

DIODORUS SICULUS

SUMMARY OF ATTRIBUTIONS

There is one passage which I have not treated: 7.4–7, a digression about Mt Ida in the Troad. It is so wildly irrelevant that it can hardly have come from Diyllus.⁵⁴ Otherwise the chart gives the suggested sources for the first half of 17, excepting the chronographic headings.⁵⁵ It is intended for convenience of reference.

1	Proem	D.		
2.1	Funeral of Philip		Diyllus, <i>Syntaxis</i> II	
2.2 – 5.2	Actions of A		Diyllus, <i>Syntaxis</i> III	
5.3 – 6	Asia 340–336		Diyllus, <i>Syntaxis</i> II	
7.1–3	Asia 336–335		Diyllus, <i>Syntaxis</i> III	
7.4–7		Unallocated		
8.1	Balkans		Diyllus, <i>Syntaxis</i> III	
8.2 – 14	Thebes			Cleitarchus
15	Athens		Diyllus	
16	Macedonia		Diyllus	
17–19.2	Entry into Asia		Diyllus	
19.3 – 21.6	Granicus			Cleitarchus
21.7	Sardis	D. (summary)		
22	Miletus		Diyllus	
23.1–3	Digression			Cleitarchus
23.4–5	Memnon			Cleitarchus
24.1–3	Carians		Diyllus	
24.4 – 27.6	Halicarnassus			Cleitarchus
27.7	Towards Cilicia	D. (summary)		
28	Marmara			Cleitarchus
29–30.1	Aegean		Diyllus	
30.1 – 31.1	Darius			Cleitarchus
31.3–6	Memnon; A ill		Diyllus	
32.1–2	Olympias			Cleitarchus
32.3 – 38.2	Issus			Cleitarchus
38.4–7	Reflections on A	D.		
39	Darius	D. (summary based on Cleitarchus)		
40.1–2	Issus–Phoenicia	D. (summary based on Diyllus)		
40.3 – 47	Tyre			Cleitarchus
48–49.3	Agis etc.		Diyllus	
49.3 – 51	Siwa			Cleitarchus
52.1–3	Alexandria			Cleitarchus
52.4–7	Alexandria, etc.	D.		
53–55	Mesopotamia			Cleitarchus
56–61	Gaugamela			Cleitarchus
62–63.3	Agis' war		Diyllus	
63.4	Agis' heroism			Cleitarchus

87–88	Porus battle			Cleitarchus

Summary of attributions

As in chapter 1, I append a list of the suggested sources for convenience of reference:

64.1-4	To Babylon			Cleitarchus
64.5 - 67.1	To Susa		Diyllus	
67.2 - 69.1	To Araxes			Cleitarchus
69.2-9	Mutilated Greeks			Cleitarchus
70-73.3	Persepolis			Cleitarchus
73.4	Darius alive	D. (from ? Ps.-Callisthenes)		
73.5-6	Sparta		Diyllus	
74	Allies dismissed		Diyllus	
75	Hyrcania			Cleitarchus
76	Bucephalus	Unallocated		
77	Amazon; harem			Cleitarchus
78	Drangiane	Unallocated		
79-80	Philotas plot		Diyllus	
81	Ariaspi		Diyllus	
82	Paropanisadae			Cleitarchus
83	Erigyius; Bessus			Cleitarchus
lacuna	Sogdians			Cleitarchus
84	Massaga			Cleitarchus
85	Aornis			Cleitarchus
86	Taxiles			Cleitarchus
87-89.3	Porus			Cleitarchus
89.4-6	Fleet and cities		Diyllus	
90-95.2	To Hyphasis			Cleitarchus
95.3 - 96	To Agalasseis		Diyllus	
97-99.5	Malli			Cleitarchus
99.6	The 3,000 Greeks	D.		
100-101	Dioxippus			Cleitarchus
102-103	To Harmatelia			Cleitarchus
104.1-2	Pattala		Diyllus	
104.3 - 105.2	Oreititis			Cleitarchus
105.3-5	Fish-eaters			Cleitarchus
105.6 - 106.1	Gedrosia			Cleitarchus
106.2-7	Carmania			Cleitarchus
107.1-5	Calanus			Cleitarchus
107.6 - 108	Susa; Harpalus		Diyllus	
109-110	To Ecbatana		Diyllus	
111	To Cossaei		Diyllus	
111.2	Persian satraps	D.		
112-113	Babylon		Diyllus	
114	Hephaestion's death		Diyllus	
115	Funeral of Hephaestion			Ephippus
116	Omens			Cleitarchus
117.1-4	A's death			Cleitarchus
117.5	Note	D.		
118.1-2	Poison	D. (from ? Hieronymus)		
118.3	Sisygambis		Diyllus	
118.4	Finis	D.		

JUSTIN (TROGUS)

Attributions and general conclusions

The sources we have suggested are as follows.

9.5-8 to 6.8	Philip's last summer		Cleitarchus
9.7	Plot instigated by Olympias		Satyrus
9.8.1-3	Sons of Philip		Cleitarchus
10	Persia		?Deinon
11.1-4.6	A in Europe		Cleitarchus
11.5.9 and 6.9	A in Asia		Cleitarchus
11.5.10-12 and 6.10 - 7.2		No suggestion	
11.7.3-16	Gordium		Cleitarchus
11.8			?Cleitarchus
11.9.1-10		No suggestion	
11.9.11-16	D's women		Cleitarchus
11.10.1-9	A deteriorates		Cleitarchus
	Abdalonymus		Cleitarchus
11.10.10-14	Tyre		Cleitarchus
11.11	Ammon, Alexandria		Cleitarchus
11.12	D's embassies		Cleitarchus
11.13.1-3	A oversleeps		Cleitarchus
11.13-14	Gaugamela to Persepolis	No suggestion	
11.15	D's death		Cleitarchus
12.1.1-3		No suggestion	
12.1.4 - 2.15	Agis, Alex. the Molossian		Satyrus
12.2.16-17 and 12.3.1-4		No suggestion	
12.3.5-7	Amazon		Cleitarchus
12.3.8-12	A orientalises		Cleitarchus
12.4	Epigoni	A Roman fabrication	
12.5.1-8	Philotas, Disorderlies		Cleitarchus
12.5.9-13		No suggestion	
12.6.1-17	Cleitus		Cleitarchus

SOURCES OF JUSTIN'S ACCOUNT OF ALEXANDER (9.5.8- 13.1)

12.6.18 - 7.3		No suggestion	
12.7.4-13	Nysa, Cleopis, Aornus		Cleitarchus
12.8.1-17	Porus and Hyphasis	No suggestion but not Cleitarchus	
12.9.1-3		No suggestion but not Cleitarchus	
12.9.4-13	A severely wounded		Cleitarchus
12.10.1-7	Curing of Ptolemy and return to Babylonia		Cleitarchus
12.10.8-10		No suggestion	
12.11-12.12.10	Debts and mutiny		?Cleitarchus
12.12.11-12	Hephaestion		?Cleitarchus
12.13.1-5	Embassies and Anaxarchus		following Ephippus
12.13.6-9 and 15	A's illness and death		Cleitarchus
12.14	Poisoning of A		Cleitarchus
12.16	Superhuman aspects of A		Satyrus
13.1.1-6	Sisygambis		Cleitarchus
13.1.7-15	Praise of Successors	Not Cleitarchus	

QUINTUS CURTIUS
RUFUS

Summary of attributions for Curtius 3–4

To summarise our conclusions, it seems clear that C. made use of Cleitarchus as a regular source for books 3–4. This is seen to be so at the following passages: perhaps 3.1.14–18 (Gordium); 3.2.1–19 (Charidemus episode); 3.5.1–20 (A at Tarsus); 3.8.13 – 3.12.26 (Issus and the royal women); 4.1.7–14, 4.5.1–8; 4.11.1–22 (three offers of Darius); 4.1.16–26 (Abdalonimus); 4.6.17–30 (end of Gaza affair); 4.7.25–28 (part of Siwa); 4.8.1–6 (Alexandria); 4.13.16–24, 4.14.1–26, 4.16.8–9 (parts of Gaugamela). He used Diyllus as his source for 4.1.27–33 and 4.5.11–18 (Amyntas etc. and the Greek Council). And he used Hegesias for 4.6.14–16 (assassination-attempt at Gaza). He added minor variations, as in using Hegesias, and he imported many contemporary ideas and echoes of Roman literature and life. If C. read the relevant part of D. 17, he seems not to have drawn directly on D. On the other hand, he read Trogus and may well have borrowed some of Trogus' rhetorical touches for his own speeches; but in general he went to a source shared by Trogus and himself, mainly Cleitarchus.²⁴

Summary of attributions for Curtius 5-6

To summarise our conclusions for these two books, C. used Diyllus for 5.1.36 – 3.15 (Babylon to Uxiane), 5.2.13–15 (A on Darius' throne), 6.17–20 (Antipater and the Greek Council) and 6.2.15 – 4.1 (Greeks return home, etc.). The first passage is more precise and detailed than most of 5–6, and the others are unsensational, not unfavourable to A and interested especially in Greek affairs. C. made greater use of Cleitarchus, whom he drew upon probably at 5.2.16 – 3.15 (Sisygambis and the campaign against Medates where Sisygambis obtained lenient terms), and then at 5.3.16 – 5.4 (campaign against Ariobarzanes), 5.5.5–24 (mutilated Greeks), 5.6.1–7 (sack of Persepolis town), 5.6.12–19 (winter campaign in Persis), 5.7.1–7 (burning of the palace), 5.8.1 – 5.13.25 (flight and death of Darius), 6.1.1–16 (death of Agis), 6.4.1 – 5.32 (Hyrcania and the Amazon queen) and 6.6.1–12 (deterioration of A). These passages show an interest in Sisygambis, a knowledge of Persian customs, a qualified opinion of Macedonians in battle, sensational looting, extreme drunkenness, treachery, pathos, heroism, generosity in A to suppliants, and then deterioration of A – in fact a great deal of sensational and sometimes fictional writing, to which C. has added contemporary Roman ideas and his own rhetorical flavouring.

Summary of attributions for Curtius 7–8

We may summarise our suggestions of sources in this section as follows.

Aristobulus for 7.4.22–31, 7.5.1–18, 7.5.27, 7.6.21–3, 7.9.20–1, 7.10.10–14, 7.11.1–26.

Cleitarchus for 7.3.5–23, 7.4.1–19, 7.4.33–40, 7.5.19–26, 7.5.28–43, 7.6.6–10, 7.7.1–39, 7.8.1 – 7.10.4–9, 7.11.26–9, 8.1.1–9 (or another), 8.1.20 – 8.2.33, 8.3.1–15, 8.4.1–30, 8.10.1–36, 8.11.1–25 (perhaps together with Chares), 8.12.1–16, 8.13 and 8.14.

Diyllus for 7.1.5 – 7.2.10.

Onesicritus for 8.1.11–19, 8.2.34–9 and 8.12.17–18.

Chares perhaps for 8.11, together with Cleitarchus.

It must be borne in mind that C. introduced speeches of his own composition and treated his source-material with considerable freedom.

Summary of attributions for parts of Curtius 9–10

We end this section with a summary of our conclusions. C. made use of Cleitarchus for 9.1.6 – 9.3.19, 9.4.8 – 9.5.30, 9.7.1 – 9.8.30 and 9.10.1–30; and of Diyllus for 9.3.20–4 and 9.4.1–8 (with a slight mix of Cleitarchus). In book 10 C. used Cleitarchus for 10.1.10–42 and Diyllus for 10.2.1 – 10.4.3. C. himself wrote quite a lot, especially speeches, out of his own head but making use of wide reading. In some passages we can say only what sources he did not follow; and these include Ptolemy and Aristobulus and the *Journal*.

I. Attributions

The attributions which we have suggested for the chapters which are based on a narrative sequence are as follows:

2.2	Love match of Philip and Olympias	Satyrus
2.3–6	Dreams and omens	Eratosthenes etc.
3.5–9	Birth of A and omens	Timaeus, Hegesias
4.8–6.8	Boyhood and Bucephalus	Marsyas Macedon
9.5–10	Quarrel with Philip	Satyrus
9.11–10.5	Demaratus, Pixodarus	Satyrus
10.6f.	Olympias and Philip's death	Satyrus
11	Balkans and Thebes	Cleitarchus
12	Timoclea	Aristobulus
13	Athens, A's remorse	Cleitarchus
14.1–5	Diogenes	Onesicritus
14.6f.	Delphi	Cleitarchus
14.8f.	Portents	Aristobulus
15.1–3	A's forces	Aristobulus, Onesicritus, Duris etc.
15.3–7	A's gifts to Friends	Cleitarchus
16	The River Granicus	Aristobulus and another
17–20.4	Courses open to A and Darius	Cleitarchus, Letter, 'Many historians', Menander, Aristobulus
20.1–9	Issus	Aristobulus, Chares, Letter
20.10–21.4 and 24.1–3	Darius' family	Cleitarchus
24.4–mid–5	Advance to Tyre	—
24.5–9, 25.1–3	Omens	Aristobulus, Cleitarchus, Chares
24.10–14	Antilebanon	Chares
25.4f.	Gaza	Aristobulus
25.6–26.2	Spoils	Onesicritus etc.
26.3–7	'Pharos' dream	Satyrus via Heracleides Lembus
26.8–10	Barley at Alexandria	Cleitarchus
26.11–27.9	Siwa	Cleitarchus, Callisthenes, Herodotus
29.1–6	Festivals in Phoenicia	Chares
29.7–9	Darius' letter and envoys	—
30	Darius on Stateira's death	Cleitarchus

ATTRIBUTIONS AND DEDUCTIONS

31.1-5	A mock battle	Cleitarchus, Eratosthenes
31.6-32.3	Pre-Gaugamela	Cleitarchus
32.4-7,		
33.1-11	Gaugamela	Cleitarchus, Callisthenes etc.
32.8-12	A's armour and Bucephalus	Chares
34	A and the Greeks	Cleitarchus
35-6	Naphtha	Cleitarchus, Theophrastus, Dinon etc.
37.1f.	Lycian guide	Cleitarchus
37.3	A's order	<i>Ephemerides</i> or Letter
37.4-7	A at Susa	Cleitarchus, another
38	A at Persepolis	Cleitarchus versus Aristobulus, others
42.5-43.7	Pursuit, deaths of Darius and Bessus	Cleitarchus
44.1f.	Caspian Sea	? Cleitarchus or Aristobulus
44.3-5	Theft of Bucephalus	Marsyas Macedon
45.1-3	A's Asian dress	Eratosthenes
45.4-6	Macedonians admire A	Aristobulus
46	Amazon Queen	Cleitarchus, Letter, many named
47.1-4	A persuades Macedonians	Cleitarchus
47.5-12	A and Asians	Aristobulus
48-49.7	Philotas suspected	Aristobulus
49.8-15	Philotas, Parmenio, Antipater	Plutarch's choice of items
50-52.7	Cleitus	Aristobulus
52.8-55.1	Callisthenes	Hermippus (53.3-54.2), Chares
55.2-8	Pages' Conspiracy	Plutarch's choice, 2 Letters
55.9	Death of Callisthenes	Aristobulus, Ptolemy, Chares etc.
56	Death of Demaratus	—
57.1f.	Burning of baggage	Aristobulus
57.4	Omen of A's successor	? Satyrus
57.5-9	Spring of oil	Aristobulus, Letter, another
59.1-4	Taxiles	Onesicritus
59.5-8	Indian mercenaries, philosophers	Cleitarchus
60.1-11	Battle of Hydaspes	Letters, Onesicritus
60.12-14	Porus' elephant and reply	Chares
60.15f.	Lands of Porus and Philip	Onesicritus
61.1f.	Bucephalus	Onesicritus, 'most' including Cleitarchus and Chares
61.3	Peritas	Sotion
62	Army turns back	Eratosthenes
63	City of Malli	Aristobulus
64	Interrogation of Gymnosophists	Megasthenes
65.1-3	Onesicritus and philosophers	Onesicritus
65.4-8	Philosophers' questions	—
66.1f.	Indus estuary	Aristobulus
66.3-7	A to Gedrosia	Cleitarchus
67	Revel in Carmania	Cleitarchus

DEDUCTIONS FOR NARRATIVE PASSAGES

67.8	Bagoas	Dicaearchus
68.1-5	Confused narrative	Plutarch's composition
68.6-7	A and some satraps	—
69.1	Bounty to Persian women	Ctesias
69.2f.	Ochus and Cyrus' Tomb	—
69.4-5	Inscription on the Tomb	Aristus
69.6-8	Death of Calanus	Cleitarchus
70.1f.	Death of drinkers	Chares
70.3	Susa weddings and feasts	Plutarch's composition
70.4-6	Antigenes	—
71	Opis	Cleitarchus
72.1-5	Mourning for Hephaestion	Cleitarchus
72.5-8	Athos	—
73-74.1	Omens near Babylon	Cleitarchus
74.2-6	A and Cassander	Satyros
75.1	Resumes 74.1	Cleitarchus
75.2-4,6	Onset of illness	Aristobulus
75.5	Beaker of Heracles	Cleitarchus
76-77.1	Illness and death of A	<i>Ephemerides</i>
77.2-8	Poison and conflict	Satyros