

EDITED BY IAN WORTHINGTON

# ALEXANDER THE GREAT

A READER

SECOND EDITION



ROUTLEDGE

# ALEXANDER THE GREAT

Alexander the Great's vast conquests have captivated people for centuries, and have led to the development of an almost legendary status. But is this status deserved, and can we penetrate his legend to understand the man and his actions? This exciting new edition is an indispensable guide to the study of Alexander, showing the problems of the ancient source material, and making it clear that there is no single approach to be taken to the study of Alexander and his achievements.

Twelve thematic chapters contain a broad selection of the most significant published articles about Alexander, revised to include the most up-to-date scholarship, and examine the main areas of debate and discussion:

- The Sources
- Alexander's Influences and the Macedonian Background
- Alexander's Aims
- Alexander's Battles and Generalship
- Alexander and the Greeks
- Alexander and the Persian Empire
- Alexander, India and the Gedrosian Desert
- From Mass Marriage to Death
- Alexander and the 'Unity of Mankind'
- Alexander and Deification
- Alexander and Conspiracies
- Alexander: The 'Great'?

With translations of a substantial number of primary sources, and prefacing each chapter with an overview of the subject, this new Reader is a vital tool for students of classics and ancient history, and anyone with an interest in one of history's most famous conquerors.

**Ian Worthington** is Professor of History at the University of Missouri. He has published 15 sole-authored and edited books and over 100 articles and essays on Greek history, epigraphy and oratory. In 2005 he won the Chancellor's Award for Outstanding Research and Creativity in the Humanities, in 2007 the Student-Athlete Advisory Council Most Inspiring Professor Award and in 2010 the William H. Byler Distinguished Professor Award. In 2011 he was awarded the CAMWS Excellence in University Teaching Award.



ALEXANDER  
THE GREAT

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Second Edition

*Ian Worthington*

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## REVISED PREFACE

Alexander the Great of Macedonia is one of the best known and most fascinating figures from antiquity. In his thirteen-year reign (336–323), he defeated the vast Persian empire and invaded what the Greeks called India (what is today Pakistan), thus establishing a Macedonian empire that stretched from Greece in the west to ‘India’ in the east. His fighting prowess and brilliant strategy and tactics were combined with a fierce intellect and appreciation of learning, and he was quick to see the value of integrating Asians into his administration and army to improve the fighting capabilities of his army and help maintain Macedonian rule over the subject peoples. He was the type of man that legends are made of, and therein lies the major problem in any study of Alexander: separating the legendary Alexander from the historical.

In the generations, indeed centuries, after his death stories were written about Alexander in the west which were unhistorical. Some of these, such as the king’s dealings with a tribe of headless men (in the literary *Alexander Romance*) can easily be dismissed. Others not so, for during Alexander’s lifetime and in the generations after his death many works were written about him, all with shortcomings and biases, which have not survived in their entirety today. These contemporary works were used by the later writers centuries after Alexander’s death, who give us our connected narratives of his reign. The problem is obvious: how reliable are sources written so long after the events they describe, how critically did their writers evaluate the earlier works and decide which account to prefer over another, and how do their own political, social and moral backgrounds affect their presentation of Alexander? Indeed, there is no actual evidence that later writers such as Arrian and Plutarch read the earlier works in their entirety, thereby compounding the problem.

Ought we then to accept the (western) picture of a dashing king enjoying spectacular successes and establishing a great empire, or the understandably hostile picture presented by non-western sources of Alexander the Accursed? Indeed, when we consider the downsides to Alexander’s kingship, we can wonder whether he even deserves to be called ‘Great’ nowadays.

The aim of the Routledge Reader series as told to me is to provide translations of more inaccessible contemporary sources, with minimal notes, followed by a selection of modern scholars’ works in English. The contemporary works we have for Alexander are often passed over in favour of the later ones (in which they are quoted or paraphrased), yet they are the foundation stones of the later connected histories of the reign, and provide valuable information on many aspects of the areas through which Alexander marched. Thus in keeping with this series’ format I give a selection of contemporary inscriptional and especially literary material, which allows readers to set it next to the more readily available later accounts (which should be read in their entirety).

Translations of the epigraphical material are my own; translations of the fragments of the contemporary writers are those of C.A. Robinson, *The History of Alexander the Great* 1 (Providence: 1953). I am very grateful to Brown University Library for granting permission to reprint.

This book is divided into twelve chapters. The first chapter deals with the problem of the source material for him. His background and influences are the subject of Chapter 2, and his aims of Chapter 3. The main events of his life and reign in chronological order are the focus of Chapters 4–8. Four thematic chapters on controversies associated with events in his reign and his character follow: the ‘unity of mankind’ (Chapter 9), his pretensions to personal divinity (Chapter 10), conspiracies against him (Chapter 11), and his ‘greatness’ (Chapter 12). Each chapter has a brief introduction to set the scene, selections from modern scholars’ works and a list of additional readings.

I have tried where possible to select modern scholars’ works that focus on the nature of the source material and in the process give different interpretations of the same topic. My aim is to show that there is no single approach to Alexander, that there can be substantial disagreement, and that consensus of opinion might never be reached. There are thus no right or wrong answers, and it is up to readers, based on their critical evaluation of the sources and arguments of modern scholars, to reach their own conclusions – as indeed it should be. I know that not everyone will agree with my selections (ancient or modern), but if I gave a translation of all sources along with everything that has been written on Alexander, the Reader would run to 100 volumes, and I would be criticised for not being selective. I hope that my critics will see my rationale for what I included, and leave it at that. There are some chapters where I wanted to reprint more modern works, but high reprint fees disallowed that. On pp. xi–xiv, I list ancient writers and some modern books (in English), which should be consulted in the first instance. Those who wish to read more as well as foreign works should consult the bibliographies in these books and in the notes of the articles cited in the additional reading lists.

### Second edition

The opportunity to prepare a second edition of this reader allowed me to make a number of changes and improvements to the first edition (first published in 2003). Most important is a rearrangement of some chapters and inclusion of new ones to allow more coverage of Persia in this period (Chapter 6) and of Alexander’s death, its manipulation and aftermath (Chapter 8). The chapter on Alexander’s generalship in the first edition is the present Chapter 4 (now titled ‘Alexander’s battles and generalship’), as it is better suited there to set the scene for the chapters that follow. I also made changes to the selections from the modern scholars’ works in many chapters, removing some and adding new ones (especially those published after the first edition). The lists of additional readings in all chapters are greatly expanded and updated, the introductions to the chapters are likewise expanded, and I provide detailed maps for Alexander’s campaigns in Persia. Finally, I rearranged the fragmentary ancient sources in some chapters, deleted some sources and added new ones, and provided sub-headings throughout to aid readers. Occasionally for the sake of convenience I repeated a contemporary source in a later chapter where it was especially relevant.

## REVISED PREFACE

One of the publisher's readers suggested I add a chapter on material culture in the age of Alexander. The problems with this type of chapter are what contemporary (literary) sources to include in it and whether its worth could be affected by new archaeological evidence. Hence, I refrained from adding such a chapter, and direct readers (no bias intended) to the various material culture and evidence chapters in Joseph Roisman and Ian Worthington (eds), *The Blackwell Companion to Ancient Macedonia* (Oxford: 2010).

I am grateful to Matthew Gibbons and Lalle Pursglove at Routledge for their help and patience in putting up with me. I would like to thank Richard Stoneman again for inviting me to compile the first edition of this reader. Finally, I am grateful to my family, as always, for its support and endurance – more than I (or Alexander) deserve.

Ian Worthington  
University of Missouri  
November 2010

# ANCIENT SOURCES AND MODERN BOOKS

## Contemporary inscriptions

- P.E. Harding, *From the End of the Peloponnesian War to the Battle of Ipsus* (Cambridge: 1985), nos. 102–122 – English translation and notes.
- A.J. Heisserer, *Alexander the Great and the Greeks* (Norman: 1980) – Greek text, English translation and commentary.
- L. Moretti, *Inscrizioni Storiche Ellenistiche* (Florence: 1967) – Greek text and Italian commentary.
- P.J. Rhodes and R. Osborne, *Greek Historical Inscriptions, 404–323 BC* (Oxford: 2003), nos. 76, 83–101 – Greek text, English translation and commentary.
- M.N. Tod, *Greek Historical Inscriptions 2* (Oxford: 1948), nos. 183–203 – Greek text and English commentary.

## Collected fragments of the contemporary sources

- F. Jacoby, *Die Fragmente der griechischen Historiker (FGrH)* IIB, nos. 117–153 (Berlin: 1927), Greek texts, with a German commentary on them in IID (Berlin: 1927), pp. 403–542, and IIIB nos. 742–742 (Berlin: 1930).
- Ian Worthington (editor-in-chief), *Brill's New Jacoby (BNJ)* (Leiden: 2004–), will include all of the fragmentary writers in *FGrH* I–VIII with English translations and new, critical commentaries on them.
- All of the fragmentary sources are translated in C.A. Robinson, *The History of Alexander the Great* 1 (Providence: 1953), pp. 30–276; see also Volume 2 for events dealt with by ancient writers and as found in the extant historians.
- See also:* L. Pearson, *The Lost Histories of Alexander the Great* (New York: 1960).

## Principal later writers

- Diodorus Siculus, *The Library of History* Book 17; Arrian, *Campaigns of Alexander*; Quintus Curtius Rufus, *The History of Alexander the Great of Macedonia*; Plutarch, *Life of Alexander* (see too the lives of Demosthenes and Phocion); Plutarch, *On the Fortune or the Virtue of Alexander*; Justin, *Epitome of the Philippic History of Pompeius Trogus*; Strabo, *Geographica* Books 15–17.

The above are translated in the Loeb Classical Library, with the exception of Justin, for which see J.C. Yardley and W. Heckel, *Justin. Epitome of the Philippic History of Pompeius Trogus 1, Books 11–12: Alexander the Great* (Oxford: 1997). Arrian, Curtius and Plutarch's *Lives* are also translated in the Penguin Classics series. See also J.E. Atkinson and J.C. Yardley, *Curtius Rufus, Histories of Alexander the Great, Book 10* (Oxford 2009).

### Other sources

- The Greek Alexander Romance*, translated by R. Stoneman, Penguin Classics (Harmondsworth: 1991).
- Legends of Alexander the Great*, translated by R. Stoneman, Everyman Library (London: 1994).
- W. Heckel and J. Yardley, *Alexander the Great. Historical Sources in Translation* (Malden: 2003), for translated extracts of various ancient sources with comments.
- J. Roisman, *Alexander the Great: Ancient and Modern Perspectives* (Lexington: 1995), for translated extracts of the source material, together with some modern views (abridged) on aspects of Alexander's reign.

### Modern source studies

- E. Baynham, *The Unique History of Quintus Curtius Rufus* (Ann Arbor: 1998).
- A.B. Bosworth, *From Arrian to Alexander* (Oxford: 1988).
- A. Cohen, *The Alexander Mosaic: Stories of Victory and Defeat* (Cambridge: 1997).
- K. Dahmen, *The Legend of Alexander the Great on Greek and Roman Coins* (London: 2007).
- T. Duff, *Plutarch's Lives. Exploring Vice and Virtue* (Oxford: 1999).
- N.G.L. Hammond, *Three Historians of Alexander the Great* (Cambridge: 1983), for Diodorus, Curtius and Justin.
- , *Sources for Alexander the Great* (Cambridge: 1993), for Arrian and Plutarch's *Alexander*.
- A.J. Heisserer, *Alexander the Great and the Greeks* (Norman: 1980).
- K. Sacks, *Diodorus Siculus and the First Century* (Princeton: 1990).
- D. Spencer, *The Roman Alexander: Reading a Cultural Myth* (Exeter: 2002).
- P. Stadter, *Arrian of Nicomedia* (Chapel Hill: 1980).
- R. Stoneman, *Alexander the Great: A Life in Legend* (New Haven and London: 2008).
- J.C. Yardley, *Justin and Trogus. A Study of the Language of Justin's Epitome of Trogus* (Toronto: 2003).

For commentaries on some ancient sources, see A.B. Bosworth, *A Historical Commentary on Arrian's History of Alexander 1* (Oxford: 1980), covering Books 1–3, and 2 (Oxford: 1995), covering Books 4–5.29, J.E. Atkinson, *A Commentary on Q. Curtius Rufus' Historiae Alexandri Magni* (Amsterdam: 1980), covering Books 3–4, and *ibid.* (Amsterdam: 1994), covering Books 5–7.2, and J.R. Hamilton, *A Commetary on Plutarch's Life of Alexander* (Oxford: 1969).

**Some modern biographies and works on Alexander in English**

- A.B. Bosworth, *Conquest and Empire, the Reign of Alexander the Great* (Cambridge: 1988).  
 ———, 'Alexander the Great', Chapters 16 and 17 in the *Cambridge Ancient History* 6<sup>2</sup> (Cambridge: 1994), pp. 791–875  
 ———, *Alexander and the East* (Oxford: 1996).  
 P. Briant, *From Cyrus to Alexander*, trans. P.T. Daniels (Winona Lake: 2002).  
 ———, *Alexander the Great and his Empire*, trans. A. Kuhrt (Princeton: 2010).  
 P. Cartledge, *Alexander the Great* (London: 2003).  
 D. Engels, *Alexander the Great and the Logistics of the Macedonian Army* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: 1978).  
 P.M. Fraser, *Cities of Alexander the Great* (Oxford: 1996).  
 Major General J.F.C. Fuller, *The Generalship of Alexander the Great* (repr. New Brunswick: 1960).  
 J.D. Grainger, *Alexander the Great Failure: The Collapse of the Macedonian Empire* (London: 2007).  
 P. Green, *Alexander of Macedon* (Harmondsworth: 1974).  
 J.R. Hamilton, *Alexander the Great* (London: 1973).  
 N.G.L. Hammond, *Alexander the Great: King, Commander and Statesman*<sup>2</sup> (Bristol: 1989).  
 ———, *The Genius of Alexander the Great* (London: 1997).  
 W. Heckel, *The Marshals of Alexander's Empire* (London: 1992).  
 ———, *Who's Who in the Age of Alexander the Great* (Oxford: 2006).  
 F.L. Holt, *Alexander the Great and Bactria* (Leiden: 1985).  
 ———, *Alexander the Great and the Mystery of the Elephant Medallions* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: 2003).  
 R. Lane Fox, *Alexander the Great* (London: 1973).  
 ———, *The Search for Alexander* (Boston and Toronto: 1980).  
 R.D. Milns, *Alexander the Great* (London: 1968).  
 C. Mossé, *Alexander: Destiny and Myth*, trans. J. Lloyd (Baltimore: 2004).  
 J.M. O'Brien, *Alexander the Great: The Invisible Enemy* (London: 1992).  
 N.V. Sekunda and J. Warry, *Alexander the Great: His Armies and Campaigns, 334–323 BC* (London: 1998).  
 R. Stoneman, *Alexander the Great* (Lancaster: 1997).  
 ———, *Alexander the Great: A Life in Legend* (New Haven and London: 2008).  
 W.W. Tarn, *Alexander the Great*, 2 vols (Cambridge: 1948).  
 C.G. Thomas, *Alexander the Great in His World* (Malden: 2006).  
 U. Wilcken, *Alexander the Great*, translated by G.C. Richards (New York: 1967).  
 M. Wood, *In the Footsteps of Alexander: A Journey from Greece to Asia* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: 1997).  
 Ian Worthington, *Alexander the Great: Man and God*, rev. ed. (London 2004).

**Articles in collections dealing with different aspects of Alexander,  
 his influences and the period**

- W.L. Adams and E.N. Borza (eds), *Philip II, Alexander the Great, and the Macedonian Heritage* (Lanham: 1982).

- A.B. Bosworth and E.J. Baynham (eds), *Alexander the Great in Fact and Fiction* (Oxford: 2000).
- E. Carney and D. Ogden (eds), *Philip II and Alexander the Great: Lives and Afterlives* (Oxford: 2010).
- G.T. Griffith (ed.), *Alexander the Great: The Main Problems* (Cambridge: 1966).
- W. Heckel and L.A. Tritle (eds), *Crossroads of History. The Age of Alexander* (Claremont: 2003).
- , L. Tritle and P. Wheatley (eds), *Alexander's Empire: Formulation to Decay* (Claremont: 2007).
- and L. Tritle (eds), *Alexander the Great: A New History* (Oxford: 2009).
- J.M. Muir and E.R.A. Sewter (eds), *Alexander the Great, Greece and Rome*<sup>2</sup> 12 (1965).
- J. Roisman (ed.), *A Companion to Alexander the Great* (Leiden: 2003).
- and Ian Worthington (eds), *The Blackwell Companion to Ancient Macedonia* (Oxford: 2010).
- L. Tritle (ed.), *The Greek World in the Fourth Century* (London: 1997).
- P. Wheatley and R. Hannah (eds), *Alexander and His Successors* (Claremont: 2009).
- Ian Worthington (ed.), *Ventures into Greek History. Essays in Honour of N.G.L. Hammond* (Oxford: 1994).

### Macedonia before Alexander and the reign of Philip II

- E.N. Borza, *In the Shadow of Olympus. The Emergence of Macedon* (Princeton: 1990).
- , *Before Alexander: Constructing Early Macedonia* (Claremont: 1999).
- E. Carney, *Women and Monarchy in Macedonia* (Norman: 2000).
- G.L. Cawkwell, *Philip of Macedon* (London: 1978).
- J.R. Ellis, *Philip II and Macedonian Imperialism* (London: 1976).
- R.M. Errington, *A History of Macedonia*, trans. C. Errington (Berkeley and Los Angeles: 1990).
- N.G.L. Hammond, *The Macedonian State: Origins, Institutions, and History* (Oxford: 1989).
- , *Philip of Macedon* (London: 1994).
- and G.T. Griffith, *A History of Macedonia*, vol. 2 (Oxford 1979).
- R. Sealey, *Demosthenes and His Time: A Study in Defeat* (Oxford: 1993).
- Ian Worthington, *Philip II of Macedonia* (New Haven and London: 2008).

See also the edited works cited above by Adams and Borza, Carney and Ogden, Roisman, Tritle, Roisman and Worthington, and Worthington.

# ALEXANDER'S LIFE AND REIGN

## The main events

- 356 Birth of Alexander, son of Philip II and Olympias of Epirus (July)
- 342 Commences studying under Aristotle at Mieza
- 340 Regent of Macedonia while Philip in Thrace (sieges of Perinthus and Byzantium); defeats Maedians on the Upper Strymon river (in Thrace); founds Alexandropolis
- 338 Commands the Macedonian left flank at the Battle of Chaeronea; overcomes the Theban Sacred Band; leads diplomatic mission to Athens (August)
- 337 Philip's seventh marriage (to Cleopatra) causes rift with Alexander; Alexander and Olympias leave Pella for a time
- 336 Assassination of Philip II at Aegae (summer); Alexander succeeds to the throne of Macedonia as Alexander III; ends a revolt of the Greeks
- 335 Campaigns successfully in the north against the Triballi and in the Danube (spring); campaigns against the Illyrians (summer); revolt of Thebes, razed to the ground on Alexander's orders (late summer–autumn)
- 334 Crosses the Hellespont to invade Persia (spring); throws a spear into soil before disembarking to show Asia is his spear-won territory; Battle of the Granicus River (May); campaigns in Asia Minor; sieges of Miletus and Halicarnassus (late summer)
- 333 'Unties' the Gordian knot at Gordium (spring–summer); near-fatal illness at Tarsus; Battle of Issus; calls himself 'Lord of Asia' (November)
- 332 Sieges of Tyre (January–July) and Gaza (September?); marches into Egypt and becomes its pharaoh (November)
- 331 Founds Alexandria (officially on 7 April); visits the Oracle of Zeus Ammon in the Oasis of Siwah (Libyan desert); Agis III of Sparta's war against Macedonia (autumn); Battle of Gaugamela (1 October); takes Babylon, Susa and Persepolis
- 330 Burns Persepolis (May); death of Darius III (July); arrives in Zadracarta and begins wearing Persian dress; Bessus declares himself Great King; orders executions of Philotas and Parmenion (September); arrives at the Hindu Kush (winter)
- 329 Crosses the Hindu Kush; crosses Oxus river (spring); captures and orders execution of Bessus (summer); arrives at Maracanda (Samarkand), revolts of Bactria and Sogdiana
- 328 Intense guerrilla fighting in Sogdiana; capture of Rock of Arimazes (winter–spring); murders Cleitus at Maracanda after a drunken argument (November)
- 327 End of the Bactrian campaign; captures the Sogdian Rock and Rock of Chorienes (spring); marries Roxane (daughter of Oxyartes of Bactria); attempts to

- introduce *proskynesis* at Bactra; the Pages' Conspiracy; imprisonment (and death?) of Callisthenes; leaves Bactria (late spring–early summer) and returns over the Hindu Kush to march into India; massacres the Assaceni in the Lower Swat Valley; sieges of Massaga and Rock of Aornus
- 326 Crosses the Indus; arrives in Taxila; Battle of the Hydaspes (Jhelum) River against Porus (May–June); the mutiny at the Hyphasis (Beas) river; returns to the Hydaspes river and sails down it
- 325 Campaigns against the Malli; near-fatal wound at the siege of Malli (early 325); sails down the Indus to the Southern (Indian) Ocean; reaches Pattala (Hyderabad?) (July); marches through the Gedrosian desert (Makran) to Pura (August?); drunken march through Carmania with Alexander dressed as Dionysus
- 324 Purges disloyal satraps and generals; issues Dissolution Decree; Harpalus, the imperial treasurer, flees to Athens (early 324); holds the mass marriage at Susa (March–April); issues Exiles Decree; mutiny at Opis, followed by the banquet of reconciliation (June–July); death of Hephaestion (at Ecbatana); debate among Greeks over Alexander's divinity
- 323 Alexander in Babylon (early 323); Greek embassies in Babylon protest the Exiles Decree and apparently recognise Alexander's divinity; final preparations made for Arabian campaign; 10 or 11 June: Alexander dies at Babylon; Greeks revolt in the Lamian War (ended by Antipater in 322)

## ALEXANDER IN QUOTES

The stories that have been spread far and wide with a view to glorifying Alexander are not accepted by all; and their fabricators were men who cared for flattery rather than truth.

(Strabo 11.5.5)

Of the three philosophers remaining, the one who was asked how someone might become a god from being a man said: 'By doing what is impossible for a man to do.'

(Plut. *Alexander* 64.9)

Demades urged [the Athenians] to pay no heed to the report [of Alexander's death], since, had it been true, the whole world would long ago have been filled with the smell of the body.

(Plut. *Phocion* 22.3)

*Tranio*: Alexander the Great and Agathocles, so I've heard say, were the two foremost champion wonder-workers of the world. Why shouldn't I be a third; aren't I a famous and wonderful worker?

(Plautus, *The Ghost Story* 775–778)

The storie of Alisaundre is so commune  
That every wight that hath discrecioun  
Hath herd somewhat or al of his fortune

(Chaucer, *The Monk's Tale* 2361–2363)

Alexander has often been worshipped, by biographers ancient and modern, for virtues he lacked. He deserves greater credit for those he possessed.

(E. Badian, 'The Administration of the Empire',  
*Greece and Rome*<sup>2</sup> 12 (1965), p. 182)

The king's name and image were invoked as his conquests were renounced and dismembered. The debate over legitimacy lasted a mere generation. After that Alexander was a symbol and nothing else. For subsequent ages he typified the world conqueror, and his territorial acquisitions were a standing inspiration and challenge to successive dynasts.

(A.B. Bosworth, *Conquest and Empire*, p. 181)

ALEXANDER IN QUOTES

Alexander was in most things a Macedonian through and through ... and primarily a man of war whose genius is seen most clearly on the field of battle.

(N.G.L. Hammond, *Alexander the Great*, p. v)

Determined to astound contemporaries and awe future generations with his unique *arete*, Alexander exploited mankind and god with relentless perseverance. In the process, his hybris offended a deity capable of revealing and expiating mortal deficiencies with artful brutality. Dionysus chose wine as the vehicle through which he would unveil and magnify the defects of a brilliant man who was spiritually blind.

(J.M. O'Brien, *Alexander the Great: The Invisible Enemy*, pp. 229–230)

Alexander was fortunate in his death. His fame could hardly have increased; but it might perhaps have been diminished. For he died with the real task yet before him. He had made war as few have made it; it remained to be seen if he could make peace.

(W.W. Tarn, *Alexander the Great* 1, p. 121)

... when evaluating Alexander it is essential to view the 'package' of king as a whole; i.e., as king, commander and statesman. All too often this is not the case. There is no question that Alexander was spectacularly successful in the military field, and had Alexander only been a general his epithet may well have been deserved. But he was not just a general; he was a king too, and hence military exploits form only a percentage of what Alexander did, or did not do – in other words, we must look at the 'package' of him as king as a whole.

(Ian Worthington, 'How "Great" was Alexander?',  
*Ancient History Bulletin* 13 (1999), p. 39)

## SPECIAL NOTES AND ABBREVIATIONS

It should be emphasised that the literary sources in all chapters are fragments from works and are not connected texts; they have survived because later writers quote or paraphrase them. At the end of each fragment, the name of the contemporary writer is given, followed by the later writer.

The modern scholars' works in each of the chapters are printed as they were published, hence they will have differences in punctuation and spelling (English and American), as well as style of referencing. An individual list of references follows selections in which an author has used an abbreviated title of a modern work that is not immediately obvious or a referencing system that does not supply full details of the work cited.

The lists of additional readings at the end of the chapters does not include the books cited on pp. xi–xiv, otherwise almost all of them would appear in every list. However, I have at times included essays from the edited books given above when they are especially relevant to the topic of the chapter.

All dates are BC unless otherwise indicated.

The abbreviations below are used in my own notes to the introductions and translated sources as well as by most scholars whose works are reprinted; some use different abbreviations for ancient authors, but these are easily recognisable.

### Ancient sources

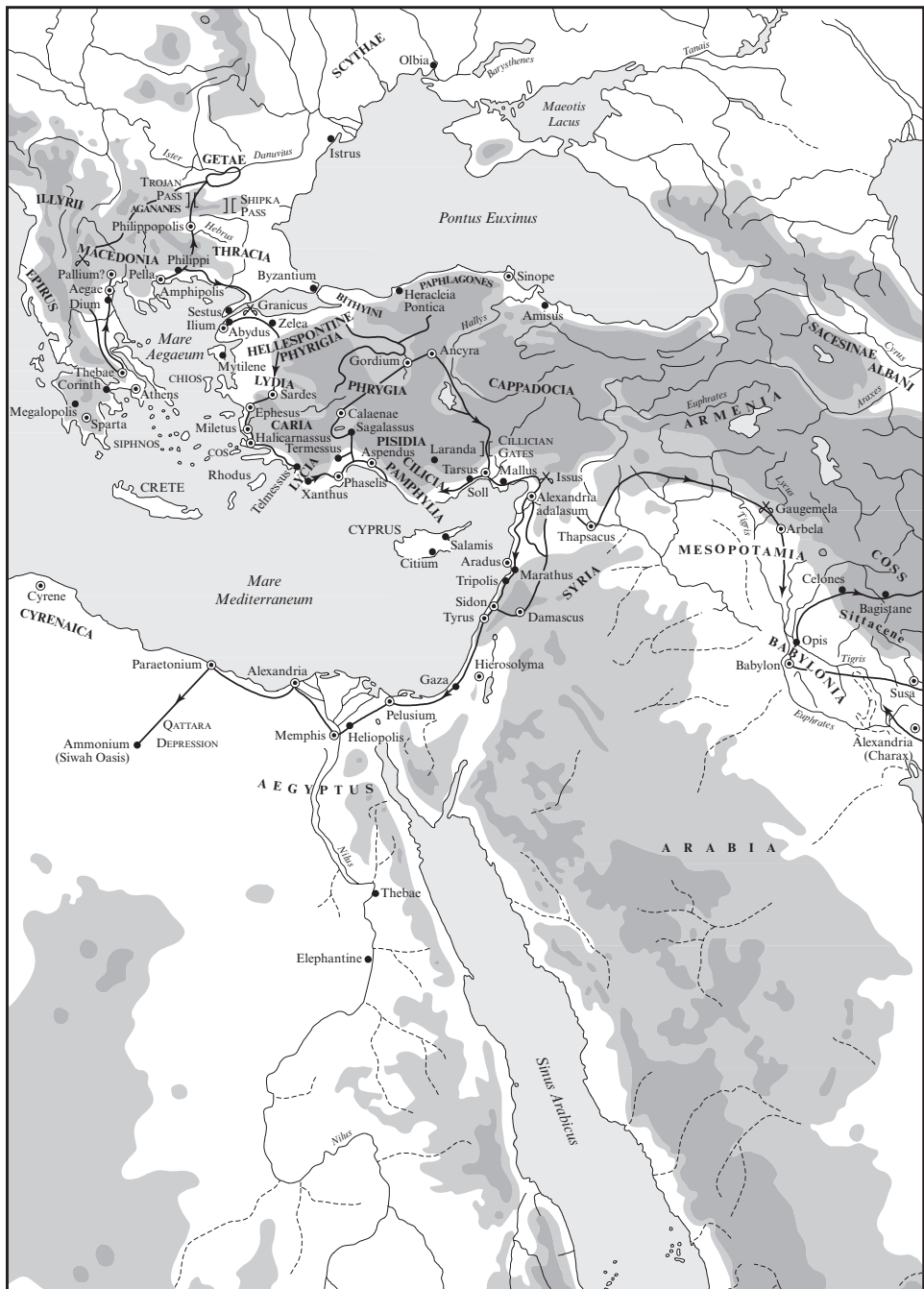
Aes.	Aeschines
Arr.	Arrian, <i>Campaigns of Alexander</i>
Athen.	Athenaeus
Curt.	Quintus Curtius Rufus
Dem.	Demosthenes
Din.	Dinarchus
Diod.	Diodorus
Hyp.	Hyperides
Plut.	Plutarch
Plut. <i>Alex.</i>	Plutarch, <i>Life of Alexander</i>
{Plut.} <i>Mor.</i>	Pseudo-Plutarch, <i>Moralia</i>

**Modern works**

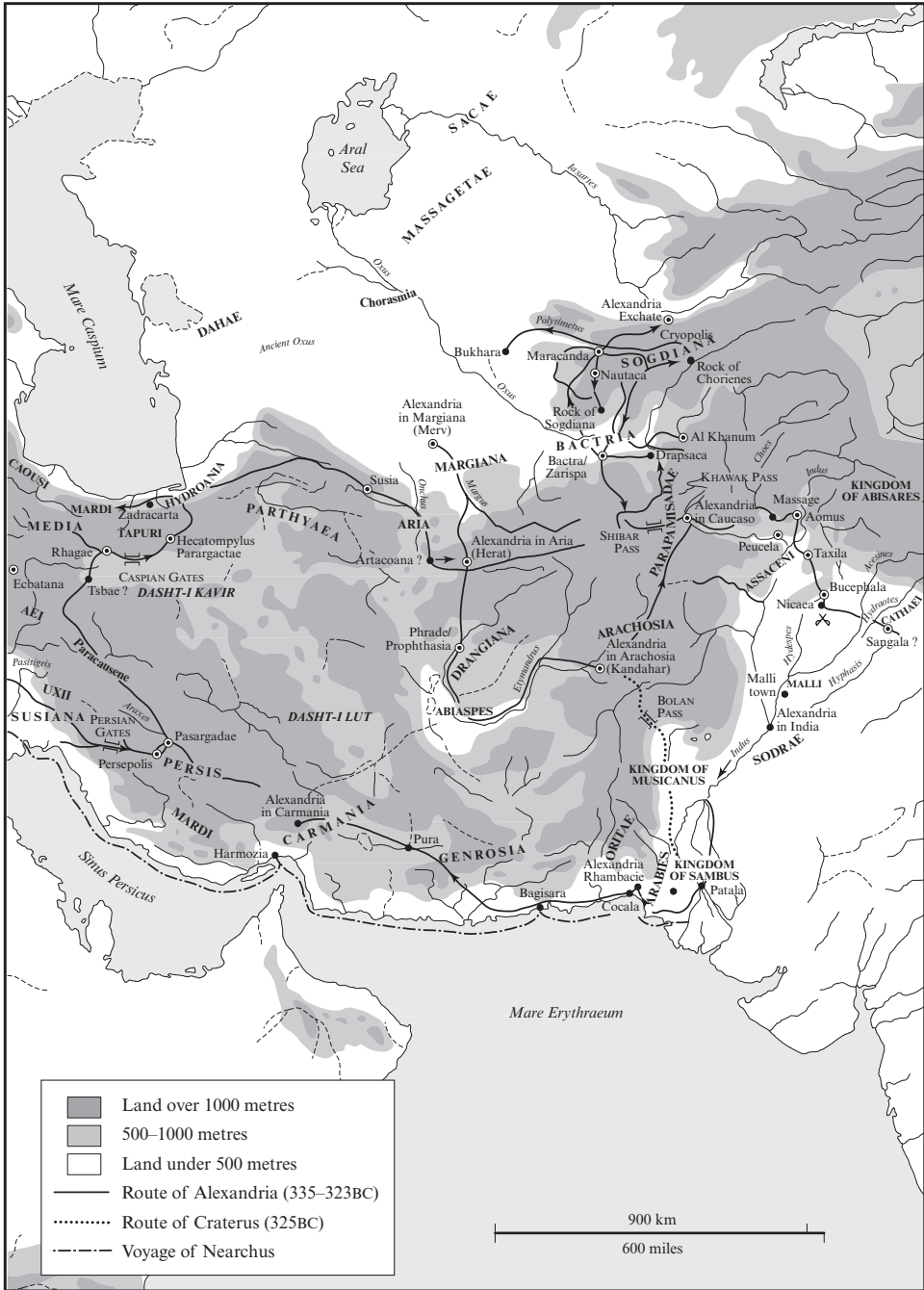
- BNJ* Ian Worthington (editor-in-chief), *Brill's New Jacoby* (Leiden: 2004–)  
*FGrH* F. Jacoby, *Die Fragmente der griechischen Historiker* (Berlin: 1927–)  
*R–O* P.J. Rhodes and R. Osborne, *Greek Historical Inscriptions, 404–323 BC*  
(Oxford: 2003)  
*Tod* M.N. Tod, *Greek Historical Inscriptions 2* (Oxford: 1948)

## LIST OF MAPS

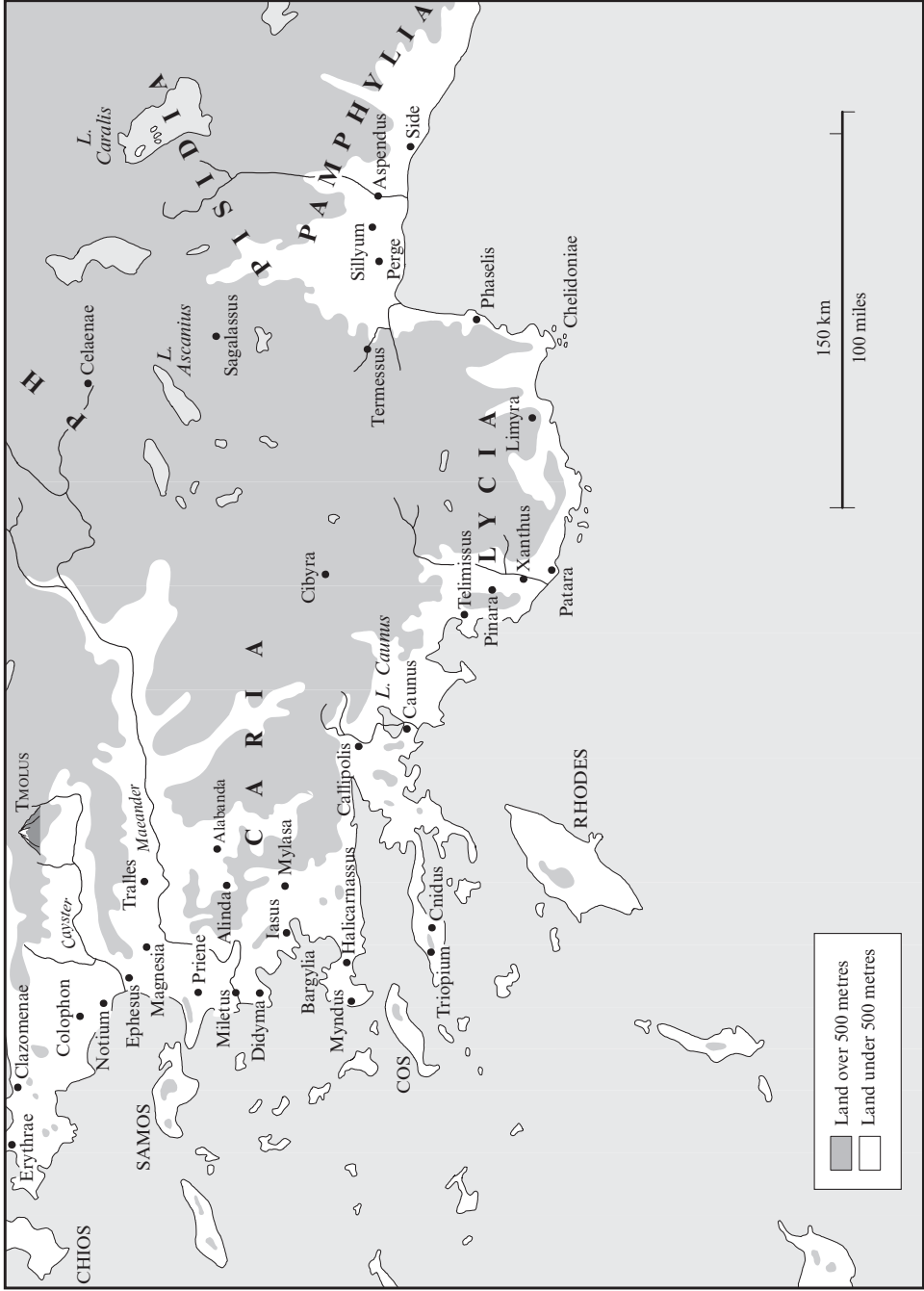
- 1 Alexander's Empire
- 2 Western Asia Minor
- 3 Cilicia and Northern Syria
- 4 Assyria and Babylonia
- 5 Chorasmia, Margiana, Sogdiana and Bactria

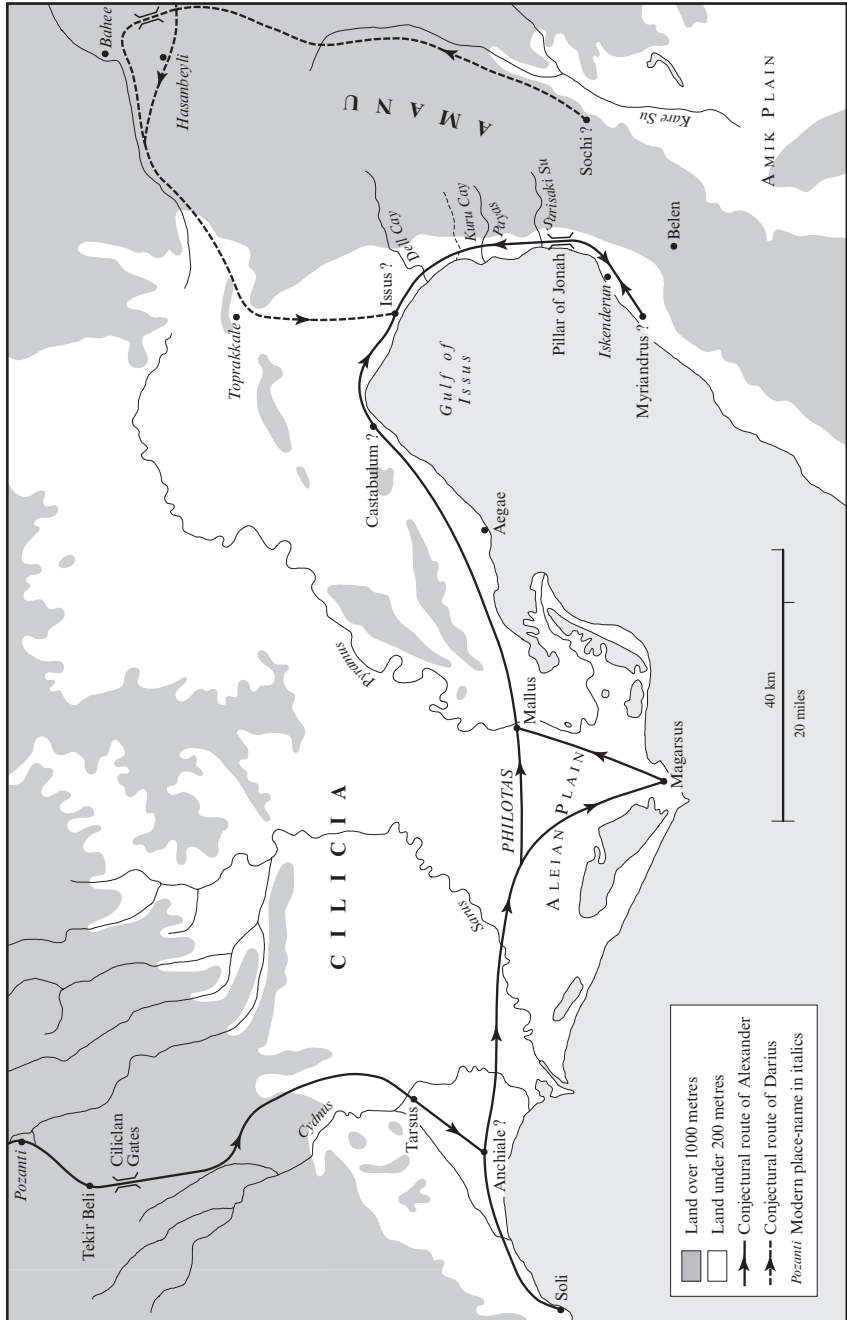


Map 1. Alexander's empire





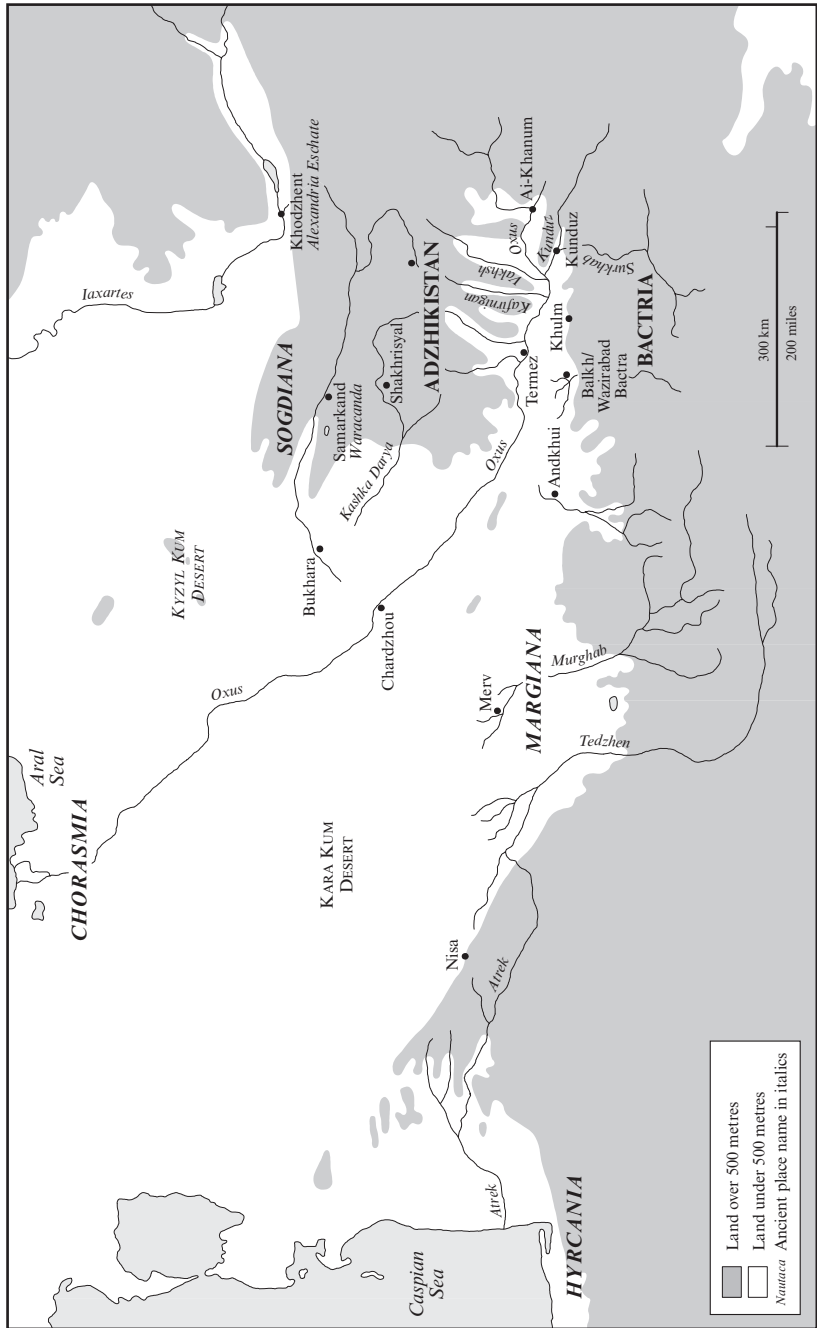




Map 3. Cilicia and Northern Syria



Map 4. Assyria and Babylonia



Map 5. Chorasmia, Margiana, Sogdiana and Bactria

# 1

## THE SOURCES

### Introduction

Different authors have given different accounts of Alexander's exploits, and there is no one about whom more have written, or more at variance with each other.

(Arr. *Preface* 2)

The stories that have been spread far and wide with a view to glorifying Alexander are not accepted by all; and their fabricators were men who cared for flattery rather than truth.

(Strabo 11.5.5)

The study of Alexander is challenging and frustrating because of the nature of the source material. 'In short, one turns the barrel of a kaleidoscope one way and the glittering pieces form a particular, attractive pattern. But turn the barrel again and they fall another way. So it is with Alexander sources ... the individual will always tune into the harmony of voices that he or she finds plausible and pleasing.'<sup>1</sup> Never a truer word was spoken, for the surviving contemporary literary evidence, all of which is fragmentary, affects the presentation of Alexander by those earlier writers as well as by modern ones.

There is also the added complication that our narrative of Alexander's reign is drawn from western writers, who have given us (as is to be expected) the heroic, legendary, and ever-successful Alexander 'the Great'. However, non-western accounts are fewer and (equally to be expected) present a very different Alexander. Both types of source material need to be taken into account when evaluating Alexander's exploits, especially in Asia.

As far as western sources are concerned, we have only a small number of inscriptions,<sup>2</sup> numismatic evidence, and occasional comments in some of the later Greek orators<sup>3</sup> that are contemporaneous. Although much was written about Alexander during his life (356–323) and in the generation or two after his death, these contemporary works have not survived in their entirety to the present day.<sup>4</sup> What remains of them are to be found quoted or paraphrased by much later authors in their own histories of Alexander (see below). Of those contemporary writers, we have the most number of fragments from works by Aristobulus of Cassandria (*FGrH* 139), Callisthenes of Olynthus (*FGrH* 124), Chares of Mytilene (*FGrH* 125), Cleitarchus of Alexandria (*FGrH* 137), Nearchus of Crete (*FGrH* 133 – now *BNJ* 133), Onesicritus of Astypalaea (*FGrH* 134 – now *BNJ* 134), and Alexander's general Ptolemy, son of Lagus (*FGrH* 138). All these earlier writers raise problems: did each one deal with the reign in full, or did some concentrate on only aspects of it or just on the person of the king? We cannot answer these types of

questions properly, but just because what we have quoted of, say, Baeton's work (*FGrH* 119) does not mean that he was only concerned with geographical and social matters.

We also have information on aspects of Alexander's kingship in other writers, of which the most important are Strabo (first century BC) and Athenaeus (second/early third century AD). These writers also furnish valuable information on such things as the topography, culture, wealth, fauna, natural resources, and the peoples of the areas through which Alexander marched.<sup>5</sup> Three other sources may also be mentioned. First, the *Ephemerides* (*FGrH* 117), supposedly a daily journal kept throughout the reign, but apart from a fragment about Alexander's hunting practices what survives today tells of Alexander's excessive drinking habits and the manner of his death (*Arr.* 7.25.1–26.3, *Plut. Alex.* 76–77.1; see, further, Chapter 8). Second, *On the Fortune or Virtue of Alexander*, a treatise attributed to Plutarch which depicted Alexander as a warrior king and philosophical idealist. Third, the *Alexander Romance*, a mostly fictitious account of Alexander's reign which began its life in the third or second century BC and was reworked and expanded for many centuries to come (in the mediaeval period, for example, it was translated into every language, and each culture developed and imposed its own version of Alexander on it).

It is not until several centuries after the king's death that we get a connected narrative of the reign by Diodorus Siculus (first century BC), Quintus Curtius Rufus (first century AD), Arrian (second century AD), and Justin (third century AD), who epitomized Pompeius Trogus' history of the world (first century AD). To these may be added Plutarch's biography of Alexander, and to a lesser extent his biographies of Demosthenes and Phocion (second century AD). Our knowledge of what the earlier, contemporary writers said is derived from these later writers. Whether they had access to the early works in their entirety is unknown, but presumably they had more to read than we do. For example, Nearchus' account of his voyage around India was used extensively by Arrian and Strabo, Ptolemy's essentially unromantic and military account of Alexander's reign lay at the heart of Arrian's account, and Cleitarchus was the principal source for Diodorus, Curtius, and Plutarch. Athenaeus quoted many earlier accounts, though he is less interested in facts and more in anecdotes (not a surprise since his work was set at a banquet at which guests discussed various intellectual and artistic matters).

As already stated, the early accounts need to be viewed with caution, not just because we do not have them in their entirety. Additionally, for example, as the official court historian Callisthenes was biased towards Alexander, and Ptolemy and Aristobulus exaggerated their own roles and achievements when on campaign with Alexander (cf. Sources 8 and 10), in the process embellishing those of Alexander – for their own as well as his sake (cf. Source 1). Moreover, the early writers are often in dispute with each other; for example over the numbers of Alexander's invasion force in 334 (cf. Sources 19 and 20), matters of geography (cf. Sources 36–37, 60–61) matters affecting conspiracies (cf. Sources 108–110), and the death of Callisthenes (cf. Sources 111–113). Caution needs also to be exercised towards the *Ephemerides*, *On the Fortune or Virtue of Alexander*, and the *Alexander Romance*. Although Arrian and Plutarch cited the *Ephemerides* for Alexander's last days, their authenticity is disputed – although the reports of Alexander's excessive drinking appear in many writers' accounts and are not likely to be inaccurate. *On the Fortune or the Virtue of Alexander* is essentially a rhetorical exercise, much influenced by the background, especially philosophical, in which it was written. Finally, the *Alexander Romance* is riddled with exploits attributed to Alexander that are unhistorical.

Some of these may be dismissed without hesitation, such as Alexander's encounter with the tribe of headless men, but others not so – did Alexander meet the Amazons and have sex with their queen, Thalestria, for example? The contemporary writers are divided on this event (see Source 3).

The shortcomings of the early accounts clearly affect the later ones. We can only presume that the latter had access to the full contemporary accounts, whereas we do not, but if so, then how accurately did the later authors interpret the earlier material? How and why did they decide that one account was to be preferred over another (cf. the quotations from Arrian and Strabo at the start of this chapter)? On what was their selectivity of earlier works based? To what extent did they impose their own social, political, and moral backgrounds on their subject matter? How the sources are interpreted has affected many generations of modern scholars, whose images of Alexander range from the philosophical idealist to a cynical and pragmatic king.

Then there are the non-western sources, which also add to our knowledge of Alexander but which are also of questionable historical reliability – Alexander in the *Talmud*, for example, not to mention Islamic and mediaeval Christian authors. It is not a surprise that ancient Persian writers detested Alexander for burning their sacred books, and hence give a very hostile view of him (Alexander the Accursed). There are also contemporary documents commonly called the Babylonian astronomical diaries (written in cuneiform). These record monthly astronomical observations and phenomena, as well as events in Babylonia, and so are of help in determining the chronology of Alexander's moves in Asia. Thus in many respects these types of Middle Eastern accounts, and indeed the later traditions of the *Alexander Romance* (especially the Iranian and Arabic) are a negative 'balance' to our western literary tradition.

At the end of the day, perhaps only one safe conclusion can be advanced, despite its defeatist tone: we will never truly get to the historical Alexander.

## Ancient sources

### *Manipulation of geography*

1 Many false notions were also added to the account of this sea (the Hyrcanian) because of Alexander's love of glory; for, since it was agreed by all that the Tanais separated Asia from Europe, and that the region between the sea and the Tanais, being a considerable part of Asia, had not fallen under the power of the Macedonians, it was resolved to manipulate the account of Alexander's expedition so that in fame at least he might be credited with having conquered those parts of Asia too. They therefore united Lake Maeotis, which receives the Tanais, with the Caspian Sea, calling this too a lake and asserting that both were connected with one another by an underground passage and that each was a part of the other. Polycleitus goes on to adduce proofs in connection with his belief that the sea is a lake (for instance, he says that it produces serpents, and that its water is sweetish); and that it is no other than Maeotis he judges from the fact that the Tanais empties into it. From the same Indian mountains, where the Ochus and the Oxus and several other rivers rise, flows also the Iaxartes, which, like those rivers, empties into the Caspian Sea and is the most northerly of them all. This river, accordingly, they named Tanais; and in addition to so naming it they gave as proof that it was the Tanais mentioned by Polycleitus that the country on the far side of this river produces

the fir tree and that the Scythians in that region use arrows made of fir wood; and they say that this is also evidence that the country on the far side belongs to Europe and not to Asia, for, they add, Upper and Eastern Asia does not produce the fir tree. But Eratosthenes says that the fir tree grows also in India ... (Polycleitus, *FGrH* 128 F 7 = Strabo 11.7.4).

2 Ctesias ... says that India is equal to the rest of Asia, but he talks nonsense; and so does Onesicritus, saying that it is the third part of all the earth (Onesicritus, *FGrH* 134 – now *BNJ* 134 – F 6 = Arrian, *Indica* 3.6, Strabo 15.1.12).

#### *The Amazon queen*

3 Here the queen of the Amazons came to see him as most writers say, among whom are Cleitarchus (*FGrH* 137 FF 15–16), Polycleitus (*FGrH* 128 F 8), Onesicritus, Antigenes (*FGrH* 141 F 1), and Ister; but Aristobulus (*FGrH* 139 F 21), Chares the royal usher (*FGrH* 125 F 12), Ptolemy (*FGrH* 138 F 21), Anticleides (*FGrH* 140 F 12), Philo the Theban, and Philip of Theangela, besides Hecataeus of Eretria, Philip the Chalcidian, and Duris of Samos, say that this is a fiction. And it would seem that Alexander's testimony is in favour of their statement. For in a letter to Antipater which gives all the details minutely he says that the Scythian king offered him his daughter in marriage, but he makes no mention of the Amazon (Onesicritus, *FGrH* 134 – now *BNJ* 134 – F 1 = Plut. *Alex.* 46.1–3).

#### *Alexander and alcohol*

4 There was a report about Alexander ... that he did not drink much, but spent much time over his drink conversing with his friends. Philinus, however, has shown from the Royal Ephemerides that such persons talk nonsense, since it is continually and very often written there that 'he slept through the day from drinking' and sometimes 'the next day too' (*Ephemerides*, *FGrH* 117 F 2c = [Plut.] *Mor.* 623e).

#### *Journey to Siwab*

5 Ptolemy, son of Lagus, says that two serpents went in front of the army, uttering a voice, and Alexander ordered the guides to follow them, trusting in the divine portent. He says too that they showed the way to the oracle and back again. But Aristobulus (*FGrH* 139 F 14), whose account is generally admitted as correct, says that two ravens ... (Ptolemy, *FGrH* 138 F 8 = Arr. 3.3.5).

#### *Varia from Alexander's reign*

6 To provision these forces,<sup>6</sup> Aristobulus (*FGrH* 139 F 4) says he had not more than seventy talents; Duris (*FGrH* 70 F 40) speaks of maintenance for only thirty days; and Onesicritus says he owed two hundred talents as well (Onesicritus, *FGrH* 134 – now *BNJ* 134 – F 2 = Plut. *Alex.* 15.2, [Plut.] *Mor.* 327d).

7 Aristobulus says that Callisthenes was carried about with the army bound with fetters, and afterwards died a natural death; but Ptolemy, son of Lagus, says that he was stretched upon the rack and then hanged. Thus not even did these authors, whose narratives are very trustworthy, and who at the time were in intimate association with Alexander, give accounts consistent with each other of events so well known, and the circumstances of which could not have escaped their notice (Ptolemy, *FGrH* 138 F 17 = Arr. 4.14.3).

8 The whole of the naval force was under the command of Nearchus; but the pilot of Alexander's ship was Onesicritus, who, in the narrative which he composed of Alexander's campaigns, falsely asserted that he was admiral, while in reality he was only a pilot (Onesicritus, *FGrH* 134 – now *BNJ* 134 – F 27 = Arr. 6.2.3).

9 How Alexander constructed his bridge over the river Indus is explained neither by Aristobulus nor Ptolemy (*FGrH* 138 F 19), authors whom I usually follow (Aristobulus, *FGrH* 139 F 34 = Arr. 5.7.1).

10 Cleitarchus, as well as Timagenes, represents Ptolemy, who was subsequently a sovereign,<sup>7</sup> to have been present at this assault (at a town of the Sudracaë);<sup>8</sup> but Ptolemy, truly no detractor from his own glory, relates that he was absent (*FGrH* 138 F 26), detached on an expedition (Cleitarchus, *FGrH* 137 F 24 = Curt. 9.5.21).

11 Moreover, in regard to those who covered Alexander with their shields in his peril,<sup>9</sup> all agree that Peucestas did so; but they no longer agree in regard to Leonnatus or Abreas, the soldier in receipt of double pay for his distinguished services. Some say that Alexander, having received a blow on the head with a piece of wood, fell down in a fit of dizziness; and that having risen again he was wounded with a dart through the corselet in his chest. But Ptolemy, son of Lagus, says that he received only this wound in the chest. However, in my opinion, the greatest error made by those who have written the history of Alexander is the following. There are some who have recorded that Ptolemy, son of Lagus, in company with Peucestas, mounted the ladder with Alexander, that Ptolemy held his shield over him when he lay wounded, and that he was called Soter on that account. And yet Ptolemy himself has recorded that he was not even present at this engagement, but was fighting battles against other barbarians at the head of another army. Let me mention these facts as a digression from the main narrative, so that the correct account of such great deeds and calamities may not be a matter of indifference to men of the future (Ptolemy, *FGrH* 138 F 26a = Arr. 6.11.7–8).

12 [No Romans have recorded a Roman embassy to Alexander] nor of those who have written an account of Alexander's actions, has either Ptolemy, son of Lagus (*FGrH* 138 F 29), or Aristobulus. With these authors I am generally inclined to agree (Aristobulus, *FGrH* 139 F 53 = Arr. 7.15.6).<sup>10</sup>

### Modern works

In the following selection, A.B. Bosworth, Emeritus Professor of Classics at the University of Western Australia, discusses some of the problems associated with the nature of the ancient sources.

A.B. Bosworth, *From Arrian to Alexander* (Oxford University Press: 1988), Chap. I, 'Introduction: Some Basic Principles', pp. 1–15.<sup>11</sup>

### Additional reading

J.E. Atkinson, 'Originality and Its Limits in the Alexander Sources of the Early Empire', in A.B. Bosworth and E. Baynham (eds), *Alexander the Great in Fact and Fiction* (Oxford: 2000), pp. 307–326.

E. Baynham, 'Who Put the Alexander in the *Alexander Romance*? The *Alexander Romance* Within Alexander Historiography', *Ancient History Bulletin* 9 (1995), pp. 1–13.

- , ‘The Ancient Evidence for Alexander the Great’, in J. Roisman (ed.), *Brill’s Companion to Alexander the Great* (Leiden: 2003), pp. 3–29.
- E.N. Borza, ‘An Introduction to Alexander Studies’, in U. Wilcken, *Alexander the Great*, transl. G.C. Richards (New York: 1967), pp. ix–xxviii.
- A.B. Bosworth, ‘The Death of Alexander the Great: Rumour and Propaganda’, *Classical Quarterly*<sup>2</sup> 21 (1971), pp. 112–136 (reprinted in Chapter 8).
- , *Alexander and the East* (Oxford: 1996), chapters 1 and 2.
- P.A. Brunt, ‘Persian Accounts of Alexander’s Campaigns’, *Classical Quarterly*<sup>2</sup> 12 (1962), pp. 141–155.
- , *Arrian, History of Alexander*, Loeb Classical Library 1 (Cambridge, Mass. and London: 1976), pp. xviii–xxxiv.
- , ‘On Historical Fragments and Epitomes’, *Classical Quarterly*<sup>2</sup> 30 (1980), pp. 477–494.
- E.D. Carney, ‘Artifice and Alexander History’, in A.B. Bosworth and E. Baynham (eds), *Alexander the Great in Fact and Fiction* (Oxford 2000), pp. 263–285.
- A. Chugg, ‘The Journal of Alexander the Great’, *Ancient History Bulletin* 19 (2005), pp. 155–175.
- A.M. Devine, ‘Alexander’s Propaganda Machine: Callisthenes as the Ultimate Source for Arrian, *Anabasis* 1–3’, in Ian Worthington (ed.), *Ventures Into Greek History. Essays in Honour of N.G.L. Hammond* (Oxford: 1994), pp. 89–102.
- R.M. Errington, ‘Bias in Ptolemy’s History of Alexander’, *Classical Quarterly*<sup>2</sup> 19 (1969), pp. 233–242.
- J.R. Hamilton, ‘Cleitarchus and Diodorus 17’, in K. Kinzl (ed.), *Greece and the Ancient Mediterranean in History and Prehistory. Studies Presented to F. Schachermeyr on his Eightieth Birthday* (Berlin 1977), pp. 126–146.
- , *A Commentary on Plutarch’s Life of Alexander* (Oxford: 1969), pp. lix–lxx.
- N.G.L. Hammond, ‘The Royal Journal of Alexander’, *Historia* 37 (1988), pp. 129–150.
- , ‘Aspects of Alexander’s Journal and Ring in his Last Days’, *AJPb* 110 (1989), pp. 155–160.
- J.M. Mossman, ‘Tragedy and Epic in Plutarch’s *Alexander*’, *Journal of Hellenic Studies* 108 (1988), pp. 83–93.
- Powell, J.E. ‘The Sources of Plutarch’s *Alexander*’, *Journal of Hellenic Studies* 59 (1939), pp. 229–240.
- H.P. Ray and D.T. Potts (eds), *Memory as History. The Legacy of Alexander in Asia* (New Delhi: 2007).
- J. Roisman, ‘Ptolemy and his Rivals in his History of Alexander’, *Classical Quarterly*<sup>2</sup> 34 (1984), pp. 373–385.
- A.J. Sachs and H. Hunger, *Astronomical Diaries and Related Texts from Babylonia* 1 (Vienna: 1988).
- K. Sacks, ‘Diodorus and his Sources: Conformity and Creativity’, in S. Hornblower (ed.), *Greek Historiography* (Oxford: 1994), pp. 213–232.
- S. Shabaz, ‘Iranian Interpretations of Alexander’, *American Journal of Ancient History*<sup>2</sup> 2 (1977), pp. 5–38.
- R.J. van der Spek, ‘Darius III, Alexander the Great and Babylonian Scholarship’, *Achaemenid History* 13 (2003), pp. 289–346.

## THE SOURCES

- R. Stoneman, 'The Alexander Romance: From History to Fiction', in J.R. Morgan and R. Stoneman (eds), *Greek Fiction. The Greek Novel in Context* (London: 1994), pp. 117–129.
- D. Spencer, 'You Should Never Meet Your Heroes: Growing Up with Alexander, the Valerius Maximus Way', in E.D. Carney and D. Ogden (eds), *Philip II and Alexander the Great: Lives and Afterlives* (Oxford: 2010), pp. 175–191.

## Notes

- 1 E. Baynham, 'The Ancient Evidence for Alexander the Great', in J. Roisman (ed.), *Brill's Companion to Alexander the Great* (Leiden: 2003), p. 29.
- 2 See Sources 26–30, a selection of more important inscriptions that involve Alexander.
- 3 For example, Dem. 18.270 (wide-ranging power of Philip and Alexander), Aes. 3.133 (fate of Thebes in 335 and of Spartan hostages after Agis III's war of 331–330 being sent to Alexander), 3.160–164 (Alexander's first few years as king and that Demosthenes hoped that he would be defeated at the Battle of Issus in 333), 3.165 and Din. 1.34 (mistakenly have it that Alexander was in India during Agis III's war).
- 4 For information on where these works (and translations of them) can be found, see pp. x–xi.
- 5 See Chapters 6 and 7.
- 6 For the invasion of Persia in 334.
- 7 He founded the Ptolemaic dynasty in Egypt, and ruled at Alexandria as Ptolemy I from 323 to 283 (from 285 jointly with his son, Ptolemy II).
- 8 During the siege of Malli in India; see Sources 11, 70 and 71.
- 9 At the siege of Malli, when an enemy arrow punctured Alexander's lung; see Sources 70 and 71.
- 10 On the Roman embassy to Alexander at Babylon, see, however, Source 115.
- 11 Reprinted by permission of Oxford University Press.

INTRODUCTION:  
SOME BASIC PRINCIPLES

A.B. Bosworth

The period of Alexander the Great is at first sight well attested.<sup>1</sup> There is an apparent abundance of narrative material: full-length histories of the reign by Arrian and Curtius Rufus, a formal biography by Plutarch, a whole book of Diodorus Siculus' *Bibliotheca*, two books of Justin's epitome of Pompeius Trogus, and substantial passages in the latter books of Strabo's *Geography*. This wealth of documentation is misleading, for all the primary sources are late. The earliest of our extant authorities, Diodorus, composed his work in the third quarter of the first century BC. Strabo wrote in the late Augustan period, Curtius at a still undefined date in the early Empire,<sup>2</sup> Plutarch and Arrian in the second century AD, and Trogus' work, composed under Augustus, is known through the third-century epitome of Justin. There is, then, a hiatus of close to three centuries between the death of Alexander in June 323 and the first connected narrative of the reign. The problem of transmission therefore becomes acute. What sources did our extant authorities use and how faithfully did they report the substance of what they read? Both questions are clearly important. A careless and perfunctory epitome by a secondary author can be as rich a source of historical error as conscious mendacity and distortion in a contemporary historian. On the other hand a derivative history based on reliable authorities, carefully selected and meticulously reported, may be more trustworthy than any single first-generation source.

The main thrust of modern scholarship has been to attempt to isolate the contemporary or near-contemporary historians of Alexander and to reconstruct as far as possible the outline and characteristics of each work. This approach has had major and permanent results. Its most tangible product is the two hundred pages of fragments of lost Alexander historians which Felix Jacoby compiled in his monumental *Fragmente der griechischen Historiker*.<sup>3</sup> We have a fair knowledge of the names and the general sequence of the primary historians and a sample, largely random, of the content of their work. Contemporary history began in the king's lifetime, with Anaximenes' work *On Alexander*<sup>4</sup> and, more importantly, the *Deeds of Alexander* by Callisthenes of Olynthus, who lived at court from the beginning of the campaign in Asia until his dramatic death in 327 and gave a first-hand narrative of events down to 330 at least.<sup>5</sup> Callisthenes' work was the only history known to be exactly contemporaneous with the events, but after the king's death there was a great efflorescence of memoirs by senior and not-so-senior members of his staff. Onesicritus and Nearchus wrote early in the period of the Successors, and at some indeterminate date before his own death (in 283 BC) came the work of Ptolemy.<sup>6</sup> Some time after the battle of Ipsus (301) the ageing Aristobulus of Cassandria composed his history of the reign, and during the first generation after Alexander (so it is now generally agreed<sup>7</sup>) Cleitarchus of Alexandria wrote what was probably the most widely read of the early histories of the reign. There was also less formal material: pamphlets of differing political persuasions, such as the treatises on the deaths of Alexander and Hephaestion by Ephippus of Olynthus, and works of a documentary or pseudo-documentary nature like the *stathmoi* of the Royal surveyors and the Royal *Ephemerides* which Eumenes allegedly compiled.<sup>8</sup> These sources, contemporary or near-contemporary, provided a rich field for the historian of antiquity, and it is tempting to trace their effect

on the extant tradition, using the preserved fragments as a basis. The method is to examine the texts and testimonia and extrapolate characteristic attitudes and biases which can then be identified in the secondary tradition. It is an approach which can be fertile when one has some external evidence for the sources used,<sup>9</sup> as is the case with Arrian, but there are major drawbacks when the identification is merely speculative.

The principal and besetting problem is that the majority of Alexander's early historians are only known through brief citations, and it is rare that one can examine any single author *in extenso*. Nearchus is the chief exception to the rule. His account of his voyage from South India to Susa is the narrative base for the second half of Arrian's *Indike*, and we have a fair idea of the content of his work in outline and detail. For some passages, Strabo acts as a control source and provides an independent record of the original.<sup>10</sup> As a result portions of Nearchus' work are well attested and capable of analysis. The same is true, to a more limited degree, of Aristobulus,<sup>11</sup> but there is no extended extract which can compare with Arrian's digest of Nearchus. Most often the lost histories are known from a scattering of citations, usually short, indirect, and uncharacteristic. The vast majority of the verbatim quotations come from the *Deipnosophistae* of Athenaeus of Naucratis, but their value is largely impaired by the content, which, thanks to Athenaeus' avowed interests, is concentrated upon the pleasures of the flesh and the table and cannot be expected to give a representative sample of the authors cited. In some cases, such as the pamphlets of Ehippus and Nicobule, the rather lurid passages quoted by Athenaeus may indeed be characteristic of those productions, but it is hard to think that his excerpts from the works of Alexander's surveyors (a comment on the Tapurians' addiction to wine and descriptions of the natural produce of the East) are in any sense typical of their general tenor.<sup>12</sup> Other authors are no less selective in their citation, and usually they are not concerned to reproduce the wording of their original. In any case the sources are usually named because there is something suspect in what is recorded. Ancient writers tend to refer to their authorities by name primarily to criticize – to point out falsehood or to indicate information the veracity of which they are not prepared to guarantee. As a result the preserved citations naturally highlight the colourful and the erroneous. Material which was sober and informative would be exploited without comment.

Callisthenes of Olynthus makes an interesting case study. One would naturally expect him, as Alexander's first historian, to have been widely used and cited, but there are no more than a dozen identifiable references to his *Deeds of Alexander*. Those references are a scattered bunch. Observations on the mythology of Asia Minor, reported by Strabo, comprise the majority.<sup>13</sup> Otherwise there is a Homeric scholion citing his description of the Pamphylian Sea doing obeisance before Alexander (F 31), two vignettes from his account of Gaugamela, retailed by Plutarch (F 36–7), and finally the two major fragments. Both these fragments are critical. Polybius examines his description of the battle of Issus, concentrating on the figures he gives for both sides and proving their incompatibility with the terrain as described.<sup>14</sup> The passage is designed to prove Callisthenes' incompetence, and indeed Polybius does isolate real faults in his account – gross exaggeration of Persian numbers and a eulogistic bias towards Alexander and his Macedonians.<sup>15</sup> But on the other hand much of Polybius' criticism is demonstrably wrong-headed, vitiated by the false assumption that all Alexander's infantry was contained in his phalanx and by the equally false conviction that the phalanx at Issus was as clumsy and inflexible as the phalanx of his own day.<sup>16</sup> Polybius' attempt to convict

Callisthenes of ignorance and military incompetence largely fails, and most of the details he singles out have been taken as axioms for modern reconstructions of the battle-site.<sup>17</sup> We should be grateful for Polybius' minuteness of criticism, for all its petty-mindedness. Had he merely stigmatized the description as false without argument, his statement would have been unhesitatingly accepted, and had he quoted the Persian numbers out of context Callisthenes would surely have been dismissed as worthless. As it is, the detail given helps rectify the criticism and allows a broad, if sketchy, reconstruction of Callisthenes' narrative. In most cases we have a single detail, isolated from its context, and there is no way of telling whether or not it is characteristic of the author, or even correctly reported. The other major fragment concerns the journey to Siwah. Once again the context of the citation is critical. Strabo refers to Callisthenes' narrative as a classic example of historical flattery. The motif of adulation first occurs with the story of the two ravens acting as guides to the oasis, and Strabo states that it persists throughout the consultation of the oracle. There was an equally suspect sequel in the report of the formal delivery at Memphis of oracles from Branchidae and Erythrae.<sup>18</sup> Now Strabo is not pretending to give a full reproduction of Callisthenes' narrative. He is emphasizing details which he considered biased to flatter Alexander, and there is every indication that he was retailing standard criticisms. Plutarch also singled out the episode of the guidance by ravens,<sup>19</sup> and long before, early in the third century, Timaeus of Tauromenium had arraigned Callisthenes as an example of unphilosophical adulation for his concentration on ravens and frenzied women (i.e. the Sibyl of Erythrae).<sup>20</sup>

Callisthenes' account of the consultation of Ammon was clearly a well-known passage and regularly cited as an illustration of partial and interested writing. It fell within the wider context of his general picture of the king, which was widely denounced as flattery. Both Timaeus and Philodemus<sup>21</sup> stated that his historical work amounted to an apotheosis of Alexander, and several of the fragments illustrate the theme. Plutarch highlights his prayer to Zeus at Gaugamela.<sup>22</sup> The Homeric scholia depict the Pamphylian sea offering *proskynesis* to its new lord (F 31). Most importantly, Strabo's passage on the visit to Siwah is an extended essay on the subject, culminating in the priest's statement that Alexander was son of Zeus and appending the oracles from Asia Minor which also declared his divine sonship. This was a genuine and undeniably important feature of Callisthenes' work,<sup>23</sup> but it was only one feature. Polybius' critique of his description of Issus reveals that he gave quite detailed statements of numbers and movements which, coming from a contemporary and eyewitness, have every likelihood of being correct.<sup>24</sup> But this is not the material for which Callisthenes is quoted. Such facts were absorbed into the secondary historical tradition without acknowledgement, and the named citations concentrate upon the eulogistic and the bizarre.

As a result Callisthenes' work is totally lost for us. His style, like that of most of the prose writers of his day, was reprobated by later generations as inflated and clumsy, and he had no chance of survival as a literary model. But he certainly influenced the early tradition of Alexander history. The main lines of his description both of Issus and of the Siwah visit were repeated and developed by later writers. Even the exaggerations were echoed and embellished.<sup>25</sup> The same must have been true of his narrative as a whole, but the vast bulk of his work is irretrievable. One facet alone is preserved for us in a sharp and lurid light.

The problem is especially acute in the case of Cleitarchus. It is clear that he was a popular author in the Roman period, the only historian between Ephorus and Timagenes

to be included in Quintilian's canon.<sup>26</sup> He is cited by a wide range of authorities, and he may have been the most generally read of all the Alexander historians. Unfortunately, the 36 fragments which Jacoby accepts as authentic deal exclusively with trivialities. The most extensive come from Aelian of Praeneste, who excerpted several of Cleitarchus' descriptions of the animal curiosities of India,<sup>27</sup> and Strabo (probably echoing the strictures or Eratosthenes) comments critically on the geographical errors in his description of Central Asia.<sup>28</sup> Indeed most of the citations are critical. Demetrius focuses on his stylistic impropriety (F 14), Curtius Rufus on exaggeration and invention (F 24–5), Cicero on rhetorical mendacity (F 34). The general impression conveyed by the fragments alone is therefore far from favourable. It suggests a taste for the tawdry and colourful, a predilection for sensationalism, a preoccupation for rhetoric which encouraged exaggeration and preferred imaginative fiction to sober truth.<sup>29</sup> Unfortunately we have no easy way of testing these criticisms. The handful of verbatim quotations that survive amounts to five lines in all and can scarcely be representative. There is no extensive appreciation of any part of his work, nothing comparable to Polybius' detailed critique of Callisthenes.

The general impression conveyed by the fragments may be correct, as far as it goes, but it is unlikely to be the whole story. If, for instance, our knowledge of Herodotus were limited to the citations in Athenaeus and Plutarch's essay *On the Malice of Herodotus*, we should have a much larger body of testimony than exists for Cleitarchus and it would give the same general impression, a sensational and trivial concentration on curiosities and a penchant for bias and historical deformation. The extant criticisms of Cleitarchus may be similarly misleading. It would certainly be erroneous to conclude that everything he wrote was sensational, biased, or fictional. What is needed is a more extensive sample of Cleitarchus' work than that provided by the named fragments.

That sample is probably provided by the so-called 'vulgate tradition'. One of the few established results of the source-criticism of the Alexander period has been the extrapolation of a common tradition at the root of several of the extant sources. It is undeniable that large segments of Diodorus and Curtius Rufus run parallel, retailing the same information and supplementing each other to a degree that is only explicable if both authors were ultimately working from the same source.<sup>30</sup> The same material is detectable in Justin's epitome of Trogus and in the *Metz Epitome* (a late compilation following roughly the same tradition as Curtius but extant only for the campaign between Hyrcania and South India). There is obviously a common tradition, and the term 'vulgate', despite a certain clumsiness, is a useful shorthand. It is sometimes misunderstood,<sup>31</sup> and for the reader's convenience I should state that when I refer to the 'vulgate tradition' I am referring to the body of material which is multiply attested (in Diodorus and Curtius and often in Justin and the *Metz Epitome*) and can reasonably be attributed to a common source. 'Vulgate sources' is perhaps a more questionable expression, but once again it can be useful shorthand to denote the sources which *on a given occasion* reflect the common tradition. There is no implication that these sources use the vulgate and nothing else. Plutarch, for instance, is eclectic.<sup>32</sup> He may follow the common tradition of Diodorus and Curtius but more often he uses material that is quite distinct. What is denoted as the vulgate may come from different sources at different times, but the nucleus is usually agreement in Diodorus and Curtius, corroborated, as the case may be, by one or more other sources. 'Vulgate' nicely encapsulates the idea of a shared tradition without begging the question of its authorship.

But there is a very strong probability that the vulgate tradition is based ultimately on Cleitarchus. The key passage is provided by Curtius (ix. 8. 15), who refers to Cleitarchus as his source for the number of Indians killed during Alexander's campaign in the kingdom of Sambus. The information is no variant. It is a figure taken out of the general narrative and comes in a context that is exactly paralleled in Diodorus.<sup>33</sup> We therefore have an instance of a common tradition with a direct attribution to Cleitarchus. That establishes a strong probability that the rest of the shared tradition goes back ultimately to the same source. The other alternative, that Diodorus and Curtius used two or more common sources independently, is far less plausible and founders on what is known of Diodorus' approach to historical composition. Where cross-comparison is possible, it is demonstrable that Diodorus followed a single source for chapters on end, transferring only when he came to the end of his subject-matter.<sup>34</sup> There are occasional inserts from other sources, but such inserts are largely digressions, short and limited in scope. Within each book Diodorus tends to change sources as he moves from area to area, particularly when he reverts to the history of his native Sicily, and he adds chronographic material from a separate date-table.<sup>35</sup> But Book xvii is unusually homogeneous. The narrative focus is exclusively on Alexander and there is no material on the history of the Greek west, nor is there any chronographic information.<sup>36</sup> It is overwhelmingly probable that his material derives from a single major source and that there is a single source for the tradition shared with Curtius.

Now Diodorus himself takes us back to Cleitarchus. In a digression in Book ii he gives Cleitarchus' figures for the dimensions of the walls of Babylon and presents them as a variant, contrasting with the description of his main source, Ctesias.<sup>37</sup> This information is paralleled in Curtius' description of Babylon, which otherwise corresponds to Diodorus' narrative in Book xvii.<sup>38</sup> It looks as though Diodorus extrapolated the material relating to the city walls and used it in his mythological exordium, to set off the information in Ctesias. There may well be a similar digression later. After describing the death of Themistocles, following his main source for Greek affairs in Book xi, Diodorus adds a variant from an unnamed source (ἔνιοι ... τῶν συγγραφέων).<sup>39</sup> That variant is the story of Themistocles drinking bull's blood, an episode which we know was rhetorically treated by Cleitarchus.<sup>40</sup> Once more, it looks as though Diodorus has drawn upon his general knowledge of Cleitarchus to embellish his earlier historical narrative.<sup>41</sup>

In that case it can hardly be doubted that Cleitarchus provided the narrative base for his account of Alexander, and that Cleitarchus is the ultimate source of the vulgate tradition. The attribution has, of course, been challenged, largely on the ground that several of the extant fragments of Cleitarchus are not found in any of the so-called vulgate sources. In fact the points of detail contained in the fragments are in general so trivial that their omission is only to be expected. The two most striking absences (the Roman embassy and the story of Ptolemy's presence at the Malli town) are more difficult to explain,<sup>42</sup> but given Diodorus' extreme selectiveness it is not too surprising that he passed over both incidents. On the other hand there is a reasonably strong correlation between many of the preserved fragments and the common tradition of Diodorus and Curtius; and it remains the strongest probability that the vulgate tradition in general and Diodorus' account in particular is derived ultimately from the single source, Cleitarchus.

In that case there is a large corpus of material which can be traced back to Cleitarchus, and in theory the broad characteristics of his work should be capable of reconstruction.

That is easier said than done. The material in the vulgate covers a wide spectrum, from wild and colourful zoological fantasy to sober and apparently well-informed campaign reports. A recent analysis has concluded that there is not a single common source for Diodorus and Curtius but two, a baroque and sensation-hungry author, hostile to Alexander and his Macedonians (Cleitararchus), and a better-informed, more impartial historian, not prone to sensationalism and fiction (Diyllus?).<sup>43</sup> It is perhaps more profitable to ask whether the same source cannot be both Jekyll and Hyde, capable both of objective reporting and emotional bathos (one need only reflect on the almost infinite variety of material in Herodotus).

A more pertinent question is the amount of distortion that has taken place in transmission. All the extant sources of the vulgate tradition are highly erratic and second-rate authors, and they may be assumed to have altered their material for the worse. Contraction is a serious problem. Cleitararchus' work was fairly voluminous. In Book xii he described the Indian ascetics and their disregard for death.<sup>44</sup> That presumably came in the context of Calanus' self-immolation in Persis late in 325. The period to Alexander's death, one assumes, would have required several more books. By contrast Diodorus covers the entire reign in a single book (admittedly of unusual length) and Justin is even more grossly abridged. Given such a drastic précis it is not surprising that some episodes in Diodorus are abbreviated to near gibberish, and the distortion in Justin is such that one often needs other texts to infer even what was in his immediate exemplar, Trogus.<sup>45</sup> There is also the problem of embellishment and exaggeration in the immediate source. That is a particular danger with Curtius Rufus, whose work is deeply infused with rhetoric.<sup>46</sup> His narrative is punctuated by a running commentary, with highly subjective attributions of motive, and there is no doubt that his source material is reworked, often a mere vehicle for descriptive rhetoric or moralizing comment. Even Diodorus is prone to impose his own personality. The style of his original is watered down and reduced to flat monotony. More seriously, he has an eye for the sensational and has favourite themes, usually banalities such as epic pictures of slaughter and fighting in relays.<sup>47</sup> That accounts for the unbalanced nature of such episodes as the battle of the Granicus. Diodorus' interest is attracted by the single combat between Alexander and the Persian commanders and he spends a disproportionate amount of his battle narrative expatiating upon it. The remaining details are scattered and drastically abbreviated, so as to obscure the strategy and defy any rational reconstruction of the engagement.<sup>48</sup> There is no control source, and we cannot assume that Diodorus' original was as unbalanced as his epitome of it.

Cleitararchus, then, is elusive. Is he also irretrievable? My feeling is that it *is* possible to reconstruct something of his work, but the exercise of doing so is particularly arduous. One must begin with an appreciation of the methods of the major extant sources. In the case of Diodorus this is not too difficult, for there is an abundance of material for comparison outside Book xvii. Curtius is far more difficult, for his work is confined to the Alexander period, the text is lacunose and often corrupt, and there are no extant sources to provide a direct check on his methods of excerpting. One can only rely on cross-comparison, where the material is attested in other contexts. That is the crux. The starting-point should be examination of extended passages which are reported by Diodorus and Curtius (preferably other sources as well).<sup>49</sup> Then one can build up a composite narrative and gain some idea of what is omitted or distorted in each individual writer. The more focuses that can be brought to bear on the vulgate, the more

illumination of the common base will accrue. But the illumination will come from the continuous narrative of the extant works, not from the scattered and unrepresentative 'fragments' to which Cleitarchus' name is explicitly attached.

The importance of Arrian is now clear. His work is the most complete and the most sober account of Alexander's reign and at the same time it provides explicit information about the sources used. The seven-book *History of Alexander* was based on Ptolemy son of Lagus and Aristobulus son of Aristobulus. That is stated explicitly in the Preface and confirmed by the narrative which refers repeatedly to the authority of both men.<sup>50</sup> From Book vi the narrative range is expanded by the inclusion of Nearchus and there are explicit borrowings from the geographical work of Eratosthenes. The companion work, the *Indike*, dealing with the natural curiosities of India and the voyage of Alexander's fleet in the southern Ocean, is equally candid about its use of sources: the material comes from Eratosthenes, Megasthenes, and Nearchus.<sup>51</sup> In the case of Arrian we have the entire range of primary sources spelt out for us, and they are exciting and contemporary. Ptolemy, Nearchus, and Aristobulus were all eyewitnesses of the campaigns, and the first two at least were major actors in the great events they described. It is not surprising that the primary sources have occupied the centre stage of research. The text of Arrian is often read as though it were practically the same as Ptolemy, and Ptolemy/Arrian is a traditional shorthand used to characterize that part of Arrian's narrative that is commonly believed to be based on Ptolemy. Ernst Kornemann even subjected Arrian's text to a detailed stylistic analysis, extrapolating what he thought were distinctive thumb-prints of Ptolemaic phraseology.<sup>52</sup> The assumption, usually implicit, is that one may go direct from Arrian to his sources and that Arrian himself may be disregarded, a simple scribe who paid his tribute to the memory of Alexander by selecting the best possible sources and reproducing them with patient fidelity.

The object of this exercise is wholly commendable. Arrian's sources *are* of fundamental importance, far more so for the modern historian than Arrian himself. In particular Ptolemy's picture of Alexander is of consuming interest, an account of the reign by one of its great architects and beneficiaries. But whatever results are obtained, they are necessarily distorted unless they are based on a careful study of Arrian as a writer. It is obvious from the most perfunctory reading of Arrian and the most superficial study of his career that he was a sophisticated and experienced writer, with the highest claims to stylistic excellence. To put it mildly, he is unlikely to have transcribed his sources without reshaping them and adding his own comments. The methodology outlined for approaching Cleitarchus will therefore hold good for Arrian's sources also. Arrian's pretensions as a historian need to be elucidated, in particular his aims in composing a history of Alexander. His modes of citing sources should also be studied and, where possible, his version should be contrasted with other writers' use of the same source material. Finally his own contribution should be delineated, the degree to which he comments on his material, whether parenthetically or in formal digressions and set speeches. That is the object of this book and explains its somewhat pretentious title. One cannot examine the history of Alexander without a study of the primary sources and the primary sources themselves are embedded in secondary and derivative works like those of Arrian.

## Notes

- 1 For modern bibliography the two surveys by Jakob Seibert are indispensable: *Alexander der Grosse* (Erträge der Forschung 10; Darmstadt, 1972); *Das Zeitalter der Diadochen* (Erträge der Forschung 185; Darmstadt, 1983). Both volumes present an exhaustive survey of modern literature from the middle of the nineteenth century and obviate the need for extensive references to secondary works. I shall attempt to limit my annotations to what is most important or most recent.
- 2 The controversy about the date is unresolved and continuing. J. E. Atkinson, *A Commentary on Q. Curtius Rufus' Historiae Alexandri Magni Books 3 and 4* (Amsterdam, 1980) 19–57, has presented the strongest case yet for the reign of Claudius (see further, Syme, *HSCP* 86 [1982] 197f.), and there are more arguments in support of the Claudian dating in H. Bodefeld's dissertation, *Untersuchungen zur Datierung der Alexandergeschichte des Q. Curtius Rufus* (Düsseldorf, 1982). The problem is far from settled (for some counter-arguments see *CP* 78 [1983] 151–4), but it is largely irrelevant to the study of Alexander. Most scholars would concede that Curtius was later than Diodorus and earlier than Plutarch or Arrian.
- 3 Jacoby, *FGrH* ii.B 618–828 (nos 117–53; commentary ii.D 403–542). A few additional fragments, mostly insignificant, are printed at *FGrH* iii.B 742–3 and in H. J. Mette, *Lustrum* 21 (1978) 18–20. For a sensible and readable appraisal of the principal fragments see L. Pearson, *The Lost Histories of Alexander the Great* [LHA]. There is also a recent compendium by P. Pédech, *Historiens compagnons d'Alexandre* (Paris, 1984), which deals extensively with Callisthenes, Onesicritus, Nearchus, Ptolemy, and Aristobulus.
- 4 *FGrH* 72 F 15–17, 29. The work is too scantily attested to support any conclusions on its nature or purpose.
- 5 *FGrH* 124. The last datable fragments (F 36–7) deal with Gaugamela, late in 331. See further Jacoby, *RE* x. 1674–1707 (still fundamental); Pearson, *LHA* 22–49 (cf. Badian, *Studies in Greek and Roman History* 251–2); Pédech (above, n. 3) 14–69.
- 6 The date is elusive. For a sceptical survey of arguments for both early (post 320) and late (c.285) dates see J. Roisman, *CQ* 34 (1984) 373–85.
- 7 Cf. Schachermeyr, *Alexander in Babylon* 211–24; Badian, *PACA* 8 (1965) 1–8.
- 8 Cf. *FGrH* 126 (Ephippus), 119–23 (surveyors [ἡματιστᾶι]), 117 (*Ephemerides*). On the latter see ch. 7 [in Bosworth, *Arrian to Alexander*].
- 9 The best example of the genre is probably Hermann Strasburger's early monograph, *Prolemaios und Alexander* (Leipzig, 1934 = *Studien zur alten Geschichte* [Hildesheim, 1982] 83–147).
- 10 *Arr. Ind.* 18–42 = *FGrH* 133 F 1 (Jacoby interweaves seven extracts from Strabo).
- 11 See ch. 2. [in Bosworth, *Arrian to Alexander*].
- 12 Athen. x. 442B = Baeton, *FGrH* 119 F 1; ii. 67A, xi. 500d = Amyntas, *FGrH* 122 F 4, 1. See also Brunt, *CQ* 30 (1980) 485–6 on the extant fragments of Chares of Mytilene (*FGrH* 125).
- 13 *FGrH* 124 F 28–30, 32–3, 38(?).
- 14 Polyb. xii. 17. 1–22. 7 = *FGrH* 124 F 35. There are detailed commentaries by P. Pédech, *Polybe xii* (Budé 1961), 104 ff. and Walbank, *HCP* ii. 364 ff.
- 15 On the exaggerated numbers (of cavalry and mercenaries) see Polyb. xii. 18. 2 ff., and for exaggeration of the difficulties of the terrain to enhance the Macedonian achievement see particularly 18. 11–12.
- 16 Cf. xii. 19. 1–4, 21. 2–10 (calculation of phalanx numbers); 20. 6–8, 22. 4 (criticism of phalanx movements).
- 17 xii. 17. 4–5. For the modern literature see Seibert, *Alexander der Grosse* 98–102; *HCarr.* i. 198 ff. For the adaptation and embellishment of Callisthenes in the later tradition see *Entretiens Hardt* 22 (1976) 25–32.
- 18 Strabo xvii. 1. 43 (814) = *FGrH* 124 F 14a. For some of the specific problems of the passage see Pearson, *LHA* 33–6 and my own observations in *Greece & the E. Mediterranean* 68–75.
- 19 Plut. *Al.* 27. 4 = *FGrH* 124 F 14b.
- 20 Polyb. xii. 12b. 2 = *FGrH* 566 F 155.
- 21 Philod. π. κολακ. i<sup>2</sup>.4 = *FGrH* 124 T 21.
- 22 Plut. *Al.* 33. 1 = *FGrH* 124 F 36. See further *Greece & the E. Mediterranean* 57–60.
- 23 For Callisthenes' view of his own importance (which was not unlike Arrian's own) see *Arr.* iv. 10.2. On his panegyric tendencies see Jacoby, *RE* x. 1701–4.

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- 24 Polyb. xii. 19. 1–2, 5–6, 20. 1.
- 25 For details see *Entretiens Hardt* 22 (1976) 26 f.; *HCArr* i. 31, 212, 217, 272–3.
- 26 Quint. *Inst.* x. 1. 74 = *FGrH* 137 T 7. Cf. Jacoby, *RE* xi. 654: 'In Rom war er . . . im 1. Jhdt. v. Chr. die grosse Mode.'
- 27 *FGrH* 137 F 18–19, 21–2.
- 28 F 13, 16.
- 29 For thoroughgoing condemnation see Tarn, *Alexander* ii. 54–5; Hammond, *Three Historians*, esp. 25–7. Jacoby, *RE* xi. 645, was (typically) more measured and judicious.
- 30 A list of parallels, far from complete, was compiled by Eduard Schwartz (*RE* iv. 1873f.). For a survey of modern literature see Seibert, *Alexander der Grosse* 26–8 and J. R. Hamilton, *Greece & the E. Mediterranean* 126–46 (additional parallels 127 n. 7).
- 31 For criticisms of the use of the term see Hammond, *Three Historians*, esp. 2.
- 32 See the excellent appreciation by Hamilton, *Plut. Al.* xlix–lii. Hammond, *Three Historians* 170 n. 5. has taken me to task for inconsistency in references to Plutarch, including him sometimes in the vulgate, sometimes not. All the references which include him as a vulgate source are instances where he corroborates the shared tradition of Diodorus and Curtius. Where he stands apart from that shared tradition, he cannot be classed as part of the vulgate. The same is of course true of Curtius. He is to a great extent dependent on the common tradition, but he undeniably uses a multiplicity of other sources.
- 33 Diod. xvii. 102. 5–7. Diodorus gives 80,000 as the number of victims, whereas the manuscripts of Curtius vary between 800 and 800,000. Given the general concordance, it is usually assumed that the numerals in Curtius are (as so often) corrupt. The common source is not in doubt.
- 34 The most illuminating segment of narrative is Diod. iii. 12–48, where the source is Agatharchides of Cnidus (cf. iii. 11. 2). The same material is digested by Photius (*Bibl. cod.* 250), and there is impressive agreement both in economy and vocabulary. For parallel texts see Müller, *GGM* i. 123–93 and, for discussion, D. Woelk, *Agatharchides von Knidos: Über das Rote Meer* (diss. Bamberg, 1966); J. Hornblower, *Hieronymus of Cardia* 27–32. See further, Seibert, *Das Zeitalter der Diadochen* 30–2.
- 35 These passages are usefully listed by Schwartz, *RE* v. 666–9.
- 36 The same is true of Book xviii, which is largely (if not wholly) based on Hieronymus of Cardia. Sicilian history resumes emphatically at XIX. 1 with the tyranny of Agathocles (cf. xviii. 1. 6, 75.3); notes on Roman history continue from XIX. 10. 1, and the chronographic information emerges again in Book xx.
- 37 Diod. ii. 7.3 = *FGrH* 137 F 10.
- 38 Curt. v. 1. 10–45 (esp. 26); cf. Diod. xvii. 64. 3–6. Hammond (*Three Historians* 190 n. 25) mentions only the figure of 365 stades for the circuit of the walls, which he suggests might have been reported by sources other than Cleitarchus. He omits the rest of the correspondences which make the hypothesis of a common source compelling. See, however, Hamilton, in *Greece & the E. Mediterranean* 138–40.
- 39 Diod. xi. 58. 2–3.
- 40 Cic. *Brut.* 42–3 = *FGrH* 137 F 34.
- 41 This was suggested by Schwartz, *RE* v. 684 and accepted by Jacoby, *FGrH* ii.D 497.
- 42 See ch. 4 [in Bosworth, 1988].
- 43 Hammond, *Three Historians*, esp. 12–51. See now the critical observation of Badian, *EMC* n. s. 4 (1985) 461–3.
- 44 Diog. Laert. i. 6 = *FGrH* 137 F 6. The other book numbers are unhelpful. The sack of Thebes came (as we would expect) in Book i (F 1), the Sardanapalus saga (perhaps a digression based on Alexander's visit to Anchiiale in 333) in Book iv (F 2), the Adonis cult at Byblus (332?) in Book v, and a dissertation on the upright tiara in Book x (F 5). The book number in F 4 is contracted and possibly corrupt. One can hardly reconstruct the outlines of Cleitarchus' history, but its volume is not in doubt.
- 45 For some examples see *HCArr.* i. 358 (on Justin xii. 4. 12); *Antichtbon* 17 (1983) 42 (on Justin xiii. 4. 20).
- 46 Cf. Atkinson (above, n. 2) 67–73, with my comments in *CP* 78 (1983) 157–9. W. Rutz, *Hermes* 93 (1965) 370–82.