

## Concerning Alexander: The History of Alexander the Great by Cleitarchus

*Reconstructed in English by Andrew Chugg – see also [www.alexanderstomb.com](http://www.alexanderstomb.com)*

“In spite of the objections of Tarn, I regard it as certain that whatever source Diodorus used, it was the same as that employed by Curtius. Schwartz assembled a formidable list of parallels between the two writers, without exhausting the subject. It is adequate to prove the point. To reconstruct this source would be a useful task.” C. Bradford Welles, Introduction (p.12) to the Loeb edition of Diodorus XVII.

### **Book 1: Spring 336BC – Autumn 335BC; Alexander in Europe**

Summary	Sources	References	Comment
Prologue: birth and ancestry of Alexander. Razing of the temple at Ephesus and descent from Aeacidae and Heraclidae.	Plutarch 2.1 & 3.3-5	Hammond THA 91 Sources 19-20	Conventionally, it has been thought that Cleitarchus opened his history with the assassination of Philip and Alexander's accession. However, there are indications that some kind of summary dealing with Alexander's birth and his youth may have been included. Notably, Hammond shows in <i>Sources</i> 19-20 that Plutarch's date for Alexander's birth comes from Timaeus, a contemporary of Cleitarchus. But there is a fragment (Jacoby F 7) of Cleitarchus from Clement of Alexandria, which notes that both Timaeus and Cleitarchus gave exactly 820 years for the period from the invasion of the Heraclidae to Alexander's crossing into Asia, whereas other Greek historians, such as Eratosthenes, gave wildly variant figures (cf. Jacoby F 36). This strongly indicates that Cleitarchus made use of Timaeus' work (cf. Pearson 216). If so, then Plutarch and Cicero are likely to be getting Timaeus' information on Alexander's birth via Cleitarchus. Perhaps Cleitarchus attributed the information to Timaeus. Hammond also attributes stress on Alexander's Aeacid ancestry to Cleitarchus and Jacoby F7 mentions the Heraclidae (& see F36)
Philip sends his generals Parmenion, Amyntas & Attalus into Asia Minor	Justin 9.5.8-9	Hammond THA 93	Spring of 336BC
Philip celebrates the marriage of his daughter Cleopatra to Alexander of Epirus; Pausanias kills Philip in a narrow passage, because he has ignored Pausanias' complaints against Attalus, who had raped him	Justin 9.6.1-8	Hammond THA 93	Summer of 336BC
Sons of Philip	Justin 9.8.1-3	Hammond THA 90-3	
Digression on the historical background in the Persian Empire: troubled prelude to the accession of Darius III to the throne	Justin 10 Diodorus 17.5.3-7.3		Hammond has suggested that this digression is from Diyllus in Diodorus and from Cleitarchus' father, Deinon, in Justin, but the material is sufficiently similar and placed in the text in both as to imply a common source. (cf. Jacoby F 33) That source must be Cleitarchus. Not only is he inherently the most likely common source of Justin and Diodorus, but he will have had a special interest in Persian events due to his father's work.
Alexander's accession; funeral of Philip; rebelliousness of Thebes; Alexander appointed general by the assembly at Corinth	Justin 11.1.1-11.2.7 Diodorus 17.3-4	Hammond THA 94; Yardley & Heckel on Justin 83-5	Yardley & Heckel rightly reject Hammond's view that Diodorus used Diyllus here and prefer Cleitarchus
Balkan campaign: battle with Syrmus of the Triballi at the Danube	Plutarch 11.1-3 Justin 11.2.8 Diodorus 17.8.1	Hammond Sources 24 & THA 94; Yardley & Heckel on Justin 84-5	Spring-summer 335BC in extreme summary
Omens of the fall of Thebes	Arrian 1.9.8 Aelian VH 12.57	Hammond Sources 207	
Siege & destruction of Thebes: including the Council at which the destruction was proposed by the Plataeans and Phocians	Diodorus 17.8.2-14 Plutarch 11.4-6 Justin 11.3.1-11.4.6	Hammond THA 91-3 & Sources	

Alexander saves Pindar's house	Arrian 1.9.10 Aelian VH 13.7	Hammond Sources 207	
After the razing of Thebes, its wealth (from selling Thebans into slavery etc.) was found to be just 440 talents and its citizens were stingy	Athenaeus 148 D-F (cf. Diodorus 17.14.4)	Jacoby, Fragment 1 of Cleitarchus	Attributed to Cleitarchus and Book 1 of Concerning Alexander – Diodorus <i>implies</i> 440 talents raised by selling the Thebans, but probably = total proceeds
Reconciliation of Alexander with Athenians grief-stricken by the fate of Thebes	Plutarch 13	Hammond, Sources 27	
Visit to Delphi: Alexander declared invincible by the Pythia	Plutarch 14.4-5 Diodorus 17.93.4 [Livy 9.18] [SIG <sup>3</sup> 251H, col. II, lines 9-10 (p.436-7)]	Hammond Sources 29 THA	Alexander is <i>aniketos</i> (invincible) and promised world-rule, cf. Siwa and Ammon. Livy too refers to the “invincible Alexander”, though he also mentions the attacks on Alexander by Athenian orators, such as Hypereides, who called Alexander “king and invincible god” (in an ironic context). The historicity of the visit to the oracle is supported by a record of a gift to the shrine at this time of 150 gold coins minted by Philip: it is difficult for this to have been from anyone but Alexander. Alexander had probably read about Xenophon's consultation of Delphi in preparation for <i>his</i> campaign against Persia. Pearson (Lost Histories p. 92) thinks that Plutarch got the Delphic visit from Onesicritus: it is possible that Cleitarchus took it from Onesicritus too.

## Book 2: Winter 335BC – June 334BC; Crossing into Asia, Battle at the Granicus

Summary	Sources	References	Comment
Crossing to Asia and preparations; Alexander's gifts to his friends, Alexander took with him the most capable Thracian kings, dye on priests hands left marks foretelling victory on victims' livers	Justin 11.5.1-9 Plutarch 15.2-3 Front. Strat. 2.11.3 & 1.11.14	Hammond THA 95-6 Sources 31	
820 years from the invasion of the Heraclidae to Alexander crossing into Asia	Clement of Alexandria, Strom. I 139,4	Jacoby, Fragment 7 of Cleitarchus	Early Spring
Alexander casts a spear into the Asian shoreline	Justin 11.5.10-11 Diodorus 17.17.2		Hammond makes no suggestion for this against Justin, but this story is common to Justin and Diodorus, so Cleitarchus is overwhelmingly likely to be its source
Troops ordered not to ravage Asia, because it was their own property	Justin 11.6.1	Hammond THA 96	
Troop numbers: 32000 infantry, 4500 cavalry and 182 warships. Contrasting Alexander's world conquest with a small band of experienced troops with Darius' reliance on overwhelming strength	Justin 11.6.2-9	Hammond THA 96-7	Abbreviated(?) to 40,000 men in Frontinus, Stratagem 4.2.4 & Ampelius 16.2
Honouring the tombs of Achilles and the heroes (Patroclus) at Troy	Arrian 1.12.1 Diodorus 17.17.3 Justin 11.5.12 Plutarch 15.4 Aelian VH 9.38 & 12.7, cf. Cicero, Pro Archia poet. 24		Hammond does not explicitly identify this anecdote as Cleitarchus, but he does point out that Alexander's emulation of Achilles was probably a Cleitarchan theme (THA 64-5, 91, 109; Sources 48 n11). The story is common to Justin and Diodorus, which strongly suggests that Cleitarchus is its source
Battle of the Granicus	Diodorus 17.19.3-21.6 & 17.23.2	Hammond THA 16-17	Late spring

### Book 3: July 334BC – June 333BC

Summary	Sources	References	Comment
Alexander takes the surrender of Magnesia, where lay the tomb of Themistocles (Athenian commander at Salamis) – digression on Themistocles at the court of Xerxes following his exile from Athens – he later drank bull’s blood and died rather than lead Persian forces against Athens	Plutarch’s Life of Themistocles 27.1-2 Cicero, Brut. 42-43	Jacoby, Fragments 33 & 34 of Cleitarchus	The surrender of Magnesia (Arrian 1.18.1) is the most likely occasion for Cleitarchus’ digression on Themistocles, since the tomb of Themistocles was there. Cleitarchus’ father Deinon had evidently told the story of Themistocles. It is possible that Cleitarchus drew a comparison between Themistocles’ submission to Xerxes and Charidemus’ allegiance to Darius, since they were both exiled Athenians serving Persian kings. Arrian (1.18.2) may implicitly be contradicting Cleitarchus when he makes a point of stating that Alexander stayed at Ephesus when Magnesia surrendered.
Miletus			Cleitarchan version lost?
Dismissed the fleet to encourage troops to fight more vigorously, when Darius reached the coast	Diodorus 23.1	Hammond THA 38	
Concentration of Persians at Halicarnassus. Memnon sends his wife (Barsine) and children to Darius for safety and trust	Diodorus 17.23.4-6	Hammond THA 39	
Halicarnassus	Diodorus 17.24.4-27.6	Hammond THA 39-40	Stalwart veterans and young shirkers – a Cleitarchan theme
Fortress of the Marmares on the border between Lycia and Pisidia	Diodorus 17.28	Hammond THA 40	Not recounted elsewhere – may be Chandir in Pamphylia
Alexander uncertain regarding future strategy	Plutarch 17.1-2	Hammond Sources 45-6	Alexander’s policy is swayed by the ensuing oracles and miracles – mimics Herodotus in his account of Xerxes being swayed by dreams and oracles
Spring near Xanthus in Lydia casts forth a bronze tablet prophesying the overthrow of the Persians by the Greeks	Plutarch 17.2-3	Hammond Sources 46	
Sea gives way to Alexander on the Pamphylian coast; crowns statue of Theodectas at Phaselis during a <i>comus</i>	Plutarch 17.2-3 & 5	Hammond Sources 46-7, Tarn Sources 49	Cleitarchus following Callisthenes for the sea giving way? Tarn argues mentions of Alexander in a <i>comus</i> are from Cleitarchus.
Arrest of Alexander Lyncestes on charges of conspiracy due to information from a prisoner	Justin 11.7.1		Justin’s timing agrees with Curtius 7.1.6, who placed the arrest in his lost second book, although Hammond makes no attribution.
Alexander cuts the Gordian knot with his sword	Arrian 2.3.7, Justin 11.7.3-16, Curtius 3.1.14-19, Plutarch 18.1-2	Hammond Sources 47 & 217 THA 97 & 128	Knot-solver “destined to become king of the inhabited Earth” in Plutarch – chimes with World-Ruler idea from Cleitarchus (cf. Siwa oracle below)
Death of Memnon	Plutarch 18.3, Curtius 3.2.1	C3.2.1=D17.30.7 Schwartz	Completes the encouragement of Alexander to attack Darius
Parade of Darius’ forces before Babylon: Charidemus of Athens is pessimistic about their chances against the Macedonians and is executed	Curtius 3.2.2-19 Diodorus 17.30.1-31.2	Hammond THA 40-1 & 116	Resembles conference of Xerxes in Herodotus 7; Curtius directly references Herodotus 7.59
Dream of Darius misinterpreted by magi	Plutarch 18.4-5, Curtius 3.3.2-7	Hammond Sources 48	Hammond does not assign this passage in THA

### Book 4: July 333BC – July 332BC

Summary	Sources	References	Comment
Advance to Cilicia across Mount Taurus by a forced march on hearing of Darius’ approach	Justin 11.8.1-2	Hammond THA 113	By association with Justin’s version of Tarsus
Alexander tarries at Tarsus due to illness, after plunging into the Cydnus, but Darius thinks him intimidated	Plutarch 19 Curtius 3.5.1-3.6.3 Justin 11.8.3 Val. Max. 3.8 ext 6	Hammond Sources 48-9 THA 97-8 & 121	
Letter(s) from Olympias/Parmenion warning Alexander about Philip the Doctor and Alexander Lyncestes, who was arrested	Diodorus 17.32.1-2 Seneca <i>De Ira</i> 2.23 Val. Max. 3.8 ext 6 Curtius 3.6.4-16	Hammond THA 41	Note however that Justin 11.7.1 placed Lyncestes’ arrest prior to the march to Gordium and Curtius gave it in his lost second book prior to Gordium (so too Arrian 1.25) – Diodorus may be conflating two different warning letters

Sardanapalus died of old age after he had lost the sovereignty of the Syrians	Athenaeus 530A, cf. Plutarch <i>Moralia</i> 326F & 336C	Jacoby, Fragment 2 of Cleitarchus	Attributed by Athenaeus to Book 4: context is Alexander's arrival before a monument and statue of Sardanapalus at Anchiaie, 12 miles SW of Tarsus – here Cleitarchus is echoing his father Deinon's <i>Persica</i> , which may in turn have followed Ctesias' <i>Persica</i> . The story of Alexander's visit is also told by Athenaeus 530 A-B as a fragment of Aristobulus, so too Strabo 14.5.9 and Arrian 2.5.2-4 – this is also in Fragment 34 of Callisthenes
Battle of Issus: Darius defeated by Alexander	Cicero <i>Ad f.</i> II 10, 3 Curtius 3.8.13-3.11.27 Diodorus 17.32.3-17.38.2	Jacoby, Fragment 8 of Cleitarchus; Hammond THA 17 & 118; C3.11.7-11=D17.34.2-6 Schwartz; C3.11.20,23-6=D17.35.2,36.5,2,4 cf.J11.9.11-12 Schwartz; C3.11.27=D17.36.6 Hamilton:C&D17	November 333BC
Alexander captures the chariot & bow of Darius	Plutarch 20.5-6	Hammond Sources 51	
Visit to the Persian Queens with Hephaestion, who is mistaken for Alexander	Arrian 2.12.6-7 Diodorus 17.37.5 Curtius 3.12.1-3.12.26 Justin 11.9.11-16 Plutarch 21.2-3 Val. Max. 4.7 ext 2	Hammond THA 19, 98, 118 Sources 50-52, 225; C3.12.15-17=D17.37.5-6 Hamilton:C&D17; C3.12.26=D17.38.2 Hamilton:C&D17	
Alexander seduced by Persian luxury and falls in love with Barsine and advances into Syria	Justin 11.10.1-3 Plutarch 20.6-8	Hammond THA 98 Sources 51	
Alexander sends Thessalian cavalry to capture the Persian treasure and women at Damascus	Plutarch 24.1-2	Hammond Sources 53-54	
First peace offer from Darius: Diodorus uniquely suggests that Alexander concealed the real letter and presented a forgery	Curtius 4.1.7-14 Justin 11.12.1-2 Diodorus 17.39.1-3	Hammond THA 42, 99, 122	
Siege of Tyre	Diodorus 17.40.2-17.47.6 Justin 11.10.10-14 Curtius (most of) 4.2.2-4.4.19	Hammond THA 42, 98, 121, 119; C4.2.7=D17.40.4 Schwartz; C4.2.12=D17.41.3-4 Schwartz; C4.2.18=D17.40.5 Schwartz; C4.2.20=D17.41.1 Schwartz; C4.3.6,9,11-12=D17.42.5-6,43.3 Schwartz; C4.3.22=D17.41.8 Hamilton:C&D17; C4.3.25-26=D17.44.1-3 Schwartz; C4.4.1-2=D17.45.7 Schwartz; C4.4.3-5=D17.41.5-6 Hamilton:C&D17; C4.4.10-12,17=D17.46.2-4 Schwartz	January-July 332BC
Phoenicians (especially Carthaginians) worship Cronos by burning a child as an offering	Schol. Plato <i>Resp.</i> 337A (Photius: Sardonios gelos); cf. Curtius 4.3.23	Jacoby, Fragment 9 of Cleitarchus, Hamilton Cleitarchus & Diodorus 17	Curtius relates that Tyrians proposed to resume the sacrifice of a freeborn boy to Saturn just after the arrival of Carthaginian envoys
Tyrians dreamt that Apollo wished to abandon them, so they chained his statue	Plutarch 24.4 Diodorus 17.41.7 Curtius 4.3.21	Hammond THA 42, 119 Sources 55-6	
Balonymus (Abdalonymus in J & C, Aralnymus in P <i>Moralia</i> ) appointed king of Tyre (Sidon in J & C, Paphos in P)	Diodorus 17.47.1-6 Curtius 4.1.16-26 Justin 11.10.8-9 (cf. Plutarch <i>Moralia</i> 340C-E)	Hammond THA 98, 119, 121; C4.1.15-26=D17.47.1-6 Hamilton:C&D17	Diodorus incorrectly placed the story at Tyre and cited "Balonymus" – Hammond's belief that he was using Cleitarchus is probably correct, which means that Curtius and Trogus got their truer versions from elsewhere
"Now that we have described activity concerning Alexander, we shall turn our narrative in another direction"	Diodorus 17.47.6		Looks like a book-end from Cleitarchus, because it incorporates the title of his work: Concerning Alexander – see also the ends of books 7 & 12

## Book 5: August 332BC – June 331BC

Summary	Sources	References	Comment
Agis hires mercenaries who had escaped from Issus and invades and conquers Crete	Diodorus 17.48.1-2 Curtius 4.1.39-40	C4.1.39-40=D17.48.1-2 Schwartz	

The rebel Macedonian, Amyntas son of Antiochus led 4000 troops to Egypt and overcame the local forces in battle, but his forces were destroyed in a surprise counter-attack, when scattered for looting	Curtius 4.1.27-33 Diodorus 17.48.2-5	C4.1.27-33=D17.48.2-4 Schwartz	Hammond THA thinks this is Diyllus, but it is clear that Curtius and Diodorus used a common source and it is not tenable that they independently selected the same episodes from two separate sources as Hammond has suggested. This is therefore very likely to be Cleitarchus. Diodorus relates this episode after Tyre.
The delegates of the League of Corinth vote at the Isthmian Games to send Alexander golden crowns via 15 envoys	Curtius 4.5.11-12 Diodorus 17.48.6	C4.5.11=D17.48.6 Schwartz	Hammond THA thinks this is Diyllus, but the exact agreement of Curtius and Diodorus is suggestive of Cleitarchus
Capture of the pirate, Aristonicus of Methymne, at Chios	Curtius 4.5.19-22		This is Cleitarchus, because the delivery of Aristonicus to Alexander at Alexandria (see below) was related by Cicero, who is a source for other fragments of Cleitarchus
Second peace offer from Darius: Parmenion suggests acceptance of terms offered in a letter from Darius	Curtius 4.5.1-8 Justin 11.12.3-4 Arrian 2.25.2 (Plutarch 29.4) Val. Max. 6.4 ext 3	Hammond THA99-100, 122 Sources 62, 225	Diodorus appears to edit out this offer, but implies it was in his source by speaking of other daughter of Darius under third offer. Plutarch places his anecdote in the run-up to Gaugamela (i.e. where Cleitarchus probably recorded Darius' third offer).
Siege of Gaza: Alexander struck by an arrow, the city is stormed and Alexander is struck in the leg, Alexander emulates Achilles by dragging Betis behind his chariot	Curtius 4.6.1-12(?) & 4.6.17-30	Hammond Sources 57 THA 128;	Falls November 332BC – Curtius 4.6.12-16 resembles Fragment 5 of Hegesias, but this may be Cleitarchus using Hegesias as his source.
Alexander sends Amyntas son of Andromenes with 10 triremes to Macedonia Occupation of Egypt		C4.6.30=D17.49.1 Schwartz	Enthroned as Pharaoh in Memphis (Alexander Romance) December 332BC
Settles affairs in Egypt and decides to visit the Temple of Ammon (at Siwa) – meets envoys from Cyrene		C4.7.1,5,9=D17.49.2-4 Schwartz	
Enters the desert - water gives out after 4 days - a great storm provides drinking water		C4.7.12-14=D17.49.4-5 Schwartz	
Description of the oasis, its people and its situation - visit to the oracle at Siwa: Alexander, son of Ammon, would be invincible (invictus[Lat] = aniketos[Gk]) and rule all lands	Curtius 4.7.25-28 Diodorus 17.49.3-17.51.4 Justin 11.11.2-10 Plutarch 26.6-27.4 Val. Max. 9.5 ext 1	Hammond THA 43, 92, 122 Sources 58-61; C4.7.16-17,20-28=D17.50.3-51.3 Schwartz	Plutarch's version is coloured with an item from Callisthenes, a letter from Alexander to Olympias and the confusion of Paidion with Paidios, but his reference to Cambyses might be from Cleitarchus
Foundation of Alexandria	Plutarch 26.5-6 Curtius 4.8.1-6 Diodorus 17.52.1-3 Justin 11.11.11-13 Arrian 3.2.1 Val. Max. 1.4 ext 1	Hammond THA 44, 99, 128 Sources 59, 226	April 331BC Cf. Strabo 792
Pirate (captured at Chios) brought before Alexander (by Hegelochus)	St Augustine <i>De Civ. Dei</i> IV, 4. 25 (from a lost passage of Cicero <i>The Republic</i> III .24), cf. Arrian 3.2.4, Curtius 4.5.19-22		The rhetorical style of the passage, its origins via Cicero (a source of other fragments of Cleitarchus) and the location in Egypt (probably at Alexandria, which was later Cleitarchus' home) all suggest Cleitarchus as source. The pirate is Aristonicus of Methymne, whose capture is mentioned by Curtius, probably following Cleitarchus
Alexander's return march up the Levantine littoral: Story about the ultra-handsome Theias Byblos, who fell in love with his daughter Myrra	Stobaeus <i>Flor.</i> IV, 20, 73	Jacoby, Fragment 3 of Cleitarchus Brown, Clitarchus p.149	Attributed by Stobaeus to Book 5: presumably relates to a visit of Alexander to Byblos, an ancient Phoenician port to the north of Sidon – may reflect worship of Adonis at Byblos – must reflect Alexander's return to the vicinity after Egypt, if it is placed in Book 5
Uprising of the Spartans in Greece; heroism of King Agis of Sparta	Diodorus 17.63.4 Justin 12.1.6-11 Curtius 6.1.1-16 (& 6.3.2 in a speech) Front. Strat. 2.11.4	Hammond THA 46; Yardley & Heckel on Justin 37 & 183-8	Hammond's view (THA 113) that J's account is inconsistent with D is unconvincing

Fifty hostages given to Antipater by the Lacedaemonians. Antipater refers the fate of Sparta to the League of Corinth. Sparta receives permission to send envoys to Alexander.	Harpocration: homereuontas Curtius 6.1.16-20 Diodorus 17.73.5-6	Jacoby, Fragment 4 of Cleitarchus Hammond THA 133	Attributed by Harpocration to Book 5: happened after Antipater defeated Agis at Megalopolis in 331BC – it is therefore certain that Cleitarchus gave an account of the Spartan rebellion in Greece at this point, which is when it actually took place. C & J postponed mention of events in Europe until after the death of Darius (D until after Gaugamela); Curtius stated that he was deliberately doing so at 5.1.1-2. Hammond thought the matter of the League came from Diyllus, but the details are very similar in D & C, so it is likely to be from Cleitarchus
Other events in Europe, such as the death of Alexander of Epirus, given in Justin 12.2, may have been related by Cleitarchus at this point, but this is conjectural. It is however interesting that Curtius 8.1.37 mentions a complaint by Alexander of Epirus (whilst he died of a wound according to Livy) that he had encountered men in Italy, whilst his nephew was up against women in Persia (cf. Gellius, NA 17.21.33, Livy 9.19.10-11). This section of Livy has some Cleitarchan elements, such as referring to the “Invincible Alexander” (see Hammond THA 112 on Cleitarchus as Livy’s likely source)			

## Book 6: July 331BC – July 330BC

Summary	Sources	References	Comment
Darius hears news of Alexander’s return from Egypt – his preparations for war including 200 scythed chariots		C4.9.4-5=D17.53.1-2 Hamilton:C&D17	
Run-up to Gaugamela, march into Mesopotamia	Diodorus 17.53.3-4, 17.55	Hammond THA 44-45	
Ariston, captain of the Paeonians, slays Satropates, cuts off his head and lays it at Alexander’s feet	Curtius 4.9.24-25 Plutarch 39.1-2	Hamilton Plutarch Alex liii (lix in 2 <sup>nd</sup> edition)	
Third peace offer from Darius: an embassy	Curtius 4.11.1-22 Diodorus 17.54.1-5 Justin 11.12.7-16	Hammond THA 45, 99, 122	Diodorus has Parmenion urge acceptance on this occasion, but it is not unlikely he did so at both the second and third offers
On the death of Queen Stateira - reported to Darius by a eunuch	Plutarch 30 Curtius 4.10.18-34	Hammond Sources 63-64	Gallantry with Darius’ women as with meeting in Darius’ tent after Issus
Crossing of the Tigris	Diodorus 17.55	Hammond THA 45	
Size of the Persian army	Arrian 3.8.6 Diodorus 17.39.4 & 17.53.2-3	Hammond THA 42, 44 Sources 231	
Alexander and Aristander sacrifice to fear	Curtius 4.13.15 Plutarch 31.4	Hammond Sources 38, 65	(Note however that many Aristander stories seem to come from Aristobulus)
Parmenion councils a night attack	Arrian 3.10.1, Curtius 4.13.4-10 Plutarch 31.5-7	Hammond Sources 38, 232	
Alexander oversleeps before Gaugamela	Justin 11.13.1-3 Diodorus 17.56 Curtius 4.13.16-24 Plutarch 32.1-2	Hammond THA 20, 100, 122-3 Sources 38	
The order of battle of Alexander’s forces		C4.13.26-29=D17.57.1-4 Schwartz	
Battle of Gaugamela (Arbela in Cleitarchus)	Curtius 4.14.1-26, 4.16.8-9 Diodorus 17.57.5-17.61 & parts of Plutarch 33.1-11, Arrian 6.11.4 (for use of Arbela) Front. Strat. 2.3.19	Hammond THA 20, 123, 128 Sources 39-40 & 270;	1 <sup>st</sup> October 331BC (fixed by Lunar eclipse) – Cleitarchus in particular located the battle close to Arbela, though it was ~70 miles away. Hamilton, “Cleitarchus & Diodorus 17”, p128 thinks Curtius used Ptolemy for parts of his account.
The attack of the scythed chariots and its defeat		C4.15.16-17=D17.58.4-5 Schwartz	
Attack on Alexander’s camp by Scythians – Sisymbrius remains aloof		C4.15.9-11=D17.59.6-7 Schwartz	
Darius’ charioteer slain by spear (thrown by Alexander) – Persians suppose Darius slain – Persian flight instigated		C4.15.28-29,32=D17.60.2-4 Schwartz	
Wounds of Hephaestion, Perdiccas, Coenus & Menidas		C4.16.31-32=D17.61.3 Schwartz	

Persian casualties	Arrian 3.15.6	Hammond Sources 232	
Alexander proclaimed king of Asia, abolishes tyrannies in Greece, promises to rebuild Plataea, sends some spoils to croton in Italy	Plutarch 34.1-2 (Justin 11.14.6-7 cf. Curtius 4.10.34)	Hammond Sources 66-68	
Capture of Persian camp and treasures at Arbela	Diodorus 17.64.1-3 Curtius 5.1.10-11	Hammond THA 54; C5.1.10-11=D17.64.3 Schwartz	
Visit to Mennis in Babylonia – the cave of Naptha – anointing and igniting the boy Stephanus	Curtius 5.1.16 Plutarch 35 Strabo 16.1.15	Hammond Sources 68-69	
Babylon: description of the city – walls 365 stades in circumference and 50 cubits tall – the Hanging Gardens were built by “a later Syrian king” than Semiramis for his wife	Diodorus 2.7.3-4 & 2.10 Curtius 5.1.24-35	Jacoby, Fragment 10 of Cleitarchus, P. Schnabel, Berossus, 1923, Ch III, Pearson p.230; C5.1.25-26=D2.7.3-4 Schwartz; C5.1.34-35=D2.10.4,1 Schwartz	Cleitarchus corrects the wall height of 50 fathoms cited by Ctesias in his Persica - Nearchus fragment 3a/b notes Alexander’s rivalry with Semiramis in marching across the Kedrosian desert
Dissolute nature of Babylonians; relaxation of army at Babylon for 34 days	Diodorus 17.64.4-17.65.1 Curtius 5.1.36-39 & 5.1.40-45, Justin 11.14.8	Hammond THA 54; C5.1.40-42=D17.65.1 Schwartz; C5.1.43-45=D17.64.5-6 Schwartz	Curtius 5.1.36-39 is attributed to Diyllus in THA 129-130, but Hammond is clearly mistaken, because the 34 days is common to Curtius and Justin and so must be Cleitarchus; the appointments of Agathon etc to commands at Babylon and the arrival of 50 sons of the Macedonian nobility are common to D & C and are therefore Cleitarchus; probably all in C about Babylon is Cleitarchus
Reorganisation of the army in Sittacene	Diodorus 17.64.2 Curtius 5.2.1	C5.2.1-7=D17.65.2-4 cf.D17.27.1-2 Schwartz	Strong resemblance between C & D, though D is heavily summarised
Susa – Abulites sends forth his son – 40,000 talents found there, mother and children of Darius left there, Alexander uses a stool to rest his feet upon when sitting in Darius’ throne	Plutarch 36.1-2 Diodorus 17.65.5, 17.66.3-5, 17.67.1 Curtius 5.2.13-17	Hammond THA 55 Sources 70; C5.2.8, 12-15=D17.65.5,66.2-7 Schwartz	Plutarch quotes Cleitarchus’ father Deinon in 36.2 – this probably follows such a quote by Cleitarchus himself. Hammond thinks Diodorus is following Diyllus at this point in THA, but the throne story is from the same source in C & D, which is therefore Cleitarchus.
Alexander gives Sisygambis purple cloth	Curtius 5.2.18-22	Hammond THA 130-131	
Uxii and campaign against Medates – Sisygambis obtains a pardon for Medates	Curtius 5.3.1-15 Diodorus 17.67.2-5	Hammond THA 55-56, 130-131; C5.3.1.2,4-5,10=D17.67.1.2,4-5 Schwartz	
Campaign against Ariobarzanes – Susian Gates – a Lycian leads Alexander around them by a narrow path through the woods	Curtius 5.3.16-5.4.34 Diodorus 17.68.1-7 Plutarch 37.1 Front. Strat. 2.5.17	Hammond THA 56, 131 Sources 70 Hamilton Plutarch Alex liii; C5.3.17-18,23&C5.4.2-4,10,12,18=D17.68.1-6 Schwartz	
Advance to the Araxes	Curtius 5.5.1 Diodorus 17.69.1	Hammond THA 131	
Letter from Tiridates		C5.5.2-4=D17.69.1-2 Schwartz	
Alexander meets 800 mutilated Greeks who do not wish to return home	Diodorus 17.69.2-9 Curtius 5.5.5-24 Justin 11.14.11-12	Hammond THA 56, 101, 131; C5.5.5-9,12,23-24=D17.69.2-8 cf.J11.14.11-12 Schwartz	
Capture of Persepolis followed by a Winter campaign in Persis	Curtius 5.6.1-20 Diodorus 17.70.1-17.71.7 & 17.73.1	Hammond THA 132; C5.6.1-5,8,9=D17.70.1-71.2 Schwartz	The campaign is only detailed by C and mentioned after the burning of the palace in one sentence by D
Burning of Persepolis incited by Thais the Athenian courtesan: a <i>comus</i>	Athenaeus 576D-E Diodorus 17.72.1-6 Curtius 5.7.1-7 Plutarch 38.1-4	Jacoby, Fragment 11 of Cleitarchus Hammond THA 56, 131-132 Sources 72-73 Hamilton Plutarch Alex liii	May 330BC
Pursuit and death of Darius	Justin 11.15 Diodorus 17.73.2-3 Curtius 5.8.1-5.13.25 Plutarch 42.3-43.3	Hammond THA 57, 101, 132-133 Sources 74-76 Hamilton Plutarch Alex liii	At the death of Darius Trogu ended his Book XI and Curtius ended his Book V, further vindicating the view that this was the conclusion of Book VI of Cleitarchus

## Book 7: July 330BC – June 329BC

Summary	Sources	References	Comment
Advance to Hecatompylus. Persuasion of the army to join in the pursuit of Bessus, who declares himself king and adopts royal regalia as Artaxerxes.	Curtius 6.2.15-6.4.1 Diodorus 17.74.3-17.75.1 Justin 12.3.2-3 (Plutarch 47.1-2) King Bessus: Diodorus 17.74.1 Curtius 6.6.13	(Hammond Sources 80); C6.2.15=D17.75.1 Schwartz	Hammond THA 58 & 134 argues Diyllus as the source for Curtius and Diodorus. But the details are very similar in Justin too, so the common source must be Cleitarchus. Hammond worries that Plutarch has a slightly different order of events and indeed Plutarch attributes his version to a letter from Alexander to Antipater, so it is doubtful whether Plutarch followed Cleitarchus here.
Entry into and description of Hyrcania and the Caspian Sea	Diodorus 17.75 Curtius 6.4.1-22	Hammond THA 58 & 135; C6.4.3-6=D17.75.2 Schwartz; C6.4.18,22=D17.75.3,6 Schwartz	Onesicritus may be the ultimate source of the natural history details – Aristobulus is unlikely despite noting oaks in Hyrcania
Caspian Sea equal to the Euxine (Black Sea)	Pliny NH 6.36-38 Plutarch 44.1-2	Jacoby, Fragment 12 of Cleitarchus Hammond Sources 77	This resembles a comment by Patrocles, a geographer who wrote circa 280BC and was cited by Eratosthenes, but it is possible that the comments are independent of one another or that Cleitarchus inspired Patrocles.
The isthmus between the Caspian and the Euxine is subject to inundation from either sea	Strabo 11.1.5	Jacoby, Fragment 13 of Cleitarchus, Brown, Clitarchus p.140	The “isthmus” in question is the region of the Caucasus Mountains, neither low-lying nor narrow – Brown suggests this was inspired by Polycleitus’ error of confusing the Sea of Azov with the Aral Sea
Wonders of Hyrcania: the wasp ( <i>tenthredon</i> ) of the hill-country	Demetrius, De Eloc. 304 Diodorus 17.75.7	Jacoby, Fragment 14 of Cleitarchus	Diodorus has <i>anthredon</i> ; Tarn (vol 2, Sources, p.90 n.3) notes that Diodorus uses a peculiar phrase <i>μεγιστην επιφανειαν</i> and a rare verb <i>κηροπλαστειν</i> in describing this bee-like creature; the same combination occurs in one other place in Diodorus 19.2.9 in a passage Tarn attributes to Timaeus. Tarn poses the question of whether Cleitarchus is using Timaeus; our answer must be yes, given the other evidence of his doing so.
Surrender of Persian commanders (Phrataphernes, Phradates, Artabazus)	Curtius 6.4.23-24 & 6.5.1-5 Diodorus 17.76.1	Hammond THA 135	
Surrender of the Greek mercenaries	Curtius 6.5.10 Diodorus 17.76.2	Hammond THA 135	
Attack on the Mardi: theft and restitution of Bucephalus	Curtius 6.5.11-21 Diodorus 17.76.3-8	Hammond THA 135; C6.5.11-12,18-21=D17.76.3-8 Schwartz	
Surrender of Nabarzanes: entry of Bagoas into Alexander’s service	Curtius 6.5.22-23 (Diodorus 17.76.1)	Hammond THA 157	
Visit of Thalestria, Queen of the Amazons, who had journeyed from the River Thermodon to conceive a child by Alexander in Hyrcania	Plutarch 46.1 Strabo 11.5.4 Curtius 6.5.24-32 Diodorus 17.77.1-3 Justin 12.3.3-7	Jacoby, Fragments 15-16 of Cleitarchus Hammond THA 59, 102 & 135 Sources 81 (Jacoby Fragment 32?); C6.5.24-26,30-32=D17.77.1-3 cf. J12.3.5-7 & Strabo 11.5.4 Schwartz	The Thermodon is in northern Asia Minor, which anomaly Cleitarchus explained by making the Caucasus region very narrow. The story may have originated with Onesicritus, but could have been embellished by Cleitarchus. (Brown, Clitarchus p.149 suggests Jacoby Fragment 32 was background to the Amazon story)
Alexander’s adoption of Persian dress (purple tunic with a vertical white stripe, zona belt, diadem, sceptre) and luxury: 365 concubines from Darius’ harem, one for each day of the year. Macedonian resentments assuaged by gifts from Alexander.	Curtius 6.6.1-12 Diodorus 17.77.4-7 & 17.78.1 Justin 12.3.8-12 Metz 2	Hammond THA 59, 102-3, 136; Pearson 221 (Plutarch, Artaxerxes 27 for Deinon)	Here again is seen the Cleitarchan propensity for making things equal to the days in a year; probably inspired by Deinon - Pearson. The Metz Epitome opens here, replete with Cleitarchan stories
Alexander burns surplus baggage and wagons to avoid the encumbrance in crossing the mountains into India	Curtius 6.6. Plutarch 57.1-2 Polyaenus 4.3.10	Hamilton Plutarch Alex liii	Plutarch associates this with the invasion of India & Polyaenus may be following him; but Curtius is more likely correct.
Revolt of Satibarzanes, who flees to Bactra with 2000 cavalry. Alexander storms a rock occupied by rebels.	Diodorus 17.78.1 Curtius 6.6.20-34 (Justin 12.4.1) Metz 3	Hammond THA 59, 136	The Metz has Ariobazanes and states he fled to India – perhaps this is an error for Barzaentes as at Curtius 6.6.36 (which is suggested by Elizabeth Baynham in Antichthon 29, p.71)



Dimnus conspiracy: execution of Philotas	Curtius 6.7-6.11 Diodorus 17.79-80 Justin 12.5.2-3 Plutarch 49	Hammond Sources 87 Hamilton Plutarch Alex liii	Hammond THA 59 argues that the account in Diodorus is from Diyllus mainly because Diodorus differs from Curtius when he says Alexander “learnt everything” from Dimnus, but Cleitarchus probably said that the <i>behaviour</i> of Dimnus spoke eloquently of his guilt and Diodorus is summarising clumsily. In fact there are compelling points of similarity on incidental details between Diodorus and Curtius: e.g. Cebalinus is hidden in the armoury, Alexander is informed whilst he is bathing and Philotas is executed “in the manner of his country, Macedon”. Hammond concedes (but only in Sources) that the account in Curtius must be from Cleitarchus: it is too vividly detailed to come from a general history, such as Diyllus or Duris. Plutarch’s version seems informed by some details from Cleitarchus, such as Alexander hiding behind a curtain, but he differs on material points and is probably preferring Aristobulus in general as Hammond suggests.
Execution of Alexander Lyncestes	Curtius 7.1.1-9 Diodorus 17.80.2	C7.1.5-9=D17.80.2 Schwartz	Hammond THA 138 suggests Diyllus, but his argument about the timing of Lyncestes’ arrest being later in Diodorus than in Curtius overlooks the fact that Justin 11.7.1 strongly suggests that the Cleitarchan tradition placed Lyncestes’ arrest prior to the march to Gordium (in agreement with Arrian’s version). It looks as if Diodorus mentioned Lyncestes’ arrest a few months late, perhaps because he connected it with a series of warnings in a letter from Olympias, which might have taken months to reach Alexander. It is clear that Curtius and Diodorus are following the same source for Lyncestes’ execution and the amount of detail in Curtius seems too extensive for a general history to have been the source. (Hammond’s view that Curtius and Diodorus shared Diyllus as a secondary source is in general statistically implausible, because it implies that they independently made the same choice for most episodes between using Cleitarchus or Diyllus: it is far more likely that close correspondence between Curtius and Diodorus indicates that they are both using Cleitarchus.)
Assassination of Parmenion: Polydamas’ camel trek	Curtius 7.2.11-34 Diodorus 17.80.3 Strabo 15.2.10	C7.2.18=D17.80.3 Schwartz	Detailed correspondence between Curtius and Diodorus implies Cleitarchus was the source for the completion of the story of the downfall of Parmenion
Alexander forms a disciplinary regiment by reading the letters which the troops sent home to Macedonia to identify malcontents	Justin 12.5.4-8 Diodorus 17.80.4 Curtius 7.2.35-38 Polyaenus 4.3.19	Hammond THA 103; C7.2.35-37=D17.80.4 cf. J12.5.4-8 Schwartz	Hammond thinks that the version in Diodorus comes from Diyllus, but its close resemblance to the version in Justin is clear evidence that this material came from Cleitarchus. Hammond THA 139 fails to attribute the corresponding passage in Curtius, but it is Cleitarchus, since it is connected with the execution of Parmenion as in the other accounts.
The march against the Euergetae: origin of the name Euergetae (Benefactors) for the Ariaspi (Arimaspi in Cleitarchus) in their succour for Cyrus’ army	Diodorus 17.81.1-2 Curtius 7.3.1-4 Metz 4	Hammond THA 60; C7.3.1,3=D17.81.1-2 Schwartz	From Deinon? Strong correspondences between Diodorus and Curtius
Land of the Paropanisadae	Curtius 7.3.5-18 Diodorus 17.82 Metz 4	Hammond THA 60, 139; C7.3.5- 18=D17.82 Schwartz	

Crossing the “Caucasus” (Hindu Kush) in 16 or 17 days; Rock of Prometheus; foundation of an Alexandria; advance into Bactria in pursuit of Bessus	Curtius 7.3.19-23 Diodorus 17.83.1-2 Metz 4 (for the foundation)	Hammond THA 60, 139; C7.3.22-23=D17.83.1-2 Schwartz	Diodorus 17.83.3 has a terminal one-liner, <i>Και τα μεν περι Αλεξανδρον εν τουτοις ην</i> (“These were the concerns of Alexander”), which may indicate the end of Book 7 of Cleitarchus. A similar formula ended Bk 6 at 17.73.4 and exactly the same formula ends Bk 12. Similar formulae are used in other books of Diodorus, but this one may echo Cleitarchus, because it contains the title of his history ( <i>Περι Αλεξανδρου</i> - Pearson p.213).
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## Book 8: July 329BC – Autumn 328BC

Summary	Sources	References	Comment
Bessus and Bagodaras (D) or Cobares (C) quarrel at a banquet	Curtius 7.4.1-19 Diodorus 17.83.7	Hammond THA 139	Digressions and accounts of events elsewhere often mark a book boundary in Cleitarchus.
Alexander receives news from Greece of the Spartan revolt, of Scythians coming to the aid of Bessus and of the combat between Erigyus and Satibarzanes	Curtius 7.4.32-40 Diodorus 17.83.4-6	Hammond THA 140 Heckel & Yardley on Justin 184; C7.4.33,38=D17.83.4-6 Schwartz	Spartan news is only in C: was this perhaps actually the arrival of the Spartan envoys/hostages in Alexander’s camp? Their departure from Greece seems to have been delayed (preparing to leave in Summer of 330BC - Aischines 3.133).
Advance to the Oxus: march through a desert with the loss of many men – anecdote of Alexander refusing water brought in skins	Diodorus, List of Contents for 17 Curtius 7.5.9-12 Front. Strat. 1.7.7		The anecdote being in Frontinus and Curtius tends to confirm that it is Cleitarchan
Betrayal by Spitamenes, Dataphernes & Catanes and capture & chopping up (by Oxathres) of Bessus	Curtius 7.5.19-26 & 7.5.36-43 Diodorus 17.83.8-9 Justin 12.5.10-11 Metz 5-6	Hammond THA 61, 140-141	The Metz has Bessus sent to Ecbatana for punishment later, so perhaps Cleitarchus simply gave a preview of his ultimate fate at this point.
Branchidae	Curtius 7.5.28-35 (in the long lacuna in Diodorus 17, but listed in contents), Strabo 11.11.4, Plutarch Moralia 557B(?)	Hammond THA 141; C7.5.28-35 cf. Dκ Schwartz	Perhaps Cleitarchus gave the Branchidae story as a doublet with the destruction of Bessus: Persian and Greek traitors similarly destroyed (so Pearson).
Alexander wounded by an arrow of which the point remained fixed in the middle of his leg; the rebels sent envoys to apologise the next day; rivalry between the cavalry and the infantry over bearing Alexander’s litter	Curtius 7.6.6-9	Hammond THA 142	
Advance to Maracanda – circumference of 70 stades with many rivers flowing around it	Curtius 7.6.10 Metz 7		With Diodorus missing in the great lacuna (and Justin being very thin and episodic here), the Metz Epitome (7-43) provides important confirmation that elements of Curtius are from Cleitarchus, wherever there is close correspondence between Curtius and the Metz. This is vital, because it appears that Curtius sometimes resorted to other sources. This applies until the middle of Book 10, where Diodorus resumes.
First news of the revolt of Spitamenes	Curtius 7.6.24	Hammond THA 143	
Advance to the Tanais: foundation of Alexandria on the Tanais with a circumference of 60 stades in 17 days	Curtius 7.6.25-27; Justin 12.5.12 Metz 8		Hammond THA 142 discusses Aristobulus, but the detailed correspondence of Curtius with Justin is a clear indication of Cleitarchus. Tanais is a Cleitarchan name for this river (through confusion with the Don).
Emperor of the Scythians sends his brother Carthasis to prevent Alexander crossing the Tanais. Speech of Alexander & augury of Aristander in Curtius. Plan for an attack on the Scythians.	Metz 8 Curtius 7.7.1-29	Hammond THA 143-4	Carthasis is in Curtius and the Metz has “Carcasim”
Insurrection of Spitamenes: routing and destruction of the Macedonian column under Menedemus. (2000 infantry and 300 cavalry are dead.)	Metz 9 Curtius 7.7.30-39	Hammond THA 143	Alexander spends the night sleepless – watches Scythian fires in Curtius, reflecting upon wrongs against him in the Metz

Alexander's attack across the Tanais via 2000 rafts (Metz) or 12000 (Curtius)	Metz 10-12 Curtius 7.8.1-9.16 (Diodorus – contents)	Hammond THA 143-4, Pearson (Lost Histories) 222	X may have been dropped from XII in the Metz. Curtius gives Scythian envoys' words verbatim from his source – arrows, shouts, markers of Dionysus are common; Pearson notes parallels with aphorisms attributed to Cleitarchus
Visit of envoys of the Sacae	Curtius 7.9.17-19	Hammond THA 143-4	
Alexander's return to Maracanda to counterattack Spitamenes who flees; burying of Greek dead and erection of a monument to Menedemus.	Metz 13 Curtius 7.9.20-22	Hammond THA 143	Reached Maracanda on the 4 <sup>th</sup> day – bones covered with mound-monuments in the Metz
Pardoning of Sogdian prisoners (chieftains) who sang on their way to execution	Curtius 7.10.1-9 (Diodorus – contents)	Hammond THA 144; C7.10.4-9 cf. Dκβ Schwartz	
Alexander defeated the Sogdiani & slew over 120,000	(Diodorus – contents)	Hammond THA 61	Hammond notes that Theophylactus Simmocata burnt 120,000 & Goukowsky thought Cleitarchus his likely source
Return to Bactria – orders Bessus to Ecbatana for impaling – founds towns (6 or 12?) to curb the conquered nations	Metz 14 Curtius 7.10.10-16 Justin 12.5.13	Hammond THA 103 on Justin; C7.10.15-16 cf. Dκδ Schwartz	Crosses rivers Ochus and Oxus at Metz 14 and Curtius 7.10.15 (Hammond THA 144 thinks this is Aristobulus)
Sogdian Rock (Rock of Arimazes in C or Ariobazanes in M or Ariamazes in S or Ariomazes in Polyaeus)	Metz 15-18 Curtius 7.11.1-25 Polyaeus 4.3.29 (Diodorus – contents) Strabo 11.11.4		Both Curtius and the Metz Epitome seems to make this a climactic event of the campaigning year in 328BC – hence this should close Book 8 of Cleitarchus as well as Book 7 of Curtius. Curtius 7.11.26-29 differs from the Metz, so is probably not Cleitarchus (though Hammond THA 145 thinks it is). Hammond THA 144 thinks much of Curtius' account is Aristobulus, but commonalities with the Metz include a cavern on the ascent path, 20 (Metz) or 30 (Curtius) stadia high, 300 climbers signalling with white cloths, iron wedges, ropes.

## Book 9: Autumn 328BC – May 327BC

Summary	Sources	References	Comment
Offer of daughter in marriage by the Scythian king. First campaign against Massagetae, Dahae – 3 columns through Sogdiana	Curtius 8.1.1-10	Hammond THA 145	
The hunt in Basista (Bazaira in Curtius) and the abundance of game there	Curtius 8.1.11-19 (Diodorus – contents)	Hammond THA 145; C8.1.11-19 cf. Dκσ Schwartz	Hammond thinks this is Onesicritus (but this is no bar to it being in Cleitarchus)
Killing of Cleitus at Maracanda – Alexander persuaded to forgive himself by Callisthenes	Curtius 8.1.19-8.2.12 Justin 12.6 Arrian 4.9.2-3 (Diodorus – contents)	Hammond THA 104,146 Hammond Sources 242	Arrian has legomena about Alexander's attempted suicide and concern over Lanike's reaction
Winter in Bactrian Nautacene (Metz)	Curtius 8.2.13-18 Metz 19		
Treaty with Sisimithres, who had fathered 2 sons and 3 daughters through incest with his mother, after a siege of his rock.	Curtius 8.2.19-33 Metz 19 Plutarch 58.3 Strabo 11.11.4	Hammond THA 146	Hammond Sources is silent on the mention of Sisimithres by Plutarch
Death of Philippus.	Curtius 8.2.34-39	Hammond THA 146-7	Hammond THA thinks Philippus is from Onesicritus (but this is no bar to it being in Cleitarchus too)
Beheading of Spitamenes by his wife assisted by a slave boy – delivery of head to Alexander and his gratitude and her expulsion from camp	Curtius 8.3.1-15 Metz 20-23	Hammond THA 147	
Dahae surrender Dataphernes (& Catanes?)	Metz 23 Curtius 8.3.16-17 Justin 12.6.18		Curtius 8.5.2 says that Catanes was subsequently killed in battle. Hammond is unsure of the source for this, but its presence in the Metz suggests Cleitarchus.

The proskynesis experiment	Curtius 8.5.5-24 Justin 12.7.1-3 Val. Max. 7.2 ext 11	Hammond THA 148 says speeches are Curtius' own invention, Alexander hides behind curtain like Agrippina in Tacitus Ann. 13.5.2 (but also like Alexander with Philotas [Plutarch 49], which suggests Cleitarchus) Hammond THA 103-4 for Justin: "most likely Cleitarchus"	This is postponed until the point of departure for India in Curtius. However Cleitarchus evidently placed it here, because Justin agrees with Diodorus by putting the award of silver shields to the hypaspists after Callisthenes' arrest, rather than before as in Curtius. Arrian gave the proskynesis experiment and the arrest of Callisthenes following on from the death of Cleitus, but points out (4.22.2) that the pages' conspiracy occurred at Bactra just prior to the invasion of India. It may be that Cleitarchus was correct in placing the proskynesis experiment at this point and chose to tell the whole story <i>en bloc</i> .
The conspiracy of the pages and the arrest and execution of Callisthenes	Curtius 8.6.1-8.23 Justin 12.7.2 (Diodorus – contents)		Hammond is unsure of the source for Curtius and Justin, but Diodorus' contents list confirms that this material was in Cleitarchus. It is possible that Curtius used other sources as well.
Campaign against the Nautaces and the destruction of the army in heavy snow	Metz 24-27 Curtius 8.4.1-15 (Diodorus – contents)	Hammond THA 147	
Saves a common soldier after the snow storm	Val. Max. 5.1 ext 1a Frontinus, Strat. 4.6.3 Curtius 8.4.15-17	Hammond THA 147	
Visit to (rock of) Choriene (perhaps a re-visit to Sisimithres, but Cleitarchus now used his title rather than his name – yet it looks as though Cleitarchus believed him to be a distinct individual)	Metz 28 Curtius 8.4.21 has "cohortandus" in MSS wrongly changed to Oxyartes by Aldus		The Metz manuscript read "corianus"; Choriene is from Arrian 4.21; Brunt & Heckel suggest that Choriene is an official title of Sisimithres from the name of the area he ruled
Marriage to Roxane	Metz 28-31 Curtius 8.4.20-30 (Diodorus – contents)	Hammond THA 146	Metz & Diodorus mention marriages of Alexander's companions – hence probably from Cleitarchus

## Book 10: June 327BC – June 326BC

Summary	Sources	References	Comment
Orders formation of 30,000 "Epigoni"	Curtius 8.5.1		This is Cleitarchus, since their arrival at Susa in 324BC is recorded by Diodorus 17.108.1-3
Preparations for India: distribution of silver shields etc. - 120,000 men followed Alexander into India (Curtius only)	Justin 12.7.4-5 Curtius 8.5.4	Hammond THA 104, 147-8; C8.5.4 cf. Dλα, J12.7.5 Schwartz	Hammond seems inconsistent in recognising that J is using Cleitarchus, but expressing uncertainty over C – the 120,000 men may have been derived from Nearchus by Cleitarchus (see Arrian Indica 19.5 – Plutarch 66.2 gives 120,000 foot)
Digression on India: mention of processions of the kings in which trees are drawn along on four-wheeled carriages and tame birds (the Orion and the Catreus) decorate their branches and sing – "...some birds are like sirens" may reflect Cleitarchus' father Deinon's belief that there were sirens to be found in India (Pliny NH 10.136)	Strabo 15.1.69 Aelian NA 17.22-23 Curtius 8.9.23-26	Jacoby, Fragments 20-22 of Cleitarchus, Brown, Clitarchus p.148	Note that in his digression on India Curtius 8.9.8 mentions the River Iomanes (Jumna), which elsewhere (e.g. Arrian Indica 8.5-6) is mentioned by Megasthenes. Hammond THA 148 also notes that Curtius 8.9 includes material that was not known until after Alexander's time (e.g. Megasthenes information on the region of the Ganges), yet it looks as though at least some of it comes from Cleitarchus. This is <i>suggestive</i> of the use of Megasthenes by Cleitarchus, but Megasthenes dates to the first decade of the 3 <sup>rd</sup> century BC. See also the digression on Pandaea below.

Invasion of India: march from Bactra, Alexander greeted as third son of Zeus to enter India following Heracles and Dionysus, destruction of a city occupied by his initial opponents as an example	(Diodorus – contents) Curtius 8.10.1-6 Metz 32-35	Hammond THA 148; C8.10.5-6 cf. Dλβ Schwartz	
Alexander visits Nysa finds the ivy of Dionysus - citizens of Nysa intimidated into surrendering (probable mention of Acuphis and Alexander's request for 100 of his best men), then Alexander climbs Meron, the adjacent mountain, sacred to Dionysus with streaming waters and fruitful trees.	Schol. Apoll. Rhod. 2.904 Diodorus (in the great lacuna but listed in Contents of 17) cf. Arrian 5.1.1-6 Justin 12.7.6-7 Curtius 8.10.7-18, Metz 36-38	Jacoby, Fragment 17 of Cleitarchus Hammond THA 104 & 148	See also Arrian's Indica 1.5-6, which has several mentions of Nysa and its legend of Dionysus – also Strabo 15.1.7-8 & Plutarch, Alex. 58.4-5
Dionysiac revels of companions (a <i>comus</i> )	Arrian 5.2.7, Justin 12.7.8	Hammond Sources 250	A legomenon
Mazaga in kingdom of Assacenus & slaughter of the Indian mercenaries – Alexander wounded in leg - Cleitarchus especially noted that the siege engines and their missiles terrified the defenders into surrendering, since they seemed supernatural – Alexander may have been seduced by Cleophis and she had a son, whom she named Alexander – Cleitarchus wrote that the mercenaries opposed the surrender, but then requested that they be allowed to leave the town – Cleitarchus did not give an excuse for Alexander's attack on them	Diodorus 84 (emerging from the great lacuna), Metz 39-45, Justin 12.7.9-11, Plutarch 59.3-4, Curtius 8.10.19-36 Polyaeus 4.3.20	Hammond Sources 106 Hammond THA 52-3, 104 & 149	Arrian blamed the slaughter of the mercenaries on their plan to slip away without Alexander's leave
Aornus – Heracles' failure to capture it due to an earthquake & Alexander's longing to outdo his ancestor – 100 stades in circumference, 16 high – poor old local man with two sons guided Alexander's assault – filled chasm in 7 days & nights	Metz 46-7, Curtius 8.11.1-25, Diodorus 17.85.1-86.1, Justin 12.7.12-13, Plutarch 58.3 on other Alexander	Hammond THA 53, 104-5 & 149; C8.11.2=D17.85.1-2, J12.7.12 Schwartz; C8.11.3-4=D17.85.4-5 Schwartz; C8.11.7-8,25=D17.85.3,8-9&D17.86.1 Schwartz	Hammond thinks Curtius supplemented his account from Chares (see Jacoby fragment 16 of Chares) especially for the heroic acts of the king, another Alexander and Charus (Strabo 15.1.8 says Alexander's flatterers reported that Heracles had thrice failed to take Aornus)
Aphrises (D) or Erices (C) blocks Alexander's advance with an army of 20,000, but his own men bring his head to Alexander	Diodorus 17.86.2-3, Curtius 8.12.1-3	Hammond THA 53, 149-150; C8.12.1-3=D17.86.2 Schwartz	Aphrises may have been the brother of Assacenus
Hephaestion's bridge of boats across the Indus	Metz 48, Curtius 8.12.4, Diodorus 17.86.3		Not explicitly attributed by Hammond but subsumed into the adjoining Cleitarchan passages
Mophis ruler of Taxila and son of dead Taxiles advances against Alexander seemingly in battle array, but joins forces and donates treasure and 56 or 58 elephants	Metz 49-52, Curtius 8.12.4 –18 Diodorus 17.86.4-7 Plutarch 59.3	Hammond THA 53-4 & 149-50 Hammond Sources 106; C8.12.4-10,14=D17.86.3-7 Schwartz	Mophis is the probable Cleitarchan form, since the Metz (Motis) and Diodorus agree (the form Omphis in Curtius may be from elsewhere) – Curtius 8.12.17-18 is attributed to Onesicritus by Berve & Hammond, but Cleitarchus may well have repeated it.
The Battle Against Porus (Cleitarchus may not have named the battle after the river Hydaspes – modern Jhelum) initial diversionary tactics – precipitated by rumoured approach of Abisares (the name is probably corrupt in Diodorus, who gives both Embisarus 87.2 and Sasibisares 90.4) – Alexander's horse wounded (C, J, M), elephants arrayed like towers in a circuit wall, trampled or seized opponents with their trunks and dashed them to the ground, were attacked with missiles, axes and Kopis swords, then trampled their own men. Concentration of archers upon Porus – Porus slid off kneeling elephant, which was killed by missiles when it tried to protect its master. Porus asked how he wished to be treated – Porus replied that Alexander should consult his feelings as a king	Diodorus 17.87-88, Metz 53-61 (Justin 12.8.1-7) Curtius 8.13-14, Polyaeus 4.3.22 (cf. Strabo 15.1.42 on elephants protecting their masters in warfare) Front. Strat. 1.4.9 & 1.4.9a	Hammond THA 22-3, 54, 62, 150; C8.14.3=D17.87.5 Schwartz, Merkelbach thinks the letter from Porus in ME 56-58 is from a separate letter collection, but this is dubious	Perhaps the first half of May (Heckel & Yardley on Justin p.246), though Arrian 5.9.4 suggests late June after the solstice. Hammond's view that the version of the battle in Cleitarchus was as naïve as that in D is suspect, because of the details given by the Metz and Polyaeus. Hammond (THA 105) thinks J differs from D, but the Metz and D have common details such as concentration of bowmen on Porus and the Metz and J share the wounding/killing of Bucephalus: it seems more that D, J and the Metz are retaining different details from a lengthy original. Hammond thinks C supplemented his version from other sources. The Letter from Porus in ME 56-58 is faintly echoed in Pseudo-Callisthenes 3.2
Re-instatement of Porus as king & as one of Alexander's Friends after he recovered from his wounds	Curtius 8.14.5 Diodorus 17.89.6 Justin 12.8.7 Metz 61		Curtius' 8 <sup>th</sup> book ended here & the 89 <sup>th</sup> chapter of Diodorus 17 – here too probably ended Cleitarchus' 10 <sup>th</sup> book.

Report of the revolt of Baryaxes in Media (Arrian 6.29.3) following the replacement of Oxydates as its Satrap by Arsaces (Curtius 8.3.17) or Atropates (Arrian 4.18.3) in early 327BC. Cleitarchus explained that Baryaxes had worn the tiara upright, which signified a claim to the throne of the Persians and Medes. (A location at the start of book 10 is also feasible, but Baryaxes probably waited for Alexander to be safely distant in India before he struck.)	Schol. Aristoph. Av. 487	Jacoby, Fragment 5 of Cleitarchus	The revolt of Baryaxes, though known to us solely through Arrian, is the only likely reason for Cleitarchus to have needed to explain the significance of the upright tiara at this juncture (the Fragment is specific that this was related in Book 10). A corollary is that Cleitarchus did not specifically mention that Bessus had worn the tiara upright. Also Cleitarchus may well have mentioned the arrest of Baryaxes by Atropates, who brought him to Alexander for execution at Pasargadae early in 324BC. This would place it in Book 12.
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## Book 11: July 326BC – Spring 325BC

Summary	Sources	References	Comment
Alexander plans to visit the ends of India and the Ocean – orders ships built with timber from neighbouring mountains – sacrificed to Helios – disbursements of gold coinage as reward to officers and proportionate rewards to troops (C only)	Metz 63, Curtius 9.1.3-4 Diodorus 17.89.4-5, 17.90.3-6	C9.1.1,3-4,6=D17.89.3-6&D17.90.1 Schwartz	This is evidence of a Cleitarchan discussion of Alexander's plans. Geographical and other digressions are characteristic of a new book in Cleitarchus. The coinage may be the famous Porus decadrachms (see Holt on the Elephant Medallions)
Foundation of a city to honour the dead Bucephalus – the naming seems to have happened later just before the voyage down to the Indus	Arrian 5.14.4, Metz 62, Curtius 9.1.6, Justin 12.8.8 Diodorus 17.90.6 & 17.95.5	Hammond Sources 257	Some details in Arrian may be from Chares. Hammond's view (THA 54 & 62) that the foundation of Bucephala in D was from a different source is contradicted by the evidence of the Metz, which concludes this episode with the foundation.
The serpents of India reach sixteen cubits in length	Aelian, NA 17.2 Diodorus 17.90.1 Curtius 9.1.4	Jacoby, Fragment 18 of Cleitarchus	This is probably lifted by Cleitarchus from the account of Nearchus (Arrian, Indica 15.19)
Indian monkeys mistaken for an army: a curious technique using mirrors for the capture of monkeys (there may be confusion between arboreal monkeys and baboons here)	Aelian, NA 17.25 Diodorus 17.90.2-3	Jacoby, Fragment 19 of Cleitarchus, Brown, Clitarchus p.144	This probably derives from Onesicritus, because there is a more intelligible version in Strabo 15.1.29 (however, Aristobulus and Nearchus cannot be ruled out as Strabo's source – see Pearson 223-4, Hamilton C&A 451 and Brown AJP 71, p144, n9)
Abisares sends envoys, but Alexander replies that he will pursue him if he does not come in person	Curtius 9.1.7-8, Metz 65-6 Diodorus 17.90.4	Hammond THA 62-3, 151	
Crosses a rapid river (the Acesines?) and marches east into forests: the height, extent and trunk circumference of the banyan tree, small multicoloured snakes with deadly bites	Diodorus 17.90.5-7 Curtius 9.1.9-12 Aelian, NA 17.2	Pearson 225; C9.1.8-12=D17.90.4-7 Schwartz, Jacoby F18 (on the snakes)	Cleitarchus is plagiarising Nearchus on the banyan (Arrian, Indica 11.7) and Onesicritus (Strabo 15.1.21)
Hephaestion sent to deal with the rebel Porus, a cousin of the conquered Porus	Diodorus 17.91.1-2	Hammond THA 63, 151; C9.1.24-33=D17.91.4-D17.92.3 Schwartz	
Marches on across a desert and across the Hyraotis (Hydraotis) past a grove of wild peafowl; campaign against the Adrestians (city surrenders) & campaign against Cathaeans (sacked city & 2 surrendered cities) – custom of cremating wives on the pyres of their husbands to forestall poisoning	Diodorus 17.91.2-4 & 19.33 Curtius 9.1.13-23 Justin 12.8.9 Polyaeus 4.3.30		Cleitarchus is again following Onesicritus (see Strabo 15.1.30) on the custom of Suttee - Polyaeus names the Cathaean capital of Sangala as the sacked city – supplication with fronds at third Cathaean city
Surrender of Sopithes with his sons: sets dogs on a lion	Curtius 9.1.24-36, Metz 66-7 Diodorus 17.91.4-92.3		Cf. Strabo 15.1.31 & Isidore of Seville, Etymologiae 12.2.28.
Campaign of Hephaestion – his return.	Diodorus 17.93.1 Curtius 9.1.35		

<p>Realm of Phegeus: 12 days from the Ganges which was 32 stades wide (30 in M) – warnings of an army of 200,000 infantry, 20,000 cavalry, 2000 chariots and up to 3000 elephants under Xandrames (D) or Aggrammes (C) or Sacram (M), king of the Gandaridae (D &amp; P) or Candaras (M) or Gangaridae (C &amp; J) or Gandridae (P Moralia 327B) and also the Prasii (C) or Praisii (P) or Praesidae (J) or Tabraesians (D) or Persidas (M) beyond the Hyphasis (7 stades wide in D) and at the Ganges. Alexander asks Porus to validate these figures. Alexander is undeterred, recalling that the Pythia had called him invincible.</p>	<p>Metz 68-9, Curtius 9.2.1-9 Diodorus 17.93 Justin 12.8.9 (Plutarch 62.1 has the same width for the Ganges)</p>	<p>Hammond THA 63, 151</p>	<p>Plutarch &amp; Diodorus are probably not getting the width of the Ganges from Megasthenes (pace Bradford Welles), because Strabo 15.1.35 quotes a width of 100 stades from Megasthenes. Xandrames was king of the Nanda kingdom, probably the same as Nandrus in Justin 15.4.16.</p>
<p>Mutiny on the Hyphasis and retreat to the Acesines – exhaustion of the soldiers is a Cleitarchan feature – speech to soldiers - armour wearing out – Greek clothing gone and replaced by Indian stuff – dressed stone altars of extraordinary size (50 cubits tall in D) were built and the camp was enlarged to thrice its size with 5 cubit long beds/couches in huts as wonders for posterity</p>	<p>Metz 69, Curtius 9.2.10-9.3.19 Diodorus 17.94.1-17.95.2 Justin 12.8.10-17 (Plutarch 62.3 also mentions the upscalings, but of different things)</p>	<p>Hammond THA 63-4, 151-2; C9.3.10-11=D17.94.2 Schwartz; C9.3.19=D17.95.1-2, J12.8.16 Schwartz; C9.3.19=D17.95.1-2, J12.8.16 Schwartz</p>	<p>Speeches of Alexander (9.2.12-34) and Coenus (9.3.5-15) might be Curtius' inventions, but Diodorus 17.94.5 agrees there was a speech to the troops (speech was to the officers in A). Unclear whether Alexander's sulk in tent was mentioned by Cleitarchus (it is in C, who may have taken it from Ptolemy or elsewhere, but not in D, J, M – it is also in A &amp; P). Whether Cleitarchus noted Coenus' role is also uncertain.</p>
<p>Alexander retraces his advance to the Acesines and is joined by reinforcements who bring 25,000 suits of armour inlaid with gold and silver - a fleet has been constructed by Porus and Taxiles at the Acesines: 800 service ships and 200 open galleys (D), 800 biremes &amp; 300 penarias (Metz); 1000 ships in Curtius – Alexander names the cities he had earlier founded on opposite banks of the river: Nicaea &amp; Bucephala [Coenus dies (C only)]</p>	<p>Metz 70, Curtius 9.3.20-24 Diodorus 17.95.3-5 (Justin 12.9.1 also reports a return only to the Acesines)</p>	<p>C9.3.20,23=D17.95.3,5 Schwartz</p>	<p>It seems to be a Cleitarchan error to state that Alexander returned only to the Acesines, when in fact he went back to the Hydaspes (according to Aristobulus and others). Hammond (THA p.62 &amp; 152) thinks this material is from Diyllus, but ship numbers and other details match between D, C &amp; M, so this is still Cleitarchus</p>
<p>Death of Alexander's infant son (or child) by Roxane</p>	<p>Metz 70</p>		<p>The Metz is the sole surviving source for this</p>
<p>Voyage down the Acesines to its junction with the Hydaspes with Hephaestion &amp; Craterus commanding the bulk of the army which marched down the bank</p>	<p>Diodorus 96.1 Justin 12.9.1 Curtius 9.3.24-9.4.1</p>		<p>Alexander sailed down the Hydaspes, which flowed into the Acesines, which in turn flowed into the Indus (Arrian 6.14.4-5). Cleitarchus' confusion on this point is evidence that he was not with the expedition in India, else he would not have made such an error. Hammond thinks this is Diyllus, but D, C &amp; J essentially agree, though all are brief and omit different details.</p>
<p>Digression on an Indian salt-mine</p>	<p>Strabo 5.2.6 (&amp; 15.1.30)</p>	<p>Jacoby, Fragment 28 of Cleitarchus</p>	<p>Likely to have been occasioned by a visit of Alexander to the ancient salt mines at Khewra in the SE foothills of the Salt Range 15km north of the Hydaspes (Jhelum) River. A fragment of Onesicritus (Strabo 15.1.30) mentions a mountain of salt in the kingdom of Sopeithes. Arrian 6.2.2 says that Hephaestion was to hurry to the capital of King Sopeithes at the start of the voyage down the Hydaspes. (It is dubious whether Sopeithes is the same as the Sophytes/Sopeithes, who ruled an Indian kingdom further east.)</p>
<p>At junction of the Acesines with the Hydaspes Alexander took the surrender of the Sibi (C) or Ibi (D), who were descended from followers of Heracles - Defeated Agalasseis (Agesinas etc in MSS of J?)</p>	<p>Diodorus 17.96.2-5 Justin 12.9.2 Curtius 9.4.1-8</p>	<p>C9.4.1-2,5=D17.96.1-3 Schwartz</p>	<p>The footsteps of Heracles is a Cleitarchan theme. Hammond THA 153 thinks this is a mixture of Diyllus and Cleitarchus, but there is a good level of agreement between D &amp; C and foundation by Heracles is also in J. Hammond's argument (THA 64) that D gives different accounts of the failure of Heracles to take Aornus is not credible.</p>
<p>Sailed to confluence with the Indus – near wrecking of the flagship in rapids – Alexander says he has done battle with the river like Achilles (Iliad 21.228-382)</p>	<p>Diodorus 17.97.1-3 Curtius 9.4.8-14</p>	<p>Hammond THA 64-5, 153; C9.4.8-14=D17.97.1-3 Schwartz</p>	<p>Emulation of Achilles is a Cleitarchan theme – D said Alexander jumped into the river and swam to safety, but Curtius that he merely disrobed to be ready to swim</p>

Letter from the Indian philosophers	Metz 71-4; cf. Pap. Hamb. 129	Merkelbach thinks the letter from the Indian Philosophers in ME 71-74 is from a separate letter collection, but this is dubious	Similar letter in Philo of Alexandria, Every Good Man Is Free, Section 96. Similar letter among the letters of St Ambrosius XXXVII (11), 34/35, Migne, Patrologia Latina XVI col 1139 (letter in Pseudo-Callisthenes 3.5 differs substantially)
Campaign against the Oxydracae & Malli - Alexander suffers an arrow wound to the chest when leading the storming of a town of the Oxydracae & Malli (Mandri/Mambros in J) - Cleitarchus said Ptolemy & Peucestas (A & C) & Limnaeus (P: wrongly Timaeus in C) & Leonnatus (A & C - Metz had Legatus) & Aristonus (C) saved Alexander (Syracousas in D; Sugambri in J; Sudracae in C; Sydracai or Oxydrakai Strabo; Oxydracae in A & Pausanias, oxudrac in Metz) - Alexander showered with missiles, jumps down inside wall, ladders collapse under weight of Macedonians, Alexander shelters next to tree, drops to knees	Curtius 9.4.15-9.5.21 Arrian 6.11.3 & 6.11.8, Metz 75-8 Plutarch Moralia 327B & 343D & 344D Diodorus 17.98.1-99.4 Justin 12.9.3-12 Pausanias 1.6.2	Jacoby, Fragment 24 of Cleitarchus Hammond Sources 270 Hammond THA 65, 153-4	c. November 326BC, the Metz mentions both the Oxydracae (oxudrac) and the Malli - so probably Cleitarchus - Oxydracae is probably Cleitarchus since it is in Arrian (where he disputes the "Vulgate" version), some manuscripts of Strabo. Pausanias (where he tells Cleitarchus stories) and the Metz - Timagenes also had Ptolemy present
Risky treatment: Alexander's wound enlarged by Critobulus to remove the barbed arrow - Alexander faints, then slowly recovers	Curtius 9.5.22-30 Diodorus 17.99.4 Justin 12.9.13	Hammond THA 154 (wrongly Critodemus in Arrian 6.11.1, cf. Indica 18.7)	D & J are very brief; Pliny NH 7.37.37 notes that Critobulus was even more famous for having extracted an arrow from Philip II's eye in 354BC.
Revolt of the Greeks settled in Bactria (since they heard tell that Alexander had died from the Mallian wound)	Diodorus 17.99.5-6 Curtius 9.7.1-11	Hammond THA 66 (for 99.5 only), 154	Diodorus confuses this rebellion with another after Alexander's death (probably due to his account of a subsequent rebellion of Bactrian colonists at 18.7.1). The version in C is probably Cleitarchus. Since Cleitarchus habitually ended books with news from elsewhere, this report from his work of events in Bactria is the best indication of the boundary between his 11 <sup>th</sup> and 12 <sup>th</sup> books. Also chapter 17.99 in Diodorus and chapter 12.9 in Justin end here.

## Book 12: Spring 325BC – June 324BC

Summary	Sources	References	Comment
Surrender of Indians - Alexander held a banquet - the contest between Coragus (D) or Coratas (C) and Dioxippus and the latter's suicide	Diodorus 17.100.1-101.6 Curtius 9.7.12-26 Aelian VH 10.22	Hammond THA 66, 154-5; C9.7.16-26=D17.100.2-D17.101.6 Schwartz	The story of Dioxippus is exclusive to D & C among the main sources, so is clearly from Cleitarchus
Submission of Sambastae(D)/Sabarcae(C), 60,000 infantry, 6000 cavalry & 500 chariots - impressed by the fleet into thinking another Dionysus was coming - Sodrae & Massani - founds an Alexandria on the Indus	Diodorus 17.102.1-4 Curtius 9.8.4-8	C9.8.4-8=D17.102.1-4 Schwartz	
Subjugation of the Musicani. Trial of Terioltes and Oxyartes. Conviction & execution of the former - acquittal and enlargement of realm of latter.	Diodorus 17.102.5 Curtius 9.8.9-10	Hammond THA 155	The trials were probably in Cleitarchus, though only found in C (compare and contrast with Arrian 6.15.3) D subsumes the later revolt and crucifixion of Musicanus into a single sentence entry at the arrival of Alexander in his realm (is D following Cleitarchus or does Curtius better reflect Cleitarchus?)
Dispatch of Polyperchon (& Craterus) to Babylonia with an army	Justin 12.10.1	Yardley & Heckel on Justin 260-1	This mention in J is the only indication that Cleitarchus recorded the return of a large contingent of the army with Craterus to the west - probably from the kingdom of Musicanus and before the war with Sambus. Hammond THA 106 has a curious explanation that this line is misplaced in J
Invasion of the kingdom of Porticanus - storming and burning of two cities - capture and slaying of Porticanus as he sheltered within a stronghold	Diodorus 17.102.5 Curtius 9.8.11-12	Hammond THA 155	Porticanus is Cleitarchus - he is Oxycanus in Arrian 6.16.1



The kingdom of Sambus (Ambus in Justin 12.10.2): 80,000 Indians slain by Alexander (Curtius names Cleitarchus as his source for this) – Sambus escaped to the east with thirty elephants in D but surrendered (gave up the fight?) in C	Curtius 9.8.13-15 Diodorus 17.102.6	Jacoby, Fragment 25 of Cleitarchus, Hammond THA 67, 155; C9.8.13-15=D17.102.6 Schwartz	The Sambus at the Mallian siege in Metz 75 is almost certainly a different person. The number was DCCC <i>milia</i> rather than LXXX <i>milia</i> in manuscripts of Curtius, but is emended on the basis of Diodorus
Revolt and suppression of the Brahmins and their supplication with branches	Diodorus 17.102.7		Supplication with branches is recalls the surrender of Mazaga
Revolt, capture by Pithon and crucifixion of Musicanus	Curtius 9.8.16	Hammond THA 155	It is uncertain whether this was in Cleitarchus, but it is in the same paragraph as a direct quote of Cleitarchus
The Indian town of Harmatelia, the last city of the Brahmins, refuses to submit and is attacked by 500 Agriani. Ptolemy receives a wound from a poisoned hand weapon (sword in C or arrow in J) and his life was saved by Alexander who was shown an antidote herb in a dream – followed by a eulogy of Ptolemy	Diodorus 17.103 Curtius 9.8.18-28 Justin 12.10.2-3 (cf. Strabo 15.2.7 who places this among the Oreitae) [Cic. de divinatione. 2.135 – Schwartz on Curtius]	Hamilton Cleitarchus & Diodorus 17, Hammond THA 67, 105, 155; C9.8.17-28=D17.103, J12.10.2-3 cf. Cic. de divin. 2.135 Schwartz	Definitely Cleitarchus, because the eulogy is common to Diodorus and Curtius. The mention by Curtius that Ptolemy was believed to be an illegitimate son of Philip is echoed by Pausanias 1.6.2 in a Cleitarchan context and thus probably also goes back to Cleitarchus. Dreaming cures was a standard technique in Greek medicine. Alexander had been taught herbal medicine by Aristotle according to Plutarch 8.1.
Interview with the Indian philosophers, who were asked why they had induced King Sambas to revolt <i>inter alia</i>	Metz 78-84, Plutarch 64-5, cf. Pap. Berol. 13044	Merkelbach thinks the interview with the gymnosophists is from a separate letter collection, but this is dubious	Plutarch mentions that the 10 gymnosophists were captured after instigating the revolt of King Sabbas, who is probably Sambus in Curtius and Ambus in Justin. Hammond traces some of Plutarch to Onesicritus & Megasthenes, but this may nevertheless be via Cleitarchus, since it is in the Metz
Digression on the Indians (called Mandi) of Pandaea(?) – their women can bear children from the age of 7 and become old at 40 – Pandaea is the southernmost part of India extending to the sea, which Heracles gave to his daughter of that name to rule: he divided it into 365 villages, one of which would pay the royal tax each day of the year	Pliny NH 7.28-29 Polyaenus 1.3.4 Arrian Indica 9 (cf. Solinus 52.6-17)	Jacoby, Fragment 23 of Cleitarchus	Pliny co-attributes this fragment to Megasthenes and Megasthenes is the source for a parallel description in Arrian's Indica, which adds the story of Pandaea. Furthermore Polyaenus gives the Pandaea story in what has been thought a fragment of Megasthenes, but the usage of the number 365 in his version is highly characteristic of Cleitarchus. Solinus has a garbled version linked with Nysa. (Mandi from Pliny is similar to Mandri, which is J's name for the Malli) – Tarn, Alexander the Great II, Sources & Studies p.52 appears to confuse Pandaea with the Panchaea of Euhemerus (Brown, Onesicritus p.66 ff.)
Patala and the Patalii – pursuit of their king Soeris and a sojourn upon an island in the channel of the Indus (the island of Patala – “insulam catacam” in the Metz?), whilst seeking fresh guides	Metz 84 Curtius 9.8.28-30 (Diodorus 17.104.2 mentions Patala only on Alexander's return from the Ocean)	Hammond THA 155	Reached “Patalene” about the rising of the Dog Star, i.e. mid-July 325BC (Strabo 15.1.17 from Aristobulus)
Sailing on 400 stades to visit the Ocean: during a stop Alexander's cavalry have to gallop to escape the returning tide (evidently a tidal bore) which dashed ships together – Alexander's sacrifices to Oceanus and Tethys on islands (one in the river and one out in the ocean)	Strabo 7.2.1-2, Metz 85-6, Curtius 9.9.1-27, Justin 12.10.4-5, Diodorus 17.104.1	Jacoby, Fragment 26 of Cleitarchus	Hammond THA 67 & 155 thinks D follows Diyllus and fails to attribute Curtius' account, except to note that he used a different source to Arrian and probably did not use Diyllus. However, the fact that a fragment of Cleitarchus in Strabo recorded the bore makes it very likely that Curtius used Cleitarchus. Also the Metz agrees with C on details.
Return to Patala (mooring at a salt lake which diseased the skin of swimmers – C only) Nearchus as admiral and Onesicritus as chief pilot appointed to lead the fleet along the coast keeping India on their right as far as the mouth of the Euphrates recording all they saw – burnt damaged ships	Diodorus 17.104.3 Curtius 9.10.3-4		
Submission of the Abritae (D) or Arabitae (C) & the Kedrosian tribesmen	Diodorus 17.104.4 Curtius 9.10.5	C9.10.5-11,17-18,27=D17.104.4-D17.106.1 Schwartz	

Three columns under Leonnatus, Ptolemy and Alexander himself – founds an Alexandria at a sheltered harbour	Diodorus 17.104.4-8 Curtius 9.10.6-7	Hammond THA 155-6; C9.10.5-11,17-18,27=D17.104.4-D17.106.1 Schwartz	The city at Rhambakia in Arrian 6.21.5 – perhaps “Barce” ( <i>parcem/bartem/bastemostem</i> ) in Justin 12.10.6
The Oreitae inhabit the land separated from India by the River Arabis/Arabus and expose their dead naked to be eaten by wild animals... on the coast of Kedrosia an unfriendly and brutish people eat nothing but fish, which they tear to pieces with their nails and dry in the sun to make bread – their houses are roofed with whale ribs and scales	Pliny NH 7.30 cf. Diodorus 17.105.1-5 Curtius 9.10.6-10	Jacoby, Fragment 27 of Cleitarchus, Hammond THA 70, 156; C9.10.5-11,17-18,27=D17.104.4-D17.106.1 Schwartz	?Autumn 325BC The story of the fish eaters seems gleaned from Nearchus (cf. Strabo 15.2.2)
The march through Gedrosia (Kedrosia in Cleitarchus) - many deaths in Kedrosia – Alexander had ordered wells to be dug at regular intervals to provide water, but the army was threatened by starvation - Alexander sent to the satraps who made supplies abundantly available – Leonnatus attacked by Oreitae	Diodorus 17.105.6-8 Arrian 6.24.4 Plutarch 66.2-3 Curtius 9.10.11-21 Justin 12.10.7	Hammond Sources 124-5 & 275 Hamilton Plutarch Alex liii; C9.10.5-11,17-18,27=D17.104.4-D17.106.1 Schwartz	Arrian legomenon – Plutarch says that only a quarter of the army survived the desert, but he may have read that 30,000 infantry came through and (wrongly) compared this figure with Alexander’s army of 120,000 in India – it is not clear that the Cleitarchan vulgate mentioned the men who returned with Craterus
Festivities in Carmania – seven day comus	Arrian 6.28.1-2 Diodorus 17.106.1 Curtius 9.10.22-28 Plutarch 67	Hammond Sources 125 & 278 THA 156 Hamilton Plutarch Alex liii; C9.10.5-11,17-18,27=D17.104.4-D17.106.1 Schwartz	Arrian legomenon
The purging of the Satraps – first Astaspes – then Cleander & Sitalces and the rebels Ozines & Zariaspes	Curtius 9.10.19-21, 10.1.1-9, Diodorus 17.106.2-3 Justin 12.10.8		Hammond THA 70 & 156 is unsure of D’s & C’s sources for the purging of satraps except that they were different to Arrian’s
Return of Nearchus & Onesicritus – meeting with in theatre at Salmous - stories including: an island where a horse was worth a talent of gold, school of whales etc. – fleet ordered to sail to the Euphrates (kiss with Bagoas in this theatre may have been noted – Plutarch 67)	Pliny, NH 6.198 Diodorus 17.106.4-7 Curtius 10.1.10-16	Jacoby, Fragment 29 of Cleitarchus Hamilton Cleitarchus & Diodorus 17 Hammond THA 71, 156	Cf. Nearchus in Strabo 15.2.12 and Arrian, Indica 30.4-5 on whale spoutings. The use of trumpets to frighten the whales in Diodorus & Curtius matches the accounts in the fragments of Nearchus.
Alexander orders ship construction at Babylon using Lebanese timber to support a campaign around the eastern sea coast (Arabia?) & across N Africa to the Pillars of Heracles then back through Spain and Italy – letters from Porus & Taxiles	Curtius 10.1.17-21	Hammond THA 156-7	Was this from Cleitarchus?
Bagoas prosecuted & hanged Orsines at Parsagada (perhaps included mention of the execution of Baryaxes, who had worn the tiara upright and was brought to Parsagada by Atropates – Arrian 6.29.3)	Curtius 10.1.22-38	Hammond THA 157, Brown, Cleitarchus p.153-4	Brown concludes that Cleitarchus was not unfavourable to Alexander, so C’s emotive treatment of this story probably reflects his own spin on the matter. A large lacuna begins at Curtius 10.1.45 after an account of the defeat of Zopyrion by the Getae
Alexander and the army progress to Susiane. Self-immolation of Calanus (Caranus in Diodorus) on becoming ill: the disdain of the Indian gymnosophists for death	Diogenes Laertius 16 Aelian VH 5.6 Diodorus 17.107.1-5	Jacoby, Fragment 6 of Cleitarchus Hammond THA 71	Diogenes Laertius attributes this to the 12 <sup>th</sup> book of Cleitarchus
Calanus would greet Alexander at Babylon	Arrian 7.18.6 Plutarch 69.3-4	Hammond Sources 132-3 & 301	
The marriages at Susa	Diodorus 17.107.6 Justin 12.10.9-10		Hammond THA 72 thinks D is Diyllus
The 30,000 Epigoni arrive	Diodorus 17.108.1-2 (Plutarch 71.1)	Hammond Sources 134-5	Hammond THA 72 thinks D is Diyllus - Curtius had mentioned the instigation of their formation and training at 8.5.1
Και τα μεν περι Αλεξανδρον εν τουτοις ην (“These were the concerns of Alexander”)	End of Diodorus 17.108.3		This seems to indicate the end of Book 12 of Cleitarchus: the same formula is found at Diodorus 17.83.3, where Cleitarchus’ Book 7 closed. This is also the boundary between chapters 12.10 and 12.11 in Justin.

## Book 13: July 324BC – June 323BC

Summary	Sources	References	Comment
Death of Zopyrion in Europe	Curtius 10.1.43-45		Cf. Justin 12.1.16-17
The extravagance of Harpalus towards his courtesans – his flight to Athens	Athenaeus 586C-D Diodorus 17.108.4-8 Curtius 10.2.1-3	Jacoby, Fragment 30 of Cleitarchus	Cleitarchus commonly began (or ended) his books with news from elsewhere. Curtius emerges from a major lacuna in the midst of the Harpalus story. Hammond THA 72 & 157 thinks this is Diyllus, but this is confuted by a close match between the Cleitarchus fragment in Athenaeus and D's version
The Exiles Decree	Diodorus 17.109.1 Curtius 10.2.4-7	C10.2.4,8-12,30=D17.190.1-2 Schwartz	Hammond THA 72-3 thinks D is Diyllus
Paying of troops' debts at 10,000 talents (20,000 in J & A) on planning to send 10,000 veterans home to Macedon	Diodorus 17.109.2 Curtius 10.2.8-11 Justin 12.11.1-3 Arrian 7.5.3	Hammond Sources 285; C10.2.4,8-12,30=D17.190.1-2 Schwartz	Hammond THA 72-3 & 157-8 thinks D & C are both from Diyllus, but I assert that all matches between versions in D & C are overwhelmingly likely to be from Cleitarchus – Hammond is probably wrong to suggest that Arrian used Cleitarchus
The Mutiny (at Opis) - troops taunt Alexander for claiming to be the son of Ammon – drowning of leaders of the mutiny in the river – Craterus to lead the veterans home – Antipater to come to Babylon with a force of fresh recruits	Plutarch 71.2-5 Justin 12.11.4-12.10 Diodorus 17.108.3 & 17.109.2-3 Curtius 10.2.12-10.4.3	Hammond Sources 134-6; C10.2.4,8-12,30=D17.190.1-2 Schwartz	There is no evidence that Cleitarchus located the mutiny at Opis – Diodorus implies that it took place at Susa - Curtius enters a further long lacuna during events at Opis - Hammond THA 72-3 & 157-8 thinks D & C are both from Diyllus, but I assert that all matches between versions in D & C are very likely to be from Cleitarchus
Arrival of Persian reinforcements; 20,000 archers and slingers arrive with Peucestas	Diodorus 17.110.1-2		This occurred nearly a year later in 323BC in Arrian - Hammond THA 73 thinks D is Diyllus
Arranges for the upbringing of 10,000 children of his veterans by captive women	Diodorus 17.110.3		Hammond THA 73 thinks D is Diyllus
March from Susa to Ecbatana via Carae, Sambana and the Celones, where he saw a settlement of Boeotian Greeks	Diodorus 17.110.4-5		Hammond THA 73 thinks D is Diyllus
Quarrel of Hephaestion with Eumenes	Arrian 7.13.1		The only hint that Cleitarchus may have mentioned the quarrel between Hephaestion and Eumenes is that Arrian mentions their reconciliation as a "story", which usually means he did not find it in Ptolemy or Aristobulus (the main source on the quarrel is Plutarch's Life of Eumenes) – there is a similar dearth of evidence for the quarrel between Hephaestion and Craterus in India, so perhaps Cleitarchus avoided this topic
Sightseeing trip to Bagistane - 60,000 horses where once there had been 160,000 - Atropates gives Alexander 100 Amazons	Arrian 7.13.2-3 Diodorus 17.110.5-6	Hammond Sources 293	Strabo 505 Hammond THA 73 thinks D is Diyllus
Arrival at Ecbatana – holds a drama festival - the Death of Hephaestion and Alexander's mourning – orders Perdicas to conduct the corpse to Babylon for a magnificent funeral	Plutarch 72.1-3 Diodorus 17.110.7-8 Justin 12.12.11-12	Hammond Sources 136-140 & THA 107-8	Hammond THA 73 thinks D is Diyllus, but that J is drawing on Ephippus, perhaps via Cleitarchus and "P's much more sensational account" is Cleitarchus
Unrest in Greece fuelled by dissolution of Satrapal armies of mercenaries on Alexander's orders	Diodorus 17.111.1-3		Hammond THA 73-4 thinks D is Diyllus
Against the Cossaeans	Diodorus 17.111.4-6		January-February 323BC - Hammond THA 73-4 thinks D is Diyllus
To Babylon – ill omens – warnings from the Chaldean scholars	Plutarch 73.1-4 Diodorus 17.112 Justin 12.13.3-5	Hammond Sources 141-3 Hammond THA 108	March-April 323BC - Hammond THA 74 thinks D is Diyllus
Embassies at Babylon including the embassy of the Romans	Pliny NH 3.57 Diodorus 17.113 (cf. Arrian 7.15.5, Livy 9.18.6) Justin 12.13.1-2	Jacoby, Fragment 31 of Cleitarchus Hammond THA 108	Possibly suggestive that Cleitarchus wrote after campaigns of Pyrrhus made Romans famous in the Greek world, but could simply be true. Livy attacks "frivolous Greeks" who harped on about Romans bowing to Alexander in his digression on Alexander vs. the Romans - Hammond THA 74 thinks D is Diyllus

Hephaestion's pyre at 10,000 talents - anecdotes of Hephaestion's status in Alexander's affections – response from Ammon brought by Philip that Hephaestion should be worshipped as God-Coadjutor (Paredros)	Arrian 7.14.8 Plutarch 72.3 & 75.2 Diodorus 17.114-115	Hammond Sources 139 & 296 Hamilton Plutarch Alex liii	Cf. Lucian, Slander 17, Aelian, VH 7.8 - Hammond THA 74-5 thinks D is Diyllus & Ephippus (however, there are grounds to suspect that Cleitarchus used Ephippus' book on the Death of Alexander & Hephaestion)
Episode of the prisoner who sat on the throne	Diodorus 17.116.2-4	Hammond THA 76-7	
Visit to the marshes – Alexander's boat becomes lost for three days – diadem catches on a reed and is retrieved by an oarsman	Diodorus 17.116.5-7	Hammond THA 76-7	
Drinking party hosted by Medius the Thessalian following a ceremonial banquet in honour of Nearchus - Cup of Heracles – Alexander falls ill	Plutarch 75.3 Justin 12.13.6-10 Diodorus 17.117.1-3	Hammond Sources 151 & THA 77-8 & 108-9 Hamilton Plutarch Alex liii	Cf. Ephippus in Athenaeus 434A-B
Death in Babylon (After 3 days troops filed past, Where to find a worthy king? Body to Ammon, Funeral Games, On 6 <sup>th</sup> day voice failed and gave ring to Perdicas, "To whom do you leave your kingdom?" - "To the strongest", Divine honours when happy)	Arrian 7.26.3 Diodorus 17.117.4 Curtius 10.5.1-6 Justin 12.15	Hammond Sources 309 & THA 77-8 & 108-9	Towards evening 10 <sup>th</sup> June 323BC – Hammond THA 158-9 thinks C did not draw on Arrian's sources, but he is unsure of the identity of C's source
Conspiracy of Antipater and his sons, Cassander and Iollas (and Philip) – poison from the Styx brought in a mule's hoof - the rumour was suppressed, because of the subsequent power of Antipater and Cassander; restoration of Thebes and murders of Alexander's family by Cassander	Diodorus 17.118.1-2 Justin 12.14 Val. Max. 1.7 ext 2 Curtius 10.10.14-19 Pausanias 9.7.2	C10.10.14,18-19=D17.117.5& D17.118.2 cf. J12.13.10 Schwartz	Cleitarchus may have given this as an alternative as in Diodorus – cf. Ampelius 16.2, which Seel thought a fragment of Trogus: it says it was considered unclear whether Alexander died of drunkenness or poison (cf. Pliny NH 30.16.53) – Hammond THA 78 thinks D's version inspired by Hieronymus and THA 109-111 thinks J's version is from Satyrus and does not identify C's source, but it is more likely (e.g. Heckel LDT) that Cleitarchus took this rumour from the <i>Liber de Morte</i> – NB D & C 10.10.18-19 say this story was suppressed until Cassander died in 297BC; if this is Cleitarchus, then it is further evidence for an early 3 <sup>rd</sup> century BC date for him
Death of Sisymbrius	Diodorus 17.118.3 Curtius 10.5.18-25 Justin 13.1.5-6	C10.5.21-25=D17.118.3, J13.1.5-6 Schwartz	Hammond THA 78 & 159 thinks D & C are both from Diyllus, but all matches between versions in D & C are overwhelmingly likely to be from Cleitarchus
Aftermath and entombment in Memphis? Last Plans?	Curtius 10.10.20 Pausanias 1.6.2-3 Diodorus 18.2 – 18.4		There is reason to suppose Cleitarchus extended so far as to mention the entombment in Memphis and possibly the relocation to Alexandria (how could he ignore it, if it had just happened when he wrote in Alexandria circa 280BC?). The clues are the fact that Curtius ended his history with this information and the fact that Pausanias mentions the Memphite entombment and the transfer to Alexandria in the context of his having mentioned some Cleitarchan stories (e.g. Ptolemy's birth and Alexander's wound among the Malli/Oxydracae). Pausanias uses Cleitarchan phraseology in speaking of "burial with Macedonian rites" (cf. Curtius 7.9.21). This also implies that most of the information in Curtius on the aftermath of Alexander's demise was taken from Cleitarchus. The Last Plans in Diodorus 18.4 may similarly be taken from Cleitarchus.