

# Arrian's *Events After Alexander*

## Summary of Photius and Selected Fragments

### INTRODUCTION

Lucius Flavius Arrianus (fl. 2nd century A.D.), the famous historian of Alexander's *Anabasis*, wrote other works, some surviving and some existing only as summaries or fragments, besides this best-known one. Arrian wrote accounts on hunting and deploying Roman legions, on circling the Euxine Sea and the philosophy of Epictetus. He wrote other historical works on the Parthians and the Alans. He wrote the history of his homeland, Bithynia. And he wrote a lost work on the years immediately following the death of Alexander the Great. The work was the *Events After Alexander*. It has been called the "most curious of all" Arrian's historical works (Bosworth, ARRIAN [1988] p. 29) and was never completed.

This history was apparently the product of Arrian's mature years, when he had retired from his successful public life and was living quietly in Athens (Stadter, ARRIAN [1980] p. 184). He had been consul in Rome and governor of Cappadocia. He had been remarkably effective as a Greek in a Roman world, but he still remembered the times in the past when it was the Greek peninsula, not the Italian, that was the center of the ancient world.

The success of his history of Alexander naturally led to interest in the sequel. At the end of his *Anabasis*, many questions remain open: Who will rule after Alexander? What will become of his empire? In his leisure, Arrian wrote ten books of history covering only a little more than three years' time after the death of Alexander.

The detail involved in such a work is staggering. Even in the *Anabasis*, which only covers thirteen years in seven books, no book covers less than a single year (the fifth and seventh cover twelve months). In this last work, each year must be covered in almost three books. The careful study of these years must indicate how crucial the period was in Arrian's mind.

And crucial it was. The Persian empire that Alexander had conquered was the major world power for over two hundred years. Alexander the Great had left the Greeks and Macedonians as masters of the world in their place. But there was the problem of the abrupt death of an immensely popular ruler with no direct heir. Normally, a period of adjustment could be expected. But what happened between the death of Alexander and the death of Antipater in 319 B.C. was much more than an adjustment. It was a period of crisis after crisis.

So a full-scale study was certainly justified. The period also gave rise to the various Hellenistic kingdoms which survived until Rome and Parthia expanded into the areas of Alexander's empire. In fact, the Ptolemaic kingdom in Egypt, represented by Cleopatra, came within a battle (Actium) of making Rome a tributary of Egypt instead of the other way around.

The work itself is known to us from four sources. First, a summary of it was made by the tireless reader Photius, the well-known ninth-century Byzantine patriarch and scholar. He read Arrian's history and included a brief summary of its contents in a kind of reading diary he kept in the absence of his reading partner, his brother Tarasius. Some 280 prose works are summarized, including many works that are lost today. This is the main source of our text. Next, two Greek folio palimpsests proved to be fragments of Arrian. It has been suggested that they come direct from the work itself (Stadter, ARRIAN [1980] p. 145), but I believe they represent just another (albeit fuller) synopsis of the whole work. Also, another Greek palimpsest from the Vatican turned out to be a narrative of the battle between Eumenes and Neoptolemus. This last fragment appears to be the full prose of Arrian himself, but only for a paragraph. Recently, another palimpsest has been identified as a fragment of Book 10 (Noret, AC [1983] p. 235).

### The Sources

This very scale raises the question of Arrian's sources. We know of many sources for the life of Alexander the Great. But there are relatively few for the period immediately following his death, when the Hellenistic kingdoms were young. Of course, Ptolemy the king wrote, and others as well, but no one knows if any of the Alexander historians covered as much of the period after his death as, say, Curtius. In fact, the source for Curtius' information in Book 10 about events after the death of Alexander remains a mystery. It has resisted otherwise successful attempts at source attribution (Hammond, *HISTORIANS* [1983] p. 159).

The main source for Arrian in the *Events After Alexander* has been thought to be Hieronymus of Cardia, a follower first of Eumenes of Cardia and then of Antigonos the One-Eyed and his Antigonid descendants (Hieronymus supposedly lived to age 104). In fact, Hieronymus is presumed to be the main source for all the first fifty years following the death of Alexander (Brown, *AHR* [1946-47] p. 692).

Diodorus' narrative of the same period covered by Arrian fills half a book, all supposedly a condensation of Hieronymus' excellent material (Simpson, *AJP* [1959] p. 370ff). But since Hieronymus' history apparently went as far as the death of Pyrrhus in 272 B.C., no matter how elaborate his history was, it is unlikely that Arrian could have gleaned that amount of detail from this source alone.

The only other source even remotely suitable was a work by Duris of Samos (ca. 340-260 B.C.), an historian greatly reviled for his injection of dramatic elements into his history. His writings were a kind of "historial romance," rather than straight narrative, and probably were unsuitable in long stretches for Arrian's type of writing.

Duris' history covers the years 370-280 B.C. in twenty-eight books, or about three years per book. This compares to the reverse ratio of three books per year for Arrian's history. The years from the death of Alexander in 323 B.C. to 316 were apparently covered in Duris' books 10-14 (Kebirc, *DURIS* [1977] p. 52). Again, this gives about two years per book, which means there is a lot of material in Arrian that is not in Hieronymus or Duris.

Of course, there were other historians covering the period. Diyllus of Athens wrote a universal history with the emphasis on Greece, and Athens in particular, in twenty-six books covering 357-297 B.C. (about two years per book). Philochorus of Athens wrote a history of Athens, increasing the amount of detail as it went on to his own times. The last eleven books covered fifty-five years of contemporary history (five years per book). Demochares, nephew of Demosthenes, wrote over twenty-one books on Athenian history, but his history was full of speeches and rhetoric. Recently, Hammond has done much to show Diyllus as a reliable source for the period in question (*Hammond, HISTORIANS* [1983]), but it is unlikely that any of these historians contributed the necessary detail to the narrative of the first few years after Alexander.

Then where did it come from? The answer is not known at the present time. It is remarkable, however, that Arrian was able to compose so detailed a history two centuries after Diodorus' cursory survey.

Arrian was not an historian given to embellishing a narrative with composed speeches or just out of whole cloth. Therefore, two conclusions are possible. First, Arrian's books in this work were much shorter than in his other works or in standard works in antiquity. Second, there are other extremely detailed sources for the period of which we are ignorant. The truth may be a combination of both.

### The Text

I have taken the text from Jacoby, along with his numbering scheme, since it is the most popular source of fragmentary historians. The exceptions are the two long palimpsest fragments, Jacoby's 10A and 10B. Their text is taken from Roos' edition of Arrian because I consider it superior. The text of the battle between Eumenes and Neoptolemus is taken from Roos also. Regretably, the fragment of Book 10 from Noret, mentioned above, has not been incorporated into the text at this time.

### The Translation

The text has been translated into English twice, to my knowledge. The first translation was by John Rooke at the end of his second volume of Arrian's *Anabasis*, published in London in 1814. The language is readable, but archaic. The biggest problem is the lack of an adequate commentary. For example, the notes constantly insist that mentions of Asander are mistakes for Cassander. The second translation was made by J.H. Freese in the first volume of his projected five-volume translation of Photius. It was published in 1920 by Macmillan as part of the British series of the Society for the Preservation of Christian Knowledge (SPCK). The English is quite readable, but contains only six notes, mostly relating to terminology (e.g., *kausia*, silver-shields).

Rene Henri has translated the Photius summary into French. Other books have translated sections into English with more or less detailed notes. But they are usually limited to the satrapy lists, or even less.

This is the first time the historical fragments and the summary of Photius have been merged into a single translation and commentary.

My philosophy of translation is to aim somewhere between a literal translation and an idiomatic English phrasing. This accomplishes the twin goals of transferring meaning from one language to another, while preserving some of the flavor of the original. I hope I have not sacrificed readability or faithfulness in the process.

### The Commentary

I have followed one rule in the commentary and appendices. Instead of taking sides with one or another author on a particular issue, I will merely point out the different versions and interpretations of events. As an example, which is not mentioned in the commentary, I offer the following: Eumenes of Cardia received the satrapy of Cappadocia at the division of territory at Babylon. Cappadocia was a bypassed pocket of Asia Minor that remained under Ariarathes, its native ruler. This appointment has variously been interpreted as a reward to Eumenes for aiding Perdikkas (Badian, HSCP [1968] p. 203) or as a punishment because he was not a native Macedonian (CAH [1984] p. 27f). Since it is impossible to decide who is correct, in cases like this I will simply report and reference the differences of opinion.

Where these variations are extensive, such as with the death of Demades, an appendix on the topic is added.

In referring to various works, I have favored the most recent article on a topic, usually within the last ten years. Journal articles tend to be a backward chain of references, and it is not my intention to compile an exhaustive bibliography on the subject. I believe that in history as well as in scientific fields the impact and value of a paper is measured by the amount of material mentioned in it that you no longer have to read, rather than the other way around.

A final word on Photius may be in order here. I have avoided referring to Photius' summary as if it were a copy of selections from Arrian himself. Of course it is not, and no amount of wishful thinking can make Photius' words out to be Arrian's. I do believe that Photius' summary is mostly correct in substance, and that scholars who think they can recover any more from the summary (in terms of style, content, etc.) than this general outline, are over-confident. I refer to the general comments of Brunt (CQ [1980] p. 485ff) on the subject.

Photius' summary is structured exactly the way we would expect if a man were recalling a recently read book on a given subject. The ten-book history is recalled with most detail in Book 10. Books 6-9, the second half, are recorded in less detail. Books 1-5 are hardly remembered in any particulars, except the very beginning, as expected. Photius is a phenomenal reader, but still a human one.

I am in his debt today.

### A Note on Chronology

The chronology of the four years immediately following the death of Alexander is a nightmare. Diodorus does not follow any rational scheme at the beginning of Book 18 and omits some changes of years altogether. The result is that for many years the death of Perdikkas in Egypt and the division of the empire at Triparadeisos were dated to 321 B.C. mainly by default. However, in recent times a whole set of scholars has produced a rival chronology placing those events in 320 B.C.

Rather than taking this argument into the commentary, I have chosen to explore the rival chronologies in Appendix 1. My goal has been to identify the main scholars supporting each scheme and show how they date key events in the narrative. This also allows me to confine my remarks in the commentary to events in the text itself, since chronology was only of peripheral interest to Photius.

I regret any inconvenience this may cause.

## SUMMARY OF BOOKS 1-5

### Section 1: *Perdikkas Obtains Control*

(1.1) Also by him is the "Events After Alexander" in ten books, in which he covers the revolt of the army and the proclamation of both Arrhidaeus (who was the son of Philine of Thessaly and Philip, the father of Alexander) and Alexander (the proper heir begotten by Alexander from Roxane), who was to be also made king when he saw the light of day, which is what happened. Arrhidaeus was proclaimed king and his name was changed to Philip. (1.2) Discord arose between the infantry and the cavalry. The most eminent of the cavalry and leaders were Perdikkas the son of Orontes, Leonnatus the son of Anthous, and Ptolemy the son of Lagus. The ones after them were Lysimachus the son of Agathocles, Aristonous the son of Peisaeus, Pithon the son of Craterus, Seleucus the son of Antiochus, and Eumenes of Cardia. These were the leaders of the cavalry; Meleager led the infantry. (1.3) They sent many embassies to each other, and in the end both the infantry who had proclaimed the king and the leaders of the cavalry made an agreement, which decreed that Antipater should be general throughout Europe, Craterus protector of the kingdom of Arrhidaeus, Perdikkas to command the chiliarch which Hephaestion had originally held (it entrusted him with the entire kingdom), and Meleager lieutenant of Perdikkas. (1.4) Perdikkas purified the army as a pretext to arrest the foremost of the leaders of the revolt, and, as if by order of Arrhidaeus himself, put them to death in his presence. This terrified the rest of the army. He also killed Meleager not much later.

### Historical Commentary on Section 1

#### *General Related Ancient Material*

Diod. 18.2; Curtius 10.6.1-9.21; Justin 13.2.1-4.4; Orosius 3.23; Photius, *Dexippus* 82, 62A-62B

#### *Material for Individual Fragments*

- 1.1 Curtius 10.6-7; Appian, *Syr.* 52
- 1.2 Curtius 10.8.1-22, Diod. 18.2.2-3
- 1.3 Plut., *Eumenes* 3.1-2; Diod. 18.2.4; Curtius 10.8.23-9.6; Justin 13.4.5-9
- 1.4 Curtius 10.9.7-21, Diod. 18.4.7

1:1 "Events After Alexander": Photius gives the title of Arrian's work here as the "Events After Alexander," which almost certainly was not the original title. After all, Photius gives the title of Arrian's surviving "Anabasis" as the "Events During Alexander." Still, this is better than the misleading "History of the Successors" (as it is sometimes translated), considering the brief period covered. The tortured chronology of this time is discussed in Appendix 1.

"Arrhidaeus was proclaimed king": Diodorus placed this event later, at the end of 1.3, but Photius is summarizing events. The true sequence of events is more carefully followed in Curtius, which constitutes the only detailed chronicle of a Macedonian royal succession that we have today (Anson, *CJ* [1985] p. 305). The conflict revolved around the reluctance of the rank and file to accept the decision of the nobles (led by Perdikkas, who had received the signet ring of Alexander before

his death) to let Perdiccas run things until Roxane's child was born. Normally, apparently, only the nobles' opinions mattered (Errington, CHIR [1978] p. 103), but the troops were reluctant to let the throne go vacant for several months (three in Curtius 10.6.9; only one in Justin 13.2.5) until a baby could take over. The army had become increasingly difficult in the last years of Alexander's reign (Errington, CHIR [1978] p. 114f), and their position demanded a Macedonian heir with firm links to Alexander. They seized on Arrhidaeus, Alexander's half-witted half-brother. In Curtius, Arrhidaeus is almost competent, but this may simply be a reflection of Curtius' Claudian sensitivities (Errington, JHS [1970] p. 51).

There is little doubt that Perdiccas held the pre-eminent position at Alexander's death. The story of the ring is not in Arrian's *Anabasis*, however, leading some who doubt anything from the "Vulgate" Alexander historians (meaning any historian who is not Arrian), to believe the incident did not take place. Arrian mostly followed Ptolemy in the "Anabasis" and this has been proposed as an answer to Ptolemy's silence regarding his arch-enemy Perdiccas (Roisman, CQ [1984] p. 378f). In any case, we do know that Perdiccas was a bodyguard of Alexander's father, Philip II (Diod. 16.94.4) and was given independent commands by Alexander at the siege of Tyre and to bring the body of Hephaestion back to Babylon, a most prestigious task. This has indicated to some that Perdiccas became the virtual successor to Hephaestion at this time (Errington, CQ [1969] p. 239). In fact, some accounts have Alexander on his death bed giving both his wife and empire to none other than Perdiccas (Bosworth, CQ [1971] p. 121, n. 4).

1.2 "Discord Arose": This alludes to the infantry troops' refusal to let the nobles have final say in the succession problem. They recruited as their spokesman the minor notable Meleager, a rather undistinguished battalion commander, but who nonetheless spoke the feelings of the vast majority. His motivation may have been greed, as Curtius suggests, but more likely it was simply the anticipation of discharge and the accompanying campaign bonus, along with a healthy dose of personal ambition (Errington, JHS [1970] p. 51). Perdiccas declined to be king himself, as mentioned above, but it is doubtful if he had sufficient support to make a bid for the throne in any case.

"These were the leaders of the cavalry": The list of the nobles leading the cavalry consists of the most distinguished Macedonians at Babylon:

Perdiccas: the most powerful noble, as has been mentioned.

Ptolemy: the future king of Egypt, childhood friend of Alexander.

Leonnatus: an early casualty of the Lamian War between Athens and Antipater.

These three formed the most influential of the nobles in Babylon, as the narratives of all surviving sources show. The other leaders were:

Lysimachus: the future king of Thrace and sometimes Macedon.

Aristonous: who later served in Cyprus under Perdiccas.

Pithon: who supported Perdiccas firmly for now, but who later led the conspiracy against Perdiccas.

Seleucus: the future king of most of the Asian portion of Alexander's empire.

Eumenes: a lone Greek among the Macedonians, who fought against them so successfully under difficult circumstances.

1.3 "They sent many embassies to each other": The nobles fled to their camp outside Babylon and cut off supplies to the city. Eumenes had remained, and served as a go-between, as well as a subtle underminer of Meleager (Errington, JHS [1970] p. 54) until a compromise was reached. This agreement proved very temporary, but provided for the sharing of power between Meleager and Perdiccas (although Perdiccas alone held the office of Chiliarch, a Persian office which was, as Photius mentions, the most powerful military command in the *Persian* kingdom), that Antipater should continue as general (strategos) in Europe, and that Craterus should hold a position that has given scholars headaches for ages.

"Protector of the kingdom of Arrhidaeus": This office of "prostasia" has been long debated. What powers and/or honors it entailed is quite uncertain, although recent research has shown that it was a valid office in its own right (Hammond, JHS [1985] p. 156ff). Craterus was, of course, still en route to Macedon with some ten thousand discharged veterans when Alexander died. He was to have replaced Antipater as governor of Macedon. Antipater was to have reported to Alexander at Babylon, but whether this indicated good or bad news for him on arrival is questionable. He had ruled in Alexander's absence for thirteen years, and Alexander might have just sought to "retire" him at this time. He had only four years to live as it turned out anyway.

In any case, all the sources vary slightly on just what Craterus' position was. A table may make all the variations clearer:

No Position	In Charge of Royal Property	"Prostasia"
Diodorus	Justin	Arrian (Photius)
Curtius		Dexippus (Photius)
Appian		

Photius' account of Dexippus calls Craterus' position the "highest" that the Macedonians had. But it is senseless to argue whether Perdikkas or Craterus ranked higher at this point because an event soon occurred which changed everything yet again.

1.4 "He also killed Meleager not much later": How much later is a question of debate. Diodorus places the death of Meleager after the division of the satrapies. Curtius mentions his death before the division. Arrian's fragment is imprecise, and agreement with both Diodorus (Badian, HSCP [1968] p. 202, n. 62) and Curtius (Errington, JHS [1970] p. 57) has been argued with equal conviction. It seems certain, however, that Meleager did not long survive the deaths of his lesser companions.

## Section 2: The First Division of the Satrapies

(1.5) For this he was suspected by all and was himself suspicious. Nevertheless, he proclaimed for the satrapies those who were suspected, as if under the orders of Arrhidaeus. And so Ptolemy the son of Lagus was appointed to rule Egypt, Libya, and the parts of Arabia close to Egypt; Cleomenes, who had been assigned to rule this satrapy by Alexander, was to be the lieutenant of Ptolemy. Also, Syria next to Egypt to Laomedon, Cilicia to Philotas and Media to Pithon; to Eumenes of Cardia Cappadocia, Paphlagonia, and the land along the Euxine Sea as far as the Greek city of Trapezus, a colony of Sinope. (1.6) Pamphylia, Lycia, and Greater Phrygia to Antigonus. Asander to Caria, Menander to Lydia. He also decreed Hellespontine Phrygia to Leonnatus, which Calas had been named to hold by Alexander, and then had been entrusted to Demarchus. In this matter were the provinces of Asia divided. (1.7) As for the European: Thrace, the Chersonese, and the peoples neighboring Thrace as far as the sea at Salmydessus on the Euxine were entrusted to the rule of Lysimachus. The farther part of Thrace, as far as the Illyrians, Triballians, Agrianes, Macedonia itself, Epirus as far as the Keraunian Mountains, and all of the Greeks were distributed to Craterus and Antipater. (1.8) This was the division. Also, many of those remaining were not given out, continuing under their native rulers, who had been appointed by Alexander. (1.9A) During all this Roxane was pregnant and then gave birth, and the troops proclaimed the infant king.

## Historical Commentary on Section 2

### General Related Ancient Material

Diod. 18.3.1-4; Curtius 10.10.1-8; Justin 13.4.9-25; Orosius 3.23; Photius, *Dexippus* 82, 62A-62B

### Material for Individual Fragments:

1.5 Pausanias 1.6.2

1.6 Pliny, N.H. 29.31(116), Curtius 4.1.35, Curtius 4.5.13, Justin 16.1.12

1.7 Justin 13.4.5, Diod. 18.3.2

1.8 —

1.5 "Proclaimed for the satrapies": Alexander had placed his own men in the Persian Satrap office during his conquest of the empire (see chart in Berve, *ALEX* [1926] facing p. 267) and rearranged them on his return from India in 324 B.C. in a well-known "purge" (Badian, *JHS* [1961] p. 16ff). Perdikkas continued the practice, possibly rewarding the nobles who had helped him in his struggle with Meleager. According to Pausanias, Ptolemy was the source of the suggestion, and he arguably profited the most from the division. Photius is quite emphatic that Arrian reports that

Cleomenes, placed in Egypt by Alexander, is to assist Ptolemy. Ptolemy's actions toward Cleomenes would later be viewed with hostility by Perdiccas, which hardly makes sense if Cleomenes had no legitimate reason to be associated with Ptolemy in the first place. The full list of appointments mentioned by all reliable ancient sources is given in Appendix 2.

1.6 "Pamphylia, Lycia, and Greater Phrygia to Antigonus": This introduces Antigonus Monophthalmus (the One-Eyed), one of the most powerful of the Successors to Alexander. He was an old soldier who had followed Alexander's father Philip II when he was expanding the borders of Macedon. Now nearly sixty years old, Alexander had left him behind in Asia Minor to pacify the region. Curtius mentions three great battles with remnants of the Persian armies which resulted in his adding territory to his original assignment of Greater Phrygia. Although he was not at Babylon, he was highly respected by the nobles, and steadily (with a few setbacks) gained power over the next twenty years. Whether this is a tribute to his ability as a general and administrator, or just as a politician (Badian, JHS [1961] p. 24) is unknown. A full-scale study of Antigonus (Briant, ANTIGONUS [1973]) is excellent for all aspects of the era.

1.7 "Craterus and Antipater": Only Photius' summary of Arrian has Craterus sharing power with Antipater. The status of Craterus has always been a problem (see 1.3 commentary). Whether this new arrangement complemented the role of "prostasia" Craterus assumed on the previous occasion (Hammond, JHS [1985] p. 156f) or if this was an entirely new arrangement after the killing of Meleager (Errington, JHS [1970] p. 57) is unclear. Diodorus complicates things by stating that the death of Meleager came after the division of the satrapies, which has had some support (Badian, HSCP [1968] p. 202, n. 62).

The fact remains that Craterus' progress to Macedon, where he had been sent a year and a half before with ten thousand discharged troops to replace Antipater (Arrian 7.12), had been intolerably slow under any circumstances (Hammond, GRBS [1984] p. 53). Even after this assignment, Craterus made no move toward Macedon. This sharing of power was certainly in Antipater's interest (Bosworth, CQ [1971] p. 130), and the effect of Perdiccas' new arrangement was to isolate Craterus. But Craterus soon decided it would be better to face Antipater than Perdiccas, especially when the former offered a daughter and the latter offered threats.

It seems safe to say that at this point, Antipater was to retain power in Macedon and Greece, Craterus to be "prostasia" of the royal property, and Perdiccas to command the royal army ("strategos") and be "manager (epimeletes) of the kingdom." It is misleading to assign Perdiccas the role of regent, since it is an anachronism in the Hellenistic world. The proper office was "guardian" of a related underage heir, but Philip Arrhidaeus already fulfilled that role to the infant Alexander IV (Hammond, JHS [1985] p. 157).

1.8 "Continuing under their native rulers": These were mostly kings so entrenched and distant (e.g., in India) that there was little sense in trying to reassign them at this point.

1.9A "Gave birth": Roxane was in her sixth (Curtius 10.6.9) or eighth (Justin 13.2.5) month when Alexander died. In either case, the birth of her son, Alexander IV, came after the problems between Perdiccas and Meleager (Errington, JHS [1970] p. 58). Therefore, the birth came in July or September 323 B.C.

### Section 3: The Early Wars

(1.9B) *After the death of Alexander, revolts were everywhere. Antipater entered into a war against the Athenians and the other Greeks; Leosthenes was their commander. At first he was defeated and in danger of being encircled, but they were finally subdued. But Leonnatus had fallen coming to bring aid to Antipater. (1.10) Lysimachus rashly went to war with Seuthes over the rule of Thrace (and with fewer troops) and was killed. (1.11) Perdiccas also entered into a war with Ariarathes of Cappadocia because he would not give up the rule to Eumenes, the appointed ruler. He won two battles, seized him, crucified him, and re-established Eumenes as ruler. (1.12) Craterus, fighting with Antipater against the Greeks, was the cause of the victory over them. From this point on, all of them unhesitatingly carried out whatever Craterus and Antipater commanded them to do. And this is up to the Fifth Book.*

### Historical Commentary on Section 3

#### *General Related Ancient Material*

Diod. 18.8-17; Justin 13.5.1-13.6.3; Pausanias 1.25.3-5; Hyperides, *Funeral Oration* 10-20

#### *Material for Individual Fragments*

1.9B Plut., *Phocion* 23-25; Diod. 18.8-13

1.10 Diod. 18.14.3-4

1.11 Diod. 18.16.1-3; Justin 13.6.1-3; Appian, *Mith.* 8

1.12 Diod. 18.16.4-7; Plut., *Phocion* 26-30; Pausanias 7.10.4-5

1.9B "Against the Athenians": This is the beginning of the Lamian War. The Greek states had been nominally quiet in the latter part of Alexander's reign, but his famous decree to restore all exiles to their home cities, announced at the Olympic Games of 324 B.C. (Diod. 17.109.1, Curtius 10.2.4-7, Justin 13.5.2-5), led many cities to consider revolt out of desperation. There seemed to be no way that these numerous exiles (some twenty thousand showed up at Olympia alone just to hear the decree) could be resettled peacefully.

Athens may have considered a move late in 324 B.C. (Ashton, ANTI [1983] p. 59), but the appearance of Harpalus spoiled their immediate plans. (Harpalus had fled Asia with a large sum of money on Alexander's return from India. Once in Athens, he bribed many, was imprisoned, and later escaped with assistance. For details, see Badian, 1960.) Athens tried to convince the other Greek states to join her, and eventually Aetolia and many others gave aid. Leosthenes, the Athenian leader, bottled Antipater and the Macedonian army up in the town of Lamia. Antipater summoned aid from two sources: Craterus and Leonnatus, the newly appointed satrap of Hellespontine Phrygia.

"Leonnatus had fallen": Leonnatus went to help Antipater, incurring the wrath of Perdiccas, who had ordered him (with Antigonus) to assist Eumenes in the conquest of the satrapy of Cappadocia, still under the rule of Ariarathes (Plut. *Eumenes* 3.2). Leonnatus was probably persuaded by the offer of the hand of a daughter of Antipater. These daughters were the most valuable asset in the immediate Post-Alexander era (Cohen, ATH [1974] p. 178). Leonnatus perished trying to unite his forces with Antipater's.

1.10 "Sleuthes": This brief mention shows the extreme abbreviation that Photius has given what was an extensive and difficult campaign, as shown by the narrative of Diodorus on these same events. Lysimachus was not killed in the action.

1.11 "Re-established Eumenes": When Leonnatus declined to help Eumenes gain his satrapy, he first tried to persuade Eumenes to come to Greece with him. Failing that, he may have tried to kill Eumenes (Nepos *Eumenes* 2.4) before leaving. Antigonus declined to help as well, and Eumenes, as Alexander's secretary rather than a military man, received no respect from the other Macedonian commanders (Plut. *Eumenes* 1.3). Perdiccas was still well disposed to him because of the services rendered during the Meleager troubles and perhaps during the squabbles over Alexander's last plans (Badian, HSCP [1968] p. 203), and so he moved the army into Cappadocia from Babylon to gain Cappadocia for Eumenes.

1.12 "Cause of the victory": Craterus, left with a questionable office and still with ten thousand troops in Cilicia, was reluctant to face an aroused Perdiccas. Craterus had received his own offer from Antipater, now extremely desperate (Badian, JHS, [1961] p. 41). Knowing Perdiccas to be no friend, he crossed to aid Antipater with six thousand troops (Hammond, GRBS [1984] p. 54) in the spring of 322 B.C. Together, they triumphed over the Athenians at the battle of Crannon on September 5, 322 B.C. (Dinsmoor, ARCHON [1939] p. 329).

Greek resistance collapsed, and Antipater and Craterus were united in a natural alliance to counter-balance Perdiccas. Neither had been particularly favored by the arrangements at Babylon (and had not even been present) and so had no interest in supporting Perdiccas.

"Fifth Book": This marks the halfway point in Arrian's history, and we have only covered fifteen months after the death of Alexander. This shows Arrian's richness of detail and Photius' brevity.

### Section 4: The Punishment of the Athenians

(9.13) In the Sixth he related how Demosthenes and Hyperides fled from Athens with Aris-tonikos of Marathon and Himeraios (the brother of Demetrius of Phalerum) going at first to



*Aegina. While there, the Athenian people passed a death sentence brought forward by Demades, and Antipater carried out the decree. (9.14) Also how Archias of Thouroi, who put them to death, passed the rest of his life in extreme poverty and disgrace. Also how Demades soon after this was sent off to Macedon under Cassander and had his throat slit, after Cassander had first killed his son in his arms, all because Cassander found out that he had insulted his father when he wrote to Perdiccas to save the Greeks who were hanging from a rotten and ancient thread. (He mocked Antipater in this way.) (9.15) Dinarchos the Corinthian was his accuser. But at least Demades received his just reward for his bribe-taking and treason and constant distrust.*

## Historical Commentary on Section 4

### *General Related Ancient Material*

Diod. 18.17; Plut., *Phocion* 35,40

### *Material for Individual Fragments*

9.13 Plut., *Demosthenes* 27

9.14 Diod. 18.48.1-4; Plut., *Phocion* 30.5.6; Plut., *Demosthenes* 31.3-4

9.15 Plut., *Phocion* 30.2-3; Plut., *Demosthenes* 31.3

9.13 "In the Sixth": The Lamian War marked the end of Athens as a power in the Greek world. Photius' summary gives us little information on the crucial sea battles between Athens and the Greeks and the Macedonians and their allies. There were either two or three great sea battles, leading to Athens' defeat. See the excellent survey in Morrison, *JHS* (1987) p. 88ff.

We have no idea how much space Arrian devoted to the fates of the great Athenian orators after the fall of Athens, but Photius spends a good deal of time on the subject. Possibly Arrian was as verbose proportionately, since the deaths of Demosthenes, Demades, and the others was likely to be a topic of considerable interest to all educated men of antiquity who were schooled with the works of the great orators before them.

Demosthenes' opposition to the Macedonian hegemony is well known. Hyperides earned the special hatred of Antipater for two specific reasons: his proposal of honors for Antipater's son Iolaus, Alexander's cup-bearer, brought before the Athenian assembly when the rumor was rife that Iolaus had poisoned Alexander (Bosworth, *CQ* [1971] p. 113), and for Hyperides' remark before the Rhodians (presumably at the start of the Lamian War) that Antipater was a good master, but an unwanted one (Hauben, *HIST* [1977] p. 317, n. 54).

"Carried out the decree": Now that Antipater had the Athenians where he wanted them and need not fear what Alexander the Great thought of his actions, he wasted no time rounding up and executing his adversaries, real or imagined. Of course, they were all technically condemned by their fellow citizens. Demades led the Macedonian party in Athens and eventually fell victim to them himself.

The complex love/hate relationship between Alexander and the Athenians goes back to his early childhood. Isocrates heaped praise on the youthful Alexander (Gunderson, *ORATORS* [1981] p. 187) and the idea of a Pan-Hellenic expedition of revenge against the Persians was wildly and widely popular. But the conflict of ideologies between the outspoken Athenian democratic tradition and the Macedonian monarchy led to the inevitable result of Crannon. In fact, it was the failure of the whole city-state concept at its weakest point — foreign policy (Ferguson, *ATHENS* [1911] p. 6).

9.14 "Mocked Antipater": The death of Demades was remarked on by many ancient writers. All the variants are collected in Appendix 3, where it can be seen that Photius' account of Arrian coincides most closely with Plutarch's *Demosthenes*. Apparently Demades felt the Athenians were dealt with too harshly and appealed to Perdiccas for help.

9.15 "Just reward": The greed and corruption of Demades was legendary, as reported by Plutarch. A chance like this for moralizing was never wasted by any ancient writer, and even the sober Arrian was apparently no exception.

### Section 5: The Wars in Cyrene

(9.16) He also related how Thibron the Lacedaemonian killed Harpalus, who during the lifetime of Alexander had stolen his money and fled to Athens. What remained of the money he took first to Cydonia in Crete, then he crossed to Cyrene with an army of fully six thousand men. He was called in by the exiles of Cyrene and Barca. (9.17) After many battles and ambushes, sometimes winning, sometimes losing, in the end fleeing, he was brought in by Libyan horse-herders and taken before Epicydes of Olynthus at Teucheira, which is the city that Ophellas (a Macedonian) had saved when he was sent out to the aid of Cyrene by Ptolemy son of Lagus. (9.18) The people of Teucheira, with the permission of Ophellas, tortured Thibron and sent him to the port of Cyrene to be hung up. (9.19) As the revolt around Cyrene continued, Ptolemy intervened and overpowered everyone, then sailed back home.

### Historical Commentary on Section 5

#### General Related Ancient Material

Diod. 18.19-21

#### Material for Individual Fragments

9.16 Diod. 17.108.4-8, Paus. 2.33.4

9.17 Strabo 17.3.21

9.18 —

9.19 Justin 13.6.20, Poly., *Strat.* 8.70

9.16 "Killed Harpalus": Here ends the tale of Harpalus, who had fled from Athens with what was left of Alexander's money. Thibron and Harpalus exemplify a new era of mercenary adventurers, unleashed by the completion of the Asian conquest of Alexander. They were now available for a fee to anyone with a cause. Food shortages at the time contributed to the supply of men willing to risk almost anything to earn a living (Miller, G&R [1984] p. 154).

The story of Thibron and the exiles in Cyrene is really a continuation of the story of the Exiles Decree of 324 B.C. (see the commentary on 1.9B above). The exiles were all trying to regain entry into their home cities, while the entrenched powers were trying to avoid the inevitable disruption caused by restoring property seized or otherwise disposed. Both sides felt in the right, and neither had any compunction about inviting the wandering mercenaries and their captains to give aid.

It is also the story of the continued decline of the independent city-states of the classical Greek world. Some still survived for hundreds of years on (e.g., Rhodes), but most were undergoing a transition into a larger political entity. This was accomplished either by being incorporated into the newly emerging Hellenistic kingdoms, as Cyrene was into Ptolemaic Egypt, or by founding various leagues as the Achaean cities of mainland Greece were to do (Grant, ALEX [1982] p. 105).

9.17 "Sent out to the aid of Cyrene by Ptolemy": This is the first expansionist move by Ptolemy. Ptolemy was never an overly aggressive neighbor, but quickly proved to be an opportunistic ruler who wasted no chance to expand his sphere of influence. It is sometimes overlooked that Alexander and his followers went to Asia on a mission of revenge and conquest, and that this urge for dominion was universal in the ancient world. The constant squabbling between the Seleucids and Ptolemies over Coele-Syria is a perfect example of the interplay between economy, warfare, and kingship (Austin, CQ [1986] p. 461). The political history of the Hellenistic world is marred by this constant meddling in others' affairs, until Rome imposed its "peace."

9.18 "Hung up": He was probably crucified, but the Greek term is often employed for a straight lynching. The origin of crucifixion in the ancient world is usually blamed on the Persians, and Greeks and Romans alike were fond of pointing to "barbarian" crucifixions while glossing over their own numerous outrages (Hengel, CRUCIFIXION [1977] p. 23).

9.19 "Ptolemy intervened": Ophellas was installed as Ptolemy's governor in Cyrene (Diod. 20.40.1). Ptolemy seems to have established the so-called "constitution" of the Cyrenians at this time (Austin, WORLD [1981] p. 443). Ophellas evidently weathered at least one revolt against Egypt's hegemony by the Cyrenians that he had been sent out to "aid" (Diod. 19.79.103).

According to the Parian marble chronicle (Jacoby, FGH, n. 239, B11, p. 1003), Ptolemy did not go to Cyrene in person until after the death of Perdiccas. This means that Ptolemy does not have to rush across Egypt to meet the invasion of Perdiccas, which occurred soon after these events.

## SUMMARY OF BOOKS 6-9

**Section 6: Perdiccas Loses Control**

(9.20) Perdiccas conspired to summon Antigonus before a tribunal. He detected the plot and did not obey, and so they developed a mutual hatred. (9.21) At this time, Iollas and Archias came to Perdiccas from Macedon, bringing Nicea the daughter of Antipater to marry him. But Olympias (the mother of Alexander) sent to him for the same purpose her daughter Cleopatra. Eumenes of Cardia advised him to take Cleopatra, but his brother Alcetas exerted his influence in favor of Nicea. Alcetas was more successful, so Nicea was chosen. (9.22) Not much later the murder of Cynane occurred, killed by Perdiccas and his brother Alcetas. Cynane had Philip for a father, who was also Alexander's (but her mother was Eurydice) and she was wife of Amyntas, who was put to death by Alexander when he crossed to Asia. He was a son of Perdiccas (the Perdiccas who was the brother of Philip), so the Amyntas who was assassinated was the cousin of Alexander. (9.23) Cynane brought her daughter Adea (who later changed her name to Eurydice) for Arrhidaeus to marry. This happened later through the intervention of Perdiccas, which ended the revolt of the Macedonians who were inflamed by the great injustice of the death of Cynane. (9.24) Antigonus fled to Antipater and Craterus in Macedon and told them about the conspiracy which Perdiccas had planned, and how he intended to do the same to all the others, and he also played up the murder of Cynane in an exaggerated manner. This disposed them to make war against him because of this.

(9.25) Also, Arrhidaeus, who was in charge of the body of Alexander, according to the plan, took it from Perdiccas so that Ptolemy son of Lagus could have it: from Babylon through Damascus on to Egypt it was carried. In spite of much opposition from Polemon (an associate of Perdiccas) he nevertheless succeeded in carrying out the intended plan.

(9.26A) Meanwhile, Eumenes brought gifts from Perdiccas to Cleopatra at Sardis, indicating that Perdiccas might send Nicea away and marry her instead. On this being revealed (by Menander the satrap of Lydia) and reaching Antigonus and through him the entourage of Antipater and Craterus, they prepared for war all the more against Perdiccas.

**Historical Commentary on Section 6***General Related Ancient Material*

Diod. 18.22-25

*Material for Individual Fragments*

9.20 Diod. 18.23.3-4, Justin 13.6.4-7

9.21 Diod. 18.23.1-3, 25.3, 19.52.5

9.22 Diod. 19.52.2, Poly., *Strat.* 8.60

9.23 —

9.24 Diod. 18.8.1, 18.23.3-4, 25.3-5, Plut., *Eumenes* 8

9.25 Diod. 18.3.5, 18.26-28, Strabo 17.1.8, Paus, 1.6.3, Curtius 10.5.4

9.26A —

9.20 "Summon Antigonus": Perdiccas was displeased with Antigonus' defiance regarding his orders to assist Eumenes in taking over his satrapy of Cappadocia. However, Antigonus, who had been left alone to operate independently in Asia Minor by Alexander since 333 B.C., had no intention of doing Perdiccas' bidding. After eleven years, Antigonus was used to being treated with more deference.

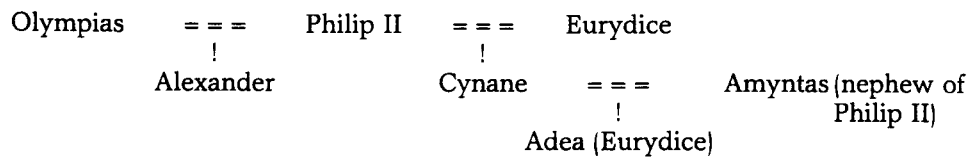
In this case, Perdiccas reacted by employing a technique similar to the one Alexander had used on his return from India: a summoning to army tribunal to give an accounting (chiefly financial) of affairs in the satrapy (Badian, JHS [1961] p. 18). This use of the army as a court for political situations grew out of the success the army had had at getting Arrhidaeus appointed at Babylon (Errington, CHIR [1978] p. 117).

9.21 "Nicea was chosen": Antipater had a large family of at least eleven children (Chart, CAH [1984] p. 486). He used his daughters to cement his relationships with many of the important Macedonians. He offered daughters to Leonnatus and Craterus, and Nicea to Perdiccas. Since relations between Antipater and Perdiccas had been strained because of the Craterus situation, it was important the the match become a way of smoothing things over between them.

Of course, Olympias, the constant enemy of Antipater, would not let things lay. She offered Perdiccas the hand of her daughter Cleopatra, the full sister of Alexander himself. (She had also offered Cleopatra to Leonnatus before he threw in his lot with Antipater [Errington, JHS (1970) p. 60].) This complicated matters for Perdiccas considerably. If he accepted the hand of Cleopatra, he would alienate Antipater and leave himself open to charges of aspiring to the throne itself. On the other hand, if he accepted the hand of Nicea as planned, he would alienate Olympias and miss a great opportunity to consolidate the Macedonian royal power, currently languishing under an idiot and an infant. Perdiccas, in the interest of public opinion, took Nicea as a wife.

9.22 "The murder of Cynane": This unfortunate incident proved to be a debacle for Perdiccas. Faced with the open defiance of Craterus and Antigonus, and the contempt that many had for his close advisor Eumenes, he could ill-afford to give his enemies more ammunition. But this is indeed what happened.

Cynane was related to Alexander as follows:



After the death of Alexander, Cynane determined that Philip II's granddaughter Adea should rule Macedonia. She decided to marry Adea-Eurydice to her own half-brother, Philip Arrhidaeus. Cynane was somewhat of a hell-raiser who brought her daughter up with a military education in relative isolation. She went to Perdiccas in defiance of Antipater (who no doubt wanted to limit the supply of marriageable females to his daughters) and crossed the Strymon in Macedon with a troop of mercenaries she paid for herself (Macurdy, *QUEENS* [1932] p. 5).

It was Alcetas' brother, determined to deny her, who actually killed her.

9.23 "Ended the revolt": These army "revolts" begin under Alexander and become more frequent under his successors. The troops met unofficially, without leaders or kings, and demanded that conditions be met before they would comply with marching orders. It was a very effective weapon, bred from the previous successes. It was this army initiative that got Eurydice married to Arrhidaeus.

9.24 "Make war against him": The Cynane incident evidently convinced Antigonus that his life was in danger due to his continued defiance of Perdiccas. It probably was. At any rate, rather than wait for the other shoe to drop, he followed the example of Craterus and fled to Macedon. Craterus and Antipater were campaigning in Aetolia to punish them for their part in the Lamian war when Antigonus caught up with them.

Diodorus reports that Antigonus even claims that Perdiccas only married Nicea to disguise his real plan to marry Cleopatra and make himself king. Antigonus and Craterus are astonished at this, and also Antigonus' further claim that Perdiccas will then come to Macedon and dispose of Antipater. They immediately decide to cut off the campaign in Aetolia, contact Ptolemy in Egypt (who hates Perdiccas), and return to Macedon to prepare an invasion force. This is a total reversal from his statement in 18.18.1 where both Perdiccas and Craterus become his sons-in-law and Craterus is to return peacefully to Asia (Errington, JHS [1970] p. 61).

Photius' summary of Arrian allows Antipater and Craterus a little more time to build up suspicion against Perdiccas and always leaves Antigonus as an independent agent in his struggle with Perdiccas. Antigonus may have their sympathies, and started them thinking, but Antigonus seems to have obtained no military aid or alliance from them.

9.25 "Took it from Perdiccas": Where was the body of Alexander the Great to be buried? Diodorus and Curtius state emphatically that it is to go to Ammon at Siwa in Egypt, where Alexander had received his famous secret prophecy. Arrhidaeus (not Philip Arrhidaeus) is to conduct it there. Pausanias is equally sure that he was to be buried at Aegae in Macedon, traditional resting place of Macedonian kings. Some writers have followed Diodorus and Curtius but make Perdiccas change his mind in the intervening period due to Ptolemy's killing of Perdiccas' friend Cleomenes and Ptolemy's actions in Cyrene (Errington, JHS [1970] p. 65; Badian, HSCP [1968] p. 188). Others

have traced Perdiccas' and Ptolemy's enmity (recall Ptolemy had supported Perdiccas in his struggles at Babylon) to this incident, where Ptolemy steals Alexander's body from Perdiccas with the help of Arrhidaeus (Roisman, CQ [1984] p. 380).

In Photius' version of Arrian, it definitely appears that Ptolemy had no right to the body, and Perdiccas' main complaint against Ptolemy was his continued possession of it.

9.26A "Eumenes brought gifts": Eumenes, the champion of Cleopatra's efforts to gain Perdiccas' hand, met her at Sardis to keep Perdiccas' options open. Whether he was acting on his own initiative or Perdiccas' is not known. In any case, Eumenes probably did not know of Antigonos' charges, and thus played right into his hands. The result was disastrous for Perdiccas.

"Prepared for war all the more": Menander, in whose satrapy Sardis was located, had his own problem with Perdiccas. Perdiccas planned to have Cleopatra share some power with Menander in his satrapy, perhaps to soothe her feelings over her rejection as bride. Menander was sufficiently annoyed to pass word of Eumenes' visit to Antigonos, who in turn relayed it to Antipater and Craterus.

Antigonos still appears to be acting independently, but this time his revelations make Antipater and Craterus prepare for a full-scale invasion of Asia to settle the matter once and for all.

## FRAGMENTS OF BOOKS 6–9

### Section 7: Eumenes Faces Antigonos in Asia Minor

(10B.7,R25.1) (Antigonos) crossed about three thousand troops, having taken ten ships from the Athenians. Asander the satrap of Caria welcomed him as his friend. (R25.2) Menander the satrap of Lydia, on learning of the arrival of Antigonos and of Asander joining him, went to his camp. (He did this) on account of the anger he had for Perdiccas because the satrapy he was to have had been entrusted to Cleopatra. (Menander was appointed to only the command of the army, and he was to be under Cleopatra.) (R25.3) Mustering the greatest number of forces possible so he might as quietly as possible control the road from Sardis to Greater Phrygia and not in any way indicate beforehand to Eumenes what had been planned for him. (R25.4) Taking with him about two thousand infantry, having few cavalry, he arrived at the place of ambush. (10B.8,R25.5) (Antigonos) combined the cities of Ionia, Ephesus and the cities in the vicinity of Ephesus, which all welcomed him back. He then made preparations to march up to Sardis.

(R25.6) Meanwhile, Cleopatra had learned of the attack of Antigonos and the preparations for the ambush of Eumenes, and she relayed these reports to Eumenes. That afternoon, his partisans gathered the accompanying light troops and cavalry, summoning them with neither trumpets nor any of the standard signals troops waited for, as they were fully prepared to march quickly. (10B.9,R25.7) He did not take the direct route east to Colossai, since he had concluded that it was already ambushed. Instead, he went west and took the route in the opposite direction, and so he could not be ambushed. He went about twenty miles and came back to the right road as far as possible from the ambush, taking a route to Greater Phrygia that would be as easy on the horses as possible. (10B.10,R25.8) That same night, Antigonos had crossed over from the Cayster beyond Mount Tmolus soon after the retreat of Eumenes. After learning of the flight of Eumenes, he marched up to Sardis.

### Historical Commentary on Section 7

#### General Related Ancient Material

(These fragments provide unique information not mentioned in other sources.)

#### Material for Individual Fragments

10B.7    —  
10B.8    —  
10B.9    —  
10B.10   —

10B.7 "Ten ships from the Athenians": Antigonos, apparently not waiting for Antigonos and Craterus to invade Asia, made a landing in Caria, probably at Halicarnassus. The Athenians lent him transport, but there seems to be no idea of an "allied" war effort. Such an alliance is sometimes assumed (Errington, JHS [1970] p. 69) but events are actually easier to explain if Antigonos is always assumed to be acting independently of Antipater and Craterus (Hauben, AS [1977] p. 93).

"Cleopatra": Perdiccas may have offered a post to Cleopatra to make up for her disappointment at losing out to Nicaea for his hand. To Antipater and Craterus this action would look distinctly like Antigonus' charges about sending Nicaea away may have some truth.

10B.8 "March up to Sardis": Eumenes was still at Sardis with Cleopatra. He had only a small force with him, and Antigonus knew that Eumenes would try to flee eastward to rejoin Perdiccas as soon as he learned that Antigonus was in Ephesus with Menander. So Antigonus sent a force up the Cayster River valley to occupy a position between Sardis and the road east to Colossai. With this ambush in place, Antigonus went about his preparations to chase Eumenes into his trap.

10B.9 "East to Colossai": Eumenes, suspecting an ambush, left Sardis as quietly as possible and looped around to the west, toward Magnesia, giving the direct road to Colossai a wide berth. He succeeded in evading Antigonus and joined up with Perdiccas in Pisidia (Hauben, AS [1977] p. 99).

10B.10 "Beyond Mount Tmolus": This range of small mountains lies along the road to Colossai. When his ambush party reported no sign of Eumenes, a quick assessment must have revealed how his escape had been made. Antigonus was content for the moment to occupy Sardis. However, he soon went to Cyprus (see below, section 10).

### **Section 8: Perdiccas Reacts to the Threats**

(10A.1,R24.1) *The partisans of Perdiccas, Attalus and Polemon, sent out by him to prevent the departure, returned without succeeding and told him that Arrhidaeus had deliberately given the body of Alexander to Ptolemy and was carrying it to Egypt. Then, even more, he wanted to march to Egypt in order to take away the rule from Ptolemy and put a new man in his place (one of his friends) and get the body of Alexander back. (10A.2,R24.2) With this intention he arrived in Cilicia with the army. Philotas the satrap of the province, known to be a close friend of Craterus, was dismissed from the rule. Philoxenus was established to rule in his place. He was an obscure Macedonian, actually serving under Alexander as a mercenary in the hemiolia ships. (10A.3,R24.3) He sent to Babylon with sufficient forces a Macedonian named Docimus who seemed to him the most trusted of all and appointed him satrap of the Babylonians. Archon, the previous satrap, was appointed to be organizer of the war revenues. He secretly commanded Docimus, if he might get to Babylon and take over the satrapy, to get rid of Archon.*

(10A.4,R24.4) *(At Babylon, Archon) declared the intentions of Perdiccas, (and the people would) not accept Docimus as their ruler. (10A.5,R24.5) On the arrival of Docimus at Babylon some of the rural Babylonians near whom a battle took place (joined him). He made war against Archon but the good defensive position of the enemy held him back. In the skirmishing a wounded man turned out to be Archon, dying not much later from his wounds. Under these circumstances, without much ado, Docimus took over the satrapy of the Babylonians and so he carried out the task given him with confidence by Perdiccas.*

(10A.6,R24.6) *Meanwhile, Perdiccas learned that in Cyprus King Nicocreon of Salamis had allied himself with Pasicrates of Soli and Nicocles of Paphos (the latter and Androcles of Amathus had made an alliance with Ptolemy), outfitting no less than two hundred ships and blockading the city of Marion and its ruler. He gathered triremes from Phoenicia for the hurried expedition from Cilicia to Marion, and he prepared many merchant ships for transports, boarding on the boats about eight hundred mercenaries and five hundred cavalry. He appointed Sosigenes of Rhodes admiral, Medius of Thessaly commander of the mercenaries, Amyntas commander of the cavalry, and he decreed Aristonous the bodyguard of Alexander general over the combined forces.*

### **Historical Commentary on Section 8**

#### *General Related Ancient Material*

(These fragments provide unique information not mentioned in other sources.)

#### *Material for Individual Fragments*

10A.1 Justin 13.6.14, Diod. 18.25.6

10A.2 Justin 13.6.16

10A.3-10A.6 —

10A.1 "Returned without succeeding": This event was also recorded in 9.25. The situation here is that the royal army and Perdiccas were still in Pisidia after attacking Laranda and Isauria (Diod. 18.22). Eumenes joined him there, and a great war council took place (Hauben, AS [1977] p. 97). After that, Perdiccas took Antigonos' territory and gave it to Eumenes. Since an invasion of Asia by Antipater and Craterus seemed at hand, Eumenes was dispatched to guard the Hellespont with the help of a fleet under Cleitos.

"Get the body of Alexander back": This was an important issue. It was the duty of a Macedonian king to bury his predecessor (Welles, ALEX [1970] p. 53), so whatever Perdiccas' ambitions, if Ptolemy had Alexander's body, Ptolemy could challenge Perdiccas' claim to the throne. Of course, if relations between Ptolemy and Perdiccas had been more cordial, Perdiccas could have just gone to Egypt and participated in the ceremony.

But things had deteriorated between the two (see commentary on 9.25) and Perdiccas had to make a show of strength. Both Craterus and Antigonos had defied Perdiccas and ran, so Perdiccas decided to attack Egypt to show he could not be trifled with. Perdiccas was to lead the land army, and his brother Alcetas accompanied him with the fleet.

It would have been better for Perdiccas to have sent Alcetas with Eumenes and have taken Cleitos with him. Cleitos probably deserted to Antipater and Craterus and transported their troops to Asia. Perhaps the family loyalty of Alcetas would have made him a more devoted admiral (Hauben, AS [1977] p. 109). As it was, it proved to be a costly mistake.

10A.2 "Hemiolia": Alexander had used these ships on the Hydapses (Arrian 6.1.1) and Indus (Arrian 6.18.3), but this type of fast galley was not usually seen in a river fleet. Their main use — and the reason for the slightly prejudicial view of Philoxenus' origins — was primarily as a pirate ship. The sails could be stored quickly upon overtaking merchant vessels (Casson, SHIPS [1971] p. 128).

10A.3 "War revenues": Once again this points to the importance of funding to the successors of Alexander. After the death of Perdiccas, the issue becomes more and more critical (see Section 13).

10A.6 "Combined forces": At the last minute, Perdiccas had to hurriedly raise a fleet to defend Cyprus. He does so with energy and skill, but we have no details as to what happened on Cyprus after this. Antigonos moved his operations from Ionia to Cyprus at some point (see Section 11), and he may have confronted Sosigenes and Aristonous during their operations (Hauben, AS [1977] p. 104). Aristonous later turns up in Macedon (Diod. 29.35.4), so he evidently changed sides in this campaign.

### **Section 9: Eumenes Battles Neoptolemus and Craterus**

(9.26B) *Antipater and Craterus crossed over the Hellespont from the Chersonese, persuading the guards on the straits through ambassadors. They sent ambassadors to both Eumenes and Neoptolemus, the lieutenants of Perdiccas. Neoptolemus was persuaded, but Eumenes was not won over. (9.27) Eumenes grew suspicious of Neoptolemus, a war broke out between them, and Eumenes won against superior forces. \*\*\*\* (PSI XII 1284) (The forces of Neoptolemus) advanced in close battle order in order to make the most fearful impression on the cavalrymen, with the troops behind them (those who were cavalry) firing javelins in order to throw back the assault of the cavalry through the continuous barrage of missiles. Eumenes, when he saw the close-locked and dense formation of the Macedonians and their purposefulness to face all dangers, again sent Xennias (a man of Macedonian speech) ordering him to declare that he would not fight them face to face, but would follow closely with cavalry and light-armed units, barring them from provisions. They, even if they imagined themselves invincible, would not long endure against famine. . . \*\*\*\* Neoptolemus fled to Antipater and Craterus with a few men and obtained from them Craterus as an ally to come with him against Eumenes. And so they both made war on Eumenes. And Eumenes did everything to prevent his men from realizing that they went to war against Craterus, so that they would not be awed by his fame nor go over to him, but might remain courageous. And the success of the scheme was followed by success in the war. Neoptolemus fell in battle by the hand of Eumenes the secretary himself, a good soldier and brilliant in the field. Craterus was killed by some Paphlagonians while fighting without caution against any and all adversaries, as was his custom. But he fell at first unrecognized, although he had taken his sun-hat off his head. The remaining infantry forces were safe, came to Antipater, and that relieved much of his discouragement.*

## Historical Commentary on Section 9:

### *General Related Ancient Material*

Diod. 18.29-32, Justin 13.8.4-5, Plut., *Eumenes* 5-7, Nepos, *Eumenes* 3-4

### *Material for Individual Fragments*

9.26B Plut., *Eumenes* 4.1, 5.1-2, Diod. 18.29.4, Justin 13.6.16

9.27 Plut., *Eumenes* 5.5, 7.2

9.26B "Crossed over": They apparently persuaded Cleitos, sent by Perdiccas to block their passage, to cross them. Antipater later rewarded him handsomely (see Section 12).

"Neoptolemus was persuaded": Eumenes and Neoptolemus had a very stormy relationship, to say the least. Neoptolemus had belittled Eumenes' abilities as a field commander, and it was Eumenes who had been sent by Perdiccas to check on Neoptolemus' affairs in Armenia. It was probably his resentment at now being made Eumenes' subordinate that led him to change sides as soon as Antipater and Craterus asked him to.

Recall that Craterus had left four thousand men in Cilicia when he went to Macedon with six thousand (Hammond, GRBS [1984] p. 54). These four thousand were under Neoptolemus' command as part of Eumenes forces (Hammond, GRBS [1984] p. 56). These rival generals were never sure if their own troops would fight each other, especially if the other commander was popular or even a former commander of theirs.

9.27 "Forces of Neoptolemus": These words introduce a fragment of Arrian's actual narrative, as brilliantly shown by Bosworth (GRBS [1978]). It is only a paragraph, but it shows the fullness of the original.

"Face to face": The massed Macedonian phalanx was nearly invincible. With this in mind, after defeating Neoptolemus, Eumenes decided to preserve his own scarce forces, starving and harassing the Macedonians into submission.

"Both made war on Eumenes": After Neoptolemus was defeated, he fled to Antipater and Craterus. They decided to split up (Hauben, AS [1977] p. 115), so that Antipater could go in pursuit of Perdiccas while Craterus and Neoptolemus occupied Eumenes forces.

"Sun-hat": This was the "kausia," a wide-brimmed felt hat that was a distinguishing mark of the Macedonian nobility. The hat made it difficult to recognize anyone, however, which was why the popular Craterus removed it.

"Discouragement": Antipater was disappointed and upset at the loss of Craterus and the outcome of the battle. But he realized that the escape of the infantry meant that Eumenes was too weak to cause him any harm even in Antipater's rear. So he continued on his way to fight Perdiccas, leaving Eumenes behind to be dealt with later.

## SUMMARY OF BOOKS 6-9

### *Section 10: Defeat and Death of Perdiccas*

(9.28) *Perdiccas arrived in Egypt from Damascus with the kings and his forces to make war on Ptolemy. He accused Ptolemy, who refuted the charges before the troops, and these were deemed to be brought against him unfairly (even now the troops did not want war). Twice beaten and turning out to be extremely harsh toward the sympathizers of Ptolemy and, moreover, acting excessively arrogant for a leader of the army, he was killed by his companion cavalry during a battle. (9.29) After the killing of Perdiccas, Ptolemy crossed the Nile to the kings and showed kindness with gifts and other solicitations to not only the troops but many of the uninvolved Macedonians. He also grieved with the friends of Perdiccas and dispelled zealously the fears of those as yet remaining in danger from the Macedonians. Arrian says such action brought him great renown both immediately and also in the future.*

(9.30) *A council met to choose rulers with supreme power in place of Perdiccas: Pithon and Arrhidaeus in due course were proclaimed. Also, they condemned fifty of the followers of Eumenes and Alcetas, especially for the killing of Craterus during this civil war of the Macedonians. They recalled both Antigonos from Cyprus and Antipater as well, to come in haste to the kings.*



## Historical Commentary on Section 10

### *General Related Ancient Material*

Diod. 18.33-36.5, Justin 13.8

### *Material for Individual Fragments*

9.28 Frontinus, *Strat.* 4.7.20, Poly., *Strat.* 4.19, Diod. 18.36.5, 18.37.1

9.29 Plut., *Eumenes* 8, Diod. 18.37.4

9.30 Nepos, *Eumenes* 5

9.28 "Refuted the charges before the troops": This does not necessarily mean that Ptolemy appeared before Perdiccas in person, (as in Hammond, *MACEDONIA* [1988] p. 121), he may have been represented by emissaries seeking to prevent an invasion of Egypt (Errington, *CHIR* [1978] p. 118). There was already trouble on the western border with Cyrene, so Ptolemy was not anxious to defend the eastern borders as well. Once again the army assembly is wielding *de facto* political power, a legacy from Perdiccas' reign that many Hellenistic rulers would later regret. In this case, the strategy backfired, and the troops became sympathetic to Ptolemy. Nevertheless, the campaign continued.

"Killed by his Companions": Perdiccas continued the campaign by presenting the supporters of Ptolemy in his army with gifts and flattering them, according to Diodorus. However, his tactical indecisiveness at a crucial Nile river crossing led to heavy troop losses and the accompanying demoralization of his forces. Troops will tolerate a lot of hardships, but not executive incompetence.

Pithon led the conspiracy, which stabbed Perdiccas to death in his command tent, says Diodorus. He also adds that two days later, word of Eumenes' victory over Craterus and Neoptolemus arrived, which would have restored confidence in him and prevented the death of Perdiccas.

Unfortunately, it did not come in time, and so perished Perdiccas, whose only and greatest sin was that he was not Alexander the Great.

9.29 "Those still remaining in danger": The Macedonian troops now turned on all remaining loyal to Perdiccas. Most fled to Perdiccas' brother Attalus, the fleet commander, who had returned to Tyre on the Poenician coast.

9.30 "Pithon and Arrhidaeus": Ptolemy may have been behind this idea for an "election" (Errington, *CHIR* [1978] p. 121). His hand was certainly evident in the selection of Pithon — the lead conspirator — and Arrhidaeus — the body snatcher — as replacements for Perdiccas. In return for his support, Ptolemy was promised to be left alone in Egypt (Errington, *JHS* [1970] p. 66). This gave him a free hand in Cyrene for the moment, of which he took advantage (see Section 5).

"Antigonus from Cyprus": Antigonus went to Cyprus from Ionia (see Section 7). Perdiccas had sent forces to Cyprus on his way to Egypt, presumably the invasion ended with the death of Perdiccas. Perhaps the ten Athenian ships accompanied Antigonus to Cyprus, and they may have recorded a victory for Athens in this action (Hauben, *AS* [1977] p. 114).

## Section 11: Eurydice Causes Trouble

(9.31) As they had not yet arrived, Eurydice claimed that Pithon and Arrhidaeus could do nothing legally without her. They did not denounce her at first, but then they spoke against her arrangement, not wanting her to share in the affairs of state. Therefore, until Antigonus and Antipater were present, everything was up to them. (9.32) On their arrival, the power was delivered to Antipater. The army asked him for the pay promised to them by Alexander, and Antipater answered quite frankly: although having nothing at the moment, he would examine the Royal Treasury and whatever was stored anywhere else, and then do his best not to deserve their reproaches. The army listened to him grudgingly. (9.33) Eurydice joined in the slanders against Antipater with the troublemakers among the troops and a revolt broke out. Eurydice made a public speech against him, Asclepiodorus the secretary rendering the service of supplying the text, and Attalus as well. Antigonus and Seleucus, at the request of Antipater, made a speech to the troops defending him and saving him from having his throat slit with great effort, nearly endangering themselves by this. Escaping death, Antipater withdrew to his own camp. And the hipparchs of Antipater came when summoned, and after bringing to an end with great effort the revolt, they chose Antipater again, as before, to rule.

## Historical Comment on Section 11

### *General Related Ancient Material*

Diod. 18.36.6-37

### *Material for Individual Fragments*

9.31 Diod. 18.39.1-2

9.32 Arrian 7.12.2

9.33 Poly., *Strat.* 4.6.4

9.31 "Nothing legally without her": Eurydice (Adea), as the wife of the reigning king, Philip Arrhidaeus, now chose to assert herself. After all, she was the queen, and she rebelled at the thought of answering to Pithon and Arrhidaeus. There was a certain logic to the argument that as wife of the guardian of the infant Alexander, the queen in her own right, SHE should be the "manager" of the two kings (Hammond, *MACEDONIA* [1988] p. 124). However, since the position of women in the ancient world was slightly worse than it is in the modern one, she was ultimately unsuccessful.

9.32 "Pay promised to them by Alexander": This phrase has caused some confusion. It has been suggested that this is a mistake for Perdikkas, the implication being that he still owed them money for the Egyptian campaign (Errington, *JHS* [1970] p. 67). More likely the troops were asking that the talent bounty given to Graterus' ten thousand veterans be extended now to them as well (Hammond, *GRBS* [1984] p. 59). They continued to bring this issue up (see Section 13).

9.33 "Attalus": He was apparently present, leaving the fleet at Tyre. Perhaps a general truce was in effect. The army was now at a place in Syria called Triparadeisos ("Three Parks"). Photius does not mention it by name, but it is prominent in Diodorus, and the events that took place there are important.

"Seleucus": This is the founder of the Seleucid Empire, which ended up controlling most of the Asian portion of Alexander's domain and even threatened Rome at one point. He made out very well at the conference in Syria, and evidently it was this service that endeared him to Antipater in the first place.

"His own camp": Antipater wisely kept the two armies separated. The main Macedonian army, the royal army, had become by this time a hot-bed of rebellion. Their discontent could have very easily spilled over to Antipater's own troops if they ever intermingled.

"As before": This may be a "vote of confidence" (Errington, *JHS* [1970] p. 68) after the Eurydice trouble, but it could just as likely be a reappointment to a position he had been stripped of by Perdikkas during his war conferences (see Section 8). Antipater thus made quite a turnaround from a few years before, and he responded to his new position of power exactly as Perdikkas had in Babylon.

## **Section 12: Triparadeisos: Second Division of the Empire**

(9.34) *And he carried out another distribution of Asia himself, confirming some of the former distributions, changing some when he felt it proper. Egypt and Libya and father beyond, and also together with whatever would be conquered to the west, went to Ptolemy. Laomedon of Mitylene was entrusted with Syria. Philoxenus he appointed to Cilicia, who had it previously. (9.35) Of the upper satrapies, Mesopotamia and Arbelitis he gave to Amphilochus the brother of the king. On Seleucus he bestowed Babylon. To Antigenes, the first attacker of Perdikkas and commander of the Macedonian Silver Shields, he granted the rule of the whole of Susiana. Peucestas he confirmed in Persia. He gave Carmania to Tlepolemus. Media as far as the Caspian was for Pithon. To Philip the Parthian lands. (9.36) Areia and Drangiene he assigned to Stasander as governor. Bactria and Sogdiane to Stasanor of Soli. Arachosia to Sibyrtius, and Parapamisadae to Oxyartes father of Roxane. In India, the lands bordering on Parapamisadae were granted to Pithon son of Agenor. Of the adjacent satrapies, the one along the Indus River and Patala, greatest of the Indian cities there, he granted to King Porus, and the one along the Hydaspes River to Taxiles, another Indian, since it would not be easy to remove them because Alexander turned the rule over to them and they had considerable forces. (9.37) In the lands stretching to the north beyond the*

*Taurus Mountains: Cappadocia was entrusted to Nicanor. For Greater Phrygia and for Lyconia and also for Pamphylia and Lycia, as before, Antigonus. Caria he assigned to Asander. Lydia he gave to Cleitus. Also, Hellespontine Phrygia to Arrhidaeus. (9.38) He appointed Antigenes to bring down the money in Susa, and he handed over to him three thousand of the most rebellious Macedonians. For boydgards of the king he appointed Autodicus son of Agathocles, Amyntas son of Alexander and brother of Peucestas, Ptolemy son of Ptolemy, and Alexander son of Polyperchon. He made his own son Cassander chiliarch of the cavalry. He decreed Antigonus to be entrusted with command of the forces previously under Perdiccas. He also assigned to him the guardianship and protection of the kings, and, at his own request, the completion of the war against Eumenes. Antipater himself, greatly applauded by all on account of all this, returned to his homeland.*

## Historical Commentary on Section 12

### General Related Ancient Material

Diod. 18.39

### Material for Individual Fragments

9.34 —

9.35 Diod. 19.14.1

9.36 —

9.37 Diod. 19.92, 100.3, Appian Syr. 55

9.38 Plut., *Eumenes* 8.1-2

9.34 "Another distribution": The overthrow of Perdiccas and the ascent of Antipater to the supreme command meant a redistribution of the spoils. But this time things went Antipater's way. Appendix 2 outlines the changes from the initial distribution in Babylon.

"Philoxenus": Perdiccas had placed him there (see Section 8). Why Antipater retained him is unknown. However, it is notable that Antipater's route to Triparadeisos would lead directly through Philoxenus' satrapy of Cilicia. Perhaps some accommodation was made at that time.

9.35 "Babylon": Seleucus received Babylon as a reward for his recent services to Antipater. Seleucus took this initial gift and, by the time of his assassination in 280 B.C., expanded it to include almost all of Alexander's original empire with the exception of Egypt.

"Silver Shields": These were the crack heavy infantry troops originally organized by Alexander's father, Philip II. They were all by this time approaching sixty years of age. They were also among the most rebellious of the troops, as well as the most effective (Hammond, GRBS [1984] p. 58). This action by Antipater removed Antigenes officially from his power base and also removed him from the immediate vicinity for a while.

9.37 "Cleitus": Cleitus was due for a reward for crossing Antipater and Craterus at the Hellespont (see Section 9). Here is yet another indication that Antigonus' operations were independent of theirs: Antigonus had a close relationship with Menander, satrap of Lydia (see Sections 6 and 7). If Antigonus was an ally of Antipater, it is unlikely that this assignment would have been changed at his expense. As it is, Menander shows up in Antigonus' service shortly afterward (Diod. 18.59.1).

"War against Eumenes": Eumenes was condemned as a close associate of Perdiccas, and so had to be destroyed. Antigonus was given Perdiccas' army and this mission as well. He also retained his sizeable territories and had the kings Philip Arrhidaeus and Alexander IV with him. So Antipater made Antigonus even more powerful than Perdiccas had been. This soon caused friction.

## SUMMARY OF BOOK 10

### Section 13: Further Adventures of Eumenes and Antipater

11.39 *The Tenth relates how Eumenes, learning about Perdiccas and because he had been declared an enemy of Macedon, prepared for war. Also how Alcetas brother of Perdiccas fled because of this. Also Attalus, shortly after the failed revolt against Antipater, fled as well to join*

up with the fugitives. Attalus raised an army of ten thousand infantry and eight hundred cavalry, and he and his followers attempted attacks on Cnidus, Caunus, and Rhodes, but were beaten off by the stronger Rhodians (Demaratus commanded their fleet).

(11.40) He relates also how Eumenes nearly came to blows with Antipater, who was going to Sardis. Cleopatra the sister of Alexander, in order not to be falsely accused by the Macedonian troops of urging them into war, advised and persuaded Eumenes to retire from Sardis. Nevertheless, on the arrival of Antipater, he reproached her for her friendliness to Eumenes and Perdiccas. She defended herself in regard to this much better than typical woman, and she gave her side against many other complaints. In the end they parted at peace with each other. (11.41) Because Eumenes had raided those not recognizing his authority and had seized much plunder and money, he distributed the wealth to his army. He sent ambassadors to Alcetas and those with him to try to unite their forces and thus fight against their common enemy. His advisors had many differing opinions, and in the end he was not persuaded.

(11.42) Antipater sent Asander to make war against Attalus and Alcetas because he did not dare make war on Eumenes up to this point. The battle was indecisive, but then Asander was vanquished.

(11.43) Cassander had a disagreement with Antigonus, but his father Antipater suppressed it. Nevertheless, Cassander, on meeting his father in Phrygia, persuaded him not ever to part with the kings and to be suspicious of Antigonus. The latter allayed the suspicions as much as possible by his moderation, his goodness, and other fine services. And Antipater, having been convinced, entrusted to him from the forces that had crossed over to Asia eighty-five hundred infantry, the same number of allied cavalry, and half of all the elephants, seventy in number, in order that the war against Eumenes could be brought to an end more easily. (11.44) And Antigonus began the war, Antipater taking the kings and the rest of the army and going with the intention of crossing to Macedon. But the army rebelled again because of the money. Antipater promised to pay them all he could when he came to Abydos; as for the bonus, if not this too, at least the greater part. (11.45) And by these hopes they were rallied to him, and undisturbed by further revolts hereafter he came up to Abydos. There, having misled them by a ruse, he crossed over the Hellespont by night together with the kings to join Lysimachus. The next day, they crossed over themselves, letting rest for the moment the matter of their demands for money.

With which the Tenth book ends.

### Historical Commentary on Section 13

#### General Related Ancient Material

Diod. 18.40.1, Justin 14.1

#### Material for Individual Fragments

11.39 Diod. 18.37.3-4

11.40 Plut., *Eumenes* 8.3-4

11.41 Plut., *Eumenes* 8.5

11.42 —

11.43 Diod. 19.12.44

11.44 Diod. 18.39.7

11.45 —

11.39 "Fugitives": These three were the main supporters of Perdiccas still at large and unwilling to face Antipater. Eumenes had the most to fear as the conqueror of the popular Craterus and as a non-Macedonian as well. Alcetas, Perdiccas' brother, was not in a much better position. Attalus seems to have struck off on his own with the fleet. Whatever the result of his attack on Cnidus and Caunus, the defeat at Rhodes seems to have caused Attalus to abandon his fleet and take his chances on land (Berthold, RHODES [1984] p. 60).

11.40 "They parted at peace": It is highly unlikely that Antipater could have made any overt move against the sister of Alexander the Great. She later refused to join Eumenes against Antigonus or Antipater. In fact, she remained a virtual non-entity at Sardis, unable to risk supporting one side

or the other in the years of strife. Finally, in 309 B.C., Ptolemy proposed marriage, and she agreed. The wisdom of her prior aloofness was proved at this time as Antigonus promptly had her killed.

11.41 "Was not persuaded": The non-Macedonian stigma hurt Eumenes yet again, but he survived to face Antigonus in a series of brilliant campaigns in Asia. He was finally betrayed by his own men and executed by Antigonus in 316 B.C.

11.42 "Asander was vanquished": Attalus joined up with Alcetas after his reversal at Rhodes, and they both faced Antigonus while refusing to cooperate with Eumenes. Alcetas was defeated and, as the last member of the family of Perdiccas, committed suicide rather than face Antigonus. Attalus was captured and imprisoned by Antigonus. He was probably killed after an escape attempt in 317 B.C. (Diod. 19.16.5).

11.43 "Suspicion of Antigonus": Already there was grumbling about the power that Antigonus had acquired. However, the sources are probably anticipating the rift that would come between Cassander and Antigonus later on (Hammond, *MACEDONIA* [1988] p. 129). But here Antigonus is described in the same terms as Perdiccas (see Section 3), an ominous sign. Antigonus prospered, however, and in 301 B.C. he was defeated at Ipsus after the most ambitious attempt to reunite the empire of Alexander again.

11.44 "Taking the kings": Antipater did listen to Cassander to this extent. Having the kings in his possession gave Antipater the legal authority to do whatever he pleased, using the kings as a rubber stamp for his plans, exactly as Perdiccas had done. Their return to Macedon marks the end of attempts to make the Asian portion of the empire as important as the European.

"Rebelled again": Ancient armies were frequently much larger than a leader could afford to pay for any length of time. Although it seems irresponsible to moderns, there were sound reasons for doing so [Jones, *WAR*, 1987, p. 200]. First, the anticipated loot from an expedition could be used to pay them; there was always apprehension regarding the size of the opposing force; there were always fatalities, who did not demand to be paid; and lastly, men who were owed money were bound to some extent to their commander.

11.45 "Tenth book ends": Unfortunately, the tenth book ends at a more awkward point than the *Anabasis* does. Antipater had only a short time to live, and died suddenly at the beginning of 319 B.C. Antigonus and Eumenes shared a complex struggle over the few years, with Eumenes finally defeated. Ptolemy consolidated and expanded his territory, and the adventures of Seleucus were just beginning.

If the "Events" was written to explore the issues brought up at the death of Alexander, the abrupt ending marks it as a failure. Perhaps there was a second decade. More likely, Arrian died before he could even contemplate going on. We are fortunate to have what we have.

## APPENDIX 1: THE CHRONOLOGY OF THE PERIOD

The chronology of the period immediately following the death of Alexander (323 B.C.) until roughly the death of Antipater (319 B.C.) is very confused. The only literary source with any chronological scheme is Diodorus Siculus Book 18. Unfortunately, his dating is even more uncertain here than in other books.

Diodorus dates by the Athenian archon year. These archons took office in mid-summer and held office for a year. The new archon is mentioned by name at the proper point in the narrative. However, as has been pointed out (Smith, *AJP* [1961] p. 283ff), Diodorus sometimes violates his own rule and relates the events of a whole campaign season, spring to winter, under a single archon year. This is, of course, inconsistent as well as illogical.

Book 18 is even worse. Diodorus only records three of the five archon changes from 323 to 319 B.C. There is no notice at all for 321/320 B.C. or 320/319 B.C., meaning the events of three critical years are lumped together, including the death of Perdiccas and Triparadeisos. So all we can be sure of, based on Diodorus, is that Perdiccas was killed somewhere between the summer of 322 B.C. and the summer of 319 B.C.

This is the basis of the original chronological scheme, adapted in all the older works, that Perdiccas died in 321 B.C. The details of this chronology are outlined in Hauben, *AS*, 1977, and Smith, *AJP*, 1961. A newer chronology places the death of Perdiccas in 320 B.C. and the details of this scheme are found in Anson, *CJ*, 1985, and Errington, *JHS*, 1970. This newer chronology tends to place more emphasis on epigraphic evidence than literary arguments. A convenient summary of this chronology is found in Heckel, *TESTAMENT* (1988) p. 77. He also includes a fine chart of the political affiliations of all the leading players on page 47.

The appendix is not meant to rehash the arguments of the two sides, but rather to identify the major writers who follow the two chronologies and to summarize the two pieces of evidence most often cited to distribute the events in Photius' summary of Arrian.

First, here is a list of well-known writers under the years in which they place the death of Perdiccas and Triparadeisos:

### 320 B.C.

Anson  
Austin  
Errington  
Heckel  
Manni  
Roisman  
Walbank  
Welles

### 321 B.C.

Bosworth  
Briant  
Cary  
Hammond  
Hauben  
Smith  
Will

All works cited in the references by these authors follow this dating, which is good because the writers seldom tell the reader at the beginning of an article where they stand on the issue.

Following is a summary of the beginning of Diodorus Book 18 and a translation of the relevant section of the Marmor Parium, an important piece of evidence used by both sides.

### STRUCTURE OF DIODORUS SICULUS, BOOK 18

18.1	ARCHON 323/322 B.C.: CEPHISODORUS
18.1-6	Death of Alexander and events at Babylon
18.7	Pithon's expedition
18.8-13	First campaign season of Lamian War
18.14.1-2	Ptolemy's adventures in Egypt
18.14.3-4	Lysimachus' adventures in Thrace
18.14.5	Leonnatus crosses to Europe
18.15	Start of second campaign season of Lamian War
18.16.1-3	Perdiccas' campaign against Ariarathes
18.16.4-5	Craterus joins Antipater in Europe
18.17-18	End of the Lamian War (October, 322 B.C.)
18.19-21	Events in Cyrene
18.22-23	Perdiccas' campaign in Isauria
18.24-25	Antipater's campaign in Aetolia
18.26.1	ARCHON 322/321 B.C.: PHILOCLES
18.26-27	Description of Alexander's funeral carriage
18.28	Alexander's body is taken to Egypt
18.29	Perdiccas and Eumenes separate
18.30-32	Eumenes' campaign against Craterus and Antipater
18.33-36	Perdiccas' campaign in Egypt
18.37	Attalus' and Eumenes' actions after Perdiccas' death
18.38	Polyperchon's campaign against Aetolia
18.39	The meeting at Triparadeisos
18.40-42	Antigonus' campaigns against Eumenes
18.43	Ptolemy takes Syria from Laomedon
18.44.1	ARCHON 319/318 B.C.: APOLLODORUS
18.44-46	Antigonus' campaign against Alcetas
18.47	Death of Antipater

The Marmor Parium (Parian Marble) for the relevant years is translated below. The Greek text translated below is from Jacoby FGH, no. 239, p. 1003. There is no entry for the year 320/319 B.C., but please note that the entry for 321/320 B.C. sends Ptolemy to Cyrene after the usual phrase about the Athenian archon and years before 264/263 B.C., which is the base year for the chronicle.

### Parian Marble Chronicle

B(8) 324/323 B.C. From when Alexander died and Ptolemy took over Egypt, sixty years, the archon at Athens was Hygesios.

B(9) 323/322 B.C. From the Lamian war between Athens and Antipater, and the sea-battle at Amorgos between the Macedonians and Athens, the Macedonians won, fifty-nine years, the archon at Athens was Cephisodoros.

B(10) 322/321 B.C. From when Antipater captured Athens, and Ophellas was sent to Cyrene by Ptolemy, fifty-eight years, the archon at Athens was Philocles.

B(11) 321/320 B.C. From when Antigonus crossed into Asia, and Alexander was buried at Memphis, and Perdiccas met his end on an expedition to Egypt, and Craterus and Aristotle the sophist died, at the age of fifty years, fifty-seven years, the archon at Athens was Archippos. Ptolemy mounted an expedition to Cyrene.

320/319 B.C. No entry.

B(12) 319/318 B.C. From when Antipater died, and Cassander withdrew from Macedon, and from the siege of Cyzicus by Arrhidaeus, and from when Ptolemy took over Syria and Phoenicia, fifty-five years, the archon at Athens was Apollodorus. And that same year Agathocles was chosen by the Syracusans to be general with full power over the strongholds of Sicily.

## APPENDIX 2: DIVISION OF THE SATRAPIES IN VARIOUS SOURCES

TERRITORY	Diodorus 18.3-4	Photius (Arrian) F1.5-9	Photius (Dexippus) 82,62B	Justin <sup>1</sup> 13.4	Curtius 10.10	Photius (Arrian) F1.34-38
"WEST"			Ptolemy & Cleomenes			Ptolemy
AFRICA				Ptolemy <sup>2</sup>	Ptolemy	
ARABIA		Ptolemy & Cleomenes				
LIBYA		Ptolemy & Cleomenes	Ptolemy & Cleomenes	Ptolemy <sup>2</sup>		
EGYPT	Ptolemy	Ptolemy & Cleomenes	Ptolemy & Cleomenes	Ptolemy <sup>2</sup>	Ptolemy	Ptolemy
SYRIA		Laomedon	Laomedon	Laomedon	Laomedon	Laomedon
PHOENICIA					Laomedon	
MEDIA	Pithon		Pithon	? <sup>3</sup>	Pithon	Pithon
CILICIA		Philotas	Philotas	Philotas	Philotas	Philoxenus
PAPHLOGONIA	Eumenes	Eumenes	Eumenes	Eumenes	Eumenes <sup>4</sup>	
CAPPADOCIA	Eumenes	Eumenes	Eumenes	Eumenes	Eumenes <sup>4</sup>	Nicanor
EUXINE COAST	Eumenes	Eumenes	Eumenes		Eumenes <sup>4</sup>	
PAMPHYLIA	Antigonos	Antigonos	Antigonos	Nearchus	Antigonos	Antigonos
LYCIA	Antigonos	Antigonos		Nearchus	Antigonos	Antigonos
GRT. PHRYGIA	Antigonos	Antigonos	Antigonos <sup>5</sup>	Antigonos	Antigonos	Antigonos
LYCAONIA						Antigonos
CARIA	Asander <sup>6</sup>	Asander	Asander	Cassander	Cassander	Asander
LYDIA	Menander <sup>7</sup>	Menander	Menander	Menander	Menander	Clitus
HELL. PHRYGIA	Leonnatus	Leonnatus	Leonnatus	Leonnatus		Arrhidaeus
THRACE	Lysimachus	Lysimachus	Lysimachus	Lysimachus	Lysimachus	
CHERSONESE		Lysimachus	Lysimachus			
EUXINE	Lysimachus	Lysimachus		Lysimachus	Lysimachus	
MACEDON	Antipater	Antipater & Craterus	Antipater			
ILLYRIA		Antipater & Craterus	Antipater	Philo		
EPIRUS et al.		Antipater & Craterus	Antipater			
GREECE		Antipater & Craterus	Antipater			
CAUCACUS	Oxyartes		Oxyartes	Extarches		

1. Virtually the same list is given in Orosius 3.23.

2. Justin says these lands were to be given to Ptolemy by Cleomenes.

3. Justin has "father-in-law" of Perdiccas, meaning Atropates.

4. Curtius says that Eumenes "declined" these lands.

5. Photius has "Cilicia as far as Phrygia."

6. Diodorus has "Cassander" in manuscript.

7. Diodorus has "Meleager" in manuscript.



TERRITORY	Diodorus 18.3-4	Photius (Arrian) F1.5-9	Photius (Dexippus) 82,62B	Justin 13.4	Curtius 10.10	Photius (Arrian) F1.34-38
PAROPAMISIA				Extarches		Oxyartes
INDIA			Pithon	Pithon		Pithon
ARACHOSIA	Sibyrtius		Sibyrtius	Sibyrtius		Sibyrtius
GEDOROSIA	Sibyrtius		Sibyrtius	Sibyrtius		
ARIA	Stasanor		Stasanor	Stasanor		Stasander
DRANGIANE	Stasanor		Stasanor	Stasanor		Stasander
BACTRIA	Philip			Amyntas	"Keep" <sup>8</sup>	Stasanor
SOGDIANE	Philip		Oropius & Philip	Scythaeus	"Keep" <sup>8</sup>	Stasanor
PARTHIA	Phrataphernes			Nicanor		Philip
HYRCANIA	Phrataphernes		Radaphernes	Philip		
ARMENIA				Phrataphernes		
PERSIA	Peucestas		Peucestas	Tlepolemus		Peucestas
CARMANIA	Tlepolemus		Neoptolemus			Tlepolemus
GRT. MEDIA	Atropates			Atropates		
SUSIANA				Scynus		Antigenes
BABYLON	Archon		Seleucus	Peucestas		Seleucus
MESOPOTAMIA	Arcesilaus		Archelaus	Arcesilaus		Amphimachus
ARBELITIS						Amphimachus
PELASGAE				Archon		
COMPANIONS	Seleucus			Seleucus		Cassander
"INDIA"	Taxiles Porus		Taxiles Porus	Taxiles	"Keep" <sup>8</sup>	Taxiles Porus

8. Justin does not mention names, just that rulers will keep these territories.

### APPENDIX 3: THE DEATH OF DEMADES

The death of Demades was a favorite of ancient writers. It had all the elements of tragedy: the sudden reversal, the secret revealed, the fatal flaw, the fallen family, and much more. Every account is slightly different for this reason. Demades is no longer an historical person in these versions, he has become the archetype for all men who suffer as he did.

The general form of the story is: Demades, after many years of faithful service to Antipater, feels slighted in some way, possibly related to his hunger for wealth and esteem. He, therefore, writes to another powerful agent begging him to come to the aid of the Athenians. The letter refers to Antipater's age and infirmities. Somehow, the letter is made known to Antipater's friends through an enemy of Demades. Demades is condemned as he condemned others, and both he and his son suffer miserably.

The table below summarizes the details of the death of Demades.

#### Sources:

Diodorus Diod. 18.48

*Phocion* Plut., *Phocion* 30.5-6

*Demos.* Plaut., *Demosthenes* 31.3-4

Photius Photius, *Arrian* 92, F1.14

Source	Letter To	Accuser	Deaths	Slander of Antipater
Diodorus	Perdiccas	Antipater	in prison	(vague)
<i>Phocion</i>	Antigonus	Cassander	by Cassander	"old and rotten"
<i>Demos.</i>	Perdiccas	Deinarchus	Demades: ? son: Cassander	"rotten and old"
Photius	Perdiccas	Deinarchus	by Cassander	"rotten and old"

It is easily seen that the last two accounts are virtually identical. Efforts are usually made to reconcile these accounts, either by making the reference to Antigonus an error (Briant, ANTIGONUS [1973] p. 201) or by letting Cassander act for Antipater, who is still alive (Demades may have been killed after Antipater's death) (Ferguson, ATHENS [1911] p. 28).

Of course, these interpretations miss the whole point. Once in a while, a balanced and even-handed account is encountered (Cloche, EMPIRE [1959] p. 93).

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