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The Metz Epitome:
Alexander (July, 330 B.C. - July, 325 B.C.)
A Commentary

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1995

Master's Thesis prepared
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Abstract

The Metz Epitome: Alexander (July, 330 B.C. - July, 325 B.C.) A Commentary.

Heather M. Loubé

This historical commentary on the *Metz Epitome*, a late fragmentary account of Alexander's exploits, compares the work with the extant early Alexander historians. The sources of the anonymous author have much in common with the Cleitarchan historians, in particular, Diodorus Siculus and Quintus Curtius Rufus. Non-Cleitarchan elements in the text seem to reflect a certain affinity with a Hebraic tradition concerning Alexander. An examination of the author's methodology suggests that "epitome" is not an accurate description of the work in question. The anonymous author has achieved a unique portrait of Alexander and included information not found elsewhere. In view of its late authorship and the few new crumbs of historical fact it offers, the value of the *Metz Epitome* lies in its interpretation of Alexander's career rather than as a source for it.

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Abbreviations

The following abbreviations are used in the Introduction and the Commentary.

Abbreviations for the names of periodicals are those used in *L'Année philologique*. In the Commentary, all modern research is referred to by the name of the author followed by the date of the reference as found in the Bibliography.

| | |
|--------------|--|
| A | Alexander |
| Arr | Arrian |
| Athen | Athenaeus |
| D | Diodorus |
| <i>FGrH</i> | <i>Die Fragmente der griechischen Historiker</i> |
| <i>It Al</i> | <i>Itinerarium Alexandri</i> |
| J | Justin |
| <i>M</i> | <i>Metz Epitome</i> |
| MS | Manuscript |
| P | Plutarch |
| P-C | Pseudo-Callisthenes |
| S | Strabo |
| QC | Quintus Curtius Rufus |

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(adapted from J. Seibert [1985] *Die Eroberung des Perserreiches durch Alexander d. Gr. auf kartographischer Grundlage. Karte 2*).

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(adapted from D.W. Engels [1978] *Alexander the Great and the Logistics of the Macedonian Army. Map 14*).

Introduction

The *Metz Epitome* is an incomplete *res gestae* of Alexander the Great and, as such, encompasses the campaign from Hecatompylus to the mouth of the Indus River (330-325 B.C.)¹. Julian's war against the Parthians in A.D. 363 was, perhaps, the catalyst for the unknown author's composition². The *Epitome* formed part of the Codex Metz 500, produced on parchment by a tenth century hand, at the St. Arnulphus monastery near Metz, France. A casualty of World War II, the *Epitome* was destroyed in a fire at the Metz public library in 1944. Using two earlier publications derived from different copies of the Codex³ and a third copy in the Bibliotheque Nationale in Paris, P.H. Thomas published the *Epitome* together with the so-called *Liber de Morte* in 1960⁴. It is the Thomas text which forms the basis of this propaedeutic study.

This study consists largely of a detailed historical commentary in which the *Metz Epitome* and the texts of the early Alexander historians, Diodorus Siculus, Quintus Curtius Rufus, Flavius Arrianus, Marcus Junianus Justinus, the biographer, Plutarch, and various Alexander Romances are compared. It presumes, on the part of the reader, a general

¹The word "epitome" is not used by the author, nor is it an accurate description of the work in question, as will be seen. However, since its first publication (see *infra* n. 3), it has been so known and the convention is followed here.

²D. Romano, "Genesi e significato della *Epitoma rerum gestarum Alexandri*," *Letturatura e storia nell'età tardoromana* (Palermo 1979), 102. For Romano, the purpose of the *Epitome* was the same as that of the *Itinerarium Alexandri* and the *Breviarium* of Festus, especially Part II, which were both dedicated to emperors involved in eastern wars. *Imitatio Alexandri* was an Imperial characteristic from the days of Augustus, and Julian was the last of Alexander's imitators.

³The first, *Epitoma rerum gestarum Alexandri Magni*, was privately published in 1886 by Didericus Volkmann and the second of the same title by Otto Wagner in 1900. Wagner appended the *Liber de Morte* to the *Epitome*, believing, erroneously, that they belonged together.

⁴P. H. Thomas, *Incerti auctoris Epitoma rerum gestarum Alexandri Magni cum libro de morte testamentoque Alexandri* (Leipzig 1960). For a more detailed discussion of the difficulties in reproducing the text, see Thomas' Introduction.

knowledge of the history of Alexander and his historians, particularly Curtius and, to a lesser extent, Diodorus. In addition to, and as a result of, the Commentary, the sources and methodology of the Epitomator were determined. From this comparison of the *Epitome* with the early authors, it became apparent that the *Epitome* at times had identifiable sources in common with some of the early authors. Where the source similarity ended, the difficulty of determining the origin of the material began, and met with some interesting results. I was intrigued with the ways in which the Epitomator combined the commonly known sources with other material, and I have speculated on his reasons for doing so. A unique portrait of Alexander emerged as a result of the author's methodology. The sources and methodology of the author, his resulting characterization of Alexander and an evaluation of the *Epitome*, in the fashion of similar studies, appear before the historical Commentary, although in many ways they form the conclusions derived from it. Appendices, consisting of a briefly-annotated glossary of personal names, a list of geographical names, a chronological table and a map are intended to clarify further the historical context.

Previous Research

Previous research on the *Metz Epitome* has largely ignored its historical aspects, nor has there been any comprehensive source analysis. Merkelbach identified the sources of the lengthy non-Cleitarchan insertions,⁵ and Geissendörfer addressed the sources of several unique elements related to these⁶. As will be seen, I take issue with their assessments. One of the insertions, a conversation between Alexander and the Gymnosophists, has received some attention in other contexts which closely resemble the *Metz Epitome*⁷. I have limited

⁵R. Merkelbach, *Die Quellen des griechischen Alexanderromans* (Munich 1954, 2nd ed. 1977), and *idem*, "Der Brief des Dareios im Getty-Museum und Alexanders Wortwechsel mit Parmenion," *ZPE* 77 (1989), 277-80.

⁶D. Geissendörfer, "Die Quellen der Metz *Epitome*," *Philologus* 111 (1967), 258-66.

⁷U. Wilcken, "Alexander der Grosse und die indischen Gymnosophisten," *SB Berlin* (1923), 150-83, and L. Wallach "Alexander the Great and the Indian Gymnosophists in Hebrew Tradition," *AAJR* 11 (1941), 47-83.

my discussion in this instance to the historical aspects and the source problem of that particular episode.

Other studies of the *Epitome* have concentrated on the language, dating of the work, relationship with the *Liber de Morte* and literary-historical attribution⁸. Although these works are outside the scope of the present study, they would prove valuable, in combination with this examination, in providing further understanding of the *Epitome*, its author and his milieu.

Sources

Cleitarchus

The *Metz Epitome* has much in common with the Alexander historians, Diodorus, Justin and, particularly, Quintus Curtius Rufus, and, to a lesser extent, the biographer, Plutarch. The similarities between the *Epitome* and these authors, known collectively as the Alexander Vulgate, lead to the conclusion that the Epitomator consulted their historical sources rather than their histories themselves. Merkelbach rightly rejected the ideas that the author of the *Metz Epitome* used Curtius, or one of Curtius' other sources, Timagenes, directly⁹. Their chief and original source is thought to be the early Alexander historian, Cleitarchus¹⁰, himself the son of an historian, Dinon.

Cleitarchus' twelve volume history covered the entire reign of Alexander. Although he may not have been on the campaign, he was able to consult original reports and, perhaps, participants. The chief primary source of Cleitarchus, until 329, was Callisthenes,

⁸See R. Herzog and P. Schmidt, eds., *Nouvelle histoire de la littérature latine* (Brepols 1993), 248-49, for a bibliography. Geissendörfer (*supra* n. 6), 258-61, also provides an excellent descriptive summary.

⁹R. Merkelbach, *Die Quellen des griechischen Alexanderromans* (Munich 1977), 161 n. 2. He points out that Pfister's arguments for direct use of Curtius are of little value since there are too few examples, while Landgraf's bold argument for use of Timagenes fails to withstand comparison in the Mallian episode (QC 9.5.21 and *M* 77).

¹⁰The date of Cleitarchus is disputed, but may have been before 310 (A.B. Bosworth, *Conquest and Empire* [Cambridge 1988], 297).

Alexander's official historian, but his account probably did not record events after the Tanais. Sources for Cleitarchus after 329 were various and questionable. His *History* was popular in antiquity, particularly during the late Republic and early Empire. Both historical and romantic writers used his work, and his source, Callisthenes, in compiling their own accounts of Alexander's campaign.

A definition of the Vulgate Tradition as anything not found in Arrian, and thus based on Cleitarchus, is too simplistic¹¹. All the so-called Vulgate writers used many sources other than the son of Dinon. Atkinson goes so far as to say that Curtius "may have used Cleitarchus"¹². Hammond denied that Cleitarchus was a "factual and sober" reporter¹³, undoubtedly because citations of his work focus on exaggerated and sensational details. However, reassessment of his narrative has subsequently shown Cleitarchus to be a more balanced historian than many others¹⁴. For the purposes of this study, Cleitarchus has been used as a generic term to signify historical sources used in the Vulgate not otherwise identified.

Non-Cleitarchan Elements

The So-Called Romantic Insertions

There are three lengthy non-historical insertions in the *Epitome*: a letter from the Indian king, Porus (*M* 56-57), another from the Indian philosophers (*M* 72-74), and a conversation between Alexander and the Gymnosophists (*M* 78-84). Merkelbach originally assigned these to an early collection of fictional Alexander correspondence which circulated

¹¹N.G.L. Hammond, *Sources for Alexander the Great* (Cambridge 1983), 332-33.

¹²J.E. Atkinson, *A Commentary on Q. Curtius Rufus' Historia Alexandri Magni* Books 3 and 4 (Amsterdam 1980), 67.

¹³Hammond (*supra* n. 11), 333.

¹⁴J. R. Hamilton, *Alexander the Great* (Oxford 1969), 17; Bosworth (*supra* n. 10), 297-98.

in Ptolemaic Alexandria¹⁵. This *Briefsammlung*, he maintained, was one of the chief sources of the Alexander Romance¹⁶. Close comparison of these insertions with similar passages in the Alexander Romances reveals that their source is not that identified by Merkelbach but, in the case of the two letters, a second letter collection used only by the extant historians¹⁷. The conversation with the Gymnosophists, which Merkelbach also assigned to the letter collection, finds little correspondence with such a conversation in the Romance. Its origin may be a Cynic tract on kingship. The *Metz Epitome* does have affinities with the Romance, which is understandable considering their common source-material, but they are not those identified by Merkelbach.

The *Metz Epitome* and the Jewish Alexander Tradition

Although Ruggini¹⁸ and Romano¹⁹ note and discuss the non-Christian elements in the *Epitome*, they are content to identify the author merely as a pagan. For Romano, the pagan aspects support his theory that the text was dedicated to Julian rather than Constantius, who was intolerant of non-Christians²⁰. However, neither author remarks on Jewish affinities in the text.

Two of the insertions, the letter from the Indian philosophers and Alexander's

¹⁵Merkelbach (*supra* n. 9), 162-63. Subsequently, in response to Burstein, "SEG 33.802 and the Alexander Romance," *ZPE* 77 (1989), 275-76, Merkelbach has allowed for two letter collections ("Der Brief des Dareios im Getty-Museum und Alexanders Wortwechsel mit Parmenion," *ZPE* 1989, 280).

¹⁶*Loc. cit.*

¹⁷Cf. A.E. Samuel, "The Earliest Elements in the Alexander Romance," *Historia* 34 (1986), 434 n. 21; G.T. Griffith, "The Letter of Darius at Arrian 2.14," *PCPS* NS 14 (1986), 36 n. 1.

¹⁸L. Ruggini, "L'Epitoma rerum gestarum Alexandri Magni e il Liber de morte testamentoque eius," *Athenaeum* 39 (1961), 350-57.

¹⁹Romano (*supra* n. 2), 103-04.

²⁰*Ibid.*, 102. It was Constantius to whom the *Itinerarium Alexandri* was dedicated.

conversation with them, find parallels in Jewish literature. A counterpart to the letter from the Indian philosophers is found in the works of Philo Judaeus²¹, while that of Alexander's conversation with the Gymnosophists (*M* 78-84) is found in the *Tamid* (Babylonian Talmud, Treatise *Tamid* 31b-32a).

Wallach has conducted a detailed analysis of the dialogue between Alexander and the Jewish Elders of the South in the *Tamid*, in which he compares the Hebrew-Aramaic version with the similar accounts of a conversation between Alexander and the Indian sages in the *Metz Epitome*, Plutarch (*A* 64) and a Berlin papyrus (*Pap. Berol.* 13044 = *FGrH* 153 F 9)²². He concludes that the *Metz Epitome*, the papyrus and the Hebrew version represent a tradition separate and older than the conversation reported in Plutarch²³. Their underlying source is, according to Wallach, the lost Pehlevi version of the Romance (Recension δ)²⁴. He claims that the Talmudic Alexander legends in general constitute "remnants of Jewish political propaganda of Hellenistic origin"²⁵. In the case of the dialogue, the antiquity of the Jews is demonstrated by presenting Alexander in a set-piece conversation with their ancestors, the Indian Gymnosophists. That the Indian philosophers were the direct predecessors of the Jewish sages was an opinion which was very popular in antiquity, and dates at least to the fourth century B.C.²⁶. This demonstration was important because the adversaries of the Jews, the Seleucids, particularly in the Hasmonean epoch (142-63 B.C.), denied Jewish antiquity in order to justify their illegitimate conquest of Palestine²⁷.

²¹Reproduced in Thomas (*supra* n. 4), 23. Philo Judaeus (c. 30 B.C.-A.D. 45) was a prominent Alexandrian Jew much interested in philosophy. Clemens Alexandrinus, an early Christian, produced an abbreviated version of Philo's letter (*Stromateis* 4.7.50.1).

²² Wallach (*supra* n. 7), 47-83.

²³*Ibid.*, 50.

²⁴*Ibid.*, 53-56.

²⁵*Ibid.*, 62.

²⁶*Ibid.*, 59-61.

²⁷*Ibid.*, 63.

There are additional elements which connect the *Metz Epitome* with the Hebrew tradition relating to Alexander. Two of these are found in separate versions of the Hebrew Romance. The most obvious example of this connection is found at *M* 70:

...interim filius Alexandri ex Rhoxane moritur. hoc sepulto ac re divina facta, priusquam ad Oceanum proficisceretur...

The death of Alexander's son in India in the fall of 326 has long been considered unique to the *Epitome*, and has been accepted as fact by most scholars²⁸. This same assertion appears in a Hebrew Romance (Bodleian Library, Oxford, MS. *Cod. Heb.* 2797.10, d. 11, f 273a).

The king's son, Alexander, died at the age of nine months. On the same day his horse, Busifal, also died. The king wept bitterly and ordered his son buried and his horse, Busifal, buried near him. He ordered a beautiful mausoleum erected over them. The king consoled his wife and came to her and she conceived.

(tr. Reich)²⁹

The parallels between the two accounts are striking, particularly when taken in conjunction with Curtius and Diodorus (see Commentary). The Bodleian text supports the death of a son of Alexander in the *Metz Epitome*, a fact which has, to my knowledge, heretofore gone unremarked in Alexander scholarship.

Since the *Epitome* records an event found in a Romance, does this necessarily mean that the information in the *Epitome* is fictitious or that the *Epitome* is an historical-romantic account? In view of the historical associations demonstrated in the Commentary, it can be concluded, I think, that this portion of the Bodleian Hebrew Romance has preserved an historical fact. This need not be surprising if one remembers that the Romance does

²⁸Cf. H. Berve, *Das Alexanderreich auf prosopographischer Grundlage* I (Munich 1926), 347; U. Wilcken, *Alexander the Great* (New York 1967), 176; J.R. Hamilton (supra n. 14), 129; contra P. Green, *Alexander of Macedon, 356-323 B.C.* (Oxford 1991), 369 n.

²⁹R. Reich (tr.), *Tales of Alexander the Macedonian* (New York 1972), 79.

preserve some historical truth and is not a complete fiction. Furthermore, the Romance drew on the same sources as the *Epitome*, Cleitarchus and one of his sources, Callisthenes. The more ancient the version of the Romance, the higher the historical content and the lower the fantastic elements.

What, then, is the origin of the death of the baby boy? Gaster feels that the Bodleian edition contains material belonging to an oral tradition older than, the literary tradition represented by Pseudo-Callisthenes, but he does not suggest a date for Pseudo-Callisthenes³⁰. Geissendörfer proposes that the son's death may have been reported by Aristobulus, whose history was favoured as a source by Arrian³¹. Aristobulus wrote after Cleitarchus but before Arrian's other principal source, Ptolemy³². There seems, however, little reason to discount Cleitarchus in favour of Aristobulus as the source for the son's death in the *Epitome*. Each Vulgate historian selected what he wanted from Cleitarchus³³ and, the fact that no Vulgate author chose to record the infant's death does not prove that the information was not in Cleitarchus. In addition, Cleitarchus has long been identified as one of the sources of the Romance. The information in the *Epitome* and the Romance may be viewed as independently drawn from Cleitarchus.

³⁰M. Gaster, "An old Hebrew Romance of Alexander," *Studies and Texts in Folklore, Magic, Medieval Romance, Hebrew Apocrypha and Samaritan Archaeology II* (New York 1971), 827. R. Stoneman, *The Greek Alexander Romance* (Harmondsworth 1991), 10, places the date as early as the third century B.C., although the first manuscript is dated 600 years later.

³¹Geissendörfer (*supra* n. 6), 265.

³²Hammond, "The Macedonian Defeat near Samarkand," *AncW* 22-2 (1991), 46.

³³Hammond (*supra* n. 11), 149.

The fourth instance of a Hebraic association with the *Metz Epitome* is a single word. In the *Epitome*, Alexander orders Bessus, the Bactrian satrap who murdered Darius and opposed Alexander, to be brought to him and *eum suspensum more Persarum fundis necavit* (M 14). This mode of execution is reported in no other text, historical or romantic. However, in a Hebrew Romance (Bib. Nat., Paris, MS. *Cod. Heb.* 750.3.30³⁴), Bessus is also hanged, but not stoned. The Paris Hebrew Romance is based on the *Historia de Preliis*, a Latin translation of a Greek manuscript found in Byzantium circa 950. The *Historia* and other versions of the Romance, as well as Curtius, are derived from a Greek original, probably Cleitarchus. They all say that Bessus was crucified³⁵. Kazis, the translator of the Paris Romance, concludes that the Latin text had been "Judaized" by the author of the Hebrew edition, that is, hanged was substituted for crucified³⁶. According to Kazis, this deliberate alteration of the text reflects the Jewish penal code, which did not permit crucifixion as a mode of execution. Similarly, the Epitomator appears to have "Judaized" his source or followed a source already altered. He, or his source, may even have reinforced the penalty of hanging with that of stoning, another Jewish form of

³⁴The section number (30) is that assigned by I. Kazis in his translation, *The Book of Gestis of Alexander of Macedon* (Cambridge 1962).

³⁵*affixi cruci* (QC 7.5.40). Strangely, this is not the cause of Bessus' demise in Curtius. He was sent to Ecbatana to be killed at the site of Darius' murder. Crucifixion had been abolished by the time of the posited date of the *Epitome*.

³⁶Kazis (*supra* n. 34), 209-10. B. Berg, "An Early Source of the Alexander Romance," *GRBS* 14 (1973), 385, gives a similar example of a textual Judaization in the γ Recension 2.24-28, wherein the author changes the protector of Alexandria from Serapis to Jehovah.

punishment³⁷. This suggests the possibility that perhaps the Epitomator, his source or his copyist was a Jew.

The fifth affinity with the Hebraic tradition concerning Alexander is the account of the death of Spitamenes. Some scholars have remarked on the resemblance between the story of Judith and Holophernes in the *Apocrypha* and the accounts of the death of Spitamenes in both the *Epitome* (*M* 20-23) and Curtius (8.3.1-16)³⁸. In all three accounts, a beautiful woman, who senses imminent capture by an enemy king and decides to take action to prevent this happening, appears in the camp of the enemy with a message for their king. In the *Epitome* and Curtius, the woman has selfish motives for her action, but Judith's motive is more altruistic. In all accounts, there is a banquet at which the victim gets drunk and is beheaded by the woman. The head of the victim secures the aim of the woman. In the *Epitome*, the wife of Spitamenes, having failed to convince her husband to surrender himself to Alexander's mercy, stupefies him with drink at a banquet and subsequently beheads him. She, together with her slave, then presents Alexander with the severed head and gains his gratitude, but no reward except their lives. The account in Curtius is similar, except that the wife is not responsible for her husband's drunken stupor. She did not win Alexander's gratitude but did gain her freedom. In the short recension of Judith published

³⁷Stoning was also a Macedonian practice (QC 6.11.38, 7.2.1; Arr 4.14.2; P A 55.7).

³⁸In discussion, Waldemar Heckel indicated that Stanley Burstein in California had also remarked on the similarities. Heckel, "Fifty-two Anonymae in the History of Alexander," *Historia* 36 (1987), 117, states that the story is a common folk motif, and gives mythological examples as well as a parallel (?) in Livy 38.24. R.B. Steele, "Quintus Curtius Rufus," *AJP* 36 (1915), 407, makes the same observation regarding Livy, but the resemblance between the story in the myths or in Livy and the Spitamenes story in Curtius and the *Epitome* is tenuous at best.

by Gaster³⁹, the events occur in slightly different order. The Jewish heroine, fearing the imminent capture of Jerusalem, goes to the enemy king, Seleucus, with a secret message. She tells him that she wants to gain his favour before the capture of her city. Seleucus, lusting after Judith, holds a banquet at which he gets drunk and is subsequently beheaded by the Jewish maiden. The severed head gains Judith and Jerusalem freedom. In the better known, longer version, it is the head of Holofernes.

The unnamed murderess in the *Epitome* and Curtius is very possibly the mother of the wife of Seleucus I Nicator, Apame. As Heckel remarks⁴⁰, the account scarcely flatters Seleucus' mother-in-law. As such, the tale of Spitamenes' wife may reflect anti-Seleucid, pro-Jewish propaganda during the struggle against the Seleucid king, Antiochus IV Epiphanes, since the parallel legend of Judith seems to have originated about the same time⁴¹. The ultimate source for the Judith legend may well be the story of Spitamenes' treacherous wife taken by Curtius and the Epitomator from Cleitarchus.

These Hebrew elements raise interesting questions about the sources, for which further study might provide answers. For the present, various possibilities present themselves: the use of scattered elements from a Hebrew tradition concerning Alexander;

³⁹M. Gaster, "An Unknown Version of the History of Judith," *Studies and Texts in Folklore, Magic, Medieval Romance, Hebrew Apocrypha and Samaritan Archaeology I* (New York 1971), 86-91.

⁴⁰W. Heckel (*supra* n. 38), 117.

⁴¹Gaster (*supra* n. 39), 86, represents the view of most scholars. S. Zeitlin (M. Enslin/S. Zeitlin, *The Book of Judith* [Leiden 1972], 26-31), argues for a date mid-first century A.D. However, M. Heltzer, "The Persepolis Documents, the Lindos Chronicle and the Book of Judith," *PP* 44 (1989), 100, dates the origin to 458-436 B.C., i.e., during the anti-Persian revolt against Artaxerxes.

the supplemental use of a single non-extant Hebrew history of Alexander; the use of an early, and therefore more factual, non-extant Hebrew Romance; or scribal interpolations. One may perhaps posit a Jewish author for the *Metz Epitome*. Some authors in the past have concluded that the β and γ recensions of the Romance are the works of Jewish scholars⁴². Certainly, there was considerable Jewish interest in Alexander, not only in the Hellenistic era but in Medieval times as well. The *Metz Epitome* does reflect a certain Hebrew influence, and may well combine the traditions of the Roman Vulgate Alexander with the Middle Eastern Hebrew Alexander.

The main source of the *Epitome* appears to have been Cleitarchus. To this source, a letter collection and a Cynic tract, which may have been part of the epistolary collection, were added. Several affinities with Hebrew texts seem to reflect the personal resources and interests of the author. Of these sources, the last is the least obvious, and suggests interesting possibilities for further research.

Methodology

Clearly the Epitomator drew from a main source, identified as Cleitarchus, whose material he abbreviated, interpolated, altered and amplified when, and as, he saw fit. Each of these interventions will be discussed in turn.

⁴² β : revision of α perhaps by a Jewish scholar: Rieger in H. Vogelstein - P. Rieger, *Geschichte der Juden in Rom I* (Berlin 1896), 189.

γ : a Jewish or Syrian scholar: C. Muller, "Pseudo-Callisthenes" *Arriani Anabasis et Indica* (Paris 1877), 82-85. A Jewish scholar: A. Ausfeld, *Der griechische Alexanderroman* (Leipzig 1907), 17; F. Pfister, "Eine jüdische Gründungsgeschichte Alexandrias," *Sitzungsberichte der Heidelberger Akademie der Wissenschaften V* (1914), 17-19, 22-23, 30-32, and Rieger, *supra*, as cited in Kazis (*supra* n. 34), 26-39.

If we accept that the twelve books of Cleitarchus' *History of Alexander* were the basis of the *Metz Epitome*, it is clear that the source has been greatly reduced. One way of compressing material is to leave out details while preserving the sense of the whole. An example of this is the Central Asian campaign (*M* 3 and 4), where Alexander traverses and subjugates a vast hostile territory in three long sentences. Omission of details to reduce material is one thing, but omission of details to alter the picture of the main character is another. The "standard list of condemnatory topoi" ⁴³ guaranteed to cast disfavour on Alexander such as the "kangaroo court" condemnation of Philotas and the murder of his father, Alexander's chief of staff, are omitted. Similarly, although the troops were frequently reluctant to go on, the *Epitome* gives no hint that they were other than content with Alexander's goals. In addition, the frequent anger, recorded in Curtius and Plutarch, is largely absent. Alexander is less often wounded in the *Epitome* than in other *Histories*. Thus, the Epitomator compressed for the sake of brevity and omitted for the sake of fashioning his portrait of Alexander.

What purpose did the insertion of the two letters and the dialogue serve if the author was seeking brevity? Let us first consider the Porus letter in conjunction with the battle at the Hydaspes. Certainly the Epitomator has combined into a single event the activities of two Indian kings called Porus, one brave and the other cowardly⁴⁴. The report of the battle and its preliminaries in his account is clearly deficient. Similarly, Diodorus, whose source

⁴³A.B. Bosworth, "A Missing Year in the History of Alexander the Great," *JHS* 101 (1981), 17.

⁴⁴See Commentary and D 17.91.1-2; Arr 5.21.5-6.

Hammond has argued was Cleitarchus⁴⁵, contains little of significance⁴⁶. Curtius' account, with its characteristically high proportion of rhetoric and anecdote⁴⁷ is "highly unsatisfactory"⁴⁸. All this suggests that their source was incomplete. Since the Epitomator and his source were indifferent to military tactics, another method was needed to emphasize the victory in one of Alexander's great battles. The lashing of Alexander's envoy, whether true or not, added emphasis to the supposed savagery of the Indian monarch. The inserted letter of Porus (*M* 56-57) emphasized Porus' threat to Alexander and Alexander's subsequent reduction of Porus to a supplicant begging for his life. Contrary to Geissendörfer's contention that *der Wert des Sieges über Porus geschmälert wird*⁴⁹, the insertion of the letter serves to enhance Alexander's victory and his clemency. A conversation between the conqueror and the conquered closes the Porus episode.

Similarly, before the Mallian campaign, the Indian philosophers threatened Alexander in a letter (*M* 72-74). Here, again, the account of a battle (*M* 75-77) is complicated by the sources, which Bosworth supposes were contaminated from the outset⁵⁰. Arrian (6.11.13), for instance, erroneously states that the battle took place among the Oxydracae. Curtius himself (9.5.21) tells us that Cleitarchus and Timagenes say that Ptolemy was present, which

⁴⁵Hammond (*supra* n. 11), 22-23, 51 and 79.

⁴⁶A.M. Devine, "The Battle of the Hydaspes: A Tactical and Source-Critical Study," *AncW* 16 (1987), 91.

⁴⁷*Ibid.*, 94.

⁴⁸W. Heckel, *The Marshals of Alexander's Empire* (New York 1992), 122 n. 315.

⁴⁹Geissendörfer (*supra* n. 6), 264.

⁵⁰Bosworth (*supra* n. 10), 136.

was not the case. Peucestas, who was agreed to have played a key role in saving Alexander's life in the battle, is absent from the *Epitome*. The sources obviously did not agree on the place or the participants or the tactics. The Epitomator further complicates the picture by compressing the Mallian battle with the revolt of Sambus. By employing the device of a threatening letter in conjunction with the interrogation of the authors of that letter, events are reconciled, the victory is enhanced and Alexander's clemency demonstrated.

In the *Epitome*, the parallel structure in the battle at the Hydaspes and in the Mallian campaign is particularly striking. An antagonistic letter to Alexander, which provokes his anger, precedes a brief, inadequate account of a battle, which is followed by a conversation between the author(s) of the letter and the victorious king. In both battles, there appear to be disagreement and inadequacies in the sources, and a conflation of events. If the letter from, and conversation with, the philosophers were introduced to bracket an episode which consisted of two conflated and poorly documented events, it suggests that the conversation between Alexander and Porus was meant to balance the letter from Porus. Whether the author created or simply copied that exchange is impossible to determine. The major insertions, then, have literary value for an author attempting to conflate and reconcile events and cannot be later scribal additions.

Alteration of the source material is a difficult question. However, there is a clear case of deliberate alteration, or "Judaization", in the fate of Bessus (*M* 14). In view of the Hebrew elements demonstrated above, the *Epitome* would seem to be influenced by Jewish tradition.

As for amplification, it is highly probable that the author composed the few examples of direct speech himself, with the exception, of course, of the dialogue with the Indian philosophers. The Epitomator, unlike Curtius, was no rhetorician. Although there are hints in Curtius and Diodorus of the meeting with the wealthy Indian prince en route to India and the conversation with Porus, there is no way of telling whether their source contained more information. Even so, the Epitomator was still probably responsible for the composition of the dialogue. Often where major differences occur between the Vulgate and Arrian, such as the Maracanda debacle or the Mallian campaign, the Epitomator agrees with neither, and appears to follow a third source or create his own account. The probability of the latter is high and may imply that the Epitomator was well aware of other versions of Alexander's history.

The obvious literary feature of the *Epitome* is that it is episodic. Romano attributes this characteristic to a readership interested in the narration of facts with an emphasis on times and places⁵¹. Unlike Thucydides (1.22), the author apparently wanted to appeal to his contemporary audience alone. The Epitomator cares little or nothing for military action. Moreover, the deeds of Alexander's generals are largely ignored because, as Romano plausibly suggests, there was no interest in their exploits⁵². Even Alexander himself is little more than a participant in a series of mini-dramas and in one episode, the late winter storm (*M* 24 -27), he is entirely absent.

⁵¹Romano (*supra* n. 2), 101. The *Itinerarium Alexandri*, thought to have been written shortly before the *Epitome*, also exhibits this characteristic.

⁵²*Loc. cit.*

If the *Metz Epitome* were simply an abridgement of Cleitarchus, it would be well named. However, the author has supplemented, manipulated, altered and ignored Cleitarchus and, perhaps, invented incidents. Twice he appears to have done so as a sort of literary exercise to make one episode parallel another. At other times, the Epitomator is not so obvious. This suggests that the *Metz Epitome* is not an epitome at all, but a brief and original pastiche of the exploits of Alexander from Hecatompylus to the mouth of the Indus.

Characterization

The portrait of the Metz Alexander clearly differs from those in the other early historians who used Cleitarchus. This different Alexander may be a reflection of audience interest in a rapid narration of facts rather than biographical details⁵³. Although Diodorus, like the Epitomator, presents a favourable picture, he does include unflattering material. Curtius is concerned with the degeneration of Alexander's character, as is Justin. At the centre of Plutarch's *Vita* is an Achillean Alexander,⁵⁴ who, unlike the Alexander in Curtius and Justin, exercises moderation and self control, but is, nevertheless, prone to anger.

If the *Epitome* follows the chief primary source of the Vulgate authors, does the Metz Alexander reflect the Cleitarchan portrait? Cleitarchus apparently stressed the rôle of Tyche and the degeneration of Alexander's character⁵⁵, both of which are prominent in Curtius.

⁵³*Loc. cit.*

⁵⁴A. Stewart, *Faces of Power. Alexander's Image and Hellenistic Politics* (Berkeley 1993), 83.

⁵⁵Heckel (J. Yardley/W. Heckel, *Quintus Curtius Rufus: The History of Alexander* [London and Cambridge 1984]), 6.

Some authors believe that Cleitarchus' *History* was an unalloyed panegyric of Alexander, emphasizing his Homeric heroism with its attendant desire for fame and glory⁵⁶. Bosworth, on the other hand, is of the opinion that the material based on Cleitarchus in the Vulgate tends to be less eulogistic of Alexander and places greater emphasis on events outside the Macedonian headquarters⁵⁷. Let us consider each of these "Cleitarchan" portraits in turn.

Does the Epitomator stress the rôle of Tyche and the degeneration of Alexander's character? The Epitomator makes no personal observations of praise or condemnation of Alexander, other than designating him Great – namely, in two instances (*M* 1 and 64), and even these are of uncertain authorship. The rôle of Fortune is entirely absent. Unpleasant incidents are avoided, perhaps to portray the king favourably. The *Metz* Alexander does not murder his chief of staff and his son, his official historian or the man who saved his life at the Granicus. He rarely exhibits the bad temper (*M* 9, 58 and 75) so evident in Curtius and Plutarch. He touches not a single drop of alcohol. Not only does Alexander show sexual restraint, but he also is concerned that he be seen to do so (*M* 23). There are no concubines from Darius' harem for him nor dalliances with eunuchs. The troops are not upset at Alexander's orientalism. There is no mutiny at the Hyphasis nor any other show of reluctance; his men follow him willingly. As far as the *Epitome* is concerned, Alexander's character does not degenerate.

Is the *Metz* Alexander a great hero with the attendant lust for fame and glory? In short, no. In fact, Alexander is reluctant to share his ambitions (*M* 1). The opportunities for

⁵⁶Hamilton (*supra* n. 14), lviii.

⁵⁷Bosworth (*supra* n. 10), 298.

displays of great heroism are passed up. This Alexander, weakened by wounds and dysentery, does not pursue the Scythians into the night. Did the Epitomator consider it foolhardiness? Rare displays of courage (*M* 40 and 47) are balanced with rarer savagery (*M* 45 and 47). The military genius, which one might have expected at the Tanais and the Hydaspes, is largely absent, but the explanation may be a source lacking in such details. The introduction of threatening letters from adversaries seems to be an attempt, albeit clumsy, to make up for this deficit. Although he is flattered by references to his Olympian ancestors (*M* 34, 36-37), this Alexander has no obvious desire to emulate or better their achievements, nor does he show any aspirations to divinity. Nor do the gods play any great part in the life of the Metz Alexander: he offers but two sacrifices – namely, at the Hyphasis (*M* 69) and at the death of his son (*M* 70). Moreover, he prays only once (*M* 85). Clearly the Metz Alexander was not the reflection of a Homeric hero.

Does the *Epitome* reflect Bosworth's assessment of Cleitarchus? The opening line of the *Epitome* introduces Alexander the Great, but there is, after 86 chapters, little to warrant the epithet, although a generally favourable picture is rendered. The main character exhibits little of the fame or infamy associated with Alexander. The account is scarcely eulogistic, and concentrates on events outside Macedonian headquarters. The Metz Alexander is, accordingly, merely the factor connecting a series of events. If Bosworth is right, the Metz *Epitome* may very well reflect the basic portrait of Alexander in Cleitarchus, without the sensation and exaggeration usually associated with that historian.

Historical Value of the *Metz Epitome*

This collage of Alexander anecdotes known as the *Metz Epitome* offers little information of importance not found elsewhere. Geissendörfer has identified six pieces of information in the *Epitome* which are missing not only in the Vulgate but also in Plutarch, Arrian and the Romance⁵⁸. The first is the whipping of Cleochares, Alexander's envoy to Porus (*M* 56). The second is the site of Bucephala on the east bank of the Hydaspes (*M* 62), which owes its place on the list to the interpretation of *in eo loco* and the dubious affirmation of the geographer, Claudius Ptolemaeus. Alexander's invitation to Porus (*M* 64) may be the invention of the Epitomator but, it is firmly based on the fact that Alexander made Porus one of his friends. The death of Alexander's son (*M* 70) is the most significant piece of unique information, and can, *pace* Berve, be accepted as an historical fact. The wounding of Sambus (*M* 75) is unique, but historically inaccurate information – probably resulting from compression of two incidents⁵⁹. The final item on the list is the order to the surviving Malli to be subject to their king (*M* 75), which is not unique, but merely erroneous⁶⁰.

To Geissendörfer's inadequate list, the following trivia, which are not shown to be errors or textual emendations, such as Bessus' death, should be added: the special tomb for Menedemus (*M* 13), Sisimithres'/Chorienes' three daughters (*M* 19), the encounter with the Indian †Arines† (*M* 32), the naming of the first town in India, Silex (?) (*M* 35), the distance

⁵⁸Geissendörfer (*supra* n. 6), 262.

⁵⁹See Commentary.

⁶⁰See Commentary.

from Silex to Nysa and the population of Nysa (*M* 36), the parrots at Aornus (*M* 46), Mophis' gift of rare animals (*M* 52), the naming of Nicocles as Alexander's ambassador to Abisares (*M* 55) and the time taken to construct the first ship of the Indus fleet (*M* 63).

All these contribute little that is of great significance in the study of Alexander himself. Justin's *Epitome*⁶¹ of Pompeius Trogus, who also used Cleitarchus extensively for his history of Alexander, provides interesting parallels. Like the *Metz Epitome*, Justin's account is abbreviated and contains little new information. Justin, however, omits little that is sensational and exaggerated. For these reasons, his *Epitome* has been accorded short shrift by most Alexander historians. On the other hand, the *Metz Epitome* probably owes its obscurity not only to its brevity and lack of unique information, but also to the very absence of sensationalism and exaggeration.

In the past, the value of the *Metz Epitome* has been seen as an adjunct to the Vulgate historians and, to a lesser extent, to the Alexander Romance. Because of the insertions identified by Merkelbach as romantic in origin, the *Epitome* has been categorized as an historical-romantic account, and has therefore been undervalued by historians. While it is true that there are common elements in the *Epitome* and the early Romance, this is also true of the Vulgate *Histories*, and can be attributed to their common historical source. The *Metz Epitome* is no more romantically historic than any other Vulgate history. In view of its late authorship and the few new crumbs of historical fact which it offers, it may be more rewarding to view the *Epitome* as an interpretation of Alexander's career rather than a source

⁶¹Heckel (J. Yardley/W. Heckel, *Justin's Epitome of Pompeius Trogus* in press, 5 n. 1) points out that, although sanctioned by convention, "epitome" is not an accurate description also of Justin's work.

for it. As an interpretation, a study of the *Epitome* is well justified, not only for an understanding of Alexander historiography, but also for an understanding of the sources of our knowledge of Alexander. This approach opens possibilities for further research. It would be interesting, for instance, to examine the influence of the literary and historical milieu of the posited date of composition on the *Metz Epitome* and the relationship between them.

330 B.C.

M 1 - 2 The Orientalism of Alexander

The *Epitome* begins *in medias res* following the death of Darius in July, 330. The events in this section can be placed at Hecatompylus (Sahr-i Qumis, 32 km southwest of Damghan), where Darius died.

The Epitomator provides a more detailed account than any other historian on Alexander's oriental attire shortly after its adoption but fails to mention Macedonian discontent with this. There is a close affinity with Diodorus in this section.

1. Magnus Alexander rex Macedoniae: This suggests the beginning of the *Epitome*. None of the extant Alexander historians use the term *Magnus*, nor does the author of the contemporary *Itinerarium Alexandri*. Heckel (Yardley/Heckel 1986: 30) suggests that the entire formula was added by a copyist to give the fragmentary work a beginning and a context, but see also *M* 64 where the epithet is repeated.

credit: The Epitomator parallels Diodorus (17.77.4), that A believed that he had accomplished his objective. The troops believed that they would go home after the defeat and death of Darius (QC 6.2.15; J 12.3.2), but A had other plans. At Ecbatana, while in pursuit of Darius, A dismissed his Thessalian cavalry and the other allies because he considered the League war at an end (Arr 3.19.3-4).

ausus esset: This implies that A was not completely confident in the willingness of the troops to follow him wherever he wished to go. A, alarmed at his army's reaction to the

death of Darius, had to persuade them (QC 6.3.1-18) to go on, telling his troops that his goal had not been to kill Darius, but to gain his kingdom (J 12.3.3). In Curtius, A, *qui Indos atque ultima Orientis peragrarare statuisset* (QC 6.2.18), revealed only his immediate purpose at that time, a projected four days of mopping up. Arrian omits this episode. In the *Epitome*, however, A entertains thoughts of further India and Ocean, the Red Sea and the Atlantic only after the Hydaspes (M 63). Although there were many instances during the campaign of reluctance on the part of the troops, the *Epitome* omits them all.

voluntatem: A had decided at this time on an expedition to India and the furthest parts of the East (QC 6.2.18). A dreamed of circumnavigating Libya and Asia and adding them both to his empire, together with Europe (Arr 4.7.5).

Dario vivo: ca. 380 (Arr 3.22.5) - 330 B.C. Darius III, Codamannus, King of Persia 336-330 B.C. Died at Hecatompylos (Sahr-i Qumis), 32 km southwest of Damghan.

According to Arrian (3.21.10), Darius was assassinated by Satibarzanes, the satrap of Aria, and Barsaentes, the satrap of Arachosia and Drangiana. The deed was instigated primarily by Bessus, the powerful satrap of Bactria, and Darius' chiliarch, Nabarzanes. (For the identification of Satibarzanes as one of the assassins rather than Nabarzanes, see Bosworth 1980a: 344.) The motives of the assassins are variously stated, but they clearly had no intention of letting the Great King fall into A's hands. The death of Darius signified the end of the Graeco-Macedonian vengeance-motivated expedition against Persia, and left A, as conqueror, successor to the western Persian empire.

2. **Oxyarthem:** *Oxathres* (QC 6.2.11); *Exathres* (P A 43). His appointment reinforced A's claim as Great King because the late king's own brother recognized A as Darius' successor.

This had great propaganda value. Diodorus (17.77.4) says that A appointed him as one of the *δορυφόροι* and, later, Curtius (7.5.40) has Oxyarthes *inter corporis custodes*. However, at the time of A's adoption of Persian attire, Curtius says that Oxyarthes was *in cohortem amicorum* (6.2.11), with which Plutarch (A 43.7) agrees. As a Companion, Oxyarthes was the only Persian. The Companions "formed a pool on which Alexander drew for satraps, generals, and men to command on some special occasion or to fill some new office" (Tarn II 1948: 138). The lacuna might be filled with *in cohortem amicorum* since the *Epitome* says a large number were appointed bodyguards and Oxyarthes is set apart from them. Neither Justin nor Arrian mentions appointments made at this time. For his part in the punishment of Bessus, see D 17.83.9; QC 7.5.40; J 12.5.11.

diadema: *purpureum diadema distinctum albo* (QC 6.6.4); *diadema* (J 12.3.8); *τό Περσικὸν διάδημα* (D 17.77.4); *τὴν καυσίαν ἔχουσαν τὸ διάδημα τὸ βασιλικόν* (Ephippus of Olynthus (FGrH 126 F 5 = Athen 12.537e-538b), but *τὴν κίταριν τὴν Περσικὴν τῶν νενικημένων* (Arr 4.7.4). All sources, except Arrian, agree that it was the headband (*diadema*) rather than the upright Persian tiara (*kidaris*) that A wore. Justin (12.3.8) rightly adds that the diadem was *insolitum antea regibus Macedonicis* (Yardley/Heckel in press: 180). Arrian's description is his own composition and may well err (Yardley/Heckel *op. cit.*, 179). Plutarch (A 45.2; *Mor* 330 A) is quite adamant that A did not wear a *τιάρα*. Fredricksmeier (1986: 217-27) has shown that the *kausia* (Ephippus) was a Macedonian hat already worn in 336/5, whereas Kingsley (1981: 39-46; 1991: 59-76) maintains that the *kausia* was an Asian (Chitrali) hat not adopted until 327/6. Thus, A combined Macedonian and Persian elements in his attire. Curtius (3.3.19) explicitly defines Darius' two-part

headgear: *Cidarim Persae vocabant regium capitis insigne, hoc caerulea fascia albo distincta circumibat.* Note that the colour of the Darius' diadem was blue, while A's was purple.

If A intended his adoption of Persian regal raiment to signify his assumption of the Persian throne, why would he have neglected to wear the distinctive upright tiara peculiar to the Achaemenid throne, rather than its encircling ribbon alone? His adoption of barbarian garb was unpopular with the Macedonians (D 17.78.1; QC 6.6.11; P A 45.4; J 12.3.9), and it may well be that A compromised by placing only one part of the regal insignia on his head together with the Macedonian *kausia*.

tunicam mesoleucam: *χιτῶνα μεσόλευκον* (Ephippus of Olynthus *FGrH* 126 F 5). *τὸν διάλευκον...χιτῶνα* (D 17.77.5; P A 51.5). *purpureae tunicae medium album intextum erat* (QC 3.3.17). Curtius translates the term *μεσόλευκον* in his description, while the Epitomator transliterates their undoubtedly common source. *Tunicam* probably does not refer to the *manicatas tunicas* or sleeved tunic called a *κάνδυς* by Diodorus (*loc. cit.*) and Plutarch (*loc. cit.*). The white band was either centred vertically, as seen in the Pompeiian Casa del Fauno mosaic representation of Darius, or horizontally around the waist.

caduceum: *κηρύκειον* (Ephippus of Olynthus (*FGrH* 126 F 5)). Ephippus, the only other source to mention the caduceus, says that, in private with his friends, A dressed as Hermes with the winged sandals and broad-brimmed hat and held a caduceus. However, Ephippus was referring to A's attire in his last year, not shortly after Darius' death. Although Berve (I 1925: 15), Badian (1961: 663), and Bosworth (1980b: 8 and 1988a: 287) do not doubt that Ephippus is correct (*contra* Pearson 1960: 65), the caduceus, in the context of emulating Darius may be a case of careless conflation of Ephippus on the part of the Epitomator. On

the other hand, a Hebrew Romance records that A had written to Darius saying that the rod with the curved top (caduceus?) was a sign that all kings on earth would bow down before him and be subservient (Bib. Nat., Paris, MS. *Cod. Heb.* 750. 3. 31). The caduceus was also a symbol of peace and this may be the connotation here since A believed *omne imperium Asiae ad se redigisse* and that the war was over. Since A was depicted carrying a sceptre in a painting on his funeral waggon (D 18.27.1) and on gold staters issued by Ptolemy I around 300 B.C., the image of A carrying some sort of staff was probably current in his lifetime.

zonam Persicam: Diodorus (17.77.5) and Plutarch (A 51.5) are the only sources to mention specifically the adoption of the girdle. Curtius (3.3.18) says that Darius *ex zona aurea muliebriter cincta acinacem suspenderat*.

ceteraque ornamenta regia omnia quae Darius habuerat: *vestemque Persicam sumpsit* (QC 6.6.4). Justin (12.3.8) also implies that A completely adopted the aspects of Persian regal attire, although Diodorus and Plutarch insist that the trousers and *κάινδυς* were not included. See also M 58.

equites stipatores: *amicos et equites ... hi namque principes militum* (QC 6.6.7); *ἑταίρους* (D 17.77.5); *amicos* (J 12.3.9): the Companions or *Hetairoi* (see *Oxyarthres* M 1). Diodorus (17.77.5) says that their horses were outfitted with Persian harness.

Persico ornatu: In order to avoid excessive animosity if he were seen to be alone in adopting Persian garb, A ordered his companions to wear long purple and gold robes (J 12.3.9). Diodorus (17.77.5) describes purple-bordered clothing. Bosworth (1980b: 5) points out that, in so doing, A was signifying that the courtiers of the new Great King were the

privileged Macedonians.

330 B.C.

M 3 - 4 Alexander in Central Asia

This section of the *Epitome* is extremely compressed, covering 1500 km of territory in a few brief sentences. Diodorus and Justin also compress this part of the campaign, but do not ignore the infamous Dymnas affair at Phrada with the consequent deaths of Philotas and Parmenio (D 17.79.1-80; QC 6.7-7.2.33; P A 48-49; Arr 3.26.1-3.27.1; J 12.5.1-3). This is but one of several omissions in the *Epitome* of events which cast Alexander in an unfavourable light.

3. audivit: The news was brought to A at Sousia, probably modern Meshed (Seibert 1985: 118) or nearby Tus (Engels 1978: 85), by the satrap of Aria, Satibarzanes (QC 6.6.13).

Although Arrian says that Satibarzanes met A at Sousia, he does not say that it was Satibarzanes who brought the report of Bessus' royal aspirations (Arr 3.25.2). Satibarzanes was confirmed as satrap and given 40 javelin men under Anaxippus, whom he subsequently murdered, to accompany him back to his capital at Artacoana (QC 6.6.13, 20; Arr 3.25.5).

Bessum: satrap of Bactria, murderer of Darius in both historical and Romantic accounts; *unus ex amicis Darii* (J 12.5.10). Not only was Bessus calling himself Artaxerxes, King of Asia, but he was also wearing the Persian royal mantle and headgear in direct challenge to A's claim to the throne (QC 6.6.13; Arr 3.25.3). Bessus wore the *τιάρα ὀρθή* (Arr 3.25.3) or *kidaris*, which Bosworth (1980a: 355) states was the clearest manifestation of

one's claim to the Persian throne. Diodorus places the news of Bessus after Parapamisadae (17.83.3). See also *M* 5, 6 and 14.

Agrianos: Thracian infantry with javelins, with A from the beginning of the expedition, commanded by Attalus (QC 4.13.31; see Heckel 1992: 332-33). After leaving Sousia, A, receiving word that Satibarzanes had defected, decided to split his force and pursue Satibarzanes himself. It was in this pursuit that A employed the Agriani (Arr 3.25.6), although he started out with the entire army in pursuit of Bessus.

hypaspistas: elite infantry, literally "shield bearers". The emendation of *gabisios* (Thomas 1960: 2) by Reuss would make the *Metz Epitome* the only Latin version of the Alexander-vulgate to use the term *hypaspist* (Yardley/Heckel 1986: 31 n. 16). If Reuss is correct, it is may well be that the Epitomator followed and transliterated a Greek source (so *mesoleucam* (*M* 2) and *Rhoxane* (*M* 29 and 70)). Here, the term undoubtedly refers to the *agema* which was regarded as separate from the main troop of the hypaspists and composed of aristocratic troops. It was virtually always with the king (Yardley/Heckel *op.cit.*, 248). See Heckel 1992: 244-53, for a complete discussion of the term. Initially, the entire army set out from Sousia in pursuit of Bessus, but the Epitomator seems to compress the pursuit of Bessus with that of Satibarzanes by the specific naming of the Agriani and Hypaspists. Curtius (6.6.21) says that A led *levem armaturam* and cavalry in pursuit of Satibarzanes, while Arrian (3.25.6) adds others to the Agriani and Hypaspists.

qua proximum putavit: A's route from Sousia is problematic. It would seem from the *Metz Epitome* that A initially planned to follow the northerly (and shortest) route from Sousia over the Kopet Dag range and the oasis at Marv to Bactra. However, the revolt of Satibarzanes,

which the *Epitome* ignores, caused A to follow a different plan of action.

per montes: Both Curtius (6.6.23-32) and Diodorus (17.78.3) recount an assault on a rock in Aria which Seibert (1985: 120) locates 20 km north of Artacoana at Fort Naratu (Kalah-i-Dukthar). Engels (1978: 88) prefers Kalat-i-Nadiri, the 'Gibraltar of Persia', 73 km north of Sousia, a location which Bosworth (1988a: 100 n. 225) does not support. Wherever the rock was, Satibarzanes was not with the defenders of the Arian rock, because he had fled to Bactria to join Bessus (QC 6.6.22; Arr 3.25.5-7).

ad Arios: emended from *agros* (Thomas 1960: 2). This emendation suggests the possibility of redundancy, with the repetition of *Ario*, and therefore, error; see *Ariobarzanes* below.

It may mean Artacoana which is usually identified as modern Herat (Seibert 1985: 120), although Engels (1978: 90-1) would locate it north and east of Sousia in Turkmenistan at an unidentified site. Aria was a Persian satrapy described by Strabo (15.2.9) as situated west of Parapamisadae, almost surrounding the Drangae on the north and west.

Ariobarzanes [*debut Satibarzanes* (Thomas 1960: 2)]. Both names are wrong.

Ariobarzanes, the satrap who, with Orontobates, commanded the Persians, Mardians and Sogdians at Gaugamela (QC 4.12.7) and opposed A at the Persian Gates (QC 5.3.17-4.34), fled and was killed when denied access to Persepolis (QC 5.4.34) in 331. Ariobarzanes, the son of Artabazus (Arr 3.23.7), who refused to join Bessus in treachery, fled (Arr 3.21.4) and surrendered with his three sons at Zadracarta (Arr 3.23.7) shortly after Darius' death. Berve (II 1926: 60-61) thinks they are the same individual, but Yardley/Heckel (1984: 306) doubts this.

Satibarzanes, the satrap of Persis, who had been in Arian territory, fled but no

author says he fled into India. Arrian does not say where he went, but Curtius (6.6.22) says that it was to Bactria, and Diodorus (17.78.3) says to Bessus (who was in Bactria). None of the Vulgate authors identify him as a murderer of Darius.

Barsaentes, the satrap of the Drangae, is the correct historical figure here. Both Curtius (6.6.36) and Arrian (3.25.8) identify Barsaentes as one of the Darius' murderers who fled into India at A's approach to his territory, Drangiana, which was to the south of the Arii. He is the only murderer of Darius between the Arii and the Arimaspi to flee to India. Barsaentes could indeed have been among the Arii, if the emendation above is accepted.

4. Euergetas: or *Benefactors*; so named because they had supplied Cyrus the Great with 30,000 wagonloads of food during the Scythian campaign when his troops had been reduced to cannibalism (D 17.81.1; QC 7.3.1; Arr 3.27.4; J 12.5.9).

Arimaspi: Arrian (3.27.4) calls them the *Ariaspai*, which is probably the correct form (Bosworth 1980a: 365). Their territory lay to the south of Drangiana along the Helmand (ancient Etymandros) River (Seibert 1985: 122). The campaign in this area was completed in 60 days (QC 7.3.3). A spent the winter here (Arr 4.7.1; *It Al* 39) because, as Seibert (*loc. cit.*) remarks, "Seistan [war] für den Unterhalt eines Heeres in den Wintermonaten vorzüglich geeignet", but inhospitable in March due to insects (Engels 1978: 93 n. 93).

ibi oppidum, qua in Indiam iter est, constituit: No source records the founding of a town in the territory of the Arimaspi. The reference could be to Alexandria-in-Arachosia, modern Kandahar, since it was founded before A reached Parapamisadae. The Epitomator may have reversed events and referred to Alexandria-in-the-Caucasus, which is either near Begram (Seibert 1985: 125, following Tarn), or further north, near Parvan (Bosworth 1980a: 370).

Although Plutarch (*Mor* 328e) credits Alexander with the foundation of 70 cities, Arrian mentions only 29; Curtius cites 12; Diodorus 6 (Robinson II 1963: 43-44) and the *Epitome* but 2, both of which are found in all sources. Bucephala (*M* 62) is the only other city foundation mentioned in the *Epitome*. Bosworth (1988a: 245-50) discusses the foundation of cities by Alexander in general.

oppidum Paropanisadarum: *Paropamisidae* (QC 7.3.6; Arr 4.22.4); *Paropamisidae* (S 15.2.10). This tribe lived to the east of the Arimaspi, south of Bactria and northeast of Arachosia, in the highlands of present-day Afghanistan. The Achaemenid satrapy consisted of the whole area of the Kabul River basin, extending below the Hindu Kush (Eggermont 1975: 176). A passed through the land of the Paropamisidae [sic] after the setting of the Pleiades (S 15.2.10) in April, 329. The town referred to here must be the capital of the Persian satrapy situated opposite the new town, Alexandria-in-the-Caucasus. Strabo (*loc. cit.*) says that winter quarters were established here, but Bosworth (1988a: 105-7) points out that the founding of the town was occasioned by continuing winter conditions in the mountains in early spring, which made the crossing of the Hindu Kush into Bactria impossible at that time. Alexandria-in-the-Caucasus strategically commanded both the pass through the Bamian valley and the one through the Panjshir valley.

in flumine Medorum: Ruggini (1961: 317 n. 134) would read *limine Medorum*, which aligns the text with Diodorus (17.83.1). Both Diodorus and the Epitomator make the same error in referring to Media which suggests a geographical mistake in their common source rather than a scribal mistake in Diodorus (Welles 1963: 357 n. 4).

329 B.C.

M 5 - 6 Spitamenes and Bessus

Again the Epitomator ignores an event unfavourable to Alexander, the massacre of the Branchidae (D 17 *argum* 20; QC 7.5.28-35; P *Mor* 557b; S 11.11.4). This part of the *Epitome* parallels Curtius, or his source, most closely in the naming of the three conspirators and accreditation of the capture of Bessus to them. In Curtius (7.5.40), Bessus is tortured at this point but his actual demise comes later (7.4.43; 7.10.10). In the *Epitome*, the torture is ignored (unfavourable to Alexander?) but, as in Curtius, Bessus' death comes later (M 14). Diodorus seems to record the immediate death of the usurper. It is important to note that Diodorus' account suffers from a large lacuna here, making comparison until M 39 possible only from his table of contents.

5. Spitamenes: *Pistamenes* (It Al 43); *inter omnes amicos praecipuo honore cultus a Besso* (QC 7.5.19); Bactrian noble not named in Diodorus or Justin. In Arrian (3.28.10-30.3), Spitamenes contemplated betraying Bessus, and his followers handed him over to Ptolemy. See also M 9, 13, 20-23.

Dataphernes: Not in Diodorus or Justin; *a Besso maxima fides habebatur* (QC 7.5.21); a Bactrian noble enlisted by Spitamenes to turn Bessus over to A. Although the two conspirators hesitated to carry out their plan, according to Arrian (3.30.1), in Curtius (7.5.21), they followed through. See M 23 for his arrest with Catanes.

Catanes: Not in Diodorus or Justin; enjoyed the same confidence with Bessus as

Dataphernes (QC 7.5.21); skilled archer (QC 7.5.43). Later, in Arrian (4.22.1-2), Catanes is killed in Pareitacene by Craterus, but Arrian does not name him as a conspirator with Spitamenes. See also *M* 13, where Catanes joins Spitamenes in revolt, and *M* 23 for his arrest.

ceterosque Darei propinquos: Curtius (7.5.21) calls them 8 sturdy young men. Arrian includes only Dataphernes in the conspiracy.

Darii ulciscendi: Curtius (7.5.20) adds private jealousy of Bessus' success as a motive, but Diodorus (17.83.8) says it was greed or clemency prompted by A's reception of Bagodaras (D 17.83.7); *Cobares* (QC 7.4.8). This is borne out in the *Epitome* (*M* 6) by *collaudatos donatosque dimisit*.

6. ademerunt: All sources agree that Bessus was naked.

vinctum: *vinctum...collo inserta catena* (QC 7.5.36); *vinctus* (J 12.5.9); ἐν κλοιῷ δήσαντα (Arr 3.30.3).

Summer, 329 B.C. *M* 7 - 8 Maracanda and the Tanais

Again the *Epitome* agrees most closely with Curtius, particularly with the description of Maracanda and the naming of Carthasis. The founding of Alexandria Eschate is omitted.

7. Deinde: This places the capture of Bessus at Nautace. The exact location is uncertain, but the area lies approximately 100 km, or 4 days' march, south of Samarkand.

Tanaim: Iaxartes or Syr Darya which flows into the Aral Sea. Arrian (3.30.7) mistakenly

thought that it, like the Oxus, flowed into the Caspian. According to Aristobulus (Arr 3.30.7 = *FGrH* 139 F 25), the natives called the river Orexartes. Cleitarchus (*FGrH* 137 F 13 = S 11.1.5C491), following Aristotle (*Meteor* 1.13.15 [350a]), thought that the Tanais (Don), which flowed into the Maeotis (Sea of Azov), branched off from the Araxes. The confusion between the names Araxes and Orexartes (Hamilton 1969: 119) may well have caused A to believe that the Syr Darya was the Tanais (P A 45.6).

Maracanda: or Samarkand; τὰ βασιλεια τῆς Σογδιανῶν χώρας (Arr 3.30.6), on the Zeravshan or Polytimetus River, north of the Oxus and south of the Tanais (M 7 and 13). **dierum (...)** via: see M 13 = 4 days (QC 7.9.21; Arr 4.6.4). The route from Maracanda to the Tanais went through the Gates of Tamerlane, Dshizak (Jizak) and Uratube (Engels 1978: 103 and Map 13), a distance of 1500 stadia or 287 km.

8. praesidio relicto: A's practice was to leave behind a garrison *velut freni domiatrum gentium* (QC 7.10.16). Curtius records 14 garrisons between Sardis and Maracanda (Robinson II 1963: 41). Such garrisons (e.g., QC 7.3.5; 7.10.10; 10.2.8; Arr 3.29.1; 4.1.4; 4.16.5-7) were largely inadequate, should the rebels attack; Arrian (4.1.4) notes that a number of garrisons in Sogdiana were annihilated, as well as at least one in Bactria (Arr 4.16.5). The garrison at Bactra consisted of 80 mercenary cavalry, who were rallied under the command of A's Macedonian general factotum and a harpist (Arr 4.16.6-7). However, the garrison at Maracanda was substantial: 1000 men (QC 7.6.10). For a discussion of A's garrisons, see Thomas 1974: 11-20.

castraque ... collocavit: The *Epitome* does not mention the foundation of Alexandria Eschate (modern Chojend). It was fortified and populated with liberated captives (QC

7.6.25-7), thus emulating and supplanting the border fortress of Cyrus the Great, Cyropolis or Cyreshate. See also Commentary *M* 4.

fratrem suum Carthasim: named only in the *Epitome* and Curtius.

329 B.C. *M* 9 Defection and Revolt of Spitamenes

Hammond (1991b: 47) believes that the account of the Maracanda disaster in the *Metz Epitome* (*M* 9 and 13) is derived either from Curtius or from a source or sources in common with Curtius. The similarities are the pairing of Spitamenes and Catanes (*M* 9 and QC 7.6.14), the announcement made before the crossing of the Tanais (*M* 9 and QC 7.7.30), the sleepless night (*M* 9 and QC 7.8.2), the duration of the return march to Maracanda (*M* 13 and QC 7.9.21) and the singular name of Menedemus (*M* 13 and QC 7.9.21). Curtius and Arrian give very different accounts of the debacle near Samarkand. The *Epitome* appears to account for only a beleaguered group of Greeks who had been left with a garrison at Maracanda, which none of the Alexander historians relate. However, if the *Epitome* had referred to a Greek company that had been sent to the garrison, the account would be consistent with Curtius.

9. Spitamenes et Catanen: At *M* 5, Catanes had joined Dataphernes and Spitamenes in handing over Bessus. A had planned to use Spitamenes and Catanes to quell a Sogdian-led Bactrian rebellion, when he learned that they were, in fact, its leaders (QC 7.6.13-15). For Spitamenes, see also *M* 13, 20, and 23; for Catanes, see also *M* 23.

Graiorum copiam: Neither Curtius nor Arrian mentions a separate company of Greeks at Maracanda. A sent a large force, consisting mainly of mercenary (Greek?) infantry, to attack Spitamenes who, having evicted the garrison, was ensconced in Maracanda (Curtius), or to lift Spitamenes' siege of Maracanda (Arrian). It is a mark of Cleitarchus to characterize the infantry as Greek (Hammond 1991b: 42). Holt (1988: 77-81) points out that the sources make it clear that the Greek mercenaries blamed the Macedonian commanders for the debacle near Maracanda. The distinction between the mercenaries and Macedonians made here reflects the friction between the two groups. Carney (1981: 149-60) argues that it was precisely this friction which led to the death of Cleitus (QC 8.1.19-52; P A 50-52; Arr 4.8.1-9; J 12.6.1-18). Badian (1982: 40) points out that Alexander never tried to integrate Greeks into the Macedonian infantry. In Arrian, the force sent against Spitamenes is called Macedonian.

fugasse multosque occidisse: In Curtius (7.7.30-39), the force sent by A to attack Spitamenes at Maracanda was ambushed and slaughtered. In Arrian (4.5.2-6.2), the force pursued Spitamenes who, having abandoned his siege of Maracanda and received reinforcements, stood against the Macedonians who suffered great losses.

cum praesidiis: 1000 men (QC 7.6.10). Curtius (7.6.24) says that the garrison was expelled by Spitamenes but does not record its fate. On the other hand, Arrian says that the garrison, besieged by Spitamenes (4.3.6), made a sortie, inflicted casualties, routed the enemy and returned unscathed to the city (4.5.2) while Spitamenes withdrew *ἐς τὰ βασιλεια τῆς Σογδιανῆς* at A's approach (4.5.3).

reliquerat: This is a gross error. The *Graiorum copiam* was sent to Maracanda not left

with the garrison.

in arce regia: Maracanda (Arr 3.30.6).

reliquos: In Curtius and Arrian, it is the remnants of the force sent by A that are besieged.

in quendam locum: *tumulum paulo quam cetera editiorem* (QC 7.7.38), where Spitamenes intended to starve the survivors of the ambush into surrender. Their fate is unknown. In Arrian (4.5.7), the survivors sought refuge on one of the islands in the Polytimetus River and were slaughtered.

munitum cuneatim: In Curtius (7.7.35), the same formation is adopted by the barbarians as they attack. In Arrian (4.5.6), the ambushed Macedonian relief force is in a square formation as they withdraw. The solid Δ shaped cavalry wedge was invented by the Scythians, adopted by Philip II and used in A's campaigns (Devine 1983: 216).

in praefectura Bactrina: The Epitomator may distinguish between Bactria and Sogdiana at *M* 14, wherein A, on his return from Maracanda, passes *per agrum Sogdianum* en route to Bactria. Curtius (7.7.2; 7.8.21; 7.8.30 and 8.1.19, 35) often considers the two areas as one, Bactria. If the Epitomator is referring to the Polytimetus River, which is in Sogdiana, he is following Curtius by regarding Bactria and Sogdiana as a single entity (Holt 1988: 20).

audivit: As in Curtius, word was brought before the crossing of the Tanais. Hammond (1991b: 46) attributes the timing to Cleitarchus. In Arrian, the news arrived after the Tanais had been crossed, which Hammond (*loc. cit.*) considers correct.

praeter consuetudinem indignissime tulit: In the *Metz Epitome*, A is angered only 3 times (*M* 9, 58 and 78), but in Curtius, this is A's standard reaction to unpleasant news (e.g., QC 4.2.5; 7.6.19-20, 23). Justin (9.8.14) notes that, unlike his father, A had

difficulty in hiding and suppressing his anger. As Hamilton points out (1969: lxiii), anger is, according to Plutarch, the chief defect in A's character.

pervigilavit: noctem vigiliis extraxit (QC 7.8.2). It was the upsetting news of the slaughter of the Maracanda relief force which caused A's insomnia. See QC 7.5.16 for another example of an upsetting event causing a sleepless night. A concealed the news (QC 7.7.39). See P A 33 for similar action before Gaugamela.

329 B.C.

M 10 - 12 Crossing the Tanais

Like Curtius, the Epitomator interposes the crossing of the Tanais between the report of the disaster at Maracanda and Alexander's return to that city. The opportunity to glorify Alexander, not missed by Curtius, Arrian or Plutarch, is disregarded. These authors emphasize his courage on the opposite bank and in pursuit of the Scythians, in the face of personal difficulties: weakness from recent wounds to the leg and neck (QC 7.6.3; 7.6.22) or severe dysentery (P A 45.6; Arr 4.4.8). Similarly, the Epitomator neglects Alexander's desire to better his ancestor, Dionysus.

10. quo coepisset: At M 8, A intended to advance to the Tanais but there was no indication that he planned to cross the river. In Curtius (7.7.10-19), A decided to confront the Scythians on the other side of the Tanais to demonstrate Macedonian invincibility, not only to the Scythians but to the revolting Bactrians. In Arrian (4.4.1), A crossed the river in response to taunts by the Scythians. Holt (1988: 38) sees the military actions against the

Scythians as *emulatio* of Cyrus on the part of A, whereas Bloedow (1991b: 52-54) sees A reacting to the situation rather than pursuing a predetermined plan. It was necessary for A, as the new Great King, to establish his control over the entire territory of his predecessor, and, in particular, that of Bessus, who was a direct challenger to his authority and position. The Tanais marked the border between Persian and non-Persian territory.

studiose: According to Curtius (7.8.3-4), the enthusiastic response was prompted by the first sight of A since a severe blow to the neck (QC 7.6.22).

brevi tempore: 3 days (QC 7.8.7).

duo milia ratium: 12,000 rafts and skin floats (QC 7.8.7); no rafts, only skin floats (Arr 4.4.1-8). Numerical discrepancies are not sufficient reason to contend that Curtius and the Epitomator are not using the same source.

11. videbantur: The Epitomator is less concerned with the military tactics than he is with the visual and aural impact of the force that landed on the opposite bank of the Tanais.

12. conpluresque occiderent: Curtius (7.9.16) gives Macedonian casualties as 60 cavalry, 100 infantry and 1000 wounded. Arrian (4.4.8) gives enemy casualties as 1000, with 150 prisoners taken.

dicuntur: Both Curtius and Arrian mention crossing, combat and pursuit but not Justin. The Epitomator not only omits A's personal participation in the pursuit of the Scythians, but also seems to doubt the extent of Macedonian penetration of enemy territory. There is no hint that A wished to emulate or better Dionysus. See also *M* 36-38.

per noctem sequentes: 100 stadia (P A 45.6). A lasted 80 stadia (QC 7.9.13).

Liberi Patris columnam: Dionysus or Bacchus. Only Curtius (7.9.15) refers to the

sanctuary of Dionysus which marked the extent of penetration into Scythian territory by Dionysus. The pillar may have been heaps of stones set up to commemorate the burial places of Scythian chieftains - *kurgans* (Engels 1978: 103-4).

Dionysus was an ancestor of the Argeads (Bosworth 1988a: 278) and a strong influence on Macedonian society (O'Brien 1992: 14-16). Arrian (5.2.1) says, in connection with Nysa, that "Alexander wanted to believe the old tale about Dionysus' journey... for then he would have had the satisfaction of knowing that he had already penetrated as far as Dionysus did... that his Macedonian troops would consent to share his hardships a little longer if they knew they were in competition with Dionysus." See also *M* 34.

329 B.C.

***M* 13 Return to Maracanda**

There is continued emphasis on the fate of the Greeks at Maracanda. The mention of Menedemus, who played a key rôle in both Curtius and Arrian, not only supports the identification of the error at *M* 9, but indicates the use of Cleitarchus as a source (Hammond, 1991b: 43). The majority of casualties in the defeat near Samarkand were non-Macedonian, which the *Epitome*, despite its error, makes clear.

13. triduo post: allowed time for A to recover from the crossing of the Tanais and receive a delegation of Sacae (QC 7.9.17-19). Atkinson (1980: 162) points out that Curtius is attracted to three-day periods. See *M* 24, 63 (?) and 85.

Graios oppugnare destitit: the assault on the company of Greeks left with the Macedonian

garrison at Maracanda, who were being besieged in the province of Bactria (*M* 9).

However, if the error at *M* 9 is corrected as suggested, and if the Epitomator is, indeed, following Cleitarchus, the *Graios* are the mercenaries besieged by Spitamenes on the hillock as in Curtius.

quarto die: provides a solution for the lacuna at *M* 7. Both Curtius (7.9.21) and Arrian (4.6.4) agree that the journey was completed on the fourth day. For a discussion of the forced march over 1500 stadia, see Hammond 1991b: 47 n. 20.

Graiorum caedes: 2000 infantry, 300 cavalry perished (QC 7.7.39); 40 cavalry and 300 infantry escaped from the original force of 60 Companions, 800 mercenary cavalry and 1500 mercenary infantry (Arr 4.3.7). This was the most serious loss ever sustained by A's troops in battle.

sepeliri: Their bones were buried in a mound and traditional funeral rights performed (QC 7.9.21). Hammond (1991b: 44-45) tries to show that Aristobulus was the source of the burial of the dead, but, since Aristobulus wrote after Cleitarchus (Hammond, *op. cit.*, 46), there is no reason why this information could not also have been found in Cleitarchus, and that Aristobulus simply concurred.

Menedemo: Menedemus was sent by A to Maracanda when he heard of the revolt of Spitamenes. Curtius (7.6.24; 7.7.31) gives Menedemus sole command of 3000 infantry and 800 cavalry, but, in Arrian (4.3.7), Menedemus shares command with others and is in charge of 1500 mercenary infantry. Since Cleitarchus characterizes the infantry as Greek, these mercenary infantry are the *copiam Graiorum* at *M* 9. The naming of Menedemus alone shows that the Epitomator is not ignorant of the relief force and that he follows Curtius'

source, Cleitarchus. Menedemus appears in the sources only in connection with this episode (Heckel 1992: 343).

sepulchrum: Only the *Epitome* records a special tomb for Menedemus.

329 B.C.

M 14 The Fate of Bessus

The *Epitome* here agrees with Curtius and Arrian that Bessus was brought to Alexander in Bactria, but these authors do not say that he was killed at that time. At *M* 6, the Epitomator ignores the torture of Bessus, which the Vulgate authors all insist was inflicted under the direction of Darius' brother. Yardley/Heckel (1984: 288 n. 36; 289 n. 60) notes that Curtius attempted to reconcile two sources, one which had Bessus executed immediately after his capture (Cleitarchus in *D* 17.83.8-9), and another which had him sent to Ecbatana to be killed (Aristobulus/Ptolemy in *Arr* 4.7.3). But Curtius (7.4.43) erred at first in his reconciliation, for he says that Bessus' execution was delayed *ut eo loco ipso quo Dareum ipse occiderat necaretur*. He later (7.10.10) corrects the site of Bessus' death to Ecbatana.

The Epitomator does not recognize Bessus' immediate death (*D* 17.83.8-9; *P A* 43.6), his death at the site of Darius' murder (*QC* 7.4.43), his death at Ecbatana (*QC* 7.10.10; *Arr* 4.7.3) or Persepolis (*P-C* 2.21), and records his demise at a site 11 days from the Ochus River. It is precisely at this spot, somewhere in Bactria (*QC* 7.10.10), that Curtius, in his correction, has Bessus ordered to Ecbatana for execution. Neither Curtius nor Arrian specify how Bessus died, but Diodorus (17.83.9) and Plutarch (*A* 43.6) give ghoulish

accounts, which differ from each other and the *Epitome*. The *Epitome* adds yet another site for the death of Bessus and yet another method of execution, which not only reflect the varying, unreconciled accounts of his fate, but may also demonstrate the Hebraic influence in the text.

14. per agrum Sogdianum: south of Maracanda but north of the Oxus. The Sogdians revolted three times, and were finally subjugated at the Sogdian Rock (*M* 15-18).

in Bactriam: Here A spent the winter of 329/8 (Arr 4.7.1).

Bessum: The *Epitome* agrees here with Curtius and Arrian that Bessus was presented to A in Bactria. Curtius and Arrian say that Bessus was then sent to Ecbatana to be executed, but the manner of his execution is not specified. Pseudo-Callisthenes (2.21) has Bessus (and Ariobarzanes) executed over (ἐπι) or beside (παρά) the tomb of Darius which, according to Arrian (3.22.1), was at Persepolis.

suspensum: MS. *Cod. Heb.* 750.3.30 (Kazis tr.) concurs. Kazis (1962: 209-10) notes that in the Latin Romance, *Historia de Preliis*, which the Hebrew manuscript follows, A orders Bessus crucified rather than hanged. He calls the substitution of hanging for crucifixion a "Judaization" of the text because the Jewish penal code did not permit hanging. We may suppose that the *Epitome* has been Judaized, although it is impossible to determine whether this was done by the Epitomator himself, by the source he followed or by a later copyist.

MS Berlin, Staatliche Museen, Kupferstichkabinett 78.C.1, f.37v. (Stones 1982: Plate 5) shows the two murderers (Bessus and Ariobarzanes) hanged by the neck over the tomb of Darius, presumably at Persepolis. MS Brussels Bib. Roy. 11040, f.39v. (*op. cit.*, Plate 6)

depicts the two being beheaded over Darius' tomb, while MS London, BL Harley 4979, f.46 (*op. cit.*, Plate 7) combines the two methods of execution by showing headless bodies hanged but with no tomb, which suggests a site other than Persepolis. Stones (*op. cit.*, 195) argues that there are two sources from which the images could be derived, one of which states that the murderers were hanged, but not where the event took place. In addition to the images of Darius' hanged murderers in two of these French manuscripts, dated *ca.* 1300, three versions of the Middle Dutch *Historienbijbel II Alexander* also show the murderers hanged with no tomb (Ross 1963: Figs 298, 322 and 341). The French manuscripts are ultimately derived from Pseudo-Callisthenes δ^* (Stones *op. cit.*, 193), while the Dutch are from Pseudo-Callisthenes α , to which certain Jewish Alexander traditions, such as Alexander's visit to Jerusalem, were added (Ross *op. cit.*, 22, 34). The source for the hanged murderers with no tomb would seem to be the same as that followed by the *Epitome*. What that source may be, is a matter for further study.

It is also significant that, according to Ptolemy (Arr 4.14.3 = *FGrH* 138 F 17), Callisthenes was hanged after he had been stretched on a rack. A, it seems, was not averse to hanging those who challenged his authority. Nevertheless, in view of the above, it is doubtful that the punishment of Callisthenes, which is also a subject of disagreement among the early historians, has any bearing on the punishment of Bessus in the *Metz Epitome*.

more Persarum: The Greek Alexander Romance (P-C 2.21: Recensions A, β and γ) all use the Greek verb *ἀνασταυρόω* to describe the method of execution, while the Byzantine Recension ϵ (*Vita Alexandri* 18: 74) prefers the verb *ἀνασκολοπίζω*. These words have the dual meaning of *impale* and *crucify*, although the latter has the stronger implication of

impale. *Impale*, according to *Webster's Encyclopedic Unabridged Dictionary*, means to fix upon a sharpened stake or the like; to pierce with a sharpened stake thrust up through the body, as for torture or punishment. Curtius, who must have been using a Greek source, translated the word as *crucify*, but impaling was the Persian punishment (Hamilton 1969: 115). It could be said that the *Epitome* has Judaized the Persian method of punishment.

fundis necavit: the traditional Macedonian manner (QC 6.11.38, 7.2.1; P A 55.7; Arr 4.14.2); also a frequent form of Jewish punishment. Since none of the other sources say that Bessus was stoned to death, the Epitomator has either used an unknown source, invented this information, or erred. The peculiar juxtaposition of two methods of execution suggests the dual nature of Bessus' crime: the murder of Darius and the rebellion against Alexander's authority. The former would require a Persian punishment, while the latter, perhaps, a Macedonian one. However, in view of the supposed Judaization of the text, the Epitomator may have given added emphasis to the Jewish form of punishment by adding stoning.

post diem undecimum: 3 days after suppressing further insurrection (QC 7.10.13).

Ochum: Curtius (7.10.15) has the two rivers in the same order and is the only other author to name the Ochus in this connection. The location of the Ochus is controversial and depends on the direction A took. Most authors would have A travelling in a westerly direction. Pearson (1960: 169) suggests that the name Ochus was given by Aristobulus (*FGrH* 139 F 28a = S 11.11.5, which is corrupt) as the native name for the Polytimetus, which was the Macedonian name (S 11.11.4). Engels (1978: 105) names the Kashka Darya as the only possibility to fulfil the topographical information. Seibert (1985: 138) identifies the Ochus as the modern Tedzhen, but Bosworth (1981: 27), who would have A travelling

east, calls this an outrageous suggestion and identifies the Ochus as the Surkhab, the largest tributary of the Oxus, which joins the Kunduz River at Kunduz (*op. cit.*, 28). Bosworth (*op. cit.*, 30) explains that A went east along the south bank of the Oxus, recrossed the Ochus north of modern Kunduz, dealt with insurrection in the area, crossed the Oxus near Aï-Khanum and continued the campaign in eastern Sogdiana. See Appendix: Map 2.

Spring 328 B.C.

***M* 15 - 18 The Sogdian Rock**

Like Curtius, but unlike Arrian, the Epitomator places the assault on the Sogdian Rock in Spring 328 before the death of Spitamenes (*M* 20 -23). Bosworth (1981: 33) believes the *Epitome* retails Curtius' version, although the *Epitome* agrees with Arrian and Polyaeus, not Curtius, on the number of men and a night mission. In addition, the messenger, who is unnamed in Arrian, has a name which differs from that given by Curtius. The Epitomator is either unable to reconcile the differing versions of the fate of Ariomazes, and so has created a third, or has followed another source.

15. montem: in the vicinity of Derbent, which is on the Shirabad, a northern tributary of the Oxus (Seibert 1985: 143-4). Engels (1978: 106) is not convinced of Seibert's identification.

multitudo hominum: 30,000 (QC 7.11.1) gives a force of 30,000; πολλούς (Arr 4.18.4). One of the features of Cleitarchus is his love of round numbers, which are usually inflated (Hammond 1983: 25). According to Arrian (4.18.4), who errs, the wife and daughters of

Oxyartes, the Bactrian, were present.

XX stadiis: 30 stadia (QC 7.11.2). Scribal error?

speluncam: For a description of this cave, see QC 7.11.3. Hammond (1983: 144) suggests that the cave was a detail added by Curtius. If so, the Epitomator is copying Curtius directly here (*contra* Merkelbach 1977: 161 n. 2). Access to the summit of the rock was by way of a narrow path (QC 7.11.2).

16. homines CCC: Arrian and Polyaeus agree with this number, but Curtius (7.11.19) gives a force of 300 from each command.

clavos ferreos <cum> angulis: *ferreos cuneos* (QC 7.11.13); *πασσάλους μικρούς σιδηρούς* (Arr 4.19.1).

grandi praemio: 10 talents for the first man, 9 for the second, etc. (QC 7.11.12) ; 12 talents for the first, 11 for the second, etc. (Arr 4.18.7).

in nocte: Curtius (7.11.15) says it was a day ascent, but Arrian (4.19.1) and Polyaeus (4.3.29) have a night ascent.

17. plures: 32 (QC 7.11.19), a small percentage of the entire force of 300 from each command; but 30 (Arr 4.19.2) or ten per cent of the force given by the *Epitome* and Arrian.

Daren: Cophes, a son of Artabazus (QC 7.11.22); *κήρυκα*, no name given (Arr 4.19.3). Polyaeus does not give this detail. Berve (II 1926: 230 n. 2) attributes the difference in

names to a corruption in the text. Special exploits by A's men are also a feature of Curtius.

Ariomazen: *Arimazes* (QC 7.11.1); no name given in Arrian. In Arrian and Polyaeus, Ariomazes survived.

18. homines volaticos: QC 7.11.6, 24; Arr 4.18.6.

reliquis ignovit: In Curtius (7.11.28-9), Ariomazes, his family and his nobles were whipped and crucified and the rest were enslaved. In Arrian (4.19.4), they all surrendered and survived. Arrian's version is inconsistent with treatment of other Sogdian rebels (Bosworth 1981: 32). Nothing is said in Polyaeus of the fate of Ariomazes who surrendered. Justin (9.8.20) notes that A was temperamentally more amenable and magnanimous than his father in showing mercy to the defeated. Bosworth (*op. cit.*, 33) suggests that the Epitomator either grossly misread his source or that there was disagreement in the various branches of the Vulgate tradition.

328/7 B.C.

M 19 Winter

The Epitomator, who otherwise follows Curtius' source here, has carelessly muddled the place names. More importantly, by ignoring the Cleitus affair (QC 8.1.19-52; P A 50-52; Arr 4.8.1-9; J 12.6.1-18), he has avoided yet another event damning to Alexander's character because it demonstrated a temper inflamed by drink.

19. diebus post paucis: More than a few days was needed for the suppression of another Sogdian revolt (QC 8.1.7) and the 10 days at Maracanda during the Cleitus affair (QC 8.2.13).

partem exercitus: under Hephaestion (QC 8.2.13). After the Cleitus affair, A sent part of his army to gather winter supplies, while he went to Xeinipta to deal with the rebels.

Nautacen: in Sogdiana, probably on the Kashka Darya, an intensively settled area in

Alexander's era (Engels 1978: 102 n. 12). It was probably at Nautace that Bessus was handed over (*M* 14). A used Nautace as a base for his attack and conquest of Sisimithres (QC 8.2.19-32).

Xeiniptam: *Xeinippa* (QC 8.2.15) on the borders of Scythia. Curtius describes the surrounding area (probably near Bokhara, west of Maracanda) as fertile and well-populated. Here A suppressed a second Bactrian rebellion (QC 8.2.15-18), and then went to Nautace to winter.

Sisimithre: called Sisimithres in the Vulgate (QC 8.2.19; S 11.11.4, C517; P A 58.4); "the greatest coward in the world" (P A 58). He was one of the chiefs in the east of Sogdiana (Paraitacene). Arrian (4.21.1) calls him Choriene, but this may be his title rather than his name (Brunt I 1983: 407 n. 1). Brunt argues that Sisimithres and Choriene are separate individuals, while Heckel (1986: 223-26) shows that they are the same person. See *M* 28 -31 for Choriene.

foedus fecit: Capture of Sisimithres' rock is alluded to (QC 8.2.19-32; P A 58.3-4; Arr 4.21.1-9).

duos filios: After besieging and defeating Sisimithres, A took his sons to serve on the campaign, where they were hostages for the good behaviour of their father (QC 8.2.19-33).

tres filias: unique to the *Epitome*.

327 B.C.

M 20 - 23 Death of Spitamenes

Although both Curtius and Arrian, unlike the Epitomator, place the death of

Spitamenes before the winter, there is general agreement with Curtius about the manner of Spitamenes' death. The Epitomator avoids the moralising found in Curtius. The story is reminiscent of the apocryphal story of Judith and Holofernes. The *Epitome* disagrees in every way, with a less dramatic (and probably more historic) account in Arrian.

This is the first use of direct speech, which is rare in the *Epitome*. Curtius does not use direct speech in his version of Spitamenes' death. In four of the six occasions in which direct speech occurs, Alexander is the speaker, as here.

20. hieme exacta: Spring 327. The *Epitome* disagrees with Curtius (8.4.1), who places the event late in 328, with 2 months spent in winter quarters after the death of Spitamenes; and it also disagrees with Arrian (4.18.2).

Dahas: The Dahae were a Scythian desert tribe situated to the west of A's winter quarters, who were allied with the Massagetae in Spitamenes' campaign against A. According to Curtius (7.7.32), the Dahae rode two armed men to a horse and jumped in turn from their mount to throw cavalry lines into confusion. It was the Dahae who massacred the force sent to Maracanda (QC 7.7.32-3), which must be the main reason for A's advance against them.

uxorem quandam Bactrinam: possibly the mother of Apame, the wife of Seleucus (P *Dem* 31.5; Arr 7.4.6) and one of Spitamenes' *tres adulti liberi* (QC 8.3.3). If this is so, her treatment of Spitamenes hardly flatters the Seleucids (Heckel 1987: 116-17), but may reflect Jewish anti-Seleucid propaganda. Gaster (I 1925: 86-91) has discovered a short version of the story of Judith, which has striking parallels to the Spitamenes murder, in which Seleucus, not Holofernes, is the victim.

21. noluit: Spitamenes, thinking that she was betraying him, was prevented from killing his wife by her brothers (QC 8.3.4).

in convivio eum coegit: In Curtius (8.3.8), it is Spitamenes who ordered a banquet and got drunk apparently of his own free will.

22. multimodisque admiratus: A thought that the woman had come to complain because of her blood-spattered clothing (QC 8.3.11).

caput viri: In the *Epitome*, A appears to recognize Spitamenes immediately, but in Curtius (8.3.13), pallor disfigured the face so that firm identification was impossible. In the *Epitome*, A was able to recognize the head because Spitamenes himself had handed Bessus over to him (*M* 6).

23. neque quicquam honoris habuit: According to Curtius (8.3.15), A dismissed the wife of Spitamenes, without thanking her, because he did not want to taint the character and civilized temperament of the Greeks with her barbarian behaviour.

cupiditatem: According to Plutarch (*A* 21.7), A considered mastery of himself more kingly than the conquest of his enemies and had sexual relations with only one woman before he married. For another reference to A's reaction to beauty, see *M* 29.

Catanen: Catanes was later hunted down and killed by Craterus (QC 8.5.2; Arr 4.22.2). For the sake of expediency, the Epitomator has coupled Catanes and Dataphernes who were also paired at *M* 5.

Dataphernen: Dataphernes was handed over by the Dahae (QC 8.3.16). In Arrian, Dataphernes appears only in connection with the betrayal of Bessus. See also *M* 5.

327 B.C.

M 24 - 27 A Late Winter Storm

Alexander is curiously absent in this episode. With the exception of the confusion over casualties, the omission of Alexander's succour to the troops (QC 8.4.9) and the incident with the humble soldier assuming the king's chair (QC 8.4.15-17), the *Epitome* agrees with Curtius here.

24. Deinde: after spending 2 months in winter quarters (QC 8.4.1).

ex eo loco: Nautace (*M* 19).

hominum XXX milia, iumentorum IV milia: Heckel (1986: 224) shows that the Epitomator has hopelessly confused the number of men with the *XXX milia pecorum* (QC 8.4.20) that A raided from the Sacae and gave to Sisimithres as a gift. Sisimithres had relieved the suffering of the Macedonians after the storm with *multa iumenta et camelorum II milia* (QC 8.4.19). The Epitomator may supply the number indicated by Curtius' *multa*. Macedonian casualties were 2000 (QC 8.4.13).

327 B.C.

M 28 - 31 Rhoxane

In the *Epitome* and Curtius, Choriene and Sisimithres are two separate individuals. Heckel (1986: 223-26) has argued that they are the same person. If Heckel (*op. cit.*, 225) is correct, that the host of the banquet in Curtius (8.4.22) is Choriene, the *Epitome* agrees here with the Vulgate tradition.

28. Gazabes: *Gazaba* (QC 8.4.1) but not elsewhere, location unknown.

satrapes quidam Chorienes: In Curtius (8.4.22), the host of the banquet was emended by Alde from *cohortandus* to *Oxyartes*. Heckel (*loc. cit.*) has convincingly shown that *Chorienes* was corrupted in Curtius' manuscript to *cohortandus*. Neither Curtius nor the Epitomator nor their source recognized that Chorienes and Sisimithres were the same individual. Strabo (11.11.4) knew only Sisimithres as both the host of the banquet and the commander of his Rock (QC 8.2.19-32; P A 58; Arr 4.21.1-9). Heckel (*loc. cit.*), following Landgraf, suggests that the source is Timagenes, a Greek rhetorician banished by Augustus, who wrote a history used by Curtius (9.5.21). However, Atkinson (1980: 59) shows that Strabo was also familiar with Timagenes. Therefore, the source for the name Chorienes is probably not Timagenes, nor is it Ptolemy nor Aristobulus (Heckel, *loc. cit.*). The answer may be that the name Chorienes is a toponym, which Curtius and the Epitomator failed to recognize. Both name Sisimithres personally: *cum Sisimithre ... foedus fecit* (M 19); *satrapes erat Sisimithres* (QC 8.2.19).

amicitiam: If Chorienes and Sisimithres are the same person, an alliance had already been made (M 19; QC 8.2.33; Arr 4.21.6-7).

in convivium: apparently held in return for A's gift to Sisimithres of 30,000 head of cattle (QC 8.4.20).

filiis suas virgines: 3 in number (M 19), if Chorienes and Sisimithres are the same man.

29. Oxyartis: *Oxartes* (QC 8.2.25); Sogdian baron, ruler of Bactriana (QC 9.8.10). Not the host of the banquet in Curtius (8.4.21), as emended by Heckel. In Arrian (4.18.4), Oxyartes' wife and daughters were captured at the Sogdian Rock. His daughter's marriage

to A was clearly a benefit, for he was one of only three non-Macedonian satraps at the end of A's life. At least one of his sons, Itanes, was also well honoured by A (Arr 7.6.5).

Rhoxane: *Roxane* (D *argum* II 30; QC 8.4.23; Arr 4.19.5), whose name means "Little Star" (Hamilton 1969: 129). Berve (II 1926: 346) suggests that Rhoxane was probably born around 340, which would have made her 13 when she married A in 327. A painting of the wedding by Aetion was offered at Olympia in 324 by the artist (Stewart 1993: 182-83). The following autumn saw the death of their first son (*M* 70), and a second son was born after A's death. The fate of Rhoxane and her son was bound up with the power struggle after A's death in 323, and they both died at the hands of Cassander in 310.

in cupiditatem adductus est: Despite Rhoxane's beauty, which is attested by all sources, the *Epitome*, Curtius (8.4.25) and Plutarch (*A* 47.8) make the political motive for the marriage clear. Bosworth (1980b: 11) calls the marriage "the final act of settlement" after two years of insurrection in Bactria/Sogdiana that "underlined A's claims to be legitimate lord of the area".

A's father, Philip II, also married daughters of men such as Oxyartes for political purposes to help secure the frontiers of Macedonia, e. g., the Illyrian Audata (mother of Cynane), and the Thessalian Philinna (mother of Arrhidaeus). In fact, only his last wife, Cleopatra, was a Macedonian (see Tronson 1984: 116-26). See also *M* 70. For another reference to A's *cupiditas*, see *M* 23.

30. inquit: Curtius (8.4.25) gives the essence of this speech which exemplifies Tarn's famous Policy of Fusion (I 1925: 111; II 1926: 166), disputed by Bosworth (1980b: 1-21). This is the second example of direct speech by A.

31. in convivio virginem matrimonio: Diodorus (*argum* II 30) also records this, but does not say when these marriages took place. Curtius (8.4.25) may allude to intermarriage. No other source records intermarriage between A's friends and barbarians in connection with the marriage of A and Rhoxane. Bosworth (1980 b: 11) supposes that the bridegrooms were the satrap and garrison commanders left behind after the march on India.

327 B.C.

***M* 32 - 34 En Route to the Indus**

Manuscript problems make interpretation particularly difficult at *M* 32, since neither Curtius nor Arrian provide much information on this part of the expedition. Several of the suggested emendations have been considered.

Just as the *Epitome* ignored Alexander's infamous murder of Cleitus at *M* 19, so it makes no mention of the introduction of *proskynesis* (QC 8.8.5-24; P *A* 54; Arr 4.9.9-12.3; J 12.7.1); the conspiracy of the Pages (QC 8.6.2-8.8.20; P *A* 55; Arr 4.13.1-14.2); and the ensuing downfall of Aristotle's nephew and Alexander's official historian, Callisthenes (QC 8.8.21-23; P *A* 53-55; Arr 4.14.4; J 12.7.2). These omissions help to cast Alexander in a favourable light.

The Epitomator has provided a unique account of Alexander's encounter with an Indian king. The details make it unlikely that it is a fabrication, and it is tempting to view the meeting as Mophis' deputation to Alexander briefly mentioned by Curtius and Diodorus.

32. His rebus gestis: towards the end of spring, 327 (Arr 4.22.1).

†**Beionem**†: The suggested emendation in Thomas (1960: 10) is *Bacrinum*. This would bring the text into line with Arrian (4.22.1), who says that A returned to Bactra after his marriage to Rhoxane, and from there commenced his march to India. It was at Bactra that the crisis with Callisthenes and the boys over the issue of *proskynesis* occurred, which is ignored in the *Epitome*. At *M* 9, the *Epitome* refers to *praefectura Bactrina* and at *M* 19 part of the army is sent to Nautace *in Bactros*.

†**castra**†: Reuss (in Thomas 1960: 10) would amend *castra* to *Bactra*, which, if the above amendment is accepted, would be repetitious.

†**Oxurum**†: *Oxum* or *Bactrum* are two suggested emendations (Thomas 1960: *loc. cit.*) Clearly, if A returned to Bactra, he would not then skirt [*transit*] the Oxus, unless he were heading to Drapsaka, as Schwartz (see below) suggested. On the other hand, if he followed the route suggested by Seibert (1985: 145), he would cross and then skirt the river.

Indiam versus: The first leg of the journey from Bactra to Alexandria-in-the-Caucasus, probably by the Šībar Pass above Bamian (Seibert 1985: *loc. cit.* and Karte 25), took 10 days (Arr 4.22.3). From there, according to Seibert, A went south to Kabul, crossing the Cophen (Kabul) and Choaspes (Kunar) Rivers (S 15.1.26). Thence, he followed the south bank of the Cophen to cross again at Nicaea (Arr 4.22.6).

†**Drapim**†: Schwartz (in Thomas 1960: *loc. cit.*) would read *Drapsaka*. It is tempting, on very thin evidence, to view this encounter as the deputation of Mophis/Taxiles to Alexander in Sogdiana, which would make Schwartz's identification of Drapsaka plausible. If this is the case, the route followed would be the reverse of A's initial incursion to Bactria/Sogdiana, and not that posited by Seibert.

†Arines†: From the information in the *Epitome*, this *rex*, whose name is uncertain, was an Indian whose father had died, bequeathing him a fortune. He desires A's *amicitia*. His meeting with A occurs after the marriage with Rhoxane, but before the return through the Kabul Valley, and perhaps even before the crossing of the Hindu Kush. Confirming the circumstances, Curtius (8.12.5) tells us that Omphis [sic] had sent a deputation after the death of his father to ask whether he should act as interim ruler. Confirming the place and *amicitia*, Diodorus (17.86.4) says that Mophis had sent word to A earlier in Sogdiana, promising to join him in a campaign against his enemies among the Indians.

As already noted above, the Vulgate authors use Sogdiana and Bactria interchangeably. Since Curtius and Diodorus are here following Cleitarchus (Hammond 1983: 79 and 150), and since Cleitarchus, or someone who used him, seems to be a principal source of the *Epitome*, the encounter in the latter could be an elaboration of material largely omitted by the Vulgate authors.

equorum tria milia et argenti talenta L milia: probably exaggerated, especially when compared to the 120,000 talents in the treasury at Persepolis (D 17.71.2; QC 5.6.9).

According to Bloedow (1991a: 26-30), A's acquisition of Sogdian horses to replenish his cavalry had sparked the revolts in Sogdiana. Fresh horses from Arines would undoubtedly have been welcome to augment his mounted force for the coming invasion of India.

Cavalry estimates for that invasion range from 6,500 to 15,000 (Green 1991: 381).

34. †per phuten†: *per(rexit ad) Cophena, quod* (Thomas 1960: 10) would bring the text into line with Arrian (4.22.6).

hi qui trans flumen habitabant: The Cophen is here regarded as the border of India (QC

8.10.1). Curtius (*loc. cit.*) says that it was the petty princes who flattered A upon their submission.

primum Iovis filium <Liberum Patrum>: A, following in the footsteps of his divine ancestors, wished to surpass Dionysus and Hercules in their Indian expeditions (P *Mor* 326b and Wilcken 1967: 179-80). The origins of comparing A to Dionysus and Hercules ultimately lie in the work of the Greek court poets who *Herculem[que] et Patrem Liberum ... novo numini cessuros esse iactabant* (QC 8.5.8), but the identification of Macedonian kings with Hercules was already used as flattery by Isocrates (*Philippos*: 32-33, 105, 115). A later thought that he had achieved even more famous deeds than Dionysus (Arr. 7.20.1). A Lysimachean tetradrachm shows A with a Dionysian headband. See also *M* 12, 36-38.

alterum Herculem: Hercules was supposed to have travelled beyond the earth's encircling Ocean. The tradition of Hercules in India was, according to Arrian (*Ind* 5.9) *ὁ πολλός*. Through his *arete* and Labours, he earned his place among the Olympians. A was related to Hercules on his father's side (Arr 3.3.1), and, with this sacred lineage and accomplishment of superhuman acts, felt justified in deification (QC 8.5.11). A himself had bronze and silver coins minted before entering India with his bust depicted with the head of the Nemean lion worn as a cap (Stewart 1993: 93; figs. 30-31). Indeed, Bieber (1964: 48) has shown that the head of Hercules was remodelled to take the features of A, but see Stewart (1993: 158-61). See also *M* 46.

ducibus sumptis: A used the petty kings of the area as guides (QC 8.10.2).

fluvium: with the emendation above, the Cophen or modern Kabul River. Strabo (15.1.26) is the only other author to mention A's crossing of the Cophen.

Indum: In fact, A sent Hephaestion and Perdikkas ahead to crush any resistance en route to the Indus, and, once there, to construct boats to cross the river (QC 8.10.2; Arr 4.22.7; 4.30.9). At the same time, portable boats, which could be disassembled, were built for crossing rivers en route to the Indus by the main force with A (QC 8.10.3). The Epitomator has rushed events here.

327 B.C.

M 35 Across the Cophen

Again the *Epitome* follows Curtius very closely. Alexander's generals receive very little attention in the *Metz Epitome*. Craterus is the second to be named (the little known Menedemus, the first). It may well be that Craterus' activities in Bactria-Sogdiana, which kept him away from the main force, account for his exclusion, but, in fact, the Epitomator appears little interested in military details or Alexander's generals.

35. Ibi: at Nicaea (Arr 4.22.6). Its site is disputed but, in Seibert's opinion (1985: 146 n. 15), since Strabo (15.1.26) says that A had already crossed the Cophen to the south bank, Nicaea is modern Jalalabad. A sent Hephaestion and Perdikkas ahead to build boats to ferry the troops across the Indus (QC 8.10.2-3); with Taxiles (Arr 4.22.7). See *M 48*.

Cratero: This is the first mention of Craterus, one of A's most trusted generals. He had held supreme authority in Bactria-Sogdiana, which kept him out of the limelight while A was away on special missions. Curtius often concentrates on A's activities to the exclusion of those of his generals (Holt 1988: 61 n. 44), but the Epitomator largely ignores them. For

Craterus, see also *M* 58-9 and Heckel 1992: 107-33.

Silicem: τοῦ πρώτου ἔθνους (*D argum* II 32); *in urbem proximam* (QC 8.10.4); τῆ πρώτῃ καθ' ὁδὸν πόλει ῥκισμμενη (Arr 4.23.3). Silex is named only in the *Metz Epitome*. A was wounded in the shoulder here (QC 8.10.6, Arr 4.23.3), which is omitted. Seibert (1985: 150-51; Karte 25) locates the town on the east bank of the Choes (Kunar), but it remains nameless on his map, probably because the *Metz Epitome* was not utilized in his study.

327/6 B.C.

***M* 36 - 38 Alexander at Nysa**

Although Curtius does not include Acuphis and his remark in his account about Nysa, the *Epitome* closely resembles his version with some omissions. Like Curtius, the Epitomator places Nysa before Massaga rather than after, as in Arrian.

There is no mention of the ivy connected with Dionysus. The Epitomator omits the Bacchic revel recounted by Curtius, Arrian and Justin, just as he omitted Alexander's desire to emulate Dionysus' penetration into Scythian territory (*M* 12). Eggermont (1975: 3 and 143) suggests that Curtius and Diodorus borrowed tales such as the sojourn at Nysa, about which Arrian is sceptical, from the authors (Cleitarclus and Callisthenes ?) of the various Alexander Romances.

36. CCXXX stadia: The distance between Silex and Nysa is unique information.

imprudētibus Nysaeis: Accidental firing of wooden funeral pyres announced the arrival

of the Macedonians (QC 8.10.8-10).

Nysam: named after Dionysus' nurse (Arr 5.1.6). Mythically, Nysa was the mountain in various distant lands such as Libya, Ethiopia, Thrace or India, on which Dionysus was raised. Green (1991: 383), following Tarn, places Nysa at Chitral, which is about 210 km north-northeast of Peshawar on the Kunar River. He points out the remarkable similarity between the descriptions of Indian Nysa and its customs in ancient sources and the modern Kalash Kafirs who inhabit the area today (*op. cit.*, 384). Nysa has also been identified with Dionysopolis (Nagarahara), near Jalalabad on the Kabul river in Afghanistan (McCrinkle 1969: 338; so also Eggermont 1975: 178). Seibert, on the other hand, places the crossing of the Cophen near Jalalabad, and declines to identify or discuss Nysa. Bosworth (1988: 120) tentatively places Nysa near Nangalam on a western tributary of the Kunar.

legatos maiores: 30 men (Arr 5.1.3).

in deprecando: The inhabitants resorted to outright flattery. Strabo (1.7-9) credits the Nysa story as the fantasy of Alexander's flatterers. Dionysus may have founded Nysa, but A had founded more cities and would go even further than Dionysus. For the full speech, see Arrian 5.1.5-6.

Liber Pater: Dionysus (see *M* 12 and 34). A hoped that his troops would join him in rivalry of the achievements of Dionysus. For Dionysus in India, see Arrian *Ind* 7.5-9; Pliny *NH* 6.21 and Strabo 15.1.7-8.

hominum L milia: unique information.

ex pro genie sua Meron appellasset: Dionysus was born from Zeus' thigh (*μέρος*).

37. Acuphinque: Ἄκουφίς (Arr 5.1.3; *P A* 58), not in Curtius or Justin. In Plutarch,

Acuphis is the most senior ambassador of some cities which A was besieging. A suggested that the cities appoint Acuphis king and send 100 of their best men as well as 300 cavalry to A. He appointed Acuphis governor, supplanting the ruling aristocracy of 300 (Arr 5.2.2). For his remark, see Arrian 5.2.2-3; Plutarch *A* 58.

Eggermont (1975: 3) points out that, because the name Acuphis is related to the name of the *Ākaufačiyā* or "mountaineers" who are mentioned in the Persepolis inscription of Xerxes, there is no reason to doubt the geographical veracity of the Nysaeian encounter, since the Alexander historians frequently gave toponyms to rulers.

viros bonos centum electos: 100 out of the 300 chief men in the government, as well as 300 horsemen (Arr 5.2.2). A took the 300 horsemen and left the civil servants (Arr 5.2.4). They were later sent home from the R. Hydaspes (Arr 6.2.3).

omnium generum arborum feracissimarum: These trees were *salubresque suci* (QC 8.10.14).

327/6 B.C.

M 39 - 45 Mazaga. Queen Cleophis

Although Curtius and Justin omit the mercenary force and Alexander's treachery, Diodorus includes an elaborate account of the slaughter of the mercenaries, which is attributed by Hammond (1983: 149) to Cleitarchus. The *Epitome* generally agrees with Curtius in the military stratagems used in the assault on the town and the gravity of Alexander's wound. Arrian justifies the slaughter of the mercenaries because they did not plan to honour their commitment to him, which is also implied in the *Epitome*. Plutarch

cites the incident with the mercenaries as a blot on Alexander's career.

In Curtius, Cleophis is a queen in her own right. In Diodorus, although the assault on Mazaga is missing, its surrender by an unnamed queen is noted. In Justin, the town is surrendered by an immoral Cleophis. While the Vulgate authors and the Epitomator have a queen in control of the town, Arrian and the *Itinerarium Alexandri* have a king (unnamed) who is killed in the battle. In three versions, a young child is involved; in Curtius, he is Cleophis' son, in Arrian, her daughter, but, in the *Epitome*, her grandson.

Once again, the *Epitome* follows the Vulgate tradition.

39. Cordiaeos montes: mountains in the area of Daedala between Nysa and Acadira (QC 8.10.19); *montes Daedalos* (J 12.7.9); unnamed mountains (Arr 4.24.6).

ad satrapeam Assacanam: western portion of the middle Swat river basin (Eggermont 1975: 184). The word *satrapy* is used loosely here, and indicates the area inhabited by the Assaceni, who had previously been part of the larger Achmaenid satrapy of Parapamisadae (Eggermont, *op. cit.*, 177-79).

Mazaga: *Mazagae* (QC 8.10.22); *Massaga* (Arr 4.26.1; S 15.1.27). The greatest of the cities in this district (Arr 4.26.1) was east of the Guraeus (Pahjkora) River (Arr 4.25.7).

Caroe (1964: 51-53) identifies Mazaga as a fortress in the vicinity of the Katgala Pass.

Assacenus: *Assacanus* (QC 8.10.22); *Assakanos* (S 15.1.27). In the *Epitome* and Curtius, Assacenus was recently deceased, but in Arrian (4.27.4), the ἡγεμῶν, or *rex* (*It Al* 47), was killed in the attack. It was customary for the Alexander historians to call the Indian kings, governors and chiefs after the tribes or regions they ruled (Eggermont 1975: 184).

Cleophis: In the *Epitome*, she is regent for Assacenus' little son (*M* 45), but in Curtius (8.10.35), she is not a regent but a queen, and apparently mother of a son who was young enough to sit on A's knee. She later bore a son called Alexander, whose parentage is doubted by Curtius (8.10.36). Justin (12.7.9-10) is certain that Alexander was the father. The Vulgate authors have Cleophis in complete charge of affairs, but Arrian (4.27.4) refers to her only as Assacenus' mother, who, with her daughter, was taken prisoner. Her name is found only in Latin sources (Curtius and Justin).

Amminais: Only the *Metz Epitome* mentions and names a brother of Assacenus in this connection. Berve (II 1926: 25-26) believes he is the same unnamed brother of Assacenus encountered by A after Aornus (Arr 4.30.5-9). Eggermont (1970: 94-102, *contra* Berve II 1926: 97-98, without reference to the *Metz Epitome*, shows that *Erices* (QC 8.12.1) or *Aphrices* (D 17.86.2), who is not identified as Assacenus' brother but encountered by A after Aornus under similar circumstances, is the same brother of Assacenus, as in Arrian. Thus Amminais, the brother of Assacenus, was also known as Erices/Aphrices. If Eggermont is correct, either *Erices/Aphrices* or *Amminais* is a toponym. Berve (*loc. cit.*) assumes that Amminais fled to Abisares, but in the Vulgate, as *Erices/Aphrices*, he was later killed by his own men (D 17.86.2; QC 8.12.3). His territory was the eastern portion of the Swat river basin (Eggermont 1970: 183-84). See *ariplicem* (*M* 42) *infra*.

mercennariorum IX milia: a total garrison of 38,000 (QC 8.10.23), of which some could have been mercenaries; 7,000 mercenaries from the interior of India (Arr 4.26.1).

40. murus ex saxo: only lower sections of the wall were of stone (QC 8.10.25).

crure sinistro: *in suram* (QC 8.10.28); ἐς τὸ σφυρὸν οὐ χαλεπῶς (Arr 4.26.4).

Emphasis is given to what is a minor wound in Arrian (4.26.4), but in Curtius (8.10.31), it takes more than 9 days to heal. Neither Diodorus or Justin record a wound here. It is a curious feature of the *Epitome* that more serious wounds have been ignored heretofore. Curtius records a total of 13 campaign wounds, of which 6 are recorded in Arrian, as is the case here.

†*testudinesque*†: *scutorum testudine* (QC 7.9.3). A Roman formation used anachronistically by Curtius (Yardley/Heckel 1984: 280 n. 38).

42. †*araplicem*†: *ariplicem* is emended to *Aminaim* (in Thomas 1960: 13). Berve (II 1926: 97-98) argues against identifying Ariplicem as Amminais, but admits that he is synonymous with *Erices/Aphrices*, whom Eggermont (1970: 99) identifies as Assacenus' brother. Thus *Ariplicem/Erices/Aphrices* is Amminais, who later encounters A after Aornus. Eggermont (*op. cit.*, 102) is inclined to view the name as a toponym representing the ancient designation of Bunēr.

43. *ab oppido haud longe*: 80 furlongs = 16.7 km (D 17.84.1).

44. *ex oppido exeundi, non abeundi*: A granted them the right to leave the city but not to be friends of the Macedonians forever, but this is simply an excuse, for A nursed an implacable hatred against the mercenaries (D 17.84.2). In Arrian, the mercenaries agreed to sign on with the Macedonians, and encamped nearby. When A heard that they did not intend to honour the agreement, he murdered them (Arr 4.27.3-4).

45. *superatos omnes interfecerunt*: There were survivors (D 17.84.6).

nepote parvo: *parvo filio* (QC 8.10.35); *τὴν παῖδα* (Arr 4.27.4).

326 B.C.

M 46 - 47 Aornus

With the exception of the execution of the defenders, which is not found elsewhere, the *Epitome* follows the Vulgate authors in this compressed version of the capture of Aornus in April, 326 (Brunt II 1983: 455).

46. †Bagasdara†: *Bazira* (Arr 4.28.1); *Baziphara* (*It Al* 47); one of the *multa ignobilia oppida* deserted by its inhabitants at A's approach (QC 8.11.2); modern Bīr-kōt (Eggermont 1975: 184), in the eastern Swat valley, ruled by Assacenus' brother. If so, the Epitomator, who is compressing events, makes a minor error, for it was the mountain, Aornus, not the town, that the sources say Hercules failed to take (D 17.85.2; QC 8.11.2; Arr 4.28.1; J 12.7.12).

Hercules: A's paternal ancestor to whom he had demanded to sacrifice at Tyre and whom he had wished to emulate by journeying to Siwah. Identified with the Indian deity, Krishna. Hercules' failure at Aornus was due to an earthquake (D 17.85.2; QC 8.11.2; J 12.7.12).

Arrian (4.28.2) says that Hercules was introduced to make the story more impressive. For Alexander, Hercules and the development of mythical parallels, see Wilcken (1967: 179-80).

Aornum: *Aornis* (QC 8.11.2); *Aorne* (P-C 3.4.8), meaning "birdless", but in the *Itinerarium Alexandri* (48), the rock is said to be called Aorne, because it was inaccessible to birds. Identified by Stein (1929: 131-32) as Pir-Sar, rising 5000 ft above the Indus River, 125 km north of Attock. For discussion with map and photographs, see also Fuller 1960: 249-52.

cuius circuitus ... in summo vertice: 100 stadia in circumference, 16 stadia high (D 17.85.3); 200 stadia in circumference, 11 stadia at the lowest (Arr 4.28.3); 200 stadia in circumference, 10 stadia high (*It Al* 48). The slight difference shown between the *Epitome* and Diodorus could be attributed to scribal error or damage to the text.

psittaci: The source for this unique and plausible information may be Onesicritus (*FGrH* 134 T 13d). This reference to parrots is not in other sources. Parrots were first mentioned by Ctesias (late 5th century B.C.). According to Aelian (*NA* 13.18), because of their mimicry, parrots were considered sacred and never eaten.

47. dictitabant: No other source indicates that A was taunted. This detail alludes to A's desire to better his famous ancestor (D 17.85.2). The assault lasted seven days and nights (D 17.85.6).

ipse primus: Curtius (8.11.10-16) also emphasizes A's personal leadership.

maximo cum labore ac periculo: The Epitomator neatly ties the great task of filling in the ravine and a description of the evident danger of the site with this brief phrase.

victoria: In Diodorus (17.85.7-86.1) and, similarly, in Curtius (8.11.19-24), the defenders abandoned the height making the victory over the terrain not over the defenders.

omnes interfici iussit: In Arrian (4.30.2-4), A killed many of the retreating Indians who had offered to surrender while secretly planning to escape, which is reminiscent of the slaughter of the mercenaries at Mazaga. The *Epitome* does not give a reason for the execution of all the defenders. In Diodorus (17.85.6) and Curtius (8.11.22), there were no defenders left to execute because they had deserted the rock. However, Justin (12.7.13) says A accepted the surrender of the defeated.

326 B.C.

M 48 - 53 Mophis (Taxiles)

With the exception of differences in the numbers of gifts and the omission of the reciprocation of gifts by Alexander, the *Epitome* closely parallels the account of Curtius, although Curtius refers to Mophis instead of Omphis as in Diodorus and the *Epitome*.

48. XVI die: = QC 8.12.4

naves aedificatas: 30 ships plus a floating bridge (D 17.86.3); two of the ships had 30 oars (Arr 5.3.5). At *M* 35, A had ordered ships to be constructed. Curtius (8.10.3) explains that the boats could be dismantled and re-assembled to make the bridges required for crossing the rivers en route.

Hephaestione: A's closest friend, sent ahead as an advance guard to build a boat-bridge across the Indus (QC 8.10.2-3); with Perdiccas (Arr 4.30.9).

49. **Mophis:** D 17.86.4; *Omphis* (QC 8.12.5). Most scholars follow Levi, that *Omphis* is the proper rendering of the Sanskrit *Ambhi* (Eggermont 1970: 104). However, Eggermont (*op. cit.*, 103-5) thinks that his name is a toponym like Taxiles, and represents the corrupted Sanskrit name of the territory on the west bank of the Indus, which he ruled as viceroy to his father. Curtius (8.12.5-7) says that he had been responsible for his father's surrender; in Sogdiana (D 17.86.4). See *Arines* (*M* 32).

Taxilis: ruler of Taxila, a city between the Indus and Hydaspes. He ruled a territory as large and as fertile as Egypt (P A 59). This Taxiles, the father of Mophis, had previously submitted to Alexander in Sogdiana, although Diodorus (17.86.4) says that it was Mophis

himself.

50. elephantis: These elephants, spaced at intervals among the troops, *procul castellorum fecerant speciem* (QC 8.12.7), undoubtedly because of their howdahs. In addition to the howdahs, the elephants were ornamented (*κοσμήσας*) (D 17.86.5).

51. ipse solus: accompanied by a few horsemen (D 17.86.6).

52. dextras dederunt: Curtius (8.12.10) and Plutarch (A 59) also add this detail.

exercitum ... tauros infulis velatos: With regard to the gifts, no sources agree completely with the *Epitome*, or each other. Both Curtius (8.12.11) and Arrian (5.3.5) agree that there were 3000 bulls, and the *Epitome* is close to the 56 elephants in Curtius (8.12.11).

multa praeterea vasa ... vestimenta omnis generis: According to Curtius (8.12.16), these were gifts from Alexander to Mophis. The *Epitome* has no exchange of gifts, as in Curtius, Plutarch and Strabo. For this reason, the vessels and clothing become part of Mophis' gifts to A. At M 27, there was a similar reversal occasioned by ignoring reciprocation of gifts.

complura animalia silvestria inusitata: No other source includes these.

53. Abisaren: *Embisarus* (D 17.87.2); *Sasibisares* (D 17.90.4); *Abisaros* (S 1.15.28).

Indian ruler of the Kashmir area. For his snakes, see Strabo (*loc. cit.*). See also M 55 and 56, 65.

Porum: not a name but a title (Yardley/Heckel in press: 209). The kingdom of Porus consisted of the land between the Hydaspes (Jhelum) and the Acesines (Chenab). See M 54 - 70.

May, 326 B.C.

M 54 - 70 Alexander and Porus

M 54 Enemy Intelligence

With the exception of a specific height for Porus and the accompaniment of Taxiles, the *Epitome* is in agreement with Curtius, including the statistics of the forces of Porus. In regard to the height of Porus, the *Epitome* agrees with Diodorus.

54. cum Taxile: and 5000 of his troops (Arr 5.8.5). Taxiles accompanied A as far as the Hyphasis (Arr 5.20.4).

secundum fluvium: Hydaspes or modern Jhelum. The distance from Taxila to the Hydaspes was 120 (Roman) miles (Pliny *NH* 6.62). According to Eggermont (1975: 187-88), it marked the easternmost boundary line of the Persian empire.

quid copiarum in castris esset: 50,000 infantry, 30 elephants, more than 1000 chariots (D 17.87.1); 30,000 infantry, 85 elephants, 300 chariots (QC 8.13.6) plus 4000 cavalry (QC 8.14.2); 20,000 infantry, 2000 cavalry (P A 62); 30,000 infantry, 200+ elephants, 400 chariots, 4000 cavalry (Arr 5.15.4).

cubita V: = D 17.88.4; 4 cubits and a span (P A 60.12); more than 5 cubits (Arr 5.19.1); 8 feet to A's 5 (P-C 3.4.3). Curtius (8.13.7) says he had a *corpus rarae magnitudinis*. Justin (12.8.1) does not mention his height but says he was remarkable for his physical strength and greatness of spirit. Arrian (5.4.4) says that most Indians were 5 cubits tall,

being the tallest men in Asia. See Hamilton (1969: 166) for further discussion.

May, 326 B.C. M 55 - 57 Embassies and a Letter

Both Curtius and Arrian mention embassies to Abisares, but neither names Nicocles as Alexander's envoy. Diodorus and Justin are silent in this case. Curtius names Cleochares as envoy to Porus but not his lashing, which is unique to the *Epitome*.

The letter from Porus bears a striking resemblance to one of a number of letters in the Hamburg Papyrus 129 (100 B.C.), which Merkelbach (1977: 11-12, 48-55) claims originated in one of the *Briefsammlung* used as a source for the Alexander Romance. Samuel (1986: 434 n. 21) has suggested two traditions of letters, one used by the Romance and the other by the historians. Since the *Epitome* letter finds no close counterpart in the Romance and seems to be implied in Curtius, it should belong to Samuel's suggested historical letter collection rather than Merkelbach's *Briefroman*.

55. Nicoclen: not named in other sources in this connection; probably the same Nicocles, the Cypriot, son of Pasirates of Soli, mentioned as a trireme commander for the voyage down the Indus (Arr *Ind* 18.8). The envoys came back when Alexander returned to the Acesines from the Hyphasis (Arr 5.29.4).

Cleochares: Curtius (8.13.2) also names Cleochares, but his lashing is unique to the *Epitome*. Geissendörfer (1967: 264) identifies the source of the lashing as Megasthenes, but simply because the incident is not found in the Vulgate historians, this does not necessarily

mean that it was not recorded in Cleitarchus. There is no correspondence with Diodorus or Justin.

epistulam conscriptam: The letter bears a striking resemblance to one in the Hamburg *Papyrus* 129, 79-105. The letter in the first century papyrus is a Greek version of the Latin text in the *Epitome*, except that it lacks the threatening final sentence. It is precisely this threat which is contained in Curtius (8.13.2).

This suggests that the *Metz Epitome* either preserves the entire letter, and that Curtius was not unfamiliar with its existence, or that the Epitomator has combined two sources. The former seems more likely, since Samuel (1986) has shown that the historians did not use the *Briefroman* suggested by Merkelbach, nor did the author(s) of the Romance use the historical collection. He cites (434 n. 21) the case of Merkelbach's *Briefroman* Letter XIV (= *PSI* 1285 iii.8-iv.16), which is not found in Pseudo-Callisthenes, but deals with the same matters after Issus seen in Arrian (2.14.4-9). The letters from Porus to Alexander in the Alexander Romances *epistolam magna parte differentem praebent* (Thomas 1960: 17). These Romance letters (except the Valerius *Epitome*) include references to Dionysus and make disparaging remarks about Greece. Despite Merkelbach's assertion that the Hamburg papyrus belongs in the letter collection used as a source for the Romance and the *Epitome*, the letter in the *Epitome* is probably part of a separate collection used by the historians, as suggested by Samuel.

unum id ... praesto sim: Curtius (8.13.2) gives a similar sentence as Porus' complete response.

May, 326 B.C.

M 58 - 59 Preparations for Battle

Of the Vulgate historians, only Curtius includes the decoy king, Attalus, in Alexander's diversionary tactics. In this very compressed version of the preparation for the battle, entirely omitted by Diodorus and Justin, the *Epitome* clearly resembles Curtius at *M* 58 and may follow Arrian's source at *M* 59, although compression makes source identification difficult.

58. incensus: Curtius, who regularly reports on Alexander's anger, records no such reaction to Porus' insolent response to A's orders to pay tribute and meet the king. The Epitomator makes this one of three occasions for Alexander's fury. In the Romance, A reads the letter to his troops and tells them not to let the letter upset them! We might conclude that A's anger in the *Epitome* is part of a literary topos regularly used by Curtius.

Attalum: = QC 8.13.21; not the son of Andromenes, who was stationed with Meleager and Gorgias (Arr 5.12.1) halfway between the camp and the main crossing (Heckel 1992: 181). The *Epitome* seems to combine the responsibilities of Attalus with those given to Ptolemy (QC 8.13.18-19).

suam chlamydem atque ornamenta regia: Cf. *M* 2.

59. Cratero: His rôle at the Hydaspes was to hold Porus' attention until Alexander, having completed an encircling manoeuvre, joined battle, and then to cross the river himself (Arr 5.11.4). Devine (1987: 97) calls his command the "Pinning Force". In general, the Vulgate authors do not mention Craterus, and give little attention to preliminary strategy. Fuller

(1960: 189) gives an excellent graphic analysis of Craterus' vital assignment. See also *M* 35.

cum delecta copia: For details of the composition of this force, see Arrian (5.12.2).

circiter CL stadia: = 29 km (Arr 5.11.2). This distance would have entailed a full day's march (Devine 1987: 99).

in loco deserto ac silvestri: QC 8.13.17; Arr 5.11.1.

transduxit: Like Diodorus, the *Epitome* does not mention the severe thunderstorm (QC 8.13.22-25; Arr 5.12.3-4), which concealed the attackers but caused great difficulty with their footing.

castris: Seibert (1985: 157), following Stein, locates the camp at Haranpur on the Jhelum, southwest of Jalalpur.

May, 326 B.C.

***M* 60 Battle at the Hydaspes**

Like Diodorus, the Epitomator gives an extremely compressed account of the battle, which reflects the author's, or his source's, apparent lack of interest in military details. The manner of Porus' surrender suggests conflation of the two Poruses, one heroic and the other cowardly (Arr 5.21.5-6; cf. D 17.91.1-2, 93.1).

60. hippotoxotas: This is wrong. The *hippotoxotae* or mounted archers, about 1000 (Arr 5.16.4), who were recruited partially from the Dahae (*M* 20, 23), were to harry the Indian left wing cavalry (Arr 5.16.4). According to Arrian (5.18.2), 10 were killed in the battle.

It was the *toxotae* (D 17.88.5) who were to fire at Porus, who was on the extreme left of his line of elephants (Polyaenus *Stratagema* 4.3.22).

elephanto: The Indian war elephants were Porus' "main hope" of victory against A (Bosworth 1988a: 128), but A was able to overcome this unfamiliar opponent. Curiously, the *Epitome* fails to mention the elephants in battle, an opportunity not missed by the other historians, except Justin.

ne se hosti dedere cunctaretur: In Diodorus (17.88.6-7) and Curtius (8.14.38-40), Porus' surrender is involuntary (he is taken for dead); in Plutarch (A 60), he is wounded and taken prisoner; in Arrian (5.18.8), he is persuaded to surrender while fleeing and, in Justin (12.8.5), he is wounded and captured.

vitam deprecans: Hardly the actions of the heroic Porus in other accounts. For this reason, Geissendörfer (1967: 264) suggests that Megasthenes, who had a hostile attitude to A, is the source here. He argues that the unheroic actions of the Indian king lessened the glory of the victory and thus that of the victor himself. Porus, in the *Epitome*, might be compared with a similarly unheroic Darius at Issus (Arr 2.11.4). In Arrian, it was necessary to make Darius appear unworthy (Bosworth 1980a: 216), but in the *Epitome*, making Porus cowardly served only to belittle A's victory, according to Geissendörfer (*loc. cit.*). It may be, however, that the Epitomator has confused or conflated this Porus and the "cowardly" Porus (D 17.91.2, 93.1; Arr 5.21.3), who surrendered to Hephaestion (Arr 5.21.5-6).

M 61 - 62 The Outcome

With the exception of the Macedonian casualty figures, the *Epitome* partly agrees with Diodorus. Nevertheless, the Epitomator has again presented a less than heroic Porus, slightly inflated the Macedonian casualties, as is particularly obvious from the rounding up of 280 to 300, and ignored the founding of Nicaea. All this may suggest a source unfavourable to Alexander, but this is doubtful in view of the previously favourable tone.

61. obsecrare: Cf. *deprecans* (M 60). The use of this word gives an entirely different picture of the friendly conversation in Arrian and Plutarch.

ut animo regio consuleret: Cf. a similar sentiment (P A 60.14; P *Mor* 181e, 332e, 458b; Arr 5.19.2), which Hammond (1991a: 150 and 257) attributes to Chares.

regiones: According to Justin 12.8.7, A did this as a mark of respect for Porus' courage. They consisted of the territories of Glausae/Glauganicae (Arr 5.20.4), of the "cowardly" Porus (Arr 5.21.5), Sangala (Arr 5.24.8), as far as the Hyphasis (Arr 5.29.2); all territory conquered: 7 nations, 2000+ towns (Arr 6.2.1). Plutarch (A 60) mentions 15 nations, 5000 towns but Strabo (15.1.3) mentions 9 nations and 5000 cities.

Eo proelio: The *Epitome* agrees with Diodorus, who follows Cleitarchus (Hammond 1983: 79), on the Indian casualties, but seems to inflate the Macedonian numbers: 700 infantry, 280 cavalry (D 17.89.1); 80 infantry, 230 cavalry (Arr 5.18.2). Devine (1987: 91) terms Diodorus' statistics more credible than Arrian's. The numerical discrepancies between

Diodorus and the *Epitome* may be due to textual problems.

62. Bucephalus: meaning "ox-head"; named either for a similar marking (A 5.19.5) or because of the width of his forehead (S 15.1.29). The *Epitome* agrees with Diodorus (17.95.5) and Strabo (15.1.29) that Alexander's horse died in battle. Both Curtius (8.14.34) and Justin (12.8.4) report that Bucephalus was wounded by Porus himself, as might also be construed from the Porus medallion (Hammond 1991a: 110 n. 23). Neither Curtius nor Justin say that Bucephalus died in the conflict, although it may be implied. Hammond (*op. cit.*, 112), neglecting that Diodorus (17.95.5) specifically says that the horse died in battle, argues that the separation of the founding and naming of Bucephala by Diodorus (17.89.6 and 17.95.5) and Curtius (9.1.6 and 9.3.23) supports the contention that Bucephalus died later. Plutarch (A 61) and Arrian (5.14.4) report that, although others say that Alexander's horse died in battle, Ptolemy says otherwise. Hammond (*op. cit.*, 110) points out that, since Ptolemy was in attendance as a bodyguard on the spot where Bucephalus was alleged to have died, it is certain that his account was correct. Arrian (5.19.4-6) remarks that the horse came through the battle unscathed and died later of old age. A Hebrew Romance (Bodleian, Oxford, MS. *Cod. Heb.* 2797.10d. 11, f 273a) also supports the later death of the horse. Although Hammond (*op. cit.*, 111 n. 25) argues that the horse was about 20, Onesicritus (P A 60.1 = *FGrH* 134 F 20) says that he was 30 when he died (*pace* Anderson 1930: 11-12; Hamilton 1969: 14-16, 120, 169). For a biography of the horse, see D 17.76.5; QC 6.5.18-19; Arr 5.19.5-6. See also M 70.

Bucephala: Diodorus (17.89.6), Strabo (1.15.29) and Arrian (5.19.4) place Bucephala on the west bank of the Hydaspes. Although Diodorus and Strabo state that the horse died in

the battle on the east bank, they still locate Bucephala on the west bank. Seibert (1985: 157, following Stein) locates Bucephala near Jalalapur on the west bank of the Jhelum, northeast of the crossing at Haranpur. The *Epitome* places Bucephala *in eo loco*, which Geissendörfer (1967: 262, n. 2, following Tarn II, 1948: 236 and 246 n.1) claims is the east bank, a location, he says, confirmed by the geographer Claudius Ptolemaeus (7.1.45). There is certainly room for error in Ptolemy's calculated placement of Bucephala. The Epitomator, who appears to follow the Vulgate here, is imprecise enough to allow for the location of Bucephala on the same site as Diodorus, that is, the west bank. It was the foundation of Nicaea on the east bank, ignored in the *Epitome*, which commemorated the victory over Porus.

326 B.C.

M 63 Future Plans

This section clearly follows the Cleitarchan tradition.

63. ad ultimos fines Indiae atque Oceanum: All sources, except Justin, agree that, after the defeat of Porus, A intended to reach the limits of India and sail to Ocean.

ad mare Rubrum atque ad Atlanticum: Curtius (8.9.6) says that the Indus flowed into the Red Sea, meaning the Indian Ocean. For Alexander's plans to reach the Atlantic, which was a later decision, see Diodorus 18.4.4.

multas naves aedificare iussit: According to *M 70*, Porus and Taxiles were given this task, and the fleet consisted of 800 biremes and 300 store-ships. Diodorus and Curtius give

different numbers; see commentary on *M* 70.

XXXIII diebus: No other writer gives this information. The initial time must account not only for construction but also for procurement of material, for which A campaigned against the timber-rich Glausae (D 17.89.4; QC 9.1.4; Arr 5.20.2-4). The entire fleet was ready when A returned from the Hyphasis in late September (Bosworth 1988a: 134 n. 341).

326 B.C.

***M* 64 An Invitation for Porus**

Although the *Epitome* agrees with the Vulgate authors on the severity of Porus' wounds, the conversation between Alexander and Porus is probably pure invention. Curtius (8.14.41-43), Plutarch (*A* 60.14) and Arrian (5.19.1-3) all record conversations between the victorious and vanquished kings. Although the tone of the exchange is similar in all accounts, the details vary, and the *Epitome* places the conversation after Porus' recovery. Geissendörfer (1967: 264) suggests Megasthenes as a hostile source, but this is unlikely – for two reasons. Firstly, direct speech is original composition on the part of the Epitomator. Secondly, the conversation reflects Curtius' statement (8.14.45) that Alexander made Porus one of his friends.

64. ex vulneribus: While the Vulgate authors claim that Porus was severely wounded (D 17.88.6; QC 8.14.32; J 12.8.5), Arrian says that Porus suffered a minor wound in the right shoulder (Arr 5.18.5).

Summer, 326 B.C.

M 65 Abisares

Here the Epitomator agrees with Diodorus and Curtius.

65. Abisare: At *M 55-56*, Nicocles was sent as an emissary to Abisares, who did not want to send him back. In Arrian (5.29.4), there are three separate embassies from Abisares, and it appears that Nicocles was returned with the third.

legati: including the brother of Abisares (Arr 5.20.5), who had been with the previous mission (QC 8.8.1; Arr 5.8.4).

quae imperasset: Abisares was ordered to pay tribute, surrender hostages and present himself to A (*M 55*).

subiugavit: The *Epitome* agrees only with Diodorus (17.90.4). (Curtius is silent on this matter.) Arrian disagrees: at 5.20.5, Abisares is threatened by A to submit personally, but at 5.29.4-5, Abisares sends a third embassy, declaring that he cannot present himself because of illness. A believes him, and allows him to continue to rule. Abisares may have died from this illness, because Curtius (10.1.20) says that he died from an illness and his kingdom passed to his son.

Summer, 326 B.C.

M 66- 67 Sopithes

Only the Vulgate historians, Diodorus and Curtius, record the story of Sopithes' dogs.

66. cetera oppida: in particular, Sangala (QC 9.1.14-18, Arr 5.22.1-24.5), Pimprama (Arr 5.22.3); the Adrestians and Cathaeans (D 17.91.2-3).

Sopithes: *Sopeithes* (D 17.91.4); *Sophites* (QC 9.1.27): 4 cubits tall and very handsome (D 17.91.7). Diodorus, Curtius and Arrian disagree on the location of his kingdom (S 15.1.30) and were probably all wrong (McCrinkle 1901: 37 n. 1). Strabo places his kingdom as bordering on the Cathaeans, whose capital was Sangala. Sopithes' name is probably a toponym for the country which he ruled (McCrinkle, *loc. cit.*).

obviam venit: Aristobulus (P *Pro nob* 19 = FGrH 139 F 40) says that the lion-fighting dogs were sent to A, which implies that A never had a personal encounter with Sopithes. Arrian, who drew on Aristobulus, gives no hint of this episode. Hamilton (1969: 170) suggests that the story originated with Onesicritus, whom Arrian (6.2.3) termed a liar and Strabo (15.1.28) called the chief pilot of marvels.

canes maximos fortissimosque: The number of dogs presented varies: 150 (D 17.92.1; S 15.1.31); 4 (Ael *NH* 8.1).

canes admisit duo: four (D 17.92.2, QC 9.1.22); one (Ael *NH* 8.1).

67. Tigris: = S 11.14.8

fetum canum According to Diodorus (8.40), only the third litter was kept, because the preceding two were too fierce.

Summer, 326 B.C.

M 68 - 69 Beyond the Hyphasis

The *Epitome* continues to follow the source of Curtius and Diodorus.

68. Phegei: Phegeus, an Indian prince whose territory lay east of that of Sopithes (*M* 66-7), offered no resistance to A. Only Diodorus (17.93.1-2) and Curtius (9.1.36-2.4) mention him.

Hyphasis: *Hypasis* (QC 9.1.35). The modern Beas.

latitudine stadiorum VI: 7 stadia wide and 6 fathoms deep (D 17.93.1).

XII dierum <via> per solas terras: Curtius (9.2.2) gives the same information. In fact, it was 330 km of heavily populated countryside (Bosworth 1988a: 133). The *Epitome* refers to the Thar desert, which is far south of Alexander's route (Hamilton 1969: 172). See Appendix: Map 3.

latum stadiorum XXX: 32 stadia wide (D 17.93.2, P A 62) in passages directly comparable to the *Epitome* here, but 30 stadia elsewhere (D 2.37.2; 18.6.2), derived respectively from Megasthenes (Robinson 1993: 86) and Hieronymus of Cardia (*op. cit.*, 91). The breadth of all great rivers varies along their courses and from one time of the year to another.

Megasthenes (S 15.1.35) also gives a width of 100 stadia. Sent by Seleucus I Nicator to Chandragupta's capital shortly before 300 B.C., Megasthenes provided more details of the country between the Indus and the Ganges in his book, which was used by Arrian and Strabo (Hamilton 1969: 173), and, if Geissendörfer is right, the Epitomator. It seems more likely, however, that the discrepancies in numbers are textual errors rather than source related.

Prasios: *Praesti* (QC 9.8.11); *Tabraisii* (D 17.93.2) = Sanskrit *prācyā*, meaning eastern. Not a tribal name but a geographical designation (Eggermont 1975: 14). The kingdom of Magadha, with the capital at Pataliputra near the modern city of Patna, extended from the upper course of the Ganges to its delta (Eggermont, *loc. cit.*).

Gangaridas: *Gandaridae* (P A 62). According to Justin (12.8.9), A defeated the Gangaridae and their neighbours, the Prasii.

Xandrames: D 17.93.2; *Aggrames* (QC 9.2.3), whose force is the same in Curtius and Diodorus.

elephantorum ... CLXXX: The lacuna immediately preceding CLXXX was supplemented to read <...*milia*> (Thomas 1960: 22). Diodorus (2.37.2; 18.6.2) insists that A did not invade the country beyond the Hyphasis, because of the large numbers: 4000 (D17.93.2); 3000 (QC 9.2.20); 6000 (P A 61), and size of the elephants. Plutarch (A 62) adds that the large numbers of elephants was no exaggeration, because not much later Sandrocottus [sic] gave 500 elephants to Seleucus. However, the *Epitome* may be closer to the truth, since the greatest number of elephants recorded by any king was 150 (Hamilton 1969: 173).

69. re cognita: The *Epitome* ignores the mutiny (D 17.94.1-5; QC 9.2.5-9.3.19; P A 62; Arr 5.25.2-28.4; J 12.8.10-15; *It Al* 50).

re divina facta: the first of two sacrifices in the *Epitome*. See M 70.

aras complures: 50 cubits high, raised to the 12 gods of Macedonia (D 17.95.1); 12 made of stone (QC 9.3.19); 12 for the gods of Greece (P A 62); 12, one for each division of the army (Arr. 5.29.1-2). Strabo (3.5.5) says that A was imitating Hercules and Dionysus, who set up altars in the West.

turresque: No other author mentions these, although Arrian (5.29.1) says that the altars were as high as and broader than the greatest towers. It would seem that the Epitomator has misread his source.

fossas: 15.24 m wide by 12.19 m deep with a wall made from the excavated earth (D

17.95.1). **Acesinem:** the Hydaspes (Jhelum), which flowed into the Acesines (Chenab). A came first to the Acesines, then to the Hydaspes, where the fleet was and where Coenus, who had supported the mutineers, died. Either the Acesines was confused with the Hydaspes, or the account of the march from the Acesines to the Hydaspes was omitted (Rolfe 1962: 394 n. a). The confusion is consistent in the Vulgate and attributed to Diyllus (Hammond 1983: 62, 152 and 179 n. 28).

Autumn, 326 B.C. M 70 Preparations for the Indus Voyage

Neither the size of the flotilla, nor the death of the son, which are inserted between the placement of the fleet and the reconciliation, have a parallel in the Vulgate or Arrian. Geissendörfer (1967: 265-66) suggests that the Epitomator used Aristobulus as a source for this unique information, and not Cleitarchus. Hammond (1983: 152), on the other hand, attributes the similar placement of the fleet on the Acesines, and the reconciliation between Taxiles and Porus at this point in the Vulgate, to Diyllus. Arrian (5.20.4) reports this rapprochement earlier, without the marriage, around the time of the second embassy of Abisares. Information regarding the fleet agrees partially with Diodorus' 800 transports, adding up to more than the 1000 ships of both Diodorus and Curtius, but remains far from Arrian's figures. Since the Epitomator or, indeed, his copyist was careless with his numbers, the information may be attributed to the same source as the Vulgate authors. Plutarch identifies Diyllus (*FGrH* 73 F 4) as being interested in anecdotes in the memoirs of kings and generals, so the detail of the death of Alexander's son might have been of interest

to him, but there is no reason to suppose that it held no interest for Cleitarchus. Although Reuss (in Geissendörfer *op. cit.*, 265) attributes the son's death to the Epitomator's imagination, Berve (II 1926: 347) accepts it as historical fact. Arrian's description of the embarkation, which Hammond (1991a: 265) attributes to Ptolemy/Aristobulus, is wholly concerned with the aural rather than visual picture of the multi-coloured sails in the *Epitome*. With all this in mind, we must discount Aristobulus as the source for this passage in the *Epitome*. However, Hammond fails to persuade that Diyllus is the source for the Vulgate, and, hence, the *Epitome*, because there seems to be no reason to discount Cleitarchus.

70. Ibi: on the Hydaspes.

naves: 200 galleys, 800 transports (D 17.95.5); 1000 ships (QC 9.3.22); 800 30-oared ships out of a total of not far from 2000 (Ptolemy [*FGrH* 138 F 24 = Arr 6.2.4]); altogether 1800 (Nearchus [*FGrH* 133 F 1 = Arr *Ind* 19.1]). See *M* 63. Only the Guards, archers, Agriani and the picked cavalry squadron were transported by water. The rest of the force was divided between Craterus and Hephaestion on either bank of the river (Arr 6.2.2-3).

filius: A medieval Hebrew Romance records that A's nine month old son died on the same day as his horse, Busifal [sic], and that A buried them and erected a mausoleum for both (Bodleian, Oxford, MS. *Cod. Heb.* 2797.10, d. 11, f 273a). In the *Epitome*, the son's death occurs after the preparation of the fleet and before the reconciliation of Porus and Taxiles. In Diodorus (17.95.5), Bucephala is named in commemoration of the horse just after the preparation of the fleet, but no mention is made of a reconciliation between the two Indian kings. In Curtius (9.3.21-23), the founding and naming of Bucephala can be seen to

occur between the preparation of the fleet and the reconciliation. The Vulgate authors omit the death of the son, but record the naming of Bucephala in the same context as the *Epitome* records the son's death. The Hebrew Romance connects the death of the son and the death of the horse, which suggests that the son's death occurred at Bucephala on the Hydaspes. It seems that the Vulgate historians and the Epitomator follow the same source, and that each has chosen what he wished from that source. The death of Rhoxane's son is termed *dubious testimony* by Green (1991: 369), but he gives no reason for his judgment. While Berve (II 1926: 347), Wilcken (1967: 176) and Hamilton (1969: 129) all accept the veracity of *M* 70, they all seem to be unaware that the information appears elsewhere .

re divina facta: This is the second of two sacrifices and one of the three instances of religious observance. See *M* 69 and 85.

deinde: Aristobulus (*FGrH* 139 F 35 = S 15.1.17-19) says that the journey began a few days before the setting of the Pleiades, the beginning of November 326.

velis discoloribus: Cf. Pliny *NH* 19.22. No other authors give this colourful detail.

Arrian's description of the embarkation, which Hammond (1991: 265) attributes to Ptolemy/Aristobulus, is wholly concerned with the aural rather than visual picture, as here. It might be recalled that the Epitomator was concerned with the visual aspect of the crossing of the Tanais (*M* 11).

†**Eleumezen†:** Curtius (9.3.24) says that troops were occasionally disembarked at convenient points, of which this unknown town must be one.

326/5 B.C. *M* 71 - 74 A Letter from the Indian Philosophers

The letter from the Indian philosophers is the second major insertion in the historical narrative. As was the case for the Porus letter (*M* 56-57), the one in the *Epitome* differs greatly from the letters in the various Romances, but has close parallels elsewhere. Nevertheless, Merkelbach places it in his romantic *Briefsammlung*.

71. amiculum duplici: Geissendörfer (1967: 265) points out that the use of this term, which undoubtedly refers to the διπλοῖς, or double cloak, worn by the Cynics, is an important argument for placing the author of the letter in the Cynic circle. If the letter is derived from the same source as the interrogation of the philosophers (*M* 78-84), the author is not Onesicritus (Hamilton 1969: 179).

Indorum philosophi: the Gymnosophists or naked philosophers, who were ascetics. The similar letters of Philo and Ambrosius purport to be from Calanus, a Gymnosophist, who went with A to Persia and was disliked by Onesicritus. The Syrian, Greek and Armenian Romance versions of the letter are addressed by the Brahmins, the naked philosophers. Nearchus (*FGrH* 133 F 23 = S 16.1.66) makes the distinction between Brahmins, who were counsellors to kings and engaged in state affairs, and Gymnosophists, but, in general, as Hamilton (1969: 179) points out, Greek writers did not. In Pseudo-Callisthenes (3.4) the Brahmins, *Oxydorkai* and naked philosophers are synonymous terms, possibly reflected in the *Epitome*, due to confusion in a common source (Cleitarachus?).

litteras: The versions of this letter found in the Romance differ for the most part from the version found in Philo Judaeus (vol. VI p. 27, 7-28, 4 ed. Cohn-Reiter in Thomas 1960: 23) (of which a shorter version exists in Clemens Alexandrinus) and Ambrosius (XXXVII [11], 34/35, Migne PL XVI col. 1139 in Thomas 1960: 24). If the letter inserted here is, in fact, the one from Calanus, the Epitomator has purposely chosen the wrong historical moment. Calanus was invited to accompany A at Taxila (Arr 7.2.2-4), presumably after A received the letter. It is inserted here in preparation for A's conversation with the philosophers (*M* 78-84).

72 - 4: Sections of the *Epitome* letter and similar letters in Philo and Ambrosius are remarkably alike. As a result, it is possible to posit solutions for the lacunae. The first lacuna may have contained: *non magis quam saxa et ligna vocem emittere*, the second, *non est rex neque princeps* and the third, *qui extorqueat nobis facere quod non proposuimus* as in the letter of Ambrosius. However, the Latin of Ambrosius differs so greatly from that of the *Epitome* that it must be assumed that both he and the Epitomator were making independent translations of a Greek text. The threatening final two sentences, reminiscent of the final threatening sentence of Porus' letter at *M* 57, are not found in Philo or Ambrosius. As in the case with the Porus letter, the Epitomator has either preserved the entire letter or has combined two sources.

326/5 B.C.

***M* 75 - 78 The Mallian Campaign**

The third major insertion in the historical account is the dialogue between Alexander

and the Indian philosophers (*M* 78-84), which immediately follows the Mallian campaign. The Epitomator has compressed two events, the Mallian campaign and the defeat of Sambus, who had been incited to revolt by the philosophers (*P A* 65.5; Arr 6.16.3-5), to pave the way for the dialogue. In Arrian, these philosophers are called Brahmins, who, by definition, cannot be the authors of the letter (*M* 72-74). In the *Epitome*, Sambus is the opposing general of the Malli and the Oxydracae (philosophers?), in spite of the fact that the Oxydracae were too late to help the Malli and that Sambus was not involved in this incident. Geissendörfer (1967: 262) calls the *Metz* Sambus episode unique historical evidence derived from Aristobulus (*op.cit.*, 266). Berve (II 1926: 349) considers this Sambus separately from the Sambus of Arrian and Plutarch. In view of the practice of using toponymous names (Eggermont 1975: 184), this seems unlikely. As Heckel (Yardley/Heckel in press: 223) points out, there is some confusion concerning the relationship of the Brahmins to Sambus and the Malli (cf. Arr 6.7.4; *P A* 63-4). What Heckel terms "serious confusion" may, in fact, be a deliberate manipulation and conflation of source material in order to include the discussion with the Indian philosophers in a logical sequence and to provide an episode parallel to Alexander and Porus (*M* 54-70).

75. commotus: The insolent letter from Porus enraged A and provoked a similar reaction (*M* 56-58).

Oxydracorum: Arr 6.4.3; *Oxydrakai* (S 15.1.33), but the Vulgate called them the *Sudracae* (QC 9.4.15; J 12.9.3) or *Sydracae* (D.17.98.1). According to Strabo (15.1.8), they claimed to be descendants of Dionysus. In Arrian (6.11.3), the Oxydracae arrived too

late to join with the Malli, although that was their intention. It is important to note here that in Pseudo-Callisthenes (3.4) the Brahmans are synonymous with the *Oxydorkai*, which may be a corruption of *Oxydracae*, and the Gymnosophists.

Mallorum: *Mandri* (J 12.9.3). Both the Oxydracae and the Malli lived north and east of the confluence of the Acesines and the Hydroates (Tarn II 1948: 280 n. 2).

milia peditum ... C, equitum XX milia: No source agrees with the *Epitome* nor do any of the sources agree with one another.

Sambum: His kingdom was on the lower Indus with the capital at Sindomana. His presence here is, perhaps, deliberately misplaced. The incident strongly resembles Curtius (9.4.24-6), where the allies chose one of the Sudracae (Oxydracae) as leader. When the barbarians fled at A's approach, Curtius (9.4.25) supposed their flight to be caused by fear or mutiny. His source must not have recorded the reason. Here the Epitomator interpolated (invented?) the wounding of their leader, calling him Sambus, as the cause of the barbarian flight. If the Epitomator, like Pseudo-Callisthenes (3.4), was assuming that the Gymnosophists, Brahmans and the Oxydracae were one and the same, this would account for the presence of Sambus, who was incited by the Brahmans to revolt (Arr 6.17.2; P A 65). For the name in another context, see QC 9.8.13; *Ambus* D 17.102.6; Arr 6.15.3; J 12.10.2; *Sabbus* P A 64; *Sabus* S 15.1.33. Eggermont (1975: 18-22) further connects him with Samaxus.

76. oppidum: It is not clear where this engagement took place, and there may be deliberate ambiguity, since Arrian (6.11.3) shows that there was disagreement over the site at which A was almost fatally wounded. Although Curtius (9.4.26) says that it was the capital town of

the Sudracae (Oxydracae), Arrian (6.11.3) makes it clear that it was a Mallian town, with which Plutarch (*A* 63.3) and Strabo (15.1.33) agree.

cum tribus: Peucestes, Leonnatus, Limnaeus. A was alone on the wall (QC 9.4.30-33); with Peucestas, Leonnatus, Abreas (Arr 6.9.3); with no more than 2, Peucestas, Limnaeus (*P A* 63), but with 3 at *P Mor* 343f, named as Ptolemy, Limnaeus, Leonnatus (*P Mor* 344d).

77. multos occiderunt: 3 (QC 9.5.12); only 1 (D 17.99.4; *P A* 63; J 12.9.12); at least 3, including the commander (Arr 6.9.6).

Leonnatus: one of A's bodyguards; injured in the neck (QC 9.5.17); named with Peucestes, Aristonous, Timaeus (QC 9.5.15,17); with Ptolemy, Limnaeus (*P Mor* 344d); not mentioned, only Ptolemy and Limnaeus (*P Mor* 327b); with Peucestas (Arr *Ind* 19.8 = Nearchus *FGrH* 133 F 1); with Peucestas, Habreas (Arr 6.9.3; 6.10.1-2; 6.11.7). See Arrian (*Ind* 23.6, Arr.7.5.5), where he is crowned, in part, for saving A's life. See Heckel (1992: 100-1) for argument against confusion of Limnaeus for Leonnatus, *contra* Berve (II 1926: 237).

pectore adverso <circa> stomachum: on the right side (D 17.99.3; QC 9.5.9); beneath the breast (D 17.99.3; J 12.9.12); above the breast piercing the lung (Arr 6.10.1-2); according to Ptolemy, this was the only wound (Arr 6.11.7); pierced the ribs, wounded several times, including a blow to the neck (*P A* 63, *P Mor* 327b = Aristobulus *FGrH* 139 F 46).

caput vehementer: many blows to the helmet (D 17.99.3); wounded through helmet with axe (*P Mor* 344c). Arrian (6.11.7) doubts reports that A was struck on helmet with a club because Ptolemy does not record a blow to the head. Not in Curtius or Justin.

78. ubi Alexandro melius factum est: The recovery took more than 7 days (QC 9.6.1); when all hope had seemed lost (J 12.10.1); reported death caused revolt in Bactria (D 17.99.5-6).

regi suo dicto: This is a careless error, contrary to Geissendörfer's claim (1967: 262) of unique information. Philip, son of Machatas, was appointed as satrap (Arr 6.14.3).

philosophos ... numero X: Plutarch, Pseudo-Callisthenes and the *Epitome* confuse the Brahmans and Gymnosophists (ascetics). Here, the Epitomator means the Gymnosophists, although he deliberately confuses them with the Brahmans responsible for the revolt. The *Epitome* omits the revolt of Sambus and attempts to reconcile and conflate the two events. It was the Brahmans of Sind who incited Sambus and others to revolt. For the death of some Brahmans about the time of Sambus, see D 17.102.6; Arr 6.16.5.

oppido: The setting for the historical dialogue was neither a Mallian nor Oxydracaeon town. A met the Gymnosophists at Taxila (Arr 7.1.5-6), but Arrian's account of the conversation is totally different. Plutarch (A 63) places the meeting following the revolt of Sambus, which occurred after the Mallian campaign, and recounts almost identical questions and answers.

326/5 B.C. M 78 - 84 A Dialogue with the Indian Philosophers

There are two main versions of the interrogation. The first version, which contains 10 questions, is found in the *Metz Epitome*, Plutarch (A 64), the Berlin papyrus 13044 (edited and discussed by Wilcken, "Alexander der Grosse und die indischen

Gymnosophisten," *SB Berlin* 1923: 150-83) and Treatise *Tamid* 31b-32a. Although it contains only 9 questions, *Anecdota Graeca* I.145 (Boissonnade) belongs with the above. This first group is strikingly similar to the *Epitome* both in the content and order of the questions. The second group of versions, with questions varying both in content and number, is found in the various Romances. Of these, only the first and fifth questions of the first group are consistent with the second.

Wallach (1941: 48) further divides the first group by separating the Berlin papyrus, and the *Epitome* from the others, and includes with them the Hebrew-Aramaic version of the conversation found in the Babylonian Talmud (*op. cit.*, 49-50). He argues (*op. cit.*, 58-63) that the conversation constitutes remnants of Jewish political propaganda from the Hasmonean period (142-163 B.C.) in connection with Seleucid agitation against the Jews for an illegitimate occupation of Palestine.

Brown (1949: 46-48) thinks that all versions had a common origin, which was not Onesicritus, since he would not have represented Alexander in such an unfavourable light. According to Brown (*loc. cit.*), the common original was written by a Cynic, who represented Alexander unfavourably. Wallach (*op. cit.*, 78-79) traces the origin of the questions to an unknown treatise on kingship written by a Greek.

The significance of the contents of the dialogue have been discussed at length elsewhere and will not be addressed here (Wilcken 1923: 150-83).

78. Indi philosophi: In the Talmud, the conversation is with the Jewish Elders of the South. According to a legend of Hellenistic origin, the Jews were the offspring of Indian

philosophers (Clearchus of Soli in Josephus, *Contra Apionem* I, 22).

vos hostes: The Brahmans stirred up rebellion against A (D 17.102.6; P A 64; Arr 6.16.5).

Historically, these are not the philosophers of *M* 71-74 who wrote the letter.

quod interrogavero: The use of paradoxical or very difficult questions is a favourite Cynic device (Brown 1949: 46-48). K. von Fritz calls this sort of anecdote, favoured by the Cynics, the 'Sage and Tyrant' type (Hamilton 1969: 179).

83. non est regium mentiri: not in Plutarch, but in the Talmudic version, and in the Pseudo-Aristeas (*Pseudepigrapha* ed. Charles, 206). For full discussion, see Wallach (1941: 76-80). Wallach maintains that Pseudo-Aristeas followed a tradition of the Alexander questions in the questioning of the Jewish Elders by Ptolemy II.

84. vestimenta: an odd present for the ascetic Gymnosophists, but not inappropriate for Brahmans. Only the *Metz Epitome* and the papyrus stipulate the nature of the gifts which A gave the philosophers. In the *Tamid*, A had the philosophers attire themselves in purple garments and place chains around their necks, a type of action also attributed to Seleucid monarchs (Wallach 1941: 59).

Summer, 325 B.C. M 84 - 86 Down the Indus to the Sea

As the accounts of Curtius and Diodorus differ so greatly from Arrian, Eggermont (1975: 28-33 and 135-37) has concluded that the Vulgate authors described a voyage down the middle branch of the Indus, which was only navigable in the second century B.C. In his opinion, the material was borrowed from an Alexander Romance in which the three branches

of the Indus were confused. The voyage to the sea recounted in the *Epitome* was probably on the middle branch of the Indus (Eggermont *op. cit.*, 135) since it very closely resembles Curtius (9.9.1-7). The *Epitome* omits the siege of Harmatelia, which all the Vulgate authors record. According to Romano (1979: 106), it is not necessary to postulate a lacuna at the end because the text may simply never have been completed.

84 (cont'd.) exercitum [in] naves iussit: The final phase of the expedition began with the invasion of the Indus delta and the dispatch of Craterus back to Carmania. A divided his remaining force into three groups: one on the river under his personal direction, and the remainder on either side of the Indus under command of Peitho and Hephaestion, and set out for Ocean.

inde: Harmatelia, where Ptolemy nearly died from the effects of a poisoned arrow (D 17.103.8; QC 9.8.17-27; J 12.10.1-7).

aliquot dies: more than 3 (Arr 6.17.5).

venit: Aristobulus (*FGrH* 139 F 35 = S 15.1.17) says that they arrived at Patalene about the time of the rising of the Dog Star, or July 325. The elapsed time since leaving Bucephala was about 9 months.

ad insulam Patala: D 17.104.1; *Patalia* (QC 9.8.28); *Pattala* (Arr. 6.17.5); the island of Patalene (S 15.1.17) where the Indus divides in two (Arr 6.18.2; S 15.1.33). Here A had a harbour and dockyards built (Arr 6.18.2). Diodorus (17.104.2) informs us that Patala had a government like Sparta, with 2 kings, one of whom was Moeris (QC 9.8.28). Eggermont (1975: 26) deduces that Moeris ruled the western branch of the Indus. Budge (1901: 40, n.

4) suggests that the name is derived from the Sanskrit *potala*, "a station for ships".

The location of Patala is uncertain, because of the changing course of the Indus. Seibert (1985: 169 n. 48) gives the choices as Hyderabad (Cunningham); Brahamabad, which is 78 km northeast of Hyderabad (Wilhelmy), and northeast of Nasarpur (Eggermont).

duces: The guides, who appear to have been acquired at Patala (QC 9.8.30), deserted (QC 9.9.1). According to Arrian (6.18.4-5), A had no guide when he left Patala, which had disastrous results. He thence acquired guides when he was forced ashore by a storm.

85. in insulam desertam: Diodorus (17.104.1) records two islands in the Ocean. Curtius (9.9.1) records the necessary first stop at an island in mid-stream to acquire new guides, as the others had run off, and a second at an island further downstream, where they landed to look for provisions (QC 9.9.8). In Arrian's account of the voyage down the western branch of the Indus, two islands are encountered and sacrifices made at each; the first was Cilluta and the second out at sea (6.19.3-5). This island is clearly the first island of Curtius.

deos conprecatus: Diodorus (17.104.1) mentions two islands in the Ocean where sacrifices were made. Curtius omits this at the first island. A, who evidently was sailing down a different branch in Arrian's account, sacrificed at two islands, naming only the first (Arr 6.19.3-5). This is the third and last reference to religious observances in the *Epitome*. See *M* 69 and 70.

stadia CCCC: = QC 9.9.3.

tridui: *tertio die* (QC 9.9.5). See *M* 13, 24 and 63.

fluctus marinos: The ebb tide causing the waters to swell (QC 9.9.10).

vimque fluminis ... senserunt: The strong tide surprises the army, accustomed to the weak Mediterranean tide, with disastrous results (QC 9.9.10-27).

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Chronology

- 330 July. Death of Darius (*M* 1).
 Challenge of Bessus. Central Asian campaign (*M* 3-4).
 Founding of Alexandria-in-the-Caucasus (*M* 4).
- 329 Capture of Bessus (*M* 5 - 6).
 Summer. Maracanda and the Tanais (*M* 7-8).
 Revolt of Spitamenes (*M* 9).
 Crossing the Tanais (*M* 10-12).
 Maracanda disaster (*M* 13).
 Death of Bessus (*M* 14)
- 328 Spring. Sogdian Rock (*M* 15-18).
- 328/7 Winter. Alliance with Sisimithres (*M* 19).
- 327 Spring. Death of Spitamenes (*M* 20-23). Late winter storm (*M* 24-27).
 Marriage to Roxane (*M* 28-31).
 Meeting with Indian prince (*M* 32-34).
 Crossing the Copen (*M* 35).
- 327/6 The Swat Campaign: reduction of Silex, the first town in India (*M* 35); capitulation of Nysa (*M* 36-38); defeat of Mazaga (*M* 39-45).
- 326 April. Capture of Aornus (*M* 46-47).
 Alliance with Mophis/Taxiles (*M* 48-53).
 May. Alexander and Porus (*M* 54 -57). Battle at the Hydaspes (*M* 58-61). Founding of Bucephala (*M* 62).
 Summer. Subjugation of Abisares (*M* 65); Sopithes (*M* 66-67); Hyphasis (68-69).
 Fall. Death of Roxane's son (*M* 70).
- 326/5 Descent of the Indus: the Mallian campaign (*M* 71-83); Patala (*M* 84).
- 325 July. Indian Ocean (*M* 86).

Glossary of Personal Names

The number immediately following the name refers to Berve's catalogue in Volume II of *Das Alexanderreich auf prosopographischer Grundlage* (Munich 1926). In all cases, only the rôle in the Metz Epitome is included.

Abisares (2): Indian ruler of the Kashmir area (*M* 53), who was unwilling to return A's emissary (*M* 55 and 56) and finally subjugated (*M* 65).

Acuphis (36): Elder of the city of Nysa, given ruling authority by A after pointing out the city's connection to Dionysus (*M* 37). Amused A with his remark when asked to supply hostages (*M* 38).

Amminais (54): Brother of Assacenus, who augmented the defense of Mazaga with 9000 mercenaries (*M* 39).

†**Arines† (-)**: Otherwise unknown Indian prince, whose father had recently died, who requested *amicitia* and gave A lavish gifts (*M* 32) before A crossed the Cophen. Possibly identified with Mophis.

†**Araplices† (-)**: see Amminais. Urged by Cleophis to surrender to A (*M* 42). A toponym for Amminais (?) (*M* 39).

Ariobarzanes (115): Satrap of Persia, erroneously named at *M* 3. Should be Barsaentes.

Ariomazes (112): Local baron and commander of the Sogdian Rock, who was murdered by his men when he panicked after A defeated him (*M* 17 and 18).

Assacenus (172): Recently deceased ruler of Mazaga, whose mother acted as regent for his son (*M* 39).

Attalus (-): Otherwise unknown Macedonian, who resembled A and was therefore used as a decoy at the Hydaspes (*M* 58).

Bessus (212): Murderer of Darius, who assumed Persian royal dress as a challenge to A (*M* 3). Betrayed by his relative, Spitamenes (*M* 5) and handed over to A (*M* 6). Later hanged and stoned by A in Bactria (*M* 14).

- Bucephalus** (-): A's horse, which was killed in battle at the Hydaspes and commemorated by naming a town founded in that place (*M* 62).
- Carthasis** (413): Brother of the Scythian king, who was sent to prevent A from crossing the Tanais (*M* 8).
- Catanes** (415): Joined Spitamenes and Dataphernes to betray Bessus (*M* 5). With Spitamenes routed the Greek company at Maracanda (*M* 9). Was captured by the Dahae and handed over to A in return for clemency (*M* 23).
- Chorienes** (708 'Sisimithres'): a *Doppelname* for Sisimithres. Had an alliance with A and hosted a banquet for him at which Rhoxane was present (*M* 28).
- Cleochares** (436): Macedonian sent by A to Porus to demand his surrender (*M* 55). He suffered a severe lashing for A's impertinent demand (*M* 56).
- Cleophis** (435): Queen of Mazaga as regent for her grandson and mother of Assacenus (*M* 39). Urged her brother, Amminais, to surrender the town (*M* 41 and 42). A was struck by her beauty, noble bearing and dignity (*M* 45).
- Craterus** (446): One of A's leading generals. Instructed to follow A to Silex with the rest of the phalanx (*M* 35). Played an important role at the Hydaspes (*M* 59 and 60).
- Dares** (459 see n. 2): One of A's men sent to negotiate with Ariomazes (*M* 17). Probably Cophes, son of Artabazus.
- Darius** (244): King of Persia (*M* 1) whose brother was admitted to A's personal retinue (*M* 2). Murdered by Bessus and Barsaentes (*M* 3). See also *M* 5 and 57.
- Dataphernes** (246): Co-conspirator with Catanes and Spitamenes (*M* 5), captured by the Dahae with Catanes (*M* 23).
- Hephaestion** (357): A's closest friend, who gathered in a large store of provisions at the Indus (*M* 48).
- Leonnatus** (466): Macedonian, injured in battle with Oxydracae and Malli (*M* 77).
- Menedemus** (504): one of A's men for whom he erected a tomb at Maracanda (*M* 13).
- Mophis** (739 'Taxiles'): Indian king who sent a delegation to A after the death of his father, Taxiles (*M* 49). Met A with his army and many gifts (*M* 50 and 52). Gave A information on Porus and Abisares (*M* 53).

Nicocles (566): Sent as ambassador to Abisares, who did not want to return him (*M* 55).

Oxyartes (587): Sogdian baron, father of Rhoxane, who was a guest at Chorienes' dinner (*M* 29). See also *M* 31.

Oxyathres (586): Brother of Darius, admitted to A's personal retinue (*M* 2).

Phegeus (770): Indian king, who accompanied A to the Hyphasis and gave him information on the territory ahead (*M* 68), which A doubted (*M* 69).

Porus (683/4): Indian king, wounded and defeated at the Hydaspes (*M* 53-62). Porus refused A's invitation to accompany him back to Macedonia (*M* 64). He confirmed Phegeus' information (*M* 69) and was reconciled with Taxiles by A (*M* 70).

Rhoxane (688 'Roxane'): Daughter of the Sogdian, Oxyartes, who married A (*M* 29). Their infant son died on their return to the Hydaspes from the Hyphasis (*M* 70).

Sambus (693/4): Indian king, who commanded the Oxydracae and Malli and was wounded in both thighs (*M* 75). The Indian philosophers had persuaded him to revolt (*M* 80).

Sisimithres (708): Barbarian who made an alliance with A and, had children by his own mother (*M* 19). See Chorienes above.

Sopithes (734 'Sopeithes'): Indian king, who gave A a present of some tenacious dogs (*M* 66 and 67).

Spitamenes (717): Bactrian noble related to Bessus, who betrayed him (*M* 5 and 6). Routed and besieged the Greek company at Maracanda (*M* 9 and 13). Beheaded by his wife, who delivered his head to A (*M* 20 - 23).

Taxiles pater: See Mophis and *M* 49.

Taxiles fils: See Mophis.

Xandrames (574): King of the Gangaridae beyond the Hyphasis, who commanded a large force (*M* 68).

Anonymous Women

The number in brackets preceded by *A* indicates the number assigned by W. Heckel, "Fifty-two Anonymae in the History of Alexander," *Historia* 36 (1987), esp. 116-7.

The wife of Spitamenes (A 25): Possibly the mother of Apame, the mother of Antiochos I Soter and wife of Seleucus I Nicator. She is doubtless historical, but the folk-motif of the story (*M* 20-3), plus Arrian's report that Spitamenes was killed by the Massagetai who sent his head to Alexander (Arr. 4.17.7; *It Al* 87), renders the story doubtful.

The mother/wife of Sisimithres (A 26): Bore 2 sons and 3 daughters (*M* 19).

The three daughters of Sisimithres (A 27 and 29): Unique to the *Metz Epitome* (*M* 19).

Anonymous Men

The number in brackets preceded by *A* indicates the number assigned by W. Heckel, "Anonymi in the History of Alexander the Great", *AC* 56 (1987), 130-47.

Two sons of Sisimithres/Chorienes (A 30-32): *M* 19.

The son of Alexander and Rhoxane (A 39): Died at Acesines R. in 326 (*M* 70). Berve accepts the information as historical, but places the child's death in Autumn 326 at the Hydaspes (followed by Hamilton 1969: 129, and Heckel 1987: 136 n. 8).

A slave who help the wife of Spitamenes (A 96): *M* 21

The grandson of Assacenus (A 19): Shared the rule with his grandmother (*M* 39 and 45).

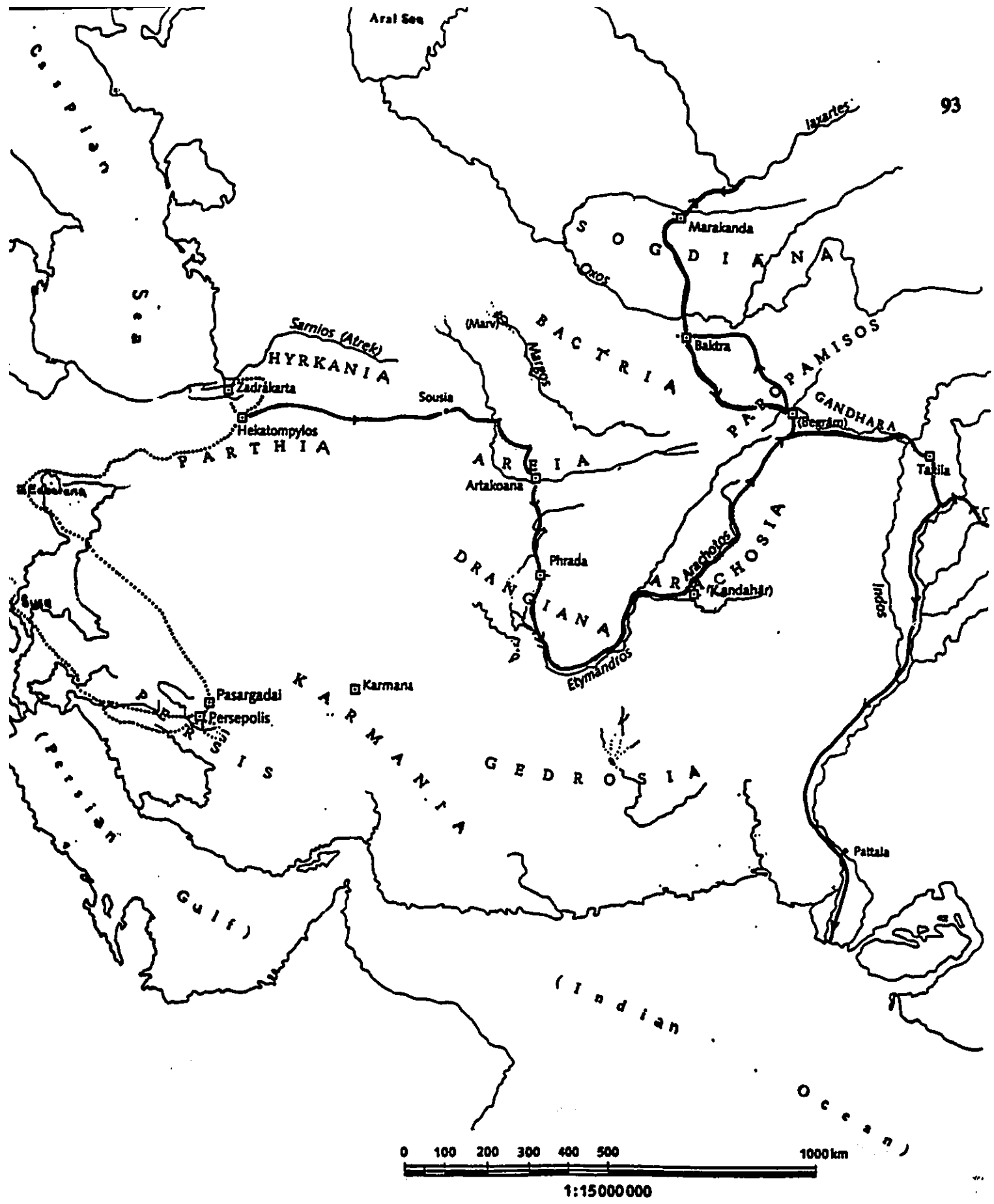
Son of Cleophis (QC 8.10.35); daughter (Arr 4.27.4).

The brother of Abisares (A 21): Sent as Legate to Alexander (*M* 55).

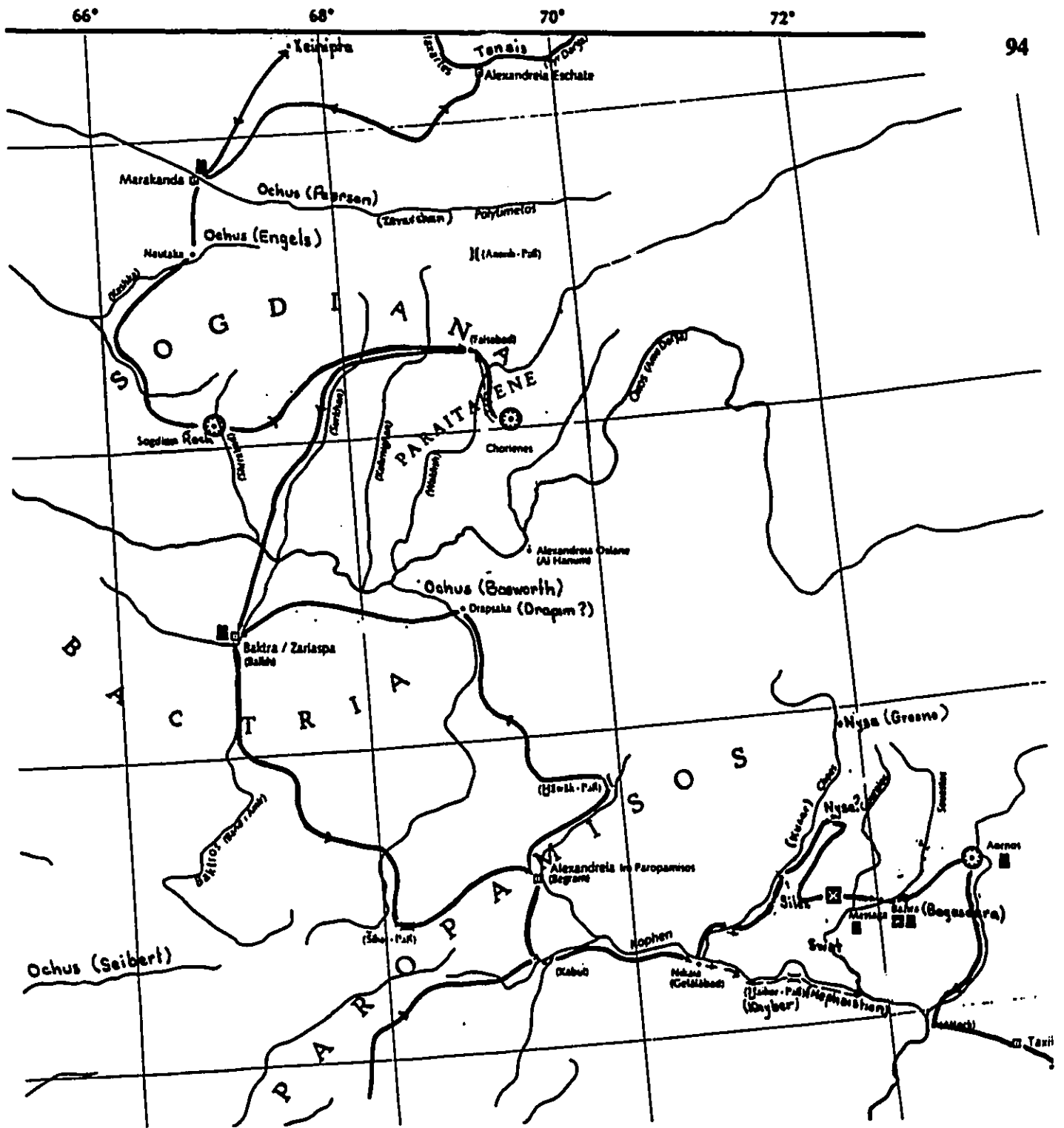
Geographical Index

The number following indicates the corresponding section in the *Epitome*.

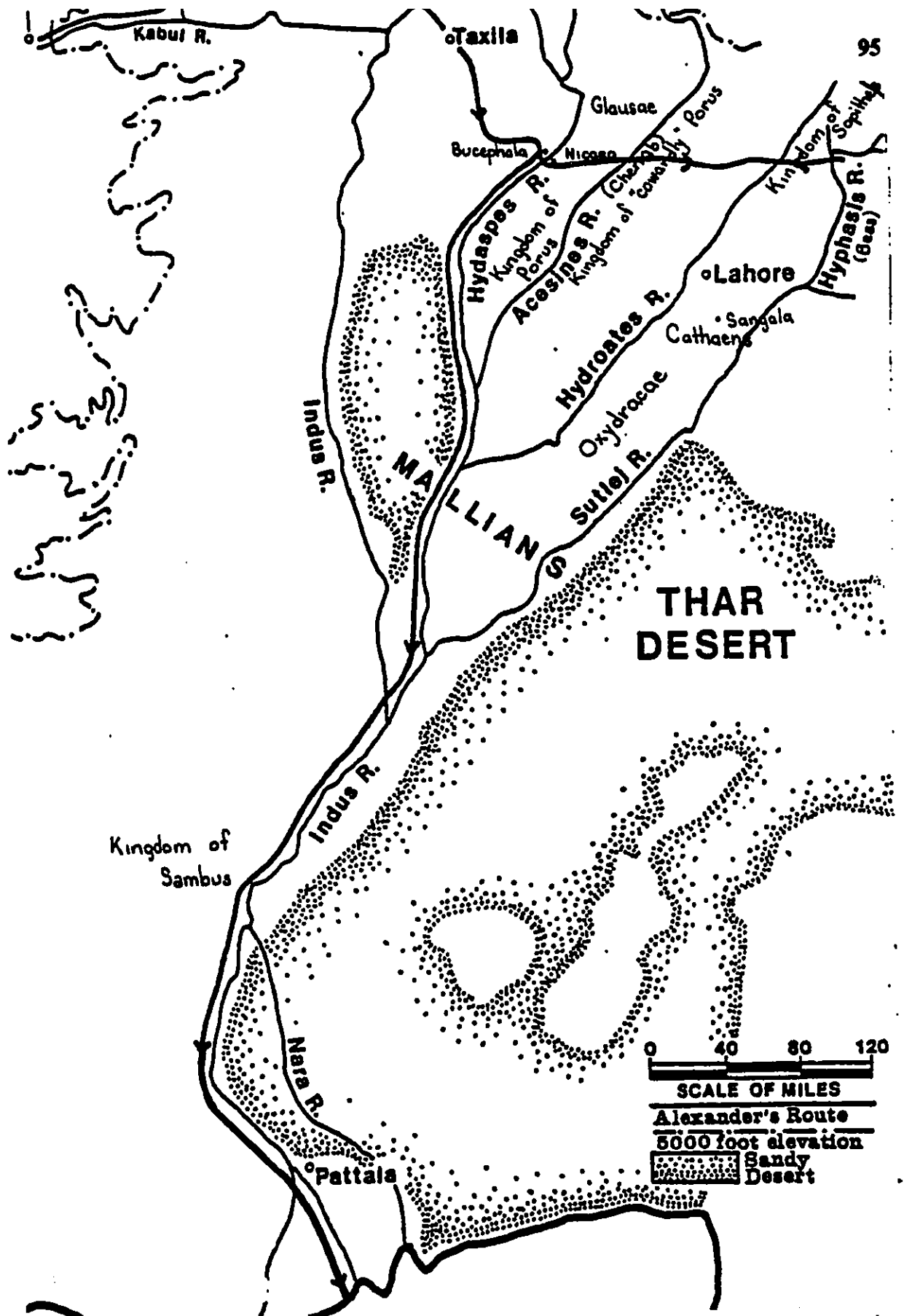
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1. Alexander's Route (July, 330 B.C. - July, 325 B.C.).



2. The Central Asia and Swat Campaigns (330 B.C. - 327 B.C.).



3. The Indian Campaign (327 B.C. - 325 B.C.).