

Identification and attribution of the Legomena (ancillary stories) in Arrian's Anabasis

Reference	Subject	Hammond	Comments
1.9.8	Omens of fall of Thebes	Cleitarchus	
1.9.10	Saves Pindar's house	Cleitarchus	
1.11.1	Games in honour of muses	Diyllus	D 17.16.3
1.11.6-8	Disembarkation & Trojan sacrifice to Athena	?	
1.12.1	Crowned tomb of Achilles	?	After lacuna
1.12.10	Arsites rejects burning cities	?	
1.16.3	Motive Arsites' suicide	?	
2.3.7	Cutting Gordian knot	Cleitarchus	J 11.7.16, C 3.1.14-19
2.4.7	Swim at Tarsus	Not Cleitarchus	
2.7.8	Recalled Xenophon's 10000	?	
2.8.8	600,000 Persians at Issus	?	PA 18.6, POxy 1798
2.12.6-7	Visit to Persian Queens	Cleitarchus	D 17.37.5, C 3.12.15-17
2.25.2	Parmenio on letter of Darius	Cleitarchus	D 17.54.3-5, PA 29.7, C 4.11.10-14
3.2.1	Founds Alexandria in meal	Cleitarchus	S 792, PA 26.8-10, C 4.8.6
3.5.7	Several to govern Egypt	?	
3.7.6	Causes of eclipses	?	
3.8.6	Size of Persian army	Cleitarchus	PA 31.1, D 17.53.3
3.10.1	Parmenio advises night attack	Cleitarchus	C 4.13.4-10, PA 31.10-14
3.15.6	Number of Persian dead	Cleitarchus	
3.23.9	Number of Darius' mercenaries	Not Cleitarchus	
3.28.5	Mt Taurus part of Caucasus	Eratosthenes	
4.8.2	Sacrifice to Dioscuri	?	PA 50.7
4.8.2	Barbaric drinking parties		J 12.6.2, C 8.1.22
4.8.3	Alexander superior to Heracles	?	
4.8.8-9	Snatching of spear/pike	?	PA 51.9
4.9.2	Alexander attempts suicide	Cleitarchus inter alia (implied)	J 12.6.8, C 8.2.4, PA 51.11
4.9.3	Mourning on bed - Lanice	Cleitarchus inter alia (implied)	
4.9.9	Alexander desired obeisance	?	
4.10.3	Callisthenes suborns Philotas	?	
4.10.5	Callisthenes' opposition to A	?	
4.11.2-5	Speech of Callisthenes	?	
4.12.3-5	"Poorer by a kiss"	Chares	
4.13.2	Hermolaus kills A's boar	?	
4.13.5	A drinks until daybreak	?	

4.14.1	Callisthenes implicated on circumstantial evidence	?	
4.14.2	Hermolaus' speech	?	
5.1.1-6	Nysa & envoys & Acuphis	Chares?	
5.2.7	Dionysiac revels of companions	Cleitarchus	J 12.7.6-8, C 8.10.11-18
5.3.4	Disbelief of Dionysus' visit to India	Eratosthenes	Named source
5.5.2-6.2	Rivers & vastness of India	Eratosthenes & Megasthenes	Named sources
5.14.4	Crossing of Jhelum & death of Bucephalus	Cleitarchus/Chares	Not all details can be Cleitarchus
5.19.2	Porus' retort to Alexander	Chares	Cf. PA 60.14
5.19.5	Bucephalus black & coeval with Alexander	Onesicritus inter alia	
6.11.3	Mallian wound occurred among Oxydracae	Cleitarchus	
6.11.4	Gaugamela at Arbela	Callisthenes & Cleitarchus	
6.11.8	Ptolemy & Pausanius saved Alexander	Cleitarchus	
6.13.4	Criticism of Alexander for leading the Mallian assault	Nearchus	
6.24.2-3	Rivalry with Semiramis & Cyrus	Nearchus	Nearchus is named
6.24.4	Many deaths in Gedrosia	Cleitarchus	D 17.105.6, PA 66.4, C 9.10.11-16, S 722
6.26.1-3	Alexander pours away water	?	Variations occur in many sources
6.26.4-5	Found water in coastal shingle	?	
6.28.1-2	Carmanian revel	Cleitarchus	PA 67.1-6, C 9.10.24-28 (Brunt thinks this version later than Cleitarchus, "Triumph" is Roman)
7.1.2	Intention to circumnavigate Arabia and Libya	?	PA 68.1
7.1.2-3	Ambition to outdo Great Kings by ruling all of Asia and Africa	?	
7.1.3	Sail to Black Sea & southern Italy	?	
7.1.5-6	Indian sophists: men own only what stand upon	?	Probably Onesicritus
7.2.1	Alexander admired Diogenes	Onesicritus	PA 14.1-5
7.2.2-3	Refusal of chief gymnosophist to travel with Alexander	Onesicritus	S 715, PA 65.1-4

7.2.4	Calanus lacked self-control	Megasthenes	Named source
7.3.2-6	Suicide of Calanus	? (neither Chares nor Onesicritus)	Accounts from Onesicritus, Chares, Nearchus, Strabo, Diodorus and Plutarch survive
7.4.3	Alexander said to credit accusations	?	PA 68
7.5.3	Soldiers' debts cost 20000 talents	? (but Hammond thought the corresponding section of J was probably from Cleitarchus)	J 12.11.1-3
7.6.2	Distress of Macedonians at formation of Epigoni	Diyllus?	D 17.108.3
7.6.2	Distress at median dress and marriage rites	?	(It is probable that the whole paragraph came from the same source)
7.11.9	9000 poured one libation	?	Probably in Cleitarchus
7.13.1	Reconciliation of Hephaistion with Eumenes	?	(may not be a legomenon)
7.13.1	50000 Nesaeian mares	Diyllus? (& Herodotus)	D 17.110.6
7.13.2-3	Atropates gives Alexander 100 Amazons	Cleitarchus	S 505
7.14.1	Hephaistion dies during boys' athletics	?	Possibly just the fact that the stadium was full is the legomenon
7.14.3-7	Alexander's reactions to Hephaistion's death	Various sources	
	Lay prostrate on body	?	
	Hanged Glaucias	?	
	Cut his hair over corpse	?	
	Drove funeral carriage	?	
	Burnt temple of Asclepias	?	
	Greeted Epidaurian envoys	?	
	Sacrificed to Hephaistion as a hero	?	
7.14.8	Two days without food	?	
7.14.8	Pyre of 10000 talents	Cleitarchus	PA 72.3
7.14.9	Mourning throughout land	?	
7.14.9	Dedications of Companions – especially Eumenes	A Macedonian writer	
7.15.4	Carthaginian, Ethiopian etc. envoys	A Greek writer – Diyllus?	

7.15.5	Envoys seek arbitration	Cleitarchus?	
7.15.5	Romans sent envoys	Aristus & Asclepiades	Named sources (NB Cleitarchus mentioned an embassy from Rome)
7.16.5	Reply to Chaldeans	?	
7.17.2	New temple of Belus on old foundations	?	
7.17.2	New temple of Belus larger than old	?	
7.18.6	Calanus would greet Alexander in Babylon	Cleitarchus	PA 69.6-8
7.19.1-2	Received embassies with due honour & gave them statues	?	
7.19.2	Harmodius & Aristogeiton returned	?	Pliny <i>NH</i> 34.70 concurred, but Pausanias 1.8.5 said Antiochus I
7.20.1	Arab gods Uranus & Dionysus	Various sources	S 741
7.22.2	Cap & diadem blown off	Various versions inc. Aristobulus	
7.24.4	Gave victims & wine to army	?	
7.24.4	Medius invited Alexander to party	Various sources inc. Aristobulus	
7.25.1-7.26.3	Illness & death of Alexander	Ephemerides	
7.26.3	To whom do you leave your kingdom? Foresaw great funeral games	Cleitarchus	D 17.117.4, C 10.5.5
7.27.1	Aristotle poisoning	Hagnothemis,	
7.27.2	Iollas & mule's hoof	Hieronymus,	
7.27.2	Medius poisoning	Satyrus and others	
7.27.3	Alexander tries to drown in Euphrates	Alexander Romance	& Metz Epitome
7.30.2	Signs given by oracles on Alexander's death	?	

PA = Plutarch, *Alexander*

D = Diodorus

C = Curtius

J = Justin

S = Strabo

POxy = Oxyrhynchus Papyrus