

A COMMENTARY ON

QUINTUS CURTIUS'

HISTORIAE ALEXANDRI MAGNI MACEDONIS

Book IV 1-8

by

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ABSTRACT of THESIS

A Commentary on Quintus Curtius' "Historiae Alexandri Magni Macedonis", by Marilynne Anne Catherine Bromley.

This textual and linguistic commentary, which is the first of any kind in English on the Historiae of Quintus Curtius, discusses the uncertainties presented by the text as transmitted, evaluates the solutions offered by previous scholars and suggests some new emendations. Curtius' grammar, syntax and linguistic usage are examined in comparison with the standards accepted before the time of Livy and the developments thereafter. His expression and style are compared with those of other authors, with special reference to Livy and Curtius' near-contemporary, Seneca the Younger. Literary analogies with other authors in all periods are given and similarities in thought and style are also noticed. Curtius' treatment of his subject-matter is considered in the light of the parallel accounts of Arrian, Diodorus Siculus, and in some places Plutarch and Justin, and questions of historical fact are discussed where they arise from the text of Curtius himself.

Two appendices are included, of which the first deals with the dispute over the date of composition of the work, and Curtius' identity. It presents the case for identifying the Princeps referred to at X 9.1-6 with Claudius and suggests that Curtius composed the Historiae during the early years of that emperor's reign. The second appendix deals with our author's vocabulary and his use of participles and infinitives, and demonstrates some aspects of his contribution to, and place within, the evolution of the Latin language since the time of Livy. The apparatus criticus is derivative; the commentary, except insofar as every such work must take account of previous scholarship, is entirely original.

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Veneror itaque inuenta sapientiae  
 inuentoresque; adire tamquam multorum here-  
 ditatem iuvat. Mihi ista adquisita, mihi  
 laborata sunt. Sed agamus bonum patrem  
 familiae; faciamus ampliora, quae accepimus.  
 Maior ista hereditas a me posteros transeat.  
 Multum adhuc restat operis multumque restabit,  
 nec ulli nato post mille saecula praeclude-  
 tur occasio aliquid adhuc adiciendi.

Seneca Epp. 64.7

*ἐφ' ὅτῳ ἠρμήθην οὐδὲ αὐτὸς ἄνευ θεοῦ ἐς τήνδε  
 τὴν συγγραφὴν.*

Arrian Anab. 7.30.3.

PREFACE

Although his work was not mentioned by any ancient authority, Curtius enjoyed considerable popularity during the Middle Ages. His somewhat hagiographic and 'romantic' approach to the subject had an obvious appeal to these facets of the Mediaeval mind, as we can judge from the proliferation of MSS. in the 14th and 15th centuries. The pendulum has long since swung the other way and yet it was with some surprise that I discovered the extent of his neglect for almost the last century-and-a-half. The only area which has been tackled vigorously in recent years is the problem of Curtius' date. There has been no commentary since Mützell's of 1841 and Zumpt's of 1849 (exclusively textual), and there is none at all in English.

Quintus Curtius' Historiae Alexandri Magni is the only full-scale Latin version, surviving from antiquity, of this ever-fascinating tale. For this reason, if for no other, he deserves to be better known both to historians and to linguists. I have tried to confine myself here to textual, linguistic and literary matters, but have touched on some of the major historical questions, where our sources disagree among themselves. There is considerable scope in a work of the length and compass of the Historiae: this thesis is the first step towards supplying the need on the linguistic side; there is still much to be done on other aspects. Curtius has more to tell us not only about Alexander but also about Latin historiography in the first century A.D., in both of which areas so much ancient material is now lost to us.

I owe a great debt of gratitude to my supervisor, Professor F.R.D. Goodyear, who has given me in generous measure his time, expert help, and encouragement at every stage of the writing of this thesis. It has been a privilege to work with him.

I am most grateful to Dr. A.J. Woodman for presenting me with proofs of his commentary on Velleius Paterculus, in advance of publication, and should also like to take

this opportunity to thank Dr. J.B.Hall and other friends at Bedford College, the Institute of Classical Studies and elsewhere, for their learned conversation and kind interest.

M.A.C.B.

Abbreviations and References

- CAH = Cook, S.A., - Adcock, F.E. - Charlesworth, M.P.,  
Cambridge Ancient History, Cambridge, 1923-62
- CIL = Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum, Berlin 1893-
- K-S = Kühner, R. - Stegmann, C., Ausführliche Grammatik  
der lateinische Sprache, Leverkusen, 1955
- L & S = Lewis, C.T. & Short, C., A Latin Dictionary,  
Oxford, 1879
- OLD = Oxford Latin Dictionary, Oxford, 1968-
- RE = Pauly, Á. - Wissowa, G. (ed.), Real-Encyclopaedie  
der classischen Altertumwissenschaft, Stuttgart,  
1893-
- TLL = Thesaurus Linguae Latinae, Leipzig, 1900-

Abbreviations of the titles of current periodicals are those used in L'Année philologique.

Diod. = Diodorus Siculus. Abbreviations of the names of other ancient authors are those used in TLL.

I have used Roman numerals to refer to the book numbers of Curtius only, for ease of recognition; references are therefore not assigned to him by name. References to the works of other ancient authors are in Arabic numerals throughout. When giving two or more quotations from the same author, I have often named him with the first reference only. In the commentary, editors and commentators are mentioned by name alone; other authors by name and a brief reference to the work. Full names and titles will be found in the bibliography.

Orthographical Note

I have standardised the form of compound verbs to the unassimilated form which is found in most cases in the three earliest MSS., P, B and F. For other words, where two spellings are equally possible, I have followed the consensus of the early MSS., PBFLMV.

Editions and Commentaries

This list includes only those editions used in the preparation of the text and/or mentioned in the commentary.

- editio Aldina, Venice, 1520  
 Bardon, H., Paris (Budé), 1947  
 Blancard, N., Leyden, 1649  
 Bongars, J., (variorum), Leyden, 1696  
 Cellarius, C., Leipzig, 1696  
 Cocchia, E., Torino, 1884  
 Cospus, A., Leyden, 1555  
 Cunze, M.D.I.T., Helmstadt, 1802  
 Dosson, S., Paris, 1884  
 Erasmus, D., Strasburg, 1518; Paris, 1533  
 Foss, H.E., Leipzig (Teubner), 1862  
 Freinsheim, J., Strasburg, 1640  
 Froben, J., Basle, 1545  
 Giunta, P., Florence, 1507  
 Gronovius, J.F. the Elder, Leyden, 1696  
 Hedicke, E., Berlin, 1867; ed. maj. Leipzig (Teubner). 1908  
 Heinsius, N. the Elder, 1635 (see Snakenburg)  
 Iunius, A., Antwerp, 1546  
 Lauer, G., Rome, 1472  
 Lemaire, N.E., Paris, 1822-24  
 Lesage, G., Paris, 1861  
 Loccenius, J., Leyden, 1625  
 Menge-Fried, Gotha, 1911  
 Merula, B., Venice, 1494  
 Modius, F., Cologne, 1579  
 Müller, K. & Schönefeld, H., Munich, 1954  
 Mützell, W.J.C., Berlin, 1841  
 Popma, T., Leyden, 1622  
 Raderus, M., Cologne, 1623  
 Rapp, J.H., Strasburg, 1670  
 Rolfe, J.C., Harvard (Loeb), 1946  
 Serrà, F., Pisa, 1975 (follows Vogel's text of 1903)  
 Schmieder, F.G.B., (variorum), Göttingen, 1803; London 1825

Schrevelio, C., (variorum), Leyden, 1658

Snakenburg, H., (variorum), Delft & Leyden, 1724

Stangl, Th., Leipzig, 1902

Vindelinus Spirensis (Vindelin de Spira), Venice, 1471 -  
the Editio princeps

Vögel, C.A.F.Th., Leipzig (Teubner), 1889; revised with  
notes, Leipzig (teubner), 1903

Zarotus, A., Milan, 1481

Zumpt, C.Th. (G.), Berlin, 1826; with new collations of  
codd. Flor. A-I, Bern. A & B, L, V,  
Brunswick, 1849

SIGLA

- P = codex Parisinus 5716 saec. IX  
B = codex Bernensis 451 saec. X (= Bern. A)  
F = codex Florentinus plut. 64, cod. 35 (= Flor. A)  
 saec. IX  
L = codex Leidensis 137 saec. IX  
M = codex Parisinus 5717 saec. XII  
V = codex Vossianus Q 20 saec. X  
D = fragmentum Darmstädiense 3152 saec. X  
Bern. B = codex Bernensis 282 saec. XV  
Flor. D = codex Florentinus plut. 64, cod. 33 saec. XV  
Flor. F = codex Florentinus plut. 64, cod. 31 saec. XV  
Flor. G = codex Florentinus plut. 64, cod. 30 saec. XV  
Flor. I = codex Florentinus plut. 64, cod. 28 saec. XV  
Pal. 1 = codex Palatinus 916 saec. XV  
 $\Omega$  = consensus codicum PBFLMV  
 $\omega$  = consensus codicum BFLMV  
 $\Delta$  = codices deteriores siue interpolati saec. XII-XV  
 uel omnes uel plerique.  
 $\delta$  = codices deteriores siue interpolati saec. XII-XV  
 uel unus uel nonnulli.  
Pc, Bc = corrector uel correctores codicum P, B.  
Vind. = Editio princeps a Vindelino Spirensi impressa  
 Venetiis c. A.D. 1470.  
 $\dagger$  cruce signantur loci corrupti.  
 \*\*\* asteriscis signantur lacunae.  
 [ ] Uncis quadratis inclusi quae delenda sunt.  
 < > Uncis angulatis inclusi quae supplenda sunt.

TEXT AND APPARATUS CRITICUS



Q. CURTI RUFIIHISTORIARUM ALEXANDRI MAGNI MACEDONIS

## LIBER QUARTUS

- IV 1.1 Dareus, tanti modo exercitus rex, qui triumphantis magis quam dimicantis more curru sublimis inierat proelium, per loca, quae prope immensis agminibus inpleuerat, iam inania et ingenti solitudine uasta fugiebat. Pauci regem sequebantur: nam nec eodem omnes fugam intenderant et deficientibus equis cursum eorum quos rex subinde mutabat aequare non poterant. Onchas deinde peruenit, ubi excepere eum Graecorum quattuor milia tum† ad Euphraten contendit, id demum credens fore ipsius, quod celeritate praecipere potuisset.
- 4 At Alexander Parmenionem, per quem apud Damascus recepta erat praeda, iussum eam ipsam et captiuos diligenti adseruare custodia, Syriae, quam 5 Coelen uocant, praefecit. Nouum imperium Syri nondum belli cladibus satis domiti, aspernabantur;

Q. CURTI RUFII HISTORIARUM ALEXANDRI MAGNI MACEDONIS  
LIB. III. EXP. INCIPIT. IIII. FELICITER B:  
Q. CURTI RUFII HISTORIARUM LIBER TERTIUS EXPLICIT  
INCIPIT LIBER QUARTUS FELICITER FL: Q CURTI RUFII  
HISTORIARUM LIBER. III. EXPLICIT INCIPIT LIBER  
QUARTUS P: CURTI RUFFII HISTORIARUM LIBER TERTIUS  
EXPLICIT. INCIPIT LIBER QUARTUS FELICITER V

1 tanti P $\omega$ : ti P triumphantis PBcFV: triumphantis BLM: inpleuerat  $\Omega\Delta$ : compleuerat Vind.  
2 intenderant PBFLM: intenderat V et BFLcM:  
om. PLV quos rex PBFLM: quos LV 3 dein  $\omega$ :  
deinde P iam regius tum  $\Omega$ : iam regius <comitatus>.  
Tum Stangl: iam regius <comitatus> tum Novák: iam  
rectius tum Dosson: iam rectius hinc Novák: cum  
quibus tum Bromley: non segnus tamen Jeep  
Euphraten PBF: Euphratem LMV 4 At PBFLM: om. V  
adseruare PBF: asseruare LMV Syriae PM: siriae  
BFLV Coelen PcBcFLM: caelen P: coelon V: colen B

sed celeriter subacti oboedienter imperata fecerunt.  
 6 Aradus quoque insula deditur regi. Maritimam tum  
 oram et pleraque longius etiam a mari recedentia rex  
 eius insulae, Strato, possidebat; quo in fidem  
 7 accepto castra mouit ad urbem Marathon. Tbi illi  
 litterae a Dareo redduntur, quibus ut superbe scriptis  
 uehementer offensus est: praecipue eum mouit, quod  
 Dareus sibi regis titulum nec eundem Alexandri nomini  
 8 adscripserat. Postulabat autem magis quam petebat,  
 ut accepta pecunia, quantamcumque tota Macedonia  
 caperet, matrem sibi et coniugem liberosque resti-  
 tueret. De regno aequo, si uellet, Marte contenderet.  
 9 Si saniora consilia tandem pati potuisset, contentus  
 patrio cederet alieni imperii finibus, socius amicus-  
 10 que esset. In ea se fidem et dare paratum et accipere.  
 Contra Alexander in hunc maxime modum rescripsit:  
 'Rex Alexander Dareo s. Cuius nomen sumpsisti,  
 Dareus Graecos, qui oram Hellesponti tenent, colonias-  
 que Graecorum Ionias omni clade uastauit, cum magno  
 deinde exercitu mare traiecit inlato Macedoniae et  
 11 Graeciae bello. Rursus Xerxes gentis eiusdem ad  
 oppugnandos nos cum inmanium barbarorum copiis uenit;  
 qui nauali proelio uictus Mardonium tamen reliquit in  
 Graecia, ut absens quoque popularetur urbes, agros  
 12 ureret. Philippum uero, parentem meum, quis ignorat  
 ab iis interfectum esse, quos ingentis pecuniae spe  
 sollicitauerant uestri? Inpia enim bella suscipitis  
 et, cum habeatis arma, licemini hostium capita, sicut

5 oboedienter PBLMV: obedienter FA 6 oram PM:  
 horam BFLV Strato PBFLM: strate V 7 nomini  
PcFLMV: nomine PB adscripserat Ω: ascripserat Δ  
 9 potuisset PBFLM: putuisset V contentus Ω:  
 ut contentus Hedicke 10 Dareo s. Jeep: dareo\* P:  
 \*\*\*\*s (Dareo in marg.) B: dareus FLV: dareo M  
 cuius Ω: Celes Vind. sumpsisti PBFLM: sumpsistid V  
 11 inmanium PBF: immanium LMV Mardonium PBFLM:  
 Mardonum V reliquit PBFLM: reliquid V popularetur  
PBLMV: copularetur F ureret PBFLM: uiueret V  
 12 Philippum PBLMV: pilippum F (taliam posthac non  
 semper commemorabo)  
 iis P: hiis Pc: his BFLMV licemini PBFLV:  
 licitamini MA

tu proxime talentis mille, tanti exercitus rex,  
 percussorem in me emere uoluisti. Repello igitur  
 13 bellum, non infero. Et di quoque pro meliore stant  
 causa: magnam partem Asiae in dicionem redege meam,  
 te ipsum acie uici. Quem etsi nihil a me inpetrare  
 oportebat, utpote qui ne belli quidem in me iura  
 seruaueris, tamen, si ueneris supplex, et matrem et  
 coniugem et liberos sine pretio recepturum esse pro-  
 14 mitto. Et uincere et consulere uictis scio. Quodsi  
 te committere nobis times, dabimus fidem inpune  
 uenturum. De cetero, cum mihi scribes, memento non  
 solum regi te, sed etiam tuo scribere.' Ad hanc  
 perferendam Thersippus est missus.

15 Ipse in Phoenicen descendit et oppidum Byblon  
 traditum recepit. Inde ad Sidonā uentum est, urbem  
 16 uetustate famaue conditorum inclitam. Regnabat in  
 ea Strato, Darei opibus adiutus. Sed quia deditionem  
 magis popularium quam sua spontē fecerat, regno  
 uisus indignus, Hephaestionique permissum ut, quem  
 eo fastigio e Sidoniis dignissimum arbitraretur, con-  
 17 stitueret regem. Erant Hephaestionis hospites, clari  
 inter suos iuuenes, qui facta ipsis potestate reg-  
 nandi negauerunt quemquam patrio more in id fasti-  
 18 gium recipi nisi regia stirpe ortum. Admiratus  
 Hephaestion magnitudinem animi spernentis quod alii  
 per ignes ferrumque peterent: 'Vos quidem macte  
 uirtute,' inquit, 'estote, qui primi intellexistis

13 stant  $\Delta$  : stantes  $\Omega$  : stantibus Vind.

14 scribes  $\Omega$  : scribis  $\Delta$  regi PBELMV: rigi F  
 est M: et (sed est supra lin.)P (uel est in marg.)F  
 (uel est add.)BLV

15 Ipse in P. L: In P. PBELMV:

In P. deinde Vind.: In P. dein Stangl Phoenicen PBF:

Phoenicem LMV Byblon Aldus: Byblo  $\Omega$  inclitam FLV:

inclitā PBM sed  $\Omega$  : is Hedicke

16 Hephaestionique Cospus: ephestionique  $\Omega$

quem eo PBcFLMV: quem B e Sidoniis Gronovius:

sidonis  $\Omega$  17 Hephaestionis Zumpt: ephestionis  $\Omega\Delta$  :

Ephestioni Vind.: Hephaestioni duo Vogel

clari PBcFLMV: cari B fastigium PcBFLMV: stigium P

18 Hephaestion  $\Delta$  : ephestion  $\Omega$  : Hephaestio Aldus

macte P: macti Pc $\omega$  inquit BFLM: inquit PV

quanto maius esset regnum fastidire quam accipere.  
 Ceterum date aliquem regiae stirpis, qui meminerit  
 19 a uobis acceptum habere se regnum.' Atque illi, cum  
 multos imminere tantae spei cernerent singulis  
 amicorum Alexandri iam ob nimiam regni cupiditatem  
 adulantis, statuunt neminem esse potiore[m] quam  
 Abdalonymum quendam, longa quidem cognatione stirpe  
 regiae adnexum, sed ob inopiam suburbanum hortum  
 20 exigua colentem stipe. Causa ei paupertatis sicut  
 plerisque probitas erat, intentusque operi diurno  
 strepitum armorum, qui totam Asiam concusserat, non  
 exaudiebat.

21 Subito deinde, de quibus ante dictum est, cum  
 regiae uestis insignibus hortum intrant, quem forte  
 22 steriles herbas eligens Abdalonymus repurgabat. Tum  
 rege eo salutato alter ex his: 'Habitus,' inquit,  
 'hic uestis, quem cernis in meis manibus, cum isto  
 squalore permutandus tibi est. Ablue corpus inluuie  
 terrenisque sordibus squalidum: cape regis amictum  
 et in eam fortunam, qua dignus es, istam continentiam  
 perfer. Et cum in regali solio residebis uitae  
 necisque omnium ciuium dominus, caue obliuiscaris  
 huius status, in quo accipis regnum, immo, hercule,  
 23 propter quem.' Somnio similis res Abdalonymo uide-  
 batur: interdum, satisne sani essent, qui tam pro-  
 terue sibi inluderent, percontabatur. Sed ut  
 cunctanti squalor ablutus est et iniecta uestis  
 purpura auroque distincta et fides a iurantibus facta,

18 fastidire  $\omega$  : fastidiri P 19 Alexandri iam  
 Hedicke: Alexandriam PFLV: Alexandri\*\* B: Alexandri M  
 adulantis Stangl: adulantes Giunta: adulantibus  $\Omega$   
 Abdalonymum P: Abdalonimum  $\omega$  22 inluuie PBFMV  
 (porrigine superscr.): inluuiae L terrenisque V,  
 Snakenburg: e terrisque B: aeternisque PFLM: tetrisque  
 Vogel squalidum  $\Omega$  (V callosum superscr.)  
 amictum Gleye: animum  $\Omega$  perfer PFMV: profer BL  
 caue  $\Omega$  : caue ne  $\delta$  23 huius status  $\delta$  , Erasmus:  
 huius  $\Omega$  somnio Vind.(ut vid.): somno  $\Omega\Delta$   
 percontabatur PBFVLV: percunctabatur MA

†sero† iam rex iisdem comitantibus in regiam  
 24 peruenit. Fama deinde, ut solet, strenue tota urbe  
 discurret. Aliorum studium, aliorum indignatio  
 eminebat, diuitissimus quisque humilitatem inopiam-  
 25 que eius apud amicos Alexandri criminabatur. Admitti  
 eum rex protinus iussit diuque contemplatus:  
 'Corporis,' inquit, 'habitus famae generis non re-  
 pugnat, sed licet scire, inopiam qua patientia tuleris.'  
 Tum ille: 'Utinam,' inquit, 'eodem animo regnum pati  
 possim! Hae manus suffecere desiderio meo: nihil  
 26 habenti nihil defuit.' Magnae indolis specimen ex  
 hoc sermone Abdalonymi cepit. Itaque non Stratonis  
 modo regiam supellectilem attribui ei iussit, sed  
 pleraque etiam ex Persica praeda; regionem quoque  
 urbi adpositam dicioni eius adiēcit.

27 Interea Amyntas, quem ad Persas ab Alexandro  
 transfugisse diximus, cum quattuor milibus Graecorum  
 ipsius ex acie persecutis fugam Tripolin peruenit.  
 Inde in naues milites inpositis Cyprum transmisit et,  
 cum in illo statu rerum id quemque, quod occupasset,  
 habiturum arbitrareretur uelut certo iure possessum,  
 Aegyptum petere decreuit, utrique regi hostis et  
 semper ex ancipiti mutatione temporum pendens.  
 28 Hortatusque milites ad spem tantae rei docet Satacen,  
 praetorem Aegypti, cecidisse in acie, Persarum prae-  
 sidium et sine duce esse et inualidum, Aegyptios  
 semper praetoribus eorum infestos pro sociis ipsos,  
 29 non pro hostibus aestimatos. Omnia experiri

sero  $\Omega$ : uero Heinsius: serio Giunta comitantibus  
PM: comitantibus BFLV 24 tota urbe F, Modius:  
 totas urbes PBLMV: tantas urbes  $\Delta$  studium PBCLMV:  
 st\*diu B: stadium F diuitissimus PFLMV:  
 diuitissimus B 25 possim PBFLM: possum V  
 26 cepit P: coepit  $\omega$  regiam PBLMV: regnam F  
 supellectilem  $\Delta$ : supellectilem  $\Omega$  27 persecutis  
Vind.: persecutos PFLMV: persecutus B fugam Kinch:  
 fuga  $\Omega$  Tripolin  $\Omega$ : Tripolim Vind. militibus  
PBFNV: milibus L inpositis PBM: impositis LV  
 Cyprum PBLMV: Sciprum F quod PBFMV: om. L  
 Aegyptum PBLMV: aegyptum F utrique Vind.: utique  $\Omega$   
 Satacen P: Satacem  $\omega$ : Sabacem Aldus  
 28 Hortatusque  $\omega$ : ortatusque P infestos  $\Omega$ :  
 infensos Vind.

- necessitas cogebat: quippe cum primas spes fortuna destituit, futura praesentibus uidentur esse potiora. Igitur conclamant, duceret quo uideretur. Atque ille utendum animis, dum spe calerent, ratus ad Pelusium ostium penetrat, simulans a Dareo se esse
- 30 praetorem missum. Potitus ergo Pelusii Memphim copias promouit. Ad cuius famam Aegypti, uana gens et nouandis quam gerendis aptior rebus, ex suis quique uicis urbibusque huc ipsi concurrunt ad delenda praesidia Persarum. Qui territi tamen spem
- 31 retinendi Aegyptum non omiserunt. Sed eos Amyntas proelio superatos in urbem compellit castrisque positos uictores ad populandos agros \*\*\*. Velut in medio positos praedis hostium cuncta agebantur.
- 32 Itaque Mazaces, quamquam infelici proelio suorum animos territos esse cognouerat, tamen palantes et uictoriae fiducia incautos ostentans perpulit, ne dubitarent ex urbe erumpere et res amissas recipere.
- 33 Id consilium non ratione prudentius quam euentu felicius fuit: ad unum omnes cum ipso duce occisi sunt. Has poenas Amyntas utrique regi dedit, nihilo magis ei, ad quem transfugit, fidus quam illi, quem deseruerat.
- 34 Darei praetores, qui proelio apud Isson super- fuerant, cum omni manu, quae fugientes secuta erat,

29 conclamant PBcLM: conclant BFV Pelusii ostium  
PBFMc: Pelusii hostium L praetorem missum Vogel:  
 praemissum Ω potitus Vind.: potitur Ω  
 30 Memphim BFLM: memphym F: memphi V  
 copias PcBcFLcMIV: copiis PBL promouit Δ: prae-  
 mouit PBFcLM: permouit Vδ Aegypti Ω: Aegyptii Δ  
 gens PBFcLMV: genes F gerendis aptior BMV:  
 gerendi\*saptior L: gerendis captior F: gerendis  
 raptior Pc: gerendi raptior P quique Ω: quisque δ  
 huc ipsi Hedicke: hoc ipsum Ω: ad hoc ipsum Vind.  
 omiserunt LMV: omisserunt PBF Amyntas PM: amintas  
BFLV 31 positos praedis Vogel: positos edis L:  
 positos dis PcBFV: positidis P: positos diis M  
 32 Mazaces PL: Mazaces BFIV palantes PBFcLMVc:  
 palantes V ostentans PBFcLM: ostensans V

- adsumpta etiam Cappadocum et Paphlagonum iuuentute  
 35 Lydiam recipere temptabat. Antigonus, praetor  
 Alexandri, Lydiae praeerat: qui quamquam plerosque  
 militum ex praesidiis ad regem dimiserat, tamen  
 barbaris spretis in aciem suos eduxit. Eadem illic  
 quoque fortuna partium fuit: tribus proeliis alia  
 atque alia regione commissis Persae funduntur.
- 36 Eodem tempore classis Macedonum ex Graecia accita  
 Aristomenen, qui ad Hellesponti oram recipendum  
 a Dareo erat missus, captis eius aut euersis nauibus  
 37 superat. A Milesiis deinde Pharnabazus, praefectus  
 Persicae classis, pecunia exacta et praesidio in  
 urbem Chium introducto centum nauibus Andrum et  
 inde Siphnum petiit. Has quoque insulas praesidiis  
 occupat, pecunia multat.
- 38 Magnitudo belli, quod ab opulentissimis  
 Asiaeque regibus in spem totius orbis occupandi  
 gerebatur, Graeciae quoque et Cretae arma commouerat.  
 39 Agis, Lacadaemoniorum rex, octo milibus Graecorum,  
 qui ex Cilicia profugi domos repetierant, contractis  
 bellum Antipatro, Macedoniae praefecto, moliebatur.
- 40 Cretenses has aut illas partes secuti nunc Sparta-  
 norum, nunc Macedonum praesidiis occupabantur. Sed  
 leuiores inter illos fuere discrimina unum certamen,  
 ex quo cetera pendebant, intente fortuna.

34 Paphlagonum Pcω : Paphagonum P Lydiam P:  
 lidiam ω 35 partium ω : parcium P  
 commissis ω : commisis P 36 euersis Ω :  
 mersis Freinsheim: demersis Modius  
 37 Pharnabazus Vind.: Barnabazus Ω Chium P:  
 hium ω Has Modius: h\*s P: his FV: is PcBFCLM  
 38 opulentissimis ω : opolentissimis P  
 39 Agis Vind.: hāgis Ω 40 Spartanorum Vind.:  
 Parianorum Ω

2.1 Iam tota Syria, iam Phoenice quoque excepta  
 Tyro Macedonum erat, habebatque rex castra in conti-  
 2 nenti, a qua urbem angustum fretum dirimit. Tyros,  
 et magnitudine et claritate ante omnes urbes Syriae  
 Phoenicesque memorabilis, facilius societatem Alexan-  
 dri acceptura uidebatur quam imperium. Coronam  
 igitur auream donum legati adferebant commeatusque  
 large et hospitaliter ex oppido aduexerant. Ille  
 dona ut ab amicis accipi iussit benigneque legatos  
 adlocutus Herculi, quem praecipue Tyrii colerent,  
 3 sacrificare uelle se dixit: Macedonum reges credere  
 ab illo deo ipsos genus ducere, se uero, ut id faceret,  
 4 etiam oraculo monitum. Legati respondent esse templum  
 Herculis extra urbem in ea sede, quam Palaetyron ipsi  
 5 uocent: ibi regem deo sacrum rite facturum. Non  
 tenuit iram, cuius alioqui potens non erat. Itaque:  
 'Vos quidem,' inquit, 'fiducia loci, quod insulam  
 incolitis, pedestrem hunc exercitum spernitis, sed  
 breui ostendam in continenti uos esse. Proinde  
 sciatis licet, aut intraturum me urbem aut oppugna-  
 6 turum.' Cum hoc responso dimissi suos monere  
 coeperunt, ut regem, quem Syria, quem Phoenice  
 recepisset, ipsi quoque urbem intrare paterentur.  
 7 At illi loco satis fisi obsidionem ferre decreuerant.  
 Namque urbem a continenti quattuor stadiorum fretum  
 diuidit Africo maxime obiectum crebros ex alto fluctus  
 8 in litus euoluenti. Nec accipiendo operi, quo  
 Macedones continenti insulam iungere parabant, quic-  
 quam magis quam ille uentus obstabat. Quippe uix  
 leni et tranquillo mari moles agi possunt, Africus  
 uero prima quaeque congesta pulsu inlisi maris sub-  
 ruit, nec ulla tam firma moles est, quam non exedant

1 Phoenice P: phaenicae ω qua Heinsius: quo Ω  
 2 Tyros PBFcM: tiros FV: tir\*s L Phoenicesque  
Froben: phoenicisque ω: phaenicisque P 3 ipsos ω:  
 ipso Pδ Palaetyron PBFM: paletyron V: Palletyron L  
 uocent Pcω: uocant P 5 alioqui Ω: alioquin Δ  
 6 dimissi suos Orelli: demissos PBFcM: demissis V  
 monere ω: mouere P 7 euoluenti Zumpt: euoluens  
Vind.: euoluit Ω 8 inlisi maris Δ: inlisa mari  
BFLM: inlis\*a mari P: inlisia mari V



undae et per nexus operum manantes et, ubi acrior flatus existit, summi operis fastigio superfusae.

9 Praeter hanc difficultatem haud minor alia erat.

Murós turresque urbis praealtum mare ambiebat: non tormenta nisi e nauibus procul excussa mitti, non scalae moenibus adplicari poterant, praeceps in salum murus pedestre interceperat iter; naues nec habebat rex et, si admouisset, pendentes et instabiles missilibus arceri poterant.

- 10 Inter quae parua dictu res Tyrriorum fiduciam accendit. Carthaginiensium legati ad celebrandum sacrum anniuersarium more patrio tunc uenerant: quippe Carthaginem Tyrii condiderunt semper parentum
- 11 loco culti. Hortari ergo Poeni coeperunt, ut obsidionem forti animo paterentur: breui Carthagine auxilia uentura. Namque ea tempestate magna ex
- 12 parte Punicis classibus maria obsidebantur. Igitur bello decreto per muros turresque tormenta disponunt, arma iunioribus diuidunt, opifices, quorum copia urbs abundabat, in officinas distribuunt. Omnia belli apparatu strepunt; ferreae quoque manus - harpagonas uocant - quas operibus hostium inicerent, coruique et alia tuendis urbibus excogitata praeparabatur.
- 13 Sed cum fornacibus ferrum, quod excudi oportebat, inpositum esset, admotisque follibus ignem flatu accenderent, sanguinis riui sub ipsis flammis extitisse dicuntur: idque omen in Macedonum malum
- 14 uerterunt Tyrii. Apud Macedonas quoque cum forte penem quidem militum frangerent, manantis sanguinis guttas notauerunt, territoque rege Aristander, peritissimus uatum, si extrinsecus cruor fluxisset,

9 muros Pcω: moros P e nauibus ω: nauibus P  
interceperat P: intercoeperat ω 10 Cartha-  
giniensium PM: chartaginiensium ω 11 maria  
PcBFLcMV: maia F: maiora P: mori L 12 harpagonas δ:  
arponas Ω inicerent Ω: iniicerent δ  
13 esset PBFLM: esse V accenderent PBFLM:  
accenderint V malum Damsté: metum Ω uerterunt  
PcBFLcMV: uerterant P: uerterent L

Macedonibus id triste futurum ait: contra, cum ab  
interiore parte manauerit, urbi, quam obsidere  
15 destinassent, exitium portendere. Alexander cum et  
classem procul haberet et longam obsidionem magno  
sibi ad cetera impedimento uideret fore, caduceatores  
qui ad pacem eos compellerent, misit; quos Tyrri  
contra ius gentium occisos praecipitauerunt in altum.  
Atque ille suorum tam indigna morte commotus urbem  
obsidere statuit.

16 Sed ante iacienda moles erat, quae continenti  
urbem committeret. Ingens ergo animis militum  
desperatio incessit cernentibus profundum mare, quod  
uix diuina ope posset impleri: quae saxa tam uasta,  
quas tam proceras arbores posse reperiri? exhaurien-  
das esse regiones, ut illud spatium exaggeraretur;  
exaestuare semper fretum, quoque artius uoluetetur  
inter insulam et continentem, hoc acrius furere.

17 At ille haudquaquam rudis pertractandi militares  
animos speciem sibi Herculis in somno oblatam esse  
pronuntiat dextram porrigentis: illo duce, illo  
aperiente in urbem intrare se uisum. Inter haec  
caduceatores interfectos, gentium iura uiolata  
referebat: unam esse urbem, quae cursum uictoris

18 morari ausa esset. Ducibus deinde negotium datur,  
ut suos quisque castiget, satisque omnibus stimu-  
latis opus orsus est. Magna uis saxorum ad manum  
erat Tyro Vetere praebente, materies ex Libano monte

19 ratibus et turribus faciendis aduehebatur. Iamque  
a fundo maris in altitudinem modicam opus creuerat,  
20 nondum tamen aquae fastigium aequabat, cum Tyrri  
paruis nauigiis admotis per ludibrium exprobrabant,  
illos armis inclitos dorso sicut iumenta onera

14 ab interiore  $\omega$ : ex interiore  $D$ : ab exteriori  $P$ :  
exteriori  $Dc$  manauerit  $Vind.$ : manauerat  $\Omega D$   
exitium  $PcBFcLM$ : exitum  $PF$ : exicium  $V$  15 Atque  
 $Pc\omega$ : adque  $P$  tam  $BV$ : iam  $PFLMD$  16 committeret  $\omega$ :  
commiteret  $P$  animis  $\Delta$ : animos  $\Omega$  desperatio  
 $PcBM$ : disperatio  $PFLV$  reperiri  $BFLV$ : repperiri  $PMD$   
insulam  $PBFLM$ : insuam  $V$  17 somno  $PFMV$ : somno  $B$ :  
summo  $L$  19 creuerat  $PBFLM$ : excreuerat  $V$

gestare; interrogabant etiam, num maior Neptuno  
 Alexander esset. Haec ipsa insectatio alacritatem  
 21 militum accendit. Iamque paulum moles aqua eminebat,  
 et simul aggeris latitudo crescebat urbique admoue-  
 batur, cum Tyrii magnitudine molis, cuius incrementum  
 eos antea fefellerat, conspecta leuibus nauigiis  
 nondum commissum opus circumire coeperunt, missi-  
 libus quoque eos, qui pro opere stabant, incessere.  
 22 Multos ergo inpune uulneratis, cum et remouere et  
 adpellere scaphas in expedito-esset, ad curam semet  
 ipsos tuendi ab opere conuerterant. Et, quo longius  
 moles agebatur a litore, hoc magis, quidquid ingere-  
 23 batur, praealtum absorbebat mare. Igitur rex  
 munientibus coria uelaque iussit obtendi, ut extra  
 teli iactum essent, duasque turres ex capite molis  
 erexit, e quibus in subeuntes scaphas tela ingeri  
 24 possent. Contra Tyrii nauigia procul a conspectu  
 hostium litori adpellunt expositisque militibus eos,  
 qui saxa gestabant, obruncant. In Libano quoque  
 Arabum agrestes inconpositos Macedonas adorti XXX  
 fere interficiunt paucioribus captis. 3.1. Ea res  
 Alexandrum diuidere copias coegit et, ne segniter  
 adsidere uni urbi uideretur, operi Perdiccan Crateron-  
 que praefecit, ipse cum expedita manu Arabiam petiit.  
 2 Inter haec Tyrii nauem magnitudine eximia saxis  
 harenaque a puppi oneratam, ita ut multum prora  
 emereret, bitumine ac sulphure inlitam remis con-  
 citauerunt et, cum magnam uim uenti uela quoque  
 3 concepisset, celeriter ad molem successit. Tum prora  
 eius accensa remiges desiluere in scaphas, quae ad  
 hoc ipsum praeparatae sequebantur, nauis autem igne  
 concepto latius fundere incendium coepit, quod

20 gestare Ω : portare § 21 aqua PBFLV: aquam M:  
 aquae PcBc magnitudine PBc: magnitudinem PFLMV  
 antea PBFLM: ante V missilibus PBcM: misilibus B:  
 misilibus F: milibus LV 22 absorbebat PBFLM:  
 absordebat V mare PcΩ : more P 23 rex  
 Gronovius: ex Ω obtendi PFLMV: optendi B  
 teli PBFLM: teri V iactum PBcFLcMV: iam tum BL  
 molis Ω : montis D 24 adorti § : adhorti Ω  
 3.2 a puppi PBFM: appupi V: puppi L

priusquam possét occurri, turrets et cetera opera  
 4 in capite molis posita comprehendit. At qui desi-  
 luerant in parua nauigia, faces et quidquid alendo  
 igni aptum erat in eadem opera ingerunt. Iamque  
 non <imae> modo Macedonum turrets, sed etiam summa  
 tabulata conceperant ignem, cum ii, qui in turribus  
 erant, partim haurirentur incendio, partim armis  
 5 omissis in mare semet ipsi inmitterent. At Tyrii,  
 qui capere eos quam interficere mallent, natantium  
 manus stipitibus saxisque lacerabant, donec debilitati  
 6 inpune nauigiis excipi possent. Nec incendio solum  
 opera consumpta, sed forte eodem die uehementior  
 uentus totum ex profundo mare inlisit in molem,  
 crebrisque fluctibus conpages operis uerberatae  
 laxauere <se>, saxaque interfluens unda medium opus  
 7 rupit. Prorutis igitur lapidum cumulis, quibus  
 iniecta terra sustinebatur, praeceps in profundum  
 ruit, tantaeque molis uix ulla uestigia inuenit Arabia  
 rediens Alexander. Hic, quod in aduersis rebus solet  
 fieri, alius in alium culpam referebant, cum omnes  
 8 uerius de saeuitia maris queri possent. Rex noui  
 operis molem orsus in aduersum uentum non latere sed  
 recta fronte direxit: ea cetera opera uelut sub ipsa  
 latentia tuebatur; latitudinem quoque aggeri adiecit,  
 ut turrets in medio excitatae procul teli ictu abessent.  
 9 Totas autem arbores cum ingentibus ramis in altum  
 iaciebant, deinde saxis onerabant rursusque cumulo  
 eorum alias arbores iniciebant, tum humus adgerebatur;  
 super quae alia strue saxorum arborumque cumulata  
 uelut quodam nexu continens opus iunxerant.

3 comprehendit L: conpreendit P: comprendit BFMV  
 4 At qui BFL: ad qui PV: at hi qui M non <imae>  
 modo Madvig: non modo PcBFLcLMVc: non PIV ii P:  
 hii BF: hi LMV 5 mallent PcBcLcMV: malent  
 (uel mallent in marg.) F: om. PFL 6 totum Ω:  
 motum Palmer laxauere se Aldus: laxauere Ω  
 prorutis P: proruptis Pcω 7 Hic ω: id P  
 8 ictu Ω: iactu δ 9 super quae Ω: superque Vind.  
 strue PBFLM: strues V

- Nec Tyrrii, quidquid ad impediendam molem  
 10 excogitari poterat, segniter exequebatur. Praecipuum  
 auxilium erat, qui procul hostium conspectu subibant  
 aquam occultoque lapsu ad molem usque penetrabant,  
 falcibus palmites arborum eminentium ad se trahentes.  
 Quae ubi secuti erant, pleraque secum in profundum  
 dabant; tum leuatos onere stipites truncosque arborum  
 haud aegre moliebantur, deinde totum opus, quod  
 stipitibus fuerat innixum, fundamento lapso seque-  
 batur.
- 11 Aegro animi Alexandro nec perseueraret an abiret  
 satis certo classis Cypro aduenit eodemque tempore  
 Cleander cum Graecis militibus in Asiam nuper aduectis.  
 C et XC nauigia in duo diuidit cornua: laeuum Pnyta-  
 goras, rex Cypriorum, cum Cratero tuebatur, Alexandrum  
 12 in dextro quinquereimis regia uehebat. Nec Tyrrii,  
 quamquam classem habebant, ausi nauale inire certamen:  
 tris omnino ante ipsa moenia opposuerunt, quibus rex  
 inuectus ipsas demersit.
- 13 Postera die classe ad moenia admota undique  
 tormentis et maxime arietum pulsu muros quatit; quos  
 Tyrrii raptim obstructis saxis refecerunt, interiorem  
 quoque murum, ut, si prior fefellisset, illo se  
 14 tuerentur, undique orsi. Sed undique uis mali urge-  
 bat: mole intra teli iactum erant, classis moenia  
 circumibat, terrestri simul naualique clade obrue-  
 bantur. Quippe binas quadriremes Macedones inter se  
 ita iunxerant, ut prorae cohaerent, puppes inter-  
 15 uallo, quantum capere poterant, distarent. Hoc

10 aquam δ, Vind.: aqua Ω onere PBFLM: ponere V  
 11 animi Pcω: animo P nec P in marg. B in marg. MV:  
 ne BFL Cypro PBFLM: cipro V eodemque Pcω: eodem P  
 aduectis Ω: aduectus Aldus nauigia Heinsius: nauium  
δ, Erasmus: nauium classis Modius: nauigium Ω  
 Pnytagoras Modius: Pythagoras Ω regia Pcω: regi P  
 12 tris omnino Ω; triremes omnes Δ opposuerunt  
PBFLM: apposuerunt V ipsas PBFLM: ipsa V: ipse eas  
Hedicke 13 postera Ω: postero Δ undique ω:  
 undi P 14 urgebat ω: urgebat P moles PBM:  
 molem FLV: mole Hedicke teli PBFLM: terii V  
 cohaerent BLMVC: cohererent P: cohaerent FV

- puppium interuallum antemnis asseribusque ualidis deligatis superque eos pontibus stratis, qui militem sustinerent, inpleuerant. Sic instructas quadriremes ad urbem agebant: inde missilia in propugnantes ingerebantur tuto, quia proris miles tegebatur.
- 16 Media nox erat, cum classem sic, uti dictum est, paratam circumire muros iubet. Iamque naues urbi undique admouebantur, et Tyrri desperatione torpebant, cum subito spissae nubes intendere se caelo et, quidquid lucis internitebat, effusa caligine
- 17 extinctum est. Tum inhorrescens mare paulatim leuari, deinde acriore uento concitatum fluctus ciere et inter se nauigia collidere. Iamque scindi coeperunt uincula quibus conexae quadriremes erant, ruere tabulata et cum ingenti fragore in profundum secum
- 18 milites trahere. Neque enim conserta nauigia ulla ope in turbido regi poterant: miles ministeria nauitarum, remex militis officia turbabat, et, quod in eiusmodi casu accidit, periti ignaris parebant. Quippe gubernatores alias imperare soliti tum metu mortis iussa exequabantur. Tandem remis pertinacius euerberatum mare ueluti eripientibus nauigia classicis cessit, adpulsaque sunt litori lacerata pleraque.
- 19 Isdem forte diebus Carthaginensium legati XXX superueniunt, magis obsessis solacium quam auxilium. Quippe domestico bello Poenos impediri nec de imperio,
- 20 sed pro salute dimicare nuntiabant. Syracusani tum Africam urebant et haud procul Carthaginis muris locauerant castra. Non tamen defecere animis Tyrri, quamquam ab ingenti spe destituti erant, sed coniuges

15 antemnis Pcω: antennis P deligatis BcM:  
 delegatis PBFLV instructas PFLV: instructa BM  
 16 naues P: nauis ω effusa Ω: offusa Gronovius  
 17 coeperunt PBFLM: coepere V ruere PBFLM: uere V  
 18 regi Pcω: rege P casu PFLMV: causa B  
 accidit Pcω: accedit P Tandem ω: Tandem P  
 pertinacius ω: pertinacius P 19 Isdem FLV: Iisdem  
PBM 20 Syracusani Vind.:siracusani Ω Africam  
PBFL: Affricam MV

- liberosque deuehentos Carthaginem tradiderunt, fortius,  
 quidquid acciderat, laturo, si carissimam sui partem  
 21 extra sortem communis periculi habuissent. Cumque  
 unus e ciuibus in contione indicasset, oblatam esse  
 per somnum sibi speciem Apollinis, quem eximia reli-  
 gione colerent, urbem deserentis molemque a Mace-  
 donibus in salo iactam in siluestrem saltum esse  
 22 mutatam, quamquam auctor leuis erat, tamen ad deter-  
 iora credenda prouisi metu aurea catena deuinxere  
 simulacrum araeque Herculis, cuius numini urbem dica-  
 uerant, inseruere uinculum quasi illo deo Apollinem  
 retenturo. Syracusis id simulacrum deuexerant Poeni  
 et in maiore locauerant patria multisque aliis spoliis  
 urbium a semet captarum non Carthaginem magis quam  
 23 Tyrum ornauerant. Sacrum quoque, quod equidem dis  
 minime cordi esse crediderim, multis saeculis inter-  
 missum repetendi auctores quidam erant, ut ingenuus  
 puer Saturno immolaretur - quod sacrilegium uerius  
 quam sacrum Carthaginenses a conditoribus traditum  
 usque ad excidium urbis suae fecisse dicuntur - ac  
 nisi seniores obstitissent, quorum consilio cuncta  
 agebantur, humanitatem dira superstitio uicisset.  
 24 Ceterum efficacior omni arte necessitas non usitata  
 modo praesidia, sed quaedam etiam noua admouit.  
 Namque ad implicanda nauigia, quae muros subibant,  
 ualidos asseres funibus inligauerant, ut, cum tormento  
 asseres promouissent, subito laxatis funibus inicerent.  
 25 Unci quoque et falces ex isdem asserebus dependentes  
 aut propugnatores aut ipsa nauigia lacerabant. Clypeos

20 habuissent PBFMV: habuisset L 21 oblatam PBFMV:  
 ablatam L religione ω: relegione F iactam ω:  
 iam tum P 22 deuinxere PBLMV: deuixere F Syra-  
 cusis Vind.: siracusis Ω retenturo Ω: retenturi  
δ, Erasmus 23 repetendi Giunta: repetente BcFcLMV:  
 repetens B: repentes PF nisi Pcω: ni P seniores  
Pcω: seniores P obstitissent BFMcV: cuncta L  
 24 efficacior omni Δ: efficacior omni PcBFM: efficacior  
 omni V: efficacior romani PL admouit Ω: admonuit  
Freinsheim ualidos asseres funibus Jeep: ualidis  
 asserebus (harpagonas) Dosson: ualidis asserebus Ω  
 25 unci PBFML: uncii V clypeos PBFLV: clipeos Mδ

uero aereos multo igne torrebat, quos repletos  
 feruida harena caenoque decocto e muris subito deuol-  
 26 uebant. Nec ulla pestis magis timebatur: quippe ubi  
 loricam corpus usque feruens harena penetrauerat, nec  
 ulla ui excuti poterat et quidquid attigerat, perure-  
 bat, iacentesque arma laceratis omnibus, quis protegi  
 poterant, uulneribus inulti patebant. Corui uero et  
 ferreae manus tormento remissae plerosque rapiabant.

4.1 Hic rex fatigatus statuerat soluta obsidione  
 Aegyptum petere. Quippe cum Asiam ingenti uelocitate  
 percucurrisset, circa muros unius urbis haerebat tot  
 2 maximarum rerum opportunitate dimissa. Ceterum tam  
 discedere inritum quam morari pudebat, famam quoque,  
 qua plura quam armis euerterat, ratus leuiorem fore,  
 si Tyrum quasi testem se posse uinci reliquisset.  
 Igitur ne quid inexpertum omitteret, plures naues  
 3 admoueri iubet delectosque militum inponi. Et forte  
 belua inusitatae magnitudinis super ipsos fluctus  
 dorso eminens ad molem, quam Macedones iecerant,  
 ingens corpus adplicuit diuerberatisque fluctibus  
 4 adlevans semet utrimque conspecta est: deinde a capite  
 molis rursus alto se immersit ac modo super undas  
 eminens magna sui parte modo superfusis fluctibus  
 condita haud procul munimentis urbis se mersit.  
 5 Utrisque laetus fuit beluae aspectus: Macedones iter  
 iaciendo operi monstrasse eam augurabantur, Tyrii  
 Neptunum, occupati maris uindicem, abripuisse beluam  
 ac molem breui profecto ruituram. Laetique omine eo  
 ad epulas dilapsi onerauere se uino, quo graues orto

25 aereos  $\Omega$ : aeneos Vind. harena  $\Omega\Delta$ : arena Vind.  
 26 corpus usque Acidalius: corpusque  $\Omega$  ferreae  
PBFML: ferre V tormento P: tormenta  $\omega$   
 4.1 percucurrisset P: percurrisset  $\omega$  2 opportunitate  
S: oportunitate  $\Omega$  qua PBLMV: quia F si Tyrum  
PBFML: sy tirum V 3 inusitatae  $\Omega$ : inuisitatae  
Bentley iecerant PcBFML: igecerant V 4 se Pc\omega:  
om.P super  $\omega$ : per PA modo Pc\omega: om. P.  
 munimentis PBeFLMV: munientis B se mersit Gronouius:  
 se immersit Vind.: emersit  $\Omega$  5 abripuisse  $\Omega$ :  
 applicuisse Mützell ac  $\Delta$ : ad PBFMV: ab L



sole nauigia conscendunt redimita floribus coronisque:  
adeo uictoriae non omen modo sed etiam gratulationem  
praeceperant.

- 6 Forte rex classem in diuersam partem agi iusserat  
XXX minoribus nauigiis relictis in litore, e quibus  
Tyrii duobus captis cetera ingenti terruerunt metu,  
donec suorum clamore audito Alexander classem litori,  
7 a quo fremitus acciderant, admouit. Prima e Macedonum  
nauibus quinqueremis uelocitate inter ceteras eminens  
occurrit; quam ut conspexere Tyriae, duae ex diuerso  
in latera eius inuectae sunt, in quarum alteram quin-  
queremis eadem concitata et ipsa rostro icta est et  
8 illam inuicem tenuit. Iamque ea, quae non cohaerebat,  
libero impetu euecta in aliud quinqueremis latus  
inuehebatur, cum opportunitate mira triremis e classe  
Alexandri in eam ipsam, quae quinqueremi inminebat,  
tanta ui impulsata est, ut Tyrius gubernator in mare  
9 excuteretur e puppi. Plures deinde Macedonum naues  
superueniunt, et rex quoque aderat, cum Tyrii inhi-  
bentes remis aegre euellere nauem, quae haerebat, portum-  
que omnia simul nauigia repetunt. Confestim rex  
insecutus portum quidem intrare non potuit, cum procul  
e muris missilibus summoueretur, naues autem omnes  
fere aut demersit aut cepit.
- 10 Biduo deinde ad quietem dato militibus iussis-  
que et classem et machinas pariter admouere, ut undique  
territis instaret, ipse in altissimam turrem ascendit  
11 ingenti animo, periculo maiore: quippe regio insigni  
et armis fulgentibus conspicuus unus praecipue telis

5 omen PBcFLMV: nomen B praeceperant PBFLV:  
perceperant BcM 6 terruerunt PBFILM: terruere V  
fremitus PBFILM: praemitus V 7 prima e M: primae  
PBF: prime LV ex diuerso PBcFLV(om. ex): et diuerso B  
icta Pc in ras.BFLcMV: iata L 8 cohaerebat Δ:  
quoherebat PBFILM: cuioherebat V euecta P: inuecta  
(è in marg.)B(e in marg.)FLM: laenuecta V cum Ω:  
tum Hedicke tanta ui impulsata est PcBc: tanta ui Ω  
tanta ui inuecta est Dosson: tanta ui ruit Menge-Fried  
9 potuit PBFILM: patuit V cepit FMV: coepit PBL  
10 biduo PBFILM: signo L: om. V

petebatur. Et digna prorsus spectaculo edidit: multos  
 e muris propugnantes hasta transfixit, quosdam etiam  
 comminus gladio clypeoque impulsos praecipitavit:  
 quippe turris, ex qua dimicabat, muris hostium prope-  
 12 modum cohaerebat. Iamque crebris arietibus saxorum  
 conpage laxata munimenta defecerant et classis intra-  
 uerat portum et quidam Macedonum in turres hostium  
 desertas euaserant, cum Tyrii tot simul malis uicti  
 alii supplices in templa confugiunt, alii foribus  
 aedium obseratis occupant librum mortis arbitrium,  
 nonnulli ruunt in hostem haud inulti tamen perituri,  
 magna pars summa tectorum obtinebat saxa et quidquid  
 13 fors manibus dederat ingredientes subeuntibus. Alexander  
 exceptis, qui in templa confugerant, omnes interfici  
 14 ignemque tectis inici iubet. His per praecones pro-  
 nuntiatis nemo tamen armatus opem a dis petere sustin-  
 uit: pueri uirginesque templa compleuerant, uiri in  
 uestibulo suarum quisque aedium stabant, parata  
 15 saeuientibus turba. Multis tamen saluti fuere Sidonii,  
 qui intra Macedonum praesidia erant. Hi urbem quidem  
 inter uictores intrauerant, sed cognationis cum Tyrii  
 memores - quippe utramque urbem Agenorem condidisse  
 credebant - multos Tyriorum clam protegentes ad sua  
 perduxere nauigia, quibus occultati Sidona deuecti  
 16 sunt. XV milia hoc furto subducta saeuitiae sunt.  
 Quantumque sanguinis fusum sit, uel ex hoc aestimari  
 potest, quod intra munimenta urbis VI milia armatorum  
 17 trucidata sunt. Triste deinde spectaculum uictoribus  
 ira praebuit regis: duo milia, in quibus occidendis  
 defecerat rabies, crucibus adfixi per ingens litoris  
 18 spatium pependerunt. Carthaginensium legatis

11 impulsos PBF: impulsos LM: impulsas V  
 12 crebris PBFLM: crebis V obseratis ω (obser\*atis  
L): obseruatis P inulti PBFLM: inulte V quidquid  
δ: quid Ω 13 manibus Modius: in manibus ω:  
 in manus P 14 His PBFLM: is V armatus PBFLM:  
om. V 15 Sidonii PBFLM: sydonii V et sic fere  
 semper XV milia Vind.: XV PF: XV BLMV  
 16 munimenta Pcω: monumenta P 17 ira PBLMV: ita F  
 praebuit PBCM: praefuit BFLV

pepercit addita denuntione belli, quod praesentium rerum necessitas moraretur.

- 19 Tyros septimo mense, quam oppugnari coepta erat, capta est, urbs et uetustate originis et crebra fortunae uarietatae ad memoriam posteritatis insignis. Conditae ab Agenore diu mare non uicinum modo sed quodcumque classes eius adierat ditionis suae fecit. Et, si famae libet credere, haec gens litteras prima aut docuit aut didicit. Coloniae certe eius paene orbe toto diffusae sunt: Carthago in Africa, in Boeotia Thebae, Gadis ad Oceanum. Crēdo libero conmeantes mari saepiusque adeundo ceteris incognitas terras eligisse sedes iuuentuti, qua tunc abundabant, siue quia crebris motibus terrae - nam hoc quoque traditur - cultores eius fatigati noua et externa domicilia armis sibimet quaerere cogebantur. Multis ergo casibus defuncta et post excidium renata nunc tandem longa pace cuncta refovente sub tutela Romanae mansuetudinis adquiescit.
- 5.1 Isdem ferme diebus Darei litterae adlatae sunt tandem ut regi scriptae. Petebat, uti filiam suam - Statirae erat nomen - nuptiis Alexander sibi adiungeret: dotem offerre omnem regionem inter Hellespontum et Halyn amnem sitam, inde orientem spectantibus terris contentum. Si forte dubitaret, quod offerretur, accipere, numquam diu eodem uestigio stare fortunam, semperque homines, quantamcumque felicitatem habeant, inuidiam tamen sentire maiorem. Vereri se, ne auium modo, quas naturalis leuitas ageret ad sidera, inani ac

18 pepercit PBcFM: perpercit BLV 19 quodcumque PBFLcV: quocumque M: cumque L ditionis M: ditionis PBFLV: ditionis Δ paene Δ: poene PBFLV: pene M Boeotia P: Boetia ω Gadis Ω: Gades Vind.  
 20 iuuentuti PBFM: iuuentute LV abundabant Zarotus: habundabant Vind.: abundabat Ω siue Ω: seu Vind.  
 21 tamen Erasmus: tamen Ω mansuetudinis PBcMVc: mansuetudis BFLV 5.1 Statirae erat Modius: Stati praeerat PFV: Statipre erat M: Statipe erat L: Stati p erat B Halyn Froben: alyn PBLMV: halim F  
 contentum ΩΔ: contentum se fore Modius, fort. rect.  
 2 Si forte Ω: se fore. Ne Hedicke 3 auium PBLMV: auium F

puerili mentis adfectu efferretur: nihil difficilius esse quam in illa aetate tantam capere fortunam.

- 4 Multas se adhuc reliquias habere nec semper inter angustias posse deprehendi: transeundum esse Alexandro Euphraten Tigrimque et Choaspen, magna munimenta regni sui; ueniendum in campos, ubi paucitate suorum erubescendum sit, in Mediam, Hyrcaniam, Bactra; et Indos, Oceani accolas, quando aditurum - ne Sogdianos et Arachosios nominem ceterasque gentes ad Caucasum et Tanain pertinentes? Senescendum fore tantum terrarum uel sine proelio obeunti. Se uero id ipsum uocare desineret: namque illius exitio se esse uenturum.
- 7 Alexander iis, qui litteras adtulerant, respondit Dareum sibi aliena promittere et, quod totum amiserit, uelle partiri. Doti sibi dari Lydiam, Ionas, Aeolidem, Hellesponti oram, uictoriae suae praemia. Leges autem a uictoribus dici, accipi a uictis: in utro statu ambo essent, si solus ignoraret, quam primum Marte decerneret. Se quoque, cum transiret mare, non Ciliciam aut Lydiam - quippe tanti belli exiguam hanc esse mercedem - sed Persepolim, caput regni eius, Bactra deinde et Ecbatana ultimique Orientis oram imperio destinasse. Quocumque ille fugere potuisset, ipsum sequi posse: desineret terrere fluminibus quem sciret maria transisse.

- 9 Reges quidem haec inuicem scripserant. Sed Rhodii urbem suam portusque dedebant Alexandro. Ille Ciliciam Socrati tradiderat, Philota regioni circa Tyrum iusso praesidere. Syriam, quae Coele appellatur,

3 mentis adfectu efferretur scripsi: mentis affectu efferretur §: mentis affectu efferret BcM: mentis afferret PFLV: mentis afferret B: mente se efferret Bentley 4 Choaspen Cellarius: Idaspen Ω: Hydaspen Aldus Hyrcaniam P: Hircaniam ω 5 quando P: quandoque PcB: quado FLV: quados M Sogdianos PV: Sogdianos BFLM Tanain P: tana\*in L: tanain V: tanatin BcF: tanatiin Pc: tanatiim M: tanatum B 6 se esse Pcω: esse P Lydiam Vind.: lidiam Ω, talia non semper commemorabo 7 a uictoribus PBFcIcMV: auctoribus FL 8 caput ω: capud P imperio PBLV: imperio suo F 9 Rhodii M: hrodii BFV: rodii P: horodii L dedebant PBFLM: debebant V Philota Vind.: Filotae P: Filiatae FLMV: Filiate B

- Andromacho Parmenio tradiderat bello, quod superat,  
 10 interfurus. Rex Hephaestione Phoenices oram classe  
 praeteruchi iusso ad urbem Gazam cum omnibus copiis  
 uenit.
- 11 Isdem fere diebus sollemne erat ludicrum Isth-  
 miorum, quod conuentu totius Graeciae celebratur. In  
 eo consilio Graeci, ut sunt temporaria ingenia, decer-  
 nunt, ut XV legarentur ad regem, qui ob res pro salute  
 ac libertate Graeciae gestas coronam auream donum  
 12 uictoriae ferrent. Idem paulo ante incertae fama  
 captauerant auram ut, quocumque pendentes animos  
 tulisset fortuna, sequerentur.
- 13 Ceterum non ipse modo rex obibat urbes adhuc  
 iugum imperii recusantes, sed praetores quoque ipsius,  
 egregii duces, pleraque inuaserant: Calas Paphlagoriam,  
 Antigonus Lycaoniam; Balcrus Hydarne, Darei praetore,  
 14 superato, iterum Miletum cepit; Amphoterus et Hegelo-  
 chus CLX nauium classe insulas inter Achaia atque  
 Asia in dicionem Alexandri redegerunt. Tenedo quoque  
 recepta Chium incolis ultro uocantibus statuerant  
 15 occupare; sed Pharnabazus, Darei praetor, conprehen-  
 sis, qui res ad Macedones trahebant, rursus Apollonidi  
 et Athenagorae, suarum partium uiris, uroem cum  
 16 modico praesidio militum tradit. Praefecti Alexandri  
 in obsidione urbis perseuerabant non tam suis <fisi>  
 uiribus quam ipsorum, qui obsidebantur, uoluntate.

9 Parmenio P: Parmenio ω bello Modius: ab illo Ω  
 interfuturus Modius: iter facturus Ω: interfuturum §:  
 interfuturis Flor.DFI 10 Gazam FLMV: Gazan PB  
 sollemne VL: solemne PBM: sollene F Isthmiorum  
 Pc in ras.: istmiorum Pc sup. ras.: istimiorum M:  
 istymiorum V: iistymiorum FL Graeciae ω: gretie P  
 XV.PFLMV: XII B 12 animos tulisset fortuna Palmer:  
 animus tulisset fortunam Ω 13 egregii PBFMV:  
 egregiae L Calas F: Chalas PBLMV Paphlagoniam  
 PBM: paplagoniam FLV Lycaoniam PBLM: licaoniam FV  
 iterum Goodyear: II Δ: II duos P: II duos BFLV:  
 duos M: denuo Vogel Miletum Δ: militum Ω cepit  
 FV: coepit PBLM 14 Hegelochus Aldus: eghilochus Ω  
 Tenedo quoque recepta Chium Gronouius: Tenedon quoque  
 receptaculum Pcω: Tenedon quoque receptaculo P  
 praetor PBFML: preter V rursus PBcFLM: russus BV  
 Apollonidi §: Apollinidi Ω Athenagorae PBLMV:  
 Athanagorae F 16 <fisi> uiribus Vogel: uiribus Ω

Nec fefellit opinio: namque inter Apolloniden et  
 duces militum orta seditio inrumpendi in urbem occa-  
 17 sionem dedit, cumque porta effracta cohors Macedonum  
 intrasset, oppidani olim consilio proditionis agitato  
 adgregant se Amphotero et Hegelocho, Persarumque  
 praesidio caeso Pharnabazus cum Apollonide et Athena-  
 18 gora uincti traduntur, XII triremes cum suo milite  
 ac remige, praeter eas XXX inanes et piratici lembi  
 Graecorumque III milia a Persis mercede conducta.  
 His in supplementum copiarum suarum distributis piratis-  
 que supplicio adfectis captiuos remiges adiecere  
 classi suae.

19 Forte Aristonicus, Methymnaeorum tyrannus, cum  
 piraticis nauibus ignarus omnium, quae apud Chium acta  
 erant, prima uigilia ad portus claustra successit  
 interrogatusque a custodibus, quis esset, Aristonicum  
 20 ad Pharnabazum uenire respondit. Illi Pharnabazum  
 quidem iam quiescere et non posse tum adiri, ceterum  
 patere socio atque hospiti portum et postero die  
 21 Pharnabazi copiam fore adfirmant. Nec dubitauit Aris-  
 tonicus primus intrare, secutisunt ducem piratici  
 lembi, ac, dum adplicant nauigia crepidini portus,  
 obicitur a uigilibus claustrum, et, qui proximi excu-  
 babant, ab isdem excitantur. Nullo ex his auso re-  
 pugnare omnibus catenae iniectae sunt, Amphotero  
 22 deinde Hegelochoque traduntur. Hinc Macedones transire  
 Mytilenen, quam Chares Atheniensis nuper occupatam II  
 milium Persarum praesidio tenebat; sed cum obsidionem  
 tolerare non posset, urbe tradita pactus, ut incolumi  
 abire liceret, Imbrum petit. Deditis Macedones  
 pepercerunt.

16 in urbem PBFMV: urbem L 17 se PBFML: es V  
 18 supplicio Pcω: om. P 19 Methymnaeorum Cospus:  
 methymneorum P: methimneorum BFLV: mechimneorum V:  
 medimneorum B tyrannus BFLV: tirannus PM  
 20 posse Pcω: posset P postero P: postera ω  
 21 isdem ω: hisdem P ex his FLMV: ex iis F:  
 ex is B auso PBLMV: auxo F Amphotero ω: anpho-  
 tero P 22 Hinc PBFML: Hic V Mytilenen Hedicke:  
 Mitylenen Δ: Mithilenen Ω Chares Vind.: Cares ΩΔ  
 occupatam PBFV: occupatum LM

- 6.1 Dareus desperata pace, quam per litteras legatos-  
 2 que inpetrari posse crediderat, ad reparandas uires  
 bellumque inpigre renouandum intendit animum. Duces  
 ergo copiarum Babyloniam conuenire, Bessum quoque,  
 Bactrianorum praetorem, quam maximo posset exercito  
 3 coacto, descendere ad se iubet. Sunt autem Bactriani  
 inter illas gentes promptissimi, horridis ingeniis  
 multumque a Persarum luxu abhorrentibus: siti haud  
 procul Scytharum bellicosissima gente et rapto uiuere  
 4 adsueta semper in armis erant. Sed Bessus suspecta  
 perfidia haud sane aequo animo in secundo se continens  
 gradu regem terrebat: nam cum regnum adfectaret, pro-  
 ditio, qua sola id adsequi poterat, timebatur.
- 5 Ceterum Alexander, quam regionem Dareus petisset,  
 omni cura uestigans tamen explorare non poterat more  
 6 quodam Persarum arcana regum mira celantium fide: non  
 metus, non spes elicit uocem, qua prodantur occulta.  
 Vetus disciplina regum silentium uitae periculo san-  
 xerat: lingua grauius castigatur quam ullum probrum,  
 nec magnam rem †magis† sustineri posse credunt ab eo,  
 cui tacere graue sit, quod homini facillimum uoluerit  
 7 esse natura. Ob hanc causam Alexander omnium, quae  
 apud hostium gererentur, ignarus urbem Gazam obside-  
 bat. Praeerat urbi Baetis, eximiae in regem suum fidei,  
 mcllicoque praesidio muros ingentis operis tuebatur.
- 8 Alexander aestimatio locorum situ agi cuniculos iussit  
 facili ac leui humo acceptante occultum opus: quippe  
 multam harenam uicinam mare euomit, nec saxa cotesque,

6.1 crediderat PM: crediderant BFLV 2 Babyloniam  
PBLM: babylloniam V: babilloniam F praetorem, quam  
Gronouius: perquam Ω: ducem perquam Δ 3 multumque  
PBFMV: multum quoque L procul PBFLM: procul a V  
 Scytharum Vind.: scitharum ΩΔ 4 regnum PBFLCM:  
 regum L 5 explorare PBFCLMV: exploraret F  
 celantium BFLV: caelantium M: celancium P 6 san-  
 xerat PBcFLMV: saxerat B probrum PBFMV: probum L  
 rem †magis† sustineri: rem magis sustineri PFLMV: rem  
 sustineri Bδ: rem agi et sustineri Stangl  
 facillimum PBLMV: facillinum F 7 urbi PBFLM: ei V  
 Baetis scripsi: betis PBFLM: batis V muros PBFLCMV:  
 murus L 8 aestimatio BPM: estimatio FLV occultum  
PM: oculum BcFLV: oculum B euomit Giunta: euomens Ω

- 9 quae interpellent specus, obstant. Igitur ab ea parte, quam oppidani conspicerere non possent, opus orsus, ut a sensu eius auerteret, turres muris admoueri iubet. Sed eadem humus mouendis inutilis turribus desidente sabulo agilitatem rotarum morata [et] tabulata turrium perfringebat, multique uulnerabantur inpune, cum idem recipiendis qui admouendis turribus labor eos fatigaret. Ergo receptui signo dato postero die muros corona circumdari iussit. Ortoque sole, priusquam admoueret exercitum, opem deum exposcens sacrum patrio more faciebat.
- 11 Forte praeteruolans coruus glébam, quam unguibus ferebat, subito amisit: quae cum regis capiti incidisset, resoluta defluxit, ipsa autem auis in proxima turre cōsedit. Inlita erat turris bitumine ac sulphure, in qua alis haerentibus frustra se adleuare conatus a circumstantibus capitur. Digna res uisa, de qua uates consuleret, et erat non intactae superstitione mentis. Ergo Aristander, cui maxima fides habebatur: urbis quidem excidium augurio illo portendi, ceterum periculum esse ne rex uulnus acciperet. Ita que monuit, ne quid eo die inciperet. Ille quamquam unam urbem sibi, quominus securus Aegyptum intraret, obstare aegre ferebat, tamen paruit uati signumque receptui dedit. Hinc animus creuit obsessis, egressisque porta recedentibus inferunt signa cunctationem hostium suam fore occasionem rati.
- 14 Sed acrius quam constantius proelium inierunt: quippe ut Macedonum signa circumagi uidere, repente sistunt gradum. Iamque ad regem proeliantium clamor peruenerat, cum denuntiati periculi haud sané memor

8 obstant PBLMV: obstabant F 9 mouendis Ω :  
 admouendis § [et] Mützell: et Ω : etiam Hedicke  
 recipiendis Ω : <in> recipiendis Büttner  
 10 postero Ω : postera § sacrum PBFMV: sacra L  
 11 sulphure BM: sulphure PFLV 12 intactae super-  
 stitione Bromley: intacta a superstitione Ω : intactae  
 a superstitione Freinsheim excidium Ω : excidium  
 ait Hedicke monuit ω : mouit P 13 Hinc P: hic ω  
 egressisque PBeLMV: egressisque F: egressisque B



loricam tamen, quam raro induebat, amicis orantibus  
 15 sumpsit et ad prima signa peruenit. Quo conspecto  
 Arabs quidam, Darei miles, maius fortuna sua facinus  
 ausus, gladium clypeo tegens quasi transfuga genibus  
 regis aduoluitur. Ille adsurgere supplicem recipique  
 16 inter suos iussit. At barbarus gladio strenue in  
 dextram translato ceruicem adpetit regis. Qui exigua  
 corporis declinatione euitato ictu in uanum manum  
 barbari lapsam amputat gladio, denuntiato in illum  
 17 diem periculo, ut arbitrabatur ipse, defunctus. Sed,  
 ut opinor, ineuitabile est fatum: quippe dum inter  
 primores promptius dimicat, sagitta ictus est, quam  
 per loricam adactam stantem in humero medicus eius  
 18 Philippus euellit. Plurimus deinde sanguis manare  
 coepit omnibus territis, quia non, quam alte penetras-  
 set telum, lorica obstante cognouerant. Ipse ne oris  
 quidem colore mutato supprimi sanguinem et uulnus  
 19 obligari iussit. Diu ante ipsa signa uel dissimulato  
 uel uicto dolore perstiterat, cum suppressus paulo  
 ante sanguis medicamento [quo retentus erat] manare  
 largius coepit, et uulnus quod tepens adhuc dolorem  
 20 non mouerat, frigente sanguine intumuit. Linqui deinde  
 animo et submitti genu coepit; quem proximi exceptum  
 in castra receperunt. Et Baetis interfectum ratus  
 21 urbem ouans uictoria repetit. At Alexander nondum  
 percurato uulnere aggerem, quo moenium altitudinem  
 aequaret, extruxit pluribusque cuniculis muros subruui  
 22 iussit. Oppidani ad pristinum fastigium moenium nouum  
 extruxere munimentum, sed ne id quidem turre aggeri

15 maius PBF<sub>1</sub>LM: magius V clypeo PBF<sub>1</sub>LVA : clipeo M  
 16 in dextram PBF<sub>1</sub>LM: in dexteram V 17 fatum  
PBF<sub>1</sub>cLM: factum FV primores Pc<sub>1</sub>ω: plimores P  
 adactam PBF<sub>1</sub>MV: adactum L humero PBLMV: umero F  
 Philippus PBLMV: plilippus F 18 quia non quam  
PBc<sub>1</sub>FcLM: quia numquam F: quia quam BV 19 largius  
Heinsius: longius Ω: latius Erasmus: laxius δ  
 tepens Acidalius: stupens Ω: recens Vind.  
 20 linqui Pc<sub>1</sub>ω: liqui P submitti PLMV: supmitti F:  
 summitti BA Baetis scripsi: Betis Ω 21 cuniculis  
ω: cuniculos P muros Pc<sub>1</sub>ω: moros P

inpositas poterat aequare. Itaque interiora quoque  
 23 urbis infesta telis erant. Ultima pestis urbis fuit  
 cuniculo subrutus murus, per cuius ruinas hostis in-  
 trauit. Ducebat ipse rex antesignanos, et, dum in-  
 24 cautius subit, saxo crus eius adfligitur. Innixus  
 tamen telo nondum prioris uulneris obducta cicatrice  
 inter primores dimicat, ira quoque accensus, quod duo  
 25 in obsidione urbis eius uulnera acceperat. Baetim  
 egregia edita pugna multisque uulneribus confectum  
 deseruerunt sui, nec tamen sepius proelium capesse-  
 bat lubricis armis suo pariter atque hostium sanguine.  
 26 Sed cum undique telis \*\*\* quo adducto insolenti gaudio  
 iuuenis elatus, alias uirtutis etiam in hoste mirator,  
 "Non ut uoluisti," inquit, "morieris, sed quidquid in  
 captiuum inueniri potest passurum esse te cogita."  
 27 Ille non interrito modo sed contumaci quoque uultu  
 intuens regem nullam ad minas eius reddidit uocem.  
 28 Tum Alexander, "Videtisne obstinatum ad tacendum?"  
 inquit, "num genu posuit? num uocem supplicem misit?  
 Vincam tamen silentium et, si nihil aliud, certe  
 29 gemitu interpellabo." Iram deinde uertit in rabiem  
 iam tum peregrinos ritus noua subiciente fortuna.  
 Per talos enim spirantis lora traiecta sunt, religatum-  
 que ad currum traxere circa urbem equi, gloriante rege  
 Achillen, a quo genus ipse deduceret, imitatum se esse  
 30 poena in hoste capienda. Cecidere Persarum Arabumque  
 circa X milia, nec Macedonibus incruenta uictoria fuit.  
 Obsidio certe non tam claritate urbis nobilitata est  
 quam geminato periculo regis. Qui Aegyptum adire  
 festinans Amyntan cum X triremibus in Macedoniam ad  
 31 inquisitionem nouorum militum misit. Namque etiam  
 secundis atterebantur tamen copiae, deuictarum gentium

23 subrutus PBFLeMV: subrutos L 24 dimicat Pc $\omega$  :  
 demicat P 25 Baetim P: Baetin\* Pc: Betim  $\omega$   
 26 quo adducto Freinsheim: quaducto  $\Omega$  27 interrito  
PBFcLMcV: interibo PFM reddidit PBFLeMcV: reddit M  
 28 num..num PBFMV: non..non L aliud PBFMV: om. L  
 29 Iram  $\Omega$  : Ira Froben subiciente Hedicke:  
 subeunte  $\Omega$  se esse PBLMV: esse se F  
 30 inquisitionem  $\Omega$  : conquisitionem Vogel 31 tamen  
PBFLeV: om. PcBcM deuictarumque PBcFLM: diuictarum-  
 que B: domitarumque V

militi minor quam domestico fides habebatur.

- 7.1 Aegyptii olim Persarum opibus infensi - quippe  
 auare et superbe imperitatum sibi esse credebant - ad  
 spem aduentus eius erexerant animos, utpote qui  
 Amyntam quoque transfugam et cum precario imperio  
 2 uenientem laeti recepissent. Igitur ingens multitudo  
 Pelusium, qua intraturus uidebatur, conuenerat.  
 Atque ille septimo die, postquam a Gaza copias mouerat,  
 in regionem Aegypti, quam nunc Castra Alexandri uocant,  
 3 peruenit. Deinde pedestribus copiis Pelusium petere  
 iussis ipse cum expedita delectorum manu Nilo amne  
 uectus est. Nec sustinere aduentum eius Persae  
 4 defectione quoque perterriti. Iamque haud procul  
 Memphi erat, in cuius praesidio Astaces, praetor Darei  
 relictus <ad Cercas>oron amne superato, octingenta  
 talenta Alexandro omnemque regiam suppellectilem tra-  
 5 didit. A Memphi eodem flumine uectus ad interiora  
 Aegypti penetrat compositis rebus ita, ut nihil ex  
 patrio Aegyptiorum more mutaret, adire Iouis Hammonis  
 oraculum statuit.  
 6 Iter expeditis quoque et paucis uix tolerabile  
 ingrediendum erat: terra caeloque aquarum penuria est,  
 steriles harenae iacent, quas ubi uapor solis accendit,  
 feruido solo exurente uestigia intolerabilis aestus  
 7 existit. Luctandumque est non solum cum ardore et  
 siccitate regionis, sed etiam cum tenacissimo sabulo,  
 quod praealtum et uestigio cedens aegre moliuntur  
 8 pedes. Haec Aegyptii uero maiora iactabant; sed ingens  
 cupido animum stimulabat adeundi Iouem, quem generis  
 sui auctorem haud contentus mortali fastigio aut  
 9 credebat esse aut credi uolebat. Ergo cum iis, quos  
 ducere secum statuerat, secundo amne descendit ad

6.31 minor PBFcLMV: minor F 7.1 qui PBcFLMV:  
 quia B 3 delectorum PcΩ: dilectorum P  
 4 Astaces BcM: astace PBFLV: Mazaces Raderus  
 <ad Cercas>oron Foss: oron Ω octingenta PBFLcMV:  
 octoginta L 5 Hammonis PcBcFLMV: hammonis P:  
 ammonis B 6 exurente Vind.: et urente Ω existit  
PBc(in ras.)FLMV: exurit PB 9 iis Vind.: his Ω

Mareotin paludem. Eo legati Cyrenensium dona adtulere, pacem et ut adiret urbes suas petentes. Ille donis acceptis amicitiaeque coniuncta destinata exequi pergit.

- 10 Ac primo quidem et sequente die tolerabilis labor uisus nondum tam uastis nudisque solitudinibus  
 11 aditis, iam tamen sterili et emoriente terra. Sed ut aperuere se campi alto obruti sabulo, haud secus quam profundum aequor ingressi terram oculis require-  
 12 bant: nulla arbor, nullum culti soli occurrebat uestigium. Aqua etiam defecerat, quam cameli utribus uexerant, et in arido solo ac feruido sabulo nulla  
 13 erat. Ad hoc sol omnia incenderat, siccaque et adusta erant ora, cum repente - siue illud deorum munus siue casus fuit - obductae caelo nubēs condidere solem, ingens aestu fatigatis, etiam si aqua deficeret, auxi-  
 14 lium. Enimuero ut largum quoque imbrem excusserunt procellae, pro se quisque excipere eum, quidam ob sitim inpotentes sui ore quoque hianti captare coep-  
 15 erunt. Quadriduum per uastas solitudines absumptum est. Iamque haud procul oraculi sede aberant, cum complures corui agmini occurrunt: modico uolatu prima signa antecedentes [et] modo humi residebant, cum lentius agmen incederet, modo se pennis leuabant  
 16 ducentium iterque monstrantium ritu. Tandem ad sedem consecratam deo uentum est. Incredibile dictu, inter uastas solitudines sita undique ambientibus ramis, uix in densam umbram cadente sole, contacta est, multique fontes dulcibus aquis passim manantibus alunt siluas.  
 17 Caeli quoque mira temperies, uerno tepori maxime similis, omnes anni partes pari salubritate percurrit.

9 pergit PBFcLMV: peregit F 10 sequente die PBFLM:  
 sequenti V 13 erant ora Ω: erant omnia Δ  
 14 Enimuero Ω: Idemuero Hedicke excipere PBcFLMV:  
 excepere B inpotentes Vind.: inobtentis Ω  
 hianti PcBFLcMV: hiante FL 15 absumptum ω:  
 assumptum P complures BFLV: complures PM uolatu  
Pcω (uolat L) uolato P [et] Hedicke: et Ω ducentium  
Hugius: cedentium Ω: praecedentium §: antecedentium  
Vind. iterque BcM: interque PBFLV 16 sita  
Acidalius: ita Ω 17 tepori PBFV: tepori LM

- 18 Accolae sedis sunt ab oriente proximi Aethiopum. In meridiem uersam Arabes spectant - Trogodytis cognomen est - horum regio usque ad Rubrum mare excurrit.
- 19 At qua uergit ad occidentem, alii Aethiopes colunt, quos Simos uocant. A septentrione Nasamones sunt, gens Syrtica, nauigiorum spoliis quaestuosa: quippe obsident litora et aestu destituta nauigia notis sibi
- 20 uadis occupant. Incolae nemoris, quos Hammonios uocant, dispersis tuguriis habitant: medium nemus
- 21 pro arce habent, triplici muro circumdatum. Prima munitio tyrannorum ueterem regiam clausit, in proxima coniuges eorum cum liberis et paelicibus habitabant - hic quoque dei oraculum est - ultima munimenta
- 22 satellitum armigerorumque sedes erant. Est aliud Hammonis nemus: in medio habet fontem - Solis aquam uocant. Sub lucis ortum tepida manat, medio die, cuius uehementissimus est calor, frigida eadem fluit, inclinato in uesperam calescit, media nocte feruida exaestuatur, quoque nox propius uergit ad lucem, multum ex nocturno calore decrescit, donec sub ipsum diei ortum adueto tepore languescat.
- 23 Id quod pro deo colitur, non eandem effigiem habet, quam uulgo diis artifices accommodauerunt: umbilico maxime similis est habitus, zmaragdo et
- 24 gemmis coagmentatus. Hunc, cum responsum petitur, nauigio aurato gestant sacerdotes multis argenteis pateris ab utroque nauigii latere pendentibus; sequuntur matronae uirginesque patrio more inconditum

18 uersam  $\Omega$  : uersum  $\S$  Trogodytis Bongars: trogodytis  $\Omega$  : Troglodytis Aldus 19 At qua P: aqua  $Pc\omega$  occidentem P: occidentalem  $Pc\omega$  Aethiopes  $MA$ : ethiopes  $PBFLV$  Simos Letellierius: Simuos  $V$  Syrtica  $Vind.$ : tyrtica  $\Omega$  20 dispersis  $PBLMV$ : dipersis  $F$  pro arce  $PBFLcMV$ : per arte  $L$  21 ueterem  $\Omega$  : ueterum  $Sebisius$  habitabant P: habitant  $\omega$  sedes  $PBFLM$ : sedens  $V$  22 Est et aliud  $PBFLM$ : Est aliud  $V$  ortum  $PBcFLMV$ : hortum  $B$  quoque  $PBFMV$ : cum  $L$  languescat  $PBFLM$ : languescit  $V$  23 id quod  $Vind.$  (ut uid.): id  $\Omega$  non eandem  $PBFLM$ : non endem  $V$  Umbilico  $PFLMV$ : utimbrico  $B$  zmaragdo  $PBFH$ : smaragdo  $LV$  coagmentatus  $Vind.$ : coagmentatus  $PBFLV$ : coagmentatus  $M$  24 responsum  $PBFMV$ : responso  $L$  argenteis..latere  $PBFLM$ :  $om.$   $V$  pateris  $Pc\omega$ : pateras  $P$

quoddam carmen canentes, quo propitiari Iouem credunt,  
 25 ut certum edat oraculum. Ac tum quidem regem propius  
 adeuntem maximus natu e sacerdotibus filium appellat,  
 hoc nomen illi parentem Iouem reddere adfirmans. Ille  
 se uero et accipere ait et adgnosceret, humanae sortis  
 26 oblitus. Consuluit deinde, an totius orbis imperium  
 fatis sibi destinaretur. Pater aeque in adulationem  
 compositus terrarum omnium rectorem fore ostendit.  
 27 Post haec institit quaerere an omnes parentis sui  
 interfectores poenas dedissent. Sacerdos parentem  
 eius negat ullius scelere posse uiolari, Philippi  
 autem omnes luisse supplicia; adiecit inuictum fore,  
 donec excederet ad deos.  
 28 Sacrificio deinde facto dona et sacerdotibus et  
 deo data sunt, permissumque amicis ut ipsi quoque  
 consuleret Iouem. Nihil amplius quaesierunt quam, an  
 auctor esset sibi diuinis honoribus colendi suum regem.  
 29 Hoc quoque acceptum fore Ioui uates respondet. Vera  
 et salubri aestima<nti ra>tione fidem oraculi uana  
 profecto responsa ei uideri potuissent, sed fortuna,  
 quos uni sibi credere coegit, magna ex parte auidos  
 30 gloriae magis quam capaces facit. Iouis igitur filium  
 se non solum appellari passus est, sed etiam iussit  
 rerumque gestarum famam, dum augere uult tali appella-  
 31 tione, corrumpit. Et Macedones, adsueti quidem regio  
 imperio, sed in maiore libertatis umbra quam ceterae  
 gentes, immortalitatem adfectantem contumacius, quam  
 32 aut ipsis expediebat aut regi, auersati sunt. Sed

24 edat PBFLMcV: om. M 25 Ac tum PBFLM: At tum V  
 propius PBFLM: propicius V accipere Pcω: accipero P  
 26 fatis P: satis ω sibi PBFLMcV: om. M  
 destinaretur Bentley: destinaret Ω Pater Ω: Vates  
Froben adulationem PBcFLMV: adultionem B 27  
 ullius PBFLM: illius V 28 esset ω: esset P  
 suum Lauer: sui Ω respondet PcBcLcM: respondit P:  
 respondent BFLV aestima<nti ra>tione Menge-Fried:  
 aestimatione Ω 29 responsa ei Zumpt: responsa si ω:  
 responsi P capaces Pcω: capes P 31 in maiore  
PFLMV: maiore B ceterae gentes BM: ceteraegentes  
PFLV: ceterae sub rege gentes sugg. Warmington: ceteri  
 degentes Cornelissen adfectantem PBFLcMV: adfectan-  
 dem L aut regi ω: haud regi P

reseruentur; nunc cetera exequi pergam.

- 8.1 Alexander ab Hammone rediens, ut <ad> Mareotin  
 paludem haud procul insula Pharo sitam uenit,  
 contemplatus loci naturam primum in ipsa insula  
 2 statuerat urbem nouam contendere. Inde ut adparuit  
 magnae sedis insulam haud capacem esse, elegit urbi  
 locum, ubi nunc est Alexandria, appellationem trahens  
 ex nomine auctoris. Complexus quidquid soli est inter  
 paludem ac mare octoginta stadiorum muris ambitum  
 destinatus et, qui exaedificandae urbi praessent,  
 3 relictis Memphin petit. Cupido haud iniusta quidem,  
 ceterum intempestiua incesserat non interiora modo  
 Aegypti sed etiam Aethiopem inuisere: Memnonis Titlioni-  
 que celebrata regia cognoscendae uetustatis audum  
 trahebat paene extra terminos solis.

1 ut ad Schmieder: ut  $\Omega$  : ad Hedicke Mareotin  
§, Modius: mareotyn  $\Omega$  insula PBcFLMV: insula B  
 condere PBFcLcMV: concedere FL 2 adparuit PBFLM:  
 apparuerit V esse PBFLM: om. V Alexandria Kinch:  
 Alexandria PcBcFcM: Alexandri PBFLV ac mare PBFcLMV:  
 ac magis F 3 incesserat PBFLM: incesserant V  
 Tithonique Aldus: titonisque  $\Omega$

COMMENTARY



Q. Curti Rufi There seems to be no doubt about Curtius' name, even though his identity remains a mystery. Curti is fairly certainly the correct form of the genitive of the nomen, although we have no other evidence as to whether Curtius himself preferred the -i or -ii form of such genitives, as Roman nomina do not, of course, appear in the Historiae. See however on imperii, IV 1.9.

Historiarum Alexandri Magni Macedonis Ω has little to offer by way of an actual title: Curti Rufi Historiarum libri V: desunt inscr. ap. PBFL: Q: Curti Rufi Historiarum Alexandri Magni Macedonis liber decimus feliciter, Amen F subscr.<sup>1</sup>

Book III ended with a description of the fate of the leading Persians, including Darius' family, after the last major event, the Battle of Issus. Book IV opens with a complete change of mood, from pathos to urgency. The transition between Books IV and V is very similar. Each book seems to have been carefully planned to make a coherent unit, beginning with an exordium leading into the first main episode in the book, and ending with a peroratio of general concluding remarks, sometimes even taking the form of a sententia, for example IX 10.30 'adeo nec luxuriae quicquam crudelitas nec crudelitate luxuria obstat,' or other rhetorical device such as the chiasmic final sentence of Book IV: 'fatebimur et regem talibus ministris et illos tanto rege fuisse dignissimos.'

Curtius' treatment of his material is episodic. Each book contains three or four major (or at least major in Curtius' opinion) events or speeches which are singled out as worthy of 'set-piece' attention, connected by sections of plainer narrative to keep the reader informed of what was going on elsewhere at the same time,<sup>2</sup> a pattern familiar from Livy.<sup>3</sup> Thus in Book III there are: the catalogue of Persian troops, Philip the physician, the Battle of Issus; in Book IV, the siege of Tyre, the journey to Ammon, the Battle of Gaugamela, and so on. Within and alongside these main

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1 Dossou, Étude p. 315.

2 see also Bardon, LEC p. 13.

3 see Witte, RhM 65 (1910) 270f., Walsh, RhM 97 (1954) 97.

sections there are subsidiary episodes which Curtius has also taken care to develop. Many of these are complete in themselves and may have been written out of context when he found something particularly interesting. There seem to be three kinds which specially appealed to him: 1) dramatic interludes to illustrate a person's character or state of mind, often with dialogue, and frequently involving Alexander; 2) descriptions of hazards, natural or otherwise, to exaggerate or at least emphasise the difficulty of Alexander's task; 3) descriptions of places and people to set the scene for coming events, or simply for exotic diversion.

Traces of 'set-piece' controversiae, or parts of the narrative treated as such, can be seen in Curtius' love of parallel opposing arguments; for example at IV 14.1 Alexander gives the reasons for his invasion, which are opposed to Darius' version of these at IV 14.9. Alexander's speech is on this occasion given in 0.0. but the effect is the same. At V 5.10 Euctemon's advice to return to Greece is opposed by Theaetetus; at VIII 5.10 Cleon proposes divine honours for Alexander and is opposed by Callisthenes. The 'court-room battles' at VI 9-10 (Alexander v. Philotas) and VIII 7-8 (Alexander v. Hermolaus) of course lend themselves easily to this form, but Curtius takes with enthusiasm every opportunity to allow someone to make a speech, where more restrained historians (or those less addicted to oratory) would not. Compare, for example, the long speeches of Alexander and Philotas (VI 9-11) with Arrian's version -a summary in a few lines (3.26). Similarly, Amyntas' long speech in his own defence at VII 1 is given one sentence by Arrian, and not mentioned at all by Diodorus.

Curtius does his best to fulfil the three requirements of the good orator- delectare, docere, mouere -but the first and last of these seem to be his primary concern. He is not over-careful to make his characters speak 'in character' with expressions and opinions appropriate to their age, status and disposition, but is more anxious to convey their emotional response in a given situation. As I have suggested, many of these speeches are far too long for their historical importance, and in comparison with the care and space devoted to some other parts of the narrative. It is to be hoped that

they were read or recited in small doses, as the continuous rhetoric, however impressive, soon becomes indigestible.<sup>1</sup>

A charge of gross imbalance in composition can justly be brought against Curtius.<sup>2</sup> He is easily carried away by enthusiasm for those incidents which catch his imagination and, he probably anticipates, will interest his readers. Historically important facts and events are consequently subordinated and relegated to a few lines of plain (and often hastily written) narrative. Curtius' account of the capture of the Aegean Islands at IV 5.13f. is similar in length and tone to Arrian's at the beginning of Book 3, but a comparison of their accounts of the visit to the Oracle of Ammon (IV 7 q.v.; Arr. 3.3 & 4) shows how far Curtius allows himself to indulge in telling a good tale. He obviously finds details of troop movements, for example, and events not immediately involving Alexander, less than absorbing, because they do not lend themselves to rhetorical treatment, but he has to mention them for the sake of continuity. The disparity in tone, polish and length between the sections favoured by the author and those not so fortunate is striking.

At the beginning of Book IV, we rejoin from III 11.11 the account of Darius' fight after the débâcle at Issus.

IV 1.1. Dareus Darius III 'Codomannus': RE IV<sub>2</sub>.2205= Dareios 3. This spelling is found consistently in the earliest MSS. BFLV. (P consistently alters to Darius.) Similarly Cic. de Fin. 30.90; Livy 9.17.16; Ovid Ibis 315; Tac. Ann. 3.63. Cf. Alexandrea, below IV 8.5. For Darius' accession see IV 1.10.

modo Temporal, referring to the more recent past than nuper: Cic. Verr. 2.4.6 'quid dico "nuper"? immo uero modo ac plane paulo ante uidimus.' Ovid Am. 1.12.3.

Dareus, tanti modo exercitus rex Referring back to the state of Darius' forces before Issus, cf. III 3 28 'Dareus, tantae multitudinis rex'. For a description of the Persian

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1 See further: F. Helmreich, Die Reden bei Curtius; F.R. Hiller, De Curti Rufi Historiarum Alexandri orationibus; and Rhetorische Stilgrundsätze bei Curtius Rufus.

2 Vogel, Edition of Q.C., 1903, p. 216. Cf. on Livy: Walsh, AJPh.

army on the move, see III 3.8-28; Arr. 2.8.5f.

The short passage §§ 1-3 is full of expressions emphasising the speed of Alexander's advance, and how quickly Darius' defence had collapsed: modo...fugiebat...pauci sequebantur...fugam intenderant...deficientibus equis...aequare non poterant...contendit...celeritate praecipere. Alexander's uelocitas, especially at the beginning of the campaign, made a major contribution to its success; see on IV 4.1.

triumphantis A Roman allusion to full triumphal regalia, suggesting not only Darius' defiant stance, but also his 'festive' purple and gold clothing, typical, to a Roman, of barbarian ostentation; cf. III 3.15 and e.g. Verg. Aen. 4.139f. and 262f. For the contrast with the Macedonians' more practical accoutrements, see III 3.26. After the disaster of the River Granicus, it was a case of 'putting a brave face on things' for Darius, who even before Issus was 'τῆ γνώμῃ δεδουλωμένος' (Arr. 2.10.1 cf. Diod. 17.6.1.). Curtius' determination to bring the story alive for a Roman audience sometimes leads him into anachronisms. For example, he includes the formal Roman letter heading at IV 1.10, unnecessary after 'in hunc maxime modum', where Diodorus and Arrian do not give the Greek equivalent. A more striking example is capite uelato, IV 10. 34.

more frequent thus in Curtius, especially with a present participle used as a noun. With dimicantis more, cf. IV 12.23 'pugnantium more' and Pliny N.H. 7.97 'more sacris certaminibus uincentium.' Similarly modo, e.g. VI 5.17; VII 4.28; 10.4; as often in Livy, e.g. 27.4.13.

curru sublimis Cf. III 11.7 'Dareus curru sublimis eminebat'; IV 14.9; III 3.15. This was the usual position for the βασιλεύς in battle: Diod. 17.34.6 'τὸν τοῦ Δαρείου τεθρίππον ὑψὸν'; Arr. 2.8.10 and 2.11.5. In this, as well as in his attire, Darius' appearance was more appropriate, in Roman eyes, for a triumph than battle: Val. Max. 2.8.7 'neque ouans aut curru triumphauit.' The locative abl. without preposition is mainly poetical (though usually with in in Vergil) but is found in Cicero, and more frequently in Tacitus. Cf. alia regione, below

§ 35 and on IV 7.20.

inmensis agminibus The fact that Alexander was seriously out-numbered since the battle of the River Granicus,<sup>1</sup> and the strategy adopted to overcome this disadvantage are repeatedly drawn to the reader's attention by Curtius: III 7.9; 3.28; 8.15; 8.18; 9.1f. etc.; cf. Arrian 2.7.8f., Justin 11.9.1-2, Plutarch Alex. 20.4.

inpleuerat not conpleuerat. For agminibus..inpleuerat, we have the analogy of IV 9.6 'agmen..inpleuerat.' Conplere is preferred for the filling of enclosed spaces, buildings, etc., e.g. of sound: V 12.12 'gemitu..tabernaculum..conpleuit'; of smell: VIII 9.23 'odoribus conplent'; of people: IV 4.14 'pueri uirginisque templa conpleuerant,' or where Curtius stresses that the space is completely filled, e.g. IV 15.16 'ruina equorum aurigarumque aciem conpleuerat.' Inplere, logically enough; indicates that the (open) space is filled by entry from outside; cf. e.g. IV 8.5; 12.23.

inania This is the only occurrence in Curtius of inanis meaning 'deserted', and it is not mentioned by Eichert. It is unusual to find this adj. applied to large open spaces except in philosophical contexts, e.g. Lucr. 1.507 'nam quacumque uacat spatium, quod inane uocamus'; Sen. Epp. 72.9 'Epicureum illud Chaos inane.' Curtius also uses inanis in two of its more common senses: 'empty', of enclosed spaces, at IV 5.18 'triremes inanes'; X 1.33 'inania sepulchra'; 'fanciful', of mental state, at IV 5.3 'inani mente'; also IV 13.5; VII 1.36; 11.25. In the present passage, it is an evocative word, in opposition to inmensis agminibus, in view of its philosophical connotations, suggesting total desolation. Cf. Pliny on the geography of Gaul: 'montesque mari oppositos esse non est satis et a latere oceani obstare

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1 where, even allowing for exaggeration, the Persians were ill-prepared, numbering perhaps 35,000 to Alexander's 50,000: Arr. 1.14.4; Diod. 17.19.5 gives even fewer cavalry.

ipsum quod uocant inane?'; Mart. Epig. 4.21.1 'nullos esse deos, inane caelum adfirmat Segius.' Darius' enormous army had, as it were, vanished into thin air.

inania et ingenti solitudine uasta A variation on one of Curtius' favourite picturesque phrases, uastas solitudines: III 5.6; IV 7.15, etc.; cf. Livy 6.41.11; 8.13.15.

For the 'before and after' contrast in this sentence, cf. III 3.28 'Dareus, tantae multitudinis rex, loci in quo pugnavit angustiis redactus est ad paucitatem quam in hoste contempserat;' and V 12.16.

IV 1.2 Pauci... fugam intenderant Substantially similar account in Arrian 2.12.13 ξὸν ὀλίγοις τοῖς ἀμφ' αὐτὸν ἔφυγε κτλ. and 2.13.1. Cf. IV 16.8 after the battle of Gaugamela (Arbela): 'Dareus paucis fugae comitibus ad Lycum amnem contenderat;' and Justin 2.13.8 on Xerxes: 'ipse cum paucis Abydon contendit.' Arrian's more 'down to earth' account has, as usual, none of the human details put in by Curtius to rouse the reader's sympathy (cf. also IV 1.15ff. & 6.25f.) Many of the ideas in this version of events after Issus are echoed in Curtius' account of the aftermath of the third and last of Darius' disasters, at Arbela.

fugam intenderant cf. III 11.19 'Barbari longe diversam fugam intenderant.'

deficientibus equis deficio = 'lassari', as VIII 14.34 'equus...deficiensque'; IV 10.8; VII 1.22; VIII 2.35; IX 10.15; Mart. Epig. 2.6.14 'lassus tam cito deficiis uiator?' Damsté's supplement, 'et <qui secuti erant> deficientibus', is, like many of his proposed additions to the text, unnecessary and 'un-Curtian.' The subject of aequare non poterant can easily be understood, and is by no means the most demanding ellipse which Curtius imposes on his readers.

aequare = 'keep pace with'; mostly found in poets and historians: in Livy, always with a qualifying abl.: 31.36.8 'quantum equitem uelocissimi pedites cursu aequare poterant.' 31.37.10; 25.34.14 'tantum..aequantium..equos uelocitate peditum'; in Curtius, with a noun implying speed as object:

IV 1.2; VIII 14.18 'animal equorum uelocitatem aequare non poterat.' Cf. Sen. Epp. 108.25 'ut uelocitatem rapidissimae rei possimus aequare'; in poets, and later in Tacitus, with a direct personal object and without a qualifying abl.: Verg. Aen. 6.263 'ille ducem haud timidis uadentem passibus aequat;' Aen. 10.248; Val. Flac. 6.95; Tac. Hist. 3.18 'quos multi e legionariis quamquam raptim ductos aequabant.'

equis..quos subinde mutabat Like III 11.26 'illum equos subinde mutantem.' Curtius III 11.11 suggests that Darius immediately abandoned his chariot and left the battle on horseback. Diod. 17.37.1 *Ἄρξειος μὲν κατὰ κράτος ἠττημένος εἰς φυγὴν ἄρμησεν καὶ μεταλαμβάνων ἄλλον ἐξ ἄλλου τῶν ἄριστων ἵππων κατὰ κράτος ἤλαυνε*, agrees with that and the present passage. Arrian 2.11.4 says that Darius took to horseback only when the ground became too rough for his chariot. All agree that the chariot and royal accoutrements were found by Alexander, and their capture misunderstood by Darius' womenfolk (III 12; Arr. 2.12.3f.; Diod. 17.37.3).

IV 1.3 Onchas Schmieder et al. would read Unchas. RE 18, 411 = Onchai (Ernst Honigmann). Arrian 2.6.1 calls it Σώχοι. Perhaps Sochoi between Issus and Thapsacus.

deinde I accept the reading of P, although despite Thérasse's silence, Curtius uses both forms, deinde and dein. However, the latter form is certain only at IV 16.23. For a similar textual problem see VI 1.15.<sup>1</sup> Like Caesar, Cicero, Livy, and most other authors, Curtius uses deinde in the overwhelming majority of cases. In Sallust, however, the usage is more evenly distributed between the two forms; Pliny Maj. and Tacitus prefer dein.

Graecorum quattuor milia Arrian includes the Persian survivors in this total (2.13.1). Curtius refers to Darius' Greek mercenaries who remained faithful to him throughout

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1 cf. III 3.2 de Ω: deinde Hedicke  
The paradosis anxium de instantibus curis is perfectly acceptable Latin. If any emendation were to be made, I should read dein, as more likely to have been truncated because of the following in-.

(III 2.9; 9.2; IV 5.18; VI 5.7). Diodorus says, very implausibly, that the reunion took place at Babylon (17.39). Capps' supplement 'eum <suorum> Graecorum' is unnecessary. Darius had 30,000 Greek mercenaries at Issus (III 9.2), and these are evidently not the same 4,000 who went with Amyntas to Tripolis (IV 1.27). Whether the Greeks went to the Euphrates with Darius immediately after Issus or not, they were with him at and after Arbela: V 8.3 'XXX milia peditum sequebantur, in quibus Graecorum erant IV milia, fidelitata erga regem (Dareum) ad ultimum inuicta.'

† iam regius tum † A much discussed and emended passage. I mention the more likely contenders.

Novák's 'Iam regius <comitatus> tum' and Stangl's re-punctuation of this to 'iam regius <comitatus> : tum' both present problems, although the latter is an improvement. Alexander's escort was certainly called 'comitatus' on occasion (e.g. Pliny N.H. 30.8) but Curtius only uses the word once as a noun, at IV 12.2, and then it refers to burdensome 'hangers-on' whom their leader would rather be rid of, which is very far from the meaning required here. However, comitatus as an adj. has no pejorative connotation at e.g. VIII 14.15. Novák's comitatus, taken as a noun, fits unhappily with the following credens. If taken as an adj. referring to Darius, these conjectures do not solve the problem of regius, either in sense or syntax. Regius in Curtius always means 'the king's' or 'of the king', not 'regal'. In addition, none of the MSS. indicates a lacuna after regius.<sup>1</sup> Novák has a superfluous iam with the following tum (although he does also suggest emendation of  $\Omega$ 's tum to hinc; see below), and has the same difficulties as Dosson (below) over iam + contendit. His supplemented text might also mean that the 'comitatus' left Darius behind, which was clearly not so. Credens fore ipsius really only makes sense if the subject is still Darius. Stangl's re-punctuation avoids these problems and is the most plausible conjecture, if we accept iam regius as correct and that there is a lacuna after it. For regius in this sort of

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1 Zumpt reports that Flor. D, F and I indicate a lacuna before iam.



phrase, cf. VIII 6.7 'puer nobilis ex regia cohorte'; Livy 31.41.13 'regium equitatum'; 31.35.6; and comitatus is probably involved in a textual problem again at V 12.18. Numeri causa, I should wish to place comitatus before iam, and  $\Delta$  indicates a lacuna at this point. This alteration would give one of Curtius' favourite clausulae, the double cretic, and Müller finds 49 others with exactly this pattern<sup>1</sup>.

Comitatus has the advantage of making very good sense: 'Graecorum quattuor milia' were merely 'mercede conducti' (III 9.2), not Darius' cognati or Doryphoroe (III 3.14-15). Curtius could be drawing attention at this point to the fact that the Great King was reduced to such straits that he had only foreign mercenaries to provide a king's escort for what we have already been shown was hardly a royal progress. At V 11.5 the mercenaries remind Darius of their loyalty in similar terms: 'ex L milibus Graecorum supersumus pauci, omnis fortunae tuae comites.'

Jeep's non segnus tamen seems convincing at first sight, and has gained editorial acceptance<sup>2</sup>, but it deviates from the meaning and usage of segnus elsewhere in Curtius. The phrase itself has parallels at IV 6.25; VIII 10.28; and IX 1.33, but in all three cases (and they are all similar) it refers to the subject's continued courage and pertinacity after receiving a severe wound, and has nothing to do with speed:

IV 6.25 'Betim...multisque uulneribus confectum deseruerunt sui, nec tamen segnus proelium capessebat.'

VIII 10.28 '(Alexander) spiculo euolso...ne obligato quidem uulnere, haud segnus destinata exequabatur.'

IX 1.33 'Ne sic quidem pertinacia (canis) uicta, rursus aliam partem secare institit et inde non segnus inhaerentem ferro subinde caedere,' and cf. VIII 14.33.

Bearing these examples in mind, I do not think such an antithesis is appropriate immediately after Darius has received not a loss, but a piece of great good fortune, in the shape of 'Graecorum quattuor milia' who would enable him to attempt to hold the Euphrates as a defensible frontier. He would not have been in such a position if he had

1. Edition of Q.C., Die Klauseln p. 760, B1.

2. e.g. by Hedicke

reached the Euphrates with the few companions with whom he had fled from the battle-field. Since the Greek mercenaries were infantry, they could not have travelled as fast as this small band on fresh horses, but there would be no point in Darius' leaving the comparative protection of 4,000 troops and going on ahead without them.

I have also considered the alternative non setius tamen,<sup>1</sup> but even if the form sequius were used (which is unusual with a negative), segnius is nearer to the paradoxical regius. Secus does not occur elsewhere in Curtius, and setius would again give an antithesis which seems illogical in this context.

Iam rectius hinc is nearer to the MSS.<sup>†</sup> reading, but it suggests that Darius made a detour deliberately to meet the Greeks who had made a 'strategic withdrawal'. No such detour is mentioned by Arrian, who says that Darius went to the Euphrates via Thapsacus. Novák's hinc gives good sense, referring back to Onchae just mentioned, but is usually used by Curtius at the beginning of its clause or sentence. Iam, however, does not mean 'next' or 'then' in Curtius: it almost invariably appears with the imperfect or pluperfect, and means 'already',<sup>2</sup> or else with a noun or adj. in apposition to the subject. Iam here must, if it is correct, belong to the preceding clause, and a suitable noun must be supplied for the sake of the syntax. A similar desperate problem over the position and function of iam arises at IV 1.23 (q.v.).

I can suggest cum quibus tum as perhaps a simpler solution, and one which suits the context, although it gives the sentence quite a different meaning. Some editors from Vindelinius to Lesage have read 'cum quibus ad E.' (Aldus omits cum) but some account should be taken of tum, present in all the earlier MSS. This emendation gives a better rhythm to the sentence than punctuation after milia, and the longer sentence made by adding a relative clause is not out of place in this section of connecting narrative. Quibus is less palaeographically plausible than some

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1 suggested by Prof. F.R.D. Goodyear.

2 also with the present indic., in the same sense, e.g. IV 14.14; V 8.12.

other suggestions, but in view of the doubt about iam in this clause and the many other difficulties, sense should perhaps have precedence over other considerations.

Zumpt, followed by Mützell, transposes to 'quibuscum ad E.', and says in justification, 'Haud dubie, tamen, quibuscum propius accedit ad veterem scripturam,' but this remark is not true of Curtius. Our author nowhere has quibuscum, always cum quibus: VII 6.8 'equites, cum quibus..'; 11.6 'cum quibus (rex) consultare est solitus'; VIII 5.9 'cum quibus, cum discubisset rex..' (which gives a 'jingle' similar to our hypothetical 'cum quibus tum'); X 2.16; 2.29. Curtius uses tum very frequently at the beginning of sentences and clauses but there are some cases where it follows a relative pronoun: III 2.10 'cuius tum uniuersae aspectu admodum laetus'; III 4.14 'urbem Tarsos, cui tum maxime..' The resulting sentence has a form comparable to Arrian's at the same point in the story (2.13.1): *καὶ τῶν ξένων τῶν μισθοφόρων, ἐς τετρακισχίλιους ἔχων τοὺς πάντας, ὡς ἐπὶ Θαψακὸν τε πόλιν καὶ τὸν Εὐφράτην ποταμὸν σπουδῇ ἤλαυνεν, ὡς τάχιστα μέσον αὐτοῦ τε καὶ Ἀλεξάνδρου τὸν Εὐφράτην ποιῆσαι.* Curtius' rather different version of what Darius intended to do once he reached the Euphrates would seem to make it even more important that the reader should know that all available troops are accompanying him.

credens For present participles in causal clauses, see 'Participles' p. 358. Cf. Livy 21.31.2. 'minus obuium fore Romanum credens..'

praecipere not praeripere.<sup>1</sup> Here with its literal meaning 'to occupy before (the enemy)', used as a military t.t.

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1 For a more troublesome doubt over praecipere/praeripere, cf. Caes. B.C. 3.1.5 'aut arrogans in praecipiendo populi beneficio uideretur.' praecipiendo FV: praeripiendo all. If praeripiendo is accepted, it is the only occurrence of the word in Caesar. He does not use rapiō itself, and it is in any case too violent a word in this context. Praecipiendo..beneficio seems to have a sense similar to that of praeccepto itinere at B.C.3.13.4 (see following footnote), simply 'to take or use before anyone else has a chance to do so.'

for 'stealing a march', e.g. Caes. B.C. 3.13.5<sup>1</sup> Cf.

IX 10.14 'tantum singulis ad spem salutis ipsos proficere credentibus, quantum itineris festinando praecipereent.'

IV 16.3; 10.13; IX 6.2; Livy 30.8.9.

At (never ast in Curtius). Used very freely, often to mark a complete change of subject-matter, and to introduce the protagonist of the next episode, e.g. IV 9.1 'At Dareus'; V 10.1 'At Bessus'; VI 9.16 'At enim Dymnus.' Here at continues the narrative from III 12.27.

Parmenionem RE 184.1559 = Parmenion 1 (Berve). At this time, still the most trusted and trustworthy of Alexander's generals.

apud Damascus III 13.1f., and with less detail in Arrian 2.11.10.

Coelen Lowland Syria, the hollow between the two mountain ranges of Libanus and Antilibanus: Arrian 2.13.7

*Συρία τῆ κοιλῆ* ; Strabo 16.2.21. Curtius records three phases of its governorship under Alexander: by the experienced Parmenio while it was still in an unsettled state; then by Andromachus, at IV 5.9 (q.v.), when Parmenio was needed more elsewhere; finally by Menon, at IV 8.9, on the death of Andromachus. Arrian says directly: 'Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ σατράπην μὲν Συρία τῆ κοιλῆ Μένωνα τὸν Κερδίμμη ἐπέταξε..' <sup>2</sup>

1 'Caesar praecepto itinere ad Dyrrachium finem properandi facit.' praecepto Ciacconius:  $\bar{p}$  (p E: p L) fecto occupato X: praecoccupato Ald. nepos. Cf. Livy 3.46.7 'sedulo tempus terens, dum praecipereent iter nuntii missi in castra'; Caes. B.C. 3.31.2. Praecoccupato is plausible palaeographically, but gives entirely too strong a sense in the context: Pompey had not occupied the road to Dyrrachium, but had simply made the journey before Caesar could prevent him. When Caesar uses praecoccupo, the sense is 'seize in advance and continue to hold', e.g. B.G. 7.26.5 'ne ab equitatu Romanorum uiae praecoccuparentur,' B.C. 2.42.1 'proximos colles.. quoque praecoccupat missus a Saburra equitatus,' or metaph.: B.G. 6.41.3 'animos timor praecoccupauerat.'

2 For a discussion of the governorship of 'Hollow Syria' and the meanings of the name, see A.B. Bosworth, CQ n.s. 24 (1974) 46-64.

IV 1.5 imperium..aspernabantur On the other hand, the Greeks were by now 'satis domiti', cf. X 2.5 'Graeci, haud ausi imperium aspernari.'

oboedienter A very rare word, except in Livy, who uses it frequently, and Curtius, who uses it four times: IV 1.5; VII 4.20; IX 7.14; X 3.4. The use of hospitaliter is similarly shared almost exclusively by these two historians: see IV 2.2.

imperata fecerunt - the more common n.pl. This is a favourite phrase of Caesar's, e.g. B.C. 6.10.4, B.C. 1.60.1.

Aradus A small island off the Phoenician coast, almost facing Marathos (see below, S.6). Arrian 2.13.7 gives a few more details of its surrender.

IV 1.6 pleraque as a noun, cf. omnia IV 9.3 and V 6.13. In Curtius, plerique may mean 'many', as here and at IV 1.35; 3.10, etc., and also 'the majority', as III 7.4; IV 8.15; 10.14; IX 7.5, and sometimes in Tacitus.<sup>1</sup> In some places, the distinction may not be clear.

recedentia Originally a poet. usage, also found in post-Augustan prose. Cf. Pliny N.H. 3.95 'Magna Graecia appellata in tres sinus recedens Ausonii maris,' and of this area, 5.66 'Palaestina uocabatur qua contingit Arabes.. et qua recedit intus, Damascena.'

Strato RE 4A1.273= Straton 5 (Fiehn). Justin 11.10.7; Arrian 2.13.7f. Strato replaced his father Gerostratos who was then serving with Autophradates in the Persian fleet and was dethroned by Alexander in favour of his more co-operative son. To be distinguished from the Sidonian Strato, see below § 16.

in fidem accepto A Roman idea, almost a euphemism for

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1. See F.R.D. Goodyear on Tac. Ann. 1.9.1.

'in deditionem accepto' - a guarantee (as IV 1.10) of good behaviour, not a reciprocal arrangement between equals: cf. Bell. Alex. 32.4 '(hostes supplices) seque ei dederunt. Caesar in fidem receptos..' Curtius has just said, more frankly, 'Aradus quoque insula deditur regi,' and Arrian 2.13.8 says the same. Justin 11.10.6 has, 'in societatem recepit' at this point in the narrative, which indicates a less one-sided arrangement. In societatem suggests that the parties treated each other more as partners, and is used to describe Alexander's more delicate initial approach to the powerful city of Tyre: 'facilius societatem..acceptura..quam imperium.' (IV 2.2). The societas of the formidable Tyre was far more important to Alexander than that of an insignificant island, which could do comparatively little harm, and could easily be subdued if it tried.

castra mouit from Antaradus, immediately opposite the Island.

Marathon On the main coast-road. If the earliest MSS. are to be believed, Curtius habitually chooses the Greek acc. for Greek nouns.

IV 1.7 litterae a Dareo similarly III 6.4 'haec a Parmenione'; V 5.2 'litterae a Tiridate.' The ellipse is frequent and Class., e.g. Cic. Epp. passim, Caes. B.C. 1.1.1. Cf. III 3.18 'ex gemma uagina,' etc., where there is also ellipse of a perfect participle. Curtius uses both litterae and epistola without distinction, and sometimes both words refer to the same missive, to avoid repetition, e.g. III 6.4 and 6.9. Like Livy and Tacitus, he prefers litterae.<sup>1</sup>

ut superbe scriptis The use of an adverb with all three tenses of participle is much more frequent in Curtius than in his predecessors (see 'Participles' pp. 355 & 368). Cf.

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1 Only these three historians show this preference; see J.N. Adams, CQ n.s. 22 (1972) 357.

Caes. B.C. 2.41.3.

Both Curtius and Arrian (2.14.1f.) give a summary of Darius' letter, together with what purports to be the text of Alexander's reply. The accounts agree in general terms, but there are significant differences. Curtius, Justin 11.12.1-2, and Diodorus 17.39.1-2 say that Darius' first letter demanded Alexander's withdrawal from his territory, and offered a large ransom for his family. Diodorus includes in this letter Darius' later offer of the territory west of the River Halys, and is the only author to claim that Alexander substituted a forged letter for Darius' original, which would incite his officers to support him in continuing the campaign: *'ἐτέραν δὲ γράψας βέπουσαν πρὸς τὸ ἑαυτῷ συμφέρον.'* Curtius' comment, *'ut superbe scriptis'* may point to vestiges of a letter specially composed to provide a pretext for Alexander's continued aggression, although the main reason for his indignation, according to Curtius, *'quod Dareus sibi regis titulum nec eundem Alexandri nomini adscripserat,'* is also alluded to by Arrian 2.14.9: *'καὶ τοῦ λοιποῦ ὅταν πέμπης παρ' ἐμέ, ὡς πρὸς βασιλέα τῆς Ἀσίας πέμπε, μηδὲ ἐξ ἴσου ἐπίστελλε..'* There was a large corpus of (fictional) correspondence between Alexander and Darius extant in antiquity.<sup>1</sup>

Arrian 2.14.1 does not mention Darius' offer of a ransom, but this is included in the demands of the embassy from Darius during the siege of Tyre (2.25.1f.). For the question of whether there were two diplomatic approaches by Darius<sup>2</sup>, or three, see on IV 5.1.

uehementer A strong adverb for what was probably one of Alexander's famous rages- real or feigned for the occasion. Cf. IV 8.9 '(Alexander) desiderio uehementer adflictus est;' VIII 12.17 'amicos eius uehementer offendit.'

offensus A dangerous state of affairs for Darius' hopes

1 P.S.I. 12.1285

2 See G.T.Griffith, PCPS 194 (n.s.14)(1968) 33f.

for peace, cf. Bell. Alex. 32.3 '(Alexandrini) sacris omnibus prolatis quorum religione precari offensos iratosque animos regum erant soliti..seque ei (Caesari) dederunt.'

IV 1.8 pecunia Arrian 2.14.3 says only, 'φιλίαν ἐθέλειν ποιήσασθαι πρὸς Ἀλεξάνδρον καὶ σύμμαχος εἶναι Ἀλεξάνδρῳ.' Diod. 17.39.1 mentions a large ransom, and Itin. Alex. 39 gives a figure of 100,000 talents of gold - a figure far too large, when we consider how much Darius offered at a later stage; cf. Arr. 2.25.1, and see on IV 5.1.

quantamcumque tota Macedonia caperet The Macedonian treasury was more or less bankrupt by the time Alexander left for the Hellespont: Plut. Fort. Alex. 327E and 342D. For capio = 'contain/ be large, strong enough for,' cf. III 4.12; IV 16.17, etc. This meaning of the verb is rarely found, as here, without a negative or quasi-negative adverb, but Curtius has this use again at IX 3.7 'Quidquid mortalitas capere poterat, inpleuimus.' TLL 3.339. 10f.

matrem sibi et coniugem liberosque Sisigambis (III 3.22), her granddaughters (III 12.17f.); and Statira (III 3.22) and her son Ochus (III 9.24; 12.26; IV 11.6) captured after Issus: III 11.24, Arrian 2.12.3, Diod. 17.37.3f. Curtius usually uses a variety of conjunctions in such lists, e.g. V 6.17 'seque ac coniuges et liberos condunt;' V 1.43; but sometimes uses et for each member, e.g. § 13 below, IV 16.32.

aequo, si uellet, Marte Curtius seems to favour this separation of noun and adj., cf. e.g. IV 10.26 'uultus, inquit, tuus,' V 9.9.

aequo..Marte = 'on equal terms', not when Darius was under duress, fearing for his family's safety. The expression perplexed Huguet and others, who understood it to mean 'neither side gaining the victory', of an indecisive battle. It certainly carries this meaning elsewhere, e.g.: Livy 2.6.10; 40.14; 51.2; Flor. 4.2.48; Amm. Marc. 16.12;



31.7, and similarly anceps Mars: Livy 21.1.2. Here, however, as VI 1.7 (and Livy 36.44.7 pari Marte) it means 'Mars being prejudiced in favour of neither side,' cf. Flor. 4.2.80; Caes. B.G. 7.19.3; Tac. Ann. 1.68.3 aequos deos. According to Seneca de Ira 1.12.5, Mars is aequus by nature: '(ira) obliuiscitur Martem esse communem.'

IV 1.9 Si One might expect sin, but cf. Livy e.g. 23.18.1, where an adversative conjunction is also missing.

saniora consilia Cf. Livy 22.12.11 'Sei non Hannibalem magis infestum tam sanis consiliis habebat quam magistrum equitum.'

pati = 'accept/comply with', like Verg. Aen. 10. 866 'iussa aliena pati'; Livy 1 pr. 7 'imperium patiuntur.' Sometimes the meaning is little different from the common 'tolerate': VIII 3.6 'patereturque sortem'; X 7.6 'non alium regen..passuros.' Cf. V 12.8 'iam nullius salubris consilii patiens.'

patrio sc. imperio, = 'ancestral'; cf. Livy 8.7.8 'obliti itaque imperii patrii consulumque edicti'; and 'regnum patrium' Cic. Verr. 4.27.61; Imp. Pomp. 3.7; 8.21; Livy 45.12. 8; 1.40.2; and Darius' 'τὴν ἀρχὴν τὴν πατρίων', Arrian 2.14.3. There is a similar idea in 'ex fastigio paterno rerum' at III 13.12.

cederet Hedicke would add ut before contentus. As the asyndeton would indicate, a new construction and idea begin with si. Cederet is not subordinate to postulabat, but the apodosis of si...potuisset. The meaning is: 'If Alexander had any sense, he would leave at once.' Darius is, of course, demanding Alexander's withdrawal, but the peremptory, not to say rude, expression is considerably weakened by the addition of ut. The same applies to Lemaire's proposed emendation of tandem to tamen. The series of short, sharp clauses is quite deliberate: as Curtius warns us, 'Postulabat autem, magis quam petebat.'

imperii Müller (ad III 7.10) 'thinks that Curtius himself wrote imperi here, clausulae causa, and similarly: consili III 7.10, 13, X 9.17; supplici IX 7.1, X 4.1; exili X 2.7, but he admits that there is no trace of this form of the genitive in the MSS. However, as we have seen (IV 1.1) there is MSS. agreement on the form of the name Curti Rufi.

socius amicusque A phrase very familiar from Roman history, as also fidem dare et accipere below. Arrian, less tersely as usual, says, 'καὶ φιλίαν ἐθέλειν ποιήσασθαι πρὸς Ἀλέξανδρον καὶ συμμαχος εἶναι Ἀλεξάνδρῳ.' (2.14.3). Cf. Livy 38.11.2 'socius amicusque.' The more usual form 'socius atque/ et amicus' is found in Caesar, e.g. B.G. 1.43.8, and frequently in Livy, e.g. 34.62.14.

IV 1.10 In ea Cf. Livy 30.31.9 'ad ea, in quae tum pax conventura uidebatur'; 44.25.7 'in utrumque (utrumque Gronovius: utroque V).

fidem et dare ..et accipere The arrangement almost amounts to 'societate adiungere', cf. Cic. Quinct. 3.13 'qui magna fide societatem gererent.' Unlike Strato in § 6 above, Darius assumes that he is still in a position to demand reciprocal guarantees of good faith, as in Arrian 2.14.3. For the practice of giving this sort of pledge, see VI 4.12; 5.4, and § 14 below; Sall. Cat. 44.3 'cum Catilina data atque accepta fide societatem confirmarent.' The idea is often found in Caesar, e.g. B.C. 1.10.4 'quoad fides esset data Caesarem facturum quae polliceretur.' See also on societatem acceptura IV 2.2.

contra adverbial, = 'in reply'. This adverbial use is usually found with uerba dicendi, but Verg. Aen. 7.267 'uos contra regi mea nunc mandata referte.'

in hunc maxime modum Cf. IX 2.12 'ad hunc maxime modum disseruit.' Maxime here = fere, like Greek μάλιστα. See TLL 8.72.30f. and cf. VII 3.9; III 2.5.

Rex Alexander Dareo s. The MSS.' final s perplexed editors before Jeep, but Curtius includes the letter heading to add a touch of realism which is not present in Arrian or Diodorus. Alexander begins, predictably enough, by 'returning the compliment', 'sibi regis titulum nec eundem Dareo nomini adscribens.' His self-justification for the invasion of Asia and the enumeration of Darius' misdeeds are more explicit but less effective in Arrian 2.14.4f. Curtius has, as usual, made the most of the emotion of the moment- Alexander's righteous indignation. If the two historians reproduce even tolerably accurately the tone of this reply, it could have been relied upon not to have the results ostensibly desired. Its terms are outrageously arrogant, and certainly not βασιλεύς παρά βασιλέως (Arr. 2.14.3). Curtius gives few details of the letter which is supposed to have provoked this tirade, but after Issus it was hardly in Darius' best interests to insult a choleric enemy.

sumpsisti Probably, judging by the sequel, a sneer at the suspicious circumstances surrounding the accession of Darius III, by means of a coup d'état (Arrian 2.14.5, and Diod. 17.5.5). However he was of the blood royal, and, according to Diodorus (17.6.1) and Justin (10.3.3), the best man for the job. It was customary for the new βασιλεύς to adopt the name of an illustrious predecessor on his accession, and Codomannus followed suit: Justin 10.3.5 'Codomannus...rex a populo constituitur, Darii nomine, ne quid regiae maiestati deesset, honoratus,' and see Herodotus 6.98. Sumere has several 'darker' meanings, and here should be interpreted 'whose name (and rank) you have usurped,' cf. Cic. Phil. 6.11 'Trebellium sumpsisse cognomen;' Livy 7.1.6 'nobilitas sibi sumpsisset;' Bede Hist. 1.6 'purpuram sumpsit.' Arrian spells out the accusation: 'καὶ Ἄρσῃν ἀποκτείναντός σου μετὰ Βαγῶον, καὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν κατασχόντος οὐ δικαίως' (2.14.5).

Dareus Darius I: RE 42.2184.40 = Dareios 1.

Graecos..uastauit A rather unusual personal direct object, but tempered by coloniasque: Frontin. Strat. 1.6.2 'hostem..uastauit.' Cf. the Class. oppugnare, S. 11 below. Vastare is found with place names as early as Cicero, e.g. Cat. 4.6; Livy 40.36.14. Curtius has several harsher zeugmata, for instance IV 4.5, 11.

The facts of §§ 10 and 11 at least are not in dispute.

coloniasque Graecorum Ionias The revolt of the Ionian Greek cities, nominally under Persian rule, and its suppression by Darius I (499-3 B.C.) was the prelude to the protracted East-West struggle, and the main pretext for Alexander's invasion; see on IV 5.1 regionem inter Hellespontum et Halyn, and 5.7 Ionas.

inlato Macedoniae et Graeciae bello For the datives, cf. IV 14.21, V 6.1, and IV 6.13, VIII 14.15.

This is a clear case in which the action of the perfect participle in an ablative absolute is subsequent to that of the main verb. There are many other examples,<sup>1</sup> often not so unambiguous, but similar are IV 2.24 'paucioribus captis,' 4.18 'addita denuntiatione belli,' VII 3.3 'pecunia donata,' IX 1.35 'Hephaestione..coniuncto.' Curtius uses all the participles on occasion without observing their strict time limitations (see pp. 351 & 357) but this aoristic use of the abl. abs. is especially frequent. It is often found, like predicative participles (p. 361) at the end of the sentence.

There are very few examples earlier than Curtius where the perfect participle refers to an action which is so clearly subsequent to, or even the result of, that of the main verb; but cf. Cic. de Am. 100 'nulla utilitate quaesita,' N.D. 1.116 'nec sperato bono,' Caes. B.G. 5.11.6 'nec nocturnis quidem temporibus ad laborem militum intermissis.' Examples are found more frequently from the time of Livy onwards, e.g. Livy 23.24.10 'paucis captis,' cf. IV 2.24; Livy 22.21.4 'mille hominibus occisis quibusdam

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1 W. Adams, Diss. 1886, p. 43f.

captis magnaque parte armis exuta.' The most striking examples, apart from Curtius, are in Tacitus: Agr. 14.3 'subactis firmatisque,' Ann. 1.77.1 'occisis,' 6.49 'iacto in praeceps corpore,'<sup>1</sup>; also Justin 5.11.1 'Darius moritur, Artaxerxé et Cyro filiis relictis,' cf. Livy 1.34.2 'uxore grauida relicta.' Parallels for some of these cases can be found in Curtius' aoristic use of the present participle.<sup>2</sup> Draeger<sup>3</sup> gives examples from several authors, but many are 'borderline' cases, while others are instances of a p.p.p. performing the role of a present participle passive, a function also found in Curtius (see p. 352).

IV 1.11 Xerxes, who took over Darius I's campaign in 485 B.C.; see RE 2A2.2096 = Xerxes 1.

gentis eiusdem A plain genitive of definition / description following a proper name, without the usual 'uir' or 'homo' in apposition. This construction is also found at VI 7.2 'Dymnus, modicae..auctoritatis,' IX 5.25 'Crotobulus, inter medicos artis eximiae.' Curtius prefers the genitive to the ablative of quality, even where the qualities described are not inherent. Other rather harsh genitives are: 'ille perucacis..animi' X 3.6: 'DC... spectatae uirtutis' X 7.16; 'omnis generis donis' X 1.24; 'artifices cum fidibus sui generis' V 1.22.

nos Heinsius' suggested hos misses the point. Macedonia could no longer be considered (except in private) as an outlandish kingdom beyond the fringes of Hellenic civilisation. Alexander had been 'elected' ἡγεμῶν of the League of Corinth in 336 B.C., with a mandate to take up the cudgels on behalf of Greece, as Isocrates had been urging upon Philip.<sup>4</sup> Alexander would undoubtedly consider Macedonians + Hellenes, even retrospectively, as 'us', as opposed to 'them', the Barbarians, and indeed he says as

1. For this abl. of manner, cf. Curtius' use of the present part. at V 2.22, and see p. 359.

2. cf. K-S I 758f.

3. II § 582f.

4. Cf. von Hagen, Isocrates' "Philippus".

much in Arrian, 2.14.4: 'Οἱ ἐμέτεροι πρόγονοι ἐλθόντες εἰς Μακεδονίαν καὶ εἰς τὴν ἄλλην Ἑλλάδα κακῶς ἐπαΐσαν ἡμᾶς οὐδὲν προηδικημένοι.'

inmanium barbarorum copiis ( immanibus barbarorum copiis Flor. G.<sup>1</sup> Freinsheim ) Immanitas is a common characteristic of barbarians, cf. Cic. Ligar. 11 'aut leuium Graecorum aut inmanium barbarorum.' This is one of many cliché phrases aimed at foreigners by Roman authors. Remarks about the outlandish appearance and/or huge size, especially of northern tribesmen, became almost obligatory, e.g. Livy 38.47.9 'de immanitate gentis Gallorum,' IV 13.5 'facies Scytharum Bactrianorumque: hirta illis ora et intonsas comas esse, praeterea eximiam uastorum magnitudinem corporum.' See also A.J. Woodman on Velleius Paterculus 2.106.1 infinita numero immensa corporibus; and Tacitus Hist. 5.8.1. The Egyptians also come in for Curtius' comment at IV 1.30, and the Greeks at IV 5.11 (qq.v.).

nauali proelio Salamis, September 480 B.C.

Mardonium See RE 142.1654 = Mardonius 1., and RE 42.2195.60 = Dareios 1 : Darius' son-in-law and general.

quoque Here with its normal meaning, function and position, emphasising absens. Curtius also uses quoque in several less common ways: 1) as an equivalent of quidem, e.g. V 10.2 'ad nomen quoque'- 'at the mere mention of his name.' cf. Gell. 17.2.1. 2) as a conjunction linking the whole of its clause to the preceding train of thought; see IV 6.24; VI 4.25; 6.5-6, and on IV 1.13 Et di quoque 3) = 'even', indicating a climax: III 11.11, VI 7.30; 14) intensifying the following word: VI 6.5, 11.9.

popularetur urbes, agros ureret For the chiasmus and asyndeton cf. IV 10.11 'alios cecidit, cepit alios.' This is a close-knit chiasmus: both verbs are at home with both nouns. Populari is not only used of cities: Cic. Off. 1.10.33, Livy 30.23.3, IV 1.31, IX 8.29. For the

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1 collated by Hedicke; see Diss. 1862.

combination of populari and urere, see IV 9.8; 10.13; VII 6.10, Livy 8.29.11. 'nam et peruastauit agros et populando atque urendo tecta hostium,' 7.22.4.

IV 1.12 Philippum RE 192.2266 = Philippos 7, The third allegation against Darius' fellow-countrymen is again introduced by the name of one of the protagonists, in an emphatic position.

parentem meum . It suits Alexander's purpose here to pose as a model of filial piety. Elsewhere, as we shall see, he was only too eager to dissociate himself from Philip, especially after the gratifying visit to the Oracle at Ammon (IV 7.).

quis ignorat . The rhetorical question is almost inevitable in this letter full of sententious rhetoric. We, at least, should have been ignorant of this 'fact', had it not been for this passage in Curtius, and Arrian 2.14.5. There is no proof of Persian involvement in Philip's murder, although there is some evidence that they tried to stir up trouble for both Philip and Alexander, after his accession, by supporting rebellious factions in the neighbouring allied tribes, as well as subversive activities elsewhere in Greece.<sup>1</sup> Darius may also have offered to finance Alexander Lyncestes' bid for the Macedonian throne (Arr. 1.25.3f.). Whether one of these factions could have gone so far as to assassinate the Macedonian king, is open to question.<sup>2</sup>

The problem of how much Alexander himself knew about the plot, by whomever it was instigated, soon began to be discussed.<sup>3</sup> There is one obvious answer to the question 'cui bono?', and Pausanias chose a time remarkably opportune for Alexander.

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1 Plut. Port. Alex. 327C; Diod. 14.37 & 89; Arr. 1.7.6.

2 A.B. Bosworth, CQ n.s.21 (1971) 93-105.

3 Aristotle Politics 1311 b1, and Diod. 16.94 say that Pausanias acted from purely personal motives, but for the suspicion attaching to Alexander and Olympias, see Justin 9.7, Plut. Alex. 9-10, Arrian 3.6.5.

Alexander's determination to reject Philip as his father<sup>1</sup> could be seen as a reaction to conscious guilt of parricide (among other things). Certainly Alexander was a man to bear grudges, even beyond the grave, and he never forgave Philip for what had amounted to an attempt to disown him. The problem will probably never be resolved to everyone's satisfaction.<sup>2</sup>

is Vogel<sup>3</sup> claims that Curtius frequently uses hic for is, even when referring to the past. There is the usual ambiguity in the MSS. over these two pronouns, and the ubiquitous added initial h—.<sup>4</sup> Each case should be considered according to its context; cf. IV 5.7.

sollicitauerant = 'incite' in poets and post-Augustan prose. Cf. III 5.15, IV 10.16; 11.18, Sen. de Ben. 3.11.

Impia bella...non infero For Alexander's claim to be making war justly on Darius, cf. Justin 11.5.10, Arrian 2.14.6.

Impia bella Cf. V 6.1 'Xerxes Europae impium intulisse bellum,' VI 3.18. The suggestion seems to be that Darius has no right to defend himself, and will have no success if he does; cf. IV 10.29, Livy 1.23.4, 8.39.10. The ethical ideas contained in this passage are often found together, as exemplified by the phrase 'iustum ac pium bellum'; see also V 8.15, Flor. 2.19.6, Livy 9.8.7, 39.36.12, and further on di quoque pro meliore stant causa, below.

1 VIII 1.23f., 7.13, Arrian 4.8.6, Plut. Alex. 50.6, and see on IV 7.29f. J.R. Hamilton, CQ n.s. 3 (1953) 151f.

2 E. Badian, Phoenix 17 (1963) 244f., alleges Alexander's involvement. Hamilton, Greece and Rome 12 (1965) 120f. suggests that Alexander knew all about the plot, and that Pausanias was killed to ensure his silence. K. Kraft, Der 'rationale' Alexander, Ch. 1; exonerates Alexander and Olympias; see also Milns, Alex. p.31.

3 Edition of Q.C., Leipzig 1903: 'Kurz Übersicht über den Sprachgebrauch des Q.C.' § 24.

4 Cf. E.O. Winstedt in his Praef. to Nepos (O.C.T.).



cum habeatis arma, licemini capita Cf. IV 11.8  
 'non ut iustus hostis sed ut percussor uel ueneficus.'

licemini . . . Used contemptuously here, and at V 12.2.

capita Probably gruesomely literal, cf. III 13.17 'unus e consciis eius...interfecti proditoris caput ad Dareum tulit.' But Alexander also received such trophies; see IV 9.25 (Plut. Alex. 39.1), VIII 3.12f.

talentis mille Cf. III 6.4. Justin 11.8.6 and Arrian 2.4.9 mention the bribe, but not the amount involved.

percussorem in me emere See III 6.4, IV 10.16; 11.8.  
Emere: poet. and post-Class. for conducere, cf. IX 6.11, Tac. Hist. 1.5. Like licemini, a contemptuous expression, found with a similar mocking tone in Persius Sat. 2.29 'aut quidnam est qua tu mercede deorum emeris auriculas?' and in contrast with an honest battle, also at Sen. Epp. 94.62 'aut uicerat Philippus aut emerat.'

IV 1.13 Repello igitur bellum, non infero This sententious expression sums up the first part of the letter, Alexander's self-justification. Next comes the 'proof' that his cause is just. This picture of Alexander as the model of chivalry- the virtuous knight waging 'pia bella' against 'non iustum hostem', courteous to women and suppliants- was seized upon by Mediaeval minds, conveniently overlooking much which would not tend to support this view.

Et di quocque pro meliore stant causa Arrian's Alexander also feels that the gods are on his side: 'καὶ τὴν χώραν ἔχω τῶν θεῶν μοι δόντων.'

Δ probably preserves the correct reading here. The corruption to stantes is not very easy to explain, but I do not think that the present participle can stand. The finite verb is more appropriate to the context - a series of curt, formal statements in the shortest possible sentences. The abrupt changes of subject add to the peremp-

tory effect. The pres. part. should not be construed as a case of nominatiuus pendens, which is found even in the 'best' authors (see p.370). The sing. finite verb redegi follows too closely for Curtius to have forgotten that the sentence began with a pl. participle. The emphatic Et.. quoque introduces a new idea complete in itself, of which a particular example is then given by way of illustration. This device occurs again at IV 14.16 'Et quae antea pro illis erant, in contrarium uersa sunt: nostrum mobile et expeditum agmen est, illud praeda graue,' giving a pattern similar to the present case: 'Et di quoque pro meliore stant causa: magnam partem Asiae in dicionem redegi meam.' Although Curtius uses participles freely, I do not believe that he deliberately employs them in the so-called 'nominative absolute.'<sup>1</sup> There is only one other real problem of this kind - euomens at IV 6.8 (q.v.). Both this and the paradosis stantes are causal participles, but all the other examples of participles with this force are used adjectivally in the normal way. For a discussion of the other supposed occurrences of the nominative absolute in Curtius, see p. 371.

Pro meliore stant causa is a rather unusual forensic form of the phrase in partibus stare (cf. III 11.18 'qui in Darei partibus steterant'), like Sen. de Ira 2.7.3 'corona pro mala <stat> bona patroni uoce corrupta' (<stat> Gertz); Lucan 7.349 'cuasa iubet melior superos sperare secundos;' Livy 26.41.17 'di prope ipsi cum Hannibale starent;' IV 13.13 'deos stare secum.' Cf. Livy's use of the phrase 'pro patria/iure gentium stare.'

The idea that the gods were on the just side, with or without the implication that the enemy were cowardly and refused a fair fight because they knew they deserved no invisible means of support, had wide currency in antiquity, especially in Epic, and in 'history with a definite point of view:' VI 3.18 'quanto creditis Persas obsequentiores fore, cum intellexerint uos pia bella suscipere?' Livy 10.40.13 '"di in proelio sunt," inquit, "habet poenam

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1 Bacherler, WS 43 (1922) 100-102.

noxium caput," 8.6.5 'bene habet; di piū mouere bellum.' The motif reappears, in Christian guise, in Mediaeval Epic.<sup>1</sup> The theory of the 'just war' was formulated by Cicero Rep. 3.35, Christianized by Augustine Epp. 189.6, and demolished by Erasmus in his Querela Pacis (Froben, Basel 1517).

Et...quocue = καὶ...δέ, as occasionally in Livy, e.g. 37.31.2. Cf. Et...quidem e.g. VII 11.1, VIII 2.28 = καὶ...δέ; and Et hercule, III 8.10. For Et as an introductory particle = 'moreover', cf. IV 4.3; 14.16, VII 5.40, etc.

dicionem The word is most commonly found in the acc., and Livy favours this case. The less usual dative occurs several times in Curtius, see § 26, below.

utpote qui + subjunctive. The least common of the three adverb + relative pronoun phrases: quippe qui, ut qui, utpote qui, and rare in Latin of any period. It is found infrequently in Cicero, e.g. Att. 2.24.4, and in Sallust Cat. 57.4, but not in Caesar, Livy or Tacitus, all of whom, especially Livy, prefer ut qui. Ut qui is probably not used by Cicero. There are textual problems at all three possible occurrences: Phil. 11.30, N.D. 2.143, ad Fam. 5.18.2. K.-S. II 293, An. 3. Curtius has utpote qui at IV 1.13, V 13.11; utpote cum at X 2.19; ut qui at III 12.9, V 3.8. Quippe qui is not found in Curtius or Caesar.

belli iura = 'the rules of war,' i.e. not to use underhand methods like assassination: IV 11.18 'ad inter-necionem (Dareus) mihi persequendus est, non ut iustus hostis, sed ut percussor uel ueneficus.' Alexander seems to have been very conscious that he was not only waging

1 e.g. Hildebrandslied 55f.

"doh maht du nu aodlihho,	ibu dir din ellen taoc,
in sus heremo man	hrusti gewinnan
rauba birahanen,	<u>ibu du dar enic recht habes."</u>

"Yet you may easily, if your courage serves you, win armour from so distinguished a man, rob the spoils, if you have any right on your side."

'pia bella' to avenge Greece, but must be seen to be doing so. The prime example of his overt claim is the famous remark before the battle of Gaugamela: 'Meae uero gloriae.. furtum noctis obstare non patiar.. malo meae fortunae paeniteat quam uictoriae pudeat.' Arrian 3.10.2 '... ὅτι καὶ ἄλλοι κατήκονον τῶν λόγων, αἰσχρὸν εἶναι κλέψαι τὴν νίκην.' Plut. Alex. 31.7 'Οὐ κλέπτω τὴν νίκην.'

For the darker side of ius belli, cf. Livy 21.13.9 'potius quam...rapi trahique ante ora uestra coniuges ac liberos belli iure sinatis;' 1.1.2 and 26.31.2; Caes. B.G. 1.36.1 'ius esse belli, ut qui uicissent iis quos uicissent quemadmodum uellent imperarent;' 1.44.2.

Alexander could be accused of not observing the honourable 'iura belli', in that he was holding Darius' family hostage, but he never threatened their lives or honour (IV 11.16,17) and their actual safety, as he specifically says (IV 11.17), is not conditional upon 'si ueneris supplex.'

in me Cf. in se VII 11.16, and Caes. B.C. 1.32.5 'quod ab altero postularent, in se recusarent.'

si ueneris supplex..sine pretio Darius is to acknowledge his defeat and dishonourable behaviour; cf. Arrian 2.14.8f. Alexander's treatment of Statira is reminiscent of Xenophon's story of the lady of Susa. She was reunited by Cyrus with her husband, who then became Cyrus' subject-ally (III 12.17f., IV 10.23, 34; Cyropaed. 6.1.46f.) If Alexander had hoped for a similar happy outcome in the case of Statira and Darius, he was to be disappointed.

recepturum The ellipse of the acc. pronoun of esse, or both, is characteristic of Curtius; cf. uenturum § 14, below, and on the future participle p. 361.

IV 1.14 Et uincere et consulere uictis scio Like Livy 22.51.4 'uincere scis, Hannibal, uictoria uti nescis.' scio + infin.: more usually with an object clause, but found with infin. occasionally in Cicero, then several times in Livy.

committere + dat. For a more unusual usage, see on IV 2.14 = 'join to.'

timeo + infin. Rare before Livy: K.-S. II 255, An.3; and see on infinitives p. 373.

De cetero sc. 'tempore' = τοῦ λοιποῦ. Not usually first in its sentence, or in this sense, but it is also found at VIII 3.7, and cf. Sen. de Ira 1.8.1 'faciet de cetero quantum uolet, non quantum permiseris.' Cic. de Fin. 1.26; Arrian 2.14.9 'καὶ τοῦ λοιποῦ ὅταν πέμπῃς παρ' ἐμέ ..' For a different meaning of the phrase, cf, VIII 7.15.

scribes + dat. More usually with ad, but Curtius seems to prefer the dative; cf. VII 1.36.

non solum regi te sed stiam tuo scribes The arrogant rhetoric is weakened by Gleye's supplement, 'sed etiam <domino> tuo,'<sup>1</sup> comparing Val. Max. R.G. Alex. 2.29 'Darius domino Alexandro haec dicit.' Arrian's phrase at this point is nearer to Curtius: 'ἀλλ' ὡς κυρίῳ ὄντι πάντων τῶν σῶν.' (2.14.9).

Thersippus RE VA<sub>2</sub>.2455 = Thersippos 2 (Berve). Thus Arrian 2.14.4, who says that Darius' envoys were also sent back with Thersippus. Diodorus 17.39.2 says, 'τοὺς πρέσβεις ἀπράκτους ἐξάπέστειλεν,' but does not mention a written reply from Alexander.

IV 1.15 Ipse in Phoenicen In view of the preceding reference to Thersippus, Curtius probably wrote Ipse, to draw attention back to Alexander, and to avoid misunderstanding. He uses ipse freely, especially of Alexander in cases like this, with or without rex; cf. VI 2.6, where rex ipse is preferable to Hedicke's rex saepe. There are close parallels to this passage at III 1.24, where ipse refers back to Alexander after a brief reference to his

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1 Philologus 55 (1896) 568-571.

instructions to Calas; at V 4.17, after a reference to Craterus; and V 4.21. Ille is similarly used at e.g. III 4.15, VI 5.17; and rex at V 5.1 and V 5.8. The MS. evidence for ipse is slender, and many editors have wished to supply a connecting temporal adverb after Phoenicen: deinde Vindelinius: dein Stangl: inde Bardon: and Heinsius suggests Exin in Phoenicen. Curtius of course often uses such adverbs, especially at the beginning of the sentence, to introduce a new section of narrative, e.g. deinde V 2.13; inde V 6.16 & 17; iamque V 13.13; hinc IX 1.8, and the ubiquitous tum: exin is not found elsewhere in Curtius. But in some cases where an adverb might have been expected, there is no connecting particle, e.g. V 3.1, 5.1. Inde is perhaps more palaeographically plausible than ipse but like all the suggested supplementary adverbs, its inclusion does not solve the problem of the change of subject before descendit. Moreover, I think Curtius would have avoided the repetition of in; or in the case of dein or deinde, the repetition of two or even three de-sounds, with the following descendit.<sup>1</sup> For Curtius' use of dein/deinde, see on IV 1.3.

oppidum Often in Curtius means a large town, sometimes as a synonym for urbs, e.g. III 13.4-5, IV 2.2 & 6. For the opposite of urbs, see on uicus IV 1.30.

traditum recepit Arrian 2.15.6 'ἐκ Μαράθων δὲ ὄρμηθεις Βύβλον τε λαμβάνει ὁμολογία ἐνδοθεῖσαν καὶ Σιδῶνα κ.τ.λ.'

uetustate Sidon is repeatedly mentioned as early as Homer, e.g.: Il. § 291, Od. v 285, o 424; I Kings 11.5, II Kings 23.13; Strabo 16.1097c, etc. Its antiquity, like that of Tyre, was proverbial. There is some dispute over whether Tyre or Sidon was the older city (see on IV 4.19), but according to Genesis 10.15, it was already the chief city of Phoenicia. Both Tyre and Sidon were alleged to have been founded by Agenor, brother of Belus and father

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1 For Curtius' avoidance of short e with following -que, see Harant, p. 25.

of Cadmus ( IV 4.15, Arr. 2.24.2; RE I, 773.45f.). See also Justin 18.3.1, Pomp. Mela 1.12, RE II A<sub>2</sub>. 2216.25 = Sidon 1 .

inclitam One of the very few words in Curtius which may smack of the poetic/archaic (see on 'Vocabulary,' p. 342). The word is not used by Caesar or Cicero, but is already found in Sallust, Livy and Valerius Maximus.

IV 1.16 Strato RE IV A<sub>1</sub>. 273. 51f. = Straton 5 (Fiehn) A fairly common name among the Phoenician nobility. Not the same as Strato, prince of Sidon (IV 1.6) who was one of the mainstays of Persian power in Phoenicia. This Strato may have been put to death by Alexander: according to Anaximenes, Athen. 12.531d-e, his death was a violent one.

Justin gives Strato as the name of the former king of Tyre, whose descendants were spared by Alexander after the capture of their city (Arrian 2.24.5). It may have been the frequent occurrence of the name which led Diodorus, who also calls the king of Tyre 'Straton', to place the Abdalonymus episode at Tyre (17.47.1-6). Plutarch, Fort. Alex. 2.8 (340c-e), says it happened in Paphos; Curtius and Justin 11.10.8 locate the incident correctly at Sidon. Arrian does not record the episode, and mentions the surrender of Sidon only in passing (2.15.6). He calls the king of Tyre Ἀξέμιλκος at 2.15.7 and 2.24.5, and like Justin says that Alexander spared him. See also on Abdalonymus, § 19.

Darei opibus adiutus Vell. Pat. 1.8.5 'adiutus legionibus aui sui;' Caes. B.C. 3.35.2 'suis opibus iuuerat.' Cf. IV 7.1 'Aegypti, olim Persarum opibus infensi;' VI 5.9 'Democrates..qui maxime Macedonum opibus semper obstiterat.'

sed The adversative conjunction is unobjectionable. It introduces the reason why 'regno uisus indignus' - not because he had been Darius' puppet ( as most of the rulers in the area were), but in spite of this, because he did not surrender voluntarily to Alexander, unlike Strato of

Aradus in §. 6 above, who was left in his position of authority.

magis popularium quam sua sponte Arrian 2.15.6 'αὐτῶν Σιδωνίων ἐπικαλεσαμένων κατὰ ἔχθος τὸ Περσῶν καὶ Δαρείον.'  
For the sentiment, cf. Appian B.C. 1.51 'οἱ δὲ δεισάντες τὴν πόλιν παρεδίδουν. καὶ τήνδε μὲν ὁ Σύλλας διήρπαξεν ὡς οὐκ εὐνοία προσελθοῦσαν ἀλλ' ὑπ' ἀνάγκης.'

sponte Before Curtius, always with mea, tua, sua, etc. In Tacitus it is found with similar adjs., e.g. Ann. 13.39 'alia sponte,' and Amm. Marc. 17.2, etc.. 'sponte propria.' Sponte + genitive; first in prose in Curtius; otherwise found first in Lucan 1.234 'sponte deum,' 1.99. 'sponte ducum;' Val. Flac. 4.358 'sponte dei.' Later, it is found several times in Tacitus, e.g. Hist. 4.19.20 'sponte legatorum,' Ann. 2.59. Curtius uses it only here with the gen., and the unusual construction is somewhat constrained by the context magis...quam. Cf. the poet. and post-Augustan use of sponte alone, at VI 5.18, VII 4.38. Like many of Curtius' constructions which are otherwise rare in prose, he has a precedent for this usage in Vergil.

popularium This use of popularis = 'a citizen' is rare and does not seem to occur before the time of Livy. Even then, the latter uses it only once: 24.2.8 'Crotona nec consilium unum inter populares nec uoluntas erat,' whereas he frequently has the more common sense of popularis - 'a fellow-citizen.' At IV 8.11 and V 1.11, Curtius makes it clear that he intends the second meaning by adding suis.

Hephaestionique III 12.15f. See RE VIII, 291 =  
Hephaestion 3.

Hephaestionique permissum ut...constitueret regem The tale is also told by Diodorus, at 17.47.1f., with some differences in detail, the most obvious of which being that he locates the episode at Tyre instead of Sidon.

eo fastigio = ea dignitate. Metaph. in Nepos Att.



10.2, 14.2; otherwise in Livy and later authors. Cf. *Vell. Pat.* 2.15.2, *Sen. Epp.* 47.18, *IV* 14.20, *VI* 9.22, and § 17, below. For the association of *fastigium* with public honours, see e.g. *Cic. de Or.* 3.180 'nullam sine fastigio dignitatem habituram fuisse uideatur,' and *Phil.* 2.110.

**IV 1.17** Hephaestionis I think the paradosis Hephaestionis can stand. There are other comparable instances in Curtius of a genitive where a possessive dative might have been expected, e.g. *VIII* 6.5 'Castigandi eos uerberibus nullius (nullius  $\Omega$ : nulli Damsté) potestas praeter ipsum erat.'<sup>1</sup> In some of these cases the gen. has been emended to a dat. without MS. evidence.<sup>2</sup> Of course, the dat. is very commonly used like this,<sup>3</sup> but in the present case either gives good sense, and the MSS.' reading should be retained. Use of the gen. places the emphasis on the young men, rather than on Hephaestion, and this is appropriate as Hephaestion's function has just been mentioned, whereas his young hosts are now being introduced as the protagonists in the following scene; cf. *Thymondas* at *III* 3.1.

Vogel would read Hephaestioni duo, claiming that the final s is a corruption for the numeral, and indeed Curtius says 'alter ex his' in § 22, below. However, there is a similar passage in *Tacitus Ann.* 11.4.1, where Fuchs reads, 'addere reos <duos> equites Romanos,' but this supplement is no more necessary than Vogel's here.

clari Cf. *Livy* 8.27.6 'Clari magis inter populares quam

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- 1 For a standard use of the predicative possessive gen. see on *IV* 2.1. The gen., instead of a dat. of purpose, seems to be perfectly acceptable at *VII* 5.20 'Titulus facinoris (facinoris  $\Omega$ : facinori Acidalius) speciosus praeferebatur;' cf. in similar words and with the same meaning: *V* 10.12 'titulum sollemnis officii occulto scelere praeferentes,' where the emendation to dat. would in any case be more difficult to justify.
  - 2 I am not, however, prepared to accept as many suspect MS. genitives as Bardon (LEC 1947) wishes to reinstate.
  - 3 Curtius uses two alternative cases in other contexts; e.g. the acc. at *III* 2.18 'documentum cris posteris,' *VIII* 6.12 'cuius documentum tot dies fuerant;' but the dat. at *V* 5.12 'alius alii potuissemus esse fastidio.'

honesti,' 30.42.12 'insignis tamen inter ceteros,' III 6.1 'Hyrncani egregiorum ut inter illas gentes, sex milia expleuerant;' and the dative at III 3.23 'spadonum grex, haud sane illis gentibus uilis.'

in id fastigium recipi Cf. Cic. Arch. 10.22, Cael. 25 'in ciuitatem / in ordinem senatorium recipi.'

nisi regia stirpe ortum Diod. 17.47.2 'ουδεμίαν δὲ συγγένειαν ἔχων πρὸς τοὺς γεγονότας βασιλεῖς οὐκ ἐδέξατο τὴν δωρεάν.'

IV 1.18 Hephaestion The MSS. are unanimous in their agreement on the —on nominative ending, here and at VI 8.17.

per ignes ferrumque 'enduring every pain and hardship.' A proverbial expression with along history, cf. διὰ πύρος ἰέναι, e.g. Xenophon Symp. 4.16 'ἐγὼ γοῦν μετὰ Κλεινίου κἂν διὰ πύρος ἰοίην .' Ovid's use of the phrase is closer in form and context to Curtius': Met. 8.76 'ire per ignes/ et gladios ausim;' Met. 14.109 'uir cuius dextera per ferrum est, pietas spectata per ignes;' also of the physician's attentions: Her. 20.183 'ut ualeant, aliae ferrum patiuntur et ignes;' Rem. Am. 229; Sen. de Prou. 1.3.2 'ferro et igne curari;' of the disasters of war, e.g. Cic. Phil. 11.14.37 'ferro ignique minantur,' Livy 22.23.4 'ferrum ignemque et uim omnem..abstineri iussit.' The standard phrase ferro ignique has similar connotations and is very frequent in Livy, e.g. 5.7.3, and the proverbial terra marique can be used to mean almost the same as per ignes ferrumque, e.g. Juvenal 14.222 'terra marique acquirenda.'

The pl. ignes is also preferred in this expression by Ovid; cf. Curtius' use of the more common pls. aquarum III 1.3; harenae IV 7.6; terras V 4.9; niuibus V 6.13. Conversely, for his use of sing. for pl., see on miles, IV 3.15.

Vos quidem...habere se regnum Curtius does not need much encouragement to break into direct speech, but like Livy<sup>1</sup> and other historians, he makes a rather effective use of it to deliver the 'punch-line' in some anecdotes where the protagonists do not otherwise address each other. As he cuts the Gordian knot, Alexander declares, 'Nihil interest quomodo soluantur' (III 1.18), and he suddenly says to his reluctant guide, 'Praedem me accipere neminem eorum qui secuntur recusaturum ire qua duces' (V 4.13). During the occupation and destruction of Persepolis, the only direct speech is Alexander's exclamation, 'Quin igitur ulciscimur Graeciam et urbi faces subdimus?' In these and other cases, the climax is accentuated by the contrast with surrounding O.O. or plain narrative.

This device is a common feature of the style of the author with any pretensions to writing a polished, fully-developed history. It is interesting to compare Caesar's rare use of this feature. Of course, Caesar was writing Commentarii and the work does not claim to be a 'full-blown' history, although we may doubt whether reworking would in this case have been an improvement. It is noticeable how Caesar deliberately avoids O.R. in the first six books of B.G. and in Book 7, there is one full speech at a crucial point, which he nevertheless feels it necessary to excuse with a quasi-apology: 'non praeter eunda uidetur oratio Critognati propter eius singularem et nefariam crudelitatem' (7.77.3-16). In the same book, there are two rather surprising short passages of O.R., spoken by Vercingetorix (7.20). Both are dramatic interjections for special emphasis and are similar to a number found in Curtius. In B.C. there is more O.R., but full speeches are again limited to special occasions (2.31.2, 3.86-87). It may well be that Caesar's emotional involvement in these crucial events led him to dramatize with O.R.<sup>2</sup> So even in Caesar we can see emerging, in moments of crisis, the tendency towards rhetorical historiography.

<sup>1</sup> A.H. McDonald, esp. p.167; Walsh, Livy p. 28.

<sup>2</sup> Adcock, Caesar as Man of Letters, p. 72-3

macte This expression probably began its career as a vocative sing. adj. in religious contexts, e.g. Cato R.R. 134.2 'Ioue pater macte uino inferio esto;' Servius on Verg. Aen. 9.641 'Macte, magis aucte, affectatae gloriae; et est sermo tractus a sacris: quotiens enim aut tus aut uinum super uictimam fundebatur, dicebant, 'mactus est taurus uino uel ture.' It soon began to be used purely adverbially: Cic. Att. 15.29.3 'seruulos autem dicere eum et agripetas eiectos a Buthrotiis. macte!' \* The phrase 'macte uirtute' (or with a similar noun) became almost a standard expression, e.g. Verg. Aen. 9.641 'macte uirtute, puer..' With or without esto, its force is always that of an imperative, which has led Madvig and others to conclude that it was once an imperative whose origins had become obscure. The real grammatical significance of macte was soon lost when it was closely connected with uirtute. Thus at 2.12.14, Livy tries to accommodate the standard phrase, whose syntax he may not have questioned, in a passage of O.O. The context is, however, still the second person sing. imperative: 'Tu uero abi, in te magis quam in me hostilia ausus. Iuberem macte uirtute esse, sed..'

Hence the accepted form of the phrase is still used when the subject is plural. Macte here behaves like an indecl. adj. (cf. frugi)<sup>1</sup>: Livy 7.36.5 'macte uirtute milites Romani este;' Pliny N.H. 2.54 'macte ingenio este caeli interpretes;'<sup>2</sup> Pliny Min. Pan. 89.3 'macte uterque ingenti in rempublicam merito.'

In all these cases the weight of MS. evidence is for macte rather than macti, which is often, as in Curtius, clearly the result of a late corrector's attempt to rationalise the sing. vocative with the pl. subject. The more conventional use of macte with a sing. vocative subject continues to subsist, e.g. Livy 10.40.11, 23.15.14, etc.; Pliny Min. Pan. 46.5; and also with the poetic genitive,

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1 Neue - Wagener II 178f. under 'Indeclinable Adjectives' agrees that it is vocative.

2 K-S I 256. An.4, say that this is the only extant occurrence of the form macti, but there is contrary MS. evidence.

Mart. Epig. 12.6.7, and with the abl., Stat. Theb. 7.280. For a further discussion of the origins and behaviour of macte, see Conington, excursus on Verg. Aen. 9.641.

intellexistis quanto maius esset regnum fastidire quam accipere For this kind of moralising, cf. Sen. de Ben. 3.37.3 'hoc est regnum, nolle regnare cum possis;' Thyest. 470 'immane regnum est posse sine regno pati;' de Ben. 2.15.3; Tac. Dial. 8.4 'diuitiae et opes quas facilius inuenies qui uituperet quam qui fastidiat;' Claudian Epith. Pallad. 81 'magnum delata potestas; maiorem contempta probat.' The Stoic School had made detachment of this kind an essential part of their ethics: Sen. Epp. 94.8 'reliqua omnia - diuitias, honores, bonam uarietudinem, uires, imperia - (uir bonus) scierit esse mediam partem nec bonis adnumerandam nec malis;' de Ben. 5.13.2, de Prou. 6.1, Cons. Sap. 2.1, Vit. Beat. 26.1. There are many incidental mentions of Stoic ideas in Curtius: 'ius gentium' VI 11.15, etc.,<sup>1</sup> 'the brotherhood of Man' VIII 4.15f., the separation of body and soul X 6.7. He feels it necessary to explain why Darius does not commit suicide, at V 12.11, and, like Panaetius, does not believe in divination and omens, about which he makes some rather scathing comments (IV 6.12, V 4.1, etc.). He refers to the Epicurean 'opposition' at V 11.10. All this does not make Curtius a Stoic<sup>2</sup>: these ideas were in general circulation at the time, and several educated Romans seem to have wavered in their allegiance, for example Horace (Epp. 1.1.14), and even Seneca has to admit: 'soleo enim et in aliena castra transire,' (Epp. 2.5). Curtius gives away nothing really definite about his personal philosophy, if indeed he had one, just as he reveals nothing of his personality in his writing. Such philosophical expressions as there are point to the eclecticism so prevalent in the early first century A.D.

maius + infinitive: for a survey of other neuter adjs.

1 See also Arnold, Roman Stoicism p. 385.

2 cf. Dosson, Étude p. 259f; Walsh, Livy p. 49f.

used with an infin. by Curtius, see Eger p. 23. Curtius' usage in this respect is quite unremarkable.

fastidire act. + acc., = 'spernere'. This construction is mainly poet. and also found in post-Augustan prose: once in Cicero- Pis. 68 'non fastidiuit eius amicitiam.' Cf. Livy 32.7.10 'iam aedilitatem praeturamque fastidiri.' Hor. Carm. 3.1.21f. 'somnus agrestium / lenis uirorum non humiles domos / fastidit;' VI 11.25, VIII 7.13; and see on penetrare IV 3.26.

meminerit Sen. de Ben. 7.22.1 'Errat tamen, si quis existimat, cum dicimus eum qui beneficium dedit obliuisci oportere..'

date Diod. 17.47.3 'τοῦ δ' Ἡφαίστιωνος ἐπιτρέψαντος αὐτῷ τὴν ἐκλογὴν ποιήσασθαι ἐκ τοῦ γένους τῶν βασιλέων.' Cf. Livy 23.3.9 'date..bonum senatorem et iustum,' for the ellipse.

IV 1.19 imminere metaph. +dat.; cf. Livy 4.25.9 'imminentes spei maioris honoris;' III 8.3 'proditioni (proditioni Bentley: proditionem Ω) imminere,' and Dareo imminens III 1.10, IV 8.16, V 11.12.

singulis amicorum This use of a partitive genitive following plural adjs. is, with the exception of plerique (see below), a peculiarity of historical prose. Cf. Livy 42.65.5 'reliquis peditum', etc, and on delectos militum, IV 4.2. The partitive genitive following a sing. adj. is usually found only in poetry, and is probably borrowed from Greek: VIII 9.5 'omnium...eximius' (eximius ω: eximiis P: maximus Modius).

plerique + gen. Already found often enough in Cicero and Livy.

cupiditatem Cupido and cupiditas are used in almost equal numbers in Curtius (15 and 14 times respectively),

but, whether he intended this or not, there seems to be a distinction between the senses and contexts in which the two words occur. Cupiditas in every case has the same connotations as the English 'lust', and refers to human desires and instincts - for power, wealth, sex, wine - in their baser forms. When the word is found without a qualifying noun or gerund, it means exactly this: e.g. X 10.6 'modus inmodicarum cupiditatum, ueneris intra naturale desiderium usus.' Cupido is almost entirely concerned with a higher 'yearning', e.g. III 1.16 'sortis eius explendae,' VII 2.38 'ignominiae demendae,' X 1.16 'cognoscendi plura.' There is, however, one exception to this 'rule' (or perhaps two exceptions): X 5.34 'cupidinem uini,' cf. V 7.1 'uini cupiditate.' (VI 5.32 'ad uenerem.. cupido' is a different case from VIII 4.27 'in medio cupiditatis ardore (uirgunculae).') The former is a more 'cold-blooded' arrangement 'ad communicandos cum rege liberos;' at VI 5.32, Alexander is 'in amorem uirgunculae.. effusus.') However, in this case cupido again refers to Alexander; for whose desires cupido (πρόθυμος) became almost a t.t (see on IV 7.8).

It is interesting to compare the respective frequencies of the two words in other authors: Cic., Caes. and Nepos have only cupiditas; Livy, Vell. Pat. and Sen. Min. prefer cupiditas; Curtius and Pliny Maj. use both almost equally; Sall. and Tac. prefer cupido.<sup>1</sup> There is no distinction in the usage of the words in Livy: cupido / cupiditas are both used with genitive gerunds or nouns with similar meanings, e.g. regni, imperii, magni honoris/gloriae, praedandi/rapiendi, laedendi/ulciscendi.

adulantis Probably an example of scribal 'correction' from —is to —ibus. There is evidence to suggest that Curtius wrote —is for the acc. pl. of present participles, and a few other adjs. and nouns.<sup>2</sup> Cf. IV 16.6 languentis P: languentes P $\omega$ ; IV 16.17 cumulantis P $\omega$ : cumulanti P. This form may also be responsible for the textual problem

1. See Woodman on Vell.Pat. 2.125.1, Goodyear on Tac. Ann. 1.3.6.

2. See on IV 3.12 tris, and cf. discordis, IV 13.4.

at IV 2.16 (q.v.), and VII 11.18<sup>a</sup> (rimantes Lauer : rimantis  $\omega$ : rimantium P) Acidalius would emend to: 'singulis amicos Alexandri ob n.r. c. adulantibus,' but singulis in an abl. absolute would contradict multos above. For the use of the present participle after verba percipiendi see on 'Participles', p. 358.

adulor + dat.: mainly in Livy and later authors, e.g. Livy 36.7.4; Sen. de Vit. Beat. 12.3. Cf. iubeo + dat. at V 6.8, VII 5.31, X 8.4, which is also found in Livy and Tacitus.

Abdalonymum RE I.22 11f. A Phoenician name meaning 'servant of the gods.' The correct form of the name is preserved here in P, and in Justin 11.10.8. Diod. 17.46.6 calls him βαλώνυμος. Plutarch Fort. Alex. 2.8.340C-E locates the incident in Paphos, and the MSS. have, for the name: ἀρα ἀλόνυμος, emended by Cobet in the light of Curtius and Diodorus. Plutarch makes the new king a Paphian, saying that none of the royal family, the Cinyrae, deserved the honour and that they were already dying out, or had already done so. However, Tacitus Hist. 3.1 says: 'Tantum Cinyrades sacerdos consulitur,' - presumably of his own time.

longa quidem cognatione. He was a member of a lateral branch of the ruling family, cf. § 25 'Corporis, inquit, habitus famae generis repugnat.'

longa = longinqua: this sense is post-Augustan and very rare; cf. X 10.19 'Alexandrum..longinqua cognatione contigerant.' Its opposite, with the more usual contingere, is found at V 3.12, VI 11.20, Nepos Praef. 7.

stipe. I doubt whether this can mean the profits from his own garden, = fructu, as Columella R.R. 8.1.2 'uillaticae pastiones sicut pecuariae non minimam colono stipem conferunt.' Rolfe erroneously translates exigua..stipe as 'at a small profit.' More probably Curtius is defining Abdalonymus' position as one of supreme indignity for a man of his lineage - receiving wages for cultivating some-



one else's garden, as Quint. Decl. 9.15 'Stipem ponere fortunae.' Müller correctly translates 'für geringen Lohn.' This interpretation is strongly supported by our other sources for this event: Justin 11.10.9 'Abdalonimus cum operam oblocare ad puteos exhauriendos hortosque irrigandos solitus esset,' and Diod.17.47.4 'κατέλαβεν αὐτὸν ἐν τινὶ κήπῳ μισθοῦ μὲν ἀντλοῦντα,' specifically say that he was a jobbing gardener, to such lengths had his poverty driven him that he did not even have a small-holding of his own; cf. Livy 32.7.1 'Tarquitiū patri-  
ciae gentis, sed qui cum stipendia pedibus propter paupertatem fecisset.'

IV 1.20 Causa ei paupertatis..probitas erat. Almost Juvenalian in its cynicism. For the familiar association of poverty with probity, cf. Hor. Carm. 2.18.1f., 3.29.55f., Vell. Pat. 2.129.3 'neque honestam paupertatem pateretur.' The choice of Abdalonimus as king is vindicated at IV 1.25.

§§. 20-26 The 'Cincinnatus motif' will be familiar to readers of Livy 3.26.7ff., and this passage of Curtius has many points of similarity with Livy's story, in treatment and expression. The moral of the tale is similar for both historians: Livy begins, 'Operae pretium est audire qui omnia prae diuitiis humana spernunt neque honori magno locum neque uirtuti putant esse nisi ubi effuse affluent opes.' It is interesting to note the different moral pointed by Diodorus, in view of his similarities with Curtius in the rest of the account, and Curtius' near obsession with the power of Fortuna throughout Alexander's life: Diod. 17.47.6 'παράδειγμα τοῖς ἀγνοοῦσι τὴν τῆς τύχης παράδοξον μεταβολήν.' This idea must have been familiar to Curtius (cf. Hor. Carm. 1.34.12f., 3.29.49f.) but he may well have had Livy in mind throughout this passage. That Curtius chose to introduce this episode, among others, with a quasi-sententia, is symptomatic of a literary trend of the time, whose progress was much assisted by Seneca the Younger. Curtius is, however, content with a sprinkling of sententiae, rather than a flood.

The unexpected elevation of a person of noble lineage and character from humble work on the land to the other extreme has great emotional appeal, and is therefore an effective vehicle for a moral tale, cf the cases of David, I Sam. 16.7, 11 & 12; Cyrus the Great, Herod. 1.14 and Justin 1.5. Of the four authors who record the Abdalonymus story, Curtius exploits its potential most fully. As usual, he is at pains to convey the protagonist's feelings, from quiet unconcern, through bewilderment and indignation, to determination to shoulder his new responsibilities with fortitude (§ 25). For the dramatic treatment of the scene, and the introduction of direct speech for realism, compare the encounters between Alexander and Philip the Physician III 6.8f., Alexander and Darius' Family III 12.15-26 and V 12.18-22, Darius and Tyriotes IV 10.26f., and many others.

intentusque operi Livy 3.26.9 'operi...agresti intentus;' Flor. 1.11.13 '(L.Quinctium) lictor in ipso opere deprehendit.' The usual meaning of the sing. opus, as Sen. Epp. 86.5. 'Exercebat enim opere se terramque, ut mos fuit priscis, ipse subigebat.'

intentusque operi..strepitum armorum..non exaudiebat Cf. the famous story of Archimedes and his geometrical figures: Livy 25.31.9 'in tanto tumultu, quantum pauciores poterat, intentum formis, interfectum.' Sen. Epp. 'Paupertas expedita est, secreta est: cum classicum cecinit, scit non se peti.' Petronius Frag. 36.5 'Cum sonuere tubae iugulo stat diuite ferrum / barbara contemni proelia pannus habet.' Abdalonymus was too busy securing his exiguam stipem to interest himself in haute politique.

operi diurno Like IX 2.6 'tonsorem uix diurno quaestu propulsantem famem.'

concusserat = 'alarmed', as Lucr. 3.834 'omnia cum belli trepido concussa tumultu.' A strong word, but not necessarily poetic: Cic. Phil.2.109 'ut rem publicam concutere

posset,' Tusc. 4.8.19; also at VIII 2.24. For the other metaph. sense of concutere, cf. IV 14. 20.

IV 1.21 . cum regiae uestis insignibus Diod. 17.47.5  
*τὴν βασιλικὴν στολὴν καὶ τὸν ἄλλον τὸν ἀρμόζοντα κόσμον.'*  
 The epexegetic genitive is frequently used by Curtius,  
 e.g. sedes urbium III 4.10, supplementum nouorum..militum  
 V 7.12; and see also habitus uestis, § 22.

eligens...repurgabat . Technical terms from horticulture:  
Sen. de Prou. 3.6 'Quod ad focum cenat illas ipsas radices  
 et herbas quas in repurgando agro triumphalis senex uul-  
 sit?' Pliny N.H. 18.64 'tum et segetes conuenit purgare.'  
 Heinsius' emendation to exigens seems unlikely and unneces-  
 sary; cf. Varro R.R. 1.47 'herbae eligendae, eae dum  
 tenerae sunt uellendae;' Colum. 4.5.1 'praecipue gramina  
 extirpare, quae nisi eliguntur..reuiuiscunt.'  
 Diod. 17.46.7, Justin 11.10.9, and Plut. Fort. Alex. 34OD,  
 say that Abdalonymus was drawing water for the garden at  
 the time, but as Livy says of Quinctius: 'Tibi ab legatis-  
 seu fossam fodiens palae innixus, seu cum araret, operi  
 certe, id quod constat, agresti intentus- salute data in  
 uicem redditaque rogatus ut...'

IV 1.22 Habitus uestis Livy 24.5.3 'Hieronem filium-  
 que eius Gelonem nec uestis habitu nec alio insigni dif-  
 ferentes a ceteris ciuibus.' Lesage would omit uestis  
 here, but it seems to be a standard formula, also found at  
 III 3.3. 'in eo uestis habitu.'

hic uestis quem cernis in meis manibus Cf. III 12.5  
 'amiculum...in manibus eius qui repertum ferebat agnouit.'  
 In both these passages, the distinctive garment is the  
 centre of attention, cf. on amictum, below.

permutandus cum for permutandus + abl. A rare con-  
 struction, not found in Livy or Tacitus, but in Pliny N.H.  
 11.204 'iecori, cum quo locum aliquando (lien) permutat,'  
 on the analogy of mutare and commutare cum, e.g. Livy

42.5.3. Cf. diuidere cum V 3.16 'diuisis cum Parmenione copiis,' which is already found in Cicero, Verr. 3.8.19 Sest. 16.37, on the analogy of partiri cum aliquo (IX 10.6). Curtius also has the abl. alone at IV 11.12.

inluuie Usually poetic before the time of Livy; then in historians and later prose. Often in contexts of hunger, poverty, and general misery: Livy 21.40.9 'umbrae hominum, fame frigore, inluuie squalore enecti;' Sen. de Ira 3.17.3 'accedebat fames et squalor et inluuies corporis.'

inluuie squalidum Livy 21.39.2 'cultus ex inluuie tabeque squalida;' cf. Tac. Ann. 4.28 'inluuieque ac squalore obsitus;' Hist. 4.46 'inluuie deformis.'

terrenisque There have been many attempts to explain or emend away the hyperbolic aeternisque which is found in the earliest MSS. However, Snakenburg, referring to V, says, 'distincte exhibet "terrenisque".' This could certainly have been mis-read as aeternisque by scribes, especially under ecclesiastical influence. Modius had previously acknowledged this possibility, and suggested these analogies: Justin 24.6.4 'terrena iam spolia sorderent,' Colum. 11.2.98 'abstinent laboribus terrenis' (the word is found 8 times in Columella), Verg. Aen. 11.850 'terreno exaggere bustum.' The word is commonly used to mean simply 'of earth/soil', e.g. Livy 38.20.4 'terrenos.colles,' 33.17.8 'campus terrenus,' but much nearer to this passage of Curtius is Ovid Met. 1.67 'nec quicquam terrena faecis habentem,' ibid. 407 'pars umida suco / et terrena fuit.' Terrenisque suits the context well and is better than the plural e terrisque, reported from B, which could have been substituted as more familiar, or Raderus' terraeque, for which there do not seem to be any close parallels.

Tetrisque (Vogel), or as I should prefer, taetrisque, is probably too strong an adj. to refer merely to superficial dirt, and it usually has sinister connotations,

e.g. Sall. Cat. 55 'loca tetra, incultu, foeda atque formidolosa;' Cic. Agr. 2.17 'tetrae tenebrae.' However inluuicus is also a strong word, cf. VIII 14.4.

In support of aeternisque, Mützell compares Verg. Aen. 8.394 and 1.40, where the adj. describes amore and uulnus, respectively, but here, as usual even in its extended meaning, it refers to conditions or objects envisaged as lasting at least as long as a lifetime, as the following passages show: Cat. 109.6 'ut liceat nobis tota perducere uita aeternum hoc sanctae foedus amicitiae;' Val. Max. 6.9.10 'neque bonis eum perpetuis frui neque malis aeternis ingemescere patiendo;' Tac. Ann. 14.55 'tua.. erga me munera, dum uita suppetet, aeterna erunt.' Aeternus would be very strained in this context, when Curtius' point is that Abdalonymus' sordes has ended once and for all. Where aeternus means 'long-lasting' rather than 'everlasting', it refers to objects of obvious durability (for example Verg. Aen. 7.609 'centum aerei claudunt uectes aeternaque ferri robora;' Pliny N.H. 14.9 'nec est ligno ulli aeternior natura;' 35.172 'sunt aeterni (latericii parietes) si ad perpendicularum fiant'), or to human conditions whose intensity may make them seem everlasting to the victim, as in Mützell's example above, and Cic. Att. 11.15.2 dolor, Val. Max. 6.3.3 'ipsum aeternis uinculis pmiendum censuit;' Tac. Ann. 1.28 laborem; Apul. 1.12 solitudinem. Mützell's examples are, I believe, no nearer to Curtius' than these, and he admits that if aeternisque is accepted as authentic, it is hyperbolic. I think it would be too exaggerated, even for Curtius. When he uses it elsewhere, the meaning is 'eternal', or certainly not shorter than a lifetime: III 3.9 ignis, IV 14.24 memoria, V 11.10 constitutio, VIII 8.12 imperium. It therefore seems most unlikely that he would have used it in this context.

As parallels for ueternisque, Cornelissen cites Colum. 4.24.6 'Muscus qui..situ et ueterno maceret,' and Apul. Met. 9.13 'Corium ueterno atque scabiosa macie exasperati,' but as an adjective it does not occur at all before Prudentius- Cath. 9.68 'ueterna silentia' - with

quite different implications, and does not seem to be plausible here. Similarly, Palmer conjectures ueterno et. Although there are numerous occurrences of uetus in Curtius, he does not use ueternus elsewhere. Vetustus is found at VIII 10.8, but similar arguments can be advanced against it as against aeternus, if it is to be applied to a state which is now coming to an end. Consuetis is found as a superscript in B<sub>2</sub> and V<sub>2</sub> - an attempt to explain the unusual use of aeternisque, thus indicating early conflict at this point.

'Terrenisque sordibus squalidum' contrasts with 'regis amictum' (q.v.) and emphasises the incompatibility of manual labour with Abdalonymus' descent, character and future status; cf. 'hic uestis...isto squalore,' which Curtius is also careful to point out at the start, in the quasi-sententia, 'Causa ei paupertatis..probitas erat.' Abdalonymus is now taking the place he has deserved all along, and aeternisque would tend to disturb this idea.

amictum. The contradictory paradoxis animus is still retained in the latest edition of Curtius, by Serra. In support of animus, Wilhelm<sup>1</sup> draws attention to Dio Chrysostom Περὶ Βασ. Or. 1.11 'ἦθη καὶ δικάθειν τοῦ νρηστοῦ βασιλέως.' The point of our passage is, however, the great contrast between Abdalonymus' external circumstances and his innate qualities. He already has the animus of a king, (qua dignus es...istam continentiam') Cleitarchus' ἦθος βασιλικόν,<sup>2</sup> only lacking his trappings ('eam fortunam,' cf. isto squalore..hic uestis'). The idea is reinforced in the two parallel sentences: 'Habitus hic uestis quem cernis..cum isto aqualore permutandus tibi est,' and the chiasmic 'cape regis amictum et in eam fortunam..istam continentiam perfer.' The position of the two imperatives shows that they are equal and opposite. Abdalonymus is to change his former amictus but retain his former animus.

In this little drama, the young man hands over the

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1 Curtius und der jüngere Seneca p. 11;

2 RhM 72 (1917) 391

robe, etc., to which he had drawn attention with the words: 'Habitus hic uestis, quem cernis,' telling him, 'cape regis amictum.' Cic. Phil. 3.29 'patrium animum...capiamus' may be very similar verbally, but the situation is entirely different. In the Cicero passage, the Senate is being urged to emulate a courage it had not been able to muster before. As we have seen, Abdalonymus' upright character had never been in doubt. For the motif of the man of quality hampered by unfortunate circumstances, cf. Sen. Epp. 85.38 'propter paupertatem prohibetur docere quemadmodum respublica tractanda sit.'

continentiam An essential part of 'ἡθὴ τοῦ χρηστοῦ βασιλέως.' III 12.21 'omnes ante eum reges et continentia et clementia uinceretur;' IV 10.23 'et mansuetudinis et continentiae ferat fructum.' Cf. ἔγκράτεια in Isocr. Πρὸς Δημόν. 1.21; Dio Chrys. Περὶ Βασ. 1.20 & 34.

uitae necisque dominus Livy 30.12.12 'si captivae apud dominum uitae necisque suae uocem supplicem mittere licet;' Sen. de Clem. 1.1.2 'ego uitae necisque gentibus arbiter;' Consol. ad Polyb. 35; de Ben. 3.23.

huius status This reading is reported from Δ and conforms with Curtius' usage elsewhere: III 6.16 'in hoc statu,' and in a very similar context at X 2.22 'obliti status eius, quem beneficio exuistis meo, digni, hercule, qui in eodem consenesatis;' IV 1.27 'in illo statu;' V 1.5 'tali in statu.' The phrase is also frequent in Livy, e.g. 35.8.2. Vogel suggests habitus for huius, on the analogy of III 3.3 'in eo uestis habitu quo ipse factus rex fuisset,' and IV 13.15 'in candida ueste.' The context of 'caue obliuiscaris,' etc., shows that the implied contrast is between 'in regali solis residetis' and 'steriles herbas repurgabat.' The messenger does not say, 'cum insignia regiae uestis indueris': Abdalonymus should remember his former condition, not the state of his clothes. Propter quem cannot sensibly refer to habitus: Abdalonymus was chosen not for his dirty clothes,

but because of his honest poverty.

IV 1.23 interdum Here almost = identidem, as at IV 15.33. Elsewhere in its usual sense - 'sometimes', never in the post-Augustan sense, 'meanwhile', as Tac. Ann. 1.5, Sil. Ital. 6.30.

satisne sani..percontabatur Like III 2.10 'percontari coepit satisne ei uideretur instructus obterendum hostem.'

cunctanti This use of the dative present participle as a noun is often found in Curtius; see on 'Participles', p. 354.

ablutus Jeep's emendation to ablatus seems implausible after 'Ablue corpus', § 22.

iniecta uestis Cf. Cic. N.D. 3.34.83 'Dionysus cum ad Peloponnesum classem appulisset..eique lanium pallium iniecit.'

purpura auroque distincta As III 3.13 'uestem auro distinctam,' and III 3.17.

fides a iurantibus facta = 'under oath', as Cic. Att. 13.28.2 'de epistola ad Caesarem, iurato mihi crede, non possum..;' Plaut. Asin. 23f. 'iurato mihi uideo necesse esse eloqui;' Sen. Apocol. 1 'quis unquam ab historico iuratores exegit?'

† sero† iam rex The paradosis sero does not fit happily either with 'fides a iurantibus facta,' or with 'iam rex.' The context does not suggest that the young men were tardy in reassuring Abdalonymus of their good faith when he began to protest. If we read sero iam rex, sero would refer back to § 20, where it was suggested that Abdalonymus' honesty had hindered his attaining a status more appropriate to his nobility. But there is no implication that Abdalonymus had a right, or had expected, to become king all along: as Curtius expressly says, 'longa...



cognatione stirpi regiae adnexum.' The only way in which the meaning 'king at last' (cf. Quint. 2.17.7 'doctores artis sero repertos.') would be acceptable is if Curtius regards Abdalonymus as always having been the best man for the job, in Plato's sense of the philosopher-king, who is just now receiving the recognition he deserved. However, there is no hint of moral turpitude on the part of the previous king, Strato. His only fault was, in Alexander's eyes, that he was on the wrong side, and did not surrender of his own accord. Moreover, where sero is found elsewhere in Curtius, it means too late: III 4.3; V 11.11, IX 2.24.

There is a similar juxtaposition at Tac. Ann. 2.21 'iamque sero diei subducit ex acie legionem faciendis castris,' though here time of day is specifically meant. The other objections to sero in this passage of Curtius are: that there is no indication that the events took place either late in the day, or late in Abdalonymus' life; that the other three instances of sero imply negligence on the part of the subject of their sentence; and as there is a danger of sero being taken with 'in regiam peruenit,' the role of iam is called into question. Iam cannot be associated with peruenit, for reasons of Curtius' usage; see on iam regius tum IV 1.3. There is a similar phrase at III 5.4 'paene iam luctus in castris erat,' but here iam means 'already', is followed by the imperfect, and thus conforms with Curtius' rule elsewhere.

If serio is accepted, then it only occurs here in Curtius, and must be attached to iam rex, not only to obviate difficulties over iam..peruenit, but for the sense. Still, it does not suit the context: it is hardly necessary to say that the people taking the oath are not joking. They had been serious all the time, but Abdalonymus had not believed them. Elsewhere, serius appears as an adj. meaning 'grave/serious', as VIII 9.25, the opposite of leuis/ iocosus; cf. the use of the noun at IX 7.16 'per seria et ludum.' Serio usually implies the opposite of iocose, or as Quint. Inst. 1.2.1 'puer.. discere serio incipiat,'- 'in earnest.' It is absurd to suggest that

Abdalonimus had been a pantomime king, or indeed a king at all, before he received the insignia. I think the phrase †sero†iam rex must be complete in itself, as IV 1.1 'loca iam inania,' and the sense is that Abdalonimus now has the amictus as well as the animus of a king. After the 'robing ceremony' and the young men's assurances he is now a 'king indeed.'

Heinsius suggests 'fides facta uero/uere, iam'. This has the advantage of giving a better sense than either sero or serio. However, it is not easy to explain how the corruption to sero occurred, and this punctuation does not solve the problem of iam..peruenit. Vero is arguably too weak to carry the sense required; perhaps we should consider uere iam rex or facta uere; tum..peruenit, but these are far from the paradosis.

I feel that none of these alternatives is really satisfactory, although an adverb or adj. seems to be needed. Placing the word at the beginning of the clause has the advantage of preserving the tricolon.

isdem This form is preserved in Pc here, in Ω at IV 3.19, and there is considerable evidence for it elsewhere, e.g. IV 5.1; 5.11; 5.21. There is no sign of the form eisdem.

isdem comitantibus in regiam peruenit Cf. Livy 3.26.11  
'antecedentibus lictoribus deductus est domum.'

IV 1.24 Fama tota urbe discurret Cf. Verg. Aen. 11.468 'ilicet in muros tota discurretur urbe,' 4.173, 7.104, Livy 2.49.1 'manat tota urbe rumor.'

diuitissimus This 'Ciceronian' form of the superlative is very rare, but is preferred by Curtius to ditissimus here and at X 2.11. He uses diues in the positive (nom. sing. only) and superlative degrees, and the form dis (which is mostly poetical before the time of Livy) in the positive only, in oblique cases. For comparison: Caesar has ditissimus at B.G. 1.2.1. This is the only occurrence of the word in either form in this author and there seems

to be MS. agreement on its spelling. Cicero has all three degrees of diues, but does not use dis at all. Livy has diues positive, but not its compar. or superl., and all three degrees of dis. Tacitus' usage follows the same pattern as that of Livy. The only (fairly certain) occurrences of diuitissimus are:- Cic. Diu. 1.78, Off. 2.58, Nepos Phoc. 1.2, Sen. Contr. 2.1.7, 2.9.7, Val. Max. 7.3.3, (Curt.) IV 1.24, X 2.11, Pliny N.H. 33.134, Sidon. Epp. 4.3.2. In the only instance in Pliny Maj., there is a textual problem similar to the present one in Curtius: N.H. 33.134 diuitissimus R: duitissimus B: ditissimus dh.

IV 1.25 libet scire inopiam qua patientia tuleris

For the Good Man's endurance of poverty, cf. Sen. Epp. 85.38-40 and 82.2..

regnum pati Cf. VII 4.12 'Magnum onus sustines capite, regium insigne; hoc aut moderate perferendum est, aut, quod abominor, in te ruet,' X 1.40, III 12.25 'Et praeteritae fortunae fastigium capio et praesentis iugum pati possum.' For pati referring to an excess of good fortune: Sen. Epp. 5.6 'pati non posse diuitias,' and cf. Livy Praef. 1.9 'nec uitia nostra nec remedia pati possumus.' A similar idea is present in 'tantam capere fortunam,' at IV 5.3: the managing of great success, especially suddenly acquired, is a sterner test of character than enduring a poverty to which he had become hardened. There is the fear that Abdalonymus' integrity may not stand the strain.

suffecere Cf. III 6.19; 13.11, sufficientem malis VIII 4.10, and Sen. Agam. 663 'nostris ipsa sufficiam malis.' For the idea, see Vergil Georg. 4.127f. 'hic (Corycius senex) lilia uerbenasque premens uescumque papauer / regum aequabat opes animis, seraque reuertens / nocte domum dapibus mensas onerabat inemptis.' Sen. Epp. 20.13 'Nemo nascitur diues: quisquis exit in lucem iussus est lacte et pane esse contentus: ab his initiis nos regna non capiunt.' Plut. de Vit.Aer.Al. 830A 'πὼς οὖν διατρέψω; τοῦτ' ἐρωτᾷς ἔχων χεῖρας, ἔχων πόδας, ἔχων φωνήν; ἄνθρωπος ὢν.'

nihil habenti nihil defuit Sall. Cat. 37.3 'egestas facile habetur sine damno.' 'The rich man always wants something more,' is a favourite moral theme with Cynics, Stoics and satirists, e.g. Sen. Epp. 108.12 'Is minimo eget mortalis qui minimum cupit./ Quod uult habet qui uelle quod satis est potest.' Persius 5.111f., 4.47.

IV 1.26 specimen Cf. Cic. Tusc. 1.14. 32 'num dubitas quin specimen naturae capi deceat ex optima quaque natura.' Livy 39.35.3 'specimen indolis regiae;' 28.21.3, 28.35.12.

ex hoc sermone Cic. de Off. 1.37.134 'sermo uitium aliquod indicet inesse in moribus;' Tac. Hist. 3.85.7 'uox una degeneris animi excepta;' and the Socratic dictum: 'Ψυχῆς χαρακτήρ ἐστὶν ἀνθρώπου λόγος.'

attribui Zumpt<sup>1</sup> notices that all the MSS. have the assimilated form of the verb, whereas BF have, as usual, the unassimilated form adpositam immediately below.

regionem..adiicit Cf. IV 8.13 'magnam regionem finium adiecit.'

adpositam Poet. and rarely in post-Augustan prose for uicinus: VII 11.29 'Artabazus in petrae regionisque quae adposita esset ei tutelam relictus;' X 10.4, V 1.28, Mela 2.107 'Euboea..toti..Boeotia apposita,' Tac. Hist. 3.71.

dicioni The dative is the least common of the four cases of dicio in regular use. It is found several times in Curtius and in his contemporary Velleius Paterculus, (VI 5.9, VIII 13.1, IX 7.13, Vell. 2.37.4) although Livy has only the acc. -the case most frequently used- gen. and abl. sing. Cf. Tac. Ann. 13.55 'gentem dicioni nostrae subicere,' Frontin. Strat. 1.3.10 'subiecit dicioni suae hostes.'

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1 Appendix Var. Lect. in edition of Q.C. 1849.

IV 1.27      §§ 27-33      Interea Amyntas...ad unum omnes cum ipso duce occisi sunt.      Diod. 17.48.2f., following the same source: 'Ἀμύντας δ' εὖ φυγῶν ἐκ Μακεδονίας καὶ πρὸς Δαρεῖον ἀναβὰς ...καὶ τοὺς μετ' αὐτοῦ πάντας ἐρδην ἀνέδλον.' Arrian 2.13.2f. gives more details of the arrangements at Tripolis, but of Amyntas' operations in Egypt, he says merely: 'Ἐναπερ ὀλίγον ἕστερον πολυπραγμονῶν τι Ἀμύντας ἀποθνήσκει ὑπο τῶν ἐγχωρίων.'

Amyntas      RE I2.2007 =Amyntas, son of Antiochus. See III 8.2, Arrian 2.6.3 and Plut. Alex. 20.1-4 for his advice to Darius to return to the plains of Mesopotamia where the Persians' large numbers could be used to his best advantage; also III 11.18, IV 7.1.

diximus      at III 11.18. He fled from Macedonia to Asia Minor in 335 B.C. to avoid Alexander's purge of the known friends and supporters of the dynastic claims of Amyntas, son of Perdiccas.<sup>1</sup> According to Arrian (1.24.3) Amyntas took with him a letter from Alexander of Lyncestis, with whom he had also plotted.<sup>2</sup>

quattuor milibus      Diod.17.48.2 agrees, as often, with Curtius' figure. Arrian 2.13.2 'οκτακισχιλίων.' Arrian's figures often differ widely from those of Diodorus and Curtius.

ipsius ex acie persecutis      Arrian 2.13.2 'εὐθὺς ὡς τεταγμένοι ἦσαν.'

ipsius..persecutis fugam      Either ipsius or fuga must be emended. Vindelinius decided on ipsum..persecutis fuga, but Kinch's fugam is more palaeographically plausible, and there is a close parallel at V.9.12 'quid futurum, si persecuti fugam ipsius alienentur?'

1 Together they contacted various rebel factions in Greece: Plut. Fort. Alex. 327C; J.R. Ellis, AM 68-75, JHS 91 (1971) 15-24.

2 Plut. Fort. Alex. 327C; cf. Arr. 1.7.6, and on parentem meum IV 1.12.

Cyprum Still under Persian control - the compelling reason why Alexander had to capture Tyre, or risk losing all the Phoenician coast in his rear; see also IV 1.39 'Cretenses..occupabantur.' Many of the Greek mercenaries who had reached Tripolis did not follow Amyntas, but re-embarked on the ships which had brought them and sailed home - the only example of any large-scale defection by Darius' mercenaries (see IV 1.39 'Agis..octo milibus Graecorum qui ex Sicilia profugi domos repetierant contractis, bellum Antipatro..moliebatur.')

Cyprum transmisit without a preposition; similar syntax is found in Livy, e.g. 25.31.12 'Octacilius cum quinqueremibus octoginta Uticam ab Lilybaeo transmisit.'

in illo statu rerum A phrase frequently used by Livy, e.g. 27.1.1 'hic status rerum in Hispania erat,' 34.22.4, 23.34.10; and see F.R.D. Goodyear on Tac. Ann. 1.16.1.

id quemque quod occupasset..certo iure possessum Cf. on IV 1.3 'id demum credens fore ipsius quod celeritate praecipere potuisset.'

certo iure cf. belli..iura IV 1.13; here on the doubtful principle 'first come, first served.' Amyntas would seek support from any source - 'utrique regi hostis.'

IV 1.28 hortatusque This rare use of ---que to introduce an explanatory clause seems to have been borrowed from Livy, e.g. 1.2.5 'fretusque his animis..Aeneas.'

hortatusque ad spem Cf. the more unusual ad spem erigere at IV 10.7 'ad spem et fiduciam erexere torpentes;' Justin 6.4.4 'quae ciuitas ex infimis incrementis uirtute Epaminondae ducis ad spem imperii Graeciae erecta est;' 24.1.2; Flor. 3.18.3.

Satacen RE IA<sub>2</sub> .1523. Curtius' MSS. agree on this spelling here and at III 11.10. The 'vulgate' version, Σάβακηνς, has been generally accepted from Arrian 3.11.10,

although the oldest MSS. have *Σατάκης*. Diod. 17.34.5, nearer to Curtius, reads *Τασιάκης* RX: *Στασιάκης* F. I would accept Curtius' spelling here, in view of the MS. agreement, and his exactitude in the transliteration of names elsewhere; but cf. on Mazaces IV 1.32 and 7.4.

praetorem Praetor is used by Curtius to mean a) a Persian satrap, e.g. Sataces in the present passage; Oxyartes IX 8.10; although satrapa is also found, e.g. III 13.1. b) Alexander's governor, in control of an important area or country, often as a satrap's replacement, e.g. Menon, governor of Syria IV 8.11, VII 3.5, Menes and Apollodorus V 1.44. c) the most distinguished generals of both Alexander and Darius, exercising a considerable degree of independent command, as explained at IV 5.13 'Ceterum non ipse modo rex..sed praetores quoque ipsius, egregii duces, pleraque inuaserant;' e.g. Amyntas VIII 2.16, Antigonus IV 1.35. Cf. III 6.4 'Inter haec a Parmenione, fidissimo purpuratorum, litteras accepit.' Nabarzanes III 7.12; VI 2.7 'Hystaspis.. propinquus hic Darei fuerat, magni et ipse exercitus praetor.' Praefectus is used to mean a) a commander (of either Alexander or Darius) especially of cavalry or fleet e.g. IV 1.37 'Pharnabazus, praefectus Persicae classis.' III 11.3 'Subductis..Thessalis equitibus praefectum eorum iubet..' b) the governor of a city or a small area: V 6.10 'Cyrus Parsagada urbem condiderat, quam Alexandro praefectus eius Gobares tradidit. V 2.8 'Abulites, regionis eius (Susa) praefectus.'

sine duce Amyntas, of course, deceives them. According to Arrian 3.1.2, Mazaces had already been appointed satrap of Egypt before the Battle of Issus, no doubt as Sataces' second in command. Curtius does not make this clear until IV 7.4 (q.v.) and even then there may be a difficulty over the name.

inualidum Mainly poet. before Livy. Not in Cic. or Caes., but especially favoured in military contexts by Livy and Tacitus.

semper praetoribus eorum infestos We might have expected suis, and eorum must refer back to Persarum. Amyntas is claiming that the Egyptians so hate the Persians in particular that they would regard anyone who would ally with them to overthrow Persian domination as 'pro sociis', even if they came with all the appearance of an invasion force- 'pro hostibus.' Cf. VIII 3.16 'Ille..conuertit animum ad uindicandas iniurias eorum quibus a praetoribus suis auare ac superbe imperabatur,' where we might have expected eorum, and suis must refer back to Alexandro. For the hostile relations between the Egyptians and Persia, see Diod. 11.71f., 15.90., and IV 7.1f. 'Aegyptii olim Persarum opibus infensi..' Isocr. Paneg. 161. The Romans later encountered the same problem: Sen. Consol. ad Helu. 17.143 'loquax et ingeniosa in contumelias praefectorum prouinciae;' Suet. Caes. 35.1 'Veritus Caesar est Aegyptum prouinciam facere ne quandoque uiolentio rem praesidem nacta nouarum rerum materia esset;' Dio Cass. 51.17.1 'πρὸς τὸ ῥάδιον τό τε κούφον τῶν πρόπων αὐτῶν' κ.τ.λ. Cf. on IV 1.30 uana gens.

infestos Not infensos, though the latter is found in a very similar context at IV 7.1: 'Aegyptii olim Persarum opibus infensi.' Infensus is found only five times in Curtius: IV 7.1, VII 11.27, IX 7.1, X 1.17, and probably at X 7.5. For a similar case of rivalry between these synonyms, see Livy 2.46.7.

pro sociis Curtius (IV 7.1) and Diodorus (17.49.1f.) stress that the Egyptians were generally friendly towards Alexander, as the enemy of Persia.

IV 1.29 omnia experiri Cf. V 3.4 'quippe ultima pro fide experiri decreuerat;' VI 6.27 'uersabat se omnes cogitationes;' 6.17 'ad omnia parati.'

quippe A favourite word of Curtius'. Usually = 'indeed' but here it is the equivalent of enim, as at V 1.7. Curtius also uses it to introduce a parenthetical explanation, e.g.



at III 4.8f.

primas spes fortuna destituit Vell. Pat. 2.69.6 'quos aut pronior fortuna comitata sit aut ueluti fatigata maturius destituerit, quam Brutum et Cassium;' Suet. Aug. 65.1 'laetum..domus fortuna destituit;' IV 3.20 (q.v.) 'Non tamen defecere animis Tyrii, quamquam ab ingenti spe destituti erant;' Livy 1.51.5, 25.27.13, 35.19.4, etc., and cf. IX 8.28 'Barbaros ut prima spes fefellerunt.'

destituit Cf. IV 8.8 'Itaque mersa naus omnes destituit;' VII 1.8 'non memoria solum sed etiam mens eum destituit.'

futura praesentibus uidentur esse potiora For similar sententiae, see X 10.8 'sordent prima quaeque cum maiora sperantur;' Sen. Epp. 98.6 'expectatione uenturi praesentia, quibus frui poterat, amittet;' and cf. IV 13.2 'sollicitam expectatione.'

utendum animis..ratus = 'take advantage of,' cf. IV 10.8 'inpetu animorum utendum ratus.'

spe calerent Caleo metaph. is less common in prose than ardere: VIII 6.8 'amore eius ardens,' VII 4.19 'Bessus (ira) adeo exarsit ut..,' VIII 3.2 'immodico amore flagrabat.' There is, of course, a logical distinction: Amyntas' troops were never exactly 'blazing' with hope. This is the only occurrence of caleo in Curtius, but calesco in its literal sense is found at IV 7.22. Cf. ira..accensus at IV 6.24.

Pelusii ostium Not Pelusium ostium - 'the mouth of the Nile at Pelusium,' not 'the Pelusiac mouth.' The usual prose form of the adjective is Pelusiacus, as e.g. Mela 1.9 (60), Pliny N.H. 5.64, although Pelusius is used adjectivally by Phaedrus and Lucan, both probably contemporaries of Curtius. There is the possibility of parablepsis by the scribe, because of the proximity of Pelusii in the following sentence. However, the reading of Ω gives good sense, and

does not seem to need emendation. See also IV 7.3f.

simulans For a discussion of the present participle indicating action subsequent to that of the main verb, see 'Participles' p. 357.

praetorem missum The idea of sending in advance, implicit in the MSS', praemissum seems out of place here. It is by no means clear in advance of whom/what Amyntas could have been sent. After the disaster of Issus, Darius had more than enough to do without making state visits to Egypt, and it seems implausible for Amyntas to claim that he had been sent to 'hold the fort' until the 'proper' satrap should arrive. Vogel's praetorem missum is plausible: scribal error could have arisen from misinterpretation of an abbreviation of prae, and indeed a similar sort of confusion may have been responsible for the textual problem over promouit, below. This passage is, moreover, paralleled at Diod. 17.48.3 'ἀπέφαινεν ἑαυτὸν ὑπὸ Δαρείου τοῦ βασιλέως ἀπεστάθαι στρατηγόν.'

IV 1.30 Potitus Potitur is acceptable if et, or an equivalent, is inserted before Memphim. This reading is, according to Zumpt, found in Flor. EHI and Bern. B, but there is no trace of it in Ω.

potitus + genitive. This construction is found with the noun rerum as a sort of qualification, before the time of Livy. Curtius extends the use to other nouns and proper names, as here and at III 1.16 'Asiae potiturum,' 7.2 'urbem Solos peruenerat; cuius potitus..' Livy uses the gerundive at 24.13.5 'cupido..Tarenti potiundi,' 26.3.11, 30.15.14. Curtius has potior once with the abl., at IX 8.29.

promouit Probably an example of confusion between  $\rho$  (pro) and  $\bar{\rho}$  (prae), cf. on positis praedis IV 1.31. I have not studied the MSS., but it may be significant that in Spain only, between c. A.D. 600 and 800,  $\bar{\rho}$  = pro, and  $\rho$  = per, instead of  $\rho$  and  $\bar{\rho}$  respectively, in the rest of

Europe; see Lindsay, Notae Latinae p. 465f.

Ad = 'as a result of;' rare in prose before Livy:  
TLL 1.552.20f. Livy 4.53.2 'ad quorum famam hostium..  
dilectum habentem..' Cf. V 10.2 'ad nomen (regum) barbari  
conueniunt;' IV 10.4 'ad omnia interritus;' Livy 42.67.12,  
Tac. Ann.12.37.

uana gens et nouandis quam gerendis aptior rebus

Apparently a widely held opinion. See especially:-

Bell. Alex. 24.1 '(Alexandrinus) Caesar etsi fallacem  
gentem semperque alia cogitantem alia simulantem bene  
cognitam habebat;' Herodian 4.8.7 on the Alexandrians:  
'*φύσει μὲν ὄντι τὰς γνώμας κούφωτάτω*,' Pliny Pan. 31.2  
'uentosa et insolens natio Aegyptiorum,' and as an exten-  
sion of this idea: Amm. Marc. 22.6.4, 16.23; also Strabo  
17.1.53 (819) and Pausan. 3.6.5. For the form of the  
statement, cf. Livy 7.27.7 on the Volsci: 'ferocior ad  
rebellandum quam ad bellandum gens;' Justin 5.2.7 on  
Alcibiades: 'in conciliandis amicitiarum studiis quam in  
retinendis uir melior.'

quique The pl. masc. is very rare and this is the only  
certain example in Curtius, although it should perhaps be  
read at III 3.25. Cf. Livy 1.9.8 proximi quique, and quae-  
que at IV 7.32. The sing. is found, at VII 1.25; 11.7.

huc ipsi Hedricke's huc ipsi is probably the best  
emendation of the paradosis hoc ipsum. After the remark  
'wana gens,' it stresses that even the idle Egyptians be-  
stirred themselves when there was a prospect of getting  
rid of the hated Persians. Modius follows Vindelinius in  
proposing ad hoc ipsum, in spite of the repetition of ad.  
This phrase is out of place here, however: elsewhere in  
Curtius it explains the presence of some useful object,  
suddenly being brought into the story, and for whose use  
plans had been made long in advance: III 11.11 'desilit  
et in equum qui ad hoc ipsum sequebatur inponitur;' IV 3.3  
'remiges desiluerunt in scaphas quae ad hoc ipsum praeparatae

sequebantur.' In the present case, the explanation 'ad delenda praesidia Persarum' is sufficient; cf. V 7.6 'ad opem ferendam concurrat,' and the use of huc here would be similar to IX 5.16 'illuc concurrerunt urgebantque protegentes eum.' Vogel would emend hoc to huc. which is unnecessary, as hoc can, of course, have the same meaning as the more usual huc. He also suggests, in justification of his deletion of the ipsum found in the MSS., that the word intruded into the text from a marginal gloss 'Pelusium.' Ad hunc ipsum, which is the version found in Flor.G, places too much emphasis on Amyntas. The Egyptians had already begun to assemble 'ad cuius fama,' not waiting for him to arrive in person. This cannot, of course, refer to the fem. Memphim.

praesidia Persarum Arrian 3.1.2 rather implausibly suggests that the acting governor, Mazaces, had been left with no garrison troops at all when Sataces left for Issus. Curtius' Mazaces apparently had enough troops to risk a pitched battle with Amyntas' 4000 + the local volunteer contingent ('spem retinendi Aegyptum non omiserunt.. in urbem compellit'). For the possible confusion over the name, see on IV 7.4.

retinendi not obtinendi; cf. VI 5.21 'cum barbari desperato regionem quam occupauerant posse retineri.' The Persians had long had a considerable hold on Egypt, see IV 7.1, and Olmstead, History of the Persian Empire pp. 440f. and 491f.

IV 1.31 ad populandos agros \*\*\* Neither Vindelinius' agros <eduxit> (ut vid.), nor Gronovius' agros <discurrunt> is convincing, although discurrunt is found in a similar context at IV 15.10 'uictores Persas ad praedam discurrensse.' If there was a verb here in the Archetype, we must find an explanation for its omission from the Hyparchetype of Ω. I say 'if' advisedly: the MSS. give no hint of such a verb's existence. Curtius displays ellipsis uerborum nouendi for example at VII 9.20 'Ipse..ad Maracanda urbem,' and he

had a precedent for this kind of ellipse with ad + gerundive and noun, in Livy, e.g. 44.33.4 'ad contemplandos transitus;' 41.3.5 'ad tertiam legionem reuocandam;' 33.10.6 'Romam uictores in castra hostium spe praedae irrumpunt .' The latter case is quite close to Curtius' in its context and the doubt as to whether a verb has in fact fallen out. Cf. a similar case even in Cicero, albeit in the Epp., ad Att. 5.20.5.

However, an abrupt change of subject change of subject, as well as of thought, would be incurred here, and such an ellipse is perhaps too harsh even for Curtius; cf. above IV 1.30 'concurrunt ad delenda praesidia Persarum,' and IV 15.10. Goodyear's suggestion agros <euolant> is palaeographically plausible, especially if the Archetype read 'evolūt' but it also involves a change of subject which is less effective in the catalogue of Amyntas' misdeeds than to keep him himself as the instigator of the depredation. Moreover, euolare is not used by Curtius, although aduolare is applied to men at V 12.15 and VIII 2.4. Elsewhere he uses uolare only literally, of birds, etc.

I can suggest euocat, which could easily have been overlooked because of its similarity with the following uelut. I do not believe uelut to be a corruption of a finite verb. Curtius gives several examples of uelut introducing a perf.part. in Book IV alone, e.g. IV 12.14 'uelut inlati temere praesidiis,' 14.13 'uelut quaedam animalia emisso aculeo,' and the phrase suits the disapproving tone of the passage; cf. S. 27 '(Amyntas) idemque quod occupasset habiturum arbitraretur uelut certo iure possessum.'

The idea 'euocare ad praedam' is already found in Caesar: B.G. 6.34.4 'praedae cupiditas multos longius euocabat,' 6.35.4 'peruenit fama..(Caesar) ultro omnes ad praedam euocari,' 6.34.8 'omnes euocat spe praedae ad diripiendos Eburones,' and with a rather different sense at Caes. B.C. 3.108.1 'regem ad causam dicendam euocari;' cf. VII 6.15 'At illi, defectionis ad quam coercendam euocabantur auctores..' For similar expressions with compounds of uocare, see Cic. Imp. Pomp. 40 'ad praedam

aliquam deuocauit,' Phil. 3.30 'ad lucrum praedamque reuocauerit.' In Livy and Tacitus, euocare means to summon (to a council, etc.) and is not used with ad + gerundive. The simple uocat is arguably too weak for this context, but it is palaeographically even more likely than euocat, and it forestalls the question, 'Out of what was Amyntas calling his men?' We have just been told 'castrisque positus' and we could be expected to understand 'e castris.' Of course, all these suggestions are pure conjecture and certainty is impossible.

positus praedis I would emend, with Vogel, to praedis. There have been many attempts to remedy this passage, and I mention the more likely contenders:- diis Vind.: omnibus Aldus: fundis Foss: opibus Schmieder: bonis Hedicke. Praedis is the most plausible, especially if the Hyparche-type read 'p̄dis.' Vogel compares 'praedis hostium' with VII 8.22 'praedam tot nationum.' Curtius also has the less common pl. of praeda at IX 8.29-30 'Alexander oppido potitur agrosque populatur. Magnae inde praedae actae sunt,' and IX 10.7 'Tria simul agmina populabantur Indos, magneaque praedae actae sunt.' There are other verbal similarities, as will be noticed, which these three passages have in common. In the present case, hostium is ironic. Curtius' point is that these are not the spoils of war. 'certo iure possessum,' but that Amyntas is treating everything belonging to his victims as if it were the property of his 'uictores.' Curtius has already told us that Amyntas is a deserter and 'utrique regi hostis,' and so does not even have a legitimate enemy. The implication in 'in medio positus praedis' is similar to Caes. B.G. 7.11.9 'praedam militibus donat,' and 6.3.2 'praeda militibus concessa.'

In medio ponere, meaning 'to make generally available', is already idiomatic in Terence, e.g. Phorm. prol. 16 'in medio omnibus palma est posita,' is fairly frequent in Cicero e.g. Diu. Caec. 33 'quae in medio posita sunt commemoro,' de Or. 1.3.12 'dicendi ratio in medio posita,' and its equivalent is already found in Homer Il. 704 and Demosthenes. Close to Curtius' phrase are the following in Livy:-

45.18.5 'in medio praeda administrantibus,' 26.32.3  
 'praemium uictoris in medio positum urbem..' 29.6.15  
 'uictoribus praemium in medio positum.'

For 'praedas agere' see e.g. Caes. B.G. 6.43.2 'praeda ex omnibus locis agebatur,' Sall. Iug. 20.8, Livy 26.40.4, 23.36.3. Phrases with meanings comparable to 'Velut in medio positis praedis hostium' are found in the following: Cic. Verr. 5.64 'quasi praeda sini aduecta,' Tac. Ann. 13.18.3 'quod domos, uillas, quasi praedam diuisissent,' Hist. 4.2 'Is pecuniam familiamque e principis domo quasi Cremonensem praedam rapere,' and cf. Livy 22.16.7 'hostilem in modum praedas agere.'

For the association of ideas and expressions in Curtius' uictores..agebantur cf. Livy 40.49.1 'Gracchus duxit ad depopulandam Celtiberiam legiones, et cum ferret passim cuncta atque ageret...praeda potitus ingenti est;' 37.13.9 'ingentem praedam late depopulato agro agentis.'

cuncta agebantur For the same expression, but with a very different meaning, cf. IV 3.23 'seniores..quorum consilio cuncta agebantur;' Sall. Cat. 42 'Illi inconsulte ac ueluti per dementiam cuncta simul agebant.'

IV 1.32 palantes Justin 5.5.2 (on Alcibiades) interprets: 'praedae dulcidine sine insidiarum metu sparsos milites habet.' Palor does not occur in Cic. or Caes., and Curtius only uses the present participle, here and at V 13.11 Livy has only the present, and, more frequently, the perfect participle, with the exception of two instances of the finite verb at 5.44.6 and 27.47.9. Cf. Livy 33.19.4 'magna multitudo hominum in proelio, maior cupidine praedandi palata, per agros caesa est.' Tacitus also uses the present participle more often than other parts of this verb.

perpulit The metaph. sense came into use in the post-Augustan period. Curtius always follows it with ut: V 3.9, VI 5.32, VIII 6.8.

reciperare I have followed the MS. consensus for the

spelling of this verb. Here and at IV 1.36- reciperare BFLV; IV 1.34 reciperare BLV: recuperare F; III 6.16, IV 15.7 & 22 recup— BFLV.

IV 1.33 non..ratione prudentius quam euentu felicius

For the double comparative, cf. Livy 22.38.8 'uerior quam grauior,' and Tac. Hist. 2.24 'Caecina recuperare gloriam audius quam consultius properabat.' Earlier Tacitus was not so pedantic: Agric. 4.5 'gloriae uehementius quam caute adpetebat.'

ei..quam illi Curtius often has is in correlation with ille, e.g. III 3.13, V 9.17.

IV 1.34 §§ 34-35 corresponds with Diod. 17.48.5. Diodorus possibly alludes to the revolt of Cappadocia:

*οἱ δ' ἔθνη προσαγόμενα καὶ δυνάμεις περὶ αὐτοὺς παρασκευάζομενοι...*<sup>1</sup>

Darei praetores continued from III 11.19.

superfuerant For those who were not so fortunate, see III 11.10 and cf. Arrian 2.11.8.

Cappadocum et Paphlagonum Arrian 2.4.1-2. The Cappadocians appear later at Arbela, IV 12.12.

Lydian On the occupation of Lydia by the Macedonians following the battle of the Granicus, see Arrian 1.17.

reciperare temptabant Before the time of Livy, tempto is found with the infinitive only in Caes. B.G. 8.40.1.

IV 1.35 Antigonus RE I<sub>2</sub>.2406 'Antigonus the one-eyed', a reliable Macedonian general whose career continued after Alexander's death. He almost succeeded in uniting the empire, and was the ancestor of the kings of

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1 Tarn, Alexander II p. 73.



Macedon who ruled from 284 to 168 B.C. He was given jurisdiction over Lycia, Pamphylia and Greater Phrygia after the death of Alexander (X 10.2). In the present passage, Curtius makes him satrap of Lydia, whereas Arrian 1.29.3 says he governed Greater Phrygia. Curtius explains how he distinguished himself in command (IV 1.35; 5.13) and was thus in a position at Perdiccas' 'consilium principum uirorum' to claim a part of Alexander's empire (X 10.2). Tarn asserts that 'the preservation of the passage which elucidates this important matter is Curtius' best contribution to history.'

plerosque See on pleraque § 6 and singulis amicorum  
§ 19.

partium = 'opposing sides'; especially frequent in Curtius and Tacitus.

alia atque alia Cf. V 12.10 'alid atque aliud consilium.' VI 6.27 'aliud atque aliud..subiciente animo;' Sen. Epp. 121.16 'Sic quamuis alia atque alia cuique constitutio sit, conciliatio constitutionis suae eadem est.' For the locative abl. without a preposition, see on curru sublimis S.1, VII 7.4, VIII 9.2 'recta regione' which already occurs similarly in Livy.

IV 1.36 § 36 Eodem tempore classis...superat. This engagement is not mentioned in any of our other sources.

accita A rare word in prose before Livy: Livy 28.7.17 'accitam classem,' 25.11.15 'naues ex Sicilia accitas.' Vell. Pat. 2.80.1, 2.51.1 'accitis..legionibus.' Curtius also uses it at III 2.9, V 2.10; 12.7.

Aristomenen RE II, 948. A Greek admiral in Darius' service.

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1 Alexander II p. 111.

euersis. The use of euertere is usually justified by the addition of an abl. of the agent, explaining the notion of 'overturning': IX 9.24 'nauigia fluctibus euersa,' Juv. 12.31 'euertentibus undis.' But it can be used simply to mean 'capsize': there are three examples in Cicero which are, I believe, enough to justify the retention of the paradosis here: de Or. 1.38.174 'citius, hercule, is qui duorum scalmorum nauiculam in portu euertit, in Euxino ponto Argonautarum nauem gubernauit,' de Fin. 4.27.76 'Ut enim, inquit, gubernator aequè peccat si palearum nauem euertit et si auri, item aequè peccat parentem....Et si in ipsa gubernatione neglegentia est nauis euertere, maius est peccatum in auro quàm in palea,' Parad. 3.20 'Auri nauem euertat gubernator an paleae, in re aliquantulum, in gubernatoris inscita nihil interest.' What could be done 'inscitia uel neglegentia' could surely also happen during the violent manoeuvres in a sea battle.

Freinsheim's mersis is preferable to Modius' demersis on palaeographical grounds, cf. X 3.9; 4.2, but both are equally feasible if emendation ~~is necessary~~ is necessary. In spite of what otherwise a good case for retaining euersis, there is a close parallel for demersis at IV 4.9 'naues autem omnes fere aut demersit aut cepit;' cf. also X 1.12 and Livy 36.45.3.

IV 1.37 <sup>SS</sup> SS 37-40 Arrian 2.13.4 gives an account of the activities of Pharnabazus, and Agis of Sparta, with more detail.

Pharnabazus RE XIX<sub>2</sub>.1848 = Pharnabazus 3. See III 3.1 and Arrian 2.1.3. For Curtius' disagreement with Arrian over his eventual fate, see on IV 5.17.

A Milesiis...pecunia exacta Arrian 2.13.4f. does not mention Miletus at this point. It had already changed hands at least once, and when last heard of (Arrian 1.19.11) was under Macedonian control: 'οὕτω μὲν δὴ ἀπέπλευσαν ἄπρακτοι ἐκ Μιλήτου οἱ Πέρσαι', See also Diođ. 17.22. Arrian includes

Cos and Halicarnassus, but does not mention Andros or the garrison at Siphnos. No doubt many of the towns and islands of the Aegean were forced to keep more or less 'open house', cf. Arrian 1.19.1 where the Milesians had attempted to declare themselves neutral for the sake of self preservation.

petiit      Thus  $\Omega$ . Muller finds the clausula intolerably harsh, and suggests the easy emendation petit, comparing IV 5.22 'Imbrum petit,' but one could just as well cite e.g. III 1.24 'Cappadociam petiit,' where the clausula is no easier, or IV 3.1 'Arabiam petiit.'

praesidiis occupat, pecunia multat      Heinsius would emend to occupatos, but there are other examples of this kind of asyndeton in Curtius, particularly adversative: VII 8.14, VIII 12.3, or chiasitic: IX 4.7 'delebant incolae urbem, hostes defendebant;' cf. Nepos Them. 6.1 'dignitate aequiperaret, utilitate superaret.' In the present passage the attachment of a noun + finite verb, in asyndeton, to the end of the sentence, gives a pattern similar to that which we have found in Curtius' use of predicative present and future participles (p. 364), and in his penchant for 'piling up' two main verbs at the end of the sentence, e.g. IV 2.24, V 6.5.

IV 1.38      opulentissimis      Applicable to Alexander since the battle of Issus (III 11.20; 13.10f.; 13.16) and the capture of the main part of Darius' treasure and baggage at Damascus (IV 1.4, Diod. 17.32.2, Arrian 2.11.9-10).

IV 1.39      Agis      RE I, 819 13 = Agis 3. Agis III succeeded his father Archidamos as king of Sparta in 333 B.C. and became the most vigorous of Alexander's enemies in Greece. The outcome of his revolt is narrated at VI 1f., and see Brunt's Arrian, appendix VI.

octo milibus Graecorum      Diod. 17.48.1 gives the same number. For their escape after Issus, see IV 1.27.

bellum moliebatur Molior is frequently used thus by Cicero, e.g. Cat. 2.1.1 'pestem patriae..molientem,' Sest. 1 'ciuibus periculum moliri,' Cluent. 176 'moliri..insidias filio.'

Antipatro For the dative, see Draeger I 441.

IV 1.40 Cretenses..occupabantur Curtius anticipates Macedonian intervention in Crete. Agis and his brother Agesilaus won over most of Crete during the Winter of 333 B.C. with the aid of Persian money (Arrian 2.13.6). Alexander sent a fleet under Amphoterus, who had returned from the Hellespont expedition (III 1.19) to 'liberate' the Aegean Islands from the Persians (IV 5.14) and Crete from the Spartans (IV 8.15, Arrian 3.6.3). At Athens, Hyperides was also agitating for open rebellion, but after Alexander's victory at Issus, many Greek states hesitated to join Agis. After Alexander's departure from Egypt, Antipater was left to hold Greece as best he could.

The chronology of events in the struggle for mastery in the Aegean is confused, and Macedonum praesidiis may refer to a visit by Amphoterus on one of his earlier expeditions.

intuente fortuna A strange idea, in view of the usual caeca fortuna, but cf. Cic. Phil. 13.10 'quis hoc uestrum non uidet, quod fortuna ipsa quae dicitur caeca uidet?' - the implication being that Fortune 'sits up and takes notice' of a particularly important, or nefarious, activity. The personification of fortune hovering over the doings of men is reminiscent of Horace's picture at Carm. 1.34.12-16, and cf. 'Fortuna sequatur', Verg. Aen. 4.109.

IV 2-4 The siege of Tyre Arrian 2. 16-24, Diodorus 17.40.2-46.6, Justin 11.10.10-14, Plutarch Alex. 24.2-25.2. For an analysis of Curtius' rhetorical treatment of this episode see W. Rutz, Zur Erzählungskunst des Q. Curtius Rufus die Belagerung von Tyrus, Hermes 93 (1965) 370-382. It is interesting to compare Livy's handling of stock themes like sieges, cf. Walsh RhM 97 (1954) 97f.

IV 2.1 Iam...iam For a similar anaphora cf. IV 2.6 'quem Syria, quem Phoenice recepisset,' and with a sing. verb, Livy 40.39.8 'ut tempus, ut locus postulabat, V 9.5 'tot...tot...tot.' Curtius has non..non several times, especially in impassioned speech: VIII 7.18 'quia ex quo hoc uulnus accepi non equo uectus sum, non pedibus ingressus,' III 3.27, IV 6.6, Livy 39.34.7 'ut non color, non uultus ei constaret;' and with pl. verb, Livy 42.3.6 'templum quod non Pyrrhus, non Hannibal uiolasset.'

excepta Tyro The name of the subject of certamen ex quo cetera pendebant is at last introduced, and is shown from the outset to be a special case, standing apart from 'tota Syria Phoeniceque.' Curtius now has his readers well primed to expect a showdown.

Macedonum For the predicative genitive with esse cf. IV 1.3 'id fore ipsius quod..praecipere potuisset,' Livy 45.7.3 'sumum imperium in orbe terrarum Macedonum fecerunt.' K-S I § 86, Woodcock § 63.

continenti The abl. of the third declension adjectives and participles, including those used substantivally, usually ends in -i (continenti is also found at IV 2.7, X 1.14) but cf. e.g. crescente aestu at VII 5.7. Both endings are found for the abl. of certain nouns: see amne IV 8.7.

qua Heinsius' emendation to qua should be accepted. The adjectival continens was originally applied to terra e.g.

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1 cf. Rutz op. cit. p. 372.

Nepos Them. 3.2 'inter Euboeam continentemque terram,' and continsens is therefore fem. when used as a noun. There is only one other place where there is serious doubt about the gender of this noun: Flor. 2.2.2 'ad continentem suum' sic the earliest MSS. Palatinus Latinus 894, 9th C., Leidensis Vossianus 14, 11th C., etc., but the emendation to suam is an easy one.

angustum fretum See on IV 2.7 'quattuor stadiorum fretum.'

IV 2.2 Tyros Curtius seems to use the Greek form of the nom. here and at IV 4.19, but the Latin acc. Tyrum at IV 3.22; 4.2; 5.9 and 8.14; cf. Verg. Georg. 4.210 (and probably Aen. 8.705) Aegyptos, but Aegyptum at Georg. 4.291; Tyros at Aen. 4.670 and Pliny N.H. 5.76, but no examples of the acc. are found in these authors. The Greek acc. Palæetyron at IV 2.4 is only to be expected, in a transliteration of a wholly Greek name. Nevertheless, Ovid has Tyros at Met. 15.287 and Ep. 17.149, and Tyron at Met. 3.539.

magnitudine et claritate On the site of Tyre, and its wealth, see Pliny N.H. 5.76, Strabo 16.2.22f. (756-7), RE VII A2.1876 = Τύρος 3; I. de Bertou, Journal of the Royal Geographical Society IX2 (1839) 286f.

memorabilis = 'praeclarus,' cf. IV 6.30 'Obsidio certe non tam claritate urbis nobilitata est quam geminato periculo regis,' III 4.8 'Cydnus non spatio aquarum sed liquore memorabilis,' Pliny N.H. 4.116 'oppida...memorabilia,' ibid. 5.16 'Iuba...studiorum claritate memorabilior,' Livy 45.28.4.

societatem...acceptura Arrian 2.15.9 & 10. A less one-sided arrangement than 'fidem accipere' IV 1.6 (q.v.) which is almost equivalent to 'imperium accipere' (cf. e.g. Livy 21.34.3 'ad fidem promissorum obsides acciperet,' 4.3.12 '(T. Tadius Sabinus) quem ipse Romulus...in societatem regni accepit.'

quam imperium Cf. 'nouum imperium...aspernabantur'  
IV 1.5. I do not believe that there was ever much chance of Alexander's leaving this fortress-city in his rear in any condition other than subjugation. Curtius rightly stresses, albeit in poetic language, its strategic importance in the control of the Eastern Mediterranean seaboard: 'unum certamen, ex quo cetera pendebant.'

Coronam..auream donum As a means of forestalling Alexander's wrath, cf. IV 7.9 'Eo legati Cyrenensium dona adtulere, pacem et ut adiret urbes suas petentes;' Justin 11.10.10 'Tyriorum ciuitas..coronam auream magni ponderis per legatos in titulum gratulationis Alexandro misit.' Arrian does not mention a gold crown at this point, but in his account Strato of Aradus has already made a similar presentation: 2.13.8, cf. IV 1.6. A gold crown is also given as a gift to the king of the gods: Livy 2.22.6 'coronam auream in Capitolium tulere,' and given to others 'uirtutis et uictoriae gratia': IV 5.11 'Graeci..ad regem..ob res pro salute ac libertate Graeciae gestas coronam auream donum uictoriae ferrent,' VIII 12.15, Arr. 1.12.1, Livy 31.15.7, etc.

legati For their identity see Arrian 2.15.7, according to whom they made rather rash promises at this point: 'πράσσειν ὅτι ἂν ἐπάγγελῃ Ἀλέξανδρος .' At 2.16.7 they claim neutrality.

commeatusque For a more successful attempt to 'buy off' Alexander cf. VIII 12.15-17.

large et hospitaliter Livy 45.20.8 'comiter atque hospitaliter.' The use of hospitaliter is confined (other than in Curtius) almost entirely to Livy, e.g. 6.26.3 'hospitaliter magis quam hostiliter,' 27.46.5 'hospitaliter excipiuntur,' cf. VII 6.18 'hospitaliter..exceptos,' and VIII 12.15, Justin 8.3.4.

aduexerant not adduxerant; cf. VI 2.15 'commeatibus undique aduectis.'

Herculi..sacrificare uelle Arrian 2.16.7, Diodorus 17.40.2. For Alexander's special devotion to this hero see III 12.27, IV 8.16, VIII 11.2, IX 2.29; 4.21, Mart. 9.43 on Alexander's 'Hercules Epitrapezios' (see C.Picard 'L'Héraclès Epitrapezios de Lysippe'), Stat. Silv. 4.6. His desire to emulate Hercules may have been one of the reasons for the visit to the oracle of Ammon (see on IV 7.8); cf. Sen. de Ben. 1.13.1f.

quem praecipue Tyrri colerent Cic. N.D. 3.16.42 'Quartus Iouis est Asteriae Latonae sororis qui Tyri maxime colitur cuius Karthaginem filiam ferunt,' Strabo 16.2.23 (757) 'τιμάται δὲ καθ' ὑπερβολὴν Ἡρακλῆς ὑπ' αὐτῶν,' Pliny N.H. 37.75 & 161, Herod. 2.44. Hercules was identified with the Phoenician Melkart.<sup>1</sup> Cicero loc. cit., Arrian 2.16.1f. and Pliny N.H. 11.17.5 list several different guises of Hercules. The cult was also flourishing at Gades, founded by Phoenicians from Tyre, at least up to the time of Silius Italicus; Mela 3.46, Pliny N.H. 2.219, Sil. Ital. 3.17-31.

IV 2.3 ab illo deo Alexander claimed to be descended from Hercules through the Argead dynasty, of which Philip was a member (Vell. Pat. 1.6.5) and from Achilles on his mother's side (see on IV 6.29).

oraculo Probably the Oracle at Delphi, which Alexander had overawed, and which Philip had also consulted (see on IV 7.28). However, the other historians of Alexander do not mention this additional spur to Alexander's desire to sacrifice within the city.

IV 2.4 legati respondent Arr. 2.16.7 says that the envoys now declared their city neutral, in that they would not admit representatives of either side.

Palaetyron The original city of Tyre, a ruin at the time of Alexander (IV 2.18), which was destroyed by Nebuchad-

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1 See B.C.Brundage, JNES 17 (1958) 225-236.



nezzar of Babylon after a siege of thirteen years, if we are to believe Ezekiel 26.7-12. The Old City was, the Tyrians supposed, safely on the mainland, thirty stades south of their island stronghold: Strabo 16.2.24, Arr. 2.16.1. Sacrifices were made to Hercules outside the city walls, as he was nearly always travelling: Plut. Quaest. Rom. 28.

uocent All the other expressions of this sort have an indicative verb, but this is the only one in O.O., cf. III 3.13; 8.13, IV 7.19; 20; 22, and many others.

sacrum Also sing. at IV 2.10; 3.23; 6.10, and often in Livy, e.g. 29.19.8 and 29.21.5. The more usual pl. occurs at V 5.19, VI 3.8, IX 10.16 and X 7.2.

rite Justin 11.10.11: 'cum legati rectius id eum in Tyro uetere et antiquiore templo facturum dicerent.'

IV 2.5 alioqui The consensus of MS. opinion is for this form, rather than alioquin, although there is more evidence of the latter at IV 10.7: alioqui P: alioquin Pca and at VIII 2.2 before a vowel. Before Livy alioqui is found only at Lucr. 3.415, in one of its more common senses: 'incolumis quamuis alioqui splendidus orbis,' and the authenticity of this line has been doubted. Its meaning in the present passage - 'as a general rule' - is later; cf. IV 10.7 '(multitudo) alioqui inpotens,' Tac. Ann. 3.8 'cum incallidus alioqui et facilis iuuenta senilibus tum artibus uteretur.'

potens non erat So III 12.19 'Sic uicisset profecto superbiam atque iram, male inuicta,' and similarly of the king's other great weakness, according to Curtius: 'superstitionem cuius potens non erat rex' VII 7.21.

fiducia loci Cf. Livy 29.33.4 'Masinissa fiducia maxime loci, quo multo aequiore pugnaturus erat, et ipse dirigit suos,' Vell. Pat. 2.95.2 'Gentes locis tutissimas aditu

difficillimas perdomuerunt,' Flor. 2.3.4, 2.17.3.

IV 2.6 dimissi suos Orelli's emendation is probably right, especially if we compare Arr. 2.16.7 'ὡς δὲ ἀπηγγέλη ταῦτα πρὸς τῶν πρέσβων εἰς τὴν Τύρον κ.τ.λ. ,' but in a similar context at IV 11.22 no object is expressed: 'Dimissi nuntiant adesse certamen.'

monere coeperunt Curtius likes this pleonastic use of coepere, on the analogy of the Greek aorist, cf. V 5.16 'nosse coepit,' III 2.10 'percontari coepit,' III 11.11 'regem curru excutere coeperant,' etc. See further Eger De infinitivo curtiano usu p. 15f.

IV 2.7-9 Namque.. Curtius as usual takes the opportunity for graphic scene-setting and the whole passage is poetic in tone. There are several Vergilian echoes although I do not think that intentional imitation is involved here or in any other place in Curtius, except perhaps at IV 4.10 (q.v.). Curtius introduces these descriptions, in which there is an 'Epic' quality, to engage the reader's close attention especially when our hero is about to undertake a labour of epic proportions. A similar introduction is found before the journey to the oracle of Ammon at IV 7.6, where Alexander is again in conflict not only with his human enemies but with Nature herself; cf. also VI 1.34, VI 6.26. Natura is therefore often in opposition to Fortuna, e.g. III 2.17, X 5.32 & 35 of human nature, VII 11.4-5 of natural phenomena.

Of the task facing the king at Tyre the phlegmatic Arrian says little more than 'καὶ γὰρ καὶ μέγα ἔργον τῆς Τύρου ἢ πολιορκία ἐφαίνετο .' Diodorus (17.40.4) is equally unmoved by the prospect.

IV 2.7 loco satis fisi Diod. 17.40.3 'πιστεύοντες τῆ τε ὀχυρότητι τῆς νήσου .' .'

obsidionem ferre decreuerant Diod. 17.40.3 gives the Tyrians ulterior motives: 'ἄμα μὲν Δαρείῳ χαριζόμενου'

quattuor stadiorum fretum . There is a difference of opinion among ancient authorities as to the width of the strait. Diod. 17.40.4 agrees with Curtius; Pliny N.H. 5.76 'Tyros...DCC passibus diuisa,' i.e. somewhat more than  $5\frac{1}{2}$  stades<sup>1</sup>; Scylax Peripl. 103 'καὶ ἀπέχει στάδια ἀπὸ θαλάττης γ'.'

Africo A strong south-west wind, often the villain of the piece: Caes. B.C. 3.26.4, Hor. Carm. 1.1.15, 1.3.12, 1.14.5, 3.23.5, etc., Livy 30.24.7, Tac. Ann. 15.46, Pliny Epp. 2.17.7.

maxime obiectum Cf. IV 3.8 'in aduersum uentum.'

fluctus Ovid Met. 15.287 'Fluctibūs ambitae fuerant Antissa Pharosque / et Phoenissa Tyros, quarum nunc insula nulla est.'

euoluenti. The same objections can be made to the paradosis and to Vindelinus' euoluens. The logical subject of the clause is not fretum but Africus, as in the close parallel Verg. Aen. 1.85 'Una Eurusque Notus ruunt creberque procellis / Africus et uastos uoluunt ad litora fluctus' (cf. Hom. Od. E 295 'βορέης...αἰθρηγενέτης μέγα κύμα κλίνδων'). Curtius uses this verb to refer to water in two other places, and in both cases its subject and object are the water itself: III 1.5 '(amnis) cum extra munimenta se euoluit,' V 4.6 'Araxes amnis...multorum aquas torrentium euoluit in Medum.' I doubt whether the geographical feature fretum can be said to euoluere fluctus. Damsté<sup>2</sup> overcomes this obstacle to euoluit by adding qui after obiectum, and this is one of his more acceptable supplements. The easiest emendation is euoluenti, first suggested by Zumpt, and this use of ablative absolutes is typical of Curtius. Africo is taken up again in the following sentence with ille uentus.

1 The stadium = 125 Roman paces: Colum. R.R. 5.1.6, or 625 Roman feet: Colum. loc.cit., Pliny N.H. 2.23.21.

2 Lectiones curtianae, ad loc.

IV 2.8. accipiendo Like Livy 21.8.2 'uix accipientibus quibusdam opera locis,' IV 6.8 'facili ac leui humo acceptante occultum opus,' Colum. 4.10.1 'surculus plagam.. accipit nec falci repugnat,' Sil. Ital. 4.3.

operi For the final dative cf. Livy 22.25.4 'obstitisse rei bene gerendae,' 33.17.8 'campus terrenus omnis operique facilis.'

quippe A favourite word of Curtius' found in all its senses, including the less common one = nam. This does not occur in Caesar or Cicero but there are precedents in Sallust and Livy; see also at IV 1.29, V 1.7, VII 4.35.

leni et tranquilló Cf. IX 9.7, Caes. B.C. 1.12.1 'flumen est Arar incredibili lenitate,' Cic. Tusc. 5.6.16 'maris tranquillitas,' and for the conjunction of ideas: Cic. Orat. 28.99 'nihil potest tranquille, nihil leniter dicere.'

uix..moles agi possunt IV 2.16 'uix diuina ope posset impleri.' For agi in this sense cf. IV 6.8, Caes. B.G. 2.12, Livy 5.19.10.

prima quaeque Cf. VI 6.27 'ubi prima quaeque damnamus,' X 10.8 'sordent prima quaeque,' Livy 31.1.5, Pliny N.H. 18.65.

pulsu..subruit 'Alexander's battering-rams produced a similar effect: IV 3.13 'arietum pulsu muros quatit.'

inlisi maris Inlisa maris appears at first sight to be an easier reading, but it raises difficulties of sense. The suggestion of 'crushing' inherent in inlidere is not compatible, if it refers to congesta, with subruit. The idea of the undermining of the mole by the sea is reiterated in exedant undae and undae per nexus operum manantes, below. When it has a hard substance as its object, inlidere usually refers to the crushing of that

hard material against another solid, e.g. VIII 13.27  
 'fluctus nauem petrae inlidit,' Livy 22.20.2 '(naues)  
 perfregerant proras litori inlidas,' Pliny N.H. 37.154.  
 In the present context congesta could only be crushed  
 against itself, and the subsequent suggestion of 'compact-  
 ing' or 'compressing' almost contradicts subruit; cf. Cic.  
Har. Resp. 55. 'serpens..compressa atque illisa morietur.'  
 Although it is not easy to account for  $\Omega$ 's —a, inlisi  
maris gives better sense, and Curtius says almost the same  
 thing at IV 3.6. 'uentus..mare inlisit in molem,' cf. Verg.  
Georg. 3.261 'scopulis reclamant / inlisa aequora.'  
Inlidere is mainly found in the poets. It occurs only  
 once each in Ciceró (in prose) and Livy, but comparatively  
 frequently (5 times) in Curtius.

nec ulla tam firma moles est But Tyre was never really  
 an island again: Strabo 1.3.17 (58), 16.2.23 (757), Mela  
 1.12.66, Pliny N.H. 5.76, Ovid Met. 15.287; cf. IV 2.5  
 'uos in continenti esse.'

exedant Of uetustas at III 4.10 and V 1.34; also of  
 other elements, e.g. Sen N.Q. 6.10.1 'aut umor resolverit  
 aut ignis exederit,' Lucr. 5.1251f. 'flammeus ardor /  
 horribili sonitu siluas exederat,' Stat. Theb. 7.811-812;  
 and metaph. at X 8.11 'His cogitationibus animos exedebant,'  
 cf. Cic. de Fin. 1.18.59 'aegritudines..qui exedunt  
 animos.'

nexus Cf. IV 3.9 'uelut quodam nexu continens opus  
iunxerant.'

summi operis fastigio Summi for summo, as VIII 10.31  
 'summae fastigium terrae,' Verg. Aen. 2.302 'summi fasti-  
 gia tecti,' 2.458; cf. VII 3.8 'usque ad summum aedifi-  
 ciorum fastigium,' V 1.31 'ad LXXX summum munimenti fasti-  
 gium peruenit,' Verg. Aen. 1.342 'summa sequar fastigia  
 rerum.'

IV 2.9 praealtum Thus Pliny N.H. 5.76 'Tyros quondam

insula praecalto mari. DCC passibus diuisa.' Arrian 2.18.3 says: 'τριῶν μάλιστα ὀργυιῶν τὸ βάθος,' i.e. about 18 feet deep. Praealtus is found almost exclusively in the historians. It is not used by Cic. or Caes. but occurs at Bell.Afr. 37.4 and in Sallust meaning 'very high.' Comparable with Curtius' usage are: Livy 10.2.6 'ostium fluminis praealti' and Tac. Hist. 5.15.2 'praealtis paludibus equi haurirentur.'

ambiebat The MSS. agree on this spelling, as in Vell. Pat. 2.101.1. Ambibat is also found, e.g. Livy 27.18.7, Ovid Met. 5.361, Tac. Ann. 2.19.2, Hist. 5.12.

tormenta Only here in Curtius = the shot, not the engines themselves, cf. Caes. B.C. 2.9.5.

e nauibus..excussa The preposition is required, cf. IV 4.8 'gubernator excuteretur a puppi.' Elsewhere excutere is used by Curtius with tormentis, without a preposition, e.g. VII 9.7, VIII 2.26; 10.32.

mitti Emitti could be suggested with justification from Curtius himself, e.g. VIII 9.28, Cic. Tusc. 2.24.57. But Ω reads mitti and this also has parallels in Curtius and elsewhere: Caes. B.C. 3.51.7 'tantum aberat a nostro castello, ut telum tormentumue missum adigi non posset,' B.C. 2.9.4.

praeceps in salum Another poetic expression: praeceps is a verbal adjective doing the work of a predicative participle, like 'discors exercitus' III 8.26, 'propter uagum hostem' VIII 1.1 (see 'Participles' p. 351).

salum Poetic for mare. Rare in Class. prose but found as follows: Cic. Caec. 30.88, Nepos Them. 8, Bell.Afr. 46. It becomes more frequent in Livy, e.g. 29.14.11.

pedestre..iter 'An approach by land,' cf. Caes. B.G. 3.9 'pedestria esse itinera concisa aestuariis.' Curtius has

the common 'pedestrem exercitum' IV 2.5, but no other extended uses such as 'proelia pedestria' Justin 4.4.4.

pendentes Perhaps = 'tossing at anchor.' Curtius' point seems to be that the ships would be more unsteady, the more they tried to stand still. They would have been comparatively stable when underway. There is a similar contrast at IV 15.26 '(aquilae) pendentis magis quam uolanti similis.' Arrian 2.21.2 & 5-6 says that some Macedonian ships did anchor alongside the walls, and describes the Tyrians' attacks upon them, including the cutting of the anchor cables. This use of pendere is poetical and usually refers to hovering in the air, but cf. Verg. Aen. 1.106 'hi summo in fluctu pendent,' ibid. 5.206, Ovid Her. 18.52 'corpus dubia saepe pependit aqua.'

instabiles Cf. Caes. B.G. 4.23 '(maritimae res) quae celerem et instabilem motum haberent.'

IV 2.10 Inter quae Similarly X 1.13; inter haec at III 1.1 = 'meanwhile', as Tac. Ann. 1.15, Hist. 1.78, etc.; cf. IV 2.17, Livy 2.24.1, 10.36.11, and frequently.

parua The motif of a minor event which has, or could have, serious consequences, is recurrent in the historians: Livy 30.34.2 'dictu parua sed magni eadem in re gerenda momenti,' 25.18.3 'restituit tamen his animos et illis minuit audaciam parua una res,' 27.11.1, 27.17.7, Thucyd. 2.3.6, Caes. B.C. 3.70.2; cf. Pliny N.H. 7.7 'paruum dictu sed inmensum aestimatione.' In this case, however, the promises never had much substance: for the sequel see IV 3.19f. Hence we should not expect, as Rolfe suggests, 'haus parua.'

fiduciam accendit - as § 20 'alacritatem..accendit.'

Carthaginensium legati.. uenerant Polyb. 31.12.12: 'ἐφ' ὅς εἰς τὴν Τύρον ἐκπέμπουσιν οἱ Καρχηδόνιοι τὰς πατρίους ἀπαρχὰς τοῖς θεοῖς.' Arrian 2.24.5 mentions this delegation in passing, when he records that the envoys were trapped in

Tyre at the time of its fall.

sacrum anniuersarium Cf. VIII 2.6 'subit anniuersarium sacrificium Libero patri,' Livy 22.56.4, 35.38.3, Cic. ad Att. 1.18.3. 'ut anniuersaria sacra Iuuentutis non committerentur.' The present festival was probably in honour of Hercules-Melkart, see Diod. 20.14.1, Justin 18.7.7.

Carthaginem Tyrri condiderunt So Diod. 17.40.3, Justin 18.3.1f., Strabo 17.3.15, Verg. Aen. 1.13.

parentum loco culti As the Romans revered the Trojans: Justin 31.8.1f.

IV 2.11 breui Carthagine auxilia uentura Justin 11.10.12 and Diod. 17.40.3 also record that the Tyrians hoped for help from the Carthaginians. The interference of Carthage on Tyre's behalf earned that city Alexander's lasting enmity - see IV 4.18, X 1.17.

tempestate = tempore, as also at III 1.2 etc. This is not a true archaism. Cic. de Or. 3.153 says it is a poetic/archaic expression, but it is firmly established in historians before Curtius.

Punicis classibus maria obsidebantur Arrian 2.18.2 agrees: 'τῶν τε Περσῶν θαλασσοκρατούντων καὶ αὐτὰς τοῖς Τυρίοις νεῶν ἔτι πολλῶν περιουσῶν;' id. 2.19.6, Diod. 17.40.4. For the skill of the Tyrians as seamen cf. Strabo 16.2.23. Curtius stresses Tyre's domination at sea again at IV 4.19 (q.v.).

IV 2.12 tormenta disponunt Diod. 17.40.4 'τῶν κατὰ τὸ τεῖχος ἔργων,' id. 17.41.3; cf. Livy 31.17.1 'Abydeni tormentis per muros dispositis non terra modo aduertes aditu arcebant sed nauium quoque stationem infestam hosti faciebat,' 21.11.7.

opifices The Phoenicians' skill as engineers and



artisans was proverbial: Diod. 17.41.3, I Kings 5.6, I Chron. 22.4, II Sam.5.11. Their ingenuity flourished in Carthage, as the Romans found to their cost: Flor. 2.15.10 'in usum nouae classis tecta domusque rescinderunt; in armorum officinis aurum et argentum pro aere ferroque conflatum est; in tormentorum uincula matronae crines suos contulerunt.'

copia...abundabat As IV 10.13 'copia aliarum rerum abundare coeperunt,' Quint. Inst. 12.4.1 'abundare debet orator exemplorum copia.'

apparatu In its literal sense, cf. Cic. Acad. 2.1.3 'totius belli instrumentum et apparatus,' Livy 21.8.1 'ab apparatu operum ac munitionum nihil cessatum,' 9.14.2, Phaed. 4.25.21 'magno apparatu laeta resonabat domus.'

ferreae ..manus - harpagonas Described by Livy 30.10.16 'asserres ferreo unco praefixi - harpagonas uocat miles.' Ferreae manus are sometimes distinguished from harpagonae e.g. Caes. B.C. 1.57, Pliny N.H. 7.209, but these devices, and corui often seem to share different functions indiscriminately between them. Diodorus, however, has 'ταῖς σιδηραῖς χερσὶν' here (17.44.4). Harpagonae is a term which applies to grappling hooks in general, e.g. Caes. B.G. 7.81, Bell.Hisp. 16.2, Veget. R.M. 4.162. Ferreae manus have (at least) two different functions, but seem most often to be used in naval warfare: 1) the ship-to-ship grappling device described by Livy 36.44.8 and referred to in Caes. B.C. 1.58.4, Lucan 6.635, Flor. 2.2.9, Thucyd. 7.62, etc. This seems to have a purpose similar to that of the κόρακες described by Polybius 1.22.3, though it may not always have been so elaborate as Duilius' model<sup>1</sup>; 2) the crane-like device of whose workings Livy 24.34.10 gives a graphic account. This form was evidently used in the defence of cities from attack by sea: 'Quae propius subibant naues, quo interiores ictibus tormentorum essent, in eas tollenone super murum eminente ferrea manus..cum iniecta prorae esset..' A similar machine appears in

1 W.L.Rodgers, Greek and Roman Naval Warfare pp. 306-7.

Polybius 8.6.8. This must be the sort of ferrea manus used by the Tyrians.

coruque. Diod. 17.44.4 'τοῖς δὲ κόραξι .'. Another kind of grappling device, but not the same in function as the κόραξ of Polybius 1.22.4. Vitruvius 10.13.4 calls it, 'coruum demolitorem quem gruem appellant,' and it is probably this device, winched up on the city walls and allowed to drop on to approaching ships as a vertical, barbed battering-ram, which Curtius describes in action at IV 3.24-25 'praesidia noua.' A similar contraption, consisting of a beam with ἄραγες attached, and able to be retrieved by ropes, is thrown by a catapult at Appian 5.118-9. See also on corui, IV 3.26.

tuendis urbibus This kind of dative expressing purpose is frequently used by historians in military phrases, but is also found in legal/financial expressions, e.g. Cic. de Off. 2.77 'habere quaestui rem publicam turpe est.' The loose attachment of a dative gerundive to an adjective or noun is common in early Latin, becomes rare in Caesar<sup>1</sup>, Cicero and Sallust, and comes into use again in Livy, e.g. 25.16.9 'dies composita gerendae rei est.' Cf. IV 2.18 'turribus faciendis,' and the use of abhorrens with the dative at VI 2.5 and Livy 2.14.1.

§§ 13-14 and 17. Curtius makes minor dramas out of the occurrences of portents at Tyre, and according to his account, they happened at intervals: IV 2.13-14; 2.17; 3.21f.; 4.3f. Diodorus refers to them briefly, though he does not include Alexander's favourable dream about Hercules, and all at once: 17.41.5-8. Arrian relates only one of the incidents - the one which Diodorus omits - because, as he says, it contributed towards Alexander's determination to besiege Tyre. Curtius, less naïve or more cynical, says that far from keeping this to himself Alexander 'speciem sibi Herculis in somno oblatam esse pronuntiat,' leaving

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1 e.g. B.G. 5.27.3 'omnibus hibernis oppugnandis hunc esse dictum diem.'

the reader to judge whether this was chicanery or good generalship (IV 2.17, q.v.).

IV 2.13 excudi With its literal meaning, only Verg. Aen. 6.848 'excudent alii spirantia mollius aera,' before Curtius; then Apul. Flor. 7.24 'solus eam (imaginem) Poly-cletus caelamine excuderet.'

follibus ignem..accenderent Livy 38.7.12 'scintillam leuem ignis inditam plumae folle fabrili ad caput fistulae inposito flando accenderunt.'

sanguinis riui For a similar picture, cf. Pliny N.H. 2.236 'lapides quoque riuorum et arenae in ipsis aquis ardeant..Baculo si quis ex iis accenso traxerit sulcum riuos ignium sequi narrant,' Verg. Aen. 11.668 'sanguinis ille uomens riuos cadit.'

dicuntur with nom. and infin. fairly frequently in Curtius (arguor, iubeor and uideor are similarly used by Curtius) but not with acc. and infin., although the latter construction is already found in Cicero in colloquial language, e.g. Tusc. 5.12.34.

malum I do not think that the paradosis metum Macedonum can bear the interpretation required by the context - 'a cause of fear for the Macedonians;' cf. VII 1.28 'causam metus,' IV 12.16 'causam terroris.' Damsté's malum makes good sense - 'misfortune for the Macedonians.' It gives a simpler construction and meaning than metus, and 'omen malum' and its opposite had been well-established expressions at least since the time of Plautus. Verterunt here is comparable in force to Tac. Hist. 1.86 'in prodigium et omen imminentium cladum uertebatur,' Livy 30.38.10 'aquarum insolita magnitudo in religionem uersa,' 26.11.4. Curtius describes the occurrence of similar prodigies on both sides: 'sed cum fornacibus..malum uerterunt Tyrii,' and 'Apud Macedonas quoque..exitium portendere.' The structure of the episodes is parallel, and malum is

equivalent to triste. Vogel's interitus seems unjustified and too strong, as it always means 'annihilation,' e.g. Cic. de Diu. 2.16.37 'omnium rerum interitus atque obitus.' Curtius differentiates between the possible results of defeat for each side: 'Macedonibus id triste futurum' i.e. failure of the siege, and 'exitium portendere' i.e. the complete destruction of the city. Since they believed their city to be impregnable (IV 2.5), the Tyrians do not even consider the possibility that their omen could be unfavourable to themselves. They would be hoping to foil the siege attempt, inflicting some losses, and that Alexander would then give up and go away, rather than that they could destroy the Macedonians completely from their beleaguered position.

IV 2.14 quidam + genitive, on the analogy of nonnulli or complures, is found in Livy and later, e.g. Livy 2.40.4, 36.33.6, 45.19.4. Quidam is used as synonym for nonnulli or complures occasionally by Cicero, e.g. ad Fam. 11.5.1, but becomes more frequent with Livy.

territo rege For Alexander's superstitious tendencies see IV 6.12; 6.13; 13.5, V 4.1, VII 7.3 and 7.8.

Aristander Aristander of Telmessos: RE II, .859.6, a famous seer; see IV 6.12, V 4.2, Arr.1.11.2,2.3.2, etc., Frontin. Strat. 1.11.4. For the cultivation of the sooth-sayer's art in Telmessos, cf. Herod. 1.78, Cic. de Diu. 1.41.91.

extrinsecus The word occurs only here in Curtius. For its use in this context, cf. Frontin. Strat. 1.12.4 'Sertorius, cum equitum scuta extrinsecus equorumque pectora cruenta subito prodigio apparuissent, uictoriam portendi interpretatus est, quoniam illae partes solerent hostili cruore respergi.'

triste Cf. Justin 33.1.7 'triste id ostentum Perseo cunctis praesagientibus.'

manucri Even if we argue that the cum clause refers to a fact, the pluperf.indic. is very hard to accept. There are no parallels elsewhere in Curtius, and I print Vindelinius' emendation.

destinassent The plural must refer back to Macedonibus although one might expect a singular verb in view of territorege. However, there is a similar pl. at III 8.23: 'signum tuba miles acceperat..peruenerat ad angustias quas occupare decreuerant.' Destino + infin. is found only once before the time of Livy, at Caes. B.C. 1.33.4

IV 2.15 procul haberet The fleet was patrolling the N. Aegean under the command of Amphoterus (IV 1.36). This deficiency was soon made good: 'classis Cypro aduenit,' IV 3.11. Cf. 'extra sortem..habuisset' IV 3.20.

magno..inpedimento Like Caes. B.G. 1.25 'Gallis magno ad pugnam erat impedimento.' As well as the usual predicative dative, Curtius has the nominative with esse at III 2.18 and VIII 6.12. This was a poetic construction (cf. Verg. Ecl. 3.101 'idem amor exitium est pecori pecorisque magistro') but began to appear in prose from the time of Livy onwards.

caduceatores III 1.6-7 'arcem..oppugnare adortus caduceatorem praemisit.' In Roman historiography these are the messengers of peace, especially those of non-Roman generals (Livy 26.17.5), either sent to sue for peace themselves, or as forerunners of official legati (Livy 34.30.2, 37.45.4). Servius on Vergil Aen. 4.242 says: 'bellantes interpretum oratione sedantur, unde secundum Livium legati pacis "caduceatores" dicuntur.' See also Isidore Etym. 8.11.48. They had long been considered sacrosanct: Cato Incert. lib. reliq. 4 (Keil Jordan) 'Caduceatori nemo homo nocet;' and the caduceus was supposed to act as a guarantee of safe conduct: Cic. de Or. 1.202 'qui possit non tam caduceo quam nomine oratoris ornatus incolumis uel inter hostium tela uersari,' Servius on Verg. Aen. 8.138

'caduceum illi (Mercurio) ideo assignatur quod fide media hostes in amicitiam conducat.' See also under ius gentium below.

Only Curtius reports this overture by Alexander to the Tyrians, and its dire consequences.

contra ius gentium Livy 5.4.14 'auctores fuere contra ius caedis impiae legatorum nostrorum,' 8.5.2 'legatus iure gentium tutus,' 21.10.6, 2.4.7, Tac. Ann. 1.42 'hostium quoque ius et sacra legationis et fas gentium rupistis,' VI 11.15, X 7.2, Justin 16.2.7. Ius gentium formerly meant the legal rights of the peoples in the immediate vicinity of Rome. For this judicial sense, see Cic. de Off. 3.17.69 'maiores nostri aliud ius gentium aliud ius civile esse uoluerunt.' The phrase is often found in passages dealing with inter-state relations, as in the examples above. It was extended to mean 'international human rights or conventions,' and in a philosophical sense, especially in Stoic ethics<sup>1</sup>, became almost synonymous with ius naturae: Justin 21.1.21, for example, uses naturae ius of the right of an eldest son to the succession, whereas he has used ius gentium of the same right in two other places. Cicero who, as we have seen, was familiar with the original legal meaning of the phrase, also uses it as the philosophical 'ideal' within the same book: de Off. 3.5.23 'neque uero hoc solum natura, id est iure gentium, sed etiam legibus populorum;' cf. Sen. de Clem. 1.18.2 'ius animantium,' ibid. 1.19.1 'naturae legem.'<sup>2</sup>

Atque ille suorum tam indigna morte commotus Verg. Aen. 6.162-3 'atque illi Misenum in litore sicco / ut uenere, uident indigna morte peremptum.' Modius prefers Itaque ille, but Atque ille is characteristic of Curtius' style, and is found in many similar contexts, e.g. IV 1.29; 2.17.

1 Arnold, Roman Stoicism pp. 385-6.

2 For a full discussion of these terms see H. Nettleship, JPh 13 (1884) 169f.

indigna morte commotus urbem obsidere statuit Arr. 2.16.8 and Diod. 17.40.2 give the refusal of the Tyrians to allow Alexander to enter their city as the immediate cause of his hardened attitude towards the prospect of a protracted siege.

IV 2.16 iacienda moles Cf. Caes. B.C. 3.11.2.

committeret + dative. A rather unusual construction and use of committere for 'joining' on such a large scale, and Curtius also uses the analogous iungere + dative in such a context. With the present phrase cf. IV 2.8 '(opere) continenti insulam iungere parabat.' For the dative cf. Mela 1.7 'qua paludi committitur Cimmerius,' VII 3.20 'taurus..committitur Caucaso,' IX 4.1 'Hydaspes amnis Acesini committitur;' and for this use of committere cf. VII 7.14 '(Europam Asiae) una uictoria committere,' [Sen.] Herc.Oet. 83-4 'committat undas Isthmos et iuncto salo / noua ferantur Atticae puppes uia,' Sen. Med. 36 'maria committat duo,' Colum. 3.13.10 with cum. Iungere + dat. is more common, even in Curtius: III 1.22, IV 2.8; 8.5, VII 3.20, VIII 1.4. For his use of committere see further § 21, below.

animis..incessit..cernentibus The textual problems of this sentence are aggravated by the fact that Curtius could have used either the acc. or dat. with incedere, in similar contexts. Before the time of Livy, incedo was not used intransitively; Cicero has inuado but not incedo. Livy prefers the transitive use and has incedo with the dat. only at 4.57.10 'grauior cura partibus incessit.' Later writers reverted to the earlier usage: Colum. 2.10 'si sterilitas annonae incessit hominibus,' Tac. Ann. 3.36 'incedebat deterrimo cuique licentia.' Curtius uses incedo of emotional states with the dat. at III 1.16 'cupido<sup>1</sup> incessit animo (Alexandri) sortis eius implendae,' and VII 11.4 'cupido deinde incessit animo (regis) naturam... fatigandi;' and absolutely at IV 8.3 and V 4.24. It has

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1 For this specific use of cupido see on IV 7.8.

has been suggested that incedo is used transitively at III 8.25, but as a verb must be supplied there by conjecture in any case, we cannot use it as a check on the present passage.<sup>1</sup> Judging by the two cases in which the dat. with incedo is certain, and bearing in mind  $\omega$ 's cernentibus below, I would accept animis reported from  $\Delta$  as the correct reading. As Curtius always seems to use the pl. of animus etc. when referring to several persons (e.g. at III 11.24 'omnium oculos animosque,' III 1.16, VII 2.36; 11.14), emendation to animo is less plausible, especially as the MSS.' remaining —s would be difficult to explain away.

cernentibus There are three possibilities:  $\omega$ 's cernentibus, agreeing with the emendation animis; P's cernentium, agreeing with militum; or cernentis, agreeing with  $\Omega$ 's animos, which could have been 'corrected' to cernentibus. The dative seems the most plausible. P shows a similar misinterpretation (for which there is less justification) at VII 11.18 'ex alto sopore excitati..ualles rimantes (rimantes  $\Delta$ : rimantis  $\omega$ : rimantium P).' Animus is also used, perhaps rather elliptically, instead of a personal subject at IV 10.31 'amantis animus in sollicitudinem..reuolutus est, desiderium..a consuetudine stupri ortum esse coniectans.'<sup>2</sup>

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1 Hedicke is probably right in supplying '<inuadebat> ergo,' rather than Vindelinius' 'formido <incesserat>.' Elsewhere Curtius has the sing. of animus etc. where it refers to a single person, and the pl. for a group (although cf. on IV 3.24) and I would suggest that the MSS.' animo should be emended to animos, whose final s could have been omitted because of its similarity to the following f. There are other instances of the 'Ciceronian' transitive use of inuado in similar contexts at IV 12.14 'exercitum pauor..inuasit,' and VII 9.6 'ingens nauigantes terror inuaserat.' If the MSS.' animo is correct (or animis, as Zumpt reports from Bern.B), then incesserat can be supplied and it is even more likely that the dative should be read in the present passage. It is true that incedo is used closely with animus in three other places in Curtius, whereas inuado has a personal object, but the personal pronoun (which Curtius often omits) can easily be understood with incedo at IV 8.3 and V 4.24. It is, however, still possible that incedo is being used transitively with the pl. animos at both IV 2.16 and III 8.25.

2 For both these passages (IV 2.8 & 10.31) see 'The so-called Nominative Absolute' p. 370.



IV 2.16 ingens...desperatio Arrian, as one would expect, does not mention this factor. He records Alexander's exhortatory address to his officers (IV 2.18) but according to him there was no weakening of morale: 'Ταῦτα λέγων οὐ χαλεπῶς ἔπειθεν ἐπιχειρεῖν τῇ Τυρῶ ..καὶ προβυμία τῶν Μακεδόνων ἐς τὸ ἔργον καὶ Ἀλεξάνδρου πολλή ἦν' (2.18.1 & 4). The emphasis on psychological as well as physical difficulties is characteristic of Curtius, e.g. V 4.24 'Desperatio igitur ingens..incesserat,' IX 9.23 'desperatio..adfecerat.'

quae saxa tam uasta..? For this form of question, cf. IV 10.29 'quod ego tantum nefas commisi, Alexander?' VI 7.30 'quod, inquit, in te, Dimne, tantum cogitavi nefas?'

proceras Curtius applies this adj. only to trees: VII 9.15, IX 1.9.

exaggeretur = 'aggere expleretur,' as VI 5.20 'planitiem ramis inpeditam exaggerari (iubet),' Vitr. 10.16.12 'arboribus excisis eoque conlocatis locus operibus exaggeretur.' The verb is not common in early prose in its literal sense, but is more frequently found than aggerare (see on aggerabatur IV 3.9): Varr. L.L. 5.14.1 'quo munitius esset quod exaggerabant "aggeres" dicti,' Bell. Hisp. 5.6 'morti mortem exaggerabant,' Vitr. 2.1.5, Mela 3.8.3.

exaestuare First in Livy<sup>1</sup> in prose but not in this sense: Verg. Georg. 3.240 'ab ima exaestuat unda,' Sen. Consol. ad Marc. 18.6 'oceanus..ingenti licentia exaestuans.' Also in Curtius = 'boil': IV 7.22, VIII 9.13; and applied to a flood tide: VI 4.19, IX 9.9; 9.23.

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1 26.42.8 'ab occasu stagnum claudit paulum etiam ad septentrionem fusum, incertae altitudinis, utcumque exaestuat aut deficit mare;' cf. VI 4.19 'A septentrione ingens in litus mare incumbit longeque agit fluctus et magna parte exaestuans stagnat,' Sil. Ital. 15.225.

Curtius' repetition of a verb with the same prefix or stem two or three times within a short passage is one of the ways in which he foreshadows the excesses of alliteration indulged in by, for example, Seneca the Younger. Curtius does not seem to favour alliteration as such and his assonance and repetition are restricted to isolated examples for special effect; cf. IV 3.9; 15.20, etc.

quoque = et quo, as Ovid Trist. 1.6.37 and 3.14.27, Livy 38.38.18.

uolutetur. This 'middle' use of the verb is more common in prose: Livy 21.36.8 'glacie tabidaque niue uolutabantur,' Colum. 7.10 'sus gaudet coenoso lacu uolutari,' but its application to waves is poetic: Ovid Am. 3.6.45 '(amnis) per caua saxa uolutans,' Lucan 1.412 'uevtus ab extremo pelagus sic axe uolutet;' and cf. Pliny N.H. 9.5 'Procellae ab imo uertunt maria pulsatasque ex profundo beluas cum fluctibus uoluunt,' 9.6.13. Curtius does not use uoluo in this sense, but has both verbs with animo, etc.: V 9.3 'parricidium cum diu uolutassent,' V 12.10 'consilium animo uolutabat,' X 5.15 'has cogitationes uoluentibus' X 8.9, X 8.7.

IV 2.17 rudis First used here with the genitive gerund, as later in Tac. Ann. 1.29 'Drusus quamquam rudis dicendi.' Curtius also has the rare use of rudis with ad at VI 6.9 and VIII 2.24, though not with the gerund (cf. Justin 1.1.5 'rudes ad resistandum populos'), for which he had precedents in Livy, e.g. 45.32.10 and 21.25.6.

IV 2.17 pertractandi Thus Cic. de Or. 2.8.32 'praecpta posse quaedam dari peracuta ad pertractandos animos hominum,' id. 1.51.222. The simple verb has a similar meaning at Cic. Orat. 28.97, Quint. Inst. Or. 11.1.85. Curtius also gives us evidence that Alexander manipulated the interpretations of his sooth-sayers so that no ill omen was ever published to the detriment of morale. Hence his fury when Aristander disclosed the

unfavourable results of a sacrifice to Erigius rather than direct, and only, to the king. The predictions which Aristander later announced for general consumption were exactly the opposite, according to Curtius (VII 7.21f.), although Arrian 4.4.3 says that the seer did not change his opinions. Curtius' remarks about Aristander as 'peritissimus uatum' (IV 2.14) and 'cui maxima fides habebatur', are two-edged. This seer could be relied upon to ensure that Alexander's omens were always favourable, at least as far as everyone else was aware. The unfortunate Demophon was not so shrewd (IX 4.27f.).

militares animos Cf. V 10.9 'hinc spe, hinc metu  
militares animos uersant.'

Herculis in somno Arrian 2.18.1, Plut. Alex. 24.

illo aperiente The absolute use of aperio is very rare: Cels. 5.18.25 'aperiendi uim habent (sc. stomata),' Pliny N.H. 28.227 'aperit, extrahit, persanat,' Plaut. Most. 937 'Etiamne aperis?' In all these cases, however, an object can easily be understood, and they are not really comparable with Curtius. Elsewhere Curtius always has a direct object, and illo aperiente..intrare gives a harsh ellipse. Heinsius' suggested supplement <iter> aperiente is a real possibility, cf. VI 4.4 'amnis..duo itinera..aperit,' although iter is slightly more likely to have fallen out after aperiente. Arrian 2.18.1 has 'ἀνάγειν ἐς τὴν πόλιν' at this point, and some similar phrase would make easier reading in the present passage.

uiolata referebat as III 10.9 'foedera diuini humani-  
que iuris uiolata referebat.'

IV 2.18 Ducibus Rather surprisingly Curtius does not have a speech at this point, where Arrian gives what purports to be the text of Alexander's speech to 'τούς τε ἑταίρους καὶ τοὺς ἡγεμόνας τῆς στρατιᾶς καὶ ταξίαρχας καὶ ἑλάρχας;' cf. IV 2.5 where Curtius inserts a short direct speech. Arrian's account of Alexander's speech is

quite different in tone from Curtius' - an explanation of strategy rather than an emotional appeal to 'speciem.. Herculis' and 'gentium iura uiolata.' Neither of these is mentioned by Arrian in this context (see also on castiget, below).

urbem quae cursum uictoris morari ausa esset cf.

Diod. 17.40.4 'ἔκρινε συμφέρειν πάντα κίνδυνον καὶ πόνον ὑπομένειν ὑπὲρ τοῦ μὴ καταφρονηθῆναι τὴν τῶν Μακεδόνων δύναμιν ὑπὸ μιᾶς καὶ τῆς τυχοῦσας πόλεως.'

castiget..simulatis Cf. Caes. B.C. 1.3.1 'segniores castiget atque incitat.' Hard words were probably necessary in the circumstances (IV 2.16), although Arrian's Alexander seems to have no such problem of morale: 'οὐ χαλεπῶς ἔπειθεν ἐπιχειρεῖν τῇ Τύρῳ ... καὶ προθυμία τῶν τε Μακεδόνων ἐς τὸ ἔργον καὶ Αλεξάνδρου πολλή ἦν.'

stimulatis Cf. IV 7.7 'ingens cupido animum stimulabat adeundi Iouem.'

orsus est Polyaen. Strat. 4.3.3 'Ἀλέξανδρος πολιορκῶν Τύρον, βουλομένος μέγα χῶμα τοῖς τείχεσι τῶν Τυρίων περιβαλεῖν, πρῶτος αὐτὸς χόφινον λαβὼν χοῦ πληρώσας προσήνεγκεν.' Arrian 2.18.4 'Ἀλεξάνδρου.. παρόντος τε καὶ αὐτοῦ ἕκαστα ἐξηγουμένου.'

Tyro Vetere praebente Modius suspected that this may be a gloss. It is true that Curtius refers to the place by its Greek name at IV 2.4, but he probably credited his readers with enough intelligence to remember it over that short distance, and be able to translate it. Diod. 17.40.5 is explicit about Alexander's use of Old Tyre: 'εὐθὺς οὖν καθαιρῶν τὴν παλαιὰν λεγομένην Τύρον καὶ πολλῶν μυριάδων κομίζουσῶν τοὺς λίθους.' Curtius gives the source of both materials, wood and stone. Arr. 2.18.3 simply says 'λίθων τε πολλῶν ἀφθονία ἦν καὶ ὕλης.' See also on Libano IV 2.24.

Libano For its famous wood see I Kings 5.6 & 9,

Ezekiel 27.5, Pliny N.H. 5.77. For descriptions of the forests of Lebanon see J. Pairman Brown, The Lebanon and Phoenicia Ch. 5, p. 140f.

ratibus et turribus Curtius does not say how the rates were to be used, but perhaps we can compare Caes. B.C. 1.25.6-10: '..ratis duplices..e regione molis collocabat.. a fronte atque ab utroque latere cratibus ac pluteis protegebat; in quarta quaque earum turris binorum tabulatorum excitabat, quo commodius ab impetu nauium incendiis defenderet.' Heisius' emendation to cratibus is superficially attractive: they could have been used as defensive screens; as in the passage from Caesar. However Curtius implies that there were large timbers brought down from Lebanon, and these would be more appropriate for the building of rates rather than crates. If the latter were correct, we should expect texere rather than facere for their special construction. Alexander's towers were erected on the mole itself, not on the rafts (IV 2.23, Arr. 2.18.6), and for cratibus we have coria uelaeque for protection (IV 2.23).

IV 2.19 Iamque..creuerat Arrian specifies that the advance of the mole was rapid through the shallows farthest from the city (2.18.4). Diodorus is the only author to attribute this to the large number of extra hands which Alexander had conscripted: *'πανδημεὶ δὲ προσλαβόμενος τοὺς κατοικοῦντας τὰς πλησίον πόλεις ταχὺ διὰ τὰς πολυχειρίας ἤνυετο τὰ τῶν ἔργων'* (17.40.5).

modicam Freinsheim would accept montis, reported from §, on the grounds that the hyperbole is typical of Curtius and comparing praealtum mare § 9. As we have seen, the strait was comparatively shallow, as one would expect, near the mainland (Arr. 2.18.4). Curtius himself says as much in § 22, where praealtum mare is encountered only as the work advances towards the island. It may have seemed to those carrying the filling materials that they had shifted a mountain, but to say that the mole itself had grown to the height of a mountain (bearing in mind

that it was two hundred feet wide - Diod. 17.40.5) is too extravagant even for Curtius; cf. VI 5.21 'iam aliquantum altitudinis opus creuerat;' and for modicam: VIII 11.6 'non modicis ac mollibus cliuis in sublime fastigium crescit,' VII 10.15 'modicis inter se spatiis.'

aquae fastigium aequabat This does mean 'the surface of the water;' cf. VII 10.31 'Iamque agger aequauerat summae fastigium terrae. Itaque turres erigebantur.,' (IV 2.23 'turres ex capite molis erexit). Scheffer understands 'fastigium operis' and would read aequabatur, but Curtius always has the acc. with aequare in this sort of context; cf. VIII 10.31 quoted above, V 1.32 'summam murorum altitudinem aequantes,' VI 6.29 'fastigium montis aequatum est,' IV 9.15 ceruices, VII 4.6 uerticem, and Caes. B.G. 2.32.4 'prope summam muri aggerisque altitudinem acerui armorum adaequarent.' See also on IV 1.2 'cursum eorum (equorum)'.  
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IV 2.20 paruis nauigiis admotis also leuibus nauigiis S.21 and scaphas S.22. Diod. 17.41.1 'ΟΕ ΔΕ Τύριοι τὸ μὲν πρῶτον προσπλέοντες τῷ χώματι κατεγέλων τοῦ βασιλέως..'  
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dorso...gestare Cf. III 13.16 'cum septem milibus iumentorum dorso onera portantium.' Although this is a similar context, there is no need to suspect Ω's gestare which is also found at III 3.20, IV 7.24, etc., and referring to the same persons in S.24 below. Dorsum is used deliberately to sound provocative. Elsewhere it is applied only to animals, with tergum for persons, as in 'Classical' prose.

num maior Neptuno Diod. 17.41.1 'κατεγέλων τοῦ βασιλέως ἐξ τοῦ Ποσειδῶνος ἑαυτὸν δοκεῖ περιέσεσθαι.'  
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IV 2.21 aqua eminebat Zumpt is right in saying that aquam should not be accepted on the analogy of excedo + acc. e.g. V 1.28 'quod (opus) ubi..fastigium excessit.' Emineo is never used transitively by Curtius. It either

governs a preposition, as at V 2.7, IV 4.4, VIII 13.7, X 1.5, or the ablative: III 3.15; 11.7, IV 14.9.<sup>1</sup> Cf. Lucan 2.667 'nullae tamen aequore rupes / emineant,' 5.641 'uix eminet aequore malus,' Manil. Astron. 5.581 'caput undas scindentis pelagusque uomit.'

latitudo Diod. 17.40.5 'χώμα κατεσκεύαζε δίπλεθρον τῷ πλάτει.'

Tyrii, magnitudine molis..conspecta Diod. 17.42.1

'οἱ μὲν Τύριοι τὴν αὐξήσιν τοῦ χώματος εὐλαβηθέντες ἐπλήρωσαν πολλὰ τῶν ἐλαττόνων σκαφῶν.' According to Diodorus this attack by small craft occurred after the Tyrians had sent some of their non-combatants to safety 'παραδόξως τοῦ χώματος αὐξομένον' (Diod. 17.41.1; cf. IV 3.20f.). Arrian does not record these preliminary encounters, and views the building of the towers and protective screens (IV 2.23) as prevention rather than cure: 2.18.6 'ἅμα τε ὅσοι προσπλέοντες τῶν Τύριων ἐβλαπτοῦ τοὺς χωνύντας.. οὐ χαλεπῶς ἀνασταλήσεσθαι ἔμελλον.'

IV 2.21 incrementum and VII 3.9 'incremento operis': this word is not commonly applied to man-made structures but cf. Livy 5.54.4 'ad incrementum urbis natum unice locum.' It is more often used of natural phenomena, e.g. Sen. N.Q. 4a.2.7 'incrementum Nili,' Colum. 4.11.2, etc. In Curtius incrementum is also found in military contexts = 'reinforcements' at V 1.39, as several times in Livy (27.17.4), and in its poetic sense = 'progeny' at V 1.49 (cf. Verg. Ecl. 4.49). For the predicative phrase in incremento cf. on in expedito § 22 below.

nondum commissum Cf. Livy 38.4.8 'Ambraciam profectus per nondum commissa inter se munimenta urbem intravit,' 38.7.10 'Ibi commissis operibus cum e fossa in cuniculum pateret iter..,' Caes. B.G. 7.22.4 'nostrarum turrium

1 Similar is Curtius' use of euado with a prep. or abl. only. At VIII 6.26 quo euaserat rather than quod euaserat should be read.

altitudinem..commissis suarum turrium malis adaequabant.' for the sequel see IV 3.9 'uelut quodam nexu continens opus iunxerant.'

leuibus nauigiis.. uulneratis Diod. 17.42.1-2.

pro opere stabant Livy 25.11.4 'pro opere erat statio,' Tac. Ann. 14.30 'stabat pro litore diuersa acies densa armis uirisque,' and see on IV 10.16 pro contione.

IV 2.22 adpellere Zumpt reports that no MS. has the unassimilated form of this verb. However, it is already found in Nepos, and later in Tacitus, and I print it for uniformity.

in expedito esset This predicative phrase is also found at III 1.21. It occurs first in Curtius, then in Sen. Epp. 94.29, and corresponds with Livy's 'in facili / difficili esse.' Cf. in incremento esse IX 3.9.

ad curam semet ipsos tuendi Arr. 2.18.5 'ἐπ' ἐργασίᾳ μαλλόν τι ἢ ὡς ἐς μάχην ἀκριβῶς ἐσταλμένοι.'

Et Curtius seems to favour this use of et at the beginning of sentences = 'ad hoc;' cf. on At IV 1.4.

Et quo...absorbebat mare Ω reads these words after conuerterant. Other MSS. place them after aequabat in § 20.

quo longius..absorbebat mare Arr. 2.18.5 'Ὡς δὲ τῷ βαθυτέρῳ ἤδη ἐπέλασον..' Caesar faced the same problem at Dyrrachium - B.C. 1.25.5-6 'qua fauces erant angustissimae portus, moles..ab utraque parte litoris faciebat, quod his locis erat uadosum mare. Longius progressus, cum agger altiore aqua contineri non posset, ratis duplices..collocabat.' Cf. Arr. 2.18.3 'ἔστι δὲ πορθμός τεναγώδης τὸ χωρίον καὶ τὰ μὲν πρὸς τῇ ἡπείρῳ τῆς θαλάσσης βραχέα καὶ πηλώδη αὐτοῦ..χάρακίς τε οὐ χαλεπῶς κατεπήγνυντο ἐν τῷ πηλῷ.'



absorbebat mare Cf. Cic. Phil. 2.27.67.

IV 2.23ff. Curtius' account of these operations is in general agreement with that of Arrian, although there are differences in detail and order of events. Diodorus' version is severely abridged.

IV 2.23 , rex munientibus Gronovius' emendation is very plausible: the initial r of rex could easily have been overlooked next to the final r of igitur. Alexander has not appeared as the subject since orsus est S.18, and this use of rex, ille, etc. to draw attention back to the protagonist is characteristic of Curtius' style. Modius' suggestion ex iumentis is less likely palaeographically and does not have the advantage of providing the subject required for iussit. It implies that pack-animals were slaughtered especially for this purpose, whereas the hides were undoubtedly those used for tents (as διφθέρας Arr. 2.18.6, Xen. Anab. 1.5.10). Cf. Nepos 6.5 'undique quod idoneum ad muniendum putarent, congererent,' Bell. Afr. 31.1.

coria So Arr. 2.18.6. Cf. Caes. B.G. 7.22 'totum autem murum ex omni parte turribus contabulauerant atque has coriis intexerant.' Caesar's report has many features in common with the activities at Tyre, which will be noticed in due course. Diodorus 17.45.4 describes similar defensive measures on the Tyrian side later in the siege: 'διπλᾶς διφθέρας πεφυκωμένας;' cf. Vitruv. 10.20, and Joseph. B.J. 3.7.

obtendi The verb is not common until after Livy, and is only found here in Curtius. It is more frequent in Tacitus but nearly always in a metaph. sense. In Livy only the noun occurs, at 1.56.8: 'sub eius obtentu cognominis;' cf. Tac. Hist. 2.14 'ni uictorem exercitum attinisset obscurum noctis, obtentui fugientibus.' For the dative munientibus see also Tac. Hist. 3.36.

iactum Thus ΩΔ. Many distinguished scholars have

wished to emend to ictum which the context seems to demand;<sup>1</sup> cf. Caes. B.C. 2.9.6 'turris..munita..ab omni ictu hostium,' Livy 24.34.10 'ictus tormentorum.' Here the workmen were in any case 'intra teli iactum,' or they would not have needed protective barriers, but coria uelaque would render them 'extra teli iactum,' as Caes. B.C. 2.9.6 'ea pars turris quae erat perfecta tecta atque munita est ab omni ictu hostium.' According to MS. evidence, Curtius does not seem to make this fine distinction, and there is a similar dispute 'to emend or not to emend' at V 3.7 'cratibus et pluteis faciundis, ut qui turres admouerent extra teli iactum essent,' where again ictum would seem more strictly logical. The opposite problem occurs at IV 3.8 'ut turres in medio excitare procul teli iactu abessent' (iactu  $\delta$ : ictu  $\Omega$ )' where there is a clear case for rejecting  $\Omega$ 's ictu, unless we assume that Curtius uses the two expressions synonymously. We have more grounds for emendation at IV 3.8 where there is some, however slight, MS. disagreement, than in the present case and at V 3.6. ~~.....~~

turres Arr. 2.18.6; Diodorus omits this part of the action altogether.

capite molis Not the far end of the mole but the part highest above the water, as IV 3.3 and 4.3. Arrian has 'ἐπ' ἄκρον τοῦ χώματος' and caput, like τό ἄκρον can of course mean either the farthest or the highest point.

in quibus..tela ingeri possent Arr. 2.18.6 'ἅμα τε ὅσοι προσπλέοντες τῶν Τυρίων ἀπὸ τῶν πύργων βαλλόμενοι οὐ χαλεπῶς ἀνασταλήσεσθαι ἔμελλον.'

IV 2.24 procul a The only place where Curtius uses procul with a preposition. Elsewhere he has the abl.

1 thus Lipsius, Acidalius, Freinsheim, Snakenburg, Schmieder, Zumpt, Mützell.

alone (cf. IV 3.10 'procul hostium conspectu') .

Contra Tyrii..obtruncant This manoeuvre is not recorded by either Arrian or Diodorus.

obtruncant also at VI 1.1. The verb does not occur in Cicero or Caesar, but is found already in Sallust and Livy, e.g. 1.5.7.

In Libano..paucioribus captis Alexander's absence is not mentioned by Diodorus. According to Arrian he made this punitive expedition after the Tyrian attack with the fire-ship (IV 3.2f., Arr. 2.19.1) and the widening (or redirecting) of the mole (IV 3.8 q.v., Arr. 2.19.6).

Libano Whence they were dispatching timber (IV 2.18). Arrian 2.20.4 and Plutarch Alex. 24 say that the expedition was to Ἀντιλίβανον, and do not give the source of Alexander's building materials, or the reason why, as Curtius explains, he was forced to divide his forces and absent himself from the major task in hand.

agrestes The substantival use is rare in prose before Livy: Cic. de Leg. 1.41, Parad. 33, Sall. Iug. 73.6.

Arabum Used in a very broad sense, as in Arrian 2.20.4 and Strabo 16.2.18 & 21 (755-6). For the partitive gen. see on singulis amicorum IV 1.19, and cf. perculsos hostium IV 16.29. Cf. other substantival adjs. with the gen., e.g. captiui IV 8.12, finitimi VI 6.20, uectigales IV 8.5. Similarly, the 'Greek' gen. pl. Macedonum is used in the overwhelming majority of cases, in preference to the adj. Macedonicus.

inconpositos..adorti Cf. Livy 5.28.7 'ibi eum inconposito agmine neglegentius ab re bene gesta euntem adorti Aequi..' Inconpositos in this literal sense appears for the first time in prose in this passage of Livy.

paucioribus captis For the aoristic use of the perfect

participle, see 'Participles' p. 351. The most striking examples of it occur in ablative absolutes attached to the end of the sentence, cf. VI 2.15 'commeatibus undique aduectis.' Curtius uses predicative present and future participles in a similar way. Vogel would read <haud> paucioribus, for which there is no MS. evidence, and he has been followed recently by Serra. This is unnecessary tampering with a reading which gives good sense as transmitted, and Vogel himself abandoned the supplement in his later edition, Leipzig 1903.

IV 3.1 segniter Only found once in Cicero, pro Mil. 82; then several times in Livy, e.g. 2.58.7, and Vell. Pat. 2.69.2.

Perdiccan Crateronque The Greek acc. is clearly preserved, as in Amyntan IV 6.30, Menidan IV 12.4, Coenon V 4.20, VIII 14.15, Philotan VI 7.27, etc. Diodorus and Arrian do not mention that these two generals were left in command of the operations before Tyre. Polyæn. 4.3.4 says that the task was entrusted to Parmenio who was in fact governing Syria Coele at this time (IV 1.4). For a similar division of forces, cf. Livy 31.46.11.

IV 3.2 Inter haec Tyrrii nauem.. Arrian 2.19.1  
 'Οἱ δὲ Τύριοι πρὸς ταῦτα ἀντιμηχανῶται τοιόνδε ναῦν..'  
 Arrian gives more details of the ship, saying that it was a cavalry transport (cf. magnitudine eximia) and filled with any available combustible material, cf. IV 3.4 'quidquid alendo igni aptum erat.' Diodorus omits any reference to this operation.

saxis..oneratam Arr. 2.19.2 'τοῦ ἐξέρχαι ἐς ὑψὸς τὴν πρῶσαν πιεζομένης κατὰ πρύμναν τῆς νεώς.'  
 πρῶσαν πιεζομένης κατὰ πρύμναν τῆς νεώς.'

a puppi The abl. ends in -i also at IV 4.8, whereas -e is found at VII 9.4. There is similar ambivalence over the abl. sing. ending of annis, see on IV 8.7, and ignis. For the expression, cf. III 9.6 'a iugo.'

ita ut multum prora emineret...remis concitauerunt  
 Duilius used his troops as human ballast for a similar manoeuvre: Frontin. Strat. 1.5.6 'uniuersos in puppem retulit milites atque ita resupina nauigia magna remigantium ui concitauit: leuatae prorae super catenam peocesserunt.'

bitumini ac sulphure inlitam Arr. 2.19.2 'πρός δὲ πίσσαν τε καὶ θέλιον..ἐπὶ ταύτῃ ἐπεφόρησαν.' These two substances are found mentioned together at: IV 6.11 (although their use seems out of place there), Veget. Re Mil. 4.8 'bitumen, sulphur, picem liquidam, oleum, quod incendiarum uocant ad exurendas hostium machinas conuenit praeparare,' Sen. N.H. 3.20.2 'Interest utrum (aqua) loca sulphure an nitro an bitumine plena transierint.' For the possible source of the substances see V 1.16; 1.25 and 29; Strabo 16.1.15 (743) '(ἐν τῇ Βαβυλωνίᾳ) νάφθα τὰς πηγὰς...τὰς μὲν εἶναι θέλιον ὑγροῦ, λέγω δὲ τὰς τοῦ λευκοῦ (ταύτας δ'εἶναι τὰς ἐπισπώσας τὰς φλόγας).'

\*

magnam uim uenti A somewhat poetic expression, found several times in Lucretius, e.g. 6.136 'fit quoque ut interdum ualidi uis incita uenti perscindat nubem,' 1.272 'principio uenti uis uerberat incita pontum, ingentes ruit naues et nubila differt,' 5.1225; but also of other natural phenomena in Caesar: 'ui tempestatum' B.G. 3.13, B.C. 2.14.4; 'uim..fluminis' B.G. 4.17. Arrian 2.19.3 says that the ship was towed towards the mole and given a final thrust by triremes.

successit With ad also at IV 5.19, and frequently in Livy, e.g. 7.37.7, 10.14.7, 26.44.7, 30.8.3. Pichon finds the sing. inexplicable in view of concitauerunt, but the subject can easily be understood from nauem above. This is by no means the greatest leap in imagination which Curtius' elliptical expressions demand of the reader.

IV 3.3 desiluere All the MSS. agree on this form

\*remis concitauerunt cf. Caes. B.G. 4.25.1 'nauis longas remoueri .. et remis incitare .. iussit'; Livy 36.44.4.

of the perfect each time it occurs in Curtius (also at IV 3.4, V 6.14 and VI 5.26. On the other hand, his near-contemporary Columella has desiliui at 6.24.3 and desilii at 8.5.14.

in scaphas Arr. 2.19.3 says that they swam away; cf. IV 3.10.

ad hoc ipsum Also at III 11.11. This and similar phrases are found especially in the historians, emphasising the object, e.g. Livy 2.42.5 'filius eius duumvir ad id ipsum creatus,' 28.18.3 'cohortes duae ad id ipsum instructae intus,' IV 16.23 'ob id ipsum incautius in se ruentem,' Vell. Pat. 2.27.4 'C. Marius..in id ipsum interemptus est.' Also without ipse: Livy 45.39.8 'ad hoc fecimus consulem, ut bellum..perficeret,' Frontin. Strat. 1.6.2 'legio quae ad hoc disposita erat,' Livy 37.27.5 'leuioribus et ad id fabrefactis nauigiis,' cf. Frontin. Strat. 1.1.6, 1.5.19.

igne concepto This expression had already been used in prose, albeit rarely: once in Cicero, de Or. 2.45.190; then in Livy 21.8.12, and cf. Caes. B.C. 14.2. The verb itself is not common in prose before Livy.

igne concepto latius fundere incendium Cf. V 7.5 'cedro..quae celeriter igne concepto late fudit incendium,' VIII 10.8 'Vetusta cedro erant facta conceptumque ignem late fudere.' On all three occasions, the description is applied to cedar-wood which Curtius seems to believe to be particularly inflammable: the wood used for Alexander's towers was clearly not seasoned and dry (IV 2.18).

cetera opera Arr. 2.19.5 'τόν τε χάρακα.. καὶ τὰς μηχανὰς ὅσας μὴ τὸ ἀπὸ τῆς νεῶς πῦρ ἐπέσχευε.' *ὅσας μὴ τὸ ἀπὸ τῆς νεῶς πῦρ ἐπέσχευε.*

comprehendit The fire itself is also the subject at VI 6.30 and VIII 10.8, Hirt. B.G. 8.43 'celeriter opera flamma comprehensa,' Verg. Georg. 2.305, cf. Caes. B.G. 5.43.

'hae (casae) celeriter ignem comprehenderunt.'

IV 3.4 qui desiluerant in parua nauigia Cf. § 3  
above. Arrian 2.19.5 says a separate sortie was made from  
the city, and that they demolished the mole's protective  
palisade rather than set fire to it.

quidquid alendo igni..ingerunt There is a close parallel  
at Arrian 2.19.1: 'ὄσα ἄλλα ἐς τὸ παρακαλέσαι μεγάλην φλόγα  
ἐπὶ ταύτῃ (νηί) ἐπεφόρησαν.'

aptum With a gerundive phrase, more often ad + acc.,  
as Caes. B.C. 2.37.5 'castra erant ad bellum ducendum  
aptissima,' and cf. VII 8.8 'ad transeundum omnia apta-  
uerant.' The dative of impersonal objects is found in  
Livy, e.g. 25.27.8 'uenti aptiores Romanae quam suae  
classi.' Modius would reject aptum in the present passage  
but the dative gerundive is also found at V 4.7 'amnis..  
gignendaeque herbae non alius est aptior,' IV 1.30 'gens  
nouandis rebus aptior,' VII 7.32 'iter aptum insidiis  
tegendis.'

Iamque..partim..partim Cf. Livy 23.27.5 'Iam..cum  
alii..alii.' For this sort of sequence in the historians  
see Chausserie-Laprée p. 564, and for Curtius' imitation  
of Livy in his use of iam, ibid. p. 509 et passim.

non <imae> modo Macedonum turres Sed etiam summa  
fairly demands a contrasting expression, and this is not  
provided by turres alone, unless tabulata refers to some-  
thing other than the top stories of the towers. It could  
conceivably apply to cetera opera - perhaps coria uelaeque,  
if these can be classed as opera, or the flooring on the  
mole, the palisade round it etc. (Arr. 2.19.5, and cf.  
VIII 10.26). Curtius, however, goes on to describe the  
plight specifically of those trapped in the burning  
towers, as the flames spread rapidly upwards from the  
mole. The fire would have engulfed the flooring and  
cetera opera, and the bases of the towers, first;

sed etiam is clearly meant to introduce a later and more horrific development. Imae here would be rather different from Curtius' usage elsewhere, since it must mean 'the lower part of the structure' rather than 'the lowest of several items,' as V 2.13 'imum gradum (sellae)' - the lowest step, V 1.38 'imae corporum uelamenta' - undergarments. There may be a parallel at VIII 10.25 but the textual uncertainty clouds the issue: 'murus.. cuius ima (ima Vogel: iam P: inferiora ω) saxo, superiora crudo latere sunt structa.' Its omission in the present case is not inexplicable palaeographically, and it has the merit of restoring the logical structure of the sentence.

haurirentur incendio A similar situation is described by Livy 5.7.2-3 'patefacta repente porta ingens multitudine facibus maxime armata ignes coniecit... aggerem ac uineas.. incendium hausit; multique ibi mortales nequiquam operferentes ignique absumpti sunt.' For the phrase, cf. Livy 30.6.8 and Tac. Hist. 4.50.3. Haurire also in Curtius of other natural hazards: V 4.18 '(niue cumulata) hauriebantur,' VIII 11.12 'annis praeterfluens hausit,' as in Pliny the Elder.

IV 3.5 stipitibus saxisque.. debilitati Cf. Cic. Flacc. 73 'membra quae debilitauit lapidibus, rustibus, ferro,' Sen. Contr. 1.7.7, Livy 21.40.9 'contusi ac debilitati inter saxa rupesque.'

inpune Rather unusually, this cannot refer to the subject of its verb. The advantage is, of course, for Tyrrii, not for their prisoners; diff. tuto § 15.

IV 3.6 uehementior uentus Diod. 17.42.5; Arrian does not mention the storm.

totum J.M. Palmer's motum has gained wide acceptance, but Mützell calls it 'matte' with some justification. The striking totum is well in keeping with this hyperbolic passage. We have noticed similar devices employed



in the comparable description at IV 2.7f., and both are somewhat 'epic' in tone. Curtius' use of totum here is close to Vergil's at Aen. 1.84 'incubuerē mori totumque a sedibus imis / una Eurusque Notusque ruunt creberque procellis / Africus.' For the hyperbole cf. 'uix ulla uestigia inuenit,' § 7 (q.v.). I repeat Acidalius' remark on this question: 'Etiam is corrigit qui corrigere prohibet ubi nihil corrigendum.'

crebris fluctibus conpages operis..laxauere IV 4.12  
 'crebris arietibus saxorum conpage laxata,' Sen. de Ira 2.10.8 'nauigium multam undique laxatis compagibus aquam trahit.'

laxauere <se> Aldus supplies the necessary se, comparing III 9.12 'laxare semet (semet Hedicke: se et Ω).' The only example of an absolute use of laxare, apart from in late Latin, is in Livy 26.20.11 'annona haud multum laxauerat.' (The reading at Livy 32.5.2 is uncertain: most MSS. have 'laxauerat animum'.) This occurrence differs in that annona is a commodity which is naturally subject to fluctuation, whereas conpages are not, and the presence of haud multum softens the impact of the unusual force of the verb. However, the absolute use of the following verbs is also uncommon, yet found in Curtius: uertit IV 6.29, declinavit V 8.5, inclinabat VI 11.9, traicere X 1.11.

uerberatae This use with an impersonal object, = percussae, is poetic. Similar, also of the sea, is Verg. Aen. 3.423 'Charybdis..sidera uerberat unda,' and in seafaring contexts: Hor. Epod. 10.3-4 '(nauis) ut horridis utrumque uerberes latus, / Auster, memento fluctibus,' Val. Flacc. 1.639 '(puppim) uerberat Eurus;' once in Cicero: Phil. 8.7 'tormentis Mutinam uerberauit.'

saxaque interfluens Cf. IV 2.8 'undae..per nexus operum manantes.'

rupit Like Seneca the Younger, Curtius sometimes prefers the simple verb to the expected compound, e.g. bellare for rebellare VII 8.21, pressae for depressae V 1.28. The beginnings of this phenomenon can already be seen in Sallust, and it is exploited to a greater extent by Tacitus.

IV 3.7 prorutis Cf. IV 13.26 'proruto uallo,' and for the same phrase with similar MS. disagreement: Caes. B.G. 3.26.3 and Livy 4.29.3. Proruo and prorumpo are also confused at IV 16.6, Vell. Pat. 2:63.1 and Tac. Ann. 15.4. (quo loco Gronovius: 'Incendium prorumpit, mare prorumpit, sed aedes proruuntur').

praeceps in profundum For the adverbial adj. cf. § 29 'praeceps in salum,' and on Curtius' use of participles, p. 351.

uix ulla uestigia inuenit This is exaggerated, although the mole may, according to Curtius' account, have disappeared from view, cf. 'paulum aqua eminebat' IV 2.21, and Diodorus 17.42.6 also implies large-scale damage to the structure, reporting Alexander's deep dismay at the set-back.

Arabia rediens Curtius shows some of the ambivalence of 'Silver' Latin towards the use of prepositions. The poetic construction without ex or ab is also found at IV 12.11 'Parthi Scythia profecti,' X 5.12 'Macedonia profecti,' and cf. IV 9.1 'Aegypto deuertisse,' IV 3.11 'classis Cypro aduenit.' On the other hand, the usual preposition occurs at e.g. IV 2.7 and VIII 4.9, and, unusually, with the names of towns, e.g. IV 7.2 'a Gaza copias mouerat,' V 6.19 'a Persepoli profectus erat.'

Alexander The proper name unexpectedly ousts the nominative present participle from its accustomed position at the end of the sentence, making a variation on Curtius' familiar use of Alexander, rex, etc. to introduce the next episode.

Hic The sharp transition is typical of Curtius' style; cf. IV 4.1, and on hinc IV 6.13. If id were correct, some connecting adverb would seem to be needed, e.g. iamque or ceterum, both of which he uses frequently in similar contexts.

quod solet fieri Cf. IV 3.18 'quod in eius modi casu accidit.'

solet fieri Modius would prefer fieri solet but the phrase occurs in the same form at III 8.20 where Modius would read solet alone. However, fieri solet is also found, at VI 6.27.

saeuitia maris Cf. VIII 4.13 'iam caeli mitescente saeuitia.'

IV 3.8 noui operis molem Cf. VIII 10.24 'fossa ingentis operis.' The genitive of definition becomes common from Livy onwards, sometimes making a very compressed expression: 'V 1.28 'omnium operum magnitudinem circumueniunt caernae,' V 6.5 'dolabris pretiosae artis.' For Curtius' free use of the genitive, see also on Xerxes gentis eiusdem IV 1.11, and ignarus omnium IV 6.7.

recta fronte Cf. Pliny N.H. 10.32 '(anseris et olores) liburnicarum rostrato impetu feruntur, facilius ita fidentes aera quam si recta fronte impellerent.'

non latere Arrian 2.19.5 and Diodorus 17.42.5 do not record a change of direction for the mole, merely that it was made broader: 'latitudinem...aggeri adiecit.'

sub ipsa latentia tuebatur so that only the narrow front end of the structure took the full force of the wind and waves from the south-west, see IV 2.8.

latentia As VI 10.22 'sub illius umbra Philotas latebam.'

latitudinem...aggeri adiecit A rather strange turn of phrase, like Veget. 4.8 'subditis operibus addenda sit muris uel propugnaculis altitudo,' cf. VIII 14.13 'formam magnitudini Pori adiecere uidebatur belua qua uehebatur.'

excitatae Not erectae, cf. Caes. B.C. 1.25.10 'turris binorum tabulatorum excitabat,' VII 6.26 'munimenta excitata,' VIII 2.24 'excitatam molem,' Livy 38.3.11 'ad aggeres excitandos.'

IV 3.9 Totas autem arbores cum ingentibus ramis  
Diod. 17.42.6 'ἐκκόπτων ὑπερμεγέθη δένδρα παρεκόμιζε καὶ σὺν αὐτοῖς τοῖς κλάδοις.'

adgerebatur Cf. Caes. B.C. 3.49.3 'terramque aggresserat.' Despite the fact that all the MSS. have the assimilated form of the verb here, I do not think that we should emend to aggerabatur.<sup>1</sup> Aggerare does not appear in prose until after Livy<sup>2</sup>; its earliest occurrences being as an agricultural t.ġ. (e.g. Colum. 2.10.5 etc.) and Curtius does not use it elsewhere. For adgerere in similar contexts see VI 5.20, where it is closely connected with exaggerare: 'caedi siluas iubet, adgestaque humo e montibus, planitiem ramis inpeditam exaggerari,' and VI 6.29 where there are other similarities in idea and expression: 'Ergo adgeri alias arbores iubet et igni dari alimenta: celeriterque stipitibus cumulatis fastigium montis aequatum est.'

super quae Super is always a preposition elsewhere in Curtius. If we follow Acidalius in emending to superque we should also add eam, referring to humus alone, or ea,

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1 See also F.R.D. Goodyear on Tac. Ann. 1.19.1, where the two verbs may well have been confused. The assimilated form of the verb in this case suggests that the easy emendation from aggerabatur (M) to Walther's aggerabatur should be accepted, in view of Tacitus' comparable uses of aggerare elsewhere, e.g. Ann. 1.61.3; 63.6.

2 unlike exaggerari which is adopted a little earlier; cf. on IV 2.16.

referring to the whole mass of material, comparing the only other occurrence of superque at IV 3.15. Ea could have been overlooked in view of the juxtaposition of —que atque.

quodam nexu Cf. IV 2.8 'per nexus.'

IV 3.10 , erat For the attraction of number cf. VII 11.12 'Praemium erit..talenta X,' III 3.15 'Doryphoroe uocabantur proximum his agmen.' See IV 5.18 for Curtius' use of the plural after nouns connected by cum.

subibant aquam Subire in this sense always takes the accusative in Curtius : X 1.12 'nauigia subisse aquas,' IV 10.5 '(luna) terram subiret,' VI 4.5 'subeunt aquae terram.' It is also used with the ablative of manner at IX 10.3 'uel eodem amne uel Euphrate subire eos posse,' and X 1.16 'aduerso amne Babylona subituros.'

oculto lapsu An unusual use of lapsus referring to persons, which is otherwise poetic: Ovid Fast. 6.499f. 'Panope centumque sorores, / et placido lapsu per sua regna ferunt (Inonem et Melicertem),' Verg. Aen. 10.687 'labitur alta secans fluctu aestuque secundo.' Curtius has labor elsewhere of water: III 4.8, VI 4.5, VIII 9.18.

palmites Vogel would emend to palmas, comparing Livy 33.5.11 'ita densos obfigunt implicantque ramos ut neque quae cuiusque stipitis palma sit peruideri possit.' Here Curtius is referring specifically to the very tips of the branches - only the twigs protruded from the great mass of material which had been heaped on top of the trees (§ 9) ; cf. 'stipites truncosque arborum ..moliebantur,' below. But since both words can mean either the whole tree (especially palm or vine) or only its branches, the proposed substitution seems to offer no advantage.

eminentium Thus V 3.20 'eminentia saxa complexi,' VII 11.15 'manibus eminentia saxa complexi,' IV 15.4; 9.5.

palmites arborum eminentium..trahentes Cf. Florus  
1.7.7 of Tarquinius Superbus: 'eminentia forte papauerum  
capita uirgula excutiens.'

pleraque Used for vague generalisations, as IV 5.13;  
10.14; and similarly omnia IV 7.13, V 3.8; cuncta IV 1.31;  
3.23. As we have seen (IV 1.6) plera in Curtius can  
mean either 'many' or 'most', and this is one of the  
places where its exact significance is uncertain. I  
should favour 'much' in view of 'dende totum opus..seque-  
batur' below, although Müller ('der größte Teil') and  
Eichert ('das meiste') would not agree.

secum in profundum dabant Cf. § 17 'tabulata..in pro-  
fundum secum milites trahere,' Livy 27.27.11 'improvide  
se collegamque..in praeceps dederat,' 31.37.9, Pliny  
N.H. 11.68 'in altum elatae,' Sen. Phoen. 343 'in planum  
date,' and cf. 'in conspectum dare'-III 2.2, V 1.2.

moliebantur = amoliri, as Livy 25.36.10 'nec moliri  
onera obiecta..facile erat,' 6.33.11, 28.7.7 etc.; cf.  
IV 7.7 'aegre moliuntur pedes.'

aegro animi Similar genitives of respect are found at  
Livy 1.58.9 'consolantur aegram animi (Lucretiam);' 2.36.4,  
30.15.9, Tac. Hist. 3.58.1 'aeger animi,' Val. Max. 5.7.1  
'aeger morbi,' Stat. Theb. 11.141 'aeger consilii' (K-S  
I 443e). The use of the genitive with aeger becomes more  
common after Livy<sup>1</sup>, who also has the abl.: 22.53.2 'eum  
animo magis quam corpore aegrum,' and 40.56.9. Cf.  
'dubius animi' IV 13.3, VII 5.26 and Bell. Alex. 56; also  
'incertus animi' Sall. Hist. 3.107, 4.68, Livy 1.7.6;  
'incertus consilii' VIII 10.26. Other examples of adjs.  
used with a genitive after the time of Livy are: impatiens  
III 2.17, IX 4.11, Vell. Pat. 2.23.1; inritus VI 5.31,  
Vell. Pat. 2.63. , securus V 10.15, IX 9.8, Vell. Pat.,

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1 e.g. Flor. 3.17.9 'aegrum rerum temere motarum,'  
Apul. Met. 4.32, Aug. Civ. Dei. 1.19.

Sen. Min.

IV 3.11 Aegro animi..nec satis certo Diodorus (17.42.6) records Alexander's near-despair in similar terms: 'ὁ δ' Ἀλέξανδρος εἰς ἀμηχανίαν ἐμπίπτων διὰ τὴν αὐτόματον τῶν ἔργων φθορὰν μετεμέλετο μὲν ἐπὶ τῇ τῆς πολιορκίας ἐπιβολῇ ...' Arrian's Alexander is, as often, much more phlegmatic (Arr. 2.19.6).

nec perseueraret an abiret Schmieder wished to emend to et utrumne in view of utrumne reported from Δ. The alteration is unnecessary: the use of an alone caused similar confusion at III 8.17 'praemissos explorare iubet ipse adesset, an praefectorem aliquis speciem prae-buisset..,' V 13.18 'D tantum equitēs congregauerant se, incerti adhuc resistere melius esset an fugere.' This use of an becomes common in Livy<sup>1</sup> and the later historians who also adopt the poetic utrumne..an (first in Horace in the 'Classical period')<sup>2</sup>. Utrumne..an is found in Curtius in indirect questions and once in a direct question, at IX 2.19 'Utrumne nos magnitudo beluarum an multitudo hostium terret?'

nec satis certus The use of this phrase with indirect questions began after the time of Livy, although the analogy of incertus..an<sup>3</sup> is already found in Sallust and Livy: Sen. Dial. 11.17.5 'nunquam satis certus utrum lugeri uellet an coli sororem,' Sil. Ital. 9.480 'dubitans..nec satis certa diu, patriis an cederet armis,' Avien. Arat. 287 '(fortuna) pernicibus alis nec sat certa gradum..fluxa pilae uertis uestigia.' Cf. Tac. Hist. 3.43 'magis quid uitaret quam cui fideret certus.'

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1 e.g. 31.48.6

2 Likewise the use of an in simple indirect questions found twice in Livy and in later historians: V 5.16, V 8.7, IX 2.10; and is used in the negative = an non: V 3.9.

3 V 5.16; 13.18.

classis Cypro See IV 8.14, Arr. 2.20.1, Itin. Alex. 42. According to Arrian 2.20.2, these arrived at Sidon and were joined by Alexander on his way back from the punitive expedition to Mt. Libanus. They then sailed in battle formation down the coast to Tyre (IV 3.11-12, Arr. 2.20.6f.).

eodem tempore or, according to Arrian, shortly afterwards.

Cleander RE XI, 558 = Kleandros 6 (W.Kroll). See also III 1.1.

aduectis Aldus' aduectus is followed by Mützell. Either would give good sense, cf. Arr. 2.20.5 'καὶ καταλαμβάνει Κλέανδρον.. ἐκ Πελοποννήσου ἦκοντα καὶ ξυν αὐτῷ μισθοφόρους Ἕλληνας ἐς τετρακισχιλίους.' There is a very similar dispute over the participle at IV 13.28 'Philippus Balacri eos regebat, in societatem nuper adscitos (adscitos Ω : adscitus Zumpt).'

C et XC The MS. figure agrees fairly well with those of Arrian 2.20.1-3 (222 ships excluding the royal penteconter) and Plutarch Alex. 24 (200 ships). Warmington would read C et XX. The doubt over Curtius' number may arise from the fact that he gives the total of the ships in Alexander's fleet, not just those from Cyprus, yet he has not mentioned that Gerostratos of Aradus has deserted Autophradates and joined Alexander with his Phoenician ships (of which there were 80, according to Arrian 2.20.1). Arrian gives the number of ships in all the separate contingents, including 120 from Cyprus. Curtius probably wrote centum et nonaginta which would have been replaced by numerals for economy by later copyists. We can see this process in operation in the MSS. of Caes. B.G. 2.4.9: decem et nouem Bong.: decim et VIII Paris I: X et VIII Moys.: XVIII Paris II. The full nonaginta milia is found at IX 4.15. If Curtius had used a numeral, he is more likely to have written C et LXXX (cf. DCCCC at VII 5.27,



VIIII at V 3.3; and DCCCC at Pliny N.H. 6.45 in the earliest MS.) although XC does appear again at VI 5.10.

naugia Heinsius' naugia is the easiest emendation here. Nauigiorum might be possible, comparing V 1.43 'cum septingentis Macedonum,' V 3.3 'cum VIIII milibus peditum,' V 2.16 'praesidium III milium (milium Laver: milia  $\Omega$ ).' In these cases, however, the genitives are probably partitive, whereas in the present case C et XC is itself the total. A similar objection can be raised to Erasmus' nauium.

in duo diuidit cornua Cf. IV 9.17 'pedes, uelut diuisus in cornua,' VIII 14.1 'agmen in cornua diuisum.' Curtius' description of the battle formation and its commanders agrees with that of Arrian 2.20.6.

Pnytagoras Thus Modius emends, following Arrian 2.20.6. See RE XXI, 1105.7f. = Pnytagoras 2. After the siege of Tyre he returned home and died there shortly afterwards.

quinqueremis from Macedon, cf. Arr. 2.20.2 πεντηκόντορος.<sup>1</sup> For this Macedonian vessel, see also IV 4.7f. They apparently had quadriremes as well (IV 3.15) and even septiremes (X 1.19).

uehebat This use of the active instead of the more usual passive with a personal subject is poetic, but is also found in Livy 5.28.1 '(Camillum) albi per urbem uexerant equi;' cf. III 3.22 and VIII 14.3; also obduxerat for obducta erat at VIII 5.21, and suspenderat for suspensum erat III 3.18.

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1. For a description of these ships, and triremes (IV 4.8 etc.), see W.L.Rodgers, Greek and Roman Naval Warfare (London 1937), especially pp. 235 and 286; for quinqueremes see also S.Casson Ships and Seamanship (1971).

IV 3.12 Nec Tyrii..ausi nauale inire certamen Arrian 2.20.7 explains how they abandoned their previous plan to give battle at sea, on seeing an unexpectedly large Macedonian fleet bearing down on their city in full battle array.

tris One of the very few words whose acc. pl. ends fairly certainly in -is rather than in -es, cf. discordis IV 13.4. This form is already well attested in Cicero e.g. Cr. 5, Muren. 5, and in the oldest MSS. of Vergil at e.g. Aen. 6.484 and 8.564.

tris omnino The word naues does not appear in any of the MSS. for which collations are available, except as a marginal gloss in Flor. G. Foss' <triremes> tris omnino is an excellent suggestion and should be considered seriously, especially in view of triremes omnes in Δ. A supplement seems unnecessary, however, as naues or an equivalent can easily be understood from classen shortly before. No doubt the Tyrian ships were triremes (since the Phoenicians invented them) but Curtius does not specify these ships until IV 4.8, and even then it is one on the Macedonian side. Arrian 2.20.8 and Diodorus 17.43.3 agree on the number of vessels sunk, although Diodorus places this incident during the first barrage against the city.

omnino Curtius only uses omnino with numerals or their equivalent; cf. III 11.27, IV 10.24.

ante ipsa moenia Diod. 17.43.3 *τρισὶ δὲ ναυσὶν ἑρμούντων πρὸ τοῦ λιμένος.*

rex Diodorus agrees that Alexander was himself engaged in the operation. According to Arrian the three triremes were attacked by Gerostratos in command of the Phoenician contingent in Alexander's fleet.

ouibus..demersit Diod. 17.43.3 'ἐπικλεύσας αὐταῖς καὶ  
πάσας συντριψας ἐπανάλθεν..'

ipsas . This use of ipse as a pronoun referring back to the main subject, but where no special emphasis or contrast is intended, occurs first in Curtius III 5.15 'inexperta remediis ipsis esse suspecta;' cf. probably III 1.8 'nisi intra eos auxilium Dareus ipsis (ipsis Modius: ipse Ω) misisset.' In the present case, ipsas could be taken to contrast with classen above. Curtius goes further than Livy in his use of ipse as a general emphasising word, to draw attention not only to the protagonists (e.g. in his very frequent use of rex ipse to refer to Alexander) and generals as opposed to their subordinates; the owner to his property; the whole to a part, but also any person or fact which seems important in the sentence: cf. VIII 14.16 'deturbate eos qui uehantur et ipsas (beluas) confodite;' IV 1.17.

Extended and free use of ipse is characteristic of Curtius' style. He is particularly fond of substituting it for se in O.O., even where there is no strong contrast with another person or group, and where no ambiguity is likely to arise, e.g. III 4.13, VII 6.18; 8.8, VIII 4.8, IX 9.3, X 2.10. For this use he has precedents in Livy.

Also noteworthy is his use of et ipse = καὶ αὐτός, which was first used freely by Livy<sup>1</sup>, although it is found rarely in Cicero; ipse quoque, and 'rex ira in misericordiam uersa ne ipse quidem..temperare oculis potuerit' for 'ne rex quidem', at IX 3.2.

Several emendations have been suggested to do away with the unusual use of ipse here, of which the most plausible, in sense and palaeographically, is Hedicke's ipse eas. As we have seen, rex ipse is employed by our author to draw attention back to the protagonist after a digression, and at is often found performing a similar function (see on IV 1.4). Diod. 17.43.3 agrees that Alexander himself attacked these ships, but it is

1 Draeger I 81.

2 Then Curtius and Seneca e.g. Ben. 4.37.8, N.O. 7.3.3, 7.8.1.

unnecessary to emphasise his presence here where there is no possibility of confusion with a previous subject; cf. the use of ipse alone at III 1.24 'Calas huic regione praepositus est. Ipse (Alexander)..Cappadociam petiit.' For the repetition of ipse within the sentence, cf. III 3.3 ; 5.15.

Vogel<sup>1</sup> would read ictu ipso, comparing Livy 37.40.9 'ancora ictu ipso excussa,' and III 11.14 'una ala ipso inpetu proculcata erat.' These are, however, quite different cases. Here Curtius has not mentioned the ictus itself, whereas Livy 37.30.9 'nam cum rostris percussisset Sidoniam nauem, ancora, ictu ipso excussa...;' III 11.13 'Persae Thessalos equites uehementer urgebant, inanique una ala ipso inpetu proculcata erat;' and cf. IV 4.8 'inuehebatur..triremis..tanta ui impulsata est ut Tyrius gubernator in mare excuteretur puppi.' I feel that some phrase like tanta ui is necessary to make good sense of ictus here. Similar arguments can be used against ictas proposed by Vogel-Weinhold. With ictus and icio the instrument always seems to be mentioned; cf. IV 4.7 'quinqueremis..ipsa rostro icta est.' Both this participle and impulsas, preferred by Damsté and Stangl, are harsh in this context where neither the subject nor the instrument is expressed; cf. IV 4.11 'quosdam..gladio clypeo impulsos praecipitauit.'

IV 3.13-4.4 Curtius' account of the first assault on the city is comparable with that of Diodorus 17.42.5-45.7, but Arrian 2.20.3-7 gives a substantially different version. In particular, Curtius and Diodorus do not mention the operations described by Arrian 2.21.3-7, but include others.

IV 3.13 Postera die Dies is feminine only four times in Curtius - III 1.8, IV 3.13, V 3.22, X 8.5<sup>2</sup>

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1 Vogel in his edition of 1903 prints ictas but comments on ictu ipso.

2 Perhaps also at IV 5.20: postera o: postero P.

and masculine in the overwhelming majority of cases. Mützell deplors the lack of consistency, if the fem. is accepted in these few instances, although the earlier MSS. are unanimous and the same phenomenon occurs in many other authors.<sup>1</sup> Vogel asserts that dies is fem. in Curtius, as in Livy, in passages of elevated style. In the four places mentioned above, the day referred to has some inherent importance as the beginning or end of a period of intense activity, although many examples of the masc. can be found in similar contexts. In other authors the masc. and, more rarely, the fem. seem to be used without obvious distinction, e.g. Sall. Iug.68.2 'postera die,' Caes. B.C. 3.19.4 'altera die,' and immediately following: 'postero die.'

classe ad moenia admota Arrian 2.21.1-2 'τῶν νεῶν ἄλλη καὶ ἄλλη τοῦ τείχους προσαρμυζομένων.'

classe..muros quatit. Cf. Livy 24.34.7 '(naues) turres contabulatas machinamentaue alia quatiendis muris portabant.'

undique..undique..undique The repetition of undique has caused considerable dispute among editors. Eberhard would emend the second undique to munire; Damsté, Stangl and others would delete it. Munire seems unlikely to have been corrupted to undique and any such conjecture is not in keeping with Curtius' transitive use of ordiar elsewhere: IV 2.18 'opus orsus est,' IV 3.8 'operis molem orsus,' IV 6.9 'opus orsus.' Rather than attempt to emend, it would be preferable to delete this undique and attribute its intrusion to the proximity of a third undique immediately following. However, the second use is logical and emphatic: since the existing wall was being battered undique, the running repairs must have

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1 see TLL V 1024.5f.

been attempted undique at the same time. The effect of the repetition is to stress the fact that the Tyrians had to try to be everywhere at once (cf. Diod. 17.43.2 and IV 4.12 'tot simul malis uicti'). Freinsheim is among those who would delete this undique but admits that similar repetition is not uncommon in other authors. Indeed it occurs several times in Curtius himself, as does repetition of nouns, verbs, prefixes, etc. (see IV 2.7). It may not be elegant, as Acidalius points out, but this is one of the contexts where its use can be justified; cf. subinde VIII 2.34-35, ultimo..ultimus V 11.8. If one undique is to be deleted, I should dispense with the third as the least necessary of the three yet undique..urguebat is by no means an objectionable expression. Curtius' repetition may, particularly in the present case, be intended to have a pathetic effect similar to that often found in poetry, e.g. Verg. Aen. 2.367 'crudelis ubique / luctus, ubique pauor et plurima mortis imago.'

tormentis especially ballistae, see Diod. 17.42-43.

arietum (κρίος) The first builders of these for the army of Alexander were the engineers Diades (RE V<sub>1</sub>.305 = Diades 2) and Charias (RE III<sub>2</sub>.2133 = Charias 11). These machines were first used with devastating effect during the siege of Tyre, and later notably by Demetrius at the siege of Rhodes 305-304 B.C.<sup>1</sup>

pulsu Heinsius suggests impulsu, but Curtius prefers the simple noun; cf. IV 2.8 'pulsu inlisi maris,' and Pliny N.H. 2.197. The noun inpulsus is not found elsewhere in Curtius.

interiorem murum Behind the old wall, leaving a space in between, a second wall was constructed, and the cavity filled with rubble and earth. (Diod. 17.43.3).

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<sup>1</sup> See W.L.Rodgers: Greek and Roman Naval Warfare pp. 225 and 246, on Tyre and Rhodes respectively.

Hannibal encountered a similar defensive operation by the Saguntini; see Livy 21.11.8-10.

fefellisset This absolute use of fallo in a physical sense = 'non suffecisset' is very rare. The following comparable examples are, moreover, quite different from Curtius' in context: Statius Theb. 8.155 'falluntque ruentes / genua uiros,' Pliny Epp. 2.1.5 'per leue..pauimentum fallente uestigio cecidit.' Fallo is used in a similar sense, although metaphorically at VII 10.9 'Nec promissum fefellerunt,' and IX 8.28 'Barbaros ut prima spes fefellerat, se ipsos urbemque dediderunt.'

When fallo is used absolutely, it usually means to mislead or deceive, as Sil. Ital. 5.496 'senio male fida fefellerat arbor,' Cels. 2.6.16 'cum saepius aliquando responderit medicina, interdum tamen fallat,' Columella 1. praef. 24. 'quarum (terrarum) nonnullae colore, nonnullae qualitate fallunt;' and most often has an abstract subject: Cic. Div. 1.25 'ea coniectura fallit fortasse non umquam,' Livy 28.27.9 'quantum opinio fefellit!' IV 5.16 'Nec fefellit opinio.' For yet another meaning of fallo see IV 9.18.

IV 3.14 uis mali urgebat Cf. V 3.11 'Anceps oppidanos malum urgebat, nec sisti uis hostium poterat,' IV 4.12 'tot simul malis uicti,' IX 10.15 'facies mali,' Livy 25.28.6 'quamquam tot mala urgerent.'

urgebat According to  $\Omega$  both spellings of this verb are found in Curtius, e.g.: IV 3.14, V 3.11, IX 10.13 urgebat  $\omega$ ; urguebat P; IX 5.16 urgebant  $\Omega$ .

binas..inter se..iunxerant Cf. Caes. B.G. 4.17.3 'tigna bina..inter se iungebat.' Livy describes a similar arrangement in detail: 'Iunctae aliae binae quinqueremes demptis interioribus remis...turres contabulatas machinamentaue alia quatiendis muris portabant.'

interuallo quantum capere poterant Capio in this

sense is rarely found in affirmative clauses, yet Curtius uses it three times: also at III 7.1 'celeritate quantam capere tam graue agmen poterat,' IX 3.7 'quidquid mortalitas capere poterat, inpleuimus.' Cf. the more usual negative at VII 8.12 'orbis te non caperet.'

IV 3.15 antemnis Cf. Livy 30.10.5 'malis antemnisque de naue in nauem traiectis.'

superque eos pontibus stratis qui militem sustinerent Cf. Tac. Ann. 2.6 'multae (naues) pontibus stratae, super quas tormenta ueherentur.'

missilia Found in Cato Orig. 4.7 (Keil Jordan) 'per-fossi gladiis aut missilibus.' Otherwise poetical and in Livy and later prose, mainly the historians; cf. Livy 6.12.9 'ubi illi uana infecerint missilia.'

propugnantes One of several examples of Curtius' preference for the present participle, even though a synonymous noun was available. Curtius uses it himself at IV 3.25; 5.15, VIII 10.31, IX 5.14, but has the participle as a noun again at IV 4.11. See also on 'Participles' p. 354, and J.N. Adams, The Substantival Present Participle in Latin p. 131.

proris miles tegebatur The prows were higher to start with, and this was accentuated by the extra load across the sterns. The construction of these ships, like that of quinqueremes, was considerably heavier than a trireme, especially at the prow. Nevertheless, it is not easy to see how the soldiers could have directed the missilia at the same time as taking cover behind the prow. With their additional speed and weight these ships were no doubt formidable opponents when skilfully manoeuvred, as Curtius suggests at IV 3.12 and IV 4.7. According to Pliny, Aristotle ascribed the invention of quadriremes (τετραήρεις) to the Carthaginians: N.H. 7.207 'quadriremem Aristoteles auctor est fecisse Carthaginienses) although their Phoenician cousins were already expert builders of



triremes and quingeremes (see on IV 4.7) and could apparently even manage septiremes when the occasion demanded (X 1.19).

IV 3.16 Media nox erat An intentionally 'atmospheric' opening for the next phase. This section again has epic colouring, cf. Verg. Aen. 4.522 'Nox erat, et placidum carpebant fessa soporem/ corpora,' and V 4.22 'Medius erat dies, et fatigatis necessaria quies' introducing the latest natural hazard of Herculean proportions for Alexander.

torpebant = 'paralysed with despair,' cf. X 5.7 'omnia tristi silentio muta torpebant,' IV 10.7 'ad spem.. erexere torpentes,' and in the physical sense: 'praecordia premente limo, resolutisque et torpentibus membris.'

cum subito..extinctum est Cf. Verg. Aen. 1.88f. 'eripiunt subito nubes caelumque diemque/ Teucrorum ex oculis,' IV 9.15 'caligine quam fumus effuderat obscurante lucem.'

spissae nubes intendere se caelo Like VIII 13.24 'adeo spissae intendere se nubes, ut conderet lucem,' Livy 1.57.8 'primis se intendentibus tenebris,' 7.28.7, Ovid Met. 5.621.

internitebat The verb is almost entirely confined to Curtius: VII 11.21 'internitente lucis fulgore.' VIII 4.3, V 4.25, IV 12.14. Elsewhere of precious stones: III 3.16 'distinguebant internitentes gemmae iugum,' Pliny N.H. 37.65 'smaragdi..tellure deoperta internitent,' Solin. 37.7 'zmilanthis..in medio umbilico lapidis istius glauci uelut oculi pupula internitent.'

effusa Gronovius' emendation to offusa is unnecessary and at variance with Curtius' usage of these two verbs. Effusus meaning 'widespread' comes into general use in Livy and later. Curtius' ablative absolute corresponds exactly with Livy's phrase at 33.7.8 'propter effusam caliginem,' where Gronovius also wished to emend the text to offusam caliginem. Similar arguments can be

adduced to support the retention of effundere in both cases (see also footnote 1 below); cf. Livy 21.58.6 'tandem effuso imbre, cum eo magis accensa uis uenti esset...'. Offundo nearly always has an indirect object expressed either in the dative or a prepositional phrase, and it is common with caligo in its metaphorical sense, e.g.: Cic. N.D. 1.3.6 'animis offusa caligo est,' Livy 26.45.3 'caliginem oculis offudisset,' Sen. Ben. 5.4.4 'ad dispiciendam ueritatem non erat obfusa caligo.' Curtius uses the verb only in this quasi-standard phrase: VII 6.22 'oculis caligine obfusa,' IX 5.28 'caligine oculis obfusa.' Cf. effundo in its literal sense, of liquids or gasses: Livy 33.7.8 'propter effusam caliginem,' Sen. N.Q. 5.3.2 'caligo effunditur,' and Curtius' own use of the verb at: IV 9.15 'caligine quam fumus effuderat obscurante lucem,' IV 12.20 'caligo quam circa humidi effuderant montes,' where caligo means literally 'fog' or 'darkness.'<sup>1</sup> The present passage seems to

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1 Livy applies the same restrictions to the use of offundo as we have found in Curtius, and this apparent pattern may shed light on three passages in Livy where offundo and effundo are again in competition for acceptance: 33.7.8 'propter effusam (effusam Codd.: offusam Gronov.) caliginem,' 22.19.6 'ut improuidos incautosque uniuerso simul effuso (effuso Codd.: offuso Walch) terrore opprimeret,' 22.43.11 'in occaecatum puluere effuso (effuso Codd.: offuso Walch) hostem pugnaturi.' Walch would emend to offuso at 22.19.6 on the analogy of 39.15.4 'ne se nimium terroris offundam uobis, uereor,' but the two cases are quite dissimilar. Terror is common to both, but as we have seen, caligo and other nouns may be used with either verb in different contexts. In all the other instances of offundo in Livy, where the text is not in doubt, it is used in a metaphorical sense, and has an indirect object expressed: 2.40.3 'nec in sacerdotibus tanta offusa oculis animoque religione motus esset,' 10.5.7 'incompositisque aduersus aduersus equestrem procellam subitum pauorem offundit,' 26.45.2 'altitudo caliginem oculis offudisset,' 28.29.10 'simul omnium rerum terror oculis auribusque est offusus,' 34.6.3 'ne quis error uobis offundatur,' 39.15.4 'ne nimium terroris offundam uobis, uereor.' In view of the place of terror, pauor, error as subjects in these examples, there is a better case for emendation at 22.10.6 than in the other two passages, but I would retain effundere on grounds of syntax. This distinction between the usage of the two verbs is also apparent in Tacitus: cf. Ann. 2.23 'atro nubium globo effusa grando' with Hist. 2.80 'tantae altitudinis

belong with these latter examples. I do not think that the paradosis is corrupt, although one could object that the idea of 'spreading out' is already present in 'intendere se,' and the confusion of offundo / effundo is an easy one. Bearing in mind the comparable examples from Livy (n.1 above) all of which have been regarded as in need of emendation, it appears that effundere can also be used in a less restricted sense. Curtius uses effundere in other ablative absolutes, many of which he has in common with Livy, e.g. IV 15.17 'sanguine effuso.'

IV 3.17-18 With Curtius' storm cf. Vergil Aen 3.194-208.

IV 3.17 leuari..ciere..conlidere One of the few places where Curtius has several historic infinitives together; see also on 'Infinitives' p. 386.

fluctus ciere Cf. X 7.11 'uastum fretum..tantos ciet fluctus,' Livy 28.27.11 'natura maris per se immobilis est, uenti et aurae cient.'

coeperunt Although the perfect after iam is very rare in Curtius, there is no apodosis to justify the adoption of coeperant which is reported from δ. Bardon, however, does so but without comment in his apparatus criticus.

fragore Before Livy this noun is almost entirely confined to the poets, in all senses. It is found once in Cicero - Rep. 2.6 'terra continens..aduentus hostium... quasi fragore..denuntiat,' several times in Livy, e.g. 5.42.4 'fragor ruentium tectorum,' 2.10.10 'fragor rupti pontis,' and Sen. Clem. 1.7.2 and Prov., of natural

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obfusan oculis caliginem disiecit' (Livy 26.45.2). All three historians use effundere with much more freedom. Livy has many examples of the absolute use in contexts similar to 22.43.11 and 33.7.8, e.g. 40.58.4 'neque enim imbre tantum effuso, dein creberrima grandine obruti sunt,' 33.6.2, 23.44.4.

phenomena.

IV 3.18 in turbido Similarly as a cover for misdeeds: Livy 3.40.10 'in turbido minus perspicuum fore putent quid agatur,' Sen. Epp. 3.6 'ut putent in turbido esse quidquid in luce est.' Comparable also are Tac. Hist. 1.21 'Cui compositis rebus nulla spes omne in turbido consilium,' Amm. Marc. 14.4.3 'in tranquillis uel turbidis rebus.'

miles..remex..turbabat Like VII 9.6 'uacillantesque milites..nautarum ministeria turbauerant,' Livy 22.19.10, Tac. Ann. 2.23, Hist. 4.16.

ministeria = 'duties.' Found in the poets and in Livy and later prose: Livy 4.27.1, 22.19.10, Sen. Ben. 3.18.1. Also = 'service' at X 1.2 'caedis..ministerium.'

remex For the collective singulars cf. Vell. Pat. 2.79.1 'aedificandis nauibus contrahendoque militi ac remigi praefectus est M. Agrippa,' Cic. Div. 2.114. Rather more unusual are: armatus = 'armed men' at V 7.2, and animal in apposition to equos at VIII 14.23. Curtius also has the common collectives miles, hostis, eques, pedes. The genitive singular of collective nouns is comparatively rare, the genitive plural being preferred: equitis and peditis are not attested in Curtius.<sup>1</sup>

metu mortis For similar ablatives in a causal sense cf. VII 2.32 'Cleandri metu,' Livy 21.26.2 'abscesserant metu hostis,' and several with correlatives: IV 12.23 'siue alacritate siue taedio,' IV 12.18 'siue metu, siue quia speculari modo..' This use of siue..siue is also found in Justin with ablatives of this kind, e.g.: 4.5.4 'Nicias seu pudore male acta rei, seu metu destitutae spei ciuium, sue impellente fato, manere contendit,' 4.3.7, 32.3.14.

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1. See H. Koskenniemi, Der nominale Numerus in der Sprache und im Stil des Curtius Rufus pp. 25-106.

exequebantur All the MSS. agree on this spelling, rather than exsequebantur. Thus also at IV 3.9, and similarly extruxit at IV 3.28.

euerberatum A rare word, poetical until after Livy. It is first attested in Vergil Aen. 12.866 'pestis clipeum euerberat alis,' and in prose at about the time of Curtius: Sen. N.Q. 5.12.1, Pliny N.H. 36.166, Ps.-Quint. Decl. 5.16 'tempestat terrore ruiturae molis euerberat.' The force of euerberatum here is similar to Quint. Inst. 2.4.18 'coruum qui os oculosque hostis Galli rostro atque alis euerberat;' (cf. Livy 7.26.5 on the same incident, '(coruus) ieuans se alis os oculosque hostis rostro et unguibus adpetit'). Cf. VI 11.31 'hostis os oculosque eius euerberarent.' The idea is reminiscent of Verg. Aen. 3.207f. 'remis insurgimus, haut mora nautae / adnixi torquent spumas et caerula uerrunt.'

eripientibus For a similar idea see Val. Flacc. 1.340. 'concussoque ratem gauderem tollere remo.'

classiciis In this sense, first used as a noun here; cf. Tac. Hist. 1.36. As an adj. classicus occurs first in Livy 21.61.2, then Vell. Pat. 2.121.1. This is the only instance of the word in Curtius.

IV 3.19 Isdem forte diebus A phrase frequently used by Justin, e.g. 2.14.7 'Eodem forte die,' cf. IV 3.6 'forte eodem die.' Livy often has per eos forte dies but Curtius prefers ferme or fere, e.g. IV 5.1; 5.11. See further Chausserie-Laprée p. 34f.

Carthaginiensium legati This second mission is not recorded by any of our other sources.

domestico bello Poenos impediri Justin also implies that there was some definite reason why the Carthaginians were unable to send the promised help: 11.10.14 'Amota igitur imbelli aetate Carthaginem et accessitis mox auxiliis, non magno post tempore per prodicionem (Tyrii) capiuntur.' The most logical explanation for this is that the Macedonian fleet prevented the arrival of the reinforcements: Diod. 17.41.1 says that the escape of the

women and children from Tyre was cut short by the speed of Alexander's naval preparations. Curtius may have misinterpreted his source in the light of subsequent events.<sup>1</sup> The Carthaginians may well have been involved in a local war at this time, but it was not the one with the Syracusans which Curtius brings in here. This is one of the passages where Curtius and Justin/Trogus seem to be following the same source. Both associate the Tyrian decision to send away their non-combatants with the non-arrival of the Carthaginian auxiliaries. If, however, the Carthaginians themselves were fighting as Curtius says, 'nec de imperio sed pro salute,' the Tyrians must have considered this the lesser of two evils. It can have been no small undertaking to escort large numbers of non-combatants, according to Curtius' account, out of one besieged city and into another! Diodorus (17.41.1) says that many (or 'most' at 17.46.4) of the women and children were safely removed to Carthage, but does not state whether the Tyrians' hopes of help from that city had any results (17.40.3).

solacium..auxilium This sort of loose apposition is perhaps one symptom of Curtius' speed and certain lack of attention to detail in composition; cf. also IV 9.4 terror..auxilium, V 2.10, III 11.7 incitamentum, IV 5.4 munimenta, IV 14.13 telum, VII uinculum.

nec de imperio sed pro salute This thought had already become somewhat commonplace: Cic. de Off. 1.12.38 'cum inimico gerebatur uter esset, non uter imperaret; cum Latinis..de imperio dimicabatur,' Livy 10.16.7 'dimicare pro salute sua non de intolerando Italiae regno cogant;' cf. 21.41.14 'pro decore tantum hoc uobis et non pro salute esset certamen,' IV 5.11 'res pro salute Graeciae gestae.'

IV 3.20 Syracusani tum ..urebant The Syracusans

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1. See below IV 3.20, and Justin 22.6.8.

in fact turned their attention to Carthage in 309 B.C., under Agathocles - Justin 22.6.8.

haud procul Carthaginiis muris locauerant castra Justin 22.6.9 'Castra deinde in quinto lapide a Carthagine statuit (Agathocles).'

defecere animis Tyrii Heisius suggests 'defecere animi Tyrios,' but the ablative appears in a similar context at VII 7.5 'uoce deficiens.' Quite different are the following: 'anima defecit' VII 7.36, and 'spiritus deficeret' IX 5.12.

ab ingenti spe destituti Cf. Livy 40.47.9 'destituti ab unica spe auxilii'; also the more unusual use of spe without a qualifying genitive: VIII 6.20 'tanta spe destituti,' Livy 25.27.13 'repente destitutus spe.' For similar uses of destituere see IV 1.29.

IV 3.20-23 coniuges liberosque..sacrum quoque Bruère<sup>1</sup> suggests that Silius Italicus Punica 3.62-162 took from this passage of Curtius the motif of the sending of Hannibal's wife and child to Carthage from Spain and the proposed sacrifice of the child to the gods of Carthage. Neither of these events introduced by Silius has any historical foundation, whereas at least half the story told by Curtius is corroborated by Diodorus who generally gives the same version of the history of Alexander as Curtius. There is, however, no significant verbal similarity between the stories as told by Silius and Curtius, and it is possible that Silius had read an account of the events in the source used by Diodorus / Curtius.

coniuges liberosque Thucydides 2.1.25 and 1.14.30, Livy 26.25.9 and Tac. Agr. 27.3 also give accounts of such humanitarian operations.

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1 R.T.Bruère: Silius Italicus 'Punica' 3.62-162 and 4.763-822, CPh. 47 (1952) 219ff.

deuehendos Carthaginem tradiderunt Diod. 17.41.1 and Justin 11.10.14 imply that the Tyrians made their own arrangements for the removal to Carthage, but of course both these versions are abbreviated and omit many details which are included by our other authorities.

carissimam sui partem Cf. IV 14.22 'maiore mei parte captius sum,' and in a literal sense at V 5.14 'maiore membrorum parte mulcati,' VI 4.5 'Stiboetes..priore sui parte spatiosior.'

extra sortem..periculi habuissent For the genitive, cf. Hirt. B.G. 8.12.3 and several comparable expressions in Justin, e.g: 6.5.1 'in pristinam sortem seruitutis redigerentur.' Cornelissen suggests statuissent instead of habuissent, but for habere in this sense cf. IV 2.15 'classem procul haberet,' i.e. 'out of the immediate vicinity of the current activity.'

IV 3.21 Cumque Cf. quoque at IV 2.16 for —que connecting the whole of its clause to what precedes, and the Livian simulque used in the same way at VII 2.21 and VIII 6.14.

Apollinis In his rôle as the Sun-god, probably to be identified with Baal - Plut. Alex. 41.

Apollinis quam eximia religione colerent Cf. Cic. Verr. 4.84 '(Mercurius) qui apud eos summa religione coleretur,' ibid. 4.96, Har. Resp. 28.

urbem deserentis The idea that the gods, particularly its own tutelary deity, deserted a doomed city, is familiar from Epic and Tragedy: Aesch. Septem 217-218 et passim, Verg. Aen. 2.351f., and in the historians, in dramatic vein: Tac. Hist. 'Apertae delubri fores et audita maior humana uox: Excedere deos: simul ingens motus excedentium,' Livy 5.15.11. Diodorus 17.41.8 and Plutarch Alex. 24.3-4 say that Apollo specifically announced that he was



intending to leave the city. Plutarch notes that many of the Tyrians had the same dream, making the report of the portent more authoritative than in Curtius' version.

IV 3.22 auctor leuis erat Diodorus 17.41.8 goes so far as to say that the man's tale got him into trouble with his fellow citizens.

ad deteriora credenda proueni metu Livy 27.44.10 'Metus semper in deteriora inclinatur,' Claudian Bell. Goth.

26.262 'Sed malus interpres rerum metus omne trahebat Augurium peiore uia,' Onas. Strat. 42a' *"Ὁ γὰρ φόβος ψευδῆς μάντις, ἃ δέδοικε, ταῦτ' οἴησεται καὶ γίνεσθαι."*

aurea catena deuinxere Diod. 17.41.8 and Plut. Alex. 24.3-4 say only that the statue was tied to its own base. Pausanias 3.15.11 gives a similar story about an attempt to retain the presence of Aphrodite.

araeque Herculis There seems to have been an altar but no statue of Hercules, according to Herod. 2.44, and Silius Italicus mentions similar arrangements in Phoenician Gades: 'Sed nulla effigies, simulacrae nota deorum' (Pun. 3.30).

inseruere We need not take this too literally: it was, after all, a symbolic action. Curtius again uses the verb rather imprecisely at VII 5.36 'collo inserta catena,' but it has a more familiar meaning and context at IX 1.29 'aureis soleis inseruerat gemmas.'

retenturo This is the first occurrence of a future participle in an ablative absolute since Livy; see on 'Participles' p. 367.

Syracensis Justin 18.7.7 agrees with Curtius, calling their leader 'Maleus.' Diod. 13.108 says that the statue was stolen from Gela, under the leadership of Imilcar.

See also Cic. Verr. 4.33.

maior This is a most unusual meaning of maior = 'ancestral'. Curtius uses it in this sense only here, cf. patrio IV 1.9. Stangl suggests emendation to maiorum. I think the paradox is sound, although there do not seem to be any close parallels for this meaning.

IV 3.23 Sacrum None of the other extant versions of the History mentions this proposal. There are several arresting similarities, in idea though not in expression, between Curtius' account of the Carthaginians' involvement in the siege of Tyre and Diodorus' account of their activities during the invasion of Agathocles in 310 B.C. (IV 3.19-20, 22 and 23, Diod. 20.14:4). We have seen that Curtius has mistakenly referred to the Syracusan siege of Carthage as going on at the same time as Alexander's siege of Tyre (§§ 19-20). I suggest that Curtius may have been familiar with this passage of Diodorus, and conflated several historically unrelated incidents, as a result of the appearance of Carthage as a possible source of help for the Tyrians (2.11), the suggested revival of human sacrifice (§ 23), and other parallel incidents.

Diodorus records that during the emergency of Agathocles' invasion the Carthaginians revived their practice of sacrificing noble boys to *Κρόνος* (cf. § 23 'sacrum.. repetendi auctores'). This extreme measure, also decided upon in a moment of desperation (cf. § 22), was thought necessary to appease the Tyrian Hercules, angered by the Carthaginians' failure to keep up their annual tithe to their mother-city. Previously, Diodorus says, they had sent envoys to Tyre each year with their gift (IV 2.10). In their present dire straits the Carthaginians had hurriedly sent a mission to Tyre with peace-offerings for the god (cf. § 19 where only Curtius mentions a Carthaginian embassy) but this had not had the desired effect. Thus three incidents found in Curtius and nowhere else - the Carthaginians' trouble at home, their second embassy to Tyre, and the mooted revival of human

sacrifice - are all present in the parallel episode in Diodorus 20.14.

Curtius' source (or ultimate source) for the reference to the Tyrians' sacrifice was almost certainly Cleitarchus, as we know from the Scholia on Plato Rep.

1.337E 'κλείταρχος δέ φησι τοῖς Φοίνικας καὶ μάλιστα Καρχηδονίους, τὸν Κρόνον τιμῶντας, ἐπὶ τινὸς μεγάλου κατατυχεῖν σπεύδωσιν, εὐχεσθαι καθ' ἑνὸς τῶν παίδων. εἰ περιγένοντο τῶν ἐπιθυμηθέντων, καθαγεῖν αὐτὸν τῷ θεῷ.'

dis minime cordi esse crediderim Justin 18.7.1  
 '...homines ut uictimas immolabant. Itaque auersis tanto scelere numinibus..' Cic. Rep. 3.15 'multi..ut Poeni homines immolare et pium et dis immortalibus gratissimum duxerunt!' Plut. de Def. Grac. 14.417D, Macr. 1.7.31 'uirorum uictimis Saturnum placare se crederent.' Cf. Clem. Alex. Protr. 42 on 'ἀπάνθρωποι καὶ μισάνθρωποι δαίμονες.'

multis saeculis intermissum The sacrifice of children to Moloch had a long history in Phoenicia. There is written evidence from at least the early sixth century B.C.: 2 Kings 23.10; 21.6, Levit. 18.21, 2 Chron. 28.3. It seems to have been a later Punic custom to offer such sacrifices only in times of desperate emergency: Justin 18.6.11 of the Carthaginians, 'cum inter cetera mala etiam peste laborarent, cruenta sacrorum religione et scelere pro remediis usi sunt: quippe homines ut uictimas immolabant,' Diod. 20.14.4.

repetendi auctores Giunta's emendation is well in accord with Curtius' usage elsewhere. Auctor is also found with a genitive gerund at IV 7.28 'auctor..diuinis honoribus cclendi suum regem,' and VIII 12.14 'auctor dedendi regnum Alexandro.' It could be used to govern ut as early as Cicero. For repetere in this sense cf. VI 11.28 'sermone ultro repetito (repetito Δ : petito Ω ).'

Dio. Hal. 1.23.4 - 24.2 and Strabo 5.4.12 relate

the similar experiences of the Pelasgians and Sabines who were overtaken by disasters because they failed to include their children among the tithe offered to their tutelary deity god(s). The policy of the Tyrians may have been one of 'cure' rather than 'prevention,' like the Italian peoples mentioned by Paul. Diac. (Fest.), who vowed sacrifices of all the Spring's produce, including their own offspring, to the gods in time of dire emergency; or the auctores repetendi sacrum may have believed that their present fate had befallen them because they had allowed the customary sacrifice to lapse, like the Carthaginians in Diod. 20.14. In the case of the Italian peoples, and also probably the Pelasgians, the fate of the children vowed was not the gruesome one demanded by Moloch.

ingenuus puer The children sacrificed by the Tyrians (and Carthaginians) were traditionally those from noble families. Diodorus 20.14.4f. says that during the invasion of Agathocles, the Carthaginians supposed the god to be angry with the nobility for trying to deceive him with offerings of children bought from the poor and reared for this very purpose, rather than sacrifice their own offspring: *τὸν Κρόνον αὐτοῖς ἐναντιοῦσθαι, καθ' ὅσον ἐν τοῖς ἔμπροσθεν χρόνοις θύοντες τούτῳ τῷ θεῷ τῶν υἱῶν τοῦς κρατίστους...* Cf. Tertullian Apol. 9.4 'Cum propriis filiis Saturnus non pepercit, extraneis utique non parcendo perseuerabat quos quidem ipsi parentes sui offerebant,' Jerome on Isaiah 13.46 'Bel, quem.. Latini Saturnum uocant. Cuius tanta fuit apud ueteres religio ut ei non solum humanas hostias captiuorum ignobiliumque mortalium, sed et suos liberos immolarent,' Plut. Superst. 171c *ἄλλ' εἰδότες καὶ γινώσκοντες αὐτὰ τὰ αὐτῶν τέκνα καθίερευον κ.τ.λ.*

The victims in Phoenician sacrifices were usually of tender years: Justin 18.6.11 'homines immolabant.. et impuberes quae aetas etiam hostium misericordiam prouocat aris admouebant,' and cf. the Biblical refs. above.

Saturno (Κρόνος) Identified with Moloch, one of the chief Phoenician Baalim. Only Pliny (N.H. 36.39) says that the sacrifices were made to the Phoenician Hercules, although Diodorus 20.14.4 shows at least a connection with Hercules. Our other sources all have Saturn / Moloch.

sacrum Carthaginenses a conditoribus traditum Most of the references to this rite in Classical times mean, either specifically or by inference, the Carthaginian version: Plato Minos 315c 'Καρχηδόνιοι δὲ θύουσιν ὡς ὄσιον ὄν καὶ νόμιμον αὐτοῖς καὶ ταῦτα ἔνιοι αὐτῶν καὶ τοὺς αὐτῶν υἱεὺς τῷ Κρόνω,' Ennius Ann. 7 fr. 4 'Poeni suos soliti dis sacrificare pueros,' Varro in Aug. Civ. Dei 7.19 (and cf. 7.26) 'a quibusdam pueros ei (Saturno) solitos immolare, sicut a Poenis,' Cic. Rep. 3.15, Pliny N.H. 36.39, Plut. Superst. 171c, Porph. de Abst. 2.54-57, Athanas. Vit. Ant. 75, etc.<sup>1</sup>

usque ad excidium urbis It is clear from the numerous references in literature throughout the Classical period and early Christian times that the ancient ritual practice was very persistent. Attempts were made from time to time by the current hegemon to stamp it out, but with little success: Plutarch Moral. 175A and 522A says that the sacrifices were stopped by Gelon of Syracuse after his victory over Carthage in 480 B.C., but Diodorus 2.24 suggests, as we have seen, that they were later revived. Darius II tried again in 412 B.C.: Justin 19.1.10 'legati a Dario, Persarum rege, Carthaginem uenerunt afferentes edictum quo Poeni humanas hostias immolare et canina uesci prohibebantur,' cf. Orosius 4.21 'Carthaginensibus quando uisum est homines immolare, sed male praesumpta persuasio breui praetermissa est.' The practice continued in Roman Carthage, despite Roman opposition, and Tertullian Apol. 9.2 implies that it was still going on in his

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1 For Classical references to human sacrifice in general see J.E.B. Mayor on Juvenal 15.116; for Patristic references see Mayor on Tertullian Apol. 9.

time: 'Infantes pene Africam Saturno immolabantur palam usque ad proconsulatum Tiberii.'<sup>1</sup> However Dion. Hal. 1.38 and Euseb. *Εὐαγγ. προσκαρδοκ.* 4.16.18 'τέως ἢ πόλις διέμελλεν' agree with Curtius.

quorum consilio cuncta agebantur Cf. Livy 33.11.6 'suo ipso arbitrio cuncta agere,' 2.58.7, Sall. *Cat.* 42, Tac. *Ann.* 'Tiberius cuncta per consules incipiebat.'

superstitio Curtius shows very little of his own personality in his work, and any remark which purports to be his personal opinion usually turns out to be quite a conventional sententia. This passage, however, seems to have roused our author to indignation. Particularly striking is the pun on sacrum / sacrilegium, a device in which Curtius does not indulge elsewhere,<sup>2</sup> and the forceful expressions 'dis minime cordi' and 'dira superstitio.' Curtius' moralism is seen most clearly in his disapproving asides on superstition and spurious religious practices, and in his cynical attitude towards dreams, oracles and omens.

IV 3.24 efficacior omni arte necessitas Cf.  
VIII 4.11 'efficacior in aduersis necessitas quam ratio,'  
V 4.31 'ignauiam quoque necessitas acuit.' The sententia was already well-established in Tragedy: Eurip. *Helen* 514 'Δεινῆς ἀνάγκης οὐδὲν ἰσχύειν πλέον ,'  
*Hecuba* 1295 'στερρῶν γὰρ ἀνάγκη,' and cf. Plato *Leg.* 5 741A 'ἀνάγκην .. οὐδὲ θεὸς εἶναι λέγεται δυνατὸς βιάσθαι ,'  
*ibid.* 818 from Simonides, Plut. *Apophth. Lacon.* 71.

Δ certainly preserves the correct reading here. Modius suggests efficacior inani arte, and Heinsius efficacior humana arte comparing Val. Max. 2.7.10 'humanae imbecillitatis efficacissimum duramentum necessitas.' Both are unnecessary emendations and they

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1 There is considerable dispute over the identity of this Tiberius.

2 except perhaps the exceptional caliganti X 9.4; see p. 329.

destroy the proverbial expression which Curtius would have intended to be recognised.

usitata Cf. 'uoluptatibus..usitatis' V 7.1, and on inusitatae magnitudinis IV 4.3.

IV 3.24-25 These seige devices, or some very similar, are also described by Thucydides 2.76 and Livy 24.34.10.

praesidia noua Arrian does not mention these, but see Diod. 17.41.3 and 43.7.

admouit There is no need to suspect the reading of Ω here. Although the personified abstract subject is used with a concrete meaning of the verb, admouit = 'brought into action' gives better sense than Freinsheim's admonuit = 'suggested to them.' For admouere with an impersonal subject cf. VI 2.19 'deorum inuidiam, qui fortissimis uiris subitum patriae desiderium admouissent.' It is extremely difficult to find parallel examples of admonere with an internal accusative. Curtius uses the verb with an acc. & infin. (IV 11.9), with ut (IV 15.2), with the genitive (III 6.15), all of which are usual constructions. In the very few examples of admonere with an internal or double acc., it invariably seems to mean 'advise of a fact,' not 'advise a certain course of action': 'Sall. Iug. 79.1 'eam rem nos locus admonuit,' Cic. Att. 9.9.2 'illud me praeclare admones,' N.D. 2.166 'multa ostentis, multa extis admonemur,' Div. 2.32 'ab aqua aut ab igni pericula monent (haruspices).'

ualidas asseres funibus Cf. Tac. Hist. 4.30 'ualidi asseres et incussae trabes perfregere multa superstantium.' There have been several attempts to make sense of this difficult sentence. Jeep's emendation seems to provide the best answer, as both asserres and funibus later in the sentence need antecedents. Vogel reads ualidis asseribus (harpagonas) but this supplement renders asseribus superfluous, since, as Livy says: 'asserres ferreo unco

· praefixi (harpagones uocant)' 30.10.16, and Curtius specifically mentions the attached grappling devices in the following sentence. Modius would read 'ualidis asseribus coruos et ferreas manus [cum uncis ac falcibus]' following Pal.1 and rightly rejecting cum uncis ac falcibus as a gloss. I should likewise reject coruos et ferreas manus which was probably inserted as an attempt to supply a convincing object for inligauerant. Like Vogel's harpagonas, it is tautological in view of unci..et falces following. Moreover, corui et ferreae manus are mentioned as part of entirely different devices below § 26 (q.v.).

Curtius' machine consisting of asseret et funes seems to perform two different functions : to entangle the ships in its ropes and to batter them from above with heavy beams. Thucydides 2.76.4 describes the two operations separately in a land siege: the Plataeans catch the enemy siege-engines in their rope nooses and smash the battering-rams from above with heavy beams attached to chains. Livy also describes the catching of ships from above, this time with ferreae manus: 'quae propius subibant naues..in eas tollenone super murum eminente ferrea manus, firmae catenae inligata, cum iniecta prorae esset grauique libramento plumbi recelleret ad solum, suspensa prora neuem in puppim statuebat.' The ships are then suddenly allowed to drop back into the water, with disastrous results. If Curtius had had in mind this kind of mechanical grab, he would surely, like Livy, have described the lifting and dropping of the ships (Livy 24.34.10).

tormento This use of the singular referring to a plural already expressed or understood is usually found in poetry, but is already used by Livy, e.g. 3.45.9 'in tergum et ceruices nostras,' Tac. Ann. 1.18 'detrita tegmina et nudum corpus exprobrantes.' Curtius has corpus etc. several times in a similar way, e.g. VI 5.27, IX 2.30.



subito laxatis Cf. Livy 24.34.10 'dein (prora) remissa subito..', and on remissae § 26 below.

IV 3.25. ipsa nauigia lacerabant For a similar crippling of ships cf. Caes. B.G. 3.14.

clypeos aereos Diod. 17.44.1 'ἀσπίδας χαλκῶς καὶ σιδηρῶς.' The oldest MSS. are unanimous in their spelling of clypeus each time the word occurs - here, at IV 4.1; 6.15 and IX 7.19. Perhaps Curtius preserves an archaic form; cf. Ennius in Varro L.L. 7.73, although here it does have a different meaning from that in Curtius. There are also some traces of this spelling in Vergil, e.g. Aen. 12.89.

multo igne There is a coincidence in expression with Diod. 17.44.1 'φλογὶ πολλῇ.'

harena The MSS. agree on this spelling with initial h throughout the Historiae.

decocto Almost equivalent to 'boiling', cf. Diod. 17.44.1 'διάπυρον κατεσκεύαζον τὴν ἄμμον,' Caes. B.G. 7.22 'pice feruefacta.' Decoquere is frequently used in the sense 'boil' in Curtius' near-contemporaries, e.g. Pliny N.H. 19.55 'decoquant alii aquas mox et illas hiemant,' Cels. 3.23.7.

IV 3.26 loricam corpus usque penetrauerat The paradosis seems to need some emendation. Even if penetrauerat corpus could bear an interpretation similar to perurebat below, comparing Diod. 17.44.2 'ἡ ἄμμος.. διὰ τὴν ὑπερβολὴν τῆς θερμασίας λυμαινομένη τὰς σάρκας,' it would hardly make sense with 'nec ulla ui excuti poterat.' Heinsius would add inter before loricam, but Acidalius' corpus usque is the best solution palaeographically,<sup>1</sup>

1 A similar problem is posed by III 11.15 'obdita genus tenus Post: ob id genus Ω, and the solution is also similar. See L.A.Post, Cataphracts in Curtius, CW XL (1946) 40, who compares Livy 44.40.8 and Heliod. Eth. 9.15.

and gives good sense = 'per lorica[m] ad corpus.' Diod. 17.44.2 has a closely parallel expression, although the Greek compound verb is, as usual, more explicit: 'διὰ γὰρ τῶν θωράκων. . . παρελπίπτουσα ἡ ἄμμος.' Curtius also uses usque with a plain accusative at VIII 9.21 'corpora usque pedes carbaso uelant,' although elsewhere the usual preposition is added: § 23 'usque ad excidium urbis,' IV 3.10 'ad molem usque.' The construction begins to be used in post-Augustan prose, and even then mainly with names of places, cf. Stat. Theb. 11.89 'horrendus ab astris / descendit uos usque fragor,' Justin 1.1.5 'terminos usque Libyae,' 7.1.4, and in a temporal sense Pliny N.H. 6.23, Cels. 7.7.15.

Similarly, penetrare rarely governs the accusative alone, although this also begins as a poetic construction with proper names: Val. Flacc. Arg. 7.43 'Asiam..penetravit Iason,' and is later used with other nouns: Pliny N.H. 8.16.19 'silvasque penetravit,' Amm. Marc. 23.5.16 'Romanos penetrasse regna Persidis,' and 16.18.3; also metaphorically in Tac. Ann. 3.4. Curtius has penetrare in a more familiar construction at VIII 14.36 'quod (telum) per medium pectus penetravit ad tergum,' where the context is similar to this passage, and IV 3.10 '(Tyrii) ad molem usque penetrabant.' If a preposition is needed in the present passage, loricam ad corpus usque is most in keeping with Curtius' usage, although this still leaves the unusual penetrare + acc.

iacientes As. III 11.12 'arma iacientes quae paulo ante ad tutelam corporum sumpserat; adeo pauor etiam auxilia formidat.'

laceratis By the soldiers themselves, maddened with pain: Diod. 17.44.3 'διὰ τὴν δεινότητα τοῦ πάθους εἰς μανιώδεις διαθέσεις ἐμπίπτοντες ἐτελεύτων.'

quis Curtius prefers this form of the ablative.

inulti patebant Cf. Livy 21.8.11 '(Id telum) etiamsi

'haesisset nec penetrasset in corpus..arma omitti cogebat nudumque militem ad insequentes ictus praebebat.'

corui..plerosque rapiebat Plerosque must refer back to propugnatores § 25, not to the ships as Rolfe seems to think. Tacitus Hist. 4.30 describes such 'anti-personnel' grabs in action: 'nutans machinamentum... singuli pluresue hostium sublime rapti uerso pondere intra castra effundebantur.' Diod. 17.44.4 describes these devices as being used specifically against the persons of the besiegers, although his account differs in many respects from those of both Curtius and Arrian.

remissae Kinch (followed by Stangl) wished to emend to demissae, comparing deuoluebant in § 25. Remittere is being used in the same sense as laxare above, as the opposite of adducere, cf. Cic. Lael. 13.45 'quam laxissimas habenas habere amicitiae, quas uel adducas, cum uelis, uel remittas,' Div. 1.123 'ambulanti ramulum adductum, ut remissus esset, in oculum suum recidisse.' In these examples, as in Livy 24.34.10 which we have already noticed, the idea of tension and relaxation is inherent, as the subjects are tensile materials. Cf also nerui Quint. Inst. 11.3.42, arcu Hor. Carm 3.27.67 For a comparable description of ἀρπᾶγες thrown by a catapult but attached to ropes by which they are able to be retrieved, see Appian 5.118-119.

IV 4.1 Hic There is no need to suspect the tradition of Ω here. Curtius uses hic in this temporal sense = 'hereupon' at e.g. VII 4.32, but for a similar textual doubt see IV 3.7. Hinc is much more frequently found in this position in Curtius, introducing a new section of narrative, but the main verb following it is always one of motion and describes immediate movement from one place to another, e.g. V 7.2 'Hinc in regionem Mediae transiit,' VI 6.33, VII 6.10; 6.24, VIII 10.19, IX 8.28; 10.1, etc.

fatigatus = 'frustrated' because the siege had become so protracted or 'vexed' at this latest set-back. These extended meanings of fatigare occur mostly in the post-Augustan period in prose, but appear first in poetry, e.g. Ovid. Am. 2.2.23 'ne te mora longa fatiget,' Sen. Ag. 62 'alia ex aliis cura fatigat..animos,' but cf. also Sall. Iug. 56.1 'dolis fatigari,' and defatigari = 'bore' or 'try the patience of' at Nepos. Lys. 2 'ne de eodem plura enumerando defatigemus lectores.' At IX 8.25 fatigatus includes both mental and physical exhaustion.

soluta obsidione The phrase is already almost a t.t. in Livy, e.g. 36.31.7, 36.10.14.

Aegyptum petere Diod. 17.45.7 'καὶ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἔκρινε λύσαι τὴν πολιορκίαν καὶ τὴν στρατείαν ἐπὶ τὴν Αἴγυπτον ποιέσθαι.'

uelocitate not celeritate as in the Editio Princeps, cf. V 8.2 'Aberat ab eo Alexander stadia MD, sed iam nullum interuallum aduersus uelocitatem eius satis longum uidebatur.' For Curtius, uelocitas involves not only speed but the sort of innate skill and agility (mental and/or physical) which was characteristic of Alexander: 'uelocitate opus est qua celeritatem fama antecedas' VII 2.15. The other outstanding exponent of speed in military operations was, of course, Caesar whose celeritas became as proverbial as his clementia: Cic. Att. 16.10.1 'aiunt enim eum Caesariana uti celeritate;' cf. Curtius of Alexander: 'illam indolem qua omnes reges antecessit...in rebus moliendis efficiendis-que uelocitatem..in captiuos clementiam,' V 7.1; 'Bessus Alexandri celeritate perterritus' VII 4.1.

percucurrisset Zumpt is mistaken in saying that the reduplicated perfect is not found in Curtius: P has this form here and at IX 2.19; also VI 7.27 decucurrisse P: decu\*\*rrisse Pc: decurrisse ω; VI 3.16 transcucurrimus Pcω: transcurremus P; IX 1.3 percucurrisset ω:

percurrisset P. As Müller points out, the reduplicated perfect is almost certain in these cases, clausulae causa.

IV 4.2 haerebat Haerere is first used by Livy in the sense 'cunctari,' e.g. 38.27.3 'in castris cupiditate praedae haeserunt;' cf. X 5.11 'cum diu nunc in ueneratione, nunc in desiderio regis haesissent..,' Sen. Epp. 102.26 'quid cunctaris?..haeres, reluctaris,' Juv. 3.135 'haeres / et dubitas alta Chionem deducere sella.' In Curtius, Seneca the Younger and later, haerere is sometimes extended to include the meaning 'occupatus esse', especially where there is a suggestion of impatience on the part of the subject, or of the speaker: V 3.9 'rex..interrogans tot urbium uictores an erubescant haerere in obsidione castelli exigui et ignobilis,' VII 8.21 'Non succurrit tibi quam diu circum Bactra haereas? Dum illos subigis, Sogdiani bellare coeperunt,' VIII 1.36, Sen. Cons. Sap. 14.3 'non diu in hoc haerebimus,' Pliny N.H. 8.102 'circa quod magna pars mortalium haeret' (cf. Quint. Inst. 1.1.21 '(puer) haesit circa formas litterarum!'), Pliny Epp. 1.22.1 'diu iam in urbe haeres.' Curtius uses another meaning of haerere which first appeared in prose in Livy, at IV 15.32 'haerebit in tergis fugientium uictor.'

opportunitate dimissa An equivalent phrase 'occasionem dimittere' is favoured by Caesar, e.g. B.G. 5.57 'ne occasionem..dimitteret,' B.C. 'ne occasionem nauigandi dimitteret.' Livy does not use the verb in this way, cf. 25.38.18 'in occasionis momento cuius praeteruolat opportunitas.'

inritam = 'ἀπρακτος' cf. Thuc. 3.113.5, 4.61.8, etc. 'ἀπρακτος ἀκίεναλ.' This usage is poetical before Curtius and Seneca the Younger: VI 5.31 'inritam spei,' Sen. Ben. 6.11 'domum inritus reddit.'

pudebat Diod. 17.45.7 also records Alexander's

frustration, and gives the same reason for his final decision not to leave for Egypt immediately 'νομίσας αἰσχροὺν εἶναι παραχωρῆσαι.' Arrian's Alexander does not experience such inner conflict.

famam Alexander's fama was so far intact. Rome had learned early in her history how much a reputation for invincibility was worth, and this became a favourite motif with her historians: III 8.7 'Fama bella stare et eum qui recedat fugere credi,' cf. Tac. Agric. 18.3 '(Agricola) non ignarus instandum famae; ac prout prima cesserent, terrorem ceteris fore,' Hist. 2.20.2 'ut initia belli prouenissent, famam in cetera fore;' V 13.4 'fama maximum in bello utique momentum,' cf. Tac. Ann. 13.8.3 'famae, quae in nouis coeptis ualidissima est;' VIII 8.15 'fama bella constant,' cf. Livy 27.45.5 'famam bella conficeret,' and Tac. Germ. 13.3 'ipsa plerumque fama bella profligant.'

qua plura quam armis euerterat Cf. Tac. Ann. 6.30.3 'reputante Tiberio..magis fama quam ui stare suas res.'

leuiorem = 'minorem', as IV 1.40, VIII 2.39, IX 8.25, etc. Cf. Livy 22.24.2 'castra relicta cum leui praesidio.'

Tyrum Curtius has the Greek nominative but the Latin accusative; see on IV 2.2.

Tyrum..testem se posse uinci reliquisset Diod. 17.45.7  
 αἰσχροὺν εἶναι παραχωρῆσαι Τυρίους τῆς κατὰ τὴν πολιορκίαν δόξης.<sup>1</sup>

testem Used with the acc. + infin. also at IV 10.33, and once each in Caesar (B.G. 7.77) and Cicero (Fam. 6.6.4). Other nouns used by Curtius to govern an acc. + infin. are: auctor IX 5.21 and 8.15, already in Livy e.g. 2.48.8; praes V 4.13.<sup>1</sup> Litterae at IX 10.19,

1. See Draeger II 405.

X 1.20 and 2.3 should probably be regarded as part of an elliptical construction; cf. IV 1.7-8.

se posse uinci Livy 23.16.16 'Ingens eo die res ac nescio an maxima illo bello gesta sit, non uinci enim ab Hannibale tunc difficilior fuit quam postea uincere,' Plut. de Ira Cohib. '(Θηβαίολοι) οἱ το πρῶτον ὠσάμενοι Λακεδαιμονίους ἀηττήτους εἶναι δοκοῦντας, οὐδεμίαν ἕστερον ἡττή θήσαν ὑπ' αὐτῶν μάχην.'

ne quid inexpertum omitteret Like III 6.14 'Nec Philippus quicquam inexpertum omisit,' VIII 14.29, IX 2.27, Verg. Aen. 4.415 'ne quid inexpertum frustra relinquat,' Pliny N.H. 25.1.

admoueri sc. urbi, as §§ 6 & 10 below.

delectos militum Curtius favours this use of a p.p.p. as an adjective, with a partitive genitive. It is already found in Livy; cf. 26.51.3 'cum delectis peditum,' a phrase which Curtius also has at IV 12.18; 14.8, and VIII 1.18. At IV 16.29 the paradosis should stand numeri causa, and because it is in accordance with Curtius' usage.

IV 4.3 belua The account of this prodigy is closely similar to that of Diodorus 17.41.5. For the possibly suspect origins of the tale, see R.B.Steele, AJPh 40 (1919) 37: Curtius and Arrian.

inuitatae magnitudinis Inuitatus and inuisutatus are so easily and so often confused in MSS. that it is impossible to decide whether authors themselves used one in preference to the other, and if they intended any distinction between the words, in meaning and usage. As a rule, the more difficult form inuisutatus should probably be retained where it occurs. This is the only place in Curtius where the MSS. are unanimous in reading

inusitatae,<sup>1</sup> although at IX 1.4 the earliest MS. F has this form. Inuisitatus is found at V 5.7, VIII 9.16, IX 1.13 and IX 6.7, in all these cases referring (probably coincidentally) to concrete nouns. Inusitatus is also found with magnitudo at Pliny N.H. 8.149 'Alexandro magno rex Albaniae dono dederat inusitatae magnitudinis unum (canem)' where the MSS. reading has again been emended to inuisitatae;<sup>2</sup> and fairly certainly in Cicero de Off. 3.38 'corpora magnitudine inusitata,' although there is, as usual, much variation in the MSS. readings.<sup>3</sup> The only place in Livy where the MSS. agree on inusitatus is at Perioch. 13 'elephantorum...inusitata facie,' where it may or may not be Livy's own choice. The only occurrence of either word in Tacitus is at Hist. 2.50 'aem inuisitata specie.' It would be dangerous to try to see a pattern in the usage of either word, e.g. the fact that at first sight Curtius seems to have inusitatus with abstract, and inuisitatus with concrete nouns. Inuisitatus occurs twice in Livy referring to abstract nouns: 45.42.12 magnitudinis, 5.35.4 formas, and elsewhere in Livy inuisitatus is used with concrete nouns, and with no obvious distinction in sense.

super ipsos fluctus..adplicuit Cf. Ovid Met. 4.688f.  
 'et nondum memoratis omnibus unda / insonuit, ueniens-  
 que immenso belua ponto / inminet et latum sub pectore  
 possidet aequor.'

dorso eminens For the rare ablative cf. Val. Max.  
 9.2.11 'capitibus emineant,' Phaed. 2.7.4 'mulus celsa

1. See also Löfstedt: Coniectanea I (1950) 92.

2. as also Aul. Gell. 3.9.3 'equum fuisse dicunt magnitudinis inusitatae,' where the weight of MS. evidence is for inusitatae.

3. cf. e.g. Phil. 11.2 where correctores and later (10th cent.) MSS. agree on inusitatum against the inuisitatum of BVH. Inusitatus is fairly certain at Div. 1.93, Acad. 1.24, de Fin. 3.5; 3.15; inuisitatus at Div. 2.138 where this form may be required by the particular context: 'Quae est enim forma tam inuisitata, tam nulla, quam non sibi ipse fingere animus possit? ut, quae numquam uidimus ea tamen informata habeamus.'



ceruice eminens,' Stat. Ach. 1.369 'ceruice comisque emineat.'

ad molem..corpus adplicuit Cf. Caes. B.G. 6.27.3 'His (alcibus) sunt arbores pro cubilibus: ad eas se applicant atque ita paulum modo reclinatae quietem capiunt,' and Diod. 3.27.2-3 on Ethiopian elephants.

diuerberatis Poetical and in prose after the time of Livy, e.g. Sen, N.Q. 6.15.1 '(spiritus) in subline se intendit et terram prementem diuerberat.'

IV 4.4 capite molis See on IV 2.23 and 3.3.

se mersit Müller rejects Gronovius' emendation, aduersante clausula, but it makes excellent sense and indeed is necessary in the context. The monster had already emerged several times from the sea in its undulating course: modo..eminens..modo..condita. The prodigy must now come to an end with the beast's disappearance into the sea, otherwise we are left with a curiously unfinished episode, with the monster still watching, as it were, to see what happens next; cf. Diod. 17.41.5 'πάλιν δ' εἰς τὸ πέλαγος νηξάμενον.'

IV 4.5 Utrisque laetus fuit Cf. 'εἰς δεισιδαιμονίαν ἀμφοτέρους προηγάγετο· ἑκάτεροι γὰρ ὡς τοῦ Ποσειδῶνος αὐτοῖς βοηθήσειν μέλλοντος διέκρινον τὸ σημεῖον.' Thus Diod. 17.41.6 who gives us little help in understanding Curtius' account of each side's interpretation of the portent.

augurabantur Found with the acc. and infin. also at III 3.4-5 'quidam non: augurabantur quippe industria Macedonum castra uisa fulgorem Alexandro portendere.'<sup>1</sup> The construction occurs only once before Ovid, in Caes.

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<sup>1</sup> However Vogel would read: 'quidam contra augurabantur: quippe..' and Zumpt: 'quidam uera augurabantur: quippe..' and Jeep: 'quidam damnum augurabantur: quippe..'

ap. Cic. Att. 9.16.2 'recte auguraris de me..nihil a me abesse longius crudelitate.' Ovid uses it several times in similar contexts without any real connection with augury, e.g. Met. 3.519, Trist. 2.570, also Pliny Epp. 7.33.1.

abripuisse..ac molem Just as the sea had swallowed up the monster, so Neptune was about to engulf the mole. Retention of the paradosis necessitates the rejection of  $\Omega$ 's ad in favour of  $\Delta$ 's ac, thus sacrificing a typically 'Curtian' economical adjectival future participle for a second acc. + infin. Vogel, by way of clarification, translates ac in this context by 'und ebenso'. Mützell's suggestion applicuisse deserves consideration and Curtius has already used this verb in § 3 above. Snakenburg's adhibuisse gives a similar meaning, but in the other two occurrences of the verb in Curtius it takes a dative indirect object (VI 10.30, VIII 12.9). If the monster is regarded as an agent of Neptune rather than a usurper (analogous to the mole in the following clause), then adplicuisse gives a better sense than the paradosis. On this interpretation, the beast indicates that Neptune is about to take action against the mole, and its swim towards the city and final submergence are of little interest to the Tyrian side. In this case we should retain  $\Omega$ 's ad molem. The main objection to this explanation is that the monster did no damage at all to the mole, merely resting upon it: cf. Diod. 17.41.5 'ὁ προσπεσὼν τῷ χώματι κακὸν μὲν οὐδὲν εἰργάσατο.' Curtius' point is that both sides saw the creature's path as an indication of the destination of the mole. The Tyrians wishfully thought that the mole would soon follow the monster down into the depths of the sea; the Macedonians that the mole would follow its lead, above the water, to 'haud procul munitis urbis.'

onerare se uino Thus Sall. Iug. 76.6 'uino et epulis onerati,' V 7.4 'et ipsi mero onerati adsentiuntur,' Suet. Tib. 62 'larga meri potione per fallaciam oneratos.'

uino..graues This and similar phrases are useful for Curtius' often scathing moral criticism: VII 4.2 'Graues mero suas uires extollere..incipiunt,' VIII 3.8 'Spitamenes, simulato captus obsequio..uinoque et epulis grauis et semisomnus in cubiculum fertur,' V 7.11, VI 11.28, VII 6.18, VII 6.27, IX 10.27; cf. Verg. Aen. 2.265 'inuadunt urbem somno uinoque sepultam.'

redimita floribus coronisque Symbolic of an enterprise undertaken with high, though not necessarily well-founded, hopes; cf. Verg. Aen. 4.418f. 'Anna, uides toto properari litore circum;.../ puppibus et laeti nautae imposuere coronas,' Ovid. Met. 15.696 'Aeneadae gaudent.. /torta coronatae soluunt retinacula puppis,' An. 3.11.29. The same hendiadys occurs at V 1.20, IX 10.25 and 10.26.

omen uictoriae Damsté suggests emendation to nomen, as the Macedonians had already received several omina uictoriae. But here Curtius is referring only to the latest portent, seen by both sides and appropriated especially by the Tyrians as favourable to themselves. For the expression, cf. Livy 4.27.5 'spem..uictoriae praecipere.'

uictoriae..gratulationem praeeperant Cf. Caes. B.C. 3.87 'Iam animo uictoriam praecipiebant,' Livy 4.27.5 'spem uniuersae uictoriae praecipere,' Cic. Phil. 13.20 'praecipias licet gaudia.' There are several zeugnata in Curtius, for example at IX 8.22 'maiore periculo quam uulnere adfectus,' where the participle refers to both mental anxiety and physical pain; but some of the most difficult are probably: IV 13.4 'somno et periculo territotos' (Here Cornelissen rightly remarks, 'Inepte hostes somno territi dicuntur. Post somno excidisse uel 'graues' uel 'impeditos' uel cognatae significationis uocabulum.' But we should probably regard it as an elliptical expression and perhaps not entirely logical. If a supplement is considered necessary, I should prefer some participle

like <et> somno <inpeditos> et improuiso periculo territos,<sup>1</sup> which gives parallel phrases and sets the two ablatives on an equal footing.); III 5.13 "me non tam mortis quam belli remedium quaerere," where remedium means both a remedy to prevent Alexander's death and to enable him to carry on the war, but the use of two genitives dependent upon remedium makes a harsh elliptical expression: the remedium is 'against' mortis, but 'for' belli. IV 4.11 'gladio clypeoque impulsos' is regarded by some as a zeugma,<sup>2</sup> but in the context a blow with either a sword or a shield would have the effect of repulsing the defenders.

IV 4.6 in diuersam partem See § 2. The fleet is to blockade the harbour facing Sidon rather than that opposite Egypt (Arr. 2.20.10 and 21.8).

duobus captis Arrian 2.22.2 says that the *πεντηπείς* of Androcles of Amathus and Pasicrates of Curium were sunk, and the rest driven ashore or badly damaged.

terruerunt metu There is a similar pleonasm at IX 4.16 and Caes. B.G. 5.6 'metu territare,' 7.26 'quo timore perterriti Galli;' cf. X 5.16 'uano metu territi,' X 7.10 'metu supplicii territus,' VI 7.10.

fremitus acciderant Schmieder and Mützell would emend to acciderat, but Curtius has similar plurals at X 5.16; cf. Val. Flacc. 3.237, 2.82f. Less common in the plural in prose are: strepitus IV 15.33 (cf. Verg. Aen. 9.394, Georg. 3.79, Val. Flacc. 1.850); gemitus .. eiulatus IV 10.29, ululatus IV 16.15, quaestus X 5.8, acclamations V 4.9. Accidere without 'ad aures' uel sim. is already found in Livy 27.15.16, 4.33.9; cf. 'fremitus uocesque auribus captabant.'

acciderant, admouit This 'piling-up' of two finite

1. rather than e.g. <ex> somno <excitatos>.

2. Vogel, 1903, and Dosson, 1884.

verbs at the end of the sentence is not unusual in Curtius, but is here accentuated by the assonance.

IV 4.7. quinoueremis The Sidonians were especially skilful in building these large, heavily-decked ships: see Diod. 16.44.6 on their ability to furnish large numbers of *τριηρεῖς* and *πεντηρεῖς*, and 16 41.4 for the great wealth they acquired through shipping. As we have seen, according to Arrian, Alexander had received reinforcements as a result of the defection from the Persian side of Gerostratos of Aradus, and that Alexander was preparing his fleet of triremes at Sidon. The swift ships of that city were already legendary: Hom. *Od.*

ο 472-3 'ἡμεῖς δ' ἐς λιμένα κλυτὸν ἦλθομεν ὄκα κιόντες  
ἐνθ' ἄρα φοινίκων ἀνδρῶν ἦ ὠκύαλος νηῦς.'

occurrit Sc. 'hostibus'; cf. Arr. 2.22.3 'αὐτός τε  
*πεντήρεις ἀναλαβῶν .. περιέπλει τὴν πόλιν ὡς ἐπὶ τοὺς  
ἐκπεπλευκότας τῶν Τυρίων.'*

§ 7 ipsa rostro icta - § 9 nauem quae haerebat This engagement has many features in common with Livy 37.30.8

'Capta memorabili casu, nam cum rostro percussisset Sidoniam nauem, anchora ictu ipso excussa e naue sua, unco dente, uelut manu ferrea iniecta alligauit alterius proram: inde..ictu..cohaeserat, nauis cepit.' Polybius 16.3.4f. describes a similar entanglement of ships:

'(ναυαρχίς) ὑποκεσοῦσης γὰρ αὐτῇ τριημιολίας, ταύτῃ δοῦσα πληγὴν βιαίαν κατὰ μέσον τὸ κύτος ὑπο τὸν θρανίτην σκαλμὸν ἐδέθη.. δύο πενήρεις προσκεσοῦσαι καὶ τρώσασαι τὴν ναῦν ἐξ ἁμφοῖν τοῖν μερῶν.. διέφθειραν..' 3.8 'βίαχα τὸ μὲν πρῶτον οὐκ ἐδύνατο χωρισθῆναι, καίπερ πολλάκις ἐπιβαλό-  
μενος πρύμναν κρούειν.' Cf. also Diod. 13.99 and Lucan 3. 563f.

eadem..et..et There are similar sequences at III 7.7, and VIII 5.15.

IV 4.8 euecta..inuehebatur; cum Cf. Livy 22.19.10,

29.34.12 and 22.43.1, 22.45.3.

euecta Hedicke's emendation seems unnecessary. For this meaning of eucho cf. Livy 22.45.3 'ipsas prope portas euecti sunt,' 4.33.7 'euectis effreno equo,' IX 9.8 'medio amni..euecti.' Hedicke would also emend  $\Omega$ 's latus inuehebatur cum to latus. Inuehebatur tum. The retention of the reading 'tanta ui inpulsa est' which is found in Pc, Bc and A gives a much better shape and sense to the passage than this emendation and re-punctuation.

aliud..latus It is not entirely clear whether aliud here = reliquum, or alterum as X 5.22 'alium..Alexandrum,' IX 8.5 'alium Liberum Patrem,' IX 3.8 'alium orbem.' The latter interpretation is more likely in the present case. In view of the quinquereme's superior speed, the attacking trireme would not have wasted time in going round to the other side where its partner was already stuck fast.

gubernator in mare excuteretur A motif familiar from Vergil: Aen. 1.114 'ingens a uertice pontus / in puppim ferit; excutitur pronusque magister / uoluitur in caput,' 5.659 '(quies Palinurum) cum puppis parte reuolsa / cumque gubernaculo liquidas proiecit in undas / praecipitem,' 6.349.

inhibentes remis A technical term from the handling of ships, here meaning not only to stop the ship, but to row backwards; cf. Arr. 2.23.1 'ναὺς ἐπανάγειν,' Justin 2.12.7 '"ite cessin; inhibite remis et a bello discedite," and similar expressions in Livy, e.g. 37.30.10, who also has the more specific 'retro nauem inhibere,' at 26.39.12. Cicero Att. 13.21 explains this specific meaning of the term, and incidentally his own uncertainty as to precisely what was going on: '"inhibere"..est autem uerbum totum nauticum..arbitrabar sustineri remos cum inhibere essent remiges iussi. Id

non esse eius modi didici heri..non enim sustinerent, sed alio modo remigant..inhibitio autem remigium motum habet et uehementiorem quidem remigationis nauem conuertentis ad puppim.'

euellere It is doubtful whether Curtius uses historic infinitives in subordinate clauses. Euellere here, and intendere at IV 3.16 are probably perfects, as sustulere in a similar context at III 10.1. If so, there is a harsh transition here from perfect to present in clauses joined by —que. Historic infinitives are, however, already found in comparable subordinate clauses in Sallust Iug. 98.2, Livy 2.27.1, etc.; and later in Tacitus, e.g. Ann. 2.31. For Curtius' use of historic infins. see p. 386.

naues autem omnes According to Arrian 2.21.9 thirteen ships took part in this attack, and he records a similar outcome to the engagement (2.22.5).'

aut demersit Several editors have wished to emend to mersit to avoid a clash of dental consonants, but cf. IX 1.12 'uelut demersa.' For similar expressions, cf. Livy 36.45.3 'tredecim captis nauibus..decem mersis,' Vell. Pat. 2.42.1 'partem mersit.'

IV 4.10 Biduo..ad quietem dato Like Livy 21.37.6 'quies muniendo fessis hominibus data. Triduo inde..descensum.'

iussisque For the ellipse of the subject pronoun, especially in historians, cf. Caes. B.C. 1.30.3 'Valerium ..profecto (sc. eo),' Tac. Hist. 1.72 'quaedam ignaro (sc. eo) ausus,' and see on 'Participles' p. 353. Cf. IV 4.13 exceptis (q.v.).<sup>1</sup>

machinas Those on the finished mole whose completion Curtius does not mention, but see Arrian 2.21.2:

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1 K-S. I § 138 Anm. 7.

'προσηγον τὰς μηχανὰς κατὰ τε τὸ ποιητὸν χάμα καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν νεῶν ἄλλη καὶ ἄλλη τοῦ τείχους προσορμιζομένων.'

territis A proleptic p.p.p. used as an adjective. This usage is poetical, cf. Verg. Aen. 1.69 'submersas obrue puppes.' Like several other constructions which are unusual in prose, Curtius has a precedent for the proleptic p.p. in Ovid who uses it surprisingly frequently, e.g. Met. 1.184, 4.802, 6.248.

turrem The acc. sing. of turris always ends in -em in Curtius, unlike those of sitis IV 7.4; 16.14, etc., neptis VI 2.7, cidaris III 3.19.<sup>1</sup>

ingenti animo, periculo maiore Heinsius suggests 'ingenti animo, pari periculo' comparing VIII 14.14 'par animo meo periculum uideo.' For another striking instance of asyndeton in a chiasmus see IV 10.11 'alios cecidit, cepit alios.'

ingenti animo..telis petebatur Curtius sometimes tends to exaggerate Alexander's difficulties and personal danger, but for the king's own involvement in this operation, see Arr. 2.23.4-6 and Diod. 17.46.2, and cf. Caes. B.G. 2.18f. for an example of personal risk which Caesar was at pains not to suppress.

insigni et armis fulgentibus conspicuus One of the few places in Curtius where there may be deliberate evocation of Vergil: Aen. 11.769 'insignis longe Phrygiis fulgebat in armis,' also 2.749 'cingor fulgentibus armis,' Tac. Ann. 1.24.3 'neque insignibus fulgentes.' For the idea of the general present in person and instantly recognisable, cf. Caes. B.G. 7.88.1 'Eius (Caesaris) adventu ex colore uestitus cognito, quo insigni in proeliis uti consuerat.' Caesar does not insert this, as Curtius does, mainly to create a picturesque scene. The plural insignia is more common. Here the meaning is comparable

1 Cf. Oldfather and Bloom, Caesar's grammatical theories and his own practice, CJ 22 (1927) esp. pp. 592 & 593.



with Livy 27.33.3 'cui notum erat insigne galeae famam interfecti regis uolgauit,' i.e. Alexander's distinctive helmet (see Plut. Alex. 16.4 for a description) rather than a reference to the royal diadem. etc. as at VIII 12.14 'Omphis..et regium insigne sumpsit;' cf. Livy 24.21.7 'cum cruentam regiam uestem atque insigne capitis ostentarent.'

IV 4.11 Et digna prorsus spectaculo edidit Thus Diod 17.46.2 'ένταῦθα δὲ ἐτόλμησεν ἐπιτελέσασθαι πράξιν οὐδ' αὐτοῖς τοῖς ὄρωσι πιστευομένην .' Edidit = 'fecit' as Cic. Phil. 13.21 'facinus edidit,' and III 7.5 'edito spectaculo ludicro.'

multos..hasta transfixit, quosdam..gladio clypeoque impulsos praecipitauit. This sentence is closely comparable to Diodorus' account at 17.46.2 'αὐτὸς δὲ καθηγούμενος..τοὺς μὲν δόρατι , τοὺς δὲ τῇ μαχαίρᾳ τύπτων ἀπέκτεινεν, ἐνίοις δ' αὐτῇ τῇ περιφερείᾳ τῆς ἀσπίδος ἀνατρέπων.' Curtius' construction gladio clypeoque impulsos should not be regarded as a zeugma, or at most a very mild one by Curtius' standards. The emphasis in his version is on the dislodging of the defenders, which is achieved equally 'gladio uel clypeo.' The phrase is elliptical, and the reader may infer Diodorus' ἀπέκτεινεν. Curtius' more compressed sentence suggests the frenzy of Alexander's attack, repelling the opposition, dead or alive, with every available weapon.

propemodum cohaerebat Diodorus' 'ἐπιβάθραν..ἐπιβαλῶν' (17.46.2) and Arrian's 'αἱ γέφυραι ἐπεβλήθησαν' (2.23.4) specify an actual bridge-like connection between the towers on the mole and the walls (Curtius and Diodorus?) or between the ships and the walls (Arrian). Caesar B.C. 2.9 & 10 gives a detailed account of the construction and use of towers at the siege of Marseilles.

cohaereo + dative, = 'touch' is found in Livy and later prose, e.g. Livy 33.17.6, Colum. 5.11.15 'cacumina

..oliuac sicuti matri cohaerent;' cf. V 4.24 'arborum rami alius alio cohaerentes,' Sen. Consol.ad Marc. 17.2. Curtius also has cohaerere with inter se at VII 3.21, as Colum, Arb. 9.2.

IV 4.12 portum. According to Arrian 2.24.1, both harbours were occupied.

in turre hostium desertas euaserant Cf. Arr. 2.24.2  
 τὸ πλῆθος τῶν Τυρίων τὸ μὲν τεῖχος, ὡς ἐχόμενον εἶδον, ἐκλείπουσιν.' For the device used by the historians of seeing part of the action through the eyes of the besieged, in order to arouse the sympathy of the reader, even where this conflicts with the writer's own bias, cf. Livy who goes so far as to refer to the Romans as 'the enemy' in several comparable situations, e.g. 36.22-24 (ter), 38.29.2, 38.6.7; see Walsh, The literary techniques of Livy, p. 99.

tot simul malis uicti Similarly Arr. 2.23.3 'ὡς πανταχόθεν βαλλομενους τοὺς Τυρίους ἐν τῷ δεινῷ ἀμφιβόλους γίνεσθαι.' Cf. Livy in the case of such catastrophes: 25.28.6 'tot mala urgerent,' 5.42.7 'tot onerati atque obruti malis,' 6.33.1 'uictis malis,' cf. 24.5.11.

templa Supposedly sacrosanct iure gentium together with any inhabitants, as recorded by, among others, St. Augustine Civ. Dei 1.2 'Tot bella gesta conscripta sunt uel ante conditam Romam uel ab eius exortu et imperio: legant et proferant sic aut ab aliegenis aliquam captam esse ciuitatem, ut hostis, qui ceperant, parcerent eis, quos ad deorum suorum templa confugisse compererant..ut inrupto oppido nullus feriretur, qui in illo templo fuisset inuentus.' Alexander's previous record, at least in this respect, could have given the Tyrians little reason for confidence. Arrian 1.9.9 records that after the destruction of the Boeotian city of Thebes, Alexander did not enslave the priests and priestesses, or

apportion sanctified ground among the victors<sup>1</sup>. However Diod. 17.13.6 says that citizens who had taken refuge in the temples were still not spared, whether this was the work of the Macedonians or not. At Tyre, Arrian says at 2.24.5, those who fled to the temple of Heracles were spared (cf. § 18 below), and this probably corresponds with Curtius' 'exceptis qui in templa confugerant' in § 13. This motif of the conquered, or anyone in dire peril, taking refuge in a sacred place, is depicted frequently in Greek art from the early sixth century onwards and the slave's flight to the altar to escape a beating became a stock event in New Comedy. It also has a long history in Latin literature, perhaps the most famous example occurring in the description of the Sack of Troy in Vergil *Aen.* 2.512f., 2.404, 567f., and cf. Sen. *de Clem.* 1.18.2 'Seruis ad statuum licet confugere.'

foribus aedium obseratis Livy paints a similar pathetic picture of the plight of the Roman people during the sack of the city by the Gauls: 'ubi eos, plebis aedificiis obseratis..cunctatio tenebat' (5.41.7).

occupant liberum mortis arbitrium Like V 6.7 'multi.. occupant hostium manus uoluntaria morte,' Flor. 4.8.4 'Asiam uelis petit, uenturus in manus hostium et catena's ..ad hostium arbitrium sub percussore moriturus.' The phrase takes on a sinister connotation in the later historians: Tac. *Ann.* 11.3 'liberum mortis arbitrium ei permisit,' *Ann.* 15.60.1, Suet. *Domit.* 8.4 'Varronillae liberum mortis permisit arbitrium,' *ibid.* 11.3 'ut damnatis liberum mortis arbitrium indulgeatis,' where the recipients of this dubious favour have, in fact, as little choice as the victims of war.

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1 Arrian does not say that the temples themselves were left standing; cf. the specific statement 'τὴν Πινδάρου.. οἰκίαν.. διεφύλαξεν Ἀλέξανδρος' at 1.9.10. So far Alexander's record was no better than that of the Persians (Polyb. 5.10).

haud inulti Freinsheim rightly rejects the emendation 'haud inulte.' This adjectival use of inultus is very common, not least in Curtius, e.g. Sall. Iug. 31.2 'inulti perierint,' Verg. Aen. 2.670 'moriemur inulti,' Livy 25.37.10, VIII 2.17 'haud sane inulti,' IV 16.24 'nec Persae inulti cadebant.'

IV 4.13 fors manibus Scheffer is probably right in saying that in was added before manibus because of scribal misunderstanding of dare with the dative, and this in turn led to a further 'correction' to in manus. Manibus is, as Modius says, 'uenustius,' giving good sense and is in accordance with the reading of the earliest MSS. Cf. VI 6.32 'quidam hostium manibus obtulerunt.'

ingerentes subeuntibus Cf. Livy 2.65.4 'saxa obiacentia pedibus ingerit in subeuntes.' Curtius' preference for the present participle instead of a finite verb is stronger than that of Livy. On the dative present participle see on 'Participles' p. 354. Ingerere usually governs a preposition, even elsewhere in Curtius; cf. the very similar expression at IV 2.23 'in subeuntes.. tela ingeri possent,' also IV 3.15; 3.4, VIII 14.3; 14.31. The verb is found with the dative alone at the time of Livy and in later prose, but nearly always with an abstract object: Livy 41.10.6 'ingessisset probra M.Iunio,' but cf. 45.36.9 'in Galbam probra ingerere,' Sen. Suas. 4.5 'ingeram uobis..explicationes.' Curtius has the dative in only one other place: VII 5.7 'omnibus (omnibus Hedicke: hominibus  $\Omega$ ).'

exceptis qui Curtius has many of these elliptical ablative absolutes with a relative clause, e.g. III 1.24 'ipse adsumptis qui ex Macedonia aduenerant Cappadociam petiit.' See further W.Adams, De Ablatiui Absoluti apud Q.Curtium Rufum Usu, pp. 39-40, for a list of occurrences.

omnes interfici See Arrian 2.24.3 'ὅργη γὰρ ἐχώρου ἐπὶ πᾶν οἱ Μακεδόνες, where frustration at the protracted

siege is given as the reason for the indiscriminate destruction.

nemo tamen armatus Curtius does not specifically mention the battle at the Shrine of Agenor (Arr. 2.24.2). The shrine served as a rallying point where some of the Tyrians made a stand against the invaders, rather than a refuge for those seeking the hero's protection.

IV 4.14 sustinuit is first used with the infinitive by Ovid Met. 1.530, then in prose by Vell. Pat. 2.86.2, and several times by Curtius: IV 13.8, V 10.13, VI 1.15, etc., Tac. Hist. 1.37.1, Suet. Iul. 75.

parata Vergil ~~provides~~ provides an analogy: 'stat ferri acies mucrone corusco / stricta, parata neci' (Aen. 2.333-4).

IV 4.15 intra Macedonum praesidia Scheffer was surprised by the formula intra praesidia, and suspected that the passage was corrupt. Schmieder also felt it necessary to try to explain it. The expression is often used of auxiliaries in the Roman army (e.g. Cic. Rosc. Am. 43, pro Lig. 9) and is sometimes almost a synonym for exercitus: Caes. B.C. 3.83.3 'quique intra praesidia Pompei fuissent,' and several times in Livy, e.g. 25.31.6. For the Sidonians' presence among the Macedonian forces, see Arr. 2.20.1f., 2.21.1.

utramque urbem Agenorem condidisse Justin 18.3.5 seems to disagree when he says, 'Post multos deinde annos ..Tyron urbem ante annum Troianaë cladis condiderunt,' cf. Josephus Contra Ap. 1.106. He nevertheless agrees on the close relationship between Tyre and Sidon.

multos Tyrriorum..protegentes None of our other sources mentions this rescue operation by the Sidonians.

clam protegentes The paradoxis etiam would only be

acceptable as an intensifying adverb if there were a weaker antecedent for protegentes, as e.g. III 13.11 'facies etiam praedantibus tristis.' As it is, what precedes is already much stronger, i.e. saluti fuere. Bentley's clam is exactly the emendation required, both logically and palaeographically. The Sidonians could hardly have carried out this hazardous undertaking openly. Curtius uses clam in only two other places: X 2.3 and 9.8.

quibus occultati Scheffer rightly ascribes the intrusion of a final s in  $\Omega$  to the proximity of the initial s following, but he also postulates the omission of the preposition a before quibus, as a result of the influence of the preceding final a of naugia. The most logical interpretation of the clause, which, although it involves a change of subject does not strain the reader's comprehension unduly, is that quibus refers to naugia and occultati to Tyrri understood from Tyrriorum above. For the ablative cf. VIII 3.9 'gladium quem ueste occultauerat.' Zumpt would retain  $\Omega$ 's reading, and paraphrases: 'Sidonii, subductis et celatis Tyrriorum multis domum reuerterunt.' The ablative absolute would more naturally be taken to refer to naugia and is otherwise ambiguous, as is Scheffer's suggestion a quibus. Deueho is used by Curtius in this middle sense at one other place: IX 8.3 'eos..inponit in naues et in fines Mallorum..deuehitur.' Elsewhere it is used in the passive, as IX 1.19 'materia..caesa deuectaque ad urbem,' or active with a direct (inanimate) object, as IV 3.22 'simulacrum deuexerant Poeni.'

IV 4.16 XV milia This seems an extraordinarily large number (Allen, Observationes in Q.Curtium Rufum, ad loc., suggests XV minus mille, i.e. 985), although all the MSS. agree upon it. The number may, however, correspond with the 13,000 women and children said by Diod. 17.46.4 to have been sold into slavery, whereas Curtius does not mention the enslavement.

furto = 'deception', especially one practised on an enemy: IV 13.4 'furto non proelio opus esse censebat,' Sall. Hist. 1.112 'gentis ad furta belli peridoneae,' Frontin. Srat. 2.5.31, Amm. Marc. 23.3.8.

VI milia Diod. 17.46.3 'όντες πλείους τῶν ἑπτακισχιλίων,' Arr. 2.24.4 'Τυρίων ἐς ὀκτακισχιλίους.' The historians agree more closely on this figure than on many others, e.g. the number of Tyrians enslaved. Curtius, as we have seen, does not mention this; Diod. 17.46.4 gives the number as 13,000; Arr. 2.24.5 has 30,000. For a variation on the usual partitive genitive cf. VI 6.24 'XIII milia armata erant,' and Livy 42.51.3.

IV 4.17 II milia crucibus adfixi Arrian mentions nothing of this. Diod. 17.46.4 reports the same number of crucifixions: 'τοὺς δὲ νέους πάντας, ὄντας οὐκ ἐλάττους τῶν δισχιλίων, ἐκρέμασε.' I do not think there is any suggestion here that these were corpses displayed in the Macedonian fashion for executed criminals, and cf. the execution of Pausanias, Philip's assassin, at Justin 9.7.10. Curtius specifically says that they were alive: 'in quibus occidendis defecerat rabies.' His treatment of the execution of Betis at IV 6.26 (q.v.) is similarly concerned not to mitigate a possible instance of cruelty on Alexander's part. More humanitarian principles were abroad by Curtius' time: Sen. de Clem. 1.18.1 'cogitandum est.. quantum tibi permittat aequi bonique natura, quae parcere etiam captivis et pretio paratis iubet,' cf. Caes. B.G. 1.36.1 'Ius esse belli ut qui uicissent iis quos uicissent quem ad modum uellent imperarent.' Appian's account of the fate of Spartacus' rebels is somewhat similar: 'μέχρι πάντες ἀπώλοντο πλὴν ἑξακισχιλίων, οἱ ληφθέντες ἐκρεμάσθησαν ἀνά ὄλην τὴν ἐς Ῥώμην ἀπὸ Καπύης ὁδόν' B.C. 1.120. Cf. also Herod. 3.159 and Joseph. B.J. 6.409f.

in quibus occidendis defecerat rabies The only other incidence of this use of in occurs at VI 7.7 'fidem

. dare in parricidio.' In most of the few other places where there is a usage similar to Curtius', in + the gerundive also depends on a noun signifying a state of mind or emotion : Cic. de Dom. 9 'in me conseruando uoluntatem,' de Or. 2.1 'studium in nobis erudiendis,' cf. Livy 37.53.11, Val. Max. 8.7.10, Cic. Phil. 9.10 'cura in re tuenda.' Caesar has an analogous idea, though in a much more common construction, at B.G. 4.20.2 'si tempus anni ad bellum gerendum deficeret.'<sup>1</sup>

crucibus adfixi Both Curtius and Livy have a somewhat ambivalent attitude towards agreement of the adjective in these cases. Sometimes it agrees with milia, as subducta and trucidata above, and V 13.19 'tria ferme milia resistentia.' In other places agreement is with milites uel sim., understood, e.g. III 2.5 'duo milia fuere, armati bipennibus,' Livy 22.6.8 'sex milia.. ignari,' 21.21.13 'quattuor milia conscripti.. eosdem iubet..' This sort of discrepancy is only found once in Caesar, and where the adjective is in a subordinate clause: B.G. 1.27.4 'circiter hominum milia sex,, siue timore perterriti.. siue spe salutis inducti;' cf. Tac. Ann. 3.43.2 'quadraginta milia fuere, quinta sui parte legionariis armis, ceteri cum uenabulis..'

IV 4.18 Carthaginensium legatis Arrian 2.24.5 includes the Tyrian prini, as well as the Carthaginian envoys, among those who took refuge in the temple of Heracles.

praesentium rerum necessitas. Cf. VI 4.10 'consilium a praesenti necessitate repetisse,' Amm. Marc. 15.5.20 'non id esse memorans tempus..: ut controuersa defensio causae susciperetur cum uicissim restitui in pristinam concordiam partes necessitas subigeret urgentium rerum,

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<sup>1</sup> But cf. the solitary use of the unusual dative at B.G. 3.41 'ut rebus administrandis tempus daretur.'



.antequam cresceret mollienda.'

IV 4.19 septimo mense July 332 B.C. - Arrian  
 2.24.6 'μηνὸς Ἑκατομβαιῶνος.' Diod. 17.46.5 and Plut.  
Alex. 24 agree on the length of the siege. Justin's  
 account is different: 'non magno post tempore.. (Tyrii)  
 capiuntur,' (11.10.14). Tyre fell probably on the 29th  
 day of the month Hecatombaion. Plut. Alex. 25.2 reports  
 Alexander's intercalation of a second 28th day, and that  
 he was prepared to repeat this process indefinitely,  
 in order to fulfil Aristander's prophecy that the city  
 would be captured within that month.

quam for postquam, as IX 8.11 'tèrtio iam die quam  
 coeperat obsidere,' both of which are comparable with  
 Livy 21.15.3 'octauo mense, quam coeptum oppugnari,  
 captum Saguntum.' In other places Curtius has postquam  
 in similar contexts: X 5.24 'quinto postquam mori statu-  
 erat die,' IX 6.3 'quarto postquam die.'

capta est Justin 11.10.14 says, 'per proditionem  
 (Tyrii) capiuntur,' unfortunately without elaboration.  
 Polyaeus Strat. 4.3.4 'κατὰ κράτος αἶρεῖ τὴν Τύρον,'  
 agrees with Curtius, Diodorus and Arrian.

uetustate Tyre was a very ancient city, even by Old  
 Testament standards - see e.g. Isaiah 23.7. Strabo  
 16.2.22 calls it the largest and oldest of the Phoeni-  
 cian cities, but there is some dispute among the author-  
 ities as to whether this honour rightly belongs to Tyre  
 or to Sidon (see on IV 1.15). Justin 18.3.5 says,  
 'Tyron..ante annum Troianae cladis (Phoenices) condi-  
 derunt.' Josephus A.J. is more specific, claiming that  
 Tyre was inhabited 240 years before the building of  
 Solomon's Temple which was started c. 1006 B.C.; cf.  
Tertullian de Pall. 1.1.

condita ab Agenore This of course refers to Old Tyre,

see IV 2.4.

mare The 'twin cities'<sup>1</sup> of Tyre and Sidon had almost turned the Mediterranean into a Phoenician lake; cf. Isaiah 23.1-3 and 8. 'Tyria maria' is proverbial according to Festus 534: "'Tyria maria" in prouerbum deductum est quod Tyro oriundi Poeni adeo polentes maris fuerunt ut omnibus mortalibus nauigatis esset periculosa.'

dicionis..coloniae Cf. Pliny N.H. 5.76 '(Tyrus) olim partu clara urbibus genitis, Lepti, Utica et illa Romani imperii aemula, terrarum orbis auida Carthagine, etiam Gadibus extra orbem conditis, nunc omnis eius nobilitas conchylio atque purpura constat.'

litteras prima aut docuit aut didicit Litteras here = specifically 'the alphabet,' not 'the art of writing', as Tac. Ann. 11.14.1. Curtius' comment reflects the consensus of ancient opinion, see e.g. Herod. 5.58, Lucan 3.220f., 5.716, Pliny N.H. 5.67 and 7.192f. where Pliny gives the two different theories also found in Tacitus, Joseph. Ap. 1.10-11, Amm. Marc. 22.19. The Suda, under 'Φοινικῆς' implies that Cadmus was the teacher from whom the Greeks learnt the alphabet. Tac. Ann. 11.14.1 specifically attributes this to the hero, and Pliny N.H. 7.192 mentions the same legend.

fama In this case fama was right about Phoenicia in both respects - 'docuit et didicit.' Very recent excavations have brought to light an 'alphabet' of 30 letters, on cuneiform tablets, at Ugarit, whereas all cuneiform writing previously known was in a syllabic script. The earliest example of a Phoenician alphabet of 22 letters is dated about 1000 B.C., and this is the one which was adapted by the Greeks. Pliny N.H. 7.192 correctly

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1 Strabo 16.2.15 speaks of the 'Tripolis' of Tyre, Sidon and Aradus.

documents some of these developments.

coloniae Besides those mentioned by Curtius, Pliny N.H. 5.76 and Mela 1.7 cite Utica and Leptis. See also Sall. Iug. 19, Vell. Pat. 1.2, Tertullian de Pall. 1.1.

Gadis Editorial emendation to Gades is erroneous. The nominative singular Gadis is also found at Pliny N.H. 3.7 and 4.119, and has been restored by conjecture at Columella R.R. 10.185 - see F.R.D. Goodyear, PACA 14 (1977). The form of the acc. plural in Curtius also ends in -is: X 1.17 'cursum Gades dirigere,' and cf. Pliny N.H. 6.214 'Tertius circulus..tendit per..Gadis.'

ad Oceanum i.e. beyond the Pillars of Hercules, on the edge of the known world. Some phrase of this kind was almost an obligatory epithet when mentioning Gades: Pliny N.H. 5.76 'Gadibus extra orbem conditis.'

IV 4.20 libero..mari Probably = 'the wide ocean' comparing Ovid Met. 1.42 'liberioris aquae,' Fast. 4.292 'Tiberinus..campo liberiore natat,' suggesting that the Phoenicians explored the whole Mediterranean, whereas other nations kept mainly to the parts near at hand; cf. 'saepius adeundo incognitas terras.' This interpretation seems more acceptable than 'the empty sea,' which would suggest that they set out deliberately for those parts unoccupied by ships of other nations. The Phoenicians were certainly more confident in their ships and seafaring skills than the Greeks, sailing long distances out of sight of the coast, but in many places they were of course in direct competition with their neighbours for trade.

ceteris incognitas terras They even ventured beyond the Pillars of Hercules to the Canary Islands and Britain: Strabo 3.2.13 and 14, 3.5.1 and 11, and Strabo refers passim to their widespread conquests and settlements in the Mediterranean.

siue This is the only example of siue without a correlative in Curtius. Stangl would insert the other siue before sedes, but the passage would have to be recast entirely to bring out the alternatives, whether they chose new homes iuuentuti or sibimet, or whether they were forced to migrate 'siue quia iuuentute abundabant, siue quia..motibus terrae..exhausti.' Curtius is not offering alternatives, but a supplementary reason why other people as well as iuuenes may have left Tyre: iuuentuti and sibimet are not mutually exclusive; cf. IX 1.3 'Audi milites..gloriae, simul quia numquam eos adfirmatio eius fefellerat.' This disjunctive use of siue is already found in Cicero, but restricted to certain phrases, and later more frequently in Tacitus.

abundabant Zarotus' emendation should probably be accepted, in view of conmeantes which precedes, and cogebantur, although there is no antecedent for conmeantes, and eius in the same sentence must refer back to Tyros. In the following sentence, without a re-introduction of the singular subject, we find defuncta and aduiescit whose subject is probably still Tyros (see on renata below) but could possibly be gens.

traditur Justin indeed gives this as the reason for the founding of Sidon: '(Tyrii) terrae motu uexati, relicto patriae solo..mox mari proximum litus incoluerunt, condita ibi urbe quam a piscium ubertate "Sidona" appellauerunt' (18.3.2).

crebris motibus terrae Tyre was notorious for earthquakes: Strabo 16.2.23, Lucan 3.217 'Tyros instabilis,' Sen. N.Q. 6.1.12-13. See also J.Pairman Brown, The Lebanon and Phoenicia, Ch. 4 'Seismology', p. 113f.

IV 4.21 renata Also used by Livy 6.1.3 of the reconstruction of a city. For the repopulation of Tyre by Alexander, see Justin 18.3.19 and Diod. 18.47; cf. Strabo 16.2.23 'ἀλλὰ τῶν τοιούτων συμφορῶν κατέστη

κρείττων καὶ ἀνέλαβεν αὐτὴν τῇ τε ναυτιλίᾳ.'

longa pax See on 'Date' p. 321, and on longa pax in general, A.J.Woodman on Vell. Pat. 2.110.2. In this case the expression probably refers to the period A.D. 17-43 when Rome was not involved in any serious war, although Curtius may well be using the phrase rather loosely. For a Roman writer; any period of a few years, after the trauma of the civil wars (31 B.C.) could be called longa pax. The longa pax as far as Tyre was concerned could be supposed to extend to A.D.69.

refouente This compound first appears in the post-Augustan period. It is first used in prose in this sense by Vell. Pat. 1.15 'post bellum uires refouendae magis quam spargendae.' 2.113.2 'exercitum..ad refouendas ex itinere eius uires moratus.' Closer to Curtius' use with a concrete noun is Tac. Ann. 2.54 '(Germanicus) prouincias internis certaminibus..fessas refouebat;' cf. Ovid Am. 2.19.15 'tepidos refouebat ignis.' Curtius also has the literal meaning of refouere at VIII 4.15 'admoto igne refouebat artus.' This sense too occurs first in poetry, e.g. Ovid Her. 11.58, Lucan 8.67 'adstrictos refouet complexibus artus;' cf. Pliny N.H. 8.27 'herbae..oculos..refouent.'

sub tutela See Strabo 16.23 (757). The Romans confirmed the autonomy which had been granted to Tyre by the Syrian kings. Severus finally added Ius Italicum.

Romanae mansuetudinis A much-vaunted feature of Roman rule: Cic. Verr. 5.44.115 'illam clementiam mansuetudinemque nostri imperii in tantam crudelitatem inhumanitatemque esse conuersam,' Sall. Cat. 34.1 'si quid ab senatu petere uellent, ab armis discedant, Romam supplices proficiscantur; ea mansuetudine atque misericordia senatum populumque Romanum semper fuisse, ut nemo unquam ab eo frustra auxilium petiuerit.'

IV 5.1 Isdem ferme diebus - A notoriously vague expression. Darius' messenger was probably sent out, even if he did not arrive, before Tyre finally fell. Justin 11.12.3 says that the letter arrived 'interiecto tempore' after the capture of Tyre. Arrian 2.25.1 specifies 'ἔτι δὲ τῆς πολιορκίας τῆς Τύρου συνεχόμενου,' like Itin. Alex. 43 'Haec dum Tyri geruntur..' They are probably right, though the contents of the letter as Arrian describes them do not support his chronology. Curtius and Justin alone record three diplomatic missions from Darius to Alexander:

1) after the battle of Issus - IV 1.7-14; cf. Just. 11.12.1-2, Arr. 2.14.1f., Diod. 17.39.1. Curtius and Arrian state that the letter was received by Alexander at Marathos. According to Curtius, it was written in an arrogant tone, demands Alexander's withdrawal from Asia, offers a large ransom (amount unspecified) for Darius' family, and proposes a treaty of alliance. Arrian's version is similar except that no ransom is mentioned, and the messengers are to make additional pleas in person for the release of Darius' family. Diodorus' account of the first letter, after the Battle of Issus, corresponds with the second in Curtius and Justin:

2) at Tyre - IV 5.1-8; cf. Justin 11.12.3-4, Arrian 2.25, Plut. Alex. 29.4. Darius addresses Alexander as king, but is still far from regarding him as an equal. He now offers Alexander his daughter in marriage, and the territory between the Hellespont and the Halys River as a dowry (Justin has 'regni portio'). Diodorus 17.39.1, although locating the letter earlier in the story, has similar terms: all the territory west of the Halys, in return for an alliance and 20,000 silver talents (see 17.54.2) as ransom. Arrian and Plutarch at this point give a version which corresponds with the third mission in Curtius and Justin: an embassy rather than a letter (as well as a letter, according to Plutarch), offering 10,000 talents in ransom for Darius' family; all the territory west of the Euphrates; his daughter's hand in marriage, and a treaty of alliance. Alexander's reply

in Arrian's version is very similar to that in Curtius and Justin: that Darius is offering him what is already his:

3) before the Battle of Arbela (Gaugamela) - IV 11.1f.; cf. Just. 11.12.7-16, Diod. 17.54.1f. An embassy of high-ranking Persian courtiers (a letter, according to Justin), offering a ransom of 30,000 talents of gold; the territory between the Halys and the Euphrates to be added to the portio regni previously offered, as Darius' daughter's dowry; and to let Alexander keep his son Ochus as a pledge of sincerity. According to Justin, he offers the portion of his kingdom up to the Euphrates, his daughter's hand in marriage, and 30,000 talents in ransom for his family. Diodorus mentions 30,000 talents of silver, the hand of one of Darius' daughters, and the same share in the rule of his kingdom, as a son-in-law.

It seems to me that Curtius, Justin and Diodorus preserve the truth about these overtures, and that Arrian has probably conflated offers 2 and 3. Diodorus may have done the same with letters 1 and 2, but more likely he simply omitted the first letter, the least important of the three and placed the second letter earlier in his account. He may even have transposed events which took place before and after the siege of Tyre; see on the 'Abdaionymus episode' IV 1.16f. for an example of this sort of transposition by Diodorus. Attempts have been made to prove that Diodorus did record three diplomatic approaches.<sup>1</sup> J.R.Hamilton<sup>2</sup> lays stress on the fact that Diodorus only mentions two.. The important point is, I think, not so much the number of offers in Diodorus' version, especially as this is in any case abridged, but that he does describe an offer made after the Battle of Issus, with precisely the same terms as those found in Curtius and Justin.

Arrian's Darius errs on the side of generosity,

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1 e.g. E.Schwartz RE 4.1884.

2 Plutarch's "Alexander", pp.76-77.

whereas in Curtius' and Justin's version his intention is clearly to offer Alexander as little as possible, whilst always demanding his withdrawal from his kingdom, or making offers which would have entailed a certain degree of withdrawal - one of the reasons why Alexander would not accept any of them. It would have been to Alexander's advantage to accept Darius' invitation, had he invited the Macedonian further into his kingdom than he had already progressed by force of arms. That Darius, at least at first, did not acknowledge Alexander as a serious rival, and had no intention of sharing his kingdom with a foreign upstart, can be seen from IV 1.7 and Arrian 2.14.9. It is not logical that the letter / embassy which met Alexander at Tyre would have offered him all the land up to the Euphrates, especially if, as Arrian states and Curtius implies, it arrived when the siege was still dragging on, and when Alexander might have been encouraged by the firm offer of a considerable Near-Eastern kingdom to give up this burdensome undertaking and go home. It seems contrary to what we know of Darius' attitude, and indeed contrary to common sense, for him to have offered Alexander who had been detained for several months at Tyre a part of his kingdom which had not yet been touched. Darius was still precariously holding the Euphrates as a defensible frontier (IV 1.3), and such an offer would deliberately bridge the last remaining 'breathing space' between himself and the enemy. To suggest the Euphrates as a boundary, between Alexander's kingdom and the remains of the Persian Empire, at this point, would be as good as surrendering the supposedly impregnable bastion of Babylon (see V 1.18f.) which Darius could still have hoped to hold, should Alexander eventually advance from Tyre, not to mention permitting Alexander to come within a stone's throw (by the Macedonian's standards) of his declared targets - the great cities of Susa and Persepolis. The Halys River had been, as we shall see, an accepted frontier of the Great King's domain in the past. (see IV 5.1 regionem..).

In the third offer, made when Alexander had just



crossed the Euphrates, Darius makes a last desperate effort to distract his determined enemy from the heart of the empire. To accept the Euphrates as a boundary entailed considerable sacrifice for Darius: he would lose control of the Phoenician coast and Egypt, and thus be permanently deprived of access to the Mediterranean, should Alexander choose to be unco-operative. This decision cannot have been reached except in desperation, and it is interesting to note that this is exactly the way in which Curtius and Arrian refer to Darius' state of mind, after the rebuff of his second overture: IV 6.1 'Dareus, desperata pace..bellumque impigre renouandum intendit animum,' Arr. 2.25.3 'Δαρειος, τὰς μὲν ξυμβάσεις ἀπέγνω τὰς πρὸς Ἀλέξανδρον, ἐν παρασκευῇ δὲ τοῦ πολέμου αὐθις ἦν.' Darius must have realised that if he were to lose another pitched battle, this time east of the Euphrates, Alexander's path to the capital would be clear. I believe that he tried to persuade Alexander to remain west of the Euphrates, thus leaving the heart of the empire intact, just as in his previous approach he offered Alexander Asia Minor, up to the River Halys, in an attempt to retain control of some, if not all, of the important Phoenician ports.

See also on regionem and Ionas below, and for a further discussion of the three diplomatic overtures, see G.Radet, Le valeur historique de Quinte-Curce, and Les négociations entre Darius et Alexandre; and P.Green, Alexander, Ch. 7, n. 56. Several scholars would still not agree with us.<sup>1</sup>

IV 5.1 tandem Erasmus' emendation is necessary in the context. The paradosis tamen would only really make sense if it were in a negative phrase here, as VII 10.14 'nec tamen humo alte egesta existebat humor,' where a similar emendation to tandem is required in the following

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<sup>1</sup> e.g. G.T.Griffith PCPS 194 (n.s. 14)(1968) 33f.; J.R.Hamilton, Plutarch's "Alexander", 76-77; E.Mikrojanakis, AM 103-108.

sentence: 'Tandem ( Tandem Kinch: tamen  $\Omega$  ) in ipso tabernaculo regis conspectus est fons.' Moreover, Darius had actually been in the habit of sending arrogant letters for some time: III 5.12, IV 1.7.

Statirae Statira was, confusingly, also her mother's name: Plut. Alex. 30.2 (cf. both the daughters of Artabazus named Barsine, according to Plut. Eum. 1.3. Plut. Alex. 70.2 and Justin 12 10.9 say that Alexander married Statira (junior); Diod. 17.107.6 that he married the elder daughter of Darius, and gives her sister's name as Drypetis. Arr. 7.4.4 and 6 calls the two princesses Barsine and Parysatis. Alexander was offered each of these ladies in turn, according to Justin 11.12.3 and 4.

Statirae erat nomen Modius' dative is certain here. Curtius has several of these parenthetical phrases, all with the dative of the name, e.g. VI 7.16 'fratrem - Cebalino erat nomen -, VI 7.22, IV 7.18 'Arabes spectant - Trogodytis cognomen est -, IV 9 10 'amnem - Boumelo nomen est.'

dotem offerre If contentum. Si forte is correct below (§ 2), then Jeep's emendation seems likely, and indeed necessary to avoid obscurity. Offerre also obviates two abrupt changes of subject in a very short passage, in contrast with which the change of subject from Alexander back to Darius in § 3 is clearly indicated by se, despite Curtius' frequent ellipse of the pronoun elsewhere. Offerre suits the context well; cf. IV 5.2 'quod offerretur,' IV 5.7 'aliena promittere,' 'Doti sibi dari Lydiam..' Repetitions similar to offerre..offerretur are not unusual in Curtius, in consecutive sentences, or even within the same period, e.g. IV 5.9 tradiderat, IV 9.5 eminebant, VI 10.27 scripsisse. Lindgren makes a survey of Curtius' repetition of nouns, adverbs and adjectives, as well as verbs, in his Studia Curtiana.

regionem inter Hellespontum et Halyn amnem This was

the extent of the ancient kingdom of Croesus; see Herod. 1.72, Strabo 12.1.3, Pliny N.H. 6.6. Curtius emphasises that the Halys marks the boundary between the Near-Eastern kingdom of Lydia and Asia proper. Darius might reasonably expect Alexander to accept this generous offer. He was after all ceding at once everything which Philip had aimed to conquer (Isocrates Philip 120, Paneg. 162).

orientem spectantibus Specto = 'face' always governs the accusative in Curtius, e.g. VII 10.15 '(oppida) spectantia orientem,' VIII 9.2; 10.23. This construction seems to come into general use in prose at the time of Livy: Livy 25.9.10 'mediterranea regio est, orientem spectans,' Vell. Pat. 1.11.3, Pliny N.H. 4.120.

contentum. Si forte The MSS.' reading, long considered suspect, has now been rightly accepted by Müller. This kind of elliptical expression is very common in Curtius who, as well as pronouns and parts of esse, omits more unexpected nouns and verbs for special effect. The staccato effect of the ellipse here is appropriate to the urgent and imperious tone of the letter. A similar passage, also in a series of quasi-commands, occurs at III 3.1, where 'opera eorum usus in bello' has been emended by Vogel and others to 'usurum se in bello.' This destroys the sense of the passage and also the clausulâ; cf. V 10.6 'occisuri.. petitori.'

Modius' suggestion contentum se fore. Si forte is attractive, being far more plausible palaeographically than Hedicke's contentum se fore. Ne.. The assonance could perhaps be raised as an objection, but is quite commonplace: see Fletcher, CR 54 (1940) 184-87, on Tacitus. Moreover, the 'jingle' would have been less noticeable when the passage was read aloud than it appears in print. Si forte is found in a similar context at V 4.15, and nisi forte at V 4.12 and 8.12. There is an objection to si forte in the present passage, in that some may not consider 'numquam diu..fortunam' a real apodosis to 'si..dubitaret..accipere,' unlike V 4.15 'si forte

Ariobarzanes cognouisset..Craterus eum..retineret,' and we have to understand some such verb as admonebat.

IV 5.2 Dubitare is nearly always negatived when it governs an infinitive; and this positive use is very rare: see 'Infinitives' p. 374. There is, however, a close parallel to justify its retention here, at X 8.3 'si uenire dubitaret..' Hedicke's Ne dubitaret gives good sense, and there is a comparable example at V 4.16 'ne dubitaret ingredi.' The command is probably too strong in this context, in view of petebat..contentum..uererise. Si forte implies, as was perhaps true, that Darius believed he had made Alexander an offer he could not refuse. His desperation when the offer was nevertheless rejected out of hand suggests that he had pinned all his hopes on its acceptance. At IV-11.1, Curtius makes a special point of giving the reasons for the revival of Darius' confidence in Alexander's forbearance, and that a settlement could yet be reached by diplomacy.

stare in uestigio = 'stand still,' cf. e.g. Auct. ad Herenn. 3.15.26 'stantis in uestigio.' The phrase can refer to a point in space or time, or, as in this case, probably both: Cic. in Pis. 9.21 'atque eodem in templo eodem et loci uestigio et temporis,' Caes. B.C. 2.7.3 'tantus luctus excepit ut urbs ab hostibus capta eodem uestigio uideretur.'

numquam..stare fortunam The fickleness of Fortune is of course proverbial, especially in the historians, e.g. Tac. Hist. 4.47 'magna documenta instabilis fortunae,' Livy 30.30.18 'maximae cuique fortunae minime credendum est,' 4.37.6, 45.41.8, Vell. Pat. 2.53.2 'quando fortuna non mutat fidem?' Cf. Caes. B.G. 6.30.2, B.C. 3.68.1 and Sall. Cat. 8.1.

inuidiam i.e. of the gods, as IX 2.29, X 9.6, and specifically attributed to them at X 5.10 'in flore aetatis fortunaeque inuidia deum ereptum esse rebus humanis.' Fortuna = 'good fortune' attracts inuidia

down, just as *ἕβρις* attracts *νέμεσις ἐκ θεοῦ*: Sall. Iug. 55.3 'meminisse post gloriam inuidiam sequi,' Vell. Pat. 1.9.6 'quam sit assidua eminentis fortunae comes inuidia altissimisque adhaereat.' They are inextricably bound up together: Stat. Sily. 5.1.138-9 'quisnam..ligauit fortunam inuidianque deus?' For the idea in reverse in a quasi-Christian sententia; cf. Hor. Carm. 3.16.21-2 'quanto quisque sibi plura negauerit, / ab dis plura feret.'

IV 5.3 ageret ad sidera Darius has a poetic turn of phrase. Vergil uses similar expressions of plants: Aen. 11.135-6 'euertunt actas ad sidera pinus,' Georg. 2.426f. 'poma quoque, ut primum truncos sensere ualentis / ..ad sidera raptim / ui propria nituntur.' This use of sidera, almost the equivalent of caelum, to mean 'a great height' is also poetic, e.g. Verg. Aen. 9.239. cf. IV 15.32 'nubes pulueris, quae ad caelum efferebatur (efferebatur Heinsius: referebatur Ω).' There is an echo here of the idea 'sidera tangere' with its connotations of *ἕβρις* appropriate to Darius' warning: Hor. Carm. 1.1.36.

mentis adfectu efferretur Freinsheim restores the passive efferretur by conjecture. According to Zumpt, it appears in the MS. Bern. B. Bentley's emendation mente se efferret seems attractive at first sight, and has been widely accepted. The final -e of mente could have been corrupted to -i under the influence of inani and puerili. I am not convinced that it gives the sense which the context demands. Se efferre usually has a meaning similar to se iactare, and hence its ablative of cause must be a quality which can be a cause of pride or boastful behaviour, e.g. Cic. Fam. 9.22 'uictoria se efferunt,' Sall. Iug. 14.11 'audacia, scelere atque superbia sese efferens.' Alexander is clearly not boasting about his puerilis mens, and puerili mente fits rather unhappily as the means of his exaltation; cf. efferre with the ablative at Caes. B.C. 3.87.1 'Labienus

..Pompei consilium summis laudibus efferret.' Darius is not afraid that Alexander may childishly 'laud himself to the skies,' but he warns him that he may eventually be so carried away by an attack of childish vanity because of his successes, as no longer to be able to evaluate his position objectively. Se efferre implies at least a minimal degree of control by the subject over his behaviour, but efferri gives the sense needed here - a complete lack of self-mastery. This is its implication elsewhere in Curtius, sometimes in contexts similar to the present one : IV 6.26 'insolenti gaudio iuuenis elatus, alias..mirator.' On this occasion also, Alexander's puerile gaudium overcomes the more sensible attitude he normally adopts, when his emotions have not run away with him; IX 4.22 'omnis multitudo..mobili (mobili  $\Omega$  : mobilis Hedicke) impetu effertur,' III 8 10 '(Alexandrum) absentia sua (Darei) ad uanam fiduciam elatum.' However, Sall. Iug. 14.11 suggests that the phrase could be used more flexibly on occasion. The introduction of the reflexive pronoun spoils the analogy with 'auium modo..ad sidera,' which is intended to be a close one. Birds can do nothing to prevent themselves being carried skyward, as naturalis leuitas specifies. Neither, if Alexander is not careful, will he have any more reasoned control over his decisions than they have over their flight. Just as the birds are 'victims' of their leuitas, Alexander will be at the mercy of his puerilis mentis adfectus. Alexander's iuuentus is the potential villain of this clause: 'nihil difficilius esse quam in illa aetate tantam capere fortunam.. Youth is naturaliter easily carried away by having too much success too quickly.

Curtius does not otherwise use the reflexive se efferre. The passive ending could easily have been overlooked, especially if it was abbreviated to 'efferret', and  $\Omega$ 's afferret suggests the conflation of adfectu and efferret' because of their similarity in form. If adfectu is to be discarded, I should prefer to read puerili mente efferretur, on the analogy of other uses

of mens + adjective at e.g. V 9.1 'ea quidem mente ut victoriam speremus,' VIII 5.5 'praua mente conceperat tunc esse maturum..,' rather than to enend to the reflexive. For mentis adfectus, cf. Ovid e.g. Tristia 4.3.32, 5.2.8. Adfectus is frequently used thus by Seneca the Younger, and with adfectu efferretur cf. the middle/passive at de Ira 2.4.1 'Et ut scias quemadmodum incipiant adfectus aut crescant aut efferantur.' The only other occurrence of adfectus in Curtius has similar pejorative connotations and is used with a similar verb in the passive: VII 1.24 'ad omnes adfectus impetu rapimur.'

Darius may at last deign to refer to Alexander as 'king', but he still cannot resist making this insulting remark. The tone is reminiscent of the even more contemptuous version in Jul. Valer. Res G. Alex. Mac. 1.42 'mando tibi reuerti ad parentes tuos, atque illic in gremio matris cubantem doceri uirile officium.' The inflammatory comment is in marked contrast with the otherwise conciliatory nature of the letter.

IV 5.3 nihil difficilium..capere fortunam Continuing Darius' patronising 'warning-off'. Similarly M. Antonius of his son, 'stantem difficile in maxima licentia moderari sibi,' and Hannibal to Scipio in Polyb. 15.7 (Livy 31.18.3).

illa aetate Here referring to youth; so also of old age: VI 9.4 'parmenio illa aetate.'

capere fortunam i.e. 'to have sufficient strength of character to manage'; cf. 'ad ultimum magnitudinem eius (fortunae) non cepit,' III 12.25 'Et praeteritae fortunae fastigium capio et praesentis iugum pati non possum.'

IV 5.4 inter angustias Used as an alternative to in angustiis, like III 7.10 and Livy 32.13.1; cf. in angustiis at IV 13.6 and Livy 34.46.10.

deprehendi Thus  $\Omega$ . Müller would read the shorter form deprendi, clausulae causa, here and at III 6.9, V 4.19, VI 6.23, VIII 10.8. The shorter form is preserved in the earlier MSS. (either in one or in several) at V 13.20 prenderat  $\Omega$ , VII 11.24 prensu  $\Omega$ , VIII 4.14 deprenderat P, IV 3.3 conprendit BFV. I have accepted the reading of the majority of the MSS. in the present case, with the observation that it may well have been pronounced as three syllables.

Araxen Not the Araxes which flowed into the Caspian Sea, but the one near Persepolis; see V 5.2.

Choaspen Cellarius' emendation seems certain. All four of the rivers mentioned formed barriers between Alexander and his target - the capital city of Persepolis. He did in fact cross all of them in due course. The Choaspes flowed past Susa (see Pliny N.H.6.130). This name is again similarly corrupted at V 2.9 ad Choaspin Zumpt: adeo haspim  $\Omega$ . The Hydaspes, as Curtius well knows, flowed into the Indus: IX 4.1 'regionem in qua Hydaspes amnis Acesini committitur,' and VIII 9.6 'Indus (Indus Bentley: fidens  $\Omega$ )..arbores exorbet. Acesines eum (Acesines eum Erasmus: acesinum  $\Omega$ ) auget;' cf. Pliny N.H. 6.71 'Indus undeuginti recepit amnes, sed clarissimos Hydaspem quattuor alios adferentem.' As we can see from these few examples, the unfamiliar names are liable to be corrupted, sometimes until quite unrecognisable in the MSS.; cf. on ad Cercasoron IV 7.4. The -en ending for the accusative of Greek nouns in -ης has parallels in Araxen V 5.4, VII 3.19, Hydaspen VIII 12.13.

munimenta regni Bessus also placed such confidence in a river at VII 4.5 'sibi placere in Sogdianos recedere, Oxum amnem uelut murum obiecturum hosti.'

IV 5.5 Oceani The eastern shore of the Stream of Ocean, as Gades was on the western shore: IV 4.19, and



cf. IX 3.15.

Sogdianos et Arachosios Peoples at the extreme east of Darius' empire.

Caucasum et Tanain These names are used consistently by Curtius for the Hindu Kush and the Iaxartes River respectively; see e.g. VII 3.19; 4.6. Confusingly, at V 4.5 Caucaso monte cannot refer to the Hindu Kush, and its association with the rivers Araxes and Medus shows that it does not correspond closely with the modern Caucasus either. According to Strabo 11.4 (509) the names Caucasus and Tanais were deliberately used erroneously by the biographers of Alexander to make it seem as if he had also conquered the Euxine region, with the Don and the 'true' Caucasus. This explanation does not seem to be very likely. More probably the muddle arose out of misunderstanding. Arrian 3.28.4f. and 3.30.7 also uses the name *ὁ Καύκασος* to mean the Hindu Kush, and explains the conflict between the names Tanais and Iaxartes by saying that the latter was the local name for the river. Both Arrian and Curtius seem to think that the Taurus mountains, the Caucasus and the Hindu Kush were parts of the same huge mountain range, stretching from Cilicia (Arr. 3.28.5), including the continuations of the modern Caucasus in the north of Persis (V 4.5), to Bactria in the east (IV 5.5; etc., Arr. 3.28.8, 3.30.6). See further Brunt, Arrian, Appendix XII, and Rickly, Le franchissement en force du 'Tanais' par Alexandre le Grand.

pertinentes Livy does not use pertineo in this sense of persons, but cf. Caes. B.G.1.1 'Pertinent ad inferior-em partem fluminis Rheni.'

senescendum Alexander's own fear, when he had overcome the obstacles Darius mentions, recalls this hyperbolic warning: 'Et interdum dubitat an Macedonum tot emensi spatia terrarum, in acie et in castris senes'

facti..secuturi essent,' IX 2.10.

obeunti Like Cic. de Fin. 5.28.87 'tantas regiones barbarorum pedibus obiit,' Ovid Her. 16.175-6 'sceptra parens Asiae, qua nulla beator ora est / finibus immensis uix obeunda tenet.'

IV 5.6 desineret Used by Curtius with active and passive infinitives, e.g. V 9.4, VII 3.13, VIII 11.21, but desinor is not found. Eger<sup>1</sup> finds a progressive decline in the use of the passive, and increase in the active, beginning with Livy and culminating with Tacitus who only uses the active, even with passive infinitives. See on 'Infinitives' p. 378.

exitio uenturum For the final dative, cf. VI 4.21 'esse exemplo experiundi,' V 6.11 'praesidio relinquere.' Vogel and Dosson<sup>2</sup> find this, and doti dare in § 7 below, remarkable but cf. Ter. Heaut. 942 'doti muneri misit,' and the analogous dono dare is fairly common, e.g. Sall. Iug. 85.38, Livy 3.57.3.

IV 5.7 totum amiserit Darius had lost the territory up to the Halys, but not up to the Euphrates. He still hopes that Alexander may be persuaded to give up the siege of Tyre and accept the ancient kingdom of Croesus, which was not considered part of Asia proper.

Ionas, Aeolidem whose liberation from Persian domination was the primary aim of the League of Corinth: VI 3.3 'Ionas Aeolidem seruitio barbarae inpolentis exemimus.'

Leges..a uictoribus dici, accipi a uictis This is not necessarily a poetic idea: Livy 38.37.5 'et ab Antiocho legati et ab ipsis Gallis, ut pacis leges

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1 De infinitiuo curtiano usu, pp. 17-18.

2 Vogel, Edition 1903, Übersicht 79; Dosson, Edition 1884, Remarques 92.

dicerentur uenerunt,' Caes. B.G. 1.36.1 'Ius esse belli ut qui uicissent iis quos uicissent quemadmodum uellent imperarent,' Just. 30.3.9 'uictores leges pacis sibi dicere.'

ambo for uterque, like Caes. B.C. 3.30.2 'diuersa sibi ambo consilia capiunt.'

IV 5.8 se quoque Vogel would delete quoque on the grounds that se has no antecedent - but comparable uses of quoque are found elsewhere in Curtius, e.g. VI 4.25 'Taurorum quoque,' VIII 1.42 'Attali quoque.' In these cases quoque applies not to a single word but rather joins the whole sentence, containing a new idea, to what precedes (see on IV 1.11). Quoque is still placed after the emphatic word. Quidem is certainly found frequently with se, uos, etc., e.g. at VI 6.5; 9.18, and -que is also used by Curtius in this way. However, there are parallels for the paradosis, and this should be retained.

cum transiret mare..Persepolim Ω's reading seems perfectly acceptable, but the passage has caused serious confusion among editors following interpolated MSS.<sup>1</sup> Modius' version differs in only two places, and still makes reasonable sense: 'se quoque cum transisset mare, non C. aut L. ignorare (ignorare add. §) quippe tanti belli exiguum esse hanc mercedem: sed P. ..'; Freinsheim would read: '..non C. aut L., non ignorare quippe tanti belli exiguum hanc esse mercedem..' Acidalius, as often, got it right. Heinsius suggests emending hanc to has, but the pronoun is often attracted into the case and gender of the object, even in the 'best' of authors, e.g. Cic. Phil. 8.8 'Hic est Campanus ager et Leontinus, quae duo sunt praesidia'; cf. de Leg. 1.7 'Animal hoc prouidum, sagax..quod uocamus hominem.' However, Curtius has the plural in a similar context just before: IV 5.7 'Lydiam, Ionas..uictoriae suae praemia,' though like

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1 e.g. Froben and Aldus.

praeda, praemium has a wider scope in the plural than in the singular; cf. Tac. Ann. 1.26 'de praemiis finitae militiae.'

destinasse + dative of purpose, like IV 11.5 'Antea imperio tuo finem destinabat Halyn amnem,' Verg. Aen. 2.129 'me destinat arae,' Caes. B.G. 7.72.2, Livy 1.9.11, VIII 7.10.

Quocumque ille fugere..sequi posse Gobares warns Bessus in similar terms at VII 4.15 'Nunc ab Tanai exercitum accerses et armis flumina oppones. Scilicet, qua tu fugiturus es, hostis sequi non potest!'

maria transisse This is of course an exaggeration: Alexander had actually only crossed the Hellespont.

IV 5.9 inuicem Here = 'inter se', as sometimes in Livy, e.g. 4.46.2 'contemnere inuicem et contemni,' 5.47.2, 9.43.17, and IV 9.20, VI 7.19, VIII 13.4, etc. Otherwise Curtius uses it to mean 'in turn' at III 8.8 and IV 14.21; at X 8.9 it has a sense nearer to alius.. alii.

scripserant It might seem from § 7 above that the reply was given orally. Arrian's account of the first letter (2.14.1) and Plutarch's account of the second (Alex. 29.4) add that the messengers were instructed to plead in addition by word of mouth for the release of Darius' family, to reinforce the requests made in writing. In both the first and the second overtures, the letter was the main means of communication, and this is a different arrangement from the formal embassy of important courtiers sent before Arbela (IV 11.1f.).

quidem ..sed Like μὲν ..δὲ; there is a similar expression at III 1.6, IV 12.1 and V 10.15.

Rhodii They had sent triremes to Tyre to join

Alexander - Arr. 2.20.2, Diod. 20.82. Alexander favoured and helped the Rhodians, but as soon as they heard of his death, they threw out their Macedonian garrison, about which they had already complained to Alexander (IV 8.12, Diod. 18.8).

portus Two harbours, a larger and a smaller one: Diod. 20.85.4, 20.86.1, Strabo 14.5 (652).

Ciliciam Not the satrapy but the military command. Balacrus was satrap of Cilicia from 333 to 324 B.C.

Socrates Probably to be identified with the Macedonian leader, the son of Sathon, referred to in Arrian 1.12.7, 1.14.1, etc.

Philotas RE XX1.179 = Philotas 10. Not the famous son of Parmenion. The same Philotas perhaps appears at X 10.2, Diod. 18.3.1, Justin 13.4.12, Oros. 3.23.7

Andromachus RE I2.2153 = Andromachus 7 (Kaerst). He is known only from this passage and IV 8.9, and Eusebius' account of Alexander's apochryphal visit to Jerusalem. According to Scaliger, the story of this visit is found only here: Euseb. Chron. Hier. 205F (Helm), on the year 332 B.C. 'Alexander capto Tyro Iudaeam inuadit. A qua fauorabiliter exceptus deo uictimas immolat et pontificem templi honoribus plurimis prosequiter Andromacho locorum custode dimisso, quem postea Samaritani interficiunt.' Willrich, Juden und Griechen p.16 defends Curtius' account of the governorship of this province.

bello quod superat interfuturus Modius' palmary emendation is certain. The variant interfuturum is found in one of Modius' MSS., and Zumpt reports interfuturis from Flor.DFI. This position and use of the future infin. is moreover characteristic of Curtius' style.

IV 5.11 ludicrum Isthmiorum, quod conuentu totius Graeciae celebratur Cf. Livy 33.32.1 'Isthmiorum statum ludicrum aderat..tum..undique comuenerant.'

ut sunt temporaria ingenia For the phrase, cf. Livy 2.7.5 'ut sunt mutabiles vulgi animi,' Tac. Ann. 1.28.2 'ut sunt mobiles ad superstitionem,' Caes. B.G. 3.8 'ut sunt Gallorum subita et repentina consilia,' VI 6.27. This meaning of temporarius seems to be used first in prose at the time of Curtius, although it had perhaps been used in common speech for some time: Sen. Epp. 9.9 'amicitiae quas temporarias populus appellat; qui utilitatis causa adsumptus est tandiu placebit quamdiu utilis fuit;' cf. Nepos Att. 11,3 'illius libertatem neque temporariam neque callidam fuisse,' Ann. Marc. 21.2.11. The implication of fickleness is also found in Quint. 5.10.28 'ira temporarius animi motus,' Pliny Epp. 6.13.5 'temporaria grauitas.' For comparable uses of tempus cf. V 3.4 'Medates haud sane temporum homo,' V 9.8 'Bessum regem temporaris gratia constituamus,' IV 1.27. A genitive of quality would perhaps be more usual, and Allen<sup>1</sup> would read temporarii ingenii. But for ingenium used of persons, see TLL 7.1.1532.53f. One example of the proverbial fickleness of the Greeks appears at Cic. pro Flacc. 4.9.

XV A numeral is again used as a noun at V 13.8, X 7.16; 2.30. This usage is already found in Nepos 8.3.1 and Livy 3.51.2. Diod. 17.48.6 agrees with Curtius' number.

pro salute ac libertate Graeciae Cf. Livy 34.33.6 'numquam aliter tutam libertatem Graeciae fore.'

coronam auream They had already offered one to Hyperides for his proposal to initiate open revolt against Alexander in Greece, if he should be defeated at Issus. Temporaria ingenia waited to see what the

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1 H.Allen, Observationes in Q.Curtium Rufum, ad loc.

outcome of the battle would be, and no doubt, in the event, their legati had to smother their chagrin; cf. Diod. 17.48.6 'Οἱ δὲ σύεδροι τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἐψηφίσαντο πέμψαι πρέσβεις πεντεκαίδεκα στέφανον φέροντας χρυσοῦν παρὰ τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἀριστεῖον Ἀλεξάνδρῳ καὶ συνησθησομένους τῇ κατὰ Κιλικίαν νίκῃ.'

donum uictoriae ferrent Vogel calls this a harsh construction, and other editors have also taken a dislike to it. Valesius, for example, 'negat Latine esse' and suggests emendation to 'donum uictori offerrent;' Scheffer reads 'donum uictori afferrent,' comparing IV 2.2; Heumannus has 'donum uictori ferrent.' The closest parallel is probably Verg. Aen. 5.477 'Qui donum adstabat pugnae,' but here also we cannot be certain whether donum is being used with a genitive or dative; cf. Val. Flacc. 6.548, 7.417. Donum in the present case is almost equivalent to praemium, used with genitives which may be comparable with uictoriae, and we must look to this usage for an analogy: IV 5.7 'uictoriae suae praemia,' Cic. pro Mil. 35.97 'ex omnibus praemiis uirtutis,' Cat. 3.11.26, Nepos Milt. 6.1 'uictoriae praemium.' This usage is also found with other comparable nouns, e.g. Verg. Aen. 5.365 'geminum pugnae proponit honorem.'

IV 5.12 incertae fama captauerant auram Dosson goes too far, in calling this a hunting metaphor. It is already established in Livy with no particular intention to evoke a hunting scene: 3.37.1 'inde libertatis captare auram,' 3.33.7 'omnisque aurae popularis captator,' and cf. Verg. Aen. 7.646 'ad nos uix tenuis fama perlabitur aura.' For comparable occurrences of aura + gen. see Livy 29.3.13, Ann. Marc. 31.2.11.

pendentes animis tulisset fortuna J.M.Palmer's emendation to animos has gained acceptance by Hedicke and later editors. Heinsius' suggestion animis is as acceptable palaeographically, avoids a change of emphasis in the middle of the sentence, and has close parallels

in Cicero: Tusc. 1.96 'quod si..pendemus animis.'<sup>1</sup>  
 Zumpt reports that the reading animis is found in Pal.1  
 and animos in Bern. B. For the ablative, cf. IV 3.20  
defecere animis Tyrri and there is a similar idea in  
Flor. 1.3.6 '(Albani) medii inter duos expectauere  
 fortunam,' IV 1.27 '(Amyntas) ex mutatione temporum  
 pendens.'

IV 5.13 Non..modo..sed..quoque For this use of  
quoque, intensifying the second member of the sentence  
 cf. IV 6.27, V 4.1, VIII 5.3, X 1.38; 5.27, and in the  
 reverse order, VII 2.6.

adhuc Again in an emphatic position at III 2.15 'ad-  
 huc illa disciplina paupertate magistra stetit.'

iugum imperii Dosson claims, erroneously, that this is  
 a post-Classical and/or poetical expression. Iugum is  
 already found in this metaphorical sense = 'burden /  
 imposition', and in similar contexts in Cic. Rep. 2.46  
 'durae seruitutis iugum,' Phil. 1.6, Pacuv. Trag. 126  
 'te..repriment ualidae legum habenae atque imperii  
 insistent iugo.' Admittedly, this phrase occurs several  
 times in later prose: Vell Pat. 2.38.2 'Sardinia..certum  
 recepit imperii iugum,' Justin 30.3.9 'Graecos..sub  
 iugum eius rigida ceruice subeuntibus barbaris.' Similar  
 are: 'praesentis iugum pati possum' III 12.25, 'mors  
 nobis iugum inponit' Sen. Epp. 80.5. This phrase and  
 its significance should not be confused with 'nouo sub  
 iugum mitteres' VIII 7.12.

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1 Livy 7.30.22 'Quid illis nos, patres coscripti,  
 sollicitis ac pendentibus animi (animi Florebellus:  
 animis  $\Omega$ ) renuntiare iubetis?' should probably not be  
 regarded as an analogy. In view of the ambiguity  
 caused by the reading animis, Florebellus' emendation is  
 almost certain. It is unlikely that Livy would have gone  
 so far in personalising animis: cf. 7.10.9 'mortalium  
 animis spe metuque pendentibus,' 37.47.5 'ex unica ea  
 spe pendere animos eorum?' As an analogy for the loca-  
 tive genitive animi we have Cic. Tusc. 4.35 'aliquid  
 malum metuit exanimatusque pendet animi.'



pleraque inuaserant Curtius IV 5.13-18 and 22 is our only source for these operations in the Aegean and Asia Minor. For pleraque see on IV 1.6 and 3.10.

Calas see III 1.24.

Balacrus There may be two, or even three, Macedonian officers of this name; see IV 13.28, VIII 11.22; Arrian 1.29.3, 1.2.12, 3.5.5, 4.4.6, 4.24.10. We cannot tell whether the Balacrus mentioned here appears in any of the other passages.

Hydarne Son of the satrap Mazaeus, and a commanding officer in Pharnabazus' fleet (Arrian 7.6.7). He surrendered to Alexander after the fall of Babylon; see V 1.17 where Curtius mentions the incident, but not his name.

iterum Vogel's denuo has been widely accepted but, if it is correct, it is the only occurrence of the adverb in Curtius. It is unlikely to have been corrupted into II duos ( $\Omega$ ) but it does give the sense demanded by the context. Miletus was captured by Alexander before Issus, after he had refused its offer of neutrality (Arrian 1.19.1-2 and 5). It was recaptured by Pharnabazus (IV 1.37), and won back by Balacrus in the Summer of 333 B.C. The paradosis was probably 'u', the explanatory duos added, perhaps above, and later incorporated into the text. Goodyear's iterum gives the sense we require, and the adverb occurs again at V 4.10, X 5.13 and X 5.22. Its corruption into 'u' can be explained as a misinterpretation of the abbreviation 'iū' or 'iūm', especially in view of the following initial m. interdum (as 'iūm') is possible palaeographically, but elsewhere in Curtius it means 'sometimes' (IV 1.23, X 1.29) not 'meanwhile' which would be the sense needed here. 'u' may even be regarded as a lapsus calami, ditto-graphy of the following m, to be excised together with the gloss duos.

IV 5.14 Amphoterus RE I<sub>2</sub>.1977 = Amphoterus 4  
(Kaerst).

Hegelochus RE VII<sub>2</sub>.2594 = Hegelochus 1 (Sundwall).  
See III 1.19, where these two commanders were sent to  
the Hellespont with instructions to liberate the major  
Aegean Islands.

Achaia atque Asiam Greece and Asia Minor in the  
Roman sense; cf. Tac. Ann. 15.45, Cic. Att. 3.8.1, pro  
Flacc. 26.63, Caes. B.C. 3.56.1, Pliny N.H. 8.167, 13.116.  
The choice by the Romans of Achaia to represent the  
Greek mainland<sup>1</sup> (as Cic. Att. loc. cit. 'Epirum..quod et  
Achaia prope esset') arose from the dominance of the  
Achaean League in the second century B.C.: Polyb. 2.38.1  
'ἐπεκράτησε το τῶν Ἀχαιῶν ὄνομα κατὰ τῶν Πελοποννησίων.'

IV 5.15 Tenedo quoque recepta Chium Gronovius'  
emendation suits all the circumstances : Arr. 3.2.3  
'Ἡγέλοχος .. ἀπαγγέλλει Ἀλεξάνδρῳ Τενεδίους τε ἀποστάντας  
Περσῶν σφίσι προσθέσθαι .. καὶ χίων ὅτι δὴ ὁ δῆμος  
ἐπηγάγετο σφᾶς βία τῶν κατεχόντων τὴν πόλιν, οὐς  
Αὐτοφραδάτης τε καὶ Φαρνάβαζος ἐγκατέστησαν.'

recepta 'Came into their possession', as Livy 2.39.4  
'Lauinium recipit.' Arrian 3.2.3 and 2.2.3 'Τενεδίους δὲ  
τὰ μὲν τῆς εὐνοίας ἐς Ἀλεξάνδρον τε καὶ τοὺς Ἕλληνας  
ἐπόλεε μάλλον' κ.τ.λ. suggests that Tenedos spontaneously  
took the opportunity to defect to Alexander: 'οἱ ἀμφὶ  
Φαρνάβαζον τοὺς Τενεδίους φόβῳ μάλλον ἢ ἐθελοντὰς  
παρεστήσαντο.'

Pharnabazus See III 3.1. Memnon, Pharnabazus' uncle,  
bequeathed him the command on his death (Arr. 2.1.3),  
and this arrangement was later confirmed by Darius  
(IV 1.37).

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<sup>1</sup> although sometimes, as in 'Classical' Greece,  
Macedonia is excluded, e.g. Tac. Ann. 1.76.

res ad Macedones trahebant Like Livy 23.8.2 '(factio) quae traxerat rem ad Poenos,' 24.2.8 'plebs ad Poenos rem traheret.'

Apollonidi Arrian (3.2.7) says hardly more than Curtius. Apollonides was captured and deported to the Elephantine Island in Egypt.

Athenagoras Arrian 3.2.5 mentions Phesinus and Megareus instead as Apollinides' accomplices.

IV 5.16 non tam suis <fisi> uiribus quam uoluntate  
It is difficult to see how the paradosis non tam suis uiribus..quam uoluntate.. can mean, as Zumpt would interpret, 'non tam quod uiribus abundarent, sed quod id uolebant illi ipsi qui obsidebantur,' although Curtius does have a somewhat similar use of the ablative at IX 4.26 'oppidum..in quod plerique confugerant, haud maiore fiducia moenium, quam armorum.' Vogel's supplement is economical and plausible, and there is a parallel at IV 2.7 'At illi, loco satis fisi, obsidionem ferre decreuerant.' Müller would move fisi and place it after uiribus, numeri causa, but its omission from that position is less likely.

inter Apolloniden et duces militum Acidalius would read: 'inter Apollonidem et Athenagoram duces militum.' There is no sign of Athenagoras' name here in the MSS., although he is coupled with Apollonides in §§ 15 and 17. Curtius has already told us that they were leaders of the pro-Persian faction, and had been made quasi-governors of the city. It is not illogical to assume that there was pro-Macedonian feeling among the soldiers under their command. Had these remained loyal to the Persians, there would have been no weakness in the city's defence for the Macedonians to exploit. If both leaders are to be named at this point, the sense demands inter Apolloniden et Athenagoram et duces militum.

IV 5.17 cohors = turba / manus, not in its specific sense. Cf. legiones IX 2.24, manipuli X 4.3.

oppidanti = 'ὁ δῆμος': Arrian 3.2.3.

olim In Curtius this often means almost the same as pridem or nuper, not always of the distant past. Snakenburg cites as a similar case IV 7.1 'Aegypti olim Persarum opibus infensi,' but here it must mean 'for a long time', since they had not only just begun to be infensi, as VII 1.12, VIII 14.10; cf. Ter. And. 269. 'Quia olim in hunc sunt constitutae nuptiae,' ibid. 345.

Pharnabazus According to Arrian 3.2.7, Pharnabazus escaped his guards in Cos: 'ἀπέδρα ἐν Κω λαθὼν τοὺς φύλακας.'

uincti traduntur For an even more striking use of a plural verb following a singular subject + cum and other nouns, see V 9.2 'Nabarzanes (qualified by a singular relative clause) cum Besso..decreuerant' VII 11.11. Modius would place a full-stop after traduntur, but this verb is also the predicate for the following subject; cf. III 13.14 'Pharnabazi..uxor..excepta est, Mentoris filiae tres..'

IV 5.18 inanes Cf. Caes. B.C. 3.8.3 'Bibulus sperans alicui se parti onustarum nauium occurrere posse inanibus occurrit.' Freinsheim, however, favours naues, i.e. ordinary ships as opposed to triremes, comparing Diod. 18.4.4 'ναῦς μακρὰς μείζους τριήρων.'

\*\* piratici lembi Hedicke (Ed. min.) supplies <L> piratici lembi. Vogel suspects the omission of a numeral, but does not hazard a guess as to which one; Stangl and Serra also mark an omission. Lembī = ἡμιολίαι ληστρικάι (Arrian 3.2.4); see also § 21 below. These were light, fast vessels used by fishermen, pirates, and as scout

boats. According to Pliny N.H. 7.208 they were first used by the Cyreneans; cf. Verg. Georg. 1.201, Livy 45.10.1, 34.35.5, Isidore Orig. 19.1.25. For a definition of these craft, see Fulgentius Expos. Serm. Antiq. 178 (30 Helm).

IV 5.19 Aristonicus RE II<sup>1</sup>.961 = Aristonikos 13.

Tyrant of Methymne in the island of Lesbos: IV 8.11, Arrian 3.2.4, Pliny N.H. 5.139, Mela 2.101.

apud Chium This use of apud is more common with the names of regions of country, rivers, etc., e.g. Nepos Eum. 5.1 'haec dum apud Hellespontum geruntur,' III 1.9 'apud Granicum amnem,' Tac. Ann. 4.14 'apud cunctas Asiae insulas.' With the names of islands and towns it is found most frequently in the historians from the time of Livy onwards; cf. Tac. Ann. 2.59 'apud Siciliam,' 6.11 'apud Romam.'

ignarus omnium The use of ignarus with an objective genitive is already well established in prose before Curtius, being found in Sallust, Cicero, Livy and Velleius Paterculus. The case of inpotens and inpatiens is different, see on inpotentes IV 7.15. Arrian records Aristonicus' ignorance in similar terms: '(Ἀριστόνικου) ὑπὸ σφῶν ἐχόμενον τὸν λιμένα οὐ γνόντα' (3.2.4).

portus claustra = 'κλειῖθρα τοῦ λιμένος' Arr. 3.2.4; cf. Livy 25.11.15 'cum claustra portus hostis haberet,' Amm. Marc. 26.8.8.

IV 5.20 et non Distinct from neque for emphasis: IV 13.10 'et non parcius fleuisse,' VII 1.36, IX 5.2, and separated at IV 10.23; 13.18, Sen. de Ira 1.14.3 'et illos non persequi sed reuocare.'

copiam 'access'; similarly Tac. Ann. 11.2 'neque data senatus copia: intra cubiculum auditur,' Amm. Marc. 27.7.3 'qui nactus copiam principis, Orfitum ex

praefecto urbis solutum exilio..'

IV 5.21 ac...et = 'and therefore', as VII 5.24.

crepidini portus The Scholiast on Juvenal Sat. 5.8 offers a picturesque explanation: 'Crepido est ora terrae quam aqua adluit, ex hoc appellata, quod ibi aqua adli-dens concrepitet.' Ernout-Meillet, however, gives a different etymology for the word - that it is derived from crepida = 'base', cf. Paul. Fest. 55 'saxa prominentia,' V 1.28 'Euphrates..magnae molis crepidinibus coercetur,' Val . Flacc. Arg. 4.446 'fluctus ab undisoni seu forte crepidine saxi.'

excitantur Not 'rouse from sleep' as IV 13.21, VII 11.18, VIII 6.22, but 'alert', in view of excubabant = 'were on watch' above; cf. Frontin. Strat. 3.14.1, on which passage Mützell quotes the following interpretation: 'excitare uigiles non notat dormientes sollicitare ut uigilent, sed uigilentes admonere hostilis aduentus seu cuiuscunque nocturni casus' (Oudendorp).

IV 5.22 Mitylenen Cf. Arrian 3.2.6 'καὶ Μιτυλήνην δὲ Χάρητα ἔχοντα ἀφείλετο.'

Chares RE III<sub>2</sub>.2129 = Chares 13 (Schwartz). Son of Theochares, and one of the leaders of the anti-Macedonian faction. He carried on the struggle after the Mitylene affair, and died in 324-3 B.C.

Deditis..pepercerunt Alexander's boast at IV 1.14 'Et uincere et consulere uictis scio,' was at least borne out on this occasion. Cf. his fury over Betis who refused to surrender (IV 6.28f.).

IV 6.1 desperata pace Our other sources sum up this situation in surprisingly similar terms: Itin. Alex. 44 'Hic Darius, pace desponsa, parando rursus bello incubuit cunctis suis uiribus,' Justin 11.12.5 'Tum spe pacis amissa, bellum Darius reparat,' Arrian 2.25.3 'τὰς μὲν ξυμβάσεις ἀπέγνων,' Diod. 17.39.3 'διόπερ ὁ Δαρεῖος ἀπογνοῦς τὴν διὰ τῶν ἐπιστολῶν σύνθεσιν παρασκευῶς μεγάλας ἐποιεῖτο πρὸς τὸν πόλεμον.' Curtius here takes up the story from IV 5.1, whereas Arrian, Diodorus and Itin. Alex. finish the section with these remarks.

Desperata pace is not, as Dosson avers, a particularly harsh or unusual expression. It already occurs in Livy 42.62.15 'desperata pace ad Sycurium..redit,' and Curtius has similar ablative absolutes at V 11.12 'desperata regis salute,' VIII 10.33, IX 4.6, VI 5.9 'desperata uenia;' cf. Livy 9.14.15. More unusual, though also with a precedent in Livy, is Curtius' use of desperato and other ablative p.p.p.'s with an accusative and infinitive, e.g. VI 5.21 'barbari desperato regionem quam occupauerant posse retineri, gentem suam dedidere.' See also 'Participles' p. 353.

intendit animum Palmerius thought that animum should be deleted, but the phrase is a perfectly normal and even common expression; cf. Cic. ap. Non. p. 516 (Lindsay) 'Quaero enim non quibus intendam rebus animum,' Sall. Iug. 23 'In regnum Atherbalis animum intendit.' There are analogous uses in Curtius and elsewhere: III 1.21 'intenderat curas,' VI 4.15 'curam..intenderat,' Livy 37.36.9. Impigre intendit animum is comparable in force and meaning to Itin. Alex. 44 'incubuit cunctis suis uiribus.'

IV 6.2 Babyloniam The locative accusative is also used with the names of the region at IV 9.12 'auxilia Babyloniam contrahi iussit.' Vogel erroneously considers as locative accusatives some accusatives of destination which are fairly standard: IX 1.19 'septiremis omnes esse deducique Babylona;' cf. Livy 3.1.5 'Antium..

coloniam deduci posse,' Caes. B.C. 1.14.1 'coloni.. Capuam deducti erant.' The omission of the preposition with names of provinces and/or regions, following uerba mouendi, is already found in e.g. Nepos Milt. 1.4 'peruenitque Chersonesum,' Bell. Hisp. 35.3 'Lusitaniam proficiscitur.' Vogel further regards the paradosis at IV 9.9 'Iam peruenerat Arbela' as untenable without ad but cf. e.g. Cic. ad Att. 8.11d. 4 'quin tu iam Brundisium peruenisses.' Caesar seems to have an ambivalent attitude towards the use of peruenire with names of towns, but usually has the accusative alone: B.C. 3.106.1 'Caesar Alexandriam peruenit,' 1.25.1 'Brundisium..peruenit,' 1.10.1, etc.; but once using the preposition: B.C. 3.30.7 'ad Asperagium..peruenit;' cf. 3.100.1 'ad Brundisium uenit.'

Bessum RE III, 331 (Kaerst). Satrap of Bactriana and Sogdiana, related to the royal family of the Achae-menids. See also V 8ff., VI 6.13.20f., VII 5.36f., VII 10.10.

praetorem quam We have already noticed (at IV 1.29 and 30) the MSS.' confusion of per and prae, and this may be another place in which an abbreviation for praetor has been corrupted (cf. IV 1.29 praetorem missum). Gronovius suggests that 'P.R. quam' was mis-read as perquam.<sup>1</sup> At X 1.2 Curtius has perquam gratae and at X 1.26 'perquam Alexandro cordi esse;' cf. Livy 9.30.3, Vell. Pat. 2.31.1, Pliny N.H. 34.28. Cicerò has perquam

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1 Foss would like to emend perinualido at IX 6.2 to 'corpori inualido,' on the grounds that per again indicates corruption. This is a rather different case, where we have to decide between the ἀπαξ λεγόμενον perinualidus, or a major alteration in the paradosis, involving a deviation from Curtius' use of corpus. Elsewhere it means someone's body e.g. VI 1.4 'corpore alia (tela) uitabit,' a dead body e.g. IV 8.9, or 'a person' IV 11.6. To say that 'quiet was needed for Alexander's weak body seems less sensible than Ω 's 'for Alexander in his very weak condition.' Many compound adjs. and verbs come into use at the time of Sen Min., see 'Vocabulary' p. 345. Similar is pernotus which is only found once in Mela (2.3), in Curtius (IX 7.16) and then in Min. Felix.



with an adverb: de Or. 2.49 'perquam breuiter perstrinxi', and Caesar and Sallust have quam with a superlative adj. But the nearest equivalent to perquam + a superlative which  $\Omega$  gives here is in Apul. Met. 2.7 'tucetum perquam sapidissimum,' where the tone and content of the passage are not comparable with Curtius'. Elsewhere Curtius uses, more elegantly, quanto maximo, e.g. III 8.16, IV 13.36, V 9.1, and he has the common quam + superlative adjective at VII 5.17. Several 'deteriores' have ducem perquam here, and Modius suggests 'ducem prope quanto maximo.' This involves a greater divergence from  $\Omega$ , leaves prope in asyndeton, and removes the intentional distinction between duces and Bessum quoque. It was because Bessus was such a powerful satrap that Darius felt threatened by his suspected disloyalty. Gronovius' praetorem places Bessus in his proper relationship to Darius; cf. Bessus' successor at IX 8.10 'Oxyartes, praetor Bactrianorum.'

descendere In this case = literally 'come down' from their mountainous home (see VII 4.30-31) and also with the implication of submission, as VIII 10.33 'legati ad regem descenderunt ueniam petituri.'

IV 6.3 Sunt In parentheses with verbs like uocare, appellare, and phrases such as mos esse, and in descriptive digressions, Curtius prefers the present tense; cf. III 3.13-14 and elicit § 6 below.

promptissimi They were valuable allies but dangerous enemies: V 10.3 'armis uirisque et spatio locorum nulli earum gentium secunda;' they were strong in numbers: VII 4.30 'ingens hominum equorumque multitudo gignitur,' and no respecters of persons: V 10.4 'non illum (Dareum) modo, sed etiam Alexandrum spernebant.'

horridis ingenis Strabo 11.11.3 (517) would agree:  
 'τὸ μὲν οὖν παλαιὸν οὐ πολὺ διέφερον τοῖς βίοις καὶ τοῖς ἡθεσι τῶν Νομάδων οἳ τε Σογδιανοὶ καὶ οἱ Βακτριανοὶ μικρὸν δ' ὄμως ἡμερώτερα ἦν τὰ τῶν Βακτριανῶν.'

He goes on to give Onesicritus' account of the Bactrians' unpleasant methods of disposing of elderly relatives, but admits that he cannot be sure how they behaved in Alexander's day.

Persarum luxu Proverbial, especially with a disparaging tone. Pliny N.H. 6.111 'Persis..etiam inluxum diues,' Hor. Carm. 1.38.1, III 3.14; 11.23.

abhorrentibus . This verb has two different meanings in Curtius: 1) literally = 'shrink from/abhor', e.g. V 8.10 'consilium fugae, a qua multum abhorret animus,' VI 7.11 'uersabat animum tanto facinore procul abhorrentem'; 2) more generally = 'be different from', e.g. III 6.19 'cultus habitusque paulum a priuato abhorrens,' V 6.17 'gentem bellicosam et multum a ceteris abhorrentem;' similarly with the dative = 'alienus esse' - VII 8.11 'quae locutos esse..memoriae proditum est abhorrent forsitan moribus nostris,' VIII 6.2. In the present case it is difficult to know how much antipathy we should attribute to the Bactrians: do they loathe 'Persarum luxum,' or, more mildly, simply not want it, or are they merely strangers to it? In view of horridis ingeniis and their uncouth way of life, Curtius seems to mean that they just do not find 'soft living' in the least attractive.

siti 'dwelling', as Sall. Ep. Mith. 17 'socios.. iuxta sitos,' Vell. Pat. 2.120.3 'cis Rhenum sitarum gentium,' VI 2.12, VII 7.3.

procul Curtius always has procul with the ablative alone, except at IV 2.24 (q.v.).

rapto The neuter participle is used as a noun, especially in the phrase rapto uiuere, in prose in Livy and later, e.g. Livy 7.25.13 'quos rapto uiuere necessitas cogeret,' Sen. Epp. 70.28 'iniuriosum est rapto uiuere.' The phrase rapto uiuere adsuetus occurs again at

## III 10.10.

adsueta      Adsuetus + infinitive comes into general use at the time of Livy (see 'Participles' p. 354).

Schmieder would emend to adsueti in accordance with the other nominative masculine plurals in this sentence, but it is more logical to take adsueta with gente as applied to the Scythians. The Bactrians were not 'rapto uiuere adsueti' as Curtius makes clear at VII 4.26f., whereas the aggressive behaviour of the Scythians is mentioned repeatedly, e.g. VI 2.13 'Scythae...graues adhuc accolae.' See also following note.

erant      Modius would prefer errant, but Curtius nowhere refers to the Bactrians as leading a nomadic life, assigning to them and to the Scythians fixed territories and settled ways of living. The Bactrians and Scythians seem, according to Curtius, to have had much in common (see e.g. IV 13.8 on their appearance) and despite being quarrelsome neighbours, co-operated together in mutual danger: VII 4.32; 7.16, IX 2.23. The Scythians are also described as 'gens semper armata' at VII 8.10, as we should expect, in view of rapto uiuere adsueta which mode of life no doubt constrained their neighbours to be similarly prepared. The phrase in armis esse is so common, in Curtius and elsewhere (IV 13.10 & 11, IX 8.7, Livy 9.37.5, etc.) that in armis errant could almost be regarded as a pun - which would be quite 'un-Curtian'.

IV 6.4      suspecta perfidia      The ablative absolute has troubled some editors. Although suspectus is found with an objective genitive at VIII 6.1 'Callisthenen olim contumaciae suspectum,' there are analogies for suspectus agreeing with the 'crime' rather than the suspect person himself at V 5.1 'locorum fraude suspecta,' IX 7.5 'suspecta erat fraus Biconis,' Val. Flacc. Arg. 1.244-5 'non mihi Thessalici pietas culpanda tyranni / suspecta doli,' Stat. Silu. 5.2.40 'quae suspecta fides aut quae fuga uera ferocis Armenii.' Emendation to suspectus perfidiae

on the analogy of VIII 6.1 makes too great an alteration to the paradosis to be plausible.

Glareanus wonders why someone suspected of treachery should be sent for. Darius I apparently took similar precautions so that a potential miscreant should be easily accessible: see the case of Histaeus in Herod. 5.24.

in secundo..gradu 'playing second fiddle'. Perhaps comparable, though it is used in a quasi-technical sense, is Gaius Inst. 1.170 'tutela reuertitur ad eum qui post eum cesserat secundum gradum in eā tutela habuerit.' Tac. Ann. 15.2 is closer in context: 'hūc..cum mihi per aetatem summo nomine concessisset, in possessionem Armeniae deduxi, qui tertius potentiae gradus habetur,' Suet. Aug. 101.3. The satrap of Bactria seems more-or-less to have had control over the eastern part of the empire (V 9.5), but was nevertheless of course subject to the Great King. Bessus was third, if not second, in command at the Battle of Gaugamela (IV 15.2).

regnum adfectaret With an equally pejorative tone at X 10.14 'regium adfectare fastigium,' IV 7.3 'immortalitatem adfectantem,' Livy 1.46.2, 1.50.4.

proditio Darius' fears were of course proved to be fully justified. For the conspiracy of Bessus and Nabarzanes see V 9.2f.; 10.1f.

IV 6.5 uestigans For this meaning of uestigare, cf. IV 16.14 'nec ulla adeo auia et sicca lacuna erat, ut uestigantium (uestigantium Laver: castigantium Ω) sitim falleret,' VI 5.19 'equum uestigari iubet.'

explorare non poterat more quodam Persarum The phenomenon is also remarked by Amm. Marc. 21.13.4 'ideo futurorum incerti, quod apud Persas nemo consiliorum est conscius praeter optimates taciturnos et fidos, apud quos silenti quoque colitur numen.' Ammianus is probably referring here to the Magi, the Persian ruling caste

(Amm. Marc. 23.6.32-36), and this may constitute a slight corroboration for the reading Magi sustineri at IV 6.6. (q.v.).

more quodam Persarum The plain causal ablative, as Tac. Agric. 14.1 'recepta populi Romani consuetudine.'

arcana This often has religious connotations, as at Hor. Carm. 1.28.9 'Iouis arcanis Minos admissus,' Epod. 15.21 'Pythagorae arcana.' Arcana and occulta are associated again at VI 10.28.

IV 6.6. disciplina This word can also have religious and/or philosophical implications: Cic. Or. 113 'Zeno.. a quo disciplina Stoicorum est,' Val. Max. 5.10.2 'ad Socraticam disciplinam.' Here = 'Mysteries' into which the Optimates were initiated (Amm. Marc. 21.13.4).

silentium..sanxerat Cf. Amm. Marc. 21.13.4 'apud quos (Persas) silenti quoque colitur numen,' Val. Max. 2.2.1 'Taciturnitate optimum ac tutissimum administrandarum rerum uinculum,' Ovid Fast. 2.572 'ecce anus in mediis residens annosa puellis sacra facit Tacitus,' Juv. 3.50.

lingua 'careless talk', as Ovid Fast. 1.445 'sed nihil ista iuuant quia linguae crimen habetis.' Cf. VI 9.20 'linguae temeritas,' VII 2.37 'libertatem linguae.'

rem†magis†sustineri Even if magis were taken to mean 'amplius', the antithesis is out of place here. When he uses magis, Curtius always intends a comparison with something expressed directly or understood, even where magis is not followed by a quam clause: IV 3.26 'Nec ulla pestis magis timebatur' sc. 'quam feruida harena' etc. from the previous sentence; and in a similar construction again with quippe introducing an explanation: IX 1.12 'Virus haud ullum magis noxium est.' If an adverb was used here, like IX 5.18 'ultra sustineri', I doubt whether Curtius wrote magis in this context.

Erasmus and others omit magis altogether. This makes perfectly good sense, and it has been suggested that magis arose from dittography of mag[n-. This explanation does not account for  $\Omega$ 's -is.

Stangl's agi et sustineri solves some of the problems but raises others. For agi et to become magis we have to assume dittography of the final m of rem and corruption of et (perhaps in the form of a nota like  $\gamma$ ). Agi is superfluous to the sense, and where Curtius has two almost synonymous verbs together, he uses -que, as one would expect: IV 13.13 'ferri agique', V 11.10 'uolui agique.' The first of these examples is, however, fairly standard, and is already found four times in Livy: 10.34.4, 22.3.7, 33.13.10 and 38.15.11. Magis is sometimes written by mistake for parts of agere, e.g. VIII 1.34 'at cum uictoriae arbitrium agis (agis Acidalius: magis  $\Omega$ )', and uice uersa: IV 13.25 'admonitu magis (magis Freinsheim: agens  $\Omega$ ) amicorum quam metu.'

Rutger's Magi must be considered seriously, although I do not think its presence is appropriate here. The name often appears erroneously, especially where there is confusion over -m agi or magis. Curtius only mentions the Magi twice, and then he is concerned with their appearance rather than their ethics: III 3.8-10, V 1.21-22. It can also be objected that the Magi, only one of the Median castes, albeit the most powerful, could not have secured the silence of all the Persians to the extent that Alexander was 'omnium quae apud hostem gerentur ignarus.' They were the recognised leaders of the population at this time, but their ascendancy was essentially religious rather than political, like that of the Brahmans in India.<sup>1</sup> Nor can it be said that the silence of the Magi was all-important. Ammianus Marcellinus 21.13.4 describes 'optimates taciturnos et fidos.' Optimates could refer to the Magi, in view of Ammianus' own account of their privileged position at 23.6.32f., cited by some editors in connection with this problem in Curtius. But there were doubtless Persian nobles in the King's confidence: the Cornati seem obvious candidates

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1. For details, see Zaehner, Zoroastrianism, passim.

(III 3.14) and these are distinct as a group, and in function, from the Magi. Then there was the 'inner circle' of the court (VI 6.2, Amm. Marc. 18.5.6) who were daily in close contact with the King. In Herod. 1.110 *Μάγοι* and *Ἀριζαντοί* are treated as two distinct groups. It seems irrelevant here for Curtius to mention one caste, whose ethics were certainly not those of the Persians as a whole, in the middle of a description of 'more quodam Persarum.' The belief which Rutger's emendation would attribute specifically to the Magi is merely a continuation of the idea 'lingua..castigatur,' whereas one would expect some new thought to justify the sudden introduction of a group of people so rarely mentioned elsewhere in Curtius. Our author implies that the loyalty of the Persians in general (whether Magi, ~Optimates or peasants) was such that any of them who happened to know any arcana regum would not divulge them. Zaehner's comprehensive work The Teachings of the Magi mentions nothing comparable.

facillimum Other philosophies would certainly not agree with the Persians' (or Curtius'). Pythagoras apparently found this a hard lesson for his pupils: Aul. Gell. 1.9.5 'Ast ubi res didicerant rerum omnium difficillimas, tacere audireque..' St. James Epp. 3.8 'τὴν δὲ γλώσσαν οὐδεὶς δαμάσαι δύναται ἀνθρώπων· ἀκατάστατον κακόν, μεστὴ ἰοῦ θανατηφόρου,' Plut. de Garr. 5. Ovid Ars. Am. 2.603, However, lends some support: 'exigua est uirtus praestare silentia rebus;' and Tac. Agric. 2.3 finds 'keeping quiet' well within human capabilities: 'memoriam quoque ipsam cum uoce perdidissemus, si tam in nostra potestate esset obliuisci quam tacere.'

natura This has three distinct meanings in Curtius: 1) human nature, especially innate character which is assailed by fortuna: III 2.17, X 5.26 (and cf. Woodman on Vell.Pat. 2.97.4 sua uirtus et fortuna for the attacks of fortuna on the character); 2) the natural world: V 1.35; 3) a powerful force envisaged as testing (and hence strengthening) Alexander's uirtus: VI 6.27,

VII 11.4, or as manipulating human affairs in general:  
VIII 2.1, V 5.17. It is frequently personified, and in  
direct competition with fortuna, e.g. VI 10.33.

IV 6.7 Ob hanc causam..ignarus If Curtius is right,  
then this is one of the very rare instances of a break-  
down in Alexander's intelligence system. He had also  
temporarily lost track of Darius before Issus, which  
could have led to disaster. Curtius may be justified  
in suggesting that Alexander had less chance of co-opera-  
tion from disaffected subjects, the further Darius fled  
into the Persian homelands. Arrian 2.25.4 gives, more  
logically, the proposed Egyptian expedition as the reason  
for the siege of Gaza. It would have posed a serious  
threat to Alexander's rear, had it been left intact and  
hostile. Curtius seems to imply that he besieged Gaza  
'while waiting for something to turn up.'

Baetis RE III, .140 = Batis (Kaerst). Spelled *Βάτις*  
by Arrian 2.25.4 and Batis by Itin. Alex. 45. The correct  
form is probably Baetis, the ae diphthong frequently  
appearing as e, and this form is present at IV 6.25:  
Baetim P: Baetin Pc: Betim ω. Dion. Halic. de Comp. Verb.  
18 clearly has *Βάτις*. Arrian 2.25.4 calls him *Βάτις*  
*κρατῶ τῆς Γαζαίων πόλεως*; Dion. Halic. op. cit. 18 has  
*ἡγεμῶν*; cf. Curtius' praeerat urbi. For the name  
Batis and his position see also Tarn Alexander II pp.  
265-6. This able and determined governor had had the  
foresight to prepare in advance for the inevitable siege  
(Arr. 2.25.4) and managed to impede Alexander's progress  
for a further two months: Diod. 17.48.6, Itin. Alex. 45,  
Joseph. A.J. 11.325 (who incidentally calls him *Βαβημήσις*).

muros ingentis operis Cf. Itin. Alex. 45 '(Gaza)  
ualida muris, difficilis accessu, ambitu maxima,  
Arr. 2.26.1.

IV 6.8 aestimato locorum situ 'spied out the land',  
like III 4.11 'contemplatus locorum situm,' VII 6.12



'ut contemplaretur locorum situm.'

cuniculos Itin. Alex. 47 'admotisque obsidialibus  
machinamentis cum cuniculis insertis..irruit Gazam ac  
diripit.' Sen. de Cons. Sap. 6.4 'turrium altitudinem  
cuniculis ac latentibus fossis repente desiderere.'

History seems to repeat itself at IX 8.13 'multis oppidis  
in fidem acceptis ualidissimam gentis urbem cuniculo  
cepit.'

facili ac leui humo Livy 33.17.8 'campus terrenus  
omnis operique facilis,' Varro R.R. 1.9.7 'si sit terra..  
leuis quae cum fodiat, facile frietur, naturaque non  
sit cineracia neue uehementer densa,' Pliny N.H. 13.8.  
Diodorus 19.84.6 describes the terrain from a different  
point of view: 'τὸ γὰρ πεδίων εὐρύχωρον ὄν καὶ μαλακὸν  
συνήργει ;' cf. IV 9.10 'equitabilis et uasta planities.'

uicinum mare According to Arrian 2.26.1 the town was  
20 stadia from the coast. Strabo 16.2.30 (759) says  
7 stadia.

euomit This is the only occurrence of the verb in  
Curtius; cf. Pliny N.H. 3.93 'colle in ea nocturnas  
euomente flammam,' Vitr. 2.6.2 'sub Vesuuio..et inde  
euomuisse circa agros flammam.' Ω 's euomens presents  
one of the most difficult examples of the so-called  
nominative absolute in Curtius (see p. 371). I do not  
believe that the present participle is acceptable here.  
Zumpt rightly points out that if it is to stand, est must  
be understood, thus giving a periphrastic present tense.  
But the paradoses stantes at IV.1.12 and euomens here  
cannot bear the qualitative force usually inherent in  
this use of the present participle with esse understood;  
cf. Cic. de Sen. 26 'Sed uidetis ut senectus sit operosa  
et semper agens aliquid et moliens.' Here the present  
participle presents no syntactical anomaly but agrees  
with the subject of the finite verb. Similarly IV 6.10  
'opem deum exposcens sacrum patrio more faciebat,' and

many other cases in Curtius. If mare euomens were intended to be a distinct construction, comparable in meaning and status to the ablative absolute, the conjunction nec would not be necessary. I do not think nec can mean 'not even' here, as Livy 40.20.6 'maxime ab omni mentione..Romanorum abstinebat, ut scribi sibi uellet..' Giunta's euomit solves all these problems, although like stant at IV 1.12, it is not an easy emendation.

specus Like cuniculus, as Livy 10.10.1 'specu facto, ad stationes Romanas itinere occulto perueniunt,' Vitruvius 10.22 'specus fodere.'

IV 6.9 ut a sensu eius auerteret = 'to distract their attention', like Livy 4.22.5 'a sensu operis hostis auerterat.' Arrian's account at 2.26.2f. has more details and presents the events in a different order.

desidente..perfringebat Livy 32.17.16 describes a similar mishap: 'rota (turris) depressa ita turrim inclinavit ut speciem ruentis praebuerit.' Livy also uses desidere of earth subsidence: 'terra..cauerna ingenti desiderat' (32.9.3).

agilitatem This quality is rarely attributed to inanimate objects. Livy uses it three times applied to ships (26.51.6, 35.26.2, 37.30.2) but in those cases it means 'manoeuvrability' and is not very close to Curtius' 'free rotation of the wheels.' Presumably they had sunk up to their axles in the sand and, as Curtius remarks presently, could scarcely be moved forward or back.

morata [et] A somewhat confused sentence. Morata is best taken as part of the ablative absolute desidente..morata. In this case et needs emendation or exclusion. Alternatively the problem has been overcome by emending morata to give a finite verb: moratur Vind.: morabatur Zumpt. There may perhaps be an ellipse of est after morata,

the ablative absolute being simply desidente sabulo, and there other examples of such harsh ellipses in Curtius: VI 4.2 'Nec rex moratus impetum, tertioque..die..', where Hedicke has emended to moratur; cf. cohortatus at Bell. Afr. 18.4 where Oudendorp emends to cohortatur against MS. agreement; cohortatus Caes. B.G. 7.62.5 where one branch of the stemma reads cohortatus and the other cohortabatur (also Val. Max. 9.2.2 'passus atque', Livy 27.27.4 'exorti et'). There are a few examples in Curtius of ellipse of est where the remaining p.p.p. or dep.p.p. comprises the main verb: III 12.26 egressus, IX 4.8 circumuectus, and est has to be understood at V 1.11 where there is otherwise no verb at all in the clause: 'Euntibus a parte laeua Arabia, odorum fertilitate nobilis regio.'

The sequence 'eadem humus..tabulata..perfringebat' is not easy to follow. Curtius, unlike Livy 32.17.16 leaves out the explanation as to exactly how this collapse occurred. We have to assume that one side of the wheeled base sank further than the other, causing the towers to topple over and the flooring to give way under the strain.

recipiendis There is no need to supply in. Curtius has the usual in + gerundive at III 11.15; 12.16, IV 4.17, V 7.1, IX 3.22; 6.21, but it is also omitted at IX 2.10 'abundantes..praeda magis parta frui uelle quam acquirenda fatigari.' Büttner<sup>1</sup> finds a similar ratio of uses with and without the preposition in Cicero. There are many other examples in Curtius of the omission of in with relative pronouns etc., where we might expect a preposition, e.g. III 3.3, IV 5.11, VII 7.10, X 5.15. However, there are cases of scribal omissions of prepositions e.g. at IV 12.3,; 13.38; 15.2; 13.25.

admouendis Heinsius suggests promouendis, but cf. admoueri in § 9 and admoueret in § 10. This sort of repetition of verbs, adverbs etc. two or even three times within a very short space is characteristic of Curtius,

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1. Quaestiones Curtianae, ad loc.

and Lindgren's Studia Curtiana includes a detailed survey of the phenomenon. Itin. Alex. 47 uses the same term: 'admotisque obsidialibus machinamentis.'

IV 6.10 receptui signo dato Caes. B.G. defines: 'Buccina signum dabatur receptui hoc est ut milites in hostem progressi se receperent redirentque;' cf. Bell. Alex. 47 'receptui canere.'

corona Either rara or spissa; Curtius does not specify in any of the places where he describes this formation: VII 6.16; 5.19, IX 1.14; 4.4; cf. Sil. Ital. 13.140 'moenia flexu sinu, spissa uallata corona / adligat.' Arrian does not mention the cordon but places the completion of the mound and the drawing-up of the siege-engines at this point (IV 4.21).

sacrum patrio more Arrian 2.26.4 agrees: 'καὶ ἐν τούτῳ θύοντι Ἀλεξάνδρῳ καὶ ἐστεφανωμένῳ τε καὶ κατάρχεσθαι μέλλοντι τοῦ πρώτου ἱερείου κατὰ νόμον.' Patrius has a variety of nuances in Curtius: 'native' - sede III 7.11, sermone VI 9.34, 'traditional' - carmen III 3.9, IV 6.10; 'ancestral' - more III 3.8.

IV 6.11 praeteruolans A coincidence with Arrian 2.26.4 'ὑπερπετόμενος.'

coruus glebam Our sources show some differences in detail. Arrian 2.26.4 has a carnivorous bird and a stone; Plutarch Alex. 25.3 says the clod hit Alexander on the shoulder; Itin. Alex. 46 says 'bellum iam sacrificio commendabat cum ales quaequam arae lapidem supermittit,' which sounds like an interrupted version of Arrian's 'ὄρνιθων ὑπερπετόμενος ὑπὲρ τοῦ βωμοῦ λίθον ἐμβάλλει ἐς τὴν κεφαλὴν (Ἀλεξάνδρου)' and cannot bear Arriander's interpretation as reported. Curtius and Plutarch agree that the bird itself was caught after this 'attack' on Alexander, although they differ as to the circumstances. If the clod/stone dropped by the bird signifies that the

enemy will wound Alexander, then the entanglement of the bird in the Macedonians' siege machinery and its capture are needed to provide the assurance that Alexander will take Gaza. Had the bird managed to hit Alexander and fly off scot free, as Arrian implies, Aristander would have been hard pressed to declare it a favourable omen. Corui were birds of omen par excellence: Pliny N.H. 10.33 'corui in auspiciis soli uidentur intellectum habere significationum suarum;' cf. IV 7.15, Livy 7.26.4, 10.40.4.

amisit not omisit as Aldus suggests. Cf. IX 2.26 'Nolite..maturus fructus..amittere e manibus.'

resoluta Cf. Verg. Georg. 1.43-44 'Vere nouo, gelidus canis cum montibus umor / liquitur et Zephyro putris se . glaeba resoluit.'

defluxit. The only use of this sense of the verb in Curtius; cf. Mela 1.53 'solutae magnis aestibus niues.. defluunt,' Sen. N.Q. 3.29.6 'terra..incipiet..laxata ire in humorem et assidua tabe defluere.' Otherwise he has two meanings which are found in prose from the time of Livy onwards: 1) = 'sail / float' - IX 8.30; 3.24, etc., Livy 23.19.9; 2) of horse riders = 'fall off' - VII 7.36, Livy 2.20.3.

Inlita..bitumine ac sulphure This does not seem a very sensible arrangement, since bitumen and sulphur made a highly inflammable mixture, as Curtius has already described in his account of the Tyrians' fire-ship at IV 3.2. However, Pliny N.H. 35.182 '(bitumen) aeramentis illinitur firmatque ea contra ignes..et tingui solitum aes eo statuasque inlini,' seems to offer a possible explanation. It may be that Curtius or his source added 'ac sulphure' because that substances were often associated. Curtius also describes the use of bitumen as mortar in the building of Babylon (V 1.29) 'totum opus bitumine adstringitur.' Perhaps bitumen could have been used as

a strong glue in the construction of the wooden towers, since its sticky properties are of importance in the story.<sup>1</sup> There is evidence that siege towers were smeared with fire-resistant material: Aul. Gell. 15.1.6f.

'turrium ligneam..cum ex omni latere circumplexa igni foret, ardere non quisse, quod alumine ab Archelao oblita fuisset,' Amm. Marc. 20.11.13 'materiae..unctae alumine ut ignis in eas laberetur innoxius.' It may be that Curtius had this substance or this function in mind. The issue is further clouded by some contradictory references to alumen as actually encouraging fire, like bitumen ac sulphur: Vitr. 8.3.1 'cum in uino per alumen aut bitumen seu sulphure ignis excitatur,' Aetna 390 (e coniect.).

conatus Glareanus would emend to conata, agreeing with auis, but Curtius no doubt still had coruus in mind and made the agreement mentally with that. Raderus would read ipsa..consedit in parenthesis in order to make this clearer.

IV 6.12 et Hedicke would emend to ut, and Curtius does use ut in this explanatory way, e.g. VI 6.27 'Ille, ut erat animi semper obluctantis difficultatibus.. uersabat se ad omnes cogitationes.' In the present case, 'Digna..consuleret is not necessarily dependent on Alexander's superstitious tendencies. Others round him would already have decided that the incident was digna res, and probably have made their own interpretation; cf. III 1.17, IV 8.6.

intactae superstitione mentis If the preposition is retained, it is not equivalent to the plain ablative. As Zumpt rightly points out, it must mean 'quod attinet ad superstitionem,' as in Cicero's comparable phrase at Brut. 66 'aliquem "mediocriter a doctrina instructum"

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<sup>1</sup> See further R.J.Forbes, Studies in Ancient Technology, (Leiden 1955) I 90f. for the uses of bitumen as cement and adhesive.

dicit.' Rolfe and Müller print Freinsheim's emendation but translate the ablative alone: 'and the king's mind was not unaffected by superstition,' and even worse, 'und tatsächlich war Alexander nicht frei von Aberglauben.' The plain ablative gives the sense required here. Curtius is not saying that Alexander was not of sound mind as far as superstition was concerned (see IX 4.29, and the following note). Vindelinius prints intactus and Mützell has intactus ea superstitione, but the parenthesis almost certainly conceals a genitive, and this is consistent with Curtius' usage; cf. VIII 6.1 'Callisthenen ..peruicacioris irae fuit,' VI 8.10 'Quem..bonae mentis.'

I print intactae superstitione which has many parallels, and is as likely palaeographically as intactae a superstitione. Livy 5.15.6 'uir haud intacti religione animi;' similarly 2.36.3 'haud sane liber erat religione animus,' Tac. Hist. 2.78.1 'nec erat intactus tali superstitione,' Pliny Pan. 33.2, Vell. Pat. 2.3.2, Stat. Silv. 5.2.131.

Superstition, in the form of belief in omens and augury, is one of the few subjects which rouse Curtius to scathing and apparently personally endorsed remarks: IV 10.7, where he combines disapproval of superstition with contempt of 'the masses' who are affected by it: 'Nulla res multitudinem efficacius regit quam superstitio; alioqui inpotens, saeva, mutabilis, ubi uana religione capta est, melius uatibus quam ducibus suis paret,' VII 7.8 '(Alexander) rursus ad superstitionem, humanarum mentium (mentium Iunius: gentium  $\Omega$ ) ludibrium (ludibrium Hedicke: ludibrio  $\Omega$ ) reuolutus.' Superstition is for Curtius one of Alexander's main weaknesses (VII 7.21 'superstitionem cuius potens non erat rex') yet there are two striking instances where he deliberately ignores the advice even of the most trusted seer Aristander (Arr. 2.27.1). Alexander rebukes him for publishing the 'wrong' interpretation of the appearance of the exta after a sacrifice (VII 7.23f.) and attacks the superstition of the uates himself when his advice is not in accordance with Alexander's plans (IX 4.27f.).

maxima fides habebatur Similarly V 4.2 'Aristander cui tum plurimum credebat ex uatibus,' VII 5.21 'Datopthernem et Catanen, quibus a Besso maxima fides habebatur,' and IV 6.31 'deuinctarumque gentium militi minor quam domestico fides habebatur.'

urbis..portendi Thus Itin. Alex. 46, in similar terms: 'Quae uates et quisquis haec coniectare in artibus habent et excidium urbi portendere et ruinam et regi periculum praemonent, ni caueret,' Arr. 2.26.4. Hedicke would supply ait after excidium, and inquit is found in some 'deteriores' after periculum esse. F. Walter<sup>1</sup> adds dicit after portendi, comparing III 3.4 'uates..laetum id regi somnium esse dicebant.' The ellipse of uerba dicendi is frequent in Curtius and others, especially where the speaker's name has just been mentioned, e.g. V 2.15 'Philotas, "Minime..",' IV 13.22 'Alexander, "Credisne..",' V 5.17, VI 8.10, VII 1.12, IX 6.15, etc., Tac. Ann. 1.9, and cf. Livy 23.45.6. Hedicke would also supply queritur at VII 1.12 'Igitur queritur ..,' where the O.O. begins abruptly, without the usual warning of the speaker's name, but where the MSS. have no sign of a uerbum dicendi. This sometimes rather harsh ellipse is characteristic of Curtius: III 12.12 'Leonnatus et uiuere Dareum et ipsas ..incolumes..fore,' where Stangl would supply ait after Dareum, IV 13.13 where the O.O. begins without warning. In the present case, the absence of the verb is by no means as difficult as in several of these other passages.

IV 6.13 animus creuit obsessis Like Livy 40.32.2 'unde illis terror, inde Romanis animus creuit,' Arrian 2.27.1 'ὡς δὲ ἐκδρομή τε ἐκ τῆς πόλεως καρτερὰ ἐγίγνετο.'

suam..occasionem rati i.e. 'favourable to themselves', as VIII 13.26 'obscuritatem quae ceteros terrebat suam occasionem ratus,' Cic. ad Fam. 10.4.4 'ne..hae gentes nostra mala suam putent occasionem,' Livy 4.58.2, 22.39.21.

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1 Zu Curtius, PhW (1927) 1565-68, ad loc.



IV 6.14 sigma circumagi = 'turn round', mainly found in Livy and later prose: Livy 6.24.7, III 11.14 'circumactis equis;' hence the phrase comes to mean 'retreat': Flor. 3.21.6 'legiones circumegit' sc. 'back to Rome.'

sistunt gradum Probably the first appearance of this phrase in prose: Verg. Aen. 6.465 'siste gradum teque aspectu ne subtrahe,' (cf. Ovid Rem. Am. 80 'siste pedem'), Sen. Hec. Fur. 722 'siste properantem gradum,' Pliny N.H. 2.98 'uestigia..in altero sisti.' Other causative uses of sistere appear in Livy and later prose, e.g. Livy 1.12.5 'fugamque foedam siste,' IV 16.2 'non posse sisti fugam (fugam  $\Delta$  : fuga  $\Omega$ );' VIII 3.2 'tandem fugam sisteret,' IV 14.7. Tacitus uses sistere freely in this way, e.g. Hist. 3.71 'nec sisti poterant scandentes;' cf. V 3.11 'nec sisti uis hostium poterat.'

Iamque..cum This pattern (also iam..cum, and iam..iam..cum) is a favourite device of historians, especially Livy and Curtius, to arouse the reader's expectation. Sometimes, as here, Curtius uses the pluperfect (or equivalent) to emphasise an imminent danger: VII 2.20; III 10.1. More often he uses the imperfect, occasionally reinforcing the subordinate clause with an adverb. See further Chausserie-Laprée pp. 575f. and 593.

denuntiati periculi Hegesias ap. Dion. Hal. de Comp. Verb. 18 says of this occasion: 'Ἀλέξανδρον μὴδέποτε κινδυνεῖσαι πρότερον οὕτως.'

periculi..peruenit As IV 13.25 'Rari admodum, admonitu magis amicorum quam metu discriminis adeundi, thorace uti solebat. Tunc quoque munimento corporis sumpto processit ad milites.'

ad prima signa peruenit Hegesias' version (loc. cit.) of the attack on Alexander and the execution of Betis begins here with 'ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς ἔχων τὸ σύνταγμα

προηγείτο.'

§§ 15-16 and 25f. The motif of a daring attack by an individual in a desperate effort to eliminate the enemy commander is recurrent in the historians. Varus had a similar narrow escape according to Caes. B.C. 2.35.2, and Stesagoras was killed after being deceived, like Alexander here, into allowing a supposed suppliant deserter to approach too close - Herod. 6.38.

Curtius account of this incident and the death of Betis has much in common with that of Hegesias as quoted by Dion. Hal. in de Comp. Verb. 18, although he does not descend to the excesses of Hegesias' 'tragic' style,<sup>1</sup> in expression or in elaboration of the more 'gory' details. Both accounts are rhetorical, but if they drew on the same source, Curtius has shown considerable restraint in the re-telling. Hegesias' version, especially of the fate of Betis, is told, as Dionysius suggests, 'ταπεινῶς καὶ καταγελάστως.' Curtius sums up the whole episode in one evocative sentence (IV 6.29 q.v.). Neither of these incidents is mentioned by Arrian, Diodorus or Plutarch. See also on IV 6.29 per talos.

IV 6.15 Arabs One of Betis' auxiliaries: Arrian 2.27.1, IV 6.30.

gladium clypeo tegens Hegesias ap. Dion. Hal. de Comp. Verb. 18 gives different details: 'ἐκνεύει τὸ ξίφος ἐνέγκαντος ὑπὸ τὰ πτερύγια τοῦ θώρακος.' Curtius' version supports the reading 'ὑπὸ τὰ πτερύγια' against the MS. variant 'ἐπὶ τὰ πτερύγια.'<sup>2</sup>

1 See e.g. Walsh, Livy, Ch. 2, p. 20f.; Walbank, BICS (1955) 4f.; Wright, A History of Later Greek Literature passim.

2 See W. Rhys-Roberts: Dionysius of Halicarnassus on Literary Composition, p. 188.

genibus..aduoluitur For the dative cf. III 12.17, VIII 1.48, Livy 8.37.9, Vell. Pat. 2.80.4, and X 5.24 'accidentis genibus suis neptem nepotemque.'

IV 6.16 exigua corporis declinatione as IX 7.21 '(lanceam) quam Dioxippus cum exigua corporis declinatione uitasset,' Cic. Cat. 1.6 'Quot ego tuas petitiones ita coniectans ut uitari non posse uiderentur parua quaedam declinatione, et ut aiunt corpore effugi,' VI 1.4 'Alia tela clypeo excipiebat, corpore alia uitabat.' Hegesias loc. cit. exaggerates the 'near miss', as we should expect: 'ἔγγυς μικρὸν ἐκνεύει τὸ ξίφος.'

in uanum manum Words which Curtius wishes to stress sometimes displace those which we should expect to come at the beginning of their clause. One of the most striking examples is the postponement of si at IX 6.25 'Aliorum quoque regum exitus si reputaueris..'

amputat gladio Plutarch describes Alexander's sword: 'μάχαιραν δὲ θαυμαστὴν βαφῆ καὶ κουφότητι, δωρησαμένου τοῦ Κιτιέων βασιλέως εἶχεν.' According to Hegesias, Alexander inflicted an entirely different wound: 'ἀλλὰ τὸν μὲν αὐτὸς ἀπώλεσεν κατὰ κεφαλῆς τύπτων τῇ μάχαιρᾳ.'

ut arbitrabatur ipse More logically 'se defunctum arbitratus,' but Curtius likes parentheses; cf. IV 9.4 'Ingensque, ut credebat, hostium terror,' V 2.12. However IX 4.16 'Macedones qui omni discrimine iam defunctos se esse crediderant,' Suet Nero 40 'defunctum se fatalibus malis existimabat.'

IV 6.17 ut opinor, ineuitabile est fatum Cf. X 1.30 'Fatum cuius ineuitabilis sors est.' These passages smack of Stoic determinism, like Livy 8.7.8 'inexsuperabilis uis fati,' 1.42.2, Tac. Hist. 1.18.1 'Quae fato manent, quamuis significata, non uitantur.' Elsewhere Curtius sees Fate as a chain of causes, no less pre-determined: V 11.10 'nexusue causarum latentium et multo

ante destinatarum suum quemque ordinem immutabile lege percurrere;' cf. Livy 25.6.6 'fato, cuius lege immobilis rerum humanarum ordo seritur,' Tac. Ann. 6.22 'Contra alii fatum quidem congruere rebus putant, sed non e uagis stellis, uerum apud principia et nexus naturalium causarum.' Earlier, Vergil and Horace had taken a Stoic view of Fate,<sup>1</sup> e.g. Vergil Aen. 6.376 'desine fata deum flecti sperare precando,' 8.334 'Fata Iouis.' A more ambivalent attitude appears in Livy,<sup>2</sup> and Curtius does not identify or equate Fate with the gods (or a god) at all.

sagitta ictus est Arrian 2.27.2 and Itin. Alex. say it was a catapult shot, though both agree with Curtius' in humero. Plut. Fort. Alex. 327A mentions also Alexander's second wound, otherwise recorded only by Curtius (IV 6.23): 'πρὸς δὲ Γάξῃ τὸ μὲν σφυρὸν ἐτοξεύθεν, τὸν δ' ὤμον ἐκπεσὼν ἐξ ἕδρας βαρῆς περιεδίνησα,' though at 341B only this shoulder wound is included: 'ἐν Γάξῃ βέλει πληγῆς τὸν ὤμον.'

stantem = infixam, like Ovid Met. 5.132 'missum stetit inguine ferrum,' ibid. 5.34, 8.415, Sil. Ital. 1.527 'Et stant loricae squamis horrentia tela.'

Philippus Alexander's most trusted physician, as the king demonstrated in a well-known episode: III 6.1f., Arr. 2.4.8f., VI 10.34.

IV 6.18 supprimi sanguinem et Pichon considers these words a gloss. There are many difficulties in the text of § 19 over tautological expressions but I see no objection to this sentence. The two operations supprimi sanguinem and uulnus obligari are separate, and medicamento, below, probably refers back to the first part of

1 On Stoic conflation of the gods and Fate, see Arnold, Roman Stoicism, p. 390.

2 See Iiro Kajanto, God and Fate in Livy, p. 53f.

the treatment. With this passage cf. Sen. Epp. 59.12 'deinde cum represso sanguine sicci uulneris dolor cresceret..'

IV 6.19 medicamento [quo retentus erat] Modius would exclude quo retentus erat as a gloss, and he may well be right. The phrase is tautological after supprimi and suppressus, and could have been inserted to explain medicamento which has also troubled editors who do not seem to believe that medicamentum could staunch the flow of blood. There is no need to suspect medicamento, and Modius is right to retain it in view of the MSS.' unanimity. We have evidence that a variety of medicamenta was used to staunch bleeding; e.g. Marc. de Med. 7.21 'cum autem uulnus est, de quo immodicus sanguis erumpit, adpositum hoc medicamentum ilico et sanguinem sistet et uulnus curat,' Pliny N.H. 22.71 'per se inposita herba uulnerum sanguinem cohibet.' Celsus 5.1 gives a list of herbs etc. for the suppression of bleeding; cf. 5.26 'Ex emplastris..quae cruentis protinus uulneribus iniciuntur "enhaema" Graeci uocant.' That the treatment did not have a chance to work in this case was due to Alexander's continued exertions, not to any deficiency in the application. We should also consider whether the whole rather vague phrase medicamento quo retentus erat could have originated as a gloss to explain some word less familiar than medicamento, perhaps emplastro, as Prof. F.R.D.Goodyear suggests, or fomento. In either case the 'explanation' seems to be superfluous in view of suppressus only four words before, unless medicamento retentus indicates the cause, in contrast with sanguis suppressus, the effect.

As I have mentioned, supprimi sanguinem in § 18 may well refer to the application of such a medicament, and medicamento qualifies suppressus. Hedicke's labente ligamento, besides being difficult to accept on palaeographical grounds, does not help the sense. The reason for 'sanguis largius manare coepit' has already been given - 'Diu ante..signa..perstiterat' when he should have been resting the wound. Moreover, Curtius says

'frigente sanguine (uulnus) intumuit,' which would cause the bandage to tighten rather than to slip off.

Ligamentum can, however, be used in this sort of context to mean a tourniquet: Tac. Ann. 15.54 'uulneribus ligamenta, quibus sistitur sanguis, parare.' There is a further difficulty in trying to apply strict logic to this sentence. 'Diu..perstiterat' seems to contradict 'suppressus paulo ante sanguis', and one begins to wonder whether Curtius has nodded again, or whether the whole passage has been garbled in the transmission.

largius Heinsius' emendation seems certain. For this word used of liquids, cf. Prop. 2.33.39 'largius effuso ..Falerno,' Varr. R.R. 3.11.3 'aquam large influere oportet,' Hor. Epp. 2.2.215.

tepens Acidalius' tepens supplies the antithesis to frigente, which the context seems to demand. It could be objected that some synonym of 'dolorem mouebat' would then be needed after frigente to complete the sense, but tumere is usually closely associated with pain, e.g. Marc. de Med. 33.56 'dolentibus et tumentibus ueretris,' etc. Heinsius cites IV 15.17 'calidis adhuc uulneribus aberat dolor' and VIII 4.12 'calor stupentia membra commouit,' in support of stupens, but the emphasis on calor in both cases only tends to support tepens as giving the correct meaning; cf. also VIII 10.29 'cruore siccato frigescens uulnus aggrauaret dolorem.' Stupens could refer back to obligari and suppressus, and mean 'numb from being tightly bound' but the simple verb is, as we have seen, used more for numbness from cold or (metaph.) from shock, e.g. Sen. Herc. Fur. 621 'membra laetitia stupent,' VIII 4.12 'frigoris remedium..calor stupentia membra commouit.' Stupens also implies inactivity, and could contrast with intumuit - the wound's reaction to the new blood flow. If it is correct here, the following are comparable, although I have not been able to find any parallels which refer to wounds (as opposed to parts of the body) in ancient medical texts: Pliny N.H. 36.11 'Obstupescit corpus, nec sentit cruciatum,' and the synonyms: ibid.

11.37 'Arteriae carent sensu: praecisisque torpescit tantum pars ea corporis,' Marc. de Med. 1.11 'donec desinat dolore et obtorpescat ea pars.'

If we accept Acidalius' emendation, it remains somewhat disturbing that corruption of tepens in this 'medical' context should have produced the medical term stupens.

Raderus does not altogether reject Vindelinius' recens in favour of tepens because, as he says, 'utrius sit eadem uis,' and indeed the two adjectives are found together in Pliny N.H. 30.20 'cor recens tepensque.' Curtius may have been rather negligent in thinking out this whole passage: adhuc dolorem non mouerat seems illogical after 'uicto dolore'. Perhaps we should not press his accuracy in pathological description too far.

intumuit Celsus 5.26 'nimis uero intumescere uulnus periculosum,' VI.11.17.

IV 6.20 Linqui animo A rare expression whose few occurrences are nearly all in Curtius and his near-contemporaries: IX 5.28, Sen. de Ira 1.12.1 'uir bonus non flebit nec linquetur animo?' Epp. 57.5; cf. Scrib. Larg. 189a 'subinde linquuntur deficiuntque.' Otherwise only in Suet. Iul. 45.1 'nisi quod tempore extremo animo linqui..solebat.' The other form of the phrase anima / animus linquit aliquem is also very rare: Acc. Trag. 605 'si anima corpus liquerit,' VI 9.33 'linquente animo in eum a quo tenebatur incubuit;' cf. Sen. Brev. Vit. 20.2 'quem spiritus liquit,' and III 5.3 'corpus uitalis calor liquit.'

submitti genu For this form of the phrase, cf. Lucr. 1.92 'muta metu terram genibus submissa petebat.' Genu is more commonly the direct object: IV 5.18 'sponte genua submittens' (cf. VIII 14.39 'elephantum procumbere iussit in genua'), and see on genu posuit, § 28 below.

coepit Stangl would excise this second coepit but there are many examples of this kind of repetition within a short passage in Curtius; cf. IV 5.9 tradiderat, where

there is a change of subject, as with coepit here. He also uses several different parts of one verb in a brief space, e.g. IV 10.18f. nuntiat..nuntians..nuntiata, and this phenomenon is already found in Livy, e.g. 42.17.7 daturum..dando..datum. Similarly, Kinch wished to delete the second urbis at IV 6.23 'quod paucorum interuallo uerborum sane moleste iteratur,' but this is again nothing new and not confined to Curtius; cf. e.g. Livy 42.17.6 ad rem, Sen. N.Q. 4a.2.9 locis, Tac. Ann. 6.9 uenas.

receperunt Heinsius suggests retulerunt, comparing VII 6.4 'Macedones illum in castra referebant.' This is the only case in Curtius of the transitive verb used in this sense, but the following are comparable: IV 12.5 'Mazaesus..incastra se recepit,' IX 8.26, and the usual 'recipientesque equos' VII 9.9, IV 12.21 'recipi exercitus..non posset.'

interfectum ratus Arrian 2.27.3 'καὶ αὐτὸς μὲν τὸ τραῦμα ἑθεραπεύτο χαλεπῶς.'

ouans uictoria Like Livy 1.11.2 'duplici uictoria ouantem Romulum Hersilia..orat;' cf. IX 2.34 'ite deserto rege ouantes.'

IV 6.21 percurato Cf. Livy 21.57.9 'uixdum satis percurato uulnere,' Sen. Epp. 94.13 'percurare mentem,' id. N.Q. 3.12, Colum. 6.12.2.

aggerem..aequaret Arr. 2.27.3 'καὶ χώμα χωνύναι ἐν κύκλῳ πάντοθεν τῆς πόλεως ἐκέλευσεν.'

The operations described in §§ 21-23 could have been undertaken just as appropriately by Romans: Cic. ad Att. 5.20 'oppidum cinximus uallo et fossa: aggere maximo, uineis, turre altissima, magna tormentorum copia negotium confecimus,' Caes. B.C. 2.1. There are noticeable coincidences in this section with Sen. Cons. Sap. 6.4: 'sub ipso tot ciuitatum euersore munimenta incussu arietis labefieri turrium altitudinem cuniculis ac latentibus fossis repente desidere et aequaturum editissimas



arces aggerem crescere,' and 6.8 'Bona eius (perfecti uiri) solidis et inxsuperabilis munimentis praecincta sunt. Non Babylonios illis muros contuleris, quos Alexander intrauit,' (V 1.25f.).

IV 6.22 ad pristinum fastigium..extruit Cic. Vatin. 8.20 'ad cetera uulnera hanc plagam infligere,' Sen. Ag. 288 'pristinum sermonis oblita nouum commentum instruit.'

infesta in its passive sense = infestata. Of places cf. Livy 1.7.6 'loco infesto,' Varr. R.R. 'infesta regio.' Aul. Gell. 9.12.1 defines the two uses of infestus: 'Nam et is "infestus" appellatur qui malum infert cui-piam et, contra, cui aliunde impendit malum is quoque "infestus" dicitur.'

IV 6.23 Ultima pestis Arrian 2.27.3 attributes less importance to the mines. He says that the walls had already received a severe battering from the siege-engines, and emphasises the role of the phalanx in the final assault.

subrutus murus For this use of the p.p.p. as a verbal noun, see 'Participles' p. 351, and cf. IV 16.4 'ad Mazaem superati regis fama peruenerat,' Livy uses the phrase at 38.7.7 'ne iam subrutis muris facta in urbem uia esset,' and for a similar operation cf. Veget. R.M. 4.24 'cum ad murorum fundamentum peruenerint, suffodiunt eorum maximam partem.'

hostis intrauit Curtius here uses the device, favoured by Livy, of seeing the action through the eyes of the besieged. Livy on occasion goes so far as to refer to the Romans as 'the enemy', e.g. 36.22-24(ter), 38.29.2, 38.6.7.<sup>1</sup>

dum incautius subit Hannibal likewise invited attack, according to Livy 21.7.10: 'Hannibal ipse dum murum

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1 Walsh: RhM 97 (1954) 99.

· incautius subit, aduersum femur tragula grauiter ictus est.' Curtius may have had this passage in mind when he inserted a second wounding of Alexander at this point. Arrian knows nothing of the second wound, but we cannot be sure that Curtius was influenced by Livy. Plutarch mentions two wounds, though with different details, at Fort. Alex. 327A 'τὸ μὲν σφύρον ἐτοξεύθεν, τὸν δ' ὤμων ἐκπεσῶν.'

IV 6.24 nondum..obducta cicatrice Alexander was notoriously careless of his personal safety (cf. IV 6.14; 13.25). According to Curtius, he repeated his present behaviour on at least two other occasions: VIII 10.31 'Ad ea uisenda res, nondum obducta uulneri cicatrice, processit,' and IX 6.1 'Rex VII diebus curato uulnere, necdum obducta cicatrice..' For the phrase, cf. Pliny N.H. 23.124 'ambustis cicatricem..obducit,' metaph. in Cic. Agr. 3.4 'obductam iam..reipublicae cicatricem,' Livy 29.32.12 cicatricem ducere.

ira quoque accensus Hegesias ap.Dion. Hal. de Comp. Verb. 18 says 'τοὺς δ' ἄλλους ὀργή πρόσφατος ἐπίμπερα' as a result of the first attack by an individual upon Alexander. Ira accensus appears again at V 13.16. The phrase is already well established in historical prose and should not be regarded as poetic: cf. e.g. Sall. Iug. 15.5, 6.3, Hist. 1.77.14, Livy 26.3.6, 28.33.7.

IV 6.25 egregia edita pugna As V 4.31, VII 7.37. Edere with pugnam etc. is a phrase favoured by Livy, e.g. 38.7.10, 21.43.11, 31.37.3, and especially with caedem, e.g. 5.45.8, 31.24.15, 34.28.11.

lubricis armis A rather harsh example of an ablative absolute with concessive force, like 'nondum..percurato uulnere,' above § 21. W.Adams<sup>1</sup> lists 27 examples, of which 11 are defined by a nearby tamen, as e.g. IV 6.24 'Innixus tamen telo, nondum prioris uulneris obducta

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1 De ablatiuo absoluto apud Q.C.R. usu p. 19f.

cicatrice.'

IV 6.26 undique telis \*\*\* Freinsheim supplies the supplement 'telis <peteretur, ad postremum exhaustis uiribus uiuus in potestatem hostium peruenit.> Quo adducto (quo adducto Freinsheim: quadducto  $\Omega$ )...' This no doubt gives something of the sense required but there can, of course, be no certainty as to the language of the original. Peteretur in this context at least has close parallels elsewhere in Curtius: IV 4.11 'unus praecipue telis petebatur,' VIII 14.31 'expositus ipse ad ictus undique petebatur.'

gaudio elatus Also at VI 7.24, and probably VIII 4.27 'Inspirato gaudio elatus (elatus Hedicke: laetus  $\Omega$ ).

mirator This shortened form is found occasionally in poets for admirator. It appears first in prose at about the time of Curtius, but remains very rare. Curtius uses it only here; otherwise: Sen. de Vit. Beat. 8.3, Pliny N.H. 14.51, 33.7; and in late Latin.

passurum esse te cogita This use of cogitare occurs in a similar artificial word order at V 3.13 '(Sisigambis) cogitare captiuam esse se quam reginam fuisse.' Cogitare does not usually take the acc. and infin. but this construction is found three times in Cicero, in Curtius at IV 6.26, V 3.13, VII 2.9; then Sen. N.Q. 2.59.6. The use of coniectare with the acc. and infin. is comparable: Caes. B.C. 3.106.1, in Curtius at III 11.1, IV 10.31, and Tac. Hist. 3.15.

IV 6.27 contumaci uultu Hegesias ap. Dion. Hal. de Comp. Verb. 18 has  $\beta\lambda\omicron\sigma\upsilon\rho\acute{\omega}\tau\alpha\tau\omicron\nu$ . Usener is perhaps right in suggesting emendation to  $\beta\lambda\omicron\sigma\upsilon\rho\acute{\omega}\pi\omicron\nu$ , comparing Curtius' version, and Homer Il.  $\lambda 36$  'τῆ δ' ἐπὶ μὲν Γοργῶ  $\beta\lambda\omicron\sigma\upsilon\rho\acute{\omega}\pi\iota\varsigma$  ἔστεφάνωτο,' which Hegesias has quoted shortly before - loc. cit. 16. This use of contumax to refer to things other than persons seems to begin at about the time of Curtius, and the closest parallels are in Seneca:

de Ira 3.24.2 'contumaciam uultum,' de Clem. 1.24.2 'natura contumax est humanus animus;' cf. Tac. Ann. 5.3. Contumax and contumacia nearly always have pejorative implications, and this is always so in Curtius: VI 8.3, VIII 6.1, X 2.10; cf. Cicero's Socrates in a similar plight: 'Socrates nec patronum quaesivit ad iudicium capitis, nec iudicibus supplex fuit, adhibuitque liberam contumaciam, a magnitudine animi ductam, non a superbia,' (Tusc. 1.29.71).

ad minas Like 'ad haec Tyriotes, "Istud quidem procul abest," inquit,' IV 10.28.

IV 6.28 obstinatum ad tacendum Obstinatus is not used with ad before Livy; cf. V 4.1 'obstinato ad mortem animo,' as Livy 5.41.1. All the examples of obstinatus + ad and a gerund cited in TLL IX<sub>2</sub>.243.57f. are in Livy and Curtius: VIII 1.30 'ad silendum obstinatis,' VIII 2.11 'ad monendum obstinatum esse,' Livy 6.3.9 'obstinati ad decertandum.'

num..num A highly rhetorical passage, consonant with Alexander's frenzied rage. This anaphora is used several times by Vergil, also to convey extremes of emotion, e.g. Aen. 4.369-70 Dido's indignation and grief at Aeneas' arrogance: 'num fletu..num lumina..num lacrimas?' 7.294f. 'num capti..num incensa,' 10.68f.

genu posuit A variation, often found in poetry, on the standard phrase genu flexit; also used for rhetorical effect with reference to Alexander at Sen. Suas. 1.2 '(quae gentes) Alexandrum posito genu adorarint?' cf. VIII 7.13 'tu Macedonas uoluisti genua tibi ponere,' Ovid Fast. 2.438 'suppliciter posito procubuere suspiciens genu.' The use of ponere may be deliberate, to intensify the idea of total submission, and in the case of Sen. Suas. 1.2 and VIII 7.13 it has pejorative overtones suggesting 'grovelling'.

uocem supplicem misit As Livy 30.12.2 'si captivae

apud dominum uitae necisque suae uocem supplicem mittere licet,' Sall. Cat. 'demisso uoltu, uoce supplici postulare.'

si nihil aliud Such truncated hypothetical subordinate clauses are already found in Livy: 3.19.6, 5.2.11, 22.29.11, 30.35.8, 33.44.9, and cf. 2.32.9 'uentrem in medio quietum, nihil aliud, quam..,' 35.49.11. Analogous is 'εἰ μὴδὲν ἄλλο,' e.g. Epict. 1.2.33 'εἰ μὴδὲν ἄλλο, μὴ ὀλίγου αὐτὴν κολήσης.'

IV 6.29 Ira..uertit in rabiem Froben's emendation to ira seems convincing at first sight, in the light of V 3.20 'ira in rabiem uersa,' IX 3.2 'ira in misericordiam uersa,' VII 1.1 'inuidia in misericordiam uertit,' X 4.2, Livy 26.40.5, 22.51.9. There are, however, parallels for this transitive use of uertere at VI 6.1 in a similar context, '(Alexander) continentiamque et moderationem..in superbiam atque lasciuiam uertit,' IX 10.28 'fortuna..probrum uertit in gloriam.' For a discussion of the distinction between ira and rabies, see Cic. Tusc. 4.77. Sen de Ira calls ira 'affectum maxime ex omnibus taetrum ac rabidum.' Rabies is also an important feature in Livy's description of the sudden effects of the end of a siege on a long-frustrated enemy and the terrified conquered inhabitants of the city, e.g. 31.17.5 'ad Saguntinam rabiem uersi,' 31.18.6 'tanta enim rabies multitudinem inuasit,' 32.23.9 'hos desperata salus, si Romani uicissent, ad rabiem magis quam audaciam..accendebat.' See also Walsh: The Literary techniques of Livy, RhM 97 (1954) 98: 'In Livy's analysis of mental strain and the suddenness of its effects, the word rabies is important.' Unlike Curtius, Livy seems more interested in the plight of the besieged than in the activities of the besiegers. This may in some cases be due not so much to Livy's predilections as to the bias of his source. In at least one such instance he is following Polybius closely (16.34.9).

peregrinos ritus The use of ritus in cases other than

the ablative singular appears first in prose in Livy; cf. 24.3.12 'in alienos ritus mores legesque uerterentur.'

noua fortuna = insolita; cf. III 5.16 'nouitatis remedii.'

The change in Alexander's character as portrayed by Curtius is not as sudden as Tarn claims.<sup>1</sup>

According to Tarn, Curtius 'dates the change in Alexander's character to a precise moment of time; it follows the death of Darius which concludes Book V.' It is true that at VI 2 Curtius states that Alexander had become prey to many vices, but most of these are foreshadowed much earlier in the work. It would be more accurate to say that for Curtius the removal of his foremost enemy, the achievement of his explicit goal (IV 5.8 'Persepolis.. destinasse') and the riches of that city combined to bring to a head Fortune's insidious machinations. Tarn draws attention to actions of Alexander after Persepolis which he would not have stooped to before; e.g. at VIII 5.5 Alexander orders that he is to be believed to be the son of Zeus-Ammon, but the first two steps towards this had been taken long before (IV 7.25 and 30). At VII 5.40 and IX 8.16 Alexander crucifies opponents, but Tarn overlooks the fact that he had already done as much, and on a large scale, at Tyre (IV 4.17). Further, compare the fate of the rebellious chieftain at IX 8.16 with that of Betis in the present episode, where Alexander out-does Achilles in savagery, as Curtius (and only he, among the historians of Alexander) is at pains to point out. The Scholiast on Homer Il. X 397 felt that Achilles' action required some mitigation: 'ὁ δὲ Καλλίμαχος φησὶν ὅτι πάτριόν ἐστι Θετταλοῖς τοὺς τῶν φιλτάτων φονεῖας σύρειν περὶ τοὺς τῶν φονευθέντων τάφους,' κ.τ.λ.<sup>2</sup>

Curtius offers no excuse for Alexander, except perhaps to involve rabies and, as often, fortuna, when he says: 'gloriante rege Achillen..imitatum se esse.' On this controversial element in Alexander's nature see C.A. Robinson, Alexander's Brutality, AJA 56 (1952) 169-70.

1 Alexander, II p. 78.

2 It was too much for Plato also: see Resp. 3.391.

subiciente. I adopt Hedické's emendation, comparing VI 6.27 'uersabat se ad omnes cogitationes, aliud atque aliud..subiciente animo,' VII 5.17 'Consilium..quod unum necessitas subiecerat,' III 6.5 'quidquid..in utramque partem..metus..subiecerat..secreta aestimatione pensabat.' Even the nearest examples of Curtius' use of subire are quite different; cf. 1) = 'remember': V 4.11 'subit animum regis memoria oraculo editae sortis,' VI 9.27 'Subit animos Parmenionis..fortuna,' X 5.23, VIII 2.6; 2) = 'come upon one': V 2.15 'Subit ergo regem uerecundia uiolandi hospitales deos,' or 'occur to one': VI 1.4 'Horum cogitationes subibant exercitum.' In all these cases there is a recalling to mind of something already heard, said or done, whereas in the present passage Curtius' point is that the peregrini ritus had not suggested themselves to Alexander before, and would not have done so now had he not been corrupted by noua fortuna.

Per talos.. The fate of Betis is not mentioned by Arrian, Diodorus, Plutarch or Josephus, and Justin omits the Gaza episode entirely. Our only other source for the story is the Hellenistic 'tragic' historian Hegesias.<sup>1</sup> Curtius does not descend to Hegesias' level by delighting in the more gruesome aspects of the tale (cf. note on IV 7.12-14). He differs from Hegesias in saying that Alexander deliberately imitated Achilles (see Homer II. X 395-411) and that he was 'temporarily insane' when he did so. He emphasises Betis' courage in defending his city and does not make offensive remarks about his person. Tarn discusses this story (in Alexander, II appendix 11) and its sources, and suggests that Cleitarchus may have been its originator, although Curtius' two references to this historian are both disparaging (IX 5.21; 8.15). Tarn discounts the possibility that Curtius may have thought of the comparison between Alexander and Achilles

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1 Hegesias: Jacoby, Frag. greich. Hist. II no. 142, fr. 5.

himself because the parallel is not close enough: for example Betis is alive whereas Hector was dead,<sup>1</sup> but cf. mutatis mutandis Roxane at VIII.4.26 with Achilles' Briseis. Here Curtius again explicitly makes the comparison but the circumstances of, and reasons for, Alexander's union with Roxane and that of Achilles and Briseis are by no means identical. Tarn claims that Curtius 'shows clearly enough that he does not believe the story of Batis being dragged alive behind a chariot, though he relates it,' and he goes on to point out Curtius' notorious disclaimer at IX 1.34 'equidem plura transcribo quam credo.' As far as I can see, Curtius says nothing of the kind about the present passage. Whether he believes the story or not, it suits his picture of Alexander's decline. Iam tum is used quite deliberately to show that even at this comparatively early stage in his success, when he was not yet master of Asia proper, noua fortuna had already undermined Alexander's natural qualities sufficiently to induce this act of barbarism.

enim spirantis Allen<sup>2</sup> and others prefer etiam spirantis, comparing Sall. Cat. 6.1.4 'paululum etiam spirans,' Cic. pro Tull. 21 'semianimum ac spirantem etiam,' pro Sext. 24.54 'spirante etiam republica,' and cf. Tac. Ann. 1.5 'spirantem adhuc Augustum.' But in all these cases the subject is already half-dead or on the point of death. Curtius has not said that Betis had, for example, been tortured already, although he has 'quidquid in captium inueniri potest passurum esse te cogita,' above, where some 'deteriores' insert 'quidquid tormentorum'. Here spirantis probably means simply 'alive', as VIII 9.32, X 10.13, Cic. pro Mil. 33.91, Sil. Ital. 2.430.

Achillen a quo genus ipse deduceret - on his mother's side. The Molossian dynasty of Epirus claimed descent from Achilles through his son Neoptolemus: VIII 4.26,

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1 at least in Homer; although there are traces of an alternative tradition in which he was alive, e.g. Soph. Ajax 1030.

2 H.Allen: Observationes in Q.Curtium Rufum, ad loc.



Plut. Alex. 2.1, 15.4, Arr. 1.11.8 'τῷ Νεοπτολέμῳ γένει,' Vell. Pat. 1.6.5, Justin 11.29.38, Sil Ital. 15.291, Propert. 4.11.

imitatum Homer Il. X 395f. For Alexander's admiration for, and imitation of, Achilles, see Plut. Alex. 26.1, Cic. pro Arch. 10.24 'O fortunate, inquit (Alexander), adulescens, qui tuae uirtutis Homerum praeconem inueneris,' Arr. 1.12.1f. It was a repeat performance which Erasmus, for one, deplored: 'Mihi certe non magis placet Graecorum Historicorum Alexander, quam Achilles Homericus, pessimum uterque boni principis exemplar,' Ep. ded. in his edition of Quintus Curtius, Leiden 1518.

poena in hoste capienda Poenam capere is a very rare expression found at Livy 2.5.5 'poenae capiendae ministerium patri de liberis consulatus imposuit,' Ovid Met. 2.834 'uerborum poenas..cepit Atlantiades ex Aglauro;' with de probably Apul. Met. 3.13 "cape," inquit, "orate et de perfida muliere uindictam," cf. Vulg. Esth. 8.13 'ad capiendam uindictam de hostibus suis.' Thus the few occurrences of this phrase, apart from Curtius, have de or an equivalent preposition. There is no parallel for its use with in, which makes the present passage highly suspect. Vogel (Teubner 1903) alleges that the paradosis in hostem stands for de hoste but offers no explanation as to why Curtius should have chosen to make this already unusual expression even more difficult, by employing a preposition which does not suit capere, and which makes the precise interpretation of the whole phrase very unclear. De hoste would be more acceptable but the MSS. are unanimous in reading in. Pichon explains the accusative in hostem as meaning 'in the case of', but this meaning is more clearly conveyed by Δ 's in hoste which Müller adopts probante clausula; this at least gives reasonable sense in the context. I follow Müller, but with the observation that the fault may lie in capienda. In order to give a really satisfactory reading, it seems that we should either emend in hostem substantially to de / ex hoste, or find a replacement for capienda which

can more easily take in + acc., and is palaeographically plausible.

IV 6.30 . circa X milia Arr. 2.27.7 'καὶ ἀπέθανον πάντες αὐτοῦ μάχόμενοι ὡς ἑκάστοι ἐτάχθησαν.' Hegesias gives the number as six thousand which is more in accordance with 'modicum praesidium' at IV 6.7.

geminato = bina, otherwise only at Cic. N.D. 2.14 'sole geminato,' Ovid Met. 2.220, Pliny N.H. 27.105, 29.9 'arte geminata (astrologia et medicina),' then Ps. Damas.

Amyntan Amyntas' son of Andromenes: RE I1.2007 = Andromenes 17. See III 9.7, V 1.40, VII 1f., Arr. 3.27.1f.

inquisitionem There are other examples, albeit very few, of inquisitio used as a synonym of conquisitio: Pliny Epp. 10.30.2 'lecti sunt, inquisitio peccauit,' although it could be argued in this case that the word applies more to the investigation of the suitability of the recruits by the recruiting officers than to the levy itself; however Sherwin-White on this passage of Pliny notes an example of inquisitio in this sense in an inscription; Apul. Met. 7.4.3 which seems to prove the point: 'suadet inquisitioni commilitonum potius insisteretur et tirocinio nouae iuuentutis.. integraretur.'

IV 6.31 secundis for rebus secundis. The ellipse of the noun is found in poets and in prose in Livy and later, e.g. Livy 28.11.1 'cum omnium secundorum aduersorumque causas in deos uerterent,' Sen. Oed. 694, Thyest. 615, Ag. 934. Aduersa is used similarly in Livy 30.12.6 and VIII 4.11. Curtius also has other substantival adjectives in cases less usual than the acc., e.g. praesentibus IX 9.21, X 9.17, inuiis VII 11.18.

adterebantur Rare in prose until after the time of Livy (Sall. Jug. 5.4, 79.4, 85.46, Cic. Verr. 4.94 'rictum eius (simulacri)..paulo sit attritus') and not found in Livy himself. Cf. Val. Max. 2.7.15 'quassatis et adtritis..

uiribus,' Flor. 3.22.6 'hi copias adtriuere uiri prope tota Hispania persecuti,' Tac. Hist. 1.10, 1.89.

minor fides Cf. the Scythian's warning at VII 8.28  
'Quos uiceris, amicos tibi esse caue credas.'

IV 7.1 olim I do not think that this is equivalent to nuper here, as it is at IV 5.17, but almost = ut solet. This remark does not refer back to the recent hostilities at IV 1.28 but is a general statement of the Egyptians' attitude. See also on quippe auare..credebant, below.

Persarum opibus Cf. VI 5.9 'Atheniensis, qui maxime Macedonum opibus semper obstiterat,' Livy 7.26.15 'Graecia, ea tempestate intestino fessa bello, iam Macedonum opes horrebat,' VIII 6.6, Justin 6.1.1, 15.2.14.

infensi Cf. IV 1.28 'semper praetoribus eorum infestus.' Infensus appears only four times in Curtius: IV 7.1, VII 11.27, IX 7.1, X 1.17, whereas infestus is used 17 times. Most prose authors (including Livy and Sen. Min.) show this overwhelming preference for infestus: Vell. Pat., Mela and Pliny the Elder, among others, use the latter exclusively. Tacitus, on the other hand, prefers infensus (TLL VII, 1406.32f.).

quippe auare et superbe imperitatum sibi esse credebant

Diod. 17.49.2 gives similar reasons for the Egyptians' discontent: 'οἱ γὰρ Αἰγύπτιοι τῶν Περσῶν ἡσθενηκότων εἰς τὰ ἱερὰ καὶ βιαιῶς ἀρχόντων ἄσμενοι προσεδέξαντο τοὺς Μακεδόνας.' For comparable expressions cf. Livy 21.1.3 'superbe auareque crederent imperitatum uictis esse,' VIII 3.16, IX 8.9. Like Livy and Tacitus, Curtius affects the use of some frequentatives in a sense little different from that of the simple verb, such as clamitare at VI 7.27.

ad spem..erexerant animos Livy 21.19.7 has 'multos..  
populos ad cupidinem nouae fortunae erexerunt,' 21.20.9

'ciuitatem omnem in expectationem belli erectam inuen-  
erunt,' and cf. IV 16.6, X 6.20.

Amyntan. I have standardized the Greek acc. ending.  
Here the MSS. have Amyntam  $\omega$ : Amintam  $\underline{P}$ , but at IV 6.30 -  
Amyntan  $\underline{\Omega}$ . This is not the same Amyntas as at IV 6.30  
(cf. III 11.18 and IV 1.28 q.v.).

precario imperio Rolfe explains: 'since he was acting  
on his own responsibility', and Cellarius, 'Quod ex arbitrio  
aliorum pendebat.' Both are correct historically, but  
Cellarius is right about the meaning of the word and its  
etymology. Amyntas' position was that of a usurper as  
far as Darius was concerned and he thus lacked any official  
support should the Egyptians turn against him. This  
phrase is found several times in Curtius: V 8.12, VI 3.6,  
X 6.2, and with precario used adverbially, at IX 2.34 and  
X 2.15.

laeti recepisset Arrian 3.1.2 limits this friendliness  
to Mazaces the governor. Diodorus 17.49.1f. agrees with  
Curtius that this was the feeling of the populace in  
general.

IV 7.2 a Gaza A preposition is also found with  
names of towns at IV 7.5; 7.9, V 13.1; 6.9. We should  
not be surprised at Curtius: Livy already has this usage.  
Curtius attitude towards the use of prepositions with  
names of countries is perhaps not what we should expect,  
either; see on Arabia rediens IV 3.7.

castra Alexandri Erasmus tentatively suggests that  
claustra Alexandri should be read, but this would be to  
confuse the present place with the well-known 'Claustra  
Alexandri' described at length at VI 4; and cf. Orosius  
adu. Pag. 1.2.9 'loca quae accolae Catabathmon uocant haud  
procul a castris Alexandri Magni.' For other examples of  
such places, see III 4.1 'regionem quae castra Cyri appel-  
latur,' Livy 32.13.2 'Rex primo die ad Castra Pyrrhi  
peruenit.'

Deinde From this point onwards there are variations in the accounts of Alexander's itinerary. According to Arrian 3.1.1-3 he made quite different arrangements for transport from those given by Curtius, sending the fleet ahead up the river and going on foot himself. Diodorus unfortunately does not record his method of travel.

IV 7.3 defectione We can easily understand Aegyptiorum. There is no need to insert it into the text as Damsté recommends.

IV 7.4 Memphi There Alexander gave games in honour of the gods including, tactfully, the Egyptian Apis. (Arr. 3.1.4) and for his illustrious ancestor Perseus who was said to have founded Memphis (Pliny N.H. 15.13 and 30). This is one of the many examples of Alexander's emulation of heroes from whom he claimed descent; see also on cupido § 8 below.

in cuius praesidio It is true that Curtius has 'in praesidium relictis' at VII 3.5, but for the ablative here we have precedents in Livy: 1.38.1 'Egerius..Collatiae in praesidio relictus,' 1.14.9, 39.31.11, and the analogy of 'in obsidione relinqui' at VI 6.25, VII 6.19, VIII 10.22. Curtius has several more unusual phrases with in + ablative, e.g. III 11.20 'in conparatione' followed by a genitive, IV 8.7 in paucis = 'inter paucos.'

Astaces There is considerable uncertainty about the name. Especially confusing is the similarity of the name here with that of the satrap of Egypt at IV 1.28 whom Curtius calls Sataces. Arrian 3.1.2 calls this satrap *Μαζάκης* and Raderus would emend the paradosis astaces here to Mazaces under the influence of that name in Arrian. 'Astaces' is surely not the same person as Sataces the satrap of Egypt, who had gone off to Issus. I print Astaces in order to preserve the difference, although there may have been some discrepancy in Curtius' sources over the satrap's whereabouts or in the form of the name they gave him. The similarity between the paradoses

staces and astaces certainly suggests that the same person may be intended. Further, Curtius' word for the governor of a city as opposed to the satrap of a province is praefectus (see on praetorem IV 1.28). He does use praetor to mean a general, and in view of the function of 'Astaces' here, he may well have been a general of Darius. In that case, Sataces is perhaps the satrap of Egypt with overall command, and Astaces the general sent to command the garrison of Memphis only, because of Alexander's dangerous proximity.

<ad Cercas>oron . Foss's conjecture at least makes good sense of a troublesome crux. We should like to be able to restore the name of a river, which was corrupted to oron because of its unfamiliarity, comparing for example VII 4.21 'Oxo (Oxo Lauer: mox  $\Omega$ ) amne superato,' IV 9.7 'Tigri deinde superato.' This phrase seems to suffer particularly badly from unsuccessful attempts by scribes to render baffling names. There is a strikingly similar corruption at IX 1.8 'Hinc† poro† amne superato,' where the Vulg. porro is unlikely to be correct, as Curtius does not otherwise use this adverb. In view of the similarity of context and expression, one would like to find the same solution in both cases.

Several attempts have been made to supply the name of a stream or canal in the area. There is certainly literary evidence for the existence of many subsidiary streams and canals in the delta: Amm. Marc. 22.15,9 'praeter amnes plurimos ex alueo deriuatos auctore cadentesque in suppres eius, septem nauigabiles sunt et undosi,' Bell. Afr. 29.1 'flumen intercedebat angustum altissimis ripis quod in Nilum influebat.' Modius, followed by Mützell, retains the paradosis Oron, referring as they suppose to a canal north of Memphis. Schmieder and Zumpt read Heroon, supposing this to be the canal from the Pelusiac branch of the Nile, leading past Heroopolis to the Arabian Gulf. This canal joins the Pelusiac branch of the Nile almost mid-way between Pelusium and Memphis (see map inside back cover), and Curtius has already

stated that this took place when Alexander was 'haud procul Memphi.' Moreover, the governor of Memphis would already have had to cross the Nile to reach this canal, a feat far more worthy of record. The grammatical form of these suggestions in any case renders them unacceptable. Proper names always decline in Curtius, even when they are foreign, and there are no Semitic forms. Schmieder also suggests Orio to get round this objection. It occurred to me that Curtius might have confused another canal running north of Heliopolis with the Orontes in Syria which rises near a second Heliopolis (Strabo 16.2.5f.). But all those names can, I believe, be dismissed because any name other than that of the Nile or one of its main branches makes nonsense of the next sentence: 'A Memphi eodem flumine uectus.' If we restore the name of a different stream here, eodem flumine would have to refer right back to § 3 'Nilo amne uectus', ignoring the nearer and more logical antecedent.

None of the names we have for the main streams of the Nile delta resembles our conjectures. Strabo 17.1.18f. (801-2) calls them: 'Κανωβικόν, Βολβίτικον, Σεβεννυτικόν, Φανιτικόν, Μενδήσιον, Τανιτικόν, Πελουιακόν,' and Amm. Marc. 22.15.10 has: 'Heracleoticus, Sebennycticus, Bolbiticus, Pathmiticus, Mendesius, Taniticus et Pelusiacus.' The only reasonable contender here would be the Canopic branch - Canopico amne is less implausible than the others (cf. Pliny 5.63, etc., Mela 1.9.9). However, for the Persian governor to cross the Canopic branch he would have to travel a good way from Memphis, and would end up on the opposite bank (of the Pelusiac branch) from Alexander. Presumably Alexander would be sailing nearer the right bank of the Pelusiac branch from Pelusium. For comparison, Arrian 3.1.3 specifies that he had the Nile on his right as he came towards Heliopolis, although, as we have seen, Arrian says that Alexander was on foot. Unless he made a detour across land to meet the governor of Memphis Alexander would not have been able to sail up the Canopic branch of the Nile (eodem amne) into Upper Egypt. I do not believe that Curtius' geography here is as confused as all that, or else he would not have known which of the

main branches of the Nile was which.

Cercasoron was a town on the left bank of the Nile near where the river divides for the first time into its two main branches - the Canopic (which soon divides again) and the Pelusiac: Mela 1.9.2 'Nilus iuxta Cercasoron oppidum triplex esse incipit.' For Herodotus this town marks the point beyond which the Nile ceased to be a single stream: 'παρὰ τὸ δῆν τοῦ Δέλτα καὶ παρα Κερκάσορον πόλιν' (2.97), 'μέχρι μὲν νῦν Κερκασάρον πόλις ῥέει εἰς ἑὸν ὁ Νεῖλος' (2.17). The town is called *Κερκέσουρα* by Strabo 17.1.30 (806). If we adopt this conjecture, Curtius' version runs thus: the governor of Memphis hurried north for a short distance, and then crossed the river (Nile) near Cercasoron to meet Alexander on the right bank. Alexander then re-embarked and continued his journey up the same river (Nile). According to Arrian who, as we have seen, differs from Curtius in some details, it was Alexander himself who crossed the Nile, but at the same point between Heliopolis and Memphis, i.e. ad Cercasoron, (Arrian 3.1.4).

I do not think that amne is corrupt, as Kinch suggests. Amnem superare is found several times elsewhere in Curtius, e.g. III 1.9; 8.16; and we have already observed two other instances of corruption in this phrase. We may ask whether the River was too wide to cross easily at this point but Arrian 3.6.1 says: 'ἔγεφυρώθη αὐτῷ ὅτε κατὰ Μέμφιν πρὸς τοῦ Νεῖλου.' I have considered 'ponte amne superato', comparing III 7.5 'Igitur..Pyramo amne ponte iuncto,' but there is no evidence for the existence of a bridge before Alexander's instruction to build one at Memphis (Arr. 3.6.1). Parone is palaeographically plausible but is a very rare word (cf. Aul. Gell. 10.25.57 'Tunc se fluctigero tradit mandatque paroni,' Cic. ap. Isid. Orig. 19.1.20) and I doubt whether this small craft would accommodate all the baggage, not to mention persons, Curtius mentions. These tentative suggestions are closer to the paradosis at IX 1.8 but are even less suitable for that context.

Some adverbs have also been offered, the most widely accepted being Hedicke's sponste. Curtius only uses



sponte once without sua or a genitive, and then it refers to an animal: '(Bucephala) sponte genua submittens.' The solution gives good sense but it is not so easy to account for the gross corruption of this comparatively familiar word. Hedicke also suggests praerapido, comparing IX 4.10 'hinc praerapida celeritate fluminum occupantur,' but the parallel is not close.

There is a suspicious similarity between Curtius' phrase as transmitted and Arrian's at 3.2.4 'διαβὰς τὸν πόρον,' but I do not think it likely that Curtius could have misinterpreted his Greek source so badly as to think that πόρον was the name of a river, assuming that it contained a phrase similar to Arrian's. He must have met the word dozens of times before in the sources for this History, and managed to understand it on previous occasions. Arrian is here referring to the crossing of the Nile by Alexander, whereas Curtius says that the governor of Memphis took the initiative, although both historians have reached the same point in the story. If Curtius had become confused and forgotten so soon which river he was talking about, we should still expect 'Poros amne superato' rather than 'Poron amne superato.' This supposed river's name is erroneously accepted by Modius at IX 4.8 'Poros amne superato', where at least the grammar of the paradosis is correct even though the 'name' does not fit the circumstances.

IV 7.5 interiora Aegypti Dosson<sup>1</sup> inexplicably finds this use of the neuter substantival adj. with a genitive remarkable. We already have the analogy of pleraque in Sall. Iug. 102.9 'pleraque rerum humanarum,' and 'interiora aedium' is found in Cic. ad Att. 4.3.3; cf. ad Fam. 1.9.15 'summa pectoris' and 10.19.2 'belli extrema.' Livy uses the construction more freely, and 'superiora Macedoniae' at Livy 33.19.1 is directly comparable with Curtius' phrase. Interiora here does not mean quite the same as at IV 8.3, where it certainly refers to Upper Egypt. In the present

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1 Remarques 50 in his edition of Q.-C., 1884.

case it probably means more literally 'further into Egypt.' Arrian 3.1.4 says that Alexander sailed straight from Memphis downstream to Lake Mareotis; Diod. 17.49.1 agrees with Curtius (see following note).

conpositis rebus ita ut nihil ex patrio Aegyptiorum more mutaret Diod. 17.19.1 also places Alexander's settlement at this point in the narrative, and says that it was achieved 'χωρὶς κινδύνων.' Arrian 3.1.4 records in connection with this (first) visit to Memphis the sacrifices made by Alexander 'τοῖς τε ἄλλοις θεοῖς καὶ τῷ Ἄπιδι.' Both Curtius' and Arrian's comments are interesting evidence of Alexander's determination to avoid giving offence to the Egyptians by seeming to slight their institutions or religion. Diod. 17.49.1 gives the Persians' lack of respect for what must have seemed to them outlandish gods, as one of the main reasons for the Egyptians' state of revolt against their Persian masters, and their ready acceptance of Alexander. It has been said of Alexander's later adoption of Persian royal dress (or at least those parts of it which were most acceptable to Macedonian taste) and court formality, that this was the extreme manifestation of his megalomania. We should ask whether it was not rather symbolic of a deliberate policy of unification aimed at insulting no-one, but which probably pleased no-one either.<sup>1</sup> Alexander sensibly preferred to leave well alone by appointing or confirming in their office reliable local officials in the cities and districts which had submitted to him, rather than substituting foreign Macedonian governors. Arrian describes the settlement of Egypt in these terms during Alexander's second visit to Memphis, after the journey to Ammon.

H.W.Parke, The Oracles of Zeus, pp. 223-4, misinterprets this sentence and thus makes a problem, where none exists, over a supposed custom of the Pharaohs of visiting the oracle at Ammon.

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<sup>1</sup> See e.g. J.B.Bury, A History of Greece, ch. 17 fin. 'The spirit of Alexander's policy as Lord of Asia.'

Louis Hammonis oraculum . RE I<sub>2</sub>.1853.30f. = Ammon 1;  
 RE VII<sub>2</sub>.2310.14f. = Hammo. The oracle was at the Oasis  
 of Siwah between the Nile delta and Syrtis Major. Ammon  
 was originally the local god of Thebes who came to pre-  
 eminence when Upper Egypt was annexed after the expulsion  
 of the Hyskos in the mid-16th century B.C. (CAH II<sub>1</sub>.293f.).  
 Ammon was subsequently identified with Ra (as Ammon-Ra)  
 and became the greatest of the Egyptian deities  
 (CAH II<sub>1</sub>.323f.).

IV 7.6f. The journey to Ammon Cf. Diod. 17.49.2f.,  
 Arr. 3.3.1f. A.Villard: Du désert de Libye au Grand  
 Nord avec Quinte-Curce, gives a detailed analysis of  
 Curtius' dramatic treatment of this episode, drawing atten-  
 tion to his use of Nature herself as a protagonist (see  
 § 12f.). As we should expect, Curtius takes more liberties  
 in this respect than Arrian who expresses some incredulity  
 at the 'miracle stories' recorded by all the other histor-  
 ians of Alexander - Diod. 17.49-51, Plut. Alex. 26-28,  
 Justin 11.11). Strabo also points out the exaggerations  
 of the historians in describing this episode (17.1.43).  
 Cambyses' attempt at this same expedition elicited a simi-  
 lar response: see Herod. 3.26, Sen. N.Q. 2.30.2, Justin  
 1.9.1f. More 'cold-blooded' statistics about the journey  
 and the position of the oasis can be found in Strabo  
 1.3.4 (49), 17.1.14 (799) and Pliny N.H. 5.31, 5.50.  
 P.A.Brunt; Arrian, App. V, gives a helpful survey of the  
 sources of this account, the god, and Alexander's connec-  
 tion with Ammon.

This section of Philip Gualterus' Alexandreis is  
 closely modelled on Curtius: 'Ardet rex Libyci sedes  
 Hammonis adire / Difficilis aditus, iter intolerabile  
 quamuis / Fortibus et paucis' (3.372f.).

terra caeloque aquarum penuria Cf. Sall. Iug. 17.5  
 'caelo terraque penuria aquarum.' The locative ablative  
 is analogous to terra marique, and Cicero thinks that it  
 is a poetic expression: 'Natura sic ab iis inuestigata

est, ut nulla pars caelo, mari, terra (ut poetice loquar) praetermissum sit' (de Fin. 5.9).

steriles harenae Similarly Lucan 9.382f., also of this part of Africa: 'uadimus in campos steriles exustaque mundi.' Gualterus Alex. 3.376 conflates this phrase with sterili et moriente terra in § 10 to give the striking 'steriles moriuntur arenae.'

IV 7.7 luctandum..cum Cf. III 1.18 'diu luctatus cum latentibus nodis.' This usage should not be regarded as poetical. Cicero already has luctari with cum in a metaphorical sense, e.g. at de Or. 1.17.74, and it is found several times in Vell. Pat. in contexts similar to Curtius' here; e.g. 2.115.2 'cum difficultate locorum et cum ui hostium luctatus.' Also comparable in idea is Livy 7.38.7 'luctari in arido solo.'

non solum Curtius prefers this standard 'Classical' expression, and uses non tantum only three times, at III 11.25, VIII 5.5 and IX 1.2, although this occurs several times in Seneca, e.g. de Ira 3.12.4, Consol. ad Marc. 16.6.

tenacissimo sabulo quod praealtum Cf. IV 7.11 'campi alto obruti sabulo.' The idea 'tenax sabulum' is not incompatible, as Schmieder avers, with 'uestigio cedens' following. He would emend to tenuissimo, or alternatively suggests fugacissimo. Both these would give good sense if Curtius were referring to the sort of fine dust which Lucan in his description of the same area calls pulus (Phars. 9.432), and cf. Strabo 17.1.43 (814) 'πλανώμενον δ' ὑπὸ τοῦ κονιορτοῦ.' But Curtius means a sort of sticky sinking sand; cf. Tac. Ann. 1.63 'loca limosa, tenacia graui caeno.'

uestigio This meaning of uestigium is unusual but should not be considered poetic or 'non-Classical'. It is certainly found in the poets, e.g. Verg. Aen. 5.566, but is also already used by Cicero, e.g. Acad. 2.39.123, Verr. 24.

Curtius also has this collective singular at IV 9.18 'modo saxa lubrica uestgium fallerent,' and these singulars are a feature of his style, somewhat idiosyncratically employed; for example the genitive singular of the collectives egues and pedes are not attested, the plurals being used in their stead, whereas militis is found as a collective at e.g. IV 3.18.<sup>1</sup>

cedens Almost equivalent to desidente sabulo at IV 6.9. This use of cedere meaning literally to give way or be displaced (of inanimate objects) is unusual, but Cic. N.D. 2.83 already has '(aer) uidetur quasi locum dare et cedere.' Closer to Curtius' phrase is Pliny Epp. 2.17.15 'uinea nudis etiam pedibus mollis et cedens.'

aegre moliuntur pedes Cf. IV 3.10, IX 9.13, Pliny N.H. 11.108. Moliri = 'cum labore mouere' is found once in Livy - 25.36.10 'neque transilire nec moliri onera obiecta..facile erat;' cf. VI 8.20 'clausum aditum domus moliebatür.'

IV 7.8 Cupido corresponds with Arrian's πόθος (e.g. Arr. 3.1.5, 3.2.3). When referring to Alexander, Curtius uses cupido as Arrian uses πόθος specifically to mean the 'δαίμων' which always seemed to be driving him on. Seneca Epp. 94.62 describes its effects thus: 'Agebat infelicem Alexandrum furor aliena uastandi..et ad ignota.. mittebat.' Cupido incessit animo is equivalent to 'πόθος λαμβάνει' (VII 11.4, cf. Arr. 4.28.4). Curtius also implies that this cupido at times completely overcame Alexander, so that he became blind to all considerations other than that of its satisfaction: 'uicit cupido rationem' (IX 2.2). For further discussion of Alexander's πόθος, see Ehrenberg: Alexander and the Greeks, pp. 52-61; Griffith: Alexander the Great - the Main Problems, p. 73f.; Kraft: Der 'rationale' Alexander, ch. 4. For cupido incessit with a genitive gerund, cf. Livy 24.13.5 'ingens cupido incesserat..Tarenti potiundi,' III 1.16 'cupido incessit animo

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<sup>1</sup> See further: H. Koskenniemi, Der nominale Numerus in der Sprache und im Stil des Curtius Rufus.

sortis eius explendae;' cf. Tac. Ann. 1.61 'cupido Caesarem inuadit soluendi,' Sall. Iug. 89.6.

Alexander's desire to visit Ammon was stimulated by his eagerness to emulate his 'particular' heroes - Hercules according to Sen. de Ben. 1.13.1, Hercules and Perseus according to Strabo 17.1.43 (814): 'ὁ γοῦν Καλλιθένης φησὶ τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον φιλοδοξῆσαι μάλιστα ἀνελεῖν ἐπὶ τὸ χρηστήριον, ἐπειδὴ καὶ Περσέα πρότερον ἀναβῆναι καὶ Ἡρακλέα .. ἔρμησαντα δ' ἐκ Παραιτονίου,' Arr. 3.3.1, Sen. Epp. 94.63. See also Brunt, Arrian, App. IV Alexander and the Heroes. Justin 11.11.3f. gives quite a different reason for the urgency of the visit: '(Alexander) cupiens matrem infamia liberare,' and he records the legend of the visit of Ammon to Olympias in the form of a serpent, from which union Alexander was supposed to have sprung (Plut. Alex. 2-4). Diodorus simply says, 'προῆλθεν εἰς Ἄμμωνος, βουλόμενος χρῆσασθαι τῷ θεῷ' (17.49.2).

generis sui auctorem Cf. Justin 11.11.2 'Alexander.. ad Iouem deinde Hammonem pergit, consulturus, et de futuorum et de origine suo,' 11.11.6 'cupiens originem diuinitatis acquirere,' Arr. 3.3.1-2. Whatever his true beliefs in the matter, according to Curtius Alexander later had no hesitation in claiming his origo diuina - VI 9.18; 10.26; 11.5, and he certainly wished others to believe in it: VI 11.24 '"Non solum homines sed etiam deos despicit qui postulat deus credi."'

credi + infinitive: Draeger II 426 is mistaken in saying that this construction is not found in Curtius. It seems to be confined to the poets until after the time of Livy; cf. Lucr. 4.389 'nauis praeter creditur ire.' It occurs in four other places in Curtius: III 8.7 'eum qui recedat fugere credi,' VI 5.18 'credebaturque sentire quem ueheret,' and in expressions similar to the present example, but with ellipse of esse: VI 11.24 'deos despicit qui postulat deus credi,' VIII 5.15 'Interuallo enim opus est ut credatur deus.'

IV 7.9 amne Curtius uses the -e ablative ending in

the overwhelming majority of cases. Where amni is found, our author has been constrained to use this form for reasons of clausula: IX 9.8; 9.21. There is only one example of the -i ending extra clausulam, at IV 9.19 'maior inter ipsos quam cum amni orta luctatio est.' At IX 4.14 Müller rightly follows the authority of P in reading amne, rather than amne with  $\omega$ . I should also agree with him in reading amne, clausulae causa at IV 8.7, comparing IV 7.3, IX 3.24; 6.2; 8.3; 9.27. But Müller is mistaken in claiming the emendation: amne is already present in the Editio princeps (Vindelinus - ut uid.). Curtius' use of igne and igni is rather similar. igni occurs only once, in the formula igni ferroque, at III 4.3 on which Müller remarks 'sollemni locutione.'

descendit Unusual in Curtius for deuectus est (IX 8.3) or defluit (IV 8.7) when referring to water journeys. Perhaps this may indicate some uncertainty in Curtius' mind as to Alexander's means of transport. Diod. 17.49.2 implies that he marched; Arrian 3.1.4-5 agrees with Curtius.

Mareotin paludem Situated in Lower Egypt, west of the delta, and connected with the Mediterranean by the Canopic branch of the Nile. Arrian and Plutarch place the selection of a site for the city of Alexandria at this point in the story, before the visit to Ammon. According to Arrian (3.1.4-5), Alexander had taken on board a considerable number of men during his voyage from Memphis to the sea, and left a large force behind to start the building in his absence. Curtius, Diodorus and Justin agree that the city was founded on Alexander's way back from the Oracle; see on IV 8.1 ab Hammone rediens.

Et dona adtulere Diod. 17.49.2 says that the envoys from Cyrene met Alexander during his march to the Mareotic Lake, and specifies the gifts they offered. According to Arrian 3.3.3, Alexander followed the coast to Paraetionium and then turned inland towards Hammo. Parke, The Oracles of Zeus, pp. 196 and 224, gives the possible alternative routes which visitors to the Oracle might take.

IV 7.10 'uastis..solitudinibus Curtius seems to like this evocative expression; cf. III 5.6, IV 1.1; 7.15; IV 7.16, IX 2.2.

sterili et emoriente terra Cf. VII 5.34 of a man-made desert: 'ut uasta solitudo et sterilis humus excussis etiam radicibus linqueretur,' and 'sterilis est terra materia' VII 3.8; 5.17. Emoriente terra is an unusual combination. This verb used as the equivalent of deficere is first applied to non-living things by Curtius: IX 4.18 'emoriens natura,' Tertull. Nat. 2.2.20 'mundus emoritur.' The only other comparable examples are: Mela 3.78 '(Euphrates) inde tenuis riuus despectus emoritur et.. deficit,' Pliny N.H. 16.23 'carbo in aerariorum..officinis ..desinente flatu protinus emoriens.' Cf. the more usual use found in Curtius' near-contemporaries, though not in Curtius himself: Cels. 5.26.34 'membrum quod paulatim emoritur,' Sen. Oed. 49 'ardente culmo sterilis emoritur seges,' Pliny N.H. 17.85 'propter quod emoritur (arbores) ignaris causae agricolis.' For the picture of desolation cf. Lucan 9.435f.: 'temperies uitalis abest, et nulla sub illa / cura Iouis terra est; natura deside torpēt / orbis et inmotis annum non sentit harenis.'

IV 7.11 campi alto obruti sabulo..Aqua etiam defecerat

This corresponds closely with Diod. 17.49.3 *διήκει τὴν χώραν ἔχουσαν ἄμμον μέγεθος ἀέριον. ἐν ἡμέραις δετέσσαρσιν ἐξαναλωθέντων τῶν κομιζομένων ὑδάτων..'*

profundum aequor The same simile is used by Arrian 3.3.4: *καθ' ἅπερ ἐν πελάγει τῇ ψάμμῳ,* Itin. Alex. 51 'per immensum illud pelagus arenarum,' Mela 1.39 'Auster immodicus exurgit harenasque quasi maria agens sic saeuit ut fluctibus,' Cf. Plut. Alex. 26.6 *εἰ λάβος ἐν ἄμμῳ βαθείᾳ καὶ ἀχανεῖ πορευομένοις ἐπικέσοι νότος .'* Other authorities mention this deadly combination of deep sand and high winds: Arr. 3.3.4, Plut. Alex. 26.6 on the sufferings of the army of Cambyses in the same region: *(νότος) ἀναστήσας θίνα μεγάλην καὶ κυματώσας τὸ πεδῖον μυριάδας*



ἀνθρώπων πέντε καταχῶσαι καὶ διαφεῖραι,' Herod. 3.26  
 'ἐπιπνεῦσαι νότον μέγαν, φορέοντα δε θίνας τῆς ψάμμου  
 καταχῶσαι σφέας,' Aul. Gell. 16.11 (cf. Herod. 4.173)  
 on the Psylli (formerly neighbours of the Nasamones -  
 see IV 7.20): 'Atque ita profectis uentum Austrum magno  
 spiritus agmine uenisse obuiam eosque uniuersos cum  
 omnibus copiis armisque, cumulis montibusque harenarum  
 superuectis, operuisse.'

terram requirebant Arrian has a different version of  
 this nautical simile at 3.3.4, where Alexander's army is  
 lost and relying for direction on the 'miraculous'  
 serpents (or crows). At that point, according to Arrian,  
 the soldiers look out for landmarks from which to mark  
 their course 'καθ' ἕπερ οἱ ναῦται τοῖς ἄστροις.' Curtius  
 implies here not so much that they are lost as that they  
 are looking for refuge from the sand and heat.

IV 7.12 . . . §§ 12 - 14 This small section of the narra-  
 tive gives one important insight into the sort of history  
 which Curtius is writing, his technique, and the effect  
 he wishes to have on his audience. That Curtius has some-  
 thing in common with the Hellenistic 'tragic' historians  
 in method, or at least employs a good deal of rhetorical  
 licence, can be seen most clearly when we compare his  
 account with that of Arrian. Curtius exaggerates the  
 extreme heat and inhospitable nature of the desert; he  
 brings the effects of heat and desolation upon the men  
 themselves ('aestu fatigatis'), extending the 'sea of sand'  
 metaphor found in Arrian and others, by describing their  
 keeping a look-out for land-fall, as if they were really  
 on board ship: 'terram oculis requirebant.' These 'horrors'  
 reach a climax with 'Aqua etiam defecerat quam cameli  
 uexerant.' Then at this point of desperation, just as the  
 reader supposes disaster to be at hand, there is not only  
 an adequate shower of rain, but a cloud-burst: 'largum  
 quoque imbrem excusserunt procellae.' Despite the fact  
 that his version is in other places severely truncated  
 (e.g. the siege of Gaza which is accounted for in one  
 sentence - 17.48.6), Diodorus finds space to make a strong

impression in terms like those of Curtius: 'εἰς δεινὴν σπάνιν παρεγένοντο. εἰς ἀθυμίαν οὖν πάντων ἐμπεσόντων ἀφνω πολὺς ὄμβρος ἐξ οὐρανοῦ κατερράγη' (17.49.3-4). By contrast Arrian gives the facts plainly and even perfunctorily: 'ἔστι δὲ ἐρήμη τε ἡ ὁδὸς καὶ ψαμμος ἢ πολλὴ αὐτῆς καὶ ἀνύδρος. ὕδωρ δὲ ἐξ οὐρανοῦ πολὺ Ἀλεξάνδρῳ ἐγένετο' (Arr. 3.3.3). Curtius treats in a similarly florid way the story of the march through the desert of Gedrosia (IX 10.11f., Diod. 17.105.6, Arr.6.23.4-26.5), and we have seen that in his account of the siege of Tyre Curtius tends to heighten the difficulties involved, as compared with Arrian's account of the same episode (IV 3.7q.v., cf. Arr. 2.19.5, the damage to the mole by a violent storm according to Curtius and Diodorus). For another episode which gives us the opportunity to compare Curtius' technique with that of the Hellenistic historians, see on IV 6.29 Per talos. The story of Alexander of course lends itself to this kind of approach in many places.

IV 7.12 " nulla arbor, nullum culti soli According to the reports of much later travellers, quoted by Mützell ad loc., the following description is exaggerated; yet Arrian 3.3.4 has 'οὔτε πον ὄρος οὔτε δένδρον οὔτε γήλοφοι βέβαιοι ἀνεστηκότες .' It is in any case dangerous to make comparisons of this kind between accounts of witnesses separated by such a length of time. The limits of the Sahara are notoriously unstable and the terrain may have altered considerably since Alexander passed that way.

Aqua defecerat..et..nulla erat Rolfe remarks that this is an exaggeration as far as the road to Paraetonium is concerned, but I do not think that Curtius is now talking about that part of the route. According to Arrian 3.3.3 (and Callisthenes ap. Strabo 17.1.43 (814) 'ὄρμησαντα δ' ἐκ Παρατονίου..') Alexander marched along the coast to Paraetonium before setting out across the desert proper towards Ammon, and Arrian says of this first part of the journey: 'δι' ἐρήμου, οὐ μέντοι δι' ἀνύδρου τῆς χώρας,' in contrast with which the part from Paraetonium to the Oracle - the desert proper - is described, 'ἐρήμη τε ἢ

ὁδὸς καὶ ψάμμος ἢ πολλὴ αὐτῆς καὶ ἄνυδρος .’ This contrast also appears, though less distinctly, in Curtius and Diodorus. Neither of these authors specifically mentions the ‘half-way house’ at Paraetonium, although Diodorus implies that Alexander had progressed some way after the meeting with the envoys from Cyrene ‘κατὰ μέσον δὲ τὴν ὁδὸν,’ before it became obvious from the terrain that the water supply would have to be carried from then on: ‘καὶ διανύσας ἐπὶ τὴν ἔρηνον καὶ ἄνυδρον, ὑδρευσάμενος διήει τὴν χώραν ἔχουσαν ἄμμον μέγεθος ἄεριον.’ Curtius has already alluded to the first, and ‘easier,’ stage of the journey in § 10 above: ‘Ac primo quidem et sequente die tolerabilis labor uisus, nondum tam uastis nudisque solitudinibus aditis.’ If Curtius and Diodorus had a clear picture of the geography of the area in their minds, could they have intended to say that Alexander struck out straight across the desert from the Mareotic Lake to Ammon, a route which would entail a far longer period in entirely waterless terrain? Diodorus clearly indicates a break in the journey to take on water for the more arduous part but, although Curtius mentions ‘aqua quam cameli uexerant’, his account is scarcely intelligible here without reference to Arrian, unless we accept that Curtius (and perhaps Diodorus) is giving a different version: that Alexander marched straight to Ammon from the Mareotic Lake, taking on water either there or at some oasis en route, and that the terrain simply became increasingly difficult, the further inland he went.

IV 7.13 Ad hoc as IV 13.2, V 4.24. Curtius has ad haec meaning praeterea only once, at III 10.7, although Livy uses ad haec several times in this way; cf. Sallust who for praeterea always uses ad hoc and not ad haec.

adusta erant ora Schmieder suggests that the hyparchetype read ‘oīa’ which was misinterpreted as ‘ora’ here for omnia, but a second omnia is more likely to have crept in if any mistake occurred, rather than one omnia and then one ora. We should not expect to find the same word twice in the sentence - here and before incenderat. If

'omnia appeared twice, then 'sicca et adusta erant omnia' would seem suspiciously like a gloss. Of course 'adusta erant omnia' is quite a normal expression; cf. Pliny N.H. 19.19 '(ἀσβεστόν) nascitur in desertis adustisque Indiae locis,' Sen. Epp. 79.3, but Curtius does not use it in this way. Where aduro occurs in Curtius it refers to parts of the body: III 8.15 'adustisque manibus,' VI 5,28 'aduritur dextera (papilla),' and of freezing cold: VII 3.13 'rigor niuis multorum adussit pedes;' cf. Livy 27.47.2 'si qui forte adustior coloris ex recenti uia essent,' Pliny N.H. 2.189. The use of ora suits the present context very well. Curtius is concerned to show not only the desolation of the countryside but the effects of the heat and sand on the travellers. Arrian mentions nothing of their distress, but cf. Diod. 17.49.3-4 'εἰς δεινὴν σπάνιν παρεγένοντο . εἰς ἀθυμίαν οὖν πάντων ..' and Curtius takes up the idea again in § 14 below 'ob sitim inpotentes.'

siue illud Cf. IX 10.24 'siue illud triumphus fuit,' Sen. N.Q. 6.6 'Thales Milesius totam terram subiecto indicat humore portari et innatare; siue illud oceanum uocas, siue magnam mare,' and on IV 4.20 siue.

deorum munus siue casus Diod. 17.49.4 also suspends judgement: 'δὶδὼ καὶ τὸ συμβᾶν ἔδοξεν ἀνελπίζτως σωθεῖσι θεῶν προνοίᾳ γεγονέναι.' Arrian 3.3.4 is sure that Alexander received some divine assistance: 'ἕδωρ δὲ ἐξ οὐρανοῦ πολὺ Ἀλεξάνδρῳ ἐγένετο, καὶ τοῦτο ἐς τὸ θεῖον ἀνηνέχθη,' and 3.3.6: 'ὅτι μὲν θεῖόν τι ξυνεπέλαβεν αὐτῷ ἰσχυρίσασθαι, ὅτι καὶ τὸ εἶκὸς ταύτη ἔχει,' and similarly Plut. Alex. 27.1.

obductae caelo nubes Cf. VIII 13.25 'obducta nox caelo,' Nepos Hann. 5.2 'obducta nocte,' Pliny N.H. 11.54.

IV 7.14 Enimuero I do not think that there is any need to emend the paradosis. The sense is 'and what is more', as in Tac. Ann. 14.14 and 15.45; see also Furneaux on Tac. Ann. 2.64.3. Cf. the slightly different use in Livy 24.30.14, 40.8.4 = 'and indeed'.

excusserunt procellae Cf. effundere at III 13.7 'quippe et procella subito niuem effuderat.' The use of excutere = eicere / iacere appears first in Livy in prose, e.g. 42.65.10 '(spiculum) excussum uelut glans emicabat,' cf. IV 2.9 tormenta, VIII 13.6 tela, VIII 10.32 hastas, IX 5.9 sagittam, V 3.19 lapides. For the event, see Diod. 17.49.4, Arr. 3.3.3, Callisthenes ap. Strabo 17.1.43 (814) 'ὄρμησαντα δ' ἐκ Παραλτονίου κάλιπερ νότων ἐπιπεσόντων βιάσασθαι πλανώμενον δ' ὑπὸ τοῦ κονιορτοῦ σωθῆναι γεγομένων ἔμβρων.' Apparently Alexander rather inadvisedly made the journey in Winter, before the rainy season - Arr. 3.6.1.

pro se quisque..cáptare coeperunt Cf. Gideon's method of selecting a band of men, Judges 7.5-7.

inpotentes sui Vindelinus' inpotentes is surely correct. Curtius uses the same expression again elsewhere: VIII 1.49 'inpotens animi, procurrit in regiae uestibulum.' This usage appears first in prose in Livy 5.37.4, 9.14.5, and cf. Sen. N.Q. 6.1.3 'inpotentes sui errasse.' It seems to be a logical extension of the already familiar use of potens + genitive which Curtius has several times: IV 13.23 'potens mei,' IV 2.5, VII 4.3; 4.19; 7.21, IX 5.13. The history of inpatiens + genitive is similar; cf. III 2.17 'ueritas inpatiens, hospitem..abstrahi iussit ad capitale supplicium,' IX 4.11 'nauis..gubernaculi inpatiens agebatur,' V 3.2, VIII 4.9.

IV 7.15 quadriduum Diodorus ( 17.49.2-5) specifies that after taking on water supplies (? at Paraetonium) Alexander made four days' journey into the desert proper before the water ran out. At this point they were saved by the 'miraculous' storm. Four days after that they encountered the worst part of the desert (which may or may not refer to the route to Paraetonium) and four days' journey after the welcome rain-storm. Both Diodorus and Curtius therefore give four days as the time taken on the most arduous section of the march. For the final part, after they had escaped the desert, Alexander was guided by the birds to the actual temple. Curtius IV 7.15 places

this 'haud procul oraculi sede'; Diodorus 17.49.6 gives more details of this section, which was over a day's march. The Bitter Lake to which, according to Diodorus 17.49.6, Alexander came on this final stage of the journey, is in fact less than half way along the route from Paraetonium to Ammon. Vogel gives the position of the oasis of Siwah as 29° 12' lat., 25° 10' long. of Greenwich, and optimistically estimates that the march from Paraetonium to Siwah would take five days. This, of course, vindicates Curtius' figures but, as we have seen, his account is somewhat vague in any case. Parke, The Oracles of Zeus, p. 196, gives the distance from Paraetonium as 'some two hundred miles' and bearing in mind the terrain described, Diodorus' estimate of something over nine days for the journey seems the most plausible. For comparison, Pliny N.H. 5.50 gives the time for the expedition from Lake Moeris to Ammon - one of the more southerly routes to the Oracle - as twelve days. Arrian 3.3.3 gives the distance from Lake Maraeotis to Paraetonium as 1,600 stades (see IV 2.7 n.1) and evades the question of the length of the rest of the journey.

conplures Plut. Alex. 27.3 agrees with Curtius; Diod. 17.49.5 is ambiguous: 'κόρακες..ελάζοντες τὴν τρίβον.' Arrian 3.3.5-6 says that according to Ptolemy, son of Lagus, Alexander was guided by two serpents, but that the more common version of the tale is that of Aristobulus who specifies two ravens: Callisthenes ap. Strabo 17.1.43 (814) 'καὶ δυσὶν κοράκων ἡγησαμένων τὴν ὁδόν.'

ducentium Hugi's emendation gives the sense required here. Praecedentium which is reported from δ is plausible palaeographically: we have seen that the prefix prae or per is confused or omitted elsewhere in Curtius (see on praetorem quam IV 6.2). But both praecedentium and Vindelinius' antecedentium are inappropriate here with ritu. It would have been obvious that the birds were going on ahead, and indeed Curtius has already said so: 'prima signa antecedentes.' The point here is that they seemed deliberately to be leading the way, behaving like human

guides.

IV 7.16 incredibile dictu One of the more common of Curtius' uses of this supine, as VIII 2.36, X 5.3, 'uix credibile dictu' V 13.22, 'haud facile dictu est' III 6.17. More unusual are : IV 2.10 'parua dictu res', (Livy 30.34.2), V 1.8 'At ille docere perguit non speciosa dictu, sed usu necessaria in rebus asuersis sequenda,' (Livy 1.23.7 'si uera potius quam dictu speciosa dicenda sunt').

sita Acidalius' simple emendation makes perfect sense of Ω's superfluous ita. Cf. Arr. 3.4.1 'ὁ δὲ χώρος ἴναπερ τοῦ Ἀμμωνος τὸ ἱερόν ἐστι, τὰ μὲν κύκλω πάντα ἔρημα καὶ ψάμμον τὸν πᾶν ἔχει καὶ ἀνύδρον,' Diød. 17.50.1 'Ἡ δὲ περὶ τὸ ἱερόν τοῦτο χώρα περιέχεται ὑπὸ ἔρημου καὶ ἀνύδρου τῆς ἀμμώδους.' Cf. Pliny N.H. 5.33 'In ora Syrtis Nasamones.. medios inter harenas sitos.'

ambientibus ramis Curtius perhaps exaggerates the contrast between the oasis and the surrounding desert - Modius aims one of his ejaculations of 'nugae' at this passage. Yet our author sees these events through the eyes of the travellers and no doubt any shade would seem a paradise compared with their recent ordeal. Moreover, our other sources make similar remarks about the density of the trees: Arr. 3.4.1 'αὐτὸς δὲ ἐν μέσῳ .. καταπλεῶς ἐστὶν ἡμέρων δένδρων,' Diød. 17.50.1 'δένδρων δὲ παντοδαπῶν καὶ μάλιστα καρπίων πληθύει,' although Modius credits Arrian with better judgement than Curtius' for leaving out (or rather not thinking to insert) a hyperbole like 'uix in densam umbram cadente sole.' Pliny also has a picturesque description of the phenomenon of oases at N.H. 6.20 'arenas ambiente eam (terram fertilem) haud alio modo quam insulas mare,' 5.25, Strabo 2.5.33 (130).

in umbram cadente Cadere is rarely used of light. There seem to be only two comparable uses, and even then the one which is nearest to Curtius in time is in poetry: Sen. Her. Fur. 670 'fulgor..dubius solis afflicti cadit,'

Amm. Marc 25.2.5 'nitor igneus..nec cadens umquam nec terram contingens;' (TLL 3.20.22f.); cf. metaph. use at Sen. Epp. 21.1 'huius uitae..fulgor tamquam in sordida et obscura casurus,' and the more frequent, though still mainly poetic,<sup>1</sup> use with fulmen etc.: VIII 4.4 'cadentium fulminum (fulminum BcM: fluminum PBFLV) species uisebatur,' Ps.-Quint. Decl. 309 p. 217.27 (Ritter) 'fulmina ipsa uelociter cadunt;' cf. Pliny N.H. 2.97 'incendium ad terras cadens inde,' Sen. N.Q. 2.13.1 'si (ignis) de caelo cadit..'

siluas Cf. Lucan 9.522f. 'Esse locis superos testatur silua per omnem / sola uirens Libyen..solus nemus abstulit Hammon./ siluarum fons causa loco, qui putria terrae / alligat et domitas unda conectit harenas.'

IV 7.17 temperies Cf. IX 1.11 'Caeli temperies salubris.' The use of this word, especially in the phrase temperies caeli, appears first in poetry as a useful substitute in dactylic verse for temperatio, and is adopted by prose writers after the time of Livy: Ovid, e.g. Ex Pont. 2.7.71 'temperie caeli corpusque animusque iuuatur,' Pliny N.H. 3.41 of Italy: 'iam uero tanta ea uitalis ac perennis salubritatis caeli temperies,' ibid. 7.21, Pliny Epp. 5.6.3, Amm. Marc. 23.6.46 'saluberrimi fontes..sospitalisque temperies caeli,' of the Arabian Gulf. A comparable use of intemperies appears a little earlier in prose: Livy 8.18.1, VII 4.20, Sen. Consol. ad Marc. 18.8 'intemperies caeli corporisque,' Colum. R.R. 1 praef. 1, Tac. Ann. 16.13; cf. Sen. N.Q. 7.6.1 'ex intemperie aeris turbidi,' Colum. R.R. 11.2.67 'propter intemperiem solis aut anni.'

tepori not tempore: Diod. 17.50.1 'τὸν μὲν ἀέρα .. ἔχει τὰς ἐαρινὰς ὥρας;' cf. Pliny Epp. 2.17.3 'greges.. herbis et tepore uerno nitescunt,' V 4.9 and VI 4.22 'modico tepore,' Pliny N.H. 17.99, 17.228 and probably 37.42.

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1 Varro L.L. 5.63 'poetae de caelo..semen igneum cadisse dicunt in mare.'



percurrit There does not seem to be any close parallel for this use of percurrere = 'durare/ manere per'. Curtius and others use it to refer to a series or succession e.g. of towns visited (Livy 44.2.12) or honours held (Suet Nero 3); cf. V 11.10 'nexuque causarum latentium et multo ante destinatarum suum quemque ordinem inmutabili lege percurrere.' Curtius' omnes anni partes could be regarded as a similar series, i.e. of the seasons, although the real point of the passage - that the caeli mira temperies remains constant throughout the year - renders any idea of a sharp difference in seasons contradictory. In most other examples where the subject is a natural phenomenon (and these are poetical up to the time of Curtius) the emphasis is on the speed of the action of the verb, even where the phenomenon does not immediately pass away, e.g. Sen. N.Q. 3.27.1 'naria suis sedibus excita percurrent,' V 1.13 'amnes..iter..percurrunt.' In the latter example, at IV 12.14 and especially at VIII 9.26 'totas eas (columnas) vitis percurrit,' there is also the idea of 'spreading out and filling the available space' suggested by omnes anni partes pari salubritate, although these three instances apply to space and not to time. Finally there are two occurrences in Vitruvius where percurrere may involve time as well as space, but even here the subjects are solid heavenly bodies - quite a different matter from caeli temperies: Vitr. 9.1.5 luna, stella, ut per graduum ascensionem percurrentes, alius alia circuitiois ..peruagantur;' 9.1.10 'Martis (sidus) in quibus signis celerius percurrit, cum stationem fecit, explet dierum numeri rationem.'

in meridiem uersam Arabes spectant The paradosis uersam which must agree with sedem understood involves a rather abrupt change of subject between sunt..proximi and spectant, but the subject changes again with uergit and this seems to point back to uersam rather than uersum. Mützell adopts uersum, reported from § . This form of the adverb is far less common than uersus and Curtius does not use it elsewhere (cf. V 4.7 'ad meridiem uersus'), although it is found in Sallust. Moreover we have a

parallel for uersam at VII 10.15 'Circa eam VI oppidis condendis electa sedes est, duo ad meridiem uersa, IIII spectantia orientem.' The use of spectare with persons or things as subjects, rather than a place, is already well established, e.g. Caes. B.G. 1.1.6 'Belgae..spectant in septentrionem et orientem solem,' Pliny N.H. 17.168 'sed (uitem) ipsam innixam solido in orientem aequinoctialem spectare (oportet).'

Trogodytis These sound like the cave-dwellers of the Arabian gulf, see Strabo 16.4.5, Diod. 3.32f. Curtius is the first to mention them so far west, although he does qualify, 'horum regio usque ad Rubrum mare excurrit.' This spelling of the name, rather than with l as Trogodytae is also found in Mela, e.g. 1.4 and Pliny, e.g. N.H. 7.31, and is supported by the earliest MS. of Diod. at e.g. 3.15.1. Strabo always seems to spell the name with λ. There is some dispute among ancient writers over the exact boundaries and racial affinities of the peoples in this region. With Curtius' Arabes..Trogodytis cognomen est, cf. Strabo 1.1.3 (2) 'Τρωγλοδύτας Ἀραβας,' 1.2.34 (42) 'Τρωγλοδύτας..οἷτοι δέ εἰσιν Ἀράβων οἱ ἐπὶ θάτερον μέρος τοῦ Ἀραβίου κόλπου κεκλιμένοι, τὸ πρὸς Αἰγύπτῳ καὶ Αἰθιοπία.' Herod. 4.183 refers to 'troglo-dite' Ethiopians who may or may not be the same group: 'οἱ Γαράμαντες δὴ οἷτοι τοὺς τρωγλοδύτας Αἰθίοπας θηρεύουσι τοῖσι τεθρίπκοισι· οἱ γὰρ τρωγλοδύται Αἰθίοπες πόδας τάχιστοι ἀνθρώπων πάντων.' Pliny N.H. 7.31 also mentions the speed of the Troglodites, although this time on horseback, and their proximity to Ethiopia: 'Trogodytas super eam (Aethiopia) uelociores equis esse,' ibid. 8.26 'Trogodytae contermini Aethiopiae,' and cf. 12.86. The Ethiopians are also associated with the Hammonians (IV 7.20): Herod. 3.25 'καὶ τούτοις μὲν ἐνετέλλετο Ἀμμωνίου ἐξανδραποδισαμένους τὸ χρηστήριον τὸ τοῦ Διὸς ἐμπρῆσαι, αὐτὸς δὲ τὸν λοιπὸν ἄγων στρατὸν ἤγε ἐπὶ τοὺς Αἰθίοπας.' Pliny N.H. 37.33 'Chares uero Phaethontem in Aethiopia Ἀμμωνος νήσῳ obisse (dixit)' locates the oasis of Hammon within Ethiopia itself.

occidentem Zumpt explains the corruption occidentalem, found in earliest MSS., 'mendose repetito insequenti uocabulo.' The adjective occidentalis occurs first in Pliny Maj. and its use continues, but it is not used by Curtius. The noun occidens is, of course, already in common use at the time of Cicero, and Curtius uses it in a passage parallel to the present one at VI 6.23 'Praerupta rupes est, qua spectat occidentem, eadem, qua uergit ad orientem, leniore submissa fastigio.'

IV 7.19 Simos These are not so 'inconnus' as Bardon would like us to believe. Diodorus 3.28.1 mentions 'Αἰθίοπες οἱ προσάγορευόμενοι Σιμοί,' and Strabo 16.4.11 'οἱ Σιμοὶ καλούμενοι Αἰθίοπες.' The identification is well justified, as is Letellier's emendation to Simos from the paradosis Simuos, in view of the coincidence in the epithet and the fact that all three authors explicitly say that these are Ethiopians.

Nasamones..gens Syrtica Cf. Pliny N.H. 5.33 'In ora Syrtis Nasamones quos antea Mesamones Graeci appellauere, ab argumento loci medias inter harenas sitos.' See also Herod. 2.32-33, 2.165, 4.172, 182 and 190, Strabo 17.3.20 (836), Lucan 9.438-9, Pliny N.H. 5.31 for the geography of the area, Sil. Ital. 1.408, 2.116, 11.180, Aul. Gell. 16.11.

quaestuosa This use with the ablative of instrument (the source of the profit) occurs first at about the time of Curtius. Pliny Maj. uses it at N.H. 6.110 'insula quaestuosa margaritis,' but there, since Pliny is referring to a strait next to an uninhabited island, quaestuosa must mean 'rich in' rather than 'rich from'. The closest parallels to Curtius' usage are in Tacitus: Ann. 12.63.3 'unde (fertile solum, etc.) primo quaestuosi et opulenti,' 13.35.3 '(ueterani) nitidi et quaestuosi militia per oppida expleta.'

Syrtica..aestu Cf. Hor. Carm. 1.22.5 'per Syrtis iter aestuosas..facturus,' Catull. 64.157. The two Syrtis were

a well-known hazard to shipping, see Strabo 17.3.20 (836), Sall. Inq. 78, Lucan 9.301-2, Sil. Ital. 17.629. Their situation is described by Pliny N.H. 5.4.

IV 7.20 dispersis tuguriis Cf. Diod. 17.50.3 'Ἰῶν δ' Ἀμμωνίων καμηθῶν οἰκούντων.' Curtius' phrase is, I believe, an ablative of place where and not, as Vogel<sup>1</sup> suggests, a sort of ablative absolute. Curtius could have written dispersi tuguriis, comparable with Tac. Hist. 5.8 'magna pars Iudaeae uicis dispergitur,' and cf. Pliny N.H. 6.117 'Mesopotamia..uicatum dispersa,' but this would not alter the locative nature of the ablative. Diod. 17.50.3 makes a similar remark about the dwellings of the Ammonii.

medium nemus Curtius' description of the oasis itself corresponds fairly closely with Diodorus' at 17.50.3f., sometimes using almost parallel expressions; cf. 'κατὰ μέσην αὐτῶν τὴν χώραν ἀκρόπολις ὑπάρχει,' and see previous note.

IV 7.21 . Prima munitio = not the one they encountered first but the innermost. I have not been able to find an exact parallel for this use of primus, but cf. Diod. 17.50.3 'ὁ μὲν πρῶτος περίβολος.'

ueterem Sebisius, followed by Cellarius, Schmieder and a reluctant Vogel, would emend to ueterum, comparing Diodorus' phrase at 17.50.3 'τῶν ἀρχαίων δυναστῶν βασιλεία.' The MSS. here are unanimous in reading ueterem and, as we have seen above (dispersis tuguriis § 20), Curtius is not compelled to use exactly the same form of words as Diodorus, even though their meaning is very similar and they may well have been following the same source. However ueterem regiam may lead the reader to expect a description of a nouam regiam, which of course does not exist. If ueterem is correct, it must be taken to mean simply 'ancient.' There is a parallel for ueterum..regum

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1. Übersicht § 94 in his edition of Q.C. 1903.

at V 6.1 'regiam ueterum Persidis regum.'

habitabant The imperfect is logical in view of erant following. Unlike dispersis tuguriis habitant, Curtius is saying that these living arrangements no longer exist in his own time; cf. Strabo 17.1.43 ('13) who says that the oracle was no longer revered by the Romans. No doubt the oracle which had acquired such a reputation continued to be a place of pilgrimage after the settlement had been abandoned. Müller also points out, in favour of habitabant: 'quod etiam numero commendatur.'

dei oraculum For its origins, see Pausanias 4.23.10, Strabo 17.1.43; and for an account of the Oracle, see H.W.Parke, The Oracles of Zeus, Ch. 9.

IV 7.22 Est sc. ibi § 6.

Hammonis Curtius' description of the form in which the god was worshipped at the Oracle is at variance with most other accounts of simulacra of Hammon, so much so that Freinsheim declares umbilico in § 23 (q.v.) to be nonsense by comparison. Certainly Zeus- / Jupiter-Ammon appears elsewhere under his more familiar guise as the 'ram-god': Herod. 2.42; Servius, on Verg. Aen. 4.196 Iarbam, gives the story of the origin of Ammon's representation with the distinctive ram's horns; Ovid Met. 15.309 'corniger Ammon'; Lucan 9.513 on the temple at the oasis: 'stat sortiger illic / Iuppiter, ut memorant, sed non aut fulmina uibrans / aut similis nostro, sed tortis cornibus Hammon' - a direct contradiction of Curtius' umbilico.. similis; Tac. Hist. 5.4 'ceaso ariete uelut in contumeliam Hammonis,' Arnob. adu. Nat. 6.12 'Hammon cum cornibus iam formatur et fingitur arietinis,' (cf. Tertull. Apol. 16). But against all this Diod. 17.50.6 seems to agree with Curtius in suggesting that the image of the god was unusual: 'ἐκ σμαράγδων καὶ τινῶν ἄλλων πολυτελῶν (λίθων) (add. Fischer) περιέχεται'; cf. 'zmaragdo et gemmis coagmentatus,' although Diodorus does call it 'τὸ...ξόανον.' Alexander's likeness, wearing the 'horns of Ammon,' appears

on coins soon after the date of this visit to the Oracle. The god's usual representation as the horned god need not necessarily bear any resemblance to the form of the sacred stone (omphalos) in which his numen was believed to reside. Perhaps we may compare the case of Apollo at Delphi, differentiating the god's anthropomorphic form, beloved of sculptors, from that of the Delphic omphalos (see also on umbilico § 23 below).

Curtius' description sounds thoroughly convincing in spite, or perhaps because, of its unusual features. He is clearly following the same source as Diodorus but gives a much more intelligible version of what it contained than Diodorus' abridged account. For all his faults as a writer and as a historian (and these may be admitted to be numerous) Curtius preserves tantalising glimpses, which do not appear in Arrian who is usually accorded a far superior reputation, of the mass of source material no longer extant.<sup>1</sup>

nemus Not far from the citadel; cf. Diod. 17.50.4.

Solis aquam There is some confusion among our authorities as to the exact location of this phenomenon: Herod. 4.181 mentions 'ἡ κρήνη .. ἡλίον', without describing its surroundings; Diod. 17.50.4 and Solinus 27.45 'templo (Hammonis) fons proximat Soli sacer,' agree with Curtius as to its site and name; Arrian 3.4.2, Ovid Met. 15.309 and Lucret. 6.848f. are clearly describing the stream at Ammon, although they do not give it a name. Pliny N.H. 2.228 places it 'in Trogodytis'; N.H. 5.31 and Mela 1.39 broadly 'in Cyrenaica'; Lucan 9.512 among the Garamantes, as Solinus 29.1 'Garamantum oppidum est Debris fonte miro..' although this town is not mentioned elsewhere. Freinsheim suggests the supplement 'quem Solis aquam uocant,' but Curtius likes these parentheses: cf. IV 2.12 'harpagonas uocant,' III 13.5 'gazam Persae uocant,' V 3.1 'Pasitigrim

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<sup>1</sup> On the historicity of Curtius and Arrian, see now A.B.Bosworth, Errors in Arrian, CQ 26 (1976) 117f., also G.Radet, Le valeur historique de Q.-C., CRAI 1924, 356f. On the lost sources, see L.Pearson.

incolae uocant,' etc.

sub lucis ortum tepidum..calore decrescit Thus Lucret. 6.848f. 'est apud Hammonis fanum fons luce diurna / frigidus, at calidus nocturno tempore fertur,' Pliny N.H. 2.228 'Iouis Hammonis stagnum, interdiu frigidum, noctibus feruet,' Ovid Met. 15.309f. 'medio tua, corniger Hammon, / unda die gelida est: ortu obituque calescit.' Some of the reputation of the stream for variation in temperature at different times of the day was no doubt due to unreliable subjective impression, attributable to the great fluctuation in air temperatures experienced in the desert. As we should expect, if this theory is correct, Curtius tells us that the spring felt warm at dawn, when the air temperature would be comparatively low in comparison with that at midday, cold at midday, and 'boiling' at midnight; cf. 'feruida exaestuat' with Ovid loc. cit. 'feruet'. Diod. 17.50.4-5 mentions the same relationship between the temperature of the spring and that of the air but does not go so far as to say that it ever boiled. There may also have been a certain real fluctuation in the temperature of the stream during a 24 hour period, since the water would be slower to heat up and slower to cool than its surroundings. Hence it would still be comparatively cool when the sun was at its fiercest at noon, and comparatively warm at the cold desert dawn. For a different attempt at an explanation see Lucret. 6.848ff. Vogel ad loc. volunteers the information, without stating its source, that the spring had a constant temperature of 29°C. For other instances of strange streams, see Pliny N.H. 2.228-9 and Ovid Met. 15.311f.

uergit This verb, previously used primarily in geographical contexts, is first found here referring to the waning of time. It is, however, often difficult to dissociate the purely temporal meaning from the inherent idea of the apparent movement of the heavens. Cicero already uses inclinare in this sense, e.g. Tusc. 3.3.7. With Curtius' usage here, cf. Suet. Oth. 7. Several more instances of this temporal sense, also suggesting decline

rather than incline, occur in Tacitus, e.g. Ann. 2.43 'Nam suam aetatem uergere, Germanici nondum satis adoleuisse,' 4.41 'uergente iam senecta,' 13.19 'uergens annis femina.' Analogous is Seneca's use of uergere in a new way, to refer to temperamental inclination, at Tranq. An. 1.3, and perhaps to suggest moral decline, at Vit. Beat. 15.3 'sed ne patriae quidem bonus tutor aut iudex est si ad uoluptates uergit.'

ex..calore decrescit The use of decreescere governing ex occurs first here, and it remains a rare construction (see TLL V1.218.50 & 75).

adsueto This must mean the average temperature, since Curtius has just informed us of the instability of the stream's temperature throughout the day. Diod. 17.50.5 also takes the temperature at dawn to be the mean: 'μέχρι ἂν ἕμα τῷ φωτι πρὸς τὴν ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἀποκατασταθῆ τάξιν.'

IV 7.23 Id quod With Vindelinius' supplement cf.  
IV 13.11 'Dareus id quod Parmenio suaserat hostem facturum esse coniectans..'

non eandem i.e. not anthropomorphic; cf. on Hammonis § 22.

effigiem The use of effigies as a synonym of figura = 'appearance' is found in poets, e.g. Ovid, and in prose from about the time of Curtius. Cf. Sen. ad Marc. 24.5. 'imago dumtaxat filii tui periit et effigies non similiima, ipse quidem aeternus est,' Pliny N.H. 2.7, etc., Tac. e.g. Ann. 1.74, Hist. 5.5.

accommodauerunt + dat. This is a most unusual use of the verb in prose, almost equivalent to dare. The closest parallel is probably Ovid Met. 4.398 'purpura fulgorem pictis accommodat uuis'; cf. Quint. 1.8.19 'anilibus quoque fabulis accommodare operam potest.'



umbilico This idea upset several editors, from Freinsheim who declared it to be nonsense, to Scheffer who suggested emendation to the even more extraordinary 'imbrico maxime simile est'. More recently Fürtwangler (Roscher, Lexicon I 288) accuses Curtius of an 'absurden Missverständniss'. The paradosis is surely sound. Among other ancient evidence of the cult of such objects, some of which is given below, Tac. Hist. 2.3 says something strikingly similar about the form of Venus on Paphos: 'simulacrum deae non humana effigie, continuus orbis initio tenuem in ambitum metae modo exurgens,' and Servius on Verg. Aen. 1.724 'apud Cyprios in modum umbilici uel, ut quidam uolunt, 'metae colitur,' and cf. Herodian 5.3.5 on the figura of Sol or Heliogabalus: 'ἄγαλμα μὲν οὖν, ὡς περ παρ' Ἑλλήσιν ἢ Ῥωμαίους οὐδὲν ἔστηκε χειροποίητον, θεοῦ φέρον εἰκόνα· λίθος δὲ τις ἔστι μέγιστος, κάτωθεν περιφερῆς λήγων ἐς ὀξύτητα· κωνοειδὲς αὐτῷ σχῆμα, μέλαινά τε ἢ χροία.'

Of the attempts which have been made to identify objects which may fit Curtius' description, the most convincing is that of F.Ll. Griffith, An Omphalos from Napata, who describes a conical stone object whose 'curved top is decorated as if with strings of beads or pendants, the sides are sculptured with figures of deities and two royal cartouches, and a band of upright lotus buds and flowers encircles the base.' I do not think it too fanciful to see in these carved 'jewels' a less elaborate (and less expensive) version of Curtius' habitus zmaragdo et gemmis coagmentatus. Coagmentatus here does not mean, as Griffith tentatively suggests, 'made of an emerald', but 'set with an emerald'; cf. Diod. 17.50.6 'ξόανον ἐκ σμαράγδων καὶ τινων ἄλλων πολυτελῶν <λίθων> (add. Fischer) περιέχεται.' Moreover, Griffith's omphalos was apparently found in the temple of Ammon at Gebel Barkal<sup>1</sup> in Nubia. Th. Homolle, 'L'Omphalos delphique', agrees with Griffith's conclusions. Less convincing is E. Naville's Le dieu de l'oasis de Jupiter Ammon. W.H. Roscher's important monograph, Omphalos, provides more than sufficient evidence to dispel doubts as to the existence of such strange forms

<sup>1</sup> see Longman's Gazetteer, p. 132, col. 2

of deities: see especially p. 82f. on this omphalos of Ammon at Siwah. Of the numerous illustrations, particularly interesting for our purpose are Tafel II nos. 2 and 3, and Tafel III no. 2, where omphaloi seem to be covered with carved beads and/or possibly set with precious stones. For comparison, the Delphic Omphalos (Strabo 9.3.6) is illustrated in R.Flacelière, Greek Oracles pl. 13, and G.Roux, Delphes, pl. XX; the latter also gives a reconstruction of the adyton (p. 135, fig. 8). Other ancient evidence suggests the widespread veneration of these objects which indicate rather than represent the god. These are not only sacred stones, as Pausan. 9.24.3 '(ἀγάλμα) λίθον δὲ ἀργού κατὰ τὸ ἀρχαῖον', 7.22.4, 8.15.1, 9.27.1, etc., Herodian 5.3.5 on the figura of Sol or Heliogabalus, Arnob. 6.11. 'Ridetis temporibus priscis..informem Arabas lapidem (coluisse)', 7.49; cf. Livy 29.11.7 'sacrum.. lapidem, quam matrem deum esse incolae dicebant,' but also other unusual objects, e.g. Herod. 4.62 'ἀκινάκης σιδήρεος .. καὶ τοῦτ' ἐστὶ τοῦ Ἄρεος τὸ ἀγάλμα' (cf. the Suda under θεὸς Ἄρης), Mela 2.15 'ei (Marti) pro simulacris enses et cinctoria dedicant,' Apul. Met. 11.11, Tertull. Apol. 16. There are also indications of a similar phenomenon at Rome: Apul. de deo Socr. 5.132 'Quid igitur censes? Iurabo per Iouem lapidem Romano uetustissimo ritu?' and Flacelière op. cit. pl. 16 illustrates a Roman omphalos.

habitus Cornelissen suggests emendation to ambitus, on the grounds that habitus is more appropriate to an anthropomorphic form of the god than to an umbilicus. Habitus is, however, used of inanimate objects in similar contexts at this period (OLD s.v. 5). Ambitus might be compared with Tac. Hist. 2.3 'simulacrum deae..continuis orbis latiore initio tenuem in ambitum metae modo exurgens,' but if Curtius intended to paint a similar picture, it is not clear from the text as it stands and unless we undertake major emendation elsewhere habitus is preferable, to preserve the sequence of thought. Naville op. cit. suggests that the umbilicus of a shield-shaped plaque, such as have been discovered in Egypt with an 'empty' boss, in this case contained a conical form of the god, made out

of semi-precious stone, perhaps surrounded by other gems. In this reconstruction, ambitus would find a place, but the paradosis says nothing about the umbilicus' being set into anything else, rather that it was set with other stones. Coagmentatus still seems odd with habitus and, as Prof. F.R.D. Goodyear suggests, Curtius may have written coagmentato.

zmaragdo Cf. Diod. 17.50.6. Pliny N.H. 37.62f. gives a detailed account of these gems and mentions their provenance in Egypt (§ 65) and Ethiopia (§ 69). With Curtius' urbilico, cf. Pliny's convex form of smaragdus at N.H. 37.69.

coagmentatus Cf. Ovid Met. 2.109. 'per iuga chrysolinthi positaeque ex ordine gemmae.' There are few examples of this use of coagmentare (TLL III 1377.10f.). The closest to Curtius' is probably Pliny N.H. 19.111 'alium..mox pluribus coagmentatur nucleis.'

IV 7.24 naugio aurato Diodorus' account at 17.50.6 is very similar: 'ἐπὶ νεῶς γὰρ περιφέρεται χρυσοῦς ὑπὸ ἱερέων ὀγδοήκοντα.' For the close connection between certain Egyptian deities and boats, cf. Tac. Germ. 9.2 'signum ipsum (Isidis) in modum liburnae figuratum,' Ovid Fast. 1.239-40 'at bona posteritas puppem formavit in aere / hospitis aduentum testificata dei.'

patrio more carmen..canentes Cf. Diod. 17.50.6 'πατρίῳ καθυμνοῦντων ᾠδῇ τῶν θεῶν.' Cf. the Magi at III 3.10 'patrium carmen canebant.'

inconditum..carmen Cf. Livy 4.20.2 'in eum (Cossum) milites carmina incondita aequantes eum Romulo canere,' III 10.1 'Persae inconditum et trucem sustulere clamorem.'

propitiari This has been regarded as an archaism, but the verb had already reappeared in prose in Val. Max. 2.7.7 'his piaculis Mars..numen tuum propitiabatur'; cf.

Sen. N.Q. 2.33 'ad propitiandos deos,' Pliny N.H. 29.67  
'propitiatis adoratione diis.'

IV 7.25 Ac tum. Accounts of this famous confrontation can also be found in: Diod. 17.51.1f. whose version is in general agreement with Curtius'; Arrian 3.4.5 who records the consultation perfunctorily and fails to mention the question of Alexander's paternity: the oracle's reassurance on this matter played an important part in his later psychological development; Justin 11.11.6f.; Plut. Alex. 27.6; Strabo 17.1.43 (814). See also Brunt, Arrian App. V 'The visit to Siwah'; Tarn, Alexander, II App. 22 p. 347f.; Hogarth, Philip and Alexander of Macedon pp. 193-200; Vallois, L'Oracle Libyen et Alexandre. For the practice and process of consulting the Oracle of Ammon, cf. Herod. 2.58f. on Egyptian oracles and their ceremonies; Pausan. 5.15.11 on the Eleans and the Oracle of Ammon.

regem propius adeuntem According to Strabo 17.1.43 (814), Callisthenes says that only Alexander was allowed to approach the god in everyday clothes; everyone else heard the oracle from outside the door. This is also implied by Diod. 17.51.1 'Τοῦ δ' Ἀλεξάνδρου διὰ τῶν ἱερέων εἰσαχθέντος εἰς τὸν νεῶν καὶ τὸν θεὸν κατανοήσαντος..' and Justin 11.11.7 'ingredientem (regem) templum..antistites..salutant.' Cf. Pausan. 7.27.3 on the sacred grove of Artemis at Pellene: 'Ἔσοδος τε πλὴν τοῖς ἱερεῦσιν ἄλλω γε οὐδενὶ ἔστιν ἀνθρώπων.'

filium..adfirmans According to Justin 11.11.3 & 6, one of the most compelling reasons for Alexander's visit to the oracle was to receive this assurance about his paternity; see on IV 7.8. At the opposite extreme, Arrian 3.4.5 does not mention this aspect at all, merely saying that the king 'ἀκούσας ὅσα αὐτῷ πρὸς θυμοῦ ἦν, ὡς ἔλεγεν, ἀπέξευξεν.' It emerges later in Arrian, however, that Alexander had consulted the oracle about the prospects for his expedition (Arr. 6.19.4); cf. Xenophon's advice from Apollo: Xen. Anab. 3.1.6. Diod. 17.51.1, Justin 11.11.7, Plut. Alex. 27.4 and Apophth. 180D, and Strabo 17.1.43

agree with Curtius that the king was addressed as 'son of Ammon'. Curtius, Diodorus and Justin affirm that he was unhesitatingly given this title by the Vates. Plutarch sceptically claims that the whole thing was a misunderstanding, the seer's ungrammatical salutation, 'ὦ πατρίδιος' being misinterpreted as 'ὦ πατὴρ Διός.' Since this was for Alexander 'ὄσα πρὸς θυμὸν', no-one would have dared to point out his 'mistake'.

However it arose, Alexander's belief (or perhaps at first what he wished to be believed) was that he was the son of Zeus. Aulus Gellius 13.4 gives a copy of an (apocryphaī) letter from Olympias to her son, advising him not to use the title for fear of bringing down the wrath of a jealous Hera upon her head. Gellius uses the letter to demonstrate that Olympias had more sense than her arrogant offspring, but if, as Justin claims, Alexander was eager to remove from his mother any censure attaching to the circumstances of his conception, we wonder whether the alternative of incurring the invidia of Zeus' notoriously jealous consort had occurred to him. Alexander's special relationship with Zeus-Ammon was certainly claimed to have begun before his birth. Plut. Alex. 3.1-4 says that Philip consulted the oracle at Ammon before Alexander's birth and was told that he should cultivate the god with especial piety (cf. Cic. N.D. 2.27, 2.69). Plut. Alex. 2-3 and Justin 11.11. give the retrojected tale that Ammon himself had visited Olympias in the form of a serpent. Tarn, Alexander II, App. 22 p. 354, may well be right in saying that Alexander simply over-reacted to the form of address accorded to all the Egyptian pharaohs, choosing to take it more literally than was ever intended. A somewhat similar idea underlies the explanation in Plutarch - 'ὦ πατρίδιος' being the normal term of address by the elderly vates, badly misinterpreted by Alexander. In any case, Alexander seems deliberately to have rejected Philip as his father after the visit, and to have required everyone else to do the same: VI 11.24, VIII 7.13; see also on IV 1.12, and on humanae sortis oblitus, below; G.T. Griffith, Alexander the Great and his "so-called" father CQ n.s. 3 (1953) 152f.

humanae sortis oblitus Cf. IV 7.30, VI 9.18; 10.26; 11.5; and according to Curtius VII 1.19f. and Plutarch Alex. 50f., Cleitus' casting aspersions on Alexander's divine descent was the immediate cause of the wrath which led to his murder (cf. Arr. 4.8.1f.). Elsewhere Plutarch is not so ready to portray Alexander as a megalomaniac. At Alex. 22-23, he reports that Alexander admitted that sleep and sex reminded him of his mortality, which may, however, suggest that he needed the reminder. In his version of the famous tale, Plutarch (Apophth. 180E) says that Alexander himself took the opportunity when he was wounded to point out to those who would worship him as a god that he had blood, not ichor, in his veins (cf. Hom. Il. E 340). Seneca Epp. 59.12 accepts this version: 'Omnes,' inquit (Alexander), 'iurant esse me Iouis filium sed uulnus hoc hominem esse me clamat,' but the remark is also variously attributed to others: Sen. Suas. 1.5 attributes the saying to Aristotle's cousin (Callisthenes) and says that he thereby provoked Alexander into killing him on the spot. This looks like a conflation with the Cleitus episode, the latter having been murdered by Alexander personally for his insolence (VIII 1.45). Callisthenes was executed for conspiracy (VIII 8.21), although his impertinence in reassuring the Macedonians that Alexander would not welcome divine honours, and in voicing his own doubts as to his divinity, could not have endeared him to the king (VIII 5.13f.). Aristobulus ap. Athen. 6.251a says that Dioxippus the Athenian pancratiast was the originator of the remark; Diog. Laert. 9.60 names Anaxarchus as its author.

IV 7.26 destinaretur. Pater Bentley's emendation is simple and in accordance with Curtius' usage: for destinari + dat., cf. VIII 1.19; 2.14, X 7.5; 10.2. Mützell would punctuate: destinaret pater. Aequae, which leaves the subject of the following sentence in doubt. Froben and Dosson would supply a subject: 'destinaret pater. Vates aequae' Froben, retaining both  $\Omega$ 's pater and Iunius' vates; 'destinaret pater. Is aequae' Dosson, and various

combinations with and without pater and uates have also been tried. Dosson's suggestion keeps the sense required. As Freinsheim points out, uates implies a sort of sacerdotal hierarchy: the eldest priest called Alexander 'son of Zeus', and another priest, his junior, 'aeque..compositus', gave the answer to Alexander's direct question. The emendation to Vates aequae loses the force of Curtius' sarcasm. We should understand patrem with consuluit: the god had actually adopted the same obsequious attitude as mortals were accustomed to do, in the face of Alexander's importunity. It is more logical to assume that there is only one seer who speaks to Alexander on behalf of the god throughout the interview (cf. on respondet § 28). Both Curtius and Diodorus 17.50.6 say that there were several priests but that only one voiced the god's replies to questions. Diodorus clearly makes Alexander ask his 'father' whether he is destined to rule the world (17.51.1): *'δέχομαι,' φησίν, 'ὦ πάτερ..εἰ μοι δίδως τὴν ἀνάγκης γῆς ἀρχήν,'* and it is the god who, albeit indirectly, replies (see on ostendit, below).

in adulationem compositus      Compositus is used with in in Livy and later authors, especially Tacitus. It implies that the subject has deliberately predisposed himself to act in a particular way, often from necessity and / or contrary to what would be honest in his own or the author's opinion. Curtius certainly intends the pejorative overtones, as Tac. Agric. 42 '(Domitianus) paratus simulatione, in adrogantiam compositus audiit preces,' Hist. 2.9.2 'is in maestitiam compositus' (cf. Ann. 13.20 'compositus (Paris) ad maestitiam,' where incidentally Furneaux prints ad maestitiam and comments on in maestitiam), Ann. 13.25 'Nero..ueste seruili in dissimulationem sui compositus.' The idea of being prepared for, and practised in, conveying such impressions is brought out by Livy's use at 26.19.3 'fuit Scipio non ueris tantum uirtutibus mirabilis sed arte quoque quadam ab iuuenta in ostentationem earum compositus.'

There does not seem to be any suspicion of Alexander's having used force in the case of the Oracle at Ammon

(cf. Plut. Alex. 14, Diod. 16.27.1 and 17.93.4 on the consultation of the Delphic Oracle). Curtius says quite explicitly that all concerned had already decided to give the overbearing Macedonian any answer he liked (see also on inuictum § 27 below).

ostendit Not by means of a verbal oracular utterance, as in the case of Apollo speaking through the 'inspired' Pythia. Zeus-Ammon probably made his will known through the (involuntary) movements of the priests carrying his image, which were capable of interpretation by one skilled in the art, i.e. the uates maximus natu. For the god's method of response see Strabo 17.1.43 (814), and cf. Lucian Περὶ τῆς Συρίης Θεοῦ 36, Herod. 2.58f. Neither Curtius nor Diodorus (17.51.2) is explicit enough to enable us to reconstruct exactly what occurred when an oracle was sought. Both agree that the carrying of the god and the movements of the bearers produced the answers, and we can deduce from both authors that all the questions were framed in such a way that the god could give a simple 'yes' or 'no'.

IV 7.27 an The preference, especially in historians for an alone in simple indirect questions is well-established as early as Livy; cf. on nec perseueraret an abiret IV 3.11.

an omnes parentis interfectores poenas dedissent Cf. VI 11.26. Justin 11.9.13 and Diod. 17.51.3 also record this question and a similar form of answer: that Alexander's father could not be harmed by mortals, with the contrast with Philip clearly marked. Alexander draws the distinction in his letter to the Athenians: Plut. Alex. 28.1. See on IV 1.12 for the suspicion of parricide attaching to Alexander himself.

omnes luisse supplicia Ammon's uates is mistaken: Alexander Lyncestes 'in Philippi quoque caedem coniurasse cum Pausania pro conperto fuit' (VII 1.6); cf. VI 11.26 'Hic (Alexander) quidem interfectoribus patris ignouit.'



The phrase poenam luere is already found several times in Cicero: Phil. 3.29 'illi..impii..etiam ad inferos poenas parricidii luent,' Sulla 76, Milo. 11, etc.

inuictum fore Alexander had already exacted the epithet ἀνίκητος, by force and / or misinterpretation, from the Delphic Oracle. Our only evidence for that encounter comes from Plutarch Alex. 14 and Diodorus 16.27.1, 17.93.4; cf. 17.51.3. Tarn (Alexander II app. 21, p. 339) claims that Diodorus (17.51.3) dates the application of the title to Alexander from this visit to Ammon. It is true that Diodorus here makes the priest of Ammon use this actual adjective: 'καὶ μετὰ ταῦτ' ἔσεσθαι διὰ παντὸς ἀνίκητον,' but the first half of the answer was 'καὶ γὰρ πρότερον ἀήττητον αὐτὸν γεγονέναι.' Later in the work Diodorus assigns the prophecy to the Delphic Oracle: 'τὴν μὲν γὰρ Πυθίαν ἀνίκητον τὸν αὐτὸν ὀνομακέναι' (17.93.4), and he had earlier remarked on the visit to the Pythia that she was constrained to say 'ὅτι ἔξεστιν αὐτῷ πράττειν ὃ βούλεται' and that Alexander declared that he had the response which suited him. For a discussion of whether there was at Delphi a deliberate misunderstanding of an exasperated comment of the Pythia, such as, 'You can do whatever you like!' see Tarn, Alexander II App. 21, p. 338f. and cf. the 'παίδίος' question at Ammon (§ 25).

IV 7.28 excederet ad deos An unusual expression also used by Vell. Pat. 1.2.1 of Hercules. It probably has precedents in the phrase excedere e uita, at e.g. Cic. Phil. 9.2.40, Tusc. 1.57, Rep. 2.27; cf. IV 10.28 'uxor.. excessit e uita,' Cic. Tusc. 1.24 'animos cum e corporibus excesserint,' ibid. 1.74.

permissumque amicis ut..consulerent Iouem Justin 11.11.11 also mentions this additional consultation by Alexander's companions and agrees with Curtius as to the nature of the question asked: 'Comitibus quoque suis responsum ut Alexandrum pro deo non pro rege colerent.'

acceptum..fore Ammon gave similar approval in the case of Ptolemy - Diod. 20.100.3.

respondet The singular is preferable for the continuity of the thought. It is more logical to suppose that one uates, in this case the maximus natu already mentioned in § 25, addresses Alexander throughout this episode on behalf of the god. Even if the maximus natu e sacerdotibus is not the same person as the uates in this section, it is still more sensible to assume that the priests spoke to Alexander one at a time, especially as the god's answer depended on an expert interpretation of the movements of the umbilicus on its litter.

IV 7.29 Vera et salubri aestima<nti ra>tione..ei

uideri potuissent There have been several attempts to remedy this passage. Modius, followed by Mützell, emends aestimatione to aestimanti and deletes si. This has the advantage of providing a verb to govern fidem and an indirect object for uideri. Similarly, Vogel would supply aestimatione <pensanti>, comparing III 6.5 'quidquid.. aut metus aut spes subiecerat secreta aestimatione pensabat.' The present participle would be typical of Curtius, but this emendation also requires alteration of  $\Omega$ 's uera et salubri (uera et salubria Modius: uere et salubriter Mützell). Menge-Fried's solution is palaeographically plausible, economical and suits the context, like Zumpt's emendation of si to ei. With aestimanti..fidem cf. III 7.14 'ad aestimandam fidem barbari,' VIII 14.46 'simplicius tamen famam aestimabat in hoste quam in ciue.' Jeep has a different approach. His emendation of si uideri to eludere is economical but is inappropriate in sense and not in accordance with Curtius' usage. Elsewhere Curtius uses eludere with personal subjects: VIII 1.42 '(Clitus) ad ultimum Iouis, quem patrem sibi Alexander assereret, oraculum eludens, ueriores se regi quam patrem eius respondisse dicebat,' where Curtius is again referring to this episode of the consultation of Ammon. Even at VII 8.23 'Scytharum solitudines Graecis etiam prouerbis

audio eludi,' the personal subject Graeci can easily be understood. In the present case it is uana responsa themselves which are said to bring the oracle into disrepute.

fortuna quos uni sibi credere..gloriae magis quam capaces facit One of Curtius' periodical re-statements of his thesis of Alexander's decline: the pernicious combination of over-indulgence by Fortune at an early age, and Alexander's inability to manage his success: III 12.20 'Sed nondum fortuna se animo eius superfuderat; ita qui (ita qui Bentley: itaque  $\Omega$ ) orientem tam moderate et prudenter tulit, ad ultimum magnitudem eius non cepti,' X 5.26 'liquet bona naturae eius fuisse, uitia uel fortuna uel aetatis'; cf. IV 5.3 'nihil difficilius esse quam in illa aetate tantam capere fortunam.' See A.J.Woodman on Vell. Pat. 2.97.4 sua uirtute et fortuna for the opposition of uirtus and fortuna. Curtius evidently believes that Alexander was not endowed naturā with the kind of uirtus which would have enabled him to exploit the gifts of fortune, without being overwhelmed by them. His ascription of at least part of the blame to Alexander's youth suggests that had he undertaken his expedition (and hence received Fortune's favours) at a more mature age, he would not have made the same mistakes. Hence Curtius seems to favour the view that this sort of uirtus has to be built upon the good foundations provided by natura and hardened by experience, if not actually learnt; cf. Vell. Pat. 2.97.2 'tot tantarumque uirtutum quot et quantas natura mortalis recipit uel industria perficit,' and Woodman's comments thereon, for this longstanding philosophical debate.

IV 7.30 iussit He probably did not do so immediately but 'Persarum regno in suam potestatem redacto.' See VIII 5.5f. and cf. Plut. Alex. 27.3f. The Suda notes that only Antipater among his subordinates was willing to call Alexander god (see under Ἀντίπατρος, Ἰολάου).

famam, dum For the postponed dum cf. Sall. Cat. 56.

corruptit Curtius is, of course, right; cf. Plut. Alex. 27.3. Alexander considered himself able to emulate not only the heroes Heracles and Perseus but also the god Dionysus - III 10.5, IX 4.21, VIII 10.1 (Strabo 15.1.9), IX 2.29 'Ne infregeritis in manibus meis palmas, qua Herculem Liberumque Patrem, si invidia afuerit, aequabo.'

IV 7.31 , in maiore libertatis umbra The nearest parallel is, as often, to be found in Tacitus: Ann. 1.81 'quanto maiore libertatis imagine tegebantur.' Otherwise this use of in umbra occurs in poetry: Lucan 3.146 '"Libertas," inquit, "populi, quem regna coercent / libertate perit, cuius seruaueris umbram, / si quidquid iubeare uelis,' Ovid Am. 2.18.3 'in Veneris umbra cessare,' Val. Flacc. Arg. 5.229 'Martis in umbra'. Cf. sub umbra Livy 4.42.5 'sub tribunicia umbra consularem uirum detulisse,' 34.9.10, VI 10.22 'sub illius (Dymni) umbra Philotas latebam.'

ceterae gentes Curtius' generalisation is not strictly correct: other gentes did not have autocratic rulers at all. If Curtius is supposed to be writing very precisely, then the sentence needs emendation in order to clarify the meaning. Warmington's suggestion ceterae <sub rege> gentes would remove any possible doubt, as would ceterae <regnatae> gentes (comparing Tac., e.g. Germ. 25.10 '(gentes) quae regnantur') which is more plausible palaeographically. We can assume, however, that Curtius is only talking about peoples who are in fact ruled by kings (sc. 'adsuetae regio imperio'). Cornelissen's degentes removes the ellipse, although this is not a particularly difficult one, but does not solve the problem (if there is one) of sense. Degentes here may have a parallel at IX 3.8 'inter feras serpentesque degentes eruere ex lateribus..expetis'; cf. VIII 9.33.

IV 7.32 quaeque For the plural see on IV 1.30 quique.

IV 8.1 ab Hammone rediens..statuerat urbem nouam condere There are two distinct versions of the chronology of this part of the expedition. Ptolemy's account, followed by Arrian 3.1.5f. and Plutarch Alex. 26f. says that Alexander chose the site for the city and marked out the building-lines before he conceived his πόλις for visiting Ammon. He then left the builders to proceed with the work while he went off to the Oracle. Aristobulus, followed by Curtius, Diodorus 17.52 and Justin 11.11.9f. (Oros. 3.16.14), places the foundation of the city after the consultation of Ammon. According to the latter version, Alexander returned to Lake Mareotis by the same route as that by which he had gone to the oasis. Ptolemy says that from the oasis Alexander returned directly to Memphis. Arrian follows this account, but points out the discrepancy at 3.4.5. C. Bradford-Welles in his article, The discovery of Serapis and the foundation of Alexandria, (Historia 11 (1962) 271f.) examines the chronology given in Ps.-Callisthenes 1.32 and finds that the date for the foundation of the city (7th April, 331 B.C.) supports Aristobulus' itinerary; cf. Vell. Pat. 1.14.3. Ps.-Callisthenes 1.30.5-6 plausibly reports that Alexander asked the Oracle of Ammon where he should found the city. Curtius knows nothing of this; see his change of mind over the site in § 2 below: he had not come back from the Oracle with firm instructions on the matter. Bradford-Welles op. cit. pp. 275-6, claims that the fact that no ancient city was founded without consulting a god is alone enough to place the foundation of Alexandria after the journey to Ammon.

ut <ad> Mareotin paludem The Editio princeps and several early editions have ut a mari ad Mareotin paludem which is reported from Δ. Ad is required: although Curtius often uses an accusative of goal of motion alone, the verb in such cases has a prepositional prefix, e.g. III 4.1 'regionem quae Castra Cyri appellatur..peruenerat.' The exclusion of Ω's ut spoils the structure of the sentence. The ut clause here is parallel to the similar clause in the following sentence - 'ut adparuit..' I

re-punctuate to: 'Alexander..ut..uenit, contemplatus .. condere. Inde ut adparuit..'

haud procul insula Pharo Pharos of course famous for its lighthouse. Haud procul, according to Strabo 17.1.6f. and Amm. Marc. 22.16.10, = seven stadia.

in insula ipsa According to Plutarch Alex. 45, Alexander changed his mind about the island because he was 'warned off' by a venerable man, perhaps Homer, who appeared to him in a dream, pointing out where the city should be built, and quoting Homer Od. 8 354f.

IV 8.2 Alexandrea Kinch would emend to the —ea ending, even though the MSS. have Alexandria here and Alexandri at § 5 below, on the analogy of Dareus which Curtius uses in preference to Darius. The MSS. preserve the form Alexandrea at VII 3.23, VIII 8.8 and it should be restored at VII 6.25 and X 10.22.

Curtius' description of the site of this famous city is cursory, as is Arrian's at 3.1.5. Diodorus (17.52) is the only historian of Alexander to give more details, and his account is particularly interesting for being the result of his own observations: 'καθ' ὃ γὰρ ἡμεῖς παρεβάλομεν χρόνον εἰς Αἴγυπτον..'; cf. Strabo 17.1.7-10. Amm. Marc. 22.40f. waxes lyrical on the virtues of the city, calling it, 'uerticem omnium urbium.' Strabo 17.1.6 throws some doubt on the tradition that Alexander's foundation was an entirely new settlement on this site, saying that Rhacotis which became part of Alexandria was built by the ancient Egyptian kings. Similarly Pliny N.H. 5.62 'iuxta Mareotim lacum, qui locus antea Rhacotes nominabatur.' Cf. Vitruvius 2 praef. for the story of the foundation of the city.

Alexander of course founded many cities named Alexandria. Others not mentioned by Curtius are referred to by Pliny N.H. 5.29, 6.16, 6.23 (bis), 6.25, 6.26, 6.29, and see A.H.M.Jones, The Greek City, ch. 1.

trahens for ducens; cf. Cic. Phil. 3.16, III 1.22

'Heneti (Heneti  $\Delta$  : Vineti  $\Omega$ ) unde quidam Venetos trahere originem credunt.'

complexus For conplector in this context, cf. Caes. B.G. 7.72.2 'tantum spatium complexus,' V 1.26 'Totius operis ambitus CCCLXVIII stadia conplectitur,' V 1.31 'Arcem quoque ambitu (ambitu Vind.: ambitus  $\Omega$ ) XX stadia complexam habent.'

quidquid soli The paradosis soli, as well as Vindelinius loci, is in keeping with Curtius' usage: VII 6.25 'quantum soli occupauerant castris'; cf. Pliny Epp. 1.24.4 'tantum soli.'

octoginta stadiorum ambitum Cf. Diod. 17.52.3 'ἀπὸ γὰρ πύλης ἐπὶ πύλην δὴκουσα τεσσαράκοντα μὲν σταδίων ἔχει τὸ μῆκος πλέθρου δὲ τὸ πλάτος,' Strabo 17.1.8 (793) gives the dimensions of Alexandria as 7-8 stadia wide and 30 stadia long. For ambitum in this sense cf. V:1.26 and 31.

qui exaedificandae urbi praeessent According to Pliny N.H. 5.62 the architect in charge of these operations was Dinochares, but there are several other claimants for the honour: Vitruvius 2 praef. 4, Val. Max. 1.4.1 and Amm. Marc. 22.6.7 call him Dinocrates, Plut. Fort. Alex. 124 Stasicrates; Justin 13.4.1 Cleomenes.

Memphin petit Arrian 3.5.1, following Ptolemy's chronology, places the audience of the envoys at Memphis immediately after Alexander's visit to Ammon. Curtius, following Aristobulus' version, gives a considerable interval while Alexander founded Alexandria, then sailed up the Nile towards Ethiopia on the projected voyage of exploration. The embassies from Greece, Curtius agrees, were awaiting Alexander's arrival at Memphis (IV 8.12).

IV 8.3 cupido..inuisere This is the only example in Curtius of cupido + infinitive. It usually takes a genitive gerund, but cf. VI 5.32 ad Venerem, X 5.34 uini,

and absolute at IX 2.12. See also on cupiditatem IV 1.19. Draeger II 348 does not distinguish between these usages. Vogel Ann. 120 (edition 1903) and Dosson n. 113 (edition 1884) consider cupido..incesserat a most unusual phrase to be found with an infinitive, and they give a list of other examples.

This is another case of Alexander 'captus itaque cupidine Herculis acta superare' (Justin 12.7.13).

Memnonis Tithonique celebrata regia Curtius refers to Thebes, the regia of the kings following the legendary Memnon, the son of Tithonus and Eos. Cf. Hesiod Theog. 984 'Τιθωνῶ δ' Ἡῶς τέκε Μέμνονα χαλκοκορυστήν, Αἰθίοπων βασιλῆα.' Strabo 15.3.2, quoting Aeschylus says that his mother was Cissia, and that the regia was either Abydos in Upper Egypt or Thebes (17.1.42 (813)).

cognoscendae uetustatis audum For the idea cf. Tac. Ann. 2.59.1 'Germanicus proficiscitur cognoscendae antiquitatis.'

trahebat paene extra terminos solis Cf. IX 4.18 'Trahi extra sidera et solem cogique adire quae mortalium oculis natura subduxerat (subduxerat  $\Omega$  : subduxerit Acidalius),' and the soldiers' complaints at IV 10.4 'Dis inuitis in ultimas terras trahi se querebantur.' The expression may be considered poetical; cf. Verg. Aen. 6.799 'Iacet extra sidera tellus. Extra anni solisque uias.'



APPENDICES

The Date of Quintus Curtius

In trying to establish the date of Quintus Curtius, the first of our problems is the silence of antiquity. The Historiae Alexandri Magni are not mentioned by any ancient author and the controversy over their date of composition and authorship, which began in the 16th century, has still not been settled. Acidalius, in his Animadversiones of 1594,<sup>1</sup> declared that there must have been a deliberate conspiracy to suppress Curtius' name and work, and during the 16th to 18th centuries assertions were made that the Historiae were in fact by a 15th century scholar, under the pseudonym 'Quintus Curtius Rufus', despite the existence of much earlier manuscripts.<sup>2</sup>

Our attempt to discover the identity of our author and the origins of his work must largely be speculative. We may, for example, wonder whether Curtius' name was deliberately not mentioned by his contemporaries out of caution (see Ovid Trist. 2.467 'quoniam praesentia candor/nomina uiuorum dissimulare iubet') out of diffidence (Vell. Pat. 2.36 'nam uiuorum ut magna admiratio, ita censura difficilis est') or by literary historians through lack of space or time (Quint. Inst. 10.1.38-9 'Quippe cum in Bruto M.Tullius tot milibus uersuum de Romanis tantum oratoribus loquatur et tamen de omnibus aetatis suae, quibus cum uiuebat, exceptis Caesare atque Marcello, silentium egerit, quis erit modus, si illos et qui postea fuerunt et Graecos omnes?' Ancient authors rarely acknowledge even verbatim quotations and direct borrowing of idea and expression was common, without incurring the stigma of plagiarism.

Of course the fact that a work is not mentioned in ancient literature does not make it apocryphal: Manilius, Florus, Ampelius, Julius Obsequens and Strabo's Geographica would all have to be banished by that criterion, and several others are mentioned only once, for example

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1 Animadversiones in Quintum Curtium, p. 28.

2 See J.Bodin, Methodus ad facilem historiarum cognitionem, Paris 1566, p. 452.

Velleius Paterculus<sup>1</sup> and Phaedrus.<sup>2</sup> Similarly Quintilian's omission of Curtius from his catalogue of historians does not prove that the Historiae were written after the end of the first century A.D. There are other plausible reasons for the exclusion. It may have been personal preference, as he says at 10.1.104 'sunt alii scriptores boni, sed nos genera degustamus, non bibliothecas excutimus.'<sup>3</sup> Trogus Pompeius and Velleius Paterculus are also missing from this particular genus. Curtius' subject was unusual for a Roman historian, although Trogus Pomeius had made a start on Macedonian affairs with his Historiae Philippicae. It is inevitable when writing the res gestae of a colossus like Alexander that the history of the man becomes more-or-less the history of the times. Quintilian may have regarded Curtius as more of a biographer than a historian.

When we turn to Curtius himself in the hope of finding some clear allusions to the time in which he wrote, we are again in for something of a disappointment. His contemporary references are very few and by no means unequivocal, and if he provided a preface in which he might have given us more clues, we can only lament its loss. Such evidence as we have has been the subject of many different interpretations and has led various scholars to conclude that Curtius wrote during the reign of almost every Princeps from Augustus to Theodosius.<sup>4</sup> Fortunately this period of some four centuries can be reduced at once by examining Curtius' own remarks.

At VI 2.12 he refers to the Parthian Empire, which fell in A.D. 227, as still in existence: 'nunc caput omnium qui post Euphraten et Tigrim amnes siti, Rubro mari terminantur'. In his recent article,<sup>5</sup> J.R.Fears suggests that Curtius uses the names Parthi and Persae synonymously like several other authors of the Imperial period,

1 Priscian 6.11.

2 Avienus Ep. ad Theod.

3 Cf. Inst. Or. 10.1.40.

4 See separate bibliography at the end of this appendix.

5 Parthi in Curtius Rufus, Hermes 102 (1974) 623-5.

including Ammianus Marcellinus. Curtius, on the contrary, shows that he does know the difference between the two nations,<sup>1</sup> and indeed he draws attention to it. He does not confuse the Parthians whom he calls, 'tunc ignobilem gentem' (VI 2.12). with the Persians who are, after all, the protagonists in his drama, and for whom he has an obvious admiration. Instead he gives an account of their separate origins and territorial expansion, at IV 12.11 and VI 2.14. Dio Cassius and Herodian knew about the overthrow of the Parthian Empire and the establishment of the New Persian Empire, and there is no reason to suppose that Curtius would not also have acknowledged this, had he been writing after the year 227.

Like any informed Roman, Curtius could not help but be aware of the long-standing tension between the Roman and Parthian Empires, which caused so much trouble for Augustus and Caligula, to such an extent that Parthi became a general term for 'the menace in the east'. His comment about the great expanse of the Parthians' domain would not have been very tactful if he were writing under Augustus, since that Princeps regarded his temporary 'conquest' of the Parthians as one of the major triumphs of his reign. Rome was forced to cede Armenia - that bone of contention - to Parthia during Tiberius' Principate, and she abandoned that area from about A.D. 38 to 43 when Mithridates was backed by Claudius and recovered his kingdom. This turned out to be a most unstable arrangement and in the end Nero was obliged to recognise the Parthian Tiridates as king of Armenia. During the early Empire the Parthians usually had the upper hand in the region Curtius mentions, from the Euphrates to the Caspian Sea. Trajan first broke the tradition of regarding the Euphrates as the boundary between the two empires and tried to hold Mesopotamia as a defensible frontier state; Marcus Aurelius established a Roman protectorate there, and the Severi eventually claimed Mesopotamia as

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1 Tarn, Alexander, II p. 107 n.4, points out that Curtius even distinguishes between the Parthava whom he calls Parthieni, and the Scythian Parthi who occupied the territory of the Parthieni (VI 2.12).

a Roman province. Thereafter neither side could assert complete control over the region, as Festus Breu. 14 remarks. Curtius' definition of the extent of the Parthian Empire is really only appropriate to the period before the reign of Trajan.

His reference to Tyre at IV 4.21 'nunc tandem longa pace cuncta refouente sub tutela Romanae mansuetudinis adquiescit', cannot be applied exclusively to any particular period of Roman domination in the Eastern Mediterranean. But it is not likely to mean the time during and after the principate of Septimius Severus, when Tyre was sacked in A.D. 193, deprived of its autonomy and became an ordinary Roman colony. If, as seems probable, longa pace is an allusion to the Pax Augusta,<sup>1</sup> then an Augustan date for Curtius is again unlikely. The passage implies that the peace of the Roman world in general gave Tyre (and of course other cities) the opportunity to flourish. Longa pace could also, however, refer to the long period of peace enjoyed by Tyre itself since it was besieged for over a year in the time of Antigonus (315 B.C.) during the break-up of Alexander's empire (Diod. 19.61.5). Sumner<sup>2</sup> and others believe that the phrase could not be applied to Tyre at the beginning of Vespasian's reign, when the Jewish War had raged nearby in A.D. 70. I do not think that this argument can safely be adduced to support a Claudian dating for the Historiae. There is no evidence, even in Josephus, that Tyre was involved in the war. As a prosperous city able to supply provisions for the combatants, it may well have benefited from the hostilities. Nevertheless, taking together both the ideas of the Pax Romana in general and the longa pax in particular, we may wonder whether Curtius would have used the phrase with quite such confidence after the disastrous year A.D. 69.

The passage at X 10.20 in which Curtius talks about the cult of Alexander, which centred round his tomb in Alexandria, as still flourishing, can also be used as a

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1 see Syme, Tacitus, I, p. 218 n. 6.

2 Curtius and the "Historiae Alexandri", AUMLA 15(1961)30f.

terminus post quem non for the date of writing. The tomb was certainly venerated in the first century A.D.:

Suetonius (Calig. 52) tells us about Caligula's less than respectful behaviour during his visit, but there is no evidence for the cult's survival after the point at which Dio Cassius' History ends, in A.D. 229. The shrine was probably destroyed before the time of Theodosius and would certainly have been prohibited under his edict against laudatory sacrifices (Cod. Theod. 16 Tab. 10).

D.Korzeniewski<sup>1</sup> maintains that Curtius was constrained to give a full description of the troops who wore coats of mail, called cataphracti,<sup>2</sup> instead of using the name without explanation, because his readers could not be expected to understand the technical term. He deduces from this that Curtius must have been writing before the reign of Hadrian who introduced these troops into the Roman army, and for which there is epigraphical evidence.<sup>3</sup> This argument for an Augustan date for Curtius is not valid.<sup>4</sup> The description, at least at III 11.15, is necessary in the context to explain why these heavily-armoured troops were unable to manoeuvre quickly in an emergency. Moreover, the term cataphracti is already used by Livy (35.48.3, 37.40.11, etc.) who obviously did expect his readers to understand it. These troops are depicted on Trajan's column, and yet authors as late as Ammianus Marcellinus and Heliodorus<sup>5</sup> give details of their appearance, as well as using the term cataphracti without elaboration on other occasions. I suspect that Curtius would have taken the opportunity to include the full description for interest in any case.

Even the incidental comment on archery at VIII 5.42 has been pressed for allusions to events contemporary

1 Die Zeit des Q.C., Diss. Köln 1959; see also Bruère CPh. 55 (1960) 226-8.

2 Cf. Post, Cataphracts in Curtius.

3 CIL 10.5632.

4 Cf. J.R.Fears, CPh 71 (1976) 214-223.

5 16.10.8, 25.1.12, 25.3.4, 29.1.1, etc.; Aeth. 9.15, respectively.

with Curtius: 'nunc forsitan, sagittarum celebri usu, minus admirabilis uideri ars haec possit.' This innocent remark has been taken as a reference to Hadrian's army reforms,<sup>1</sup> or to Commodus' feats of skill in archery,<sup>2</sup> but of course the observation would have been equally true at any other point in the Imperial period. Curtius is simply using it to enliven an anecdote by contrasting the present with the 'heroic' past - a device familiar from Homer.

By far the most controversial passage in which Curtius says something about contemporary events is at X 9.1-6, which is worth quoting in full:

X 9.1 Sed iam fatis admouebantur Macedonum  
genti bella ciuilia; nam et insociabile est  
2 regnum et a pluribus expetebatur. Primum  
ergo conlisere uires, deinde dispersunt; et  
cum pluribus corpus quam capiebat onerassent,  
cetera membra deficere coeperunt, quodque  
imperium sub uno stare potuisset, dum a pluri-  
3 bus sustinetur, ruit. Proinde iure meritoque  
populus Romanus salutem se principi suo  
debere profitetur, qui noctis quam paene  
4 supremam habuimus nouum sidus inluxit. Huius,  
hercule, non solis, ortus lucem caliganti  
reddidit mundo, cum sine suo capite discordia  
5 membra trepidarent. Quot ille tum extinxit  
faces! quot condidit gladios! quantam  
tempestatem subita serenitate discussit!  
Non ergo reuirescit solum, sed etiam floruit  
6 imperium. Absit modo inuidia, excipiet  
huius saeculi tempora eiusdem domus utinam  
perpetua, certe diuturna posteritas.

Curtius praises the timely accession of an emperor, but the question is, 'Which one?'. He is hailed as a nouum sidus who has suddenly appeared, to save the Roman people from a time of darkness and anxiety, caused by the loss of their former head, and restored balance and prosperity to the Empire. Broadly literally and metaphorically interpreted, these apparently general statements could be, and indeed have been, made to apply to most of the emperors of the first century A.D.

The case for Augustus seems plausible at first sight, but there are several objections to it. Firstly, Curtius

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1 Von Domaszewski, Die Phalangen Alexanders der grosse.

2 Steele, TAPhA 1912, 51-4.

accepts the Principate as an established fact of life when he says, 'salutem se principi suo debere,' and 'sine suo capite discordia membra trepidarent' (§§ 3 & 4). This must surely mean that the state was in difficulty because of the loss of the Princeps on whom it had become accustomed to rely. If the passage were supposed to refer to Augustus, the possessives would have been better omitted or replaced by some qualifying phrase.

Similarly, nouum sidus implies that there had been a previous sidus who would be recognised by the reader. I would agree with Tarn (although not with his conclusions<sup>1</sup>) when he says, 'I find it difficult to dissociate this from the 'Iulium sidus'<sup>2</sup> - a transfer of imagery from Caesar to his adopted son'.<sup>3</sup> Curtius' sidus is a member of the Julian House, possibly seen as a new Augustus, but cannot be Augustus himself. Octavian received the title 'Princeps Senatus' in 29 B.C. and became 'Augustus' and 'Princeps' (or 'First Citizen') in 27. If it had been intended for Augustus, Curtius' eulogy could, on this hypothesis, reasonably have been written shortly after 27 B.C. During these first years, however, Augustus consciously played down his connection with the assassinated Dictator and certainly did not openly claim to be the heir to the throne. It was Senatus Populusque Romanus who were skilfully manoeuvred into 'voluntarily' giving back the powers so shrewdly relinquished by Octavian in 27 B.C. Vergil and Horace tactfully hardly mention Julius Caesar; Ovid eulogises him because of Augustus' inescapable association with him; but in the early years of his principate, Augustus knew only too well how potentially embarrassing, not to say dangerous, the association was.

Nor would it have been gratifying for any would-be panegyrist to remind Augustus of the atrocities committed on both sides in the recent wars, when the Princeps was at pains to forget. Curtius salutem (§ 3) in this context

1 Alexander, II p. 112.

2 Cf. Suet. Iul. 88, Julius Obsequens 168.

3 Tarn, op. cit. p. 114.



could have been misunderstood as heavily ironic.

As well as objections of this kind, there is an important chronological one: The only two authors who can be shown to have had any influence on Curtius are Livy and perhaps Vergil<sup>1</sup> and it would not have been possible for him to write under their influence in the early years of Augustus' reign. Tarn evades the problem by claiming that 'Non ergo reuiescit, sed etiam floret imperium' (§ 5) shows that the eulogy was written a considerable time after the accession of the Princeps. But floret is a rhetorical hyperbole meaning that the empire has recovered quickly and completely under its new head: it indicates the degree of the improvement, not its duration.

Those who insist upon an Augustan date are left with the hypothesis that certain portions of the Historiae, including this part of Book X, were published shortly after Augustus' accession and that these were re-written and augmented at a much later date. Some parts of the work probably were given individual attention, such as the anecdotes which can stand alone, and the more obvious rhetorical showpieces; but there is no reason to suppose that the whole was not composed in chronological order, whether all at once or in parts.

The most plausible of the remaining arguments are those in favour of Claudius or Vespasian as the subject of the eulogy. I hope to show that Curtius' allusions most aptly point to the circumstances surrounding the death of Caligula and the accession of Claudius on 24th - 25th January, A.D. 41.

Just before the digression at X 9.1, Curtius has reached the point in his narrative where full-scale civil war is about to break out among the Macedonian generals, after Alexander's sudden death. The position of this digression and the tense of admouebantur at the beginning are important. Civil wars were approaching because there was no obvious successor to Alexander who would preserve the status quo, but they had not yet broken out. The

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1 R. Balzer, Der Einfluss Vergils auf Curtius Rufus.

actual outbreak is heralded later, at X 9.20: 'Hoc bellorum ciuiliū Macedonibus et omen et principium fuit.' The clash between Alexander's generals could still have been prevented by the emergence, at the eleventh hour, of a single successor acceptable to all the contending parties. This reminds Curtius of the situation at Rome after the equally sudden demise of Caligula. He compares the outcome in the cases of the two empires, giving a brief résumé of the collapse of Alexander's Empire, reaching a climax at ruit (§ 2). In strong contrast he goes on to describe the fortunate escape of the Roman people from a similar fate. For them the new Princeps appeared just in time to prevent the civil war which could have had similar disastrous results.

Scholars who argue for a date during the early years of Vespasian's reign claim that Curtius' allusions to the danger of the situation before the emergence of the nouum sidus are too forceful to refer to the night of 24th January, after the murder of Caligula. Curtius, says Stroux, is referring to a real, not a hypothetical, civil war. If Curtius were describing the terrible year of chaos, A.D. 68-69, preceding the reign of Vespasian, he would not, I think, have chosen the phrase discordia membra trepidarent. Discordia is far more commonly used to mean 'civil disorder',<sup>1</sup> especially in Rome itself where political factions or sedition are involved, rather than open civil war fought out in the provinces. Its mood and meaning here are similar to Cicero Phil. 1.1.25: 'omnia plena discordiarum ex quibus oriuntur bella ciuilia'. Trepidare is used elsewhere by Curtius to mean nothing more overtly violent than tension and apprehension, for example of troops before a major battle (IV 12.14, VII 2.12, etc.), and it is this kind of fear before the gathering storm which he intends here. With a rhetorician's sensitivity to the force of words, he could have found something considerably stronger to describe the long and bloody series of civil wars which ended in the accession of Vespasian; he would have no reason to underestimate the

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1. cf. Cic. de Off. 1.85, Vell. Pat. 2.126.2.

gravity of the Empire's plight in a panegyric.

On the other hand, some scholars who favour the Claudian date do not take what Curtius says literally enough. He is alluding to real events when he says, 'Quot ille tum extinxit faces! Quot condidit gladios!' (§ 5). which Hermann, for example, dismisses as rhetorical. Faces could refer to the actual torches of the troops who occupied the Capitol during the whole night of 24th - 25th January, as well as to hypothetical 'torches of civil war'. Stroux believes that this phrase refers to the burning of the Capitol in A.D. 69. Whatever our preferences for a literal or metaphorical interpretation, Curtius' point is that the nouum sidus arrived to cry halt to the 'fire and sword' before either of them could do any harm. Vespasian did not arrive in time to avert the destruction. We shall also see that the historian's 'Quot..gladios.' is not too exaggerated to apply to Claudius' accession.

'With no heir apparent to the throne, the administration devolved into the hands of the Consuls, but when it came to considering the permanent form of a new government, dissension appeared at once,' Scramuzza<sup>1</sup> says of the period immediately after Caligula's assassination. If we doubt that there was a real sense of danger and panic at Rome during that hiatus, we have only to read Josephus A.J. 19 for a different view. The Senate was in revolt, calling (again) for the restoration of the Republic<sup>2</sup> and occupied the Capitol all night, backed by the Urban Cohorts<sup>3</sup>; Caligula's German guards set about avenging his murder by slaughtering as many Senators as they could find<sup>4</sup>; among the pretenders<sup>5</sup> bidding for the Principate were Vinicianus, Valerius Asiaticus and Galba, all supported by a few Praetorians. One can imagine the alarm among the populace. Curtius does not exaggerate

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1 The Emperor Claudius, p. 54.

2 Joseph. A.J. 19.227, 251.

3 Suet. Claud. 10.3, Dio Cass. 59.30.3, 60.1.1.

4 Joseph. A.J. 19.123,125.

5 Joseph. A.J. 19.186-7, Suet. Claud. 10.4.

when he says, 'Quot ille tum extinxit faces! Quot condidit gladios!' Only the form is characteristically rhetorical. There was for a time a real threat of violence between the Senate + Urban Cohorts and the Praetorian Guards, as well as the factions of the several claimants to the throne.

Claudius who had been kept out of public life deliberately by his family because of his physical handicaps and supposed imbecillity<sup>1</sup>, had nevertheless been clever enough to keep his head while all about were losing theirs under the ministrations of Livia and Caligula. He now emerged as the forgotten representative of the Julian House, the only legitimate heir to the Principate, and was supported by the Praetorians. He rejected demands from the Senate for his surrender; the Senate promptly lost the backing of the Urban Cohorts, and by the next morning was forced to acknowledge Claudius as the new Princeps. The accession of no other emperor was marked by such an immediate threat to civil order, so quickly dispelled; or, as Curtius puts it, 'Quantam tempestatem subita serenitate discussit!'<sup>2</sup> I do not believe that the eventual emergence of Vespasian as emperor, after a long and violent struggle, can be reconciled with subita serenitate. (§ 5).

But to return to our nouum sidus. The metaphor of light and darkness for prosperity and adversity was, of course, well-known before Curtius, but his terminology in this passage is specific. It is difficult to dissociate his noctis quam paene supremam habuimus (§ 3) from Livy's very similar expression at 6.17.4, describing that other famous night, in 390 B.C., when Rome was again only just saved from disaster: 'noctis illius quae paene ultima nomini Romano fuerit'. The night / day metaphor would have been served just as well if Curtius had compared his Princeps' advent with the sun-rise, as Horace does for Augustus at Carm. 4.5. Curtius tries that, and finds it lacking in precision; so he deliberately throws the

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1 Momigliano, L'Opera dell' imperatore Claudio, p. 16.

2 Cf. Suet. Claud. 10 'quantumuis mirabili casu.'

emphasis on to sidus: 'Huius, hercule, non solis ortus lucem caliganti reddidit mundo'. If this star had not risen during the night, he declares, the sun-rise alone would not have been enough to dispel the gloom of that particular, dreadful night.<sup>1</sup>

Leeman<sup>2</sup> dismisses the possibility of a Claudian date for Curtius with the remark, 'Dear old Claudius could scarcely be designated, even by an admirer, as a "new sun".' Unfortunately he has not noticed that Seneca says almost exactly that at Consol. ad Polyb. 13.1: 'Patere illum generi humano iam diu aegro et adfecto mederi, patere quicquid prioris principis furor concussit in suum locum restituere ac reponere! Sidus hoc, quod praecipitato in profundum et demerso in tenebras orbi refulsit, semper luceat!' This is not the place to investigate the question of who borrowed from whom<sup>3</sup>, but the similarity with Curtius' version, in thought and expression, is quite striking. Seneca uses the phrase demerso in tenebras orbi for the 'dark' side of his metaphor<sup>4</sup>; Curtius has caliganti mundo. The possibility of a play on the words caligare and Caligula was first noticed by Hirschfeld<sup>5</sup>. Objections on the grounds that the metrical quantities of the two words are quite different are not really convincing. Suet. Nero 33.2 shows that puns were made in this way<sup>6</sup>, and it seems likely to have been taken as such by the notoriously sensitive Roman audience<sup>7</sup>. During my enquiries into Curtius' use of vocabulary, I have found that he is the only prose author to use caligare to mean 'to be dark'. He uses the verb in one other place but in the sense 'to be blind' (X 7.4), and this is the

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1 Fears, The Solar Monarchy of Nero and the Imperial Panegyric of C.C.R., answers Verdière and Milns who see in sidus an allusion to Nero. Fears claims that Curtius does not use the sol metaphor as this was hackneyed (cf. Hor. Sat. 1.7.23-6) yet he uses it of Alexander at IX 6.8.

2 Orationis Ratio II, p. 468 (ch. X n. 77).

3 Cf. Wilhelm, Curtius und der jüngere Seneca, p. 71f.

4 Cf. in a similar context Cic. Leg. Agr. 1.24.

5 in Hermes 8 (1874) 472.

6 Cf. also Cic. de Or. 3.196, Tac. Hist. 1.1.

7 Verdière, WS 79 (1966) 490-509.

meaning found in Seneca the Younger and Pliny the Elder. Curtius' choice of words is remarkable for its conservatism, and I suggest that he would not have been likely to indulge in this most unusual meaning if he had not intended it to have a special significance.

If Curtius' nouum sidus does refer to Claudius, then he was writing near enough to the beginning of the Principate for the allusion to the Iulium sidus to be caught, yet far enough away for the dynasty to be well-established. Eiusdem domus (§ 6) seems more likely to mean that the House which has already been ruling will continue to do so through its new representative, rather than that a new dynasty is being founded, which may continue in power for a long time to come. Posteritas (§ 6) does not necessarily imply that the new emperor has offspring, although in Claudius' case it would refer to Britannicus who was born soon after his father's accession.

Curtius' use of insociabile regnum to refer to the Roman Principate does not necessarily mean that he was writing at the time of Tacitus or later.<sup>1</sup> He is using the phrase as a sententia, as he often does, to introduce a cautionary tale, and is talking about autocracy in general including both the Macedonian and Roman forms. Immediately after this introductory remark he describes its result in each case. The expression was proverbial<sup>2</sup> long before Curtius, for example Ennius ap. Cic. de Off. 1.8 'Nulla sancta societas nec fides regni est', and its equivalent is already found in Homer, Il. 204 'οὐκ ἀγαθὸν πολυκοιρανίῃ εἰς κοίρανος ἔστω / Εἰς βασιλεύς.'

Finally on this passage: can the early years of Claudius' Principate be said to justify the declaration, 'Non ergo reuirescit solum, sed etiam floruit imperium' (§ 5)? Caligula's policy at home and abroad had been disastrous, and at his death several provinces were either in open revolt or on the verge of rebellion. The Senate

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1 as Vogel-Weidemann suggests in Bemerkungen zu den Curtii Rufi.; cf. Tac. Ann. 1.11, 13.7 etc., Wilhelm: Curtius und der jüngere Seneca, p. 71.

2 Wilhelm, op. cit. p. 27

which he had humiliated or ignored, were at first determined not to endure another Princeps. Claudius looked to the example of Augustus and wanted to rule well. He pardoned the Senate, even those implicated in Gaius' murder, and co-operated with it. He also ingratiated himself with the Praetorians and populace by means of donatives and the abolition of Gaius' new taxes. If Curtius' expression still seems extravagant, after making allowance for rhetoric, we should remind ourselves of what Seneca says in a similar context: 'Patere illum generi humano iam diu aegro et adfecto mederi, patere quicquid prioris principis furor concussit in suum locum restituere ac reponere!' (Consol. ad Polyb. 13.1). Curtius' reuirescit..floruit is no more exaggerated than this.

Attempts have been made to find examples in Curtius of borrowings from and by other authors and to extract evidence for his date from them. We should bear in mind that Curtius had many opportunities for direct plagiarism from Livy, for example in the 'Cincinnatus' episode, IV 1.20f. (q.v.), yet there is little verbal similarity even here, and certainly not sufficient to prove intentional reminiscence. Similarly with Vergil, the only case of a possible deliberate allusion is at IV 4.10 'armis fulgentibus conspicuus' (q.v.), whereas Curtius had ample opportunity for direct borrowing in a work of this nature. Subconscious reminiscence of authors as well-received as these is likely, but not demonstrable.

Wilhelm, in Curtius und der jüngere Seneca, finds many parallels between the two authors, and believes that Seneca borrowed from Curtius. In many cases there can be no certainty at all, for example in the two eulogies we have been considering above (X 9.1-6, Consol. ad Polyb. 13.1) Seneca could have 'toned down' Curtius' version, or Curtius could have embroidered Seneca's. Many of the similarities between them consist of rhetorical/philosophical commonplaces, e.g. IV 1.18 (q.v.) 'maius esset regnum fastidire quam accipere', Wilhelm op. cit. p. 10. Seneca was undoubtedly an eclectic writer who can be shown to have borrowed from several different sources;

Curtius, on the other hand, seems to be quite independent. It seems to me more likely that Seneca incorporated snippets from Curtius into his diverse works, since the supposed reminiscences occur throughout Seneca's works, rather than that Curtius gathered from many places in Seneca. This is especially probable in cases like IV 6.9 cf. Sen. de Cons. Sap. 6.4 where the subject-matter is of a military nature.

More striking is Curtius' apparent reproduction of the speech of M. Terentius in his own defence against the charge of complicity with Sejanus, putting the same arguments into the mouth of Amyntas who is charged with having conspired with Philotas - VII 1.25f., cf. Dio Cass. 58.19.1, Tac. Ann. 6.8. The similarities in idea and expression between Curtius' version at VII 1.26-7 and that of Dio Cassius at 58.19.3 are so striking that they must have had access to the same source. Tacitus presents the same arguments but there is little verbal similarity with Curtius. As Wiedemann<sup>1</sup> points out, each of these authors has elements not found in either of the other two; they therefore appear to be writing independently, using the same source. Some similarities between Curtius and Dio are not paralleled in Tacitus, e.g. *οὐκ ἠρνῆσατο* / non eo infitias and *τί θαυμαστόν* / an miraris, and there are similar shared elements in Dio and Tacitus which are not found in Curtius. The strongest point in the argument is the same in all three cases: the accused, so far from denying friendship with Sejanus/Philotas, freely admits that he sought and cultivated the friendship, since the emperor's/king's friends ought to be revered simply because they have been considered worthy of friendship by him; if the emperor/king was not wrong to honour Sejanus/Philotas, then Terentius/Amyntas can have done no wrong either. This argument is irrefutable and both defendants were acquitted. As far as Curtius is concerned, Arrian and Diodorus have nothing like the speech of Amyntas at this point in the History,

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1 Ph 30 (1870) 254-5



so we may be fairly certain that he has introduced this episode from sources other than his usual Greek one(s). This speech provides a terminus ante quem non for the date of Curtius, reinforcing our rejection of an Augustan date. It seems probable that, writing under Tiberius, he was making a deliberate allusion, which he could expect to be fresh in his readers' minds, to a recent celebrated trial, although this cannot be proved.

There have also been attempts to link Curtius with Lucan and Silius Italicus. Bardon, LEC 15 (1947) 193f., suggests that Lucan 9.493f. is an imitation of VII 4.28; Meyer, Silius und Lucan, p. 58, compares Sil. Ital. 3.654-5 with VII 4.27, and 3.669-71 with IV 7.22. We have noticed some similarities with Lucan, especially in the 'Ammon' episode (see e.g. on Hammonis IV 7.22), but there can be no certainty as to who borrowed from whom, if indeed any borrowing has taken place. Similarly we cannot exclude the possibility of an independent source for Silius Italicus Pun. 3.62-162 and IV 3.20-23 (q.v.), although Bruère, CPh 47 (1952) 219-227, believes that Silius borrowed directly from Curtius. Nevertheless, taken together with other evidence, these few literary matters may help to establish a terminus ante quem.

My researches into Curtius' use of language have so far revealed nothing to upset the hypothesis that he was writing at the beginning of Claudius' principate. He does not stray far from the example of Livy in grammar or syntax, and in a few cases his usage is more 'Classical' than Livy (see, e.g. on desineret IV.5.6). He shows more restraint in his use of sententiae and choice of vocabulary than Seneca the Younger. One important piece of evidence against a date later in the first century is that Curtius uses so few archaisms. I have only been able to find a total of five possible examples in the whole work, and of these only one (contuitus, subst.) has not appeared in prose at least once before Curtius. Bardon (LEC 15 (1947) 214) remarks on the prospect of H.Blatt's work: Das vulgär-archaische Element in der Sprache des Curtius Rufus, 'Nous n'avons pu nous procurer la dissertation de M.Blatt.: le titre

en est fort compromettant, et je doute fort que, si l'auteur applique à bon escient les mots "archaïque" et "vulgaire", il ait établi des relevés de quelque longueur.' M. Bardou's suspicions were well-founded: I have been able to see this dissertation which is two pages long, and, as one would expect, comes to negative conclusions. If Curtius had been writing long after the time of Seneca, he would surely have succumbed to a few more archaisms than he has. We can see in the Historiae the expansion in the use of participles, especially the future participle, and infinitives to bear extended meanings and to stand for subordinate clauses, a development which was taken so much further by Tacitus. Even in his choice of clausulae, Curtius shows a preference for those favoured by Cicero.

These considerations, together with our other evidence, date Curtius to the middle of the first century A.D., and the panegyric at X 9.1-6 in my opinion enables us to place the completion of the work in the early years of Claudius' principate.

The Question of Curtius' Identity

As we have seen (p. 319f.), Curtius scarcely mentions contemporary events: he is no more forthcoming with autobiographical details. In the absence of any firm evidence of this fascinating but frustrating matter, such as Curtius' own preface (if he deigned to write one), we can only approach with caution a reconstruction of his background.

It is clear from the style of the Historiae that not only did their author have a rhetorical training but also that he was practised and accomplished in its use. It has therefore been suggested<sup>1</sup> that he is to be identified with the rhetor by the name of Q. Curtius Rufus who appears in the index to Suetonius' De Grammaticis et Rhetoribus, as no. 33. The relevant part of the list is as follows: L. Cestius Pius, M. Porcius Latro, Q. Curtius Rufus, L. Valerius Primanus, Verginius Flauus, L. Staius Ursulus, P. Clodius Quirinalis, etc. Suetonius presumably considers these to be the most important rhetoricians of the first century A.D. The names are in chronological order. St. Jerome gives the date when Cestius floruit as 13 B.C.: he wrote a declamation against Cicero and taught Seneca the Elder<sup>2</sup>, perhaps active at Rome as late as A.D. 9<sup>3</sup>. Porcius Latro was a friend and contemporary of Seneca the Elder<sup>4</sup>, taught Ovid, and died in 4 B.C., according to Jerome. Nothing is known of L. Valerius Primanus, but Helm<sup>5</sup> would place his activity in the reign of Claudius. Verginius Flauus taught Persius from about A.D. 46 and was exiled at the height of his powers by Nero in A.D. 65.<sup>6</sup> L. Staius Ursulus is otherwise unknown. P. Clodius Quirinalis was active in the late 40's and was Praefectus classis at

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1 e.g. by Sumner, Curtius Rufus and the "Historiae"

2 Sen. Contr. praef. 8; 9.3.13

3 RE III<sub>2</sub>.2008 = Cestius 13

4 Sen. Contr. 1 praef. 13; 10.4.21, Pliny N.H. 20.160

5 RE VIIIA1. 195 = Valerius 311.

6 Suet. Life of Persius, Quint. Inst.Or. 3.6.45, 4.1.23 etc.

Ravenna in A.D. 56.<sup>1</sup> The index ends with the great rhetoricians of Vespasian's time<sup>2</sup>: Julius Gabinianus,<sup>3</sup> M. Fabius Quintilianus<sup>4</sup>, and Julius Tiro.<sup>5</sup> Suetonius' Q. Curtius Rufus was therefore working in the first half of the first century A.D., almost certainly under Tiberius and Caligula and possibly also during part of Augustus' and Claudius' reigns. The author of the Historiae could well have been a rhetor, writing intermittently during his teaching career and / or in retirement. If, as I believe, this rhetorical tour de force was completed soon after the accession of Claudius, it seems likely that the names' similarity is probably not mere coincidence.

A few biographical details of another, contemporary Curtius Rufus are given by Tacitus (Ann. 11 20-21) and Pliny (Epp. 7.27.2). Tacitus gives the name simply as Curtius Rufus, according to his usual practice. This Curtius was apparently candidatus Caesaris for the praetorship under Tiberius. There was a long interval before his consulship - perhaps as the colleague of Pomeius Silvanus in A.D. 45.<sup>6</sup> He was awarded triumphal insignia by Claudius in A.D. 48 for his activities as legatus of Upper Germany. He later became Proconsul of Africa where he died, as foretold in the vision he had had while Quaestor in the province, which is recounted by Pliny (loc. cit.).

Tacitus' failure to mention the Historiae Alexandri in this context does not preclude the identification of his Curtius Rufus with our historian. The subject matter may perhaps not have seemed very worthy to Tacitus<sup>2</sup> who also disliked Curtius' character, though he cannot deny his intellectual capacity. Above all, this Curtius' origins were humble according to Tacitus, however much we allow for the latter's well-known prejudices and the contemporary penchant for such aspersions. Curtius Rufus' rise to

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1 RE IV<sub>1</sub>.98 = Clodius 52 (Brzoska).

2 Suet. Vesp. 18

3 Tac. Dial. 26.8

4 Suet. De Gramm. et Rhet. 16

5 Pliny Epp. 31.7

6 Joseph. A.J. 20.14

7 cf. Agric. 1, Ann. 2.88

prominence through the favour of friends and two emperors would have seemed disgraceful. However this may be, Tacitus does not always mention the literary efforts of other personages.

A man from such obscure (perhaps servile?) background as this Curtius' must have had great natural talents to go so far. Sumner proposes a curriculum vitae for the Proconsul, whom he identifies with the historian, in which he suggests that the Historiae Alexandri were written during the long period between his Praetorship (A.D. 20-25) and Consulship (A.D. 45), during which he had to return to work as a rhetorician. It could be objected that the historian shows no particular familiarity with military matters,<sup>1</sup> especially in his descriptions of battles, but as Sumner points out, Tacitus' Curtius was awarded triumphal insignia for employing his troops usefully in silver mines. A provincial governorship did not necessarily demand military expertise. According to this hypothesis, the dedication of the Historiae Alexandri may have gained for Curtius just the favour he needed with the new Princeps for the resumption of his public career. Of course this must remain merely conjecture.

Q. Curtius Rufus the historian was obviously a man of some literary talent. Tacitus' grudging acri ingenio could suggest a keen natural talent or a self-assertive disposition. It is possible that this Curtius Rufus pursued a career both as a rhetor and on the cursus honorum at different times in his life, though whether he could have proved sufficiently outstanding in both to be worthy of mention by Suetonius on the one hand, and Pliny and Tacitus on the other, is perhaps doubtful. On chronological grounds alone, assuming that the Historiae were written between the late 20's and early 40's A.D., the Proconsul could have been their author. It seems to me reasonable to suppose that the rhetor mentioned by Suetonius was also a historian; less likely, though not impossible, that the Proconsul in Tacitus and Pliny is identical with Suetonius' rhetor and/or the our historian.

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1 cf. Kinch, Quaestiones curtianae, p.1: 'Curtius, in quo multum rhetoris, militis minimum est.'

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a) The Vocabulary of Quintus Curtius.

The most remarkable thing about Curtius' vocabulary is that it is quite unremarkable. On the whole it is plain, restrained and in general conformity with the usage of 'Classical' prose writers. Considering that Curtius has occasion to describe a very wide range of situations, from pitched battles to the plight of the Persian royal ladies in captivity, and human emotions ranging from blind rage to despair, his vocabulary is surprisingly limited. Vogel<sup>1</sup> gives a total of only 3,850 words; more recently, and aided by the computer, Thérasse counts 5143.<sup>2</sup> The vast majority of these are already in common use in prose writers up to and including Livy. I shall consider here Curtius' use of less common words and those which appear in prose during the early Imperial period.

1) Archaisms

Although the co-option of archaic words into standard prose vocabulary is a distinctive feature of authors of the first half of the first century A.D., Curtius' use of such words is negligible in comparison with his near-contemporaries, e.g. Seneca the Younger.<sup>3</sup> In fact Curtius' archaisms are conspicuous by their absence; hence H. Blatt<sup>4</sup> had so little to report after his researches into this aspect of Curtius' work. The following few are, I believe, the only examples of possible archaisms not already at home in Caesar, Cicero and Livy:-

contuitus (subst.) - rare: only Plaut. Trin. 262, V 12.19 and Pliny the Elder.<sup>3</sup>

extemplo - Plaut., Varr.; only once in Cic. Rosc.Com. 3.8, Livy, IV 16.13, V 5.16.

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1 Übersicht, Anm. 1 p. 172, edition of Q.C. 1903.

2 Index Verborum, p. 545.

3 'Seneca' and 'Pliny' refer to Seneca the Younger (his prose works) and Pliny the Elder, throughout.

4 Das vulgär-archaische Element in der Sprache des Curtius Rufus; and see 'Date' p. 333.

- frigescere - Cato, Caelius in Cic. ad Fam. 8.6.4,  
VIII 10.29, Sen.
- propitiare - Pac., Plaut., Val. Max. 1.1.1, IV 7.24;  
13.15, Sen.
- rescisco - frequent in Ter., Plaut., once in Cic. de Off.  
3.23.91, Livy, VI 7.16.

Even these Curtius has in common with contemporaries or near-contemporaries.

b) In addition there are a few words which can be considered archaic and/or poetic:-

- albens - in the phrase albente caelo; first in Sisenna, then Caes. B.C. 1.68.1, Bell. Afr. 11.1, 80.3, III 3.11, Pliny (Min.) Pan. 22.1, albert in Sen Epp. 122.4; cf, albescens Verg. Aen. 7.528.
- inhorrescere - Pac., Pac. in Cic. Div. 1.14.24 (cf. horrescere Cic. Rep. 1.63) IV 3.17, Sen., Pliny.
- inclitus - see on IV 1.16; Livy.
- inpetere - Varro, Lucr., X 7.5, and later poets. (With the reappearance of these words with the prefix in-, cf. several new compounds occurring after the time of Augustus, p. 345.
- protendere - Cato, Verg., X 8.20, Sen., Pliny.

c) The following may be considered either archaic or a Graecism:-

- petra (πέτρα) - Ennius ap. Fest 1.1, III 1.3, etc., Sen., Pliny.

d) Used in an archaic/poetic sense:-

- sospes = 'auspicious' - Plaut. Poen. 5.4.15, Hor. C.S. 39, IX 1.30; also at X 1.7 = 'safe'.
- tempestatas = 'tempus' - Cic. de Or. 3.153 says that this is poetic/archaic, but it is firmly established in the historians, e.g. Livy 1.5.2

(where, however, it may be a deliberate archaism) and elsewhere in Livy, as well as in Sallust.<sup>1</sup> In Curtius it means tempus at III 1.2 and IV 2.11; otherwise, as usual = 'weather'.

## 2) Poeticisms

Curtius is more free in his use of words which in the late Republican and Augustan periods belonged to poetry, but here also he shows severe restraint compared with Seneca, not to mention prose writers of the late first century. The following are poeticisms occurring in Curtius which have not already been introduced into prose via Cicero, Sallust and Livy. The prose author in whose work the word first appears is given and if a word is rare or occurs only in Curtius in mid-first century prose, its occurrence in Vergil (if any) is also mentioned:-

arietare - (metaph. Att. ap. Cic. Div. 1.44) IX 7.22.

bilinguis (δίγλωσσος) = 'speaking two languages': Varr. Men., VII 5.29; not in Sen. or Pliny; = 'deceitful' in Verg.

canities - VII 4.34, X 2.12, Sen., Pliny.

dedignari - VI 11.23, etc., Sen., Pliny.

diuerberare - IV 4.3, Sen.

domitare - very rare: VIII 9.17, Pliny, (Verg.).

euerberare - IV 3.18, etc., Sen.; (first, and only once, in Verg.).

exosus - (probably not in Cic. Att. 8a.3); V 13.9, VIII 7.12, Sen.

fabulosus - III 1.2, Sen., Pliny.

inplectere - V 4.4, Sen., Pliny.

intumescere - Mela, Colum., IV 6.19, VI 11.17, IX 9.10 (metaph.).

lassare - IX 5.1, Sen., Pliny.

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<sup>1</sup> See Goodyear on Tac. Ann. 1.3.6 ea tempestate n. 2.

- latratus - Colum.; mainly poetic even in the post-Augustan period; VIII 19.9, IX 1.31.
- neare - (Poet. in Cic. Arat. frag 34 (Progn. I)); V 1.30, VIII 4.3, etc.
- medens - = medicus: III 5.14, Sen., Pliny.
- mirator - Vell. Pat., IV 6.26, Sen., Pliny.
- nodosus - IX 7.20, Sen. (lit. and metaph.).
- oberrare - III 4.12, etc., Sen., Pliny.
- obumbrare - Colum., V 4.8, Sen., Pliny.
- planctus - Val. Max., III 11.22, X 5.7, Sen.
- profluuium - Colum., IX 5.24; 5.29, Sen., Pliny.
- puniceus - only in Curtius III 3.10, IX 7.20, (Verg.).
- quadriugus - only in Curtius and Pliny (Min.) Pan. 22.1, (Verg.); cf. Livy 5.2.10 octoiugis.
- querulus - Colum., V 5.12, Sen., Pliny.
- rebellis - only Curtius, VIII 1.35, then Tacitus, (Verg.)
- relabi - VI 4.19, Sen.
- reluctari - VI 2.6, VIII 2.11, Pliny.
- remetiri - V 3.23, Sen., Pliny.
- soporare - VII 1.7, Pliny.
- spatiosus - Colum., III 8.2, etc., Sen., Pliny.
- temperies - IV 7.17 (q.v.), IX 1.11, Sen., Pliny.
- toruus - (poet. in Cic. N.D. 2.106), Val. Max., III 2.13.

It will be noticed that many of these borrowings from the poets consist of a word in common use in prose in all periods, with the addition of a prefix, e.g. di-/e-uerberare, relabi. Cf. the appearance of many compound neologisms at this time, especially in Seneca. See also under Archaisms and Post-Augustan words.

b) The following appear in Curtius with meanings or forms which were previously poetical:-

- bipennis (as subst.) - only in Curtius: III 2.5, then

Tacitus; (as adj. in Seneca), (Verg.).

caligare = 'be dark' - only Curtius (X 9.4, perhaps for special effect, see p. 329). In Sen. and Pliny = 'be blurred/dizzy', of vision; = 'be dark' in Verg.

contagium (in sing.): the poets only use the plural form; sing. in Curtius (IX 10.1) and Sen. Epp. for contagio.

defunctus = 'deceased', without uita etc.: III 12.15, IV 10.20, Sen.

fomentum - lit. = 'a poultice': Colum., III 6.14, Tac.

medicatus (adj.) - Colum., III 6.2, (Verg.).

praecox = 'over-hasty': IV 15.11, ~

suppurare (metaph.) - first in Curtius (VII 1.7; 2.9) and Sen. See Vogel, Ph. 30(1870) 686-8.

It may be significant that many of these words, even the rare domitare and caligare (in the sense 'be dark'), are found in Vergil.

### 3) Post-Augustan words.

The following words are found first after the reign of Augustus:-

adnuntiare - X 8.11, Sen., Pliny.

classicus (as subst.) - first in Curtius (IV 3.18), then Tacitus.

conuerberare - VII 2.5, Sen., Pliny.

conuersari - VIII 6.16, Sen., Pliny.

ineuitabilis - IV 6.17, X 1.30, Sen.; cf. other compounds with a negative prefix, especially in Seneca, e.g. ineluctabilis, inextricabilis; others are found first in Livy, e.g. incompositus: IV 2.24, etc.

inputare - VII 1.19; 1.22; 2.2, VIII 2.2, Sen., Pliny.

internitere - only in Curtius (see on IV 3.16), Pliny

and Solinus.

pernotus - only Mela 2.3 and Curtius (IX 7.16), then  
Min. Felix.

pigre - Colum., V 9.7, Sen.

refouere - IV 4.21, VIII 4.21, VIII 4.15, Pliny.

reuerberare - Colum., VIII 9.7, IX 9.8, Sen.; cf. poet.  
- diuerberare and euerberare above.

subiacens - Colum., V 3.18, Sen., Pliny.

suffugium (καταφυγή) - VIII 4.7 & 9, Sen., Pliny.

satrapea (σατραπεία) - see Graecisms below; first in  
Curtius (V 1.44, VI 6.20), Pliny

uersabilis - IV 13.22, V 8.15, Sen.

uirguncula - rare: VIII 4.25, Sen.

b) The following are used in a new way in the post  
Augustan period:-

adpositus = uicinus: first in prose in Curtius IV 1.26.

agricultor - as one word (two words in Livy 26.35.5),  
Colum., VIII 12.12, then Dig.

inueterare = 'to make old' - Colum., X 3.13, etc.,  
Pliny.

longus = longinquus - IV 1.19.

reciprocare (intrans.) - IX 9.20, Pliny.

#### 4) Words found only in Curtius and later Latin

There is an interesting, small group of words which  
are found in Curtius but are extant nowhere else until  
about A.D. 100, or even later:-

a) a familiar word with a prefix added:

condormire - Hyg. Fab. 125.15a, VI 10.14 and Suet. Aug. 78.

perarmatus = probe armatus - IV 9.6 & 23, Prudent. Cath  
6.86 perarmat; cf. pernotus above, 3a.

resudare - V 1.12, VII 10.3, Prudent. Apoth. 719, Cath. 7.9, 10.107; cf. several of the poeticisms and post-Augustan words above.

subdeficere - VII 7.20, then St. Augustine.

superegredi - VIII 2.22, then St. Ambrose.

b) a familiar word with a suffix added:

bacchabundus - IX 10.27, Apul. Apol. 82. The -bundus suffix is already found frequently in historiography: Livy 6.7.2 cunctabundus, 3.47.2 etc. populabundus, Sall. Iug. 38.1 uitabundus.

c) Translations of Greek words:

equitabilis (ἰππάσιμος - cf. Arriañ 3.8.9); Curtius (IV 9.10) and Arrian both use this word at the same point, before the Battle of Gaugamela; Amm. Marc. 22.15.12. -

d) Neologism:

sagittare (τοξεύω) - this has been restored by conjecture at VII 5.42: sagittarum celebri usu Hedicke: sagittandi tam celebri usu Aldus: sagittis tam celebri usu Ω. Hedicke's emendation is more appropriate. Sagittare is also found at Just. 41.2.5 and Solin. 19.12.

5) ἀπαξ εἰρημένα (see also § 7 Foreign words)

inequitabilis (cf. ἰππάσιμος - equitabilis above, 4c) - VIII 14.3.

pardalis (πάρδαλις) - V 1.21; cf. the more common camelopardalis and pardus found in Pliny N.H. Ceryx at Sen. Transq. An. 4.5 and progymnastes at Sen. Epp. 8.3.4 are comparable.

perinualidus - IX 6.2; only in Curtius - see note on IV 6.2 praetorem ouam.

septiremis (subst.) (ἑπτήρης) - X 1.3, on the analogy of

quinqueremis; ἐπτήρης is found in Polybius 1.23.4, Diod. 20.50.2.

## 6) Graecisms

With the exception of pardalis, Curtius only uses without explanation those Graecisms which would already be familiar to readers, from poetry if not from prose. Their meaning is also clear from the context:

acinaces (ἀκινάκης) - III 3.6, IV 15.17, (Hor., Val. Fl.).

baccar (βάκκαρις) - VIII 10.14, Pliny, (Verg.).

beryllus (βήρυλλος) - IX 1.30, Pliny, (Prop.).

carbassus (καρπασός) - VIII 9.21, (Catull., Verg., etc.).

crystallum (κρύσταλλος) - III 3.8; Sen., Pliny, (Prop.).

gaza (Γάζα - Pers.) - III 13.5, Mela, Pliny, and  
fairly common in poetry earlier.

petra (πέτρα) - III 1.3, Sen., Pliny.

satrapea (σατραπεία) - V 1.44, etc., Pliny.

sesama (σησάμη) - VII 4.22, Mela, Colum., Pliny, (Plaut.).

zmaragdus (σμάραγδος) - IV 7.23, Pliny, (Lucr., etc.).

## 7) Foreign words

Where Curtius introduces a Greek, Macedonian or Persian word which would not be familiar to his readers he always indicates this with such terms as, 'quos.. appellabant,' or 'Persae uocabant':-

agema (ἀγημα) - IV 13.26, Livy 37.40.5, etc. Here a more familiar term is emphasised for the reader's interest; cf. ἱπποτοξόται which Curtius translates as the easily recognisable sagittarii equites, V 4.14.

The following Persian and Macedonian words are all explained, being ἀπαξ εἰρημένα in Curtius as transliterations:-

armamaxa (ἀρμάμαξα - Pers.) - III 3.23.

cidaris (κίδαρις - Pers.) - III 3.19.



copis (κοπίς - Mac.?) - VIII 14.29.

dimachae (διμάχης - Mac.) - V 13.8.

gangaba (= baiulus - Pers.) - III 13.6

When compared with Seneca, Curtius' vocabulary appears remarkably unaffected by archaising tendencies. If he had been writing after the time of Seneca the Younger, indeed as a contemporary of Tacitus, it does not seem possible that he could have avoided being 'infected' to a much greater extent. The small number of poeticisms, new in prose in the early Imperial period, found in Curtius is also surprising, in view of the 'Epic' nature of the work and Curtius' delight in telling a good tale. In these and other respects Curtius has made very few concessions to the current trend away from Ciceronian prose, which culminated in Tacitus.



For a noun clause

Again, most examples occur in Livy and Tacitus, but there are several in Curtius, e.g.:

IV 6.23 'ultima pestis fuit..subrutus murus,'

VI 6.18 'Sed Nicanor..subita morte correptus magno desiderio sui adfecerat cunctos.'

Comparable is Curtius' use of a predicative adjective instead of a participle:

III 8.26 'Discors exercitus nec ad unum intentus imperium uario tumultu cuncta turbauerat,'

IV 2.9 'non scalae moenibus adplicari poterat: praeceps in salum murus pedestre interceperat iter,'

VIII 1.1 'Alexander..cum propter uagum hostem spargendae manus essent, in tres partes diuisit exercitum;'

cf. Tac. Ann. 1.36 'augebat metum gnarus Romanae seditionis et, si omitteret ripa, inuasurus hostis.'

On the analogy of the Greek construction λαμβάνω with a participle:

VII 6.4 'Illum quidem..Macedones in castra referebant, sed nec barbaros fefellit subductus ex acie..'

This use is also found in Livy, e.g. 23.19.11 'deinde intentiore custodia cautum ne quid falleret Volturno ad urbem missum,' 42 64.3 'atque ita media nocte profectus ut prima luce agressus falleret.'

Aoristic perfect participle

Like Livy and Tacitus (who has the largest number of examples), Curtius sometimes overlooks the 'prior completion' implications inherent in the perfect participle, for the sake of conciseness, especially when it is used in an ablative absolute. When it has this particular connotation, Curtius usually places the phrase, like other predicative participles, at the end of its sentence or clause, e.g.: IV 2.24 'XXX fere interficiunt, paucioribus captis,' III 1.9 'Graecos restitui suis..iussurum respondit, finito Persico bello,'

VI 2.15 'ibi statua rex habuit, commeatibus undique aduectis;' cf. Livy 25.25.13 'post paucos dies rediit, multis donis donatus.'

In all these examples the contexts show that the participle expresses an action subsequent to, or at most contemporaneous with, that of the main verb.

This use is much more common with the deponent perfect participle, and this is already found in Caesar. In some cases it becomes stereotyped and therefore occurs in Curtius side-by-side with numerous present participles in similar contexts, e.g.:

V 1.31 'Arcem quoque ambitu XX stadia complexam habent,'

VI 5.4 'hos Artabazus dexteræ regis admouit, precatus ut tam diu uiuerant donec utiles Alexandro essent,'

V 12.18 'Artabazus cum eis qui imperio parebant..Parthien petebat, omnia tutiora parricidarum comitatu ratus.'

Liberties of this kind began to be taken, from the time of Livy onwards, with the strict tense limitations of the few available participles, as a partial remedy for the shortage of these in Latin, and in an attempt to emulate the greater flexibility of Greek, especially in those authors like Curtius whose direct sources were Greek.

He must have felt this lack, to judge by his penchant for participles in general. So we find the p.p.p. doing the work of the non-existent present participle passive, and similarly the present participle active standing in for a perfect participle active, not to mention his exuberant use of the useful future participle:

III 3.3 '(Alexander) per Babylona uctus, subito cum ipso equo oculis subductus,' cf. shortly before III 2.17

'supplicem, tunc cum maxime utilia suadentem, abstrahi iussit ad capitalem supplicium');

Livy 23.1.6 'alios prae se actam praedam ex agris ostentantis obequitare portis iussit;'

X 1.27 'leuissimos..clam struxit, monitos tum demum ea deferre cum ipse iussisset.'

#### Hypothetical and conditional

In rhetorical hyperbole:

III 10.5 'illos terrarum orbis liberatores emensoque olim Herculis et Liberi patris terminos, non Persis modo sed etiam omnibus gentibus inposituros iugum.'

Curtius usually uses the more tractable future participle to express potential and condition but he has a few ablative absolutes in place of conditional clauses. There are some examples already in Caesar, usually indicated by an introductory adverb, e.g. B.C. 3.19.7 'nam nobis nisi Caesaris capite relato pax esse nulla potest.' In Curtius and Livy this occurs without warning:-

IV 16.8 'Sed tot milia suorum..ponte rescisso uidebat hostis praedam fore;'

IV 15.24 'quippe amisso rege nec uolebant salui esse nec poterant;'

Livy 27.18.18 'qui per tam iniquum locum stantibus integris ordinibus elephantisque ante signa locatis numquam euasissent;'

Livy 21.9.4 'Apparebat non admissos protinus Carthaginem ituros.'

### Concessive

In Curtius, as in Cicero, perfect participles with concessive force are usually 'signposted' by tamen or similar adverb, e.g. IV 1.10 'Xerxes..nauali proelio uictus, Mardonium tamen reliquit in Graecia.'

### In the ablative without a noun

Like Livy, Curtius uses audito (V 13.1), desperato (VI 5.21), exposito (IV 13.37) and permisso (VIII 12.6) without a subject.

In other places the subject has to be understood from the context. Some of the most striking are:-

IV 4.10 'Biduo deinde ad quietem dato militibus iussisque et classem et machinas pariter admouere;'

IX 1.3 'Audi milites et pecuniae et gloriae..pollicenter operam; dimissisque cum bona spe nauigia exaedificari iubet;'

IX 9.1 'misit qui conquirerent alios. Nec reperitis, peruicit cupido uisendi Oceanum..'

There are many cases of an ablative participle, without a noun, introducing a relative clause, e.g. III 1.24, IV 4.13 (see Guilelmus Adams, De ablatiui absoluti apud Q.C.R. usu,

p. 38). Coercitis at VIII 7.8 may be dative, although Curtius very often uses a present participle in this sort of context, and then not with inquit. Cf. another doubtful case at VI 11.32: 'Exigentibus deinde ut ordinem cogitati sceleris exponeret..timuisse respondit, ne..'

For the non-Classical use of adsuetus etc. with an infinitive, see on 'Infinitives' p. 379.

### The Present Participle

Curtius is particularly fond of this participle in all its meanings, functions and cases, although as with others of his favourite expressions, he is sometimes guilty of over-indulgence.

#### As a noun

There are many examples in all cases, except the very rare nominative singular, most of which are comparable to instances already found in Caesar and Cicero:

III 8.11. '(dixit se) oppressurum esse cunctantes;' cf. Caes. B.G. 7.7.4 'timentes confirmat;' and also III 9.11 (both present and deponent participles); IV 1.1.

#### In the dative

Curtius obviously likes this noun-participle as the indirect object, especially of verbs meaning 'reply', etc., as an economical substitute for a relative clause, e.g.:

V 4.11 'quippe consulenti responsum erat (oraculum) ducem in Persidem ferentis uiae Lycium ciuem fore;'

VIII 3.12 'Qui, quia caput Spitamenis ueste tectum habebat, suspectus scrutantibus quid occuleret ostendit,' and cf.

Nepos Them. 2.6;

as a predicative dative, making a very compressed expression: IV 4.13 'saxa..ingerentes subeuntibus,'

VIII 11.12 'triste spectaculum etiam non periclitantibus.'

#### In the genitive

Curtius likes the genitive plural of the present participle as a noun (see below), but occasionally it is effectively equivalent to an abstract noun:

IX 9.17 'iurgantium ira perueniebat etiam ad manus' -  
'from an angry quarrel they came to blows;'

IX 4.6 'urbem expugnare adortus, magnaue ui defendentium  
pulsus..' - 'repelled by the strength of its defences;'

cf. Sen. de Ira 1.1.4 'horrenda facies deprauantium atque  
intumescentium.'

as subjective genitive

The plural is most frequent. Curtius seems suddenly to remember what a useful device this is, and then to put in several, in a short space. Like similar repetitions in Seneca Minor, the idea soon becomes tedious:

VIII 10.18 'hostis, haud secus bacchantium ululantiumque  
fremitu perterritus quam si proelantium clamor est auditus;'

and IX 9.14 and 17. Cf. Sen. de Ira 2.8.2 'bibentium  
pugnantiumque.'

Occasionally Curtius seems to prefer

the participle where one might expect the usual noun. Thus he uses the post-Augustan medens for medicus, where the genitive plural is required, whilst the more familiar noun is found in other cases:

III 5.14 'Ergo pro se quisque precari coepere..(ut) esset in potestate medentium;' cf. medicos at III 6.1; medici at III 6.6, etc. and cf. Sen. de Ira 1.6.4.

At VIII 11.19 Curtius has the present participle, where one would expect the genitive gerund. This is the only case in which he uses the gerund or gerundive with any frequency: 'tamen speciem ostendit in obsidione (obsidione Lauer: obsidionem  $\Omega$ ) perseuerantis.' Otherwise Curtius has few gerunds or gerundives and only seems to use them where a participle cannot reasonably be substituted. Cf. the frequent 'legitimate' use of the genitive singular as a noun at e.g. IV 1.1.

with adverbs

The use of ut with the perfect and present participles began earlier than that with the future participle:

III 8.24 'Dareo..agrestes nuntiauerunt, uix credenti  
occurrere etiam quos ut fugientes sequebatur;'

similarly quasi: III 11.4 'sed conferti et quasi cohaerentes tela uibrare non poterant;'

with cum maxime: At first sight this phrase sounds strange with a present participle, and in some MSS. it has been emended, to avoid the cum, to tum maxime; but cf.:

III 2.17 'Tunc cum maxime utilia suadentem, abstrahi iussit ad capitale supplicium,'

V 7.2 'Hoste et aemulo regni reparante cum maxime bellum.. de die inibat conuiuia..'

Cum maxime is here used as an adverbial phrase, without effect on the syntax of its clause, as is clear from the second of Curtius' examples, and is also found thus (though not with a present participle) in Livy and Seneca Minor; cf. with ellipse of the verb: Florus 4.1.3 'Lentulus cum maxime praetor!'

#### as adjective

Curtius has, of course, numerous examples of the present participle used as an epithet-adjective - a function familiar by this time, e.g.:

VII 10.3 'aquae meantis sonus', but also the mainly Ciceronian descriptive function, e.g. VII 2.25 'Strenuum hominem et nunquam cessantem!' - 'a man who never gives up'; and, though only once that I can find, the extremely rare determinative use: VI 5.25 'Reginam habebant Thalestrin, omnibus inter Caucasum montem et Phasin amnem imperitantem.' This use, however, becomes more common in post-Augustan poetry: the earliest example is in Catullus (64.8).

#### = 'able to'

This nuance is more often found in Curtius' 'future participles (see p. 362 ), e.g.:

VI 1.5 'iactationem uulnerum haud facile tolerantem,'  
VIII 4.15 and VIII 4.24.

#### For subordinate clauses

Often the present participle retains its verbal qualities and is made to do the duty of several different adverbial clauses. The usual position for this predicative participle is at the end of its clause or sentence:



Temporal

Curtius has many instances of the 'Classical' use of the present participle for action contemporaneous with that of the main verb:

- a) where the main verb interrupts the participle's action:  
 III 2.18 'Haec uociferantem quibus imperatum erat iugulant.'  
 III 11.9 'omnes in ora proni, sicut dimicantes procuberant;'
- b) where both actions cease or continue together. So Curtius frequently uses intuens etc. for a hard look (especially Alexander's) at an unfortunate addressee:  
 IX 4.28 'Rex Demophontem..intuens: 'Si quis,' inquit..  
 X 1.33 'Proximus erat lateri spado qui regem intuens, 'Quid mirum,' inquit..  
 V 1.22 'Magi deinde suo more carmen canentes..(ibant).'  
 V 1.11 'Euntibus a parte laeua Arabia, odorum fertilitate nobilis regio;'
- c) where both actions start together but the main verb's action continues:  
 III 12.17 'Quam manu adlevans: 'Non errasti,' inquit..
- d) where the participle's action continues, or may logically be supposed to do so:  
 VII 5.24 'quos Bessus truci uultu intuens consurgit..  
 VI 5.26 'equo ipsa desiluit duas lanceas dextera praeferens;  
 VI 6.34 'barbari e muris supinas manus tendentes orare coeperunt.

Aoristic present participle

Curtius interprets the 'contemporaneous' sense of the present participle very liberally, and it is occasionally found used aoristically to make up for the lack of a perfect participle active:

- III 12.17 'Inde ex captiuis spadonibus quis Alexander esset monstrantibus Sisigambis aduoluta est pedibus eius;'  
 cf. the fairly common dative, e.g. 'consulenti responsum erat (oraculum),' above p. 354.

Sometimes the participle's action logically follows that of the main verb:

- VII 7.22 'Intranti Erigio tabernaculum regis Aristander occurrerat tristitia exta fuisse significans;

VI 6.33 'Ille (Craterus) omnibus praeparatis regis expectabat aduentum, captae urbis titulo, sicut par erat, cedens;' Here the context shows that Craterus could not, strictly speaking, be ceding the captured city to Alexander when the siege had not yet even begun. Elsewhere Curtius uses, more logically, a future participle in similar cases, and this has the advantage of suggesting intention at the same time (see p. 362). Occurrences like this are probably a relic of the time (which would appear to be not long before Curtius') when the future participle was not normally used adjectivally, and the only acceptable alternative was a 'stretching' of the present participle. Cf. also IX 10.11 'deinde ad ultimum famem sentire coeperunt,..radices palmarum..ubique rimantes.'

In many of these examples, Curtius' present participles have the 'timeless' quality often found in their English counterparts.

#### After verbs of perceiving

After synonyms of uideo, the present participle captures the idea of simultaneous action more effectively than the acc. + infin.:

V 2.14 'Et cum spadonem.. ingemiscentem conspexisset rex.. Ille indicat..(se) sacram eius mensam ad ludibrium recidentem sine lacrimis conspicere non posse;'

V 7.7 'uident regem ipsum adhuc aggerentem faces.'

In Curtius, however, audio always takes the acc. + infin., see IV 9.7, V 13.1, VI 10.34, etc.

#### Causal

For a noun clause: IV 6.4 'Bessus..haud sane aequo animo in secundo se continens gradu, regem terrebat;'

V 11.2 (bis) 'Ipse currum regis sequebatur, occasionei imminens adloquendi eum.. Sed Bessus id ipsum metuens, custos uerius quam comes, a curru non recedebat;'

IX 9.21 'Miles nec egredi in terram nec in naue subsistere audebat identidem praesentibus grauiora quae sequerentur expectans.' This use of the present participle implying 'because' or 'since' is already found frequently enough in Caesar, although not common elsewhere.

Final

E.g. IX 3.19 'munimenta quoque castrorum iussit extendi.. ut speciem omnium auget, posteritati fallax miraculum praeparans.' One might more logically expect 'ut speciem omnium augens, posteritati fallax miraculum praepararet' (cf. the present participle expressing 'manner' below). But Curtius has such a penchant for this kind of participle in the nominative singular, that some sentences seem to be continued deliberately so that it can be used at the end:

VII 4.40 'Ipse Bessum persequens copias mouit.' (again, Curtius uses the future participle in similar contexts elsewhere);

VI 5.25 'praemisit indicantes uenisse reginam' = qui indicarent.'

Conditional

E.g. IV 9.1 'Dareus dubitauerat..an interiora regni sui peteret, haud dubie potentior auctor praesens futurus ultimis gentibus..quas aegre..moliebatur' = 'if he were present in person..' This use is already found in Cicero, e.g. de Or. 3.179, with a p.p.p.

Consecutive

E.g. V 3.12 'Et Medates sororis eius filiam secum matrimonio iunxerat, Dareum propinqua cognatione contingens' - 'becoming, as a result, a near relative of Darius.'

In this example the usual time limitations of the present participle are again not observed.

Adverbial - 'of manner'.

In a few cases, Curtius avoids using a gerund in the ablative, by a rather strained use of the participle (cf. the genitive gerund under 'subjective genitive' above):

IV 1.21 'hortum..steriles herbas eligens Abdalonymus repurgabat;'

V 2.22 'Procumbens uenerari me saepe uoluisti; inhibui' - 'by prostrating yourself'- cf. VIII 5.6 'iussitque more Persarum Macedonas uenerabundos ipsum salutare prosternentes

humi corpora;' and rather less strange:

V 6.14 'Primusque rex, dolabra glaciem perfringens, iter sibi fecit.' Cf. the unusual ablative absolute:

IX 3.2 'liberius dolor egeri coepit, manantibus lacrimis.'

#### In place of a finite verb

Present participles are thus found governing a variety of constructions appropriate to, or sometimes unusual for, the verb:

relative clause, e.g.: VII 2.12 '..saepius quae nocere possent quam quibus eluderet reputans;'

noun clause, e.g.: III 1.9 'petentes ut capti apud Granicum amnem redderentur sibi;'

infinitive, e.g.: III 7.1 'Dareus..Ciliciam occupare festinans;'

acc. + infin., e.g.: IX 3.3 'Coenus..significans se loqui uelle.'

Curtius often uses several present participles in different cases in a short passage of narrative, to give an impression of urgent action or simultaneity, for example VI 7.10f., V 1.11, IX 3.2f. This device is also used by Tacitus, though with more restraint, e.g. Hist. 1.35. Sometimes Curtius uses it to conjure up a visual image which is complete and static, e.g.: X 5.10 'Vigor eius et uultus educentis in proelium milites, obsidentis urbes, euadentis in muros, fortes uiros pro contione donantis occurrebant oculis (militum).' A similar phenomenon is found in Ammianus Marcellinus, though this time with less restraint, e.g.: 16.10.10 'Nam et corpus perhumile curuabat portas ingrediens celsus, et uelut collo munito rectam aciem lumen tendens, nec dextra uultum nec laeua flecebat, et tamquam figmentum hominis nec cum rota concuteret nutans nec spuens aut os aut nasum tergens uel fricens manumue agitans uisum est unquam.'

Curtius confines this sort of description, appropriately enough, to narrative sections and does not use it in reported or direct speech.

### The Future Participle

Up to the time of Caesar and Cicero, the future participle, if it occurs at all, is almost entirely confined to use in conjunction with esse to give a periphrastic future tense. In Curtius, however, it is more often found without the auxiliary verb, especially in O.O. and even where the verb would be subjunctive: e.g. V 10.6 occisuri..petituri. Curtius uses this comparative new-comer among the participles with almost as little restriction as the perfect participle. Once Livy had used the future participle purely adjectivally, there was nothing to prevent his successors from exploiting this useful addition to the full. Most of its functions as found in Curtius are rare or indeed unknown in prose before the time of Livy who is still considerably more restrained in his uses than Curtius. Other uses had to wait until the time of Tacitus for full integration, but with one or two exceptions, for Curtius and his near-contemporary Seneca the Younger, the future participle has as wide a repertoire as either of the other participles, with the added advantage of nuances not present in its companions.

#### With esse

This participle's progress towards full participial status is illustrated by the increasing frequency of the ellipse in O.O. not only of its auxiliary verb but also of the subject accusative. This practice is already found to a certain extent in Cicero and Livy but seems to have become the rule, rather than the exception, in Curtius. In his case this can hardly be a deliberate attempt at archaism, for Curtius shows a remarkable avoidance of archaism or eccentricity of any kind in vocabulary or syntax. The use of future participles so frequently in O.O. without the auxiliary esse seems to be analogous to the development of present participles used predicatively after verba percipiendi instead of the accusative and infinitive. Seneca the Younger has several examples of the periphrastic future, where Curtius would have used the participle alone, e.g. de Ira 1.19.5 inuentura est,

de Clem. 1.5.4 interpellaturus est.

### Adjectival

Before the time of Livy, the only future participle to be used freely as an adjective was futurus. Curtius uses the future participle with such freedom that it is often difficult to distinguish a purely adjectival use. He takes advantage of the versatility of the participle

a) as a descriptive adjective: e.g. X 7.11 '..utique si noua et breui duratura libertate luxuriat (multitudo);'

b) to convey several other auxiliary ideas, in addition to its usual connotation 'about to', e.g.:

VII 5.24 'quos Bessus truci uultu intuens consurgit, manibus non temperaturus' = 'able to' (cf. Sen. de Ira 1.17.3);

VII 6.11 'Legati deinde Abiorum Scytharum superueniunt.. tum imperata facturi' = 'willing to' (cf. V 11.5);

IX 5.1 'clamantibus amicis ut ad ipsos (Alexander) desili- ret, stabantque excepturi' = 'ready to';

X 2.7 'prohibuere igitur exsules finibus, omnia potius toleraturi quam purgamanta..urbis..admitteret,' = 'prepared to' (also in Tacitus, e.g. Hist. 1.33 'egregius imperator ..ianua ac limina tenus domum cludit, obsidionem nimirum toleraturus.');

IX 5.26 'Quid..expectans..et non quam primum hoc dolore me saltem moriturum liberas?' = 'doomed to'; (verbs like morior and pereo also came to be used widely in this way and with similar connotations);

V 12.8 '(Dareus) destinatus sorti suae et iam nullius salubris consilii patiens..Artabazum, ultimum illud uisurus, amplectitur,' = 'destined to', as IV 9.9 '(Alexander) Arbela, uicum nobilem sua clade facturus,' (also in Livy - 1.29.3 'sed silentium triste ac tacita maestitia ita defixit omnium animos ut..nunc in liminibus starent, nunc errabundi domos suas ultimum illud uisuri peruagarentur!');

X 9.7 'Perdicca unicum spem salutis suae in Meleagri morte reponebat: uanum eundem et infidum celeriterque res nouaturum..occupandum esse,' = 'disposed to'.

As a noun

This use of the future participle is very rare, but occurs occasionally in the historians, more frequently in the post-Augustan period. It is found first in Sallust, then Velleius Paterculus, Seneca the Younger, and Tacitus, e.g.:

VI 10.10 'Atqui nemo parcit morituro nec cuiquam moriturus, ut opinor,' X 1.37 'spado ipse morituro manum iniecit.'

This use is most frequent with the participles moriturus, periturus, uenturus, and mansurus, e.g.:

Florus 2.18.13 'itaque non est permissa pugna morituris,' Sen. Epp. 98.6 'Calamitosus est animus futuri anxius.. nullo enim tempore conquiescat et expectatione uenturi praesentia, quibus frui poterat, amittet,'

VII 1.35 'Nec infitias eo liberi hominis animo locutum esse me cum ignauissimo et hoc unum militiae ius usurpante, ut alienos equos pugnaturis distribuatur,'

IX 3.6 'praebe, quaeso, propitias aures imperium atque auspiciam tuam constantissime secutis et quocumque pergis secuturis,'

VII 4.32 'nondum enim uicti erant, cum proficiscerentur tumultus eius principia nuntiaturi.'

For Adverbial Clauses

Like the present participle, the future participle is used in place of several different subordinate clauses. Again, this function is very rare before Livy:

Temporal

For circumstances during which the action of the main verb takes place:

V 2.8 'Iamque Susa ei adituro Abilites..sua sponte filium obuam misit,'

V 2.6 'Rex Persidis finem aditurus Susa urbem Archelao tradidit,'

VII 7.5 'Cum hac gente non prouisum bellum Alexander gesturus..amicos in consilium aduocari iubet,'

VIII 9.8 'Ganges decursurum Iomanen intercipit,' (cf. Livy 21.1.4 'Fama est etiam Hannibalem annorum ferme nouem

pueriliter blandientem patri Hamilcari cum perfecto Africo bello exercitum eo traiecturus sacrificaret..' 36.24.9, Sen. Const. Sap. 1.3 'tibi indignum uidebatur, quod illi dissuasuro legem toga in foro esset erepta..' Tac. Germ. 3 'Germani Herculem ituri in proelia canunt,' Florus 3.3.3 'Sed quas daret terras populus Romanus, agrariis legibus intra se dimicaturus?'

### Final

a) From the time of Livy onwards, the future participle is used predicatively to express purpose. The number of occurrences increases rapidly after Livy, no doubt because it is a simple concise construction, able to convey a slightly different meaning from the usual final clause. Curtius uses it very often, nearly always in its accustomed place at the end of the sentence or clause, but occasionally penultimate word:

III 3.3 'quidquid usui potest esse corrumpit, sterile ac nudum solum quod tueri nequibat relicturus,'

V 5.9 'Graeci excesserant uallo deliberaturi quid potissimum a rege peterent,'

VII 7.38 'quos Spitanemes fame in deditionem subacturus obsedit.'

Sometimes Curtius seems determined to use a participle in any case and this can lead him into a harsh construction, e.g.:

VI 6.19 'Rex ante omnes meastus, cupiebat quidem subsistere funeri adfuturus..' = 'ut adesset'; cf. IV 5.9 'Syriam.. Andromacho Parmenio tradiderat, bello quod superat interfuturus.' With V 2.4 'Ingens militum turba conuenerat egregio interfutura certamini,' cf. the more usual gerundive, e.g. Livy 21.41.1 'Ad haec audienda cum circumfusa paulatim multitudine permixtum senatui esset populi concilium..'

b) = 'hoping / intending to', where the connection between the main verb and the predicative participle is less definite or immediate:

III 8.27 'Dareus..iugum montis..occupare statuit, et a fronte et a tergo circumiturus hostem..alios obiecturus ut undique urgueret.' Cf. Livy 21.22.2 'ad mare ac naues



redit, tutius faciliusque ita descendenti ab Alpibus Hannibali occurusurus,' and 21.22.1 & 3;

IX 3.22 'Mille nauigiis aditurus Oceanum..Porum et Taxilen reges..reliquit in suis regnis,'

IX 4.12 'Iam uestem detraxerat corpori, proiecturus semet in flumen.'

c) after verbs of ordering, etc., instead of an acc. and infin., or ut clause. This use should probably be considered along with other final functions of the participle. It is rare in Livy but Curtius provides several examples:

III 1.19 'Amphoterum classi ad oram Hellesponti, copiis autem praefecit Hégelochum, Lesbium et Chium Coumque praesidiis hostium liberaturus,'

VIII 2.13 'cum parte exercitus Hephaestionem in regionem Bactrianam misit, comneatus in hiemem paraturum,'

IX 8.7 'Tantumque in exercitum suorum intulere terroris, ut legatos mitterent gentem dedituros;' cf. Livy 27.16.12 'inde duos Metapontinos cum litteris principum eius ciuitatis ad Fabium Tarentum mittit, fidem ab consule accepturos impunita iis priora fore,'

X 8.22 'Eosdem rursus legat petituros ut Meleagrum tertium ducem acciperent;' cf. the present participle at VI 5.25 'praemisit indicantes uenisse reginam,'

VIII 2.33 'Duos illi iuuenes..secum militaturos sequi iussit.'

See also VI 2.18, VII 10.10 and X 1.7.

d) describing the function of the subject: e.g.

IV 9.5 'falces..aliae in terram demissae quidquid obuium concitatis equis fuisset amputaturae.'

### Causal

A logical extension of the future participle.

It is already, though infrequently, found in Cicero in this way:

V 5.8 'Rex..bonum habere animum iubet, uisuros urbes suas coniugesque,'

V 9.2 'si Alexander ipsos insecutus foret, tradito rege uiuo inirent gratiam uictoris, magni profecto cepisse Dareum aestimaturi, sin autem..'

VII 4.35 'protinus certe recesserunt dato libero spatio, intenti in euentum non ducum modo, sed etiam suae sortis, quippe alienum discrimen secuturi.'

### Potential

The future participle by nature nearly always contains 'hypothetical' implications, but is sometimes used alone, like an independent potential subjunctive:

V 10.9 'ruinae rerum subdere lios capita, in perniciem trahi, cum Bactra pateant exceptura eos bonis..'

VI 2.19 'deum inuidiam, qui fortissimis uiris subitum patriae desiderium admouissent, paulo post eandem cum maiore laude fameque redituris;

VI 8.10 'destitutos se inter infestas indomitasque gentes, expetituras tot suarum cladum poenas, quandoque oblata esset occasio.'

### Conditional

A future participle often takes the place of the apodosis, an easy extension of its use with esse in O.O. Curtius uses it frequently, especially in Unreal Conditions (which is unusual, even in later Latin) with a pluperfect subjunctive in the protasis.

a) open conditions: this usage is found infrequently in Livy, e.g. 21.9.4; cf.:

V 10.4 'Itaque non illum modo, sed etiam Alexandrum spernebant, inde uires imperii repetituri, si regionis potiri contigisset;'

V 10.6 'si, id quod timebant, proditorem aspernatus esset, occisuri Dareum et Bactra cum suarum gentium manu petituri;'

IV 3.20 'Tyrii..fortius quidquid accideret laturo, si carissimam partem extra sortem comminis periculi habuissent;' cf. Flor. prohem. 1.3 'non nihil..ad admirationem principis populi conlaturus, si pariter..ostendero.'

in virtual Oratio Obliqua, e.g.:

V 3.5 'Sed periti locorum Alexandrum docent occultum iter esse per calles..si paucos misisset leuiter armatos, super capita hoatum euasuros.'

VII 11.23 'Cophes admissus suadere coepti Ariamazi petram tradere, gratiam regis inituro, si tantas res molientem in unius rupis obsidione haerere non coegisset.'

IX 8.18 'rex D Agrianos moelia subire iussit et sensim recedentes elicere extra muros hostem, secuturum profecto, si fugere eos crederet.'

Cf. Livy, e.g. 22.38.7 and 42.13.3.

b) Unreal Conditions, e.g.:

VIII 2.12 'iure interfectum Clitum Macedones decernunt, sepultura quoque prohibituri, ni rex humari iussisset.'

VIII 7.7 'pater super eum strinxerat ferrum, percussurus haud dubie ni inhibitus esset a rege;' cf. Livy 8.17.10

'eo certamine superior Alexander, incertum qua fide culturus, si perinde cetera processissent, pacem cum Romanis fecit,' 9.29.4 'nec tantis apparatibus elatus de inferendo agitatur, quieturus haud dubie, nisi ultro arma Etrusci inferrent.'

Livy does not use this future participle for the apodosis in past unreal conditions, except in the first decade but it is common in later authors, especially Seneca the Younger. The use of the imperfect subjunctive in either part of the conditional sentence decreases in popularity after the time of Livy. In Curtius, the protasis is most frequently in the pluperfect subjunctive. See also V 13.13, VI 10.11 & 15, VIII 2.12; 3.4; 3.14; 7.7; IX 7.22, but cf. Sen. de Clem. 1.3.5 'multitudo..pressura se ac factura uiribus suis, nisi consilio sustineretur.'

In Ablative Absolutes

The future participle is found in an ablative absolute first in Livy (but only after the first decade).

Curtius is the first to use it after Livy, and has only these three examples:-

IV 3.22 'arae Herculis inseruere uinculum, quasi illo deo Apollinem retenturo.'

V 10.7 'Ceterum propalam comprehendi Dareus non poterat, tot Persarum milibus laturis open regi,'

VIII 6.15 'Quippe alios in stationem oportebat prima luce succedere, ipsorum post septimum diem reditura uice, nec sperare poterant..'

Unlike W.Adams<sup>1</sup>, I do not believe that X 7.11, 'utique si noua et breui duratura libertate luxuriat,' can be called an ablative absolute in any true sense. Cf. Livy: 28.15.13, 30.10.10, 31.36.5, 36.41.1, 41.19.10, etc.

### With Particles

The use of ut, etc., with a future participle began, like several other uses, with Livy<sup>2</sup>, e.g. 3.5.1, 28.26.12, 44.9.10. Cf. Curtius':

VII 4.35 'quippe alienum discrimen secuturi,'

IX 7.19 'uelut cum pluribus dimicaturus,'

X 5.15 'quasi certiora uisuri.'

Curtius uses the future participle with such freedom that it is often difficult to establish exactly which shade of meaning is intended. Sometimes there seems to be more than one at once. Much is left to the reader's imagination, or perhaps intentionally 'hypothetical'.

In some examples one might expect tamquam or a similar 'signpost' to keep the reader's mind on the right track, e.g. VII 4.7 'Bessus circumferri merum largius iubet, debellaturus super mensam Alexandrum,'

VII 5.24 'quos Bessus truci uultu intuens consurgit, manibus non temperaturus.'

As with the present participle, Curtius sometimes uses several future participles in a short passage, e.g. V 2.3; 2.4; 2.8; 2.11, V 9.10 - 12 & 17, 10.4; 10.6 - 7 & 9. The phenomenon also appears in Livy and seems to be used for rhetorical effect - a device favoured, not unexpectedly,

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1 De ablatiui absoluti apud Q.C. usu, Diss. 1886, p.13.

2 see F.R.D.Goodyear on Tacitus Ann. 1.47.3 'ut..iturus.'

by Seneca the Younger, e.g. Const. Sap. 3.1.f. where there are seven future participles in a short impassioned speech. As we have seen, Curtius sometimes seems to go out of his way to substitute a participle for a subordinate clause.

There are some interesting examples of accumulations of several different participles for special effect in passages of intense emotion or urgent action, e.g. V 12.8 'Destinatus sorti suae et iam nullius salubris consilii patiens, unicam in illam fortunam opem, Artabazum, ultimum illud uisurus, amplectitur perfususque mutuis lacrimis inhaerentem sibi auelli iubet; capite deinde uelato, ne inter gemitus digredientem uelut a rogo intueretur, in humum pronum corpus abiiecit;'

IX.7.22 'Amisso utroque, Macedo gladium coeperat stringere cum occupatum, complexu pedibus repente subductis, Dioxippus arietauit in terram, ereptoque gladio, pedem super ceruicem iacenti inposuit stipitem intentans elisurusque eo uictum ni prohibitus esset a rege;'

X 2.12 'Ceterum ut cognitum est alios remitti domos, alios retineri, perpetuam eum regni sedem in Asia habiturum rati, uaecordes et disciplinae militaris immemores, seditiosis uocibus castra complent regemque ferocius quam alias adorti, omnes simul missionem postulare coeperunt, deformia ora cicatricibus canitiemque caput ostentantes.'

The so-called Nominative Absolute

There has been some dispute over whether Curtius uses the nominative absolute as a deliberate and distinct feature of his style. This elliptical construction was originally used, in imitation of colloquial language, to introduce the topic of interest which is brought back into the sentence later, e.g. Plaut. Mil. 140 'nam unum conclaue, concubinae quod dedit / miles, quo nemo nisi eapse inferret pedem / in eo conclauī ego perfodi parietem.' Examples can be found in Cicero, and other authors earlier than Curtius, of the nominatiuus pendens - a nominative used without a verb for brevity in rapid description, as Cic. Phil. 2.62 'Italiae rursus percursatio eadem comite mima; in oppida militum crudelis et misera deductio; in urbe auri, argenti maximeque uini foeda direptio'; ibid. 2.39 'Numquam ab eo mentio de me nisi honorifica..' Livy 1.41.1 'Clamor inde concursuque populi, mirantium, quid rei esset.' In all these cases, however, the omitted verb can easily be understood. Tacitus also has this kind of ellipse of the verb in lists. His ellipses have been shown to fall into clear patterns, whereas the examples of the 'nominative absolute' in Curtius do not seem to do so.

M. Bacherler<sup>1</sup> finds the following examples of this construction, all of which have been variously emended to give more 'orthodox' syntax. In some cases the participle is emended to give a finite verb; in others, the whole phrase is emended to an ablative absolute and this is the solution favoured by W.A. Baehrens:<sup>2</sup>

with a present participle:-

IV 1.13 'Et di quoque pro meliore stant (stant  $\Delta$  : stantes  $\Omega$  : stante Flor. G) causa.'

I have accepted the reading of  $\Delta$ . I do not think that the participle can stand, even if we understand sunt:

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1 WS 43 (1922) 100-102

2 Glotta 4 (1913) 266f.

this is not an example of the descriptive or determinative use of the present participle, cf. p. 356.

IV 2.16 'animis (animis Modius: animos  $\Omega$ ) militum  
desperatio incessit cernentibus (cernentibus  $\omega$ :  
cernentium P) profundum mare.' See my discussion  
ad loc. The datives are more in accordance with Curtius'  
usage, and have parallels elsewhere.

IV 10.31 'animus..coniectans.' There is no real  
problem here: the participle agrees with the subject,  
and Curtius has many examples of this 'tacking on' of  
a participle to the end of a sentence; cf. IX 3.3.

IV 6.8 'uicinum mare euomit (euomit Giunta: euomens  $\Omega$ ).'  
There is a real problem here: see my note ad loc. The  
nominative participle causes trouble, since its noun is  
not the subject of the main verb; personans at VIII 2.5  
is a similar case. It would just be possible to understand  
est here, but elsewhere Curtius has the orthodox agreement  
of adjectival participle with its noun, however much the  
meaning may be extended.

VIII 2.5 'Ille..totam (totam Vogel: tota  $\Omega$ ) personans  
(personans  $\Omega$ : personante Modius) regiam  
(regiam Vogel: regia  $\Omega$ ).' This is a problem  
similar to euomens at IV 6.8. Vogel's emendations offer  
an economical solution. A good case for the ablative  
absolute could be made, comparing X 5.7 'ploratu..tota  
regia personabat.'

with other participles:-

III 1.17 'serie (serie Cellarius: series  $\Omega$ )..adstricta.'  
The easy emendation should probably be made, although  
the whole sentence is somewhat confused and may require  
more extensive correction.

IV 10.9 'Hoc ingressis (ingressis Zumpt: ingressus  $\Omega$ )  
iter..' If the nom. is intended to refer back  
to rex (§ 8), the transition is very harsh. The dative  
participle after uerba dicendi etc. is often found in  
Curtius, and there may be a similar case at VII 11.16  
'per aspera enisis (aspera enisis Lauer: asperenisi P:  
aspera nisi BFV: aspera nisu FCL).

X 7.1 'in seditionem..uersa contio (contio ̄ : contione Vind.). This is one case where it is easy to understand est.

Baehrens (op. cit.) claims to have found many examples of the nominatiuus pendens in Livy, e.g.: 7.15.5, 23.10.1-2, 34.25.8, 10.17.9, 22.20.6, 22.30.4, 31.18.5, 36.39.1, 37.6.1, but they all include a deponent or p.p. participle whose auxiliary esse has simply been omitted. This kind of ellipse of esse is extremely common in Curtius and, to a lesser extent, in his predecessors.

Only two of these possible 'nominative absolutes' are difficult to explain - euomens IV 6.8, ingressus IV 10.9. The small number of instances and their lack of a coherent pattern make it most unlikely that Curtius used the construction as an equivalent of the ablative absolute. His widespread and free use of all the participles gave him plenty of scope for experimentation on a larger scale, if he had decided to adopt this unusual syntactical feature. I have not been able to find any further examples, except perhaps VII 11.16 'per aspera enisi(s)', as mentioned above.



The Infinitive in Curtius

Curtius gives some indication of his chronological place in Latin literature in his use of infinitives. He shows the beginnings of the proliferation of the infinitive as a substitute for some subordinate clauses.

1.) Dependent Infinitive alone

a) Verbs found governing an infinitive before the time of Livy, but most frequently in Silver Latin, in prose:

deterreo - X 1.12 (governs quominus at VI 10.34); rarely with an infinitive in Caesar and Cicero.

disco - III 2.13, IV 10.26; once in Cicero (ap. Non. 20.15) Repub. 4.5; otherwise with acc. and infin. in Caesar and Cicero.

grauor - VI 8.12; 11.25, IX 1.8. In Cicero three times in negative with an infin.; only once positive verb with infin.

permitto - III 6.12, etc. Twice in Cicero (N.D. 3.1.4, in Verr. 5.9.22) with infin.; otherwise with ut. (Cf. Acc. and infin. 2 (c)).

postulo - VI 11.24 In early poetry, and infrequently in Cicero.

prohibeo - III 12.2, IV 8.8, etc. Always with the infin. in Caesar; often with the infin. in Cicero, but most frequently thus in later Latin; never with quominus or ne in Curtius.

non recuso - IV 14.22, etc.; with quominus at IV 14.26. In 'Classical' Latin, only the negative verb is used with the infin., as here.

scio - IV 1.14 Found rarely in Cicero; frequent in Livy.

timeo - IV 1.14; 10.27, IX 6.12. Twice in Caesar; frequent in the post-Augustan period, especially in Ovid.

Impersonal verbs:

contingit - V 10.4 In the 'Classical' period mostly with ut, but not thus in Curtius. With infinitive in Cic.

pro Arch. 3, then Vell. Pat.

placet - V 5.9; 10.5, etc. Found in Cicero but more frequently in Livy.

b) Verbs rarely or never found with an infinitive in prose before the time of Livy:

adsuesco - IV 13.18, VII 6.8. First in Cicero de Fin. 5.2.5; then Vell. Pat.

agito - IV 13.16, VI 4.9, Nepos Ham. 1.4.

destino - IV 2.14, VIII 6.7, Caes. B.C. 1.33; then Livy.  
(See also Acc. and Infin. 2 (b)).

dubito - IV 5.2, X 8.3. Very rare with a positive verb but Curtius is not the first (as Egër<sup>1</sup> supposes) to use this construction; cf. Sall. Cat. 15.2, Cic. N.D. 1.113.

expeto - IV 10.32, VI 6.3, etc. Found in the early poets; once in Cicero - ad Q.F. 1.1.2, then Livy.

impero - X 1.19 (loc. corrupt.) 'Mesopotamiae praetoribus imperavit materia in Libano monte caesa..carinas nauium ponere.' Froben deletes ut before materia. In Caes. and Cic. only with pass. or depon. infins. In Sallust occasionally with active infin.

metuo - VIII 7.9, IX 5.25, X 2.15. Found in Cornif. ad Herr. 4.18.25, then Livy; otherwise poetic.

perseuero - III 6.6, IV 16.30, etc. A favourite construction of Curtius'; rare in Caes. and Cic.

peruolo (uelle) - X 2.17. Rare, but found in Cicero.

praeopto - V 5.12: once in Caesar - B.G. 1.25.

recuso - VI 11.36 'recusante transire ad eum.' Very rare construction with a positive verb; cf. Caes. B.G. 3.22.

suadeo - VII 11.23. Twice in Cicero - de Fin. 2.95, de Or. 1.251; otherwise mostly poetic.

tempto - III 7.13, IV 1.34; 13.30, etc.; Caes. B.G. 8.40.

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1 Th. Eger: De Infinitiuo Curtiano, p. 13.

impersonal verbs: piget - VII 5.6, X 6.13. Not found in Caes. or Cic. Sallust has one example at Iug. 9.5.4 and he also uses puget with an infin.

c) Verbs taking the infinitive first in prose in Livy or later:

concedo - VIII 8.3 'seruis quoque pueros huius aetatis uerberare concedimus.' The passive conceditur mihi is found with an infin. in Caes. (B.G. 6.20) and Cic. (Lael. 12.34); the active verb first with infin. in Livy.

cunctor - VIII 1.40. First found with a positive verb in Livy - 31.7.6.

non differo - VI 9.9 (Horace Carm. 4.4.21 with a positive verb); first found in Livy - 27.24.1.

erubesco - IV 15.30, V 3.9, etc. (cf. Verg. Ecl. 6.2 ); several times in Livy and the construction becomes frequent later.

fastidio - IV 14.23, VI 9.36. First in Livy, e.g. 10.8.7 (cf. Ovid Rem. Am. 305).

supersedeo - V 6.14; (cf. Sisenna ap. Non. 40.11), Livy, Val. Max.

non sustineo - the negative verb with an infin. at IV 4.14; 13.8, VI 1.15, VII 5.12; 6.15, VIII 12.6, IX 1.34; 10.15, X 1.40. First found in Vell. Pat. and only with a negative verb (similarly with neg. verb in Ovid passim); see also § 4, below.

non ualeo - III 4.5, VII 7.7, IX 6.24; once in Livy - 37.23.4; see § 4, below.

impersonal verbs:

uacat + dative and infin. - X 10.12. Mainly poet.: first in poetry in Ovid, e.g. Trist. 2.216; first in prose in Vell. Pat.

d) Verbs found with the infinitive first in prose

Curtius:

calleo - III 2.14 'obsistere, circumire, discurrere in cornu; mutare pugnam non duces magis quam milites callent;'

only found here in prose, and otherwise poetical.

certo - VII 6.8, IX 4.33; in poetry in Lucr., Verg., Ovid); in prose in Curtius and Pliny Min. Pan. 81.

compello - V 1.35 (with ad and a noun at IX 1.19); cf. Ovid Fast. 3.860). Inpello + infin. is found in Livy - 22.6.6.

dedignor - X 3.11; 5.33. Found in post-Augustan poetry, but rare even then; elsewhere in prose: Sen. Const. Sap. 13.2, Tac. Ann. 2.34.

dignor - VI 5.29, VIII 14.44; the use of the infinitive with both negative and positive verbs is rare and mainly in poetry. This construction with the positive verb is only found in Curtius in prose.

experior - VII 4.11; otherwise in Plautus and Quint.

opto - III 11.1, IV 12.5, IX 6.9; 6.18. In Cicero optatum and optandum are found with an infin.; otherwise in prose with ut.

sustineo = 'take upon oneself' - V 10.13, VI 8.16; 9.18, VII 5.38, X 5.25. First in Curtius in prose with a positive verb (cf. Ovid).

ualeo - X 1.4 'scilicet res secundae ualent commutare naturam.' Curtius is the first prose author to use the positive verb with an infin. (cf. Hor. Carm. 1.34.12). The negative verb is found with an infin. in Livy and Curtius.

e) Phrases with the infinitive:

i) already in Livy or before:

capital est - VIII 4.17; 9.35; Lucil. ap. Non. 38.17, Livy e.g. 24.37.9; in Cic. with conditional clause.

certum est - IV 13.9, IX 2.13; fairly frequent in Cic.

fas est - VIII 2.19; Caes., Cic., Livy; similarly nefas V 2.22.

uis fasque est - X 10.13; cf. Livy 45.33.2.

flagitium est - VIII 14.11; cf. Cic. Verr. 5.170.

labor maximus est - VIII 9.28, Cic. Brut. 209, Livy 39.1.5.

mos est - VII 7.8, VIII 6.2, IX 3.4; 6.4. Found first in Livy; in Cicero with ut.

necesse est + dative and infin. - IV 13.20, VI 10.25, VIII 1.49, X 6.20, and already occasionally in Cic.; in Curtius, not used with acc. and infin., or with subjunctive alone.

opus est - VI 1.17; already in Cicero.

ratio una est - VI 5.16; cf. Livy 5.54.6.

satis habeo - IV 9.20; Caes. B.G. 1.15.4.; in Cic. with both infin. and quod clause, the latter not in Curtius.

with infinitive as predicate:

tempus (est) - VII 2.26; also in Cic. and Livy.

ii) in Curtius and later:

aestimo magni - V 9.2, VII 7.14; cf. Pliny Epp. 3.25; 4.1 4.28.1.

dementia uidebatur - IX 7.20.

ducebat egregium - IV 15.25; cf. IX 1.20.

fructus est - VI 9.2.

in expedito esset - IV 2.22.

magni operis uidebatur - VIII 2.23.

moris esse Persis - X 1.26; cf. more traditum est III 3.8.

saluti fuit - VIII 4.17.

solacium est - IV 10.26.

uotum est - IV 13.8.

With infinitive as predicate:

animus est - IX 3.5

in contumeliam accipiunt - V 2.19

cupido incessit - IV 8.3: this is the only case in Curtius of cupido used with an infinitive. Elsewhere he has the genitive gerund.

nec aliud remedium erat quam - V 3.22.

prolative infinitive:

magis uelle = malle - IX 2.10

f) Curtius and other 'Classical' usages:

desino - IV 5.6, V 9.4, etc.; and with passive infin. at VII 3.13 and VIII 11.21. Curtius nowhere has the 'Classical' construction desinor with the infin., which usage is not common by the time of Livy, and almost obsolete by the time of Tacitus. In the earlier period desinor and coeptum esse are often found with passive clauses; Livy occasionally has the active; Curtius has desino only twice with a passive infin.; in Tacitus it is always used with the active.

constituo with infin. - only found twice in Curtius (VI 10.34 and VII 2.20) whereas the construction is very frequent in Caesar and also in Cicero.

non desisto with infin. - III 6.15, V 9.17, VIII 3.6, X 8.1. Only in the third person sing. perf. non destitit in Curtius.

non dubito with infin. - IV 1.32; 5.21, V 4.16, etc., and 'quis dubitabit?' VII 7.12 with negative force. In Curtius this is more often followed by quin, which is the usual construction before the time of Livy. Livy, on the other hand, more often has the infin. after non dubito. In this case, as in a few others, Curtius follows 'Classical' preferences more closely than Livy.

intendo with infin. - V 6.12 (with ellipse of infin. procedere; there are similar cases in Cicero); never found with ut in Curtius.

g) Adjectives and Participles with the infinitive:

Unlike Livy, Curtius does not deviate from strictly 'Classical' practice by using pure adjectives with prolative infinitives (but see under Acc. and Infin. p. 385). The only possible exception is contentus, but even this should probably be regarded as a participle which happened to become used very frequently as an adjective.

contentus - IV 10.14; 12.15, VIII 1.38; 11.18. First used with an infin. as a rule by Vell. Pat., e.g. 2.103.5; then in Sen. Min.

adgressus - III 1.7, VIII 4.11, IX 1.10, and  
adortus - III 1.6, IX 4.6. Both these verbs are found with an infin. before Curtius, but in the Historiae only the perfect participles are so used.

adsuetus - III 10.10, IV 6.3, etc. This use becomes frequent from the time of Livy onwards.

paratus - III 3.27, IV 1.9, V 11.12, etc. This use is already fairly frequent in Cicero.

solitus - III 3.15, IV 3.18, VI 3.3. Like soleo with an infin., commonly used in all periods.

suspectus - IX 10.21, X 1.39. Not 'Classical' usage, but already found in Sallust, Iug. 70.1; then Tacitus, e.g. Hist. 1.46, 4.34.

## 2) Nominative and Infinitive

a) Verbs taking the nominative and infinitive rarely in prose before, or at, the time of Livy:

conuincor - IX 8.9. First in Sallust (Cat. 52.36); then Livy.

credor - III 8.7, IV 7.8; with ellipse of esse at VIII 5.15; cf. VI 11.23 'qui postulat deus credi' (earlier poet.: Lucr., Ovid).

feror - III 12.6, V 5.9, VIII 10.29. First in Sallust (Iug. 64.4).

probor - VII 2.34 'quae facta probari non poterant,' with ellipse of esse; cf. Ovid Met. 2.92 'et patrio pater esse metu probor.'

b) Curtius and other 'Classical' usage:

For coeptum esse, Curtius, like Livy, has coepisse with a passive infin. at VI 10.15, IX 9.16. Likewise Curtius does not have desitum esse.

iubeo - with the usual cative and passive infins., but also with the unusual iussus est at IX 10.29 'satrapes Astapes..interfici iussus est;' cf. Cic. Phil. 2.79 'iussus es renuntiari consul.'

### 3) Accusative and Infinitive

a) Verbs governing the accusative and infinitive rarely in prose before the time of Livy:

aperio - VI 7.6; Nepos Att. 9.5, Livy.

cerno - III 11.8; 13.17, IV 1.19, etc. In the earlier period, usually with a predicative participle, but cf. Nepos Alc. 9.3, Sall. Cat. 2.3, Caes. B.C. 1.64.1, 3.69.4.

cogito - IV 6.26; 14.7, V 3.13, etc.. Curtius uses this construction frequently, but it is found only three times in Cicero.

coniecto - III 1 1, IV 10.31; 13.11, IX 9.27. The verb itself is mostly ante-Class., then reappears in Livy and later; found with an acc. and infin. in Caes. B.C. 3.106.1; then Curtius and Tacitus.

conloquor - VI 11.34: Caes. B.C. 1.22.1; then Curtius and Apuleius.

consentio - V 5.21: infrequent in Cicero; not in Livy, but is found in Sen. Min.

constituo - VIII 11.4; occasionally in Cicero; not in Livy.

desidero - VII 8.7, VIII 3.12, and with ut at VII 1.18; found a few times in Caesar (B.G. 4.2.1, etc.); twice in Cicero, e.g. de Or. 3.13.50; more frequent in Tacitus and Suetonius.

disco - V 1.6: infrequent in Cicero; cf. Nepos Praef. 3, Sen. Min.

non dubito - VII 1.11, X 6.22: twice in Cicero with acc. and infin.; in Livy more often with acc. and infin. than with quin. (cf. § 1 (f)).

edico - VI 11.20: legal t.t. = 'pronounce'; Cic. Verr.



2.2.37; then infrequently in Livy.

ementior - VII 5.26: Cic. pro Planc. 73; then in Livy.

impero - V 4.14 with passive infin., X 1.19 with active infin. Three times in Cicero, more frequently in Caesar, mostly with infins. pass., depon. or intrans.; with active infin. in Bell. Afr. 66.1 sequi, and X 1.19 ponere.

indignor - VI 1.18; 11.19, and depending on a present participle in gen pl. X 5,10; cf. VI 9.6; with si at VI 5.5; once in each of Sall. Cic. and Caes. (B.C. 3.108).

infiteor - VII 7.25 with ellipse of the subject pronoun; also found in Livy with a similar ellipse.

moneor - III 4.13 'moniti, non inter ipsos inire, sed proelium' (not at X 1.27, as Eichert Wörterbuch s.v. believes). Cf. Nepos Phoc. 2.4.

obliuiscor - VIII 1.36, IX 6.8: once in Cicero Rosc. Com. 17, and Livy 40.46.1; more often in Pliny Maj.

opto - X 1.7, and with ut at X 6.8; once in Cic. ad Fam. 10.20.3.

praedico = 'foretell' - VII 7.26; mostly post-Augustan, e.g. Sen. Min.

prohibeo - III 2.9, IV 12.20, X 9.12: found twice in Cicero - ad Fam. 1.9, de Off. 3.11.

pronuntio - III 5.16, IV 2.17, VI 5.19, etc. = 'declare'; occasionally thus in Caesar, but in Cicero = 'make known'.

rescribo - VI 9.18 : once in Caesar with acc. and infin. - B.C. 1.19.4.

uocifero - III 12.18 'uociferantes adesse supremam horam missosque qui occiderent captas;' rare in Cicero, and Livy uses uociferor, e.g. 10.29.4.

b) Verbs taking the accusative and infinitive first in prose in Livy or later:

ambigo - perhaps at III 3.5 (loc. corrupt.). The whole passage is very doubtful. I would follow Zumpt in reading: 'quemue..occupaturum esse haud ambigere' (quodue..occupare habuisset..ambigue rei q ). Ambigo is found once with

the acc. and infin. in Livy 10.5.14 'id unum non ambigitur ..consulatum cum Apuleio Pansa gessisse'; also Tac. Ann. 12.65.5 'ne quis ambigat decus pudorem corpus, cuncta regno uiliora habere,' and Hist. 4.49. The use of ambigo with a quod clause would be unique until late Latin.

adicio - III 13.2, etc.: first in Vell. Pat. with the acc. and infin.; then in later historians.

causor - IV 16.18, VI 5.31; 7.21: first in Livy 5.15.6.

eloquor - IX 6.12: first in Val. Max. 2.6.8.

exprobro - IV 2.20, VIII 1.39: first in Livy 2.29.6, then Curtius and Sen., Min.

increpo - IX 4.6: first in Livy 37.25.5 'litterasque quibus ..increpebat: uenire eos ad omnia regna tollenda.'

non infitias eo - VII 1.35: first perhaps in Nepos Epam. 10.4 'Hoc unum adiunxero, quod nemo ibit infitias: Thebas ..perpetuo alieno paruisse imperio.'

proclamo - VIII 1.41: first in Livy 1.26.9.

uulgo - IV 9.2, VI 11.20, etc.: first in Livy 3.34.7.

c) Verbs taking Accusative and Infinitive first in prose in Curtius:

dolore adficior - VI 3.15: in Cicero etc. with ut.

adnuntio - X 8.11. The verb itself is post-Augustan; also Pliny, Maj.

auguror - IV 4.5 : only in Curtius.

diuino - VI 10.19, X 6.21. Found three times in Cicero but always with future infin.; only in Curtius and late Latin with perf. infin.

frendo - IV 16.3 'frendente Alexandro eripi sibi uictoriam'; only in Curtius and later poets.

interpretor - III 3.6 = 'predict'. Cf. Tac. Ann. 6.37.2, Suetonius.

monstro - IX 8.26 'herbam..quam ueneni remedium esse monstrasset.' Found in Curtius and later poets.

praecipio - VI 6.15 with passive infin.; more often (in

Curtius also) with ut, e.g. III 3.1; 3.10, IV 13.33.

The acc. and infin. is probably used on the analogy of iubeo. With the present construction cf. Suet. Nero 31 and see impero under 3 (a), above.

praefor - VI 7.3, VII 4.9, VIII 4.20 (praefatus  $\Omega$  : perlaetus Hedicke) = 'say beforehand'. Cf. Justin 11.5.5 'Patrimonium..amicis diuidit, sibi Asiam sufficere praefatus.'

prouideo - X 5.5 = 'foresee'; previously with quod clause or predicative participle.

refero - III 10 9, IX 7.13 = 'recount'. Found in Horace, but most examples occur in late Latin.

recenseo - III 3.6 = 'reckon'. The verb itself is mostly post-Augustan; once in Caesar B.G. 7.76.3, but not with the acc. and infin.

rescisco - VI 7.16.

non sustineo - VIII 5.7; otherwise with the infin. alone: IV 13.8, VI 1.15, VII 5.12; 16.15, as already in Vell. Pat. When the infin. is used, it is usually with the negative verb, as here; cf. sustineo 1 (d), above.

uereor - IX 7.23. Found in poets from early times, e.g. Plaut. Mil. 4.7.2 with acc. and infin. In 'Classical' prose it is sometimes used with the infin. alone, e.g. Caes. B.G. 5.6 'quos in conspectu Galliae interficere uereretur.' This occurrence in Curtius (IX 7.23) 'quippe celebratam Macedonum fortitudinem ad ludibrium recidisse uerebatur,' has been emended to querebatur, giving a more familiar construction. The same phenomenon occurs in Ovid Her. 16.75: 'uincere reant omnes dignae iudexque uerebar / non omnes causam uincere posse suam.' Heinsius reads querebar which makes an unpleasant jingle —quě quě— although Ovid is fond of alliteration in pairs. J.A. Richmond, Ph. 112 (1968) 135-9, finds that Ovid uses the quě-quě cacophony for a 'sobbing' effect in the Heroides, although Ovid avoids this elsewhere, and later abandoned the device altogether.

This may be an easy emendation but in both these

passages the MSS. all agree on uerebar which gives the better sense. Neither Alexander nor Paris is actually complaining: their feelings are rather private apprehension. In Ovid, uereor at once echoes and contrasts with Paris' physical fear earlier in the story: 16.67 'obstipui, gelidas comas erexerat horror,' etc. In Curtius the incident is seen as the cause of the bitterness in Alexander's mind, which ends in tragedy: IX 7.23 'Hinc ad criminatio-nem inuidorum adapertae sunt regis aures.'

The acc. and infin. gives both passages a realism not conveyed by ne or ut. Both Paris and Alexander are apprehensive in the face of certain facts: Paris because he must incur the wrath of two goddesses; Alexander because his Macedonians' reputation has taken a knock, 'maxime quia barbari adfuerant.' Whatever the merits of querebatur in the Ovid passage, there is no reason not to accept the MSS.' uerebatur at Curtius IX 7.23: it would not be the only poetic verb or construction taken over by Curtius, and yet not found in other extant historians.

With several of these verbs, we can see the natural addition of the acc. and infin. construction to the repertoire of verbs which already in the 'Classical' period governed the acc. as object, and / or the infin., as separate constructions. The new addition appeared first, as often, in the poets for conciseness and realism; then in the historians for the same reason, and because of a certain affinity between the authors' approach; and finally the construction became interchangeable with subordinate clauses.

Curtius shows some signs of the increase in the number of compound verbs which are either quite new or given different meanings and syntax at around the middle of the first century A.D. These are particularly favoured by Seneca the Younger, but in Curtius have not yet taken firm root (cf. also on 'Vocabulary' p. 345).

d) Adjectives taking the Accusative and Infinitive

certus - III 8.21; already in Cicero.

dubius - IV 13.33, IX 7.21 (twice with quin: V 12.3, VII 6.14. Cf. non dubito pp. 378 and 380. Often in Livy with acc. and infin.

fretus - VII 7.31: already in Livy.

gnarus - III 1.21, IX 2.21, X 2.10: found in Sallust, then Livy.

ignarus - V 3.12, VI 6.11, IX 9.22: in Cicero, (Ovid), Tacitus.

The following three adjectives are found first and/or only in Curtius in prose with the acc. and infin.:-

laetus - III 8.19, VIII 6.16, X 1.6: found in early poets, then with infin. alone in Sil. Ital. 9.435, 7.176; in Livy in 0.0. with ellipse of esse, e.g. 21.24.4.

inprudens - VIII 8.2: otherwise poetical.

prudens - VII 1.4: poetical, and in later prose, e.g. Pliny N.H. 8.136.

e) Nouns taking the Accusative and Infinitive:

auctor - IX 5.21; 8.15. Thus in Livy 2.48.2, 4.26.6, 8.30.7.

praes - V 4.13

testis - IV 4.2; 10.33. Cf. Cicero ad Fam. 6.13.2.

litterae - IX 10.19, X 1.20; 2.3.

Curtius uses many abstract nouns in this way. The following are some of the more unusual:-

iurisiurandum - X 7.9: in Plautus with infin. alone.

nuntius - III.7.4, IX.10.19.

omen - V 2.15.

responsum - V 3.11.

sensus ac sermo - VI 6.9.

sors - III 1.16.

species - VIII 13.21.

terror - VII 4.32.

uox - V 9.16, X 10.14.

#### 4) Historic Infinitive

Compared with Sallust and Tacitus, Curtius uses the historic infinitive rarely:-

many times only once in isolation: IV 9.20; 10.30, V 4.13; 12.7, VI 7.8; 11.4, VIII 3.2; 3.7, IX 4.6; 9.10;

and several may either be historic infins. or perfects:

IV 3.16 (q.v.); 4.9 (q.v.); 14.14; 16.6, VI 1.4, VII 5,35; 11,6, VIII 14,40, IX 9,25;

two historic infinitives at: IV 10.33; 11.21, V 10.11, VIII 2.5;

three at: IV 15.19, VI 2.20;

perhaps four at: IV 3.16-17.

Five seems to be the maximum number of historic infinitives which Curtius uses together, and these are in rapid succession, no doubt for special effect to suggest that Alexander was 'everywhere at once':

'Rex unus tanti mali patiens circumire milites, contrahere dispersos, adleuare prostratos, ostendere procul euolutum ex tuguriis fumum, hortarique ut proxima quaeque suffugia occuparent'(VIII 4.9). Tacitus in many places has seven historic infinitives together, and his maximum seems to be ten. Curtius follows Livy in less frequent use.

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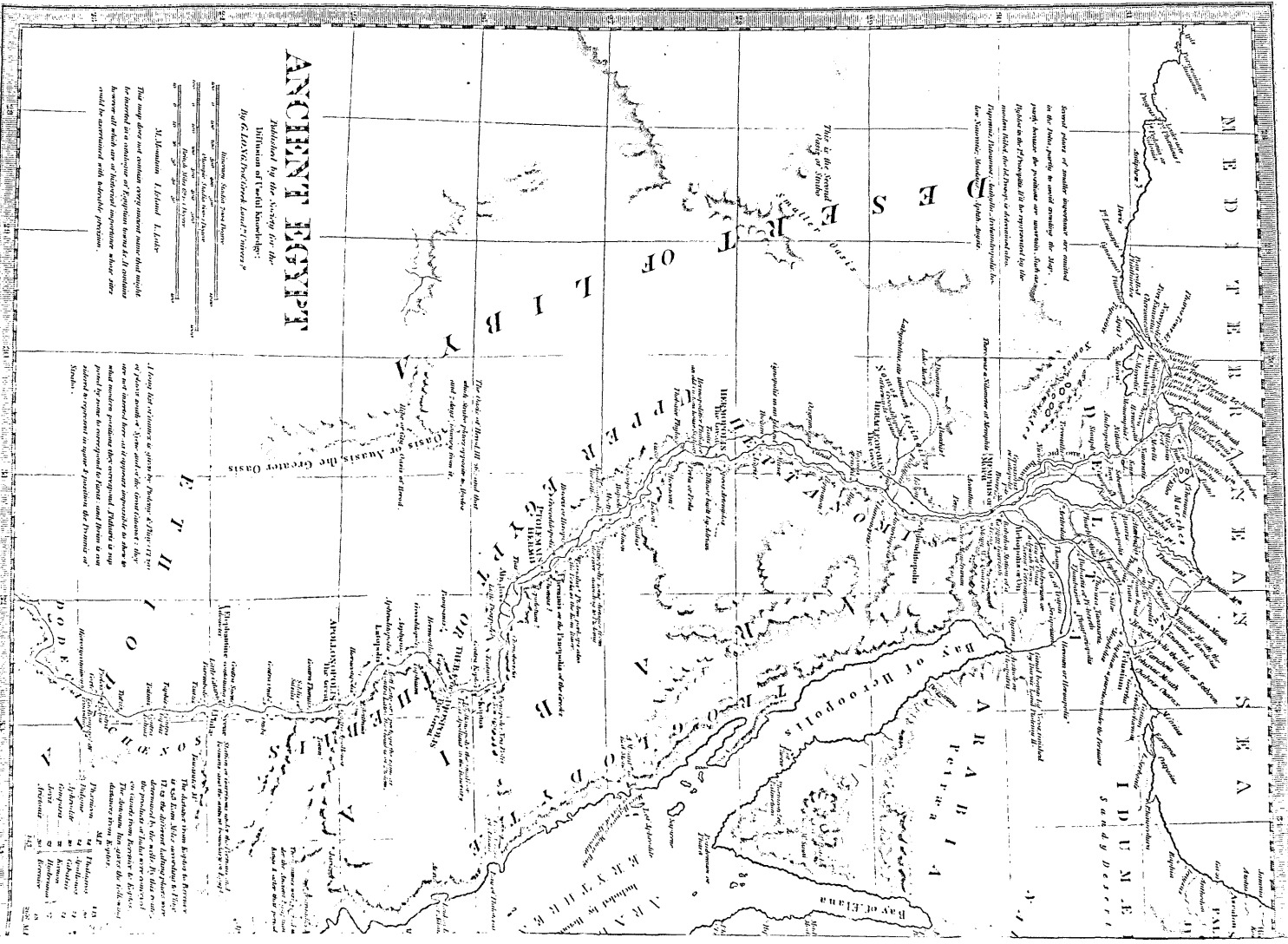
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# ANCIENT EGYPT

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This map does not contain every ancient name that might be traced from a study of Egyptian hieroglyphs. It contains however all such as are of historical importance, and are well as determined with scientific precision.

Scale of Miles  
Scale of Degrees  
Scale of Feet

I have had various opinions given by the Editors of the 'Quarterly Review' and 'The Edinburgh Review' on the subject of this map. They are not intended here as a display of opinion, but as a record of what various persons have expressed. I believe it may be useful to report in some of the questions the Editors of 'The Quarterly Review' and 'The Edinburgh Review' have expressed.