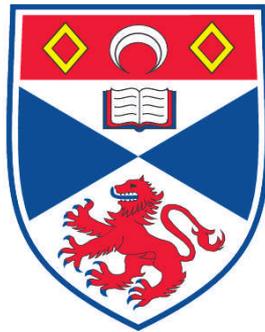


**A COMMENTARY ON Q. CURTIUS RUFUS 'HISTORIAE
ALEXANDRI' BOOK X**

William Alan Robert Dempsie

**A Thesis Submitted for the Degree of PhD
at the
University of St. Andrews**



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A COMMENTARY ON
Q. CURTIUS RUFUS
HISTORIAE ALEXANDRI
BOOK X

By

W.A.R. Dempsie

A thesis submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

University of St. Andrews

October 1991



Abstract

This thesis consists of a text and commentary on Book Ten of Quintus Curtius Rufus' *Historiae Alexandri Magni Macedonis*; the work was probably written in the middle of the first century A.D. The main body of the commentary deals with linguistic, stylistic and historical matters; each episode is preceded by a more general introduction to the issues involved. In addition, there is an introduction, dealing with the manuscript tradition, the date of composition, the identity of the writer, the popularity of Alexander as an *exemplum* in Rome and contemporary historical and biographical practices. There are three appendices: the first deals with Curtius' sources and includes detailed tables in which the five main Alexander sources are compared throughout Book Ten; the second brings together elements of contemporary political allusion in Book Ten and attempts to draw a conclusion concerning the undoubted similarities between the accessions of Arrhidaeus, Alexander's brother, and the emperor Claudius; the third compares Curtius' preferences for certain clausulae with that of other writers. At the end, there is an *index nominum* and an *index rerum*.

Declarations

- (i) I, William Alan Robert Dempsie, hereby certify that this thesis, which is approximately 100,000 words in length, has been written by me, that it is the record of work carried out by me and that it has not been submitted in any previous application for a higher degree.

Date 7/10/91

Signature of candidate

- (ii) I was admitted as a research student under Ordinance No. 12 in October 1988 and as a candidate for the degree of Ph.D. in June 1989; the higher study for which this is a record was carried out in the University of St. Andrews between 1988 and 1991.

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Acknowledgements

-I would like to take this opportunity to express my appreciation to my supervisor, Mr. P.A. George, for his continual help, good humour and understanding over the last few years. I would like to express my gratitude to Dr. M.M. Austin, who looked at an early draft of the historical side of the commentary and was always willing to answer any questions put to him, and Dr. J.R. Ball, who helped me with any computer difficulties. I would like to thank the Department of Education for Northern Ireland for awarding me a Major State Studentship and those publishers who allowed me to reproduce illustrations. I would also like to thank all those who have taught me Classical subjects both in St. Andrews and at Coleraine Academical Institution and, in particular, Mr. T.D. Surgenor for advice and continued interest. Finally, I would like to thank my parents for their encouragement and support and for giving me the opportunity to have a really good education.

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Abbreviations and Conventions

Throughout this commentary modern writers are referred to by name, date of publication and relevant page numbers. There are, however, two exceptions to this rule: commentators are referred to by name and *ad loc.*; the editors of editions of Curtius consulted and other editors known only through the apparatus criticus of later editions are referred to by name only when textual matters are being discussed. The abbreviations used in the *Oxford Latin Dictionary* are followed for Latin writers; those given in the ninth edition of Liddell and Scott's *A Greek-English Lexicon* are used for Greek writers. Where a particular writer is not mentioned in either of these dictionaries, an appropriate abbreviation is employed. Standard works of reference are not referred to in the bibliography and are known by the following abbreviations:

CIL - *Corpus inscriptionum latinarum*, Berlin, 1863-.

F.Gr.H. - Jacoby, F. *Die Fragmente der griechischen Historiker*, Berlin & Leiden, 1923-.

F.H.G. - Müller, C. *Fragmenta historicorum Graecorum*, vol. 3, Paris, 1849.

IG - *Inscriptiones graecae*, Berlin, 1873-.

K-S - Kühner, R. & Stegmann, C. *Ausführliche Grammatik der lateinischen Sprache*, 2 vols, Leverkusen, 1955.

RE - *Paulys Real-Encyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft*, Stuttgart, 1894-.

SIG³ - *Sylloge inscriptionum graecarum*, ed. W. Dittenberger, 4 vols., 3rd ed., Leipzig, 1915-24.

TLL - *Thesaurus linguae latinae*, Leipzig, 1900-.

The same conventions are always followed in the tables throughout the commentary: Alexander is referred to simply as A.; when it is not clear which events in different writers precede each other, the events are numbered from the left column; where the same event is given by different writers, but the tone or information is not the same, an "a", or "b", is added to make this clear; where an additional piece of information is given which is not an event in itself, or where one writer extends one incident over a greater space, a decimal point and an extra number are added.

Introduction

A. The *Historiae Alexandri Magni*

Quintus Curtius Rufus' *Historiae Alexandri Magni Macedonis* is the sole full length Latin history of Alexander to survive from antiquity¹. However, there is no mention of it in ancient writers and the work seems to have had little influence in the middle ages², although it came into favour in the fifteenth century; the first edition was produced by Vindelin in A.D. 1470³. Unfortunately, the text is incomplete and, even what survives, is badly affected by lacunae. The greatest loss is that of the first two books, where a title for the work and also some idea of Curtius' reason for writing might have been expected. Instead, the surviving work opens in the winter of 334/3 B.C., a little before the cutting of the knot at Gordium, and continues until there is an equally unfortunate lacuna at the end of the fifth book, depriving the reader of Curtius' rendering of Darius' dying words in July 330 B.C. This lacuna also affects the start of Book Six, which is concerned with events in Greece, namely the unsuccessful revolt led by Agis, the Spartan king, of which only the final dramatic details remain⁴. From that point there are no more major lacunae until Book Ten, where there are two places of particular significance. The first, and less significant, is the loss of some details about events in Europe, Alexander's marriage at Susa, the death of the Indian wiseman, Calanus, and most of the Harpalus affair⁵. The presentation of the final stages of the mutiny, placed by Curtius at Susa⁶, is also riddled with lacunae, the last of which continues until a scene where Alexander is lying on his death bed⁷; thus a great deal of narrative has been lost at that point, including the king's return to Babylon and the cause of his illness⁸.

B. The manuscript tradition

Curtius' work now survives in some one hundred and twenty-three manuscripts, all of which are based on the same incomplete version. The earliest belongs to the ninth century, but the vast majority are later interpolated versions⁹. The best manuscripts were first identified by Hedicke in his 1908 edition¹⁰. He defined two distinct groups, one containing BFLV and the other represented by P¹¹, and describes¹² their quality as follows: "Nam, ut dicam, quod sentio, codex Parisinus melioris generis deterius exemplum, archetypon autem codicum Bernensis, Florentini, Leidensis, Vossiani deterioris generis melius exemplum repraesentare mihi videtur"¹³. This grouping has been subsequently accepted¹⁴ and Müller¹⁵ has compiled a stemma illustrated in fig. 1; in addition to the the five main manuscripts, he also includes R, the *excerpta Rhenaugiensia* (cod. 95 p. 184), which is only extant between VII.8.12-8.30

and VIII.7.3-10.2; he seems to reach the correct conclusion¹⁶.

From Book Ten it is clear that P and the ω -group originally come from different strands of the tradition, as often either group gives a correct reading when the other is corrupt: P seems correct at e.g. X.1.23 *talentum* P: *talenta* ω , X.1.42 *quondam* P: *quodam* B¹, *quoddam* B^cFLV, X.5.16 *plerumque* P: *plerumque quae* ω & X.7.2 *suo merito* P: *merito suo* ω ; ω seems correct at e.g. X.1.6 *reis* ω : *regis* P, X.5.9 *adstiterant* B^cLV: *adsisterant* P, *adstiterunt* F¹, *optimum* ω : *optissimum* P, *maeroris* ω : *memoris vel nemoris* P, X.5.22 *ipsas tueretur* ω : *ipsa vel ipse stuperetur* P & X.6.15 *in regia posita* ω : *ut regia aposita* P; for significant different corruptions see e.g. X.2.3 *clam agitant* Δ : *clam agitant* P, *cum clam agitat* ω & X.7.11 *si Giunta: ipsi* P, *etsi* ω . The omission of *inter quae...crederent* by P at X.1.13 rules out any theory that those in the ω -group derive from it¹⁷; the omission by P of *et* at X.1.2, *pro se* at X.6.22 and *qui* at X.8.2 may also point to the same conclusion. The omission by the ω -group of *cum* at X.5.17, *regem* at X.7.6 and *eos* at X.7.18 may point to the fact that P does not derive from any of these four manuscripts. Cases which suggest closer relationships between P and members of the ω -group are no more than simple errors, such as at X.1.6 *reccidisse* B^cLV: *recidisse* F¹P, X.1.13 *colore* B^cF^cL^cPV: *colere* B¹F¹L¹, X.1.21 *Eudamon scripsi: eodaemonem* BFL, *eodemonem* PV, *Eudaemonem* Froben, X.1.39, *Cooperat* BFP: *caeperat* LV, X.5.29 *contemptio* BLV: *contentio* FP, X.6.16 *relinqueret* BFL^cV: *reliqueret* L¹P, X.7.9 *potestate* BFV: *potestatem* LP, X.8.1 *At* BFL: *ad* PV, *monere* BL^cV: *munere* FL¹P & X.8.7 *inopsque* BLV: *inobsque* FP; some may be due to dictation of the Latin, such as at X.1.45 *Thracia* BL: *tracia* FP, *tratia* V, X.6.13 *Ptolomaeus* Hedicke: *ptholomeus* BP, *tolomeus* F, *ptolomeus* LV, X.6.14 *Xerxes* B¹: *exerses* PV, *xerses* B^cL, **xerses* F, X.7.8 *Perdiccae* BLV: *perdicae* FP & X.7.6 *Arrhidaeum* Zumpt: *arithdeum* FLP, *arithdeum* BV. Therefore, it would seem that, as regards the separate grouping of ω and P, Müller's stemma seems satisfactory.

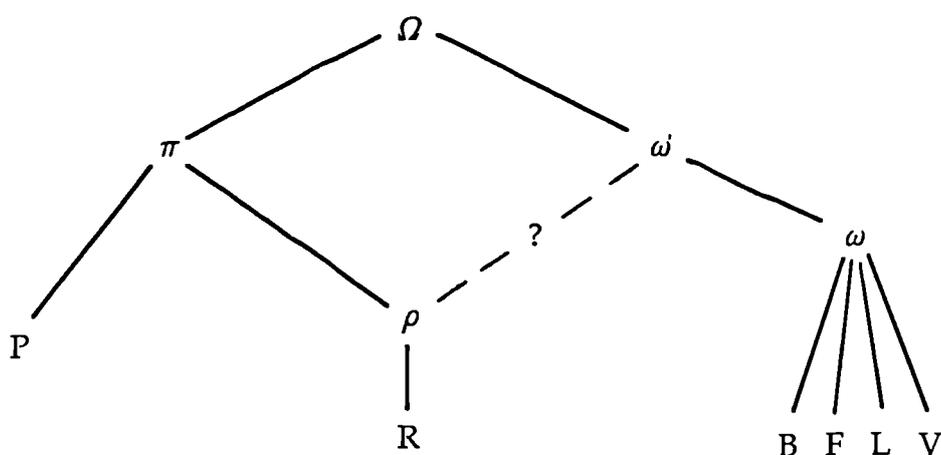


Fig. 1. Müller's stemma

One other manuscript, S¹⁸, is usually employed in Book Ten. Although a comparison with P is impossible as the two do not exist at the same point, the fact that S is frequently at variance with the readings of BFLV supports the view¹⁹ that it may belong to the same

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group as P: see e.g. where S is correct at X.9.3 *qui* S: *cui* ω , X.10.4 *imperium* S: *imperii* B¹FLV, *imperii et ius* B^c, X.10.13 *esset* S: *esse* ω & X.10.14 *Veneno* S: *venenum* ω ; for ω correct see e.g. X.9.2 *dum* ω : *et dum* S, X.9.17 *aut animi* ω : *amni* S & X.10.2 *destinata* ω : *destinata est* S & X.10.3 *gereret* ω : *tegeret* S. As with P, similarities with members of the ω -group are not significant: see e.g. X.9.21 *religione* FL^cS: *religione* BL¹V, X.10.1 *Ptolomaeus* Hedicke: *ptolomeus* SV¹, *ptholomeus* BFLV^c, X.10.2 *provinciam* BFV: *provintiam* LS.

Both P and S may have been corrected with the aid of a manuscript from the ω -group: for P see e.g. X.1.13 *crediderant* P^c ω : *crediderant* P¹, X.1.17 *infinita* P^c ω : *infinito* P¹, X.1.23 *generis* P^c ω : *gentis* P¹, X.2.2 *rex* P^c ω : *ex* P¹, X.2.3 *animos* P^c ω : *amos* P¹, X.2.8 *quia* P^c ω : *qui* P¹, X.5.10 *viridem* P^c ω : *vicidem* P¹, X.5.22 *regno* P^c ω : *regnum* P¹, X.5.33 *dis aequare* P^c ω : *dis aaequare* P¹, X.6.2 *adire* P^c ω : *adhire* P¹, X.6.24 *medios* P^c ω : *medius* P¹ & X.7.14 *thorace* P^c ω : *thrace* P¹; for S see e.g. X.8.23 *egresso* S^c ω : *regresso* S¹, X.9.1 *fatis* S^c ω : *fatas* S¹, *civilia* S^c ω : *civilia* S¹, X.9.13 *constiterat* S^c ω : *constiterant* S¹, X.9.21 *nomine* S^c ω : *anomine* S¹, *defensus* S^c ω : *defensios* S¹, X.10.2 *Phrygia* Δ : *frigiae* S¹, *frigia* S^c ω , X.10.4 *Thraciam* BFS^cV: *traciam* LS¹, X.10.11 *celantur* S^c ω : *colantur* S¹, X.10.15 *Credebant* S^c ω : *credebat* S¹ & X.10.16 *veneni* S^c ω : *veneneni* S¹.

C. The date of composition

Two of the most popular areas of scholarly interest in the *Historiae Alexandri Magni Macedonis* have been the questions of the time of composition and of the identification of the writer. The two issues are clearly interdependent. As regards the date of composition, views have run from the age of Augustus until any time after the fall of the Parthian Empire in around A.D. 226/7²⁰. This is not the place to add another lengthy investigation to this overworked topic, but rather simply to outline the most plausible hypothesis. The dating question seems to rest ultimately upon two key issues²¹: Curtius' references to the territorial possessions of the Parthians in his day²² and the digression on civil war and Rome²³.

One reference to the Parthians is of particular interest: Curtius says that, in his day, Parthiene was the most important region beyond the Euphrates and Tigris²⁴, thereby implying that the Parthians were in control of that area. The Euphrates, until the time of Trajan, was seen as the boundary between the empires of Rome and Parthia, so this statement would seem to show that the writer was living prior to the reign of Trajan²⁵ and, therefore, to rule out from consideration any time after, or indeed during, Trajan's reign.

If the digression on Rome is considered, a more accurate time of composition can be identified. Of the remaining candidates it is relatively easy to discount some immediately: the fact that the accessions of Tiberius, Caligula, Nero and Trajan were not attended by either imminent, or actual, civil strife²⁶ would seem to eliminate them from consideration; the theme of the prevention of civil strife does not suit Augustus, who is ruled out anyway as the impression given is of the principate already being in existence²⁷, and the same is the

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case with Vespasian, Otho and Vitellius, the last two of whom, along with Galba, could not really be considered due to the shortness of their reigns. The only possible candidate left is Claudius, who fits in with all the elements of the digression²⁸; it is particularly interesting to note that the fact that the Roman State was said to have lacked a leader for a period fits in with the events of Claudius' succession particularly well²⁹. In addition, a Claudian date would also match the earlier description of Tyre prospering due to long term peace³⁰. Therefore, throughout this commentary a Claudian date of composition is favoured and parallels drawn accordingly; these support this initial dating of the work³¹; due to the language of the digression and, in particular, references to the continuation of the dynasty, an early date is preferred³² and a time after A.D. 50 seems unlikely³³.

D. The writer

An identification of a Claudian date for the work supplies several possible candidates to match the Q. Curtius Rufus listed as the writer in the manuscripts. Both Tacitus³⁴ and Pliny³⁵ refer to a certain Curtius Rufus, a man of humble origins who seems to have been a rather colourful character, prone to telling tall stories about himself and whom Tiberius apparently referred to as "ex se natus"³⁶. Both writers mention that he was on the staff of a quaestor in Africa and that he later governed that province; Tacitus also mentions his time of office in Upper Germany. A possible timescale for this man's career has been suggested³⁷. After gaining the quaestorship and then advancing, under Tiberius, to the praetorship, there seems to have been a hiatus in his political life; this may have been caused by the downfall, in A.D. 31, of Sejanus, whom Curtius would probably have had to cultivate to gain office - his noticeable *tristis adulatio*³⁸ may have made him an obvious member of Sejanus' circle³⁹. Later, he seems to have regained favour and to have earned a suffect consulship, probably in A.D. 43; the *fasti* from Herculaneum referring to the 8th-14th of October of some year seem to support this and a fragment of the *Fasti Potentini* makes it clear that this Curtius Rufus had a *praenomen* of Quintus⁴⁰. Tacitus' mention of his governorship of Upper Germany follows shortly after Corbulo's award of triumphal insignia in A.D. 47 and so a possible date for his period of office would be A.D. 46/7⁴¹. His governorship of Africa cannot be specifically dated, but it was probably at some time between A.D. 48 and 60⁴².

An identification between historian and politician is assisted by elements from the text itself. It seems likely that the former would have experienced the accession of both Tiberius and Claudius. In Book Ten there seems to be a parallel in the apparent reluctance to accept power⁴³ shown by Perdiccas and the actions of Tiberius⁴⁴ in Rome and there is the unmistakable comparison between the accession of Claudius and Alexander's half-brother, Arrhidaeus⁴⁵; the use of *habuimus* in the digression on Rome would seem to support this identification of the writer as a *novus homo*⁴⁶. In addition, earlier in the work, Amyntas' reply to charges of friendship with Philotas⁴⁷ is very reminiscent of what is recorded of M.

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Terentius' speech at his trial in A.D. 32 on a charge of *Seiani amicitia*⁴⁸. Some points, however, have been raised against such an identification between writer and consul. It has been rightly noted that Tacitus does not comment on any literary merits of this Curtius Rufus; this is in contrast to remarks made about Pomponius Secundus⁴⁹ in regard to his poetry⁵⁰. However, as has been pointed out elsewhere⁵¹, that same writer equally takes little notice of the literary work of Petronius⁵² and Frontinus⁵³. Another objection that might be raised is that Tacitus' portrayal of this Curtius Rufus as a sycophant does not seem to fit in with the views of the moralistic Q. Curtius Rufus, who even censures flattery⁵⁴; however, such mismatches between writer and politician are not unprecedented - Sallust's condemnation of extortion serves as an example⁵⁵. A final objection⁵⁶ is that the defective treatment of battles is unlikely to be the product of a provincial governor. However, a governor could be chosen for other qualities, such as financial, or administrative, expertise⁵⁷; in any case, Curtius gained his triumphal insignia for using his men to quarry silver and Roman historians can often be criticised for their treatment of battles⁵⁸.

Suetonius, in his work *De Grammaticis et Rhetoribus*, mentions a Q. Curtius Rufus as a rhetor. Unfortunately, nothing is left of what Suetonius wrote; however, the index, which has the name of a Curtius, is helpful⁵⁹. Of those rhetors mentioned before Curtius, L. Cestius Pius⁶⁰ was active in the last years of Augustus' reign and M. Porcius Latro⁶¹ is said to have died in 4 B.C.⁶². In regard to those following Curtius, nothing is really known of L. Valerius Primanus⁶³. Verginius Flavius⁶⁴, who taught Persius from A.D. 46⁶⁵, was exiled by Nero in A.D. 65⁶⁶. Nothing is known of L. Staius Ursulus; P. Clodius Quirinalis⁶⁷ and M. Antonius Liberalis⁶⁸ were active in the 40's and the last two on the list, Sex. Iulius Gabinianus⁶⁹ and Quintilian, were active under Vespasian. Therefore, since the list seems chronological, it would appear that this Curtius flowered at a time during, or between, the reigns of Augustus and Nero. The fact that the work of the writer of the *Historiae Alexandri Magni Macedonis* is extremely rhetorical⁷⁰ in tone favours an identification with Suetonius' rhetor. The rhetor may well be the same man as the politician; the similar advancement of other rhetors, such as Junius Otho⁷¹ and Junius Gallio⁷², under Tiberius may suggest that he was part of a group favoured by Sejanus⁷³.

E. The popularity of Alexander as an *exemplum* at Rome

Apart from his appearance in historical writing⁷⁴, it is not surprising that Alexander generated a great deal of interest in Rome; after all, the Romans had similar preoccupations with conquest, power and glory and held dominion over many areas previously subdued by the young king. As a result, Alexander-related themes were familiar in the declamatory schools⁷⁵ and he was also a very popular general *exemplum*⁷⁶.

In addition, the figure of Alexander seems to have been influential in the minds of Roman leaders. It is probable that Scipio Africanus⁷⁷, who, as Alexander⁷⁸, was referred to

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as "Great"⁷⁹, cultivated the comparison to some extent and, later, as with Alexander⁸⁰, tales of divine birth, involving a snake, were attached to him⁸¹. Pompey⁸², among other things, was often referred to in his youth as "Alexander"⁸³, wanted to have a triumph in a chariot drawn by elephants⁸⁴ as Dionysus had done⁸⁵, adopted the same title as the Romans gave to Alexander⁸⁶, founded a town called Nicopolis in remembrance of his victory over Mithridates⁸⁷, which is reminiscent of Alexander's founding of Nicaea in India⁸⁸ and, in the triumphal procession over Mithridates, reputedly wore one of Alexander's cloaks, which had been found among the possessions of that king⁸⁹. Although there is no mention in the writings of Julius Caesar⁹⁰ of emulation of Alexander, the comparison was made by contemporaries⁹¹ and later⁹². When he was a young quaestor in Further Spain, on seeing a statue of Alexander, he is recorded as being vexed that, at his age, Alexander had conquered the world⁹³ and, while in Egypt, is recorded as having been eager to visit Alexander's tomb⁹⁴. Before his death, he was planning an eastern campaign, primarily against Parthia⁹⁵, and may have wanted to come back through Scythia, Germany and Gaul⁹⁶. Antony⁹⁷ may also have cultivated a connection. As Alexander⁹⁸ had, he claimed Hercules as his ancestor⁹⁹ and aimed at imitation of that hero¹⁰⁰. In the East, after Philippi, he assumed the mantle of Dionysus¹⁰¹, as Alexander had done¹⁰², thus perhaps showing his claim to rule¹⁰³. He also renamed his child after Alexander¹⁰⁴.

The influence of Alexander continued in the imperial era. When Augustus¹⁰⁵ defeated Antony, he spared the citizens of Alexandria, partly out of respect for the founder of the city¹⁰⁶, made a visit to Alexander's tomb, had it opened and put a diadem on Alexander's head¹⁰⁷; he also founded cities called Nicopolis, one near Actium¹⁰⁸ and another near Alexandria¹⁰⁹, to celebrate military successes, which was reminiscent of Alexander's actions in India¹¹⁰. He used a ring with the head of the Macedonian king fashioned on it as a seal in the period 30 and 27, or 23, B.C.¹¹¹. In his new forum, finished in 2 B.C.¹¹², Augustus placed two famous paintings by Apelles, both including Alexander¹¹³; in front of the temple of Mars¹¹⁴ there were two statues of victory which had formerly supported the canopy over the casket of Alexander's body - another two were placed outside the royal palace¹¹⁵. The temple of Apollo of the Palatine, dedicated in 27 B.C., had a candelabra taken by Alexander from Thebes and dedicated to Apollo at Cyme¹¹⁶. The story that Augustus' mother was impregnated by a serpent¹¹⁷ also resembled rumours of Alexander's birth¹¹⁸. Germanicus was later compared to Alexander¹¹⁹ and his son, Caligula, was the first emperor to imitate him by wearing his breast-plate¹²⁰. Nero named a new legion of Italian recruits, all six feet tall, "the Phalanx of Alexander"¹²¹.

F. Contemporary historical and biographical practices at Rome

Despite Tacitus' comment¹²² that Roman historians neglected recent history, it appears that this was not the case in the later Julio-Claudian era. Apart from Curtius' work,

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the only one surviving today is that of Velleius Paterculus, who wrote, under Tiberius, a history of Rome from its foundation. However, details of some of the lost works have survived in other writers: Cremutius Cordus¹²³, writing under Augustus and Tiberius, produced an *Annals*, which included the Civil Wars and at least the reign of Augustus¹²⁴; Bruttedius Niger¹²⁵, who was an aedile in A.D. 22 and perished in the aftermath of the fall of Sejanus¹²⁶, wrote a history including the death of Cicero¹²⁷; Aufidius Bassus¹²⁸, who died in the middle of Nero's reign¹²⁹, wrote on the German Wars and recent Roman history until about A.D. 31¹³⁰; Servilius Nonianus¹³¹, who was consul in A.D. 35 and died in A.D. 59, produced a history thought to have dealt with contemporary events¹³²; Celsus, in the reign of Nero, wrote a history of the Parthian Wars¹³³; Cluvius Rufus¹³⁴, in the second half of the century, wrote on perhaps the period from Caligula to A.D. 69¹³⁵; the Elder Pliny produced twenty books on the German wars, perhaps extending to A.D. 47¹³⁶, and thirty-one on contemporary Roman history starting from where Aufidius Bassus left off¹³⁷. The emperor Claudius wrote a few historical works: in Greek he composed a history of the Etruscans in twenty books and one on the Carthaginians in eight¹³⁸; in Latin he wrote a history in forty-one books, starting with the death of Julius Caesar and omitting the Civil Wars¹³⁹. Curtius' work, therefore, seems somewhat at odds with general trends.

From what can be learnt from other sources, biography also seems to have been popular in Rome at this time, although, as with historiography, it seems to have concentrated on Roman figures¹⁴⁰. Seneca, for example, wrote on his father, Asconius Pedianus¹⁴¹ on Sallust¹⁴², Julius Secundus¹⁴³ on Julius Africanus¹⁴⁴, Thrasea Paetus¹⁴⁵ on Cato¹⁴⁶, Publius Anteius¹⁴⁷ on Ostorius Scapula¹⁴⁸ and the Elder Pliny two books on Pomponius Secundus¹⁴⁹. Claudius himself, prior to coming to power, wrote an autobiography in eight books¹⁵⁰. There was also a good interest in geography and the natural world¹⁵¹, which is perhaps echoed in Curtius' frequent descriptions of areas, cities and peoples¹⁵². As has been noted¹⁵³, Curtius is clearly writing history, as he covers battles and, indeed, deals with episodes which do not involve the king himself, but such a work on Alexander, which is full of anecdotes, also has elements from the writing of biographies. Both in this fusion and in the subject matter itself Curtius is outside the mainstream of historical and biographical writing in Rome at the this time; this, coupled with the availability of sources closer to the events¹⁵⁴, may account for why he is not mentioned by anyone¹⁵⁵.

G. Conclusion

There seems no reason to doubt that the rhetor, mentioned by Suetonius, and the politician, by Pliny and Tacitus, are one and the same person. The rhetorical nature of the work is, therefore, expected and the time of composition would neatly fit into the time of his political stasis. The nature of the subject treated may have been suggested to Curtius on account of his familiarity with the topic in the rhetorical schools and the general popularity

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of Alexander, thus giving him a guaranteed readership; in addition, it allowed him the opportunity to demonstrate his literary powers to good effect, both in speeches and the descriptions of places¹⁵⁶, unfamiliar and, therefore, of interest to Romans. Whether he intended the work to earn him glory, no longer obtainable in the political field, is impossible to say, but the latter half of Book Ten, which contains the comparison between the accessions of Claudius and Arrhidaeus¹⁵⁷ and the digression on Rome¹⁵⁸, in which Curtius openly praises the new emperor¹⁵⁹, may point to a purpose. Claudius, as already noted, was very keen on literature; the advancement of certain other writers in political offices¹⁶⁰ may point to favouritism to those of some literary merit. So, Curtius, in an attempt to rehabilitate himself, may have adapted his final book accordingly; in addition, in any case, the Livian style of Curtius' writing would have not have gone unappreciated as, early in his life, Claudius had been encouraged by that renowned historian¹⁶¹. Whether it was Curtius' aim, or not, the work does seem to have brought him back into public life again.

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1. For the other surviving main sources see Appendix A.
 2. A notable exception is Walter of Châtillon's *Alexandreis*, written at the end of the twelfth century, and mainly based on Curtius' account (see Pritchard 1986 pp. 9ff.); for the influence of Curtius' work throughout the centuries see Dosson 1887 pp. 357ff.
 3. For editions from 1470-1795 see the Delphin Classics edition, 1825 IV pp. 1595ff.; for more recent ones see Bardon 1947 pp. xviii f., Müller 1954 pp. 798ff. & Giacone 1977 pp. 31f.
 4. For details of this disturbance see 10.4.31an.
 5. For more details see 1.45.16n.; on the Harpalus episode see §7.
 6. See §9 *passim*.
 7. For details of this lacuna see 4.3.32n.
 8. See §10 intro.
 9. For a list and descriptions see Dosson 1887 pp. 315ff.
 10. See pp. vff.
 11. For what these *sigla* refer to see p. 2. It appears that D, the *fragmentum Darmastadiense* (cod. 3152), which is extant from IV.2.14-2.24, E, the *fragmentum Einsidlense* (cod. 476 fol. 36), which is extant from VII.1.34-2.8, and H, the *fragmentum Herbipolitanum*, which is extant from VIII.1.3-1.7 and VIII.1.10-1.14, are also from the same group as P: see Hedicke 1908 pp. viif., Rolfe 1946 pp. xiif. & Bardon 1947 pp. xivf.
 12. For photographic reproductions of sections of BLPV see Chatelain 1894-1900 pls. 188-190.
 13. 1908 p. vii.
 14. See e.g. Rolfe 1946 pp. xff., Bardon 1947 pp. xiii ff., Müller 1954 pp. 783ff. & Giacone 1977 p. 31.
 15. 1954 p. 797.
 16. Hedicke (1908 p. viii) & Bardon (1947 p. xv) reach the same conclusion. This view seems correct: as R often has the same correct (see e.g. VII.8.12, VII.8.18, VIII.7.15 & VIII.8.16), or incorrect (see e.g. VIII.7.4, VIII.8.12, VIII.8.17, VIII.8.23, VIII.9.1, VIII.9.29 & VIII.9.32), readings and has the same omission of words (see e.g. *dicere* at VIII.7.7 & *quod* at VIII.8.22) solely with P, it seems that it belongs to the same group; the fact that it often alone preserves the correct reading (see e.g. VIII.8.10 & VIII.8.18) shows that it does not derive directly from P and the omission of words contained in P (see e.g. *non* at VII.8.27, *quos bello* at VIII.8.11 & *sequitur* at VIII.9.29) that the opposite is not the case; similarities with the ω -group (see e.g. the omission of *milia* at VIII.7.11 and the incorrect readings with ω at VII.8.15, VIII.7.8 & VIII.9.14) may point to contamination from there. However, Müller is right to be cautious.
 17. Such a case also occurs at VII.1.23.
 18. For what this refers to see p. 2.
 19. See Hedicke 1908 p. viii, Rolfe 1946p. xiii & Bardon 1947 pp. xivf.
 20. For a systematic evaluation of the various views see Atkinson 1980 pp. 19ff. & Porod 1987 pp. 49ff.; for lists of recent investigations see McQueen 1967 p. 40 n. 5, Devine 1979 pp. 142f. n. 1 & Heckel YH 1984 p. 266 n. 4; to these add Bosworth 1983b pp. 150ff. (Trajan), Barzanò 1985 pp. 69ff. (Vespasian), Bourazelis 1988 pp. 244ff. (Septimius Severus) & Hamilton 1988 pp. 445ff. (Claudius).

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21. The evidence from possible literary parallels is inconclusive as there is need of a systematic analysis of all relevant writers; it is, however, clear that Curtius was influenced by Livy (for this in Book Ten see 1.6.29n.; for similarities with various writers see Atkinson 1980 pp. 39ff., Rutz 1986 pp. 2336ff. & Steele 1915 pp. 402ff.).
22. See IV.12.11, V.7.9, V.8.1 & VI.2.14.
23. See X.9.1ff. & §14 *passim*.
24. See VI.2.12.
25. For more details on this matter see Devine 1979 pp. 144ff.; for the same view see Sumner 1961 p. 30 & Heckel YH 1984 p. 2. Curtius' use of the Euphrates in Book Ten would seem to match this conclusion: see 5.12.3n.
26. The language used is too weak to refer to actual civil war: see 9.4.10n.
27. See 9.3.8n. & 9.4.11n.
28. For this conclusion see Atkinson 1980 pp. 25ff.; for it applied to the digression see §14 *passim*.
29. See 9.4.11n.
30. See IV.4.21 & Atkinson *ad loc.*
31. For a conclusion from the various parallels see Appendix B.
32. See 9.6.1bn. & 9.6.14n.
33. See 9.1.11n. The date is also supported by stylistic considerations: there are similarities with Augustan oratory (see e.g. 1.6.27n. & 4.1.14n.) and the choice of clausulae is similar to other mid-first century A.D. writers (see Appendix C).
34. *Ann.* 11.20.3ff.
35. *Ep.* 7.27.2f.
36. See Tac. *Ann.* 11.21.2.
37. See Sumner 1961 pp. 35ff. & Atkinson 1980 pp. 51ff.; see also Devine 1979 pp. 48ff.
38. See Tac. *Ann.* 11.21.3.
39. See Devine 1979 pp. 148ff.
40. For both of these cited see Atkinson 1980 p. 51; for them dated to A.D. 43 see Barbieri 1975 pp. 153ff.; for this conclusion see also Gallivan 1978 pp. 420, 424, Devine 1979 p. 148 & Atkinson 1980 p. 53.
41. For possible additional evidence of his governorship see the very fragmentary inscriptions, CIL 13.5204 & 13.11514, from Vindonissa.
42. See Atkinson 1980 p. 56; Sumner, 1961 p. 36, suggests A.D. 53.
43. See 6.18.17n.; this can be used to place Curtius' holding of the quaestorship before Tiberius' accession.
44. For further possible similarities between these two men see 9.8.2bn.
45. For the parallel see Appendix B.
46. See 9.3.17n.
47. See VII.1.26ff.
48. See Tac. *Ann.* 6.8.1ff., D.C. 58.19.3f., Devine 1979 pp. 50ff., Sumner 1961 pp. 34f. & Atkinson 1980 p. 37.
49. *RE XXI* pp. 2349f. no. 72.
50. See e.g. *Ann.* 12.28.2, suggested by Bosworth 1983a p. 153.
51. See McQueen 1967 p. 25.
52. *Ann.* 16.18.1ff.
53. See *Ag.* 17.2 & *Hist.* 4.39.1.
54. See e.g. III.2.10, VIII.5.6 & VIII.8.21; for Curtius' moralism see 1.26.15n.
55. For this see e.g. *Sal. Cat.* 12.5; Sallust himself was charged with extortion in 45 B.C. (see [Cic.] *Sal.* 19 & D.C. 43.9.2 - the latter writer comments that Sallust's practices were different from what he wrote).
56. See e.g. McQueen 1967 p. 25.
57. See Atkinson 1980 p. 56.
58. See Sumner 1961 pp. 36f.
59. For the following dates also see Sumner 1961 p. 35, Milns 1966 p. 504 & Atkinson 1980 p. 57.
60. *RE III* pp. 2008ff. no. 13.
61. *RE XXII* pp. 233ff. no. 49.
62. *Hier. Chron.* 16.8.
63. *RE 2 VIII*₁ p. 195 no. 311.
64. *RE 2 VIII*₂ pp. 1543f. no. 29.
65. See *Suet. Pers.*
66. See Tac. *Ann.* 15.71.4.
67. *RE IV* p. 98 no. 52.
68. *RE I* p. 2632 no. 70.
69. *RE X* p. 609 no. 254.
70. See Rutz 1986 pp. 2352f.; for a comment by Curtius on the standard of Scythian oratory see

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- VII.8.11.
71. *RE X* pp. 1071ff. no. 113 & see *Tac. Ann.* 3.66.3.
 72. *RE X* pp. 1035ff. no. 77 & see *Tac. Ann.* 6.3.2.
 73. See Devine 1979 p. 149.
 74. See Appendix A.
 75. See e.g. *Sen. Suas.* 1, *Quint. Inst.* 3.8.16 & [*Cic.*] *ad Her.* 4.31 for the theme of whether Alexander should cross the Ocean, *Sen. Suas.* 4 on whether he should enter Babylon after his return from India & *Gell.* 7.8.4 for the possible theme of his continence with women; Livy's digression on Alexander at 9.17.1ff. may also point to a possible theme on whether Alexander could have defeated Rome.
 76. For a list of references to him in surviving Latin literature see Horst 1987; in the main body of the work some 295 passages are cited as well as 5 more in an addenda; in addition, a further 33 sections, demmed of marginal importance, are included at the end.
 77. For further discussion on his possible emulation of Alexander see Cunningham 1971 pp. 19ff.
 78. See 5.11.17n.
 79. See *Plb.* 18.35.9 & Walbank *ad loc.*, 31.26.1. & 31.27.1.
 80. See e.g. *Just.* 11.11.3ff, 12.16.2. & *Plu. Alex.* 2.2ff. & Hamilton *ad loc.*, *Liv.* 26.19.7 & *Gell.* 6.1.1.
 81. For this see e.g. *Liv.* 26.19.7, *Sil.* 13.637ff. & *Gell.* 6.1.1ff.
 82. For further discussion on his possible emulation of Alexander see Cunningham 1971 pp. 41ff.
 83. See *Plu. Pomp.* 2.3.
 84. See *Plin. N.H.* 8.4.
 85. For Alexander and Dionysus see 5.33.3n.
 86. See e.g. *Liv.* 30.45.6, *Cic. Arch.* 24, *Plu. Pomp.* 13.7ff. & *Ov. Fast.* 1.603; for Alexander see 5.11.17n.
 87. See *D.C.* 36.50.3, 49.39.3, *Str. Chr.* 12.3.28 & *App. Mithr.* 105.494.
 88. See *IX.3.23*, *Arr. An.* 5.19.4 & *D.S.* 17.95.5.
 89. See *App. Mith.* 117.577.
 90. For further discussion on his possible emulation of Alexander see Cunningham 1971 pp. 53ff.
 91. See e.g. *Cic. Att.* 12.40.2.
 92. See e.g. *Vell.* 2.41.1 & Woodman *ad loc.*, *App. B.C.* 2.149.624 & Plutarch's *Parallel Lives*.
 93. See *Suet. Jul.* 7.1 & *D.C.* 37.52.2; for a slightly different version see *Plu. Caes.* 11.5f. & *Moralia* 206b.
 94. See 1.30.15n.
 95. See *D.C.* 43.51.1, *Suet. Jul.* 44.3 & *App. B.C.* 2.110.
 96. See *Plu. Caes.* 58.6f.
 97. For further discussion on his possible emulation of Alexander see Cunningham 1971 pp. 69ff.
 98. See 5.33.3n.
 99. See *Plu. Ant.* 4.2 & Pelling *ad loc.*
 100. See *Plu. Ant.* 4.1ff. & Pelling *ad loc.*
 101. See e.g. *Plu. Ant.* 24.4 & Pelling *ad loc.*, 26.4f., *D.C.* 48.39.2, *Ath.* 4.148bf., *Cestius Pius ap. Sen. Suas.* 1.6f., *Vell.* 2.82.4 & Woodman *ad loc.* & *D.C.* 50.25.3f.
 102. For references see n. 85.
 103. See Cunningham 1971 p. 76.
 104. See *Plu. Ant.* 36.5.
 105. For further discussion on his possible emulation of Alexander see Cunningham 1971 pp. 78ff.
 106. See *D.C.* 51.16.4, *Plu. Ant.* 80.2 & Pelling *ad loc.* & *Moralia* 207b.
 107. See 1.30.15n.; this was possibly a ploy to win over Egypt (see Cunningham 1971 p. 79).
 108. See *Suet. Aug.* 18.2, *D.C.* 51.1.3, *Str. Chr.* 7.7.6 & 10.2.2.
 109. See *D.C.* 51.18.1 & *Str. Chr.* 17.1.10.
 110. For references see n. 87.
 111. See Cunningham 1971 pp. 88f.; for the ring see 5.4.11n.
 112. See *R.G.* 21.1 & Brunt & Moore *ad loc.* & *Suet. Aug.* 29.1.
 113. See *Plin. N.H.* 35.93f. & 35.27; later, Claudius removed Alexander's face and inserted that of Augustus (see *Plin. N.H.* 35.94).
 114. See *R.G.* 21.1 & Brunt & Moore *ad loc.*
 115. For the placement in Rome see *Plin. N.H.* 34.48; for their original use see *D.S.* 18.26.6.
 116. See *Plin. N.H.* 34.14.
 117. See *Suet. Aug.* 94.4 & *D.C.* 45.1.2f.
 118. For references see n. 80.
 119. See *Tac. Ann.* 2.73.1ff.; for possible reminiscences in Book Ten see Appendix B and for this elsewhere Atkinson 1980 pp. 37f.

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120. See D.C. 59.17.3 & Suet. *Cal.* 52.
121. See Suet. *Nero* 19.2.
122. See *Ann.* 2.88.3.
123. *RE* IV pp. 1703f. no. 2.
124. See Tac. *Ann.* 4.34.1ff., D.C. 57.24.2ff., Sen. *Dial.* 6.26.1, 6.26.5, Suet. *Aug.* 35.2 & Bardon 1956 pp. 162ff.
125. *RE* III p. 907 no. 2.
126. See Juv. 10.82ff.
127. See Brutteditius Niger *ap.* Sen. *Suas.* 6.20f. & Bardon 1956 p. 162.
128. *RE* II pp. 2290f. no. 15.
129. See Sen. *Ep.* 30.1ff.
130. For the German Wars see Quint. *Inst.* 10.1.103; for the other work see Plin. *N.H. praef.* 20; for a discussion on both see Bardon 1956 pp. 164ff. & Syme 1958 pp. 274ff.
131. *RE* 2 II p. 1802 no. 69.
132. See Tac. *Dial.* 23.2, Quint. *Inst.* 10.1.102, Plin. *Ep.* 1.13.3, Bardon 1956 p. 167 & Syme 1958 pp. 275f.
133. See Lyd. *Mag.* 3.3 & Bardon 1956 pp. 161f. for an identification of this man with Marius Celsus (*RE* XIV pp. 1823f. no. 34).
134. *RE* IV pp. 121ff. no. 12.
135. See Plin. *Ep.* 9.19.5, Tac. *Ann.* 13.20.2, Plu. *Otho* 3.2, Bardon 1956 pp. 167f. & Syme 1958 pp. 178f.
136. See Plin. *Ep.* 3.5.4, Bardon 1956 p. 161 & Syme 1958 pp. 288f.
137. See Plin. *N.H. praef.* 20, 2.199, 2.232, Plin. *Ep.* 3.5.6, 5.8.5, Bardon 1956 p. 161 & Syme 1958 pp. 179f. & 292f.
138. See Suet. *Cl.* 42.2.
139. See Suet. *Cl.* 41.1f.; on Claudius see Bardon 1956 pp. 166f.
140. See Bardon 1956 pp. 169f. for more details on those works mentioned below.
141. *RE* II pp. 1524ff. no. 3.
142. See Ps-Acr. *ad Hor Sat.* 1.2.41.
143. *RE* X pp. 800ff. no. 470.
144. See Tac. *Dial.* 14.4.
145. *RE* IV pp. 99ff. no. 58.
146. See Plu. *Cat. Min.* 37.
147. *RE* I p. 2349 no. 4.
148. See Tac. *Ann.* 16.14.2.
149. See Plin. *N.H.* 14.56 & Plin. *Ep.* 3.5.3.
150. See Suet. *Cl.* 41.3 & Bardon 1956 p. 171.
151. See Bardon 1956 pp. 139ff.
152. See 1.14.1n.
153. See McQueen 1967 pp. 17ff.
154. E.g. Curtius himself (see Appendix A n. 7) used Ptolemy (for references concerning him and his work see 6.13.2n.) and Cleitarchus (*F.Gr.H.* 137 & for a discussion see Pearson 1960 pp. 212ff.; for his popularity see Appendix A n. 11); for the use of Onesicritus (see 1.10.6n. for references concerning him and his work) see e.g. Plin. *N.H.* 2.183 & Str. *Chr.* 15.1.13; for Nearchus (see 1.10.4bn. for references concerning him and his work) see e.g. Plin. *N.H.* 6.109, Arr. *An.* 6.28.6 & Str. *Chr.* 15.1.25; for Callisthenes (*F.Gr.H.* 124; for discussions see Pearson 1960 pp. 22ff. & Pédech 1984 pp. 15ff.) see e.g. Cic. *Q.Fr.* 2.12.4 & Str. *Chr.* 17.1.43; for Aristobulus (*F.Gr.H.* 139; for discussions see Pearson 1960 pp. 150ff. & Pédech 1984 pp. 331ff.) see e.g. Arr. *An.* 1.praef.1f. & Str. *Chr.* 16.1.11.
155. See McQueen 1967 p. 21; unfortunately, this is still the case (see e.g. Woodman 1988 p. 158 n. 149).
156. This would also have been common in the rhetorical schools: see 1.14.1n.
157. See Appendix B.
158. See X.9.3ff. & §14.
159. This would not be unexpected of a man of whom Tacitus (*Ann.* 11.21.3) says "longa post haec senecta, adversus superiores tristi adulatione, adrogans minoribus, inter pares difficilis".
160. Examples are P. Pomponius Secundus, the poet (see intro. nn. 49, 50, Tac. *Ann.* 11.13.1, Quint. *Inst.* 10.1.98, Plin. *Nat.* 14.56 & Bardon 1956 pp. 129ff.), a suffect consul in A.D. 44 (see Gallivan 1978 p. 424) and governor of Upper Germany in A.D. 50 (see Tac. *Ann.* 12.27.2), and Vibius Rufinus (*RE* 2 VIII₂ p. 1981 no. 49), the geographer (see e.g. Plin. *Nat.* 1.14, 15, 19, 21 & Bardon 1956 p. 106), a consul in A.D. 40, or 41, and governor of Upper Germany from A.D. 42-45 (see *CIL* 13.6797 & Gallivan 1978 p. 417).
161. See Suet. *Cl.* 41.1.

Latin Text

Sigla

P - cod. Parisinus 5716, saec. IX.

S - schedae Vindobonenses 492, saec. X (continent verba X.8.22 *id impetratum est usque ad finem*).

B - cod. Bernensis 451, saec. IX/X.

F - cod. Florentinus, plut. 64, cod. 35, saec. IX/XI.

L - cod. Leidensis 137, saec. IX/X.

V - cod. Vossianus Q20, saec. IX/XI.

E - fragmentum Einsidlense, cod. 476 fol. 36, saec. X (continent verba VII.1.34 *cere homo superbissimus usque ad VII.2.8 Amyntan mea sen*).

Ω - consensus omnium codicum, qui recensentur.

ω - consensus codicum BFLV.

Δ - codices deteriores sive interpolati, saec. XII-XV, aut duo aut plures, quorum singula exempla adhibentur:

M - cod. Parisinus 5716 saec. XII.

G - cod. Florentinus, Plut. 64, cod. 34, saec. XV.

T - cod. Florentinus, Plut. 64, cod. 31, saec. XV.

A - cod. Neapolitanus IV, cod. 47, saec. XV.

C - cod. Neapolitanus IV, cod. 48, saec. XV.

N - cod. Neapolitanus IV, cod. 49, saec. XV.

vett. edd. - editores plerique ante 1825.

Q. CURTI RUFII
HISTORIARUM
ALEXANDRI MAGNI
MACEDONIS

LIBER X

1. (1) Isdem fere diebus Cleander et Sitalces et cum Agathone Heracon superveniunt, qui Parmenionem iussu regis occiderant. (2) V milia peditum cum equitibus M, sed et accusatores eos e provincia, cui praefuerant, sequebantur; nec tot facinora, quot admiserant, compensare poterant caedis perquam gratae regi ministerio. (3) Quippe cum omnia profana spoliassent, nec sacris quidem abstinerant, virginesque et principes feminarum stupra perpessae corporum ludibria deflebant. (4) Invisum Macedonum nomen avaritia eorum ac libido barbaris fecerat. (5) Inter omnes tamen eminebat Cleandri furor, qui nobilem virginem constupratam servo suo paelicem dederat. (6) Plerique amicorum Alexandri non tam criminum, quae palam obiciebantur, atrocitatem quam memoriam occisi per illos Parmenionis, quod tacitum prodesse reis apud regem poterat, intuebantur, laeti reccidisse iram in irae ministros, nec ullam potentiam scelere quaesitam cuiquam esse diuturnam. (7) Rex cognita causa pronuntiavit ab accusatoribus unum et id maximum crimen esse praeteritum, desperationem salutis suae: numquam enim talia ausuros, qui ipsum ex India sospitem aut optassent reverti aut credidissent reversurum. (8) Igitur hos quidem vinxit, DC autem militum, qui saevitiae eorum ministri fuerant, interfici iussit. (9) Eodem die sumptum est supplicium de iis quoque,

1. (1) Isdem ω : hisdem P | Parmenionem FP: parmoenionem BLV (2) sed et ω : sed P | accusatores ω : adcusatores P | provincia V: prouintia BFLP | quot BC: quod Ω | poterant *vett. edd.*: poterat Ω | ministerio Ω : ministerium Δ , *Kinch* (3) nec Ω : ne Δ (4) avaritia B: auaricia FLPV (6) Parmenionis P: parmoenionis ω | reis ω : regis P | reccidisse BF^cLV: recidisse F^lP | in irae ω : inire P (7) salutis BFPV: salustis L | ausuros ω : ausuras P (8) vinxit ω : uincxit P (9) iis ω : is P.

quos auctores defectionis Persarum Craterus adduxerat.

(10) Haud multo post Nearchus et Onesicritus, quos longius in Oceanum procedere iusserat, superveniunt. (11) Nuntiabant autem quaedam audita, alia comperta: insulam ostio amnis obiectam auro abundare, inopem equorum esse: singulos eos compererant ab iis, qui ex continenti traicere auderent, singulis talentis emi. (12) Plenum esse beluarum mare: aestu secundo eas ferri magnarum navium corpora aequantes, truci cantu deterritas sequi classem cum magno aequoris strepitu velut demersa navigia subisse aquas. (13) Cetera incolis crediderant, inter quae: Rubrum mare non a colore undarum, ut plerique crederent, sed ab Erythro rege appellari; (14) esse haud procul a continenti insulam palmetis frementibus consitam et in medio fere nemore columnam eminere, Erythri regis monumentum, litteris gentis eius scriptam. (15) Adiciebant navigia, quae lixas mercatoresque vexissent, famam auri secutis gubernatoribus in insulam esse transmissa nec deinde ab iis postea visa. (16) Rex cognoscendi plura cupidine accensus rursus eos terram legere iubet, donec ad Euphratis <os> adpellerent classem, inde adverso amne Babylona subituros.

(17) Ipse animo infinita complexus statuerat omni ad orientem maritima regione perdomita ex Syria petere Africam, Carthagini infensus, inde Numidiae solitudinibus peragratis cursum Gadis dirigere - ibi namque columnas Herculis esse fama vulgaverat -, (18) Hispanias deinde, quas Hiberiam Graeci a flumine Hiberno vocabant, adire et praetervehi Alpes Italiaeque oram, unde in Epirum brevis cursus est. (19) Igitur Mesopotamiae praetoribus imperavit [ut] materia in Libano monte caesa devectaque ad urbem Syriae Thapsacum septingentarum carinas navium ponere: septemremis omnes esse deducique Babylona. Cypriorum regibus imperatum, ut aes stuppamque et vela praeberent. (20) Haec agenti Pori et Taxilis regum litterae traduntur, Abisaren morbo, Philippum, praefectum ipsius, ex vulnere interisse oppressosque, qui vulnerassent eum. (21) Igitur Philippo substituit Eudamon - dux erat Thracum -, Abisaris regnum filio eius attribuit.

(10) Haud ω : haut P (11) Nuntiabant BPL: nunciabant FV | amnis obiectam *Scheffer*: amni subiectam Ω | abundare Δ : habundare Ω | conpererant LPV: conparerant B, conpeperant F | iis BCP: hiis B¹FLV | traicere ω : traicerent P (12) ferri Δ : fieri Ω | truci Ω : tubae *Sebisius* | strepitu ω : trepitu P | velut P^c ω : velud P¹ (13) crediderant P^c ω : credideraent P¹ | inter quae...crederent *om.* P | colore B^cF^cL^cCPV: colere B¹F¹L¹ | ab ω : hab P | Erythro P: erithro ω | appellari BFLP: apellari V (14) haud ω : aut P | palmetis *Modius*: palmitis P, palmis ω | frementibus Ω : frequentibus Δ | Erythri *Aldus*: erythi P, erithri ω | monumentum ω : monimentum P | litteris BLPV: littoris F (15) transmissa *Lauer*: transmissam Ω | visa P: uisam ω (16) Euphratis os *Acidalius*: euphratis ω , eufratis P, ad Euphratis ostia Δ , ad Euphratem *Aldus* | adverso BFL^cPCV: aduersi P¹, aduers* L¹ | Babylona B: babilona FLPV (17) infinita P^c ω : infinito P¹ | ex Syria petere BFL^cV: exiri adpetere P, ex yrapeterae L¹ | Carthagini P: chartagini ω (18) Hispanias deinde Ω : Hispanias deinde duas *Stangl* | praetervehi ω : praeteruei P | Italiaeque BFV: atalieque P, ital*ique L (19) ut *del. Froben* | Libano BLP: libatio FV | Syriae ω : siriae P | Thapsacum *Glareanus*: thapsagas Ω | septingentarum *Zumpt*: et ingentiarumque Ω , quingentarum *Heinsius*, ingentium *vett. edd.* | septemremis C, *Hedicke*: VII remis Ω , septem remis N, septiremis A, *Vogel*, septiremes G, *vett. edd.* | Babylona *Modius*: babilona *vel* babylonam P¹, babillonam P^c, babyloniam ω | stuppamque Δ : stupamque Ω (20) Pori Δ : phori Ω | Taxilis BLPV: taxillis F | Philippum LP: phylippum BFV (21) Philippo BFLP: phylippo V | Eudamon *scripsi*: eodaemonem BFL, eodemonem PV, Eudaemonem *Froben* | Thracum BC: tractum P, tracum B¹FLV | Abisaris *Freinsheim*: abissaris BFPV, abi*saris L.

(22) Ventum est deinde Parsagada: Persica est gens, cuius satrapes Orsines erat, nobilitate ac divitiis inter omnes barbaros eminens. (23) Genus ducebat a Cyro, quondam rege Persarum; opes et a maioribus traditas habebat et ipse longa imperii possessione cumulaverat. (24) Is regi cum omnis generis donis, non ipsi modo ea sed etiam amicis eius daturus, occurrit. Equorum domiti greges sequebantur currusque argento et auro adornati, pretiosa supellex et nobiles gemmae, aurea magni ponderis vasa vestesque purpureae et signati argenti talentum III milia. (25) Ceterum tanta benignitas barbaro causa mortis fuit. Nam cum omnes amicos regis donis super ipsorum vota coluisset, Bagoae spadoni, qui Alexandrum obsequio corporis devinxerat sibi, nullum honorem habuit, (26) admonitusque a quibusdam equam Alexandro cordi esse, respondit amicos regis, non scorta se colere, nec moris esse Persis mares ducere, qui stupro effeminarentur. (27) His auditis spado potentiam flagitio et dedecore quaesitam in caput nobilissimi et insontis exercuit. Namque gentis eiusdem levissimos falsis criminibus adstruxit, monitos tum demum ea deferre, cum ipse iussisset. (28) Interim quotiens sine arbitris erat, credulas regis aures implebat dissimulans causam irae, quo gravior criminantis auctoritas esset. (29) Nondum suspectus erat Orsines, iam tamen vilior. Reus enim in secreto agebatur latentis periculi ignarus, et importunissimum scortum, ne in stupro quidem et dedecoris patientia fraudis oblitum, quotiens amorem regis in se accenderat, Orsinen modo avaritiae, interdum etiam defectionis arguebat. (30) Iam matura erant in perniciem innocentis mendacia, et fatum, cuius inevitabilis sors est, adpetebat. Forte enim sepulchrum Cyri Alexander iussit aperiri, in quo erat conditum eius corpus, cui dare volebat inferias. (31) Auro argentoque [conditum] repletum esse crediderat - quippe ita fama Persae vulgaverant -, sed praeter clipeum eius putrem et arcus duos Scythicos et acinacem nihil repperit. (32) Ceterum corona aurea imposita amiculo, cui adsuerat ipse, solium, in quo corpus iacebat, velavit miratus tanti nominis regem tantis praeditum opibus haud pretiosius sepultum esse, quam si fuisset e plebe. (33) Proximus erat lateri spado, qui regem intuens "Quid mirum" inquit "est inania sepulchra esse regum, cum satraparum domus aurum inde egestum capere non possint? (34) Quod ad me attinet, ipse hoc bustum antea non videram, sed ex Dareo ita accepi, III milia talentum condita esse cum Cyro. (35) Hinc illa benignitas in te, ut, quod impune habere non poterat Orsines, donando etiam gratiam iniret." (36) Concitaverat iam

(22) Parsagada *Vogel*: persagara Ω | divitiis BLPV: diuiciis F (23) a *om.* B¹ | ipse Ω : ipsa P (24) regi Ω : re P (*ut vid.*) | generis P^c ω : gentis P¹ | ipsi B^c Δ : ipso Ω | supellex ω : suppellex P | vestesque ω : uestisque P | talentum P: talenta ω (25) III milia. Ceterum tanta *om.* B¹, *add. in margine corr., sed ita, ut scribat IIII* | devinxerat B^c: deuixerat Ω (26) equam ω : equa P, aequae Δ , eum G, Bagoam *Jeep*, perquam *Heinsius*, quam *vett. edd.* | scorta ω : scortas P | effeminarentur BFLP: efeminarentur V (27) caput BFLP: capud V | falsis ω : falsi P | adstruxit Ω : clam struxit *Hedicke* | monitos tum BFLP: monito fictum V (28) quotiens BP: quociens FLV (29) patientia ω : pacientia P | quotiens BFL^cV: quociens L¹P (30) mendacia BFP: mendatia LV (31) conditum *om.* Δ : conditum Ω , conditis *Bardon*, conditorium *Heinsius* | clipeum M, *Mützell*: clypeum BFLP, clyppeum V | Scythicos BLP: schythicos F, scithicos V | nihil BLPV: nichil F | repperit BFLP: reperit V (32) solium BFLV: solio P, solum F¹ | praeditum BFLPV: paeditum B¹ | pretiosius ω : preciosius P (33) inquit P: inquit ω | inde ω : ind^e P (34) accepi ω : accipi P | talentum P^c ω : talenta P¹ (35) impune P^c ω : inpuiae P¹.

animum in iram, cum ii, quibus negotium idem dederat, superveniunt: hinc Bagoas, hinc ab eo subornati falsis criminibus occupant aures. (37) Antequam accusari se suspicaretur, Orsines in vincula est traditus. Non contentus supplicio insontis spado ipse morituro manum iniecit. Quem Orsines intuens "Audieram" inquit "in Asiam olim regnasse feminas; hoc vero novum est, regnare castratum!" (38) Hic fuit exitus nobilissimi Persarum nec insontis modo, sed eximiae quoque benignitatis in regem. (39) Eodem tempore Phradates regnum adfectasse suspectus occiditur. Coeperat esse praeceps ad repraesentanda supplicia, item ad deteriora credenda. (40) Scilicet res secundae valent commutare naturam, et raro quisquam erga bona sua satis cautus est. Idem enim paulo ante Lyncestem Alexandrum delatum a duobus indicibus damnare non sustinuerat, (41) humiliores quoque reos contra suam voluntatem, quia ceteris videbantur insontes, passus absolvi; hostibus victis regna red<diderat aut a>uxerat: (42) ad ultimum vitae tantum ab semetipso degeneravit, ut in<victi> quondam adversus libidinem animi arbitrio scorti aliis regna daret, aliis adimeret vitam.

(43) Isdem fere diebus litteras a Coeno accipit de rebus in Europa et Asia gestis, dum ipse Indiam subegit. (44) Zopyrio, Thraciae praepositus, cum expeditionem in Getas faceret, tempestatibus procellisque subito coortis cum toto exercitu oppressus erat. (45) Qua cognita clade Seuthes Odrysas, populares suos, ad defectionem compulerat. Amissa propemodum Thracia ne Graecia quidem ***

2. (1) Igitur XXX navibus Sunium transmittunt - promuntorium est Atticae terrae - unde portum urbis petere decreverant. (2) His cognitis rex Harpalo Atheniensibusque iuxta infestus classem parari iubet Athenas protinus petiturus. (3) Quod consilium clam agitant litterae redduntur: Harpalum intrasse quidem Athenas, pecunia conciliasse sibi principum animos; mox concilio plebis habito iussum urbe excedere ad Graecos milites pervenisse, quibus interceptum trucidatum a quodam Thibrone [interemptum] per insidias. (4) His laetus in

(36) ii *Vindelin*: hii BLPV, hi F | idem Ω : pridem *Damsté* | ab eo BLPV: habeo F (37) vincula ω : uinculo P | Non BFLP: nam V | supplicio BL^cP: subplicio FL¹, suplicio V | inquit BFP: inquit LV | regnasse BFLP: regnase V (38) benignitatis B^cP: benignitas ω (39) Coeperat BFP: caeperat LV | esse Ω : rex esse *Vogel* | supplicia BFL: subplicia PV | item Δ : idem Ω | ad deteriora ω : adeteriora P (40) Scilicet ω : sicilicet P¹, si sicilicet P^c | Lyncestem Δ : lincestem BFLP, lincesten V | a *om.* F¹ (41) absolui P: adsolui ω | reddiderat aut auxerat *Scheffer*: regnare duxerat Ω , regna reduxerat *Modius*, regna reddiderat *Freinsheim* (42) vitae tantum *Heraeus*: traiectum Ω , tamen ita & vero ita tum *Zumpt*, tam ex toto *Bardon*, contra tantum *Foss*, tantum *Giacone* | invicti *Hedicke*: in Ω , invictus *persaepe ab edd. scribitur*, iniqui *Heinsius* | quondam P: quodam B¹, quoddam B^cFLV (43) Isdem ω : iisdem P | a Coeno P: aceno ω , a Antipatro *Rader, del.* Δ | accipit FLPV: accepit B | gestis ω : iestis P | Indiam ω : indigam P (44) Zopyrio Δ : zopyrio BFLP, zopyrio V | Thraciae BFLP^c: traciae P¹, tratiae V | Getas C, *Vindelin*: gestas Ω | coortis ω : cohortis P (45) Odrysas *Froben*: odrisas Ω | Thracia BL: tracia FP, tratia V | Graecia BFLP: gretia V | *Post* quidem, *plura desunt*; in ω in *marginē add.* hic desunt II lineae.

2. (1) promuntorium ω : promutorium P | Atticae BFLP: aticae V (2) rex P^c ω : ex P¹ | Harpalo P: arpalo ω (3) clam agitant Δ : clam agitant P, cum clam agitat ω | Harpalum P: arpalum ω | Athenas Ω : Athenas ac *Stangl* | principum BFL^cPV: printipium L¹ | animos P^c ω : amos P¹ | quibus interceptum trucidatum Ω : a quibus interceptum trucidatum *vett. edd.*, in Cretam traiectis *Zumpt*, navibus inde Cretam transvectum *Hedicke*, quibus interceptum [trucidatum] *Bardon*, quibus interceptum et trucidatum *Foss* | a Ω : amico *Hedicke* | Thibrone *Cellar* : auctore Ω , convictore *Bothe*, viatore *vett. edd.*, amicorum *Baraldi* | interemptum Ω : *del. Vogel* (4) his BFPV: hiis L.

Europam traiciendi consilium omisit, sed exules praeter eos, qui civili sanguine aspersi erant, recipi ab omnibus Graecorum civitatibus, quis pulsus erant, iussit. (5) Et Graeci haud ausi aspernari, quamquam solvendarum legum id principium esse censebant, bona quoque, quae extarent, restituere damnatis. (6) Soli Athenienses, non sui modo sed etiam publici vindices, colluvionem ordinum hominumque aegre ferebant non regio imperio, sed legibus moribusque patriis regi adsueti. (7) Prohibuere igitur exules finibus omnia potius toleraturi, quam purgamenta quondam urbis suae, tunc etiam exilii, admitterent.

(8) Alexander senioribus militum in patriam remissis XIII milia peditum et II milia equitum, quae in Asia retineret, eligi iussit existimans modico exercitu continere posse Asiam, quia pluribus locis praesidia disposuisset nuperque conditas urbes colonis repleret res renovare cupientibus. (9) Ceterum priusquam excerneret, quos erat retenturus, edixit, ut omnes milites aes alienum profiterentur. Grave plerisque esse compererat et, quamquam ipsorum luxu contractum erat, dissolvere tamen ipse decreverat. (10) Illi temptari ipsos rati, quo facilius ab integris sumptuosos discerneret, prolatando aliquantum extraxerant temporis. Et rex satis gnarus professioni aeris pudorem, non contumaciam obstare, mensas totis castris poni iussit et X milia talentum proferri. (11) Tum demum <cum> fide facta professio est. Nec amplius ex tanta pecunia quam C et XXX talenta superfuere. Adeo ille exercitus tot divitissimarum gentium victor plus tamen victoriae quam praedae deportavit ex Asia. (12) Ceterum ut cognitum est alios remitti domos, alios retineri, perpetuam eum regni sedem in Asia habiturum rati vaecordes et disciplinae militaris immemores seditiosis vocibus castra complent regemque ferocius quam alias adorti omnes simul missionem postulare coeperunt deformia ora cicatricibus canitiemque capitum ostentantes. (13) Nec aut praefectorum castigatione aut verecundia regis deterriti tumultuoso clamore et militari violentia volentem loqui inhibebant palam professi nusquam inde nisi in patriam vestigium esse moturos. (14) Tandem silentio facto, magis quia motum esse credebant quam quia ipsi moveri poterant, quidnam acturus esset, expectabant. (15) Ille "Quid haec" inquit "repens consternatio et tam procax atque effusa licentia denuntiat? Eloqui metuo. Palam certe rupistis imperium, et precario rex sum, cui non adloquendi, non docendi monendique aut intuendi vos ius reliquistis.

omisit Δ: emisit Ω (5) solvendarum Δ: solidarum Ω | damnatis BFLP: dampnatis V (6) sui Jeep: suo Ω, suae Modius | publici vindices Vogel: publice vindices Ω, publicae vindices libertatis Modius, Graeciae vindices Hedicke | ordinum C, Zumpt: ordinem Ω, extra ordinem Cornelissen | hominumque Jeep: hominum quia BLPV, hominem quia F, hominum Cornelissen (7) exilii BFPV: exilia L (8) eligi ω: elegi P | quia P^cω: qui P¹ | urbes ω: urbes quas P | repleret B^cFLPV: repulisset B¹ | renouare Ω: novare Froben, retinere Hedicke | cupientibus Ω: vix cupientibus Watt, cunctantibus Menge, cupientes coercentibus Sauppe, alii alia (9) priusquam ω: priusquam P | excerneret F^cP: secerneret BF¹LCV, seexcerneret L¹ | plerisque ω: plerique P (10) satis om. V¹ | gnarus L: ignarus BFPV | professioni BL: professionis P, professioni* FV | contumaciam BLV: totumaciam P, contumantiam F | castris: P om. in fine folii verba quae secuntur usque ad 10.5.8 nec se ipsos duobus, ut videtur, foliis amissis. (11) cum fide Jeep: fide Ω | Adeo BLV: atco F | victoriae Ω: gloriae Cornelissen (12) domos BF^cLV: domus F¹ | in Asia Δ: in asiam Ω | canitiem Δ: caniciem Ω (13) praefectorum Δ: profectorum Ω | deterriti Δ, Lauer: deterritum Ω | tumultuoso BF^cLCV: tumultuosa B¹L¹ (14) acturus BF^cLV: acturos F¹ (15) ille Ω: cum ille Hedicke | quid B^cFLV: qui B¹ | inquit BFV: inquit L | atque BFV: adque L | docendi Δ: noscendi Ω, hortandi Watt.

(16) Equidem cum alios dimittere in patriam, alios mecum paulo post deportare statuerim, tam illos adclamantes video, qui abituri sunt, quam hos, cum quibus praemissos subsequi statui. (17) Quid hoc est rei? dispari in causa idem omnium clamor est. Pervelim scire, utrum qui discedunt an qui retinentur de me querantur." (18) Crederes uno ore omnes sustulisse clamorem: ita pariter ex tota contione responsum est omnes queri. (19) Tum ille "Non, hercule," inquit "potest fieri, ut adducar querendi simul omnibus hanc causam esse, quam ostenditis, in qua maior pars exercitus non est, utpote cum plures dimiserim quam retenturus sum. (20) Subest nimirum altius malum, quod omnes avertit a me. Quando enim regem universus deseruit exercitus? Ne servi quidem uno grege profugiunt dominos, sed est quidam in illis pudor a ceteris destitutos relinquendi. (21) Verum ego tam furiosae consternationis oblitus remedia insanabilibus conor adhibere. Omnem, hercule, spem, quam ex vobis conceperam, damno nec ut cum militibus meis - iam enim esse desistis - sed ut cum ingratis operis agere decrevi. (22) Secundis rebus, quae circumfluunt vos, insanire coepistis obliti status eius, quem beneficio exuistis meo, digni, hercule, qui in eodem consenescentis, quoniam facilius est vobis adversam quam secundam regere fortunam. (23) En tandem, Illyriorum paulo ante et Persarum tributariis Asia et tot gentium spolia fastidio sunt! Modo sub Philippo seminudis amacula ex purpura sordent, aurum et argentum oculi ferre non possunt: lignea enim vasa desiderant et ex cratibus scuta rubiginemque gladiatorum. (24) Hoc cultu nitentes vos accepi et D talenta aeris alieni, cum omnis regia supellex haud amplius quam LX talenta esset, tantorum mox operum fundamenta: quibus tamen - absit invidia - imperium maximae terrarum partis imposui. (25) Asiaene pertaesum est, quae vos gloria rerum gestarum dis pares fecit? In Europam ire properatis rege deserto, cum pluribus vestrum defuturum viaticum fuerit, ni aes alienum luissem, nempe in Asiatica praeda. (26) Nec pudet profundo ventre devictarum gentium spolia circumferentes reverti velle ad liberos coniugesque, quibus pauci praemia victoriae potestis ostendere: nam ceterorum, dum etiam spei vestrae obviam istis, arma quoque pignori sunt. (27) Bonis vero militibus cariturus sum, paelicum suarum concubinis, quibus hoc solum ex tantis opibus superest, in quod impenditur! Proinde fugientibus me pateant limites: facessite hinc ocius, ego cum Persis abeuntium terga tutabor. Neminem teneo: liberate oculos meos, ingratis cives! (28) Laeti vos excipient parentes liberique sine vestro rege redeuntes; obviam ibunt desertoribus transfugisque! (29)

(16) statuerim *Froben*: statuerem Ω | abituri BLV: habituri F | quam BFL: quas V | cum quibus BFL: quibus V (17) Pervelim BFL^cV: peruelum L¹ | discedunt Δ , *Lauer*: descendunt Ω (18) omnes *om.* B¹ (19) inquit BFV: inquit L | adducar B^cFLV: adducatur B¹ | simul BFL^cV: simul L¹ | dimiserim BFL^cV: dimiserem L¹ (20) sed est Δ , *Froben*: sedem Ω | quidam *Froben*: quidem Ω | destitutos BFL^cV: destitutas L¹ (21) consternationis BFV: consternacionis L | hercule BFV: ercule L | enim *om.* L¹ | operis *Ruben*: oportet B¹FLV, utoportet B^c, civibus porro *Acidalius* (22) status BFL^cV: status L¹ (23) tandem Ω : insolentiam *Hedicke* | Illyriorum *Aldus*: illiriorum Ω | gentium BLV: gencium F | seminudis BFL^cV: seminudus L¹ (24) supellex BFL: suppellex V | haud Ω : esset haud *Hedicke* | talenta esset, tantorum *Castiglioni*: talentorum Ω , talentorum sit B^c, talenta, meorum *Hedicke*, talenta, tantorum *Bardon*, talenta valeret, tantorum *Walter*, talentorum esset. Ecce meorum *Vogel*, talentorum esset, meorum *vett. edd.* | partis Ω : parti Δ (25) fuerit *om.* V | luissem BFL^cV: luissem L¹ (26) devictarum B^cFLV: deuectarum B¹ | gentium BLV: gencium F | velle BFL^cV: vellet F¹ (27) ocius B^cV: otius B¹FL | abeuntium BLV: abeuncium F.

Triumphabo, mehercule, de fuga vestra et, ubicumque ero, expetam poenas hos, cum quibus me relinquitis, colendo praeferendoque vobis. Iam autem scietis, et quantum sine rege valeat exercitus et quid opis in me uno sit." (30) Desiluit deinde frendens de tribunali et in medium armatorum agmen se immisit, notatos quoque, qui ferocissime oblocuti erant, singulos manu corripit nec ausos repugnare XIII adservandos custodibus corporis tradidit.

3. (1) Quis crederet saevam paulo ante contionem obtorpuisse subito metu, (2) [et] cum ad supplicium videret trahi nihilo ausos graviora quam ceteros? (3) Sive nominis, quod gentes, quae sub regibus <vivunt, reges> inter deos colunt, sive propria ipsius veneratio sive fiducia tanta vi exercentis imperium conterruit eos: (4) singulare certe ediderunt patientiae exemplum adeoque non sunt accensi supplicio commilitonum, cum sub noctem interfectos esse cognosset, ut nihil omiserint, quod singuli magis oboedienter et pie facerent. (5) Nam cum postero die prohibiti aditu venissent Asiaticis modo militibus admissis, lugubrem totis castris edidere clamorem, denuntiantes protinus esse morituros, si rex perseveraret irasci. (6) At ille pervicacis ad omnia, quae agitasset, animi peregrinorum militum contionem advocari iubet Macedonibus intra castra cohibitis et, cum frequentes coissent, adhibito interprete talem orationem habuit: (7) "Cum ex Europa traicerem in Asiam, multas nobiles gentes, magnam vim hominum imperio meo me additurum esse sperabam. Nec deceptus sum, quod de his credidi fama. (8) Sed ad illa hoc quoque accessit, quod video fortes viros <et> erga reges suos pietatis invictae. (9) Luxu omnia fluere credideram et nimia felicitate mergi in voluptates. At, hercules, munia militiae hoc animorum corporumque robore aequae impigre toleratis et, cum fortes viri sitis, non fortitudinem magis quam fidem colitis. (10) Hoc ego [non] nunc primum profiteor, sed olim scio. Itaque et dilectum e vobis iuniorum habui et vos meorum militum corpori immiscui. Idem habitus, eadem arma sunt vobis, obsequium vero et patientia imperii longe praestantior est quam ceteris. (11) Ergo ipse Oxyartis Persae filiam mecum [in] matrimonio iunxi non dedignatus ex captiva liberos tollere. (12) Mox deinde cum stirpem generis mei latius propagare cuperem, uxorem Darei filiam duxi proximisque amicorum auctor fui ex captivis generandi liberos, ut hoc sacro foedere omne discrimen victi et victoris excluderem. (13) Proinde genitos esse vos mihi, non ascitos milites credite. Asiae et Europae unum atque idem regnum est. Macedonum vobis arma do, inveteravi peregrinam novitatem: et

(29) de fuga BFV: dega L (30) notatos BFL: notaos V | corripit Ω : corripuit Δ , *Lauer*.

3. (1) crederet BFL: credit V | contionem BLV: concionem F (2) et *del. Modius*: et Ω , etiam *Bentley* | nihilo *Acidalius*: nihil Ω | *Veteres editores quaedam excidisse post ceteros existimaverunt*. (3) sub Ω : sunt sub *Vogel* | regibus vivunt, reges *Stangl*: regibus Ω , regibus sunt Δ , regibus sunt, reges *de Lorenzi* | fiducia BL: fidutia FV (4) patientiae BLV: pacientiae F (5) venissent Ω : fuissent *Bentley*, regis essent *Foss*, abissent *Stangl* | denuntiantes B¹LCV: denunciantes FL¹, denuntiantes se B^c | esse Ω : sese *Hedicke* (7) ex om. F¹ | additurum BFCV: aditurum F¹ (8) et erga *Vogel*: erga Ω (9) omnia Ω : omni *Hedicke* | fluere BFLCV: fuere L¹ | militiae BLCV: militiae FL¹ | robore *Francinus*: robor Ω | ego Δ : ergo Ω | non *del. Acidalius*: non Ω , vero *Hedicke* | patientia BLV: pacientia F | praestantior est B^c: praestantiore B¹LV, praestantior F (11) Oxyartis *Aldus*: oxiratis Ω | in om. Δ , *del. Hedicke* | iunxi BFL: iunxi V (12) fui BFCV: fuit F¹, fut L¹ | excluderem Ω : eluerem *Cornelissen* (13) atque BFV: adque L.

cives mei estis et milites. (14) Omnia eundem ducunt colorem: nec Persis Macedonum morem adumbrare nec Macedonibus Persas imitari indecorum. Eiusdem iuris esse debent, qui sub eodem rege victuri sunt." ***

4. (1) "Quousque" inquit "animo tuo etiam per supplicia et quidem externi moris obsequeris? Milites tui, cives tui incognita causa [a] captivis suis ducentibus trahuntur ad poenam. Si mortem meruisse iudicas, saltem ministros supplicii muta." (2) Amico animo, si veri patiens fuisset, admonebatur, sed in rabiem ira pervenerat. Itaque rursus - nam parumper, quibus imperatum erat, dubitaverant - mergi in amnem, sicut vincti erant, iussit. (3) Nec hoc quidem supplicium seditionem militum movit. Namque copiarum duces atque amicos eius manipuli adeunt petentes, ut, si quos adhuc pristina noxa iudicaret esse contactos, iuberet interfici: offerre se corpora irae, trucidaret. ***

5. (1) Intuentibus lacrimae obortae praebuere speciem iam non regem, sed funus eius visentis exercitus. (2) Maeror tamen circumstantium lectum eminebat; quos ut rex aspexit, "Invenietis," inquit "cum excessero, dignum talibus viris regem?" (3) Incredibile dictu audituque, in eodem habitu corporis, in quem se composuerat, cum admissurus milites esset, durasse, donec a toto exercitu illud ultimum persalutatus est. Dimissoque vulgo velut omni vitae debito liberatus fatigata membra reiecit, (4) propiusque adire iussis amicis - nam et vox deficere iam coeperat - detractum anulum digito Perdiccae tradidit adiectis mandatis, ut corpus suum ad Hammonem ferri iuberent. (5) Quaerentibusque his, cui relinqueret regnum, respondet ei, qui esset optimus; ceterum providere iam se ob id certamen magnos funebres ludos parari sibi. (6) Rursus Perdicca interrogante, quando caelestes honores haberi sibi vellet, dixit tum velle, cum ipsi felices essent. Suprema haec vox fuit regis, et paulo post extinguitur.

(7) Ac primo ploratu lamentisque et planctibus tota regia personabat; mox velut in vasta solitudine omnia tristi silentio muta torpebant, ad cogitationes, quid deinde futurum esset, dolore converso. (8) Nobiles pueri custodiae corporis eius adsueti nec doloris magnitudinem capere nec se ipsos intra vestibulum regiae tenere potuerunt: vagique et

(14) ducunt B^cFLV: dicunt B¹ | morem *Vindelin*: more Ω , mores Δ , *de Lorenzi* | Post victuri sunt, *plura desunt*; in Ω *admodum magnum spatium vacuum relictum est et ascr. in BL a corr. hinc deest.*

4. (1) quidem BFL: quidam V | obsequeris A, *Giunta*: exequeris Ω | a *del. vett. edd.*: a Ω , et *Stangl* | poenam B: paenam FLV | iudicas Δ : indicas Ω (2) patiens BFLCV: paciens L¹ | vincti BFL: uincti V (3) nec Ω : ne *Zumpt* | seditionem BFLCV: sedicionem L¹ | contactos Δ : contractos Ω | irae, trucidaret *Modius*: ira retrucidaret Ω | Post trucidaret *plura desunt*; in *nulla chartae pars vacua relicta est, sed sive in ipso versu (FL¹V) sive in margine (BL^c) a corr. add. hinc deest.*

5. (1) obortae BFV: obhortae L (2) lectum BFC^cLCV: luctum F¹L¹ | rex aspexit B^c Δ : respexit FLV, rex pexit B¹ (3) audituque BLV: auditoque F | admissurus B¹: amissurus B^cFLV | dimissoque BLV: dimisoque F | velut BFC^cL: uelud F¹V | omni FLV: omne B (4) Propiusque BLV: propiusque F | adire Ω : adsidere *Hedicke* | deficere B^cL^cV^c: decipere B¹F, deficere decipere L¹, *om. V¹* | coeperat BF: ceperat LV | Hammonem B^c: ammonem Ω (5) respondet Ω : respondit B^c Δ , *Lauer* | providere *Modius*: provide Ω | parari BFL: parare V (8) capere nec se *Froben*: canecse B¹L¹, carere nec se B^c, carere nece F¹, carere nesce F^c, carere V, canere L^c.

furentibus similes tantam urbem luctu ac maerore compleverant nullis questibus omissis, quos in tali casu dolor suggerit. (9) Ergo qui extra regiam adstiterant Macedones pariter barbarique concurrunt, nec poterant victi a victoribus in communi dolore discerni. Persae iustissimum ac mitissimum dominum, Macedones optimum ac fortissimum regem invocantes certamen quoddam maeroris edebant. (10) Nec maestorum solum sed etiam indignantium voces exaudiebantur, tam viridem et in flore aetatis fortunaequae invidia deum ereptum esse rebus humanis. Vigor eius et vultus educentis in proelium milites, obsidentis urbes, evadentis in muros, fortes viros pro contione donantis occurrebant oculis. (11) Tum Macedones divinos honores negasse ei paenitebat, impiosque et ingratos fuisse se confitebantur, quod aures eius debita appellatione fraudassent. Et cum diu nunc in veneratione nunc in desiderio regis haesissent, in ipsos versa miseratio est. (12) Macedonia profecti ultra Euphraten mediis hostibus novum imperium aspernantibus destitutos se esse cernebant: sine certo regis herede, sine herede regni publicas vires ad se quemque tracturum. (13) Bella deinde civilia, quae secuta sunt, mentibus augurabantur: iterum, non de regno Asiae, sed de rege, ipsis sanguinem esse fundendum, novis vulneribus veteres rumpendas cicatrices: (14) senes, debiles, modo petita missione a iusto rege, nunc morituros pro potentia forsitan satellitis alicuius ignobilis.

(15) Has cogitationes volventibus nox supervenit terroremque auxit. Milites in armis vigilabant, Babylonii alius e muris, alius culmine sui quisque tecti prospectabant quasi certiora visuri. (16) Nec quisquam lumina audebat accendere. Et quia oculorum cessabat usus, fremitus vocesque auribus captabant ac plerumque vano metu territi per obscuras semitas alius alii occurrentes invicem suspecti ac solliciti ferebantur. (17) Persae comis suo more detonsis in lugubri veste cum coniugibus ac liberis non ut victorem et modo [ut] hostem, sed ut gentis suae iustissimum regem vero desiderio lugebant ac sueti sub rege vivere non alium, qui imperaret ipsis, digniorem fuisse confitebantur. (18) Nec muris urbis luctus continebatur, sed proximam regionem ab ea, deinde magnam partem Asiae cis Euphraten tanti mali fama pervaserat. (19) Ad Darei quoque matrem celeriter perlata est. Abscissa ergo veste, quam induta erat, lugubrem sumpsit laceratisque crinibus humi corpus abiecit. (20) Adsidebat ei altera ex neptibus nuper amissum Hephaestionem, cui nupserat, lugens propriasque causas doloris in

tantam B¹FLPV: totam BC | maerore ω : memore P | quos ω : cos P | in tali B^cF^cLPV: itali B¹, in itali F¹ (9) adstiterant B^cFLV: adsisterant P, adstiterunt F¹ | optimum ω : optissimum P | maeroris ω : memoris *vel* nemoris P (10) viridem P^c ω : uicidem P¹ | invidia BLPV: invidi F | eius Ω : oris *Cornelissen* | ereptum BFL: erepta P, ereptam V | evadentis BFV: euadentes P, euadent*s L | muros ω : mures P | viros pro B^cFLPV: uiros uiros B¹ | contione BFLP: concione V | donantis P: donatis ω (11) paenitebat P: paenitebant ω | ingratos B^cFLPV: ingratosque F¹ | appellatione ω : apellatione P | haesissent BFLP: esissent V (12) mediis Ω : in mediis *Zumpt* | destitutos BC: distitutos B¹FLPV | sine herede regni Ω : *del. Zumpt*, sine sede regni *Cornelissen* (13) civilia P: ciuili ω | ipsis BFLP: ipsi V | rumpendas ω : rumpandas P (14) a iusto B^c Δ : iusto Ω (15) volventibus BLPV: uolentibus F | Babylonii BFL: babilonii P, babillonii V | quisque ω : quis P | certiora BFL^cP: cerciora L¹V (16) usus ω : usu P | plerumque P: plerumque quae ω | alius Ω : alii *Rolfe* (17) comis suo *Palmer*: commisso Ω | cum coniugibus P: coniugibus ω | ut *del. Vindelini* | ac sueti B¹P: assueti B^cFLV (18) Euphraten BLPV: eufraten F (19) Abscissa ω : abscissa P | quam P: qua ω (20) neptibus Δ , *Lauer*: nepotibus Ω | Hephaestionem *Cospus*: ephestionem Ω

communi maestitia retractabat. (21) Sed omnium suorum mala Sisigambis una capiebat: illa suam, illa neptium vicem flebat. Recens dolor etiam praeterita revocaverat. Crederes modo amissum Dareum, et pariter miserae duorum filiorum exequias esse ducendas. Flebat simul mortuōs vivosque. (22) Quem enim puellarum acturum esse curam? quem alium futurum Alexandrum? iterum esse se captas, iterum excidisse regno. Qui mortuo Dareo ipsas tueretur, repperisse; qui post Alexandrum respiceret, utique non reperturas. (23) Subibat inter haec animum LXXX fratres suos eodem die ab Ocho, saevissimo regum, trucidatos adiectumque stragi tot filiorum patrem; e septem liberis, quos genuisset ipsa, unum superesse; ipsum Dareum floruisse paulisper, ut crudelius posset extingui. (24) Ad ultimum dolori succubuit obvolutoque capite accidens genibus suis neptem nepotemque aversata cibo pariter abstinuit et luce. Quinto, postquam mori statuerat, die extincta est. (25) Magnum profecto Alexandri indulgentiae in eam iustitiaeque in omnes captivos documentum est mors huius, quae cum sustinisset post Dareum vivere, Alexandro esse superstes erubuit.

(26) Et, hercule, iuste aestimantibus regem liquet bona naturae eius fuisse, vitia vel fortunae vel aetatis. (27) Vis incredibilis animi, laboris patientia propemodum nimia, fortitudo non inter reges modo excellens, sed inter illos quoque, quorum haec sola virtus fuit, (28) liberalitas saepe maiora tribuentis, quam a dis petuntur, clementia in devictos - tot regna aut reddita, quibus ademerat bello, aut dono data -, (29) mortis, cuius metus ceteros exanimat, perpetua contemptio, gloriae laudisque ut iusto maior cupido, ita ut iuveni et in tantis sane remittenda rebus; (30) iam pietas erga parentes, quorum Olympiada immortalitati consecrare decreverat, Philippum ultus erat, (31) iam in omnes fere amicos benignitas, erga milites benevolentia, consilium par magnitudini animi et, quantam vix poterat aetas eius capere, sollertia, (32) modus immodicarum cupiditatum, veneris intra naturale desiderium usus nec ulla nisi ex permissis voluptas [ingentes profecto dotes erant]. (33) Illa fortunae: dis aequare se et caelestes honores accersere et talia suadentibus oraculis credere et dedignantibus venerari ipsum vehementius quam par esset irasci, in externum habitum mutare corporis cultum, imitari devictarum gentium mores, quas ante victoriam spreverat. (34) Nam iracundiam et cupidinem vini sicuti iuventa inritaverat, ita senectus mitigare potuisset. (35) Fatendum est

maestitia BFLP: mesticia V | retractabat *Freinsheim*: retractabant Ω (21) Sisigambis ω: sisimgambis P (22) quem P: quam ω | excidisse BC: excedisse Ω | regno P^cω: regnum P¹ | ipsas tueretur ω: ipsa *vel* ipse stuperetur P | post P: plus ω (24) succubuit FV: subcubuit BLP | nepotemque B^cF^cLPV: neptemque B¹ (25) Alexandri P: alexandro ω | iustitiaeque BFP: iustitiaeque LV (27) patientia L^cF: pacientia BL¹PV | tribuentis Ω: tribuens *Bentley* (28) aut ω: haud P | ademerat *Bentley*: eadem erat P, eademserat *vel* ea demserat ω, ea dempserat M, ea ademerat Δ (29) metus BFLP: detus V | contemptio BLV: contentio FP | ut iuveni Ω: in iuvene *Jeep* | sane remittenda *Walter*: nec amittenda Ω, neglegenda *Hedicke* (30) Olympiada BC: olimpiada Ω | immortalitati ω: inmortalitate P | consecrare decreverat BLPV: consecrauerat F | ultus B^cF^cLPV: uultus F¹ | sollertia FL^cV: solertia P, sollertiam B, sollercia L¹ (32) modus Δ, *Lauer*: modum Ω, iam modus *Vogel*, modus iam *de Lorenzi* | ingentes...erant *dempsi*: ingentes...erant Ω, ingenii...erant *Acidalius* | profecto ω: praefecto P | erant ω: erat P, erant naturae *Stangl* (33) dis aequare P^cω: dis aequare P¹ | dedignantibus BFPV: declinantibus L | venerari ω: uaenerari P | mutare BFL^cP^cV: matare P¹, mitare L¹ | imitare P^cω: himitari P¹ | quas Ω: quos Δ (34) vini sicuti BLPV: uinis ecuti F | ita B^cF^cLPV: ut a B¹.

tamen, cum plurimum virtuti debuerit, plus debuisse fortunae, quam solus omnium mortalium in potestate habuit. Quotiens illum a morte revocavit! quotiens temere in pericula vectum perpetua felicitate protexit! (36) Vitae quoque finem eundem illi quem gloriae statuit. Expectāvere eum fata, dum Oriente perdomito aditoque Oceano, quicquid mortalitas capiebat, impleret.

(37) Huic regi ducique successor quaerebatur, sed maior moles erat, quam ut unus subire eam posset. Itaque nomen quoque eius et fama rerum in totum propemodum orbem reges ac regna diffudit, clarissimique sunt habiti, qui etiam minimae parti tantae fortunae adhaeserunt.

6. (1) Ceterum Babylone - inde enim devertit oratio - corporis [eius] custodes in regiam principes amicorum ducesque copiarum advocavere. Secuta est militum turba cupientium scire, in quem Alexandri fortuna esset transitura. (2) Multi duces frequentia militum exclusi regiam intrare non poterant, cum praeco exceptis, qui nominatim citarentur, adire prohiberet. Sed precarium spernebatur imperium. (3) Ac primum eiulatus ingens ploratusque renovatus est, deinde futuri expectatio inhibitis lacrimis silentium fecit. (4) Tunc Perdicca regia sella in conspectum volgi elata, in qua diadema vestisque Alexandri cum armis erant, anulum sibi pridie traditum a rege in eadem sede posuit. Quorum aspectu rursus abortae omnibus lacrimae integravere luctum. (5) Et Perdicca "Ego quidem" inquit "anulum, quo ille regni atque imperii vires obsignare erat solitus, traditum ab ipso mihi reddo vobis. (6) Ceterum quamquam nulla clades huic, qua adfecti sumus, par ab iratis dis excogitari potest, tamen magnitudinem rerum, quas egit, intuentibus credere licet, tantum virum deos adcommodasse rebus humanis, quarum sorte completa cito repeterent eum suae stirpi. (7) Proinde quoniam nihil aliud ex eo superest, quam quod semper ab immortalitate seducitur, corpori hominique quam primum iusta solvamus haud oblitum, in qua urbe, inter quos simus, quali praeside ac rege spoliati. (8) Tractandum est, commilitones, cogitandumque, ut victoriam partam inter hos, de quibus parta est, obtinere possimus. Capite opus est: hocine uno an <pluribus>, in vestra potestate est. Illud scire debetis, militarem sine duce turbam corpus esse sine spiritu. (9) Sextus mensis est, ex quo Roxane praegnans est. Optamus, ut marem enitatur, cuius regnum dis adprobantibus futurum, quandoque adoleverit. Interim a <quot> quibusque regi velitis, destinate." Haec Perdicca. (10) Tum Nearchus Alexandri modo sanguinem ac stirpem regiae maiestati convenire neminem ait posse mirari; (11) ceterum expectari nondum

(35) debuisse ω : debuisset P | quotiens BFPV: quociens L | illum BFCLPV: temere Fl (36) Oriente ω : moriente P | Oceano ω : aeano P (37) unus ω : unius P | adhaeserunt ω : adeserunt P.

6. (1) Babylone BC: babilone FP¹, babillone B¹LPCV | eius *dempsi* | advocavere P ω : aduocare P¹ | transitura BFPV: trasitura L (2) adire P ω : adhere P¹ | prohiberet BFLP ω : proiberet P¹ (3) Ac primum Δ , *Lauer*: ad primum Ω (4) conspectum BFPV: conspectu L | elata *George*: data Ω | sede ω : sedem P (5) imperii BFPV: imperio L | vires Ω : res *Scheffer*, vi res *Watt* (6) tantum Ω : *del. Scheffer* (7) ex *om.* L¹ | immortalitate ω : imortalitate P | hominique *Heumannus*: nominique Ω , numinique *Gleye*, utique *Hedicke* (8) commilitones Δ : comilitones Ω | cogitandumque BC, *Vindelin*: cogitantumque BFLP, cogitatumque V | hocine uno an Ω : hoc nominare *Bentley* | an pluribus Δ : an Ω (9) mensis BLP: mensi*s F, mensus V | ex quo Ω : in quo *Bardon* | praegnans ω : praegna P | futurum Ω : sit futurum *Hedicke* | quot quibusque *Kinch*: quibusque FLPV, quibus* B, quibus Δ (10) mirari Ω : infitari *Bentley*.

ortum regem et, qui iam sit, praeteriri, nec animis Macedonum convenire nec tempori rerum. Esse e Barsine filium regis: huic diadema dandum. (12) Nulli placebat oratio. Itaque suo more hastis scuta quatientes obstrepere perseverabant, iamque prope ad seditionem pervenerant Nearchō pervicacius tuente sententiam. (13) Tum Ptolomaeus "Digna prorsus est suboles," inquit "quae Macedonum imperet genti, Roxanes vel Barsines filius, cuius nomen quoque Europam dicere pigebit maiore ex parte captivi! (14) Est, cur Persas vicerimus, ut stirpi eorum serviamus, quod iusti illi reges Dareus et Xerxes tot milium agminibus tantisque classibus nequiquam petiverunt! (15) Mea sententia haec est, ut sede Alexandri in regia posita, qui consiliis eius adhibebantur, coeant, quotiens in commune consulto opus fuerit, eoque, quod maior pars eorum decreverit, stetur; duces praefectique copiarum his pareant." (16) Ptolomaeo quidam, pauciores Perdiccae adsentiebantur. Tum Aristonus orsus est dicere Alexandrum consultum, cui relinqueret regnum, voluisse optimum deligi; iudicatum autem ab ipso optimum Perdiccam, cui anulum tradidisset. (17) Neque enim unum eum adsedissem morienti, sed circumferentem oculos ex turba amicorum delegisse, cui traderet. Placere igitur summam imperii ad Perdiccam deferri. (18) Nec dubitavere, quin vera censeret. Itaque universi procedere in medium Perdiccam et regis anulum tollere iuebant. Haerebat inter cupiditatem pudoremque et, quo modestius, quod expectabat, adpeteret, pervicacius oblaturos esse credebat. (19) Itaque cunctatus diuque, quid ageret, incertus ad ultimum tamen recessit et post eos, qui sedi erant proximi, constitit. (20) At Meleager, unus e ducibus, confirmato animo, quem Perdiccae cunctatio erexerat, "Nec di sierint," inquit "ut Alexandri fortuna tantique regni fastigium in istos humeros ruat: homines certe non ferent. Nihil dico de nobilioribus quam hic est, sed de viris tantum, quibus invitis nihil perpeti necesse est. (21) Nec vero interest, Roxanes filium, quandoque genitus erit, an Perdiccan regem habeatis, cum iste sub tutelae specie regnum occupaturus sit. Itaque nemo ei rex placet, nisi qui nondum natus est, et in tanta omnium festinatione non iusta modo sed etiam necessaria exactos menses solus expectat et iam divinat marem esse conceptum. Quem vos dubitetis paratum esse vel subdere? (22) Si, mediusfidius,

(11) ortum B^cFLPV: hortum B¹ | praeteriri BFLP: praeteriti V | tempori Ω: tenori Jeep | rerum Ω: eorum Hedicke, regum Stangl, Verum Vogel | e Barsine Froben: abarsine Ω (12) hastis BL^cPV: astis F, hestis L¹ | quatientes BFL^cV: quacientes L¹P | pervicacius Δ: peruiacius P, peruiacius BFL, peruiacius V | sententiam ω: sententia P (13) Tum Ω: cum Hedicke | Ptolomaeus Hedicke: ptholomeus BP, tolomeus F, ptolomeus LV | suboles B^c: soboles B¹FLPV | Roxanes B¹FLPV: roxanis B^c | Barsines Modius: barsinae BFL, barsine PV | dicere Ω: discere Heinsius | maiore BFPV: magore L, materna Cornelissen (14) Xerxes B¹: exerses PV, xerses B^cL, *xerses F (15) in regia posita ω: ut regia aposita P | adhibebantur ω: adhibeantur P | decreverit P^cω: decreuerant P¹ (16) Ptolomaeo Hedicke: ptholomeo BFLP, ptolomeo V | adsentiebantur P^cω: adsenteebantur P¹ (ut vid.) | relinqueret BFL^cV: reliqueret L¹P | deligi ω: diligi P | ipso ω: ipsa P | anulum BFL^cPV: annulum L¹ (17) circumferentem N, Giunta: circumferenti Ω | delegisse ω: deligisse vel diligisse P | Perdiccam BFPV: perdicam L (18) dubitavere B^cΔ: dubitare Ω, dubitari N | iuebant BFL^cPV: iuuebant F¹ | pudoremque B^cFLPV: podoremque B¹ | modestius ω: modoestius P | expectabat Ω: spectabat Hedicke | adpeteret ω: atpeteret P | pervicacius BFL: peruiacius PV | sedi erant Kinch: sederant Ω (20) At ω: ad P | erexerat B^cFLPV: exerat B¹ | inquit BFPV: inquit L (21) Roxanes Froben: hroxanis FLPV, roxanis B | Perdiccan B: perdiccan FLPV | specie BLPV: spetie F | solus ω: solus P | dubitetis B¹FPV: dubitatis B^c.

Alexander hunc nobis regem pro se reliquisset, id solum ex iis, quae imperasset, non faciendum esse censerem. (23) Quin igitur ad diripiendos thesauros discurretis? harum enim opum regiarum utique populus est heres." (24) Haec elocutus per medios armatos erupit, et, qui abeunt^ī viam dederant, ipsum ad pronuntiatam praedam sequebantur.

7. (1) Iamque armatorum circa Meleagrū frequens globus erat in seditionem ac discordiam versa contione, cum quidam plerisque Macedonum ignotus ex infima plebe (2) "Quid opus est" inquit "armis civilique bello habentibus regem, quem quaeritis? Arrhidaeus, Philippo genitus, Alexandri paulo ante regis frater, sacrorum caerimoniarumque consors modo, nunc solus heres, praeteritur a vobis. Quo suo merito? quidve fecit, cur etiam gentium communi iure fraudetur? Si Alexandro similem quaeritis, numquam reperietis, si proximum, hic solus est." (3) His auditis contio primo silentium velut iussa habuit; conclamant deinde pariter Arrhidaeum vocandum esse mortemque meritos, qui contionem sine eo habuissent. (4) Tum Pithon plenus lacrimarum orditur dicere, nunc vel maxime miserabilem esse Alexandrum, qui tam bonorum civium militumque fructu et praesentia fraudatus esset: nomen enim memoriamque regis sui tantum intuentes ad cetera caligare eos. (5) Haud ambigue iuvenem, cui regnum destinabatur, inpense *** probra, quae obiecerat, magis ipsi odium quam Arrhidaeo contemptum attulerunt: quippe dum miserentur, etiam favere coeperunt. (6) Igitur non alium regem se quam eum, qui ad hanc spem genitus esset, passuros pertinaci adclamatione declarant vocarique Arrhidaeum iubent. (7) Quem Meleager infestus invisusque Perdiccae strenue perducit in regiam, et milites Philippum consalutatū regem appellant.

(8) Ceterum haec vulgi erat vox, principum alia sententia. E quibus Pithon consilium Perdiccae exequi coepit tutoresque destinat filio ex Roxane futuro Perdiccam et Leonnatum, stirpe regia genitos. (9) Adiecit, ut in Europa Craterus et Antipater res administrarent. Tum iusiurandum a singulis exactum futuros in potestate regis geniti Alexandro. (10) Meleager -

(22) pro se *om.* P | reliquisset B^cLPCV: relequisset P¹, reliquisset F¹ | iis *Vindelin:* his *Ω* (24) elocutus B^cFLPV: locutus B¹ | medios P^cω: medius P¹ | pronuntiatam *Freinsheim:* praenuntiantem *Ω*.

7. (1) contione *Vindelin:* contio *Ω* | infima B^cFLCPV: infama B¹, infirma L¹ | inquit BFPV: inquit L (2) Arrhidaeus *Zumpt:* arrithdeus P, arithdeus ω | suo merito P: merito suo ω | cur BFLP: cur V | communi BLPV: communii F | reperietis ω: repperietis P (3) contio BFLP: concio V | velut ω: uelud P | conclamant ω: condemnant P | Arrhidaeum *Zumpt:* arithdeum P, arithdeum BFL, erithdeum V | vocandum *Aldus:* uocatum *Ω* | contionem BFLP: concionem V (4) Pithon *Froben:* phiton *Ω* | tam *Ω:* iam *Scheffer* | fructu B: fructum FLPV | *Post* eos *Aldus quaedam excidisse existimat.* (5) iuvenem *Ω:* tum in eum *Hedicke,* in iuvenem *saepe scribitur* | destinabatur ω: distinatatur P | *Post* inpense *quaedam excidisse existimo:* inpense probra *Ω,* infensus: probra *Bardon,* ingessit probra: at *Hedicke,* carpens. Sed probra *Stangl,* impugnans. Sed probra *Damsté, alii alia* | *In editione Elzeviriana lacuna post* obiecerat *indicatur* | Arrhidaeo *Zumpt:* arithdeo *Ω* | coeperunt ω: ceperunt P (6) regem P: *om.* ω | passuros P: parsuros ω | pertinaci ω: pertinacia et P | Arrhidaeum *Zumpt:* arithdeum FLP, arithdeum BV | iubent ω: iubeent P (7) Perdiccae BLPV: perdiccae F | strenue FC: strenue BF¹LPV | Philippum LCPV: philippum BL¹, phylippum F | consalutatū BP: consaluatum F, consalutatum L, consaluatum V | regem *om.* V¹ (8) principum LPV: principum B, principium F | Pithon *Froben:* phiton *Ω* | Perdiccae BLV: perdiccae FP | tutoresque BFLPV: tatoesque F¹ | ex *om.* F | Perdiccam BFPV: perdicam L | stirpe BLPV: styrpe F | genitos ω: genitus P (9) potestate BFPV: potestatem LP.

haud iniuria metu supplicii territus cum suis secesserat - rursus Philippum trahens secum inrupit regiam clamitans suffragari spei publicae de novo rege paulo ante conceptae robur aetatis: experirentur modo stirpem Philippi et filium ac fratrem regum duorum: sibimet ipsis potissimum crederent. (11) Nullum profundum mare, nullum vastum fretum et procellosum tantos ciet fluctus, quantos multitudo motus habet, utique si nova et brevi duratura libertate luxuriat. (12) Pauci Perdiccae modo electo, plures Philippo, quem speraverant, imperium dabant. Nec velle nec nolle quicquam diu poterant, paenitebatque modo consilii, modo paenitentiae ipsius. Ad ultimum tamen in stirpem regiam inclinavere studiis. (13) Cesserat ex contione Arrhidaeus principum auctoritate conterritus, et abeunte illo conticuerat magis quam elanguerat militaris favor. Itaque revocatus vestem fratris, eam ipsam, quae in sella posita fuerat, induitur. (14) Et Meleager thorace sumpto capit arma, novi regis satelles. Sequitur phalanx hastis clipeos quatiens, expletura se sanguine illorum, qui adfectaverant nihil ad ipsos pertinens regnum. (15) In eadem domo familiaque imperii vires remansuras esse gaudebant: hereditarium imperium stirpem regiam vindicaturam: adsuetos esse nomen ipsum colere venerarique, nec quemquam id capere nisi genitum, ut regnaret. (16) Igitur Perdicca territus conclave, in quo Alexandri corpus iacebat, obserari iubet. DC cum ipso erant spectatae virtutis; Ptolomaeus quoque se adiunxerat ei puerorumque regia cohors. (17) Ceterum haud difficulter a tot milibus armatorum claustra perfracta sunt. Et rex quoque inruperat stipatus satellitum turba, quorum princeps Meleager. (18) Iratusque Perdicca hos, qui Alexandri corpus tueri vellent, sevocat, sed qui inruperant eminus tela in ipsum iaciebant. Multisque vulneratis tandem seniores demptis galeis, quo facilius nosci possent, precari eos, qui cum Perdicca erant, coepere, ut absisterent bello regique et pluribus cederent. (19) Primus Perdicca arma deposuit, ceterique idem fecere. Meleagro deinde suadente, ne a corpore Alexandri descenderent, insidiis locum quaeri rati diversa regiae parte ad Euphraten fugam intendunt. (20) Equitatus, qui ex nobilissimis iuvenum constabat, Perdiccam et Leonnatum frequens sequebatur, placebatque excedere urbe et tendere in campis. (21) Sed Perdicca ne pedites quidem secuturos

(10) haud BFL^cLPV: haut F¹ | iniuria BFL^cPV: iniuriam L¹ | suis *Giunta*: his Ω | Philippum BLPV: phillipum F | suffragari Δ : subfragari BFLP, suffragare V | spei publicae *Heinsius*: rei publicae Ω , spei *Hedicke* | conceptae F^cLPV: concepto BF¹ | robur ω : robor P | stirpem BLP: styrypem FV | Philippi BLPV: phylippi F | et *del. Hedicke* | duorum P^c ω : suorum P¹ (11) si *Giunta*: ipsi P, etsi ω | duratura BLPV: duratura tura F | luxuriat Δ , *Lauer*: luxuria Ω (12) Perdiccae BLPV: perdiccae F | electo BFL: electe P, electa V | Philippo BLPV: phylippo F | quem *Acidalius*: quam Ω | speraverant Ω : spreverant *Acidalius* | stirpem BLPV: styrypem F (13) contione BFLP: concione V | Arrhidaeus *Zumpt*: arrhideus P, arithdeus ω | illo ω : ille P | elanguerat P: languerat ω | induitur ω : induitus P (14) thorace P^c ω : thrace P¹ | phalanx BFLP: phalanx V | clipeos B^c Δ : clypeos Ω | expletura ω : expleturas P (15) eadem BFL^cPV: eodem L¹ | hereditarium BFLP: hereditario V | stirpem PBLV: styrypem F (16) conclave FLPV: conclauem B | obserari *Palmer*: observari Ω | Ptolomaeus *Hedicke*: ptholomeus BFL^cLP, ptolomeus F¹V | adiunxerat BFLP: adiuncxerat V | cohors BFLP: choors V (17) haud ω : aut P | a tot BFLP: ad tot V | stipatus ω : stipatos P | satellitum ω : satellicum P (18) Meleager Ω : Meleager erat *Vindelin*, erat Meleager *vett. edd.*, Meleager ibat *Hedicke* | Iratusque Ω : itaque *Hedicke* | hos BFLV^c: hoc P, os V¹ | sed, qui Δ : sequi qui P, sequi ω | iaciebant BFL^c: iacebant P, ia^{*}ebant L¹, iacibant V | demptis ω : dentis P | eos, qui P: qui ω | coepere BFL: cepere PV (19) Perdicca ω : perdicca P | fecere P^c ω : facere P¹ | Meleagro BFLP: meleagrum V | ne BFLP: me V | descenderent P: discederent ω (20) Perdiccam BFL^cPV: perdiccam L¹ (21) Perdicca BFL^cPV: perdicca L¹ | pedites ω : petitas P.

ipsum desperabat; itaque, ne abducendo equites abruptis a cetero exercitu videretur, in urbe subsistit.

8. (1) At Meleager regem monere non destitit ius imperii Perdiccae morte sancendum esse: ni occupetur impotens animus, res novaturum. Meminisse eum, quid de rege meruisset; neminem autem ei satis fidum esse, quem metuat. (2) Rex patiebatur magis quam adsentiebatur. Itaque Meleager silentium pro imperio habuit; misit regis nomine, qui Perdiccam accerserent; isdem mandatum, ut occiderent, si venire dubitaret. (3) Perdicca nuntiato satellitum adventu sedecim omnino pueris regiae cohortis comitatus in limine domus suae constitit † castigatosque † et Meleagri mancipia identidem appellans sic animi vultusque constantia terruit, ut vix mentis compotes fugerint. (4) Perdicca pueris equos iussit conscendere et cum paucis amicorum ad Leonnatum pervenit iam firmiore praesidio vim propulsaturus, si quis inferret. (5) Postero die indigna res Macedonibus videbatur Perdiccam ad mortis periculum adductum, et Meleagri temeritatem armis ultum ire decreverant. (6) Atque ille, seditione provisa, cum regem adisset, interrogare eum coepit, an Perdiccam comprehendi ipse iussisset. Ille Meleagri instinctu se iussisse respondit; ceterum non debere tumultuari eos, Perdiccam enim vivere. (7) Igitur contione dimissa Meleager equitum maxime defectione perterritus inopsque consilii - quippe in ipsum periculum reciderat, quod inimico paulo ante intenderat - triduum fere consumpsit incerta consilia volvendo. (8) Et pristina quidem regiae species manebat, nam et legati gentium regem adibant et copiarum duces aderant et vestibulum satellites armatique compleverant. (9) Sed ingruens sua sponte maestitia ultimae desperationis index erat, suspectique invicem non adire propius, non conloqui audebant secretas cogitationes intra se quoque volvente, et ex comparatione regis novi desiderium excitabatur amissi. (10) Ubi ille esset, cuius imperium, cuius auspiciis secuti erant, requirebant. Destitutos se inter infestas indomitasque gentes expetituras tot suarum cladum poenas, quandoque oblata esset occasio. (11) His cogitationibus animos exedebant, cum adnuntiatur equites, qui sub Perdicca essent, occupatis circa Babylona campis frumentum, quod in urbem vehebatur, retinuisse. (12) Itaque inopia primum, deinde fames esse coepit, et, qui in urbe erant, aut reconciliandam cum Perdicca gratiam aut armis certandum esse censebant.

abducendo BFL^cV: adducendo P, haucendo L¹.

8. (1) At BFL: ad PV | monere BLCV: munere FL¹P | ius Ω : eius *Heinsius* | imperii P: imperium ω | sancendum BFPV: santiendum L | ni *Modius*: ne Ω | novaturum *Modius*: nouatorum Ω | quid BLPV: qui F | quem ω : quam P (2) patiebatur BFV: paciebatur LP | misit P: misitque ω | qui *om.* P | dubitaret BFLPV^c: dubitarent V¹ (3) nuntiato ω : nunciato P | mancipia BFPV: mantipia L | constantia ω : constatia P (4) pueris Ω : pueros B^c Δ , *Lauer* | cum ω : con P | firmiore BF^cL^cV: firmiora F¹L¹P (5) decreverant ω : decreuerat P (6) *Hedicke ante* atque, *Müller ante* cum, *Stangl post* cum *quaedam excidisse existimant.* (7) contione BFLP: concione V | perterritus ω : perterritur P | inopsque BLV: inobsque FP | reciderat FLPV: reciderat B | paulo BFPV: pauloo L | volvendo ω : uolueldo P (8) species BLPV: speties F | adibant B^cF^cLPV: adhibant B¹ (9) ingruens *Cornelissen*: ingens Ω | secretas cogitationes Δ , *Giunta*: secretae cogitationis Ω | quoque Ω : quisque *Baraldi* | volvente P, *Aldus*: uoluentes ω (10) ille *om.* P¹ | requirebant Ω : *del. Acidalius* | expetituras P: expectaturos ω (11) Perdicca BFL^cP: perdica L¹V | Babylona F: babillona LP, babyllona B¹, babyloniam B^c, babillonia V | quod ω : quo P (12) aut ω : haut P.

(13) Forte ita acciderat, ut, qui in agris erant, populationem villarum vicorumque veriti confugerent in urbem, oppidani, cum ipsos alimenta deficerent, <excederent> urbe, et utrique generi tutior aliena sedes quam sua videretur. (14) Quorum consternationem Macedones veriti in regiam coeunt, quaeque ipsorum sententia esset, exponunt. Placebat autem legatos ad equites mitti [et] de finienda discordia armisque ponendis. (15) Igitur a rege legatur Pusias Thessalus et † Amissus † Megalopolitanus et Perilaus. Qui cum mandata regis edidissent, non aliter posituros arma equites, quam si rex discordiae auctores dedidisset, tulere responsum. (16) His renuntiatis sua sponte arma milites capiunt. Quorum tumultu e regia Philippus excitus "Nihil" inquit "seditione est opus; nam inter se certantium praemia, qui quieverint, occupabunt. (17) Simul mementote rem esse cum civibus, quibus spem gratiae cito abrumpere ad bellum civile properantium est. (18) Altera legatione, an mitigari possint, experiamur. Et credo nondum regis corpore sepulto ad praestanda ei iusta omnis esse coituros. (19) Quod ad me attinet, reddere hoc imperium malo quam exercere civium sanguine, et si nulla alia concordiae spes est, oro quaesoque, eligite potiolem." (20) Obortis deinde lacrimis diadema detrahit capiti dexteram, qua id tenebat, protendens, ut, si quis se digniorem profiteretur, acciperet. (21) Ingentem spem indolis ante eum diem fratris claritate suppressae tam moderata excitavit oratio. Itaque cuncti instare coeperunt, ut, quae agitasset, exequi vellet. (22) Eisdem rursus legat petitorios, ut Meleagrum tertium ducem acciperent. Haud aegre id impetratum est; nam et abducere Meleagrum Perdicca a rege cupiebat et unum duobus imparem futurum esse censebat. (23) Igitur Meleagro cum phalange obviam egresso Perdicca equitum turmas antecedens occurrit. Utrumque agmen mutua salutatione facta coit, in perpetuum, ut arbitrabantur, concordia et pace firmata.

9. (1) Sed iam fatis admovebantur Macedonum genti bella civilia; nam et insociabile est regnum et a pluribus expetebatur. (2) Primum ergo conlisere vires, deinde disperserunt; et cum pluribus corpus, quam capiebat, <capitibus> onerassent, cetera membra deficere coeperunt, quodque imperium sub uno stare potuisset, dum a pluribus sustinetur, ruit. (3) Proinde iure meritoque populus Romanus salutem se principi suo debere profitetur, qui noctis, quam paene supremam habuimus, novum sidus inluxit. (4) Huius, hercule, non solis ortus

(13) excederent urbe, et *Vogel*: urbe et Ω , urbe excederent, et *vett. edd.*, urbe excederent *Hedicke*, [urbe] in agros *Bardon* (14) ad equites Δ , *Lauer*: et equites Ω | et *del. Vindelini* | de *om.* L | ponendis: *Hic desinit P extremis foliis avulsis* (15) Pusias *Hedicke*: Pasas Ω | Thessalus BC: tessalus B¹FLV | Amissus Ω : *Damyllus Hedicke*, *Damis Hornblower*, *Heckel* | Megalopolitanus *Aldus*: megalipolitanus Ω | edidissent B^cFLV: edissent B¹ (16) His Δ , *Lauer*: iis BF, is LV | renuntiatis BFL: renuntiantis V | tumultu e Δ : tumultua e BFL^c, tumultua e L¹, tumultu a V | Philippus BV: phylippus FL | inquit BFL: inquit V | quieverint BFV: quieuerint L (17) cum *om.* F¹ | civibus B^cFLV: civilibus B¹ (19) si nulla B^cFLV: sine ulla B¹ | concordiae BFV: concordia L (20) Obortis BFL: obhortis V (21) suppressae Ω : oppressae *Stangl* | tam moderata *Hedicke*: et amoderata Ω , ea moderata Δ , eius moderata Δ , eius tam moderata *de Lorenzi* | exequi Ω : rex exequi *Stangl* (22) petitorios Δ , *Lauer*: petitorus Ω | tertium BFV: tertium L | id: *ab hoc verbo incipit* S (23) egresso S^c ω : regresso S¹ | occurrit BF^cLSV: occurrit F¹ | arbitrabantur BF^cLSV: arbitrantur F¹.

9. (1) fatis S^c ω : fatas S¹ | bella B^fSV: bela L | civilia S^c ω : ciuila S¹ | expetebatur ω : expetabatur S (2) capitibus *add. Niebuhr* | capiebant S: capiebant ω | onerassent ω : oneransent S | membra ω : membra S | dum ω : et dum S (3) qui S: cui ω .

lucem caliganti reddidit mundo, cum sine suo capite discordia membra trepidarent. (5) Quot ille tum extinxit faces! quot condidit gladios! quantam tempestatem subita serenitate discussit! Non ergo revirescit solum sed etiam floret imperium. (6) Absit modo invidia, excipiet huius saeculi tempora eiusdem domus utinam perpetua, certe diuturna posteritas.

(7) Ceterum, ut ad ordinem, a quo me contemplatio publicae felicitatis averterat, redeam, Perdicca unicum spem salutis suae in Meleagri morte deponebat: vanum eundem et infidum celeriterque res novaturum et sibi maxime infestum occupandum esse. (8) Sed alta dissimulatione consilium premebat, ut opprimeret incautum. Ergo clam quosdam ex copiis, quibus praeerat, subornavit, ut, quasi ignoraret ipse, conquererentur palam Meleagrum aequatum esse Perdiccae. (9) Quorum sermone Meleager ad se relato furens ira Perdiccae, quae comperisset, exponit. Ille velut nova re exterritus admirari, queri dolentisque speciem ostentare ei coepit; ad ultimum convenit, ut comprehenderentur tam seditiosae vocis auctores. (10) Agit Meleager gratias amplexusque Perdiccam fidem eius in se ac benevolentiam conlaudat. (11) Tum communi consilio rationem opprimendi noxios ineunt. Placet exercitum patrio more lustrari, et probabilis causa videbatur praeterita discordia. (12) Macedonum reges ita lustrare soliti erant milites, ut discissae canis viscera ultimo in campo, in quem deduceretur exercitus, ab utraque abicerent parte, intra id spatium armati omnes starent, hinc equites, illinc phalanx. (13) Itaque eo die, quem huic sacro destinaverant, rex cum equitibus elephantisque constiterat contra pedites, quis Meleager praeerat. (14) Iam equestre agmen movebatur, et pedites subita formidine ob recentem discordiam haud sane pacati quicquam expectantes parumper addubitavere, an in urbem subducerent copias: quippe pro equitibus planities erat. (15) Ceterum veriti, ne temere commilitonum fidem damnarent, substitere praeparatis ad dimicandum animis, si quis vim inferret. Iam agmina coibant, parvumque intervallum erat, quod aciem utramque divideret: (16) itaque rex cum una ala obequitare pedibus coepit discordiae auctores, quos tueri ipse debebat, instinctu Perdiccae ad supplicia deposcens, minabaturque omnes turmas cum elephantis inducturum se in recusantes. (17) Stupebant improvise malo pedites, nec plus in ipso Meleagro erat aut consilii aut animi. Tutissimum ex praesentibus videbatur expectare potius quam movere fortunam. (18) Tum Perdicca, ut torpentes et obnoxios vidit, CCC fere, qui Meleagrum erumpentem ex contione,

(4) membra ω : membra S (5) Quot BFLS: quod V | extinxit BFLS: extinxit V | faces ω : facies S | quot BFLS: quod V (6) perpetua BFLS: perpecua V (7) contemplatio BFLS: contemplatio V | averterat BF^cLSV: auerte F¹ | Perdicca BSV: perdicca FL | deponebat Ω : ponebat Δ , *Freinsheim*, reponebat *Heinsius* (8) alta C, *Giunta*: alia Ω | conquererentur Δ : quaequererentur BFS, quaquererentur L, quiquererentur V, quererentur Δ (9) velut BFS: uelud LV | queri ω : que se S | speciem BFSV: spetiem L | vocis BLSV: voces F (10) ac BFLS: ad V (11) opprimendi B^cS: opprimendae B¹FLV | Placet ω : placeat S (12) discissae B^cFLSV: discessae B¹ | viscera B^cFLSV: suis cera B¹ | ultimo *om.* S | phalanx BFLC^s: phanx L¹, phalanx V (13) quem Δ : quae Ω | elephantisque BFSV: elephantisque L | constiterat S^c ω : constiterant S¹ (14) formidine B^cFLC^s: formine B¹L¹V | pacati FLSV: peccati B | quicquam BFLS: quicquam V | planities S: planicies ω (15) temere BF^cLSV: timere F¹ | damnarent BFLS: dampnarent V | ad BFLS: a V | coibant BFSV: quoibant L (16) cum una BFLSV^c: cummune V¹ | obequitare BFLC^sV: abequitare L¹ | minabaturque BLSV: manabaturque F | se in recusantes B^c: sin recusantes S, se in recutes B¹, se in recutes FL, sine recutes V (17) aut animi ω : amni S (18) CCC Ω : XXX *Bentley* | contione BFLS: concione V.

quae prima habita est post mortem Alexandri, secuti erant, a ceteris discretos elephantis in conspectu totius exercitus obicit, omnesque beluarum pedibus obruti sunt nec prohibente Philippo nec auctore: (19) apparebatque id modo pro suo vindicaturum, quod adprobasset eventus. Hoc bellorum civilium Macedonibus et omen et principium fuit. (20) Meleager sero intellecta fraude Perdiccae tum quidem, quia ipsius corpori vis non adferebatur, in agmine quietus stetit; (21) [et] mox damnata spe salutis, cum eius nomine, quem ipse fecerat regem, in perniciem suam abutentis videret inimicos, confugit in templum ac ne loci quidem religione defensus occiditur.

10. (1) Perdicca perducto in urbem exercitu consilium principum virorum habuit, in quo imperium ita dividi placuit, ut rex quidem summam eius obtineret, satrapeas Ptolomaeus Aegypti et Africae gentium, quae in ditione erant. (2) Laomedonti Syria cum Phoenice data est, Philotae Cilicia destinata, Lyciam cum Pamphylia et maiore Phrygia obtinere iussus Antigonus, in Cariam Cassander, Menander in Lydiam missi. Phrygiam minorem Hellesponto adiunctam Leonnati provinciam esse iusserunt. (3) Cappadocia Eumeni cum Paphlagonia cessit; praeceptum est, ut regionem eam usque ad Trapezunta defenderet, bellum cum Ariarathe gereret: solus hic detractabat imperium. (4) Pithon Mediam, Lysimachus Thraciam adpositasque Thraciae Ponticas gentes obtinere iussi. Qui Indiae quique Bactris et Sogdianis ceterisque aut Oceani aut Rubri maris accolis praeerant, quibus quisque finibus habuisset imperium, obtinerent decretum est; Perdicca ut cum rege esset copiisque praeesset, quae regem sequebantur: (5) Credidere quidam testamento Alexandri distributas esse provincias; sed famam eius rei, quamquam ab auctoribus tradita est, vanam fuisse comperimus. (6) Et quidem suas, quisque opes divisio imperii partibus tuebantur [ipsi fundaverant] *** si umquam adversus immodicas cupiditates terminus staret. (7) Quippe paulo ante regis ministri specie imperii alieni procurandi singuli ingentia invaserant regna sublatis certaminum causis, cum et

(19) quod S: quo ω | principium BFSV: printipium L (21) et *om.* Δ : et Ω , at *Junius*, sed *Hedicke* | nomine S^c ω : anomine S¹ | perniciem ω : pernitium S | abutentis BLFS: abeuentis V | religione FLCs: relegione BL¹V | defensus S^c ω : defensios S¹.

10. (1) principum BLSV: principium F | satrapeas *George*: satrapes Ω , satrapeam *Hedicke* | Ptolomaeus *Hedicke*: ptolomeus SV¹: ptholomeus BFLV^c | et Ω : esset et *Vogel* | ditione B^cV: ditione B¹FLS (2) Laomedonti T, *edd.*: Leomedonti Ω | Syria ω : siria S | Phoenice B^c Δ : phenice B¹FLV | Philotae BFSV: phylotae L | destinata ω : destinata est S | Lyciam Δ : lyciam Ω | Pamphylia *Froben*: pamphylia BLSV, phamphylia F | Phrygia Δ : frigiae S¹, frigia S^c ω | Antigonus S: antogonus ω | Menander ω : manander S¹, minander S^c | Lydiam S: lidiam ω | Phrygiam V: phrygiam BFLS | provinciam BFV: prouintiam LS (3) Cappadocia BF: capadotia S, cappadotia LV | eam usque B^cFLSV: eamque B¹ | Trapezunta *Aldus*: trapeiunta B¹FLS, trapeiuncta B^cV | defenderet Ω : defenderet et *Vogel* | Ariarathe *Zumpt*: araba S, arbate B, harbate FLV | gereret ω : tegeret S | detractabat Ω : detrectabat B^c (4) Pithon *Froben*: phiton Ω | Lysimachus *Froben*: leomachus S, leonmachus ω | Thraciam B^cFSV: tracia LS¹ | Thraciae BFS: traciae LV | maris BFSV: magis L | imperium S: imperii B¹FLV, imperii et ius B^c (5) provincias BV: prouintias FLS (6) quisque Ω : quas quisque Δ , *Stangl* | divisio opes...tuebantur [ipsi fundaverant] *scripsi*: divisio opes...tuebantur ipsi fundaverant Ω , divisio opes...ut videbatur, ipsi fundaverant *Bardon*, divisio opes...prudenter ipsi fundaverant *Vogel*, divisio opes...ut videbantur sibi, fundaverant *Hedicke*, divisio opes...tuebantur: quas ipsi fundaverant *vett. edd.*, opes fundaverant, divisio imperii partibus tuebantur ipsi *Stangl* | Ante si *quaedam excidisse existimo*. | cupiditates BLSV: cupiditatesque F (7) regis B^cFLSV: regis L¹ | specie ω : speciem S.

omnes eiusdem gentis essent et a ceteris sui quisque imperii regione discreti. (8) Sed difficile erat eo contentos esse, quod obtulerat occasio: quippe sordent prima quaeque, cum maiora sperantur. Itaque omnibus expeditius videbatur augere regna, quam fuisset accipere.

(9) Septimus dies erat, ex quo corpus regis iacebat in solio, curis omnium ad formandum publicum statum a tam sollemni munere aversis. (10) Et non alias quam Mesopotamiae regione fervidior aestus existit, adeo ut pleraque animalia, quae in nudo solo deprendit, extinguat: tantus est vapor soli et caeli, quo cuncta velut igne torrentur. (11) Fontes aquarum et rari sunt et incolentium fraude celantur: ipsis usus patet, ignotus est advenis. (12) Traditum magis quam creditum refero: ut tandem curare corpus exanimum amicis vacavit, nulla tabe, ne minimo quidem livore corruptum videre, qui intraverant. Vigor quoque, qui constat ex spiritu, nondum destituerat vultum. (13) Itaque Aegyptii Chaldaei que iussi corpus suo more curare primo non sunt ausi admovere velut spiranti manus. Deinde precati, ut ius fasque esset mortalibus atrectare eum, purgavere corpus, repletumque est odoribus aureum solium et capiti adiecta fortunae eius insignia. (14) Veneno necatum esse credidere plerique: filium Antipatri inter ministros, Iollam nomine, patris iussu dedisse. Saepe certe audita erat vox Alexandri Antipatrum regium adfectare fastigium maioremque esse praefecti opibus ac titulo Spartanae victoriae inflatum, omnia a se data adserentem sibi; (15) credebant etiam Craterum cum veterum militum manu ad interficiendum eum missum. (16) Vim autem veneni, quod in Macedonia gignitur, talem esse constat, ut ferrum quoque exurat; ungulam iumentum dumtaxat patientem esse constat suci. (17) Stygem appellant fontem, ex quo pestiferum virus emanat. Hoc per Cassandrum adlatum traditumque fratri Iollae et ab eo supremae regis potioni inditum. (18) Haec, utcumque sunt credita, eorum, quos rumor asperserat, mox potentia extinxit. Regnum enim Macedoniae Antipater et Graeciam quoque invasit; (19) suboles deinde exceptis interfectis omnibus, quicumque Alexandrum etiam longinqua cognatione contigerant.

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

(8) prima Ω : optima *Cornelissen* | fuisset BFL^cSV: fuissent L¹ (9) iacabat BFL^cSV: gacebat L¹ | sollemni BFLS: sollempni V (10) alias S: aliis ω , alius *Jeep*, alia *Vogel*, alibi *Cornelissen* | regione S: regioni ω , regionis *Jeep* | aestus Ω : aestas *Jeep* | deprehendit ω : deprendit S | soli *scripsi*: solis Ω (11) celantur S^c ω : colantur S¹ | ipsis usus BLSV: ipsi suus F | ipsis...advenis Ω : *del. Castiglioni* | traditum...refero *om.* B^c Δ | refero *Vogel*: refert Ω (12) vacavit BFLS: uacuavit V | livore BFLS: librore V | ex *om.* L¹ | nondum S: non ω (13) velut BFSV: uelud L | esset S: esse ω | eum ω : deum *Rader* | deum: *Hoc verbo desinit V in fine folii.* (14) Veneno S: venenum ω | esse B¹S: esse dixerunt L, in B^c dixerunt *add. in margine, de F, qui hic lacer est, nihil certe adfirmari potest* | Antipatri ω : amatri S | Spartanae victoriae ω : spartana victoria S (15) Credebant S^c ω : credebat S¹ (16) veneni S^c ω : ueneneni S¹ | ungulam Δ : ungula Ω | patientem BFS: patientem L | patientem: *hoc verbo desinit L in fine folii.* | constat Ω : *del. Acidalius* (17) suci. Stygem S: sucystigem ω | Cassandrum ω : casandrum | fratri: *ab hoc verbo, nihil in F legitur, columna avulsa, nisi memor vocis memoriae* | supremae B: suppremae S (19) contigerant S: contingerant B (20) Ptolomaeo *Hedicke*: ptolomeo S, ptholomeo B | Alexandriam S: alexandream B | Q · CURTI RUFII HISTORIARUM MAGNI MACEDONIS ALEXANDRI · LIBER · X · EXPLICIT S | Q · CURTI RUFII HISTORIARUM MAGNI MACEDONIS LIBER · X · EXPLICITUS FELICITER B | · Q · CURTI RUFII HISTORIARUM ALEXANDRI MAGNI MACEDONIS LIBER DECIM FELICITER EXPLICIT AMEN F.

Commentary

Section One

The Reign of Terror: X.1.1 - X.1.9

On his return from India, the sources record that Alexander ordered the deaths of a number of officials. Victims of this so-called "reign of terror"¹ included² Terioltes³, the satrap in Parapamisadae, Apollophanes⁴, the satrap in Gedrosia, Astaspes⁵, the satrap in Carmania, Orsines⁶, the satrap in Persis, Abulites and his son, Oxathres⁷, satraps in Susiana and Paraetacene, and Phradates⁸, the satrap in Tapuria. The punishment of the generals from Media⁹ in late 325 B.C., which is part of this spate of killings, is also referred to by several of the sources¹⁰. Justin¹¹ vaguely recounts that governors were accused and killed on the spot and Diodorus¹² simply refers to the punishment of satraps and generals. However, Arrian¹³, although placing the incident before the Bacchic procession through Carmania¹⁴, specifically mentions three of those generals listed by Curtius: Sitalces and Cleander were immediately executed; Heracon, although acquitted at this time, was later punished when the people of Susa charged him with sacking their temple. Curtius, although mentioning that six hundred soldiers were killed¹⁵, does not say what happened subsequently to the generals¹⁶. It therefore seems plausible that the killing was not immediate: there were arrests, then Cleander and Sitalces were executed in Carmania, or Persis, and a third at some time later¹⁷; nothing can be said about Agathon¹⁸.

Alexander may simply have acted as he did for two reasons: to punish wrongdoings and, therefore, win over native peoples¹⁹ and to reprimand those who had acted as if independent, or usurped power, so that he might dissuade others from doing so²⁰. However, there may be more factors involved, especially when it is realised that the governor of Egypt, Cleomenes, was not punished for his misdemeanours²¹. Alexander had recently been forced to return from India by a disgruntled army²² and, in the process, had made the disastrous crossing of the Gedrosian desert²³. It is not difficult to believe that he wanted to remove the blame by finding scapegoats; hence, the purge of satraps. In the disposal of Cleander and his associates, Alexander was eliminating a potentially dangerous grouping: Cleander was the brother of Coenus, who had taken the army's side when it had refused to advance further into India²⁴; he had died suspiciously a short time later²⁵. Both men had been heavily involved in the plot against Philotas²⁶ and his father, Parmenion²⁷; Harpalus²⁸ was possibly also involved²⁹. All three were from the Elimiotis area of Macedonia and may have been feared by Alexander³⁰, who could even have engineered their downfall³¹. Furthermore, it would seem that Alexander was, by this time, a changed man, ready to listen to accusations which would suit his aims and to punish anyone who threatened his person, or even doubted his ability³².

Diodorus³³ also records that, once news spread of Alexander's actions, some generals fled and others, commanding mercenaries, revolted. As a result, Alexander ordered all satraps and generals in Asia to disband their mercenaries immediately. Although he may

simply have been asserting his authority after eliminating those he feared³⁴, subsequent events point to more than a mere security measure: Alexander's reserves of mercenaries³⁵ must have been low after the numerous settlements he had founded³⁶ and the arrival, some eighteen months later, of mercenaries³⁷, under Philoxenus and Menander, would seem to support the view that Alexander intended to use the men himself³⁸. However, the result was not what Alexander had planned. Diodorus³⁹ tells of Asia being overrun with mercenaries, who were ultimately transferred by Leosthenes to the mercenary depot at Taenarum, in Laconia; some later took part in the Lamian war⁴⁰.

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1. This period has been the subject of much debate over the years: scholars range in their views from a straightforward acceptance that officials were simply punished for their wrongdoings during Alexander's absence in India (see e.g. Tarn 1948 I pp. 109f., Lane Fox 1973 pp. 403ff., Higgins, W.E., 1980 pp. 140ff. & Hammond 1981a pp. 238ff.) through to various degrees of acceptance of such a reign; such a view is based upon the writings of Badian (see 1961 pp. 16ff., 1958a pp. 148f. & 1962 pp. 87f.); for this view see also Milns 1968 pp. 235ff., Hamilton 1969 pp. 189f., 1973 pp. 128ff. (although expressing caution), Bosworth 1971a pp. 123f. & 1988a pp. 240f.
 2. For further information and other possibilities see Badian 1961 pp. 16ff.
 3. Arrian calls him Tyriespis. For his death see IX.8.9 & Arr. *An.* 6.15.3.
 4. For his death see Arr. *An.* 6.27.1.
 5. For his death see IX.8.9.
 6. For the events leading to the death of this man, called Orxines by Arrian, see §5 intro. & 1.22.10n.
 7. For their deaths see Arr. *An.* 7.4.1 & Plu. *Alex.* 68.7 & Hamilton *ad loc.*
 8. For this man, called Autophradates by Arrian, see 1.39.3n.
 9. See 1.2.12n.
 10. See also the general references to unrest in Alexander's empire during his time in India at Arr. *An.* 7.4.1ff. & Plu. *Alex.* 68.3ff. & Hamilton *ad loc.*
 11. 12.10.8, cited at 1.2.7an.
 12. 17.106.2. As Curtius, he places the arrival after the Bacchic procession across Carmania (for this see IX.10.22ff., Arr. *An.* 6.28.1ff., D.S. 17.106.1 & Plu. *Alex.* 67.1ff. & Hamilton *ad loc.*). This is in contrast to Arrian, who places it before the procession (see n. 13), and may point to a common source.
 13. *An.* 6.27.3ff.
 14. For references see n. 12.
 15. See 1.8.5n.
 16. He may have mentioned this later at a point where there is a lacuna in the text.
 17. See Badian 1961 p. 23.
 18. His omission by Arrian does not mean that Curtius is wrong: see 1.1.9n.
 19. See Arr. *An.* 6.27.5.
 20. See Arr. *An.* 6.27.4; Bosworth (1988a pp. 240f.) particularly stresses this.
 21. See Arr. *An.* 7.23.6ff., Badian 1961 p. 19 & Bosworth 1988a p. 240. However, see also Higgins, W.E., 1980 pp. 147f.; he rejects any conclusions made from this example and is of the view that the governor was probably excused due to his building of a tomb for Hephaestion at Alexander's request.
 22. See IX.2.12ff., Arr. *An.* 5.25.1ff., D.S. 17.94.1ff., Just. 12.8.10f. & Plu. *Alex.* 62.1ff. & Hamilton *ad loc.*
 23. See IX.10.8ff., Arr. *An.* 6.23.1ff., D.S. 17.105.3ff., Just. 12.10.7 & Plu. *Alex.* 66.3ff. & Hamilton *ad loc.*
 24. See IX.3.3f. & Arr. *An.* 5.27.2ff.
 25. See IX.3.20 & Arr. *An.* 6.2.1.
 26. For the plot see 1.1.12n.
 27. Their punishment probably pleased the soldiers, fresh from festivities after the desert; Parmenion had been popular with the rank and file (see e.g. Arr. *An.* 3.36.4).
 28. For his later flight to Athens see 2.2.4n.
 29. See Badian 1961 pp. 22f.: however, for the view that he was not present at that time see Bosworth 1980b p. 337.
 30. See Badian 1961 pp. 21f.

Commentary §1: X.1.1 - X.1.9

31. See Milns 1968 p. 236 "They were followed by a large number of provincials who came - perhaps suborned by Alexander's agents - to lay charges against the generals of looting, temple robbery and other such abuses".
32. See X.1.7 & Hamilton 1973 p. 130.
33. 17.106.3.
34. See Badian 1961 p. 23, Milns 1968 p. 237 & Hamilton 1973 p. 129.
35. See Badian 1961 pp. 25ff. for an account of the fortunes of mercenaries in the war.
36. See 2.8.26n. for some of these.
37. See Arr. An. 7.23.1.
38. See Paus. 1.25.5, Bosworth 1988a pp. 148f. & Lane Fox 1973 p. 407; Badian, 1961 p. 28, sees the later arrival of the mercenaries as a way Alexander adopted in order to counteract the wandering bands produced by the decree.
39. 17.111.1; see also Paus. 1.25.5 & 8.52.5.
40. See D.S. 18.8.1ff. & Just. 13.5.1ff.

1.1.1. *Isdem fere diebus...superveniunt* - A time phrase, used in this way (cf. *isdem fere diebus* at IV.5.11, VII.10.11 & X.1.43, *isdem ferme diebus* at IV.5.1, *isdem forte diebus* at IV.3.19 & *haud multo post* at X.1.10), is usually expected to herald a change of focus, especially when placed at the beginning of a book (see e.g. V.1.1, Liv. 25.1.1, 38.1.1, 39.1.1, Amm. 22.1.1, 27.1.1 & Arr. An. 4.1.10). The phrase *isdem fere diebus*, however, although used four times by Curtius is rare elsewhere: other writers use the more straightforward *isdem diebus* (see e.g. Tac. Ann. 11.25.2 & Liv. 33.27.1).

1.1.4. Cleander - (Berve 422) This son of Polemocrates and brother of Coenus came from Elimiotis in Upper Macedonia. He first comes to notice when sent to the Peloponnese in 334/3 B.C. to bring reinforcements back to Alexander (see III.1.1 & Atkinson *ad loc.* & Arr. An. 1.24.2 & Bosworth *ad loc.*); he rejoined the king at Tyre in 332 B.C. with four thousand men (see IV.3.11 & Atkinson *ad loc.* & Arr. An. 2.20.5 & Bosworth *ad loc.*). At Gaugamela he was in charge of mercenary forces (Arr. An. 3.12.2) and was among Parmenion's assassins at Ecbatana in 330 B.C. (see 1.1.12n.). He is next recorded as arriving to meet Alexander in Carmania (see also Arr. An. 6.27.3f.); he was arrested and killed for the offences he had committed while Alexander was in India (see 1.8.1n.).

1.1.6. Sitalces - (Berve 712) This man's background is unknown, although, as his name seems Odrisian (see Berve 1926 II p. 357), he was probably a Thracian. He is first seen commanding Thracian javelinmen against the Pisidians in 334/3 B.C. (see Arr. An. 1.28.4 & Bosworth *ad loc.*); in 333 B.C. he was in charge of Thracians in Cilicia (Arr. An. 2.5.1), at Issus he commanded Cretan archers and Thracians on the left wing (Arr. An. 2.9.3) and at Gaugamela in 331 B.C. he was again in charge of Thracians (Arr. An. 3.12.4). He was involved in the murder of Parmenion at Ecbatana in 330 B.C. (see 1.1.12n.). In 325 B.C. he was summoned to Carmania by Alexander (see also Arr. An. 6.27.3f.), accused by provincials and punished for his excesses in Media during Alexander's absence in India (see 1.8.1n.).

1.1.8. *cum* Agathone - The use of *cum* in this list of names would seem to be simply for

variation: for similar cases see e.g. V.4.20 "Philotam et Coenon cum Amynta et Polyperconte", V.4.30 "Philotas cum Polyperconte Amyntaque et Coeno" & VI.11.10f. "Hephaestio autem et Craterus et Coenos...Hephaestion cum Cratero et Coeno".

1.1.9. Agathone - (Berve 8) This son of Tyrimmas was the commander of Thracian cavalry at the Granicus (see Arr. *An.* 1.14.3 & Bosworth *ad loc.*) and was in charge of Odrysian cavalry at Gaugamela (Arr. *An.* 3.12.4). He seems to have been involved in Parmenion's murder at Ecbatana in 330 B.C. (his name, however, is not mentioned elsewhere - see 1.1.12n.). He arrived in Carmania with the other generals from Media in 325 B.C. and was charged with crimes committed during Alexander's absence in India. Arrian (*An.* 6.27.3) does not include his name, but this does not mean that he did not come, nor that he survived (see Badian 1961 p. 23). His fate is unknown.

1.1.10. Heracon - (Berve 354) All that can be said about this officer is that he was left in Media with Parmenion in 330 B.C. (Arr. *An.* 6.27.3) and took part in his murder at Ecbatana (his name, however, is omitted at that time - see 1.1.12n.). In 325 B.C. he arrived with the other generals from Media and was accused by provincials of crimes committed when Alexander was in India (see also Arr. *An.* 6.27.3f.). Curtius says that he was arrested for these, but Arrian that he was cleared and shortly afterwards executed for the robbery of the temple at Susa (see 1.8.1n.).

1.1.12. qui Parmenionem iussu regis occiderant - Parmenion (Berve 606; for Curtius' portrayal of him see Rutz 1986 pp. 2347f.), the son of Philotas, was Philip's senior general and the commander of the expeditionary force to Asia. He supported Alexander's succession (see Bosworth 1988a pp. 27f.) and was the young king's second-in-command in the Asian expedition. The sources, however, often present their relationship as strained (see Heckel 1977a p. 11 n. 12 for references): there seems to have been a deliberate undermining of him, either during his life (see Badian 1960a pp. 328f.) by the official court historian, Callisthenes (see Plu. *Alex.* 33.10 & Hamilton *ad loc.* for the only definite example of this; for this writer see intro. n. 154), or following his death as possible *apologia* for Alexander's actions (see Heckel 1977a pp. 11f.). For his murder at Ecbatana in 330 B.C. see VII.2.11ff., where only Cleander of the four listed here by Curtius is mentioned, Arr. *An.* 3.26.3f., where Cleander, Sitalces and Menidas are mentioned, D.S. 17.80.3, Just. 12.5.3 & Plu. *Alex.* 49.13 & Hamilton *ad loc.*

Parmenion's murder followed the death of his son, Philotas, who, although innocent (*contra* e.g. Tam 1948 I pp. 62ff. & Hammond 1981a pp. 180ff.), had been implicated in a plot (Badian, 1960a p. 331, does not even believe that there was one) to kill Alexander. The removal of Parmenion may have been prompted either to forestall any chance of a violent reaction to the death of his son, or to diminish the opposition to Alexander's increasing orientalising; for the change in Alexander see VI.2.1ff. & VI.6.1ff.; for opposition see

VI.6.9ff., VIII.5.14ff. for Callisthenes' views & VIII.7.1ff. for Hermolaus' at the Pages' Conspiracy. Parmenion, then in charge of the imperial treasure and communications at Ecbatana (see Just. 12.1.3 & D.S. 17.80.3), could have been a powerful figurehead for this opposition. For the whole affair see also Badian 1960a pp. 324ff., Wilcken 1967 pp. 163ff., Hamilton 1969 pp. 132ff., Heckel 1977a pp. 9ff., Lane Fox 1973 pp. 283ff., Bosworth 1980b pp. 360ff., 1988a pp. 101ff., Egge 1978 pp. 75ff. & Rutz 1986 pp. 2348ff.

1.2.1. V milia peditum cum equitibus M - This number cannot be verified: all there is in the other sources is Arrian's (*An.* 6.27.3) statement that *τὴν πολλὴν τῆς στρατιᾶς καὶ οὗτοι δ' ἄγοντες*.

1.2.7a. sed et - Due to the better sense given to the sentence, this reading of *ω* (which all modern editors accept) is to be preferred to that of *P*. which omits *et*. *Et* may be taken as an intensifier (see *TLL* V₂ p. 913.13ff.).

1.2.7b. sed et accusatores - A Roman reader could not help being reminded of the situation in Curtius' own day when it was very common for provinces to bring charges against governors - see e.g. Tac. *Ann.* 3.38.1 (Ancharius Priscus), 3.66.1 (Junius Silanus), 3.70.1 (Caesius Cordus), 12.22.3 (Cadius Rufus), 13.30.1 (Vipsanius Loenas & Cestius Proculus), 13.33.1 (Publius Celer), 14.18.1 (Peditus Blessus), 14.28.2 (Vibius Secundus) & 14.46.1 (Tarquinius Priscus); for a discussion on the procedures involved and punishments, as well as a list of known cases from Augustus to Trajan, see Brunt 1990 pp. 53ff., 487ff. Justin, in a section which could be a summary of the events mentioned by Curtius, except that the generals are recorded as having been killed on the spot, uses similar terminology: see 12.10.8 "Ibi multae devictae gentes praefectos suos accusaverunt, quos sine respectu amicitiae Alexander in conspectu legatorum necari iussit". The substance, however, despite the terminology, seems correct: see Arr. *An.* 6.27.4 & D.S. 17.106.2.

1.2.12. provincia - The province in question is Media (see Arr. *An.* 6.27.3). Curtius generally prefers Roman terminology to the more correct *satrapea*: he uses *provincia* eight other times and *satrapea* definitely only twice (see 10.1.22n.).

1.2.16a. nec tot facinora...compensare...ministerio - Cf. Just. 12.10.8, cited at 1.2.7bn. It must be more than mere coincidence that both authors are concerned with the particularly Roman idea of *amicitia* (for what this involved see Saller 1982 pp. 11ff. & 1.6.2n.). Since Justin is only writing an epitome of Pompeius Trogus' work, it is valid to say that the Augustan writer must have included the idea of *amicitia*, if not the word itself. The question then arises as to whether Curtius and Trogus came to use this idea, which is absent in other accounts, from a common source, independently, or whether Curtius was influenced by the work of Trogus. Ultimately, the answer can only be a matter of conjecture, but the more likely options, in view

of the *Romanitas* of the concept and Curtius' use of sources, seem to be the last two; for Curtius' use of sources see Appendix A.

1.2.16b. *nec tot facinora* - Similar crimes are recorded by the other sources: see Arr. *An.* 6.27.4 *ὡς ἱερὰ τε πρὸς αὐτῶν σεσυλημένα καὶ θήκας παλαιὰς κεκινημένας καὶ ἄλλα ἄδικα ἔργα <ἐς> τοὺς ὑπηκόους τετολημένα καὶ ἀτάσθαλα*, 7.4.2 *πολλὰ μὲν δὴ ἐπεπλημμέλητο ἐκ τῶν κατεχόντων τὰς χώρας ὅσαι δορίκρητοι πρὸς Ἀλεξάνδρου ἐγένετο ἕξ τε τὰ ἱερὰ καὶ τάφους καὶ αὐτοὺς τοὺς ὑπηκόους*, Plu. *Alex.* 68.3 *καὶ τοῖς στρατηγοῖς καὶ σατράπαις ἀδικίαν πολλὴν καὶ πλεονεξίαν καὶ ὕβριν <ἐν>εποίησε* & D.S. 17.106.2 *Ἀπὸ τούτων δὲ γενόμενος, ἀκούσας ὅτι πολλοὶ τῶν βιαίως καὶ ὕβριστικῶς κεχρημένων ταῖς ἐξουσίαις παρανενομήκασι, πολλοὺς τῶν τε σατραπῶν καὶ στρατηγῶν τιμωρίας ἤξιωσεν*. The damage done at this time may later be referred to by Polybius at 10.27.11.

1.2.22. *poterant...ministerio* - At this point, Ω has the incorrect *poterat...ministerio*. As both the required sense and *quot admiserant* make it clear that *facinora* is not the intended subject, there are two simple alternatives to correct the text. The first is to accept *ministerium*, the reading of Δ and independently suggested by Kinch; although this gives the required sense, the placing of the subject at the end of the sentence is not common (see *K-S* II pp. 597f.). More importantly, although *compensare* can be followed by an accusative alone (see *TLL* III p. 2048.33ff.), this is rare; *compensare* followed by an accusative and ablative with, or without, *cum* (see *TLL* III p. 2048.72ff. & p. 2049.33ff. respectively) is usual. Such a construction would be brought about by the emendation of *poterat* to *poterant* (see e.g. the older editions, Zumpt, Foss, Vogel, Dosson & Cocchia).

1.3.1. *Quippe cum...paelicem dederat* - The picture given by Curtius differs little from other similar episodes (see e.g. Liv. 29.17.13ff., Tac. *Hist.* 3.33.1ff. & Amm. 31.6.7f.) and is clearly a rhetorical commonplace (see e.g. the instructions given at Quint. *Inst.* 8.3.67ff. & the example at [Cic.] *Her.* 4.51), designed to create pity for the victims and disgust at the perpetrators. Curtius seems to include nearly all the standard features.

1.3.4. *profana...sacris* - A variation on a cliché: cf. e.g. Tac. *Hist.* 3.33.2, Cic. *Ver.* 2.5.1, Sal. *Cat.* 11.6, Liv. 25.40.2, Tac. *Ann.* 1.51.1 & Quint. *Inst.* 8.3.69. Sacrilege was considered a serious crime at Rome: the penalty for the worst offences was death (see *Digest.* 48.13.7 & 48.19.16.4; for the declamatory schools see e.g. Porcius Latro *ap.* Sen. *Con.* 1.5.5 & Bonner 1949 p. 106).

1.3.6. *nec...quidem* - *Ne...quidem*, the reading of Δ , is usually preferred to the *nec...quidem* of Ω . As there is no connective force required, the reading of Δ is attractive. However, it is difficult to say whether *nec...quidem* can also be used without a connective force. This idea has been often rejected (see e.g. Madvig 1869 pp. 808ff.) and there is a tendency on the part of editors to automatically change *nec* to *ne* and to not even mention the variant in the

apparatus criticus. In other writers *nec...quidem* without a connective force is accepted at e.g. Apul. *Met.* 6.5.2 and there are split manuscript readings at e.g. Petr. 110.5, Plin. *Pan.* 27 & Liv. 1.10.3. Due to the weight of manuscript support, *nec* should be retained (see also 4.3.1an.).

1.3.12. principes feminarum - Curtius favours the use of *princeps* and the partitive genitive: see e.g. VIII.1.9 & VIII.6.2 for *principes Macedonum*, IV.11.1 for *principes cognatorum*, VI.6.11, VI.11.39, VIII.5.9, IX.6.4 & X.6.1 for *principes amicorum* (on this group see 6.1.12an.), IV.10.4 & VI.6.7 for *principes militum*, IX.7.6 for *principes eorum*, III.13.13 for *princeps purpuratorum* & VI.9.21 for *principes nobilissimae iuventutis*. For examples in other writers see e.g. Cic. *Luc.* 68, *Sen.* 23, Liv. 42.39.7 & 39.25.8.

1.3.14a. stupra perpressae...ludibria deflebant - The maltreatment of women was a stock motif in scenes of violence: cf. e.g. Tac. *Hist.* 3.33.1, Liv. 29.17.15, Amm. 31.6.7 & Tac. *Ann.* 14.31.1. Alexander would not have condoned such actions: compare his earlier sentencing to death of two soldiers who had defiled mercenaries' wives (see Plu. *Alex.* 22.4).

1.3.14b. stupra - Although originally meaning "disgrace" in general, *stuprum* came to be used of sexual disgrace, that is anything illicit, such as adultery, or forcible violation; the term could refer not only to heterosexual, but also homosexual practices (see e.g. *Sen. Con.* 3.8) and acts not necessarily always committed against the will of the victim (see e.g. *Sal. Cat.* 23.3). For Curtius' use of this word elsewhere see X.1.26, X.1.29 (both of Bagoas), IV.10.31 (about Alexander and Darius' wife), V.1.37 (of parents in Babylon hiring their children out to strangers) & VIII.2.19 (of incest in Nautaca). The word implies the disapproval of its user. See further Adams 1982 pp. 200f.

1.4.1. Invisum Macedonum nomen avaritia...libido - Greed and lust, financial and sexual sins, are often joined (see e.g. *Plin. Ep.* 7.26.1 & *Tac. Hist.* 4.73.3) and seen as characteristic of soldiers, both the ordinary rank and file (see e.g. Liv. 28.24.9, 38.24.2 & *Tac. Ann.* 14.31.3) and officers (see e.g. Liv. 29.9.12 & *Caes. Gal.* 1.40.12). These two vices were commonly used in rhetoric (see Lausberg 1960 §376) and were seen as central concepts in the historical analysis of the decline in Roman values, which was generally thought of as occurring during the 2nd century B.C. (see e.g. Liv. *praef.* 12 & *Sal. Cat.* 10.1ff. & McGushin *ad loc.*; for the reasons why this happened and the dates given by writers see Earl 1961 pp. 41ff.). Although Curtius, in combining *avaritia* and *libido*, is, no doubt, influenced by the historical and rhetorical traditions, he probably also saw a parallel between what supposedly happened in Rome and the Macedonian situation (see e.g. VI.2.1ff. & VI.6.1ff. of Alexander & X.2.23ff. of the Macedonians).

1.5.8. nobilem virginem constupratam servo...dederat - This would seem to be a particularly vile crime to Roman readers: for another example of women being given to slaves see Just.

16.5.2. The use of the relatively rare *constuprare* (see *TLL* IV p. 548.30ff.) with its intensifying prefix increases the extent of Cleander's misdemeanors (cf. the same use of this compound in a similar passage at Liv. 29.17.15 "constuprant matronas, virgines, ingenuos raptos ex complexu parentium"; see also Q. Cic. *Pet.* 10 & *SHA* 7.7.3). In addition, the use of this word also gives a more vivid picture of what happened (see e.g. [Cic.] *Her.* 4.51 "Descriptio nominatur, quae rerum consequentium continet perspicuam et dilucidam cum gravitate expositionem, hoc modo...item...partim ante pedes constuprantur"); coupled with *nobilem*, *constuprare* seems to indicate that Curtius is aiming at a grander style (see e.g. [Cic.] *Her.* 4.11f. "In gravi consumetur oratio figurae genere, si, quae cuiusque rei poterunt ornatissima verba reperiri...erit hoc exemplum...iis, qui violassent ingenuum, matremfamilias constuprassent, volnerassent aliquem aut postremo necassent, maxima supplicia maiores consumpserunt").

1.6.1. *Plerisque amicorum* - Rather than simply using *plerusque* and a noun in the same cases, Curtius often uses the classical and prose variant of it with the partitive genitive: see also IV.1.35 *plerosque militum*, VI.2.2 *plerisque amicorum*, VIII.2.22 *pugnantium plerosque* & X.7.1 *plerisque Macedonum*. For further examples see K-S I p. 427 n. 3.

1.6.2. *amicorum Alexandri* - For *amicus Alexandri* see also IV.1.24 "divitissimus quisque humilitatem inopiamque eius apud amicos Alexandri criminabatur". Although Curtius uses *amicus* simply to mean someone's friend (see e.g. VI.11.6, VII.5.19, VII.7.37, VII.8.28, VIII.11.16 & IX.10.16), he very frequently (see e.g. III.12.2, V.6.14, VI.6.7, VI.11.9, VII.7.5, VII.7.9, VIII.4.30, VIII.12.17, IX.10.26, X.1.25 & X.6.1) employs the word, as here, in a technical sense to refer to Alexander's *ἐταῖροι* (see e.g. Arr. *An.* 1.12.7, 6.28.1, 7.18.6 & 7.29.4; Plutarch mainly uses this term, although he also employs *φῆλοι* - for both see e.g. *Alex.* 15.3ff. & Hamilton *ad loc.*; Diodorus uses *φῆλοι* - see e.g. 17.72.1). For a possible list of these men, who helped Alexander in all spheres of his rule, see Berve 1926 I pp. 30ff & for comment Herman 1987 p. 155; for details of this group in Macedonian society see Griffith *HG* 1979 pp. 158ff.; for it in Greek and Hellenistic society see Herman 1987 *passim* & Austin 1986 pp. 462f.

Romans would probably have been reminded of the *amici Caesaris*, the emperor's friends or associates, to whom he could have given *beneficia*, such as advancing their careers, helping them in court and giving monetary assistance; the emperors would expect favours in return. Pliny (*Ep.* 1.18.3) tells of his worries about going to court against *amici Caesaris* and there are many other references to this group of people: see e.g. Suet. *Cal.* 19.2, *Nero* 5.1, *Gal.* 7.1, Tac. *Ann.* 6.5.1f., 13.42.2, *Dial.* 8.3, J. *AJ* 17.301 & *SHA* 17.11.7. For what the emperor's friendship could achieve see e.g. Tac. *Ann.* 6.39.3 of the rise of Poppaeus Sabinus; Curtius' own career was marked by help from the emperor (see intro. §D). For a full discussion on the matter see Saller 1982 pp. 41ff., Millar 1977 pp. 110ff. & Friedländer I 1908 pp. 70ff.

1.6.19. *prodesse reis* - Curtius may be thinking of events in his own lifetime: for examples of

the practice of imperial favour for defendants and criminals see e.g. Tac. *Ann.* 6.5.1ff. (Cotta Messalinus), 3.16.4. (Marcus Piso) & 14.40.3 (Marcus Asinius Marcellus). For a case of a murderer getting help later see Tac. *Ann.* 13.33.1f. (Publius Celer).

1.6.26. reccidisse iram in irae ministros - Hermolaus refers to a similar situation in regard to Parmenion: see VIII.7.5f. "Parmenio indicta causa trucidatus est, per quem Attalum occideras. Invicem enim miserorum uteris manibus ad expetenda supplicia et, quos paulo ante ministros caedis habuisti, subito ab aliis iubes trucidari". Curtius, as a senator (see intro. §D), no doubt, despised the emperor's agents and informers and so views these murderers in the same way. For examples from the Principate on how senators looked upon the punishment of such men see Tac. *Ann.* 6.3.4 (Sextius Paconianus), 6.10.3 (Julius Marinus & Vesularius Flaccus) & 6.48.4 (Laelius Balbus). There are also examples of emperors withdrawing support from their agents, as happens here (see Tac. *Ann.* 6.10.3, referred to above); for a general view see Tac. *Ann.* 4.71.1 "sed incolumi Tiberio, qui scelerum ministros ut perverti ab aliis nolebat, ita plerumque satiatus et oblatis in eandem operam recentibus veteres et praegraves adflixit".

1.6.27. iram in irae - Curtius favours this device of polyptoton, but not always with such a degree of neatness: see e.g. III.11.5 "ut armis arma pulsarent", VI.4.12 "deos a deo falli non solere", IX.3.11 "sed bello instrumenta belli consumpsimus", X.5.9 "nec poterant victi a victoribus in communi dolore discerni", X.1.7, X.2.14, X.5.35 & X.6.8; for a survey of Curtius' use of this device see Crousen 1971 pp. 58ff. The device appears fashionable in Augustan oratory (see e.g. Cestius Pius *ap. Sen. Con.* 1.3.2 "non putas legem cavisse, ut perires, quae cavit, quemadmodum perires?", Porcius Latro *ap. Sen. Con.* 10.6.1 "Ruentem civitatis statum unius parietis ruina reposui", Fulvius Sparsus *ap. Sen. Con.* 1.7.15 "Et Sparsum hoc colore declamasse memini, hominem inter scholasticos sanum, inter sanos scholasticum", Pompeius Silo *ap. Sen. Con.* 1.8.3 "Abdicatio mea in potestate abdicati est" & *Sen. Con. exc.* 5.1 "proscriptus aliquando proscipsit") and was taken up by Ovid in elegiac (see e.g. *Ars.* 1.244 "Et Venus in vinis ignis in igne fuit", *Ep.* 15.232 "et ebrietas ignis in igne fuit" & *Am.* 3.2.34 "In flammam flammam in mare fundis aquas").

1.6.29. irae ministros - A Livian expression: cf. 24.25.9 "et non ferme desunt irarum indulgentes ministri". For other similarities between the writers see e.g. 2.1.4n., 2.2.6n., 2.18.1n, 2.24.27n., 3.6.24n., 4.2.8n., 5.37.1n., 9.6.1an., 9.11.14bn., Steele 1915 pp. 403ff., Rutz 1986 pp. 2340f. & Atkinson 1980 pp. 39f.

1.6.33. potentiam scelere quaesitam - For the same idea see X.1.27 "potentiam flagitio et dedecore quaesitam". *Potentia* was the word used to denote a person's power through influence (see e.g. VI.9.16 & X.1.27, cited above), rather than power gained by official office (*potestas*). By using *potentia* here, Curtius is reflecting a view going back to the Republic and also prevalent in the Principate, where the favour of the emperor was important, that the

way to gain *potentia* was not necessarily a noble one: ambition led men to seek it by underhand means, such as bribery and electoral associations. As a result, those who were successful were often under suspicion (see e.g. [Sal.] *Cic.* 1.2, [Cic.] *Her.* 2.40, Tac. *Hist.* 1.30.1, *Ann.* 4.1.2 & Suet. *Aug.* 68) and *potentia* was seen in an equally bad light (see e.g. Nep. *Ca.* 2.2, Cic. *Inv.* 2.169 & *TLL* X₂ p. 292.39ff.); the mention of *potentia* was a standard negative rhetorical argument (see e.g. [Cic.] *Her.* 1.8 "In invidiam trahemus, si vim, si potentiam, si factionem, divitias...proferemus, et his adiumentis magis quam veritati eos confidere aperiemus" & Lausberg 1960 §276).

1.6.37. *esse diuturnam* - There are three possibilities for the scansion of *diuturnam*: the first two vowels could be valued as either a short and a long, two shorts, or one long. These variants create clausulae with relative percentages of frequency of 0.3%, 2.6% and 35.6% (see fig. 13 in Appendix C, but note that in the second case the figure given is for a sub-group of Type 9 as there is a long syllable before the three shorts; for this see Müller *MS* 1954 p. 759). Alone, *diu* can be scanned in any one of the three ways, but the most common in verse after Plautus and Terence (there it is either a short and a long, or two shorts) is the iambic type (see *TLL* V₁ p. 1557.59ff.). In this case, at the end of a sentence, one would expect a relatively frequent clausula (note that in Cicero variants of *diuturnus*, preceded by a word with a short last syllable, appear six times at the end of sentences and eight times before other forms of punctuation) so either one long, or two shorts, are preferred for the start of *diuturnam*. On *diuturnus* see Solmsen 1894 pp. 194ff.

1.7.1. *Rex cognita causa...pronuntiavit* - The language used resembles that of the law-courts (see also 1.29.8n., 2.17.5bn. & 4.1.17n.; for it in the courts see e.g. Cic. *Ver.* 2.2.81 & *Clu.* 5). For other uses outside the courts see e.g. Liv. 39.26.14, Caes. *Gal.* 1.19.5, Sal. *Cat.* 42.3 & M^cGushin *ad loc.* & Liv. 2.41.10. However, there is a certain irony here in that Alexander decides on a case where he is the supposed victim. In Rome, in Curtius' day, the emperors were involved in the judging of cases privately, or as members of a larger body (for these rôles see Jones 1972 pp. 91ff.; on the emperor's tribunal see Honoré 1981 pp. 1ff.), a task which, according to our sources, Claudius was particularly interested in (see e.g. Suet. *Cl.* 15.1ff., D.C. 60.4.2ff. & Levick 1990 pp. 115ff.). The case here is similar to Tiberius' presiding over a trial in the Senate where he was the supposed victim of Gaius Silanus: see Tac. *Ann.* 3.66.1ff.

1.7.10. *maximum crimen* - The Roman reader would have been reminded of *maiestas*, which the *Lex Iulia de maiestate* had extended to include verbal abuse and slander of the *princeps* and his family (for such cases see e.g. Suet. *Tib.* 58, Tac. *Ann.* 1.74.1ff., 2.50.1ff., 6.39.1 & 14.48.1f.). This was only a natural progression from the Republic, in that the *princeps* was now a symbol of the Roman State. Thus, there are records of many *maiestas* trials (see the list of cases in Tacitus given by Walker, 1981 pp. 263ff.) and also of minor events at which the

emperor was supposedly aggrieved by apparent attacks against him (see e.g. Suet. *Cal.* 28, D.C. 59.8.1, 59.29.4 & Tac. *Ann.* 12.52.1ff.). Tiberius' reign was noted for the number of *maiestas* charges (see Levick 1976 pp. 180ff.); at his accession Caligula banned these (see D.C. 59.4.3 & Barrett 1989 pp. 64ff.) only to reintroduce them again early in A.D. 39 (see D.C. 59.16.8 & Barrett 1989 pp. 92f.). Claudius similarly banned the charge at the start of his reign and gave an amnesty to those accused of it (see D.C. 60.3.6 & Levick 1990 pp. 119f.). A Roman reader may have been reminded of the similarity between Alexander and Claudius' predecessor at the end of his reign.

1.7.16. *salutis suae* - Curtius uses *salus* twenty times in reference to Alexander and his *salus* and that of the State are seen as interdependent at IX.6.15 "Iamque confusis vocibus flentes eum orabant, ut tandem exsatiatus laudi modum faceret ac saluti suae, id est publicae, parceret"; this was also the case in Rome (see e.g. Sen. *Cl.* 1.4.3), where, in general, *salus* was connected both with State safety (see e.g. Vell. 2.124.1 & Ov. *Fast.* 3.881f. & Bailey *ad loc.*) and that of the ruler, which, as well as in literature (see e.g. V. Max. 1.praef., Suet. *Jul.* 86.2, *Cl.* 37.2, *Nero* 7.2 & Tac. *Ann.* 16.22.1), can be seen on inscriptions and coins - for this in vows of the Arval Brothers see e.g. Appel 1909 p. 22 (Domitian), p. 23 (Nero), Smallwood 1967 pp. 14f. no. 12 (Claudius) & Weinstock 1971 pp. 217ff.; for this on inscriptions in Rome see the examples listed in *CIL* 6.7.4 pp. 5133ff., especially those with reference to the safety and return of the emperor (e.g. *CIL* 6.36894 "pro salute et reditu et victoria" in reference to Claudius; this is very similar to the context here); for *salus* on coinage, where it denoted the deliverance from illness of the emperor, or of the State from danger (Mattingly 1960 p. 161), see the types listed in Mattingly & Sydenham 1948 pp. 267f. & Robertson 1962 p. 384; for Tiberius' *Salus Augusta* type see Sutherland 1974 pp. 150ff.

As well as the general connection of *salus* with emperors, there may be specific contemporary allusion to Claudius. Caligula may have had a cult to his *salus* (see Barrett 1989 p. 152 & Weinstock 1971 pp. 172f.); Claudius banned such practices on his accession (D.C. 60.5.4f.). In addition, in A.D. 41/2 Claudius issued his *Paci Augustae* coins, on which a snake stands for *salus* (on these see Grant 1949 pp. 231ff., Robertson 1962 pp. 89ff., Mattingly & Sydenham 1948 pp. 126f., Mattingly 1923 p. 165 & Sutherland 1974 pp. 154ff.). Grant (1949 pp. 238ff., restated 1950 pp. 70ff.) views *salus* as important in Claudius' reign due to his bad health and notes that the coins appeared on the fiftieth anniversary of Augustus' founding of the joint cult of *Pax* and *Salus* (see D.C. 54.35.2 & Ov. *Fast.* 3.881f. & Paley *ad loc.*) and two hundred years after the earliest identifiable *augurium salutis* in 160 B.C.; Claudius revived the *augurium salutis* in A.D. 49 after a seventy-five year lapse (see Tac. *Ann.* 12.23 & Levick 1990 p. 87). On the emperors and *salus* see also Weinstock 1971 pp. 167ff. & Wallace-Hadrill 1981 pp. 308ff.

1.7.21. *qui ipsum ex India sospitem* - For the same idea of fear for Alexander's safety in India causing disorder see Plu. *Alex.* 68.3 & Hamilton *ad loc.* & Arr. *An.* 7.4.2.

1.7.27. optassent reverti aut credidissent reversurum - At first sight *opto* and *credo* seem to convey the same idea and are probably both there to facilitate the use of *reverti* and *reversurum*: for such wordplay see 1.6.27n. For a similar placing of *opto* and *credo* see e.g. Sen. *Dial.* 2.3.1; for *spero* and *credo* see e.g. Pl. *Rud.* 1195f. However, the two verbs may show that Alexander is thinking of two separate crimes. Firstly, they are hoping for him to die (cf. Suet. *Cal.* 28, where men are killed on the suspicion of praying for the emperor's death, & see 1.7.10n. on *maiestas*) and, secondly, they believe that he could die; he regarded himself as a god (see 5.4.22n.; for Curtius and this view see 5.11.2n., 5.33.7n. & the sarcasm of 10.13.25n.).

1.8.1. Igitur hos quidem vinxit - Arrian tells of the immediate execution of Cleander and Sitalces (*An.* 6.27.4) and of the acquittal and later charges and execution of Heracon (*An.* 6.27.5); on this difference see §1 intro. Arrian does not mention Agathon: see 1.1.9n.

1.8.5. DC autem militum...interfici iussit - The killing of these soldiers is not mentioned by any other source, but Arrian suggests that others were involved as well as the generals and that, in addition to the natives, members of the army also brought charges: see *An.* 6.27.4 *τοὺς μὲν δὴ ἀμφὶ Κλέανδρον τε καὶ Σιτάλκην πολλὰ ἐπικαλούντων αὐτοῖς τῶν τε ἐγχωρίων καὶ τῆς στρατιᾶς αὐτῆς.*

1.9.1. Eodem die sumptum est supplicium - Alexander's ruthlessness may possibly be seen as part of his new ways, as viewed by Curtius (see 1.39.8an.). Although some have taken evidence from Curtius' accounts of the trials of Philotas (VI.8.23ff.) and the Royal Pages (VIII.6.28ff.) to claim that the army acted as the jury in cases of capital punishment (see e.g. Hammond *HG* 1979 pp. 160ff.), it seems more likely that, rather than illustrating the constitutional right of the army, these were two special cases, where Alexander wished his own decision to carry the weight of the men themselves, therefore shifting responsibility, and so lessening any threat of revenge on himself (for this view see Errington 1978 pp. 86ff., Lock 1977 pp. 101ff., Anson 1985 pp. 308ff. & Borza 1990 p. 238). The case here is similar to Alexander's brutal decision concerning the Macedonian, Menander, in 327 B.C.; he was killed for refusing to remain in command of a garrison (see Plu. *Alex.* 57.3 & Hamilton *ad loc.*). See also III.7.15 for the killing of the Persian, Sisines, who was thought to be plotting against Alexander, in 333 B.C. & VIII.8.22 for the killing of Callisthenes in 327 B.C.

1.9.10. auctores defectionis Persarum Craterus adduxerat - The *auctores* were Ozines (Berve 579) and Zariaspes (Berve 335), two rebels who had been caught by Craterus (see IX.10.19). Ozines may be the same person as Arrian's (*An.* 6.27.3) Ordanes, whom Craterus brought to Carmania at this time.

1.9.13. Craterus - (Berve 446) This leading general, who was the son of Alexander (Arr. *Ind.* 18.5 & *An.* 3.11.10) and Aristopatra (Str. *Chr.* 15.1.35), came from Orestis (Arr. *Ind.* 18.5). He

is seen as a phalanx commander at the Granicus (see Arr. *An.* 1.14.3 & Bosworth *ad loc.*) and Issus (III.9.8 & Arr. *An.* 2.8.4). At Tyre, along with Perdikkas, he took charge of operations in Alexander's absence (IV.3.1 & IV.3.11). He was involved in fighting at Gaugamela (see Arr. *An.* 3.11.10, D.S. 17.57.3 & IV.13.29 & Atkinson *ad loc.*; see Heckel *YH* 1984 p. 278 n. 89 on Curtius' error of placing him on the right in charge of Peloponnesian cavalry) and among the Uxians (Arr. *An.* 3.17.4f.). He was left in charge of the camp at the Persian Gates (V.4.14ff. & Arr. *An.* 3.18.4f.) and, along with Parmenion, was left at Persepolis in charge of a large section of the army and baggage, while Alexander made for the Persian interior (V.6.11f.). After his participation in further military operations (see VI.4.2, VI.4.23f., Arr. *An.* 3.23.2 & Bosworth *ad loc.* & 3.23.6), including the blockading of the Arii (see VI.6.20ff. & Arr. *An.* 3.25.6ff. & Bosworth *ad loc.* for these varying accounts), he is mentioned in 330 B.C. as encouraging the punishment of Philotas, his personal enemy (VI.8.4ff.; on the affair see 1.1.12n.). He blockaded Cyropolis (VII.6.16 & Arr. *An.* 4.2.2) and, when Alexander, though ill, wished to attack the Scythians, was among those who tried to dissuade him (VII.7.9ff.). He came across the disaster that befell Attinas among the Massagetae and took revenge (VIII.1.6 & Arr. *An.* 4.17.1f.). Alexander is said to have written telling him of the Pages' Conspiracy (see Plu. *Alex.* 55.6 & Hamilton *ad loc.*). Before proceeding to India, Alexander despatched Craterus to hunt down defectors (VIII.5.2 & Arr. *An.* 4.22.1f.). After his exploits among the Aspasiens (Arr. *An.* 4.23.5) and in India (VIII.10.4f., Arr. *An.* 4.24.6f., 4.25.5, 4.28.7, 5.11.3, 5.15.3f. & 5.18.1) and following the defeat of Porus, an Indian king, he was left behind to build cities (Arr. *An.* 5.20.2); later, while the king sailed down the Hydaspes (the modern Jhelum), he marched down a bank as commander (Arr. *Ind.* 18.5ff., *An.* 6.2.2, 6.4.1 & D.S. 17.96.1) until the two groups converged at the boundary of the Mallians (Arr. *An.* 6.5.5; properly known as the Malavas - see Narain 1965 p. 160 & Hamilton 1969 p. 176). He was chosen to advise Alexander not to risk his life again following the fight in the city of Sudracae (see IX.6.6ff.; properly known as the Kshudrakas - see Narain 1965 p. 160; this is referred to as a city of the Mallians in other writers - see Arr. *An.* 6.8.4ff., Str. *Chr.* 15.1.33 & Plu. *Alex.* 63.2ff. & Hamilton *ad loc.*), was put in charge of the land forces marching down the Indus (IX.8.3 & Arr. *An.* 6.15.5) and later ordered to fortify the citadel of Musicanus (Arr. *An.* 6.15.7). He was sent to Carmania from India, not through the Gedrosian desert, but over the Bolan, or Mulla, Pass to the Helmand Valley (see Arr. *An.* 6.17.3, Str. *Chr.* 15.2.11 & Bosworth 1988a p. 138) and on his return captured some rebels (see 1.9.10n.). At Susa he was married to Amastrine, a daughter of Oxyartes (Arr. *An.* 7.4.5), and was later sent back to Greece with discharged veterans to take over from Antipater (see §9 intro.); for the rumour that he had been sent to kill Antipater see 10.15.1n.

Section Two

The Arrival of the Fleet: X.1.10 - X.1.16

It seems that this meeting in Carmania had not been planned when the fleet set out from Xylinepolis¹ in September, or October, 325 B.C.² Curtius³ states that the fleet was to go to the Ocean⁴ and meet Alexander by sailing up either the Indus, or Euphrates; Diodorus⁵ has the same, although he does not mention the Indus; Plutarch⁶ records that it was to go down the river and then keep India on the right (i.e. sail west); Arrian, in the *Anabasis*⁷, says that it was to go towards the Persian Gulf and the mouths of the Euphrates and Tigris; in the *Indica*⁸, there is only the vague idea, mentioned before the fleet embarks, that it was to make for Persia; however, Nearchus makes it clear that it was only by chance that he and some men met a camp straggler and found out that the king was not far away⁹.

Of the sources, only Justin has no mention of Nearchus' arrival in Carmania in the Winter of 325 B.C.¹⁰. In the *Anabasis*¹¹, based on the account of Aristobulus¹², or Ptolemy¹³, Arrian briefly records that the fleet put in at an inhabited part of the Carmanian coast and that Nearchus, accompanied by a few men, went inland and found Alexander; he, according to Aristobulus¹⁴, had just held games and ordered Nearchus to continue to Susiana and the mouths of the Tigris; Arrian then refers the reader to a work that he intends to write, based on that of Nearchus. In that work, the *Indica*¹⁵, Arrian gives a much fuller version of events¹⁶: the fleet moored at the river Anamis (Minab), in a district called Harmozia (Hormuz), and, after various encounters, Nearchus and some of his men made their way to Alexander; they were enthusiastically received and games and a procession held; after persuading the king to let him bring the vessels safely to Susa, Nearchus returned to his ships. Plutarch¹⁷ places Nearchus' arrival after the Bacchic procession and games held following the arrival of the army in Carmania¹⁸ and briefly says that he was sent back to the sea; Alexander wanted to fill all the regions along it with wars. Diodorus¹⁹ places Alexander at the coastal town of Salmus: he is holding a dramatic contest when the fleet sails into the harbour. At this, the Macedonians were delighted and listened to the travellers' nautical tales. Following this, the fleet was ordered to sail to the Euphrates.

The differences in the accounts of the sources have been a matter of debate among scholars, but it seems that most correctly place the Bacchic procession and games²⁰ before Nearchus' arrival; it is only Nearchus who distorts the chronology for his own advantage²¹. It is, however, possible that there were two sets of games²². It is impossible to tell whether Diodorus' Salmus was the name of the place²³ where Nearchus met Alexander, but what is clear is that the sailing of the fleet into a harbour seems to be a dramatic invention by Diodorus, or his source²⁴.

1. This is the name Onesicritus gives it: see Plin. *Nat.* 6.96 & Pearson 1960 p. 108.

2. For a departure in late September 325 B.C. see Tarn 1948 I p. 106, Wilcken 1967 p. 201,

- Pearson 1960 p. 145 & Hamilton 1969 p. 183; for one in early October see Hammond 1981a p. 232 & Bosworth 1988a p. 140.
3. IX.10.3.
 4. On what Curtius means by this term see 1.10.10n.
 5. D.S. 17.104.3. Hammond (1983a p. 71) views the orders given at D.S. 17.104.3 as consisting of two parts, the first being fulfilled by this meeting in Carmania; however, it seems clear that the fleet was not to put in here at all.
 6. *Alex.* 66.3 & see Hamilton *ad loc.*
 7. 6.19.5.
 8. 20.5.
 9. See Arr. *Ind.* 33.5ff.
 10. On a date see Welles 1963 p. 429.
 11. 6.28.5f.
 12. See Badian 1975 p. 162; for this writer see intro. n. 154.
 13. See Brunt 1983 p. 189.
 14. See Arr. *An.* 6.28.3.
 15. Arr. *Ind.* 33.1ff.
 16. For a comparison of the description with Homer's *Odyssey* see Pearson 1960 pp. 131ff.; for a view of it as false see Badian 1975 pp. 160ff.
 17. *Alex.* 68.1ff. & see Hamilton *ad loc.*
 18. Note that Plutarch (*Alex.* 67.7 & see Hamilton *ad loc.*) makes an error by saying that the festival was held at the Gedrosian Palace.
 19. D.S. 17.106.4ff. Hammond (1983a p. 156) notes the similarity between the accounts of Diodorus and Curtius and has suggested Cleitarchus (for this writer see intro. 154) as a common source (in this matter surely Plin. *Nat.* 6.198 is of some importance - see 1.11.7n.). He also correctly notes that Curtius' account is not from Nearchus. Curtius does not mention the overland journey and Onesicritus is mentioned, whereas in the account of Nearchus it is Archias who accompanies the head of the fleet.
 20. Curtius chooses not to mention the games Alexander celebrated after the crossing of the Gedrosian desert (for these see Arr. *An.* 6.28.3, Plu. *Alex.* 67.7f. & D.S. 17.106.4). Curtius' omission was probably due to a desire to start Book Ten with a few clear-cut episodes, rather than having something associated with events of the previous book spill over.
 21. See Badian 1975 pp. 160ff.: *contra* Tarn 1948 I p. 109.
 22. See Bosworth 1987 pp. 563f.
 23. Since the meeting place was only five days march from the coast (Arr. *Ind.* 33.7), it could possibly be classed as close to the sea (see Bosworth 1987 p. 565 & 1988a p. 150; this seems also to be the view of Milns, 1968 p. 237). The site is still unidentifiable: for suggestions see Tarn 1948 p. 109 & Pearson 1960 p. 135 for Gulashkird, Cook 1983 p. 187 for Jiruft on the Halil Rud & Bosworth 1987 p. 565 (see also 1988a p. 150) for a site to the west of the valley of the Halil Rud, near modern Khanu.
 24. If it was in Diodorus' and Curtius' source, the latter clearly thought it was too obviously incorrect to include (see, however, Badian 1975 pp. 165f. for a tentative suggestion that Diodorus may be correct).

1.10.4a. Nearchus et Onesicritus...superveniunt - When the fleet set off on the Indus, Curtius also specifically referred to Nearchus and Onesicritus: see IX.10.3 "Interim et urbes plerasque condidit et Nearchus atque Onesicritus nauticae rei peritis imperavit, ut validissimas navium deducerent in Oceanum progressisque...". It is clear that Nearchus had overall strategic command and that Onesicritus was in charge of navigation (see Plu. *Alex.* 66.3 & Hamilton *ad loc.*, Str. *Chr.* 15.2.4, Badian 1975 pp. 157ff. & Hauben 1987 pp. 572ff.). Presumably, in referring to the fleet, by using these two names, Curtius is indicating that these were the two men in control of it; Nearchus is named first, perhaps to show his superiority. Therefore, the mention of the two here could mean that Curtius, if not simply using the names in a very vague manner, is referring to the arrival of the fleet in the same way as Diodorus (17.106.4) does - see Hammond 1983a p. 156, who, in addition (1983a p. 194 n. 23; see also 1.15.1n.), suggests Onesicritus as a possible ultimate source; Onesicritus may actually have gone on the

overland journey with Nearchus, who simply did not mention this in his account, as he was prone to do (for similar silences on Onesicritus see Arr. *Ind.* 20.5ff., where the fleet sets off, & *Ind.* 42.9f., where the crownings take place - see 1.10.6n.) unless to put his inferior in a bad light (see Arr. *Ind.* 32.9ff. & *An.* 7.20.9f.).

1.10.4b. Nearchus - (Berve 544) The son of Androtimus, Nearchus, was a Cretan (Plu. *Eum.* 18.6 & D.S. 19.69.1) and a friend of Alexander from his youth; he was banished by Philip over the Pixodarus affair (on this see Plu. *Alex.* 10.1ff. & Hamilton *ad loc.*, Arr. *An.* 3.6.4ff. & Bosworth *ad loc.* & Bosworth 1988a pp. 21f.). He accompanied Alexander on the eastern campaign and was appointed as the governor of Lycia, probably in the autumn of 334 B.C. (see Arr. *An.* 3.6.6 & Bosworth *ad loc.*). He is next seen bringing mercenaries to Alexander at Zariaspa in Bactria in the winter of 329/8 B.C. (Arr. *An.* 4.7.1f.), having lost his position in Lycia for some reason (see Badian 1975 pp. 149f. & Pearson 1960 pp. 114f.). His next appearance as a chiliarch of the hypaspists at Assacenia (Arr. *An.* 4.30.6) may have been a temporary position (see Badian 1975 pp. 150f.). Later, he was put in charge of the fleet to sail on the Hydaspes and Indus (Arr. *An.* 6.2.3 & *Ind.* 18.10). Following this, he was appointed as commander of the fleet to sail through the Ocean to the Persian Gulf (see IX.10.3, Arr. *Ind.* 19.9, *An.* 19.5, D.S. 17.104.3 & Plu. *Alex.* 66.3 & Hamilton *ad loc.*) and this is still his position when this meeting in Carmania takes place; there is also a later meeting at Susa, where he was crowned by Alexander (see Arr. *An.* 7.5.6 & *Ind.* 42.9f. & Bosworth 1987 pp. 558f. for this event and its location) and married the daughter of Barsine and Mentor (Arr. *An.* 7.4.6). Following this, he returned with the fleet to Babylon (see Plu. *Alex.* 73.1 & Hamilton *ad loc.* & Arr. *An.* 7.19.3) and is reported to have told Alexander of the Chaldaeans' warning not to enter Babylon (see D.S. 17.112.3f., Plu. *Alex.* 73.1 & Hamilton *ad loc.*). He was apparently among those close to Alexander in his last days (see Plu. *Alex.* 75.3, 76.3 & Hamilton *ad loc.* & Arr. *An.* 7.25.4; for doubts on this topic see Badian 1975 pp. 167f.), but is listed as one of those aware of the plot against Alexander at Medius' party (see *L.M.* §§97f. & for a reason Heckel 1988 p. 36). Following Alexander's death, he is seen to commend Barsine's son, Heracles, as Alexander's heir; this move was, no doubt, designed to gain him influence (see 6.10.2n.). However, this plan failed and he was not even awarded a province in the later distribution: Justin (13.4.15; see also Oros. 3.23.9) must have made an error in assigning him Lycia (see Briant 1973 p. 132 & Badian 1975 p. 169 n. 58). He later served under Antigonos (D.S. 19.19.4f.) and wrote up his adventures; these are largely preserved by Arrian in the *Indica* (for other fragments see also *F.Gr.H.* 133). His version is generally seen as, at least, a highly romanticised picture of events and, perhaps, a reaction to the earlier account of Onesicritus (see 1.10.6n.; for a direct correction see Arr. *An.* 6.2.3). For a general survey see Pearson 1960 pp. 112ff., Badian 1975 pp. 147ff. & Pédech 1984 pp. 160ff.

1.10.6. Onesicritus - (Berve 583) A son of the elder Philiscus, Onesicritus, who was probably a pupil of the philosopher Diogenes, came from either Astypalaea, an island in the S. W.

Aegean (Arr. *Ind.* 18.9 & D. Laert. 6.84), or, less likely, Aegina (D. Laert. 6.75f. & 6.84); for a discussion on the matter see Pearson 1960 pp. 83ff. Wherever he was born, it is clear that, at some stage, he joined Alexander's expedition and first comes to prominence as the steersman of Alexander's own ship on the voyage down the Hydaspes (see Arr. *Ind.* 18.9, *An.* 6.2.3 & also 7.5.6). Following this, he was appointed, probably as the officer in charge of navigation (*ἀρχικυβερνήτης*), to the fleet, which Nearchus was to head as the strategic commander (see 1.10.4an.). Following the expedition, he was one of those crowned by Alexander at Susa (Arr. *An.* 7.6.6), although Nearchus seems to have neglected to mention his name (see Arr. *Ind.* 42.9f. & Bosworth 1987 pp. 560f.). After Alexander's death it is possible that he attached himself to the court of Lysimachus (see Plu. *Alex.* 46.4 & Hamilton *ad loc.*) and published a work on Alexander at some time prior to 310 B.C., the subject and title of which are a matter of debate. For the fragments of this possible encomium, perhaps styled on that of Xenophon's *Anabasis*, see *F.Gr.H.* 134; for a general discussion see also Pédech 1984 pp. 71ff.

1.10.10. Oceanum - The word does not here refer specifically to the Indian Ocean, which Curtius would have probably referred to as the Erythraean Sea (see 1.13.6n.), but is a more general term simply referring to the water which was meant to surround the known world; Curtius uses the word in this way to refer to the area around India seventeen other times, including a reference to the extent of the Persian empire from the Hellespont to the Ocean at IV.14.9, and to the West once (see IV.4.19 & Atkinson *ad loc.*). In other writers, although it could be coupled with adjectives, such as in *Britannicus* (Mela 1.15) and *ruber* (Hor. *Carm.* 1.35.32), by itself it usually refers to this encircling area of water (see e.g. Sen. *Suas.* 1.1). For Alexander and the Ocean see 5.36.15n.

1.11.1. Nuntiabant autem quaedam audita, alia conperta - A common contrast: Curtius uses the same idea at V.4.10 "his captivus expositis interrogatus a rege, auditune an oculis conperta haberet"; cf. Tac. *Ann.* 3.19.2 "dum alii quoquo modo audita pro conpertis habent". The use of *nuntiabant* makes it clear that the following tales are those of Nearchus and Onesicritus, on which Curtius is not passing any judgement. For a parody of the tales of travellers see Lucianus *VH passim* & Jones 1986 pp. 52ff.; for a mime set on an Indian island see *P. Oxy.* 413.

1.11.7. insulam ostio amnis obiectam auro abundare, inopem equorum esse...singulis talentis emi - Pliny (*Nat.* 6.198) has a variant on this, when he says that Cleitarchus mentions an island so rich that the people paid a talent of gold for horses. If this is the same island, it must point to Cleitarchus as the source of Curtius' story, since Nearchus, as recorded by Arrian in his *Indica*, does not mention such an island. Pomponius Mela (3.70), although referring to a different part of the Indian Ocean, also mentions an island rich in gold. Earlier Curtius refers to gold bearing rivers of India (see VIII.9.18) and Strabo (*Chr.* 15.2.14) also notes that Onesicritus wrote of such a river in Carmania. Perhaps such a tradition grew up due to the wealth and opulence of India (for this see e.g. VIII.9.20ff.).

1.11.8. *ostio amnis obiectam* - At this point, *Ω* has *ostio amni subiectam*. Although *ostio* can be taken as a locative, the construction is awkward. Scheffer suggests the simple transfer of the "s" to produce *ostio amnis obiectam*; this creates a much better structure and the sense is also improved as *obiectam* has more of the sense of being opposite (see e.g. Liv. 43.9.6, Caes. Civ. 3.79.7 & Plin. Nat. 5.129), rather than beside, or under (see e.g. Caes. Civ. 3.79.3 & Liv. 2.38.1).

1.11.9. *amnis* - The use of this word for "river" at this point, rather than another one, such as *flumen*, corresponds to the findings of Viljamaa (1969 pp. 19ff.): he shows that *amnis* is used by Curtius when referring to a particular river, often mentioned previously, or defined by the context, and when the entirety of the river is implied. *Flumen* is used when the generic quality is referred to (i.e. a river as opposed to a mountain), or parts of a river, such as water.

1.12.3. *beluarum* - *Belua* is common in Curtius, referring most of the time (twenty-two times, that is 63%) to elephants, but basically meaning any large terrifying animal; it is used in reference to river, or sea, monsters eight times. Large sea monsters are part of the tradition surrounding Alexander's travels (see e.g. D.S. 17.106.6, Arr. Ind. 30.1ff. & Str. Chr. 5.2.12f.; for their size see 1.12.9n.) and also seem to have been used in the declamatory schools with reference to Alexander (see Musa ap. Sen. Suas. 1.2 & Menestratus ap. Sen. Suas. 1.13); for what Pliny has to say about whales in the Indian Ocean see Nat. 9.8f.

1.12.5. *aestu secundo eas ferri* - Although not in the same context, Arrian (Ind. 30.8) also mentions this phenomenon, writing *τούτων μετεξέτερα τῶν κητέων ἐποκέλλειν πολλαχοῦ τῆς χώρας, ἐπειδὴν ἀνάπτωτις κατάσχη, ἐν τοῖσι βράχεσιν ἐχόμενα, τὰ δὲ καὶ ὑπὸ χειμώνων σκληρῶν ἐς τὴν χέρσον ἐξωθέεσθαι....*

1.12.9. *magnarum navium corpora aequantes* - The other sources give equally large figures for the size of the whales at this encounter: Strabo (Chr. 15.2.13), following Nearchus, says that they were twenty-three fathoms (about one hundred and forty feet) in length, Arrian (Ind. 30.9), who, after the encounter, makes a general comment on their length, that they were twenty-five fathoms (some one hundred and fifty feet) in length and Diodorus (17.106.6), who, although not mentioning their length, says *τὸ δὲ παραδοξότατον, κήτεσι πολλοῖς καὶ τὸ μέγεθος ἀπίστοις συγκεκυρηκέναι*. On other occasions equally large figures are given: Aelian (NA 17.6), following Onesicritus, mentions one half a stade (some three hundred feet) long. However, more believable figures are sometimes offered: Nearchus later referred to ones about seventy-six feet long (see Arr. Ind. 39.4 & Str. Chr. 16.3.7), Onesicritus (Plin. Nat. 6.99), although referring to the Persian Gulf itself, mentioned ones thirty feet in length and Pliny (Nat. 9.11), on his section on whales, one whose skeleton (therefore excluding tail section) was forty feet long. The larger figures are clearly exaggerations, as the largest recorded specimen is no more than around one hundred and ten feet (Brunt 1983 p. 421 n. 2 & Watson

1981 pp. 85f.), and are typical of travellers' tales; for a parody of such see Lucianus *VH* 1.30, where the narrator is swallowed by a whale one and a half miles long.

It is impossible to say what species Nearchus encountered at various points, but in the Indian Ocean there are numerous varieties of whales and dolphins. If those less than thirty feet are discounted as being too small for the descriptions listed above, then it is fair to say that the whales encountered could be any of the following: the Blue Whale (see Watson 1981 pp. 85ff.), found mostly in polar regions, but seen in the Arabian Gulf, average length 82-85ft., maximum (male) 102ft. and probably under 110ft.; the Fin Whale (see Watson 1981 pp. 82ff.), found at all depths, average length 70-73ft., maximum (female) 88ft.; the Sei Whale (see Watson 1981 pp. 90ff.), found at the shore and in deep waters, average length 49-52ft., maximum (female) 66ft.; the Great Sperm Whale (see Watson 1981 pp. 171ff.), found on edges of Ocean trenches, average length 36-50ft., maximum (male) 65ft.; the Humpback Whale (see Watson 1981 pp. 95ff.), which sticks to coastal migration routes, average length 48-50ft., maximum (female) 62ft.; the Tropical Whale (see Watson 1981 pp. 93f.), found near shore, average length 40-43ft., maximum (female) 48ft.; the Piked Whale (see Watson 1981 pp. 88f.), found in shallow, warmer, water, average length 26-27ft., maximum (female) 33ft.; the Great Killer Whale (see Watson 1981 pp. 212ff.), found in coastal and cooler areas, average length 23-27ft., maximum (male) 32ft.

1.12.13a. truci cantu deterritas sequi - Of the sources for this episode, only Curtius omits the use of trumpets: cf. the very dramatic description in Arrian (*Ind.* 30.5), where, as well as voices and trumpets, oars are used in a headlong assault on the beasts, Strabo (*Chr.* 15.2.12f.), where the pilots tell Nearchus that the beasts can be frightened by trumpets and loud noises, and Diodorus (17.106.7), who also includes the beating of shields.

1.12.13b. truci - Despite the vagueness of *truci cantu* and the mention of horns in other sources (see 1.12.13an.), there seems no need for Sebisius to emend the *truci* to *tubae*; for the same combination elsewhere see Tac. *Hist.* 2.22.1.

1.12.15. deterritas sequi - Normally *ne/quin /quo minus* and the subjunctive would be expected here (see VI.10.34 for *quo minus*), but, although not common in writers of Curtius' period, *deterreo* in the passive form can take the infinitive (see *TLL* V₁ p. 808.36ff.).

1.12.22. velut demersa navigia subisse aquas - Diodorus (17.106.7) likewise simply records that the whales dived into the sea, but Arrian (*Ind.* 30.6) and Strabo (*Chr.* 15.2.12) elaborate, saying that they first dived, then reappeared astern.

1.13.1. Cetera incolis crediderant - One of these *incolae* was Mithropastes: see Str. *Chr.* 16.3.5.

1.13.6. *Rubrum mare* - The Erythraean Sea was a term used by the Greeks and Romans to refer, either separately to our Red Sea, the Indian Ocean, or the Persian Gulf, or to include them all (see e.g. *Str. Chr.* 16.3.1 *ταύτης δὲ τὸ μὲν προσάρτικον πλευρὸν ἢ λεχθεῖσά ἐστιν ἔρημος, τὸ δ' ἔϋον ὁ Περσικὸς κόλπος, τὸ δὲ ἐσπέριον ὁ Ἀράβιος, τὸ δὲ νότιον ἢ μεγάλη θάλαττα ἢ ἔξω τῶν κόλπων ἀμφοῖν, ἣν ἅπασαν Ἐρυθρὰν καλοῦσιν*); for a list of how various writers employ the term see Sidebottom 1986 pp. 182ff. Curtius uses it both to refer to the Indian Ocean (see e.g. IV.12.9, VIII.9.6 & IX.6.20) and the Persian Gulf (see e.g. V.1.15 & VI.2.12).

1.13.12. *ut plerique crediderant* - For this phrase, used elsewhere by Curtius to indicate an incorrect view, see V.1.24 "Samiramis eam condiderat, non, ut plerique credidere, Belus", VI.9.31 "corripuit emissurus in eum, ut plerique crediderunt, tormentis subtrahere cupiens. Sed..." & X.10.14 "Veneno necatum esse credidere plerique"; for this use in other writers see e.g. *Quint. Inst.* 4.1.6, *Tac. Ag.* 40.2 & *Hist.* 5.22.3. For Curtius' scepticism see 10.5.1n.

1.13.16. *ab Erythro rege appellari* - Curtius repeats the aetiology from VIII.9.14 "Mare certe, quo adluitur, ne colore quidem abhorret a ceteris: ab Erythro rege inditum est nomen propter quod ignari rubere aquas credunt"; for the same explanation elsewhere see Agatharc. *De Mare Erythraeo* 5 (Phot. *Bibl.* 250.442a), *Arr. Ind.* 37.3 & *Str. Chr.* 16.3.5; for alternative versions listed see *Str. Chr.* 16.4.20 & *Plin. Nat.* 6.107. Curtius also gives the aetiology of places elsewhere: see e.g. IV.8.2 of the origin of the name Alexandria, VII.4.31 of the Bactrus river giving its name to the area, VIII.10.12 of why the story exists that Bacchus was born from Zeus' thigh & X.1.18 of the Greek name for Spain. For examples of this common practice in other writers see e.g. *Peripl. M. Eryth.* 16, *Mela* 3.70, *Plin. Nat.* 4.120, *Vell.* 1.3.1 & 2.7.5; for a possible parody on this habit see *Lucianus VH* 2.20 on Homer οὐχ Ὅμηρος, ἀλλὰ Τιγράνης καλεῖσθαι· ὕστερον δὲ ὀμηρέυσας παρὰ τοῖς Ἕλλησιν ἀλλάξαι τὴν προσηγορίαν.

1.14.1. *esse haud procul* - This was the island, which *Strabo* (*Chr.* 16.3.5) calls Ogyris, lying two thousand stades (about two hundred and fifty miles) from the coast. As Curtius, he records a mound on it with palm trees. *Arrian* (*Ind.* 37.2f.) seems to confuse the island with the desert island of Organa, but mentions palms and the tomb of Erythras. *Mela* (3.79) also records that it had a monument to Erythras on it. For other references to the island see *Ptol. Geog.* 6.7.40, where it is called Sarapias, and *Peripl. M. Rubr.* 33 & *Casson ad loc.*, where it is called Sarapis, and also placed two thousand stades from the coast. For a plausible identification with the modern Masirah see *RE* XVII pp. 2080ff.

Curtius regularly indulges in geographical excursus, which were traditional elements of epic (see *Hor. Ep.* 2.1.250ff. & *Stat. Silv.* 5.3.235ff.) and transferred to literary theory of all types (see e.g. *Plb.* 5.21.6f., *Cic. Orat.* 66, *Att.* 1.13.5 & *Lucianus Hist. Conscr.* 57). Curtius was, no doubt, particularly influenced by his rhetorical training (see e.g. *Sen. Con.* 2.praef.3 "suasoriis aptior erat: locorum habitus fluminumque decursus et urbium situs moresque

populorum nemo descripsit abundantius" & *Suas.* 2.14 "de positione loci eleganter dixit Haterius cum angustias loci facundissime descripsisset") to include these excursus, which would probably have interested the reader (see Tac. *Ann.* 4.33.3). For examples in Curtius see e.g. III.1.2ff. of the River Marsyas, III.1.11ff. of Phrygia and Gordium, III.4.2 of the pass into Cilicia, III.4.6ff. of Cilicia and the River Cydnus, IV.7.6f. of the journey to the shrine of Ammon, IV.7.16ff. of the area around the shrine and its inhabitants, V.1.12ff. of the fertile area of Mesopotamia, V.1.24ff. of Babylon, V.2.1 of the fertility of the satrapy of Sittacene, V.3.1ff. of the River Pasitigris, V.4.7ff. of the area around the River Araxes, VI.4.4ff. of the River Ziobetis, VI.4.16f. of the Caspian Sea and a valley leading to it, VI.4.20ff. of a cultivated area, VI.5.13ff. of the country of the Mardians, VI.6.23f. of a rocky outcrop, VII.3.6ff. of the Parapamisadae, VII.3.19ff. of the Caucasus and Taurus mountain ranges, VII.4.26ff. of Bactria, VII.7.1ff. of the Scythians and the River Tanais, VII.10.1ff. of Sogdiana, VII.11.1ff. of Arimazes' rock, VIII.2.14f. of Xenippa, VIII.9.2ff. of India and its peoples, VIII.10.22ff. of Mazagae, IX.1.4f. of the woods and animals in Porus' kingdom, IX.1.9ff. of the animals and vegetation of Inner India, IX.10.8ff. of the coastal Indians & X.10.10 of the heat in Mesopotamia. For this practice in other historians see e.g. Liv. 44.6.8ff. of Tempe, Sal. *Jug.* 17.1ff. of Africa, Tac. *Ag.* 10.1ff. of Britain, *Hist.* 5.11.3ff. of Jerusalem & 5.2.1ff. of the Jews.

1.14.7. palmetis - This is Modius' suggestion for the *palmitis* of P and the *palmis* of ω ; less common, but classical (see e.g. Hor. *Ep.* 2.2.184, Plin. *Nat.* 5.13 & Tac. *Hist.* 5.6.1), *palmetum* seems preferable to *palma* from the context as the latter, coupled with *consitam* is less attractive, especially if *frequentibus* is chosen as the reading of the following word (see 1.14.8n.). In the *Periplus Maris Erythraei* (§33) the inhabitants of the island are said to wear loin clothes of palm leaves; Casson (1989 p. 175) suggests that these were of the doum palm, which still grows in some parts of Arabia.

1.14.8. frementibus - Modern editors wrongly reject this reading of Ω for the *frequentibus* of Δ ; the latter seems pointless due to *consitam*, which already implies a thickness of plantation. *Frementibus* is poetic in tone and Curtius may be influenced by Vergil: cf. *A.* 12.702f. "cum fremit ilicibus quantas gaudetque nivali / vertice se attollens pater Appenninus ad auras" & 10.97ff. "Talibus orabat Iuno, cunctique fremebant / caelicolae adsensu vario, ceu flamina prima, / cum deprensa fremunt silvis et caeca volutant"; cf. also *Aetna.* 365 "Aquilone fremunt silvae"; Curtius refers to the rustling of trees earlier at V.4.25 "Ne aurium quidem usus supererat silvas quatiente vento, qui concurrentibus ramis maiorem quam pro flatu sonum edebat". In addition, *frementibus* helps to create a more mystic aura around this uninhabited and dangerous island. For the influence Vergil may have had on Curtius see also e.g. 2.23.39n., 2.27.33n., 5.8.19n., Balzer 1971 *passim*, Rutz 1986 pp. 2337f. & Steele 1916 pp. 409f.

1.14.20. litteris gentis eius scriptam - It is not clear what, if anything, Curtius has in mind. It

could refer to the writing of the people of the island at the time of Alexander, at the time of the almost mythical Erythras, or, perhaps, in Curtius' own day. However, logically, it must refer to the time of Erythras, as the writing in question is on his tomb. In the *Periplus Maris Erythraei* (§33) it is noted that those on the island at that time, who are classed as Ichthyophagoi (cf. Arr. *Ind.* 26.2ff. & Plin. *Nat.* 6.97), spoke Arabic. The *Periplus Maris Erythraei* was probably written at about the middle of the first century A.D. (see Casson 1989 pp. 6f.) and so is contemporary with Curtius. Therefore, if Curtius is thinking in terms of the script of his own day, this is what he would have had in mind. Originally the Ichthyophagoi would have spoken various languages (Herodotus, at 3.19.1, notes that some of those at Elephantine could speak Ethiopian) and it is difficult to work out what would have been used on the island at the time of Alexander. However, one may conjecture that, both at that time and, indeed, in the presumed time of Erythras, some type of the South Arabian branch of South Semitic Script was used (for this see Jensen 1958 pp. 316ff., Diringer 1968 I pp. 173ff. & II pp. 155ff. for illustrations).

1.15.1. *Adiciebant...insulam* - *Adiciebant* heralds the end of the section recounting what was told to members of the fleet by local inhabitants and refers again to the experiences of the men themselves. Curtius seems to join the stories about Erythras and his island and that of Nosala, the island of the sun god (for this episode told much more fully see Str. *Chr.* 15.2.13 & Arr. *Ind.* 31.1ff.). Whereas Arrian and Strabo both tell how Nearchus disproved the legend that those who landed on the island disappeared, by landing on it himself after the disappearance of one of his boats and returning safely, Curtius makes no mention of this, nor does Pliny (*Nat.* 6.97 & see Brunt 1983 p. 397 n. 1), who seems to confuse the same two islands as Curtius in his brief summary of Onesicritus; this may point to Onesicritus as the ultimate source of Curtius' account (see 1.10.4an.). For this island more specifically placed see Mela 3.71 "contra Indi ostia illa sunt quae vocant Solis adeo inhabitabilia, ut ingressos vis circumfusi aëris exanimet confestim, et inter ipsa ostia Patalene regio, ob aestus intolerabilis alicubi cultoribus egens"; for modern speculation on the location of this island see *RE* XVII pp. 1051f. & Schiwiek 1962 pp. 43ff.; it is possible that it is the modern Astola.

1.15.4. *lixas mercatoresque* - Both *lixae* and *mercatores* were involved in trading with the army (see *B. Afr.* 75.3), the former, also mentioned in Alexander's retinue at VI.8.23 and VIII.4.13, being more involved in the supply of basic goods (see *TLL* VII₂ p. 1549.80ff.). Alexander's men, who carried some provisions with them (see e.g. VIII.4.20 & Arr. *An.* 3.21.3), would not have needed to use traders, or markets, to supply their daily provision of food (the army *dyopd* at Arr. *An.* 6.23.6 seems an exception - see Milns 1987 pp. 23f.). This was maintained for them in a variety of ways, depending on the conditions (see Engels 1978b p. 120; for Greek armies and provisions in general see Pritchett 1971 pp. 30ff.). However, during less harsh times there were probably those who traded with the army, dealing in food, clothing and other essential, and non-essential, items and others who were interested in

selling what they found, such as the Phoenicians mentioned by Arrian (*An.* 6.22.4f.). In Greece, it was normal for hoplites to provide their own weapons; however, the situation in Macedonia is not clear (for the supplying of weapons by Philip see D.S. 16.3.1 & Hammond 1989b p. 63; *contra* Griffith *HG* 1979 pp. 420f.). The situation in Curtius is confused: in a speech at IX.3.10f. the impression is given that the men supplied their own, but he records new armour being distributed at IX.3.21f. and Alexander ornamenting the armour of the soldiers at VIII.5.4; the last two cases may represent the reality and there probably was not a trade in weapons.

1.15.14. transmissa - This is Lauer's suggestion (supported by the reading of P at 1.15.20n.) for the *transmissam* of Ω , which would have to agree with either *famam*, or *insulam*, and thus make no sense. The corruption is probably due to the proximity of *transmissa* to *insulam*.

1.15.20. visa - P gives this correct reading, whereas ω has *visam*, an error due to the same reason as that of *transmissam* (see 1.15.14n.).

1.16.11. donec ad Euphratis os adpellerent classem, inde...Babylona subituros - Curtius' and Diodorus' versions of the orders are basically a continuation of the initial order (see IX.10.3 & 17.107.1 respectively). Plutarch (*Alex.* 68.6) is very vague at this point, but it should be noted that he misplaces here Alexander's desire to sail down the Euphrates (see Perrin 1919 p. 415). In the *Anabasis* (6.28.6), Arrian tells the reader that he will recount separately the story of the voyage from the river Indus to the Persian sea and the mouth of the Tigris. In the *Indica* (36.4ff. and contrary to Hammond 1983a p. 156), he records that Nearchus asked to take the fleet to Susa; it is almost by chance that the fleet went up the Pasitigris. Indeed, the fleet anchored in the mouth of the Euphrates (*Arr. Ind.* 41.6); when it was learnt that Alexander was on his way to Susa, the fleet retraced its path and, from the sea, went up the Pasitigris (the modern Karun - for its position see *Str. Chr.* 15.3.6 & Bosworth 1987 pp. 541ff.: Onesicritus says the Tigris - see *Plin. Nat.* 6.99 & Pearson 1960 p. 109 - but this could be Juba, the epitomiser's, error). It has already been shown that the fleet's visit to Alexander in Carmania happened by chance and was possibly distorted by Nearchus for his benefit; perhaps the same can be said of the next meeting in Susa, where he only mentions Leonnatus as being crowned with him (see 1.10.4an. for references, Badian 1975 pp. 166f. & Bosworth 1987 pp. 560f.).

It may be possible to work out a reasonably correct version of the orders given to Nearchus in Carmania if Nearchus' subsequent appearances in the sources are investigated. Due to lacunae (see 1.45.16n. & 4.3.32n.) in Curtius, his first appearance is in the leadership debate following Alexander's death; he is in favour of the child of Barsine (see 6.10.2n.). Therefore, it can be assumed that Curtius knew that Nearchus had been present at the mass weddings at Susa. In Plutarch (*Alex.* 73.1 & see Hamilton *ad loc.*) and Diodorus (17.112.3f.), his next appearance is outside Babylon, where he conveys the Chaldaeans' warnings to

Alexander; Plutarch says that he had just returned from sailing through the Ocean into the Euphrates. This statement seems to be supported by Arrian (*An.* 7.19.3), who says that Nearchus had just brought his fleet up the Euphrates. However, Arrian mentions him prior to this as being among those betrothed to Persian women at Susa (*An.* 7.4.6); a little later he was decorated by Alexander (see Arr. *An.* 7.5.6 & *Ind.* 42.9).

With the evidence available, it is ultimately difficult to say what the orders for the fleet were. However, judging by what happened, it seems that the fleet did eventually go up the Euphrates to Babylon. A possible answer to the problem would be that this was the original order, but Nearchus, owing to his seemingly chance meeting with Alexander, deliberately lied about his orders so that he could show himself in a better light.

1.16.12. *ad Euphratis* <os> - This is Acidalius' suggestion for the *ad eupratis* of P and the *ad euphratis* of ω ; it is generally accepted by modern editors, whereas *ad Euphratem* was used after Aldus; the latter does not take account of the ending in the manuscripts and, in any case, Curtius always uses the Greek accusative, *Euphraten*. De Lorenzi (1965 p. 68), as Zumpt and Foss, prefers the *ad Euphratis ostia* of Δ ; however, it is less easy to see how *ostia* was omitted. Acidalius' suggestion is to be preferred.

Section Three

Alexander's Plans for the Future: X.1.17 - X.1.19

At the time of his death, Alexander must have had plans, whether written, or not, for the future. Curtius' reference to ideas of conquest is one of several versions in the Alexander historians¹. At the same point in his narrative, Plutarch² refers to the king's future ambitions; unlike Curtius' account, there is no mention of conquest, simply exploration. He mentions a circumnavigation of Africa and an entrance to the Mediterranean by the Pillars of Hercules³; although there is also the mention of the construction and manning of ships at Thapsacus⁴, there is no reference to their transportation to Babylon⁵. Arrian⁶, at roughly the same point as Curtius and Plutarch⁷, records that Alexander desired to sail down the Euphrates and then goes on to mention how some writers said that Alexander was planning to sail round most of Arabia, Ethiopia, Libya, the nomads beyond Mt. Atlas and Gadeira⁸ and then into the Mediterranean; he also planned to subdue Libya and Carthage⁹. In addition, the writer notes that some stated that an expedition to the Black Sea area was planned and others that, as Alexander was disturbed by the growing reputation of Rome, he wanted to make for Sicily and the Iapygian Promontory. This last plan obviously betrays a late source as, at this time, Rome was of little importance to the Greek world¹⁰. There seem to be no doubts over the plans for the Black Sea area¹¹ and the Arabian expedition¹². Although Arrian seems to discount the other plans¹³, he does, however, admit that Alexander would always have wanted more conquests.

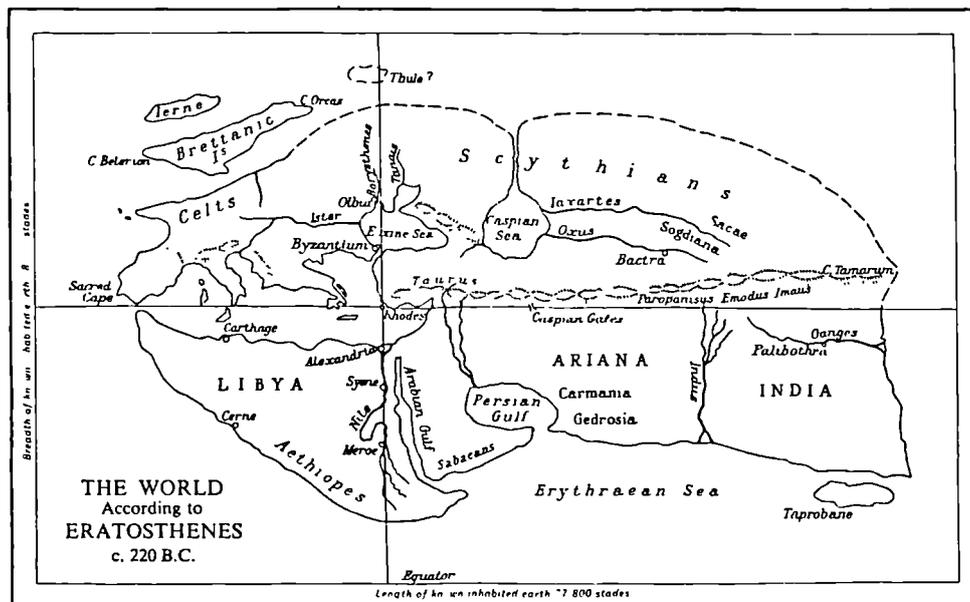


Fig. 2. The extent of the known world in the time of Alexander
(Reproduced from *Everyman's Classical Atlas*, London, 1963, by permission of
John Bartholemew & Son, Ltd., Edinburgh)

Diodorus¹⁴ actually refers to written details of what Alexander intended to do;

Perdiccas brought these before the men for rejection after the king's death. There were plans to build one thousand warships larger than triremes in Phoenicia, Syria, Cilicia and Cyprus; these were to be used in a campaign against the Carthaginians and the others living along the coast of Libya and Iberia and the adjoining coastal region as far as Sicily; a road was also to be built along the coast of Libya as far as the Pillars of Hercules and as needed by such a great expedition; a pyre for Hephaestion was to be built, seven temples erected, cities established by transplanting populations from Europe to Asia and vice versa and a tomb, like a pyramid, constructed for Philip. These plans, as well as the orders given to Craterus¹⁵ when he set off for the West, were annulled¹⁶. The authenticity of these plans has been the topic of much debate¹⁷, but a recent study¹⁸ has satisfactorily shown that there is no reason to discount Diodorus' account: the high number of ships available to the contenders following Alexander's death¹⁹, Craterus' delay in Cilicia, probably due to orders to see to the preparation of ships²⁰, and the future importance of the treasury of Cyinda, perhaps attesting to the transfer of reserves for shipbuilding²¹, all support Diodorus' account.

In conclusion, although the only mention of a document referring to Alexander's plans for the future is that recorded as being brought forward by Perdiccas after the king's demise, Plutarch, Arrian and Curtius all add to the belief in the feasibility of this document by earlier references to plans. Curtius' version, although written from a Roman perspective²², is not demonstrably at variance with the other sources²³ and, as many of the plans would have been set in motion prior to Alexander's death, Curtius' setting seems plausible.

1. Justin is the only one not to refer to them.

2. *Alex.* 68.1f. & see Hamilton *ad loc.*

3. On what these refer to see 1.17.23n.

4. For where this was see 1.19.15n.

5. For this see 1.19.23n.

6. *An.* 7.1.1ff.

7. Persepolis, instead of Carmania.

8. For this place see 1.17.23.

9. For the same details in an earlier speech at the Hyphasis (Beas) see *Arr. An.* 5.26.2.

10. See Brunt 1983 p. 501 & Bosworth 1988b p. 192.

11. Arrian had already accepted these as authentic (see *An.* 4.15.6 & Bosworth 1988b p. 192).

12. According to Aristobulus, a fleet was being built for Alexander in Babylon and a harbour to accommodate one thousand vessels; Miccalus had been sent off to Phoenicia and Syria to hire recruits, or purchase men accustomed to seafaring; on these matters see *Arr. An.* 7.19.3f. & *Str. Chr.* 16.1.11. Alexander was supposedly talking of the expedition in his final days: see *Arr. An.* 7.25.2ff.

13. Arrian's silence on what Aristobulus and Ptolemy said is no reason to reject these ideas; they probably did not include events outside Alexander's life and Arrian may well have decided to ignore comments that they did make anyway (see Bosworth 1988b pp. 189f. & Hamilton 1969 p. 187).

14. 18.4.2ff.

15. *D.S.* 18.4.1.

16. *D.S.* 18.4.6.

17. For the view that they are genuine see Brunt 1965 pp. 212f., 1983 pp. 500ff., Hammond 1981a pp. 300ff. & Errington 1970 p. 59: with doubts that Perdiccas may have had them "touched up" a little Badian 1968 pp. 183ff., without any commitment Hamilton 1969 pp. 187ff. and with disbelief of the Mediterranean expedition Hamilton 1973 pp. 154ff.: *contra* Tarn 1921a pp. 1ff., 1939 pp. 124ff., 1948 II pp. 378ff., Pearson 1954/5 pp. 451ff., Hornblower 1981 pp. 94ff. & Rosen 1967 pp. 49ff.

18. See Bosworth 1988b pp. 185ff.

19. 1988b pp. 197ff.
 20. 1988b pp. 209f.
 21. 1988b p. 200.
 22. Apart from referring to areas well-known to the Roman reader from wars there and which are mentioned by other sources, such as Carthage (see 1.17.16n.) and Spain (see 1.18.4n.), he alone refers to Syria (see 1.17.12n.), Numidia (see 1.17.19n.) and Epirus (see 1.18.16n.). In addition, he mentions Italy and the Alps (see 1.18.13n.).
 23. See the following notes.
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1.17.1. Ipse animo infinita complexus - This expression may owe something to Lucretius: cf. the description of the rise of man, especially 1.74 "atque omne immensum peragravit mente animoque". This view of the young king's ambitions was both a rhetorical and historical commonplace: see further 5.29.8n.

1.17.6. omni ad orientem maritima regione perdomita - This must refer to the planned expedition to Arabia and Africa (see §3 intro. n. 12, Arr. *An.* 7.1.1 & Plu. *Alex.* 68.1 & Hamilton *ad loc.*); it is the only way that the transfer of ships to Babylon makes sense (see Bosworth 1988b pp. 195f., Hamilton 1973 p. 154, Tarn 1939 p. 133 & 1948 II p. 395).

1.17.12. ex Syria - It would have been illogical for Alexander, after completing a circumnavigation of Africa, to start a campaign in the Mediterranean in Syria. It is more likely, although Arrian (*An.* 7.1.2) and Plutarch (*Alex.* 68.1) state otherwise, that Alexander, as Bosworth (1988b p. 194) has suggested, would have "started with the Arabian campaign and after its completion returned to the north Syrian coast, leaving a portion of the fleet to continue around the south of the continent"; this matches the details given at Arr. *An.* 5.26.2.

1.17.16. Carthagini infensus - Diodorus (18.4.4) and Arrian (*An.* 7.1.2) also refer to Alexander's desire to attack Carthage. The reason for this was Alexander's anger at the support given to Tyre by the Carthaginians when he was besieging it in 332 B.C. (see IV.3.19f., Arr. *An.* 2.24.5, D.S. 17.40.3ff. & Just. 11.10.12ff.). For his intentions, as seen by Curtius, following the siege see IV.4.18 "Carthaginensium legatis pepercit addita denuntiatione belli, quod praesentium rerum necessitas moraretur" & Atkinson *ad loc.*

1.17.19. Numidiae solitudinibus peragratis - Of those historians referring to the plans, only Curtius mentions this area to the west of Carthage; apart from Carthage (see 1.17.16n.), Diodorus (18.4.4) refers to Libya and Arrian (*An.* 7.1.2) Libya, the Ethiopians and the nomads around Mt. Atlas.

1.17.23. Gadis...columnas Herculis esse fama vulgaverat - Gades (the modern Cadiz), which is also mentioned in this context by Arrian (*An.* 7.1.2), is on the Spanish coast, north-west of Gibraltar, and was founded by Tyre (see e.g. Plin. *Nat.* 4.120 & Luc. 7.187). There was a famous temple there, dedicated to Melkarth, who was identified with Hercules by the

Greeks and Romans (see e.g. Sil. 3.1ff. & Spaltenstein *ad loc.*, Liv. 21.21.9, Suet. *Jul.* 7.1 & Str. *Chr.* 3.5.3). It should be noted that, contrary to Tarn's (1939 p. 127) view, Curtius does not believe that Gades is in Africa. However, Curtius' mention of a story that, what were referred to as the Pillars of Hercules, were there, is incorrect. These were the opposite rocks at the entrance to the Mediterranean called Calpe (in Spain and the modern Gibraltar) and Abyla (in Africa and the modern Ceuta): see Mela 1.27, 2.95 & also Str. *Chr.* 3.5.5f. for a summary of Greek views as to what they were; for the identification see Tarn 1939 p. 127 & Evans 1989 p. 855; they were supposedly torn apart by Hercules during his labours (Mela 1.27 & Plin. *Nat.* 3.4). In the context of Alexander's future plans, they are also referred to by Plutarch (*Alex.* 68.1 & see Hamilton *ad loc.*) and Diodorus (18.4.4). Although it is impossible to say whether Curtius believed the *fama* he refers to, which was, no doubt, based on the tradition that Gades was meant to be founded at the Pillars (see e.g. Str. *Chr.* 3.3.5), it makes sense to present Alexander as eager to go to where they were believed to be due to his desire to emulate his hero, Hercules (see 5.33.3n.).

1.18.4. Hiberiam Graeci a flumine Hiberno vocabant - This Spanish river is now known as the Ebro. Diodorus (18.4.4), in reference to Alexander's future plans, also mentions this area. For such aetiology in Curtius and elsewhere see 1.13.6n.

1.18.7. flumine - For Curtius' use of this word see 1.11.9n.

1.18.13. Alpes Italiaeque oram - There is no mention of the Romans, nor need there be, as in Arrian (see *An.* 7.1.3), who says that Alexander was disturbed by their growing reputation; Curtius clearly did not think that it was suitable to include this information. Tarn (1939 pp. 128f. & 1948 II pp. 388ff.) objects to the use of *Alpes* on the grounds that "The name *Alpes* first appears in extant Latin literature with the elder Cato and does not appear in extant Greek literature till Polybius". This view is surely wrong: Curtius knew the Alps and there would be nothing wrong in his referral to them, especially as they are on the route. On this area, Diodorus (18.4.4) refers to Sicily and Arrian (*An.* 7.1.3) Sicily and the Iapygian promontory. The mention of Alexander, Italy and the Alps was probably a stock theme from the declamatory schools (see intro. n. 75).

1.18.16. unde in Epirum brevis cursus est - Only Curtius refers to this area on the western seaboard of Greece and next to Macedonia. Epirus, as most of the rest of Greece at this time, was under Macedonian control, although its king was still allowed to hold power (see 6.13.22bn). During the Macedonian king's absence in the East, its king, Alexander I, had responded to requests from Tarentum and proceeded to subdue most of S. Italy; he made alliances with many peoples, supposedly including the Romans. However, he was killed at Pandosia in 330 B.C. (see Just. 12.2.1ff.).

1.19.2. *Mesopotamiae praetoribus* - Although Curtius uses *praetor* in the singular and plural to refer to military figures (see e.g. III.7.12 & Atkinson *ad loc.*, IV.7.4 & VIII.2.16; for the plural see III.13.6, IV.1.34, IV.5.13 & IV.13.1), or governors (see e.g. III.11.10 & Atkinson *ad loc.*, IV.1.28, IV.5.15 & IX.8.10; for the plural see IV.1.28, V.1.43 & VIII.3.16), the military connection is probably meant here as there was only one governor of the province: at this time it was probably Arcesilaus (see Just.13.4.23, D.S. 18.3.3, Dexipp. *F.Gr.H.* 100 F8.6, Berve 1926 I pp. 276f. & Heckel 1988 p. 66). For the same use of this word in other writers see e.g. Cic. *Div.* 1.123, *Inv.* 1.55, *Leg.* 3.8 & *Nep. Milit.* 4.4.

1.19.5. [ut]...ponere - At this point, either the *ut*, or the *ponere* of Ω , has to be emended. Although the latter option would be the easiest, *impero* does sometimes take the dative and infinitive construction (see *K-S I* p. 682 & *TLL VII*₁ p. 585.35ff.). A factor in the choice of deleting *ut* is that in the following part of Alexander's orders, *impero* governs an accusative and infinitive (for this construction see V.4.14, *K-S I* pp. 715f. & *TLL VII*₁ p. 584.54ff.). It is also easier to see how the *ut* could have slipped into the text rather than an "nt" dropped out. Froben's emendation, therefore, seems the best option.

1.19.6. *materia* - Some ships were built in Babylon, but there was an apparent shortage of suitable timber there: see *Str. Chr.* 16.1.11 & *Arr. An.* 7.19.4. This would explain the need for ships to be built elsewhere, apart from the additional advantage of an increased production rate if several sites were used.

1.19.7. *in Libano monte* - The term *Libanus mons* was the one used by the Romans to refer to the mountain range, known in Hebrew as Lebanon and, today, as Jebel Liban. The range, commencing at a point between Sidon and Tyre, is some one hundred and sixty kilometres long and is marked by a series of peaks, the highest being the three thousand metre high Qurnet es-Sauda and the two thousand eight hundred metre high Mt. Hermon. It runs parallel, and to the west of, the Jebel esh Sharqi range, formerly known as *Antilibanus*. In ancient times the range was famous for dense forests of cedar and fir, which were used, among other things, to build temples (*I Ki.* 5.6ff.) and ships (see also *Ez.* 27.5 & *D.S.* 19.58.2ff.); therefore, although not mentioned by another source in this context, it is clear that the range was ideal for the supply of shipbuilding materials. The forests no longer remain and have been replaced by vines and mulberry trees; for further information see Williams 1989 pp. 313f.

1.19.15. *Thapsacum* - The position of this Syrian town on the Euphrates is not exactly known, but it is perhaps near the modern Makhfar alHammam (35.52N 38.44E - see Hammond 1981b map 27, that is fig. 10), or Dibsi (35.56N 38.12E - see *Times Atlas Of The World* 1987 map 34); for further suggestions see *RE* 2 V pp. 1277f. *Plutarch (Alex. 68.2)* also has the ships assembled at Thapsacus. *Arrian (An. 7.19.3)*, who has a different number of ships, and *Strabo*

(Chr. 16.1.11), both following the account of Aristobulus, however, have them preassembled in Phoenicia (Strabo includes Cyprus) and transported in pieces to Thapsacus, where they were reassembled; for this practice of reassembly see Casson 1971 p. 136; for Alexander's previous experience of this method see VIII.10.3 & Arr. *An.* 5.8.5. Diodorus (18.4.4) does not include Thapsacus in his account of the preparations of the fleet for the western campaign, but mentions Phoenicia, Syria, Cilicia and Cyprus.

1.19.16a. *septingentarum* - The *et ingentiarumque* of Ω is clearly incorrect: there is no need for either *et*, or *que*, and the early emendation to *ingentium* (see e.g. Bruno, Pitiscus & Snakenburg) is very weak. Heinsius suggests *quingentarum*, but this is not as satisfactory as Zumpt's *septingentarum*, which takes account of *et*; it has been followed by subsequent editors. Bosworth (1988b p. 196) has pointed out a view expressed by J.A. Willis, saying that "the corruption may be more complex: an original reading such as *septuaginta ducentarumque* could have been progressively contracted into the garbled nonsense of the manuscripts" and rightly comes to the conclusion that it is not possible to say what the original figure was; this has, therefore, to be borne in mind before any comments on the figure are made.

1.19.16b. *septingentarum carinas navium ponere* - The ships mentioned by Curtius are not those referred to by Diodorus (18.4.4), numbering some one thousand and meant for the western campaign, but are those earmarked for the Euphrates fleet (see Bosworth 1988b pp. 196f.). The harbour at Babylon (Arr. *An.* 7.19.4) had room for one thousand ships so there should have been no problem accommodating them.

1.19.20. *septemremis* - At this point, Ω reads *VII remis*: various suggestions as to the proper form of the word have been made; Hedicke, Bardon and Rolfe use *septemremis*, found in C, Vogel, Dosson, Cocchia, Stangl, Müller and Giacone *septiremis*, found in A, and the older editors, Zumpt, Foss and Baraldi *septiremes*, found in G. This word does not appear elsewhere, but owing to the forms *quinqueremis* (IV.3.11) and *decemremis* (Plin. *Nat.* 7.208), *septemremis* seems the best option.

The accuracy of Curtius' statement is in doubt as such a ship may not have been in existence in the fourth century B.C. No other Alexander-biographer mentions a ship greater than a quinquereme (for this episode see e.g. D.S. 18.4.4, where ships larger than triremes are referred to, & Arr. *An.* 7.19.3, where quinqueremes, quadriremes, triremes and triacoters are mentioned) and, in addition, the inventory of the Athenian dockyards for 325 B.C. records quinqueremes as the largest vessels (see Casson 1959 p. 126). However, such *ἐπιπύρις* did probably appear in 315 B.C., during the reign of Demetrius, in the struggles between the Ptolemies and Antigonids and, after continual increases in size, an enormous "forty" was built by the end of the third century B.C. (see Tarn 1948 II pp. 387f., Casson 1959 pp. 143ff. & 1971 pp. 97ff.). Pliny, although apparently wrong in assigning the introduction of "tens" to Alexander (see *Nat.* 7.208 "ad decemremem Mnesigiton Alexandrum Magnum"), does show

that Curtius may have been influenced by a tradition that Alexander used larger vessels (see Badian 1968 pp. 191f.). A vessel of the sort probably did not have seven banks of oars: the formation would have been either seven men to one oar, or two banks with the seven men split between them. A similar arrangement was probably true of ships larger than triremes (see Casson 1959 pp. 145f. & 1971 pp. 99ff.). It is unlikely that Curtius was influenced by the size of the ships in the Roman fleet at this time as they were mainly Liburnians (two banks) and triremes; there were also a few quadriremes and quinqueremes and one "six" (see Casson 1971 pp. 141ff.).

Curtius, however, may not have written of "sevens": Bosworth (1988b p. 197) has plausibly suggested that an error in the manuscripts is the reason for his supposed inaccuracy, saying "there is a real possibility that some of the *hastae* have been conflated under the influence of the preceding numeral. Curtius may originally have written of quadriremes (*IIII remis*), a size of warship perfectly compatible with Diodorus".

1.19.23. *deducique Babylona* - The ships would have been brought down the Euphrates (see *Str. Chr.* 16.1.11 & *Arr. An.* 7.19.3).

1.19.24. *Babylona* - Modius suggests this for the *babylona*, or *babillonam*, of P¹, the *babylonam* of P^c and the *babyloniam* of ω . *Babylona* would refer to the city of Babylon itself, whereas *Babyloniam* refers to the province; the latter seems unduly vague in this context. For a plan and details of this city see 5.7.8n.

1.19.25. *Cypriorum regibus* - Strabo (*Chr.* 16.1.11) notes that some boats were to be built there and Diodorus (18.4.4) mentions the involvement of Cyprus in building ships for the western expedition.

Section Four

Events in India: X.1.20 - X.1.21

India proved difficult for Alexander to control, as can be seen by the assassination, in 326 B.C., of Nicanor, who had been in charge of the Cophen Valley (the modern Kabul Valley) area¹. At that stage, Philip, who had been governing the area between the Indus and Hydaspes, centred on the domain of the native Indian ruler Taxiles, took over Nicanor's command as well. Only Arrian² also records Philip's assassination and he adds to the information in Curtius: he states that the murder was carried out by mercenaries, who had been subsequently punished, and that, as a temporary measure, Alexander appointed Eudamus and Taxiles over that area³; there is no mention of Abisares. There is no further reference in the sources to a final decision taken by Alexander, but it seems that Taxiles and Eudamus were kept in the area between the Indus and the Hydaspes⁴; Pithon, the previous governor of Southern India⁵, was transferred to the North⁶; Porus, a native Indian king, took charge of Pithon's former area in addition to his already large province, which stretched from the Hydaspes to the Hyphasis⁷. These alterations in the command structure amounted, in effect, to a virtual Macedonian withdrawal from India⁸.

1. On his command see Arr. *An.* 4.28.6; for a possible report of his death see Arr. *An.* 5.20.7; on both see Bosworth 1983a pp 37f.

2. *An.* 6.27.2.

3. This variant on what Curtius says is easily explained: see 1.21.4n.

4. See 1.20.5n. & 1.21.4n.

5. Arr. *An.* 6.15.4 & Bosworth 1983 p. 38.

6. See 1.20.11n.

7. See 1.20.3n.

8. See Bosworth 1983a pp. 44f. For more details on the Indian satrapies after Philip's death see Bosworth 1983a pp. 35ff.; for events in India following Alexander's death see Narain 1965 pp. 160ff., Smith 1914 pp. 115ff. & Woodcock 1966 pp. 41ff.

1.20.3. Pori - (Berve 683) The name is perhaps a corruption of Paurava, although this is actually the title of a dynasty (see Berve 1926 II p. 340 & Powel-Price 1955 pp. 30f.). This Indian king, whose territory lay beyond the Hydaspes, in what is the modern Punjab, faced Alexander at the Hydaspes in the Spring of 326 B.C.; he was defeated and nearly lost his own life in the process (see VIII.13.1ff., Arr. *An.* 5.8.4ff., Smith 1914 pp. 63ff. with diagrams, Woodcock 1966 p. 35 & Powel-Price 1955 pp. 32f.). However, at this battle Porus impressed Alexander and he was awarded his old realm with increased territory (VIII.14.45 & Arr. *An.* 5.19.3). Porus, with possibly the title of satrap (Plu. *Alex.* 60.15), then ruled the area between the Hydaspes and the Hyphasis without the presence of Macedonian troops, or officials (see Bosworth 1983a p. 38). After the death of Philip in 325 B.C. and Pithon's transfer to the North, he seems, in addition, to have been given Southern India; his position remained unchanged following Alexander's death (see Bosworth 1983a pp. 38ff.; for the distribution of

satrapies see 10.4.11n.).

1.20.5. Taxilis - (Berve 739) This man, who was the son of Taxiles (D.S. 17.86.4) and is referred to as Omphis (VIII.12.14), or Mophis (D.S. 17.86.4), by sources prior to his assumption of the name of his city, following the death of his father, was known to the Indians as Ambhi (see Smith 1914 p. 60, Powell-Price 1955 p. 32, Narain 1965 p. 157 & Woodcock 1966 p. 30). He ruled the realm of Gandhara from Taxila, the ruins of which are now north-west of Rawalpindi and south-east of Hasan Abdal, and was confirmed in his position by Alexander, to whom he peacefully surrendered (Arr. *An.* 5.3.5f., 5.8.2, D.S. 17.86.4ff. & VIII.12.4ff.; see also Smith 1914 pp. 60ff. & Woodcock 1966 pp. 32ff.). His brother was killed in battle by Porus, but the old enemies made an alliance before Alexander left for the West; at that time he was left in control of his kingdom (IX.3.22), but Alexander also placed Philip over the area with a large force of Thracians and others (see Arr. *An.* 5.8.3, 6.15.2, Bosworth 1983a p. 37, Narain 1965 p. 157 & Woodcock 1966 p. 40). Following Philip's death (see 1.20.11n.), Taxiles was seemingly given joint command of the area with Eudamus (Arr. *An.* 6.27.2). After Alexander's death, he retained his position (see Bosworth 1983a pp. 38ff.; for the distribution of satrapies see 10.4.11n.).

1.20.9. Abisaren - (Berve 2) This native ruler of the Kashmir area, whose name was probably Abhisara (see Woodcock 1966 p. 40 & Berve 1926 II p. 3), submitted to Alexander in the Winter of 327/6 B.C., sending envoys to the king (see VIII.13.1 & Arr. *An.* 5.8.3). He was summoned by Alexander (IX.1.7f. & Arr. *An.* 5.20.5f.), but was unable to come. However, Alexander allowed him to keep his kingdom and attached to it that of Arsaces (see Arr. *An.* 5.29.4f.); this is how the situation remained until the king's death, when Alexander appointed the latter's son, and namesake, as successor (X.1.21).

1.20.11. Philippum - (Berve 780) This son of Machatas (Arr. *An.* 5.8.3) and brother of Harpalus came from the Elimiotis area of Macedonia. He was one of Alexander's *ἐταῖροι* (see Plu. *Alex.* 60.16; on this group see 1.6.2n.). In 326 B.C. he was appointed as satrap of the area between the Indus and the Hydaspes, centred on Taxila (Arr. *An.* 5.8.3, *Ind.* 19.4 & Plu. *Alex.* 60.16 & Hamilton *ad loc.*), but, following the death of Nicanor, seems also to have taken over control of Alexander's North Indian satrapy (see Arr. *An.* 5.20.7, 6.2.2 & Bosworth 1983a pp. 37f.). Later, his territory was enlarged to include the Malli and, ultimately, went as far down as the confluence of the Indus and Acesines (Chenab): see Arr. *An.* 6.14.3 & 6.15.2. When Alexander left India, Philip remained with the Thracians and many others (Arr. *An.* 6.15.2), but was killed in 325 B.C. by some native mercenaries, who were punished for their action (see also Arr. *An.* 6.27.2). He was replaced by Eudamus and Taxiles (see also Arr. *An.* 6.27.2); Pithon took over Nicanor's old Northern territory (see Bosworth 1983a pp. 38ff. & Woodcock 1966 p. 41).

1.21.4. Eudamon - (Berve 311) Froben emended the *eodemonem* of PV and the *eodaemonem* of BLV to *Eudaemonem* and has been followed by modern editors; although that name does exist (see RE VI pp. 884f. & Pape 1911 p. 403), Arrian and Diodorus both refer to this man as *Εὐδαμος*. It seems most likely that Curtius wrote *Eudamon*, which was then wrongly regularised as *Eudaemonem* by a scribe: for such Greek accusatives in Curtius used of people see IV.3.1 *Crateron* & VII.9.19 *Elpinicon* (an emendation but clearly with this ending); for places see IV.1.6 *Marathon*, IV.2.4 *Palaetyron* & V.2.5 *Halicarnason*. Very little is known about Eudamus and this is his first appearance in Curtius. As Philip had been left with all the Thracians (Arr. *An.* 6.15.2), Curtius' reference to him as the general of the Thracians seems plausible. Unlike Curtius, Arrian (Arr. *An.* 6.27.2) splits the command between this man and the native Indian ruler, Taxiles. This difference is easily explained: Taxiles' position was unchanged and so Curtius did not include details of his position. He is later said to have killed Porus and brought one hundred and twenty-five elephants, three hundred footmen and five hundred horsemen from India and attached himself to Eumenes (D.S. 19.14.8ff., 19.27.2 & 19.30.3ff.). Following the latter's defeat in 316/5 B.C., he was killed by Antigonos: see D.S. 19.44.1.

Section Five

Pasargadae: X.1.22 - X.1.42

This episode, which in Curtius' account involves the downfall of the satrap of Persia, Orsines, at the hands of Bagoas, is treated in significantly different ways¹ by the other sources which mention it². Plutarch³ briefly tells how Alexander, on finding the tomb of Cyrus⁴ looted, put the culprit, Polymachus⁵, to death; he includes details of an inscription found on the tomb. In contrast, Arrian⁶ provides a full picture of the events: he bases his account mainly on that of Aristobulus and tells how, while Alexander was away in India, his satrap in Persia, Phrasaortes, had died and Orsines had appointed himself to the post; on finding Cyrus' tomb looted, Alexander was very distressed. There is then an elaborate description of the setting, structure and contents of the tomb before it was looted, including details of an inscription found on it; following this, Arrian recounts the state in which Alexander saw it. He says that Aristobulus was ordered to repair the damage as best he could and that Alexander, after unsuccessfully torturing the Magi, the guardians of the tomb, in order to find out the identity of the robbers, proceeded to Persepolis; there, Orsines, after being accused and convicted of rifling temples and royal tombs, was hanged⁷. In his place, Alexander appointed Peucestas⁸. Outside the Alexander historians, Strabo⁹, also basing his account on that of Aristobulus, gives a brief description of the tomb with its original contents; he expressly states that Aristobulus saw it like this on his first visit, but that it was rifled on the second. He includes a description of its state then and goes on to say that the satrap was innocent; finally, he supplies details of an inscription recorded by Aristobulus and descriptions of the tomb and inscriptions recorded by Onesicritus and Aristus.

The main areas of difference in the accounts concern the rôle of Bagoas, the circumstances surrounding the downfall of Orsines and the question as to who, if anyone, was responsible for the robbery¹⁰. Curtius' account relies on the assumption that no Macedonian had previously seen inside the tomb; this enables Bagoas to spin his web of deceit. In that account, there does not seem to be any evidence of robbery¹¹. Plutarch does not make it clear if the Macedonians had seen the tomb before. Strabo, however, leaves no doubt that this was a second visit; if true, owing to the authority of Aristobulus, this would seriously undermine Curtius' account. However, Arrian's version of what Aristobulus wrote acts in favour of Curtius' account. The detailed description of the former contents of the tomb may give the impression of a previous visit, but Arrian, unlike Strabo, does not specifically claim that this was the case; the most suitable time for this would have been in the winter of 331/330 B.C. when Alexander was in Persepolis, but, at that stage, there is no mention of a visit to the tomb; it is not even clear if Alexander even went to Pasargadae¹². The unemended text of Arrian¹³ also tends to refute such a point of view¹⁴. A better proposal¹⁵ is that Aristobulus probably never saw the original contents of the tomb and filled in the details from general rumours¹⁶. A major factor in support of this argument is that the contents mentioned in the

account of Aristobulus probably would not have all fitted into the tomb¹⁷. Strabo may have misunderstood Aristobulus and believed that he had formerly visited the tomb.

It is clear that Alexander, irrespective of the identity of the satrap in Persia, had already decided to appoint Peucestas to that position¹⁸. In addition, Alexander probably would have seen it as a matter of urgency to punish a usurper¹⁹; Peucestas, who, as a non-Persian, would not be able, or inclined, to revolt, would be more satisfactory. In addition, in order to win over the local population, Alexander seems to have allowed him alone of the Macedonians to adopt Persian dress²⁰; a further point in his favour was that he was the only Macedonian to have learnt the Persian language²¹. It may be the case that Arrian's account is an official version of the event written up by Ptolemy and hiding court intrigues²²; Aristobulus' denial, as correctly recorded by Strabo, that the satrap was guilty was intentionally left out by Arrian, who chose instead to use the account of Ptolemy with the charges at Persepolis²³. Curtius, therefore, although he may correctly record the accusations against Orsines, seems to have added later accusations from Persepolis to this specific episode; this produces a much more interesting and dramatic storyline²⁴.

To summarise, perhaps the most likely train of events would be the following: Alexander arrived at Pasargadae to be met by the self-appointed Orsines, whom he had decided to replace with the loyal Peucestas. *Cyrus' tomb, when opened, proved disappointing* in terms of its contents and this gave the opportunity to depose Orsines; however, the Magi, when tortured, refused to implicate anyone. When Alexander moved on to Persepolis, charges of despoiling local tombs and temples were brought against the satrap, either directly, or indirectly, by Bagoas, who had either been wronged by the satrap, or encouraged to do so by Alexander. Thus the way was conveniently open for Peucestas to take up his post.

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1. The ancient sources are not alone in differing over this episode: modern scholars range in their views from those who accept the account of Arrian and Strabo and dismiss the others (see e.g. Tarn, 1948 II pp. 319ff., who completely dismisses Curtius' version of events, & Gunderson, 1982 pp. 182ff., who largely follows Tarn, but admits that the eunuch probably existed; see also Egge 1978 pp. 149ff., Hammond 1983a p. 157, 1981a p. 322 & Hamilton, 1969 p. 192, who, assuming that Arrian is correct, dismisses the accounts of Plutarch and Curtius), those who express some doubt, or are noncommittal (see e.g. Milns, 1968 p. 238, who, whilst giving both versions, says "Whichever version is correct it is certain that Orsines was put to death and that Peucestas was appointed to his position", & Hamilton, 1973 p. 132, who says "The official reason for his execution, given by Arrian, was that he had rifled tombs and put Persians to death without cause. Curtius, however, tells a different story which seems preferable"), and those who accept the presence of Bagoas and the possibility that he was involved in the events (see e.g. Lane Fox, 1973 pp. 408f., who, although following Arrian's outline, does include Bagoas as an interpreter, or informer, in Persepolis, & Bosworth, 1988a p. 154, who places Bagoas' attack at Persepolis; in this view he is basically following the complete refutation of Tarn's view by Badian, 1958a pp. 144ff., who thinks Curtius' version, apart from the wrong placing of the accusations, is acceptable).
 2. Neither Justin, nor Diodorus, have any mention of it.
 3. *Alex.* 69.1ff. & see Hamilton *ad loc.*
 4. For this see 1.30.17n.
 5. Bosworth (1988a p. 154) manages to include Plutarch's story by suggesting that Polymachus was perhaps a garrison commander.
 6. *An.* 6.29.1ff.
 7. See 1.38.1n.
 8. See Arr. *An.* 6.30.2f.

9. *Chr.* 15.3.7f.
10. Bosworth (1988b p. 54) has suggested that there may not have been a recent robbery at all: the naturally rotting contents could have been misinterpreted as the result of robbery. Alternatively, the robbery could have taken place at some time previously.
11. Alexander is simply surprised at the way in which the king was buried: see 1.32.15n.
12. See Arr. *An.* 3.18.10, where only the capture of the treasury there is mentioned.
13. *ἔλοι*, rather than *ἔλθοι* <ές> at *An.* 6.29.9; see Bosworth 1988b p. 52 n. 44.
14. See Gunderson 1982 pp. 191f.
15. See Bosworth 1988b pp. 46ff.
16. See X.1.31.
17. See Bosworth 1988b pp. 53f.: *contra* Stronach 1978 p. 25.
18. See Arr. *An.* 6.28.3.
19. He would want to avoid a repeat of an incident such as Baryaxes' claim to be the king of the Persians and Medes (see Arr. *An.* 6.29.3); see also Bosworth 1988a pp. 153f. & Gunderson 1982 p. 193.
20. See D.S. 19.14.5, Arr. *An.* 6.30.3 & also Bosworth 1980a p. 12.
21. See Arr. *An.* 6.30.3.
22. Badian 1958a p. 150.
23. Bosworth 1988b p. 52.
24. Later, he seems to add extra scenes at the mutiny (see 3.5.1n. & 4.1.1n.) and to restructure the whole of the leadership quarrels after the death of Alexander (see §13 intro. & §15 intro.).

1.22.4. Parsagada - At this point, Ω reads *persagara*. There is confusion over the exact name of the place on the other two occasions it is used at V.6.10: in the first case P has *Parsagadis* and ω *persagadis*; in the second V has *persagadam* and BLFP *parsagadam*. It is clear that each time the sequence is "rs" and, although "per" would seem to be the more favoured start, the pattern in the manuscripts suggests that Curtius started with "par"; the change to "per" is understandable given that the place is in Persia. Vogel's suggestion of *Parsagada*, followed by modern editors, as opposed to the older suggestions of *Persagadas* (see e.g. Pitiscus & Schmieder), or *Pasargadas* (see e.g. Bruno & the Elzeviriana edition), would thus seem to be correct. However, the correct name of the place appears to be *Pasargadae*: this is how it is spelt by Arrian (*An.* 3.18.10 & see Bosworth *ad loc.*, 6.29.1, 6.29.3, 6.29.4, 7.1.1. & 7.19.2), Strabo (*Chr.* 15.3.3, 7 & 8), Pliny (*Nat.* 6.99; there is some textual doubt, but the form is clear), Appian (*Mith.* 66.277), and Anaximenes (*F.Gr.H.* 72 F19). The origin of the name is in doubt: for suggestions see Stronach 1978 pp. 280ff., Cook 1983 pp. 34f. & Olmstead 1948 p. 60.

An identification of the so-called "Tomb of the Mother of Solomon" as the tomb of Cyrus (for this see 1.30.17n.) means that the city is most probably the site in the modern day Morghab Valley in the province of Fars. It was founded by Cyrus the Great around 546 B.C. (see e.g. V.6.10 & Stronach 1978 p. 8) and was surrendered to Alexander by the governor, Gobares, in 330 B.C. (see V.6.10). For a detailed survey of excavations, complete with detailed drawings and copious photographic plates, see Stronach 1978 *passim* & 1985 pp. 838ff.

1.22.10. Orsines - (Berve 592) Arrian calls this Persian Orxines (see *An.* 3.8.5 & Bosworth *ad loc.* & 6.29.3). He seems to have traced his descent back to Cyrus the Great and also from one of the seven Persians (see also IV.12.8 "Illi partibus copiarum, summae Orsines praeerat, a septem Persis oriundus, ad Cyrum quoque nobilissimum regem originem sui referens" &

Atkinson *ad loc.*); these were Darius (later Darius I 522-486 B.C.), Intaphrenes, Otanes, Gogyras, Hydarnes, Megabyzus and Ardumanish (Hdt. = Aspathines; see Cook 1983 p. 19 & 1985 pp. 203f.); they rose against a usurper to the throne during Cambyses' (530-522 B.C.) expedition to Egypt in 522 B.C. (see Hdt. 3.61.1ff., Olmstead 1948 pp. 107f., Cook 1983 pp. 49ff. & 1985 pp. 215ff.). Orsines is mentioned at the battle of Gaugamela (331 B.C.); Curtius (IV.12.7f. & see Atkinson *ad loc.*) states that he was in supreme command of the Persians, Mardians and Sogdians, whereas Arrian (*An.* 3.8.5 & see Bosworth, who favours Curtius' version, *ad loc.*) places him and two others in charge of men belonging to tribes bordering on the Red Sea. Nothing is known of his exploits again until this point, when it is learnt that, while Alexander was in India and following the natural death of Phrasaortes, he had assumed the post of satrap (see Arr. *An.* 6.29.2). Although innocent of the robbery of Cyrus' tomb (see Str. *Chr.* 15.3.7), he was either falsely accused by Bagoas, or later charged with rifling temples and royal tombs when Alexander had moved to Persepolis (see 1.38.1n.).

1.22.12. *nobilitate* - Throughout this section, the nobility of Orsines is continually stressed (see X.1.27 & X.1.38); for his nobility mentioned previously see IV.12.8, cited at 1.22.10n.

1.23.8. *opes et a maioribus traditas...possessione* - Curtius makes it clear that Orsines' wealth was personal and not gained by unlawful means; for the stress on his innocence see 1.27.9n.

1.24.8. *ipsi* - This is the reading of Δ , whereas Ω has *ipso*; the latter is ungrammatical and may have been attracted to this case by the following *modo*.

1.24.17a. *Equorum...milia* - Curtius seems to be aiming at a grander style in this list of gifts, where the value of each item is stressed by appropriate adjectives. The sentence is perhaps best seen as being made up of three parts: the first two consist of pairs of objects and the third element of this triad is itself a triad:

Equorum domiti greges sequebantur currusque argento et auro adornati
pretiosa supellex et nobiles gemmae
aurea magni ponderis vasa vestesque purpureae et signati argenti talentum III milia

In the first pair, the elements emphasising the value of the gifts are in the middle of each clause; in the second, the emphasis is put at the start of each clause; in the third, there is a mixture - the most straightforward approach is sandwiched between more complex phrases. Throughout, *et* and *que* are used to decrease repetition. It is noticeable that Curtius often uses the opportunity provided by such lists to try to show off his skill at writing (see also 5.26.7n. & 10.1.16n.).

Where similar lists appear in other Roman writers (see e.g. Cic. *Agr.* 2.38, *Ver.* 2.2.35, 2.2.176, *Amic.* 55, *Phil.* 2.66, Liv. 26.21.7f., 37.46.3ff. & Pl. *Aul.* 342f.), the items appearing most frequently are *vasa*, *vestes*, *supellex* and money, silver, or gold. *Gemmae*, *currus* and *equi* are not usually included and these items, which are associated more with easterners by

Curtius (see 1.24.17bn., 1.24.21n. & 1.24.29n.), are probably intended as more exotic. As such, this section matches the theme of Persian wealth and luxury which runs through Curtius' work: for examples see e.g. III.3.9ff. & Atkinson *ad loc.* of a Persian marching line, III.11.20ff. of the Persian camp after Issus, III.13.10f. of Damascus, V.1.10 of Arbela & V.6.3f. of Persepolis. Curtius, however, was not an admirer of this: see e.g. VIII.9.19 in reference to pearls in India "quippe aestimantur purgamenta exaestuantis freti pretio quod libido constituit".

1.24.17b. Equorum domiti greges - Cf. IV.9.4 "equorumque domandi greges". Horses were associated with those who lived in the East: for the numbers of Persian cavalry see IV.12.6f. & Atkinson *ad loc.*; for Parthian horsemanship see e.g. Tac. *Ann.* 2.2.3, 6.34.1, 6.37.2 & 15.29.2.

1.24.21. currus argento et auro adornati - For similarly decorated chariots see III.3.12 "vehicula decem multo auro argentoque caelata" & III.3.16 "Utrumque currus latus deorum simulacra ex auro argentoque expressa decorabant" & Atkinson *ad loc.* Chariots in this work are mostly connected with the Persians and Indians: of the forty-six times a *currus* is mentioned, it refers three times to Macedonians (see IV.6.29, where Betis is tied to one as punishment, V.1.23, where Alexander enters Babylon on one, & IX.10.26 of wagons).

1.24.26. pretiosa supellex - *Supellex* is a vague term referring to household possessions (see III.13.2, IV.1.26, IV.7.4, V.1.6, V.1.10, V.1.23, V.12.17 & X.2.24). It often had little practical purpose: see V.6.3 "supellex non ad usum sed ad ostentationem luxus comparata".

1.24.29. nobiles gemmae - "rare stones". On what Pliny regarded *nobiles gemmae* to be see *Nat.* 37.54ff.; at 37.195 they are contrasted to lesser ones "indicatis nobilibus gemmis, immo vero etiam plebeis, rarorum genera digna dictu distinxisse satis erit". For the popularity of such "stones" in Roman times see e.g. Tac. *Ann.* 3.53.4 "quis lapidum causa pecuniae nostrae ad externas aut hostiles gentes transferuntur?"; for the types see Higgins, R., 1980 pp. 35ff. In Curtius' work *gemmae* are connected with the ostentatiousness of both Persians (see III.3.16 on the yoke of the king's chariot, III.3.13 & Atkinson *ad loc.* on the tunics of the Immortals & III.3.18 as a scabbard) and Indians (see IX.1.29 of studded sandles; at VIII.5.3, VIII.9.19 & IX.1.2 it is noted that India is rich in jewels). They are only used with reference to the Macedonians at VI.6.6 concerning Alexander's seal-ring; the only other use of the word is at IV.7.23 in reference to the image of Ammon.

1.24.31. aurea...vasa - The splendour of Achaemenian plate was legendary: see Moorey 1985 pp. 859ff.

1.24.35. vestesque purpureae - Purple was a common sign of luxury to the Romans: for its use, cost and the restrictions put on it see Friedländer II 1909 pp. 175f. Curtius uses *purpura* and

purpureus particularly in reference to Persians (see III.2.12, III.10.9, III.13.7 & III.3.17) and Indians (see VIII.9.24, IX.1.29, IX.7.12 & IX.7.17). The only uses in reference to Macedonians are of material sent to Alexander from Macedonia (V.2.18), of Alexander's new headdress following Darius' death (VI.6.4; for this headdress see 5.33.24n.) and in Alexander's speech to the mutinous men (X.1.23).

1.24.38. *signati argenti* - For the phrase see V.2.11 "L milia talentum argenti non signati forma" & VIII.12.15 "praeter haec signati argenti LXXX talenta dono dedit". Although *signatus* can refer to money, or stamped material, both of which would have been in circulation in Persia (for the Persian monetary system see Moorey 1985 pp. 610ff.), the use in Curtius seems to refer to coined money: see the only occurrence of *signatus* not already noted at III.13.16 "Summa pecuniae signatae fuit talentum II milia et sescenta, facti argenti pondus quingenta aequabat".

1.24.40. *talentum* - *Talentum* is the reading of P, whereas ω has *talenta*. Although *milia talenta* is used (see TLL VIII p. 977.49ff.), *milia talentum* is equally valid (see TLL VIII p. 976.39ff.) and, most importantly, is the form preferred by Curtius (for examples without any textual difficulties see III.13.16 "Summa pecuniae signatae fuit talentum II milia et sescenta", IV.11.6 "pro tribus corporibus XXX milia talentum auri precatur accipias" & V.2.11 "L milia talentum argenti non signati forma"). From the examples, it is clear that in such cases the double genitive is standard. In other writers *talentum* is the standard genitive (see e.g. Cic. *Rab. Post.* 21, Liv. 30.37.5 & V. Max. 6.4.ext.3), but *talentorum* is also found (see e.g. Suet. *Jul.* 54.3); in Curtius the same is to be said, for, out of the eleven cases, there is doubt only here, V.6.9 (Ω has *talenta*, but *milia* is missing), X.1.34 (P¹ has *talenta*) and III.13.16 (Bardon reads *talentorum*, Hedicke and Müller *talentum*, but none report manuscript variants).

1.25.2. *tanta benignitas...mortis fuit* - At this point, Curtius turns the usual consequence of *benignitas* around: for an opposite case, where there are no adverse affects, see VIII.12.15f. in reference to Taxiles (Omphis) "Igitur cum per triduum hospitaliter Alexandrum accepisset...Qua benignitate eius Alexander mire laetus et, quae is dederat, remisit et M talanta ex praeda, quam vehebat, adiecit...". *Benignitas* is one of the many qualities of Orsines which are continually stressed in order to make his eventual death seem all the more shocking and pitiable (see also X.1.35 & X.1.38).

1.25.14. *super ipsorum vota coluisset* - The same idea, but with different phrasing, is later used in reference to Alexander's generosity: see 5.28.5n.

1.25.18. *Bagoae* - (Berve 195) The name seems to have been a standard one for eunuchs (see e.g. Plin. *Nat.* 13.41 "[palmae] clarissimae omnium, quas regias appellavere ob honorem, quoniam regibus tantam Persidis servarentur, Babylone natae uno in horto Bagou; ita vocant spadones,

qui apud eos etiam regnavere", Lucianus *Eun. passim*, where this is the name chosen for the eunuch, J. *AJ* 17.44 for one killed by Herod the Great & *Ov. Am.* 2.2.1; for it as a well known name see Quint. *Inst.* 5.12.21). This favourite of Darius III is not to be confused with the kingmaker of the same name who murdered Artaxerxes III (Ochus) and his son, Arses, and installed Darius on the throne, only to later be forced to take his own poison (see further 1.37.31n.), or the son of Pharnuces. Curtius has only previously mentioned him when he was given over to Alexander by Nabarzanes in order to help the latter's chances of a pardon (see VI.5.23). Although his actual existence has been doubted (see Tarn 1948 II pp. 319ff.), this has been satisfactorily refuted (see Badian 1958a pp. 144ff. & §5 intro. n. 1). The same eunuch is listed by Plutarch (*Moralia* 65d) as one of the flatterers of Alexander, into whose hands the king delivered himself, and mentioned (see *Alex.* 67.8 & Hamilton *ad loc.*) as being kissed by Alexander at a dramatic contest, following the crossing of the Gedrosian desert; Athenaeus (13.603af.), attributing the information to Dicaearchus, seems to record the same event. Aelian (*VH* 3.23; he attributes the information to Eumenes and others) also mentions that a Bagoas entertained Alexander at some stage prior to his death, possibly at Ecbatana in 324 B.C. (for a discussion on the time see Bosworth 1988b pp. 171f. & Hammond 1981a p. 298); there seems little doubt that this is the eunuch and not the son of Pharnuces (see Berve 1926 II p. 99 & Badian 1958a p. 156: *contra* Bosworth 1988b. p. 172 & Tarn 1948 II p. 322 n. 3).

Bagoas may have been seen by contemporary Romans as reminiscent of those who influenced the emperors, such as the powerful imperial freedmen, who often had great influence and easy access to the emperor: for imperial eunuchs at this time see e.g. Suet. *Cl.* 28 of Claudius' Posides & Tac. *Ann.* 14.59.2, where it is noted that Nero put a eunuch in charge of killing Rubellius Plautus. The imperial freedmen were hated by the aristocracy as they often had to be courted in order to gain political advancement. Later, an emperor could be judged on his control of them (see e.g. Plin. *Pan.* 88.1ff.) and it may be possible that Curtius is trying to remind Claudius how to act: his predecessor, Caligula, had been under the influence of actors, charioteers and gladiators (D.C. 59.5.2) and, when in power, Claudius is said to have been ruled by wives and freedmen (D.C. 60.2.4).

1.25.22. *obsequio corporis* - For the same phrase see Cic. *Leg.* 1.60 "Nam quom animus...a corporis obsequio indulgentiaque discesserit". *Obsequium*, which is the general word for obedience, was transferred to the female and passive rôle in intercourse: see e.g. Liv. 39.42.9 "eum puerum, per lasciviam cum cavillaretur, exprobrare consuli [per]saepe solitum, quod sub ipsum spectaculum gladiatorium abductus ab Roma esset, ut obsequium amatori venditaret" & Adams 1982 p. 164.

1.26.4. *equam* - This reading of ω (P has *equa* = *æqua*) is rejected by editors. Instead, a number of suggestions have been made. The older editors, as well as Zumpt and Foss, read *quam*, Heinsius suggests *perquam*, and Modius *aeque*. Of the three suggestions *aeque* is the best, as it is closer to a manuscript (P). However, these suggestions, apart from being rather

meaningless, assume that there is no need for an accusative in this indirect statement. Although the accusative is often omitted in this construction, it is usual for the subject of the main verb and the indirect statement to be the same (see *K-S I* pp. 700f., Lebreton 1901 pp. 376ff. for Cicero & Lindgren 1935 pp. 55f. for Curtius). Even if this were an exception, an accusative is needed to clarify the line of thought within the sentence. Jeep's suggestion of *Bagoam* is not very good due to the repetition created. The *eum* of G is better, but somewhat weak, and, as *Bagoam*, does not bear much resemblance to the manuscript readings. Perhaps there is no need of a change to the text at all. The Greeks and Romans often applied horse-terminology to sexual acts, or related items (see e.g. the lexicon of Hesychius ἵππων· τὸ μόριον καὶ τὸ τῆς γυναικὸς καὶ τοῦ ἀνδρός & Adams 1982 pp. 165f.) and, in addition, the lustful nature of mares was well-known (see e.g. Arist. *HA* 6.18 & Verg. *G.* 3.266ff.); Aelian, at *NA* 4.11, actually states that lecherous women were referred to as mares διὰ ταῦτά τοι καὶ τῶν γυναικῶν τὰς ἀκολάστους ὑπὸ τῶν σεμνοτέρως αὐτὰς εὐθύνοντων καλεῖσθαι ἵππους. Romance Languages today may have a trace of such a usage based on the Latin *equa* and *caballa* (for the variants see Korting 1901 pp. 184, 341 & Meyer-Lüke 1911 pp. 109, 221): both the Spanish *yegua* in South America and the Portuguese *égua* in North Brazil can refer to a prostitute; the Italian *cavallina* can mean "libidinous" and the phrase "correre la cavallina" means "to sow one's wild oats". It is not difficult, therefore, to suppose that in Rome *equa* could be used in reference to prostitutes and that effeminate men could be open to the same term of abuse.

1.26.12. *scorta* - Curtius uses *scortum* two other times in reference to Bagoas (X.1.29 & X.1.42), once of Thais, the Athenian courtesan (V.7.4), and twice of Nicomachus, a male prostitute (VI.10.16 & VI.7.33). In other writers, the word is often used of males: see e.g. Cic. *Sest.* 39, Petr. 9.6 & Liv. 39.42.8.

1.26.15a. *nec moris esse Persis* - These words, used by Curtius for dramatic effect, probably do not point to a Persian custom; for Curtius' mention of Persian customs see 5.17.3n.

1.26.15b. *nec...mares ducere, qui stupro effeminentur* - See also 1.29.24n. for "dedecoris patientia"; for eunuchs playing the female rôle see VI.6.8 "quas spadonum greges, et ipsi muliebria pati adsueti, sequebantur". For the same term see also e.g. Liv. 39.16.1 "minus tamen esset, si flagitiis tantum effeminati forent - ipsorum id magna ex parte dedecus erat". Greek and Roman views of homosexuality differed, but their reaction to passive partners was, on the surface, the same. In Athens, although there were tax-paying registered male prostitutes (mostly foreigners) and homosexuality seems to have been common, the passive partner, if detected, was banned from politics: he had accepted the position of inferiority (that of the woman - *effeminentur*); see further Dover 1978 pp. 100ff. In Rome, although the *Lex Scantinia de nefanda venere* and the *Lex Iulia de adulteris coercendis* dealt with *stuprum* (on this see 1.26.21n.) in its widest sense, they were most probably disregarded. Writers of the

period, however, display disgust, whether conventional, or real, at effeminacy (see e.g. Tac. *Ann.* 13.30.2 of Caninius Rebilus & 15.70.2 of Claudius Senecio, Afranius Quintianus & Flavius Scaevinus) and the passive rôle (see e.g. Juv. 2 & Courtney 1980 pp. 120ff., 9 & Courtney 1980 pp. 424ff., Sal. *Cat.* 13.3 & McGushin *ad loc.*, Tac. *Ann.* 11.36.4 of Suillius Caesonius, Sen. *Nat.* 1.16.1ff. of Hostius Quadra & Plu. *Moralia* 768e); charges of this practice could be used against people (see 1.26.19n. for accusations made against emperors). Curtius' disgust at Bagoas matches this viewpoint and is, in addition, what is expected from someone who writes in such a moralistic tone: for analyses of the source of this moralism see Therasse 1968 pp. 551ff. & 1973 pp. 23ff.

1.26.19. mares ducere - This phrase is so close to *uxorem ducere* that Curtius perhaps intends the reader to recall well-known cases of men marrying each other. This practice may have been quite common: for an example see Juv 2.117f. "Quadringenta dedit Gracchus sestertia dotem / Cornicini sive hic recto cantaverat aere". Despite Courtney's (1980 p. 142) view that Juvenal cannot be referring to the Ti. Sempronius Gracchus of an Augustan date (e.g. *CIL* 6.1515 & *RE* 2 II pp. 1427f. no. 58), it is possible that the writer was thinking of a notorious Augustan incident. Nero is also supposed to have married Pythagoras (see Tac. *Ann.* 15.37.4, D.C. 62.28.3 & 63.13.2) and Doryphorus (see Suet. *Nero* 29; this is probably an error for Pythagoras - see Warmington *ad loc.*), playing the part of the bride both times. In contrast, he also castrated Sporus and treated him as a wife (see D.C. 62.28.2f., 63.13.1f. & Suet. *Nero* 29). Nero (see also Tac. *Ann.* 16.19.3) was not the first emperor to be accused of these practices for Augustus was accused of playing the passive rôle (see Suet. *Aug.* 68 & Carter *ad loc.*), Tiberius the active rôle (see Suet. *Tib.* 44.1f.) and Gaius both active and passive rôles (see Suet. *Cal.* 36.1). Even Julius Caesar is accused of playing the passive rôle (see Suet. *Jul.* 2.1). With this in mind, it is not hard to imagine that Nero was not the first emperor to "marry" men and the obvious choice of a forerunner would be Claudius' predecessor, Caligula.

1.27.4. potentiam...quaesitam - See 1.6.33n.

1.27.5. flagitio et dedecore - A Ciceronian cliché: the pairing occurs four times (*Mur.* 12, *Red. Sen.* 25, *Off.* 3.86 & *Att.* 16.7.4), as it does as part of a looser triad (*Tusc.* 2.14, *Phil.* 2.57, *Har.* 27 & *Ver.* 2.4.83). The combination is infrequent elsewhere: see Tac. *Hist.* 2.37.1, [Quint.] *Decl.* 3.1, Suet. *Cl.* 26.2 & the less closely connected case at Liv. 2.43.8.

1.27.9. in caput nobilissimi et insontis - Throughout this section, Curtius stresses the nobility and lack of guilt of Orsines, no doubt to increase the outrage of the reader. For his nobility see 1.22.12n.; for his lack of guilt see X.1.30 & X.1.37.

1.27.18. levissimos falsis criminibus - This ploy of someone secretly employing minions to bring about the downfall of an opponent is repeated later in Book Ten: see 9.8.9n.

1.27.21. *adstruxit* - This is the reading of Ω , for which Hedicke suggests *clam struxit*. While this emendation makes good sense, emphasising the secrecy surrounding the accusations, it is a totally unnecessary change of a well-supported reading (for this word in the sense of *instruere* see TLL II p. 979.1ff.). Curtius uses *struo* three other times and *adstruo* only here.

1.28.6. *credulas regis aures* - The same combination is used at VII.2.37 "libertatem linguae ab auribus credulis remoturus". For a strikingly similar passage cf. Amm. 14.11.4 "Cum haec talia sollicitas eius aures everberarent expositas semper eius modi rumoribus et patentes, varia animi tum miscente consilia, tandem id ut optimum factu elegit".

1.28.10. *dissimulans causam irae* - Curtius often connects *dissimulatio*, which was part of the orator's craft (see e.g. Cic. *de Orat.* 3.203 "tum illa, quae maxime quasi inreperit in hominum mentes, alia dicentis ac significantis dissimulatio"), with either plots, deceptive men, or both. In Book Ten it is also used in connection with Perdicas' plot against Meleager; that also involves pretence (see 9.8.26n.). For other times in which it is used as a vital part of a plot see V.10.8ff., where Bessus and Nabarzanes use this means in plotting against Darius, VII.2.11ff., where there is the sinister use of pretence at the murder of Parmenion, for not only is a falsely sealed letter given to the general, but the bearer of it pretends to still be his friend, & IX.7.24ff., where it is used in the plot against Dioxippus. In the plot which brought about the downfall of Philotas there are several instances of *dissimulatio*. The first case, at VI.7.13, is actually perpetrated by an honourable youth, Nicomachus, who pretends to join the plot in order to betray the plotters; the next two are more sinister as Alexander is portrayed as hiding (this can be worked out from the subsequent meeting with the officers and trial - see VI.8.1ff.) his anger at Philotas at VI.7.35 and Craterus, at VI.8.4, as hiding his animosity towards Philotas in order to accuse him. In other writers the idea of *dissimulatio* is used frequently, especially by Tacitus: see e.g. Liv. 9.45.6, Sen. *Dial.* 4.33.5, 10.18.6, Suet. *Jul.* 31.1, *Cal.* 10.2, Tac. *Hist.* 1.26.1, 4.18.1, 4.54.1, 4.56.2, *Ann.* 3.2.3, 11.26.1, 13.15.2 & 13.49.3; for Sallust's dislike of *dissimulatio*, his possible diagnosis of flexibility of policy as such, and his judgement of those he thought employed it see Hands 1959 pp. 56ff.

1.29.8. *Reus...agebatur* - The language of the law-courts seems to be used: see 1.7.1n. for other cases. For the same phrase see e.g. Liv. 45.37.8, Tac. *Ann.* 15.20.1, Prop. 2.30.32, Ov. *Met.* 15.36, Sen. *Con.* 2.4.11, V. Max. 6.8.1 & Quint. *Decl.* 277.1.

1.29.24. *dedecoris patientia* - *Patientia* was the technical term used by Romans to describe the passive rôle in both heterosexual and homosexual intercourse (Sen. *Nat.* 1.16.2); *patientia* was the "abstract correspondent" (Adams 1982 p. 190 & e.g. Petr. 9.6, & Sen. *Nat.* 1.16.6); for *viri muliebria pati* see Sal. *Cat.* 13.3 & McGushin *ad loc.* & Tac. *Ann.* 11.36.4. See further Adams 1982 pp. 189f.

1.29.36. *avaritiae...defectionis* - Again, two words are used in conjunction in order to make a point more strongly. However, Curtius seems to have used them as a set phrase without intending to substantiate them at all. Both *avaritia* and *defectio* are strange charges, as, so far, Orsines has displayed neither of them. It is only at a later stage that the purpose of Bagoas mentioning *avaritia* may be revealed: it could refer to the rifling of Cyrus' tomb (see X.1.33f.). *Defectio* could also involve the opening of the tomb, if orders not to do so had been given; however, on the previous visit to this area there is no mention of the tomb in Curtius, or any other writer (see §5 intro.).

1.30.6. *innocentis* - See 1.27.9n. for Curtius' emphasis on Orsines' lack of guilt.

1.30.9a. *fatum* - Curtius states his belief in *fatum* and notes the inescapable nature of it at V.11.10 "Eludant [vide] licet, quibus forte temere humana negotia volvi agique persuasum est; equidem fato crediderim nexuque causarum latentium et multo ante destinatarum suum quemque ordinem immutabili lege percurrere"; for this same quality see 1.30.9bn. Atkinson, referring to IV.6.17 (cited at 1.30.9bn.), suggests that Curtius' use of *fatum* does not reflect the stoic idea of the predestination of all events, but to something resembling the notion of one's own personal destiny. However, although this view seems reasonable as regards V.12.11 "ego hic legem fati mei expecto" and VIII.9.32 "Apud hos occupare fati diem pulchrum", which both illustrate the idea that *fatum* is fixed, the thesis does not seem to be supported by the other uses. The general view of the inescapable nature of *fatum* is also shown at IV.6.17 (cited at 1.30.9bn.), where Alexander is fated to be wounded, IX.6.19, where destiny, it is noted, cannot be controlled, "quamquam ne pigri quidem sibi fata disponunt" and IX.6.26, where *fatum* assigns death, "hoc, si me praeceperit fatum, vos mandasse me mementote". Curtius also seems to use *fatum* in cases of major events where there is often no other possible explanation: see IV.7.26, where Alexander asks if he is fated to rule over the world, "Consuluit deinde, an totius orbis imperium fatis sibi destinaretur", IV.14.20, where the fates decide what will happen to the Persian empire, "Forsitan ita dii fata ordinaverint, ut Persarum imperium", X.5.36, where the fates allow Alexander to complete certain achievements before death, "Expectavere eum fata" & X.9.1, where civil war is brought upon the Macedonians by the fates, "Sed iam fatis admovebantur Macedonum genti bella civilia".

Although Curtius may have believed in the power of *fatum*, it is noticeable that similar uses are found in other writers, either employing *fatum*, *fortuna*, or *τυχή*. Livy often refers to *fatum* in connection with crises in Roman history (see e.g. 5.19.1 of the fall of Veii, 5.36.6 of the Gauls and Rome, 22.43.9 of the battle of Cannae & 26.29.9 of events leading to the death of Marcellus; on Livy see Walsh 1961 pp. 53ff.). Tacitus uses *fatum* at dramatic turning points (see e.g. *Hist.* 2.1.1), or where something is otherwise incomprehensible (see e.g. *Ann.* 1.39.6 of German legions' madness, 1.55.3 of Varus' disaster in Germany, 13.12.2 of Nero's dislike of Octavia & *Hist.* 2.69.1 in reference to the revolt of Civilis; on Tacitus see Walker 1981 pp. 244ff. & the comment of Syme, 1958 p. 527 n. 2). Sallust puts the decline of Rome down

to *fortuna* (see e.g. *Cat.* 10.1 & McGushin *ad loc.*; see also Earl 1961 p. 51). Polybius, using *τυχή*, notes at 36.17.1ff. that events can be referred to her if it is difficult, or impossible, to grasp their causes; he often uses *τυχή* when "events of a striking or capricious kind occur to upset the balance of history and where fortunes are suddenly and sensationally reversed" (Walbank 1972 p. 62) and such an example is given at 36.17.13 concerning the actions of the Macedonians against the Romans (for his discussion on the subject see Walbank 1972 pp. 60ff.). Florus (*Epit.* 2.13.43) portrays the battle at Philippi as moved by the fates and Ammianus Marcellinus (21.15.2) the death of Constantine.

1.30.9b. *fatum, cuius inevitabilis sors est* - For the same wording see IV.6.17 "Sed, ut opinor, inevitabile est fatum"; for the same idea see V.11.10 V.12.11, VIII.9.32, IX.6.19 & IX.6.26, all cited at 1.30.9an. In other writers the same view of the inevitability of *fatum* appears - see e.g. Verg. *A.* 8.333f. "me pulsum patria pelagique extrema sequentem / Fortuna omnipotens et ineluctabile fatum", Liv. 1.42.2 "nec rupit tamen fati necessitatem humanis consiliis", 25.6.6 "nec fato, cuius lege immobilis rerum humanarum ordo seritur", Vell. 2.57.3 "ineluctabilis fatorum vis" & Woodman *ad loc.*, Sen. *Con. praef.* 7 "fato quodam, cuius maligna perpetuaque in rebus omnibus lex est" & Tac. *Ann.* 6.22.1ff., where, without comment, two views on fate are given, including "contra alii fatum quidem congruere rebus putant" (6.22.2).

1.30.15. *Forte enim sepulchrum Cyri Alexander iussit aperiri* - Alexander, as portrayed by Curtius, greatly admired Cyrus (see VII.3.3 & VII.6.20); therefore, it was not surprising that he wished to open the tomb. However, although Arrian (*An.* 6.29.9) seems to imply and Strabo (*Chr.* 15.3.7) states that Alexander had opened it on his previous visit to this area, this probably was not the case (see §5 intro.). Alexander's actions of admiration were later followed by eminent Romans. Lucan (10.19ff.), whether correctly, or not, records that Julius Caesar was eager to visit Alexander's own tomb. Augustus is said to have opened Alexander's tomb and placed a golden crown on the body (see Suet. *Aug.* 18.1; Dio, 51.16.5, mentions that he apparently broke part of Alexander's nose off). Suetonius (*Cal.* 52) implies that Caligula did as well. Curtius, although recording events in Alexander's life, may have expected his readers to be reminded of the actions of Julius Caesar and the emperors and, in particular, that of Caligula (see further Appendix B).

1.30.17. *sepulchrum Cyri* - It is most probable that the so-called "Tomb of the Mother of Solomon" (see fig. 3), at the ruins of the ancient city of Pasagadae in the Morghab Valley, is the Tomb of Cyrus. In its original state it probably measured 11.10m. from the once hidden foundations to the top of the sloped roof. The inner burial chamber is a modest affair measuring 3.17m in length with a uniform width and height of 2.11m. and is entered through a small passageway. For full details, extensive photographic plates and drawings see Stronach 1978 pp. 24ff., pls. 19-39 & also 1985 pp. 838ff.

1.31.1. *Auro argentoque...repletum esse crediderat* - Aristobulus' details of the contents of the tomb before it was robbed may merely have been based on rumour: see §5 intro.

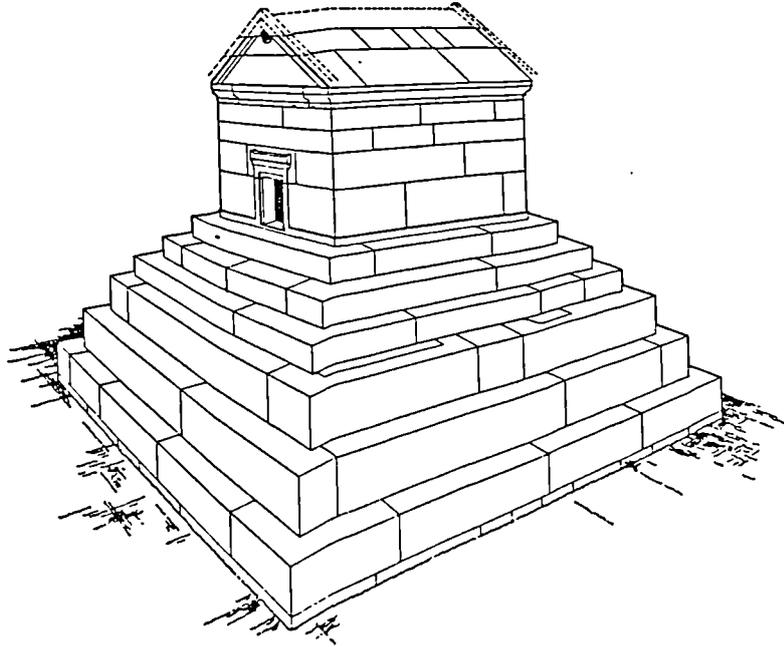


Fig. 3. A reconstruction of the "Tomb of the Mother of Solomon"

(Reproduced from D. Stronach, *Pasargadae*, 1978, by permission of the Oxford University Press)

1.31.3. [conditum] - *Conditum*, the reading of Ω , is omitted by Δ . Heinsius emends it to *conditorium*, whereas Bardon suggests *conditis*. It is clear that *conditum* is incorrect and holds no real meaning; it is most probably either a gloss, or a copying error, of the previous same word (see X.1.30). Therefore, any attempt at an emendation seems pointless; *conditorium* is unnecessary and *conditis* unsatisfactory; the word should be deleted, as most editors do.

1.31.12. *sed praeter clipeum...et arcus duos...et acinacem* - Aristobulus (see *Arr. An.* 6.29.9 & *Str. Chr.* 15.3.7) recorded that only the couch and coffin were left: the latter was badly damaged by robbers trying to remove it; the body had also been thrown out. Since Aristobulus was an eyewitness his description of the contents is to be preferred.

1.32.1. *Ceterum corona...amiculo* - Arrian (*An.* 6.29.10) records that Aristobulus was ordered to repair the coffin, put Cyrus' body in it, spread ribands over the top, add ornamentation similar to the originals and seal the tomb up. Curtius' account is somewhat suspicious considering that later Alexander is prepared for burial in a similar way: see X.10.13 "*et capiti adiecta fortunae eius insignia*". Curtius may be thinking, once again, of a Roman imperial parallel: Augustus is said to have placed a crown on Alexander's body (see *Suet. Aug.* 18.1). On contemporary allusion see further Appendix B.

1.32.15. *miratus...e plebe* - The reader does not know that the tomb may have been robbed

until X.1.33f., so Curtius deliberately leads him to believe, unlike in other sources which mention the incident (see §5 intro.), that such a great king was buried very modestly. In illustrating such a paradox he may be influenced by his rhetorical training: the treatment of the episode is reminiscent of the esteem given to Romulus' hut, which was supposedly preserved on the Capitol (see Vitr. 2.1.5) and used by orators as an illustration that appearance was no indicator of importance (see e.g. Julius Bassus *ap. Sen. Con.* 1.6.4 & Arellius Fuscus Senior *ap. Sen. Con.* 2.1.5).

1.33.8. *Quid mirum...est* - A common rhetorical and dramatic device, which Curtius also uses at V.5.12 and four other times in slightly different constructions - *minime mirum est* at IV.13.23 & VI.3.1, *haud mirum est* at V.9.9 & *ecquid mirum est* at IV.11.4. Apart from Tacitus (*Ann.* 12.37.2 in a speech & 16.27.2 in reported speech), no other historian uses this phrase.

1.34.16. *III milia talentum* - Clearly a reference to the amount Orsines gave Alexander: see X.1.24.

1.34.18. *talentum* - P¹ has *talenta* at this point. For the reason why the reading of ω is to be preferred see 1.24.40n.

1.35.3. *benignitas* - See 1.25.2n. for the emphasis on this quality.

1.36.13. *hinc Bagoas, hinc ab eo subornati falsis criminibus occupant aures* - It may be possible that Bagoas' agents are the same accusers mentioned by Arrian at Persepolis: see *An.* 6.30.1 *καὶ μὲν δὴ καὶ κατὰ Ὁρξίνου πολλοὶ λόγοι ἐλέχθησαν πρὸς Περσῶν*. Curtius probably transferred the incident from Persepolis to Pasargadae (see §5 intro.).

1.37.17. *manum iniecit* - This phrase probably refers to some sort of abuse, or insult. These were the words used in a case where a master would seize a runaway slave, or where someone would lay claim to another person, or property: see e.g. Liv. 3.44.6, Pl. *Truc.* 762, Sen. *Dial.* 2.5.7 & Quint. *Inst.* 7.7.9. However, although it would be suitably degrading for Orsines to be treated as a slave, the use of this phrase may refer to physical abuse as in Hor. *Carm.* 1.17.24ff. "proelia, nec metues protervum / suspecta Cyrum, ne male dispari / incontinentis iniciat manus".

1.37.22. *Audiveram...castratum* - Curtius intends Orsines' cutting last words to be very dramatic and striking. It was common for a writer either to quote the last words of a character, or to present them in reported speech; it makes an effective break from straight narrative. At the end of Book Five, if the final section was not missing, Darius' dying words would probably have been given and at X.5.6 Alexander's last words, although in reported speech, are included. There are many examples in other writers of supposed last words:

Suetonius gives those of Julius Caesar (see *Jul.* 82.3 *καὶ σὺ τέκνον*), Augustus (see *Aug.* 99.1 "Livia, nostri coniugii memor vive, ac vale!"), Caligula (see *Cal.* 58.3 "clamitantem se vivere") and Nero (see *Nero* 49.4 "sero et: haec est fides"); Plutarch (*Alex.* 43.4) records Darius' last words and Nepos (*Ep.* 9.4) those of Epaminondas "vixi; invictus enim morior". Tacitus (*Ann.* 14.8.5) includes those of Agrippina "ventrem feri" and Livy (39.51.12) those of Hannibal "Execratus deinde in caput regnumque Prusiae et hospitales deos violatae ab eo fidei testes invocans". Homer gives the dying words of Hector (see *Il.* 22.356ff.) and Patroclus (see *Il.* 16.844ff.), Plato (*Phd.* 118 & see Burnet *ad loc.*) those of Socrates ὦ Κρίτων, ἔφη, τῷ Ἀσκληπιῷ δειλομένῳ ἀλεκτρούνα· ἀλλὰ ἀπόδοτε καὶ μὴ ἀμελήσητε and in each of the Gospels there are the dying words of Christ (see *Ev. Matt.* 27.46, *Ev. Marc.* 15.34, *Ev. Luc.* 24.46ff. & *Ev. Jo.* 19.30). However, not only famous figures are supplied with dying words: see e.g. those of an eagle bearer at *Caes. Civ.* 3.64.3, those of Brutus' messenger at *Vell.* 2.70.3 "sequar' inquit 'eum, quem mea occidit tarditas'" & Woodman *ad loc.* & *V. Max.* 9.9.2 "'etsi inpudens' inquit, 'imperator, causa tibi mortis fui, tamen, ne id ipsum impunitum sit, accipe me fati tui comitem'" & those of a tyrant quoting a law in order to have his murderer punished at *Cestius Pius ap. Sen. Con.* 9.4.8 "qui patrem ceciderit manus eius praecedantur".

1.37.24. in Asia - In using *Asia*, Curtius is not referring to the Roman province, but to the area of Alexander's eastern march (see e.g. *IX.*6.20 "Asiam, qua Hellesponto, qua Rubro mari subluitur possideo" & *VII.*3.21 "ex quo Asiae omnia fere flumina, alia in Rubrum, alia in Caspium mare, alia in Hyrcanium et Ponticum decidunt"); India seems to have been excluded (see *VII.*7.4 "...ultima Asiae, qua Bactra sunt, stringit"). This usage is followed throughout Book Ten (see also *X.*1.43, *X.*2.8, *X.*2.11, *X.*2.12, *X.*2.23, *X.*2.25, *X.*3.7, *X.*5.13 & *X.*5.18); for this in other writers see e.g. *Var. L.* 5.16 "*Asia, quae non Europa, in quo etiam Syria*", *Plin. Nat.* 5.47 "Adhaeret Asia, quam patere a Canopico ostio ad Ponti ostium...universam vero cum Aegypto ad Tanain..." & *Mela* 1.8 "quod terrarum iacet a freto ad ea flumina ab altero latere Africam vocamus, ab altero Europen; ultra quicquid est Asia est".

1.37.26. olim regnasse feminas - Curtius names a few female eastern rulers in his work. At *V.*1.24 & *VII.*6.20 queen Semiramis of Babylon is referred to and at *VI.*5.24ff. Thalestris, the queen of the Amazons. The latter case is an example of a female ruler at the time of Orsines and, therefore, in making the former satrap speak as he does, Curtius is either forgetting this fact, or referring to Asia as a whole. Elsewhere, there are references to female eastern rulers at e.g. *Arr. An.* 1.23.7 *νενομισμένον ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ ἔτι ἀπὸ Σεμιράμεως καὶ γυναικας ἀρχεῖν ἀνδρῶν*, *Suet. Jul.* 22.2 "in Suria quoque Sameramin magnamque Asiae partem Amazones tenuisse quondam.", *Luc.* 10.90f., where Cleopatra (for Egypt as part of Asia see 1.37.24n.) says "non urbes prima tenebo / femina Niliacas: nullo discrimine sexus" & *Serv. A.* 1.654 "MAXIMA NATARUM PRIAMI quia ante etiam feminae regnabant, praesertim primogenitae". Although *regnare* is usually used by Curtius to refer to royal rulers, he employs it once, out of the total of twenty-two times, in regard to satraps: see *V.*8.9, where

Darius says "Proditores et transfugae in urbibus meis regnant...". Therefore, it is possible that Ada, whom Alexander appointed as the satrap of Caria when he was at Halicarnassus (see *Arr. An.* 1.23.7), may be included as a contemporary woman ruler.

1.37.31. *novum est regnare castratum* - Pliny would have objected most strongly to this statement (see *Nat.* 13.41, cited at 1.25.18n.). Note also that it was a eunuch called Bagoas who murdered Ochus and his son Arsēs and installed Darius as Persian King (see VI.3.12, *Str. Chr.* 15.3.24, D.S. 17.5.3f., *Arr. An.* 2.14.5, *Ael. VH* 6.8 & *Plu. Moralia* 337e); for the considerable power gained by him see D.S. 16.50.8. The influence of an eastern eunuch in Parthia can be seen during the rule of Tiberius: see *Tac. Ann.* 6.31.2 "proximus huic Aldus ademptae virilitatis (non despectum id apud barbaros ultroque potentiam habet)". In that case the eunuch was in favour of a Roman nominee, rather than the current king. Later, eunuchs were very powerful in the Eastern Roman Empire: see Hopkins 1978 pp. 172ff.

1.38.1. *Hic fuit exitus* - *Arrian (An. 6.30.1f.)* places Orsines' execution at Persepolis, writing "Ἐνθεν δὲ εἰς τὰ βασίλεια ἦει τὰ Περσῶν, ἃ δὴ πρόσθεν κατέφλεξεν αὐτός...καὶ ἐξηλέγχθη Ὀρξίνης ἱερὰ τε ὅτι σεσυλήκει καὶ τάφους βασιλικούς, καὶ Περσῶν πολλοὺς ὅτι οὐ ξὺν δίκῃ ἀπέκτεινε. τοῦτον μὲν δὴ οἷς ἐτάχθη ὑπὸ Ἀλεξάνδρου ἐκρέμασαν.

1.38.4. *nobilissimi Persarum* - *Curius* often uses a superlative and partitive genitive together: for other examples in Book Ten see X.3.12 "proximisque amicorum" & X.7.20 "nobilissimis iuvenum"; for other uses of the partitive genitive see 1.3.12n. & 1.6.1n.; for the construction see K-S I pp. 423ff. For the emphasis on Orsines' nobility see 1.22.12n.

1.38.12. *benignitatis* - See 1.25.2n. for the emphasis on this quality.

1.39.3. *Phradates* - (Berve 189) This man, called Autophradates by *Arrian*, was Darius' satrap of Tapuria (see *Arr. An.* 3.23.7 & *Bosworth ad loc.*) and commanded fifty chariots and the Caspii at Gaugamela (see IV.12.9). Following the Persian king's death, he surrendered to Alexander and was retained in his former position (VI.4.24f. & *Arr. An.* 3.23.7); his power was increased to cover the Mardians as well (see VI.5.21, *Arr. An.* 3.24.3 & 4.18.2). In the Winter of 328/7 B.C. Phrataphernes, the satrap of the Hyrcanians, was sent to bring back Phradates, who had often ignored Alexander's summons (see VIII.3.17 & *Arr. An.* 4.18.2). This is the next time he is seen and it is clear that he was suspected of treason. Only *Curius* mentions his death. See further *Egge* 1978 pp. 159ff., 234.

1.39.8. *Cooperat esse praeceps ad repraesentanda* - For Alexander's change of temperament see also 1.9.1n. This change is echoed by *Arrian (An. 7.4.3)*, who also connects it with the trouble Alexander found on his return from India; *Plutarch (Alex. 42.2 & see Hamilton ad loc.)* earlier notes a similar change.

1.39.9. *esse* - Vogel, Dosson and Stangl emend this reading of Ω to *rex esse*. Although this addition does clarify the subject, it seems unnecessary.

1.39.10. *praeceps ad repraesentanda supplicia, item ad deteriora credenda* - This is Curtius' sole use of this construction: it is rare in other writers - see *TLL* X₂ p. 415.78ff., where the only other classical example is at *Sal. Jug.* 6.3 "*praeceps ad explendam animi cupidinem*".

1.39.14. *item* - Modern editors follow this reading of Δ in preference to the *idem* of Ω ; the former is much better in sense and links the two clauses more naturally.

1.40.2. *res secundae valent commutare naturam* - Wilhelm (1928 p. 69) correctly notes that this is a "triviale Sentenz aus dem Topos de fortuna": for the same idea see III.2.17 "*nisi etiam naturam plerumque fortuna corrumpet*". For a similar view concerning the adverse effect of success on Alexander see *Liv.* 9.18.1 "*Et loquimur de Alexandro nondum merso secundis rebus, quarum nemo intolerantior fuit. Qui si ex habitu novae fortunae novique, ut ita dicam, ingenii quod sibi victor induerat spectetur*"; for the general bad effect see e.g. *Cato frg.* 118 (Cugusi) "*scio solere plerisque hominibus rebus secundis atque prolixis atque prosperis animum excellere atque superbiam atque ferociam augescere atque crescere*", *Sal. Cat.* 11.8 "*secundae res sapientium animos fatigant*", *Jug.* 41.3 "*scilicet ea quae res secundae amant, lascivia atque superbia, incessere*", *Quintus Haterius ap. Sen. Suas.* 7.1 "*tolerabilis in malo ingenio felicitas est nihil <prava> cupientis magis accendit quam prosperae turpitudinis conscientia*", *Vell.* 2.53.2 "*aut quando fortuna non mutat fidem?*" & *Tac. Ann.* 11.17.3 "*dein secunda fortuna ad superbiam prolapsus*". Curtius, like the other writers referred to above, seems to be contradicting the commonly held belief that Romans regarded a person's true character as fixed from birth and not influenced by events and surroundings; perhaps the best known examples of this are Tacitus' treatment of Tiberius and Nero and Sallust's of Catiline. Curtius is perhaps influenced by the rhetorical device of an *argumentum a persona*: for this see e.g. *Quint. Inst.* 5.10.26 "*fortuna, neque enim idem credibile est in divite ac paupere, propinquis amicis clientibus abundante et his omnibus destituto*" & Lausberg 1960 §376.

1.40.8. *raro quisquam erga bona sua satis cautus est* - For similar views see VIII.4.24 "*inter obsequia fortunae, contra quam non satis cauta mortalitas est*" & IV.14.20 "*admonerentque nos fragilitatis humanae, cuius nimia in prosperis rebus oblivio est*"; for the same idea see e.g. *Liv.* 21.61.2 "*fit ut secundae res negligentiam creent*", *Nep. Con.* 5.1 "*Accidit huic quod ceteris mortalibus ut inconsideratior in secunda quam in adversa esset fortuna*", *Asinius Pollio ap. Sen. Suas.* 6.24 "*utinam moderatius secundas res et fortius adversas ferre potuisset*" & *Cato frg.* 90 (Cugusi) "*scio fortunas secundas negligentiam prendere solere*".

1.40.20. *Lyncestem Alexandrum* - (Berve 37) Alexander, the son of Aeropus (see *Arr. An.* 1.7.6

& 1.17.8 & Bosworth *ad loc.*) and the brother of Heromenes and Arrabaeus (see Arr. *An.* 1.25.1 & Bosworth *ad loc.*), was a prince from the area of Lyncestis in Macedonia (VII.1.5, VIII.8.6 & D.S. 17.32.1) and the son-in-law of Antipater (VII.1.7, Just. 11.7.1 & 12.14.1). Along with his brothers, he was accused, whether correctly, or not, by Alexander of being involved in the murder of the king's father, Philip (for their guilt see Bosworth 1971b pp. 93ff., 1988a pp. 25f.; *contra* Badian 1963 pp. 244ff., Ellis 1971 pp. 15ff., 1981 pp. 99ff., Lane Fox 1973 pp. 17ff., Hammond 1978 pp. 331ff., Griffith 1979 *HG* pp. 684ff., Fears 1975 pp. 111ff. & Develin 1981 pp. 86ff.); however, although they were executed (Arr. *An.* 1.25.1), he was spared as he had been the first to hail Alexander as king (see VII.1.6, Just. 11.2.2, both cited at 7.7.13n., & Arr. *An.* 1.25.2 & Bosworth *ad loc.*). He was appointed to Thrace in 336/5 B.C. (see Arr. *An.* 1.25.2 & Bosworth *ad loc.*) and in 334 B.C. to the Troad (see Arr. *An.* 1.17.8 & Brunt 1976 p. 73 n. 5). In 334/3 B.C. he was possibly accused of plotting against Alexander and was imprisoned (see VII.1.6, Just. 11.7.1f., Arr. *An.* 1.25.1ff. & Bosworth *ad loc.* & D.S. 17.32.1f., where the event is placed a year later before Issus and different reasons given; on the contentious issue of a plot see Bosworth 1980b pp. 162ff., 1988a pp. 50f. & Lane Fox 1973 pp. 145ff., 164). The trial was delayed until after that of Philotas in 330 B.C. (see 1.1.12n.); at it he was found guilty and put to death (see VII.1.5ff., D.S. 17.80.2, Bosworth 1988 p. 103 & Lane Fox p. 284).

1.41.9. *videbantur insontes* - For Alexander's clemency see 5.28.9n. This perhaps refers, in part, to the acquittal of Polemon, Amyntas and Simmias, to which Curtius previously devoted much space (see VII.1.10ff.).

1.41.13. *hostibus victis regna red<diderat aut a>uxerat* - Examples of this are Porus (see VIII.14.45), whose area of control was increased, and Cleophis, an Indian queen (see VIII.10.35). In addition, although not defeated by Alexander, Taxiles and Sophites, the Indian kings, after surrendering to the Macedonian king, were allowed to keep control of their realms (see respectively VIII.12.14 & IX.1.35). Curtius does not use *regnum* in reference to satraps (but see 1.37.27n. for *regnare*), but for examples of former power returned to a few of them see e.g. V.1.44 of Mazaeus, V.6.11 of Tiridates & VI.4.25 of Phradates, whose area of command was enlarged.

1.41.15. *regna red<diderat aut a>uxerat* - At this point, Ω reads *regnare duxerat*; this is clearly incorrect. Modius simply relocates the "re" to produce *regna reduxerat*; however, whilst this combination is paralleled (see e.g. Sil. 10.643), the meaning is wrong. The most favoured emendation recently is that of Freinsheim, who proposes *regna reddiderat*; this gives the correct sense, employing a combination used at V.9.4 "victor deinde regnum tibi reddat" & X.5.28 "tot regna aut reddita...aut dono data" (for elsewhere see e.g. Cic. *Sest.* 57, Liv. 45.12.8, Stat. *Theb.* 7.390 & 10.583); it is also a common clausula ending (see Type 3 in Appendix C). That emendation, however, does not take account of the "uxerat" ending of Ω . This problem is solved by Scheffer's (he uses Jeep's *auxerat*) *regna reddiderat aut auxerat*;

Curtius uses *regna augere* at X.10.8 "Itaque omnibus expeditius videbatur augere regna" (for elsewhere see e.g. Liv. 38.48.4); although the clausula produced is used only 1.9.% of the time, it is not avoided (see Type 10 in Appendix C).

1.42.1a. *ad ultimum vitae tantum ab semetipso degeneravit, ut* - At this point, Ω reads "ad ultimum traiectum", which seems to be corrupt. Various suggestions have been put forward to replace the *traiectum* and add the necessary emphatic particle: Zumpt suggests *vero ita ium*, Vogel *ita*, Bardon *tam ex toto*, Giacone *tantum*, Foss, supported by Watt (1983 p. 185), *contra tantum* and Stangl (it was suggested, but later changed by Zumpt) *tamen ita*. These all add the necessary emphasis, but, except for those of Stangl and Foss, do not take account of the form of *traiectum*. Perhaps the best suggestion is Heraeus' *vitae tantum*: this is correct in sense, takes account of the start and ending of the corrupt *traiectum* and is paralleled at III.12.18 also in reference to Alexander's character "hac continentia animi si ad ultimum vitae perseverare potuisset" (for a similar construction see also VIII.1.15 "ad ultimum periculi pervenerat").

1.42.1b. *ad ultimum* - Curtius earlier saw a change in Alexander following the death of Darius and exposure to Asian luxury: see e.g. VI.2.1ff. "Sed ut primum instantibus curis laxatus est animus militarium rerum quam quietis otique patientior, excepere eum voluptates, et, quem arma Persarum non fregerant, vitia vicerunt...", VI.6.1ff. & for this Tarn 1948 II pp. 89ff. The decline of the Macedonians is reminiscent of the supposed similar decline at Rome (see 1.4.1n.).

1.42.9. *in<victi> quondam adversus libidinem animi* - At this point, Ω has the corrupt *in*: two main emendations have been suggested. Hedicke suggests the widely accepted *invicti*, whereas Zumpt, Foss, Vogel, Dosson, Cocchia, Stangl and Barali prefer *invictus*. Although *invictus animi* is satisfactory (for this construction see K-S I pp. 435ff.), such a solution means that *animi* would be semantically redundant and more likely to be attached to *libidinem*; this would be unsatisfactory. The problem with *invicti animi* is that such a construction usually needs a noun to attach itself to (see K-S I pp. 454ff.); however, from the context there is no problem in understanding the subject and, in the circumstances, it is the more acceptable of the two suggestions. Heinsius suggests "iniqui idem transversus" and, although the last two words are not very plausible, the positioning of *iniquus* before *quondam* would explain how *in* came into existence; however, the sense is not as good as that of *invictus*.

1.42.10a. *quondam adversus libidinem* - For examples of his earlier restraint see 5.32.4n.

1.42.10b. *quondam* - This reading, given by P, is clearly preferable to the ungrammatical *quoddam* of B^cFLV and the *quodam* of B¹.

1.42.14. *arbitrio scorti* - The reader is meant immediately to think of Bagoas, but may also recall how Alexander burnt down the palace at Persepolis on the wishes of Thais, an Athenian courtesan (see V.7.3ff., D.S. 17.72.1ff. & Ath. 13.576d). The theme of someone being urged to perpetrate a wrong deed seems common and may even have been a stock theme in the declamatory schools: for a piece dealing with such an incident see Sen. *Con.* 9.2, which has the hypothesis "Flamininus proconsul inter cenam a meretrice rogatus quae aiebat se numquam vidisse hominem decollari, unum ex damnatis occidit. accusatur maiestatis"; for the same story see also V. Max. 2.9.3 & Cic. *Sen.* 42. Livy (39.43.1ff.) has this version of the story and also another (39.42.7ff.), where the consul kills a deserter "ad nutum scorti" (39.42.12), since the male prostitute missed a gladiatorial display. Probably the best known incident of this type is when John The Baptist loses his head (see *Ev. Matt.* 14.6ff. & Filson *ad loc.* and *Ev. Marc.* 6.21ff. & Johnson *ad loc.*).

Section Six

Events in Europe: X.1.43 - X.1.45

Of the other main sources, only Justin¹ records Zopyrion's disaster in Thrace; however, he groups it along with news arriving to Alexander at Ecbatana in 330 B.C. of the war with Agis of Sparta² and of Alexander of Epirus' exploits in Italy³. Further information is also available from Macrobius⁴. In reality, the expedition, which may have been an attempt to link Thrace with Bactria⁵, seems to have taken place around 326/5 B.C.⁶. The resultant rising in Thrace, which Philip had subdued in 342/1 B.C.⁷, was not subdued until Lysimachus⁸ did so in 322 B.C.⁹.

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1. See 12.1.4 & 12.2.16f., cited at 1.44.9n.; the prologues to Pompeius Trogus' account show that Justin clearly rearranged the order of events to allow news of Zopyrion's disaster to be placed at the start of Book Twelve (see Hammond 1983a p. 102).
 2. For the war see 10.14.31an.
 3. See 1.18.16n.
 4. 1.11.33.
 5. See Tarn 1948 I p. 71.
 6. See Berve 1926 II p. 164 & Bosworth 1988a p. 166.
 7. See D.S. 16.71.1f., Griffith *HG* 1979 pp. 554ff., Hammond 1989a pp. 182f., Errington 1990 pp. 52ff. & Bosworth 1988a p. 12.
 8. Appointed to the area following Alexander's death (see 10.4.2n.).
 9. See 1.45.4n. On the whole affair see also Hammond *HW* 1988 pp. 54f., 1989a p. 184 & Errington 1990 pp. 58f.

1.43.1. *Isdem fere diebus* - For this phrase, heralding a change of focus, see 1.1.1n.

1.43.5. a *Coeno* - (Berve 440) As ω has the meaningless *aceno*, the reading of P is to be preferred. If this is a real person, he is not to be confused with Coenus, the son of Polemocrates and the brother of Cleander, who died in India. Nothing is known of his origin. In Berve's (1926 II p. 218) opinion, following his arrival here, he stayed with Alexander and, in 324/3 B.C., was appointed as the successor of Argaeus as satrap of Susiana; following Alexander's death, he was kept in this post (see Just. 13.4.14 & Dexipp. *F.Gr.H.* 100 F8.6, which is based on a textual emendation). However, this view has been challenged by Tarn (1948 II pp. 313ff.: *contra* Roos 1968 II p. 257). He points out that in Justin, where this man is mentioned, there is probably a textual corruption and, with the disappearance of the name there, there are no grounds for the emendation in Dexippus. He correctly points out that, in any case, Curtius says that the message was not brought by hand, but sent, and suggests, as Rader earlier did, that for *Coeno*, *Antipatro* should be read. However, although this is what Justin says (see 12.1.4 "epistulae Antipatri a Macedonia ei redduntur"), too great a change is involved. To simply omit the word, as Δ and some editors (see e.g. Junius, Vogel, Dosson, Cocchia, Stangl & Zumpt, who also suggests the weak *domo*), is equally unhelpful, as something is needed. Mützell's suggestion that Curtius mistook $\delta\pi\omicron\upsilon\ \tau\omicron\upsilon\ \kappa\omicron\iota\mu\omicron\upsilon$ in his source for $\delta\pi\omicron\upsilon\ \tau\omicron\upsilon\ \kappa\omicron\iota\mu\omicron\upsilon$ seems very

plausible; τὸ κοινόν would here refer to the Macedonian State (for this see IG 11.4.1102 & 11.4.1103; for other possible misreadings see Atkinson 1980 pp. 300 & 302).

1.44.1. Zopyrio - (Berve 340) This man, of unknown origin, seems to have been Memnon's successor in Thrace, when the latter was ordered to bring out reinforcements to Alexander in 327/6 B.C. (see IX.3.21). It seems generally agreed (see Tarn 1948 I p. 71, Lock 1972 p. 14 & Bosworth 1988a p. 166) that he was, as Curtius says, in charge of Thrace and not *praefectus Ponti* as Justin (12.1.4 & 12.2.16) states, since no such administrative area is mentioned elsewhere. In 326/5 B.C. he made an expedition against the Scythians, probably going as far as the Borysthenes (Dnepre) and besieging Olbia (Macr. 1.11.33 & Berve 1926 II p. 164; for an identification of Olbia with a site on the west bank of the Bug and about twelve miles south of the modern Nikolajev see RE XVII pp. 2405ff.). However, due to bad weather, his forces were completely destroyed and he lost his life (1.44.9n.). Following this disaster, Seuthes III, the ruler of the Odrysians in Thrace, revolted (see 1.45.4n.).

1.44.7. Getas - Vindelín's suggestion, also found in C, for the *gestas* of Ω seems correct. The Getae were originally a Thracian tribe (see Hdt. 4.92), but had been forced to settle on the lower Danube by the fourth century B.C. Philip, following his actions in Thrace in 342/1 B.C., married Meda, the daughter of Cothelas, king of the Getae (Ath. 13.557d); this was presumably a treaty measure (see Bosworth 1988a p. 6 & Griffith HG 1979 p. 560). Alexander, before his eastern expedition, successfully attacked and defeated a much larger number of them in order to cross the Danube in 335 B.C. (see Arr. An. 1.3.1ff., Wilcken 1967 pp. 68f., Hamilton 1973 p. 47, Hammond 1981a pp. 47f., HW 1988 pp. 36f. & Bosworth 1988a p. 30).

1.44.9. tempestatibus procellisque - Justin has no mention of the weather in his account: see 12.2.16f. "Dum haec in Italia aguntur, Zopyrion quoque, praefectus Ponti ab Alexandro Magno relictus, otiosum se ratus, si nihil et ipse gessisset, adunato XXX milium exercitu Scythis bellum intulit caesusque cum omnibus copiis poenas temere inlati belli genti innoxiae luit".

1.45.4. Seuthes - (Berve 702) This refers to Seuthes III, the ruler of the Odrysian tribe in Thrace. Following Philip's successes in Thrace in 342/1 B.C., he ruled independently, although a Macedonian subject. He was probably involved in connections with Athens by 330 B.C. and had an interest in a revolt in Thrace, which had been stirred up by Memnon, the Macedonian governor; nothing, however, came of it (see D.S. 17.62.4ff. & Badian 1967 pp. 179ff.). After Zopyrion's disaster in 326/5 B.C. (for details see 1.44.1n.), he showed his desire for complete autonomy by taking advantage of the situation and breaking away from Macedonia; he was not brought into line until Lysimachus did so in 322 B.C. (D.S. 18.14.2f.).

1.45.5. Odrysas - The Odrysians were the leading tribe in Thrace, which was eventually conquered by Philip in the campaign of 342/1 B.C. (see §6 intro. n. 7 for references). They

served in Alexander's army (see D.S. 17.17.4 & Arr. *An.* 3.12.4), as did Thracians in general (see e.g. III.4.13, V.1.41, Arr. *An.* 2.7.5 & D.S. 17.65.1; Frontinus, *Str.* 2.11.3, gives as a reason for this Alexander's desire to remove the leading men from Thrace and install those bound to him; this policy was designed to prevent rebellion).

1.45.16. *quidem* - At this point, the text of the manuscripts breaks off and ω has "hic desunt II lineae" written in the margin. It is clear that something is missing as this sentence is unfinished and the next words refer to a different topic, about which some prior information is needed. The easiest way to see what Curtius could have included is to look at fig. 12a in Appendix A. While Curtius need not necessarily have included any of the points, it seems that he would, at least, have mentioned the items dealt with by Diodorus, with whom he seems to be sharing a common source for the Harpalus affair and the following restoration of exiles, freeing of debts and mutiny (see §7 intro. n. 1, §8 intro. n. 4 & §9 intro. n. 1). He may also have referred to some of the events listed in the other sources. The lacuna would seem to be equivalent to about forty lines of text in this edition and probably two sides of a manuscript page; this would mean that the lacuna is due to a *page falling out of the archetype*.

Section Seven

The Flight of Harpalus and the Exiles' Decree: X.2.1 - X.2.7

Apart from the remains of Curtius' account¹ of the Harpalus affair and the Exiles' Decree², details are restricted in the Alexander historians to Diodorus³ and Justin⁴; Arrian⁵ is known to have commented, although at a later stage in his narrative⁶. Additional information, however, can be gained from Plutarch⁷, Athenaeus⁸, Pausanias⁹ and fragments of contemporary speeches against Demosthenes by Hyperides and Dinarchus.

Following the purge of the satraps and generals¹⁰, Harpalus¹¹ fled from Asia and arrived in Athens in June/July 324 B.C. Meanwhile, at Susa in early Spring 324 B.C.¹², Alexander let it be known that he was allowing exiles to return to their homelands in Greece; he then dispatched Nicanor of Stagira to announce this at the Olympic Games of July/August 324 B.C. News of the king's decision had obviously reached Greece prior to this man's arrival¹³, as more than twenty thousand¹⁴ had gathered to hear the announcement¹⁵; it was welcomed by most, except the Athenians and Aetolians¹⁶.

The reasons for the decree, which is generally seen as a definite breach of the conditions of the League of Corinth¹⁷, are a matter of debate among modern commentators. Many connect it, among other reasons, with Alexander's desire to rid Asia of the recently discharged mercenaries, of whom many were exiles¹⁸; in addition, it was probably a way for the king to install his own followers in cities and, by his benefactions, create new supporters, whose interests were tied up with his own; thus Greece would be stabilised¹⁹. The suggestion that, by diminishing the number of those willing to fight against him²⁰, Alexander planned to lessen the threat from Harpalus, seems equally valid. The decree, however, was no act of open generosity, as murderers and those who had committed sacrilege were excluded²¹. These were by no means the only restrictions: it has been generally accepted that Alexander's statement that he was not responsible for the exiles' position²² means that he was placing the blame on the cities, or even possibly on Antipater, but it is likely²³ that only those exiled prior to 336 B.C. were allowed to return. The decree did run the risk of upsetting many states, but Alexander must have felt that he would be able to deal with any trouble. An attempt at deification, whether connected with this order²⁴, or from another motive²⁵, has also been suggested at this time; however, it is not supported by any of the main sources and, despite there seeming to have been debates in Athens on this topic, it is more likely that, if the Greek states moved such honours, it was on their own initiative as a means to pacify, or please, the king on a matter which was not kept secret; it may even have been promoted²⁶.

It has been plausibly suggested²⁷ that, following the decree, many Greek states were willing to revolt, possibly with Athens as leader. Into this situation Harpalus arrived and was at first denied entry to Athens. The State was in a difficult position for Harpalus (it has been suggested that he came to get support, realising the hatred of the new decree²⁸), for all they knew, could have been on the offensive on behalf of Alexander. If he was not, then to

accept a fugitive would provoke the king into hostilities, which, if Athens was not planning a revolt, was not advisable; if, however, she was aiming at future disobedience, a premature war was equally disastrous. In addition, if Harpalus was arrested, this was not an appropriate sign to other states interested in revolt; Athens would be seen to be obeying Alexander. Harpalus' arrival was, therefore, inconvenient for Athens. Indeed, following Harpalus' admittance, Alexander probably did consider a campaign²⁹ and it is probable that, at the time of this episode in Susa, news of Harpalus' escape and arrest had not reached him. Whatever the connection between the events, it is clear that, at this time, there was friction between Athens and Alexander; the cause was the Exiles' Decree³⁰.

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1. Curtius would have given a fuller version than Diodorus, who seems to be using the same source at this point - see Ashton (1983 p. 48 n. 9), who suggests Cleitarchus; Hammond (1983a p. 157) suggests Diyllus (*F.Gr.H.* 73; for this writer see Hammond 1983a pp. 32ff.).
 2. Curtius wrongly places this after the Harpalus affair: see 2.4.1n.
 3. For Harpalus see 17.108.4ff. & 18.19.2; for the decree see 17.109.1 & 18.8.1ff.
 4. For Harpalus see 13.5.9; for the decree see 13.5.1ff.
 5. See Phot. *Bibl.* 91.68b.
 6. *An.* 7.12.7. The lacuna is equivalent to some two pages of Loeb text: see Brunt 1983 p. 506.
 7. *Dem.* 25.1ff., *Phoc.* 21.3ff. & *Moralia* 846aff.
 8. 12.538b, 13. 586bff. & 594dff.
 9. 1.37.5 & 2.33.3ff.
 10. See §1 intro.
 11. See 2.2.4n. for further details on his flight.
 12. See 2.4.1n.
 13. See Din. *Dem.* 82.
 14. This is possibly a round number.
 15. See D.S. 18.8.5.
 16. For the reasons see 2.6.1n.
 17. See Tarn 1948 I pp. 112ff., Wilcken 1967 pp. 214f., Milns 1968 pp. 241f., Badian 1961 pp. 28f., Hamilton 1973 pp. 137f. & Bosworth 1988a pp. 220ff.: *contra* Lane Fox 1973 pp. 414f., Hammond 1981a pp. 252f., *HW* 1988 pp. 80f. & 1989a pp. 233f.
 18. See §1 intro., Tarn 1948 I pp. 111f., Badian 1961 pp. 28f. & Hamilton 1973 pp. 137f.: *contra* Lane Fox 1973 pp. 414ff.
 19. See D.S. 18.8.2, Bosworth 1988a pp. 222f. & Tarn 1948 I pp. 111f.: *contra* Lane Fox 1973 pp. 541f. & Hammond *HW* 1988 pp. 80f.
 20. Lane Fox 1973 pp. 415f.
 21. See 2.4.1n.
 22. D.S. 18.8.4.
 23. See Bosworth 1988a pp. 222f.
 24. See Tarn 1948 I p. 114 & II pp. 370ff.
 25. See Hamilton 1973 pp. 138ff., Hammond 1981a p. 253, *HW* 1988 pp. 82f., 1989a pp. 234ff., Fredricksmeier 1979 pp. 5ff. & Brunt 1965 pp. 210f.; see also Edmunds, 1971 p. 381, & Bosworth, 1988a pp. 288ff., who do not rule out such a request.
 26. On this matter see Hogarth 1887 pp. 322ff., Badian 1981 pp. 54ff., Balsdon 1950 pp. 383ff., Robinson 1956/7 pp. 341ff. & 1943 pp. 297ff.; see also Hamilton 1953 pp. 151ff. for a possible reply from Alexander & 5.11.2n. for views on Alexander and divinity.
 27. See Ashton 1983 pp. 50ff.
 28. Bosworth 1988a pp. 215f.
 29. As well as Curtius, see Ath. 12.538b. & Just. 13.5.7, both cited at 2.2.1n.
 30. For discussions on the whole affair see Ashton 1983 pp. 47ff., Bosworth 1988a pp. 215ff., Badian 1961 pp. 16ff., Lane Fox 1973 pp. 414ff., Hammond *HW* 1988 pp. 80ff., 1989a pp. 233ff. & Hamilton 1973 pp. 137ff.

2.1.2. XXX navibus - It is not possible to ratify this number from any of the other sources.

2.1.4. Sunium transmittunt - promuntorium est Atticae terrae - Cf. Liv. 32.17.3 "Sunium, Atticae terrae promunturium".

2.2.1. His cognitis rex Harpalo Atheniensibusque iuxta infestus classem parari iubet - Curtius makes it clear that, at this point in time, Alexander was seriously considering an expedition against Athens. Justin supports Curtius' statement when later referring to the events leading to the Lamian War; unlike Curtius he correctly places it after the announcement of the Exiles' Decree at Olympia (see 13.5.7 "Quod cum nuntiatum Alexandro esset, mille naves longas sociis imperari praeceperat, quibus in Occidente bellum gereret, excursurusque cum valida manu fuerat ad Athenas delendas"); Athenaeus, claiming to quote from Ehippus of Olynthus (*F.Gr.H.* 126 & see Pearson 1960 pp. 61ff.), also supports Curtius when he gives the words of Gorgus at Ecbatana in Autumn 324 B.C. (see 12.538b *Γόργος ὁ ὀπλοφύλαξ Ἀλέξανδρον Ἄμμωνος υἱὸν στεφανοῦ χρυσοῖς τρισχιλίοις, καὶ ὅταν Ἀθήνας πολιορκῆ, μυρίαίς πανοπλῆαις καὶ τοῖς ἴσοις καταπέλταις καὶ πᾶσι τοῖς ἄλλοις βέλεσιν εἰς τὸν πόλεμον ἰκανοῖς*); see further Ashton 1983 pp. 54ff.

2.2.4. Harpalo - (Berve 143) This son of Machatas (*Arr. An.* 3.6.4), from the princely house of Elimiotis in Macedonia, was probably the brother of Tauron and Philip, the satrap killed in India. He was a boyhood friend of Alexander and had been sent into exile over the Pixodarus affair (see 1.10.4bn. for references). During the eastern campaign, owing to a physical disability, he was appointed as treasurer (see *Arr. An.* 3.6.4ff.). However, before the Battle of Issus, he fled, for some unknown reason, with a certain Tauriscus and spent a time in the Megarid before returning to his post pardoned (on this matter see *Arr. An.* 3.6.7f., *Plu. Alex.* 41.8 & Hamilton *ad loc.*, Badian, 1960b pp. 245f., who regards Harpalus as innocent, but afraid, Heckel, 1977b pp. 133ff., who accepts his guilt, as does Worthington, 1984 pp. 161ff., but gives different reasons, Bosworth, 1980b p. 284, who sees the treasurer as having lost faith in Alexander's future chances, and Green, 1970 p. 121, and Lane Fox, 1973 p. 411, who suggest that it was a spying mission. Harpalus was probably at Ecbatana during Parmenion's murder in 330 B.C. and may have taken part in the crime with Cleander, his fellow Elimiotian (see §1 intro.). The reasons why he did not want to meet Alexander, who may have seen him as a threat, on his return from India are clearly documented: while the king was absent, his treasurer had lived rather extravagantly in Babylon, first with one Athenian courtesan, Pythonice, to whom he set up a temple on her death, and then with another, Glycera (see *Ath.* 13.595aff. & *D.S.* 17.108.4ff.). His desire to flee may have intensified after the deaths of Cleander and his brother, Coenus.

Following Alexander's arrival back from India, Harpalus fled and took with him five thousand talents of silver and six thousand men (*D.S.* 17.108.6). He moved west and installed Glycera in the palace at Tarsus (*Ath.* 13.586c, quoting Theopompus, *F.Gr.H.* 115); in the spring of 324 B.C. he set sail with thirty ships to the Greek mainland and Athens; he had earlier been awarded the citizenship of this city (see *Ath.* 13.586d & 596af.). At first, he

was not admitted (for reasons see §7 intro.), but, after leaving his force at Taenarum, he sailed back to Athens as a suppliant and gained admittance; however, shortly afterwards, following requests from Olympias, Antipater (D.S. 17.108.7) and Philoxenus, the satrap of Caria (see Paus. 2.33.4 & Hyp. *Dem.* 8), he was arrested. Although he managed to escape and make his way to Crete, he was murdered either by one of his friends, Thibron (see D.S. 17.108.8, 18.19.2, & Str. *Chr.* 17.3.21), or a Macedonian, called Pausanias (see Paus. 2.33.4).

2.2.6. *iuxta infestus* - The construction, in which *iuxta* qualifies an adjective, or a participle, is rare, but classical. It is characteristic of Livy: see e.g. 6.6.18 "parere atque imperare iuxta paratos", 24.5.13 "traditur ad supplicium adiectique poenae ceteri iuxta insontes" & *TLL* VII₂ p. 749.49ff.

2.3.3. *clam agitanti* - This reading of Δ is followed by most modern editors, whereas P has *clam agitant* and ω *cum clam agitat*. The *clam* seems to be correct, but there is more difficulty with the rest. The reading of ω, although somewhat awkward compared to that of Δ, does make sense. However, the reading of P, although obviously wrong, does show that the archetype would not originally have had *cum*; it is easy to see how *agitanti* could have become *agitant*. It would seem, therefore, that the *cum* of ω is an attempt to mend the syntax after the loss of the suffix in *agitanti*.

2.3.11. *pecunia conciliasse sibi principum animos* - For the same idea of bribery see e.g. Just. 13.5.9, D.S. 17.108.7, Plu. *Dem.* 25.1ff., *Phoc.* 21.3ff., *Moralia* 846aff., Paus. 1.37.5 & 2.33.3ff. After it was found that half the money which Harpalus had brought to Athens had disappeared (see Plu. *Moralia* 846b), charges were aimed at leading politicians. Following a six month enquiry by the Areopagus (Plu. *Dem.* 26.1), the names of Demosthenes, Demades, Philocles, Cephisophon, Hagnonides, Charicles and Aristogiton were put forward for trial. Of these, Demades, Demosthenes and possibly Philocles were found guilty (see Badian 1961 pp. 32ff. & Bosworth 1988a pp. 217ff.). Demosthenes, unable to pay the fine (as it seems Demades was), escaped into exile (Plu. *Dem.* 26.2ff. & *Moralia* 846c).

2.3.17. *concilio plebis habito* - It seems that, following requests from Olympias, Antipater and Philoxenus (for references see 2.2.4n.) for Harpalus to be handed over, Demosthenes, rather than releasing him into their hands, had a motion carried in the Assembly that he should be arrested and his money put on the Acropolis (Plu. *Moralia* 846b). In saying that Harpalus was ordered to leave Athens, Curtius seems to be following the same version of events as given by Plutarch in his *Life of Demosthenes* (see 25.7, where the verb used is *ἀπέπεμψαν*). In other writers the impression given is that he escaped from custody (Diodorus uses *διέδρα* at 17.108.7 and Plutarch *φυγόντος* at *Moralia* 846b); this may have been due to a relaxation of his guard (Hyp. *Dem.* 12). Bosworth (1988a p. 217) suggests that Harpalus'

escape may have been proposed to Demosthenes by Nicanor when the two met at Olympia and represented Alexander's view on how the delicate situation should best be handled.

2.3.27. *quibus interceptum trucidatum a quodam Thibrone* - At this point, Ω has the corrupt "*quibus interceptum trucidatum a quodam auctore interemptum*". The main trouble lies with the *trucidatum* and *interceptum* and also the fact that *interemptum* follows shortly afterwards. Obviously either *trucidatum*, or *interemptum*, must be spurious; it is possible that *interceptum* and *interemptum* may come from the same original word and that *trucidatum* may be a gloss for *interemptum*, or vice versa. A further complication is that some mention of Crete (Zumpt, Hedicke, Rolfe & Müller), where Harpalus was murdered, and Thibron (Cellar, Foss, Vogel, Dosson, Cocchia & Zumpt, who incorrectly writes *Thimbrone*), who carried out the deed (see 2.2.4n.), may be desirable; however, neither of these are essential as Taenarum, where the mercenaries were, is not mentioned. Most editors seem correctly to delete *interemptum* (see, however, Bardon, Giacone, Zumpt & Müller); the change of *auctore*, either to *viatore* (see the older editions), or *convictore* (see Bothe & Stangl), is not an improvement. If *auctore* is kept, then, as *quodam auctore* is too vague, the change from *a* to *amico* (Hedicke), although weak, seems justified. As the ablative of agent without *a* before it is not impossible here (see e.g. VIII.14.15 & K-S I p. 380), there is no need for the addition of *a*; this also applies to the *quibus interceptum* of Ω (see, however, the older editions & Foss). The use of *traiectis* instead of *trucidatum* (see Zumpt & Müller) is somewhat awkward as *traiciendi* appears a few words later. The best solution to the problem is to assume that the name of the murderer was lost from the manuscripts and someone merely added *auctore* in the text, or as a marginal note; the latter eventually crept into the text. Since Thibron carried out the deed, Vogel's suggestion of "*quibus interceptum trucidatum a quodam Thibrone*" is to be preferred.

2.4.1. *His laetus...sed exules...qui civili sanguine aspersi erant* - For the decree see also Diodorus (17.109.1 & 18.8.1ff.) and Justin (13.5.1ff.). It was probably first announced at Susa in early Spring 324 B.C. (see SIG³ 312.2f. *καὶ ἀναγγελλαντος Ἀλεξάνδρου ἐν τῶ[ι] στρατοπέδῳ, ὅτι Σάμον ἀποδίδοι Σαμίους*) and then to the assembled masses at the Olympic Games in July/August 324 B.C. by Nicanor. Curtius wrongly places it after the Harpalus affair. Diodorus (17.109.1), who also mentions it following this, does, however, make it clear that it is the announcement at Olympia that he is referring to. Curtius' mistake seems to lie in supposing a chronological and causal link between the two events (see Ashton 1983 pp. 54f.). This order was a violation of the rights of the members of the League of Corinth; the internal politics of states were not to be meddled in (for references see §7 intro. n. 17). The other sources agree with Curtius' exclusion of murderers from return (see Just. 13.5.2, where only murderers are excluded, D.S. 18.8.4, where those under a curse due to bloodshed are excluded, & D.S. 17.109.1, where, in addition, those who had committed sacrilege are excluded; Diodorus is probably using different sources for the two sections - see Hornblower

1981 p. 60 & Hammond 1983a p. 180 n. 41). Roman readers may have been reminded of Caligula's recall of exiles at the start of his reign (see Suet. *Cal.* 15.4) and of Claudius' recall of those unjustly exiled by Caligula (see D.C. 60.4.1).

2.6.1. Soli Athenienses - The Aetolians are also mentioned by Justin (13.5.1ff.) and Diodorus (18.8.6f.), who are probably using different sources; Justin's version tries to minimise the extent of catastrophe that afflicted the Greeks (see Hammond *HW* 1988 p. 96 & Hornblower 1981 p. 66). As well as objecting to the return of their own exiles, both states also had more specific concerns. Athens had first allotted land to settlers in Samos in 365 B.C. and was unwilling to give up the island to returning Samian exiles (see D.S. 18.8.7). The Aetolians had expelled the inhabitants of the Achaean town of Oeniadae and occupied it against the conditions of the League of Corinth (see D.S. 18.8.6 & Bosworth 1988a pp. 189ff.); Alexander is said to have wanted to punish them for this act personally (see Plu. *Alex.* 49.8 & Hamilton *ad loc.*). Although it is possible that Curtius only mentioned the Athenians as it was they who are recorded as taking the initiative in the events leading up to the Lamian War (this is the impression given at D.S. 18.9.1ff. & Just. 13.5.7ff.), it would seem more likely that Curtius, or his source, may have intentionally omitted any mention of the Aetolians in order to increase the prestige of the Athenians. If, as Hammond has suggested, Diyllus of Athens was the source for this section of Curtius (see §7 intro. n. 1), the latter option seems more plausible. However, although the version of the announcement of the decree given by Diodorus in Book Seventeen (109.1) contains no mention of objections, the brief reference to the Lamian War (17.111.1ff.), which is expressive of the Greek point of view and probably based on Diyllus (see Hammond 1983a p. 72), notes that the Athenians contacted the Aetolians, who were also hostile to Alexander. The conclusion from this would seem to be that Curtius himself omitted any mention of the Aetolians.

2.6.4. sui - The *suo* of Ω does not make grammatical sense and was probably attracted into the ablative by *modo*. Jeep's suggestion of *sui* is widely followed and Modius' *suae* is accepted by older editors and Müller. The solution depends on the emendation of *publice* (see 2.6.8n.).

2.6.8. publici vindices - This reading, suggested by Vogel, where Ω has the obviously corrupt *publice vindices*, is grammatically feasible (for *vindex* used without the genitive see e.g. Ov. *Fast.* 3.551 & Liv. 3.66.5; for *publicus* used in this way see e.g. X.7.10, X.9.7, X.10.9, Caes. *Gal.* 1.12.7, Cic. *Mur.* 76, Porcius Latro *ap. Sen. Con.* 1.5.1, V. Max. 2.1.9 & Sen. *Dial.* 11.14.1). Hedicke's suggestion of *Graeciae vindices* seems too speculative and Modius' *publicae vindices libertatis*, used at VIII.5.20, although feasible (for *vindex* and the genitive see e.g. Cic. *Leg.* 3.39, Liv. 3.56.6 & 35.45.7), depends on the addition of the unsupported *libertatis*. The clausula of Vogel's suggestion is also much superior to that of Modius: the highly favoured Type 2, as opposed to Type 5 (see Appendix C).

2.6.10. *colluvionem* - For similar uses of this word see e.g. Liv. 4.2.5 "*conluvionem gentium*", 26.40.17 "*mixti ex omni conluvione exsules obaerati, capitalia ausi plerique*", Cic. *Sest.* 15 "*ille nefarius ex omnium scelerum colluvione natus*", Just. 5.6.6 "*Eaque conluvione hominū...conscripto exercitu*" & Suet. *Aug.* 40.3 "*ab omni colluvione peregrini ac servilis sanguinis incorruptum*"; Sallust conveys the same idea at *Cat.* 37.5 "*ii Romam sicut in sentinam confluerant*" & see M^CGushin *ad loc.*

2.6.11. *ordinum* - Zumpt's suggestion, also found in C, is preferable to the ungrammatical *ordinem* of Ω ; Cornelissen's (1876 pp. 71f.) *extra ordinem hominum* takes no account of the following *quia*.

2.6.12. *hominumque* - Jeep's suggestion for the corrupt *hominum quia* of BFPV and *hominem quia* of F seems correct.

2.6.15. *non regio imperio, sed legibus moribusque patriis regi adsueti* - An obvious reference by Curtius to the violation of the terms of the League of Corinth (see §7 intro.).

2.7.9. *purgamenta* - For similar uses of *purgamenta* in reference to scum see VI.11.2 "*purgamenta servorum Philotae reciperentur eo*", VIII.5.8. "*cetera urbium suarum purgamenta*", Petr. 74.9 "*Fortunata...male dicere Trimalchioni coepit et purgamentum dedecusque praedicare*" & *Vulg.* 1 *Cor.* 4.13 "*tamquam purgamenta huius mundi facti sumus*".

Section Eight

The Freeing of Debts: X.2.8 - X.2.11

All the sources place the freeing of the army's debts at Susa, but vary in the context, amount of money expended and the beneficiaries. Curtius¹ and Justin² present it as a prelude to the discharge of soldiers; that resulted in a mutiny³. Diodorus⁴ records that the soldiers were discharged first and freed of debts when Alexander learnt about the situation. Plutarch⁵ places the episode at the Susa marriage banquet⁶; the only beneficiaries were those present. Arrian⁷ recounts how, following the marriages at Susa, Alexander decided to discharge the debts of his soldiers; this action is unconnected with a discharge of men, or a mutiny, which he places later at Opis⁸. As in Curtius' account, the soldiers believed that they were being tested; at first only a few registered their names, but, following the setting up of tables, they cleared their debts⁹. The various amounts of money expended and to whom it was given is shown in fig. 4.

	Curtius	Diodorus	Justin	Plutarch	Arrian
A m o u n t	9,870 talents [X.2.10f.]	Almost 10,000 talents [17.109.2]	20,000 talents [12.11.3]	9,870 talents [Alex. 70.3]	20,000 talents [An. 7.5.3]
R e c i p i e n t s	All troops [X.2.9]	Older soldiers released from service [17.109.2]	All troops [12.11.1]	Those at the Susa wedding feast [Alex. 70.3]	All troops [An. 7.5.1]

Fig. 4. The freeing of debts: the amount of money expended and the recipients

Although there is little doubt that Alexander could have afforded to pay out either of the sums referred to¹⁰, the question arises as to how the soldiers came to be in such debt. It is difficult to calculate what a Macedonian soldier would have received in pay¹¹, but, at the end of the fifth century B.C., the rate for a free-born worker, which at that time seems to have been matched by a soldier's pay¹², was about a drachma a day; in the fourth century B.C., a civilian's wage rose to an average of two drachmas a day¹³. Therefore, if the debt

amounted to ten thousand talents, each man owed what it would take a civilian at least four years to earn; if the higher figure is accepted, that rises to eight years¹⁴. As basic provisions and probably weapons¹⁵ were provided, this seems a very large amount.

The debt could have been amassed in a number of ways. Traders followed the army¹⁶, perhaps selling extra food, clothing and other such items. Slaves and prostitutes may also have been available. There would inevitably have been gambling and probably money-lenders¹⁷. As many men were now married and had children, they would have had an additional burden. Although extravagance may have been a contributory factor to the problem and Curtius portrays Alexander, in his speech at the subsequent mutiny, as attacking his men for spending their money on concubines, eating their spoils, pawning their weapons and not being able to take any prizes home¹⁸, this was not the only side to the matter. In another speech¹⁹, given by Coenus at the Hyphasis, the picture is one of a demoralised army with blunt weapons, wearing old armour and Persian clothes because none of their own were left, with no slaves and virtually no booty²⁰. The reason he gives for this situation is not extravagance, but war. Obviously, both speeches suit the rhetorical context, but there is a little truth in both. If the booty which men gained²¹ had been used extravagantly, there was probably little left after the crossing of the Gedrosian Desert²². Perhaps loans were taken up before the disaster and, following it, the men had insufficient funds to pay them off.

Alexander's action needs explanation: he may have intended to increase morale, which was probably low by this stage, and to alleviate tensions among the men themselves. Unfortunately, if he had done this to prevent a revolt, as had taken place in India at the Hyphasis²³, his plan failed²⁴.

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1. Hammond (1983a p. 158) suggests Diyllus as a source; it could, however, be Cleitarchus. Bosworth (1988a p. 158 n. 414) sees Curtius' account as a flashback from a mutiny at Opis, but this seems to stretch the text too far; there seems no doubt that the writer regards this episode and the mutiny as occurring together at Susa.
 2. 12.11.1ff.: Hammond (1983a pp. 106f.) thinks that a different source from Curtius is being used and suggests Cleitarchus. However, since this episode and the following mutiny have the events placed in the same order, Bosworth's (1988b p. 101) objections to this view seem valid.
 3. On this see §9 intro.
 4. 17.109.1f.: Hammond (1983a pp. 72f.) rightly suggests the same source as for Curtius.
 5. *Alex.* 70.3ff. & see Hamilton *ad loc.*; he includes a colourful little anecdote concerning Antigenes: see also Plu. *Moralia* 339cf., where the same story is connected with Tarras and Antigenes is mentioned as trying to get home among the sick. Tarn's (1948 II p. 314 n. 1) suggestion that Plutarch incorrectly wrote Antigenes, instead of Antigonus, seems incorrect (see Hamilton 1969 p. 196).
 6. See 3.12.16n. for references.
 7. *An.* 7.5.1ff.
 8. On this see §9 intro.
 9. For more on this account see 2.10.1n.
 10. According to the "Vulgate" tradition, by 329 B.C. some 180,000 talents were in the treasury at Ecbatana: see D.S. 17.80.3, Str. *Chr.* 15.3.9, Just. 12.1.3, who gives the figure as 190,000, & Bosworth 1980b p. 330.
 11. The only direct evidence for the payrates in Alexander's army is *Arr. An.* 7.23.3 *κατέλεγεν αὐτοὺς ἐς τὰς Μακεδονικὰς τάξεις, δεκαδάρχη μὲν τῆς δεκάδος ἡγεῖσθαι Μακεδὼνα καὶ ἐπὶ τούτῳ διμοιρίτην Μακεδὼνα καὶ δεκαστάτηρον, οὕτως ὀνομαζόμενον ἀπὸ τῆς μισθοφορᾶς, ἦντινα μέλινα μὲν τοῦ διμοιρίτου, πλείονα δὲ τῶν οὐκ ἐν τιμῇ στρατευομένων ἔφερον*, however, it is difficult to work out what the figures may mean (see

- Milns 1987 pp. 233ff.).
12. For payrates in Athens see Pritchett 1971 pp. 14ff.
 13. See Toutain 1930 p. 59.
 14. The figure is based on the whole army with Alexander receiving aid (for the numbers in it at this time see 2.8.7n.).
 15. On these points see 1.15.4n.
 16. See 1.15.4n.
 17. A possible example is found in Plutarch (*Eum.* 2.4f.), where it is noted that Alexander, prior to the voyage of Nearchus, asked for money from his friends; Eumenes was asked for three hundred talents, but only gave a hundred, saying that this had been collected with difficulty by his stewards. Alexander then had his tent burned and in it was found melted gold and silver worth more than one thousand talents.
 18. X.2.26f.
 19. IX.3.10ff., cited at 2.26.28n.
 20. Diodorus (17.94.2) gives a similar picture.
 21. See e.g. III.11.20 after Issus.
 22. See the accounts of Arrian (*An.* 6.24.4ff.) and Curtius (IX.10.11ff.); in 330 B.C. any spoils were also burnt (see VI.6.14f.).
 23. For references to this see §1 intro. n. 22.
 24. See §9 intro.

2.8.2. *senioribus militum* - Diodorus and Justin also note that Alexander was planning to send home the older soldiers: see respectively 17.109.1 *Αὐτὸς δ ἐπιλέξας τοὺς πρεσβυτάτους τῶν πολιτῶν ἀπέλυσε τῆς στρατείας* & 12.11.4 "Dimissis veteranis exercitum iunioribus supplet". In Plutarch it is the weak and maimed that are discharged (see *Alex.* 71.2 *διὸ καὶ τοὺς ἀσθενεῖς καὶ πεπηρωμένους αὐτοῦ καταπέμποντος ἐπὶ θάλατταν*) and Arrian includes both these groupings (see *An.* 7.8.1 *προεῖπεν ὅτι τοὺς ὑπὸ γήρωσ ἢ πηρώσεως τοῦ σώματος ἀχρεῖους ἐς τὰ πολέμια ὄντας παραλύει μὲν τῆς στρατιᾶς*). On this whole affair see §9 intro.

2.8.7. *XIII milia peditum et II milia equitum* - Curtius (X.2.19) presents Alexander, in his subsequent speech to the mutinous army, as saying "cum plures dimiserim, quam retentaturus sum". However, at that stage ten thousand infantry veterans (see Arr. *An.* 7.12.1ff., D.S. 17.109.1, 18.16.4, Just. 12.12.7ff., who gives the figure as eleven thousand, but he may be including the cavalry) and one thousand five hundred cavalry (see D.S. 18.16.4, Brunt 1963 p. 38 & Hammond 1981a p. 245) were discharged. This discrepancy needs to be explained. After the discharge Alexander would probably have had no more than seven, or eight, thousand Macedonian infantry left (see Bosworth 1986 pp. 3f., 1988a p. 267; see also Milns 1976 p. 112, who suggests three thousand; Hammond 1989b pp. 62ff. accepts the figure mentioned here without reference to X.2.19). This low figure supports what Curtius makes Alexander say at X.2.19. From the context at this point, however, it is clear that the figure must refer to Macedonians and not mercenaries, or Asians (Hammond 1989b p. 68 n. 62; *contra* Bosworth 1986 p. 4 n. 22). It is hard to believe that so many Macedonians could have survived that far, since the sources record the arrival of twenty-six thousand Macedonian troops up until 331 B.C., but none after that (see Brunt 1983 pp. 489f. & Bosworth 1986 pp. 3f.); Bosworth (1986 pp. 8f.) suggests that the total number may have been more like thirty to forty thousand. Brunt (1963 pp. 38f.) rightly suggests, that if accurate, Curtius' numbers "must relate either to the total

Macedonian forces which he intended to have in his future army, or (assuming that Curtius has misunderstood his authority) to the number of the reinforcements demanded by Alexander in 324-3 B.C.; in fact the number of Macedonians still with the Grand Army after Alexander's death requires us to accept the second alternative" and then goes to illustrate this; this number could refer to those to be brought by Antipater (see 7.9.7n.). Milns (1976 p. 112), unfortunately, uses Curtius' figure to support his argument for there only being three thousand men left after the discharge of veterans; he does not seem to realise that the figures given by Curtius are those following, and not prior to, the discharge.

2.8.26. *quia pluribus locis...cupientibus* - Alexander, starting with Alexandria in Egypt (see e.g. IV.8.2 & Arr. *An.* 3.1.5), had founded many colonies and military posts on his eastern expedition (see e.g. VII.6.13 & VII.7.1 & IX.3.23). Plutarch (*Moralia* 328e) claims that there were more than seventy πόλεις (cities, or towns) founded to civilise the natives. Of these claims, the former must refer to original military settlements as well as cities, but it does illustrate Alexander's reputation as a founder of cities; the latter is very doubtful - contrast the same claims for the civilising and Hellenizing achievements of Augustus' reign made by Philo (*Leg. ad Gai.* 147). Alexander's policy seems to have been to install his people, often mercenaries, or veterans, with a population of locals, who subsequently became little more than serfs. Alexander, despite Curtius' statement, could not have felt totally at ease about the long-term future of many of these outposts. In 325 B.C., when rumours spread of Alexander's death in India, three thousand settlers revolted in Bactria and headed for home (see IX.7.1ff. & D.S. 17.99.5f.; on the difference in these two accounts and Diodorus' connection of these men with those at 18.7.1ff. see Badian 1961 p. 27 n. 76. & Hornblower 1981 p. 33 n. 51) and, following his death, Greek settlers in the upper satrapies, raised a force of twenty thousand infantry and three thousand cavalry, revolted and set off on the long march west. However, they were massacred by a force sent against them by Perdiccas (D.S. 18.7.1ff.). For a list of foundations mentioned in the sources see Berve 1926 I pp. 291ff.; for discussions on them see Tarn 1948 II pp. 232ff. & Bosworth 1988a pp. 245ff.

2.8.36. *res renovare cupientibus* - At this point, Ω has *res renovare cupientibus*. Most editors (Bardon is an exception) doubt this reading and offer various suggestions instead. Froben suggests *res novare* (for it referring to rebellion see IV.1.30, VII.6.14, IX.10.21, X.8.1 & X.9.7) and this has been followed ever since (Hedicke, however, prefers *res retinere*); however, this emendation requires a change to *cupientibus* as the meaning becomes the opposite to that required. Various negatives have been suggested such as *nec* before *res* (see Vogel, Dosson, Cocchia & Baraldi) and *non* (Stangl), *haud* (Giacone), or *vix* (Watt 1983 p. 85) before *cupientibus*; Menge's *cunctantibus* for *cupientibus* is also along the same line of thought. Some editors believe that the text was altered by haplography and suggest *cupientes coercentibus* (see Sauppe, followed by Müller) and others think that something, such as *obstare*, dropped out (Aldus and G, where it is placed after *cupientibus*, and Zumpt and Foss, following Δ , who

add *obstare credebat*). All these emendations, however, are unnecessary, as there is nothing wrong with *res renovare*, which in this case would refer to the colonists wanting to start a new life; for *renovare* used in similar contexts see Cic. *Agr.* 2.34 "colonias deducere novas, renovare veteres, totam Italiam suis colonis ut complere liceat permittitur & *Sest.* 147 "potestis...me reficere et renovare rem publicam".

2.9.3. *excerneret* - This is the reading of P^{FC}, whereas L¹ has *seexcerneret* and BF¹L^cV *secerneret*. The reading of P is preferred by the more recent editors (see e.g. Dosson, Stangl, Hedicke, Bardon, Müller, Baraldi & Giacone), no doubt due to the fact that the manuscript tradition has been better defined. Both words seem reasonable here, as they suit Curtius' period, genre and the immediate context (for this use of *excernere* in the sense of *discernere* see *TLL* V₂ p. 1227.12ff.; for *secernere* see e.g. *Ov. Fast.* 3.127); they both have the same metrical value. Curtius uses *secernere* two other times (see VI.2.9 & VII.2.35) and *excernere* nowhere else in the remains of the work, so there is not much to choose between them. However, the reading of P is preferable, as it often has greater integrity.

2.9.9. *omnes milites* - For the recipients of the money in other sources see fig. 4 at §8 intro.

2.9.11. *aes alienum profiterentur* - There may have needed to have been a registration of names: see *Arr. An.* 7.5.1 *καὶ κελεύει ἀπογράφεσθαι ὅπισθον ὀφείλει ἕκαστος, ὡς ληψομένων.*

2.9.20. *ipsorum luxu contractum erat* - For possible reasons for the debt see §8 intro.

2.10.1. *Illi temptari ipsos rati* - Only Arrian (*An.* 7.5.1ff.) goes into the same detail as Curtius on the reaction of the men to the offer to free their debts. As in Curtius, there is, at first, a suspicion that they are being tested, but, instead of merely putting out tables, Alexander is presented as reproving the men before this action. In addition, Arrian mentions that a bond had to be given to those appointed to issue the money, but that, on the second occasion, no record was kept of the names of those involved.

2.10.18. *gnarus* - BFPV have *ignarus*, which is the opposite to what is demanded by the context. The reading of L is, therefore, to be preferred.

2.10.21. *pudorem...contumaciam* - For the opposition of these two words see Cic. *Prov.* 8 "nihil de superbia, nihil de contumacia, nihil de crudelitate disputo. lateant libidines eius illae tenebricosae, quas fronte et supercilio, non pudore et temperantia contegebat" & Liv. 2.58.7 "Segniter, otiose, negligenter, contumaciter omnia agere; nec pudor nec metus coercebat". For a similar shame over debts see e.g. Tac. *Ann.* 1.75.4 "unde ceteri silentium et paupertatem confessioni et beneficio praeponere". There is the same idea of shame in the episode at Arr.

An. 7.5.3 καὶ οὕτω δὴ ἐπίστευσάν τε ἀληθεύειν Ἀλέξανδρον καὶ σὺν χάριτι μείζονι ἐγίγνετο αὐτοῖς τὸ μὴ γνωσθῆναι μᾶλλον τι ἢ τὸ παύσασθαι ὀφείλοντας.

2.10.31. X milia talentum - Alexander resembles the Roman emperors who were often willing to help their people, both civilians and military personnel, financially; for gifts to the army see Veyne 1990 pp. 334ff., for gifts to the people Veyne 1990 pp. 390ff. and for both in the early empire Yavetz 1969 pp. 103ff.

2.11.3. <cum> fide - Jeep's suggestion for the *fide* of Ω is accepted by modern editors. The *cum* separates *fide* and *facta* and makes the structure of the sentence more clear.

2.11.14. C et XXX talenta superfuere - For the different amounts given by the sources see fig. 4 at §8 intro.

2.11.26. plus tamen victoriae quam praedae deportavit - A neat way to sum up this surprising situation. Curtius portrays Alexander at the subsequent mutiny referring to the same situation: see X.2.26 "reverti velle ad liberos coniugesque, quibus pauci praemia victoriae potestis ostendere".

Section Nine

The Mutiny: X.2.12 - X.4.3

Curtius¹ supplies a very simple reason for the mutiny, which he places at Susa: Alexander wanted to send his older soldiers home, but when the men found out they thought that the king was going to base himself permanently in Asia; they disliked this idea and all² began to demand discharge. Other writers list more complex causes for the mutiny. Diodorus³ records the arrival at Susa of thirty thousand young Persians (Epigoni), who had been ordered by Alexander some years previously⁴, and mentions that the Macedonians were being unruly and ridiculing Alexander's pretence that Ammon was his father⁵. After then giving details of the Harpalus affair and the Exiles' Decree⁶ and briefly commenting on the freeing of debts⁷ to ten thousand older soldiers, who were then released from service, Diodorus⁸ says that those remaining became insubordinate and interrupted the king at an assembly. Justin⁹ tells how Alexander assembled the army, promised to pay all the debts and then discharged some veterans; however, those left also demanded discharge and began to reproach the king, telling him to carry on the wars with Ammon's help¹⁰. Plutarch¹¹, following the discharge of debts, announces the arrival of thirty thousand Persian youths; at this, the Macedonians were displeased, as they thought that they were now less important. Therefore, when the king sent the weak and maimed home, those left complained at this slight to those sent away and demanded that they should be discharged.

Arrian¹², although listing the grievances of the Macedonians in Susa, places the discharge and mutiny at Opis, several months later¹³. After the decoration of various officers with crowns at Susa and the arrival of the thirty thousand young Persians, Arrian records that the Macedonians were upset, as they saw themselves as becoming less necessary to Alexander. In addition, they disliked Alexander's Median dress, the marriages, Peucestas' adoption of Persian ways¹⁴, the inclusion of barbarians into the companion cavalry, the addition of a fifth mixed hipparchy and the enrolment in the *agema* of certain Persian nobles¹⁵. Alexander then proceeded towards the mouth of the Tigris and, when he came to Opis¹⁶, he summoned the men and announced that he was sending home the old and maimed; those remaining would be amply rewarded¹⁷. However, the Macedonians now felt they were the object of contempt. Arrian then lists the mens' grievances again, saying how they disliked his Persian dress, the introduction of foreign horsemen in the ranks of the companions and the arrival of the Epigoni, equipped as Macedonians. As a result, the troops called for discharge and for Alexander to campaign with Ammon. Although this repetition of grievances has been seen as a major fault in Arrian¹⁸, it is more likely that at Susa Arrian was showing the resentment that existed; this was brought to a head at Opis¹⁹.

It is clear that the Macedonians had many reasons to be discontented and, by mutinying, they may have felt that they could force Alexander to do as they wanted, as had happened at the Hyphasis²⁰. However, the sources show that Alexander called their bluff.

Unfortunately, there are two lacunae in Curtius account²¹ and, as the other sources differ in their accounts, the clearest idea of what happened can be seen with the use of fig. 5.

Curtius	Diodorus	Justin	Plutarch (<i>Alex.</i>)	Arrian (<i>An.</i>)
		1. Macedonians harangue A. [12.11.5f.]		
[X.2.12f.]	[17.109.2]		[71.2f.]	[7.8.3]
3. A.'s speech to the Macedonians. [X.2.15ff.]		3. A. upbraids the Macedonians. [12.11.7]		2a. A. leaps down & orders arrest of 13 Macedonians. [7.8.3]
	[17.109.2]		[71.4]	3. A.'s speech to the Macedonians. [7.9.1ff.]
2b. A. leaps down, seizes & hands over 13 men. [X.2.30]	2b. A. leaps down, seizes & hands over men. [17.109.2]	2b. A. leaps down & leads 13 to punishment. [12.11.8]		4. A. goes into palace. [7.11.1]
5a. Macedonians are submissive. [X.3.1ff.]	5b. Macedonians are more hostile. [17.109.3]	5a. Macedonians are smitten with fear. [12.11.9]		5a. Macedonians are stunned. [7.11.2]
6. Macedonians are not admitted by A. on the following day & are upset. [X.3.5]				
7. A.'s speech to Persians on following day. [X.3.6ff.]	7. A. appoints leading Persians. [17.109.3]	7. A. addresses Persians & enrols 1000 in bodyguard. [12.12.1ff.]	7. A. commits watches to Persians & makes them bodyguards. [71.4]	7. A. summons leading Persians & divides command on third day. [7.11.1ff.]
Lacuna				
8. Plea on behalf of those condemned. [X.4.1]				
9. A. is unmoved by talk. [X.4.2]				
10. Macedonians offer up any instigators. [X.4.3]				
		11. Macedonians go in entreaty to A. [12.12.6]		
	[17.109.3]		[71.5f.]	[7.11.4]
Lacuna			12. A. refuses to see Macedonians. [71.7]	13b. Macedonians offer to give up instigators & refuse to go. [7.11.4]
			13a. Macedonians refuse to leave. [71.7]	14. A. comes out & sheds tears. [7.11.5]
				15. Callines addresses A. [7.11.6]
	16. A. is persuaded to forgive the Macedonians. [17.109.3]	16. Macedonians win A. over. [12.12.7]	16. On third day A. comes out, weeps & forgives the Macedonians. [71.8]	16. A. forgives the Macedonians. [7.11.7]

Fig. 5. The mutiny

As can be seen, the order of events seems to be that at a meeting called by Alexander²², the men reproached the king; he then delivered a stern speech and, after leaping among them, handed offenders over to the guards for execution. Alexander then withdrew from the scene; the men were shocked. Later, Alexander held a meeting with the Persians and distributed commands among them. The Macedonians reacted to this and went to

petition Alexander; he eventually gave in. It is clear that Curtius included an earlier, failed, approach by the Macedonians to Alexander and a particularly pathetic episode, not recorded elsewhere²³; he would also probably have recorded Persian appointments, a visit to Alexander by the men and an eventual reconciliation²⁴.

Curtius' account of the aftermath of the mutiny is also missing, but he would, no doubt, have told how Craterus was appointed to lead the ten thousand infantry veterans home and to take control of Greece from Antipater; one thousand five hundred cavalry were also sent home²⁵. In addition, he may have included some of the details recorded by Justin, Arrian and Plutarch²⁶. Justin²⁷ mentions that those returning home were to be paid as if still on service and Plutarch²⁸ that they got magnificent gifts and were allowed to have the foremost seats in theatres and at public shows in Macedonia. In addition, the orphans in Greece were to receive their dead fathers' pay. Arrian²⁹ tells how Alexander sacrificed to the gods and held a great banquet for nine thousand guests; at this, he prayed for harmony³⁰. The discharged soldiers were paid for the length of their trip home and, in addition, were given one talent. Any children were to be left behind and Alexander promised to look after them; the king was thus creating a group without a home and loyal only to himself.

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1. Curtius, Diodorus and Justin seem to be following the same source as they did for the freeing of debts (see §8 intro.).
 2. Hammond (1983a p. 158) wrongly suggests that it was only those being retained.
 3. 17.108.1ff.
 4. See 3.10.12n.; their arrival is probably missing from Curtius due to the previous lacuna (see 1.45.16n.).
 5. On this see 5.4.22n.
 6. For these see §7 intro.
 7. On this see §8 intro.
 8. 17.109.2f.
 9. 12.11.1ff.
 10. On this see incident see Bosworth 1977 pp. 64f.; for Alexander and Ammon see 5.4.22n.
 11. *Alex.* 71.1ff. & see Hamilton *ad loc.*; on them also see §9 intro. n. 4.
 12. *Arr. An.* 7.6.2ff.
 13. See *Arr. An.* 7.8.1ff. However, he interestingly slips by seeming to refer to the setting as Susa: see Brunt (1983 p. 236), who says "A. presupposes the accuracy of the vulgate, contradicting his narrative", but Bosworth (1988b pp. 106f.) plausibly suggests that Susa is mentioned as Arrian thought it was the more memorable city and meant more to the readers.
 14. On this see §5 intro.
 15. Concerning Alexander's use of Persian soldiers see Bosworth 1980a pp. 14ff., Hamilton 1987 pp. 479ff., Hammond 1983b pp. 139ff., Badian 1965 pp. 160f., Brunt 1963 pp. 42ff. & Griffith 1963 pp. 68ff.
 16. *Arr. An.* 7.8.1ff.
 17. On this latter point I follow the text suggested by Hammond (1980 pp. 469ff.) and used by Brunt, 1983 p. 225: for possible later demands for this see *Arr. F.Gr.H.* 156 F9.32, 11.44 & Hammond 1987 pp. 627ff.; for the view that these are not connected with Alexander, but Perdicas, see Errington 1970 pp. 67f.
 18. See Badian, 1965 pp. 160f., who gives as a reason the fact that he was following the source which places the mutiny at Susa for the Susa incidents and using Ptolemy and Aristobulus, who placed the mutiny at Opis, for events following Susa.
 19. Hammond (1983b p. 143) seems to be correct in his analysis, saying "What Arrian has done - and his sources, Ptolemy and Aristobulus - is to indicate that the weddings at Susa (vii 4.4 ff.) and the arrival of the Epigoni there brought Macedonian resentment to a head, and that later at Opis Alexander's plans for dismissing some Macedonian troops and retaining others in Asia aroused further annoyance and caused the eruption into mutiny (vii 8)".
 20. For the Hypthesis see §1 intro. n. 22.

21. See 3.14.23n. & 4.3.32n.
 22. See Arr. *An.* 7.8.1.
 23. See 3.5.1n. & 4.1.1n. respectively.
 24. On this see 4.3.32n.
 25. See 2.8.7n.
 26. Diodorus does not mention any special privileges.
 27. 12.12.10.
 28. *Alex.* 71.8f. & see Hamilton *ad loc.*
 29. *An.* 7.11.8f.
 30. For the mistaken idea that this shows Alexander's desire for the unity of mankind see Tarn 1948 II pp. 434ff.: *contra* Bosworth 1980a pp. 1ff. & Badian 1958b pp. 425ff.
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2.12.1. Ceterum ut cognitum est - Curtius alone gives this reason for the mutiny. It can, no doubt, be viewed as part of the problem, but, as has already been noted (see §9 intro.), there seems to have been a desire that all, or none, of the Macedonians would stay. The increasing presence of foreigners in the army and Alexander's increased orientalism (see Bosworth 1980a pp. 9f.) at this time added to the Macedonians' sense of rejection. What should have been a welcome announcement finally brought the men to boiling point. Bosworth (1988a pp. 159f.) sums the whole matter up very well when he says "To return home might be intrinsically desirable but it was seen as rejection. The king was discarding his old guard on the eve of new and profitable conquests. At the same time the immediate prospect of staying on in an army now dominated by oriental troops was by no means attractive, and both parties, those retained and those discharged, shared a common discontent".

2.12.23. seditiosis vocibus - Curtius only uses *seditiosus* with *vox*: see also VII.1.4 "seditiosaeque voces referebantur ad regem", IX.4.16 "improviso metu territi rursus seditiosis vocibus regem increpare coeperunt" & X.9.9 "ut comprehenderentur tam seditiosae vocis auctores". For this uncommon pairing in other writers see e.g. Liv. 6.20.4, Tac. *Hist.* 1.72.3 & 3.50.3.

2.12.32. omnes simul missionem postulare coeperunt - Arrian (*An.* 7.8.2) agrees with Curtius that all of the men demanded discharge. Elsewhere those being discharged had already been sent away; at this time, it was only those remaining who demanded discharge (see D.S. 17.109.2, Just. 12.11.5 & Plu. *Alex.* 71.3).

2.12.37. deformia ora cicatricibus canitiemque capitum ostentantes - Curtius often connects soldiers and scars in a situation such as this (see e.g. VIII.7.11 "cum milites nihil domum praeter gratuitas cicatrices relaturi sint", IX.3.10 "intuere corpora exanguia, tot perfossa vulneribus, tot cicatricibus putria" & X.5.13 "novis vulneribus veteres rumpendas cicatrices"); elsewhere there is also a connection between the two (see e.g. Liv. 4.58.13, Mento *ap.* Sen. *Con.* 1.8.3, Tac. *Ann.* 1.35.1 & V. Max. 7.7.1). The mention of white hair, however, is not as widespread (see e.g. Tac. *Ann.* 1.18.1 & for a case where both are connected, as here, Just. 12.8.12). The word *canities* itself is not that common in prose writers (see *TLL* III p. 259.82ff.) and this may be the first recorded use: see Balzer 1971 pp. 106f. & Atkinson 1980 p. 44.

2.13.3. praefectorum castigatione aut verecundia regis - A good example of chiasmus. The respect for the king is set beside the toughness of the prefects. For the veneration of Alexander by the men see 3.3.1bn.

2.14.2. silentio facto - This well worn phrase, often used before a speech, occurs three times in Curtius (see also VII.2.8 "Ille silentio facto 'Et ipse' inquit" & VIII.5.14 "Is tum silentio facto unum illum intuentibus ceteris 'si rex' inquit"); the writer may have been influenced by Livy, who employs it twenty times, eighteen of which lead to either direct, or indirect, speech. However, neither Tacitus, nor Sallust, use this set phrase at all.

2.15.1. Ille "Quid haec" inquit "repens..." - Speeches in which generals address mutinous armies must have been common in the declamatory schools of Curtius' day: for other examples of this sort of speech see Liv. 28.27.1ff. (Scipio Africanus), Luc. 5.319ff. (Julius Caesar), Tac. *Ann.* 1.42.1ff. & Goodyear *ad loc.* (Germanicus), Arr. *An.* 7.9.1ff., VI.3.1ff. & IX.2.12ff. The structure of this speech, in which Alexander appeals to his men's loyalty and sense of honour, can be roughly divided into five main parts: an initial *praelocutio* (§§15-17), followed by the speech proper, made up of a prooem (§§19-20), a narrative, consisting of comments on the soldiers' current good fortune (§§21-22) and the past (§§23-24), an argument, concerning their extravagance and poverty (§§25-26) and on their return home (§§27-28), and, finally, a peroration (§29).

In the Alexander tradition, the other major sources include at least a brief reference to this speech. Brief summaries are given by Justin (12.11.7 "Contra ille nunc castigare milites, nunc lenibus verbis monere, ne gloriosam militiam seditionibus infusarent") and Diodorus (17.109.2 *παροξυνθείς κατηγορήσεν αὐτῶν τεθαρρηκότως. Καταπληξάμενος δὲ τὸ πλῆθος ἐτόλμησεν αὐτὸς καταβάς ἀπὸ τοῦ βήματος*). Plutarch (*Alex.* 71.3) only refers very briefly to the speech, writing *πρὸς ταῦτα χαλεπῶς ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος ἔσχε, καὶ πολλὰ μὲν ἐλοιδόρησεν αὐτοὺς πρὸς ὀργὴν ἀπελάσας δὲ τὰς φυλακὰς παρέδωκε Πέρσαις*. Arrian (*An.* 7.9.1ff.), however, also inserts a speech, but places it after the arrests (see fig. 5 at §9 intro.). The speeches given by Arrian and Curtius contain some similarities (see e.g. 2.23.16n., 2.24.7n., 2.24.15bn. & 2.25.24n.) and Bosworth (1988b p. 103) has reduced them into the following common framework: "Your demand for discharge is unreasonable and ungrateful. I have brought you from poverty to world empire, and that from very few resources other than my personal qualities. It is my achievement, not yours, and you have profited from it. If you deny me now I shall not stop you. Go home and be proud of your desertion, if you can; I shall now turn to the subject peoples". On these two speeches see Bosworth 1988b pp. 101ff. and also the unconvincing view of Tarn, 1948 II pp. 290ff., who sees Alexander's own words in use (see also *contra* Brunt 1983 pp. 236f. n. 8).

2.15.6. consternatio atque...licentia - Again, two words used for more impact. *Consternatio*, which Curtius uses again in this speech at X.2.21, is not that common (see *TLL* IV p. 508.13ff.);

it is mainly used in history and allied genres - Valerius Maximus uses it nine times, Tacitus eight, Curtius seven and Livy and Suetonius four; Sallust does not use the word. This rare combination may perhaps have been imitated by Tacitus at *Hist.* 2.49.1 "nuntiata consternatione ac licentia militum"; for other similarities between the two writers see e.g. 2.28.12n., Walter 1887 pp. 3ff. & Lund 1987 pp. 50ff.

2.15.11. effusa licentia - For the same metaphor in other writers in a military situation see e.g. Liv. 22.3.9 "effusa praedandi licentia" & 44.1.5 "effusa licentia formato milite"; for the phrase used in a description of Arellius Fuscus' oratory see Sen. *Con.* 2.praef.1 "licentia vaga et effusa".

2.15.14. Eloqui metuo - Such words, designed to arouse sympathy, were common in *exordia*: see Lausberg §257.3 & 7.4.2n.

2.15.18. rupistis imperium - For the same phrase where soldiers are also involved, cf. Tac. *Hist.* 3.19.2 "spernuntur centuriones tribunique, ac ne vox cuiusquam audiatur, quatiunt arma, rupturi imperium, ni ducantur".

2.15.21. precario rex sum - "I am king on sufferance"; the pitiful aspect of Alexander's situation is continued. For *precario* used in a similar situation of a leader doubtful of his position see Tac. *Ag.* 16.4 "Trebellius, fuga ac latebris vitata exercitus ira indecorus atque humilis, precario mox praefuit".

2.15.25. non adloquendi, non docendi monendique aut intuendi vos ius - *Vos* could possibly be either a nominative, or an accusative; in the latter case, it could be the object of all four gerunds, or *intueor* alone. However, due to its late position and the fact that the previous group of gerunds, which are governed by *ius*, demand an object (the presence of *adloquendi* makes this certain), *vos* has to be in the accusative and governed by all the gerunds; for the gerund and object see K-S I pp. 734ff.

2.15.28. docendi - Watt (1985 pp. 85ff.) rightly points out that the *noscendi* of Ω , retained by editors, is inappropriate and suggests *hortandi*. However, *hortandi* does not seem to suit the context, unlike the reading of Δ , *docendi* (cf. VII.7.6 "ipse non insistere in terra, non equo vehi, non docere, non hortari suos poterat"); this minor change should be accepted.

2.17.1. Quid hoc est rei - Curtius also uses *quid rei* at VIII.3.13, except in indirect speech "percontatusque, quid rei sit, illo profitente cognoscit". For precisely the same combination in direct speech see Liv. 1.48.1 of Servius to Tarquin sitting in his father's seat "'Quid hoc,' inquit, 'Tarquini, rei est?'" & Ogilvie *ad loc.*, where the phrase is called "the language of indignant expostulation", 3.17.2 of the similar case of Publius Valerius rushing to the tribunes

to avert civil discord "Quid hoc rei est,' inquit" & in indirect speech 3.48.4 "hic coram virgine nutricem percontari quid hoc rei sit, ut si falso...discedam". The use of similar combinations in other writers points to Curtius using a colloquialism at this point (see e.g. Ter. *Eu.* 652 "quid istuc eſt rei?", 804 "quid cum illa rei tibist?", *Hec.* 807 "quid huic hic est rei?", *Ad.* 177 "quid tibi rei mecumst" & Tib. *Carm.* 1.6.3 "Quid tibi saeve, rei mecum est?"). This colloquialism seems to be used as a strong indicator of surprise

2.17.5a. *dispari...idem* - A common structure for a sententia: see e.g. Liv. 28.12.10 "In Hispania res quadam ex parte eandem fortunam, quadam longe disparem habebant", Plin. *Nat.* 7.165 "eadem die geniti sunt, oratores quidem ambo, sed tam dispari eventu", Cic. *N.D.* 1.87 & *SHA* 11.9.3.

2.17.5b. *dispari in causa* - This common combination (see e.g. Cic. *Planc.* 79, *Off.* 2.61, Liv. 25.40.4, Ov. *Ep.* 13.77 & Tac. *Hist.* 1.72.1) is probably another echo of the language of the lawcourts (see *Digest.* 44.1.17); for other instances see 1.7.1n.

2.17.12. *Pervelim scire* - *Pervelle*, only used by Curtius here, appears to be part of the vocabulary of everyday language: see e.g. Pl. *Cas.* 862, *Cur.* 102, *Epid.* 536, Cic. *Att.* 1.1.3, 12.37.2 & twice at 13.13-14.1. It only rarely intrudes into more elevated genres, where it is used for emphasis: see e.g. Cic. *Sul.* 23, *Tul.* 6, *Ver.* 2.2.72, Liv. 8.18.2 & 39.43.3. The use of this word would continue the colloquial tone of "quid hoc est rei" (see 2.17.1n.).

2.17.16. *discedunt* - Lauer's suggestion, which also appears in Δ , is followed by all editors; Ω has *descidunt*. *Discedere* would have the force of to "leave", whereas *descendere* that of "to go down". The problem with the latter is that, in such a context, it is not used in an absolute manner, except where it literally means "to come down" (see *TLL* V₁ p. 645.7ff.). Although the Greek equivalent, *καταβαίνω*, can be used absolutely in such a context (see e.g. Aeschin. *Ctes.* 164 *πάση τῇ δυνάμει Δαρείος κατεβέβηκει*), it is not common and would tend to rule out the possibility that Curtius was influenced by a Greek source. The reading of Δ is, therefore, preferable.

2.18.1. *Crederes* - For the same use of this Curtian favourite in Book Ten see X.5.21 "Crederes modo amissum Dareum". This word is used in the same way a further seven times in other books (see IV.10.23, VI.2.16, VII.4.35, VIII.4.12, IX.4.13, IX.4.14 & IX.9.16); Curtius may be influenced to use such personal comments by Livy, who, as well as similar words, employs *crederes* four times (see Steele 1904 pp. 42f.).

2.18.2. *uno ore* - A frequently used phrase in situations where people react together: see e.g. Cic. *Amic.* 86.3, Juv. 7.167, Ov. *Met.* 12.241, Ter. *An.* 96. & V. Max. 6.4.ext.1.

2.19.9. *adducar* - For a similar use of this verb and the infinitive, which more often takes *ut* and the subjunctive, see *TLL* I p. 602.57ff.

2.19.25. *utpote cum plures dimiserim quam retenturus sum* - Although part of a speech, this statement must be based on the facts as Curtius knew them (for an explanation of the earlier larger figure see 2.8.7n.). Alexander was sending away about ten thousand infantrymen and one thousand five hundred cavalry; probably no more than seven, or eight, thousand were left (for references see 2.8.7n.) and this meant that the phalanx had to be supplemented by Persian infantry (see *Arr. An.* 7.23.3f.).

2.20.10. *Quando enim regem...deseruit* - Alexander continually stresses that the men are deserting him (see also X.2.25 & X.2.28); this is also the case in the speech at the Hyphasis (see IX.2.32 "desertus, destitutus sum", IX.2.33 "Inveniam qui desertum a vobis sequantur" & IX.2.34 "ite deserto rege ovantes!"). It is not possible to tell what the Macedonian punishment was at this time, but, later, under Philip V there existed fines for offences, such as lack of equipment, war booty, foraging and patrols (for an inscription see Austin 1981 pp. 136f.). Curtius implies that the death penalty was used for desertion at VIII.7.12, where Callisthenes says of Alexander "Persarum te vestis et disciplina delectat, patrios mores exosus es. Persarum ergo, non Maccdonum regem occidere voluimus et te transfugam belli iure persequimur". The writer, however, was probably influenced by Roman attitudes: desertion was a very serious offence and the perpetrator was liable to the death penalty (for this in law see *Digest.* 49.16.5.1; for examples see e.g. *Tac. Ann.* 13.35.4 & *SHA* 6.4.5; this was also the view in declamation see e.g. *Quint. Inst.* 7.7.8 & *Calp. Decl.* 15). The penalty was usually exercised by the beating, or stoning, of the accused (*fustuarium*). However, the guilty were often treated more leniently and could be punished in a number of ways, ranging from "corporal punishment (*castigatio*) through a monetary fine (*pecuniaria multa*) or extra duty (*munerum indictio*), to relegation to an inferior service (*militiae mutatio*), or reduction in rank (*gradus deiectio*), or discharge with ignominy (*missio ignominiosa*)" (Watson 1969 p. 121 & see also *Digest* 49.16.3.1). See further Watson 1969 pp. 120ff. & Parker 1928 pp. 232ff.

2.20.16. *Ne servi quidem* - Curtius, to intensify Alexander's words, effectively employs the rhetorical device of the untrustworthy nature of slaves; for this supposed untrustworthiness see e.g. *Tac. Ann.* 14.44.3, *Plin. Ep.* 3.14.5 & *Sen. Cl.* 1.24.1; for general attitudes towards slaves see Massey & Moreland 1978 pp. 44ff.

2.21.7. *remedia insanabilibus conor adhibere* - For *remedia* used in a similar context cf. IX.4.22 "ita seditionis non remedia quam principia maiora sunt". Curtius' use of *remedia* and *insanabilibus*, in this protracted medical image, may be meant to tie in with Alexander's feelings that his men are *insanabiles* and, therefore, unwell. The phrase *remedium adhibere* seems to be the standard formula employed in such cases, both in medical (see e.g. *Cels.*

1.praef.23 & Cic. *Tus.* 4.63), and metaphorical uses (see e.g. Liv. 22.8.5 & Tac. *Ann.* 14.51.1).

2.21.31. *ingratissimis operis* - "pack of ungrateful hirelings". This is a stronger version of the *cives* theme later expressed at X.2.27. For a similar comparison see Cic. *Sest.* 38 "Erat autem mihi contentio non cum victore exercitu, sed cum operis conductis et ad diripiendam urbem concitatis".

2.21.32. *operis* - This is Rubenius' suggestion for the *oportet* of Ω , which, although grammatical, is awkward and spoils the parallel use of *ut* (Giacone, however, retains it). Perhaps *operariis* is possible: see e.g. Cic. *Tusc.* 5.104 "An quidquam stultius quam, quos singulos sicut operarios barbarosque contemnas, eos aliquid putare esse universos?". Acidalius suggests *civibus porro*, which gives the desired sense, but seems too great a change.

2.22.1. *Secundis rebus...insanire coepistis* - For similar thoughts in Curtius and other writers see 1.40.2n. For *insanire* used in reference to a mutinous army elsewhere see e.g. Liv. 28.27.11 "vos contagione insanistis" & 28.29.3 "Insanistis profecto, milites".

2.22.25. *adversam quam secundam regere fortunam* - The thought goes back to a celebrated passage of Cato *pro Rhodiensibus* - *frag.* 118 (Cugusi) "advorsae res [s]edomant et docent, quid opus siet facto, secundae res laetitia transvorsum trudere solent a recte consulendo atque intellegendo". The idea was an obvious one to use in rhetoric and also in the summing up of people's characters: for the need to bear success with self-control see e.g. Asinius Pollio *ap. Sen. Suas.* 6.24 of Cicero "utinam moderatius secundas res et fortius adversas ferre potuisset!"; for men being praised for actually doing this see Cic. *Fam.* 4.5.6, where Servius Sulpicius Rufus writes "vidimus aliquotiens secundam pulcherrime te ferre fortunam magnamque ex ea re te laudem apisci" & Nep. *Timol.* 1.2 "sed in his rebus non simplici fortuna conflictatus est et, id quod difficilius putatur, multo sapientius tulit secundam quam adversam fortunam"; for the change success could make in a person's character see 1.40.2n.

2.23.3a. *Illyriorum...imposui* - Cf. Arr. *An.* 7.9.2ff. for Alexander's description of, both his father's and his own, achievements.

2.23.3b. *Illyriorum...tributariis* - The Illyrians, who occupied the western side of the Balkan range in Classical times, had been a continual menace to the Macedonians, whose land they often raided. The event, which Curtius has Alexander refer to, is probably the first great Illyrian raid into Macedonia in 393/2 B.C., when Amyntas (393-70 B.C.) had been driven out of his kingdom and the Illyrians had installed a puppet king, who held power from 393/2-392/1 B.C. However, Amyntas was restored by the Thessalians in 391 B.C. (see D.S. 14.92.3f. & Hammond *HG* 1979 pp. 172ff.). Later, in 383/2 B.C., the Illyrians inflicted a defeat on Amyntas (D.S. 15.19.2 & Hammond 1989a p. 78) and, as time passed, the problem

did not diminish. In 359 B.C. the new king, Perdiccas, was killed in a pitched battle (D.S. 16.2.4) and Macedonia was left open to raids. It was left to Philip, who had at one time been a hostage with them (D.S. 16.2.2 & Just. 7.5.1), to deal with the enemy. He had a decisive early victory in 358 B.C. (see D.S. 16.4.2ff. & Griffith *HG* 1979 pp. 212ff.) and, following subsequent campaigns, forced them to become his subjects. On Alexander's accession, the Illyrians rebelled (see Arr. *An.* 1.1.4 & Bosworth *ad loc.*), but the young king quelled any further opposition in his lifetime by a decisive victory at Pelium (see Arr. *An.* 1.5.5ff. & Bosworth *ad loc.*, Hammond *HW* 1988 pp. 32ff. & Bosworth 1988a pp. 30ff.). Illyrians subsequently accompanied Alexander on his eastern expedition (see e.g. III.10.9, IV.13.31 & D.S. 17.17.4).

2.23.7. Persarum tributariis - Curtius is probably making Alexander refer to the period, from 510 B.C. until around 480 B.C., when Macedonia was under Persian influence. The initial Persian demands, sent by Megabazus, following failure in Scythia, and Amyntas' acceptance are recorded by Herodotus (5.18.1ff.) and Justin (7.3.1ff.). It seems clear that a Persian, named Bubares, who was instrumental in the negotiations between the two sides and actually married Amyntas' daughter, held a position of power there for about a decade. The agreement was advantageous to both sides and led to increased trade for Macedonia; peace lasted under the reigns of Darius and Xerxes (Just. 7.4.1) and, in the Ionian revolt of 498-3 B.C., Macedonia remained loyal to Persia (see Hdt. 6.44.1 & Hammond *HG* 1979 p. 60). On this period see Hammond *HG* 1979 pp. 58ff., 1989a pp. 42ff., Cook 1983 p. 64 & Olmstead 1948 pp. 149f.; however, see also the doubts expressed by Errington (1981 pp. 139ff., restated 1990 p. 10), who, using Hdt. 6.64, believes that Persian rule commenced in 492 B.C.

2.23.16. modo sub Philippo seminudis...ruginemque gladiatorum - This idea of Macedonian poverty is also expressed by Arrian; he goes even further in portraying Macedonia's rustic nature, although he refers to a time prior to Philip (see *An.* 7.9.2 *φίλιππος γὰρ παραλαβὼν ἡμᾶς πλανήτας καὶ ἀπόρους, ἐν διφθέραις τοὺς πολλοὺς νέμοντας...*). To paint a picture of Macedonian poverty obviously suits Curtius' rhetorical requirements (as is also the case for Arrian - see Bosworth 1988b pp. 108ff.), but, although there was probably an improvement under Philip, excavations have shown that Macedonia was by no means poverty stricken. It can be seen that Macedonia in the fifth century, at least, had a wealthy civilisation. For the state of Macedonia and surrounding areas at various times see Hammond *HG* 1979 pp. 91ff., 141ff. & 189ff.; for the excavations see Borza 1990 pp. 253ff., Andronikos 1980 pp. 26ff. (with illustrations) & Bosworth 1988b pp. 109f.

2.23.22. purpura...aurum et argentum - For these items and the luxury associated with the Persians see 1.24.17n.

2.23.31. lignea enim vasa desiderant - The use of wooden vessels to illustrate rustic simplicity

was a common literary device going back as far as Homer (see e.g. *Od.* 9.346, *Theoc. Id.* 1.27f., *Verg. Ecl.* 3.36f. & *Ov. Met.* 8.669f. in reference to Baucis and Philemon). For *lignea vasa* seen as the opposite to excess see *SHA* 11.10.1 "cum milites quosdam in cauco argenteo expeditionis tempore bibere vidisset, iusserit omne argentum summoveri de usu expeditionali, addito eo ut ligneis vasis uterentur".

2.23.36. *ex cratibus scuta* - Alexander is referring to the rudimentary and primitive nature of such shields. For ones of this sort used by Spartacus and his fellow slaves in 73 B.C. see *Flor. Epit.* 2.8.6 & *Fron. Str.* 1.7.6; for Gauls using them due to a shortage of time see *Caes. Gal.* 2.33.2.

2.23.39. *rubiginemque gladiatorum* - This phrase may be intentionally reminiscent of Vergil: cf. *G.* 1.495 "exesa inveniet scabra robigine pila" & 2.220 "nec scabie et salsa laedit robigine ferrum".

2.24.2. *cultu nitentes* - An effective use of irony amid a very ironical section. On the Roman view of irony see e.g. *Quint. Inst.* 8.6.54f. "In eo vero genere, quo contraria ostenduntur *εἰρωνεία* est; inlusionem vocant. quae aut pronuntiatione intelligitur aut persona aut rei natura: nam, si qua earum verbis dissentit, apparet diversam esse orationi voluntatem"; for more details see Lausberg 1960 §§582ff. *Niteo*, in use, is quite poetic, but is also employed in such situations by prose writers (see e.g. *Cic. Catil.* 2.5, *Tac. Dial.* 20.7 & *Plin. Nat.* 3.49). Curtius' other two uses are similar (see III.2.12 "nitent purpura auroque" & IX.7.20 "Dioxippus oleo nitens").

2.24.7. *D talenta* - Arrian, in the speech he gives to Alexander, agrees with this figure (see *An.* 7.9.6 *χρεῶν δὲ ὀφειλόμενα ὑπὸ Φιλίππου ἐς πεντακόσια τάλαντα*), but Onesicritus apparently did not (see *Plu. Moralia* 327d *κενοὶ δὲ οἱ Φιλίππου θησαυροὶ χρημάτων, καὶ προσῆν ἔτι δάνειον, ὡς Ὀνησίκριτος ἱστορεῖ, διακοσίων τάλαντων*).

2.24.15a. *haud amplius quam LX talenta esset, tantorum mox* - At this point, B¹FLPV read "haud amplius quam LX talentorum mox" and B^c "...talentorum sit mox". There is clearly something wrong with *talentorum* (Curtius uses *talentum* - see 1.24.40n.; see, however, the older editions, Foss, Zumpt, Vogel, Cocchia & Stangl) and there needs to be a verb somewhere. Of the various suggestions made, Castiglioni's "talenta esset, tantorum" is preferable; it neatly deals with the two problems at once. However, there may be a larger lacuna at this stage than hitherto suspected.

2.24.15b. *haud amplius quam LX talenta* - Once again, Arrian agrees with the figure Curtius gives (see *An.* 7.9.6 *τάλαντα δὲ οὐδὲ ἐξήκοντα ἐν τοῖς θησαυροῖς*), but Plutarch, following Aristobulus, gives the amount as seventy talents (see *Alex.* 15.2 *ἐφόδιον δὲ τούτοις οὐ πλέον ἑβδομήκοντα τάλαντων ἔχειν αὐτὸν Ἀριστόβουλος ἱστορεῖ* & Hamilton *ad loc.*, *Moralia*

327e ἐφόδιον ἑβδομήκοντα τάλαντ' ἦν, ὡς φησιν Ἀριστόβουλος & 342d ὡς δ' Ἀριστόβουλος, ἑβδομήκοντα τάλαντα). Curtius' figure may, therefore, come from Ptolemy (for Curtius' sources see Appendix A).

2.24.27. *absit invidia* - The same phrase is used at X.9.6 "*Absit modo invidia, excipiet huius saeculi tempora eiusdem domus utinam perpetua, certe diuturna posteritas*" and the same idea at IX.2.29 "*qua Herculem Liberumque Patrem, si invidia afuerit, aequabo*". It appears that, once again, Curtius has been influenced by Livy, the only other writer where this expression is found: see 9.19.15 "*Absit invidia verbo*", 28.39.11 "*absit verbo invidia*" & 36.7.7 "*absit verbo invidia*".

2.24.32. *partis* - Hedicke and Rolfe prefer the *parti* of Δ to this reading of Ω. Although it is possible to make sense of both constructions, the use of the more common *parti* is not as satisfactory, as it creates an unpleasant hiatus; the double genitive is of no difficulty as it is frequently used by Curtius (see e.g. X.1.8 "*saevitiae eorum ministri*", X.1.9 "*auctores defectionis Persarum*", X.1.38 "*exitus nobilissimi Persarum*" & X.10.1 "*Africae gentium*"); for a defence of the genitive here see Lindgren 1935 pp. 73f.

2.25.6. *gloria rerum gestarum dis pares fecit* - This sentiment also occurs in speeches given to Alexander at VIII.5.17 in reference to Dionysus and Hercules "*Prius ab oculis mortalium amolita natura est, quam in caelum fama perveheret*", at IX.2.28 in reference to his soldiers "*Per vos gloriamque vestram, qua humanum fastigium exceditis*" & at V.8.10, where Darius uses it in reference to his men, "*Nulla erit tam surda posteritas, nulla tam ingrata fama, quae non in caelum vos debitis laudibus ferat*"; for the same idea in other writers see e.g. Publius Asprenas *ap. Sen. Con.* 1.8.4 "*Pareo illi patri, qui gloria nos immortales fieri dicebas, qui ex acie redeuntis vulnera osculabaris*" & Arellius Fuscus Senior *ap. Sen. Suas.* 2.2 "*at gloriae nullius finis est proximique deos hic acie caesi sacrum <habebitis>*". For the use of *caelum* in similar contexts see *TLL* III p. 91.10ff.

Gloria was greatly sought by Romans, both in the Republic (see e.g. *Sal. Cat.* 7.3, 7.6 & McGushin *ad loc.*, 11.2, Earl 1967 pp. 30, 35 & 74ff.) and the Empire (see e.g. *Tac. Ann.* 15.16.4, *Ag.* 44.3, *Sen. Ep.* 102.13, *Ben.* 6.38.3 & Earl 1967 pp. 81ff.); a man's good works on behalf of the state, whether in politics, warfare, or some other way, would gain him *gloria* not only in his lifetime, but for ever (see e.g. *Cic. Rab. Perd.* 30, *Sal. Cat.* 1.3, cited at 10.20.18n., & McGushin *ad loc.* & Earl 1961 pp. 7f.). It is, therefore, easy to see how *gloria* could elevate someone to near divine status.

2.25.16. *rege deserto* - A continual theme in this speech: see 2.20.10n.

2.25.24. *ni aes alienum luissem* - For this episode see §8 intro. Arrian, although in the context of one of Alexander's benefactions, also presents Alexander as including this in his speech: see

Απ. 7.10.3 ἔτι δὲ ᾧ χρέα ἦν, οὐ πολυπραγμονήσας ἐφ' ὅτῳ ἐγένετο, τσαῦτα μὲν μισθοφορούντων, τσαῦτα δὲ ἀρπαζόντων, ὅποτε ἐκ πολιορκίας ἀρπαγὴ γίγνοιτο, διαλέλυμαι ταῦτα.

2.26.3. profundo ventre - This is rather a strange expression and would tend to mean "insatiable stomach", rather than "fat stomach"; for similar uses of *profundus* see e.g. Sen. *Ep.* 8.9.22 "profunda et insatiabilis gula hinc maria scrutatur" & Gel. 6(7).16.4 "genera autem nominaque edulium et domicilia ciborum omnibus aliis praestantia, quae profunda gluvies vestigavit".

2.26.28. arma quoque pignori sunt - It is not known what the penalty for not having proper weapons was at this time, but, later, under Philip V, there were various fines depending on what it was that was missing (see the inscription in Austin 1981 pp. 136f.). Romans viewed the loss of a soldier's weapons in battle as a serious offence, punishable by death (see e.g. Liv. 2.59.10 "ubi signa, ubi arma essent singulos rogitant, inermes milites...virgis caesos securi percussit", *Digest.* 49.16.3.13 "Miles, qui in bello arma amisit vel alienavit, capite punitur: humane militiam mutat" & 49.16.14.1). Coenus, when replying to Alexander's speech at the Hyphasis, gives a different version of the situation: see IX.3.10ff. "Intuere corpora exanguia, tot perfossa vulneribus, tot cicatricibus putria. Iam tela hebetia sunt, iam arma deficient. Vestem Persicam induti, quia domestica subvehi non potest, in externum degeneravimus cultum. Quoto cuique lorica est? quis equum habet? Iube quaeri, quam multos servi ipsorum persecuti sint, quid cuique supersit ex praeda. Omnium victores omnium inopes sumus. Nec luxuria laboramus, sed bello instrumenta belli consumpsimus. Hunc tu pulcherrimum exercitum nudum obicies beluis?". It is clear, therefore, that there is an alternative view of the situation, which Curtius chooses to leave out in Book Ten, as it would create a completely different picture; here, it is the soldiers' luxury which is one of Alexander's main lines of attack, whereas, at the Hyphasis, he is simply trying to arouse the army's desire for glory. In addition, Curtius, by his choice of material, makes the soldiers in Book Nine seem justified in their complaints, whereas, here, he puts them in a bad light.

2.27.1. Bonis vero...transfugis - Arrian also has Alexander mention the ingratitude of his men and the future use of Persians instead: see *Απ. 7.10.7 ὡς εἰς Σοῦσα ἐπανηγύγετε, ἀπολιπόντες ὀλχεσθε, παραδόντες φυλάσσειν τοῖς νενικημένοις βαρβάροις. ταῦτα ὑμῖν καὶ πρὸς ἀνθρώπων ἴσως εὐκλεᾶ καὶ πρὸς θεῶν ὄσια δήπου ἔσται ἀπαγγελθέντα. ἀπιτε.*

2.27.6. paelicum suarum concubinis - It is relatively common to have *concupinus* used of a male lover (see e.g. Suet. *Gal.* 22, Tac. *Ann.* 13.21.3, Mart. 6.22.1 & Catul. 61.130) and, although *paelex* can also be used in reference to males, it is not used as often. Both do, however, imply the idea of effeminacy (see *TLL* IV p. 99.46ff. & *X*₁ p. 40.1ff. respectively). It seems that *concupina* was a less reproachful term than *paelex* (see *Digest.* 50.16.144) and this may also be

the case as regards the male equivalent. Curtius, in referring to concubines, never uses the less common *concupina*, but always *paelex*. Of the fifteen times he uses this word, it only once possibly refers to a non-eastern concubine (see IX.8.22); this use matches the word's tendency to have an eastern, or Macedonian, flavour (see *TLL* X₁ p. 38.53ff.), which does not seem to appear with *concupina*. Although this may be the reason for Curtius' use of it throughout, another factor may be that he was influenced by a Greek source using the term *παλλακίς*.

Roman soldiers were not allowed to marry during their period of service (see e.g. D.C. 60.24.3) until A.D. 197 in the reign of Septimius Severus (see Hdn. 3.8.5); this led to a situation where unofficial marriages with local women were common and, after a soldier's discharge, these often were made official (see Watson 1969 pp. 133ff., Keppie 1984 p. 148 & Parker 1928 pp. 237f.). Although many Macedonians probably did have wives at home and were employing the favours of *paelices* on service (see e.g. V.7.2 "quippe paelices licentius, quam decebat, cum armato vivere adsuetae"), Curtius is probably thinking of the Roman situation, as many Macedonians had already married Asians; this situation was recognised by Alexander at the Susa marriage ceremony (see e.g. Plu. *Alex.* 70.3 & Hamilton *ad loc.* & Arr. *An.* 7.4.8). Alexander's comments, however, are somewhat hypocritical (see e.g. V.7.5, VI.2.2 & VIII.6.3).

2.27.22. *pateant limites: facessite hinc ocius* - Similar rhetoric is found at IX.2.34, where Alexander says "Ite reduces domos! ite deserto rege ovantes!", and in speeches in other writers: see e.g. Luc. 5.325 "vadite meque meis ad bella relinquite fatis", 5.357 "discedite castris", Arr. *An.* 7.9.1 *ἔξεσσι γὰρ ὑμῖν ἀπιέναι ὅποι βούλεσθε* & 7.10.7 *ἀπιτε*.

2.27.33. *Neminem teneo* - Arrian employs a more elaborate version of this *color* in the speech he gives to Alexander: see *An.* 7.9.1 *Οὐχ ὑπὲρ τοῦ καταπαῦσαι ὑμῶν, ᾧ Μακεδόνες, τὴν οἰκαδε ὀρμὴν λεχθήσεται μοι ὅδε ὁ λόγος*. There may be an echo of Vergil in Curtius' words: cf. *Aen.* 4.380 "neque te teneo neque dicta refello".

2.27.35. *liberate oculos meos* - For the same expression see Liv. 6.20.10 "nisi oculos quoque hominum liberassent".

2.27.38. *ingratissimi cives* - The idea expressed (see also the stronger version at 2.21.31n.) is clearly modelled on Julius Caesar's famous reaction when also confronted by a mutinous army: see Suet. *Jul.* 70 "sed una voce, qua Quirites eos pro militibus appellarat, tam facile circumegit et flexit, ut ei milites esse confestim responderint et quamvis recusantem ultro in Africam sint secuti", Luc. 5.358, D.C. 42.53.3 & App. *BC* 2.93.392. The remark seems to have started a *locus communis* in historians: see e.g. Liv. 28.27.3f. & Tac. *Ann.* 1.42.2f. & Goodyear *ad loc.*

2.28.12. *desertoribus transfugisque* - "deserters and turncoats". The combination may be borrowed by Tacitus: cf. *Hist.* 1.30.3 "minus triginta transfugae et desertores". For desertion in

general and the emphasis put on it in this speech see 2.20.10n.

2.29.1. *Triumphabo...de fuga vestra...cum quibus me relinquitis* - The same idea is expressed by *Curtius* at IX.2.34 "Ego hic a vobis desperatae victoriae aut honestae morti locum inveniam"; see also *Luc.* 5.326f. "invenient haec arma manus, vobisque repulsis / tot reddet fortuna viros quot tela vacabunt". *Curtius* is employing the official formula of the triumph (cf. e.g. *Cic. Sen.* 55 "cum de Samnitibus, de Sabinis, de Pyrrho triumphavisset", *Liv.* 3.10.4 "Triumphavit de Volscis Aequisque", *Plin. Nat.* 33.141 "cum de Poenis triumpharet" & *Tac. Ann.* 2.41.2 "triumphavit de Cheruscis C<h>attisque et Angrivariis"), which was often, as here, transferred to everyday use (see e.g. *Cic. Att.* 7.1.7 "sed tamen gratulans mihi Caesar de supplicatione triumphat de sententia Catonis", *Sen. Her. F.* 58, *Apul. Met.* 8.30.3 & 11.15.4).

2.29.29. *quid opis* - For the only other occurrence of this colloquial phrase in *Curtius* see III.5.13 in a speech "Proinde, si quid opis, si quid artis in medicis est"; in other writers see e.g. *Cic. Fam.* 12.10.2 as an indirect question "tempus erit cum quid opis rei publicae laturus" & *Sal. Cat.* 21.1 as an indirect question "quid ubique opis aut spei haberent". For the same idea of the army's need for Alexander see IX.6.7, where *Craterus*, speaking for Alexander's friends, says "Quantalibet vis omnium gentium conspiret in nos, impleat armis virisque totum orbem, classibus maria consternat, invisitatas beluas inducat: tu nos praestabis invictos"; *Polyaenus* makes Alexander go further at 4.3.7 ἐπιλέξασθε οἱ Μακεδόνες ἔφη δὲ βούλεσθε τῶν ἡγεμόνων, ἐγὼ δὲ ἡγήσομαι τῶν Περσῶν. ἦν μὲν νικήσητε, ποιήσω πάντα, ὅσα ἂν κελεύητε, ἦν δὲ ἡττηθῆτε, μαθόντες ὅτι μηδὲν δύνασθε, τὴν ἡσυχίαν ἀγετε.

2.30.1. *Desiluit deinde frendens* - This episode is deeply embedded in the Alexander tradition; all but one of the five major sources have Alexander leaping off the platform on this occasion. Both *Justin* (12.11.8 "Ad postremum cum verbis nihil proficeret, ad corripiendos seditionis auctores e tribunali in contionem armatam inermis ipse desiluit") and *Diodorus* (17.109.2, cited at 2.15.1n.) use similar language to *Curtius*. *Arrian* presents Alexander as leaping off the platform before (see *An.* 7.8.3 ταῦτα ἀκούσας Ἀλέξανδρος (ἦν γὰρ δὴ ὀξύτερός τε ἐν τῷ τότε καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς βαρβαρικῆς θεραπείας οὐκέτι ὡς πάλαι ἐπιεικῆς ἐς τοὺς Μακεδόνας) καταπηδήσας σὺν τοῖς ἀμφ' αὐτὸν ἡγεμόσιν ἀπὸ τοῦ βήματος) and after (see *An.* 7.11.1 ταῦτα εἰπὼν κατεπήδησέ τε ἀπὸ τοῦ βήματος ὀξέως) his speech; his subsequent actions on the first occasion are the closest to the other sources (see fig. 5 at §9 intro.). The general impression given is that, although the leap is a dramatic gesture, it is motivated by anger. *Curtius*, however, has already employed the idea at the *Hyphasis* mutiny in 326 B.C. (cf. IX.3.18 "Ille nec castigare obstinatos nec mitigare poterat iratus; itaque inops consilii desiluit ex tribunali claudique regiam iussit") and similar scenes appear elsewhere: for another general doing exactly the same thing in anger see e.g. *Tac. Ann.* 1.35.3f. "et, si vellet imperium, promptos ostentavere. tum vero, quasi scelere contaminaretur, praeceps tribunali desiluit"; for the motif see e.g. *Sen. Dial.* 3.19.3 "Quid si ille vidisset

desilientem de tribunali proconsulem". These examples point to the clichéd nature of the action.

2.30.3. *frendens* - Curtius only uses this word one other time, again in reference to Alexander: see IV.16.3 "Refrenare equos iussi, qui vehebantur, agmenque constitit frendente Alexandro eripi sibi victoriam e manibus et Dareum felicius fugere quam se sequi". The portrayal of Alexander at this point matches Curtius' view of his proneness to anger: see 5.34.2n.

2.30.19. *singulos manu corripuit...XIII adservandos custodibus corporis tradidit* - Once again, as with Alexander's leap from the platform, these arrests are part of the tradition. Arrian, as Curtius, says that thirteen men were arrested, although, as already noted (see 2.30.1n.), he places this before Alexander makes his speech: see *An.* 7.8.3 *ξυλλαβεῖν τοὺς ἐπιφανεστάτους τῶν παραξάντων τὸ πλῆθος κελεύει, αὐτὸς τῇ χειρὶ ἐπιδεικνύων τοῖς ὑπασπισταῖς οὕστινας χρὴ συλλαμβάνειν· καὶ ἐγένοντο οὗτοι ἐς τρισκαίδεκα*. Justin is once again close to Curtius, but says that the men were led away for punishment (see 12.11.8 "et nemine prohibente tredecim correptos manu sua ipse ad supplicium duxit"), as does Diodorus, who, although not mentioning the number of men involved, seems to be the closest verbally to Curtius (see 17.109.2 *τοὺς ἀτιωτάτους τῆς παραχῆς ταῖς ἰδίαις χερσὶ παραδοῦναι τοῖς ὑπηρέταις πρὸς τὴν τιμωρίαν*). Plutarch (*Alex.* 71.4, cited at 2.15.1n., & see Hamilton *ad loc.*) refers only briefly to the event. For Curtius' later description of the form of punishment see 4.1.10n .

2.30.21. *corripit* - Lauer emends this reading of Ω to *corripuit*, also found in Δ ; he is usually followed. Müller, however, prefers *corripit*, due to the superior clausula; it is part of Type 2, as opposed to the avoided Type 12 of *corripuit* (see Appendix C). In addition, the unemended clausula would be the same as the following *corporis tradidit*. Although more common in poetry, the use of the historic present seems justified (see K-S I pp. 116f); see also 5.5.6n.

2.30.27. *custodibus corporis* - These are probably not Alexander's "bodyguards": for that group see 6.1.7n.

3.1.1. *Quis crederet saevam...obtorpuisse subito metu* - The reaction to the speech (or in other sources, except Arrian, Alexander's words) is one of surprise and fear (see fig. 5 at §9 intro.), except in Diodorus (17.109.2), where the men are presented as becoming hostile; perhaps Diodorus misread his source. This reaction may have been due to the army expecting an opportunity to reply to Alexander (see Anson 1985 p. 51).

3.1.7. *obtorpuisse subito metu* - Such speeches in other writers often produce a similar result: see e.g. Tac. *Ann.* 1.44.1 "Supplices ad haec et vera exprobrari fatentes" & Luc. 5.364f. "Tremuit saeva sub voce minantis / vulgus iners"; in the Alexander tradition, Arrian (*An.*

7.11.2) writes *οἱ δὲ Μακεδόνες ἐν τε τῷ παραυτίκα ἀκούσαντες τῶν λόγων ἐκπεπληγμένοι σιγῇ ἔμενον αὐτοῦ πρὸς τῷ βήματι οὐδέ τις ἠκολούθησε τῷ βασιλεῖ ἀπαλλαττομένῳ ὅτι μὴ οἱ ἀμφ' αὐτὸν ἐταῖροι τε καὶ οἱ σωματοφύλακες, οἱ δὲ πολλοὶ οὔτε μῆνοντες ὅ τι πράττουσιν ἢ λέγουσιν εἶχον, οὔτε ἀπαλλάσσεσθαι ἤθελον.*

3.2.1. [et] cum - Modius deletes the *et* of Ω , whereas Bentley, followed by Hedicke and Rolfe, emends to *etiam cum*. Although some editors follow the manuscript reading (see e.g. Zumpt, Foss, Bardon & Giaccone), the *et* of Ω is obviously unsatisfactory; the problem is solved both by Modius' deletion and Bentley's *etiam cum*; however, the former is to be preferred as, although *etiam* gives far greater emphasis to the sentence, this is unwanted.

3.2.11. *ceteros* - Zumpt and Foss, as the earlier editors (e.g. Bruno, Pitiscus, Snakenburg & Rapp), see a lacuna after this word; they may well be correct.

3.3.1a. *Sive nominis...exemplum* - Justin includes a very similar piece at this point: see 12.11.9 "Tantum vel illis moriendi patientiam metus regis vel huic exigendi supplicii constantiam disciplina militaris dabat". This again raises the question of how much of a connection there is between their two works (for a full discussion see Appendix A). This passage is surprisingly not contained in Seel 1956.

3.3.1b. *Sive nominis* - Curtius makes the same point earlier at III.6.17 "Namque haud facile dictu est, praeter ingenitam illi genti erga reges suos venerationem, quantum huius utique regis vel admirationi dediti [ei] fuerint vel caritate flagraverint" & VII.8.4 "Tanta erat apud eos veneratio regis, ut facile periculi, quod horrebant, cogitationem praesentia eius excuteret" and later at X.7.15 "adsuetos esse nomen ipsum colere venerarique". For an interesting example of such devotion in action see V. Max. 3.3.ext.1.

3.3.5. *quae sub regibus <vivunt, reges>* - Stangl supplies *vivunt, reges* to the text, which is clearly missing something at this point. Vogel suggests "quae sunt sub regibus", but this is not as good, due to the ensuing problem with "inter deos colunt"; the same problem occurs with "quae sub regibus sunt", the reading of Δ . Another satisfactory alternative is "quae sub regibus sunt, reges", suggested by de Lorenzi (1965 p. 87). All these versions have good clausulae (Vogel's is Type 6; Δ 's and de Lorenzi's is Type 4 - see Appendix C), but by far the best is Stangl's, which is the favoured Type 1. Therefore, the most promising and colourful addition would seem to be Stangl's conjecture.

3.4.6. *adeoque non sunt accensi supplicio commilitonum* - Throughout this whole incident, the soldiers' restraint at Alexander's brutality is stressed: see also X.4.3 "Nec hoc quidem supplicium seditionem militum movit".

3.5.1. Nam cum postero die - Curtius is the only source to record this meeting at this stage. In the other sources the first meeting occurs following Alexander's talk with the Persians - in Curtius this would seem to have been in the section lost in a lacuna (see 3.14.23n.). Diodorus (17.109.3) gives no idea of the time factor involved and neither does Justin (12.12.1). The only time factor mentioned by Plutarch (*Alex.* 71.8) is that Alexander saw the men on the third day and this matches with Arrian (*An.* 7.11.1), who places Alexander in his tent for three days.

3.5.7. venissent - Bentley suggests *fuissent* for this reading of Ω , probably due to the fact that *prohibiti* and *venissent* seem to be in the wrong order. Stangl suggests *abissent*, which makes very good sense, and Foss, who points to a parallel at Just. 21.6.5, *aditu regis essent*; this is somewhat ambitious. However, there is no need to change the reading of the manuscripts.

3.5.17. denuntiantes...esse morituros - It is common to have people saying that they will die if something does, or does not, happen. In Livy there are three such examples using similar phraseology at e.g. 4.2.8, 5.24.9 & 24.3.12; see also Catul. 45.1ff.

3.5.19. esse - Hedicke emends this reading of Ω to *sese*; this supplies an accusative for the indirect statement. However, such a change is unnecessary, as the accusative, where it is the same as the subject of the main verb, is often omitted, especially in historians (see *K-S* I pp. 700ff.); Curtius is not an exception to the rule (see Lindgen, 1935 pp. 55f., who, as well as referring to this passage, gives a list of other examples from Curtius).

3.6.24. talem orationem habuit - For the only other time that Curtius employs this phrase see VI.2.21 "Satisque omnibus...compositis vocari ad contionem exercitum iussit, apud quem talem orationem habuit". This same three word phrase appears three times in Livy and on all occasions introduces a direct speech (see 5.3.1, 44.22.1 & 44.37.13); for *talem orationem* used in introductions to speeches see e.g. Liv. 21.39.10, 45.25.1 & *SHA* 27.9.1. The use of *talem* in the above cases is, perhaps, an admission that the words given are not those actually used. This idea can also be seen in Curtius at e.g. IX.2.12 "ad hunc maxime modum disseruit" and in other writers: see e.g. the use of *huiusce modi* in Sallust at *Cat.* 20.1 & McGushin *ad loc.*, 50.5 & McGushin *ad loc.*, 52.1, *Jug.* 9.4 & 86.1, of *hoc modo* at *Jug.* 13.9, of *in hunc modum* in Tacitus at *Ann.* 1.58.1 & 14.42.2 and of *sic ferme* at 14.55.1. However, it should be noted that these writers do not take this approach all the time: see e.g. Liv. 9.4.8 "inquit", 45.40.9 "memorabilis eius oratio...fuit", Sal. *Jug.* 109.4 "sic rex incipit", Tac. *Ann.* 1.41.3 "ita coepit" & 14.53.2 "ita incipit". Curtius usually does not qualify the words he gives: see the speech to the men just before this at X.2.15; see also e.g. V.8.6, VI.9.2, VI.10.1, VII.1.18, VIII.5.14 & VIII.7.1.

3.7.1. Cum ex Europa - Curtius is the only one of the sources to give a direct speech here,

although Justin (12.12.2f.) has, in *oratio obliqua*, the remains of a much longer speech in Pompeius Trogus - "Laudat perpetuam illorum cum in se tum in pristinos reges fidem; sua in illos beneficia commemorat, ut numquam quasi victos sed veluti victoriae socios habuerit, deniquē se in illorum, non illos in gentis suae morem transisse, adfinitatibus conubiorum victos victoribus miscuisse. Hinc quoque ait custodiam corporis sui non Macedonibus tantum se, verum et illis crediturum"; it can be seen that Curtius varies little in content from that writer. This view of a positive connection between the two is further increased when it is realised that none of the other main sources contain any mention of a speech. All the other sources, however, agree on Alexander talking with at least some of the leading Persians and giving them various positions of power: see D.S. 17.109.3 ὁ μὲν βασιλεὺς ἐκ τῶν ἐκκληγημένων Περσῶν ἡγεμόνας κατέστησε καὶ τούτους προῆγεν ἐπὶ τὸ πρωτεῖον, Plu. Alex. 71.4 τὰς φυλακὰς παρέδωκε Πέρσαις, καὶ κατέστησεν ἐκ τούτων δορυφόρους καὶ ῥαβδοφόρους & Arr. An. 7.11.1 τῇ τρίτῃ δὲ καλέσας εἴσω τῶν Περσῶν τοὺς ἐπιλέκτους τὰς τε ἡγεμονίας αὐτοῖς τῶν τάξεων διένειμε καὶ ὄσους συγγενεῖς ἀπέφηνε, τούτοις δὲ νόμιμον ἐποίησε φιλεῖν αὐτὸν μόνοις. Unfortunately, the speech, consisting of roughly three sections, the prooem (§§7-9), the narrative/argument (§§10-13) and the peroration (§14), is incomplete, but, in all probability, Alexander went on to dispense, in the speech, or after it, positions of command to the Persians; this is what happens in the other sources (see 3.14.23n.).

3.8.9. *fortes viros* - Throughout this speech, Alexander stresses that the Persians, despite their great wealth, are brave men. See also X.3.9 "cum fortes viri sitis, non fortitudinem magis quam fidem colitis".

3.8.11. <et> *erga* - Vogel adds *et* to the text and, in so doing, does not change the meaning, but makes it clear what *erga reges suos* is to be taken with; a connective is often present in such a structure (see K-S I p. 456). However, see de Lorenzi's (1965 pp. 110f.) objections to the addition of *et* on grounds of style.

3.8.15. *pietatis invictae* - The idea recurs in Justin: cf. 12.12.2 "Laudat perpetuam illorum cum in se tum in pristinos reges fidem". For examples of this quality in the Persians see e.g. V.9.16 "Bessus cum Bactrianis erat temptabatque Persas abducere...Persarum omnium eadem fere fuit vox, nefas esse deserere regem" & V.10.2 "Quippe in illis gentibus regum eximia maiestas est: ad nomen quoque barbari conveniunt, et pristinae veneratio fortunae sequitur adversam". Curtius' use of *pietas* is probably influenced by how the word was used in Rome in reference to the attitude towards the emperors (see Weinstock 1971 pp. 256ff.); this was particularly suitable due to the title *Pater Patriae* given to them (see Weinstock 1971 pp. 200ff.).

3.9.1a. *Luxu...felicitate mergi in voluptates* - For Persian luxury see 1.24.17an. Luxury, the result of success, was seen to have a detrimental effect on individuals (see e.g. Sen. Ep. 114.9, 19.9, Dial. 1.3.10 & Papius Fabianus ap. Sen. Con. 2.5.7), the state (see e.g. Liv. 2.52.2, 7.29.5

& 7.32.7), and even the quality of oratory (see e.g. Sen. *Con.* 1.*praef.*7 & Sen. *Ep.* 114.1ff.). See further 1.4.1n. & 3.9.6n.; for the view that good fortune was hard to bear see 1.40.2n. & 2.22.25n.

3.9.1b. *Luxu omnia fluere* - The metaphor seems to refer to the limpness of those exposed to too much luxury. It is as if they had been softened in a liquid: cf. Liv. 7.29.5 "Campani...fluentes luxu ab duratis usu armorum in Sidicino pulsi agro in se deinde molem omnem belli verterunt", 7.32.7 & Sen. *Ep.* 78.25.

3.9.2. *omnia* - Hedicke changes this reading of Ω to *omni*, which seems an unnecessary and bad emendation of a sound text.

3.9.6. *nimia felicitate* - A clichéd expression: see e.g. Sen. *Cl.* 1.1.7, *Dial.* 1.4.6, 1.3.10, *Ep.* 91.5, 114.8 & Costas *ad loc.* for the Senecan topos of the harmful effect of *felicitas*, V. Max. 1.5.2, Flor. *Epit.* 1.47.7, 2.13.8 & [Quint.] *Decl.* 6.8.

3.9.8. *mergi in voluptates* - For this metaphor elsewhere cf. e.g. Sen. *Ep.* 39.6 "voluptatibus itaque se mergunt, quibus in consuetudinem adductis carere non possunt".

3.9.16. *animorum corporumque robore* - Curtius uses this pairing also at VII.4.34 "sed et animi et corporis robore"; for the same idea and comparison, which is most common in Livy, in other writers see e.g. Liv. 7.7.9 "ni extraordinariae cohortes pari corporum animorumque robore se obiecissent", 9.17.13, 23.45.3, V. Max. 5.4.*ext.*7 "tanto animi corporisque robore", 6.9.14 & Apul. *Met.* 4.14.8 "non qui corporis adeo sed animi robore ceteris antistaret".

3.9.28. *fortitudinem magis quam fidem* - For the stress on Persian bravery see 3.8.9n.; for the idea of their loyalty cf. Just. 12.12.2 "Laudat perpetuam illorum cum in se tum in pristinos reges fidem"; for their loyalty and courage see also e.g. V.8.7, where Darius says "sed maiore, quam vellem, documento et virtutem vestram et fidem expertus magis etiam coniti debeo" & V.9.16, cited at 3.8.15n. Curtius is assigning to the Persians attributes commonly applied to loyal soldiers, or allies (see e.g. Cic. *Ver.* 2.2.163, *Font.* 13, Liv. 22.44.1, *B. Alex.* 43.2 & Petr. 71.12 & Smith *ad loc.*). *Fortitudo* and *fides* is a common collocation in other spheres; this is no doubt encouraged by the alliteration (see e.g. Cic. *Sest.* 113, *de Orat.* 2.343, Quint. *Inst.* 12.2.30 & Sen. *Ep.* 92.19).

3.10.2. *ego* - This reading of Δ seems preferable to the *ergo* of Ω merely from a point of sense, as it supplies the necessary emphasis in the correct place.

3.10.3. [non] *nunc* - The removal of the *non* of Ω , suggested by Acidalius and generally followed, seems correct in the context, as, otherwise, there would be little point in the following *olim*

scire; it seems preferable to Hedicke's suggestion of *vero*, which, although making sense, has little palaeographic plausibility.

3.10.12. *dilectum e vobis iuniorum habui* - These were the Epigoni (see §9 intro.). For this decision see VIII.5.1 "Ceterum Indiam et inde Oceanum petiturus, ne quid a tergo, quod destinata impedire posset moveretur, ex omnibus provinciis XXX milia iuniorum legi iussit et ad se armata perducere, obsides simul habiturus et milites" & Plu. *Alex.* 47.6 & Hamilton *ad loc.* Their arrival is missing in Curtius, but see D.S. 17.108.1f., Arr. *An.* 7.6.1 & Plu. *Alex.* 71.1 & Hamilton *ad loc.*; for a different group see Just. 12.12.4.

3.11.3. *Oxyartis Persae filiam mecum [in] matrimonio iunxi* - Roxane (Berve 688) was the daughter of Oxyartes (Berve 587), a Sogdian noble, who, according to Curtius (VIII.4.21f.), surrendered to Alexander in 328/7 B.C. At a party held after this, Alexander was much enamoured with the man's daughter and lost no time in marrying her (see VIII.4.23ff. & Plu. *Alex.* 47.7 & Hamilton *ad loc.*). Arrian (*An.* 4.19.4f. & see Brunt, 1976 p. 405, who prefers Curtius' version), however, tells the story in a different way: Roxane was captured after the fall of the Rock of Sogdiana and Alexander then married her; it was at a later time that Oxyartes surrendered (*An.* 4.20.4). Strabo (*Chr.* 11.11.4) says that she was captured after the fall of the rock of Sisimithres. The marriage was, no doubt, one of political convenience and is to be viewed in the context of the previous difficult years of insurrections in Bactria and Sogdiana. Such a marriage could be seen as an act of appeasement towards the locals, while, at the same time, marriage into the local nobility underlined Alexander's claims to be the legitimate ruler of the province (see Bosworth 1980a pp. 10f.). Oxyartes subsequently prospered and, in 325 B.C., after the punishment of the satrap of Parapamisadae, his territory was extended to include it as well as Bactria (see IX.8.10 & Arr. *An.* 6.15.3); after Alexander's death, he retained Parapamisadae (see D.S. 18.3.3 & Just. 13.4.21).

3.11.7. [in] - Hedicke seems to correctly delete this word, omitted in Δ ; *in* is not used in the four other examples of this construction in Curtius (cf. VIII.1.9, VI.9.30, V.3.12 & VIII.4.29).

3.12.4. *stirpem generis mei latius propagare* - Such a metaphor goes back at least as far as Ennius (see *Ann.* 166 "Nomine Burrus uti memorant a stirpe supremo") and *propagare* is often used of continuing a family (see e.g. Liv. 34.58.13 & Cic. *Ver.* 2.5.180). The combination is not original either: see e.g. Cic. *Phil.* 1.13 "stirpem iam prope in quingentesimum annum propagavit".

3.12.10. *uxorem Darei filiam duxi* - The daughter referred to is Statira (Berve 722), Darius' eldest, who married Alexander at Susa in 324 B.C.; for the ceremony see Ael. *VH* 8.7 & Ath. 12.538c; for her named at it see D.S. 17.107.6, Plu. *Alex.* 70.3 & Hamilton *ad loc.*, Just. 12.10.9 & Arr. *An.* 7.4.4, who, possibly, correctly calls her Barsine - the name difference may be due

to the girl changing her name on marriage, or, possibly, to a confusion with her mother (see Plu. *Alex.* 30.5; on these matters see Tarn 1948 II pp. 334f., Lane Fox 1973 p. 418 & Hamilton 1969 p. 195). She had been captured at Issus in 333 B.C. (see III.11.25, Plu. *Alex.* 21.1, Just. 11.9.12, D.S. 17.36.2 & Arr. *An.* 2.11.9) and was offered in marriage and rejected by Alexander at Tyre in 332 B.C. (see IV.5.1ff., D.S. 17.54.2ff., Plu. *Alex.* 29.7ff. & Hamilton *ad loc.*, Just. 11.12.3f. & Arr. *An.* 2.25.1ff.). After Alexander's death, Roxane had her killed (see Plu. *Alex.* 77.6 & Hamilton *ad loc.*).

3.12.14. proximisque amicorum - Curtius often uses a superlative and partitive genitive together: see 1.38.4n. for other cases in Book Ten.

3.12.16. auctor fui...sacro foedere - Cf. Just. 12.12.2 "se...adfinitatibus conubiorum victos victoribus miscuisse". Curtius is referring to the marriages at Susa in 324 B.C. He himself married Statira and Parysatis (see Arr. *An.* 7.4.4), the daughter of the former Persian king, Artaxerxes III (Ochus), who ruled from 359-338 B.C.; he thus connected himself with two branches of the royal household. The numbers of Alexander's friends taking part are variously recorded as eighty (Arr. *An.* 7.4.6), ninety (Ael. *VH* 8.7), ninety-two (Ath. 12.538b), or one hundred (Plu. *Moralia* 329e); on these figures see Hamilton 1969 p. 195. Of the other sources (there is a lacuna at that point in Curtius: see 1.45.16n.), Plutarch (*Alex.* 70.3) and Justin (12.10.9) mention only Alexander's bride, Statira, Diodorus (17.107.6) also mentions Hephaestion's bride and Arrian (*An.* 7.4.4ff.) also mentions the new wives of seven companions. In addition, more than ten thousand Macedonians, who had married Persian women previously were given gifts (Arr. *An.* 7.4.8). See also Ath. 12.538bff. for a full description of the scene.

Plutarch (*Moralia* 338df.) views the marriage of Alexander to Statira as having been contracted for imperial and political reasons as part of a policy leading to *κοινωνία* (see *Moralia* 329d). Here, Curtius also seems to have Alexander express this idea of a fusion (see also Just. 12.12.2, cited above) between Macedonians and Iranians; this is a suitable topic for such a speech - at the marriage with Roxane (see VIII.4.25) he records Alexander as saying "ut diceret ad stabiliendum regnum pertinere Persas et Macedones conubio iungi"; there is no mention of fusion. It seems that Curtius, as suggested by Bosworth, who also says this of Plutarch, is merely choosing his words to suit the context as he sees it - "The topos of fusion existed in the early empire and there were regular *exempla* - court dress, dynastic marriages and the assimilation of Iranians in the national army" (1980a p. 4). As to the actuality of such an idea, Bosworth (1980a pp. 1ff.) has recently argued that such a policy did not exist and that the weddings in question were no more than a way "to mark out Alexander's Companions as the new rulers of the Persian Empire" (1980a p. 12), since they married into the most prominent families. The weddings, despite their number, however, have been seen as unpopular with the men involved; as the women, with the exception of Seleucus' wife, Apame (see Bosworth 1988a p. 157 & Heckel 1988 p. 27 n. 22), are not recorded as playing a

rôle later, it has been assumed that the unions did not last, but this *argumentum ex silentio* seems unjustified (see Sherwin-White 1987 p. 7 & Hammond 1989a p. 277). For those in favour of fusion see Wilcken 1967 pp. 208f., Tarn 1948 I pp. 110f., II pp. 399ff. & Lane Fox 1973 pp. 417ff.: *contra* Badian 1958b pp. 425ff. & Bosworth 1980a pp. 1ff.; for a milder view see Hamilton 1987 pp. 467ff.

3.12.27. *discrimen victi et victoris excluderem* - Cf. Just. 12.12.2 "sua in illos beneficia commemorat, ut numquam quasi victos, sed veluti victoriae socios habuerit".

3.12.31. *excluderem* - Cornelissen (1876 p. 72) objects to this word on the grounds that it means that Alexander is not looking to an everlasting harmony, as the difference could return; he suggests *eluerem*. However, there seems no reason to emend.

3.13.22. *inveteravi peregrinam novitatem* - A rather strained paradox, indicative of Curtius' efforts to produce striking rhetoric.

3.13.25. *et cives mei estis et milites* - Compare his words to the Macedonians at 2.21.31n. & 2.27.38n. Alexander is emphasising his acceptance of the Persians as his people; this would seem to the Roman reader as an indication of a policy of fusion. However, once again there is a paradox as earlier *cives* and *milites* were seen as opposites: see 2.27.38n.

3.14.5. *nec Persis Macedonum...indecorum* - Curtius balances this sentence to possibly illustrate the balance between the two groups. However, he seems to have deliberately made sure that the two parts are not identical: he uses two different verbs (*imitari* for the Macedonians and *adumbrare* for the Persians), giving the idea that it is the Macedonians who will have to change more, and two different objects (*Macedonum morem* and *Persas*). The balance is not to be equal, which is what Justin records Alexander as saying at 12.12.2 "denique se in illorum, non illos in gentis suae morem transisse".

3.14.8. *morem* - This suggestion of Vindelin, for the *more* of Ω , seems correct, as *adumbrare* takes the accusative. De Lorenzi (1965 p. 68) prefers the *mores* of A on grounds of style, but *morem* seems more appropriate in the context.

3.14.15. *Eiusdem iuris...victuri sunt* - These sentiments are rather similar to what supposedly happened in early Rome and proved successful: cf. e.g. Liv. 1.2.4 "Aeneas adversus tanti belli terrorem ut animos Aboriginum sibi conciliaret nec sub eodem iure solum sed etiam nomine omnes essent, Latinos utramque gentem appellavit".

3.14.23. *victuri sunt* - After these words, there is a gap in Ω ; B^cL^c have "hinc deest". Froben, in a supplement, has Alexander's speech end with *sunt* and then writes "Hac oratione habita

Persis corporis sui custodiam credidit, Persas, satellites, Persas apparitores fecit. Per quos cum Macedones, qui huius seditionis principes erant, vincti ad supplicia traherentur, unum ex iis auctoritate et aetate gravem ad regem ita locutum ferunt". From fig. 5 (see §9 intro.), it would seem that Curtius would have mentioned, either in Alexander's speech or, as Froben suggests, in narrative form, the appointment of Persians in posts previously filled by Macedonians. Curtius may have then noted Macedonian unrest. Although the next surviving piece of text may be part of a rush to Alexander's quarters to complain and beg for his forgiveness, Froben's suggestion that one of those dragged off to punishment is speaking seems more plausible than a failed attempt for forgiveness, which the writer would have to repeat later.

4.1.1. Quousque... - This section does not seem to match up with anything in the other sources and would appear to be Curtius' own addition to add to the pathos of the episode: for other major alterations see §13 intro. & §15 intro. The first words are reminiscent of the celebrated opening of Cic. *Catil.* 1 "Quo usque tandem abutere, Catilina, patientia nostra?".

4.1.10. externi moris - The deaths referred to are probably those of the thirteen that were arrested earlier (see 2.30.19n.) Presumably, they were being punished as deserters (see 2.20.10n.), or mutineers. Unfortunately, it is not known what the Macedonian punishment for mutiny was at this time (see Austin 1981 pp. 136f. for monetary fines for lesser offences under Philip V). In the Roman army, a possible penalty for the leaders of mutinies would have been execution (see e.g. *Digest.* 49.16.3.19ff. "Qui seditionem atrocem militum concitavit, capite punitur", 49.16.6.2 "Contumacia omnis adversus ducem vel praesidem militis capite punienda est", Liv. 28.29.11, Luc. 5.360f., Tac. *Ann.* 1.44.2 & Watson 1969 pp. 120ff.), but, as with desertion, lesser punishments could be used. The punishment employed here is drowning (see X.4.2 "mergi in amnem, sicut vincti erant, iussit"). None of the other sources mention the method and it may be that Curtius is choosing a particularly sensational means (see also 9.18.32n. for a later one), seen by the Romans as an example of foreign punishment (see e.g. Tac. *Ger.* 12.1 "distinctio poenarum ex delicto: proditores et transfugas arboribus suspendunt, ignavos et inbelles et corpore infames caeno ac palude, iniecta insuper crate, mergunt"; for a case at Rome see Liv. 1.51.9 "novo genere leti, deiectus ad caput aquae Ferentinae crate superne iniecta saxisque congestis mergeretur").

4.1.12. obsequeris - Giunta suggests this emendation, which is also found in A, for the *exequeris* of Ω , which Curtius uses twenty-six times elsewhere, as opposed to the one other example of *obsequeris*. The change, however, is good, as, although both suit Curtius' period and genre, *exequeris* does not take the dative, or ablative; *obsequeris* does take the dative.

4.1.13. Milites tui, cives tui - An echo of Alexander's words to the Persians: see 3.13.25n.

4.1.14. tui...tui - Emphatic anaphora is a favourite device in Curtius: see e.g. X.5.22 "Quem

enim puellarum acturum esse curam? quem alium futurum Alexandrum? iterum esse se captas, iterum excidisse regnum. Qui mortuo Dareo ipsas tueretur, repperisse; qui post Alexandrum respiceret, utique non reperluras", X.5.35 "Quotiens illum a morte revocavit! quotiens temere in pericula vectum perpetua felicitate protexit!", X.8.10 "cuius imperium, cuius auspicium" & Crousen 1971 pp. 5ff. The device is much favoured by declaimers of the period: see e.g. Junius Gallio *ap. Sen. Con.* 7.1.12 "idem timuimus, idem doluimus, idem flevimus, eundem patrem habuimus, eandem matrem, eandem novercam", Pompeius Silo "ego sustuli, ego educavi, ego reddidi", Junius Gallio *ap. Sen. Con.* 1.8.9 "hoc imperio rei publicae <causa>, tua causa, mea causa", Arellius Fuscus *ap. Sen. Suas.* 3.5 "cur iste in Tires<iae> ministerium placuit? cur hoc os deus eligit? cur hoc sortitur, potissimum pectus, quod tanto numine impleat" & Statorius Victor *ap. Sen. Suas.* 2.18 "trecenti, sed viri, sed armati, sed Lacones, sed ad Thermopylas".

4.1.17. *incognita causa* - Once again (see 1.7.1n. for other cases), the language of the law courts is employed: for examples of this phrase in other writers see e.g. Cic. *Ver.* 1.39, 2.1.25, 2.2.81, *Clu.* 130, *Dom.* 20, *N.D.* 2.73, *Sal. Jug.* 14.20 & *Cels.* 4.2.7. This claim must surely be false, as the soldiers knew that Alexander was very displeased with their attitudes and their open disobedience, which he viewed as desertion and mutiny and was punishing as such. This tired phrase is used by Curtius only as a way to increase the reader's pity for the soldiers and no more. Its relevance to the situation is minimal: after all, the soldiers could not possibly think in this way. The punishment of soldiers without trial was permissible to the Macedonians (see 1.9.1n.) and would have been viewed in the same way by the Romans due to a general's *ius gladii* (see Watson 1969 p. 200 n. 374).

4.1.19. [a] - The *a* of Ω is suspect, as, due to the presence of *ducentibus*, it is superfluous and grammatically unlikely; Bardon unsatisfactorily punctuates it as "causa a! captivis suis". Stangl suggests *et*; however, this seems unnecessary as the omission of *a* (see e.g. Zumpt, Foss, Vogel, Dosson, Cocchia, Baraldi and the older editions) produces a pleasing asyndeton and a chiasmus: *milites* is contrasted with *captivis* and *cives* with *causa*.

4.2.1. *Amico animo, si veri patiens fuit* - Curtius continues to stress Alexander's changed personality; see also 1.9.1n. & X.1.39ff.

4.2.8. *sed in rabiem ira pervenerat* - For similar phrases see IV.6.29 referring to Alexander "Ira deinde vertit in rabiem iam tum peregrinos ritus nova subeunte fortuna" & V.3.20 referring to Alexander and his men "Ira igitur in rabiem versa eminentia saxa complexi"; the phraseology is perhaps borrowed from Liv. 22.51.9 "in rabiem ira versa laniando dentibus hostem exspirasset". For Alexander's proneness to anger see 5.34.2n.

4.3.1a. *Nec...quidem* - The reading of Ω should be retained: see 1.3.6n.

4.3.1b. *Nec hoc quidem supplicium seditionem militum movit* - The soldiers' endurance is stressed throughout this whole episode: see 3.4.6n.

4.3.9a. *copiarum duces atque amicos* - For Curtius' joining of these two groups in reference to Macedonians see V.6.14 "Erubuerunt non sequi primum amici, deinde copiarum duces, ad ultimum milites", VIII.4.18 "Postero die convocatis amicis copiarumque ducibus pronuntiarum iussit" & X.6.1 "in regiam principes amicorum ducesque copiarum advocavere"; of Persians see VII.4.1 "sicut illis gentibus mos est, cum amicis ducibusque copiarum inter epulas de bello consultabat".

4.3.9b. *copiarum duces* - The use of the term *manipuli* would seem to imply that *copiarum duces* refers to infantry leaders. The only other occasion that *copiarum duces* would refer specifically to infantry leaders is at X.8.8. On other occasions it refers to leaders in general: see IV.6.2, IV.16.31, V.6.1, V.6.14, cited at 4.3.9an., VI.9.11, VIII.4.18, cited at 4.3.9an., VIII.14.2, IX.1.6, 6.1.14n., 6.15.29n. & of Darius VII.4.1, cited at 4.3.9an. For *dux copiarum* in other writers see e.g. Cic. *Phil.* 11.33 of all forces & more loosely connected Liv. 23.32 12. *Copiae* itself usually refers to forces in general (see *TLL* IV p. 905.43ff.), but can be used in reference to cavalry (see e.g. *B. Afr.* 13.1 & *Amm.* 24.1.2), or infantry (see e.g. *Caes. Gal.* 5.3.1 & Liv. 31.38.4). This pattern is followed by Curtius with only six cases out of eighty-five (both are mentioned at IX.2.17 & IX.8.4) referring to infantry alone (see IV.12.7, X.8.8, X.9.14; at IV.7.3 & V.5.3 *pedestribus* is added, so there is no confusion) and to cavalry alone at VI.6.21, where *equestres* is added, and possibly X.9.8.

4.3.14. *manipuli* - This is the only time that Curtius employs this anachronistic Roman infantry term and he is probably doing so without thinking. A maniple in Roman Imperial times consisted of two centuries, that is some one hundred and sixty men (see Webster 1969 pp. 114, 29). The closest Macedonian units definitely mentioned at this time would seem to be the lochoi (see *Arr. An.* 2.10.2 & 3.9.6), reckoned by Milns (1971 p. 194) to be about two hundred and fifty men in number. It is, however, probable that there was another division, the tetrarchia, consisting of some one hundred and twenty-five men, equivalent to those of Philip V (Milns 1971 p. 195; Walbank, 1940 p. 293, gives their number as sixty-four). For more on the Macedonian infantry, probably made up of six divisions, each commanded by a taxiarch, with three pentacosiarchs, six lochagoi, twelve tetrarchae and ninety decadarchae, see Milns 1971 pp. 186ff., 1976 pp. 87ff., Tarn 1948 II pp. 142ff., Griffith *HG* 1979 pp. 418ff. & Bosworth 1988a pp. 259ff.

4.3.28. *offerre se corpora irae* - Among the Alexander historians, this offer only seems to be mirrored by Arrian, but at a different point in the proceedings: see *An.* 7.11.4 *τούς τε αἰτίους τῆς ἐν τῷ τότε παραχῆς καὶ τοὺς ἀρξάντας τῆς βοῆς ἐκδιδόναι ἐθέλειν*. This seems to be a variant on the overworked *color* of a general offering himself to his men, for which see e.g.

Tac. *Ann.* 1.35.4 (Germanicus) "at ille moriturum potius quam fidem exueret clamitans, ferrum a latere diripuit elatumque deferebat in pectus, ni proximi prensam dextram vi attinuissent" & *Hist.* 3.10.4 (Antonius); such an offer is indicative of the Macedonians' devotion to their king (see 3.3.1bn.). For the construction elsewhere cf. e.g. Liv. 2.6.8 "itaque se certamini offert", 9.10.4 "ipsum se cruciatibus et hostium irae offerre piaculaque pro populo Romano dare", Quint. *Inst.* 2.11.4 "quod ultro se offerat" & Tac. *Ag.* 37.3 "ac se morti offerre".

4.3.32. *trucidaret* - Following this word, there is a large lacuna, which lasts as far as Alexander's deathbed scene; in the text of FL¹V and in the margin of BL^c "hinc deest" is written. From fig. 5 (see §9 intro.) it is possible to see how this episode may have ended in Curtius. It would seem logical to say that, following this initial rebuttal by Alexander, the soldiers were moved to approach the royal quarters again and eventually prevailed upon Alexander to forgive them (for the aftermath see §9 intro.). The clearest way to see what is missing following this in the lacuna, which must have been caused by the loss of several pages at some time, is to refer to the figs. 12b & 12c in Appendix A. It is likely that Curtius would have included most of those events mentioned by Diodorus; he may also have added details contained in other sources.

Section Ten

The Death of Alexander: X.5.1 - X.5.6

The sources deal in two distinct ways with the death of Alexander on the 10th June 323 B.C.¹. Unfortunately, however, Curtius' version is missing, except for the army's marchpast and Alexander's final words; nothing about the cause of death can be ascertained. Later², however, Curtius gives the details of a possible murder plot. Poison was said to have been administered by Iollas, Antipater's son and one of the king's attendants. Alexander, according to Curtius, often remarked that Antipater had regal aspirations and that there was a belief that Craterus, on his arrival in Macedonia, was to murder the ageing regent³. Curtius then describes the potency of the poison⁴ brought by Cassander; it seems, however, clear that he does not believe that poison was used⁵. It is, therefore, a reasonable assumption to say that Curtius, in his initial account of the death, did not mention poison and, most probably, gave the same order of events as Diodorus.

Diodorus⁶ portrays Alexander as sacrificing to the gods and then being called away by Medius, a Thessalian, to a drinking party; there, he consumed too much in commemoration of Heracles and, finally, drank a huge cup full of wine in one go and shrieked, as if someone had hit him. He was helped to his apartments, but no one could heal him; after summoning his friends, handing his ring to Perdicas, describing the sort of man who ought to take over from him and foretelling a contest in honour of his funeral, he passed away. The reason given for his death is excessive drinking. Diodorus then proceeds to give the version that Alexander was poisoned at the hands of Antipater and his son; he ends by saying that, until Cassander died, not many historians dared to write about the drug. Justin⁷ tells how Alexander, while returning from a banquet, was invited by Medius to drink at his house. There, Alexander, while drinking, suddenly uttered a groan, as if stabbed, and was carried away. Later, he requested a sword to commit suicide, but this wish was not granted. Justin then says that, although the reason given for the death was a disease caused by excess drinking, it was actually the result of a conspiracy. He then tells of the plot involving Antipater and his sons. On the fourth day, Alexander saw that the end was near, and, as in Curtius' version, saw his soldiers, then talked with his friends, foretelling great bloodshed, ordering his body to be taken to Egypt, announcing to what sort of man his power should pass and giving his ring to Perdicas. In addition to these three sources, where it seems that drinking is the main cause of Alexander's illness⁸, there are other accounts in a similar vein. Ehippus of Olynthus⁹ tells how the king took part in a drinking contest with a fellow Macedonian, called Proteas, at which a six-quart cup proved too much for him and he sank back and died. Nicoboule¹⁰ tells how Alexander, while with Medius, toasted all twenty guests at the party, left and rested¹¹.

Plutarch and Arrian both have a completely different account, supposedly based on the *Ephemerides*, or Journals of Alexander's court. Plutarch¹² sets the scene by telling of the

arrival of Cassander and of Alexander's fierce punishment of the young man for laughing at proskynesis¹³. Charges against Antipater are also mentioned. Later, Alexander, following a revel with Nearchus, is recorded as going to Medius' house. There, he drank all the next day and got a fever. At this point, Plutarch objects to those who say that this came upon him following a certain drink, or a pain, as if he had been hit. Aristobulus, Plutarch records, said that Alexander had a fever, drank, became delirious and died. Plutarch then goes on to give an almost daily account of the king's demise over a ten day period. In this time, the army went to see the king, as in Curtius and Justin, but an important difference is that Alexander is said to be speechless; there is, therefore, no final conversation with his officers. Plutarch follows this by saying that, although there were no immediate suspicions of poisoning, five years later Olympias put many to death for the murder of her son and scattered Iollas' ashes. He then notes that there was a story involving Aristotle and Antipater in a plot; he describes the type of poison, but ends by saying that most writers thought that the poison theory was a fabrication.

Arrian¹⁴ presents Alexander, after sacrificing to the gods, as feasting and drinking far into the night; he mentions that some said that he then retired with Medius for more drinking. The writer subsequently begins to quote from the *Ephemerides*; this extract, however, is not exactly the same as that of Plutarch¹⁵. Once again, a marchpast is included, but there is no meeting with officers, as, by that time, as in Plutarch, Alexander is speechless. Arrian then states that some have recorded that Alexander mentioned what sort of man he wanted to succeed him and about funeral games and proceeds to give other versions of why Alexander died; he includes the story that Antipater sent a drug, made by Aristotle, with Cassander and that it was administered by Iollas. He also says that some noted Medius' involvement and that Alexander felt a sharp pain after drinking. Finally, he tells of one writer who mentions that Alexander wanted to throw himself into the Euphrates, but was prevented by Roxane.

It just so happens that this last story is contained in a work still available - the *Liber de Morte Alexandri*, which is contained, in varying forms, at the end of some of the later Alexander romances and the *Metz Epitome*. This work contains the events leading up to the king's death and includes a plot by Antipater and a list of those present at Medius' party, including the identification of those who knew of the plot. In this work, once again, Alexander drinks and feels a pain, as if he had been smitten¹⁶, sees the army and talks to them¹⁷ and gives his ring to Perdikkas¹⁸. In addition, there is the scene, which Arrian attacks, where Alexander desires to throw himself into the Euphrates¹⁹. It has generally been believed that this pamphlet²⁰ was produced by Perdikkas and his supporters in 322/1 B.C.; its aim was to discredit Antipater and his family at a time when the two sides were at odds²¹. However, a recent prosopographic study²², has shown that, as the document stands, it was probably written about 317 B.C. for Polyperchon²³ as anti-Cassander propaganda²⁴.

As well as this political pamphlet, the authenticity of the *Ephemerides*²⁵ has also been thrown into great doubt²⁶. Most writers²⁷ consider them as composed either from records,

or memory, to order at a time after Alexander's death for merely political purposes²⁸. From the remaining fragments, it is clear that Alexander's continual drinking is stressed; this, coupled with the fact that they all seem to relate to Alexander's last year of life²⁹, points to a political document stressing that Alexander died due to the effects of his over-drinking. It has, therefore, been suggested that it was published as a means to clear all the officers in Babylon of the charges of poisoning then circulating and that this would have been done at a time prior to the hostilities between Antipater and Perdiccas in the winter of 322/1 B.C.³⁰. Whether authentic, or not, there seems no reason to doubt the order of events portrayed in them; if someone produced a diary it would need to seem to be correct as regards the order of events.

Although the theory that Alexander was poisoned has support³¹, it seems that ancient poisons³² probably would not have produced the symptoms recorded in the ancient sources; a much more likely solution is infection by malaria³³ of the *Plasmodium Falciparum* variety, which is prevalent in the area today³⁴. Considering that Alexander had just returned from the swamps³⁵, such a death seems very plausible; in addition, if Alexander had suspected a plot, it would have been likely that some action would have been taken before he died³⁶. However, no matter how Alexander died, rumours of poisoning were bound to have been advanced³⁷. The two political pamphlets were designed to either encourage suspicions, or to defend against them, the probable order being that the *Ephemerides* came out in 322/1 B.C. and the *Liber de Morte* in 317 B.C.³⁸.

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1. For this date see Hamilton 1969 pp. 209ff., Lewis 1969 p. 272 & Bosworth 1988a p. 172.
 2. X.10.14ff.
 3. On the relations with Antipater see 10.15.1n.
 4. For this see 10.16.1n.
 5. See X.10.18.
 6. 17.117.1ff.; Hammond (1983a pp. 77f.) suggests Cleitarchus as a source.
 7. 12.13.7ff. Hammond (1983a pp. 108f.) sees Justin as showing the same main source at this point as Diodorus. From the unmistakable similarities with Curtius (see above and for more details the following notes) I can see no reason not to assign Curtius to the same source.
 8. Justin, of course, rejects this, but the original source probably did not differentiate.
 9. See Ath. 10.434af.
 10. *F.Gr.H.* 127. See Ath. 10.434c. The writer is only mentioned elsewhere at Plin. *Nat.* 1.13; on the writer see Pearson 1960 pp. 67f.
 11. For the same impression see also Ael. *VH* 3.23 & Sen. *Ep.* 83.23.
 12. *Alex.* 74.2ff. & see Hamilton *ad loc.*
 13. On this see 5.11.2n.
 14. *An.* 7.24.4ff.
 15. On this see Bosworth 1988b pp. 158ff.; for a tabular representation see Robinson 1932 pp. 63ff. & Bosworth 1988b pp. 160ff.
 16. See §99.
 17. See §§104ff.
 18. See §112.
 19. See §§101f.
 20. Its age seems in no doubt.
 21. See e.g. Lane Fox 1973 p. 468 & Bosworth 1988a p. 171.
 22. See Heckel 1988 pp. 1ff.
 23. This man had succeeded Antipater in 319 B.C., much to Cassander's anger: see D.S. 18.48.4ff.
 24. It should be noted that it may have been written at an earlier date and "touched up" by changing a few names and events and put to a new use, resurrecting old charges, which

- initially came out following Alexander's death; honours proposed by Hyperides and voted for by the Athenian Assembly were given to Iollas (see Plu. *Moralia* 849f.) and Olympias was able to use these charges in 317 B.C. (see D.S. 19.11.8).
25. Supposedly written by Eumenes of Cardia, Alexander's chief secretary; for the fragments see *F. Gr. H.* 117.
 26. E.g. Wilcken (1967 p. 236) sees them as written later.
 27. Hammond (1983a pp. 4ff., 1988 pp. 17ff. & 1989a pp. 187ff.) seems almost alone among modern writers in favouring the traditional acceptance of them as the fragmentary remains of Alexander's official court records: for this view at its most basic including a lengthy, but inadequate, itinerary see Robinson 1932 pp. 7ff.
 28. Pearson (1954/5 pp. 429ff.) sees them as the fragments of a much later literary work by Strattis of Olynthus, Samuel (1965 pp. 1ff.) as deriving from the official Babylonian records, Badian (1987 pp. 608ff.) as a literary fiction existing in several versions, one of which was written by Diodotus of Erythrae (Ath. 10.434b) and Strattis' work as an attempt to unravel truth from them and Bosworth (1988b pp. 157ff.) as no more than a propaganda piece.
 29. Surely this is surprising if it was a continuous work; this doubt is compounded by the fact that Arrian and Plutarch use it so little.
 30. Lane Fox (1973 pp. 469f.) sees the date as later, saying that seven years after the king's death Cassander was blamed by Olympias for poisoning her son and in another nine years the members of Aristotle's school were attacked on this matter by Antigonus.
 31. Milns (1968 pp. 257f.) suggests the use of strychnine and Bosworth (1971a pp. 123ff.) presents the details of a plot among Antipater and the other generals. The idea that Alexander was poisoned was popular in antiquity: see e.g. *Ov. Ib.* 287f., *V. Max.* 1.7.ext.2, *Vitr.* 8.3.16, *Plin. Nat.* 30.149, *Paus.* 8.18.6 (expressing doubt), *Ael. NA* 5.29, *Tac. Ann.* 2.73.2, *Oros.* 3.20.4, *D. Chr.* 64.19, *Stat. Silv.* 4.6.71f. & *Plu. Moralia* 538b.
 32. For the one cited by the sources see 10.16.1n.
 33. Hammond (1981a p. 323) accepts death by malaria tropica.
 34. See Engels 1978a pp. 224ff.; for the view that disease killed Alexander see *Str. Chr.* 16.1.5, *Liv.* 8.3.7 & *Nep. Reg.* 2.1.
 35. *Arr. An.* 7.22.1ff. & *D.S.* 17.116.5ff.
 36. 1978a pp. 224f.
 37. A glance at ancient literature is enough to see how often death was put down to this: see 10.14.1n.
 38. On Alexander's death see Bosworth 1971a pp. 112ff., 1988a pp. 171ff., Milns 1968 pp. 255ff., Wilcken 1967 pp. 236ff., Hamilton 1973 pp. 151ff., Lane Fox 1973 pp. 461ff. & Engels 1978a pp. 224ff.

5.1.1. *Intuentibus...circumstantium lectum eminebat* - Due to the preceding lacuna, the scene is not totally clear, especially as regards who *intuentibus* and *circumstantium* refer to; it is, therefore, necessary to turn to the other sources, both for the background and the present details. In these, except Diodorus, it is stated that the soldiers were worried about Alexander's health and were allowed to see him: see *Just.* 12.15.2f. "Tumultuantes deinde milites insidiisque perire regem suspicantes ipse sedavit eosque omnes, cum prolatus in editissimum urbis locum esset, ad conspectum suum admisit osculandamque dexteram suam flentibus porrexit. Cum lacrimarent omnes, ipse non sine lacrimis tantum, verum sine ullo tristioris mentis argumento fuit, ut quosdam impatientius consolatus sit, quibusdam mandata ad parentes eorum dederit", *Plu. Alex.* 76.8 διὸ καὶ τοῖς Μακεδόσιν ἔδοξε τεθνάναι, καὶ κατεβῶν ἐλθόντες ἐπὶ τὰς θύρας, καὶ διηπειλοῦντο τοῖς ἐταίροις, ἕως ἐβιάσαντο, καὶ τῶν θυρῶν αὐτοῖς ἀνοιχθειῶν ἐν τοῖς χιτῶσι καθ' ἕνα πάντες παρὰ τὴν κλίνην παρεξήλθον & Hamilton *ad loc.* & *Arr. An.* 7.26.1 καὶ ἐπὶ τούτοις ὅτι οἱ στρατιῶται ἐπόθησαν ἰδεῖν αὐτόν, οἱ μὲν, ὡς ζῶντα ἔτι ἴδοιεν, οἱ δέ, ὅτι τεθνηκέναι ἤδη ἐξηγγέλλετο, ἐπικρύπτεσθαι δὲ αὐτοῦ ἐτόπαζον πρὸς τῶν σωματοφυλάκων τὸν θάνατον, ὡς ἔγωγε δοκῶ· τοὺς πολλοὺς <δὲ> ὑπὸ πένθους καὶ πόθου τοῦ βασιλέως βιάσασθαι ἰδεῖν Ἀλέξανδρον. τὸν δὲ ἄφωνον μὲν εἶναι λέγουσι παραπορευομένης τῆς στρατιᾶς δεξιούσθαι δὲ ὡς ἐκάστους τὴν τε κεφαλὴν ἐπαίροντα μόνις καὶ τοῖν ὀφθαλμοῖν

ἐπισημαίνοντα. In addition, the army also files past the speechless Alexander in the *Liber de Morte* (see also Ps.-Callisth. 3.31.11f.): see §§104f. "Interim in exercitu clamor et seditio orta est minante se eos, qui circum regem essent, interfectores, nisi Alexandri corpus in conspectum daretur...Alexander iussit se proferri et in excelso loco poni, ita uti multitudo intromissa per alteram portam emitti posset. hunc milites centuriatim visitabant cum singulis tunicis intromissi, lacrimantesque eum salutabant, deinde altero ostio foras exibant. ille omnes manu ac nutu, utpote qui iam in extremo vitae fine esset neque loqui posset, tacitus salutabat. Inter hos quidam Peucolas...ait: 'o Alexander...utile est igitur omnibus nobis tecum una mori'". The scene, therefore, in Curtius must be that the soldiers are filing past and that *intuentibus* refers to those not doing this, but standing beside Alexander (i.e. the officers); the *circumstantium* refers to this same group, thus emphasising their great grief, which surpassed that even of the army.

5.1.2. lacrimae abortae - This tear shedding is the first in Curtius' text of a series of such scenes involving Macedonians after the demise of Alexander: of the soldiers see X.5.7 "Ac primo ploratu lamentisque et planctibus tota regia personabat", X.6.3 "Ac primum eiulatus ingens ploratusque renovatus est" & X.6.4 "Quorum aspectu rursus abortae omnibus lacrimae integravere luctum"; of young nobles see X.5.8 "luctu ac maerore compleverat nullis questibus omissis". To a reader of Curtius' text this would come as no surprise, since, previously, loyalty (for this see 3.3.1bn.) and love for the king had caused similar outbursts: for when his life was in danger see III.5.5ff., VII.8.5 & IX.5.29f.; for the same action in other cases see VI.9.3, IX.3.2, IX.3.16 & IX.6.15. Throughout the work, it is also usual for Macedonians to weep for other reasons as well: for the army see V.4.24, V.5.7, VII.2.3 & VIII.11.12; for individuals see IV.10.20, V.5.8, VI.2.18, VI.7.28, VIII.2.5, IX.3.2 (all of Alexander), VI.7.8 (Dymnus), VI.9.33 (Philotas), VII.2.5 (Polemon), IX.5.26 (Critobulus) & X.8.20 (Arrhidaeus). At this point, both Justin and the *Liber de Morte* (see respectively 12.15.3 & §105, both cited at 5.1.1n.) present the soldiers as crying, whereas this is not the case in Arrian, or Plutarch. This possibly points to a common source: such a pathetic scene would seem to suit what is known of the nature of Cleitarchus' work.

A Roman reader would probably not have thought of the Macedonian soldiers as weak in this weeping. Curtius at no time criticises it, Apuleius (*Met.* 3.1.2 & 11.24.7) admits to it and, when Cicero (*Tusc.* 3.62, cited at 5.19.16n.) lists odious forms of mourning, weeping is not included. Although women are more prone to weeping (see e.g. Liv. 1.58.7 of Lucretia & 39.11.7 of Sulpicia), notable Roman males are also portrayed as such: see e.g. Ov. *Fast.* 4.845 (Romulus), Verg. *A.* 6.867 (Anchises), 11.41 (Aeneas), Tac. *Ann.* 1.49.2 (Germanicus), Suet. *Cal.* 15.1f. (Caligula) & Porcius Latro *ap. Sen. Con.* 10.3.1 (Julius Caesar); for the Roman populace weeping see e.g. Livy *ap. Sen. Suas.* 6.17, Cremutius Cordus *ap. Sen. Suas.* 6.19. & Brutteditius Niger *ap. Sen. Suas.* 6.21 on seeing the severed head of Cicero; for the army see Tac. *Ann.* 1.62.1 on the discovery of Varus' first camp in A.D. 15. Such weeping was also a rhetorical commonplace: see e.g. Murreddius *ap. Sen. Con.* 9.6.12.

5.2.8. *rex aspexit* - This reading of B^cΔ, followed by editors, is preferable to the *respexit* of FLV, as it makes the subject clearer; this is good before *inquit*. The meaningless reading of B¹ shows the course of the corruption and *respexit* is clearly an attempt at correction; it is usually found with *ad* and the accusative, or without an object and, in cases where people are concerned and when it takes the accusative, it has the meaning of "look back", or "see behind", which would not really be suitable.

5.2.10. *Invenietis...dignum talibus viris regem* - A strangely phrased, but understandable question, considering Alexander's high opinion of himself. The *talibus viris* must refer to the ordinary soldiers, as he is talking to the officers; it would be from among the latter group that a successor, or regent (for this practice see 6.21.16n.), would be expected to be chosen. Justin (12.15.5) supplies a question with a similar slant, where Alexander, after the ordinary soldiers have been dismissed, asks the officers "*videanturne similem sibi reperturi regem*". The same idea is also in Velleius Paterculus at 2.14.2 "*similem mei civem habebit res publica?*" concerning Livius Drusus. There is the possibility that Curtius may have borrowed the idea from either Velleius, or Pompeius Trogus. Alternatively, Curtius may be alluding to a famous saying of Drusus.

5.3.1. *Incredibile dictu audituque* - There does not seem to be anything that incredible in what Alexander did: for a full account see e.g. V. Max. 5.1.ext.1 "*idem non hominum ulli, sed naturae fortunaeque cedens, quamquam violentia morbi dilabebatur, in cubitum tamen erectus dexteram omnibus, qui eam contingere vellent, porrexit. quis autem illam osculari non cuperet, quae iam fato oppressa maximi exercitus complexui humanitate quam spiritu vividior suffecit?*" and also Arr. An. 7.26.1, Just. 12.15.2f. & L.M. §§104f. (all cited at 5.1.1n.); Curtius is merely using these words to heighten the drama of the scene. For the same idea in Curtius see e.g. IX.5.1 "*cum ille rem ausus est incredibilem atque inauditam multoque magis ad famam temeritatis quam gloriae insignem*"; for the two other uses of *incredibile dictu* see IV.7.16 "*Incredibile dictu, inter vastas solitudines sita undique ambientibus ramis*" & VIII.2.36 "*Is pedes - incredibile dictu - per D stadia vectum regem comitatus est*". *Incredibile dictu* is less common than the similar *mirabile dictu*; *incredibile auditu* and *mirabile auditu* are rare - for the latter see e.g. Cic. Pis. 32.

5.3.13. *admissurus* - The reading of B¹ is to be preferred to the incorrect *amissurus* of B^cFLV, which has the opposite meaning to that required.

5.3.25. *Dimissoque vulgo* - Note the similarity with Just.12.15.5 "*Dimissis militibus*". The *Liber de Morte* has the same order of events: see §106, cited at 5.4.1n.

5.3.28. *omni vitae debito liberatus* - This could mean either "freed from all the portion of life owed to him", or "freed from all the burden of life". The latter option, while making very

good sense, does not seem as satisfactory as the former, which includes the idea of one's fate and a person's allotted span of years. This tends to be more in keeping with Curtius' attitudes on the subject: see e.g. X.6.6 "intuentibus credere licet, tantum virum deos adcommodasse rebus humanis, quarum sorte completa cito repeterent eum suae stirpi". For the same idea of a life on loan see e.g. Cic. *Phil.* 10.20 "cum vero dies et noctes omnia nos undique fata circumstent, non est viri minimeque Romani dubitare eum spiritum quem naturae debeat patriae reddere", 14.31 "o fortunata mors quae naturae debita pro patria est potissimum reddita", Prop. 2.1.71 "quandocumque igitur vitam mea fata reposcent", Sen. *Dial.* 11.10.5 "dedit natura fratri tuo vitam, dedit et tibi: quae suo iure usa si a quo voluit debitum suum citius exegit" & Amm. 25.3.15 "advenit, o socii, nunc abeundi tempus e vita inpendio tempestivum, quam reposcenti naturae ut debitor bonae fidei".

5.4.1. *propiusque adire iussis amicis* - This scene of a sick, or dying, man surrounded by his friends or colleagues is a common one and would also be well known to Curtius' readers from their own experiences: see Toynbee 1971 p. 43; for an exception noted see Papius Fabianus *ap. Sen. Con.* 2.4.3 "non servorum turba circumstabat, non amicorum". For similar episodes cf. e.g. Sal. *Jug.* 9.4ff. (Micipsa) "amicis et cognatis", Vell. 2.14.2 (Livius Drusus) "'ecquandone', inquit, 'propinqui amicique'", Tac. *Ann.* 2.71.1ff. (Germanicus) "adsistentes amicos", 14.47.1 (Nero) "adulantibus circum", Suet. *Aug.* 99.1f. (Augustus) "admissos amicos" & Carter *ad loc.*, D.C. 56.30.3f. (Augustus) *τούς τε ἑταίρους συνεκάλεσε*, Hdn. 1.4.1ff. (Marcus Aurelius) *συγκαλέσας τε τούς φίλους* & Amm. 25.3.15ff. (Julian) "circumstantes adlocutus est". For famous last words see 1.37.22n.

As well as being generally common, this scene is also part of the Alexander tradition, although two distinct groupings occur. A similar scene is presented by both Justin (12.15.5ff. "Dimissis militibus circumstantes amicos percontatur...") and Diodorus (17.117.4 *τῶν δὲ φίλων ἐπερωτῶντων...*). There is a meeting, following the marchpast, in the *Liber de Morte* (see §§106f. "Postquam omnes milites transierunt et in cubiculum relatus est, iussit Perdiccam ceterosque intro vocari.") and, at a later meeting, Alexander speaks his last words surrounded by a few friends (see §112 "accipe me, sancte Hercules ac Minerva, vosque amici, bene valete"). Plutarch and Arrian both list the events leading to Alexander's death in the form of the *Ephemerides*; they mention a meeting between Alexander and his officers before the army viewed him; however, he was unable to speak (see Plu. *Alex.* 76.7 *ἐπελθόντων δὲ τῶν ἡγεμόνων ἦν ἄφωνος, ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ τὴν πέμπτην* & Arr. *An.* 7.25.6 *εἰσελθόντων δὲ τῶν ἡγεμόνων γινῶναι μὲν αὐτοῦς, φωνῆσαι δὲ μηδὲν ἔτι, ἀλλὰ εἶναι ἀναυδον*).

5.4.5. *nam et vox deficere iam coeperat* - In this explanatory remark, Curtius uses *vox deficere*, which is a favourite in such a situation: in reference to a dying man see VI.7.30 "Illum iam defecerat vox"; in reference to sick men see VI.11.37 "Cafan vox sanguisque defecerant" & VII.7.5 "adhuc aeger ex vulnere praecipue voce deficiens". For the same idea elsewhere see Tac. *Ann.* 6.24.2 "vocesque deficientis adiecerat".

5.4.8. *deficere* - There is general confusion over this word in the manuscripts: V¹ omits it, L¹ has *deficere decipere*, B¹ has *decipere* corrected in the margin to *deficere*, and F has *decipere*. It is, however, clear to see that the reading of B^cL^cV^c is required.

5.4.11. *detractum anulum digito Perdiccae tradidit* - Diodorus (17.117.3 & 18.2.4) also places this action in the deathbed scene. Hornblower (1981 pp. 90f.), as with the other repeated remarks (see 5.5.1n. & 5.5.12n.), believes the two mentions are probably from the same source and, therefore, not based on Hieronymus (for this writer see §13 intro.); however, Badian (1987 pp. 607f.) remarks that, in the second case, the ring incident is not connected with the other questions and notes that, even if the source is Hieronymus, this does not make it true. Justin (12.15.12f.) puts the episode two days later; as stated previously, Arrian (for a possible reason why see Errington 1969 pp. 239f.) and Plutarch do not include this scene; this, however, does not prove it to be false, as the authenticity of the *Ephemerides* themselves is in doubt (see §10 intro.). In the *Liber de Morte* (§112), Perdiccas is given the ring before the king dies, but not at the meeting after the marchpast. The handing of the ring to Perdiccas is also noted by Nepos (*Eum.* 2.2), Lucian (*DMort.* 13.2), the *Heidelberg Epitome* (*F.Gr.H.* 155 F1.2) and Porphyrius (*F.H.G.* 3.1).

The ring which Alexander would have given to Perdiccas was the one he used as his official seal (see X.6.5; for a private use see III.6.7; see also VI.6.6) and the possessor of this would have had great power; it is, therefore, with just reason that it is briefly interpreted as marking out a successor (see X.6.16ff.; however, for the common view see X.5.12 "sine certo regis herede, sine herede regni"). Justin (12.15.12) and Nepos (*Eum.* 2.2) also see this ring as marking the successor. In Curtius' own day the same importance is seen to be attached to the ruler's seal ring. Julius Caesar had a man who looked after his seal ring (see e.g. Just. 43.5.12 of Pompeius Trogus' father) and *principes* even gave duplicates to others (see e.g. D.C. 65.2.2 of Vespasian & Plin. *Nat.* 37.10 of Augustus). The importance of the ring in marking out a successor can also be seen (see e.g. D.C. 53.30.2, where it is given to Agrippa when Augustus is ill, Suet. *Tib.* 73.2, where the dying Tiberius does not want to let go of it, & *Cal.* 12.2, where Caligula takes it from the dying Tiberius). It is interesting that Augustus used a ring with the head of Alexander as a seal (see Suet. *Aug.* 50 & Carter *ad loc.* & Plin. *Nat.* 37.10), although he later replaced it with one with his own image (see D.C. 51.3.6). For the use of rings in the ancient world see *SMW I* 1890 pp. 129ff.

5.4.18. *ut corpus suum ad Hammonem* - Besides Curtius, only Justin (12.15.7) of the five main sources, mentions this wish among Alexander's dying words; this again raises the question of how much Curtius used the work of Pompeius Trogus (see Appendix A). In the assigning of provinces in 323 B.C. this is supported by Diodorus (18.3.5), who gives the task of looking after Alexander's funeral cortege and the construction of the chariot to take the body to Ammon to Arrhidaeus (not the king; see Geer 1947 p. 19 n. 4); Justin (13.4.6) also gives this information, but confuses this man with the king. In the *Liber de Morte* (§111), this order is

given to Ptolemy, but not in Alexander's last words; on this as a propaganda ploy to win over Ptolemy to Polyperchon's side in 317 B.C. see Heckel 1988 pp. 23ff., 72f. However, there is another tradition: at 1.6.3 Pausanias states that the body was to be buried at Aegae in Macedōnia (all the other kings of Alexander's line were buried there: see Just. 7.2.2ff. & Hammond 1989a p. 24) and Arrian (*F. Gr. H.* 156 F9.25) implies that the body was not to go to Egypt; this view tends to be accepted by those who prefer to believe in the authenticity of the *Ephemerides* (see §10 intro.). However, both Badian (1968 pp. 185ff.) and Hornblower (1981 pp. 90f.) have given a possible reason for the difference of the traditions: it is simply that, in the period of almost two years taken to build the coffin and funeral carriage (for these see D.S. 18.26.1f.), the political situation had changed. In 323 B.C. Ptolemy and Perdiccas were friends, but in 321 B.C. this was no longer the case and, when, for a brief time, Perdiccas was in alliance with Antipater, Aegae seemed the better place for the body to go. However, following a further falling out between Perdiccas and Antipater, Perdiccas probably preferred to keep the body at Babylon; this is a possible reason why Arrhidaeus, in moving it, was acting against orders (see Arr. *F.Gr.H.* 156 F9.25). Errington (1976 p. 142), followed by Hornblower (1981 pp. 91f.), has suggested an equally plausible idea: perhaps initially there was no agreed settlement and the elaborate work on the carriage supplied time for the political situation to develop. He (1976 pp. 141ff.) has also shown the importance of the body, the possession of which may have been contested immediately following the king's death: see 7.16.1n.; in addition, Justin (13.4.4, cited at 6.15.5n.) has the body of Alexander as being present when the quarrelling factions come to agreement. For what actually happened following Alexander's death see 10.20.1n.

5.4.22. Hammonem - Throughout the work, Curtius portrays Alexander as believing that he is the son of Ammon. He was apparently first called this at the oracle of Ammon at Siwah in 332/1 B.C. (see IV.7.25ff. & Atkinson *ad loc.*; on his visit to Ammon see also Plu. *Alex.* 26.10ff. & Hamilton *ad loc.*, D.S. 17.49.2ff., Arr. *An.* 3.3.1ff. & Bosworth *ad loc.* & Just. 11.11.2ff.), after supposedly going there for that purpose (see IV.7.8. & Atkinson *ad loc.*, Arr. *An.* 3.3.2 & Bosworth *ad loc.* & Bosworth 1977 pp. 67ff.; see also Just. 11.11.6). Following this incident, there are frequent references to his divine parentage, often providing a focal point for Macedonian opposition: see e.g. VI.9.18, VI.10.27ff. & VI.11.23 concerning accusations by Alexander at Philotas' trial, VIII.1.42, where Clitus ridicules Alexander's claim, VIII.7.13 & VIII.8.14, where Hermolaus attacks Alexander over it at the Pages' Conspiracy. It also appears that he may have been addressed in this way: see VI.11.23 & VIII.5.5f.; for him received as a son of Juppiter in India see VIII.10.1.

As time went on, it appears that his claim did not cease and there are examples illustrating his tie with Ammon close before his death: he was crowned as Ammon's son at Ecbatana in 324 B.C. by Gorgus (see Ath. 12.538af.), was apparently told to campaign with Ammon by his soldiers at the Opis mutiny (see §9 intro.) and, in 324 B.C., after Hephaestion's death, Alexander set up a cult for him and the honours were confirmed by the oracle of

Ammon (see Arr. *An.* 7.14.7, 7.23.6, Plu. *Alex.* 72.3 & Hamilton *ad loc.* & D.S. 17.115.6; see also Just. 12.12.12, where Ammon is not mentioned). It is, therefore, not surprising that Alexander would wish to be buried at Siwah.

5.5.1. Quaerentibus...respondet ei, qui esset optimus - Diodorus also records this exchange and includes it twice: for the deathbed scene see 17.117.4 *Τῶν δὲ φίλων ἐπερωτώντων, Τίτι τὴν βασιλείαν ἀπολείπει; εἶπεν Τῷ κρατίστῳ;* for a summary at the start of the next book, where Alexander gives the same answer as he does in Curtius, see 18.1.4 *ἐρωτηθεὶς ὑπὸ τῶν φίλων τίτι τὴν βασιλείαν ἀπολείπει, εἶπεν. Τῷ ἀριστῷ.* Arrian does not include it as part of a deathbed scene, but does so later, although in such a manner as to cast doubt on its authenticity: see *An.* 7.26.3 *οὐ πόρρω δὲ τούτων οὔτε Ἀριστοβούλῳ οὔτε Πτολεμαίῳ ἀναγγέλλονται. οἱ δὲ καὶ τάδε ἀνέγραψαν, ἐρέσθαι μὲν τοῖς ἐταίρους αὐτὸν ὅτι τὴν βασιλείαν ἀπολείπει, τὸν δὲ ἀποκρίνασθαι ὅτι τῷ κρατίστῳ.* Justin (12.15.8ff.) also contains this, but with a slightly different reply ("Cum deficere eum amici viderent, quaerunt, quem imperii faciat heredem. Respondit 'dignissimum'") and adds "Tanta illi magnitudo animi fuit, ut, cum Herculem filium, cum fratrem Arridaeum, cum Roxanen uxorem praegnantem relinqueret, oblitus necessitudinum dignissimum nuncuparet heredem: prorsus quasi nefas esset viro forti alium quam virum fortem succedere, aut tanti regni opes aliis quam probatis relinqui", which agrees with Curtius' use of *optimus* and echoes the sentiments of Sallust (see e.g. *Cat.* 2.6 "Ita imperium semper ad optimum quemque a minus bono transfertur" & M^cGushin *ad loc.*). It is interesting to note that the reply that Alexander gives at Arr. *An.* 7.26.3 and D.S. 17.117.4 (*κρατίστῳ*) may be meant as a verbal pun on Craterus. However, the same may be said also about the reply at D.S. 18.1.4 (*ἀριστῳ*) and Aristonus.

5.5.5. regnum - At this point, the term used by the sources varies: Diodorus (17.117.4) and Arrian (*An.* 7.26.3) both use *βασιλεία*, whereas Justin (12.15.8) uses *imperium*. Borza (1990 p. 243) raises the interesting question as to what *regnum* actually refers to and if it is the kingdom, rather than kingship, that is being inquired about; this differentiation would suit Curtius' words at X.5.12 "sine certo regis herede, sine herede regni". He also raises the question as to whether the new Eastern territory is alone referred to, or if the term encompasses everything. In the end, as he points out, the sources themselves were perhaps ignorant and writing with hindsight and it is unwise to trust them for drawing fine distinctions.

5.5.6. respondet - Lauer suggests *respondit*, also found in Δ , and is generally followed; Ω has *respondet*. However, there seems no need to alter the text: see 2.20.31n.

5.5.11. ceterum providere...magnos funebres ludos parari sibi - Alexander foresees the ensuing civil wars, on which Curtius places considerable emphasis (for reference to them with the use of *bella civilia* see X.5.13, X.8.17, X.9.1 & X.9.19; see also X.5.7 & X.10.8f.). Plutarch has no

mention of *ludi funebres* and Arrian again casts doubt on this utterance by mentioning it as an addition to his main text: see *An.* 7.26.3 οἱ δὲ, προσθεῖναι πρὸς τοῦτῳ τῷ λόγῳ ὅτι μέγαν ἐπιτάφιον ἀγῶνα ὄρα ἐφ' αὐτῷ ἐσόμενον. Diodorus again tells of Alexander's words twice: for the deathbed scene, where he places the words in the same position as Curtius does, see 17.117.4 καὶ προσεφθέγγετο, ταύτην τελευταίαν φωνὴν προέμενος, ὅτι μέγαν ἀγῶνα αὐτῷ ἐπιτάφιον συστήσονται πάντες οἱ πρωτεύοντες τῶν φίλων; for a later summary, where the wording is even closer to Curtius, see 18.1.4 προορῶμαι γὰρ ἐπιτάφιον μέγαν ἀγῶνα γενησόμενον μοι τῶν φίλων. Justin, placing this utterance before the one on an heir and following Alexander's question as to whether a new king like himself would be found, does not compare the civil wars to *ludi funebres*: see 12.15.6 "Tacentibus cunctis tum ipse, ut hoc nesciat, ita illud scire vaticinarique se ac paene oculis videre dixit, quantum sit in hoc certamine sanguinis fusura Macedonia, quantis caedibus, quo cruore mortuo sibi parentatura".

Greek funeral games usually consisted of athletic contests and existed from an early date. In Homer (see *Il.* 23.257ff.) there are funeral games given for Patroclus and in Vergil (see *A.* 5.104ff.) there is the epic continuation of this idea in those given for Anchises. Alexander himself held funeral games for Hephaestion (see *Arr. An.* 7.14.10), consisting of a great literary and athletic contest, and, no doubt, this is what Alexander himself would have expected in his honour; for Ptolemy doing this some years later see *D.S.* 18.28.4 and for games for Arrhidaeus and Eurydice in 316 B.C. see *D.S.* 19.52.5. Curtius' connection of *ludi funebres* and the ensuing civil wars is, therefore, not influenced by Greek tradition. However, in Rome *ludi funebres* seem to have consisted of gladiatorial displays, a feature originating in Campania, or Etruria, and also occasionally dramatic presentations (see Balsdon 1969 p. 250 & Scullard 1981 p. 221). It seems that, to begin with, gladiatorial fights were only put on as part of the funeral celebrations, probably following the burial rites; the latter lasted nine days (see *Verg. A.* 5.64ff. & Williams *ad loc.*, *Serv. A.* 5.64 & Auguet 1972 p. 19). Later, however, they could be held some time afterwards and, initially, were probably staged and performed by the nobles themselves in order to provide a blood sacrifice to help keep the dead man's spirit strong (see *Serv. A.* 3.67, 5.78 & Auguet 1972 pp. 21ff.). The first recorded *ludi funebres* are those of D. Junius Brutus in 264 B.C. (see *Liv. Epit.* 16) and from that time on the practice slowly became more common and more elaborate (for other examples see e.g. *Liv.* 23.30.15, 31.50.4, 39.46.2 & 41.28.11); although they became open to the public, it is probably fair to say that in the Republic no gladiatorial shows were given outside these funeral games. Gladiatorial displays were often ordered by will (see e.g. *Cic. Vat.* 37, *Sul.* 54 & *Hor. S.* 2.3.84ff.) and in Petronius there is an interesting piece, perhaps showing what those who could not afford games did as an alternative: see 71.6 "valde te rogo ut secundum pedes statuae meae catellam fingas et coronas et unguenta et Petraitis omnes pugnans, ut mihi contingat tuo beneficio post mortem vivere" & Smith *ad loc.* for Scheffer's emendation *fingas*. On funeral games in general see Auguet 1972 pp. 19ff., Balsdon 1969 pp. 249ff. & Toynbee 1971 p. 56; for the relevance of this section to the source question see Appendix A; see further also Wolf 1963 pp. 167f.

5.6.5. *caelestes honores* - The phrase *caelestes honores* is used three other times by Curtius, all in reference to Alexander: see VIII.5.5 "quonam modo caelestes honores usurparet coepit agitare", VIII.5.15 "caelestesque honores non dare te regi, sed auferre" & X.5.33 "caelestes honores accersere". For Alexander and divine honours see e.g. V. Max. 7.2.ext.13 "Demadis quoque dictum sapiens: nolentibus enim Atheniensibus divinos honores Alexandro decernere 'videte' inquit 'ne, dum caelum custoditis, terram amittatis'"; for more details on this matter see 5.11.2n. & §7 intro. For the phrase see e.g. Apul. *Met.* 4.29.4 of Psyche "Haec honorum caelestium ad puellae mortalis cultum", Tac. *Ann.* 12.69.3 of Claudius "caelestesque honores Claudio decernuntur" & 6.18.2 of the people of Mitylene giving them to Theophanes "quodque defuncto Theophani caelestes honores Graeca adulatio tribuerat".

Curtius alone mentions this question and he may be influenced by recent tradition in Rome - see e.g. Suet. *Jul.* 88 of Julius Caesar "Periit sexto et quinquagensimo aetatis anno atque in deorum numerum relatus est, non ore modo decernentium, sed et persuasione volgi", Tac. *Ann.* 1.10.8 of Augustus "ceterum sepultura more perfecta, templum et caelestes religiones decernuntur" & 5.11.2n. for Caligula's attempt to be worshipped; see further Weinstock 1971 pp. 385ff. No doubt Curtius' readers would have noticed the similarity.

5.6.13. *cum ipsi felices essent* - Once again, only Curtius mentions this statement and there is obviously more to *felices* here than simply referring to the officers' happiness (for this meaning see *TLL* VI₁ p. 439.54ff.). It could refer to them as wealthy (see *TLL* VI₁ p. 442.26ff.), but they probably were already, or it could refer to them being successful in war (see *TLL* VI₁ p. 442.39ff.), which seems very probable going by what Alexander has said previously and Curtius' emphasis on the impending gloom (see 5.5.11n.). However, a much more ironic use could refer to a time when they themselves were among the dead in the afterlife (see *TLL* VI₁ p. 443.37ff.), fitting in with the idea that no one can be called happy until it is seen how he dies; for this saying ascribed to Solon see Hdt. 1.32.7.

5.6.23. *paulo post extinguitur* - Curtius often uses *extinguere* in similar contexts: see e.g. VI.7.30 "vultuque a conspectu regis averso subinde conlapsus extinguitur", VIII.2.39 "inter quas conlapsus extinguitur", IX.3.20 "Ibi forte Coenus morbo extinctus est", X.5.24 "Quinto, postquam mori statuerat, die extincta est", X.5.23 "ut crudelius posset extingui" & also III.5.10, IV.10.19, VI.8.26, VI.11.32, VII.5.15, VIII.2.40, VIII.4.8, IX.6.22 & X.5.23. For the same use of *extinguere* for *mori* in other writers see *TLL* V₂ p. 1922.80ff.

Section Eleven

The Reaction in Babylon: X.5.7 - X.5.25

Curtius presents the situation¹ following Alexander's death as one of unfolding grief and alarm, commencing in the royal quarters and spreading over Asia². Plutarch, Arrian and Diodorus do not mention what happened in Babylon after the king's death. Justin³ does, although he presents only the Persians as mourning⁴. There is also a similar situation of panic in the *Liber de Morte*⁵.

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1. Such descriptions must have been common in the rhetorical schools: for what Quintilian has to say about *miseratio* see *Inst.* 6.1.23f.; for a similar reaction at Rome when Germanicus died see *Tac. Ann.* 2.82.1ff. & *Suet. Cal.* 5f.
 2. No clue is provided as to a source with the exception of the Sisigambis episode: see 5.19.1n.
 3. See 13.1.1ff.
 4. See 13.1.4ff., cited at 5.9.24n. Hammond (1983a p. 109) rightly suggests a new source for Pompeius Trogus at this point; the hatred expressed by the Macedonians is not compatible with the earlier scene of them weeping: see 5.5.1n.
 5. See §113 "tum repente <cum> exercitus regem mortuum nondum etiam sciret, terror ac tumultus sine causa exortus est. pro se quisque ad arma cum clamore currebat, neque enim quid rei esset quisquam sciebat".
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5.7.1. *Ac primo ploratu lamentsque...regia personabat* - Curtius logically mentions the grief of those surrounding the king first. Considering their previous devotion to Alexander, weeping is expected of the Macedonians at this point. This action would not necessarily have been viewed by the Romans as weak (see 5.1.2n.), but in some quarters it was not considered particularly manly to give way to grief: see e.g. *Cic. Tusc.* 3.71 "Quid hos aliud placavit nisi quod luctum et maerorem esse non putabant viri? Ergo id, quod alii rectum opinantes aegritudini se solent dedere, id hi turpe putantes aegritudinem reppulerunt".

5.7.6. *planctibus* - Curtius has already mentioned Macedonians in distress doing this: see Amyntas' words at VII.1.23 "Cum quid accidit tristius, omnes rei sunt: corporibus nostris, quae utique non odimus, infestas admovemus manus" and Polemon's actions at VII.2.5 "Is tum flere coepit et os suum converberare". The picture is familiar from literature: see e.g. *Verg. A.* 1.481 "tristes et tunsae pectora palmis", 11.37f. "ingentem gemitum tunsis ad sidera tollunt / pectoribus", *Luc.* 2.22ff. "attonitae tacuere domus, cum corpora nondum / conclamata iacent nec mater crine soluto / exigit ad saevos famularum bracchia planctus /...'nunc', ait 'o miserae, contundite pectora, matres, / nunc laniate comas neve hunc differte dolorem", *Sil.* 2.668f. & *Prop.* 2.13b.27. It was also part of Greek mourning in real life: see Lucianus *Luct.* 12 οἰμωγαὶ δὲ ἐπὶ τούτοις καὶ κωκυτὸς γυναικῶν καὶ παρὰ πάντων δάκρυα καὶ στέρνα τυπτόμενα καὶ σπαραττομένη κόμη καὶ φοινισσόμενα παρελαί· καὶ πού καὶ ἐσθῆς καταρρηγνύται καὶ κόμισ ἐπὶ τῇ κεφαλῇ πάττεται. It was also practiced in Rome (see the relief described by Toynbee 1971 pp. 44f., where men and women are doing it; in this case they are probably hired

mourners), but Cicero did not approve: see *Tusc.* 3.62 "Ex hac opinione sunt illa varia et detestabilia genera lugendi, paedores, muliebres lacerationes genarum, pectoris, feminum, capitis percussiones".

5.7.8. *regia* - Curtius, who uses the word *regia* fifty-five times, employs it in two common ways, either in referring to a capital city (see e.g. V.6.1; for elsewhere see e.g. Liv. 45.26.2 & Hor. *Ep.* 1.11.2), or to a palace, the equivalent of the Greek τὸ βασιλικόν (δῶμα), τὸ βασίλειον, or τὰ βασίλεια (see e.g. IV.8.3, V.1.24, VI.5.22 & VIII.9.26; for elsewhere see e.g. Luc. 10.486, Cic. *Fin.* 3.52, Caes. *Civ.* 3.112.8, Liv. 1.40.5 & Ov. *Am.* 3.6.61). However, in addition to the above uses Curtius also employs this word in reference to Alexander's royal tent, a usage which Bardon (1946 p. 18) sees as the first in extant Roman literature and forced upon the writer by the need to adapt the specialised *regia* to the Greek σκηνή βασιλική (for this use see e.g. VI.2.9, VI.7.18, VIII.1.47, VIII.6.16 & IX.3.18). In addition, however, Curtius also uses the terms *tabernaculum* (see VII.8.1 & IX.5.22) and *praetorium* (see IV.13.17, V.2.7 & IX.6.4) of Alexander's tent. Bardon (1946 pp. 19ff.) stresses the size of such a tent, as recorded by Curtius (for an exaggeration see Ath. 12.539dff., where it is stated that it contained one hundred couches and inside stood five hundred Persian attendants, one thousand bowmen and five hundred "silvershields"), and points out that it was large enough to have a vestibule (see e.g. VIII.1.49), a bedroom (see e.g. VI.10.21), a bathroom (see e.g. VI.9.9) and a large meeting room, where banquets could be held (see e.g. VIII.1.22ff.). It is interesting to note that Curtius only refers to Alexander's tent as a *regia* following the death of Darius; this may possibly be seen as indicative of Curtius' view of the Macedonian's decline at this time (see 1.1.12n. for references). Alexander had captured the Persian king's tent following the battle of Issus (for the capture and immediate use of it see III.11.23, Arr. *An.* 2.12.3., D.S. 17.35.5 & Plu. *Alex.* 20.11ff.) and, although such large tents would not have been totally new to Greeks (see Bardon 1946 pp. 22f.), it is likely that he may have been so impressed by it that he wanted one of his own.

Unfortunately, it is often difficult to separate one meaning of *regia* from the other (see V.7.3ff. & Bardon 1946 p. 18 for the trouble at Persepolis as to whether "palace", or "capital", is meant); this is one of those occasions. *Regia* could either refer to the tent, or to one of the three palaces at Babylon (for descriptions of this city see V.1.24ff., D.S. 2.7.2ff. & Hdt. 1.178.1ff.; for a plan of the city in the time of Alexander see fig. 6; for the palaces and excavation work see Koldewey 1914 pp. 65ff & Oates 1979 pp. 149ff.). At this point, Arrian and Plutarch are both of use, for it seems that Alexander was in the palace at Babylon: see *An.* 7.25.6 ἤδη δὲ παντάπασι πονήρως ἔχοντα διακομισθῆναι ἐκ τοῦ παραδείσου ἐς τὰ βασίλεια. & *Alex.* 76.7 εἰς δὲ τὰ πέραν βασίλεια διακομισθεὶς, τῇ ἕκτῃ μικρὸν ὑπνωσεν & Hamilton *ad loc.* Since the southern palace of Nebuchadnezzar (604-562 B.C.), on the west bank of the Euphrates, was the main one, this is probably what is being referred to at this point; it was originally on the east bank of the Euphrates, but the river changed its course in

the period of Persian domination: see Oates 1979 pp. 144f.

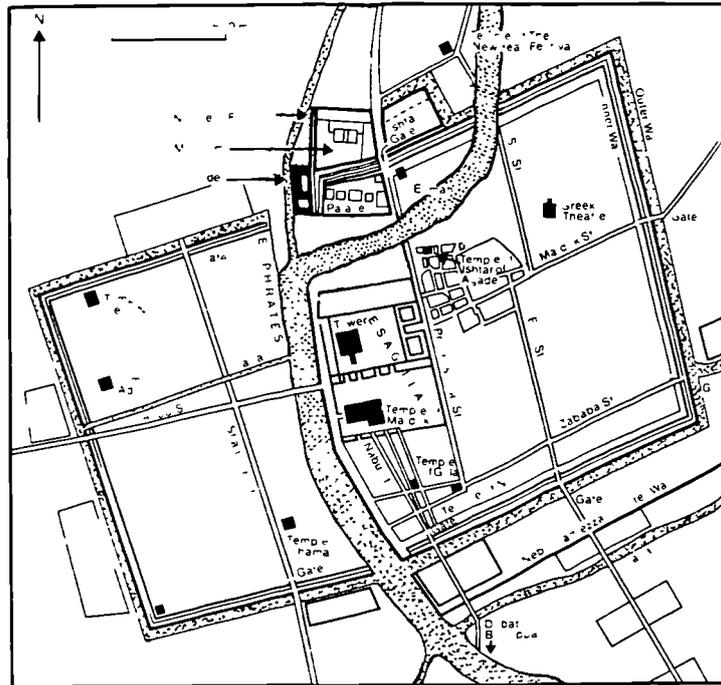


Fig. 6. Babylon in the time of Alexander

5.7.10. mox velut in vasta solitudine omnia tristi silentio muta torpebant - The silence of those in the royal quarters, following the immediate uncontrolled grieving, is emphasised. Justin also tells of the silence, but in reference to the whole city: see 13.1.1 "Extincto...Alexandro Magno triste apud omnes tota Babylonia silentium fuit". For similar instances of grief and fear creating silence cf. e.g. Liv. 1.29.3, when Alba is captured, & Tac. *Ann.* 2.82.3, where the news of Germanicus' death is received in Rome.

5.8.1. Nobiles pueri - The pathos is further increased by the image of these young Macedonian attendants, confused and unable to bear the dreadful situation, spreading the news of the king's death about the city. The members of the group were the sons of prominent nobles; Hammond (*HW* 1988 p. 13 & 1989a p. 56) suggests they were between the ages of about fourteen and seventeen, or eighteen. Arrian (*An.* 4.13.1 & see Bosworth 1988a p. 7) assigns the institution of this group to Philip, but Hammond (*HW* 1988 p. 13 & 1989a p. 56) and Griffith (*HG* 1979 p. 401) trace it to the reign of Archelaus (413-399 B.C.). In 331 B.C. fifty new ones arrived (V.1.42 & D.S. 17.65.1) and Griffith (*HG* 1979 p. 401), working from this intake, has reckoned their number to be about eighty-five; Hammond (1989a p. 56), however, working on the assumption that there were fifty each year, prefers the figure of two hundred. They were the king's personal attendants and performed the tasks usually associated with slaves; at the same time, they were hostages for the good behaviour of their elders (for the duties see V.1.42 & VIII.6.2ff.). It was from these boys that the generals of the future could possibly develop (for the possible course of advancement see Heckel 1986 pp. 302ff.), but life was not

easy: there was no appeal against a king's decision and harsh punishment (see VIII.6.5, VIII.8.3 & Arr. *An.* 4.13.2). For mention of them elsewhere in Curtius see X.7.16; see also Liv. 45.6.7 "Pueri regii apud Macedonas vocabantur principum liberi ad ministerium electi regis".

5.8.3. *custodiae corporis eius adsueti* - For the same expression, but used in regard to the Persians, see V.12.9 "Tum vero custodiae eius adsueti". For Alexander's *σωματοφύλακες* see 6.1.7n.

5.8.10. *capere nec se* - Froben's emendation (it is often mistakenly attributed to Freinsheim: Müller, 1954 p. 754, is an exception) for the variant readings of the manuscripts seems correct. It is clear that ω had *canesce* (B¹ & L¹); the *carere* of V, the *carere nec se* of B^c, the *canere* of L^c, the *carere nece* of F¹ and the *carere nesce* of F^c are vain attempts at correction.

5.8.19. *vagique et furentibus similes* - Perhaps a Vergilian reminiscence: cf. e.g. *A.* 4.68f. of Dido "uritur infelix Dido totaque vagatur / urbe furentis"; for similar phraseology elsewhere see e.g. *Consolatio ad Liviam* 317 "Quo raperis laniata comas similisque furenti?".

5.8.25. *luctu et maerore* - A Ciceronian cliché (see Cic. *Mil.* 13, *Sest.* 128, *Phil.* 14.31, 14.34, *Tusc.* 3.71 & *Balb.* 61), imitated once by Sallust (*Jug.* 14.15), four times by Apuleius (*Met.* 1.6.3, 5.4.6, 8.7.7 & *Apol.* 100.7) and once by Gellius (3.15.4).

5.9.10. *nec poterant victi a victoribus in communi dolore discerni* - No doubt intentionally reminiscent of what Alexander says to the Persians at X.3.12 "uxorem Darei filiam duxi proximisque amicorum auctor fui ex captivis generandi liberos, ut hoc sacro foedere omne discrimen victi et victoris excluderem"; it is ironic that the two sides only become united on Alexander's death. Justin (13.1.4ff., cited at 5.9.24.n.) portrays the Macedonians as actually rejoicing at Alexander's death.

5.9.19a. *Persae...Macedones...invocantes* - The two parallel clauses probably express the united grief of the Persians and Macedonians. Curtius portrays the Macedonians as regarding Alexander as their king and one of them, whereas he portrays the Persians as seeing themselves as a conquered people, analogous to slaves. For this distinction between *rex* and *dominus* in politics see Cic. *Rep.* 2.47 "Videtisne igitur ut de rege dominus extiterit...hic est enim dominus populi, quem Graeci tyrannum vocant; nam regem illum volunt esse, qui consulit ut parens populo, conservatque eos, quibus est praepositus quam optima in condicione vivendi, sane bonum ut dixi, rei publicae genus..."; for the contrast between *imperator* and *dominus* see Sal. *Jug.* 85.35; for that between *princeps* and *dominus* see Plin. *Pan.* 45.3.

5.9.19b. *Persae iustissimum ac mitissimum dominum* - Curtius stresses Alexander's good treatment of the Persians throughout this episode: cf. X.5.17 "Persae...non ut victorem et modo

[ut] hostem, sed ut gentis suae iustissimum regem vero desiderio lugebant ac sueti sub rege vivere non alium, qui imperaret ipsis, digniorem fuisse confitebantur" & X.5.25 "Magnum profecto Alexandri indulgentiae in eam iustitiaeque in omnes captivos documentum est mors huius". For *mitis* and *iustus* coupled elsewhere see e.g. Liv. 25.15.17 of Atinius "magis quia ipse ob imperium in se mite ac iustum consultum volebant" & 32.21.25 "cum Antigono, mitissimo ac iustissimo rege".

5.9.24. **Macedones optimum ac fortissimum regem** - For the very Ciceronian (over twenty times in a pair, as here, and once in a triad) coupling of *optimus* and *fortissimus* see e.g. Cic. *Fam.* 12.2.3 "L. Caesar, optimus et fortissimus civis", *Red. Sen.* 3 "referente L. Ninnio, fortissimo atque optimo viro", Sen. *Dial.* 12.2.4 "optimum ac fortissimum virum" & SHA 24.6.4 "quod fortissimus fuerit et praeter libidinem optimus imperator". In contrast to Curtius, Justin represents the Macedonians as happy that Alexander had died: see 13.1.4ff. "omnes barbarae gentes paulo ante ab eo devictae non ut hostem eum, sed ut parentem luxerunt...Contra Macedones versa vice non ut civem ac tantae maiestatis regem, verum ut hostem amissum gaudebant, et severitatem nimiam et adsidua belli pericula execrantes".

5.9.25. **optimum** - P has the unfortunate, but typical, error *optissimum*.

5.10.1. **Nec maestorum solum sed etiam indignantium voces** - There is a similar reaction to the news of Germanicus' illness at Tac. *Ann.* 2.82.1 "At Romae, postquam Germanici valetudo percubuit cunctaque ut ex longinquo aucta in deterius adferebantur, dolor ira, et erumpebant questus".

5.10.12. **in flore aetatis fortunaeque** - For a similar description of Alexander cf. Just. 13.1.1 "Extincto in ipso aetatis ac victoriarum flore Alexandro Magno"; for the importance of this similarity to the question of Curtius' sources see Appendix A. In each of the seven times that *flos* is used in the singular by Curtius it is connected in some way with age: see IV.8.7, V.5.13, VII.2.4 & VII.9.19 for *flos aetatis*, III.5.8 for *flos iuventae* & VI.5.23 for *flos pueritiae*. In other writers *flos aetatis* is common (see TLL VI₁ p. 934.62ff.), but the combination of *fortuna* and *flos* and its derivatives is rare: see e.g. Cic. *Pis.* 38 "florente fortuna" & Plin. *Nat.* 16.96 "sic et hominum multis fortuna sine flore est".

5.10.16. **invidia deum ereptum esse rebus humanis** - For roughly the same thought cf. Perdicas' words at X.6.6 "tamen magnitudinem, rerum quas egit, intuentibus credere licet, tantum virum deos adcommodasse rebus humanis, quarum sorte completa cito repeterent eum suae stirpi". For *invidia deum* see VI.2.19, where Alexander thinks that the gods are envious of his success, "nec sibi ignaviam militum obstare, sed deum invidiam, qui fortissimis viris subitum patriae desiderium admovissent" & VIII.5.19, where Callisthenes hopes that

Cleon's boastful words about Alexander do not upset the gods, "Di propitii sine invidia, quae Cleo, dixit audierint eodemque cursu, quo fluxere adhuc res, ire patiantur". It was a common popular, as well as literary, Greek and Roman idea that the gods could be envious of success: for a similar consequence as here see e.g. *CIL* 13.6808 "iamque ut esset gratus amicis, invidia superum cess[a]vit amari" & *Sil.* 7.57ff. "spes heu fallaces oblitaque corda caducum, / mortali quodcumque datur! grex ille virorum, / qui Fabia gente incolumni deforme putabat / publica bella geri, pariter cecidere deorum / invidia subitis circumvenientibus armis"; for prayers that the gods would not become envious see e.g. *Liv.* 5.21.15 of Camillus, after gaining much booty, "precatus esse ut si cui deorum hominumque nimia sua fortuna populique Romani videretur, ut eam invidiam lenire...liceret" & Ogilvie *ad loc.* & *Plu. Ant.* 44.3 of Antony ἐπέυξατο τοῖς θεοῖς, εἴ τις ἄρα νέμεσις τὰς πρόσθεν εὐτυχίας αὐτοῦ μέτεισιν, εἰς αὐτὸν ἐλθεῖν, τῷ δ' ἄλλῳ στρατῷ σωτηρίαν διδόναι καὶ νίκην. For *invidia deum* elsewhere see *TLL* VII₂ p. 205.32ff. This view is opposite to another common Greek and Roman one that an early death was to be hoped for, as it provided a release from the sorrows of life: see e.g. *Pl. Bac.* 816f. "Quem di diligunt, / Adulescens moritur, dum valet sentit sapit" & Barsby *ad loc.* for more examples & *TLL* VI₁ p. 443.21ff.

5.10.22. *Vigor eius et vultus...occurrebant oculis* - Justin presents the Persians recalling similar pictures of Alexander at 13.1.3 "recordantes quotiens praesenti morte ereptus esset, quam saepe pro amisso repente se non sospitem tantum suis, verum etiam victorem obtulisset". Therefore, it is possible that Curtius is influenced by Pompeius Trogus (see Appendix A). Alternatively, the four scenes could be taken from paintings, or mosaics (such as the one from the Casa del Fauno in Pompeii - see Bieber 1964 pl. 16), or even the four sides of a column, or sarcophagus (such as the one from Sidon - see Bieber 1964 pl. 18). It is, however, more likely that they are standards of the declamatory schools: see e.g. *Publius Asprenas ap. Sen. Con.* 1.8.6 "ad obsidendum hostem, ad occupandum castris locum, ad intercipiendos hostium commeatus ire iusseris".

5.10.26. *educentis in proelium milites* - See e.g. VIII.14.1, where Alexander advances against Porus at the Hydaspes River, "Iamque agmen in cornua divisum ipse ducebat".

5.10.30. *obsidentis urbes* - The most famous instance of this is at Tyre: see IV.2.1ff. "Iam tota Syria, iam Phoenice quoque excepta Tyro Macedonum erat, habebatque rex castra in continenti, a qua urbem angustum fretum dirimit..." & Atkinson *ad loc.*; for other examples see IV.6.7ff. & Atkinson *ad loc.*, V.3.7ff., VI.6.33f., VIII.10.7ff., VIII.10.22ff., VIII.11.2ff. & IX.4.6f.

5.10.32. *evadentis in muros* - Alexander nearly loses his life in doing this at the capital of the Sudracae: see IX.4.30ff. "Nec diutius quam respondit moratus admoveri iubet scalas

cunctantibusque ceteris evadit in murum...".

5.10.34. muros - The reading of ω : P has the amusing, yet sadly typical, error *mures*.

5.10.35. fortes viros pro contione donantis - For examples see e.g. V.2.1ff. "His ita compositis in regionem...iudices dedit praemiaque proposuit de virtute militari certantibus...", V.6.20 "Dona deinde amicis ceterisque pro cuiusque merito dedit" & IX.1.6 "Rex...copiarum duces coronis et M aureis singulos donat. Ceteris quoque pro portione aut gradus, quem in amicitia obtinebant, aut navatae operae honos habitus est".

5.11.2. Macedones divinos honores negasse ei paenitebat - This immediately takes the reader back to Perdikkas' question to the dying Alexander at X.5.6 "quando caelestes honores haberi sibi vellet, dixit tum velle, cum ipsi felices essent". Once again, it is somewhat ironic that the men think about complying with Alexander's wishes after his death. The important fact to note is that Curtius presents Alexander as having long had a wish to be considered divine and enjoy divine honours; in his summary of Alexander's characteristics it is listed as one of his vices - see X.5.33 "dis aequare se et caelestes honores accersere et talia suadentibus oraculis credere" & the relevant notes. In this view, he is in line with the somewhat negative Roman attitude towards this aspect of Alexander: see e.g. V. Max. 9.5.*ext.*1, Cestius Pius *ap. Sen. Suas.* 1.5 & Horst 1988 pp. 134ff., 140ff., 150ff. The further he progressed in the expedition the more strongly the desire developed. However, the Macedonians, unlike the Persians, who were accustomed to this practice (see e.g. V.12.16, VIII.5.11 & VIII.5.22), resisted the king's wishes: see Alexander's visit to the oracle of Ammon at IV.7.25ff. & Atkinson *ad loc.* (for references to other writers see 5.4.22n.) & VIII.5.5ff. for an unsuccessful attempt to be worshipped in Bactria (on this event see also Arr. *An.* 4.10.5ff., Plu. *Alex.* 54.1ff. & Hamilton *ad loc.* & Just. 12.7.1ff.).

Most modern writers see Alexander as, if not positively encouraging divine status, at least not refusing anything that came his way. The Siwah episode is too clouded to offer much that is clear, but the Bactrian episode must show Alexander's desires. To the Greeks proskynesis (on which see Hamilton 1969 pp. 150ff., Balsdon 1950 pp. 374ff. & Frye 1972 pp. 102ff.) was only performed before gods, whereas to the Persians it was of no religious significance (*contra* Taylor 1975 pp. 247ff.). With this in mind, no matter whether Alexander's reason for trying to implement the practice was to make court practices uniform (Balsdon 1950 pp. 376f. & Hamilton 1969 p. 151), or to be part of a fusion policy to cement his position among the vanquished (Tarn 1948 II p. 362), or, indeed, to cement it among his own men (Robinson 1956/7 p. 341), or from a purely personal motive, prompted by his altered status (Badian 1981 p. 53), and out of a belief in his own divinity (Badian 1981 pp. 63ff. & Bosworth 1988a p. 287), it cannot have escaped his notice that the Greeks would regard it as divine worship. This does not seem to have held him back at *all* as appears to have been the case also in 324/3 B.C. (see §7 intro. on this matter). It should be noted that, although

Hammond (1981a p. 248: see also *HW* 1988 p. 89 n. 1) sees Curtius' statement here as signifying that there was an actual occasion when the men openly rejected a request, Curtius is referring to the incidents already mentioned (most probably to Bactria) and, if there had been a request, surely such an important fact would have been recorded in the other sources. For further discussions on the whole matter of Alexander and his divinity see Badian 1981 pp. 27ff. (also 1976 pp. 1ff. and his commentators), Balsdon 1950 pp. 363ff., Hogarth 1887 pp. 317ff., Brunt 1965 p. 210, Robinson 1943 pp. 286ff., 1956/7 pp. 326f., Bosworth 1988a pp. 278f., Hamilton 1969 pp. 150ff., 1953 pp. 151ff., Tarn 1948 II pp. 347ff., Taylor 1975 pp. 256ff., Edmunds 1971 pp. 363ff. & Fredricksmeier 1979 pp. 1ff.

Roman readers must have been reminded of Caligula's supposed desires to be considered divine: see e.g. Suet. *Cal.* 22.3f., D.C. 59.4.4 & Barrett 1989 pp. 140ff. In addition, the reader would also probably be reminded of the increased use of proskynesis in Caligula's reign (see e.g. D.C. 59.19.5, 59.27.1, 59.27.4f., Sen. *Ben.* 1.12.1f, Suet. *Vit.* 2.5, J. *AJ* 19.234 & Barrett 1989 pp. 151f.), a practice which Claudius banned (see e.g. D.C. 60.5.4). For Tiberius' reaction to such behaviour see e.g. Tac. *Ann.* 1.13.6.

5.11.8. *impiosque et ingratos* - *Impios* means lacking in proper respect for Alexander (for this use of *pietas* see 3.8.15n.; cf. Shakespeare *Julius Caesar* 53f. "Pray to the gods to intermit the plague / That needs must light on this ingratitude"). The first example of the juxtaposition of the two concepts is in Cicero (see *Red. Pop.* 23.10 "at gravissime vituperatur, qui in tantis beneficiis, quanta vos in me contulistis, remunerandis est tardior, neque non solum ingratus quod ipsum grave est, verum etiam impium", *Deiot.* 30 & *Tusc.* 5.6) and was used by Argentarius (see Sen. *Con.* 7.2.2 of Popillius who was defended successfully by Cicero, but later killed him "Impius est, ingratus est, audeo dicere: parricida"). It became the common property of declaimers: see e.g. Blandus *ap.* Sen. *Con.* 7.2.5 "Deduxi ad vos reum omnium quos terra sustinet nocentissimum, ingratum, inpium, percussorem, bis parricidam".

5.11.17. *debita appellatione* - It is clear from the context that Curtius does not have the title *Magnus*, given to Alexander by the Romans (for the first recorded use see Pl. *Most.* 775f.), in mind. What he is referring to is hard to say, but it would, no doubt, have expressed Alexander's position as son of Ammon; something, such as the title *Ἐπιφανής*, used by Ptolemy V and Antiochus IV, would be suitable (for Hellenistic kings and divinity see Tarn & Griffith 1966 pp. 49ff.). However, it may simply be the case that Curtius has been influenced by the divine status of Augustus and his title *Divus*.

5.12.1. *Macedonia profecti...destitutos se esse cernebant* - For similar sentiments earlier at the River Cydnus, when Alexander was ill cf. III.5.6 "Instare Dareum victorem, antequam vidisset hostem. Sibi easdem terras, quas victoria peragrasset, repetendas: omnia aut ipsos aut hostes populatos. Per vastas solitudines, etiam si nemo insequi velit, euntes fame atque inopia debellari posse". The same idea is again used at X.8.10 "Destitutos se inter infestas

indomitasque gentes".

5.12.3. *ultra Euphraten* - A particularly meaningful few words for the Roman reader, rather than necessarily appropriate for the Macedonian soldiers. The Euphrates, at this time, was the perceived boundary between Roman territory and that of the Parthians (Syria and Cappadocia went up to it and Armenia, beyond it, was a buffer state, whose ruler constantly changed between a Roman, or Parthian, nominee). In A.D. 41 Claudius reinstated Mithridates in Armenia. For eastern affairs under Tiberius see Levick 1976 pp. 145ff., under Caligula Barrett 1989 pp. 63f. and under Claudius Levick 1990 pp. 158ff.; for the implications of this usage for the dating of the work see intro. § C.

5.12.5. *mediis* - Zumpt suggests the addition of *in* to the *mediis* of Ω and subsequent editors follow him. The preposition, however, is unnecessary: although Curtius uses *in* before *medius* at VII.4.36 "in medio barbari gutture", VII.6.3 "in medio crure", VII.11.3 "In medio altitudinis spatio", VIII.13.12 "in medio amne", VIII.14.15 "in medio ardore certaminis" & X.1.14 "in medio fere nemore", he omits it at IX.9.8 "insulam medio amni sitam". For the same omission in other writers see e.g. Liv. 10.38.4 "ibi mediis fere castris locus est consaepus", 24.3.22 "flumen quod medio oppido fluxerat", Plin. *Nat.* 2.82 "sed maxime Iovis medio loco siti" & K-S I p. 351.

5.12.14. *sine certo regis herede, sine herede regni* - Some editors delete (see e.g. Zumpt, Mützell, Vogel, Cocchia, Damsté & Stangl), or emend (Cornelison, 1876 p. 72, suggests *sine sede regni*; Dosson and Walter, 1943 p. 144, who points to the use of this phrase at X.2.12 "perpetuam eum regni sedem in Asia", approve), *sine herede regni*. However, both these stances are equally incorrect and unnecessary, as such repetition is not uncommon in Curtius (see e.g. III.5.5, V.12.14, VI.11.23 and Lindgren's, 1935 pp. 26ff., defence of this reading) and each phrase states a different point; Alexander is seen as having left neither a clear personal heir, nor one to his throne (on this see also 5.5.5n.; for the former use of *heres* see also X.6.23 & *TLL* VI₃ p. 2640.28ff.; for the latter use see also VI.5.30, X.7.2 & *TLL* VI₃ p. 2654.14ff.). This was the general rule in Roman literature outside the Alexander historians: see e.g. Luc. 10.44 "abstulit imperium, nullo herede relicto" & Horst 1988 p. 188. As far as the soldiers were concerned, Alexander had not actually appointed a successor (although perhaps the ring given to Perdicas in some way symbolised his intentions: see 5.4.11n.); this was a cause for concern.

In reality, as regards a personal heir, Alexander already had a child by Barsine, called Heracles (for doubts see Tarn 1948 II pp. 330ff.: *contra* Brunt 1975 pp. 22ff.), and Roxane was at this stage pregnant (see 6.9.1n.); for another possible child by the Indian queen Cleophis see VIII.10.36 "puero quoque certe postea ex ea utcumque genito Alexandro fit nomen" & Just. 12.7.9ff., but he is not relevant here. Since neither Roxane's pregnancy, nor Barsine's

child, has been mentioned previously by Curtius, the reader would not be expected to know anything of these details. In Macedonian terms perhaps Heracles was not even a contender: he may not have been acknowledged by Alexander, and, if he was at Pergamum (Just. 13.2.5), from where he reappears in 309 B.C., he would easily have been forgotten, or pushed aside. Brunt (1975 pp. 33f.; see also Greenwalt 1984 p. 70) makes this plausible distinction between acknowledged and not, rather than legitimate and illegitimate, for, after all, Arrhidaeus, although of doubtful legitimacy, was not later challenged on those grounds. Arrhidaeus was Alexander's brother and he was also a candidate as an heir, but, at this stage, the reader would not be expected to consider him as such, as he is introduced for the first time at X.7.2. However, the general Macedonian reaction (not shared by everyone) to the children can be seen when Ptolemy speaks at X.6.13 "Digna prorsus est suboles...quae Macedonum imperet genti, Roxanes vel Barsines filius, cuius nomen quoque Europam dicere pigebit maiore ex parte captivi" and in the soldiers' reaction in favour of Arrhidaeus (see X.7.2ff.); Justin places similar sentiments in the mouth of Meleager: see 13.2.9 "Ceterum Roxanen esse originis Persicae, nec esse fas, ut Macedonibus ex sanguine eorum, quorum regna deleverint, reges constituentur, quod nec ipsum Alexandrum voluisse dicit; denique morientem nullam de ea mentionem habuisse". The children are portrayed as unsuitable heirs and this must not only explain the reason for the legitimate inclusion of *certo*, but also echo Curtius' own views on the subject, which were, no doubt, influenced by the Roman law of his day, in which the present situation would be treated as a case of intestate succession. Alexander would be seen as a citizen and both Roxane and Barsine as foreigners (*peregrinae*). Although Roxane was his wife, the marriage was not a case of *iustae nuptiae*; she had not the right of *conubium*, so the offspring of this union had no claim to any inheritance (see Crook 1967 pp. 40, 99, Prichard 1961 p. 101 & Nicholas 1962 pp. 64f.). Because Heracles was an illegitimate child he also had no right of inheritance (see Crook 1967 p. 40 & Prichard 1961 pp. 120ff.). This meant that succession passed to the *proximi agnati*, such as brothers born of the same father like Arrhidaeus (for this see 7.2.24n.). Therefore, Curtius' presentation of the situation seems intelligible in terms of Roman law. For further information on Roman law concerning intestate succession see Crook 1967 pp. 118ff., Watson 1971 pp. 175ff., Nicholas 1962 pp. 246ff. & Prichard 1961 pp. 290ff.

It is interesting to note that the death of Alexander causes similar problems concerning the succession as did that of Caligula: when that emperor was murdered he left behind only his wife, Caesonia, and a daughter, both of whom were quickly killed (see Suet. *Cal.* 59 & *J. A.* 19.190ff.).

5.13.21. novis vulneribus veteres rumpendas cicatrices - A neat antithesis, probably referring to actual wounds, rather than any kind of metaphorical ones: see 2.12.37n.

5.14.1. senes, debiles - The pathos of their predicament is further increased by these words. For a similar picture cf. V.5.14 "Procul Europa in ultima Orientis relegati, senes, debiles,

maiore membrorum parte mulcati".

5.14.3. *modo petita missione* - For this request see §9 intro. & 2.12.32n.

5.14.7. *iusto rege* - "rightful king" in contrast to whatever general would have to be obeyed in the future. For the same phrase see e.g. V.9.8 of Darius "rebus compositis iusto regi tibi fiduciarium restituet imperium", VII.4.17 of Bessus "Incipies forsitan iustus esse rex", X.6.14 in reference to Darius and Xerxes "quod iusti illi reges" & Liv. 34.32.1 "sed cum Pelope, rege Lacedaemoniorum iusto ac legitimo"; however, in 5.17.24n. the sense appears to be "just".

5.14.14. *satellitibus alicuius ignobilis* - The soldiers rather contemptuously compare the officers to *satellites*. Throughout Curtius' work, the *satellites* are little more than bodyguards, or attendants, always obeying someone else (see e.g. III.12.10, IV.7.21, VI.7.24, VI.7.29, VI.8.19, X.7.14, X.7.17, X.8.3 & X.8.8), and the same is true in other writers (see e.g. Nep. *Paus.* 3.2, Sal. *Jug.* 65.2 & Liv. 24.7.7). The men, therefore, are not portrayed as thinking particularly highly of these would-be successors; for the same view see X.6.20, where Meleager, in reference to Perdicas, says "Nec di scierint...ut Alexandri fortuna tantique regni fastigium in istos humeros ruat: homines certe non ferent. Nihil dico de nobilioribus, quam hic est..." & X.10.7 for Curtius' own description of them "Quippe paulo ante regis ministri specie imperii alieni procurandi singuli ingentia invaserant regna". The contrast is heightened due to the juxtaposition with *iusto rege*. Justin, however, gives a glowing view of the officers: see 13.1.10f. "Nam eius virtutis ac venerationis erant, ut singulos reges putares;...". For a better view of them at an earlier stage in Curtius' work see 10.7.5n.

5.15.1. *Has cogitationes volventibus* - The expression is somewhat overworked in Book Ten: see X.8.9, where the men are still worried and pondering on the future, "non conloqui audebant secretas cogitationes intra se quoque volvente" & X.8.7 for the same idea in reference to Meleager "triduum fere consumpsit incerta consilia volvendo". For similar uses in Livy see 6.28.7 "has inanum rerum inanes ipsas volventes cogitationes fortunae loci delegaverant spes suas" & 9.17.2 "quibus saepe tacitus cogitationibus volutavi animum".

5.15.4. *nox supervenit terroremque auxit* - For the same rhetorical device see V.4.19 "Nox quoque et ignota regio ac dux - incertum, an satis fidus - multiplicabant metum" & V.4.26 "Tandem expectata lux omnia, quae terribiliora nox fecerat, minuit"; for other writers see Liv. 25.38.1 "Ne tamen subita res et nocturnus terror et iam non suae fortunae consilium perturbaret, adloquendos adhortandosque sibi milites ratus" & Sil. 7.318f. "tum terrore novo trepidus laxabit iniquas / custos excubias maioraque nocte timebat". Fear of the dark seems to have been a genuine and accepted ancient response (see e.g. Sen. *Ep.* 104.24 "multa per noctem habita terrori dies vertit ad risum"); Pliny even supplies a remedy at *Nat.* 28.98 "contra nocturnos pavores umbrarumque terrorem unus e magnis dentibus [hyaenae] lino alligatus

succurrere narratur".

5.16.23. *alius alii occursantes* - Rolfe changes *alius* to *alii*, thus having a plural subject in *alii*. However, there seems no need for a change, as the notion of plurality is supplied by *territi* and the context. Similar examples can be found in other writers: see e.g. Liv. 2.10.9 *Cunctati...dum alius alium...circumspectant*", 2.24.2 "*alius alium confirmare ne nomina darent*", Sal. *Cat.* 52.28 "*alius alium expectantes cunctamini*" & *Jug.* 53.8 "*milites alius alium laeti appellant*".

5.16.26. *invicem suspecti ac solliciti ferebantur* - These words enhance further the picture of tension in Babylon. This idea may have been common in the declamatory schools - a similar description of affairs is given at X.8.9 "*Sed ingens sua sponte maestitia ultimae desperationis index erat, suspectique invicem non adire propius*"; for a similar scene in Rome cf. Tac. *Ann.* 4.69.3 "*non alias magis anxia et pavens civitas, <t>egens adversum proximos; congressus, conloquia, notae ignotaeque aures vitari; etiam muta et inanima, tectum et parietes circumspectabantur*". The phraseology is reminiscent of Cic. *Amic.* 52 "*Haec enim est tyrannorum vita...nulla caritas, nulla stabilis benevolentiae potest esse fiducia, omnia semper suspecta atque sollicita, nullus locus amicitiae*".

5.17.1. *Persae comis suo more detonsis* - The cutting of hair among men in mourning, or other distress, seems to have been common in the East (see e.g. *Jb.* 1.20, *Is.* 15.2, *Ez.* 9.3, *Mi.* 1.16, *Je.* 7.29, *De.* 14.1 & *Suet. Cal.* 5); for the Egyptians picked out as different in this matter see *Hdt.* 2.36.1; for the Persians cutting their hair in mourning see e.g. *Hdt.* 9.24 & How & Wells *ad loc.* It was also practised by Greeks: see e.g. X. *HG* 1.7.8, *Plu. Moralia* 609c, *E. Alc.* 425ff. & *Hdt.* 6.21.1. The Romans do not seem to have indulged in this form of mourning.

5.17.2. *comis suo* - This is Palmer's suggestion for the meaningless *commisso* of Ω. Although more used by poets (see *TLL* III p. 1746.24ff.), *coma* is perfectly admissible here as it suits the context and has already been used three other times by Curtius: see IV.13.5, V.6.18 & IX.10.9.

5.17.3. *suo more* - Curtius often draws attention to eastern customs with such wording. Errington (1983 pp. 90ff.) suggests that Curtius, as Livy, who uses phrases such as *mos esse* (5.27.1), *suo more* (10.26.11) and *patrio more* (30.38.9), added such terms when he thought that some additional information was needed to explain something in his sources, or when, from his reading, some action seemed to him to be a custom; thus, some of the things he mentions may not have been customs. For other Persian customs referred to by Curtius, using *suo more*, see III.12.17 & Atkinson *ad loc.*, V.1.22 & VIII.5.21; for *patrio more* see III.3.8 & Atkinson *ad loc.*, III.8.12 & Atkinson *ad loc.* for doubts on Curtius' accuracy, III.12.11, III.12.13 & Atkinson *ad loc.*, IV.10.23 & Atkinson *ad loc.* & IV.14.26; for other phrases see III.8.9 &

Atkinson *ad loc.* for doubts, IV.6.5, VI.2.5, VII.4.1, VIII.5.6 & X.10.13. For the customs of other non-Macedonians, referred to using *suo more*, see VII.10.6, VIII.11.20, IX.4.24 & X.10.13.4; for *patrio more* see IV.1.17, IV.2.10, IV.7.5 & IV.7.24; for other phrases see VII.8.8 & VIII.12.14. Errington (1983 p. 98) suggests that Curtius may have obtained many pieces of information on Persian customs through Cleitarchus, whose father, Deinon, wrote a *Persica* (see *F.Gr.H.* 690). For the same practice in regard to Macedonian customs see 6.12.6n.

5.17.6. *in lugubri veste* - In mourning, the Greeks, as a rule, wore black: see e.g. X. *HG* 1.7.8, E. *Hel.* 1088; for Argos as an exception see Plu. *Moralia* 270f. The Romans also wore black (see e.g. Tac. *Ann.* 3.2.2, Juv. 10.245, Prop. 4.7.28 & Cic. *Vat.* 31), although it appears that, in the Empire, women started to wear white (see e.g. Stat. *Silv.* 3.3.1ff., Plu. *Moralia* 270d & Hdn. 4.2.3). The Persians probably also wore black. Curtius does not draw any attention to a difference, as he did earlier with the cutting of hair (*suo more*: see 5.17.3n.). This view is supported by Plutarch's (*Moralia* 270d) singling out the Magi as wearing white, thus implying Persians usually wore black, although he may not be referring to a mourning context, and also, possibly, by Aeschylus at *Pers.* 535f. *δοτυ τὸ Σούσων ἢδ' Ἀγβατάνων / πένθει δνοφερῶι κατέκρυψας.*

5.17.13. *non ut victorem et modo [ut] hostem sed ut...iustissimum regem lugebant* - The regard in which Alexander was held by the Persians is again emphasised: see also 5.9.19bn. The whole idea is very reminiscent of Just. 13.1.4 "omnes barbarae gentes paulo ante ab eo devictae non ut hostem eum, sed ut parentem luxerunt".

5.17.18. [ut] - This unnecessary repetition, omitted since Vindelin correctly deleted it, spoils the flow of the language.

5.17.24. *iustissimum regem* - For this phrase used of a just king see e.g. VIII.7.10 in reference to Alexander "iustissimo et patientissimo rege", Cic. *Rep.* 1.43 "Itaque si Cyrus ille Perses iustissimus fuit sapientissimusque rex", 1.50 "ut bonis uteretur iustisque regibus, cum esset habendus rex", 1.65 "sin quando aut regi iusto vim populus attulit", Liv. 32.21.25 "cum Antigono, mitissimo ac iustissimo rege", 35.15.3 "magni iustique regis" & 44.46.11 "indicio erat non bono ac iusto rege"; for the same phrase referring to a rightful king see 5.14.7n.

5.17.29. *ac sueti* - At this point, B^cFLV read *assueti* and B¹P *ac sueti*. Although the former option, which is usually accepted, is employed by Curtius seventeen other times (in addition, *adsuesco* is used eleven times), *ac sueti* is better supported; although Curtius does not use this word elsewhere, it appears in two strands of the manuscript tradition. The absence of a connective would create a disruption to the flow of the sentence.

5.17.30. *sueti sub rege vivere* - For the same idea in Curtius see 3.3.1bn.; for the same idea in

other writers see e.g. Tac. *Hist.* 4.17.4, where Civilis, addressing the Germans, says "servirent Syria Asiaque et suetus regibus Oriens" & Flor. *Epit.* 1.35.4 of the people of Pergamum "Aristonicus, regii sanguinis ferox iuvenis, urbis regibus parere consuetas partim facile sollicitat".

5.18.1. Nec muris urbis luctus continebatur - A somewhat strained sententia, perhaps anticipating the treatment of *fama*: see 5.18.19n.

5.18.15. cis Euphraten tanti mali - Curtius notes how the report spread west into what was, in his time, part of the Roman Empire: see 5.12.3n. This may indicate the idea that this area was more civilised.

5.18.19. fama pervaserat - It is very common to have *fama* acting as almost personified: for other examples in Curtius see e.g. IV.1.24 "Fama deinde, ut solet, strenue tota urbe discurrit", IV.16.4 "Interim ad Mazaeum superati regis fama pervenerat" & VI.11.20 "Interim...postquam Philotan torqueri fama vulgaverat"; on the speed of *fama* see VII.2.15 "Velocitate opus est, qua celeritatem fama antecedas"; on its inaccuracy see IX.2.14 "Numquam ad liquidum fama perducitur: omnia illa tradente maiora sunt vero". Curtius' usage owes much to Vergil's outright personification of *fama* in the *Aeneid*: see e.g. 4.173ff., 7.104ff. & Quint. *Inst.* 9.2.36; imitation of this is mainly poetic (see *TLL* VI₁ p. 225.49ff.), but see e.g. Amm. 16.10.17 & 26.6.2.

5.19.1. Ad Darei quoque matrem celeriter perlata est - Darius' mother was called Sisigambis (Berve 711; Diodorus calls her Sisbyggambis - see 17.37.3, 17.37.5, 17.59.7 & 17.118.3) and was the daughter of Ostanes (Artastes), the son of Darius II (424-05 B.C.), and the wife of her brother, Arsames (D.S. 17.5.5). She was born, at the latest, around 400 B.C. Sisigambis makes her first appearance at III.3.22 in the Persian procession and was captured by Alexander following the Battle of Issus: see III.11.24f, Arr. *An.* 2.11.9 & Bosworth *ad loc.*, Plu. *Alex.* 21.1, Just. 11.9.12 & D.S. 17.36.2. When the news of Alexander' death reached her she was probably in Susa, where Alexander had left her in 331 B.C.: see V.2.17 & DS. 17.67.1. Alexander treated her with the greatest respect: see III.12.16f. & V.2.18ff.

Her reaction at the death of Alexander is also recorded briefly by Diodorus and Justin: see respectively 17.118.3 *Μετὰ δὲ τὴν τοῦ βασιλέως τελευτὴν Σισύγγαμβρις ἡ Δαρείου μήτηρ, πολλὰ καταθρηνησασα τὴν τε Ἀλεξάνδρου τελευτὴν καὶ τὴν ἑαυτῆς ἐρημίαν, ἐπὶ τῆς ἐσχάτης τοῦ βίου γραμμῆς ἐγκαρτερήσασα πεμπτάκις κατέστρεψε τὸν βίον, ἐπιλύπως μὲν, οὐκ ἀκλεῶς δὲ προεμένη τὸ ζῆν & 13.1.5f. "Mater quoque Darei regis, quam amisso filio a fastigio tantae maiestatis in captivitatem redactam indulgentia victoris in eam diem vitae non paenituerat, audita morte Alexandri mortem sibi ipsa conscivit, non quod hostem filio praeferret, sed quod pietatem filii in eo, quem ut hostem timuerat, experta esset"; there is no mention in either Arrian, or Plutarch. Hammond (1983a pp. 78 & 159)*

suggests Diyllus as a source for Diodorus and Curtius and (1983a p. 109) Cleitarchus as a source for Justin; they may, however, all be from the same one. For Curtius' treatment of this episode see further Porod 1987 pp. 231ff.

5.19.8. Abscissa ergo veste - For Persians doing this elsewhere see III.11.25, when the Royal women are captured after Issus, "Ingens circa eam nobilium feminarum turba constiterat, laceratis crinibus abscissaque veste pristini decoris immemores", IV.10.25 of a eunuch at Darius' wife's death "in tabernaculum regis perducitur gemens et veste lacerata" & later at V.12.12ff., when Darius is believed dead, "Post hanc vocem spado gemitu non tabernaculum modo sed etiam castra complevit. Inrupere deinde alii laceratisque vestibibus lugubri et barbaro ululatu regem deplorare coeperunt... Varius ac dissonus clamor sine duce ac sine imperio totis castris referebatur"; for other eastern examples of this practice in distress see *Jb.* 1.20, *Ez.* 9.3, *Jo.* 7.6, 2 *Sa.* 13.31, all in reference to men, Hdt. 3.66.1 & 8.99.2 of Persian men and women, *A. Pers.* 1030 & 1060 of Persian men. The tearing of clothes was part of Greek mourning regarding women (see Lucianus *Luct.* 12, cited at 5.7.6n.) and was possibly practised by women at Rome too (see Prop. 2.13b.27 and note Curtius' lack of comment).

5.19.16. laceratisque crinibus - The tearing of hair in the ancient world as a sign of grief, or distress, was common. For Persian women doing this in Curtius see III.11.25, cited at 5.19.8n.; for Persian men believed to do this see e.g. *A. Pers.* 1056 & 1062; for Greeks and this practice see e.g. Lucianus *Luct.* 12, cited at 5.7.6n., of women & Hom. *Il.* 10.15 of Agamemnon. In Rome, dishevelled hair was probably normal for women (see the reliefs described in Toynebee 1971 pp. 44ff. & Plu. *Moralia* 267a, cited at 5.24.5n.), but the tearing of hair also took place: see e.g. Luc. 2.39, cited at 5.7.6n., Porcius Latro *ap. Sen. Con.* 2.4.1, Sil. 2.668, *Consolatio ad Liviam* 317 & Toynebee 1971 p. 47 for possibly a hired mourner doing this. Such a practice may have been regarded as excessive: see e.g. Cic. *Tusc.* 3.62, cited at 5.7.6n.

5.19.18. humi corpus abiecit - Curtius sees this as common to Persians in distress: cf. e.g. IV.10.21 of Sisigambis, after her daughter-in-law's death, "Hic vero renovatus est maeror, ut prostratam humi vidit" & V.12.8 of Darius "in humum pronum corpus abiecit".

5.20.1. Adsidebat ei altera ex neptibus...retractabat - The scene portrayed here is similar to that at IV.10.21 "Recenti malo priorum quoque admonita receperat in gremium adultas virgines, magna quidem mutui doloris solacia". The girl referred to is Drypetis (Berve 290), the youngest daughter of Darius III, who was captured following the battle of Issus (see III.11.25, Arr. *An.* 2.11.9 & Bosworth *ad loc.*, Plu. *Alex.* 21.1 & Hamilton *ad loc.*, Just. 11.9.12 & D.S. 17.36.2) and left at Susa in 331 B.C. (V.2.17 & D.S. 17.67.1). She married Hephaestion at Susa as part of the mass marriage there and, although there is a lacuna (see 1.45.16n.) at that point in Curtius, it is recorded by both Arrian (*An.* 7.4.5) and Diodorus (17.107.6). Drypetis' husband, Hephaestion, died at Ecbatana in the Autumn of 324 B.C. Once again, this

event is missing from Curtius due to a lacuna (see 4.3.32n.), but the other sources record it (see Arr. An. 7.14.1, D.S. 17.110.8, Plu. Alex. 72.1 & Hamilton *ad loc.* & Just. 12.12.11). For other references to her in Curtius see III.11.25 & IV.14.22.

5.20.5. *neptibus* - Lauer suggests this emendation, which is also found in Δ , for the *nepotibus* of Ω ; the emendation seems justified as *nepos* is not used of women, except in late inscriptions and Ennius (see frg. 60 & Skutsch *ad loc.*).

5.21.14. *Recens dolor etiam praeterita revocaverat* - For the same idea used by Curtius see e.g. VII.1.7 referring to Alexander "Ceterum recruduit suppuratus dolor: quippe veteris periculi memoriam praesentis cura renovabat".

5.21.19. *Crederes* - For this Curtian favourite see 2.18.1n.

5.21.21. *amisum Dareum* - Darius III (Berve 244) was killed by the traitor Bessus and his supporters in July 330 B.C. (see V.13.16ff. & Arr. An. 3.22.10). He was the son of Arsames (see D.S. 17.5.5) and came to the throne in 336 B.C. with the help of a eunuch named Bagoas (see VI.3.12 & for further refs. 1.37.31n.), not to be confused with the one in the incident at Pasargadae (see 1.25.18n.). For Curtius' portrayal of Darius see Rutz 1986 pp. 2346f.

5.21.26. *duorum filiorum* - Curtius obviously has Darius in mind, but also Alexander. Curtius sees the relationship between Sisigambis and the young king as that of mother and son (see V.2.22 where Alexander addresses her as mother, "Dulcissimae matri Olympiadi nomen debitum tibi reddo"); this is the same view as in Diodorus (see 17.37.6 "ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς ὑπολαβὼν εἶπεν, Μηδὲν φροντίσης, ᾧ μητέρα). However, Alexander, as well as possibly liking this woman, may have been trying to use her support to win over Persians to himself (see Bosworth 1988a pp. 63f.), in much the same way as happened with Ada in Caria: see Arr. An. 1.23.8 καὶ Ἀλέξανδρος τὰ τε Ἄλινδα αὐτῇ ἐπέτρψε καὶ τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ παιδὸς οὐκ ἀπηξίωσε & Bosworth *ad loc.* & 1988a p. 230.

5.21.31. *Flebat simul mortuos vivosque* - The word *vivos* refers to Darius' two daughters, Drypetis and Stateira, and his small son, Ochus (Berve 833; for him see III.11.24, III.12.26, IV.10.22, IV.11.6 & IV.14.22). By the use of these two words at this point Curtius is showing the reader the structure of what has passed (mention of the dead) and what will follow next in the passage (mention of the living).

5.22.1. *Quem...quem...iterum...iterum...Qui...qui* - For similar examples of multiple anaphora see e.g. VI.10.12f. "Si . . . si . . . vel . . . vel . . . Quid . . . quod", VI.11.24f. "Amisimus . . . amisimus . . . nec . . . nec . . . qui . . . qui . . . quis . . . quis . . . quis" & Crousen 1971 p. 29. For

anaphora with *iterum* in other writers see *TLL* VII₂ p. 558.66ff.

5.22.17₂ regno - The structure of the indirect statements at this point favours the reading of BFLP^cV to the *regnum* of P¹; for *excidere* and the ablative see *TLL* V₂ p. 1236.73ff.

5.22.25. post - P's reading is preferable to the *plus* of ω , after which a different structure would be required.

5.23.5. LXXX fratres suos eodem die ab Ocho...trucidatos - At first sight, this seems a very large number and it may be possible that it not only refers to brothers, but also to cousins (see e.g. VI.10.24 "Cum quo quod amicitia fuerit mihi, non recuso defendere, si fratrem regis non oportuit diligi a nobis" & *TLL* VI₁ p. 1254.83ff.) and maybe even friends (see *TLL* VI₁ p. 1256.22ff.), but, considering that the Persian kings had many concubines (see e.g. III.3.24 "Tum regiae paelices trecentae et sexaginta vehebantur" & Atkinson *ad loc.*), the number should be taken as reasonably realistic, especially as *patrem* a few words later (see 5.23.19n.) suggests one father for all the men; the number seems small compared to the exploits of Moulay Ismaïl (A.D. 1672-1727), the last Sharifician Emperor of Morocco, who reputedly had five hundred and forty-eight sons and three hundred and forty daughters. Curtius' figure is given some credibility by Valerius Maximus, when referring to probably the same event: see 9.2.ext.7 "Apertior et taetrior alterius Ochi cognomine Artaxerxis crudelitas, qui Atossam sororem atque eandem socrum vivam capite defodit et patruum cum centum amplius filiis ac nepotibus vacua area destitutum iaculis confixit nulla iniuria lacessitus, sed quod in his maximam apud Persas probitatis et fortitudinis laudem consistere videbat".

Ochus, otherwise known as Artaxerxes III, came to the Persian throne in 359 B.C. and reigned until murdered in 338 B.C. He was renowned for his savagery and, when he gained the throne, he is said to have killed off any relatives who were in line for the succession (for his accession and savagery see Plu. *Art.* 30.1ff., Ael. *VH* 2.17, V. Max. 9.2.ext.7, cited above, & Just. 10.3.1; for the accession and aftermath see Cook 1983 pp. 222ff. & Olmstead 1948 pp. 424f.). Darius' eventual succession bears witness as to how successful this purge and the later one carried out by the eunuch Bagoas on his sons were.

5.23.19. patrem - This refers to Ostances: see 5.19.1n.

5.23.26. unum superesse - This refers to Darius' younger brother, Oxathres (Berve 585, D.S. 17.34.2, Arr. *An.* 7.4.5 & Str. *Chr.* 12.3.10; he is usually called Oxyathres - see Roos 1967 p. 344 for spelling variants -, but see D.S. 17.34.2 & 17.77.4 for Oxathres), who was probably born around 375 B.C. (see Berve 1926 II p. 291). He is first heard of at Issus (see III.11.8 "Ergo frater eius Oxathres..." & Atkinson *ad loc.*) and later became one of Alexander's *ἐταῖροι* (see VI.2.11 "fratremque Darei recepit in cohortem amicorum omni vetustae claritatis honore

servato" & Plu. *Alex.* 43.7, who calls him Exathres, τότε δὲ τοῦ Δαρείου τὸ μὲν σῶμα κεκοσμημένον βασιλικῶς πρὸς τὴν μητέρ' ἀπέστειλε, τὸν δὲ ἀδελφὸν Ἐξάθρηγιν εἰς τοὺς ἐταίρους ἀνέλαβεν & Hamilton *ad loc.*).

5.23.28. ipsum Dareum floruisse paulisper, ut crudelius posset extingui - Darius was forty-five years of age when he came to the throne in 336 B.C. (see Olmstead 1948 p. 490 & Berve 1926 II p. 116). and so would have been around fifty on his death. Therefore, *floruisse* must refer to the length of his five year reign and not to the span of his life.

5.24.5. obvolutoque capite - This may be a sign of mourning: see e.g. *Liber de Morte* §114 "Post ipsi capitibus coopertis terram intuentes ad exercitum in suggestum processerunt", the relief described at Toynbee 1971 p. 45, Hom. *Il.* 24.93f. of Artemis Ἦς ἄρα φωνήσασα κάλυμμι' ἔλε διὰ θεάων / κύνεον, τοῦ δ' οὐ τι μελάντερον ἔπλετο ἔσθος & Plu. *Moralia* 267a Διὰ τῶν γονεῖς ἐκκομίζουσιν οἱ μὲν υἱοὶ συγκεκαλυμμένοι, αἱ δὲ θυγατέρες γυμναῖς ταῖς κόμαις λελυμέναις; for the same action in Curtius see V.12.8, where Darius grieves at his fate, "capite deinde velato ne inter gemitus digredientem velut a rogo intueretur, in humum pronum corpus abiecit" & IV.10.34, when he learns of the death of his wife, "Tandem ut fides facta est vera esse, quae adfirmaret spado, capite velato diu flevit manantibusque adhuc lacrimis veste ab ore reiecta, ad caelum manus tendens..."; in both these cases there is also the idea of cutting oneself off from those around, either in case they would see you, or you them; for the covering of the head to avoid recognition see VI.8.22, when Philotas is led away after his arrest, "Nec plura elocutum capite velato in regiam adducunt" & e.g. Cic. *Ver.* 2.5.72 "Itaque alii cives Romani, ne cognoscerentur capitibus obvolutis e carcere ad palum atque ad necem rapiebantur". In this case, rather than simply grief, it could also be a sign that Sisigambis is withdrawing from the world and intent on death (see Apul. *Met.* 8.7.5, cited at 5.24.13n., for a similar withdrawal).

5.24.10. neptem nepotemque - Drypetis and Ochus: see 5.20.1n. & 5.21.31n. respectively.

5.24.13. cibo pariter abstinuit et luce - A case of zeugma: *cibo* is straightforward, *luce* is not. Diodorus also says that Sisigambis chose to starve herself (see 17.118.3 ἐπὶ τῆς ἐσχάτης τοῦ βίου γραμμῆς ἐγκατερήσασα), whereas Justin, without specifying the method, says she committed suicide (see 13.1.5 "audita morte Alexandri mortem sibi ipsa conscivit"). For other cases of people deciding on starvation in grief see e.g. VIII.2.11 of Alexander following his murder of Clitus "diuque precibus ipsorum reluctatum aegre vicerunt, ut cibum caperet", Apul. *Met.* 8.7.5 for the grieving Charite's intention, where she also withdraws from the light, "inedia denique misera et incuria squalida, tenebris imis abscondita, iam cum luce transegerat" & Petr. 111.3 of the widow of Ephesus "sic afflictantem se ac mortem inedia persequentem non parentes potuerunt abducere, non propinqui...quintum iam diem sine alimento trahebat".

5.24.18. *Quinto...die extincta est* - The same time period is given by Diodorus at 17.118.3 *πεμπτάτα κατέστρεψε τὸν βλον*. At first, this seems rather quick, but it is medically plausible. The cause of death would have been dehydration, rather than lack of food. In general, death occurs with a loss of 15-20% of body water, that is of 10-15% of body weight (in a 65kg man a loss of eight litres is usually fatal, but death can occur with a loss of six), and is usually in a period of seven to ten days: see Forrester 1985 §40.5 & Bland 1963 p. 170. As survival time depends on the rate of water loss (e.g. if a man carried a 30kg pack in the desert, he could die in twelve to fourteen hours), Sisigambis' surroundings, general condition and weight need to be considered. She was an old woman of about eighty (see 5.19.1n.) and at Susa in the heat of the summer. It is fair to assume that she would not have been that strong and, in addition, she wanted to die (the loss of body fluid due to crying is of little importance). With these factors in mind, such a quick death is not impossible. In the Roman world, there may have been the idea that five days was a crucial time: for the case of Atticus dying on the fifth day from fasting, although already weakened by fever, see *Nep. Att.* 22.3 "itaque die quinto postquam id consilium inierat...decessit"; Drappes, on hunger strike, only lasted a few days (see *Hirt. Gal.* 8.44.3 "Drappes, quem raptum esse a Caninio docui, sive indignitate et dolore vinculorum sive timore gravioris supplicii paucis diebus cibo se abstinuit atque ita interiit"); when Tiberius was not permitted to go to Rhodes, it is noted that his demands were met after four days of fasting (see *Suet. Tib.* 10.2 "quin et pertinacius retinentibus, cibo per quadriduum abstinuit"); Petronius (111.3, cited at 5.24.13n.) comments that the woman of Ephesus had passed her fifth day of fasting.

5.25.1. *Magnum profecto Alexandri indulgentiae in eam iustitiaeque in omnes captivos* - For the same sentiments cf. *Just.* 13.1.5 "Mater quoque Darei...indulgentia victoris in eam diem vitae non paenituerat". For examples of the good treatment of this group see III.12.6f., III.12.18f. & V.3.13.

5.25.15. *quae cum sustinisset post Dareum vivere, Alexandro esse superstes erubuit* - Justin expresses the same idea concerning Sisigambis (see 13.1.5f., cited at 5.19.1n.).

Section Twelve

Assessment of Alexander: X.5.26 - X.5.37

It was a common practice among historians, following the death of an illustrious individual, to include a brief, or detailed, description of the person's qualities and achievements, often including a summary of his good and bad points¹ - this would, no doubt, have been done often in the case of Alexander²; such descriptions also tend to appear at other appropriate places in the narrative³. Curtius has already done so for Parmenion and Callisthenes⁴ and would probably have done the same for Darius and, as well as here, has previously referred to Alexander's qualities⁵. The other Alexander historians also present summaries after Alexander's death: Justin⁶ contains a few qualities, but dwells more on the sensational tales concerning his birth, Diodorus⁷ gives a very brief sentence, saying that Alexander accomplished much, whereas Arrian⁸, as Curtius, lists his positive qualities, but then goes on to give excuses for the vices he mentions.

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1. See e.g. Sen. *Suas.* 6.21 "Quotiens magni alicuius <viri> mors ab historicis narrata est, totiens fere consummatio totius vitae et quasi funebris laudatio redditur. hoc, semel aut iterum a Thucydide factum, item in paucissimis personis usurpatum a Sallustio, T. Livius benignus omnibus magnis viris praestitit. sequentes historici multo id effusius fecerunt"; for examples see e.g. Th. 2.65.6f. & Gomme *ad loc.* (Pericles), Just. 9.8.1ff. (Philip), D.C. 56.43.1ff. & Tac. *Ann.* 1.9.1ff. & Goodyear *ad loc.* (Augustus), 2.73.2ff. (Germanicus), J. *AJ* 19.201ff. (Caligula), Amm. 21.16.1ff. (Constantius), 25.4.1ff. (Julian) & 30.7.1ff. (Valentinian); for what Cicero regards as a panegyric see *de Orat.* 2.341ff.
 2. See e.g. Cic. *de Orat.* 2.341 "[Graecorum] sunt libri quibus Themistocles, Aristides, Agesilaus, Epaminondas, Philippus, Alexander aliique laudantur".
 3. See e.g. Th. 1.138.3 (Themistocles), Sal. *Cat.* 5.1ff. & M^CGushin *ad loc.* (Catiline), 54.1ff. & M^CGushin *ad loc.* (Cato & Caesar), Jug. 95.3f. (Sulla), Liv.39.40.3ff. (Cato) & Vell. 2.41.1f. & Woodman *ad loc.* (Julius Caesar).
 4. See VII.2.33ff. & VIII.10.21f. respectively.
 5. See III.6.18ff. & V.7.1f.; for Alexander's declining standards see VI.2.2ff. & VI.6.1ff. 6. 12.16.1ff. 7. 17.117.5. 8. *An.* 7.28.1ff.

5.26.7. *bona naturae eius fuisse, vitia vel fortunae vel aetatis* - With these words, Curtius sets out the structure of the following section: the king's good points will be dealt with first, then his vices, which will be divided into those attributable to fortune and then those due to age. Most space is devoted to the first section, in which there is a very deliberate pattern and the whole piece is full of chiasmus and antithesis (this is illustrated in fig. 7). The qualities, which refer to mental attitudes, rather than physical ability, seem to be divided into two large sections: the first one deals with the necessary assets of a king, or military commander, and the second with Alexander's more personal qualities; the final three phrases refer more to a way of acting than qualities. However, the virtues are none other than common ones, ascribed to many other men previously and later. Unfortunately, the last part of the list is somewhat unsatisfactory: the somewhat clumsy *voluptas* clause seems to spoil the previous

symmetry. In addition, the four words rounding off the whole section ("ingentes profecto dotes erant") are rather inane and unsuitable, seeming more like an interpolation than anything else: see 5.32.15n.

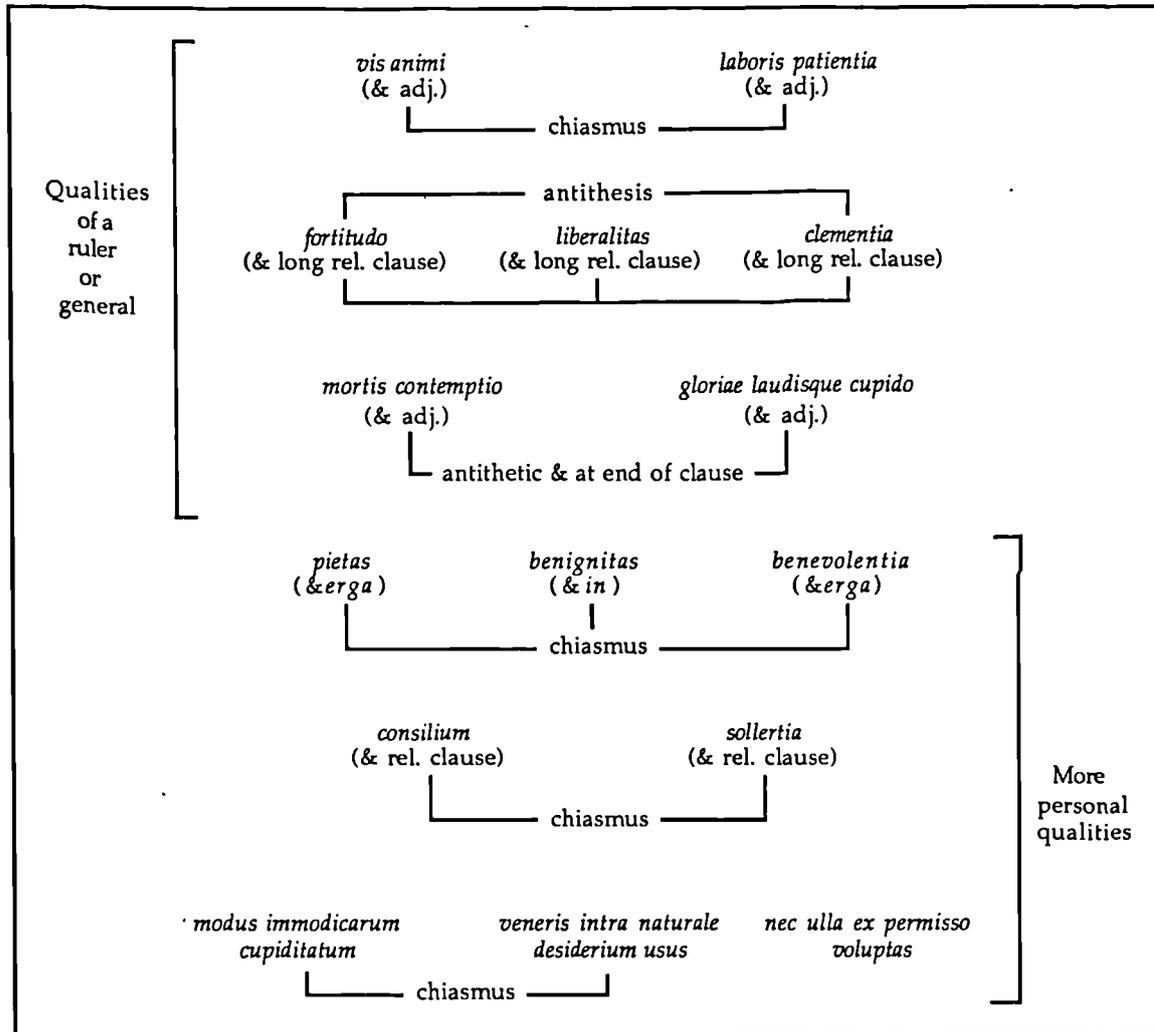


Fig. 7. The structure of Curtius' list of Alexander's positive qualities

In contrast to the attention given to Alexander's positive qualities (some of which a reader of Curtius' text may find surprising - see e.g. 5.30.2n. & 5.32.9n.), very little time and space is devoted to the section on his vices. Apart from antithesis between *dedignantibus* and *suadentibus*, there is no real structuring and those vices attributable to his age get very little mention. It may simply be that Curtius chose to highlight the positive side of Alexander to suit the conventions of an obituary; however, he may have wanted to create an overall ambiguous picture of Alexander and, if the Macedonian king and Caligula were to be seen as comparable figures, such an attitude would match that taken by Claudius to his predecessor (see Appendix B). For Curtius' characterisation of Alexander see Prod 1987 pp. 285ff., Atkinson 1980 pp. 70ff., Rutz 1986 pp. 2344ff., McQueen 1967 pp. 34ff. & Tarn 1948 II pp. 96ff.

5.26.8. *naturae...fortunae* - A man's qualities, whether good, or bad, are often ascribed to nature, or fortune. For a similar *divisio* see e.g. Cic. *S. Rosc.* 46 "si tibi fortuna non dedit, ut

patre certo nascerere...at natura certe dedit ut humanitatis non parum haberes", *Ver.* 2.4.80 "Potes domesticae laudis amplitudinem, Scipio, tueri, potes; omnia sunt in te quae aut fortuna hominibus aut natura largitur", *Sest.* 47 "tanta spoliatione omnium rerum quas mihi aut natura aut fortuna dederat", *Amic.* 103 "quas mihi aut fortuna aut natura tribuit", *de Orat.* 2.342 "tractanda in laudationibus etiam haec sunt naturae et fortunae bona", *Liv.* 3.12.6 "instructum naturae fortunaeque omnibus bonis", 30.1.4 "congestis omnibus humanis ab natura fortunaque bonis", *Nep. Alc.* 2.1 "neque plura bona eminisci neque maiora posset consequi, quam vel natura vel fortuna tribuerat" & *Plin. Ep.* 3.3.4 "adest enim adulescenti nostro cum ceteris naturae fortunaeque dotibus eximia corporis pulchritudo".

5.26.11. *vitia...aetatis* - The idea of youth open to certain vices was a common one: for this in Curtius see IV.5.3, where Darius writes to Alexander, "Vereri se, ne avium modo, quas naturalis levitas ageret ad sidera, inani ac puerili mente se efferret: nihil difficilius esse quam in illa aetate tantam capere fortunam" & Atkinson *ad loc.*; for Arrian's appeal to Alexander's age in cases of anger, haste and barbarian practices see *An.* 7.29.1 *τὴν νεότητά τέ τις τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρου μὴ ἀνεπεικῶς ἐνθυμηθείη*; for the same idea on youth elsewhere see e.g. *Cic. Cael.* 42f. "detur aliquid aetati; sit adulescentia liberior", *Sal. Cat.* 3.4 "tamen inter tanta vitia inbecilla aetas ambitione corrupta tenebatur", *Hor. Ars.* 161ff. "imberbis iuvenis, tandem custode remoto, / ...cereus in vitium flecti", *Papirius Fabianus ap. Sen. Con.* 2.4.10 "vitia augeri vides. nullum illius vitium: aetatis est, amoris est", *Cestius Pius ap. Sen. Con.* 2.6.7 "Merito in adulescentibus <non> omnem luxuriam vindicant: cito desinunt", *Dicta Catonis* 1.16 "Multorum cum facta senex et dicta reprendis, / fac tibi succurrant iuvenis quae feceris ipse" & *Amm.* 25.4.7 of Julian "*virtute senior quam aetate*". For the conventional *apologia* inverted by Suetonius see *Nero* 26.1 "Petulantiam, libidinem, luxuriam, avaritiam, crudelitatem sensim quidem primo et occulte et velut iuvenali errore exercuit, sed ut tunc quoque dubium nemini foret naturae illa vitia, non aetatis esse". Age was used as an element in the *argumentum a persona*: see e.g. *Quint. Inst.* 5.10.25 "aetas, quia aliud aliis annis magis convenit" & 1.40.4n.

5.27.1. *Vis incredibilis animi* - For the only other use of this phrase in Curtius see III.5.8 of Alexander "illam vim animi". Livy, referring to Cato, uses the same phrase at 39.40.4 "in hoc viro tanta vis animi ingenique fuit"; Sallust says the same of Catiline at *Cat.* 5.1 "L. Catilina...fuit magna vi et animi et corporis" & see McGushin *ad loc.*

5.27.4. *laboris patientia propemodum nimia* - Arrian (*An.* 7.28.1) describes Alexander as *φιλοπονῶτατος*. For examples of this quality in Alexander see e.g. V.13.5, VIII.4.9f. & IX.9.23. For *patientia laboris* as a praiseworthy quality elsewhere see e.g. *Liv.* 39.40.11 concerning Cato "in patientia laboris periculique ferrei prope corporis animique"; for the capacity for work in others praised in similar situations see e.g. *Sal. Cat.* 54.4 (Julius Caesar) "Caesar in animum induxerat laborare, vigilare" & 5.3 (Catiline) "Corpus patiens inediae algoris

vigiliae supra quam quoiquam credibile est" & M^cGushin *ad loc.*; for Marius noting this and expecting praise from it see Sal. *Jug.* 85.7 "Ita ad hoc aetatis a pueritia fui uti omnis labores et pericula consueta habeam".

5.27.8. *fortitudo* - Arrian also mentions this of Alexander at *An.* 7.28.1 *ἀνδρειότατος* and Cicero (*de Orat.* 2.343) lists it as a constituent part of a panegyric. It is not difficult to find instances of Alexander displaying this quality in Curtius' work: an outstanding example is at IX.4.26ff., when he is trapped in the city of the Sudraca; for other examples see e.g. IV.16.27 & Atkinson *ad loc.*, VII.9.11, VIII.10.28 & VIII.14.14.

5.28.1. *liberalitas saepe maiora tribuentis* - There are many examples of Alexander's generosity in Curtius' work: regarding provinces see e.g. IV.1.26 of Abdalonymus, VIII.12.14 of Taxiles (Omphis) & VIII.14.45 of Porus; regarding money and gifts see e.g. VI.2.11, VII.5.27 & X.2.9ff.; for Alexander mentioning it see VIII.8.9. This is also the view of Alexander elsewhere: see e.g. Arr. *An.* 7.28.3 *χρημάτων τε ἐς μὲν ἡδονὰς τὰς αὐτοῦ φειδωλότατος, ἐς δὲ εὐποιῶν τῶν πέλας ἀφθονώτατος*, Plu. *Alex.* 70.2 & Hamilton *ad loc.*, Sen. *Ben.* 5.6.1, Ael. *VH* 1.25 & Amm. 25.4.15. Generosity was a common characteristic to mention in such a context: see e.g. Sal. *Cat.* 54.2f. "Ille mansuetudine et misericordia clarus factus...Caesar dando, sublevando, ignoscendo" & M^cGushin *ad loc.* & Vell. 2.41.1 "munificentia effusissimus" & Woodman *ad loc.*, both of Julius Caesar, D.C. 56.43.1 of Augustus *καὶ ἐς χρήματα πολλοῖς ἐπήρκει* & Amm. 25.4.15 of Julian "Liberalitas eius testimonia plurima sunt et verissima, inter quae...".

5.28.5. *quam a dis petuntur* - For the same idea see 1.25.14n. This, no doubt, refers to such things as provinces, power, wealth and even life. For what Romans wished for see e.g. Pers. 2 & Barr *LB* 1987 pp. 88ff. & Juv. 10 & Courtney 1980 pp. 446ff. The tone is somewhat ironical considering Alexander's supposed divine aspirations: for these see 5.11.2n.

5.28.9. *Clementia in devictos* - The exercise of *clementia* was seen as a Roman characteristic (see Verg. *A.* 6.851f. & Liv. 33.12.7 & Briscoe *ad loc.*) and leading men in the Republic could earn praise for so doing (see e.g. Cic. *Lig.* 19 & Suet. *Jul.* 75.1 of Julius Caesar, Liv. 28.34.6 of Scipio Africanus, V. Max 5.1.9 of Pompey & Weinstock 1971 pp. 233ff.). This quality then became part of the image building of the *princeps* (see e.g. Vell. 2.100.4 of Augustus, who stressed this - see R.G. 3.1f. and Brunt & Moore 1981 pp. 40f. - and was given a shield partly on account of this virtue in 27 B.C. - see R.G. 34.2, Gagé 1977 pp. 146f. and Brunt & Moore 1981 p. 78 -, Tac. *Ann.* 3.50.2 of Tiberius, D.C. 59.16.10 for annual sacrifices given to Caligula's *clementia*, D.C. 60.28.1 of Claudius, Tac. *Ann.* 13.11.2 of Nero, Sen. *Clem. passim*, addressed to Nero, Tac. *Hist.* 1.75.2 of Vitellius, 2.48.2 of Otho, Weinstock 1971 pp. 241f. & Béranger 1953 pp. 271ff.). It was, therefore, an appropriate quality to mention in pieces such as this: see e.g. Cic. *de Orat.* 2.343; for examples see e.g. Just. 9.8.7 of Philip "Misericordia in eo et perfidia

pari iure dilectae", Sal. *Cat.* 54.2f., cited at 5.28.1n., of Julius Caesar, Tac. *Ann.* 2.73.3 of Germanicus "quantum clementia temperantia, ceteris bonis artibus praestitisset" & Amm. 25.4.9 of Julian "constat eum in apertos aliquos inimicos insidiatores suos ita consurrexisse mitissime, ut poenarum asperitatem genuina lenitudine castigaret"; for Sulla's lack of it see Julius Bassus *ap. Sen. Con.* 2.4 "[deerat] in Sulla clementiam".

For this quality in Alexander mentioned by Curtius see e.g. III.12.21, IV.10.23, IV.10.34, IV.11.16, V.3.15, V.7.1, VI.4.24, VI.6.1, VII.9.17, VIII.8.12 & X.1.41; for it elsewhere see e.g. Ov. *Tr.* 3.5.39f. "quae ducis Emathii fuerit clementia, Porus / Dareique docent funeris exequiae" & Horst 1988 p. 123 for further Latin references. There were, however, times when Alexander lacked *clementia*: see e.g. IV.4.17 of the killings at Tyre, IV.6.26 in regard to the punishment of Betis, VII.5.33 of the Branchidae & VII.11.28 of Arimazes and his relatives.

5.28.12. tot regna aut reddita...aut dono data - For the use of *regnum reddere* and cases where this happened see 1.43.13n.; for examples of kingdoms given as a gift see e.g. IV.1.26, cited at 5.28.1n., of Abdalonymus; for satrapies see e.g. VII.5.1 of Artabazus "Igitur Bactrianorum regione Artabazo tradita, IX.10.20 of Sibyrtyus "Praeposito igitur regioni Sibyrtyo" & IX.8.10 of an enlarged one of Oxyartes "Oxyartes, praetor Bactrianorum...sed etiam iure amoris amplioris imperii donatus est finibus".

5.28.17. ademerat - At this point, P has *eadem erat* and ω *eademserat*, or *ea demserat*; the *ea ademerat* of Δ is followed by most editors, whereas Bentley uses *ademerat* and Bardon and Giacone the *ea dempserat* of M. *Adimo* is not only better in terms of similarity to the manuscript readings, but also in this context (for it in the sense of removing something from an enemy see e.g. Cic. *Ver.* 2.5.85, Liv. 7.38.5, Tac. *Hist.* 1.8.1 & TLL I p. 680.66ff.). However, the *ea* of Δ seems somewhat redundant: cf. Suet. *Aug.* 48 "Regnorum quibus belli iure potitus est, praeter pauca, aut isdem quibus ademerat reddidit aut alienigenis contribuit". It is, therefore, preferable to either write *eadem ademerat*, or accept Bentley's suggestion; the latter option seems best.

5.29.1. mortis...contemptio - Arrian says roughly the same of Alexander at *An.* 7.28.1 *φιλοκινδυνότατος*. Examples of this could be Alexander fighting in the front line (see e.g. IV.6.14), the fact that he did not usually wear a cuirass (see e.g. IV.6.14 & Atkinson *ad loc.* & IV.13.25) and his exploits at the city of the Sudrae (see IX.4.26ff.); for his bravery see 5.27.8n. For some general rules on the matter see e.g. Nabarzanes' words at V.9.6 "Fortium virorum est magis mortem contemnere quam odisse vitam" & Pub. *Sent.* 405 "Mortem ubi contemnas viceris omnes metus".

5.29.8. gloriae laudisque...cupido - Arrian (*An.* 7.28.2 *τῶν δὲ τῆς γνώμης ἐπαίλου μόνου ἀπληστότατος*) also says the same. Alexander's desire for glory is often remarked upon in Curtius: see e.g. VII.8.12, where a Scythian says of Alexander "Si di habitum corporis tui

aviditati animi parem esse voluissent, orbis te non caperet", IX.2.9, where Curtius comments "rursus avaritia gloriae et insatiabilis cupido famae nihil invium, nihil remotum videri sinebat", IX.6.18, where Alexander assesses himself by glory, "ego me metior non aetatis spatio, sed gloriae" & X.6.21, where Alexander says he has dedicated his life to it, "videorne vobis in excolenda gloria, cui me uni devovi, posse cessare"; for other examples in Curtius of Alexander referring to *gloria* to be won, or won already, see IV.11.14, IV.13.9, IV.14.1, VII.7.13 & IX.6.24.; for *laus* see IX.4.21; for both see V.4.12 & VI.3.5. *Gloria* was something greatly sought by Romans (see 2.25.6n.) and Alexander was seen as an *exemplum* of it: see e.g. Sen. *Ben.* 1.13.2 "homo gloriae deditus", 7.2.5f., *Ep.* 91.17, V. Max. 6.4.ext.3, 8.14.ext.2, Ael. *VH* 4.29, D. Chr. 4.4, 4.60, Sen. *Suas.* 1.1f., Albucius Silus *ap.* Sen. *Suas.* 1.3, Cestius Pius *ap.* Sen. *Suas.* 1.5, Juv. 10.168, 14.311ff., Cic. *Att.* 13.28.2, Luc. 10.20ff. & Horst 1988 p. 122 for further Latin references and pp. 145ff. for comment.

5.29.10. ut iusto maior - Although something aimed for by Romans (see 2.25.6n.), *gloria* needed to be sought in moderation: see e.g. Sen. *Con.* 1.8.8 "esse adulescentem insatiabilem gloriae et propter <id> ipsum patri et moderandum et continendum".

5.29.15. ut iuveni et in tantis sane remittenda rebus - For youth open to certain vices see 5.26.11n. At this point, Ω has "ut iuveni et in tantis nec amittenda rebus", which has the wrong meaning and an *in* would be needed before *iuveni*. Of the various suggestions put forward to solve the problem, two are of particular interest. Walter (1918 p. 936) suggests "ut iuveni et in tantis sane remittenda rebus" and Hedicke "in iuvene et in tantis neglegenda rebus". If *remittenda* is accepted, then *ut iuveni* is correct, as a dative is needed, but, if *neglegenda* is chosen, *in iuvene* is necessary. Walter's suggestion, with one change instead of two, seems easiest and is to be preferred; for *ita...ut* concessive, as used here, see K-S II pp. 248ff.

5.30.2. pietas erga parentes - This is another very Roman quality: as with *clementia*, *pietas* was another reason for the award of the golden shield to Augustus in 27 B.C. (see 5.28.9n.) and, in general, it was a concept used by emperors (see Weinstock 1971 pp. 248ff.). In Curtius, the only other time that *pietas* is attributed to Alexander is in reference to Sisigambis: see V.2.18 "omni namque honore eam et filii quoque pietate prosequatur". Romans may have been reminded of Caligula's actions when he came to power: he brought back the remains of his mother and brother, transferring the ashes into urns himself, and punished those responsible; in addition, he instituted annual Circus games at which his mother's image would be paraded in a covered carriage, a day of funeral sacrifices for her and called September "Germanicus" (see Suet. *Cal.* 15.1f. & D.C. 59.3.5). He also issued coins in honour of his parents in the first year of his reign (see Barrett 1989 p. 61). Claudius acted similarly: he instituted public sacrifices to the shades of his parents and held annual Circus games on his father's birthday at which the image of his mother, now given the title Augusta, was

paraded in a carriage (see Suet. *Cl.* 11.2 & D.C. 60.5.1).

However, the pious view given here of Alexander is somewhat at odds with Curtius' work and the view that Alexander did not respect Philip and preferred Ammon as his father: see e.g. VIII.1.23 for Alexander's comments "Silentium tamen habuere seniores, donec Philippi res orsus obterere nobilem apud Chaeroneam victoriam sui operis fuisse iactavit...", IV.10.3 for those of the men "abdicari Philippum patrem", VI.11.23 for the reported comments of Hegelochus "Nam cum primum Iovis se salutari iussit rex, id indigne ferens ille 'Hunc igitur regem agnoscimus,' inquit 'qui Philippum dedignatur patrem?', VIII.7.13 of those of Hermolaus "tu Philippum patrem aversaris" & 5.4.22n. for Alexander and Ammon; for this view elsewhere see e.g. V. Max. 9.5.ext.1 "fastidio Philippi Iovem Hammonem patrem ascivit...spreto mortali habitu divinum aemulatus est" & D. Chr. 64.20 οὐκ ἔφερεν υἱὸς Φιλίππου λεγόμενος, τοῦ Διὸς κατεψεύδετο. These examples match the normal Roman view of the bad relationship between father and son: see Horst 1988 p. 126 for references & pp. 180ff. for comment.

5.30.6. Olympiada immortalitati consecrare decreverat - For Alexander's unfulfilled wish for Olympias (Berve 581) see also IX.6.26 "Ceterum, quoniam olim rei agitatae in animo meo nunc promendae occasio oblata est, mihi maximus laborum atque operum meorum erit fructus, si Olympias mater immortalitati consecretur, quandoque excesserit vita. Hoc, si licuerit, ipse praestabo; hoc, si me praeceperit fatum, vos mandasse me mementote" & Hammond 1989a pp. 235f. For Curtius' view of the king's affection for his mother see III.6.15 when Philip, the doctor, who is treating him in 333 B.C. after his accident in the River Cydnus, mentions her & VII.1.12 of his trust in her; for the same view elsewhere see e.g. Papius Fabianus *ap. Sen. Suas.* 1.4 "memento, Alexander, matrem in orbe victo adhuc magis quam <pa>cato relinquis", Cestius Pius *ap. Sen. Suas.* 1.8 "de matre illi cogitandum" & Arr. *An.* 7.12.5ff., where her influence on him can be seen concerning Antipater. The two also constantly wrote letters to each other (see D.S. 17.114.3 & Plu. *Alex.* 39.8 & Hamilton *ad loc.*); for Alexander sending spoils home to her see Plu. *Alex.* 25.6 & Hamilton *ad loc.*

5.30.10. Philippum ultus erat - Philip was murdered on his way to the marriage of Alexander of Epirus to his daughter, Cleopatra, in Aegae in 336 B.C. by a certain Pausanias (for the story see Just. 9.6.1ff., D.S. 16.93.1ff., Plu. *Alex.* 10.5f. & Hamilton *ad loc.* & Arist. *Pol.* 1311b). Apart from Pausanias, who was killed in the act, Alexander, following a trial, also executed Heromenes and Arrabaeus, the sons of Aeropus (see Arr. *An.* 1.25.1); their brother, Alexander, escaped punishment (see 1.40.20n.). In addition, Pausanias' sons may also have been arrested and killed: see Hammond 1978 pp. 342f., Hammond *HW* 1988 pp. 5f. & Bosworth 1988a pp. 25f. For different views on the reasons behind the controversial murder of Philip see Bosworth, 1971b pp. 93ff. & 1988a pp. 25f., who sees the Lyncestian brothers as responsible, Badian, 1963 pp. 244ff., who blames Alexander, Griffith, *HG* 1979 pp. 684ff., Fears, 1975 pp. 111ff., & Ellis, 1981 pp. 99ff., who see Pausanias as acting alone (Hammond,

1978 pp. 331ff., sees him as acting with accomplices probably), Lane Fox, 1973 pp. 17ff., & Develin, 1981 pp. 86ff., who blame Olympias, & Ellis, 1971 pp. 15ff., who blames Antipater, Alexander and Olympias.

Alexander's first concern, after he had taken revenge on the assassins, was to bury his father: see Just. 11.2.1f. "Prima illi cura paternarum exequiarum fuit, in quibus ante omnia caedis conscios ad tumulum patris occidi iussit. Soli Alexandro Lyncestae <parricidarum> fratri pepercit, servans in eo auspiciam dignitatis suae; nam regem eum primus salutaverat" & IV.7.27 at the oracle of Ammon "Post haec institit quaerere, an omnes parentis eius negat ullius scelere posse violari, Philippi autem omnes luisse supplicia". A Roman reader may well have been reminded of Augustus and his avenging of his adoptive father, Julius Caesar (see e.g. R.G. 2 & Gagé and Brunt & Moore *ad loc.*, Hor. *Carm.* 1.2.41ff. & Nisbet & Hubbard *ad loc.* & Ov. *Met.* 15.819ff.), and also of Caligula and his desire in Gaul to kill the legionaries who had revolted after Augustus' death and besieged his father's headquarters (Suet. *Cal.* 48.1f.).

5.31.2. *in omnes fere amicos benignitas* - This is the only time that *benignitas*, which Cicero (*de Orat.* 2.343) mentions as a component of such pieces, is used in reference to Alexander. For examples of this in regard to his friends in Curtius see e.g. V.6.20 concerning gifts & IX.8.22ff. in regard to Ptolemy when ill (for this incident in other writers see 6.13.2n.); for this elsewhere see e.g. Arr. *An.* 7.4.8, when he gives them dowries when they marry, *οἱ δὲ παραλαμβάντες ἀπηγον τὴν αὐτοῦ ἕκαστος· προΐκας δὲ ξυμπάσαις ἐπέδωκεν Ἀλέξανδρος*; for this quality in other such pieces see e.g. D.C. 56.43.1 (Augustus) *τούς τε φίλους ἰσχυρῶς ἐτίμα*, Tac. *Ann.* 2.73.2 (Germanicus) "sed hunc mitem erga amicos" & Sal. *Cat.* 54.4 (Julius Caesar) "negotiis amicorum intentus sua neglegere" & McGushin *ad loc.* Obvious exceptions would be the murder of Clitus (see VIII.1.52) and the trial of Philotas (see 1.1.12n.)

5.31.7. *erga milites benivolentia* - This is the only time that *benivolentia* is used in reference to Alexander. For examples of this quality in Curtius see e.g. V.6.20, cited at 5.10.35n., for the giving of gifts, VI.2.11 for the giving of money, VII.3.17 for the succouring of his troops in trouble, X.2.9ff. for the freeing of debts, VIII.4.15ff. for concern for a soldier who has nearly been frozen (see also e.g. V. Max. 5.1.*ext.*1 & Fron. *Str.* 4.6.3) & VII.5.10ff. for his refusal of water in preference for the men (see also e.g. Plu. *Alex.* 42.7ff. & Hamilton *ad loc.*; for a different version see Arr. *An.* 6.26.1ff., Polyae. 4.3.25 & Fron. *Str.* 1.7.7); for another example see e.g. Arr. *An.* 7.4.8 of the recognition of Persian wives. However, Alexander could also act in the opposite way: see e.g. VII.7.39, where Alexander threatens to kill those defeated by Spitamenes, if they divulge what happened, & X.4.2 of his cruelty at the Opis mutiny.

5.31.10. *consilium* - The same quality is listed by Arrian at *An.* 7.28.2 *ξυμβεῖν δὲ τὸ δέον ἐπι ἐν τῷ ἀφανεῖ ὄν δεινότητος, καὶ ἐκ τῶν φαινομένων τὸ εἰκὸς ξυμβαλεῖν ἐπιτυχέστατος*. Earlier (VII.2.33), Curtius mentions that Parmenion was "acer consilio".

5.31.12. *magnitudini animi* - This was one of the qualities sought by a Roman noble (see M^cGushin 1977 p. 272) and is mentioned as a component of panegyrics by Cicero at *de Orat.* 2.344; for the latter's views on it see *Off.* 1.61ff. Curtius uses the term six other times, although referring to Alexander once: see VI.1.3 (Agis, the Spartan king), VII.5.9 (Alexander), VII.6.20 (Semiramis & Cyrus), VII.10.5 & VII.10.7 (both of the Sogdians) & VIII.14.44 (Porus). For its use in this context cf. Sal. *Cat.* 54.1 (Julius Caesar & Cato) "*magnitudo animi par*" & M^cGushin *ad loc.*

5.31.15. *quantam vix poterat aetas eius capere* - Cf. III.6.19 "*Aetas quoque vix tantis matura rebus sed abunde sufficiens omnia eius opera honestabat*". For the use of *aetas* in an *argumentum a persona* see 5.26.11n.

5.31.21. *sollertia* - Arrian (*An.* 7.28.1) similarly calls Alexander *δξύτατος*. For his shrewdness in Curtius see e.g. IV.16.28, V.4.14ff., VI.6.27, VII.5.17 & VIII.13.17ff. Arrian (*An.* 7.28.2f.) lists his skill with an army as one of his qualities.

5.32.1a. *modus* - This is Lauer's suggestion, also found in Δ, for the *modum* of Ω; it seems correct, as a nominative is needed at this point. Vogel, Dosson and Cocchia add *iam* before *modus* and de Lorenzi (1965 pp. 119f.) after it. However, these seem totally unnecessary additions.

5.32.1b. *modus immodicarum cupiditatum* - A virtue often listed in a man's qualities: for this of Alexander in Curtius see e.g. IV.11.7, V.3.15 & VI.6.1; for it of Cato see e.g. Liv. 39.40.10 "*sed invicti a cupiditatibus animi, rigidae innocentiae, contemptor gratiae, divitiarum*" & Sal. *Cat.* 54.6 "*sed cum strenuo virtute, cum modesto pudore, cum innocente abstinentia certabat*" & M^cGushin *ad loc.* The lack of this quality was also worthy of comment in such contexts: see e.g. J. *AJ* 19.210 (Caligula) *οὕτως ἀρα δυσπόριστον ἡ ἀρετὴ τοῦ σωφρονεῖν* & Sal. *Jug.* 95.3 (Sulla) "*cupidus voluptatum*".

5.32.2. *immodicarum cupiditatum* - For this phrase see V.1.36 concerning Babylon "*Nihil urbis eius corruptius moribus, nihil ad inritandas inlicendasque immodicas cupiditates*" & X.10.6 of Alexander's successors "*si umquam adversus immodicas cupiditates terminus staret*".

5.32.4. *veneris intra naturale desiderium usus* - This quality of Alexander's is also listed by Arrian at *An.* 7.28.2 *ἡδονῶν δὲ τῶν μὲν τοῦ σώματος ἐγκρατέστατος*. It is, once again, a feature of such panegyrics: for sexual moderation praised see e.g. Tac. *Ann.* 2.73.2 (Germanicus) "*modicum voluptatum, uno matrimonio, certis liberis egisse*", Amm. 30.9.2 (Valentinian) "*Omni pudicitiae cultu domi castus et foris, nullo contagio conscientiae violatus obscenae, nihil incestum*", 21.16.6 (Constantius) "*perque spatia vitae longissima impendio castus, ut nec amaro ministro saltem suspicione tenus posset redargui, quod crimen etiam si non invenit, malignitas fingit, in summarum licentia potestatum*" & 25.4.2 (Julian) "*Et primum ita*

inviolata castitate enituit ut post amissam coniugem nihil umquam venereum agitaret"; Sulla lacked such a quality (see Sal. *Jug.* 95.3 "tamen ab negotiis numquam voluptas remorata; *** nisi quod de uxore potuit honestius consuli"), as Caligula apparently did (see D.C. 59.3.3 *μοιχικώτατος τε ἀνδρῶν γεγενημένος*).

For examples of this restraint in regard to Darius' wife and daughters see III.12.21f., IV.10.24, Arr. *An.* 4.19.6, Plu. *Alex.* 21.5f. & Hamilton *ad loc.*, *Moralia* 97d, 338e, 522a, Ath. 13.603. & Gel. 7.8.3; for another example, where Alexander betrothes an exceedingly beautiful maiden captive to a chief, see e.g. Fron. *Str.* 2.11.6 & Gel. 7.8.2. However, for encounters see e.g. VI.5.32 of the Amazon queen, Thalestris, "Acrior ad venerem feminae cupido quam regis, [ac] ut paucos dies subsisteret, perpulit. XIII dies in obsequium desiderii eius absumpti sunt", VIII.10.36, cited at 5.12.14n., of an Indian queen, Cleophis, & 6.11.18n. of Barsine, who is not mentioned by Curtius; for Alexander and courtesans see 2.27.6n.

5.32.9. *nec ulla nisi ex permissio voluptas* - Although this may have been true of Alexander in the early days of the expedition (see e.g. V.7.1 "Ceterum ingentia animi bona...in voluptatibus permissis quoque et usitatis temperantiam") and a certain interest in courtesans, eunuchs and boys might have been permissible, the normal portrait in Curtius and other writers suggests that he went beyond acceptable limits: see e.g. VI.2.2 of courtesans "tempestitiva convivia et perpotandi pervigilandique insana dulcedo ludique et greges paelicum", X.1.29 of Bagoas "quotiens amorem regis in se accenderat" & Ath 13.603a for his excessive love of boys *Φιλόπαις δ ἦν ἐκμανῶς καὶ Ἀλέξανδρος ὁ βασιλεύς*.

5.32.15. [*ingentes profecto dotes erant*] - The *ingentes profecto dotes erant* of Ω is very weak. Acidalius' suggests the replacement of *ingentes* by *ingenii*; this small change produces a reading which, although not completely satisfactory, is an improvement (for examples of *ingenium* and *fortuna* contrasted see e.g. III.2.17 "Erat Dareo mite et tractabile ingenium, nisi etiam naturam plerumque fortuna corrumpere" & Atkinson *ad loc.*, Cic. *Ver.* 2.2.191, Liv. 22.41.1 & 35.42.8; for *ingenii* and *dos* so joined see e.g. III.6.20 "quis ille vel ingenii dotibus vel animi, ut pariter carus ac venerandus esset, effecerat"; for *dos* in similar contexts in other writers see e.g. Plin. *Ep.* 3.3.4, cited at 5.26.8n., Ov. *Am.* 2.4.38 & Suet. *Tit.* 3.1). Another suggestion proposed by Acidalius is *ingenitae*; Curtius does use this word twice (see III.6.17 "praeter ingenitam illi genti erga reges suos venerationem" & V.5.19 "Mores, sacra, linguae commercium etiam a barbaris expeti, quae ingenita ipsi omissuri sint sua sponte"), but, again, although correct in sense, it is weak. This is also the case with Stangl's "ingentes...erant naturae". The most likely suggestion is that *ingentes...erant* is an explanatory remark which has crept into the text; this seems especially probable due to the presence of *profecto*.

5.33.3. *dis aequare* - Presumably, Curtius is alluding to the constant theme in his work of Alexander's desire to emulate and surpass, if possible, the deeds of the god Dionysus and the heroes Hercules (a statue of whom he apparently carried: see Stat. *Silv.* 4.6.59ff.) and (to a

lesser extent) Achilles, from both of whom he claimed descent: for Achilles from his mother's side see e.g. IV.6.29, VIII.4.26, D.S. 17.1.5, Plu. *Alex.* 2.1 & Hamilton *ad loc.* & Vell. 1.6.5; for Hercules on his father's side see e.g. IV.2.3 & Atkinson *ad loc.*, D.S. 17.1.5, Plu. *Alex.* 2.1 & Hamilton *ad loc.*, Vell. 1.6.5, Arr. *An.* 3.3.2 & Bosworth *ad loc.*, 4.7.4 & 4.10.6. For imitation of Achilles following Hephaestion's death see Ael. *VH* 7.8 & Arr. *An.* 7.14.4 and for his rivalry with Dionysus and Hercules see e.g. III.10.5 "illos terrarum orbis liberatores emensosque olim Herculis et Liberi Patris terminos non Persis modo sed etiam omnibus gentibus imposituros iugum" & Atkinson *ad loc.*, IX.4.21 "Ne inviderent sibi laudem, quam peteret. Herculis et Liberi Patris terminos transituros illos" & IX.10.24 "aemulatus Patris Liberi non gloriam solum, quam ex illis gentibus deportaverat, sed etiam famam..."; for his surpassing of Hercules at Aornis see VIII.11.2 "Hanc ab Hercule frustra obsessam esse terraeque motu coactum absistere fama vulgaverat..." (on this see also Arr. *An.* 4.28.1ff., D.S. 17.85.2ff. & Just 12.7.12f.). The link between Alexander, Hercules and Dionysus was probably a commonplace in the rhetorical schools: see e.g. Sen. *Suas.* 1.1 for Hercules & Volcaci^{us} Moschus *ap.* Sen. *Suas.* 1.2 for Dionysus. Such rivalry was often seen in a bad light as an indication of Alexander's expansionist desires: see e.g. Sen. *Ben.* 1.13.2 "Herculis Liberique vestigia sequens...tamquam caelum, quod mente vanissima complectebatur, teneret, quia Herculi aequabatur", 7.3.1 "quem per Liberi Herculisque vestigia felix temeritas egit" & *Ep.* 94.63 "indignatur ab Herculis Liberique vestigiis victoriam flectere". For further information and a discussion on these figures emulated by Alexander see Edmunds 1971 pp. 372ff.; for Alexander and Dionysus see Goukowsky 1981 pp. 3ff. & Horst 1988 pp. 126, 182f.

5.33.7. caelestes honores accersere - For Alexander and divine honours see 5.22.4n., 5.11.2n. & §7 intro.; on this phrase and any Roman allusions see 5.6.5n. Arrian, in his summary of Alexander's life, suggests that Alexander's claim of birth from a god may simply have been an expedient: see *An.* 7.29.3 *ὅτι δὲ ἐς θεὸν τὴν γένεσιν τὴν αὐτοῦ ἀνέφερον, οὐδὲ τοῦτο ἐμοὶ δοκεῖ μέγα εἶναι αὐτῷ τὸ πλημμέλημα, εἰ μὴ καὶ σοφισμα ἦν τυχὸν ἐς τοὺς ὑπηκόους τοῦ σεμνοῦ ἔνεκα.*

5.33.11. talia suadentibus oraculis credere - The oracle referred to must be that of Ammon at Siwah: see IV.7.28 & Atkinson *ad loc.* & Just. 11.11.11 for his men told they could worship the king; for his visit there see 5.4.22n. In addition, according to Callisthenes (*Str. Chr.* 17.1.43), oracles were also brought to Alexander at Memphis in 331 B.C. from Miletus and Erythrae. The one from Miletus recognised Alexander's descent from Zeus and that from Erythrae declared his high descent; for a discussion on their authenticity see Bosworth 1977 pp. 73ff.

5.33.16. dedignantibus venerari...irasci - Curtius must have in mind the trial introduction of proskynesis in Ecbatana in 328/7 B.C. There, Callisthenes opposed the proposal (see VIII.5.14ff. & Arr. *An.* 4.10.5ff.) and was punished at the next possible chance (see VIII.7.21 & Arr. *An.* 4.14.1ff.). Polyperchon, who initially laughed at the Persians performing

proskynesis, suffered Alexander's anger and was immediately dragged off the couch, thrown on the floor and then briefly put under guard (see VIII.5.22f.). Arrian (*An.* 4.12.2) presents Leonnatus (this is preferable to Polyperchon in Curtius' account - see Heckel 1978c pp. 459ff. & Badian 1981 p. 28 n. 3; for Curtius' treatment of Polyperchon see Rutz 1986 pp. 2350f.) as mocking a Persian at this meeting and says that Alexander was angry with him at the time. Plutarch (*Alex.* 74.2ff. & see Hamilton *ad loc.*, who views this story with suspicion), at a later date, records Alexander's violent reaction to Cassander's amusement at Persians performing proskynesis before Alexander. Another possible example is Clitus who, among other matters, voiced opposition to Alexander's divine aspirations and was killed by the king: see VIII.1.42ff.

5.33.24. *in externum habitum mutare corporis cultum* - In the autumn of 330 B.C., shortly after Darius' death, Alexander started to wear part of the Persian dress, employing the royal tunic and the purple and white diadem (for Persians wearing this see e.g. III.3.19, X. *Cyr.* 8.3.13 & Plu. *Moralia* 173c), which he wore with the traditional broad-brimmed Macedonian hat (*kausia*) and the Macedonian cloak: see VI.6.4 "Itaque purpureum diadema distinctum albo, quale Dareus habuerat, capiti circumdedit vestemque Persicam sumpsit, ne omen quidem veritus, quod a victoris insignibus in devicti transirent habitum", Ath. 12.537ef., D.S. 17.77.5, Just 12.3.8f., Plu. *Alex.* 45.1ff. & Hamilton *ad loc.*, Arr. *An.* 4.7.4, 7.22.2 & Fredricksmeier 1986 pp. 215ff. This would seem decadent to Roman readers with their strong dislike of eastern clothing (see e.g. Liv. 9.18.4 of Alexander "Referre in tanto rege piget superbam mutationem vestis et desideratas humi iacentium adulationes" & Hor. *Carm.* 1.38.1 "Persicos odi, puer, apparatus" & Nisbet & Hubbard *ad loc.*) and it was not appreciated by Alexander's soldiers (see e.g. VI.6.9f., VIII.7.12 & Bosworth 1980a p. 7). The assumption of such dress and, indeed, items of the Persian court (see 5.33.30n.), whether implemented before (see Hamilton 1987 pp. 472ff.), or, less likely, after (see Bosworth 1980a pp. 4ff.) news of Bessus' challenge to Alexander, had the same result in that "Alexander demonstrated that he was genuinely King of Kings, not a mere foreign usurper, and the bodyguard of noble Persians was crucial to this claim" (Bosworth 1980a p. 6). This is the view that some of the ancient sources take as the motive for such an action: see e.g. Arr. *An.* 7.29.4, Plu. *Alex.* 45.1 & *Moralia* 330a. Roman readers may have been reminded of Caligula's extravagant tendencies: see *Cal.* 52 & D.C. 59.17.3.

5.33.30. *imitari devictarum gentium mores* - Curtius sees Alexander's assumption of Persian clothes in 330 B.C. as being mirrored in his character (see VI.6.5 "Et ille se quidem spolia Persarum gestare dicebat, sed cum illis quoque mores induerat, superbiamque habitus animi insolentia sequebatur.") and Arrian (*An.* 4.7.3f.) disapproves of the way he tortured Bessus in a Persian manner. As well as later coming to wish even his Macedonians to perform proskynesis before him, as the Persians did (see VI.6.3 & 5.11.2n.), he also took over some other features of Persian court ceremonial. Alexander installed Asiatic chamberlains and a

guard of distinguished Persians, including Darius' brother, Oxathres (see D.S. 17.77.4). In addition, his companions were given purple-bordered cloaks and he dressed the horses and cavalry in a Persian fashion (see VI.6.7, D.S. 17.77.5 & Just. 12.3.9). He took over Darius' harem (see VI.6.8, D.S. 17.77.6 & Just. 12.3.10) and also his eunuchs (see VI.6.8). Curtius (VI.6.6) records that he now used his old ring to seal letters going to Europe, but Darius' for those going to Asia. Diodorus (17.77.7) states that Alexander used these things sparingly (on these matters see Hamilton 1987 pp. 472ff. & Bosworth 1980a pp. 4ff.), but the use gradually increased until it was at its height in 325/4 B.C. when there was a growing deployment of Persians in all areas, including Persian *melophoroi* (see Bosworth 1980a pp. 9f.). Throughout, the Macedonians are presented as opposing these changes: see 1.1.12n.

5.33.34. *quas* - Despite almost universal editorial preference for the *quos* of Δ, the *quas* of Ω is both the better supported reading and is stronger in sense. It should, therefore, be accepted.

5.34.2. *iracundiam* - Alexander's proneness to anger was celebrated and Arrian (*An.* 7.29.1) also connects it with his age. For examples in Curtius see IV.2.5 at Tyre & Atkinson *ad loc.*, IV.6.24 in battle, VI.5.19 at the loss of Bucephalas, VIII.1.31 at the Clitus affair, IX.3.18 at the Hyphasis, 2.30.3n. & 4.2.8n.; see further Porod 1987 pp. 245ff. & Rutz 1986 pp. 234ff. Curtius (VI.2.4) sees it as increased due to Alexander's moral decline, which caused the Macedonians to disapprove of some of his actions; for examples in other writers see e.g. Liv. 9.18.5 "quid si trux ac praefervida ira?", Vell. 2.41.1 (referring to Julius Caesar) "Magno illi Alexandro, sed...neque iracundo simillimus" & Woodman *ad loc.*, V. Max. 9.3.ext.1 "Alexandrum iracundia sua propemodum caelo deripuit", Sen. *Ep.* 113.29 "irae tristitiaque succumbens" & Ael.VH 12.54 Ἀλέξανδρον Ἀριστοτέλης ὀργιζόμενον πρᾶναι βουλόμενος καὶ παῦσαι χαλεπαίνοντα πολλοῖς, ταυτὶ πρὸς αὐτὸν γέγραφεν ὁ θυμὸς καὶ ἡ ὀργὴ οὐ πρὸς ἡττοῦς, ἀλλὰ πρὸς τοὺς κρείττονας γίνεται σοὶ· δὲ οὐδεὶς ἴσος. A lack of anger was considered desirable (see e.g. Pub. *Sent.* 628 "Rei nulli prodest mora nisi iracundiae" & *Dicta Catonis praef.*45 "Iracundiam rege") and worthy of praise in such contexts as this: see e.g. D.C. 56.43.3 of Augustus ταῦτά τε οὖν αὐτοῦ ἀνεμμιθήσκοντο, καὶ ὅτι καὶ τοῖς λυπησασί τι αὐτὸν οὐκ ἀκρατῶς ὀργιζέτο. Caligula had the same fault as Alexander: see e.g. J. *AJ* 19.203 οἷς τότε ὀργισθεῖη ἐκπλήξει κολάσεως καὶ ἐλαχίσταις. For further references in Latin literature to Alexander's proneness to anger and comment see Horst 1988 pp. 122, 138f.

5.34.4. *cupidinem vini* - Alexander is often portrayed as fond of alcohol, both by Curtius (see V.7.1, VI.2.2, VIII.1.22 & VIII.6.22) and other writers: see e.g. Liv. 9.18.5 "Quid si vini amor in dies fieret acrior", Vell. 2.41.1 (referring to Julius Caesar) "Magno illi Alexandro, sed sobrio...simillimus" & Woodman *ad loc.*, Plin. *Nat.* 14.58 "Androcydes sapientia clarus ad Alexandrum Magnum scripsit, intemperantiam eius cohibens...", Just. 9.8.15 "Vini nimis uterque avidus, sed ebrietatis diversa vitia", Sen. *Ep.* 83.19, 83.23 & Ael. *VH* 2.41. For an apologetic view see Arr. *An.* 7.29.4 καὶ οἱ πότοι δέ, ὡς λέγει Ἀριστόβουλος, οὐ τοῦ οἴνου

ἔνεκα μακροὶ αὐτῷ ἐγίγνοντο, οὐ γὰρ πίνειν πολὺν οἶνον Ἀλέξανδρον, ἀλλὰ φιλοφροσύνης τῆς ἐς τοὺς ἑταίρους. It may be that his reputation as a drinker was increased due to reports in the *Ephemerides*, probably designed to counter accusations that he was poisoned (on this see §10 intro.). For this view of Alexander in other writers see also Horst 1988 pp. 139ff.

5.35.4. *cum plurimum virtuti debuerit, plus debuisse fortunae* - On this see 5.26.8n. and for the idea elsewhere see Sal. *Jug.* 95.4 of Sulla "Atque illi felicissimo omnium ante civilem victoriam numquam super industriam fortuna fuit, multique dubitavere fortior an feliciores esset" & Tac. *Ann.* 14.38.3 "nullum proelio<rum> finem exspectarent, nisi succederetur Suetonio, cuius adversa pravitate ipsius, prospera ad fortunam referebat". For the same idea in reference to Alexander see VIII.10.18 "Quis neget eximiam quoque gloriam saepius fortunae quam virtutis esse beneficium?"; for Alexander and *fortuna* see e.g. III.6.18, III.8.20 & IX.6.19; for instances when it helped him see e.g. VIII.3.1 & IX.5.3. On Curtius and *fortuna* in general see Tarn 1948 II p. 95 & McQueen 1967 p. 33. *Fortuna* was often held to have a special relationship with men, as Curtius sees her doing with Alexander; this idea was not only used in the political field (see e.g. in reference to Julius Caesar Vell. 2.37.4, Luc. 1.264f. & 7.504f. and in reference to Augustus Vell. 2.87.2; see also Weinstock 1971 pp. 112ff. for *fortuna* connected with Pompey, Julius Caesar and the emperors), but was also a common view, embodied in the expression *Fortunae filius* (see e.g. Hor. *S.* 2.6.49 & Petr. 43.7) and other variants (see e.g. Plin. *Nat.* 7.43).

5.35.11. *quam solus omnium mortalium in potestate habuit* - Velleius says the same of Marcus Cato at 2.35.2 "omnibus humanis vitiis immunis semper fortunam in sua potestate habuit".

5.35.18. *Quotiens...quotiens* - For examples of Alexander just missing death see III.5.1ff., when he caught a heavy fever in the River Cydnus in 333 B.C., IV.6.17ff., when he was hit in the shoulder, while besieging Gaza in 331 B.C., & IX.4.26ff., which was the most dangerous situation of all, when he was trapped alone for a time in the town of the Sudrae in 326/5 B.C. For examples of *fortuna* helping Alexander see 5.35.4n.

5.36.1. *Vitae quoque finem eundem illi quem gloriae statuit* - For a similar sententia see V.8.13 of Darius "idemque erit regni mei, qui spiritus, finis". This is perhaps an imitation of Sal. *Jug.* 5.5 "Igitur amicitia Masinissae bona atque honesta nobis permansit; sed imperi vitaeque eius finis idem fuit"; see also Albucius Silus *ap. Sen. Suas.* 1.3 "Eundem Fortuna victoriae tuae quem naturae finem facit".

5.36.9. *expectavere eum fata* - For Curtius' use of *fatum* see 1.30.9an.

5.36.15. *aditque Oceano* - Alexander's desire to reach the Ocean is a constant theme in Curtius' work (see e.g. VIII.5.1, IX.2.26, IX.3.22, IX.4.17, IX.4.21, IX.9.1 & IX.9.3f.) and this

was where Alexander's *fortuna* was leading him (see IX.3.14, where Coenus says "Hic quoque occurrit Oceanus. Nisi mavis errare, pervenimus, quo tua fortuna ducit"). Curtius seems to equate the Ocean and the end of the world (see e.g. IX.9.1 "nec repertis pervicax cupido visendi Oceanum adeundique terminos mundi..." & 1.10.10.n.) and Alexander, rather than attempting to cross it, merely sails out four hundred stades, thus satisfying his desires (see IX.9.27 "cum paucis navigiis secundo amne defluxit. Evectusque os eius CCCC stadia processit in mare tandem voti sui compos"). Whether Alexander would attempt to cross the Ocean, or not, was one of the themes in the declamatory schools: see Quint. *Inst.* 3.8.16 "an Alexander terras ultra Oceanum sit inventurus" & Sen. *Suas.* 1 on this topic, where, as here, the Ocean is seen as marking the bounds of the accessible world and unnavigable (even if it was, there was nothing beyond it: see e.g. 1.1 "post omnia Oceanus, post Oceanum nihil" & "Oceanus navigari non potest", Musa *ap.* Sen. *Suas.* 1.2 "nihil ultra esse, quod vincas", Volcacijs Moschus *ap.* Sen. *Suas.* 1.2 "Immensum et humanae intemptatum experientiae pelagus, totius orbis vinculum terrarumque custodia, inagitata remigio vastitas; litora modo saeviente fluctu inquieta, modo fugiente deserta", Pompeius Silo *ap.* Sen. *Suas.* 1.2 "idem termini et regni tui et mundi" & Albucius Silus *ap.* Sen. *Suas.* 1.3, cited at 5.36.1n.); for the view that Alexander wished to cross the Ocean see e.g. Sen. *Ep.* 91.17 "non quae perciperet vesanus homo et trans oceanum cogitationes suas mittens", *Nat.* 5.18.10 "quaeretque, quid sit ultra magnum mare", *Ben.* 7.2.5 "quamquam in litore rubri maris steterat, plus deerat, quam qua venerat" & [Cic.] *Her.* 4.31 "Alexandro si vita data longior esset, trans Oceanum Macedonum transvolassent sarisae"; for the view that he did see e.g. Sen. *Ep.* 94.63 "it tamen ultra oceanum solemque".

5.36.17. **quicquid mortalitas capiebat, impleret** - Precisely the sentiments of the soldiers when they refuse to advance any further into India: cf. IX.3.7 "Quidquid mortalitas capere poterat, implevimus". This matches the idea that the Ocean was the end of the world: see 5.36.15n.

5.37.1. **Huic regi ducique** - Alexander was both a king and the leader of an army. Curtius may be borrowing from Livy's description of him at 9.17.2 "tamen tanti regis ac ducis mentio".

5.37.6. **sed maior moles erat, quam ut unus subire eam posset** - The same idea is found in Tacitus, where Tiberius refers in a similar way to the Roman Empire and sees only Augustus as capable of ruling it: see *Ann.* 1.11.1 "solam divi Augusti mentem tantae molis capacem". Both Curtius and Tacitus may be influenced by the same source. Alexander, in this case, is portrayed as a man of outstanding quality, unlike those poised to take over from him: see 5.14.14n.

5.37.31. **clarissimique sunt habiti, qui etiam minimae parti tantae fortunae adhaeserunt** - For the division of the provinces at Babylon see §16; for Curtius' unflattering comment on the new rulers see 10.7.5n.

5.37.39. *fortunae* - This word refers to Alexander's success and its fruits; for *fortuna* used in this way see *TLL* VI₁ p. 1177.54ff.

Section Thirteen

The Leadership Dispute: X.6.1 - X.8.23

Curtius' treatment of the leadership dispute, which followed Alexander's death, is the fullest surviving account of this period. The other main sources for these events are Diodorus¹, Justin² and Arrian³, all of which are generally considered to have been based, to a large extent, on the near contemporary account of Hieronymus of Cardia⁴. Limited details can also be gained from Appian⁵, Plutarch⁶, the *Heidelberg Epitome*⁷ and Dexippus⁸, who, according to his epitomiser, Photius⁹, based his work largely on that of Arrian. It seems generally accepted that Curtius also used Hieronymus, at least in part¹⁰, although some¹¹ see the account as mainly from Cleitarchus. Whilst Curtius' treatment of events does vary from the other main sources in detail, these differences can be put down to the writer's own use of rhetorical colouring and his desire for a dramatic storyline¹²; he was also undoubtedly influenced by the events of his own day¹³. When these elements are identified, it is clear that the account is the same in outline as that given by other writers; there is, therefore, no reason to doubt that he is following the same source¹⁴.

Curtius' main set-piece in the leadership quarrel is a debate, which he, alone of the sources, presents as having taken place in front of the whole army¹⁵; Justin¹⁶ presents a similar debate indoors, but the speakers are assigned different rôles¹⁷. Although, it has been shown that the speakers in Curtius' account do give historically acceptable views¹⁸, the historicity of this debate has been very reasonably doubted¹⁹; it is difficult to believe anything other than that Curtius is using the details available to him to create a plausible debate, suitable for his chosen portrayal of events²⁰. It is interesting to note that Meleager²¹ puts forward the view for democracy, Ptolemy²² for oligarchy and Perdiccas²³ and Nearchus²⁴ for monarchy. This seems more than mere chance and the episode may have been adapted to take account of the various options voiced after Caligula's death²⁵.

As well as this initial discrepancy, there are further deviations from other sources, some clearly forced upon Curtius by his earlier changes and others, perhaps, the reason why he²⁶ altered details in the first place. The rôles of two key characters, Meleager and Arrhidaeus, the mentally deficient son of Philip II and Philinna, seem to have been substantially altered. The former plays a more prominent rôle and is opposed to Perdiccas from the start²⁷; he is also heavily involved in the initial acclamation of Arrhidaeus²⁸. There is no mention of him being sent with either Attalus²⁹, or others, on an embassy from the cavalry to the seditious infantry³⁰; this would be implausible in the context. Indeed, Attalus himself, whom Justin presents as responsible for an attempt on Perdiccas' life³¹, disappears totally from Curtius' account; it is Meleager who is responsible for the action. Arrhidaeus consistently gets a much fuller and more positive treatment in Curtius' account than elsewhere. His name is deliberately withheld from the speeches given by the leading men and is only suggested by an unknown soldier³² and, unlike elsewhere, he is proclaimed twice

by the soldiers; the first attempt does not succeed³³. There is no mention of his mental problems³⁴ and, indeed, Curtius, in contrast to the other sources, puts the reconciliation of the two sides down to the good sense of this king³⁵. Curtius must have had a reason for this deliberate slant in favour of the new king and, if, as is generally accepted³⁶, Curtius was

Curtius	Diodorus	Justin	Arrian (F.Gr.H. 156)
1. Officers hold a meeting in view of the men. [X.6.4ff.]		1. Officers hold a meeting. [13.2.4ff.]	
2. Meleager brings Arrhidaeus to the palace, where he is named Philip. [X.7.7]			
3. Decision for Perdicas & Leonnatus as guardians & Antipater & Craterus in Greece. [X.7.8f.]		3. Decision for Perdicas, Leonnatus, Antipater & Craterus. [13.2.14]	
4. Arrhidaeus accepted as king. [X.7.10ff.]	4. Infantry support Arrhidaeus. [18.2.2]	3.1. Cavalry accept arrangement. [13.3.1] 4. Infantry angry & Arrhidaeus proclaimed as king. [13.3.1]	4. Arrhidaeus proclaimed king. [F1.1; see 7.10.10n.]
	5[1]. Officers meet & with cavalry decide to oppose infantry. [18.2.2]		↑
	6. Meleager sent as leader of embassy to infantry, but becomes its leader. [18.2.2f.]	6. Meleager & Attalus sent to negotiate, but become the leaders of the infantry. [13.3.2]	
7. Perdicas & supporters forced from A.'s body. [10.7.16ff.]	7. Infantry advance against cavalry. [18.2.3]	7. Infantry rush to royal residence. [13.3.4]	
8.1. Leonnatus & cavalry leave the city. [X.7.20f.]	8. Cavalry leave city & prepare for war. [18.2.4]	8. Cavalry leave city & threaten infantry. [13.3.5]	5.-10. Strife between cavalry & infantry, which is led by Meleager. [F1.2]
9a. Meleager plots against Perdicas' life. [X.8.1ff.]		9b. Attalus sends men to kill Perdicas. [13.3.7f.]	↓
8.2. Perdicas withdraws to the country. [X.8.4]			
8.3. Cavalry blockade supplies. [X.8.11ff.]			
10. Embassy rejected by cavalry - infantry angry. [X.8.14f.]			
11.1. Wise advice of Arrhidaeus. [X.8.16ff.]	10.-12. Those inclined to peace try to get the two sides to agree. [18.2.4]	11.2. Speech of Perdicas to the infantry. [13.3.8ff.]	↑
12. Second embassy accepted. [X.8.22]	↓		
13. Parties reconciled. [X.8.23]	13. Parties reconciled. [18.2.4]	13. Parties reconciled. [13.4.1ff.]	10.-12. Numerous embassies. [F1.3]
			↓
			13. Parties reconciled. [F1.3]

Fig. 8. The leadership dispute

writing during the reign of Claudius, the possibility arises that, while not only influenced by the events surrounding the latter's accession³⁷, he also intended an implicit comparison between Claudius and Arrhidaeus³⁸. However, it is equally clear that, if this is so, the reader is left in no doubt about the superior qualities of Claudius, who, unlike Arrhidaeus, prevented civil war³⁹, something always awaiting Alexander's brother⁴⁰.

Now that most of the discrepancies have been explained, it is possible, with the help of fig. 8, to build up a clearer picture of what actually happened in Babylon. It seems that, following the death of Alexander, the leading men met⁴¹ and decided that Perdicas

and Leonnatus should be the guardians of Roxane's unborn child and that Antipater and Craterus should have control of Greece⁴². Their decision was ratified by the cavalry, but the infantry, who had been left out of the decision-making process so far, acted decisively and made Arrhidaeus their choice⁴³. Meleager and Attalus were then sent to negotiate with the infantry, but changed sides and became its leaders. The infantry then proceeded to march on the *regia*⁴⁴ and managed to gain control of the king's corpse⁴⁵; the cavalry then decided to withdraw and began to blockade the town⁴⁶. After various negotiations, the two sides were reconciled and agreed on a compromise settlement⁴⁷.

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1. 18.2.1ff.
 2. 13.2.4ff.
 3. *F.Gr.H.* 156 F1.1ff.
 4. For the writer see *F.Gr.H.* 154 & also Hornblower 1981 *passim*; for his influence on later writers see Hornblower 1981 pp. 63ff., Schachermeyr 1970 pp. 104ff. & Hammond *HW* 1988 pp. 95ff.
 5. *Syr.* 52.261.
 6. *Eum.* 3.1ff.
 7. *F.Gr.H.* 155 F1.1f.
 8. *F.Gr.H.* 100 F8.1ff.
 9. See *F.Gr.H.* 100 F8.8 *καὶ τὰ ἄλλα διέξεισι ἐν πολλοῖς, ὡς κἀν τούτοις, Ἄρραυνῶ κατὰ τὸ πλεῖστον σύμφωνα γράφων.*
 10. See e.g. Errington 1970 pp. 72ff., Austin 1981 p. 43 n. 3, Badian 1964 pp. 269f. & Briant 1973 pp. 136, 242, where, in both places, further references are given on this and other views. Fontana (1960 pp. 210ff.) suggests Duris as an intervening source, considering him the only writer to have written a continuous narrative of Alexander and the aftermath himself using Hieronymus.
 11. See e.g. Hornblower 1981 p. 93 & Hammond *HW* 1988 pp. 95ff. Schachermeyr, 1970 pp. 92ff., sees Curtius as using Cleitarchus via an intermediary source.
 12. For these differences see below and the commentary.
 13. E.g. Perdicas' behaviour, when offered power, resembles that of Tiberius: see 6.18.17n. For more on this topic see the following notes & Appendix B.
 14. See fig. 8: *contra* Hammond *HW* 1988 p. 97.
 15. On this see 6.1.11n.; however, Curtius does seem to imply the opposite at 7.10.14n.
 16. 13.2.4ff. See also *D.S.* 18.2.2, cited at 6.1.12bn.; this may not refer to exactly the same meeting.
 17. See 6.5.3n. for Perdicas, 6.20.2n. for Meleager & 6.13.1n. for Ptolemy; Nearchus is not mentioned.
 18. Errington 1970 pp. 72ff.
 19. See e.g. Hammond *HW* 1988 p. 101 n. 1; Briant (1973 p. 242 n. 8) chastises Errington for reliance on Curtius alone; Bosworth (1971a p. 128) notes that, although there is much rhetorical overlay, basic facts can be extracted.
 20. The whole episode is reminiscent in idea of the passage in Herodotus (3.80.1ff.), where, following the defeat of the pretender to the Persian throne (see 1.22.10n.), the seven victors debate which is the way for future rule: Otanes argues for a democracy, Megabyzus for an oligarchy and Darius for a monarchy; for this rejected see Blänsdorf 1971 p. 13 n. 2; for other cases where Curtius may have been influenced by Herodotus see Blänsdorf 1971 pp. 11ff. & Rutz 1986 pp. 2338f.
 21. For his speech see X.6.20ff.; this option is not mentioned in Justin's account.
 22. See X.6.15.
 23. See X.6.8f.
 24. See X.6.11.
 25. See 6.13.1n., 6.20.2n. & Appendix B; for Caligula's death see Suet. *Cal.* 58, *D.C.* 59.29.5ff., *J. AJ* 19.105ff. & also Levick 1990 pp. 29ff., Barrett 1989 pp. 154ff. & Garzetti 1974 pp. 102f.
 26. Or his source which seems less likely.
 27. See X.6.21f.
 28. Although Justin portrays him as mentioning Arrhidaeus' name in the debate, he does so in conjunction with that of Heracles and does not press either point: see 6.20.2n.
 29. Perhaps *RE* II pp. 2158f. no. 7 and, therefore, Berve 184; Wirth (1967 p. 291 n. 37) suggests that he is the son of Andromenes (Berve 181 & *RE* II p. 2158 no. 5), who was an infantry

- leader and sometimes mentioned along with Meleager (see Arr. *An.* 4.16.1, 5.12.1 & 6.19.3). However, that Attalus was later a supporter of Perdiccas and married the latter's sister, Atalante (see D.S. 18.37.2).
30. See 7.10.1n.
 31. Only these two writers mention this event and Justin is probably correct: see 8.1.1n.
 32. See 7.1.18n.
 33. See 7.7.10n. & 7.10.10n.
 34. For the inclusion of these elsewhere see 7.2.12n.
 35. For the other sources' versions see 8.16.8n.
 36. See intro. §C.
 37. See e.g. Hammond *HW* 1988 pp. 97f., Martin 1983 pp. 161ff. & Appendix B.
 38. Throughout the following pages, attention will be drawn to the similarities between the two rulers. For a conclusion from these points see Appendix B.
 39. See X.9.3.
 40. For Curtius' stress on civil war see 5.5.12n.
 41. Perhaps this was the usual procedure: see 6.1.12bn.
 42. See 7.8.6n.
 43. Neither of these decisions would have carried the power of a proper Assembly (see e.g. Will 1979 p. 22 & Hammond *HW* 1988 pp. 101f.) and, in fact, it seems likely that Macedonia did not possess either such a military, or civilian, body with such powers at this time (see e.g. Lock 1977 pp. 91ff., Errington 1978 pp. 77ff., Anson 1985 pp. 305ff. & Borza 1990 pp. 243ff.: *contra* e.g. Hammond *HG* 1979 pp. 160ff., 1989a pp. 60ff., Griffith *HG* 1979 pp. 383ff., Briant 1973 pp. 279ff., Rosen 1967 p. 45 & Hatzopoulos 1986 p. 291. The existence of a collective body of "Macedonians" is possibly attested from the latter part of the reign of Antigonus Gonatas - see Papazoglou 1983 pp. 195ff.).
 44. For what this was here see 6.1.11n.
 45. See 8.11.7n.
 46. On the significance of the control of it see 5.4.18n. & 10.20.1n.
 47. On this see 8.22.5n. For more information about this period in general see e.g. Hammond 1989a pp. 237ff., *HW* 1988 pp. 98ff., Errington 1970 pp. 49ff., 1978 pp. 115ff., 1990 pp. 114ff., Will 1979 pp. 19ff., Badian 1964 pp. 262ff., Lock 1977 pp. 105ff., Lane Fox 1973 pp. 473ff., Bosworth 1971a pp. 127ff., Briant 1973 pp. 240ff., Schachermeyr 1970 pp. 79ff. & Green 1990 pp. 3ff.

6.1.1. *Ceterum* - Curtius often uses this word at a shift of scene, or topic (see e.g. IV.6.5, V.1.17, VII.7.30, VIII.5.1 & X.7.8); this is how he employs it on both occasions in Book Ten when returning to the main theme after a digression: see also X.9.7, cited at 6.1.3n.

6.1.2. *Babylone* - For topographical details see 5.7.8n.

6.1.3. *inde enim devertit oratio* - A common formula for announcing a return to the main subject following a digression: cf. e.g. Liv. 39.53.1 "Dum ea in Peloponneso, a quibus devertit oratio, geruntur" and the variants at Tac. *Dial.* 9.1 "Nam carmina et versus, quibus totam vitam Maternus insumere optat (inde enim omnis fluxit oratio)", Cic. *Brut.* 201 "Quando igitur, inquam, a Cotta et Sulpicio haec omnis fluxit oratio...revertar ad eos ipsos" & X.9.7 "Ceterum, ut ad ordinem, a quo me contemplatio publicae felicitatis averterat, redeam".

6.1.7. *corporis [eius] custodes* - At this point, Ω reads *corporis eius custodes*. Of the thirteen other times that *corpus* and *custos* are connected in this way, another word is joined to them on only one occasion (see V.11.6 "nos corporis tui custodes esse patiaris"), where these words do not refer to Alexander, but are spoken to Darius by Greek mercenaries; in that case, the emphasis seems correctly placed. In this case, however, such emphasis seems unnecessary,

especially as it is obvious to whom the group belongs. It seems probable that this is a case of dittography; either the "cus" of *custodes*, or the "is" of *corporis*, was the cause of the problem.

Corporis custos is the term used by Curtius (for the same use see e.g. IX.8.23 of Ptolemy & VI.7.15 of Demetrius) for the Greek *σωματοφύλαξ*, which Arrian uses to indicate Alexander's personal staff (see e.g. *An.* 1.22.4 & Bosworth *ad loc.* & 5.13.1); in this context, such an identification seems correct, as those referred to seem to hold some sort of power, but note that it can also be used by writers to refer to more literal bodyguards, that is the *agema* of the hypaspists, the royal footguard (see e.g. VI.11.8, VII.5.40, VII.10.9, VIII.6.21, VIII.11.11 & 2.30.27n.; it is difficult to say who is referred to at VIII.2.11, IX.6.4 & IV.13.19, but on this case see Atkinson *ad loc.*; see also Arr. *An.* 3.17.2 & Bosworth *ad loc.*, 4.3.2, 4.30.3, D.S. 17.92.3 & Plu. *Alex.* 51.11). Arrian (*An.* 6.28.4) provides a list of these men as they were in 325 B.C. when Peucestas was added as an eighth. The others were Leonnatus, Hephaestion, Lysimachus, Aristonus, Perdikkas, Ptolemy and Pithon; for previous members see Berve 1926 I p. 27 & on this Heckel 1978a pp. 224ff. Following Alexander's death, the power of this group is evident as six of them (at that time Hephaestion was dead and Peucestas was not present as he had been appointed the satrap of Persia - see 5.20.1n. & §5 intro. respectively) are listed among the most powerful men by Arrian (*F.Gr.H.* 156. F1.2) and Pithon, Aristonus, Ptolemy and Perdikkas feature in Curtius' leadership debate: see respectively 7.4.2n., 6.16.7n., 6.13.2n. & 6.4.2n. For further information on this post see Tarn 1948 II. pp. 138ff. & Heckel 1978a pp. 224ff.

6.1.11. regiam - For Curtius' use of this word see 5.7.8n. In this case, it is difficult to decide whether *regia* refers to a palace, or tent, but, as the previous action in Babylon seems to have happened in the palace (see 5.7.8n.), it is probably there that the meeting takes place; Justin (13.2.4) also mentions the *regia* "Armati itaque in regiam coeunt ad firmandum rerum praesentium statum". Translators, in general, hold this view: see e.g. Winniczuk 1976 p. 372, Baraldi 1965 p. 303, Giacone 1977 p. 675, Bardon 1948 p. 414 & Schönfeld *MS* 1954 p. 705; Rolfe, 1946 p. 525, simply refers to "royal quarters", which may refer to a tent, or palace. However, a tent would seem more appropriate for the action which follows in Curtius: this is the view taken by Yardley, *YH* 1984 p. 248. At this point in Curtius' account, it is clear that an indoor meeting was intended. This is what happened in the other sources (see §13 intro. n. 16), but in Curtius' account it had to be abandoned as the leading men were unable to enter due to the crowds of soldiers (see Anson 1985 p. 307). Bosworth (1971a p. 128 n. 8), therefore, seems mistaken in seeing Curtius as slipping by initially having the leaders go into the *regia*, but is probably correct in thinking that the meeting was actually in private and that Curtius has superimposed the army meeting over it; for a definite error see 7.10.14n.

6.1.12a. principes amicorum - For the same phrase used by Curtius to refer to Alexander's leading friends see VI.6.11, VI.11.39, VIII.5.9 & IX.6.4, where they are also mentioned, as here, with the *corporis custodes*, "Mos erat principibus amicorum et custodibus corporis

excubere ante praetorium". For *principes* in other such combinations see 1.3.12n.; for Curtius' use and the Roman understanding of *amici* see 1.6.2n.

6.1.12b. *principes amicorum ducesque copiarum* - For Curtius' joining of these two groups elsewhere see 4.3.9an. Justin (13.2.4, cited at 6.1.11) refers to this meeting, although not using the precise wording. Diodorus also mentions two groups as holding a meeting at 18.2.2 *οἱ δὲ μέγιστον ἔχοντες ἀξίωμα τῶν φίλων καὶ σωματοφυλάκων συνεδρεύσαντες*; however, he places it at a different point (see fig. 8 at §13 intro.). Errington (1978 pp. 99ff.; see also Anson 1985 pp. 306ff. & Borza 1990 pp. 244f.) has plausibly suggested that the usual Macedonian practice in times of a change of king was for the leading men to meet and decide the outcome. He has also suggested (1978 pp. 100ff.) that this phrase in Curtius is probably equivalent to the *οἱ πρῶτοι Μακεδόνων* used by Plutarch (*Aem.* 8.3) to describe those who chose Antigonus Dosson as king. His theory is also backed up by an instance from 284 B.C. when the importance of the leading men (again *πρῶτοι* is used) is shown when Lysimachus won many of them to his side and Pyrrhus, his rival, left Macedonia (see Plu. *Pyrrhus* 12.9ff.) and also in the incident found in Livy (40.56.1ff.), who is probably following Polybius, when the writer records how king Philip V was keen to gain support for Antigonus Dosson over the natural successor, Perseus, and tried to win the nobles (*principes*) to this view. A final case may be visible in the accession of Alexander when many opposing nobles were killed: see 8.1.7bn.

6.1.14. *ducesque copiarum* - At this point, the phrase must refer to leaders in general, as is usually the case: see 4.3.9bn.

6.1.25. *Alexandri fortuna* - For *fortuna* in this sense see 5.37.39n.; for the same combination see X.6.20.

6.2.19. *precarium...imperium* - A favourite combination in Curtius: see e.g. IV.7.1 of Egyptians "qui Amyntam quoque transfugam et cum precario imperio venientem laeti recepissent" & VI.3.6 of Alexander speaking to his men "Sed in novo et si verum fateri volumus precario imperio". However, this combination is infrequent elsewhere: see e.g. Tac. *Hist.* 1.52.3 "male fidas provincias, precarium seni imperium et brevi transiturum". At this point the phrase could be understood to refer to the *praeco*, or to the *duces* and *principes*, who gave him his orders; it makes most sense with the former.

6.3.3. *eiulatus...ploratusque* - Curtius notes the continued grief of the soldiers; for the Roman view of such behaviour in men see 5.1.2n.

6.4.1. *Tunc Perdicca...sede...posuit* - These relics of Alexander, which Perdiccas places on the throne, are used by him to set the scene; as Errington (1976 p. 139) says "Alexander's presence and influence therefore were immediately apparent, and from the point of view of the

scene-setters, Perdicas and his friends, were clearly expected to dominate the deliberations of the meeting in Perdicas' favour". Only Curtius, however, records these details, which Errington (1970 p. 50) accepts as true. Hammond (1989a p. 24) goes one stage further, using this passage, X.7.13 and X.8.20 to create a Macedonian tradition, saying "Then a diadem, a coronation robe, a signet ring, and the arms of the dead king were placed on the throne, so that the elected successor could take them up". He may be correct, and thus validity given to Curtius, as this set of objects has been found in the royal tombs at Vergina (see Hammond *HW* 1988 p. 97 n. 3 & Borza 1990 pp. 256ff.). There is, however, still the possibility that Curtius is simply giving dramatic colour to the episode. Justin (13.4.4, cited at 6.15.5n.) notes the similar situation of the presence of Alexander's corpse at the reconciliation between the cavalry and infantry. Eumenes is recorded as setting out a similar display in 318 B.C., hoping that the relics would be of use to him: see Nep. *Eum.* 7.2f., D.S. 18.60.1ff., Polyæn. 4.8.2 & Plu. *Eum.* 13.1ff.

A Roman reader may have been reminded of the occasion in A.D. 40 when Caligula was absent from Rome and the senators paid homage to his throne. This, rather than worship, was a means by which they could imagine that the emperor was present; it was repeated in the following year (see D.C. 59.24.4ff. & Barrett 1989 p. 151).

6.4.2. **Perdicca** - (Berve 627) This Macedonian, who was the son of Orontes (Arr. *An.* 1.14.2, 3.11.9 & *Ind.* 18.5), came from the area of Orestis (Arr. *An.* 6.28.4 & *Ind.* 18.5) and was possibly a member of the royal house (see 7.8.25n., Errington 1970 p. 52 & Berve 1926 II p. 313). He was one of the young men who caught Philip's murderer, Pausanias (see D.S. 16.94.4), and one of Alexander's *ἑταῖροι* (see Plu. *Alex.* 15.3ff.; on these see 1.6.2n.); he became a *συματοφύλαξ* during the expedition in Asia (see VI.8.17, Arr. *An.* 4.21.4, 6.11.1, 6.28.4 & Heckel 1978a pp. 227f.; Berve, 1926 II p. 313, sees him in this post under Philip - see D.S. 16.94.4). His exploits during the campaign are well documented, perhaps due to his influence following Alexander's death. He is mentioned as in command of part of the phalanx at the Granicus in 334 B.C. (Arr. *An.* 1.14.2), with Alexander at Halicarnassus (Arr. *An.* 1.20.5), as an infantry commander at Issus (III.9.7 & Arr. *An.* 2.8.3) and, during Alexander's absence, in charge of operations at Tyre, along with Craterus (IV.3.1). At Gaugamela, he was again an infantry commander (Arr. *An.* 3.11.9 & D.S. 17.57.2) and was wounded (D.S. 17.61.3). In 329 B.C. he besieged the town of the Memaceni (VII.6.19ff.) and, at Maracanda, tried to restrain Alexander's anger against Clitus (VIII.1.45ff.). He played a prominent rôle at the Rock of Chorienses (Arr. *An.* 4.21.4) and was sent ahead with Hephaestion to bridge the Indus (VIII.10.2f. & Arr. *An.* 4.22.7), fortified Orobatis (Arr. *An.* 4.28.5) and had ships built (Arr. *An.* 4.30.9). In 326 B.C., against Porus, he was a hipparch and played a major rôle (see VIII.14.15, Arr. *An.* 5.12.1 & 5.13.1). After this, he continued to be prominent in the action in India: see Arr. *An.* 5.22.6 for him against the Adraistae, IX.1.19. for his independent ravaging mission, Arr. *An.* 6.15.1 for his subduing of the tribe of Abastanes, Arr. *An.* 6.6.4 & 6.9.2 for his fighting with the Mallians; for his tending of the injured Alexander see Arr. *An.* 6.11.1. At

Susa in 324 B.C., he married a daughter of Atropates, the satrap of Media (see Arr. *An.* 7.4.5), and was crowned along with the other "bodyguards" (see Arr. *An.* 7.5.6). Following the death of Hephaestion, it was he who was appointed to take the body to Babylon (D.S. 17.110.8) and is mentioned as an innocent participant at Medius' fateful party (see *L.M.* §98).

6.4.5. *in conspectum...elata* - Although *dare* can be used with *in* (see *TLL* V p. 1692.30ff.), its use here seems somewhat awkward and unexpressive. It may be possible that the reading of Ω is corrupt and that, originally, Curtius wrote *elata*. Since the *sella* had to be brought out from the *regia*, the use of *elata* would seem much more appropriate and create a better visual picture of what was going on.

6.4.11. *diadema* - For Alexander's assumption in 330 B.C. of this Persian item, which he wore with the Macedonian *kausia*, see 5.33.24n. The Hellenistic kings wore this on their bare head and it, or alternative headdress, was normal on their royal coinage: see Carradice & Price 1988 pp. 122ff. Julius Caesar would have been offered a diadem of this type in 44 B.C.: see Suet. *Jul.* 79.2 & Weinstock 1971 pp. 333ff.

6.4.17. *anulum* - For Perdiccas receiving the ring and its significance see 5.4.11n.

6.5.3. *Ego quidem...* - Justin's epitome contains an outline of Perdiccas' pro-monarchy speech, suggesting that Pompeius Trogus had similar details at this point: cf. 13.2.5 "Perdicca censet Roxanes expectari partum, quae exacto mense octavo matura iam ex Alexandro erat, et si puerum peperisset, hunc dari successorem patri".

6.5.11. *imperii vires* - This reading of Ω is kept by most editors, but some object to this combination used by Curtius at V.10.4 & X.7.15. In other writers, the combination of *vis* and *imperium* is reasonably common and *imperium* usually has a different meaning if it is used by a writer in the Empire, such as Curtius himself; for *vis imperii* referring to a command see e.g. Cic. *Off.* 2.25 & Liv. 43.14.4 and to the state e.g. Tac. *Ann.* 15.31; for *vires imperii* referring to a command see e.g. Liv. 7.25.7 & Petr. 115.13 and to the state e.g. Liv. 23.20.6, Sen. *Dial.* 3 11.5 & Stat. *Silv.* 5.1.87f. Scheffer's suggestion of *res imperii* is much weaker than the reading of the manuscripts and it would be harder to see how *vires* became *res* than vice versa. Georges' (1873 p. 353) emendation of *vires* to *vices*, referring, as he says, to "geschafte", whilst close in form, is not used in this manner by Curtius and is only infrequently employed by other writers. Watt's (1983 p. 86) *vi res imperii* meaning "in virtue of royal power" is much weaker than *vires imperii* and the word order is contorted.

6.6.11. *iratis dis* - For the word order see Liv. 3.9.7. "si quem similem eius priore anno inter morbum bellumque irati dii tribunum dedissent" & Tac. *Ger.* 5.2 "argentum et aurum propitiine an irati dii negaverint dubito".

6.6.20. *intuentibus credere licet, tantum virum...suae stirpi* - This thought was particularly popular in the writing of panegyrics: see e.g. Sen. *Ep.* 86.1 of Scipio Africanus "quidem eius in caelum ex quo erat, redisse". Curtius is probably influenced by the praise of the *princeps* expressed in this way: for Augustus see e.g. Hor. *Carm.* 1.2.45 "serus in caelum redeas" & Nisbet & Hubbard *ad loc.*, Ov. *Met.* 15.817f. "perfectis, quos terrae debuit, annis / ut deus accedat caelo templisque colatur", *Trist.* 5.2b.51 "sic habites terras et te desideret aether", Man. 1.799f. "descendit caelo caelumque replebit / quod reget, Augustus, socio per signa Tonante" & Vell. 2.123.2 "animam caelestem caelo reddidit" & Woodman *ad loc.*; for Claudius see e.g. Sen. *Dial.* 11.12.5 "Di illum deaeque terris diu commodent...Sera et nepotibus demum nostris dies nota sit qua illum gens sua caelo adserat"; for an outrageous example addressed to Nero see Luc. 1.45ff. "te, cum statione peracta / astra petes serus, praelati regia caeli / excipiet gaudente polo".

6.7.1. *Proinde...corpori...solvamus* - For the same idea and phraseology cf. Vell. 2.124.3, where Tiberius, referring to Augustus, says "Post reditum caelo patrem et corpus eius humanis honoribus, nomen divinis honoratum" & see Woodman *ad loc.* for this reading (Watt prefers Krause's *numen* instead of *nomen*).

6.7.15. *hominique* - At this point, Ω has *nominique*, which is generally accepted by editors. However, Perdiccas has made it clear that he believes that Alexander has rejoined the gods, so the reading of *nominique* seems strange as, surely, his memory would continue: cf. X.7.4 "nomen enim memoriamque regis sui tantum intuentes" & X.10.20 "omnisque memoriae ac nomini honos habetur"; this is also the case with the *numinique* suggested by Glys (1896 p. 571); Hedicke changes this reading to *utique*, which does not seem to improve the text and merely emphasises *corporis*. Heumannus' suggestion, *hominique*, while being a minor change, is much more in keeping with Perdiccas' argument.

6.7.18. *iusta solvamus* - It is not all that clear exactly what Curtius intends Perdiccas to mean. It could be that the Macedonians should see that Alexander was buried with Macedonian rites; cremation was the normal practice (see e.g. III.12.14. & VI.10.31). Alternatively, he may be suggesting that it should be done in a more Babylonian, or Persian, way; in both cases burial was the standard practice (for Babylon see Hawkes 1973 pp. 206ff., Koldeway 1914 pp. 271ff. & Lloyd 1978 pp. 99ff.; for Persia see e.g. III.12.11ff. & Atkinson *ad loc.*, Hdt. 3.16.1ff., Lucianus *Luct.* 21, Diakonoff 1985 p. 141 n. 1 & Schwartz 1985 pp. 696f.; Herodotus (1.140.2; see also Cic. *Tusc.* 1.108) notes that embalming in wax was practised. Whatever was meant, Alexander was not buried at Babylon and was embalmed, rather than cremated, and a crown placed on his head (see 10.13.34n.). This method was probably in accordance with his own wishes (see 10.13.4n.). Following the completion of his funeral chariot in 322/1 B.C., Alexander's body was transported to Egypt, where he was buried (see 10.20.1n.); he was the first one of his line not to be buried at Aegae (see 5.4.18n.). It was there that Ptolemy

conducted the final rites in accordance with Macedonian custom (see Paus. 1.6.3), including sacrifices fit for a demigod and games (for these see 5.5.12n.), and then installed him in a precinct (see D.S. 18.28.4). Although Curtius previously refers to Macedonian funeral rites (see VII.9.21 & VIII.2.40), as here, he does not specify what he thought they consisted of; this is again the case at X.8.18 & X.10.9.

It can be seen, therefore, that not much was performed in the way of *iusta* in Babylon at this time. This is especially the case as far as Romans would have been concerned, for in reading these words they would have been reminded of their own ceremonies and, in particular, of the grand processions of the dead emperors; for more information and references on the Roman customs see Toynbee 1971 pp. 43ff. & Friedländer II 1909 pp. 210ff.

6.7.22. *in qua urbe, inter quos simus, quali praeside ac rege spoliati* - Perdicas, in this expanding tricolon, is showing his understanding of the importance of recognising what is suitable for the situation. In making the Macedonian speak in this way, Curtius is, no doubt, influenced by his rhetorical training: for the need to use what was *aptum* see Lausberg 1960 §§1055ff.

6.7.29. *praeside ac rege* - As at 5.37.1n., Alexander is referred to in two separate terms. The meaning of *rex* is obvious. *Praeses* clearly does not mean "governor" (see e.g. Plin. *Ep.* 10.44, Tac. *Ann.* 6.41.1 & Suet. *Aug.* 23.1) and it seems more likely that its meaning of "protector", or "defender" (see e.g. Sal. *Hist.* 3.48.6 & Cic. *Sest.* 137), is what is meant here; this was often applied to the head of a state (see e.g. V. Max. 9.15.*ext.*1, Luc. 2.538 & Mart. 5.3.3). In addition, in the other four cases that Curtius uses this word (see III.8.22, IV.13.13, VIII.10.16. & IX.9.27), it is in connection with tutelary gods, so, perhaps, Alexander is seen as such here (for Alexander's divine aspirations see 5.11.2n.).

6.8.1. *Tractandum est* - Perdicas was the leading man in Babylon after Alexander's death. However, the position he faced in order to gain supreme power was not an easy one for, although he had been given the king's ring (see 5.4.11n.), there were many other considerations. Firstly, there was the question of Alexander's unborn, legitimate, child by Roxane (neither Heracles, nor Arrhidaeus, seem to have entered his thinking; this is also the case in Justin's account - see 13.2.5, cited at 6.5.3n.) and then there was the problem of Antipater in Europe and Craterus, who was on his way there. The last two matters were not of immediate concern, but the baby soon would be. If Perdicas, ignoring the child, was appointed king and a male was born, he might find himself in trouble. He could also be appointed regent, following Macedonian practice, if a child was too young (see 7.8.6n. for examples). As things turned out, Perdicas is shown by Curtius (and, indeed, by Justin at 13.2.5, cited at 6.5.3n.) as opting for the proposal of an interim ruler until the child was born; on this matter see Errington 1970 pp. 49f.

6.8.3. *commilitones* - Ω reads *comilitones* at this point, whereas Δ has *commilitones*; the latter is preferable, as the double "m" is usual (see *TLL* III p. 1882.81ff., *CIL* 6.20, 6.1064 & 6.30685). Perdiccas, in order to win favour, equates himself with the common rank and file, using this more flattering term (see Suet. *Jul.* 67.2 of Julius Caesar "Nec milites eos pro contione, sed blandiore nomine commilitones appellabat"; contrast Augustus' actions, recorded at Suet. *Aug.* 25.1 "neque post bella civilia aut in contione aut per edictum ullos militum commilitones appellabat" & see Carter *ad loc.*). This is a common ploy in such pieces, both where a leader addresses troops (see e.g. IX.2.28 of Alexander & Tac. *Hist.* 1.37.1 of Otho) and where a speaker identifies himself with the audience (see e.g. Liv. 42.34.15 of Spurius Ligustinus & Apul. *Met.* 7.5.4).

6.8.4. *cogitandumque* - This suggestion, made by Vindelin and also found in B^c, is to be accepted: neither the *cogitatumque* of V, nor the *cogitantumque* of B¹FLP, make any grammatical sense.

6.8.16. *Capite opus est* - The word *caput* can be used metaphorically to mean the *homo princeps* in general (see *TLL* III p. 421.38ff.); it was only natural that the idea should be used of leaders of the state - for a similar example in Curtius see X.9.4. This metaphorical sense was common, both in the Republic (see e.g. Cic. *Mur.* 51 referring to Catiline "tum enim dixit duo corpora esse rei publicae, unum debile infirmo capite, alterum firmum sine capite; huic, si ita de se meritum esset, caput se vivo non defuturum" & *Clu.* 146 of the state "ut corpora nostra sine mente, sic civitas sine lege suis partibus ut nervis et sanguine et membris uti non potest") and in the principate, a case where there could be only one head (see e.g. Sen. *Cl.* 1.4.3 in reference to Julius Caesar "Olim enim ita se induit rei publicae Caesar, ut seduci alterum non posset sine utriusque pernicie; nam et illi viribus opus est et huic capite", Tac. *Ann.* 1.13.4, where Tiberius is asked "quo usque patieris, Caesar, non adesse <c>aput rei publicae?" & for the same idea 1.12.3 "sed ut sua confessione argueretur unum esse rei publicae corpus atque unius animo regendum"). For a near contemporary use, referring to Christ and the Church see e.g. *Ep. Col.* 1.18 *καὶ αὐτός ἐστιν ἡ κεφαλὴ τοῦ σώματος, τῆς ἐκκλησίας* & *Ep. Eph.* 5.22f. *Αἱ γυναῖκες, τοῖς ἰδίοις ἀνδράσιν ὡς τῷ Κυρίῳ· ὅτι ἀνὴρ ἐστὶ κεφαλὴ τῆς γυναικός, ὡς καὶ ὁ Χριστὸς κεφαλὴ τῆς ἐκκλησίας, αὐτὸς σωτὴρ τοῦ σώματος.*

6.8.19. *hocine uno an <pluribus>* - At this point, Ω reads *hocine uno an*, whereas Δ adds *pluribus*; this suggestion is followed by most editors, but Bentley prefers *hoc nominare*. Although the latter is easier grammatically and flows well, the presence in Δ of *uno* and *pluribus* is much better in such a context, where Perdiccas is trying to be as vague as possible in reference to himself and his desire for supreme power. The *pluribus*, added by Δ , seems necessary to the reading and is supported by the subsequent use of *quibus*: see 6.9.21n.

6.8.30. *militarem sine duce turbam corpus esse sine spiritu* - The metaphor of the body is extended to encompass this idea of the importance of the leader; for a similar *sententia* cf. VI.9.28 in reference to the possible death of Alexander "neminem ad coniugem suam in patriam et ad parentes suos esse rediturum: velut truncum corpus dempto capite sine spiritu, sine nomine aliena terra ludibrium hostis futuros"; for views in Curtius on the importance of a leader see e.g. V.12.14 of the Persians "Varius ac dissonus clamor sine duce ac sine imperio totis castris referebatur" & 2.29.29n.; for this elsewhere see e.g. Flor. *Epit.* 1.34.11 "tanti esse exercitum quanti imperatorem vere proditum est" & Tac. *Ger.* 30.2 "quodque rarissimum nec nisi Romanae disciplinae concessum, plus reponere in duce quam in exercitu". Curtius may have been influenced by the similar idea that the army without Alexander was like the blinded Cyclops - see e.g. Posidon. *frag.* 252 (Edelstein & Kidd) Ὅτι ὁ Ποσειδώνιος ἔλεγεν ἀπελθόντος Ἀλεξάνδρου τὸ στρατόπεδον εἰκέναι τῶν Μακεδόνων ἐκτετυφλωμένῳ τῷ Κύκλωπι & Kidd *ad loc.*; for this see also Plu. *Gal.* 1.5, *Moralia* 181f. & the variant at *Moralia* 336f. Curtius later compares the body and the state: see 9.2.8n.

6.9.1. *Sextus mensis* - Justin offers a different figure at 13.2.5 "Roxanes...quae exacto mense octavo matura iam ex Alexandro erat". The child referred to, known as Alexander IV, later held power with Arrhidaeus (see 10.1.7n.), but was killed by Cassander in 310 B.C. (see 6.11.18n.).

6.9.15. *dis adprobantibus futurum* - For the ellipsis of *esse* see e.g. X.7.17 & K-S I pp. 10ff. The phrase *dis adprobantibus* is a favourite Ciceronian locution: see e.g. Cic. *Fam.* 10.22.1, 1.9.19, 2.15.2, 2.18.3, *Att.* 6.6.1 & *Ver.* 2.5.49. It occurs once in Livy (36.7.21), but is not used by other writers.

6.9.22. <quot> *quibusque* - At this point, FLPV have *quibusque*, B *quibus** and Δ *quibus*, which is followed by most editors. Kinch suggests the addition of *quot*; this is followed by Stangl and Müller and makes sense of the *quibusque* of FLPV as well as reflecting the *hocine uno an pluribus* of X.6.8 by giving the number and identity of the men involved. The placing of *quot* before *quibus* is the best alternative, as this is generally the pattern: see e.g. Var. *R.* 1.18.7, Quint. *Inst.* 1.8.15 & Plin. *Ep.* 8.5.1 (*quot* and *quantas*). If *et* was used instead of *que*, the preferred form is still *quot* first (see e.g. Suet. *Aug.* 51.1, Cic. *Att.* 12.30.1 & Quint. *Inst.* 1.4.17); however, for examples of the opposite order see e.g. Suet. *Jul.* 52.3 & Vitr. 4.*praef.*1.

6.10.2. *Nearchus* - For a fuller discussion about this man see 1.10.4n. Whether, or not, Curtius is recording historical fact (on this see §13 intro.) in making the former fleet commander suggest that his brother-in-law (he married the daughter of Mentor and Barsine at Susa in 324 B.C. - see Arr. *An.* 7.4.6) should be recognised as king, he is at least presenting a plausible picture of events (for doubts concerning this child refuted see 6.11.18n.). As Errington (1970 p. 50) has made clear, it was in Nearchus' interests to promote this child; he seems to have

owed his influence to friendship with Alexander and, following the latter's death, was not given a satrapy; when he next reappears in 316 B.C. he is an officer with Antigonus (see 1.10.4bn.), who was probably responsible for Heracles' attempt at power in 309 B.C. (see 6.11.18n.).

Due to the lacuna (see 4.3.32n.), it is not possible to know whether, or not, Curtius mentioned that Nearchus married Barsine's daughter in 324 B.C. and, therefore, to tell if he was influenced by that knowledge in assigning these words to Nearchus. However, if he recorded the marriage and did not make the connection, he must have been rather dull. Therefore, to say, as Brunt (1975 p. 32) does, that "The fact that Curtius does not make that connection and presumably did not find it in his source suggests that the story was not invented by some one who knew about it and used it to give plausibility to his fiction" seems rather bold, to say the least. In Justin's account, Meleager is portrayed as proposing the names of Heracles and Arrhidaeus and is made to object to Roxane's child in the same way as Nearchus: see 13.2.6ff. "Meleager negat differenda in partus dubios consilia, neque expectandum, dum reges sibi nascerentur cum iam genitis uti liceret, seu puer illis placeat, esse Pergami filium Alexandri natum ex Barsine, nomine Herculem, seu mallent iuvenem, esse in castris fratrem Alexandri Arridaem, comem et cunctis non suo tantum, verum et patris Philippi nomine acceptissimum"; he also objects to Roxane's child on account of its parentage, as Ptolemy does in Curtius' account (see 6.13.3n.). For Curtius' omission of any mention of Arrhidaeus by the officers see 6.20.2n.

6.10.3. Alexandri modo sanguinem ac stirpem - Nearchus stresses the need for the kingship to be assumed by one of Alexander's blood relatives; for this prevalent view later regarding Arrhidaeus see 7.2.13n.

6.10.14. mirari - Bentley emends the *mirari* of Ω to *infitiari*, which is the word really expected at this point. However, *mirari* is much better rhythmically (Type 1, as opposed to Type 13, the second most avoided clausula - see Appendix C). In addition, *mirari* gives a more colourful and ironical flavour.

6.11.16. tempori rerum - Some editors have doubted the authenticity of this reading of Ω . Jeep offers *tenori rerum*, which does not have the required meaning and would refer to the "course" of affairs, Hedicke *tempori eorum*, thus creating a bad clausula (Type 13, the most avoided - see Appendix C) and hiatus, Stangl *tempori regum*, which is weak and unnecessary, and Vogel, in his 1904 edition, *tempori. Verum*, which spoils the symmetry between *animis Macedonum* and *tempori rerum*. However, there seems no need to alter the reading as the clausula is very satisfactory (Type 1 - see Appendix C) and the meaning clear (for the same phrase see Caes. *Civ.* 3.61.3).

6.11.18. Esse e Barsine filium regis - This son of Barsine (Berve 206) was called Heracles

(Berve 353; see Paus. 9.7.2, Plu. *Eum.* 1.7, Porph *F. H. G.* 3.2 & 4.1); Justin, who mentions him in the same situation (see 13.2.7, cited at 6.10.2n.), although putting the words in the mouth of Meleager (for the view that Justin is wrong see Errington 1970 p. 74), adds that, at this time, mother and son were at Pergamum, where they seem to have stayed until 310 B.C. (see D.S. 20.20.1). Barsine, who was the daughter of Artabazus and successively the wife of Mentor and Memnon of Rhodes (see Brunt 1975 pp. 26ff.), is recorded as having begun a liason with Alexander in 332 B.C. (Plu. *Alex.* 21.7ff. & Just. 11.10.2f.); it was from this union that Heracles was born in around 327/6 B.C. (D.S. 20.20.1). Probably at a time prior to Alexander's marriage with Roxane in 326 B.C., mother and son were moved to Pergamum and, apart from their mention here, they are not heard of until 309 B.C., when Polyperchon, probably with backing from Antigonos, brought the boy forward as a claimant to the Macedonian throne and, thus, an opponent for Cassander. However, Cassander and Polyperchon made a deal and the boy was murdered: see D.S. 20.28.1f., Plu. *Moralia* 530cf. & Porph *F.H.G.* 4.2; for a slightly different version see Just. 15.2.3 & Oros. 3.23.38. Tarn (1921b pp. 18ff. & 1948 II pp. 330ff.) maintained that Alexander's liason with Barsine was pure fiction and merely propaganda to give legitimacy to a pretender; although this view has some support (e.g. Hamilton 1969 p. 55), most scholars accept that such a liason took place (for a thorough refutation of Tarn see Brunt 1975 pp. 22ff.; for the same view see e.g. Bosworth 1988a p. 64, Austin 1981 p. 43 n. 1, Lane Fox 1973 p. 473, Errington 1970 pp. 50, 74, Hammond *HW* 1988 p. 100 & 1989a p. 238). The child was probably never officially recognised by Alexander (see Errington 1970 p. 50, Brunt 1975 p. 33 & Greenwalt 1984 p. 70) and this, added to the fact that he was not actually in Babylon at the necessary time, was no doubt a major factor in discounting his claim for the throne when Roxane was pregnant and Arrhidaeus was around. With this in mind, it is possible to see that he could have lived quietly in Pergamum until the murder, after a long period of imprisonment (D.S. 19.52.4 & Just. 4.6.13; for objections see Hammond *HW* 1988 pp. 167f.), of Alexander IV by Cassander (D.S. 19.105.2 & Just 15.2.5) brought attention to him (see Brunt 1975 p. 31 & Errington 1990 p. 142; however, for objections to and the supporters of this generally accepted order of events see Hammond *HW* 1988 pp. 165ff.). At a most basic level, the fact that Alexander had this child must be accepted, simply because there are no records of any objections to his claim in 309 B.C. (see Brunt 1975 p. 28 & Errington 1970 p. 74).

6.12.4. *itaque suo more hastis quatientes obstrepere perseverabant* - The beating of shields was, and still is (compare e.g. the police in the miners' strike of 1984/5), a sign of aggression, whether intended, or not, designed to unnerve the opposition: see e.g. Amm. 15.8.15 at a meeting "Nemo post haec finita reticuit sed militares omnes horrendo fragore scuta genibus inlidentes - quod est prosperitatis indicium plenum: nam contra cum hastis clipei feriuntur irae documentum est et doloris" & de Jonge *ad loc.* In Curtius' account, the Macedonians do this again after the acclamation of Arrhidaeus: see 7.14.12n. For other examples of this behaviour on the part of the Roman army see e.g. Plb. 1.34.1 & 15.12.8, both in battle, Liv. 28.29.10 (based on Plb. 11.30.1) at a meeting, Amm. 16.12.13 & 14.2.17 & de Jonge *ad locc.*, where the

men are ready for battle in both cases, 20.5.8, 21.5.9 & 21.13.16, all of military ardour, following a speech by the emperor.

6.12.5. *suo more* - As with other peoples (see 5.12.3n.), Curtius often draws attention to the habits of the Macedonians. Tarn (1948 II pp. 106f.) believed that Curtius was using a work on Macedonian customs, written not later than the third century B.C. This view has been thoroughly refuted by Errington (1983 pp. 90ff.), who, in addition, suggests that Curtius may have indirectly obtained much information from Chares' (see *F.Gr.H.* 125), or Cleitarchus', works. For *suo more* referring to Macedonians in Curtius' account see VII.2.1; for *patrio more* see III.8.22, IV.6.10, VI.11.38, VII.9.21, VIII.4.27, VIII.5.7 & VIII.8.3; for other phrases see e.g. III.11.23 & Atkinson *ad loc.* for doubts about Curtius' accuracy, IV.8.6, V.2.20, V.4.3, VI.8.25, VI.11.10, VIII.1.18, VIII.6.2, VIII.6.28, VIII.8.18, IX.3.4 & IX.6.4. In this case, the term is used by Curtius either to show that, although the Romans acted in this manner (see 6.12.5n.), the Macedonians did so too, or to the fact that this was standard practice among armies.

6.12.13. *prope ad seditionem* - Curtius' other use of *prope ad* is also metaphorical: see VII.4.22 "prope ad famem ventum erat". In the Classical period, this use of *prope ad* is the most common (see e.g. Caes. *Gal.* 2.28.1, Cic. *Mil.* 80, *de Orat.* 2.13, Liv. 4.25.1, 8.29.10, 9.45.17, 25.16.11, 37.4.9, Plin. *Nat.* 37.13, Quint. *Decl.* 267.13, Sen. *Ep.* 18.6, Tac. *Ag.* 3.2, Suet. *Nero* 26.2, *Gal.* 8.1 & Fro. *Ver.* 1.1.2); it is rarely used in a temporal sense (see e.g. Caes. *Gal.* 7.80.6, Nep. *Phoc.* 2.1, Liv. 22.59.3 & Suet. *Gram.* 9.5); for a semi-temporal sense see e.g. Caes. *Civ.* 3.6.1; the spatial usage may be colloquial (see e.g. Lucil. 29.842, Pl. *Cas.* 663, *Mil.* 1270, Sal. *Jug.* 93.2, Liv. 2.24.5, 3.26.1, 3.40.10, 10.41.5, 26.13.8 & 31.7.10).

6.12.15. *seditionem* - *Seditio* is also used to describe the situation in this leadership quarrel at X.7.1, where, as here, it indicates a difference between the men and the recognised leaders, and at X.8.16, when the wishes of the king would be broken if the actions were carried out. Elsewhere, *discordia* is the word used to describe the disagreement: see 7.1.9n.

6.13.1. *Tum Ptolomaeus* - Justin presents Ptolemy as objecting to the idea of Arrhidaeus as king at 13.2.11 "Ptolomaeus recusabat regem Arridaeum non propter maternas modo sordes, quod ex Larissaeo scorto nasceretur, sed etiam propter valetudinem maiorem, quam patiebatur, ne ille nomen regis, alius imperium gereret"; this is also Pausanias' view at 1.6.2 *τελευτήσαντος δὲ Ἀλεξάνδρου τοῖς ἐς Ἀριδαῖον τὸν Φιλίππου τὴν πᾶσαν ἀγοῦσιν ἀρχὴν ἀντιστάς αὐτὸς μάλιστα ἐγένετο ἐς τὰς βασιλείας αἴτιος τὰ ἔθνη νεμηθῆναι*. Curtius later (see 7.4.2n.) gives Pithon the job of doing this, as, due to the structure of his narrative, a mention of Arrhidaeus at this point would spoil the dramatic revelation by the unknown soldier (see 7.1.18n.). However, both Curtius and Justin do have Ptolemy put forward a similar proposal for the way the empire should be ruled in future (see 6.15.5n.). Ptolemy's pro-oligarchic

speech perhaps reflects the Senate's desire for this sort of rule in A.D. 41 following the murder of Caligula; for this desire see Suet. *Cl.* 10.3f., D.C. 60.1.1ff., J. *BJ* 2.205ff., *AJ* 19.167ff., & 19.227ff.; for further details see Levick 1990 pp. 31ff., Barrett 1989 pp. 172ff., Garzetti 1974 pp. 106ff & Scullard 1982 p. 288.

6.13.2. Ptolomaeus - (Berve 668) Ptolemy, the son of Arsinoe and Lagus, came from Eordaea (for both see Arr. *An.* 6.28.4 & *Ind.* 18.5) and was possibly a blood relative of Alexander (IX.8.22); it was even rumoured that he was the son of a concubine of Philip II (see IX.8.22, Paus 1.6.2, Berve 1926 II p. 330 & Heckel *YH* 1984 p. 296 n. 56). In his early years, he was among those banished by Philip over the Pixodarus affair (on this see 1.10.4bn.) and was appointed as a *σωματοφύλαξ* in 330 B.C. (Arr. *An.* 3.27.5 & see Bosworth *ad loc.*; see also IX.8.23, Arr. *An.* 3.6.6 & Bosworth *ad loc.* & 6.28.4; on this group see 6.1.7n.). He possibly took part in action at the Persian Gates in 330 B.C. (see Arr. *An.* 3.18.9 & Bosworth *ad loc.*) and he is said to have caught Bessus, the Bactrian pretender to the Persian throne (see Arr. *An.* 3.29.7ff. & Bosworth *ad loc.* for this evaluated). For his work in Bactria and Sogdiana see Arr. *An.* 4.16.2 & 4.21.3ff.; for his restraining of Alexander's anger at Clitus see VIII.1.45ff.; for his rôle at the Hermolaus affair see VIII.6.22 & Arr. *An.* 4.13.7; for his informing Alexander of an omen at the Oxus see Arr. *An.* 4.15.8; for his exploits in India see VIII.10.21, VIII.13.18ff, VIII.14.15, Arr. *An.* 4.21.3, 4.24.3f., 4.24.8ff., 4.29.1f., 5.13.1 & 5.23.7f.; for details of Harmatelia, where he almost died, see IX.8.22ff., Just. 12.10.3, D.S. 17.103.6ff., Str. *Chr.* 15.2.7 & Cic. *Div.* 2.135. At Susa, he married Artacama, a daughter of Artabazus (Arr. *An.* 7.4.6), and would have been crowned along with the other "bodyguards" (Arr. *An.* 7.5.6). He is mentioned as one of those who were not cognisant of any plot against Alexander at Medius' party (*L.M.* §98). In the leadership quarrel, he took the side of Perdikkas and the officers (see also Arr. *F.Gr.H.* 156 F1.2) and was awarded Egypt to govern (see 10.1.23n.). He did this until his death and, during this time, wrote a history of Alexander, upon which Arrian partly based his account (Arr. *An.* 1.*praef.*1f.); for the fragments see *F.Gr.H.* 138 and for a discussion see Pearson 1960 pp. 188ff. & Pédech 1984 pp. 215ff.; see also Errington 1969 pp. 233ff. for elements of bias in the work.

6.13.3. *Digna prorsus est suboles...petiverunt* - In Justin's account, Meleager puts forward a similar view: see 13.2.9, cited at 5.12.14n. Once again, the similarity of thought is striking (see Appendix A).

6.13.22a. *maiore* - Cornelissen (1876 p. 73) suggests *materna*, but the reading of BFPV is compatible with the children's parentage: see 6.13.22bn.

6.13.22b. *maiore ex parte captivi* - Perhaps a case of rhetorical exaggeration. If this is not the case, Alexander's own status must be investigated; it is easy to see how Alexander's offspring were half-captive, as Barsine and Roxane were both of eastern origin. It is necessary to go no

further back than his own mother, Olympias, who was a Molossian from Epirus (Philip's mother, Eurydice, was probably an Illyrian - see Badian 1982 p. 103). However, could she be regarded as a captive? Although, when the niece of Arybbas married Philip in 357 B.C., this was a linking of royal houses, which were almost equal, by 352 B.C. the situation had changed and Philip, for some reason, moved against him and, possibly, made him a vassal (see Griffith *HG* 1979 pp. 304ff.); in 342 B.C., he installed Olympias' brother, Alexander, as an almost independent king (see D.S. 16.72.1, Just. 8.6.4ff., 7.6.10ff. & Griffith *HG* 1979 pp. 504ff.). Therefore, the Molossians were, in effect, under Macedonian control and so could be regarded as captured. Indeed, doubts over Alexander's lineage are clearly shown if Plutarch (*Alex.* 9.6ff. & see Hamilton *ad loc.*) and Athenaeus (13.557d) are to be believed, for at the feast following Philip's marriage to the Macedonian, Cleopatra, the girl's uncle, Attalus, remarked how the marriage might produce a legitimate successor to the kingdom. Alexander was greatly annoyed and, with Olympias, left Macedonia. This was no doubt an insult, directly aimed at Olympias' non-Macedonian origin: see Bosworth 1971b p. 102, 1988a p. 21, Hamilton 1965 pp. 120f. & 1969 p. 24; *contra* Griffith, *HG* 1979 p. 215, who does not think she was regarded as foreign.

6.14.1. *Est, cur* - Of the fifteen times in total that Curtius uses *cur*, he employs it as a conjunction on two other occasions: see VIII.9.10 "ea causa est, cur tenues reliquias iam sine nomine in mare emittat" & X.7.2 "quidve fecit, cur". For the construction see *K-S II* pp. 278f.; for further examples see *TLL IV* p. 1447.76ff.

6.14.10. *iusti illi reges* - "Those rightful kings" (see 5.14.7n.).

6.14.13. *Darius et Xerxes* - A combination which Curtius seems to think is particularly evocative in such circumstances: see also III.10.8 of Alexander "Cum adierat Graecos, admonebat ab his gentibus inlata Graeciae bella Darei prius, deinde Xerxis insolentia...", IV.1.10f., when Alexander writes to Darius "Darius Graecos, qui oram Hellesponti tenent, coloniasque Graecorum Ionias omni clade vastavit, cum magno deinde exercitu mare traiecit inlato Macedoniae et Graeciae bello. Rursus Xerxes gentis eiusdem ad oppugnandos nos cum immanium barbarorum copiis venit..." & V.6.1, where Alexander says to his officers "hinc Dareum prius, dein Xerxem Europae impium intulisse bellum". No doubt, Curtius is influenced by the declamatory schools, where the invasion of Greece and the aftermath were favourite themes (see e.g. Sen. *Suas.* 2 & 4). Ptolemy's statement, however, does not ring true for a Macedonian, for, at the time of Darius' invasion in 490 B.C., they were loyal to the Persians and it was only following Xerxes' defeats in his expedition, begun in 480 B.C. that the Macedonians broke with Persia; on these matters see 2.23.7n.

6.15.5. *ut sede Alexandri in regia posita...his parent* - This concept of the rule of the leading men limited the power of one individual. It was in Ptolemy's interests to try to restrict

Perdiccas' power in this way - note that Justin has Ptolemy in favour of a slightly different measure of appointing individual rulers of various areas: see 13.2.12 "melius esse ex his legi, qui per virtutem regi suo proximi fuerint, qui provincias regant, quibus bella mandentur, quam ut sub persona regis indignorum imperio subiciantur". Although the proposal is rejected at this point, Eumenes proposed a similar idea, which did in fact meet with approval, in 318 B.C.: see 6.4.1n. for references. In later referring to the final settlement at Babylon Justin shows the same idea: see 13.4.4 "Haec agebantur posito in medio Alexandri corpore, ut maiestas eius testis decretorum esset". Despite the fact that such a suggestion by Ptolemy seems possible, Fontana (1960 pp. 190f.) disbelieves Curtius' account, thinking that it is based on the aforementioned plan of Eumenes some years later; however, for a refutation of this view see Errington 1970 pp. 74f. As already noted (see 6.4.3an.), this idea is reminiscent of the action of the senators in A.D. 40 during Caligula's absence in the North.

6.15.9. *regia* - If a permanent *regia* is referred to at Babylon, or elsewhere, it would seem to mean "palace" (see 6.1.11n.), but, obviously, if the army was on the move, then the *regia* would need to be a tent. The latter is probably what is meant.

6.15.29. *duces praefectique copiarum* - The *duces* are the overall leaders, whereas the *praefecti* are in charge of certain units; for this same distinction see e.g. III.11.9f. "Circa currum Darei iacebant nobilissimi duces...Inter hos Atizyes et Rheomithres et Sabaces, praetor Aegypti, magnorum exercituum praefecti", VIII.6.6 "Haec cohors velut seminarium ducum praefectorumque apud Macedonas fuit", Liv. 37.59.5, Plin. *Nat.* 19.22 & Tac. *Hist.* 3.14.

6.16.7. *Aristonus* - (Berve 133) This son of Pisaeus (Arr. *An.* 6.28.4 & *F.Gr.H.* 156 F1.2) came from Pella (Arr. *An.* 6.28.4), or Eordaea (Arr. *Ind.* 18.5). He was a *σωματοφύλαξ* of Alexander and may have held this position under Philip (see Heckel 1978a pp. 224ff.). Curtius (IX.5.15ff.) records how he was wounded helping to protect Alexander in the attack on the city of the Sudracae. As was the case with the other "bodyguards", he was also crowned at Susa in 324 B.C. (see Arr. *An.* 7.5.6) and following Alexander's death, he is seen to support the side of the leaders and cavalry (see also Arr. *F.Gr.H.* 156 F1.2). No other Alexander historian mentions this man as a speaker at this point. Although he succeeds in swaying opinion in favour of Perdiccas, this, at the end of the day, may not have been what Perdiccas wanted: see 6.8.1n.

6.16.16. *voluisse optimum deligi* - For the question and reply see 5.5.1n.

6.16.25. *cui anulum tradidisset* - See 5.4.11n.

6.17.1. *Neque enim unum eum adsedissee morientem* - For the death scene, with Alexander surrounded by his friends, see 5.4.1n.

6.17.8. *circumferentem* - The *circumferenti* of Ω is grammatically unacceptable; the corruption is possibly due to the *morienti* and *cui*. The simplest solution is to accept Giunta's *circumferentem*, also found in N. Although the change of subject is awkward, it is obvious from the context who is being referred to; if this was what Curtius wrote, it may have been intended to reflect the uncouthness of the speaker.

6.17.18. *summam imperii* - "the supreme command": see e.g. Cic. *Rep.* 2.50 "cum imperii summam rex teneret" & Liv. 3.70.1 "summa imperii concedente Agrippa penes collegam erat". For this use elsewhere in Curtius see 10.1.19n.; for the same phrase in other writers see e.g. Liv. 22.53.3 & Suet. *Nero* 3.2 and in a non-Roman context e.g. Nep. *Han.* 3.1, *Them.* 4.2, Caes. *Gal.* 2.23.4, 3.17.7, 3.22.1 & 7.57.3.

6.18.2. *dubitavere* - Most editors prefer this reading of $B^c\Delta$, but Hedicke, Bardon, Rolfe and Giacone prefer the *dubitare* of Ω . The result of the reading of $B^c\Delta$ is that *dubitavere* is outside the speech of Aristonus and thus matches better with the following *itaque*; otherwise the latter simply follows a speech. It is easy to see how such a mistake could have occurred and it may owe something to *vera*. The support of the reading of N, *dubitari*, by de Lorenzi (1965 p. 78) is open to the same objections as *dubitare*; it is also more awkward.

6.18.17. *Haerebat inter cupiditatem pudoremque* - Curtius' treatment of Perdiccas here is very reminiscent of the actions of Tiberius following Augustus' death (see e.g. Tac. *Ann.* 1.11.1f., 1.7.3ff., Suet. *Tib.* 24.1f., D.C. 57.2.3 & Vell. 2.124.2 & Woodman *ad loc.*; see also Badian 1964 p. 269 & Errington 1970 p. 51; for more on this imperial convention see Béranger 1953 pp. 137ff.; for further similarities with Tiberius see 9.8.26n. & 9.20.1n.); for Julius Caesar acting in a similar way see Vell. 2.56.4 & Woodman *ad loc.* If Curtius' account is historically accurate, Perdiccas, as Errington (1970 pp. 50ff.) has pointed out, although pleased to be offered the kingship, would not have liked the idea of no provision being made for Roxane's unborn child; therefore, if this episode is historically accurate (see §13 intro.), his reluctance may not have been due to modesty, but for political reasons, as the problem of the ultimate succession would still be left open (see 6.8.1n.).

6.19.14. *sedi erant* - The reading of Ω at this point is *sederant*, for which Kinch proposes *sedi erant*. This change, while small, gives a much clearer sense to the proceedings, which with *sederant* are not as graphic. It also continues the stress on the throne: see X.6.4.

6.20.2. *Meleager* - (Berve 494) This Macedonian phalanx commander was the son of Neoptolemus (Arr. *An.* 1.24.1) and one of Alexander's *ἑταῖροι* (see VIII.12.17; on this group see 1.6.2n.). He is first heard of in Alexander's encounter with the Getae (see Arr. *An.* 1.4.5 & Bosworth *ad loc.*) and then at Halicarnassus (Arr. *An.* 1.20.5); in 334 B.C., he got married (Arr. *An.* 1.24.1). He was in charge of battalions at Issus (III.9.7 & Arr. *An.* 2.8.4) and

Gaugamela (IV.13.27, Arr. *An.* 3.11.9 & D.S. 17.57.2). In the battle at the Persian Gates, he remained in the main camp (V.4.14 & Arr. *An.* 3.18.4.) and besieged the town of the Memaceni with Perdicas (VII.6.19). For his rôle in Sogdiana see Arr. *An.* 4.16.1; for India see VIII.12.17, where he criticised Alexander for giving one thousand talents to Taxiles (Omphis), and for operations see Arr. *An.* 5.12.1. He returned from India to Carmania in Craterus' party, thus avoiding the desert (Arr. *An.* 6.17.3). He is listed in the *Liber de Morte* (§§97f.) as one of those present and guilty at Medius' fateful banquet (see §10 intro.).

In Justin's account of the leadership debate Meleager speaks on behalf of Heracles and Arrhidaeus: see 13.2.6ff., cited at 6.10.2n. As already noted (see 6.10.2n.), Curtius plausibly assigns support of Barsine's child to Nearchus and prefers the dramatic revelation of the existence of Arrhidaeus to be given by an unknown soldier (see 7.1.18n.). However, Meleager, as in Justin's account (see 13.2.9f., cited at 6.13.3n.), objects to waiting for Roxane's child and, as well as clearly disliking the idea of Perdicas as king (see 6.21.1n.; due to this opposition it comes as no surprise that he later supports Arrhidaeus - see 7.7.2n.), proposes the radical step of the men themselves going to raid the treasury. This "democratic" element is missing in other sources and this characterisation of unrest and desire for looting is reminiscent of Rome in A.D. 41 following Caligula's death. Then, the soldiers roamed about the palace without discipline (J. *AJ* 19.214) and turned to plundering (D.C. 60.1.2); Caligula's wife and daughter were murdered (see 5.12.15n.). In Rome, such disorder stopped when a figurehead, Claudius, was found and, in Babylon, no more action is taken in this direction as soon as the name of Arrhidaeus is mentioned.

6.20.12. *Nec di sierint* - The speech opens, as it continues, in a fiery manner with an appeal to the gods. For another use of the same phrase see V.8.13. Curtius portrays Meleager as a demagogue who is not afraid to speak as he feels, unlike Perdicas with all his pretences. He is in favour of the rights of the common soldiers and that they should have their rewards. His speech is typically intemperate, with oaths (see also X.6.22 "*mediusfidius*"), rhetorical questions (see X.6.21 "*Quem vos dubitetis paratum esse vel subdere*" & X.6.23 "*Quin igitur ad diripiendos thesauros discurritis*") and other markers of agitation. The words are designed to inflame the men, ending up with the appropriate "*harum enim opum regiarum utique populus est heres*" (X.6.23). For another case in Curtius of the intervention of a similar demagogue see the words assigned to Bolon at VI.11.1ff.; for a similar case elsewhere see Vibulenus' speech at Tac. *Ann.* 1.22.1f.

6.20.17. *Alexandri fortuna* - See 6.1.25n.

6.20.32. *de nobilioribus* - For Perdicas' Orestian royal blood see 6.4.2n. & X.7.8.

6.21.16. *tutelae* - Regentship was the common practice in Macedonia whenever the successor was too young to rule directly himself. Regents were normally relations of the ward: for

examples of uncle-nephew guardians see e.g. D.S. 14.37.6 Aeropus and Orestes in 439 B.C., Just. 7.5.9 Philip and Amyntas in 360 B.C. & Schol. to Aeschin. 2.29 Ptolemy and Perdikkas and Philip in 368 B.C.; on this practice see Hatzopoulos 1986 pp. 279ff.

6.23.1. *Quin igitur* - The diction is colloquial: see e.g. V.7.4 of a drunk Alexander saying "Quin igitur ulciscimur Graeciam", Cic. *Leg.* 1.13.1, where Atticus says "Quin igitur ista ipsa explicas", 1.14.1, where Cicero says "Quin igitur ad illa spatia nostra sedesque pergimus", Apul. *Met.* 1.13.2 of witches, 6.5.3 of Psyche to herself, 6.26.7 of Lucius to himself, 7.10.4 of a bandit & 7.22.2 of a herdsman. It is occasionally used of demagogues (see e.g. Sal. *Cat.* 20.14 & M^cGushin *ad loc.* of Catiline addressing the conspirators "Quin igitur expergiscimini?") and is an indicator of high emotion (see e.g. Liv. 28.41.8).

6.23.7. *harum enim opum regiarum utique populus est heres* - The speech finishes with a flourish, with Meleager making his position very clear.

6.24.12. *ipsum ad pronuntiatam praedam sequebantur* - For similar consequences of arousal after a demagogue's speech see e.g. VI.11.8 after Bolon's words "Tum vero universa contio accensa est..." & Tac. *Ann.* 1.23.1 "tantum consternationis invidiaeque concivit, ut pars militum gladiatores...pars ceteram eiusdem familiam vincirent, alii ad quaerendum corpus effunderentur" & Goodyear *ad loc.*; for similar reasons for mutiny and gain see Tac. *Ann.* 1.16.1f. "Hic rerum urbanarum status erat, cum Pannonicas legiones seditio incescit, nullis novis causis, nisi quod mutatus princeps licentiam turbarum et ex civili bello spem praemiorum ostendebat". The men, not surprisingly, show a desire for riches: for a previous example see e.g. IX.1.3 "Avidi milites et pecuniae et gloriae".

6.24.14. *pronuntiatam* - This is Freinsheim's suggestion for the *praenuntiantem* of Ω ; it is followed by editors. The ending of the reading of Ω is clearly wrong. Curtius does not use *praenuntio*, which is not that frequent in other writers, anywhere else, whereas *pronuntio* is used twelve other times, of which there is only doubt at VII.8.6 (P has *proenuntiat* and L *pronunciat*). *Pronuntio* is more suitable in the context and the error probably due to a simple copying mistake.

7.1.6. *globus* - *Globus* can be used of a group of people, whether armed, or not, who have a close bond between them (see *TLL* VI₂ p. 2055.15ff.); as well as the idea of menace, it often carries a contemptuous notion on the part of the writer: see e.g. Nep. *Att.* 8.4, Vell. 2.58.2 & Sal. *Jug.* 85.10. However, in this case there is no contempt involved and it simply refers to a gathering; for a similar military example see e.g. Liv. 8.32.13; for elsewhere see e.g. Liv. 3.47.8, Tac. *Ann.* 16.27.1 & 14.61.1. The number involved at this point was probably around three hundred: see 9.17.10n.

7.1.9. *seditionem ac discordiam* - "insurrection and discord". Although Curtius only employs this pairing here, it is frequently used by other writers: for it in reference to soldiers see e.g. Liv. 22.44.5, Tac. *Hist.* 1.46.3 & 1.84.1; for elsewhere see e.g. Cic. *Mur.* 83, *Sest.* 104, *Off.* 1.85, Liv. 9.14.5, 34.49.10 & Tac. *Ann.* 6.16.1. Throughout the internal quarrels among the Macedonians, it is the milder noun, *discordia*, that Curtius uses to describe the disagreement (see also X.8.14, X.8.15, X.9.11, X.9.14 & X.9.16), thus showing that it is not a mutiny. In general, *discordia* was used to refer to public strife, or factions (see *TLL* V₁ p. 1338.71ff.); for a connection with civil war see e.g. Cic. *Phil.* 7.25 "omnia...plena odiorum, plena discordiarum, ex quibus oriuntur bella civilia". *Seditio* here refers to the difference between the men and the recognised leaders; for Curtius' use of *seditio* in the quarrel see 6.12.15n.

7.1.13. *contione* - This is Vindelin's suggestion for the *contio* of Ω and is followed, with various punctuation, by most editors; however, Bardon and Giacone retain the reading of Ω . Although *versa* is not in chronological sequence and the first section is abrupt, it is possible to understand *erat* with *versa*, keep *contio* and insert a colon after *globus erat*. However, this breaks up the pattern of the whole sentence, which satisfactorily leads to *cum*. The emendation, therefore, seems preferable. A *contio* was a non-decision making body: see *TLL* IV p. 727.55ff. & for Curtius' use see Anson 1985 p. 309 n. 38; thus, Curtius makes it clear that the meeting could not be considered an Assembly (see §13 intro. n. 43).

7.1.15. *quidam...ex infima plebe* - *Ex* governing an adjectival phrase, which qualifies a pronoun, is classical, but not very common: see e.g. Cic. *Brut.* 215 "quaedam ex his paria" & *K-S* I pp. 213f.

7.1.16. *plerisque Macedonum* - Curtius often uses *plerisque* with the partitive genitive; for other examples see 1.6.1n.

7.1.18. *ignotus ex infima plebe* - Curtius makes this unknown soldier suggest the name of Alexander's brother, Arrhidaeus. Justin (13.2.8, cited at 6.10.1n.) puts this idea in the mouth of Meleager. It is difficult to imagine that the officers would have forgotten about Arrhidaeus (see Martin 1986 pp. 162f.) and Curtius' change was obviously designed to give a more dramatic storyline; in this way it was also similar to what supposedly happened to Claudius, who only gained power by chance (see 7.7.2n.); Curtius may have been influenced to include the *ignotus* episode due to the events of A.D. 41 (see 7.2.1n.). For the same idea of the common man opposed to civil war, perhaps an influence of the declamatory schools, see e.g. Ov. *Met.* 3.115ff. "territus hoste novo Cadmus capere arma parabat. / 'ne cape' de populo, quem terra creaverat, unus / exclamat 'nec te civilibus insere bellis'"; for other examples of the dramatic ploy of an unknown see e.g. Tac. *Ann.* 1.22.1f. "Vibulenus quidam gregarius miles, ante tribunal..." & J. *BJ* 2.211 *Μεταξὺ δὲ τῶν μετὰ τῆς συγκλήτου στρατιωτῶν τις σπῆσαμενος τὸ ξίφος...ἐβόησεν...* Compare also in Curtius the pertinent utterance of another

unknown during the speech of Philotas at VI.10.36 "Cumque unus e circumstantium turba exclamasset 'Bene meritis non insidiari!' Philotas: 'Recte' inquit 'quisquis es, dicis...'".

7.1.20. *infima plebe* - The technical term for the lowest social class: see e.g. Plin. *Nat.* 19.53 "alio pane procerum, alio volgi, tot generibus usque ad infimam plebem descendente annona". For other references to this group see e.g. Cic. *Att.* 4.1.5 & Shackleton Bailey *ad loc.*, Liv. 10.6.4, 24.23.10, Suet. *Otho* 7.1 & Tac. *Hist.* 2.38.1 (a case of rhetorical exaggeration).

7.2.1. *Quid opus est...habentibus regem, quem quaeritis* - Reminiscent of the words of the *ignotus* who is recorded as having managed to get the Senate's troops to desert to Claudius in A.D. 41: see J. *BJ* 2.211, cited at 7.1.18n. Despite this similarity, it is not thought that either writer was influenced by the other; the reason is probably that Josephus was writing from evidence apparently supplied by Agrippa II, whose father had been present, and that Curtius was also possibly present and subsequently inspired to include a similar scene in his work (see Martin 1983 pp. 176ff.).

7.2.5. *armis civilique bello* - For Curtius' use of *civilia bella* and his stress on civil war see 5.5.12n. This statement by the unknown man is relevant to the situation in A.D. 41 when there would possibly have been civil war after Caligula's assassination if Claudius had not been plucked out from oblivion to fill the emperor's post; for this view expressed see J. *AJ* 19.228 ὁ δὲ δῆμος...ἐχαιρεν Κλαυδίου τῇ ἀρπαγῇ σπᾶσιν τε ἐμφυλον, ὅποια καὶ ἐπὶ Πομπηίου γένοιτο, ἀπαλλάξειν αὐτῶν ὑπελάμβανον τοῦτον αὐτοκράτορα καθιστάμενον. Caligula left no obvious heir: his daughter was murdered shortly after him (see 5.12.15n.).

7.2.12. *Arrhidaeus* - (Berve 781) This young man was the son of Alexander's father, Philip, and Philinna, a Thessalian from Larissa (see Just. 13.2.11, Arr. *F.Gr.H.* 156. F1.1, Plu. *Alex.* 77.7 & Hamilton *ad loc.*, Ath. 13.557c, 13.578a, Dexipp. *F.Gr.H.* 100. F.8.1, *Heid. Epit. F.Gr.H.* 155 F1.1, Porph *F.H.G.* 3.1 & 4.1; at 8.7.7 Pausanias does not give her name); he was born around 358/7 B.C., making him a few years older than Alexander (see Berve 1926 II p. 385, Griffith *HG* 1979 p. 225, Milns 1968 p. 18, Ellis 1981 pp. 115ff. & Hatzoupolos 1986 p. 288: *contra* Ehrhardt, 1967 p. 297, suggesting 352 B.C., Hamilton 1969 pp. 25, 216, Green, 1982 pp. 143f., suggesting 357/6 B.C., & Greenwalt, 1984 p. 74, for a date soon after 356 B.C.). Whether Philip and Philinna were actually married has been disputed, but the fact that Arrhidaeus was brought up at court as a member of the royal household tends to be a factor in favour of the marriage (see Ath 13.557c, Plu. *Alex.* 10.1 & Hamilton *ad loc.*, Griffith *HG* 1979 p. 225, Milns 1968 p. 18 & Greenwalt 1984 pp. 69ff., who also gives possible reasons for the slurs on Philinna: *contra* Lane Fox 1973 p. 35 & Green 1982 p. 143). His proposed marriage to the daughter of Pixodarus sparked off bad relations between Philip and Alexander and his friends (on this see 1.10.4n.), but Arrhidaeus was apparently afflicted with a mental disease (see D.S. 18.2.2, Plu. *Alex.* 77.7f. & Hamilton *ad loc.*, *Moralia* 337d, Just. 13.2.11, 14.5.2, App.

Syr. 52.261 & *Heid. Epit. F.Gr.H.* 155 F1.2; on this see Greenwalt 1984 pp. 74ff.) and so Philip would not have marked him out as a successor; he was, therefore, not a threat to Alexander and his mental problems probably saved his life at Alexander's accession (for the killings of other possible brothers see Just. 11.2.3 & Unz 1985 pp. 171ff.: *contra* Bosworth 1988a p. 19. n. 46; for the deaths of other rivals see 8.1.7bn.). Hatzoupolos (1986 pp. 286ff.) has suggested that in Macedonia, as in Sparta (see Hdt. 7.3.3 & How & Wells *ad loc.*), the right to rule rested on being born while your father was actually king. As Philip was technically regent from 360 to 356/7 B.C. (see Hatzoupolos 1982 p. 42), Arrhidaeus did not have such a right. Alexander, although probably conceived before Philip was king, was born afterwards. Arrhidaeus accompanied Alexander on the campaign and was not so badly affected by his illness to need a guardian. On the king's death, he was the most eligible adult for the succession, but his mental deficiency seems to have prevented support by the officers. However, following his acceptance by the infantry, he eventually assumed the position of king under the name Philip III (see 7.7.12n.); he was, however, little more than a puppet king; for his later death at the hands of Olympias see D.S. 19.11.2f., Just. 14.5.10., Porph. *F.H.G.* 3.1, 4.2 & Hammond *HW* 1988 p. 140; for a detailed survey of Curtius' portrayal of Arrhidaeus see Martin 1983 pp. 161ff. and for what is known of him before his accession see Greenwalt 1984 pp. 69ff.; for the possible connection between Arrhidaeus and Claudius see §13 intro., the following notes & Appendix B.

7.2.13. *Philippo genitus, Alexandri...frater* - Stress is put on Arrhidaeus' lineage, which was the main reason for his eventual acceptance (see 7.12.28n.). This need for a blood-relation is a continual theme in this section: for Nearchus stressing it see X.6.10; for the soldiers see X.7.6 & X.7.15; for Meleager see X.7.10. For the same view in other writers see e.g. Just. 13.2.8, cited at 6.10.1n., & Sen. *Ben.* 4.31.1 "Interdum enim solemus dicere: 'Quid sibi voluit providentia, quae Arrhidaeum regno imposuit?' Illi putas hoc datum? Patri eius datum est et fratri". The latter example may show that Arrhidaeus was used as an *exemplum* in the rhetorical schools. Once again, there is a Roman parallel: Claudius' lineage was one of the chief reasons for the acclamation of this step-grandson of Augustus, son of Drusus and brother of the popular Germanicus (see e.g. D.C. 60.1.3, J. *AJ* 19.164, 19.219 & 19.223; see also Levick 1990 p. 33, Barrett 1989 p. 173 & Garzetti 1974 p. 106). Claudius was keen to stress his family connections (see Appendix B).

7.2.15. *Alexandri paulo ante regis frater* - Although these words give the impression of a Greek influence (Curtius' source), this adjectival use of the adverbial phrase is a native Latin idiom: see Fordyce on *Catul.* 4.10. For the same usage of *paulo ante* see e.g. VIII.2.3 "Manabat toto vestibulo cruor paulo ante convivae" & X.10.7 "Quippe paulo ante regis ministri".

7.2.20a. *sacrorum caerimoniarumque* - "religious observances and rites". The combination of *sacra* and *caerimoniae* seems to be a fossil formula: see e.g. Cic. *Div.* 2.148 "nam et maiorum

instituta tueri sacris caerimoniisque retinendis sapientis est", *N.D.* 3.5 & Pease *ad loc.*, *Leg.* 2.20.10, *Har.* 8, *Dom.* 33, 109, *Flor. Epit.* 1.1.(2)2, *V. Max.* 2.5.2 & 6.9.3.

7.2.20b. *sacrorum caerimoniatarumque consors* - Although this could refer to private ceremonies (if so, this would be the sole reference to the Argead family cult - see Fredricksmeier 1966 p. 181 n. 8; for this accepted see Calder 1981 p. 334 n. 27), it is more likely to refer to public ones (see Hammond *HG* 1979 p. 155 & 1989a p. 23; in the former case, he perhaps goes too far by saying "the king was accompanied in the sacrifices by those who were in the line of succession"). Throughout the expedition, Alexander continually carries out sacrifices to named deities (for a list of those recorded see Berve 1926 I pp. 85f.) and it seems that, as well as these special ones, Alexander, as king, had a set routine each day: see e.g. *Arr. An.* 7.25.2 *ἐκκομισθέντα δὲ ἐπὶ κλινης πρὸς τὰ λεγὰ θῦσαι ὡς νόμος ἐφ' ἑκάστη ἡμέρα*; see also Fredricksmeier 1966 pp. 180f., Hammond *HW* 1988 pp. 90f., 1989a pp. 21ff. & Anson 1985 p. 307. The king was the Macedonian high priest and, as such, was like the Roman *rex sacrorum* (for this see Dumézil 1970 I pp. 110ff. & Liebeschuetz 1979 pp. 10ff.).

Perhaps a Roman reader would be reminded of Claudius' previous religious duties: he had been an augur under Augustus (*Suet. Cl.* 4.7), a priest of the Augustan cult under Tiberius (*Suet. Cl.* 6.2) and of that of Caligula under that emperor (*Suet. Cl.* 9 & *D.C.* 59.28.5). As regards a rôle of sharing duties in public life, they may have been reminded that he had been consul with Caligula in A.D. 37 (*Suet. Cl.* 7 & *D.C.* 59.6.5f.).

7.2.24. *nunc solus heres* - At X.5.12 Curtius writes "sine certo regis herede, sine herede regni" and as pointed out there (see 5.12.15n.), Curtius seems to be correct, as the reader would have had no idea of Alexander's brother existing until this dramatic revelation. Now, the situation was changed. As previously noted (see 5.12.15n.), Alexander's children in Roman eyes would not have been eligible as heirs. In such a case the *agnati proximi*, or closest relatives (in this case Arrhidaeus), were then eligible: see Prichard 1961 pp. 291f., Crook 1967 p. 119, Nicholas 1962 p. 248 & Watson 1971 pp. 177ff. In addition, the son of Philip was the obvious choice due to his lineage, his presence and the fact that he was alive (as opposed to not yet born).

7.2.27. *praeteritur a vobis* - Once again, the reader is reminded of the emperor Claudius and the fact that, until his succession, he was not considered a possible ruler: cf. e.g. *Tac. Ann.* 3.18.3f.

7.2.30. *Quo suo merito* - This reading of P is accepted by the more recent editors, whereas Foss, Zumpt and the older editors prefer the *Quo merito suo* of ω . As the clausula of P is somewhat better (Type 3 and favoured, as opposed to Type 7 and not favoured - see Appendix C) and the word order is paralleled at VIII.6.30 and gives stronger emphasis on *suo*, it should be accepted. The phrase is perhaps recalled at X.9.3.

7.2.33. *quidve fecit, cur* - A variant on the common *est, cur* construction; for this see 6.14.1n.

7.2.39. *iure fraudetur* - For *fraudare* with the ablative see *TLL* VI₁ p. 1262.78ff. Pithon later takes up *fraudetur* in his speech (see 7.4.21n.). At this point, Curtius can only be referring to the Roman view of intestate succession (see 5.12.14n. & 7.2.24n.), as it would normally be the child who is the heir.

7.2.47. *si proximum, hic solus est* - Once again, the importance of the hereditary monarchy to the Macedonians is stressed and the parallel to the accession of Claudius is clear (see 7.2.13n.). *Proximum* refers to the Roman legal practice where the *proximi agnati* inherit when a man dies intestate: see 7.2.24n.

7.3.13. *vocandum* - Aldus' emendation for the *vocatum* of Ω should be accepted: the latter would imply that there was no need for shouting since Arrhidaeus had already been summoned.

7.3.15. *mortemque meritos, qui contionem sine eo habuissent* - A typical reaction from a volatile mob; for Curtius' view of such a body see 7.11.1n. The same sentiments are again expressed at X.7.14, but, as here, no action is taken, only threats made.

7.4.2. Pithon - (Berve 621) This son of Crateuas came from Eordaea (Arr. *An.* 6.28.4), or Alcomenae (Arr. *Ind.* 18.6). In 326 B.C., he was in charge of a ship when the Hydaspes was sailed down (Arr. *Ind.* 18.6). He is listed as a *σωματοφύλαξ* of Alexander in 325 B.C. (Arr. *An.* 6.28.4; see also D.S. 18.7.3 and on this group 6.1.7n.) and may have been one from the start of the expedition (see Heckel 1978a pp. 224ff.); he was crowned with the others at Susa in 324 B.C. (Arr. *An.* 7.5.6). In the *Liber de Morte* (§§97f.), he is listed as one of those who were present and guilty at Medius' party, but when Alexander was dying he is reported in the *Ephemerides* (on these see §10 intro.) as one of those who slept in the temple of Sarapis (see Arr. *An.* 7.26.2 & Plu. *Alex.* 76.9 & Hamilton *ad loc.*). Following the king's death, he took the side of the leading men and the cavalry (see also Arr. *F.Gr.H.* 156 F1.2). Pithon takes no part in this debate in Justin but the sentiments of Arrhidaeus' unsuitability are expressed by Ptolemy (see Just. 13.2.11, cited at 6.13.1n.); the change is necessary due to Curtius' postponement of the mention of Arrhidaeus (see 7.1.18n.). Pithon replies to the previous speech by giving an equally pitiable picture of Alexander, rather than Arrhidaeus; this is a blatant example of *miseratio* (see 2.15.14n.).

7.4.3. *plenus lacrimarum* - For the Roman view of such a shedding of tears see 5.1.2n.

7.4.16. *civium militumque* - See 3.13.25n.

7.4.21. *fraudatus esset* - This replies to the previous "etiam gentium communi iure fraudetur" of the unknown soldier: see 7.2.40n.

7.4.23. *nomen enim memoriamque regis sui* - This, Rader suggests, possibly recalls the soldier's "Philippo genitus, Alexandri...frater" of X.7.2, with *nomen* referring to Alexander and *memoriam* to Philip. However, it is more likely to simply be a reference to Alexander's reputation expressed in hendiadys, as is probably the case at the other occasions on which *nomen* and *memoria* are used together by Curtius: see IX.3.23 "appellavit, alterum Bucephala, equi, quem amiserat, memoriae ac nomini dedicans urbem" & X.10.20, cited at 6.7.15n. The hendiadys is a common variant on the very frequent formula *memoria nominis* (see *TLL* VIII p. 672.20ff.).

7.4.30. *ad cetera caligare eos* - For a similar metaphorical use of *caligo* in Curtius see 9.4.7n. and in other writers *TLL* III p. 157.44ff., where the first example given is from the Younger Seneca (*Dial.* 7.1.1). However, if Curtius is dated to the reign of Claudius (see intro. §C), then it would appear that this would be the first such usage in surviving Latin literature. The noun *caligo* is, however, used in this sense from Cicero onwards: see *TLL* III p. 160.33ff. As with the next use of *caligare* by Curtius, there may be a connection with contemporary Rome: Curtius may be implying that after Caligula's assassination the senators were initially so blinded by the former *princeps'* actions that they could not see that one ruler was needed and that Claudius was a good choice.

7.5.1. *Haud ambigue iuvenem...inpense *** probra, quae obiecerat, magis...* - At this point, Ω reads "Haud ambigue iuvenem... inpense probra, quae obiecerat, magis...". It is clear that there is something amiss and almost every editor tries to patch up the text, usually by altering the punctuation and changing *inpense*; some of the suggestions are *ingessit* (Hedicke & Rolfe), *infensus* (Bardon & Giaccone), *impensa* (Zumpt & Foss), *inpetiit* (Jeep), *intensa* (Freinsheim & Heinsius), *impugnans* (Damsté), *carpens* (Stangl), *impensum* (de Lorenzi 1965 pp. 116f.), *intendens* (Vogel 1880, Dosson & Baraldi), *ingerens* (Vogel 1904) & *insecatus est* (Shackleton-Bailey 1981 p. 180); some editors (e.g. Stangl, Rapp, Snakenburg, Schmeider & Foss), following Aldus, suggest a lacuna before *haud*; the Elzeviriana edition puts it before *magis*; all these, however, necessitate a further change to the text. Zumpt thinks that *quae obiecerat* is an interpolation. All these emendations are unsuccessful and, since the *probra* mentioned are rather obscure and no objections to Arrhidaeus are voiced, it may be more likely that there is a lacuna after *inpense* and before *probra*. By such a placing, the text is grammatically correct before and after the lacuna.

7.5.3. *iuvenem* - Arrhidaeus was about thirty-four, or thirty-five, years of age: see 7.2.12n. The use of *iuvenis* to describe him, contrary to the views of those who see it as trying to suggest that his weakness, initially, was partly due to his tender years (see e.g. Heckel *YH*

and Yardley (YH 1984 p. 251) and Giacone (1977 p. 683) seems to do the same; not only would this mean the same as *infestus*, but would be a rare use of the word (see e.g. Verg. A. 11.364 & Conington & Nettleship *ad loc.*, Luc. 1.9, 1.488 & TLL VII₂ p. 198.78ff.). The more straightforward meaning of "hateful", or "detested" (for this see TLL VII₂ p. 197.12ff.), used by Bardon (1948 p. 418), Schönfeld (MS 1954 p. 713) and Baraldi (1965 p. 311), seems more appropriate, as it gives the idea of mutual hatred; this meaning is also usual with this pairing, which is particularly common in Livy (see e.g. Liv. 2.56.5, 4.53.9, 5.8.9, 26.39.15, 35.47.4, [Quint.] *Decl.* 6.23 & Sen. *Dial.* 4.35.6).

7.7.8. *in regiam* - "to the royal quarters"; for Curtius' use of this word see 5.7.8n.; for what it refers to here 6.1.11n.

7.7.10. *et milites* - The proclamation of Arrhidaeus at this point is not paralleled in any other source; it is facilitated by the open meeting and it may be the case that this was one of the reasons why Curtius chose to have the debate before the army. It is, however, clear from the following events that the leaders took no notice of the wishes of the rank and file (this is similar to Rome in A.D. 41 - see 7.8.6n.) and the infantry did not push the point. In Justin's account (see 13.2.11, cited at 6.13.1n.), there is equally no support for Arrhidaeus when his name is mentioned.

7.7.11. *milites...consalutatatum regem* - Arrhidaeus is proclaimed by the rank and file in much the same way as Claudius in A.D. 41: see Suet. *Cl.* 10.2, J. *AJ* 19.162ff., 223ff., *BJ* 2.204 & D.C. 60.1.3; see also Levick 1990 pp. 31ff, Barrett 1989 pp. 172ff., Garzetti 1974 pp. 106ff. & Scullard 1982 p. 288. Claudius did not forget his debt to the praetorians and this was openly acknowledged in the year of his accession in two coin types, the "imper recept" type, where a figure, holding a military standard in front, is at a camp and the "praetor recept" type, where a figure and the emperor shake hands. The figure, previously thought to be a soldier, is now recognised as Fides herself and the legends are identified as "in fidem imperatoris" and "in fidem praetorianorum"; both commemorate the mutual trust between the emperor and the Guard. These types continued until A.D. 46/7. Concerning these coins see Levick 1990 pp. 39, 204 n. 26, Sutherland 1974 pp. 154ff., Mattingly & Sydenham 1948 pp. 122ff., Mattingly 1923 pp. 165f & 1960 p. 143.

7.7.12. *Philippum* - Arrhidaeus is also renamed thus elsewhere (see e.g. Just. 13.3.1, D.S. 18.2.4 & Arr *F.Gr.H.* 156 F1.1) and it was under this name that he was subsequently known (see e.g. D.S. 18.16.1, 18.22.1, App. *Syr.* 52.261, Nep. *Phoc.* 3.3 & Heid *Epit. F.Gr.H.* 155 F1.1). Although Curtius gives the impression that this was some sort of tradition, Badian (1982 pp. 99ff.) has proved satisfactorily that name changes in the royal family were not part of Macedonian royal tradition (see, however, Bosworth 1980b pp. 282f. & Heckel 1978b pp.

1984 p. 3), is in no way derogatory, as the term could legitimately be applied to those between the ages of fifteen and forty (see *TLL* VII₂ p. 734.81ff.; Varro says thirty to forty-five - see *Cens.* 14.2). His *robur aetatis* is later justifiably mentioned by Meleager as a point in his favour: see 7.10.26n.

7.5.8. *probra* - Curtius intentionally omits any mention of Arrhidaeus' mental deficiencies and low birth (for details see 7.2.12n.), the former of which must, if mentioned, have reminded Romans of Claudius' disabilities (see e.g. *D.C.* 60.2.1ff., *Suet. Cl.* 2.1ff. & 32), which have been attributed to infantile paralysis (see e.g. Scullard 1982 p. 288 & Garzetti 1974 p. 587), or, more probably, to cerebral palsy (see e.g. this view restated by Levick 1990 pp. 13ff.). However, as it is debatable how well Arrhidaeus' problems were known to the average reader, it is difficult to say if such a connection would be made (see Appendix B). In any case, it is clear that Curtius tries hard to avoid any hint of mental defects.

7.5.18. *quippe dum miserentur, etiam favere coeperunt* - For similar cases where pity turns to support cf. e.g. *Tac. Ann.* 2.73.4 of Germanicus "nam ut quis misericordia in Germanicum et praesumpta suspicione, aut favore in Pisonem pronior, diversi interpreta<ba>ntur", 14.58.4 of Rubellius Plautus "magni nominis miseratione reperturum bonos, consociaturum audaces" & *Hist.* 2.29.3 of Valens "ut vero deformis et flens et praeter spem incolumis Valens processit, gaudium miseratio favor".

7.6.1. *Igitur non alium... qui ad hanc spem genitus esset ...declarant* - These words are echoed by those at X.7.15. At both places, Arrhidaeus' right to the throne by birth is stressed: see also 7.2.13n.

7.7.1. *Quem Meleager* - It comes as no surprise that Meleager supports Arrhidaeus; in Justin's account he proposed his name at the meeting of the officers (see 13.2.6ff., cited at 6.10.2n.). In Curtius' account his hostility to Perdiccas has already been shown (see X.6.21f.); this is the logical outcome.

7.7.2. *Meleager...perducit* - Arrhidaeus is led out playing, as yet, a passive rôle in the proceedings. This again echoes the rise of Claudius, who is said to have had to be brought out from hiding by the soldiers (see *Suet. Cl.* 10.1f., *D.C.* 60.1.2f. & *J. AJ* 19.216ff.; for the events surrounding this see Levick 1990 pp. 31ff., Barrett 1989 pp. 172ff., Garzetti 1974 pp. 106f. & Scullard 1982 p. 288. However, a different tradition also exists where the acclamation of Claudius was not the result of a chance finding: see *J. AJ* 19.162ff. For thoughts on this and also on whether Claudius was involved in the plot against Caligula see Levick 1990 pp. 33ff. & Barrett 1989 pp. 173, 176f.

7.7.3. *infestus invisusque* - *Invisus* is taken to mean roughly "hostile" by Rolfe (1946 p. 535)

155ff. for a different view on the subject). As regards this particular change and, indeed, that of Arrhidaeus' wife, Adea, who later became Eurydice (see Arr. *F.Gr.H.* 156 F9.23), he advances the circumstances following Alexander's death as the main factor. In the heated debate concerning the succession in Babylon Arrhidaeus' only claim to power was that he was the son of Philip II. However, as his mother, Philinna, was of Thessalian origin his royal blood needed to be emphasised (although his name was a good Argead one, no one of that name had ever ruled). His wife's name was probably Illyrian in origin, so it did no harm to change it to that of Philip's mother, simply to be more Macedonian, rather than out of a desire to show that she would take an active interest in government, as Philip's mother had. Badian (1982 p. 101) further suggests that the return to the name of Philip and Eurydice perhaps evoked the time before the eastern campaign and the results. Perhaps Arrhidaeus, or those around him, was influenced by Persian tradition (e.g. Bessus, after murdering Darius, changed his name to Artaxerxes - see Arr. *An.* 3.25.3 & Bosworth *ad loc.* for further examples), but, whether this is the case, or not, as Badian says "The only attested changes of name on succession to the Argead throne - those of Philip III and Eurydice - can therefore be seen to be sufficiently motivated by the special conditions in which they took place, and the idea of such a change, if explanation be needed, can be explained without any Argead precedent whatsoever".

7.7.13. *consalutatatum* - It seems that this was a Macedonian custom: see e.g. of Alexander Lyncestis and Alexander VII.1.6 "sed quia primus Alexandrum regem salutaverat, supplicio magis quam crimini fuerat exemptus" & Just. 11.2.2 "Soli Alexandro Lyncestae <parricidarum> fratri pepercit, servans in eo auspiciam dignitatis suae; nam regem eum primus salutaverat". In addition, the same happened with Roman emperors - see e.g. Tac. *Ann.* 12.69.2 of Nero & Furneaux *ad loc.*, *Hist.* 1.27.2 of Otho, 3.86.3 of Domitian & Plin. *Pan.* 5.4 of Trajan. The reader would be particularly reminded of Claudius: see e.g. D.C. 60.1.3 *ἔπειτα δὲ γνωρίσαντες αὐτοκράτορά τε προσηγόρευσαν καὶ εἰς τὸ στρατόπεδον αὐτὸν ἡγάγον* & Suet. *Cl.* 10.2 "et prae metu ad genua sibi accidentem imperatorem salutavit". This hailing of Arrhidaeus would not have carried any weight in itself; there was probably no such electoral power given to the Macedonian army at this time (see §13 intro. n. 43).

7.8.1. *Ceterum* - For this use of *ceterum* for a shift of focus see 6.1.1n.

7.8.6. *principum alia sententia* - Apart from Curtius, this first settlement, which followed Perdicas' proposal to wait to see what the child would be, is only referred to by Justin at 13.2.14ff. "Vicit Perdiccae sententia consensu universorum. Placuit itaque Roxanes expectari partum, et, si puer natus fuisset, tutores Leonatum et Perdiccam et Crateron et Antipatrum constituunt confestimque in tutorum obsequia iurant". The settlement in Curtius seems the most likely one: Antipater and Craterus would have to fight over Europe, meaning that those in the East would not be under threat; the two men appointed as *tutores* were from royal houses

(see 6.4.2n. & 7.8.24n.), following the Macedonian custom (see 6.21.16n.) where regents were normally relations of the ward; the dual factor may have been the result of bargaining. For more details on the agreement, which Bosworth (1971a p. 133 n. 7) sees as possibly tinged with later Perdiccan propaganda, see Errington 1970 pp. 52f. & Hammond 1989a pp. 237f. An oath to the child was then sworn and in Justin (13.3.1) the decision is accepted by the cavalry and met with anger by the infantry. Yet again, the Roman reader would notice the similarity to Claudius' accession in A.D. 41, when, as here, the nobles (senators) opposed the wishes of the ordinary rank and file (see 6.13.1n. for references).

7.8.24. Leonnatum - (Berve 133) This Macedonian was the son of Anteus (Arr. *An.* 6.28.4), Onasus (Arr. *An.* 3.5.5 & Bosworth *ad loc.*), or Eunus (Arr. *Ind.* 18.3) - his father's true name cannot be determined (Brunt 1976 p. 234); he was probably of the Lyncestid royal house (see Hammond *HG* 1979 p. 16; Berve, 1926 II p.232, suggests the royal house of Orestis) and was related to Philip's mother, Eurydice (see Arr. *F.Gr.H.* 156 F178, Hammond *HG* 1979 pp. 14ff. & Berve 1926 II p. 232). He was among those who caught and killed the assassin of Philip II (D.S. 16.94.4) and, in 331 B.C., while accompanying Alexander on the Asian campaign, was made a *σωματοφύλαξ* (Arr. *An.* 3.5.5; see also Arr. *An.* 6.28.4 & Heckel 1978a pp. 224ff.). It was Leonnatus who was sent to allay the fears of the captured women of the Persian royal house (see III.12.7ff., D.S. 17.37.3, Arr. *An.* 2.12.5 & Bosworth *ad loc.* & Plu. *Alex.* 21.2 & Hamilton *ad loc.*); he advised Alexander on the Philotas affair (VI.6.17), was among those who tried to restrain him during the episode which culminated in the murder of Clitus (VIII.1.46), mocked a Persian performing proskynesis before Alexander at Ecbatana, for which he earned the king's anger (Arr. *An.* 4.12.2 & VIII.5.22 - on Curtius' incorrect naming of him as Polyperchon see 5.33.16n.) and, along with Ptolemy, revealed the Pages' Conspiracy to the king in 327 B.C. (VIII.6.22). He is seen in action among the Indians (VIII.14.15, Arr. *An.* 4.23.3, 24.10 & 25.3) and at the town of the Sudrae he was one of those who saved Alexander, but was himself seriously wounded (see IX.5.15ff. & Arr. *An.* 6.9.3ff.). He was ordered to go to Patala in 325 B.C., while Alexander sailed with the fleet (Arr. *An.* 6.18.3), and was also sent to prepare wells for Alexander's main army (IX.10.2). He was given command of forces around the Horitae (IX.10.6f.) and defeated them (IX.10.19, Arr. *An.* 7.5.5 & *Ind.* 23.5; see also, however, D.S. 17.105.8 and on the apparent variation Bosworth, 1988a p. 143; he suggests two separate battles), for which he was crowned at Susa (Arr. *An.* 7.5.5). In the *Liber de Morte* (§§97f.), he is listed as being present and guilty (see Heckel 1988 p. 41 for a reason) at Medius' fateful party (on this see §10 intro.) and, after the king's death, he supported the officers and cavalry (see also Arr. *F.Gr.H.* 156 F1.2).

7.8.25. stirpe regia - For their royal blood see 6.4.2n. & 7.8.24n. respectively.

7.9.5. Craterus - Then in Cilicia: see 1.9.13n.

7.9.7. Antipater - (Berve 94) Antipater, the son of Iollas, was one of Philip's generals and helped Alexander to the succession (see Ps.-Callisth. 1.26, Bosworth 1988a p. 26 & Badian 1963 p. 248); he also probably secured the temporary survival of his son-in-law, Alexander Lyncestis, from the charge of murdering Philip (on this event see 1.40.20n.). When Alexander set out on his Asian expedition in 334 B.C., Antipater was left behind as the regent of Macedonia (see D.S. 17.17.5 & Arr. *An.* 1.11.3) and held power there until his death in 319 B.C. (see D.S. 18.48.1ff.). During the time of Alexander's travels he prevented Memnon from starting an uprising in Greece in 333 B.C. as well as quelling an attempted Thracian rising under the governor, Memnon (see 1.45.4n.), and dealing with the rising in Greece by King Agis III of Sparta in 332/1 B.C. (see 10.14.31an.). However, following the Opis mutiny (see §9 intro.), Craterus was sent to replace him and Antipater was to come to Asia with a fresh levy: see Arr. *An.* 7.12.4 & Just. 12.12.9. This was forestalled by Alexander's death.

7.9.11. *iusiurandum...in potestate regis* - This use of *potestas* was a standard element in oaths: see e.g. VIII.2.30 "Revocatoque strenue Oxarte futurum se in regis potestate respondit", VIII.3.7 "de cetero futuram in viri potestate", Liv. 3.52.10, 7.41.1, 8.19.12, 24.22.12 & Caes. *Gal.* 2.3.2.

7.10.1. Meleager...cum suis - Meleager continues to push for the acceptance of Arrhidaeus. Arrian only has a brief piece on the events at this time and simply mentions Meleager as the leader of the infantry: see *F.Gr.H.* 156 F1.2f. *διαφέρετο δὲ ἐς ἀλλήλους τὸ πεζὸν καὶ τὸ ἱππικόν... οὗτοι μὲν ἡγεμόνες τῶν ἱππέων Μελέαγρος, δὲ τῶν πεζῶν. εἶτα διαπρεσβεύονται πρὸς ἀλλήλους πολλάκις, καὶ τέλος συμβαίνουσιν οἱ τε τὸν βασιλέα ἀνειπόντες πεζοὶ καὶ οἱ τῶν ἱππέων ἡγεμόνες.* However, as can be seen from fig. 8 (see §13 intro.), both Diodorus and Justin give differing versions of how it was only following the proclamation of Arrhidaeus that Meleager (Justin also includes Attalus and Diodorus mentions that several were sent) was sent on an embassy to the infantry in order to come to an agreement and that Meleager (Justin also has Attalus as a leader) instead became their leader: see Just. 13.3.2f. "Quae cum nuntiata equitibus essent, legatos ad mitigandos eorum animos duos ex proceribus, Attalum et Meleagrum mittunt, qui potentiam ex vulgi adulatione quaerentes ommissa legatione militibus consentiunt. Statim et seditio crevit, ubi caput et consilium habere coepit" & D.S. 18.2.2f. *πρέσβεις ἀπέστειλαν πρὸς τοὺς πεζοὺς ἐκ τῶν ἀξίωμα ἔχόντων ἀνδρῶν, ὧν ἦν ἐπιφανέστατος Μελέαγρος, ὡς ἀξιούντες πειθαρχεῖν αὐτοῖς. ὁ δὲ Μελέαγρος ἤκεν [πεζοὺς ἐκ τῶν ἀξίωμα ἔχόντων ἀνδρῶν ὧν ἦν ἐπιφανέστατος] πρὸς τοὺς φαλαγγίτας, τῆς μὲν πρεσβείας οὐδεμίαν ἐποίησατο μείλαν, τοῦναντίον δ ἐπαίνεσας αὐτοὺς ἐπὶ τοῖς δεδογμένοις παρώξυνε κατὰ τῶν ἐναντιουμένων. Διόπερ οἱ Μακεδόνες ἡγεμόνα καταστήσαντες ἑαυτῶν τὸν Μελέαγρον.* Obviously, due to his order of events, such an embassy is impossible in Curtius' narrative. Briant (1973 p. 264 n. 9) correctly, it seems, notes that Meleager originally would have addressed his words at this point to the infantry.

7.10.8. *suis* - This is Giunta's suggestion for the *his* of Ω . The latter seems wrong from the context, as it would be unclear as to whom it referred - the most likely option would be the officers; this would be incorrect. *Suis* makes everything clear.

7.10.10. *rursus Philippum trahens secum inrupit regiam* - Arrhidaeus probably left previously with Meleager. This incident, resulting in the acclamation of Arrhidaeus, follows the ratification of the leaders' decision by the cavalry in the account of Justin at 13.3.1ff. "Cum equites quoque idem fecissent, pedites indignati nullas sibi consiliorum partes relictas Arridaeam, Alexandri fratrem, regem appellant satellitesque illi ex tribu sua legunt et nomine Philippi patris vocari iubent"; Diodorus presents it as taking place before a meeting of the cavalry and officers at which it is decided to oppose (I do not accept Goukowsky's addition of *μη*) the infantry: see 18.2.2 *Ἡ μὲν γὰρ τῶν πεζῶν φάλαγξ Ἀρριδαῖον τὸν Φίλιππου μὲν υἱόν... προῆγεν ἐπὶ τὴν βασιλείαν. οἱ δὲ μέγιστον ἔχοντες ἀξίωμα τῶν φίλων καὶ σωματοφυλάκων συνεδρεύσαντες καὶ προσλαβόμενοι τὸ τῶν ἱππέων τῶν ἐταίρων ὀνομαζομένων σύστημα τὸ μὲν πρῶτον <μη> διαγωνίζεσθαι τοῖς ὄπλοις πρὸς τὴν φάλαγγα διέτηνωσαν...* The epitome of Arrian's account is too brief and unclear to enable a specific order to be worked out: before the mention of strife between the two sides, all that is stated at *F.Gr.H.* 156 F1.1 is *τὸν Ἀρριδαῖον δὲ ἀνελπόντες μετωνόμασαν Φίλιππον* (see fig. 8 at §13 intro. for a clearer view). In these cases, the acclamation does not take place at the open meeting; this creates further differences later on. In Justin's and Diodorus' works, there is an assault by the infantry on the cavalry, which forces the latter group to leave Babylon (see 7.16.1n.). In Curtius' account, this does not happen: instead Perdicas retires with men to the king's body (see 7.16.1n.) and, following an attempt by the infantry to take control of it, the cavalry departs. This second bringing forth and acclamation of Arrhidaeus perhaps again emphasises the similarity with Claudius: see 7.7.2n. & 7.7.11n.

7.10.14. *inrupit regiam* - At this point, Curtius seems to slip, as he implies that the meeting was taking place inside the *regia*; this is at variance with the rest of the account.

7.10.18. *spei publicae* - This is Heinsius' suggestion, followed by more recent editors, for the *rei publicae* of Ω , which, although possible, is very weak in the context; in addition, Curtius nowhere else uses *res publica* to refer to Macedonia; however, Zumpt, Foss and the older editors retain this reading. Hedicke simply has *spei*, but, although this works well without *publicae*, the sense is not as good as *spei publicae*, which associates the hope with the ordinary men; for this combination elsewhere see e.g. *Consolatio ad Liviam* 365 "Maximus ille quidem iuvenum spes publica vixit" & *SHA* 20.19.7 "atque in eo spem publicam posuit"; for *publicus* used in this way see 2.6.8n.

7.10.26. *robur aetatis* - For the first time, Curtius mentions something that acts in favour of Arrhidaeus, apart from his royal blood. Curtius uses this phrase at VI.10.33. in reference to

Philotas "ego in ipso robore aetatis eripior". It implies that Arrhidaeus is old enough for the position, perhaps in contrast to the offspring of Alexander.

7.10.30. *stirpem Philippi...filium ac fratrem regum duorum* - Again, Arrhidaeus' lineage is stressed: see also 7.2.13n.

7.11.1. *Nullum profundum mare...luxuriat* - This idea of the mobility of crowds, indicative of the view of members of an oligarchy, is a favourite in Curtius - cf. IV.10.7 & Atkinson *ad loc.*, Diadori 1981 pp. 225ff. & Rutz 1986 pp. 2351f.; for specific mention of soldiers see e.g. IV.13.5, VI.9.6, VII.1.24 & IX.4.22; the mobility of the army is seen throughout this struggle (see also X.7.3, X.7.14, X.8.5 & X.8.16); for this very common idea elsewhere see e.g. Hdt. 3.81.1ff., Thuc. 2.65.4, Pl. *Rep.* 4.431aff., Pind. *Pyth.* 2.87, Plb. 6.44.3ff., 6.56.11 & Walbank *ad loc.*, Hor. *Carm.* 1.1.7f., Ov. *Tr.* 1.9.13f., Liv. 2.7.5, 31.34.3, Sen. *Con. exc.*3.8 & Tac. *Hist.* 2.29.3. Curtius' use of the sea metaphor is a variant of a common device from oratory (see e.g. Cic. *Planc.* 15 & Liv. 38.10.5, based on Plb. 21.31.9f.) and the usual connection was that the people, as the sea, were calm until stirred up: see e.g. Liv. 28.27.11, based on Plb. 11.29.9f.; for a reversal of this idea see Verg. *A.* 1.142ff., where Neptune calms the sea and it is compared to a rowdy assembly being calmed by a dignified man; the idea went back at least to Solon *frag.* 12 (Bergk) *Ἐξ ἀνέμων δὲ θάλασσα παράσσεται· ἦν δὲ τις αὐτὴν / μὴ κινῆ, πάντων ἐστὶ δικαιοσύνη* and was used by Herodotus (see 7.16a.1 & How & Wells *ad loc.*) in a speech by Artabanus to Xerxes. For *mare* used similarly in other contexts see TLL VIII p. 389.52ff. For sea imagery applied to politics with regard to *fluctus* see e.g. Cic. *Mil.* 5, *Flac.* 57, *Att.* 1.18.8, *Planc.* 11 & Sen. *Her. F.* 169ff.; for other similar uses of *fluctus* see TLL VI₁ p. 947.54ff. Curtius' use of *fretum* applied to politics seems to be his own, but for *fretum* used in cases where there is some kind of unrest see TLL VI₁ p. 1315.58ff.

7.11.22. *libertate* - This word perhaps recalls the fact that in A.D. 41, following Caligula's death, the consuls gave as the watchword the word "liberty": see J. *AJ* 19.186 *καὶ Χαίρεας δὲ σημεῖον ἤπει τοὺς ὑπάτους, οἱ δὲ ἐλευθερίαν ἔδοσαν*; there was also a general feeling in the Senate that Rome could return to its old constitution (see e.g. Sentius Saturninus' speech on liberty at J. *AJ* 19.167ff.). However, views were not all inclined in this direction, as some preferred one man rule (for this division see e.g. D.C. 60.1.1, J. *BJ* 2.205 & Suet. *Cl.* 10.4); eventually, the latter view was favoured (see e.g. J. *AJ* 19.250ff.)

7.11.23. *luxuriat* - This is Lauer's good emendation, also found in Δ, of the *luxuria* of Ω; it supplies the necessary verb.

7.12.2. *Perdiccae modo electo* - For this see 7.8.6n. Curtius seems to have forgotten that, at this point, Perdiccas' power was shared with Leonnatus.

7.12.3. modo electo...quem speraverant - An effective antithesis, expressed in varying language, perhaps showing the different sentiments involved.

7.12.7. quem speraverant - At this point, Ω has *quam speraverant*; Acidalius suggests *quem spreverant* and has been followed by editors; see, however, de Lorenzi (1965 p. 112), who prefers *speraverant* due to the contrast with *electo* and the idea this creates. *Quam* is definitely wrong and *quem* is a good emendation. However, there seems no reason to doubt the *speraverant* of Ω : the infantry had first of all wished Arrhidaeus to be their leader, but their wishes were not considered (see 7.7.10n.); at no time had the rank and file spurned him - it was the leaders and these are not the ones referred to at this point. The reading of the manuscripts should be retained.

7.12.18. paenitebatque...paenitentiae - A neat sententia, paralleled by that of the Younger Pliny (see *Ep.* 7.10.3 "Superest, ne rursus provinciae, quod damnasse dicitur placeat, agatque paenitentiam paenitentiae suae") and later by Tertullian (see *paenit.* 5 "Qui per delictorum paenitentiam instituerat domino satisfacere, diabolo per aliam paenitentia paenitentiam satisfaciet") and Salvianus (see *gub.* 5 p. 99 "Ut eos non tam putes antea paenitentiam criminum egisse, quam postea ipsius paenitentiae paenitere").

7.12.28. stirpem regiam - Again, the importance of royal blood is clear: see 7.2.13n.

7.13.1. Cesserat ex contione...conterritus - Martin (1983 p. 166) suggests that this is a flashback to describe why Arrhidaeus had previously withdrawn and had to be brought back to the *regia* (see 7.10.10n.). However, there seems no reason to suppose this and, as Martin (1983 p. 185 n. 8) himself notes, *revocatus* does not tie in with the previous *trahens* at X.7.10.

Perhaps, once again, this is reminiscent of how Claudius was found hiding on the night of Caligula's murder (see 7.7.2n. for references) and it shows how Arrhidaeus was reluctant at the start to be a ruler, just as Claudius was said to have been: see D.C. 60.1.3 *εἰ γὰρ καὶ ἀνεδύετο καὶ ἀντέλεγεν, ἀλλ' ὅσον ἐξίστατο καὶ ἀντέκειτο τοσοῦτον μᾶλλον ἀντεφιλονείκουν οἱ στρατιῶται μὴ παρ' ἐτέρων λαβεῖν αὐτοκράτορα, ἀλλ' αὐτοὶ δοῦναι πᾶσι. διὸ καὶ ἄκων, ὡς ἐδόκει, ὑπέκυψε & J. AJ 19.236 ἄμα δὲ Ἀγρίππου τοῦ βασιλέως κελεύοντος μὴ προσέθαι τῶν χειρῶν τηλικαύτην ἀρχὴν ἤκουσαν αὐτόματον.*

7.13.14. elanguerat - This is the reading of P, which is followed by modern editors; ω has *languerat*, which is kept by Zumpt, Foss and the older editors - this difference is, once again, probably due to increased manuscript knowledge. Elsewhere, Curtius uses *elanguesco* at IV.15.19 and *languesco* at VI.1.11 & IV.7.22. Both words were in use in Curtius' period (see *TLL* V₂ p. 322.25ff. for *elanguesco* & *TLL* VII₂ p. 922.77ff. for *languesco*) and, although both can be used in such a context (for *elanguesco* see e.g. *Tac. Hist.* 1.46.3 & *Flor. Epit.* 1.22.21; for

languesco see e.g. Liv. 28.25.11 & Luc. 4.281), *elanguesco* is to be preferred, as P often preserves the authentic reading.

7.13.19. *vestem fratris...induitur* - Yet again, Arrhidaeus' correct lineage is stressed: see also 7.2.13n. For this *vestis* see 5.33.24n. and for the display of this 6.4.1n. Arrhidaeus, seemingly acting on his own initiative (see Martin 1983 p. 166), may have put on this robe, as Borza (1990 p. 263) suggests, in order to subdue his initial insecurity by associating himself with his brother. Hammond (1989a p. 24) sees this as part of Macedonian tradition (see also 6.4.1n.).

7.14.1. *Et Meleager thorace sumpto capit arma, novi regis satellites* - Meleager shows his support for the new king in probably the traditional Macedonian way: see Arr. *An.* 1.25.2 of Alexander Lyncestis *καὶ τότε αἰτίαν σχόντα αὐτόν Ἀλέξανδρος ἀφήκεν, ὅτι ἐν πρώτοις τε ἀφίκετο τῶν φίλων παρ' αὐτόν, ἐπειδὴ Φίλιππος ἐτελεύτησε, καὶ τὸν θώρακα συνενδύς συνηκολούθησεν αὐτῷ εἰς τὰ βασίλεια* & Bosworth *ad loc.*

7.14.9. *satellites* - For the use of this word in Curtius see 5.14.14n. Justin also records the picking of attendants at 13.3.1 "satellitesque illi ex turba sua legunt".

7.14.10. *Sequitur phalanx...nihil ad ipsos pertinens regnum* - The phalanx, again showing its volatility (see 7.11.1n.), gives its full support to the new king and lets its sentiments on usurpers be known; this is the same view as at X.7.3 "mortemque meritos, qui contionem sine eo habuissent"; for the beating of shields see 6.12.5n. Hammond, *HG* 1979 p. 153, using this passage, makes the beating of shields a part of the election of a king; this seems rather dubious, especially so if no Assembly actually existed (see §13 intro. n. 43).

7.15.1. *In eadem domo familiaque...ut regnaret* - See 7.2.13n.

7.15.5. *imperii vires* - For the same phrase see 6.5.11n.

7.15.15. *adsuetos...venerarique* - For the same idea in Curtius see 3.3.1bn.

7.15.19. *colere venerarique* - As with *sacra* and *caerimoniae* at 7.2.20n., this is possibly another religious fossil formula: see e.g. Cic. *N.D.* 1.119 "Quid qui aut fortis aut claros aut potentis viros tradunt post mortem ad deos pervenisse, eosque esse ipsos quos nos colere precari venerarique soleamus", 2.71 "quoque eos nomine consuetudo nuncupaverit. Quos deos et venerari et colere debemus" & Liv. 39.15.2 "quae vos admoneret hoc esse deos, quos colere venerari precarique maiores vestri instituissent".

7.16.1. *Igitur Perdicas territus conclave...* - Perdicas is alarmed with good reason (see 7.14.10n.). This scene only appears in Curtius, but in both Justin and Diodorus, following the

embassy to the infantry (see 7.10.1n.), there is an attack on the palace; however, very little space is given to the incident: see Just. 13.3.4 "Tum ad delendum equitatum cuncti in regiam armati inrumpunt." & D.S. 18.2.3 διόπερ οἱ Μακεδόνες ἡγεμόνα καταστήσαντες ἑαυτῶν τὸν Μελέαγρον προῆγον πρὸς τοὺς ἀντιλέγοντας μετὰ τῶν δπλων. This may be due to the nature of these works and it is possible that Curtius contains the more accurate story; however, the events leading up to it may not be correct: see 7.10.10n. It is historically plausible, as Perdiccas is shown to be trying to secure Alexander's corpse in order to probably exert power in its name. Likewise, it was equally in Meleager's interest to have control of the body for the same reason (see Errington 1970 pp. 53f. & 1976 p. 141). The importance of Alexander's relics has already been noted (see 6.15.5n. & 6.4.1n.) and the body was the most important of these (on its future importance see 5.4.18n. & 10.20.1n.).

7.16.10. *obserari* - The *obserari* of Ω, although possible in the sense of guarding something (see TLL IX₂ p. 205.2ff.), is weak. Palmer's suggestion of *obserari* is attractive, as later, at X.7.17, the doors have to be broken down by the opposition.

7.16.23. *puerorumque regia cohors* - For this group see 5.8.1n.

7.17.11. *Et rex quoque...* - "Even the king...". Although *et...quoque* is usually translated as "and...also" (see Rolfe 1946 p. 539 & Yardley YH 1984 p. 252; Schönfeld, MS 1954 p. 715, writes "auch", Bardon, 1948 p. 420, "aussi", Baraldi, 1965 p. 313, "anche" and Giacone, 1977 p. 685, "ed anche"), this seems very weak from the context. *Et* is emphatic and this, coupled with *quoque*, indicates an element of surprise. The surprise is that Arrhidaeus is shown to be taking an active part in the situation, whereas from his previous cowardly actions (see 7.7.2n. & 7.13.1n.) this would not have seemed possible. For similar uses of *et...quoque* see e.g. Cels. 1.praef.69, Plin. Nat. 12.118 & Quint. Inst. 9.3.50. Perhaps Arrhidaeus was acting under Meleager's influence, but whether that was the case, or not, he is seen to support those who had supported him and to have accepted his rôle. In this way he is seen to be acting as Claudius did in A.D. 41: see e.g. J. BJ 2.207 καὶ οὔτε τὴν ἐκείνων σπουδὴν ἐγκαταλιπεῖν δίκαιον οὔτε ἀσφαλὲς τὴν ἑαυτοῦ τύχην κρίνει & 2.209 προδοῦναι μὲν τοὺς εἰς αὐτὸν ὁμονοήσαντας οὐχ ὑπομένει.

7.17.19. *princeps Meleager. Iratusque* - At this point, Vindelín adds *erat* after *Meleager* and Foss, Baraldi and the earlier editors prior to it; Hedicke suggests *ibat: itaque*. The reading of Ω does have a rather infrequent clausula (Type 11 - see Appendix C), but none of the suggestions are much better. There seems no reason at all to alter the reading and this is a straightforward example of ellipsis (see 6.9.15n.)

7.18.10. *sed qui* - This reading of Δ is to be preferred to the *sequi qui* of P and the *sequi* of ω, neither of which make sense.

7.18.29. *eos, qui* - At this point ω has *qui*. The reading of P, which is followed by the more modern editors, is best, since, although *precari* can take *ut* and the subjunctive without an accusative object (see K-S II pp. 217ff.), *eos* is needed as an antecedent to *qui*.

7.19.15. *descenderent* - This is the reading of P, whereas ω has *discederent*. Whilst the latter is perfectly satisfactory, the reading of P implies that Alexander's body was resting on a raised platform; this suits the dramatic presentation very well.

7.19.20. *diversa regiae parte ad Euphraten fugam intendunt* - For *fugam intendere* in Curtius see III.11.19 "*Barbari longe diversam fugam intenderunt*" & Atkinson *ad loc.*, where, following Vergés (1951), he suggests this formula marks a development of the Golden Latin *iter/viam intendere*, IV.1.2 "*nam nec eodem omnes fugam intenderant*" & V.12.17 "*onustique praeda per scelus ultimum parta fugam intendunt*". However, the usage is that of Golden Latin: see e.g. Cic. *Att.* 8.15.1 "*et + aut hemonis + fugam intendis*" & Shackleton Bailey *ad loc.* & Liv. 7.37.15 "*utrum castra peterent an longiorem intenderent fugam*". For a contemporary example see e.g. Luc. 4.261f. "*non audent, altaeque ad moenia rursus Herdae / intendere fugam*".

7.19.24. *Euphraten* - The Euphrates flowed through Babylon, splitting the city in two: see 5.7.8n. & fig. 5.

7.20.1. *Equitatus...placebatque excedere urbe et tendere in campis* - Justin and Diodorus both mention this withdrawal: see, respectively, 13.3.5 "*quo cognito equites trepidi ab urbe discedunt castrisque positis et ipsi pedites terrere coeperunt*" & 18.2.4 *Τῶν δὲ σωματοφυλάκων ἀποχωρησάντων ἐκ τῆς Βαβυλῶνος καὶ παρασκευαζομένων εἰς πόλεμον*.

7.20.4. *nobilissimis iuvenum* - For the superlative and partitive genitive see 1.38.4n.

7.20.16. *tendere in campis* - "encamp on the plains", rather than to "go into the plains", which, although possible (see K-S I p. 592), would seem to be a repetition of *excedere urbe*; since it would be open to misinterpretation, Curtius would have made the point more clearly by using *ad*, or *in*, and the accusative. For this use of *tendere* in Curtius see III.8.18 "*cum incondita multitudo maxime propter iumenta laxius tenderet*", V.7.6 "*Quod ubi exercitus, qui haud procul urbe tendebat*" & VII.2.37 "*Hanc seorsus cohortem a ceteris tendere ignominiae causa iubet*"; see also e.g. Liv. 44.5.13 & Caes. *Gal.* 6.37.2.

7.21.1. *Sed Perdicca...subsistit* - It is difficult to assess the historicity of this, as no other source openly mentions that Perdiccas remained behind in Babylon in order to avoid separating the two sides completely. Justin (13.3.7, cited at 8.1.1n.) is of no help as he neither mentions that he left, nor stayed, in the city, but the impression given by that writer at 13.3.8

(cited at 8.16.8n.) is that, at the time of the attempt on his life, he was outside the city.

7.21.10. *ne abducendo...abrupisse* - For other examples in Curtius of a pair of verbs with identical prefixes see e.g. IV.15.20 "Itaque Alexander laxatos ordines invadit et multa caede hostium invehitur", IX.2.32 "Desertus, destitutus sum, hostibus deditus" & the list given by Lindgren (1935 pp. 28f.).

8.1.1. At Meleager - Meleager, as Perdiccas does later (see 9.7.13n.), tries to rid himself of his main rival, a policy which is not recommended in the *Dicta Catonis* 1.19 "Cum dubia et fragilis nobis sit vita tributa, in morte alterius spem tu tibi ponere noli". However, Curtius portrays Meleager, whether out of personal enmity, or not, as acting in the interests of the king, whereas no such excuse is later given to Perdiccas: see X.9.7ff. Justin also includes an unsuccessful plot against Perdiccas, except that it is instigated not by Meleager, but Attalus, who had come with Meleager on the first embassy: see 13.3.7f. "Sed nec procerum inter se odia cessabant. Attalus ad interficiendum Perdiccam, ducem partis alterius, mittit, ad quem armatum et ultro provocantem cum accedere percussores ausi non fuissent"; for the embassy see 7.10.1n. However, as Justin does not seem to have structured events for his own purposes (on Curtius' alterations and omission of Attalus see §13 intro.), it is more likely that his version is correct. Diodorus seems to support this conclusion, as he later refers to a charge brought by Perdiccas: when the latter was trying to punish Meleager he said that the infantry leader was plotting against him (see 18.4.7 *Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα καὶ Μελέαγρον...ὡς ἐπιβουλήν κατ' αὐτοῦ πεποιημένον ἐκόλασε*). This, although obviously not connected with this incident, does show that, in Diodorus' source, Meleager was not responsible for the attempt on Perdiccas' life; otherwise, Perdiccas would have charged him with this later. For the view that Justin is wrong see Briant 1973 pp. 247ff.

8.1.7a. *ius...sancendum esse* - For *ius sancire* see e.g. Cic. *Rep.* 3.18 "sanxisset iura nobis" & Stat. *Silv.* 2.1.83f. "tuque, oro, Natura, sinas, cui prima per orbem / iura animis sancire datum". The ablative is often used in ratifications: see e.g. Liv. 23.8.11 "sanguine Hannibalis sanciam Romanum foedus", Luc. 7.351f. "ipsi / Romanas sancire volent hoc sanguine leges" & Flor. *Epit.* 2.13.55 "Ptolomaeus...foedus amicitiae cum Caesare medio Pompei capite sanxisset".

8.1.7b. *ius imperii* - "right of power". Heinsius' *eius imperii* seems unnecessary. Curtius is, no doubt, influenced in his choice of words by the fact that a Roman magistrate held the *ius imperii* and the *ius auspiciorum* (on this latter case see 8.10.5n.). For the same phrase in other writers in reference to the Republic see e.g. V. Max. 3.8.2, Cic. *Fin.* 1.23, Liv. 4.26.10, 10.37.8, 22.25.16, 22.26.7, 30.2.4, 30.24.3, 30.40.13, 33.23.3, 41.15.11 & 45.43.2; for the empire see e.g. Tac. *Hist.* 2.40; for a similar non-Roman example see e.g. Liv. 39.27.6.

Curtius' use of the term *ius imperii* implies that Arrhidaeus had a constitutionally

awarded power; a Macedonian king did not have such a power and, even if he did, Curtius would be inaccurate as, at this point, there is no agreement among the Macedonians as to who should hold it. Arrhidaeus' right to rule was based solely on the infantry's support; this, in itself, was not sufficient (see §13 intro. n. 43). Meleager's suggestion seems an obvious one in the circumstances, especially as a king's position had to be made secure. It was only natural for a new ruler to dispose of his enemies: Alexander had done the same - see Just. 11.5.1; for specific examples see 7.2.12n. for his brothers, 1.40.20n. for the brothers of Alexander Lyncestis, VII.1.3, D.S. 17.5.1f. & Just. 12.6.14 for Attalus and Just. 12.6.14 for Amyntas; see also Bosworth 1988a pp. 25ff. However, due to the terminology employed, the situation is also reminiscent of the Roman world where the emperors, although powers were voted to them (for Tiberius see e.g. Suet. *Tib.* 29, D.C. 57.24.1 & 58.24.1; for Caligula see e.g. Suet. *Cal.* 14.1), often felt the need to remove rivals: see e.g. D.C. 59.8.1, Suet. *Cal.* 23.3 & Barrett 1989 pp. 75f. of Caligula's killing of Tiberius Gemellus in A.D. 37.

8.1.15. impotens animus - This is Curtius' only use of this expression, which can refer either to a weak mind (see e.g. Pl. *Trin.* 131 & Ter. *An.* 879), or an uncontrolled one (see e.g. Cic. *Har.* 3, *Phil.* 5.22 & Liv. 30.11.3). The second interpretation seems preferable here.

8.1.25. neminem autem ei satis fidum esse, quem metuat - A neat reworking of a common sententia (see Otto 1890 p. 252) on which Hieronymus (*Ep.* 82.3) writes "Antiqua sententia est: 'quem metuit quis, odit; quem odit, perisse cupit'" and going back at least as far as Ennius: see Cic. *Off.* 2.23 "Praeclare enim Ennius, 'quem metuunt oderunt; quem quisque odit perisse expetit'". For other examples of this idea in Curtius see V.5.12, VI.8.6 & VII.8.28; for other writers see e.g. Cic. *Amic.* 53, Ov. *Am.* 2.2.10, Tac. *Ag.* 32.2 & Min. Fel. 27.8.

8.2.1. Rex patiebatur magis quam adsentiebatur...pro imperio habuit - Contrast Alexander's words at IX.2.34 "Mori praestat quam precario imperatorem esse". The blame for the attempt on Perdicas' life is removed somewhat from the shoulders of the new king and, rather than detracting from his personality, it could simply be taken to suggest that he was a little weak due to inexperience. Arrhidaeus would have been in a similar position to Vitellius in Tacitus: see *Hist.* 3.70.4 "ipse neque iubendi neque vetandi potens non iam imperator, sed tantum belli causa erat". However, considering the early stage of his power and the volatility of the men, it would have been dangerous to have acted otherwise. Perdicas had opposed his appointment and Meleager's suggestions were for the king's safety and suitable to the situation (see 8.1.7bn.). Arrhidaeus, by acting in this way, was able to deal with his main enemy, yet also, by not openly ordering the act, gave himself a means of escape if the venture went wrong and the soldiers sought revenge. This was the action of an astute individual: see also Martin 1983 pp. 167f.

8.2.8. silentium...imperio - For another contrast between these two words see e.g. Liv. 2.55.2

"Tum vero irasci plebs tribunorum magis silentio quam consulum imperio...".

8.2.10. *imperio* - For *imperium* in this less common meaning of "a word of command" see e.g. IV.9.20 "Sed neque consilium neque imperium accipi poterat", IV.13.21 "tuus miles adhuc inermis expectat imperium" & IX.9.15 "quorum nec exaudiri vox a tumultuantibus poterat nec imperium a territis incompositisque servari", Sen. *Con. exc.*4.1, V. Max. 2.2.6, Cic. *Ver.* 2.3.25, Liv. 8.34.7 & *TLL* VII₁ p. 568.37ff.

8.2.12. *misit* - This reading of P is to be preferred to the *misitique* of ω , as it produces a string of short, dramatic clauses; this is particularly appropriate to the description of rapid action.

8.3.3. *satellitum* - For this group in Curtius see 5.14.14n.

8.3.7. *pueris regiae cohortis* - For these youths see 5.8.1n.

8.3.16. † *castigatosque † et Meleagri mancipia identidem appellans* - The grammar of this section seems to suggest that Perdiccas called the *satellites* both *mancipia* and *castigatos*. *Castigo* can be used of rebuking people with words (see *TLL* III p. 533.17ff.) and also, less commonly, in referring to physical punishment (see *TLL* III p. 534.28ff.); the latter is not suitable from the context. The adjective *castigatus* normally means "restrained", or "checked", (see e.g. Gel. 4.20.1 & August. *C.D.* 5.24) so this it is of no use in this case. Therefore, at this point, if the reading of the manuscripts is correct, the participle is being used as a noun (for this use of the participle see e.g. VIII.4.9, Liv. 24.25.11, Sal. *Jug.* 38.5 & *K-S* I pp. 223f.) and it refers to verbal, rather than physical, punishment. However, the sense produced is totally unsatisfactory and it is more likely that the text is corrupt: P.A. George suggests *stigmatosos*.

8.3.23. *animi vultusque constantia* - Curtius also uses this combination at VI.11.35 in referring to Demetrius "Multa adfirmatione animique pariter [et] constantia et vultus abnuens". Perdiccas displays his inner feelings in his outer expression; for this idea in other writers see e.g. Tac. *Hist.* 4.85.1 "Valentinus nequaquam abiecto animo, quos spiritus gessisset, vultu ferens", Cic. *Att.* 12.14.3, Sen. *Con. exc.*8.6, Sen. *Ep.* 11.10; the theory was made use of in oratory, both in judging the frame of mind of an opponent (see e.g. Cic. *de Orat.* 2.148) and in putting across a view yourself (see e.g. Cic. *de Orat.* 3.221); for other cases of this idea of the face showing the inner feelings in Curtius see e.g. VI.7.33, VI.9.1, VI.9.10, VII.2.27, VII.8.1, VIII.6.16, VIII.6.22 & VIII.12.9. For the hiding of one's feelings with the face see e.g. VIII.4.30 "sed post Cliti caedem libertate sublata vultu, qui maxime servit, adsentiebantur" & Tac. *Ag.* 43.3 "speciem tamen doloris habitu vultuque prae se tulit" & Ogilvie & Richmond *ad loc.*; on the idea of *dissimulatio* see 1.28.10n.; this could also be used in oratory (see e.g. Cic. *Ver.* 1.21, where the amount of anxiety at what someone has done can be emphasised by a

desire to hide it, & *Sest.* 22, where the fact that someone tried to hide his feelings could be used against him).

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8.3.26. *terruit, ut vix mentis compotes fugerint* - Perdiccas acts equally firmly in Justin's account with the same result: see 13.3.7, cited at 8.1.1n. It was a common theme in ancient writers for assassins, or enemies, to be deterred from carrying out a mission on account of the intended victim's resolution, or stature: see e.g. of Marius Vell. 2.19.3 & V. Max. 2.10.6, of Olympias D.S. 19.51.5 & of Philopoemen Just. 32.1.6.

8.4.2. *pueris* - This reading of Ω was changed by Lauer to the more common construction *pueros*, which also occurs in B^cA; editors follow this emendation, although Müller thinks *pueris* may be acceptable. However, this is not the only time in Curtius that the manuscripts have *iubeo* governing the dative: cf. V.6.8 "Tandem suis rex corporibus et cultu feminarum abstinere iussit", where the *suis* is emended by Acidalius to *suos*. These two examples could be merely copying errors, but the same thing also happens elsewhere, although the text is usually normalised: see e.g. Tac. *Ann.* 13.15.2 "ubi Britannico iussit exsurgeret" & Koestermann *ad loc.* and also on 4.72.1, Cic. *Att.* 9.13.2 "quamquam hae mihi litterae Dolabellae iubent ad pristinas cogitationes reverti", Catul. 64.140 "voce mihi, non haec miserae sperare iubebas" & Fordyce *ad loc.*, Amm. 26.8.5 "ipsis hostibus iussit suum vincere rectorem" and the possible example of *CIL* 12.478 "Rustiu iousit capere(et)"; for further examples and bibliography on *iubeo* taking the dative see *TLL* VII₂ p. 577.39ff., *K-S* I pp. 717f. and the defence of this structure at this point by Lindgren (1935 pp. 63f.). This would be a good place to use this alternative form, as it would avoid the double "os" and also any confusion between the function of the two accusatives.

8.5.1. *Postero die indigna...decreverant* - The volatility of the army is again shown (on this see 7.11.1n.). *Decreverant* suggests that some sort of meeting was held and a vote taken.

8.6.1. *Atque ille seditione provisa cum* - Müller is of the view that there is a lacuna before *cum*, Stangl after it and Hedicke before *Atque*. If there is a lacuna, then the placing of Müller seems best, as *ille* picks up *Meleagri* better. Although the reader might expect the reasoning of Meleager to be given and the immediate excuse for going to see the king, the flow of the Latin and the sense at this point are perfectly adequate and there is probably no lacuna at all; the older editors, Zumpt, Foss, Vogel, Dosson and Baraldi do not see one.

8.6.5. *cum regem adisset* - Meleager goes to the king, thus showing that Arrhidaeus is recognised by the soldiers as the sole leader. However, from Curtius' narrative it is difficult to tell whether the meeting was in private, or in front of the infantry. The first section suggests the former option, whereas the *contione dismissa* suggests an open meeting. Perhaps

initially Meleager fled in private, word spread and the soldiers gathered. Martin (1983 pp. 185f. n. 13) suggests that, possibly after a private meeting, the decision was passed to the soldiers at a public one.

8.6.17. *Meleagri instinctu* - The question arises as to whether these words are part of what Arrhidaeus said, or not. Yardley (YH 1984 p. 252) and Martin (1983 p. 170) take the view that they are part of the indirect statement. Martin notes that this would mean that Arrhidaeus, if later negotiating with Perdiccas, could say that the attempt to kill him had been due to Meleager and his own inexperience, which caused him to trust too much in that man; this seems somewhat too ingenious. However, the word order seems to act against such an interpretation, as does the fact that this means that Arrhidaeus puts the blame on Meleager; this does not seem to be what is required as it would have been foolish for the king to let his leading officer take the blame, as he needed him alive to help against the cavalry. In addition, if the words are taken to be an indication of the actual situation, a much more graphic picture is produced and there is also a good contrast to the later use of *instinctu* with Perdiccas at X.9.16. No matter which view is taken, Arrhidaeus is still acting in a skilful manner.

8.7.4. *Meleager equitum maxime defectione perterritus* - This must refer to the departure of Perdiccas and Meleager's realisation that the situation had changed into one of definite aggressiveness. The cavalry was probably the superior force: see Bosworth 1988a p. 271 & 2.8.7n.

8.7.9. *inopsque consilii* - When Perdiccas takes revenge on the infantry at the lustration (see §15 *passim*), Meleager is again described in similar terms at X.9.17 "*nec plus in ipso Meleagro erat aut consilii aut animi*". Curtius also uses this phrase at VIII.11.3, VIII.13.17 & IX.3.18, all in reference to Alexander.

8.7.11. *quippe in ipsum periculum reciderat, quod inimico paulo ante intenderat* - A rather neat expression of the situation. From this point onwards Meleager's position is in decline.

8.7.21. *triduum fere consumpsit* - Presumably, this refers to a period contemporaneous with the following events and not before them; as no other source mentions Meleager doing this, the time period cannot be verified.

8.8.14. *copiarum duces* - At this point the phrase must refer only to infantry leaders. In other cases, the words are used more vaguely, simply to denote leaders in general; for the only possible exception see 4.3.9bn.

8.8.19. *satellites armatique* - This could refer to two separate groups, or just one through

hendiadys. The latter seems the most likely, as attendants would probably have been armed at this uncertain period and they were no more than the defenders of the new king: see X.7.14 & X.8.2f. For cases where *satellites* must have been armed in Curtius see VI.7.24, VI.7.29 & VI.8.19; for armed *satellites* elsewhere see e.g. Cic. *Phil.* 2.112, Liv. 24.5.3, 32.39.8 & 34.27.5; this is implied at Hyg. *Fab.* 257.3 & 257.12; for Curtius' use of the word *satelles* see 5.14.14n.

8.9.1. *Sed ingruens sua sponte maestitia* - At this point, Ω has "Sed ingens sua sponte maestitia". Such an adjectival use of *sua sponte* is unparalleled. If Curtius has not been influenced by a Greek source, perhaps using *ἀβρόματος*, there may be a manuscript error. If that is the case, it is clear that another verb is required and Cornelissen's (1876 p. 73) suggestion of *ingruens*, although necessarily speculative and not followed by subsequent editors, solves the problem.

8.9.10. *suspectique invicem* - For Curtius' use of this uncommon phrase already in Book Ten see 5.16.26n. The situation of mistrust in Babylon, following Alexander's death, has not been changed much by the new king. Curtius' sententia at IV.10.10 could be applied to the situation of mistrust - "quippe ubi explorari vera non possunt, falsa per metum augentur".

8.9.18a. *secretas cogitationes...volvente* - For this phrase see 5.15.1n. Once again, the language used takes the reader back to the situation immediately after Alexander's death.

8.9.18b. *secretas cogitationes* - Giunta suggests this reading, also found in Δ , for the impossible *secretae cogitationis* of Ω ; it has been followed by subsequent editors (see, however, Castiglioni, 1957 pp. 84f., who discusses the merits of *secreta cogitationis* and *secretae cogitationis momenta*, neither of which is any better than the reading of Δ). Heinsius suggests "secretae cogitationis intra se quodcumque volventes", but this involves too much change. *Colloqui* can be used absolutely (see VII.1.25 "Sed has cogitationes, has inter se conloquentium voces signum tuba datum finit", VIII.13.24 "vixque conloquentium inter ipsos facies noscitantur" & *TLL* III p. 1653.11ff.), so there is no problem involved in the emendation, which means that *secretas cogitationes* is the object of *volvente* (for this reading see 8.9.22n.); this gives a sound structure to the sentence.

8.9.22. *quoque volvente* - This is the reading of P, accepted by recent editors and previously suggested by Aldus; ω and the other older editions have *quoque volventes*. In the latter case *quōque*, meaning "also", would seem a pointless addition to the sentence. Baraldi's *quisque volventes* also makes no real use of the *quoque* of Ω . By accepting the reading of P *quoque* is then *quōque*, the ablative form of *quisque* and an ablative absolute, governing the *secretas cogitationes*, would be established. It is permissible to have the same subject in both the ablative absolute and the main clause: see e.g. Ov. *Am.* 2.12.13 "Me duce ad hanc voti finem,

me milite veni", *Caes. Civ.* 1.29.3 "Galliam Italiamque temptari se absente nolebat" & *K-S I* pp. 786ff. The resultant word order, with the two ablatives at the end and the object at the start of the clause, is then reminiscent of the expression of the similar situation at X.5.7 "mox velut in vasta solitudine omnia tristi silentio muta torpebant, ad cogitationes, quid deinde futurum esset, dolore converso". The reading of P seems sound.

8.9.24. *et ex comparatione regis novi desiderium excitabatur amissi* - Such comparisons were commonplaces of biography: see e.g. *Suet. Cal.* 6 of Germanicus and Tiberius "auxit gloriam desideriumque defuncti et atrocitas insequentium temporum, cunctis nec temere opinantibus reverentia eius ac metu repressam Tiberi saevitiam, quae mox eruperit" & *Plu. Art.* 30.9 of Artaxerxes and Ochus *βιώσας μὲν ἐνενήκοντα καὶ τέσσαρ' ἔτη, βασιλεύσας δὲ δύο καὶ ἐξήκοντα, δόξας δὲ πρῶτος εἶναι φιλυπήκοος οὐχ ἦκιστα διὰ τὸν υἱὸν Ὀχον, ὠμότητι καὶ μαιφονίᾳ πάντας ὑπερβαλόμενον*; see also *Tac. Ann.* 1.10.7 of Augustus and Tiberius "Ne Tiberium quidem caritate aut rei publicae cura successorem adscitum, sed, quoniam adrogantiam saevitiamque eius introspexerit, comparatione deterrima sibi gloriam quaesivisse".

8.10.1. *Ubi* - For similar uses of *ubi* see e.g. *IV.13.21* "Ubi est vigor ille animi tui?", *IX.2.30* "Ubi est ille clamor, alacritatis vestrae index? ubi ille meorum Macedonum vultus?" & *IX.2.32* "Ubi sunt illi, quorum certamen paulo ante vidi contententium, qui potissimum vulnerati regis corpus exciperent?". For this rhetorical use in other writers in cases where something is lacking cf. e.g. *Cic. Phil.* 8.23 "Pro di immortales! ubi est ille mos virtusque maiorum", *Liv.* 7.15.2 "ubi illi clamores sint arma poscentium, ubi minae iniussu imperatoris proelium inituros?", *Ov. Ep.* 2.31 "Iura, fides ubi nunc commissaque dextera dextrae..." & *Tac. Ann.* 14.53.5 "ubi est animus ille modicis contentus?".

8.10.5. *imperium...auspicium* - Despite the fact that the Macedonian king held power over the army and carried out religious duties (see 7.2.20bn.), the use of these words is particularly Roman. Following the abolition of the monarchy in Rome, the *ius imperii* and the *ius auspiciorum* (the right of receiving divine communications on behalf of the community) passed into the political sphere and to the magistrates; see Dumézil 1970 I pp. 110ff. & Liebeschuetz 1979 pp. 10ff. It was initially necessary for a military commander to hold both powers before taking the field (for trouble when this was not so see e.g. *Liv.* 22.1.5ff.), but when the post gradually came to be taken up in the Republic by ex-officials (see e.g. *Cic. Div.* 2.76) and in the Principate by imperial legates, the commander did not have an official magistracy and so no *ius auspiciorum*. In the latter case, wars were waged under the auspices of the emperor: see e.g. *Suet. Aug.* 21.1, *Plin. Nat.* 2.167, *Tac. Ann.* 2.41.1 & 15.26.3. The use of these words here is, therefore, particularly relevant to Curtius' own time: see e.g. *Tac. Hist.* 4.69.2 "quod bello caput? unde ius auspiciumque peteretur?".

8.10.11. Destitutos...occasio - This is, yet again, reminiscent of thoughts following the death of Alexander: cf. X.5.12 "mediis hostibus novum imperium aspernantibus destitutos se esse cernebant".

8.10.15. indomitasque - Curtius also uses this word at VIII.1.35 "Sogdianam regionem mihi attribuis, totiens rebellem et non modo indomitam, sed quae ne subigi quidem posset" & IX.4.17 "Indomitis gentibus se obiectos". The use of *indomitus* in reference to savage, or untamed, peoples is common (see *TLL* VII₁ p. 1224.47ff.), but this use in reference to unsubdued peoples is post-Augustan; Curtius seems the first extant writer to use it in this sense (see *TLL* VII₁ p. 1225.55ff.). For another expression in Curtius of the unsubduable nature of easterners see e.g. VI.3.8, where Alexander says "creditur tot gentes...eodem proelio domitas esse, quo victae sunt?"; for the same view of Alexander having conquered, rather than pacified, the East see Papirius Fabianus *ap. Sen. Suas.* 1.4, cited at 5.30.6n.

8.11.3. animos exedebant - For the infrequent metaphorical usage of *exedo* and *animus* elsewhere see e.g. Cic. *Tusc.* 3.27 "aegritudo...exest animum" & *TLL* V₂ p. 1318.24ff.

8.11.7. equites...occupatis circa Babylona campis - A blockade is not specifically mentioned by any of the other sources, although Justin briefly tells how the cavalry threatened the infantry and Diodorus, equally briefly, how it prepared for war: see Just. 13.3.5 & D.S. 18.2.4, both cited at 7.20.1n.; in both cases, a blockade could have been included. Again, it seems that Curtius could be supplying correct details which are lacking in the shorter accounts.

8.12.1. Itaque inopia primum, deinde fames esse coepit - Since in Curtius' account the leadership struggle was over before Alexander's body was cared for on the seventh day after his death (see 10.9.1n.) and the blockade probably did not start until at least the second, or third, day, such a quick deterioration seems incredible. Curtius has been carried away with the dramatic situation.

8.13.5. qui in agris...in urbem...oppidani...excederent urbe - As with the quick shortage of food in Babylon, the action at this point all seems somewhat illogical. As the cavalry were only blockading Babylon it would have been possible for the country people to remain outside, rather than rushing to the city out of fear that the countryside would be ravaged; this would not really have benefited anyone, but may have been designed to frighten those in the town (compare the same tactics used by the Romans against the Etruscans at Liv. 6.10.3 "primo populationibus agri terror est oppidanis admotus"). In addition, the cavalry were at variance with the infantry, not the Babylonians. Curtius seems to have lost himself in his rhetoric and forgotten the situation. However, the move by the inhabitants of the city to the country seems a good decision.

8.13.10. *villarum vicorumque* - Babylon, although in a very hot climate (see 10.10.5n.), was in the centre of a fertile area, due to very adequate irrigation; farming was very important, both for the supply of food and for export; on these matters and irrigation see MacQueen 1964 pp. 64ff., 159. Whilst Curtius may have known of settlements outside the city, it seems more likely that his description is based on the Roman form of settlement: for similar descriptions of places in these terms see e.g. Liv. 2.62.4 of the Sabines "Incendiis deinde non villarum modo sed etiam vicorum quibus frequenter habitabatur", 10.11.6 of the Etruscans "cum passim non villae solum sed frequentes quoque vici incendiis fumarent", 40.22.11 of the Dentheleti attacked by the Macedonians "rapiendo enim passim villas primum, dein quosdam etiam vicos evastarunt" & Tac. *Ann.* 13.57.3 of fire among the Ubians "nam ignes terra editi villas arva vicos passim corripiebant".

8.13.21. <excederent> *urbe, et* - At this point, Ω has *urbe et*, which is obviously corrupt. Vindelin suggested the use of *excedere*; the older editors, Zumpt, Foss, Baraldi and Giacone, all employ it in the form *urbe excederent et* (they, no doubt, believed that the problem was created due to a confusion between *excederent* and *et* which seems unlikely); Hedicke accepts this reading, but omits the *et*, a needless step; Bardon writes "[urbe] in agros, et", which seems too adventurous. Vogel, Dosson, Cocchia, Stangl and Müller prefer the pattern *excederent urbe, et*. The greater frequency of the clausula ending of *excederent urbe* (Type 1, the second most favoured group - see Appendix C), compared to that of *urbe excederent* (Type 6 - see Appendix C) and the lack of hiatus favours this usage. The reason for the problem is also easier to see if this emendation is adopted; there was confusion between the endings of *deficerent* and *excederent*.

8.13.24. *utrique generi tutior aliena sedes quam sua videretur* - A nice *sententia*, but, again, somewhat hard to believe.

8.14.1. *Quorum consternationem* - For *consternatio* see 2.15.6n. It is difficult to work out to whom *quorum* actually refers. It must be both those from the country and city who had decided to leave their homes; however, why there should be trouble between these two groups is not totally clear.

8.14.13. *Placebat autem legatos ad equites mitti* - According to Curtius, this is the first of two embassies sent to the cavalry. Neither Justin nor, Diodorus, has any mention of these, but Arrian (*F.Gr.H.* 156 F1.3, cited at 7.10.1n.) refers to embassies, saying that from them an agreement was brought about. These negotiations would perhaps remind the Roman reader of similar communications between Claudius and the Senate in A.D. 41: see J. *BJ* 2.206ff., *AJ* 19.245f., D.C. 60.1.4 & Suet. *Cl.* 10.3. However, unlike Arrhidaeus who tried to prevent fighting (see 8.16.8n.), Claudius, as portrayed by Josephus (*BJ* 2.209), was, albeit unwillingly, prepared to fight for his position, something obviously not to be publicised later. However,

this detail is omitted from the writer's *Jewish Antiquities*: cf. *BJ* 2.207ff. & *AJ* 19.246ff.

8.14.16. *ad equites* - Lauer suggests this reading, also found in Δ , for the *et equites* of Ω . The latter must be wrong, unless some cavalry remained with the infantry; however, that is totally at variance with the text: see 7.20.1n.

8.14.23. *armisque ponendis* - These words are echoed by the reply of the cavalry at X.8.15, making them seem like the actual words employed. For *arma ponere* in Curtius, although not in the same context, see also V.12.6 "Iamque nox adpetebat cum Persae more solito armis positis ad necessaria ex proximo vico ferenda discurrunt". For the use of these words elsewhere in the sense of a treaty see e.g. Tac. *Hist.* 3.65.2 "eoque crebris cum Vitellio sermonibus de pace ponendisque per condicionem armis agitare".

8.15.2. *a rege legatur* - The king picks the envoys, showing his continued involvement in affairs.

8.15.5. *Pasias* - (Berve 608) The reading of Ω at this point is *Pasas*, which most editors retain. Hedicke, however, suggests *Pasias*. Since this is the only mention of this man anywhere, the name cannot be ratified; in addition, in Pape (1911) this is the only example of this name, whereas in *RE* it is not even listed. There are two entries for the name *Pasias* at *RE* VIII₂ p. 2058 and three in Pape (1911 p. 1143); the equally plausible *Paseas* has two entries at *RE* XVIII₂ pp. 2056ff. and four in Pape (1911 p. 1143). Hedicke may be correct.

8.15.8. † *Amissus* † - (Berve 53) This reading of Ω does not appear to be genuine: no such name is recorded in either *RE*, or Pape (1911), in either the Latin form, or the Greek variants. Hedicke suggests *Damyllus*, for which name there is one entry in Pape (1911 p. 270) and Hornblower (1981 p. 88 n. 49) and Heckel (*YH* 1984 p. 299 n. 43) the name of a known Megalopolitan, *Damis*, who was said to have been in Asia with Alexander (see D.S. 18.71.2 & also 19.64.1; even if this is not the man mentioned here, the name is not uncommon - Pape, 1911 p. 268, lists ten examples and there are four at *RE* IV pp. 2056f.). It is, however, impossible to say what the correct reading is and it may be the case that the original name was very garbled, or, indeed, missing, and that someone wrote *amissus* in the margin; this was subsequently mistaken for the name.

8.15.11. *Perilaus* - (Berve 630) This man was probably a Macedonian (see Berve 1926 II p. 317 & Heckel *YH* 1984 p. 318) and one of Alexander's *ἑταῖροι* (on these see 1.6.2n.). Following the king's death, he perhaps appears under Antigonus in 315 B.C.: see D.S. 19.64.5.

8.15.25. *discordiae auctores* - For *discordia* see 7.1.9n.; for this phrase see X.9.16.

8.16.1. His renuntiatis sua sponte arma milites capiunt - Once again, the infantry shows its volatility: see 7.11.1n.

8.16.8. Quorum tumultu e regia Philippus excitus - As previously mentioned (see §13 intro.), none of the other sources give Arrhidaeus this strong, prominent rôle. Again, in this, his first direct speech, he is portrayed as in charge of the situation. Justin attributes the reconciliation to Perdiccas, who goes to the infantry and wins them over with a speech - see 13.3.8ff. "tanta constantia Perdiccae fuit, ut ultro ad pedites veniret et in contionem vocatos edoceret, quod facinus molirentur...Haec cum pro singulari facundia sua Perdicca perorasset, adeo movit pedites, ut probato consilio eius dux ab omnibus legeretur"; Briant (1973 pp. 247ff.) wrongly equates this with the meeting held by the soldiers in Curtius' account at X.8.5. Diodorus puts the settlement down to those who were inclined towards reconciliation: see 18.2.4 *οι χαριέστατοι τῶν ἀνδρῶν ἔπεισαν αὐτούς ὁμονοῆσαι*. Plutarch mentions Eumenes' work in Babylon to try to mollify the infantry at *Eum.* 3.2 *καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἐταίρων ἐκ Βαβυλῶνος ἀνασκευασαμένων, αὐτὸς ὑπολειφθεὶς ἐν τῇ πόλει κατεπράυνε <τούς> πολλοὺς τῶν πεζῶν καὶ πρὸς τὰς διαλύσεις ἠδίους ἐποίησεν*.

8.16.9. tumultu e - This is the reading of Δ; *tumultua e* is given by BFL^c, *tumulta e* by L¹ and *tumultu a* by V. It is clear that *tumultu* is correct, but either *a*, or *e*, could be possible; for *excio e* see e.g. Liv. 10.19.12 & Verg. *A.* 3.675f.; for *excio a* see e.g. Liv. 3.2.7 & 27.31.2. Curtius' two other two uses of *excio* are inconclusive: at III.2.12 he uses an ablative "haec tot gentium et totius Orientis excita sedibus suis" and at IV.2.5 *e* "quos e Graecia exciverat". From the required sense, *e* is preferable, as Arrhidaeus came out of the *regia*.

8.16.15. inquit - Arrhidaeus' speech, although very compressed and unnatural in both wording and thought, moving from one sententia, or proverb, to another, does actually fit the situation in Babylon. Curtius may be portraying him as someone who had previously lived a life of academic seclusion, rather like Claudius had done: for Claudius' early life see Suet. Cl. 2.1ff. & D.C. 60.2.1ff.; for further details see Levick 1990 pp. 11f.

8.16.16. seditione - This refers to acting against the king's wishes; for the use of *seditio* see 6.12.15n.

8.16.19. nam inter se...occupabant - For the same idea of quietness paying see e.g. Nep. *Pel.* 4.1 "Hoc tam turbido tempore, sicut supra docuimus, Epaminondas, quoad cum civibus dimicatum est, domi quietus fuit" & *Att.* 7.3 "Attici autem quies tantopere Caesari fuit grata, ut victor, cum privatis pecunias per epistulas imperaret, huic non solum molestus non fuerit, sed etiam sororis filium et Q. Ciceronem ex Pompei castris concesserit". On quietness paying for Claudius see 8.18.1n.

8.17.2. mementote rem esse cum civibus...ad bellum civile - In Justin, Perdiccas, in his speech to the infantry, also emphasises the spectre of civil war: see 13.3.9 "Respicerent contra quos arma sumpsissent: non illos Persas, sed Macedonas, non hostes, sed cives esse, plerosque etiam cognatos eorum, certe commilitones, eorundem castrorum ac periculorum socios...". Arrhidaeus' attempt to avoid civil war (for Curtius' stress on it see 5.5.11n.) is reminiscent of how Claudius' accession probably stopped this in Rome (see 7.2.5n.) and also of the conciliatory, but unyielding, tone of Claudius, as portrayed by Josephus at J. BJ 2.207f. & AJ 19.246f., towards the Senate. Peace was a major theme in Claudius' reign: see 8.23.23n.

8.18.1. Altera legatione - The king does not give up his desire for reconciliation after one failure, but shows consistency in his thoughts. The Roman reader might be reminded of the Claudian theme of *constantia*, found on coins from A.D. 41-42 and 46/7 onwards in the form of the *Constantiae Augusti* type; this theme was, perhaps, both "a complimentary allusion to Claudius in his military capacity and a tribute to his quiet enduring courage in bearing the slights put upon him in his earlier years" (Mattingly & Sydenham 1948 p. 124 n. 1). For the coins see also Sutherland 1951 p. 129, 1974 p. 154, Robertson 1962 p. lxxii, Mattingly 1923 p. 164 & Levick 1990 p. 88.

8.18.13. ad praestanda...iusta - For *iusta* see 6.7.18n.

8.19.5. reddere...imperium - That this is a technical term, referring to the demission of an office, may be suggested by Cic. Q. Fr. 1.1.23 "quonam modo retinenda sunt iis quibus imperium ita datum est ut redderent" and Sil. 13.858f. "imperium hic primus rapiet, sed gloria culpa, / quod reddet solus". However, the phrase is used too infrequently to be viewed as such; for other uses of the phrase see e.g. Suet. Aug. 31.5, Dom. 13.1, SHA 20.30.8 & 27.15.2.

8.19.17. concordiae - *Concordia* is only mentioned by Curtius here, where Arrhidaeus wishes to restore it and, at X.8.23 "concordia et pace firmata", where, due to his policy, this happens. It is Arrhidaeus who brings in *concordia*, to which Augustus had set up a statue (see D.C. 54.35.2 & Ov. Fast. 3.881f. & Bailey *ad loc.*) and which Tiberius had made a special figure in the imperial pantheon (see Suet. Tib. 20 & also Tac. Ann. 2.32.2). For *concordia* in Rome and the use of it by emperors see Weinstock 1971 pp. 260ff.

8.19.20. oro quaesoque - The tone is one of extreme humility: see III.6.11, where Philip, the doctor, says "Oro quaesoque, omisso metu patere medicamentum concipi venis" & IX.2.28, where Alexander says "oro quaesoque, ne humanarum rerum terminos adeuntem alumnum commilitonemque vestrum, ne dicam regem, deseratis". The combination is perhaps somewhat archaic by this time: see e.g. Cic. Phil. 7.8, Pl. Rud. 629, Cur. 432, Mil. 1228, Fro. Aur. 3.6 & Amic. 1.10.2.

8.20.1. *Obortis...lacrimis* - The reader's sympathies are with the king and his men, not the cavalry. For the Roman view of such weeping see 5.1.2n.

8.20.4. *diadema...acciperet* - A noble action to match the king's noble words. Curtius draws out all the sympathy he can from the reader by giving a very detailed description of the king's movements. In this way, the whole scene is more touching and our admiration matches that of the soldiers. The diadem referred to may be that of Alexander, lifted from the throne as Arrhidaeus took the robe from there (see 6.4.1n. & 7.13.19n.). Martin (1983 p. 172) suggests that perhaps the reader is meant to remember the similar failed attempt of Perdikkas, who returned the ring given to him by Alexander (see 6.4.1n.). For a similar offer and reaction regarding Antigonus Dosson see Just. 28.3.11ff. "Interiecto deinde tempore cum seditione minaci Macedonum clausus in regia teneretur, in publicum sine satellitibus procedit, proiectoque in vulgus diademate ac purpura dare haec eos alteri iubet, qui aut imperare illis nesciat aut cui parere ipsi sciunt...Quorum si illos paeniteat, deponere imperium et reddere illis munus suum, quia regem quaerant, cui imperent. Cum populus pudore motus recipere eum regnum iuberet...".

8.21.9. *suppressae tam moderata* - Ω has *suppressae et amoderata*. The *et* is clearly wrong as *oratio* is the subject of the whole sentence and *amoderata* is both the opposite of what is required and otherwise unattested. Zumpt, following a reading in Δ , prefers *ea moderata*; however, this is somewhat weak and does not explain the presence of the "t". The same is the case with de Lorenzi's (1965 p. 83) support of another Δ reading, *eius moderata*; the *eius* is completely unnecessary, as it is obvious from the context who is being discussed; the same objections are valid for his other suggestion of *eius tam moderata*. Hedicke's *tam moderata* is very attractive, as it gives the necessary extra emphasis and it is easy to see where the original error came from. Vogel writes *oppressae tam moderata*, but this change does not seem essential.

8.21.14. *Itaque cuncti...exequi vellet* - Arrhidaeus manages to avert civil war for the moment, just as the succession of Claudius had in A.D. 41: see 7.2.5n.

8.22.4. *petituros* - Lauer suggests this, also found in Δ , for the *petiturus* of Ω ; the latter was probably meant to agree with *legat*, or was attracted by the ending of *rursus*. It is clear that this correction is necessary.

8.22.5. *ut Meleagrum tertium ducem acciperent* - Curtius implies that Meleager's position was decided upon by Arrhidaeus. Martin (1983 pp. 172f.) suggests that his new position would have made Meleager, who in this episode is not given as prominent a rôle as before, more supportive of the king. From other writers, more details of the settlement can be gained. Arrian (*F.Gr.H.* 156 F1.3) states that Arrhidaeus was accepted as king (for this see also D.S.

18.2.4, Just. 13.4.2, App. *Syr.* 52.261 & *Heid. Epit. F.Gr.H.* F1.1), Antipater was put in charge of Greece and Perdiccas was to have the post of Chiliarch; Arrian believes that this latter post involved the supervision of the whole kingdom - τὸ δὲ ἦν ἐπιτροπή τῆς ξυμπάσης βασιλείας (see Errington 1970 p. 56; Hammond, 1985 p. 157, *HW* 1988 p. 103 & 1989a pp. 240f., sees it as restricted to Asia). Dexippus (*F.Gr.H.* 100 F8.4) also has Perdiccas as Chiliarch. Diodorus (18.2.4), however, differs and calls him the regent, or ἐπιμελητῆς τῆς βασιλείας; Perdiccas is also given this position in the *Heidelberg Epitome* (*F.Gr.H.* 155 F1.2 ἐπίτροπος καὶ ἐπιμελητῆς τῶν βασιλικῶν πραγμάτων). This position is probably the correct one (Green 1990 p. 742 n. 22 gives D.S. 18.48.4f. as support, for there Cassander is upset at being made Chiliarch, second in command, to the ἐπιμελητῆς, Polyperchon; Hammond, listed above, sees Perdiccas as both Chiliarch, referring to the command of the forces, and as ἐπιμελητῆς; Bosworth (1971a pp. 129ff.) sees the Chiliarch title as later anti-Perdiccan propaganda. Elsewhere, Justin (13.4.1) makes him the *dux*, a position which would not be surprising given Arrhidaeus' weakness (see Hammond 1985 p. 157) and at 13.4.5 notes that "castrorum et exercitus et regum cura Meleagro et Perdiccae adsignatur".

The position of Craterus has also been a matter of debate: Arrian (*F.Gr.H.* 156 F1.3) calls him the προστάτης τῆς Ἀρριδαίου τῆς βασιλείας, or protector of the kingdom of Arrhidaeus; Dexippus, in the later satrapy list, calls this the highest post among the Macedonians - see *F.Gr.H.* 100 F8.4 δ δὴ πρότιστον τιμῆς τέλος παρὰ Μακεδόσι. Errington (1970 p. 55) sees this as a mistake, but Heckel (1988 pp. 19f.) accepts this view; Hammond (1989a p. 240) sees it as restricted to Europe, where Craterus would have "represented the absent king and had complete control of religious ceremonies and royal monies as well as acting as supreme judge" (this takes account of Justin's statement that he was in charge of the royal treasure - see 13.4.5 "regiae pecuniae custodia Cratero traditur"; Errington, 1970 p. 55, sees this as wrong); Green (1990 pp. 9, 741 n. 3, 743 n. 30) thinks that the appointment may have been made, but that Craterus never stood in a position to exercise it. Badian (1964 pp. 265f.; see also Bosworth 1971a pp. 133f. for this view) seems to reject the post, considering that, apart from Arrian (and, therefore, Dexippus), it is not mentioned by any other source. However, no matter what it may have meant, discussion seems irrelevant, as it is clear that the leading men never intended to have Craterus use it for, following the murder of Meleager, they either went back to the original plan (see 7.8.6n.) of Antipater and Craterus governing Europe (Arr. *F.Gr.H.* 156 F1.7; see Errington 1970 pp. 55f. - Bosworth, 1971a p. 133, sees this as later Perdiccan propaganda), or else simply left Craterus out of consideration (he is not mentioned by Curtius, or Diodorus, at this point and at D.S. 18.4.1. his orders are annulled; see Bosworth 1971a p. 133).

The question also arises as to who were the other two generals to whom Curtius refers with Meleager. He gives the impression here (see also 9.8.23n.) that they were of equal authority and Justin (13.4.5, cited above) implies that Perdiccas and Meleager were equal. Arrian (*F.Gr.H.* 156 F1.3), however, probably correctly, makes Meleager Perdiccas' lieutenant (*ὑπαρχος*), which seems likely considering the weak position of the infantry in the city and

that most of the leading men were on the opposing side (see Arr. *F.Gr.H.* 156 F1.2 & Bosworth 1988a pp. 270f., 275f.). Heckel (YH 1984 p. 299 n. 44) suggests that the others Curtius is referring to are Perdiccas and Craterus; this seems plausible, as Craterus is the only other general mentioned elsewhere at the same time. However, to a reader of Curtius, whether the writer intended it, or not, the name of Craterus would not spring to mind as much as that of Leonnatus who plays a large part with Perdiccas with the cavalry (see e.g. X.7.20).

8.22.15. *nam...esse censebat* - Curtius makes it clear that Perdiccas wants to dispose of Meleager; therefore, the subsequent plot (see X.9.7ff.) comes as no surprise. This is part of Curtius' negative treatment of Perdiccas (see also 6.18.17n., 9.7.13n., 9.8.2bn., 9.16.1n. & 9.18.32n.).

8.23.20. *ut arbitrabantur* - Curtius makes it clear that Arrhidaeus' achievements will not last and so the spectre of civil war still looms; for Curtius' stress on this see 5.5.11n.

8.23.22. *concordia et pace firmata* - The opposite of civil war: see e.g. Cic. *Phil.* 5.40 "quod periculosissimum civile bellum maximumque humanitate et sapientia sua M. Lepidus ad pacem concordiamque convertit" & Sal. *Hist.* 1.77.10 "Quod multo propius est ab eo quo agitat statu quam ex pace et concordia ad arma civilia". These were important Roman concepts (see e.g. Ov. *Fast.* 3.879ff.) and both (for *concordia* see also 8.19.17n.) were imperial catchwords. An emperor could be seen to bring them to the people (see e.g. R.G. 12.2, 13.1 & Gagé and Brunt & Moore *ad locc.*, Tac. *Hist.* 1.1.1, 1.56, Calp. *Ecl.* 1.46ff. & 4.146; Vitellius was called "Concordia" - see Suet. *Vit.* 15.4; see further Weinstock 1971 pp. 260ff. Claudius used the *pax* theme on his coinage in the form of the *Paci Augustae* type with the figure of Nemesis advancing. These coins gave the idea of *pax*, *victoria*, *moderatio* and *salus* (on this and Claudius see also 1.7.10n.). On this coin type see Sutherland 1951 pp. 127f., 1974 pp. 154ff., Mattingly & Sydenham 1948 pp. 122ff. & Mattingly 1923 p. 165.

Section Fourteen

Digression on Rome: X.9.1 - X.9.6

Curtius has already brought the civil wars which followed Alexander's death¹ to the reader's mind on several occasions and so a brief interlude on this topic is not unexpected. What is, however, surprising is that Curtius transfers the scene from Babylon to a recent situation in Rome and finishes with a wish for the continued success of the imperial household². If Curtius was writing at the end of Caligula's and the beginning of Claudius' reign³, the situation to which he is referring is that following the former's murder⁴, that is, the events of the 24/25th January A.D. 41⁵; at that time, the Senate was in favour of returning to the old constitution, whereas the people and the majority of the army preferred to have an emperor and supported Claudius for this position⁶. In addition, this section also echoes other themes already dwelt upon, such as Perdiccas' stress on the need for a leader⁷ and the men's desire to have a ruler from the same family as Alexander⁸; these two points are clearly meant to have a bearing upon this digression, which seems to be the climax of this book, showing the reader, if he needed to be shown, that the previous pages have, to a large extent, been about life in Rome. In the previous section, attention was drawn to the possible comparison being made between Arrhidaeus and Claudius; in this section, that comparison is put into perspective as it is made clear that the Macedonian, unlike the Roman *princeps*, will be unable to prevent civil war⁹. Until this point, Arrhidaeus has been blameless and any comparison with Claudius a positive one. However, following this digression, his actions are less honourable, although still astute, and Curtius even censures his performance at the lustration of the army when he allows infantrymen to be killed¹⁰. This would seem to explain why the digression is inserted here, as otherwise the events in the next section would have reflected badly on Claudius. Having said this, however, the subsequent actions of Arrhidaeus are perhaps put in greater perspective by the digression: he is shown to be dealing out justice to those who needed it and being conciliatory to those who initially opposed him. This happened in Rome after Claudius' accession, except that the *princeps* was not as brutal as Arrhidaeus; thus, Curtius may be showing what could have happened, in a similar situation, under a lesser ruler and, at the same time, advising Claudius how not to act in the future¹¹.

1. See 5.5.11n. for references

2. See 9.6.1an.

3. See intro. §C.

4. See §13 intro. n. 28 for references.

5. This date given by Suetonius (*Cal.* 58.1) appears to be somewhat dubious: see Barrett 1989 pp. 169f.

6. See 6.13.1n. for references.

7. See 6.8.16n.

8. See 7.3.15n.

9. See 9.1.7n. for Arrhidaeus & 9.3.1n. for the *princeps*.

10. See 9.16.11n. & 9.19.1n.

11. See 9.3.17n. & 9.16.11n.; for a fuller discussion concerning the placing of this digression see Appendix B; for a full and detailed investigation of this section see also Atkinson 1980 pp. 25ff.; for the historical background see Levick 1990 pp. 29ff., Barrett 1989 pp. 172ff., Garzetti 1974 pp. 102f, 106ff. & Scullard 1982 pp. 288ff.

9.1.3. *fatis admovebantur* - Although Curtius states his belief in *fatum* at V.11.10 (cited at 1.30.9an.), he may, at this point, be reflecting a convention for assigning events, otherwise unexplainable, to it; for the use of *fatum* in Curtius and other historians see 1.30.9an.

9.1.7. *bella civilia* - For Curtius' use of these words and his stress on civil war see 5.5.11n. It is made clear that Arrhidaeus' attempts at preventing civil war will fail.

9.1.11. *insociabile est regnum* - The idea that power could not be shared was a commonplace in serious political discussion: see e.g. Just. 11.12.15, where Alexander says "Ceterum neque mundum posse duobus solibus regi, nec orbem summa duo regna salvo statu terrarum habere", Cic. *Off.* 1.26 "quod enim est apud Ennium 'nulla sancta societas nec fides regni est', id latius patet", Tac. *Ann.* 1.12.3 "non idcirco interrogatum ait, ut divideret quae separari nequirent, sed ut sua confessione argueretur unum esse rei publicae corpus atque unius animo regendum", 13.17.1 "cui plerique etiam hominum ignoscebant, antiquas fratrum discordias et insociabile regnum aestimantes" & Liv. 1.14.3 "seu ob infidam societatem regni seu quia haud iniuria caesum credebat". The idea is also frequently used in other contexts: see e.g. Sen. *Ag.* 259 "nec regna socium ferre nec taedae sciunt" & Tarrant *ad loc.*, *Thy.* 444 "Non capit regnum duos", Luc. 1.93f. "nulla fides regni sociis, omnisque potestas / impatiens consortis erit", Ov. *Ars.* 3.564 "Non bene cum sociis regna Venusque manent", Stat. *Theb.* 1.129f. "et summo dulcius unum / stare loco, sociisque comes discordia regnis", *Ev. Matt.* 6.24 οὐδεὶς δύναται δυοὶ κυρίοις δουλεύειν, 12.25 εἰδῶς δὲ τὰς ἐνθυμήσεις αὐτῶν εἶπεν αὐτοῖς, Πᾶσα βασιλεία μερισθεῖσα καθ' ἑαυτῆς οὐ ἔρημοῦνται, καὶ πᾶσα πόλις ἢ οἰκία μερισθεῖσα καθ' ἑαυτῆς οὐ σταθήσεται & Col. 9.9.1 "quippe cum rationabili generi mortalium, tum magis egentibus consilii mutis animalibus, nulla sit regni societas". The idea can be traced back to Homer *Il.* 2.204f. οὐκ ἀγαθὸν πολυκοιρανίη· εἷς κοίρανος ἔστω, / εἷς βασιλεύς...; this phrase was reputedly quoted in part by both Caligula (Suet. *Cal.* 22.1) and Domitian (Suet. *Dom.* 12.3).

Earlier (see 5.37.6n.), Curtius noted that the Macedonian empire was too much for one of the Macedonians to bear and that later many smaller kingdoms grew out of it. That statement does not contradict what he says at this point, as he is referring to a general principle, illustrated by the subsequent separate kingdoms. In addition, to state otherwise at this point, where Rome is soon referred to, would not have been appropriate. This idea was particularly apt for the Principate (see e.g. Tac. *Hist.* 1.1.1 "postquam bellatum apud Actium atque omnem potentiam ad unum conferri pacis interfuit") and, indeed, to the situation in A.D. 41 when there were moves in the Senate to have a return to oligarchy (see 6.13.1n. for references); this view was not shared by the majority of the army, which held the real power (see e.g. J. *AJ* 19.162ff.). With this in mind, Curtius' statement not only reminds the reader of

the situation then, but must also be seen as expressing his support of, and confidence in, the *princeps*. In addition, it should be noted that the phrase could be seen as ruling out any period of co-regency as the date of composition and in Claudius' case this is appropriate before A.D. 50 when Agrippina became co-regent: see Atkinson 1980 pp. 26f.

9.1.15. *a pluribus expetebatur* - For possible rivals to Claudius see J. *AJ* 19.166, where Gnaeus Sentius Saturninus is mentioned, 19.251f., where Marcus Vinicius and Valerius Asiaticus are named, but were restrained, and Suet. *Gal.* 7.1, where it is said that the future emperor, although urged to make the most of the situation, held back; on the last three cases see Barrett 1989 pp. 174f. & Levick 1990 p. 32.

9.2.3. *conlisere vires, deinde disperserunt* - *Vires* is either the object, or the subject, of this section. Both *dispergere* and *conlidere* are usually transitive (see *TLL* V₁ p. 1406.29ff. & *TLL* III p. 1602.1ff. respectively), although the latter can be used intransitively (see *TLL* III p. 1604.59ff. for this late use). Curtius only uses *dispergere* elsewhere as a perfect participle, either agreeing with a noun (see IV.7.20, IV.16.25, VIII.2.22, IX.9.11 & IX.9.19), or as the object of a verb (see VIII.4.9 & VIII.14.22). His use of *conlidere* is more varied (see IV.3.17, VIII.9.8 & IX.9.16) and, although there is no direct object in any of the instances, one is understood in each case. Therefore, due to the use of these verbs, both in general and by Curtius, it seems that *vires* is an object. This not only suits the grammar, but makes much better sense; it means that the subject is consistent with what has come previously and with what follows.

9.2.8. *cum pluribus corpus, quam capiebat...ruit* - For other examples of this common metaphor, encapsulating the Roman idea where the state was seen as one unit, something that Curtius has already made use of in the leadership debate in reference to an army (see 6.8.30n.), see e.g. Cic. *Phil.* 8.15 "in corpore si quid eius modi est quod reliquo corpori noceat, id uri secarique patimur ut membrum aliquod potius quam totum corpus intereat. sic in rei publicae corpore, ut totum salvum sit, quicquid est pestiferum, amputetur", *Off.* 1.85 (the idea, but not the metaphor, is based on Plato *Rep.* 4.420c) "alterum, ut totum corpus rei publicae curent, ne, dum partem aliquam tuentur, reliquas deserant", Vell. 2.90.1 "Sepultis, ut praediximus, bellis civilibus coalescentibusque rei publicae membris" & Woodman *ad loc.*, Sen. *Cl.* 1.12.3 "utique si in hostile nomen cives et ex eodem corpore abrupti transierint", Flor. *Epit.* 2.6.1 "cum populus R. Etruscos Latinos Sabinosque sibi miscuerit et unum ex omnibus sanguinem ducat, corpus fecit ex membris et ex omnibus unus est" & Tac. *Ann.* 1.12.3, cited at 9.1.11n., & Goodyear *ad loc.* For a discussion on this matter see Béranger 1953 pp. 218ff.

Justin uses similar imagery when referring to this Macedonian split: see 13.6.17 "Sic Macedonia in duas partes discurrentibus ducibus in sua viscera armatur, ferrumque ab hostili bello in civilem sanguinem vertit, exemplo furentium manus ac membra sua ipsa caesura". It is, however, hard to say how much Curtius may have been influenced by the original work of

Pompeius Trogus (see Appendix A).

9.2.12. *capiebat*, <*capitibus*> - Niebuhr (1822/3 pp. 234f.) adds *capitibus* to the *capiebat* of Ω . This addition, followed by Vogel, Dosson, Cocchia, Stangl, Müller and Giaccone, supplies a definite balance to the other limbs and should be accepted.

9.2.16. *membra* - For *membrum* used in reference to the constituent parts of a state in other writers see e.g. Cic. *Att.* 8.1.1 "nec sum miratus eum qui caput ipsum reliquisset reliquis membris non parcere" & *TLL* VIII p. 642.9ff.

9.2.21. *sub uno stare potuisset* - The *uno* refers to Alexander. In Curtius' view, there was no one Macedonian who could have taken over this position of power (see 5.37.6n.; for his view of the successors see 5.14.14n.); therefore, this situation could not have arisen again. However, due to the context and the connection with Rome, the change at this point is understandable (see 9.1.11n.).

9.2.28. *sustinetur* - The body metaphor is not worked through logically, as *sustinetur* does not seem the appropriate word to use of a body (*corpus* = *imperium*) being supported by heads (*pluribus* = *capitibus*).

9.3.1. *Proinde iure meritoque* - "rightly and deservedly". Despite the frequent coupling of *iure* and *merito* (see e.g. Cic. *Catil.* 3.14, *Dom.* 2, *Juv.* 2.34, *Liv.* 26.41.3, 27.13.10, *V. Max.* 1.6.ext.3, *Sen. Cl.* 1.12.1, *Flor. Epit.* 1.34.(2)3, *Fro. Amic.* 2.7.2, *Apul. Apol.* 20.7 & 92.6), Curtius' use in such a context is perhaps meant to be precise: he could be emphasising the correctness of the debt to the *princeps*, both in terms of his deeds and his rights. The literal meaning of the words is true in the case of Claudius, for he did prevent civil unrest between different factions in Rome after Caligula's death: see *J. BJ* 2.204ff., *AJ* 19.162ff., *D.C.* 60.1.1ff. & *Suet. Cl.* 10.1ff. The use of *iure* tends to echo the view of the unknown soldier at X.7.2, who says of Arrhidaeus "Quo suo merito? quidve fecit, cur etiam gentium communi iure fraudetur"; if a connection is made between Claudius and Alexander's brother, the case that Claudius was fit to be emperor due to his birth is also underlined. However, despite their similarities, the Roman *princeps* shows his superior capability as he actually prevented civil war, unlike Arrhidaeus: see also Martin 1983 pp. 173f.

9.3.6. *salutem* - For *salus* and its importance to Claudius see 1.7.10n.

9.3.8. *principi suo* - This phrase makes it clear that the Principate was already established when the present *princeps* came to power.

9.3.12. *qui noctis...novum sidus inluxit* - The equation of a ruler and a star is a common one,

probably starting with Alexander and being used by the Hellenistic kings; it originated in Rome with Julius Caesar, who probably used the star of Venus to show his divine ancestry; following his identification with a comet after his death, a star was placed on his statues (for the comet see Plu. *Caes.* 69.4f. & Ov. *Met.* 15.843ff.; for the comet and star see Plin. *Nat.* 2.94, D.C. 45.7.1 & Suet. *Jul.* 88); for the development of this star imagery as a sign of divinity see Weinstock 1971 pp. 370ff.; for the identification of emperors with a star see e.g. V. Max. 1.*praef.* (Tiberius), Suet. *Cal.* 13 (Caligula), Stat. *Silv.* 4.1.2ff. (Domitian); for a comet, said to have heralded the death of Claudius, see Suet. *Cl.* 46 & Calp. *Ecl.* 1.77ff. This representation, apart from the fact that the *sidus Iulium* was the symbol of the dynasty, is particularly apt for Claudius, as his accession came about during the night of the 24/25th January A.D. 41 when he was chosen by the army (see 7.7.11n. for references). For Claudius as a star elsewhere cf. Sen. *Dial.* 11.13.1 "Sidus hoc, quod praecipitato in profundum et demerso in tenebras orbi refulsit, semper luceat".

9.3.13. noctis, quam paene supremam habuimus - It is possible that Curtius' reference to *nox* is meant to be taken on a metaphorical level: although *suprema dies* is more common, both in reference to cities (see e.g. Tac. *Hist.* 5.2.1) and life itself (see e.g. Suet. *Tib.* 67.4., Cic. *Tusc.* 1.71, *Phil.* 1.34, Plin. *Nat.* 7.109, 7.131, Liv. 2.61.9 & Nep. *Milt.* 7.6), the former also exists (for references to death see e.g. Mart. 1.80.1 & Tac. *Ann.* 3.16.2; for the end of a city see e.g. Cic. *Har.* 11. "quam primum inimicus ipse in illa tempestate ac nocte rei publicae, cum cetera scelera stilo illo impuro Sex. Clodi ore tincto conscripisset"; see also Stroux 1929 pp. 238ff. for *nox* in the metaphorical sense). However, *nox* is also used when an actual situation is concerned: see e.g. Liv. 6.17.4 "non obversatam esse memoriam noctis illius quae paene ultima atque aeterna nomini Romani fuerit?", Cic. *Flac.* 102 "o nox illa quae paene aeternas huic urbi tenebras attulisti", Verg. *A.* 6.502ff. "mihi fama suprema / nocte tulit fessum vasta te caede Pelasgum / procubuisse super confusae stragis acervum" & 6.513f. "namque ut supremam falsa inter gaudia noctem / egerimus"; this literal usage would be particularly appropriate to the situation in A.D. 41. Curtius may intend *nox* to work on both the metaphorical and literal levels.

9.3.17. habuimus - The use of the first person plural identifies the writer with those whose position was at risk in the strife of A.D. 41, when the Senate lost control and was at variance with the army: see 6.13.1n. for references. The writer would, therefore, seem to be a senator; this would identify him with the Curtius Rufus mentioned by Tacitus and Pliny (see intro. §D for this identification). Atkinson (1980 p. 28) further points to the change to this form from *populus Romanus* as being significant, saying "for with the accession of Claudius the chasm that divided the people and the senate during the anarchy had to be concealed: hence the execution of militant army officers and the adoption of the coin legend 'ex s.c. ob cives servatos' (Suet. *Claud.* 11,1; E.M. Smallwood *Documents* no. 93)". For the coin legend see Levick 1990 pp. 39, 88, Sutherland 1951 pp. 126f., 1974 p. 154, Mattingly 1923 p. 167 &

Mattingly & Sydenham 1948 pp. 122ff.; for the punishment of some of Caligula's murderers (only Chaerea and Lupus are mentioned) and the forgiveness, for whatever reason, of those who had initially opposed him see Suet. *Cl.* 11.1, D.C. 60.3.4f. & J. *AJ* 19.265ff. and also Levick 1990 pp. 39, 89, Barrett 1989 p. 176 & Scullard 1982 p. 290.

9.4.1. *Huius...non solis...mundo* - This proves *sidus* to mean "star" (see 9.3.12n.) and not "sun". Atkinson (1980 p. 31) points to the fact that it is possible that Curtius is referring to an emperor who linked himself with the cult of the sun-god, such as Caligula, Nero, or Vespasian; for this possibility as regards Caligula see e.g. for his dressing as Apollo Ph. *Leg. ad Gai.* 103ff., 95 & D.C. 59.26.6 (but see Barrett 1989 p. 146 for the view that this was not to be taken seriously), for Caligula radiate on provincial coinage see e.g. Smallwood 1967 p. 48 no.126 from Alexandria and those, both provincial and official, discussed by Levy 1988 pp. 101ff. (*contra* Barrett, 1989 pp. 250, 290. n. 48, 149, who believes that it was not on official coinage); for Caligula addressed as the sun in A.D. 37 in an inscription from Cyzicus see Smallwood 1967 pp. 120f. no. 401. An equally valid and more straightforward explanation would be that as the events of A.D. 41 took place at night, a star was necessary, not the sun, and another possibility is that Curtius is suggesting that this *sidus* is brighter than the sun, which in itself would not have been sufficient to make the world a bright place again. Perhaps both are meant.

9.4.7. *caliganti...mundo* - The only use of this phrase in Curtius is probably a pun on Gaius' nickname, Caligula (see Suet. *Cal.* 9), which, no doubt, stayed with him throughout his life; Atkinson (1980 p. 31) points to the practice of using nicknames in Cicero's letters as showing their use in Roman political discussion. The fact that Curtius employs this verb once elsewhere (see 7.4.30n.) and the noun ten other times makes its use here more subtle; the differences in quantities are not so extreme as to rule out this pun, as the lengthening, or shortening, of syllables was not uncommon (see e.g. Suet. *Nero* 33.1 "nam et morari eum desisse inter homines producta prima syllaba iocabatur", Cic. *Att.* 1.16.5 "XXXI fuerunt quos fames magis quam fama commoverit" & Shackleton Bailey *ad loc.* & Vell. 2.108.2 "natione magis quam ratione barbarus" & Woodman *ad loc.*); for sections on word play of this type see e.g. Quint. *Inst.* 9.3.69ff. & [Cic.] *Her.* 4.29. Curtius, if he had wished to avoid any connections of this kind, could have used another word, such as *obscurus*. Curtius' description of Caligula's reign as gloomy is thus very similar to that of Seneca at *Dial.* 11.13.1, cited at 9.3.12bn.

9.4.10. *cum...discordia membra trepidarent. Quot ille...discussit* - Curtius' choice of words would neither fit a peaceful accession, nor one which led to war, but rather one where war was prevented. Once again, the words perfectly fit the situation in A.D. 41 when the choice of the new emperor forestalled any such hostilities, although there was the threat of war (see 7.2.5n. for references); see further Milns 1966 p. 491, Atkinson 1980 pp. 32f., Hamilton 1988 pp. 447f., Sumner 1961 p. 32 & Bosworth 1983b p. 151.

9.4.11. *sine suo capite* - The imagery connecting the state with a body was common (see 9.2.8n.) and it was only natural that the idea of a "head" should also exist in politics. Curtius has already used the metaphor in Perdiccas' speech to the Macedonians (see 6.8.16n. for further details on this metaphor). The phrase implies that there was a period of time when the state lacked an emperor; this ties in perfectly with the period after the murder of Caligula (see Sumner 1961 p. 32 & Heckel YH 1984 p. 2); it also shows that there was a previous *princeps* (see Hamilton 1988 pp. 446f. & Atkinson 1980 p. 31).

9.4.14. *discordia* - This is the adjectival opposite of the noun *concordia*, which is only used by Curtius at X.8.19, where Arrhidaeus wishes to restore it, and at X.8.23, where, due to his policy, this happens. Obviously, this new emperor removed *discordia* and so brought in *concordia*. The connection between Arrhidaeus and Claudius is clear. See also 8.19.17n.

9.4.15. *membra* - Although *membra* could refer to territorial parts of the empire (see 9.2.16n.; Hamilton, 1988 p. 448, takes this view due to trouble in Mauretania and Judaea), Curtius is probably referring more specifically to the army, people and Senate (for this use, referring to constituent parts of a state see e.g. Sen. *Ep.* 102.6 "quorum adhuc membra separata sunt, tamquam exercitus, populus, senatus" & TLL VIII p. 642.9ff.; this is the view taken by McQueen, 1967 p. 23, and Atkinson, 1980 p. 32); this would yet again fit in well with the situation in A.D. 41 when the army and Senate were at variance (see 6.13.1n. for references); in addition, at that time, there was no civil war, for which Curtius' words are too mild: see 9.4.10n.

9.5.5. *faces...gladios* - This double metaphorical usage is somewhat reminiscent of Cic. *Sul.* 28 "horum ego faces eripere de manibus et gladios extorquere potui". Both were necessities for any disturbance, with the torches often serving a dual rôle at night, providing light and a means to ignite buildings: see e.g. Cic. *Catil.* 1.32, *Mil.* 91, *Att.* 4.3.3, Tac. *Hist.* 3.71.2 & Apul. *Met.* 3.28.2. For similar metaphorical uses of *fax* as a sign of strife see e.g. Liv. 21.10.11 "et hunc iuvenem tamquam furiam facemque huius belli odi ac detestor", Cic. *Catil.* 4.18 "obsessa facibus et telis impiae coniurationis" & TLL VI₁ p. 401.36ff.

9.5.10. *tempestatem* - For this metaphorical use of *tempestatem* in reference to matters of the state, which Curtius only employs here, see e.g. Cic. *Att.* 10.4.5 "eaeque ipsa tempestate eversam esse rem publicam quam ego XIII annis ante prospexerim", *Sul.* 40, Liv. 4.44.9, V. Max. 1.1.11 & T. Labienus *ap.* Sen. *Con.* 10.3.5.

9.5.12. *serenitate* - For the metaphorical use of *serenitas* see e.g. Liv. 42.62.4 "modum imponere secundis rebus nec nimis credere serenitati praesentis fortunae", Sen. *Dial.* 5.25.4 "omnia licet facias, minor es quam ut serenitatem meam obducas" & Gel. 1.2.5 "ac ne oris quoque et vultus serenitatem stoici hominis umquam ulla posse aegritudine obnubilari". The

idea is similar to the praise of Nero by Calpurnius Siculus at *Ecl.* 4.97ff. "adspicis, ut virides audito Caesare silvae / conticeant? memini, quamvis urgente procella / sic nemus immotis subito requiescere ramis, / et dixi: 'deus hinc, certe deus expulit euros'".

9.5.14. **Non ergo revirescit solum...flore imperium** - Curtius extends the common *imperium florere* combination (see e.g. Cic. *Div.* 1.92 "quocirca bene apud maiores nostros senatus tum, cum florebat imperium, decrevit" & V. Max. 8.14.1 "quam diu Romanum imperium floreret...") by the addition of *revirescere*; for a similar use of that verb see Flor. *Epit. praef.* 8 "a Caesare Augusto in saeculum nostrum haud multo minus anni ducenti, quibus inertia Caesarum quasi consenuit atque decoxit, nisi quod sub Traiano principe movit lacertos, et praeter spem omnium senectus imperii quasi reddita iuventute revirescit".

9.6.1a. **Absit...posteritas** - The end of this brief section on the emperor and his household is similar to that regarding Tiberius at end of Velleius' work: see 2.131.1f. "custodite servate protegite hunc statum, hanc pacem, <hunc principem>, eique functo longissima statione mortali destinate successores quam serissimos, sed eos quorum cervices tam fortiter sustinendo terrarum orbis imperio sufficiant quam huius suffecisse sensimus, consiliaque omnium civium aut pia ***". As Woodman (1977 p. 275) says "Through lack of comparative evidence it is impossible to be certain whether other Roman historians ended their works with a *votum*"; he then suggests that Velleius, although employing the techniques of a panegyrist who used prayers at the end of works (see e.g. Plin. *Pan.* 94.1ff. & *SHA* 21.17.8f.), is not merely praising, but responding to the current political situation in a fashion reminiscent of imperial *vota*. Curtius may be doing the same: for possible reasons see Appendix B. This piece has also verbal similarities with Liv. 9.19.15f. "Absit invidia verbo et civilia bella sileant...Mille acies graviores quam Macedonum atque Alexandri avertit avertetque, modo sit perpetuus huius qua vivimus pacis amor et civilis cura concordiae".

9.6.1b. **Absit modo invidia** - For this phrase see 2.24.27n. This is an appropriate term for the beginning of Claudius' reign, as it rightly suggests doubts as to who could be his heir and successor.

9.6.6. **saeculi** - From Curtius' other uses of this word (see IV.3.23 "multis saeculis intermissum repetendi auctores quidem erant" & IV.16.10 "Propemodum saeculi res in unum illum diem pro! fortuna cumulavit") "generation" is a satisfactory translation; however, it is possible that the word is much more loaded than that. In 17 B.C. Augustus celebrated the *Ludi Saeculares* (see *R.G.* 22.2 & Gagé and Brunt & Moore *ad locc.*), which were only held once every *saeculum* (the games should have been held in 49, or 46, B.C.), and Claudius himself, after recalculating the time periods involved, held them in A.D. 47, eight hundred years after the traditional founding of Rome (see Tac. *Ann.* 11.11.1f., Suet. *Cl.* 21.2 & Scullard 1982 pp. 294f.). If Curtius was writing early in Claudius' reign, then it is probable that *saeculi* refers to the

period from the previous games, that is the new era of the Julio-Claudian emperors. For more information on *saeculum* and the use of the term by Julius Caesar and Augustus see Weinstock 1971 pp. 191ff. & Ramage 1987 p. 32.

9.6.8. *eiusdem domus* - Atkinson (1980 p. 34) comments that this phrase could refer to either an emperor of the same dynasty, or to a founder of a new dynasty. However, the words simply seem to refer to a wish for the continuation of the present dynasty, therefore noting the hereditary nature of power in Rome; this matches the previous stress laid upon Arrhidaeus' bloodright to take over from Alexander (see 7.2.13n.) and the Macedonian army's desire that this should happen (see 7.3.15n.).

9.6.14. *posteritas* - As Atkinson (1980 pp. 34f.) points out, *posteritas* is an appropriate term for the beginning of Claudius' reign, as a son, Britannicus, was born shortly after the accession on the 12th February A.D. 41 (see Suet. *Cl.* 27.2; for this hope in Britannicus see Sen. *Dial.* 11.12.5); as regards Claudius' other living children (Drusus and Claudia, from his marriage with Plautia Urgulanilla, were dead - see Suet. *Cl.* 27.1), Claudia Antonia, from his marriage with Aelia Paetina, was married to Cn. Pompeius Magnus (see D.C. 60.5.7 & Suet. *Cl.* 27.2) and Messalina, his present wife, had already borne him a daughter, Claudia Octavia, in A.D. 39, or early 40 (see Suet. *Cl.* 27.1). The continuation of a dynasty was a common element in wishes for the emperor: see e.g. Sen. *Dial.* 11.12.5 (Claudius), Vell. 2.131.1f., cited at 9.6.1an., (Tiberius), Plin. *Pan.* 94.5 (Domitian) & *Eleg. Maec.* 2.29f. (Augustus).

Section Fifteen

The Lustration: X.9.7 - X.9.21

Once again, Curtius gives the fullest description of an event, this time the purification of the army, but, as with the leadership quarrel¹, Curtius seems to have used some dramatic licence. The event is also recorded by Arrian² and Justin³. The former simply reports that, at the purging, Perdicas carried out his main aim, which was to arrest the leaders of the recent disturbance and put them to death on the spot, saying he was acting on the orders of the king. The others were struck by terror⁴ and not long afterwards Meleager was put to death⁵. Justin mentions that Perdicas, still angry with the authors of the dispute, suddenly, and without Meleager's knowledge, announced that there was to be a lustration the next day; the reason was the recent death of the king⁶. At the ceremony, with universal support, he gave orders that the offenders should later be secretly given over to be punished⁷. Curtius, however, again gives more attention to Arrhidaeus and Meleager. He includes a plot by Perdicas to win over the loyalty of Meleager⁸, in which he gets the latter to agree to hold a lustration in order to punish those whom he had secretly ordered to annoy Meleager; at this lustration, he double crosses Meleager and has three hundred chosen infantrymen, the initial fomentors of discord, trampled by elephants⁹. Meleager was allowed to remain free for a little while, only to be murdered at a temple at which he had taken refuge¹⁰. Curtius portrays Arrhidaeus as very active at the ceremony, where, under the influence of Perdicas, he asks for the offenders to be handed over and threatens them with elephants; this prominent rôle does not seem to have been recorded elsewhere¹¹. Curtius must have had a reason to include the the king, as he could have left out any mention of him if he had thought that it would have reflected badly on Claudius; however, the close comparison with Claudius is over after the digression on Rome¹² and Arrhidaeus' higher profile enables Curtius to censure the king; his actions are perhaps to be taken as showing what a lesser leader could do and the words of censure possibly carry a warning to Claudius for the future¹³.

Curtius	Diodorus	Justin	Arrian (<i>F.Gr.H.</i> 156)
1. Dispute. [X.6.1ff.]	1. Dispute. [18.2.1ff.]	1. Dispute. [13.2.1ff.]	1. Dispute. [F1.1f.]
2. Reconciliation. [X.8.22f.]	2. Reconciliation. [18.2.4]	2. Reconciliation. [13.4.1ff.]	2. Reconciliation. [F1.3]
3. Digression on civil war & Rome. [X.9.1ff.]			
4a. Purification & revenge. [X.9.7ff.]		4a. Purification & revenge. [13.4.7f.]	4a. Purification & revenge. [F1.4]
5. Distribution of provinces. [X.10.1ff.]	5. Distribution of provinces. [18.3.1ff.]	5. Distribution of provinces. [13.4.9ff.]	5. Distribution of provinces. [F1.5ff.]
	6. Annulment of A.'s last plans & Craterus' orders. [18.4.1f.]		
	4b. Revenge. [18.4.7]		

Fig.9. The order of events after Alexander's death

So far the sources tend to agree on the order of events and this similarity continues with the following distribution of provinces¹⁴. However, as can be seen from fig. 9, Diodorus' order of events is different¹⁵: before telling of the revenge (there is no mention of a lustration) of Perdikkas, he deals with the province distribution and the annulment of Alexander's last plans¹⁶. Then, following this¹⁷, he tells how Perdikkas put to death the fomenters of the discord¹⁸ and then punished Meleager, who had been a traitor on his earlier mission¹⁹; the former uses the pretext of a private quarrel and claims that Meleager was plotting against him. This different order of events is usually thought of as incorrect²⁰; it seems that, instead of grouping the deaths of the mutineers and Meleager, as Curtius and Arrian do²¹, Diodorus has grouped the two at Meleager's death.

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1. See §13 intro.
 2. *F.Gr.H.* 156 F1.4, cited at 9.7.13n.
 3. 13.4.7f., cited at 9.7.13n. & 9.18.1n.
 4. Perhaps this implies the use of elephants, as in Curtius: see 9.18.33n.
 5. See 9.21.19n.
 6. For this difference with Curtius see 9.11.14an.
 7. Hammond, *HW* 1988 p. 104. n. 1, sees Justin as unhistorical and possibly giving a Roman form of punishment.
 8. See 9.8.9n.
 9. X.9.16ff.
 10. X.9.20f.
 11. See 9.16.11n.
 12. See §14 intro.
 13. See 9.16.11n. & Appendix B.
 14. See §16.
 15. See 18.2.1ff.
 16. On these see §3 intro.
 17. 18.4.7.
 18. At 18.4.7 he mentions that there were thirty. Curtius' larger number, however, seems more realistic: see 9.18.8n.
 19. See 7.10.1n.
 20. See Errington 1970 p. 57 n. 59, Hornblower 1981 pp. 94f. & Hammond *HW* 1988 p. 105: *contra* Badian 1968 pp. 201f., Bosworth 1988b p. 208.
 21. Both do state a later date for Meleager's death: see 9.20.1n.

9.7.1. *Ceterum* - For *ceterum* in this use see 6.1.1n.

9.7.5. *a quo me contemplatio...averterat* - A pleasing variation on the theme of a return from a digression: for this see 6.1.3n.

9.7.9. *publicae felicitatis* - For *publicus* used in this way see 2.6.8n.

9.7.13. *Perdicca unicam spem* - Justin deals with Perdikkas' desire for revenge more briefly and omits all the intrigue found in Curtius' account: see 13.4.7 "Tum Perdicca, infensus seditionis auctoribus, repente ignaro collega lustrationem castrorum propter mortem regis in posterum edicit". This is also the case in Arrian's account: see *F.Gr.H.* 156 F1.4 *Περδίκκας δὲ τὸν στρατὸν καθάραι σκηψάμενος τοὺς ἐπιφανεστάτους τῆς γενομένης συνέλαβε στάσεως,*

καὶ συλλαβῶν ὡς ἐκ προστάξεως Ἀρριδαίου αὐτοῦ παρόντος ἀνείλε, δέος ἐμποίησας τῷ λοιπῷ πλήθει. ἀναιρεῖ δὲ οὐ πολλῷ ὕστερον καὶ Μελέαγρον. Diodorus, who, as mentioned above (see §15 intro.), places it after the distribution of the provinces and the reading of Alexander's future plans, also has no intrigue: see 18.4.7 Περδικκας δὲ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον τοὺς παραχώδεις τῶν στρατιωτῶν καὶ μάλιστα ἀλλοτρίως ἔχοντας τὰ πρὸς αὐτὸν ἀπέκτεινεν, ὄντας τριάκοντα. Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα καὶ Μελέαγρον ἐν τῇ στάσει καὶ πρεσβείᾳ προδότην γεγενημένον, ἐπιλαβόμενος οἰκείας διαβολῆς καὶ κατηγορίας, ὡς ἐπιβουλήν κατ' αὐτοῦ πεποιημένον ἐκόλασε. Perdikkas, as Meleager had earlier attempted, tries to rid himself of his main rival; however, unlike Meleager's attempt, Perdikkas' is pure revenge (see 8.1.1n.)

9.7.21. *deponebat* - This reading of Ω is changed by Heinsius to *reponebat*; Freinsheim suggests *ponebat*, also found in Δ. Although *deponebat* usually has the inappropriate sense of to "put aside" (see *TLL* V₁ p. 576.45ff.), it can also have the sense of "entrusting to" (see e.g. Cic. *Caec.* 103, Quint. *Inst.* 9.2.92 & *TLL* V₁ p. 582.1ff.); this is satisfactory here. *Deponebat* has a much better meaning than *reponebat* (in any case, Perdikkas had not previously tried to kill Meleager); Müller's preference for the clausula of the suitable *ponebat* (Type 1 - see Appendix C) is not that valid, as that of *deponebat* is not uncommon (Type 5 - see Appendix C). Therefore, due to the satisfactory clausula, the suitable meaning and as it is easier to see how the "de" could disappear than be added, the reading of Ω should be retained.

9.8.2a. *alta* - Giunta suggests this emendation, also found in C; Ω has *alia*, which seems pointless, unless referring to earlier dissembling, thus making it a characteristic of Perdikkas (see e.g. 6.18.17n.). However, this seems unlikely and the emendation is a good one. For such a usage of *altus* see *TLL* I p. 1775.81ff.

9.8.2b. *alta dissimulatione* - In this plot, Curtius, with disapproval, uses the same idea of *dissimulatio* as he did when Bagoas was plotting against Orsines: see 1.28.10n. Perdikkas again displays his powers of *dissimulatio* as he did at 6.18.17n. and possibly 8.3.23n. In the first case, the parallel with Tiberius, as portrayed by Tacitus (see e.g. *Ann.* 6.50.1) and Suetonius (see e.g. *Tib.* 72.2f.), is clear and perhaps the reader is meant to be reminded in the same way here; for another possible parallel see 9.20.1n.

9.8.5. *premebat...opprimeret* - Curtius uses a verb and a compound of it in a neat epigram. This is something which, although Seneca uses at *Con. exc.* 4. *praef.* 7 ("adeo non currere sed decurrere videbatur"), is not looked favourably upon by that writer elsewhere in *sententiae*: see e.g. *Suas.* 7.11 "Et haec suasoria <Murredii insania> insignita est. dixit enim sententiam cacozeliae genere humillimo et sordissimo, quod detractone aut adiectione facit sensum: 'Pro facinus indignum! peribit ergo quod Cicero scripsit, manebit quod Antonius proscrisit'" and the possible mocking (see Winterbottom 1974 p. 609) of this at 7.12 "solebat dulces sententias dicere, frequentius tamen praedulces et infractas". Compare also Seneca's thoughts on Ovid's

(*Am.* 2.11.10) "et gelidum Borean egelidumque Notum" at *Con.* 2.2.12, where he writes "ex quo apparet summi ingenii viro non iudicium defuisse ad compescendam licentiam carminum suorum sed animum".

9.8.9. Ergo clam quosdam ex copiis - This is again very reminiscent of how Bagoas engineered the downfall of Orsines: see 1.27.18n. The whole piece rings with improbability and no other writer mentions it: see 9.7.13n. It is clearly a dramatic device designed to add to the downfall of Meleager, to whom Curtius has given a more prominent rôle throughout (see §13 intro.).

9.8.13. copiis - This probably refers to cavalrymen alone: see 4.3.9bn. for *copiae*.

9.8.21. conquererentur - At this point, BFS have *quaequerentur*, L *quaquererentur* and V *quiquererentur*; all of these are clearly corrupt. Two different readings are given by the interpolated manuscripts: *conquererentur*, favoured by most editors, and *quererentur*, favoured by Stangl and Müller. It is clear that *quererentur* is a part of whatever is to be used; due to the resemblance of the conventional abbreviated form of "con" to the letter "q", *conquererentur* appears the most satisfactory option.

9.8.23. Meleagrum aequatum esse Perdiccae - Curtius is consistent with the earlier impression he gives that Perdiccas and Meleager were equal; on this and their likely positions see 8.22.5n.

9.9.7. furens ira - For this expression elsewhere see e.g. Liv. 38.31.4 "furentes igitur ira", 40.8.20 "haec furens ira cum dixisset", 41.10.8 "furens ira vocatum", Luc. 7.124 "furentibus ira", Sen. *Her. F.* 819ff. "geminis uterque viribus tractum canem / ira furentem et bella temptantem inrita / intulimus orbi", *Oed.* 580f. "aut ira furens / triceps catenas Cerberus movit graves", Sil. 13.162 "inde furens ira telum contorquet in auras" & V. Fl. 5.268 "ille furens ira solio se proripit alto".

9.9.20. dolentisque speciem - For this disguising of the feelings see 8.3.23n.; for *dissimulatio* see 1.28.10n.

9.9.31. seditiosae vocis - See 2.12.23n.

9.10.6. fidem...benivolentiam - For a similar coupling by Curtius see IV.10.16. "benivolentiae ac fidei". This pairing seems to be a Ciceronian cliché (see e.g. Cic. *Ver.* 2.2.2, *Red. Sen.* 30, *Prov.* 1 & *Balb.* 30), but rare in other writers (see e.g. Sen. *Dial.* 9.7.6 & Col. 11.1.7).

9.11.8. Placet exercitum patrio more lustrari - It does not appear that the Greeks purified an army after battle: see Pritchett 1979 p. 197. However, following a serious military disorder,

such as a mutiny, they seem to have done so: see e.g. *X. An.* 5.7.35 and perhaps *Soph. frag.* 31 (Campbell); for further doubtful examples see Pritchett 1979 pp. 199ff. Livy (40.6.1ff.), following Polybius, backs up Curtius' association of this particular rite with the Macedonians and adds further detail when, referring to 182 B.C., he writes "Forte lustrandi exercitus venit tempus, cuius sollemne est tale: caput mediae canis praecisae et pars ad dexteram, cum extis posterior ad laevam viae ponitur: inter hanc divisam hostiam copiae armatae traducuntur. praeferuntur primo agmini arma insignia omnium ab ultima origine Macedoniae regum, deinde rex ipse cum liberis sequitur, proxima est regia cohors custodesque corporis, postremum agmen Macedonum cetera multitudo claudit...mos erat lustrationis sacro peracto decurrere exercitum, et divisas bifariam [duas] acies concurrere ad simulacrum pugnae". Elsewhere, there are similar practices listed in Greek and Roman writers: Plutarch (*Moralia* 290d) records the Boeotians, also using a dog (for this see 9.12.10n.), as acting in a similar way at a public purification, Apollodorus (3.13.7 & see Frazer 1921 pp. 72f.) how Peleus split Astydamia and marched his army between her halves, Pausanias (2.34.2) a case where a cock is used to protect a garden from winds by splitting it and taking the halves around it and Xerxes is recorded as marching his army between the halves of a man (see *Hdt.* 7.38.1ff., *Sen. Dial.* 5.16.4 & *Plu. Moralia* 263af.). There are similar cases recorded in the Bible (see e.g. *Gen.* 15.9. & *Je.* 34.18ff.) and there are several references to similar, but often more elaborate, Hittite practices (for these see Masson 1950 pp. 5ff.). In all these cases, it is clear that a purification is being held to offer some sort of magical protection to the performers. For further information on these and more recent rites of purification see Pritchett 1979 pp. 196ff., Eitrem 1947 pp. 36ff. & Masson 1950 pp. 5ff.

Among the other Alexander historians, there are no further details to be gained. Arrian (*F.Gr.H.* 156 F1.4, cited at 9.7.13n.) mentions a purification, without saying how it was performed. Justin (13.4.8, cited at 9.18.1n.) simply records it as taking place "in campo", showing that he is referring to the same sort of ceremony; Pompeius Trogus possibly dealt with the matter in more detail. Diodorus omits any mention of it. Livy (see above) implies that such a purification was held at a set time and Hesychius may be referring to the same thing, writing *Ξανθικά· ἑορτή Μακεδόνων, Ξανθικοῦ μηνὸς ἢ Ξάθικοῦ ἀγομένη. ἔστι δὲ καθάρσιον τῶν στρατευμάτων*. However, there is no reason to doubt that, as well as being held at a set time, it could also be performed on other suitable occasions.

9.11.10. patrio more - In his work, Curtius continually draws attention to both eastern and Macedonian customs, often in order to explain differences from Roman practices - for the eastern side see 5.17.3n. and for the Macedonian side 6.12.5n.

9.11.14a. probabilis causa videbatur praeterita discordia - Justin (see 13.4.7, cited at 9.18.1n.), in a view supported by Hammond (1989a p. 241), presents Perdicas as giving the death of Alexander as the reason for the purification. Errington (1970 pp. 56f.), however, seems to accept Curtius' version; although Curtius' setting of it as brought about due to the intrigues of

an imaginary plot is somewhat unsatisfactory, the reason itself tends to be supported by similar purification practices elsewhere: see 9.11.8n. Perhaps there is no need to see a difference at all, as Justin, the epitomiser, may simply have reduced the cause to the ultimate reason, which was Alexander's death, without which there would have been no discord.

9.11.14b. probabilis causa - "a credible reason". For this phrase, which is especially common in Livy, see e.g. Liv. 26.12.15, 28.16.12, 32.3.6, 34.21.3, 35.29.11, 37.54.14 & 38.42.1.

9.12.1. Macedonum reges - Curtius launches into a detailed description of this novel type of purification ceremony, which he probably thought his audience would find interesting. As no other Alexander historian supplies as much detail, it is possible that the description is based on Livy, or Livy's source, Polybius; however, the difference with Livy concerning which parts of the dog were used suggests a different source (see 9.12.9n.).

9.12.9. discissae canis viscera - Curtius' description of the use of the dog is at variance with Livy's account, where the hind part and entrails were put on the left side, the forepart on the right (see Liv.40.6.1, cited at 9.11.8n.). It was natural for the head, the most lively and lucky part, to be put on the right: see Eitrem 1947 p. 37.

9.12.10. canis - As well as by the Macedonians (see also Liv. 40.6.1, cited at 9.11.8n.), the use of a dog in such a ritual was also employed by the Boeotians (see Plu. *Moralia* 290d) and the Hittites in all the examples listed by Masson (1950 pp. 5ff.). Plutarch (*Moralia* 280bf.) mentions that the Greeks often used dogs in purification rites and that, in Rome, at the Lupercalia, the Luperci sacrificed a dog (see Plu. *Moralia* 280b). This animal was probably used due to the rôle it had in the ritual of the goddess Hecate (see e.g. Plu. *Moralia* 290d, Eitrem 1947 p. 36 & Masson 1950 pp. 22ff.); for more recent examples of the use of a dog to take on sickness, or evil, see Masson 1950 pp. 11f. & Fraser 1913 pp. 33, 51, 120f., 209f.

9.12.29. hinc equites, illinc phalanx - This is similar to the case recorded by Livy (40.6.5, cited at 9.11.8n.), where, after the ceremony (during it all the participants marched together), the army split in two and a sham battle was held; however, the circumstances are different here, as this separation seems to be part of the ceremony; such a chain of events may have been intended to be symbolic of the two sides joining together again after the mutiny, but, since no other source has much detail on this episode, it is impossible to say whether this is the case, or if Curtius altered what happened, either simply for greater dramatic effect, or to include the actions later ascribed to Arrhidaeus (on these see 9.16.1n.).

9.14.7. subita formidine...expectantes - A likely case of multiple asyndeton in which four reasons for the doubt are given. For other examples see e.g. Sal. *Jug.* 91.5 "Quae postquam

oppidani cognovere, res trepidae, metus ingens, malum improvisum, ad hoc pars civium extra moenia in hostium potestate coegere uti deditionem facerent" & K-S II pp. 148ff.

9.14.14. *pacati* - B alone differs from this reading and gives *peccati* instead. This error is probably due to a scribe being influenced by ecclesiastical vocabulary: for the same error elsewhere see e.g. the *Codex Monacensis* 14685, which gives *peccaverit* for *pacaverit*, or *placaverit*, at Hor. S. 2.8.5, the *Codices Parisini* 8540, 8539 and the first hand of *Codex Marcianus* 270, which give *peccatum* for *pacatum* at Sen. Ep. 59.8. For other ecclesiastical errors see the list given by Gaselee, 1915 pp. 12ff.; see also Lindsay 1896 p. 67.

9.14.23. *copias* - For Curtius' use of this term see 4.3.9n.

9.14.25. *pro* - "in favour of". For this use of *pro* by Curtius see also VII.2.3 "ut solum pro eo esset, quod maxime laeserat"; for elsewhere see e.g. Sen. Nat. 1.6.4, Tac. Hist. 4.78.1, Quint. Inst. 3.8.56 & Vell. 2.48.4.

9.16.1. *itaque rex...instinctu Perdiccae* - In the other sources, there is no mention of the direct actions of the king; his presence is not even noted - see Just. 13.4.8 (cited at 9.18.1n.) & Arr. F.Gr.H. 156 F1.4 (cited at 9.7.13n.), where the writer, although saying that the orders for the later killing allegedly came from Arrhidaeus, does not mention that he was present (*contra* Hammond HW 1988 p. 104 n. 1); this, however, must have been the case. In addition, Justin (13.4.8, cited at 9.18.1n.) gives the impression that there was no opposition to the punishment of the infantrymen; if this is the case Curtius' dramatic portrayal of events seems suspect; for possible reasons for Curtius' alterations see 9.16.11n.

9.16.11. *quos tueri ipse debebat, instinctu Perdiccae...deposcens* - This does not seem to favour Arrhidaeus, as he again appears to be portrayed as acting under the influence of another; Atkinson (1980 p. 37) describes him as a "mere tool of Perdiccas". However, this view would be at variance with his earlier characterisation (see e.g. 8.16.8n.) and it is more likely that he again shows his previous astuteness in siding with the most powerful individual of the moment preferring, perhaps, like Claudius in his younger days, to wait for his time to come; on this change of side see Martin, 1983 pp. 174ff., who suggests that his actions at the lustration may have been the price paid for a change of alliance. The situation is also reminiscent of the aftermath of Claudius' succession, when the latter had several of Caligula's murderers punished (for references see 9.3.17n.); there was also a purge of unreliable units of the army (see J. AJ 19.274). In addition, Arrhidaeus, as Claudius, is being reconciliatory towards those who initially opposed him. Atkinson (1980 p. 38) also draws attention to the similarity with the accession of Claudius and the earlier punishment of Bessus by Alexander at VII.5.36ff. and VII.10.10 and Curtius' lack of comment. However, Curtius does censure Arrhidaeus' actions (see also 9.19.1n.) and it may be that the events, as

portrayed by him, and which, in the number of those eventually punished (see 9.17.10n.), are in marked contrast to the aftermath of Claudius' accession, enabled Curtius to remind the Romans that they were fortunate to have such a *princeps* and to perhaps warn Claudius about not acting like this in the future: see Appendix B for more on this matter.

9.16.15. *instinctu Perdiccae* - Cf. X.8.6 "Meleagri instinctu" and the two men's changing fortunes.

9.17.5. *nec plus...aut consilii aut animi* - "no more judgement, or spirit". *Consilium* and *animus* are often connected, but for them in such a construction see e.g. Cic. *Caec.* 18, 22, *Planc.* 12, *Fam.* 3.10.7 & Quint. *Inst.* 10.1.113; for further examples of the construction see *K-S I* pp. 429ff; for the pairing without this construction see also e.g. Cic. *Font.* 41, *Phil.* 11.28, *Fam.* 3.10.11, *Att.* 2.21.6, Liv. 8.29.5 & 34.25.7.

9.17.19. *expectare...fortunam* - Curtius has the same idea at VI.1.16 "Haec victoria non Spartam modo sociosque eius, sed etiam omnis, qui fortunam belli spectaverant, fregit". For this infrequently used phrase elsewhere see e.g. Cic. *Har.* 55 "qui non tantum opibus valent, nescioquam fortunam tamen ac tempus expectant", Flor. *Epit.* 1.1.(3)6 "Nam Fidenate bella missi...expectavere fortunam" & Sen. *Dial.* 5.5.5 "haec non potest expectare fortunam"; for a view on the same topic see Triarius *ap.* Sen. *Con.* 2.5.8 "semper expectari fortuna mavult quam regi".

9.18.1. *Tum Perdicca* - In the other sources, it is also Perdiccas who directly gives the orders at the purification ceremony: see Arr. *F.Gr.H.* 156 F1.4, cited at 9.7.13n., & Just. 13.4.8, where general approval of the action is recorded "Postquam armatum exercitum in campo constituit, consentientibus universis evocatos, dum transit, de singulis manipulis seditiosos supplicio tradi occulte edicit".

9.18.8. CCC - This is the figure given by Ω, which Bentley changes to XXX, the figure given by Diodorus at 18.4.7. However, the impression that Curtius gives of the numbers at X.6.24 and X.7.1 would match the CCC of Ω better. Therefore, whether, or not, this figure is historically correct, there is no reason to emend the text (Hammond, *HW* 1988 p. 104, rejecting Hieronymus as Curtius' source - on this see §13 intro. -, prefers Diodorus' figure, as Badian, 1968 p. 201, seems to do; Briant, 1973 p. 252 n. 5, accepts Curtius' figure with the reservation that it corresponds with the number in an *agma* unit).

9.18.10. *qui Meleagram erumpentem...secuti erant* - For this incident see X.6.24.

9.18.33. *omnes beluarum pedibus obtriti sunt* - A novel form of execution and possibly used by Curtius to add greater drama to the situation; for another similar case of a dramatic means of

killing in Curtius see 4.1.10n. This use of elephants is unsupported, although Arrian may have been aware of it: see *F.Gr.H.* 156 F1.4, cited at 9.7.13n.; see also Hammond *HW* 1988 p. 104 n. 1 & 1989a p. 241, where it is suggested that the detail may come from a late source, hostile to Perdiccas.

9.18.34. *beluarum* - For Curtius' use of this word see 1.12.1n.

9.19.1. *apparebatque...eventus* - Curtius shows Arrhidaeus as displaying good political skill, but casts him in a bad light (see also 9.16.11n. & Appendix B). If he had chosen one side, it would have alienated the other. In any case, if the infantry had been that upset, there would surely have been retaliation, if not at the minute, then in the future; this did not materialise. In Justin (see 13.4.8, cited at 9.18.1n.), the impression given is of general consent to the punishment.

9.19.15. *omen et principium* - Reminiscent of the use of these words by Livy at 21.29.4 "*hoc principium simul omenque belli ut summae rerum prosperum eventum*". Curtius joins *omen* with *initium* at V.9.4 "*novis initiis et ominibus opus est*".

9.20.1. *Meleager sero intellecta...occiditur* - Meleager is finally dealt with by the ruthless Perdiccas, who again displays a trait of Tiberius, who apparently did not forget a crime against him (see e.g. Tac. *Ann.* 4.21; for other similarities see 9.8.2bn.). The details of where Meleager was killed are not given by anyone else and so cannot be ratified, but Arrian (*F.Gr.H.* 156 F1.4, cited at 9.7.13n.) confirms that it was at some point following the lustration. Diodorus (18.4.7, cited at 9.7.13n.) mentions it following the province distribution and the reading of Alexander's future plans; this may be the the correct chronology (see §15 intro.).

9.21.1. [et] - At this point, Ω has *et*; Stangl and Müller, following Δ , delete it, Hedicke suggests *sed*, Bardon writes "*stetit. Sed mox*" and most other editors follow Junius' "*stetit: at*". *Et* is wrong here and, although *sed* and *at* give the right impression, this is equally well conveyed by the sense of the passage.

9.21.9. *quem ipse fecerat regem* - For Meleager's rôle see X.7.7 & X.7.10ff.

9.21.19. *confugit in templum ac ne loci quidem religione defensus occiditur* - As no other source describes where, or how, Meleager was killed (see 9.20.1n.), it is difficult to say whether Curtius is recording what actually happened, or simply creating a scene to produce the most sympathy for Meleager and dislike for Perdiccas (for this seemingly hostile view towards this man see 8.22.15n.). Then, as now, religious buildings were considered places of sanctuary: see e.g. Nepos' praise of Agesilaos for respecting this at *Ages.* 4.6; for a successful flight to one

see e.g. *SHA* 17.2.3 of Elagabalus and for a less successful, but not fatal, attempt, *Suet. Dom.* 1.2. Although there was this notion of protection, it was not always kept. Alexander himself ordered such a violation at Tyre (see IV.4.13); for other cases of violation see e.g. *Verg. A.* 2.523ff. of Priam, *App. Mith.* 7.22 of Prusias & *X. HG* 6.5.9 of the Tegean supporters of Stasippus.

9.21.21. templum - If Curtius is referring to a particular temple, that of Bel Marduk is probably meant. It stood in the main part of the city to the east of the Euphrates and the whole complex was known as the *Esagila*; for a description see *Hdt.* 1.181.1ff; for a plan of Babylon see fig. 6 at 5.7.8n. According to *Arrian (An.* 3.16.5 & 7.17.1f.; see also *D.S.* 17.112.3 & *Str. Chr.* 16.1.5), Alexander had ordered it to be rebuilt, due to damage caused by Xerxes, but it has also been suggested that any damage was due to natural erosion and that Xerxes only took away the cult statue (see *Bosworth* 1980b p. 314); for the view of *Arrian* accepted see *How & Wells* 1961 I p. 140, *Badian* 1967 p. 185, *Olmstead* 1948 pp. 236f., 517 & *Oppenheim* 1985 pp. 565ff. For details of the temple and modern excavations see *Oates* 1979 pp. 156ff. & *Koldewey* 1914 pp. 204ff.

Section Sixteen

The Division of the Provinces: X.10.1 - X.10.7

All the main sources provide lists supplying details of the distribution of the satrapies after Alexander's death; however, these vary, both in length¹ and the exact setting. Curtius presents the leading men, following the lustration, as meeting under the control of Perdikkas; it is at this meeting that the provinces are divided². In Justin³, whose list is followed almost verbatim by the later Orosius⁴, Perdikkas, after the purification, divides the provinces; the writer gives Perdikkas' reason as the fact that he wanted to remove his rivals from power and make a province seem like a gift from himself. Diodorus⁵ says that Perdikkas, following the assumption of supreme command, took counsel with the leading men and gave out the provinces. In Arrian⁶, in a position of mutual suspicion, Perdikkas, pretending to act on Arrhidaeus' orders, appoints those suspected by him to the satrapies. The later writer, Dexippus, also includes a list⁷ and additional information can be gained from the *Heidelberg Epitome*⁸, Plutarch⁹ and Appian¹⁰, none of whom supply a list. In the *Liber de Morte*¹¹, there is a list given in the form of Alexander's will¹² and the same occurs in various Alexander romances¹³; the partial list given in an epitome of Porphyrius is very inaccurate¹⁴. Although it seems clear that Perdikkas was in control of the distribution¹⁵ and it may be true that he was keen to separate men he distrusted from the centre of administration, there must have been a certain amount of bargaining at Babylon¹⁶. Not surprisingly, the most important provinces went to those who had been most prominent under Alexander¹⁷; Europe was possibly shared by Antipater and the absent Craterus¹⁸.

1. See 10.4.11n.

2. For his accuracy see the following notes

3. 13.4.9, cited at 10.1.1n.; for the province list see 13.4.10ff.

4. 3.23.7f.; Orosius probably used Justin's epitome, rather than Pompeius Trogus (see Steele 1917 pp. 26ff; *contra* Piccirilli 1971 pp. 301ff.).

5. 18.3.1, cited at 10.1.1n.; for the list see 18.3.1ff.

6. *F.Gr.H.* 156 F1.5, cited at 10.1.1n.; for the list see F1.5ff.

7. *F.Gr.H.* 100 F8.2ff.

8. *F.Gr.H.* 155 F1.2, cited at 10.1.6n.

9. *Eum.* 3.3f., partially cited at 10.1.6n.

10. *Syr.* 52.262, cited at 10.1.1n.

11. See §10 intro.

12. See §§115ff.; Curtius (see 10.5.1n.) does not accept that Alexander left these details; on this allotment see Heckel 1988 pp. 60ff.

13. See Heckel 1988 pp. 93ff.

14. See *F.H.G.* 3.1f.; it is only referred to in the following notes when it supports Curtius' assignment.

15. See 10.1.1n.

16. 10.1.6n.

17. E.g. Egypt went to Ptolemy; see Briant 1973 pp. 130ff.

18. Curtius does not mention this in his list, but see 8.22.5n. For further details on the distribution see Errington 1970 pp. 56ff., Hammond 1989a p. 242, Lane Fox 1973 p. 474, Will 1979 pp. 24ff., Briant 1973 pp. 133ff., Green 1990 pp. 3ff. & Heckel 1988 pp. 60ff.; see also Rosen, 1967 pp. 47ff., who views the lists as originally the result of several royal edicts.

10.1.1. *Perdicca...habuit* - Perdiccas, who probably acted in the name of the king, is also mentioned as the man behind the division of the provinces in other sources: see D.S. 18.3.1 *Οὗτος δὲ παραλαβὼν τὴν ὄλων ἡγεμονίαν καὶ συνεδρεύσας μετὰ τῶν ἡγεμόνων...ἔδωκεν* (the similar wording may point to a common source), Just. 13.4.9 "Reversus inde inter principes provincias dividit, simul ut et aemulos removeret et munus imperii beneficii sui faceret", App. *Syr.* 52.262 *οἱ φίλοι δ' ἐς σατραπείας ἐνείμαντο τὰ ἔθνη, Περδίκκου διανέμοντος αὐτοῖς ὑπὸ τῷ βασιλεῖ Φιλίππῳ* & Art. *F.Gr.H.* 156 F1.5 *ἐξ ᾧ Περδίκκας ὑποπτος ἐς πάντας ἦν καὶ αὐτὸς ὑπώπτευεν. ὁμῶς ἐς σατραπείας ἀνειπεῖν οὐδ' ὑπώπτευεν, ὡς Ἀρριδαίου κελεύοντος, ἔγνω. καὶ δὴ Πτολεμαῖος...ἄρχειν ἐπετάχθη.* Pausanias' (1.6.3, cited at 6.13.1n.) statement that Ptolemy was responsible for the division of the provinces must be wrong and simply Ptolemaic propaganda; Ptolemy may obviously have pressed his case for Egypt: see Green 1990 p. 743 n. 32.

10.1.6. *consilium principum virorum* - Curtius implies that the decision was a consensus (see also 10.2.33n.). There is also support for this at D.S. 18.3.1, App. *Syr.* 52.262 (both cited at 10.1.1n.), Plu. *Eum.* 3.3 *ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀναμειχθέντες ἀλλήλοις οἱ στρατηγοὶ καὶ καταστάντες ἐκ τῶν πρώτων ταραχῶν διενέμοντο σατραπείας καὶ στρατηγίας...* & Heid *Erit.* *F.Gr.H.* 155 F1.2 *ὅς συνδιασκεψάμενος δέδωκεν ἕκαστῳ στρατηγῷ σατραπείαν διεξάγειν.*

10.1.7. *principum virorum* - Curtius, at this point, would normally be expected to write either *principum virorum* (for this construction, used twelve times by Curtius, see 1.3.12n.), or simply *principum* (for this used referring to Macedonians see VII.2.33, VIII.1.18, IX.3.1, X.7.8 & X.7.13, to Greeks X.2.3 and to easterners IV.14.22, VII.6.11 & VII.11.26). If *principum* was used as a noun, it would create a rather awkward construction and leave the reader asking the question as to why *virorum* was added at all, as it would be redundant. As it stands, this sole use by Curtius of *principes* as an adjective makes perfect sense and, in addition, due to Curtius' usage of the term *principes* noted above, would point to the probability that a specific distinction is being made between these men and the *principes* of Imperial Rome, one of whom has only recently been referred to; if this is not intentional, it is probably influenced by Latin usage of the time. In the Republic, it was the practice to simply use *principes*, or *princeps* (see e.g. Cic. *Sul.* 3, *Dom.* 42, *N.D.* 3.80 & *Rep.* 2.55), although *principes viri* does occur (see e.g. Cic. *Balb.* 54). The practice of referring to leading men as *principes* in the Empire seems to have continued to some extent (see e.g. Liv. 7.1.9, 8.9.3, 39.49.11 & V. Max. 9.3.4, all of historical personages, & the general Sen. *Dial.* 5.2.3), but the term *principes viri* came into greater use to make the distinction between leading men and the emperors (see e.g. Hor. *Ep.* 1.17.35, Plin. *Nat.* 28.26, 35.21, Plin. *Ep.* 2.7.5, 4.8.2, Quint. *Inst.* 12.7.3, T. Labienus *ap.* Sen. *Con.* 10.4.17, Suet. *Aug.* 29.4, *Cl.* 35.2, Tac. *Dial.* 40.1, *Ann.* 3.6.1 & 15.42.1). *Princeps* alone, in imperial writers, usually refers to the emperor.

10.1.13. *ita dividi placuit* - Curtius gives the impression that the provinces were assigned to

the individuals concerned, rather than by a process of the drawing of lots. The majority of the other sources agree: see D.S. 18.3.1, App. *Syr.* 52.262, Arr. *F.Gr.H.* 156 F1.5 (all cited at 10.1.1n.), Plu. *Eum.* 3.3 & *Heid Epit. F.Gr.H.* 155 F1.2 (both cited at 10.1.6n.). However, Justin (see also Orosius 3.23.7ff.) is rather indecisive on the subject; after stating (13.4.9, cited at 10.1.1n.) that Perdiccas divided the provinces to suit his own ends, he later implies that lots were drawn at 13.4.10 "Prima Ptolomeo Aegyptus et Africae Arabiaeque pars sorte venit...", 13.4.15 "Lyciam et Pamphyliam Nearchus, Cariam Cassander, Lydiam Menander sortiuntur" & 13.5.8 "Antipatro cui Graecia sorte evenerat". Porphyrius also has the distribution carried out by lot: see *F.H.G.* 3.1 of Ptolemy *Πτολεμαῖος ὁ Λάγου κληρωσάμανος τὴν Αἰγύπτου βασιλείαν* & of Eumenes *Εὐμένης Παφλαγονίας καὶ Καππαδοκίας κληροῦται*. This version, with regard to the other evidence, seems wrong and it may be due to the influence of Roman practice (see Briant 1973 p. 137 n. 2), where, in the Republic, the provinces were assigned by lot (see Stevenson 1939 pp. 53ff.), a practice which also was used in regard to "Senatorial" provinces during the Empire (see Stevenson 1939 pp. 107f.).

10.1.16. *ut rex* - In this section, Curtius, as in other lists in Book Ten (see 5.26.7n. & 1.24.17an.), rather than simply listing the various provinces and their satraps, tries to vary his approach. The other main sources, with the exception of Diodorus (18.3.1ff.), also show traces of attempts at variation to reduce tedium. The basis of Curtius' achievement of variety is his choice and manipulation of verbs. The following list illustrates his use of passive and active verbs and his variation and also repetition of some words. It is noticeable that the list starts and ends with clauses governed by *ut*, whilst the intervening sections are in the indicative.

person	[ut] obtineret	(active)
province	data est	(passive)
province	destinata	(passive)
governor	obtinerere iussus	(passive)
governors	missi	(passive)
-	esse iusserunt	(active)
province	cessit	(active)
governors	obtinerere iussi	(passive)
-	obtinerent decretum est	(passive)
person	[ut] praeesset	(active)

Curtius also varies his way of designating province, as can be seen from the following list:

Aegypti et Africae gentium
Syria cum Phoenice
Cilicia
Lyciam cum Pamphylia et maiore Phrygia
in Cariam
in Lydiam
Phrygiam minorem Hellesponto adiunctam
Cappadocia...cum Paphlagonia
Mediam
Thraciam adpositasque Thraciae Ponticas gentes

10.1.17. *rex quidem summam eius obtineret* - Supreme power rested, in theory, with the new king (see 8.22.5n.) and also with the child of Roxane, if it proved to be a boy (this is omitted

by Curtius, but see Dexipp. *F.Gr.H.* 100 F8.1, Arr. *F.Gr.H.* 156 F1.1 & Just. 13.4.3; Arrhidaeus' rule was to cease when Roxane's sons reached maturity according to *Heid. Epit. F.Gr.H.* 155 F1.1, App. *Syr.* 52.261, *L.M.* §115 & Ps-Callisth. 3.33.11, but this may be later propaganda by Polypeřchon against the king - see Heckel 1988 pp. 50ff.), a position demanded, no doubt, by the infantry as a condition of peace. However, due to Arrhidaeus' mental deficiency, his authority had to be delegated and Perdicas, who was appointed *ἐπιμελητής* (see 8.22.5n.), was the man who benefited most. In effect, Arrhidaeus could never be more than a puppet king whose rôle in life, despite contrary suggestions in Curtius (see §13 intro. & 7.2.12n.), was to be manipulated by the real holders of power until Olympias had him stabbed to death in 317 B.C. (see 7.2.12n.).

10.1.19. *summam eius* - For *summam imperii* see 6.17.1n.

10.1.22. *satrapeas Ptolomaeus Aegypti et Africae gentium* - At this point, *Q* has "satrapes Ptolomaeus Aegypti". Zumpt and Foss treat *satrapes* as predicative and understand *imperium obtineret*; this is awkward and if *satrapes* is retained, the *esset* added by Vogel is essential. However, Hedicke suggests that *satrapes* (this appears seventeen other times) should be changed to *satrapeam* (used three other times; at V.2.17 the reading is sound, at V.1.44 there is slight trouble, as BFLP have *satrape* and V *satoape*, and Hedicke emends the one at V.2.1 to the name of a province and is followed by Müller; Therasse, 1976 pp. 144f., gives a fourth at VI.2.10, but he seems mistaken). In this case there would be no need for the addition of *esset*, as *obtineret* would cover both *summam* and *satrapeam*, a pair of words, which would then balance each other well. This suggestion avoids the hiatus caused by the paleographically easier *esset*. An improvement on Hedicke's suggestion would be to consider that Curtius thought of Africa as an additional satrapy and wrote *satrapeas*; not only does this word have all the points in favour of *satrapeam*, but it is also closer to the manuscripts.

10.1.23. *Ptolomaeus Aegypti et Africae gentium, quae in ditione erant* - For Ptolemy see 6.13.2n. From the other sources, there is agreement with Curtius' statement: Justin (13.4.10) and Orosius (3.23.7) assign Egypt and part of Africa and Arabia to him and the former (13.4.11) adds that Cleomenes was to hand control of the area over to him, Arrian (*F.Gr.H.* 156 F1.5) states that he was given Egypt, Libya and parts of Arabia, adding that Cleomenes was to be his second in charge and Dexippus (*F.Gr.H.* 100 F8.2) Egypt and Libya and the bordering region, with Cleomenes as second in command; however, Diodorus (18.3.1) only assigns him Egypt, as do the *Liber de Morte* (§117) and Porphyrius (*F.H.G.* 3.1). In addition, most of the Romance tradition is also in agreement with Ptolemy gaining Egypt, but some assign it to Perdicas (see Heckel 1988 pp. 30ff. on this possible scribal error and p. 109 for a full comparison of the variants).

10.2.1. *Laomedonti Syria cum Phoenice data est* - The name of this man is given in *Q* as

Laomedonti; note, however, that Zumpt says T reads *Laomedonti*. In the other sources, he is known as Laomedon (see below; Laomedon is not attested as the name of anyone elsewhere) and there would seem to be no reason for Curtius to alter the name deliberately; this error would seem to be due to a careless scribe, rather than to Curtius misreading his source. Therefore *Laomedonti*, the reading followed by most editors, seems justified. Laomedon (Berve 464) was the son of Larichus and originally came from Mytilene (see Arr. *An.* 3.6.5, D.S. 18.3.1, Just. 13.4.12, App. *Syr.* 52.263, Arr. *F.Gr.H.* 156 F1.34 & Dexipp. *F.Gr.H.* 100 F8.2), although later spent time in Amphipolis (Arr. *Ind.* 18.4 - see Brunt 1983 pp. 358f. n. 4 & Bosworth 1980b p. 283). He was a brother of Erigyus (see Arr. *An.* 3.6.5), along with whom and others he was sent into exile by Philip II over the Pixodarus affair (see 1.10.4bn. for references; Plutarch, at *Alex.* 10.4, however, only mentions his brother in this context). The other sources back up Curtius' statement about Syria: Diodorus (18.3.1) and Dexippus (*F.Gr.H.* 100 F8.2) only mention Syria, whereas Justin (13.4.12), Orosius (3.23.7) and Arrian (*F.Gr.H.* 156 F1.5) mention that Syria was next to Egypt. However, the *Liber de Morte* (§117), as is the case with the other Romance variants (see Heckel 1988 p. 108), although mentioning Koile Syria and Phoenicia, assigns them to Meleager; this seems Ptolomaic propaganda, as the latter wanted Laomedon's area (see Heckel 1988 p. 67); for an identification of Meleager as either the infantry commander, or Alexander's former ilarch and friend of Pithon, see Heckel 1988 p. 40.

10.2.7. Philotae Cilicia destinata - Not much is known prior to this about Philotas (Berve 804; he is not to be confused with the son of Parmenion); he may have been the one with this name present at Medius' party (see Heckel 1988 pp. 36f.). All the other main sources assign this province to him (see D.S. 18.3.1, Just. 13.4.12, Oros. 3.23.7, Arr. *F.Gr.H.* 156 F1.5 & Dexipp. *F.Gr.H.* 100 F8.2), but the *Liber de morte* (§117) gives it to Nicanor (on this variant, possibly due to Philotas' support of Antigonus, see Heckel 1988 p. 63). The other romance variants assign it to Antipater, or Antigonus (see Heckel 1988 p. 108).

10.2.10. Lyciam cum Pamphylia et maiore Phrygia obtinere iussus Antigonus - Antigonus (Berve 87; see Briant 1973 pp. 17ff. on this man), the One-eyed, was born around 380 B.C. to a certain Philip (see Arr. *An.* 1.29.3 & Bosworth *ad loc.*). He was appointed satrap of Phrygia in 334/3 B.C. (see Arr. *An.* 1.29.3 & Bosworth *ad loc.*; at IV.1.35, Curtius wrongly says Lydia - see Atkinson *ad loc.* & Heckel *YH* 1984 p. 274. n. 13) and, following the Battle of Issus, he defeated the Persian remnants in three separate engagements (see IV.1.35 & Atkinson *ad loc.*). In 332 B.C. he invaded and secured Lycaonia (see IV.5.13 & Atkinson *ad loc.* & Briant 1973 pp. 47f.). After the provinces were divided, he played a very important rôle in affairs until his death in battle in 301 B.C. (see e.g. Just. 15.4.22, Plu. *Dem.* 29.5, D.S. 21.1.4b & Hier. *F.Gr.H.* 154 F8; for his rôle see Green 1990 pp. 12ff.) and was the ancestor of the Macedonian kings, known as the Antigonid Dynasty, who ruled from 284-168 B.C. Diodorus (18.3.1), Arrian (*F.Gr.H.* 156 F1.5) and Dexippus (*F.Gr.H.* 100 F1.2) agree with Curtius, but Justin

(13.4.14.), as Orosius (3.23.9), strangely assigns Lycia and Pamphylia to Nearchus and Greater Phrygia to Antigonus (on this mistake see 1.10.4bn.). The *Liber de Morte* (§117) and the Romances agree with Curtius: see Heckel 1988 p. 108.

10.2.19. in Cariam Cassander - The name Cassander is a mistake for Assander (Berve 164; see Heckel *YH* 1984 p. 299 n. 49 & Briant 1973 pp. 134f. n. 9), who was the son of Agathon (*SIG*³ 320.3) and had a brother of the same name (see D.S. 19.75.2); for more on this man see Heckel 1988 pp. 64f. The same mistake is also in Diodorus (18.3.1), Arrian (*F.Gr.H.* 156 F1.6), Justin (13.4.15), the *Liber de Morte* (§117) and Orosius (3.23.9), but there seems little doubt that it was to Assander that the province was assigned: see Arr. *F.Gr.H.* 156 F1.6, Dexipp. *F.Gr.H.* 100 F8.2, D.S. 18.3.1, Just. 13.4.15, Oros. 3.23.9, *L.M.* §117 and most of the Romance variants (on these see Heckel 1988 p. 108). It would seem likely that the mistake originated with Curtius' source, rather than in a scribal error.

10.2.22. Menander in Lydiam - Menander (Berve 501), about whose origin nothing is known, was one of Alexander's *ἐταῖροι* (see Arr. *An.* 3.6.7 & Bosworth *ad loc.*) and born around 365 B.C. He was probably the father of Charicles, who was involved in revealing the Pages' Conspiracy of 327 B.C. (Arr. *An.* 4.13.7). In 331 B.C. he was appointed governor of Lydia and brought troops from there to Alexander in 323 B.C. (Arr. *An.* 7.23.1). In the *Liber de Morte* (§§97f.), he is one of those who are present and guilty at Medius' fateful party (on this see Heckel 1988 pp. 39f.). Most of the other main sources agree with the assignment of this province: see Just. 13.4.15, Oros. 3.23.9, Arr. *F.Gr.H.* 156 F1.6 & Dexipp. *F.Gr.H.* 100 F8.2; Diodorus (18.3.1), however, gives it to Meleager and there is no reference at all in any of the Romances, or the *Liber de Morte* (this is possibly due to his later support of Antigonus - see Heckel 1988 p. 63).

10.2.26. Phrygiam minorem Hellesponto adiunctam Leonnati provinciam esse - On Leonnatus see 7.8.24n. There is no doubt here concerning Curtius' accuracy, as all the main sources agree (see D.S. 18.3.1, Just. 13.4.16, Oros. 3.23.9, Arr. *F.Gr.H.* 156 F1.6 & Dexipp. *F.Gr.H.* 100 F8.2), as well as the *Liber de Morte* (§116) and most of the Romance tradition (see Heckel 1988 p. 108).

10.2.33. iusserunt - This is the only time that Curtius employs an active verb in the main part of the list. It suggests that, although Perdiccas was in charge, the distribution of the provinces was arranged by mutual agreement (see §16 intro. & 10.1.6n.).

10.3.1. Cappadocia Eumeni cum Paphlagonia cessit...usque ad Trapezunta - Eumenes (Berve 317), who was born around 362/1 B.C. (Nep. *Eum.* 13.1), was the son of Hieronymus, came from Cardia (Nep. *Eum.* 1.1, Plu. *Eum.* 1.1 & Arr. *Ind.* 18.7) and was a friend of Philip II (Plu. *Eum.* 1.2f. & Nep. *Eum.* 1.4ff.), by whom he was appointed secretary; following this king's death,

he held the same post under Alexander (see Plu. *Eum.* 1.4 & Arr. *An.* 5.24.6) and was one of the supposed writers of the *Ephemerides* (on these see §10 intro.). In addition to his secretarial duties he was also a military commander (see e.g. Nep. *Eum.* 1.6 & Plu. *Eum.* 1.5; for India see IX.1.19). Eumenes briefly quarrelled with Hephaestion prior to the latter's death in 324 B.C. (see Arr. *An.* 7.13.1 & Plu. *Eum.* 2.7). In the marriages at Susa, earlier in the same year, he married the daughter of Artabazus (Arr. *An.* 7.4.6) and is mentioned as one of the innocent at Medius' party (see *L.M.* §98). In the strife following Alexander's death, he is listed as one of the prominent men (see Arr. *F.Gr.H.* 156 F1.2) and is said to have remained in Babylon throughout working for peace (Plu. *Eum.* 3.2). Concerning the allotment of the above mentioned areas to him, Arrian (*F.Gr.H.* 156 F1.5), Dexippus (*F.Gr.H.* 100 F8.2) and also Plutarch (*Eum.* 3.3) agree with Curtius, mentioning Trapezus; Diodorus (18.3.1), without mentioning Trapezus, implies it; Justin (13.4.16), Orosius (3.23.10), Porphyrius (*F.H.G.* 3.1) and the *Liber de Morte* (§116) only mention the two provinces, as do most of the Romances (see Heckel 1988 p. 108).

10.3.15. *bellum cum Ariarathe gereret* - When Alexander passed through Cappadocia in 333 B.C. all his thoughts were on the forthcoming clash with Darius (see D.S. 18.3.1 & 16.1). The whole area was neither subdued, nor forced to surrender (Arrian, at *An.* 2.4.2, is wrong; see Bosworth *ad loc.*); Alexander only received the submission of the southern satrapy (at this time Cappadocia was divided into two satrapies, Pontic Cappadocia and Cappadocia by the Taurus - see Str. *Chr.* 12.1.4) and, as his march was more southerly, left the northern one untouched. As a result, Ariarathes (Berve 113 & see also Hornblower 1981 pp. 239ff.), whose actual position is unclear (he may even have been a usurper), and who had been in power since the 350's B.C., became independent; by 323 B.C. he had extended his sway as far as Trapezus - Curtius implies this, as do Arrian (*F.Gr.H.* 156 F1.5) and Dexippus (*F.Gr.H.* 100 F8.2). It was this man that Eumenes had to defeat before gaining all his allotted territory (see also D.S. 18.3.1 & Plu. *Eum.* 3.4). Eventually, in 322 B.C., Perdikkas met and defeated Ariarathes, who had mustered fifteen thousand cavalry and thirty thousand infantry, and handed the province over to Eumenes: see D.S. 18.16.1ff., Plu. *Eum.* 3.12f., App. *Mith.* 8.25, Just 13.6.1 & Arr *F.Gr.H.* 156 F1.11; see also Hammond *HW* 1988 p. 118 & Hornblower 1981 pp. 242f.

10.3.21a. *detractabat* - At this point, the reading of B^c, *detractabat*, is usually preferred (but see Stangl & Menge) to the *detractabat* of ω. Elsewhere in the manuscripts of Curtius, there is similar disagreement: at III.8.11 there is unanimous support in Ω for *detractare*, although Δ has *detractare*, whereas there is more support for *detractare* at VIII.11.8, IX.1.36, VII.1.38 (E has *detractantes*), VII.1.40 (EP have *detractantibus*), IX.8.17 (P has *detractabant*) & IX.3.1 (F¹P have *detractare*). Although the appearance of *detractare* in the manuscripts of other writers is not as frequent as that of *detractare* (see *TLL* V₁ p. 834.74), this does not prove anything. Of other similar compounds, *contractare*, *attractare* and *obtractare* mostly appear

in the *trectare* form (see *TLL* IV p. 773.78ff., II p. 1161.56ff. & IX₂ p. 293.57ff. respectively), but *retractare* usually keeps the "a" and postdates the loss of the original stress accent; the manuscripts of Curtius follow these differences (there is *retractare* at X.5.20 & IX.3.22 and *attractare* at X.10.13). This would tend to show that there is no reason for the same not to be the case with *detractare*.

10.3.21b. detractabat imperium - Curtius also uses this infrequent combination at IX.8.17 "sed oppidani detractabant imperium et clauserant portas". For the same elsewhere see e.g. Tac. *Ann.* 1.45.2 of mutinous German legions "igitur Caesar arma classem socios demittere Rheno parat, si imperium detractetur, bello certaturus" & Fron. *Str.* 4.1.22 of knights refusing to obey a consul "eorumque pars detractasset imperium".

10.4.1. Pithon Mediam - For details about Pithon see 7.4.2n. Diodorus (18.3.1), Arrian (*F.Gr.H.* 156 F1.5) and Dexippus (*F.Gr.H.* 100 F8.2) all assign Media to Pithon, but Justin (13.4.13) is more precise and calls it Greater Media, for Atropates, Perdiccas' father-in-law, was in charge of the north-west portion, known as Lesser Media (see *D.S.* 18.3.3 & *Just.* 13.4.13), and later Media Atropatane (see *Str. Chr.* 11.13.1). Orosius (3.23.8) confuses the details and assigns Lesser Media correctly to Perdiccas' father-in-law, but gives Greater Media to Atropates, thinking that he is a different man. The *Liber de Morte* (§121) assigns Media to Craterus, but see Heckel 1988 p. 61 n. 12 for this probable copying error; for the other romance variants see Heckel 1988 p. 109.

10.4.3. Lysimachus Thraciam adpositasque Thraciae Ponticas gentes - S has *leomachus* and *ω Leonmachus*. However, neither of these words seem to represent the name of a known Macedonian; indeed, no such names are attested at any period. There is no doubt that Froben's suggestion, *Lysimachus*, is historically correct, as it is backed up by the other sources where there are no textual doubts: see *D.S.* 18.3.2, *Just.* 13.4.16, *Oros.* 3.23.9 & *Ps-Callisth.* 3.33.13; *Dexipp.* *F.Gr.H.* 100 F8.3 is fuller and mentions the Chersonese, as does *Arr. F.Gr.H.* 156 F1.7, where it is also recorded that the area of rule went as far as Salmydessus (Midye); see also the vague *Porph. F.H.G.* 3.1.

Lysimachus (Berve 480), a son of Agathocles (*Arr. An.* 6.28.4, *Ind.* 18.3 & *F.Gr.H.* 156 F1.2) was a member of a noble family (see *Just.* 15.3.1) and a *σωματοφύλαξ* of Alexander (see *Arr. An.* 5.13.1, 5.24.5 & 6.28.4; for this group see 6.1.6n.) and may have been appointed to this post by Philip II (see Heckel 1978 pp. 224ff.). In Bazaira, he was with Alexander when attacked by a lion, which Alexander fended off (see VIII.1.14ff.); Curtius says that this gave rise to the false story that Alexander deliberately exposed him to the lion (for this see e.g. *Just.* 15.3.7ff., *Plin. Nat.* 8.54, *Sen. Dial.* 5.17.2, *Cl.* 1.25.1, *Paus.* 1.9.5, *V. Max.* 9.3.ext.1, *Plu. Demetr.* 27.6 & *Lucianus DMort.* 14.4). He was also among those who tried to restrain the king from killing Clitus (see VIII.1.46). For his military exploits in India see *Arr. An.* 5.13.1 & 24.5 against Porus, where he was wounded, and also *Ind.* 18.3, where he was a trierarch on the

voyage on the Hydaspes. He is listed as one of those who attended Calanus for instruction (Arr. *An.* 7.3.4) and would have been crowned in 324 B.C. with the other "bodyguards" (see Arr. *An.* 7.5.6). He is listed among those who were not guilty at Medius' party (see *L.M.* §98). Following Alexander's death, he sided with his fellow officers and the cavalry (Arr. *F.Gr.H.* 156 F1.2).

10.4.11. Qui Indiae quique Bactris et Sogdianis...imperium, obtinerent - Arrian (*F.Gr.H.* 156 F1.8) likewise stops his list, omitting the eastern provinces and agreeing that they stayed under the previous governors. Dexippus (*F.Gr.H.* 100 F8.5f.) goes on to list those in power in the East, as do Diodorus (18.3.2f.; for the possible alteration of the order of his source see Rosen 1967 pp. 47f.; this is accepted by Hornblower, 1981 p. 96), Justin (13.4.19ff.) and Orosius (3.23.11ff.), who also, as Curtius, mention beforehand that the provinces stayed under the same rulers. It seems that Curtius has chosen to only give part of the list available to him, not wishing to bore his readers with an excessive one, which would have given details of many areas outside the Roman Empire and, therefore, have been of less interest than the more westerly provinces. For a comparison of the assignment of these eastern satrapies in the historians and Romance versions see Heckel 1988 pp. 108f.

10.4.19. Oceani - See 1.10.10n.

10.4.21. Rubri maris - See 1.13.6n.

10.4.33. Perdicca ut cum rege esset copiisque praeeset, quae regem sequebantur - Curtius is very vague on Perdiccas' exact position at this point. For what it seems to have been see 8.22.5n.

10.5.1. Credidere quidam testamento Alexandri distributas esse provincias...vanam fuisse comperimus - Curtius is here shown to be able to discern between good and bad sources. As previously mentioned (see §16 intro.), it is likely that the will he is referring to is that mentioned in the *Liber de Morte* (§§115ff.) and the Romances (see Ps-Callisth. 3.33.1f., Jul. Valer. 3.57f. & Leo 33), whether he read it from the *Liber de Morte* or some historian, who recorded it. It is interesting to note that, while Diodorus at this point assumes that no will existed, he later (see 20.81.3) refers to it as giving an allotment of the provinces and as being deposited at Rhodes; for the view that, at this point, Diodorus departed from his usual source to the writings of a Rhodian patriot, possibly Zeno (*F.Gr.H.* 523), see Hornblower 1981 pp. 56ff. For the same view, as Curtius, that Alexander died intestate see 5.12.14n.

For other similar personal judgements from Curtius see e.g. IV.3.23, V.1.24, VII.4.8, VII.7.8, VIII.1.17, VIII.10.15, IX.5.21 & 10.12.1n.; for other comments to the reader see e.g. III.1.13, III.4.2, V.6.9, V.11.10 (cited at 1.30.9an.), VI.7.35, VII.8.11, VII.8.12, VIII.2.1 & VIII.4.28. As with many other elements of his work, this practice may be a Livian posture: for judgements there see e.g. 8.26.6, 10.9.12, 21.28.5f., 21.38.4 & Walsh 1961 pp. 47f., 139 on

specific types; for personal comments see the list given by Steele 1904 pp. 42f.

10.6.3. *suas, quisque opes divisim imperii partibus tuebantur, [ipsi fundaverant] **** - Editors have viewed this passage as somewhat difficult and offered various suggestions to help improve the sense. Of these, the reading of Δ , used by Müller, in which *quas* is added before *quisque*, does least violence to the text and makes some sense. However, it seems that there is a greater problem at this point. *Ipsi fundaverant* is possibly an explanatory gloss, which may have slipped into the text, and there may be a short lacuna following *tuebantur*; this seems the case, as the following sententia is not appropriate in the context.

10.6.12. *si umquam...terminus staret* - For a similar sententia cf. VIII.13.15 "Abire cum gloria poterant, si umquam temeritas felix inveniret modum".

10.6.15. *immodicas cupiditates* - See 5.32.2n.

10.7.1. *Quippe paulo ante regis...accipere* - Justin also contains a comment on the distribution of the provinces, although not as gloomy as that of Curtius' stress on civil war: see 13.4.24 "Haec divisio velut fatale munus singulis contigisset, ita magna incrementorum memoria plurimis fuit; siquidem non magno post tempore, quasi regna, non praefecturas divisissent, sic reges ex praefectis facti magnas opes non sibi tantum paraverunt, verum etiam posteris reliquerunt".

10.7.2. *paulo ante regis ministri* - At this point, *paulo ante* could be taken to refer to either *regis ministri*, or *regis* alone. From the context, the latter is preferable; for the same use of *paulo ante* see 7.2.15n.

10.7.5. *ministri specie imperii* - Earlier in his work, Curtius praises the officers several times (see e.g. IV.5.13 & IV.16.31ff.), but, following Alexander's death, there is no praise; they are even referred to as *satellites* (see 5.14.14n.) and at 5.37.6n. Curtius states that the whole empire was too great for one to bear, implying that none of the generals was capable enough.

Section Seventeen

Alexander Remembered: X.10.9 - X.10.20

Curtius completes his history by referring once again, after a long interval, to Alexander. He appropriately informs the reader of the preparation of the body¹ for burial² and then includes speculation about whether Alexander was poisoned, or not; this would have been left out of his account of Alexander's death³; it is clear that he rejects the story⁴. At the very end, there is the mention of the body's journey to Memphis and then to Alexandria⁵, where it still was in Curtius' own day⁶. The reader is thus returned to the present.

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1. On the importance of the body see Errington 1976 pp. 141ff. & 10.20.1n.
 2. X.10.12f.
 3. See 10.14.1n.; for a discussion on Alexander's death see §10 intro.
 4. See 10.14.4n.
 5. See 10.20.1n.
 6. See 10.20.23n.
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10.9.1. *Septimus dies* - It seems rather unlikely to the modern reader that the body of Alexander the Great, who was supposedly admired so much by his men (see e.g. 3.3.1bn.), was left to lie untreated for such a long time. However, it is clear that there was a tradition that Alexander was not treated promptly after his death and Curtius' time period is not excessive, compared to those given by other writers. Diodorus does not give the length of time that elapsed before Alexander's body was attended to, but does mention that it was not removed from Babylon for some two years (see 18.28.2 & 5.4.18n.); Plutarch (*Alex.* 77.5, cited at 10.12.13n., & see Hamilton *ad loc.*) says that it lay for many days; Aelian (*VH* 12.64) states that, while the conflict was taking place, Alexander lay for some thirty days - *ἀλλ' οὗτός γε τριάκοντα ἡμέρας κατελέλειπτο ἀκηδής* - and later (*VH* 13.30) remarks on Olympias' sadness that he had remained unburied for a long time - *Ὀλυμπιάς ἡ Ἀλεξάνδρου πιθομένη ὅτι πολὺν χρόνον ὁ παῖς αὐτῆς ἀταφος μένει*; Lucian (*DMort.* 13.3) gives the same length of thirty days when Alexander, speaking to Diogenes, says *Ἔτι ἐν Βαβυλώνι κείμεναι τριακοστὴν ταύτην ἡμέραν, ὑπισχνεῖται δὲ Πτολεμαῖος ὁ ὑπασπιστής, ἦν ποτε ἀγάγη σχολὴν ἀπὸ τῶν θορύβων τῶν ἐν ποσίν, ἐς Αἴγυπτον ἀπαγαγὼν θάψειν ἐκεῖ* and at 14.5 implies a lengthy wait when Philip, addressing Alexander, says *νῦν μὲν γὰρ ὁπότε ἤδη τέθνηκας, οὐκ οἰέει πολλοὺς εἶναι τοὺς τὴν προσποίησιν ἐκελευθῆναι ἐπικερτομοῦντας, ὀρώντας τὸν νεκρὸν τοῦ θεοῦ ἐκτάδην κείμενον, μυδῶντα ἤδη καὶ ἐξωδηκοτά κατὰ νόμον σωμάτων ἀπάντων*.

The seven days, mentioned by Curtius, seem a rather short time for all the events he has mentioned to actually happen, especially for a blockade to cause the kind of hardship and panic that it reportedly did (see 8.12.1n.). As previously mentioned (see 8.13.5n.), that whole episode seems rather unrealistic and it, therefore, does not rule out such a length of

time. It is likely that Curtius has again been influenced by the practices of contemporary Rome. There, members of the upper classes seem often to have lain in state for up to seven days: see Serv. A. 6.218 & Toynbee 1971 p. 45. Curtius, in choosing this period, may be emphasising that Alexander was still not attended to at a time when he should really have been ready for burial. If this is not the case, it may be that he randomly picked this time period, which he often uses in his work: see e.g. IX.10.27 (this, however, is also supported by Plu. *Alex.* 67.1 & see Hamilton *ad loc.*), IV.7.2, VIII.6.15, VIII.11.9 & IX.6.1. In other writers, such seven day time periods are very common.

10.9.6. *corpus regis iacebat in solio* - The body, according to Curtius, was in a separate chamber: see X.7.16.

10.9.10. *solio* - By using *iacebat* with this word, Curtius makes it clear that he is referring to some sort of coffin. He uses *solium* in the same way at X.1.32 "Ceterum corona aurea imposita amiculo, cui adsuerat ipse, solium, in quo corpus iacebat" and X.10.13, where probably the same *solium* is not meant. Curtius also uses it in its more common sense of "throne": see IV.1.22 & V.7.11; for this use elsewhere see e.g. Lucr. 5.1137, Verg. A. 1.506, V. Max. 6.9.*ext.*7 & Liv. 1.47.4; for the use of *solium* elsewhere referring to a coffin, or sarcophagus, see e.g. Plin. *Nat.* 35.160, Suet. *Nero* 50.1 & Flor. *Epit.* 2.21.11.

10.9.15. *publicum statum* - Normally in this context *status* would be joined with *rei publicae*, or *rerum publicarum*: see e.g. Cic. *Fin.* 5.11, *N.D.* 1.7, Liv. 3.59.5, Quint. *Inst.* 8.4.13, Suet. *Jul.* 40.1 & V. Max. 8.9.1. However, this use of *publicus* is perfectly admissible (see 2.6.8n.); Curtius does not use *res publica* in reference to Macedonia.

10.9.17. *a tam sollemni munere* - Yet again, Curtius refers to funeral rites, but does not inform the reader as to what he believes they were: see 6.7.18n.

10.10.1a. *Et non...est advenis* - Curtius ostensibly gives this description of the area and its high temperature in order to set the scene for the following story about the lack of decay on Alexander's body. In so doing, he further undermines the story, which he himself does not seem to accept: see 10.12.1n. However, as well as simply setting the scene, he expands his description into a short excursus: see 1.14.1n.

10.10.1b. *Et non alias quam Mesopotamiae regione fervidior aestus existit* - This is the reading of S, accepted by Bardon and Giacone, whereas ω offers "aliis quam mesopotamiae regioni fervidior aestus". The reading of ω is difficult due to the unparalleled use of *existo* and the dative. As regards that of S, although *alias* is not frequent in a spacial sense, it is permissible: see e.g. Cels. 5.18.7, Gratt. 443 & *Laud. Tur.* 2.28. Many editors have altered the readings given by the manuscripts, but these are not necessary and are often of little

improvement.

10.10.5. Mesopotamiae...aestus - Earlier (see V.1.12ff.), Curtius comments upon the fertility of the area between the Euphrates and the Tigris, but, there, he must be referring to the northern area of Mesopotamia, whereas, at this point, he is referring to the more southerly areas. Strabo makes the same distinction: for the northern area see *Chr.* 16.1.24 and for the southerly facing areas, described as *ἀνυδρα καὶ λυπρά*, see *Chr.* 16.1.26.

10.10.12. pleraque animalia...cuncta velut igne torrentur - Curtius uses similar words in a description of the heat in Bactria: see VII.5.3 "Harenas vapor aestivi solis accendit; quae ubi flagrare coeperunt, haud secus quam continenti incendio cuncta torrentur".

10.10.22. vapor soli et caeli - At this point, Ω has "vapor solis et caeli". Although *vapor* and *caelum* are rarely joined (see e.g. *Lucr.* 5.1095f.), *caelum* is often used in this sense referring to climate (see *TLL* III p. 93.24ff. & for Curtius e.g. IV.7.17, V.4.9, VII.4.20 & IX.1.11); *vapor solis* is very common, especially in technical writers (see e.g. in Curtius in other descriptions of hot areas III.5.1, IV.7.6 & VII.5.3; for other writers see e.g. *Lucr.* 1.1032, 2.150, 4.185, 5.798, 6.236, *Plin. Nat.* 2.76, 2.124., 7.22, 8.117 & 9.35). However, the problem at this point is caused by the actual meaning of the phrase, which presumably is something such as "heat of the sun and climate". It is clear that the *caeli* is virtually redundant. It is an easy emendation to change the *solis* to *solis*, therefore creating a more meaningful and graphic phrase. The contrast between *caelum* and *solum* in such a context is common: see e.g. *Cels.* 2.18.8, *Plin. Nat.* 14.10, 14.27, 17.187, *Mela* 2.100 & *Tac. Hist.* 2.32.1.

10.11.1. Fontes aquarum...ignotus advenis - Curtius notes the same sort of trickery concerning crops at VII.4.24 "Siros vocabant barbari, quos ita sollerter abscondunt, ut, nisi qui defoderunt, invenire non possint; in his conditae fruges erant".

10.12.1. Traditum magis quam creditum refero - Curtius, at the outset, deliberately lets it be known that he does not believe that Alexander's body did not decompose in the days following his death. For Curtius giving a similar statement elsewhere, which perhaps explains why he includes this section, see IX.1.34, where some dogs kill a lion and he comments "Equidem plura transcribo quam credo: nam nec adfirmare sustineo, de quibus dubito, nec subducere, quae accepi". His attitude is reminiscent of that of Herodotus at 7.152.3 *ἐγὼ δὲ ὀφείλω λέγειν τὰ λεγόμενα, πείθεσθαι γὰρ μὲν οὐ παντάπασιν ὀφείλω, καὶ μοι τοῦτο τὸ ἔπος ἐχέτω ἐς πάντα λόγον* & see How & Wells *ad loc.* Compare, however, the ironical statement of Tacitus at *Hist.* 2.50.2 "Ut conquirere fabulosa et fictis oblectare legentium animos procul gravitate coepti operis crediderim, ita vulgatis traditisque demere fidem non ausim". For similar scepticism by Curtius and other writers see 10.5.1n.

10.12.5. *refero* - Vogel's suggestion for the *refert* of Ω (B^cΔ omit *traditum...refert*) is followed by other editors; it is to be accepted, as a first person singular is necessary at this point.

10.12.13. *nulla tabe, ne minimo quidem livore corruptum* - Plutarch gives the same story, noting that the conditions were most stifling and that this acted against the view that Alexander was poisoned: see *Alex.* 77.5 *καὶ τεκμήριον αὐτοῖς ἐστὶν οὐ μικρόν, ὅτι τῶν ἡγεμόνων στασιασάντων ἐφ' ἡμέρας πολλὰς ἀθεράπευτον τὸ σῶμα κείμενον ἐν τόποις θερμοῖς καὶ πνιγώδεσιν οὐδὲν ἔσχε τοιαύτης φθορᾶς σημεῖον, ἀλλ' ἔμεινε καθαρὸν καὶ πρόσφατον* & Hamilton *ad loc.* Lucian (*DMort.* 14.5, cited at 10.9.1n.), however, notes the decay of the body, which is the view, no doubt, accepted by Curtius. The lack of any decay may, if true, have been taken as a sign of the divinity of Alexander (see 10.13.4n.), something Curtius seems to disbelieve and disapprove of (see 5.33.7n.).

As recorded by Curtius and other writers (see 10.10.5n.), the heat around Babylon would have been very intense, thus making decomposition inevitable; for the decomposition of bodies in this vicinity following the Battle of Gaugamela see V.1.11 "odor cadaverum totis iacentium campis vulgaverat". In addition to the heat, there would probably have been much moisture in the air, as the Euphrates flowed through Babylon (see fig. 6 at 5.7.8n.) and outside it there were marshy areas (see e.g. *Arr. An.* 7.22.1ff. & *D.S.* 17.116.5ff.); this would have contributed to decomposition. Alexander probably died due to malaria (see §10 intro.) and Hammond (1981 p. 323 n. 116) has suggested that, if this story, which is rejected by Curtius, is true, then it may have been the case that Alexander, in a coma, actually died later than was thought to be the case at the time. From what Plutarch says, it may be that this story of the lack of decay on Alexander's body could stem from a rumour put about to quench the charges of poisoning levelled at Antipater and his family, in much the same way as the *Ephemerides* try to blame the death on excessive drinking. See further Wolf 1963 pp. 169f. & for possible Homeric influence on this story of the lack of decay see Rutz 1986 pp. 2336f.

10.12.23. *vigor...vultum* - For these words used together by Curtius elsewhere see 5.10.22n.

10.12.28. *spiritu* - "life", rather than the more usual "breath", or "breathing"; for *spiritus* used in the same way see e.g. V.8.13, VI.1.15, VI.4.11, VI.9.28, VI.10.33, IX.5.30 & X.6.8.

10.13.2. *Aegyptii Chaldaei* - Only Curtius mentions these two groups at this point, as is also the case with the embalment of Alexander himself. Both groups were known as astrologers (see e.g. *Serv. A.* 6.848 "per astronomiam Aegyptios et Chaldaeos"). Egyptians accompanied Alexander on his march after the conquest of Egypt: see IV.10.4ff. & Atkinson *ad loc.* & *Arr. An.* 6.1.6. The Chaldaeans, as referred to by Greek and Roman writers, were the Babylonian seers who used the stars to predict the future (see III.3.6 & Atkinson *ad loc.*, V.1.22, *Arr. An.* 7.16.5ff., 7.22.1, *Str. Chr.* 16.1.6, *D.S.* 17.112.2ff., 17.116.4 & *Cic. Div.* 2.87ff.) and were the priests of Bel (see *Arr. An.* 3.16.5 & Bosworth *ad loc.*, 7.16.5ff. & *Hdt.* 1.181.5 &

How & Wells *ad loc.*). They would have been known to Curtius, as they were present in Rome at this time; attitudes to them seem to have been mixed. In A.D. 16 there was a senatorial decree expelling them (see Tac. *Ann.* 2.32.3 & Suet. *Tib.* 36) shortly after Scribonius Libo Drusus was charged with consulting "Chaldaeorum promissa, magorum sacra, somniorum etiam interpretes" (Tac. *Ann.* 2.27.2); for a later tract against them see Gel. 14.1.1ff. However, despite this hostile view, they were popular and in A.D. 20 Lepida was charged with consulting them regarding the Caesarian house (see Tac. *Ann.* 3.22.1); the emperor Tiberius seems to have been fond of astrology and is said to have studied the art of the Chaldaeans in Rhodes and on Capri (see Tac. *Ann.* 6.20.2 & Juv. 10.93f. & Mayor *ad loc.* for more on this group). Later, Otho was said to have been surrounded by a pack of them: see Plu. *Gal.* 23.4.

10.13.4. *iussi...suo more...purgavere corpus...insignia* - Curtius is correct in saying that Alexander was embalmed, for it was possible to see the king in his own time: see 10.20.23n. As already noted (see 6.7.18n.), the customary Macedonian practice at death was cremation and burial for a king at Aegae; in Babylon the custom was burial. Therefore, the question arises as to why Alexander was embalmed. It is unlikely that it was a compromise, designed not to annoy the Babylonians (see 6.7.18n.). Hammond (1981 p. 268) suggests that he was embalmed due to his faith in divine powers and his consultation of seers. It seems very likely that he asked to be embalmed, considering that he thought of himself as a god and the son of Ammon (see 5.11.2n.) and, when he was near death, is reported to have asked for his body to be taken to that shrine (see 5.4.18n.). This Egyptian practice resulted from beliefs concerning the afterlife and the necessity to preserve the body for the spirits of the dead in order to gain immortality; for further information on Egyptian beliefs and practices see Andrews 1984 pp. 5f., Harris & Weeks 1973 p. 76 & Johnson 1978 p. 139.

10.13.6. *suo more...purgavere corpus* - With the words *suo more*, Curtius once again draws attention to foreign customs (on this see 5.17.3n. & 6.12.5n.). In this case, Curtius would have had no need to have explained the process in detail, as it continued to be used in Roman Egypt and occasionally in Rome itself: on this see Toynbee 1971 pp. 41f.; for an example see Tac. *Ann.* 16.6.2 of Poppaea. For the process of embalment see Hdt. 2.86.1ff. & How & Wells *ad loc.*, D.S. 1.91.2ff. and the modern discussions (including illustrations) of Andrews 1984 pp. 13ff., David 1978 pp. 58ff., Harris & Weeks 1973 pp. 73ff. & Johnson 1978 pp. 139ff.

10.13.13. *purgavere...insignia* - The impression Curtius gives is of a very quick process. In actual fact, the whole embalming process would have taken some time. After the removal of the internal organs, came the drying process, using a naturally occurring substance, which the Egyptians called *netjery* and consisting mainly of two drying agents, sodium bicarbonate and sodium carbonate (see David 1978 pp. 71ff. & Harris & Weeks 1973 p. 82); the final stage was the bandaging process (see 10.13.6n. for references). In *Genesis* (50.3), the process is recorded as

taking forty days, whereas Herodotus (2.86.5) says that the dehydration process took seventy days. Harris & Weeks (1973 pp. 89f.) suggest that this discrepancy can be explained in that Herodotus is referring to the whole preparation and *Genesis* to the drying process; Andrews, 1984 p. 21, seems to accept this and the experiments mentioned by David, 1978 p. 75, seem to back it up.

10.13.20. *ius fasque* - "right before men and gods" (see e.g. Isid. *Orig.* 5.2.2 "*fas lex divina est, ius lex humana.*"); the phrase is also used at VI.4.9 "*Agitasse Dareum custodiam corporis sui contra ius fasque peregrino militi tradere...*". For this liturgical formula, which is especially common in Livy, see Liv. 1.2.6 & Ogilvie *ad loc.*

10.13.25. *eum* - Rader's suggestion of *deum* for the *eum* of Ω has been accepted by modern editors; Zumpt, however, states that it is better to take this meaning from *eum* than change it and, as Foss and the earlier editors, retains the reading of Ω (see also de Lorenzi 1965 pp. 112f. for doubts about the emendation). Although *eum* is weak, it is more subtle, as it does not overplay the new divine status of Alexander and a point to be kept in mind is that, in the nineteen other times *deus* is used in the singular, there are no textual difficulties - this discounts the probability that a scribe had an aversion to writing the word; in addition, it is unlikely that a scribe, used to working with the word, or an abbreviation (for this see Traube 1907 p. 148 & Capelli 1949 under the relevant sections), would have mixed the two up. However, on the negative side, *eum* creates a hiatus and it is odd for it to be in the non-emphatic position at the end of the sentence; *deum* would be emphatic. Both of these, however, do not seem as major points as those against *deum*. The tone of this section, which works on two levels, is also of use in deciding the correct reading. Firstly, if the Egyptians had found the body in an unchanged state, they may have considered that Alexander was a god, owing to their belief that a well preserved body granted eternal life (on this see 10.13.4n.); either *deum*, or *eum*, would be suitable for this. Secondly, whether Curtius has the first point in mind, or not, if *deum* is correct, his use of it must be ironical; the treatment of the story to this point has been marked with incredulity on his part (see 10.12.1n.). If *eum*, the reading of Ω , is retained this irony is even more obvious (for Curtius' dislike of the divine aspirations of Alexander see 5.33.7n.). Thus, with all the factors analysed, *eum*, the reading of Ω , seems better. The Roman reader would probably have been reminded of Caligula's possible desires to be considered divine; this was in contrast to Claudius' rejection of such honours (see 5.11.2n.).

10.13.28. *repletumque est odoribus aureum solium* - These words are to be taken together, rather than connecting *repletumque* with *corpus*. Diodorus gives the same detail, pointing perhaps to a common source: see 18.26.3 *καὶ τοῦτ' ἀνὰ μέσον ἐπλήρωσαν ἀρωμάτων τῶν ἄμα δυναμένων τὴν εὐωδίαν καὶ τὴν διαμονὴν παρέχεσθαι τῷ σώματι*. For the embalming process see further 10.13.6n.

10.13.31. *aureum solium* - This is probably not the *solium* referred to at 10.9.10n., which would have been a temporary one. Curtius seems to be correct, although anachronistic, in saying that the coffin was gold, for Diodorus (18.26.3) notes that, in the following year, a gold coffin was made for Alexander: *Πρῶτον μὲν γὰρ τῷ σώματι κατεσκευάσθη χρυσοῦν σφυρήλατον ἀρμόζον*. Strabo (*Chr.* 17.1.8) mentions that Ptolemy laid Alexander in a golden sarcophagus in Alexandria: *ὁ Πτολεμαῖος ἐκήδευσεν ἐν τῇ Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ, ὅπου νῦν ἔτι κείται· οὐ μὴν ἐν τῇ αὐτῇ πνέλω· ὑάλινη γὰρ αὕτη, ἐκεῖνος δ' ἐν χρυσοῦ καταέθηκεν*, this may be the same item. It is likely that Curtius has simply passed from the initial work on the corpse to the finished product in the same sentence.

10.13.34. *capiti adiecta fortunae eius insignia* - It is difficult to know what exactly Curtius is referring to and the vague nature of his wording would tend to show that he did not know either. In the other sources, the only similarity is in Diodorus (18.26.4), where the writer, referring to preparation for his funeral cortege several years later (see 5.4.18n.), mentions that Alexander's weapons were put at his side. However, if Curtius has specific objects in mind, there are three possibilities. The most obvious option would be that he means the *diadema*, or fillet, which Alexander wore with the Macedonian *kausia* (for this usage see 5.33.24n. & 6.4.11n.). It is hard to say whether this would have been Alexander's own diadem, which had been put on view by Perdiccas earlier (see 6.4.1n.). Arrhidaeus, according to Curtius (see 7.13.19n.), put on the robe which Alexander had worn and had been put on show by Perdiccas. The reader is not told if he lifted any other items, but, later (see 8.20.4n.), he is recorded as offering to return his diadem; this was either Alexander's, or his own. In addition, a diadem was supposedly included in Eumenes' display in 318 B.C. (see 6.4.1n.), so, if that is correct, either Curtius is wrong, it was stolen at a later date, Alexander had more than one diadem, or the one put on show by Eumenes was a fake. The second option would be a tubular crown, such as that found at Vergina (see Andronikos 1980 pl. 29); for the evidence of this article in use before the eastern conquests see Fredricksmeier 1981 pp. 332f. Curtius has already mentioned that Alexander placed a crown on Cyrus' coffin and Augustus, when visiting Egypt, placed a golden crown on the body of Alexander (see 1.32.1n.). However, a point against this interpretation is that Curtius only refers to Alexander wearing a *diadema* (see VI.6.4), although mentioning that *coronae* were brought to him as gifts (see IV.2.2, IV.5.11 & VIII.12.15; for him giving out crowns see IX.1.6). In addition, as with the *diadema*, Eumenes reportedly put a *corona* on display (this is mentioned only at D.S. 18.60.6 & Polyæn. 4.8.2). The third possibility is that Curtius is influenced by Roman custom, which involved placing a wreath on a dead man's head if he had deserved it in life: see e.g. Cic. *Leg.* 2.60.

10.14.1. *Veneno necatum esse credidere plerique* - Although a lacuna deprives the reader of Curtius' description of the reasons for Alexander's death, the mention of the poison at this stage makes it clear that, at that point, Curtius would not have mentioned it. He, as Diodorus did, would probably have given the cause as excessive drinking. As noted at §10 intro.,

Curtius and Diodorus seem to be following the same source for the death of Alexander, except that Curtius postpones the details of a poison attempt. Diodorus, as Curtius, rejects the idea that Alexander was poisoned: see 17.117.6ff. *Ἐπεὶ δὲ τινες τῶν συγγραφέων περὶ τῆς τελευτῆς τοῦ βασιλέως τούτου διαπεφωνήκασιν, ἀποφαινόμενοι διὰ φαρμάκου θανάσιμου γεγονέναι τὸν θάνατον ἀναγκαῖον ἡγούμεθα δεῖν μὴ παραλιπεῖν αὐτῶν τοὺς λόγους. Φασὶ γὰρ...* Of the other main sources, Plutarch and Arrian both follow the account of the *Ephemerides* and the death is put down by them to excessive drinking. Plutarch (*Alex.* 77.2ff. & see Hamilton *ad loc.*) then gives details of a poison, saying that no one suspected it at first. However, he is not in favour of this view: see *Alex.* 77.5 *οἱ δὲ πλεῖστοι τὸν λόγον ὄλως οἴονται πεπλάσθαι τὸν περὶ τῆς φαρμακείας*. Arrian (*An.* 7.27.1ff.), following his main account, also lists variations on the theme of a possible plot and indicates that he does not believe that there was one (see *An.* 7.27.3 *καὶ ταῦτα ἐμοὶ ὡς μὴ ἀγνοεῖν δόξαιμι μᾶλλον ὅτι λεγόμενά ἐστιν ἢ ὡς πιστὰ ἐς ἀφήγησιν ἀναγεγράφθω* & Brunt 1983 p. 295 n. 1). This view that Alexander died from excessive drinking is also found elsewhere (see §10 intro. nn.13 & 14). Of the main Alexander historians, only Justin (12.13.10ff.) comes down in favour of a plot and this is also the view taken by the *Liber de Morte* (§§87ff.). However, this view seems to have been popular outside the histories (see §10 intro. n. 31). Several writers (see §10 intro. n. 34) put his death down to sickness; this seems the most likely cause. For a discussion on the relative merits of the different traditions about the death of Alexander see §10 intro.

It seems somewhat strange that Curtius would reject such a reason for Alexander's death, considering the prevalence of such charges at this time in Rome. One only has to read the *Annals* of Tacitus to see how common charges were: see e.g. 2.69.2ff. of the poisoning of Germanicus, 3.22.1 of charges against Aemilia Lepida, 4.21.2 of Piso accused of having poison in his house, 4.52.1 of Agrippina accused of attempting to poison Tiberius, 4.54.1 of Agrippina warned of a poison plot by Tiberius against her, 12.52.2 of doubt as to whether Scribonianus was poisoned, 12.66.2ff. of Claudius poisoned, 13.1.2 of Silanus poisoned, 13.15.4ff. of Britannicus poisoned, 14.3.2 of Agrippina fortifying herself against poison, 14.51.1 of suspicions that Burrus was poisoned, 14.65.1 of Nero believed to have poisoned two ex-slaves, 15.45.3 of Seneca perhaps escaping a plot to poison him by Nero, 15.64.3 of Seneca trying to poison himself & 16.6.1 of some recording that Poppaea was poisoned.

10.14.3. *esse* - At this point, L has *esse dixerunt* and B has *dixerunt* added in the margin by a corrector; F is torn. *Dixerunt* is a gloss on *credidere* and may have been added to indicate indirect speech.

10.14.4. *credidere plerique* - By using *plerique* and *credidere*, Curtius distances himself from this incorrect view, which seems to be added to the end of his work to complete matters - for these words used in the same way by Curtius see 1.13.12n.; for his general scepticism see 10.5.1n. The later addition of "*Haec, utcumque sunt*" strengthens this idea of disbelief on

Curtius' part: see 10.18.2n.

10.14.6. filium Antipatri - Curtius' version of the supposed plot is one of those included by Arrian (*An.* 7.27.1f.), although he mentions that Aristotle helped to prepare the poison. Plutarch (*Alex.* 77.3 & see Hamilton *ad loc.*) also includes the name of Aristotle (on this see also Plin. *Nat.* 30.149). Diodorus (17.118.1) gives roughly the same as Curtius and does not mention Aristotle. Justin (12.14.1ff.) does not mention Aristotle, but does include another of Antipater's sons, Philip, who was a wine pourer, and, as Arrian (*An.* 7.27.2) and the *Liber de Morte* (§97), involves the Thessalian, Medius, in the plot.

10.14.10. Iollam - (Berve 386) This young man was born around 350 B.C. and was one of Alexander's cupbearers (see also Just. 12.14.6, Arr. *An.* 7.27.2, Plu. *Alex.* 74.2, D.S. 17.118.1 & *L.M.* §89). Along with Cassander and his father, Antipater, he was implicated in the rumours of the poisoning of Alexander and was supposed to have administered the drug supplied by Cassander: see X.10.17, Arr. *An.* 7.27.2, Plu. *Alex.* 77.2 & Hamilton *ad loc.*, Just. 12.14.6ff., D.S. 17.118.1 & *L.M.* §§89ff. When Olympias arrived back in Macedonia in 317 B.C., following Antipater's death, she scattered Iollas' ashes in punishment for his supposed crime: see D.S. 19.11.8 & Plu. *Alex.* 77.2 & Hamilton *ad loc.*

10.14.17. audita erat vox Alexandri...regium adfectare fastigium - Although Olympias claimed this of Antipater (see e.g. Arr. *An.* 7.12.7 ἡ δέ, ὑπέρογκον εἶναι τῆ τε ἀξιώσει καὶ τῆ ἄλλῃ θεραπεία Ἀντίπατρον οὐδὲ μεμνηῖσθαι τοῦ καταστήσαντος ἔτι, ἀλλ' αὐτὸν γὰρ ἀξιοῦν τὰ πρῶτα φέρεσθαι ἐν τοῖς ἄλλοις Μακεδόσι τε καὶ Ἑλλῆσι), Arrian qualifies what he writes by stating οὐ μέντοι καταφανές γέ τι ἢ ἔργον ἢ λόγος ἐξηγγέλλετο Ἀλεξάνδρου ἐφ' ὅτῳ ἂν τις συνέθηκεν οὐχ ὡσαύτως εἶναι αὐτῷ πρὸς θυμοῦ Ἀντίπατρον.

10.14.25. maioremque esse praefecti opibus ac titulo Spartanae victoriae inflatum - There are several possible ways to translate this section. Yardley (YH 1984 p. 257) chooses to connect *maioremque* with *opibus*, thus treating the latter as an ablative of comparison; in this case *praefecti* is a straightforward genitive. This interpretation, however, seems awkward, as the words are separated into two distinct halves. A better alternative would be to treat *praefecti* as a genitive of comparison (for this possibly vernacular construction see K-S II pp. 468f.; it may even be due to the influence of a Greek source) and connect *opibus* with *inflatum*. In this case the whole section remains as one unit.

10.14.31a. Spartanae victoriae - Probably in the spring of 331 B.C. King Agis III (Berve 16 & see Badian 1967 pp. 170ff.; for a start in the summer see Cawkwell 1969 pp. 169ff. & Bosworth 1975 pp. 27ff.) led a revolt, consisting mostly of Peloponnesians and some northern Greeks, against Antipater, Alexander's regent in Greece. Curtius' account of this war, which Alexander reputedly referred to as one of mice (see Plu. *Ages.* 15.6), is mostly lost due to a

lacuna at the start of Book Six, and only the last stages of the final battle are described: see VI.1.1ff.; for another reference to it see IV.1.39. The revolt occurred at roughly the same time as one in Thrace led by the governor, Memnon (on this see 1.45.4n.). Antipater, having first come to an agreement in Thrace, took his time in coming to face his foe and, after building up his forces to some 40,000 men (D.S. 17.63.1) with the help of a reported 3,000 silver talents from Alexander (Arr. *An.* 3.16.10), defeated the smaller forces (slightly over 20,000 infantry and cavalry: see D.S. 17.62.7) of Agis at Megalopolis in a hard battle (see VI.1.1ff., D.S. 17.63.2f. & Just. 12.1.10f.). Following it, Antipater, rather than arranging terms himself, passed the decision to the Greek Council, which, in turn, passed it to Alexander (see VI.1.19f. & D.S. 17.73.5f.). For further details see Badian 1967 pp. 181ff., Brunt 1976 pp. 480ff., Hammond 1981a pp. 158f. and also Cawkwell, 1969 pp. 163ff., Borza, 1971 pp. 230ff., Lock, 1972 pp. 10ff., Bosworth, 1975 pp. 27ff., & Atkinson, 1980 pp. 482ff., who mainly deal with the dates of the war.

10.14.31b. Spartanae victoriae inflatum - Following his description of the battle at Megalopolis, Curtius suggests that Alexander was displeased with Antipater gaining this victory and that the regent was aware of this: see VI.1.18f. "Quippe Alexander hostes vinci voluerat, Antipatrum vicisse ne tacitus quidem indignabatur suae demptum gloriae existimans, quicquid cessisset alienae. Itaque Antipater qui probe nosset spiritus eius, non est ausus ipse agere arbitria victoriae, sed concilium Graecorum, quid fieri placeret, consuluit". The impression given is that Antipater tried to play down his success.

10.15.1. credebant etiam...eum missum - This is as close as Curtius comes to giving a possible motive for Antipater to poison Alexander. If Craterus had been sent to kill Antipater, he would have presumably gone swiftly to Greece. However, as already mentioned (see §3 intro.), his progress was very slow and he had only reached Cilicia, a three month journey, in a period of ten months. Badian (1961 pp. 36ff.) sees his task as the killing of Antipater, but Griffith (1965 pp. 12ff.) suggests that there possibly were orders for Craterus not to cross to Macedonia until Antipater had left, so that the old and new forces would not meet. Furthermore, he (1965 pp. 16f.) suggests that, if Antipater had feared for his safety, he probably would not have sent his son and, if he had planned to revolt, this mission acted as a restraint. As previously noted (see §3 intro.), Craterus may have been ordered to oversee the preparation of ships in Cilicia and then to go to the Greece. There actually seems to have been little reason to think that Alexander and his regent were at variance. Heckel (1988 p. 7) suggests that the idea that Craterus was sent to kill Antipater may have arisen as a defence against the charge of regicide.

In the other sources, further possible motives are given. Justin (12.14.1ff.) gives various reasons for a plot, including the mention of the deaths of Antipater's friends, Alexander Lyncestes and his nephew, Callisthenes, as well as that he was envied after his successes in Greece and attacked by Olympias. He also apparently feared action against him

following the purge after Alexander's return from India (on this see §1 intro.). Diodorus (17.118.1) gives the reasons as enmity between him and Olympias, who had won over Alexander, and also the murders of Parmenion and Philotas (on these see 1.1.12n.). In the *Liber de Morte* (§§87f.), the reason is put down to Antipater suspecting Alexander of wanting to harm him.

10.16.1. Vim autem veneni...constat suci - In other Alexander historians and other writers, the same poison, usually said to come from Arcadia (on this point see 10.16.6n.), with the same corrosive quality is mentioned and it is generally agreed that only the hoof of an animal, whether a mule, ass, or horse, could hold it. Diodorus (17.118.1) simply mentions that poison was used, but Arrian (*An.* 7.27.1) briefly says *οἱ δὲ καὶ ὅτι ἐν ἡμίονου ὀπλῇ ἐκόμισε καὶ τοῦτο ἀνέγραψαν* and Justin (12.14.7) writes "cuius veneni tanta vis fuit, ut non aere, non ferro, non testa contineretur, nec aliter ferri nisi in ungula equi potuerit"; the *Liber de Morte* has a piece on its potency - see §88 "eique venenum paratum † in pyxidem ferream coniecit. hanc in ungulam mulinam ferro vinctam clusit, ut vim veneni continere posset †" - and Pliny (*Nat.* 30.149) notes the means of carrying it "ungulas tantum mularum repertas, neque aliam ullam materiem, quae non perroderetur a veneno Stygis aquae, cum id dandum Alexandro...", as do Aelian (*NA* 10.40) *Ἐν τῇ Σκυθίᾳ γῆ γίνονται ὄνοι κερασφόροι, καὶ στέγει τὰ κέρατα ἐκεῖνα τὸ ὕδωρ τὸ Ἄρκαδικὸν τὸ καλούμενον τῆς Στυγός· τὰ δὲ ἄλλα ἀγγεῖα διακόπτει πάντα, κἂν ἢ πεποιημένα,* Pausanias (8.18.4ff.), who also gives a long list of what it corrodes, *θάνατον δὲ τὸ ὕδωρ φέρει τοῦτο καὶ ἀνθρώπων καὶ ἄλλων ζώων παντί...καὶ δὴ καὶ τὸ ὕδωρ οὐ δύναται τῆς Στυγός ὀπλῆν ἵππου βιάσασθαι μόνην, ἀλλὰ ἐμβληθὲν κατέχεται τε ὑπ' αὐτῆς καὶ οὐ διεργάζεται τὴν ὀπλῆν. εἰ δὲ καὶ Ἀλεξάνδρου τοῦ Φιλίππου συνέβη τὴν τελευταίην διὰ τοῦ φαρμακοῦ γενέσθαι τούτου, σαφῶς μὲν οὐκ οἶδα, λεγόμενον δὲ οἶδα* and Vitruvius (8.3.16), who also notes that the water was very cold (see 10.16.6n.) "quae habet in montibus ex saxo stillantes frigidissimos umores. haec autem aqua Stygos Hydor nominatur, quam neque argenteum neque ferreum vas potest sustinere, sed dissilit et dissipatur. conservare autem eam et continere nihil aliud potest nisi mulina ungula, qua etiam memoratur ab Antipatro...regem esse necatum", something that Plutarch mentions, saying that its power lay in this: see *Alex.* 77.4 *τὸ δὲ φάρμακον ὕδωρ εἶναι ψυχρὸν καὶ παγετώδες ἀπὸ πέτρας τινός ἐν Νωνάκριδι † οὔσης ἣν ὡσπερ δρόσον λεπτήν ἀναλαμβάνοντες εἰς ὄνου χηλῆν ἀποτίθενται· τῶν γὰρ ἄλλων οὐδὲν ἀγγείων στέγειν, ἀλλὰ διακόπτειν ὑπὸ ψυχρότητος καὶ δριμύτητος* & Hamilton *ad loc.* Pliny (*Nat.* 31.27) also notes the coldness of the water, mentioning that it turned to stone while flowing "omnino nulla deterrent qualitate. hanc putant nimio frigore esse noxiam, utpote cum profluens ipsa lapidescat", but, unlike Plutarch, says that it had no particular smell, or, indeed, colour (*Nat.* 2.231) "Styx, nec odore differens nec colore, pota ilico necat", something agreed on by Seneca (*Nat.* 3.25.1), who puts its power down to it hardening in the bowels (reminiscent of Plin. *Nat.* 31.26f.) "advenas fallit, quia non facie, non odore suspecta est...haec autem, de qua paulo ante rettuli, aqua summa celeritate corrumpit, nec remedio locus est, quia protinus hausta duratur, nec aliter quam gypsum sub umore constringitur et alligat viscera".

At first sight, all this information seems somewhat unbelievable, but, if Plutarch's tale of its pungency is discounted, it is possible to suggest such a naturally occurring substance. Either an acidic, or strong alkaline, solution could have such an effect on the materials mentioned above; a hoof could withstand either. Seneca's description of the solution would point towards an alkaline one, as would the fact that there was no particular colour to the water. A solution with a high amount of dissolved solids of, for instance, calcium carbonate, calcium bicarbonate, or calcium sulphate, would produce the required solidifying effect and, with the addition of a few mineral ores, such as lead, or copper, the solution would be more potent. However, Hamilton (1969 p. 215) notes that the solution is not poisonous. This is not at variance with the substance described above, as it would be necessary to have a prolonged use of it to create results: for the effects of too much calcium, including renal damage, hyperparathyroidism and pancreatitis see *WLW* 1984 §§10.56f., 12.156f.). Bearing this in mind, the substance could not supply the supposedly fast acting nature of the liquid as described at *Plin. Nat.* 2.231 & *Sen. Nat.* 3.25.1. Thus, it could not have caused the sudden pain, as listed by some sources regarding Alexander's illness (see §10. intro.); this would have had to have been produced by a long term exposure to the substance and the chances of the condition reaching this point at the same time as Alexander was drinking are minimal. In addition, a continual administration of the substance would have left the culprit more open to suspicion and caused problems in bringing it from Macedonia. This discussion about the potency of the liquid is, therefore, irrelevant to the death of Alexander, as it is unlikely that Alexander was poisoned; for the various sources and a reason for his death see §10 intro. However, it would have been reasonable for someone later to suggest the use of such a liquid.

10.16.6. Macedonia...Stygem - Curtius places this Styx in Macedonia, but elsewhere it is mentioned as being at Nonacris, in Arcadia, (see *Paus.* 8.17.6, *Vitr.* 8.3.16, *Sen. Nat.* 3.25.1, *Plu. Alex.* 77.4 & Hamilton *ad loc.* & *Plin. Nat.* 2.231; *Aelian, NA* 10.40, only mentions Arcadia) and to the west of Pheneus (see *Hdt.* 6.74.2 & *How & Wells ad loc.*, *Paus.* 8.17.6 & *Plin. Nat.* 31.26f.), the modern Phonia. Either Curtius has made a careless mistake, or a scribe has, at some point, altered the text to suit a Macedonian context; the latter option would seem the most likely. Hamilton (1969 p. 215) notes that, although the water is very cold (see also 10.16.1n.), it is not poisonous (see 10.16.1n.); the reason for this coldness is that the water comes from the snow-fields of the eight-thousand foot high Mt. Chelmiss. Herodotus (6.74.1f.) notes that the Styx at Nonacris was where the Arcadians believed the river of the Underworld to be. As Hamilton notes, the fact that oaths were sworn by this river (*Hdt.* 6.74.1) shows the belief in its deadly nature, something even going back as far as Homer (see e.g. *Il.* 2.751ff., 15.36ff. & *Od.* 5.184ff. & *Stanford ad loc.*); for a photograph of the river in its valley see *Wycherley* 1935 p. 144.

10.16.20. *constat* - Modern editors retain this reading of Ω , which was deleted by *Acidalius*. The only reason to doubt *constat* and suppose it to be an interpolation is the repetition, but

this is helpful, as it introduces a new statement and such examples of this type can be found elsewhere: see Lindgren 1935 pp. 17f. on IV.10.4 "Iam prope seditionem res erat, cum ad omnia interritus duces principesque militum frequentes adesse praetorio iubet Aegyptiosque vates, quos caeli ac siderum peritissimos esse credebat, quid sentirent expromere iubet"; he also mentions *Sal. Jug.* 99.1, *Apul. Met.* 1.23.1, 9.15.2 & *Caes. Gal.* 5.50.5.

10.16.21. *suci. Stygem* - This is the reading of S, whereas *ω* has *sucystigem*; although *patiens* can be absolute, it is more frequent with the genitive. Therefore, the reading of S is more satisfactory.

10.17.11. *Cassandrum* - (Berve 414) Born around 355 B.C., this son of Antipater joined Alexander in 324 B.C., no doubt either to explain why his father had not come with the reinforcements requested, or to negotiate; he was allegedly beaten by the king for laughing at easterners performing proskynesis (see *Plu. Alex.* 74.2ff. & Hamilton *ad loc.*; see also Griffith 1965 p. 14 & Heckel 1988 p. 10). Following Alexander's death, he was implicated, along with other members of his family, in poisoning the king and is said to have been the one who brought the liquid from Macedonia (see also *Just.* 12.14.6, *D.S.* 17.118.2, *Arr. An.* 7.27.1, *V. Max.* 1.7. *ext.* 2, *L.M.* §89 & §10 intro.); this, however, seems implausible (see §10 intro.).

10.18.2. *utcumque sunt credita, eorum* - Curtius adds to his apparent disagreement with the idea that poison was the cause of Alexander's death.

10.18.7. *rumor* - "gossip". Curtius again casts doubt on the authenticity of Alexander having been poisoned by using this term, rather than the more common and general *fama*, which he tends to use when referring to something with more fact behind it, such as a report (for this in Book Ten see X.1.15, 1.17, 1.31, 3.7, 5.18 & 10.5); for Curtius and *fama* see 5.18.19n. For this distinction elsewhere see e.g. [*Cic.*] *Her.* 2.12 "A rumoribus dicimus: si negabimus temere famam nasci solere, quin subsit aliquid".

10.18.8. *asperserat...extinxit* - For this Classical, though not common, use of *aspergo* in the sense of *infamare* see *TLL* II p. 820.77ff.

10.18.9. *mox potentia extinxit* - Diodorus says virtually the same at 17.118.2 *Μετὰ δὲ τὴν τελευτὴν πλείστον ἰσχύσαντος τῶν κατὰ τὴν Εὐρώπην καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα Κασάνδρου τοῦ υἱοῦ διαδεξαμένου τὴν βασιλείαν πολλοὺς συγγραφεῖς μὴ τολμᾶν γράψαι περὶ τῆς φαρμακείας*; this is also the case with Justin at 12.13.10 "Amici causis morbi intemperiem ebrietatis disseminaverunt, re autem vera insidiae fuerunt, quarum infamiam successorum potentia oppressit". For Tacitus' view of such people see e.g. *Ann.* 4.35.5 "quo magis socordia eorum inridere libet, qui praesenti potentia credunt exstingui posse etiam sequentis aevi memoriam". This is a case in point of what Tacitus is mentioning, as Cassander

and Antipater did not manage to stamp out the charges.

10.19.1. suboles deinde exceptit - Antipater remained in control in Macedonia until his death in 319 B.C. and left not his son, Cassander, but Polyperchon, one of Philip's officers, in charge as regent with his son as the chiliarch, or second in command (see D.S. 18.48.4f.); no doubt Antipater did not want to create the impression of dynastic rule. Cassander, however, did not take kindly to this arrangement, left Macedonia and in the following years tried to take control of the area, an object which he had achieved by 315 B.C.: see D.S. 19.52.1; for a narrative see Hammond *HW* 1988 pp. 136ff.

10.19.4. interfectis omnibus, quicumque Alexandrum etiam longinqua cognatione contigerant - Although Curtius is not alone in making the statement that Cassander killed all the relatives of Alexander (cf. e.g. Just. 16.1.15, 16.2.5 & Paus. 9.7.2), he is not correct. Olympias killed Arrhidaeus and his wife in 317 B.C. (see 7.2.12n.), but the son of Antipater probably did murder Roxane and her son, Alexander IV (see 6.11.18n.); he also was responsible for those of Barsine and her son, Heracles, in 309 B.C. (see 6.11.18n.). In addition, he killed Olympias in 316 B.C. (see D.S. 17.118.2, 19.49.1ff., Just 14.6.1ff., Paus. 9.7.2, Porph. *F.H.G.* 3.2, 4.2 & Hammond *HW* 1988 pp. 142f.). By these murders, he eliminated most of Alexander's surviving successors and this may be what Curtius means. However, on the opposite side he did marry Thessalonice, Alexander's half-sister, after Olympias' death, no doubt to establish a claim to the throne (see D.S. 19.52.1, 61.2, Just. 14.6.13, Paus. 9.7.3, Porph. *F.H.G.* 3.2 & 4.2); she was eventually killed by her own son. Of Alexander's other sisters, Cleopatra, his full sister, was killed by Antigonos and his other half-sister, Cynnane, was killed by Perdiccas' brother, Alcetas; on these women see Carney 1988 pp. 384ff.

10.20.1. Ceterum corpus eius a Ptolomaeo...Memphim et inde...Alexandriam translatum est - As previously mentioned (see 5.4.18n.), there are two traditions concerning where Alexander was to be buried. However, no matter which is correct, Ptolemy managed to gain control of the body (see Paus. 1.6.3, D.S. 18.28.2f., Arr. *F.Gr.H.* 156 F9.25 & Ael. *VH* 12.64); after originally being taken to Memphis, the traditional resting place of the Pharaohs (see Paus. 1.6.3 & 1.7.1), the body was transferred, at a later date, to Alexandria (see Str. *Chr.* 17.1.8, Paus. 1.7.1, D.S. 18.28.3, Porph. *F.H.G.* 3.1 & Errington 1976 p. 143 for more details).

10.20.5. Ptolomaeo, cui Aegyptus cesserat - See 10.1.22n.

10.20.15. Alexandriam - Müller, Bardon, Giacone and Hedicke prefer *Alexandream*, the reading of B, to this, the reading of S. Elsewhere in Curtius, the correct spelling is in doubt: at IX.8.8 "e" is favoured by Ω , at IV.8.2 & VII.6.25 "i" is favoured, at VII.3.23 FV¹ have "i" and at IV.8.5 ω has "i" and P "e". In other manuscripts, and indeed inscriptions, there is the same problem concerning this word, which in Greek is *Ἀλεξάνδρεια* (see *TLL* I p. 1534.49ff.). If,

more specifically, this period is looked at, there is again the same trouble: see e.g. Smallwood 1967 p. 75 no. 267 (Antioch), where an "e" is used, & p. 57 no. 182 (Rome), where an "i" is used; at Rome at other dates see e.g. CIL 6.1564 for "e" and 8582 & 33131 for "i". It is clear, therefore, that neither of the two readings can be satisfactorily defended; however, since it was definitely in use in Rome at this time, *Alexandriam* seems better.

10.20.18. *omnisque memoriae ac nomini honos habetur* - In this phrase, *memoriae* and *nomini* may be taken separately, or as an example of hendiadys, as is also the case at the other two places where they are joined in this way (see 7.4.23n.). By ending in this fashion, Curtius is stating that Alexander had achieved something very important to the Romans, a people obsessed with its ancestors and their achievements: see e.g. Cic. *Dom.* 147 "liberis autem nostris satis amplum patrimonium paterni nominis ac memoriae nostrae relinquemus", Sal. *Cat.* 1.3 "quo mihi rectius videretur ingeni quam virium opibus gloriam quaerere, quoniam vita ipsa qua fruimur brevis et memoriam nostri quam maxime longam efficere" & Suet. *Aug.* 31.5 "Proximum a dis immortalibus honorem memoriae ducum praestitit, qui imperium p. R. ex minimo maximum reddidissent". Alexander is portrayed by Curtius as seeking eternal fame (see e.g. V.8.17) and he had achieved this in his own lifetime (see e.g. IX.5.6).

10.20.23. *habetur* - Curtius finishes his history by bringing his Roman reader right up to the present time, to which a large amount of space has been devoted in this, the final book. He is correct in using the present *habetur*, for Alexander's body was still in Alexandria, albeit in a glass coffin and a different building (see Str. *Chr.* 17.1.8 & Errington 1976 pp. 144f.), in his own day (see e.g. Suet. *Aug.* 18.1, D.C. 51.16.5, Luc. 8.694, 9.153f & 10.20ff.). It was still there in the time of Caracalla (see Hdn. 4.8.9).

Map of Alexander's Conquests

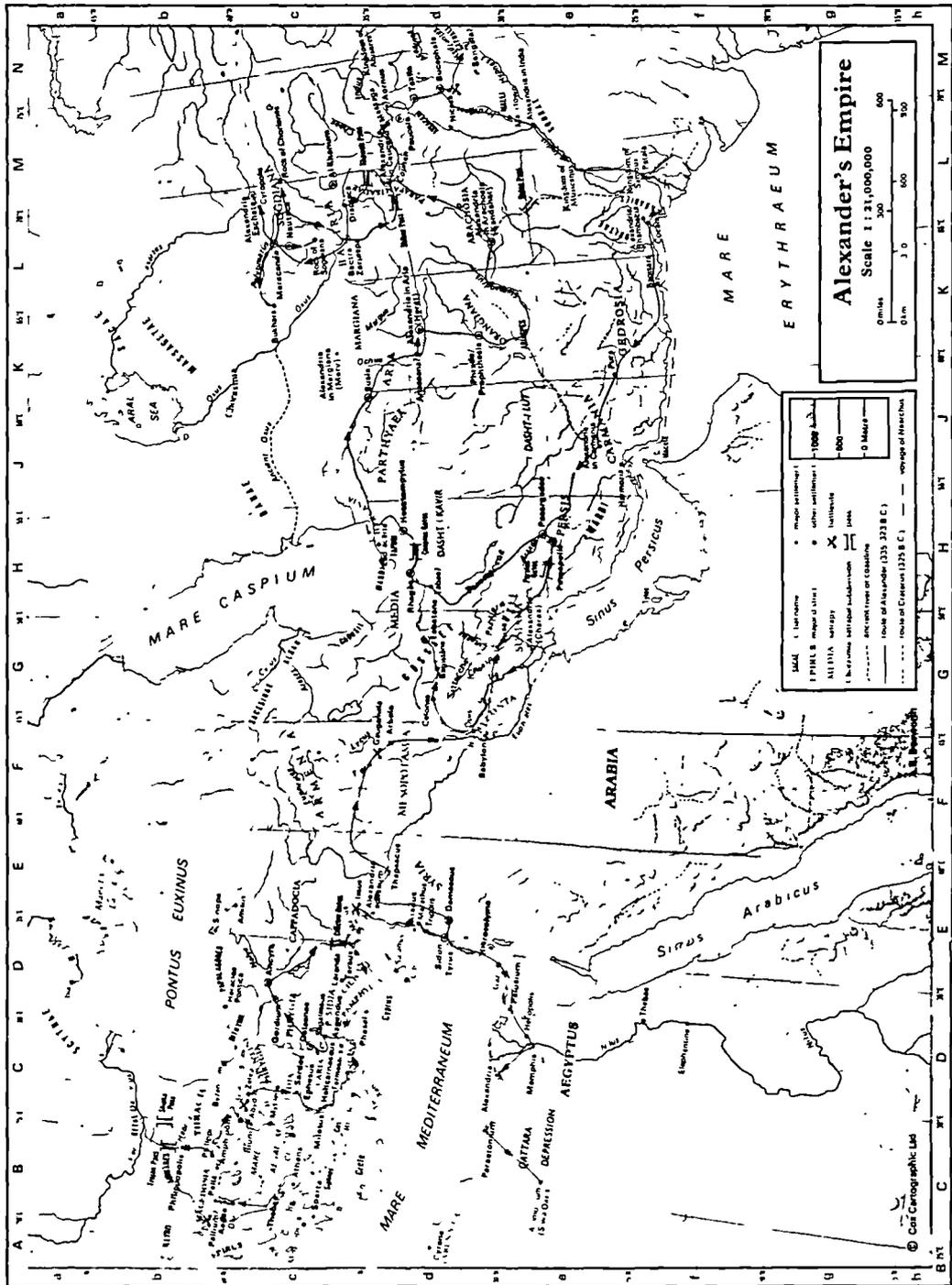


Fig. 10. Map of Alexander's conquests

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Appendix A

Curtius' Sources

The following tables have two purposes: firstly, they make it possible to see what Curtius may have included in his text at points where there are now lacunae; secondly, they allow Curtius' use of sources to be mapped by comparison with the accounts of the four other main writers dealing with the subject. As far as is possible, an attempt has been made to match the events in the sources to each other and the usual numbering conventions are used; in addition, a # indicates that the relevant section in the commentary should be referred to and a * that sections of this unit are referred to when matched by other sources. Although only Curtius' possible sources for Book Ten are considered in this appendix, events in Curtius prior to this book are tabulated in fig. 11; the reason for this is that some events are referred to earlier in other sources. A short discussion follows the tables.

Curtius	Diodorus	Justin	Plutarch (<i>Alex.</i>)	Arrian (<i>An.</i>)
		1. A. crosses the desert. [12.10.7]		
[IX.10.8ff.]	[17.105.3ff.]		[66.4ff.]	[6.23.1ff.]
2. Governors informed of A.'s difficulties & respond.				
[IX.10.17f.]	[17.105.7]			
3a. Comes to Cedrosia. [IX.10.18]			3a. A. comes to Gedrosia. (2. provisions given by satraps & princes) [66.7]	3b. A. comes to the Gedrosian capital. [6.24.1]
4a. A. told that Leonnatus defeated the Horiatae. [IX.10.19]	4b. Leonnatus suffers severe losses to the Oreitae, who escape. [17.105.8]			
5. Craterus sends news that Orzines & Zariaspes are in irons. [IX.10.19]				
6a. A. appoints Sibyrtius after the death of Menon. [IX.10.20]				6b. A. appoints Sibyrtius after Thoas. [6.27.1]
7. In Carmania A. appoints Tlepolemus. [6.27.1]				
8a. A. advances to Carmania. [IX.10.20]	8b. A. comes to a well-populated area. [17.106.1]		8a. A. comes to Carmania. [67.1] [6.27.2f.]	
9. Astaspes suspected & later killed. [IX.10.21ff.]				
10. News of Philip's death in India. [6.27.2]				
11a[5]. Craterus & satraps arrive: Ordanes prisoner. - [6.27.3]				
12a. A. punishes Cleander, Sitalces & Heracon. [6.27.3ff.]				
13[2]. Animals brought to A. [6.27.6]				
14. Bacchic procession. [IX.10.22ff.] [17.106.1] [67.2ff.] [14.1. story rejected] [6.28.1ff.]				

Fig. 11. Comparison of events prior to the opening of Book Ten

Appendix A: Curtius' Sources

Curtius	Diodorus	Justin	Plutarch (<i>Alex.</i>)	Arrian (<i>An.</i>)
<p>← (Cleander, Sitalces, Heracon & Agathon) [X.1.1ff.] →</p> <p>↑</p> <p>11b. Prisoners brought by Craterus are killed. [X.1.9]</p> <p>↓</p> <p>← 17. Arrival of fleet. [X.1.10ff.] →</p> <p>18. Future plans. [X.1.17ff.]</p> <p>19. Building of ships. [X.1.19]</p> <p>↑</p> <p>10. Deaths of Philip & Abisares in India. [X.1.20f.]</p> <p>↓</p> <p>22. A. comes to Parsagada. [X.1.22ff.]</p> <p>25. A. finds Cyrus' tomb looted. [X.1.30ff.]</p> <p>26a. A. unjustly has Orsines killed. [X.1.36ff.]</p> <p>27. A. has Phradates killed. [X.1.39]</p> <p>28. A.'s changed temperament. [X.1.40ff.]</p> <p>29. Events in Europe. [X.1.43ff.]</p>	<p>12a. A. punishes officials. (12.1. mercenaries to be disbanded) [17.106.2f.]</p> <p>15a. At Salmus A. holds a drama contest. [17.106.4]</p> <p>17. Arrival of fleet. [17.106.4ff.]</p> <p>32. Caranus' death. [17.107.1ff.]</p> <p>34a. Weddings at Susa: A. marries Stateira. [17.107.6]</p> <p>35. 30,000 Persians arrive: Macedonians upset. [17.108.1ff.]</p>	<p>[12.10.8]</p> <p>12.10.9f.]</p>	<p>15b. A. holds festival/contests. (15b.1. A. kisses Bagoas) [67.7f.: see §2 intro. n. 18]</p> <p>16. List of the seven bodyguards. [6.28.4]</p> <p>17. Arrival of fleet. [68.1ff.]</p> <p>18. Future plans. [68.1]</p> <p>19. Building of ships. [68.2]</p> <p>12b. Unrest in A.'s absence. [68.3ff.]</p> <p>20a. A. kills Oxyartes & arrests Abulites. [68.6f.]</p> <p>22. A. comes to Persia. (22.1. distributes money) [69.1f.]</p> <p>25. A. finds Cyrus' tomb looted. [69.3ff.]</p> <p>26b. A. has Polymachus killed. [69.3]</p> <p>32. Calanus' death. (32.1. forty-one men die due to drink) [69.6ff.]</p> <p>34a.1. A. frees debts of guests at feast) [70.3ff.]</p> <p>35. 30,000 Perians arrive: Macedonians upset. [71.1]</p>	<p>6.28.3]</p> <p>6.28.4]</p> <p>6.28.5f.]</p> <p>21. Hephaestion sent to Persia. [6.28.7]</p> <p>22. A comes to Pasargadae. [6.29.1]</p> <p>23. Stasanor sent back. [6.29.1]</p> <p>24. A. has the rebel Baryaxes killed. [6.29.3]</p> <p>6.29.4ff.]</p> <p>6.30.1f.]</p> <p>6.30.2f.]</p> <p>7.1.1ff.]</p> <p>7.1.5ff.]</p> <p>7.3.1ff.]</p> <p>7.4.1]</p> <p>7.4.1]</p> <p>7.4.2f.]</p> <p>7.4.3]</p> <p>34b. Weddings at Susa: A. marries Barsine & Parysatis. (34b.1. A. gives dowries; gifts for men married to Asians) [7.4.4ff.]</p>
Lacuna				

Fig. 12a. Comparison of the five main sources for the length of Book Ten

Appendix A: Curtius' Sources

Curtius	Diodorus	Justin	Plutarch (Alex.)	Arrian (An.)
← 36. The Harpalus affair. → (36.1. A. decides not to cross to Europe) [X.2.1ff.]	[17.108.4ff.]			
← 37. A. restores exiles to Greece. → [X.2.4ff.]	[17.109.1]			
← 38. A. frees debts. → [X.2.8ff.]	[17.109.2]	[12.11.1ff.]		38. A. free debts. [7.5.1ff.]
				39. A. distributes gifts & crowns: fleet returns. [7.5.4ff.]
				35. 30,000 Persians arrive: Macedonians upset. [7.6.1f.]
← [X.2.12ff.]	[17.109.2f.]	40a. Mutiny. # [12.11.4ff.]	[71.2ff.]	40b. Macedonian grievances. [7.6.2ff.]
Lacuna	41. Persian replacements arrive. [17.110.1]			
	42. Peucestas arrives with 20,000 men. [17.110.1]			44. Hephaestion sent to the sea. [7.7.1]
	43a. A. counts & looks after soldiers' Asian children. [17.110.3]			
	45a. A. crosses the Tigris. [17.110.3]			45b. A. sails to the mouth of the Tigris. [7.7.1f.]
	46. A. camps at Carae, then goes to Sittacene, Sambana & Bagistane. [17.110.3ff.]			47. A. sails to Opis, removing weirs. [7.7.6]
				40a. Mutiny. # (43b. A. looks after the children of veterans) [7.8.1ff.]
				48. A. & Antipater. [7.12.5ff.]
				Lacuna
				49. Hephaestion & Eumenes. [7.13.1]
				50. A. comes to the plains of Nysa. [7.13.1]
			51. Meeting with Amazon rejected. [7.13.2ff.]	
	50. A. comes to the land of horses. [17.110.6]			
	52. A. holds festival in Ecbatana. [17.110.6ff.]		← 52. A. holds festival in Ecbatana. → [72.1]	[7.14.1]
	[17.110.8]	53. Hephaestion's death & A.'s mourning. [12.12.11f.]	[72.2f.]	(53.1. A. plans games) [7.14.1ff.]
	54. Trouble starting in Greece. [17.111.1ff.]	55a. About monument for Hephaestion. [12.12.12]		
	57. A.'s Cossean expedition. [17.111.4ff.]	56a. Hephaestion to be worshipped as a god. [12.12.12]	56b. Hephaestion to be worshipped as a hero. [72.3]	
	Lacuna	58a. Embassies from all over the world reported to be awaiting A. in Babylon. [12.13.1f.]	← 57. A.'s Cossean expedition. → [72.4]	[7.15.1ff.]
			55b. Tomb for Hephaestion. [72.5ff.]	
				58b. Embassies from all over the world meet A. on way to Babylon. [7.15.4ff.]

Fig. 12b. Comparison of the five main sources for the length of Book Ten

Appendix A: Curtius' Sources

Curtius	Diodorus	Justin	Plutarch (Alex.)	Arrian (An.)	
	<p>↓</p> <p>60 a. A. informed by Nearchus of Chaldaeans' warning not to enter the city. [17.112.1ff.]</p> <p>61a. A. camps away from the city, but is persuaded to enter (particularly by Anaxarchus). [17.112.4ff.]</p> <p>58c. Envoys from all over the world arrive. [17.113.1ff.]</p> <p>↑</p> <p>55c. Pyre built for Hephaestion & funeral held. [17.114.1ff.]</p> <p>↓</p> <p>56a Hephaestion to be worshipped as a god. [17.115.6]</p> <p>↓</p> <p>68. Omen of the native. [17.116.2ff.]</p> <p>69. Omen of the lost diadem. [17.116.5ff.]</p>	<p>60b. A. met by a Magi & warned not to enter the city. [12.13.3]</p> <p>[12.13.4ff.]</p>	<p>60a. A. informed by Nearchus of Chaldaeans' warning not to enter the city. [73.1]</p> <p>61b. A. rejects advice. [73.2]</p> <p>62. Pythagoras & Apollodorus [73.3ff.]</p> <p>66a. A. often on the Euphrates. [73.5]</p> <p>67. Omen of the lion & ass. [73.6]</p> <p>68. Omen of the native. [73.7ff.]</p> <p>48. A.'s suspicions concerning Antipater. [74.2]</p> <p>70. Cassander's arrival & punishment. [74.2ff.]</p> <p>71. A. prone to superstition. [75.1f.]</p> <p>75. A. invited to Medius' for a drink. [12.13.7ff.]</p> <p>76 [48]. Details of a plot [12.14.7]</p> <p>77. Details of the poison. [12.14.7]</p> <p>79. Men pass by A. [12.15.2ff.]</p> <p>80. A. & the officers. [12.15.5ff.]</p>	<p>59. A. wishes to go to the Caspian & sends for wood. [7.16.1ff.]</p> <p>60b. A. is met by the Chaldaeans & advised not to enter city. [7.16.5ff.]</p> <p>61c. A. is suspicious, but goes to a camp, tries the advised entrance, fails & enters normally. [7.17.1ff.]</p> <p>62. Pythagoras & Apollodorus [7.18.1ff.]</p> <p>63. Greek embassies arrive. [7.19.1f.]</p> <p>64. Flotilla at Babylon. (20. details of how built) [7.19.3ff.]</p> <p>65. Discourse on the Arabs. [7.19.6ff.]</p> <p>66b. A. sails down the Euphrates. [7.21.1ff.]</p> <p>69. Omen of the lost diadem. [7.22.1ff.]</p> <p>42. Peucestas arrives with 20,000 men. [7.23.1]</p> <p>72. Arrival of Philoxenus, Menander & Menidas. [7.23.1]</p> <p>73. A. crowned by the Greeks. [7.23.2]</p> <p>74. Changes to the army. [7.23.3f.]</p> <p>55b. Hephaestion to be worshipped as a hero. [7.23.6ff.]</p> <p>68. Omen of the native. [7.24.1ff.]</p> <p>78. Account of the Ephemerides* [76.1ff.]</p> <p>79. Men pass by A. [76.8]</p>	<p>79. Men pass by A. [X.5.1f.]</p> <p>80. A. & the officers. [17.117.3f.]</p>

Fig. 12c. Comparison of the five main sources for the length of Book Ten

Appendix A: Curtius' Sources

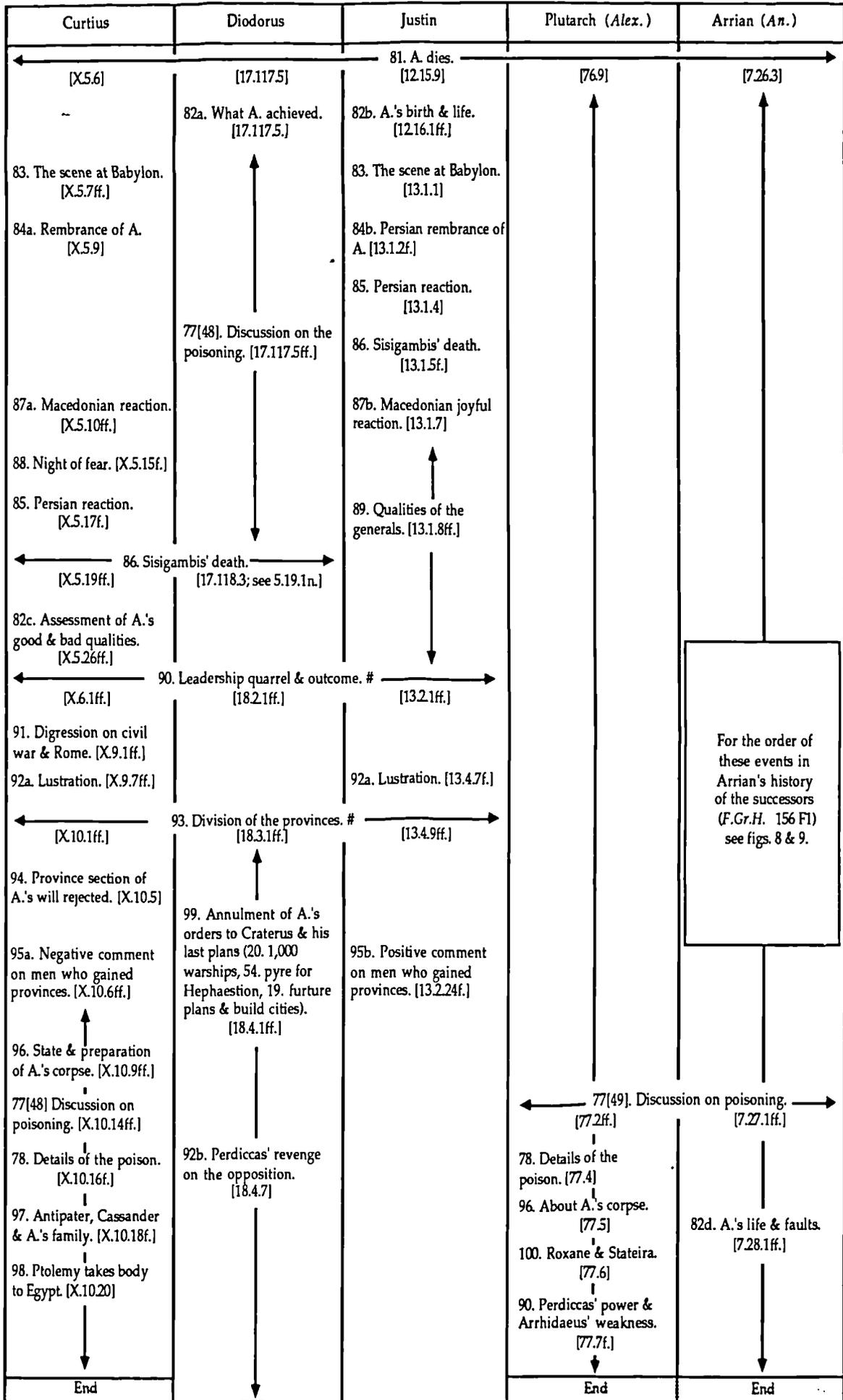


Fig. 12d. Comparison of the five main sources for the length of Book Ten

Of the numerous ancient accounts¹ of Alexander's conquest of the East, only a few have survived to the present day and none of them are of a primary nature. The earliest work is that of Diodorus Siculus, who, in the latter half of the first century B.C., wrote a universal history, known as the *Bibliothēke*, which went as far as Caesar's Gallic Wars in 54 B.C.; the seventeenth book deals with the exploits of Alexander and the eighteenth with subsequent events. A little later, Pompeius Trogus also wrote a universal history, known as the *Historiae Philippicae*, in which he carried the narrative to the Parthian return of Roman standards in 20 B.C.²; he dealt with Alexander in Book Twelve and the aftermath in Book Thirteen; this work now only survives in the epitome of Justin. Plutarch, probably prior to A.D. 116³, wrote a *Life of Alexander*, and Arrian an *Anabasis* concerned with the whole of Alexander's expedition probably around A.D. 130⁴ and an *Indica* at a later date⁵; he dealt with the events after Alexander's death in his history of the successors, of which only a brief epitome remains⁶. Curtius specifically refers to three sources in his work⁷: Ptolemy⁸, one of Arrian's main sources⁹, who probably wrote between 320-283 B.C.; Cleitarchus¹⁰, who was popular in Rome¹¹ and probably writing before Ptolemy¹² and prior to 310 B.C.; the later writer, Timagenes¹³, who came to Rome from Alexandria in 55 B.C. In the commentary a brief pointer to what sources may have been used is often included in the introduction to each section. In the following discussion a more overall view of Book Ten will be attempted.

The first thing that is particularly striking from the tables is the similarity between Curtius and Diodorus; very little is included by Diodorus that is not in Curtius and, although there is more in Curtius, that is to be expected due to the different nature of the works. In particular, it would seem notable that they alone refer to the Harpalus affair¹⁴ and the subsequent restoration of exiles to Greece at that same point¹⁵. Turning away from the tables and looking in more detail at the two accounts many similarities can be noted¹⁶: Diodorus and Curtius alone present similar orders being given to the fleet¹⁷; the same figure is given for the debts of the soldiers¹⁸; there is a similar pattern to events at the mutiny, which both place at Susa¹⁹; a similar scene with the dying Alexander and the officers²⁰; a similar account of the reason for his death²¹ and rejection of the poison theory²²; a similar treatment of the death of Sisigambis²³; the note that rumours of poisoning were suppressed by those in power after Alexander²⁴. It is generally accepted that the main, if not sole, source for Diodorus' Book Seventeen was Cleitarchus²⁵. Since Curtius has so many similar sections, the conclusion would have to be that he used either Cleitarchus, or Diodorus, as one of his sources. The first option would seem to be the case, as in Book Ten Curtius presents the sailors of the fleet as referring to an island rich in gold, but lacking in horses, something Pliny claims was in Cleitarchus' work²⁶; Diodorus does not have this. This conclusion is supported by the fact that at the two places where Curtius specifically refers to Cleitarchus²⁷ there is no mention of him in Diodorus' account. However, it may still be possible that Curtius read Diodorus' account. In the scene where Alexander is dying Justin, Curtius and Diodorus²⁸ portray the king as referring to the bloodshed he foresees following his death²⁹. In Curtius and Diodorus this is expressed in the terms of funeral games³⁰. The funeral games held by the Greeks did not

involve bloodshed, whereas the Roman ones included gladiatorial fighting³¹. It cannot be known if Pompeius Trogus also interpreted the saying in this way, as Justin may have altered the text, but the question still arises as to how Curtius and Diodorus both have this Roman view. Obviously, as Diodorus wrote first, it is a matter of deciding whether both thought of it independently, took it from an historian based in Rome, or Curtius got the idea from Diodorus. The last two possibilities would seem preferable and, due to the generally held view that Diodorus did not use a wide range of sources³², it may be assumed that Curtius took the idea from him. If Curtius read Timagenes there would seem to be nothing against him also consulting Diodorus' account. Several possible verbal similarities³³ between Curtius in the latter half of Book Ten, which deals with events following Alexander's death, and Diodorus' eighteenth book, which is generally thought to have been mainly based on Hieronymus' account³⁴ of this period, would seem to support the idea that, although Curtius radically altered the contents³⁵, the basis of his account is probably, at least in part, from Hieronymus³⁶; it is not known where the work of Cleitarchus ended.

From the tables it can be seen that there is a correlation between the brief account of Justin and those of Curtius and Diodorus. If certain episodes are looked at in more detail a better idea of the connection may be found³⁷. As is the case with Diodorus, there are similar treatments of particular episodes: the order of events at the mutiny, which is placed at Susa³⁸; Alexander's meeting with the officers³⁹, in which Alexander asks for his corpse to be taken to Ammon⁴⁰; the story of Sisigambis' death⁴¹; the same account of Alexander's death⁴²; the fact that the rumour that Alexander was poisoned was muffled by Alexander's successors⁴³; the mention of an initial settlement in the leadership dispute⁴⁴. There are also similarities in the way particular events are treated: the use of the idea of *amicitia* in viewing the crimes of the governors⁴⁵; the fact that the soldiers cry while filing past Alexander⁴⁶; the recall of Alexander's actions by those in Babylon⁴⁷; the description of the silence there after the king's death⁴⁸; the inclusion of a comment, although different in tone, on the men who were allocated the provinces⁴⁹; the leadership dispute where, although characters are assigned different rôles, Ptolemy suggests a similar solution⁵⁰ and there is a similar speech leading to a reconciliation⁵¹. More interestingly, there are also verbal similarities: the description of the Macedonian reaction to Alexander's speech⁵²; Justin's summary of the speech given to the Persians and the speech recorded by Curtius⁵³; the statement given by Alexander about his successor⁵⁴; the words used of the dismissal of the soldiers⁵⁵; the use of *flore aetatis* of Alexander⁵⁶; in the rejection of Roxane's child as a possible successor⁵⁷. Although Curtius and Pompeius Trogus may have been at times similarly influenced by their Roman background, the conclusion to be drawn from these cases is that for parts of his narrative in Book Ten Curtius was using the same sources as Pompeius Trogus, namely Cleitarchus⁵⁸ in the first half and Hieronymus in the second⁵⁹; in addition, the verbal similarities suggest that Curtius had read and was influenced by the treatment of certain episodes by Pompeius Trogus. The fact that the latter's account was much shorter and less detailed than Curtius' would militate against the sole use of Pompeius Trogus.

Although it is not obvious from the tables, Curtius shares a few significant details with Arrian⁶⁰. In the *Anabasis* the most notable one is in the speech at the mutiny, where Alexander refers to his resources before the eastern expedition; the two figures given by Curtius agree with Arrian's, but differ from the figures given by Plutarch, in one case taken from the account of Aristobulus⁶¹ and in the other from that of Onesicritus⁶². This similarity may, therefore, point to a use of Ptolemy, a source which Curtius has openly named earlier⁶³. In the episode of the freeing of the debts it is notable that only Arrian and Curtius mention that the money was laid out on tables⁶⁴. It is hard to know what to make of the similar mentioning of Cleander, Sitalces and Heracon⁶⁵ as the accounts of Justin and Diodorus are very brief at this point. As regards Arrian's other main source in the *Anabasis*, Aristobulus⁶⁶, all that can be said is that Curtius was not using his account for the contents of Cyrus' tomb⁶⁷. It is also clear that, unlike Arrian in the *Anabasis*, Curtius did not make use of the *Ephemerides*⁶⁸ for his account of the death of Alexander and from that writer's *Indica* that Curtius did not follow Nearchus' report of his arrival in Carmania⁶⁹; the epitome of Arrian's work dealing with the aftermath of Alexander's demise is, unfortunately, too short at this point to be of any use. Although there are similarities in Plutarch, such as the same figure given for the amount used in freeing the debts of the soldiers⁷⁰, nothing further than has already been mentioned, can be stated,

In conclusion, in Book Ten there is evidence for a number of sources used by Curtius. In the first half of the book there is that one he shared with Diodorus and Justin, the popular Cleitarchus (and possibly Diyllus), as well as the use of Ptolemy. In the second half of the book he probably used Hieronymus, at least in part. He also read and was influenced by the phraseology of Pompeius Trogus and possibly also read Diodorus' universal history. Any further speculation would be mere guesswork.

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1. For fragments see *F.Gr.H.* IIB pp. 618ff. & Robinson 1953 pp. 30ff. For comments on their numbers see e.g. Arr. *An. 1.praef.2* & Bosworth *ad loc.*, Cic. *Arch.* 24 & Str. *Chr.* 11.5.4; the latter included a section on Alexander in his lost *Historical Sketches* - see Str. *Chr.* 2.1.9.
 2. See 42.5.11.
 3. See Hamilton 1969 pp. xxxivff.
 4. See Brunt 1983 pp. 534ff. & Bosworth 1980b pp. 7ff.
 5. See Arr. *An.* 6.28.6.
 6. See *F.Gr. H.* 156 F1; it was probably written after the *Anabasis* (see Brunt 1983 p. 535 & Bosworth 1980b p. 9).
 7. See IX.5.21 for all three & IX.8.15 for Cleitarchus.
 8. See 6.13.2n. for his work.
 9. *An. 1.praef.1f.*
 10. For him see intro. n. 154.
 11. See e.g. Cic. *Brut.* 42, *Fam.* 2.10.3, *Leg.* 1.7, Quint. *Inst.* 10.1.75, Str. *Chr.* 11.5.4, Plin. *N.H.* 1.6, 1.7, 1.12 & 10.136.
 12. See Bosworth 1988a pp. 298f. & Atkinson 1980 p. 65 for references; *contra* e.g. Pearson 1960 pp. 226ff. & Tarn 1948 II pp. 5ff. Ptolemy's insistence (see IX.5.21) that he was not at the town of the Sudrae (Malli) probably shows that Cleitarchus wrote first.
 13. *F.Gr.H.* 88.
 14. See §7; it is known that Cleitarchus dealt with this episode - see Ath. 13.586c. For other fragments of Cleitarchus in other books of Curtius see e.g. Hamilton 1977 pp. 135ff. & Pearson 1960 pp. 217ff.
 15. See 2.4.1n.

Appendix A: Curtius' Sources

16. For those outside this book see the lists of Dosson, 1887 pp. 138ff., & Schwartz, RE IV pp. 1873f., the comparison of Diodorus and Curtius Books Three to Seven (VII.5.43) by Hendricks, 1974 *passim*, of Book Nine by Hamilton, 1977 pp. 126ff., and of selected passages by Porod, 1987 pp. 181ff.; for a conclusion from his detailed study see Hammond 1983a pp. 160ff.
17. See 1.16.11n.
18. See 2.11.14n.
19. See §9 intro.
20. See 5.4.1n.
21. See §10 intro. nn. 6 & 7.
22. 10.14.1n.
23. See 5.19.1n.
24. See 10.18.9n.
25. See e.g. Pearson 1960 pp. 217ff., Hamilton 1977 pp. 126ff.; Hammond (1983a pp. 12ff.) sees a mixture between Cleitarchus and Diyllus, the contemporary Athenian historian - see §7 intro. n. 1 for more information.
26. See 1.11.7n.
27. See n. 7.
28. Arrian refers to this story, but does not believe it.
29. See 5.5.11n.
30. Arrian (*An.* 7.26.3), although he mentions funeral games, is of no importance in this matter as he was writing much later.
31. See 5.5.11n.
32. See n. 25.
33. See 6.1.12bn. & 10.1.1n.
34. See Hornblower 1981 pp. 27ff. & Schachermeyr 1970 pp. 104ff.; for references to the writer see §13 intro. n. 4.
35. See §13 intro.
36. See §13 intro n. 10.
37. For similarities elsewhere see the lists of Dosson, 1887 pp. 146f., Schwartz, RE IV pp. 1873f., Porod, 1987 pp. 123ff., and Atkinson, 1980 pp. 59ff.; for a conclusion from his detailed study see Hammond 1983a pp. 160ff.
38. See §9 intro.
39. See 5.4.1n.
40. See 5.4.18n.; only these two writers mention this.
41. See 5.19.1n.
42. See §10 intro. nn. 6 & 7.
43. See 10.18.9n.
44. See 7.8.6n.; only these two writers mention this.
45. See 1.2.16an.
46. See 5.1.2n.
47. See 5.10.22n.
48. See 5.7.10n.
49. See 10.7.1n.
50. See 6.15.5n.
51. See 8.17.2n. It appears that Pompeius Trogus preferred not to use direct speech: see Just. 38.3.11; however, for examples see 14.4.2ff. & 18.7.10ff.
52. See 3.3.1an.
53. See 3.7.1n. & 3.12.27n.
54. See 5.2.10n.; only these two writers mention this.
55. See 5.3.25n.
56. See 5.10.12n.
57. See 6.10.2n.
58. For Pompeius Trogus' use of Cleitarchus as his main source see e.g. Hammond 1983a pp. 86ff.
59. For Pompeius Trogus' use of Hieronymus see e.g. Hammond HW 1988 p. 95 & Errington 1970 p. 72; Schachermeyr (1970 pp. 120ff.) sees him as using both Hieronymus and Cleitarchus. Hornblower's (1981 p. 66) objections to the leadership dispute in Justin coming from Hieronymus seem unjustified, considering the similarity with Diodorus' account: see fig. 8 at §13 intro.
60. For these elsewhere see the list given by Dosson, 1887 pp. 141ff., and the examples by Steele, 1919 pp. 153ff., and Atkinson, 1980 pp. 61ff.
61. See 2.24.15bn.
62. See 2.24.7n.
63. See IX.5.21.
64. See 2.10.1n.

Appendix A: Curtius' Sources

65. See §1 intro.
66. *An.* 1.1.1ff.
67. See 1.30.15n.
68. On these see §10 intro.; for this conclusion see 10.14.1n.
69. See §2 intro. n. 19.
70. See 2.11.14n.

Appendix B

Contemporary Political Allusion in Book Ten

In the main body of the commentary, attention has been drawn to both elements of political allusion and cases where Curtius is influenced by his Roman background. Whilst the latter case is not surprising, an analysis of the former may offer reasons for several interesting aspects in Book Ten. The first of these is Curtius' continuation of his narrative after Alexander's death and radical alteration of the details about leadership negotiations¹, when the logical place to stop was either at the king's death, or after simply referring to his burial. Secondly, the digression on how the Roman empire had recently escaped from impending civil war² is surprising in a work about Alexander the Great; the placing of it prior to the lustration ceremony³ is also of interest. A third point concerns Curtius' uniquely positive treatment of Arrhidaeus⁴ and the stress put on his hereditary right to rule⁵.

Many elements in the treatment of Alexander, while apparently historical, lend themselves to comparison with Curtius' Rome. Alexander's punishment of those he had employed to kill Parmenion⁶, his recall of exiles⁷ and the freeing of his men's debts⁸ are reminiscent of the practices of emperors and his leap off the platform during the mutiny is similar to Germanicus' actions in Germany⁹. However, the most interesting resemblances are those which seem to directly concern the emperors. There are possible references to imperial favour given to defendants¹⁰, a plotting eunuch, reminiscent of those who could influence an emperor¹¹, the use of the term *amicitia*¹² and also of *amici*¹³ in a way similar to that of the *amici Caesaris*, and a possible reference to *maiestas* trials¹⁴. It is hard not to connect the idea that Alexander was only lent to the Macedonians¹⁵ with similar praise of emperors, and the use of *salus* is possibly to be seen in reference to the emperor and state¹⁶. In addition, there are also mentions of imperial virtues such as *clementia*¹⁷, *pax*, and *concordia*¹⁸; these Roman elements are set in place by the digression on Rome and the constant theme, following Alexander's death, of the need for a blood relation to succeed¹⁹. On an even more specific level, there are possible reminders of the actions of particular members of the ruling house. Perhaps one of the most striking of these is the undoubted analogy between Perdiccas and Tiberius on several occasions²⁰. Alexander's actions at the tomb of Cyrus may have reminded the readers of Augustus' visit to the former's tomb²¹ and the reaction, at Rome, to Germanicus' death may have influenced Curtius' treatment of the aftermath of that of Alexander²².

There are two more consistent and elaborated parallels: the first is between Alexander and the previous emperor, Caligula. Claudius' predecessor is recorded as having liked to dress as Alexander, which was seen as a symptom of his loss of control²³, and to have had Alexander's tomb opened, reminiscent of Alexander's opening of Cyrus' tomb²⁴. Atkinson²⁵ has drawn attention to similarities in the other books such as Alexander's unparalleled display of concern for his sisters²⁶: Curtius' possible ridiculing of Caligula's romantic imperialism in the ironic tone of Alexander's words to his men before Issus²⁷:

Alexander's naming of a city after his horse, Bucephalus²⁸, and Caligula's love for his, Incitatus²⁹: Alexander's use of concubines³⁰ and Caligula's³¹ lack of sexual restraint³². As with Alexander, Caligula's reign saw an increased use of proskynesis, something banned by Claudius and scorned by Tiberius before him³³. Among the direct similarities in Book Ten are that, as Alexander, Caligula is recorded as aspiring to divine honours³⁴ and that both rulers died young and without an obvious heir³⁵. Alexander's change of dress to that approaching the Persian style may have recalled Caligula's often excessive habits³⁶. There are also less direct reminders of Caligula, in particular in the digression on Rome, where³⁷ the new emperor is said to have returned light to the "caliganti...mundo"³⁸; in addition, in the digression, the *sol* may also refer to Claudius' predecessor³⁹. Perdiccas' placing of Alexander's throne on view seems reminiscent of an occasion when Caligula was absent from Rome⁴⁰. The *maximum crimen*, if it refers to *maiestas*, is also topical in that Caligula first banned, then reintroduced it and Claudius himself abolished the charge when he came to power⁴¹; the same is the case with *salus*, for there may have been a cult to the *Salus* of Caligula in Rome and, once again, following his accession, Claudius banned similar honours⁴². Other similarities between Caligula and Alexander may be found in the list of Alexander's qualities when Curtius notes that the young king avenged his father⁴³, showed *pietas* towards his parents⁴⁴, was renowned for his generosity⁴⁵ and prone to anger⁴⁶. The treatment of Alexander in such a positive manner in the list of his qualities and defects⁴⁷ would seem to point to the fact that, if there is a connection made between Caligula and Alexander, it is not designed to be totally hostile to Claudius' nephew, but to simply pick out specific similarities as regards faults, much as Claudius seems to have done in real life.

In Rome, after coming to power, Claudius did not openly attack his predecessor as, after all, his claim to rule was partly based on his connection with Caligula and, indeed, with Caligula's father, Germanicus. He dutifully punished the former's murderers, not solely for that specific deed, but rather for having dared to slay an *imperator*⁴⁸. The Senate desired to dishonour Caligula by a *damnatio memoriae*⁴⁹; this was blocked by Claudius; to allow it would have been almost condoning the assassination and have set a precedent; in any case, Caligula had been popular with the people⁵⁰. In addition, Claudius did not allow the day of Caligula's assassination, the first of his reign, to be proclaimed a day of public festival⁵¹. Instead, on his own responsibility, he caused all his predecessor's images to disappear by night and Caligula's name was taken from the list of those mentioned in oaths and prayers, his poisons dissolved, and his edicts annulled⁵². Claudius needed to show that it was due to Caligula's shortcomings that he was assassinated, rather than that the position of *princeps* should be eliminated. It seems, therefore, that a subtle campaign of denigrating Caligula was attempted⁵³: for instance, an inscription at a repair on the Aqua Virgo says that it was damaged by Caligula; the emperor's name seems to have been removed as dedicator of the repaired theatre of Pompey; Claudius seems to have taken the credit for Caligula's victories in Mauretania⁵⁴. In addition, works of art, plundered by Caligula, were given back⁵⁵, exiles allowed to return⁵⁶, attacks made on Caligula's treatment of the Jews⁵⁷ and extravagant

expenditure on games avoided. This ambivalent attitude would seem to match that given to Alexander in Curtius' Book Ten. It has been suggested⁵⁸ that the whole work may originally have been meant to be an attack on Caligula, but when Claudius came to power an attack on Alexander was not seen as a good idea, since Claudius was a philhellene and had an affection for Alexandria; in addition, his grandfather, Antony, had named his son Alexander Helios⁵⁹. Thus Alexander's qualities in the list were made more positive. This, however, seems hard to believe as Curtius would surely have rewritten the whole work.

As can already be seen, many of the allusions to the emperors in general and to Caligula in particular are also directly relevant to Claudius. In addition to what has already been noted, *salus* was probably of particular interest to Claudius because of his ill-health⁶⁰. There is also possibly a hint at the Claudian theme of *constantia* in Arrhidaeus' determination to seek peace⁶¹. The digression on Rome itself has many items relevant to Claudius' accession such as the night imagery⁶², the use of *posteritas*⁶³ and that of *iure* and *meritoque*⁶⁴, where the words possibly recall the earlier ones of the unknown soldier concerning Arrhidaeus⁶⁵; in addition, the use of the term *saeculum* might point, if the work was written after A.D. 47⁶⁶, to Claudius' holding of the *Ludi Saeculares* heralding a new era⁶⁷. The equation of the emperor and a star could point to any number of rulers⁶⁸. However, it is the parallel between the accessions of Arrhidaeus and Claudius that is most striking and it would seem that Curtius altered the information in his sources to enhance this similarity⁶⁹.

The accessions are similar from the start. Prior to the acclamation of each man there were disturbances⁷⁰. Both men shared the experience of living in a position of relative obscurity, although they had been involved in public acts with their immediate predecessor⁷¹; both had little hope of power, but, as reported by the relevant historians, had it thrust upon them by the wishes of the rank and file. In Arrhidaeus' case, as portrayed by Curtius alone, his name was only mentioned by an unknown soldier: according to Josephus, it was an unknown soldier who effected the desertion of troops from the Senate to Claudius⁷². Arrhidaeus was dragged before the assembled soldiers: Claudius was supposedly found hiding by a praetorian and taken by this group to their camp⁷³. Both men were hailed by the rank and file; Curtius underlines this by having Arrhidaeus brought forward and proclaimed on two occasions⁷⁴. In each case the leading men took a different attitude, preferring to have power themselves, or to give it to those chosen by them⁷⁵. In both cases the chosen men apparently showed reluctance to accept power⁷⁶ and there were rivals⁷⁷, with the rank and file seeing the main reason for the support of their candidate as the nature of his birth⁷⁸. Both candidates supported and trusted those who supported them⁷⁹ and, in negotiations between the two sides, they revealed a conciliatory, yet unyielding, tone⁸⁰. Both are presented as wishing to prevent civil war, the difference being that one was successful, the other not⁸¹. Following their acceptance, both men came to a reconciliation with the opposing side and punished those who were responsible for the trouble in the first place⁸².

However, despite the many similarities between the two men there was one major

difference. When Claudius came to power he was a relatively old man of 50⁸³. Arrhidaeus was probably thirty-five and, therefore, his *robur aetatis* is justifiably mentioned as an advantage⁸⁴. The use of *iuvenis* to describe him, contrary to the views of those⁸⁵ who see it as trying to suggest that his weakness, initially, was partly due to his tender years, is in no way derogatory⁸⁶. Although it is possible that Curtius may be hinting that Claudius is somewhat old and that a younger man would have been better, it is clear from the digression that the Roman emperor does what the new Macedonian king could not and that this is a greater compliment to the *princeps*, in that he surpassed the deeds of a man whose age made him, theoretically, stronger. However, there may be some advice aimed at Claudius in the events at Pasargadae: the power of the eunuch Bagoas might have reminded the reader of Claudius' dependence upon his freedmen and wife and been a message to the *princeps*⁸⁷.

As well as intending a simple connection to be made between Arrhidaeus and Claudius, Curtius also seems to have altered internal details for his own purposes. In other writers dealing with this period it is plainly stated that Arrhidaeus was mentally deficient and there are often details about the low, or dubious, status of his mother. However, at no time does Curtius mention either of these points⁸⁸ and, as regards any mental problems, there are only the undefined *probra* referred to by Pithon⁸⁹; if any doubt is cast upon Arrhidaeus' ability to rule it is seen as due to inexperience. It is unlikely that the majority of readers would have known of Arrhidaeus' mental problems in advance as he does not seem to have been a frequent topic in the declamatory schools⁹⁰ and his deficiencies are only mentioned by historians⁹¹; even if this is not the case, Curtius clearly avoids any mention of the mental problems and so would be free from any charges of mocking Claudius. The question, therefore, arises as to why Curtius does this. It seems clear that, if he was simply recounting the story as he found it in his source, or sources, he would have mentioned the deficiencies. It has been suggested⁹² that Curtius, already dealing with a case of a similar accession, was trying to avoid any embarrassment at echoing contemporary rumours about Claudius⁹³. However, Curtius could have left out the whole leadership quarrels if this was the case. The answer is more complicated and may be found in the fact that the accession of Arrhidaeus, as portrayed by Curtius, bears remarkable similarities to that of Claudius and, if this is the connection that Curtius wishes the reader to make, then he needs to be careful in how he portrays the new king. As a result of this connection more emphasis is placed on Arrhidaeus than in any other writer and the man, who was, in effect, the pawn of the leading generals, is portrayed as a blameless, resourceful and astute individual, whose character and confidence develop on each successive appearance⁹⁴. He is initially chosen without having any real desire for the post⁹⁵, takes his responsibility to heart and then gradually asserts himself: he supports the infantry in the struggle with the cavalry over Alexander's body⁹⁶ and then, in a very politically competent manner, takes the blame for Meleager's attempt on Perdiccas' life⁹⁷, even though he had astutely neither forbidden, nor encouraged, such an action⁹⁸. He steers his men through the crisis and is intent on a peaceful solution, showing his noble character by offering his diadem to anyone who could do better⁹⁹. It also appears that he came up with

the idea that Meleager should be the third general¹⁰⁰. Having said this, however, the parallel between the two men is put in perspective when the digression on Rome appears. There, it is made clear that the Roman emperor, unlike Arrhidaeus, stopped civil war; therefore, the Roman is superior.

Although Arrhidaeus' inferiority to Claudius has been shown, he does not simply disappear from the scene: following the digression, Curtius gives him greater prominence than any other writer¹⁰¹. However, he is no longer so blameless, as, at the lustration of the army, on Perdiccas' instructions, he demands the initial fomentors of discord to be handed over to be killed. This has led some¹⁰² to suggest that the digression is placed before the lustration to end the close parallel with Claudius and, therefore, avoid Arrhidaeus' actions reflecting badly on the emperor. However, it is more likely that there is still a connection with Rome and Claudius. After coming to power, the *princeps* saw to it that several of the murderers of his predecessor were punished, even though, as Arrhidaeus, he owed his current position to them; he also carried out a purge of unreliable units of the army¹⁰³. Although it is possible to see the killing of the soldiers, not by Arrhidaeus¹⁰⁴, but without his prevention of it, and the later death of Meleager¹⁰⁵, in the light of Claudius' actions, there is a problem. Curtius actually censures the king, who is still acting in a politically astute manner, for not protecting the infantry and only claiming as his those designs of which the outcome demonstrated their soundness¹⁰⁶. A satisfactory solution would be to take the view that in the initial stages of Arrhidaeus' rise to prominence he is meant to remind the reader of Claudius. The digression on Rome makes clear Claudius' superiority and when, at the lustration, Arrhidaeus is censured this is not an attack on Claudius, but rather a message to the Roman people. If they had been ruled by an Arrhidaeus they might have expected him to be influenced by others and to have needlessly harmed those who did not deserve to be punished. This obviously could not happen under a ruler such as Claudius. This praise, however, may also carry a message to Claudius to act in this noble way in the future and not to carry out any sort of a witchhunt.

Throughout the Macedonian power struggle Curtius constantly stresses the idea that a blood relation of Alexander was needed¹⁰⁷; this is further emphasised when Arrhidaeus actually assumes Alexander's robes¹⁰⁸. This stress must have some bearing on the situation at Rome, referred to in the digression. In A.D. 41 there were rivals for power¹⁰⁹; however, Claudius alone had a blood-relationship with the ruling house and it seems that he was chosen for this reason¹¹⁰. At the start of his reign it is clear that Claudius felt the need to emphasise his connections to the previous *principes* and, therefore, show the legitimacy of his rule¹¹¹. Claudius was not actually a member of the *gens Iulia* as the previous emperors, either by blood line, or adoption, had been, nor had he been marked out for succession. Indeed, in law, if there was no will, Caligula's sisters were his legitimate heirs. However, it is unlikely that an emperor would die intestate and it is possible that a plea of undutifulness (*querela inofficiosi testamenti*) would have been lodged on political grounds, as with Tiberius' will, and accepted, giving Claudius the chief share¹¹². Claudius, it seems, tried

Appendix B: Contemporary Political Allusion

hard to show his connections and family devotion, as he used the name of Augustus in oaths, made the senate decree his grandmother, Livia, divine honours and an elephant drawn carriage for her image, instituted public sacrifices to the shades of his parents with annual Circus games on the birthday of his father, Drusus, at which the image of his mother, now given the title Augusta, was paraded in a carriage. In one edict, he asked the people to celebrate his father Drusus' birthday all the more heartily because it happened to have been that of his maternal grandfather. He also apparently never missed a chance of keeping the fame of his popular brother, Germanicus, alive and completed a marble arch in honour of Tiberius¹¹³. With this in mind, it is easy to see how Curtius' treatment of the situation at Babylon would have been appreciated by Claudius given the similarity of the situations. In addition, in the digression on Rome, the need for a single ruler is mentioned¹¹⁴ and it is also the solution chosen in Babylon, especially by the infantry, and, indeed, put forward by Perdiccas¹¹⁵.

If all the factors are brought together, some pattern for the political allusion may be found. Curtius continues his narrative beyond the death of Alexander and shapes events differently from the other sources, giving a much more prominent rôle to Arrhidaeus and making his accession more similar to that of Claudius. He is extremely careful not to mention Arrhidaeus' mental defects, thus freeing himself of any charges of mocking Claudius. Throughout the accession there is continual stress on the king's right to rule by birth and it can be seen how Claudius was keen to stress this at Rome. Arrhidaeus confounds the initial impression of him as a coward, gradually gains more confidence and acts in an astute manner. By such a presentation Curtius may be pointing to the capabilities of the Roman *princeps*, whose powers may have been initially doubted. After the quarreling sides have come together, due to the efforts of the king, Curtius includes a digression on Rome. In this he tells how the new emperor, unlike the Macedonian king, prevented civil war. This suggests that a comparison has been made in the previous sections and that Arrhidaeus and Claudius are to be connected. This is backed up by the fact that Caligula is often brought before the reader's mind in the shape of Alexander; the writer's ambivalent attitude to him matches the official line taken by Claudius. Following this digression, Curtius includes Arrhidaeus' presence at the lustration and, although his actions are politically sound and able to be viewed in the light of what happened following Claudius' succession, he is censured for his rôle in the killing of the leaders of the discord. These remarks cannot be taken to refer to Claudius and, since the digression has made his superiority clear, the lustration must be viewed in such a context. However, Curtius' emphasis on Arrhidaeus' presence has to be explained and this is best done by seeing Arrhidaeus' actions as those of someone of inferior quality to Claudius and illustrating what could happen in a similar situation, under a lesser ruler, that is the influence of others and a witchhunt, which was not the case with the *princeps*; of course, it can also perhaps be seen as a warning to Claudius to be lenient and, above all, not to act on what others told him to do. The overall impression, therefore, of the last book is one of praise for the emperor.

Appendix B: Contemporary Political Allusion

1. See §13 intro.
2. See X.9.3ff. & §14.
3. See X.9.7ff. & §15.
4. See 7.2.12n.
5. See 7.2.13n.
6. See 1.6.26n.
7. See 2.4.1n.
8. See 2.10.31n.
9. See 2.30.1n.
10. See 1.6.19n.
11. See 1.25.18n.
12. See 1.2.16an.
13. See 1.6.2n.
14. See 1.7.10n.
15. See 6.6.20n.
16. See 1.7.16n.
17. See 5.28.9n.
18. See 8.23.22n. & 8.19.17n.
19. See 7.2.13n.
20. See 6.18.17n., 9.8.2bn. & 9.20.1n.
21. See 1.30.15n.
22. See §11 intro n. 1 & Atkinson 1980 pp. 37f. for more.
23. See D.C. 59.17.3. & Suet. *Cal.* 52.
24. See 1.30.15n.
25. 1980 pp. 37f.
26. See III.6.15. & Atkinson *ad loc.*
27. See III.10.4ff.
28. See IX.3.23.
29. See Suet. *Cal.* 55.3.
30. See 2.27.6n.
31. See Suet. *Cal.* 41.1.
32. The last two were suggested by Lana, 1949 pp. 48ff.
33. See 5.11.2n.
34. See 5.11.2n. & 5.33.7n.
35. See 5.12.14n.
36. See 5.33.24n.
37. See 9.4.7n.
38. See 7.4.30n. for a similar possible pun with this verb.
39. See 9.4.1n.
40. See 6.4.1n.
41. See 1.7.10n.
42. See 1.7.16n.
43. See 5.30.10n.
44. See 5.30.2n.
45. See 5.28.1n.
46. See 5.34.2n.
47. See 5.26.7n.
48. See D.C. 60.3.4.
49. See D.C. 60.4.5.
50. See e.g. J. *AJ* 19.158.
51. See Suet. *Cl.* 11.3
52. See D.C. 60.4.5 & Suet. *Cl.* 11.3.
53. See also Levick 1990 pp. 88f. & Barrett 1989 pp. 177ff.
54. See D.C. 60.8.6.
55. See D.C. 60.6.8.
56. See 2.4.1n.
57. See J. *AJ* 19.284.
58. See Sumner 1961 p. 34.
59. See intro. n. 104.
60. See 1.7.16n.
61. See 8.18.1n.
62. See 9.3.13n.
63. See 9.6.14n.
64. See 9.3.1n.
65. See 7.2.30n.
66. Such a late date seems unlikely.
67. See 9.6.6n.
68. See 9.3.12n.
69. See §13 intro.
70. See 6.20.2n.
71. See 7.2.20bn.
72. See 7.1.18n. & 7.2.1n.
73. See 7.7.2n.
74. See 7.7.11n. & 7.10.10n.
75. See 7.8.6n.
76. See 7.13.1n.
77. See 9.1.15n.
78. See 7.2.13n.
79. See 7.17.11n.
80. See 8.14.13n.
81. See 9.1.7n. & 9.3.1n.
82. See 9.3.17n. & 9.16.11n.
83. See Suet. *Cl.* 10.1.
84. See 7.10.26n.
85. See e.g. Heckel *YH* 1984 p. 4.
86. See 7.5.3n.
87. See 1.25.18n.
88. See 7.2.12n.
89. See 7.5.8n.
90. See 7.2.13n. for an instance.
91. See e.g. those mentioned at 7.2.12n.
92. See Errington 1970 p. 51 n. 23.
93. See 7.5.8n.
94. See §13 intro.
95. See 7.13.1n.
96. See 7.17.11n.
97. See 8.6.17n.
98. See 8.2.1n.
99. See 8.20.4n.
100. See 8.22.5n.
101. See 9.16.1n.
102. See e.g. Atkinson 1980 p. 37.
103. See 9.16.11n.
104. See 9.18.1n.
105. See 9.20.1n.
106. See 9.16.11n. & 9.19.1n.
107. See 7.2.13n.
108. See 7.13.19n.
109. See 9.1.15n.
110. See 7.2.13n.
111. For more see Levick 1990 pp. 43ff.
112. See Levick 1990 pp. 44f.
113. See Suet. *Cl.* 11.2f. & D.C. 60.5.1f.
114. See 9.1.11n.
115. See 6.8.16n.

Appendix C

Curtius' Clausulation

The purpose of this appendix is twofold: firstly, it supplies the figures for Curtius' clausulation, which are referred to in the commentary, and, secondly, it allows his choice of clausulae to be compared with that of other writers and some conclusions to be drawn. The following tables give the figures for Curtius and seven other writers; a control figure, based on two pieces of Latin with relatively neutral clausulation, is also given. The first table presents the percentage values for the various clause types and the second the preference for particular clausulae, expressed as a factor by which they deviate from the control. Due to the inclusion of figures from different scholars, using different classifications, a simplification of the types of clausulae has had to be introduced; although this leads to a less clear picture, the general tendencies are still the same.

Writer Clausula	Curtius ^a	Cicero ^b	Sallust ^c	Livy ^d	Velleius ^e Paterculus	Petronius ^f	Younger ^g Seneca	Tacitus ^h	Control ⁱ
1. - U - - X	35.6	16.2	3.4	6.1	9.0	24.7	23.0	9.7	7.4
2. - U - - U X	15.0 ^j	8.3	6.9	5.2	14.2	8.0	17.6	4.8	2.9
3. U - U U X	8.6	3.0	4.6	3.1	5.0	7.3	11.0	5.9	2.4
4. - U - X	8.3	25.3 ^l	6.6	11.7	9.4	14.0	10.3	16.3	17.2 ^l
5. - - - X	7.3	6.4 ^m	27.5	35.9	8.0	15.0	6.9	19.9	23.5 ^m
6. - - - U X	5.3	9.7	9.5	2.0	21.4	10.3	9.3	8.7	5.4
7. U - U X	4.7	6.5	7.2	5.6	21.2	6.7	7.3	8.9	7.2
8. U U U - - X	3.8 ^k	2.9	1.0	0.9	1.2	4.3	3.5	1.0	1.9
9. U U U - X	3.5	4.7	1.3	1.3	0.8	2.7	2.3	2.2	2.4
10. U U - - U X	1.9 ^j	2.3	2.5	0.7	3.8	1.3	2.0	2.1	1.5
11. - U U U X	1.5	2.3 ⁿ	1.4	3.0	2.4	1.0	1.7	3.2	3.7 ⁿ
12. - - U U X	1.2	1.8	10.5	12.4	2.2	2.0	2.8	7.0	6.2
13. - U U - X	1.0	1.9	10.9	8.4	1.0	1.0	1.0	6.9	8.3
14. - U U - - X	0.3 ^k	1.4	4.7	2.5	0.0	0.7	0.4 ^q	2.7	2.2
15. U U U U X	0.2	- P	0.8	0.3	0.2	0.0	0.6	0.3	- P
16. - U U U X	0.0	- P	1.0	0.5	0.2	0.0	0.4	0.4	- P
Sample Size	5221	1000	828	3369	500	- ^f	711	1716	2000

Fig. 13. Absolute percentages of
different types of clausulae

Appendix C: Curtius' Clausulation

Writer Clausula	Curtius ^a	Cicero ^b	Sallust ^c	Livy ^d	Velleius Paterculus ^e	Petronius ^f	Younger ^g Seneca	Tacitus ^h
2. - <u>U</u> - - U X	+ 5.17 ^j	+ 2.86	+ 2.38	+ 1.79	+ 4.90	+ 2.76	+ 6.07	+ 1.66
1. - U - - X	+ 4.81	+ 2.19	- 2.18	- 1.21	+ 1.22	+ 3.34	+ 3.11	+ 1.31
3. U - U U X	+ 3.58	+ 1.25	+ 1.92	+ 1.29	+ 2.08	+ 3.04	+ 4.58	+ 2.46
8. U U U - - X	+ 2.00 ^k	+ 1.53	- 1.90	- 2.11	- 1.58	+ 2.26	+ 1.84	- 1.90
9. U U U - X	+ 1.46	+ 1.96	- 1.85	- 1.85	- 3.00	+ 1.13	- 1.04	- 1.09
10. U U - - U X	+ 1.36 ^j	+ 1.53	+ 1.67	- 2.14	+ 2.53	- 1.15	+ 1.33	+ 1.40
6. - - - U X	- 1.02	+ 1.80	+ 1.76	- 2.70	+ 3.96	+ 1.91	+ 1.72	+ 1.61
7. U - U X	- 1.53	- 1.11	1.00	- 1.29	+ 2.94	- 1.07	+ 1.01	+ 1.24
4. - U - X	- 2.07	+ 1.47 ^l	- 2.60	- 1.47	- 1.83	- 1.23	- 1.67	- 1.06
11. - U U U X	- 2.18	- 1.61	- 1.16	+ 1.03	- 1.32	- 3.70	- 1.37	+ 1.05
5. - - - X	- 3.22	- 3.67 ^m	+ 1.17	+ 1.53	- 2.94	- 1.57	- 3.41	- 1.18
12. - - U U X	- 5.17	- 3.44	+ 1.69	+ 2.00	- 2.82	- 3.10	- 2.21	+ 1.12
14. - U U - - X	- 7.33 ^k	- 1.57	+ 2.14	+ 1.14	-	- 3.14	- 5.50 ^q	+ 1.23
13. - U U - X	- 8.30	- 4.37	+ 1.31	+ 1.01	- 8.30	- 8.30	- 8.30	- 1.20
15. U U U U U X	For the relevant figures see those given for Type 11 ⁿ							
16. - U U U U X								

Fig. 14. Preferences for particular clausulae
expressed as the factor by which they deviate from the control

The most striking features of the figures for Curtius' clausulation are that over half (50.6%) of the clausulae either belong to Type 1, or Type 2, and nearly three quarters (74.8%) belong to Types 1 to 5. This is an extremely high bias in favour of certain types and an obvious result is a corresponding tendency to use many other types less frequently than is usually the case; rather than a definite bias against these types, Curtius probably did not care how often they occurred. The types least favoured (5, 12, 14 & 13) are all ones used frequently by Livy and Sallust and Types 12, 13 and 14 contain parts of dactylic sequences, reminiscent of epic verse. Rather than imitating the rhythmic preferences of historians, it can be seen that Curtius has much more in common with the style of Cicero. He favours, or avoids, clausulae after the fashion of Cicero, except that these preferences, or dislikes, are greatly magnified. However, there is a noteworthy exception to his imitation, in that he avoids Type 4 (the Asiatic), which is the most frequent Ciceronian clausula. An even more striking similarity between Curtius and other writers is that his preferences are very much in line with the writers from the middle of the first century A.D., especially the Younger Seneca; however, once again Curtius displays a slightly greater deviation from the control. In conclusion,

Appendix C: Curtius' Clausulation

Curtius' clausulation reflects a Claudian date of composition; as such it is typical of that era, is rhetorical and is a reaction against that of Sallust and Livy. The latter case is particularly interesting as Curtius clearly owes much to Livy's phraseology.

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- a. Figures from Müller *MS* 1954 pp. 757ff.; there is a further 0.7% of clauses unclassified by him in his sections A, D & E (see pp. 760, 763 & 764).
 - b. Figures from de Groot 1921 p. 107; they refer to speeches only.
 - c. Figures from Aili 1979 p. 137.
 - d. Figures from Aili 1979 pp. 138ff.
 - e. Figures from Aili 1979 p. 142.
 - f. Figures supplied by P.A. George; they refer to all sentence endings outside the *Cena Trimalchionis*.
 - g. Figures from Bourgery 1910 pp. 167f. He discounts clausulae ending in monosyllables from his investigation; this category amounts to some 13%
 - h. Figures from Andreoni 1968 pp. 304f.
 - i. The control consists of a combination of nineteenth century translations of Gregory of Nyssa and Athanasius Alexandrinus; see de Groot 1921 p. 106.
 - j. Müller's group F¹ (U - - U X; see *MS* 1954 p. 764), consisting of 0.4% of clausulae, may be added to either Type 2, or Type 10.
 - k. Müller's group D² (U U - - X; see *MS* 1954 p. 763), consisting of 0.5% of clausulae, may be added to either Type 8, or Type 14.
 - l. De Groot's (1921 pp. 106f.) - U - - U - X is treated as a subgroup of Type 4.
 - m. De Groot's (1921 pp. 106f.) - U - - - - X is treated as a subgroup of Type 5.
 - n. As de Groot (1921 pp. 106f.) only gives a figure for U U U X this figure includes Types 15 and 16; this means that in fig. 2 Types 11, 15 & 16 are added together for each writer.
 - p. For this figure see Type 11.
 - q. Bourgery (1910 p. 168) simply lists this as U U - - X; due to the inclusion of another figure for Type 8 (see 1910 p. 167), it seems that this figure should refer to Type 14.

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This bibliography is divided into three sections: the first lists, in chronological order, the editions and commentaries of Q. Curtius Rufus which have been consulted; the second lists, alphabetically, and in Greek and Latin divisions, editions of other ancient writers mentioned in the text; the third refers, alphabetically, to modern works referred to. All abbreviations used for the names of periodicals are as in *L'Année Philologique*; any other abbreviations used in the commentary are placed beside the relevant work.

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