τῇ φύσει, ποιοῦσθαι δ᾽ εξ αὐτοῦ τῶν πολυτελεῖς ὀρμοὺς, γίνεται δὲ ἐν ὀστρείῳ τῷ πρασ-πηλάσιῳ παῖς πιννας, φέρει δὲ τῇ ἑι Ἰνδικῇ χώρα καὶ νήσοι τίνες τῶν ἐν τῇ ἐρῳφᾳ. See Pliny NH ix §§ 106—123, Arrian Indica 8 §§ 9—13, 38 § 3.

*litoribus* compare ix 2 § 27.

*opulentiae* the word here stands for 'wealth'. In Pliny NH vi § 89 it means 'splendour', 'show of wealth', sed ne Taprobane quidem,
quamvis extra orbem a natura relegata, nostris vitiiis caret. aurum argentumque et ibi in pretio. marmor testudinis smile, margaritae gemmaeque in honore multo, praestantiorum et totius luxuriae nostrae cumulus. ipsorum opes maiiores esse diebant, sed opud nos opulentiae maiorem usum. See also xxxiv § 163 India neque aec neque plumbum habet gemmisque ac margaritis suis have permutat.

utique postquam] compare ix 7 § 26. Render 'especially since they spread the community of evil to foreign nations'. vitia here as in §§ 23, 31 are the moral defects that make men love luxury and vain display. Compare ix 7 § 15, Juvenal i 87 et quando ulterior vitiorum copia, 149 omne in præcipiti vitium statit. These are the constant theme of the rhetoricians and satirists of imperial Rome. In this matter of pearls Tacitus Agr 12, Pliny NH ix §§ 112—123 may be referred to.

commercium] the sharing or having in common, hence 'intercourse'. Compare vi 3 § 8 tot gentes alterius imperio ac nomine adsuetas, non sueris non moribus non commercio linguae nobiscum cohaerentes, and ix 10 § 8 below.

purgamenta] excreta, things cast out by the sea. Compare ix 10 § 10. The word is an ignoble one, and is used metaphorically as we say 'offscourings'. Compare viii 5 § 8 where the fawning flatterers of Alexander are described as urbium suarum purgamenta.

libido] 'fashion' is our nearest word. Compare with Mützell Pliny NH xxxvii § 85 singulorum enim libido pretia singulis facile.

constituir] see ii § 4, ix 10 § 26.

§ 29. ingénia] their 'natures' or 'characters'. So ix 10 § 9. For the matter of the effect of various countries on their inhabitants see Herod i 142, iii 166, ix 2, 122, Aristotle Pol vii 7 §§ 1—4, Cic de deor nat ii § 42, Livy xxix 25, Draper's History of the American civil war sect i cc 4—6, Vegetius ii 2 passim especially plaga cadli ad robur non tantum corporum sed etiam animorum plurimum valet. For India in particular see Strabo xv i § 13, Arrian v 4 § 4, Indica 6 §§ 9, 17 § 1, Diodorus ii 36, Pomponius Mela iii 7, Elphinstone bk iii c 11 pp 214, 215.

locorum situs] this expression seems generally to mean the 'lie of the ground' viewed with the eye of a general or engineer. See i0 §§ 13, 23, ix 2 § 8. Here it seems to mean rather what we call 'the surroundings' of the people, that is, the position of their country and its climate. See Tacitus Agr 10.

quoque] goes in sense with illos. This licentious misplacement of quoque is common in Livy and Curtius.

§ 21. usque pedes] for the use of usque as a preposition compare Juvenal x 1, 2 omnibus in terris quae sunt a Gadibus usque Avarum et Gangen. Curtius seems not to use it thus elsewhere. For the matter see ix 1 § 29.

carbaso] Strabo xv i § 71 ως δ'είπειν, Ἰνδοὺς ἐσθητὶ λευκὴ χρόσθαι kal σινόδοι λευκαὶ καὶ καρπάσωι, ὑπεναντίως τοῖς εἰποῦσιν εὐανήστατα
NOTES.

§§ 19—23

autovi's ἀμπέλεσθαι φόρηματα, reporting the account of Klitarchus. See also Elphinstone bk III c 11 pp 201, 202 'The full dress is a long white gown of almost transparent muslin, close over the body, but in innumerable loose folds below the waist'. The writer thinks however that some of the dress is borrowed from the Mahometans: whether this part or not he does not say. Pratt remarks that the Sanskrit term for muslins or fine calicoes is karpasi.

soleis] slippers, covering little more than the sole of the foot. Müttell observes that Philostratus in Photius says that the Indians wear ὑποδήματα βύσλου. But Arrian Indica 16 § 5 says on the authority of Nearchus that ὑποδήματα δὲ λευκοῦ δέρματος φορέοισι, περισσώς καὶ τάντα ἡσικημένα, καὶ τὰ ἔξωα τῶν ὑποδημάτων αὐτοίς παλικά καὶ ἵψηλα τῶν μέγονας φαλνεσθαί. The latter may possibly rather refer to princes and wealthy people. See Curtius below IX i § 29.

linteis] linen [or cotton] cloths. See above on § 15. lintum is used for a dinner napkin (Catullus 13) or the sail of a ship.

lapilli] compare IX i § 30. Müttell quotes Pliny N H xi § 136 (of the ears) nec in alia parte feminis mavis impendium margaritis dependentibus, in Oriente quidem et viris animum eo loci gestare decus existimatur. Arrian Indica 16 § 3 says καὶ ἐνώτα Ἱνδοὶ φορέονσι ἐλέφαντος, ὅσοι κάρτα εὐθαλάμους οὐ γὰρ πάντες Ἱνδοὶ φορέοσι. Strabo xv i § 59 reports (after Megasthenes) of the Brahman at a certain stage of his life καὶ ἵναι ἀδέως καὶ ἀνεμένος μᾶλλον, σινδοφοροῦντα καὶ χρυσοφοροῦντα μετρίως ἐν τοῖς ὑσί καὶ ταῖς χερσί. Elphinstone bk III c 11 p 202 'Both sexes wear many ornaments. Men even of the lower orders wear earrings, bracelets and necklaces'.

brachia et lacertos] the fore and upper arm. For the bracelets see last note, and compare IX i § 29.


eminent] stand out, are notable. Compare 12 § 13, IX i § 28.

§ 22. capillum] Strabo xv i § 71 (after Klitarchus) κομαν δὲ καὶ πωγωνοποιεῖν πάντας, ἀναπλεκομένους δὲ μιτρόσθαι τὰς κόμας, also §§ 13, 30. Arrian Indica 6 § 9, 7 § 9. The custom seems to have changed, according to Elphinstone bk III c 11 p 201 'The head and beard are shaved, but a long tuft of hair is left on the crown. Mustachios are also worn, except perhaps by strict Brahmins'.

mentum] see Arrian Indica 16 § 4 τοὺς δὲ πωγωνας λέγει Νέαρχος ὦτι βάπτονται Ἱνδοὶ χρωίν δάλλην καὶ δάλλην, mentioning white, dark blue, scarlet, purple, green as the colours. Strabo xv i § 30 gives much the same account.

ad speciem levitatis] 'so that it looks polished'. Compare III i § 13 quae graia continentι adhaeret, sed magna ex parte cingitur fluctibus, speciem insulae praebet, 'looks like an island'.

§ 23. rezum] though we find mention elsewhere (see on IX 8 § 4) of communities in India at the time of Alexander's visit living under other
institutions, still government by a king is generally assumed by the ancients to have been the normal constitution. See Elphinstone bk i c 2 (on Government) which opens thus; 'The government of the society thus constituted (viz as described by Menu) was vested in an absolute monarch'. Compare Virgil georg iv 210—212.

luxuria......magnificentiam] for the contrast between barbaric gorgeousness and effeminacy on the one hand, and well-judged splendour on the other, compare v i § 23 equites deine: Babylonii, suo eorumque cultu ad luxuriam magis quam ad magnificentiam exacto, ultimi ibant. Also Cic pro Murena § 76 edit populus Romanus privatam luxuriam, publicam magnificentiam diligit. For the former see Milton P L i i—4 'High on a throne of royal state, which far outshone the wealth of Ormus and of Ind, or where the gorgeous East with richest publicain motions, and, Illiphinstone also exceedings matter indidus.

patitur] 'allows', marking condensation. Eastern sovereigns have ever been proverbially difficult of access, far removed from the mass of their subjects. See the account of the Chinese emperors in Marco Polo bk ii cc 38, 77. The present passage is especially illustrated in many of its details by Strabo xv i § 55.

§ 24. lectica] palanquin.

recubat] 'lolls', marking lazy languor.

distincta] 'picked out' = 'embroidered'. For this use of distinguish = mark, set off, throw into relief, compare iii § 18 pallam auro distinctam, § 19 caerulea fascia albo distincta, and below § 26, 13 § 7, ix i §§ 29, 39, 4 § 30, 7 § 12, Cic pro Murena § 49.

carbas] the robes of carbasus. See § 21. Pliny N H xix § 10 says that carbasas (= vela carbasina, as Mützell rightly remarks) were first invented in Spain.

quaes indutus est] the construction is common. Compare v 9 § 1 preosisissimam vestem induti, Tacitus hist ii 20 bracas barbarum legmen inditutus.

§ 25. inter quos......pendent] 'among whose ranks, perched on boughs, are birds which they have taught to interrupt business with their cries'. The construction is bold, but quite intelligible. The matter may be illustrated by what Strabo xv i § 69 says of the proceedings at Indian festivals kai των πουκίλων ὄρνεων καὶ εὐφθόγγων πλήθος. ó δὲ Κλέιταρχος φησίν ἀμάξας τετρακύκλους, ἡνδρα κομιζότας τῶν μεγα-

loφυτῶν, εξ ὧν ἀνήρτηται γένη τετωδαιμόνων ὄρνεων. It will be well also to quote here the abstract of Menu (on the king's duties) given by Elphinstone bk i c 2 p 24 'He is to rise in the last watch of the night and, after sacrifices, to hold a court in a hall decently splendid, and to dismiss his subjects with kind looks and words. This done, he is to assemble his council on a mountain or a terrace, in a bower or a forest, or other lonely place, without listeners; from which women and talking-birds are to be carefully removed. He is then, after many exercises and bathing, to dine in his private apartments, and this time and midnight are to be allotted to the regulation of his family, to considering
appointments, and such other public business as is most of a personal nature. He is now also to give some time to relaxation; and then to review his troops, perform his religious duties at sunset, and afterwards to receive the reports of his emissaries. At length he withdraws to his most private apartments to supper; and, after indulging for some time in music, is to retire to rest'.

§ 26. auro caelato] in gold-raised work, embossed in gold. Compare Virgil Aen 1 640, 641 ingus argentum mensis, caelataque in auro fortia facia patrum. Also the Trojan doorways Aen 11 504 (thalamos) barbarico postes auro spoliisque superbi, where to treat auro spoliisque as a hendiadys is weak.

§ 27. cum...pectit atque ornat] 'even when he is combing and dressing his hair'. Through this sense 'even when' comes that of 'though'. Compare Caesar bell Gall 11 27 at hostes etiam in extrema spe salutis tantam virtutem praestiterunt ut, qum primi eorum ceci
dissent, proximi iacentibus insisterent atque ex eorum corporibus pugnaent; where cecidissent is subjunctive because past tense and in de
dependent clause. It will too be interesting to turn to Cic de Off 11
§ 74 where cum potest = 'having the power', and compare the parallel si possunt and si potest in 1 § 23, the place referred to.

capillum] Strabo XV 1 § 55, though he does not mention the hair
dressing in particular, well illustrates the general sense of this passage; των δε μη κατα πολεμον εξοδουν μια μεν εστιν η επι τας κρήσεις, εν αις δε
merenei diakoivn oudein ἤπτων καν, ὥρα γενηται τής του σώματος θεραπειας; αυτη δ' εστιν η δια των σκυτάλιων τρυφισ' αμα γαρ και διακοινε και τρίβεται
tetaparw periostatow triβεων.

legationibus] so in Elphinstone bk 1 c 2 (abstract of Menu) the king is supposed throughout to give personal attention to foreign affairs, though he employs ministers.

iura redditl] gives legal decisions = administers justice, hearing cases. Compare Livy vii 11 § 6 where praetorem iura reddentem is to be explained by vi 42 § 11 qui in us deiceret, Tacitus ann XIII 51 iura adversus
publicanos extra ordinem redderent, vi 11 qui inus redderet. Curtius v 7
§ 8 speaking of the burning of Persepolis has the corresponding phrase; hunc exitum habuit regia totius orientis, unde tot gentes antea iura pelle
bant. For the matter see Elphinstone bk 1 c 3 (abstract of Menu)
'Justice is to be administered by the king in person, assisted by Bramins
and other counsellors', and the note there on p 27. From Strabo XV 1
§§ 34, 49, 53, 54, Diodorus 11 42 we gather that the Indians appeared
to the Greeks a people averse to litigation, that the king and his
assessors were severe and discouraged litigation, and that the cases
brought for judgment were chiefly of a criminal nature, such as murder
and personal violence. See Elphinstone appendix III On the Greek
accounts of India.

odoribus iniinuntur] no doubt after washing.

§ 28. venatus] Megasthenes is perhaps the only authority for this
statement, as he seems to be for that in Strabo XV 1 § 55 τρίτη 6'(εξοδος)
επι θηραν βακχικη τις κύκλω γυναικων περικεχυμέων, εξωθεν δε των δορυ-
inclusa] followed by dative. See ix 8 § 11.

vivario] a royal park or forest, fenced round (περιφράγμα) and full of game. In viii 1 §§ 11—13 we have an account of a similar enclosure (called a saltus) in Sogliana, of vast size, having walls and towers for the accommodation of the hunters. The beasts in it had enjoyed an unbroken quiet for four generations before they were disturbed by Alexander.

binum cubitorum] Zumpt remarks that distributive numerals commonly have the genitive plural contracted. See in general on the question of form the well-known passage Cic. orator §§ 155—157. Müttzell here well compares Pliny N i 11 v § 34 puteos tamen haud difficile binum form cubitorum altitudine inveniunt. These arrows seem to have been something like the 'cloth-yard shafts' of our English forefathers. Strabo xv i § 66 assigns them oistous τριπήχεως on the authority of Nearchus.

maiores minu etc] Curtius repeats this in 13 § 6, 14 § 19, but 10 § 6, ix 5 §§ 9, 24 can hardly be reconciled with the statement, which is also set aside by the testimony of Arrian Indica 16 §§ 6, 7 (apparently following Nearchus) oι μὲν πεζί υπευθυνότοι τόξων τε έχουσιν εσίμηκες τω φορέοντω τό τόξων, καί τούτο κάτω ἐπι τῷ γῆν θεντες καί τῷ ποδί τῷ ἀριστερῷ ἀντιβάνσις οὔτως ἐκτεξούσι τῇ νεφρῇ ἐπὶ μέγα ὀπίσω ἀπαγαγόντες· ο γὰρ οὔτος αὐτοῦς ὀλέγων ἀποδέχεται τριπήχεως, οὐ δέ τι ἀντέχει, τοξεῦθεν πρὸς Ἰνδόν ἀνδρός τοξικόν, οὔτε ἀσπίς οὔτε θώρης οὔτε εἶ τι καρπερόν εἴγενε. See also Julian 205 d, Plutarch Alex 63, regum et imper apophth (No 23 of Alex) in which last there is a pretty story of an Indian archer who had rather have been put to death than shame his art by trying to perform feats when out of practice: Virgil georg ii 122—125 aut quos Oceano prærior gerit India lucos, extremi sinus orbis, ubi aera vincere summum arboris haut illae in actu potuere sagittae? et gens illa quidem sumptis non tarda pharetiris.

ponder] Livy would hardly have written such loose stuff as this: see at least vii 23 § 8, ix 19 § 7, xxx 10 § 13, also Virgil Aen ix 704—708.

§ 20. ego etc] Arrian Indica 17 §§ 1, 2 δχήματα δε τούτα μὲν πολλοίων Ἰνδών κάμηλοι εἰσί καὶ ὑπνοι καὶ ὄνοι, τοὺς δὲ εὐδαιμονίσων ἑλέφαντας. θασιλικοῦ γαρ δχήμα ὅ ελέφας παρ Ἰνδοῖν ἐστι διέτερον δὲ τιμή ἐπὶ τούτω τὰ τέθριμπα, τίτον δὲ αἱ κάμηλοι τὸ δὲ ἐτ' ἐνός ἑπαν ὄχεσθαι ἄτιμον. See also Strabo xv i §§ 41, 43, and Curtius himself 12 § 8, 14 § 13.

vehunt currum] Curtius seems to be thinking of a howdah; or perhaps, since elephanti is in the plural, he may refer to something like the Great Kaan's gold-plated litter, borne by four elephants, mentioned
in Marco Polo ii 20. Nearchus in Strabo xv i § 43 seems to mean a car drawn by elephants, μέγιστον τε νοµίζεσθαι κτήμα ἑλεφάντων ἄρμα. ἄγεσθαι δ' υπὸ ὄφων καὶ καμήλων.

§ 30. [feminae] Strabo xv i § 55 τῷ βασιλεὶ δ' ἦ μὲν τοῦ άχματος θεραπεία διὰ γυναικῶν ἐστίν, ὡνήτων καὶ αὐτῶν παρὰ τῶν πατέρων.

τινωμ] Athenaeus x 434 tells us that among the Indians the king may not get drunk, and Strabo xv i § 55 says μεθύοντα δὲ κείνασα γυνῆ βασιλεία γέρας ἔχει συνεισφορὰ τῷ ἑκείνοιν διαδεξαμένω διὰδέχωνται δ' οἱ παῖδες.

omnia...usus] Strabo xv i § 53 (following Megasthenes) says that though they may manage their affairs by memory without writing εὐπραγείον ὁ ὄμοι διὰ τὴν ἀπλότητα καὶ τὴν εὐτέλειαν ἀνόν τε γάρ οὗ πίνειν ἀλὼν ἐν φυσίας μόνον, πίνειν δ' ἄπ' ἀργίης αντὶ κρβίων συντεθέντας, and in § 45 (after Nearchus) he speaks of their general good health διὰ τὴν λιτότητα τής διαίτης καὶ τὴν ἀσωμίαν. But in § 47 he says, speaking of the military class in time of peace, οἷος τὸν ἄλλον χρόνον ἐν σχολῇ καὶ πότοις δ' ἔτις ἐστίν. Curtius may have been thinking of some account referring especially to the soldiers. See also Athenaeus x 437 a, b, Aelian var hist ii 41, for the love of wine attributed to the Indians. Pratt points out that the report of Megasthenes is not entitled to much respect, and the account of imports into India given in the periplus maris erythraei confirms that of Curtius. Strabo in § 43 speaks of ὁ μέλας ὅνων as the cure for most of the diseases of elephants.

mero somnoque sopitum] compare to § 18, Virgil Aen ii 265 inpudunt urbem somno vinoque sepulcrum.

noctium deos] Mützell refers this to Indra, the god of the atmosphere. But surely this would require noctis or noctem regentes. Rather I fear is the sense suggested by the context to be supported by such passages as Cie ad Atticum i 16 § 5.

§ 31. sapientiae] 'philosophy' as often. Compare vii 8 §§ 9, 10 Scythis autem non ut ceteris barbaris vitulis et inconditis sensus est: quidam corum sapientiam quoque capere dicitur, quantamcumque gens capit semper armata, Tacitus Agr 4, Cie de off ii § 5 with Holden’s note, Horace carm i 34. To determine precisely and correctly whether Curtius is in this place thinking of any particular class or classes of Indian sages, and if so to what class or classes he refers, is quite impossible; so faint are the outlines preserved to us in his sketch. Moreover it is not possible to point out with certainty even the parts of the Greek accounts preserved by Strabo and other writers which are to be taken as corresponding to the traces remaining in the meagre sentences of Curtius. It will be best to begin by giving the general references needed to guide the reader to the fragments we possess of the ancient writers on the subject and other useful matter. See Strabo xv i §§ 39, 45, 49, 58—71, Arrian vii 7 § 4, 16 § 5, 17 § 2, and Indica i 1 §§ 1—8, Diodorus ii 40, Plutarch Alex 59, 64, 65, 69, Pomponius Mela iii 7, Aelian var hist ii 41, iv 20, Elphinstone appendix iii pp—258, 261, and bk i cc 1, 4. Prof M Williams’ Hinduism c 5. It may also be remarked that there were two main openings for error, which may have misled the Greek
observers. First, they may have mistaken (and probably did so) the Brahmans at different points of their ordained life for different schools or sects. Second, they may have confounded Brahmans in their ascetic periods with either the Buddhist ascetics or the monastic orders.

Comput...genus est] 'there is one rude uncouth class called "wise men" (philosophers). Perhaps agreste should be rendered strictly 'living in the fields'. In Strabo XV I § 29 we find an account of Βραχμάνες (Brahmans) living in a grove near their city, who directed most of their austere training to the attaining a readiness for death (πρὸς τὸ ἐπομοδόθαντον). In § 60 the Παρμάνες (Sramana, Elphinstone p 260) called ὄλθβιοι are described as ζῶντας ἐν ταῖς ἡλίασ ἀπὸ φύλλων καὶ καρπῶν ἄγριων etc (see Arrian Indica ii §§ 7, 8). In § 63 we have the description of the visit of Onesikritus to the ascetics. In § 70 we are told of a rival school to the Brahmans, called Πράματα (see index to Williams' Hinduism under Pramā, Pramānas, Prameyya) who seem to have been a logical and metaphysical school. The following words seem to refer to the Brahmans: τούτων δὲ τοὺς μὲν ὄρεινοι καλείθαντι τοὺς δὲ γυμνήτος τοὺς δὲ πολιτικοὺς καὶ προσχωρόντας τοὺς μὲν ὄρεινοι δοράς ἐλάφων χρῆσθαι, πῆρας δὲ ἔχειν μεξύν καὶ φαρμάκων μεστάς, προσποιομένους ιατρικήν μετὰ γοητείας καὶ ἐπέρων καὶ περίπτων. τοὺς δὲ γυμνήτας κατὰ τοὐνομα γυμνοῖς διαζόν, υπαίθριοι τὸ πλέον, καρτερίαν ἀσκοῦντας ήν ἐφαμεν πρὸτερον μέχρι ἐπτά ἑτῶν καὶ τριάκοντα... § 71 goes on τοὺς δὲ πολιτικοὺς συνώνισαν κατὰ πολυν ζῷν καὶ κατ’ ἄγρυοι, καθημένους νεβρίθας ή δορκάδων δοράς.

quod...vacant] the more common construction is the attraction of the pronoun (quos...vacant). See however ix 8 §§ 8, 26, Madvig § 316.

§ 32. occupare] to seize in time, hence 'anticipate'. Compare iv 4 § 12 alii supplices in templis confugiant, alii foribus aedem observatis occupant liberum mortis arbitrium, v 6 § 7 multi ergo hostium manus voluntaria morte occupavarent, Virgil Aen vi 424 occupat Aenas aditum. See below on 14 § 19, ix 1 § 32, 6 § 19, 7 § 22.

fati diem] the hour of destiny. See ix 6 § 26, and compare Virgil Aen x 467 stat sua cuique. For the matter s.e Strabo § 65 of the Brahmans αἰσχρῶν δὲ αὐτῶν νομίζοντες νόσον σωματικήν τὸν δὲ ὑπονοήσαντα καθ' αὐτὸν τοῦτο ἐξάγεν ἐαυτὸν διὰ πυρὸς νίφάντα πυρᾶν, ὑπαιλιψάμενον δὲ καὶ καθισάντα ἐπὶ τὴν πυρᾶν ὕφασαι κελεύει, αἰκίνητον δὲ καλεῖσαι, and § 68 of the suicide of Calanus at Pasargadae.

pro dedecore vitae] 'as a disgrace to their life'. Vite is an objective genitive.

redditar] 'is paid' or given as due. Compare iii § 25, and recipi here below.

inguinari] the notion that the burning of a dead body defiled the fire points to the fire having been looked upon as a sacred element. But Elphinstone bk iii c 11 p 206 says 'The Hindus in general burn their dead'. And there is no trace of the feeling described by Curtius in the following passage out of a hymn to Agni (ignis, the fire-god in 3 forms, fire-lightning and sun) in the Rig-veda, taken from Williams' Hinduism c 2. 'Deliver, mighty lord, thy worshippers; purge us
from taint of sin and when we die deal mercifully with us on the pyre, burning our bodies with their load of guilt, but bearing our eternal part on high to luminous abodes and realms of bliss for ever there to dwell with righteous men". Bohlen (Indien i p 147), quoted by Mützell, restricts the sculpere to the worshippers of Siva.

§ 33. *qui...dezing*] see the quotation from Strabo §§ 70, 71 given on § 31 above. Also § 59, apparently referring to the Brahmins in their second period, that of marriage, after the probationary period; ἐν 4' ἐπὶ καὶ τριάκοντα ὄντως ἐξῆλθαν ἀναχωρέων εἰς τὴν ἐαυτῷ κτῆσιν ἐκαστον καὶ ζην ἄδεως καὶ ἀνεμένως μᾶλλον, σινδόνοφορώτα καὶ χρυσοφορώτα μετρίως ἐν τοῖς ωσι καὶ ταῖς χεραλ...etc.

*pullicis moribus* like civilized people. The notion conveyed is the same as that in Strabo's word *politicovs*.

dezing[)] live. Compare IX 3 § 8, Horace carm III 29 42. *ago* is also used thus by itself (as though with an ellipse of *vitam*).

*siderv molis*] Strabo § 70 τοῦ δὲ Βραχμάνας φυσιολογίαν καὶ ἀστρονομίαν ἀσκεῖν. Elphinstone bk III c 1.

*futura praedicere*] Arrian Indica i i § 4 εἰσὶ δὲ καὶ μαντικῆς ὄντων μοῦνα Ἰνδῶν βασίλευς, οὗτοι ἐπείτα ἄλλο μαντεύεσθαι ὁτι μὴ συφόρο ἀνδρί. In §§ 5, 6 he goes on to say what Strabo §§ 39, 56 and Diodorus II 40 also relate (no doubt following Megasthenes), that their prophecies concerned chiefly the weather, the crops and other farming matters, and affairs of state. If a Brahman made three false prophecies, he was condemned to strict silence for the rest of his life.

*admevere*] that is sibi.

credint[)] the Greek writers on India seem to have come across two different views on the subject of suicide. The common one has been set forth in the note on § 32. Strabo § 68 will supply the other; Megasthenes δ' ἐν τοῖς μὲν φιλοσόφων όυκ εἶναι δύσμα φησῖν ἑαυτοὺς ἐξαγεόν τοὺς δὲ ποιοῦντας τοῦτο νεανίκους κρίνεσθαι. Curtius seems to have treated the two different views as if they were contrary ones, to have heightened the contrast between them by rhetorical touches, and then to have assigned them severally to the two schools of philosophers whom he, following some of the Greeks, has made of the Brahmins in two separate stages of their career. Here we may quote Strabo § 59 (after Megasthenes) πλεῖστοι δ' αὐτοῖς εἶναι νόμοις περὶ τοῦ θανάτου νομίζειν γάρ ὅτι τὸν μὲν ἐνθάδε βιον ὡς ἂν ἀκριβῶς κυμαῖνων εἴη, τὸν δὲ θανάτου γένεσιν εἰς τὸν ἐννοον βιον καὶ τὸν εὐδαιμον τοῖς φιλοσοφήσας' διὸ τῇ ἀσκήσει πλεῖστη χρῆσθαι πρὸς τὸ ἐτοιμοθάνατον.

*interrodo*] this attracted construction is the common one. See Madvig § 393 c.

§ 34. *colere*] it is most difficult to determine the precise meaning of this word. Perhaps it should not be taken as more than ‘cultivate’, ‘honour’ ‘value’, though the use of the word in the present passage may have been suggested by the sense ‘worship’. Compare Horace carm II 14 22 harum quis colis arborum. Lucan I 136—143 ending *solutamen colitur*. See also Curtius IV 7 § 23 *id quod pro deo colitur non*
et ipsum effigiem habet quam vulgo diis artifices accommodaverint: umbilico maximo similis est habitus.

arbores] that there was among many nations a worship either of trees or of unseen divinities dwelling in or among trees, is well known. See Tacitus Germ 9, 39, 43. Col Sleeman in his 'Rambles and recollections of an Indian official', vol 11 cc 12, 13, has a description of the extraordinary care bestowed on trees in some parts of India, which reads as if it might be taken to imply a tree-worship. It is known that the Hindus have sacred trees, such as the Pipal.

capital est] for this separate form compare VIII 4 § 17 illis enim in silla regis consedisse capital foret. It occurs also in a statute-form in Cic de legibus 11 § 21. Curtius seems to have taken a fancy to it as archaic.

§ 35. mensae] Bohlen quoted by Mützell observes that the Indian months are divided into halves of 15 days each. The name for such a half is paksha; these as Pratt says commence with the new and full moon respectively and are named accordingly. The year is solar.

§ 36. non ut plurique] Curtius evidently means that their 15 day months are reckoned from half-moon, not from new to full and full to new. But what authority he had for this assertion is not so clear.

et idcirco] the argument is most obscure. What difference to the length of the months would the difference of starting-point make?

qui dirigunt] this must surely mean 'those who measure out', being probably a translation of some Greek clause beginning with ὁρο. One would rather have expected dirigant, as the relative proposition expressing the reason of the leading proposition (see Madvig § 366) would be more appropriate here.

§ 37. hand sanct] 'not at all'. Compare 14 §§ 3, 46, V 3 § 4 Madales erat regionis praefectus, hand sanct timorem homo, Cic de off 11 § 5 cuius studium qui vituperat hand sanct intelleco qui/iam sit quod haudandum putet.

operae] 'convenient'. For this see Roby's grammar vol 11 preface xlix and § 1283. He determines it to be a predicative dative (like curae odio onei etc), rendering it 'matter for attention', and so mihi non est opera 'I have not time'. Compare Livy 1 24 multisque id verbis, quae longo effata carmine non operae est referre, peragis.

CHAPTER X.

§ 1. igitur] this conjunction, commonly expressing a reasonable inference (Kennedy § 81), is sometimes used as a simple connecting particle 'so then' in resuming the narrative after a digression. Compare Tacitus Agr 13 igitur primus omnium......, where igitur points back to the end of chapter 9. Here Curtius refers us to 9 § 1 above. See on 12 § 15 below, and IX 5 § 28.

fines Indicæ] Curtius must have followed authorities who reckoned in India some part of the land to the West of the Indus, though that river was held to be the boundary of India proper. Arrian does the same.
NOTES.

§s 1—7] facturi] Curtius is much given to the use of the future participle when he wants to express willingness or purpose. Compare §§ 2, 33.

Iove genitum] this expression, like many others in Curtius, has a poetic ring. Compare IX § 22 Philippo genitum. Virgil Aen IX 642 dis genite et geniture deos. For the construction see Madvig § 259.

ipsos] = se. Curtius writes thus often. Compare § 9, 11 § 21, 12 § 17, 13 §§ 20, 24, IX § 8, 20, 3 § 11, 4 § 25, 5 §§ 1, 25, 9 §§ 3, 6, 21, 10 §§ 14, 19. See Seneca in appendix A § 6.

fama cognitos] see the beginning of Arrian’s Indica generally, in particular 5 § 8 και πρὸ Ἀλεξάνδρου Διονύσου μὲν πέρι πολλὸς λύγος κατέχει, ὡς καὶ τούτῳ στρατευσαντος ἐσ Ἰνδόας καὶ καταστρεφαμένου Ἰνδόας: Ἡρακλεός δὲ πέρι οὐ πολλὸς. See Thirlwall c 53 (vol VII p 12).

§ 2. eterrum] = sed. This is too common in Curtius to need illustration.

amplius nemo] no one more = ‘no others’. He means none of the important reges, as opposed to reguli the chiefs of small tribes.

pars] a considerable part. Compare Livy I 10 Caetinenses Crustuminique et Antennates erant ad quos eius iniuriae pars pertinebat. Or perhaps pars may here as sometimes (see Lucretius I 617, 11 200) mean ‘half’, since Arrian’s words IV 23 § 7 are διελὼν τήν στρατίαν.

ad subigendos qui] qui = eos qui. See on § 10.

§ 3. iuxere] ‘put together’. Mützell compares VII § 8 § 8 tanta alacritate militum rates iunctae sunt, ut intra triduum ad XII milia effectae sint.

solutae vehi] = solvi et vehi. The more important notion is expressed by the participle. The construction is adopted from the Greek.

§ 4. phalange] for this famous formation of the best Macedonian infantry and its subdivisions armament etc see Thirlwall c 48 (vol VI p 147).

§ 5. praecepit] Arrian IV 23 § 5 does not attribute the massacre to the orders of Alexander, but to the anger of the soldiers at the wounding of their king.

ne] compare VII I § 38 praecepisti igitur mihi ne quem praeter te intuerer. See Madvig § 456.

parecretur] verbs which govern a dative in the active are generally used impersonally in the passive. See Kennedy § 135 g.

§ 6. obequitat] for the dative following verbs compounded with prepositions which themselves govern an accusative see Madvig § 224.

§ 7. Nysam] the position of this place is very uncertain. The best authority on the subject is General Cunningham. For the name of the place and mount Meru or Μεροδ, both probably corruptions of Hindu names to flatter Alexander’s vanity, see Strabo XV I §§ 7, 8, Arrian V I § 6, Indica 5 §§ 9, Diodorus II 38, Pomponius Mela III 7, Pliny N H VI § 79, and the remarks of Thirlwall c 53 (vol VII pp 11—13).

frigus] it is to be remembered that this was in February or March 326 B C and we know from the reports of our countrymen in those parts
that it is quite possible to feel cold in the Panjab. Moreover the place
called Nysa was probably in a river valley some thousands of feet above
the sea level.

ignis] genitive of more specific definition. We should render in
English by an apposition. See Madvig § 286. Compare 14 § 41.

oblatum] compare IX 1 § 12.

§ 8. igni] if the true reading be not lignis (which the strangeness of
the expression leads us to suspect) we must suppose that the notion in
Curtius' mind was simply 'the more fire the more flame'. Müttell
reads igni alito.

alita] this form is certainly found in post-Augustan writers. Whether
it should be admitted earlier is sometimes matter of dispute as in Cicero
pro Plancio § 81.

cedro] this wood was well known for its power of resisting decay and
was consequently employed in cases where a durable material was
required see Pliny N H xvi §§ 212—213. It was a resinous wood
which would catch easily and burn fiercely.

§ 9. ipsos] see on § 1.

§ 10. hostium] genitive after telis.

qui] = ii qui. So frequently in Curtius, but the present instance is a
'somewhat remarkable one. Compare § 2 qui aversarentur, 12 §§ 2, 16,
IX 7 §§ 9, 9 §§ 11, 13.

aliis......alis] the townspeople are of course meant.

abstineri] this is used impersonally though circumsideri has cos for its
subject. See on 11 § 2.

§ 11. conditos se] that is their town. Compare VI 2 § 14 Scythae
qui Parthos condidere 'who founded the Parthian empire'.

c] see below on IX 8 § 21.

§ 12. inde] from that circumstance.

mentiendi] compare Strabo xv i § 9 oti o' esti πλάσματα ταύτα τῶν
κολακευόμενων Αλέξανδρον etc. See Mayor on Juv X 174.

§ 13. situ] see on 9 § 20.

hedera] this is generally attested. See Arrian v 1 § 6, 2 §§ 6, 7,
Theophrast hist plant IV 4 § 1, Diodorus i 19. The ivy is said to have
been found by them in no other part of India.

§ 14. pomorum] 'fruits' generally. 'There are various kinds of
wholesome juicy fruits'.

fruges] the 'crop' or 'fruits' from chance seeds. Arrian v 2 § 4
speaks of ἄλογα παντοτία, Strabo xv i § 13 πυροὶ κριβαὶ δώπρια καὶ ἄλλοι
κάρποι ἐσωτίμως, ὃν ἡμεῖς ἀπευροῦ.

lauri] Arrian v 2 § 5, Strabo xv i § 58 speak of δάφνη.

baccaris] See Pliny N H xxii §§ 29, 30, Conington on Virgil ccl IV
19, VII 27.

agrestis] 'wild'. Compare IX 1 § 13.
NOTES.

§ 15. *lascivias*] Arrian v. 2 § 6 καὶ τῶν Μακεδόνων ἡδέως τὸν κισσόν ἱδών, οὐ δὲ διὰ μακροῦ φθέντα (οὐ γὰρ εἰσίν ἐν τῇ Ἰρακ. χώρα τοῦ κισσόν eον ἐναπερ αὐτοῖς ἅμπελοι ἡμῶν) στεφάνους σπουδὴ ἀπ' αὐτῶν ποιήσασθαι καὶ στεφανώσασθαι ὥς εἶχον ἐφυμονυότας τὸν Δίονυσὸν τε καὶ τὰς ἐπιφυνυίας τοῦ θεοῦ ἀνακαλοῦντας.

*redimiti frondes*] has a poetical ring.

§ 17. *per herbas*] 'all over the greensward.' Poetical again. Compare Virgil Aen v. 102 *fusi per herbam.*

*omnibus*] all sorts of provision. For the sense compare Virgil Aen v. 61, 62.

*operatum*] in present signification=busied. See Madvig § 146.

The word is commonly used of sacrificial observances.

*habuit*] 'kept'. For the sense of this passage generally Mützell well compares Tibullus II § 95, 96 *tune operata deo tubus discumbet in herba, arbors antiquae qua levis umbra eedit.*

§ 18. *eximiam quoque gloriam*] 'even distinguished glory'. For this *quoque* the Greek emphatic καὶ compare 12 § 4, 13 § 15, IX 2 § 33, 3 § 8, 6 § 4, 9 § 12, 10 § 9.

*sopitos muro*] see on 9 § 30.

*felicitas*] the good fortune of Alexander has become proverbial. See III 4 § 11, 6 § 18, VII 7 § 30, 8 § 24, VIII 13 § 13, IX 9 § 2, X 5 § 35, Arrian VII 29 § 1, Indica 20 § 11, Aelian var hist III 23. Plutarch wrote two declamations *per τῆς Ἀλεξάνδρου τύχης ἡ ἀρετῆς,* in the second of which he maintained that his hero grew great not through fortune but in fortune's spite.

*inter oras*] Mützell well compares Virgil Aen II 681 *manus inter maestorum orae parentem.*

§ 19. *Daedala*] only once mentioned by one other writer, Justin XII 7, where we find *Daedali montes.* Müller in Smith's Atlas of Ancient Geography thinks that the place "Ἀνδακα" or "Ἀνδῆλα" in Arrian IV 23 § 5 is the same, and that we should there emend *Δαιδάλα.*

*Acadira*] this name is found only in Curtius. Müller prefers to read *Candira,* and thinks that the name is connected with that of the Khond mountain. Schneider (quoted by Zumpt) takes the name to stand for the same place as the 'Ἀργαῖον' mentioned by Arrian IV 24 § 6.

*vista*] Acidalius conjectured *vasta* as no burning had been spoken of in the former case. But Zumpt now observes that Arrian in the place just referred to says καὶ ταύτην καταλαμβάνει ἐμπεπρημάτων ὑπὸ τῶν ἐνοικοῦντων καὶ τῶν ἄθρωτος περιφερύτας.


*opressi*] that is *incolae.* But the text is probably corrupt here. For the word *oppressi* = 'surprised' compare VI 8 § 21 *illum sive securitate omni sive fatigatione resolutum somnus oppresserat: quem Aitharrias torpentes adhibit occupat,* and IX 5 § 2 below.

*omni*] 'of every kind.' Compare IV 1 § 10 *coloniasque Graecorum*
Q. Curti Rufi Hist. Alex. [viii 10]

Ionias omni clade vastavit, iii 11 § 20 sed iam illa quoque victor intra-
verat omni quidem opulentia ditia.

§ 22. Choaspe] probably the same river is meant as that called
Xýps in Arrian iv 23 § 2. Whatever the river may be, it seems to have
been an affluent of the Cabul river (Kωφάν) in Arrian iv 22 § 5, v i
§ 1.

in obsidione] compare vi 6 § 25 in quorum obsidione Cratero relieto...

etc.

Bairam] supposed to be the same place as that which Arrian calls
Bátra (iv 27 § 5, 28 § 1), which General Cunningham finds at a place
now called Bazar.

Mazagases] Curtius seems to treat this as the name of a tribe. But
Arrian iv 26 § 1 calls the town Mássagē a and the people (iv 25 § 5)
'Ασσακηνος. St Martin, quoted by M'Cruince p 152, identifies them
with the Afghans. S. rabo Xv i § 27 says eιθ' η 'Ασσακανον (χώρα). óπον
Mássoga πόλις, το βασιλείων τῆς χώρας. The names seem to be all con-
nected, and the forms in which they appear in various texts are by no
means certain. General Cunningham places the town somewhere by
Nanglora. For ad Mazagases see on IX 4 § 23.

mater] a mistake for wife, according to Cunningham p 66.

§ 23. The following description of the place is the only one that
has reached us.

opere] 'work', that is, 'art'. Compare § 24 operis, and iii 1 § 7
turrem et situ et opere multum editam.

spectac] see on 9 § 2.

§ 24. a meridie] see on 9 § 5.


iacent] lie spread, extend. Compare IV 7 § 6 terra cacloque aquarum
penuria est, steriles arenae iacent.

operis] genitive of quality. Compare iv 6 § 7 muros ingentis
operis.

obiecta est] has been thrown in the way. Curtius has a remarkable
way of using a genitive of quality with a verb so as to form part of
the predicate. So IX 3 § 22 firmatae gratiae reliquit 'he left them with
friendship assured', 7 § 16 saginati corporis sequi 'was following in his
train with a full-fed body'. Here the sense is 'has been put as a
defence with great labour'.

§ 25. stadium] the regular genitive plural of this word. Here it is
a correction of Zumpt's for MSS stadia, which we have accepted because
(a) urbem has far better authority than urbis and (b) complectitur is thus
used in a more appropriate sense.

saxo] compare the κρητικς λεμυν of Xenophon anab iii 4 § 7.

crudo latere] unburnt sun-dried bricks. Arrian Indica io §§ 2—4
says that the Indian cities on the banks of rivers are built of wood, 'for
when constructed of brick they will not last any length of time, by
reason of the rains and the rivers overflowing their banks and deluging
the plains around them. But those built in commanding and elevated positions are all constructed of bricks and clay' (ἐκ πλινθῶν τε καὶ πηλῶν). This πλινθῶν seems to be of the same kind, a sort of 'adobe'.

ut] = ita ut as often.

terra humore diluta] = the πηλῶν mentioned by Arrian.

§ 26. universa] 'all at once', referring to materia both durior and fragilis.


inpositae etc] 'strong beams had been placed upon it, and on them floors had been laid covering the walls and affording a passage along them'. How this arrangement was to prevent the upper part of the wall from settling down is a mystery as the text stands: and we can only suppose that (a) Curtius has not understood his authorities, or (b) has left out some important steps in the description, or (c) that the text is mutilated so as to conceal his real meaning.

§ 27. consilii incertum] here we have the so-called genitive of respect. See Kennedy § 173 D, and compare below II § 3, 13 § 17, IX 3 § 18.

assecre] with a bank or mole, as he had done on a grander scale at the siege of Tyre.

aliter] 'otherwise' than by filling up the hollows in the manner just spoken of. Compare II § 7.

percussit] Arrian IV 26 § 4 says τοξευταὶ μὲν ἁπλὸ τοῦ τεῖχους ἐς τὸ σφυρὸν οὐ χαλεπῶς.

§ 28. tum forte] we have kept the old reading here in preference to the conjecture of Jeep adopted by Hedicke. Zumpt explains the tum here by referring to the frequent wounds received by Alexander in different parts of his body.

suram] Curtius' account slightly differs from that of Arrian.

iussit] we see that he had previously been on foot, which is also implied by Arrian, who says προσθηκε τῷ τείχει τὴν φαλαγγα.

obligato] 'without even bandaging his wound'. The ob implies the putting of a bandage over the place. Compare obducre in § 31 and 13 § 25.

destinata] what he had made up his mind to do, 'his plans'. Compare IX 7 § 18 and above 9 § 23.

§ 29. frigescens vulnus] 'the gradual cooling of the wound'.

Iovis filium] the son of Ammon, who had greeted him as such when he visited his oracle in the desert, at least so Alexander allowed his flatterers to declare. See Plutarch Alex 27, 28, who says that Alexander was not vain enough to believe in this fiction himself, but countenanced it as a means of impressing the minds of the Orientals. He adds that when shot with an arrow (perhaps on this occasion) he turned in his pain to his friends and said τοῦτο μὲν, Ἰ ἡλίου, τὸ ρέον αἰμα καὶ օἷς ἰχώρ οἷς πέρ τε ῥέει μακαρέσσι θεοίσιν, a quotation from Iliad V 340.
\textit{agseri} 'weak', the set epithet of \textit{mortales} in Virgil and Lucretius, a rendering of the Homeric \textit{δειλοίς} \textit{βροσοίς}, meant to contrast man's weakness with divine strength. See Conington on Virgil \textit{georg} \textit{I} 237.

\textit{vitia} the physical flaws or defects from which the divine nature is presumed to be free.

\textsection{30. ante quam perspexit} antequam and other like particles are put with the perfect, not with the pluperfect, of the indicative mood. See Madvig \textsection{338 b} obs 5.

\textit{molebantur} we have kept the old reading, which the MSS support. For \textit{moli}r\=i= to destroy, 'pull down' compare \textsection{VII 5} \textsection{33} tandem, \textit{ut deierent, fundamenta murorum ab imo molientur}, \textit{ne quod urbis vestigium extaret}, Tacitus ann \textsection{I} 39, hist \textsection{II 22}, Livy \textsection{IX 3}, \textsection{XXY 36}. For the matter see \textsection{IV 2} \textsection{18} of the mole made at the siege of Tyre \textit{magnis saxorum ad manum erat Tyro vetere praebente}: \textit{materies ex Libano monte ratibus et turribus faciendis adrechebatur}. See on \textsection{IX 5} \textsection{19}.

\textit{faciendo agseri} for the construction see Madvig \textsection{415}.

\textit{cum ramis} 'boughs and all'. See \textsection{11} \textsection{8}.

\textit{mole saxorum} 'masses of rocks' that is, 'great solid boulders'. Compare \textit{corporum moles} in \textsection{I3} \textsection{10}, \textsection{IX 2} \textsection{21}.

\textsection{31. fastigium} the highest point, top of a slope. Compare Cic de off \textsection{III} \textsection{33} \textit{sed quoniam operi inchoato prope tamen absolu to tamquam fastigium imponimus} and Holden's note, also Mayor on Cic \textit{philippic} \textsection{II} \textsection{110}.

\textit{machinas} Arrian \textsection{IV 26} \textsection{5}.

\textsection{32. rudes talium operum} 'unskilled in such works'. Compare \textsection{IX 8} \textsection{14}. See Elphinstone (abstract of Menu in \textsection{bk I c 2 p 26) 'In another place 100 bowmen in a fort are said to be a match for 10,000 enemies; so far was the art of attack behind that of defence: a siege therefore is out of the question'.

\textit{terrebant} according to Arrian the besieged were not terrified by the works, but lost heart when their leader was killed by a bolt (\textit{Σθέλε αὐτῷ ἀποθετρίῳ}). This may explain the conduct of the \textit{regina} mentioned by Curtius.

\textit{adiutus} the MSS give \textit{auditas}, some having also the marginal correction \textit{adiutus}, which Vogel adopts; rightly, it seems.

\textit{negabant...mortalibus} this is quite in Curtius' rhetorical manner, and need not be treated as bearing any direct relation to fact.

\textsection{33. ind.:} \textit{ab arce}.

\textit{patebat} we have accepted this conjecture of Eberhard, as \textit{placèbat} (the old reading) seems capable of no satisfactory explanation. In \textsection{10} above it suits well enough. For \textit{patebat} compare \textsection{11} \textsection{7}.

\textsection{34. pateris} compare Virgil \textit{georg} \textsection{II 192} \textit{qualem pateris libamus et auero}.

\textsection{35. quiplè...est} 'in fact he addressed her as "queen".' \textit{appellata est} implies \textit{ab Alexandro} in the same way as \textit{inpetravit} above does.
§ 36. *certe* at all events. *quoque*, though confidently rejected by Vogel, seems to have a meaning: 'the boy also' (as well as the conqueror his supposed father) bore the name Alexander.

*ex ea uticumque*] 'who anyhow was her son', and probably Alexander's also. A piece of gossip such as Curtius loves to preserve.

Alexander] the attraction of the name to the ease of the relative is the common construction. See Madvig § 246 obs 2, Kennedy § 141 (8), and compare Virgil georg iii 147, Aen i 267. So here with the substantive *huso*.

**CHAPTER XI.**

§ 1. *Novam*] this name is thought to stand for the same place as that called by Arrian iv 27 §§ 7—9 τὰ Ὄμα. But it is to be noted that the attacking force is there commanded by Alexander himself.

inconditōs] 'undisciplined'. Compare ix i § 16, 2 § 22.

secentius] Arrian iv 27 § 9 εἴθος εὔ ἐφόδου προσβαλὼν τοὺς τεῖχες τῆς πόλεως εκπάτησε.

§ 2. *quorum...etc*] Arrian iv 28 § 1 ὡς δὲ καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι βαρβαροι ἐπραττοῦν ἀπολύοντες τὰς πόλεις ἐξύπαντες ἐφευροῦν ἐς τὴν πέτραν την ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ την Ἀορνον καλουμένην. This stronghold is placed by General Cunningham at the hill where is now the ruined fortress of Ranigat.

petram] this word borrowed from the Greek is used by Curtius not only often in this book but in other parts of his history, where it is as hard as here to see why he did not use *rupes*. Pliny also uses the word. A glance at Lucan vi 16 will shew how the word *petra* came to mean 'stronghold', and then became in various places a proper name. Perhaps this may give the real reason for Curtius' preference of the word; we might even render 'stronghold'. See Thirlwall c 52 (vol vi p 300).

Aornum] the attack on this place is one of the most celebrated of Alexander's military operations. See Strabo xv i § 8 Ἀορνον δὲ των πέτραν, ἢς τὰς μῖας ὅ τινος υποτελεὶ πλησίον τῶν πηγῶν, Ἀλεξινθόνια κατὰ μιᾶν προσβαλὴν ἐλόντος, σεμιλώντες ἐφασαν τὸν Ἡρακλέα τρῖς μὲν προσβάλειν τῇ πέτρᾳ ταύτῃ τρῖς δὲ ἀποκρωνοθῆναι. See too Arrian iv 28 §§ 1, 2, who says just the same as Curtius, save that he makes no mention of an earthquake. Diodorus however does, see xvii 85.

occupaverunt] = seized in time, before Alexander could catch them. See on 9 § 32.

cœactum] that is *cum*. The change of subject is remarkable for its abruptness. See 10 § 10, Livy i 50 § 9, ii 28 § 5.

§ 3. *inopem consiliī*] see on 10 § 27.

si pretium operaes esset] 'if there were reward for his labour' = 'if it were made worth his while'. Diodorus xvii 85 does not mention this stipulation in telling the story, and also does not name the amount of reward, which Curtius here fixes at an incredibly high figure.


fallerent] Madvig conjectures falleret.

§ 6. crescit] compare IV 2 § 19 iamque a fundo maris in altitudinem modicum opus creverat, nondum tamen aquae fastigium acquabat, and see Conington on Virgil Georg iv 122.

sed etc] see Arrian IV 28 § 3, Diodorus XVII 85 who says 'now the rock was 103 stadia in circuit and 16 in height and presented a smooth surface completely circular. On its southern side it was washed by the Indus, the largest river in India. while the other sides were bounded by deep ravines and inaccessible crags'.

meloe etc] compare Livy XXXVII 27 ipse collis est in modum metae in acutum cacumen a fundo satis lato fastigatus.

erecta est] lifts itself up, rises up straight. Compare IX 1 § 10.

in arboribus] Compare VII 3 § 9 ceterum structura latior ab imo paulatim incrementum operis in artius cogitatur, ad ultimum in carinae maxime modum coit, and below VIII 13 § 9. 'Come together into a narrower space' = 'taper off'.

§ 7. eluvies] this word is used by Curtius here and in V 4 § 26, VI 4 § 20 to denote a gully formed by the erosive action of a stream. It is therefore the exact equivalent of χαράδρα.


index] this word properly means a witness who is himself an accomplice, like 'King's evidence'. Here we may say 'betraying their eagerness'. Compare IX 2 § 30, 6 § 17 where indicium = 'demonstration' or 'way of shewing'.

§ 9. septimum etc] Diodorus XVII 85 ἐπιείκα την πολυχειρία χώσας την φάραγγα καὶ την μέζαν τής πέτρας, προσελθὼν ἐνεργῇ πολορκίαν συνεστήσατο, συνεκεῖσ ἐφ’ ἡμέρας ἐπτά καὶ τὰς ἑκατοντάς ἐκ διαδοχῆς τὰς προσβολὰς ποιούμενοι.

Agrianos] these light troops, raised among the Thracian hill tribe of that name, were often employed by Alexander on such services as the present, where agility would be required. See 14 § 24, IX 8 § 18. Arrian IV 28 § 8 also mentions them on this occasion.

per ardna nitit] 'to struggle up the steep'. Compare VII 11 § 16 per aspera nisis duriora restabant, et crescere altitudo petrae videbatur, Horace Carm II 19 21.

iunovis promptissimos] compare 13 § 14, and below § 17.

ex sua cohorte] that is, from the regia cohors of pages or gentlemen in immediate attendance on the king. Curtius VIII 6 § 6 says of this body hac cohors velut seminarium ducum praefectorumque apud Macedonas fuit: hinc habuere posteri reges, quorum stirpibus post multas aetates Romani opes adeverunt. See Thirlwall cc 48, 52 (vol vi pp 149, 315).
§ 10. Alexander] Plutarch Alex §8 apparently speaking of this same affair says τέρα δὲ ὁμίως ἀποτώμω (πέτα) προσβαλὼν τὸν πεντηθέρους τῶν Μακεδών παρώμα καὶ Ἀλέξανδρον τινα καλούμενον προσαγορέως "ἀλλὰ σοι γέ" εἶπεν "ἀνδραγαθείν προσηκεί καὶ διὰ τὴν ἐπισκοπήν" ἐπεὶ δὲ λαμπρῶς ὁ νικών αὐτοῖς ἐπέσεν, οὐ μετριῶς ἑδήχθη.

non placuit] perhaps this may refer to some resolution of a council of war or of a general assembly of the Macedonian troops. In VIII I § 18 we are told that after Alexander had exposed himself to great peril in the great hunt in Sogdiana the Macedonians quae quam prosperous eventu defunctus erat Alexander, tamen sevère gentis suae more ne aut fedes veniretur aut sine delectis principium atque amicorum. See Thirlwall c 52 (vol VI pp 304, 305).

§ 11. vir audaciae promptae] see a like passage IX 6 § 10.

corporis custodes] the Greek name for these was σωστοφίλακες. There seem to have been two sorts of them (i) a small picked body of distinguished officers who formed a kind of Staff attached to the king’s person, and (2) a larger body of Macedonian youths of high family who formed the regia cohors of bodyguards and attendants. See Arrian VI 28 § 4, Curtius IX 6 § 4, 8 § 23, 10 § 26, VIII 6 §§ 21, 22, and §§ 2—6. relictisque] que as often = sed. Compare 14 § 35.

§ 12. miserabilis etc] for the general sense compare VII II § 16 illa vero miserabilis erat facies, quam ii quoq instabilis gradus fessellerat ex praecipitu devolverentur. max eadem in se patienda alieni causus ostendebat exemplum.

§ 14. superne etc] Diodorus XVII 85 ‘at first then the barbarians being on higher ground had the advantage and killed many of those who came rashly up to the assault’.

§ 15. acerius quam cautius] ‘with more spirit than judgment’. For the double comparative see Madvig § 307, Kennedy § 76 B 2.


§ 18. intrepidus] not in a hurry, cool. The word is somewhat rare, and seems not to be used by Curtius elsewhere.

depulisse contentus] compare IV 10 § 14 Mazacus, qui anteae per otiurn vicov incenderat, iam fugere contentus pleraque inviolata hosti reliquit. See Madvig § 389 obs 3.

§ 19. statuisset etc] Arrian and Diodorus give no account of any such intention on the part of Alexander. The former (who is the more worthy of our confidence) says that the Indians terrified at last by the occupation of a cliff commanding their position, while the front attack was pushed on with unflagging vigour, made proposals for a surrender. This was merely a ruse in order to gain time for a retreat under cover of night. Alexander discovered their purpose, left open a way for them to escape, and fell upon them in their retreat, as described below by Curtius. See Thirlwall c 53 (vol VII p 10).

sucedere] to take the place of, ‘relieve’. sub conveys the notion of ‘to the help’. Compare subvenire, succurrere, subsidiun. So in Greek ύπό, as in υποργείν, υπορέτης.
§ 22. Pulacro] Mützel remarks that a Βάλαξρος is mentioned once or twice by Arrian as commanding the ἀκοντισταὶ.
§ 23. adesset] 'were upon them'.
practicatis] 'flinging themselves headlong'. Arrian says (iv 30 § 4) οἱ δὲ καὶ πεφοβημένως ἀποκριθοῦντες κατὰ τῶν κρημνῶν ῥίψαντες σφᾶς ἀπέδανον.
mulcati] hurt, especially of bruises and blows with sharp objects. The word is used again vii 11 § 17 in precisely the same connexion.
§ 24. speciem] this word is added by Hedincke from a conjecture of Mützel. We have rather chosen to accept this than read with Zumpt magnum victoriam.
§ 25. quo] that is, itinere. He refers to § 5 above. For construction see note on ix 10 § 1.
cum fide] honourably. Diodorus xvii 86 says καὶ τῷ μὲν ὀδηγήσαντι τὰς ψυχολογήματα δώρεας ἀπέδωκεν.

Siscosto] Arrian iv 30 § 4 καὶ δένεσεν ἐπ' αὐτῷ (τῇ πέτρᾳ) Ἀλέξανδρος καὶ κατεσκέψασε φρούριον, παραδούν Σισικόττῳ ἐπιμελεῖσθαι τῆς φρούρας.

CHAPTER XII.

§ 1. Ecclotima] Arrian iv 28 § 7 has the form 'Ευβόλωμα. General Cunningham places it about Ohind on the upper Indus.

Erixe] seems to be the same person as the one named by Diodorus xvii 86 Αφρίκης.

§ 2. per funditores] the insertion of per here is a fine conjecture of Foss. The MSS for the most part have nothing, but two have fere. It is better to read per than to adopt the old emendation funditore et sagittario. For per expressing agency compare § 9 below, vii 2 § 1
quippe quae per duces suos acta cuncta damnabat and many other places in Curtius, Tacitus Agr 22 nec Agricola umquam per alios gesta avidus intercepit.

§ 3. injuriae] Diodorus xvii 86 τοῦτον δὲ τινὲς ἀνελὼντες καὶ τὴν κεφαλήν αὐτοῦ πρὸς Ἀλέξανδρον ἐνέγκαντες διὰ ταύτης τῆς εὐφροσύνης περιποίησαντο τὰς ἱδίας σωτηρίας.

honorem etc] compare the more decided censure of the Amalekite in ii Samuel i. vv 1—16.

§ 4. hinc] that is, from the pass whence he had dislodged Erix.

castris] 'day's march'. This is a common Roman expression, arising from the custom of forming a regular encampment at the end of the day. See ix 10 § 5.

repperit] Diodorus xvii 85 αὐτὸς δὲ παρελθὼν ἐπὶ τὸν Ἰνδόν ποταμὸν καὶ καταλαβὼν τὰς τριακοντάρχους κατεσκευασμένας καὶ τὸν πόρον ἐγνω¬

merov]... Wherever this bridge may have been, it seems pretty certain that it was above the junction of the Cabul river with the Indus.

Omphis] Diodorus xvii 86 calls him Μάφις. His account in general corresponds very closely to that of Curtius. The kingdom of this prince
was that of which the great and wealthy city Taxila was the capital. It is strange that Curtius should make no mention of this place, which struck the Greek observers so forcibly as a city both populous and well-ordered. See Strabo xv i §§ 17, 28, 61, 62, Arrian v 3 § 6, 8 § 2, vii 2 § 2. See the interesting remarks of General Cunningham on this place. He shews that 50 years after Alexander's visit it was very wealthy, and that it remained great down to comparatively recent times. He finds its site near Kalaka Serai.

fuerat auctor] 'had urged.' The preceding quoque merely emphasizes patri. See on 10 § 18.

§ 6. permissoque] this is undoubtedly the right reading. Müezell well cites Livy vi 25 permissoque ut ex collegis optaret quem vellet, XXXVIII 10 permissoque ut et Khodii et Athenienses depreratores irent. See Madvig § 439.

ut regnaret] Diodorus does not mention Alexander's answer.

usurpare] compare III 12 § 16 (of Illephaestion) libertatis quoque in adnuneinde co non alius ins habebat: quod tamen ita usurpabat ut magis a rege permissum quam vindicatum ab eo videtur.

sustinuit] did not venture or 'make up his mind' to. Compare IX 1 § 34, 10 § 15. In Greek we should probably have ὁκ εἴτυλμησε.

ullius] for this substantival use of ullus by the best writers see Madvig § 90, 3. Curtius uses the dative (see IX 3 § 1), which is less common.

expetetut] 'make trial of' the good faith (or protection) of any but Alexander. That is, put himself in the hands of, submit to the authority of. See §§ 9, 10. For fideum see IX 1 § 23, 7 §§ 13, 14.


agminis] this word is continually used by Curtius as the equivalent of acies. Compare 13 § 19 and chapter 14 passim. This usage is almost confined to the poets and silver-age prose authors. An excellent instance is Virgil georg ii 280 which Conington's ingenious note cannot be said to have explained away.

eastellorum] so Diodorus xvii 87 in the account of Porus' forces before the battle ἡ μὲν οὖν ἄλη σονταξις αὐτῶν ὑπηρχε πόλει παραπλῆσιος τὴν πρόσοφιν. ἡ μὲν γάρ τῶν ἑλεφάντων σταῖς τοις πόροις, οἱ δὲ ἀνά μένων τοέν ἑπτάται τοῖς μεσοπυργίοις ὡμοίωντο. See below 14 § 13, IX 2 § 15.

§ 8. ipse concitat equum] Diodorus says αὐτός δὲ μετ' ἐλιγιῶν προπενείσας.

§ 9. vel...vel] vel, probably an old imperative of rolo, is used in stating such alternatives as the present where the distinction is not the point forcibly insisted on. Here it is especially suitable, since sive...sive has just been used above. We may render vel here 'perhaps' or 'it might be.' See Madvig § 436, and compare above III i § 18 (of the Gordian knot) gladioque raptis omnibus loris oraculi sortem vel elusit vel impelvit, below IX 5 § 27, Cic in Catil ii § 1.
quod posset intelligi] 'so far as could have been gathered'. The sense is the same as if he had written quantum potuit. See Madvig § 364 obs. 2.

\textit{vultu} 'expression'. Connected with \textit{volo}.

\textit{conscri] joined}. That is, conversation could not be held.

\textit{eo] that man, the man wanted}; namely an interpreter.


\textit{timere] the position of this word is strange, as \textit{famam} cannot stand where it is by way of emphasis, \textit{perfidiae} being the emphatic word.

§ 11. \textit{pecora} Mützel argues that this word probably refers to sheep especially, for in Arrian V 3 § 5 among the presents from Taxiles that awaited Alexander at the crossing of the Indus we find mention of \textit{pois} \textit{probeta}a and \textit{elpéfratas}. See below 14 § 30, IX 2 § 16, and above VIII 4 § 19 \textit{pecora et arma}na, IX 8 § 29.

\textit{magnitudinis} Pliny N II VII § 21 \textit{maxima in India signuntur animalia}.

\textit{acceptum] 'acceptable'. See Mayor on Cic philippic II §§ 32, 65, and compare IX 1 § 18 \textit{invictum}.

§ 12. \textit{agricolores an milites] this question must have been suggested by the division of the Hindus into classes or castes, which was soon found out by the Greeks, and of which the \textit{γεωργοί} and \textit{πολεμισται} formed two important divisions. See below IX 1 § 36, Strabo XV I §§ 40, 47, Arrian Indica I I §§ 9, 10 'next to these in the second place come the farmers (\textit{γεωργοί}) who are the most numerous class among the Indians: these have no martial weapons and take no thought for the works of war, but till the ground; and they pay their tributes to the kings or the independent states as the case may be. And in case of a war among the Indians, neither party may lay hands upon the tillers of the land or ravage the land itself; but the soldiers are warring and slaughtering one another while they (the farmers) hard by are ploughing or gathering the vintage or pruning the vines or reaping the corn undisturbed', 12 §§ 2—4. For the Greek accounts of the classes in general (which Curtius has strangely omitted to notice above), and their mistakes, see Elphinstone appendix III.

§ 13. \textit{Abisares] Mützel cites the remark of the famous geographer Ritter, that this prince probably ruled in the territory of Abhisara, a part of Kashmir bordering on the Panjab. See on 13 § 1. Thus here also the names of king and kingdom correspond. See the medley in note on 10 § 22 \textit{Mazagas}, and compare \textit{Taxiles} and \textit{Taxila}.

\textit{emineral]} see on 9 § 21, IX 1 § 2. Perhaps we might simply render 'surpassed his rival in power'. The kingdom of Porus lay between the Hydaspes and the Acesines, Strabo XV I § 29, and contained some 300 cities.

§ 14. \textit{permittente} Diodorus XVII 86 says that Alexander gave him back his kingdom \textit{kai} \textit{μετωνύμουσαν αὐτόν Ταξιλαν}.

\textit{sequente nomine] we have seen in note on § 5 that the name of the capital was Taxila, and have remarked on § 13 that the name Taxiles
corresponds to this name. The principle of giving to the reigning prince a name indicative of his seat of government is known to have existed in India. So in ix § 8 Curtius calls the people Musicani, while Arrian and Diodorus call their king Μουσικανός. See Strabo xv i § 36 (speaking of Παλιβοθρα = Pataliputra = Patna) τὸν ὅς βασιλεύοντα ἐπιφύλαξεν δὲ τῆς πόλεως εἶναι, Παλιβοθρὸν καλούμενον πρὸς τῷ λόγῳ τῷ ἐκ γενετῆς οὐομίτα καθάπερ τὸν Σανδρόκοπτον (Chandragupta, see William's Hinduism c i p. 4) πρὸς ὅπου ὤκεν ὁ Μεγαθάνης πεπίφθεις. τοιοῦτο δὲ καὶ τὸ παρὰ τοῖς Παρθιαίοις. Ἀρσάκας γὰρ καλοῦνται πάκτης, ἰδία δὲ ὁ μὲν ὦροδης ὁ δ' ἄλλος τι. Porus is probably another name of the same kind. See appendix D. We hear of another Porus contemporary with the more famous one here mentioned, Arrian v 20 § 6, 21 §§ 2, 3, 5, Strabo xv i § 30, and there seems to have been one contemporary with the emperor Augustus, Strabo § 73. It is to be noted that Curtius in 13 § 5 gives this Omphis his new and official title of Taxiles. For a name passing down with an office, but with no local connexion, see Surenas in Tacitus ann vi 42 with Orelli's note. Curtius probably misunderstood the significance of the transmission, as Diodorus seems also to have done.

§ 15. igitur] carries us back to the end of § 11. See on 10 § 1. signatur] stamped, that is, coined. Arrian v 3 § 5 says ἐργυρίῳ τάλαντα ἐς διακόσια.

§ 16.  Persicæ vestis] whether this vestis be something of the nature of tapestry, as rugs, shawls etc, or 'changes of raiment', is not easy to say. The splendour of Oriental drapery was proverbial. See Propertius iii 18 19. In ix 3 § 10 it is merely a rhetorical expression for a foreign dress.

§ 17.  sicut...ita] this is one of the Latin equivalents for the Greek μεν...δὲ, and should be rendered by simply putting 'while' with the former of the two verbs. Compare iii 12 § 16 of Hephaestion et sicut actate par erat regi ita corporis habitu praebat.

obstrinxeval] perhaps the force of this pluperfect is 'bound him for the present'.

offendit] So Plutarch Alex 59, Strabo § 28 of the reception of Alexander at Taxila ἐνυχών τε πλείωνων ἐχ' αυτοὶ παρέσχον, ὡστε φθονεῖν τοὺς Μακεδόνας καὶ λέγειν ὅτι ὦκε ἐχειν, ὡς ἐοικεῖν, Ἀλέξανδρος οὔς εὐφρέτησα πρὶν ἢ διέβη τὸν Ἰβύου.

super cenam] for super of time = 'during', see Kennedy § 72, 3 a 4.

§ 18. occidisset] viii 1 § 51.

invidos etc] this is a regular saying, such as the rhetoricians dearly loved. Compare Isocrates Enag § 7 (p 190) τοῦτων δ' αἰτίοις ὁ φθάνω, ὃ τούτο μόνον ἔγαθον πρόσετων, ὅτι μέγιστον κακὸν τοῖς ἔχουσιν ἔστιν, Menander incert 12 and Meineke ad locum, Seneca de ira iii 30 § 3 nunquam erit felix quem iorquen fictior, Horace epist 1 2 57—59, Virgil eccl vii 26, Martial ix 97, Erasmus adagia (title ab initio a finem).
CHAPTER XIII.

§ 1. Abisarac] Arrian v 8 § 3 ηξον δὲ ενταῦθα παρ' αυτὸν καὶ παρά Αβισαρα Παλαιστίνη τοῦ τῶν ὀρέων Ἰνδῶν βασιλέως.
mandatum] by Abisares.


suorum finium] Mützell in a long and learned note shews that this order of the words is chosen so as to throw stress on suorum. Porus was not to cross his own frontier.

occurrevit] the word is chosen as being neutral, taking indifferently a friendly or hostile sense, as praesto esset below.

regi] ‘his sovereign’.

alterum] the one, or more strictly ‘the second’, as the explanatory clause with ut shews.

praesto esset] used again but in friendly sense IX 2 § 24.

§ 3. quippe etc] an explanatory clause, suggested by the emphatic adversus Indos just above.

§ 4. regula] refers to the obscure Samaxus (or Gamaxus) above.

§ 5. transitu] the simple ablative with prohibere comes again X 3 § 5 quum postero die prohibiti adin regis essent. In IX 3 § 5 we have the more common construction. Arrian v 8 § 4 says ἐγνωκὼς ἐγγείν τοῦ πόρου αὐτὸν ἣ σωματικόν ἐπιτίθεσθαι.

§ 6. ultra cos] beyond, that is here ‘behind, them. Compare 14 § 30 and 111 9 § 5 of the Persian array at Issus Hyrcani deinque Medique equestes: his proximi ceterum gentium ultra cos dextra lacvique dispositi.

ante] 9 § 28.


§ 7. par......corporis] Mützell compares Justin XII 8 viribus corporis et animi magnitudine pariter insignis.
sapientia] ‘wisdom’ simply here. The passage quoted on 9 § 31 will however illustrate this one well. Alexander’s Greek flatterers made the most of Porus in order to enhance the glory of their patron. See 14 § 46.

§ 8. fluminis magnitudo] the size of the river would depend on the season of the year. Arrian v 9 § 4 says that when Alexander and Porus faced one another on the Hydaspes it was just the summer solstice. In 19 § 3 he places the battle with Porus in the Athenian month Munychion. One of these two statements must be wrong. Probably the former is, for he says in the same place that it was precisely at the time of the solstice that the rivers would be at their highest, both on account of the melting of mountain-snows and of the rains (of the SW Monsoon). Now Aristobulus in Strabo xv i § 17 while agreeing in the statement as to the fullness of the rivers in the summer, says that they did not experience continuous rains till the march from the Hydaspes to the
Hypanis and back again (καὶ ἐπειδῆ καταβὰς εἰπὶ τὸν Ἰδάσπην καὶ
νικῆσας Πομπ. ὁδός ἦν εἰπὶ τῶν Πανών πρὸς ἐω κάκειθεν ἐπὶ τὸν Ἰδάσπην
πάλιν, ὑσῆται συνεχῶς καὶ μάλοστα τοῖς ἐτησίαις). It would seem then
that Alexander reached the Hydaspes early in May and crossed the river
and defeated Porus about the middle of that month (end of Mynychton).
As Miitzell remarks, the accounts of modern travellers shew that the
river could then be crossed; a month later it would hardly be possible.
It seems then that Curtius speaks of the greatness of the river more as
a rhetorician than as an historian, though the width assigned (about
half a mile) is no great distance and hardly if at all exaggerated.

diffusus] not diffusum, for though he has spoken of flumen above
he is really thinking of Hydaspes. So in 14 § 40 we have eo though
belua has gone before, for he is thinking of elephantus. Zumpt. The
personification of the river in this passage suits well with this view.

aperiente] compare IV 9 § 21 tandem qua leniore tractu amnis aperit
vadum emersere, Virgil Aen 1 107.

pro spatio] pro = 'in proportion to', 'according to'. So kata with
accurative in Greek. Compare IX 1 § 6, 4 § 14, and for spatum IX 2
§ 17.

stagnatium] Miitzell remarks that this word (see on 9 § 7) is not
appropriately used here. Compare IX 2 § 12.

torrens et elius] 'boiling and compressed'. elius = throttled,
squeezed. For the use of the word in speaking of a river compare IX 2
§ 17, and generally IX 2 § 21, 7 § 22. The sense is well illustrated by
Pomponius Mela III 5 of the Araxes. Miitzell remarks that the name
of this river in Sanskrit is Vitasta (Hydaspes), which means 'arrow-
swift'.

occulta saxa] this mention of hidden rocks in the bed of the Hydaspes
has led some observers to fix the point of Alexander's passage some-
where by the village of Jhelam. But General Cunningham rather
inclines to the other place of crossing at Jalalpur. Old lines of high
road run to both these points. The mention of the rocks by Curtius is
not in itself decisive of anything, and the insulae in 12 may come out
of another account and be no more than the saxa from another point of
view.

repercussae] 'beaten back' in eddies. Compare 9 § 8 and VI 4 §§ 4, 5 (amnis) qui tria fere stadia in longitudinem universum fluit, deinde saxo
quod alivolium interpellat repercussae duo itinera velut dispensatis aquis
aperit. inde torrens et saxorum per quae incurrit asperitate violentior
terram praecps subit.

§ 10. vastorum] Miitzell refers to IV 13 § 5 where Parmenio is
made to attribute to the Scythians and Bactrians eximiam vastorum
magnitudinem corporum. Compare IX 2 §§ 19, 21.

inritatae] by their drivers.

aures fatigabant] poetical, and used in a slightly different sense
below in IX 10 § 16.
§ 11. *hinc*...*hinc*] used here of two things both on the same side of the persons considered, for both river and enemy were in the front of the Macedonian army. See on IX 4 § 10, 8 § 6.

*se experta*] that had proved themselves, and so knew what they could bear. The sense is well illustrated by Odyssey XX 18, Horace sat II 5 20.

*inproviso*] see on IX 2 § 13.

*inhabiles* awkward, unhandy. See IX 9 § 13. We have accepted this conjecture of Mützel in preference to the old reading *instabiles*. The latter would have suited well with *rates* had these been rats. But that boats or ships are meant is shown by §§ 26, 27. Probably the boats referred to in IO §§ 2, 3, 12 § 4 are meant. Arrian v 7 thinks that the Indus had been crossed by a bridge of boats used as pontoons. In 12 § 4 he says that the boats taken to pieces had been brought to the Hydaspes and put together.

§ 12. *insulae* General Cunningham in his plan of the river by Jalalpur shews plenty such.

*parvae*...*eventum*] ‘by the decision of small affairs were gauging the issue of the final struggle’. Compare IV 16 § 28 magno consilio inceuram sacerinam impedimentorumque contemptis, quum in ipsa acie summae rei videret esse discrimen: dubique adhuc fugiae eventu proficisci se gessit, and 14 § 1 below. See Tac hist II 35.


*partium*] often used for ‘side’ in a contest, and even by itself as here for the side to which the person considered belongs. Compare IV 16 § 4 (Macedon) fortuna partium territus.

*felicitate*] see on IO § 18.

*aecesti*] for sense compare Pliny epp IX 33 § 6 crescit audacia experimento.

§ 14. *frequens hostis*] ‘the enemy in crowds’.

§ 15. *poterant, si*...*inveniret*] see Madvig § 348 e, Kennedy § 214, 3.

*temeritas felix*] these words are used by Seneca de benef VII 3 § 1 in speaking of Alexander himself. The position of *felix* here shews that it means ‘when fortunate’, εὔτεχης οὐσα or εὖ φερομένη. For the sense in general compare IV 14 § 19 liet felicis aspirare videatur, tamen ad ultimum temeritati non sufficit.

*supervenientes*] those coming upon them, coming up to maintain the fight on their own side.

*enaverant*] had reached (the island) by swimming. See on IX 9 § 13. *oecculi* = ἄδθαρα or ἄδωντες.


*crat insula* etc] Arrian V II §§ 1, 2 ‘there was a bluff standing up from the bank of the Hydaspes, at a point where the river made a
remarkable bend: this was itself overgrown with all sorts of trees, and over against it lay an island in the river, a wooded untrodden and solitary place. When he observed this island opposite the bluff, two wooded spots suited to cover the attempt at crossing, he decided to take his army over this way. Now the bluff and the island were distant as much as 150 stadia from the great camp'.

*legendis etc.* compare vii 7 § 32 silvestre iter aptum insidiis legendis erat.

*fossa*] comparing Arrian quoted above (ἀνέχουσα) we must infer that this *fossa* is the hollow behind the bluff (ἀκρα). For the sense compare Virgil Aen XI 522 est curvo anfractu valles adcommoda fraudi armorumque dolis.

*haut procul ripa*] compare ix § 3. The construction is common in silver-age Latin.

§ 18. opportunitatis] = ‘convenient place’, the abstract having passed into concrete signification, as in many other words, for instance *cenatio, ambulatio, pensio.* See on ix 2 § 10.

*Ptolomaeum*] so Hedicke, following the MSS authority, spells the name. Anyhow Curtius seems to have made a mistake here. In 14 § 15 he represents Ptolemy as being in the immediate company of the king, and Arrian writing mainly from Ptolemy’s own accounts (v 7 § 1, 14 § 5) says that it was Craterus who was left in charge of the army facing Porus at the ford (v 11 § 3), and adds (§ 4) παρηγγέλλετο δέ Κρατέρῳ μη πρὶν διαβαίνει τὸν πόρον πρὶν ἀπαλαγήναι Πώρου ἐξίν τῇ δύνασί ως εἰπὶ σφᾶς ἢ ἑφύγοντα μαθεῖν, αὖτον δέ νικώντας.

*omnibus turmis*] a sort of ablative of the instrument.

*obequitare*] that is, hostibus. See on io § 6.

*quasi* ‘making pretence’ of attempting the passage. *quasi* and *tamquam* are continually used thus by writers of the Silver Age. Compare ix 7 § 24.

§ 19. *ci parte* ripae.

*advertere*] Compare Virgil Aen XII 555 urbiqute adverteret agmen.

§ 20. *tam......eral* ‘by this time the island was out of sight of the enemy’. That is, by continual feints at different points Porus had been enticed lower down the stream. Alexander was now free to carry out his plan of turning his enemy’s right flank by crossing higher up.

*diversa* ‘looking the other way’. Compare ix 1 § 35, iv 4 § 6 forte rex classem in diversam partem agi iussert, Virgil Aen v 166 quo diversus abis? Tacitus Agr 11 procurrentibus in diversa terris (of Britain and Gaul).

§ 21. *Attalum*] Arrian v 12 § 1 mentions Attalus with other officers as detailed off for a third attack between the other two. But his presence in the character of Alexander at the sham headquarters is not as Mützell seems to think inconsistent with the duty assigned to him by Arrian. He might wait there till the time of the intended night-attack and then at once join his detachment in time for action. In fact this is
likely, for Alexander would probably choose an officer of rank to take his place, and yet want to employ him in the battle.

speciem] 'the appearance that......' What follows is explanatory.


§ 23. in regionem insulae] into the quarter of the island, that is, to reach the land over against it.

averso in eos] 'was busy watching those' who were with Ptolemy.

obstrepetibus ventis] Arrian v 12 § 3 'and in the night there came on a violent storm of rain. In this way his preparations and attempt to cross were the less exposed to detection by the rattle of arms and the noise of giving orders; for the sound of the thunder and rain drowned them'.

§ 24. conderent lucem] the words have a poetical ring.

§ 25. terruisset] compare ix 5 § 19.

petebant tenente] the former word was supplied by Aldus. The second is received by Hedicke from the correction of Jeep. The old reading occupante had no authority of value.

§ 26. suam occasionem] was his opportunity. Compare iv 6 § 13 recedentibus inferunt signa, cunctationem hostium suam fore occasionem rati.


CHAPTER XIV.

Curtius passes on to describe the battle itself, as though after once reaching shore and disembarking his men Alexander had had no further difficulty. But we learn from Arrian, who is manifestly better informed, that on disembarking his men Alexander found that they had not reached the river-bank but only a large island. The channel between this and the bank was not usually deep, but the rain of the preceding night made it very hard to find the ford in the early morning. He goes on (v 13 § 3) ὃς δὲ ἐξευρέθη ποτὲ ὁ πόρος, ἤγε κατ' αὐτὸν χαλεπῶς ἤν γὰρ τῶν μὲν πεῖσθαι ὑπὲρ τοὺς μαστοὺς τὸ ἤδωρ ὑπαπέρ τὸ βαθύτατον αὐτῶν τῶν δὲ ἐπιπων ὅσον τὰς κεφαλὰς ὑπερίσχειν τοῦ ποταμοῦ. Either then Curtius did not find this important point noticed in his authorities, or he passed it over as not being striking enough to give opportunity for a fine descriptive passage. The latter view is in itself the less probable, and the silence of Diodorus, who seems to have followed much the same authorities as Curtius, gives great probability to the former. The account given in Plutarch Alex 60 is nearer that of Arrian, but would be of little use if the other versions had not survived.

§ 1. ripam] 'the bank' on which he himself was.

Abisareken] in spite of his submission (13 § 1). See 12 § 13, ix 1 § 7.
Diodorus xvii 87, 90 mentions Ἐμβίσαρος as an ally of Porus. See Arrian v 20 §§ 5, 6.

§ 2. liquidiore] clearer after the storm. Compare vii 11 § 21 verum ut liquidior lux apparuit caelo, dubitatio exempta est, Virgil georg i 404.

Hages frater ipsius] according to Arrian v 14 Ptolemy and Aristobulus, though differing in other details, agreed in stating that this force was commanded by a son of Porus. Whence Curtius got his information we cannot tell.

§ 3. senos] Strabo xv i § 52 says διὸ δέ εἰσιν ἐπὶ τῷ ἀρματὶ παραβάσαι πρὸς τῷ ἤμιχῳ. Mützell thinks that the numbers given in Curtius may be reconciled with the above by supposing that this arrangement was a special one, due to the terror inspired by Alexander.

hand sane] see on 9 § 37.

§ 4. vix ullus] see Madvig § 494.

in loco ac voragibus] the muddy sloughs formed by the rain on the low grounds. Arrian v 15 § 2 says that the chariots during the action were ὑπὸ πηλοῦ ἀχρεία.

§ 5. strenue] Arrian v 15 § 2 ἐνταῦθα δὴ εἰσεσεῖν αὐτοῖς ξυν τῷ ἀμφ' αὐτὸν ἵππῳ.

Scythae et Dahae] Alexander had raised troops among the warlike tribes of Central Asia. Curtius makes Alexander refer to them in his speech ix 2 § 24.

emitit] 'launched'. Compare § 24, v 13 § 19 Alexander hostium trepidatione comperta Nicanorem cum equitum parte ad inhibendum fugam emitit: ipse cum ceteris sequitur.

§ 6. pugna se moverat] a remarkable expression savouring of poetic licence.

illud] ἐκεῖνο, what follows: namely the desperate charge described.

§ 7. anecps......erat] 'the harm done by the charge to both sides could not be told'. That is, it was not clear which suffered the more. The sense would be clearer without utrisque, as the context shews who are referred to. See on § 16 below, and ix 4 § 12.

§ 9. exacta] driven off, that is, off the field. Compare § 30.

pugnam cintent] poetical and rhetorical, as Mützell remarks.

elephantos] Arrian v 15 § 5: (he drew up) 'the elephants first in front at intervals of at least 100 feet, so as to have his elephants ranged in front before the entire phalanx of his infantry, and so frighten Alexander's cavalry at all points'.

§ 10. olim] see on ix 6 § 26.

mitigatis] tamed, hence 'accustomed', 'deadened'.

§ 11. Herculis] See ix 4 § 2. Megasthenes according to Strabo xv i § 58 reported that the philosophers of the lowlands worshipped Hercules. See Tacitus Germ 3, 7. Mützell says that Bohlen takes
this Hercules to mean Vishnu. Others say Siva or Krishna. See Williams' *Hinduism* c 8 p 105, M'Crindle pp 39, 111.

*simulacrum*] the image of a god (ἄγαμα) as opposed to *status* that of a man (ἀνδριάς). See Mayor on Cic. *philippic* 11 § 110.

*incitamentum*] Compare IX 5 § 6, Tacitus Germ 7.

*flagitium*] Tacitus Germ 6 *sentum reliquise praeciprum flagitium.*

§ 12. *illo hoste*] Hercules, of course.


*prouc*] ‘to a distant view’.

*excesserat*] ‘had surpassed’. Compare IX 2 § 28. The description of Porus in Diodorus XVII 88 is like that in Curtius, but more extravagant.

*formam*] ‘outline’, hence ‘conception’. Compare the use of the word in Cic. de *Off* 1 § 15 *formam et tumquam faciam honesti* ‘the outline and so to speak the shape of moral goodness’, § 103 *officii formam* ‘the outline of duty’. Here it seems to mean ‘standard’.

*magnitudinem corporis*] this is the clever emendation of Vogel. For construction he compares IV 3 § 8 *latitudinem quoque agseri adiecit.*

*quanto*] not *quantum*, for the idea of *praestare* includes only the excess of one thing over others, not that of general comparison of size. This is also marked by the construction after it (*aliis not inter alios*).

*aliis* hominibus.

§ 14. *par......video*] compare Scott’s ‘stern joy which warriors feel in foemen worthy of their steel’.

*egregiis*] must be repeated in sense with *bestii*.

§ 15. *comitatus*] the past participles of many deponent verbs are used also in a passive signification by good writers. See Madvig § 153, and compare X 8 § 3 *selectim omnino fueris regiae cohortis comitatus.*

*destrum movet*] ‘advance the right wing’. Arrian v 16 § 2 tells us that Alexander was making a flanking movement (παραλλαγὸν) with the bulk of his cavalry to attack the enemy’s left wing. He then (§ 3) goes on *Καὶνον δὲ πέμπει ὡς έπι τὸ ἐξειν τὴν Δημητρίου καὶ τὴν αὐτῶν ἔχοντα ἑπαρχίαν, κελεύοις ἐπειδὴ τὸ κατὰ σφάς στίφος τῶν ἐπέλνων ἵδνες οἱ βαρβαροὶ ἀντιπαρπετεύων, αὐτῶν κατότι ἐσεθαί αὐτῶν* a hard passage it is true, but one which need not be unintelligible to any one who bears in mind that Alexander’s movement was a flanking one and reads with care the description of his attack in 16 § 4, 17 §§ 1, 2. The situation is this: Alexander was not himself in position on the right wing, but put Coenus there with some of the cavalry while he himself with the main body made the flanking movement. This he did with speed, so as to take the Indian horse in flank before they had time to change their front and meet him. They tried to execute this movement, but had not time; and while they were in the confusion thus brought about Coenus fell upon what had been their front but was now their disordered flank. Whether the Indian horse from their right wing was brought over to succour that on their left or not does not affect the probable position
of Coenus. The one difficulty in the way of this explanation is the presence, according to Arrian 15 § 7, of the war-chariots in front of the Indian horse. But it seems easier to suppose that Coenus was able to elude these clumsy adversaries than that Alexander expected him to see from the Macedonian left the right moment for his own charge and then wheel round the rear of the whole Indian army and execute his orders opportunely. Diodorus XVII 88 says γενομένης δὲ μάχης τὸ μὲν πρῶτον τοῖς ἵππεσιν ἀπαντα σχέδον τὰ ἄρματα τῶν Ἰνδῶν διεφθάρη. If this refers, as I think it does, to the beginning of the main battle, the chief objection is removed. [I am solely responsible for this note, which will I think explain the passage of Curtius by that of Arrian. W. E. Heitland.]

Leonnatis] Arrian mentions Seleucus here and leaves out Leonnatus. The three were in command of the phalanx of foot.  

§ 16. hastae] the Macedonian σάρισα was over 20 feet long. See IX 7 § 19, Livy IX 19 § 7, xxxvii 42 § 4, Polybius xviii 29, Lucan x 47, 48, Thirlwall c 48 (vol vi p 147). They seem to have been somewhat like the long pikes of the Scotch Borderers described by Scott.

anceps] 'uncertain'; that is, not to be depended on, as being likely to damage their own side as much as (if not more than) the enemy.

§ 17. lacuum corni] that is, the cavalry on the Indian left.

§ 18. uno impetu] Arrian v 17 § 3 tells us that the phalanx at first suffered greatly from the charges of the elephants. So Diodorus XVII 88.

qua...iussit] Arrian says καὶ ἐν τούτῳ οἱ ἐπιστάται τῶν ἑλεφάντων ἀντέπηγον τῇ ἐπίῳ τὰ θηρία, καὶ ἡ φάλαγξ αὐτῇ τῶν Μακεδόνων ἀντέπημι πρὸς τοὺς ἑλέφαντας.

§ 19. statuerent] 'rested'. For the matter see on 9 § 28, and compare what Xenophon says of the Karduchi in anab iv 2 § 28 ἀριστοὶ δὲ καὶ τοξίται ἥσαν (οἱ Καρδοῦχοι). εἶχον δὲ τοξά ἐγγὺς τριπήκη, τὰ δὲ τοξεῖματα πλεον ἡ ὀπίσθις εἶλαν δὲ τὰς νεφρὰς ὧπότε τοξεῖον πρὸς τὸ κάτω τοῦ τόξου τῷ ἀρματῷ πολὺ προσβαίνουσες. τὰ δὲ τοξεῖματα ἐξώρια διὰ τῶν ἀσπίδων καὶ διὰ τῶν θωράκων. Schneider thinks that crossbows are there meant, but this view is probably wrong.

inponunt] put on the string.

lubrica] from the rain of the night before. But Arrian v 15 § 5 says that Porus drew up his army on sandy ground, which the rain no doubt would make firm; in fact he calls it ἀπεδοὺ καὶ στερεῶν.

id] the slipperiness of the ground.


occupatur] see on 9 § 32, and add Ovid fasti i 575 occupat Aleides (Caecum). See also below ix 1 § 32, 7 § 22.

§ 20. turbatis] ταραχῆς δὲ πολλῆς γενομένης, says Diodorus.

§ 21. in medium] compare ix 1 § 21, Virgil Aen xi 335 consulte in medium et rebus succurrute fessis.

§ 22. obvius...iubet] Diodorus also mentions an effort of Porus to
retrieve the fortune of the day by a general attack with his 40 remaining elephants, which succeeded at first. Perhaps this may be another version of the fight described in Arrian v 17 § 3. See below on §§ 25, 26.

§ 23. pavidum] Compare Tacitus hist. II 68 (Vitellius) ad omnes suspitiones pavidum.

ad omnia] so we say 'to shy at everything'. The elephants were well known to cause great terror in horses.


§ 25. ingentem...eos] Arrian v 17 § 3 (continued from quotation above on § 18) ès τε τοίς ἐπιβάταις αὐτῶν ἀκοντιζόντες καὶ αὐτὰ τὰ θηρία περιστάδων παντὸθεν βάλλοντες.

constantem] 'firmly', 'steadily'. Not as the light troops who would advance or retire as the Indians retired or advanced.

§ 26. obtriti etc] Arrian v 17 § 3 'for the beasts charged the ranks of the foot, and wherever they turned were crushing through the Macedonian phalanx though in close formation'. Diodorus gives a vivid description of the havoc wrought by the elephants in the early part of the battle.

fuere documentum] the nominative is less common in the best writers. See Madvig § 249 note a. We have however § 41 essex exemplum, and there are many instances in other writers, but none of these seem to have the following construction with ut.

§ 27. facies] Compare the passage quoted on II § 12, also IX 7 § 10, 8 §§ 5. Tacitus Agr 36, hist II 89.

manu] 'trunk'. See Cic. de divin II § 122. Lucretius II 537, v 1393.


§ 29. copidas] choppers, something like a Goorka knife. κοπίς from same root as κόπτειω.

timor] this, remarks Zumpt, must be the fear in which the Macedonian soldiers stood of the elephants. This fear stimulated their ingenuity and ferocity, so that the elephants that fell in the battle were destroyed with a spiteful barbarity worth special notice. noni = unheard of, horrible.

omitted] for the sense generally compare Tacitus Agr. 16 nec ullum in barbaris saeculiiae genus omisit iva et victoria.

§ 30. ergo...obterebantur] Diodorus XVII 88 μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα τῶν θηρίων συνακοντιζόμενων καὶ διὰ τὸ πλῆθος τῶν τραυμάτων περιοδέων γινομένων, οἱ μὲν περιβεβληκότες αὐτοῖς ἵδοι κρατεῖν τῆς ὀρμῆς τῶν ἐφών οὐκ ἵσχυν ἐκνευρότα ἅρι χιὸς τοῖς ἱδίους ταῖς ὀμαῖς ἀκατασχέτως ἐφέρετο καὶ τοῖς φίλοις συνεπάτει, Arrian v 17 §§ 5, 6.

ab ipsis] that is, quos rexerant, 'by the very beasts they had driven' = 'by their own beasts'. The words go in the first instance with praeceptati.
§§ 22—38] \textbf{NOTES.} 125

\textit{itaque} having, that is, now no drivers.

\textit{pecorum modo} that is, in wild disorder like a flock of sheep. Arrian \textit{v} 17 § 5 καὶ αὐτοὶ οἱ ἠλέφαντες τὰ μὲν τιτρωσκόμενοι τὰ δὲ ὑπὸ τὲ τῶν πόνων καὶ ἑρῷα ἡγεμόνον οὐκέτι διακεκριμένοι εἰ τῇ μάχῃ ἴσαν, 18 § 4.

§ 31. \textit{destitutus} ‘left in the lurch’. Compare ix 4 § 33.

\textit{a pluribus} ‘by the majority of his men’. So Mützell.

\textit{tela} Diodorus says that Porus by reason of his great strength could throw darts almost as hard as a catapult (see Rich’s dict of antiquities for these engines).

\textit{expositus} compare ix 5 § 9.

\textit{petebatur} Diodorus says that Alexander ordered the bowmen and light troops to single out Porus and shoot at him. Mützell observes that this is probably only a distorted version of the movement described by Curtius above in § 24. For the words compare ix 4 31.

§ 33. \textit{fluentibus} drooping. Compare Virgil Aen X 828 \textit{ad terram non sponte fluens}.

\textit{vix componem} Diodorus xvii 88 ‘Porus having fought like a hero and lost much blood by reason of his many wounds fainted and sinking helplessly on the beast was borne to the ground’.

§ 34. \textit{eius} Alexander. See on ix 1 § 6.

\textit{effuso} compare Virgil Aen x 893.

§ 35. \textit{frater Taxilis} Arrian v 18 §§ 6, 7 says that Taxiles himself was sent, and then other and more acceptable messengers.

§ 36. \textit{ad notam vocem} ‘at’ or ‘by’, the well-known voice. Compare iv 15 § 32 \textit{ergo haud secus quam in tenebris errabant, ad sonum notae vocis, ut signum, subinde coeuntes}.

\textit{proditoris} ‘who gave up’ his throne and kingdom. The verb is similarly used in Terence hautont 479, 480 \textit{prīnis proditūrum te tuam vitam et prius pecuniām omnēm quam abs te amītias filium}.

\textit{quod unum} such is the Latin idiom. In English we should rather say ‘the one dart that’.

\textit{effluxerat} had fallen or slipped from his hand.

\textit{penetravit} Arrian says that Taxiles escaped the javelin by speedy flight.

§ 37. \textit{edito opere} a regular combination of words. Compare Livy 1 16 §§ 1, 111 63 § 3. We have \textit{edita pugna} ix 5 § 16.

\textit{exceperat} this is quick work. In § 33 the beast was unwounded.

\textit{sistit fūgam} stays the flight of his troops.

\textit{pedi et} his remaining infantry. He had lost the greater part, see Arrian v 18 § 4.

§ 38. \textit{vetabat} etc] this is not stated by Arrian, who is more to be trusted. Diodorus xvii 89 says that there was great slaughter in the pursuit, and that Alexander checked it.

\textit{labi] see} the passage quoted on § 33.
§ 39. *institutis* 'trained'.

§ 40. *spoliari iubet* only Curtius states this.

*cum beliis...imponere* Plutarch Alex 60 has got hold of a still more wonderful account of the sagacity of this beast. Strabo xvi 1 § 42 says of trained battle elephants οἱ δὲ καὶ ξαίλους τοὺς ἵπποις ἐν τοῖς ἀγγώσι πεσόντας ἀνελόμενοι σώμουσιν ἐκ τῆς μάχης, τοὺς δὲ ὑποδύντας μεταξὺ τῶν προσθίων ποδῶν ὑπερμαχομένοι διέσωσαν.

§ 41. *malum* this interjection, common in the comic poets, is also found in Cicero. See the passage de off ii § 53 praecelare in epistula quadam Alexandrum filium Philippus accusat quod largitione benevolentiam Macedonum conscitatur. 'quia te, malum' inquit 'ratio in istam spem induxit ut eos tibi fidèles putares fore quos pecunia corrupisses?' Render 'What the plague was the infatuation that drove you...'

*Taxilis*] the genitive is that of further definition after *exemplum*. See on io § 7 *ignis*.

§ 42. *feciisti* granted, given. So often *facere copiam potestatem licentiam* etc.

§ 43. *rursus...esset* Arrian v 19 § 2 says that when asked by Alexander how he would like to be treated, Porus replied 'like a king' (*οἰκεῖοι*). Curtius seems to have got hold of something not very different from this, and to have dressed it up after the fashion of the rhetoricians with a sage reflection on the mutability of fortune, in order to point his moral.

§ 44. *infractam* 'broken down', 'dismayed'. The word is very common. Compare ix 2 § 30, Virgil Aen xii 1.

§ 45. *agrum curavit* Diodorus xvii 89 says αὐτὸς δὲ ὁ Πώρος ἐμπνευσαν ὄν παρεδόθη τοῖς Ἰνδοῖς πρὸς τὴν θεραπείαν, that is probably to some of the Brahman doctors.

*haud secus quam*] = *haud minus quam*.

*confirmatum* when he recovered his strength.

*amphora*] so Arrian v 19 § 3 τὴν τε ἀγχάειν τῷ Πώρῳ τῆν τε αὐτοῦ Ἰνδῶν ἐδωκε καὶ ἄλλην ἐτὶ χάραν πρὸς τῇ πάλαι οὖσα πλείονα τῆς πρόσθεν προσέβηκε, and again in detail 20 § 4, 29 § 2.

§ 46. *nec sane...gloriae* 'and in truth his nature had no more essential or more permanent quality than a regard for true merit and renown'. See on ix 2 § 14 *ex solido*.

*simplicius...in cive* 'but he took more impartial account of glory in an enemy than in a subject'. Compare iv 14 § 19 praedera brevies et mutabiles vices verum sunt, et fortuna nunciam simpliciter intulget, 'never shews favour without reserve'. For *acstimahut* compare ix 1 § 26.

*destrui*] unbuilt, pulled down.
NOTES.

BOOK IX, CHAPTER I.

§ 1. soli etc] Diodorus xvii 89 ‘and the king buried the dead and gave due honours to those who had distinguished themselves in the battle and sacrificed in person to the sun, as the power that had given him the conquest of the eastern world’. Arrian v 20 § 1 only speaks of τὰ νομίζομεν ἑπινίκια.

reliquia belli] compare vii 5 § 27 ceteris gratiae actae quod ad reliquia belli navaturos operam pollicebantur.

pro contione] ‘before the assembled army’, ‘in a general meeting’. The phrase is common in this connexion.

§ 2. optimam praedam] compare v 1 § 4 praedam optimam paratamque ipsum et milites eius spectare.

celeratas] ‘strored’, much told of in the rumours that reached Europe. The Eldorado of those days lay in the East.

eminere] were great, ‘abounded’. Compare viii 12 § 13.

proinde] accordingly, ‘then’. Compare the advice of the Scythian to Alexander when contemplating an expedition into Scythia vii 8 § 24 proinde fortunam tuam pressis manibus tene.

iam etc] ‘had become cheap and common’. See on 6 § 14 below.

obsoleta] so Nepos (Miltiades 6 § 2) opposes obsoleti to gloriosi (= giving glory), speaking of honores. See on 6 § 14.

repletum ire] Madvig § 411. ‘They were on their way to fill’.

§ 3. dimissis] that is, iis.

§ 4. materia etc] so Diodorus xvii 89, Strabo xv i § 29, and Sir A Burnes (quoted by Müntzell) says that the same thing is still done on the Hydaspes, and that on no other of the rivers in the Panjab do such facilities exist for building vessels.

adgressi] the use of this word with a following infinitive is poetical and post-Augustan. Compare 10 § 12, Virgil Aen ii 165, vi 584.

serpentes] Diodorus xvii 90 ‘and the neighbouring hill-country had the following peculiarity. Besides the timber for shipbuilding the country contained a number of snakes of extraordinary size, 16 cubits long’, Strabo xv i § 28.

§ 5. rhinocerotis] see on viii 9 § 16.

aliud] nomen.

§ 6. urbibus] Arrian v 19 § 4 ‘Now Alexander founded cities at the place where the fight befell and at the point whence he started in his passage of the Hydaspes. And he called the one Nikaea in honour of his victory (victor) over the Indians, and the other Bukephala in memory of his horse Bukephalas who died there, not that anyone had wounded him, but from work and old age’. See viii 14 § 34 above, where Curtius reports the story rejected by Arrian, and for the name of the town 3 § 23 below.
aureis] if these were gold. Phil. (Horace epist. 11 1 234) they would be worth about 16s each, if Persian darics (daireikoi) about a guinea. But they may have been neither.

§ 7. neque enim...captivum] 'for' said he 'I cannot live without the power of a king and this I should not enjoy as a prisoner'. captivum stands where in Greek we should have a present participle.

§ 8. nuntiari etc] Arrian says in effect just the same (v 20 § 6). Diodorus xvii 90 only observes καταπληξάμενος ἡμάγκασε ποιεῖν τὸ προσταττόμενον.

proro] 'further on'. It seems better to read thus, than Poro with the best MSS; a reading which the commentators have vainly striven to torture at once into Latin and sense.

amne] must refer to the Acesines (Chenab). Perhaps Acesine has fallen out before amne. Arrian v 20 §§ 8, 9 speaks of the crossing of this river at some length, as it had received special notice from Ptolemy. But Diodorus xvii 90 goes on in the same way autós ἐν μετὰ τῆς δύναμεις περάεις τὸν ποταμόν προῆγε δία χώρας ἀρέτη διαφεροντις. It seems probable therefore that he and Curtius are both here depending on the same writer whose handling of the matter somehow led them into the grave blunder of omitting an important name.

§ 9. silvae etc] so Diodorus goes on δὲνδρων γὰρ ἐξε γένη διαλλαττοῦντα καὶ τὸ μεν ὑψὸς ἔχοντα πῆχαν ἐξοδομῶντα τὸ δὲ παχος μέγις ὑπὸ τεταρτῶν ἀνάπαντιν περιλαμβάνουν τριῶν δὲ πλῆθρων σκίων ποιοῦντα.

prope in inmensum spatium] = in spatium prope inmensum, over an almost boundless tract of country.

§ io. pleurique rami etc] the tree here described is the Banyan, one of the most celebrated Indian trees, as well known to the ancients as it has been in modern times. Strabo xv i § 21 gives a description from Onesikritus and also Aristobulus. See also Theophrast hist. plant. iv 4 § 4, Pliny N.H. xii §§ 22, 23, Arrian Indica ii § 7.

instar] Madvig § 280 obs. 6, Kennedy § 166, 2.

rursus] goes, of course with erigebantar.

qua se curvaverant] at the point where they had bent themselves; at any point, that is, where they took an upward bend from the ground. The clause is obscurely put in, but the sense is pretty certain in itself, and is established by the words in Strabo (δένδρα) ἂν τοὺς κλάδους αὐξηθέντας ἐπὶ πῆχεις καὶ δώδεκα ἐπείτα τὴν λουπὴν αὐξησον κατασφη λαμβάνειν ὡς ἃν κατακατατομένους, ἐως ἃν ἀψυγάτα τῆς γῆς ἐπείτα κατὰ γῆς διαδοθέντας μεζοσθαί ὁμοίως ταῖς κατερρυζέν, εἰτ' ἀναδοθέντας στελεχούσαν.


§ ii. caeli...fontibus] compare iv 7 §§ 16, 17 (of the temple of Ammon) tandem ad sedem consecratam de ventum est. incredibile dictu, inter vastas solitudines sita undique ambientibus ramos, vix in densam umbram cadente sole, contenta est; multique fontes dulcebus aquis passim manantibus alint silvas. caeli quoque mira temperies verno tepori maxime similis omnis anni partes pari salubritate percurririt.
NOTES.

§ 12. *hic quoque* see § 4. So Diodorus xvii 90 says *εἰκὲ δὲ καὶ ἡ χώρα ὀρεων πλῆθος μικρῶν μὲν τοὺς μεγέθεις ταῖς δὲ ποικιλίαις εξηλλαγμένων* οί μὲν γὰρ χαλκείδεις ράβδους ἐπέφαινον etc.

*reddentibus* 'sending out,' 'giving'. The notion of 'back from' soon passes into that of 'out from,' and so *reddere* is really = *praebere*. Compare iii 2 § 5 *success eetrae maxime speciem reddentibus*, and see on 4 § 23 below.

*virus etc*] Diodorus says *dīa δὲ τῶν ὄχημάτων οξίες θανάτους ἀπειράγγυον* and so on; Strabo speaking of some small venomous snakes says *xv i § 45 τοὺς δὲ πληγόντας αἰμορροεῖν ἐκ παντός πόρου μετὰ ἐπώδυνιας, ἐπειτὰ ἀποθνήσκειν εἰ μὴ βοσθήσει τις εὐθύς.*

*praecursus* we have now in English dropped the correct usage of this word, and use 'instant' or 'immediate.' Compare 2 § 19.

*temendum etc*] Diodorus says *μετὰ δὲ τοῦτα παρὰ τῶν ἐγγεγρωμένων μαθητές τὴν ἀντιφάμακον μόισον ἀπελύθησαν τῶν δεινῶν.* Strabo goes on τὴν δὲ βοσθέαν ράδιαν εἰναι διὰ τὴν ἀρετὴν τῶν Ἰνδικῶν μιζῶν καὶ φαρμάκων. See also Arrian *Indica* 15 § 11. *The incolae are probably some of the local Brahmans.*

§ 13. *iunctum* that is, on the banks of the river. The order of the sense is *crat nemus iunctum fluminii.* The last two words are an epithet = *παραποτάμων* or some such word.

*arboribus*] Strabo *xv i § 21 πολλὰ γὰρ δὴ δενδρα παράδεξα ἦ Ἰνδικὴ τρέφει.*

*pavonum*] Elphinstone *intr p 10* says 'the peacock also is common in a wild state'.

*frequens* 'crowded,' 'filled.' Compare v 4 § 6 *fortilis terra multisque vicis atque uribus frequens.*

§ 14. *oppidum*] Mützel refers this to the same place as that spoken of by Arrian *v 22 § 3* καὶ δευτεραδὸς μὲν ἀπὸ τοῦ ποταμοῦ τοῦ 'Τρεβράτων πρὸς πόλιν ἤκεν ἣ ὄνομα Πίμπραμα· τὸ δ' ἐθνὸς τούτο τῶν Ἰηνων Ἀδραισταί ἐκαλοῦντο. If this be right, then Curtius must have had a very different account of the affairs before him, for Arrian goes on ὁυτοι μὲν δὴ προσεχώρησαν ὄμολογα Ἀλεξάνδρῳ. See also Diodorus *xvii 91*, Arrian *21 § 6.*

*corona*] by a general attack all round the walls. Compare 4 § 4, *vii 6 § 19 urbem corona circumdelet munitiorem quam ut primo impetu capi posset.*

*magnam etc*] Diodorus *xvii 91* says that Alexander took *τὴν μεγίστην καὶ ὀξυρωτάτην πόλιν* of the Kathaeans, but whether this corresponds to the present notice of Curtius is not certain. Strabo *xv i § 33* says that between the Hypanis (= Hyphasis) and Hydaspes were 9 tribes and *5000 πόλεις οἱ καὶ ἐλάττους Κω τῆς Μεροπίδος,* and in *xiv 2 § 19* he says that Kos was ὦ μεγάλη. We may therefore infer that the words of Curtius *ut in ea regione* are not without authority.

*urbem*] probably the place called by Arrian *τὰ Σάγγαλα* the most important town of the Kathaeans. General Cunningham finds this at C.
a hill still bearing the same name, between the Hyarotis (Hydraotes) and Acesines. Alexander must then have turned back for a space, as he had according to Arrian v 21 § 6 already crossed the former river.

paludé] Arrian v 23 § 4 ἵνα καὶ λίμνη οὐ μακρῶν τοῦ τείχους ἦν. He goes on to say that it was not deep.

§ 15. vehiculis] in three rows, according to Arrian 22 § 4 κύκλῳ δὲ τοῦ γηλόφου ἀμάξας περιστήσαντες ἑπτὸς αὐτῶν ἐστρατοπέδων, ὡς τριπλῶν χάρακα περιβεβληθοῦσα τῶν ἀμαξῶν.

tela] weapons of offence. Compare 4 § 3.

transilicabantque] there is here a change of subject. The sentence goes on as if tela alii hastas alii secures habebant had been written above. The word seems to denote the jumping from one wagon to another.

§ 16. incondito] ‘undisciplined’.


ab utroque latere] this can hardly refer to the same move as that mentioned below quo...circumveniuntur. It would seem then that Curtius is following some account in which the wagons were not ranged round the town, but in a line so as to serve as a rampart to an army covering the town.

§ 17. vincula etc] this account does not correspond with that of Arrian v 23 § 2 who mentions gaps between the wagons and says nothing of any means of binding them together.

quo facilius] Madvig § 440 b obs 1, Kennedy § 208.

VIII millibus] it is impossible to compare the numbers given by Curtius and Arrian 24 §§ 3, 5, as neither gives the total of killed and the details of the numbers who fell in the separate operations of the siege are not so stated as to admit of comparison.

§ 18. scalis] Arrian 24 § 4 says that they also weakened the walls by mining.

fauces] emphatic.

qui] = it qui.

profecto] goes closely with deorum. Compare 8 § 18.

§ 19. Eumeni] Arrian v 24 §§ 6, 7 has a similar but slightly different account.

ad urbem] see on 4 § 23.


§ 21. inminebant] were inclined to, bent on. Compare vi 11 § 2 ipse currum regis sequebatur, occasioni inimicus adloquendi esset, vi 10 § 22 sic ergo imperio, quod dedignor, inmineo, Suet Aug 24.
recipiunt] admit, 'welcome'. The force of the word is 'take in as due', because they had for some time made up their own minds to do so. Compare recipit in VIII 9 § 32.

§ 23. convocaverunt] called them to a conference. The con has the force of 'to', 'to meet'.

viam] Eichert in his lexicon takes this as 'strength', that is, as equivalent to vires. But perhaps it may more strictly mean 'violence', 'severity'. Arrian v 24 § 6 says that Eumenes was to tell the people of some hostile towns 'that they would have no harsh treatment from Alexander if they remained and received him as a friend; for neither had any of the other independent Indians who surrendered themselves willingly'. So here we may have just the reverse meant, speaking of those who resisted. But see below § 32.


§ 24. regnum Sophitis] According to Arrian VI 2 § 2 the kingdom of Sopithes lay on the left bank of the Hydaspes. Strabo xv 1 § 30 also says that some place it between that river and the Acesines, but adds that others put it beyond the Acesines and Hyarotis, which view is evidently that followed by Curtius (see § 35) and Diodorus xvii 91. See M'Cridle p 154, who points out that Lassen has identified the name Sopithes with Sanskrit Aszapatī 'lord of horses'. According to Strabo Sophites was king of the Kathaei.

ut barbari credunt] 'in the opinion of the natives'.

sapientia] see on VIII 13 § 7.

bonis moribus] so Diodorus xvii 91 metà dé tai't estrapetwsev eti tás útò Šωπείθην tetaquménas pòleis, évnumoménavas kai' úperbolhν.

regitur] is ruled or directed by. Hence = 'lives under' as in 8 § 4.

§ 25. genitos etc] Diodorus says το κάλλος παρ' αυτούς τιμωστατον νενθμωσται. διόπερ εκ νηπίων παρ' αυτοίς τὰ βρέφη διακρίνεται, καὶ τὰ μὲν ἄρσια καὶ τὴν φύσιν ἐξουτα πρὸς εὐπρέπειαν καὶ ἱσχύν εὐθετον τρέφεται, τὰ δὲ καταδείκτοις σώμασιν ἀνάξια τροφῆς ἡγουμένων διαφαίνονται. Strabo xv 1 § 30 tells the same story, but only on the authority of Onesikritus. For some remarks on these customs see Wheeler's History of India III 4 (pp 24, 173).

tollunt] this word is strictly applied only to the Roman custom of placing a newborn child on the ground at the feet of the father, who by raising it in his arms signified that he acknowledged the child as his own and was prepared to rear it. Here tollunt alunique is really one notion. Perhaps we may render 'acknowledge and rear'.

eorum etc] 'the commissioners entrusted with the medical inspection of the babies'. So Strabo says κριθέτα δ' υτό τὸν ἀποδείξειθέντος ἀρχοντος.

habitum] 'condition', hence bodily form, 'looks'. Compare 2 § 6, 7 §§ 12.

insignes] 'remarkable', hence 'deformed'. Compare Suetonius Calig 26 insignes debilitate aliqua corporis.

9—2
§ 26. nuptiis etc] Diodorus says ἀκολούθως δὲ τούτοις καὶ τῶν γόμων ποιοῦνται προὶ καὶ τῆς ἄλλης πολυτελείας ἀφρονιστικῶτες, κάλλους δὲ καὶ τῆς τοῦ σώματος ὑπερχής μόνον φρονιζοῦτε. For the Spartan custom see Plutarch Lykurg 14.

genre ac nobilitate] a hendiadys, =generis nobilitate. The ablative is that of cause.


electa specie] =electione speciei, through choice of appearance = ‘choosing by looks’.

aeclamatur] ‘is taken account of’.

§ 28. eminens etc] so Diodorus xvii 91 παρὰ δὲ πάντας ὁ βασιλεὺς Σωφρίνος περίβλεπτος ὥν ἐπὶ τῷ κάλλει, καὶ τῷ μήκει τούς τέπταρας πήχεις ὑπεράγων, προῆλθε μὲν ἐκ τῆς πλέον τῆς ἑξούσιας τὰ βασιλεῖα, παραδοὺς δὲ αὐτῶν καὶ τὴν βασιλείαν Ἀλεξάνδρῳ πάλιν ταύτῃ ἀπέλαβε διὰ τὴν τοῦ κρατοῦντος ἐπειδὲκαν.

§ 30. candore] ‘lustre’. Pliny NH ix § 112 (referred to on viii 9 § 19) counts candor and magnitudo as the two merits of pearls.

baculum aureum] sceptre.

precatus etc] ‘with the wish that it might bring him good luck’. Some customary Oriental phrase of compliment is no doubt represented by this expression. Zumpt compares the wish to the bride in Plautus casina 4 41 sospes iter incipe hoc.

§ 31. canes] we have much the same account of these wonderful hunting dogs in Diodorus xvii 92, Strabo xv 1 § 31, and their great size is noted by Pliny NH vii § 31.

videreunt] emphatic, according to Pratt. ‘On sighting the game’.

leonibus] Plutarch de solertia animalium 15 tells of an Indian dog who would not notice a stag bear or bear, but at once assailed a lion.

§ 32. in conspectu] this is Mützel's excellent emendation of MSS conspectu. Diodorus says εἰσηγαγαν εἰς τὰ περίφραγμα λέοντα τέλειον.

III omnino] ‘4 in all’. Strabo and Diodorus say that first two dogs were slipped at the lion and then two more.

occupaverunt] see on viii 9 § 32. Ründer ‘fastened on’ or even our technical slang word ‘tackled’.

ex iis...annus] one of the royal huntsmen.

non sequebatur] ‘it (the leg) would not come away’. Compare Virgil Aen vi 146 (of the golden bough) carpe manu, namque ipse volens facilisque sequatur.

§ 33. institit] ‘went on to’. Compare institit quaeerere in iv 7 § 27, vi 7 § 25.

inde] of time, as in 10 § 22.
subinde] over and over again. Diodorus says ἐπεμεν ἡσυχὴν καὶ οὐκ ὀλγον.

[in] illis] in is bracketed by Mützell, following Halm.

§ 34. transcribo] ‘copy’ out of the books of other authors into my own.

adfirmare] ‘guarantee’.


§ 35. Hypasin] Strabo and Diodorus call the river Τπανις, Arrian Υφαίας. Pliny agrees with the above spelling supported by the MSS of Curtius. Mützell compares the Sanskrit form of the name Υφανσα.

Hephaestion] Diodorus XVII 93 ἀμα δὲ τοῦτοι πραττομένοι ἤκεν Πολοιτίων μετὰ τῆς συναπεσταλμένης δυνάμεως πολλῆς τῆς Ἰνδικῆς καταπέταλωμικῆς. In 91 he tells us that the expedition had been directed against the younger Porus, a statement found also in Arrian V 21 § 5. Curtius treats this as merely a subordinate operation to the main campaign, and such indeed it is.

diversam regionem] a district in another direction.

§ 36. Phegeus etc] Diodorus XVII 93 has this in almost the very same words.

iussis] this is probably no more than Curtius’ way of accounting for a circumstance which he found somehow mentioned in his authorities, and the bearing of which he did not fully understand. See on VIII 12 § 12.

CHAPTER II.

§ 1. superare] Ritter and Thirlwall argue that this crossing took place below the junction of the Hypasis (Beyas) with the Ησυδρος (Sutlej), because the mention of deserts to the east is only true of the part more to the south. Pratt quotes from Elphinstone’s Čaubil to the same effect. See on VIII 9 § 8. Diodorus says XVII 93 τὸν Τπανιν ποταμόν, οὗ τὸ μὲν πλάτος ἡν σταδίων ἐπτα τὸ δὲ βάθος εἶ ὀργυνῶ τὸ δὲ βέμα σφοδρὰν καὶ ὑδαίνατον, and we learn from Strabo XV I §§ 17, 27 that this part of the campaign fell in the rainy season. See on VIII 13 § 8.

non spatio... etc] the construction is changed suddenly, for non spatio has sed ineditum parallel to it. spatio is an ablative of cause.

§ 2. XI diemum] So Diodorus goes on ἀκοῦσας δὲ τοῦ Φηγεως περὶ τῆς πέραν τοῦ Ἰνδοῦ ποταμοῦ [?] τοῦ ποταμοῦ simply] χώρας ὡδε ἡμερῶν ἐξει διδον ἔρημον, μετὰ δὲ ταύτην εἶναι ποταμον τὸν ὄνοματιν Τίγγανιν, τὸ μὲν πλάτος τράκουντα καὶ δυὸι σταδίων τὸ δὲ βάθος μεγαστον τῶν κατὰ τὴν Ἰνδικήν, ... etc. But Arrian V 25 § 1 says τὰ δὲ δὴ πέραν τοῦ Υφασίας ποταμοῦ εὐδαίμονα τῆς χώρας εἶναι ἐξηγηγελλετο... etc.


§ 3. ulterior etc] Diodorus goes on πέραν δὲ τοῦτον κατοικεῖν τὸ τε τῶν Πραισίων καὶ Γανδারιῶν ἔθνους, τούτων δὲ βασιλεύειν Σανδράμην, ἕχοντα δισμυρίους μὲν ἰππεῖς πεζῶν δὲ εἰκοσὶ μυρίαδας ἀρμάτα δὲ δισχίλια
Q. CURTI RUFU HIST. ALEX. [IX 2

εὐφαντος ἃ τολεμίκως κεκοσμημένους τετρακασιχίους. The names of the nations mentioned are according to Captain Wilford (quoted by Pratt) merely corruptions of Indian names denoting the peoples to the eastward generally. See however McCrindle pp. 9, 57, 134, who also identifies Aggrammes with the famous Sandrokottos (Chandragupta) who drove the Greeks out of India about 312 B.C.

obsidientem vias] that is, he had so many in the field (as we now say 'mobilized') to hold the approaches to his country.


§ 5. incredibilia etc] this account is almost word for word the same as that of Diodorus XVII 93.

cum eo] that is, cum Poros.

§ 6. haud falsō iactari] were not falsely represented by report, that is, were not exaggerated.

ignobilem] compare Horace sat. I 6 9 ante poststatem Tulli atque ignobile regnum. For the sense of this passage see appendix D (f).

ultimae sortis] 'of the meanest condition'. Compare III 2 § 11 igitur et suae sortis et regiae superbiae oblitus, Horace carm. IV 11 22 non tuae sortis (puella), Liv. epit. 19 sortis ultimae hominem.

propulsantem] 'staving off' hunger by his daily earnings. That is, living from hand to mouth.

§ 7. in propiorem etc] he had been advanced to a higher place in the confidence of the reigning monarch. propiorem = nearer, more intimate.

qui tum regnasset] 'who had then been king' = 'who was then on the throne'.

cum] the king his master.

per insidias] treacherously. Compare 7 § 16, and see Kennedy § 70.

liberum] the regular form of the genitive of this word.

qui nunc regnar] this is put in as a dependent clause in the oratio obliqua, but constructed as though meant to represent the very words of the speaker. So we have dum est 10 § 21 in a clause really dependent on voluisse just above.

invisum etc] Diodorus says εὐτελὴν παντελῶς καὶ ἀδόξον.

vilem] compare Livy II 41 § 8 villior civibus 'cheaper in his fellow-citizens' eyes'.

memorem] that is, he rather 'took after' his father (a low adventurer) than conducted himself as one born to a throne (as Porus himself was).

§ 8. multiplicem etc] caused the king manifold anxiety. That is, made him feel anxious on many grounds.

spennebat] see § 21.

situm locorum] the lie of the ground, that is, the natural obstacles that would present themselves to an invader.

vim fluminum] this would probably be the main difficulty with
which he would have to contend: et therefore should be taken (as kai often in Greek) = ‘and in particular’.

§ 9. relegatos etc] ‘to follow up and unearth men removed almost to the uttermost bound of the world seemed too hard a task’. Compare V 5 § 14 of the Greek prisoners in Persia, procul Europa in ultima orientis relegati, Cic Tusc II § 20 non saecu terris gens relegata ultinis. In these passages all notion of banishment has disappeared.

eruere] compare 3 § 8.

rursus] ‘on the other hand’.

avaritia gloriae] compare Horace de arte poet 3.4 (Grais) praeter laudem nullins avaris.

insatiabilis etc] Alexander’s ambition is proverbial.

§ 10. tot spatia terrarum] ‘all those broad lands’. Compare IV 14 § 7 tot terrarum spatia emensis, and see below on 4 § 19.

senes] Mitzell remarks that this would be literally applicable to the old soldiers of Philip who had accompanied Alexander into Asia, but that it must really refer to the Macedonian troops generally who were for the most part men sent afterwards to reinforce the army. Of such it could only be said in a figurative sense, which is well illustrated by 3 § 10. senes facti means in truth little more than ‘worn out’. See on 3 § 5.

difficultates] ‘difficulties’ of nature, such as mountains rivers storms floods heat cold etc. Compare for the use of word as concrete VII 11 § 17 per has tamen difficultates enimuntur in verticem montis.

parta frui] praedia, that is, ‘Overflowing and laden with booty, they would rather (he judged) enjoy what they had won than wear themselves out by getting more’. We find also frui parto (neuter) in much the same sense. See Virgil georg 1.300.

velle etc] these infinitives depend on the notion ‘he thought’ easily to be supplied from what precedes. See Madvig § 403 a.

§ 11. non idem animi esse] ‘his men were not of the same mind as himself’. For the construction compare VIII 8 § 19 quem, si Macedo esset, tecum introduxissem,........nunc Olymtho non idem iniris est.

mente complexum] had grasped in mind, ‘formed the conception’ of universal empire.

adhuc] in silver-age Latin this word means not only ‘hitherto’, but also ‘even’, ‘still’. Compare 3 § 13.

primordio] at the first beginning. Curtius uses the word again 6 § 17.

§ 12. ergo] ‘so then’. The particle refers back to the end of § 9.

ad hunc maxime modum] ‘very much to this effect’. maxime is often used like the Greek μάλιστα as ‘about’, ‘pretty much’, and more particularly with numerals.

dissertuit] he who will compare the following brilliant speech with
the wearisome harangue supplied to his readers by Arrian v 25, 26, will see
the great superiority of Curtius both in imagination and expression.

*per hos dies* 'during these last days'. That is, the two days of rest and
part of the day on which he is speaking. See § 1.

is perhaps also the meaning in 9 § 11, but the common one is
'unexpected', 'unforeseen'.

*vanitas* falsehood, lying. So below § 17. See Holden on Cic de
off iii § 58.

*fauces* these are the 'gates' (πόλαι) or 'passes' from Cilicia into
Syria. See iii 4 §§ 11, 12 Alexander fauces ingi, quae Pylae appellatur,
intravit. contemptus locorum situm non alias magis dicitur admiratus
esse felicitatem suam: obvii potuisse vel saxis confitebatur, si fuissent qui
in subicentes propellerent. iter vix quaternos capiebat armatos: dorsum
montis inminebat viae non angustae modo sed plerumque praeruptae,
crebris oberrantibus rivos, qui ex radicibus montium manant. This was on
the way to the battle of Issus.

campo] where the battle of Gaugamela or Arbela was fought.

*vado] namely the Tigris, of which Curtius says iv 9 § 15 faucos
equillum ad templandum vadium fiiminis praemisit.

*ponte] namely the Euphrates, of which he says iv 9 § 12 ad Euphra-
tem pervenit quo pontibus inuncto...etc.

§ 14. *ad liquidum*] to the clear, to clearness. That is, to a state of
transparency so that one can look through and see what the fact is which
underlies these obscure and distorted statements. Compare Velleius
1 16 § 1 res ad liquidum ratione producta, Quintilian v 14 § 28.

illa tradent] when she hands them on, that is, when she is the
medium through which they are conveyed.

cum sit ex solido] 'though resting on a real foundation'. That is,
a foundation of fact. Compare solidius viii 14 § 46, and Virgil Aen xi
426, 427, multos alterna revisens iuitit et in solido rursus fortuna locavit.

*nominis quam operis*] here we have probably no more than an
attempt to express the common Greek antithesis between ὑπόμα and
ἐγών, 'name' and 'reality'.

§ 15. *sustineri*] compare § 22, ix 5 § 18.

§ 16. *amentorum*] cattle. See viii 12 § 11. The word is con-
ected with the root of ἄρο.

difficilis] Strabo however xv 1 § 42 says 'and they are seldom
hard to tame; for they are naturally of a mild and gentle disposition, so
as closely to resemble a rational animal (λογικῷ ἥφῳ)'.

§ 17. *nam flumen* etc] the connexion of the sense seems to be this.
[The other obstacles are exaggerated, and so is the breadth of the rivers:
but this even if taken for granted would afford no proof of their being
hard to cross] 'For a river' etc. Alexander seems to be pointing out
that the croakers have for once overshot their mark.
§§ 12—25]  

NOTES.  

spatio aevi] by reason of the breadth of channel, that is, when the channel is broad.

§ 18.  
in ripa] emphatic.

§ 19.  
sed...singamus] 'but suppose for the sake of argument that all those stories are true'. Compare Juvenal II 111 sed tu vera puta.

praecus] 'before our eyes'. That is, in the battle with Porus.

§ 20.  

declinari in fugam] 'turn themselves away into flight' = 'swerve aside and fly'. See 4 § 20.

§ 21.  
eliidunt] 'squeeze out', 'nip': hence 'hamper'.

inhabiles] for the matter see VIII 14 § 18.

oposserim] did not set them in line.

§ 22.  
at enim] as usual, introducing an objection to be immediately answered. Madvig § 437 c, Kennedy § 79, 6 b.

paucis] emphatic.

enim] ironical.

sustinebitis] endure, support, 'bear the shock of'.

§ 23.  
invicti] goes with adversus multitudinem. 'Unconquered in fighting against odds'. But the battle of the Granicus was not a striking instance of this.

Cilicia] this refers to the battle of Issus, in which according to Curtius III 11 § 27 Darius lost 110,000 men.


Arbela, cuinis] yet Arbela is neuter plural.

ossibus strati] Compare the description of the finding the remains of the army of Varus, Tacitus ann 1 61.

§ 24.  
solitudinem etc] 'now that you have depopulated Asia by your conquests'. Compare Tacitus Agr 30 (of Roman conquest) ubi solitudinem faciunt, pacem appellant.

§ 25.  
illi turbae] that crowd, 'a throng like that' of Scythians Bactrians etc. turba, as in § 22, is contemptuous, and denotes mere numbers as opposed to effective strength. See III 3 § 27 (of the Macedonian army) agmen et stare paratum et sequi, nec turba nec sarchinis praegrave.

gesturus sum] 'I mean to do'.

vadem praedemque] 'bail and surety'. vas was a surety in general, and particularly for the appearance of a person to answer a criminal charge. praes was a surety in civil matters, such as the disputed possession of land; he would guarantee that the property should not be damaged before the right of ownership was settled. Ausonius idyll 12
quis subit in poenam capitali iudicio? vis. quid si sis fuerit nummaria, quis dabitur? praes.

mei] for this use of the genitive see Madvig § 297 b obs. 2. Mützell remarks that the opposition is brought out more strongly thus than if he had written meos.


§ 26. in limine ‘on the threshold’, that is, just about to begin. Compare vi 3 § 17. in ipso limine victoriae stamnus. Arrian v 26 § 6 makes him say _δεις_ dē καὶ τὰ ἐπὶ ὑπόλοιπα τῆς Ἀσίας πρῶσθετε τοῖς ἵδη κεκτημένοις καὶ τὰ δίκαια τοῖς πολλοῖς.

solis ortum] see on 4 § 18.

oceanim] see 4 § 17. Arrian v 26 § 1 makes him say that it is not far to the Ganges and the Eastern sea, which the Hyrcanian sea (Caspiam) will be found to join, ἐκπεριβρεχεταί ὑπὲρ ἄνω περὶ πάσαν ἡ μεγάλη θάλασσα. See on 3 § 14.

fine terrarum] Arrian v 26 § 2 makes him say that after a voyage pretty well round the earth they will have as theirs all Africa and Asia, καὶ ὅροι τῆς τὰῦτῃ ἀρχῆς οὐστερ καὶ τῆς γῆς ὄρους ὁ θεός ἐποίησε.

§ 27. dicere et inbellis] a statement made merely to entice his hearers on.

§ 28. _per vos_ etc] _vos_ does not go with _per_, but follows _oro_ quaesoque below. _per_ governs the gloriam and meritam by which he is adjuring them. For this order of words compare vi 8 § 16 _per_ ego _vos_ decorum maiorum... _oro_ et obtestor, Horace Carm 1 8. Sometimes the verbs of entreaty are left out, to be supplied in sense, as iv 14 § 24 _per_ ego _vos_ deos patrios aeternunque ignem...zindicabtur ab ultimo dedecore nomen gentemque Persarum.


invicti] we adhere to the old reading. Compare vii io § 8 si quis ipsos beneficio quam iniuria experiri malnissel, certaturos suisse ne vincenretur officio. Vogel adds Cic pro Mil § 96. There is a similar expression in Greek. Plut Alex 59 illustrates it well.

§ 29. nihil numquam praecipi. quin] for _quin_ —in such a way that not—‘without’ see Madvig 440 a obs. 3, and below 9 § 23.

infrexeritis etc] ‘do not break the palm already in my grasp’, that is, do not break off my hitherto unbroken career of victory. Mützell compares Seneca Phoenissae 536 foll _exultes liecit victorique fratris spolia delecti geras; frangenda palma est._

si invidia afterit] _ei_ ἀνεπιφθον _eipteiv_, ‘if I may speak thus without incurring the ill-will of heaven’.

§ 30. _pulsu_ ‘knock at’. Compare Claudian de bell Getico 625 _pulsaretque tuas nihilatus coningis aures._

§ 31. tacere perseverarent] ‘still suppressed what they felt’. _taceo _is used of keeping back something: compare vi 10 § 35 _si et quem indicamus invisit et quem tacemos suspecti sumus, quid facere nos optaret?_
The use of the word to denote (as here) the suppression of a feeling is particularly elegant. Compare Virgil Aen IV 67 *tacetum vivit sub spectore volvis*.

*deliqui etc*] 'I must have inadvertently given you some offence, that you will not even look at me'.

*quod...vultis*] this clause with *quod* is not dependent on the leading proposition, but rather contains the circumstance that suggested that proposition. The argument then is 'as to (the circumstance of) your being unwilling to look at me, [I infer that] I must have offended you'. See Madvig 398 b obs 2, and compare Virgil Aen II 180, 181 *etquodpatrasventopetiereMycenas,arma deemqueparantcomites*. Munro's note on Lucretius IV 885 will supply ample information on this point.

*in solitudine*] compare 4 § 33.

*non saltem negat*] 'no one so much as refuses', that is, to go on with me. *saltem* is used in silver-age Latin after a negative in much the same way as *quidem*. Here he might have written *nemo ne negat quidem*. See Quintil I 1 §§ 24, 31, 2 § 16.

§ 32. *quos adloquor*] that is, are you some strangers?

*quid autem postulo?*] that is, am I claiming something utterly absurd and beyond bearing? *postulo = âœ...âœ*. *autem = 'aye, and', does not set aside what goes before. See Madvig § 437 b.

*vestram*] emphatic.

*vindicamus*] note the plural 'that we are upholding'. For *vindico* compare X 7 § 15 in cadem domo familiaque imperii vires remansuras esse gaudebat: hereditarium imperium stirpem regiam vindicaturam: adsetos esse nomen ipsum colere veneraque, nec quemquam id capere nisi genitum ut regnaret, Caesar bell gall VII 76.

*vulnerati*] perhaps this refers to the wound in VIII 10 §§ 27—30.

*hostibus deditus*] this, the most stinging expression of the three, because most clearly implying the agency of the army, is carefully reserved to the end of the sentence. Compare Cic pro Sulla § 79 obieere invidiae, dedere suspicitioni.

§ 33. *gentibus, quarum etc*] see 2 § 3.

*nomina*] the mere names. Compare IV 12 § 9 Indi ceterique rubri maris accoleae, nominam verius quam auxilia, post currus erant, Tacitus hist IV 14 attestarent tantum oculos et inania legionum nomina ne paveserent.

*erunt mecum etc*] compare Caesar bell gall I 40 *quod si praetereca nemo sequatur, tamen se cum sola decima legione iturum, de qua non dubitaret, sibique cas praeoriam cohortem futuram*.

§ 34. *precario etc*] to be commander on sufferance. Compare X 2 § 15 *palam certe rupistis imperium, et precario rex sum*, Tacitus Agr 16 *Trebellius fuga ac latebris vituta exercitus ira indecorus atque humillis precario mox praefuit*.

*deserto rege etc*] Arrian V 28 § 2 says that after Coenus had spoken
Alexander broke up the meeting and on the morrow assembled them again and 
and autós µὲν ἔθη τοῦ πρᾶσον, μίασσεν τι δὲ οὔδενα ἀκοντα
Μακεδόνων εὐκατασταί: ἔξειν γὰρ τοὺς ἀκολούθουσας τῷ βασιλεῖ σφῶν
ἐκοντα: τοῖς δὲ καὶ ἀπεινά ὀικάδο ἐθέλουσιν ὑπάρχειν ἀπεινά καὶ ἐξαγ-
 γέλλειν τοῖς οἰκεῖοι ὅτι τῶν βασιλέα σφῶν ἐν μέσοι τῶν πολεμίως ἐπανή-
kousin ἀπολύτουν.

a vosib etc] 'for the victory that you have given us hope of'. locum
inveniam goes somewhat awkwardly with this, but is natural enough
with morti.

CHAPTER III.

§1. expectabant ut etc] this construction is rare, but found in
Caesar bell civ 1 66 neque expectant ut de eorum imperio ad populum
seratur. Render 'wait for'.

perferreit etc] 'report [the news] that'. The construction is like
that with nuntio (see VIII 14 §1) and other words.

illi] that is, the duces præcipientes.

§2. sua sponte] 'of its own accord', that is, no one knew how.

liberius] compare VI 2 §4 secessio militum et liberior inter mutuis
querellas dolor.

erigo] to raise itself, arise.

temperare oculis] to refrain from tears. Compare Livy xxi 22.

§3. propius tribunal] compare VII 7 §9 propius ipsum considere
amicos inbet, and see Madvig §172 part III obs 4.

§5. tum Coenus] this speech put into the mouth of Coenus has a
peculiar literary interest beyond the ordinary run of orations written for
their leading characters by the rhetorical historians of antiquity. In the
remaining works of the elder Seneca we have a suasoria or hortatory
oration (see Mayor on Juvenal I 16) on this very subject, in which are
arranged all the telling sentences that some of the most famous Roman
rhetoricians could compose to suit the situation. The remarkable
parallels found in this collection to the present speech of Curtius illus-
trate in a very striking way the artificial nature of these harangues, and
shew what a vast amount of labour this spirited and polished specimen
probably took to produce. The corresponding speech in Arrian v 27,
though less pointed than that in Curtius, is more natural and easy, and
certainly far superior to that put into the mouth of Alexander. See
appendix A.

inpias mentes] 'disloyal thoughts'. So Virgil georg I 51I Mars
inpius, Aen VI 612 arma impia, speaking of civil wars.

profecto] one may be sure, 'assuredly'. For the general form of the
sentence compare V 8 §9 dignissimi quibus, si ego non possim, dui pro me
gratiam referant, et mehercule referant.

idem animus etc] Arrian v 27 §4 on the contrary ἀληγώ ἐκ πολ-
λῶν ὑπολειπονται, καὶ οὗτοι σωμαῖν ἐτῆ ὕσαυτῶς ἐρρωμένοι, ταῖς τε
γνῶμαις πολὺ ἐτῆ μᾶλλον προκεκμηκότες.
NOTES.

Animus est...ire] compare Virgil Aen iv 639 perficere est animus, Horace epod xvi 17—21 nulla sit hac potior sententia...ire pedes quo-cunque ferent.

commendare etc] 'to give your name in keeping to after ages'. Compare Cic ad fam x i2.

posteritatis] Ovid heroid xvi 374 nomen ab aeterna posteritate foras.

proinde] 'so then'.

exangues] Lucan i 343 (of the veterans of Caesar) conferet exanguis quo se post bella senectus? Sallust Cat 39 § 4, Cic pro Sest § 24.

§ 6. auspiciium] a very Roman notion, which comes again 6 § 9, vi 3 § 2 (enumerating a list of conquests) quorum alia dux meo, alia in- perio auspicioque perdomui. See Horace carm 1 7 27, iv 14 33, Suetonius Aug 21, Tacitus ann ii 41.

§ 7. inplevimus] 'have filled up the measure of'. The metaphor is shewn by capere (χωρίν) 'to contain'. Compare Tacitus Agr 44 vera bona, quae in virtutibus sita sunt, inpleverat.

§ 8. fine] Tacitus Agr 33 nec inglorium fuerit in ipso terrarum ac naturae fine cecidisse. See also 4 § i8 below.

eruerex expetis] Curtius uses this construction elsewhere. Compare vi ii § ii dicturum se quae scire expetere pollicetur. See Munro on Lucr i 418.

sol] see on 4 § 18.

victoria lustres] 'may traverse as conqueror'. Compare Virgil Aen iv 607 sol qui terrarum flammis opera omnia lustras.

§ 9. in incremento erit] 'will be ever growing'. Compare iv 2 § 21 molis, eurus incrementum cos antea fefellerat.

§ 10. putria] this word seems to mean 'broken', 'cloven', that is, cut up with badly-healed or sloughing wounds. In Livy xxi 37 (of Hannibal's passing the Alps) we are told ardenti aequa saxa infuso aceto putrificatum: the same operation is spoken of by Juvenal x 153 didicit scopulos et montem rumpit aceto, and Pliny xxiii § 57 uses rumpit in the same way of the effect of vinegar on rocks; while in Virgil Aen ix 432 we have (ensis) candida pectora rumpit.

iam tela etc] so Diodorus xvii 94 says of the army καὶ τῶν μὲν ἵππων διὰ τὴν συνέχειαν τῆς ὀδοποιίας τὰς ὁπλὰς υποτετριβοῦντα συνέβαινε, τῶν δὲ ὀπλῶν τά πλείοντα κατεξάνθαι καὶ τῶν μὲν Ἐλληνικῶν ἰματισμῶν ἐκλεκτό- πεναι συναναγκαζόσθαι δὲ βαρβαρίκους υφάσματα χρησάναι, συντεμόντας τὰ τῶν Ἰταλῶν περιβάλλοντα.

tela...arma] offensive and defensive respectively.

subvehri] cannot be brought up to supply us. sub conveys the notion of 'up' to the place required.

degeneravimus] so viii 5 § 14 in peregrinos externosque ritus degenerare.

§ 11. quam multos] that is, how few. The slaves had taken every opportunity of escaping.

laboramus] are straitened, in difficulties. Compare i § 5.
§ 12. *nudum*] a supply of arms soon came; see § 21.

*ut augeant*] for *ut* concessive see Madvig § 449 a obs 4, and compare 4 § 18, 6 § 6 below.

*intellego*] Coenus speaks in his own person as in § 15.

§ 13. *ad hue*] 'still further'.

*decurrere*] compare 4 § 2.

§ 14. *hic quoque*] that is, it is not necessary to cross India to find the ocean. See on 2 § 26.

*errare*] to go wandering about.

§ 15. *nonnulli* etc] Arrian v 27 § 2 makes Coenus say *œiœ uπêr tauτh(ς της στρατιᾶς της πολλῆς) τα καθ' ήδωνιν ἐκεῖνοι ἑρώ, ἄλλ' ἀ νομίζω ἄμφορα... etc.

§ 16. *pluratu* etc] Arrian v 28 § 1 τοιαυ' α εἰπόντοι τοι Κοίνων θόρυβον γενέσθαι εκ των παρόντων ἐπὶ τοῖς λόγοις. πολλοίς δὲ δὴ καὶ δακρύντη προχύνεται ἐτι μᾶλλον ὑφλάδαι τὸ τε ἀκούσαν τῆς γραφῆς ἐς τοὺς πρὸσων κυνόνων καὶ τὸ καθ' ἡδωνιν σφισαν εἰναι τὴν ἀναχώρησιν.

§ 17. *excusatio*] 'begging off' further campaigning.

§ 18. *potest* etc] 'could not have chidden them for their stubbornness'. That is, the feeling of the army was so strong and unanimous that he could not see his way to giving them a lecture on their misbehaviour.

*obstinentor*] compare 2 § 30.

*itaque* etc] Arrian v 28 §§ 1—3 'Αλέξανδρος δὲ τότε μὲν ἀθεσθεὶς τοῦ τε Κοίνων τῆς παρρησίας καὶ τῶν δικών τῶν ἄλλων ἡγεμόνων διέλυσε τῶν εὐλογοτος (on the morrow he spoke as quoted above on 2 § 34) ταυτ' εἰπόντα ἄπέλευθι εἰς τὴν σκηνήν, ὑπὸ τινὰ τῶν ἐταῖρων προσέσθαι αὐτῆς τε ἐκείνης τῆς ἔμερας καὶ ἐς τὴν τρίτην ἐτε ἀπὶ εἰκείνης. Diodorus XVII 94 says that Alexander tried to reconcile his soldiers to a further march by giving up the rich river valley-lands to plunder; after which he addressed them in a set speech, but found the Macedonians immoveable, and so abandoned his project.

§ 19. *irae*] Arrian v 28 § 3 says that he was not merely angry but waiting for the chance of a change in the minds of the men, which however did not take place.

*erigique* etc] Arrian Diodorus and the rest give much the same account, the latter with more detail. Pliny N II vi § 62 says of the Hypasis *qui fuit Alexandri itinerum terminus, exspectato tamen amne arisque in adversa ripa dicatis*. This statement is not supported by any other writer, and from what we know of the tendency of the Panjáb rivers to destroy their banks and change their channels we can hardly expect that the research of travellers will ever settle the point. The account of Pliny is probable enough and is not contradicted.

*extendi*] 'to be drawn out wide'. Compare Ovid metam 1 43 *inssit et extendi campos (deus)*. The lines were to be on a larger scale than ordinary.
fallax miraculum] so Plutarch Alex 62 says πολλὰ πρὸς ἰδιαν ἀπατηλά καὶ σφοδρά κινηματώμενον.


Coenus] Arrian’s account makes Coenus die by the Hydaspes not at the Acesines, V 29 § 3, VI 2 § 1.

mortē] ‘at’ or ‘by reason of’ the death of Coenus. The use of the ablative here is very remarkable; in IV 10 § 30 we have ingemnisse etiam Alexandrum morti ‘over the death’.

propert paucos dies etc] paucos and longan are in emphatic opposition to each other. ‘That it was but for the sake of a few days that he had opened a long-winded speech as though he alone were destined to see Macedonia again’. visurus = ἐπομένος ‘to live to see’. Arrian V 27 § 6 makes Coenus use the word ἐπισέδων.

§ 21. in aqua stabat] ‘was riding [at moorings] in the stream’. Compare 9 § 19. That is, it was completed and ready for service. Diodorus also says that it was in the Acesines, Arrian with much more probability that it was in the Hydaspes. Arrian V 29 § 3 tells us that a city was founded on the Acesines.

inter hæc] = interea.

in supplementum etc] Diodorus XVII 95 κατὰ δὲ τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον ἤκου ἐκ τῆς Ἑλλάδος σύμμαχοι καὶ μισθοφόροι διὰ τῶν στρατηγῶν ἡγομένοι πεζοί μὲν πλέον τρισμιράν, ἵππεις δ᾽ ἐν πολύ λειτουρτες τῶν ἑκατσκυλῶν, ἐκομίσαντο καὶ ταῖς παισκυλαί διαπρεπεῖ Παρεόν μὲν διαμυρίοις καὶ πεντακυσχόλους, φαρμάκων δ᾽ ἰατρικῶν ἑκατῶν τάλαντα.

milibus] Madvig emends thus, remarking that arma = ‘suits of armour’, and that we ought thus to have armorum…caelatorum, but without any reference to the words of Diodorus, which so strongly support his view.

§ 22. mille] Diodorus also makes the total 1000. Arrian VI 2 § 4 says (following Ptolemy) that counting in all the smaller craft there were not far short of 2000, and in the Indica 19 § 7 he gives the total more precisely at 1800. There is however some doubt about the reading in these two passages.

discordesque et…retractantes] ‘disagreeing and raking up old-standing feuds’. The quo…et is one of the quasi-poetical mannerisms of Curtius, and = τε…καὶ in Greek.

Porum et Taxilen] Arrian speaking of the time just after the battle on the Hydaspes says (V 20 § 4) καὶ Ταξιλη ἐν διαλλάττει Πάρον καὶ Ταξιλην ἀποπέμπει ὀπίσω εἰς τὰ ἕθη τὰ αὐτοῦ. This may refer to the same circumstance.

firmatae…relinquit] the construction of relinquuit here with a genitive of quality following is very remarkable. See however note on VIII 10 § 24 obiecta est, and compare the passage quoted on § 23 dedicans, Horace sat 1 4 17, 18 di bene fecerunt inopis me quodque pusilli finxerunt animi, and see Madvig § 287. Render ‘left them with friendly relations
strengthened by a marriage alliance’. For the word adfinitatem see Holden on Cic de off 1 § 54, where a list of adfines is given.

§ 23. Nicæam] General Cunningham finds the site of this at Mong on the left or eastern bank of the Hydaspes. It will be remarked that Curtius speaks as though these towns were on the Acesines, yet he cannot have meant this as he makes the great battle (VIII 14) take place on the Hydaspes.

Bucephala] the name is given thus by Arrian and Diodorus, though the former makes it neuter plural, the latter feminine singular. Strabo and Plutarch call it Boukephala. General Cunningham finds the site of this place at Jalalpur on the right or western bank of the Hydaspes. For the death of Alexander’s favourite horse Bucephalus see VIII 14 § 34.

memoriae ac nomini] a hendiadys, ‘to commemorate’.

dedicans] ‘dedicating’ in the metaphorical sense in which the silver-age writers use the word. Compare Pliny N. II præf § 12 meae quidem teneeritati accessit hoc quoque, quod levioris operae hos tibi dedicavi libellos.

§ 24. elephi tis etc] this account is neither clear nor correct. We know from Arrian VI 2 § 2 that the bulk of the army marched along the banks of the river, Craterus commanding the division on the right bank, Hephaestion the larger one on the left bank: the elephants were with the latter. With this Diodorus XVII 96 agrees in general terms.

secundo amne] ‘down stream’, as we say. Compare 6 § 2, 8 § 3, 9 § 27, Virgil georg. III 447 missusque secundo defuit amni.

quadraginta stadia] that is, about 5 miles. Alexander did not hurry for the reason here given, that he might take every good opportunity of landing. This was not only for the benefit of the armament, but (as we learn from Arrian VI 4 § 2) to receive or compel the submission of the native tribes along the river. Strabo XV 1 § 17 following Aristobulus tells us that the voyage down to Patala at the head of the Indus delta took ten months.

exponi] disembarked, put ashore. See 9 § 11.

subinde] ‘from time to time’.

CHAPTER IV.

§ 1. committitur] ‘joins’, ‘falls into’. The words seem to imply that the Hydaspes was an affluent of the Acesines, and not vice versa, which we know from Arrian VI 1 § 5. It is to be remembered that Curtius supposes the fleet to have been built and the voyage begun on the Acesines. Compare VII 3 § 20 Taurus secundae magnitudinis mons committitur Caucaso. See below § 8.

§ 2. Siborum] Diodorus also calls them Σίβοι, but Arrian and Strabo have the form Σίβα. It is generally supposed that a tribe devoted to the worship of Siva are meant. See M’Crindle p 111 and VIII 14 § 11.
Hercules] this same story is preserved by Strabo xv i § 8, Diodorus xvii 96, Arrian Indica 5 § 12. The last cites it as an instance of the inventions that were occasioned by Alexander’s expedition. Hercules was generally represented with a lion’s skin and a club.

§ 4. hinc] from the land of Sibi. The word goes with excessit. We learn from Diodorus that the Sibi received Alexander kindly and that he in return treated them well.

§ 5. milia gens] the reading alia is found only in the Paris MS. It seems better to keep the old reading than to insert alia before gens and then to emend this assumed reading into Agalassaes as Vogel does in his text merely because Diodorus names the people thus xvii 96 kata-

λαβων ὲς τὸς ἐνομαξομένους Ὁ ἀγαλασσηὶς ἄθροικότας πεζοδ᾽ μὲν τετα-

κυμαρίον ἰπείς δὲ τραχιλιόν συνάψας αὐτῶις μάχην καὶ νικήσας τούς

μὲν πλείστους κατέκουσε τοὺς δὲ λαοὺς συμφυγόντας εἰς τὸς πλησίον

πόλεως ἐκτελοφικάς ἐξεφθαρενοῦσατο. We must observe that only one
gens (those of the regio and oppidum above) seem to be meant here.

fluminum] either the stream formed by the junction of the Hy-
daspes with the Acesines, or perhaps, the Hydaspes and some small
tributary stream (the name of which Curtius has not recorded) are
referred to.

quae] that is, the milia peditum.

amne] probably a tributary stream.

inclusive) that is the whole population, not merely the remains of the
milia peditum.

expugnati eos. For this word used with the people (not the place)
for its object see vi 6 § 25 ad expugnandos eos, qui edita montium occu-
paverant, rediv, Tacitus hist v 12, Agr 41.

§ 6. alteram...amisit] Diodorus xvii 96 says just the same.

sed...cremant] Diodorus says, ‘and having in his anger set fire to the
city he burnt in it most of the inhabitants: but some of the surviving
natives took refuge in the citadel and addressed him as suppliants,
bearing olive-branches. These he let go free, to the number of 3000’. The
account in Curtius is quite as probable as that in Diodorus, and
similar instances of desperation have been known in later times. But
it must be confessed that Curtius seems here to be straining after
effect.

§ 7. adeo etc] ‘so completely does war invert natural relations’. For
adeo = ‘so true is it that’, ‘so remarkably’, compare io § 30, Livy
praef § 11, 19, Quintilian xii ii § 16.

naturae iura] the natural rights or relations of men to each other,
or to some other object, as a person or place. Compare vii 8 § 28
quos vicem, amicos tibi esse cave credas: inter dominum et servum nulla
amicitia est: etiam in pace beli tamen iura servantur, where beli iura
= hostile relations. Compare § 10, io § 8.

§ 8. arx] emphatic. The town was burnt.
dereliquit] 'left behind'. The word generally means to abandon or forsake, and its use here is very strange.

circumvectus est] the geography of this passage is so utterly confused that it is well-nigh useless to attempt any rational explanation. How he can have sailed round the citadel strictly speaking is very hard to see; and we can only be certain that there is some confusion below between the two confl uences (a) of the Hydraspes and Acesines and (b) of the Acesines and Indus. Diodorus does not confuse these but makes the armament reach the former confluence before these operations and then sail on to the latter, XVII 97 autōs de pālin metā tōv φίλων ἐμβαίνει εἰς τὰς ναῦς δία τοῦ ποταμοῦ τῶν πλοῶν ἑποιεῖτο μέχρι τῆς συμβολῆς τῶν προειρημένων ποταμῶν καὶ τοῦ Ινδοῦ.

munimento] Curtius uses the singular of this word in the same sense 'line of fortification' as the plural. See VIII 2 § 20 fauces regionis qua in artissimum cogitandum valido munimento seperat, V 1 § 31.

a septentrione] the meaning of septentriones or septentrio is discussed by Conington on Virgil georg. III 381.

confunditur] 'unites with'. The notion of blending is more prominent in 9 § 7.

§ 9. coctus] the meeting (συμβολή) of the rivers.

multoque...cogitatur] 'and the navigable way is compressed into a narrow channel by mud banks kept continually shifting by the force of the meeting waters'.

turbatur] compare III 4 § 8 Cydnus non spatio aquarum sed liquore memorabilis: quippe leni tractu e fontibus labens puro solo excipitur, nec torrentes incurrint qui placide manantis alveum turbent.

meant] we are unable to follow Hedicke here in adopting the conjecture of Heinsius meatur navigiis. Compare Plin N II III § 53 meabilis.

§ 10. itaque etc] Arrian VI 4 §§ 4—5. § 3 gives a vivid and detailed account of this violent confluence (according to him that of the Hydraspes and Acesines), but says nothing of Alexander's personal danger. In this however as in other respects the account of Diodorus XVII 97 agrees with that of Curtius. The story of Alexander's upset was probably preserved in some accounts of the incident and Curtius has of course eagerly seized upon it as affording a more dramatic situation for the display of his rhetorical powers.

hinc...hinc] occurring twice here close together should perhaps be taken as 'partly'... 'partly', 'both'... 'and' in both places. See on VIII 13 § 11. But it is true that hinc prorsus hinc latera may be rendered (beating) 'from the one side on the prows, from the other on the broadsides of the vessels'.

sublineare velo] to furl or take in sail. The expression is found also in the account of the Alexandrine war 45.

meta] the MSS give eten. Of the various readings proposed we prefer this of Junius accepted by Müttell, who well refers to the words 9 § 15 which occur in a passage descriptive of a similar scene of confusion.
occupatur] are forestalled: that is, their own flurry and the speed of the current prevented them from executing their orders in time. We may render ‘are hindered’. For the sense of occupare compare 5 § 24, and for celeritate VIII 14 § 19.

§ 11. in oculis] = εν διμασαιν ‘before the eyes of’.

maiora] Diodorus says δύο μακρὰν ναῦσ. Arrian explains that the shorter and rounder vessels came off safe and sound, while the longer vessels came off badly for the most part, and two sank in consequence of a collision. See below 9 § 2.

cum et ipsa etc] ‘though they too were unmanageable’. Arrian tells us VI 5 § 1 that the sailing-masters so soon as they saw the rapids near at hand called on their men to row hard in order to keep some steerage-way on the vessels in the whirling current ahead of them. Curtius implies (and so does Arrian) that any efforts of this kind were not wholly successful.

innoxia] ‘unhurt’. This passive use is not uncommon in the writers of the silver age. Compare Lucan 1x 892 (gens) a saevo serpentum innoxia morsu.

expulsa sunt] εξέπεσε, says Diodorus.

§ 12. amici......nabunt] so says Diodorus, and it is a touch that makes one suspect him as well as Curtius of having made the most of the danger.

§ 13. ergo] seeing the danger threatening from both sides, that is, in either case.


concitant] the crew, that is.

everberarentur] ‘might be beaten out’, that is, forced to give place by the impulse of the vessel’s bow. In fact they rowed their very hardest in order to get some steerage-way on the ship even at the eleventh hour. Compare IV 3 § 18 (at the siege of Tyre) tandem remis pertinacius everberatum mare veluti eripientibus navigia classicis cessit, expulsa sunt litor, lacerata pleraque.


inilittus] ex τῆν γῆν εξέπεσε, says Diodorus.

bellum etc] this is sad stuff indeed. Some take ergo to refer back to this.

sacrificio] Diodorus says that he compared this affair to Achilles’ struggle with the river in Iliad XXI. σωθεὶς δὲ παραδόξως τοῖς θεῖοι ἐθυσιν ὡς μεγίστους ἐκπεφευγὼς κυδίνους κεῖ τρός ποταμὸν ὁμοίως Αχιλλεῖ διαγγυςάμενος. It is possible. But it is very doubtful whether any echo of this statement, however faint, is to be found in cum annui bellum etc.

§ 15. Sudracarum] we have here retained the form found in the MSS and supported by Justin XII 9 § 3. The Greek writers generally call them Oxydrakae. From Strabo XV 1 § 33 we learn that they lay
to the south of the tribes between the Indus and Hydaspes. Meineke’s
text there has Συόδάκαι.

Mallorum] this tribe were neighbours of the Sudraeae, and their
chief town seems to have occupied the site of the present Multan. See
below on 8 § 3.

alias......iunxerat] Diodorus XVII 98 says the same, and adds that
they soon got to loggerheads again and never fought together against
Alexander.

nonaginta etc] Diodorus says ‘more than 80000 infantry, 10000
cavalry and 700 chariots’.

§ 16. integrum] a war, that is, no part of which had been got over.
ferocissimis] the most high-spirited nations. Arrian Diodorus and
Plutarch all use the epithet μάχιμος of them, and Strabo calls them
μεγάλη ἥθυν.

§ 17. transmittere] to let go by, hence to ‘give up’. In silver-age
Latin we find many of these pregnant words used with a certain arch-
ness. Compare Tacitus hist IV 9 cam sententiam modestissimus quisque
silentio deinde oblivio transmisit: fuere qui et meminissent, also I 13,
and Juvenal VII 190 exempla novorum fatorum transi, also III 114, X
273, VI 602. Render ‘though he had been driven to give up the river
Ganges and the regions beyond, he had not ended the war but only
shifted it’.

§ 18. extra sidera] outside the range of the constellations they had
been used to see in their own zone. Curtius is in this place probably
thinking of Virgil Aen VI 794—796 (of Augustus) super et Garamantias
et Indos profecer imperium—iaeet extra sidera tellus, extra anni solisque
vias, with which Georg I 231—251 should be compared.

novis......existere] perhaps Curtius has in his head the story of the
serpent’s teeth and Jason; perhaps even the very lines of Ovid heroid
XII (Medea Jasoni) occurred to him, as for instance 45—47 semina
praeterea populos genitura inueris spargere devota lata per arva manu,
qui penterent secum natis tua corpora telis, and 95, 96 arva venenatis
pro semine dentibus imples: nascitur et gladios sentuque miles
habet.

identidem] ‘over and over again’. The word should be taken
closely with novis. ‘New enemies were ever springing up with arms

existere] for the word compare Lucretius II 871 quippe videre licet
vivos existere vermes sterecore de taetra.

quad...manere] for these questions in oratio oblique see Madvig
§ 405 a.

caliginem] there was a very old notion that to go far on the earth
would surely land the voyager at length in a region of eternal darkness.
Racine (Alexandre V 1) imitating the present passage says des déserts que
le ciel refuse d’éclairer, où la nature semble elle-même expirer.

perpetuam] continuous, ‘unbroken’.
NOTES.

incubantem] compare Virgil Aen 1 88, 89 eripiant subito nubes caelumque diemque Tucorum ex oculis; posto nox incubat atra.

beluaram] compare Horace carm iii 27 26, 27 scateniern beluis potum.

inmobilis undas] one of the fabled marvels of distant seas. Compare Tacitus Agr 10 sed mare pigrum et grave remigantibus perhibent ne ventis quidem perinde attollit; credo quod variiores terrae montesque, causa ac materia tempestatum, et profunda moles continui maris tardius impellit.

defecerit] for this expression and indeed for the whole of § 18 compare the suasoria of Seneca spoken of on 3 § 5 above, and printed in appendix A. We may render ‘gave way in despair’ or ‘broke down’. See below 6 § 20 alicam naturam, and 9 § 4.

§ 19. nihil deinde etc] ‘after that there was nothing in their way beside these tribes’. The deinde means ‘after the conquest of the tribes spoken of’, and praeter has gentes is really superfluous.

terrarum spatia] the breadth of the lands, that is, the distance from the place where they stood to the great sea or oceanus.

§ 20. cessisse etc] possibly a se should be inserted before illis; anyhow it must be mentally supplied, and it may easily have fallen out after the last syllable of the preceding infinitive. But in 6 §§ 6, 26 we have similar omissions of the pronoun; so too in other writers, as Sallust Cat 31 § 7. ‘He had given way to their fears of the Ganges and the numerous peoples beyond the river’. For cedere=‘to give way’ compare x 7 § 18 (precari) ut absisterent bello regique et pluribus cederent.

§ 21. iam...maris] this high-flown stuff utterly spoils the picture and betrays the artificial nature of the whole paragraph. For auram maris see 9 § 3.

Herculis...terminos] Virgil Aen vi 801—805 nec vero Alcides tantum telluris obivit, fixerit aeripedem cercum licet aut Erymanthi pacarit nemora et Lornam tremefecerit aren, nec qui pampineis victor inga flectit habenis Liber agens celso Nysae de vertice tigris.

§ 22. seditionis......maiora sunt] we can render best by changing the metaphor slightly ‘the means of quenching a mutiny are less important than the first sparks’. For the sense compare Ovid remedia amoris 91, 92 principis obsta: sero medicina paratur cum mala per longas convaluer moras.

§ 23. alacer]=alacrificatis index 2 § 30.

redditus] ‘sent forth’.

quos]=cos quos. Hercules and father Liber are of course meant.

ad hostes] ‘against the enemy’. This use of ad is found also in 1 §§ 19, 22, VIII 10 § 22. See also Livy i 5, 11, XXII 12 § 2, Terence hautont 545.

§ 24. validissimae] this refers to their numbers, and agrees with the account given by the other writers. See Arrian v 22.

deced etc] Diodorus xvii 98 on the contrary says ἀλλὰ πέλαν
στασισασαντες ὑπερ τις ἡγεμονιας. In the following account of the campaign Curtius and Diodorus omit the important operations described by Arrian vi 5—8, in which the skill and judgment of Alexander were shown to great advantage. See Thirlwall c 54 (vol vii pp 36—46). The siege of the town, which in these two authors constitutes the campaign, is in Arrian only the final operation. They speak mainly of the Sudrakae, Arrian represents the Mallai as bearing the brunt of the war. The two accounts are so widely different in their general effect that we must consider them to have been gathered from different authorities. Arrian probably followed Ptolemy, so the reference to him by Curtius (5 § 21) is most likely no more than an indication that he consulted that book when describing the siege, and found that Ptolemy did not profess to have been present. Had Curtius read Ptolemy's account of the campaign, it is hard to see how he could have dismissed it so summarily. The town, which Arrian vi 8 § 4 speaks of as την μεγιστην των Μαλλων τολω, is generally placed (as has been mentioned) at Multan. See below on § 26.

identidem] with conatus.

§ 25. militem...ipsos] the leading notion is contained in these words, on which stress must accordingly be laid, and not in the chief verb of the clause prosigerint.

certe] at all events, 'anyhow'.

occupaverunt] escaped in time to (the hills). Arrian vi 6 § 6 speaks of Perdiccas chasing some who had fled and putting to the sword οσοι γε μη ἔφθασαν ες τα ἑνη ἐξυφυγόντες. But this is quite a different operation, and there seems to be nothing in Arrian corresponding to the present affair. Diodorus is also silent.

§ 26. Sudracaruni] the siege of this town is one of Alexander's most famous exploits. Plutarch also speaks of the Oxydrakae, but Arrian vii 11 § 3 says αυτικα εν Οξυδρακαις το πάθημα τουτο γενεθαυ 'Αλεξανδρῳ ο πας λόγος κατέχει' το δε εν Μαλλοις έθνει αυτονόμω τονδικώ εξεληθη, και ἥ τε πόλει Μαλλών ήν και οι βαλλόντες 'Αλεξανδρον Μαλλοι, and Strabo xv 1 § 33 Μαλλοι μὲν παρ' οις ἀποθανεῖν ἐκυδύνευσεν 'Αλεξανδρος τρωθείς εν ἀλέασι πολεύνει τῶν.

§ 27. admovete] compare viii 9 § 1 movit.

ne committeret etc] we have retained the old reading in preference to the conjecture of Jeep adopted by Hediche ni omitteret. at certe. . . . . . The expression committere obsidionem is strange, but it is to be noted that the substantive is put with differret. Perhaps then we should rather supply some such notion as pugnam from obsidionem to go with committeret. committere proelium or pugnam are common enough. In vii 2 § 6 we have caede commissa.

differret] we must supply an ut from the preceding ne. See Madvig § 462 b.

§ 28. Demophonem] Diodorus tells much the same story and gives this soothsayer the same name.

si quis etc] for a trenchant criticism of this story see Thirlwall c 54
(vol vii p 40). In place of the testy speeches which Curtius affects to report, Diodorus only says ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς τοῦτῳ μὲν ἐπέπληξεν ὡς ἐμποδίσωρι τὴν ἀρέτην τῶν ἀγωνιζόμενων, and the more sober Arrian says nothing of the affair.

§ 30. diutius quam respondit] Vogel remarks that the construction is formed on the analogy of that with prius...quam. Compare § 30.

cunctantibus etc] Arrian vi 9 § 3 Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ, ὡς βλακεύειν αὐτῷ ἔδοκεν τῶν Μακεδόνων οἱ φέροντες τὰς κλίμακας, ἀρπάσας κλίμακα etc. But he says that this was against the citadel wall, the town having been carried at the first assault. So too Diodorus. Plutarch Alex 63 seems to make it the town wall, as Curtius does.

angusta] the narrowness was in the top of the parapet running round the wall, which was not marked out along its upper edge with battlements (πίνακες), but was built in an unbroken line of breastwork (perpetua loricæ) which was in the way of assailants (obducta), preventing their getting over (transitum). See Merivale c 58 (vii p 170).

muri] see on § 19.

corona] the use of this word to signify the defensive parapet of a wall is very strange. Arrian vi 9 § 4 calls it ἡ ἐπαλέξις.

§ 31. ilaque rex etc] 'the king then was rather clinging to than standing up on the edge (of the parapet) warding off with his shield the darts that fell upon him from every side: for on all sides he was now made a mark for shot from the towers'. Curtius seems here to picture him at the moment when, having climbed on to the edge of the corona and having both his feet on it, he would at the same time be obliged to rest his right hand also on the edge, in order to gain the steadiness necessary for the manipulation of his shield as a protection from the shower of missiles with which he was assailed. Arrian vi 9 § 4 seems to speak of him at an earlier stage, just before he took his feet from the ladder. His words are ὡς ἃ ὑπὲρ τὸ πρῶτο τῇ ἐπαλέξει τοῦ τείχους ὁ βασιλεὺς ἦν, καὶ ἐφείσατο ἐπ' αὐτῷ τὴν ἀσπίδα τοῖς μὲν ὥθει ἕως τοῦ τείχους τῶν Ἰνδῶν, τοὺς δὲ καὶ αὐτοῦ τῷ ἐξειλαν ἀποκτείνας γεγονότακε τὸ ταύτη τείχος.

cæminus] merely shews that the weapons with which he was being assailed were of a missile character.

§ 32. nec subire......obvæbantur] probably a piece of gratuitous padding put in by Curtius to heighten the effect of his picture. Nothing of the kind is found in Arrian or Diodorus.

subire] to mount the wall.

magnitudinem periculi]= (their fear of) the great danger. Vogel well compares viii 2 § 34 (of a severe march) et rarius subinde agmen siebat, pudorem, ut sère fit, inmodico labore vincente.

§ 33. auxilia] nominative to morabuntur, plural because denoting the help that many were ready to bring. 'But their help was delayed by their hurry'.

nam dum etc] this agrees with Arrian and Diodorus.

spem fecellerunt] 'balked his hope'.

in solitudine] in strong opposition to in conspectu above.
CHAPTER V.

§ 1. *ad ictus*] to meet the blows.

circumferebat] was shifting about. Compare vi i § 4 undique nume comminus nume eminus petebatur, undique arma circumferens alia tela clipeo excipiebat corpora alia vitabat.

stabantque excepturi] the change of construction here is very remarkable. Having begun with clamantibus = et clamabant, he could not well have gone on statantibusque excepturis, and so changed the construction in the second clause.

cum ille etc] Arrian makes him think of only two alternatives, staying where he was or jumping into the citadel. Diodorus says xvii 99 ο δὲ βασιλεὺς ἔρημωθεις πάσης βοσκειας ἑτολμησέν ἐπιτελέσαι πράξειν παράδοξον καὶ μνήμης ἁξίαν. τὸ γὰρ ἀπὸ τοῦ τείχους ἀπελθεῖν ἀπρακτὸν πρὸς τὸς ἱδίους ἀνάξιον κράνοις ὑπάρχειν τῆς ἱδίας εὐπραξίας καθῆλατο μετὰ τῶν ὁπλῶν μένος εἰς τὴν πόλιν, a much less imaginative way of telling the tale than that of Curtius.

*ad famam......insignem*] ‘notable rather as conferring a rash reputation than a glorious one’. We make shift to render it thus, but think it scarce possible to translate the words satisfactorily. For the construction with *ad* compare Cic pro Mur §§ 29, 38, Lucretius iii 214 with Munro’s note. See also Kennedy § 70.

*famam*] here ‘repute’ in a neutral sense. It is common in a good sense = ‘renown’, and also occurs in a bad one = ‘evil repute’, ‘notoriety’. See Cic pro Mur § 8.

gloriae] for a definition of *gloria* see on io § 24 where we again have *gloria and fama* distinguished.

§ 2. *cum vix etc*] Arrian vi i § 5 (of Alexander’s thoughts) εἰ δὲ μή, καὶ κυπηνεύειν δέοι, μεγάλα ἔργα καὶ τοῖς ἐπείτα πυθέσαι αξία ἐργα- σάμενοι οὐκ ἀποφυλεί ἀποδεικνύεται.

*non inultum*] that is, not without having first slain some of the enemy. Compare Virgil Aen ii 670 numquam omnes hocie moriemur inulti, and in illustration of the sense generally xi 166—168.

§ 3. *libraverat*] had flung with nice poise. Compare iv 14 § 5 *funda saxa librare*.

§ 4. *arbor*] Diodorus mentions this, Arrian does not.

*adpleuit*] Diodorus makes him keep the tree on his right, the wall on his left.


*persregere*] Diodorus only says πολλὰς μὲν γὰρ εἰς τὸ κράνος ἐλαμβάνει πληγάς.

*succiderat*] so Lucretius iii 156 succidere artus (videmus).
§ 8. itaque etc] Arrian vi 9 § 6 ἐνθα δὴ ἔρεισθεὶς πῦρ τῷ τείχει τοῦ μὲν τινας εἰς χεῖρας ἄλοντας καὶ τὸν γε γέμονα τῶν Ἰνδῶν προσφέρο- μενόν οἱ θρασύτεροι πάλαις τῷ ξίφει ἀποκτείνει· ἄλλον δὲ πελάτην λίθῳ βαλών ἐσχε, καὶ ἄλλον λίθῳ, τὸν δὲ ἐγγυτέρῳ προσάγοντα τῷ ξίφει αὐθίς. οἱ δὲ βάρβαροι πελάειν μὲν αὐτῷ ὅμοιον ἥθελον, ἐβαλλόν δὲ πάντοθεν περι- εστηκότες ὅτι τοις ἐχον κρίσεως ἐτυγχανεν ἤ ἐν τῷ τότε ἐλαβεν.


super latus] Arrian vi 10 § 1 Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ βάλλεται καὶ αὐτὸς διὰ τοῦ θώρακος ἐς τὸ στῆθος τοξεῦματι υπὲρ τῶν μαστῶν. ὡσπερ λέγει Πτολε- μαῖος διὰ τι καὶ πνεῦμα ὁμοῦ τῷ αἴματι ἐκ τοῦ τραύματος ἐξεπνεύτω, Diodorus XVII 99 says ὑπὸ τῶν μαστῶν.

§ 10. quod vulnere etc] Arrian goes on § 2 ὡ ὡς ἐστε μὲν ἐτί θερμῷ ἀν αὐτῷ τῷ αἴμα καὶ πεπάλα τῷ ἐχὼν ἄλονον πολλοῦ δὲ διὰ τοῦ αἴματος καὶ ἄδρον, οὐ δὴ ἐν πνεύματι, ἐκρέζως ἐνιεγόμενο τῇ αὐτῶν καὶ λαπτοφυλακέως κάτεσχε καὶ πίπτει αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ τῇ ἀσπίδα ἐνυπνεύσας.

emicante] Lucretius ii 194, 195 quod genus e nostro quom missus corpore sanguine emicat exultans alte schriftgilt erinnem.

itaque etc] Diodorus says εὐθὺς δ’ ὃ μὲν τοξεῦσα Ἰνδὸς καταφρονή- σας προσέδραμε, καὶ καταφέροντος αὐτοῦ πληγὴν ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος ὑπέθηκε τῇ λαγών τῷ ξίφος καὶ καιρίῳ γενομένου τοῦ τραύματος ὁ μὲν βάρβαρος ἐπέσει.

§ 11. linctentem] his ‘swooning’ spirit. Compare vii 9 § 14 iam- que linguente animo, and see below § 28.

nudum] ‘exposed’ by raising his arms for a blow (as Diodorus says).

subjecto] ‘with an upward thrust’ of his sword. So Diodorus says ὑπεθηκέ.

hausiφ] ‘pierced’. Compare vii 2 § 27 tum latus eius gladio haurit Cleander, Virgil georg iii 105, Aen ii 600 with Conington’s notes.

§ 12. dimicans iam extingueretur] ‘that he might die sword in hand before his last breath failed him’. The iam affects the whole expression dimicans extingueretur, and cannot be rendered in English, as its function is to lead up to antequam.

§ 13. postquam...virium] ‘finding that he had no strength left for the effort’. Compare iii i § 8 postquam nihil inde praesidii mitte- batur, ad praesidentiam diem permisere regi, i2 § 1 postquam et nos adpetebat et consequendi spes non erat, in castra paulo ante a suis capta peruenit.

ramos etc] Diodorus goes on ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς ἐπιλαβόμενος τοῦ πλησιον κλάδου καὶ διαναστάς προεκαλεῖτο τῶν Ἰνδῶν τοὺς βουλομένους διαγω- σάθαι.

§ 14. muri] to be taken with propignatoribus.

vestigia] that is, regis. We must not with Zumpt press too strongly the words per aliam oppidi partem, and so force vestigia to go with muri, but remember that Curtius is all the while stupidly thinking of the town wall, not that of the citadel. Diodorus says of Peucætes δι’
§ 15. *solacium*] the meaning has to be stretched a little in order to fit it to *vitae*. There is in fact a sort of zeugma here. *Not to succour him in life but to comfort him in his death*.

*clipeo*...*exceptit*] that is, he gave way and fell over on his shield.

Timaeus] Plutarch Alex 63 speaks of one Λυμανίς, Arrian speaks of *Δινάς*, and there was altogether a great diversity in the accounts as to the names of those who fought so well on this day. See § 21 below and Arrian vi 11 §§ 7, 8.

Leonatus] according to Arrian he mounted next after Peucæstes by the same ladder.

Aristonatus] Arrian vi 28 § 4 mentions *Αριστόνατος* as one of the original seven σωματοφύλακες of Alexander, the addition of Peucæstes to whom (*Πευκέστας* in Arrian) made the number eight. But Curtius alone mentions him on this occasion.

§ 16. *edita*] compare viii 14 § 37, and vii 7 § 37 in medios hostes se inmisit et memorabili *edita pugna obritus telis est*, viii 2 § 37 nobilem elidit pugnam regemque comminus cum hoste dimiecanum protexit. Rendert ‘after a gallant struggle’.

§ 18. *clipeum*] from Arrian vi 9 § 3, 10 § 2 (compared with 11 §§ 7, 8) we learn that this was the sacred shield taken down by Alexander from the temple of Athena at Ilium, which was borne before him in fight by his immediate body-guards.

§ 19. *perfregere*] the wall was earthen according to Arrian vi 10 § 3 ‘some driving pegs into the wall (which was of earth), hung on by them and were with difficulty crawling up’.

*molitir*] where they had formed an entrance (by breaking the wall). See on viii 10 § 30, and for moliri *aditum* compare vi 6 § 28 *multum materiam eciderat miles, aditum per saxa molitus*.

§ 20. *parentatum est*] ‘they satisfied their righteous anger’. *parentare* strictly means to avenge A by the destruction of B. Compare v 6 § 1 (of the contemplated burning of Persepolis) *excidio illius parentandum esse maioribus*, vii 2 § 29 omniumque sanguine duei parentatumos, Caesar bell Gall vii 17 etc. What is specially remarkable in our present passage is that we have the word metaphorically used, not of satisfying by vengeance the spirit of a dead person, but of glutting the wrath of the soldiers at the wounding of their king who was not dead.

§ 21. *Ptolomaenum* etc] Arrian vii 11 § 8 τὸ δὲ δὴ μέγιστον πλημμέλημα τῶν ἔντον ῥαγαφάντων τὰ ἀμφί Ἀλεξανδρόν ἐκεῖνο τίθεμαι ἔγωγε. Πετρεμάιον γὰρ τῶν Λάγου ἔστων οἱ ἀνέγραψαν ξυναβήσθαι τε Ἀλεξανδρὸν λατά τὴν κλίμακα ὁμιλ Πευκέστα καὶ ὑπερασπισεί κειμένου καὶ ἐπὶ τῷ δὲ
NOTES.

§ 14—26

Σωτῆρα ἐπικλῆναι τὸν Πτολεμαίον καὶ τοις αὐτὸς Πτολεμαῖος ἀναγέγρα

[Text continues...]

recon] ‘became a king’, ἐβασίλευσε. He founded the great
dynasty of the Egyptian Ptolemies.

auctor est] Timagenes is regarded as a mere echo of Clitarchus, so
that the singular verb is particularly appropriate. Compare Cic ii in
Verrem iii § 42 dixit hoc apud vos Zosippus et Ismenias. See Madvig
§ 213 a obs.

scilicet] ‘one may be sure’, ‘of course’. There is no strong irony
conveyed by this word here, and the original form seire licet explains
its force best.

refigratus] the word is used in its proper sense of ‘gainsay’. So
Cic pro Mur § 46 tota illa lex...petitione refigrata est, Livy XLV 40.

monumenta] ‘records’. Frequently of books, as in Livy praef § 10,
Tacitus Agr 2. rerum = ‘events’. The whole expression then = the
old books of history.

securitas] ‘carelessness’.

§ 22. abscidunt ita ne moveretur] such is the order of the sense
‘They cut off the wood taking care not to stir the point’. For ita ne
(= ita ut ne) see Madvig § 456 obs 4.

medic] Arrian says vi i 1 § 1 that either Kritodemus a doctor or
Perdiccas—for accounts differed—drew out the dart after enlarging the
wound.

§ 23. inesse etc] that there were barbs on the dart. telo is dative.
For inesse compare Ovid fasti iv 658 nec digitis anulus ullus inest.

§ 24. occupare] be too quick for them, and so prevent their stanch-
ing it in time.


ingens] Plutarch Alex 63 says of this arrow-head ‘it is said to have
been 3 fingers’ breadth broad and 4 long’. Here ingens is in a way
part of the predicate, ‘the dart that had been driven home was a large
one’ or better ‘was a large one and had been driven home’. For
alectum compare Virgil Aen ix 431, 432 sed viribus ensis adactus trans-
abibit costas et candida pectora rumpit.

viscera] probably the right lung is meant.

§ 25. Critobulus] Pliny speaks of a doctor of this name NH vii
§ 124 magna et Critobulo jama est extracta Philippis oculo sagittia et
citra deformitatem oris curata orbitate luminis.

recideret] ‘recoil’. Compare vii 7 § 15 an soli sumus qui flamina
transpare possimus? multa in nosmetipsos recident quibus adhuc vicin-
mus. fortuna belli artem victor quoque doct.

§ 26. metuentem] = metuere se dicitem or metuem prodentem,

exanguem] ‘deadly pale’. Compare Virgil Aen ii 212 diffugimus
visu exanguem.
Q. CURTI RUF. HIST ALEX. [IX 5 §§ 26—30

quid...expectas] 'for what or how long are you waiting?'

dolor] emphatic, hence me comes in and displaces saliem.

moritum] 'if die I must'. The nervousness of the doctor had caught the eye of the patient. For moritum compare Horace Carm. 1 28 6, 11 3 4.

ne reus sis] 'that you should be held to account', as though you were your king's keeper.

cum acceperim] 'for my having received'.

§ 27. dum...evellere] 'while he (Critobulus) was pulling out the point'.

§ 28. sicut praecipient erat] the clause refers to sine motu.

igitur] carries us back to the end of § 23. For the matter see Arrian VI 11 §§ 1, 2 ἐγκελευσαμένον Ἀλεξάνδρου τῷ ξίφει ἐπιτεμείν τὴν πληγὴν καὶ κομίσασθαι τὸ βέλος. ἐν δὲ τῇ κομίδῃ φορά αἰματος πολλῶν γίγνεται, ὡσε λυποφυχθαί αὕτης Ἀλεξάνδρον καὶ οὕτω σχετῆναι αὕτῳ τὸ ἀμα ὑπὸ τῇ λυποφυχῆς.

lingui animal] this is the stock phrase for fainting away. The ablative is of a locative nature and is of the kind usually called ablative of respect. Compare IV 6 § 20 lingui deinde animo et submitti genu cospit, Cic div in Caec § 41 non solum commovor animo, sed etiam tota corpora perhorresco. See Kennedy § 149.

caligine] 'a mist came over his eyes'. The word is used of swooning and dizziness. Compare VII 6 § 22 namque cervix eius saxo iuxta est ut oculis caligine offusa collaboretur ne mentis quidem compos, Livy XXVI 45.

moribundus] Virgil Aen V 374 (Buten) perculit et fulva moribundum extendit harena.

§ 29. medicamentis] IV 6 § 19 suppressus paulo ante sanguis medicamento.

§ 30. spiritu] 'by the breath (=life) of one'. The ablative is nearly akin to that of cause and also to that of means. Compare VI 9 § 2 deum providentia et misericordia vivo, VII 10 § 7 non inimici mihi, cuius beneficio victur estis.

CHAPTER VI.

§ 1. VII diebus] 'for the space of seven days'. The ablative is sometimes used in this construction, especially in the later writers. See Madvig § 235 obs 3, and compare Tacitus Agr. 14 Paulinus biothio prosperas res habuit, ann. 1 53 quattuordecim annis exilium toleravit.

curato] kept under medical treatment (curatio θεραπεία).

obducta] that is vulnera, as we find it fully expressed in VIII 10 § 31.

in medium] = elai μέσον, a very common construction, = 'into the middle' so as to be under the observation of all; thus leading up to the epithet undique conspicuum.
§ 2. *omne* what river is here meant is not easy to say. We have pointed out Curtius' confusion on 4 § 8. Arrian vi 13 § 1 describing this incident says that it was the Hydraotes.

*alignantium* a definite portion, hence a considerable portion, large quantity. Compare 8 § 1 and see Holden on Cic de off 1 §§ 33, 108.

*pracipiens* taking in advance, that is, as a start. Compare 10 § 14, Livy xxxvi 19 *alignantium viae pracceperat rex*, and the Greek προ-καψάτων in Thuc iv 33, vii 80, Herod iii 105.

*corpori* there is reason to suspect corruption in the MSS here, so we have not hesitated to follow Zumpt and others in accepting this correction of Junius. Compare vii 9 § 13 *rex non poterat.*

*alhuc* 'still'. This sense is common in silver-age Latin.

§ 4. *ante praetorium* 'before the general's tent', a Roman expression. In viii 6 § 3 he says *cxcubabant...proximi foribus eius acdis in qua rex adquiescebat.*

*hoc...servato* this statement as to the observance of the custom on this occasion also (servato being in past time) is brought in here to account for the presence of the friends and body-guards of the king. Thus *universi...inuvant* follows naturally.

§ 5. *ne quid novi* etc] 'lest they might be the bearers of some ill tidings'. *novus*, like the Greek νέος and νεωτέρος, is euphemistically used to express the notion 'bad'. So *res novare*, as in 10 § 21.

§ 6. *sollicitos esse* nos is left to be understood, as *se* often is when the speech is in the third person (oratio obliqua). See on 4 § 20. *esse = 'should be being' = 'should be'.* Vogel remarks that it corresponds to *eivai av.*

*ut nune est*] this expression is to be taken closely with *tibi vilis*, 'by which as it seems you set little store'. The words occur again v 5 § 10 in a slightly different sense.

§ 7. *consternat* etc for this exaggerated talk of covering the sea with ships see Livy xxxv 49 (rex) *consternat maria classibus suis*, and below 8 § 5. [Juvenal x 175.

*belias*] refers of course to the employment of elephants in war.


*sidus*] compare 11 Horace carm 1 12 47.

*trahere in casum*] are drawing into peril, endangering. Compare viii 3 § 2 * quam.....in omne discrimen comitem trahebat.* 'The force of the plea is that all depends on Alexander, hence when he risks his own life he also risks those of his men.

§ 9. *reduer* = *redueente*, a rare poetical sense and used especially in speaking of guiding divinities, as when in Ovid heroid xiii 50 Laodamia says *et sua det reduei vir mens arma Jovii.* The ordinary sense of 'returning' is illustrated by 2 § 34 above.

*penates*] their gods of hearth and home, hence their homes. Com-
mon in Latin writers, but sounds oddly in treating of a Greek subject. See Virgil Aen viii 679.

§ 10. *ne admirari quidem*] the implied antithesis is, as Vogel remarks, *necum indignari, ‘could not even think it strange [much less find fault with it].*

*paria* ‘matched’; the one as great as the other.

§ 11. *tuo capite*] the abiative denoting the price at which the thing is bought. See Madvig § 258, Kennedy § 147.

§ 12. *rei*] the deadly peril of Alexander, described in the last chapter.

*inertissimas*] the hands of the greatest laggards or cowards. In 2 § 26 we had *inertia* in the sense of ‘want of enterprize’. Here *iners* is a trifle stronger. Both shades of meaning are common in other writers. The original meaning appears in Lucilius frag xiii 12 *ut perhibetur iners, ars in quo non crit ulla.*

*fuisset infecturas*] ‘would have polluted’ the spoils of an Alexander.

*misericors in nos*] ‘looking with pity on us’.

*persequi*] to ‘keep up with’ you, when you ran into such danger.

§ 13. *ignominia notae*] these words are Roman and technical. When the Roman Censors in virtue of their office affixed a mark to the name of a citizen on the roll, that citizen lost certain political and social privileges, and was said to suffer *ignominia*. The mark itself was called *notae*, and we find frequent reference to it in Roman writers, both directly and (as here) metaphorically. See Cic pro Cluentio § 117.

*lucre*] to pay the price for, give satisfaction for. Compare vii 5 § 35 *nunc culpam maiorum posteri lucre*, Horace Carm iii 6 1 *delicta maiorum inmeritus luces.*

*id quod etc*] that from the guilt of which he could not secure himself.

*admittere*] this verb is used with such words as *maleficium, dedecus, facinus* etc almost in the sense of *commit*. Compare vi 7 § 32 *fænetem habes indicem, si quod admittis non oportuit saltem purgari potest*, Cic de off iii § 95. A common construction is *admittere in se* ‘to bring upon oneself’, which well shews how the notion of guilt came to be implied. See Cic phil ii § 47.

*praestare*] from the sense of ‘to secure’ or ‘guarantee’ we have the force of the word extended so as to imply precaution, like *cavere* or *providere.*

*ali modo*] these are the emphatic words in the sentence. If, says Craterus, you must needs shew in some way how cheap you hold us, let it be done in some other way than by exposing your own person so as to endanger the safety of us all.

§ 14. *quocumque etc*] compare Juvenal iii 78 of the versatile Greek *in caedum, insensis, ibit,* and Horace epst ii 2 40, Lucan i 367—386.

*capitur*] ‘contain’, that is, can contain, give scope for, your greatness. *capere* used thus = *wapeiv* is common, but the present passage is a somewhat remarkable one. We may compare vi i § 17 *maiores res*
erant quam quas praefecti modus caperet ‘the affairs were too great to suit the capacity of a mere subordinate’.

gloria] glory won.

obsolecit] grows mean or common. Compare Horace carm II 10 6, 7 caret obsoleti sordibus teeti. See on 1 § 2 above.

in sordidis hostibus] in (a contest with) mean or worthless foes.

§ 15. exsatiatus] compare § 23 laudis satietas.

id est publicae] Curtins strangely says this in his own person, though it is clear that he is expressing the feelings of Ptolemy and the rest.

§ 16. grata etc] Arrian VI 13 § 4 says on the contrary (reporting the account of Nearchus) that Alexander was irritated and vexed at this remonstrance of his friends, knowing well (so thinks Arrian himself) that he had deserved the blame implied in their words.

pietas] affectionate loyalty, as often. See Conington on Virgil Aen 1 10.

familiaris] with more warmth than usual. So 7 § 2 neglegentius, 8 § 26, 9 § 1 and often.

§ 17. altius] that is, he went far back and reviewed his whole career in justification of his ambition and rashness. Compare Virgil Georg IV 255—6 altius omnem expedim prima repetens ab origine famam.

piissimi] this form of the superlative is rejected by Cic phil XIII § 43, who declares that no such form is found in Latin. His stricture is however most likely in part the result of his hatred for Antony who had used it. Anyhow it soon found a place in the language. Thus Tacitus Agr 43 says optimauxuxori et piissimae filiae. The forms piissimus and piotissimus both occur in inscriptions.

habeo] compare III 6 § 17 pro se quisque dextram eius amplexi grates habeant velut praesenti deo.

eco nomine] on that account, viz because……. Compare VII 4 § 10 natura mortalium hoc quoque nomine prava et sinistra dici potest, quod in suo quisque negotio hebetior est quam in alieno, Cic pro Mur § 82 meo nomine ‘on my own account’, div in Caec § 19 quo nomine, and many other places. nomen = a name or heading in an account-book, hence eco nomine ‘under that head’ almost = ea de causa. So we say in English ‘on that account’, ‘on that score’, and so on.

§ 18. non cadem etc] the sense is the same as if he had written non idem cogitant ii……et ego. ‘Their notion is not the same as mine’ means ‘They do not look at the matter from my point of view’.

qui quidem] qui is the clever restoration of Junius, now generally accepted by editors. The sense is ‘inasmuch as’, like the Greek ὅσ γε.

cupiatis] though the subjunctive may be justified as containing an assumption or admission (Madvig § 352), it is probably here influenced by forsitan, so far at least as the second clause is concerned.

eo me metier] ‘but I measure myself not by the span of age but by that of glory’. The same sentiment is found in §§ 19, 22 with a slight difference of expression. There is no disjunctive particle after ego, and
the contrast is effected by co-ordination, as often: see Mayor on Cic phil ii § 110.

§ 19. paternis] that is, the kingdom of his father Philip.

per otium corporis] ‘in a life of bodily ease’. Compare 8 § 26 per quietem. per = ‘in a course of’, a sense in which Tacitus is fond of using it. See Agricola 4 per omnem honestarium artem cultum, 6 per mutuum caritatem, hist v 10 proximus annus civili bello intentus quantum ad Indoxos per otium transit.

ne pigri quietem etc] for the sentiment compare Horace carm iii 2 13—16.

occupat] takes them unawares.

bene] that is, rightly.

§ 20. Maedis] these were a Thracian tribe not far from the Triballi.

rubro mari] the Indian ocean, as usual.

subnititur] ‘is washed below’. This may refer to the washing of the lower part of the coast-line by the sea, but more probably indicates that the rubrum mare formed the southern boundary of Asia. The ancients often spoke of the north as above and the south as below. For the word compare Caesar bell Gall vii 69.

ordem] compare Juvenal x 168 of Alexander unus Petlaco iuveni non sufficit orbis.

aperire] to open up. Tacitus Agr 22 tertius expeditionum annus novas gentes aperuit.

§ 21. Europae] this refers to the crossing of the Jaxartes to attack the Scythians. So in vii 7 §§ 2, 12, 13 we find the river mentioned as the boundary of Europe and Asia, and in § 13 Alexander is made to say unus annis interfluit, quem si traicimus, in Europam arma proferimus. The river is there it is true called Tanais, but Arrian iii 30 §§ 7, 8 well shows that there were two rivers of that name and that the Jaxartes is really meant. Indeed he quotes Aristobulus in support of his statements. See Schuyler’s Turkistan c 6 (p 236).

momento] compare Horace sat 1 i 7—8 horae momento cita mors venit aut victoria larga.

post] after, that is, on attaining. Instances will be found in Madvig § 276 obs 6.

nonum] this is one year, and vicissimum atque octavum two years too little. But a historian trained in rhetorical schools would think nothing of straining a point of chronology in order to make the more of his hero’s exploits. So Tacitus Agr 33 has octavus annus, 34 quinquaginta annis, both rhetorical exaggerations.

excolendo] working up, completing. Compare Tacitus dial 22 (of Cicero) primus enim excoluit orationem.

ego vero] introduces the denial with emphasis. Madvig § 454 obs 1.

in theatro] that is, before the eyes of the world, with all mankind
as spectators. Cic II in Verrem v § 35 has a similar passage, which may have suggested the expression to Curtius, but it is probably of Greek origin.

§ 22. submovere] had (hitherto) kept far away. Such is the force of the tense. For the word compare Horace carm II 10 17.

ferre] for this word meaning 'lead' 'guide', especially in speaking of the tendency or course of destiny, see Conington on Virgil Aen II 34 seu iam Troiae sic faut forebant.

longam] it is worth noticing that in a similar context (Agr 44) Tacitus employs this adjective to aid in expressing what Curtius here renders by multam: (of Agricola) et ipse quidem, quamquam medio in spatio integrae actatis ereptus, quantum ad gloriam, longissimum aevum peregit.

§ 23. quibus] to which—that is, in the sight of which—the name of a woman is most famed for valour.

Samirannis] the admiration entertained by Alexander for this great Assyrian queen is spoken of above vii 6 § 20. She was said (v i § 24) to have founded Babylon, and to have made great conquests in the East.

molita est] undertook, planned. So moliri bellum iv 1 § 39 and other phrases.

et iam etc] 'and have we already had our fill of glory?' For et compare Virgil Aen VI 806 et dubitamus adhuc virtutem extendere factis?

§ 24. maior] in x i §§ 17, 18 Curtius says that he meant to make an expedition along the north of Africa, conquering Carthage on the way, and then over to Spain and so home by way of Italy.

ita...si] 'only on condition that'. So in other writers, as Cic ad fam XV 20 § 2, Livy XXI 21.

nihil parvum etc] this is in answer to what Craterus said in §§ II, 12, 14.

domesticorum] 'those of my household'. The reference is to the plot of the pages headed by Hermolaus, and to the real or supposed treachery of Philotas.

subibo] will submit myself to, hence 'face'.

§ 25. in theatral] Philip was assassinated by one Pausanias in the theatre at Aegae, in the year 336. See Tac hist II 75.

§ 26. olim] goes with agitatae in animo meo, and means 'for a long time', a sense which it often bears in silver-age Latin. See Mayor on Juvenal IV 96, X 173.

immortalitati etc] that is, deified. In X 5 § 30 Curtius speaks of the pietas of Alexander towards his parents, quorum Olympiada immortalitati consecrare decreverat, and VIII 5 § 17 he makes Kallisthenes speak of Hercules and Liber as consecratae immortalitatis exempla. Hence the words seem to imply the making a mortal into an immortal.

quandoque] = quandocumque, as often in Livy.

mandasse] that is, me.

CHAPTER VII.

§ 1. colonias] referring generally to the settlements made by Alexander in central Asia, and in particular to those of Baktra and Alexandria on the Tanais (Jaxartes). Diodorus in his brief reference to the incident XVII 99 speaks of oi katâ tûn Baktrianûn kal Σοζδαιανûν κατ-
iôkisôthentes 'Ελλήνες. The story of Biton Boxus and Athenodorus has come down to us in the version of Curtius only.

ipsos] as opposed to disagreements between them and the barbarians.

§ 2. popularium] 'their countrymen', that is, the leaders who remained loyal to Alexander.

§ 3. regis nomen] the name 'king'. Genitive of further definition, like vox voluptatis, nomen Catonis and many other phrases. See Madvig § 286.

auctoritatem] his advice or guidance, his 'lead' as we say.

§ 4. nationis] the general word meaning 'nation' is gens, the smaller bodies or tribes are commonly denoted by natio. Here the meaning probably is that they were citizens of the same Greek state, both Arcadians, both Boeotians or so forth.

per] denotes the agency, as often.

§ 5. ultro] of his own accord, unprovoked. So vii 7 § 11 Scythas ultro arma inferentes, Virgil, Aen. II 193; XI 286 ultro Inachias venisset ad urbes Dardanens, Cie de off III § 86.

fraus Bitonis] 'soul play on Biton's part'.

manare] trickles, spread about. Compare Livy II 49 manat tota urbe rumor.

suspicio] we have ventured to restore the spelling here. See Kennedy § 12 note, and appendix i7, Mayor on Cie phil II § 114.

§ 8. adnovebantur] 'were on the point of being applied'.

§ 9. tumultuantium vociferatione] literally 'by the shouting of the rioters'. But their shouting would not be any serious hindrance to the application of torture to Biton, and we are not here concerned with the extracting information by torture. It seems then that we must take this for an instance of the common use of abstract for concrete, so as to be equivalent to a tumultuantibus qui vociferabantur = 'by the rioters whom they had heard shouting'.

§ 10. siueut nudatus erat] 'stripped as he was'. Compare X 4 § 2 siueut vincti erant. The Greek would be ὥσπερ ἐγεγυμνωτο or ὥσπερ ἐν γεγυμνωμένοις.

in diversum] to the other direction, elîs τοινάντier. That is, caused a strong revulsion of feeling.
§ 11. a regis] Alexander.

revertit] Diodorus xvi 99 says that they never reached their homes, but after suffering great hardships on the way were cut to pieces by the Macedonians after the death of Alexander.

§ 12. duarum] the Sudrakae and Malli are meant.
magnitudine] ablative of quality or description.
lincae] see on viii 9 § 15.

§ 13. libertatem] Arrian vi 14 §§ 1—3 in speaking of this episode says that they claimed to have been free since the time of the eastern conquests of Dionysus (Liber pater in Curtius).

§ 14. pensitabat] as they were a free people, this cannot mean that they had been and were in the habit of paying tribute to any other power, and must be a remark of Curtius’ own, stating that they used to pay it at one time; ‘and laid on them the tribute which the two tribes actually paid to (the satrap of) the Arachosians’. Perhaps however the text is corrupt, and we should rather read pensitaret. Arrian only says that they submitted to Alexander and offered to pay tribute, and that Alexander set Philippus over them as satrap.

pensitabat] paid in instalments.

imperat] Arrian says that he demanded 1000 of their chief men as hostages. If Curtius means these (which is very doubtful) then equites must be taken to denote men of high standing; a Roman notion derived from the Roman ordo equester. But Arrian further says that they sent him besides of their own accord 500 war-chariots with their complement of men. It is probable therefore that Curtius has confused two parts of the account given in his authorities, unless indeed they had done the same before him. See below 8 § 1.

§ 15. medicis] = ‘small’, as usual. The close packing of the couches shows the great number of guests.

aulae] tapestry curtains. So in viii 5 § 21 of Alexander overhearing the speech of Kallisthenes nec quiequam corum quae invicem iactata erant rex ignoravit, cum post aulae quae lecis oblixerat statet.

nova innutacióne] ‘by their new-fangled change (of manners)’. That is, their adoption of Oriental customs and dress.

corruptum] ‘tainted’. Compare v 1 § 36 nihil urbis eis corruptus moribus, and below ix 9 § 6 of the sea-water.

§ 16. virtutem virium] ‘excellence of his strength’ = his excellent strength. As virtus like dōrī can be used for any sort of excellence, there is no need to find fault with this strange phrase.

iam] so the MSS, and it is surely as good as the correction etiam. We can hardly find in the latter an allusion to Alexander’s dislike of athletes in general (Plut Alex 4). Some editors omit the word altogether.

incrépabant] used to carp at him, saying....
saginati corporis] genitive of quality or description, here part of the predicate and parallel to inutilum. ‘That they had a full-fed good-
for-nothing beast in their company'. See on VIII 10 § 24 obiecta est. *sagina* is particularly applied to the plumpness produced by the high feeding of athletes. See Mayor on Quintil x 1 § 33.

*oleo*] the oil employed by athletes for anointing themselves.

*praeparare etc* getting up an appetite by exercise.

§ 17. *in convivio* at this particular banquet; opposed to the imperfect *inreparabunt* above.

*Horratus*] Diodorus XVII 100 gives an account of this affair almost word for word the same as that of Curtius, but gives the same Macedonian the name *Kopagos*. See Tac hist ii 68.

*exprobrare*] used absolutely, as we say 'to upbraid'.

*postero die*] Diodorus says that the king appointed a day for the duel.

*tandem*] at last, that is, after the duel.

*vel...vel*] in the proper sense, as connected with the root of *volo*. The logical order of the sentence is obscured by the necessary repetition of *de*, for the sense is *de (vel sua temeritate vel illius ignavia)* = in direct speech 'on (call it my rashness or your cowardice')

*ignavia*] so Virgil Aen xi 733 qua...tanta animis ignavia venit.

§ 18. *eludentes*] 'setting at nought', 'making fun of'. Compare III 1 § 18 *oraculorum sortem vel elusit vel imploavit* (in cutting the Gordian knot), VIII 1 § 42 *oraculum eludens*, Livy i 36, 48, Cic div in Caec § 24.

*condicio*] 'the (terms of the) challenge'.

*deterre*] Diodorus says that Alexander backed up Koragus, and gives no hint of any attempt to stop the duel.

§ 19. *ingens hic etc*] the MSS here are confessedly corrupt, and the insertion of *qui* between *quos* and *erant* is necessary to the sense. *hic* is the MSS reading, for which Hedicke accepts Jeep's conjecture *vis*. [The emendation *conventus crat* for *convene crat* found in 2 MSS is my own. I believe the word *multitudine* found in the same MSS to have arisen from a comment on *conventus*. For the latter word in the simple sense of 'meeting' compare IV 5 § 11 *idem fere diebus solenne crat ludierum Isthmiorum, quod conventu totius Gracciae celebratur*, Cic ii in Verrem IV § 107 *festo dies anniversarios agunt celeberrimo virorum mulierumque conventu*, Horace sat i 7 23. W. E. H.]

*studebant*] = *favebant*, were backing. Diodorus says *tvv de 'Ελληνων τῷ Διοξιτπηρ ἀναγωγοντων*.

*iusta*] 'proper'. The 'regulation arms', as we say now.

*sarissam*] this spear was over 20 feet long, and suited only to the heavy charging formation of the Macedonian phalanx.

§ 20. *laeva*] probably the scarlet cloak was wrapped round his left fore-arm.

*suspendingrat*] kept awhile in suspense. Compare Quintil ix 2 § 22 *eum dixi suspendisset judicium animos*, Ovid met vii 308. Diodorus
NOTES.

tells us that those present likened the scene to a conflict between Ares (Koragus) and Herakles (Dioxippus).

§ 21. *interficis posse* that is, *cum.*


antequam...dextram] Diodorus makes him advance with levelled sarisa.

§ 22. *occupatum complexus* grappled him before he was ready. Diodorus says μελλόντος δ’ ἀυτῷ σπάσθαι τὴν μάχαιραν, ἐφθασε προπηδήσας, καὶ τῇ μὲν εὐωνύμω κατέλαβε τὴν ἑλκουσαν τὸ εἴφος χεῖρα, τῇ δ’ ἄλλῃ κινήσας ἐκ τῆς βάσεως τὸν ἀντίπαλον ὑπένυρε τὰ σκέλη.

arictavis] knocked (here, knocked down) like a battering ram. For the word compare Plautus truc. ii. ii 1 quis illic est qui tam protevice nostras aedes arietus? Virgil Aen. xi. 890.

iacenti] the general dative of relation, closely related to the dativus commodi et incommodi. Compare Virgil Aen. ix. 347—8 pectore in adverso totum cui comminus enseit ad surgenti.

elisurus] meaning to brain him. Compare Plaut Poen. ii. 46 iam elidam caput nisi auscultas. Diodorus says that having got his enemy down he looked up to the spectators, who cheered and made a great noise, but adds nothing as to the intentions of the conqueror. Curtius is probably striving to make the most of his story by little effective touches.

§ 23. *tristis etc*] Diodorus xv. 101 says ὁ μὲν βασιλεὺς προσέταξεν ἀφείναι, καὶ τὴν θέαν διαλύσας ἀπηλλάγῃ δυσφορῶν ἐπὶ τῇ τοῦ Μακεδώνος ἤτη.

verebatur] the use of this word in the sense of seeing with grief and vexation, taking an accusative and infinitive after it, is rare. Compare Ovid heroid. XVI. 75, 76 vincere erant omnes dignae, indexque verebar non omnes causam vincere posse suam. See Madvig § 376 obs.

§ 24. *ex compitio* by private arrangement. The expression is common.

subduitur] Diodorus says that they took the cup, and hid it beneath Dioxippus’ pillow, then charged him with theft, and made pretence to find it there.

§ 25. *constantia* firmness’, here applied to the power of sitting unmoved under an imputation. So Nepos Att. 22 § 1 says of the words of the dying Atticus haec oratione habita tanta constantia vocis atque voltus, that is, without faltering in speech or moving a muscle of his face. ‘Constancy’ in this sense is common in Shakespeare.

rubore] abstract for concrete. The sense is ‘often those who blush at a false insinuation are less able to bear the glance of reproach than those who are really guilty’.
CHAPTER VIII.

§ 1. *cum donis*] the account here following seems to be an entirely different one from that of Arrian cited on 7 § 14 above.

vestis] 'raiment', clothing material; that is, cloth. See 10 § 25, Virgil Aen. 1 x 26 *dives pictae vestis et aurii*.

ferri candidi] probably steel is meant. For the famous Indian steel see Colonel Yule's learned and interesting note on Marco Polo bk 1 c. 17.

§ 2. *domitum*] Strabo xv 1 §§ 37, 69 speaks of tame lions in India, and Marco Polo bk 11 c. 16 tells of a tame lion taught to lie down before the great Kaan, and in bk 11 c. 18 of tamed lions (tigers) leopards and wolves used for hunting purposes like dogs by the Great Kaan. See Colonel Yule on the passage.

lacertarum], probably the hides of crocodiles are meant. Aelian hist. anim. xvi 6 speaks of an animal which M'Crindle p. 163 makes out to be the scaly ant-eater.

dorsa] the backs, that is shells, of tortoises. See Aelian hist. anim. xvi 14, 18.

§ 3. *Cratero*] Arrian vi 15 § 4 says that he took Craterus and his force over to the left bank of the Indus, and sent him along that side.

Mallorum] Curtius, it is to be remembered, has made the affair related in chapter 5 take place among the Sudrakae. See above on 4 § 24. We see here that he conceived the Malli to have lived further down the river, whereas Arrian puts the Malli above and the Oxydrakae (Sudrakae) below.

§ 4. *Sabaracas*] Diodorus xvii 102 says κατηρευ εἰς τὴν χώραν τῶν ένομα ουλέων Σαβαραστῶν, and the same may be meant by Arrian vi 15 § 1 το τῶν Λαβαστανῶν εἶνα αὐτῶνομον.

populi imperio] in Arrian we find frequent mention of independent tribes. See v. 20 § 6, 22 § 1, 24 § 8, vi 14 § 2 etc. So also in his Indica 11 § 9, 12 §§ 5, 6. Diodorus ii 38, 39, 41 mentions states governed democratically, and Plutarch Alex. 59 speaks of τοὺς ἑλευθερούς δῆμους. Diodorus here says of the Sambastae oikountes δὲ τὰς πόλεις δήμοι ῥατοῦμενα. For these independent communities observed by the Greeks in India see Elphinstone appendix iii p. 261.

LX milia etc] these numbers are the same as those given by Diodorus.
§ 5. *maxime in ripa*] no doubt for the convenience of being near the water.

*arma fulgentia* etc] Virgil *Aen.* vi 489—491 is very like this, and perhaps suggested it.

*novae*] strange, unusual. So 10 § 13.

§ 6. *hinc...hinc*] does not mean that these were on different sides of them.

*hortantium*] used absolutely as in iv 13 § 38 *hortantem exercitus exaudire non poterat.*

*impleverant*] filled for the time. Compare iv 12 § 20 *fremitusque tot milium etiam procul stantium aures impleverat.*

§ 7. *legatos* etc] Diodorus says that the elder men advised them not to attempt resistance, and so ambassadors were sent.

§ 8. *alias gentes*] called by Diodorus Σφώπας καὶ Μασσανώδης.

*oppido*] Diodorus gives precisely the same account. Arrian vi 15 § 2 speaks of Alexander's ordering a town to be built at the confluence of the Acesines and Indus. If this (as is probable) be the same as is meant by Curtius, we have here another instance of the latter's confused geographical notions. The place is now occupied by the town of Mithan Kot.

*Musicant*] see on viii 12 § 14 *sequentem nomine.*

§ 9. *Teriolita*] Arrian vi 15 § 3 says that he was deposed, and gives him the name Τήρωναπης. Diodorus says nothing of the matter.

*isdem*] that is his subjects the Parapamisadae.

*cognovit*] 'held an enquiry'. A common legal word.

*avaro ac superbe*] extortiously and tyrannically. Compare *Tarquiniius superbus* = Tarquin the tyrant. Arrian's words are *oik έν κόσμω έξηκείδοιο.*

*convictum*] for the use with following infinitive compare 10 § 21 *suspectus voluisse.* See Madvig § 400 c obs.

§ 10. *praetor*] = *σατράπης.*

*absolutus*] this probably refers to the revolt of the colonists in Bactria. See 7 §§ 1—11. Alexander acquitted him of complicity in the mutiny. Arrian says nothing of this.

*inre amoris*] Alexander had married his daughter Roxana.

*amplioris imperii*] Arrian says that he received the government of the Parapamisadae from which Tiryaspes had been deposed.

§ 11. *Præstos*] no other writer mentions this name, and it is very likely due to some corruption in the MSS.

*et ipsam*] has not some adjective such as *validam* or *magnam* fallen out here? Or *indignam*?

*Porticanus*] so Diodorus. Arrian vi 16 §§ calls him 'Οξυκανός.

*rex*] Diodorus speaks of τήν Πορτικάνου δυναστέλαν, Arrian styles him τόν νομάρχαν τής ταυτύ γῆς.
§ 12. occiditur] so Diodorus; Arrian says that he was taken prisoner.

§ 13. cuniculo] a mine or passage under ground. The name is probably derived from the resemblance to a rabbit’s burrow. Livy IV 22, V 21, Caesar bell Gall III 21, VII 22.

§ 14. simile monstri etc] the passage closely resembles Livy V 21 § 10, and is very likely a reminiscence of it.

terra existebant] So Zumpt and Hedicke read in VII 4 § 19 convivio prosiluit, VIII 3 § 5 abire conspectu iubet, 6 § 26 periculi quo evasert, X 2 § 4 civitatis quis pulsi erant.

specus] the cave, hollow; that is the mine.

§ 15. LXXXV miliar] this number is corrected from Diodorus. The best mss of Curtius give DCCC Indorum. Zumpt.

sub corona] this is a technical expression in Roman warfare for the selling of prisoners as slaves, with which view they were dressed out with garlands.

§ 16. defeecerunt etc] the revolt and its suppression are related in much the same terms by Arrian VI 17 §§ 1, 2.

cundemque] ‘who was also’. Madvig § 488.

in crucem sublato] crēμάζαν, says Arrian, probably in the same sense.

§ 17. oppidum] this is evidently the same as that described by Diodorus XVII 103 as τῆς ἑσχάτης τῶν Βραχμάνων πόλεως, ἣν ὄνομαζουσιν Ἀριμανῆα. It will be observed that he speaks of the Brahman as a tribe, and this mistaken expression is found in other writers also. It is clear from comparison of the narratives of Arrian Diodorus and Plutarch (Alex 64) that it was the influence of the Brahman caste to which the resistance and subsequent revolts in these districts were due.

§ 18. paucitate contempta] compare Tacitus Agr 37.

D Agrianos] ὄλγους τῶν ψιλῶν, says Diodorus.

§ 20. eventu] the ‘sequel’, final result.

veneno] Diodorus tells the same with more circumstance, both as to the effect of the wounds received, and the method of preparing the poison. For the use of poisoned weapons in India see Elphinstone 1 2 (p 26) in abstract of Menu.


ciam leves plagae] so Diodorus καὶ τοῖς μικρῶν καὶ τῆς τυχόδοραν ἄμυχην ἀναδεξαμένας.


e] ‘and indeed’. Compare Virgil ecl II 44 et faciat.

forte] ‘as it chanced’. That is, by good luck rather than caution he had escaped untouched.
NOTES.

§ 22. *præcipue* Diodorus tells us that he did not trouble himself so much about the others who were wounded, but was extremely anxious about Ptolemy.

*sanguine coniunctus* Arsinoe the mother of Ptolemy, observes Vogel, was of the Lycestae. For the connexion of the Macedonian royal family with that of this Illyrian tribe through Eurydike the mother of Philip, see Strabo vii. 7 § 8 (p. 326).

* eius* *Philippi* The story occurs also in Pausanias i. 6 § 2.

§ 23. *corporis custos* here in the narrower sense of the two mentioned in note on viii. 11 § 11.

*pacis artibus* 'civil pursuits', meaning probably statesmanship and diplomacy. Compare Tacitus hist. i. 8 Clavius Rufus, *vir facundus et pacis artibus*. This side of Ptolemy's character shewed itself afterwards in his encouragement of learning and in the book of memoirs he himself wrote.

* cultu* way of living. So Tacitus Agr. 40 says of Agricola *cultu modicus*, *sermonae facilius*.

* liberalis* the generosity of Ptolemy is marked in his apophthegm quoted by Plutarch 'that it was more royal to make others rich than to be rich yourself', τὸ πλούτειν τὸ πλουτίζειν εἶναι βασιλικῷτερον.

*additu facili* ablative of description. Madvig § 272.

* regiae* the 'court'.

§ 24. *ominati* 'foreboded'. The word is more commonly used in an unfavourable sense as in 9 § 22 below, and Cic de off. ii § 74.

§ 25. *adsideret* almost technical of watching by a sick-bed. See Horace sat. i. 1 § 82, Tacitus Agr. 45.

§ 26. *per quætem* 'in a vision'. So Justin xii. 10 § 3, and Cic de divin. ii § 135 *secundum quætem*, speaking of this very matter. Compare Tacitus hist. iv 83. The following story is told by Cicero (just referred to) Justin and Diodorus with very trifling discrepancies. Arrian says nothing of it, and Strabo xv. 2 § 7 makes it happen among the Oritae.

§ 27. *adgniturum* that is, the fortunate finder, the *si quis* following.

§ 28. *Pataliarm* this adjective seems to be formed from *Patala*. As to the forms of the name, Arrian speaks of τά Πάταλα and τῶν Παταλέων θῆς χώρας, Strabo of τά Πάταλα and ἡ Παταληνή, Pliny of *Pala* *Patala* (nom sing. it seems) and *Patalene*, Arrian in his Indica of Πάταλα, and Diodorus has the apparently corrupt form *Ta* *ał* *a* *l* *a*. It seems that *Patala* denotes the city. The place is now occupied by Haidarābād, the old name of which was Nirankot, also *Patalpur*, and is called *Patasila* by the Chinese traveller Hwen Thsang in the 7th century A.D. Cunningham pp. 279—287.

*rex* Diodorus xvii. 104 says that at *Ta* *ał* *a* *l* *a* there were two royal houses and the general control of affairs was in the hands of a senate.

*prosigerat* Arrian vi. 17 § 5 ἔδεικνυσκέεται δρίνο τῶν Παταλών ὑπαρχος
\[170\] Q. CURTI RUF. HIST. ALEX. [IX 8 §§ 28—30

\[\xi\upsilon\lambda\alpha\beta\omicron\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon\ \tau\omicron\upsilon\upsilon\ \Pi\alpha\tau\alpha\lambda\epsilon\omicron\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon\ \tau\omicron\upsilon\upsigma\ \pi\omicron\lambda\lambda\omicron\upsilon\sigma\upsilon\upsilon\ \alpha\pi\omicron\delta\epsilon\delta\omicron\rho\alpha\kappa\omicron\upsilon\omega\upsilon\ \\
\chi\omicron\omega\rho\nu\ \
\eta\omicron\mu\omicron\nu\.
\]

§ 30. *ducibus* probably some of the men whose capture Arrian speaks of in VI 17 § 6.

*insulae* see on VIII 9 § 7.

*enatam* which had sprung up. For this curious half-personification we may compare the use of *vateraw* in *Odyssey* I 404, IX 23.

CHAPTER IX.

§ 1. *nec repertis* *nec = et non*, but the negative only affects *repertis.* Compare III 13 § 2 *nec dubitare cum...adiecit.*

*peritis* that is, *hominibus.* So § 6 *ignaris.*

*coegit* this is one of the makeshifts proposed for filling up this lacuna. Others are *compulit* and *instigavit.*

§ 2. *coerent* this is very strange, being used absolutely, leaving *terrae loca* or *regionem* to be supplied mentally.

*quam placidum* how quiet (or the reverse).

*patiens* enduring, that is 'navigable by'. Compare Tacitus hist IV 21 *Rhenus incognita illi caelo siccitate vix navium patientes,* Livy XXI 31.

*longarum* *makropow,* war-vessels. See above § 11.

*aneceps* etc compare VI 11 § 21 *aneceps coniectura est.*

*cacea* groping in the dark, baseless. Compare VIII 13 § 25. Caecina to Cicero (ad fam VI 7 § 4) *in hac calumnia timoris et caecae suspicionis tormento.*

§ 3. *ipsos* either simply *se,* or to be explained 'of themselves', that is, unaided by guides.

§ 4. *nauticos* the mariners. An unusual word, used three times by Curtius in this chapter, here and §§ 7, 26.

*incumberent* Virgil Aen V 15, X 294.

*deesse* wanting to complete.

*capti* so VII 8 § 19 Lydiam *cepisti.*

§ 5. *navigio* in (on) a boat. Arrian VI 18 § 5 *των ψιλων τους κουφωσάτους ἐκπέμψας.*

§ 6. *adlactos* 'fresh,' as opposed to *amarus* or *salsus.* See Lucretius VI 890—4.

*destinari* marked out, described, 'meant'.

§ 7. *leni adhuc* 'still gentle'. That is, they were as yet only at the weaker or upper end of the tide-way.

§ 8. *evecti* sailed out to or past. Compare § 27.

*cursus* the stream of the river. Compare Lucan X 246—7 of the Nile *ille mora cursus adversique obice ponti aestuat in campos.*

*adlactant* 'put in,' to the lower end of the island mentioned, or to some other point along the shore. Compare *adpulsâ* 10 § 1.
ignaris] being only acquainted with the practically tideless shores of the Mediterranean.

§ 9. tertia] by Roman reckoning 9 a.m. with us.

stata] fixed, 'periodical'. Lucan x 240 of the west winds affecting the Nile quorum stata tempora flatus, and below § 27.
exaestuans] 'rising in flood-tide', 'flowing'. Arrian vi 19 §§ 1, 2, in his far more sober account of the incident, says that they were first troubled by the ebb and then yet more sorely by the floods, which sounds more likely than (see §§ 19, 20 below) the account of Curtius. Diodorus says nothing of it. Burnes vol III c 1 gives a description of the violent tides of the Indus estuary, shewing that all the main details of this account are quite in accordance with facts.

invexi] to assail, 'burst upon' them. Arrian says ἀδρόθον ἐπελθόντος τοῦ κύματος.

correctum] 'checked' in its course.

adversum] adjective of course, meaning 'up against its natural flow'.
torrentia] flumina, 'rivers in flood'.

§ 10. identidem] 'over and over again', hence 'continuously'.
 'every instant'. So § 21, 4 § 18, Catullus 49 (51) of the youth gazing upon his mistress qui sedens adversus identidem te spectat et audita dulce ridentem.

§ 11. trepidi] in a hurry.

§ 12. festinatio etc] 'more haste less speed', as we say.
tarda] cramping, hindering. For this transitive use compare Horace sat i 9 32 tarda podagra, II 2 88 tarda senectus.
aptari] fitted, 'shipped'. Compare Virgil Aen v 753 aptant remoseque rudentesque.

consederant] until some support is found for the sense 'run aground', we feel bound to keep that of 'sit down', which has the further advantage of referring to the men, not the ships (which are not in question as subject of any verb till aliae § 13). Compare Virgil Aen III 289 consider transstri, IV 573, V 139 etc. The sense of the whole will then be 'some were pushing the vessels with poles, others had taken their seats [to row] but [in their crowding and scrambling] had meanwhile been preventing the orderly shipping of the oars'. The description of this scene of confusion is graphic, though at first sight somewhat difficult.

§ 13. enavigare] to sail out into the clear channel.

claura] crippled, lame. The meaning is that more oars were manned on the one side than on the other, as in Virgil v 271 ordine debilis uno. For the word claudus see Lucretius IV 436, Livy xxxvii 24, Tacitus ann II 24.
moliebantur] were 'working' them feebly.

non receperant] had not taken on board, that is, had not been able (by reason of the hurry caused by the sudden rise of the tide) to do so. We must as Zumpt says understand omnes. The sense in general is that,
seeing a vessel suddenly getting afloat, a number of men belonging to
different vessels would try to crowd on board, but could not all do so
before she drifted away with the stream. See Tac hist III 77.

§ 14. *hinc...hinc*] here the meaning is 'from one side'.....'from
another'.

tendentium] keeping in view, making an object. For this use with
a pronoun see Livy XXXII 32 quod summa vi ut tenderent amicis et
profinquis mandaverat.

§ 16. *abstergeri*] compare Livy XXXVII 24 (of the Rhodian naval
tactics) aut proram lacerubat aut remos detergebat.

urgere] to press on them from behind, bump their sterns. Observe
that three distinct sorts of collision are spoken of, this last being the
same as that described in § 17.

§ 17. *ad manus*] that is, to violence. Cic II in Verrem V § 28
nonnumquam etiam res ad fugam atque ad manus vocabatur.

§ 19. *subsederant*] had sunk or settled down, that is (as Vogel re-
marks) at the time of the formation of this land, and implying that the
subsidence still shewed its effects. 'Where there were depressions in
the ground'. For the word compare Ovid met I 43 insit et extendi
campos, subsidere valles.

*fastigium*] a raised point, elevation. See VIII 9 § 3.

*occupaverant*] had seized, that is 'covered'. For the sense of seizing
a strong post compare 4 § 26, VIII 11 § 2.

§ 20. *reciprocari*] to run the other way, here to 'ebb'. Livy XXVIII
6 fretum Euripì non septiens die, sicut fama cert, temporibus statis
reciprocat, where we have the active form.

*tractu*] 'suck', 'current'. So § 25 and often.

*fretum*] 'channel'. The proper sense, hence often a 'strait'.

reddebat] was restoring, rendering up, as it retired. Compare with
this passage generally VI 4 § 19 of the Caspian a septentrione ingens in
litus mare incumbit longaque agit fluctus et magna parte exaestuans
stagnat. idem alio caeli statu recipit in se fretum comedique impetu quo
effusum est relabens terram naturae suae reddit.

destituta] 'left high and dry', 'stranded', as in § 22.

tabularum] planks. Virgil Aen I 118—9 apparent rari nantes in
gurgite vasto, arma virum tabulacque et Troia gaza per undas probably
suggested the present passage.


§ 23. *non obrunnunt quin*] obrunnunt conveys the general notion of
hindrance. For *quin* = 'that not' see Madvig § 449 a obs 3. We
should say 'so as to prevent him from'.

*persiderel*] from persideo.

*in speculis*] 'on the watch'. Compare Cic I in Verrem § 46 nunc
autem homines in speculis sunt, observant etc, Ovid her XVIII 12 in
speculis omnis Abydos erat.
NOTES.

§ 1. adversum flumen subit] 'goes up against the stream.' Lite rally 'ascends the opposing stream.' Compare Caesar [or Hirtius] bell Gall VIII 15 barbari confisi loci natura quum dimicare non recusarent si forte Romani subire collem conveniretur. Curtius uses the construction with the ablative 'by' or 'along' in § 3 below.

lacu salso] Arrian VI § 20 says that Alexander went up to Patala again and then, having found his orders for the foundation of a strong station progressing satisfactorily, descended the other (left) branch of the river; in the course of which voyage he came upon a great lake in which sea-fish were seen.

alios] those who had not bathed. He means that the infection was communicated by contact with the sores.

§ 2. Leonnato] Arrian VI 20 § 3 mentions Leonnatus, but not § 5 where he is speaking of this well-digging. Strabo XV 2 § 3 speaks of the party as μετάλλευτας τῶν ὕδρεων. See also Justin XII 10 § 7.

sicca] so say Arrian Strabo Diodorus and Plutarch.

vernun tempus] Arrian VI 21 §§ 1, 2, Indica 21 § 1, Strabo XV 2 § 5 quoting Nearchus [with which XV I § 17, quoting Aristobulus,
agrees] place the time of departure in the latter part of the summer, that of the fleet in the autumn. Müttzel observes that Plutarch Alex. 66 assigns seven, not ten months, as the time spent in sailing down the rivers, and so probably followed another account, which may have been the same as that followed by Curtius. Anyhow it would bring him to Patala in April, not (as Aristobulus says) in July.

urbes] Arrian speaks of the town and station at Patala and of sundry naval stations. Curtius is probably making the most of the statements of his authorities, whatever they were.

plerasyc:] simply 'a number', 'many'. So in Tacitus hist. 1. 39, 86 we find pleurique opposed to plores.

§ 3. Alexander] he was the admiral (παύσαρχος) and Onesikritus the head pilot or sailing-master (ἀρχικυβερνήτης) of the fleet. We know that there was a jealousy between them (Strabo XV 2 § 4), for which the latter was probably to blame, as he proved himself in his account of Alexander's expedition a steady and enormous liar (see Strabo XV 1 passim) and in particular affirmed that he had himself been ναύσαρχος of the fleet. The παράπλους of Nearchus was a work of considerable merit.

deducere etc] Diodorus XVII. 10. 4 τὸν δὲ λοιπὸν στόλον παραδοὺς Νεάρχω καὶ τισιν ἀλλοις τῶν φιλῶν προσέταξε τὴν παραλιὰν πᾶσαν παραπλεύσαι δι᾽ ὥκεανον καὶ πάντα κατασκευάζειν ἀπαντῶν ἐπὶ τὰς ἐκβολὰς τοῦ Εὐφράτου ποταμοῦ. Arrian Indica 20 §§ 1—3 says (quoting Nearchus) that Alexander wanted to go on this voyage himself, but abandoned it from motives of prudence. When searching for a trusty admiral he received an offer from Nearchus to undertake the business.

§ 4. cremaxis] so says Diodorus.

excercitum] not the whole, for a part had been sent off under Kraterus through Karmania. For details see Arrian VI 17 § 3, Strabo XV 2 § 5.

§ 5. Arabiton] Diodorus calls them 'Ἀρβιται, Strabo "Ἀρβίες, Arrian 'Ἀραβά ται in his Anabasis, 'Ἀραβίες in his Indian history. Their further or western boundary was the river variously called "Ἀρβίς, 'Ἀρβίας, 'Ἀράβιος and Arabus. Beyond this river lay the Oritae, and beyond them again the Gadrosii Gadrosii or Kedrosii. The words inde......Cedrosiorum are obviously wrong. But, as has been already observed by Vogel, they may very well for all that have been written by Curtius himself, for Diodorus speaks of the submission of τοὺς τὴν Κεδρωσίαν οἰκονομασίας immediately after that of the Arbitae, and then goes on to mention the Oritae, returning further on to the march through Κεδρωσία, as Curtius does below. They probably both followed the same authorities, in which there may have been some confusion to account for their strange muddle. It is remarkable that Arrian VI 22 § 1 mentions Gadrosian troops as having assisted the Oritae to oppose the entrance of Alexander into the territory of the latter. See on § 12 iemenia and § 18 quieta.


dedit sc] Arrian and Diodorus agree with this statement.
NOTES.

§ 6. *ibi maiorem etc*] Diodorus and Arrian agree in substance with this account of the march and laying waste of the country of the Oraeae.

§ 7. *urbem*] so says Diodorus and tells us that its name was Alexandria. Arrian VI 21 § 5 says only that he praised a certain spot as suited for the development of a great city.

*Arachosii*] this statement rests on Curtius' authority alone.

§ 8. *maritimos Indos*] these are clearly the same as those whom Diodorus XVII 105 calls ἔθνος ἀθέαν καὶ παυτελῶς θηρίων, and to whom other writers give the name Ichthyophagi. But it is remarkable that Arrian VI 28 § 5, Indica 24—29 passim speaks of their being visited by Nearcithus, not by Alexander, and this is perhaps the more probable version of the story, unless we refer this passage of Curtius to the exploring party under Thoas, sent by Alexander to survey the coast district. See Arrian VI 23 §§ 2, 3. Pliny N H VI § 95.

*commerei iure*] 'intercourse', perhaps in the way of exchange. The word *ius* means 'right' or 'rightful relation', and the expression *ius commerei* is important in early Roman history. See note on VIII 9 § 19.

§ 9. *ipsa*] 'of itself', opposed to *natura quoque* 'even by nature'.

*effravit*] 'has made savage'. Compare VIII 2 § 16 tum ferox ingenta non bellum modo sed eham veniae desperatio effraverat.

*ingenia*] 'characters'. The following account of this loathsome tribe is in strict agreement with the other authorities.

§ 10. *turgia*] these are the huts called by Arrian Ind 24 § 2 stilling cabins' (ἐν καλόθρυσι πινογηροί). The following account of them corresponds with the more detailed descriptions in Strabo XV 2 § 2, Diodorus XVII 105, Arrian Ind 29 § 19, 30 §§ 8, 9, anab VI 23 § 3.

*conchis*] Arrian VI 23 § 3 ξυμβέντας τὰς κόχχας.

*purgamentis*] off-scourings, refuse. The other writers inform us that these were the bones of whales or other huge animals (κῆτη) cast up by the sea.

*pellibus*] so Diodorus. δορᾶς θηρίων. Arrian Ind 24 § 9 says that some wore thick fish hides.

*sola duratis*] Strabo and Arrian Ind 29 §§ 9—13 say that they catch fish in nets made of palm-bark, and then dry the larger ones in the sun and grind them when dried into meal and even bake the meal into loaves. From Pliny N H VII § 30 we learn that Klitarchus is his authority for this statement, and Curtius probably took it also from the same source. See Pomponius Mela III 8.

*eisit*] so Diodorus αἰτοῦντα δὲ τὰ ἔξωθήλομενα κῆτη σαρκοφαγοῦντες, and the rest agree.

§ 11. *igitur*] the country supplying no food.

*ad ultimum*] 'at last', 'in the end'. So *ad extremum*.

*radices palmærum*] Strabo XV 2 § 5, Arrian VI 23 § 6, Indica 26 § 6, 29 § 1 mention only the fruit (βάλανοι ?dates) and pith (ἐγκέφαλος)
of the palms. Diodorus says nothing of the matter, which makes it probable that Curtius has not mistaken his authorities but followed different ones. Zumpt well refers to Cie. ii in Verrem v §§ 87, 99 where we read of sailors compelled by hunger to eat radices palmarum agrestium, a non-fruitiferous sort of palm.

§ 12. *iusmenta etc*] so Arrian vi 25 § 1, who however (cc 24—26) places the scene of these terrible sufferings in the land of the Παδρωσολ proper, which is the more probable account. See on § 18 *quiie'.

cremabant incendio] 'set fire to and burnt', as we say.

§ 13. *pestilentia*] Arrian vi 25 §§ 2, 3 speaks of their suffering from a νόσος, but does not attach such importance to it as Curtius seems to have done, probably following different authorities.

ad hoc] on the top of this, 'besides'.

§ 14. *strati etc*] Arrian substantially agrees with all this, and likens those who lay down in the sandy desert to men lost at sea.

*agnen etc*] Arrian says σπουδὴ γὰρ πολλῇ ἐγιγμένοι[o στόλος, καὶ ἐν τῷ υπὲρ τοῦ παντὸς προθύμῳ τὸ καθ' ἐκάστους ξίνων ἀνάγκη ἥμελετο.

proficere ad] make advance towards. Compare Cic Brutus § 92 nulla enim res tantum ad dicendum proficit quantum scriptio.

praeceperunt] so IV i § 3 of the retreat of Darius in haste, id demum credens fore ipsis, quod celeritate praeceper potuisset.

§ 15. *orabunt*] with all this compare the pathetic passage of Thucydides vii 75 §§ 3, 4.

 nec...etc] there were not...and. So oüte...τε often in Greek. Madvig § 458 c.

iumenta] ἀποφία τῶν ὑπογνυῶν, says Arrian.

excipi] be picked up. See excepturi 5 § 1 above.

portabat] =portare pote rat.

et ipsis] 'themselves also'.

ante oculos erat] =obversabantur.

saepius] too often, that is, so often that they ceased to take heed.

sustineabant] bear, endure.

misericordia] for others, formidinem for themselves.

§ 16. *sacra communia*] the rites of their common religion.

ipsis] themselves, that is the persons addressed, those hurrying on.

§ 17. *quia...esser*] because (as he felt) he was, 'feeling himself to be'. This subjunctive of the assumed reason is common enough. See Madvig § 357 a. Arrian vi 24 §§ 2, 3 tells us that Alexander well knew what he had to expect when he undertook this march; but the legends of the journeys of Semiramis and Cyrus through the same district, how the former lost all her army but 20 men, and the latter all but 7, roused him to attempt to succeed where they had failed. So too Strabo xv 2 § 5.
NOTES.

§§ 11—22

misit etc] Diodorus xvii 105 gives substantially the same account of his messages to the satraps and their prompt attention to his orders.

finitimavun] Diodorus την Παρθουσαν και Δραγγυνην και 'Αρελαν.

§ 18. fame] it would be more natural to have a fame after vindicatus, but the present construction seems a possible one.

dumtaxat] here 'at least'.

in Cedrosiae etc] see on §§ 5, 12.

omnia rerum] 'all sorts of things'.

sola] that is, alone of all the districts round. So Mützell and Zumpt take it; and emendations are not wanted.

quiete] Arrian vi 27 § 1 makes him rest and refresh his army at the capital of the Gadrosi, which in 24 § 1 he calls Πούπα. Plutarch Alex 66, 67 says that he found himself in plenty on entering Gedrosia, and that he gave his men a second rest at the capital of that district. But, as he makes them march seven days through Karmania in the mean time, we cannot attach much weight to his statement. It is however clear that there were two accounts of Gedrosia; but, as Arrian and Strabo agree, we cannot have much hesitation in believing that the country (at least as far as Pura) was scorched and barren to the last degree.

§ 19. Leonnati] his victory is mentioned also by Arrian vii 5 § 5, Ind 23 §§ 5, 6. Diodorus gives a version less favourable to the Macedonians.

Cratero] see on § 4. This is the first hint we have had from Curtius as to the whereabouts of Kraterus.

Ozinen] Arrian vi 27 § 3 speaks of Kraterus bringing one Ordanes a captured revoler to Alexander.

molicenter] compare Virgil georg i 271 insidiis avibus moliri.

§ 20. Sibyrtio] Arrian vi 27 § 1 says that he succeeded one Thoas (successor of Apollophonas) as satrap of Gadrosia, and that he was also satrap of Karmania.

morbo] so Thoas in Arrian.

§ 21. Asastes] mentioned only by Curtius.

suspectus voluisse] so Tacitus hist 1 46 suspectus consilia eius foivisse.

dum] used here with its favourite present indicative, though in the dependent clause after voluisse. See Madvig § 369 obs 3.

§ 22. dum] until such time as. See Madvig § 360 obs 2.

quaes delata erant] the informations laid against them. Arrian vi 27 §§ 4, 5 speaks of three satraps Kleander Sitalkes and Herakon whom the king punished after enquiry into their conduct. See also Diodorus XVII 106.

cum inde] the order of the sense is inde cum. So we might have cum igitur or the reverse. For inde=after that, 'next', compare i § 33.

equorum etc] Arrian vi 27 § 6 gives much the same account.
under their rule'.

Müttell compares Livy XXVIII 41 for this military expression.

§ 23. cultum] see 3 §§ 10, 11.


supra] see VIII 10 §§ 17, 18. Diodorus XVII 166 and Plutarch Alex 67 give just the same account of this seven days' revel. Arrian VI 28 §§ 1, 2, following Ptolemy and Aristobulus, denies the truth of the story, and he is probably right.

gloriam] his 'glory' or 'renown' won by his great exploits as a conqueror in the east: famam, his 'repute' as the founder of the Bacchic revels. For the opposition of the words see 5 § 1. Cicero Tusc III §§ 3, 4 est enim gloria solida quaedam res et expressa, non adumbrata; ea est consentiens laus honorum, incorrupta vox bene indicantium de excelsa virtute; ea virtuti resonat quam imago. quae quia ree factorum plerumque eomes est, non est bonis viris repudianda. illa autem quae se eius imitationem esse vult, t-meraria atque inconsiderata et plerumque peccatorum vitiorumque laudatrix, fama popularis, simulationes honestatis formam eius pulchritudinemque corrumpit. But fama, we must remember, is in itself a neutral word.

sive...Iusus] is a parenthetic remark by way of comment on statuim imitari.

illud] 'that' = what he did. So Virgil Aen III 173 nec sopor illud erat, where illud = what I saw and heard. See quod § 28 below.

triumphus] Arrian says καὶ θραμβός το άυτόν ἐπικληθηκαί τόν Διόνυσον καὶ τάς έπι ταῖς νίκαις ταῖς έκ πολέμου πομπάς έπι τώ αυτώ τούτω θραμβός. Greek writers always render the Roman triumphus by θραμβός.

§ 25. aedium] temples: or can it be that he means houses?

crateras] from nominative cratera.

constrata] with carpets or rugs, according to Plutarch.

velis] hangings, curtains, awnings.

§ 26. cohors regia] see on VIII 11 § 11.

redimita] a common word in the poets.

vehicul] that is, ibant, 'rode'.

comissabundus] so Livy IX 17 says loosely of Alexander, Indiae, per quam temulento agmine comissabundus inessit.

 poculis] 'cups', as distinct from craterae 'mixing-bowls'.

§ 27. saltuum] goes closely with adversus comissantes.

viris modo] = dummodo viri fuissent.

§ 28. fortuna etc] compare Sallust Cat 8 § 1 sed profecto fortuna in omni re dominatur; ea res cunctas ex lubidine magis quam ex vero celebrat obscuratque.
NOTES.

§§ 22—30

praesens] that is, the contemporaries of Alexander. Curtius uses these very words in precisely the same sense viii 5 § 11, where he has just put the same notion in the words secum viventium. deinde] 'after them'. So Greek τετερα.

§ 30. Curtius appropriately closes the book with one of the moral sentences dear to all rhetoricians.
A. The first suasoria of Seneca the rhetorician, from the text of Kiessling (Leipzig, Teubner, 1872), to be compared with Curtius IX 2 §§ 8—11, 3 §§ 1—15, 4 §§ 16—21, 9 §§ 20—22. For these declamations on themes see Mayor on Juvenal I 16, VII 162. Seneca’s work is a collection of specimens, reported from his own notes or from memory, of the manner in which some of the greatest masters of the period had handled certain topics. The beginning of the present one is unfortunately lost. They are interesting as shewing the spirit of the rhetorical schools, their laboured striving after antithesis and tendency to wear a sentiment threadbare.

1 ...sinunt. cuicumque rei magnitudinem natura dederat dedit et modum: nihil infinitum est nisi Oceanus. aiunt fertiles in Oceano iacere terras ultraque Oceanum rursus alia litora, alium nasci orbem, nec usquam rerum naturam desinere, sed semper inde ubi desisse uidetur nouam exsurgere. facile ista finguntur quia Oceanus navigari non potest. satis sit hactenus Alexandro uicisse qua mundo lucere satis est. intra has terras caelum Hercules meruit. stat immotum mare et quasi deficientis in suo fine naturae pigra moles: nouae ac terribiles figurae, magna etiam Oceano portenta quae profunda ista vastitas nutrit, confusa lux alta caligine et interceptus tenebris dies, ipsum uero graue et defixum mare et aut nulla aut ignota sidera. ita est, Alexander, rerum natura: post omnia Oceanus, post Oceanum nihil. 2 ARGENTARI. resistite, orbis te tuus revocat: uicimus qua licet. nihil tantum est, quod ego Alexandri periculo petam. POMPEI SILONIS. venit ille dies, Alexander, exoptatus, quo tibi opera desset: idem sunt termini et regni tui et mundi. OSCI. tempus est Alexandrum cum orbe et cum sole desinere. quod noueram uici: nunc concupisco quod nescio. quae tam
APPENDIX A.

ferae gentes fuerunt quae non Alexandrum posito genu adorarint? qui tam horridi montes quorum non iuga uictor miles calcauerit? ultra Liber patris tropaea constitimus. non quaerimus orbem, sed ammittimus. inmensum et humanae temptatum experientiae pelagus, totius orbis uinculum terrarumque custodia, inagitata remigio uastitas, litora modo saeuiente fluctu iniqua, modo fugiente deserta: tetra caligo fluctus premit et nescio qui quod humanis natura subduxit oculis aesterna nox obtuit. MVSAE. foeda beluarum magnitudo et inmobile profundum testantur, Alexander, nihil ultra esse quod uincas: reuertere. 3 ALBVCI SILI. terrae quoque sum finem habent et ipsius mundi aliquis occasus est; nihil infinitum est: modum magnitudini facere debes, quoniam fortuna non facit. magni pectoris est inter secunda moderatio. eundem fortuna uictoriae tuae quem naturae finem facit: imperium tuum eludit Oceanus. o quantum magnitudo tua rerum quoque naturam supergressa est! Alexander orbi magnus est, Alexandro orbis angustus est. aliquis etiam magnitudini modus est: non procedit ultra spatia sua caelum, maria intra terminos suos agitantur. quidquid ad summum peruenit incremento non reliquit locum. non magis quidquam ultra Alexandrum nouimus quam ultra Oceanum. MARILLI. maria sequimur, terras cui tradimus? orbem quem non noui quaero, quem uici relinquo. 4 FABIANI. quid? ista toto pelago infusa caligo nauigantem tibi uidentur admittere, quae prospicientem quoque excludit? non haec India est nec ferarum terribilis ille conventus. inmanes propone beluas, aspice quibus procellis fluctibusque saeuiat, quas ad litora undas agat. tantus uentorum concursus, tanta conuulsi funditus maris insania est; nulla praesens nauigantibus statio est, nihil salutare, nihil notum: rudis et imperfecta natura penitus recessit. ista maria ne illi quidem petierunt qui fugiebant Alexandrum. sacrum quidem terris natura circumfudit Oceanum. illi qui etiam siderum collegerunt metas et annuas hiemis atque aestatis uices ad certam legem redergentur, quibus nulla pars ignota mundi est, de Oceano tamen dubitant utrumque terras uelut uincurum circumfluat, an in suum colligatur orbem et in hos per quos nauigatur sinus quasi spiramenta quaedam magnitudinis exaestuet; ignem post se cuius augmentum ipse sit habeat, an spiritum. quid agitis, conmilitones? domitoremne generis humani, magnum Alexandrum, eo dimittitis quod adhuc quid sit disputatur? memento Alexander: matrem in orbe uicto adhuc magis quam pacato relinquis.

5 DIVISIO. aiebat CESTIVS hoc genus suasiorum aliter declamandum esse quam suadendum. non eodem modo in libera ciuitate dicendam sententiam quo apud reges, quibus etiam quae prosunt ita
APPENDIX A.

tamen ut delectent suadenda sunt. et inter reges ipsos esse discriminem: quosdam minus aut magis osos ueritatem; facile Alexandrum exisse quos superbissimos et supra mortalis animi modum inflatos accepimus. denique ut alia dimittantur argumenta, ipsa suasoria insolentiam eius coarguit; orbis illum suus non capit: itaque nihil dicendum aiebat nisi cum summa ueneratione regis, ne accidaret idem quod praecensori eius amitino Aristotelis accidit, quem occidit propter intempestiue liberos sales: nam cum (deum) se uellet uideri et uulneratus esset, uiso sanguine eius philosophus mirari se dixerat, quod non esset ἵχωρ ὁλός πέρ τε ἰθεί μακάρεσαι θεῶσιν. ille se ab hac urbanitate lancea uindicauit. eleganter in C. Cassio epistola quadem ad M. Ciceronem missa positum: multum iocatur de stultitia Cn. Pompei adolescens qui in Hispamia contraxit exercitum et ad Mundam acie uictus est; deinde ait: ‘nos quidem illum deridemus, sed timeo ne ille nos gladio ἀντιμυκτηρίος’. in omnibus regibus haec urbanitas eximia est. aiebat itaque apud Alexandrum esse dicendum sententiam ut multa adulatione animus eius permulceretur, seruandum tamen aliquem modum, ne conuererat ratio et accidaret tale aliquid quale accidit Atheniensibus, cum publicae eorum blanditiae non tantum deprehensae se castigatae sunt. nam cum Antonius uellet se Liberum patrem dici et hoc nomen statuus subscribi iuberet, habitu quoque et comitatu Liberum imitaretur, occurrerunt ueniensi ei Athenienses cum coniugibus et liberi et Διόνυσον salutauermnt. belle illis cesserat, si nasus Atticus ibi substitisset; (set) dixerunt despondere ipsos in matrimonium illi Minerum suam et rogauernunt ut duceret. Antonius ait duceturum, sed dotis nomine imperare se illis mille talenta. tum ex Graeculis quidam ait: κύριε, ὃ ζεύς τὴν μὴ τέρα σου Σεμέλην ἀπροικον εἴχεν. huic quidem impune fuit, sed Atheniensium sponsalia mille talentis aestimata sunt. quae cum exigerentur conplures contumeliosi libelli proponebantur, quidam etiam ipsi Antonio tradebantur: sicut ille qui subscriptus statuae eius fuit, cum eodem tempore et Octauiam uxorem haberet et Cleopatram: 'Ὀκταούλα καλ Ἀθηνίζ Ἀντωνίῳ' res tuas tibi habe. bellissimam tamen rem DELLIVS dixit, quem Messala Corinuus desultorem bellorum ciuiliium uocat, quia ab Dolabella ad Cassium transiitus salutem sibi pactus est, si Dolabella occidisset: a Cassio deinde transiit ad Antonium, nouissime ab Antonio transfugit ad Caesarem. hic est Dellius cuius epistulae ad Cleopatram lasciueae feruntur. cum Athenienses tempus peterent ad pecuniam conferendam nec exorarent, Dellius ait: et tamen dicit illos tibi annua. bienni, trienni die debere. longius me fabellarum dulcedo produxit: itaque ad


 APPENDIX A. 183

propositum reuertar. 8 aiebat CESTIVS magnis cum laudibus Alexandri hanc suasoriam esse dicendam, quam sic diuisit, ut primum diceret, etiamsi nauigari posset Oceanus, nauigandum non esse; satis gloriae quaesitum; regenda esse et disponenda quae in transitu uicisset; consulendum militi tot cius uictorius lasso; de matre illi cogitandum: et alias causas complures subiecit. deinde illum quaestionem subiecit, ne nauigari quidem Oceanum posse. 9 FABIANVS philosophus primam fecit quaestionem eandem: etiam si nauigari posset Oceanus nauigandum non esse. 8 at rationem aliam primam fecit: modum inponendum esse rebus secundis. hic dixit sententiam: illa demum est magna felicitas quae arbitrio suo constitit. dixit deinde locum de uarietate fortunae et cum descriptissset nihil esse stabile, omnia fluitate et incertis motibus modo adtolli, modo deprimi, absorbi terras et maria succari, montes subsidere, deinde exempla regul e fastigio suo deulotorum, adiecit: sine potius rerum naturam quam fortunam tuam deficere. 10 secundam quoque quaestionem alter tractauit: diuisit enim illum sic, ut primum negaret ullas in Oceano aut trans Oceanum esse terras habitabiles. deinde si essent, perueniri tamen ad illas non posse; hic difficultatem navigationis, ignoti maris naturam non patientem navigationis. nouissime ut posset perueniri, tanti tamen non esse. hic dixit incerta peti, certa desi; descturas gentes, si Alexandrum rerum natura terminos supergressum enotuisset; hic matrem de qua dixit: quomodo illa trepidauit etiam quom Granicum transiturus esses. 11 GLEYCONIS celebris sententia est: τουτο ουκ έστι Σινειος ουδε Γράνικος· τουτο ει μη τι κακων ην, ουκ άν νεατον έκειτο. hoc omnes imitari voluerunt. 12 LIVION dixit: και δια τουτο μεγιστων έστων, ην αυτο μεν μετα παντα, μετα δε αυτο ουθεν. ARTEMON dixit: βουλευτεν ει δε αρα περαιουσαι. ου ταις Ἐλλησποντιαις ῥόσων εφεστώτες ουδε επι τῷ Παμφυλιῳ πελάγει την ημπρόθεσμον καραδοκούμεν ἀμποσιν' ουδε Ειφράτης τουτ' έστων, ουδε Ἰνόδος, άλλ' ειτε γης τερμα, ειτε φύσεως δρος, ειτε πρεσβύτατοι στοιχειων, ειτε γένειας θεων, λεφτερόν έστων η κατα ναις υδωρ. APATVRIVS dixit: εντεθεν η ναις εκ μιας φορας εις άνατολας, ενθα δε εις τας άνωτας δυσεις. CESTIVS descrispsit: sic fremit Oceanus, quasi indignetur quod terras reliniquas. 12 Corruptissimam rem omnium quae unquam dictae sunt ex quo homines diserti insanire coeperunt, putabant Dorionis esse in metaphrasi dictam Homeri, cum excaecatus Cyclops saxum in mare reiecit... haec quomodo ex corruptis eo perueniant, ut et magna et tamen sana sint, aiebat Maecenas apud Vergilium intellegi posse. tumidum est: θρεος θρος αποσπαται. Vergilius quid ait? rapit
APPENDIX A.

haud partem exiguum montis.

ita (a) magnitudine discedit, ut non inprudenter discedat a side. est inflatum:

καὶ καὶρὰ βᾶλλεται νῦνος.

Vergilius quid ait? qui de nauibus:

credas innarc reuolsas

Cycladas.

non dicit hoc fieri, sed uideri. propitiis auribus accipitur, quamuis incredibile est, quod excusatur antequam dicitur. 13 multo corruptior sententiam MENESTRATI ei insdam declamatoris non abieci sui temporibus nactus sum in hac ipsa sausoria, cum describeret beluarum in Oceano nascentium magnitudinem... efficit hace sententia, ut ignoscamus ei qui dixit ipsis Charybdi et Scylla maius portentum: 'Charybdis ipsius maris naufragium', et ne in una re semel insaniret: 'quid ibi potest esse salui ubi ipsum mare perit?' DAMAS ethicos induxit matrem loquentem, cum describeret adsidue prioribus periculis noua superuenisse:....BARBARVS dixit, cum introduxisset excusantem se exercitum Macedonum, hunc sensum: ... 14 FYSCVS ARELLIVS dixit: testor ante orbem tibi tuum deesse quam militem. LATRO sedens hanc dixit; non excusauit militem, sed dixit: dum sequor, quis mihi pro-mittit hostem, quis terram, quis diem, quis mare? da ubi castra ponam, ubi signa ponam. reliqui parentes, reliqui liberos, conmeatum peto: nuncquid immature ab Oceano? 15 Latini declamatores in descriptione Oceani non nimis uigueurunt; nam aut minus descripterunt, aut (nimis) curiose. nemo illorum potuit tanto spiritu dicere quanto Pdeo, qui nauigante Germanico dicit:

iam pridem pos terga diem solenque relinquant,
iam pridem notis extorres sinibus orbis
per non concessas audaces ire tenebras
ad rerum metas extremaque litora mundi;
nunc illum pigris immania monstra sub undis
qui ferat Oceanum, qui saeas undique pistris
acquoreosque canes, ratibus consurgere prensis.
accumulat fragor ipse metus. iam sidere limo
nauigia et rapido desertam flamme classem
seque feris credunt per inertia fata marinis
tam non felici laniandos sorte relinqui.
atque aliquis prora caecum sublimis ab alta
aëra pugnaci luctatus rumpere uisu,
ut nihil crepto ualuit dinoscere mundo, 
 obstructa in talis effundit pectora uoces: 
quod ferimur? fugit ipse dies orbemque relictum 
ultima perpetuis claudit natura tenebris. 
anne alio positas ultra sub cardine gentes 
atque alium flabris intactum quaerimus orbem? 
di reuocant rerumque uetant cognoscere finem 
mortales oculos: aliena quid aequora remis 
et sacras uiolamus aquas diuumque quietas 
turbamus sedes?
ex Graecis declamatoribus nulli melius haec suasoria processit quam 
Glyconi; sed non minus multa magnifice dixit quam corrupte: utro-
rumque faciam uobis potestatem. et uolebam uos experiri non adici-
endo judicium meum nec separando a corruptis sana—potuisset enim 
sieri ut uos magis illa laudaretis quae insaniunt—et nihilominus poterit 
sieri, quamuis distinxerim. illa belle dixit:...sed fecit quod solebat, ut 
sententiam adiectione superuaucua atque tumida perderet; adiecit enim: 
...illud quosdam dubios iudici sui habet—ego non dubito contra senten-
tiam ferre—: ἡγεῖσθαι ἡγεῖσθαι ἡμεῖς Μακεδόνες γὰρ χάος εἰςπλέουσι.

B. A specimen of the translation of John Breende, 1553.

[From IX 3 §§ 1—11].

Notwithstanding all that he had sayde, there was not one souldier 
that would open his mouth to speake, but stode wayting that some of 
the princes and great capitaynes shoulde declare unto the kynge their 
estates, and howe that there remayned not in them any obstinat refusall 
of the warres, but that they were so exhausted with woundes and waired 
with continuall travaill that they were not able to endure any lenger. 
As they stode thus astonied and afrayed, keping silence and lookyng 
upon the ground, there beganne first a whisperyng and a rumor and 
afterwardes a lamentacion amongst them, and by lyttle and little thei 
beganne more manifestly to shewe their dolour, the teares fallnyng frō 
their eyes. The kynges anger was then so turned into compassion, that 
he was not able to keape hym selfe from weapyng. At length the 
whole assemble brast out into an excessive weapyng. And when all the 
rest were at a stay to speake Cenus toke upon hym to presse forwarde 
towards the judgement seate where Alexander stoode, signifieng that 
he had somewhat to saye. When the souldiers saw he pulled his helmet
from his head (for so it was the custome to speake unto the kyng) they began to require hym that he woulde utter the cause of the whole army. Then Cenus beganne in this wyse: The Goddes defende our myndes from all wicked thoughtes (as I doubt not but they wyll) there is none of your souldiers but be of the same mynde towardes you that they have bene in tymes past. Whether it be your pleasure to commaunde them to go forwardes, to fyght, to hasarde them selves, or with their bloud commend your name unto the posteritie. And if you will nedes persover in your opinion, though we be unarmed naked and without bloud, we will either come after you or go before, as you shall thynke expedient. But if you wyll be content to heare the grieves and complayntes of your souldiers that be not fayned but expressed by force of very necessitie, I humblie beseeche you then that ye woulde vouchesave favourably to heare them, that constantly have folowed your authoritie and fortune, and are yet redy to folow wheresoever you wyll appoynte. O Alexander, with the greatnes of your actes ye have not overco ne only your enemies, but also your owne souldiers. Whatsoever mans mortalitie is able to fulfyll, that is perfermed by us, having passed over so manye Seas and countrieys better knowne to us then to the very inhabiteres, nowe remayning in maner in the uttermoste ende of the worlde. And yet for all this, your purpose is to passe into an other worlde and seke out an Inde unknowne to the Indians. Ye covet to plucke out the wilde beastes and serpentes out of their dennes & lurking places, minding to serche further with your victory then the sonne hath visited w't her beames, which truly is an imaginaciō mete for your harte, but farre exceeding our capacitie and power. Your manhode and courage is always an encrease, but our force groweth in declinacion. Behold our bodies destitute of bloud, perced with so many woundes, and rotted with so many scarres. Our weapons nowe be dulled, and our armour is wasted & consumed, we weare our apparell after the Perciās maner, because our countrey garmentes do faill us. We are degenerate out of our own fasshion, & growen into a straūge habite. What is he that hath his corselet or horse particular to himself? Cause it to be enquired how many servaūtes do folowe their maisters and what remaineth to every mā of the spoyle. Being the victorers of al mē, of all men we are the poorest.
Some extracts from the *Alexandreiis* of Bishop Philippus Gualterus (12th or 13th century). These interesting passages are taken from Mützell’s introduction: he quotes them to illustrate certain views as to the history of the MSS of Curtius, from whom the matter of the poem, and even much of the phraseology, was taken.

(1) *intercipit in mare Ganges decursurum Achesim: magnus* *ocurrir uterque motibus et rapido inter eos colliditur aestu.*

*Probably a misprint for magnis.*

This comes from *viii* 9 § 8 where the old reading was *Acesines cum auget. Ganges decursurum in mare intercipit, magnoque motu amnis uterque colliditur.*

(2) *iamque Argiva phalanx medium proruperat agmen Indorum.*

So the old reading in *viii* 14 § 18 was *prorupit.*

(3) *ausa tamen fatis Macetumque resistere famae gens Sudracharum.*

See note on the name of this tribe in *ix* 4 § 15.

(4) *obice nos cuiris portento: ignobile bellum, degeneres pugnas, obscura pericula vita; gloria quantalibet vili sordescit in hoste.*

So in *ix* 6 § 14 *bella* was read, where *pericula* is now generally adopted.

D. An abstract of the remarks of Mr J Talboys Wheeler in his *History of India from the earliest ages* vol III c 4 on the campaigns of Alexander in that country and other matters connected with the same; with a few comments added in brackets.

(a) He accepts the stories of Alexander’s drunkenness and the weakening of his character, and thinks that the Macedonian phalanx had already degenerated when the Indian campaigns began. [See above in the Introduction B 13 for doubts as to the full acceptance of this view, though of course it is partly true.]
Alexander’s original design was to penetrate to the Ganges and conquer the great empire then existing on its banks. To do this he must conquer the smaller kingdoms on his way. Of the three Punjab kingdoms that of the ‘elder’ Porus was the most important: and from the eminence assigned to him it appears that his authority extended, in name at least, over the others. Thus he would be a sort of suzerain of the Punjab, a view confirmed by the Hindu tradition of the empire of Puru in these parts. The so-called hostile sovereigns (Taxiles and the younger Porus) were originally nothing more than refractory vassal kings. Under the non-cohesive system of Asiatic monarchies such nominal supremacy is often retained long after the political ties have been virtually destroyed. Alexander deemed it politic to treat the refractory vassals as independent sovereigns.

Alexander had learnt that in Asiatic warfare the chief danger lay in the rear, and accordingly was careful to secure the real submission of the tribes as he passed. Liberal to ready submission and to obstinate resistance, he sternly repressed revolts and punished deception. His message to the Indian princes, requiring their submission, was probably sent by him as Great King of Persia to whom the whole region (Cabul and the Punjab) had been tributary in a previous generation (Herodotus III 94, 95, 102). After subduing the Assacani and taking Aornos, he made the kingdom of Taxiles his base of operations for crossing the Jhelum. The battle is one of the most remarkable actions in ancient story, and the passage of the river a wonderful feat. The results of his victory were most important. He was able to form a fleet on the Jhelum, a measure due both to his soldierly instinct of precaution and to his imagination. He at first took the Indus for the Nile.

After crossing the Chenab and Ravee without opposition, he was called back to reduce the rebellious Kathaeei to obedience. These seem to have been Rajpoots: at least their customs were of a Rajpoot character. But his plans were frustrated by the sullen resistance of his Macedonian soldiers. “Their spirits had been broken, not so much by the toils of war, as by the wind and rain of the south-west monsoon; and by this time their love of ease and sensual gratification had blunted that passion for glory and dominion which had formerly animated the phalanx”. So they would not advance beyond the Sutlej. So he turned back and proceeded along the Jhelum and Indus through Scinde and thence through Beloochistan to Susa.

The surface-observations of the Greeks who accompanied him
shew care and acuteness. Their descriptions of the country are accurate, but they did not penetrate into the inner life of the people. One thing we may gather from them, that distinctions of caste had not as yet appeared in the Punjab, and that in this point (as also in respect of the system of government) the civilisation of the Punjab was essentially different from that of the Gangetic empire as described a few years later by Megasthenes, when Sandrokottos was on the throne. This prince, known to the Hindus as Chandragupta, ruled over a great populous and wealthy country; there caste institutions had long prevailed; the court was of rather a Tartar than an Aryan type, with its intrigues and conspiracies, its pompous ceremonies, and its hosts of women and bodyguards round the person of the Raja. Espionage was the chief engine of government. The religion of the people was Brahmanical, but the Buddhists had then made some progress, and there is reason to think that the Raja was himself a convert to Buddhism. [It is to be gathered that the later writers in borrowing from Megasthenes did not understand the variety of customs and institutions in India, and (as possibly Curtius viii 9) applied what was meant for the Hindus of the Ganges valley to those of the Punjab.]

(f) [Mr Wheeler remarks that the story told in Curtius ix 2 §§ 6—7 is a scandal unworthy of credit. It is, he says, simply the oriental form of abuse, which is directed not against the individual but against his mother and other female relatives. But he represents the tale as told to Alexander at Taxila by Sandrokottos. On what authority he makes the two meet at all, and how he brings the latter to Taxila, I cannot discover. Mr McCrindle on the contrary makes the story to be told of Sandrokottos; at least he says that the Ξανδράμυης of Diodorus xvii 93 and the Agrammes of Curtius are to be identified with him, and that the names are mere distortions of form. The last is a bold remark.]

1 Is it possible that Sisikottos may have been meant here?

[1 find that Mr Hunter, pp 144, 160, also identifies Sisikottos and Sandrokottos. W E H July 1882.]
LIST OF NAMES.

Ammon] a god known to the Greeks by the name of Zeus Ammon. He had a temple and oracle in an oasis in the Libyan desert, which was visited by Alexander in person in the year 331 B.C. with the result that he was greeted by the oracle as the son of Zeus.

Antigenes] is mentioned by Curtius as having been present at the battle with Porus. After the death of Alexander Susiana fell to his share.

Aristonus] shewed great courage at the attack on the capital of the Malli when he helped to save the life of Alexander. He was a somatophylax and it was he who after Alexander's death proposed, probably according to arrangement, that the supreme power should be entrusted to Perdiccas. After Alexander's death he remained near Perdiccas and was subsequently put to death by the orders of Cassander.

Attalus] In VIII 13 § 21 we are told by Curtius that Attalus was of the same age as Alexander and that at the passage of the Hydaspes he was left, dressed in royal robes to deceive Porus, in command of the mercenaries while Alexander himself crossed higher up the river. He was one of the seven great officers at Alexander's death and subsequently joined Perdiccas, after whose assassination he made his escape only to be defeated and taken prisoner 317 B.C.

Balacrus] was not a person of any great note. He was the son of Amyntas. After Issus he was appointed satrap of Cilicia and was subsequently employed in Egypt where after Alexander's departure he was left in command of an army. Later on we hear of him again at the siege of Aornus.

Barzaentes] satrap of the Arachosii and Drangae, accompanied the flight of Darius from Gaugamela and joined Bessus in murdering him. He was afterwards delivered up to Alexander who put him to death.

Cleitus] brother of Lanice the nurse of Alexander whose life he had the good fortune to save at the battle of the Granicus 334 B.C. To this we may trace Alexander's great affection for him. At first he held the command of the royal squadron of the guard but after the death of Philotas he shared with Hephaestion the command of the horseguards. He was subsequently appointed satrap of Bactria in the room of Arta-
LIST OF NAMES.

basus but before he set out to his government he was killed at a banquet in a fit of anger by Alexander himself whom he had enraged by sternly rebuking his flatterers.

Coenus] brother in law of Philotas, at whose trial he was one of the three presiding generals. Probably from a wish to save Philotas from being tortured he proposed the punishment of stoning. He commanded a division of the phalanx and was employed by Alexander on various occasions, as for instance against Spitamenes whom he defeated. Accompanying Alexander to India we find him in command of some cavalry at the battle with Porus. It was Coenus who in the name of the army strongly dissuaded Alexander from pushing on his conquests beyond the Hyphasis. He died not long afterwards.

Critobulus] a Greek surgeon in the service both of Philip, from whose eye he skilfully extracted an arrow, and of Alexander for whom as Curtius says he extracted the javelin from the wound received at the siege of the Mallian capital. Arrian however gives the credit of this operation to one Critodemus.

Craterus] one of the ablest of Alexander's officers but if we may judge from his conduct at the trial of Philotas not of a very scrupulous and upright character. Under Parmenio he commanded the infantry of the left wing at Issus and the cavalry at Gaugamela, and afterwards was entrusted with one of the divisions of the phalanx. Accompanying Alexander to India he was employed on numerous occasions where energy and ability were required. On the return from India he was sent back by the Bolan Pass to Carmania with the elephants the light troops and the disabled Macedonians, and arrived in safety. By Alexander's desire he married Amastris a niece of Darius and was then despatched with Polysperchon to conduct the discharged veterans back to Europe. After Alexander's death Greece and the countries to the north of it fell to the joint regency of Craterus and Antipater whose daughter he married. Craterus eventually fell in battle against Eumenes.

Eumenes] is only once mentioned in our period. He was a Greek of Cardia and a man of great ability. Having become secretary to Philip he held the same post under Alexander by whom he was employed not only in civil but also in military operations. On the death of Alexander he obtained Cappadocia Paphlagonia and Pontus and was established in his government by Perdiccas. He took a leading part in the subsequent wars.

Harpalus] who was about the same age as Alexander himself was banished for his share in the intrigue to bring about the marriage of Alexander with the daughter of Pixodarus. On Philip's death he was recalled and accompanied Alexander to Asia as his treasurer, but before Issus was guilty of peculation and fled to Greece. He was however recalled and pardoned and placed in charge of the treasury at Ecbatana with 6000 men. Again he grossly abused his trust and again fled to Greece on hearing of Alexander's safe return from India. He was eventually assassinated in Crete.
Epehaestion] was about Alexander's own age and his most intimate friend. He does not appear to have possessed any marked ability, and this perhaps was one reason for Alexander's affection towards him. We find him crowning the tomb of Patroclus in the Troad as Alexander did that of Achilles. In the Egyptian expedition he was in command of the fleet, and he received a wound at Gaugamela. At the trial of Philotas he was one of the three presidents and after the death of Philotas succeeded with Cleitus to the joint command of the horse-guards. He was subsequently employed in important operations in Sogdiana and Bactria and accompanied Alexander to India, where again we continually find him charged with the conduct of great operations. He shared with Perdiccas the task of preparing a bridge over the Indus, was sent to occupy the kingdom of the lesser Porus, led a division during the invasion of the territory of the Malli, and commanded half the army during the descent of the Indus. From this it would appear that he had acquired sufficient military experience to compensate for his want of striking ability. After this he was occupied with the building of several cities and when separated from the king it was on him that the command of the whole army devolved. On his return to Susa he married Drypetis a daughter of Darius and sister of Statira. Soon afterwards he was taken with a fever at Ecbatana and there died receiving after death the most extravagant honours from the affection of Alexander.

Leonnatus] was one of the ablest and most distinguished of Alexander's officers. He was a somatophylax and on several occasions shewed the greatest courage, notably at the siege of the Mallian town where with Peucetes he saved Alexander's life. On the march down the Indus he commanded the light troops and was left at the mouth of that river with most of the troops and the smaller vessels. On the return march from India he was left to overawe the Oritae and to wait for the arrival of Nearchus. For these services he was rewarded with a golden crown. After Alexander's death Lesser or Hellespontine Phrygia fell to his share.

Meleager] was present at Alexander's battles of the Granicus Issus and Gaugamela and took part in the operations in Bactria. At the passage of the Ilydaspes he was in command of mercenaries. After Alexander's death he led the opposition against Perdiccas by whom he was put to death.

Memnon] was appointed governor of Syria and subsequently brought up reinforcements for Alexander from Thrace.

Nearchus] was in command of the fleet on the voyage down the Indus, from the mouth of which river he was sent round with a fleet on a voyage of survey to the Persian Gulf and arrived safe at Carmania after meeting with Leonnatus at Oritis, visiting the Persian Gulf, and finally landing near the island ofOrmuz. From here he proceeded to explore the mouth of the river Tigris. At Susa he was married to a daughter of Mentor by Barsine, who had also had a son by Alexander (by name Hercules) whose claims to the throne were supported by Nearchus in the council held after the death of Alexander.
Onesicritus] was appointed pilot of the king’s ship or chief pilot of the fleet built on the Hydaspes and accompanied Nearchus in that capacity on the voyage down the Indus and also to the Persian Gulf. At Susa he was rewarded for his services with a crown. He subsequently wrote a history of Alexander which, though he was to a large extent an eyewitness, is chiefly remarkable for its want of veracity.

Oxyartes] accompanied Bessus in his retreat across the Oxus after the murder of Darius, having left his family as he thought secure in a fortress of Sogdiana. Alexander however stormed the fortress and having taken them prisoners designed to marry Roxana his daughter. On hearing of this Oxyartes gave himself up and met with the kindest treatment and was appointed satrap of Parapamisus a post which he continued to hold after the death of Alexander probably until his own death.

Perdiccas] was one of the greatest of Alexander’s generals and as after events proved one of the most unscrupulous. See Thirlwall chapter LVII (vol VIII p 221). He was one of the officers called somatophylakes and also commanded one of the divisions of the phalanx. At the siege of Thebes he was wounded and was present at all Alexander’s great battles. He was subsequently employed both in the campaigns on the Oxus and in India where he was sent on with Hephaestion to prepare a bridge for the army over the Indus, distinguished himself in the battle with Porus, and was selected to lead the assault on the Mallian town where Alexander nearly lost his life. He married a daughter of the satrap Atropates and his favour with Alexander seems to have been continually on the increase and Alexander’s last act (which was to hand his signet-ring to him) seems to have been intended to designate Perdiccas as his successor. He was chosen regent after Alexander’s death in conjunction with Meleager and after many vicissitudes was finally assassinated in Egypt in a campaign against Ptolemy.

Peucætes] was appointed to carry the sacred shield which Alexander took down from the temple of Athena at Ilium, and in this capacity chiefly contributed to save Alexander’s life among the Malli. As a reward for this he was made a somatophylax and appointed governor of Persia. At Susa he was rewarded with a golden crown. In 323 B.C he joined Alexander with 20,000 Persian soldiers and was in close attendance during the king’s last illness. He further won Alexander’s favour by adopting the Persian dress and manners. After the king’s death he was continued in his government of Persia.

Pithon] the commander of the royal household was defeated wounded and taken prisoner by Spitamenes. He was employed in the Indian campaign and there received a province. Against the Malli he held a command and was also sent to put down the revolt of Musicus. On the march down the Indus he had charge of a division with the duty of planting colonies and pacifying the country. After Alexander’s death he retained his province and eventually fell in the battle between Demetrius and Ptolemy B.C 312.
Polypercon] or Polysperchon, one of the oldest veterans in the service of Alexander commanded a division of the phalanx. We find him mentioned as present at the passage of the Ilydaspes and also in the descent of the Indus when he was under the command of Craterus with whom he was subsequently sent to conduct the discharged veterans back to Greece. Being absent at Alexander's death he was passed over and is not heard of again till sometime after that event.

Ptolemy] the reputed son of Lagus and thus of obscure origin, but also said to be an illegitimate son of Philip, was probably the ablest of Alexander's officers and was the author of an account of his conquests. He was banished from Macedonia on the discovery of Alexander's projected marriage with the daughter of Pixodarus, and this event was the beginning of his subsequent elevation. In conjunction with Asander he defeated Orontobates and captured Halicarnassus and other strong places in Caria. At the forcing of the Persian Gates he was in command of a division of 3000 men and was made a somatophylax in the room of Demetrius. He was sent to arrest Bessus and commanded a column in the operations across the Oxus and was engaged at the siege of the fortress of Chorienes. It was he who gained information of the plot of Hermolaus and the pages and reported it to Alexander, thereby in all probability saving the king's life. In the campaign against the Aspasians he killed their chief with his own hand. In the operations against the Malli he commanded one of the three corps of invasion and in the district of Oritis (or in the kingdom of Sambus) he received a wound which was healed by the application of a herb discovered by Alexander himself, who was thus enabled to requite his friend for saving his own life as above mentioned. On the return from India he was married to a daughter of Artabanus. After Alexander's death Egypt fell to his share and there he maintained himself and founded a dynasty.

Sisocostus] or Sisicottus, an Indian leader of mercenaries who, when Bessus fell into Alexander's hands, submitted and became attached to the conqueror. It was he who gave Alexander accounts of the country beyond the Indus. To him was committed the charge of the important rock-fortress of Aornis or Aornus.
INDEX TO THE NOTES.

a meridie viii 10 § 24
ab Oriente viii 9 § 5
Abisares viii 12 § 13
ablative ix 5 § 30, 10 §§ 12, 18
ablative of description ix 8 § 23
" instrument viii 13 § 18
" origin viii 10 § 1
" price ix 6 § 11
" time ix 6 § 1
" without preposition after verbs ix 8 § 14
abstergere ix 9 § 16
abstinere viii 10 § 10
abstract for concrete viii 13 § 18, ix 7 § 8
Acadira viii 10 § 19
acceptus viii 12 § 11
accidere ix 9 § 27
Acesines viii 9 § 8, ix 1 § 8, 4 § 8
acrius quam cautius viii 11 § 15
ad = against viii 10 § 22, ix 4 § 23
ad hoc = praethereum ix 2 § 4, 10 § 13
ad ictus ix 5 § 1
ad manum viii 11 § 8
ad manus ix 9 § 17
ad omnia viii 14 § 23
ad speciem viii 9 § 22
ad ultimum ix 10 § 11
ad vocem viii 14 § 36
adactus ix 5 § 24
adeo and non adeo viii 9 §§ 11, 13,
ix 4 § 7
adfinitas ix 3 § 22
adfirmare ix 1 § 34
adfluere ix 5 § 7
adgressi with infinitive ix 1 § 4
adhuc ix 2 § 4, 6 § 2
admittere ix 6 § 13
admove ix 4 § 27
adplicare ix 9 § 8
adsidere ix 8 § 25
adsum viii 11 § 23
adventare viii 9 § 16
adversum flumen ix 10 § 1
adversus ix 9 § 9
advertere viii 13 § 19
aedes ix 10 § 25
aequis mortalibus viii 10 § 29
aegrum curare viii 14 § 45
aestimare viii 14 §§ 46, ix 1 § 26
Afgans viii 10 § 22
agger viii 10 § 27
agmen = acies viii 12 § 7
ago and dego viii 9 § 33
agrestis viii 10 § 14
Agriani viii 11 § 9
agricultores viii 12 § 12
alere viii 9 § 16
aliquantum ix 6 § 2
alter viii 10 § 27
altius viii 10 § 8
alter viii 13 § 2
altius repetere ix 6 § 16
amarus = salus ixix 9 § 6
amplius viii 10 § 2
anceps viii 14 §§ 7, 16, ix 9 § 2
animus est ire ix 3 § 5
antequam viii 10 § 30

13—2
INDEX TO THE NOTES.

Aornis viii 11 § 2
apere viii 13 § 8, ix 6 § 20
appellata regina viii 10 § 35
aptare ix 9 § 12
apte ix 13 § 6
Aquilo viii 9 § 12
Arhela ix 2 § 23
Arabiae ix 10 § 5
arbores viii 9 § 34
ardua, nitri per viii 11 § 9
arietare ix 2 § 22
armerium (aro) ix 2 § 16
Arsinooe ix 8 § 22
artes pacis ix 8 § 23
at enim ix 2 § 22
attraction viii 9 §§ 10, 33, 10 § 36
avare facere ix 8 § 9
avaritia gloriae ix 2 § 9
auctor viii 12 § 4
auctoritas ix 7 § 22
aversus in viii 13 § 23
aves, talking birds viii 9 §§ 16, 25
aula ix 7 § 15
aura maris ix 4 § 21
aures fatigare viii 13 § 10
— pulsare ix 2 § 30
auricus ix 1 § 6
aurum caelata viii 9 § 26
aurum viii 9 § 18
auspicium ix 3 § 6
autem ix 2 § 31
auxiliae ix 1 § 16

baccar viii 10 § 14
Beira viii 10 § 22
beinae, crocodiles (?) ix 9 § 22
binum = binorum viii 9 § 28
Biton ix 7 § 9
brachia)(acerti viii 9 § 21
Brahmans viii 9 §§ 31—33
Bucephala ix 1 § 6, 3 § 23

cacetus ix 9 § 2
caligo ix 4 § 8, 5 § 28
candor ix 1 § 30
capere = cappere ix 3 § 7, 6 § 14
capital (archaic form) viii 9 § 34
carbasu viii 9 § 24
carbasus viii 9 § 21
carpere viii 9 § 10
castella viii 12 § 7
castra viii 12 § 4
Caucasus viii 9 § 3
cedere ix 4 § 20
Cedrosii ix 10 § 5
cedrus vii 10 § 8
celebratus ix 1 § 2
celeritas ix 4 § 10, viii 14 § 19
certamen ix 4 § 13
certe viii 10 § 36

ceterum viii 9 § 12
ceterum = sed viii 10 § 2
charta viii 9 § 15
Choaspses viii 10 § 22
circuit viii 11 § 5
circumferre ix 5 § 1
claudus = debilis ix 9 § 13
climate, effect of viii 9 § 20
coccus ix 4 § 9
cognoscere ix 8 § 9
cohors regia viii 11 § 9, ix 10 § 26
colere viii 9 §§ 21, 34, ix 9 § 2
columnae ix 6 § 8
commissiabundus ix 10 § 26
comitatus viii 14 § 15
commendare ix 3 § 5
commercium viii 9 § 19
committere obsidionem ix 4 § 27
committi ix 4 § 1
comparative double viii 11 § 15
concursatio viii 14 § 24
conde viii 10 § 11
conde lucem vii 13 § 24
condicio ix 7 § 18
confirmatus viii 14 § 45
confundi ix 4 § 8
coniunctus ix 1 § 26
conserere viii 12 § 9
considerare viii 10 § 26
considerer ix 7 § 12
constanter viii 14 § 25
constanter vii 7 § 25
consternare ix 6 § 7
constituere viii 9 § 19, 11 § 4
contentus with infinitive viii 11 § 18
contio ix 1 § 1
convictus with infinitive ix 8 § 9
convocare ix 1 § 23
co-ordination of clauses ix 6 § 18
INDEX TO THE NOTES.

nomen regis etc ix 7 § 3
nomina ix 2 § 33
Nora vii 11 § 1
novus, novare res viii 14 § 29, ix 6 § 5
nudus ix 5 § 11
nuptiae ix 1 § 25
Nysa vii 10 § 7

ob, force of in composition viii 10 § 28
obequitare viii 10 § 6
obligare viii 10 § 28
oblique petition ix 4 § 18
obruere quin ix 9 § 23
obsidere vias ix 2 § 3
obsolescere ix 6 § 14
obsoletus ) ( gloriosus ix 1 § 2
obstreperae vii 13 § 23
obstrinerrar, force of pluperfect viii 12 § 17
occasio sua viii 13 § 26
occulta saxa viii 13 § 9
occulti = ηδηθα viii 13 § 15
occupare vii 9 § 32, 11 § 2, 14 § 19,
ix 1 § 32, 4 § 10, 5 § 24, 9 § 19
occurreare viii 13 § 2
Oceanus ix 2 § 26
oleum ix 7 § 16
olim vii 14 § 10, ix 6 § 26
Olympia ix 6 § 26
ominari x 8 § 24
omission of pronoun ix 4 § 20, 6 §§ 6, 26
omittere vii 14 § 29
omnis, ad omnia viii 10 § 20, 14 § 23
omnino ix 1 § 32
Omphis viii 12 § 4
operae est ix 9 § 37
operae vii 10 § 17
opimus ix 1 § 2
opportunitas vii 13 § 18
oppressus viii 10 § 20
opulentia viii 9 § 19
opus vii 10 § 23, 24, ix 2 § 14
Oritae ix 10 § 6
os vii 9 § 8
Oxydracea ix 4 § 15

palmam frangere, infringere ix 2 § 29
papyrus, paper viii 9 § 15
παραπετεισθαι ix 1 § 20
parcitur viii 10 § 5
parentare ix 5 § 20
parrots and talking birds viii 9 § 16
parta (praeda), parto frui ix 2 § 10
pars vii 10 § 2
partes viii 13 § 13
participle future viii 10 § 1
" past with present meaning viii 10 § 17
" ablative of used absolutely viii 12 § 6
" past of deponent verbs used passively viii 14 § 15
participle and verb = two verbs vii 10 § 3
Patalla, Patala, Pattala, etc ix 8 § 24
patera vii 10 § 34
pati viii 9 § 23
patiens ix 9 § 2
pavidus vii 14 § 23
pavo ix 1 § 13
pecora viii 12 § 11
Penates ix 6 § 9
pensitare ix 7 § 14
per of agency viii 12 § 2
per in adjurations ix 2 § 27
per otium, per quietem ix 6 § 19
per ardua niti viii 11 § 9
per herbas viii 10 § 17
per insidias ix 2 § 7
per modica intervalla viii 12 § 7
percutere vii 10 § 27
perferre = nuntiare viii 3 § 1
permisso viii 12 § 6
perpetuus viii 13 § 13, ix 4 § 18
Persica vestis viii 12 § 16
petra viii 11 § 2
phalanx vii 10 § 4
philosophers viii 9 § 31
pietas ix 6 § 16
pientissimus, piissimus ix 6 § 17
pinna, lorica ix 4 § 30
plerique, plures ix 10 § 2
pluperfect, force of viii 12 § 17
INDEX TO THE NOTES.

poculum, cratera ix 10 § 26
poetical expressions viii 10 §§ 1, 15, 17, 13 §§ 10, 24
poma viii 10 § 14
populares ix 7 § 2
populi imperium ix 8 § 4
porro ix 1 § 5
post ix 6 § 21
posteritas ix 3 § 5
postulare ix 2 § 31
praecipere viii 10 § 5, ix 6 § 26, 10 § 14
praecipito viii 11 § 3
praeparare ix 7 § 16
praes, vas ix 2 § 25
praesens ix 1 § 12, 2 § 19
praesidere viii 13 § 21
praestare viii 14 § 13, ix 6 § 13
praesto esse viii 13 § 2
praetorium ix 6 § 4
precario ix 2 § 34
pretium operaev ix 11 § 3
primo(30)rium ix 2 § 11
pro = in proportion to viii 13 § 9
pro contione ix 1 § 1
procul viii 14 § 13
procul with ablative viii 13 § 18
proditor, prodere viii 14 § 36
proficere ix 1 § 18, 3 § 5
proficere ad ix 10 § 14
prohibere with ablative viii 13 § 5
proinde ix 1 § 2
pronoun omitted ix 4 § 20, 6 §§ 6, 26
promptus viii 11 § 9
propior ix 2 § 7
propius ix 3 § 3
propulsare ix 2 § 6
publicis moribus = in public viii 9 § 33
pulso ix 2 § 30
purgamentum viii 9 § 19, ix 10 § 10
putris ix 3 § 10
quandoque ix 6 § 26
quasi, tamquam viii 13 § 13
que = sed viii 11 § 11
que...et = τέ...καλ ix 3 § 22
qui = eos qui viii 10 §§ 2, 10
qui quidem = χη ix 6 § 18
qui unus viii 14 § 36
quin ix 2 § 28, 9 § 23
quippe viii 9 § 8
quo = ut eo with comparative ix 1 § 17
quad = so far as viii 12 § 9
quad ix 2 § 31
quoque viii 9 § 20
quoque = καλ viii 10 § 18
ratio viii 10 § 20
recidere ix 5 § 25
recipere viii 9 § 32, ix 1 § 21
reciprocari ix 9 § 20
recta regione viii 9 § 2
recto alveo viii 9 § 5
recubare viii 9 § 24
reddere ix 1 §§ 12, 9 § 20
reddi viii 9 § 32, 11 § 25
redux = reducens ix 6 § 9
refragari ix 5 § 21
regere ix 1 § 24
reges viii 9 § 23
reges (of reguli viii 10 § 2
regia ix 8 § 23
regio viii 13 § 23
regnare ix 5 § 21
relative proposition expressing reason of leading proposition viii 9 § 36
relative not attracted viii 9 § 31
relegare ix 2 § 9
reliqua belli ix 1 § 1
repercussus viii 9 § 8, 13 § 9
repetere ix 3 § 20
repetere altius ix 6 § 16
repletum ire ix 1 § 2
rum monumenta ix 5 § 21
retractare ix 3 § 22
reverberari viii 9 § 6
reus ix 5 § 26
rhinoceros viii 9 § 16, ix 1 § 5
rigare viii 9 § 10
rubor ix 7 § 25
Rubrum mare viii 9 § 6
rudis with genitive viii 10 § 32
rumpere ix 3 § 10
Sabarcae, Sambastae ix 8 § 4
INDEX TO THE NOTES.

sacrificium ix 4 § 14
sagina, saginatus ix 7 § 16
saltam ix 2 § 31
Samiramis ix 6 § 23, 10 § 17
sapientia viii 9 § 31, 13 § 7
sarisa viii 14 § 10, ix 7 § 19
scala ix 1 § 18
scilicet ix 5 § 21
Scythaevi 14 § 5
secondo amne ix 3 § 24
securitas ix 5 § 21
senes facti ix 2 § 10
septentrio, septentriones ix 4 § 8
sequi ix 1 § 31
serpens ix 1 § 4
Sibi ix 4 § 2
sicut ix 7 § 10
sicut... ita=μεν...δὲ viii 12 § 17
siderum motus viii 9 § 33
sidus ix 6 § 8
signatus vii 12 § 15
simpliciter, simplicius viii 14 § 46
simulacrum ) ( statua viii 14 § 11
situs locorum viii 9 § 20, 10 § 13, ix 2 § 8
sol ix 1 § 1
solea viii 9 § 21
solidus ix 2 § 14
solitudo ix 2 § 24
solutae vehi=volvi et vehi viii 10 § 3
Sopithes (Asvapati) ix 1 § 24
sopitis viii 9 § 30
sors ultima ix 2 § 6
spatium ix 2 § 10
spatia terrarum ix 4 § 19
species viii 9 § 22
spectare viii 9 § 2
spiritus ix 5 § 30
stadium genitive plural viii 10 § 25
stagnare viii 9 § 7
stagnum viii 13 § 9
stare in aqua ix 3 § 21
statuere viii 14 § 19
status viii 9 § 13, ix 9 §§ 9, 27
sternere ix 2 § 23
stipendium viii 13 § 2
strenuus, strenue viii 14 § 5, ix § 20
stringere viii 9 § 5
studere ix 7 § 19
suasoria ix 3 § 5, appendix A
sub=υπὸ viii 10 § 10
subducere ix 1 § 34, 7 § 24
subducere vela ix 4 § 10
subject, change of viii 11 § 2, 10 § 2
subject, change of implied in change of gender viii 15 § 8
subicere ix 5 § 11
subinde viii 9 § 10, ix 1 § 33, 3 § 24
subire ix 4 § 32, 6 § 24
subjunctive imperfect second person singular ix 4 § 14
subjunctive of assumed reason ix 10 § 17
subluere viii 6 § 20
submovere ix 6 § 22
subsidere ix 9 § 19
subvehere ix 3 § 9
succedere viii 11 § 19
succidere ix 5 § 7
Sudraeae ix 4 §§ 15, 24
suicide among Brahmans viii 9 §§ 32, 33
super with accusative viii 12 § 17
superbe ix 8 § 9
supervenire viii 13 § 15
supine with verbs of motion ix 1 § 2
supplementum ix 3 § 21
sura viii 10 § 28
Surena viii 12 § 14
suspectus with infinitive ix 10 § 21
suspendere ix 7 § 20
suspetio ix 7 § 5
sustinere viii 12 § 6
suus emphatic viii 13 § 2
tabula ix 9 § 20
tacef ix 2 § 31
tamquam and quasi viii 13 § 18
Tanais ix 6 § 21
tardus ix 9 § 12
Taxila and Taxiles viii 12 § 4
telum and arna ix 1 § 15
temeritas felix viii 13 § 15
temperare (oculis) ix 3 § 2
tendere ix 9 § 14
Terioltés, Tiryaaspes ix 8 § 9
terra humore diluta=πηλός viii 10 § 25
INDEX TO THE NOTES.

theatrum ix 6 § 21
Timaeus ix 5 § 15
Timagenes ix 5 § 21
tollere ix 1 § 25
torrentes viii 13 § 9
torrentia flumina ix 9 § 9
tractus ix 9 § 20
tradere ix 2 § 14
trahere in casum, discrimen ix 6 § 8
transcribere ix 1 § 34
transilire ix 1 § 15
transmittere ix 4 § 17
tree-worship viii 9 § 34
truncus viii 11 § 8
tugurium ix 10 § 10
turba ix 2 § 25
turbare ix 4 § 9
turris viii 14 § 13

vanitas ix 2 § 13
vas and praes ix 2 § 25
vastus viii 13 § 10
vel...vel viii 12 § 8, ix 7 § 17
velum ix 10 § 25
venatus ix 8 § 28
venenum ix 8 § 20
verbs compounded governing the
dative viii 10 § 6
verb singular with names of persons
ix 5 § 21
vereri ix 7 § 23
vereri ne ix 5 § 24
vero ix 6 § 21
vestis viii 9 § 15, ix 8 § 1
vestis Persica viii 12 § 16
vices viii 9 § 13
victoria lustrare ix 3 § 8
vindicare ix 2 § 32, io § 18
vinum viii 9 § 30
virtus = ἀρετή ix 7 § 16
virus of snakes ix 1 § 12
vis ix 1 § 23
viscera ix 5 § 24
visurus = ἐποψώμενος ix 3 § 20
vitare ix 7 § 21
vitium viii 9 § 19, 10 § 29
vivarium viii 9 § 28
vivere with ablative ix 5 § 30
vix ullus viii 14 § 4
ullus, ullius, uli as substantive viii
12 § 6
ultra = behind viii 13 § 6
ultimo ix 7 § 5
universus viii 10 § 26
vorago viii 10 § 24, 14 § 4
usque preposition viii 9 § 21
usurpare viii 12 § 6
ut = ita ut viii 10 § 25
ut, concessive ix 3 § 12
ut, to be supplied from preceding ne
ix 4 § 27
utencne viii 10 § 36
utique viii 9 § 19
vultus viii 12 § 9

writing, on linen and skins viii 9
§ 15
Cambridge University Press.

The Pitt Press Series.

* * Many of the books in this list can be had in two volumes, Text and Notes separately.

I. Greek.

Aristophanes. *Aves*—*Plutus*—*Ranæ*. By W. C. Green, M.A., late Assistant Master at Rugby School. 3s. 6d. each.


Euripides. *Heracleidae*. With Introduction and Explanatory Notes. By E. A. Beck, M.A., Fellow of Trinity Hall. 3s. 6d.


Hippolytus. With Introduction and Notes. By W. S. Hadley, M.A., Fellow of Pembroke College. 2s.

Iphigenia in Aulis. By C. E. S. Headlam, B.A. 2s. 6d.

Herodotus, Book V. Edited with Notes and Introduction by E. S. Shuckburgh, M.A. 3s.

Book VI. By the same Editor. 4s.

Book VIII., Chaps. 1—90. By the same Editor. 3s. 6d.

Book IX., Chaps. 1—89. By the same Editor. 3s. 6d.

Homer. Odyssey, Books IX., X. With Introduction, Notes and Appendices by G. M. Edwards, M.A. 2s. 6d. each.

*Book XXI.* By the same Editor. 2s. 6d.

Luciani Somnium Charon Piscator et De Luctu. By W. E. Heitland, M.A., Fellow of St John's College, Cambridge. 3s. 6d.

Platonis Apologia Socratis. With Introduction, Notes and Appendices. By J. Adam, M.A. 3s. 6d.

Crito. By the same Editor. 2s. 6d.

Euthyphro. By the same Editor. [In the Press.]


Life of Nicias. By the same Editor. 5s.

Life of Sulla. By the same Editor. 6s.

Life of Timoleon. By the same Editor. 6s.


Xenophon. Agesilais. By H. Hailstone, M.A. 2s. 6d.

Anabasis. With Introduction, Map and English Notes, by A. Pretor, M.A. Two vols. 7s. 6d.

Books I., III., IV., and V. By the same. 2s. each.

Books II., VI., and VII. By the same. 2s. 6d. each.


Books III., IV., and V. By the same Editor. 5s.

London: Cambridge Warehouse, Ave Maria Lane.
II. LATIN.


— Books I. II. By the same Editors. [In the Press.]

Caesar. De Bello Gallico, Comment. I. With Maps and Notes by A. G. Peskett, M.A., Fellow of Magdalene College, Cambridge. 1s. 6d. Comment. II. III. 2s. Comment. I. II. III. 3s. Comment. IV. V. and Comment. VII. 2s. each. Comment. VI. and Comment. VIII. 1s. 6d. each.

Cicero. De Amicitia.—De Senectute. Edited by J. S. Reid, Litt.D., Fellow of Gonville and Caius College. 3s. 6d. each.

— In Gaium Verrem Actio Prima. With Notes, by H. Cowie, M.A. 1s. 6d.


— Philippica Secunda. By A. G. Peskett, M.A. 3s. 6d.


— Pro L. Cornelio Balbo Oratio. By the same. 1s. 6d.

— Oratio pro Tito Annio Milone, with English Notes, &c., by John Smyth Purton, B.D. 2s. 6d.

— Oratio pro L. Murena, with English Introduction and Notes. By W. E. Heitland, M.A. 3s.

— Pro Ch. Plancio Oratio, by H. A. Holden, L.L.D. 4s. 6d.

— Pro P. Cornelio Sulla. By J. S. Reid, Litt.D. 3s. 6d.


Horace. Epistles, Book I. With Notes and Introduction by E. S. Shuckburgh, M.A., late Fellow of Emmanuel College. 2s. 6d.


— Book V. With Introduction and Notes by L. Whibley, M.A. 2s. 6d.

— Books XXI., XXII. With Notes, Introduction and Maps. By M. S. Dimsdale, M.A., Fellow of King's College. 2s. 6d. each.

Lucan. Pharsaliae Liber Primus, with English Introduction and Notes by W. E. Heitland, M.A., and C. E. Haskins, M.A. 1s. 6d.

Lucretius, Book V. With Notes and Introduction by J. D. Duff, M.A., Fellow of Trinity College. 2s.

Ovidii Nasonis Fastorum Liber VI. With Notes by A. Sidgwick, M.A., Tutor of Corpus Christi College, Oxford. 1s. 6d.


Vergili Maronis Aeneidos Libri I.—XII. Edited with Notes by A. Sidgwick, M.A. 1s. 6d. each.

— Bucolica. By the same Editor. 1s. 6d

— Georgicon Libri I. II. By the same Editor. 2s.

— Libri III. IV. By the same Editor. 2s.


London: Cambridge Warehouse, Ave Maria Lane.
III. FRENCH.


D'Harleval. Le Vieux Célibataire, A Comedy, Grammatical and Historical Notes, by G. Masson, B.A. 2s.


De Vigny. La Canne de Jonc. Edited with Notes by Rev. H. A. Bull, M.A., late Master at Wellington College. 2s.


—— L'Ecole des Femmes. With Introduction and Notes by G. Saintsbury, M.A. 2s. 6d.

—— Les Précieuses Ridicules. With Introduction and Notes by E. G. W. Braunholtz, M.A., Ph.D. 2s.

Piron. La Métromanie. A Comedy, with Notes, by G. Masson, B.A. 2s.


Scribe. Le Verre d'Eau. A Comedy; with Memoir, Grammatical and Historical Notes. Edited by C. Colbeck, M.A. 2s.

Sédaine. Le Philosophe sans le savoir. Edited with Notes by Rev. H. A. Bull, M.A., late Master at Wellington College. 2s.


Part II. Chaps. XIV.—XXIV. By the same Editors. With Three Maps. 2s. 6d. Part III. Chaps. XXV. to end. By the same Editors. 2s. 6d.
Xavier de Maistre. La Jeune Sibérienne. Le Lépreux de la Cité D'Aoste. By G. Masson, B.A. 1s. 6d.

IV. GERMAN.

Ballads on German History. Arranged and annotated by Wilhelm Wagner, Ph.D. 2s.
German Dactylic Poetry. Arranged and annotated by Wilhelm Wagner, Ph.D. 3s.
Goethe's Knabenjahre. (1749—1759.) Arranged and annotated by Wilhelm Wagner, Ph.D. 2s.
— Hermann und Dorothea. By Wilhelm Wagner, Ph.D. Revised edition by J. W. Cartmell, M.A. 3s. 6d.
Hauff. Das Bild des Kaisers. By Karl Hermann Breul, M.A., Ph.D., University Lecturer in German. 3s.
— Das Wirthshaus im Spessart. By A. Schloßmann, Ph.D. 3s. 6d.
— Die Karavane. Edited with Notes by A. Schloßmann, Ph.D. 3s. 6d
Kohlrausch. Das Jahr 1813. With English Notes by Wilhelm Wagner, Ph.D. 2s.
Lessing and Gellert. Selected Fables. Edited with Notes by Karl Hermann Breul, M.A. 3s.
Raumer. Der erste Kreuzzug (1095—1099). By Wilhelm Wagner, Ph.D. 2s.
Riehl. Culturgeschichtliche Novellen. Edited by H. J. Wolstenholme, B.A. (Lond.). 3s. 6d.
Schiller. Wilhelm Tell. Edited with Introduction and Notes by Karl Hermann Breul, M.A. 2s. 6d.
Uhland. Ernst, Herzog von Schwaben. With Introduction and Notes. By H. J. Wolstenholme, B.A. 3s. 6d.

London: Cambridge Warehouse, Ave Maria Lane.
V. ENGLISH.

Ancient Philosophy from Thales to Cicero, A Sketch of. By Joseph B. Mayor, M.A. 3s. 6d.

Bacon's History of the Reign of King Henry VII. With Notes by the Rev. Professor Lumby, D.D. 3s.


More's History of King Richard III. Edited with Notes, Glossary, Index of Names. By J. Rawson Lumby, D.D. 3s. 6d.

More's Utopia. With Notes, by Rev. Prof. Lumby, D.D. 3s. 6d.

The Two Noble Kinsmen, edited with Introduction and Notes, by the Rev. Professor Skeat, Litt.D. 3s. 6d.

VI. EDUCATIONAL SCIENCE.

Comenius, John Amos, Bishop of the Moravians. His Life and Educational Works, by S. S. Laurie, A.M., F.R.S.E. 3s. 6d.


Stimulus. A Lecture delivered for the Teachers' Training Syndicate, May, 1882, by A. Sidgwick, M.A. 1s.

Locke on Education. With Introduction and Notes by the Rev. R. H. Quick, M.A. 3s. 6d.


Modern Languages, Lectures on the Teaching of. By C. Colbeck, M.A. 2s.

Teacher, General Aims of the, and Form Management. Two Lectures delivered in the University of Cambridge in the Lent Term, 1883, by F. W. Farrar, D.D., and R. B. Poole, B.D. 1s. 6d.


British India, a Short History of. By E. S. Carlos, M.A., late Head Master of Exeter Grammar School. 1s.


VII. MATHEMATICS.

Euclid's Elements of Geometry. Books I and II. By H. M. Taylor, M.A., Fellow and late Tutor of Trinity College, Cambridge. 1s. 6d.

Other Volumes are in preparation.

London: Cambridge Warehouse, Ave Maria Lane.
The Cambridge Bible for Schools and Colleges.

General Editor: J. J. S. PEROWNE, D.D.,
Dean of Peterborough.

"It is difficult to commend too highly this excellent series.—Guardian.
"The modesty of the general title of this series has, we believe, led many to misunderstand its character and underrate its value. The books are well suited for study in the upper forms of our best schools, but not the less are they adapted to the wants of all Bible students who are not specialists. We doubt, indeed, whether any of the numerous popular commentaries recently issued in this country will be found more serviceable for general use."—Academy.

Now Ready. Cloth, Extra Fcap. 8vo. With Maps.

Book of Judges. By Rev. J. J. LIAS, M.A. 3s. 6d.
First Book of Samuel. By Rev. Prof. KIRKPATRICK, B.D. 3s. 6d.
Second Book of Samuel. By Rev. Prof. KIRKPATRICK, B.D. 3s. 6d.

First Book of Kings. By Rev. Prof. LUMBY, D.D. 3s. 6d.
Second Book of Kings. By Rev. Prof. LUMBY, D.D. 3s. 6d.
Book of Jeremiah. By Rev. A. W. STREANE, M.A. 4s. 6d.
Books of Obadiah & Jonah. By Archdeacon PEROWNE. 2s. 6d.
Books of Haggai & Zechariah. By Archdeacon PEROWNE. 3s.
Gospel according to St Matthew. By Rev. A. CARR, M.A. 2s. 6d.
Gospel according to St Mark. By Rev. G. F. MACLEAR, D.D. 2s. 6d.
Gospel according to St Luke. By Arch. FARRAR, D.D. 4s. 6d.
Gospel according to St John. By Rev. A. PLUMMER, D.D. 4s. 6d.
Epistle to the Romans. By Rev. H. C. G. MOULE, M.A. 3s. 6d.
First Corinthians. By Rev. J. J. LIAS, M.A. With Map. 2s.
Second Corinthians. By Rev. J. J. LIAS, M.A. With Map. 2s.

London: Cambridge Warehouse, Ave Maria Lane.
Epistle to the Ephesians. By Rev. H. C. G. Moule, M.A. 2s. 6d.
Epistle to the Philippians. By Rev. H. C. G. Moule, M.A. 2s. 6d.
Epistle to the Hebrews. By Arch. Farrar, D.D. 3s. 6d.
General Epistle of St James. By Very Rev. E. H. Plumptre, D.D. 1s. 6d.
Epistles of St Peter and St Jude. By Very Rev. E. H. Plumptre, D.D. 2s. 6d.

Preparing.

Book of Genesis. By Very Rev. the Dean of Peterborough.
Books of Ezra and Nehemiah. By Rev. Prof. Ryle, M.A.
Book of Psalms. By Rev. Prof. Kirkpatrick, B.D.
Book of Isaiah. By Prof. W. Robertson Smith, M.A.
Book of Malachi. By Archdeacon Perowne.
Epistles to the Colossians and Philemon. By Rev. H. C. G. Moule, M.A.
Epistles to Timothy & Titus. By Rev. A. E. Humphreys, M.A.

The Smaller Cambridge Bible for Schools.

The Smaller Cambridge Bible for Schools will form an entirely new series of commentaries on some selected books of the Bible. It is expected that they will be prepared for the most part by the Editors of the larger series (The Cambridge Bible for Schools and Colleges). The volumes will be issued at a low price, and will be suitable to the requirements of preparatory and elementary schools.

Now ready, pp. 128.

First and Second Books of Samuel. By Rev. Prof. Kirkpatrick, B.D. 1s. each.
Gospel according to St Matthew. By Rev. A. Carr, M.A. 1s.

Preparing.


London: Cambridge Warehouse, Ave Maria Lane.
The Cambridge Greek Testament for Schools and Colleges,

with a Revised Text, based on the most recent critical authorities, and English Notes, prepared under the direction of the General Editor,

The Very Reverend J. J. S. PEROWNE, D.D.,

DEAN OF PETERBOROUGH.

Gospel according to St Matthew.  By Rev. A. Carr, M.A.
With 4 Maps.  4s. 6d.

Gospel according to St Mark.  By Rev. G. F. Maclear, D.D.
With 3 Maps.  4s. 6d.

Gospel according to St Luke.  By Archdeacon FARRAR.
With 4 Maps.  6s.

Gospel according to St John.  By Rev. A. PLUMMER, D.D.
With 4 Maps.  6s.

With 4 Maps.  6s.

First Epistle to the Corinthians.  By Rev. J. J. Lias, M.A.  3s.

Second Epistle to the Corinthians.  By Rev. J. J. Lias, M.A.
[In the Press.

Epistle to the Hebrews.  By Archdeacon FARRAR, D.D.  3s. 6d.

[Preparing.


London:  C. J. CLAY AND SONS,
CAMBRIDGE WAREHOUSE, AVE MARIA LANE.

Glasgow:  263, ARGYLE STREET.
Cambridge:  DEIGHTON, BELL AND CO.
Leipzig:  F. A. BROCKHAUS.

CAMBRIDGE: PRINTED BY C. J. CLAY, M.A. AND SONS, AT THE UNIVERSITY PRESS.