



HIGHWAYS AND BYWAYS OF
ENGLISH LITERATURE

.....

LIFE OF
ALEXANDER
PLUTARCH

BLACKIE'S
ENGLISH
TEXTS

Edited by
W.H.D. ROUSE
LITD.



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PLUTARCH'S LIFE OF ALEXANDER

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Blackie's
English Texts

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INTRODUCTION

Life of Plutarch.—Plutarch, the author of the Greek original of this work, was born at Chæronea in Bœotia about the middle of the first century after Christ; the time of his death is unknown, but it may be placed with probability in the reign of Hadrian, about the year 125. He came of an ancient family of pure Hellenic descent, rich in traditions, and true to a high standard of character. Lamprias, his grandfather, was a great teller of stories; with him and with his father Nearchus the boy's early years were passed. At Athens he studied philosophy and rhetoric, and was an insatiable enquirer into science as then understood, history, legend, and all kinds of antiquarian lore. He travelled in Greece, Italy, and Egypt; in Italy he had public business to do, and he also in Domitian's time lectured there on philosophy. He preferred, however, to hold aloof from politics, filling the office of priest, and archon or mayor of his native town. His tastes lay in study and in cultivated society; he had a happy life and many friends.

His Works.—Plutarch wrote a large number of works; some have perished, but those which remain form a library of interesting and profitable reading. There is hardly a subject on which he has not written something—history and criticism, biography and anecdote, philosophy, medicine, and music, mathematics, natural science, archæology, and folklore. He is least known, but best deserves to be known, as a man of deep religious feeling, a high-minded moralist, a courageous and upright man. In his works it is possible to see how an intelligent mind could find satisfaction in the Greek religion, which he so analysed as to extract

its good essence while rejecting the trivial or immoral parts of it.

His most famous work, however, is the collection of *Lives of Famous Men*, fifty in number. Forty-six of these are arranged in pairs, wherein he made a comparison between typical great men of the Greek and Roman races. Thus the Roman Cicero is set against the Greek Demosthenes, and at the end of the lives a detailed comparison is made between them. The same plan is followed with the remaining pairs. Historically these *Lives* are of great value, not only because Plutarch drew on numbers of historians whose works are now lost, but because he was careful about little personal details which are often left out of account. Plutarch did this because he knew that a man's character is often revealed by trivial acts and sayings; and character, not history, was his theme. Plutarch was not a critical historian, and he is not always accurate, but the general impression of the portraits in his great gallery is vivid and true. Few works have been more popular, and few better deserve their popularity. His own nobility of nature has stamped his work, and the *Lives* of Plutarch ought to form part of all liberal education.

North's Translation.—The translation which is here reprinted is hardly less notable than the original work. Sir Thomas North, the translator, was born about 1535, and died early in the seventeenth century. He may have studied at Cambridge university, and he was a member of Lincoln's Inn. He was a justice of the peace, and a practical man of war, for in the Armada year he was captain of three hundred men of Ely: and he could himself wear and wield the arms and armour which Plutarch's heroes were accustomed to use. In 1557 he translated Guevara's *Golden Book*, a free version of the *Meditations* of Marcus Aurelius, under the title of the *Diall of Princes*; he also translated the famous eastern story-book of *Baarlam and Josaphat* under the title of the *Morall Philosophie of Doni* (1570). But his chief work was the translation of Plutarch's *Lives* from the French of Amyot. This translation has its

faults. It is sometimes far from the Greek, as having been rendered at second-hand; sometimes North has misunderstood the French, as when he renders *la presqu'isle de la Peloponnèse* by "the Isle Presqua". But it has shining virtues in the magnificence of the vocabulary and the noble cadences of the rhythm, partly due to the equal magnificence of Amyot, but partly the common heritage of Elizabethan prose. In translations the Elizabethans were at their best; their exuberant fancy was kept in bounds by the original, and the style gained in strength without losing in richness. But above this the book has a further importance in being one of the sources of Shakespeare's plays. From North's *Plutarch*, Shakespeare got the dry bones for his *Coriolanus*, *Julius Cæsar*, and *Antony and Cleopatra*, and in some cases he transfers to the plays phrases, sentences, even whole speeches almost unchanged.

The modern reader may at first be ill at ease amongst North's long periods and irregular syntax. He will, however, find that the strangeness is due not to faults on North's part but chiefly to ignorance on his own. Since the days of Macaulay we have become used to short crisp sentences, which are admirably clear, each by each, but have no other merit; while they have the faults of monotony in the rhythm and of obscuring the logical connection of the thoughts. North requires a sustained effort of the mind; but that given, he satisfies the understanding no less than his noble cadences satisfy the ear. His irregularities are idiomatic, and are true English no less than the *constructio ad sensum* is true Latin, and more than the stereotyped propriety of modern style.

The Text.—The present edition is reprinted from the first edition of the original, published in 1579, which in correctness is superior to those which followed it. A few omissions have been made, and one or two mistakes have been corrected.

THE LIFE OF ALEXANDER THE GREAT

Having determined in this volume to write the life of King Alexander, and of Julius Cæsar, that overcame Pompey: having to speak of many things, I will use none other preface, but only desire the readers not to blame me though I do not declare all things at large, but briefly touch divers, chiefly in those their noblest acts and most worthy of memory. For they must remember that my intent is not to write histories, but only lives. For, the noblest deeds do not always show men's virtues and vices, but oftentimes a light occasion, a word, or some sport makes men's natural dispositions and manners appear more plain than the famous battles won, wherein are slain ten thousand men, or the great armies, or cities won by siege or assault. For like as painters or drawers of pictures, which make no account of other parts of the body, do take the resemblances of the face and favour of the countenance, in the which consisteth the judgment of their manners and disposition: even so they must give us leave to seek out the signs and tokens of the mind only, and thereby show the life of either of them, referring you unto others to write the wars, battles, and other great things they did.

The work of the biographer.

To select actions, words, of art - which indicate character.

Compare to an artist who shows the mind in the face. No concern is with the hand. Great events in history.

It is certain that Alexander was descended from Hercules by Caranus, and that of his mother's side, he came of the blood of the Æacides by Neoptolemus. They say also, that King Philip, his father, when he was a young man, fell in fancy with his mother Olympias, which at that time also was a young maiden, and an orphan without father or mother, in the Isle of Samothrace, where they were both received into the mystery and fraternity of the house of the religious: and that afterwards he did ask her in marriage of her brother Arymbas, with whose consent they were married together. The night before they were wedded, the bride dreamed that lightning fell into her body, and that withal there was a great light fire that dispersed itself all about into divers flames. It is reported also that, many times as she lay asleep in her bed, there was seen a serpent lying by her, the which was the chiefest cause (as some presuppose) that withdrew Philip's love and kindness from her. Some do also report this after another sort, as in this manner. That the women in those parts of long time have been commonly possessed with the spirit of Orpheus, and the divine fury of Bacchus, whereupon they are called Clodones, and Mimallones (as much as warlike and fierce), and do many things like unto the women of Edonia, and Thrace, dwelling about the mountain Hæmus. Hereby it appeareth that this word *threskeuein* (signifying in the Greek tongue, too superstitiously given to the ceremonies of the gods) came from them. For Olympias above other women, loving to be inspired with such divine madness and fury, did celebrate her solemn sacrifices with a certain horrible and barbarous manner. For in these dances to Bacchus she carried a great number of tame snakes about her, the

Legends of
Alexander's
parentage &
birth

Claim of
divine
parentage

Philip's
mother
Olympias
religious
fancy

which, gliding upon the ivy wherewith the women were dressed in those ceremonies, and winding themselves about the little javelins they had in their hands and the garlands about their heads, thereby they made men the more afraid of them. Whereupon Philip, after this dream, sent Chæron Megalopolitan unto the oracle of Apollo at Delphi to enquire what it signified. Answer was given him that he should do sacrifice unto Jupiter Ammon, and honour him above all gods. It is said that he lost one of his eyes, with the which he peeping in at a cranny of his chamber door, saw the god in form of a snake. Furthermore, Olympias (as Eratosthenes writeth), bidding her son farewell when he went to conquer Asia, after she had secretly told him alone by whom he was begotten, she prayed him to be valiant, and to show himself worthy his son that begat him.

*See here to the gods.
The custom of referring to the Oracle at Delphi.*

This mother is religious - let her son follow her father to a good.

So it is that Alexander was born on the sixth day of the month of Hecatombæon (in English, June), which the Macedonians call Löus. On the very same day the temple of Diana, in the city of Ephesus, was burnt, as Hegesias Magnesian doth witness, whose cry and exclamation was so terrible and cold that it was enough to have quenched that fire. All the priests, magicians, and soothsayers, which were at that time in Ephesus, judging that this did prognosticate some marvellous great misfortune to come, like men bestrought of their wits, they ran up and down the city, smiting of their faces, and crying that some great plague and mischief was born that day unto Asia.

*This kill in June.
Diana's temple in Ephesus burnt down.*

Shortly after that King Philip had won the city of Potidæa, three messengers came to him the same day that brought him great news. The first, that Parmenio had won a notable battle of the Illyrians; the second,

that his horse only won the bell and prize at the Olympian Games; and the third, that his wife had brought him a son called Alexander. Philip being marvellous glad to hear these news, the soothsayers did make his joy yet greater, assuring him that his son, which was born with three victories altogether, should be invincible.

Now for his stature and personage, the statues and images made of him by Lysippus do best declare it, for that he would be drawn of no man but him only. Divers of his successors and friends did afterwards counterfeit his image, but that excellent workman Lysippus only, of all other the chiefest, hath perfectly drawn and resembled Alexander's manner of holding his neck, somewhat hanging down towards the left side, and also the sweet look and cast of his eyes. But when Apelles painted Alexander, holding lightning in his hand, he did not show his fresh colour, but made him somewhat black, and swarter than his face indeed was; for naturally he had a very fair white colour mingled also with red, which chiefly appeared in his face and in his breast. I remember I read also in the commentaries of Aristoxenus, that his skin had a marvellous good savour, and that his breath was very sweet, insomuch that his body had so sweet a smell of itself, that all the apparel he wore next unto his body took thereof a passing delightful savour, as if it had been perfumed. And the cause hereof peradventure might be, the very temperature and constitution of his body, which was hot and burning like fire. For Theophrastus is of opinion that the sweet savour cometh by means of the heat that drieth up the moisture of the body. By which reason also it appeareth that the dry and hot countries, parched with heat of the sun, are

Philip's
three
messages

His looks

His fair
Complexion

His sweet
smelling
body

The
Explanation

those that deliver unto us the best spices, because that the sun drieth up the moisture of the outward parts, as a matter of corruption.

This natural heat that Alexander had, made him (as it appeareth) to be given to drink, and to be hasty. Even from his childhood they saw that he was given to be chaste. For though otherwise he was very hot and hasty, yet was he hardly moved with pleasure of the body, and would moderately use it. But on the other side, the ambition and desire he had of honour showed a certain greatness of mind and noble courage passing his years. For he was not (as his father Philip) desirous of all kind of glory: who like a rhetorician had a delight to utter his eloquence, and stamped in his coins the victories he had won at the Olympian Games, by the swift running of his horse and coaches. For when he was asked one day (because he was swift of foot) whether he would assay to run for victory at the Olympian Games: I could be content, said he, so I might run with kings. And yet to speak generally, he misliked all such contention for games. For it seemeth that he utterly misliked all wrestling and other exercise for prize, where men did use all their strength; but otherwise he himself made certain festival days and games of prize for common stage-players, musicians, and singers, and for the very poets also. He delighted also in hunting of divers kinds of beasts, and playing at the staff. Ambassadors being sent on a time from the King of Persia, whilst his father was in some journey out of his realm, Alexander familiarly entertaining of them, so won them with his courteous entertainment (for that he used no childish questions unto them, nor asked them trifling matters, but what distance it was from

his taste
pleasure
hasty in liquor
given to
drinking

ambitions of
Romans.

little interest
in games &
none in
contests.

Intellectual
taste in
drama music
poetry.

Alexander
gave beyond
his years.

one place to another, and which way they went into the high countries of Asia, and of the King of Persia himself, how he was towards his enemies, and what power he had), that he did ravish them with delight to hear him: insomuch that they made no more account of Philip's eloquence and sharp wit, in respect of his son's courage and noble mind to attempt great enterprises. For when they brought him news that his father had taken some famous city, or had won some great battle, he was nothing glad to hear it, but would say to his playfellows: Sirs, my father will have all, I shall have nothing left me to conquer with you that shall be ought worth. For he delighting neither in pleasure nor riches, but only in valiantness and honour, thought that the greater conquests and realms his father should leave him, the less he should have to do for himself. And therefore seeing that his father's dominions and empire increased daily more and more, perceiving all occasion taken from him to do any great attempt, he desired no riches nor pleasure, but wars and battles, and aspired to a seigniorie where he might win honour.

He had divers men appointed him (as it is to be supposed) to bring him up: as schoolmasters, governors, and grooms of his chamber to attend upon him; and among those Leonidas was the chiefest man that had the government and charge of him, a man of a severe disposition, and a kinsman also unto the Queen Olympias. He misliked to be called a master or tutor, though it be an office of good charge, whereupon the others called him Alexander's governor, because he was a nobleman and allied to the prince. But he that bore the name of his schoolmaster was Lysimachus, an Acarnanian born: who had no other

*his envy
of his
father's
conquests*

*His
Governors
Leonidas
Lysimachus*

manner of civility in him saving that he called himself Phoenix, Alexander Achilles, and Philip Peleus, and therefore he was well thought of, and was the second person next unto Leonidas.

At what time Philonicus Thessalian had brought Bucephalus, the horse, to sell unto King Philip, asking thirteen talents, they went into the field to ride him. The horse was found so rough and churlish that the riders said he would never do service, for he would let no man get upon his back, nor abide any of the gentlemen's voices about King Philip, but would yerk out at them. Thereupon, Philip being afraid, commanded them to carry him away as a wild beast and altogether unprofitable: the which they had done, had not Alexander that stood by said, O gods, what a horse do they turn away, for lack of skill and heart to handle him! Philip heard what he said, but held his peace. Alexander oft repeating his words, seeming to be sorry that they should send back the horse again: Why, said Philip, dost thou control them that have more experience than thou, and that know better than thou how to handle a horse? Alexander answered, And yet methinks I should handle him better than all they have done. But if thou canst not, no more than they, replied Philip, what wilt thou forfeit for thy folly? I am content (quoth Alexander) to jeopard the price of the horse. Every man laughed to hear his answer, and the wager was laid between them. Then ran Alexander to the horse, and took him by the bridle, and turned him towards the sun. It seemed that he had marked (as I suppose) how mad the horse was to see his own shadow, which was ever before him in his eye as he stirred to and fro. Then Alexander,

40 + 13.
520
E

speaking gently to the horse and clapping him on the back with his hand, till he had left his fury and snorting, softly let fall his cloak from him, and lightly leaping on his back, got up without any danger, and holding the reins of the bridle hard, without striking or stirring the horse, made him to be gentle enough. Then when he saw that the fury of the horse was past, and that he began to gallop, he put him to his full career, and laid on spurs and voice a good. Philip at the first with fear beholding his son's agility, lest he should take some hurt, said never a word; but when he saw him readily turn the horse at the end of his career, in a bravery for that he had done, all the lookers-on gave a shout for joy. The father on the other side (as they say) fell a-weeping for joy. And when Alexander was lighted from the horse, he said unto him, kissing his head: O, son, thou must needs have a realm that is meet for thee, for Macedon will not hold thee!

Furthermore, considering that of nature he was not to be won by extremity, and that by gentle means and persuasion he could make him do what he would, he ever sought rather to persuade than command him in anything he had to do. Now Philip putting no great affiance in his schoolmasters of music and humanity, for the instruction and education of his son, whom he had appointed to teach him, but thinking rather that he needed men of greater learning than their capacities would reach unto: and that as Sophocles saith:

“He needed many reins, and many bits at once”:

he sent for Aristotle (the greatest philosopher in his time, and best learned) to teach his son, unto whom

*This
Conquest of
Bucephalus*

he gave honourable stipend. For Philip having won and taken before, the city of Stagira, where Aristotle was born: for his sake he built it again, and replenished it with inhabitants which fled away, or otherwise were in bondage. He appointed them for a school-house and dwelling-place the pleasant house that is by the city of Mieza. In that place are yet seen seats of stone which Aristotle caused to be made, and close walks to walk in the shadow. It is thought also that Alexander did not only learn of Aristotle moral philosophy and humanity, but also he heard of him other more secret, hard, and grave doctrine, which Aristotle's scholars do properly call Acroamata, or Epopica, meaning things speculative, which requireth the master's teaching to understand them, or else are kept from common knowledge: which sciences they did not commonly teach. Alexander being passed into Asia, and hearing that Aristotle had put out certain books of that matter, for the honour's sake of philosophy, he wrote a letter unto him, somewhat too plain, and of this effect: 'Alexander unto Aristotle, greeting. Thou hast not done well to put forth the Acroamatical sciences. For wherein shall we excel other if those things which thou hast secretly taught us be made common to all? I do thee to understand that I had rather excel others in excellency of knowledge than in greatness of power. Farewell.' Whereunto Aristotle, to pacify this his ambitious humour, wrote unto him again that these books were published, and not published. For to say truly, in all his treatises which he called *μετὰ τὰ φυσικά*, there is no plain instruction profitable for any man, neither to pick out by himself, nor yet to be taught by any other than Aristotle himself, or his scholars: so

*Aristotle's
teaching of
moral
philosophy
humanities
the secret
sciences.*

Alexander's Education

that it is written as a memorial for them that have been entered and brought up in the Peripatetick sect and doctrine. It seemeth also that it was Aristotle, above all other, that made Alexander take delight to study physick. For Alexander did not only like the knowledge of speculation, but would exercise practice also, and help his friends when they were sick; and made besides certain remedies, and rules to live by; as appeareth by his letters he wrote, that of his own nature he was much given to his book, and desired to read much. He learned also the Iliads of Homer, of Aristotle's correction, which they call *την ἐκ τοῦ νάρθηκος* the corrected, as having passed under the rule: and laid it every night under his bed's-head with his dagger, calling it (as Onesicrates writeth) the institution of martial discipline. And when he was in the high countries of Asia, where he could not readily come by other books, he wrote unto Harpalus to send them to him. Harpalus sent him the histories of Philistus, with divers tragedies of Euripides, Sophocles, and Æschylus; and certain hymns of Telestas and Philoxenus. Alexander did reverence Aristotle at the first as his father, and so he termed him: because from his natural father he had life, but from him the knowledge to live. But afterwards he suspected him somewhat, yet he did him no hurt, neither was he so friendly to him as he had been, whereby men perceived that he did not bear him the good-will he was wont to do. This notwithstanding, he left not that zeal and desire he had to the study of philosophy which he had learned from his youth, and still continued with him. For he showed divers testimonies thereof. As the honour he did unto Anaxarchus the Philosopher: the

His study of medicine.

Natural taste for learning

His study of Homer

St. Greek demagogues

His reverence for Aristotle

Study of philosophy - sound for health

diagnosing

8

fifty talents which he sent unto Xenocrates, Dandamis, and Calanus; of whom he made great account.

When King Philip made war with the Byzantines, Alexander, being but sixteen years old, was left his lieutenant in Macedon, with the custody and charge of his great seal; at what time he also subdued the Maedans which had rebelled against him, and having won their city by assault, he drove out the barbarous people, and made a colony of it of sundry nations, and called it Alexandropolis, to say, the city of Alexander. He was

Regent in Macedon at 16.

①

with his father at the battle of Chæronea against the Grecians, where it was reported that it was he that gave

*Chæronea
battle v.
Greece.*

②

charge first of all upon the holy band of the Thebans. Furthermore, there was an old oak seen in my time which the countrymen commonly call Alexander's oak, because his tent or pavilion was fastened to it; and not far from thence is the charnel-house, where those Macedonians were buried that were slain at the battle.

*This father's
grave in the
boy.*

③

For these causes his father Philip loved him very dearly, and was glad to hear the Macedonians call Alexander king, and himself their captain.

Howbeit the troubles that fell out in his court afterwards, by reason of Philip's new marriages and loves, bred great quarrel and strife amongst the women: for the mischief of dissension and jealousy of women doth

*Plutarch's
observation on
the jealousy
of women.*

separate the hearts of kings one from another, whereof was chiefest cause the sharpness of Olympias, who, being a jealous woman, fretting, and of a revenging mind, did incense Alexander against his father. But the chiefest cause that provoked Alexander was Attalus at the marriage of Cleopatra, whom Philip married a maiden, falling in fancy with her when himself was past marriage. This

was the matter: Attalus, being uncle unto this Cleopatra, fell drunk at the marriage, and being in his cups, he persuaded the Macedonians that were at the feast to pray to the gods that they might have a lawful heir of Philip and Cleopatra to succeed him in the kingdom of Macedon. Alexander, being in a rage, therewith threw a cup at his head, and said unto him: Why, traitor, what am I? Dost thou take me for a bastard? Philip, seeing that, rose from the board and drew out his sword, but by good fortune for them both, being troubled with choler and wine, he fell down on the ground. Then Alexander, mocking him, Lo, said he to the Macedonians, here is the man that prepared to go out of Europe into Asia, and stepping only from one bed to another, ye see him laid along on the ground. After this great insolency he took his mother, Olympias, away with him, and carrying her into his country of Epirus, he left her there, and himself afterwards went into Illyria. In the meantime Demaratus Corinthian, a friend of King Philip's, and very familiar with him, came to see him. Philip, when he had courteously welcomed him, asked him how the Grecians did agree together. Truly, O king, quoth he, it imports you much to enquire of the agreement of the Grecians, when your own court is so full of quarrel and contention. These words nipped Philip in such sort, and caused him to know his fault, that through Demaratus' means, whom he sent to persuade Alexander to return, Alexander was made to come back again.

Now when Pexodorus, a prince of Caria (desiring, for necessity's sake, to enter in league and friendship with Philip), offered his eldest daughter in marriage unto

a disgraceful scene.

Alexander's anger

his defence of his mother.

Alexander's return.

Alexander's relations with his father.
not very satisfactory.

Arrhidæus, King Philip's son, and had sent Aristocritus ambassador into Macedon for that purpose, the friends of Alexander and his mother began again to inveigle him with new reports and suspicions, how Philip by this great marriage would advance Arrhidæus to his utter undoing, and leave him his heir in the kingdom. Alexander, being nettled therewith, sent one Thessalus, a player of tragedies, into Caria to Pexodorus, to persuade him to leave Arrhidæus, that was a bastard and a fool, and rather to make alliance with Alexander. This offer pleased Pexodorus far better, to have Alexander his son-in-law, than Arrhidæus. Philip, understanding this, went himself into Alexander's chamber, taking Philotas with him (the son of Parmenio), one of his familiars; and bitterly took up Alexander, telling him that he had a base mind, and was unworthy to be left his heir after his death, if he would cast himself away, marrying the daughter of a Carian, that was a slave and subject of a barbarous king. Thereupon he wrote letters unto Corinth, that they should send Thessalus bound unto him. And furthermore he banished out of Macedon, Harpalus, Nearchus, Phrygius, and Ptolemy, his son's companions, whom Alexander afterwards called home again and placed them in great authority about him. Shortly after, Pausanias, sustaining villainy by the counsel and commandment of Attalus and Cleopatra, craving justice of Philip, and finding no amends, he converted all his anger against him, and for spite slew him himself. Of this murder most men accused Queen Olympias, who (as it is reported) allured this young man, having just cause of anger, to kill him. And Alexander also went not clear from suspicion of this murder. For

The quarrel between Philip & Alexander over the marriage of Arrhidæus.

Alexander's friends

The murder of Philip the end of Cleopatra.

some say that Pausanias, after this villainy was done him, complained unto Alexander, and told him how he had been abused, who recited these verses to him of Euripides, in the tragedy of *Medea*, where she said in anger that she would be revenged:

“Both of the bridegroom and the bride,
And of the father-in-law”.

Notwithstanding, afterwards he caused diligent search to be made, and all them to be severely punished that were of the conspiracy; and was angry also that his mother, Olympias, had cruelly slain Cleopatra.

So he came to be king of Macedon at twenty years of age, and found his realm greatly envied and hated of dangerous enemies and every way full of danger. For the barbarous nations that were near neighbours unto Macedon could not abide the bondage of strangers, but desired to have their natural kings. Neither had Philip time enough to bridle and pacify Greece, which he had conquered by force of arms; but having a little altered the governments, had through his insolency left them all in great trouble and ready to rebel, for that they had not long been acquainted to obey. Thereupon Alexander's council of Macedon, being afraid of the troublesome time, were of opinion that Alexander should utterly forsake the affairs of Greece, and not to follow them with extremity, but that he should seek to win the barbarous people by gentle means, that had rebelled against him, and wisely to remedy these new stirs. But he far otherwise determined to stablish his safety by courage and ^{greatness} magnanimity; persuading himself that if they saw him stoop and yield at the beginning, how little so ever it

King of 20.

Alexander's
miserable
king.

Alexander's
people
rebelled.

His policy

were, everyone would be upon him. Thereupon he straight quenched all the rebellion of the barbarous people, invading them suddenly with his army, by the river of Danuby, where in a great battle he overthrew Syrmus, King of the Triballians. Furthermore, having intelligence that the Thebans were revolted, and that the Athenians also were confederate with them, to make them know that he was a man, he marched with his army towards the strait of Thermopylæ, saying that he would make Demosthenes the Orator see (who in his orations, whilst he was in Illyria, and in the country of the Triballians, called him child) that he was grown a stripling passing through Thessaly, and should find him a man before the walls of Athens. When he came with his army unto the gates of Thebes, he was willing to give them of the city occasion to repent them, and therefore only demanded Phœnix and Prothytes, authors of the rebellion. Furthermore, he proclaimed by trumpet pardon and safety unto all them that would yield unto him. The Thebans, on the other side, demanded of him Philotas and Antipater, two of his chiefest servants, and made the crier proclaim in the city that all such as would defend the liberty of Greece should join with them. Then did Alexander leave the Macedonians at liberty to make war with all cruelty. Then the Thebans also fought with greater courage and desire than they were able, considering that their enemies were many against one. And on the other side, also, when the garrison of the Macedonians, which were within the castle of Cadmea, made a sally upon them, and gave them charge in the rearward, then they, being environed of all sides, were slain in manner every one of them, their city taken,

bar on
Thebes on
the Greeks.

Demosthenes
the greatest of
Gk. orators
lauded
Alexander in
his youth.

Alexander's
Revolutions
of the
Thebans.

Fall of Thebes

destroyed, and razed even to the hard ground. This he did, specially to make all the rest of the people of Greece afraid by example of this great calamity and misery of the Thebans, to the end none of them should dare from thenceforth once to rise against him. He would cloak this cruelty of his under the complaints of his confederates, the Phocians and Plataeans, who complaining to him of the injuries the Thebans had offered, could not deny them justice. Notwithstanding, excepting the priests, and the religious, and all such as were friends unto any of the lords of Macedon, all the friends and kinsmen of the poet Pindarus, and all those that had dissuaded them which were the rebels, he sold all the rest of the city of Thebes for slaves, which amounted to the number of thirty thousand persons, besides them that were slain at the battle, which were six thousand more. Now, amongst the other miseries and calamities of the poor city of Thebes there were certain Thracian soldiers, who having spoiled and defaced the house of Timoclea, a virtuous lady and of noble parentage, they divided her goods among them; and their captain, having grossly ill-treated her, asked her whether she had anywhere hidden any gold or silver. The lady told him she had. Then leading him into her garden, she brought him unto a well, where she said she had cast all her jewels and precious things when she heard the city was taken. The barbarous Thracian stooped to look into the well; she, standing behind him, thrust him in, and then threw stones enough on him and so killed him. The soldiers, when they knew it, took and bound her, and so carried her unto Alexander. When Alexander saw her countenance, and marked her gait, he supposed

*His cruelty
to the Thebans
is accused for
it.*

*All slaves
except religious
persons & the
poet Pindarus
his kinsmen*

*Lady
Timoclea*

her at the first to be some great lady, she followed the soldiers with such a majesty and boldness. Alexander then asking her what she was, she answered that she was the sister of Theagenes, who fought a battle with King Philip before the city of Chæronea, where, being general, he was slain valiantly fighting for the defence of the liberty of Greece. Alexander, wondering at her noble answer and courageous deed, commanded no man should touch her nor her children, and so freely let her go whither she would.

He made league also with the Athenians, though they were very sorry for their miserable fortune. For the day of the solemn feast of their mysteries being come, they left it off, mourning for the Thebans, courteously entertaining all those that flying from Thebes, came to them for succour. But whether it was for that his anger was past him, following therein the nature of lions, or because that after so great an example of cruelty he would show a singular clemency again, he did not only pardon the Athenians of all faults committed, but did also counsel them to look wisely to their doings, for their city one day should command all Greece if he chanced to die. Men report that certainly he oftentimes repented him that he had dealt so cruelly with the Thebans, and the grief he took upon it was cause that he afterwards showed himself more merciful unto divers others. Afterwards, also, he did blame the fury of Bacchus, who, to be revenged of him, made him kill Clitus at the table, being drunk, and the Macedonians also to refuse him to go any farther to conquer the Indians, which was an imperfection of his enterprise and a minishing also of his honour. Besides, there was never Theban afterwards that had escaped the

He afterwards before defence to Alexander.

His clemency.

Athenian sympathy for Thebans.

Alexander's toleration of that his anger being past.

His remorse for his cruelty.

He blamed Bacchus the God of wine whose revenge

Came in the killing of Clitus the brother of Alexander's conqueror.

fury of his victory, and did make any petition to him, but he had his suit. Thus was the state of Thebes as

you have heard.

Then the Grecians having assembled a general council of all the states of Greece within the straits of Peloponnesus, there it was determined that they would make war with the Persians. Whereupon they chose Alexander general for all Greece. Then divers men coming to visit Alexander, as well philosophers as governors of states, to congratulate with him for his election, he looked that Diogenes Sinopian (who dwelt at Corinth) would likewise come as the rest had done; but when he saw he made no reckoning of him, and that he kept still in the suburbs of Corinth, at a place called Craneum, he went himself unto him, and found him laid all along in the sun. When Diogenes saw so many coming towards him, he sat up a little and looked full upon Alexander. Alexander courteously spake unto him, and asked him if he lacked anything. Yea, said he, that I do; that thou stand out of my sun a little. Alexander was so well pleased with this answer, and marvelled so much at the great boldness of this man, to see how small account he made of him, that when he went his way from him, Alexander's familiars laughing at Diogenes, and mocking him, he told them, Masters, say what you list, truly if I were not Alexander I would be Diogenes.

Alexander being desirous to hear what the oracle of Apollo Delphian would say unto him touching the success of his journey into Asia, he went unto the city of Delphi. It chanced so that he came thither in the days which they call unfortunate, on which days no man used to ask Apollo anything. This notwithstanding, he sent first

No she has our
upon request anything
26

Attended General
of the Greece
in year 29.
Persia.

His appreciation
of Diogenes
independence.

He Defies
Oracle.

unto the nun which pronounced the oracles to pray her to come to him. But she refused to come, alleging the custom which forbade her to go. Thereupon Alexander went thither himself in person and brought her out by force into the temple. She, seeing then that he would not be denied, but would needs have his will, told him: My son, for that I see thou art invincible. Alexander, hearing that, said he desired no other oracle, and that he had as much as he looked for. Afterwards when he was even ready to go on with his voyage, he had divers signs and tokens from the gods, and amongst other an image of the poet Orpheus made of cyprus, in the city of Libethra, in those days did sweat marvellously. Many men fearing that sign, Aristander, the soothsayer, bade Alexander be of good cheer and hope well, for he should obtain noble victories that should never be forgotten, the which should make the poets and musicians sweat to write and sing them.

Then, for his army which he led with him, they that do set down the least number say that they were thirty thousand footmen and five thousand horsemen, and they that say more do write four-and-thirty thousand footmen and four thousand horsemen. Aristobulus writeth that Alexander had no more but three score and ten talents to pay his soldiers with, and Duris writeth that he had no more provision of victuals than for thirty days only. And Onesicritus saith, moreover, that he did owe two hundred talents. Now, notwithstanding that he began this war with so small ability to maintain it, he would never take ship before he understood the state of his friends, to know what ability they had to go with him, and before he had given unto some, lands, and unto other,

the promise of
the nun.
the prophecy

the sweating statue
of Orpheus.

suppositions
of the Greeks.

his limited
supply of
men, money
provisions

his generosity
to his allies

a town, and to others again, the custom of some haven. Thus by his bounty having in manner spent almost the revenues of the crown of Macedon, Perdiccas asked him: My lord, what will you keep for yourself? Hope, said he. Then, quoth Perdiccas again, we will also have some part, since we go with you, and so refused the revenue which the king had given him for his pension. Many others did also the like. But such as were contented to take his liberality, or would ask him anything, he gave them very frankly, and in such liberality spent all the revenue he had.

Perdiccas
Alexander's
"Hope"

With this desire and determination he went on to the strait of Hellespont, and going to the city of Ilium, he did sacrifice unto Diana, and made funeral effusions unto the demigods (to wit, unto the princes which died in the war of Troy, whose bodies were buried there) and specially unto Achilles, whose grave he anointed with oil, and ran naked round about it with his familiars, according to the ancient custom of funerals. Then he covered it with nosegays and flowers, saying that Achilles was happy, who while he lived had a faithful friend, and after his death an excellent herald to sing his praise. When he had done, and went up and down the city to see all the monuments and notable things there, one asked him if he would see Paris' harp. He answered again, he would very fain see Achilles' harp, who played and sung upon it all the famous acts done by valiant men in former times.

Account of
Customs
to
sacrifice to the gods
The harp
of the
Paris
was
admiration of
Achilles of the
hero of the
Trojan war

In the meantime, Darius, King of Persia, having levied a great army, sent his captains and lieutenants to tarry Alexander at the river of Granicus. There was Alexander to fight of necessity, being the only bar to stop his

entry into Asia. Moreover, the captains of the council about him were afraid of the depth of this river, and of the height of the bank on the other side, which was very high and steep, and could not be won without fighting. And some said also that he should have special care of the ancient regard of the month: because the kings of Macedon did never use to put their army into the field in the month of Dæsius, which is June. For that, said Alexander, we will remedy soon: let them call it the second month, Artemisius, which is May. Furthermore, Parmenio was of opinion that he should not meddle the first day, because it was very late. Alexander made answer again that Hellespont would blush for shame if he were now afraid to pass over the river, since he had already come over an arm of the sea. Thereupon he himself first entered the river with thirteen guidons of horsemen, and marched forwards against an infinite number of arrows which the enemies shot at him as he was coming up the other bank, which was very high and steep, and worst of all, full of armed men and horsemen of the enemies: which stayed to receive him in battle array, thrusting his men down into the river, which was very deep, and ran so swift that it almost carried them down the stream: insomuch that men thought him more rash than wise, to lead his men with such danger. This notwithstanding, he was so wilfully bent that he would needs over, and in the end with great ado recovered the other side, specially because the earth slid away by reason of the mud. So when he was over, he was driven to fight pell-mell, one upon another, because his enemies did set upon the first that were passed over, before they could put themselves into battle array, with

*Variants
superstitions
wholly answered*

*Alexander not
to be daunted
by difficulties
or superstitions.*

*No quick
answers.*

*No daring
crossing.*

great cries, keeping their horses very close together, and fought first with their darts, and afterwards came to the sword when their darts were broken. Then many of them set upon him alone, for he was easily to be known above the rest by his shield and the hinder part of his helmet, about the which there hung, from the one side to the other, a marvellous fair white plume. Alexander had a blow with a dart on his thigh, but it hurt him not. Thereupon Rhoesaces and Spithridates, both two chief captains of the Persians, setting upon Alexander at once, he left the one, and riding straight to Rhoesaces, who was excellently armed, he gave him such a blow with his lance that he brake it in his hand, and straight drew out his sword. But so soon as they two had closed together, Spithridates coming at the one side of him, raised himself upon his stirrups and gave Alexander with all his might such a blow on his head with a battle-axe that he cut the crest off his helmet, and one of the sides off his plume, and made such a gash that the edge of his battle-axe touched the very hair of his head. And as he was lifting up his hand to strike Alexander again, great Clitus preventing him, thrust him through with a partisan, and at the very same instant Rhoesaces also fell dead from his horse with a wound which Alexander gave him with his sword. Now whilst the horsemen fought with such fury, the squadron of the battle of footmen of the Macedonians had passed the river, and both the battles began to march one against the other. The Persians stuck not manfully to it any long time, but straight turned their backs and fled, saving the Grecians which took pay of King Darius: they drew together upon a hill, and craved mercy of Alexander. But Alexander, setting upon them more of

*his marvellous
fair white
plume.*

*He double
struck
Alexander
A. Rhoesaces
Clitus.*

will than discretion, had his horse killed under him, being thrust through the flank with a sword. This was not Bucephalus, but another horse he had. All his men that were slain or hurt at this battle were hurt amongst them valiantly fighting against desperate men. It is reported that there were slain at this first battle twenty thousand footmen of these barbarous people and two thousand five hundred horsemen. Of Alexander's side, Aristobulus writeth that there were slain four-and-thirty men in all, of the which twelve of them were footmen. Alexander, to honour their valiantness, caused every one of their images to be made in brass by Lysippus. And because he would make the Grecians partakers of this victory, he sent unto the Athenians three hundred of their targets, which he had won at the battle, and generally upon all the other spoils, he put this honourable inscription: || Alexander, the son of Philip, and the Grecians, excepting the Lacedæmonians, have won this spoil upon the barbarous Asians. || As for plate of gold or silver, also purple silks, or other such precious things which he got among the Persians, he sent them all unto his mother, a few except.

This first victory of Alexander brought such a sudden change amongst the barbarous people, in Alexander's behalf, that the city self of Sardis, the chief city of the empire of the barbarous people, or at the least through all the low countries and coasts upon the sea, yielded straight unto him, and the rest also, saving Halicarnassus and Miletus, which did still resist him: howbeit at length he took them by force. When he had also conquered all thereabouts, he stood in doubt afterwards what he were best to determine. Sometime he had a marvellous desire

*The first
great fight of
Darius & Perseus
across the
Grecians*

*Submission
of Persians
winning
near the coast*

hotly to follow Darius wheresoever he were, and to venture all at a battle. Another time, again, he thought it better first to occupy himself in conquering of these low countries, and to make himself strong with the money and riches he should find among them, that he might afterwards be the better able to follow him. In the country of Lydia, near unto the city Xanthus, they say there is a spring that brake of itself, and overflowing the banks about it, cast out a little table of copper from the bottom, upon the which were graved certain characters in old letters, which said: || That the kingdom of the Persians should be destroyed by the Grecians. || This did further so encourage Alexander that he made haste to clear all the sea-coast, even as far as Cilicia and Phœnicia. But the wonderful good success he had, running alongst all the coast of Pamphylia, gave divers historiographers occasion to set forth his doings with admiration, saying that it was one of the wonders of the world, that the fury of the sea, which unto all other was extreme rough, and many times would swell over the tops of the high rocks upon the cliffs, fell calm unto him. And it appeareth that Menander himself in a comedy of his doth witness this wonderful happiness of Alexander, when merrily he sayeth:

“O great Alexander, how great is thy state?
 For thou with thyself may'st thus justly debate.
 If any man living I list for to call,
 He cometh, and humbly before me doth fall.
 And if through the surges my journey do lie,
 The waves give me way, and the sea becomes dry.”

Yet Alexander himself simply writeth in his epistles (without any great wonder) that by sea he passed a place called

No inscription

*The table of copper
 from the bottom
 of the well.*

*The sea
 calmed at
 his approach.*

*The wonders of
 Alexander.*

the Ladder, and that to pass there he took ship in the city of Phaselis.

There he remained many days, and when he saw the image of Theodectes Phaselitan standing in the marketplace, he went in a dance thither one evening after supper, and cast flowers and garlands upon his image, honouring the memory of the dead, though it seemed but in sport, for that he was his companion when he lived, by means of Aristotle and his philosophy. After that he overcame also the Pisidians, who thought to have resisted him, and conquered all Phrygia besides. There in the city of Gordius, which is said to be the ancient seat of King Midas, he saw the chariot that is so much spoken of, which is bound with the bark of a cornel-tree, and it was told him for a truth, of the barbarous people, that they believed it as a prophecy that whosoever could undo the band of that bark was certainly ordained to be king of all the world. It is commonly reported that Alexander, proving to undo the band, and finding no ends to undo it by, they were so manifold wretched one within the other, he drew out his sword, and cut the knot in the midst. So that then many ends appeared. But Aristobulus writeth that he had quickly undone the knot by taking the bolt out of the ax-tree which holdeth the beam and body of the chariot, and so severed them asunder.

Departing thence, he conquered the Paphlagonians and Cappadocians, and understood of the death of Memnon, that was Darius' general of his army by sea, and in whom was all their hope to trouble and withstand Alexander: whereupon he was the bolder to go on with his determination to lead his army into the high countries of Asia. Then did King Darius himself come against Alex-

Alexander
Cut the
Gordian
knot.

Memnon
the leader of
the Persians
dead.

ander, having levied a great power at Susa, of six hundred thousand fighting-men, trusting to that multitude, and also to a dream, the which his wizards had expounded rather to flatter him than to tell him truly. Darius dreamed that he saw all the army of the Macedonians on a fire, and Alexander serving of him in the self-same attire that he himself wore when he was one of the chamber unto the late king his predecessor; and that when he came into the temple of Belus he suddenly vanished from him. By this dream it plainly appeared that the gods did signify unto him that the Macedonians should have noble success in their doings, and that Alexander should conquer all Asia, even as King Darius had done, when he was but Asgandes unto the king: and that shortly after he should end his life with great honour. This furthermore made him bold also when he saw that Alexander remained a good while in Cilicia, supposing it had been for that he was afraid of him. Howbeit it was by reason of a sickness he had, the which some say he got by extreme pains and travail, and others also because he washed himself in the river of Cydnus, which was cold as ice. Howsoever it came, there was none of the other physicians that durst undertake to cure him, thinking his disease incurable, and no medicines to prevail that they could give him, and fearing also that the Macedonians would lay it to their charge if Alexander miscarried. But Philip Acarnanian, considering his master was very ill, and bearing himself of his love and good-will towards him, thought he should not do that became him if he did not prove (seeing him in extremity and danger of life) the utmost remedies of physic, what danger soever he put himself into: and therefore took upon him to

Influence of dream

*Darius' dream
false interpretation*

*Alexander's
illness*

minister physic unto Alexander, and persuaded him to drink it boldly if he would quickly be whole, and go to the wars. In the meantime Parmenio wrote him a letter from the camp, advertising him that he should beware of Philip his physician, for he was bribed and corrupted by Darius, with large promises of great riches that he would give him with his daughter in marriage to kill his master. Alexander, when he had read this letter, laid it under his bed's head, and made none of his nearest familiars acquainted therewith. When the hour came that he should take his medicine, Philip came into his chamber with other of the king's familiars, and brought a cup in his hand with the potion he should drink. Alexander then gave him the letter, and withal cheerfully took the cup of him, showing no manner of fear or mistrust of anything. It was a wonderful thing, and worth the sight, how one reading the letter, and the other drinking the medicine both at one instant, they looked one upon another, howbeit not both with like cheerful countenance. For Alexander looked merrily upon him, plainly showing the trust he had in his physician Philip, and how much he loved him: and the physician also beheld Alexander like a man perplexed and amazed, to be so falsely accused, and straight lift up his hands to heaven, calling the gods to witness that he was innocent, and then came to Alexander's bedside, and prayed him to be of good cheer, and boldly do as he would advise him. The medicine, beginning to work, overcame the disease, and drove, for the time, to the lowest parts of his body, all his natural strength and powers: insomuch as his speech failed him, and he fell into such a weakness, and almost swooning, that his pulse did scant beat, and his senses were well-

Alexander's
reception of
Parmenio's
letter of his
physician
Philip.

homely
moments in
Alexander's
life.

Effect of the
disease.

near taken from him. But that being past, Philip in few days recovered him again.

Now, when Alexander had gotten some strength, he showed himself openly unto the Macedonians: for they would not be pacified, nor persuaded of his health until they had seen him. In King Darius' camp there was one Amyntas, a Macedonian, and banished out of his country, who knew Alexander's disposition very well. He, finding that Darius meant to meet with Alexander within the straits and valleys of the mountains, besought him to tarry rather where he was, being a plain open country round about him, considering that he had a great host of men to fight with a few enemies, and that it was most for his advantage to meet with him in the open field. Darius answered him again, that he was afraid of nothing but that he would fly before he could come to him. Amyntas replied: For that, O king, I pray you fear not, for I warrant you upon my life he will come to you, yea and is now onwards on his way coming towards you. All those persuasions of Amyntas could not turn Darius from making his camp to march towards Cilicia. At the self-same time, also, Alexander went towards Syria to meet with him. But it chanced one night that the one of them missed the other, and when day was come they both returned back again; Alexander being glad of this hap, and making haste to meet with his enemy within the straits. Darius also seeking to win Alexander's lodging from whence he came, and to bring his army out of the straits, began then to find the fault and error committed, for that he had shut himself up in the straits (holden in on the one side with the mountain, and on the other with the sea, and the river of Pindarus

Darius
is worthy for.

that ran between both), and that he was driven to disperse his army into divers companies, in a stony and ill-favoured country, ill for horsemen to travel, being on the contrary side a great advantage for his enemies, which were excellent good footmen, and but few in number. But now, as fortune gave Alexander the field as he would wish it to fight for his advantage, so could he tell excellently well how to set his men in battle array to win the victory. For albeit that Alexander had the less number by many than his enemy, yet he had such policy and cast with him that he foresaw all, and would not be environed. For he did put out the right wing of his battle a great deal farther than he did his left wing, and, fighting himself in the left wing in the foremost ranks, he made all the barbarous people fly that stood before him; howbeit he was hurt on his thigh with a blow of a sword. Chares writeth that Darius self did hurt him, and that they fought together man to man. Notwithstanding, Alexander self writing of this battle unto Antipater, sayeth that indeed he was hurt on the thigh with a sword, howbeit he did put him in no danger; but he writeth not that Darius did hurt him. Thus having won a famous victory, and slain above a hundred and ten thousand of his enemies, he could not yet take Darius because he fled, having still four or five furlongs vantage before him; howbeit he took his chariot of battle wherein he fought, and his bow also. Then he returned from the chase, and found the Macedonians sacking and spoiling all the rest of the camp of the barbarous people, where there was infinite riches (although they had left the most part of their carriage behind them in the city of Damas, to

Darius's mistake

Darius's generalship

A great victory at Issus.

Darius escapes.

come lighter to the battle), but yet reserved for himself all King Darius' tent, which was full of a great number of officers, of rich movables, and of gold and silver. So, when he was come to the camp, putting off his armour, he entered into the bath, and said: Come on, let us go and wash off the sweat of the battle in Darius' own bath. Nay, replied one of his familiars again, in Alexander's bath; for the goods of the vanquished are rightly the vanquisher's. When he came into the bath and saw the basins and ewers, the boxes, and vials for perfumes, all of clean gold, excellently wrought, all the chamber perfumed passing sweetly, that it was like a paradise: then going out of his bath, and coming into his tent, seeing it so stately and large, his bed, the table, and supper, and all ready in such sumptuous sort that it was wonderful, he turned him unto his familiars and said: This was a king indeed, was he not, think ye?

As he was ready to go to his supper, word was brought him that they were bringing unto him, amongst other ladies taken prisoners, King Darius' mother and his wife, and two of his daughters unmarried, who, having seen his chariot and bow, burst out into lamentable cries, and violent beating of themselves, thinking Darius had been slain. Alexander paused a good while, and gave no answer, pitying more their misfortune than rejoicing at his own good hap. Then he presently sent one Leonatus unto them, to let them understand that Darius was alive, and that they should not need to be afraid of Alexander, for he did not fight with Darius, but for his kingdom only; and as for them, that they should have at his hands all that they had of Darius

The body

The bath

*East.
Darius' bath*

His clemency to the ladies of Darius

ALEXANDER THE GREAT

mother
wife
daughters
39

before, when he had his whole kingdom in his hands. As these words pleased the captive ladies, so the deeds that followed made them find his clemency to be no less. For first he suffered them to bury as many of the Persian lords as they would, even of them that had been slain in the battle, and to take as much silks of the spoils, jewels, and ornaments, as they thought good to honour their funerals with; and also did lessen no part of their honour, nor of the number of their officers and servants, nor of any jot of their estate which they had before, but did allow them also greater pensions than they had before. But, above all, the princeliest grace and most noble favour that Alexander showed unto these captive princesses, which had always lived in honourable fame and chastity, was this: That they never heard word or so much as any suspicion that should make them afraid; but were privately among themselves unvisited or repaired unto by any man but of their own, not as if they had been in a camp of their enemies, but as if they had been kept in some close monastery; although Darius' wife (as it is written) was passing fair, as Darius also was a goodly prince, and that his daughters likewise did resemble their father and mother. Alexander, thinking it more princely for a king, as I suppose, to conquer himself than to overcome his enemies, did neither touch them nor any other, maid or wife. Furthermore, beholding the other Persian ladies besides, which were prisoners, what goodly fair women they were, he spake it pleasantly that the ladies of Persia made men's eyes sore to behold them. Notwithstanding, preferring the beauty of his continency before their sweet fair faces, he passed by without any

richer
than
before.

his
respect
for their
honour. In
a camp
as in a
Convent.

Alexander's
honour -
a his
Gentleman

spark of affection towards them, more than if they had been images of stone without life.

He was also no greedy-gut, but temperate in eating, as he showed by many proofs; but chiefly in that he said unto the Princess Ada, whom he adopted for his mother, and made her Queen of Caria. For when (for the love she bare him) she daily sent him sundry delicate dishes of meat, tarts, and marchpanes, and besides the meat itself the pastlers and cooks to make them, which were excellent workmen, he answered that he could not tell what to do with them, for he had better cooks than those appointed him by his governor Leonidas, to wit: for his dinner, to rise before day, and to march by night, and for his supper, to eat little at dinner. And my governor, said he, would oftentimes open the chests where my bedding and apparel lay to see if my mother had put any fine knacks or conceits among them. Furthermore, he was less given to wine than men would have judged. For he was thought to be a greater bibber than he was, because he sat long at the board rather to talk than drink. For ever when he drank he would propound some tedious matter, and yet but when he was at leisure. For having matters to do, there was neither feast, banquet, play, marriage, nor any pastime that could stay him, as they had done other captains. The which appeareth plainly by the shortness of his life, and by the wonderful and notable deeds he did in that little time he lived.

When he had leisure, after he was up in the morning, first of all he would do sacrifice to the gods, and then would go to dinner, passing away all the rest of the day in hunting, writing something, taking up some quarrel

1. Helanck's
admiration
for his
conduct
in his
war.

between soldiers, or else in studying. If he went any journey of no hasty business, he would exercise himself by the way as he went, shooting in his bow, or learning to get up or out of his chariot suddenly as it ran. Oftentimes also for his pastime he would hunt the fox, or catch birds, as appeareth in his book of remembrances of every day. Then when he came to his lodging he would enter into his bath, and rub and anoint himself, and would ask his pantelers and carvers if his supper were ready. He would ever sup late, and was very curious to see that every man at his board were alike served, and would sit long at the table, because he ever loved to talk, as we have told you before. Otherwise he was as noble a prince and gracious to wait upon, and as pleasant, as any king that ever was. For he lacked no grace nor comeliness to adorn a prince, saving that he would be something over busy in glorying in his own deeds, much like unto a bragging soldier; neither was he contented himself to please his own humour that way, but would also suffer his familiars to sooth him even to his teeth. And this was many times the destruction of honest men about him, the which would neither praise him in his presence, hating the flatterers, nor yet durst say less of the praises which they gave him. For of the first they were ashamed, and by the second they fell in danger. After supper he would wash himself again, and sleep until noon the next day following, and oftentimes all day long. For himself, he was nothing curious of dainty dishes; for when any did send him rare fruits, or fish from the countries near the sea-side, he would send them abroad unto his friends, and seldom keep anything for himself. His table, notwithstanding, was always

*The occupations
of his
leisure.*

Love of talk

*A while given
to boasting &
praising his
deeds & friends*

*Capacity for
sleep.*

*Indifferent
to rare or
fine food.*

very honourably served, and did still increase his fare, as he did enlarge his conquests, till it came to the sum of ten thousand drachmas a day. But there he stayed, and would not exceed that sum, and moreover commanded all men that would feast him that they should not spend above that sum.

After this battle of Issus he sent unto the city of Damascus to take all the gold and silver, the carriage, and all the women and children of the Persians which were left there, where the men of arms of the Thessalians sped them full well. For therefore did he send them thither, because he saw that they had fought valiantly at the day of the battle; and so were the rest of his army also well stored with money. There the Macedonians having tasted first of the gold, silver, women, and barbarous life, as dogs by scent do follow the track of beasts, even so were they greedy to follow after the goods of the Persians. First Alexander thought it best to win all the sea-coast. Thither came the Kings of Cyprus, and Phoenicia, and delivered up to him the whole island and all Phoenicia, saving only the city of Tyre. That city he besieged seven months together by land, with great bulwarks and divers engines of battery, and by sea, with two hundred galleys. During this siege Alexander dreamed one night that Hercules held out his hand unto him over the walls of the city, and called him by his name; and there were divers Tyrians also that dreamed in likewise that Apollo told them that he would go unto Alexander, because he was not pleased with their doings in the city. Thereupon they bound his image (which was of a wonderful bigness) with great chains, and nailed him down fast to the base, as if he had been a traitor that would

His household expenses in food.

Ancient warfare, rewards from plunder.

Siege of Tyre

Alexander's dreams.

have yielded himself unto their enemies, and called him Alexandrine, as much as favouring Alexander. Alexander had there also another dream. For he dreamed he saw a satyr afar off sporting with him, and when he thought to have come near to have taken him, he still escaped from him; until at the length, after he had run a good while after him, and entreated him, he fell into his hands. The soothsayers being asked what this dream should signify, answered probably, by dividing Satyros into two, and then it is $\Sigma\alpha\ \tau\acute{\upsilon}\rho\omicron\varsigma$, which signifieth, The city of Tyre shall be thine. And they do yet show unto this day the fountain where Alexander thought he saw the satyr. Continuing this siege, he went to make war with the Arabians that dwell upon the mountain Antiliban, where he was in great danger of being cast away, only because he heard his tutor, Lysimachus, that followed him, say boastingly that he was not inferior nor older than the Phoenix. For when they came at the foot of the mountain, they left their horses, and went up afoot; and Alexander was of so courteous a nature that he would not leave his tutor Lysimachus behind him (who was so weary that he could go no farther), but because it was dark night, and for that the enemies were not far from them, he came behind to encourage his tutor, and in manner to carry him. By this means, unawares, he was far from his army with very few men about him, and benighted besides; moreover it was very cold, and the way was very ill. At the length, perceiving divers fires which the enemies had made, some in one place and some in another, trusting to his valiantness, having always provided remedy in extremity, when the Macedonians were

The country
to Lysimachus

distressed, himself ever putting to his own hand, he ran unto them that had made the fires next him, and killing two of the barbarous people that lay by the fire-side, he snatched away a firebrand, and ran with it to his own men, who made a great fire. At this the barbarous people were so afraid that they ran their way as fast as they could. Other also thinking to come and set upon him, he slew them every man, and so lay there that night himself and his men without danger.

Thus Chares reporteth this matter.

Now for the siege of Tyre, that fell out thus. Alexander caused the most part of his army to take rest, being overharried and wearied with so many battles as they had fought, and sent a few of his men only to give assault unto the city, to keep the Tyrians occupied, that they should take no rest. One day the soothsayer Aristander, sacrificing unto the gods, having considered of the signs of the entrails of the beasts, did assure them that were present that the city should be taken by the latter end of the month. Everybody laughed to hear him, for that day was the very last day of the month. Alexander, seeing him amated, as one that could not tell what to say to it, seeking ever to bring those tokens to effect which the soothsayers did prognosticate, commanded them that they should not reckon that day the thirtieth day, but the seven-and-twentieth, and immediately upon it made the trumpet sound the alarm, and give a hotter assault to the wall than he had thought to have done before. They fought valiantly on both sides, insomuch as they that were left in the camp could not keep in, but must needs run to the assault to help their companions. The Tyrians seeing the assault so hot on every side, their

The siege of Tyre.

The soothsayer's prophecy.

hearts began to fail them, and by this means was the city taken the self-same day. Another time also, when Alexander was before Gaza, the chief city of Syria, there fell a clod of earth upon his shoulder, out of the which there flew a bird into the air. The bird, lighting upon one of the engines of his battery, was caught with the nets made of sinews which covered over the ropes of the engines. Aristander did prognosticate that it signified he should be hurt in his shoulder, notwithstanding, that he should yet take the town. And indeed it came so to pass. When he sent great presents of spoils which he wan at the sack of this city unto his mother Olympias, Cleopatra, and divers others of his friends, among other things, he sent unto Leonidas, his governor, five hundred talents weight of frankincense, and a hundred talents weight of myrrh: remembering the hope he put him into when he was a child. For as Alexander was upon a day sacrificing unto the gods, he took both his hands full of frankincense to cast into the fire to make a perfume thereof. When his governor Leonidas saw him, he said thus unto him: When thou hast conquered the country where these sweet things grow, then be liberal of thy perfume; but now spare that little thou hast at this present. Alexander, calling to mind at that time his admonition, wrote unto him in this sort: We do send thee plenty of frankincense and myrrh, because thou shouldst no more be a niggard unto the gods.

*Dreams
moments.*

*Alex
Leonidas
The gift
of
frankincense
myrrh.*

There was brought unto him a little coffer also, which was thought to be the preciouslest thing and the richest that was gotten of all the spoils and riches taken at the overthrow of Darius. When he saw it he asked his familiars that were about him what they thought fittest

Homer's Iliad
 and the best thing to be put into it. Some said one thing, some said another thing; but he said he would put the *Iliads* of Homer into it, as the worthiest thing. This is confirmed by the best historiographers. Now, if that which the Alexandrians report upon Heraclides' words be true, then it appeareth that he did profit himself much by Homer in this journey. For it is reported that when he had conquered Egypt, he determined to build a great city, and to replenish it with a great number of Grecians, and to call it after his name. But as he was about to enclose a certain ground, which he had chosen by the advice of his engineers and workmasters, the night before he had a marvellous dream, that he saw an old man standing before him, full of white hairs, with an honourable presence, and coming towards him said these verses:

Within the foaming sea there lies a certain island, right
 Against the shore of Egypt, which of ancient Pharos hight.

As soon as he rose the next morning he went to see this Isle of Pharos, the which at that time was a little above the mouth of the river of Nile, called Canopic, howbeit it is now joined unto firm land, being forced by man's hand. This he thought the meetest place that could be to build the city which he had determined. For it is as a tongue or a great bar of earth, broad enough, that separateth a great lake on the one side, and the sea on the other, the which doth join hard to a great haven. Then he said that Homer was wonderful in all his things, but that, amongst others, he was an excellent architector; and commanded that straight they should cast the platform of the city, according to the situation of the place.

Now they found at that time no chalk nor white earth there to mark withal, wherefore they were driven to take meal, and with that did mark out upon the earth, being black, the compass of the town, that was round and circular, and being divided into two equal parts, either of them resembled the skirts and fashion of the Macedonian cloak. Alexander liked this draught passingly well. But there rose upon the sudden out of the river or lake such an infinite multitude of great fowl of all sorts that they covered the element as it had been a cloud, and lighting within this circuit did eat up all the meal, and left not a crumb. Alexander liked not these signs. Notwithstanding, his soothsayers bade him not be discouraged, for they told him it was a sign that he should build a city there so plentiful of all things that he should maintain all sorts of people. Then he commanded them unto whom he had given the charge of the building that they should go forward with their work, and he himself in the meantime took his journey to go visit the temple of Jupiter Ammon. The journey was long, and there were many troubles by the way, but two dangers above all the rest most special. The first, lack of water, because they had to travel many days' journey through a great desert. The second was the danger of the rising of the south wind by the way to blow the sand abroad, which was of a wonderful length. And it is reported that on a time there rose such a tempest in that desert that blew up whole hills of sand, which slew fifty thousand men of Cambyses' army. Every man in Alexander's train did know these dangers very well: howbeit it was hard to dissuade Alexander from anything which he had a desire unto. For, fortune favouring him in all his

Alexander's
at the
Sole of Pharo.

Water
wind
dangers.

Alex's
determination

Alex. noble courage
 attempts, made him constant and resolute in his determinations: and his noble courage besides made him invincible in all things he took in hand, insomuch as he did not only compel his enemies, but he had power also of time and place.

miracles
 In that voyage, instead of these former dangers spoken of, he had many helps, the which are supposed were sent him from the gods, by the oracles that followed afterwards. For in a certain sort they have believed the oracles that were written of him. First of all, the wonderful water and great showers that fell from the element did keep him from fear of the first danger, and did quench their thirst, and moisted the dryness of the sand in such sort that there came a sweet fresh air from it. Furthermore, when the marks were hidden from the guides to show them the way, and that they wandered up and down, they could not tell where, there came crows unto them that did guide them, flying before them: flying fast when they saw them follow them, and stayed for them when they were behind. But Callisthenes writeth a greater wonder than this, that in the night time, with the very noise of the crows, they brought them again into the right way which had lost their way. Thus Alexander in the end having passed through this wilderness, he came unto the temple he sought for, where the prophet or chief priest saluted him from the god Ammon as from his father. Then Alexander asked him if any of the murderers that had killed his father were left alive. The priest answered him, and bade him take heed he did not blaspheme, for his father was no mortal man. Then Alexander, again rehearsing that he had spoken, asked him if the murderers that

*His religious duties
 Wane Jupiter presumed*

had conspired the death of Philip, his father, were all punished. After that he asked him touching his kingdom, if he would grant him to be king over all the world. The god answered him by the mouth of his prophet, he should, and that the death of Philip was fully revenged. Then did Alexander offer great presents unto the god, and gave money large to the priests and ministers of the temple. This is that the most part of writers do declare, touching Alexander's demand and the oracles given him. Yet did Alexander himself write unto his mother that he had secret oracles from the god, which he would only impart unto her at his return into Macedon. Others say also that the prophet, meaning to salute him in the Greek tongue to welcome him the better, would have said unto him, *O Paidion*, as much as dear son, but that he tripped a little in his tongue, because the Greek was not his natural tongue, and placed an *s* for an *n* in the latter end, saying, *O Pai Dios*, to wit, O son of Jupiter: and that Alexander was glad of that mistaking. Whereupon there ran a rumour straight among his men that Jupiter had called him his son. It is said also that he heard Psammon the Philosopher in Egypt, and that he liked his words very well when he said that God was king of all mortal men. For (quoth he) he that commandeth all things must needs be God. But Alexander self spake better, and like a philosopher, when he said: That God generally was father to all mortal men, but that particularly he did elect the best sort for himself. To conclude, he showed himself more arrogant unto the barbarous people, and made as though he certainly believed that he had been begotten of some god: but unto the Grecians he spake more modestly of divine genera-

The prophet's
mistake

tion. For in a letter he wrote unto the Athenians touching the city of Samos, he said: I gave ye not that noble free city, but it was given you at that time by him whom they called my lord and father: meaning Philip. Afterwards also, being stricken with an arrow, and feeling great pain of it: My friends, said he, this blood which is spilt is man's blood, and not as Homer said:

“No such as from the immortal gods doth flow”.

And one day also in a marvellous great thunder, when every man was afraid, Anaxarchus the Rhetorician, being present, said unto him: O, thou son of Jupiter, wilt thou do as much? No, said he, laughing on him, I will not be so fearful to my friends as thou wouldst have me, disdainng the service of fish to my board, because thou seest not princes' heads served in. And the report goeth also that, Alexander upon a time sending a little fish unto Hephæstion, Anaxarchus should say, as it were in mockery, that they which above others seek for fame with great trouble and hazard of life have either small pleasure in the world, or else as little as others have. By these proofs and reasons alleged we may think that Alexander had no vain nor presumptuous opinion of himself, to think that he was otherwise begotten of a god, but that he did it in policy to keep other men under obedience by the opinion conceived of his godhead.

Returning out of Phœnicia into Egypt, he made many sacrifices, feasts, and processions in honour of the gods, sundry dances, tragedies, and such like pastimes goodly to behold, not only for the sumptuous setting out of them, but also for the goodwill and diligence of the

*his words
as his
divine
with*

setters forth of them, which strived everyone to exceed the other. For the kings of the Cyprians were the setters of them forth, as at Athens they draw by lot a citizen of every tribe of the people to defray the charges of these pastimes. These kings were very earnest who should do best, but specially Nicocreon, King of Salamis, in Cyprus, and Pasistrates, lord of the city of Soli. For it fell out to their lot to furnish two of the excellentest players: Pasistrates furnished Athenodorus, and Nicocreon Thessalus, whom Alexander loved singularly well, though he made no show of it, until that Athenodorus was declared victor by the judges deputed to give sentence. For when he went from the plays he told them he did like the judges' opinion well, notwithstanding he would have been contented to have given the one-half of his realm not to have seen Thessalus overcome. Athenodorus being condemned upon a time by the Athenians, because he was not in Athens at the feasts of Bacchus, when the comedies and tragedies were played, and a fine set on his head for his absence, he besought Alexander to write unto them in his behalf that they would release his penalty. Alexander would not so do, but sent thither his money whereof he was condemned, and paid it for him of his own purse. Also when Lycon Scarphian, an excellent stage-player, had pleased Alexander well, and did foist in a verse in his comedy containing a petition of ten talents, Alexander, laughing at it, gave it him.

This line of Thessalus.

This interest in dramatics.

Darius at that time wrote unto Alexander, and unto certain of his friends also, to pray him to take ten thousand talents for the ransom of all those prisoners he had in his hands, and for all the countries, lands,

and signories on this side the river of Euphrates, and one of his daughters also in marriage, that from thenceforth he might be his kinsman and friend. Alexander imparted this to his council. Amongst them Parmenio said unto him: If I were Alexander, quoth he, surely I would accept this offer. So would I indeed, quoth Alexander again, if I were Parmenio. In fine, he wrote again unto Darius that if he would submit himself he would use him courteously; if not, that then he would presently march towards him. But he repented him afterwards when King Darius' wife was dead with child, for without dissimulation it grieved him much that he had lost so noble an occasion to show his courtesy and clemency. This notwithstanding, he gave her body honourable burial, sparing for no cost. Amongst the eunuchs of the queen's chamber there was one Tirus taken prisoner among the women, who, stealing out of Alexander's camp, taking his horseback, rode unto Darius to bring him news of the death of his wife. Then Darius, beating of his head, and weeping bitterly, cried out aloud: Oh gods, what wretched hap have the Persians! that have not only had the wife and sister of their king taken prisoners even in his lifetime, but now that she is dead in travail of child she hath been deprived of princely burial! Then spake the eunuch to him, and said: For her burial, most gracious king, and for all due honour that might be wished her, Persia hath no cause to complain of her hard fortune. For neither did Queen Statira, your wife, whilst she lived prisoner, nor your mother, nor daughters, want any part or jot of their honour they were wont to have before, saving only to see the light of your honour, the which god Oromasdes grant

*The death
of Queen
Statira.*

to restore again (if it be his will) unto your majesty; neither was there any honour wanting at her death (to set forth her stately funerals) that might be gotten, but more, was lamented also with the tears of your enemies. For Alexander is as merciful in victory as he is valiant in battle. Darius, hearing the eunuch's words, being vexed in mind for very grief, took the eunuch aside into the secretest place of his tent, and said unto him: If thou be not, with the misfortune of the Persians, become a Macedonian, but doest in thy heart acknowledge Darius for thy sovereign lord and master, I pray thee, and do also conjure thee, by the reverence thou bearest unto this bright light of the sun, and to the right hand of the king, that thou do tell me truly. Are these the least evils which I lament in Statira, her imprisonment and death? And did she not in her life make us more miserable by her dishonour than if we had dishonourably fallen into the hands of a cruel enemy? For what honest communication, I pray thee, can a young, victorious prince have with his enemy's wife a prisoner, having done her so much honour as he hath done? Darius going on with these speeches, Tiresus the eunuch fell down on his knees and besought him not to say so, neither to blemish the virtue of Alexander in that sort, nor yet so to dishonour his sister and wife deceased, and thereby also to deprive himself of the greatest comfort he could wish to have in his calamity, which was to be overcome by an enemy that had greater virtues than a man could possibly have; but rather that he should wonder at Alexander's virtue, who had showed himself chaster to the ladies than valiant against the Persians. And therewithal the eunuch confirmed the great honesty,

*Alexander's
honour.*

chastity, and noble mind of Alexander by many great and deep oaths. Then Darius, coming out among his friends again, holding up his hands unto the heavens, made this prayer unto the gods: "O heavenly gods, creators of men, and protectors of kings and realms, first, I beseech you grant me that, restoring the Persians again to their former good state, I may leave the realm unto my successors with that glory and fame I received it of my predecessors; that, obtaining victory, I may use Alexander with that great honour and courtesy which he hath in my misery showed unto those I loved best in the world. Or otherwise, if the time appointed be come that the kingdom of Persia must needs have end, either through divine revenge, or by natural change of earthly things, then good gods yet grant that none but Alexander after me may sit in Cyrus' throne." Divers writers do agree that these things came even thus to pass.

Now, Alexander having conquered all Asia on this side of the river of Euphrates, he went to meet with Darius, that came down with ten hundred thousand fighting-men. It was told him by some of his friends, to make him laugh, that the slaves of his army had divided themselves in two parts, and had chosen them a general of either part, naming the one Alexander and the other Darius, and that at the first they began to skirmish only with clods of earth, and afterwards with fists; but at the last they grew so hot that they came to plain stones and staves, so that they could not be parted. Alexander, hearing that, would needs have the two generals fight hand to hand, one with the other, and Alexander's self did arm him that was called Alexander, and Philotas the other, which was called Darius. All the army thereupon

Darius's
prayer to the
gods.

was gathered together to see this combat between them, as a thing that did betoken good or ill luck to come. The fight was sharp between them, but in the end he that was called Alexander overcame the other, and Alexander to reward him, gave him twelve villages, with privilege to go after the Persian manner. Thus it is written by Eratosthenes.

The great battle that Alexander fought with Darius was not (as many writers report) at Arbela, but at Gausamela, which signifieth in the Persian tongue the house of the camel. For some one of the ancient kings of Persia that had escaped from the hands of his enemies, flying upon a dromedary camel, lodged him in that place, and therefore appointed the revenues of certain villages to keep the camel there. There fell out at that time an eclipse of the moon, in the month called Boëdromion (now August), about the time that the feast of the mysteries was celebrated at Athens. The eleventh night after that, both the armies being in sight each of the other, Darius kept his men in battle array, and went himself by torchlight viewing his bands and companies. Alexander, on the other side, whilst his Macedonian soldiers slept, was before his tent with Aristander the Soothsayer, and made certain secret ceremonies and sacrifices unto Apollo. The ancient captains of the Macedonians, specially Parmenio, seeing all the valley betwixt the river of Niphates and the mountains of the Gordiæans all on a bright light with the fires of the barbarous people, and hearing a dreadful noise as of a confused multitude of people that filled their camp with the sound thereof, they were amazed, and consulted that in one day it was in manner impossible to fight a battle with such an incredible mul-

*The duel of
the slaves.*

*Arbela usually,
Gausamela*

titude of people. Thereupon they went unto Alexander, after he had ended his ceremonies, and did counsel him to give battle by night, because the darkness thereof should help to keep all fear from his men, which the sight of their enemies would bring them into. But then he gave them this notable answer: I will not steal victory, quoth he. This answer seemed very fond and arrogant to some, that he was so pleasant, being near so great danger. Howbeit others think that it was a present noble courage and a deep consideration of him to think what should happen, thereby to give Darius no manner of occasion (if he were overcome) to take heart again and to prove another battle, accusing the darkness of the night as cause of his overthrow, as he had done at the first conflict, imputing his overthrow to the mountains, the straits, and the sea. For, said he, Darius will never leave to make wars with us for lack of men nor munition, having so large a realm as he hath, and such a world of people besides; but then he will no more hazard battle when his heart is done and all hope taken from him, and that he seeth his army at noondays overthrown by plain battle. After his captains were gone from him, he went into his tent and laid him down to sleep, and slept all that night more soundly than he was wont to do before, insomuch as the lords and princes of his camp, coming to wait upon him at his uprising, marvelled when they found him so sound asleep, and therefore of themselves they commanded the soldiers to eat. Afterwards, perceiving that time came fast upon them, Parmenio went into Alexander's chamber, and coming to his bedside called him twice or thrice by name, till at the last he awaked him and asked him how it chanced that he slept

I will not steal victory

Alex's sleep -

so long, like one that had already overcome, and that did not think he should fight as great and dangerous a battle as ever he did in his life. Why, said Alexander, laughing on him, dost thou not think we have already overcome, being troubled no more with running after Darius up and down a country utterly destroyed, as we should otherwise have been compelled to have done if he would not have come to battle, and destroyed the country before us?

Now Alexander did not only show himself before the battle, but even at the very instant of the battle, a noble man of courage, and of great judgment. For, Parmenio leading the left wing of his battle, the men of arms of the Bactrians gave such a fierce onset upon the Macedonians that they made them give back: and Mazæus also, King Darius' lieutenant, sent certain troops of horsemen, out of their battle, to give charge upon them that were left in the camp to guard the carriage. Parmenio, being amazed with either of both attempts, sent immediately to advertise Alexander that all their camp and carriage would be lost if he did not send presently to aid the rearward. When these news came to Alexander from Parmenio, he had already given the signal of battle unto his men for to give charge. Whereupon he answered the messenger that brought him these news that he should tell Parmenio he was a madman and out of his wits, not remembering that if they wan the battle they should not only save their own carriage, but also win the carriage of their enemies: and if it were their chance to lose it, then that they should not need to care for their carriage, nor for their slaves, but only to think to die honourably, valiantly fighting for his life. Having sent this message unto Parmenio, he put on his helmet. The rest of his

*Parmenio's
panic*

armour for his body, he had put it on before in his tent, which was a Sicilian cassock, and upon that a brigandine made of many folds of canvas with eyelet-holes, which was gotten among the spoils at the battle of Issus. His head-piece was as bright as silver, made by Theophilus the armourer: his collar suit like to the same, all set full of precious stones, and he had a sword by his side marvellous light, and of excellent temper, which the king of the Citieians had given him, using commonly to fight with his sword at any set battle. His coat-armour was marvellous rich, and of sumptuous workmanship, far above all the rest he wore. It was of the workmanship of Helicon, the which the Rhodians gave him for a present, and this he commonly wore when he went to battle. Now when he did set his men in battle array, or made any oration unto them, or did ride amongst the bands to take view of them, he always used to ride upon another horse to spare Bucephal, because he was then somewhat old: notwithstanding, when he meant indeed to fight, then Bucephal was brought unto him, and as soon as he was gotten upon his back, the trumpet sounded, and he gave charge. Then, after he had made long exhortations to encourage the men of arms of the Thessalians, and the other Grecians also, and when they had all promised him they would stick to him like men, and prayed him to lead them, and give charge upon the enemies, he took his lance in his left hand, and holding up his right hand unto heaven, besought the gods (as Callisthenes writeth) that if it were true he was begotten of Jupiter, that it would please them that day to help him, and to encourage the Grecians. The Soothsayer Aristander was then on horse-back hard by Alexander, apparelled all in white, and a

Alex's
 headpiece
 the king's
 armour

the horse

crown of gold on his head, who showed Alexander, when he made his prayer, an eagle flying over his head, and pointing directly towards his enemies. This marvellously encouraged all the army that saw it, and with this joy the men of arms of Alexander's side, encouraging one another, did set spurs to their horse to charge upon the enemies. The battle of the footmen of the Persians began a little to give way, and before the foremost could come to give them charge, the barbarous people turned their backs and fled. The chase was great, Alexander driving them that fled upon the midst of their own battle, where Darius self was in person. He espied him afar off over the foremost ranks, in the midst of his battle, being a goodly tall prince, standing in a chariot of war, compassed in round with great troops of horsemen, all set in goodly ordinance to receive the enemy. But when they saw Alexander at hand with so grim a look, chasing them that fled through those that yet kept their ranks, there fell such a fear among them that the most part dispersed themselves. Notwithstanding, the best and most valiantest men fought it out to the death before their king, and falling dead one upon another, they did let them that the enemies could not so well follow Darius. For they, lying one by another on the ground, drawing on to the last gasp, did yet take both men and horses by the legs to hinder them. Darius then seeing nothing but terror and destruction before his eyes, and that the bands which he had set before him for safeguard came back upon him, so as he could not devise how to turn his chariot forward nor backward, the wheels were so hindered and stayed with the heaps of dead bodies, and that the horse also, being set upon and hid in manner in this conflict, fell to

leaping and plunging for fear, so that the charioteers could no longer guide nor drive them, he got up upon a mare that lately had foal, and so saved himself flying upon her. And yet had he not thus escaped had not Parmenio once again sent unto Alexander to pray him to come and aid him; because there was yet a great squadron whole together that made no countenance to fly. Somewhat there was in it, that they accused Parmenio that day to have dealt but slackly and cowardly, either because his age had taken his courage from him, or else for that he envied Alexander's greatness and prosperity, who against his will became over great as Callisthenes said. In fine, Alexander was angry with the second message, and yet told not his men truly the cause why, but feigning that he would have them leave killing, and because also night came on, he caused the trumpet sound retreat, and so went towards his army, whom he thought to be in distress. Notwithstanding, news came to him by the way that in that place also they had given the enemies the overthrow, and that they fled every way for life.

The battle having this success, every man thought that the kingdom of the Persians was utterly overthrown, and that Alexander likewise was become only king of all Asia; whereupon he made sumptuous sacrifices unto the gods, and gave great riches, houses, lands, and possessions unto his friends and familiars. Furthermore, to show his liberality also unto the Grecians, he wrote unto them that he would have all tyrannies suppressed throughout all Greece, and that all the Grecians should live at liberty under their own laws. Particularly, also, he wrote unto the Plataeans that he would re-edify their city again, because their predecessors in time past had given their country unto the

Darius flees

*Parmenio
accused of
Cowardice*

*The success.
Persians no longer
King of all Asia*

*Liberty to
Grecians*

Grecians to fight against the barbarous people for the defence of the common liberty of all Greece. He sent also into Italy unto the Crotonians part of the spoil to honour the memory of the valiantness and good-will of Phayllus, their citizen, who in the time of the wars with the Medes (when all the Grecians that dwelt in Italy had forsaken their natural countrymen of Greece itself, because they thought they could not otherwise scape) went with a ship of his unto Salamis, which he armed and set forth at his own charges, because he would be at the battle and partake also of the common danger with the Grecians: such honour did Alexander bear unto prowess that he loved to reward and remember the worthy deeds of men. Then Alexander marching with his army into the country of Babylon, they all yielded straight unto him.

His rewards for bravery -

When he came into the country of the Ecbatanians, he marvelled when he saw an opening of the earth out of the which there came continual sparks of fire as out of a well; and that hard by also the earth spewed out continually a kind of maund or chalky clay somewhat liquid, of such abundance as it seemed like a lake. This maund or chalk is like unto a kind of lime or clay, but it is so easy to be set afire that not touching it with any flame, by the brightness only of the light that cometh out of the fire, it is set afire, and doth also set the air afire which is between both. The barbarous people of that country, being desirous to show Alexander the nature of that naphtha, scattered the street that led to his lodging with some of it. Then, the day being shut in, they fired it at one of the ends, and the first drops taking fire, in the twinkling of an eye all the rest, from one end of the street to the other, was of a flame, and though it was dark and

He kept the wells.

within night, lightened all the place thereabout. Alexander being in bath at that time, and waited upon by a page called Stephen (a hard-favoured boy, but yet that had an excellent sweet voice to sing), one Athenophanes, an Athenian, that always anointed and bathed the king, and much delighted him with his pleasant conceits, asked him if he would see the trial of this naphtha upon Stephen: for if the fire took and went not out, then he would say it had a wonderful force, and was unquenchable. The page was contented to have it proved upon him. But so soon as they had laid it on him, and did but touch it only, it took straight of such a flame, and so fired his body, that Alexander himself was in a marvellous perplexity withal. And sure had it not been by good hap that there were many by, ready with vessels full of water to put into the bath, it had been impossible to have saved the boy from being burnt to nothing, and yet so he escaped narrowly, and besides was sick long after. Now some apply this naphtha unto the fable of Medea, saying that therewith she rubbed the crown and lawn she gave unto the daughter of Creon at her marriage, so much spoken of in the tragedies. For neither the crown nor the lawn could cast fire of themselves, neither did the fire light by chance. But by oiling them with this naphtha she wrought a certain aptness to receive more forcibly the operation of the fire, which was in place where the bride sat. For the beams which the fire casteth out have over some bodies no other force but to heat and lighten them. But such as have an oily dry humour, and thereby a sympathy and proportionable conformity with the nature of the fire, it easily enflameth and setteth afire by the forcible impression of his beams. Howbeit they make a great

*Steph's
bath.*

*Stephen
dies.*

question of the cause of this natural force of naphtha, or whether this liquid substance and moist humour that taketh fire so easily doth come of the earth that is fatty and apt to conceive fire. For the country about Babylon is very hot, insomuch as oftentimes barley being put into the ground, it bloweth it up again, as if the earth by vehement inflammation had a strong blast to cast it out: and men in the extremest heat of the summer do sleep there upon great leather budgets filled full of fresh water. Harpalus, whom Alexander left there his lieutenant and governor of that country, desiring to set forth and beautify the gardens of the king's palace and walks of the same with all manner of plants of Greece, he brought all the rest to good pass, saying ivy only, which the earth could never abide, but it ever died, because the heat and temper of the earth killed it, and the ivy of itself liketh fresh air and a cold ground. This digression is somewhat from the matter, but peradventure the reader will not think it troublesome, how hard soever he find it, so it be not over tedious.

Alexander having won the city of Susa, he found within the castle four thousand talents in ready coin, gold and silver, besides other infinite treasure and inestimable, amongst the which (it is said) he found to the value of five thousand talents weight of purple Hermiona silk, which they had safe locked up and kept the space of two hundred years save ten, and yet the colour kept as fresh as if it had been newly made. Some say that the cause why it was so well kept came by means of the dyeing of it with honey, in silks which before had been dyed red, and with white oil in white silks. For there are silks seen of that colour of as long a time that keep colour as well

*Digression
in the oil
killed of
Persia.*

as the other. Dino writeth furthermore that the kings of Persia made water to be brought from the rivers of Nilus and Ister (otherwise called Danuby), which they did lock up with their other treasure for a confirmation of the greatness of their empire, and to show that they were lords of the world.

The ways to enter into Persia being very hard of passage, and in manner impassable, both for the illness of the ways, as also for the guard that kept them, which were the choicest men of Persia, Darius also being fled thither, there was one that spake the Greek and Persian tongue (whose father was born in the country of Lycia, and his mother a Persian) that guided Alexander into Persia, by some compass fetched about, not very long, according to the oracle's answer of Alexander, given by the mouth of Nun Pythia, when he was a child: that a Lycian should guide and lead him against the Persians. There was then great slaughter made in Persia of the prisoners that were taken. For Alexander himself writeth that he commanded the men should be put to the sword, thinking that the best way to serve his turn. It is said also that there he found a marvellous treasure of gold and silver in ready money, as he had done before in the city of Susa, the which he carried away with all the rest of the king's rich wardrobe, and with it laded ten thousand mules and five thousand camels. Alexander, entering into the castle of the chief city of Persia, saw by chance a great image of Xerxes lie on the ground, the which unawares was thrown down by the multitude of the soldiers that came in thronging one upon another. Thereupon he stayed, and spake unto it as if it had been alive, saying: I cannot tell whether I should pass by thee and let thee lie, for the war

185
3
= 62

Xerxes' image

thou madest sometime against the Grecians, or whether I should lift thee up, respecting the noble mind and virtues thou hadst. In the end, when he had stood mute a long time considering of it, he went his way, and meaning to refresh his weary army, because it was the winter quarter, he remained there four months together.

The report goeth that the first time that Alexander sat under the cloth of state of King Darius, all of rich gold, Demaratus Corinthian (who first began to love him even in his father Philip's time) burst out in tears for joy, good old man, saying that the Grecians, long time dead before, were deprived of this blessed hap to see Alexander sit in King Xerxes' princely chair. After that, preparing again to go against Darius, he would needs make merry one day and refresh himself with some banquet. It chanced so that he with his companions was bidden to a private feast privately, where was assembled some fine courtesans of his familiars, who with their friends tarried at the banquet. Amongst them was that famous Thais, born in the country of Attica, and then concubine to Ptolemy, king of Egypt after Alexander's death. She finely praised Alexander, and partly in sporting wise, began to utter matter in affection of her country, but yet of greater importance than became her mouth, saying: That that day she found herself fully recompensed, to her great good liking, for all the pains she had taken, travelling through all the countries of Asia, following of his army, now that she had this favour and good hap to be merry and pleasant in the proud and stately palace of the great kings of Persia. But yet it would do her more good, for a recreation, to burn Xerxes' house with the fire of joy, who had burnt the city of Athens; and herself to give

*Alexander
sits in
Xerxes' s.
Chair*

Thais

the fire to it, before so noble a prince as Alexander. Because ever after it might be said that the women following his camp had taken more noble revenge of the Persians, for the wrongs and injuries they had done unto Greece, than all the captains of Greece that ever were had done either by land or sea. When she had said, Alexander's familiars about him clapped their hands and made great noise for joy, saying: That it were as good a deed as could be possible, and persuaded Alexander unto it. Alexander, yielding to their persuasions, rose up, and putting a garland of flowers upon his head, went foremost himself, and all his familiars followed after him, crying and dancing all about the castle. The other Macedonians, hearing of it also, came thither immediately with torches light and great joy, hoping that this was a good sign that Alexander meant to return again into Macedon, and not to dwell in the country of the barbarous people, sith he did burn and destroy the king's castle.

Thus and in this sort it was thought to be burnt. Some writers think otherwise: that it was not burnt with such sport, but by determination of the council. But howsoever it was, all they grant that Alexander did presently repent him, and commanded the fire to be quenched straight. For his liberality, that good-will and readiness to give, increased with his conquests; and when he did bestow gifts of any, he would, besides his gift, ever give them good countenance on whom he bestowed his grace and favour. And here I will recite a few examples thereof. Aristo, being colonel of the Pæonians, having slain one of his enemies, he brought him his head, and said: Such a present, O king, by us is ever rewarded with a cup of

*That's
of his
Loves
Loves*

gold. Yea, quoth Alexander, smiling upon him, with an empty cup. But I drink to thee this cupful of good wine, and do give thee cup and all. Another time he met with a poor Macedonian that led a mule laden with gold of the king's; and when the poor mule was so weary that she could no longer carry her burden, the muleteer put it upon his own back, and loaded himself withal, carrying it so a good pretty way; howbeit, in the end, being overladen, was about to throw it down on the ground. Alexander, perceiving it, asked him what burden he carried. When it was told him: Well, quoth he to the muleteer, be not weary yet, but carry it into the tent, for I give it thee. To be short, he was angrier with them that would take nothing of him than he was with those that would ask him somewhat. He wrote also unto Phocion that he would take him no more for his friend if he would refuse his gifts. It seemed that he had given nothing unto a young boy called Serapion (who ever did serve them the ball that played at tennis) because he asked him nothing. Wherefore, the king playing on a time, this young boy threw the ball to others that played with him, and not to himself. The king, marvelling at it, at the length said unto him: Why, my boy, dost thou not give me the ball? Because your majesty doth not ask it me, quoth he. Alexander, then understanding his meaning, laughed at the boy, and did much for him afterwards. There was attending on him also one Proteas, a pleasant conceited man, and that could jest finely. It chanced upon some occasion that Alexander fell out with him, whereupon some of his friends were intercessors unto the king for him, and besought him to pardon him; and Proteas, himself also being present, craved pardon

*Monis 4.
Alexander's
generosity*

with tears in his eyes. Alexander thereupon forgave him. Then presently replied Proteas, I desire it may please your grace that I may receive some testimony to assure me I am in your favour. Thereupon the king straight commanded one to give him five talents. The goods and riches he gave unto his familiars and guard about him were very great, as it appeareth plainly by a letter which his mother Olympias wrote unto him to this effect: I know thou sparest not to give thy friends large gifts, and that thou makest much of them; but thereby thou makest them king's fellows, they get many friends, and leave thee post alone without any. His mother did many times write such like matters unto him, the which Alexander kept very secret, saying one day when he opened one of them, Hephæstion being present drew near, and read the letter with him, as he was wont to do. Alexander did let him alone, but when he had read it, he plucked the seal of arms from his finger wherewith he did use to seal his letters, and put it to Hephæstion's mouth. He gave also unto the son of Mazæus (that was the chieftest man about Darius) a second government, besides that which he had before, and greater than the first. This young nobleman refused it, saying: Why, and it please your grace, before there was but one Darius, but you now make many Alexanders. He gave unto Parmenio also Bagoas' house, where (as it is reported) he found a thousand talents' worth of the spoils and goods of the Susians. He wrote also unto Antipater that he should keep a guard about his person, for he had many enemies that lay in wait for him. He did send also many goodly presents unto his mother, but withal he wrote unto her that she would meddle no more with his

matters nor gifts, taking upon her the office of a captain. She storming at it, he patiently did brook her anger. Antipater another time, writing a long letter unto him against his mother Olympias, when he had read it over: Lo, said he, Antipater knoweth not that one tear of the mother's eye will wipe out ten thousand such letters.

*Alexander
his
mother.*

Furthermore, Alexander, perceiving on a time that his friends became very dissolute and licentious in diet and life, and that Hagnon Teian had his corked shoes nailed with silver nails, that Leonatus also caused divers camels to be loaden amongst his carriage with powder of Egypt, to put upon him when he wrestled or used any other exercise of body, and that also they carried after Philotas, toils for chase and hunting, of a hundreth furlong long, and that there were also that used precious perfumes and sweet savours when they bathed themselves, more than there were that rubbed themselves with plain oil, and that they had fine chamberlains to rub them in the bath, and to make their beds soft and delicate; he wisely and courteously rebuked them and said: I marvel, said he, that you which have fought in so often and great battles do not remember that they which travel do sleep more sweet and soundly than they that take their ease and do nothing; and that you do not mark, that comparing your life with the manner of the life of the Persians, to live at pleasure is a vile thing, and to travel is princely. And how, I pray you, can a man take pain to dress his own horse, or to make clean his lance or helmet, that for slothful curiosity's sake disdaineth to rub his own body with his fingers? Are you ignorant that the type of honour in all our victory consisteth in scorning to do that which we see them do whom we have vanquished and overcome.

*Do live at
pleasure is
a vile thing.*

To bring them, therefore, by his example, to acquaint themselves with hardness, he took more pains in wars and in hunting, and did hazard himself more dangerously than ever he had done before. Whereupon an ambassador of Lacedæmon being present to see him fight with a lion, and to kill him, said unto him: Truly your grace hath fought well with this lion, and tried which of you two should be king. Craterus after that caused this hunting to be set up in the temple of Apollo, in Delphi, where are the images of the lion, of the dogs, and of the king fighting with the lion, and of himself also that came to help him, all those images being of copper, some made by Lysippus, the rest by Leochares. Thus Alexander did put himself unto all jeopardies, as well to exercise his strength and courage as also to allure his men to do the like. This notwithstanding, his friends and familiars, having wealth at will, as men exceeding rich, they would needs live delicately and at ease, and would take no more pains, misliking utterly to go up and down the countries to make war here and there, and thereupon began a little to find fault with Alexander, and to speak evil of him. Which at the first Alexander took quietly, saying: That it was honour for a king to suffer himself to be slandered and ill spoken of for doing of good.

And yet the least good turns he did unto his friends did show his hearty love and honour he bare them, as shall appear unto you by some examples that follow. Peucestas, being bitten by a bear, did let his friends understand by letters, but he wrote nothing thereof unto Alexander. Alexander was offended therewith, and wrote unto him thus. Send me word at the least yet how thou doest, and whether any of thy fellows did forsake thee

*Alexander's
accusations.*

at the hunting, to the end they may be punished. Hephæstion being absent about certain business he had, Alexander wrote unto him that, as they were hunting a beast called ichneumon, Craterus, unfortunately crossing Perdiccas' dart, was stricken through both his thighs. Peucestas being cured of a great disease, Alexander wrote unto Alexippus, his physician that had cured him, and gave him thanks. Craterus also being sick, he dreamed of him one night, and therefore made certain sacrifices for the recovery of his health, and sent unto him, willing him to do the like. And when the physician Pausanias meant to give him a drink of elleborus, he wrote letters unto him, telling him what danger he was in, and prayed him to be careful how he received that medicine. He did also put Ephialtes and Cissus in prison, who brought him the first news of Harpalus flying, because they did wrongfully accuse and slander him. When he had commanded there should be a bill made of all the old men's names and diseased persons that were in his camp, to send them home again into their country, there was one, Eurylochus Ægæan, that made his name be billed among the sick persons, and it was found afterwards that he was not sick, and confessed that he did it only to follow a young woman called Tele-sippa, with whom he was in love, who was returning homewards towards the sea-side. Alexander asked him whether this woman were free or bond: he answered him that she was free-born. Then said Alexander unto Eurylochus, I would be glad to further thy love, yet I cannot force her to tarry: but seek to win her by gifts and fair words to be contented to tarry, sithence she is a free woman.

*This
friendship.*

It is a wonderful thing to see what pains he would take to write for his friends, even in such trifles as he did. As when he wrote into Cilicia for a servant of Seleucus that was fled from his master, sending straight commandment that they should carefully lay for him. And by another letter he commendeth Peucestas, for that he had stayed and taken one Nikon, a slave of Craterus. And by one other letter also unto Megabyzus, touching another bondman that had taken sanctuary in a temple, he commanded him also to seek to entice him out of the sanctuary, to lay hold on him if he could, but otherwise not to meddle with him in any case. It is said also that at the first, when he used to sit in judgment to hear criminal causes, whilst the accuser went on with his complaint and accusation, he always used to lay his hand upon one of his ears to keep that clean from the matter of accusation, thereby reserving it to hear the purgation and justification of the person condemned. But afterwards the number of accusations that were brought before him did so provoke and alter him that he did believe the false accusations, by the great number of the true that were brought in. But nothing put him more in rage than when he understood they had spoken ill of him, and then he was so fierce as no pardon would be granted, for that he loved his honour more than his kingdom or life. Then at that time he went against Darius, thinking that he meant to fight again; but understanding that Bessus had taken him, then he gave the Thessalians leave to depart home into their country, and gave them two thousand talents over and above their ordinary pay. Alexander had then a marvellous long, hard, and painful

*Alex's
rage.*

journey in following of Darius; for in eleven days he rode three thousand and three hundred furlong, inasmuch as the most part of his men were even weary and done for lack of water. It chanced him one day to meet with certain Macedonians that carried (upon mules) goat-skins full of water, which they had fetched from a river. They, seeing Alexander in manner dead for thirst, being about noon, ran quickly to him, and in a head-piece brought him water. Alexander asked them, to whom they carried this water. They answered him again that they carried it to their children, but yet would have your grace to live; for though we lose them, we may get more children. When they had said so, Alexander took the helmet with water, and perceiving that the men of arms that were about him, and had followed him, did thrust out their necks to look upon this water, he gave the water back again unto them that had given it him, and thanked them, but drank none of it. For, said he, if I drink alone, all these men here will faint. Then they, seeing the noble courage and courtesy of Alexander, cried out that he should lead them, and therewithal began to spur their horses, saying that they were not weary nor athirst, nor did think themselves mortal, so long as they had such a king.

*Alex.
thirst*

Every man was alike willing to follow Alexander, yet had he but threescore only that entered with him into the enemy's camp. There, passing over much gold and silver which was scattered abroad in the place, and going also by many chariots full of women and children which they found in the fields, flying away at all adventure, they ran upon the spur until they had overtaken the foremost that fled, thinking to have found

Darius amongst them. But at the length, with much ado, they found him laid along in a coach, having many wounds upon his body, some of darts and some of spears. So he, being almost at the last cast, called for some drink, and drank cold water, which Polystratus gave him. To whom, when he had drunk, he said: This is my last mishap, my friend, that having received this pleasure I cannot requite thee: howbeit Alexander will recompense thee, and the gods Alexander, for the liberality and courtesy which he hath showed unto my wife and children, whom I pray thee embrace for my sake. At these last words he took Polystratus by the hand, and so gave up the ghost. Alexander came immediately after, and plainly showed that he was sorry for his death and misfortune; and undoing his own cloak, he cast it upon the body of Darius. After that, having by good hap gotten Bessus into his hands, he tare him in pieces with two high straight trees, which he bowed downwards, and tied his legs to each of them: so that when the trees were let go, they gave a sudden cruel jerk up, and carried either tree a piece of his body with it. Then Alexander, having given Darius' corse princely burial, and embalmed him, he sent it unto his mother, and received his brother Exathres for one of his friends.

From thence he went into the country of Hyrcania with all the flower of his army, where he saw the gulf of the sea Caspian, which he thought of no less greatness than the sea of Pontus, howbeit calmer than the other seas be. He could not then certainly find out what it was, nor from whence it came, but of likelihood he thought it was some breaking out of the lake or

The death of Darius

marsh of Mæotis. Yet some ancient natural philosophers seemed to know truly what it was. For many years before Alexander's voyage and conquest they wrote that, of the four chiefest gulfs of the sea that cometh from the ocean, and do enter within mainland, that which is more northerly is the sea Caspian, which they call also Hyrcanium. As Alexander went through the country certain barbarous people suddenly set upon them that led Bucephal, his horse, and took him: but with that he was in such a rage that he sent a herald into their country to proclaim open wars upon them, and that he would put man, woman, and child to the sword if they brought him not his horse again. Whereupon, when his horse was returned home, and that they yielded up their cities and forts into his hands, he did use them all very courteously, and moreover did give them money for the ransom of his horse, which they restored.

Departing thence, he entered into the country of Parthia. There having leisure enough, he began to apparel himself after the fashion of the barbarous people, because he thought thereby the better to win the hearts of the countrymen, framing himself unto their own fashions: or else to try the hearts of the Macedonians, to see how they would like the manner of the Persians (which he meant to bring them unto) in reverencing of him as they did their king, by little and little acquainting them to allow the alteration and change of his life. This notwithstanding, he would not at the first take up the apparel of the Medes, which was very strange and altogether barbarous. For he went not without breeches, nor did wear a long gown trailing on the ground, nor a high coptanct hat, but took a mean apparel betwixt the

*Bucephalus
taken by the
people near
the Caspian
sea.*

76
 No change of
 dress - a
 Persian
 more modest
 than the
 one usually
 worn
 the
 Medes and the Persians, more modest than the one and more costly than the other: and yet at the first he did not wear it but when he would talk with the barbarous people, or else privately amongst his friends and familiars. Afterwards, notwithstanding, he showed himself openly to the people in that apparel when he gave them audience. This sight grieved the Macedonians much: but they had his virtues in such admiration that they thought it meet in some things he should take his own pleasure, sithence he had been often hurt in the wars, and not long before had his leg broken with an arrow, and another time had such a blow with a stone full in his neck that it made him spur-blind a great while after, and yet nevertheless he never eschewed any bodily danger. For he passed over the river of Oraxartes, which he took to be Tanais, and having in battle overthrown the Scythians, he followed them in chase above a hundreth furlongs, notwithstanding that at that instant he had a looseness of body.

Thither came unto him (as it is reported) the queen of the Amazons, as many writers do testify, among the which are these: Clitarchus, Polycritus, Onesicritus, Antigenes, and Hister. But Chares, Ptolemy, Anticlides, and Philon Theban, Philip the historiographer, Hecatæus Eretrian, Philip Chalcidian, and Duris Samian, all these do write that it was not true: and it seemeth also that Alexander self doth confirm it. For, writing all things particularly unto Antipater, as they happened unto him, he wrote unto him that the King of Scythia offered him his daughter in marriage; but there he maketh no mention at all of any Amazon. It is also said that Onesicritus, long time after that, did read unto

King Lysimachus the fourth book of his history, where he did speak of the Amazon. Lysimachus, smiling, said unto him: Why, and where was I then? But for that matter, to credit it or not credit it, Alexander's estimation thereby is neither impaired nor advanced.

The doubtful Amazon.

Furthermore, Alexander fearing that the Macedonians, being weary with this long war, would go no farther, he left all the rest of his army behind, and took only twenty thousand footmen and three thousand horsemen of the choicest men of his army, and with them invaded the country of Hyrcania. There he made an oration unto them, and told them that the barbarous people of Asia had but seen them as it were in a dream, and if they should now return back into Macedon, having but only stirred them, and not altogether subdued Asia, the people, offended with them, would set upon them as they went home, as if they were no better than women. Nevertheless, he gave any man leave to return that would, protesting therewith against them that would go, how they did forsake him, his friends, and those who had so good hearts towards him as to follow him in so noble a journey, to conquer the whole earth unto the Macedonians. This self matter is reported thus in a letter which Alexander wrote unto Antipater: and there he writeth furthermore, that having made this oration unto them, they all cried out, and bade him lead them into what part of the world he would. When they had granted their good-wills, it was no hard matter afterwards to win the rest of the common sort, who followed the example of the chiefest. Thereupon he did frame himself the more to live after the fashion of the country there, and interchangeably also to bring the men of that

Invasion of Hyrcania.

country unto the manner of the Macedonians; being persuaded that by this mixture and interchange of manners, one with another, he should by friendship more than force make them agree lovingly together, when that he should be so far from the country of Persia. For this purpose, therefore, he chose thirty thousand of their children of that country, and set them to learn the Greek tongue, and to be brought up in the discipline of wars after the Macedonians' manner: and gave them schoolmasters and captains to train them in each faculty.

And for the marrying of Roxana, he fancied her, seeing her at a feast where he was; which fell out as well for his turn as if he had with better advice and counsel loved her. For the barbarous people were very proud of this match when as they saw him make alliance with them in this sort, insomuch as they loved him better than they did before, because they saw in those things he was always so chaste and continent.

Furthermore, Alexander considering that of the two men which he loved best, Hephæstion liked well of his match, and went apparelled as himself did, and that Craterus contrarily did still use the Macedonian manner, he dealt in all affairs with the barbarous people by Hephæstion, and with the Grecians and Macedonians by Craterus. To be short, he loved the one and honoured the other, saying that Hephæstion loved Alexander, and Craterus loved the king. Hereupon these two persons bare one another grudge in their hearts, and oftentimes brake out in open quarrel; insomuch as on a time, being in India, they drew their swords and fought together, and divers of their friends ran to take part with either side. Thither came Alexander self also, who

By
friendship
more than
force.

the marriage
to
Roxana

his two best
friends
Hephæstion
Craterus

openly before them all bitterly took up Hephæstion, and called him fool and bedlam, saying: Dost thou not know that whatsoever he be that should take Alexander from me, he should never live? Privately, also, he sharply rebuked Craterus, and calling them both before him he made them friends together, swearing by Jupiter Ammon, and by all the other gods, that he loved them two of all men living, nevertheless if ever he found that they fell out together again they should both die for it, or him at the least that first began to quarrel. So ever after that they say there was never foul word nor deed between them, not so much as in sport only.

There was also one Philotas, the son of Parmenio, a man of great authority among the Macedonians, who next unto Alexander was the most valiant man, the patientest to abide pain, the liberalest, and one that loved his men and friends better than any nobleman in the camp whatsoever. Of him it is reported that a friend of his came to him on a time to borrow money, and he commanded straight one of his men to let him have it. His purse-bearer answered him that he had none. Why, said his master, dost thou tell me so? Hast thou not plate and apparel to sell or gage to help him to some? Howbeit, otherwise, he had such pride and glory to show his riches, to apparel himself so sumptuously, and to be more fine and prinked than became a private man, that this made him to be hated, because he took upon him to be a great man, and to look big on the matter, which became him so ill-favouredly, and therefore every man through his own folly fell in misliking with him. Insomuch as his own father said one day

*since my
friends
are my
of you
my friend
will me*

*That
Grand.*

*Alto's
anger.*

Philotas

unto him: Son, I pray thee be more humble and lowly. This Philotas had long before been complained upon unto Alexander, because that when the carriage of King Darius' army (which was in the city of Damascus) was taken after the battle of Cilicia, among many prisoners that were taken and brought unto Alexander's camp there was one Antigone, a passing fair young woman, born in the city of Pydna. Philotas found means to get her, and like a young man that was in love with her, making merry with her at the table, fondly let fall brave words and boasts of a soldier, saying that what notable things were done, they were done by himself and his father, and called Alexander at every word young man, and said that by their means he held his name and kingdom. This woman told one of her friends what he said, and that friend told another friend, and so went from man to man (as commonly it doth) till at the length it came to Craterus' ears. He took the woman, and brought her unto Alexander, unto whom she told as much as she had said before. Alexander bade her still make much of Philotas, and to tell him every word what he said of him. Philotas, knowing nothing that he was thus circumvented, did ever frequent her company, and would be bold commonly to speak many foolish and indiscreet words against the king, sometime in anger, and sometime again in a bravery. Alexander, this notwithstanding, though he had manifest proof and cause to accuse Philotas, yet he dissembled it for that time, and would not be known of it, either for that he knew Parmenio loved him, or else for that he was afraid of their great power and authority. About that time there was one Limnus Chalæstrian, a Macedonian, that laid great and secret

*Philotas
lovingly to
Antigone*

wait to kill Alexander, and being in love with a young man called Nicomachus, enticed him to help him to do this deed. The young man wisely denied it, and told the same to his brother called Balinus. He went unto Philotas, and prayed him to bring them both before Alexander, for they had a matter of great importance to impart unto him. Philotas would not let him speak with the king (but why no man could tell), telling them that the king had greater matters in hand, and was not at leisure. Then they went unto another, and he brought them unto Alexander, unto whom first they opened the treason of Limnus conspired against him, and by the way they told also how they had been twice before with Philotas, who would not let them come in nor speak with them. That angered Alexander greatly, and he was the more offended also when Limnus was slain by him, whom he sent to apprehend him, resisting him for that he would not be taken, and thought that by his death he had lost a great means to come to the light of this treason and conspiracy. Then Alexander frowning upon Philotas brought all his enemies upon his back that of long time had hated him. For they began to speak boldly that it was time for the king to look about him, for it was not to be supposed that this Limnus Chalæstrian of himself durst have entered into that treason, but rather that he was a minister, and a chief instrument, set on by a greater personage than he, and therefore that it stood Alexander upon to examine them straightly, which had cause to keep this treason secret. After Alexander once gave ear unto such words and vehement presumptions, there was straight brought a thousand accusations against Philotas. Thereupon he

was apprehended, and in the presence of divers lords and familiars of the king put to the torture, Alexander self being behind a hanging to hear what he would say. It is reported, that when he heard how faintly and pitifully he besought Hephæstion to take pity upon him, he said unto himself: Alas, poor Philotas, thou that hast so faint a heart, how durst thou take upon thee so great matters?

In fine, Philotas was put to death, and immediately after he was executed Alexander sent also with speed unto the realm of Media to kill Parmenio, who was his lieutenant there, and one that had served King Philip his father, in his greatest affairs, and he only of all other the old servants of his father had procured Alexander to take in hand the conquest of Asia, and who also of three sons which he brought out with him had seen two of them die before him, and afterwards was slain himself with the third. This cruelty of Alexander made his friends afraid of him, and specially Antipater, who secretly sent ambassadors unto the Ætolians, to make league with them, because they themselves also were afraid of Alexander, for that they had put the Cœniades to death. Alexander hearing that, said that he himself, and not the sons of the Cœniades, would be revenged on the Ætolians.

Not long after that followed the murder of Clitus, the which to hear it simply told would seem much more cruel than the death of Philotas. But reporting the cause and the time together, in which it chanced, it will be found that it was not of set purpose, but by chance and unfortunately, that Alexander, being overcome with wine, did unluckily wreak his anger upon Clitus. The manner of his misfortune was this. There came

Story of
Philotas &
Parmenio

Story of
Alexander

The murder
of Clitus

certain men of the low countries from the sea-side, that brought apples of Greece unto Alexander. Alexander, wondering to see them so green and fair, sent for Clitus to show him them, and to give him some of them. Clitus by chance did sacrifice at that time unto the gods, and left his sacrifice to go unto Alexander; howbeit, there were three wethers that followed him, on whom the accustomed sprinklings had been done already to have sacrificed them. Alexander understanding that, told it to his soothsayers, Aristander and Cleomantis Laconian, both did answer him that it was an ill sign. Alexander thereupon gave order straight that they should do sacrifice for the health of Clitus, and specially for that three days before he dreamed one night that he saw Clitus in a mourning gown, sitting amongst the sons of Parmenio, the which were all dead before. This notwithstanding, Clitus did not make an end of his sacrifice, but came straight to supper to the king, who had that day sacrificed unto Castor and Pollux. At this feast there was old drinking, and all the supper-time there were certain verses sung and made by a poet, called Pranichus (or as others say, of one Pierion), against certain captains of the Macedonians which had not long before been overcome by the barbarous people, and only to shame them, and to make the company laugh. With these verses ancient men that were at this feast became much offended, and grew angry with the poet that made them, and the minstrel that sung them. Alexander, on the other side, and his familiars, liked them very well, and commanded the minstrel to sing still. Clitus therewithal, being overtaken with wine, and besides of a churlish nature, proud and arrogant, fell into greater choler, and said: That it was neither well

*Alex. is
dream of
Clitus*

nor honestly done in that sort to speak ill of those poor Macedonian captains (and specially amongst the barbarous people their enemies), which were far better men than they that laughed them to scorn, although their fortune were worse than theirs. Alexander then replied, and said: That saying so, he pleaded for himself, calling cowardliness misfortune. Then Clitus, standing up, said again: But yet this my cowardliness saved thy life, that callest thyself the son of the gods, when thou turnedst thy back from Spithridates' sword; and the blood which these poor Macedonians did shed for thee, and the wounds which they received on their bodies fighting for thee, have made thee so great that thou disdainest now to have King Philip for thy father, and wilt needs make thyself the son of Jupiter Ammon. Alexander, being moved with these words, straight replied: O, villain, thinkest thou to scape unpunished for these proud words of thine, which thou usest continually against me, making the Macedonians to rebel against me? Clitus answered again: Too much are we punished, Alexander, for our pains and service to receive such reward; nay, most happy think we them that long since are dead and gone, not now to see the Macedonians scourged with rods of the Medes, and compelled to curry favour with the Persians to have access unto their king. Thus Clitus boldly speaking against Alexander, and Alexander again answering and reviling him, the gravest men sought to pacify this stir and tumult. Alexander then turning himself unto Xenodochus Cardian and Artemius Colophonian, Do you not think (said he) that the Grecians are amongst the Macedonians as demigods that walk among brute beasts? Clitus for all this would not give over his imprudency

*Clitus
defends the
Macedonians*

*The boldness
of Clitus*

and malapertness, but cried out, and bade Alexander speak openly what he had to say, or else not to bid freemen come to sup with him that were wont to speak frankly: if not, to keep with the barbarous slaves that honoured his Persian girdle and long white garment. Then could Alexander no longer hold his choler, but took an apple that was upon his table and threw it at Clitus, and looked for his sword, the which Aristophanes, one of his guard that waited on him, had of purpose taken from him. And when every man came straight about him to stay him, and to pray him to be contented, he immediately rose from the board, and called his guard unto him in the Macedonian tongue (which was a sign of great trouble to follow after it), and commanded a trumpeter to sound the alarm. But he, drawing back, would not sound, whereupon Alexander struck him with his fist. Notwithstanding, the trumpeter was greatly commended afterwards, for that he only kept the camp that they rose not. All this could not quiet Clitus, whereupon his friends with much ado thrust him out of the hall; but he came in again at another door, and arrogantly and irreverently rehearsed this verse of the poet Euripides, out of Andromache's tragedy:

“Alas for sorrow, evil ways
Are into Greece crept nowadays”.

Then Alexander taking a partisan from one of his guard, as Clitus was coming towards him, and had lift up the hanging before the door, he ran him through the body, so that Clitus fell to the ground, and, fetching one groan, died presently. Alexander's choler had left him straight, and he became marvellous sorrowful; and when he saw

his friends round about him say never a word, he plucked the partisan out of his body, and would have thrust it into his own throat. Howbeit his guard about him caught him by the hands, and carried him perforce into his chamber: and there he did nothing all that night but weep bitterly, and the next day following, until such time as he was able to cry no more, but lying on the ground, only lay sighing. His friends, hearing his voice no more, were afraid, and came into his chamber by force to comfort him. But Alexander would hear none of them, saving Aristander the Soothsayer, who remembered him of his dream he had of Clitus before, which was a prognostication of that which had happened; whereby it appeared that it was his destiny before he was born. This seemed to comfort Alexander. Afterwards they brought in Callisthenes the Philosopher, a kinsman of Aristotle's, and Anaxarchus born in Abdera. Of these two, Callisthenes sought by gentle talk, not moving any matter offensive, to comfort Alexander's sorrow. But Anaxarchus, that from the beginning had taken a way by himself in the study of philosophy, being accounted a brain-sick man, and one that despised his companions, he coming into Alexander's chamber also with him, cried out at the door as he came in: See, yonder is Alexander the Great, whom all the world looks upon and is afraid of. See where he lies, weeping like a slave on the ground, that is afraid of the law and of the reproach of men: as if he himself should not give them law and establish the bounds of justice or injustice, sithence he hath overcome to be lord and master, and not to be subject and slave to a vain opinion. Knowest thou not that the poets say that Jupiter hath Themis, to wit, right

Jupiter =
 lord of
 Heaven
 presumed
 father of
 Gods. & men

Themis =
 goddess of law
 wife of Jupiter

and justice, placed on either hand of him? what signifieth that but all that the prince doth is wholly right and just?

These words of Anaxarchus did comfort the sorrowful heart of King Alexander at that time, but therewithal they made Alexander's manners afterwards more fierce and dissolute. For, as he thereby did marvellously grow in favour with the king, even so did he make the company of Callisthenes (who of himself was not very pleasant because of his gravity and sourness) much more hateful and disliked than before. It is written also that there was certain talk one night at King Alexander's board touching the seasons of the year and temperateness of the air, and that Callisthenes was of their opinion which maintained that the country they were in at that time was much colder, and the winter also sharper, than in Greece. Anaxarchus held the contrary opinion, and stiffly maintained it, insomuch as Callisthenes said unto him: And yet must thou grant that it is colder here than there. For there all the winter-time thou couldst go with a single cloak on thy back only, and here thou must have three or four garments upon thee when thou art at thy board. This galled Anaxarchus to the quick, and made him more angry than before; and for the other rhetoricians and flatterers, they did also hate him, because they saw him followed of young men for his eloquence, and beloved also of old men for his honest life, the which was very grave, modest, and contented with his own, desiring no man's else. Whereby men found that the reason he alleged for following of Alexander in this voyage was true; for he said that he came to be an humble suitor to the king to restore his banished citizens into their country again, and to replenish their city with inhabitants. Now,

Callisthenes

i) sad & grave

ii) his attempt to sblace

Alex:

iii) Failure of his rival

iv) The argument of provocation of Anaxarchus

v) C. followed

by younger men

because of his eloquence

by old men because of his honest

life

His taciturnity though his estimation made him chiefly to be envied, yet did he himself give his enemies occasion to accuse him. For oftentimes being invited by the king to supper, either he would not come, or, if he came, he would be mute and say nothing, showing by his gravity and silence that nothing pleased him that was either said or done. Whereupon Alexander self said on a time unto him:

“I cannot think that person wise
That in his own case hath no eyes”.

His oration in praise of Macedonians It is reported of him, also, that being at supper on a time with the king, divers requesting him to make an oration on the sudden in commendation of the Macedonians, he made such an eloquent oration upon that matter that all they that heard him rose from the board, and clapping their hands for joy, cast nosegays and flowers upon him. But yet Alexander at that time said unto him that which the poet Euripides said:

Appreciated by all except Alexander “It is no mastery to be eloquent
In handling of a plenteous argument”.

Nay, but utter then thy eloquence in reproving of the Macedonians, that hearing their faults they may learn to amend. Then Callisthenes, changing copy, spake boldly many things against the Macedonians, declaring that the dissension amongst the Grecians did increase King Philip's power, alleging these verses:

“Where discord reigns, in realm or town,
Even wicked folk do win renown”.

But by this occasion he purchased himself great ill-will of the Macedonians, insomuch as Alexander self said at

Alex: rather changeable.

that time that he had not so much showed his eloquence as the malice he bare unto the Macedonians. Hermippus the Historiographer writeth that one Strœbus, a clerk of Callisthenes, did afterwards tell it unto Aristotle in this sort; and that Callisthenes, seeing King Alexander offended with him, did recite these verses of Homer three or four times as he went:

“Patroclus, who far passéd thee,
Was slain, as thou art like to be”.

Callisthenes
eloquent but
not wise

And therefore very wisely said Aristotle that Callisthenes was eloquent but not wise. For, like a philosopher, he stoutly stood against kneeling to the king, and said that openly which the noblest and ancientest men among the Macedonians durst but whisper one in another's ear, though they did all utterly mislike it: whereby he did yet deliver Greece from a great shame, and Alexander from a greater, bringing him from that manner of adoration of his person. This notwithstanding, he undid himself because he would seem rather by presumption to bring him to it than by reason to persuade him. Chares Mitylenian hath written that Alexander, having drunk at a certain feast where he happened to be, reached his cup unto one of his friends, who, after he had taken it of him, rose up first on his feet and drank also, turning him towards the gods, and first making solemn reverence, he went and kissed Alexander, and then sat him down again. All the rest that were at the feast did the like, one after another, and Callisthenes also, who took the cup when it came to his turn (the king not looking on him, but talking with Hephæstion), after he had drunk, came to the king to kiss him as others had done. Howbeit, one Demetrius,

his
open
expression
of public
feeling

Alex's
refusal
to kiss

Callisthenes

called Phidon, said unto the king: Kiss him not, I pray your grace, for he of all men hath done you no reverence. Alexander turned his head aside and would not kiss him. Then cried Callisthenes out aloud: Well, quoth he, then I will go my way with less than others by a kiss. And thus began Alexander's grudge first against Callisthenes, by means whereof Hephæstion was credited the better, when he said that Callisthenes had promised him to reverence Alexander, although that he had broken promise. After him also Lysimachus, Hagnon, and divers others began to play their parts against him, saying: That this sophister went bragging up and down as if he had destroyed a whole tyranny, and that all the young men followed him to honour him as if among so many thousand soldiers never a man of them had so noble a heart as he. And therefore, when the treason of Hermolaus against Alexander's person was discovered, they found the accusation probable, the which some false detractors had informed against Callisthenes: who had answered Hermolaus that asked him: How he could come to be famous above all men: Thus, in killing the famousest person. And to animate him to go forward with this treason, he had told him further that he should not be afraid of a golden bed, but remember that he had to do with a man, which was sometime sick and hurt as other men were. This notwithstanding, there was never a one of Hermolaus' confederates that would once name Callisthenes, what torments soever they abid, to bewray who were their companions. And Alexander self also writing of this treason immediately after, unto Craterus, Attalus, and Alcetas, said that their servants which had been racked and put to the torture did constantly affirm that

Plotters
Against
Callisthenes

False
accusation
against
him

they only had conspired his death, and no man else was privy unto it. But afterwards he sent another letter unto Antipater, wherein he directly accused Callisthenes, and said: That his servants had already been stoned to death by the Macedonians, howbeit that he himself would afterwards also punish the master, and those that had sent unto him, and that had received the murderers into their cities, who came of purpose to kill him. And therein he plainly showed the ill-will he bare unto Aristotle, for that Callisthenes had been brought up with him, being his kinsman, and the son of Hero, Aristotle's niece. Some say that Alexander trussed Callisthenes up. Others again report that he died of sickness in prison. Nevertheless Chares writeth that Callisthenes was kept prisoner seven months together, because he should have had his judgment in open council, even in the presence of Aristotle himself: howbeit, being very fat, he was eaten in the end by lice, and so died, about the time that Alexander was hurt fighting against the Mallians Oxydracians in the conquest of India; but these things chanced a good while after.

Demaratus Corinthian, being very old, had a great desire to go see Alexander, and when he had seen him, he said that the Grecians which were dead long before were deprived of that bliss and happiness, that they could not see Alexander sit in the royal seat of King Darius. Howbeit, he did not long enjoy the king's good-will unto him, for he died of a sickness soon after he came unto his camp, and Alexander did honour his funerals: for all the army in their armour did cast up a mound of earth fashioned like a tomb, which was a great compass about, and fourscore cubits high. His ashes afterwards were

Alex.s
ill-will
to
Aristotle

Callisthenes
death
in
prison

Demaratus
Corinthian

his
tomb

brought with an honourable convoy unto the sea-side, in a chariot with four horses richly set out.

Alexander being ready to take his journey to go conquer India, perceiving that his army was very heavy and unwieldsome to remove, for the wonderful carriage and spoils they had with them, the carts one morning being loaden, he first burnt his own carriage and next his friends', and then commanded that they should also set the carriage of the Macedonians on fire; which counsel seemed more dangerous to be resolved of than the proof of the execution fell out difficult. For there were very few of them that were angry therewith, and the most part of them (as if they had been secretly moved by some god), with loud cries of joy, one of them gave unto another such necessary things as they had need of, and afterwards of themselves did burn and spoil all the rest. This made Alexander much more rigorous than he was before, who besides that he was already become cruel enough, and without mercy or pardon did sharply punish every man that offended. For having commanded Menander, one of his friends, to keep him a stronghold, he put him to death because he would not remain there. Furthermore, he himself slew Orsodates (a captain of the barbarous people) with a dart, for that he rebelled against him.

About that time there was an ewe that had eaned a lamb which had upon her head the form and purple colour of the king's hat, after the Persian manner called tiara, having two stones hanging on each side of it. Alexander abhorred this monstrous sign, insomuch as he purged himself by certain Babylonian priests, which he always carried about with him for that purpose, and said unto his friends: That this monster did not so much

Alex.
Ready
to go
to
India,
burns
the
baggage

The
monster
-
a
crowned
lamb

move him for respect of himself as it did for them, fearing that the gods after his death had predestined the force and power of his kingdom to fall into the hands of some base cowardly person. This notwithstanding, another sign and token which chanced in the neck of that did take away this fear and discouragement he had. For a Macedonian called Proxenus, that had charge of the king's carriage, as he digged in a certain place by the river of Oxus, to set up the king's tent and his lodging, he found a certain fat and oily vein, which after they had drawn out the first, there came out also another clearer, which differed nothing, neither in smell, taste, nor savour, from natural oil, having the gloss and fatness so like, as there could be discerned no difference between them: the which was so much more to be wondered at because that in all that country there were no olives. They say also that the water of the river self of Oxus is very soft, and maketh their skins fat which wash or bathe themselves therein. And yet it appeareth, by that which Alexander self wrote unto Antipater, that he was very glad of it, putting that amongst the greatest signs which the gods had sent unto him. The soothsayers did interpret this wonder, that it was a sign that he should have a noble but yet a painful voyage: for the gods, said they, have given oil unto men to refresh their weariness. And truly so did he sustain many dangers in those wars, and was oftentimes hurt in fight.

But the greatest loss he had of his men was for lack of victuals, and by the infection of the air. For he, striving to overcome fortune by valiantness, and her force by virtue, thought nothing impossible for a valiant man, neither anything able to withstand a noble heart. It is

The
interpretation

The
oil well.

A good
sign

reported that when he went to besiege a stronghold which Sisimethres kept, being thought unassailable, and that his soldiers were in despair of it, he asked one Oxyartes what heart Sisimethres had. Oxyartes answered him that he was the veriest coward in the world. O, that is well! quoth Alexander: then it is to be won, if that be true thou sayest, sithence the captain of the piece is but a coward. So he took it on a sudden, by putting Sisimethres in a great fear. After that, also, he did besiege another piece of as great strength and difficulty to assault as the other, and making the young soldiers of the Macedonians to go to the assault, he called one of them unto him, whose name also was Alexander, unto whom he said thus: Alexander, this day thou must fight like a man, and it be but for thy name sake. The young man did not forget his words, for he fought so valiantly that he was slain, for whom Alexander was very sorry.

Another time, when his men were afraid, and durst not come near unto the city of Nysa to assault it, because there ran a very deep river hard by the walls, he came to the river's side, and said: Oh, what a coward am I, that never learned to swim! and so prepared himself to swim over upon his shield. After he had caused them to retire from the assault, there came ambassadors unto him from the cities besieged, to crave pardon of him. They wondered at him at the first, when they saw him armed, without any pomp or other ceremony about him, but much more, when a chair was brought him to sit down on, that he commanded the oldest man amongst them, called Acuphis, to take it to him and sit him down. Acuphis, marvelling at Alexander's great courtesy, asked him what they should do for him, thenceforth to be his

Alexander

(F)

Nysa

Alex's
courtesy
to

Acuphis

good friends. I will, said Alexander, that they from whom thou comest as ambassador unto us do make thee their king: and withal that they do send me a hundred of their best men for hostages. Acuphis, smiling, answered him again: But I shall rule them better, O king, if I send you the worst, and not the best.

There was a king called Taxiles, a very wise man, who had a great country in India, no less in bigness and circuit than all Egypt, and as full of good pasture and fruits as any country in the world could be, who came on a time to salute Alexander, and said unto him: What should we need, Alexander, to fight and make wars one with another, if thou comest not to take away our water and our necessary commodity to live by; for which things men of judgment must needs fight? As for other goods, if I be richer than thou, I am ready to give thee of mine; and if I have less, I will not think scorn to thank thee if thou wilt give me some of thine. Alexander, being pleased to hear him speak thus wisely, embraced him, and said unto him: Thinkest thou this meeting of ours can be without fight, for all these goodly fair words? No, no, thou hast won nothing by that, for I will fight and contend with thee in honesty and courtesy, because thou shalt not exceed me in bounty and liberality. So Alexander, taking divers gifts of him, but giving more unto Taxiles, he drank to him one night at supper, and said: I drink to thee a thousand talents in gold. This gift misliked Alexander's friends, but in recompense thereof he wan the hearts of many of those barbarous lords and princes of that country. There was a certain number of soldiers of the Indians, the warlikest men of all that country, who, being mercenary

Taxiles

Alex's
gains
Favour
in the
eyes

of the barbarians

His
one
fault

soldiers, were ever entertained in service of the great free cities, which they valiantly defended, and did great hurt unto Alexander in divers places. Alexander having made peace with them in a city where they were kept in, when they came abroad upon surety of this peace which they had made, he met with them as they went their way, and put them all to the sword. There was but this only fault to blemish the honour of his noble deeds in all his wars, for in all things else he showed mercy and equity.

Attack
on
Porus

Furthermore, the grave philosophers and wise men of India did greatly trouble him also. For they reprov'd the kings and princes of the Indians for that they yielded unto Alexander, and procured the free cities to take arms against him. But by their occasion he took divers of their cities. For King Porus, Alexander self writeth in his epistles all his acts at large which he did against him. For he saith that, both their camps lying on either side of the river of Hydaspes, King Porus set his elephants upon the bank of the river with their heads towards their enemies, to keep them from passing over: and that he himself did continually make a noise and tumult in his camp to acquaint his men not to be afraid of the barbarous people. Furthermore, that in a dark night, when there was no moonlight, he took part of his footmen, and the choice of his horsemen, and went far from his enemies, to get over into a little island. When he was come into the island there fell a wonderful shower of rain, great winds, lightnings, and thunders upon his camp, insomuch as he saw many of his men burnt by lightning in this little island. This notwithstanding, he did not leave to get over to the other side of the river.

The river being swollen with the great flood of rain that fell the night before, overflowing the banks, it did eat into the ground where the water ran, so that Alexander, when he had passed over the river and was come to the other side, found himself in very ill case, for that he could hardly keep his feet, because the earth was very slippery under him, and the rage of the water had eaten into it, and broke it down on every side. It is written of him that then he said unto the Athenians: O Athenians, could ye think that I could take such pains, and put myself into so many dangers, only to be praised of you? Thus Onesicritus reporteth it. But Alexander self writeth that they left their rafters, or great pieces of timber pinned together whereupon they had passed over the stream of the main river, and that they waded through the other arm or gut of the water which had broken the earth, up to their breasts, with their harness on their backs.

Furthermore, when he had passed over both waters, he rode with his horsemen twenty furlongs before the battle of his footmen, thinking that if his enemies came to give him charge with their men of arms, that he was the stronger: and if they would also advance their footmen forward, that his footmen also should come time enough: One of the twain fell out as he had guessed. For a thousand horsemen and threescore chariots, armed with his enemies, gave him charge before their great company, whom he overthrew, and took all their chariots, and slew four hundred of the men at arms in the field. King Porus then knowing by those signs that Alexander was there in person, and had passed over the river, he marched towards him with all his army in battle array, saving a few which he left behind to resist the Mace-

The
passage
over
the
river

donians if they showed force to pass over the river. Alexander, being afraid of the great multitude of his enemies, and of the terror of the elephants, did not give charge upon the midst of the battle, but, being himself in the left wing, gave charge upon the corner of the enemies left wing, and also commanded them that were in the right wing to do the like. So both the ends of the enemies army were broken and put to flight, and they that fled ran unto the elephants, and gathered themselves together about them. Thus the battle being begun, the conflict continued long, inso-much as the enemies were scantly all overthrown by three of the clock in the afternoon. Most writers agree that Porus was four cubits and a shaft-length high, and that, being upon an elephant's back, he wanted nothing in height and bigness to be proportionable for his mounture, albeit it were a very great elephant: and besides that, the elephant did show great wit and care to save the king his master. For whilst he perceived his master was strong enough, he lustily repulsed those which came to assail him; but when he found that he began to faint, having many wounds upon his body, and arrows sticking in it, then being afraid lest his master should fall down from his back, he softly fell on his knees, and gently taking his darts and arrows with his trunk, which he had in his body, he plucked them all from him one after another. Porus being taken, Alexander asked him how he should handle him. Princely, answered Porus. Alexander asked him again: If he would say anything else. I comprehend all, said he, in this word princely. Thereupon Alexander did not only leave him his provinces and realms, whereof before he was

Porus' use of his elephants

Porus' own elephant

king, by the name of his lieutenant, but gave him many other countries also.

When he had subdued all the free people, of the which there were fifteen several nations, five thousand of no small cities, besides an infinite number of villages, and thrice as many other countries, he made Philip, one of his friends, his lieutenant of all those countries. His horse Bucephalus died at this battle, not in the field, but afterwards, whilst he was in cure for the wounds he had on his body; but as Onesicritus saith, he died even worn for very age. Alexander was as sorry for his death, as if he had lost any of his familiar friends; and for proof thereof he built a great city in the place where his horse was buried, upon the river of Hydaspes, the which he called, after his name, Bucephalia. It is reported also that having lost a dog of his called Peritas, which he had brought up of a whelp, and loved very dearly, he built also a city, and called it after his name. Sotion writeth that he heard it reported thus of Potamon Lesbian.

This last battle against King Porus killed the Macedonians' hearts, and made them that they had no desire to go any farther to conquer India. For, finding that they had such ado to overcome them, though they were but twenty thousand footmen and two thousand horse, they spake ill of Alexander when he went about to compel them to pass over the river of Ganges, understanding by the countrymen that it was two-and-thirty furlong over, and a hundred fathom deep, and how that the bank of the river was full of soldiers, horsemen, and elephants. For it was reported that the kings of the Gangarides and the Præsians were on the other side with four-score thousand horsemen, two hundred thousand foot-

Death

of

Bucephalus.

Alex's

sorrow

The men's
refusal
to go
on

Alex's
anger

men, eight thousand chariots or carts of war well armed, and six thousand elephants of war. This was no fable nor frivolous tale; for a king called Androcottus (who reigned not long after) gave unto Seleucus five hundred elephants at one time, and conquered all India with six hundred thousand fighting-men. Alexander then offended with his men's refusal, kept close in his tent for certain days, and lay upon the ground, saying: That he did not thank them for all that they had done thitherunto, unless they passed over the river of Ganges also, and that to return back again it was as much as to confess that he had been overcome. At the length, when he saw and considered that there was great reason in his friends' persuasions which laboured to comfort him, and that his soldiers came to the door of his tent, crying and lamenting, humbly beseeching him to lead them back again, in the end he took pity of them, and was contented to return.

Alex's
strategy

This notwithstanding, before he departed from those parts, he put forth many vain and false devices to make his name immortal among that people. He made armours of greater proportion than his own, and mangers for horses higher than the common sort: moreover, he made bits also far heavier than the common sort, and made them to be thrown and scattered abroad in every place. He built great altars also in honour of the gods, the which the kings of the Præsians have in great veneration at this day, and passing over the river, do make sacrifices there after the manner of the Grecians. Androcottus at that time was a very young man, and saw Alexander himself, and said afterwards that Alexander had well near taken and won all the country, the king which then

reigned was so hated of all his subjects for his wicked life and base parentage he came of. Departing thence, he went to see the great sea Oceanus, and made divers boats with oars, in the which he easily went down the rivers at his pleasure. Howbeit, this his pleasant going by water was not without war, for he would land oftentimes, and did assail cities, and conquered all as he went. Yet in assailing the city of the Mallians (which they say are the warlikest men of all the Indians) he was almost slain there. For, having with darts repulsed the enemies from the wall, he himself was the first man that set foot on a ladder to get up, the which brake as soon as ever he was gotten upon the ramper. Then the barbarous people, coming together against the wall, did throw at him from beneath, and many times lighted upon him. Alexander, having few of his men about him, made no more ado, but leaped down from the wall in the midst of his enemies, and by good hap lighted on his feet. His harness making a great noise with the fall, the barbarous people were afraid, thinking they had seen some light or spirit go before them, so that at the first they all betook them to their legs, and ran scatteringly here and there. But after that, when they came again to themselves, and saw that he had but two gentlemen only about him, they came and set upon him of all hands, and fought with him at the sword or push of the pike, and so hurt him very sore through his armour: but one among the rest, being somewhat farther off, gave him such a terrible blow with an arrow that he strake him through his curaces, and shot him in at the side under his breast. The blow entered so into his body that he fell down on one of his knees. Whereupon, he that had stricken him with his arrow ran

Narrow
escape
from
death

suddenly to him with a scimitar drawn in his hand. Howbeit as Peucestas and Limnæus stepped before him, and were both hurt: Limnæus was slain presently, and Peucestas fought it out, till at the length Alexander self slew the barbarous man with his own hand, after he had many grievous wounds upon his body. At the length he had a blow with a dart on his neck that so astonished him that he leaned against the wall looking upon his enemies. In the meantime, the Macedonians compassing him round about took him, and carried him into his tent half in a swoon, and was past knowledge. Whereupon there ran a rumour straight in the camp that Alexander was dead. They had much ado to cut the arrow asunder that was of wood: so his curaces being plucked off with great pain, yet were they to pluck the arrow-head out of his body, which stuck in one of his bones, the which, as it is reported, was four fingers long and three fingers broad. So that when they plucked it out he swooned so oft that he was almost dead. This notwithstanding, he overcame the danger and escaped. Being very weak, he kept diet a long time to recover himself, and never came out of his tent until he heard the Macedonians cry, and made great noise about his tent desirous to see him. Then he put on a night-gown, and came out amongst them all: and after he had done sacrifice unto the gods for recovery of his health, he went on his journey again, and in the same did conquer many great countries and took divers goodly cities.

He did also take ten of the wise men of the country, which men do all go naked, and therefore are called Gymnosophistæ (to wit, Philosophers of India), who had procured Sabbas to rebel against him, and had done great

Nearly
dead
but
recovers
after a
long
illness

the
Gymnosophistæ

hurt unto the Macedonians. And because they were taken to be the sharpest and readiest of answer, he did put them (as he thought) many hard questions, and told them he would put the first man to death that answered him worst, and so the rest in order, and made the eldest among them judge of their answers. The question he asked the first man was this:

1. Whether the dead or the living were the greater number? He answered: The living. For the dead, said he, are no more men.

2. The second man he asked: Whether the earth or the sea brought forth most creatures? He answered: The earth. For the sea, said he, is but a part of the earth.

3. To the third man: Which of all beasts was the subtlest? That, said he, which man hitherto never knew.

4. To the fourth: Why he did make Sabbas rebel? Because, said he, he should live honourably, or die vilely.

5. To the fifth: Which he thought was first, the day or the night? He answered: The day by a day. The king, finding his answer strange, added to this speech: Strange questions must needs have strange answers.

6. Coming to the sixth man, he asked him: How a man should come to be beloved? If he be a good man, said he, not terrible.

7. To the seventh: How a man should be a god? In doing a thing, said he, impossible for a man.

8. To the eighth: Which was the stronger, life or death? Life, said he, that suffereth so many troubles.

9. And unto the ninth and last man: How long a man

*His
questions
of the
answers
of the
Gym:*

should live? Until, said he, he think it better to die than to live.

When Alexander had heard these answers, he turned unto the judge and bade him give his judgment upon them. The judge said they had all answered one worse than another. Then shalt thou die first, said Alexander, because thou hast given such sentence: Not so, O king, quoth he, if thou wilt not be a liar; because thou saidst that thou wouldst kill him first that had answered worst. In fine, Alexander did let them go with rewards.

He sent Onesicritus also unto the other wise men of the Indians, which were of greatest fame among them, and that led a solitary and quiet life, to pray them to come unto him. This Onesicritus the Philosopher was Diogenes the Cynic's scholar. It is reported that Calanus, one of these wise men, very sharply and proudly bade him put off his clothes to hear his words naked; or otherwise that he would not speak to him, though he came from Jupiter himself. Yet Dandamis answered him more gently. For he, having learned what manner of men Socrates, Pythagoras, and Diogenes were, said: That they seemed to have been wise men, and well born, notwithstanding that they had revered the law too much in their lifetime. Others write notwithstanding that Dandamis said nothing else, but asked why Alexander had taken so painful a journey in hand as to come into India. For Calanus (whose right name otherwise was Sphines), King Taxiles persuaded him to go unto Alexander: who because he saluted those he met in the Indian tongue, saying Calé, as much to say as God save ye, the Grecians named him Calanus. It is reported that this Calanus did show Alexander a figure and

similitude of his kingdom, which was this. He threw down before him a dry sere piece of leather, and then put his foot upon one of the ends of it. The leather, being trodden down on that side, rose up in all parts else, and going up and down withal, still treading upon the sides of the leather, he made Alexander see that the leather, being trodden down on the one side, did rise up of all sides else until such time as he put his foot in the midst of the leather, and then all the whole leather was plain alike. His meaning thereby was to let Alexander understand that the most part of his time he should keep in the midst of his country, and not to go far from it.

Calanus?

demonstration

to

Alex:

Alexander continued seven months travelling upon the rivers, to go see the great sea Oceanus. Then he took ship and sailed into a little island called Scillustis, howbeit others call it Psitulcis. There he landed, made sacrifices unto the gods, and viewed the greatness and nature of the sea Oceanus, and all the situation of the coast upon that sea as far as he could go. Then he made his prayers unto the gods that no conqueror living after him should go beyond the bounds of his journey and conquest, and so returned homeward. He commanded his ships should fetch a compass about, and leave India on the right hand; and made Nearchus admiral of all his fleet, and Onesicritus chief pilot. He himself, in the meantime, went by land through the country of the Orites, and there he found great scarcity of victuals, and lost many of his men; so that he carried not out of India the fourth part of his men of war which he brought thither, which were in all sixscore thousand footmen and fifteen thousand horsemen. Some of them died of grievous diseases, others by ill diet, others by

His
 great
 lass
) by
 disease
) by ill
 diet
 extreme heat and drought, and the most of them by
 hunger travelling through this barren country, where the
 poor men lived hardly, and had only a few sheep which
 they fed with sea fish that made their flesh savour very
 ill-favouredly. At the length, when in threescore days'
 journey he had painfully travelled through this country,
 he then entered into the country called Gedrosia, where
 he found great plenty of all kinds of victuals, which the
 governors, kings, and princes, neighbours unto the same,
 did send unto him.

The
 feast
 while
 marching
 After he had refreshed his army there a little, he went
 through the country of Carmania, where he continued
 seven days together banqueting, going still through the
 country. For night and day he was feasting continually
 with his friends upon a scaffold longer than broad, rising
 up of height, and drawn with eight goodly horse. After
 that scaffold followed divers other chariots, covered over,
 some with goodly rich arras and purple silk, others with
 trim fresh boughs which they renewed at every field's
 end: and in those were Alexander's other friends and
 captains, with garlands of flowers upon their heads, which
 drank and made merry together. In all this army there
 was neither helmet, pike, dart, nor target seen; but gold
 and silver bowls, cups, and flagons in the soldiers' hands,
 all the way as they went, drawing wine out of great pipes
 and vessels which they carried with them, one drinking
 to another, some marching in the fields going forward,
 and others also set at the table. About them were the
 minstrels playing and piping on their flutes and shalms,
 and women singing and dancing, and fooling by the way
 as they went. In all this dissolute marching through the
 country, and in the midst of their drunkenness, they

mingled with it sport: that every man did strive to counterfeit all the insolencies of Bacchus, as if god Bacchus himself had been there in person, and had led the mummery.

When he came unto the king's castle of Gedrosia he stayed there also certain days to refresh his army with feasting and banqueting. It is said that one day, when he had drunk hard, he went to see the games for dancing, and amongst them the games which a young man called Bagoas had set forth (with whom Alexander fell in liking), and bare the bell. This Bagoas, being in his dancing garments, came through the theatre, and sat him down by Alexander. The Macedonians were so glad of it that they shouted and clapped their hands for joy, crying out aloud to kiss him; so that, in fine, he took him in his arms and kissed him before them all. Thither came Nearchus, his admiral, unto him, who made report what he had seen and done in his navigation. Alexander was so glad of that, as he was desirous to sail by sea himself; and so, entering into the sea Oceanus by the mouth of Euphrates, with a great fleet of ships, to compass in all the coasts of Arabia and Africk, and thence into Mare Mediterraneum by the straits of the Pillars of Hercules. To this intent he built a great number of ships in the city of Thapsacus, and sent for mariners, shipmasters, and pilots out of all parts. But now the difficulty of the journey which he took upon him for the conquest of India, the danger he was in when he fought with the Mallians, and the number of his men which he lost besides, which was very great, all these things, considered together, making men believe that he should never return with safety, they made

all the people (which he had conquered) bold to rise against him, and gave his governors and lieutenants of provinces occasion to commit great insolencies, robberies, and exactions of people. To be short, it put all his kingdom in broil and sedition. Insomuch as Olympias and Cleopatra rising against Antipater, they divided his government between them; Olympias choosing for her the kingdom of Epirus, and Cleopatra the kingdom of Macedon, which, when Alexander had heard, he said his mother was the wisest, for the realm of Macedon would never have suffered a woman to reign over them.

Thereupon he sent Nearchus back again to the sea, determining to fill all the sea-coasts with war. As he travelled through the countries far from the sea he put his captains and governors to death which had revolted against him, and of those he slew Oxyartes, one of Abuletus' sons, by his own hand, running him through with a pike. And when Abuletus self also had brought Alexander three thousand talents only, without any other provision made for victuals for his army, he made him put the money before his horse, which would not once touch it. Then said he unto him: I pray thee to what purpose serveth this provision? and therewithal immediately committed him to prison. As he came through the country of Persia he first renewed the old custom there, which was that as oftentimes as the kings did return home from any far journey, they gave unto every woman a crown apiece. It is said, therefore, that for this cause some of their natural kings many times did not return again into their country, and that Ochus, amongst others, did not so much as once return back again,

His
kingdom
in
rebellion

The
lack of
provision

willingly banishing himself out of his country, of niggardliness, because he would not be at this charge.

After that, Cyrus' tomb (king of Persia) being found and broken up, he put him to death that did it, although he were a Macedonian of the city of Pella (and none of the meanest), called Polymachus. When he had read the inscription written upon it in the Persian tongue, he would needs have it also written in the Greek tongue, and this it was: O man, whatso thou art, and whence-soever thou comest, for I know thou shalt come, I am Cyrus that conquered the Empire of Persia; I pray thee envy me not for this little earth that covereth my body.

These words pierced Alexander's heart when he considered the uncertainty of worldly things. There also Calanus, the Indian philosopher, having had a flux a little while, prayed that they would make him a stack of wood, such as they use to burn dead bodies on, and then rode thither on horseback; and after he had made his prayer unto the gods he cast those sprinklings upon him which were used to be sprinkled at the funerals of the dead. Then, cutting off a lock of his hair before he went up on the woodstack, he bade all the Macedonians that were there farewell, and shook them by the hands, praying them that day to be merry and drink freely with the king, whom he would see shortly after in the city of Babylon. When he had said these words he laid him down upon the woodstack, covered his face, and never stirred hand nor foot, nor quitted when the fire took him, but did sacrifice himself in this sort, as the manner of his country was, that the wise men should so sacrifice themselves. Another Indian also, who followed Julius Cæsar, did the like many years after in the city of Athens,

Cyrus'
tomb
ransacted
restored
by Alex:

Calanus'
sacrifice
of
himself.

and there is his tomb yet to be seen, commonly called the Indian's tomb.

When Alexander came from seeing this sacrifice of Calanus he did bid divers of his friends and captains to supper to him, and there did bring forth a crown for a reward unto him that drank best. He that drank most of all other was one Promachus, that drank four gallons of wine, and won the crown, worth a talent; but he lived not above three days after. And of other also that fell in sport to quaffing, who should drink most, there died of them (as Chares writeth) one-and-forty persons, of an extreme cold that took them in their drunkenness and wine. When they were in the city of Susa he married certain of his friends, and himself also married Statira, one of King Darius' daughters, disposing also of the other Persian ladies (according to their estate and birth) unto his best friends. He made also a solemn feast of common marriages amongst the Macedonians of them that had been married before. At which feast it is written that, nine thousand persons sitting at the boards, he gave unto every one of them a cup of gold to offer wine in honour of the gods. And there also, amongst other wonderful gifts, he did pay all the debts the Macedonians ought unto their creditors, the which amounted unto the sum of ten thousand talents, saving a hundred and thirty less. Whereupon Antigenes, with one eye, falsely putting in his name amongst the number of the debtors, and bringing in one that said he had lent him money, Alexander caused him to be paid. But afterwards, when it was proved to his face that there was no such matter, Alexander then was so offended with him that he banished him his court, and deprived him

Alex's
competition

Alex's
second
marriage

to
Statira,
one of
Darius'
daughters

Alex's
pays his
army's
debts.

Antigenes
banished

of his captainship, notwithstanding that he had before showed himself a valiant man in the wars. For when he was but a young man he was shot into the eye before the city of Perinthus, which King Philip did besiege, and at that present time they would have plucked the arrow out of his eye, but he never fainted for it, neither would suffer them to pull it out before he had first driven his enemies within the walls of their city. He took this infamy very inwardly, and he was so sorry for it that every man might see he was like to die for sorrow. Then Alexander, fearing he should die, did pardon him, and bade him besides keep the money which was given him.

Now, the thirty thousand young boys which Alexander had left to the government of captains to train and exercise them in the discipline of war, they being grown strong men and lusty youths, excellently well trained and ready in arms, Alexander rejoiced when he saw them. This, notwithstanding, did much discourage the Macedonians, and made them greatly afraid, because they thought that from thenceforth the king would make less account of them. For when Alexander would have sent the sick and impotent persons which had been maimed in the wars into the low country to the sea-side, they answered him that so doing he should do them great wrong to send these poor men from him in that sort (after they had done him all the service they could); home to their country and friends in worse case than he took them from thence. And therefore they said if he would send away some, let him send them all away as men unserviceable, specially sithence he had now such goodly young dancers about him, with whom he might go conquer the world. Alexander was marvellously

Generosity
- sends
sick &
wounded
home

offended with their proud words, insomuch that in his anger he reviled them all, put away his ordinary guard, and took other Persians in their place, making some the guard about his own person, others his ushers, heralds, and ministers to execute his will and commandment. The poor Macedonians, seeing Alexander thus waited on and themselves so shamefully rejected, they let fall their stoutness, and after they had communed of the matter together they were ready to tear themselves for spite and malice. In fine, when they had laid their heads together, they consented to go unto his tent, and without weapons, naked in their shirts to yield themselves unto him, weeping and howling, beseeching him to do with them what pleased him, and to use them like wretched unthankful creatures. But Alexander, though his anger was now somewhat pacified, did not receive them the first time, neither did they also go their ways, but remained there two days and nights together in this pitiful state before the door of his tent, lamenting unto him and calling him their sovereign and king, until that he came himself out of his tent the third day, and seeing the poor wretches in this grievous and pitiful state, he himself fell aweeping a long time. So after he had a little rebuked them, he called them courteously and gave the impotent and sick persons leave to depart home, rewarding them very honourably. Furthermore, he wrote unto Antipater, his lieutenant, that he should always give them the highest place in all common sports and assemblies, and that they should be crowned with garlands of flowers. Moreover, he commanded that the orphans whose parents were slain in the wars should receive the pay of their fathers.

Generosity

After Alexander was come unto the city of Ecbatana, in the kingdom of Media, and that he had despatched his weightiest causes, he gave himself again unto public sports, feasts, and pastimes, for that there were newly come unto him out of Greece three thousand excellent masters and devisers of such sports. About that time it chanced that Hephæstion fell sick of an ague. But he, being a young man of war, did not regard his mouth as he should have done, but having spied opportunity that his physician, Glaucus, was gone unto the theatre to see the sports and pastimes, he went to dinner, and eat a roasted capon whole, and drank a great pot full of wine, which he had caused to be set in water, whereupon his fever took him so sorely that he lived not long after. Alexander unwisely took the chance of his death, and commanded all the hairs of his horse and mules to be presently shorn in token of mourning, and that all the battlements of the walls of cities should also be overthrown, and hung up poor Glaucus, his physician, upon a cross, and commanded that no minstrel should be heard play of any kind of instrument within his camp until that there was brought him an oracle from Jupiter Ammon commanding that Hephæstion should be worshipped and sacrificed unto as a demigod. In the end, to pass over his mourning and sorrow, he went unto the wars as unto a hunting of men, and there subdued the people of the Cossæans, whom he plucked up by the roots, and slew man, woman, and child. And this was called the sacrifice of Hephæstion's funerals. Alexander furthermore being desirous to bestow ten thousand talents' cost upon his obsequies and funerals, and also to exceed the charge by the rareness and excellency of workmanship, amongst

Death
of

Hephaeston

one of

Alex's

best

friends

His

funeral

all other excellent workmasters, he desired one Stasicles, for he had ever passing invention, and his work was always stately and sumptuous in any new things he took in hand. For he, talking one day with Alexander, told him that of all the mountains he knew in the world, he thought there was none more excellent to resemble the statue or image of a man than was Mount Athos in Thrace, and that, if it were his pleasure, he would make him the noblest and most durable image that should be in the world, which in his left hand should hold a city to contain ten thousand persons, and out of his right hand there should run a great river into the sea. Yet Alexander would not hearken to him, but then was talking with other workmen of more strange inventions and far greater cost.

The
proposed
statue

The
warning
not to
enter
Babylon

Evil
omens
i) Crows
fighting
ii) No head
to aver of
beast sacrificed

Now as he was ready to take his journey to go unto Babylon, Nearchus, his admiral, came again unto him from the great sea Oceanus, by the river of Euphrates, and told him how certain Chaldean soothsayers came unto him, who did warn him that he should not go into Babylon. Howbeit Alexander made no reckoning of it, but went on. But when he came hard to the walls of Babylon, he saw a great number of crows fighting and killing one of another, and some of them fell down dead hard by him. Afterwards being told him that Apollodorus, the governor of the city of Babylon, having sacrificed unto the gods to know what should happen to him, he sent for the soothsayer Pythagoras to know of him if it were true. The soothsayer denied it not. Then Alexander asked him what signs he had in the sacrifice. He answered that the liver of the beast had no head. O gods, said Alexander then, this is an ill sign: notwith-

standing he did Pythagoras no hurt, but yet he repented him that he did not believe Nearchus' words. For this respect, therefore, Alexander lay much abroad in the country from Babylon, and did take his pleasure rowing up and down the river of Euphrates. Yet had he many other ill signs and tokens one upon another that made him afraid. For there was a tame ass that killed one of the greatest and goodliest lions in all Babylon with one of his feet. Another time, when Alexander had put off his clothes to be noited to play at tennis, when he should put on his apparel again, the young gentlemen that played with him found a man set in his chair of state, having the king's diadem on his head and his gown on his back, and said never a word. Then they asked him what he was? It was long before he made them answer, but at the length coming to himself, he said his name was Dionysius, born in Messené, and being accused for certain crimes committed, he was sent from the sea thither, where he had been a long time prisoner, and also that the god Serapis had appeared unto him and undone his irons, and that he commanded him to take the king's gown and his diadem, and to sit him down in his chair of state and say never a word. When Alexander heard it, he put him to death according to the counsel of his soothsayers; but then his mind was troubled, and feared that the gods had forsaken him, and also grew to suspect his friends.

But, first of all, Alexander feared Antipater and his sons above all other. For one of them, called Iolas, was his first cupbearer, and his brother, called Cassander, was newly come out of Greece unto him. The first time that Cassander saw some of the barbarous people reverencing Alexander, he having been brought up with the liberty of

1) Tame
ass
kills a
lion
2) The
usurper

Alex's
fear of
Antipater
his
sons

Greece, and had never seen the like before, fell into a loud laughing very irreverently. Therewith King Alexander was so offended that he took him by the hair of his head with both his hands and knocked his head and the wall together. Another time also, when Cassander did answer some that accused his father Antipater, King Alexander took him up sharply and said unto him, What sayest thou, said he? Doest thou think that these men would have gone so long a journey as this falsely to accuse thy father if he had not done them wrong? Cassander again replied unto Alexander, and said that that was a manifest proof of their false accusation, for that they did now accuse him, being so far off, because they thought they could not suddenly be disproved. Alexander thereat fell a-laughing a good, and said: Lo, these are Aristotle's quiddities to argue *pro* and *contra*; but this will not save you from punishment if I find that you have done these men wrong. In fine, they report that Cassander took such an inward fear and conceit upon it, that long time after, when he was King of Macedon, and had all Greece at his commandment, going up and down the city of Delphi, and beholding the monuments and images that are there, he found one of Alexander, which put him into such a sudden fear that the hairs of his head stood upright, and his body quaked in such sort that it was a great time before he could come to himself again.

Now, after that Alexander had left his trust and confidence in the gods, his mind was so troubled and afraid that no strange thing happened unto him, how little soever it was, but he took it straight for a sign and prediction from the gods; so that his tent was always full of priests and soothsayers that did nothing but sacrifice and purify

Accusation
against
Cassander's
father—
his (C's)
defence

Cassander's
fear of
Alex:

Superstition
preying
on
Alex's
mind

and tend unto divinements. So horrible a thing is the mistrust and contempt of the gods, when it is begotten in the hearts of men, and superstition also so dreadful, that it filleth the guilty consciences and fearful hearts like water distilling from above, as at that time it filled Alexander with all folly after that fear had once possessed him. This notwithstanding, after that he had received some answers touching Hephæstion from the oracle of Jupiter Ammon, he left his sorrow and returned again to his banquets and feasting. For he did sumptuously feast Nearchus, and one day when he came out of his bath according to his manner, being ready to go to bed, Medius, one of his captains, besought him to come to a banquet to him to his lodging. Alexander went thither, and drank there all that night and the next day, so that he got an ague by it. But that came not (as some write) by drinking up Hercules' cup all at a draught; neither for the sudden pain he felt between his shoulders, as if he had been thrust into the back with a spear. For all these were thought to be written by some for lies and fables, because they would have made the end of this great tragedy lamentable and pitiful. But Aristobulus writeth that he had such an extreme fever and thirst withal that he drank wine, and after that fell a-raving, and at the length died the thirtieth day of the month of June.

In his household book of things passed daily, it is written that his fever being upon him, he slept at his hothouse on the eighteenth day of June. The next morning, after he was come out of his hothouse, he went into his chamber and passed away all that day with Medius, playing at dice; and at night very late, after

Alex's
death.
I stones

he had bathed himself and sacrificed unto the gods, he fell to meat, and had his fever that night. And the twentieth day also, bathing himself again, and making his ordinary sacrifice to the gods, he did sit down to eat within his stove, hearkening unto Nearchus that told him strange things he had seen in the great sea Oceanus. The one-and-twentieth day also, having done the like as before, he was much more inflamed than he had been, and felt himself very ill all night and the next day following in a great fever; and on that day he made his bed to be removed and to be set up by the fish ponds, where he communed with his captains touching certain rooms that were void in his army, and commanded them not to place any men that were not of good experience. The three-and-twentieth day, having an extreme fever upon him, he was carried unto the sacrifices, and commanded that his chiefest captains only should remain in his lodging, and that the other meaner sort, as centeniers or lieutenants of bands, that they should watch and ward without. The four-and-twentieth day he was carried unto the other palace of the kings, which is on the other side of the lake, where he slept a little, but the fever never left him, and when his captains and noblemen came to do him humble reverence, and to see him, he lay speechless. So did he the five-and-twentieth day also, insomuch as the Macedonians thought he was dead. Then they came and knocked at the palace gate, and cried out unto his friends and familiars and threatened them, so that they were compelled to open them the gate. Thereupon the gates were opened, and they coming in their gowns went unto his bedside to see him. That self day Python and Seleucus were appointed by the king's friends to go

to the temple of the god Serapis to know if they should bring King Alexander thither. The god answered them that they should not remove him from thence. The eight-and-twentieth day at night Alexander died. Thus it is written word for word in manner in the household book of remembrance.

At that present time there was no suspicion that he was poisoned. Yet they say that six years after there appeared some proof that he was poisoned. Whereupon his mother Olympias put many men to death, and cast the ashes of Iolas into the wind, that was dead before, for that it was said he gave him poison in his drink. They that think it was Aristotle that counselled Antipater to do it, by whose mean the poison was brought, they say that Hagnothemis reported it, having heard it of King Antigonus' own mouth. The poison (as some say) was cold as ice, and falleth from a rock in the territory of the city of Nonacris, and it is gathered as they would gather a dew, into the horn of the foot of an ass, for there is no other kind of thing that will keep it, it is so extreme cold and piercing. Others maintain and say that the report of his poisoning is untrue, and for proof thereof they allege this reason, which is of no small importance, that is: that the chiefest captains fell at great variance after his death, so that the corpse of Alexander remained many days naked without burial in a hot, dry country, and yet there never appeared any sign or token upon his body that he was poisoned, but was still a clean and fair corpse as could be. Alexander left Roxana great with child, for the which the Macedonians did her great honour; but she did malice Statira extremely, and did finely deceive her by a counterfeit letter she sent, as if it

Suggestion
that he
was
poisoned
by
Iolas

Death of
Statira
at the
hands
of
Roxana

had come from Alexander, willing her to come unto him. But when she was come, Roxana killed her and her sister, and then threw their bodies into a well and filled it up with earth by Perdiccas' help and consent. Perdiccas came to be king, immediately after Alexander's death, by means of Arrhidæus, whom he kept about him for his guard and safety. This Arrhidæus, being born of a common woman called Philinna, was half lunatic, not by nature nor by chance, but, as it is reported, put out of his wits when he was a young towardly boy by drinks which Olympias caused to be given him, and thereby continued frantic.

Perdiccas
sueceeds Alexander.

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Alex: s qualities



i) Clemency - Inoclea, the Theban
the mother, daughters, of Darius. Lady + to

ii) Liberality - Hope
Amis + the cup + wine

The Macedonian + the mule