

QUINTUS CURTIUS

Alexander a citizen, at first to the amusement of himself and his friends (Sen. De Benef. i. 13. 1) ; but when he learned that they had conferred that honour previously only upon Hercules, he accepted it with joy. He pardoned the rest of the Greeks, but since he especially distrusted the Spartans, he restored the children of Psilias to Messenê, from which they had been banished ; he gave Pellenê, a town of Achaia, to Chaeron, and placed in Sicyon and in several other cities of the Peloponnesus creatures of his, to keep watch on the Spartans. All these things were quickly accomplished. On being once asked how he had been able to subdue Greece, he replied : " By putting off nothing to to-morrow " (Schol. ad Hom. Iliad. B).

BOOK II

At that time Darius was king of the Persians, raised to that eminence shortly before the death of Philip by a eunuch named Bagoas, who, after destroying King Ochus and then his son Arses with their whole house, made a gift of the rule which he could not claim for himself, imagining that he would have lasting favour with one whom he had put under obligation by so great a service (Diod. xvii. 5. 3 ff. ; Arr. ii. 14. 5). And Darius was not regarded among his people as unworthy of that fortune ; for he was related to the royal family. In fact, Ostanes, the uncle of Ochus, had begotten Arsanes, and Arsanes Codomannus, which was the name of Darius before he became king. But when he had been placed upon the throne of Cyrus, in accordance with a custom of the Persians (Hdt. vi. 98 ; Justin x. 3. 5) he gave up his former name and wished to be called Darius. Also distinguished in war (Diod. l.c.), he had challenged and slain

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an enemy when Ochus was waging war with the Cadusii, and thus gained a reputation for valour. He was the tenth ruler of Persia after Cyrus, the founder of the kingdom ; for Ochus had succeeded his father Artaxerxes (Mnemon), Artaxerxes succeeded Darius, to whom Artaxerxes (Macrochir), son of Xerxes, had left the throne, and Xerxes had received it from his father Darius. As for this Darius, he was the son of Hystaspes, and after the house of Cyrus had come to an end in the person of Cambyses, he wrested the rule from the Magi by a conspiracy formed by seven distinguished Persians (Hdt. iii. 60 ; Amm. xiii. 6. 36, note ; on the names of the kings see Nepos xxi. 1. 2 ff.).

Under these kings for about 230 years the Persian realm enjoyed remarkable prosperity, as long as the nation during its difficult beginnings remained a stranger to pleasures and fought valiantly for freedom, glory, and power (Arr. v. 4. 5). As time went on, after it seemed to have gained the rewards of Virtue, it neglected her, not so safe in its own strength as in the fame of the power won by its ancestors and in the use of riches, with which it fought more successfully against the Greeks than with arms. Finally, when against the might of Alexander it was effecting too little by gold, and, since all external aid was failing it, it had to depend upon itself, broken and effeminated as it was by pleasures and soft living, it could not resist the course of its falling fortune. For necessity arouses courage, luxury and idleness follow wealth.

On hearing of the death of Philip, by whose good fortune and preparations they had been terrified, the Persians were freed from all fear (Diod. xvii. 7. 1) ; they scorned the youth of Alexander, imagining that he would be satisfied if he were allowed to walk about safely within the walls of Pella. But when one message after another

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told of his wars and his victories, more and more dreading the youth whom they had so far despised, they prepared aid with the greatest care, as if for a long and cruel war. And since by experience in former battles they had learned that the Asiatic soldiers were unequal to the European, they sent recruiting officers to Greece and hired 50,000 vigorous young men (Curt. v. 11. 5). The Rhodian Memnon was given command of these forces, since in many previous wars he had abundantly convinced the Persians of his trustworthiness and valour (Diod. xvii. 7. 2). He, being sent to seize Cyzicus, by swift marches came through Phrygia, where it joins the Troad, to Mount Ida, which by its very name shows the nature of its situation : for the ancients called places thickly set with trees *Idas*. It is the highest of the mountains of Hellespontus (Diod. xvii. 7. 4 ff.), and in its midst is the cave in which the Trojan judge is said to have looked upon the beauty of the goddesses. It is also said to be the native land of the *Idaean Dactyli*, or *Corybantes* (Diod. l.c.) who, instructed by the Great Mother (*Cybelé*) first discovered the twofold use of iron, a most cruel tool of rage and not less useful as an aid to poverty and toil. It is also deserving of wonder that at the rising of the dog-star, when the winds are violent at its base, the air at the summit of Ida is quiet ; also it is remarkable for the strange appearance of the sun at early dawn (Diod. l.c. ; Lucr. v. 662 ff. ; Mela i. 18. 3 ff.).

At the foot of Ida the territory of Cyzicus extends into the Propontis (Strabo xiii. p. 582) ; the town itself is situated on a small island, and is connected with the mainland by a bridge. But this work was constructed a little later by Alexander ; at the time of Memnon's expedition the crossing was made by ships. When Memnon had vainly tried to terrify the *Cyziceni* by a sudden attack and

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they defended their walls vigorously, he pillaged their territory and amassed great booty from it. Nor were the Macedonian leaders idle; Parmenion stormed Grynion, a town of Aeolis, and enslaved the inhabitants. Then crossing the Caïcus river, he attacked Pitane, a rich city and convenient with its two harbours for receiving forces from Europe; but on the speedy arrival of Memnon the siege was at once raised. Then Calas, who was making war in the Troad with a small force of Macedonians and mercenaries, fought with the Persians; but being no match for the large army of the enemy, he withdrew to Rhoeteum.

Meanwhile Alexander, having arranged matters in Greece and returned to Macedonia, was deliberating with his friends as to what ought to be guarded against or attended to by one who was going to enter upon so great a war. Antipater and Parmenion, his oldest and most influential friends, protested that he ought not in his one person to expose the safety of the whole empire to the wiles of Fortune; that he ought rather to provide for having offspring, and having thus secured the safety of his fatherland, should then think of its aggrandizement (Diod. xvii. 16. 1, 2). And, in fact, no one of Philip's blood survived who was fit to rule except Alexander, since the offspring of Cleopatra had been destroyed by Olympias; Arrhidæus, it was thought, would dishonour Macedonia by reason of his mother's race (Plut. Alex. lxxvii. 5) and his own disordered mind.

But the king, impatient of inaction, was thinking of nothing but war and of glory won by victory. Therefore he said: "You, indeed, as becomes good men and lovers of your country, are not without reason anxious about its advantages and disadvantages. For it is a difficult task that faces us; who would deny that? If, after having

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rashly begun it, the result shows that we were overhasty, repentance when it is too late will avail nothing. For it is before we set sail that we consult whether we wish to sail or to remain in port ; when we have trusted ourselves to the winds and waves, our whole voyage is exposed to their will. Therefore I am not displeased that your opinion differs from mine ; rather I praise your frankness, and pray you that, in further questions which shall be referred to you, you may follow the same method. Friends of kings, if any deserve that name, have regard in advising them, not so much to their favour as to their advantage and honour. He who advises doing differently than he himself would do, does not instruct the one who consults him, but deceives him.

“ Furthermore, to let you also know the reason for my feeling, I am sure that nothing is less favourable to my plans than delay. When all the barbarous country around Macedonia is subdued, and the disturbances of the Greeks are ended, shall we suffer our valiant and most successful army to waste away in inaction and idleness ; or shall we rather lead it into the rich region of Asia, possession of which they have long since enjoyed in their hopes, seeking from the spoils of Persia the rewards for the labours which for a long time they endured under my father’s rule, and now for the third year under mine ? The reign of Darius is still new, and by killing Bagoas (Curt. v. 4. 10), through whose favour he rules, he incurs among his subjects the suspicion of cruelty and ingratitude, things which fill the best of subjects with hatred for their rulers, and make them slower to obey, or even inflexible. Shall we sit quiet until his authority is strengthened, and until, having quieted matters at home at his leisure, he shall even bring war into Macedonia ? There are many rewards for speed, which, if we delay, will belong to the enemy. The

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first impression on men's minds is followed by great importance in matters of this kind, and that impression is gained by one who anticipates his enemy. In fact, no one gains the reputation for greater strength by delay; furthermore, he who declares war is regarded as stronger than he against whom war is declared.

“Again, with how great danger to my own repute shall I disappoint the hope of those who have judged that the honour ought to be bestowed on me in my youth which a great commander, my father, after so many proofs of valour, obtained only a little before his death? For certainly the assembly of the Greeks did not vote us the command in order that in Macedonia, slothful and devoted to base pleasure, we might neglect the wrongs formerly and lately inflicted on the Greek name; but that the Persians might pay the penalty for those crimes which with the greatest insolence they have basely and wantonly committed against us (Diod. xvii. 5. 3 ff.). What shall I say of those nations of the Greeks which, widely spread through Asia, the intolerable slavery of barbarian nations oppresses? I shall not repeat the prayers with which, and the arguments with which, Delius the Ephesian pleaded their cause (Plut. adv. Colotem 50), since you yourselves remember them. It is certainly sure that all those nations, as soon as they see our standards, will immediately cross over to us, and will vigorously encounter any danger in behalf of their liberators and their defenders against severe and unjust masters.

“And yet why do we, forgetful of our courage and the weakness of our enemies, look about for aid against nations which even to have conquered a little too slowly would be more shameful than glorious? In the time of our fathers great armies of the enemy vainly resisted a few Lacedaemonians who had marched into Asia (Plut.

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Agesil. viii. ff.). They suffered Phrygia, Lydia, Paphlagonia to be pillaged ; or whenever they tried to prevent it, they were cut down until their enemies were sated ; finally Agesilaüs, recalled by his countrymen because of disturbances which had arisen in Greece, allowed them in their terror and confusion time to recover their breath. A few years earlier barely 10,000 Greeks (Xen. Anab. ii. ff.) without leaders or supplies opened a way homeward with the sword from the innermost parts of Asia, although they were followed by the whole army of the king, that army with which he had fought for the throne with his brother Cyrus and defeated him. We, therefore, whom all Greece, subdued in so many battles, obeys, we who have either slain their bravest men in battle or have them in our camp, shall we forsooth fear Asia, on which those whom we have defeated have with small numbers inflicted shameful losses ? ”

Then, when he had added other remarks in the same purport, he so moved their feelings that all assented ; even Parmenion, who had especially advised that the war be postponed, agreed that the greatest haste should be made, and now even urged Alexander on. Therefore, every care being directed towards hastening their departure, at Dium, a city of Macedonia, the king offered to Jupiter a sacrifice instituted by Archelaüs (Arr. i. 11. 1 ; Diod. xvii. 16. 3 f.). He also celebrated scenic plays in honour of the Muses for nine days, corresponding to the number of the goddesses. After this, a banquet was given with the greatest magnificence in an adorned tent which contained a hundred couches (Diod. l.c.) ; there Alexander reclined with his friends and generals and with the envoys from the states. He also ordered that the victims be distributed through the army, and that other things be furnished by which the day set aside for rejoicing and

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