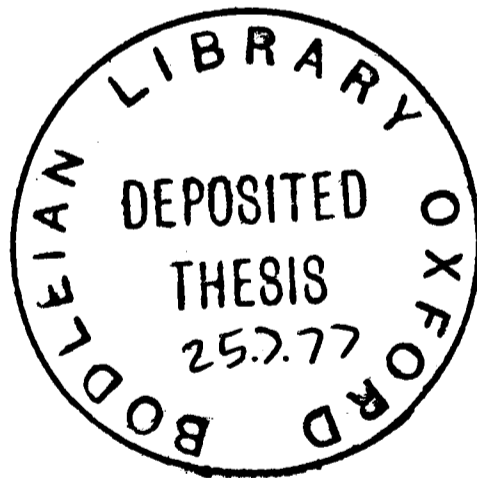


HIERONYMUS OF CARDIA

by

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(2,300th anniversary of the  
death of Alexander the Great)

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## CHAPTER ONE

### HIERONYMUS' LIFE AND WRITING

"No one can bear to read Hieronymus through to the end", said the literary critic Dionysius of Halicarnassus.<sup>1</sup> This was the epitaph which the ancient world accorded to Hieronymus of Cardia, the contemporary eye-witness historian of Alexander's Successors. His work in its original form is now completely lost; but on the basis of epitomes and a few citations it has been ranked in modern times alongside the histories of Thucydides and Polybius.<sup>2</sup> The peculiar interest of Hieronymus, as a man and a writer, is the position which he occupied in the history of his times. He was the friend and companion in turn of Eumenes the Cardian, Antigonus Monophthalmus, Demetrius, and Antigonus Gonatas; possibly he had also accompanied Alexander's expedition; and he held important administrative and diplomatic posts under his various masters. The great range of his experience and his close relationship to many of the leading figures of the age made Hieronymus uniquely qualified to record one of the most dramatic evolutions of Greek history: the passing of the classical world into which he had been born, and the creation of the Hellenistic kingdoms. Such was the authority of his work that even a detractor like Dionysius sometimes felt obliged to consult it on points of fact;<sup>3</sup> and it was used by epitomisers and biographers of the Roman period as the standard history of the Diadochi. The literary critics, however, deplored the style in which it was written; in the passage of Dionysius from which I have quoted the author voices his objections to nearly the whole of Greek historiography in the Hellenistic period; and we must blame the taste of Dionysius' generation for the loss of Hieronymus' history, along with so many other casualties of Hellenistic literature.

Not only was Hieronymus' style unfashionable in the Augustan era; specialised works on the Macedonian period had only a limited appeal to Romans. Dionysius found Hieronymus useful where his account touched on the history of Rome in connection with Pyrrhus' Italian expedition, but in general few were concerned to preserve histories of long dead kings and cities in eclipse, whose affairs would be of marginal interest to the educated reading public.<sup>4</sup> It is only by chance that we still have so much of Polybius.<sup>5</sup> The first century B.C. saw a great development in encyclopaedic writing, and the general trend was towards abbreviation. 'Universal' historians like Diodorus, Trogus and Nicolaus reduced the histories of their predecessors to readable synopses, or absorbed them into their own works without acknowledgement; the biographers plundered them for accounts of interesting individuals, and the strategical writers for specimens of military expertise. Occasionally in the imperial period an antiquarian or a man with a real sense of history might resurrect one of the Hellenistic historians for his own purposes: thus Zosimus showed an interest in Polybius which his contemporaries must have regarded as eccentric,<sup>6</sup> and Arrian bothered to seek out copies of Ptolemy and Aristobulus for his history of Alexander, and probably drew on Hieronymus for his *Τὰ μετὰ Ἀλέξανδρον*, which is partially preserved in the Photian epitome and on a Vatican codex.<sup>7</sup> It is usually thought that Arrian preserved much of the substance of his sources; it was, however, re-written and interpreted according to his own judgement, and even if a copy of his history of the successors, based on Hieronymus, should turn up on papyri, we would still be only as near to Hieronymus as we are to Ptolemy or Aristobulus. Two papyrus fragments of the second century A.D. have been found this century which come from histories of the Diadochi: one seems to be a fragment

of Arrian's work, the other part of the exercise of a private student who had set himself to abridge a Rhodian historian drawing on Hieronymus.<sup>8</sup> Therefore by this time it seems that Hieronymus' history was no longer being copied in its original form and valued for its own sake. The evident popularity of Arrian at this time, as well as in the Byzantine period, gives hope that papyrologists may discover a longer extract from his history of the Diadochi; but since a serious history like Arrian's, no less than the digests and epitomes, supplanted the older authors to whom he was indebted, there is little likelihood that a copy of Hieronymus' history, written in Hieronymus' own words, will emerge from the sands of Egypt.

A handful of citations - twelve testimonia and eighteen fragments, none more than half a page long - can be found under Hieronymus' name in Jacoby's collection, and these provide valuable information about the historian's life.<sup>9</sup> Paradoxically, however, most of what we know about his work comes not from the named fragments, but from derivative accounts of the Diadochi in which Hieronymus is not acknowledged, or only acknowledged for particular details. Accordingly, a separate commentary on the fragments is appended to the present study, and I have taken as the basis for my appreciation of Hieronymus the section of Diodorus Siculus' world history - books XVIII-XX - which deals with the Diadochi. This is the most extended literary treatment of the period which survives from antiquity, and there is evidence not only that Hieronymus was here the main author used by Diodorus, but that for long sections Diodorus merely paraphrased or extracted from his source, without addition or interpretation except of the simplest kind. It will be evident that the exact nature of this derivation is the central issue in a discussion of Hieronymus: my thesis is largely a study in method, and I hope to throw light on two Hellenistic historians, Hieronymus himself, and incidentally on Hieronymus' medium, Diodorus, a

naive but puzzling writer who is of interest to students of Classical and Roman as well as Hellenistic history. My intention, however, is not merely to re-affirm or modify the conclusions long since reached in a general way by the traditional methods of source criticism. The loss of most Hellenistic historiography makes the century before Polybius begins a twilight zone: at least until 272 we have glimpses of the contemporary account of Hieronymus, a guide, as Tarn says, to be more than thankful for;<sup>10</sup> but the fact that one historian has dominated the tradition in a poorly documented period, suggests the need for especial caution, and I shall try to define the extent and the limits of Hieronymus' celebrated trustworthiness. I shall also attempt to characterise and estimate his thought and writing as a product of its time. The unique relationship between Diodorus and his sources, which has become increasingly apparent during the last century, allows us to see something of both the substance and the tone of the authors he used, and for this reason Hieronymus' own attitudes and outlook are perhaps easier to discover than those of most of the lost Greek historians.

Previous studies of Hieronymus tend to neglect these aspects, or deal with them only in summary form. He is a historian who has attracted the attention of commentators sporadically since the beginnings of modern scholarship. G.J.Voss included a short essay on Hieronymus in his pioneer work on the Greek historians of the early 17th century, in which he discussed the most important evidence for his life and tried to distinguish him from his namesakes Hieronymus of Egypt and Hieronymus of Rhodes.<sup>1</sup> In the first part of the eighteenth century, the French encyclopaedists took note of him: the Abbé Sévin contributed a discussion of Hieronymus to the Memoires de l'academie des inscriptions et belles lettres of 1737 (vol.XIII), a

volume which also included essays on Philistus and Timagenes, and in this he attempted to relate the historian to his historical background, but made a number of mistakes in identification. These errors were corrected and serious analysis begun by the German scholar Brückner in his dissertation De Vita et Scriptis Hieronymi Cardiani of 1842, which is the foundation of later commentaries.<sup>12</sup> The first extended treatment of Hieronymus was the monograph by Fr. Reuss, published exactly a century ago in 1876.<sup>13</sup> Reuss amplified all Brückner's points and added an extensive analysis of authors whom he supposed to have drawn on Hieronymus; but writing as he did at a time when 'Quellenforschung' was in its heyday, it was his main concern to trace the influence of Hieronymus on writers of a later period, and he made little attempt to characterise the history and to set it against its literary and historical background. This pattern was generally repeated in later studies: numerous analyses of the sources for the Diadochi exist,<sup>14</sup> but there has been no detailed assessment of Hieronymus' historical method, his outlook and his achievement. The best discussion remains Jacoby's article on Hieronymus in Pauly-Wissowa of 1913.<sup>15</sup> I hope to show that, while our knowledge of Hieronymus' writing is necessarily restricted by the quantity and by the nature of the second-hand accounts through which it is filtered, Hieronymus, nevertheless, is not merely another of the phantom figures who seem to populate the third century.

Hieronymus' Life

Hieronymus was a citizen of Cardia in the Thracian Chersonese (T1), born about the middle of the fourth century B.C. The general period of his floruit is not in doubt, for he lived to record the death of Pyrrhus in 272 (F15), and according to Agatharchides, cited by Ps.-Lucian in the Macrobioi, he was 104 years old when he died (T2). He certainly died before Antigonus Gonatas in 239, because Ps.-Lucian cites Hieronymus for the ages of many of the other Successors, but cites another source for the age of Gonatas at his death.<sup>16</sup> Allowing him approximately a decade after Pyrrhus' death in which to write up his history, it is usually assumed that Hieronymus died in c.260, and was therefore born c. 364. This calculation seems to be confirmed by the fact that he led an important diplomatic mission from Eumenes to Antipater in the year 320 (T3), since it might be expected that the chief ambassador would be a man in middle age. Furthermore, Hieronymus is described as the friend ('philos') of Eumenes, who was forty-five when he was executed in winter 317-316.<sup>17</sup> The calculation is by no means precise, however. Hieronymus may have been the friend of Eumenes without being his exact contemporary, and it is possible that he was in fact Eumenes' nephew, which would suggest a gap between their ages.<sup>18</sup> A blood relationship could also explain the choice of Hieronymus as leader of the envoys, even if he were less than thirty at the time. State ambassadors in classical Greece were normally men of standing and maturity;<sup>19</sup> but whereas the Greek cities elected their envoys, an independent dynast like Eumenes was in a position to make a personal appointment, and from Eumenes' point of view Hieronymus' most important qualifications would be that he was both trustworthy, and, as his personal friend or relative, likely to inspire trust: we may compare the action of Philip in sending Alexander as head of the embassy to Athens after Chaeronea.<sup>20</sup>

How much reliance can be placed on the evidence of the Macrobioi on this matter is very uncertain. In this section of the work Ps.-Lucian was probably drawing on an earlier compilation of the same sort as his own, rather than making his own calculations, as he does elsewhere;<sup>21</sup> but if Agatharchides is correctly cited, it must then be asked how Agatharchides came by his information. Jacoby suggested that autobiographical details were contained in the preface to Hieronymus' history;<sup>22</sup> and we know that Aristobulus prefaced his history with a statement of his age at the time when he began the work.<sup>23</sup> No one can record his own death, however, and to explain the phrase *μέχρι τῆς τελευταίας ἡμέρας* in the citation from Agatharchides, it is preferable to suppose that a friend or editor appended a biographical note to Hieronymus' manuscript, for the wording of this text implies personal acquaintance, and Agatharchides belonged to a later generation. The statement about Hieronymus' age could, of course, have derived ultimately from the mouth of the historian himself, who was certainly interested in statistics of this kind: Ps.-Lucian cites Hieronymus for the ages of Antigonus Monophthalmus, Lysimachus, Mithridates and Ariarathes, and he is possibly the authority for the ages of Antipater and Ptolemy, who are mentioned in the same group of octogenarians.<sup>24</sup> Towards the end of his long life he may have found a certain gloomy satisfaction in recounting to a younger generation how he had outlived so many of his famous contemporaries - though in doing so he may have been guilty, as very old people sometimes are, of a little exaggeration.<sup>25</sup>

If we allow for a slight distortion, possibly originating with Hieronymus himself, in the figure given by Agatharchides, we may put Hieronymus' birth sometime during the 350's. Thus his childhood fell

during a period when Athens had concluded her struggles against her allies in the east Mediterranean, and when the new king of Macedon was beginning to look towards the Chersonese; a period in which his city sought, first of all, autonomy and independence, and when that was no longer possible, the alliance of Philip. Cardia, founded in the 7th century by Miletus and Clazomenae and by 342 the greatest city in the Chersonese, had always been exceptional in its politics.<sup>26</sup> Its inhabitants were not all, or not purely Greek, for Herodotus implies that the Dolonci formed a large part of the population, and that the peninsula was hellenised only as a result of Athenian colonisation.<sup>27</sup> During the 6th century Cardia had its first taste of tyranny when the elder Miltiades made it the centre of his private empire. In 493 the city medized and the younger Miltiades was expelled: "As for the Chersonese," said Herodotus, "the Phoenicians subdued all the towns in it πλὴν Καρδίας πόλιος", the first use of a phrase familiar in the fourth century.<sup>28</sup> The position of Cardia on the corn route from the Black Sea made it an important possession in the Athenian Empire,<sup>29</sup> and though we have no evidence that the city defected in its payments of tribute, the Cardians of the fourth century did not forget the burdens of the Athenian ἀρχή, and after the Social War stood resolute against renewed attempts by the Athenians to control their city. In 352 Cardian territory was excepted when Cersobleptes handed over the Chersonese to Athens,<sup>30</sup> and for a few years seems to have enjoyed independence; but Cardia was an ally of Philip before 346, according to Philip's own statement, and was enrolled as such in the Peace of Philocrates.<sup>31</sup> Demosthenes tried to insinuate in 341 that Philip was in breach of the peace in defending Cardia against Diopieithes, but such help as he did send was justified by an alliance of more than five years standing.<sup>32</sup> The Cardians preferred the patronage of Macedon

to the interference of Chares or the depredations of Dioppeithes, and the hostility between Athens and Cardia was deep. When Demosthenes described to the Athenians the atrocity committed by the Cardians against Miltocythes, he said that their behaviour was worse than that of barbarians, and spoke of the Cardians as 'your enemies' - *Καρδιενοῖς τοῖς ὑμετέροισι ἐχθροῖς*<sup>33</sup>. We need not doubt that the sentiment was returned.

The city of Hieronymus' birth, part Thracian, and touched by the lengthening arm of Philip, was not, therefore, a typical Greek city. Hieronymus' elders had rejected alliance with one of the old leaders of Greece and had cast in their lot with the new power to their west; and the Cardian background is of considerable significance when we consider Hieronymus' later career among Macedonians and his attitude to the Greek states under Macedonian suzerainty. Personal links with the Macedonian nobility may have existed at an early stage, for Hieronymus was possibly related to Eumenes, and we know that there were ties of guest friendship between Eumenes' family and the house of Philip. Arrian tells us that Eumenes' father was called Hieronymus, and the common custom of Greek nomenclature, by which names were shared by grandparents and grandchildren, skipping every alternate generation, suggests that Hieronymus the father of Eumenes may have been the grandfather of Hieronymus the historian, who is described as *φίλος καὶ πολίτης* of Eumenes.<sup>34</sup> If Hieronymus the younger had been Eumenes' son, we should certainly have been told so;<sup>35</sup> but it is both possible and plausible that he was the son of a brother of Eumenes, hence Eumenes' nephew; and it should hardly surprise us if the two most distinguished of all Cardians were members of the same family. According to Nepos, Eumenes was "domestico summo genere";<sup>36</sup> and Plutarch, in a passage where he is usually thought to be following Hieronymus, says that Eumenes owed his advancement under Philip and

Alexander to the guest friendship which existed between his father and Philip.<sup>37</sup> Hieronymus the elder was therefore a prominent citizen of Cardia, the friend of Philip, perhaps active in persuading his fellow citizens to accept the alliance of Philip in the 340's; and Hieronymus the younger would have grown up in a Cardian family notable for its Macedonian politics, in which the topics of the Macedonian alliance, Philip's growing empire, and the character of Philip himself, were, no doubt, constantly under discussion. We may speculate whether Hieronymus ever met Philip and was inspired by that great man with life-long admiration for the Macedonian character. It seems certain, at least, that his early environment inculcated in him attitudes to the future masters of the world which were not shared by his contemporaries in Athens or Thebes.

The Cardia of Hieronymus' early years was a democracy. During the reign of Alexander it was ruled by the tyrant Hecataeus, apparently a strong ruler, who had perhaps seized power in a period of uncertainty following the assassination of Philip, and whose son was thriving at the end of the fourth century.<sup>38</sup> Hecataeus was the political enemy of

Eumenes - ἦν γὰρ αὐτοῖς πετρική τις ἐκ πολιτικῶν διαφορῶν ὑποψία πρὸς ἀλλήλους - and we are told that Eumenes frequently denounced Hecataeus and urged Alexander to restore its freedom to Cardia.<sup>39</sup>

Their enmity was such that Eumenes feared he might be murdered by Antipater to please Hecataeus; and almost certainly Eumenes took himself to Philip's court and followed Alexander because his position in Cardia under the tyranny had become impossible. We hear of another Cardian in Alexander's retinue, Xenodochus, who, possibly for similar reasons, sought his fortune away from his native city.<sup>40</sup> Hieronymus' career during this period is quite unknown. He may have shared Eumenes' exile and taken part in the great expedition to the east; though

nothing that we know of his history necessarily suggests personal knowledge of Alexander or of his campaigns.<sup>41</sup>

It was in the period after Alexander's death that he became of real service to Eumenes, who, suffering as he did from the disadvantage of being a non-Macedonian and, so far, a non-military man, needed to marshal all possible supporters for the coming struggle. We should think of Hieronymus as a member of Eumenes' staff by 322, when Eumenes was confirmed as satrap of Cappadocia after the defeat of Ariarathes, and made a number of administrative appointments in his new satrapy.<sup>42</sup> Some reorganization of the army must also have been necessary after the recent war with Ariarathes.<sup>43</sup> Hieronymus' appointment may have been on the civil side, for, although he spent a large part of his life with the Macedonian armies, there is no indication that he ever held a military command.<sup>44</sup> Hieronymus' history shows that he had access to the sort of information which would be available to a quarter master or some other member of the commissariat, but we cannot necessarily infer that this was his job. Eumenes and Antigonus used him as envoy and diplomat; Demetrius made him harmost of Thebes - a civil office; and the expedition which he led to the Dead Sea seems to have been scientific rather than military, since it was unable to defend itself against the attacks of hostile Arabs.<sup>45</sup> Possibly his main functions were those of a grammateus: in this capacity Eumenes had served Alexander, and it was a job for which an educated Greek was needed.<sup>46</sup> In the narrative from Hieronymus we hear frequently of letters and other documents to which a member of the chancellery would have had ready access, including letters written 'in Syrian characters' - *Συρίοις γράμμασιν* - i.e. Aramaic, the common language of the Achaemenid empire.<sup>47</sup> The Macedonians scorned bureaucratic work, and only Peucestas among Alexander's generals bothered

to learn Persian:<sup>48</sup> the task of reading, writing, and translating therefore fell on the Greek staff and interpreters, who were, accordingly, exceptionally well placed to know and understand what was going on in the empire. Hieronymus is described as the 'philos' of Eumenes, which possibly has a technical as well as a personal sense, and the 'philoï' of the Macedonian kings and generals normally formed a military advisory council; but in the settled kingdoms of the Diadochi the functions of the king's 'philoï' became divided between the military and the civil, and Hieronymus should perhaps be seen as a forerunner of the class of civil servants which grew up under the Seleucids and Ptolemies.<sup>49</sup>

Hieronymus emerges at last into the clear light of history in 320, when he accompanied Eumenes, now formally outlawed by the Macedonians as a former adherent of Perdiccas, to the Phrygian hill fortress of Nora, where they were besieged by the forces of Antigonus. He is mentioned at this time by Diodorus and Plutarch as leader of the embassy sent by Eumenes to Antipater to discuss terms for Eumenes' surrender (T3, 4). We are not told whether the embassy achieved its purpose. Antipater died about this time, and affairs in Macedon were thrown into confusion by the disagreement between Cassander and Polyperchon. Hieronymus may have received assurances of assistance, however, because after his return Eumenes continued to hold out at Nora, and Polyperchon later wrote to him with offers of money and the office of 'strategos autokrator' in Asia.<sup>50</sup> On his return to Nora, Hieronymus was approached by Antigonus, whose permission must have been needed before the envoys could re-enter the fortress. Antigonus asked him to deliver to Eumenes a proposal of alliance and partnership, terms which were, in effect, a counter to those which Hieronymus had

brought back from Macedon. He also offered Hieronymus *μεγάλα δωρεά*, but whether these were accepted, our sources do not relate; Hieronymus perhaps mentioned them in order to enhance his own importance in the transaction.

We next hear of him in winter 317-16, after the defeat at Gabiene and Eumenes' execution by Antigonos. Hieronymus was brought in among the wounded prisoners of war, and won the trust and kindness of Antigonos, whose service he now entered (T5). The transfer of troops from the camp of the defeated to that of the victor was common practice during the wars of the Successors;<sup>51</sup> and Hieronymus, who was wounded and in the hands of the enemy, probably had no alternative. His acquaintance with Antigonos formed during the negotiations at Nora may have made the change easier for him, and our sources preserve echoes of the propaganda, possibly transmitted through Hieronymus himself, by which Antigonos tried to exonerate himself from responsibility for Eumenes' death and mitigate the blow to Eumenes' followers. Diodorus tells us that Antigonos was unwilling to kill Eumenes - which seems unlikely, since he had fought for four years to eliminate him - and was only forced to do so by the demands of the Macedonian soldiers, from whose leaders he later exacted a just retribution.<sup>52</sup> We also hear that he treated Eumenes with kindness during his last days and allowed his ashes to be sent home to his relatives; and Plutarch records that Nearchus the Cretan and the eighteen year old Demetrius pleaded with Antigonos for Eumenes' life.<sup>53</sup> This last story may be true, since it would be uncharacteristic for Plutarch to invent an incident without any basis in his source, and this was perhaps the beginning of the friendship between Hieronymus and Demetrius which is attested during the following period. We are well informed about incidents like the

battle of Gaza, the battle of Salamis, and the siege of Rhodes, involving Demetrius alone, and again about those such as the expedition to Nabataean Arabia, on which both Demetrius and his father were present, but our sources have less to say about Antigonus in the periods when he was apart from Demetrius - Diodorus is completely silent on the struggle between Antigonus and Seleucus after 312 - and this suggests that Hieronymus was attached to the staff of Demetrius after winter 317-16, perhaps in order to spare him the embarrassment of direct subordination to his former enemy. References to Demetrius at the battles of Paraetacene and Gabiene (Diod. XIX,29,4; 40,I), where he held his first commands in battle, introduce us to the young prince in whom Hieronymus may have thought at first that he saw a second Alexander: the portrait of Demetrius at the time of Gaza, and the description of his prowess at Salamis, seem to reflect this early period of optimism, when it looked as though Antigonus and Demetrius would conquer Asia and establish themselves as Alexander's heirs. The four special councillors assigned to Demetrius by Antigonus before Gaza included two Greeks, Andronicus of Olynthus and Nearchus the Cretan (already associated with Demetrius on the occasion of Eumenes' execution), and it seems likely that Hieronymus, too, was among the 'philoï' who advised Demetrius not to fight Ptolemy in 312 and whose advice was ignored.<sup>54</sup>

Diodorus mentions the historian once more as a historical figure on the expedition which Antigonus sent into Nabataean Arabia in 312 (T6). Hieronymus is named as leader of the party which was ordered to collect bitumen from the Dead Sea: he is described as 'overseer of the revenue' (cf. Diod. XIX.100.I), a vague title, but it is not impossible that Antigonus envisaged an office of a permanent nature. The organisation and administration of his Asian possessions was a major concern to

Antigonus: directly after his victory over Eumenes at the end of 317 the people of Asia began to call him 'basileus', and he began to treat the conquered territory as a kingdom, establishing a communications system like that of the Achaemenid rulers, appointing his own nominees as satraps, and inquiring into the financial accounts of the satraps; later he set up a mint at Tyre, and founded cities: in 302 he was called to Ipsus from the festival celebrating the founding of his new capital at Antigoneia. Territorial aggrandisement does not seem to have been an end in itself for Antigonus, as it was for Alexander: his main object was the secure establishment of his dynasty, as modern writers have stressed.<sup>55</sup> The discovery of the 'asphalt lake' pleased him because he thought it would be a source of revenue for the kingdom - *δοκεῖν εὐρηκεῖν τινα τῆ βασιλείᾳ πρόσδοσον* (XIX.100.I) - for bitumen was apparently exported to Egypt for use in the embalming process.<sup>56</sup> This was not the only commercial advantage of the region: the Nabataeans asked disingenuously what Antigonus hoped to gain by conquering a nomad people of the desert, but they did not mention the great caravan route which passed through Petra, carrying the spices of Arabia to Egypt and the Syrian coast. The importance of this route was certainly appreciated at a later date by the Ptolemies, and suggests that the expedition led by Hieronymus was not merely a raiding party.<sup>57</sup> Antigonus' exact methods of government are unknown, but it seems possible that Hieronymus' appointment was seen in the wider perspective of a settled and prosperous kingdom, and that he was intended to be a sort of minister for economy for the southern region. On this view we might explain the apparently exaggerated statement of Josephus that Hieronymus 'governed Syria': *τὴν Συρίαν ἐπετρόπευεν*<sup>58</sup>. Hieronymus was well-informed about the natural resources of Phoenicia, if we are to regard him as Diodorus'

source on the timber and the man-power of this area,<sup>59</sup> and possibly be occupied some administrative post here after the failure of the Arabian campaign.

For the next twenty years Hieronymus' fortunes must have run parallel to those of Demetrius. A notice in Ps.-Lucian Macrobioi cites Hieronymus for the age of Antigonus when he died at Ipsus, and describes him as *ὁ συστρατευόμενος αὐτῶι (sc. Ἀντιγονῶι)*<sup>60</sup>: the sense is ambiguous, but we can hardly doubt, in any case, that Hieronymus was present at the 'battle of the kings', and witnessed the sudden ruin of Antigonus' great hopes. We hear of him again in 293, when Demetrius made him governor of Thebes after the Boeotian revolt: *ὁ δὲ τὰς πόλεις ἐμβλαδῶν φρουρὰν καὶ πρᾶξέμενος πολλὰ χρήματα καὶ καταλιπὼν αὐτοῖς ἐπιμελητὴν καὶ ἐρμυστήν Ἱερώνυμον τὸν ἱστορικόν, ἔδοξεν ἠπίως κεχρηῆσθαι.* (Plut. Demetr. XXXIX.3-7 = T8). Boeotia now became, like Athens, a subject state, not an ally of Macedon, and Demetrius departed from the policy of Cassander and Philip, which might be called the traditional Macedonian policy, hated by the Greeks, of controlling the Greek cities by means of local tyrants and factions, in favour of direct rule through his own governors.<sup>61</sup> Thus Hieronymus' position vis-a-vis the Thebans was different from that of Demetrius of Phaleron vis-a-vis the Athenians, who were his fellow citizens; and while Hieronymus may have been chosen for the job on the grounds that a Greek would understand the problems of a Greek city, the Thebans must have regarded him as Macedonian in all but name. The 'Macedonizing' of Greeks from the peripheries of the Greek world is nowhere better illustrated than in the appointment of the Cardian Hieronymus to govern Thebes, champion of Greek liberty, in the name of the Macedonian suzerain. Demetrius quickly found that his new method was unworkable without the support of a garrison: while he was absent in Thrace, Thebes

revolted again, and after the suppression of the revolt, Hieronymus was not re-instated, perhaps because the city was now put under a military commander.

We may suppose that the subjugation of Thebes in 292 brought Hieronymus in close contact with Antigonus Gonatas, who defeated the Thebans in battle during his father's absence; and probably he formed a member of Antigonus' staff from about this time. He was between 65 and 70 years old in 287 - not too old for Demetrius' expedition into Asia; but the king may have preferred to leave his trusted servant as friend and counsellor to his son, as Antigonus the elder had left him with Demetrius at the time of Demetrius' first independent command. We should, no doubt, imagine Hieronymus among the 'friends and commanders' at Athens and Corinth, to whom Demetrius sent word after his capture that they should regard him as dead and take orders in future only from Antigonus: this notice in Plutarch probably comes from Hieronymus' history.<sup>62</sup> He then shared with Antigonus the period of watching and waiting. By 279, Antigonus' possessions in Greece were limited to Demetrias, Corinth and Piraeus, and like Demetrius, he sailed for Asia to seek better fortune.<sup>63</sup> At Lysimacheia, in 277, his luck changed; and the prestige of his victory over the Gauls carried him on into Macedon.<sup>64</sup> In 309 Lysimachus had ruined the town of Cardia to create his own capital city, and it was a curious irony that Hieronymus should make one of his last journeys with a Macedonian army from the site of Cardia to the royal court at Pella. There was by this time nothing at Cardia to make him return: 'the greatest city of the Chersonese' had become a village, and the political background of Hieronymus' youth - the feud between the factions of Hecataeus and Eumenes, and the issue of the alliance with Macedon - had disappeared along with the city itself.<sup>65</sup> We must suppose, therefore, that Hieronymus, already a

Macedonian by adoption, finally found a home in the country of his master. He may have gone to the Peloponnese with Antigonus for the final campaign against Pyrrhus, for he seems to have recorded this episode in detail (F14, 15), though by the time of Pyrrhus' death in 272 he must have been an old man of over eighty. We may assume that the evening of his life was passed in comfortable retirement in Macedon, pensioned and rewarded as his forty years of service to the family of Antigonus deserved.

Our last piece of evidence on Hieronymus' life comes from a Life of Aratus, in which it is said that Antigonus wrote either to or about Hieronymus: ἐν τοῖς περὶ Ἱερώνυμον<sup>66</sup>. Attempts have been made to defend the text as it stands, but it is almost certainly corrupt;<sup>67</sup> and we should read either πρὸς Ἱερώνυμον or περὶ Ἱερωνύμου. In either case we have evidence of a close relationship between Antigonus and Hieronymus, which is confirmed by Pausanias' comment that Hieronymus wrote εἰς ἡδονὴν Ἀντιγόου and praised him immoderately.<sup>68</sup> The second of the alternative readings would suggest that Antigonus wrote an obituary or biography of Hieronymus, and it is tempting to connect such a work with testimonium 2, which contains information about Hieronymus' age and his state of health in his last days which can only have come from an editor or biographer. Perhaps the reading πρὸς Ἱερώνυμον is more likely, however, since Antigonus is said to have mentioned a number of the philosophers and men of letters who formed a cultural circle at his court: Aratus, Persaeus, Antagoras, and Alexander the Aetolian. Jacoby's suggestion that this was an invitation to Hieronymus to join Antigonus and his friends at court is an attractive one, which incidentally gives us a picture of Hieronymus living in retirement away from Pella, no doubt on a country estate bestowed on him by the king.<sup>69</sup> Here, probably, he

ended his long life, remaining, according to Agatharchides' statement, sound in mind and body until his last day;<sup>70</sup> and here he would have composed his history, the fruit of a life which can scarcely be paralleled among historians of any period in its range of experience and in the momentous changes of the times which it encompassed.<sup>71</sup>

### Hieronimus' Writing

If we accept Polybius' maxim that the best histories are written by men who have practical knowledge of political and military affairs, something may be inferred a priori about the character of Hieronimus' work. His career forms a sharp contrast to that of the other great historian of the third century, Hieronimus' slightly younger contemporary Timaeus, who, if we are to trust Polybius' invective, scarcely left his library. In many respects he invites comparison with Polybius himself: a Greek, apparently of standing in his native city, but for most of his active life an exile; a diplomat and man of action, who came to admire the power that eclipsed his own nation, winning the friendship and patronage of its leading statesman, and in old age writing a history of his times which favoured his foreign master. Modern commentators have often seen this similarity between Hieronimus and Polybius as extending to their writings; and from the fragments alone we have the impression of a serious historian, although these are meagre.

None of the fragments of Hieronimus is a direct quotation, and the total number in Jacoby's collection, eighteen, and a doubtful nineteenth, is very much smaller than the number we have for Timaeus, Duris or Phylarchus. The citations in general are helpful ones, however, which enable us to determine the approximate scope of the work and some of its characteristics. The earliest fragment that is exactly dateable deals with events in Cappadocia of the year 322 (F3), the latest with the death of Pyrrhus in 272 (F15): the history thus covered

a span of at least fifty years. No book numbers are cited, but the work was of considerable length, because Hieronymus gave details on the casualties in Pyrrhus' battles in Italy (F11, 12), and these cannot have been central to the history. There seem also to have been numerous digressions: on the funeral carriage of Alexander (F2), on the Dead Sea (F5), on the early history of Rome (F13), the topography of Corinth (F16), the ancient history of Thessaly (F17), the geography of Crete (F18). These examples of discursive writing - six out of the eighteen fragments - in which Hieronymus filled in the background to places and events mentioned in his history, show us a historian with the wide-ranging antiquarian and ethnographical interests of his Ionian forefathers from Miletus. At the same time, his history was characterised by a remarkable precision in statistical details: he is cited for the ages of Ariarathes, Mithridates, Antigonus Monophthalmus, and Lysimachus (F4, 7, 8, 10) at the time of their deaths; for the measurement of the ditch which the Spartans dug as a defence against Pyrrhus (F14); for the casualty figures at Heraclea and Asculum (F11, 12); for the size of the island of Crete (F18); and wherever his evidence conflicts with that of another writer, it is almost always the more conservative estimate, a fact which naturally tends to encourage faith in his accuracy. Whether Hieronymus was equally reliable in his treatment of historical personalities we cannot be sure: Pausanias alleges that he slandered Lysimachus because he had a grudge against him for destroying the town of Cardia, and claims that he was in fact hostile to 'all the kings except Antigonus' (F9) - Antigonus Gonatas, that is, as becomes clear from a later passage (F15), in which it is implied that Hieronymus was unfair in his treatment of Pyrrhus because he wrote to please Antigonus. The accusation of bias is clearly a central issue in assessing Hieronymus as a historian, and I shall deal with

this topic in a later chapter. The other fragments and testimonia give us some idea of the sort of history that Hieronymus wrote, and though little more can be learned from the citations themselves, they provide important criteria in tracing the use of Hieronymus by later writers.

It is generally agreed that all ancient accounts of the Diadochi are derived in some degree from Hieronymus; but the manner in which they derive from him is all-important, because a sensible estimate of his work can only be made if we have some principle by which to distinguish it from the work in which it is contained; and most ancient authors are reticent in acknowledging their sources, and have stamped their writings throughout with the mark of their own personalities. Diodorus of Agyrrium, as I shall argue in the following chapter, is a crucial exception: his narrative of the years 323-302 provides a continuous text which can be used, despite many qualifications, to analyse Hieronymus' work; and substantial sections of his books XVIII, XIX, and XX can be appended, as paraphrases of Hieronymus, to the small collection of fragments in which Hieronymus is cited by name.

Notes to Chapter One

1. Dion.Hal. De Comp. Verb. IV.30 = F. Gr. Hist. 154 T12.
2. Cf. E.A. Barber, CAH VII p.259, Bury, The Ancient Greek Historians, p.177, Tarn, Antigonos Gonatas Oxford 1913, p.247, Wachsmuth Einleitung p.580f.
3. Dion.Hal. A.R. I.5.4 = F.Gr.Hist. 154 F13. For Dionysius' use of Hieronymus in his narrative of Pyrrhus' wars see Lévêque, Pyrrhus p.56 n.10.
4. Dionysius in his Antiquities probably addressed himself equally to a Greek and a Roman audience: cf. H.Hill, JRS LI (1961) p.88ff.
5. Cf. Momigliano, Entretiens Fondation Hardt XX (1973) p.347ff; Polybius between the English and the Turks, Seventh J.L.Myres Memorial Lecture, Oxford 1974 passim.
6. Zosimus Hist. Nov. I.I.I. Cf. Momigliano opp.citt.
7. Arrian F.Gr.Hist. 156 F1-11.
8. Bartoletti PSI XII.2 (1951) p.158 ff. no.1284; P.Berl. <sup>11632</sup> 1184 = F.Gr.Hist. 533 Anhang. See below, ch.II.
9. Jacoby F.Gr.Hist. IIB 154; henceforth cited as Hieronymus T and F.
10. Tarn Antigonos Gonatas App.I p.411.
11. Voss, De Historicis Graecis, ed. Westermann, Leipzig 1838 p.99ff.
12. Brückner, Zeitschrift für die Alterthunswissenschaft 1842 p.252ff.
13. Fr.Reuss, Hieronimos von Kardia, Berlin 1876.
14. See especially Nietzold, Die Überlieferung der Diadochen-geschichte, Würzburg 1905; R.Schubert, Die Quellen Plutarchs im Eumenes, Demetrius und Pyrrhus, Jahrb.f.kl.Phil., Suppl.IX, 1877-8, and Quellen zur Geschichte der Diadochenzeit, Leipzig 1914; Kallenberg, Philologus XXXVI-XXXVII (1877-8). A recent analysis by M.J.Fontana, Le lotte per la successione di Alessandro Magno, Palermo 1960 p.151ff.

15. Jacoby RE VIII s.v. Hieronimos no.10 col.1540ff. For Hieronymus' political outlook see also T.S.Brown, Hieronimus of Cardia, Am.Hist.Rev. 1946, p.684ff.
16. Ps.-Lucian Macrobioi II; cf. Polyb. II.44.1-2.
17. Nepos Eum. 13.1.
18. See below p.9.
19. Cf. D.J.Moseley, Historia, Einzelchrift 22 (1973) ch.VIII p.46; Adcock and Moseley, Diplomacy in Ancient Greece ch.XVI p.157f.
20. Beloch, gr.Gesch. III(2) I.p.573, with references. Compare also Luke XX,9.16: the "Lord of the vineyard" sends three servants to the wicked husbandmen, and finally his beloved son, for "it may be they will reverence him when they see him."
21. Rühl, Rh.Mus. LXII 421ff., accepts the arguments of Hirschfeld (Hermes XXIV p.156ff) for a date in the time of Caracalla, and suggests that Ps.-Lucian and Phlegon used a common source, of uncertain date, for their notices on the ages of historians, and possibly for those on kings and generals: cf. ch.10, Ps.-Lucian makes the same mistake as Phlegon on the age of Arganthonius; ch.17 *ἱστορῆκται* indicates an earlier compilation deriving ultimately from historical sources.
22. Jacoby RE Hieronimos col.1542; cf. F.Gr.Hist. IID p.545.
23. Ps.-Lucian Macrobioi 22.
24. Hieronymus F8,10,7,4. Cf.Edson, H.St.Cl.Phil. 1934 p.225 n.2. T.S. Brown, art.cit. p.685, points out that a man who died at 104 would be in his 105th year, and suggests that 105, which is equal to the sum of the first fourteen numbers, had a mystical significance. This consideration may be relevant to a man like Xenophilus the musician, known to have been a Pythagorean, who is said by Ps.-Lucian to have lived more than 105 years; but there seems no justification for regarding the 104 (not 105) years attributed to Hieronymus as a

mystical configuration influenced by Pythagorean ways of thought. Ctesibius, the first in Ps.-Lucian's list of long-lived historians, (otherwise unknown), is also said to have reached the age of 104: he and Hieronymus are placed at the head of the group because they are the oldest.

25. It is sometimes suggested that ancient people as a whole did not have an accurate idea of how old they were; but some system of calculating the date of birth must have been recognized, or all age qualifications for office and for military service would have been futile. As a historian, Hieronymus was closely concerned with the business of time: he must have had access at Gonatas' court to records of the Macedonian regnal years, and possibly he knew the archon years of his native city before the tyranny of Hecataeus. It would be extraordinary if such a man had no idea of his own age, even without the supposition that private records were kept in his family.

26. Foundation of Cardia: Busolt, gr.Gesch. 1(2) p.463-4;

Beloch, gr.Gesch. I(2), I, p.256. Demosth. IX,32: *Χερρονήσου... τὴν μεγίστην πόλιν.* (for the date of this speech, see Sealey, REG LXVIII, (1955),

p.101ff.). The early Ionian foundations of the Chersonese seem to have been small agricultural colonies: Demeter and Persephone on the coins of Cardia and Sestos are crowned with ears of corn. (Compare Plut. Eum. VI.5: on the eve of his battle against Craterus at the Hellespont, Eumenes of Cardia dreamed that Demeter wove a wreath of corn for the victor, and he gave 'Demeter and Alexander' as his watchword.) They were not very important places during the fifth century, because the whole of the Chersonese is assessed together at 18 talents in the ATL, though it is likely that this sum was paid by Cardia on behalf of

itself and the other cities: cf. Wade-Gery, JHS LII (1932) p.266-7 = Essays p.269. We have coins only from about 400 B.C., of which the chief types are the heads of Demeter and Persephone, and the lion or lion's head, the emblem of Miletus: cf. Brandis, Münzmass und Gewichtswesen in Vorderasien bis auf Alexander den Grossen, Berlin 1866 p.394 ff.

27. Herodotus VI.34-40; cf. Busolt, loc.cit.
28. Herodotus VI.34. He means it did not need to be conquered, because it came over voluntarily: cf. How and Wells, comm.ad loc.; Hdt. VI.58, IX.115.
29. Cardia may have paid tribute on behalf of the other Chersonesian cities: cf. n.26.
30. Demosth. XVI.34.4.
31. Ps.-Demosth. XII.II. For the clause in the peace of Philocrates, Demosth.V.25, XIX.174.
32. Demosth. VIII, On the Chersonese (341 B.C.), esp. paragraphs 64, 66: cf. Schol.Aesch. III.38. On the truth of Demosthenes' allegations, see Cawkwell, CQ n.s. 13 (1963).
33. Demosth. XXIV.169. Cf. also Demosth. XXIII.183: Apollonides the Cardian acts against the interests of Athens.
34. Diod. XVIII.50.4 = Hier.T4. Arrian Ind.18: the suggestion that the historian was related to Eumenes was first made by Köhler, Sitz.d.Berl.Akad. 1890, p.558, n.1.
35. E.g. at Diod. XIX.44.2-3.
36. Nepos Eum.I.2
37. Plut.Eum.I.1.
38. IG IV(2) 49: Ἡγησίπραστος Ἐκαταίου Καρδίικῶς is made proxenos and thearodokos of the Epidaurians. The inscription is to be dated to the late fourth century, and must antedate 309, when Cardia lost its independent identity as a city (Paus. I.9.8). The 'thearodoky'

was given to the most prominent citizens of Greek states, and it is possible that Hegesistratos succeeded his father as tyrant of Cardia: cf. Chr. Habicht Chiron 2 (1972) p.105f.

39. Plut. Eum.III.4.

40. Plut. Alex. 51. Berve, Das Alexanderreich, München 1926, II, no.575 infers from Xenodochus' position with Alexander that he was "vornehmen Standes". Samian honorary decrees from the years 314-306 mention a Cardian who performed services to Samians in exile before 322 and then entered the service of Antigonos and Demetrius; the name is unfortunately lost. See Buscher, Misc.Acad.Berol. II.2, 1950, 27; cf. Habicht, art.cit. p.106 n.10.

41. Jacoby, RE Hieronymos col.1540, thinks Hieronymus was probably with Eumenes already at the time of Alexander's death.

42. Plut. Eum.III.7: *καὶ τὰς μὲν πόλεις τοῖς ἑαυτοῦ φίλοις παρέδωκε, καὶ φρουράρχους ἐγκτεστήσασκε καὶ δικαστὰς ἀπέλιπε καὶ διοικητὰς οὓς ἐβούλετο.*

Cf. Briant, REA 1972, p.32ff for discussion of these arrangements.

43. Briant, Antigone le Borgne, p.147f. infers from Plut.Eum.III.5 that Eumenes had been given part of the royal army by Perdikkas.

44. Cf. Jacoby, RE Hieronymos col.1541.

45. Hieronymus T3,4,8,6.

46. Berve I, pp.42-55; Rostovtzeff, RE VI.s.v.Epistula no.2 (ab epistulis), on the position of 'grammateis' in the Hellenistic period.

47. Diod. XIX.23.3; 96.I.

48. Arr.Anab.VI.30.3; VII.6.3; cf. Berve II, no.634.

49. Bevan, House of Seleucus II London 1902 p.280ff.: the title 'philos' signified status rather than office, but the body of 'philoï' inevitably tended to include the chief ministers and military officers, such as the Minister of Finance (*ἐπὶ τῶν προσόδων* App.Syr.45), Secretary of State (*ἐπιστολογράφος* Polyb. XXXI.3.16).

50. Diod. XVIII.57-8. Briant REA 1973 p.75ff. doubts the historicity of parts of the letters mentioned here; but the essential points - Eumenes' appointment, his license to draw on the reserves of Cyinda - are presupposed in the narrative which follows. For the result of Hieronymus' mission, cf. Justin XIV.2.4.
51. Rostovtzeff, SEHHW I.p.148, III.p.1345 n.17. Griffith, Mercenaries of the Hellenistic World, Cambridge 1935, p.261f.
52. Diod. XIX.44.2-3; cf. 48.3-4.
53. Diod. XIX.44.2; Plut.Eum. XIX.2, XVIII.3.
54. Diod. XIX.69.1; 81.1.
55. For this aspect of Antigonus' achievement see esp. Cl.Wehrli, Antigone et Démétrios, Geneva 1968 pp.75-102.
56. Diod. XIX.99.3: but see below ch.IV p.211f.
57. Fraser Ptol.Alex. I.p.176f., II.p.300f. no.350. Cf.Rostovtzeff, SEHHW I, p.387f.
58. Joseph c.Apion I.213-14 = Hier.F6.
59. Diod. XIX.58.2-4. There is a lacuna in paragraph 2 (see Fischer, app.crit. ad loc.), and in paragraph<sup>3</sup> either a lacuna or more probably a piece of incompetent abbreviation by Diodorus, because τὸ δ' ὄρος τοῦτο κ.τ.λ. is a non-sequitur, indicating that Diodorus' source had given a digression on the Lebanon.
60. Ps.-Lucian Macrobioi II = Hier.T7.
61. For Demetrius' policy towards Boeotia see Treves Riv.Fil.X (1932) p.194ff.; cf. App.I below.
62. Plut. Demetr. LI.1.
63. Tarn, Antigonos Gonatas p.137.
64. Ibid. p.165f.
65. Foundation of Lysimacheia: Justin VII.I; Strabo VII.p.331, frg.52, 54; cf. Paus. I.9.8. Cardia was not totally destroyed, or else later revived, because Appian, Bell.Civ. IV.88 says that at the time of the civil wars Lysimacheia and Cardia occupied between them, like gates, the

isthmus of the Thracian Chersonese: and Pausanias, I.10.5 speaks of Cardia as a village still existing in his own time. In c.230 B.C. a proxenos of Coroneia in Boeotia could be described as *Καρδιανός*:  
SEG 23, 289.

66. Theon. Vit.Arat. p.147, 18M = Hier.T9.

67. Susemihl, Gesch.d.gr.Lit. I, p.3.

68. Paus. I.13.9, I.9.7 = Hier.F15, F9.

69. Jacoby, RE Hieronymus col.1542. For Antigonus' circle, cf. Tarn, Antigonos Gonatas ch.VII passim. Susemihl, loc.cit. thinks that *πρὸς Ἱερόνυμον* would imply that Hieronymus of Rhodes was the addressee; but the other philosophers mentioned here are Stoics, not Peripatetics, and though it is possible that a personal friendship existed between Hieronymus the Peripatetic and Gonatas' son Halcyoneus (cf. Ferguson Hellenistic Athens p.233), we have no evidence of a special friendship with Gonatas himself.

70. On the importance of health in old age at this period see Ferguson, op.cit. p.86, discussing Philemon and the evidence of New Comedy.

71. Mazzarino, Il Pensiero Storico II, Bari 1966, p.334, compared Hieronymus to the French historian, Commines.

CHAPTER TWODIODORUS AND HIERONYMUS

Diodorus could claim a certain popularity in antiquity. His books were in such demand at the time of composition that some were pirated for publication before he had had time to revise them: so he tells us himself, apparently with a touch of pride.<sup>1</sup> He is not cited by pagan authors, apart from Pliny, and there are no papyri fragments of his work: this suggests that in Egypt, at any rate, older and more famous historians were preferred.<sup>2</sup> However, he suited Christian taste. Writers like Eusebius and Julius Africanus valued Diodorus not only for the high moral tone of his history (he constantly awards praise and blame to famous men), but especially for his chronological organisation. Unlike the majority of pagan historians, who took a cyclical view of history, Diodorus traced the history of mankind from a fixed point in time at which life was created, and saw man's development through the ages as a process guided by divine 'pronoia'. Hence Christian authors describe him as wise and illustrious.<sup>3</sup>

From the 15th to the 17th centuries he was again highly valued as a historian. The Latin scholar Rhodoman was ecstatic when he first received Stephanus' edition of Diodorus: "Quem ubi primum legere coepi, dicere non possum, quantos in animo statim meo hic scriptor amores excitavit! in quantum sui admirationem me rapuerit! adeo, ut ex illo tempore illum amare et magnificare, praedicare etiam, ubi occasio daretur, nunquam destiterim."<sup>4</sup> We have many Renaissance editions of his work; and the translations into French, German, Italian and English, as well as Latin, together with selections and extracts in these languages, are a strong indication of his general popularity.<sup>5</sup> Books XVIII-XX seem to

have had especial appeal: they were first translated from Greek into Latin by Lehan Lascary, then from Latin into French by Claude de Seyssel in 1530; and from the French into English by Thomas Stocker in 1569; and each of these editions included a translation of Plutarch's Life of Demetrius as an epilogue to the story of the Diadochi.<sup>6</sup> One copy of Seyssel's French edition, which had originally been dedicated to Louis XII, bears the autograph monogram of Henry VIII on the title page.<sup>7</sup> Interest in Diodorus in England was not confined to intellectual royalty. Henry Cogan translated the first six books into English in 1653; and in 1700 George Booth of Chester testified to his continuing popularity by 'making English' the first fifteen books of the Bibliothek.<sup>8</sup>

But already some scholars had looked beyond Diodorus' entertainment value. In 1670, J.H. Boecler included in his 'Lectiones Polybiana' an essay entitled 'Diodori Siculi Imitatio Polybiana'; and in his great edition of 1746 Wesseling suggested that parts of Diodorus' preface were dependent on Polybius, and remarked that he often seemed to imitate the spirit of Polybius in a general way. Since that time faith in Diodorus' value as an independent historian has gradually been eroded, and 19th century German scholarship made his work one of the most eligible subjects for the operations of 'Quellenforschung'. Niebuhr described him as 'naive, unlearned, totally spiritless, without judgement, silly, incompetent even as an epitomiser', One of the 'worst historians who has come down to us in either of the languages of antiquity from any period'; and Mommsen, equally damning, spoke of the 'incredible foolishness and even more incredible unscrupulousness of this most miserable of all writers.'<sup>9</sup> These sweeping judgements were qualified, but rarely contradicted in later years; and Schwartz's analysis of Diodorus' sources in his Pauly Wissowa article of 1905 summed up the prevailing

mood of scepticism.<sup>10</sup> Since then it has been usual to regard the *Bibliothèque* as derivative in the most damaging sense of that word. The sources Diodorus is thought to have used include a number of very important or interesting historians whose works are otherwise lost: Schwartz's list includes Hecataeus of Abdera, Ctesias, Posidonius, Agatharchides, Megasthenes, Ephorus, Cleitarchus, Duris, and Hieronymus. The crucial question is the manner in which Diodorus derives from these authors.

Diodorus does not tell us that he is a compiler. He cites a number of authors, especially in the early books on prehistory and foreign lands, where he may have felt that there was less discredit in admitting his debt;<sup>11</sup> but the citations are embedded in the surrounding text in such a way that it is often unclear exactly where they begin and end. In books XVIII-XX he twice cites Timaeus for western history, but for the narrative of Greek and Asian affairs no authorities are named.<sup>12</sup> Certainty about what sources are being used, and how, could only be reached if we possessed original histories of the period; but we do not have one of the works which Diodorus cites or is suspected of having used - except Polybius, and the part of the *Bibliothèque* which seems to follow Polybius itself survives only in fragments. As so often happened with ancient epitomes, Diodorus' *Bibliothèque* helped to drive the original works off the market. His dependence on earlier literature in a general way is not in doubt, but unless this is the dependence of an epitomiser, drawing on one author at a time over long sections, little can be learned from Diodorus about the lost Hellenistic historians. If, on the other hand, his work is the product of critical research into earlier historians, independent of those historians in attitudes and historical interpretation, Diodorus becomes a far more significant author in his own

right than he has usually been supposed, but his value as a repository of lost works is greatly diminished. Whereas the fragments of a historian represent the selection made by particular authors for their own purposes, and can be misleading as to the character of the original, an epitome tends to preserve the general assumptions and attitudes of the source: hence characterisations of Hecataeus, Ephorus, Timaeus or Hieronymus are very largely dependent on what are taken to be abbreviations of their works in various parts of the Bibliothek. However, even if these historians are Diodorus' chief authorities for a period, the characterisations attempted by modern scholars are not valid unless it can be shown that these sections are genuine extracts, not pieces of original writing by Diodorus, dependent on his predecessors for the facts alone.

It was at one time thought that Diodorus was entirely unoriginal, copying out long extracts from a single source at a time, with little or no alteration, and changing sources as infrequently as possible. In 1882 L.O. Bröcker launched a general attack on this view: reviewing all recent work on Diodorus, he argued that inconsistencies in the narrative and the repetition of the same material in different books of Diodorus made the so-called 'Einquellen-theorie' untenable.<sup>13</sup> Bröcker had a number of followers, and although the idea of a multiplicity of sources for any one section was never universal, probably no one since that time has wanted to maintain the single source theory in its extreme form. However, many of Bröcker's arguments were based on trivial discrepancies in the narrative, and were not enough to damage seriously the belief that Diodorus followed a single main source, supplemented by additions which could, in principle, be distinguished. This modified view, as set out by Schwartz, found general acceptance until quite recently, when detailed research on book I has produced fresh scepticism.

The arguments of W.Spoerri show that the philosophical thought of Diod. 1.7-13 cannot belong to the time of Hecataeus of Abdera, who had always been considered the main source for book I; and in a new commentary on book I, Ann Burton declares that the single source theory is no more than an assumption which cannot be demonstrated conclusively.<sup>14</sup> Burton questions the validity of the 'snowballing' process used by Schneider and Jacoby to build up a picture of Hecataeus as the main source for Egyptian affairs; and it is dangerous, she claims, to assume at the outset that Diodorus epitomised in a straightforward way, following one author for many chapters at a time and abandoning him only when absolutely necessary. Her own conclusion is that Diodorus undoubtedly made some use of Hecataeus, but at the same time incorporated material from widely different authors into "the framework of his own construction". Whether or not Burton is right about the sources of book I - a book which is not necessarily typical - this is an important challenge to the whole theory of single sources. If Diodorus has spliced his sources together in the way here suggested, he may still not be an original historian, but he becomes a very difficult historian to deal with. There are some inconsistencies and anachronisms in books XVIII-XX which make it clear at the outset that Diodorus here used a supplementary source at least occasionally. Accordingly, the sceptical position has to be answered before a single source on the Diadochi can be assumed.

The problem may be approached in several ways: first, by a general consideration of the nature of the Bibliothek; second, by comparing the few texts which may be regarded as 'controls'; third, by identifying distinguishing characteristics in a given section of Diodorus, of a kind which suggest one source.

### The Bibliotheke

There are several peculiarities about the Bibliotheke which give a clue to its real nature. The title, first of all, is a strange title for a history.<sup>15</sup> 'Bibliotheke' normally means a place to put books - a book-case or a library - and there seem to be only two other instances in which it is used as a book title.<sup>16</sup>

Photius' most celebrated work was the review of classical and Byzantine writers called 'Bibliotheke tou Photiou' or 'Photiou Myriobiblion e Bibliotheke'. The provenance of this collection is unknown, and it is possible that the title refers to an actual rather than a metaphorical library.<sup>17</sup> But the choice of contents is clearly personal, including writers on many different topics; and it is Photius' whole object to acknowledge the authors and the titles of their works. 'Bibliotheke' is also the title of a work on the mythical age of Greece attributed to Apollodorus of Athens, the famous grammarian of the 2nd century B.C., and this shows greater similarity to Diodorus' book, since the subject matter is quasi-historical, not a mixture of genres like Photius' collection.<sup>18</sup> It is clear that the attribution to Apollodorus is wrong, since the work is anachronistic for the second century B.C., and I follow the judgement of Schwartz that it should be regarded as a later compilation which cannot be assigned to any one author.<sup>19</sup> Schwartz argued that the date of such compilations in general is more important than their authorship: Diodorus himself seems to have used a similar compilation in book IV; and they must have been indispensable to poets like Calvus and Catullus whose works were full of mythological allusions. It seems likely, therefore, that the Bibliotheke of Pseudo-Appollodorus or others like it were in circulation in the first century B.C. and known to Diodorus.<sup>20</sup> The natural inference is

that Diodorus' historical Bibliothekes, like the mythographic Bibliothekes, was intended as a handbook for a general reading public - a sort of manual of what everyone needs to know about history.<sup>21</sup>

Pliny's discussion of book titles in the preface to his Natural History supports this interpretation.<sup>22</sup> After mocking the ridiculous titles the Greeks have given their books he concludes, "apud Graecos desinit nugari Diodorus et 'Bibliothekas' historiam suam inscripsit." Diodorus' book must have been the same in kind as the other works mentioned, or the point would be lost; and all the others are compilations, like Pliny's own. Diodorus is being classed, therefore, among the compilers of handbooks.<sup>23</sup> Furthermore, he is the only historian in the list: Pliny therefore recognised something about his work which made it different from other histories. The title he thought modest compared with 'Violets' or 'Talks by Lamplight'; but it still belongs within the context of compilation titles, and is remarkable as a title for a history.<sup>24</sup> It looks, then, as though Diodorus could not only be recognised as a compiler by ancient readers, but actually advertised himself as such in his title.

The claims he makes in his preface, however, are much more ambitious. Here he stresses the utility of history in general as an incentive to the noblest actions and as an education for the highest offices of state; he associates universal history with the Stoic doctrine of 'pronoia' which guides all men through all eternity; and he cites the prestige of history as his own motive for undertaking his subject, and criticises the efforts of his predecessors. The labour of a work on universal history must be immense, yet it will be of the utmost value to those who are studiously inclined. "For from such a treatise everyone will be able readily to take what is of use for his special

purpose, drawing as it were from a great fountain." These flattering remarks are clearly intended to apply to his own book, and they raise the highest expectations of a weighty work of scholarship. He goes on to describe his qualifications as a historian: he has been engaged in research for thirty years, and has visited a large part of both Asia and Europe, 'with much hardship and danger', in order to examine historical sites; he mentions his long residence in Rome and the facilities for research there, and his familiarity with both Latin and Greek. Finally he expresses the hope that his work will never be mutilated at the hands of future compilers.

The proem, then, far from advertising Diodorus' dependence on his predecessors, creates the expectation of a history in the grand manner, aimed at a discriminating audience - τοῖς φιλοκνημιστοῦσιν.<sup>25</sup> Turning to the narrative itself, the banality of Diodorus' moral and philosophical sentiments and his errors of fact and chronology are at once a disappointment; but it is more serious that his statements about his method of work appear to be untrue. The claim that he travelled widely in order to avoid the mistakes of 'common historians' is certainly false, for there is no evidence for first hand knowledge of any country except Egypt; and some basic mistakes show that he never travelled in Asia.<sup>26</sup> Similar claims in the proem therefore become suspect; and a comparison with other historical proems makes it clear that almost every item in it is a conventional proem topos.<sup>27</sup> Justification of one's own historical theme or approach goes back to Thucydides, and praise of historical writing in general to before the time of Polybius, for Polybius states his intention of avoiding this theme. The theme of universal history and the utility of history are characteristically Polybian, and there is a general imitation of Polybius in spirit.<sup>28</sup>

Polemic against ones predecessors is a constant motif in Greek prefaces from Hecataeus onwards. The claim to have travelled widely in order to avoid the mistakes of other historians is made by Polybius; and the theme of long years spent in research and preparation, which appears in several other historians, seems also to be only a rhetorical motif in this case.<sup>29</sup> The conventional nature of Diodorus' preface has long been recognised: Arthur Derby Nock called it "the proem style of a small man with pretensions."<sup>30</sup> Only two items are novel: Diodorus is the first known Greek historian to conclude the proem with a 'captatio benevolentiae', an appeal for a favourable audience;<sup>31</sup> and he is unique in expressing the fear that his work may be mutilated at the hands of future compilers ('diaskeuastai'), - a fear which perhaps tells us something about his own practice and his guilty conscience.<sup>32</sup> The most remarkable feature of the proem is the absence of any discussion of the historian's sources and methods of composition. This was the one topic which a serious student of history would really want to hear about, and the one proem convention that Diodorus did not choose to imitate. He put into his preface only those items which he considered the hallmark of a stylish history, and which were designed to announce him as heir to the great historians of the past. He was untroubled about the relevance of the proem to the history itself, and did not scruple to make a claim which was demonstrably false; and most of his statements about the way he approached his work cannot be taken as sincere. The proem, which presents the author as a serious historian, is therefore in conflict with the title of the book, which seems to announce a compilation; and it is Diodorus' own ambivalence on the matter which has made it especially difficult to assess his originality.

A degree of deliberate concealment cannot be ruled out; but there was perhaps a real difficulty for Diodorus in trying to classify his

work. It does not seem to belong with other world histories of the period - Trogus' Philippica or Nicolaus' Historia Katholike; on the other hand it is too large to be a handbook like the Bibliothèque of Pseudo-Appollodorus. There is a stylistic peculiarity in Diodorus' work, namely, the isolation of individual books by means of extended book proems which introduce the subject of the book; and this associates it with Ephorus, the historian whom Diodorus most admired, and in general with the epideictic school of Isocrates, which favoured book proems.<sup>33</sup> Epideictic, i.e. instructive history, was the historiographical counterpart to didactic writing on practical subjects; and the proems of the Bibliothèque can therefore be connected also with the book proems of contemporary didactic works like those of Varro and Vitruvius. Didactic works by convention prefaced individual books with their own proems; the books were short, so that the reader should not be wearied by the difficulty of the contents, and this encouraged the author to add a proem containing matter extraneous to the real subject of the treatise, which provided an elegant introduction to the argument.<sup>34</sup> Diodorus' Bibliothèque is often called an encyclopaedia, but without a clear account of what this means. When it is set against its contemporary, Roman, background, it is apparent that it belongs to the vogue for encyclopaedic writing of the first century B.C., and that we should regard it as a compilation like the compilations on linguistics, strategy, agriculture, architecture, and other branches of knowledge which were a characteristic genre of this period. The best practice in making up a compendium, as enunciated by Vitruvius in the proem to his VIIth book, was to name one's predecessors in the field and to indicate the extent of one's debt to them: criticism was tasteless and plagiarism despicable.<sup>35</sup> Thus Diodorus, as will become apparent, succeeded neither as an original historian nor as a conscientious compiler.

Parallel Texts

None of Diodorus' sources survives in a complete form, but the fragments of some authors can be used to check his method over limited sections. The longest of these is a section of Photius' epitome of Agatharchides' book on the Red Sea, which can be compared with Diodorus III.12-48.<sup>36</sup> The scale of the epitome is approximately the same in each case, so that the two texts can be set out side by side; and the similarities between them are remarkable: Diodorus has re-written Agatharchides in his own words, watering down the lively style of the original, but for both facts and opinions he is totally indebted to his source. The agreement extends to verbatim repetitions of remarks made in the first person by Agatharchides: at III.41 Diodorus refers to an earlier account of the voyage from Ptolemais to the Tauri promontories - *τὸν . . . περὶ κελύβων . . . προειρήκαμεν* - although there is no such description earlier in his own work; and at III.38 he claims that in describing the Arabian Gulf he is drawing "in part upon the royal records preserved in Alexandria, and in part upon what we have learned from men who have seen it with their own eyes," - the very words by which Agatharchides guaranteed his own account.

Posidonius seems to have been used in the same way. The citations of Posidonius in Strabo and Athenaeus show a close correspondence with sections in Diodorus book V describing the Gauls and the Etruscans, and here too Diodorus has taken over remarks made by Posidonius which were in some cases inappropriate to Diodorus' own day. At V.35, for example, he says: "In the preceding books which told of the achievements of Heracles we have mentioned the mountains in Iberia which are known as the Pyrenees". The Pyrenees are not mentioned in his earlier books: he must therefore have copied this pointlessly from his source.<sup>37</sup> He repeats a famous riddle of Demetrius of Phaleron which Posidonius had incidentally

preserved; and he has no scruples in echoing Posidonius' criticisms of his predecessors for their accounts of tin-mining in Spain.<sup>38</sup>

Again in book IV Diodorus has appropriated a story about the hardihood of Ligurian women which, as we know from Strabo, was told to Posidonius by a friend.<sup>39</sup>

This slavish dependence on his sources was not confined to the early books on foreign lands. For his account of classical Greek history we are able to compare Diodorus with a papyrus fragment taken probably from Ephorus, Diodorus' main source for the classical period, or at least from a very good epitome of Ephorus.<sup>40</sup> The fragment concerns the operations of Cimon off Caria and Cyprus and the battle of the Eurymedon, the plot of Artabanus against Xerxes, and the character of Themistocles. The estimate of Themistocles (frg. 3) shows the most striking resemblances to Diodorus (XI.59ff.):

Diodorus' version is slightly shorter; part of it is paraphrased, part repeated verbatim - in one place no less than thirteen consecutive words are identical; and the opinion of his source about Themistocles and the treatment he received from the Athenians is appropriated wholesale. Fragments 8, 9, 10 and 53 of the papyrus, which deal with the fighting around Caria and Cyprus, show many verbal similarities to Diodorus' account of the same events, and in the case of fragment 8, the differences between the two texts are minimal. The long fragments 12 and 13, on the battle of the Eurymedon, again show many general resemblances to Diodorus; and fragment 16 - Artabanus' plot - is almost verbally identical with Diodorus. Overall, Diodorus' text is rather shorter than that of the papyrus; but this comes about not so much through abbreviation of the original, as through the omission of whole episodes, e.g. Cimon's recovery of the bones of Theseus (frg. 47-51), the capture

of a Persian admiral (frg. 75-6), etc. He appears to be extracting rather than systematically condensing his source in the way that, for example, Photius does. In a few places Diodorus' manner of expression is slightly fuller than that of the papyrus, but his additions contain nothing substantial: the same method of 'padding' his source can be seen in the case of Agatharchides. Grenfell and Hunt in their commentary on the papyrus conclude: "Evidently Diodorus was a writer of very slight originality, and a future editor of Ephorus' fragments will be able to include most of Diodorus XI with confidence ..... the effect of 1610 on the criticism of other books of Diodorus ... is ... likely to be considerable."<sup>41</sup>

For his account of the period 220 to 146 it is clear that Diodorus relied heavily on Polybius, the standard Greek historian of the period and a writer who appealed to him as being a 'universal' historian. The comparison here is not straightforward, since we have Diodorus only in fragments (mainly the Constantinian excerpts), and Polybius often likewise. In many passages, however, there is sufficient general resemblance to show that Diodorus was at least paraphrasing Polybius; and sometimes he has adopted the attitudes and reflections of his source in the way that has been noted in other cases.<sup>42</sup> The relation between Diodorus XXXI.10 and Polybius XXIX.21, discussing the 'prophecy' of Demetrius of Phaleron in his treatise *Περὶ Τύχης*, is very striking: Diodorus is partly paraphrasing, partly repeating word for word (the actual citation of Demetrius is more or less verbatim); and he finally excels himself by echoing Polybius' *ἐγὼ... ἐκρίνον* with *καὶ ἡμεῖς ἐκρίναμεν*. These pointless and naive repetitions make it clear that, so far from reinterpreting his sources, Diodorus has preserved their attitudes with some precision and appears to have done

so in every case. Wherever he can be checked, he turns out to be following one source very closely indeed, and for many chapters at a time; and it is significant that these check points occur in widely differing parts of the Bibliothekē - in the early books on foreign lands and ethnography, in the Ephoran narrative discussing the personality of Themistocles, and in the political and military narrative based on Polybius in the later parts of the work.

Another control source can be added which has a direct bearing on Diodorus' method in his account of the Diadochi.<sup>43</sup> In 1918 Hiller von Gaertringen published a papyrus found in Middle Egypt which concerns Demetrius' siege of Rhodes in 305-4.<sup>44</sup> The siege is described by Plutarch in his Life of Demetrius, and in greater detail by Diodorus in book XX;<sup>45</sup> and it was at once clear to the transcribers of the papyrus that the fragment bore a remarkably close resemblance to the account in Diodorus, so much so, that the two texts could be used to restore and correct one another. The fragment consists of two columns of writing in Ionic dialect, and the form of the handwriting dates it to the second century A.D.; but we do not know the author, nor the purpose of the composition. It is not an ordinary historical composition, because it has been corrected by erasures in a different coloured ink, and a more concise version written in, by the first hand, above the line in a darker colour (this is especially noticeable at the bottom of the right hand column). The author therefore cannot be a copyist, nor a man extracting for his own use, who knew in advance what he wanted to write. On the other hand, the form of the writing and the difficulty of the subject seem to exclude the idea of a school exercise. Hiller regarded it as the work of a man sketching a presentation for a high official, and perhaps this is the sort of purpose we should envisage.

The historian whom he is abbreviating is undoubtedly the same as Diodorus' source at XX.93-4; and the main interest of the fragment is the light it sheds on Diodorus' method of composition for this part of the *Bibliothēke*. Each author contains information not included by the other, so that Diodorus cannot be the source of P, nor can P be a copy of Diodorus' source: both are drawing on a single common source. The texts printed side by side in Hiller's edition show how remarkable the coincidences are, extending even to trivial details. The passage opens with the capture by the Rhodians of the ship bearing royal robes to Demetrius from his wife Phila: the first words in the papyrus refer to this incident. It continues with the capture of other ships, containing engineers - 'katapeltaphetai' - destined to construct siege engines for Demetrius, but kidnapped by the Rhodians to work for themselves. The word 'katapeltaphetai' is found only in the Florentine manuscript of Diodorus, and is otherwise extremely rare.<sup>46</sup> The manuscript reading had previously been considered corrupt, and even the most recent editions of Diodorus print Fischer's emendation, 'kai katapeltas'. The papyrus shows that the reading of the Florentine manuscript ought to be restored, and we here have an instance of Diodorus taking over even a rare technical word from his source. (This was not his regular practice, however: at XX.94.2 he has *μεταλλεία* instead of P's *μεταλλωρύχος* - a hapax legomenon; and in book III he avoids Agatharchides' technical terms on gold-mining). At this point the papyrus contains information not included by Diodorus, about Demetrius' attempt to ransom his engineers: this extra paragraph illustrates the general tendency of P to concentrate on personal details rather than factual matters. Diodorus shows the opposite tendency: he omits the quarrel over the ransom agreement, but he here includes the politically important account of a Rhodian proposal to pull down the statues of Antigonus and Demetrius, which P omits. Both continue with

the story of Demetrius' attempt to undermine the city walls, and the construction of the Rhodian counter-tunnel. This culminates in the episode centred on Athenagoras, the Rhodian mercenary commander, and the capture of Demetrius' captain, Alexander, and an account of the decree rewarding Athenagoras for his loyalty to the Rhodians. Once more the papyrus is fuller than Diodorus on the personal aspects of these events: P narrates the ambushing of Alexander at length, where Diodorus has only a summary; he mentions the oaths exchanged between Athenagoras and Demetrius' soldiers: and he concludes with something about the fate of Alexander - the Rhodians were going to kill him, but they changed their minds when a herald came from Demetrius .... and here the papyrus breaks off.

The original length of this composition cannot be estimated: only two columns are preserved, 49 lines in all, and the corresponding section of Diodorus is less than two chapters. However, there are references within the surviving portion which presupposes the earlier stages of Diodorus' narrative. The opening lines of the papyrus clearly refer to the incident of Demetrius' clothes: and the mention of *λύτρων τῶν τετραγμένων* refers to the ransom agreement made between Demetrius and the Rhodians in the previous year of the siege, which Diodorus records some nine chapters earlier. Undoubtedly further concordances would be observable if more of the papyrus were preserved. Brief as it is, the significance of this fragment is nevertheless considerable. It provides a check point for Diodorus' method within a section of his work for which no sources are acknowledged, and it confirms the evidence of comparisons between Diodorus and Agatharchides, Posidonius, Ephorus and Polybius, that Diodorus adhered very faithfully to his sources at least over limited sections: the longest of these is in book III, where the comparison

with Agatharchides extends over 36 chapters. He did not copy them word for word: an analysis of Diodorus' style shows that it is consistent throughout the Bibliothekē, with no marked differences from one book to another such as would indicate a change of source. (I discuss the problem of language separately.)<sup>47</sup> He seems, however, to be a reliable vehicle for the subject-matter of the histories he used, taking over both facts and the inbuilt attitudes and assumptions, and his language frequently echoes, even when it does not actually repeat, the language of the original.

#### The homogeneity of books XVIII-XX

It is a natural assumption that the method of composition evident in the passages discussed was the method which Diodorus used in all parts of the Bibliothekē: the passages in which he can be checked are entirely random, but all point to the same conclusion. We have an idea, therefore, of the way he abbreviated individual authors. Whether he followed one author exclusively for a whole period at a time is a further question. The case for the 'single source theory' must rest on the homogeneity of extended sections, and on differences, other than stylistic, between one section and another.<sup>48</sup> Books XVIII-XX, excluding the sections on the history of the West, do have a distinctive flavour, and it is perhaps easier to characterise this part of the Bibliothekē than earlier books in which Diodorus was following authors whose manner was rhetorical and monochrome.

Several structural features isolate book XVIII from the narrative which has gone before. Chronologically there is a new beginning. In ch.2 Diodorus opens with the archon year of Cephisodorus and proceeds to give an account of the struggle for the succession on Alexander's

death: but Alexander died on June 10th 323, and the succession was settled within the next seven days; the new Athenian archon year did not begin till July. Diodorus has tried to match the new year with a new phase of his narrative, and this strongly suggests a break from the source for book XVII.<sup>48</sup> The first four chapters of book XVIII are a bridge passage, containing material of various origins;<sup>50</sup> then with chapters 5-6 there are again signs that we are meeting a new source. These chapters contain a geographical survey of Asia, designed to help the reader follow the Asian campaigns of the Diadochi; and if Diodorus had been using one source for books XVII and XVIII, this survey ought to have preceded the narrative of Alexander's expedition. It looks instead like the opening of a new history.<sup>51</sup> Furthermore, during the early part of XVIII there are many references back to the period of Alexander - no less than 18 within the first 22 chapters.<sup>52</sup> This suggests an author who is near the beginning of his history and wanting to explain the background to events like the Lamian War and the murder of Harpalus. With chapter 25 we encounter yet another new feature; a chronological framework which is unique to this part of the Bibliothek. Throughout books XVIII-XX events are classified year by year, and the turn of the year is marked by a reference to the winter quarters of the armies.<sup>53</sup> The resulting clarity in the historical sequence at once distinguishes these books from the books on the Peloponnesian War, where Diodorus has tried to reconcile a 'kata genos' system with his own archon and consul system and produced hopeless chronological confusion.

The characteristics and manner of the narrative itself can be mentioned only briefly here: the main features have often been pointed out in earlier studies; and they will be the subject of detailed discussion in my later chapters. The most distinctive are as follows.

There are no gods in Diodorus' narrative of the Diadochi, no talk of sacrilege or piety: the author he followed was not a religious man, and the occasional references to prophecies concerning Antigonus and Seleucus do not imply his own belief, but only his recognition of superstitious belief in others.<sup>54</sup> There is a wide gulf between this, and, for example, the tone of outrage with which Diodorus recounts the plunder of the Delphic oracle in book XI.<sup>55</sup> The concept of Tyche - Chance - is prominent, especially in the history of Eumenes. The homily on Tyche at XVIII.59.5-6 is probably the work of Diodorus himself (the language compares with the language of his proem to book I); but Tyche may have played some part in the account given by his source, because some of the references can be paralleled in Nepos' Life of Eumenes.<sup>56</sup> This is not unexpected: every Hellenistic historian seems to have made use of the idea, and in the period of the Diadochi, especially, events must often have appeared to have been guided by Chance. The supernatural background to the history of Agathocles, in the same books of Diodorus, has a slightly different emphasis: the word 'tyche' appears, but is less prominent than 'to daimonion' or 'to theion'. By contrast, then, to his Sicilian narrative, Diodorus' account of the Diadochi is essentially secular. The dynamic forces of this narrative are on the one hand the personalities of the generals, on the other the collective will of the armies under their command.

The narrative focuses on the careers of individuals; not all the Successors, however, are given equal attention. Book XVIII and the first half of XIX concentrate on the history of Eumenes: the wealth of personal detail in this section points to an eye-witness - someone who had travelled with Eumenes' army; and the praise of Eumenes' character and intelligence, together with an intimate knowledge of his thoughts and plans, suggest that the writer followed by Diodorus was a friend and

admirer of Eumenes. The rest of book XIX and book XX show a similar imbalance: after the death of Eumenes, Diodorus concentrates on the history of Antigonus Monophthalmus and Demetrius, and again shows a pre-occupation with their character and ambitions, though we miss the eulogistic tone of the section dealing with Eumenes. The other Diadochi appear, in general, only when their history coincides with that of Eumenes, Antigonus or Demetrius. They are judged in terms of personal ability: questions of personal morality play no part, except perhaps in the case of Eumenes' rival Peucestas, who is depicted as a coward and a traitor.<sup>57</sup> There is a fundamental distinction, therefore, between the values of Diodorus' source on the Diadochi and the values of his sources in books XI-XVII: we may contrast the standardised panegyrics on Gelon or Epaminondas, which serve an exemplary purpose.<sup>58</sup> Women as well as men are treated seriously on books XVIII-XX: Olympias, for example, is criticised for her generalship during the siege of Pydna; Phila and Cratesipolis are praised for their *ἀρεταί*.<sup>59</sup> Furthermore, the characterisation of individuals is absolutely consistent throughout the books in question, and this is true not only of the main characters: Polyperchon and Cassander are recognisably the same personalities at the time of their conflict in 318 (Diod. XVIII.68ff), and during the negotiations over the pretender Heracles, nine years later (XX.28).<sup>60</sup>

A consistent political attitude is less easy to define. Eumenes is repeatedly praised for his loyalty to the house of Alexander, and, during the period when he was at war with Eumenes, Antigonus is described as 'apostates'; but it is not clear that this reflects the historian's personal attitude to the issue of legitimacy and the unity of the empire, rather than his desire to present Eumenes as a man of honour and champion of legality. After Eumenes' death, Antigonus declared himself protector

of the Argead house; and after the murder of Alexander IV and the naval victory at Salamis, Antigonos and Demetrius proclaimed themselves 'Basileis', laying claim, as is usually supposed, to the whole of Alexander's empire. There are many references in Diodorus to Antigonos' great ambitions, but the tone of the discussion is ambiguous: it is not certain, as is often claimed, that Diodorus' source thought these ambitions either impossible or undesirable; rather, the idea of possession of the whole empire - in Diodorus, represented by the vague expression, τὰ ὅλα - appears as an obsessive pre-occupation, as the idea of ἀρχή was for Thucydides. Diodorus' source perhaps felt that Antigonos' failure was chiefly a failure of leadership: world dominion was not in principle an impossibility, but those who aspired to Alexander's empire lacked Alexander's charisma.<sup>61</sup> There is ambiguity again in attitudes to the Greek ideal of 'eleutheria': Diodorus' narrative of the fighting in the Lamian War shows admiration for the courage of the Greek and Thessalian leaders; but he takes a Macedonian view of Antipater's settlement and of the installation of Demetrius of Phaleron; and Cassander's governor in Megalopolis, Damis, is praised for 'epinoia' and 'empeiria'. He is sceptical about the rival professions of Antigonos and Ptolemy towards the Greek cities in 315 (Diod. XIX.62.1-2); but later comments that Antigonos was trying to liberate the Greeks 'in very truth' - πρὸς ἀλήθειαν (XIX.78.2). This has sometimes been taken as a sign of more than one source; but other explanations are possible. The attitude is essentially a pragmatic one: the Greek revolt of 323 failed because of disunity among the Greek allies and insufficient preparation; after its suppression, the Greek cities and their Macedonian suzerains had to learn to live together, and the question was one of finding an acceptable formula for the relationship; the situation in mainland Greece was different from

the situation in Asia and the islands, and the liberal policy adopted by Antigonus would not necessarily have worked had he become king of Macedon - ultimately this was Demetrius' experience. Furthermore, if we are dealing with a Greek historian, it might be expected that attitudes towards Macedonian relations with Greece would not be straightforward.<sup>62</sup>

Consistency in the political narrative is better illustrated by the regular use of political documents: a recent study counts over sixty citations of, or references to, documents in Diodorus XVIII-XX, and this is a feature which sharply distinguishes this part of the Bibliothekē from earlier books.<sup>63</sup> We are evidently dealing with a historian who set considerable value on the use of primary evidence and whose authority is therefore to be respected.

Finally, the most impressive feature of these books is the military narrative. Diodorus gives regular statistics on the strength of armies and fleets, casualties in battle and prisoners of war; he notes the financial resources of the generals and satraps, the times and distances of marches, the relation of terrain to battles and campaigns; he describes the equipment and provisioning of armies. This is rare in any ancient author, and almost unknown elsewhere in Diodorus. The source has a good understanding of strategy: he states the objectives and plans of the generals, and reports discussions at councils of war. His descriptions of battles are unmistakably superior to those in earlier books of Diodorus. The battles of the Persian War and the earlier part of the fourth century follow a standardised rhetorical pattern: the trumpets sound and the troops send up a war cry; the fighting is stubborn and there is gallantry on both sides; the issue is doubtful until some lucky turn gives an advantage; one side flees, pursued by the victors.<sup>64</sup> Diodorus may have found this

scheme in Ephorus, but it is applied also in books XVI and XVII. The topoi are couched in nearly identical language, and are punctuated by eulogies on the bravery and prowess of the combatants, at the expense of any real information about strengths, dispositions, terrain or tactics. This description of the battle of Issus is typical: "Many were killed as the battle raged indecisively because of the evenly matched fighting qualities of the two sides. The scales inclined now one way, now another, as the two sides swayed alternately backward and forward"; this is accompanied by comments on the inspiring example of the officers, the prowess of individuals, the pathetic state of the female prisoners of war.<sup>65</sup> By contrast, most of what we know about early Hellenistic warfare is derived from the accounts of battles in books XVIII-XX. At Paraetace~~ne~~, Gabiene, and Gaza, it is apparent that Diodorus' source had given strengths and dispositions in full (there are some obscurities, but these are plainly the result of Diodorus' abbreviation, for example, the role of the elephants at Paraetacene). The nature of the terrain is related to the course of the battle: at Gabiene, for example, Antigonus captures the enemy baggage under cover of the dust which arose from the salt plain. The corporate spirit of groups of professional soldiers, like the Macedonian 'Silver Shields', is given more emphasis than the prowess of individuals. Tactical novelties are noted. At Paraetacene (the most detailed account of a battle in these books), it appears that both Eumenes and Antigonus started off at the extreme ends of their lines in order to take up any position subsequently without disturbing their original dispositions, and throughout the battle they seem to know what is going on elsewhere on the field: Tarn observed that this is virtually the first instance of generals acting as directors of a battle rather

than merely as leaders of the fighting.<sup>66</sup> Paraetacene also provides the first example of a true reserve: Philippus with 300 horse picked from all the cavalry contingents was stationed behind Eumenes on the extreme right.<sup>67</sup> It would be impossible to derive information of this kind from the military writing of Diodorus' other books. Considerable attention is also paid to technology. Diodorus' source went out of his way to describe Eumenes' device for exercising his horses, the elephant traps at the siege of Megalopolis, forms of telegraphing in the Persian empire, the use of dromedary camels for communication over long distances; his account of the battle of Gaza is interrupted by a short lecture on the correct use of the elephant in warfare.<sup>68</sup> He gives a detailed account of the sieges of Megalopolis, Pydna, Salamis and Rhodes, mentioning the use of 'helepoleis' and other engines, and, in contrast to the majority of ancient historians, avoids dwelling on the emotions of the besieged. Diodorus' description of naval warfare in these books - for example at the battle of Salamis - is similarly of a high quality, and must come from the same source as other military items.

The various characteristics mentioned here can be found in each of Diodorus' books XVIII, XIX and XX; and between them they link up the greater part of all the narrative of Greek and Asian affairs. Accordingly, there can be no reason to doubt the direct use of a single main source in this part of the Bibliothekē; it is internally consistent in structure, attitudes and factual detail, and it differs in several respects from the earlier part of Diodorus' work. There may be special reasons for excepting a particular passage which seems at first to belong with other passages of the same type (I shall discuss the exceptions later in this chapter); but one cannot object to many passages of the same type, ignoring the existence of the group which they form, because the whole case for

homogeneity is cumulative. The implication is, that in these books of Diodorus we have an extensive epitome of (or more precisely, a series of extracts from), a Hellenistic historian; and on the assumption that Diodorus' method of paraphrasing was similar here to his method of paraphrasing Ephorus, Agatharchides, et al., the epitome is close enough to enable conclusions about the character and value of the original. It is perhaps more important to isolate a source in this way than to establish his identity; but there can in fact be no reasonable doubt that the historian in question is Hieronymus of Cardia.

#### The case for Hieronymus

Although Diodorus characteristically nowhere acknowledges a source for his history of the Diadochi, on four occasions he mentions Hieronymus as a historical figure. No other minor character is so prominent in the account, and it is reasonable to suppose that these notices come from Hieronymus himself; in the same way Thucydides sometimes referred to himself in the third person.<sup>69</sup> The object was perhaps more to guarantee the reliability of his account than to underline his own importance. Everything we know about Hieronymus' life is compatible with the historiographical approach in these books: his friendship with Eumenes, his connection with Antigonus and Demetrius, the fact that he was a Greek serving Macedonian masters. Hence the apologia for Eumenes, the many signs of eye-witness observation, the concentration on the affairs of Antigonus and his son. Hieronymus ended his life under Antigonus Gonatas, and on the assumption that he wrote his history in his old age, his ambivalent attitude towards Greek independence may be partly explained in the light of events of the 260's: his account of the Greek revolt of 323 was written with knowledge of the Chremonidean War.

To the biographical argument may be added the evidence of some of the fragments of Hieronymus: fragments 2, 3, 4, 5 and 16 correspond to some degree with passages of Diodorus, and this strengthens the case for identifying Hieronymus as Diodorus' source. None of the fragments, however, contains a direct quotation from Hieronymus: hence there can be only a limited argument from verbal resemblance, and the agreement of subject matter alone does not prove the use of Hieronymus by Diodorus. The fragments have to be left till last because of this limitation: their function is to help identify Diodorus' source once it can be shown that he is using a single main source; they cannot be used as a starting point in arguing that he drew on Hieronymus; particularly since each of them raises problems of its own.

#### Fragment 2

The citation is from Athenaeus, listing writers who had described spectacular objects. Diocleides of Abdera described the helepolis built for Demetrius at the siege of Rhodes; Timaeus described the pyre of Dionysius; Hieronymus the funeral carriage of Alexander; Polycleitus the lamp made for a Persian king. Diodorus XVIII.26-28 gives an elaborate description of Alexander's funeral carriage as it looked on completion in 321 B.C., and it is generally supposed that this is a version of the account he found in Hieronymus.

The difficulties of attribution arise from peculiarities in Diodorus' narrative in the following chapters. The panegyric of Ptolemy in ch.28, and again in ch.33ff., describing Ptolemy's prowess at the Fort of Camels, is out of character with the restrained and realistic portraits of individuals we find elsewhere in these books. Diodorus' references to Ptolemy are consistently favourable, but nowhere else, in the history of the Diadochi, at least, does he lapse into obsequious flattery;

and for the chapters in question the general tone obliges one to suppose that he has picked up a supplementary pro-Ptolemaic source. It is unclear at exactly what point he began to use this source, but items in chapter 28, preceding the eulogy of Ptolemy are suspect.

With the sentence Πτολεμαῖος δὲ τιμῶν τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον κ.τ.λ. (28.3), Diodorus implies that the funeral cortège was destined for Alexandria in Egypt. But we know from Pausanias and Arrian that Perdiccas' original plan had been to send it to Aegae in Macedon, the traditional burial place of the Macedonian kings, and that in fact the body was hijacked by Ptolemy when it reached Damascus and rushed off to Egypt pursued by Perdiccas' lieutenant Polemon.<sup>70</sup> The opening sentence of 28.3 accordingly suggests a writer who sought to justify the theft of Alexander's body by Ptolemy I. Furthermore, Ptolemy did not, as Diodorus says, take the body straight to Alexandria: the evidence of Pausanias, Ps.-Callisthenes, and Curtius, confirmed by the Parian Marble, shows that it was first buried at Memphis, and later transferred to Alexandria - by Philadelphus, as Pausanias says, but according to Curtius, "paucis post annis".<sup>71</sup> Ps.-Callisthenes also implies that the body did not stay long at Memphis, and it is likely that Ptolemy kept it there merely for the duration of the war with Perdiccas, thinking that it would be vulnerable at Alexandria, which was still without walls.<sup>72</sup> Strabo's version supports this view. He mentions first Ptolemy's seizure of Alexander's body when Perdiccas was bringing it down from Babylon; then Perdiccas' invasion of Egypt, the murder of Perdiccas, and the departure of the kings for Macedon; finally he says that Ptolemy took Alexander's body to be buried at Alexandria.<sup>73</sup> Probably the outbreak of war with Perdiccas gave Ptolemy no time to make proper arrangements for the burial, and accordingly the body was left at Memphis for safe-keeping. After the settlement at Triparadeisos he was confirmed in his possession of Egypt, and with the

departure of Antipater and the kings he was able to return to the unfinished business of the burial.

Diodorus' allusion to the establishment of a cult of Alexander also seems to be anachronistic in this context. Our earliest evidence for a priest of the dynastic cult of Alexander comes from 285-4, and there was no such priest even as late as 311.<sup>74</sup> It is possible, though unlikely, that a priestless cult existed at an earlier date; but even if this were the case, it cannot have been set up before 321 at the earliest, since the burial logically precedes the cult, and Strabo's evidence suggests that the burial took place when the war with Perdiccas was over. Diodorus' references to the burial at Alexandria and the institutions of games and sacrifices are therefore highly elliptical: these things did not take place until a later date; and it is difficult to suppose that his main source disturbed chronological order to this extent. e/

The allusion to Ammon as the destination of Alexander's body in 28.3 apparently gives the pretext for taking Alexander's body to Egypt: the vulgate tradition on Alexander alleged that it was Alexander's dying wish to be buried at Ammon, and Ptolemy and Arrhidaeus might represent themselves as the executors of Alexander's last orders. For later Ptolemaic writers the Ammon story would help to account for the presence of Alexander's tomb at Alexandria.<sup>75</sup> Here again, then, is an indication of a pro-Ptolemaic source.

The identity or date of this source cannot be established with certainty. One chronological indication is the description of Alexandria in 28.3 as πόλιν ἐπιφανεστάτην οὐσαν σχεδόν τι τῶν κατὰ τὴν οἰκουμένην. Alexandria in 321 could hardly be described as the most illustrious city of the world. The remark may be Diodorus' own, for he had visited Alexandria himself, and had commented on its size and wealth in a digression in book XVII, in connection with Alexander's founding

of the city.<sup>76</sup> It would be a curious remark, nevertheless, for an author writing in first century Rome.<sup>77</sup> An earlier Alexandrian source seems very probable; and it is in any case difficult to attribute an encomium on Alexandria to Hieronymus, writing in the Macedon of Antigonus Gonatas. The nearest parallel for the praise of Alexandria as the greatest city of the 'oikumene' is the encomium of Alexandria found in a papyrus fragment of the first century B.C. - first century A.D.: *αἱ μὲν γὰρ ἄλλαί πολε[ις] τῆς ὑποκειμέ[νης χώ]ρας πόλεις εἰσίν, Ἀλεξανδρείας δὲ κῶμκι· τῆς γὰρ οἰκουμένης Ἀλ[ε]ξανδρεία πόλις ἐστίν.* 78

This fragment should perhaps be associated with the local histories, or 'patria', which we know from the imperial period, and whose titles refer to Alexandria, Heliopolis, Hermoupolis, and the Great Oasis. It may, however, come from a work rather earlier than other members of this genre. A date as early as the third century has been suggested, and the encomium may have been delivered at the victory celebration of Ptolemy Philadelphus which was described by Callixeinus of Rhodes.<sup>79</sup> If this is right, Diodorus' Alexandrian source is perhaps to be dated to the same period; and this date is appropriate to the whole tone of the passage, which seeks to justify and applaud the behaviour of Ptolemy I, particularly with reference to the burial of Alexander. Soon after 280 Ptolemy II officially instituted the cult of Soter and Berenice, and at such a moment it would be appropriate for an Alexandrian historian to assert the legitimacy of the original burial of Alexander and the establishment of the dynastic cult by the founder of the dynasty.<sup>80</sup>

Diodorus' use of this source in XVIII.28 must effect our view of the preceding chapters. At the end of ch.25 Diodorus had outlined Perdikkas' plans for the invasion of Egypt and the defence of the Hellespont. In chs. 26-28.2 he describes the funeral carriage; and

at 28.2-6 he is using the Alexandrian source. At <sup>29</sup>28.1-3 he recapitulates the account of Perdiccas' strategy given at 25.6. Thus the description of the funeral car and the 'Ptolemaic' passage are sandwiched between two accounts of Perdiccas' strategic plans, and the repetition is a further sign that Diodorus has been using a supplementary source. Whether the Alexandrian author is responsible not only for the encomium of Ptolemy, but also for the description of the funeral car, remains unclear.

There is nothing intrinsically improbable in the attribution of this description to Hieronymus. Their capacity for being astonished at beautiful and strange things is an appealing characteristic of early Hellenistic writers. In the first instance this was a legacy from Herodotus, who came into his own - despite attempts by imitators to impugn his accuracy - in the period of expanding horizons which came with Alexander's conquests. Theopompus, whose admiration of Herodotus took the form of epitomising his work, filled his own history of Philip with digressions, one of them on 'thaumasia'; and for the writers who had gazed at the wonders of India there was a strong incentive to follow his example. As a form of writing it became typical of the period: authors like Euhemerus and Iambulus departed further from reality and wrote accounts of Utopian lands full of marvels, invested with a strong philosophical content; the tidy instincts of the Alexandrians, led by Callimachus, set them compiling lists of 'thaumasia'. Hieronymus' digression on the funeral carriage therefore looked to the fashion of his own age: works of art and architecture were 'wonders' which appealed typically to contemporary taste. Athenaeus mentions three authors apart from Hieronymus who included 'ekphraseis' in their works: Diocleides, Timaeus, and Polycleitus; and we have also the description of Hephaestion's funeral pyre at the end of Diodorus XVII, which perhaps comes ultimately from Cleitarchus.<sup>81</sup> There are other brief allusions to works of art in Diodorus

XVIII-XX: the ornaments worn by the wife of Ceteus the Indian; the golden vine of the Persian kings which Antigonos found in the treasure at Susa.<sup>82</sup> Accordingly, a detailed account of the funeral car, such as Diodorus gives, would not have been out of place in Hieronymus' history.

There are other candidates, however. Droysen suggested Ehippos of Olynthus as the source.<sup>83</sup> Athenaeus records as the title of Ehippos' work both *Περὶ τῆς Ἀλεξάνδρου καὶ Ἡφαιστίωνος τελευτῆς* and *Περὶ τῆς Ἀλεξάνδρου καὶ Ἡφαιστίωνος ταφῆς*. However, it is easy to see that the latter title might arise because the funeral of Hephaestion, though not that of Alexander, was mentioned. Furthermore, the fragments of Ehippos, which refer only to the later part of Alexander's lifetime, show a certain hostility to the King, whereas the account of the magnificent funeral procession in Diodorus is evidently designed to promote the glory of Alexander.

A more serious possibility is a Hellenistic rhetorical or peripetetic writer. The account as it stands is cast in narrative form: "First they prepared a coffin ... the space about the body they filled with spices ... Upon the chest there had been placed a cover of gold ... Over this was laid a magnificent purple robe ..."; and the account concludes with information about the progress of the carriage and the mechanics and roadmenders who accompanied it. Although this at first suggests a historian's account, and some circumstantial details even give the impression of eye-witness observation, we have other examples from the third or second centuries of rhetorical 'ekphraseis' set out as historical narratives. The most famous of these are the descriptions of the Pompe of Philadelphus and of the barge of Ptolemy Philopator by Callixeinus of Rhodes.<sup>84</sup> Callixeinus was writing not earlier than 221,

when Philopator succeeded to the throne, and perhaps as late as the second century, since Moschion, the contemporary of Hieron of Syracuse, did not mention him in the list of his predecessors. Jacoby thought that Callixeinus' use of the past tense indicated the use of an earlier literary account, not only for the description of the Pompe of Philadelphus, but even for that of the barge of Philopator.<sup>85</sup> However, even if there were special reasons for using a past narrative in Callixeinus' case, this must have been an acceptable form for an 'ekphrasis' because Moschion described the ship built by Hieron in narrative form.<sup>86</sup>

We do not know the ultimate fate of Alexander's funeral carriage: the tomb of Alexander could be seen at Alexandria until the time of Caracalla;<sup>87</sup> but the carriage, after leaving Damascus in 321, is never mentioned again. We may guess that it was used to transport the body of the King from Memphis to Alexandria in or after 321, and that ultimately it shared the fate of the gold sarcophagus which was plundered by Ptolemy Coccus;<sup>88</sup> but how long it escaped the melting pot of the Ptolemaic mint, and who saw it in the meantime, are matters of speculation. Certainly an object so huge and so striking could not have escaped the notice of ancient tourists, and it is just the sort of thing Callixeinus would have included in his 'Peri Alexandreias', a guide which described the architecture and famous sights of the city.<sup>89</sup> But whether the account we have in Diodorus represents that of Hieronymus himself, or of someone who used Hieronymus, or of a later 'ekphrastic' writer who had seen the vehicle at Alexandria, cannot be ascertained. The fact that such writers seem to have drawn on one another makes the picture more complex and shows that we should beware of making any attribution dogmatically.

The coincidence between Hieronymus fragment 2 and this passage of Diodorus tends to create an overwhelming prejudice in favour of the

derivation of Diodorus (here) from Hieronymus; and this is reinforced by the impression of a general change of tone at XVIII.28.2-3 (the antithesis between Ἀρριδαῖος μὲν and Πτολεμαῖος δέ is artificial).<sup>90</sup> However, the arguments set out above show that, in this instance, we should continue to talk in terms of likelihood rather than of proof.

#### Fragments 3 and 4

These citations concern the campaign made by Eumenes and Perdiccas against Ariarathes of Cappadocia in summer 322, and the earlier condition of Cappadocia. Appian Mith.8 (= Hier.F3) gives two versions of Alexander's dealings with the Cappadocians. It is his own opinion (μοι δοκεῖ) that Alexander imposed tribute on the rulers of Cappadocia before he hurried on against Darius (ἐπειγόμενος ἐπὶ Δαρείου); but Hieronymus says that Alexander did not touch the Cappadocians at all, but marched against Darius by another route.

Two passages of Diodorus come in question. The first is XVIII.16.1, where Diodorus opens his account of Perdiccas' attack on Ariarathes by explaining the 'casus belli'; οὗτος γὰρ (sc. Ariarathes) οὐ προσέχων τοῖς Μακεδόσιν ὑπὸ μὲν Ἀλεξάνδρου παρεωκόθη διὰ τοῦς περὶ Δαρείου ἀγῶνας καὶ περισπασμούς. This is at least consistent with Hieronymus' statement, as reported by Appian, about relations between Alexander and the Cappadocians: nothing is said about tribute; and the vague demand for recognition of Macedonian suzerainty (οὐ προσέχων τοῖς Μακεδόσιν) is not precluded by Hieronymus' version.

We must also consider Diodorus XVIII.3.1. In the appointments at Babylon Eumenes was assigned Cappadocia and Paphlagonia, ἧς Ἀλέξανδρος οὐκ ἐπῆλθεν ἐκκλεισθεὶς ὑπὸ τῶν Καυκῶν, ὅτε διεπολέμει πρὸς Δαρείου. Here the resemblance to Hieronymus F3 is fairly close: Diodorus' οὐκ ἐπῆλθεν seems to correspond to οὐδ' ἐπιψύδασι τῶν ἐθνῶν

in Hier. ap.Appian. (Alexander's haste is a theme in both Appian, version one, and in Diodorus, but there is probably little significance in this: Alexander's desire to meet the enemy was a fact, whatever the truth of his dealings with the Cappadocians.)

The historical note on Cappadocia at XVIII.3.1 singles out Eumenes' satrapy: few of the others in Diodorus' list attract a comment of this kind. This is not Diodorus' addition, however, because Plutarch glosses his reference to Eumenes' appointment in the same way: *Εὐμένης λαμβάνει Καππαδοκίαν... οὕτω τότε Μακεδόνων οὖσαν, Ἀριαράθης γὰρ αὐτῆς ἐβασίλευεν.* Diodorus and Plutarch therefore seem to have a common source which noted the state of Eumenes' satrapy; and the special interest shown in Eumenes naturally suggests that this source was Hieronymus. Appian's survey of Cappadocian history from the time of Alexander until the founding of the Pontic kingdom by Mithridates follows the same pattern as the references to Cappadocian affairs in Diodorus. It may be supposed that Appian worked through Hieronymus systematically, extracting the information relevant to his purpose; hence his citation of Hieronymus was probably taken from the beginning of Hieronymus' history, his references to the defeat of Ariarathes from a later point. It is reasonable, then, to suppose that the citation was taken from Hieronymus' satrapy list, at a point corresponding to Diodorus XVIII.3.1 and Plutarch Eum. 3.2, although verbal resemblance between Appian and the other authors is not exact.

Hieronymus fragment 4 (= Ps.-Lucian Macrob. 13) mentions the death of Ariarathes: *ἐν τῇ πρὸς Περδίκκην μυχῆι Σωγρηθεὶς ἀνεσκοδόσθη.* The same fact is recorded by Appian Mith.8, and by Diodorus XVIII.16.3, and again by Arrian Fl.11. There are minor variations in the language used, but there must be a strong presumption that the secondary authors have a common source in Hieronymus, especially when this fragment is

considered in connection with fragment 3. (Diodorus gives a real variant in his later discussion of the kings of Cappadocia, at XXXI.19, where he states that Ariarathes died in battle: here his source was probably a local patriotic historian of the Pontic house).

#### Fragment 5

The paradoxographer cites Hieronymus for an account of the 'bitter lake' in the country of the Nabataean Arabs: no fish or other water creature can live in this lake, and the local peoples take from it blocks of asphalt. The fragment is naturally associated with Diodorus' digression on the 'asphalt lake' at XIX.98ff., where the same features are described at length. In the preceding chapters (XIX.94ff.) he has described the land of the Nabataean Arabs, also mentioned in fragment 5; and at the end of the excursus he has a biographical notice on Hieronymus - the historian was sent as leader of an expedition to gather asphalt from the lake (XIX.100.1). The prima facie case for deriving these chapters from Hieronymus is therefore very strong.

It is often considered, however, that Diodorus' use of the phrase *τὴν σατραπείαν τῆς Ἰδουμαίας* in this context is problematic (XIX.98.1-.) According to Beloch, such a satrapy could not have existed until Coele Syria became Seleucid after the battle of Paneion at the beginning of the second century: there was no satrapy of Idumaea under Alexander, and no satrapies anyway in the Ptolemaic empire.<sup>91</sup> At XIX.95.2 Diodorus talks of the 'eparchy' of Idumaea - a common word in the Roman period meaning district or 'provincia';<sup>92</sup> but Beloch claims that while Diodorus could have substituted the colourless *ἐπαρχία* for the technical word *σατραπεία*, he could not have done the reverse. This seeming anachronism has been used to argue that Diodorus did not draw directly on Hieronymus, but knew him only through a historian of the second century, possibly Agatharchides.<sup>93</sup>

The difficulty in this passage is actually less great than is often supposed. The manuscripts R and X of Diodorus omit the phrase *τῆς Ἰδουμαίας* altogether, and it seems highly probable that the characterisation of Idumaea as a satrapy is nothing but a later gloss on the text. The satrapy in question is probably *Συρία καὶ Φοινίκη* mentioned at 94.1, at the beginning of the excursus on Nabataean Arabia.<sup>94</sup>

The name Idumaea did not become usual before the first century B.C. (although the Edomites had inhabited the region to which they gave their name from approximately the sixth century), and probably under the Seleucids it was regarded as an 'eparchy', or subdivision of a satrapy.<sup>95</sup> However, the words 'satrap' and 'satrapy' continued to be used colloquially by Greek writers of provincial governors in Asia until the Parthian period:<sup>96</sup> hence the copyists of Diodorus would find no difficulty in describing Idumaea as a satrapy. This passage should not, therefore, cast serious doubts on the inference which is most naturally drawn from the correspondence with Hieronymus F5, namely, that Hieronymus was Diodorus' direct source for his excursus on Nabataean Arabia.

#### Fragment 16

Hieronymus is cited with several other writers for Strabo's description of Corinth. Strabo had also seen the site for himself: it is not easy, therefore, to identify the contribution of each of his sources. Diodorus, however, in describing Demetrius' seige of Corinth in 303 (XX.103) refers to the place called Sisyphium and to the Acrocorinth, both of which are mentioned by Strabo, and Jacoby concluded that it was at this point in his narrative that Hieronymus described the topography of the city.<sup>97</sup> The resemblance between the fragment and Diodorus' text is very slight, but this case can at least be added to the others discussed, to give a cumulative picture of the way the Hieronymus

fragments seem to match passages in this part of the Bibliothek.

Supplementary sources in Diodorus XVIII-XX

The general picture of Hieronymus as Diodorus' source on the Diadochi needs certain qualifications. It has been shown earlier in the discussion that where Diodorus can be compared with a parallel text he appears, in every case, to be following his source very closely; but it would be wrong to assume that he is a purely mechanical copyist and that he was altogether unaware of any but the standard authorities. At the least, his sources for the history of the West must have been different from those on mainland Greece, since no Greek historian before Polybius was able to cover both areas in detail.<sup>98</sup> For his account of Agathocles in books XIX and XX he seems to have drawn chiefly on Duris, and in the later stages he twice cites Timaeus;<sup>99</sup> and the tone of the sections on western affairs is highly coloured and romantic, in contrast to the sober style of the narrative of the Successors. These sections, then, may be left out of account altogether in a consideration of Hieronymus. The digression at XX.22-26.3 on the history of the kings of Bosphorus may also be discounted: here Diodorus has picked up a local Pontic tradition which he included in the effort to give breadth to his 'universal' history.

In other places, too, Diodorus supplemented Hieronymus with a local tradition which offered more detail or seemed more interesting in its handling of an episode. Problems arise when these episodes are not obviously external to the main history of the Diadochi (like the sections on Pontus or on the West), but fall within the main account; and in such cases the change can only be detected by a change in tone and manner.

The opening of book XVIII contains a number of oddities which can only be explained on the assumption that Diodorus had two sources in front of him; and I regard chapters 2-4 as a bridge passage in which

the transition was made, not without difficulty, from Diodorus' old source on Alexander to his new source, Hieronymus. In particular, the description of the so-called 'Last Plans' seems to come from an author who had an interest in the spectacular and dramatic; and the use in this context of the term 'diadochi', rather than 'hetairoi' or 'somatophylakes', as everywhere else in Diodorus' account of the Successors, indicates a source of a later period than the main source in these books. I reserve detailed discussion of this section for the following chapter: my general conclusion there is that Diodorus' source on Alexander - perhaps Timagenes, ultimately based on Cleitarchus - had taken his history down to the burial of Alexander, and that Diodorus continued to make use of this tradition, alongside Hieronymus, until it ran out.<sup>100</sup>

It is possibly this Alexandrian source which is used at XVIII.28.3-6 for the pro-Ptolemaic account of how Alexander's body was brought to Egypt, and again at XVIII.34.2-5, where Diodorus describes the personal prowess of Ptolemy in battle against Perdiccas: the tone of flattery in these passages is foreign to Diodorus' general treatment of the Diadochi.<sup>101</sup> How much of the account of Perdiccas in Egypt can be attributed to this source and how much to Hieronymus is very uncertain. At XVIII.33.1 Diodorus makes an error of chronology, placing Eumenes' victory over Craterus before the start of Perdiccas' campaign. This is nonsense, because it was the apparent military failure of Perdiccas and his allies which led to Perdiccas' assassination: at 37.1 Diodorus states that news of Eumenes' victory arrived in Egypt directly after Perdiccas' death, and that had it been known two days earlier, "no one would have dared raise a hand against him." Plutarch says exactly the same in his Life of Eumenes, (VIII.2), and this is apparently the Hieronyman version,

Diodorus' inconsistency shows that he was here unsuccessfully trying to combine Hieronymus with his second source. In chapter 38.1 there is another indication that he has not been following Hieronymus exclusively. After the departure of Antipater for Asia, the Aetolians made a campaign into Thessaly for the purpose of diverting Antipater

κατὰ τῆς πρὸς Περδίκκην συνθήκης.

This treaty has not, in fact, been mentioned before. It should have been mentioned either at 29.1, where Perdiccas' other preparations for the invasion of Egypt are described, or at 33.1, where Antipater leaves the Hellespont and sets out for Asia to help Ptolemy. Diodorus takes up his Ptolemaic source, with its muddled order of events, at 33.1, and it is perhaps at this point that the Aetolian treaty has dropped out.

A Ptolemaic source has also been claimed for the section on Cyrene at XVIII.19-21, at the end of which Ptolemy is wrongly called 'basileus'; the use of titles elsewhere in Diodorus' history of the Diadochi is, as Jacoby commented, without exception accurate.<sup>102</sup> Will has developed this idea in a recent study of the position of Cyrene at this period.<sup>103</sup>

His thesis is that Cyrene did not become a province of Egypt in 322-1, as stated at Diod. XVIII.21.9, and as implied by Arrian F9.34, where

Ptolemy, in the division at Triparadeisos, is given Αἴγυπτον . . . . καὶ Λιβύην καὶ τὴν ἐπεκείνῃ ταύτης τὴν πολλὴν καὶ ὅτι περ ἂν πρὸς τούτοις ὄριον ἐπικτήσῃται πρὸς δυσόμενου ἡλίου.

Will thinks that both Arrian and Diodorus have combined Hieronymus with another author who misinterpreted the events of 322-1 in the knowledge that Cyrene did, at a later period, become a province of Egypt. He reconstructs Hieronymus' text, regarding the lands allotted to Ptolemy

in 321, as follows: Αἴγυπτον καὶ Ἀρκβίαν καὶ Λιβύην καὶ ὅτι περ ἂν πρὸς τούτοις ὄρι ἐπικτήσῃται πρὸς δυσόμενου ἡλίου Πτολεμαίου εἶναι.

The second source added, after Libya, *καὶ τὴν ἐπέκεινα ταύτης γῆν πολλήν*, referring to Cyrene;<sup>104</sup> and then, unable to make sense of *δορὶ ἐπικτήσεται*, changed it to the adjective *δορικότης*, which Diodorus takes over at 39.5, making it refer to the whole satrapy and explaining it by Ptolemy's success over Perdiccas.

Whether one can argue in this way from the word *δορικότης* may be doubted, however. Diodorus uses this word not only at XVIII.43.1 (where he might simply be repeating the substance of 39.5), but also at XX.76.7, describing Ptolemy's attitude to Egypt after his defeat of Antigonos in 306, and at XIX.105.4, where each of the generals on the death of Alexander IV is said to have entertained hopes of royal power and held his territory *ὡς ἀνεῖ τινὰ βασιλείαν δορικότητον*. The antique idea of 'spear-won land' had been revived by Alexander and was used by his successors in the newly conquered lands of the empire to shore up their claims to personal dominion.<sup>105</sup> There is no reason to doubt that Diodorus found the word *δορικότης* in Hieronymus, and that it represents a slogan familiar to Hieronymus from the early years of the Successors. The importance of this concept (made plain in the passage at XIX.105.4) makes it likely that at Diod. XVIII.39.5 and in the parallel text of Arrian the conquest referred to is Ptolemy's victory over Perdiccas, and not the relatively unimportant success in Cyrene, and it seems very unsafe to argue a second source from these passages.<sup>106</sup>

Regarding the Cyrene digression itself, the close parallel with Photius' epitome of Arrian (F9.16-19) shows that it was not the independent addition of Diodorus, but appeared also in Arrian's source. To deny that this common source was Hieronymus involves the assumption that both authors used a re-working of Hieronymus - an assumption which

has far-reaching consequences and which is unsatisfactory for reasons which I shall discuss below. It is at least worth noting that the opening of the Cyrene section, in Diodorus, has features which would naturally associate it with Hieronymus, if one ignores the prejudicial 'basileus' at the end. Diodorus goes back in time to explain the antecedents to the war in Cyrene, namely, the murder of Harpalus in Crete.<sup>107</sup> This compares with the practice throughout his account of the Successors, and especially in the narrative of the Lamian War, of citing the 'aitiai' of events, and this practice one might reasonably see as typical of Hieronymus. Furthermore, the source he used did not presume knowledge of events of Alexander's time: hence on the theory that the 'Ptolemaic' source of book XVIII is the same as Diodorus' source in book XVII, it can at least be said that the explanations about Harpalus cannot come from such a source. How the 'basileus' and 'basileia' of XVIII.21.9 are to be accounted for remains a problem. The suggestion of Bizière, that 'basileia' means not 'kingdom' but 'sovereignty' seems to be special pleading, and does not remove the problem of 'basileus'.<sup>108</sup> At XX.27.1 Ptolemy is described as *ὁ τῆς Αἰγύπτου βασιλεύων*, some four years before he actually took the title of 'king', but this is perhaps understandable in the light of *ὡσαυτεῖ τινε βασιλείαν δορίκτητον* at XIX.105.4. The simplest explanation of *Πτολεμαίω τῷ βασιλεῖ* is that Diodorus himself made a slip, perhaps under the general influence of Ptolemaic source which habitually referred to Ptolemy as 'king'. The possibility that he combined Hieronymus with another author in this section, as in his account of Perdiccas' invasion of Egypt, cannot be absolutely excluded; but the evidence of Arrian suggests that some account of these events could be found in Hieronymus, and that therefore Diodorus' digression on Cyrene cannot be regarded as deriving wholly from a subsidiary source.

A series of passages dealing with Ptolemy in Diodorus XVIII-XX come into question in connection with the supposed Ptolemaic source of XVIII.28. In these passages Ptolemy's 'epieikeia' and 'philanthropia' is stressed repeatedly, though the overt tone of encomium appears only at XVIII.28. It seems likely that Hieronymus' comments on Ptolemy were not unfavourable - he recognised the personal ability of all the Successors - but it can hardly be supposed that he went out of his way to praise the founder of the dynasty most consistently hostile to the Antigonids. The account of the death of Nicocles of Paphos and his family may be derived from an Alexandrian source (XX.21): not only does it contain an apologia for Ptolemy's conduct, but the general tone is rather dramatic (21.3, τῶν δὲ βασιλείων πεπληρωμένων φόβων καὶ συμπτωμάτων ἀπρόσδοκῶν), and 'Nicocles' is here a mistake for 'Nicocreon'.<sup>109</sup> It is perhaps inappropriate, however, to look for specific sources behind most of the passages in question. Rather Diodorus appears to have seized on opportunities to promote Ptolemy and to exaggerate remarks made by his main source. We see this at XVIII.14.1 - Ptolemy wins popularity in his new satrapy; at XIX.55.5 and 56.1 - Ptolemy's kindness to the exiled Seleucus; XIX.86.2-4 - Ptolemy's forgiving nature illustrated by the case of Andronicus. In these instances, nothing factual has been added to the main account, but Ptolemy's 'philanthropia', which was surely a matter of policy, has been turned into a description of his character. This distortion can be explained in a general way in terms of Diodorus' special interest in Egypt, the only foreign country he had visited, and hence in the founder of the Ptolemaic dynasty.<sup>110</sup> But he may have been particularly under the influence of Hecataeus of Abdera, whom he had used for his account of Egypt in book I. The attributes ἐπιείκεια, φιλανθρωπία, χρηστότης,

and *εὐεργεσία* - the virtues of a model Hellenistic king - which are associated with Ptolemy I in books XVIII-XX are also prominent in book I. Osiris is consistently described as *εὐεργετικός* (I.13.5, 17.2, 18.5, 21.8); also Isis (I.22.1, 25.3), Aegyptus (I.51.4), Sesosis (I.54.2, 55.10), and Psammetichus (I.67.9). Sesosis, Actisanes, Mycerinus, Sabacon, and Amasis showed *ἐπιείκεια* in their rule of Egypt; Sabacon excelled his predecessors in *χρηστότης*; and at I.90.2 Diodorus has a digression on the importance attached to 'euergesia' by the Egyptians. Diodorus' source for book I has projected on to the legendary rulers of Egypt the virtues advertised by the Hellenistic kings of his own time. The word *χρηστότης*, used of Sabacon in book I and of Ptolemy I at XIX.55.5, is particularly significant, because this was a quality especially associated with the Ptolemaic kings.<sup>111</sup> Accordingly, the characterisation of Ptolemy I in Diodorus' history of the Diadochi probably owes little to Hieronymus, but has been superimposed on Hieronymus' factual narrative wherever Ptolemy's actions lent themselves to a favourable interpretation.

In addition to his Alexandrian source or sources, Diodorus certainly made use of a Rhodian author. His account of the 'third inundation' of Rhodes at XIX.45 is irrelevant to the narrative of Antigonus' campaigns, and must derive from a local Rhodian historian. It was perhaps the same historian whom Diodorus used in book XX for his account of Demetrius' siege of Rhodes. The sections XX.81-88 and 91-100.4 fall under suspicion in the first instance because of the reference at 81.3 to the will of Alexander: "Alexander, the most powerful of men known to memory, honouring Rhodes above all cities, both deposited there the testament disposing of his whole realm and in other

ways showed admiration for her and promoted her to a commanding position." This is the fiction of a Rhodian patriot: the entire history of the Diadochi makes sense only on the assumption that Alexander left no will.<sup>112</sup>

The account of the siege in the following chapters is a piece of good historical writing (unlike the historically muddled account of Ptolemy in book XVIII), and it differs only slightly in manner from the narrative of Diodorus/Hieronymus. The differences are important, however. The account is generally favourable to the Rhodians, who are treated as innocent victims of Antigonos' aggression, and it is very well informed about events within Rhodes: the measures taken as preparation for the war (emancipation of slaves, provision for public burial of the fallen and for widows and orphans, etc.); the discussion in the Rhodian assembly of a proposal to pull down the statues of Antigonos and Demetrius; and the honorary decree voted to the mercenary captain Athenagoras, are all items which indicate knowledge of affairs from the Rhodian side.<sup>113</sup> The general interest in siege machinery might be thought a Rhodian interest, Rhodes and Alexandria being the centres of Hellenistic military technology; and there is some evidence of Rhodian terminology. The rare word 'katapeltaphetai' at 93.5, now supported by the parallel text of Hiller von Gaertringen's papyrus; the phrase ἐπὶ νήσων in the same paragraph, without the article τῶν ; and the hapax legomenon μεταλλωρύχος of the papyrus, which Diodorus has converted to the more usual μεταλλεῖα and μεταλλεύς, are all very Rhodian expressions.<sup>114</sup>

In this section Diodorus seems also to adopt a new style of military writing. There is a dramatic note in the picture of the anxious Rhodians gazing down at the enemy fleet (83.2), in the hand-to-hand

battle at 87.3, in the appeal of the Rhodian 'prytaneis' to the patriotic citizens (88.3), and again in the fears and weeping of the women and children during Demetrius' final assault on Rhodes (98.8-9). This dramatic manner is not characteristic of siege descriptions in Diodorus/Hieronimus: contrast, for example, the account of the siege of Megalopolis at XVIII.70ff.<sup>115</sup>

One passage in the 'Rhodian' section needs special comment. This is the elaborate descriptions of the great 'helepolis' built by Demetrius in the second year of the siege (XX.91). The technicality of this description has suggested to some that it derives from a writer on military technology; and this theory has serious implications for Diodorus' method of composition, since it suggests that in this passage he wove together material from more than one source, instead of adding a single supplementary account to his main source in the way here argued. Marsden compared Diodorus' account of the helepolis with the description by the third century technical writer, Biton, of the helepolis built for Alexander by the engineer Posidonius.<sup>116</sup> He concluded that the striking similarity both in details of subject matter and in the order in which they are discussed postulate a technical writer like Biton as the ultimate source of Diodorus. This writer, he thought, could be Diocleides of Abdera, who was famous for his description of the Rhodian helepolis;<sup>117</sup> and Diodorus' direct source might have been a collection of engineering excerpts. However, Marsden overlooks the fact that in the narrative following the description of the helepolis, there are repeated allusions to items in its construction which are not only consistent with the original description but actually presuppose it. The references to the pent-houses, the iron plates which covered the machine, and the men assigned to move it, would be unintelligible unless they

referred back to a complete description of the helepolis.<sup>118</sup> Moreover, the fact that Diocleides, of whom nothing else is known, wrote a famous description of the Rhodian helepolis, does not guarantee that this was the one used by Diodorus: a man who won fame for describing a helepolis was surely a rhetorical, not a technical writer. We know from Plutarch that Demetrius' machines were objects of wonder to all his contemporaries, and they may have inspired various 'ekphraseis'.<sup>119</sup> Plutarch's own description of this helepolis/ seems to be less technical than the Diodoran account and rather differently arranged, and it suggests that at least one rival account was in circulation.<sup>120</sup> A historian who embarked on a description of this sort must have had access to technical expertise, but the expert most naturally associated with the Rhodian helepolis is Epimachus of Athens, the engineer who built the machine.<sup>121</sup> A contemporary historian could have drawn on Epimachus' engineering notes, just as Biton used the hypomnemata of Posidonius and Philon and Heron used the hypomnemata of Ctesibius.<sup>122</sup> This hypothesis would explain the similarities between the accounts of 'helepoleis' in Biton and in Diodorus, for Greek engineers presumably learned from one another and passed on traditions of design and construction, and after Posidonius probably every helepolis was based on the pattern he had established. There are good reasons, therefore, for associating Diodorus' description of the Rhodian helepolis with the rest of the Rhodian section and attributing the entire passage to a single subsidiary source.

The question of the helepolis raises a general problem about the ultimate origins of Diodorus' whole account of the siege of Rhodes. The publication of Hiller's papyrus, with its parallel account, inspired a number of guesses. The Ionic dialect of the papyrus does not necessarily point to Duris of Samos, as Cavaignac suggested, for there is abundant

evidence for the popularity of Ionic for historical compositions in the second century A.D., at the time the papyrus was written: Arrian's Indike is the best known example.<sup>123</sup> The dialect is therefore likely to be the affectation of the writer of the papyrus. There is little to recommend Diyllus, the third century Athenian historian whom Cavaignac proposed as an intermediary between Duris and the papyrus. The most likely candidate, and the one favoured by Jacoby and other commentators, is Zeno of Rhodes. There is no difficulty in attributing to Zeno the detailed and intelligent narrative, with its Rhodian bias, which forms the basis of Hiller's papyrus and of Diod. XX.81ff. The question then resolves itself into the question of Zeno's sources. Living a century after the siege of Rhodes, Zeno must have drawn on earlier literary accounts for this part of his work, and it may be supposed that, among these, the relevant section of Hieronymus' history was the standard version. That Hieronymus gave an account of the siege - an episode which demonstrated all the brilliance and the futility of Demetrius' achievements - can hardly be doubted; and in Diodorus the detailed knowledge of affairs on the Macedonian, as well as the Rhodian side, is most naturally attributed to a Macedonian source. The description of Demetrius' helepolis can be ascribed ultimately to Hieronymus (with the collaboration of Epimachus), and associated with other passages in Diodorus XVIII-XX showing an interest in military technology, particularly the description of the Salaminian helepolis at XX.48. The chapter on the Rhodian helepolis passes naturally into the portrait of Demetrius 'Poliorcetes', the builder of the machine (XX.92), and this can be compared with portraits of other individuals in this part of the Bibliothekē. Furthermore, the parallel at this point with Plutarch, who sketches Demetrius' character in the same terms as Diodorus and in

the same context, is most easily explained on the assumption that Plutarch and Diodorus have a common source in Hieronymus.

A theory along these lines is needed to account for both the similarities and the differences between Diodorus' narrative in these chapters and his main narrative of the Diadochi. (Naturally one might make the picture more complicated by assuming that more than one author has intervened between Hieronymus and the Rhodian historian). Evidently Diodorus abandoned the original text of Hieronymus at this point because the Rhodian re-working of Hieronymus offered more material - the Macedonian version was balanced by a Rhodian point of view - and treated it in a generally more vivid manner. In the same way he had tried to look at events in Egypt from the Alexandrian point of view; and although he did not always handle his material with equal success when he tried to work in the additions, Diodorus' principle of supplementing his main narrative with local histories in order to focus on important episodes was one that was by no means foolish.

Two other supplements may be mentioned briefly. First, the passage at XVIII.66.4 -67.6 describing the trial and death of Phocion - a highly coloured and 'pathetic' account which moralises on the instability of Fortune and the cruelty of the Athenian mob, and tries to enlist the reader's sympathy for Phocion and his party. The tone is out of character with Diodorus' treatment of Athenian affairs elsewhere in XVIII-XX, and the apologia for Phocion probably derives from a local historian who shared Phocion's views - perhaps Philochorus.<sup>125</sup> Secondly, there is a notorious crux at XIX.44.4-5, where Diodorus' description of Rhagae and the origins of its name appears to correspond with a fragment of Duris.<sup>126</sup> Coming as it does directly after a reference to Hieronymus (XIX.44.3, Hieronymus enters the service of Antigonus) this passage is a distinct oddity. It appears from his history of Agathocles

that Diodorus was familiar with Duris' work, and it can only be supposed that the Rhagae passage is a simple addition to the Hieronyman narrative, like the account of the Rhodian flood in the next chapter. It was perhaps inserted at a point where there was a natural break in Hieronymus' history - a book ending, for example.<sup>127</sup> In what connection Duris had spoken of Rhagae is a matter of conjecture: the coincidence with Diodorus does not, in any case, justify any far-reaching conclusions about the relation of his work to that of Hieronymus.<sup>128</sup>

As well as his occasional use of subsidiary sources, some allowance has to be made for Diodorus' own additions to Hieronymus. These are mostly brief and unimportant passages which tie together the various parts of his unwieldy narrative, and which can be paralleled in other books of the Bibliothekē. Chapter I of book XVIII, for example, is Diodorus' own introduction to his new theme; similarly, XVIII.75.3 is his own conclusion to the book; and he regularly marks the change from one theatre of events to another in his own words. Philosophical reflections also tend to represent the thoughts of Diodorus himself: for example, the discussion of Tyche at XVIII.59.5-6, where the language is reminiscent of the language of Diodorus' proem to book I.<sup>129</sup>

The supplements, whether drawn from local histories, or whether the fruit of Diodorus' own reflections upon history, are mostly short and self-contained, and can be distinguished without difficulty from the central narrative. These exceptions do not affect our view of Hieronymus as the single main source of Diodorus in the history of the Diadochi. The rest of the narrative shows the internal consistency of factual detail and of general outlook described earlier, and I take it as a principle that there need to be special grounds for doubting that any particular passage derives directly from Hieronymus.

Intermediary sources

It has been held by some, including Schwartz and Beloch, that Diodorus did not make direct use of Hieronymus, but knew him only through an intermediary, probably a historian of the second century: Agatharchides is the name most frequently mentioned in this connection.<sup>130</sup> The idea of an intermediary was originally developed by those who clung to the theory that Diodorus was a mindless copyist of his sources and used only a single author at a time, but at the same time wanted to account for the obvious anomalies, attributed in this discussion to the use of supplementary sources. Hence the theory of a proto-Diodorus who had already combined various strands of the primary material. The idea of this shadowy figure, the intermediary, behind the person of Diodorus, is not only uneconomical. It also makes it difficult to account for major repetitions in the Bibliothekē. Diodorus took Hecataeus of Abdera as his principle<sup>al</sup> source for his description of Egypt in book I; but he omitted Hecataeus' account of the Jews at this point, to introduce it forty books later as a digression in the narrative of Pompey's Jewish War.<sup>131</sup> A description of the Dead Sea is given in book XIX, in connection with Antigonus' Arabian campaign; but the same description occurs in book II, as part of a geographical excursus on Arabia.<sup>132</sup> The two passages agree almost word for word. This might represent a chance use of a common author by Diodorus and his source in book II; but it is more reasonable to suppose that Diodorus had read a number of authors before he started to write, and tried to make use of them not only where they provided the standard account of a period, but also where they had something to contribute in a specialised area. The repetition or anticipation of material in different books of the Bibliothekē strongly suggests that Diodorus' method was not entirely mechanical.

The specific arguments in favour of Agatharchides or some other re-working of Hieronymus are not compelling.<sup>133</sup> The reference to the 'satrapy of Idumaea', supposedly indicating a date after 198 B.C., has been discussed above. The geographical description of Asia at XVIII.5-6 with its horizontal division along the line of the Taurus-Caucasus, has sometimes been thought to presuppose the scheme of Eratosthenes; but our ignorance of the state of Greek geography directly before Eratosthenes hardly allows this conclusion. It is entirely possible that the north-south division of Asia is an idea which goes back to Alexander's geographers; and there are in any case references in this passage to the political conditions of Alexander's time which could not have survived a general renovation in the light of Eratosthenes' work.<sup>134</sup> The passages of XVIII-XX which show sympathy for Ptolemy, and again the coincidence with the fragment of Duris are admittedly not derived from Hieronymus; but it is no complement to Agatharchides to suppose that it was he who made the clumsy 'Ptolemaic' additions in book XVIII and elsewhere. The passages which I have described as supplements are so clearly different in manner from the central narrative that it makes little difference to a final estimate of Hieronymus whether they are the additions of Diodorus or whether of 'proto-Diodorus'; but it is in fact arbitrary and pointless to insist that they could not have been made by the author of the Bibliotheké himself. That Agatharchides knew Hieronymus' history is a natural inference from Hieronymus T2, but there is nothing to show whether this was a casual allusion, or whether it indicates a more extensive use of his predecessor. It is in any case highly improbable that Agatharchides merely copied out long extracts from Hieronymus' work.

The theory of an intermediary cannot actually be disproved, but neither can it be substantiated, and it solves no problems relating to

the source of criticism of Diodorus XVIII-XX. In the following chapters I shall assume that Diodorus drew on Hieronymus directly in his history of the Diadochi, and that, with the exceptions noted above, he drew on Hieronymus alone.

#### The other secondary authors

All the surviving accounts of the Diadochi derive to a greater or lesser degree from Hieronymus; few authors, however, apart from Diodorus, seem to have used him both directly and extensively. For this reason I have seen it as essential to take Diodorus as a starting point: we do not know in advance what sort of history Hieronymus wrote, since the fragments tell us so little; and it is only from Diodorus, thanks to his unique method of composition, that we can form an idea of its characteristics. The method followed by Reuss in his study of Hieronymus, which was to trace a common source in all the secondary authors and then to identify this source as Hieronymus, is a method which raises many problems, and Reuss attributed to Hieronymus much material which, according to the literary criteria described in this chapter, must actually derive from other sources: the same fact does not necessarily imply the same source, and we cannot decide arbitrarily what Hieronymus may have written. The use of Hieronymus by writers of the imperial period is to be judged partly by the tests applied in the case of Diodorus - a focusing of the material on the figures of Eumenes, Demetrius and Antigonus, reference to Hieronymus as a historical character - but mainly by comparison with the narrative of Diodorus. Where another author (A) corresponds closely with Diodorus/Hieronymus, both in details and in the order of events, two conclusions may be drawn: first, A may add to our knowledge of Hieronymus through the inclusion of certain details

not given by Diodorus, if these are not obviously his own additions; secondly, in cases where there is doubt about Diodorus' derivation from Hieronymus, the parallel account of A can be used to check whether he has added material of his own (e.g. XVIII.3.1, XVIII.19-21, XX.92, discussed above).

Generally speaking, the other accounts add little to the knowledge of Hieronymus gained from Diodorus, and close comparison of the texts tends to reveal more about the methods of the secondary authors than about Hieronymus himself. For detailed analysis, therefore, I refer to earlier studies of the historiographical tradition on the Diadochi, and I give here only a resumé of the position with regard to our most important sources.<sup>135</sup>

Among writers of the Roman period who used Hieronymus, our greatest loss is undoubtedly Arrian's *Τὰ μετὰ Ἀλέξανδρον*. Photius' epitome of this work shows that it included the same items as Diodorus for the years 323-321, and in the same order; and the similarity of subject-matter alone is such, in this case, as to suggest a common source.<sup>136</sup> Where Photius goes into more detail, for example in his account of the settlement at Triparadeisos (F9.34), he agrees with Diodorus almost word for word, and it is hardly possible that both authors independently here combined Hieronymus with another historian (see above). Arrian diverges from Diodorus in recounting how Alexander's body was brought to Egypt (F9.25): here, as we have seen, Diodorus was using an Alexandrian source, and it may be supposed that Arrian preserves the version of Hieronymus. On the other hand, where Arrian and Diodorus differ in their accounts of the murder of Demades, Arrian is probably using not Hieronymus but an Athenian source.<sup>137</sup> He relates the incident in connection with the fate of the other Athenian democrats in the context of the year 322, and makes Cassander responsible for the murder, whereas Diodorus puts it in 318, shortly before Antipater's death, and says

nothing about the deaths of Demosthenes, Hypereides and the other Athenians:<sup>138</sup> an Athenian author therefore probably lies behind Arrian F9.13-15. Furthermore, the description of Antipater as *βαπρός καὶ παλκίος στήμων* occurs in Arrian and in Plutarch, but not in Diodorus, and the offensive phrase must derive from an Athenian democratic source, not from a historian writing from a Macedonian point of view.<sup>139</sup>

It seems likely, therefore, that Arrian's method in his history of the Successors was similar to his method in his history of Alexander, where he took the best original account of the period - Ptolemy - and supplemented it with the lesser histories and legomena. The fragments of the *Τὰ μετὰ Ἀλέξανδρον* do not otherwise conflict with Diodorus, but in many places they add substantially to Diodorus' information. This is true particularly of F10 (cf. F9.25-26), dealing with the outbreak of the war in 321 between Perdiccas and Eumenes on the one hand and Antipater's coalition on the other; also of the papyrus fragment which concerns Eumenes' negotiations with Craterus' troops after the battle at the Hellespont.<sup>140</sup> These appear to be true fragments of Arrian, as opposed to the abbreviated version of Photius, and they give an idea of the scale on which Hieronymus must have written, for the treatment of the material is exhaustive.

Trogus, also, we have only in epitome. His 'Historiae Philippicae' seems to have been written as serious history, though with a certain moralising and anecdotal tendency, and in his method of work he differed significantly from Diodorus, weaving together different historiographical traditions on any one period.<sup>141</sup> For the period of the Diadochi the account of Trogus/Justin in many places corresponds closely with that of the Hieronyman tradition in Diodorus, particularly at XIII.6, discussing Perdiccas' conquests in Cappadocia and Pisidia and his marriage plans, and at XIII.8, describing Perdiccas' harsh character.<sup>142</sup>

The account of Eumenes' battle with Neoptolemus and his exile on Perdiccas' death also parallels that in Diodorus.<sup>143</sup> Again in book XIV, where he narrates the later fortunes of Eumenes, Justin follows the tradition of Diodorus/Hieronymus, though he fails to mention Hieronymus at Nora.<sup>144</sup> For the final battle at Gabiene, however, this tradition is abandoned, and Justin gives an account recalling that of Plutarch, referring to Eumenes' attempt to flee from the army. This unflattering account of Eumenes' behaviour possibly derived from Duris, likewise the theatrical last speech of Eumenes, recorded by Justin and Plutarch.

The excursus on the history of Cyrene at XIII.7 is certainly from a source other than Hieronymus, and seems to replace the narrative of Thibron's fortunes in Cyrene given by Diodorus and Arrian. Justin also differs from Diodorus in his narrative of the Lamian War, which is written from a Greek, not a Macedonian point of view, and suggests an author who tried to minimize the final catastrophe of the Greeks.<sup>145</sup> Again, his account of reactions in Babylon to Alexander's death differs considerably from that of Diodorus and resembles the last chapters of Curtius' history, both in its dramatic tone and in the record of the generals' speeches; like Diodorus, on the other hand, Justin refers to the decision to send Alexander's body to Ammon - an item which occurs in these two authors alone.<sup>146</sup>

It is possible that Trogus' account of events at Babylon, like that of Curtius, had elements deriving ultimately from Duris; but unlikely that he used either Duris or Hieronymus direct, as Fontana suggests.<sup>147</sup> His knowledge of Hieronymus might have come from Diodorus, since Justin has no factual details, in the Hieronyman parts of the narrative, which are not also in Diodorus, and such a relation between the two works would explain the reference to Ammon in each. However, Diodorus does not seem to have been used generally by other historians before the Christian

chroniclers, and the relative dates of writing of Trogus and Diodorus are very uncertain.<sup>148</sup> It has often been thought that Trogus drew extensively <sup>on T.</sup> ~~on~~ Timagenes for his history of Alexander, and it may be that a common use of this author by Trogus and Diodorus accounts for the detail about Ammon at the beginning of their narratives of the Diadochi, where the old source on Alexander had not yet altogether been laid aside.<sup>149</sup>

The biographers Nepos and Plutarch have detailed accounts of the careers of Eumenes, Demetrius and Pyrrhus, which undoubtedly derive in part from Hieronymus; probably neither knew his work at first hand, however, and in the case of Plutarch, especially, the biographical genre makes it difficult to isolate the various sources used.<sup>150</sup>

Nepos in his Life of Eumenes is very similar in a general way to Diodorus. His account of Eumenes' high birth and his important position under Philip and Alexander (ch.I) is probably from Hieronymus (contrast Duris ap. Plutarch Eumenes I.1), likewise his narrative of Eumenes' campaigns in Asia (chs. 3-10), which corresponds closely with Diodorus, although much briefer. It is doubtful whether the allusions in chapter 2 to Alexander's ring is taken from Hieronymus, as this was a story which appeared in the vulgate tradition on Alexander. The final chapters of the Life (11-12), which contain dicta and other material found in Plutarch but not in Diodorus, also suggest a more popular type of historical writing. Chapter 13 contains mostly Nepos' own conclusions, though in the final paragraph (13.4) he seems to return to the Hieronyman tradition for his account of Eumenes' burial.<sup>151</sup>

Plutarch mentions Hieronymus in each of his three biographies of the early Hellenistic princes: in the Eumenes and the Demetrius he is named as a historical character; and in the Pyrrhus he is cited three times as a source.<sup>152</sup> For Plutarch, however, Hieronymus was only

one of many authorities. At the beginning of the Eumenes he cites Duris for the view that Eumenes' father was a waggoner: the alternative version, that Eumenes owed his advancement to the guest friendship between his father and Philip of Macedon, must come from Eumenes' admirer Hieronymus. The hostile account of Eumenes' career under Alexander in ch.2 again suggests Duris, and there are signs of this author at the end of the Life, where it is imputed that Eumenes showed cowardice before the final battle against Antigonus, and in the dramatic account of Eumenes' capture and execution. The main narrative of Eumenes' adventures in Asia is based on Hieronymus, but has been worked over, certainly by earlier writers, as well as by Plutarch himself, so as to put character and moral issues into high relief. Thus Eumenes' battle with Neoptolemus, the death of Craterus, the demagogic behaviour of the eastern satraps to the soldiers, the battle with Antigonus, and the account of Eumenes' illness, all show an exaggeration for the sake of effect which is absent from the parallel sections of Diodorus. Some of these episodes may be influenced by the tradition from Duris,<sup>153</sup> but in general the more colourful elements can be sufficiently explained in terms of Plutarch's own method of composition.<sup>154</sup>

In the Demetrius, at least three principal strands are woven together.<sup>155</sup> A version of Hieronymus was clearly used for the main part of the historical narrative: thus chs. V-VII and XXII.I can be paralleled in Diodorus, also the characterisation of Demetrius at II.2-3 and at XIX.6-XX.1; and to these sections we should probably add ch. IV (Demetrius and Mithridates), XXVIII-XXIX (character of Antigonus and battle of Ipsus), and the narrative of Demetrius' later fortunes in Greece and Asia in chs. XXX-XXXIII, XXV-XXXVII, XXXIX-XL (reference to Hieronymus at XXXIX.2), XLIII-XLIV.2, XLV-LII.<sup>156</sup> This

narrative is on the whole favourable to Demetrius, though it does not minimize the weaknesses of his character (for example, ch.XL, Demetrius' retort to his son), or the magnitude of his final catastrophe (cf. LI.1, ὡς περ τεθνηκότος Ἀντιγόνου τῆς πόλεως κ.τ.λ.).

It is perhaps doubtful whether Plutarch's account of the battle of Salamis is taken from the Hieronyman tradition, since it diverges in some details from that of Diodorus; the figures for the fleets of Ptolemy and Demetrius are different, and so are the losses; and the colourful picture of Ptolemy and Demetrius exchanging κομπῶδεις λόγοι is missing from Diodorus.<sup>157</sup> There was a contingent of forty Athenian ships on Demetrius' side at Salamis (Diod. XX.50.3), and it is possible, as Reuss suggested, that Plutarch here used an Athenian author. An Athenian source seems certain, at least, for the hostile account of Demetrius' invasion of Attica and his misbehaviour in Athens: the most likely candidate is Philochorus, the atthidographer who believed in the ideals of the old democracy; and in a number of places there is a correspondence between Plutarch's account and fragments of Philochorus.<sup>158</sup>

Some of the more scurrilous anecdotes perhaps derive from the comic poets or from the popular historian Duris. It is probably Duris who lies behind the frequent references to Demetrius' love of finery and theatrical show;<sup>159</sup> and Plutarch's general interpretation of the life of Demetrius as a tragic play (see especially ch.LIII) may owe much to Duris' 'mimetic' style of historiography.<sup>160</sup> To what extent the Peripatetic view of a change in Demetrius' character was generally accepted by contemporaries must remain in doubt; but there are some indications that Hieronymus, despite his personal association with the prince, recognised in him the development of the harsh traits of his father Antigonus, and passages of the Life which imply a criticism of the subject are not invariably to be attributed to the tradition hostile to the Antigonids.

For the question of the sources of Plutarch's Pyrrhus, where the picture is more complicated, I refer to the analysis by Lévêque in his study of Pyrrhus.<sup>161</sup> Hieronymus is cited three times, but on each occasion in conjunction with either Dionysius or with Phylarchus, and it seems likely that he was known to Plutarch only via these authors for the events here related.<sup>162</sup> A version of his work was probably used, however, for the major part of the historical narrative of Pyrrhus' campaigns in Macedon before and after the Western expedition, and again for the Peloponnesian campaign at the end of Pyrrhus' life. The history of Pyrrhus was deeply involved with that of Demetrius and Antigonus Gonatas, and Hieronymus necessarily treated in some detail the career and character of the enemy who had posed the greatest threat to the establishment of the Antigonid dynasty in Macedon. His account evidently showed little sympathy for Pyrrhus, and perhaps failed to do justice to his grand visions of empire. The contrast in the personalities of Pyrrhus and Antigonus Gonatas is clearly drawn in the later chapters of the Life, and here the authorship of Gonatas' faithful servant cannot be in doubt. The dicta of Antigonus, recorded at XXXI.2 and XXXIV.5, together with the topographical and personal details of the last campaign at Argos suggest an author who had been present on the Macedonian side; and the omission of any reference to Pyrrhus' victory over Antigonus outside Argos may indicate that bias in favour of his master which Pausanias attributes to Hieronymus.<sup>163</sup> The closing scene, in which Antigonus weeps over his fallen rival, possibly represents the finale to Hieronymus' own history.<sup>164</sup>

Hieronymus did not confine himself, however, to relating those parts of Pyrrhus' history which brought him in contact with the Antigonids. Plutarch cites him for the losses incurred at the battles of Heraclea and Asculum, and it seems probable that he was used in conjunction with Proxenus, Timaeus and Roman annalistic sources, for much of Plutarch's

account of the Italian expedition (though not for Pyrrhus' activities in Sicily).<sup>165</sup> In this section the character of the Hieronyman strand is less pronounced than in the parts centred on Greece and Macedon, but I see little evidence that Hieronymus viewed Pyrrhus' western expedition as an episode in the war of Greeks against barbarians, as suggested by Lévêque, and was therefore disposed to treat Pyrrhus more sympathetically in his role as representative of Hellenic aspirations.<sup>166</sup> It seems more probable that the attack on Rome was, for Hieronymus, the supreme folly of the King's career, and that the Romans, to whom he devoted a special excursus, were seen as embodying an ideal of barbaric courage and independence, like the Nabataeans who resisted the imperialistic expansion of Antigonus Monophthalmus.<sup>167</sup>

Among the minor sources on the Successors, Dionysius appears to have read Hieronymus in the original, because he comments unfavourably on his style (Hier. T12). He also cited him as author of the first Greek treatment of early Roman history (A.R. I.5.4 = Hier. F13), and this excursus must have fallen in the section of Hieronymus' work dealing with Pyrrhus in Italy (ἐν τῇ τῶν Ἐπιγούρων πρῶται Dion. Hal. loc.cit.). Taking this with the evidence of Plutarch, who twice cites Dionysius and Hieronymus together on Pyrrhus' battles against the Romans, it appears that Hieronymus was one of the sources of Dionysius in his Antiquities, books XIX-XX, where he treated Pyrrhus' invasion. These books survive only in excerpts, but we know from the citation of Proxenus at XX.10.2 that Greek sources were used, and among these Hieronymus was probably the principal authority for the military narrative. Dionysius' descriptions of the battles at Asculum and at Beneventum show a competence which at once recalls the excellent military writing of Diodorus XVIII-XX, and certain details about the equipment and fighting methods of the Roman army, which are anachronistic for Dionysius' own time, suggest a Greek author

writing for a Greek audience, who can only be Hieronymus.<sup>168</sup> Despite his complaints about Hieronymus, therefore, Dionysius seems to have found him of considerable use in his account of Pyrrhus' invasion of Italy.

Pausanias twice cites Hieronymus, but almost certainly had no direct knowledge of his work. The allusion at the beginning of Paus. I.6 to *οἱ συγγενομένοι τοῖς βασιλεύσιν ἐπὶ συγγραφῇ τῶν ἔργων* may include Hieronymus, but there is no evidence that Pausanias conducted serious research into writers who were by his own time both ancient and obscure, and his immediate sources for the historical episodes which are introduced into his Periagesis were probably compilations or abstracts of the imperial period. The criticism of Hieronymus' reliability implied in both Pausanias' citations perhaps indicates, as Segre suggested, that Hieronymus has been filtered through that notorious fault-finder, Timaeus;<sup>169</sup> but we can hardly guess what other authors may have intervened between Pausanias and his ultimate source. It seems clear that Hieronymus' work formed the basis of the series of sketches in Paus. book I, describing the careers of the Successors;<sup>170</sup> and Hieronymus is often mentioned in connection with the summary of Pyrrhus' career at I.11-13, where he is named explicitly.<sup>171</sup> The passage describing Pyrrhus' ambition to conquer the Romans - notorious as a result of Perret's thesis about the legend of the Trojan foundation of Rome - may, as Perret claimed, derive from Hieronymus' account of Pyrrhus;<sup>172</sup> he is also probably the source for some of the details about the western expedition, for example, the provenance of the elephants which Pyrrhus took to Italy.<sup>173</sup> It is unlikely, however, that Pausanias has more than a garbled version of what Hieronymus said about Lysimachus and the tombs of the Epeirot kings; and his account of the rival versions of Pyrrhus' death should probably

be interpreted to mean that Hieronymus' version was different again from those he has actually given.<sup>174</sup> Pausanias, then, while he preserves some valuable details not given by other sources for the Diadochi, is not always a reliable vehicle for the transmission of Hieronymus.

Appian in the Mithridateios also cites Hieronymus by name (Hier. F3 = Mith.8-9), and the similarities between his summary of Cappadocian history in these chapters and the references to Cappadocia and the fortunes of Mithridates in Diodorus and Plutarch suggest that Hieronymus was his principal or only source throughout the excursus. He seems to have used Hieronymus again in the Syriaca for the history of Syria under Seleucus I, and here Appian is a valuable source for items such as the partition of Antigonus' empire after Ipsus (ch.55) and Seleucus' war against Lysimachus (ch.62), which may be supposed to represent parts of Hieronymus' history. It seems highly doubtful, however, that Hieronymus was also his source for the list of Seleucid oracles mentioned in connection with the battle of Ipsus, as suggested in a modern study.<sup>175</sup> We need not doubt that the Chaldaean prophecy to Antigonus and the claims to divine patronage made by Seleucus on the occasion of his reconquest of Babylonia, as recorded by Diodorus, go back to Hieronymus: these were probably historical events, and the psychological influence of such prophecies made them historically important;<sup>176</sup> but it is not obvious what purpose would have been served, in a work which focused principally on the Antigonids, by a collection of pro-Seleucid stories current at the time of Ipsus - as far as can be judged from Diodorus, Hieronymus was not a writer who ever mentioned religious phenomena merely for their own sake. Appian's source in ch.56 was more probably Duris, for the story about Lysimachus' dog at ch.64 recalls Duris F55.<sup>177</sup> Appian perhaps made use of a compilation which had

already combined several writers who mentioned events in Pontic and Seleucid history.

Polyaenus is another author who drew on Hieronymus only selectively, using Hieronymus' stories of the generalship of the Successors to illustrate his 'strategemata' of the Macedonians in Bk.IV. Polyaenus states at VI.18.21 and 60.5 that he compiled his work from many historical writings, and it has been generally accepted that he is as reliable in any instance as his sources.<sup>178</sup> In book IV the parallels with Diodorus' account of Eumenes and Antigonus show that Hieronymus is certainly the ultimate source;<sup>179</sup> and it may be supposed that he was also used for strategems from the same period which are not known from other authors - for example, Antigonus' moral victory over Eumenes' fleet in Phoenicia (IV.6.8), an incident which explains Eumenes' withdrawal from Phoenicia into Mesopotamia after 318. (Compare Diod. XVIII.73.2: *καταχούμενος δ' ὑπὸ τῶν κερῶν ἀνέβησεν ἐκ τῆς Φοινίκης κ.τ.λ.*). Polyaenus claimed to be of Macedonian descent, and therefore had a special interest in Macedonian history (Bk.IV, Praef. *τῶν ἡμετέρων προγόνων*), but it is hardly possible that Hieronymus' work was known to him in the original, especially as he seems to have made his collection of strategems in a hurry, in order that the emperors Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus might take it with them as an *εὐφρόδιον* on their Parthian campaign. The close similarity with Diodorus in a number of passages is perhaps to be explained in terms of the anecdotal character of the incidents related; the lively manner of the original may have facilitated their transmission from author to author throughout the Hellenistic period and ensured their preservation down to imperial times. (Some of the same strategems are preserved by Plutarch and Nepos). Not all Polyaenus' strategems of the Diadochi have the stamp of Hieronymus: for example, the story of Eumenes hiding from some pursuing Gauls, at IV.8.1, perhaps comes from

the uncomplimentary portrait of Eumenes by Duris; and like many writers of this period, he may have made use of an already existing mixture of material from Hieronymus, Duris, and perhaps other early Hellenistic sources. A priori it must be considered unlikely that writers of the second century A.D. drew on the original work of men such as Hieronymus. Arrian was the exception; but Arrian was in other respects an exceptional man.

A little can be added to our knowledge of Hieronymus by 'snowballing' operations conducted on the Augustan and imperial authors. It is easy to make mistakes of attribution, however, in the case of writers who drew on Hieronymus only indirectly and incidentally, and whose main purpose was not to relate the history of the Diadochi, but to write biography, perigesis, strategemata, or Roman history. Diodorus differs from our other sources for the special reasons described at the beginning of this chapter, and the peculiar nature of the Bibliotheké allows us to reconstruct from it the character of Hieronymus' lost history in a way which would be otherwise impossible.

NOTES TO CHAPTER TWO

1. Diod. XL.8. Cf. Wachsmuth, Über das Geschichtswerk des Sikelioten Diodors, Leipzig 1892, p.7 and p.8 n.1.
2. Pliny NH Praef.25.
3. Eusebius Praep.Evang. 1.6: ὁ Σικελιώτης Διόδωρος γνωριστώτατος κνήρ.  
Justin Cohort.p.44 (Otto), ὁ ἐνδοξότατος δὲ παρ' ἡμῖν τῶν ἱστοριογράφων Διόδωρος.  
Chronicle of John of Antioch, περὶ τοῦ συνεγράψατο Διόδωρος ὁ σοφώτατος  
χρονογράφος. John Malalas, p.68: καθὼς καὶ Διόδωρος ὁ σοφώτατος  
συνεγράψατο. A general discussion of D.'s work by C. F. Macfarquar, 'Diodorus Siculus as  
Stylist and Historian', D.Phil. thesis, London Univ. 1967 (unfortunately unpublished).
4. Rhodoman's preface is included in vol.I of Wesseling's edition of Diodorus.
5. See B.M.Catalogue of Printed Books, vol.53 (1960), s.v. Diodorus, for a list of translations and extracts made between the 15th and 18th centuries.
6. "L'histoire des successeurs de Alexandre le Grand, extraicte de Diodore Sicilien: et quelque peu de vies escriptes par Plutarque, etc."; Translatée de Grec en Latin par messire Lehan Lascary. Et de Latin en Francoys par messire Claude de Seyssel. Paris 1530. Thomas Stocker: "A righte noble and pleasant History of the Successors of Alexander surnamed the Great, taken out of Diodorus Siculus; and some of their lives written by the wise Plutarch." London 1569.
7. HR (sic): B.M. General Catalogue, loc.cit. no.C45g4.
8. Cogan: "The History of Diodorus Siculus. Containing all that is most memorable and of greatest antiquity in the first ages of the world until the war of Troy. Done into English by H.C.Gent." London 1653.  
Booth: "The Historical Library of Diodorus the Sicilien. In 15 books ... Made English, by G.Booth, of the City of Chester, Esq." London 1700.
9. Cf. L.O. Bröcker, Untersuchungen über Diodor, Güttersloh, 1879, p.5.

10. Schwartz RE V (1905), s.v. Diodoros no.38, col.663ff.; see esp. col. 669: "Die Frage nach den Gewährsmännern ist bei D.noch cardinaler als bei anderen secundären Historikern. Denn sein Bibliothek ist und will thatsächlich nichts anderes sein als ein Serie von Excerpten."
11. At III.52.3 Diodorus states his dependence on Dionysius Scytobrachion. Cf. Fraser, Ptol.Alex. I pp.296-7.
12. Diod. XX.79.5; 89.5.
13. Bröcker, Moderne Quellenforscher und antike Geschichtsschreiber, Innsbruck 1882.
14. W.Spoerri, Späthellenistische Berichte über Welt, Kultur, und Götter, Basel 1959. A.Burton, Diodorus Siculus, Book I, A Commentary, Leiden 1972; (cf. the review by O.Murray, JHS XCV, 1975, pp.214f.)
15. Cf. Farrington, Diodorus Siculus, Inaug.Lect. Swansea, 1936, p.5.
16. For 'Bibliotheke' in its normal sense, cf. Polyb. XII.27.4; Strabo XIII.1.54. In Christian writers it regularly means the Bible: Alc.Alvit. c. Eutychn. I.p.209; Isid. Orig. 6.3.2; cf. Du Cange, Gloss.I.
17. The prefatory address to Photius' book shows that he undertook the work at the request of his brother Tarasius, who grieved at their separation when Photius was sent on an embassy to the Arab government; and it has often been thought that 'Bibliotheke' refers to the contents of a travelling library that Photius took with him. Other portable libraries are known from this period. See the De Ceremoniis of Constantine Porphyrogenitus, Bonn.Corpora I pp.444-508, describing τὰ βασιλικά ταξείδια: a small library of mainly strategic works was taken on Constantine's eastern campaigns. Reynolds and Wilson, Scribes and Scholars, Oxford 1968, p.55, suggest that Photius organised "a kind of literary club", and that before setting off on the Arabian mission he wrote, as an offering and a consolation to Tarasius, a summary of the books read or discussed at

gatherings of their circle. This would account for the wide variety of writers in the collection, which includes historians, secular as well as ecclesiastical, medical writers, philosophers, orators, poets and romance writers.

18. Ἀπολλοδώρου Ἀθηναίου γρηγορητικοῦ Βιβλιοθήκη ed. Heynes, Göttingen 1783.

19. Robert, De Apollodori Bibliotheca Berlin, 1873. Schwartz, RE

s.v. Apollodorus no.61 col.2875ff. We do not know how early the work was fathered on Apollodorus. Diodorus founded the chronological framework of his history on the Chronika of Apollodorus, which covered the history of 1040 years from the sack of Troy to the late second century. The mythographic 'Bibliotheke', which covered the pre-Trojan period, may have been known to Diodorus as the work of the same author, and perhaps suggested a title for his own work.

20. M.Galdi, L'epitome nella letteratura latina, Naples 1922, p.8, puts it in the first century A.D., but gives no reasons for his date.

21. This is in accordance with what Diodorus says in his preface about the need for an up to date universal history (I.3); and the pirating of some of his books before their final revisions shows the demand for such a work (v.supra, n.1). The 'Bibliotheke' belongs to a general background of encyclopaedic writing in Rome of the first century B.C.

22. Pliny NH Praef. 24ff.

23. Cf. Janson, Latin Prose Prefaces, Stockholm 1964, p.29. It was the Roman convention to present a literary work as an impromptu effort, engaging no more than a small part of ones time and personality. Diodorus, who resided at Rome for some of the period of his researches, may have been influenced by this convention. Justin wrote that he only epitomised Trogus to while away his leisure (Praef.4-5): epitome, par excellence, was the occupation of a dilettante.

24. Trogus called his work 'Historiae Philippicae'. Nicolaus' universal history is cited as *ἱστορία* or *ἱστορικὴ καθολική* (F.Gr.Hist. 90 T1).

The oddity of Diodorus' title is reflected in the confusion it caused among later writers. In three cases we find a nonsensical genitive form:

Athenaeus XII.541E, *Διόδωρος... ἐν τοῖς περὶ βιβλιοθήκης*;

Hier. in Dan. II.36 p.718, "Polybius et Diodorus, qui bibliothecarum

scribunt historias"; Pliny NH Praef.25, "Diodorus *βιβλιοθήκης* historiam suam inscripsit". These passages must be either textually corrupt or

based on a curious misunderstanding. Stephanus, 'De Diodoro Brevis Tractatus' (included in Wesseling vol.I), wanted to emend the MS tradition of Pliny

to *βιβλιοθήκης* which would at least bring this passage into line with others which speak of *βιβλιοθήκαι* in the plural: cf. Justin Cohort.

p.10: Euseb. Praep.Ev. X.10.488C, cf. II.1.p.52 (I.114), and II.2.p.52 (I.125);

Chron.I.284. Eusebius once speaks of 'historike bibliotheke', not as Diodorus' title, but when describing his trouble in collecting material (Praep.Ev. I.6);

and Büdinger, Die Universalhistorie im Altertum, 1895 p.113 n.2,

considered this passage the probable basis for the MS tradition which

gives 'Bibliotheke Historike' as Diodorus' title. However, the tradition

of the scholiast on Aristophanes, *ἡ τῶν ἱστορίων βιβλιοθήκη*,

may be independent of Eusebius. Cf. also Suidas, s.v. *Διόδωρος* :

*Σικελιώτης, ἱστορικός. ἔγραψε βιβλιοθήκην.* It is certain that Diodorus

used the word in some form as his title, because Pliny, writing only a century later, expressly says so.

25. Diod. I.3.6.

26. At I.44.1 Diodorus says that he visited Egypt in the reign of Ptolemy Auletes (between 60 and 56 B.C.: the Macedonians have controlled it for 276 years since Alexander, i.e. 331 B.C.; cf. XVII.49); and later he refers to an incident he had witnessed there in which a Roman ambassador was mobbed for accidentally killing a cat. Cf. I.61.4, 22.2, 10.6-7.

For his ignorance of Asian geography, cf. II.3.2, where Nineveh is placed on the Euphrates.

27. For ancient proems in general, see G.Engel, De antiquorum epicorum didacticorum historicorum proemiis, Marburg 1910; Lieberich, Studien zu den Prooemien in der gr. Geschichtsschreibung, München 1899; D.Earl, Prologue Form in Ancient Historiography, Aufstieg u. Niedergang der röm. Welt, II (1972) p.842ff. Lucian Hist. 53 summarizes the best of previous practice with regard to historical prologues. For Diodorus' proems see M.Kunz, Die Prooemien in Diodors Bibliothek, Zurich 1935.

28. Compare Diod. I.1.1f. - Polyb. I.35.6f; D.I.1.4 - P. I.35.7; D.I.1.4 - P.30.6.4, 12.25b.3; D.I.1.5 - P.32.16.1; D. I.1.5 - P.I.1.2; D. I.1.5 - P.9.9.9; D.I.1.5, I.2.2 - P.2.61.3; D.I.2.2 - P.I.14.6; D. I.3.2 - P.I.4.2f.; D.I.3.8 - P.3.32.2; D.I.4.1 - P.3.59.7; D.I.5.2 - P.16.20.8.

29. Dion. Hal. A.R. I.27 (22 years of research); Cass. Dio. LXXII.23.5 (10 years gathering material plus 12 years writing, i.e. 22 in all); cf. ibid. frag.I.2. Dionysius' remarks on Theopompus in the Letter to Pompeius (VI.783) imply that Theopompus, too, had enlarged on the length and the carefulness of his research; and in the 'Peri Thoukididou' he says that Thucydides spent 27 years composing his history (I.115ff.): Thucydides himself said nothing on the matter, and Dionysius evidently computed this figure from the number of years spanned by the history, because it was customary for a historian of his own day to provide such information. Nicolaus of Damascus took only ten years to write the 144 books of his universal history (cf. Wachsmuth, Einleitung, p.105): if Diodorus really spent 30 years on his work he must have been a very slow reader.

30. A.D. Nock, JRS XLIX (1959) p.5.

31. Cf. Polyb. 16.20.8, however.

32. Diod. I.5.2.

33. See Laqueur, Hermes 1911, p.161ff.

34. Cf. Engel, op.cit. p.15.
35. Vitruvius, De Architectura, VII Praef. 3ff.
36. Müller, Geographi Graeci Minores pp.123-194 sets out the parallel texts side by side.
37. Cf. XIX.58.3 for a similar example of clumsy abridgement: τὸ δ' ἄρως τοῦτο, when no mountain has been mentioned.
38. Diod. V.37.1; cf. Strabo 3.2.9, Athen. VI.233C, V.38.4.
39. Diod. IV.20.2-3: ἰδιὸν τι καὶ παρὰ δόξαν καθ' ἡμῶν συνέβη περὶ μίαν γυναικᾶ γενέσθαι. Cf. Strabo 3.4.17. Diodorus also fails to modernise his chronology in book I: cf. O.Murray, JEA 56 (1970) p.145 n.3. Again, his remarks about the strategic importance of Chalcis at XIX.78.2 are appropriate to the early Hellenistic period, but not to his own day, and the present ἔστιν shows that he is here reproducing his source literally: cf. Droysen, Hell. II.3.p.33-4, n.3.
40. P Oxy XIII.1610 = F.Gr.Hist. 70 F191.
41. Grenfell and Hunt, comm.ad loc. p.111.
42. Compare Diod. XXVIII.5 - Polyb.XVI.I (Philip ravages the territory of Pergamum); Diod. XXVIII.6 - Polyb. XVI.34 (Aemilius Lepidus meets Philip at Abydos); Diod. XXIX.2 - Polyb.-XX.8 (Antiochus becomes demoralised after his marriage); Diod. XXX.1 - Polyb. XXVII.6 (Perseus' last embassy to Rome; declaration of war); Diod. XXX.2 - Polyb. XXVIII.1, cf. XXVII.19, 13 (dispute between Ptolemy and Antiochus over Coele Syria); Diod. XXX.5 - Polyb. XXVII.15 (character of Charops); Diod. XXX.17 - Polyb. XXVIII.21 (character of Ptolemy); Diod. XXX.18 - Polyb. XXVIII.18 (character of Antiochus); Diod. XXXI.2 - Polyb. XXIX.27, cf. 2 (Popilius Laenas meets Antiochus); Diod. XXXI.5 - Polyb. XXX.4 (Rhodian envoys try to exculpate themselves before the Senate). Cf. Nissen, Kritische Untersuchungen über die Quellen der vierten und fünften Dekade des Livius, Berlin 1863, ch.VI p.110f.

43. The fragment of Arrian dealing with Eumenes' battle against Craterus appears to derive from the same source as Diod. XVIII.30-32 (PSI XII.2.1284, ed. Bartoletti; cf. Latte, Nach.d.Akad.d.Wiss. in Gottingen, phil.-hist.Kl. 1950 pp.23-27; Rostagni, Riv.Fil. XXIX 1951 p.186f.).

The opportunities for direct comparison are limited; note, however, in column I of the papyrus (πα lines 20-21) the letters ]γνυ and ]σσφα which seem to correspond to γνόν...σφαλείδης at Diod. XVIII.31.4, describing Eumenes' duel with Neoptolemus.

44. P Berl. 11632 = Pack<sup>2</sup>2207. Hiller von Gaertringen SB d.preuss.Akad. 1918 p.752ff; Vitale, Aegyptus 2 (1921) p.207ff- Bilabel, Kleine Texte no.8 p.20ff; Jacoby F.Gr.Hist. 11B 533 (Rhodos: Anhang); E.M.Walker in Powell and Barber, New Chapters in Greek Literature, II p.66f. For the text, see below, App.II.

45. Plut. Demetr. XXI-XXII; Diod. XX.81-88; 91-99.

46. Cf. IG II<sup>2</sup>.665.27; XII.5.30 (Ceos) = Syll.<sup>3</sup> 958 (discussed by A.H.M. Jones, The Greek City from Alexander to Justinian, p.224); Philon Bel. 82.13. (Philon, Bel. 51.10ff., says that he derived information on artillery from personal association with artificers in the arsenals at Rhodes and Alexandria. Cf.Marsden, Greek and Roman Artillery, II, Technical Treatises, Oxford 1971, p.8).

47. See below, App.II.

48. Cf. the remarks of Hammond, C.Q. 1937 p.79ff. on the source criticism of Diod. XVI.

49. Cf. Schachermeyr, Alexander in Babylon, Wien 1970 p.114; and below, ch.III.p.

50. See ch.III p.131 ff.

51. Ibid. p. 116 ff.

52. Diod. XVIII.3.1, 3.2, 4.1-6, 7.1, 8.1-5, 8.6-7, 9.1, 9.2-3, 10.1, 10.4, II.3-4, 12.2, 13.6, 16.1, 18.2, 19.1-2, 22.1.

53. Diod. XVIII.25.1 (322.1); 40.1 (321-0); XIX.12.1, 15.6 (318-17);

34.8, 37.1, 39.1, 44.4, 46.1 (317-16); 56.5 (316-15); 69.2, cf. 68.5-6 (314-13); 77-7, 80-5, (313-12); 89.2 (312-11); XX.28.4 (309-8); 109.2, 109.4, III.2, 112.4, 113.5 (302-1). On the chronology of these books see below, ch.IV p.167.

54. Cf. Jacoby RE Hieronymos col.1553.

55. Diod. XVI.56-57, 61, 64.

56. Nepos Eum. VI.5, cf.I.1.

57. Cf. below, ch.IV.p.219.

58. Gelon, XI.21.3, 22.5, 23.3, 38.5, 67.2-3; Epaminondas, XI.1.2; XV.39.2-3, 88; XVI.2.3.

59. Cf. below, ch.V.p.325f.

60. Ibid. p.323 ff.

61. cf. ch.IV.p.237.

62. Ibid. p.237 ff.

63. Rosen, Political Documents in Hieronymus of Cardia, Acta Classica 1967, p.41ff. Cf. ch.IV p.191ff.

64. Cf. Wachsmuth, Über das Geschichtswerk des Sik.Diodors. p.7; Barber, The Historian Ephorus, Cambridge 1935, p.140ff.

65. Diod. XVII.33.6ff.

66. Tarn, Hellenistic Military and Naval Developments, Cambridge, 1930, p.34-5.

67. Ibid. p.34.

68. Diod. XVIII.42.3-4; 71.2-4; XIX.17.6-7; 37.6; 84.3.

69. Diod. XVIII.42.1; 50.4; XIX.44.3; 100.1. Cf. Plut. Eum. XII.1.

70. Paus. I.6.3; Arr. F9.25.

71. Paus. I.7.1; Ps.-Callisth. III.35; Curtius X.10.20; Marmor Parium, F.Gr.Hist. 239 F B11. Cf. Jacoby Die Besetzungen Alexanders des Grossen, Rh.Mus. 58, (1903), p.461f.

72. Ps.-Callisth. loc.cit.; cf. Fraser Ptol.Alex. I.pp.11-18.

73. Strabo XVII.1.8 (794C).

74. See Fraser, op.cit. I. pp.215f.

75. Cf. ch.III.p.133 ff.
76. Diod. XVII.52.
77. Cf. Diod. 1.4.3.
78. P Berl. 13045. Cf. Fraser, op.cit. II.pp.702 n.58; p.740 n 160; cf. I p.513.
79. Oliver, The Ruling Power, TAPS 1953, p.883; cf. Fraser op.cit. II p.702 n.58.
80. Cf. Syll.<sup>3</sup> 390.
81. Athen. V.40 p.206DE (= Hier.F2); Diod. XVII.115.
82. Diod. XIX.34.4; 48.7.
83. Droysen Hell. II.1 p.126 n.2; cf. Niese I p.217 n.2; Kaerst, Rh.Mus. L11 (1897) p.54f. On Ehippus, see Schwartz, Hermes XXXV p.127.
84. F.Gr.Hist. 627 F1, F2; cf. F5 (= Pliny NH 36.67-8), on the obelisk erected by Philadelphus in front of the Arsineion and the elaborate machinery needed to move it. Cf. Fraser op.cit. I p.512f.
85. Jacoby RE X.2 s.v. Kallixeinos col.1752f.
86. Athen. V.40 p.206DE.
87. Herodian IV.8.9.
88. Cf. Strabo XVII.1.8 (794C).
89. Cf. Fraser op.cit. I p.513. For a reconstruction of the funeral carriage, see Quatremère de Quincy, Monuments et ouvrages d'art antiques, II Paris 1829; K.F. Müller, Der Leichenwagen Alexanders des Grossen, Leipzig 1905; E.Petersen, Der Leichenwagen Alex. d.Gr. Leipzig 1905; H.Bulle, Der Leichenwagen Alexanders, Jhrb. d.Deut.Arch. Inst. XXI (1906) pp.53-73 (correcting Müller); cf. Kurtz and Boardman Greek Burial Customs, 1971 p.304ff. and 305, figure 76 (following Bulle). See now Ch.Picard, Man.Archeol. gr., La Sculpture IV<sup>e</sup> s. II.1963, pp.1284-1287, figs. 503-4. The funeral carriage of the Duke of Wellington - a sombre and splendid vehicle in black and gold, now housed in the crypt of St.Paul's Cathedral - gives an idea of the impression which must have been produced by Alexander's 'harmamaxa'.

90. Müller, op.cit. p.32-3, argues that the use of the word ἐπιμαχία at Diod. XVIII.26ff. indicates Hieronymus as the source, on the grounds that the West Greek Diodorus otherwise avoids this Persian expression. Compare, however, Diod. XIV.22.4.

91. Beloch, gr.Gesch. IV.2.<sup>2</sup> p.5 with n.2.

92. Eparchia: cf. Polyb. 2.19.2; Diod. XXXVII.10; XXXVIII.8; XIX.44.4.

93. See below.

94. This suggestion was made by Bengtson, Die Strategie in d.hell.Zeit. II. München 1944, p.34ff. The reference to the 'eparchy of Idumaea' at XIX.95.2 perhaps comes from Diodorus himself, using the terminology of his own day: note, however, that the text is corrupt at this point, the figure 2,200 stades being impossible in the context and inconsistent with XIX.98.1. Cf. ch.IV n.176.

95. Idumaea; cf. Beer, RE IX s.v. Idumaea col.913. For the suggestion that the eparchy was a μέρις of a satrapy, see Bengtson, loc.cit.

96. Cf. Welles, RC p.361; Rostovtzeff Yale Class. Stud. II.46f. In the Hellenistic kingdoms the term 'satrapes' was in most cases replaced by 'strategos'; but Greek writers continue to refer to the Seleucid governors as 'satraps', and Rostovtzeff suggests that the official name for a province of the Seleucid empire was not 'strategy' but 'satrapy'. Diodorus himself sometimes uses 'satrapy' (pace Beloch), as a general, not a technical term. At II.24.3 he speaks of the 'satrapy' of Babylonia when the context is the Assyrian, not the Achaemenid empire. At XVIII.5.4 he calls Armenia a satrapy, although its ruler, Orontes, had long been independent in all but name, and it had not been included in the list of satrapies and satraps drawn up by Perdikkas in 323. Armenia is again excluded from the list of appointments of 321, recorded by Diodorus at XVIII.39.5-7; but four years later he is still describing Orontes as 'satrap' of Armenia (XIX.23.3). Geographical districts which had not at any time been governed by their

own satraps are also classed as 'satrapeiai'; cf. XVIII.5.4, 6.3

(Lycaonia and Sittacine). Cf. ch.III p. 120f.

97. Jacoby F.Gr.Hist. IID p.547.

98. The Sicilian sections are missing from book XVIII: at XIX.3.3 and 10.3 Diodorus refers to the Syracusans Heracleides and Sosistratos, whom he claims to have mentioned in the preceding book; but nothing has been said about Italy and Sicily since book XVII. This gap perhaps resulted from the hasty publication of this part of the work: cf. Biziere, Diodore XIX. pp.ix-x n.3.

99. Schwartz, RE s.v. Diodoros no.38 col.687-8.

100. Cf. ch.III p. 137ff.

101. Cf. Seibert, Untersuchungen zur Geschichte des Ptolemaios I, München 1969, pp.69ff.

102. Jacoby RE Hieronymos col.1554.

103. E.Will, La Cyrenaique et les partages successifs de l'empire d'Alexandre, ACI.29 (1960) pp.369-90. (Reviewed by Bizière, REG LXXXVII, 1974, p.369ff).

104. Will, art cit. p.377 emends τήν to γήν.

105. See Schmitthenner, Über eine Formveränderung der Monarchie seit Alexander d.Gr., Saeculum 19 (1968) p.31-46.

106. Cf. Bizière art cit. p.373.

107. Diod. XVIII.19.1-2. The phrase καθάπερ ἐν τῇ προ τούτης βύβλῳ δεδηλώκαμεν at 19.2 is naturally Diodorus' addition.

108. Biziere art.cit. p.372.

109. Cf. Jacoby, RE Hieronymos col.1555.

110. So Nietzold, p.136. This idea is not as silly as Jacoby (RE Hieronymos col.1555) seems to think: for Diodorus' admiration for Alexandria, cf. XVII.52.

111. Cf. Ps.Aristeas, ad Philoc. 290: ἡθὸς χρηστὸν καὶ παιδείας κεκοινωνηκὸς  
δουκτὸν ἄρχειν ἐστὶ. Herondas Mimes I.30: ὁ βασιλεὺς χρηστός,  
referring to Ptolemy Philadelphus. Cf. Nairn, comm.ad.loc.: the phrase  
seems to be an 'indivisible compound', suggesting that it was commonly  
used of Ptolemy. (On the order of noun and adjective, cf. Gow comm. ad Theoc.  
IV.49).
112. On Alexander's 'Will' see Merkelbach, Die Quellen des griechischen  
Alexander-romans, München 1954 pp.124ff., 151.
113. Diod. XX.84.2-6; 93.6-7; 94.5.
114. Hiller von Gaertringen art.cit. p.757f. and above n.46. On the  
expression ἐκκλείσθαι see below, App.II p. xlvii.
115. Cf. Jacoby, RE Hieronymos col.1554.
116. Marsden, Greek and Roman Artillery, II, Technical Treatises,  
Oxford 1971 p.85.
117. Athen. V.40 p.206DE.
118. Compare XX.95.1 and 91.8 (penthouses); XX.96.7 τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς μηχανῆς  
λεπίδων τινες, and 91.3; XX.96.7, τοὺς τετραγμένους ἐπὶ τῆς κινήσεως,  
and 91.7.
119. Plut.Demetr. XX.3-5.
120. Ibid. XXI.1-2.
121. Vitruvius X.22.4, p.281.3; Athenaeus Περὶ Μηχανημάτων 27 (ed.Wescher).
122. Marsden op.cit. II.p.5-6, 1-2 and 8-9.
123. Cavaignac, Mel.Glotz 1932 p.160f. Cf.Hiller von Gaertringen art.cit.  
p.760 for examples of the vogue for writing in Ionic.
124. Zeno is cited by Diod. V.56.7 as a source for early Rhodian history.
125. See Jacoby, Atthis p.78-9 for Philochorus' conservative sympathies,  
and p.74 for his relation to that well-known conservative, Androtion;  
cf. F.Gr.Hist. 328 F117 and comm.ad loc. IIB p.461. For the view that  
Diodorus used Diyllus as a source for Athenian affairs, see below, ch.IV p.242 .

126. Duris F.Gr.Hist. 76 F54 = Strabo 1.3.19. The agreement is one of content, not words: see below, n.128.
127. Cf. below, ch.III p.149.
128. Strabo XI.9 p.435 attributes the same information about Rhagae to Posidonius. This was a famous place in antiquity: cf. also Book of Tobit, 4.1, 4.20, 5.6 (Tobit's son Tobias goes to Rhagae to collect his father's silver, accompanied by the angel Raphael).
129. Diod. XVIII.59.6, πάντα τὸν αἰῶνα : cf. I.1.3, 2.3.  
XVIII.59.6, ὁ κοῖνος βίος : cf. I.1.1, 2.1, 8.8, 9.2, Cf. App.II p.xxxix.
130. Beloch, Gr.Gesch. IV.2<sup>2</sup> p.3ff; Schwartz RE Diodorus col.685.  
See also Bottin Rév.Belge de Phil. VII (1928) p.1326 for the same view.
131. See O.Murray, Hecataeus of Abdera and Pharaonic Kingship, JEA 56 (1970) p.145-5.
132. Diod. XIX.98; II.48.6-9. Cf. Krumholz, Wiederholungen bei Diodor, Rh.Mus. 44 (1889) p.286ff. Compare Diod. II.29-31, where, in an excursus on the Chaldaean astrologers, Diodorus refers to their predictions about Alexander and Antigonus, to be treated in later parts of his work. This excursus can hardly be attributed to Hieronymus, as Reuss, Hieronimos p.118.
133. Cf. the arguments of Fontana, Le Lotte p.161ff.
134. See below, ch.III p. 116f.
135. See above, ch.I n.14, for references. The tradition on events at Babylon after Alexander's death is discussed in greater detail in ch.III.
136. Cf. Grimmig, Arrians Diadochengeschichte, Diss.Halle 1914;  
Köhler, Über die Diadochengeschichte Arrians, SB d Berl.Akad.d.W.phil-Hist.Kl. 1890, II, p.557ff.; Fontana, Le lotte, p.213 ff.
137. Arrian F9.14; Diod. XVIII.48.1-4.
138. Diodorus' reference to Demosthenes and Hypereides at XVIII.13.5-6 is perhaps his own addition. The statement that Demosthenes was still in exile at this time appears to be an error: cf. Schäfer, Demosthenes u.

- seine Zeit.<sup>2</sup> Leipzig 1885, III, p.341. Diodorus sometimes comments on famous orators elsewhere in the Bibliothek, e.g. XVII.4.8, Aeschines, XIV.109.3, Lysias; cf. XVI.84-85, taken from Demosthenes De Corona XVIII.169-178. These notices, like his notices on historians and poets, were apparently an attempt to bring cultural history within the scope of κοινή ιστορία.
139. Cf. Plut., Demosth. XXXI.5; Phoc. XXX.9. Cf. ch. IV, n.119.
140. Cf. n.43 above.
141. Amm. Marc. XV.9.2, Trogus collected material 'ex multiplicibus libris'. Cf. Justin Praef. I: 'quae historici Graecorum ... segregatim occupaverant.'
142. Cf. Diod. XVIII.22-23 (it is presumably Justin who has conflated the Cappadocian with the Pisidian campaign); Diod. XVIII.33.3, Arrian F9.28.
143. Justin XIII.8.4-10; cf. Diod. XVIII.30ff.
144. Cf. Diod. XVIII.40ff. For Justin XIV.5-6, Olympias' return to Macedon and her death, cf. Diod. XIX.II; 35-36; 49-51.
145. Justin XII.5.15-17; N.B. 5.17, 'Graecorum quoque copiae finibus Graeciae hoste pulso in urbes dilapsae.'
146. Diod. XVIII.3.5, Justin XII.4.6; cf. below, ch. III p.134.
147. Fontana Le lotte p.187-200.
148. Diodorus was at work on his history by 56 B.C. (I.44.1-4, with XII.49), and was perhaps revising it in 36 B.C. (XVI.7.1, the refounding of Tauromenium: for the date, see Beloch, Die Bevölkerung der gr.-Röm. Welt, p.337). He had probably finished by 30 B.C., since the Macedonians, not the Romans, are said to be the last alien rulers of Egypt (I.44.4). Trogus' floruit is uncertain, depending on whether the 'Dompeius' of Justin XLIII.5.11 is his father or his grandfather: the latest event mentioned is the ending of the Spanish War by Augustus in 19 B.C., but Trogus wrote when the greater part of Livy's history was completed (Justin XXXVIII.3.1). The suggestion of Welles, Diodorus ed. Loeb vol. VIII. Introd., that Trogus

was Diodorus' source for book XVII, can hardly be substantiated because of the uncertainty about the dates of the two authors; the use of a common source on Alexander is more likely.

149. Trogus and Timagenes: cf. von Gutschmid, Rh.Mus. XXXVII (1882), pp.548-55, = Kl.Schr. V pp.218-27 (modified by Wachsmuth, Rh.Mus. XLVI, 1891, pp.465ff; cf. Einleitung pp.114f.); Jacoby, F.Gr.Hist. IIC pp.220-22, 227f.; Laqueur, RE s.v. Timagenes no.2 col.1065ff.; Klotz RE s.v. Pompeius no.142 col.2307ff; Schwartz, RE s.v. Curtius no.30 col.1887ff.; Fraser, Ptol.Alex. II, p.748 n.214. Cf. below, ch.III p.138f.
150. For Nepos' knowledge of the older historians whom he cites, cf. E.Jenkinson, Nepos, in Latin Biography, ed. T.A.Dorey, London 1967, p.6. The view that Plutarch used only secondary sources has been normal since E.Meyer, Forschungen zur alten Geschichte II, 65-71.
151. Cf.Diod. XIX.44.2.
152. Plut. Eum. XII, cf. Hier.T4; Demetr. XXXIX.3-7 = Hier.T8; Pyrrh.XVII.7, XXI.7, XXVII.8 = Hier.F11, 12, 14.
153. So Fontana, op.cit. p.231f.
154. Cf. Jacoby RE Hieronymos col.1559f., for the distortions in Plutarch's account. For another example, see below, ch.V p.282.
155. See W.Sweet, Classical Weekly, 44 no.12, March 1951, p.177ff.; E.Manni, Introd. to ed. of Plutarch's Vita Demetrii, Florence 1953.
156. In ch.XXXII the casual reference to the treasury of Cyinda suggests that Plutarch is excerpting from an extensive work in which Cyinda was often mentioned: cf. Reuss, Hieronymos p.137.
157. Plut. Demetr. XVI.1-2; Diod. XX.50.1-4, cf. 52.6.
158. Compare Plut. Demetr. X, Philoc. F.Gr.Hist. 328 F66; Demetr. XII (the month Munychion took the name Demetrian), Philoc. F166; Demetr. XXIV, Philoc. F67; Demetr. XXVI (the Eleusinian mysteries), Philoc.F69-70 (contrast the account at Diod. XX.100.1, from Hieronymus). At Demetr. XI-XII

the record of Athenian psephismata recalls Philochorus' collection of Athenian documents - *Ἐπιγράμματα Ἀττικά*. At ch.VIII events are dated by the Attic calendar month Thargelion. Cf. Reuss Hieronimos p.132ff.

159. Compare Demetr. XLI and Duris, F.Gr.Hist. 76 F14 = Athen. XII p.535E.

160. Cf. de Lacey, Biography and Tragedy in Plutarch, A.J.Phil. 73 (1952) p.159-71.

161. Lévêque, Pyrrhos, Paris 1957, pp.22-26; 61-66.

162. Hier. F11, 12, 14.

163. Paus, I.13.9 = Hier. F15; cf. App.I p.

164. See below, ch.III p.151 ff.

165. Hier. F11, 12; Leveque, locc citt.

166. Leveque, op.cit. p.25.

167. See below, ch.IV p.242 ff.

168. Dion. Hal. A.R. XX.1 (Asculum: the Greek dispositions are given in detail); XX.II.1 (Beneventum: cf. Leveque op.cit. p.522). Cf. E. Rawson, PBSR 1971 pp.24-26; and below, ch.IV, p.203 .

169. Cf. Segre, Historia 1928 pp.217-37.

170. Paus, I.6.2-8, Ptolemy; I.9.5-10.5, Lysimachus; I.11-13, Pyrrhus; I.XVI.3, Seleucus Cf. O. Pfundtner, Die Historischen Quellen des Pausanias, Neue Jahrb.f.Philol.u.Paedagogik, XCIX (1869), pp.452-4; Daebritz, RE s. v. Pausanias, col.1560.

171. Paus, I.13.9 = Hier. F15; cf. I.9.8 = Hier.F9.

172. Paus. I.12.1; Perret, Les Origines, p.414 n.I.Cf. App.I.p.xix.

The reference at I.12.1 to the 'hypomnemata' recalls Plut. Pyrrh. XXI.12, where it is implied that Hieronymus drew on Pyrrhus' Memoirs: see below, ch.IV,

173. Paus. I.12.3.

174. Contra Reuss, Hieronimos p.147. See below App.I p.xiv ff.

175. Hadley Historia XVIII (1969) pp.142ff.

176. Diod. XIX.55.6-8; 90.3-4. Cf. Jacoby, RE Hieronymos col.1553.
177. Duris F.Gr.Hist. 76 F55 = Pliny NH VIII.143.
178. See J.Melber, Über die Quellen u. den Wert der Strategemensammlung des Polyaen. Jahrb.f.klass.Phil. 14 Suppl.Bd., Leipzig 1885, pp.415-685.  
Cf. Lammert, RE XXI.2, s.v. Polyainos col.1434; Droysen, Hell. I.p.685.
179. Compare Polyaen. IV.6.4, Diod. XVIII.39.3, Arrian Fl.44-45;  
Polyaen. IV.6.7, Diod. XVIII.44f., cf. Kallenberg, Philologus XXXVI p.644;  
Polyaen. IV.6.8, Diod. XVIII.72; Polyaen. IV.6.10, Diod. XIX.32, cf.  
Kallenberg art.cit. p.654f; Polyaen IV.6.11, Diod. XIX.37, Nep.Eum.8, Plut.  
Eum. 15ff.; Polyaen. IV.6.13, Diod. XIX.42ff. Plut.Eum. 16ff; Polyaen.IV.6.14,  
Diod. XIX.46; Polyaen.IV.6.15, Diod. XIX.48, Plut.Eum. 19; Polyaen. IV.7.3, Diod.  
XX.102.2; Polyaen. IV.7.6, Diod. XX.45.2, Plut. Demetr. 8; Polyaen. IV.7.7,  
Diod. XX.103.1, Hier.Fl6; Polyaen. IV.8.2, Diod. XVIII.60, Nep.Eum. 7.  
Plut. Eum. 13; Polyaen. IV.8.3, Diod. XIX.23; Polyaen. IV.8.4, Diod. XIX.38,  
Nep.Eum.8f.

CHAPTER THREETHE BOOK : TITLE AND ORGANIZATIONThe Title of the History

It is uncertain whether any of the ancient authorities gives the exact form of the title to Hieronymus' work, and they disagree among themselves. Suidas speaks of Hieronymus as *ὅς τὰ ἐπ' Ἀλεξάνδρειαι πραχθέντα συνέγραψε*. This is nonsense, and the text has to be emended. If Suidas were referring to a history of Alexander, as the older commentators supposed, we should read either *τὰ ἐπ' Ἀλεξάνδρου*, or *τὰ ἐπ' Ἀλεξάνδρου πραχθέντα*;<sup>1</sup> But Hieronymus cannot have written such a work. None of the later writers on Alexander refers to his authority, and the references to the period of Alexander in Hieronymus fragment 3 and in the early part of Diodorus' narrative of the Diadochi, so far from placing Hieronymus among the historians of Alexander, suggest rather than he had not written about events before 323, but needed to fill in the background to his history of the Successors.<sup>2</sup> The regular way of saying 'events after Alexander' would be either *τὰ μετ' Ἀλεξάνδρου*, which is the title given to Arrian's history of the Successors in Photius' epitome, or *τὰ ἐπ' Ἀλεξάνδρω πραχθέντα*, and Suidas' words can easily be corrected to the latter. We have a model for this use of *ἐπί* in Appian, speaking of Lysimachus: *Λυσίμαχος μὲν ὁ Θράκης ἐπ' Ἀλεξάνδρω βασιλεύσας*, and this reading therefore meets the requirements of both sense and grammar.<sup>3</sup>

The other evidence cannot be reconciled with Suidas. Diodorus describes Hieronymus as *ὁ τὰς τῶν διαδόχων ἱστορίας γεγραφώς*, Josephus calls him *ὁ τὴν περὶ τῶν διαδόχων συγγραφεύς*, and Dionysius speaks of *ἡ περὶ τῶν ἐπιγόνων πραγματεία*.<sup>4</sup> The terms Diadochi and Epigoni are used regularly by writers of the first century B. C. to refer to the first and second generations, respectively, of Alexander's Successors. Appian, describing the power and wealth of

the 'satraps' who succeeded Alexander, concludes: ἀλλὰ πάντα ἐς

τοὺς ἐπιγόνους αὐτῶν συνετρίφθη ; Strabo says that after

the death of Alexander, εἰς πλείους τοὺς διαδεξαμένους καὶ τοὺς

ἐπιγόνους τούτων μερισθεῖσα ἢ ἡγεμονία τῆς Ἀσίας διελύθη ;

and Diodorus, in his main proem, says that among previous historians,

some have closed their accounts with the deeds of Philip and Alexander,

some with the Diadochi or Epigoni - τινες δ' εἰς τοὺς διαδόχους ἢ τοὺς

ἐπιγόνους κατέστρεψαν τὰς συντάξεις <sup>5</sup>. The word διάδοχος

is of course common as an ordinary noun or adjective, and Diodorus used it

more than once in this way in his narrative based on Hieronymus: XVIII.9.1:

τελευτήσαντος Ἀλεξάνδρου καὶ τῆς βασιλείας υἱοῦ διαδόχους οὐκ ἔχοντος κ.τ.λ.;

XIX.52.4, ὁ δὲ Κασάνδρος διεγνώκει μὲν ἀνελεῖν Ἀλεξάνδρου τὸν παῖδα . . .

εἶνα μηδεὶς ἢ διαδόχος τῆς βασιλείας.

We can infer nothing from these passages about Hieronymus'

title, however. Diodorus once speaks of οἱ διαδόχοι in the

relevant sense, as a proper noun meaning 'the Successors'; but this is in

the context of the 'Last Plans' (XVIII.4.1), a notoriously controversial

passage which can hardly be used to adduce anything about Hieronymus'

language. In the main narrative based on Hieronymus, Diodorus speaks

of Alexander's generals as the 'philoï' or 'somatophylakes' or 'hetairoi'

of Alexander - the contemporary terminology which we find also in Arrian,

from Ptolemy. This was evidently the terminology which was habitual to

Hieronymus, though it need not have precluded the use of the more

portentous term 'Diadochi' as part of his title. Polybius does not use

'Diadochi' when he speaks of the Successors as a group, but it seems

likely that the term already had this significance in his day.<sup>6</sup> By the

second century, διαδόχοι, along with φίλοι and πάντων φίλοι

have become a class or order at the Hellenistic courts: our evidence suggests that members of these orders were never referred to in the singular, but always as belonging to the class τῶν διαδόχων, τῶν πρώτων φίλων, etc. and also that the orders were honorary and did not imply real office;<sup>7</sup> and the term 'diadochi' - 'successors' - is scarcely intelligible in this context unless, at an earlier stage, it had been applied to Alexander's generals and acquired a sense parallel to that of 'philoï' or 'somatophylakes'.<sup>8</sup> The missing link evidently lies in the third century, and it may easily be imagined that it was Hieronymus, the greatest historian of the Successors, who coined the term or at least helped to make it common currency.

We have a few examples of the use of 'epigoni' from the early Hellenistic period. This was the name given by Alexander to the contingent of 30,000 Persian boys brought to Susa in 324 and trained in Macedonian fashion. It appears also on Ptolemaic papyri of the third and second centuries referring to the first generation of the descendants of mercenaries settled in the Egyptian 'nomes', the 'katoikoi'.<sup>9</sup> Lacqueur tried to establish a connection between these two uses of 'epigoni' and the famous Epigoni of the third century, the sons of Alexander's generals, arguing that 'epigoni' was the name given by Alexander to the sons of his Macedonian veterans at the end of his life, that it was extended to include the sons of his officers and generals, and that the expression is a mark of a time before the unity of the empire became a dead letter.<sup>10</sup> This connection is based, however, on Justin (XII.4.11), who is alone among our sources in stating that Alexander called the sons of his veterans 'epigoni', and it is possible that he has confused them with the Persian boys. Arrian clearly distinguishes the 30,000 Persian παῖδες ἠξέσκοντες from the half-oriental children who were left behind in Alexander's care when their fathers returned to Macedon.<sup>11</sup> It is true that the idea of kinship was a motif of the last year of Alexander's life, and it is possible that, after the mutiny at Opis, he nominated the sons

of the Macedonians as his 'epigoni', his 'heirs', just as he included the Macedonian soldiers among his 'syngeneis' at this time; but the evidence is not reliable. Whether the 'epigoni' of the Ptolemaic papyri are to be explained in terms of Alexander's policy of fusion is also uncertain; but a connection between the Persian 'epigoni' at Susa - 30,000 of them - and the small group of early Hellenistic kings who were called the Epigoni, does not seem likely. Arrian is clear that it was Alexander himself who gave this name to the Persian boys, and the use is highly individual.<sup>12</sup> As applied to the sons of his generals, it is surely a direct reference to the seven heroic Epigoni of legend, who fought against Thebes in the quarrel between the sons of Oedipus, and, as such, its origins are probably literary. Hieronymus' interest in Theban legend, presumably a consequence of the period he spent as governor of Thebes, is apparent in the 'archaeology' of Thebes at Diod. XIX.53.4ff., in which the heroic Epigoni are mentioned. It is perhaps true, as Laqueur says, that Demetrius and the rest would not have thought of themselves as a group with a collective name at the time when they held power and were at war with one another; but writers who had a view over the whole period of the Successors could have applied the name in retrospect. The evidence that these men were ever known colloquially as 'epigoni' is extremely tenuous:<sup>13</sup> unlike 'diadochi', the word does not seem to have found its way into the terminology of the Hellenistic courts.

Some support for the idea that Hieronymus' title spoke of 'Diadochi' and 'Epigoni' is to be found in the title cited for his contemporary, Nymphis of Heraclea. According to Suidas, Nymphis wrote a work *Περὶ Ἀλεξάνδρου καὶ τῶν Διαδόχων καὶ Ἐπιγόνων* in twenty-four books; and in describing Nymphis' history of Heraclea, Suidas uses also the phrase *τὰ μετὰ τοὺς Ἐπιγόνους*, suggesting

that his terminology for the whole period which he treated was sharply defined.<sup>14</sup> Nymphis must have been born before 310 at the latest, and died after Ptolemy Euergetes took the throne, probably in the 240's; and he began to write after 281, when he returned from exile to his native city: he was thus a much younger contemporary of Hieronymus, writing at approximately the same time.<sup>15</sup> The relative order of writing is unknown, but we might assume that Hieronymus, the elder and more celebrated historian, gave Nymphis his inspiration.<sup>16</sup> The parallel between their supposed titles suggests in any case that their works were arranged along similar lines, and it led Jacoby to claim that "die termini *Διαδόχοι* und *Ἐπιγόνου* sind für ihn (sc. Hieronymus) gesichert."

He compared also the case of Anaximenes, who divided his work into

*Πρώται Ἱστορίαι*, *Αἱ περὶ Φιλίππου Ἱστορίαι*, and *Τὲ περὶ Ἀλέξανδρου* 17.

The degree to which the parts of Anaximenes' work were self-contained is indicated by the fact that each had its own system of book numbers, and it is likely that Nymphis, also, numbered the books to the three parts of his work separately.<sup>18</sup> No book numbers are mentioned in our citations of Hieronymus' work. The evidence suggests, however, that it was not uncommon for a historian to bring out his work in instalments with separate titles; and it seems likely that Hieronymus may have made a structural break in his work, probably after Ipsus and the death of the 'diadoch' Antigonus Monophthalmus.<sup>20</sup>

We should therefore interpret Suidas' evidence as a description of the contents of Hieronymus' work rather than its title; and the signs are that Hieronymus followed the example of Theopompus, Anaximenes and the Alexander historians in placing the individual at the centre of his history, in preference to the affairs of a country or a nation. The idea of grouping Alexander's Successors into a first and second generation is one which may well have originated with Hieronymus himself: he had

served under three successive members of Antigonus' dynasty and must have been peculiarly conscious of the continuity of history from one generation to another. Nymphis probably imitated him, and Diodorus and other late Hellenistic authors who knew his work took over his convenient terminology, which we still use: Hieronymus' selection of his theme has so dominated the tradition that even now it is difficult to think of this period except as the period of the Successors.

### The Opening of the History

#### 1. The Geography of Asia

We may assume that Hieronymus began with a general preface. With the exception of Xenophon, who took his role as Thucydides' continuator rather literally, it was normal practice among Greek historians to begin with a statement of aims and methods, sources used, and perhaps a few autobiographical details. Unfortunately, Hieronymus' epitomators were only interested in the content of his history, and such information as Hieronymus gave about himself, the nature of his work, and the circumstances in which it was composed, cannot be recovered.<sup>21</sup> There is some evidence for an introductory section dealing with the history of Macedon down to the time of Alexander's death:<sup>22</sup> Hieronymus may have seen himself as the continuator of Ptolemy in the sense that he took up his story at the point where Ptolemy had left off, directly after Alexander's death; but it seems certain that his history had greater literary pretensions than that of Ptolemy, and it is likely to have begun more in the manner of Thucydides and Polybius, with a survey of the historical background, which explained the situation at Babylon in summer 323 and set the tone of the work as a whole. Polybius, impressed by the prophecy of Demetrius of Phaleron, opened his history of the rise of Rome with reflections on the rise and fall of kingdoms and the cosmic workings of Tyche, and Hieronymus may

have expressed some such sentiments as he traced the startling development of the Macedonian state and the conquest of Persia, and prepared his readers for the meteoric careers of the Diadochi: but this is naturally conjectural.

The point at which the main narrative began is certainly contained somewhere in the early chapters of Diodorus XVIII, because the numerous references back to the reign of Alexander in the early part of this book show that Diodorus' source is near to the beginning of his history and explaining what had gone before: Diodorus has therefore made a fresh start and has abandoned, as his main source, the author he used for Alexander in book XVII. Hieronymus fragment 3, which concerns events of summer 322, gives a terminus ante quem for the beginning, and since Diodorus draws on Hieronymus for the same events at XVIII.16.1-3, signs of Hieronymus' opening point are to be looked for in the first fifteen chapters of Diodorus XVIII.

One passage in this section stands out: this is the geographical survey of Asia at XVIII.5-6, a self-contained section which falls between the account of the Succession in chapters 2-4 and the narrative of Pithon's campaign against the Bactrian Greeks in ch.7, and which is clearly designed to stand as an introduction to events in Asia. It is closely linked to Diodorus' account of the Bactrian revolt, and its object, he states, is to make the narrative easier to follow by setting forth both the causes of the revolt and the disposition and character of the satrapies. It occurs in no other author, and has therefore sometimes been regarded as an interpolation by Diodorus from a subsidiary, possibly a non-literary source. The north-south division of Asia, which forms the main structure of the geography, recalls the scheme adopted by Eratosthenes, and there is a coincidence at 6.1-2, in the description of India, with a passage of Strabo which draws on Eratosthenes.<sup>23</sup> However, the verbal resemblance

between Diodorus and Strabo is not extensive nor especially remarkable, and the section on India in any case raises problems of its own, which are discussed below. As far as the scheme of the geography is concerned, we should consider the possibility that the horizontal division of Asia along the line of the Taurus-Caucasus did not in fact originate with Eratosthenes, but it was an idea at least implicit in the studies made by Alexander's hematists, which were known to Eratosthenes and frequently used by him.<sup>24</sup> Diodorus' geography does not mention the 'sphragides' which were a striking characteristic of Eratosthenes' own system.<sup>25</sup> There are, finally, positive grounds for dating the geography earlier than Eratosthenes, because it contains traces of the political conditions of the time of Alexander, which could not have appeared in a third century geographer presenting an up to date world picture.

The indications of the date were analysed in detail by Tarn, who described the geography as a political gazeteer of Alexander's empire, and believed that it was based on a document compiled in the last year of Alexander's life.<sup>26</sup> His arguments can be summarized as follows. The gazeteer includes the Indian provinces and is therefore later than Alexander's return from India in 324. The Hyrcanian and Caspian seas are still two separate lakes; it is therefore earlier than the report made by Patrocles in c.280, which spoke of only one sea, and belongs to the brief period in the fourth century when Aristotle and Alexander knew the truth about the Caspian and the Aral. Chandragupta is apparently unknown; it is therefore earlier than Megasthenes. Porus is still alive; it is therefore earlier than 317. Media is still undivided, so it is earlier than the partition at Babylon when the fiction of an Armenian satrapy was abolished and never revived. It is earlier than the partition at Triparadeisos, however, because there are three instances of the verb *συμβαινεῖν*, signifying a temporary political arrangement known to have existed in 324-3, but which was terminated by the new political

dispositions of 321. The gazeteer, Tarn concluded, can be dated precisely: it was compiled between summer 324 and June 323, in the last year of Alexander's life.

The last two of these arguments are doubtful; but Tarn's general conclusion on the date must be accepted.<sup>27</sup> The question then arises, how Diodorus came by the document, if such it is. He had access, it seems, to a certain amount of pseudo-documentary material purporting to date from the end of Alexander's life: the 'Will' of Alexander, and, in the opinion of many, the 'Last Plans' of Alexander belong to this category; and the gazeteer, like these, appears in no other source. However, we must, for two reasons, regard the gazeteer as respectable: it has no politically tendentious content, like the Will; and it is not 'thaumasion', like the Last Plans. In addition, there are echoes of the thought and language of the gazeteer later in books XVIII and XIX which show that it must have come from Diodorus' main source. Thus at XIX.17.3 the Pasitigris (here mistakenly called the Tigris) is described as flowing down from the mountains into the Erythraean Sea in a way which apparently applies the principle, set out in the gazeteer, that the rivers of Asia flow north and south from either side of the central mountain range: τὸν Τίγγριν ποταμόν, ἀπέχοντα ξούσων ὁδὸν ἡμέρας, ἣ τῆς ὀρεινῆς ἐκχεῖται... καὶ φερόμενος.. ἀπὸ τῆς ὀρεινῆς... εἰς τὴν Ἐρυθρὰν ἐξερεύγεται θαλάσσαν. Compare XVIII.5.3: ἀκολουθῶν δὲ τούτοις τοῖς κλίμασι τῶν ποταμῶν τὰς ῥυσεῖς ἔχόντων ἀντιπροσώπους... οἱ μὲν εἰς τὸν κατὰ τὴν Ἰνδικήν... ἐνίοι δ' εἰς τὴν καλουμένην Ἐρυθρὰν θαλάτταν καταφέρονται. Again, at XVIII.39.6, in the list of the satrapal appointments made at Triparadeisos, we find the phrase τῶν... πρὸς τὴν ἀρκτὸν κεκλιμένων (sc. σατραπειῶν) and under this category are included Cappadocia, Great Phrygia, Lycia, Caria, Lydia and Hellespontine Phrygia. In the gazeteer

we are told that the satrapies are divided like the rivers, to north and south of the mountains: ὁμοίως δὲ τούτοις διεληγμένων τῶν βατραπειῶν αἱ μὲν ἐπὶ τὴν ἄρκτον, αἱ δ' ἐπὶ τὴν μεσημβρίαν ἔχουσι τὰς κλίσεις. καὶ ... τῶν πρὸς τὴν ἄρκτον ἐστραγγμένων κείτκι... Καππαδοκία... ἡ τε μεγάλη Φρυγία καὶ ἡ ἐφ' Ἑλλησπόντῳ κειμένη, ἐκ δὲ τῶν πελάγιων Λυδία καὶ Καρία, ὑπερδῆξις δὲ τῆς Φρυγίας καὶ παράλληλος ἡ Πισιδίκη καὶ ταύτης ἑχομένη Λυκία.

Diodorus himself is not responsible for this consistency in the geographical assumptions of his narrative, because Arrian's version of the partition at Triparadeisos agrees with Diodorus almost verbatim, and the final section of Arrian's list is introduced with the words, τῶν δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ Ταύρου ὄρους ὡς ἐπὶ τὴν ἄρκτον φερόντων Καππαδοκίας μὲν Νικάνορι ἐπέτρεψεν κ.τ.λ. The view of Asia presented to us in the gazeteer was therefore maintained consistently by Hieronymus, the common historical source of Arrian and Diodorus, and Hieronymus must be the source for the gazeteer itself.<sup>28</sup>

We must next consider the nature and purpose of the excursus on Asia. Tarn showed that πᾶσα Ἀσία or ὅλη Ἀσία (as at XVIII.5.1 and 2) in the latter part of the fourth century regularly meant the Persian empire which Alexander claimed to rule, i.e. a political rather than a geographical entity, and he regarded the 'gazeteer' as primarily a list of political divisions rather than a geography.<sup>29</sup> It is true that Diodorus concludes the section with the words αἱ μὲν οὖν ἐπ' Ἀλεξάνδρου καταπολεμηθεῖσαι βατραπεῖαι τὸν εἰρημένον τρόπον κείμεναι διμερισθῆσαν τοῖς ἄξιολογωτάτοις τῶν ἀνδρῶν; but the definition of the provinces as those which Alexander had conquered is Diodorus' own, since he is here attempting to link up the survey of Asia with the list of satrapal appointments made at Babylon which he has recorded in chapter 3. If it is political in nature, this is a singular sort of document. Alexander surely did not need to be reminded of the names and number of the provinces in his empire, and there is no correlate, such

as a tribute quota or a military levy, which would indicate its purpose. It might perhaps have been something like the list of tribute-paying peoples which was drawn up for Darius, but in this case it has been radically modified by Hieronymus.<sup>29</sup> As it stands in Diodorus, it is plainly intended just as a geographical aid. Diodorus describes it as a 'topothesia' which will make the narrative easier to follow ( *εὐπρακοδόμητος* ), and when he states in the introductory paragraph that he is going to set out *τῶν βατραπεῶν τὰ μέγεθῃ καὶ τῆς ἰδιότητος*, he reveals something about the character of the original, for this promise is not fulfilled in the excursus itself: we must conclude, therefore, that Hieronymus had included precisely the details about the size and nature of the satrapies which Diodorus fails to give. When, in the later narrative of the campaigns of Asia, we hear occasionally of the climate of Persis or the fertility of the land of Media, we should perhaps suppose that Hieronymus here enlarged on general remarks he had made in his introductory survey of Asia.<sup>30</sup> A further indication of the essentially geographical character of the excursus is the use of the term 'Indike' at 6.1 and 6.3, meaning the land of India as a whole, in which various political units, such as the kingdoms of Taxiles and Porus, were contained. Tarn tried to understand 'Indike' as referring to one of the Indian satrapies, but the text cannot be understood naturally in this way. Another general category which was perhaps included by Hieronymus was that of the Upper Satrapies: the expression is not, of course, unique to this part of Diodorus, and it is used in other authors; but it is a term which occurs frequently in the history of the Diadochi, and one for which Hieronymus' readers might have needed an explanation. Diodorus begins his account of the Bactrian revolt in ch.7 with the words, *Οἱ δ' ἐν ταῖς ἄνω καλουμέναις βατραπεῖαις κατοικισθέντες Ἕλληνες κ.τ.λ.* , suggesting that the geographical survey, which in a general way sets the scene for events in Asia, had commented on the *ἄνω βατραπεῖαι* , as a guide to the

narrative of the Bactrian revolt. The satrapy list of 321, which, as I have suggested, refers back to the Geography for the 'satrapies which face the north', includes a category of *ἐν τῷ βόρειῳ ὄρει*, and this too may indicate that they had earlier been defined in the Geography. Hieronymus' main purpose in providing this excursus was, it seems, to be helpful, and though the word 'satrapy' is used everywhere (which may anyway be the fault of Diodorus), we should not take this term too literally and try to press Hieronymus' rather general geographical indications into a perfectly logical political scheme. The 'satrapy' of Armenia, and the undivided Media, for instance, may be mentioned simply as geographical entities, to which Hieronymus knew he was going to allude in the course of his narrative.<sup>31</sup> He did not reproduce a list of the satrapies of the empire, because some satrapies, like Parapomisadae, are missing, and, more importantly, some names are included which are not those of satrapies at all, like Lycaonia, Indike, Sittacine; possibly Hieronymus also gave the names of the 'cities of the Greeks' which Diodorus chooses to pass over.<sup>32</sup> Again, an account of the different climates was not relevant to a political survey, nor were the courses of the rivers of Asia. The real satrapy lists are those at XVIII.3 and XVIII.39.6, recording the political divisions of the empire at Babylon and at Triparadeisos. Naturally there is some coincidence between these and the excursus on Asia, because the names of geographical and political districts were often the same, and because in his geography Hieronymus wished, *inter alia*, to give some account of the satrapies as administrative districts; his survey, however, went far beyond the requirements of a political gazeteer. This excursus serves the function of the map which would be obligatory in a modern history of the Successors: most of Hieronymus' readers would be unfamiliar with the distant regions of Asia, and, by the time he wrote, only old men like Hieronymus himself would remember the

anabasis of Eumenes and the campaigns of Antigonos. The remark in the first person at 6.3, *ἐκ δὲ θατέρου μέρους, ἀφ' οὗ ποιοῦμεθα τὴν ἀνάβασιν*, seems to be Hieronymus' own, since Diodorus certainly made no such journey, and probably when he wrote the Geography, Hieronymus had in mind his own travels with Eumenes and Antigonos, described so vividly in Diodorus XVIII and XIX.

The idea that there is a documentary basis to the Geography should therefore be abandoned, and we need not suppose that Hieronymus relied on any source other than his own recollection. Hieronymus was careful to note, in the course of his narrative, changes in the administration of the satrapies, and the indications of a date before 321 which Tarn noticed in the Geography show him deliberately describing the state of the provinces as it was at the time of the first events in his history, avoiding political anachronisms and matching the administrative set-up to his historical background.<sup>33</sup> If, as I have suggested, the 'satrapy' of Armenia and the undivided Media are here treated as physical geography, we are not committed to a date earlier than the partition at Babylon; and once we see the excursus as a geographical aid of Hieronymus' own composition, designed to accompany the narrative at least down to Ipsus, and in particular to set the scene for the first episode - the revolt in distant Bactria - it is only a short step to the conclusion that it was the introduction to the whole historical narrative. This suggestion was made by Brückner, and Reuss also observed that "Den geographischen Abschnitt giebt Diodor hier, weil mit ihm seine neue Quelle d.i. Hieronymos von Kardia einsetzte."<sup>34</sup>

A geography, as a basic historical aid, was a natural way to open a history. Among Hieronymus' contemporaries, Hecataeus of Abdera included a formalised geography of Egypt in his work on the Egyptians, and Timaeus used probably his first five books for a *προκκετασκέυη* on

the geography and early legends of the West.<sup>35</sup> These Hellenistic writers found their ultimate model in Herodotus, though it is possible that Timaeus, at any rate, was influenced by the arrangement which Ephorus had adopted: Ephorus' fourth and fifth books were taken up with a geographical introduction to Europe and Asia respectively, in which he rambled from place to place in perigetic style, discussing city foundations, details of topography such as rivers and harbours, and so on. A universal history demanded some account of geography: Polybius, too, included one such book (bk. XXXIV); and we find both Polybius and Diodorus stressing the importance of travel to the historian.

It is evident that Hieronymus' Geography does not correspond to the pattern of the typical Greek historical geography: it is a general survey of the districts of Asia, showing their physical relation to each other, rather than a detailed description of lands and peoples: a map rather than a perige<sup>e</sup>sis. In particular, the east-west dividing line was a novelty: the old Ionian geographers, followed by Ephorus, had divided the world into four parts, each occupied in its extremities by one of the famous barbarian peoples - Scythians to the north, Aethiopians to the south, Indians to the east, Celts to the west. The nearest parallels to the Hieronyman Geography are to be found in Roman, not Greek historians: we may compare the simple geographical indication given by Caesar at the beginning of the Gallic Wars - the product of a military mind, comparable in its clarity of scheme to Hieronymus' two-part division of Asia; or the brilliant opening to Tacitus' Histories, in which the historian sets forth in the space of eight chapters 'the condition of Rome, the armies and the provinces, the sources of discontent and the elements of power, in order that the reader may understand, not only the course and conclusion of events (often the product of chance) but the causes and the reasons.'

"Alert and unclogged, Tacitus moves from one end of the world to the other and returns quickly to Rome"; he is able to "plunge into the stream of events, stripped for action and unencumbered by the paraphernalia of explanation."<sup>36</sup> With more cumbrous movement, but a similar design, we see Hieronymus setting the scene for his account of the struggle for power.

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Before examining the question of Diodorus' sources in XVIII.1-4, something must be said about a section of the Geography which is almost certainly an interpolation, and as such, has a bearing on the controversy about Diodorus' method of composition in the early part of book XVIII. This is the description of India at 6.1-2, which refers in paragraph I to a great river, thirty stades wide, *πόταμος ὁ μέγιστος ὧν τῶν περὶ τοὺς τόπους καὶ τὸ πλάτος ἔχων σταδίων τριάκοντα*. The MSS of Diodorus gives no name to this river, but the grammatical oddity of *ὁ μέγιστος ὧν* indicates that something has fallen out of the text at this point, and on the basis of a similar passage at Diod. II.37.1, Fischer reads *ὁ ὀνομαζόμενος Γάγγης, μέγιστος ὧν κ.τ.λ.*<sup>37</sup> Now, when Tarn argued that Diod. XVIII.5-6 is based on a gazeteer compiled in 324-3, he forged a powerful weapon which has been used regularly in arguments about the extent of Alexander's knowledge of Asia and about his final plans and objectives; and although Tarn himself made an exception of the description of India and finally regarded much of the passage as an interpolation, others, clinging to the premiss that Diodorus has here used a contemporary document, have pressed on to the conclusion that Alexander must have known about the Ganges, or have formulated the less ambitious theory that Alexander did not know about the Ganges but that Hieronymus, through whom the 'gazeteer' was transmitted, learned of it during his campaigns in the upper satrapies with Eumenes.<sup>38</sup>

The question of Greek knowledge of the Ganges before Megasthenes is not, as such, my chief concern, and it seems in any case impossible to pronounce dogmatically on the problem of Alexander and the Ganges. The best source on Alexander, Arrian, does not mention the Ganges in his main narrative - it is only named in Alexander's speech at the Hyphasis, the authenticity of which has long been doubted<sup>39</sup> - and leaving aside the supposed allusion in Hieronymus' Geography, the case rests on no more than probabilities. Schachermeyr and Hamilton point to the close cultural unity of northern India at this time, and to the fact that Alexander was only 200 miles from the nearest point of the Ganges when he reached the Hyphasis; and I follow the view that, on general considerations, it is more likely than not that he knew there was another large river system beyond that of the Indus, though the extent of his knowledge, likewise the precision with which his objectives were formed, can only be conjectured.<sup>40</sup> However, since there is no firm evidence outside Diodorus XVIII.6.1, the mention of the Ganges here is not above suspicion. We can prove nothing about the state of Hieronymus' knowledge of further India before Megasthenes; after Megasthenes, no doubt information was available to him, but we cannot assume that he necessarily made use of it - the area of the Ganges lands cannot have figured largely in his history. A priori considerations apart, it can be shown that the whole section on India contains a number of oddities and fits badly into its context; in addition, it is reminiscent of Diodorus' treatment of India in earlier books; and for these reasons we should not, in any case, derive this section of the Geography from Hieronymus, but should regard it as Diodorus' interpolation.

Internally the passage is muddled and the directions unclear. In particular the use of the word *λίγη* at 6.2 is vague, and the different parts of Indike are not defined. Furthermore, Indike is the

only province which is awarded more than the briefest of comments - it occupies two out of the nine paragraphs in the whole excursus; it is also the only province to which Diodorus attaches a historical note; and the entire description differs in manner from the description of the other satrapies, except for Egypt, in that it goes beyond the merely factual. Media is very large, Mesopotamia lies between two rivers, Armenia, Lycaonia and Cappadocia have a very wintry climate, and so on; but Indike is *μεγάλη καὶ πολυάνθρωπος, οἰκουμένη δ' ὑπὸ πλείονων Ἰνδικῶν ἔθνων. ποταμίῳις ὕδασι κατέρρυτος, καὶ κατὰ τὴν εὐδαιμονίαν ἐπιφανεστάτη,* and Egypt is *βατραπεία πᾶσῶν ἀρίστη καὶ προσόδους ἔχουσα μεγάλης.* I have suggested that Hieronymus' Geography was originally more detailed than the version Diodorus gives; and it might be argued that the remark about Egypt refers to the important role of this satrapy in the bargaining between the generals at Babylon: in all our sources Egypt is placed at the top of the list of satrapies, both at Babylon and at Triparadeisos. Nevertheless, it is surely not a coincidence that Egypt and India, the two countries singled out in this way in the Geography, are the two countries to which Diodorus had devoted the first two books of the Bibliothekē, treating comprehensively the history and legends and inhabitants of each, and giving a detailed account of the great rivers which brought fertility and life to these lands. It is from the account of the Indian rivers in book II that the word *Γάγγης* has been restored at Diod. XVIII.6.1, and there are a number of similarities of a general kind between the Indian section of the Geography and the relevant passage of book II.

A third passage to be considered in this connection is Diodorus XVII.93.2, where Alexander learns from Phegeus that after a twelve day journey across a desert he will reach the Ganges, which is 32 stades wide and the deepest of all the Indian rivers; and here, as in book II and

book XVIII, we are told that the east bank of the river is inhabited by the Gandaridae, who possess numerous war elephants, and on account of the elephants, Alexander fails to make a campaign against these people. Diodorus' ultimate source here is usually accepted as Cleitarchus, since the passage can be closely paralleled in Curtius;<sup>41</sup> and his source at 11.37 must be later than Cleitarchus, since he here has Alexander actually reaching the Ganges.<sup>42</sup> At XVIII.6.1, he has elements taken from both book II and book XVII: Alexander is deterred by the elephants and fails to attack the Gandaridae, as in book XVII, but the river is 30 stades wide, as the Ganges is in book II, not 32 stades, as in book XVII. It seems very likely, therefore, that Diodorus is writing from memory in this section of the Geography, and that his details about India and Alexander's failure to conquer its further parts (irrelevant to the history of the Diadochi) are interpolated into the account based on Hieronymus.

If Diodorus is here thinking back to his earlier account of India, we may reconsider the restoration *ὁ ἀνομαζόμενος Γάγγης*. The river in question flows north-south, as do all the rivers in the southern sector of Asia according to the scheme followed in the Geography. Tarn objected that the Ganges cannot have been meant, since it flows west-east; nor can it be the other obvious candidate, the Indus, because although the Indus flows north-south, it is said in the next paragraph of the Geography to flow through the kingdoms of Taxiles and Porus, and was therefore not a boundary, as this river is supposed to be. He concluded that the river originally named here was the Sutlej, which Alexander had regarded as the eastern boundary of his empire. But pace Tarn, Diodorus says explicitly as II.37.4, that the Indus is the boundary of Indike: *ὁ δὲ παραπλήσιος τῷ Γάγγη ποταμός, προσαγορευόμενος δὲ Ἰνδός, ἄρχεται μὲν ὁμοίως ἀπὸ τῶν ἄρκτων, ἐμβάλλων δὲ εἰς τὸν Ἰνδικόν. ἀφορίζει τὴν Ἰνδικήν.* The reference at XVIII.6.2 is thus most

naturally taken as a reference to the Indus, which was a geographical boundary, even if not a political one. The textual difficulty is most easily explained by haplography, Diodorus' text having been Ἰνδικὴν ποταμὸς ὁ Ἰνδός, μέγιστος ὢν κ.τ.λ. Thus the Ganges vanishes altogether. The Indus was apparently named twice in 6.2, and the repetition reinforces the impression that Diodorus has interpolated material of his own. The interpolation appears to run from βασιλεία μεγάλη in 6.1 down to κατὰ τὴν εὐδαιμονίαν ἐπιφανεστάτη in 6.2. Whether it has usurped the place of information about India which Hieronymus gave, it is impossible to tell; but gramatically it can be excised altogether without involving alterations: πρώτη... ἔστιν Ἰνδική in 6.1 can be followed directly by καὶ ἦν ὑπῆρχε in 6.2; and if the text is pruned in this way, the section on India is in proportion to the scale of the rest of the Geography.

Diodorus often could not resist the temptation to 'improve on' his main source, and this passage is a good example of both method and motive in Diodoran interpolations. Firstly, Diodorus had a sense of the importance of India and Egypt as cradles of civilization, and he was anxious to remind the readers of book XVIII of his main treatment of these countries in books I and II. Lacking the modern device of the footnote, he was obliged to insert an equivalent note into the main text, and did so without great skill, leaving scars visible where the extraneous material was grafted on. Secondly, he had written at length about both India and Egypt in the course of his history of Alexander,<sup>43</sup> and his previous book was still fresh in his mind when he turned to Hieronymus and the history of the Successors: this consideration is of some importance a propos of the opening chapters of book XVIII.

## II. The Struggle for the Succession and Alexander's Last Plans

We have seen that the Geography of Asia can be regarded as introductory to Hieronymus' main historical narrative, which took its starting point from the 'staseis' that broke out everywhere in the Greek world on Alexander's death. It must next be considered whether Diodorus was already using Hieronymus for his account of events in Babylon in chapters 2-4 of book XVIII. Our various accounts of the Succession show a fair degree of unanimity in the facts they relate, though they differ greatly in scale. This unanimity does not in itself show that Hieronymus is their common source: the versions of Diodorus, Arrian and the biographers are so abbreviated, and those of Curtius and Justin so overlaid with rhetoric and obviously later elaboration that it is difficult to find any marked characteristic which might identify the primary source or sources (for example, a bias in favour of one of those contending for power). There are some indications, nevertheless, that Hieronymus treated the Succession and that he was used by at least some of the later authors.

Plutarch and Nepos both allude briefly to events in Babylon in their biographies of Eumenes, and there must be a strong presumption that each was here using the author who was his main historical source for the rest of the Life.<sup>44</sup> Plutarch underlines the part which Eumenes played in reconciling the hostile factions of the Macedonians, and it might be expected that other authors using Hieronymus would emphasise the role of Eumenes. Diodorus, however, mentions the reconciliation without referring to Eumenes ( οἱ χρηστάτοι τῶν ἄνδρῶν ἐπεισέν αυτοῦς ἰσχυροῦσι XVIII.2.4), and prima facie this argues Hieronymus as the source of the biographers but not of Diodorus.<sup>45</sup> We may perhaps appeal to the extreme compression of Diodorus' account: Curtius names Pusias of Thessaly and 'Damyllus' of Megalopolis as the envoys sent by the cavalry to negotiate with the phalanx, and it is possible that

Hieronymus mentioned several names, or more than one embassy.<sup>46</sup> The biographer would ignore everyone except Eumenes, in order to put his subject into high relief; Diodorus, writing general history, and perhaps not yet aware of the central position which Eumenes was to occupy in the early history of the Diadochi, disposed of the ambassadors as a group. However we account for this variant, it seems probable that Diodorus is drawing on Hieronymus by chapter 3, where he gives the list of satrapal appointments. Eumenes' satrapy is one of the few to which a historical note is appended: it had not previously been conquered by Alexander; and this comment may be intended to enhance Eumenes' glory as the conqueror of Cappadocia (cf. Diod. XVIII.16). Furthermore, there seems to be a coincidence between this passage and Hieronymus fragment 3: according to Appian, Hieronymus said that Alexander had not touched the Cappadocians in his haste to press on against Darius.<sup>47</sup> Brief and colourless as it is otherwise, there are therefore reasons for thinking that Diodorus is already drawing on Hieronymus for his account of the Succession. His chronological organisation lends support to this idea. Schachermeyr has pointed out that Diodorus puts his narrative of the Succession under the archon year of Cephisodorus, i.e. July 323-322, which is wrong, since Alexander died on 10th June 323 and the mutiny and settlement took place during the next seven days.<sup>48</sup> This strongly suggests that Diodorus' new start begins with the beginning of book XVIII, and that the change from book XVII to book XVIII corresponds with a change of source.

Hieronymus accordingly began where Ptolemy, as it seems, broke off. He analysed the disturbances which followed immediately upon Alexander's death and which produced the nominal successors of Alexander:

Philip the idiot, and Roxane's unborn son. His account was more full and coherent than that of Diodorus; though whether it contained the sort of detail we find in Curtius is questionable. One item we know was given at length: this was the list of provinces and governors, which named the real heirs of Alexander. Almost certainly this was based on a contemporary document: Hieronymus lacked the skill of a Tacitus in organising and condensing his material, and would not risk incompleteness; hence the cumbrous device of a list of personalities and, separately, a geographical list, taking him from events within Babylon to events in the rest of the empire. Places and individuals are ranged before us for future reference: characterisation probably came later, because Diodorus formally introduces the Diadochi as each makes his appearance in the main narrative. The account of the 'stasis' in Babylon was thus introductory and forward-looking, focusing attention on the problem of succession to Alexander's empire, which was the chief preoccupation of Hieronymus' history: the contestants were lined up, the prize - the empire - set on display. All this is a prelude to the main action. When the satraps had taken up position in their satrapies, the narrative could begin to move forward:

ἤρξαντο ὑπερβόθμιον τείνειν πόδα ὡς ἰδύναντο ἕκαστος. 49

Pithon was the first to act, characteristically: he was by nature κινήτικός. 50

So we move into discussion of the 'staseis' outside Babylon and the 'aitiai' of the Greek revolts.

It seems to me unlikely that Hieronymus burdened his already complex introduction with irrelevant details about Alexander. Brief allusions to Alexander's lifetime were often necessary; the detailed discussion of the exiles' decree was strictly germane to his purpose in analysing the causes of the Lamian War. The Hypomnemata of Alexander, which occupy such a prominent place in the opening of Diodorus XVIII, are, on the contrary, a piece of clutter which a political historian would have

avoided. The currently prevailing view on the Hypomnemata sees them as in some way connected with a plot of the generals at Babylon against the absent Craterus, hence as belonging to the history of the Successors rather than the history of Alexander. The story of Perdiccas bringing the Plans before the Macedonians and having them cancelled is not incredible, whether or not we interpret it in terms of a conspiracy theory;<sup>51</sup> but the description of the Plans themselves nevertheless remains untypical, so far as we can judge, of Hieronymus' style and method. A final solution to the controversy over the Last Plans may be impossible, but Hieronymus' name appears so often in discussions of the problem that it seems necessary at least to estimate the weight of probabilities. The original arguments of Tarn, by which he tried to discredit the narrative leading up the Hypomnemata in Diodorus XVIII.4 have by now mostly been refuted: chapters 1-4 can hardly be characterised as a 'patchwork' of sources, and many of the oddities of Diodorus' account can be attributed to its compression.<sup>52</sup> Some exceptions still have to be admitted, however: the allusion to Alexander's bequest of his ring to Perdiccas (2.4) and the mention of Ammon as the destined burial place of Alexander's body, for different reasons stand out as additions to the central narrative, and cannot easily be explained away. It is no doubt true, as it is sometimes said, that there is nothing here which cannot come from Hieronymus, but this is not a compelling argument when we are admittedly in the realm of probabilities, and looking only for the coherent and credible. Tarn's instinct that there is something odd about the opening of Diodorus XVIII was, I believe, essentially sound; and there is a cumulative case for the interweaving of at any rate two sources.

Diodorus XVIII.1 is a Diodoran proem of the same type as the proem to book XIX, which passes from a general maxim to the particular illustration: dying souls foreknow the future; this is shown in the case

of Alexander of Macedon. Diodorus was not incapable of constructing this simple opening device himself, and we need not look for specific sources behind I.1-3.<sup>53</sup> 1.4 contains the dying words of Alexander:

Ἐρωτηθεὶς ὑπὸ τῶν φίλων τίτι τὴν βασιλείαν ἀπολείπει, εἶπεν, Τῷ ἀρίστῳ προσορῶμαι γὰρ ἐπιτάφιον μέγαν ἀγῶνα γενησόμενόν μοι τῶν φίλων.

Arrian mentions Alexander's dying words among the things that are recorded by οἱ δέ , and these certainly included Cleitarchus, because the same story appears both in Curtius and at the end of Diodorus XVII.<sup>54</sup> This is a 'logos' therefore; whether or not it had any truth in it, it made a suitable introduction to the μεγάλοι ἀγῶνες of the Successors, and undoubtedly Diodorus is repeating it at the beginning of XVIII from the end of his previous book. The last two paragraphs of chapter I continue the theme of a prophecy fulfilled, and conclude with a statement of the scope of the book, such as we find in Diodorus' other book proems.<sup>55</sup> The whole of chapter I is therefore a proem of Diodorus' own composition, in which we can clearly see him picking up a motif from Bk.XVII.

There is a strong presumption that the story of Alexander's ring is also repeated from book XVII, where it is given along with Alexander's dying prophecy. Nepos also mentions it, and since he draws on Hieronymus extensively elsewhere, it is arguable that Hieronymus had given it.<sup>56</sup> In Diodorus XVIII, however, it looks like an interpolation: it is appended in a relative clause which could be omitted without damage to the rest of the sentence, and, on the face of it, it is a 'footnote', like Diodorus' comment on Alexander in India at XVIII.6.1-2, designed to remind his reader of the main account of Alexander in book XVII.

A third instance of repetition from the Alexander historian may be suspected at XVIII.3.5, where Diodorus says that Arrhidaeus was appointed to supervise the arrangements for taking Alexander's body for burial at the sanctuary of Ammon in Egypt. Curtius records that it was Alexander's dying wish to be buried at Ammon, and he links this with the

story of the ring and the dying prophecy: all three 'legomena' presumably come from the Cleitarchan vulgate. Diodorus, however, does not have the Ammon story along with its fellows in Bk. XVII, possibly because he was using a version of the vulgate different from that of Curtius; and the case is complicated by the fact that Justin, too, says that the body was to go to Ammon, so that Diodorus' allusion to Ammon is not, it seems, a repetition from an earlier source, but it is a tradition about the Succession which was used by at least one other author.<sup>57</sup> There is, however, a conflicting tradition, for we are told by Pausanias that the body of Alexander was supposed to go to Aegae in Macedon, and Arrian implies that when it was taken to Egypt by Arrhidaeus in 321, it was taken from Babylon against the orders of Perdiccas.<sup>58</sup> Two associated problems are raised by this conflict in the evidence: the question of historicity, and the question of the source. Badian has argued that the statement of Diodorus is authentic and derived from the main source of XVIII.2-4 (i.e. Hieronymus), and he believes it can be reconciled with the information of Pausanias and Arrian. The kernel of his argument is, that to Perdiccas in 323, "Ptolemy was an ally, and the ruler of Macedon ... a potential enemy": therefore, since it was of the first importance to keep control of the dead king's body, it would have been unthinkable at this time to arrange for the burial to take place at Aegae, whereas Ammon would be both safe, and in accordance with the last wishes - as it was popularly believed - of Alexander. It took two years to prepare the funeral carriage, and by 321 the situation had changed: Ptolemy was now an enemy and Antipater a friend, therefore for a while Perdiccas wished the body to be buried at Aegae, not Ammon; hence Pausanias speaks of Aegae as the destination. But by the time the funeral cortège was ready for off, Perdiccas' alliance with Antipater had also collapsed, and now

his only course was to keep the body under his own control in Babylon: hence, when Arrian relates Arrhidaeus' theft of the body, he does not say that he began by pretending to take it to Aegae, but simply that he took it ἀπὸ Βαβυλῶνος against Perdiccas' will.<sup>59</sup>

As a historical reconstruction this is not very likely. Perdiccas and Ptolemy were obliged to strike a bargain in 323: Perdiccas was confirmed as chiliarch only by conceding to Ptolemy the important province of Egypt. This was a compromise, not an alliance, and there is no evidence that the two were on terms of mutual trust: on the contrary, Arrian explicitly says that at the time when the satrapies were distributed, Perdiccas ὑποπτος ἐς πάντας ἦν καὶ αὐτὸς ὑπώπτευσεν.<sup>60</sup> Given that possession of Alexander's body was of paramount importance to each who wished to be thought his heir, it is therefore extremely improbable that Perdiccas should have acquiesced in sending the body into the land of Ptolemy, a rival hardly less dangerous than Antipater and Craterus. It is perhaps wrong, in any case, to assume that the decision lay entirely with Perdiccas: what would have been the reaction of the Macedonian phalanx to the news that Ammon, not Aegae, the traditional burial place of the Macedonian kings, had been selected as the last resting place of the son of Philip? The same mood that had led the Macedonians to mutiny at the idea of a half-oriental king and to prefer even the idiot Arrhidaeus, so long as he were Philip's son, and which, according to Diodorus' story, led them to reject the extravagant projects planned by Alexander before his death, would surely have been inflamed anew at this suggestion.

In terms of historical probability, to which alone we can appeal, it is therefore most unlikely that Ammon should have been named as the destination of Alexander's body in 323. We do not know what conclusion was reached by the generals at Babylon on this matter, and it may be that they reached no agreement, and that the building of the elaborate

funeral carriage was a way of putting off the contentious day of decision. The one thing that is certain is that, as a matter of historical fact, the body ended up in Egypt; and if we apply to the statement that it was meant to go to Egypt the simple test of 'cui bono?', the conclusion is inescapable, that we are here dealing with Ptolemaic propaganda.

Possibly the story about Ammon goes back to Ptolemy himself. We know that he actually buried the body at Memphis, and later transferred it to Alexandria, but he may have named Ammon as his ultimate destination in 321 in order to confer a semblance of legitimacy on the body-snatching, for Alexander's attitude to Ammon was of course well known.<sup>61</sup> By leaving it temporarily at Memphis, for safe-keeping during the war with Perdiccas, he shrewdly avoided a final decision on the place of burial, and when the war was over, his unassailable position enabled him to put the body exactly where he wanted it, at Alexandria, the political centre of his kingdom. That the Ammon story was later used by his apologists in Alexandria seems certain, for it appears not only at Diod. XVIII.3.5, but also at XVIII.28.3, in a passage which contains a panegyric of Ptolemy and an allusion to Alexandria as the greatest city of the world, items which cannot come from Hieronymus. The remark about Alexandria is possibly a reminiscence of Diodorus' own description of Alexandria at XVII.52; the panegyric can only derive from an Alexandrian flatterer of the Ptolemies. This pro-Ptolemaic source has been recognised as such by most commentators; and since there is no compelling reason to accept the Ammon story on its own merits, it is a natural assumption that the references to Ammon, both at XVIII.28.3 and at XVIII.3.5, are taken from this source, which sought to justify Ptolemy's theft of the royal body by claiming that he had acted in accordance with the wishes of Alexander and the decision of the Diadochi. The 'logos' that Alexander expressed a last wish to be buried at Ammon evidently comes from the same or the same sort of source.

At this point it is convenient to review the several strands which have appeared in the composition of the early part of Diodorus XVIII. Chapter I is Diodorus' own proem; chs. 2-3 and 4.7-8 are probably a condensed version of Hieronymus, because a sentence in ch.3.1 recalls Hieronymus F3. The Geography of Asia at XVIII.5-6 is mostly taken from Hieronymus; and with ch.7 the main Hieronyman narrative begins. In at least three places Diodorus tries to link his history of the Diadochi with his history of Alexander, for we find reminiscences of Bk. XVII at XVIII.1.4 (Alexander's prophecy); at XVIII.2.4 (Perdiccas and Alexander's ring); at XVIII.6.1 (Alexander in India); at XVIII.6.3 (Egypt is the best satrapy); and possibly again at XVIII.28.3, the praise of Alexandria. These reminiscences of his own work by Diodorus are, of course, to be distinguished from the passages in which Hieronymus fills in the historical background to events such as the Lamian War: Diodorus intended the different parts of his work to be self-contained, as the proems to the individual books show, and sometimes made efforts of his own to outline the background. Besides allusions back to his previous book, Diodorus has also incorporated some material from a source which is not Hieronymus and which favoured Ptolemy: this we can see at XVIII.3.5, at XVIII.28.2ff., and again in parts of his account of Perdiccas' campaign against Ptolemy in Egypt, in which Ptolemy's personal prowess is written up in heroic style.

Some further suggestions can now be made about the Ptolemaic material. It is not generally disputed that Diodorus' ultimate main source for Bk. XVII is Cleitarchus, the Alexandrian historian who established the vulgate tradition on Alexander, and who is known to have flattered Ptolemy.<sup>62</sup> When Diodorus recapitulated passages from Bk. XVII, therefore, he still had his Cleitarchan source in mind. But the debt of book XVIII to the Alexander historian may go further than this. We do not know where

Cleitarchus ended his history: it is cited as *Περὶ Ἀλεξάνδρου* or *Τὰ περὶ Ἀλεξάνδρου*<sup>63</sup>; but on one view the history of Alexander ended not with his death but with his burial. Curtius, who also used the Cleitarchan tradition for the main part of his Alexander history, concludes it with an account of the Succession, and ends the whole work by relating how Ptolemy took the body to Memphis and later to Alexandria, "where every honour was paid to his memory and his name."<sup>64</sup> Recently Schachermeyr has argued in detail that Curtius was still drawing on his Cleitarchan source for events after Alexander's death; and Badian has argued, independently of any considerations of source criticism, that Cleitarchus himself was in Babylon at the time of Alexander's death.<sup>65</sup> If Cleitarchus took his history down to the burial of Alexander, there are clear implications for the problem of Diodorus' sources at the beginning of book XVIII. It appears that Diodorus, like Curtius, continued to draw on the vulgate tradition he had used for his book on Alexander, though to a more limited extent than Curtius; the turning point in history marked by Alexander's death was reflected in historiography, and the later authors had to take account of other histories which began with the Succession, chief among them that of Hieronymus. The overlap was not handled very successfully by Diodorus; he knew that he wanted to use Hieronymus later for his narrative of Eumenes and Antigonos, but may have found him a more difficult author at first than he had anticipated, and relapsed from time to time into the easy rhetoric of the alternative source. This may account for the extreme brevity of his account of events in Babylon, an episode which was carefully documented in Hieronymus, and altogether different from the lively narrative of Alexander in India to which Diodorus had become accustomed in the last part of Bk. XVII. Diodorus almost certainly did not use Cleitarchus directly: his immediate source for Bk. XVII was possibly the work 'On Kings' by Timagenes of Alexandria.<sup>66</sup> Timagenes,

however, may have given an account of Ptolemy I directly after his account of Alexander, since Ptolemy was the first of the Successors to establish himself firmly in his domain. It is easier to understand the heroic tone of Ptolemy's battle with Perdiccas at XVIII.34 and the extravagant loyalty displayed in the eulogy of Ptolemy at XVIII.28, if we suppose that the conclusion to Cleitarchus' history, in which Ptolemy, victorious over his enemies, triumphantly asserted his claim to Egypt and to Alexander's body, was elaborated by successive Ptolemaic historians who wished to praise the founder of the dynasty; and that Diodorus, himself an admirer of everything Egyptian, added the final touches.<sup>67</sup>

The early part of Diodorus XVIII should therefore be characterised neither as 'patchwork' nor as the epitome of a single source. The most economic hypothesis, which still takes account of the oddities in the text, is that of two sources, the old and the new, forming a bridge passage between Bk. XVII and Bk. XVIII. For the first thirty-five chapters of his history of the Successors, Diodorus had difficulty in breaking away from his source for book XVII, and we find him not only looking over his shoulder to things he himself had written in the previous book, but still sometimes glancing at his old source, whose narrative was not exhausted with the death of Alexander, and enriching the austere history of Hieronymus with supplements from the Alexander vulgate.<sup>68</sup>

I regard the Last Plans as another instance of these vulgate supplements. No anachronism has been found which would disprove their authenticity, and other arguments have proved inconclusive, but the feeling of disbelief aroused on reading the Plans is not thereby dispelled. Two questions have never satisfactorily been answered: why do the Plans not mention the one project known to have been dear to Alexander just before he died, the circumnavigation of Arabia, but put in its place the incredible expedition against Carthage; and why are they unknown to Arrian?

It is at least arguable that Arrian wrote the Anabasis after his history of the Successors, for which he used Hieronymus extensively; therefore, had the Plans been in Hieronymus, as many now seem to believe, he should not have been ignorant of Alexander's ultimate ambitions.<sup>69</sup> These are old problems. The style of the Hypomnemata also gives grounds for suspicion. Diodorus' narrative in chs. 2 and 3 is concise and clear and confined to the facts; at 4.2 the train of thought suddenly becomes clumsy and long-winded, and in his specification of the Plans Diodorus becomes involved in parentheses and repetitions.<sup>70</sup> The space taken up by the Plans is disproportionate to the rest of Diodorus' account of events in Babylon: they occupy four out of a total of seventeen paragraphs, although the projects themselves are of no relevance to the history of the Successors, and they are included at the expense of far more important items, notably, the earlier stages of the 'stasis' and settlement. The points Diodorus tries to stress are the expense, the magnitude and the importance of the projects - τὰς τε λοιπὰς αὐτοῦ ἐπιβολὰς πολλὰς καὶ μεγάλας οὐσίας ... καὶ δαπάνας ἀνυπερβλήτους ἔχουσας κ.τ.λ. The Hypomnemata are a 'thauma', and as such they belong most naturally in vulgate writing. A comparable 'thauma' is Hephaestion's pyre, described at XVII.115, with emphasis on the great size and expense of the construction: here the ultimate source was certainly Cleitarchus, and the fact that the completion of the pyre is the first of the memoranda named possibly indicates a connection between the two passages.

A further oddity in Diodorus' description of the Plans is the way it has displaced other material and disrupted the order of the narrative. Our other authorities are unanimous in placing Perdiccas' lustration of the army and the execution of Meleager's following after the reconciliation of the phalanx and cavalry and before Perdiccas'

distribution of the satrapies. Diodorus' order of events is:

reconciliation, distribution of the satrapies, Last Plans, execution of Meleager and company.<sup>71</sup> It appears from Arrian's account that Meleager

was killed later than the other rebels (F1.4, 'not long afterwards'), and it is possible that Diodorus has condensed the order of events so as to have all the executions fall on this occasion. It remains a notable fact, nevertheless, that Diodorus is the only author who has the wrong order of events, and also the only author who has the Hypomnemata. The other

major disruption is apparent in the narrative which introduces the Plans and which discusses Craterus' return to Europe. There is no obvious connection between Alexander's instructions to Craterus, as they are known to us from Arrian (VII.12.4) and from a later passage of Diodorus (XVIII.12.2), and the Hypomnemata of Alexander, except that both were cancelled after Alexander died. Diodorus has made a clumsy attempt to

link the two items by the connective γάρ, and has produced a non-sequitur which seems to indicate a change of source.<sup>72</sup> An especial

indication that Diodorus has abandoned Hieronymus at this point are the

words τοῖς διαδόχοις ἔδοξε κ.τ.λ. : as we have seen, the

word 'Diadochi' may have appeared in Hieronymus' title, but it is not

his regular term for Alexander's generals. The allusion to Craterus in

this context is most naturally explained in terms of what has gone before,

rather than what follows, because Diodorus has failed to mention him in his

satrapy list in ch.3. There were several stages to the settlement at

Babylon, and Diodorus gives only the final arrangements. At the time

of the compromise which ended the conflict between cavalry and phalanx,

Craterus had been appointed 'prostates' of the empire, an office which

remains mysterious, but which in any case seems to have been abandoned

after the execution of the thirty rebels; and in the final settlement

the nobles appear to have reverted to a much earlier plan, mentioned by

Curtius, according to which Craterus was to share the administration of Macedon and Greece with Antipater; this, at least, is the implication of our best source, Arrian.<sup>73</sup> Craterus' final instructions, therefore, were to join Antipater in Macedon, instead of replacing him, as Alexander had ordered. The allusion to Alexander's orders at 4.1 must have been meant to explain this alteration, and recalls other references in the satrapy list to the situation in Alexander's lifetime: Eumenes' satrapy was not conquered by Alexander, but is to be conquered now; the eastern satrapies are to remain as they were under Alexander. The satrapy list in ch.3 is therefore the context to which the mention of Craterus properly belongs: Diodorus may have reserved his case for separate discussion because of its special complications: though it is also possible that he lost Craterus accidentally in ch.3 as a result of re-arranging the original order of the satrapy list.<sup>74</sup>

There are other signs of a muddle at the junction between chs. 3 and 4. At the end of ch.3, after giving Seleucus' appointment as hipparch, the MSS of Diodorus go on to mention the kingdoms of Taxiles and Porus, which have appeared earlier in the list. Editors usually adjust the text here, but it is at least arguable that the eastern satrapies were listed at this point in the original, and that Diodorus tried to get a more rational order by transposing them to an earlier position, but then absentmindedly started to repeat them in their proper place, at the end of the list.<sup>75</sup> Whatever the explanation, there is a repetition in the text; and it is followed by the appointment of Arrhidaeus and the reference to Ammon, which should be attributed to Diodorus' Alexandrian source. At the beginning of ch.4 we return to Craterus, whom Diodorus has failed to mention earlier; and an association of ideas distracts him into a full-dress account of the Last Plans, in the course of which he includes the anomalous term 'Diadochi'.

Finally in ch.4.7, we are offered more left-overs from the Hieronyman narrative in the account of the executions. Signs of confusion are unmistakable, and are most easily explained on the assumption that Diodorus had more than one source to hand.<sup>76</sup> The most economic hypothesis is that his supplementary source here is the Ptolemaic historian whom he used in his narrative of 321 and for the reference to Ammon at 3.5. The Plans themselves are not pro-Ptolemaic, but this is hardly a serious objection: it would be unreasonable to expect Cleitarchus, or whichever historian we are dealing with directly, to identify himself by flattering Ptolemy on every page of his history. The intention of their author was rather to describe 'thaumasia', and this, equally, is a characteristic of the Cleitarchan tradition. The fact also that they are not obviously anachronistic points to an early Hellenistic author: a later writer fabricating the Plans could hardly have avoided some mistakes which would have given him away. Finally, it is a striking coincidence that, although the list of the Hypomnemata appears in no author but Diodorus, the most remarkable item in it, the western expedition, is known in a slightly different form to Curtius, the other author who drew extensively on the Cleitarchan tradition for his Alexander history.<sup>77</sup>

It is apparent that for the opening part of his history of the Successors Diodorus had difficulty in controlling his material, and this was because he tried to combine his new source, Hieronymus, with a more colourful source which he had used for book XVII, and which was based ultimately on Cleitarchus' history of Alexander: the Last Plans were taken from the second source, likewise the references to Ammon as the burial place of Alexander, and other pro-Ptolemaic material. Hieronymus had provided an account of the Succession, but it did not appeal to Diodorus, who summarised it in less than three chapters.<sup>78</sup> The problems he must have encountered in making his abridgement are apparent when we

consider the scale and complexity of Hieronymus' treatment of the earliest events in his history. To this and related questions I now turn.

#### Scale and Book Divisions

The scope of Hieronymus' history is known to us: it is usually accepted that he took it down to the death of Pyrrhus in 272, and from the death of Alexander to the death of Pyrrhus it covered a little more than fifty years. The scale on which it was written is not easy to estimate from Diodorus. Each of Diodorus books XVIII, XIX and XX treats a period of less than ten years, as compared with twenty or thirty years in most of the other historical books of the Bibliothekē:<sup>79</sup> this unevenness suggests that Hieronymus was either much more lengthy than Diodorus' other historical sources, or more difficult to reduce. Diodorus also failed to make an even abridgement within the period 323-302, preferring to treat some events in considerable detail and omit others altogether.<sup>80</sup> The most noticeable omissions are Seleucus' activities in India after 312, which are mentioned by other authors, and the wars between Seleucus and Antigonus during the same period, known to us from Babylonian documents.<sup>81</sup> On the other hand, Diodorus frequently describes in detail episodes which are only of marginal importance to the historical narrative: at XVIII.26 Alexander's funeral bier is described at length, although Diodorus gives a very inadequate account of Perdikkas' campaign in Egypt in the following chapters; other examples include the ancient history of Thebes at XIX.53.4ff., the ritual death of the Indian princess at XIX.33ff., and the description of Nabataean Arabia at XIX.94ff.; the Hypomnemata of Alexander at XVIII.4 also show how unevenly Diodorus distributed his material. The same irregularity appears

in book XX. It can be shown that there is a progressive change in scale in Diodorus' treatment of Greek and Asian affairs throughout the period 323-302: this can be attributed largely to his increasing interest in the history of Agathocles, which begins in book XIX and which lessened his enthusiasm for his main theme.<sup>82</sup> By book XX he is prepared to sacrifice the whole of Hieronymus' account of Antigonus' war with Seleucus - an episode of military history which was not enlivened by Hieronymus' personal observation - but devotes eighteen chapters to the dramatic events of the siege of Rhodes. For the brief passage where we can compare him with the papyrus on the siege of Rhodes it is clear that Diodorus has not omitted much of the substance of the original.<sup>83</sup> He seems to have picked out the 'plums' in Hieronymus' work and transcribed them quite fully, while giving only a sketchy account, or none at all, of intervening events. It is possible that he reflects to some extent the way Hieronymus himself distributed his material, and that Hieronymus had given a fuller account of events in which he had been personally involved; but Diodorus' reason for preferring these sections may simply have been that they were the most lively. Diodorus' evidence on this question is therefore rather ambiguous.

Arrian possibly gives a better idea of the scale of Hieronymus' ordinary narrative. Fragments 1 and 9 of his History of the Successors, which are taken from the Photian epitome, are merely a survey of the contents. Fragment 10, however, the Vatican palimpsest, is a fragment of the original work. It deals with Eumenes' intrigues with Cleopatra at Sardis and Antigonus' attempt to ambush Eumenes, and we can see from the more complete parts of the fragment that the treatment was exhaustive. The same is true of the more recently discovered fragment of Arrian which describes Eumenes' duel with Neoptolemus. If all the events in Arrian's history which Photius summarises were treated on this scale, it

is not surprising that it took him ten books to cover only three years; and if the entire history of Hieronymus, covering more than fifty years, was in proportion, it would have filled some 170 books - a mighty work indeed, surpassing both Theopompus and 'huge Livy'. Works of this size, however, tended to arouse comment and inspire jokes (Dionysius 'Skytobrachion', Didymus 'Chalcenteros', 'Livius ingens'), and since the authors who cite Hieronymus' history never comment on its length, it was probably not out of the ordinary. Mechanical calculations on the basis of an epitome are in any case unreliable. Arrian may have used other sources: in the Anabasis he supplemented Ptolemy with a variety of material, including another serious historian, Aristobulus; and though it seems clear that Hieronymus was the main ingredient of the *Τὰ μετὰ Ἀλέξανδρον*, the Hieronyman framework may have been filled out by a discriminating use of the lesser historians of the Successors, or of those histories of Alexander which continued down to the year 321. Furthermore, Hieronymus probably did not give equal weight to all parts of his chosen period. The space devoted to Eumenes and the Antigonids was considerably greater than that accorded to the other Successors, and episodes in which the historian himself had played a part may have been especially detailed. We should also expect the History to concentrate around the great battles - Gabiene, Gaza, Ipsus - and the political landmarks - Triparadeisos, the Peace of 311 - with the narrative spread more thinly in between. One of the densest patches would be at the beginning of the history. Thucydides had spent his first book talking about prehistoric Greece, summarising the Pentacontaetia, discussing historiographical method; Polybius filled two books with preliminaries of the same kind. Xenophon's Hellenica was also more solid at its beginning: if we had only the first two books, we might suppose we had lost an exhaustive political analysis of the early

fourth century. For a historian like Hieronymus, whose work covered such a vista of space and time and revolved around successive protagonists, starting off was not a simple matter. We have some indication of the things that preoccupied him in his opening books: a preface, no doubt; the earlier history of Macedon and the complexities of the Succession; satrapy lists and a Geography of Asia; then he needed to follow the various satraps to Bactria, Egypt, Thrace, Cappadocia, to discuss the of the Lamian War, and analyse the first major complex of the History, the 'koinopragia' which destroyed Perdiccas; finally all these strands had to be re-united at Triparadeisos. Initial explanations and then the ferment of activity which followed Alexander's death, may well have filled as much as ten books: we have seen that Diodorus was more than once nearly defeated by his new source in book XVIII, and deserted him for an easier historian. After 321, Hieronymus could settle down to the straightforward narrative of Eumenes' campaigns against Antigonus, and we can assume that from this point the History moved more rapidly. If we allow for the relatively concentrated character of the first few years, also for a number of geographical and 'archaeological' digressions, and for the speeches which, like nearly every ancient historian, he certainly included, we may suppose that Hieronymus' history was comparable in size to the histories of Polybius or of some of his third century contemporaries.<sup>84</sup>

Polybius treated the history of 84 years (220-146) in 40 books, including two books on the historical background, a book on geography and a book on the Roman constitution. Ephorus had written thirty books, and seems to have set the fashion for dividing histories into books.<sup>85</sup> Timaeus wrote thirty-three books, Phylarchus twenty-eight, Diyllos twenty-six, Psaon of Plataea thirty.<sup>86</sup> Hellenistic histories were undoubtedly on the long side, compared with the fifth century classics, and this may have been one reason why someone like Dionysius had little patience with them.

Hieronymus' book divisions can sometimes be traced. His chronological framework was evidently based on the annual campaigning season, after the manner of Thucydides, for on ten occasions in Diodorus' history of the Successors the turn of the year is marked by the mention of winter quarters. Dionysius claimed that this system proved so unsuccessful in Thucydides that no later historian adopted it: in order to follow events in each theatre of war during a single season Thucydides had to chop up his narrative in a way which, in Dionysius' judgement, made it impossible to follow.<sup>87</sup> But we can see from Dionysius' illustration (taken from Thucydides Bk.III) that he is exaggerating to prove his point; and the statement that no one imitated this system is also an exaggeration. Xenophon had used the annalistic plan of Thucydides in the early part of the Hellenica; and it is clear from Diodorus that Hieronymus was following the same model. The campaigning season of the Hellenistic period was considerably longer than that of classical times: Alexander showed that winter need be no deterrent to military action, and the armies of the Diadochi did not go into winter quarters until the late autumn.<sup>88</sup> Accordingly, Hieronymus had the best part of a year in which to record the alternate affairs of Asia and Greece, and his narrative may not have given the disjointed impression to which Dionysius took exception in the case of Thucydides.

On the Thucydidean system, it was natural to end a book with the end of a year - Thucydides does this at the end of books 2, 3, 4 and 5; and it is probable that Hieronymus often did the same. Where Diodorus changes to a supplementary source we may often suspect that he has come to the end of a book in his main source, and in several instances, a change of source coincides with the end of a year. At XVIII.2.56, the year 322 closes with Antipater and Craterus postponing their winter campaign against the Aetolians and Perdiccas sending Eumenes to the

Hellespont; in the next chapter, Diodorus launches into his description of Alexander's funeral carriage, which may or may not come from Hieronymus, followed by the Ptolemaic version of the bringing of Alexander's body to Egypt, which certainly does not. At XIX.44.4, the year 317 ends with Eumenes' defeat at Paraetacene and the transfer of the wounded Hieronymus into the army of Antigonos - the end of an era in the personal history of Hieronymus: in chapter 44.4-5 we have a coincidence with a fragment of Duris, and chapter 45 contains a description of the flood at Rhodes, again not derived from Hieronymus. Diodorus' reasons for changing from one source to another are often puzzling: sometimes the motive seems to be pious fervour or the desire to underline a point which he felt had been insufficiently expressed by his main source;<sup>89</sup> and at the beginning of book XVIII his use of a pro-Ptolemaic source can perhaps be explained by his own interest in Egypt and the founding of the Ptolemaic dynasty. Practical considerations should not be overlooked, however: a natural break in the main author from whom he was working would encourage him to look at other accounts, some of which he would then incorporate into his history by way of an interlude, as at XIX.44.4ff. The end of a book also made an obvious stopping place when Diodorus wanted to turn to his parallel narrative of affairs in Sicily and Italy, and this is apparently what has happened at XIX.69.2 and XX.28.4 (winter 314-13 and 309-8). Most of the other references to winter quarters correspond with a change from Asian to Greek affairs or vice versa, though in these cases it is uncertain how often the break marks a book ending.<sup>90</sup> The events at Triparadeisos undoubtedly concluded a book, perhaps the tenth of the history, if Arrian was following Hieronymus closely. At Diod. XVIII.39.7, Antipater departs from Triparadeisos and crosses back into Macedon with the kings and army; at 40.1, Antigonos opens the year 320 with the assembly of his troops from winter quarters to start the war against

Eumenes; and Arrian's History of the Successors ended with Antipater's return to Europe.<sup>91</sup> Finally, Diodorus concluded his own twentieth book in the middle of winter 302 (references to winter quarters at XX.109.2, 109.4, 111.3, 112.4, 113.5), with the promise that he will relate the battle of the kings in his following book; and there can be little doubt that here, too, he is following the structure of Hieronymus' work, and that Hieronymus made Ipsus the centre piece of his last book on the Diadochi.

#### The End of the History: Antigonus' Tears

The structure of Hieronymus' history down to the time of Ipsus is relatively clear. Babylon was to have been the capital of Alexander's world empire, and it was here that Hieronymus started, with Alexander's body a symbol of the unity of empire, lying in state within the palace, while outside the army mutinied and his generals divided up his lands. The division of the empire was the most important item in the sequence of events during the week which followed Alexander's death: we should give credit to Diodorus for seeing its significance and reproducing it in detail when he has omitted or abbreviated so much else, and he and Arrian seem to reflect the prominent position which the list had occupied in Hieronymus. Centrifugal forces were at work from the moment Alexander died, and, during the next twenty years, resolved his unwieldy kingdom into its component parts. Hieronymus' history of the Diadochi correspondingly moved from the centre outwards, following the generals from Babylon to Alexandria, Cassandria, and Antigonis, as the new political map took shape. The battle of Ipsus was the natural stopping place for the first part of the History. Here all the threads converged, and the vision of world empire, now embodied in Antigonis, was dealt its death blow.

After Ipsus, the direction of the narrative seems to have changed. Our knowledge of Hieronymus' account of the Epigoni is severely circumscribed by the state of the evidence; but we have the impression that interest in Ptolemy and Seleucus diminished once they were established in their new domains, and that the growing power of Lysimachus, chief architect of the strategic victory at Ipsus, and the appearance of the new kings, Pyrrhus and Demetrius, now centred attention on the western empire. The geographical focus of the History of the Diadochi is implied in the survey of Asia with which it opened; this focus shifts from Asia to Europe as the eastern kingdoms consolidate, while the European territories are thrown into confusion by the death of Cassander; finally it narrows down to the struggle between Pyrrhus and Antigonus Gonatas. Macedon itself was the last major Hellenistic kingdom to settle under a single ruler, and Gonatas was the last of Alexander's 'heirs': firmly established in Macedon, he formed the third member of the triumvirate who ruled the eastern Mediterranean, and completed Hieronymus' picture of the evolution of the new dynasties. The last event Hieronymus is known to have recorded is the death of Pyrrhus at Argos in 272, and it seems likely that this was the last episode in the History.<sup>92</sup> With Pyrrhus' death, the last serious threat to Antigonid Macedon was removed, and both historical and artistic considerations probably suggested this as a fitting conclusion. To the loyal servant of Antigonus' house it was a satisfactory denouement to the history of his times: before his death he had seen Demetrius' son as unchallenged ruler of the Macedonian homeland, and the wars of the Successors might be considered at an end.

With victory did not come complacency. Pausanias, citing Hieronymus as an authority for the last days of Pyrrhus, says that his account was written ἐν ἡδονῇ Ἀντιγόνου, and

probably there was substance to this criticism. If Plutarch is using Hieronymus for the last chapters of his Life of Pyrrhus, it appears that Hieronymus omitted any allusion to Pyrrhus' victory over Gonatas in battle outside the walls of Argos: it was perhaps not easy to concede that Pyrrhus, for all his posturing as a latter-day Achilles, might be the equal of Gonatas in tactical skill.<sup>93</sup> We must suspect the suppression of facts which reflected unfavourably on his master. However, *ef* Hieronymus was far from representing Gonatas' eventual victory over Pyrrhus as the triumph of a great conqueror. The note on which he ended may be inferred from the chapters of Plutarch which describe Pyrrhus' fortuitous death in the street fighting at Argos and Antigonus' reaction when Halcyoneus brought him the head of his enemy: "Antigonus, when he saw and recognised the head, drove his son away, smiting him with his staff and calling him barbarous; then, covering his face with his cloak, he burst into tears, calling to mind Antigonus his grandfather and Demetrius his father, who were examples in his own family of a reversal of fortune."<sup>94</sup>

The victor weeping over the vanquished is a motif of Hellenistic historiography of which this is apparently the first instance. Antiochus wept over the rebel Achaeus; Scipio shed tears at the sight of burning Carthage; Octavian is said, however implausibly, to have wept at the news of Antony's death. In the same spirit Scipio moralizes over the cowardly Hasdrubal, and Aemilius Paulus over the downfall of Perseus.<sup>95</sup> To ponder, at such a moment, on the mutability of Fortune, showed a 'proper Hellenistic sensibility';<sup>96</sup> and the scene in which Antigonus weeps over the dead Pyrrhus with thoughts of mortality would not call for especial comment, were it not, as it seems, the final cadence to Hieronymus' work, and as such, a striking anticipation of the conclusion to Polybius' history. Polybius took his work down to the year 146: the fall of Carthage removed Rome's last major enemy in the Mediterranean, and

so ended the period of evolution from first state in Italy to mistress of a world empire, which Polybius had set himself to describe. The future was not his concern, but Scipio's reaction as he watched the flames rise from Carthage put into perspective the history of Rome's rise to power, and the quotation from Iliad VI.448 re-expresses the prophecy of Demetrius of Phaleron which had so impressed Polybius: one day Rome, too, would suffer the fate of Persia, Macedon and Carthage.<sup>97</sup> Hieronymus believed that when Antigonus wept he thought of his father and grandfather, who had once been mighty kings and had perished miserably; and the implication is that in the moment of success he, like Scipio, looked forward gravely to an unknown future. Antigonus' rebuke to Halcyoneus and his kind treatment of Helenus suggest not only the clemency of the victor but the superstitious prudence of a man who had learned not to trust the seeming invulnerability of power.

Polybius never mentions Hieronymus in the surviving parts of his work, and it would be unwise to assume that he was imitating him - though this is not out of the question. The tears of Antigonus and the tears of Scipio may have their source merely in a common Hellenistic sentiment. It is at least a notable coincidence that the two major political histories of the Hellenistic period use this motif as a concluding statement. One can point to a common literary ancestor: in the last book of the Iliad Achilles is moved to tears by Priam asking for the body of Hector; and as he weeps he thinks, like Antigonus, of his own father and the unhappy lot of men.<sup>98</sup> The pathos of this celebrated passage lies not merely in the magnanimity of the strong to the weak, but in the fact that Achilles is close to his own death: this lies outside the scope of the epic, but Thetis has reminded him, and even as he speaks to Priam, Achilles looks forward to his approaching fate. In each of these endings, then, we can trace a common way of thought about the end of war and the final value of

the victor's achievement when set against the powers of fate or chance or time.

Hieronimus gave less prominence to the role of Tyche than Polybius, but he could not be uninfluenced by the idea of life's uncertainty and of the supreme power of Fortune which dominated Hellenistic popular philosophy. To a historian, Tyche presented herself on a grand scale, raising up kings and kingdoms and casting them down again: Demetrius of Phaleron had expressed the idea of power succeeding power in his treatise *Περί Τύχης*.<sup>99</sup> The optimistic mood of the days of Alexander had been quenched in the seemingly interminable wars of the Diadochi, in which the outcome often appeared to be determined as much by chance as by virtue: Pyrrhus' death was a classic example, and there was no guarantee that Antigonos himself would not one day suffer a similar 'peripeteia'. The aged Hieronimus, who could not prophesy the sequel to the events he had recorded, preferred, it seems, to end his work on a quiet and reflective note, demonstrating the becoming humility of the king in the hour of victory. As the envoie to a history of this period, it is to be contrasted with two types which have been mentioned incidentally earlier in this chapter: the abrupt termination of Ptolemy's narrative of Alexander, which is to be inferred from Arrian; and, at the other extreme, the fanfare with which Diodorus' Alexandrian historian hailed the triumph of Ptolemy. Neither a military chronicle, nor a court history, Hieronimus' work shows the conscious design of an author who had perceived the real drama of events, and was able to give shape and sense to his complex narrative through his understanding of individual ambition on the one hand, and on the other, of the obstinate nature of events which persistently frustrates human endeavour.

NOTES TO CHAPTER THREE

1. Kuester, Suidae Lexicon, Cambridge 1705 II p.103 n.2.
2. Cf. ch.II p.
3. Appian Syr. I.1. Jacoby, RE Hieronymos col.1547, suggested ἐπ' Ἀλεξάνδρου βασιλείαι : 'That which was done for Alexander's kingdom'. However, the use of ἐπί meaning 'for the sake of' seems to be exclusively Homeric: cf. Iliad XXI.585, πολλὰ τετεύχεται ἄλγε' ἐπ' αὐτῇ : 'many are the woes that shall be suffered for her', i.e. Troy. Jacoby F.Gr.Hist. 154 suggests τὰ ἐπ' Ἀλεξάνδρῳ πραχθέντα ; but see below, p. 114 with n.17 for his later view.
4. Diod. XVIII.42.1; Joseph c.Apion, I.213; Dion. Hal. A.R. 1.5.4. Cf. Diod. XVIII.50.4, XIX.44.3, 100.1, where Hieronymus is described simply as 'the writer of the histories'.
5. Appian Praef. 10; Strabo XV p.736; Diod. I.3.3. Cf. also Suidas s.v. Hecataeus: Hecataeus of Abdera lived ἐπὶ τῶν Ἀλεξάνδρου διαδόχων.
6. Polyb. VIII.12; IX.29.
7. See Strack Rh.Mus. LV (1900) pp.168ff. and 189f., with examples from papyri and inscriptions of the period 191-117 B.C.
8. For 'somatophylakes' see Welles RC p.368.
9. Arr. Anab. VII.6.1, cf. VII.8.2. PSI VI.588.7; Wilcken UPZ XIV.70.
10. Laqueur RE XVII s.v. Nymphis col.1609.
11. Arr. Anab. VII.12.2.
12. H.Droysen RE VI.s.v. Epigonoí col.68, says that Arrian has here misapplied the name; but Arrian's explicit statement οὗς Ἐπιγόνους ἐκάλεϊ Ἀλέξανδρος must be taken from Ptolemy.
13. Usener's theory that 'Epigonos', father of Antigonus, mentioned in an epigram from Cnidus (Kaibel 781), is the 'Epigonos' Demetrius Poliorcetes, father of Antigonus Gonatas, has been definitely refuted by

the discovery of an inscription from Miletus honouring the Cnidian Ἀντίγονος Ἐπιγόνου (Inscr. Milet. 138.73. For bibliography on this controversy see C.Habicht Gottmenschentum u.gr. Städte, München 1970, p.79). 'Epigonos' here is therefore a personal name. Holleaux suggested Πτολεμαῖον Ἐπιγόνου as a possible supplement to a decree from Telmessos of the year 240 B.C. (OGIS 55 line 22), referring it to Ptolemy the son of Lysimachus (BCH 28 p.411; JHS 41 p.183; cf. Hill, Klio 26 p.229); but this has not gone unchallenged: see Bouché-Leclercq, Histoire des Lagides IV.312; Kalinka, Tit.Asiae Min. II.1.4f. The reading of the fourth letter is very uncertain: it may be T or Γ or Π .

14. F.Gr.Hist. 432 T1.

15. F.Gr.Hist. III B p.259.

16. So Laqueur RE s.v. Nymphis col.1608.

17. F.Gr.Hist. III B Noten p.169 n.12 and n.14; F.Gr.Hist. 72 F3,4,15 etc.

18. F.Gr.Hist. 432 F17: Aelian mentions the ninth book of a work

Περὶ Πτολεμαῖου (i.e. Philadelphus), which is usually identified with the Περὶ τῶν Ἐπιγόνων . If the numbering were continuous throughout, we would expect a higher book number for events of the third century.

19. See T.S. Brown A.J.Phil. 1950 p.141 with n.53 on the practice among ancient authors of bringing out their works in instalments.

20. Wachsmuth Einleitung p.581, wanted to combine the evidence of Diodorus and Josephus, to make Hieronymus' title Ἱστορία τῶν διαδόχων καὶ ἐπιγόνων. Most commentators have seen the work as consisting of two parts: cf. Susemihl I p.562. (This does not, of course, imply that a long period of time elapsed between the publication of each part: see below, ch.IV p.240 ). Recently Fontana, Le Lotte p.257, has revived the idea, which goes back to Sévin, of an independent treatment of Pyrrhus. However, Dionysius mentions a work on the Epigoni in connection with

Pyrrhus' western expedition, not a history of Pyrrhus; and Hieronymus seems, in any case, to have had little admiration for Pyrrhus: it would be astonishing if he had selected him as the subject of a historical biography in preference to either Antigonus Gonatas or Eumenes. Cf. the scepticism of O.Müller, Antigonus Monophthalmus und das Jahr der Könige, Bonn 1974 p.7 n.31.

21. On the origin of T1 see ch.I p. 7.

22. Cf. App. I p. i.

23. Diod. XVIII.6.2, ἡ λοιπὴ τῆς Ἰνδικῆς... ποταμίου ὕδασι κατέρρευτος.  
Strabo XV.1.13 (690): Ἄπασα δ' ἐστὶ κατέρρευτος ποταμοῦ ἢ Ἰνδικῆ.

24. See E.Thonke, Die Weltkarte des Eratosthenes und die Feldzüge Alexanders, Diss. Strasburg 1914, esp. pp.45-9, 52-4, 56.

25. Cf. Jacoby RE Hieronymos col. 1555-6. Sphragides: Strabo II.1.22; XI.12.5.

26. Tarn JHS XLIII (1923) p.93; Alex.Gt. II App.17.

27. Periphrasis with verbs like *συμβρίνειν*, *χρησθῆναι*, *τυγχάνειν* etc. is so common among Greek writers of the late Hellenistic period that the three uses of *συμβρίνειν* in this passage (XVIII.5.4, 6.2, 6.3) hardly call for special explanation. Palm (p.97f.) discussing Diodorus' use of this verb, accepts a special category which he dignifies with the name 'chorographic', and of which the three instances in question are supposedly a paradigm; but it is more probable that Diodorus uses *συμβρίνειν* here, as frequently, to avoid hiatus: the words *Ἰνδός* and *Ἑρκανία* presented especial problems in this respect. For Media, see below. Tarn's general conclusion is reinforced by the demonstration of Bosworth, CQ 1974 p.49f., that Diodorus uses the early Hellenistic nomenclature for the divisions of Syria, both in the 'gazeteer' and elsewhere in books XVIII-XX, viz. 'Coele Syria' for the area from Egypt to Phoenicia, and ἡ ἄνω Συρία for the northern district next to Cilicia. This is in contrast to the

usage of both Appian and Arrian, who describe the contemporary division of the Levant into three sectors from north to south.

28. Tarn art.cit. p.93 n.2; cf. The Greeks in Bactria and India p.153 n.1.
29. Cf. Herodotus III.89ff.
30. Cf. Diod. XIX.30.3, 21.3, etc.
31. Diod. XIX.23.3: Orontes is described as holding the 'satrapy' of Armenia in 317. Diod. XIX.20.2-3: Pithon's Media is described as 'the land of Media', tout court, a country famous for its τετραπόδα.
32. The corrupt παραποταμίοις at XVIII.6.2 might contain a reminiscence of a lost sentence which included the word παραπέμιδος.
33. See Diod. XVIII.3 and XVIII.39.6ff. for the re-organization of the empire in 323 and 321; cf. also XIX.48.1-5 (Antigonus reshuffles the satraps of Asia), and XIX.56.4.
34. Reuss Rh.Mus. LVII (1902) p.586 n.1.
35. On Hecataeus, see O.Murray JEA 51, 1970 p.141ff.: Hecataeus showed little interest in serious geography, since he failed to mention Egypt's most striking physical feature, the Nile. For Timaeus, see Pearson, Yale Class. Stud. 24 (1975) p.185.
36. Syme, Tacitus p.146f.
37. Post reads ποταμός ὁ Γάγγης, καὶ τὸ βᾶθος μέγιστος ὡν κ.τ.λ. (adopted by Geer in the Loeb edition of Diodorus), which is based on Diod. XVII.93.2. On the latter passage, see below, p.126f.
38. Tarn, JHS 1923 p.93ff: Alex.Gt. II App.14. Cf. E.Meyer, Klio XXI (1927) p.183ff.; Schachermeyr, Natalicium C.Jax Sept. obl. I, Innsbr.Beitr.z. Kulturgeschichte 3 (1955) p.123 ff. = Griffith, Main Problems p.137 ff.; Hamilton Comm.Plut.Alex. p.171; Kienast, Historia XIV (1965) p.188.
39. Cf. Hampl, La Nouvelle Clio 6 (1954) p.133ff.
40. Hamilton op.cit. p.170f.
41. Curtius IX.2.

42. Diodorus' source is not Megasthenes, whom he uses for much of the Indian section on Bk.II, because Megasthenes gave the width of the Ganges as 100 stades: Strabo XV.702; cf. Arr.Ind. 4.7.
43. Diod. XVII.52 passim is an excursus written in Diodorus' own person on the city of Alexandria. He stresses the pre-eminence and wealth of Ptolemaic Egypt, as again at XVIII.6.3 and 28.3.
44. Plut.Eum., 3.1-2; Nep. Eum 2.1-5.
45. Cf. Tarn JHS 1921 p.8.
46. Damyllus is probably to be identified with Damis of Megalopolis: cf. Diod. XVIII.71.2 and ch.IV p.238 f.
47. See ch.II p. 61 f. and App. I p. 111 ff.
48. Schachermeyr, Alexander in Babylon, Wien 1970 p.114. For the date on which Alexander died, Samuel, Ptolemaic Chronology, München 1962 p.46f. Cf. Curtius X.10.9: "Septimus dies erat, ex quo corpus regis iacebat in solio."
49. Heidelberg Epitome, F.Gr.Hist. 155, 3.
50. Cf. Diod. XIX.14.2.
51. See Badian HSCP 72 (1967) p.183ff. This view is now accepted by Errington, JHS XC (1970) p.59 n.75, Schachermeyr, Alexander in Babylon p.187 and Bosworth, CQ n.s. 21 (1971) p.127ff.
52. Tarn JHS 1921 p.4ff., Alex.Gt. II App.24. Schachermeyr, Die Letzte Pläne Alexanders des Grossen, <sup>ch</sup>Jahreshefte des osterreichischen arch. Inst. 41 (1954) p.118ff. = Griffith Main Problems p.322ff.
53. Contra M.Kunz, Zur Beurteilung der Proemien in Diodors historischer Bibliothek, Zurich 1935 p.89f. who conjectures a source like Posidonius.
54. Arr. Anab. VII.26.3; Curtius X.55; Diod. XVII.117.4; cf. Justin XII.15.6-8.
55. Cf. ch.II n. 27.
56. Nep. Eum. 2.1.
57. Justin XIII.4.6. Justin has muddled Arrhidaeus the noble with

Arrhidaeus the king, and has this notice in the wrong place.

58. Paus. I.6.3; Arr.F9.25.
59. Badian art.cit. p.187ff.
60. Arr. Fl.5.
61. For the burial of Alexander, see Curtius X.10.20, Ps.-Callisth. III.34; cf. ch.II p.54ff.
62. Pearson Lost Histories p.217ff., restates Schwartz's view that Cleitarchus was the common source for Diodorus and Curtius on Alexander. Cleitarchus F.Gr.Hist. 137 F4 = Curtius IX.5.21: Cleitarchus said that Ptolemy saved Alexander's life in the city of the Malli; Arr.Anab.VII.11.8 names Peucestas. Curtius IX.8.22ff. and Diod. XVII.103.6-8: Alexander is especially anxious for Ptolemy during his illness in India (cf. Strabo XV.2.7, 723). Cf. Jacoby RE s.v. Cleitarchus col.622-3; Pearson op.cit. p.214. For Cleitarchus as a native of Alexandria, cf. Philod. De Rhet. IV.1 col.xxi; Fraser, Ptol.Alex I p.496, II p.717, n.3.
63. F.Gr.Hist. 137 F1,2,3 etc.
64. Curtius X.10.20.
65. Schachermeyr, Alexander in Babylon p.92ff. Badian PACA 8 (1965) p.5ff.
66. Kaerst Philologus LVI (1897) p.627ff.
67. Quintilian Inst.Or. X.1.75, mentions Timagenes after Cleitarchus in the list of historians whose style he admires. Timagenes may, therefore, have favoured a rhetorical style, like Cleitarchus.
68. Again at XIX.33 Diodorus looks back to his discussion of suttee among the Indians at XVII.91.2 (probably from Onesicritus via Cleitarchus: cf. Pearson Lost Histories p.225): the account of the παλαιός νόμος is added to the historical account (from Hieronymus) of the death of Ceteus' wife.
69. See G.Wirth Historia XIII (1964) p.209ff.

70. A detailed analysis in Rosen, Acta Classica 1967 p.49ff.
71. Cf. Errington, art.cit. p.57 n.59.
72. Cf. Tarn JHS 1921 p.8.
73. Curtius X.7.8-9; Arrian F1.7. Errington art.cit. analyses the stages of the settlement. Dexippus, F.Gr.Hist. 100 F.8.4, whose account was based on Arrian's mentioned Craterus' 'prostasia' in the final settlement; but we can hardly use this as independent evidence: Photius' version of Dexippus is the epitome of an epitome of a work that was itself derived perhaps only in part from Hieronymus. Curtius and Justin do not mention Craterus at all in the final settlement, but are in any case probably using more than one tradition. The omission of his name from Diodorus is more surprising, because Diodorus is otherwise very close to Arrian: Beloch, gr.Gesch. IV<sup>2</sup> 2 p.309 sets out the parallel lists.
74. Rosen art.cit. p.47ff. analyses the diagrammata from which this list was compiled.
75. Ibid.
76. It is not clear exactly where the main interpolation begins. Possibly we should bracket only the section XVIII.4.4-6, leaving the circumstantial account of Perdiccas presenting Alexander's papers to the Macedonians: so Hampl. Stud.D.M.Robinson II 816 ff., Washington 1953 = Griffith, Main Problems p.322 ff. The term  $\delta\iota\kappa\delta\omicron\chi\omicron\tau\iota$  and the inappropriate conjunction  $\gamma\alpha\rho$  at 4.1 tend, however, to cast doubt on everything that follows.
77. Curtius X.1.17-19.
78. I have confined the discussion to Diodorus. Hieronymus' account of the Succession was certainly used also by Arrian; but the extent to which our other sources derive from him remains highly uncertain. For detailed analysis (and widely differing conclusions, especially on the sources of Curtius), see Fontana Le Lotte p.151ff.; Schachermeyr, Alexander in Babylon

p.81ff.; Errington art.cit. pp.72-75.

79. Diod. XIII, however, covers only the ten year period 415-405. Cf. Biziere, Diodore XIX, p.x, n.1.

80. Simpson Abbreviation of Hieronymus in Diodorus, A.J.Phil. 80 (1959) p.370ff.

81 Seleucus in the east: Strabo XV.689; App.Syr. 44; Justin XV.4.

12ff. War between Antigonus and Seleucus: cf. Smith, Babylonian Historical Texts p.124 ff., Olmstead CP 22 (1937) p.1ff.

82. Cf. Simpson art.cit. pp.377f. Diodorus has 75 chapters on the period 323-318 (XVIII.1-75); 54 chs. for years 317-15 (XIX.11-64); 32 chs. for years 314-11 (XIX.66-105, with interludes on Roman and Sicilian affairs); 47 chs. for years 310-02 (XX.19-113, with interludes on Sicily, Rome and the history of the kings of Bosphorus).

83. Cf. ch.II p.42f.

84. Speeches of exhortation before a battle: XVIII.10.2 (Craterus at the Hellespont); XIX.81.6 (Demetrius at Gaza); XIX.90.3-5 (Seleucus encourages his companions on the return to Babylon). Diod. XIX.41.1, Antigones' proclamation is in oratio recta: Ἐπὶ τοὺς πατέρας ἀμυρτάνετε, ὦ κκκκὶ κεφάλαι' κ.τ.λ. (cf. Plut. Eum XVI.4). Hieronymus may have recorded important speeches on policy: XVIII.10.4 (debate at Athens); XVIII.36.6 (Ptolemy's defence of his 'separatist' policy); XIX.61.1.2 (Antigonus denounces Cassander before the Macedonians). In the history of Eumenes there are some indications of direct speech: XVIII.60.2-6 (F6 MSS οἶμαι, followed by Fischer, Dindorf reads οἴεσθαι); XVIII.63.4-5; XIX.25.5-7 (25.7 ἐπισημαινομένου... τοῦ πλῆθους καὶ "Ὀρθῶς" λέγοντος); XIX.38.2. Cf. also XIX.97.3ff, the speech of the Nabataean elder: clearly the method here, and no doubt in many other cases, was to record περὶ τῶν αἰεὶ παρόντων τὰ δέοντα. (It must be supposed that Diodorus included this speech, contrary to his normal practice, because of its philosophical content).

85. Cf. Bury, The Ancient Greek Historians, p.163f. With Ephorus and Theopompus historians seem to have become more aware of the book form of their works. At the same time as deliberate book divisions, appear the first real titles to histories: cf. Jacoby Atthis pp.81ff. with n.38 (Theopompus' Philippica was probably the model).
86. F.Gr.Hist. 566 T1; 73 T1,3; 78 T1; 81 T1; cf. also Demetrius of Callatis F.Gr.Hist. 85 T1 (20 books).
87. Dion. Hal. De Thuc. 9 (1.337).
88. Launey, Récherches sur les armées hellénistiques, Paris 1950 II p.740f.: the treaty between Eumenes I of Pergamum and his mercenaries (OGIS 266), stipulates that they shall serve a ten month year.
89. Cf. Drews, A.J.Phil. 83 (1962) p.383ff.
90. Diod. XIX.12.1 (cf. 15.6); 34.8 (cf. 37.1); 77.7; 89.2; XX.109.4ff. (cf. III.3ff.).
91. Arr. F11.45.
92. Hier. F15, cf. F14. It is not impossible that he took his history down to the death of Mithridates in 266, as von Gutschmid suggested (Kl.Schr. III Leipzig 1892, p.529 n.1); but this view rests on the evidence of a corrupt notice in Ps.-Lucian Macrobioi (= Hier.F7), and is very uncertain. Cf. App.I p. x f. ; Jacoby RE Hieronymus col.1543.
93. See App.I. p. xvif.
94. Plut. Pyrrh. 34.4. This story, like the story of Pyrrhus' challenge to Antigonus (ibid. 31.1-2), is told also of Octavian in Plutarch's Life of Antony. The version in the Pyrrhus contains more circumstantial detail, and however, the story is inherently more likely as applied to Pyrrhus and Antigonus. Tarn JRS XXI (1931) p.179ff. argued that at the time of Actium Octavian deliberately imitated both Demetrius and Antigonus Gonatas: possibly the writers (Plutarch or his sources) who said that Octavian wept for Antony were enlarging on this theme.

95. Polyb. VIII.20.10; XXXVIII 21.1-3, 22. Plut. Ant. 78.2.  
Polyb. XXXVIII.20.1; XXIX 20.1-4. Possibly the famous passage at Aeneid I.459-63 is another locus de fortuna; Aeneas weeps and speaks of 'lacrimae rerum' as he stands in newly founded Carthage, contemplating the Carthaginian reliefs which depict the fall of Troy; but one day Scipio would stand there and weep at the fall of Carthage: the Carthaginians have unwittingly depicted their own eventual fate.
96. Brink and Walbank, CQ n.s. 4 (1954) p.104. Polyb. VI.2.5-6: it is the mark of a great man to have learned moderation in success. Cf. Walbank, HCP I.p.19f.
97. Polybius and Demetrius of Phaleron: Polyb. XXIX.21.1-6. The motive for Scipio's tears has often been discussed: see Astin, Scipio Aemilianus Oxford 1967, App. IV p.282ff., summarizing the various theories. The parallel case of Antigonus' tears has not attracted comment. Cf. also Momigliano Alien Wisdom pp.22f.
98. Iliad XXIV.507ff.
99. F.Gr.Hist. 228 F39.

CHAPTER FOURTHE HISTORIAN'S TRUTHFULNESS

'History is the prophetess of truth', so Diodorus grandly claimed.<sup>1</sup> We can hardly share his faith. Oracles are usually ambiguous; and the assumption underlying Diodorus' *Bibliothēke*, of an uncritical trust in historical sources, is one that is opposed to all scientific historical method. Hieronymus dominated the historiography of a particular period much in the way that Thucydides did, and held a virtual monopoly on the later tradition; and because of the form in which his history has come down to us, it is especially hard to check it. The general tone of the history inspires confidence; but apparent precision and factuality can be misleading. Thucydides, for all the impression of dispassionate judgement which his work conveys, is nevertheless sometimes suspect; and there is still more need for caution in the case of a historian who is lost to us in the original and who, even in antiquity, was accused of bias.<sup>2</sup> Wilamowitz, for example, certainly overstated the position in his glowing appraisal of Hieronymus' truthfulness.<sup>3</sup> Limited by the sources available to him, and conditioned by pressures and prejudices of which he may be unaware, a historian even of the greatest integrity can only approach the truth obliquely. It is therefore the object of this chapter first to consider the general credibility of Hieronymus' narrative and his use of his sources; and second to examine the personal and political influences which may have coloured his interpretation of the period.

I. The Practice of ἱστορίαThe credibility of Diodorus' account

A general consideration of Hieronymus' work leaves no doubt that he was on the whole, and by ancient standards, a very reliable reporter. Turning from Diodorus' history of Alexander in Bk. XVII to the account

based on Hieronymus in Bks. XVIII-XX, the immediate impression is that one is at last in the hands of a serious and competent historian. The military narrative is excellent, and regularly supported by statistics; major political trends - the dissolution of the empire, the freedom movement among the Greeks - are described with understanding, 'aitiai' are analysed, documents are quoted; with few exceptions facts are related in a straightforward manner and the account is free from rhetorical and pathetic touches. Hieronymus seems to avoid the personal gossip and tedious moralising of Theopompus. He is not tempted to invoke the gods to explain the extraordinary: Tyche makes her appearance, inevitably in a Hellenistic historian, but her responsibilities are circumscribed. Account is taken of the religious superstition of others: Seleucus' propaganda has its effects; Eumenes is said to have had success in instituting the cult of Alexander; but the religious commitment of the author is not implied.<sup>4</sup> Diodorus' source for the Diadochi stands in the same relation to contemporary sensationalist writers, like Duris, as Ptolemy does to Cleitarchus: the sober account of the one corrects the literary excesses of the other.<sup>5</sup> Here, then, is a historian who seems to approach the standards set by Thucydides, but met by so few of his successors, and whom the modern historian is predisposed to trust.

There are some areas of doubt, but these arise chiefly from the deficiencies of the secondary accounts or the brevity of citations. Several of the fragments of Hieronymus record disagreement with another author. This is not in itself an indication that his history was especially controversial, because it is in the nature of ancient citations that they are often given to support or disprove a disputed point. In two instances the disagreement is a serious matter, because Hieronymus apparently gave a version which cast a favourable light on his masters: I have discussed these cases separately and will return to them in a

later part of this chapter.<sup>6</sup> The other fragments in question deal with figures and measurements and here we may well prefer Hieronymus' statistics to the alternatives.<sup>7</sup>

Diodorus' narrative based on Hieronymus raises two recurrent problems: chronology and statistics. The chronological difficulty arises from Diodorus' attempt to reconcile the Athenian archon year (i.e. summer - summer) with the winter to winter year used by Hieronymus, which was like the Julian year - a constant problem in his Bibliothēke. The device which he adopted for the greater part of the Hieronyman narrative was to equate the archon year with the campaign year in which it began, so that the events of the first six months of the Julian year are regularly given under the wrong archon, namely, the one who actually took office that summer. In several instances Diódorus departed from this principle and created a deeper confusion: in the first half of book XVIII he is still undecided about his chronological system, and we lose two Athenian archons altogether (for the years 321-20 and 320-19): again a special solution is needed to account for his misdating of events which properly belong to the year 317; and the extreme compression in the years 313-311 has led to uncertainty about the date of Polemaeus' arrival in Greece and the battle of Gaza.<sup>8</sup> These chronological muddles are plainly the work of Diodorus rather than his source: Hieronymus, as we have seen, used the campaigning year, like Thucydides, as his chronological framework (extended in Hieronymus' day to about ten months), and marked the end of each year by a reference to the winter quarters of the armies, a system which did not allow for the sort of mistakes we find in Diodorus.<sup>9</sup>

Errors and inconsistencies in numbers likewise seem to have their origin in the carelessness of Diodorus. In general Hieronymus' figures have commanded especial respect: Beloch, one of his less admiring critics, stated that they were 'ganz vorzüglich'; and they look particularly well

by contrast with the exaggerated figures given by Dionysius for the losses in Pyrrhus' battles.<sup>10</sup> The sort of difficulties which arise in the transmission may be illustrated in a few examples. Speaking of Eumenes' march to the upper satrapies Diodorus states that the River Tigris (i.e. the Pasitigris) flows for 700 stades from the mountains to the Erythraean Sea, and that it is a day's march from Susa at the point where it flows out from the mountains.<sup>11</sup> In book XVII, he gives the distances as 600 stades and four days march from Susa; and Curtius also speaks of 'quartis castris'.<sup>12</sup> The difference between 600 and 700 stades is of little significance: Hieronymus and the Alexander historian may have calculated from different points. The one day's journey from Susa (ἀπέχοντα Σούων ὁδὸν ἡμέρας ) is wrong, however, and the four days of the Alexander historian is correct. That the mistake originates with Diodorus rather than Hieronymus is apparent when we compare the passage at XIX.18.1, where Antigonus makes the same journey from Susa to the Pasitigris: τῆς πορείας ἠνγκάζοντο νυκτὸς ποιῆσθαι καὶ στρκατοπεδεύεσθαι περὶ τὸν ποταμὸν πρὶν ἥλιον ἀνατέλλειν. The plural πορείας and the imperfect ἠνγκάζοντο show that the journey took several days.<sup>13</sup> Another kind of mistake can be detected in Diodorus' account of the battle dispositions at Paraetacene: the lists of separate units on each side do not match the totals given; and the same is true for the review of the satraps' forces at XIX.14.8.<sup>14</sup> Whether the discrepancies here arise from Diodorus' carelessness, or whether the text is at fault, we can in each case assume the existence of a passage in Hieronymus which would have accounted for the missing numbers. Other differences are less easy to explain. Describing the settlement which concluded the Lamian War, Diodorus says that more than 22,000 Athenians were disfranchised and emigrated to Thrace; but Plutarch in his Life of Phocion gives the number of the disfranchised as 'over 12,000'.

A recent study suggests that the total adult male citizen population in the later part of the fourth century was not more than about 20,000, and that Plutarch's figure is much nearer the truth.<sup>15</sup> Again, it is doubtful what we should conclude about the 480 elephants which appear in the army of Seleucus at the end of Diodorus book XX. According to the terms of his treaty with Chandragupta, Seleucus had acquired 500 elephants from India; Plutarch mentions 400 elephants in Seleucus' army at Ipsus; Diodorus' 480 accordingly has a specious precision.<sup>16</sup> But none of these figures is actually credible: the largest fighting force of elephants otherwise known from the Hellenistic period is that of Antiochus III - 150 elephants collected in Bactria and India; at Paraetacene Eumenes had either 114 or 125; 400 - 500 therefore seems much too large.<sup>17</sup> Tarn demonstrated that '500' is a stereotyped expression in Indian literature at this period meaning 'a great many', and decided (arbitrarily) that Seleucus really had 150 elephants, like his successor Antiochus the Great.<sup>18</sup> But Tarn does not easily account for the figures 400 and 480 in Plutarch and Diodorus. It may be that at the end of his twentieth book Diodorus was looking ahead to a part of his work in which he used sources other than Hieronymus; and his 480 elephants may have intruded from such a source. Another possibility is that Chandragupta did indeed hand over a very large number of elephants, but that not all were fighting males: elephants at Apamea are mentioned in the context of the Syrian War of 277, and it may be that this was a stud which Seleucus and Antiochus maintained to keep up supplies.<sup>19</sup> There can be no certain solution to problems of this kind. Statistics in ancient texts, however, are peculiarly liable to corruption and misunderstanding, and the occasional discrepancies or exaggerations in the authors who derive from Hieronymus cannot be taken as a reflection of inaccuracies in the original.

Outside Evidence

The chief obstacle to a proper estimate of Hieronymus' factual accuracy is the absence of a continuous alternative tradition. A comparison of the surviving sources on the Diadochi is ultimately a comparison of Hieronymus with himself, and tends to reveal more about the accuracy of the epitomisers than about their common source. There is a notable exception, however, to the monopoly exercised by the Hieronyman tradition. This is the cuneiform text from Babylon which gives a synopsis of historical events between 321 and 307 from the Seleucid point of view. The chronicle was first published, with translation and commentary, by Sidney Smith in 1924: it appears to have been written in c.280, and Smith conjectured that it might have been compiled for the use of Berossus in his history of Babylon.<sup>20</sup> The main interest of the text in the present connection is the fact that it corresponds at many points with the account of the same period in Diodorus, thereby guaranteeing the reliability of Hieronymus in the part of his work which is best known to us. Under the year 321-320 there is a certain reference to the war of Perdiccas against Ptolemy and the murder of the regent by his troops, followed apparently by a reference to the assembly at Triparadeisos and the entry of the new satrap of Babylon, Seleucus, into his capital. The crossing of Antipater to Europe is mentioned, as in Diodorus and Arrian, and his illness and death. We have an account of the activities of Eumenes in Babylonia in the year 318-17; and on the reverse of the tablet, after a long break, the chronicle continues with the war between Antigonos and Seleucus after 312. The system of dating employed by the chronicler, who dates first by Philip Arrhidaeus and later by Alexander and finally by Seleucus, has proved exceptionally controversial, and the matter is scarcely penetrable to the non-specialist. It has become clear, however, since publication of the first edition, that the events recorded on

the reverse belong to the period after the battle of Gaza, and not, as Smith originally supposed, to the year 317-16 and following years.<sup>21</sup>

This removes the major difficulties which Smith encountered in trying to reconcile the chronicle with Diodorus' account of 317-16.

There remains a problem in matching the Babylonian account of Eumenes in Babylonia in 318-17 with the account of Diodorus.<sup>22</sup> Under this year (Philip's 7th), the chronicle refers to the 'royal troops', presumably the army of Eumenes, the new representative of the Kings in Asia, and to a capture of the 'palace' of Babylon; then Seleucus employs some stratagem involving a dam made of reeds; and the royal hanu corps are moved up: this must be an allusion to the Argyraspids. The year concludes with a bare mention of 'Antigonus the satrap'. This account bears some similarities to Diodorus' story of Seleucus breaking open a dam and flooding Eumenes' camp on the Tigris (XIX.13.2, cf. XVIII.73.4); but this he puts in spring 317 (XIX.12.1, Eumenes in winter quarters). Furthermore, Diodorus makes no mention of a capture of the citadel of Babylon. The most probable solution is that two different episodes are being related, as the different dates imply, and the fact that a stratagem employing a dam is used on each occasion is not surprising, given that the action takes place in Mesopotamia: Seleucus considers using this device yet again, according to the chronicle, after his return to Babylon in 312, when he is again trying to recapture the citadel (Reverse 7: cf. Diod. XIX.100.6). Diodorus has altogether omitted the earlier of the two episodes - the capture of Babylon by Eumenes in autumn 318 - and it is easy to understand how it has dropped out when we consider that this was the point of Diodorus' transition from Asian to Greek affairs (XVIII.73-74) and then from book XVIII to XIX: in book XIX he began his history of Agathocles, which from this point became increasingly interesting to him, and when he resumed the Eumenes narrative, he made a fresh start with the new campaigning season of 317.

Perhaps Hieronymus had started a new book at this point. Before leaving Eumenes at the end of book XVIII, however, Diodorus had given a summary of some of his later activities: marching inland from Phoenicia to the Upper Satrapies, he was attacked *περὶ . . . τὸν Τίγριν ποταμὸν* by the local inhabitants; then in Babylonia, *παρὰ τὸν Εὐφράτην ποταμὸν*, Seleucus flooded his camp, but Eumenes escaped by employing a counter stratagem. This summary may conceal an allusion to the operations at Babylon which are related in the cuneiform text. The flooding of Eumenes' camp, as described at length in Diodorus XIX, took place by the Tigris, not, as Diodorus here states, by the Euphrates. This is not the first time he has confused the two rivers of Mesopotamia: in book II he places Niniveh on the Euphrates (II.3.2). If we reverse the names at XVIII.73.3, we have first, operations on the Euphrates (? capture of Babylon, autumn 318), then the flooding episode on the Tigris (spring 317). This is the logical order, considering the direction of Eumenes' march, and would match the information given in the Babylonian chronicle. It may be not without significance that in spring 317 Eumenes' troops repeatedly resisted the attempts of Seleucus and his party to detach them from their commander (XIX.12.2-3; 13.1-2): if at this moment Eumenes had a garrison in the citadel of Babylon, guarding his rear, it might well prove difficult to undermine the loyalty of his army.

Further correspondences with Diodorus are apparent on the reverse side of the chronicle. Seleucus' attempts to capture the citadel of Babylon, which are going on in the month of Ab (late summer) of Alexander IV's 6th year (311-10), are the consequence of his return to Babylon the previous year after the battle of Gaza. Diodorus describes his return, and later Demetrius' capture of one of the citadels of Babylon: this must be the 'palace' which Seleucus is besieging in the chronicle.<sup>23</sup>

The alliance and friendship sworn in the month of Marcheswan (Reverse 10) must be an alliance made between Seleucus and the troops of Gutium (Reverse 11), i.e. the Cossaei, who had proved fiercely hostile to Antigonus in the campaigns of 317 (cf. Diod. XIX.19), and now support Seleucus in his struggle against Antigonus. Momigliano argued convincingly that this alliance cannot be the Peace of 311: the other participants, Cassander, Lysimachus and Ptolemy, are not mentioned, and the chronicler does not seem to regard the treaty as an event of the first importance.<sup>24</sup> If the allusion is to a local treaty, it follows that the chronicle does not mention the great Peace of 311 at all (we are here at the very end of events of Alexander's 6th year), and this confirms the evidence of Diodorus and of Antigonus' letter to the Scepsians, that Seleucus was not included in the Peace, but was left to fight it out with Antigonus.<sup>25</sup>

The chronicle goes on to relate the war between Antigonus and Seleucus which continued intermittently throughout the years 310-308. Diodorus has nothing to say about these campaigns, and direct comparison of the two texts is impossible after this point.<sup>26</sup> It should be noted, however, that the Babylonian account of Antigonus and Seleucus in general confirms the characterisation of these men which we find in the Greek tradition. Seleucus' popularity in his satrapy, and conversely, the brutality of Antigonus to the wretched Babylonians, is testified by the repeated references to burning and plundering during the period after 311, and to 'weeping and mourning in the land' (Reverse 26-29, 39-40). It is evident that it was Antigonus who was responsible for the destruction of Babylon, and not, as once thought, Seleucus himself, and that it was in consequence of this devastation that Seleucus was forced to build a new capital at Seleuceia.<sup>27</sup> Twice in the chronicle we are told of specific actions which must have won Seleucus popularity among the local inhabitants: in the year 319-18 he is engaged in lavish building activities (Obverse

9-12); and during the war against Antigonus in 308-7 he is trying to supply his subjects with corn from Borsippa (Reverse 35-36). For Hieronymus, Antigonus' *τρυφή* was the chief cause of his downfall, and the contrast between this and the 'philanthropia' of men such as Ptolemy, Seleucus and Peucestas towards their subjects is implicit in all our Greek accounts of the Diadochi: the independent statements of the Babylonian chronicler are a striking confirmation of one of the dominant themes in Hieronymus' history.<sup>28</sup>

The cuneiform chronicle, representing a totally different tradition of history and historiography, is the only continuous text which can be brought into direct connection with Hieronymus' history; but although the latter ousted rival Greek literary accounts, the parallel evidence of Greek inscriptions and archaeology can be compared at certain points, and shows a general agreement with Hieronymus' narrative. There is naturally a limit to the non-literary evidence which can usefully be cited in his support, but some striking instances may be mentioned.

The majority, as is to be expected, are found in inscriptions. Antigonus Monophthalmus' letter to the Scepsians supports Diodorus' account of the peace terms in 311; it also refers to earlier events in Diodorus XIX and confirms Hieronymus' account of Antigonus' attitude to the Greek states.<sup>29</sup> A Milesian decree, which dates to 313 the restoration of freedom, autonomy and democracy by Antigonus, similarly refers to events mentioned by Diodorus: the liberation of Miletus, he relates, was carried out by Antigonus' generals Medeios and Docimus in 313.<sup>30</sup> The Athenian decree of c.275 in honour of Phaedrus of Sphettus mentions the naval war against Antigonus during 315-14, and shows that it was Thymochares who commanded the Athenian fleet sent to help Cassander in 313-12.<sup>31</sup> Another Athenian decree, in honour of one of the companions of Antigonus and Demetrius, and dating from the period 307-6 - 301-0 refers to his services in connection with events at Lemnus of 314-13,

which Diodorus describes.<sup>32</sup> An inscription from Aspendus refers to Leonidas, the general sent by Ptolemy to subdue the cities of Cilicia Trachea in 310-9, and to the mercenaries he stationed at Aspendus: Leonidas' campaign is summarized at Diodorus XIX.19.3-4.<sup>33</sup> Again, we have a fragment of a Hellenistic inscription from Thebes, which supplements information given by Diodorus.<sup>34</sup> The inscription lists a series of donors, both individual kings and cities, who have made financial contributions to the city of Thebes. The order is apparently chronological, since the kings are not given pride of place at the top of the list, and the cities are from all parts of the Greek world. The occasion is clearly an extraordinary one, since the Thebans were generally disliked in antiquity, and it can only be the rebuilding of Thebes by Cassander in 316, an enterprise to which many cities would subscribe for political reasons. The restoration of Thebes is described at Diodorus XIX.54.1, and 'many of the Greek cities' ( τῶν Ἑλληνίδων πόλεων .... πολλαί ) are said to have played a part, not only those from Greece itself, but also those from Italy and Sicily; the Athenians are specified by name. The stone which recorded the final list of contributors does not mention either the Athenians or any of the western Greeks; but this is because Diodorus (Hieronymus) has given only the first contributors, in and immediately after 316, and the first part of the inscription, where these would have been recorded, is missing. Written history and epigraphy therefore form a remarkable complement to one another in this instance.

Numismatic evidence similarly confirms parts of Diodorus' account. Describing the satrapal appointments made by Antigonos in 316, he records that the new satrap of Susiane was a native Persian called 'Aspisas', a name apparently equivalent in meaning to the Greek 'Philippos', and which occurs only here in Greek literature.<sup>35</sup> It has turned up again, however, on an issue of the Asiatic Alexander coinage, evidently struck

at Susa: the reverse bears the inscription Ἀσπεΐσου, which must be the genitive of the Persian name Aspeisas; and the mention of this man in Diodorus allows us to date the coin between 316 and 312.<sup>36</sup>

Seleucus reduced Media and Susiane after his return to Babylon in 312, as we know from a later passage of Diodorus, and it is not likely that Aspeisas kept his satrapy after this time.<sup>37</sup>

Another numismatic find, this time from the Peloponnese, can be linked with Diodorus' account of the mission of Aristodemus in 315:

Ἀριστόδημον δὲ τὸν Μιλήσιον εἰς Πελοπόννησον ἐξέπεμψεν (sc. ὁ Ἀντίγονος)  
ἔχοντα χίλια τάλαντα<sup>38</sup>. He was to come to an arrangement

with Polyperchon and his son, and to hire mercenaries for the war against Cassander. Some of the 1,000 talents brought by Aristodemus seem to have found their way into a small but well preserved coin<sup>hoard</sup> from Andritsaina.<sup>39</sup> The hoard contains a very large proportion of Asiatic issues (43, to 30 European ones), all but one from before the death of Philip Arrhidaeus, and one Babylonian coin, in excellent condition, which represents an issue directly after Philip's death in late 317. The condition of this coin, the latest in the hoard, shows that it had seen little use, and, allowing time for its journey from Babylon to the western Peloponnese, it must have been buried within about a year after it was struck. Both the composition of the hoard and the date of its burial thus suggest that the Asiatic issues are to be identified as part of the money which Antigonus sent with Aristodemus.

Finally, two archaeological items may be mentioned. First, the military fortifications on Mount Salganeus, on the Boeotian mainland opposite Chalcis. Diodorus records that the diplomatic offensive led by Aristodemus was followed up by the sending of Ptolemaeus, one of Antigonus' nephews, at the head of a substantial military force: ὁ δὲ

Πτολεμαῖος ..... καταπέυρας τῆς Βοιωτίας εἰς τὸν Βαθὺν καλούμενον Ἀγμέναν  
... καὶ τειχίσας τὸν Ἐσλαγανέα συνήγαγεν ἐνταῦθα πᾶσαν τὴν δύναμιν<sup>40</sup>

A recent study of Salganeus shows that it must have been Ptolemaeus who was responsible for much of the extensive fortification works across the peninsula, of which the remains are still visible, namely, the Antiforitis wall, which defended the plain of Salganeus against attacks from inland Boeotia, and the fortress known as the Kastro, which commands the plain and the roads leading to Chalcis.<sup>41</sup> During his three years as Antigonus' chief commander in Greece Ptolemaeus showed the strategic importance of the Salganeus plain and of Chalcis, and Demetrius probably benefited from this experience when he successfully invaded Thessaly in 304. Salganeus and its fortifications, it has been said, "still testify to the energy and military skill which are so characteristic of the first members of the House of Antigonus."<sup>42</sup>

One of Antigonus' first victims in his struggle for supremacy, Alcetas the brother of Perdiccas, has an equally impressive memorial. The largest and most magnificent of the rock tombs at Termessos in Pisidia, which is probably the earliest of the many tombs on this site, has long been identified as the tomb of Alcetas.<sup>43</sup> It is rock-cut, like the Lycian tombs, but Greek in style, and the interior shows Macedonian features, notably the reliefs depicting a horseman and armour, and, above the kline at the back of the chamber, an eagle fighting a snake. The tomb "seems to reconcile many of the more decorative elements of Macedonian tombs with the Anatolian tradition of rock-cut facades and chambers."<sup>44</sup> It provides graphic confirmation of the conclusion to Diodorus' story of Alcetas: Antigonus maltreated the body of his enemy for three days and at last threw it out unburied - *ἄταφος* ; but the young men of Termessos, maintaining their goodwill for the dead man, *τὸ ... σῶμα ἀνείδαντο καὶ λαμπρῶς ἐκήδευσαν* .<sup>45</sup> This is the only tomb of a companion of Alexander which can be identified with any certainty;<sup>45</sup> and the tomb of Alexander himself has notoriously eluded all attempts at

discovery - a fact which is symbolic of the mystery surrounding the great conqueror and the fantasies which most of his historians spun about him. The splendid tomb of Alcetas marks the pomp and solidity of the period of the Diadochi, and similar qualities seem to characterise the historiographical tradition: Alexander's Successors found a historian who was securely anchored in reality, and whose work can be seen to represent substantial facts.

### Autopsy

The links between Diodorus' history and the archaeological evidence tend to inspire confidence in Hieronymus' accuracy; but in the absence of a continuous alternative tradition an estimate of his reliability has to be based chiefly on the evidence which the surviving epitomes provide about his methods of historical inquiry. The most important part of 'historia', according to Polybius, is autopsy and practical experience.<sup>47</sup> This was a requirement which Hieronymus met as fully as any historian. The biographical testimonia show that for a large part of his account of Eumenes, Antigonus and the Epigoni he was his own best informant. The history of Eumenes is especially vivid in character: the description of Eumenes' duel with Neoptolemus of conditions at the siege of Nora, and other scenes of army life are clearly drawn from personal recollection. So also are his picture of the young Demetrius in the army assembly at Gaza, and a number of episodes dealing with Antigonus Monophthalmus, in which the historian seems to dwell chiefly on the weather: Hieronymus had unhappy memories of being marched through rain, snow and sand by this relentless task-master.<sup>48</sup> Many small details also testify to Hieronymus' personal observation. The depth of the Pasitigris is measured by the height of the elephants as they crossed: βέθος δὲ κατὰ μέτρον τὸ ῥέυμα πρὸς τὰ μέγιστα τῶν ἐλεφάντων κ.τ.λ.<sup>49</sup> We may compare Timaeus' method of measuring the columns of the temple of Zeus at Acragas: after giving the actual

dimensions, he brings home the vast size by remarking that a man could without difficulty squeeze his body inside the fluting of the exterior columns.<sup>50</sup>

The splendour of Antigonus' army, as described in Plutarch's Eumenes, is apparently observed by someone in Eumenes' ranks: "The gleam of their golden armour flashed down from the heights as they marched along in close formation, and on the backs of the elephants the towers and purple trappings were seen, which was their array when going into battle."<sup>51</sup> This might derive from Hieronymus' own memoirs. Passages of Diodorus written from this point of view probably have the same origin; for example, the description of Antigonus' men swimming the river at the battle of the Coprates.<sup>52</sup> In Diodorus' description of Eumenes' journey through Persis Hieronymus can be identified among the travellers who enjoyed the scenery - ὥστε τοὺς ὁδοιποροῦντας μετὰ πολλῆς τέρψεως ἐνδικρίβειν τόποις ἡδίστοις πρὸς ἀνέπαισιν;<sup>53</sup> and the elaborate detail of his account of Peucestas' feast, particularly the measurements of the concentric rings formed by the ranks of the army, comes from someone who had taken part in it: Hieronymus must have been among those described as οἱ ἔξω τάξεως φίλοι καὶ στρατηγοί in the second circle.<sup>54</sup> At Paraetacene, we have an observer's description of the moments after the battle, when the armies stood by, expecting a further engagement: τῆς δὲ νυκτὸς οὐσῆς αἰθρίου καὶ πανσελήνου καὶ τῶν δυνάμεων ἀντιπαραχουσῶν ἀλλήλας ὡς ἂν ἐν τέτταρσι πλέθροισι ὁ φόφος τῶν ὀπλῶν καὶ ἰσπέων ὁ φρουχγμὸς ἐν χερσὶν ἐδόκει πᾶσιν εἶναι τοῖς ἀντιτεταχμένοις.<sup>55</sup> At Gabiene also, Hieronymus tried to express the sense of confusion accompanying a great battle: the armies were enveloped by dust kicked up by the horses' hooves from the salt plain, ὥστε μηδένα δύνασθαι ῥαδίως συνορᾶν ἐξ ὀλίγου διαστήματος τὸ γινόμενον.<sup>56</sup> The confusion of the conflict is a stock theme of most ancient battle descriptions. That in this case it is an authentic observation is shown by the immediate relevance of the salty terrain to the outcome of the

battle: under cover of the dust screen Antigonus captured the 'aposkeuē' of his opponents. The Asian campaigns of 317-16 are very fully recorded by our sources relative to other events in the history of the Diadochi, and this may represent the distribution of Hieronymus' narrative: his diary for the years spent in Eumenes' service was particularly colourful and detailed. Another example is an incident recorded in the aftermath of the battle of Paraetacene, the ritual suicide of the Indian princess whose husband had died in battle; and in describing the reaction of the Greeks in the army, Hieronymus perhaps intended to express his own attitude: ἔνιοι τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἐπετίμων τοῖς νομίμοις ὡς ἀγρίοις οὖσι καὶ χαλεποῖς.<sup>57</sup> Again, we may suppose that the historian was among

those who were called to witness Antigonus' public rebuke of those who were slandering Pithon: τούτοις μὲν πολλῶν ἀκούοντων ἐπετίμησεν κ.τ.λ.<sup>58</sup>

Allusions to witnesses may sometimes have been included in order to guarantee the truth of a story: thus Eurydice's dying curse on Olympias is uttered 'in the presence of the servant' - παρόντος τοῦ κομίσαντος. The rather dramatic account of Eurydice's death probably derived from court gossip, and Hieronymus no doubt wished to give weight to a story which was hard to substantiate.<sup>59</sup> The value which he placed on eye-witness reports is perhaps shown again in the allusion to αὐτόπται who came from Babylon to Athens with news of Alexander's death.<sup>60</sup> Hieronymus' direct allusions to himself also would have been intended to authenticate his history, like those of Thucydides, and of Ptolemy. Ptolemy was less emphatic in affirming that he had been present on Alexander's campaigns, because it was a fact which everyone knew: Hieronymus needed to remind his readers of his own status as the confidant of Eumenes and trusted servant of the Antigonids.<sup>61</sup> This position brought its own hazards to the writing of truthful history, but it gave Hieronymus' account many of the virtues which we associate with Ptolemy's work: a clear, well-informed military narrative, knowledge of the plans and policies of the commanders, and an insight into

the organisation and the changing conditions of the army.

### Hieronymus' informants

In gathering information about wars and politics outside the range of his own experience, Hieronymus had access to a large body of first-hand material, consisting of the statements not only of the Diadochi who were his friends, but of members of the whole entourage who surrounded them, both European and Iranian, military and civil. Inevitably most of this information was woven together in the history to form a complete account of any one episode, and only sometimes can we identify specific sources. Those who can be named with some degree of probability are men of Hieronymus' own rank, in the immediate retinue of Eumenes or the Antigonids, who could give him an account of campaigns or diplomatic missions in which they had taken a leading part, and who would wish their achievements to receive suitable commemoration in the official history of the times - as contemporaries might regard the writings of a Greek in Antigonus' service. I shall return to this category.

In addition, the mobile mercenary population of this period provided a channel through which detailed news of events in distant theatres of war might reach the ears of the historian, and the tendency for defeated armies to be absorbed into the ranks of the victor gave him a unique opportunity to hear versions of battles and campaigns from both sides: the classic example of a shift in military loyalties was the transfer of Eumenes' troops to Antigonus' camp in winter 317. Well aware of the new importance of the mercenary soldier in his role as the dynasts' instrument of victory, Hieronymus probably did not, however, regard soldiers as a first class source of information. The account of Thibron in Cyrene must come from a mercenary source; the narrative of Perdiccas' war in Egypt also may be derived from the reports of soldiers.<sup>62</sup> Again, Diodorus'

military narrative of the Lamian War is written with a very clear understanding of the strategical issues involved: the disunity of the Greek allies, the importance of the cavalry arm, the state of Athenian financial and military preparation, the timing of Leosthenes' death and Craterus' arrival. The account of the actual fighting, as opposed to that of the settlement afterwards, is written from the Greek point of view; and the special praise given to the courage and prowess of Menon and the Thessalian cavalry suggests Thessalian informants: Plutarch, recounting the same events in his Life of Phocion, mentions the Thessalian contingent only in passing.<sup>63</sup> Menon of Pharsalus had a later claim to fame as the maternal grandfather of Pyrrhus; but his prominence in Diodorus as architect of the Greek victories of 323-2 was probably underlined by Thessalian survivors of the Lamian War who had served under his command.<sup>64</sup> An Athenian decree shows Athens receiving fifty Thessalian refugees after the battle of Cranon, who are to be allowed to live in Athens free of the metic tax until they can be restored to their homeland: Hieronymus was perhaps able to talk to some of these exiles when he came to Athens with Demetrius, before Demetrius' liberation of Thessaly.<sup>65</sup>

Other examples of a soldier's view might be apparent if we had more of the narrative centred on Greece, Thrace and the West. In the existing accounts, however, a marked preference can be discerned for official sources: Hieronymus used documents, especially, when these were available; and he must often have relied on the word of commanding officers in the service of his masters. Mithridates, the later king of Pontus, who claimed descent from one of the seven Persians who slew the Magus, would have been a useful source of information on Persian historical background and especially on the affairs of Asia minor; Eumenes' position as satrap of Cappadocia gave Hieronymus an especial interest in northern Anatolia. Mithridates served in Eumenes' army (he must have been among the high-ranking

Iranians in the innermost circle at Peucestas' feast), and after Gabiene transferred to Antigonos' camp along with Hieronymus and many others from Eumenes' staff: later, like Hieronymus, he became a companion of Demetrius.<sup>66</sup> A more senior officer whose career followed the same pattern was Philippus, mentioned in the new fragment of Arrian as involved in the negotiations with Craterus' troops in 322, and we may suppose that he was Hieronymus' source for this episode.<sup>67</sup> At Gabiene Philippus is mentioned as commander of a reserve force of cavalry - a novel feature in the military history of this period;<sup>68</sup> and after Eumenes' death he served under Antigonos. It is probably the same man who appears as one of the four counsellors assigned to Demetrius in 314, "men advanced in years who had accompanied Alexander on his whole campaign", and who is still faithfully serving Antigonos in 302 - at a time when other officers were deserting him - as commander of the acropolis of Sardis: *Φίλιππος εἰς τῶν Ἀντιγόνου φίλων βεβκίαν ἐτήρει τὴν εὐνοίαν τὴν πρὸς τὸν πεπιστευκότα.* This was a man after Hieronymus' own heart, and undoubtedly he had especial personal grounds for underlining the role of a contemporary whose career had run parallel to his own.<sup>69</sup> The other counsellors of Demetrius were also trusted veterans to whom Hieronymus could turn for funds of knowledge and experience: Nearchus of Crete, the friend and admiral of Alexander, who had served under Antigonos before Hieronymus joined him in 316, and had made his own contribution to the written history of Alexander's expedition;<sup>70</sup> Andronicus of Olynthus, mentioned as Antigonos' general at the siege of Tyre in 315;<sup>71</sup> Pithon son of Agenor, an expert on Indian affairs after his many years as satrap of Lower India, and later Antigonos' satrap in Babylon.<sup>72</sup>

Other officers in the retinue of Antigonos and Demetrius were less reliable. Pithon the bodyguard, later satrap of Media, probably

supplied Hieronymus with the account of Antigonus' disastrous crossing into Media in 317, representing that Antigonus' difficulties arose from neglect of Pithon's good advice, and that he, Pithon, had saved the situation. Pithon spent the winter of 317 preparing to revolt from Antigonus, and the former adherents of Eumenes, especially those like Hieronymus who were lying on their sick beds, would certainly have been subjected to his propaganda.<sup>73</sup> Antigonus finally executed Pithon for being too big for his boots, but seemingly not before he had exercised some influence on the new recruits. Pithon was a malcontent: he is described as *κινητικός* and *μεγαλειόβουλος*; he had tried to establish a private empire in the upper satrapies, and had been leader of the group of officers who assassinated Perdiccas.<sup>74</sup> His ambition was not satisfied by the temporary regency he shared with Arrhidaeus after the removal of Perdiccas, and his ultimate aim, as it appears from the events of the winter after Gabiene, was to make himself ruler of Asia in Antigonus' place: Antigonus saw the danger that he might himself suffer the fate of Perdiccas. It is not unlikely that the hostile portrait of Perdiccas in Egypt, and the charge that he usurped the authority of the other commanders - *τῶν ἄλλων ἡγεμόνων περιαιρούμενος τῆς ἐξουσίας* - derive (orally) from Pithon; and it is perhaps significant that Diodorus describes Pithon at this point in honorific terms: *οὐδενὸς... τῶν Ἀλεξάνδρου λειπόμενος φίλων ἀρετῆ τε καὶ δόξης*<sup>75</sup>. Whether he was also a source for Hieronymus' account of the revolt of the Bactrian Greeks is not clear, as Diodorus is here very brief and an obvious slant to the narrative cannot be detected.

Docimus, the outlawed follower of Perdiccas and later general of Antigonus, was also a man who had a past to vindicate. At some time between 323 and 321 he was sent by Perdiccas to replace Archon as satrap of Babylon, and must have fallen under sentence of exile after

Perdiccas' death, since Babylonia was allotted to Seleucus in the partition at Triparadeisos. Docimus evidently offered no resistance to the new master of Babylon (the Babylonian chronicle on the Diadochi implies that Seleucus' entry was unopposed), but fled in good time to join Attalus' party in Pisidia. In 319 the exiles did battle with Antigonos, and upon their defeat and capture, were imprisoned in a Phrygian stronghold.<sup>76</sup> Two years later, according to Diodorus' account, the prisoners found an opportunity to overpower their guards, but before they had decided on their next course of action, reinforcements arrived from Antigonos and laid siege to the fortress. Docimus and one companion escaped by a secret route, and made their way to Antigonos' wife Stratonice, who was in the neighbourhood; and Docimus, it is said, was put under arrest and accorded no confidence - οὐκ ἔτυχε πίστεως - while his companion turned traitor and showed Antigonos' troops the secret way into the fortress. The improbability of this story is manifest when we consider Docimus' later career.<sup>77</sup> In 313 Docimus reappears as Antigonos' general in the liberation of Miletus; and in 303, when he deserted Antigonos for Lysimachus, he was in a position to betray Synnada and some royal treasuries. Three epigrams from 'the city of Docimus' show that it was he who founded the town of Docimeion in Phrygia, a centre for the export of marble, and coins of the imperial period bear his portrait and the legend ΔΟΚΙΜΟΣ - an indication of his eventual power and fame.<sup>78</sup> The statement that he was distrusted cannot be accepted. Docimus' position under Antigonos was surely a reward for betraying his companions; but in giving his account to Hieronymus, at a time when he was one of Antigonos' senior commanders, he was careful to conceal the discreditable way in which he had saved his own skin. Attalus and the other outlaws are praised for their τόλμα and εὐχειρία and ἀρετή in resisting Antigonos' forces;<sup>79</sup> it did Docimus no harm to dwell on the courageous last stand of his old associates when there was no longer any

fear of contradiction.

Another man of distinction who may have influenced parts of Hieronymus' history was Medeios of Larissa, the companion of Alexander famous for his fatal drinking party. Like Docimus, he had been a partisan of Perdiccas, but later turns up as Antigonus' admiral, and served also under Demetrius.<sup>80</sup> In 313 he commanded the naval force which acted with the land army of Docimus in liberating Miletus, and shortly afterwards attacked Cassander's fleet at Oreus in Euboea.<sup>81</sup> Medeios would have been one of Hieronymus' principal sources on these operations; likewise for the battle of Salamis, where he commanded the victorious left wing of Demetrius' fleet.<sup>82</sup> Medeios came from the great family of the Aleuadae of Thessaly, who had their seat at Larisa. Towards the end of the fourth century he was voted honours both by the Athenians and by the town of Gonnoi, near to Larisa.<sup>83</sup> In the same year Athens honoured another Larisan, Oxythemis son of Hippostratus, who was possibly Medeios' nephew, and son of the Hippostratus whom Antigonus appointed 'strategos' of Media in 316-15.<sup>84</sup> These Thessalian aristocrats, the great men of their native towns, like Eumenes in Cardia, would all be known to Hieronymus. The honours given to Medeios and Oxythemis by the Athenians were the consequence of Demetrius' second visit to Athens: it was at this time that he conquered Thessaly (Diod. XX.110, Larisa is taken first, but kindly treated), and as Jacoby conjectured, it was at this point in his history that Hieronymus included his archaeology of Thessaly.<sup>85</sup> Medeios, with his ancestral connections at Larisa and his enormous prestige in 302 as the companion of Demetrius, now master of Larisa, would be able to facilitate Hieronymus' researches into Thessalian history, and it is possible that it was he who inspired and encouraged the idea of this excursus: the Aleuadae, after all, would play a prominent part in a history of Thessaly.

Strabo cites the researches of Cyrsilus of Pharsalus and Medeios of Larisa, 'men who had campaigned with Alexander', for his 'archaeologia' of Armenia: the eponymous settler of Armenia was a certain Armenos, who came from the town of Armenion in Thessaly between Pherae and Larisa; Armenian costume was really Thessalian costume, and the same went for their armour, which was also used by the Medes; Armenian monuments called 'Jasonia' recalled the travels of the hero Jason; and so on.<sup>86</sup> The patriotic pride of the Thessalians had been fostered by the distinguished part they had played in Alexander's expedition, and they maintained their role as the crack cavalry of the Greek world after 323: the Thessalian force under Menon of Pharsalus played the chief part on the Greek side in the Lamian War; numerous Thessalians could be found in Egypt in the Ptolemaic army;<sup>87</sup> and the founder of the Hellenistic town at Ai Khanum on the Oxus in Bactria bore the Thessalian name Cineas.<sup>88</sup> It was natural that Thessalian aristocrats who found their traditional warrior virtues prized by the Macedonian princes of the fourth century, and who produced in Lysimachus a king of Macedon, should wish to ascribe Thessalian origins to some of the new lands of the east which they had helped to conquer, and to link the resurgent glory of the Thessalians to their heroic past.<sup>89</sup> Menon's daughter Phthia was the mother of Pyrrhus, who boasted descent from both Achilles and Priam; and it may be supposed that his claims to a heroic ancestry were derived partly from the Thessalian side. The aetiologies invented by Medeios and Cyrsilus belong to a type of myth-making which flourished in the Hellenistic period and which was inspired by the need felt by the Greeks to bring the newly discovered lands of both east and west into connection with the familiar myths and legends of the old Greek world: the best example of this process is the work of Timaeus, who explored the early history and legends of Italy and Sicily.<sup>90</sup> Exactly in what way Hieronymus' archaeology

of Thessaly may have served the interests of his Thessalian friends is not apparent in Strabo's brief citation; but it may be conjectured that it followed this characteristic Hellenistic pattern - as, no doubt, did his archaeology of Rome - and it is possible that he drew on the researches of Medeios himself and similar native productions.

In at least two other cases Hieronymus made use of material whose reliability appeared to be guaranteed by the signature of a famous man. For Pyrrhus' wars in the west we know that he drew on the 'royal hypomnemata' which were either the actual memoirs of Pyrrhus or at least an official record kept by ghost writers in Pyrrhus' chancellery.<sup>91</sup> It is clear from Plutarch's citation of Hieronymus in his Life of Pyrrhus that the Royal Memoirs gave him accurate information on the losses sustained by each side in Pyrrhus' battles against the Romans, and it may be supposed that they were equally helpful on other military details: Hieronymus was perhaps able to construct his lucid account of the battle at Asculum in part from these records; and if the ἔργων ὑπομνήματα to which Pausanias refers are the same as Hieronymus' βασιδικὰ ὑπομνήματα, they mentioned the provenance of the elephants which Pyrrhus used at Heraclea.<sup>92</sup>

Hieronymus' choice of royal narrative documents was not always so happy. Diodorus' account of Seleucus' return to Babylon is interesting in this respect.<sup>93</sup> Survivors of the expedition of 312 would have remembered it vividly, and Hieronymus probably had an opportunity to talk to some of Seleucus' 800 companions; but the source to which he turned seemingly was not oral, but documentary. Diodorus ends his account of the return with the statement that Seleucus now wrote to Ptolemy and his other friends about his achievements, which had given him the stature of a king; and there is a strong presumption that a copy of this letter -

the one sent to Cassander, which Hieronymus could have seen in the archives at Pella - is the basis of Diodorus' narrative in the previous chapters. This narrative contains clear traces of early Seleucid propaganda, in its emphasis on the popularity of Seleucus among his subjects and his 'philanthropia', and especially in the reference to the prophecy of the oracle of Branchidae and to Seleucus' dream of Alexander. Hieronymus held no brief for the Seleucids: the extreme interest of the contemporary letter in which the founder of the dynasty set out his claims, apparently led him to prefer it to any other evidence, and his editorial skill was not up to expunging the royal bias.<sup>94</sup>

The principles which Hieronymus followed in collecting and sifting his material were set out, we may assume, in a lost preface; and without an explicit statement about his method of composition it is difficult in some cases to see why he has preferred a particular account or whether he has been unduly credulous. We can at least see a tendency in practice to prefer official versions of events, and - a closely related practice - to follow the 'best' authorities in terms of rank and distinction. This was not an unnatural procedure, nor was it new: Herodotus had consulted *λογοί τε ἄνδρες*, people who came from circles where knowledge might have been expected: "they were men from the ruling classes who not only cultivated the tradition of their own families, but, as leading men, had a certain knowledge of the nature of the administration or the history of the state."<sup>95</sup> Thucydides, it seems, had, like everyone else, fallen under the spell of Alcibiades' personality, and unconsciously relayed Alcibiades' point of view on the events in which he had played a part.<sup>96</sup> We have to make special allowance, however, for the rather unusual position of Hieronymus and the extent of his personal contact with many of his informants. There were the loyal friends whom he genuinely trusted and admired: Philippus, for example, to judge by the allusions of

Diodorus to his steady character. Then there were the grand personages who surrounded his masters, men of power and rank like Pithon, Docimus, Medeios, and numerous others who are mentioned only briefly in the literary sources: Phoenix, for example, the general of Antigonos who deserted him in 302 for Lysimachus, possibly the same man as Phoenix of Tenedos, who had formerly served under Eumenes;<sup>97</sup> or another Greek, Aristodemus of Miletus, the flatterer of Antigonos, who seems to have been employed chiefly as envoy and diplomat, and would have been a useful source to Hieronymus for affairs in Greece between 315 and the revolt of Polemaeus in 310;<sup>98</sup> those too who are now known only from chance epigraphical finds, such as Adeimantus, organiser of the new League of Corinth, whom Robert has described as the second man in Greece after Demetrius.<sup>99</sup> The large number of personalities who are named in Diodorus' history of the Diadochi is one of the distinctive features of the narrative, and one which in itself shows that Diodorus' source was a contemporary who stood at the centre of the events he recorded. These powerful men in the entourage of Antigonos and Demetrius were people with whom Hieronymus rubbed shoulders daily for a period of many years, and their influence on the tone of his history should not be underestimated. To question the statements of such individuals might be embarrassing at the time they were made, and to verify them difficult or impossible by the time Hieronymus came to write up the history. The lapse of time between the earliest events he recorded and the date at which he actually wrote is of considerable importance; for we must assume that during the course of his long career Hieronymus took notes on many conversations which could not be checked later, because those with whom they had originated, along with those who might have known otherwise, were no longer alive. It probably became progressively easier to compare accounts and estimate their value as he came to deal with more recent

times, and there was therefore a difference between the way he composed the earliest and the latest sections of the work.<sup>100</sup> For the events of the period before Ipsus, the part of the work best known to us, he was dependent on what were comparable to historical documents - his own notes of what was said and done forty years previously. The choice, then, was either to omit important episodes altogether if he suspected their partiality or accuracy - a purist's view which would virtually paralyse the historian's activity - or conscientiously to include the information as it had been given to him. The latter method, which was essentially that of Herodotus, was in some ways preferable to Thucydides' technique of concealing specific oral sources and trusting his own judgement to winnow out the truth: that was a practice we might expect to find increasingly in Hieronymus' history of the Epigoni, as sources became more plentiful. Whether or how often Hieronymus cited verbal authorities, and to what extent he ever expressed scepticism, we do not know. Stories which now seem unlikely may have been easy to believe at the time: for example, Pithon's account of Antigonus' generalship would seem confirmed subsequently by Hieronymus' own experience.<sup>101</sup> We should also consider the probability that Hieronymus' ambitions as a historian underwent some evolution in the long period which elapsed between his earliest attempts to keep a record of his times and the ultimate composition of a grand work on the Diadochi and Epigoni. Perhaps as he convalesced from the traumas of the battle of Gabiene there came to Hieronymus the idea of writing a historical encomium on Eumenes; and it would have been at this time that he talked to Pithon, who was killed the same winter, and perhaps to Docimus, like himself a recent arrival in Antigonus' headquarters, if by a different route. The stories these men had to tell him, about the short-comings of Antigonus on the one hand, and on the other the last stand of Eumenes' fellow-exiles, would be congenial to such a project.

Later, as his perspective on the period lengthened, Hieronymus may have begun to see the nature of his task in a different light: real *ἱστορικὴ* called for a more critical attitude, and it had to be admitted that Pithon had always been a trouble-maker, a view which Monophthalmus would endorse, and that Hieronymus himself had been well treated by the latter. The belief that Eumenes could do no wrong was not one to be relinquished so easily, and Hieronymus' original interpretation of the history of his fellow-countryman probably remained largely unchanged.

#### Documents

A recent study identifies no less than 74 quotations of or references to documents in the accounts which derive from Hieronymus. They include treaties, city decrees, royal edicts, royal and personal letters. Some were paraphrased, some apparently quoted verbatim, like Alexander's exiles' decree, or Polyperchon's edict of 318; others which are only mentioned or summarised in our sources would almost certainly have been given in full by Hieronymus - the Peace of 311, for example.<sup>102</sup> The extensive use of documents is a characteristic feature of Diodorus' history of the Diadochi, and Hieronymus' use of this type of evidence has largely contributed to his reputation as a historian who followed a scientific method.<sup>103</sup> The idea that historiography was primarily an art rather than a science dominated its evolution throughout the classical and Hellenistic periods, and there are signs that even Thucydides had doubts about the propriety of transcribing his written sources: of the sections of his work which include documentary material, book V possibly and book VIII certainly are unfinished, and it is arguable that in a final revision he would have abandoned the documents and filled out the work instead with political speeches.<sup>104</sup> Hellenistic histories, partly through Peripatetic influence, were much more liberal in citing decrees, letters, and other such material, but frequently the fashion

led to the inclusion of spurious documents.<sup>105</sup> Hieronymus seems to have been unusual in the pains he took to collect large quantities of authentic documentary material, He was not an author who made literary elegance his principal concern, and for the modern critic he is in this respect superior to historians with greater pretensions to style. It caused him no embarrassment to quote in extenso the long edicts and flowery epistles of the Hellenistic chancelleries, although in doing so he sealed the fate of his history: Dionysius' artistic sensibilities were outraged by a historical narrative which was not only devoid of the normal bromides of rhetoric, but regularly interrupted by indigestible chunks of foreign matter, that all too starkly declared itself to be *ἰσχυρὸν*.

Hieronymus had easy access to documents. It is not unlikely that he began his career as a 'grammateus' in the chancellery of Alexander or of Eumenes - though this is partly an inference from the frequency with which documents are mentioned in his work. As the friend of Eumenes, at any rate, he would have been able to inspect many of the state papers in the possession of Alexander's former secretary. This is often observed in connection with the debate on Alexander's 'Last Plans' and their possible transmission via Hieronymus;<sup>106</sup> but many other papers of at least equal interest to the future historian lay in Eumenes' desk by summer 323. Alexander's chancellery had handled a whole range of business, from personal correspondence with individuals in Macedonia to diplomatic transactions with foreign powers; the reports of satraps and members of the military staff would have been kept here, together with copies of the letters and memoranda of Alexander himself; and in addition to its normal work, the Chancellery was given the task of collecting and organising all the scientific information gathered on the march through the east. The accumulated data on botany and other natural phenomena was later

incorporated in the royal archives at Babylon (Theophrastus made use of it in his History of Plants), and probably much of the other paperwork of Alexander's lifetime was stored at Babylon and ultimately made available to scholars.<sup>107</sup> This body of information on the military, civil, personal and scientific business of Alexander's reign, filed under the direction of Eumenes at the time when he was chief secretary, provided Hieronymus with the whole background to the Macedonian conquests: from it we may suppose that he drew at least the documents relating to the opening episodes of his history, recording the administrative and military appointments made at Babylon and Triparadeisos. The correspondence of the department was kept in Attic Greek, though a number of papers must have come in which were written in Aramaic, the koine of the Achaemenid empire. Documents written 'in Syrian letters' are mentioned on more than one occasion in Diodorus/Hieronymus, and we hear that when Eumenes forged a letter to Peucestas in the name of Orontes of Armenia, he made it appear authentic by writing *Συρίοις γράμμασιν* ;<sup>108</sup> but it may be doubted whether men of the rank of Eumenes and Hieronymus would have learned the foreign language themselves. Arguing from the fact that no interpreters are mentioned, one might, it has been said, "find oneself believing that Alexander the Great spoke and understood some very peculiar languages."<sup>109</sup>

Documents connected with Eumenes and his later masters Hieronymus probably saw at the time they were drawn up or received: those which are mentioned in our sources are almost always concerned with Eumenes and Antigonus. He knew in detail, for example, the terms of the oath which Eumenes swore to Antigonus to secure his release from Nora, and the contents of the letters which passed between Eumenes and his correspondents in Macedonia.<sup>110</sup> As Eumenes' personal assistant, he no doubt played a part in the drafting of some of these documents. However, Briant's

suggestion, that the first letter of Polyperchon to Eumenes (Diod. XVIII. 57.3-4) was a forgery drawn up by Eumenes with the connivance of Hieronymus, seems to me unlikely.<sup>111</sup> In Briant's view, this letter, which offered Eumenes a co-regency with Polyperchon and hinted at an early return to Macedon for the Macedonian troops, was the deciding factor for Antigonus' officers in allowing Eumenes to leave Nora: the second (genuine) letter of Polyperchon (Diod. XVIII.58.1-4), which arrived after the escape from Nora, refers only to Eumenes' appointment as general in Asia. It is true that on another occasion Eumenes is said to have forged a letter, as from Orontes to Peucestas, and for reasons similar to those here suggested; another instance of sharp practice was the alteration of Eumenes' oath to Antigonus. In both cases, however, Hieronymus, so far from trying to conceal the deceit, actually paraded it as an illustration of Eumenes' cleverness. If Polyperchon's first letter had been a forgery, it ought to have qualified as a stratagem of the same type.<sup>112</sup> The problem is in fact one of a more general nature, because nearly all the documents connected with Eumenes demonstrate either his close links with the Argeads, or his high moral and military qualities. This is true not only of the correspondence of Eumenes with Olympias and Polyperchon, and the forged letter sent to Peucestas, but also of earlier transactions with Perdiccas and Antipater. In a letter of 322-1 Perdiccas ordered Neoptolemus and Alcetas to obey Eumenes

*διὰ τε τῆν στρατηγίαν καὶ διὰ τῆν τῆς πίστewς βεβαιότητα.*

Replying to the offer of alliance made by Antipater and Craterus in 321, Eumenes said that he would always aid the injured party and would rather lose his life than his honour.<sup>113</sup> Again, if, as seems likely, the analysis of Eumenes' political position set out at Diod. XVIII.42.1-2 represents the substance of the message which Hieronymus' embassy took to Antipater at this time, Eumenes here also officially advertised himself as excelling in intelligence and loyalty.<sup>114</sup> Rosen, in his

discussion of the documents relating to Eumenes, while recognising that they contain elements which tend to enhance Eumenes' character, nevertheless regards such passages as authentic clauses in the documents. This seems highly questionable: Perdiccas, for example, would hardly have cited Eumenes' 'strategia' and 'pistis' as reasons why Macedonian generals should subordinate themselves to his command. Such passages cannot be disassociated from the tone of eulogy with which Eumenes was consistently depicted by Hieronymus, and it would appear that the historian coloured his account of these transactions in shades flattering to his fellow-countryman. To estimate this matter properly, we would need to know whether he quoted the letters verbatim in each case (as Rosen seems to imply), or whether he only paraphrased them, and this can hardly be decided from Diodorus' wording.<sup>115</sup> These documents or, as it may be, pseudo-documents, belong to the early ~~economic~~ <sup>economic</sup> section of the history: there is, at any rate, no reason to suspect falsification in those which concern Antigonus and Demetrius and which belong to the more mature part of Hieronymus' work.

A third fund of documentary material to which Hieronymus had access was the archive at Pella. Diodorus refers to the Macedonian archives in connection with the murder of Demades: Antipater had at first been well disposed to Demades, but after the death of Perdiccas certain letters were found *ἐν τοῖς βασιλικαῖς γράμμασιν*, in which Demades invited Perdiccas to cross into Europe against Antipater.<sup>116</sup> Perdiccas had died suddenly, with no time to destroy dangerous correspondence, and Demades' letters must have passed with the rest of the former regent's paraphernalia into the care of Antipater at Triparadeisos; thence to Macedon and closer scrutiny.<sup>117</sup> Here Hieronymus could have seen them at a later date. Many other documents of interest would be available to him at Pella; Seleucus' letter, for example, and copies of the treaties of 311 and of the settlement after Ipsus.<sup>118</sup> There is some evidence for

Macedonian royal records of a kind similar to the 'Memoirs' of Pyrrhus: Lucian in his Encomium of Demosthenes says that he once read the Journal of the Macedonian kings, which gave an account of Antipater's dealings with Demosthenes: it gave him such pleasure, he reports, that he acquired his own copy of the book.<sup>119</sup> The authenticity of such a compilation is suspect, however: that copies of an official journal of the early Hellenistic period would be on sale in Lucian's day, and that it should make 'pleasurable reading' is most improbable, though a work of this kind might have been modelled ultimately on authentic documents. The existence of 'hypomnemata', perhaps not really to be distinguished from 'basilika grammata', is testified by Polyaeus, who records that when Antigonus (? Gonatas) gave audience to foreign embassies, he used to brief himself beforehand from the 'hypomnemata' - ἔκ τῶν ὑπομνημάτων - and find out who the envoys were, whether they had visited him before, and what their business was about. Then when the audience took place everyone would be struck with admiration at the king's astonishing memory. (This is regarded as a 'stratagem'.)<sup>120</sup>

Other writings of the same kind are mentioned. According to the Suda, Antipater wrote a history of the Illyrian Wars of King Perdiccas, and published two volumes of his own correspondence.<sup>121</sup> The latter, if genuine, would have offered Hieronymus valuable material, and might have formed the basis of part of the 'Royal Memoirs' known to Lucian, which treated Antipater's relations with Demosthenes. Since the work is known only from a single reference, however, one cannot be confident that it was authentic. The common practice of writing, for pleasure or as a literary exercise, letters which were fathered on famous personages of the past, is best illustrated by the Alexander Romance, in which the correspondence between the king and his mother and other important

people has been swelled out by suitable imitations.<sup>122</sup> It became fashionable to include apocryphal letters even in more reputable histories. Eupolemus, in his work 'On the Kings in Judaea', quoted the letters of Solomon to the rulers of Egypt and Tyre; and Bickerman has argued that the two letters which, according to Dionysius, were exchanged between Pyrrhus and Valerius Laevinus in 280 B.C. were the invention of the early Roman annalist Acilius, who wrote in Greek for a Greek audience, and naturally followed the vogue of contemporary Greek historiography.<sup>123</sup> Rhetorical compositions like these are of course to be distinguished from forgeries which served some political end, like the letter forged by Eumenes. Antipater's letters - many, presumably, addressed to Alexander - might belong to the same genre as the spurious letters of the Alexander Romance. On the other hand, apocryphal correspondence and other supposedly autobiographical documents were able to gain currency in this period precisely because real ones flourished. The Memoirs of Pyrrhus must be regarded as genuine; and they are characteristic of contemporary political memoir writing. Aratus published memoirs in 30 books, with the object, as it appears from Polybius and Plutarch, of exculpating himself and imputing blame to his enemies; Demetrius of Phaleron wrote a work *Περὶ τῆς δεκκαετίας*, which was evidently an apologia for his ten year government of Athens.<sup>124</sup> The distinction between true autobiography and the official memoir was not a sharp one, and Antipater's letters (real or pseudonymous) belong to this class of writing.

The genre of memoir-writing was, as Misch observed, characteristic of a scientific age. Factual and unrhetorical reporting began with Ptolemy's account of Alexander's expedition, based on his own experiences. It continues with the histories of Hieronymus and of Polybius, both of whom tried to use original sources. The collection of factual historical

material was treated in at least one instance as an activity parallel to the collecting of botanical, geographical or aetiological data, which Aristotle and his followers pursued: Craterus, 'the Macedonian', probably the half-brother of Gonatas, published in at least nine books a collection of Athenian decrees dating mainly from the fifth century and described as *Συναγωγή τῶν Ψηφισμάτων* 125. They were quoted verbatim, and a commentary attached. Perhaps inspired by Craterus' work, Hieronymus bothered to take a copy of the Athenian version of Alexander's decree concerning the Greek exiles; he also recorded the decrees relating to the Lamian War and the settlements imposed on the Athenians by Antipater and Cassander.<sup>126</sup> In Athens the activities of the Peripatetic school and of local historians like Philochorus created a climate which particularly encouraged research of this kind.

#### 'Logoi' and 'Archaiologiai'

It remains to consider Hieronymus' methods in those parts of his work which discussed ethnography, geography, prehistory, or other matters of general interest. Later authors tended to find these sections more interesting than the political narrative, and Hieronymus is cited for a number of digressions on various topics. Some of these I have discussed in other contexts: I shall consider here the archaeologies of Thebes, Thessaly and Rome, and the excursus on Nabataean Arabia and the Asphalt Lake.

The archaeologia was a common Hellenistic form, used extensively by Timaeus and an important ingredient in ethnographical studies. The early Hellenistic ethnographers gave a systematic treatment to the archaeologia of a country, to its geography and inhabitants, its history, and its laws, customs, society and religion: with variations in the arrangement of topics, this is the pattern which we find first in Hecataeus of Abdera, and then following his example, in Megasthenes, Berossus and Manetho. It was a development from the less formal method

followed by Herodotus in his excursuses.<sup>127</sup> Archaeologiai in a political history were naturally more limited in scope than those of the ethnographical works and were tied closely to the historical narrative: the purpose of Hieronymus' description of both Thessaly and Rome was apparently to introduce the enemy of his protagonist in that part of the history - Demetrius and Pyrrhus respectively. The technique of introducing an opponent by giving a sketch of his land and history is one which can be found everywhere in Herodotus; but the paradigm for a political historian like Hieronymus would probably have been Thucydides' archaeologia of Sicily at the beginning of his sixth book;<sup>128</sup> here Thucydides described, as a prelude to the Athenian attack on Sicily, the size of the island, the earliest settlers, the non-Hellenistic peoples, and the numerous Greek foundations. Hieronymus' account of Thessaly apparently followed the same pattern: the plain of Thessaly and Magnesia, he stated, is 3,000 stades in circumference; it was first settled by Pelasgians, but these were driven out by Lapiths; then comes a list of all the towns on the Pelasgian plain; and the citation ends with some explanatory details about the eponymous founder of the town of Mopsion. Possibly he organised his description of Crete along similar lines: we know only that he gave measurements of the island, and the context is quite uncertain.<sup>129</sup> Dionysius gives no details in citing Hieronymus as the author of a Roman archaeologia, except that it was the first of its kind and was merely an outline.<sup>130</sup> It may be conjectured however, that the purpose of the excursus was analogous to that of Thucydides' excursus on Sicily, which prefaced the rash attack of the Athenians.

Thucydides concludes his account of the island: *Τοσάυτα ἔθνη Ἑλλήνων καὶ βαρβάρων Σικελίαν ᾤκει, καὶ ἐπὶ τούτῳ οὖσαν αὐτὴν οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι στρατεύειν ἔρρηγντο, ἐφίεμενοι μὲν τῇ ἀλεθεστάτῃ προφάσει τῆς πάσης ἄρξαι, βοηθεῖν δὲ ἄμα εὐπρεπῶς βουλόμενοι τοῖς ἑαυτῶν συγγενέσι*

<sup>131</sup>. Pyrrhus' invasion of Italy and Sicily

offered a close parallel: the appeal of the Tarentines, like the appeal of Egesta to Athens, inflamed his passion for conquest - his *πλεονεξία*, the subject of frequent homilies in Plutarch's account - and despite counsels of restraint, he was unable to renounce his hopes of what he desired *ὣν δὲ ἀρέγετο τὰς ἐλπίδας ἀφείναι μὴ δυνάμενον.* 132 Six years were wasted in the vain attempt to combat the seemingly inexhaustible reserves of Roman manpower.<sup>133</sup> With varying degrees of moral vehemence, all our sources agree in condemning the folly of Pyrrhus' western expedition, and we may suppose that for Hieronymus it was the ultimate example of the excessive lust for power which had ruined many of the first generation of the Successors. What more effective introduction than to characterise Pyrrhus' dour opponents and outline the true magnitude of their resources? According to Pausanias, who may here be close to Hieronymus, the arrival of the Tarentines, appealing for assistance against Rome's encroachments, at once led Pyrrhus to contemplate glorious victory over the Trojan colony:<sup>134</sup> this would be the natural point for Hieronymus to usher in the Romans and explain, according to current beliefs, who they were and how ill-founded were the king's expectations.

If Hieronymus' descriptions of Thessaly and Rome were incidental background, modelled on Thucydides' *Sikelika*, the question arises, to what extent were they pieces of original research. Contemptuous of the meanderings of Herodotus, Thucydides did not waste his own time making detailed inquiries about the Sicilian foundations: we know that he relied heavily on the existing work of the local historian, Antiochus of Syracuse.<sup>135</sup> For his *archaeologiai* of Thebes and Thessaly Hieronymus was probably able to follow a similar procedure. Local histories of Thebes would certainly be available: 'Ktisis' literature had been in vogue since the time of Cadmus and Hellanicus, and it may be imagined that the new settlers of Thebes after 316 would be anxious to re-affirm the antiquity and prestige

of the city.<sup>136</sup> (A certain self-consciousness on the part of another of Cassander's city foundations, Cassandreia, is suggested by the title of Lycophron's historical tragedy, 'Cassandreis').<sup>137</sup> The foundation legends of Thebes as recorded under the year 316 differ in certain details from the version he gives in book IV, where he was probably using the mythographical compilation of Ps.-Apollodorus; and it differs also from the version in Herodotus.<sup>138</sup> Diodorus may therefore have had access via Hieronymus to an early Hellenistic version of the foundation, which was also one of the sources for Ps.-Apollodorus. The possibility that Hieronymus used written sources for his survey of early Thessalian history has been discussed earlier in this chapter: a literary as well as a personal connection with Demetrius' companion Medeios of Larisa, who wrote on Thessalian legends and colonisation, is not unlikely.

The archaeology of Rome was a different and altogether more ambitious venture, because Dionysius expressly states that it was the first proper Greek account of Rome (Hier. F13). An extensive use of written sources was therefore ruled out, including, it seems, the Memoirs of Pyrrhus, since Dionysius, who knew about the Memoirs, does not mention them in this connection. The project demanded original research. Almost certainly Hieronymus did not travel in the West. He had access to two channels of detailed information: one through the survivors of Pyrrhus' campaigns; the other through Romans, Italians, or Italian Greeks settled in or visiting Greece. The second category comprised not only the Italian traders who are known to us from inscriptions of Chios and Rhodes, but people of some standing, like Volceius, a man who was given proxeny status by the Aetolians c.263 and who called himself *Ῥωμαῖος* 139. Volceius' business is not known, but some of the Italians who could be met in Greece at this time may have been representing the commercial interests of Roman families. The crude prosopography which can be reconstructed for the middle Republic suggests, despite its limitations, that senatorial

interest in overseas affairs was concentrated in a group of families, of which the principal were the Manlii, Fulvii, Postumii, Valerii and Sulpicii. These names, with the notable addition of the Claudii, are prominent in the Macedonian wars at the end of the third century: they can be traced back as far as the embassy allegedly sent to Athens in 454 to contemplate the laws of Solon, and there is evidence that this group guided Rome's relations with the Hellenistic states from the last years of the fourth century.<sup>140</sup> The exact nature of the 'Greek lobby' in the Senate is uncertain, but directly or indirectly it must have been commercial: commercial relations between Greece and Italy had declined since the sixth century, but with the extension of Roman power over the Italian peninsula during the fourth century the more enterprising of the senatorial families began to look beyond Italy and perhaps to seek a market for the sale of agricultural produce from their estates. (The Lex Claudia of 218 tried to put a stop to senators engaging in trade). By the mid third century it must have been possible to encounter the representatives of these energetic and outward looking families in the major Greek ports, and Roman expansionists would perhaps be not unwilling to satisfy the curious about Roman history, in pride or as advertisement. There is said to have been diplomatic contact between Demetrius and Rome: Strabo relates that Demetrius sent an embassy to Rome to complain about the depredations of pirates from Antium; but the story is doubtful, since Rome had reduced Antium in 337 and destroyed her naval force.<sup>141</sup> Whether Hieronymus might have derived 'accurate' knowledge of Rome from Pyrrhus' soldiers or his prisoners of war is also uncertain. We are told that Pyrrhus' adviser, the Thessalian Cineas, who was sent to Rome to negotiate after the battle of Heraclea, conversed there with the 'best men' and observed the life and manners of the Romans and the excellence of their 'politeia', all of which he reported to Pyrrhus;

but Roman patriotic sources have been at work here.<sup>142</sup>

Veterans of Pyrrhus' expedition, together with the official memoirs of Pyrrhus, would have been helpful on the course of the campaigns in Italy and on the character and composition of the Roman army. As always on military affairs, Hieronymus was here exceptionally well-informed and lucid in his presentation. His casualty figures for the major battles, which were taken from the Memoirs, and his account of Asculum, probably from the same source, have been mentioned.<sup>143</sup> I

follow E. Rawson's view that Hieronymus is also responsible for some of the military details on the Roman armies in Dionysius' history of Pyrrhus.<sup>144</sup> Dionysius gives a clear description of the use of a

heavy thrusting spear for hand to hand fighting by 'those whom they call *πρῖγκιπες* ' (XX.II): but 'principes' no longer existed at the time when Dionysius wrote, and the whole account suggests a contemporary

Greek historian writing for a Greek public: naturally we think of Hieronymus.

He seems to have understood, without having seen a Roman army in action, the way in which it operated and the reasons for its success. "No other

source explicitly points out, what is nevertheless clearly true, that the

principes were the mainstay of a battle."<sup>145</sup> Hieronymus seemingly was one

of the first to perceive a distinctive feature of the Roman system which was a source of her future power. Some of the peculiarities of the Roman

outlook had been recognised by Greeks during the early part of the third

century. Duris had recorded the story of the devotio of Decius at Sentinum;

and Callimachus commented on the rebuke of a Roman matrona to her son;

Roman Fides / *πίστις* is personified on the silver staters of Italian

Locri after 277, when Locri placed herself under the protection of Rome:

she crowns the figure of Roma seated before her.<sup>146</sup> The ethos which

is brought out in these examples, that is, the trait which Greeks were

beginning to associate characteristically with Rome, might well arouse

the interest of the historian who had made *πίστις* one of the cardinal

qualities of his friend Eumenes. After Pyrrhus' expedition, we find some awareness among Greeks of the qualities of Roman government: Eratosthenes named the Romans after the Carthaginians in a list of the four best-governed barbarian nations, i.e. those which most nearly approached Greek standards; and Aristos of Cyprian Salamis, writing in the mid third century, could claim that Alexander had prophesied the future greatness of Rome after meeting Roman envoys.<sup>147</sup> Interest in specific Roman institutions first appears in the letter of Philip V to the Larisaeans: Philip's knowledge of the system of manumission and citizenship is remarkable, but not altogether accurate, and suggests that special studies of the Roman constitution had not so far been made by Greek writers.<sup>148</sup> Polybius first presented to the Greek world an analysis of Rome's political and military organisation, as it appeared to him. Hieronymus' description of Roman methods of warfare is thus a very early specimen of Greek awareness that the Romans were different in specific and interesting ways from which Greeks might have something to learn.

The methods of fighting by which Rome had successfully resisted Pyrrhus were of peculiar interest to Pyrrhus' enemies in Greece; and Macedon, with her shortage of native manpower, her dangerous northern borders, and her perennial struggle with Egypt and the discontented Greeks, in any case needed military ideas.<sup>149</sup> Gonatas was inventive: he had employed Gauls in his army with success, he enlisted the aid of pirates, and he was prepared to try out other novelties. During the peace after 255 he made ready for another round in the conflict with Ptolemy by creating a new navy, encouraged, as Tarn plausibly suggests, by reports of the successes which Rome, like Macedon traditionally a land-power, was winning over maritime Carthage.<sup>150</sup> It may be Gonatas, too, who was responsible for the reorganisation of the Macedonian standing army: an inscription of uncertain date, found in several blocks

in the bed of the Strymon at Amphipolis, preserves some of the clauses of what was possibly a general 'strategikos nomos' regulating conduct in Macedonian camps and garrisons.<sup>151</sup> The lettering of this inscription is ambiguous: a uniformly flat sigma should indicate the reign of Philip V, but other features could point to a date as early as the reign of Gonatas; and the concern shown for discipline in the camp is certainly consistent with the known pre-occupations of a king whose military forces were permanently employed in garrisoning both the northern border and the Greek states under his suzerainty.<sup>152</sup> Whether these provisions owed anything to known Roman practice it is impossible to say. It is at least possible, however, that by the later part of the reign of Philip V, Roman institutions had influenced the organisation of the Macedonian army. An inscription from Elymiotis, dated to Philip's 42nd year, i.e. 181 B.C., after the second Macedonian War, uses the word *πρωτοδοχία* in an unusual sense:<sup>153</sup> in the classic organisation of the Macedonian army, this term would refer to the front rank of the companies of four 'lochoi', composed of sixteen men each;<sup>154</sup> but here there appear to be at least six *πρωτοδοχίαι*. The sense might be that of *ἐν τῷ πρώτῳ λόχῳ*, that is, a whole company of picked troops. It might imply, on the other hand, that the front line has been re-organised on the model of the Roman 'principes'.<sup>155</sup> Earlier in his career Philip had been quick to notice the advantages of Roman practice in maintaining the numbers of the citizen population;<sup>156</sup> and direct contact with the Roman armies would not only bring home the fact of their great reserves of man-power, but also provided a graphic demonstration of the defects of the traditional Macedonian phalanx when confronted by Roman tactics. If Philip learned nothing from reading Hieronymus' account of Pyrrhus against Rome, it is not likely that he missed the lesson of Cynoscephalae.

The last of the digressions in Hieronymus known to us are his accounts of Nabataean Arabia and of the Dead Sea - the 'asphalt lake'. These are preserved in some detail by Diodorus at XIX.94ff.<sup>157</sup> In 312 Antigonus had prepared to invade the land of the Nabataeans, for reasons which were probably both strategic and commercial.<sup>158</sup> Hieronymus played a part in the campaign, as leader of the expedition which Antigonus sent to the Dead Sea, and his description of the country of Nabataea and its people is at first hand.<sup>159</sup> He introduced the Nabataeans in the way that he seems to have introduced the Thessalians and the Romans: after announcing Antigonus' plan of attack, he branches out into a description of the barbarians before recounting the actual campaign. The model here, however, is not the Thucydidean archaeologia: Thucydides did not offer a model for a purely ethnographic excursus, and in his treatment of the Nabataeans it is clear that Hieronymus looked back directly to Herodotus: "der Bericht über Demetrios' arabische Expedition ... ist ganz so angelegt wie ein Herodoteischen λόγος - etwa der über die Aithiopen."<sup>160</sup>

Hieronymus seems to have given neither the Nabataean archaeologia nor the size of the country, as he did in his description of Thessaly: both, no doubt, were difficult to ascertain at the time, and remain obscure. The Nabataeans were probably a nomad tribe which took advantage of the weaknesses of the Persian empire during the fifth century, and moved west and north, from the desert lands, gradually encroaching on cultivated areas which could not be defended.<sup>161</sup> Hieronymus' description is the first certain evidence of this people, and shows that, at any rate by the end of the fourth century, they occupied an area extending from Petra to the shores of the Dead Sea. The account is concerned chiefly with Nabataean 'nomoi', and shows how laws and customs were related to the character of the land. The Nabataeans, we are told, are a people of the open wilderness; they raise camels and sheep, and live off meat and milk and certain wild

plants - the pepper, and the so-called wild honey.<sup>162</sup> It is their 'nomos' to plant neither trees nor grain, nor to drink wine, nor to construct any house; and the penalty for infringement of this law is death. Their way of life is based on love of freedom: they believe that those who live a settled life pay for the good things they possess by the sacrifice of their freedom to the powerful. The desert itself is their fortress: no enemy can cross it for lack of water. The Arabs themselves have developed great skills in the conservation of water. They excavate underground chambers lined with plaster which catch the rain and act as reservoirs: these extend to a length of 100 feet below ground level, but the openings are small, and can be sealed off and be made invisible to all but their people. Although they number only some 10,000, they are a wealthy people, because they trade in precious spices brought from Arabia Eudaemon to the sea. When it is time for their general market, they leave their women and children and possessions on a strong but unwalled rock, two days journey from the settled country.<sup>163</sup> They write (as appears from the later narrative) in 'Syrian letters', i.e. Aramaic.<sup>164</sup>

The customs here described closely resemble those of the Rechabites as set out in the Book of Jeremiah: "Jonadab the son of Rechab our father commanded us saying, Ye shall drink no wine, neither ye, nor your sons for ever: Neither shall ye build house, nor sow seed, nor plant vineyard, nor have any: but all your days ye shall dwell in tents: that ye may dwell many days in the land where ye be strangers."<sup>165</sup> The Macedonian expedition found the Nabataeans still living a nomad existence, with laws, apparently characteristic of other peoples of Syria, which made a virtue of necessity and were aimed at the preservation of an ancestral way of life. The picture which Diodorus draws, of Nabataeans living the simple life of the desert, is a guarantee of an early Hellenistic source, because writers of a later period did not know them as desert

nomads. Strabo, drawing on Athenodorus (who was born at Petra), gives a very different impression of Nabataean life in the first century B.C. Now they drink wine out of golden cups, they are entertained by singing girls, they import luxury items, and the land produces gold and silver; they have planted gardens at Petra; they are settled and industrious and extremely thrifty.<sup>166</sup> Archaeological evidence confirms Strabo's picture: the Nabataeans of the first century and later lived in permanent urban settlements and their way of life was based on agriculture. On the other hand, the accuracy of the earlier, Hieronyman account is shown by the fact that many of the characteristics he observed later became more pronounced: the use of literary Aramaic, for example, is attested for later periods, and by the mid second century an individual Nabataean script had developed;<sup>167</sup> the cunning and independence of the people is illustrated by Agatharchides' account of their piratical attacks on Egyptian shipping in the Red Sea, probably during the reign of Philadelphus.<sup>168</sup> In particular, Hieronymus recognised two features of the Nabataean way of life which proved to be the foundation of the power and prosperity of the later Nabataean kingdom: their control of the caravan route from South Arabia to Palestine, and their skill in water conservation.

The trade route through Petra had developed at a much earlier period, under the Achaemenid empire, and Petra had relations with Egypt, Syria and the South Arabian kingdoms: by the time of Antigonos' expedition it was evidently a prosperous caravan city, and Rostovtzeff conjectured that it was the aim of this expedition to divert Petraean trade from Egypt and direct it towards the Phoenician ports.<sup>169</sup> In the third century, Ptolemaic control of the Phoenician cities, together with the development of Alexandria as a great commercial port, made the independence of Petra intolerable to Egypt, and Philadelphus made efforts to develop an

alternative route from Arabia by sea: the piracy to which some of our sources refer must have been a reply to the measures of Philadelphus. Pliny knew the Nabataeans of his day as traders and caravaners; and the wealth which commerce brought to the one time nomads is attested in Strabo's account.<sup>170</sup> Commerce and agriculture are the means of livelihood which characterise Strabo's Nabataeans. The caravan route must have flourished again after the second century, when Ptolemaic power was declining. Agriculture and a settled way of life developed largely through the indefatigable efforts of the Nabataeans to irrigate the desert. Their skill in hydraulic engineering, which was perhaps based on knowledge of the hydraulic systems of Mesopotamia, at least equalled their success as caravan merchants: the remarkable level of technical skill which was achieved is shown by the fact that some Nabataean water works have been restored by modern engineers and put to their former use.<sup>171</sup>

The system of channels, cisterns and dams at Petra itself, dating from the Roman period, is the most spectacular of these works; but Nabataean hydraulic installations, particularly cisterns of all shapes and sizes, have been identified throughout the Negev. Some of these cisterns were cut out of natural rock, some built of stone and roofed over. Many others have been found which correspond exactly with Hieronymus' description of the ἀγγεία κατὰ γῆς ὀρυκτὰ κεκολλημένα . Glueck reports in his survey of the desert water-works: "There were also numerous others, whose sides were coated with layers of plaster, firmed with bits of pottery, and sometimes overlaid with stone blocks or pebble facings. Numerous natural caves were enlarged into subterranean reservoirs, with free-standing pillars being left to support the extended roofs."<sup>172</sup> All along the length of the Wadi Ramliyah (Abdah) Glueck found the remains of huge cisterns carved out of the chalk rock which forms the sides of the river bed, and which filled up whenever the Wadi filled with water.

One of these, opposite the former Nabataean city of Abdah, he found still being used by Bedouins to water their flocks. Abdah lies on the direct route from Gaza to the Dead Sea and Petra, and it is possible that some of the cisterns along the Wadi Abdah were discovered by Antigonus' army on its march into Nabataean territory.

Hieronymus' description of the Dead Sea was supplementary to his main account of the Nabataea.<sup>173</sup> It forms an introduction to the expedition, led by the future historian, which was sent to gain control of the bitumen fishery of the Asphalt Lake; and it extends the information given earlier about Nabataean commerce. Here too Hieronymus achieved a high degree of accuracy.<sup>174</sup> Apart from some general remarks about the buoyancy of the salt water and the absence of aquatic life, the report centres on the phenomenon of the asphalt from which the lake took its name. Floating lumps of bitumen ( ἄσφαλτος ) as big as islands, are ejected from the lake every year, accompanied by evil-smelling gases which affect the neighbourhood for miles around and discolour precious metals. The bitumen is collected by the peoples who live on either side of the lake, and they fight each other for possession of it. Their method is to sail out on rafts made from bundles of reeds, two men to row the raft, a third carrying a bow to fend off attackers; and they hack pieces off the floating asphalt with axes and load it on to the raft. The asphalt is exported to Egypt where it is used as an ingredient in the embalming of the dead. Other products of the region around the lake are palm trees and balsam, an important drug which grows here more abundantly than anywhere else in the world.<sup>175</sup>

This is the earliest and most informative of many ancient accounts of Judaeian bitumen. Strabo has clearly used Hieronymus; Diodorus in book II gives the Hieronyman description almost verbatim.<sup>176</sup> Vitruvius probably had a different source, because he knows about bitumen quarries and bitumen brought down by streams. Josephus refers to the

Dead Sea bitumen fishery in a historical connection, and comments on the beautiful colours which are produced by the reflection of the light on the oily surface of the lake. Pliny refers to 'slimy bitumen' of Judaea which solidifies to a dense consistency; similarly Tacitus.<sup>177</sup>

The whole of the Near East is exceptionally rich in deposits of liquid and solid oil, a fact which was appreciated from the earliest times: God had said to Noah, "Make thee an ark of gopher wood; rooms shalt thou make in the ark, and shalt pitch it within and without with pitch."<sup>178</sup>

Modern exploitation of these deposits has involved extensive surveys of the geology of the region of Judaea, and petroleum geologists have confirmed the description in Diodorus at every point. Although the asphalt now appears less often than in antiquity, masses weighing up to 100 pounds have been reported and photographed.<sup>179</sup> Similar phenomena occur also in Mexico and parts of South America, and the effects of the gas (hydrogen sulphide) emitted by the pitch are said to be those described in Diodorus.<sup>180</sup> Hieronymus' account of the production of bitumen in Judaea is therefore substantially correct. For the method of collection, by armed men on rafts of reed, we may compare an Assyrian relief found in the palace at Nineveh and dating from the reign of Senacherib or Assurbanipal. The relief depicts a combat taking place in the middle of a marsh: the Assyrians sail in small groups on rafts made from bundles of reeds, and fight each other with bows and arrows.<sup>181</sup> The type of raft seems to correspond to Diodorus' *δέσμης κάρκινων εἰμερέθους* with oars lashed on (XIX.99.1), and was perhaps a Nabataean legacy from Mesopotamia, like their hydraulic skills.

The only part of Hieronymus' account which has caused scepticism is his statement that bitumen was exported to Egypt for use in the embalming process. This claim, echoed by many modern writers, has not actually been supported by finds of Judaeian bitumen in Egyptian mummies.

The earlier Egyptologists reported finding bituminous materials in the bodies or the packaging of a number of mummies; but chemical analysis performed on mummies this century by A. Lucas showed no trace of Judaeen bitumen in human mummies from any period.<sup>182</sup> Herodotus does not mention bitumen in his description of Egyptian methods of embalming, and it seems unlikely that it was used at all during the dynastic period; moreover, there seems to be no known Egyptian term for 'bitumen'.<sup>183</sup> However, Lucas' tests were not exhaustive, as he himself stated, and do not preclude the use of bitumen at least in non-human mummies in the Ptolemaic period. Later tests, using the technique of exposing specimens to ultra-violet rays, had rather greater success, and it has been concluded: "It is impossible to avoid the expectation that the presence of bitumen would become substantiated by further work rather than disproved."<sup>184</sup> If bitumen were used for cheaper forms of embalming, animal burials, for example, much of the evidence would have been destroyed. In the middle ages, at any rate, bitumen was associated with mummies, because according to the 12th century Arab physician Ibn-al-Beitar, 'mūmijā', the Arab word for bitumen, was applied to a popular drug made from bits of pulverised mummy.<sup>185</sup> Bitumen was used in Egypt for a wide variety of purposes other than embalming, and seems not to have been produced in Egypt itself, since we do not hear of 'asphaltos' along with other mineral products that were Ptolemaic monopolies.<sup>186</sup> Judaea was therefore probably the chief source of the bitumen used in Egyptian manufactures during the Ptolemaic period; and it is not unlikely that it was the Nabataeans, newcomers to Jordan and the Negev probably sometime during the fifth century, who first fished and sold the Dead Sea bitumen: hence it is not mentioned in Herodotus and was apparently unknown in dynastic Egypt. Whatever the truth about an extensive use of bitumen in mummies of the Ptolemaic period, it is impossible to doubt that the

bitumen of the Dead Sea represented an important source of wealth to the Nabataeans. Antigonus regarded the bitumen fishery as 'a source of revenue for the kingdom' - *τινὰ τῆ βασιλείᾳ πρόσοδον* - and the Arabs were vigorous in protecting their claims to the industry. In the first century B.C. it was taken from the Nabataeans by Antony and given to Cleopatra, who then leased it again to the Nabataean king Malchus for 200 talents a year - no mean sum: in Perseus' day the revenue of Macedonia was 200 talents<sup>187</sup> - and this must have been considerably exceeded by the actual profit which Malchus expected to gain from sale of the bitumen.<sup>188</sup>

The account of Nabataea and its resources is the most detailed geographical excursus which we know from Hieronymus' work. There appear, however, to have been a number of more cursory allusions to matters of geographical or ethnographical interest. The timber of Lebanon, the fertility of the lands of Media, Susiane, and Persis, are the subject of miniature digressions in Diodorus' account of Asian affairs: here Hieronymus must have enlarged on the geographical sketch which stood at the head of his historical narrative.<sup>189</sup> He described the ritual death of the wife of Ceteus the Indian, and we should attribute to Hieronymus the remark which concludes this account, on the reaction of the Greeks - *ἐνίοι τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἐπιτίμων τοῖς νομίμοις ὡς ἀγρίους οὖσι καὶ χυδαίοις.* <sup>190</sup>

His account of the siege of Pydna also showed the self-consciousness of the Greek when confronted with barbarian customs: when people began to die of hunger, some of the 'barbaroi' fed themselves by eating the bodies of the dead - *τῆς φύσεως κατισχύουσης τὴν εὐλαβεῖν.* <sup>191</sup>

The Cossaeon tribes who inhabited the passes into Media were nearly as primitive: they lived in caves, and ate acorns and mushrooms and the smoked flesh of wild animals. Thucydides had reproached the Aetolians for their unintelligible dialect and their nasty habit of eating raw flesh: language and diet at once identified the barbarian.<sup>192</sup>

Whether Hieronymus maintained at all times the standard of accuracy

achieved in his description of the Nabataeans is uncertain. In one instance he reports a local practice which sounds highly improbable. During the struggle against Antigonus in 317, Eumenes' reluctant ally Peucestas sent for reinforcements of 10,000 Persian archers. These forces, reports Diodorus, received the order on the very same day, even though they were thirty days journey distant, so efficient is the Persian system of communication: for Persis is cut by many narrow valleys, and when the people have an important message to convey across country, men with very loud voices are stationed on the tops of the hills, and shout the message from one relay to another right across the land. It is difficult to take this seriously. Someone from the Persian contingent in the army told Hieronymus a tall story; and it may not be too fanciful to suppose that the culprit was Peucestas himself, who had shown a thoroughly bad temper over the matter of the reinforcements and indeed throughout the campaign. When the historian applied to him, as an expert on Persian affairs, for information on Persian methods of telegraphing, did Peucestas see a chance to repay in kind the tricks which Eumenes and his secretary liked to play on dull Macedonians?<sup>193</sup>

Like all Greek writers on the east, Hieronymus was sometimes at the mercy of local informants. Where he trusted to his own powers of observation, however, he achieved a high standard of accuracy, and he showed a talent for perceiving the dominant aspects in the way of life of a foreign people: this is evident in his account both of the Nabataeans and, so far as we may judge, of the Romans. These ventures into ethnography were a remarkable feature in a political history of the Diadochi. Twenty years campaigning on the Asian continent qualified Hieronymus to write with authority on the peoples and countries of the east; but with these qualifications, he might nevertheless have ignored the geographical setting of his Asian narrative

except where it was directly relevant to military affairs: there was a good precedent in Ptolemy's account of Alexander; whereas the Alexander histories which had attempted to convey the flavour of the mysterious Orient - that of Onesicritus especially - had notoriously tended to drift into fairyland. Serious treatment of geography and ethnography, on the other hand, tended to be confined to specialised studies like those of Megasthenes on India or of Hecataeus on Egypt. These works were histories of a kind; their obvious roots in Ionian historiography oblige us to describe them as such. They represent, however, only one aspect of the Herodotean history from which they are derived: the early Hellenistic ethnographers isolated the Herodotean ethnographic study, of which his book on the Egyptians formed the paradigm, and developed it into an independent genre.<sup>194</sup> Hieronymus, while always primarily a political historian, was exceptional in making a return, at least in one section of his history, to the original fusion of geography and politics which had produced the first real history. He had begun his work in the grand Thucydidean manner, analysing 'staseis' and 'aitiai', and backing up his case with the unimpeachable evidence of contemporary documents. We may suppose that some of his 'archaeologies' looked directly to Thucydides' Sikelika as a model, and that his comments on some barbarian peoples, like the Cossaei, did not go beyond the occasional remarks which can be found in Thucydides on the practices of the Aetolians or the Odrysians.<sup>195</sup>

The favourite comparison of Hieronymus with Thucydides or Polybius overlooks, however, the distinctively Herodotean character of the Nabataean excursus. This was a logos which contained at least two of the four traditional elements: nomoi and thaumasia (the underground cisterns); the Nabataeans had no history to speak of, and geography could be summed up as 'desert'. This excursus was not only Herodotean in form, but had also the virtue of originality, not always a feature of the contemporary ethnographers,

who frequently aped Herodotus even while disparaging him; and it was, as we have seen, a serious study: although the Arabs are used to illustrate the principle of 'eleutheria' - a theme of the history to which I shall return - Hieronymus had originally approached his subject, as Nearchus had, with the traveller's innocent eye.<sup>196</sup> We remain in Nabataea and not in Utopia, looking at the observable details of Nabataean life style and economy. Here Hieronymus showed the true spirit of *ἱστορίη* .

## II. Two Kings of Propaganda

Few can have been better placed than Hieronymus to record the wars of the Successors. His position made him both an eye-witness and an ear-witness, often, too an active participant in events; it gave him access to the original evidence, both oral and written. With the limitations imposed by time and memory and by the need to record the sometimes doubtful testimony of men of consequence, he made good use of the resources available to him, and ambitiously took his researches even into the field of ethnographic study. It remains to consider Hieronymus' general interpretation of his materials. The fact which made him so well qualified to write the history of his times, namely his position as protégé of Macedonian kings, is also a fact which prevents us accepting uncritically Hieronymus' estimate of his masters. Proximity, as well as distance, can distort the vision, and in even the ancient sources there are disturbing changes of partiality. Modern estimates of Hieronymus' truthfulness have centred on two points, first, his treatment of Eumenes, which is rightly regarded as apologetic; second, the idea that the general tone of the History, and specifically its standpoint on the question of empire and the question of Greek liberty, were influenced by the policies and the patronage of Antigonus Gonatas, an idea which is more open to question. The case of Eumenes is relatively uncontroversial, and it will be convenient to begin the discussion with Hieronymus' treatment of his friend and fellow-citizen.

### The apologia for Eumenes

Hieronymus' History down to the end of the year 317 centred on the figure of Eumenes. This we see especially from Diodorus' account, with its lively manner and many personal details; Nepos and Plutarch both

chose Eumenes as the subject of a biography, using Hieronymus as their principal source; and it is significant that each of the two fragments of Arrian's *Τὰ μετὰ Ἀλέξανδρον* deal with episodes in which Eumenes was the protagonist.<sup>197</sup> It is likely that the two Cardians were related by blood; Hieronymus' admiration for Eumenes is in any case manifest, and it was the living relationship between the historian and his subject which gave this part of his work its especial appeal. Misch observed that the greatest representations of historical personalities in antiquity - Socrates, Pericles, Tiberius - were not strictly biographical in form, and Hieronymus' portrait of Eumenes belongs to this category. Some elements of biography, such as an account of the subject' birth and education may have been included. Plutarch's first two chapters of the Life of Eumenes mention his birth and upbringing before sketching his early career under Philip and Alexander: Duris is cited for the information that Eumenes was the son of a waggoner, i.e. of humble birth, and probably the stories about his avarice and his quarrel with Hephaestion have the same origin; but Plutarch's *δοκῶσι δὲ εἰκότα λέγειν οἱ διὰ ξενίων καὶ φιλίων πάλτρωκεν τὸν Εὐμένη λέγοντες κ.τ.λ.* is naturally taken as an allusion to Hieronymus;<sup>198</sup> and it seems to be this 'more likely' version that Nepos followed in his (laudatory) account of Eumenes' early years. Details about Eumenes' background were perhaps introduced by Hieronymus in a digression, like the digression at Diodorus XVIII.59. This survey of Eumenes' career (given a strong philosophical bias in Diodorus) keeps Eumenes in play at a time when he was shut up at Nora and not doing anything, and might have been a convenient point to bring in biographical material which had no place in the ordinary narrative.<sup>199</sup> There is no evidence, however, that Hieronymus wrote a separate biography of Eumenes, as Xenophon did of Agesilaus, or Polybius of Philopoemen; and he certainly fell short of Polybius' precept that praise and blame should be kept out

of history proper and reserved for the independent encomium.<sup>200</sup>

The characterisation of Eumenes turns on three principal features: his cleverness, his Greek origins, and his loyalty to Alexander's family. His intelligence and personal ability we are not in a position to doubt, and it is argued by the high rank to which he rose in Alexander's service. On the other hand, the contrast between Eumenes' character and the character of his opponents is certainly overdrawn in our sources. The treachery of Neoptolemus, Eumenes' personal enemy, is underlined by the order of Perdiccas that he should obey Eumenes in all things *διὰ τὴν τῆς πίστεως βεβριότητα*<sup>201</sup>. The popularity of Craterus is probably exaggerated in order to enhance Eumenes' victory at the Dardanelles.<sup>202</sup> The treatment of Peucestas is almost without exception hostile: he is a coward, he covets the chief command for himself, he thinks first of his own safety.<sup>203</sup> Arrian gives a very different picture of Peucestas: he was a brave soldier (he saved Alexander's life among the Malli), and a good officer who rose high in Alexander's favour: *πιστόν τε οἱ εἶ τὸ μάλιστα τιθέμενος τῷ τε ἄλλῃ, κ.τ.λ.*<sup>204</sup> Hieronymus referred to this in his introduction of Peucestas (Diod. XIX.14.4-5): in the same way he probably gave the credentials of all the former friends and bodyguards of Alexander (compare, for example, XVIII.36.4, Pithon's rank). When he comments on Peucestas' popularity among the Persians, however, the point seems to be one connected with the characterisation of Antigonus, who conspicuously failed to take account of native sentiment, and not with the history of Eumenes. In the main narrative of 317 Peucestas is a leader of dissension in the allied army and responsible for the defeat at Gabiene. Later he was among those who were removed from their satrapies in Antigonus' purge of Alexander's 'philoi'; but he turns up again in the retinue of Demetrius:<sup>205</sup> a man with a galling talent for survival. This was not one of those friends of Demetrius who succeeded in imposing

on the historian their accounts of past campaigns.

In different ways, the treatment of all Eumenes' rivals enhances his integrity and qualities of leadership. Plutarch regards Antigenes and Teutamus as the villains of the army - *φθόνου δὲ καὶ φιλονεικίας* ..... *μεστοί* (Plut. Eum. XIII.2) - and has them plotting against Eumenes' life before Gabiene (ibid. XVI.1). In Diodorus they are paragons of loyalty who resist the blandishments of Antigonus and his agents (Diod. XVIII.62.6, *ὁ δ' Ἀντιγένης, συνέσει καὶ πίστει βεβαιότητι διαφέρων* ). Both authors evidently exaggerate, but each account shows traces of a portrait in which the sensitive relations between Eumenes and his army were depicted to the advantage of Eumenes. Again, both Plutarch and Diodorus record with moral satisfaction the destruction of the Silver Shields: here as elsewhere, Hieronymus' history of Eumenes lent itself to a moralistic treatment; and the theme of retribution is implicit in Diodorus' account of all Antigonus' measures after his victory at Gabiene - Antigenes burned alive, Eudamus the elephant-keeper executed, the Silver Shields sent on death missions, the satraps turned out of their satrapies. Eumenes had predicted it: when the lion has pulled out his claws and his teeth a man may club him to death.<sup>206</sup>

The denigration of Eumenes' opponents and the trumpeting of Eumenes' own virtues represents the cruder side of the apologia. Other aspects are less easy to detect or to test: for example, the interpolation of references to Eumenes' 'strategia' and 'pistis' into the paraphrases of contemporary documents (see above). The question of Eumenes' Greek origins is a problem of this kind. The careers of Medeus and Nearchus, as well as that of Eumenes himself demonstrate that Greeks were able to rise to high office under Philip and Alexander; and after Alexander's death

several other Greeks were given satrapies - Laomedon, Lysimachus, the Cypriots Stasanor and Stasandor of Soli. These were men of very considerable standing; and Eumenes, like Nearchus, Lysimachus and Laomedon, had lived in Macedon and might be thought a 'naturalised' Macedonian. We hear of no general prejudice of Macedonians against Greeks in Alexander's army, and it is not obvious, on the fact of it, why it should be thought such a disadvantage to be a Greek.<sup>207</sup> Eumenes' case differed from the others mentioned in that he was the only Greek to command a Macedonian royal army: at a later date Aratus was in direct command of Macedonians, and apparently experienced no trouble, but the time and circumstances were different. Tarn thought that Eumenes was looked down on personally by the Macedonians because they thought of him as a secretary and not a soldier:<sup>208</sup> Nearchus and Lysimachus do not appear to have encountered problems of command; and the account of Eumenes' battle with Neoptolemus in all our sources does suggest that Eumenes hoped by a show of personal bravery at the debut of his new career to win the military reputation denied to him in Alexander's lifetime. Whether the hostility of the other commanders in Eumenes' army can be explained sufficiently in this way is uncertain, however.

The propaganda used against Eumenes seems to have made capital out of the fact that he was not a Macedonian;<sup>209</sup> and Lysimachus used the same argument against Pyrrhus when he turned against his former ally after Demetrius' defeat: *γράφμασι καὶ λόγοις διέφθειρε τοὺς πρώτους τῶν Μακεδόνων, ὀνειδίζων εἰ ζένον ἄνδρα καὶ προγόνων αἰεὶ δεδουλευκότων Μακεδόνων δεσπότην ἐλόμενοι τοῦς Ἀλεξάνδρου φίλους καὶ συνήθεις ἀπωθούσι Μακεδονίας.* <sup>210</sup>  
(Cf. Plut. Demetr. XLIV.4 *ἔπηλον δὲ καὶ ζένον ἄνδρα τὸν Πύρρον.* ).

In a crisis, too, latent fears and prejudices might rise to the surface: at Gabiene, when the loss of the 'aposkeue' was discovered, the Macedonian soldiers turned on Eumenes with the sneer, *Χερρονησίτης ὄλεθρος*. The words are possibly authentic, since the speech *ἐπὶ τοῦς πατέρας κ.τ.λ.* is recorded in the same context.<sup>211</sup> The expression is not entirely

original, however. The Samians had replied to Maiandrios, the avaricious successor of Polycrates: *ἀλλ' οὐδ' ἄξιός ἐστις σὺ γε ἡμέων ἄρχειν, γερωνῶς τε κακῶς καὶ ἐων ὀλέθρος* <sup>212</sup>. The word ὀλέθρος appears in Aristophanes and frequently in Menander as a term of abuse. <sup>213</sup> It was

also a favourite with Demosthenes. He calls Aeschines ὀλέθρος γραμματεὺς - pestilent scribe (XVIII.127); and Philip, interestingly, is described as *οὐ μόνον οὐχ Ἕλληνας ὄντος οὐδὲ προσήκοντος οὐδὲν τοῖς Ἕλλησι, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ βαρβάρου ἐντεύθεν ὄθεν κελὸν εἶπεν, ἀλλ' ὀλέθρου Μακεδόνας* <sup>214</sup>.

'Plague from the Chersonese' perhaps embodies a similar thought: Eumenes was neither a proper Greek nor a proper Macedonian. Whether it amounts to racial contempt is questionable. Lloyd-George was called 'Welsh wizard' and 'Welsh pest', the ethnic being hardly more than a distinguishing tag; and probably it was the 'wizardry' of Eumenes - a theme I shall discuss in the following chapter - that constituted the chief objection.

However Eumenes' origins were really seen by the rest of his army, there remains one consideration of overriding importance: Greek or Macedonian, he failed in the long run to win decisive and profitable military victories. Briant's recent study of Eumenes' relations with his troops suggests that the real difficulties were financial. <sup>215</sup> After Antipater's return to Macedonia in 321 the armies of the Successors were organised increasingly on a mercenary, not a national basis, and the generals could do nothing without pay and victory. The frequent exchanges of oaths between Eumenes and the 'hegemones' of the troops, which are taken by our sources as marks of loyalty, in fact took the form of a kind of employment contract, and expressed a deep mistrust of the commander. It may be supposed that birth and character played their part: armies are always sensitive to the personality of their leaders. The dominant part played in Eumenes' history by the fact that he was a Greek seems designed, however, to conceal more serious causes of dissension.

The 'Greek' motif has as one of its chief functions to suggest that Eumenes had no intention of aiming at supreme power. Eumenes may actually have exploited his nationality in order to allay fears of this nature;<sup>216</sup> but here too there was disingenuity. Lysimachus became king of Macedon, and he was said to be the son of a Thessalian peasant;<sup>217</sup> truth or slander, it cannot be assumed a priori that in the changed conditions of the time after Alexander a non-Macedonian might not aspire to part of his empire. In these conditions talk of the Macedonian 'Basileia' becomes ambiguous. We may take it, no doubt, that Eumenes did not covet the position which Cassander came to occupy, as king of the Macedonian homeland. The question is rather whether Eumenes was one of the

ἰδιοπρᾶχτοῦντες (cf. Diod. XVIII.50.1, 42.2) who aimed at possession of part of the Asian territories. Hieronymus elaborately disclaimed the idea: Eumenes was the champion of the kings - προστήναι τῶν βασιλέων πρὸς τοὺς καταλύειν αὐτῶν τὴν ἀρχὴν τετολμηκότας (Diod. XVIII.53.7); he assured Olympias that he held unwavering loyalty towards the kings and would run every risk - πάντα κίνδυνον - for their safety (XVIII.58.4); at Gabiene he thought it shameful to flee from defeat, τὸ δὲ τηροῦντα τὴν δεδομένην ἐπὶ τῶν βασιλέων πίστιν γενναίᾳ προαιρέσει συναποδυνεῖν προκρίνας κ.τ.λ. (XIX.42.5); Antigonus was obliged to execute him because he knew he could never turn him from his devotion to Olympias and the kings (XIX.44.2). Eumenes' loyalty to the royal house and his struggle to preserve the unity of empire are ideas which have permeated the tradition and which aroused the admiration of earlier commentators;<sup>218</sup> but our admiration should perhaps, rather be reserved for Eumenes' historian, who has projected on to his hero his own ideals.

If Eumenes was as indifferent to his own advancement as our sources suggest, it is at least surprising that he consistently refused a subordinate

post under one of the other generals. The proposed alliance with Antipater and Craterus at the time of the Dardanelles battle, and the overtures of Antigonus at Nora were both rejected, although in each case compliance might be thought more in the interests of the central government and the unity of empire.<sup>219</sup>

The deliberate decision in 322-1 to back Perdiccas, who seemingly aimed to overthrow the settlement made at Babylon, and in 320 to ignore Antigonus, still the representative of Antipater and the kings in Asia, is hardly to be reconciled with the claim, *κῶτος δὲ ζεῖ τὴν εὐνοίαν βεβαιοτάτην πρὸς τοὺς βασιλεῖς τετηρηκῶς κ.τ.λ.*

(Diod. XVIII.58.4). The exact nature of Eumenes' negotiations with the central government at the time of Nora has been obfuscated by the secondary authors. In Diodorus, the account of Eumenes' flight to Nora is followed by an analysis of Antigonus' ambitions (now that he had taken over Eumenes' satrapies and his army he decided no longer to take orders from the kings and regent), and Antigonus' offer of 'koinopragia' to Eumenes (Diod. XVIII.41.4-7). Eumenes makes excessive demands - his satrapies returned, and clearance of all the charges against him - which Antigonus refers to Antipater; Eumenes then sends his own envoys to Antipater. There follow some reflections on the varied 'tyche' of Eumenes, which led him to hope for better things, and a passage which purports to set out Eumenes' views on the current state of affairs in the empire: *ἑώρα γὰρ τοὺς μὲν τῶν Μακεδόνων βασιλεῖς κενὸν ἔχοντας τὰ τῆς βασιλείας πρόσχημα, πολλοὺς δὲ καὶ μεγάλους τοῖς φρονήμασιν ἀνδρᾶς δικδοχομένους. ἠδ' ἔπειθεν οὖν, ὅπερ ἦν πρὸς ἀλήθειαν, πολλοὺς κῶτου χρεῖαν ἔξειν διὰ τε τὴν φρόνησιν καὶ τὴν ἐμπειρίαν τῶν πολεμικῶν ἔτι δὲ τὴν ὑπερβολὴν τῆς ἐν τῇ πίστει βεβαιότητος* (XVIII.42.2).

I follow Briant's view that these sentiments represent the substance of Eumenes' message to Antipater; and it is possible that the account of Antigonus' plans in chapter 41 is in fact a denunciation which has the

same origin. Antigonus actually made no move against the central government until the following year, after Antipater's death; but Eumenes had perhaps learned a lesson from Antigonus' own denunciation of Perdiccas;<sup>220</sup> there was a chance to re-establish his credit at the expense of Perdiccas' successor. At the same time a threat was implied: ἤλασεν... πολλοὺς αὐτοῦ χρεῖαν εἶεν, the emphasis being on 'many'. Antigonus had proposed 'koinopragia', and unless the regent offered him better terms, Eumenes might be forced to back the 'apostate', as he had once backed Perdiccas. This is not an elevating picture of the supposed champion of Alexander's house, despite its dressing of phrases with 'pistis'; and the remark κενόν... τὸ τῆς βασιλείας πρόσχημα, reveals for a moment Eumenes' consciousness of realities.

In the period after Antipater's death Eumenes' relation to the new regent and to the royal family is said to have been a relation of mutual trust and support. Polyperchon may have been persuaded by the representations of Hieronymus and his embassy that Eumenes was a lesser danger than Antigonus: while he attended to Cassander's revolt, the prospect of the two generals safely embroiled in Asia was in any case perhaps not unwelcome; and it may be significant, as Westlake suggests, that the sentence of outlawry hanging over Eumenes was apparently not revoked at this time (Seleucus gave this as a reason for not joining Eumenes in his war against Antigonus: Diod. XIX. 12.2).<sup>221</sup> Whatever the private misgivings of the regent, the repeated assertion in our sources that Eumenes enjoyed the trust of Olympias is probably correct. This association raises its own questions, however. The existence of two kings had caused a deep division within the royal family: Cassander exploited the hostility between Olympias and Eurydice by supporting Philip Arrhidaeus; Polyperchon and his general in Asia were thereby naturally ranged on the side of Alexander IV. Eumenes wrote to Olympias urging her against a course of action which could only end in a bloodbath, but in the same breath he swore his undying loyalty to the son

of Alexander: 'basileis' are mentioned for the sake of form and diplomacy, but Olympias' grandson is specified by name (Diod. XVIII.58.4). It is not enough, therefore, to speak of Eumenes as supporter of 'the royal house' or the 'legitimate' line: had the child Alexander survived, Eumenes would have enjoyed a position of supreme influence and power at his court, and at some point a clash with the rival line of Philip and Eurydice must have been inevitable.

The presence of Cleopatra at Sardis during the period 322 to 308 adds a further dimension to the problem of Eumenes' relations with the Argeads. Cleopatra had come to Asia in the first instance to marry Perdiccas on the orders of Olympias;<sup>222</sup> but on the death of Perdiccas she seems to have decided to manage her own affairs. Her proposal to Leonnatus shows that she had realised the importance of her own position at an early stage after Alexander's death;<sup>223</sup> and to return to Macedon after 321, to a position in which at best she would be overshadowed by the figures of Antipater, Olympias and her infant nephew, and perhaps be in actual danger, cannot have been a desirable prospect.<sup>224</sup> By setting up court at Sardis she presented herself as a prize for the victor of the struggle in Asia: she offered to an ambitious general an alternative link with the Argead line, and according to Diodorus, she was courted at one time or another by nearly all the Successors, including Cassander, Lysimachus, Antigonos and Ptolemy.<sup>225</sup> Eumenes had seen the importance of Cleopatra at an early stage: he advised Perdiccas to marry her, but Perdiccas was persuaded by his brother Alcetas to marry Nicaea.<sup>226</sup> After the rift with Antipater and divorce from Nicaea, Eumenes courted Cleopatra on Perdiccas' behalf; and during the war against Antipater, Cleopatra gave assistance to Eumenes and saved his life.<sup>227</sup> Antipater later harangued her on the subject and accused her of being in cahoots with Perdiccas and Eumenes, and she answered him back, *κρείσσοις ἢ κατὰ γυναικᾶ*.<sup>228</sup> According to Plutarch, Eumenes had further dealings with Cleopatra after Perdiccas'

death and his own condemnation. He wished to give battle on the plain of Sardis, both because of his superiority in cavalry, *ἔμα καὶ τῆ Κλεοπάτρα τὴν δύναμιν ἐπιδείξει φιλοτιμούμενος* ; and it was at this time that his friends received from him 'honours such as kings bestow' - *ὡς οἱ φίλοι παρὰ τῶν βασιλέων* ; "for he was empowered to distribute purple caps and military cloaks, and this was a special gift of royalty among the Macedonians."<sup>279</sup> If Plutarch's chronological sequence is correct, and he has not confused this with the episode that took place, according to Arrian, during Perdiccas' lifetime, this is an astonishing statement.<sup>230</sup> In the period of his exile, but before the negotiations with Polyperchon and Olympias, *βασιλικὴ τιμὰ* could only imply a compact with Cleopatra. Had Eumenes played Tristan to Perdiccas' King Mark? His connection with Cleopatra was perhaps inhibited by the new understanding reached with Olympias in the following year: Olympias seems to have lost interest in her daughter's prospects after the return of the kings to Macedon, and to have pinned all her hopes on the young Alexander. It must remain at least a possibility, however, that Cleopatra remained Eumenes' second string in the period down to Gabiene.

Eumenes' defeat and death at Gabiene leaves many questions unanswered. The test of his loyalty would have come only with victory over Antigonos, leaving him as master of Asia; and his failure meant that the claims which Hieronymus made for him could not easily be disproved. That he was really governed by motives totally different from the motives of the other generals, is, however, a proposition which is in itself highly improbable, and which is not borne out by his actions in the period before he was made 'strategos autokrator' in Asia. The loyalty motif made Eumenes something of a tragic figure in Hieronymus' history, and gave him a significance which he would otherwise have lacked. It imparted a moral tone to this part of the History, in which judgements generally turned on questions

of expediency. Histories centring on the individual inevitably inclined to moral judgements: this was clearly the case with Theopompus' history of Philip, which was designed to portray a grand embodiment of vice and virtue;<sup>231</sup> and the Peripatetic account of Demetrius which lies behind parts of Plutarch's Life shows the same concern with moral features. It is possible that Hieronymus' account of Eumenes was based on an early stratum of his writing. He may have begun by writing, directly after Eumenes' death, an encomium in memoriam, which was later incorporated into his general history of the Successors: this is suggested by his use of certain oral sources in this section (see above); and at this stage he perhaps looked to the established literary forms of the fourth century in which individuals were presented as paradeigmata. When re-working this section at a later time, the tone of apologia may have become more pronounced: Duris had perhaps represented Eumenes as tricky and ambitious, and Hieronymus wrote in reply to his hostile criticism. Denigration of personal opponents and inflation of the subject's virtues were standard tricks of autobiography and commemorative writing: Aratus' memoirs are a good example of the way a Hellenistic statesman and general sought to exculpate himself from the charges of his enemies and render an account of his life, and Misch demonstrated that this kind of memoir writing had its roots in the law courts, where personal and autobiographical considerations might enter into even non-political cases.<sup>232</sup> Eumenes being unable to write his own memoirs, his old comrade-in-arms sprang to his defence; and since attacks on Eumenes' memory no doubt cast aspersions also on his former companions, there was perhaps in this part of the History an element of 'antidosis' by the historian on his own behalf.

#### The policies of the Antigonids

Hieronymus' personal commitment to Eumenes prevents any conclusion about his own attitude to the question of legitimacy. It is clear that the

posthumous influence of Alexander was in many ways very considerable. The men who had been his companions or served in his army boasted of the fact, and his name was used as a talisman in the battles of the Successors.<sup>233</sup> The attempts of many of the generals to secure an alliance with Cleopatra, and the (unjustified) claim of the Antigonids to a blood relationship with Philip and Alexander, again illustrate the enormous prestige which the Argead name continued to bear, long after the actual extinction of the line;<sup>234</sup> and the younger generation, especially Demetrius and Pyrrhus, hero-worshipped Alexander and imitated the superficial trappings of his charismatic figure.<sup>235</sup> Memories of Alexander as a real personality seem to have faded quickly, however: probably only Hephaestion had ever known him well, and the King had become a legend even before his death. Instances of real loyalty to his memory are hard to find, if we doubt the sincerity of Eumenes' professions; and there is neither evidence nor probability that Hieronymus felt himself bound by institutional loyalty to Alexander's house. We may take it that a man in Hieronymus' position in the period after 323 would tend to be *φιλαντίγονος* or *φιλευμένος* not *φιλοβασιλευς* - to adapt Alexander's remark about Craterus;<sup>236</sup> that is, holding his allegiance to an individual master, not subject to the authority of a monarchic institution.

Whatever one's judgement of Eumenes, then, it is not legitimate to view Hieronymus himself as a sentimental royalist, but only as the apologist of Eumenes. By praise of Eumenes' character and actions he had sought to redeem and to enshrine the memory of a friend: this was apologia, or historical propaganda, and is to be distinguished from political propaganda, that is, the interpretation of past events in terms of present politics. Into the second category, so it is usually thought, falls Hieronymus' treatment of the two major political issues of his History, the unity of the empire and the freedom of the Greeks, his outlook being conditioned

by the policies of Antigonus Gonatas. Jacoby concluded that Hieronymus, 'during the incessant battles of Alexander's Successors, gained a conviction of the purposelessness of the struggle after sole dominion ... He must have recognised the wise restraint of Gonatas as the only possible policy.' T.S. Brown goes further, and inclines to regard Hieronymus as an able writer of 'court history', and the 'Greek encomiast' of Gonatas, who interpreted the whole period he treated in terms flattering to his royal patron. Hence, for Brown, Eumenes' deferential attitude to the Macedonians, the praise of Ptolemy's policies, which seemed to have anticipated those of Gonatas, and the condemnation of the impractical aspiration of Monophthalmus and Demetrius after a great Asian empire; hence, also, his 'Macedonian' attitude to the Greeks, notably in his account of the Lamian War and of the regime of Demetrius of Phaleron; and, one might add, the very flattering treatment of Seleucus I, whose descendants maintained consistently amicable relations with Gonatas throughout his reign: "... whether his interpretation was inspired by Antigonus and his advisers, or whether the wise old Cardian was a schoolmaster to his king, .... the policy of the one and the history of the other are inextricably bound together. To suggest that both men reached the same conclusion independently while one was the retainer of the other would be arbitrary and unconvincing."<sup>237</sup>

The evidence for this view lies partly in the remarks of Pausanias about Hieronymus' bias, which I have discussed elsewhere.<sup>238</sup> The interpretation of his testimony is uncertain, and the likelihood that Pausanias knew Hieronymus' work only at several removes tends to diminish its value. Take Pausanias how one will, a general interpretation of Hieronymus' political outlook is bound to rely chiefly on the tone which is thought to pervade the accounts of Diodorus and our other sources, and the hazards of this means of approach are self-evident. The secondary authors have a general tendency to overlay the original with a veneer of their

own characterisation, interpreting the actions of individuals according to preconceived patterns of morality. Plutarch's Life of Pyrrhus, for example, which probably draws on Hieronymus for a large part of the main narrative, can be described almost as a study in 'pleonexia' - insatiable lust for conquest; and the same fault attaches to Antigonus Monophthalmus in Diodorus and in Plutarch's Life of Demetrius.<sup>239</sup>

But how far this judgement derives from Hieronymus rather than Plutarch himself is highly uncertain; nor can we assume that his attitude to the ambitions of Gonatas' greatest enemy and to those of Gonatas' grandfather was in each case the same.

The starting point is necessarily Diodorus. A series of passages in Diodorus XVIII analyse the political aspirations and the intentions of the Diadochi; and for two reasons they are unlikely to be the work of Diodorus himself. First, comparable digressions on psychology and motivation do not occur in other parts of the Bibliothekē. Second, in the one place where Diodorus' estimate of an individual - Themistocles - can be compared with his source (Ephorus), he appears to have copied the original almost word for word.<sup>240</sup> There is therefore a case prima facie for seeing the passages in question as the literary device of Hieronymus himself.

Perdiccas is introduced at the moment when he had completed his wars in Cappadocia and Pisidia and began to plan for the future. He had at first intended to co-operate with Antipater, but when his position was secure (i.e. as a consequence of his military successes), and he had control of the kings and the regency, he changed his plans: ὀρεγόμενος γὰρ βασιλείας ἔσπευδε τὴν Κλεοπάτραν γῆμαι, νομίζων διὰ ταύτης προτρέψασθαι τοὺς Μακεδόνες συγκατασκευάζειν αὐτῷ τὴν τῶν ἄλλων ἐξουσίαν. For the present, however, he concealed his real intention by marrying Nicaea (XVIII.23.2-3).<sup>241</sup>

Antigonus' case, in the period after Triparadeisos, is parallel. Having secured his position by his victory over Eumenes, *μειζόντων πραγμάτων ὠρέγετο*. For the present he pretended to be well-disposed to Antipater, but he had determined eventually to take orders from no one (XVIII.41.4-5). Then, when the death of Antipater became known, there was a general stirring of personal aspirations:

*τῶν ἐν ἐξουσίαις ὄντων ἰδιοπραγεῖν ἐπιβλασμένων.*

Among these, the foremost was Antigonus, whose power had so increased that he aspired to *ἡ τῶν ὅλων ἡγεμονία* (XVIII.50.1-2).

The analysis parallels the analysis of Perdiccas in both form and language. The grounds for the dynast's hopes are his recent military successes; he desires supreme power (the expressions *δρέγεσθαι* and *τὰ ὅλα* are used); he plans to abandon his alliance with Antipater, but for a while conceals his true intention; the death of a unifying figure releases high ambitions (compare Diod. XVIII.2.1, on the death of Alexander, *ἀναρχία καὶ παλλὴ στάσις ἐγένετο περὶ τῆς ἡγεμονίας*, and XVIII.50.1, on the death of Antipater, *ἄρχη πραγμάτων κινῶν ἐγένετο καὶ κίνησις* ).

To these ambitions the position of Ptolemy forms a direct contrast. The death of Perdiccas in Egypt offered Ptolemy the chance to step into his shoes and assume the supreme command. Coming before the assembled Macedonians he spoke 'in defence of his own attitude' (*περὶ ... τῶν καθ' αὐτὸν ἀπελογήσατο* ), and gained great applause; but though he was in a position to take over the regency, *τούτου μὲν οὐκ ὠρέχθη, τῷ δὲ Πύθωνι καὶ Ἀρριδαίῳ χαρίτας θφείδων συγκατεσκεύασε τὴν τῶν ὅλων ἡγεμονίαν.* He shrewdly passed the fatal gift to others. Here Ptolemy's situation parallels that of Perdiccas or Antigonus. The death of the chief man in the empire creates a vacuum; recent military success leads to power and popularity with the army; the question of supreme power arises, and

Diodorus again uses the expressions *ὑρέεσθαι*, and *ἡ τῶν ὅλων ἡγεμονία*.

The linguistic features here singled out are not in every case unique to Diodorus' history of the Successors. The phrase *τὰ ὅλα* or *ἡ τῶν ὅλων ἡγεμονία* is used frequently both in Diodorus and Polybius with the vague connotation, 'supreme power', referring, for example, to the competence of generals or the hegemony of Greece.<sup>242</sup> In Diodorus XVIII-XX, however, it occurs with unusual frequency - 16 times in three books, as against 19 times in all the preceding books of the Bibliothekē. Naturally this has something to do with the subject-matter. Hieronymus was surely aware of the totality of the struggle, and this Diodorus reflects. Hieronymus' way of expressing it is harder to identify; but there are some indications that he may have used the phrase *τὰ ὅλα*, as in Diodorus, signifying the whole of Alexander's empire, sometimes in a territorial sense, sometimes as a political concept, i.e. power over the whole. The speech of the Argyraspid at Gabiene refers to *τὰ ὅλα*: "Ἐπὶ τοὺς πατέρας ἁμαρτάνετε, ᾧ κεκεῖ κεφαλῆ, τοὺς μετὰ Φιλίππου καὶ Ἀλεξάνδρου τὰ ὅλα κτεργασμένους." The speech may well be authentic, and must at any rate derive from Hieronymus, since it is also recorded by Plutarch (though Plutarch unfortunately reproduces only the first part of it).<sup>243</sup> In this example, *τὰ ὅλα* apparently denotes the conquests of Philip and Alexander as a geographical entity. Elsewhere in XVIII-XX the phrase is used repeatedly in connection with the ambitions of the Diadochi: in addition to the instances already cited, we find it used of Perdiccas (XVIII.3.1), Cassander (XVIII.49.2), Antigonus (XVIII.54.4, XIX.93.5), Ptolemy and Demetrius (XX.51.1 at Salamis), Cassander and Demetrius (XX.110.5, before Ipsus); and at XX.37.4 Diodorus says that each of the Successors wanted a connection with the royal house through Cleopatra, *ὡς τὴν τῶν ὅλων ἀρχὴν περιστήσων εἰς ἑαυτὸν*.<sup>244</sup>

As early as 311 *τὰ ὅλα* appears in Chancery language: Monophthalmus himself used it twice in his letter to the Scepsians.<sup>245</sup>

Arrian in the fifth book of the *Τὰ μετὰ Ἀλέξανδρον* is quoted for the sentence: "ὁ δὲ εἶναι τὸν βουλευόντ' τε ὑπὲρ τῶν ὅλων τὰ συμφωρώτατα καὶ ἐπαγγέλλοντα πᾶν ὅτι περὶ ἀνὴρ ξυλλογισμῶι τυχεῖ συμβουλευθέν," (context uncertain: perhaps a speech of Craterus to Antipater?).<sup>246</sup> It is perhaps significant, too, that Polybius uses the phrase in a context which alludes to the ancestors of Philip V: Philip's house, he says, had always coveted universal dominion - ἡ μάλιστα πῶς αἰεὶ τῆς τῶν ὅλων ἐλπίδος ἀφίεται - and this is naturally taken as a reference to Antigonus Monophthalmus and Demetrius, since the later Antigonids had less obviously entertained grandiose hopes of overseas empire.<sup>247</sup> Finally, it seems possible that Nepos has translated τὰ ὅλα from a Greek source in his Life of Eumenes with the phrase 'summae res' or 'summa rerum'. The strongest expression used by Latin authors to denote possession of total power is 'rerum potiri': thus Augustus in the Res Gestae (34.1), "per consensum universorum potitus rerum omnium" (= [κ]κατὰ τὰς εὐχὰς τῶν ἐμῶν πολεμίων ἐγκρατῆς γενόμενος πάντων τῶν πραγμάτων).<sup>248</sup> Nepos, while he once uses the expression 'summi imperii potiretur' (Eum.7.1), chooses regularly, however, to convey the sense 'supreme power' by the phrase 'summa rerum' (Eum.5.1, cf. 2.1), or 'summae res' (Eum.7.2, 10.3). At Eum.2.1 the sentence "Alexandro Babylone mortuo, cum ... summa tradita esset tuenda Perdiccae", perhaps corresponds to Diod. XVIII.3.1, Οὗτος δὲ (sc. Περδικκῆς) παραλαβὼν τὴν τῶν ὅλων ἡγεμονίαν; and at Eum.5.1, "Perdiccas apud Nilum flumen interficitur ....., rerumque summa ad Antipatrum defertur", compares with Diodorus XVIII.36.6, discussing the question of ἡ τῶν ὅλων ἡγεμονία after Perdiccas' death. Possibly, then, Nepos preserves this phrase in a Latin translation.

It can be said, with a slightly greater degree of certainty, that the words ἰδιοπραγία and ἰδιοπραγέω may originate with Hieronymus. In addition to the case mentioned (XVIII.50.1, τῶν ἐν ἐξουσίῃς ὄντων ἰδιοπραγεῖν ἐπιβαλομένων), these terms occur seven times

in Diodorus XVIII, and they occur nowhere else in the Bibliothekē.<sup>249</sup>

In general, ἰδιοπραγία characterises the behaviour of the ambitious Diadochs who tried to make themselves independent of the central power: thus Pithon, XVIII.7.4; Antigonus XVIII.39.7, 50.1, 52.7, (cf. 58.4, Ἀντίγονω... ἐξιδιοδομένω τὴν βασιλείαν ); and Eumenes, the loyal servant of the Argeads, is contrasted explicitly with οἱ ἰδιοπραγοῦντες (XVIII.42.2, 62.7). 'Idiopraxia' is a rare word: Plato coupled it with 'pleonexia', claiming that, ἐπὶ πλεονεξίαν καὶ ἰδιοπραγίαν ἡ θνητὴ φύσις αὐτὸν ἠρμήσει βραχέως;<sup>250</sup> and on the face of it, this is a term embodying a moral or political judgement. Diodorus, at any rate, seems to have taken it as such, at least when describing the attitudes of Eumenes.

However, the verb ἰδιοπραγεῖν (commoner in Greek authors than ἰδιοπραγία), usually has the non-moral sense, 'acting by oneself'; 'acting independently', or even 'minding one's own business' (i.e. like ἰδιοπραγμονεύω, ἰδιοπραγμῶν, as opposed to πολυπραγμῶν ).<sup>251</sup> Twice in Diodorus XVIII it is used in this neutral sense (XVIII.9.2, 64.6). Furthermore, 'idiopraxia' presupposes 'koinopraxia' (or vice versa), 'koinopraxia' being a term not unique to Diodorus XVIII-XX, but one which occurs in these books with especial frequency, because it was demanded by the subject-matter.<sup>252</sup> 'Koinopraxiai' were the private agreements made between the Diadochi for common action in the period before they became Kings: 'symmachiai', international agreements, were concluded at a time when they had become completely independent and negotiated as between one state and another.<sup>253</sup> This word is therefore purely descriptive, and it may be doubted whether its correlate, 'idiopraxia', was originally invested with a portentous significance.

Without the original text, the nuance of Hieronymus' attitude to the dissolution of the empire seems to be hardly retrievable. The

encomiastic treatment of Eumenes almost certainly encouraged the secondary authors to make judgements about Antigonus' political stance; in the same way they tend to retroject his great plans to an early stage in his career, although Briant's recent study of Monophthalmus shows that he could hardly have entertained hopes of empire until at least the death of Antipater;<sup>254</sup> and the evidence suggests that he was slow to take the final step of proclaiming himself 'basileus'.<sup>255</sup> The praise of Ptolemy, which Brown took as a comment on the policy of Hieronymus' patron, Antigonus Gonatas, can hardly be disentangled from the highly favourable view of this ruler which Diodorus takes in other parts of his narrative and which was influenced by the use of Alexandrian sources. It is likely that certain key words have survived from Hieronymus into Diodorus: τὰ δόξα, denoting at the same time the aim and the scope of the struggle among the Diadochi: ἰδιοπραγία and κοινοπραγία, describing the way the generals ganged up successively on the one strongest man among them; ὀρέγεσθαι, suggesting the grasping of the strongest after the supreme prize. These are the terms which define the central idea in the first part of the Hieronyman narrative; but they do not imply a committed view on the part of the historian. We should rather suppose that τὰ δόξα was an obsessive concept for Hieronymus, as the idea of ἀρχή was for Thucydides. He admired a man like Antigonus Monophthalmus for the grandeur of his vision, as Thucydides admired the greatness of the Athenian empire, without concealing the brutality of the methods by which power was achieved and maintained; but he condemned the folly of a perpetual grasping after more: ὀρέγεσθαι is the word by which Thucydides described the greed of the Athenians for further and further conquests.<sup>256</sup> I follow the usual view that the estimate of Antigonus at Plut. Demetr. XXVIII derives in substance from Hieronymus, and in this passage the point is the excessive 'philarchia' of the dynast, through which he threw away a great

empire. There is no suggestion that Hieronymus condemned in principle the rule of Alexander's empire by a single man; and to suppose that he would not have wished to see Gonatas master of Antigoneia is surely to misconceive the matter. We now know from the Labraunda documents that the Antigonids in the dark period before Philip V had tried to maintain a sphere of influence in Asia Minor;<sup>257</sup> even in the time of Cassander - to all appearances a true exponent of the 'Macedon for the Macedonians' policy - there is a hint of the longing for overseas domains in Diodorus' account of the expedition to Caria in 314 (Diod. XIX.68, cf. 69.1, *Ἀντιγόνος δ' ὄρων τὸν Κασάνδρον ἀντεχόμενον τῆς Ἀσίας* ). Hieronymus condemned in Monophthalmus not his objectives but his methods: his failure, like that of Perdiccas, was essentially a military failure which came about through the faults of his personality, But this I shall develop in the following chapter.

Hieronymus' attitude to the Greeks is altogether a different problem. By Gonatas' time, the idea of a united Macedonian empire was hypothetical: territorial boundaries in and around the Aegean might shift their position, but no one after the death of Demetrius seriously thought he might reconstitute Alexander's kingdom. Relations between the Macedonian suzerains and their subjects, on the other hand, were an immediate and continuing issue. On this subject, it may be supposed, Hieronymus was not altogether free to speak as he chose, and in his treatment of the Lamian War and the settlements made by Antipater and Cassander, as reflected in Diodorus, he adopted the official Macedonian line. In 322 Antipater deported 12,000 Athenian citizens to Thrace, abolished the Athenian democracy, restricted the franchise to a body of 9,000 wealthy citizens, and installed a garrison under the phourarch Menyllus (Diod. XVIII.18.4-6). Only a historian with pronounced Macedonian sympathies could say that Antipater had acted *φιλευθέρως* and *ἐπιεικῶς* (XVIII.18.4,8). The

settlement of 317 was not less oppressive: the garrison remained in Munychia, the franchise was limited to possessors of at least ten minae, Demetrius of Phaleron was set up as 'epimeletes' of Athens. Yet Diodorus' account of Cassander's dealings with Athens concludes *τῆς πόλεως ἦρχεν (sc. ὁ Φαληρεὺς) εἰρηνικῶς καὶ πρὸς τοὺς πολίτας φιλευδρώπως*.<sup>258</sup> This may have been no more than the truth: the prosperity of Athens under Demetrius was admitted even by his most bitter enemies;<sup>259</sup> and Cassander himself perhaps deserved some credit for the ten years of good government (cf. Strabo IX.398). But we can hardly see this, as Mazzarino does, as an isolated concession to a peaceful regime by a liberty-loving Hieronymus ("egli si schiera, con moderazione, dalla parte del demo e della liberta ateniense"):<sup>260</sup>

*φιλευδρώπως* and *ἐπιείκεια* were words denoting the condescension of a master to his inferiors.

The situation of the 260's demanded of Hieronymus a careful handling of the great revolt of 323-2; no contemporary could have ignored the parallel between the Lamian and the Chre<sup>m</sup>onidean War, or between the measures taken by Cassander and by Gonatas to pacify the Greek states. Not only the position of Athens was still a living issue. The case of the lesser cities, Megalopolis, for example, offered a point of comparison. Aristodemus of Megalopolis, established in power at least soon after the battle of Corinth in 264, was one of the most important and most capable of the tyrants patronised by Gonatas. He was known as 'the good' -

*ὁ χρηστός*;<sup>261</sup> and possibly his victory over Acrotatus of Sparta argues, as Tarn suggested, popularity and influence among the citizens of Megalopolis: it must at least have had this result, for Aristodemus celebrated his triumph by adorning the city with temples and building a pillared hall in the agora of Megalopolis.<sup>262</sup> Hieronymus' account of Damis of Megalopolis was surely written with Aristodemus in mind.<sup>263</sup>

Until 323 Damis' career had followed the pattern of Greeks like Eumenes

or Nearchus who had joined the Macedonian expedition: probably he accompanied Alexander as far as India, since he had experience of elephants; (Diod. XVIII.71.2); and he is probably to be identified with 'Damyllus' the Megalopolitan, mentioned by Curtius as one of the envoys who negotiated between Perdiccas and the mutineers at Babylon in 323.<sup>264</sup> By 318 he had returned to Megalopolis: possibly he had been a follower of Perdiccas and was among the fifty who were exiled along with Eumenes and Alcetas (Diod. XVIII.37.2); if so, events proved that he had made a shrewd choice. In his own city he was a great man and the hero of the hour: turning his military expertise to good account, he led the defence of Megalopolis against the besieging forces of Polyperchon, routed Polyperchon's elephants, and saved the city. In 315 Cassander made Damis his governor in Megalopolis, and he thus became an Arcadian counterpart to Demetrius of Phaleron. Diodorus' account of the siege of 318 is written from the point of view of the defenders, and pays tribute to the 'empeiria' and 'epinoia' of Damis, just as it castigates Polyperchon for his incompetence. Hieronymus perhaps knew Damis as an old campaigning acquaintance from the days of Alexander; but the connection with Cassander argues a political as well as a personal motive. Antigonis Macedon was not a police state, in which the distinguished friend of Antigonus' house might expect his work to be censored.<sup>265</sup> Gonatas, however, was hardly less autocratic than other Hellenistic rulers. Tarn's portrait of the philosophically minded philhellene is only one side of the picture: cultural philhellenism was never the same as political philhellenism, and the means through which Gonatas governed his domains were tyrants, oligarchies, 'strategoi' and 'epistatai', the latter found even in Macedon itself.<sup>266</sup> Athens in the 260's was held in a grip of iron; and it is hardly possible that a 'philos' of the king could have suggested openly that it should be otherwise.

The treatment of Greek affairs between 323 and 217, in the earliest

part of Hieronymus' work, is the only serious argument - a priori considerations apart - for the date of its final composition. It is a natural assumption that Hieronymus kept a private diary and took many notes from an early stage in his career under the Diadochi, and I have suggested that an attempt was made soon after 317 to write a historical encomium of Eumenes. The view recently expressed by O.Müller, however, that Hieronymus wrote in two stages - part one after Ipsus, and part two at the end of his life (Müller is influenced by the ancient evidence for a 'History of the Diadochi' and a 'History of the Epigoni') - and that apparent inconsistencies in his views are to be explained by his adoption of the political stance of his successive masters, is hardly acceptable.<sup>267</sup> There were obvious difficulties for Hieronymus in reconciling in his work the different attitudes of Eumenes and the three Antigonids; and our difficulties in identifying and interpreting his outlook are considerable; but to regard him as no more than the mouthpiece of the men by whom he was retained is a counsel of despair. The attitude shown in Diodorus to Greece under Antipater and Cassander is the one feature which indicates positively a writing or final re-writing of the History at a date in the late 260's or 250's, when Athens, at peace, but politically emasculated, lay under the watchful eye of Heracleitus and Gonatas' 'strategoi'.<sup>268</sup>

Hieronymus' personal sympathy with the Greek policy of Antigonus Gonatas is not necessarily to be inferred from this account. Perhaps the demise of Athens as a political state seemed inevitable; perhaps, as a Greek from Cardia, with its traditional hatred of Athens and inclination to Macedon, he did not have a deep understanding of the aspirations of the Greek 'poleis': he himself had acted as Demetrius' governor in Thebes. Yet he seems to have been not without some feeling for the Greek 'hope of eleutheria' (Diod. XIX.61.4), and he surely recognised in any case the

material and psychological value of the Greek cities in the wars of the Diadochi.<sup>269</sup> Here Monophthalmus had shown himself a diplomat of genius: not merely the proclamation at Tyre, but the fact that, on the whole, he had put it into practice, gave him perhaps his greatest single advantage in the war after 315. Diodorus comments cynically on the insincerity of Ptolemy's rival professions (XIX.62.1-2), and claims that Antigonus had decided to liberate the Greeks 'in very truth' (XIX.78.2, γένεσθαι φανερόν ὡς πρὸς ἀλήθειαν Ἀντίγονος ἐλευθεροῦν προήγγηται τοὺς Ἕλληνας ); this was shown in 313 when Ptolemaeus captured Chalcis, but left it without a garrison; and the epigraphic <sup>evidence</sup> confirms that 'liberation' was indeed central to Antigonus' policy.<sup>270</sup> Demetrius is said to have pursued the cause with zeal (Diod. XX.45.1, and an exaggerated version at Plut. Demetr. VIII.2, where Athens is described as σκοπή τῆς οἰκουμένης ); though we should note that what he restores to the Athenians in 307 is their 'patrios politeia', that much abused term, which could have been applied equally to the Solonian constitution set up by Antipater. It was a charge in Chremonides' decree that Gonatas had subverted ancestral constitutions; but Mazzarino's gloss on the phrase as used by Diodorus, "la quale dunque era, per Ieronimo, la democrazia", is not the necessary interpretation.<sup>271</sup> It was no doubt by the use of such diplomatic phraseology that Hieronymus solved the problem presented by his allegiance at different times to Demetrius and to Gonatas.

There is ambiguity, again, in the account of the Lamian War. In his narrative of the actual events, as opposed to his account of the settlement, Hieronymus was able to judge the revolt as a military, not a political enterprise. The argument of οἱ συνέσει διαφέροντες was an argument about τὸ σὺμφερον : the Athenians had revolted too soon (προεξανίστασθαι τῶν κκιρῶν ), before their preparations were complete; no one argues against the actual idea of rebellion.<sup>272</sup> Again, the failure of the uprising is treated as a military failure, caused by the disunity of

the allied forces: at the time of Crannon the Greeks found their numbers depleted, πολλοὶ γὰρ αὐτῶν... εἰς τὰς πατρίδας ἦσαν ἀπεληλυθότες πρὸς τὴν τῶν ἰδίων ἐπισκεψίην (XVIII.17.1); the Aetolians had gone off during the siege of Lamia, διὰ τινὰς ἐθνικὰς χρείας (XVIII.13.4); after Crannon Antipater began to take the Thessalian cities piece-meal, and each negotiated with him κατ' ἰδίαν . It was the same story in 321 when the Aetolians had agreed to invade Thessaly at the time of Perdiccas' attack on Egypt, but abandoned their allies on news of an Acarnian attack on Aetolia: πυθόμενοι τὰς ἰδίας πατρίδας κινδυνεύειν τοὺς μὲν ἄλλους στρατιώτας ἀπέλιπον ἐν Θεσσαλίᾳ κ.τ.λ. Menon was defeated and killed; Polyperchon recovered Thessaly.<sup>273</sup> Possibly Hieronymus gained some insight into the chronic problem of Greek disunity through his own experience of the divisions in Eumenes' army.<sup>274</sup> We cannot in any case assume that Diodorus' sympathetic analysis of the difficulties which the Greek generals experienced is evidence of a source different from his source at XVIII.18.4-9. Diyllus is sometimes suggested: but Justin shows what a genuinely pro-Greek account would look like.<sup>275</sup> It should rather be supposed that Hieronymus was able to look at the question of Greek sentiment and the problem of pan-hellenic action with the objective eye which Herodotus, for example, brought to bear in describing the failure of the Ionian revolt. On this occasion Hecataeus had played the part of the 'men of understanding', foreseeing the certain futility of a war waged against the vast resources of Persia.<sup>276</sup>

Hieronymus' own standpoint on the question of 'eleutheria', whether sentimental or pragmatic, might find a certain oblique expression in his account of actual events. But as a burning issue of both past and present it demanded also a general statement from the historian; and this we find in his account of the freedom-loving Nabataeans. The speech of the Nabataean

elder (Diod. XIX.97.3-5) articulates a dominant theme of the History: the conflict between the 'philarchia' of the conqueror and the tenacious independence of his subjects. The whole history of Monophthalmus was a lesson in the disastrous consequences of authoritarianism. The understanding of 'euergesia' shown in his policy towards the Greeks had not been matched by his attitude to the communities of Asia: the treatment of the Cossaei, the Nabataeans, the Babylonians (testified independently by the Babylonian Chronicle on the Diadochi), meant in the end the loss of that local support which might have given him a swift victory over Seleucus.<sup>277</sup> By contrast, Ptolemy, Peucestas, above all Seleucus, knew how to value the goodwill of the *ἐγγυρίοι*.<sup>278</sup> The 'logos' on the Nabataeans, with its resonance of Herodotus and its idealised setting, was a safe vehicle in which to convey a serious message to a despot;<sup>279</sup> "for what friends do not dare to say to kings they write in books" - so Demetrius of Phaleron told Philadelphus.<sup>280</sup> Whether or not one endorsed the general policy of Gonatas to the Greek cities, it was possible to think that in the measures taken after the Battle of Corinth he had gone too far. Couched in the language of utopian theory and dressed in the exotic colours of the barbarian east, Hieronymus therefore gave his warning.

The issue was the degree of freedom, not a questioning of monarchy as such. Hieronymus wrote when the fact of kingship in the Greek world was established beyond any thought of turning back, and one only asked if it were good or bad kingship; hence discussion of the best form of constitution practically vanished, essays *Περὶ Βασιλείας* proliferated. Demosthenes was dead, and with him, liberty and oratory. It was no accident that philosophy flowered in Hellenistic Athens, and that "the Muse who found the best entertainment in Macedonia was Klio."<sup>284</sup> To understand the position of Hieronymus in Antigonid Macedon, we must look not back to the world of city states from which he came, but forward to a parallel period

of history, the Roman principate, and to the greatest historian of that period. Tacitus lived at a time when again the struggles were over and the form of government no longer in question; emperors were good or bad - Nerva could even be said to have blended the principate with liberty;<sup>282</sup> and the historian could record the events of the recent past without passion or bias. This is, perhaps, the true perspective in which we should see Hieronymus and his work. "Ne Macedonum quidem ac Persarum aut ullius gentis quae certo imperio contenta fuerit eloquentiam novimus."<sup>283</sup> We have gained peace, but lost liberty, and great oratory cannot flourish in the conditions of our times; we must write history now.

NOTES TO CHAPTER FOUR

1. Diod. 1.2.2: τὴν προφητικὴν τῆς ἀληθείας ἱστορίαν.
2. Hier. F9, F15.
3. Wilamowitz, Gr.Lit. Leipzig 1912, p.171ff. See T.S. Brown, Am.Hist.Rev. 1946 p.684 for a corrective.
4. Seleucus: Diod. XIX.90.3-4; cf. XIX.55.6-8.  
Eumenes and the cult of Alexander: Diod. XVIII.60.4; XIX.15.4; cf. Picard, Le trone vide d'Alexandre dans la ceremonie de Cyinda et le culte du trone vide à travers le monde gréco-romain, Cahiers Archaeologiques VII (1964), pp.1-17; Launey, Recherches II p.945ff. Cf. Jacoby, RE Hieronymos col.1552-3.
5. Ibid. col.1549.
6. See App.I, fragments 3, 15, cf. fragment 9; and below p.237ff.
7. App.I, fragments I, II, 12, 14, 18.
8. See L.C. Smith, The Chronology of Books XVIII-XX of Diodorus Siculus, A.J. Phil. 82 (1961) p.283ff. Smith's discussion of Diodorus' chronology for the years 313-311 is corrected by Bakhuizen, Salganeus and the fortifications on its mountains, Chalcidian Studies, II, Groningen 1970, App.VIII, p.160f.
9. Cf. ch.III p.148.
10. Beloch, Die Bevölkerung der gr.-Röm. Welt, Leipzig 1886, p.10, Hier.F12,13.
11. Diod. XIX.17.3; cf. Plut.Eum. 14, Curtius V.3.1; Droysen, Hell. II.1 p.266n.1.
12. Diod. XVII.67.2; Curtius loc.cit.
13. Droysen loc.cit.; Kallenberg, Philologus XXXVII p.223 n.9.
14. Paraetacene: Diod. XIX.27-29 passim. The total for Antigonus' army is some 2,000 less than the sum of the individual contingents. For Eumenes' army the discrepancies are greater: elephants are 125 separately, 114 in total; infantry are 17,000 in separate units, 35,000 in total; cavalry are 6,250 separately, 6,100 in total. Possibly the first contingent in the list of Eumenes' dispositions - the 150 horse which accompanied

Eudamus and the elephants - have been omitted in the final calculation. The difference in numbers for the infantry - 18,000 - is perhaps the number of light-armed troops which filled the gaps between the elephants (XIX.27.5, 28.1); or there may be a lacuna at the end of ch.27 in the list of heavy infantry units: cf. Geer.Diodorus vol.IX, Loeb edition, p.357 n.1. Forces of the eastern satraps: Diod. XIX.14.8. The total is given as 18,700 infantry, 4,600 cavalry. The numbers listed individually total 18,500 infantry, 4,210 cavalry. The missing contingent is possibly that of Amphimachus of Mesopotamia, mentioned later in the dispositions at Paraetacene: XIX.27.4; cf. Biziere, note complémentaire a p.26. For difficulties raised by the size of the Greek and allied forces in Thessaly after the Lamian War (Diod. XVIII.38) see Westlake, CR 1949 p.87ff.)

15. Diod. XVIII.18.5, Plut.Phoc. 28.4.C.Pelekidis, Histoire de l'éphébie attique, Paris 1962, App.1, p.290f.; cf. Gomme Population of Athens, p.78; A.H.M. Jones Athenian Democracy p.79.

16. Diod. XX.113.4; Plut. Demetr. 28. The treaty with Chandragupta: Strabo XV.724 (probably from Megasthenes), cf. XVI.752; Plut. Alex. 62.2.

17. Polyb.XI.34.12; Diod. XIX.28.4, cf. n.12 above.

18. Tarn JHS 1940, p.84ff. Cf.Scullard, The Elephant in the Greek and Romans World, p.97f.

19. Strabo XVI.752; cf. Tarn JHS 1926 p.157; Bayard Dodge, Elephants in the Bible Lands, Bibl.Arch. XVIII (1955) pp.17-20.

20. Smith, Babylonian Historical Texts London 1924, p.124ff. Cf. Tarn's review, JHS XLIV (1924) p.287f.

21. Otto, Die Bedeutung der von S.Smith ... veröffentlichten Diadochenchronik, SB München 1925; Smith, Rev.d'Assyr. XXII (1925) pp.179ff. See especially Furlani and Momigliano, La Cronaca Babilonese sui Diadochi, Riv.Fil. X (1932) pp.462ff. On the chronology see also Olmstead, Class. Phil. 1937 p.1ff.; Parker and Dubberstein, Babylonian Chronology 626 B.C.-A.D.45, 1946 p.17ff.; Bickermann, Berytus VIII (1944) p.74ff.; Sachs and

Wiseman, Iraq XVI (1954) pp.202-212 (edition of a new Babylonian king-list), with the comments of Aymard, REA LVII (1955) pp.102-112 = Etudes, Paris 1967 pp.263ff.

22. Momigliano art.cit. does not meet this difficulty. Cf. Bizière, Diodore XIX, note complémentaire à p.23.

23. Diod. XIX.90ff.; 100.5-7; Plut.Demetr.7.

24. Momigliano, art.cit. p.478.

25. See Momigliano, Stud.Ital.Fil.Class, n.s. VIII (1930) pp.83ff.; Simpson, JHS 74 (1954) pp.25ff.

26. Tarn, JHS 1940 p.86, assumes Hieronymus gave no account of the war between Antigonos and Seleucus, but cf. ch.III p.145.

27. Cf. Smith, Bab.Hist.Texts p.136; Topography and Architecture of Seleuceia on the Tigris, ed. C.Hopkins, Michigan 1972, p.4f. (founding of Seleuceia).

28. See ch.V p.306ff.

29. OGIS 5 = Welles RC  $\left[ = \text{Schmitt, } \underline{\text{Die Staatsverträge des Altertums III,}}$  /  
Munich 1969, no.428; Diod. XIX.75.6.

30. Syll.<sup>3</sup> 322; cf. Diod. XIX.75.3-4.

31. IG II<sup>2</sup>682 = Syll.<sup>3</sup> 409; Diod. XIX.75.8, cf. 62; cf. Beloch gr.Gesch. III I<sup>2</sup> p.122.

32. IG II.1.268, lines 4-17; Diod. XIX.68.3ff. Cf. IG XII.8.7, 47 and 48.

Other inscriptions referring to Antigonos' liberation campaign are Syll.<sup>3</sup> 328 (Chalcis); Syll.<sup>3</sup> 344 = Welles RC 3 and 4 (Teos and Lebedus); OGIS 7 (Cyme); OGIS 223 = Welles RC 15, line 21ff. (Erythrae); cf. Meritt AJ Phil. LVI (1935) p.361 (Colophon); also Syll.<sup>3</sup> 330 line 24f. (the Ilian cities: discussed by Simpson, Historia VIII, 1959, p.396).

33. Mon.Antichi XXIII (1914) p.116f., no.83. Cf. Beloch, gr.Gesch. IV.2<sup>2</sup> p.334; Segre Aegyptus 14 (1934) pp.253ff; Launey, Recherches I p.249.

34. IG VII 2419 = Syll.<sup>3</sup> 337. Cf. Holleaux, Etudes I.1.p.3ff. Diod. XIX.54.1-2.
35. Diod. XIX.55.1
36. See E.Robinson, Num.Chron. 1921, p.37f.
37. Diod. XIX.92.5.
38. Diod. XIX.57.5.
39. See Newell, Num.Notes and Monographs 21 (1923), Alexander Hoards III, Andritsaina, especially p.21ff. for the relation of the date of burial to political events in the Peloponnese. Cf. Edwards and Thompson, AJA 74 (1970) p.350.
40. Diod. XIX.77.4.
41. S.C. Bakhuizen, Salganeus and the fortifications on its mountains, Chalcidian Studies II, Groningen 1970 p.105ff.
42. Ibid. p.130.
43. Lanckoronski-Petersen, Städte Pamphyliens u. Pisidiens, II, Wien 1892, pp.69172; Heberdey, RE s.v. Termessos col.755; G.Kleiner, Diadochengräber Sitz. Wiss. Gesell. JohannGoethe, Frankfurt-Main, I, 1963, p.71ff.; cf. Ch.Picard, Sepultures des compagnons de guerre ou successeurs macedoniens d'Alexandre, Journal des Savants, 1964 pp.208ff. Kalinka, Tit.Asiae Min. II.1. p.1 has a good photograph of the hillside.
44. Kurtz and Boardman, Greek Burial Customs 1971, p.297.
45. Diod. XVIII.47.3. Provision for a cult has been found in the Termessos tomb: cf. Lanckoronski-Petersen loc.cit., Picard art.cit. p.222.
46. See Kleiner, op.cit. p.80ff. for the tomb at Belevi near Ephesus; cf. Picard art.cit. p.225f.: the original occupant might have been Antiochus II, who died at Ephesus in 246; but the tomb may be of considerably earlier date, and has been attributed to the fourth century Persian general Memnon of Rhodes. A funerary building at Amphipolis is suggested by Picard (p.226 n.22) as the tomb of Nearchus of Crete. A.D.H. Bivar, JRS 59 (1969) p.307 (reviewing Colledge, The Parthians, 1967) suggests that the shrine of Khurha, not far

from Isfahan, may commemorate the last battle of Eumenes in Gabiene.

47. Polyb. XII.27.6.

48. Cf. ch.V p. 317ff.

49. Diod. XIX.17.3. Contrast, however, XVIII.34.7, where the eye-witness description of the Nile crossing must come from the reports of soldiers

who had served under Perdiccas. For XVIII.27.2 ( ὀρᾶσθαι ),

28.1 (διὰ τῆς ὀρᾶσεως) cf. ch.II p.59f.

50. Timaeus F.Gr.Hist. 566 F26a = Diod. XII.82.3.

51. Plut. Eum. XIV.4.

52. Diod. XIX.18.4ff.

53. Diod. XIX.21.3.

54. Diod. XIX.22 passim and 22.2. On the terminology, see Holleaux, Etudes, III p.1ff.

55. Diod. XIX.31.2.

56. Diod. XIX.42.1.

57. Diod. XIX.34.6.

58. Diod. XIX.46.1. Cf. Polyb. IV.6.14, recording what Antigonus said.

59. Diod. XIX.II.7. Cf. T.S. Brown, Am.Hist.Rev. 1946 p.689.

60. Diod. XVIII.9.4.

61. Cf. F.Gr.Hist. IID p.546. Ptolemy: Arr.Anab. 3.29.6-30.5 = F14;

5.28.4-5 = F23; cf. 4.23.1-3; 5.23.7-24.3; 4.24.1-4. Cf. Pearson Lost Histories

p.200f., 203f., 209. Ancient histories in general avoided giving biographical

details about themselves: as a stylistic principle this had been taken over

by Herodotus from epic. It was partially broken by Theopompus' proems, and

Hellenistic historians became relatively informative about their lives

and persons. Cf. Jacoby, RE Suppl. II s.v. Herodotos cols. 245-6.

62. Thibron: Diod. XVIII.19.ff.; cf. XVIII.35. passim on the horrors of swimming a river full of crocodiles.

63. Diod. XVIII.12.3; 15.2-4; 17.2; 17.4. Plut. Phoc. 25.3.

64. For Menon's city, cf. Diod. XVIII.38.5. His relationship to Pyrrhus: Plut. Pyrrh. 1.4.
65. IG II<sup>2</sup> 545: cf. Wilhelm, Vier Beschlüsse der Athener, Abh.d.Preuss. Akad. d.Wiss.phil.-hist.Kl. 22 (1939) p.17ff.
66. Diod. XIX.40.2; Plut. Demetr. 4.1; cf. Diod. XIX.22.2.
67. Arrian, PSI 1284 col. III.1.14-15. Cf. G.Wirth, Klio 46 (1965), p.287.
68. Diod. XIX.40.4; cf. Tarn, HMND p.34.
69. Diod. XIX.69.1; XX.107.5; cf. Wirth loc.cit.
70. Diod. XIX.19.4; Plut. Eum. 18.3.
71. Diod. XIX.59.2.
72. Arr. Anab. 6.15.4; Diod. XVIII.3.3, 39.6; XIX.56.4.
73. Diod. XIX.18-20 passim, cf. ch.V p.315f.. Diod. XIX.46.1-4; cf. Polyæn. IV.6.14; Griffith, Hellenistic Mercenaries p.51.
74. Diod. XVIII.7.4; XIX.14.2; XVIII.36.5.
75. Diod. XVIII.33.3; 36.5.
76. Arr. F10.3-5; Diod. XVIII.39.6; Smith, Bab.Hist.Texts p.142 (Obv.5). cf. p.130. Diod. XVIII.45.3, cf. Plut. Eum. 8.4; Diod. XIX.16 passim.
77. See Simpson, A possible case of misrepresentation in Hieronymus of Cardia, Historia 6 (1957) p.504f.
78. Diod. XIX.75.3; XX.107.3-4. Cf. Robert, Rev.de Phil. VIII (1934) p.267f.; Launey, Recherches I.342. Kaerst, RE s.v. Dokimos col.1274 nos. 4 and 5, distinguishes the general of Perdiccas from Docimus the general of Antigonus. Cf. also Paus. I.8.1 for Docimus and Lysimachus.
79. Diod. XIX.16.1, 16.5.
80. Berve II p.261; Helly Gonnoi I Amsterdam 1973 p.84.
81. Diod. XIX.75.3, 75.7.
82. Diod. XX.50.3; cf. 52.2.
83. Geyer RE s.v. Medeios col.103-4; Syll.<sup>3</sup> 342; Helly Gonnoi I loc.cit. and II no.1.
84. Syll.<sup>3</sup> 343; cf. Diod. XIX.46.5 and Dittenberger Syll. notes 2-3, ad.loc.

Cf. Robert Hellenica II 1946 p.15ff. esp. 28f., on the importance of Oxythemis and Adeimantus as agents of Demetrius in Greece.

85. Hier.F17, cf. App.I p. xxi . Duris also had a history of Thessaly at this point in his work: F.Gr.Hist. 76 F11 with F.Gr.Hist., IID p.547.

(comm. Hier. F17). For the view that Hieronymus wrote in reply to Duris, see J.G. Droysen, Hermes XI (1876) cf. Jacoby RE Hieronymos col.1549-50.

86. Strabo XI.530ff.; cf. Robert CRAI 1968 p.435ff.

87. Launey Recherches I p.215ff., 220ff., II p.1139-1143.

88. Robert art.cit. p.422ff. <sup>cf. also Plut. Demetr. XXIX.5, Thorax of Larisa stayed by Antigonos' body on the battlefield of Ipsus.</sup>

89. On Lysimachus' origins see below n. 217.

90. Cf. Pearson Yale Class.Stud. 24 (1975) p.192ff.

91. Plut. Pyrrh. 21.2 = Hier.F12; cf. Diod. Hal.A.R. XIX.II; and Paus.

I.12.2, but on the last passage see Segre Historia II (1928) p.223ff.

92. Paus. I.12.3-4; cf. Segre art.cit.

93. Diod. XIX.90ff.

94. We may compare Arrian's reasons for preferring Ptolemy as his source:

Πτολεμαῖος δὲ πρὸς τῷ ξυστρατεῦσαι ὅτι καὶ αὐτῷ βασιλεῖ ὄντι ἀρεχρότερον ἢ τῷ ἄλλῳ ψεύσασθαι ἢν (Anab.I.1.1). This curious statement recalls a

passage in the questions and answers section of the Letter of Aristeas (206):

'How should the king adhere to the truth?' asks Philadelphus; and the Jewish

elder replies 'By realising that lying brings great shame on all men, but

especially on kings; having the power to do what they like, what reason

have they for lying?' Aristeas is probably to be dated c.100 B.C., but

there has been general agreement that in this section he is indebted to

Peri Basileias literature of an earlier date (for a recent discussion see

O. Murray, J.Th.Stud. n.s. 18 (1967). p.337ff.). It would appear that

truth-telling was regarded as a virtue of a Hellenistic king, and it is

possible that Arrian has accepted a claim made by Ptolemy himself in the

preface to his history of Alexander, to the effect that he, being a

king, was φιλαλήθης ; cf. Pearson, Lost Histories p.194 n.27.

See also Wilcken, S.B. Berl. 1923 pp.168 ff. (ed. of papyrus of c.100 B.C.: the gymnasophists tell Alexander at a king should not lie).

95. Jacoby Atthis 1949 p.216 (he goes on to compare these men with the fourth century Atthidographers); cf. RE Suppl. II col.410-12. Cf. B. Mitchell, JHS 95 (1975) p.75ff. on Herodotus' aristocratic informants in Samos.
96. Brunt REG 65 (1952) 59ff.
97. Diod. XX.107.5; XVIII.40.2-3; though it may be Phoenix of Tenedos who followed Ptolemaeus when he revolted from Antigonos in 310 and is described as  $\acute{\epsilon}\nu\kappa\ \tau\omega\nu\ \pi\iota\sigma\tau\omicron\tau\acute{\epsilon}\tau\omega\nu\ \phi\acute{\iota}\lambda\omega\nu$  (i.e. of Ptolemaeus): Diod. XX.19.2.
98. Diod. XIX.57.5; cf. XIX.66.2. Antigonos' letter to the Scepsians mentions Prepelaus and Aristodemus as envoys in the matter of the truce between Cassander and 'Ptolemaeus' (Welles RC I lines 9-12): the latter has plausibly been identified as the general of Antigonos, rather than Ptolemy of Egypt, and on this assumption, the Aristodemus of the inscription is likely to be Aristodemus the Milesian, who would have joined Ptolemaeus' staff after 313: see Bakhuizen, Salganeus p.118 n.40. For Aristodemus' later career cf. Plut. Demetr. 17 and 9: cf. O. Müller Antigonos Monophthalmos und 'das Jahr der Könige', Bonn 1973 p.81 for the view that the story of Aristodemus' flattery of Antigonos is untrue, and derived from an inferior source.
99. Robert Hellenica II 1946 p.15ff.
100. On the date of composition, see below p. 239f.
101. Cf. ch.V p. 317 ff.
102. See Rosen, Acta Classica 1967 pp.41ff. For a detailed analysis of all the passages where documentary material in our sources can be traced back to Hieronymus, I have here accepted and made use of many of Rosen's conclusions, though some of the documents concerned with Eumenes raise problems which are discussed below, p. 194f. e/
103. Contrast Diod. XVIII.109.1 and XVII.III on the origins of the Lamian War, with XVIII.8-11, where Hieronymus' analysis of the 'aitiai' is

supported by the quotation of Alexander's letter about the Greek exiles. Almost no documents are mentioned in the Sicilian and Italian sections of Diodorus XIX and XX: cf. Rosen p.42.

104. Schwartz, Das Geschichtswerk des Thucydides, Bonn 1929 p.44f.:

Wade-Gery OCD<sup>2</sup> s.v. Thucydides p.1068.

105. Cf. F.Gr.Hist. IIB comm.342, p.96 and notes 29-30.

106. Cf. ch.III p.131 ff. See Lehmann-Haupt, Hermes 36 (1901) p.319f. for the view that Eumenes sent a copy of the Royal Diary to Hieronymus, who used it in writing his history: it is certain, however, for reasons set out in ch.III (p.110 ~~ff~~) that Hieronymus began his work only after Alexander's death; whatever the origin of the Ephemerides they were not transmitted via Hieronymus.

107. For the work of Alexander's Chancellery, see Berve I pp.42-55; Alexander's care in maintaining complete records is illustrated by the story that after a fire in Eumenes' tent, Alexander wrote to the satraps and generals everywhere, ordering them to send Eumenes copies of the documents which had been destroyed. For Theophrastus' use of records at Babylon, see Strabo II.1.16.

108. Diod. XIX.23.3; cf. Polyæn. 4.8.3.

109. D.Lewis, J.Th.Stud. n.s.20 (1969) p.584 (review of Sevenster, Do You Know Greek?).

110. Plut. Eum. XII.1-2. Diod. XVIII.57.2-4, 58.1-4; Plut.Eum. XIII.1. Cf. Rosen p.69ff.

111. Briant REA LXXV, 1973, pp.75ff.

112. Rosen loc.cit. treats both letters as genuine, regarding the first as an offer, the second as containing the actual terms of Eumenes' appointment.

113. Diod. XVIII.29.2; Plut. Eum. 5.7-8. Cf. Rosen p.60f.

114. Suggested by Briant, art.cit. p.74.

115. Apparent traces of original phraseology at e.g. Plut. Eum. 5.6, 5.7-8: cf. Rosen n.60f.

116. Diod. XVIII.48.2.

117. The description of Antipater as an 'old and rotten thread', which caused particular offence, is not mentioned by Diodorus, and may have been tactfully omitted by Hieronymus: Arrian (F9.14) and Plutarch (Demosth. 31.5, Phoc. 30.9) could have found it in Athenian writers, who would have recorded the phrase with gusto. Contra, Rosen p.63. The destruction of incriminating correspondence at a time of danger was recognised as a duty: cf. Plut. Eum. 16.2, Eumenes destroys his papers before Gabiene: Polyb. XVIII.33.3, Philip V burns his correspondence after Cynoscephalae for the same reasons.

118. Diod. XVIII.10.1, οἷς ποτ' ἔφησεν ὁ Φίλιππος τὸν μὲν πόλεμον εἰρήνην ὑπάρχειν κ.τ.λ. apparently refers to Philip's letter to Athens of 340 (Ps.-Demosth. XII), and Hieronymus might have seen a copy of this letter at Pella: So Rosen p.53. But the epigrammatic character of the sentence, and the fact that it is a parenthesis in the narrative, suggest that it is Diodorus' addition. For the settlement after Ipsus, cf. Appian Syr. IX.55.

119. Lucian Enc.Demosth. 26.

120. Polyæn. IV.6.2.

121. Suda s.v. Ἀντίπατρος.

122. Cf. App.I p. xxvi.

123. Bickerman Class. Phil. 42 (1947) p.146.

124. Diog. Laert. V.80. Cf. Misch, A History of Autobiography in Antiquity, I, Frans.Dickes, London 1950, pp.203ff.

125. Craterus, F.Gr.Hist. 342, with comm.IIIB p.94ff., esp. 95. In Jacoby's view, Craterus was possibly a pupil of Aristotle himself. Tarn, Antigonus Gonatas pp.342-4 identifies him with Antigonus' half-brother.

126. Diod. XVIII.8.4: the special provision about the Samian exiles shows that Hieronymus copied the text of the draft addressed specifically to the Athenians; cf. Rosen p.53f. Diod. XVIII.18.4-6; 74.3.

127. See O.Murray, Herodotus and Hellenistic Culture, C.Q. n.s.22 (1972) p.207ff.

128. Cf. Jacoby RE Hieronymos col.1548.
129. Thuc. VI.1-5; Hier. F17, F18.
130. Hier. F13.
131. Thuc. VI.6.1.
132. Plut. Pyrrh. XII.2-3, XII.5, XIII.1-2, XIV passim, XXVI.1; XIV.8.
133. Plut. Pyrrh. XXI.10: τοῖς δὲ Φωκῆσι ὡς περ ἐκ πηγῆς οἴκοθεν ἐπιρρεούσης ἀναπληρούμενον εὐπόρως καὶ ταχὺ τὸ στρατόπεδον.
134. Paus. I.11.7ff; cf. App.I F13.
135. Gomme, Andrewes, Dover, Hist.Comm.Thuc. vol.IV pp.198ff.
136. Jacoby, Atthis, p.184; F.Gr.Hist. 4 F66; 489 T1.
137. Cf. Tarn, Antigonos Gonatas p.186 with n.62: the inhabitants regularly styled themselves 'Cassandreis' rather than 'Makedones'; but this was because Cassandreia was a 'polis': similarly the inhabitants of Pella are called 'Pellaioi'.
138. Diod. IV.64-67; cf. Schwartz RE s.v. Diodoros no.38 col.673ff. Herodotus V.57-61.
139. Cf. App.I F13 for early contacts between Rome and Greece and allusions to Rome in Greek writers before Hieronymus.
140. Cf. Forrest, JRS 1956 p.169ff.
141. Strabo V.232.
142. Plut. Pyrrh. XIX.4-5. Cineas himself may not have survived the expedition, since he is not mentioned after his mission to Sicily in 279-8 (ibid. XXII.3).
143. See above p.187.
144. E.Rawson PBSR 1971 pp.24-26.
145. Ibid. p.25.
146. Duris F.Gr.Hist. 76 F56; Callimachus frg. 107 (Pfeiffer); Head HN<sup>2</sup>,
- p. 104. Cf. Momigliano Alien Wisdom p.16.

147. Strabo I.4.9; Arrian VII.15.5. Momigliano loc.cit.
148. IG IX.2, 517 = Syll.<sup>3</sup> 543.
149. On Macedonian manpower and garrisons cf. Tarn op.cit. pp.190, 193f., 201f.
150. Ibid. p.342.
151. Moretti, Iscrizione storiche ellenistiche II Florence 1975, no.114.
152. For garrisons on the northern border, cf. Tarn, op.cit. p.201f.; Polyb. IX.32ff.
153. Moretti op.cit. III no.110 line 13 (= SEG XIII.403)
154. Cf. Asclep. Tact. 2.5; Arr.Tact. 8.1.
155. Cf. De Sanctis Riv.Fil. XII (1934) p.520f.; Welles Am.J.Arch. XLII (1938) p.245f.
156. See above p.204 and n.148.
157. Hieronymus may have given incidental information about the Gauls when recounting the invasion of 279, but it is very uncertain how far his account can be recovered from that of Pausanias and our other sources. Cf. Paus. X.19.4-23.9; Diod. XXII.9; Justin XXIV.4-8. Droysen, Hell. 2 p.342 no.4 believed that Diodorus and Pausanias both followed Hieronymus. He may be Pausanias' source for the brief mention of the Gallic invasion at 1.3.5-4.4 as for other historical notices on the Diadochi in Bk.1; and it might be thought that the military details at X.19.11 (the Celtic organisation called 'trismarcisia') are Hieronymus. The main part of Pausanias' narrative, however, with its dramatic and patriotic tone, is to be attributed to other third century sources, and probably in part to Pausanias himself. Cf. Frazer, comm. ad.loc., vol.V p.341ff; Regenbogen RE Suppl. VIII s.v. Pausanias col.1076; Momigliano, Alien Wisdom p.63f.
158. Rostovtzeff, Caravan Cities, Oxford 1932 p.55; cf. Cl.Wehrli, Antigone et Démétrios p.51f; Will HPMH I p.53.
159. Diod. XIX.100.1 = Hier. T6. Cf. ch.1 p.14f

160. Jacoby RE Hieronymos col.1559; cf. RE Suppl. II s.v. Herodotos col.512.
161. See P.C. Hammond, The Nabataeans, Göteborg 1973 p.11ff.
162. Cf. Herodotus VII.31: the men of Callatebus, on the route to Sardis, make honey out of wheat and the fruit of the tamarisk: *ἄνδρες δημιουργοὶ μέλι ἐκ μυρικής τε καὶ πυροῦ ποιεῖται.*
163. Diodorus' 'petra' was identified by G. and A. Horsfeld with Umm el-Biyarn, a rock about 200 metres high overlooking the valley of Petra. Some pre-Nabataean cisterns were found on the summit. It is probably to be identified also with the Rock of the Prophets (Sela), used as a refuge by the Edomites. Cf. J. Starcky Bibl.Arch. XVIII (1955) p.84.
164. Diod. XIX.96.1.
165. Jeremiah 35.6-10. Cf. Barbieri, New Catholic Encyclopaedia, s.v. Rechabites.
166. Strabo XVI.21 p.779.
167. Hammond op.cit. p.10.
168. Cf. Fraser, Ptol. Alex. I p.176f. II p.300f. n.350.
169. Rostovtzeff, Caravan Cities p.55.
170. Pliny N.H. VI.162 cf.144.
171. Hammond, op.cit. p.72f.
172. N.Glueck, Rivers of the Desert, New York 1959 p.223. Some layers of plaster are said to be still visible on the walls of an overground cistern at Qasr Wadi Siq, south-west of Abdah.
173. Diod. XIX.98-99.
174. The length of the lake, given as approx. 500 stades (= about 57 miles) is inexact. The present measurement is about 47 miles, and the water level is thought to have risen considerably since antiquity: cf. F.G.Clapp, Geology of the Dead Sea Area, Bull.of Am. Assoc. of Petroleum Geologists, vol.20 no.7 (1936) pp.885ff. The distance between Petra and the Dead Sea is also a problem on Diodorus' account. At 98.1 he gives 300 stades (c.34 miles); at 95.2, Petra is two days journey from 'the settled country';

ibid. Athenaeus and a light-armed force take three days and nights to reach Petra, covering a distance of 2,200 stades (c.250 miles). The last figure is clearly incorrect: cf. Diod. XVIII.44.2, where a journey of 2,500 stades, completed in seven days and nights, is considered a forced march. Petra is actually about 50 miles due south of the Southernmost point of the Dead Sea, at its present level. The true distance of Athenaeus' march was perhaps 220 stades, though the time taken then seems excessive: on the return journey (XIX.95.3) Athenaeus marches 200 stades without stopping. The error must in any case be attributed to Diodorus or his copyists: cf. above p.169.

175. Balsam: compare the more detailed accounts of Diod. II.48.9, Strabo XVI.2.41, Theophrastus Hist.Plant. 9.6.1 (all different and apparently independent of one another). See also J.I.Miller, Spice Trade of the Roman Empire (1969) p.101-2.

176. Strabo XVI.42 (he confuses the Asphalt Lake with Lake Sirbonis: cf. XVI.32). Strabo cites no authority for this description, but at the beginning of ch.43 he contrasts this account with the one given by Posidonius, apparently regarding the former as more reliable. Cf. Diod. II.48.

177. Vitruv. VIII.3.9; Joseph, Ant. I.10; XV.4-6; B.J. 1.13; Pliny N.H. 35.17.8; Tacitus, Hist. V.5. Cf. Aelian V.H. 13.16 (finds of bitumen in Babylonia).

178. Genesis VI.13-14.

179. Clapp art.cit. p.901; photograph on p.903 (a man stands on the asphalt 'island').

180. Cf. Forbes, Bitumen and Petroleum in Antiquity, Leiden 1936, pp.16-18.

181. Photograph in Deshayes, Les Civilisations de l'Orient Ancien, Paris 1962, illustration no.116 p.312.

182. Pettigrew, A History of Egyptian Mummies, London 1834 pp.56, 59, 70, 81f., 87, 101f.; Budge, The Mummy, 1893 pp.207f., 212. A.Lucas, Ancient Egyptian Materials and Industries, 4 ed. Harris, London 1962 pp.303ff.

183. Herodotus II.86-88. Forbes op.cit. p.94.
184. P.E. Spielman, JEA XVIII (1932) pp.177ff. with references to Lucas' earlier work. P.C. Hammond, Bibl.Arch. XXII (1959) pp.40-48, gives a summary of the evidence.
185. Cf. Forbes op.cit. p.93f.
186. For the uses of bitumen, see Forbes, op.cit. chs. IV-VI; cf. Hammond, art.cit., p.43f. (a summary). Ptolemaic monopolies: Cl. Préaux, L'économie royale des Lagides, Bruxelles 1939 p.342ff.
187. Plut. Aem. XXVIII.4.
188. Joseph. Ant. XIV.370, cf. B.J. 1.277; Ant. XV.108. Cf. J.Starcky, Bibl. Arch. XVIII (1955) p.92ff, for a survey of Nabataean history at this period.
189. Diod. XIX.58.3, 20.3, 13.6, 21.2-3; cf. XVIII.5.1 and ch.III p.
190. Diod. XIX.34.6. Cf. Herodotus V.5, giving an account of a similar custom among the Thracians.
191. Diod. 49.4.
192. Diod. XIX.19.3. Thuc. III.94. Cf. Polyb. XVIII.5.8 on the barbarian descent of the Aetolians. On the Cossaei, see cl.V p.316.
193. Diod. XIX.17.6-7. For Peucestas' expertise on Persian affairs cf. XIX.14.4-5, Arr.Anab. VI.30.2-3.
194. Cf. O.Murray, Herodotus and Hellenistic Culture, C.Q. n.s. 22 (1972) p.204ff.
195. Thuc. III.94, II.97.
196. Cf. Murray, art.cit. p.207, contrasting Nearchus with the ethnographers who wrote after him and who tidied up the organisation of the Herodotean excursus, at the same time importing into it philosophical theories of the ideal state.
197. Arrian F10.8; PSI XII.2, 1284.
198. Cf. Kaerst, RE VI s.v. Eumenes no.4 col.1083. The idea that great men had sprung from obscure origins was a common theme. See also Justin XIII.4.10 of Ptolemy, "ex gregario milite Alexander virtutis causa

- provexerat"; Diod. XXI.1, of Antigonus Monophthalmus ἐξ ἰδίου τοῦ γενόμενος δουραστής (cf. Briant, Antigone le Borgne p.19ff. on his actual origins); Diod. XIX.2, Agathocles was brought up by a potter, cf. Justin XXII.1.8, "gregariam militiam sortitus"; Justin XV.4.15, Sandracottus, "Fuit hic humili quidem genere natus"; and on Lysimachus, see below n.217. Cf. Droysen, Hermes XI (1876) pp.458ff.
199. Compare Diodorus' proem to book XVI, summarising the career of Philip. But for the digression on Eumenes cf. also Plut. Eum. IX.1-2, on the constancy of Eumenes through the vicissitudes of Fortune, suggesting a common source.
200. Polyb. VIII.8.5-9; X.21.6-8.
201. Diod. XVIII.29.2.
202. Berve II no.446, esp. p.225f.; cf. De Sanctis, Perdicca, in Problemi di storia antica, Bari 1932 p.149; Badian, Studies p.265.
203. Diod. XIX.38.1-2, 42.2, 43.5, cf. Plut. Eum. XVI.5; Diod. XIX.23.1; 17.6, cf. 21.1; 43.9.
204. Arrian Anab. VI.30.2; cf. Berve II no.634.
205. Diod. XIX.48.5, cf. 56.1-2; Phylarchus F.Gr.Hist. 81 F12.
206. Cf. Diod. XIX.25.4-7.
207. See Westlake, Eumenes of Cardia p.319ff. for general discussion of this problem and for other examples of Greeks in Alexander's army.
208. Tarn, Antigonos Gonatas p.182f.
209. Cf. Diod. XIX.13.1, Nep. Eum. 7.
210. Plut. Pyrrh. XII.6.
211. Plut. Eum. XVI.8, cf. Diod. XIX.41.1.
212. Herod. III.142.
213. Aristoph. Lys. 325; Menander frag. 70, 182, 188, 612 (Körte).
214. Demosth. IX.31. Cf. also XXI.209; XXIII.202; Plato Rep. 491b.
215. Briant REA 1972 p.32ff. 1973 p.43ff. See below, ch.V p. 296f

216. Diod. XVIII.62.7, 60.3; Plut. Eum, III.3. Cf. Westlake, art.cit. p.318.
217. Theopompus F.Gr.Hist. 81 = Athen. VI.260A, with Porphyry, F.Gr.Hist. 260 F3.8. Cf. Berve II no.480 p.239.
218. Cf. Vezin, Eumenes p.126; Tarn, CAH VI p.479f. See also Diod. XVIII.57.4, 29.2, 42.4; Plut. Eum.1.4, V.8; Nep. Eum.6.5, 3.1; Heidelberg Epitome F.Gr.Hist. 155 III.1-2.
219. Cf. Westlake, art.cit. p.319ff.
220. Diod. XVIII.25.3. See De Sanctis art.cit. p.137ff. for the view that Antigonus' charges against Perdiccas were unfounded, and below, n.241.
221. Westlake, art.cit. p.326ff.
222. Arrian F9.21.
223. Plut. Eum.III.5.
224. Beloch, Gr.Gesch. IV.1<sup>2</sup> p.83 suggests bad relations with Antipater as the reason for Cleopatra's remaining at Sardis.
225. Diod. XX.37.3-6.
226. Arrian F9.21.
227. Arrian F9.26; cf. Justin XIV.1.7.
228. Arrian F10.8-10, cf. F11.40.
229. Plut. Eum.VIII.4, VIII.7.
230. Cf. Arrian F10.8-10 with F11.40.
231. Cf. Grayson, in The Ancient Historian and his Materials, p.39.
232. Misch. History of Autobiography I p.203ff.
233. See Briant, Antigone le Borgne p.129ff. and J.Seibert, Untersuchungen zur Geschichte Ptolemaios I, pp.132-156, where the main evidence is collected; cf. below, ch.V p.277f. See also Ch.Picard, Le trone vide d'Alexandre, Cahiers Archeologique VII (1964) pp.1-17, on the cult of Alexander in Eumenes' army. Visions of Alexander: Diod. XVIII.60.4-6; Plut. Pyrrh. XI.2; Plut. Demetr. XXIX.1; Plut. Eum. VI.5-6, and cf. VII.3, οὐ κατασχόντες δὲ Κρατερός τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον (as though Alexander were watching the battle).

234. **Antigonids and Argeads:** C.F. Edson, H.St.Cl.Phil. 45 (1934) pp.213ff.; see now Briant, Antigone le Borgne, p.19ff. on the probable descent of **Monophthalmus**.
235. See below, ch.V p. 282 f.
236. **Plut. Alex.** 47.5; cf. **Diod.** XVII.114.2.
237. **Jacoby RE Hieronymos** col.1545-6; T.S. Brown, Am.Hist.Rev. 1947 pp.694-5.
238. See App.I p. xiv ff.
239. For 'pleonexia' in Plutarch's Pyrrhus see above, n.132. **Plut. Demetr.** XXVIII.2 discusses Antigonus' 'philarchia'. 'Pleonexia' in **Diod.** XVIII-XX; XIX.105.1, the generals did not abide by the peace terms of 311, ἀλλ' ἕκαστος αὐτῶν προφάσεις εὐλόγους πορίζομενος πλεονεκτεῖν ἐπειρᾶτο ; XX.106.4, Antigonus had given proofs ὅτι πλεονέκτης ἐστὶ καὶ πᾶσαν ἀρχὴν ἀκοινώητον ποιεῖ. 'Pleonexia' and 'pleonektes' elsewhere in **Diodorus:** XII.75.4; XIII.30.1, 30.3; XIV.4.1; XV.57.2; XVI.30.2, 32.2, 37.4, 65.8; XVII.II.2, 70.5; XVIII.17.4, 58.4; XIX.1.3, 6.6; XX.45.6, 79.1. (In most cases it does not have a moral sense, however, but means simply 'having an advantage over' someone).
240. Cf. ch.II p.40f. App. II p.L.
241. **Bosworth's** interpretation of this controversial passage (C.Q. 1971 p.135, with references to earlier discussion), in terms of a conspiracy against Alexander by his generals, must remain highly uncertain. On the face of it, **Diodorus** refers to the period after Alexander's death (for παρέλαβε τῆς... δυνάμεις κ.τ.λ. compare XVIII.3.1, παρέλαβὼν τὴν τῶν ὀδῶν ἡγεμονίαν κ.τ.λ.) and the improvement in his position at this moment is the result of his successful Pisidian campaign (N.B. XVIII.22.8, the wealth of the booty taken at Isauria). Cf. **Briant, REA** 1972 p.47: "Perdiccas pouvait en quelque sorte considerer la Cappadoce comme sa chôra doriktetos. Il est d'ailleurs tout a fait symptomatique que Diodore mette clairement dans une relation de cause a effet, d'une part cette campagne contre Ariarathe à la tête de l'armée royale, d'autre part l'affirmation des ambitions royales et

macédoniennes de Perdicas." For Perdicas' earlier difficulties with his army, cf. Briant, Antigone le Borgne pp.160, 147-149: hence Diodorus' μήπω... βεβαίως ἐστερωμένον . The similar account of Antigonus (XVIII.41.4-6), whom Bosworth does not involve in the alleged plot against Alexander, weakens his argument. The same passage calls in question also De Sanctis' thesis (Perdicca, in Problemi di storia antica p.137ff.) that Perdicas, actually an innocent victim of the jealousy of the other generals, was maligned by Hieronymus to exculpate his later master, Antigonus Monophthalmus: on the contrary, he saw Antigonus as a second Perdicas. The truth about Perdicas' exact intentions can hardly be recovered; but the murder of Cynane (Arrian F9.22-24) probably seemed to give some content to Antigonus' accusation: cf. Errington, JHS XC (1970) pp.49ff. for a general discussion.

242. Diod. I.17.3; II.32.2; III.61.4; XIII.49.3; XIV.27.1; XV.8.2; XVI.59.4; XVIII.23.6 etc.

243. Diod. XIX.41.1; Plut. Eum.XVI.4.

244. Cf. also Diod. XXXI.19.4.

245. Welles, RC no.1 lines 15-16, 23.

246. Arrian, F.Gr.Hist. 156 F8.

247. Polyb. V.102.1. Cf. Walbank, Philip V, p.260 (though see below, n.257). Edson, art.cit. p.222 n.1.

248. Cf. Lucretius II.13; Cic. ad fam. VIII.14.2; and Syme, Tacitus p.412.

"To denominate the regiment of the Caesars he (sc. Tacitus) singles out a term than which the Latin language knows none stronger: rerum potiri."

249. Diod. XVIII.7.4, 9.2, 39.7, 42.2, 52.7, 62.7, 64.6. This is the only example of a word which is unique to one section of Diodorus: cf. Palm. Über Sprache und Stil p.109.

250. Plato, Leg. 9. p.875B.

251. Cf. Polyb. VIII.26.9; Strabo XII.3.28; Hesychius s.v. ἰδίοπρυς.

252. Diod. XVI.37.2, 50.6; XVII.3.2, 5.1; XVIII.9.5, 14.2, 23.2, 25.4, 29.4, 41.6, 49.2, 53.5, 53.7, 57.3; XIX.17.2, 58.5; XX.27.3, 28.3, 106.2, 107.4.

253. Cf. Rosen, Die Bündnisformen der Diadochen und der Zerfall des Alexanderreiches Acta Classica XI (1968) pp.182-210.
254. Cf. Plut. Eum. III.3; Briant, Antigone le Borgne p.150, pp.229-234, etc.
255. For the stages of Antigonus' career and the development of his intentions see O. Müller, Antigonus Monophthalmus pp.45ff. and 78ff. But the evidence cited by Müller for an increasing inclination in the period 316-306 to the title to Alexander's empire is not compelling: Diod. XIX.48.1 and 55.2 (Antigonus treated as a king by the peoples of Asia and by Seleucus at Babylon) suggest only the natural desire of the locals to ingratiate themselves with the conqueror of Eumenes (Similarly OGIS 6, honours voted to Antigonus by the Scepsians); Diod. XIX.97.3, the greeting of the Nabataean, βασιλεῦ Ἀγμήτριε, is surely a matter of politeness, and the speech is in any case hardly verbatim; Diod. XIX.93.4, Antigonus recognised that Demetrius was βασιλείας ἄξιος (cf. XIX.81.4), depicts Demetrius as like a king: it may be supposed that Antigonus came to desire the royal title because he seemingly had in Demetrius a son able to retain it.
256. Thuc. IV.21.2, VI.10.5, II.65.10, IV.17.4, IV.83.1. For ὀρέγεσθαι in other books of Diodorus, cf. XVI.8.4; XVII.30.4; XVII.54.6.
257. Trogus Prolog. 28, "Cariam subiecit" (between the death of Demetrius II and Dison's capture of Sparta); cf. Polyb. XX.5.7-11, Dison sailed from Boeotia εἰς τὴν Ἀσίαν. The evidence for a Macedonian occupation of Caria c.227 is now supported by the implication in the Labraunda documents 5-7 (mentioning correspondence between Olympichus and Antigonus Dison) that Philip V was already suzerain of Caria when he inherited the throne in 221. (J.Crampa, Labraunda: Swedish excavations and researches, III.1. Period of Olympichus, nos. 5-7, pp.22<sup>f</sup>). Tarn's analysis of the 'sphere' of Antigonus Gonatas, and his conclusion that Gonatas meant to be "a Macedonian king of Macedonians and nothing more" (Antigonos Gonatas pp.202-206) becomes less certain in the light of the new evidence for overseas interests in the period after Gonatas.

258. Diod. XVIII.74.3; cf. 75.2, Cassander is praised for 'epieikeia', Polyperchon is treated with contempt (cf. ch.V p. 323ff. ).
259. Demochares ap. Polyb. XII.13.9ff. = F.Gr.Hist. 75.F2; Duris ap. Athen. XII.542C = F.Gr.Hist. 76 F10, and Diog. Laert. V.75. Cf. Ferguson, Hellenistic Athens p.58f. and 59 n.1.
260. Mazzarino, Il Pensiero Storico II p.336.
261. Paus. VIII.27.11.
262. Paus. VIII.30-35. See generally Tarn Antigonos Gonatas pp.277ff. on Gonatas' tyrants; and pp.302ff. on Aristodemus' career.
263. Cf. Diod. XVIII.71 passim; XIX.64.1.
264. Curtius X.8.15; cf. Berve II no.240, and Kirchner RE IV s.v. Damis no.1. (neither makes the connection between Damis and Damyllus).
265. It is sometimes suggested in connection with the debate on Phylarchus' origins that he could not have written his criticisms of Ptolemy while living at Naucratis (cf. Kroymann RE Suppl. VIII col.471-2); but this is to misunderstand the relation between intellectuals and the state, a relation which the Ptolemies had to some extent tried to institutionalise through the Museum, but which was hardly oppressive in the sense implied. One had to go as far as Sotades for serious consequences to follow: Athen. 621A (eventually Patrocles sank him at sea in a leaden chest), cf. Fraser, Ptolemaic Alexandria, I.117f.
266. Tarn, Antigonos Gonatas pp.194ff. 217ff. on Gonatas' methods of government; but IG XII.4.373 and 374, unknown to Tarn at the time of Antigonos Gonatas, show what it meant to cities in the heart of Macedonia to have a Macedonian king. The recent discussion by Errington of royal titles in Hellenistic Macedon shows (against Amyard) that we cannot regard the rare usage Βασιλεὺς Μακεδόνων (apparently implying a national kingship) as an official title in the case of Cassander and the Antigonids (Errington, JHS XCIV 1974 pp.20ff. with references to Amyard).

267. O. Müller, Antigonos Monophthalmus pp.7-12.
268. For Heracleitus see Syll.<sup>3</sup> 401, 454 (= Maier, Gr.Bauerinschriften, I, Heidelberg 1959 pp.112-14, no.24): he had been a member of the pro-Macedonian party in Athens in the 270's, and under Macedonian patronage after the Chremonidean War became the leading figure in Athens, with military and civil authority like Demetrius of Phaleron under Cassander. For 'strategoi' and garrisons maintained in Athens and Attica after the Chremonidean War, cf. SEG III.122 = Moretti II no.22 (lines 5-6, Apollodorus is appointed 'strategos' "by King Antigonos and by the people"; line 12, 'isoteleia' is granted according to the 'proairesis' of the king). The garrisons were kept down to the end of the reign of Demetrius II: Moretti II no.25 (a.236-5); Syll.<sup>3</sup> 485; cf. Syll.<sup>3</sup> 497 and Plut. Arat. 34.
269. J.Keil, JOAI XVI. (1913) pp.231-248 (inscriptions from Ephesus illustrating the part played by the Greek cities of Asia in the wars between 323-321); OGIS 4 = IG XII.2.245, 9-16, Antipater levies a contribution from the Greek cities in autumn 321; cf. Arrian F10.8. Cf. Briant, REA 1972 p.38 n.5.
270. For Antigonos' Greek policy, see A. Heuss, Antigonos Monophthalmus und die griechische Städte, Hermes 73 (1938) pp.133ff; Simpson, Historia 8 (1959) pp.385-409. Cf. n.32 above.
271. Syll.<sup>3</sup> 434-5, lines 14-15, Mazzarino, op.cit. p.337.
272. Diod. XVIII.10.4.
273. Diod. XVIII.38.4-6.
274. See esp. Diod. XIX.17.5-6, 21.1-2, 31.3, 43.9.
275. Cf. ch. II n. 125 . The discrepancy between Diyllos, F.Gr.Hist. 71 F1 and Diod. XIX.49ff. argues against a general use of Diyllos by Diodorus in his history of the Diadochi (cf. Fontana, Le lotte p.152ff.); and the absence of marked Athenian bias in his account of the Lamian War makes it highly unlikely that Diyllos was used at any point. Cf. Reuss, Hieronimos p.116. At XXI.5 Diodorus mentions the end point of Diyllos' work in a notice

taken from the chronograph, but naturally this implies nothing about his use of Diyllos as a source. For earlier discussion see Unger, S.B. Münch. Akad. 1878 I p.268ff., refuted by Nietzold, Die Überlieferung p.142ff.; Rohde, De Diyllo Atheniensi Diodori auctore, Iena 1909; Schwahn, Diyllos, Philologus LXXXVI (1931) p.145ff:

276. Herod. V.36. cf. 125-126.

277. Cf. ch.V p.314ff. The case of the Cossaei especially illustrates the point: badly treated by Antigonus, and befriended by Seleucus, they allied themselves with the latter in his war against Antigonus after 311.

278. Diod. XVIII.14.1 (Ptolemy): XIX.14.4-5 (Peucestas: cf. Arr. Anab. VI.30.3-2; but Diodorus was not here following an Alexander historian, since Peucestas' orientalism is not mentioned in book XVII); XIX.91.1-2 (Seleucus: for the evidence of the Babylonian Chronicle, see above, p.172f.). Bizière, Diodore XIX p.xvii n.1 notes that in Diodorus' history of the Diadochi, in contrast to his practice in books XI, XV, and XVII, the terms *οἱ ἐρημῶτες*, *οἱ βέβηχαροι*, are reserved solely for unconquered tribes like the Cossaei and the Nabataeans; the settled communities of Asia are called by their proper names (i.e. with a certain respect?).

279. On the Greek practice of idealising peoples on the edge of the world, see Schwartz, Fünf Vorträge über den griechischen Roman, Berlin 1896 p.89; E.Rohde, Die griechische Roman und seine Vorläufer, Leipzig 1914 p.203; T.W. Africa, Phylarchus p.13; T.S. Brown, Onesicritus p.54ff.

280. Demetrius Phal. ap.Stob. IV.7.27 (Wachsmuth-Hense p.225) = Plut. Reg.et Imp. Apophth. 189D = F.Gr.Hist. 228 T6b.

281 Tarn, Antigonos Gonatas p.241.

282. Tacitus, Agricola i.3.

283. Tacitus, Dialogus 40.3; cf. Syme, Tacitus I p.109f.

CHAPTER FIVEHIERONYMUS AND HIS MASTERSGreek Historiography and the Individual

The evidence discussed in an earlier chapter suggests that Hieronymus called his work a 'History of the Diadochi'; and it is in any case clear that for Hieronymus, as for the historians of Philip and Alexander, the period he treated was dominated by the individual. His predecessors Theopompus, Anaximenes, and Ptolemy may have influenced the organisation of his history: their works showed how an individual might be kept at the centre of a general political history, and offered guidance in Hieronymus' more complex task. However, it may be supposed that his approach was governed largely by autobiographical considerations. In the armies of the Successors all action was initiated and final responsibility lay with a single autocratic commander;<sup>1</sup> and the historian who had followed in their entourage naturally saw the controlling forces of the times embodied in these powerful men. His personal attachment to Eumenes and the house of Antigonos gave him the spine of his narrative; the figures of their rivals completed its frame.

The general climate of individualist opinion needs little comment. Hieronymus wrote in a period which it has become customary to characterise by its emphasis on the individual, and the histories which centred on the personalities of the Macedonian dynasts can be seen as one expression of Hellenistic individualism. Biography and portraiture were flourishing; the new philosophies put the individual men at the centre of their doctrines, and in popular thought his path through life was made rough or smooth by the blind power of Tyche; character types evolved in New Comedy, and were given definition in the satirical sketches of Theophrastus; art showed a new realism in depicting both the beautiful

and the grotesque. The phenomenon is well known;<sup>2</sup> though whether it has a single general origin is perhaps doubtful. It is usual to look for an explanation in the political decline of the city-state and the sudden expansion of the geographical world after Alexander, causing a re-assessment of man's place in his environment. Probably Hellenistic philosophy had its genesis in such conditions; but this account does not seem to cover every manifestation, and in some cases we may be dealing rather with the logical culmination of processes which had been going on over many decades or centuries. It is the visual arts which tend to give the strongest impression of a period; but in commenting on the individualism of Hellenistic coin portraits, for example, or portrait sculpture, we should not overlook the probability that techniques for expressing individuality were not fully developed in some areas before the end of the classical period.<sup>3</sup> Developments in literature were not necessarily parallel to artistic ones: in this field technique was not a problem of a kind to obscure interest in the individual even at the earliest stages - as we can see from Homer's depiction of his heroes and heroines.<sup>4</sup> Greek historiography, in one sense the successor of epic, but closely linked to contemporary political institutions at any given period, and to the relative power which they assigned to the individual and the group, is a different case again.

"Die naive Geschichtsbetrachtung sieht nur die Helden; die Massen, die unter ihnen stehen, kümmern sie nicht": so begins the introduction to Beloch's Griechische Geschichte. This was true of Homer and of Herodotus. Thucydides, on the other hand, made a deliberate attempt to find more profound explanations for events, and reflected the actual conditions of contemporary Athens, where power was vested in collective bodies, the boule and the demos. The early part of his history shows Thucydides fascinated by the polarisation of Athens and Sparta as states with

contrasting national characteristics;<sup>5</sup> and while he seems to have considered Pericles personally responsible for Athenian strategy at the beginning of the Peloponnesian War, and Pericles' successors responsible for later deviations from that strategy, this too is a reflection of reality, in so far as the office of 'strategos' was the one office which the Athenians filled by direct election and not by the lot. But through Thucydides' work as a whole it is possible to trace an increasing awareness of the role of individual leaders as against the power of the citizen body, which is to be connected with the decline of democracy in the last decade of the fifth century, and with the appearance of a personality like Alcibiades, the significance of which could not be overlooked:<sup>6</sup> the estimate of Themistocles in book I was perhaps part of a revision made in the consciousness which came to Thucydides in the later stages of the conflict, that a single man sometimes had the power to make or break the state.

Alcibiades, the 'lion's whelp', whom Aristotle took as a paradigm of an individual in history, was a forerunner of the outstanding personalities of the fourth century who exploited Greek disunity and made themselves masters of the city states. Democratic Athens, regarded by her contemporaries as the freest state in Greece, paradoxically laid taboos on forms of self-expression which implied real superiority or the distancing of an individual from the crowd. The prosecutions of intellectuals like Anaxagoras or Socrates are a clear expression of this feeling, and the numbers of those who were exiled or ostracised included the greatest Athenian historian. "Thucydides", writes Syme, "is linked to that older Hellas of the aristocratic tyrants and the dynastic families, to the men who were too big for the polis of citizens because of their power, their resources, and their fame outside their own cities. The men, it might happen, who are suitable candidates for being thrown out by ostracism."<sup>7</sup> The Athenian dislike of outstanding individuals seems to have been connected

with a perpetual fear of tyranny, and it was this which led to the rejection of Athens' most brilliant political leaders - Themistocles, Pericles, Alcibiades; and as a final consequence, to the defeat of 404. Sparta reacted in the same way to Lysander, who was said to have wanted to reform the antiquated Spartan military system; and she suffered military catastrophe at Leuctra. The Greek states, it seemed, had got rid of all their best men. Isocrates, like Xenophon, had for a while a misplaced hope in Agesilaus of Sparta, but his search for a pan-hellenic leader finally took him to the half-barbarian potentates on the edges of the Greek world, and Philip responded, and gave the Greeks the tyranny they had tried to avoid. These fourth century kings and tyrants - forerunners of the Hellenistic kings<sup>8</sup> - evoked an immediate response in the Greek world. Whatever one thought of Philip, "he clearly represented a more interesting subject than the continued bickerings of the Greek states."<sup>9</sup> Isocrates' pupil Theopompus laid down his Hellenica to record the rise of Philip; at the same time in Sicily, where there was a development towards monarchy parallel to that in Macedon, the career of Dionysius inspired Philistus to write history centred on the individual; and a similar response to the emergence of potentates in the east during the declining years of the Achaemenid empire is shown in Isocrates' encomium of Evagoras, Callisthenes' encomium of Hermias of Atarneus, and the epitaphion written by Theopompus for the wealthy Carian dynast, Maussollus.<sup>10</sup>

The histories of Alexander and the Diadochi which followed the Philippica show the individual finally supreme in history. Alexander, as Hegel said of Napoleon, had heard the pounding of the hooves of History, and caught at the coat-tails of the rider as he passed; and after Alexander, no one could ignore the power of an exceptional man to change the course of events. Alexander's career probably gave the chief stimulus to histories of the Hellenistic period, all of which centre on the character and careers

of great men, sometimes encroaching on the sphere of biography or historical encomium. The distinction between history and encomium was a matter which Polybius felt he ought to clarify; and Cato reacted strongly to what he saw as the cult of the individual in the writing of history.<sup>11</sup> The emphasis changes, however, in so far as historians of the Hellenistic period ceased to concentrate on the monarchic institutions which had largely inspired fourth writers. The arts and letters of course flourished under the patronage of the Hellenistic rulers, and there are panegyrics among the poems of the Alexandrian writers, addressed to their patron;<sup>12</sup> but we find very little court historiography from this time, and to a surprising degree the Greek historians seem to have ignored the existence of the kings and continued to write Hellenica as they had always done, devoting their attention rather to national leaders like Cleomenes or Philopomen. This is a major change in the general pattern here described. Greek historiography never really lost sight of the individual, although, as Thucydides recognised, in the hey-day of Greek liberty and democracy he was partially and temporarily eclipsed by the workings of the group; he gains in importance with the emergence of the fourth century monarchies, and, moving forward to the mid-Hellenistic period, there can be no doubt about the interest which Polybius took in personalities. However, after Alexander and the Successors, Hellenistic histories are not written around the figures of individual kings, in other words, they no longer run in tandem with the contemporary political structure. This was in part, perhaps, because the Hellenistic kings were not politically creative in the same way as their fourth century predecessors - though it might be thought that Antiochus III and Philip V offered interesting subjects in their own right. Apart from their necessary appearance in general histories like Polybius's, we get only the occasional biography of a king (Posidonius on Perseus, for example),

or partisan king-lists of the lesser dynasties.<sup>13</sup> At a later date, Timagenes wrote a general work 'On Kings', which was probably used extensively by Trogus, and may have influenced him in his decision to call his own history 'Philippica' after Theopompus, the first Greek historian of an individual monarch. Timagenes seems to have claimed to be the re-creator of Greek historiography, but it is not clear what was involved in this claim.<sup>14</sup> We may say that, on the whole, interest in the Hellenistic rulers among the Greeks was on the one hand theoretical and philosophical, and on the other anecdotal, but not historical.

When we consider how Hieronymus' 'History of the Diadochi' fits into this picture, it is clear that he belongs with the fourth century writers. In some cases Hieronymus' characterisation of individual personalities seems to show an interest in psychology and even in development of character which is peculiarly Hellenistic; but in choosing the Diadochi as his subject, he was following the tradition of Theopompus and the Alexander historians by characterising a period in terms of its political giants; and with the exception of possible imitators like Nymphis, he was apparently the last Greek historian of the potent individual.

Other interpretations of his period might have been possible. The histories written by most of his contemporaries focused principally on the affairs of Greece itself; and it is a possible criticism of Hieronymus that he ignored the growth of the Greek federal movement, which was, as it were, the other side of the coin that bore the face of Alexander.<sup>15</sup> Nevertheless, we are bound to accept that Hieronymus had a far broader view of his times than writers like Diyllus or Phylarchus: for much of the period he treated, world history was practically synonymous with Macedonian history, and the actions of the Diadochi affected all the communities of Greece and Asia. There was of course a subjective element. The special relationship of the faithful servant

to his masters gave his work both its weaknesses and its strengths; on the one hand, the temptation to eulogy and apologia; but on the other, a unique opportunity for first hand observation and understanding of great men. In the convulsions of the period following Alexander's death, individuals won or lost everything - the repeated phrase τὸ ὅλκον seems to express Hieronymus' awareness of the totality of the struggle; and the reasons for success or failure were reasons to do with personality and the ability to lead an army. In the last resort, the events Hieronymus described were to be explained in terms of the charisma of the generals and their relations with their followers - men like Hieronymus himself, who looked in vain among the so-called Diadochi for a true heir to Alexander. I shall consider in this chapter, then, Hieronymus' ideal of leadership.

#### The Military Milieu

I have commented elsewhere on the high order of the military narrative which derives from Hieronymus.<sup>16</sup> His account of the years 323-302 had something of the military flavour and the spirit of adventure which we find in Xenophon's writings, and this part of the History is remarkable not only for the understanding shown of matters of strategy, tactics and organisation, but also for the way it depicts the ethos of the Macedonian army. This was perhaps the greatest novelty of Hieronymus' work. The historians of Philip were still working within the framework of the Greek city state, most of the personae in their accounts were Greeks, and the values of the polis prevailed. Alexander and his generals left this world behind them, and with the military histories of Ptolemy and Hieronymus we find ourselves in an entirely different milieu. The scale of ambition has radically changed. Whereas Theopompus, discussing the Athenian demagogues, had stressed the idea of 'philotimia' - the rivalry between politicians in a democracy - in the accounts taken

from Hieronymus the word which occupies a comparable role is 'philarchia'. 'philodoxia', or 'pleonexia', denoting that lust for conquest which characterised Antigonus Monophthalmus and Pyrrhus, par excellence.<sup>17</sup>

The constant jostling for position which was an essential feature of political life in the Greek city had no place in the hierarchical system of the Macedonian army: here the line separating the commander from the rest was unambiguous, and a historian of the Macedonian conquests had to include in his picture the professional armies on the one hand, and on the other, the great autocrats who directed them.<sup>18</sup> Hieronymus was unusually well placed to observe and understand the relationship between the general and his men. The qualities of professional skill and loyalty which characterised the good soldier were qualities also required of a civil servant, like Hieronymus; and as a member of the army staff he knew what was expected of the general in return by his troops and his officers. It has been said that all ancient historians wrote from the point of view of the man in supreme command;<sup>19</sup> and it is true that we do not have histories of the private soldier any more than we have histories of peasants and slaves. In rare instances, however, an ancient historian showed perception of the values and realities of the soldier's life, while himself existing only on its peripheries. Xenophon is an obvious example. Hieronymus seems to have had some of Xenophon's understanding of the needs and moods of an army; and it is against a background of the corporate and anonymous that the colourful figures of the Diadochi are set, as it were, in relief.

I have said that the Greek city recedes into the background in Hieronymus. In his geographical introduction (Diod. XVIII.5-6) 'the cities of the Greeks' were mentioned only casually in a description of ὅλην Ἀσίαν, and his history of the years between the death of Alexander and the death of Antigonus is depicted on a huge canvas,

without a geographical focal point. The unit which takes the place of the city in this narrative is the army itself, composed increasingly of mercenaries lacking strong attachments to a home country. The domestic ménage and worldly possessions of these soldiers during their wanderings over the Asian continent were contained in the 'aposkeue', the baggage train which accompanied the fighting force; and the importance of the 'aposkeue' is shown unmistakably on the notorious occasion in winter 317, when Antigonos captured Eumenes' baggage train, and Eumenes' infantry were forced to trade their general for their captured families and goods.<sup>20</sup> While Alexander's army could be described as the Macedonian people in arms, towards the end of Alexander's reign we see a desire to end this situation (see especially Justin XIV.4-3, "in hoc castrensi exilio"), and the return of the kings in 321 seemed to mark the division of homeland from camp. For the main part of the period treated by Hieronymus, the army is in effect a mercenary, not a national army, and in the absence of a 'patria', it organised itself into a society not unlike a city on the move, composed of many nationalities, which served alongside the kernel of Macedonian troops, and accompanied by thousands of civilians - women, children, slaves and traders.<sup>21</sup> Diodorus uses the image οἶον δημοκρατουμένην πόλιν of Eumenes' army (XIX.15.4) and there is some suggestion of a contrast between the 'democratic' leadership of the royalist forces and the 'tyranny' exercised by Antigonos, whose command was undisputed. The idea is developed by Plutarch in his Eumenes and apparently had its origin in Hieronymus, though Plutarch is certainly exaggerating for effect the corrupting influence of the 'demagogic' satraps on Eumenes' soldiers.<sup>22</sup> The idea of the camp as a 'city' appears in Xenophon, who had personal experience of the phenomenon of a wandering army creating its own institutions: he makes Cyrus in the Cyropaedia organise his camp in this way (his ideal civic

community is in turn consciously modelled on the camp); and the tradition can be found again in Polybius' account of the Roman army, and in Vegetius.<sup>23</sup>

The military values which pervade Hieronymus' narrative have their genesis in this military society. Qualities such as justice, wisdom, eloquence, are qualities which belong to a civic milieu: Aristeides the Just and Phocion the Good are figures of the polis. In the Macedonian armies on the other hand, the qualities prized by the society in its members are skill, strength, bravery and experience - *εὐχερία, βίωμα, ἀνδραγαθία, ἐμπειρία* - the virtues of the professional soldier. These are common Hellenistic words which are to be found everywhere in Diodorus, whose rhetorical training gave him the habit of making all soldiers outstanding in strength and courage. In books XVIII-XX, however, it is sometimes clear from the context that Diodorus' comments on the prowess of groups of soldiers must be taken from his source. Repeatedly, he stresses the importance of 'empeiria', meaning, specifically, experience gained in the campaigns of Alexander. The rebel Greeks of Bactria 'had been tried many times in the contests of war and were distinguished for their courage' - *πάντες δὲ τῶν κατὰ τὸν*

*πόλεμον ἀγώνων πόλλας πείραν εὐλαφίας καὶ διαφόρους τῆς ἀνδραγαθίας.* Of the mercenaries gathered at Taenarum,

Diodorus says, *ἑστρατευμένοι...κατὰ τὴν Αἰὼν πολὺν χρόνον καὶ μεγάλων ἀγώνων μετεσχηκότες ἀθληταὶ τῶν κατὰ πόλεμον ἔργων ἐγεγένητο.*

And of Attalus and his companions in their last stand, *διαφέροντες... τῆς τόλμης καὶ τῆς εὐχερίας διὰ τὴν μετ' Ἀλέξανδρον στρατείαν, πολὺ λειπόμενοι τοῖς πλῆθεσι, διὰ τῆς ἀρετῆς ἀντείχοντο κ.τ.λ.*

The mercenary captain Mnasicles is said to possess *ἐμπειρίαν... τῶν πολεμικῶν πράξεων*, and this he too must have gained on Alexander's expedition, like his rival Thibron, who had been one of the 'philoï' of Harpalus.<sup>24</sup> Diodorus also seems to follow his source when he marks

out the excellence of a particular corps. Thus Menon and the Thessalians are consistently depicted as the heroes of the Lamian War.<sup>25</sup>

Again in the Asian campaigns the Macedonian troops, which seem to have retained a distinct identity for some time after Alexander's death, are regularly distinguished from mercenaries and native contingents: in 320

Antigonus had 10,000 infantry, ἦν ἦσαν οἱ ἡμίσεις Μακεδόνες,

Θαυμαστοὶ κατὰ τὰς ἀνδραγαθίας ; at the battle of

the Dardanelles Craterus had 20,000 foot, ἦν ἦσαν οἱ πλείους

Μακεδόνες διαβεβημένοι τὰς ἀνδραγαθίας, ἐν οἷς εἶχε μάλιστα τὰς ἐλπίδας τῆς νίκης<sup>26</sup>.

The most striking example of a corps which attracts this sort of praise is the body of 3,000 hypaspists known as the Silver Shields, the crack troops of Eumenes' army, who appear to have formed themselves into an élite and semi-independent group with their own traditions after the death of Alexander.<sup>27</sup> The corps had probably been instituted by Philip, and had consisted originally of 500 hand picked infantrymen from the same social class as the 'pezetairoi', i.e. the Macedonian peasantry. They were organised into a single unit irrespective of local origins, with its loyalty focused on the person of the king. The numbers were rapidly increased to 3,000 - the figure implied in our accounts of Alexander - and late in 331 the hypaspists appear to have been reorganised into three units of a thousand men each, under the command of chiliarchs instead of the old pentacosiarachs (cf. Curtius V.2.3f.). The high status of the chiliarchs, who probably included from the first Seleucus, Nearchus and Neoptolemus, reflects the great prestige of the corps, which is mentioned 28 times in Arrian's Anabasis, and was apparently used for especially difficult tasks. The name 'hypaspistai' originally meaning 'shield-bearer', i.e. a soldier's esquire, may have been given to the new corps to avoid a term like δορυφόροι, with its implications of a

tyrant's bodyguard. However, in Arrian, who is the only Alexander historian to use the word 'hypaspist', and must have got it from Ptolemy, it means simply 'bodyguard'. Tarn showed that in Alexander's lifetime the corps was described indifferently as ὑπασπιστά, βασιλικοὶ ὑπασπιστά, ὑπασπιστά τῶν ἐταίρων, and σωματοφύλακες; and both an allusion in Arrian, and a passage in Diodorus XVII, with its counterpart in Curtius, make it clear that the 3,000 hypaspists are identical with the 3,000 Argyraspids known to us from the period of the Successors.<sup>28</sup> Tarn believed that the name 'Argyraspides' was not in use during Alexander's lifetime and that it was Hieronymus' name for the corps; Arrian and Diodorus, he argued, both accidentally spoke of 'Argyraspids' in an earlier context because they were so familiar with the term from their reading of Hieronymus. It is clear that the nickname was used far more commonly by Hieronymus than by any of the Alexander historians; it is unlikely that it was altogether unknown in Alexander's time, however. Arrian speaks of Argyraspids, instead of hypaspists, in the list of the Persian formations which Alexander began to draw up during the mutiny at Opis. Regular Macedonian names were to be used: there were to be Persian 'pezetairoi', Persian companion cavalry and a Persian royal agema; also an Ἀργυρασπίδων τάξις Περσική. It seems probable that we should see an allusion to the projected formation of a Persian Argyraspid corps in one of the Boscoreale wall-paintings. According to Professor Robertson's interpretation, this painting depicts a personification of Macedonia and Asia, with a shield, obviously of Macedonian type, resting between them. The shield appears to be pale and silvery in colour, and is surely a picture of one of the famous Silver Shields. On Robertson's (convincing) theory, the group of paintings to which this belongs depicts the marriages at Susa between the Macedonian and Persian nobility and the theme of 'Homonoia': Zeno looks on at the side, representing the philosophical expression of the

idea that mankind is one.<sup>29</sup>

The Boscoreale painting makes it plain that the hypaspist shield was a beautiful and highly conspicuous piece of armour.<sup>30</sup> It was the distinctive visible badge of an élite and independent-minded corps, whose social origins and method of recruitment conspired to set it apart from the other sectors of the royal army, and gave it from the first something of the character of a private mercenary bodyguard. The value of the Argyraspids as a veteran fighting force in the period after 323 is attested by the fact that they were persistently courted by rival generals: Seleucus is mentioned more than once as the originator of propaganda directed at the Silver Shields when they were serving Eumenes, and this is readily understandable in view of the fact that he had been 'archihypaspist' in Alexander's time.<sup>31</sup> Why the regiment failed to respond to its old commander we do not know. As for many of the satraps and the allied forces in Eumenes' army, the choice of allegiance was probably a difficult one at a time when there was no clear superiority on either side; though possibly the Argyraspids felt some residual loyalty to the royal house whom Eumenes represented, if it is true that many of them were old campaigners who had served under Philip.<sup>32</sup> The loss of the 'aposkeue' at Gabiene of course decided the issue.

Hieronymus may have had mixed feelings about the men who betrayed Eumenes; nevertheless, we find repeated tributes to their professional skill. At Paraetacene they are described as ἀνίκητοι... καὶ τὰς ἀρετὰς πολλὸν φόβον παρέχόμενοι τοῖς πολεμίοις.

In the battle at Gabiene Diodorus says that the Argyraspids could not be checked in their charge, and took on the entire opposing phalanx:

τοσοῦτον τῆς εὐχειρίας καὶ βίωμαις ὑπερέϊχον ὥσθ' ἑαυτῶν μὲν ἀποβλεῖν μηθένα, τῶν δ' ἐναντίων ἀνελεῖν μὲν ὑπὲρ τοῦς πεντακισχιλίους, τρέφασθαι δὲ τοῦς πέζους πάντας<sup>33</sup>.

The arete of the Argyraspids is the consequence of empeiria: their commander, Antigenes, claimed that

the right to choose the commander in chief of the royalist forces should be theirs, because they were veterans of Alexander's army -

τοῖς μετ' αὐτοῦ Μακεδόσιν, συγκαταπεπολεμηκόσιν Ἀλεξάνδρῳ τὴν Πσίαν καὶ γεγονόσι διὰ τὰς ἀρετὰς ἀνικητοῖς. Eumenes' phalanx

was said to have been victorious at Paraetacene διὰ τὰς τῶν

Ἀργυροσπίδων Μακεδόνων ἀρετὰς. οὗτοι γὰρ μὲν ἡλικίας ἤδη προβεβήκεισαν, διὰ δὲ τὸ πλῆθος τῶν κινδύνων διέφερον ταῖς τόλμας καὶ ταῖς εὐχειρίαις.

And again at Gabiene Diodorus comments on the advanced age of the

Argyraspids and says that they were πάντες ---- ταῖς ἐμπειρίαις

καὶ ταῖς βώμας ἀνυπόστατοι. τοσαύτη περὶ αὐτοὺς ἦν εὐχειρία καὶ τόλμα διὰ τὴν συνέχειαν τῶν κινδύνων <sup>34</sup>. We can

be sure that Diodorus reflects the substance of Hieronymus in these

passages, because Plutarch speaks of the Argyraspids before the

battle of Gabiene in similar terms: καὶ γὰρ ἦσαν οἱ πρεσβύτατοι

τῶν περὶ Φίλιππον καὶ Ἀλεξάνδρον, ὥσπερ ἀθληταὶ πολέμων

ἀήπητοι καὶ ἀπτῶτες εἰς ἐκεῖνο χρόνου, πολλοὶ μὲν ἐβόσμηκοντα ἔτη

γεγονότες, νεώτεροι δὲ οὐδὲς ἑξήκοντα ~~καὶ~~ <sup>35</sup>.

The word ἀθληταί is used by Diodorus of the mercenaries

whom Leosthenes hired at Taenarum - ἀθληταὶ τῶν κατὰ πόλεμον ἔργων -

and this expression seems to sum up the contemporary military ethos.

It cannot with certainty be attributed to Hieronymus, since both

Diodorus and Plutarch have the same image in other parts of their

work, and as early as Plato we find the expression ἀθληταὶ πολέμου,

'masters of warfare'. <sup>36</sup> It may be significant, however, that the

narrative of Eumenes' campaigns inspired the secondary authors on

more than one occasion to use military metaphors. Diodorus says of

the Argyraspids at Paraetacene διὸ καὶ τότε τριαχιλίοι μὲν ὄντες οἰονεὶ

στόμῳ καθειστήκεισαν πύργου τῆς δυνάμεως : they were

the 'spearhead' of the army. <sup>37</sup> The visual effect of the army in action

is stressed also in Diodorus' account of the battle between Eumenes and

Neoptolemus. When the cavalry became aware of Neoptolemus' death,

ἀπαντες πρὸς φυγὴν ὤρμησαν καὶ καθάπερ πρὸς τείχος ὄχυρόν πρὸς  
τὴν τῶν πεζῶν φάλαγγα κατεφυγον<sup>38</sup>. The ὄχυρόν τείχος

is common enough in a literal sense in Diodorus, and it can be found

in a simile in book XVI - ταῖς αἰεὶ κενωτάταις οἰκίαις ὥσπερ  
ὄχυροῖς τισι τείχεσιν ἐχρῶντο (at the siege of Perinthus).<sup>39</sup>

This cannot necessarily be claimed as a specimen of Hieronymus' language,

therefore; but it should be noted that this battle encouraged not only

Diodorus but also Plutarch to use a rhetorical figure: in a monstrous

simile he compares the clash of the combatants' horses to the collision

of triremes - τῶν δ' ἵππων ἐξ ἐναντίας βίη συμπεσόντων

ὥσπερ τριήρων (Plut. Eum. VII.5). Arrian too, as we know

from Photius and especially from the new papyrus fragment, treated this

episode in detail. Evidently, then, it was something of a set piece

in Hieronymus, which attracted the attention of many of his epitomisers

and inspired a certain amount of fine writing, intended to reflect the

spirit of the original.

The account of this battle shows two sides to Hieronymus' military writing. On the one hand we have the ranks of the phalanx massed solidly 'like a strong wall'; on the other, the figures of the two generals, Eumenes and Neoptolemus, are locked in single combat. Eumenes' 'monomachia' is the only example in the narrative from Hieronymus of a heroic style of warfare. Possibly it was this episode that Beloch had in mind when he called Hieronymus' battle descriptions rhetorical, for in general, as Jacoby observed, they are "klare und verständlich":<sup>40</sup> Diodorus/Hieronymus elsewhere tends to emphasise the corporate spirit of the perfectly disciplined professional army, acting as a fighting machine, and the strategical skill of the general who directs it, rather than the prowess of individuals. The technological developments of the Hellenistic age, especially the use of long range artillery, reduced the opportunities for

hand-to-hand fighting and tended to obscure the individual in warfare; and the battles of the Diadochi were normally decided by weight of numbers and the expertise of the general, not by the archaic method of personal duelling. One can see, however, that the system offered a certain temptation to ostentatious posturing on the part of the general, as the only man in the army who did not have to keep formation. Xenophon had compared the well-disciplined army to a chorus; and sometimes, it seems, the general regarded himself as not only the director but the star of the performance.<sup>41</sup> Demetrius' love of show and affectation of a heroic manner are well attested;<sup>42</sup> and there is evidence that Pyrrhus was personally convinced of his own descent from Achilles and consciously emulated a heroic life style. Plutarch speaks of special armour (Pyrrhus could always be recognised by his helmet with its goats' horns), of duelling, invective, and chivalry, all of which are characteristic of epic warfare; and though we should allow for some flattery and exaggeration on the part of Pyrrhus' court historian, Proxenus, there seems no reason to doubt that Pyrrhus did habitually indulge himself in this way.<sup>43</sup>

Real heroic fighting, as a means of deciding a battle or a war, was of course utterly impractical in the Hellenistic age, and the sophisticated Greeks of the third century were horrified when they encountered the genuinely ancient customs of the Celts in war, with their strange formal challenges and barbaric single combat. The behaviour of Pyrrhus and Demetrius was largely a self-indulgence, both on occasion suffering enormous losses; and it is probably no coincidence that a frivolous attitude towards war is found mainly among the Epigoni, since nostalgia for an ethic based on prowess and personal glory would tend to increase as memories of the really epic deeds of Alexander faded. Hieronymus' attitude to this kind of generalship can be inferred from the last chapters of Plutarch's Life of Pyrrhus, in which Pyrrhus challenges Antigonus

to stop skulking in the hills like a robber and come down and fight. The cool reply of Antigonus is intended to show his contempt for Pyrrhus and his methods.<sup>44</sup>

The accuracy and realism with which he reported military matters in general, and the dislike of sham which we may sometimes detect in the characterisation of Pyrrhus and Demetrius, contrast oddly with the highly coloured style in which Hieronymus decided to write up the duel between Eumenes and Neoptolemus. The account has many of the features characteristic of heroic combat: the antagonists recognise each other by their horses and insignia; they are inspired by 'ancient hatred', the classic motive for a duel; the wounds they inflict on one another are described in detail; Eumenes reviles his fallen enemy.<sup>45</sup> The passage shows affinities to the accounts in Plutarch of Pyrrhus' duel with Pantauchus or with Oplax, probably based on Proxenus, or to the description in Diodorus of Ptolemy's prowess at the Fort of Camels, based on an Alexandrian historian, and seems remote from the straightforward military account in the rest of Diodorus XVIII-XX. Hieronymus, apparently, was here carried away by his enthusiasm for Eumenes, and could not resist the opportunity, offered by the fact that Eumenes had really killed Neoptolemus by his own hand, to bring his hero into the limelight. In this battle Eumenes was exercising his first independent command over Macedonians, and was about to fight Craterus, and it is likely that he undertook to engage Neoptolemus in person in order to distinguish himself in front of his troops and secure their loyalty by a demonstration of personal bravery. Eumenes' reputation as head of Alexander's chancellery was one that he had to live down,<sup>46</sup> and we may guess that Hieronymus' object when he wrote up the 'monomachia' was to counter the image of Eumenes as a non-military man which Duris had probably fostered. The battle of the Dardanelles was the first of the great battles which the Successors fought

among themselves. It introduces us to the forces of the Macedonians 'famed for their valour', and gives us a graphic picture of the role of the phalanx acting in formation; at the same time it is the introduction of Eumenes as a great soldier and general.

#### Eumenes of Cardia

Some aspects of the Eumenes narrative have been discussed in the previous chapter. When assessing its historicity a strong element of encomium has to be taken into account, but this does not detract from the interest of Hieronymus' depiction of Eumenes' personality. On the contrary, the personal style of this account made it for ancient biographers and epitomisers, and still makes it, the most appealing part of Hieronymus' history. Many little pictures of life in Eumenes' army are clearly Hieronymus' own reminiscences: the setting up of the Alexander tent, the colourful description of Peucestas' feast, the privations at Nora and Eumenes' invention of the horses' gymnasium, the march through the delightful land of Persis, the vivid scenes in which Eumenes tries to keep up morale in face of Antigonus' propaganda by telling his troops the Aesop fable of the lion and the maiden, with the soldiers standing round shouting "Right!" ( "Ὅρθωσθε" ) - a perfect vignette of camp life. These were episodes which Hieronymus must have recalled with affectionate nostalgia, and which the secondary authors found irresistible. Eumenes died before he had achieved anything comparable to the Diadochi who became kings, and Hieronymus' characterisation of his friend can be considered a personal commemoration in a way that his account of the great house of Antigonus was not; Antigonus and his heirs had left their mark on the world in ways which everyone could recognise; Eumenes' epitaph needed to be written with especial care. As an apologia, it is transparent, but the form taken by the apologia is of peculiar interest, for this portrait embodies Hieronymus' own ideals, and shows us Eumenes, correctly or not,

as the pattern of the good leader in times of adversity.

The characterisation of Eumenes begins from the idea that he was a man faced by unusual difficulties. His career as represented by Hieronymus is a perpetual struggle against forces not altogether within his control, and the cardinal elements in his character are those which enabled him to overcome the obstacles in his path. The enemy from without was Antigonus, a ruthless and bellicose opponent trained in Alexander's school. Within his own army, Eumenes was hampered by the quarrels of the allied satraps, who envied his position as supreme commander, and by the resistance of the Macedonian troops, who are said to have resented the fact that they were subordinated to a Greek. Finally, always ready to thwart him when human opposition was overcome, there was the incalculable and frustrating power of Tyche, which raised up kings and cast them down again without meaning or purpose. Eumenes is shown to us as a wandering Odysseus, struggling against the malign powers of men and gods. His endowments are the natural gifts of man: native wit - *σοφείας* or *ἐπίνοιαν* - and a sense of honour - *πίστις* .

Eumenes' cleverness is attested by all our sources, and from the facts of his career it is beyond doubt that he actually was a man of unusual intelligence and resourcefulness. His *σοφείας* takes various forms, ranging from straightforward deceit to strategical brilliance. The trick by which he duped Antigonus' soldiers and escaped from Nora is a perfect example of *δόλος* , and the devices by which he secured concord in his own army - the Alexander tent, the money taken as 'hostage' for good behaviour, the forged letter used to outwit Peucestas - illustrate his deviousness. To a Greek there was nothing reprehensible in this sort of behaviour: wiliness and deception were a hall-mark of the Greek folk-hero Odysseus and of the historical Themistocles, and 'resourcefulness' in the Spartan system of education was understood to

include theft. Xenophon, furthermore, explicitly prescribed that the good general should be a deceiver, a dissembler, an inventor of stratagems, relying on his native wit to take advantage of the enemy

and extricate himself from a tight pass: Πάντι μὲν οὖν προσήκει ἀρχόντι φρονίμῳ εἶναι he says in the Hipparchikos (7.1, cf. 7.4);

and again, καὶ ἐνθυμούμενος δ' ἂν τὰ ἐν τοῖς πολέμοις πλεονεκτημὰ εὗροι ἂν τις τὰ πλεῖστα καὶ μέγιστα σὺν ἀπάτῃ γεγενημένα;

and in the Cyropaedia (1.6.27) Cyrus is told by his father that the man who intends to gain an advantage over the enemy must be ἐπίβουλον...καὶ

κρυφίνου καὶ δολερὸν καὶ ἀπατεῶντα καὶ κλέπτην καὶ ἄρπαγα καὶ ἐν παντὶ πλεονέκτην -

- a perfect description of Eumenes, in whose stratagems we see Xenophon's precepts put into practice.

Plutarch and Diodorus often refer in a general way to Eumenes' qualities as a leader. We hear of his courage and loyalty in the last battle at Gabiene, and of his personal prowess against Neoptolemus; Alcetas and Neoptolemus are ordered to obey Eumenes in all things

διὰ... τὴν στρατηγίαν αὐτοῦ ; he is ἰκανώτατος of the generals fighting Antigonus in Asia.<sup>47</sup> Plutarch describes the way he trained a corps of 6,000 native Cappadocian cavalry in record time, and dwells on their success in the battle with Neoptolemus, which proved Eumenes' 'pronoia' and 'paraskeue';<sup>48</sup> and our accounts of the battles at Paraetacene and Gabiene speak for themselves on Eumenes' gifts as a tactician. Stratagems, however, are peculiarly Eumenes' province - Polyaeus found a valuable quarry in this part of Hieronymus - and many are recorded in Diodorus' account of the manoeuvres of 317 by which Eumenes and Antigonus tried to outwit each other.<sup>49</sup> Eumenes sends false deserters to Antigonus' camp to spread the rumour that he is about to attack, and Antigonus is forced to halt and prepare to defend himself while Eumenes steals a march. Realising that he has been outgeneralled - γνοῦς

αὐτὸν καταστρατηγημένον - Antigonus pursues Eumenes with

only his cavalry, and overtaking his rearguard at daybreak as it is coming down from the hills, he takes position on the ridges where he is visible to the enemy: Eumenes supposes the whole army is behind the cavalry, and halts to defend himself, giving Antigonos time to bring up the rest of his troops and force Eumenes to join battle. Both the stratagems leading up to Paraetacene are types recommended by Xenophon in the Hipparchikos: sham deserters - ψευδοτόμολοι - are said to be useful on occasions; and the art of making small numbers look large and vice versa is discussed at length.<sup>50</sup> In either case distance, of course, increases the illusion: to make cavalry seem more numerous, they should be crowded together, since horses can easily be counted when scattered; and if need be, the grooms can be armed with lances or imitation lances and be stationed in between the cavalrymen. Another trick is suggested in Xenophon's proposals for a cavalry exhibition: every man should point his lance between his horse's ears, for not only will this prevent the lances from crossing, but the weapons will look fearsome, they will stand out distinctly, and at the same time will convey the impression of numbers - πολλὰ φαίνεται 51. Perhaps this is how Antigonos' cavalry should be imagined as it appeared over the hills.

The game of cat-and-mouse continued after the battle at Paraetacene.<sup>52</sup> Antigonos detains the heralds sent by Eumenes about recovery of the bodies until he himself is ready to move, and then steals a march into Media. During the same winter, he decides to make a surprise attack on Eumenes in winter quarters, and after spreading a false report that he is moving into Armenia, suddenly sets out across the desert. The army is detected, however, because some of the soldiers light fires at night, and Eumenes is able to check Antigonos' advance by a counter stratagem: stationing a few men on high ground overlooking the desert, he orders them to burn fires at night in such a way as to simulate a camp; and Antigonos,

believing that Eumenes' army is assembled and ready for him, leads his men elsewhere.

The two generals outwitted each other, says Diodorus, as if taking part in a preliminary contest of skill - *ὡςπερ προαγωνιζόμενος περὶ συνέσεως* (XIX.26.9), and in making their battle dispositions they vied with each other in tactical skill: *διηλλαγμέναις δ' ἐχρήσαντο ταῖς τάξεσιν οἱ στρατηγοί, διαμιλλώμενοι καὶ περὶ τῆς ἐν τούτοις ἔμπειρίας πρὸς ἀλλήλους* (XIX.27.1). The soldiers were infected with the same spirit of rivalry, for their leaders had made them *συναγωνισταί* in the contest (cf. XIX.24.3): we are told that at Paratacene both sides prepared to renew battle even when it was dark, 'such zeal for victory filled not only the generals but also the mass of the contestants' (XIX.31.1). The long duel between Antigonus and Eumenes is represented as a game of skill played out between masters of the art of war. Like every game, its rules might be outlined by military theorists, but the successful player was the one with the greatest flexibility, who could take advantage of individual situations as they arose. This was the idea behind the collections of strategemata made by Polyaeus and Frontinus: no one can prescribe for every situation in war, and the best method of instruction is the example of generals in history. The theoretical treatise on generalship by Onasander, on the other hand, can have been of little practical use, since it gives no historical examples. Xenophon points out the standard tricks of strategy, but is always insistent that the good hipparch is the one who can adapt to the needs of the moment: "It is always necessary for the commander to hit on the right thing at the right time, to think of the present situation and to carry out what is expedient in view of it. To write out all he ought to do is not more possible than to know everything that is going to happen." The Hipparch must be *μηχανητικός*.<sup>53</sup> Again, there are many ways of taking advantage of the enemy, when they are eating or sleeping, when they are

over-confident, when they have been lured on to unfavourable ground by a sham retreat; but one should not only utilize what can be learned from others, but oneself be an inventor of strategems - αὐτὸν ποιητὴν εἶναι τῶν πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους μηχανημάτων - just as musicians render not only those compositions which they have learned, but try to compose others that are new. "Now, if in music that which is fresh and new wins applause, new strategems in warfare also win far greater applause, for such can deceive the enemy even more successfully."<sup>54</sup>;

The idea of war as a creative art, which Xenophon was the first to express, pervades our accounts of Eumenes' generalship. Plutarch gives a particularly good example of Eumenes as a ποιητὴς μηχανημάτων at the time of the battle of the Dardanelles. Craterus, he says, thought he would be able to fall on Eumenes when his soldiers were celebrating their victory over Neoptolemus' forces: now, to have foreseen such an attack and prepared against it was the part of a good general, though not especially remarkable:

τὸ δὲ μὴ μόνον τοὺς πολεμίους ἢ μὴ καλῶς εἶχεν αἰσθέσθαι διαφυγεῖν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς μετ' αὐτὸν στρατευομένους ἀγνοοῦντας ὡς μηχανοῦνται προενσείσει τῷ Κρατερῷ καὶ ἀποκρύψει τὸν ἀντιστράτηγον, ἴδιον δοκεῖ τοῦτου τοῦ ἡγεμόνος ἔργον γενέσθαι. - 'something quite unique'.<sup>55</sup>

Eumenes' creative ingenuity showed itself again in the invention of a mechanical system for exercising his horses under the cramped conditions of a siege. (Diod. XVIII.42.3-4). The Hellenistic love of mechanical devices and admiration for feats of technology can be found frequently in the Hieronyman narrative. There was a clear distinction here between the classical world, where it was the finished work of art which attracted praise, rather than the craftsman or the means of construction, and the period after Alexander.<sup>56</sup> Alexander's siege of Tyre must have given a powerful impetus to interest in military technology;<sup>57</sup> and by the end of the fourth century mechanical invention, brought to a peak of development by Demetrius the Besieger, could

actually be regarded as a kingly activity. Plutarch tells us that some of the earlier kings of Macedon had amused themselves by making little tables or lamps, or cultivating a herb garden;<sup>58</sup> but these were

διδυμοὶ ἄχρηστοί

; and for craftsmanship valued as something noble in itself we have to go back to Odysseus, who made his marriage bed with his own hands and himself designed and constructed the raft which took him away from Calypso's island. Probably few Hellenistic rulers took hammer and chisel in their own hands, and we are not told what part Demetrius played in designing his engines of war; but the fact that potentates were willing to finance and encourage works of this sort gave the chief stimulus to their production. Biton, in the mid third century, dedicated his technical treatise on the construction of siege engines to Attalus I of Pergamum, evidently thinking this a suitable subject for a king;<sup>59</sup> and a story which Vitruvius records of the rivalry between Callias and Diognetus for the post of chief engineer at Rhodes, and the honours accorded to Diognetus by the Rhodians, shows the value set on master mechanics at this time - as does Demetrius' kidnap of eleven engineers bound for Rhodes, which Hieronymus mentioned.<sup>60</sup>

Hellenistic descriptions of 'thaumasia' dwell on features of workmanship as much as on beauty; and delight in the latest developments of technology cut across the ordinary sentiments of warfare: Lysimachus got his enemy Demetrius to put on a display of his new ships of war, the 'fifties' and 'sixties', and the Rhodians asked to keep Demetrius' great 'helepolis' as a souvenir after the siege of Rhodes.<sup>61</sup> This attitude seems to have arisen partly from the new conditions of patronage which existed at the courts of the wealthy fourth century and Hellenistic monarchs: no individual, since Hephaestus was commissioned to make Achilles' shield, had been in a position to order the production of objects that were so costly and unique. In the particular case of military technology, however, the mother of invention was usually sheer necessity. Our accounts of

the sieges at Tyre, Rhodes and Syracuse show what feats might be accomplished under the extreme pressure of siege warfare, especially on the side of the defenders, who had everything to lose. Archimedes was only the most distinguished of a line of engineers who defended Hellenistic cities under siege. One who is known to us from Hieronymus is Damis of Megalopolis, the veteran of Alexander's campaigns who successfully led his city's defence against Polyperchon in 318 by employing a system of caltrops which immobilised Polyperchon's elephants: οὗτος γὰρ τὴν ἰδίαν ἐπίνοιαν ἀντίταγμα τῆ τῶν θηρίων βίβη κατασκευάσας ἄχρηστους ἐποίησε τὰς τῶν σωμάτων βύβησιν <sup>62</sup>. Ptolemy used a

similar device against the elephants of Demetrius at Gaza, 'shrewdly foreseeing the issue' τῶν περὶ Πτολεμαίου συνέτως προεωραμένων τὰ μέλλον ἐκ τοῦ χάρακος τῆς πῆξεως, ἄπρακτον ἐποίησε τὴν βίβην αὐτῶν <sup>63</sup>.

The idea of σύνεσις and ἐπίνοια <sup>matched</sup> against βύβη and βίβη - the David and Goliath motif - which could be symbolised graphically in the stories of anti-elephant devices, is a prevailing theme of Hellenistic warfare and seems to express a general tendency of Hellenistic thought. The loss of political independence by the Greek cities and the widening of geographical horizons had as its correlate, as is often observed, a new emphasis on the individual man, reliance on internal resources, and independence of the spirit. This we can see in the teaching of the new philosophies: ἀνδραγαθία, οὐ πατραγαθία, is supposed to have been a maxim of the Stoically inclined Antigonos Gonatas; while the Cynic Bion of Borysthenes enjoined him, ἐπὶ τῶν φίλων ἐξέταξε οὐ πόθεν εἰσὶν ἀλλὰ τίνας <sup>64</sup>. The founders of the new schools are said to have embodied the ideal of calm, unimpassioned contemplation, free from the world and its perturbations. 'Autarkeia' in Stoic thought came to signify the principal private virtue, self-control, which was a necessary qualification of the good king. <sup>65</sup>

But how was 'autarkeia' to be interpreted by the man of action? Alongside the quietism of Epicurus or the unruffled integrity of the Stoics we find an immediate and vigorous response to an insecure world in the exercise of practical intelligence, wiliness, opportunism - morally uncertain qualities which are exemplified in Eumenes, par excellence. High intelligence coupled with low cunning is sometimes said to typify the ancient Greek character, and in a recent study of 'metis' among the Greeks, Detienne and Vernant attempt to delineate an entire area of Greek thought which is occupied by the versatile and the complex, the changeable and the many-coloured, the flexible and the twisted, the supple and the interwoven; it is represented in the animal kingdom by the fox and the polypus, and among the gods by Zeus, who swallowed the goddess Metis to make sure that he would never be outwitted, and by the inventive Hermes.<sup>66</sup> At certain periods in Greek history, however, this quality of intellect was more highly prized than at others: the archaic ideal of wisdom and dignity which seems to be embodied in the character of Solon, for instance, does not give a central place to the devious; and in late fifth century Athens the words σοφός and σοφιστής acquired tones of immorality, and someone like Antiphon suffered from the reputation of being too clever by half. The context in which we find the architypal 'homo duplex', Odysseus, is an age of widening horizons and exploration of foreign lands which was in these respects comparable to the early Hellenistic period; and the uncertainty of life under such conditions demanded the self-reliance, resourcefulness, adaptability and practical wisdom which are associated above all with Homer's wandering hero. Callicrates, the admiral of Ptolemy I, compared himself with Odysseus for cunning;<sup>67</sup> and Plutarch on one occasion calls Eumenes by Odysseus' epithet, πολύτροπος : it is not impossible that he found in Hieronymus some conscious reminiscence of the original ἀνὴρ πολύτροπος<sup>68</sup>.

There was a further parallel, when we consider the position of Odysseus in the Iliad, where Homer portrays him as "consciously controlling his unusual versatility and flexibility in an uneasy environment, moving with alert circumspection among people of a different heredity and outlook ... In such circumstances a person of prudence would be specially careful to conform to local etiquette. He is a marked man."<sup>69</sup> Hence the adoption of Odysseus' peculiar stance when speaking - an attempt to avoid the suspicion which would be aroused by an impression of artfulness or self-assurance. Despite his efforts, however, Odysseus is a 'Man of Odium';<sup>70</sup> and the other chieftains do not always conceal their deep suspicion and prejudice.<sup>71</sup> Odysseus' relations with the other leaders of the Trojan expedition parallel the experience of Eumenes among the Macedonians. The 'plague from the Chersonese' disclaims any intention of competing for the highest prizes, puts himself in the background until called for by popular appeal, and tries to allay suspicion and create goodwill by methods which are themselves an indication of a fertile and devious mind. It seems that in the minds of the Macedonians Eumenes' character was inseparably linked with his nationality, since they fastened on to his racial origins when looking for a term of abuse. The Romans felt much the same about the slippery diplomats they encountered in the course of the subjugation of Greece: 'adulatio' was an aspect of the polytropic character which, as Schneider observes, tended to develop as Greeks were deprived of other means of countering Roman *Bia*.<sup>72</sup> In Cicero's time the adjectives associated with 'Graecus' were 'levis', 'loquax', 'insulsus', 'fallax'. The locus classicus for Roman dislike of Greeks is Juvenal's third Satire - 'gens adulandi prudentissima'.<sup>73</sup> The conflict with traditional Roman virtues appears also in Virgil, who made his Ulysses the most detestable of the Greeks; and Odysseus only gained respectability in the Roman world through an allegorical interpretation of the Odyssey by Stoics, who came to admire the ideal type of the homo viator, acquiring 'virtus' through

adversity.

With Hieronymus' Eumenes we are still far from a purely philosophical standpoint, though there is some common ground between the historian and Stoic contemporaries in their idea of how an individual might find his way in a world apparently ruled by Chance - we should note that Diodorus was able to make moral capital out of the vicissitudes of Eumenes' career in a disquisition on Tyche which contains elements of Stoic thought;<sup>74</sup> and I shall later suggest that Hieronymus shared or had assimilated certain typically Stoic views about the necessary qualities of the good ruler, which were applied in the case of his own masters. The foxy Eumenes could not be represented by a historian in terms of an ideal of moral virtue, as he might have been by a philosophical tradition; however, he is not without his own morality. 'Metis' is "a kind of absolute weapon, the only one which can be relied on in all circumstances";<sup>75</sup> but we can only control what is calculable, and the blind power of Chance may upset the plans of the most ingenious mind. The 'polytropos' in the event of disaster can only fall back on his honour, which may at least carry him through with dignity: *δύναμις* and *πίστις* are therefore the twin pillars of Eumenes' character. This combination of apparently conflicting attributes is recommended by Xenophon in the education of his fictional Cyrus: Cyrus has learned *κακούργια* in order to practice it on his enemies; but at the same time he is to remain *δικαιοτάτος* and *νομιμώτατος*, for it is fair to take unfair advantage of an enemy: *καὶ ἐξαπατῶν δὲ καὶ πλεονεκτεῖν οὐκ ἐν ἀνθρώποις ἐπαιδεύομεν ὁμῶς, ἀλλ' ἐν θηρίοις, ἵνα μηδ' ἐν τούτοις τοὺς φίλους βλάπτοιτε, εἰ δὲ ποτε πόλεμος γένοιτο, μηδὲ τούτων ἀγύμναστοι εἴητε* <sup>76</sup>.

'Pistis' is to be exercised towards 'philoï': this simple principle is complicated, however, in Eumenes' case, by the fact of the dissensions within his own camp; and underlining Eumenes' own loyalty, there is in the sources a recurring theme of betrayal and broken trust.

'Pisteis' in a concrete sense are mentioned repeatedly: Eumenes' soldiers appear to have taken an oath of allegiance to him at least once a year, and in one year no less than three times. Now Briant, in his study of relations between Eumenes and the Macedonian army between 323 and 316, has shown that these oaths, so far from being the spontaneous affirmations of loyalty which our sources tend to represent, are in fact an expression of deep mistrust, and that the form which they take is analogous to that in later Hellenistic treaties between a king or city and a body of mercenaries in revolt, i.e. a formal engagement by which the soldiers swear to fight till the death for their employer, and he to pay them. The basis of the contract was thus financial, not personal. Furthermore, whereas the letters of a Hellenistic king to his army or garrison speak immediately to the entire hierarchy under his authority - generals, hipparchs, hegemones of infantry, soldiers - Eumenes appears to have negotiated with the 'hegemones' not with the soldiers direct. His army was "une mosaïque de contingents de toute provenance" in which each 'tagma' exercised practical autonomy, the 'stratiotai' being not institutionally subject to the Diadoch, but constituting a work force under the employment of their own commanders.<sup>77</sup> The problems arising from such a situation are self-evident. Unsupported by the prestige and the religious function of a national Macedonian king, the power of the personally ambitious Diadoch rested on his ability to secure military victory, which alone enabled him to pay his army; hence the emphasis which we find in Hieronymus on the skill of the general. Eumenes' troubles during the year 321-0 arose chiefly from lack of cash, as Briant demonstrates, and in the struggle with Antigonus he suffered from the failure to win a decisive military victory. What happened at Gabiene was the inevitable consequence of the change from national to mercenary army which had taken place since Alexander's death: when Antigonus captured the

'aposkeue', Eumenes could be said to have 'lost' it (cf. Justin XIV.3.18), i.e. he had broken his part of the contract by failing to supply pay through victory; and when the Argyraspids who handed over Eumenes to Antigonos after the battle are treated in our sources as 'oath-breakers', this is only half the picture. Diodorus and Plutarch independently seize on this episode to deliver a homily on impious acts, and we should perhaps suppose that some expression of indignation was to be found in Hieronymus: that it was misplaced is of course to be connected with his partiality for Eumenes.

We should not exclude the possibility, however, that Hieronymus did really set a high value on loyalty as a moral virtue. Not all references to 'pisteis' and 'pistis' are satisfied by the explanation of a work contract between soldiers and employer. The treacherous massacre of the Bactrian Greeks, for example, is a breach of 'pistis' (Diod. XVIII.7.7); the soldiers who stay with Polyperchon when his position seems hopeless are *μάλιστα πιστοί* (XIX.36.6); the loyalty of those who went with Eumenes to Nora is underlined, Hieronymus himself being one of them (XVIII.41.3; cf. 42.1; 50.4); and Hieronymus is said to have enjoyed the trust - 'pistis' - of Antigonos when he passed into his service (XIX.44.3). Eumenes' own loyalty is seen as directed towards the Argead house: his 'pistis' ('fides' in Nepos) is attested by all our sources, and this was certainly the word used by Hieronymus. It is not a virtue which Diodorus stresses in other parts of the Bibliothekē: his main interest lay in outstanding examples of piety and impiety.<sup>78</sup> 'Pistis' is part of a military ideal, and seems to belong peculiarly to the insecure times of the first Diadochi, suggesting ideas of moral principle and, above all, stability - *ἰσχυροδραμία* - in an uncertain world where most people acted out of self-interest. Associated notions are 'euergesia', 'eunoia', and 'homonoia': 'euergesia' on the part of a superior generates 'eunoia' and 'homonoia' in the beneficiaries, and 'pistis' is the link which binds

master and servant. This is the bond between Eumenes and the Argeads, between Hieronymus and Eumenes, and - with the qualification that 'euergesia' is strictly tangible - between soldiers and their commander.<sup>79</sup>

In conditions of discord such as prevailed in Eumenes' army after 318, it was part of the function of the good general to create 'homonoia'. Eumenes set a good example: his own loyalty to Alexander's house is implicitly contrasted with the attitudes he found in his army. He also tried to create goodwill by 'euergesia' to his men. Xenophon recommends this: πιστοὺς δὲ μὴ νόμιζε φέεσθαι ἀνδρώπους... ἀλλὰ τοὺς πιστοὺς τίθεσθαι δεῖ ἑκαστὸν ἑαυτῷ· ἡ δὲ κτήσις αὐτῶν ἐστὶν οὐδαμῶς σὺν τῇ βίᾳ, ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον σὺν τῇ εὐεργεσίᾳ.<sup>80</sup> Eumenes' solicitude for his men is in evidence during the siege of Nora. He devised exercises for both men and horses which were intended to make them sweat, and so, according to ancient medical ideas, to keep them healthy; and he used to invite his friends to dinner with him, sharing the same rations and seasoning the sparse food with the charm of his personality: thus he ensured harmony by his constant affability and accomodating manner - διὰ τῆς ὁμοίως συμπεριφορᾶς πολλὴν εὐνοίαν ἑαυτῷ, τοῖς δὲ συμπεφευγῶσι πᾶσιν ὁμονοίαν συγκτασκεύασε (XVIII.41.3-5; cf. Plut. Eum. II.3-5); and he became 'much beloved' - ἀγαπώμενος... διαφέροντως (XVIII.53.6). Again we may compare Xenophon's portrait of his ideal general, which here shows some striking similarities of detail. Working and exercising together, we are told, makes men more amiable to one another, and so Cyrus took care that his men should never come to a meal unless he had got them into a sweat by taking them out hunting, "or he would contrive such sports as would make them sweat"; and at meal times, he used to invite a selection of guests from all the ranks, and individuals as a mark of honour when he thought they were setting a good example; "And the same dishes were always set before those whom he invited to dinner as before himself."<sup>81</sup>

Other generals in Hieronymus' narrative show that they know the technique for making men loyal. Alcetas' 'euergesia' to the Pisidians, which had included dinner parties, ensured him a refuge in Pisidia when his fortune turned, and those who had enjoyed his benefactions repayed them with extraordinary 'eunoia'.<sup>82</sup> Ptolemy, too, is constantly praised for his 'euergesia' and 'philanthropia', which brought men flocking into his well-paid service: Ptolemy, however, with the wealth of Egypt at his disposal, could purchase 'eunoia', and the problems of command experienced by the outlawed adherents of Perdiccas did not arise. Like Antigonus, though employing very different methods, Ptolemy was an absolute autocrat. A closer parallel is to be found in Seleucus at the time when he returned to Babylon with a following of only 800 men: ἐπολιτεύετο δὲ καὶ πρὸς τοὺς συστρατεύοντάς καὶ κατεσκεύαζεν αὐτὸν ἴσον ἔπασιν, ὥσθ' ἕκαστον αἰδεῖσθαι καὶ τὸ πικρὸν τῆς τῶν αὐτοῦ ἐκουσίως ὑπομένειν (XIX.90.5, cf. 91.5, πᾶσι δὲ φιλικῶς ὁμιλῶν κ.τ.λ.) - an emphasis on equality which we have found in the account of Eumenes at Nora.<sup>83</sup> The common feature of these situations is adversity. Unable to bestow the beneficia of a Ptolemy, the generals who had not yet established their power were thrown back on their own resources and ability to attract a personal following. Ultimately Eumenes had little success in uniting his army. He is depicted as the smooth diplomat who helped to create 'homonoia' between the rival factions at Babylon, and later as the Themistoclean politician who gets his way within the limitations of a 'democracy', creating 'homonoia' by the device of the Alexander tent; but in the end these efforts were worth little compared with a single decisive victory and its rewards. It was a different matter, however, with the small circle of 'philoï' who were prepared to stand by him in the worst straits. Hieronymus himself is the most famous of Eumenes' 'friends': others were perhaps the veteran soldier Philippus, praised for his loyalty at a

later time when he was serving Antigonos; also Mithridates, the later king of Pontus, described at the time of Gabiene as ἀνὴρ ἀνδρείος δικοφέρων καὶ τεθρακκμένος ἐκ παιδὸς στρατιωτικῶς (XIX.40.2) - a man brought up in warrior virtues, and in the society from which Mithridates came, this implies an ethic of honour and loyalty. A following of 600 accompanied Eumenes to Nora (a number comparable to the 800 followers of Seleucus), and it was these men who were bound to their leader by a sense of personal commitment. Eumenes with his little band of faithful friends at Nora, or Alcetas among his devoted Pisidians, are a long way from the powerful, beneficent kings of the Hellenistic kingdoms; they recall more the type of warrior leader who was admired at Sparta, and such as Cyrus is supposed to have been, wandering in wild countryside and living off his wits, followed by companions tied to him by a sense of personal obligation.<sup>84</sup> The Macedonian 'hetairoi' probably had their origin in some such institution, and the unusual circumstances of the struggle after Alexander's death seem to have fostered this archaic ethic among the Diadochi and their immediate retinue. In the settled kingdoms of the Successors, the virtues made absolutely necessary in an earlier, military context, became institutionalised, so that the Hellenistic good king is typically philanthropic, beneficent, beloved by his subjects and bound to them by the bonds of 'eunoia'; and the idea of the personal bond between one man and his companions naturally lost its importance as military leaders and their comrades in arms gave place to autocratic monarchs surrounded by courtiers and the paraphernalia of established kingship; in the same way the idea of 'homonoia' is transformed into a more general goal of the king for his kingdom, and acquires wide philosophical connotations. But in the fluid and uncertain times of the wars between the first Successors, personal loyalty was at a premium. Hieronymus commented on the trust which existed between Antigonos and his son Demetrius, an example of family loyalty which Plutarch thought remarkable; also on

the genuine friendship of Lysimachus and Cassander, who were not in other ways the most attractive personalities among the Diadochi.<sup>85</sup>

" Οὐ τὸδε τὸ χρυσοῦν σκῆπτρον τὸ τὴν βασιλείαν διασωζόν ἔστιν, ἀλλ' οἱ πιστοὶ φίλοι σκῆπτρον βασιλεύειν ἀληθέστατον καὶ ἀσφαλέστατον " 86.

the sentiment, as imagined by Xenophon, of Cyrus' dying words would have been sympathetic to people who had gone through the wars of the Successors. Hieronymus' own life was a remarkable illustration of the 'eustatheia' of the trusty servant in a time of great change and upheaval: as Jacoby perceived, "er hat recht bezeichnend ein starkes Gefühl für ein neues Element der damaligen Zeit, für der Treue des Dieners."<sup>87</sup> While we may question the characterisation of Eumenes as a man who held honour dearer than life and died for the sake of his masters' lost cause, this portrait undoubtedly tells us something about Hieronymus himself and the values of his times.

The image of the ideal leader which is presented in Hieronymus' portrait of Eumenes - a master of stratagem, a model of fidelity and endurance, full of solicitude for his men - is one which evolved in an age of professional soldiering. The transformation of the national Macedonian army of Philip and Alexander into something that was scarcely to be distinguished from an army of mercenaries, put enormous emphasis on the skill of the generals who led it. Success was dependent on military victory, and Hieronymus wanted to show that Eumenes' failure was caused by malign powers outside his control, and not by personal and professional deficiencies. Men like Eumenes, Antigonus and Demetrius found their direct model in Alexander - an imitation of Alexander's methods is to be seen, for example, in the winter campaigns of Antigonus and the lightning marches of Demetrius; and in all the battles of the Diadochi we see the development of Alexander's tactics. Alexander himself, however, represented only the apex of an evolution in generalship which had begun

during the later stages of the Peloponnesian War, with the need for generals to master new methods of fighting and serve for long periods away from home. Phalinos of Zacynthus, who got a job as military advisor to Tissaphernes, and Coeratadas the Theban, who turned up while the Ten Thousand were at Byzantium "asking if any city or tribe needed a general", were men who had perhaps gained experience in the wars of the late fifth century and were trying to turn it to good account instead of returning to civilian life.<sup>88</sup> They are our earliest examples of the professional generals of the fourth century, a century which is commonly characterised as the age of the professional. Socrates, as Wade-Gery put it, was the last of the amateurs. Aristotle and Isocrates commented on the way the functions of the traditional Athenian statesman had become diversified and specialised - to an unwelcome degree, in Isocrates' view. Plato, in an early dialogue, the Laches, discussed the topic of education in warfare; and in the Euthydemus, which is set after 404, he ridicules the teaching of the sophists Euthydemus and Dionysodorus, who are now including military science as a subject for instruction. ('If it is a good thing to carry arms in war, then one ought to have as many shields and spears as possible; but if it is a good thing to have only one of each, then even Geryon or Briareus needs no more.' is supposed to be a sample of their methods!)<sup>89</sup> This same Dionysodorus appears in Xenophon's Memorabilia, as an itinerant teacher who once came to Athens professing

στρατηγῆν διδάσκειν : but upon investigation, he turns out to teach nothing but tactics.<sup>90</sup> We find a similar character in the Cyropaedia whose flimsy teaching is exposed by Cyrus' father: what good is the theory of tactics, he says, when you know nothing about supplies, medical preparations, strategy or discipline?<sup>91</sup> And Xenophon's attitude is the same in the Peri Hippikes, which Delebecque describes not as a technical manual on horsemanship, but an essay written by a cultivated

amateur, hostile to specialists: Simon, the author of an earlier treatise on horsemanship, is dismissed as ἵππικὸς ὢν - 'horsey'.<sup>92</sup>

Whatever their shortcomings may have been, these people are a good barometer of the new interest in military theory. The sophists evidently found interested pupils, and the work on poliorcetics and tactics by Aeneas of Arcadia, 'the first of the Greeks after Homer to be interested in military science', must have met a need for a comprehensive handbook on the subject.<sup>93</sup> Xenophon, too, did not content himself with criticising the efforts of others, but offered his own theories of generalship in the didactic work Hipparchikos, 'The Cavalry Commander', and in his romantic 'Education of Cyrus', an essay on generalship and statecraft which enjoyed enormous popularity throughout antiquity.<sup>94</sup> Scipio, famously, had the Cyropaedia 'always in his hand';<sup>95</sup> and the obvious analogy between the conquests of Cyrus and those of Alexander makes it likely that it was widely read in the Hellenistic period.<sup>96</sup> Alexander's personal admiration for the historical Cyrus is reliably attested; and probably Onesicritus was imitating Xenophon's Cyropaedia when he wrote the work reported as πῶς ἤχθη Ἀλέξανδρος<sup>97</sup>. It was an especial favourite with the Cynics, and its influence on the Stoics, who were in a general way deeply interested in Xenophon's writings, is possibly to be seen in Persaeus' 'Peri Basileias'.<sup>98</sup> The Cyropaedia, and equally, Xenophon's Anabasis, had a clear relevance to the campaigns of the first Successors in Asia: these were works to which one would naturally turn for information about the journey into the heart of the Persian Empire; and I have referred frequently to Xenophon for parallels to the ideas found in Hieronymus, because Xenophon's ideal of leadership seems to throw light on the characterisation of Hieronymus' hero, Eumenes, and on his assessment of Eumenes' rivals. It is not certain whether we should imagine a direct literary influence of Xenophon on Hieronymus.

The description of Eumenes' behaviour at Nora does appear to echo a passage in the Cyropaedia; but we should not overlook the possibility of an actual imitation by the general himself. In the period after 323 Eumenes found himself in a unique and extraordinarily lonely position: a book like this might seem to offer some sort of guidance in circumstances in which there were no established lines of conduct.<sup>99</sup>

A third consideration arises from the fact, already mentioned, that Xenophon was a favourite writer among the Cynics and Stoics. His idealisation of the Persian monarchy - an early expression, as Goodenough observed, of disenchantment with the failed Greek democracy<sup>100</sup> - was necessarily of great interest to writers on kingship, and Hellenistic theoretical literature on the art of ruling seems to have shared many of the ideas of the Cyropaedia. It may be supposed that Hieronymus assimilated current ideas on the question of kingship, especially during the last period of his life when he was living in the Stoic atmosphere of Antigonid Macedon and writing his history. Accordingly, it is possible that the ideals of leadership which I have tried to isolate in his history are related not to Xenophon direct, but to 'Peri Basileias' literature, or to Hieronymus' immediate contacts with Stoic opinion: the influence of Zeno was dominant at Antigonus' court; Persaeus was on the spot to expound his master's views. Despite the loss of most of the kingship literature, it is legitimate to infer something about the common Hellenistic ideals and doctrines of kingship from a later work like the Letter of Aristeas, in conjunction with fragments of the early philosophers; and it seems clear from this evidence that the ideas of homonoia and philanthropia were basic to the picture of the good king. Chrysippus wrote two or more books on Homonoia, and though the connection with kingship is not made explicit in any surviving fragments of the early Stoics, it seems reasonable to assume that it was made in the treatises on kingship by Persaeus, Sphaerus,

and Cleanthes. It appears later in Dio, and probably affected the tradition about Alexander's famous attempt to promote 'homonoia' between Macedonians and Persians.<sup>101</sup> For Zeno, Eros was the god of friendship and freedom who establishes homonoia in the state (SVF I.263); and it is probably Zeno who is lending a benevolent presence to the marriages at Susa, symbolising homonoia between Macedon and Asia in the Boscoreale painting discussed earlier. Homonoia was a matter of understanding the publicness of the good *ἐπιστήμη κοινῶν ἀγαθῶν* (SVF 3.292, 625, 630); and friendship was defined as the common use, *κοινωνία*, of everything in life - one treats one's friends as oneself. Philanthropia is a recurring theme in the 'questions and answers' section of the Letter of Aristeas: it is the love of a king for his subjects, and the most necessary possession of a king (265). It is exhibited in 'euergesia', which ensures the loyalty of his friends and subjects (190) and their love - *ἀγάπησις* - for the king. The bond between them will be 'eunoia', which is the best assurance of safety (230).<sup>102</sup>

When we consider Hieronymus' account of Eumenes, skilled in establishing 'homonoia' in many situations, and the many references to loyalty and friendship which have been discussed, particularly the feeling of fellowship which grew up among the company at Nora, it is apparent that some of the fundamental ideas of kingship theory were already present in Hieronymus' treatment of the Diadochi, Eumenes representing his ideal of leadership. How far he has distorted his account of the Successors in order to match it to monarchic opinion at the time of writing can hardly be decided; but it seems probable that, on the whole, it authentically reflects attitudes that were current in the period immediately after Alexander, rather than those of the third century. The influences which worked together to produce the Hellenistic conception of monarchy came from more than one quarter: the philosopher

king of Plato and Aristotle, the more practical ideas of Isocrates, the Cyropaedia, and, with Alexander, oriental notions.<sup>103</sup> It seems to me likely that there was also a direct channel through which early third century writers acquired their ideas of how a king should and should not behave, and this was the actual behaviour of the Diadochi, which Hieronymus describes.<sup>104</sup> Antigonus, Seleucus and the rest were like kings within their own armies long before the assumption of royal titles; and the armies, we have seen, were in their own way great cities. Notions of concord, beneficence and goodwill (and their opposites) sprang up naturally in the military milieu where it was absolutely necessary to the success of the general to establish a relationship with his 'philoï' based on personal trust, and a similar relationship, based on 'euergesia' and reciprocal 'eunoia', with the mass of the army, his 'subjects'. Something of this formative stage can be seen in Hieronymus, whose narrative demonstrates the practical necessities governing the attitudes of the dynasts, and in this way anticipates theoretical expressions of the art of ruling. Further instances will emerge in his characterisation of Antigonus and Demetrius.

#### Antigonus Monophthalmus

Hieronymus' account of Eumenes was probably the most colourful part of his history, but not the most objective. A desire to correct earlier, derogatory accounts of his fellow-countryman may have been his original inspiration and motive for writing history; but it was actually the death of Eumenes which emancipated Hieronymus as a historian: with it we leave the realm of apologia and memoir writing. Hieronymus' treatment of his later masters, men with whom his relationship was less close, shows a depth and a power of analysis which we do not find either in an author like Xenophon, whose writing was almost entirely personal and apologetic, and who was unable to recognise a great man in real life,

or in the plain, military historian, Ptolemy, who seems to have made no attempt to understand and explain Alexander's character.<sup>105</sup> The value which Hieronymus placed on 'synesis' is evident already in the characterisation of Eumenes, and Diodorus' account of the Diadochi makes constant use of words like *συλλογίζομαι* and *νομιζω*, referring to psychological processes, which show that Hieronymus was not content with observable details but tried to understand the plans and motives which determined action.

Diodorus XVIII is punctuated by a series of digressions which analyse the aspirations of different individuals and act as a commentary on the historical narrative:<sup>106</sup> there is nothing comparable in other parts of the *Bibliothēke*, and it must be supposed that Diodorus here substantially represents Hieronymus.<sup>107</sup> The passages in question act as an introduction to the Diadochi as individuals: the contrasts of character among the generals as a group offered unusual possibilities to the historian, and an interplay of personalities was one way of keeping a coherent thread in a complicated narrative. The secondary authors have done their best to reduce Hieronymus' individuals to generic types - by Aelian's time the list of epithets for the Diadochi has become canonical<sup>108</sup> - but we can still discern distinctive traits, especially in Antigonus and Demetrius, who occupy the central place in the account from 316-302. Antigonus the elder is shown as successor to the high ambition of Perdikkas, and his aspirations are contrasted on the one hand with those of Ptolemy, who is said to have renounced all claim to the supreme power, and on the other with those of Eumenes, who is represented as the disinterested champion of the infant king Alexander IV. Antigonus' personality was thus the most positive element in the historical development of the period after Antipater's death: the great coalitions - 'koinopragiai' - of the other Diadochi formed in response to his provocation; the Greeks organised themselves on his initiative. Antigonus

Monophthalmus was the driving force behind the course of events which led from Triparadeisos to Ipsus, and the history of this period was essentially his history. The extraordinary energy of this aggressive and indomitable man, the largeness of his vision, and the inexorable ambition which impelled him towards it, seem to have made a deep impression on Hieronymus, even though he frequently condemned his methods and perhaps judged his aims as ultimately impracticable. His portrait of his second master is not altogether free from bias: having concluded that Antigonus' downfall was caused by certain defects of character and leadership, Hieronymus may sometimes have judged him unfairly by holding him against a preconceived idea which he supposed to have existed in Eumenes. In contrast, however, to the subjective and romantic treatment of the Eumenes narrative, the portrait of Antigonus is realistic in the sense that Thucydides' representation of the Athenian empire is realistic: this was a study in power, which pointed both to its grandeur and its brutality.

Huge in physique, ruthless in his dealings with men, loud-voiced and one-eyed, Antigonus the elder must have presented a terrifying spectacle. To the prisoners of war after Gabiene, he was certainly a dramatic change from the insinuating and conciliatory Eumenes. Probably Hieronymus intended to portray a deliberate contrast. Plutarch tells us that Eumenes was slight and neat featured, not a powerful speaker, but *ἄμυλος καὶ μεθυστός*<sup>109</sup>. Antigonus, on the other hand, was taller even than the heroic Demetrius, and in old age so heavy that he had difficulty getting about; and he was accustomed to talk loudly and give a loud laugh.<sup>110</sup> References to the appearance and traits of the two men are scattered throughout Plutarch's Lives of Eumenes and Demetrius, and not exploited in a rhetorical comparison, and it seems likely, therefore, that many go back to Hieronymus himself.<sup>111</sup>

It may be assumed that the direct approach was habitual in Hieronymus. Bruns, in his classic account of individualism in Greek historiography, drew a distinction between annalistic historians like Thucydides and Livy, who, he claimed, tend to characterise obliquely, and those like Polybius, whose approach was subjective and direct.<sup>112</sup> This rule, however, imposes too rigid a classification. A number of the character sketches in Thucydides can hardly be described as anything but 'direct'; on the other hand, Polybius' approach is scientific rather than subjective, as Leo stressed.<sup>113</sup> It seems less important to distinguish different stylistic laws for different types of history writing than to stress the generally increasing popularity of direct description in the fourth century and among the Hellenistic historians, which naturally accompanied the writing of history in which individuals were of the first importance, and in which the examination of individual motives and psychology necessitated an explicit assessment. The vocabulary used by Hieronymus in describing his protagonists is largely concealed behind the veil of language and interpretation which later authors have cast over his work;<sup>114</sup> but in the depiction of the Antigonids we seem to catch occasional glimpses of the original.

Antigonus is introduced at the time of his flight from Perdiccas as ἀνὴρ πρακτικώτατος τῶν ἡγεμόνων, and as συνέσει καὶ τόλμῃ διαφέρων<sup>115</sup>. The words are Diodorus' own. The phrase συνέσει καὶ τόλμῃ διαφέρων is a common cliché in the Bibliothekē; πρακτικώτατος is used also of Alcibiades (XIII.68.6) and Diodorus elsewhere uses the adjective πρακτικός (XV.64.5). This may, however, represent Hieronymus' introduction of the man who later dominated his history, and in the word πρακτικώτατος Diodorus hints at the energy and activity which characterise Antigonus in the rest of his account: he was, above all, someone who carried out 'praxeis'. Antigonus' military talents are also mentioned in conventional terms: XVIII.72.5,

διὰ τῆς ἰδίας ἀρχινοίας καὶ στρατηγίας ἀνεμχέοατο τὸ γεγονός ἐλέπτωμα; XVIII.73.1, Ἀντίγονος μὲν οὖν τηλικαύτη συμφορᾷ περιστάλων τοῖς πολεμίοις μεγάλην ἐπὶ στρατηγίᾳ καὶ συνέσει δοξάν ἀπηνέγκτα. Both passages refer to the naval victory over Cleitus in 318; and here, perhaps, Hieronymus had introduced Antigonus as a great general and tactician.

The adjectives which Diodorus chiefly associates with Antigonus are *ὑπερήφανος* and *τραχύς*, and both have special reference to his manner of speaking. The passages are as follows: XVIII.52.4, Arrhidaeus listened to Antigonus' ambassadors, καὶ τὸ τῶν λόγων ὑπερήφανον κατκεμψόμενος κ.τ.λ.; XIX.56.2, Seleucus denounces Antigonus before Ptolemy - ὑπεδείκνυεν ὑπερήφανον γεγενημένον καὶ ταῖς ἐλπίσι περιεϊδήφοτα πᾶσαν τὴν Μακεδόνων βασιλείαν; XIX.57.2, Antigonus' reply to the envoys of Ptolemy, Lysimachus and Cassander in 315: τοῦ δ' Ἀντιγόνου τραχύτερον ἀποκρινόμενου καὶ τε πρὸς πόλεμον εἰπόντος παρασκευάσθαι κ.τ.λ.; XX.82.3, Antigonus' reply to the Rhodian envoys, τραχύτερον δὲ τοῦ βασιλέως ἀπαντῶντος κ.τ.λ.; XX.106.3, Antigonus replied to Cassander's envoys in 302 that he recognised only one basis for a settlement, namely, that Cassander should surrender whatever he possessed; Cassander therefore sent to Ptolemy and Seleucus, περὶ τε τῆς ὑπερηφανίας τῆς ἐν ταῖς ἀποκρίσεσιν ἐμφανίσοντες. The adjective *ὑπερήφανος* is part of Diodorus' standard vocabulary for tyrannical rulers; and he speaks of *ὑπερηφανία* in a philosophical digression in book XVIII which I take to be his own: τῆ γὰρ τῶν πράξεων ἀνωμαδίᾳ καὶ μεταβολῇ διορθοῦται (sc. ἡ ἱστορία) τῶν μὲν εὐτυχούντων τὴν ὑπερηφανίαν, τῶν δ' ἀκλυσούντων τὴν ἀψυχίαν (XVIII.59.6). This suggests that Diodorus liked to collect examples of *ὑπερηφανία* and consequent *μεταβολή*; and Antigonus, of course, was an object lesson in pride and reversal of fortune. The word may, however, have been used by Hieronymus, since it is regular throughout the Hellenistic period, and particularly in connection with

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theories of the good ruler: *ὑπερηφανία* is the opposite of *ἐπιείκεια* and *πραότης*, and the philosophers regarded it as the worst possible vice of a king. There are many references in Philodemus' *Περὶ Κακιῶν*; and in the Letter of Aristeas we are told explicitly that *ὑπερηφανία* is the one thing the king should at all costs avoid (269): he should cultivate *ἰσότης* and remember at all times that he is a man ruling men (262).

The word *τραχύς* I have not found of an individual in Diodorus outside XIX.56.2: it is not rare in other authors in this sense, but was clearly less favoured by Diodorus than, for example, *βαρύς*, which is frequent as a personal epithet.<sup>116</sup> Perdiccas is called *τραχύς* in the fragments of Arrian, and Hieronymus probably saw a parallel between his personality and that of Antigonus. Plutarch, also, calls Antigonus *τραχύς* in a general assessment of his short-comings; and here, as in Diodorus, the word refers to his manner of speech. "It would seem that if only Antigonus had made some trifling concessions and slackened his excessive passion for dominion, he might always have retained the supremacy for himself and have left it to his son: φύσει δὲ βαρύς ὢν καὶ ὑπερόπτης, καὶ τοῖς λόγοις οὐχ ἥππων ἢ τοῖς πράγμασι τραχύς, πολλοὺς καὶ νέους καὶ δυνατοὺς ἄνδρας ἐξηγρίκινε καὶ περῶξυνε<sup>117</sup>. It was his custom, says Plutarch, to talk loudly and pompously; and he gives an example of the sort of remark by which Antigonus gave offence and annoyed people: before the battle of Ipsus he said that he would scatter his enemies with a single stone and a single shout, as if they were a flock of birds. Other arrogant or cynical sayings are attributed to him in the Moralia.<sup>118</sup> Diodorus did not have Plutarch's concern with the dicta of famous men, but his constant allusions to the arrogant replies of Antigonus suggest that self-confidence and astringency of manner which Plutarch remarked on.

The same impression is conveyed in the phrase *παύρης ὄγκου καὶ*

*φρονήματος*, used of Antigonus in the analysis at Diod. XVIII.50.4. This is a regular formula in Diodorus, but occurs with unusual frequency in book XVIII, suggesting that Hieronymus anticipated in the earlier part of his work later reversals of fortune.<sup>119</sup> Personal disaster is often preceded by *φρόνημα*: this was the case with Pithon, before the collapse of his schemes in Bactria: Nicanor, before Cassander had him murdered; Ptolemaeus, before he was murdered by Ptolemy. Applied to Antigonus at the time when he was first making great plans, it seems to look forward to his final 'peripeteia'. Words associated with *φρόνημα* and *ὄγκος* in Diodorus are *μετέωρος* and *μετεωρίζομαι, μεγαλειόβολος, περιχρήης, ἐπαρθείς*. The word *μετέωρος* is used of Antigonus, describing his reaction to the news of Antipater's death, and again after the battle of Salamis; and Plutarch also calls him *μετέωρος* at the time when he refused to help Eumenes conquer Cappadocia.<sup>120</sup> The word is standard in the Hellenistic period, but the fact that Justin appears to translate it in the word elatus suggests that it may go back to Hieronymus.<sup>121</sup>

How far the later authors are indebted to Hieronymus linguistically for the characterisation of Antigonus remains very uncertain: Hieronymus' vocabulary probably overlapped with that of his epitomisers in many cases, but it is very rarely that we can identify it with confidence. The consistency of the portrait, on the other hand, leaves little doubt about Hieronymus' general view of Antigonus; and indirect characterisation, which is perhaps the surest guide to Hieronymus' approach, since it could not be obscured by superficial re-writing, amply supports the impression given by direct descriptions. Antigonus was a hard master and a man of ruthless ambition, in whom there was, nevertheless, a certain grandeur and largeness of purpose and a driving energy, which made him the truest of Alexander's successors in everything but personal charm.

We see the *τραχύτης* of Antigonus in his treatment of Alcetas' corpse (Diod. XVIII.47.3), an episode which is juxtaposed to the account of the 'eunoia' shown to Alcetas by the 'neoterói' of Termessus; and again in the burning of Antigenes (XIX.44.1-3).<sup>122</sup>

Both were incidents which Hieronymus might have suppressed, and which were not essential to his narrative. There is a similar instance of brutality in Diodorus' account of the Egyptian campaign of 306: when Antigonus saw that men were trying to desert by crossing the river in punts, he stationed bowmen, slingers and catapults on the bank

to drive them back, and when he captured some, he tortured them frightfully,

"pour encourager les autres": *δεινῶς ἠκίσκτο, βουλόμενος καταπλήσασθαι τοὺς τῆς ὁμοίας ὀρμῆς ἀντεχομένους*<sup>123</sup>. Hieronymus perhaps intended

here to recall the behaviour of Perdiccas in 321. Their unsuccessful invasions of Egypt were an obvious point of comparison between Antigonus and Perdiccas, and Hieronymus seems to have attributed their military failure largely to high-handed methods which alienated the soldiers.

Of Perdiccas, Diodorus says, *καὶ γὰρ φονικός ἦν, καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἡγεμόνων περικιρούμενος τὰς ἐξουσίας καὶ καθόλου πάντων βουλόμενος ἄρχειν βικίως, ὁ δὲ Πτολεμαῖος τοῦνακτιον εὐεργετικός καὶ ἐπιεικής καὶ μεταδιδούς* ... *τῆς παρρησίας*: hence Perdiccas' men began to desert him for Ptolemy.<sup>124</sup>

The epithets *φονικός* and *βίαιος* are part of Diodorus' regular vocabulary for cruel tyrants,<sup>125</sup> and this looks at first like a rhetorical comparison inspired by the pro-Ptolemaic source of XVIII.34. The parallel

account in Arrian, however, also speaks of attempted desertions to Ptolemy -

*τραχὺς πρὸς τοὺς παρὰ Πτολεμαίων ἐθέλοντας χωρῆσαι διὰν καταστάς* - and of general resentment and reluctance in the army, and describes

Perdiccas as *τῆς στρατιᾶς ὑπερογκότερον ἢ κατὰ στρατηγὸν προσφερόμενος* - perhaps an allusion to the ban on 'parrhesia' in Perdiccas' camp.<sup>126</sup>

The characterisation of Perdiccas, therefore, is taken from the common source of Diodorus and Arrian. It is also consistent with behaviour

which Diodorus has mentioned before: the execution of Meleager and the thirty rebels, the crucifixion of Ariarathes, the sack of Laranda and Isauria, all might be regarded as deeds that were *φοβικά* and *τραχέα*; and it seems likely that Hieronymus saw an ironic parallel between Perdiccas, the first of the dynasts to try for the supreme power, and Antigonus, the man who denounced Perdiccas and then stepped into his shoes, only to be denounced in his turn by the next ruler of Asia, Seleucus, and to come to grief through defects of character similar to those of Perdiccas himself. Antigonus suffered desertions not only from the ranks but also among his officers: his nephew Telesphorus deserted in 312 through envy of another nephew, Ptolemaeus; three years later Ptolemaeus himself deserted to Ptolemy; Docimus and Phoenix, both valuable senior commanders, decamped before Ipsus.<sup>127</sup> This was surely the result of that tactlessness in his personal dealings to which Plutarch alludes in his assessment of Antigonus, and to the lack of 'parrhesia' which is attested in some of the apophthegms and in Plutarch's statement that Antigonus never consulted anyone about his plans, but expected blind obedience: if even Demetrius was not to be told at what time the trumpet would sound, the nephews may well have felt that their chances of promotion and independence in command were curtailed.<sup>128</sup>

The narrative of Antigonus' campaigns shows further aspects of *επιεργασιών* and a style of leadership which was the antithesis to that of Eumenes: despite his skill as a tactician, which Diodorus praises in conventional tributes to his 'strategia', Antigonus neglected those other parts of good generalship which Xenophon had demanded: knowledge of terrain, precautions against climate and native opposition, provision of supplies, consideration for the welfare of his men.<sup>129</sup> The first sign is the forced march across Pisidia, when Antigonus covered forty miles a day for seven days, a march which must have strained his men intolerably (Diod. XVIII.44.2). Antigonus was probably imitating the lightning

campaigns of Alexander, which the King undertook especially in his early career, when he was trying to establish an independent reputation. Antigonus was in a comparable position after 323, since his previous career had been less distinguished than those of the other generals, and he needed to attract support by proving himself equal to Alexander.<sup>130.</sup>

Other examples of insensitive leadership can be found in the campaigns of 317: here Hieronymus had an opportunity to use the subtle personality of Eumenes as a foil to that of Antigonus, the embodiment of *βώμη*<sup>131</sup>. During the crossing into Media Antigonus loses men first through the summer heat of Mesopotamia ( *ἔτε... τῆς ἕρας οὐσίας περὶ κυνὸς ἀνατολῆς* ) and then in the battle of the Coprates. The Coprates, says Diodorus, was a swift river, and 'needed boats or a bridge'; but Antigonus' only provision for the crossing was to seize a few punts - *ὀλίγα πλοῖα κοντωτά* - and Eumenes was able to fall on his army as it crossed in disorder ( *τεθορυβημένους* ) while Antigonus could only look on like a spectator ( *θεωρῶν* ) unable to go to the aid of his troops *διὰ τὴν τῶν πλοίων σπάνιν*. The crossing of rivers was an elementary point of ancient strategy to which Xenophon refers more than once in the strategy section of the *Hipparchikos*: "... if the order of the file is not kept there is confusion wherever the roads are narrow or rivers are being crossed." "Halt at rivers to let the rear guard catch up." "In crossing rivers, again, a man with his wits about him may dog the enemy's steps without danger and regulate according to his will the number of the enemy that he chooses to attack."

Further disasters followed in the mountain passes, where Antigonus had to pass through the territory of the wild Cossaeon tribesmen; for he considered it *ἀγεννές* to use persuasion or gifts on the natives, thereby neglecting the advice of Pithon, the satrap of Media and an expert on local conditions: *εἰς τοιαύτην δ' ἀμηχανίαν συγκλεισθεὶς Ἀντίγονος μετεμέλετο μὲν ἐπὶ τοῦ μὴ πεισθῆναι τοῖς περὶ Πίθωνα, συμβουλεύουσι χρημάτων πρίσασθαι τὴν*

ἡγεμόνων (XIX.19.8). We may compare Xenophon's advice to the cavalry commander: "A cavalry commander should be at pains even in time of peace to acquaint himself with hostile and friendly country alike. In case he is without personal experience, he should at least consult the men in the force who have the best knowledge of various localities. For the leader who knows the roads has a great advantage over one who does not".<sup>132</sup> The Cossaei were famous fighters: they had fought on Darius' side at Arbela, and were one of the last tribes to be subdued by Alexander.<sup>133</sup> Seleucus won their support in his war against Antigonos after 311, showing what might be done by diplomacy.<sup>134</sup> According to Polybius, the Cossaei, like other tribes of the Zagrus, were held διχφέρειν πρὸς τῆς παλεμικῆς χρείας: *οἱ* in his struggle against Antiochus in 221-20 the rebel Molon made use of light-armed forces from Kurdistan; and Antiochus, in his reconquest of the east, showed the right way of dealing with opposition of this kind and of climbing the mountain passes in conditions like those Antigonos had faced.<sup>135</sup> Antigonos' treatment of the Cossaei was therefore a serious error. Since he had remained in Phrygia while Alexander went east, the eastern satrapies of the empire were new territory to him at this time: hence the especial importance of Pithon's local knowledge; and it seems not unlikely that Hieronymus derived his account of the disastrous crossing into Media from Pithon himself.<sup>136</sup> When Antigonos at last came down into Media he was faced by mutiny in the army, and on this occasion alone he is said to have treated the soldiers 'philanthropically' - φιλευθέρως ὁμιλήσας τοῖς στρατιώταις (XIX.20.1) - just as Perdikkas had tried to correct his mistakes when he realised the feeling of the army in Egypt: ὁ δ' ὄν Perdίκκας... πάντας δὲ φιλευθέρως ὁμιλήσας ἐξιδιοποιήσας (XVIII.33.5).<sup>137</sup>

The φωναὶ δυσχερεῖς of Antigonos' soldiers seem to express the historian's criticism. It is perhaps also no accident that these incidents are directly juxtaposed to the account of Eumenes' march through Persis: where Antigonos had overridden the suggestions of Pithon, Eumenes deferred

to the wishes of his colleagues; and where Antigonus had squandered his men in the sweltering plains and in the impassable mountains, Eumenes journeyed through a land which was *μετέωρος καὶ τὸν ἀέρα παντελῶς ὑγιεινὸν ἔχουσα καὶ πλήρης τῶν ἐπετείων κερπῶν*. Here the soldiers found parks and streams and fruit trees, and brave Persian bowmen instead of the mushroom-eating Cossaei; and those who travelled with Eumenes lingered with pleasure in *τόποις ἡδίστοις πρὸς ἀνάπαυσιν*, lavishly entertained by the satrap Peucestas, while Pithon was scouring Media for pack animals.<sup>138</sup>

The surprise attack on Eumenes during winter 317-16 was probably another attempt to imitate the campaigning techniques of Alexander; and here again the tone of the narrative suggests that Antigonus was unreasonable in the demands he made of his soldiers' endurance. The cold of mid-winter compelled them to light fires in the desert, and the secrecy of the expedition was spoiled.<sup>139</sup> Antigonus tried another winter march at the end of the year 314: he "first tried to cross the Taurus range, where he encountered deep snow and lost large numbers of his men. Turning back, therefore, into Cilicia and seizing another opportunity, he crossed the same range in greater safety and on reaching Celaenae in Phrygia divided his army for wintering."<sup>140</sup> Diodorus' account is very abbreviated at this point, but a characteristic procedure is still recognisable: Antigonus underestimates the weather conditions, takes a short cut, loses numbers of men, and finally has to go by the longer route after all.

The Arabian expedition follows the same pattern.<sup>141</sup> Antigonus underestimated the resistance of the Nabataeans as he had underestimated the resistance of the Cossaei: the Nabataeans were 'phileleutheroi', and the speech of the barbarian chieftain to Demetrius is a reply to the 'phronema' of the autocrat. His words articulate the theme of skill against strength which pervades much of the narrative of Diodorus/

Hieronimus in ways I have illustrated in connection with Eumenes. The Nabataeans, with their cunningly contrived water tanks and their ability to melt into the trackless desert, like Herodotus' Scythians retreating endlessly into the northern wastes, are the paradigm of independence and self-reliance, able to run circles round their massive but cumbersome opponent: once again we see the value which Hellenistic thought set on the philosophy of 'autarkeia', an ideal which seemed to be lived out by certain communities of noble barbarians. Three expeditions failed against the wily Arabs, of which the third was the party led by Hieronimus himself. Here, perhaps, there was personal animus in his account. No military forces are mentioned in the instructions which Antigonus gave to Hieronimus, and such military escort as was sent with them can hardly have been larger than the forces of 4,000 under Athenaeus and Demetrius. It is probable, therefore, that Hieronimus and his party were inadequately protected against the 6,000 Arabs who attacked them and 'killed almost everyone'.<sup>142</sup>

We may suspect a personal motive too, behind Hieronimus' account of the invasion of Egypt. By the year 306 Antigonus was very old and very obstinate, and obstinacy, as Onasander tells us, is a great defect in a general.<sup>143</sup> When his naval officers warned him of the autumn gales, Antigonus accused them of cowardice - an instance of *τραχείς λόγοι* - and in his eagerness to forestall Ptolemy, he advanced at once through the desert with the land army, *μετὰ κακοπαιδείας*<sup>144</sup>. Demetrius and the fleet sailed along the coast, and after a few days were overtaken by wind and storm, as the experts had predicted: many ships were lost and others found it impossible to land on the harbourless shore around the Nile delta; and at last Antigonus was forced to agree that he should return another time, 'better prepared', when the Nile was at its lowest. Nothing had been learned, it seems, from the experience of the Achaemenid kings in their efforts to recapture Egypt. Diodorus'

account of the invasions of 351 and 350 is of particular interest in this connection: in 351 Artaxerxes had called on the expert knowledge of Tennes of Sidon, because Tennes "was acquainted with the topography of Egypt and knew accurately the landing places along the Nile";<sup>145</sup> the following year, having executed the useful Tennes, the king experienced grave difficulties approaching Egypt by way of the swamps of Barathra and lost part of his army *διὰ τὴν ἀπειρίαν τῶν τόπων*.<sup>146</sup> Even Perdiccas had chosen early summer for his attack on Egypt, when the weather was favourable and the Nile low; and Hieronymus, who probably sailed with Demetrius and shared the sufferings of the fleet, may have felt that once again, Antigonus' arrogance had incurred needless risks.

It is arguable that a prejudice against Antigonus' methods affected Hieronymus' judgment of his strategy. The conclusion of Seibert's detailed study of this campaign is that Antigonus' failure lay "in der fehlerhaften Strategie und Gesamtplanung des Feldzuges": he supposes that Antigonus' plan was to make the difficult crossing of the Nile delta towards Alexandria, actively supported by the fleet on the coast, and accepts the criticism of this strategy which is implicit in Diodorus' account.<sup>147</sup> It has recently been suggested, however, that Antigonus' original intention was to travel inland to Memphis, accompanied by those ships, probably about half the fleet, whose draught was shallow enough to navigate the Pelusiac branch of the Nile.<sup>148</sup> This imaginative plan would have had far more to recommend it strategically, and might explain, incidentally, why Antigonus did not hesitate to invade when the river was running high. The matter remains uncertain, since we have only the summaries of Plutarch and Pausanias to compare with Diodorus' account.<sup>149</sup> Diodorus makes it clear that Ptolemy was in any case prepared against all eventualities: he had garrisoned all the strong points of the country in advance, and had already blocked off the

Pelusiatic mouth and mobilised a number of small, manoeuvrable river boats which effectively repelled Demetrius' force and rendered it ἀχρηστός . With hindsight, and perhaps influenced by ideas of the natural 'autarkeia' of Egypt such as we find in Hecataeus, Hieronymus may have felt that this country was really impregnable when held by a strong and intelligent ruler. What we miss, here, as in his account of the Arabian campaign, the purpose of which is never made explicit, is an explanation of Antigonus' point of view. Diodorus does not say, what was clearly the case, that Antigonus was in a hurry to exploit the victory at Salamis and finish Ptolemy off before the winter set in: if he had waited till the next spring, Ptolemy would have had time to build up his strength again; hence he took a gamble on the weather and Ptolemy's state of preparation. One of Hieronymus' failings as a military historian was perhaps that he was too ready to adopt the standpoint of subordinate officers like the κυβερνήται in Demetrius' fleet (other examples have been mentioned in the previous chapter). However, if it is true, as Plutarch claimed, that Antigonus never let anyone in on his plans, the general had only himself to blame if in the end his strategy was not understood.

Diodorus may have obscured nuances in Hieronymus' portrayal of Antigonus in order to highlight his central characteristics. However, Plutarch's account substantially agrees; and the consistency of the portrait throughout Diodorus XVIII, XIX and XX is one argument for a single source in these books. Even in the winter of 302, when Antigonus' end was already near, he gives a sad picture of the grim old general still battling through ὄμβροι μεγάλοι and χώρα πηλώδης, hoping to catch Lysimachus.<sup>150</sup> Hieronymus invited his readers to see Antigonus as a man who was ruined, not, like Eumenes, by force of circumstance, but through a fault of character which expressed itself in the attempt to bully men and nature, and which vitiated his

leadership. Arrogance, according to the Letter of Aristeas, is the worst fault of a king: he should not forget that he is a man among men, and should not be carried away by the desire for conquest (222, 223); his military commanders should be men of justice who think it more important to save men's lives than to gain victory by rashness. In these respects, then, Antigonus was the antithesis of the good ruler of Hellenistic theory. As a psychological study, Hieronymus' analysis is supported in many points by the recent work of Norman Dixon on the psychology of generalship.<sup>151</sup> Dixon argues that the common factor in the make-up of incompetent generals who perpetrate disasters is that they are authoritarian: he mentions Elphinstone of Kabul, Buller of Spion Kop, Townshend of Kut. Wrong decisions, humiliating surrenders, enormous casualties, the refusal to listen to sound advice - all these characterise the leadership of personalities who are dogmatic, inflexible, callous, conformist and obsessive. Obviously competent generals - Montgomery and Rommel, for example - were not like this. We need not doubt Antigonus' great ability as an organiser and as a tactician;<sup>152</sup> but his neglect of the other aspects of generalship made him less than the ἀληθινὸς στρατηγός whom Hieronymus saw in Eumenes.<sup>153</sup> The downfall of Monophthalmus was brought about by the inflexibility of his character, and inability to adapt techniques learned from Alexander brought final military disaster, as the brilliant containing strategy of Lysimachus lured him to his doom.<sup>154</sup>

Modern analysis almost certainly would connect Antigonus' 'philarchia' with the sense that he had occupied an inferior position under Alexander. In 323 he was some twenty years older than most of the Companions, and without equal distinction. After the death of Antipater he must have felt that he needed urgently to make up for lost time: nothing should be allowed to stand in his way. From the ancient evidence we know of only two weak spots in this formidable man: his absolute and

misplaced faith in his impetuous son Demetrius, and his sensitivity about his single eye. T.W.Africa has collected an impressive array of one-eyed generals in history: Hannibal and Nelson are only the most celebrated in a series which goes back to the half-legendary Lycurgus of Sparta.<sup>155</sup> There was even a one-eyed queen, Candace of Meroe in Upper Egypt, who was said in the records of her people to have achieved military success against the Roman armies of Cornelius Gallus and Petronius.<sup>156</sup> One might also add the fictional but unforgettable Brigadier Ritchie-Hook, whose 'single, terrible eye' marks him as heir to one of the most respectable traditions of generalship ("I want to hear less about 'denying' things to the enemy and more about biffing him.") Sallust said that Sertorius regarded his one eye as a badge of honour.<sup>157</sup> Antigonus, however, was not proud of his disfigurement: he was touchy enough to execute one of his guests at dinner for calling him Cyclops behind his back;<sup>158</sup> and we know that he allowed artists to depict him only in profile, so as to conceal his defect. Pliny tells us that Apelles painted him from the side view, and J.Charbonneaux has argued that the gaunt and bony face of the 'old captain' on the Alexander sarcophagus, which is depicted in strict profile, and which seems to recur on a series of coins from Demetrias of the late third century, is that of Monophthalmus.<sup>159</sup>

A balanced estimate of the dynast must take account both of these personal weaknesses - touching in a man of such strength - and at the same time of the military experience and personal bravery which are implied in the type of the one-eyed general. "Prince Andrei glanced at Kutuzov", writes Tolstoy, "and his eyes were involuntarily attracted by the deep scar ... where a bullet had pierced his skull at Ismail, and the empty eye-socket, less than eighteen inches from him. 'Yes, he has a right to speak so calmly of the death of so many men', thought Bolkonsky." Some such admiration for the authority of the man whom he could never quite bring himself to like is expressed in Hieronymus' whole account of

Antigonus' great deeds and his longing for *μείζονα πράγματα*, and again in Plutarch's assessment, which contains the sort of ambivalence which we find in Theopompus' attitude to Philip: this was a great man, the greatest of his time, and yet he was corrupted by power. Whatever one thought about Antigonus' methods, it could not be denied that he had very nearly achieved his aim: he came to Ipsus from the building of Antigoneia. Glory was the final object of all the military and artistic and even commercial undertakings of the Hellenistic rulers, as it had been for the princes of the heroic age or for the aristocratic clients of Pindar; and Antigonus and Demetrius achieved this object, while a man like Eumenes did not. Diodorus' description of Antigonus as *πρακτικώτατος τῶν ἡγεμόνων* expresses the idea that he was the performer of great 'praxeis' and the same value on activity and achievement is suggested in the description of Demetrius as *ἐνεργός* - possibly Hieronymus' own word.

"Concentrations of energy ... were to his taste."<sup>160</sup> It was said that when Alexander was asked how he had conquered Greece, he replied, "*μηδὲν ἀναβαλλόμενος*" - "By never putting anything off."<sup>161</sup> Antigonus might have given a similar account of his successes; his later career exemplified the new spirit of warfare in the Hellenistic age which Tarn described as, not just a spirit of professionalism, but a spirit of "getting things done".<sup>162</sup>

### The 'Second-Class' Generals

The importance attached by Hieronymus to energy and achievement as aspects of generalship is apparent in the characterisation of the so-called *βασιλεῖς δευτερεύοντες*, the 'second-class' kings.<sup>163</sup> In Diodorus, 'energeia' is the principal attribute of Cassander, and it is set against the apathy and indecision of Polyperchon. In Diodorus' account of the war of 318 in Greece, Polyperchon is unable to act without the advice of his 'philoi' (XVIII.55.1); he publicly decrees that the Greeks

shall be autonomous, but desires to occupy Piraeus, and yet, not daring to break his word to the most famous of Greek cities he changes his mind -

μετενόησε τῇ γνώμῃ (XVIII.66.2). In his field operations he

repeatedly divides his forces and fails to achieve anything with any part of them (XVIII.68.3; 72.1); he wastes time and resources besieging Megalopolis with a force which had proved strong enough to raise Cassander's siege of Salamis (XVIII.69.2); and having undertaken the siege of Megalopolis, he is discouraged by the first set-back, and again, changes his mind -

μετανοηθεὶς ἐπὶ τῇ πολιορκίᾳ... ἐφ' ἑτέρας ἀναγκαιότερας πράξεις ἐτρέπετο.

Hence the Greeks despised him and turned towards Cassander, who had acted

with decision by putting a garrison into Munychia: εἰς τὰς ἑλληνίδας πόλεις ἐνέπεσεν τις ὀρμὴ τῆς Κάσανδρου συμμαχίας. ὁ μὲν γὰρ πολυπέρχων ἀργῶς ἐδόκει καὶ ἀφρόνως προστατεῖν τῆς τε βασιλείας καὶ τῶν συμμάχων, ὁ δὲ Κάσανδρος ἐπικεικῶς προσφερόμενος πᾶσι καὶ τὰς πράξεις ἐνεργῶς ὧν πολλοὺς εἶχεν κίρην τῆς αὐτοῦ δυναστείας <sup>164</sup>.

Diodorus probably found simple character contrasts a convenient way of summarising a section of his narrative: we

may compare, for example, the passage in book XV where he contrasts Agesilaus and Agesipolis. <sup>165</sup>

The comparison of Perdiccas and Ptolemy earlier in book XVIII, on the other hand, appears to have its origin in Diodorus' source, since Arrian says something similar (see above); and it becomes clear that the opposition of character between Polyperchon and Cassander also originates in his source when we look at the much later account of the intrigues surrounding the boy pretender Heracles, for here there is the same interplay of character. Driven out of Macedon on the death of Olympias, Polyperchon retires to Aetolia where he can await the turn

of events 'in the greatest safety' - ἀσφαλέστατα (XIX.52.6);

later he accepts a subordinate position as Antigonus' agent in the Peloponnese; but he allows eight years to elapse before taking another

initiative. In 310, still nursing his old grievance about the regency, he lays careful plans to introduce the supposed son of Alexander, on whom many people now pin their hopes. But at Cassander's offer of 'partnership' he at once abandons all his allies and murders the unlucky prince (XX.20ff.). Cassander knew how to manage the blustering old captain; in the same way he rightly calculated how to lure Polyperchon's son Alexander from the service of Antigonos, by offering him the command of the Peloponnese (XIX.64.4). These two were, perhaps, 'slight unmeritable men', unscrupulous, as indeed Cassander was, but vacillating and incapable of playing a leading part in affairs. Hieronymus' sketch of Polyperchon may, however, reflect the prejudices of sources in Macedon or Athens. There is, at any rate, another tradition: Diódorus says that he was held in honour among the Macedonians as being the oldest of those who had served under Alexander, and after the Lamian War he distinguished himself by pacifying Thessaly; Pyrrhus is said to have cited him as an example of a good general.<sup>166</sup>

Hieronymus' sympathy for the pragmatic appears also in the occasional references to women generals. Olympias spoiled her chances at the siege of Pydna because she filled the city with ladies-in-waiting instead of fighting men - *παῖδες μὲν πολλοὺ σωμάτων, ἀχρείων δ' εἰς πόλεμον τῶν πλείστων*.<sup>167</sup> Cratesipolis, on the other hand, who seized power in Sicyon on her husband's death, possessed *δύναμις πρᾶγματικὴ καὶ τόλμα μείζων ἢ κατὰ γυναικᾶ* (XIX.67.2); this she manifested by the slaughter and crucifixion of the rebel Sicyonians, and by the necessary 'euergesia' to her mercenaries. In this account of the iron hand of Cratesipolis, Hieronymus was perhaps replying to the frivolous account recorded in Plutarch, which made her a celebrated beauty who had an affair with Demetrius.<sup>168</sup> Plutarch's source here may have been Duris, for Duris had accepted the story of the comic poets that Aspasia

was the cause of the Peloponnesian War, and he went back to Herodotus in declaring that all the greatest wars, starting with the Trojan, had come about through women.<sup>169</sup> Women in positions of political power were a novelty in the Greek world at the beginning of the Hellenistic period. Herodotus took account of great ladies like Artemisia, whom Xerxes prized above all his men; and Xenophon was intrigued by the woman 'satrap' Mania, who succeeded her husband as governor of the Aeolis region; he also mentions a certain Hellas, wife of Gongylus (possibly a daughter of Themistocles), who seems to have been acting independently.<sup>170</sup>

From the mid fourth century we have Artemisia's namesake, the wife of Maussollus, and another Carian queen, Ada, acting as monarchs in their own right. There were few of them, however, and all orientals.

Thucydides was able to ignore women, as agents, altogether, except for the priestess of Hera who accidentally set fire to the temple at Argos, and she, as Syme puts it, came in handy for dating.<sup>171</sup> The Hellenistic historians were confronted with a dynastic system in which marriages marked political alliances, and in which individual princesses for the first time asserted their personalities. The majestic figures of Olympias or Arsinoe could hardly be ignored. There were also women like Eurydice, who at the age of fifteen contested the regency with Antipater; Cleopatra, who flagrantly disobeyed Antipater and answered him back; and Phila, ambassadress on delicate matters of state between Demetrius and Cassander.<sup>172</sup> All the historians had to take account of the new phenomenon in one way or another; and Duris, Phylarchus and Hieronymus show the widely differing reactions that were possible to the actual importance of royal or noble women - the vulgar, the sentimental and the realistic.

Phila and Demetrius

Among the spirited ladies in Hieronymus' history, the most attractive figure is Phila, daughter of Antipater.<sup>173</sup> Diodorus digresses in his account of the war of 315 to give a sketch of Phila:

σοφείας is her chief characteristic, and Antipater, wisest of the rulers of his time, is said to have consulted her on affairs of state while she was still a child; she also showed kindness and generosity in her duties in the camp.<sup>174</sup> Hieronymus undoubtedly knew her well, and we may suppose, with Tarn, that he saw more of the traits of Phila than those of Demetrius reappear in their son.<sup>175</sup> The description of Phila at the beginning of her second marriage is matched by that of the young Demetrius at Gaza, and these twin portraits, to which Schwartz drew attention in identifying Hieronymus in Diodorus, seem to be a special tribute by Hieronymus to the parents of Antigonus Gonatas.<sup>176</sup> Plutarch has a comparable description of Demetrius in the same context, and again he shows marked similarities to Diodorus in characterising Demetrius at the time of the siege of Rhodes: in both cases, therefore, Diodorus seems to have taken over the sketch drawn by his source, as he took his estimate of Themistocles from Ephorus.<sup>177</sup>

In the first description of Demetrius, we hear of his youth, physical beauty, and his gentleness: *πρᾶότης τις ἦν περὶ αὐτὸν ἀρμόζουσα νέῳ βασιλεῖ*.<sup>178</sup> These were attributes which won him sympathy and popularity in the army. The word *πρᾶότης* is not common in Diodorus: it is used once here, and once of Gelon (XI.67.3, *ὑπὸ πάντων ἀγαπώμενος διὰ τὴν πρᾶότητα*), and Dionysius the younger is described as *πρᾶος τὸν τρόπον* (XVI.5.1); Diodorus tends to prefer the expression *ἐπιείκεια*, however. Possibly, then, we here have a glimpse of Hieronymus' vocabulary. 'Praotes' is one of the attributes of a good king. Isocrates in his Letter to Philip says that Philip has a right to control all Greece *κατὰ τὸ τῆς ψυχῆς ἡθους καὶ τῆν φιλευδρωπίαν*

καὶ τὴν εὐνοίαν, ἣν εἶχεν εἰς τοὺς Ἕλληνας,

and he urges Philip ἐπὶ τῆς εὐεργεσίας τὰς τῶν Ἑλλήνων

καὶ πραότητος, (114, 116). Antigonus Gonatas is called *πρᾶτος*

and *ἄτυφος*.<sup>179</sup> The sense is that of *ἐπιείκεια* - 'clemency',

the attitude which becomes a superior towards his inferiors and which

Seneca recommended to Nero in his De Clementia.<sup>180</sup> 'Praotes' is the

opposite of *δυσρηφικία*, *χαλεπότης* and *τραχύτης*, the

recurring motifs in the characterisation of Antigonus Monophthalmus;

and we are surely meant to see in this portrait a contrast between the

terrifying old man and his beautiful son, in whom all now placed their

hopes for the future. The remarks about generals of long standing may

perhaps be interpreted as an allusion to Antigonus; "Because Demetrius

had just been placed in command, neither soldiers nor civilians had

for him any ill-will such as usually develops against generals of long

standing when at a particular time many minor irritations are combined

in a single mass grievance; for the multitude becomes exacting when it

remains under the same authority, and every group that is not preferred

welcomes change." (XIX.81.3). Generalisations in Diodorus are frequently

his own work: significantly, however, this is a military, not a moral

judgement, and the sentiment is closely related to the passage as a whole.

Instances of just such a feeling as this were the desertions of Telesphorus

and Ptolemaeus, and the near mutinies of 317 in Media and 306 in Egypt.

Those who saw the brilliant figure of Demetrius in the assembly at Gaza

or fighting on the poop of his galley at Salamis, may well have felt that

Antigonus had produced something better than himself, a second Alexander

who would be able to fulfill the dream of world empire. Disappointment

was in store.

The second portrait is set six years later at the time of the

siege of Rhodes, and presents a more warlike figure, still of heroic

beauty and dignity, but now skilled in poliorcetics, energetic and cool-

headed in war: *κατὰ δὲ τοὺς πολέμους ἐνεργὸς ἦν καὶ νήφων* (XX.92.4).

The word *ἐνεργός* is regular in Diodorus, but in the same context Plutarch uses *ἐνεργότατος* : it was perhaps used by Hieronymus, therefore.<sup>181</sup> Demetrius had begun to show the dynamic character of his father. At the same time he had learned the pleasures of peace, and in his capacity to indulge himself alternately in the pursuits of war and peace, he was compared to Dionysius. The man who shows this versatility is a type which goes back to Alcibiades, and to Philip II, as seen by Theopompus, and which is later exemplified in Mark Antony, whom Plutarch took as his Roman parallel to Demetrius. Other characteristics are now for the first time attributed to Demetrius:

*τῇ ψυχῇ μετέωρος καὶ μεγαλοπρεπῆς καὶ καταφρονῶν οὐ τῶν πολλῶν μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν ἐν ταῖς δυναστείαις ὄντων.* This associates him with the typical faults of Antigonus, and suggests a development of character.

The inexperienced prince whom the army at Gaza had loved for his gentleness had had his head turned by his successes over Cillas and Ptolemy and the sycophantic reception of the Athenians.

From the time of Gaza Demetrius' behaviour, as characterised by Diodorus and Plutarch, often recalls that of Antigonus. He showed his father's obstinacy when he refused to take the advice of his friends at Gaza and insisted on fighting against superior forces and an inexperienced general. Hieronymus was probably among the 'philoi' whose advice was ignored; and the enumeration of the good men killed in the battle is perhaps a reproach.<sup>182</sup> Forced marches and *κακοπαθεία* are also recorded of Demetrius; the lightning march to Cilicia in 313, for example, which failed to achieve its object and which lost him most of his horses: for in six days he covered twenty four stages and not one of his sutlers and grooms could keep up the pace, *διὰ τὴν ὑπερβολὴν τῆς κακοπαθείας* (XIX.80.1-2). Other futile expeditions were his campaign against the Nabataeans, and the attack on Babylon in 311 - dashing, but ineffective (XIX.97; 100.5-7). An instance of brutality was the crucifixion of Strömbichus, the garrison

commander of Arcadian Orchomenus, and 'at least eighty of the others who were hostile to him'; and this contrasts directly with Ptolemy's treatment of the garrison commander of Tyre, Andronicus, in similar circumstances (XIX.103.5-6; cf. 86.2). Again, Plutarch's description of Demetrius at the siege of Thebes shows his disregard for the sufferings of his soldiers, and his reply to Gonatas' reproach, τί δυσχερύνεις;

ἢ διάμετρον ὀφείλεις τοῖς ἀποθνήσκουσιν; qualifies as an example of Antigonid τραχεῖς λόγοι (Plut. Demetr. XL.2).

The use of the very rare word διάμετρον is some guarantee of the authenticity of the remark. For Demetrius' career after 302 we are dependent mainly on Plutarch, who used several sources other than Hieronymus; the tradition seems to be unanimous, however, in detecting a tendency to hauteur and callousness in Demetrius' later years.

There are possible signs, then, of an evolution in Demetrius' character; and the noticeable contrast between the two portraits in Diodorus suggests that Hieronymus saw a change for the worse at an early stage in his career. It is sometimes said that the ancient view of character was static, and there is certainly little awareness of character development in the historiography of the fifth and fourth century. "Clæon", as Cornford says, "is a good instance. He is allowed no individuality, no past history, no atmosphere, no irrelevant relations. He enters the story abruptly from nowhere. A single phrase fixes his type, as though on a play-bill ... Pericles is introduced in the same way, with a single epithet ... In every case the principal characters are nearly as far removed from realism, nearly as abstract and impersonal as the heroic characters in Aeschylus."<sup>183</sup> Lacking Thucydides' dramatic power, Xenophon's portraits of the generals in the Anabasis are nevertheless static descriptions, and his encomium of Agesilaus, like Isocrates' encomium of Evagoras, contains only a generalised account

of the subject's virtues. Again, Theopompus, while recognising the dual aspect of Philip's nature, does not seem to have traced a development in his character. There is little emphasis in classical literature on the idea of enrichment of character through suffering: the terrible 'peripeteiai' of individuals like Croesus, Oedipus, or Perseus of Macedon, teach them humility before the gods or Fortune, but do not, seemingly, alter the character of the sufferer. Even as sophisticated a writer as Tacitus did not see character as a changing thing: Tiberius 'dissimulated', and the corruption he gradually revealed was part of the nature he had always possessed.<sup>184</sup> We may, therefore, have something unusual in Hieronymus' portrait of Demetrius.

One explanation perhaps lies in the human relation between the historian and his subject. Whereas Hieronymus met the other generals when most of them were already in middle age, he first knew Demetrius as a boy of eighteen, and was at his side throughout a formative period of the prince's life. It was natural that he should watch keenly for the way the boy was turning out. There was perhaps also a conscious reminiscence of Alexander. While the improvement of character, beyond the stage of youthful paideia, held little interest for ancient writers, in some cases there can be no doubt that they saw a deterioration: Alexander, Demetrius and Philip V are three parallel cases. The Peripatetics regarded Alexander in the later part of his life as a barbarised megalomaniac tyrant, corrupted by oriental decadence and violence;<sup>185</sup> and this view was not confined to the philosophers who had a grievance over the death of Callisthenes. The early Stoics thought that Alexander had been full of τύφος; <sup>186</sup> and Arrian, while in general he refused to speculate on the character and thoughts of Alexander (Anab. VII.1.4), did think that some kind of change for the worse occurred during the last years of Alexander's life, especially after the psychological defeat at the Hyphasis and the hardships of the return from India - ἦν γὰρ δὴ ὀξύτερος τε ἐν τῷ τότε καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς βαρβαρικῆς

Θεραπείας οὐκέτι ὡς πάλαι ἐπεικῆς ἐς τοὺς Μακεδόνας (Anab. VII.8.3) -

and this was something he must have been able to infer from Ptolemy. In tracing Demetrius' development from eager youth to harsh autocrat, Hieronymus may have had in mind the corrupting influence of power on Alexander; though the idea of a moral deterioration was naturally more pronounced in a Peripatetic writer like Duris, who seems to provide the basis for part of Plutarch's account.<sup>187</sup> Demetrius bore a closer resemblance to Alexander than any other of his Successors, possessing his charm and brilliance as well as his energy and military skill, and was the one man who might have reconstituted Alexander's empire, if he had not been distracted by showy exploits and inflated by the megalomania that resulted from divinisation.<sup>188</sup>

Another power for evil which perhaps in Hieronymus' view hastened Demetrius' moral decline was the bad advice of counsellors and flatterers. This was the chief explanation which Polybius gave for the moral deterioration of Philip V, a king who showed many resemblances to his great-grandfather, Demetrius. Philip is described at the debut of his career in terms reminiscent of Demetrius in the scene at Gaza:

κκλῆς ἐλπιδῶς ὑποδεικνύων προτύπος καὶ μεγαλοφυχίης βασιλικῆς

(Polyb. IV.27.10): and his prestige with the Peloponnesian symmarchy in 217 after the Social War earned him the title of 'beloved of the Greeks' (Polyb. VII.11.8). But only two years later he made his first attempt to garrison Ithome, and the early promise and philhellenism were followed by periods in which the king was exposed to the bad influence of men like Demetrius of Pharos and Heracleides of Tarentum, and in which he experienced reversal of fortune. These were accompanied by increasingly autocratic and violent behaviour, until by the year 200, when he drove the population of Abydos to commit suicide, "he had apparently come to find pleasure in the mere outraging of Hellenic sentiment."<sup>189</sup> Like Demetrius, he suffered final disillusionment and death in obscurity, brought to bay

by a foreign power. The theme of the wicked counsellor is prominent in Polybius' analysis of Philip's *μεταβολή*; and it has been observed that the actual importance of counsellors at the Hellenistic courts is frequently reflected in the accounts of Hellenistic historians, who sometimes exaggerate their sinister influence.<sup>190</sup> The idea was perhaps influenced in a general way by Stoic thought, since Chrysippus named two causes of perversion, 'one arising out of listening to many men, the other out of the actual nature of circumstances', and Diogenes Laertius records the same view. Hieronymus, the friend and advisor of Eumenes, Demetrius and Antigonus Gonatas, can be supposed to have known as well as anyone the value of good and bad counsel, and the various stories of Demetrius and Antigonus Monophthalmus ignoring their advisers perhaps originate in Hieronymus' feeling that his own wisdom and experience had been rejected. Kingship writings often refer to the importance of listening to 'philoï' or 'phronimoi' - an idea which became especially important for writers of the Roman period, with the Senate as a model.<sup>191</sup> The Letter of Aristeas advises the king to choose counsellors who are men of practical experience and absolute loyalty: they should be *δίκαιοι* and *σώφρονες* and should have *παρρησία*. Men who are servile in their behaviour and too free with their compliments are not to be trusted (246, 270).<sup>192</sup> The good counsellors of Demetrius' early years whom we meet at Gaza may have been contrasted with the Athenian *κόλκρες* to whom later Demetrius did give a ready ear.

The hero of Salamis, the darling of the army, the second Alexander on whom men had pinned their hopes, turned out to be an adventurer who had no time to be king, and who drank himself to death in a gilded captivity. Some explanation was necessary. The introduction of Tyche, or flatterers, or theories about the inevitably corrupting effects of power, are attempts to lighten the responsibility of the individual.

Nature and circumstance interact to produce the adult character; but the choice in any particular action lies ἐφ' ἡμῶν ; so Aristotle had told his contemporaries, articulating a view which we all accept implicitly as the basis of common morality. In the end, then, the followers of Demetrius were forced to a sad acceptance of Demetrius' faults and his failure; and if a man with these gifts could not claim Alexander's inheritance, who could? We must imagine that Hieronymus was deeply saddened by Demetrius' ruin. He had followed the career of the splendid prince since his boyhood with avuncular affection, witnessing first his victories and then the gradual degeneration: when the dreadful message came to Corinth, 'Regard me as dead', it was the final disillusionment, and Hieronymus had no choice but to turn to the unglamorous figure of Demetrius' heir, a man whose true virtues, put in the shade by his father's brilliance, were to become apparent with Demetrius' eclipse.

#### Antigonus Gonatas

We have some idea of Gonatas' character. Tarn's classic study builds up from the miscellaneous evidence a coherent and convincing picture of a prudent, efficient, cool-headed man, who knew his limitations and concentrated on what was possible.<sup>193</sup> He is called πρᾶος, μέτριος, ἄτυφος - Stoic virtues.<sup>194</sup> He showed kindness to Cleanthes and Bion when they were ill and impoverished;<sup>195</sup> he was an admirer of Zeno. It is not necessary to dwell on the contrast with his father and grandfather, which was pointed out by ancient moralists, and which, it is usually assumed, was an essential ingredient in the general tenor of Hieronymus' history.<sup>196</sup> The few details about Gonatas which may be supposed to derive from Hieronymus are consistent with other accounts: the sober common sense implied in his answer to Pyrrhus: the humanity and compassion in his treatment of Pyrrhus' son Helenus, and in his reaction to the way Demetrius squandered lives.<sup>197</sup> Hieronymus'

implicit criticism of the generalship of Monophthalmus and Demetrius presupposes an ideal of 'clemency', and this he may have seen or claimed to see in Antigonus Gonatas.

Pausanias testifies that Hieronymus' History was hostile to all the other kings, but bestowed undue praise on Antigonus, i.e. Gonatas;<sup>198</sup> and the concluding chapters of Plutarch's Life of Pyrrhus seem to give some content to this remark: the characterisation of a living monarch was necessarily less than totally frank. But how exactly Hieronymus made the transition from 'strategos' to 'basileus' we have to guess. "It is neither nature nor institutions which give men royal power", reads the entry in the Suda under Basileia (no.2), "but the ability to lead an army and the knowledge of how to conduct the affairs of state: such was the case with Philip and the Diadochi."<sup>199</sup> This statement on the nature of authority, almost certainly from a Stoic work on Kingship, articulates the attitudes implicit in Hieronymus' writing. In the century spanned by the historian's life the national kingship of the Macedonians had been transformed into a personal leadership founded on ability and 'charisma', under which the king's servant was not 'philobasileus' but 'philalexandros'; and then again, by a natural evolution, into a new institutionalised monarchy. Hieronymus had recorded the period of transition; and possibly he handled the king returned to the 'patria' with less confidence than the great marshals of earlier days, lending a tone of artificiality to his account of Gonatas which was interpreted as flattery. Xenophon had clearly felt more at home describing the conquests of Cyrus than working out the details of his civic administration. Hieronymus' ideal of leadership also was essentially military, the models for the ἀλέξανδρος στρατηγός being Cyrus and Alexander, the conquerors of Asia. It remained for philosophers in the peaceful times to come to adapt the values of wartime and set up a new model, appropriate to the ruler bound in noble servitude to the state.

NOTES TO CHAPTER FIVE

1. Dover, JHS 1960 p.72 suggests that Diodorus invented the idea of a system of rotating command at the time of Marathon because it was inconceivable by his own day that decisions should ever have been taken collectively rather than individually. It seemed natural to him that Miltiades should have been directly responsible for the Greek victory, and the 'rotation' idea was an attempt to reconcile this feeling with evidence that the decision actually lay with the board of generals.
2. For a typical analysis on these lines, see Toynbee, Hellenism, p.127ff.
3. Cf. Pearson, Journal of the History of Ideas XV (1954) p.130ff.
4. J.H. Finley, Thucydides, p.38f, calls Homer's portraits 'generic'; but it is perhaps inappropriate to describe in this way portraits that were the first of their kind.
5. Cf. Momigliano, The Development of Greek Biography, p.88ff.; the collective approach appears also in the fifth century view that a close connection existed between climates, constitutions, and the behaviour of individuals; the link between history and geography emphasised a concern with the community rather than the individual.
6. This is the conclusion of Westlake, Individuals in Thucydides, 1968.
7. Syme, Proc.Brit.Acad. 1962, p.40.
8. Cf. Judeich, Kleinasiatische Studien 1892 p.14, describing Evagoras as the first 'Hellenistic' king.
9. Grayson in The Ancient Historian and his Materials, Essays in honour of C.E. Stevens, 1975 p.39. On the personal character of Theopompus' Philippica see Connor, Theopompus and Fifth Century Athens, p.13f.
10. Callisthenes, F.Gr.Hist. 124 F2, 3; Theopompus F.Gr.Hist. 115 T6, F48, cf. F297. Cf. Ryle, Plato's Progress, Cambridge 1966, p.41f. and 58f., discussing the festivals organised by the fourth century tyrants: the most

brilliant orators and philosophers of the day were attracted by their patronage. Xenophon's Hieron, composed in c.383, also seems to have been inspired by interest in contemporary monarchy: it refers to the tyrant Dionysius the Elder.

11. Polyb. VII.8.5-9, cf. X.21.6-8. Cf. Momigliano, op.cit. p.77ff., p.82f. Nepos Cato 3: "bellorum duces non nominavit, sed sine nominibus res notavit.": cf. Leo, gr.-röm. Biog. p.234.
12. Callimachus 1.84-85; IV.162ff; Theocritus, Idyll VII.
13. Posidonius' biography of Perseus, F.Gr.Hist. 169. Timochares wrote on either Antiochus Epiphanes or Sidetes: F.Gr.Hist. 165; and Demetrius of Byzantium on Antiochus Soter and Ptolemy Philadelphus (but from the point of view of his native city: Jacoby Comm.ad loc.) Pap. Graec.Haun. 6 = Pack<sup>2</sup> 2210 possibly comes from a series of biographies of the Ptolemies in the framework of a genealogical tree: cf. Segre, Rend. d. Pont. Accad. Rom. di Arch. 19 (1942-3) p.269-80. The continuing popularity of Theopompus is indicated by a third century anonymous Philippica, possibly an epitome of Theopompus' work: Pack<sup>2</sup> 2192.
14. Quint. Inst.Or. X.1.75; cf. Fraser, Ptol.Alex. II p.749 n.215.
15. T.S. Brown Am.Hist.Rev. 1946 p.695.
16. See ch.II p. 50ff.
17. 'Philotimia' in Theopompus: F.Gr.Hist. 115 F89, 114, 66, 323. Cf. Connor, Theopompus and Fifth Century Athens p.32f. On 'philotimia' and 'philodoxia' see Welles, RC no.52.21 = letter of Eumenes II to the Ionian League, accepting the honours voted to him in 167-6 B.C.: διὰ τῶν ἔργων τὴν ἐμὴν τε φιλοδοξίαν ; and Polyb. III.104-105 distinguishing the 'philodoxia' of a great man, Fabius, from the 'philotimia' of the 'hegemones'. Cf. Welles op.cit. p.373.
18. Contrast the account of the new recruits at Xen. Cyrop. II.2.6ff., reflecting the easy-going relations between ranks in a Greek citizen army, Cf. Anderson, Military Theory and Practice in the Age of Xenophon, 1970, p.98f.

19. See E.Rawson, PBSR n.s. XXVI (1971) p.14.
20. Cf. Holleaux, Etudes III p.15ff. Ceux qui sont dans le bagage. In Hellenistic Egypt the word ἀποσκευή continued in use to denote the household and possessions of soldiers, whether in garrisons or settled in one of the villages of the χώρα as cleruchs. Document no.IV of Pap.Halensis I makes legal provision for a whole class of persons, described as οἱ ἐν τῇ ἀποσκευῇ ὄντες who are resident in Alexandria itself.
21. Rostovtzeff SEHWW I pp.145-7; III pp.1344f. (n.17-20); cr. Briant REA 1973 p.66ff. Goukowsky, Rév.de Phil. 49 (1975) 2, p.267f., stresses the very small number of Macedonians left in the royal army by the time of Alexander's death.
22. Plut. Eum. XIII.5, δημαγωγούμενον ἐπὶ αἰρέσει στρατηγῶν ὄχλον, ὡς περ ἐν ταῖς δημοκρατίαις; cf. XV.3, κῆδος ἐδημαγωγούντο. Cf. Polyæn. IV.8.3.
23. Xen. Cyrop. VIII.5.2-16; cf. VIII.1.13-15. Cf. N.Wood, Class et Med. 1964; Xenophon makes comparison between the military community and many other forms of human association, the most remarkable being that between the general and the estate manager (Mem. III.4). See also Thuc. VII.75.5, 77.4, 77.7.
24. Diod. XVIII.7.2, 9.3, XIX.16.1, XVIII.20.1. Mnasicles had possibly been in the army of Harpalus which Thibron took over: so Berve II no.533. Compare the character of Bolis the Cretan, the double agent who betrayed Achaeus: Polyb. VII.17.1.
25. Diod. XVIII.17.4; cf. 15.2-4.
26. Diod. XVIII.40.7; 30.4.
27. I here follow Milns, Historia 20 (1971) p.186ff. on the origins and organisation of the hypaspists.
28. Tarn, Alex. Gt. II p.148ff. esp. p.151ff.; cf. p.116ff.
29. Robertson, JRS 45 (1955) p.58ff.

30. This is one obvious difference (not usually observed) between the armour of hypaspists and that of phalangites in Alexander's army: for this debate, see Tarn, loc.cit.; Hamilton CQ n.s. 5 (1955) p.218; Griffith, PCPS n.s. 4 (1956-7) p.3-10; Ellis, Historia 24 (1975) p.617ff.
31. Diod. XIX.12.2; 13.1.
32. Cf. Diod. XIX.41.1-2; Plut. Eum. XVI.4.
33. Diod. XIX.28.1; 43.1.
34. Diod. XIX.15.2; 30.5-6; 41.2.
35. Plut. Eum. XVI.4.
36. Plato Rep. 543B; cf. Laches 182A; Arist. Pol. VI.7.3, 1321 a 26. Cf. Diod. I.53; XII.75; XIII.82; XVII.9.3. Plut. Fabius XXIII.2; ibid. V.3; De Fort. Rom. 322A, ibid. 326C. See also Plut. Demetr. V.2, of Ptolemy:  
 ἀνδρὶ... ἐκ τῆς Ἀλεξάνδρου παλαίστρας ἠθληκότη.  
 37. Diod. XIX.30.6. The word στόμωμα = the more common στόμα, which is used by the tactical writer Asclepiodotus in exactly this way: the strongest and the most skilful ought to be file leaders, τοῦτο γὰρ τὸ ζυγὸν συνέχει τὴν φάλαγγα καὶ οἷον τῆς μαχαίρας ἐστὶ στόμα (Ars Tactica III.5, cf. II.5). Cf. Xen. Hell. IV.3.4, Anab. III.4.43; Polyb. X.12.7. Xenophon in the Hipparchikos uses a similar figure: the formation should be arranged so that the best men are at the front of each file, and an equal number of the oldest and most steady form the rear: εἰ γὰρ δεῖ καὶ ἀπεικάζει, οὕτω καὶ σίδηρος μάλιστα διατέμνει σίδηρον, ὅταν τό τε ἡγούμενον τοῦ τομέως ἐρρώμενον ἢ καὶ τὸ ἐπελαυνόμενον ἱκανόν.  
 38. Diod. XVIII.32.1. Cf. Xen. Cyrop. V.4.6: Gadatas' advance party have been ambushed by the Assyrians, but suddenly see Cyrus approaching with the main army: δοκεῖν δὲ χρῆ ἀσμένους καὶ ὥσπερ εἰς λυμένα ἐκ χειμῶνος προσφέρεσθαι κῶτους.  
 39. Diod. XVI.76.2; cf. XI.8.2; XIX.94.6.

40. Jacoby, RE Hieronymos col. 1557.
41. Xen. Cyrop. III.3.70. cf. Onasander Strategikos X.3. <sup>It was even a charge</sup> ~~against Alexander:~~  
cf. Aymard, Etudes p.51ff.
42. Plut. Demetr. XXI.3, Demetrius' special breastplate; ibid. XLI.4-5,  
Diod. XX.93.4, his luxurious clothes. Plut. Demetr. XV.2, exchange of  
'heroic' invective between Ptolemy and Demetrius at Salamis. Plut.  
Demetr. V.3, VI.2-3, XXXVIII.1, XXXIX.2, XL.3, XV.1, Diod. XX.102.1,  
Demetrius' chivalry and crusading spirit.
43. Plut. Pyrrh. XI.5, cf. XVI.7, Pyrrhus' horned helmet. Lindian Chronicle,  
F.Gr.Hist. 532 C40, Pyrrhus dedicated at Lindos the arms which he himself  
had used in action. Personal armour is also important in the cult of  
the heroised dead: cf. Lanckoronski-Petersen, Städte Pamphylens und  
Pisidiens II, 64ff., for Alcetas' arms in the tomb at Termessos; and  
Petersen, Der Leichenwagen Alex. d. Gr., p.710 for the arms of Alexander as  
described in Diodorus' account of his funeral carriage.
- Duels and personal prowess: Plut. Pyrrh. VII.4ff. (Pyrrhus and Pantauchus);  
XVI.8-10 (Pyrrhus and Oplax); XXIV.1-3 (Pyrrhus and the Mamertine giant);  
XXX.5-6 (Pyrrhus and Evaleus the Spartan). Invective: Plut. Pyrrh. XXXI.1-2  
Pyrrhus' challenge to Gonatas; cf. Glück, Reviling and Monomachy as Battle  
Preludes in Ancient Warfare, Acta Classica VII (1964) p.25-31. See Lévêque  
Pyrrhos p.251f. on Pyrrhus' heroic ancestry.
44. Cf. Tarn, Antiggonos Gonatas p.250.
45. Diod. XVIII.31 passim; Plut. Eum. VII.3-8; Arrian F9.27, cf. PSI  
XII.2 1284, and ch.II n.43.
46. Cf. Arrian F9.27: *καὶ πίπτει μὲν Νεοπτόλεμος τῆι αὐτοῦ εὐμένους τοῦ  
γραμματέως δεξιᾷ, ἀνὴρ στρατιωτικὸς καὶ πολέμοις ἠριστευκῶς.*
47. Diod. XVIII.29.2; XIX.24.5.
48. Plut. Eum V.3.
49. For the following, see Diod. 26ff.
50. Xen. Hipp. 4.7; 5.1-11.
51. Ibid, 3.3. Cf. Polyæn. IV.4.3 (from Hieronymus?), Antipater uses

a similar strategem during the Lamian War, placing mules among the cavalry.

Ibid. IV.19, during his war against Perdiccas, Ptolemy is said to have used a flock of sheep to stir up the dust and give the appearance of a great army.

52. Diod. XIX.32, 37ff.

53. Xen. Hipp. IX.1-2, 5.1. cf. V.9-10.

54. Xen. Cyrop. 1.6.27ff. Cf. N.Wood, art.cit., p.49: Xenophon was the first writer to regard war as a creative and productive art, rather than a purely acquisitive one, as Plato and Aristotle did.

55. Plut. Eum. VI.3-4; cf. Arrian F9.27, κρατήρας τοῖς τεχνάσμασι, κρατεῖ καὶ τῶι πολεμῶι. Cf. Onasander, Strategikos, X.22.

56. Cf. Plut. Per. II.1-2. We do not want to be Pheidias, although we admire his work. Lucian Περὶ τοῦ ἐνοπνίου 9: the sculptor is βάναιος even if he is Pheidias or Pdycleitus.

57. Diod. XVII.41ff. gives an account of the devices used by attackers and defenders at the siege of Tyre.

58. Plut. Demetr. XX.1-3.

59. Marsden, Greek and Roman Artillery, Technical Treatises p.5-6.

60. Vitruvius X.16.3ff; Diod. XX.93.5

61. Plut. Demetr. XX.4-5.

62. Diod. XVIII.71.3.

63. Diod. XIX.84.4.

64. Plut. Mor. 534C = 183D 4: Stob. Flor. 86.13.

65. Cf. Zeller, Phil.d.Gr. III<sup>4</sup> I.224 n.5.

66. M.Detienne, J.P.Vernant, Les Ruses de l'intelligence: la métis des Grecs, Paris 1974 pp.9-10. For the fox as a symbol of cunning, see also K.Varty, Reynard the Fox, Leicester 1967.

67. Athen. VI.59 p.251D = Euphantos F.Gr.Hist. 74 F1; cf. Jacoby Hermes 69 (1934) pp.214-17; Hauben, Callicrates of Samos, 1970 p.25.

68. Plut. Eum. XVI.3.
69. Stanford, The Ulysses Theme, p.14.
70. Soph. frg. incert. 880 Nauck.
71. Iliad IV 339, VII 309; cf. Stanford op.cit. p.18.
72. C.Schneider, Kulturgeschichte des Hellenismus I München 1967 p.47.
73. Evidence for attitudes of Romans to Greeks and vice versa collected and discussed by T.J. Haarhof, The Stranger at the Gate p.209 ff. (republican period); and A.N. Sherwin-White, Racial Prejudice in Imperial Rome, Cambridge 1967 p.62ff.
74. Diod. XVIII.59 passim; ibid. 59.6, ὁ κοινὸς βίος, compare Diod. I.1.3, 2.3 etc.
75. Detienne - Vernant, op.cit. p.20.
76. Xen. Cyrop. I.6.27ff.
77. Briant, REA 1973 p.53ff.
78. 'Pistos' and 'pistis' occur seven times in Diod. I-XVII; IV.54.7; XI.66.2, 69.1; XIV.26.4, 48.1; XVI.16.3, 47.3; compare also XVI.47.4, 50.7. In the Greek and Asian sections of books XVIII-XX there are ten instances of the same words: 'pistis', XVIII.29.2, 42.2, 62.6; XIX.42.5, 44.3, 50.8; 'pistos', XVIII.58.2, XIX.24.3, 36.6; XX.19.2. Compare also XIX.25.2. Antigonus urged the Macedonians not to obey Eumenes ἑαυτῷ δὲ πιστεύειν (ironic!): XIX.44.2, Antigonus did not trust Eumenes because of the latter's known attachment to the Argeads; XX.107.5, the loyalty of Philippos.
79. 'Eunoia' and 'Euergesia': see Diod. XIX.62.2; XX.37.2, 81.2ff., 93.7; Plut. Demetr. IX. X, XXX; Syll.<sup>3</sup> 330, line 8. Cf. Welles, RC indices p.390f; Simpson, Historia VIII (1959) p.403. Rostovtzeff SEHHW pp.1343, 1347; Heuss Klio Beiheft XXXIX p.250; O.Murray J.Theol.Stud. n.s.18 (1967) p.353-4.
80. Xen. Cyrop. VIII.7.13.
81. Xen. Cyrop. II.1.29-30; cf. Hipparchikos VI passim, on camaraderie; Cyrop. I.6.13, 25; Hieron I.33, III passim. Compare also Philip's actions at the beginning of his reign: Diod. XVI.3.1-3, he equips and drills all

his soldiers, ~~he is~~ friendly to his men.

82. Diod. XVIII.46ff. Cf. ch.IV p.176f. for Alcetas' tomb at Termessos, the tangible expression of Pisidian feelings for the Diadoch.
83. Cf. Tarn, Antigonos Gonatas, p.257: possibly this was also a feature of Pyrrhus' generalship.
84. Cf. Nic. Damasc. F.Gr.Hist. 90 F66.3.
85. Plut. Demetr. III.2; cf. Diod. XX.III.2. Lysimachus and Cassander, Diod. XX.106.3. Cassander's unpopularity, Plut. Demetr. XXXVII; Paus. IX.7.2; Justin XVI.1; cf. Tarn, Antigonos Gonatas p.89. The Antigonids at all times set a high value on family loyalty: cf. Plut. Mor. 486A, on the good relations between Gonatas and his half brother Craterus. The integrity of Dason in preserving the throne for his nephew Philip also aroused comment: Eusebius (Chron. I.238, Schoene), thought that he killed off his own children as they were born in order to ensure Philip's succession.
86. Xen. Cyrop. VII.7.13. For the importance attached by Xenophon to friendship, see also Anab. I.9.20ff. (Cyrus the Younger); VII.7.42; Hell. VII.2.2 (loyalty of the Phliasians to the Spartans); etc.
87. Jacoby RE Hieronymos col. 1558, 'Eustatheia', cf. Plut. Eum. IX.2.
88. Phalinos: Xen. Anab. II.1.7; Coeratadas: ibid. VII.1.33. Cf. Griffith, Mercenaries of the Hellenistic World, p.6.
89. Arist. Pol. V 1305 a 7; Isoc. De Pace 54-55; Plato Laches 179ff., Euthydemus 271d, cf. 273E, 290C.
90. Xen. Mem. III.1.1ff.
91. Xen. Cyrop. I.6.14.
92. Xen. Peri Hipp. I.1. Cf. Delebecque, Xenophon, De l'art equestre, Paris 1950, introd. p.16ff.
93. Cf. Aelian, Tactica Theoria I.2.
94. For Xenophon's theory of leadership, see also Breitenbach,

Historiographische Anschauungsformen Xenophons, 1950; N.Wood, art.cit. passim;  
Westlake, Individuals in Xenophon, Hellenica, in Essays on the Greek Historians  
and Greek History, 1969, p.203ff.

95. Cicero, Ep. ad. Q.fr. I.18.23. According to Dio Chrysostom (18.4) Xenophon, 'alone of all the ancients can satisfy all the requirements of a man in public life.' Cf. Grayson, art.cit. p.40f.

96. See K. Münscher, Xen. in d.gr.-röm. Literatur, Philologus Suppl. XIII.2 (1920) pp.45ff.

97. Diog. Laert. VI.84. Cf. Momigliano, Development of Greek Biography, p.82f; contra, Pearson, Lost Histories, p.87, who thinks Diogenes had confused the Cyropaedia with the Anabasis.3, VI.29-30; Strabo XI.517. Alexander and Cyrus: Arr.Anab.VI.24.

98. Diog. Laert. VII.36; cf. Münscher op.cit. pp.48, 53.

99. The Hipparchikos might have been useful to Eumenes during the period when he was satrap of Cappadocia. He had particular success with cavalry: Plut. Eum. IV.2-3, he trains native Cappadocian cavalry which are victorious in the battle with Neoptolemus (ibid. V.3); ibid. VIII.3 he requisitions the royal horses grazing near Mt.Ida, and displays his cavalry forces before Cleopatra on the plain of Sardis. (There was a tradition of horsemanship in central Asia Minor: the earliest known equestrian treatise, addressed to a cavalry commander, is recorded on a Hittite inscription from Boghaz Keui: strict application of its precepts explains the victories of the Hittites over the other peoples of Anatolia: cf. Delebecque, op.cit. p.5-6). For Eumenes' care of his horses at Nora, cf. Xen. Hipp. I.16, describing a cheap and clever method of keeping horses' feet in good condition.

100. E.R. Goodenough, The Political Philosophy of Hellenistic Kingship, Yale Class. Stud. I (1928) p.55ff.

101. See M. Fisch, Alexander and the Stoics, AJPhil 58 (1937) p.59ff. and 129ff. From the fact that Stoics wrote on kingship, nothing necessarily

necessarily follows about Stoic views on the best form of government.

Brunt, PBSR XLIII (1975) p.7ff shows that this was a matter of indifference to Stoics under the Principate, and it may be supposed that the same was true of Stoic attitudes at an earlier date. Hieronymus' views on monarchy as such are no more to be ascertained than those of Tacitus, Cf. ch.IV p.243f.

102. Cf. O.Murray, Aristeas and Ptolemaic Kingship, J.Theol.Stud. n.s.18 (1967) p.353f.

103. Cf. Goodenough, loc.cit.

104. Cf. also O. Müller, Antigonus Monophthalmus, p.108ff.

105. Cf. Westlake, Individuals in Xenophon p.214f., 224f.; Pearson, Lost Histories p.viii and p.240f.

106. Diod. XVIII.23.2-3, Perdicas; 41.4-5, Antigonus; 42.1-2, Eumenes; 50.1-3, Antigonus; 53, Eumenes; cf. also 36.6, Ptolemy.

107. In book XI Diodorus appropriated almost wholesale Ephorus' estimate of Themistocles: cf. ch.II p.40f. and App.II p.L.

108. Aelian VH XII.16; cf. Berve II p.241 n.1; Briant, Antigone le Borgne, p.92 n.1.

109. Plut. Eum. XI.2.

110. Plut. Demetr. II.2 (height); XIX.3 (weight). His great voice: Plut. Demetr. III.2, XXVIII.4; Eum. X.4 ( *βῶν* ), XV.2.

111. The judgement of Eumenes at Plut. Eum XI.2 is probably not from Hieronymus direct; cf. Kaerst, Philologus 91 (1892) pp.618f. Reuss Hieronimos p.131 suggests that Hieronymus made the judgement *αἰμύλος καὶ μέγανος* on the basis of the letters of Eumenes, but this is very improbable: Schubert, Jahrb.f.Phil. IX Suppl. 668 points out that Hieronymus didn't need to use the letters of Eumenes to reach a judgement about him for the first time. However, Schubert's own suggestion - Agatharchides - is no more fortunate. Plutarch no doubt had before him an apocryphal collection of Eumenes' letters (cf. Lucian Pro laps. in salut. 8 p.274), in which Eumenes was characterised with reference to the portrait in Hieronymus' history.

112. I. Bruns, Das lit. Porträt der Griechen in fünften u. vierten Jahrhundert v. Chr. Geburt, Berlin 1896; Die Persönlichkeit in der Geschichtsschreibung der Antike, Berlin 1898.
113. F. Leo, Die gr.-rom. Biographie nach ihrer litterarischen Form, Leipzig 1901 pp. 242ff.
114. Cf. App. II p. xlviiff.
115. Diod. XVIII.23.2-4.
116. For βαρβός and βαρβότης cf. XI.44.6, 48.6, 70.3; XIV.82.2; XV.16.1, 28.2, 31.1.
117. Plut. Demetr. XXVIII.2.
118. Plut. De Fort. Alex. 330E; Reg. et Imp. Apophth. 182.4, 15.
119. Diod. XVIII.7.3, 50.4, 60.1, 75.1. Cf. XIV.12.8; XVII.32.1, 62.5. See also XI.70.2; XIV.64.3; XV.37.2, 50.6; XVIII.60.1, where the same expression is used of cities or groups of people. In a digression on the collapse of Spartan power (XV.33.3) Diodorus makes it clear that examples of οἱ μέγα φρονούοντες were meant to be instructive. Plut. Eum. IV.2 speaks of Neoptolemus as ὄγκω τινι καὶ φρονήματι κενῶ διεφθαρμένος: it was a common formula.
120. Diod. XVIII.47.5; XX.53.2. Plut. Eum. III.3; Plutarch, however, attributes these ambitions to Antigonus prematurely: cf. Briant, Antigone le Borgne p.150, 229-34, etc.; Cl. Wehrli, Antigone et Demetrios, p.11, 35. 72f. etc.
121. Justin, XV.2.10 (corresponding to Diod. XX.53.2). For other examples of μετέωρος in Diodorus, cf. II.26.4; III.73.4; XI.1.3, 41.2; XIII.2.2, 38.4, 46.3, 52.1, 92.2; XIV.64.3, 70.1; XV.39.1, 69.1, 77.4; XVI.11.5, 18.5; XIX.90.1; XX.33.2, 92.4.
122. This is not the exaggeration of a hostile tradition: cf. Diod. XIX.63.2, Cassander's general, Apollonides, burnt alive 500 of his opponents in the Argive prytaneum.
123. Diod. XX.75.3.

124. Diod. XVIII.33.3.
125. Cf. Diod. XI.53.2, 67.3, 67.5; XII.55.8; XV.30.3; XVII.5.3; XIX.71.2; XXXII.9a.
126. Arrian F9.28.
127. Diod. XIX.87.1; XX.27.3, 107.4, 107.5. For Telesphorus' relation to Antigonus, cf. Diog. Laert. V.79: *Τελεσφόρος ὁ ἀνεψιὸς τοῦ Δημητρίου.* Kirchner, Prosopographica Attica no.13551, identifies this Demetrius as Demetrius of Phaleron, however. For Ptolemaeus, see also Diod. XIX.57.4; Memnon F.Gr.Hist. 434 F1 (4,6); Plut. Eum. X.3, Cf. Bakhuizen, Salganeus, pp.105-130, esp. p.121f.; Momigliano, Riv.Fil. X (1932) pp.480-81.
128. Cf. Plut. Demetr. XXVIII.5.
129. Xen. Cyrop. I.6.15, cf. 6.25.
130. Cf. Briant, Antigone le Borgne, p.93f.
131. For the following, see Diod. XIX.18ff.
132. Xen. Hipp. IV.6.
133. Diod. XVII.59.3, III.4ff.
134. Babylonian Chronicle, Reverse, line 11; cf. ch.IV p.172f.  
Cf. Smith, Babylonian Historical Texts, pp.138-40, for discussion of the tribe.
135. Polyb. V.44. For Antiochus' campaign, see Cary, A History of the Greek World 323-146 B.C., p.71.
136. See ch.IV p.182f.
137. Bizière, Diodore XIX p.34 n.1, notes the parallel between Antigonus and Perdiccas.
138. Diod. XIX.21-22.
139. Diod. XIX.37: N.B. 37.5, *ἐπιπόνως.*
140. Diod. XIX.69.2.
141. Diod. XIX.94ff.
142. Diod. XIX.100.2.

143. Onasander, Strategikos III.2-3.
144. Diod. XX.73.3.
145. Diod. XVI.43.2: ἔμπειρον ὄντα τῶν κατὰ τὴν Αἴγυπτον τόπων καὶ τὰς κατὰ τὸν Νεῖλον ἀποβάσεις ἀκριβῶς εἰδότες.
146. Diod. XVI.46.4-5.
147. Seibert, Untersuchungen zur Geschichte Ptolemaios I, p.222.
148. H.Hauben, Orientalis Lovaniensia Periodica 1975-6, Misc.in hon.Jos. Vergote p.267ff.
149. Plut. Demetr. XIX.1-2; Paus. I.6.6.
150. Diod. XX.109.3.
151. N.F. Dixon, On the Psychology of Military Incompetence, 1976.
152. For Antigonus' ability as an organiser, cf. Diod. XIX.49ff., his preparations for war in 315: as a tactician, cf. especially Diod. XIX.42.2, his brilliant use of the dust screen as cover at Gabiene. Antigonus perhaps recalled how the dust had aided Darius at Arbela: cf. Diod. XVII.60.4, 61.1. It was an old idea of course: see Gen.Sir John Hackett, Reflections upon Epic Warfare, Proc.Class.Assoc. LXVIII (1971), p.4-5 on the tactical use of smoke screens in the Iliad.
153. Plut. Eum. XIV.1.
154. On Lysimachus' strategy see Cary, op.cit. p.40.
155. T.W. Africa, Historia 19 (1970) pp.528ff. Cf. W.O. Moeller, Historia 24 (1975) pp.402ff. (more one-eyed men).
156. Rostovtzeff, SEHRE<sup>2</sup> pp.303 and 679 (n.56 to ch.7) with references.
157. Sallust. Hist. I.88 = Aul. Gell. 2.27.2.
158. Plut. De puer Educ. 14.
159. Pliny NH 35.90, cf. 96, J.Charbonneaux, Rév.des Arts, 1952 pp.221f.; cf. Cl.Wehrli, Antigone et Demetrios p.29, with other references. For another view on the cavalryman of the Alexander sarcophagus, see v.Graeve, Der Alexandersarcophag und seine Werkstatt, Berlin 1970 p.135f.

160. Cf. Wade-Gery, OCD<sup>2</sup> s.v. Thucydides p.1069.
161. Scho $\delta$ . Il. III.435.
162. Tarn, Hell.Mil.Nav.Devel. p.43. Onasander elevated this quality into a criterion for choosing a general: Strategikos I.2-3.
163. Diod. XX.100.2, of Cassander and Lysimachus.
164. Diod. XVIII.75.2. For *ἐνεργεία, ἐνεργός*, etc- in Diodorus, cf. XV.23.3; XVI.24.1; XVII.4.5, 7.2, 30.7; XIX.79.3, 106.1; XX.19.5, 23.3, 84.4, 92.4.
165. Diod. XV.19.4.
166. Diod. XVIII.48.4, 38.6; Plut. Pyrrh. VIII.3. Duris F.Gr.Hist. 76 F12 seems to be pure fantasy. Fontana, Le lotte pp.188-216 sees Polyperchon as a statesman of genius: for a corrective, see Pédech's review, REG 75 (1962) p.251f.
167. Diod. XIX.35.5. Cf. Justin XIV.6.3, "speciosus magis quam utilis grex."
168. Plut. Demetr. IX.3-4.
169. Duris F.Gr.Hist. 76 F65, f2. Cf. Martial Ep. IX.XX: Fulvia, wife Antony, was held responsible for the Perusine War. The idea of women as the cause of wars gained currency once more at the time of Cleopatra: cf. Misch. Hist.Autbiog. p.266f.
170. Herod. VII.99; VIII.87-88. Mania: Xen. Hell. III.1.10ff. (Zenis and Mania were actually sub-satrap, because Pharnabazus was satrap of all Hellespontine Phrygia). Hellas: Xen. Anab. VII.8.8, cf. J.Six, Num.Chron. X (1890) p.192 n.27.
171. Syme, Proc.Brit.Acad. 1962 p.41.
172. Eurydice: Diod. XVIII.39.2-4, cf. Arrian F9.22-24, 31-33. Cleopatra: Arrian F11.40. Phila: Plut. Demetr. XXXII.3; cf. Cl.Wehrli, Phila, fille d'Antipatros, Historia XIII (1964) p.140ff. See in general G.H. Macurdy, Hellenistic Queens, Baltimore 1932 and Ferguson, Hellenistic Athens, p.70ff.

173. Cf. Wehrli, art.cit.
174. Diod. XIX.59.3-6.
175. Tarn, Antigonos Gonatas p.249.
176. Schwartz, RE s.v. Diodoros no.38 col.684.
177. Plut. Demetr. II.3, V.3, XIX.3ff.
178. Diod. XIX.81.
179. Aelian VH 2.20.
180. Seneca here probably reproduced many points which could be found in early Stoic treatises on Kingship: cf. Fisch art.cit. p.77. See also M.Griffin, Seneca, A Philosopher in Politics, p.145 n.3. Cf. Nic.Damasc., F.Gr.Hist. 90 F57 (based on Ephorus?), using πρῶτος of the Cypselids; and Suda Δ 431: δ δὲ Πτολεμαῖος ἔτε διαφερόντως τρόπου πραότητα καὶ φιλευθροπτικῶν ἔργων δηλώσας κτλ. Cf. Bakhuizen, Salganeus p.125f. n.90.
181. Diod. XX.92.4; compare Plut. Dmetr. II.3 with XIX.6. For νήφων, cf. Plut. Eum. XVI.5, of Antigonos: ἀετῶ...νήφοντι χρησάμενος παρὰ τὸ δεινὰ.
182. Diod. XIX.85.1-3. The casualties perhaps also included Nearchus the Cretan, who is not heard of again.
183. Cornford, Thucydides Mythistoricus, London 1907, p.146f.
184. A.R. Hands, C.Q. 1974 p.312ff. argues that Tacitus' account of the 'dissimulation' of Tiberius is partly derived from his training for the law-courts, where it was a regular argument that, if the defendant had shown uncharacteristic behaviour in committing his crimes he must always really have been that sort of man. Cf. Syme, Tacitus I p.421ff. Tac. Hist. I.50.4: "et ambigua de Vespasiano fama, solusque omnium ante se principum in melius mutatus est", with Syme, Tacitus I p.37 and n.2: "... it stood as a notable exception if an emperor improved."
185. Agatharchides ap. Phot.cod. 249.17 gives a picture of Alexander destroyed by flattery: cf. Fraser Ptol.Alex. II p.777 n.177.
186. Stroux, Philologus 88 (1933) p.222-40, esp. p.232f.

187. Cf. ch.II p. 85f.
188. Cf. Tarn, Antigonos Gonatas p.18: CAH VI p.499. For the deification of Demetrius, K.Scott, A.J.Phil. 49 (1928-9).
189. Walbank, Philip V p.136.
190. Polyb. V.50, VII.14.3, XIII.4.1-5, 6; Walbank, Polybius p.93f; Pédech, Méthode p.234.
191. Dio Orat. LVI (Agamemnon in the Iliad is obedient to Nestor and attempts nothing without his council of elders); cf. O.Murray, JRS LV (1965) p.176.
192. Cf. O.Murray, J.Theol.Stud. n.s.18 (1967) p.358. Momigliano, Alien Wisdom p.31f. draws attention to Cicero De Offic. I.26.90, implying that Panaetius believed, with Scipio, that the more powerful a man is the more he needs the counsel of his friends; this was the relation Panaetius saw between Scipio and himself.
193. See esp. Tarn, Antigonos Gonatas pp.249-50.
194. Plut. Mor. 545B, Aelian VH 2.20.
195. Diog. Laert. VII.169; IV.23ff.
196. Plut. Mor. 562F; cf. Tarn, loc.cit.
197. Plut. Pyrrh. XXXI.2; XXXIV.5; Demetr.XL.2.
198. Hier. F6, 15.
199. Suda s.v. Βασιλεία no.2: οὔτε φύσις οὔτε τὸ δίκαιον ἀποδίδουσι τοῖς ἀνθρώποις τὰς βασιλείας, ἀλλὰ τοῖς δυναμένοις ἡγεῖσθαι, στρατοπέδου καὶ χειρῆσαι πράγματα κουνεχῶς. οἷος ἦν Φίλιππος καὶ οἱ διαδόχοι Ἀλεξάνδρου.

### Conclusion

The best Greek histories were all to some extent external histories: Thucydides and Polybius wrote in exile; Herodotus looked at the states of mainland Greece with an Ionian perspective; and it was perhaps his position as an outsider in Athens that enabled Theopompus to perceive the figure of Philip looming from the north. Hieronymus of Cardia belongs to this distinguished company of writers who looked beyond the confines of the 'polis' and whose broad approach to the problems of Greece gave their works a claim to be called universal histories. Hieronymus was probably the least 'Greek' among them: the Cardian background, his close relation to the Antigonids, on whose behalf he governed liberty-loving Thebes, and the astonishing span of his career, all combined to make his experience different from that of other Greek historians. No Cardian partisanship can be detected; the orientation was Macedonian, even though it did not ignore Greek problems and Greek aspirations.

Probably Hieronymus planned to be a historian from an early stage, his idea of what 'historia' involved maturing gradually from the simple project of an encomium on Eumenes to the grand plan of a political history of his times; and one of the influences upon his final conception of history must have been the appearance of narrow or mistaken accounts by other historians. We have no firm evidence by which to fix the relative dates of writing of Hieronymus and Duris; but it is altogether likely, as Droysen and Jacoby believed, that Hieronymus wrote as one with the authority of first hand knowledge, to correct and improve on Duris. In the same way Herodotus improved on the early logographers, Thucydides on Herodotus, Ptolemy on Cleitarchus, Polybius on the many unfortunate writers at whom his criticisms were directed. The contentious spirit of Greek historians can be considered a significant catalyst in the development of Greek historiography.

There is no question about Hieronymus' superiority in historical outlook and method to the sensationalist writing of the period, in which great personalities were cut down to size by ridiculous stories about their private lives, and the unpredictability of life institutionalised under the name of the goddess Tyche: these were attempts to tame and render palatable a historical evolution which Greeks either could not bear or could not comprehend. Hieronymus, being at the centre of the storm, did not feel the devastation from which these reactions sprang. The difference between his work and that of the Macedonian Ptolemy is more remarkable. Ptolemy, with the opportunity to write from knowledge about one of the great conquerors of all time, produced, so far as we can tell, nothing more than a straightforward military chronicle, with appropriate omissions regarding the successes of his later enemies. Hieronymus' far wider concept of history shows that among his Macedonian friends he nevertheless retained the ways of thought of a Greek education.

The dominant influence on his work was undoubtedly Thucydides: in his 'archaeologies', his account of 'aitiai', and his analysis of the struggle for total power, Hieronymus shows his desire to be a political historian. No single literary influence was sufficient, however, for a period of history which itself had no precedent. Theopompus may have suggested ways of embedding an individual's career within general history; Herodotus gave the paradigm for an account of an outlandish people; and Xenophon was a faithful guide through the weary campaigns across the Asian hinterland. The richness of his subject caused Hieronymus to draw on a fund of different traditions of historiography, at the same time investing the whole with his own consciousness of political realities and his own ideals.

"Es gehört zu den schwersten Verlusten, die die griechischen Historiographie erlitten hat, dass gerade dieses Werk zu Grunde gegangen

ist": so lamented Wachsmuth (Einleitung p.580-1). Among later authors it came to be regarded as a useful book, but not a classic. Probably it was the model for Nymphis' work on the Diadochi; Phylarchus could have used it for events in the Peloponnese at the beginning of his work. It was known to the rhetorical writer Moschion at the end of the second century (Hier. F2); to Agatharchides of Cnidus, who wrote under Ptolemy Soter II (Hier. T2); and probably to Artemidorus (fl. c.100 B.C.), who may be Strabo's source for his citations of Hieronymus (cf. Reuss, Hieronimos p.180). Hieronymus is never mentioned by Polybius, however, - an astonishing fact when we consider both the general similarities between their lives and writings and the relevance of third century Macedonian history as background to Polybius' own theme. The passages at V.102.1, where he speaks of the perennial desire of the Antigonid house for dominion of empire, and at I.63.7, where he patronises "those who have spoken with wonder at the sea-battles of an Antigonus, a Ptolemy or a Demetrius", perhaps allude obliquely to Hieronymus; but the latter is spared, with Thucydides, Polybius' tirades on the subject of historiographical method. Was Hieronymus really too unimportant to mention? Or was this the one historian with whom even Polybius could find no fault?

A century later both alike faced sentence of oblivion, or the fate of being pickled in Diodorus' Bibliothekē. Dionysius inveighed against the degenerate style of Hellenistic historiography (in a treatise shackled by rhetorical convention, which fails even to recognise the reasons for Herodotus' appeal), and urged historians to follow his own example in the Antiquities.<sup>c</sup> If one questioned Dionysius' judgement, the silence of Quintilian, at least, was decisive: for him, Cleitarchus and Timagenes were the high points of Hellenistic history-writing. (Inst. Orat. X.1.74). Hieronymus found his last and most sympathetic reader in Arrian;

\* Cf. Bonnor, The Literary Treatises of Dionysius of Halicarnassus, Amsterdam, 1969.

and after this brief renaissance became a name known in late antiquity only to chroniclers and lexicographers. "Men and dynasties pass; but style abides."\* Where style was lacking, and time has done its work, it is the job of later historians to collect the scattered remains and try to recapture spirit and intention.

\* Syme, Tacitus p.624.

THE FRAGMENTS OF HIERONYMUS OF CARDIA

(from, F. Jacoby, Die Fragmente der griechische  
Historiker, IIB no.154 pp.829-835)

## d) DIE DIADOCHEN. PYRRHOS.

### 154. HIERONYMOS VON KARDIA.

#### T

1 SUID. s. Ἱερώνυμος Καρδιανός· ὃς τὰ ἐπ' Ἀλεξάνδρῳ πραχθέντα  
5 συνέγραψε. Καρδία δὲ ὄνομα πόλεως.

2 [LUKIAN.] Macroβ. 22 (= PHLEGON 257 F 37 c. II): Ἱερώνυμος  
δὲ ἐν πολέμοις γενόμενος καὶ πολλοὺς καμάτους ὑπομείνας καὶ τραύματα  
ἔζησεν ἔτη τέσσαρα καὶ ἑκατόν, ὡς Ἀγαθαρχίδης ἐν τῇ ἐνάτῃ τῶν Περὶ  
τῆς Ἀσίας ἱστοριῶν (86 F 4) λέγει· καὶ θαυμάζει γε τὸν ἄνδρα ὡς μέχρι  
10 τῆς τελευταίας ἡμέρας ἄρτιον ὄντα ἐν ταῖς συνουσίαις καὶ πᾶσι τοῖς  
αἰσθητηρίοις, μηδενὸς γενόμενον τῶν πρὸς ὑγίειαν ἔλλιπῆ.

3 DIOD. XVIII 42, 1: μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα ὁ Εὐμένης πρὸς τὸν Ἀντί-  
πατρον πρεσβευτὰς ἀπέστειλε περὶ τῶν ὁμολογιῶν (a. 320), ὧν ἦν ἡγού-  
μενος Ἱερώνυμος ὁ τὰς τῶν Διαδόχων Ἱστορίας γεγραφώς.

15 4 — XVIII 50, 4 (a. 319/8): ταῦτα δὲ διανοηθεὶς (sc. ὁ Ἀντίγονος)  
Ἱερώνυμον μὲν τὸν τὰς Ἱστορίας γράψαντα μετεπέμψατο, φίλον ὄντα  
καὶ πολίτην Εὐμένους τοῦ Καρδιανοῦ τοῦ συμπεφευγότος εἰς τὸ χωρίον  
τὸ καλούμενον Νῶρα. τοῦτον δὲ μεγάλας δωρεαῖς προκαλεσάμενος  
ἔξαπέστειλε πρεσβευτὴν πρὸς τὸν Εὐμένην .... PLUT. Eum. 12.

20 5 — XIX 44, 3 (a. 316/5): nach der gefangennahme des  
Eumenes ἀνήχθη δ' ἐν τοῖς τραυματίαις αἰχμάλωτος καὶ ὁ τὰς Ἱστορίας  
συνταξάμενος Ἱερώνυμος ὁ Καρδιανός, ὃς τὸν μὲν ἔμπροσθεν χρόνον  
ὑπ' Εὐμένους τιμώμενος διετέλεσεν, μετὰ δὲ τὸν ἐκείνου θάνατον ὑπ'  
Ἀντιγόνου ἐτύγχανε φιλανθρωπίας καὶ πίστεως.

25 6 — XIX 100, 1—3 (a. 312/1): ὁ δ' Ἀντίγονος ἐπανελθόντος  
τοῦ Δημητρίου καὶ τὰ κατὰ μέρος τῶν πεπραγμένων ἀπαγγείλαντος ἐπὶ  
μὲν τῇ συνθέσει τῇ πρὸς τοὺς Ναβαταίους ἐπετίμησεν αὐτῷ .... ἐπὶ  
δὲ τῷ κατασκέψασθαι τὴν λίμνην (F 5—6) καὶ δοκεῖν εὐρηκέναι τινὰ  
τῇ βασιλείᾳ πρόσοδον ἐπαινέσας ἐπὶ μὲν ταύτης ἐπιμελητὴν ἔταξεν

4 (ἱστορικός) ὃς? ἐπ' Ἀλεξάνδρῳ Leopardi (vgl. F 3 Περδίκκας δέ,  
ὃς ἐπὶ Ἀλεξάνδρῳ τῆς Μακεδόνων ἡρχεν) ἐπ' Ἀλεξάνδρου V ἐπ' Ἀλεξανδρείαι cett  
18 προκαλεσάμενος F 21 τραυματίαις: ἐαλωκόσι F 27 Ναβαταίους: νομάδας F

Ἰερώνυμον τὸν τὰς Ἱστορίας συγγράψαντα (F 6). τούτῳ δὲ συνετέτακτο πλοῖα παρασκευάσασθαι καὶ πᾶσαν τὴν ἄσφαλτον ἀναλαβόντα συνάγειν εἰς τινα τόπον. οὐ μὴν ἀπέβη γε καὶ τὸ τέλος κατὰ τὴν ἐλπίδα τοῖς περὶ τὸν Ἀντίγονον· οἱ γὰρ Ἀραβες συστραφέντες εἰς ἑξακισχιλίους, ἐπιπλεύσαντες ἐν ταῖς δέσμασι ἐπὶ τοὺς ἐν τοῖς πλοίοις, σχεδὸν ἅπαντας κατετόξευσαν. ἐξ οὗ δὴ συνέβη τὸν Ἀντίγονον ἀπογνῶναι τὰς προσόδους ταύτας διὰ τὸ γεγονὸς παράπτωμα καὶ διὰ τὸ τὸν νοῦν ἔχειν πρὸς ἑτέροις μείζουσι.

7 [LUKIAN.] Macrobi. 11 (= F 8): ὁ συστρατευόμενος αὐτῷ (sc. Ἀντιγόνῳ, bei Ipsos a. 301) Ἰερώνυμος.

10 8 PLUT. Demetr. 39, 3—7: ὡς δὲ ταῖς Θήβαις ἐπαγαγὼν τὰς μηχανὰς ὁ Δημήτριος (a. 293) ἐπολιόρκει καὶ φοβηθεὶς ὑπεξῆλθεν ὁ Κλεώνυμος, καταπλαγέντες οἱ Βοιωτοὶ παρέδωκαν ἑαυτούς. ὁ δὲ ταῖς πόλεις ἐμβαλὼν φρουρὰν καὶ πραξάμενος πολλὰ χρήματα καὶ καταλιπὼν αὐτοῖς ἐπιμελητὴν καὶ ἀρμοστὴν Ἰερώνυμον τὸν ἱστορικόν, ἔδοξεν ἠπίως κεχρησθαι . . . . οὐ πολλῶι δὲ ὕστερον ἀλίσκεται Λυσίμαχος ὑπὸ Δρομιχαίτου, καὶ πρὸς τοῦτο Δημητρίου κατὰ τάχος ἐξορμήσαντος ἐπὶ Θράκην . . . πάλιν ἀπέστησαν οἱ Βοιωτοὶ . . . ταχέως οὖν καὶ πρὸς ὀργὴν ἀναστρέψας ὁ Δημήτριος εὗρεν ἠττημένους ὑπὸ τοῦ παιδὸς Ἀντιγόνου μάχη τοὺς Βοιωτούς καὶ τὰς Θήβας αὐθις ἐπολιόρκει.

20 9 THEON VIT. ARAT. p. 147, 18 M: Ἀντιγόνος ὁ Γονατᾶς, παρ' ᾧ διέτριβεν αὐτός καὶ σὺν αὐτῷ Περσαῖος ὁ Στωϊκὸς καὶ Ἀνταγόρας ὁ Ρόδιος . . . καὶ Ἀλέξανδρος ὁ Αἰτωλός, ὡς αὐτὸς φησὶν ὁ Ἀντίγονος ἐν τοῖς †περὶ Ἰερώνυμον.

10 DIOD. I 3, 3: τῶν δὲ τὴν ἐπιβολὴν ταύτης τῆς πραγματείας πεποιμημένων οὐδεὶς προεβίβασε τὴν ἱστορίαν κατατέρω τῶν Μακεδονικῶν καιρῶν· οἱ μὲν γὰρ εἰς τὰς Φιλίππου πράξεις, οἱ δ' εἰς τὰς Ἀλεξάνδρου, τινὲς δ' εἰς τοὺς διαδόχους ἢ τοὺς ἐπιγόνους (F 13) κατέστρεψαν τὰς συντάξεις.

11 PAUS. I 9, 8: ὁ δὲ Ἰερώνυμος οὗτος ἔχει μὲν καὶ ἄλλως δόξαν πρὸς ἀπέχθειαν γράψαι τῶν βασιλέων πλὴν Ἀντιγόνου, τούτῳ δὲ οὐ δικαίως χαρίζεσθαι. s. F 9; 15.

30 12 DION. HAL. De comp. verb. 4, 30: τοιγάρτοι τοιαύτας συντάξεις κατέλιπον οἷας οὐδεὶς ὑπομένει μέχρι κορωνίδος διελθεῖν, Φύλαρχον λέγω . . . Ἰερώνυμόν τε . . . s. 76 T 10.

## F

## 〈ΤΑ ΕΠΙ ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΩΙ ΠΡΑΧΘΕΝΤΑ?〉

85 1 (Π 452) ATHEN. V 58 p. 217 DE: Περδίκκας τοίνυν πρὸς Ἀρχελάου βασιλεύει, ὡς μὲν ὁ Ἀκάνθιος φησὶν Νικομήδης (III), ἔτη μα,

1 Ἰερώνυμον: Ἀντίγονον RX    3 τέλος (εἶλε) Rhodomanus    6 ταύτας om RX  
22 περὶ: apud quem Hieronimus vers Lat πρὸς Ruhnken περὶ Ἰερωνόμου?

Θεόπομπος (115 F 279) δὲ λ̄ε, Ἀναξιμένης (72 F 27) μ̄, Ἱερώνυμος κ̄η, Μαρσίας (135—136 F 15) δὲ καὶ Φιλόχορος (III) κ̄γ.

2 — V 40 p. 206 DE: γράφει οὖν ὁ Μοσχίων (III) οὕτως· a. 323/1  
 Ἰουλιανὸς μὲν ὁ Ἀβδηρίτης (VI) θανατάζεται ἐπὶ τῆι πρὸς τὴν  
 5 Ῥοδίων πόλιν ὑπὸ Δημητρίου προσαχθείση τοῖς τείχεσιν ἐλεπόλει,  
 Τίμαιος (III) δ' ἐπὶ τῆι πυρᾷ τῆι κατασκευασθείση Διονυσίωι . . . .,  
 καὶ Ἱερώνυμος ἐπὶ τῆι κατασκευῆι τῆς ἀρμαμάξης, ἧι συνέβαινε κομι-  
 σθῆναι τὸ Ἀλεξάνδρου σῶμα, Πολύκλειτος (128 F 4) δὲ . . . .

3 (1 a) APPIAN. Mithrid. 8: Καππαδοκίας δὲ πρὸ μὲν Μακεδόνων a. 322  
 10 οἵτινες ἦρχον, οὐκ ἔχω σαφῶς εἰπεῖν εἴτε ἰδίαν ἀρχὴν εἴτε Λαρείου  
 κατήκονον. Ἀλέξανδρος δέ μοι δοκεῖ τοὺς ἄρχοντας τῶνδε τῶν ἔθνων  
 ἐπὶ φόρῳ καταλιπεῖν, ἐπειγόμενος ἐπὶ Λαρεῖον. . . . . Ἱερώνυμος  
 δὲ οὐδ' ἐπιψαῦσαι τῶν ἔθνων ὄλωσ, ἀλλ' ἀνὰ τὴν παρά-  
 15 λιον τῆς Παμφυλίας καὶ Κιλικίας ἐτέραν ὁδὸν ἐπὶ τὸν  
 Λαρεῖον τραπέσθαι. Περδίκκας δέ, ὃς ἐπὶ Ἀλεξάνδρῳ τῆς Μακε-  
 δόνων ἦρχεν, Ἀριαράθην Καππαδοκίας ἡγούμενον εἴτε ἀφιστάμενον εἴτε  
 τὴν ἀρχὴν αὐτοῦ περιποιούμενος Μακεδόσιν, εἴλε καὶ ἐκρέμασε (F 4)  
 καὶ ἐπέστησε τοῖς ἔθνεσιν Εὐμένη τὸν Καρδιανόν. Εὐμένους δὲ ἀναι-  
 20 ρεθέντος ὅτε αὐτὸν οἱ Μακεδόνες εἴλοντο εἶναι πολέμιον, Ἀντίπατρος  
 ἐπὶ τῷ Περδίκκῃ τῆς ὑπὸ Ἀλεξάνδρῳ γενομένης γῆς ἐπιτροπεύων,  
 Νικάνορα ἐπεμψε Καππαδοκῶν σατραπεύειν. (9) Μακεδόνων δὲ οὐ πολὺ  
 ὕστερον ἐς ἀλλήλους στασιασάντων, Ἀντίγονος μὲν ἦρχε Συρίας Λαομέδοντα  
 ἐκβαλὼν, Μιθριδάτης δ' αὐτῷ συνῆν, ἀνὴρ γένους βασιλείου Περσικοῦ.  
 καὶ ὁ Ἀντίγονος ἐνύπνιον ἔδοξε πεδίον σπεῖραι χρυσίωι, καὶ τὸ χρυσίον  
 25 ἐκθερίσαντα τὸν Μιθριδάτην ἐς τὸν Πόντον οἴχεσθαι. καὶ ὁ μὲν αὐτὸν  
 ἐπὶ τῷδε συλλαβῶν ἐβούλετο ἀποκτεῖναι, ὁ δ' ἐξέφυγε σὺν ἱππεῦσιν ἕξ,  
 καὶ φραξάμενός τι χωρίον τῆς Καππαδοκίας, πολλῶν οἱ προσιόντων ἐν τῆι-  
 δε τῆι Μακεδόνων ἀσχολίαι, Καππαδοκίας τε αὐτῆς καὶ τῶν ὁμόρων περὶ  
 τὸν Πόντον ἔθνων κατέσχεν, ἐπὶ τε μέγα τὴν ἀρχὴν προαγαγὼν παισὶ  
 30 παρέδωκεν (F 7). [[οἱ δ' ἦρχον ἕτερος μεθ' ἕτερον ἕως ἐπὶ τὸν ἕκτον  
 ἀπὸ τοῦ πρώτου Μιθριδάτην, ὃς Ῥωμαίοις ἐπολέμησεν]].

4 (2) [LUKIAN.] Macroh. 13: Ἀριαράθης δὲ ὁ Καππαδοκῶν a. 3. 2  
 βασιλεὺς δύο μὲν καὶ ὀγδοήκοντα ἔζησεν ἔτη, ὡς Ἱερώνυμος ἱστορεῖ·  
 ἐδυνήθη δὲ ἴσως καὶ ἐπὶ πλέον διαγενέσθαι, ἀλλ' ἐν τῆι πρὸς Περδίκκην  
 35 μάχῃι ζωγρηθεὶς ἀνεσκολοπίσθη.

5 (3 a) PARADOX. Flor. De aq. mir. 33: Ἱερώνυμος ἱστόρησεν ἐν a. 316/2  
 τῆι Ναβαταίων χώρῃι τῶν Ἀράβων εἶναι λίμνην πικράν, ἐν ἧι οὐτ'

13 (τῶνδε) τῶν Schweighaeuser ne has quidem gentes vers. Candidi  
 15—16 τῶν Μακεδόνων Reiske 26 ἐβούλετο i conatus est Cand ἐβούλευεν O

ἰχθῦς οὔτε ἄλλο τι τῶν ἐνύδρων ζώων γίνεσθαι, ἀσφάλτου δὲ πλίνθους ἐξ αὐτῆς αἴρεσθαι ὑπὸ τῶν ἐπιχωρίων.

6 (13) JOSEPH. c. Apion. I 213—214: ὅτι δὲ οὐκ ἀγνοοῦντες <sup>a. 315/2</sup> ἔνιοι τῶν συγγραφέων τὸ ἔθνος ἡμῶν, ἀλλ' ὑπὸ φθόνου τινὸς ἢ δι' ἄλλας αἰτίας οὐχ ὑγιεῖς τὴν μνήμην παρέλιπον, τεκμηρίον οἶμαι παρέξειν· Ἱερώνυμος γὰρ ὁ τὴν Περὶ τῶν διαδόχων ἱστορίαν συγγεγραφῶς κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν μὲν ἦν Ἑκαταίωι (III) χρόνον, φίλος δ' ὢν Ἀντιγόνου τοῦ βασιλέως τὴν Συρίαν ἐπετρόπευεν (T 6)· ἀλλ' ὅμως Ἑκαταῖος μὲν καὶ βιβλίον ἔγραψεν περὶ ἡμῶν, Ἱερώνυμος δ' οὐδαμοῦ κατὰ τὴν ἱστορίαν <sup>10</sup> ἐμνημόνευσε καίτοι σχεδὸν ἐν τοῖς τόποις διατετριφῶς.

7 (3) [LUKIAN.] Macrobi. 13: Μιθριδάτης δὲ ὁ Πόντου βασιλεὺς <sup>a. 302/1</sup> ὁ προσαγορευθεὶς Κτίστης Ἀντιγόνον τὸν μονόφθαλμον φεύγων ἐπὶ Πόντου ἐτελεύτησε βιώσας ἔτη τέσσαρα καὶ ὀγδοήκοντα, ὥσπερ Ἱερώνυμος ἱστορεῖ καὶ ἄλλοι συγγραφεῖς. s. F 3—4.

15 8 (4) — — 11: Ἀντίγονος δὲ ὁ Φιλίππου ὁ μονόφθαλμος βασι- <sup>a. 301</sup> λεύων Μακεδόνων περὶ Φρυγίαν μαχόμενος Σελεύκῳ καὶ Λυσιμάχῳ τραύμασι πολλοῖς περιπεσὼν ἐτελεύτησεν ἐτῶν ἑνὸς καὶ ὀγδοήκοντα, ὥσπερ ὁ συστρατευόμενος αὐτῷ Ἱερώνυμος ἱστορεῖ.

9 (6) PAUS. I 9, 7: Λυσιμάχος δὲ καὶ ἐς πόλεμον πρὸς Πύρρον <sup>a. 286/4</sup> κατέστη τὸν Αἰακίδου· φυλάξας δὲ ἐξ Ἡπείρου ἀπιόντα, οἷα δὲ τὰ πολλὰ ἐκείνος ἐπλανᾶτο, τὴν τε ἄλλην ἐλεγήτησεν Ἡπειρον καὶ ἐπὶ τὰς θῆκας ἦλθε τῶν βασιλέων. (8) τὰ δὲ ἐντεῦθεν ἐμοὶ ἐστὶν οὐ πιστά, Ἱερώνυμος δὲ ἔγραψε Καρδιανὸς Λυσιμάχον τὰς θῆκας τῶν νεκρῶν ἀνελόντα τὰ ὅστ' ἀέκρῖψαι. ὁ δὲ Ἱερώνυμος οὕτως <sup>25</sup> (T 11) ἔχει μὲν καὶ ἄλλως δόξαν πρὸς ἀπέχθειαν γράφαι τῶν βασιλέων πλὴν Ἀντιγόνου, τούτῳ δὲ οὐ δικαίως χαρίζεσθαι· τὰ δὲ ἐπὶ τοῖς τάφοις τῶν Ἡπειρωτῶν παντάπασιν ἐστὶ φανερός ἐπηρεῖαι συνθεῖς, ἀνδρᾶ Μακεδόνα θῆκας νεκρῶν ἀνελεῖν. χωρὶς δὲ ἠπίστατο δὴ πού καὶ Λυσιμάχος οὐ Πύρρον σαφῶς προγόνους μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ Ἀλέξανδρον τοὺς αὐτοὺς τούτους ὄντας· καὶ γὰρ Ἀλέξανδρος Ἡπειρώτης τε ἦν <sup>30</sup> καὶ τῶν Αἰακιδῶν τὰ πρὸς μητρός, ἢ τε ὕστερον Πύρρον πρὸς Λυσιμάχον συμμαχία δηλοῖ καὶ πολεμήσασιν ἀδιάλλακτὸν γε οὐδὲν πρὸς ἀλλήλους γενέσθαι σφίσι. τῷ δὲ Ἱερωνύμῳ τάχα μὲν πού καὶ ἄλλα ἦν ἐς Λυσιμάχον ἐγκλήματα, μέγιστον δὲ ὅτι τὴν Καρδιανῶν πόλιν ἀνελὼν Λυσιμάχειαν ἀντ' αὐτῆς ὠκισεν ἐπὶ τῷ ἰσθμῷ τῆς Θραικίας χερρονήσου.

35 10 (4) [LUKIAN.] Macrobi. 11: καὶ Λυσιμάχος δὲ Μακεδόνων <sup>a. 281</sup> βασιλεὺς ἐν τῇ πρὸς Σέλευκον ἀπώλετο μάχῃ ἔτος ὀγδοηκοστὸν τελῶν, ὡς ὁ αὐτὸς φησὶν Ἱερώνυμος.

11 (7) PLUT. Pyrrh. 17, 7: (schlacht bei Herakleia) Διονύσιος μὲν <sup>a. 280</sup> οὐκ ὀλίγωι τῶν πεντακισχιλίων καὶ μυρίων ἐλάσσονας πεσεῖν ἱστορεῖ <sup>40</sup> Ῥωμαίων, Ἱερώνυμος δὲ μόνους ἑπτακισχιλίους· τῶν δὲ περὶ Πύρρον ὁ

μὲν Διονύσιος μυρίους καὶ τρισχιλίους, ὁ δὲ Ἱερώνυμος ἐλάττονας τῶν τετρακισχιλίων· κράτιστοι δὲ ἦσαν οὗτοι. καὶ τῶν φίλων ὁ Πύρρος καὶ τῶν στρατηγῶν οἷς μάλιστα χρώμενος διετέλει καὶ πιστεύων ἀπέβαλεν.

12 (8) PLUT. PYRRH. 21, 7: ἐκ τούτου μάχης ἄλλης τῶν πραγμάτων <sup>a. 279</sup>  
 5 αὐτῶι δεομένων ἀναλαβῶν τὴν στρατιὰν ἐχώρει, καὶ περὶ Ἄσκλον πόλιν  
 τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις συνάψας καὶ βιαζόμενος πρὸς χωρία δύσιππα καὶ ποταμὸν  
 ὑλώδη καὶ τραχύν, ἔφοδον τῶν Θηρίων οὐ λαβόντων, ὥστε προσμεῖξαι τῆι  
 φάλαγγι, τραυματ(ί)ων πολλῶν γενομένων καὶ νεκρῶν πεσόντων, τότε μὲν  
 διεκρίθη μέχρι νυκτὸς ἀγωνισάμενος. (8) τῆι δ' ἕστεραίαι στρατηγῶν δι'  
 10 ὁμαλοῦ τὴν μάχην θέσθαι καὶ τοὺς ἐλέφαντας ἐν τοῖς ὅπλοις γενέσθαι  
 τῶν πολεμίων, προέλαβε τὰς δυσχωρίας φυλακῆι, καὶ πολλὰ καταμείξας  
 ἀκοντίσματα καὶ τοξεύματα τοῖς Θηρίοις ἐπῆγε μετὰ ῥώμης καὶ βίας  
 πυκνὴν καὶ συντεταγμένην τὴν δύναμιν. (9) οἱ δὲ Ῥωμαῖοι τὰς διακλίσεις  
 καὶ τὰς ἀντιπαραγωγὰς τὰς πρότερον οὐκ ἔχοντες ἐξ ἐπιπέδου συνεφέ-  
 15 ροντο κατὰ στόμα· (10) καὶ σπεύδοντες ὥσασθαι τοὺς ὀπλίτας πρὶν ἐπιβῆναι  
 τὰ Θηρία, δεινοὺς περὶ τὰς σαρίσας τῶν ξιφῶν ἀγῶνας εἶχον, ἀφειδοῦντες  
 ἑαυτῶν καὶ <πρὸς> τὸ τρωῶσαι καὶ καταβαλεῖν ὄρωντες, τὸ δὲ παθεῖν εἰς οὐδὲν  
 τιθέμενοι. (11) χρόνῳ δὲ πολλῶι λέγεται μὲν ἀρχὴ τροπῆς κατ' αὐτὸν γενέ-  
 σθαι τὸν Πύρρον ἐπερείσαντα τοῖς ἀντιεταγμένοις, τὸ δὲ πλεῖστον ἀλκῆι  
 20 καὶ βίαι τῶν ἐλεφάντων κατειργάσατο, χρήσασθαι τῆι ἀρετῆι πρὸς τὴν  
 μάχην τῶν Ῥωμαίων μὴ δυναμένων, ἀλλ' οἷον ἐφόδῳ κύματος ἢ σειμοῦ  
 κατερείποντος οἰομένων δεῖν ἐξίστασθαι μηδὲ ὑπομένειν ἀπράκτους ἀπο-  
 θνήσκειν, ἐν τῶι μηδὲν ὠφελεῖν πάντα πάσχοντας τὰ χαλεπώτατα. (12) τῆς  
 δὲ φυγῆς οὐ μακρᾶς εἰς τὸ στρατόπεδον γενομένης  
 25 ἑξακισχιλίους ἀποθανεῖν φησι τῶν Ῥωμαίων Ἱερώνυμος,  
 τῶν δὲ περὶ Πύρρον ἐν τοῖς βασιλικοῖς ὑπομνήμασιν  
 (229 F 2) ἀνενεχθῆναι τρισχιλίους πεντακοσίους καὶ  
 πέντε τεθνηκότας.

13 (8) DION. HAL. AR I 5, 4: οὐδεμία γὰρ ἀκριβὴς ἐξελέλυθε <sup>a. 280/79</sup>  
 30 περὶ αὐτῶν (sc. τῶν Ῥωμαίων) Ἑλληνὶς ἱστορία μέχρι τῶν καθ' ἡμᾶς  
 χρόνων, ὅτι μὴ κεφαλαιώδεις ἐπιτομαὶ πανὸ βραχεῖαι, (6, 1) πρώτου μὲν,  
 ὅσα κάμῃ εἰδέναι, τὴν Ῥωμαικὴν ἀρχαιολογίαν ἐπιδραμόντος Ἱερωνύμου  
 τοῦ Καρδιανοῦ συγγραφέως ἐν τῆι Περὶ τῶν Ἐπιγόνων πραγματεία·  
 ἔπειτα Τιμαίου (III) .....

35 14 (9) PLUT. PYRRH. 27, 8: ἦν δὲ τὸ μὲν πλάτος αὐτῆς (des von <sup>a. 272</sup>  
 den Lakedaimoniern gegen Pyrrhos aufgeworfenen grabens) πήχεων  
 ἕξ, τὸ δὲ βάθος τετάρων, τὸ δὲ μῆκος ὀκτάπλεθρον, ὡς ἱστορεῖ Φύλαρχος  
 (81 F 48), ὡς δ' Ἱερώνυμος, ἐλάττον.

8 τραυματίων Jac 17 <πρὸς> Ziegler 20 κατειργάσατο Reiske —αντο  
 Pl —αστο? 24 μακρᾶν Ziegler 33 ἐπιγόνων: ἐπειγομένων B

15 (10) PAUS. I 13, 7: ὑπὸ δε τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον καὶ τὴν τοῦ α. 372  
 πολέμου τοῦ Λακωνικοῦ τριβὴν Ἀντιγόνοσ τὰς πόλεις τῶν Μακεδόνων  
 ἀνασωσάμενος ἠπειέτο ἐς Πελοπόννησον οἷα ἐπιστάμενος Πύρρον, ἦν  
 Λακεδαίμονα καταστρέψεται καὶ Πελοποννήσου (τὰ) πολλά, οὐκ ἐς Ἡπει-  
 5 ρον ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τε Μακεδονίαν αὐθις καὶ τὸν ἐκεῖ πόλεμον ἤξοντα μέλλοντος  
 δὲ Ἀντιγόνοσ τὸν στρατὸν ἐξ Ἄργουσ ἐς τὴν Λακωνικὴν ἄγειν, αὐτὸσ  
 ἐς τὸ Ἄργουσ ἐληλύθει Πύρροσ. κρατῶν δὲ καὶ τότε συνεσπίπτει τοῖσ  
 φεύγουσιν ἐς τὴν πόλιν καὶ οἱ διαλύεται κατὰ τὸ εἶκοσ ἢ τάξισ. (8) μαχο-  
 μένων δὲ πρὸσ ἱεροῖσ ἤδη καὶ οἰκίαισ καὶ κατὰ τοὺσ στενωποὺσ καὶ κατ'  
 10 ἄλλο ἄλλων τῆσ πόλεωσ, ἐνταῦθα ὁ Πύρροσ ἐμονώθη καὶ τιτρώσεται τὴν  
 κεφαλὴν. κεράμωι δὲ βληθέντα ὑπὸ γυναικὸσ τεθνάναι φασὶ Πύρρον·  
 Ἄργεῖοι δὲ οὐ γυναικα τὴν ἀποκτείνασαν, Δήμητρα δὲ φασιν εἶναι γυναικὶ  
 εἰκασμένην. . . . . (9) . . . . διάφορα δὲ ὁμωσ ἐστὶ καὶ ταῦτα  
 ὧν Ἰερώνυμοσ ὁ Καρδιανὸσ ἔγραψεν· ἀνδρὶ γὰρ βασιλεῖ  
 15 συνόντα ἀνάγκη πᾶσα ἐσ χάριν συγγράφειν. εἰ δὲ καὶ Φίλιστοσ (III)  
 αἰτίαν δικαίαν εἶληφεν, ἐπελπίζων τὴν ἐν Συρακούσαισ κάθοδον, ἀπο-  
 κρύψασθαι τῶν Διονυσίου τὰ ἀνοσιώτατα, ἧ που πολλὴ γε Ἰερωνύμωι  
 συγγνώμη τὰ ἐσ ἡδονὴν Ἀντιγόνοσ γράφειν.

16 (5) STRAB. VIII 6, 21: τὴν δὲ τοποθεσίαν τῆσ πόλεωσ (sc. Κορίν- α. 303/2  
 20 θου), ἐξ ὧν Ἰερώνυμοσ τε εἶρηκε καὶ Εὐδοξοσ (V) καὶ ἄλλοι, καὶ αὐτοὶ δὲ  
 εἶδομεν, νεωστὶ ἀναληφθείσῃ ὑπὸ τῶν Ῥωμαίων, τοιάνδε εἶναι συμβαίνει.  
 ὄροσ ὑψηλὸν ὄσον τριῶν ἡμισυ σταδίων ἔχον τὴν κάθετον, τὴν δ' ἀνάβασιν καὶ  
 τριάκοντα σταδίων, εἰσ ὀξείαν τελευτᾷ κορυφὴν· καλεῖται δὲ Ἀκροκόρινθοσ, οὐδ' τὸ  
 μὲν πρὸσ ἄρκτον μέρος ἐστὶ τὸ μάλιστα ὄρδιον, ὅφ' ὧι κεῖται ἡ πόλισ ἐπὶ τραπε-  
 25 ζῶδουσ ἐπιπέδου χωρίου πρὸσ αὐτῇ τῇ ῥίζηι τοῦ Ἀκροκορίνθου. αὐτῆσ μὲν οὖν  
 τῆσ πόλεωσ ὁ κύκλοσ καὶ τεσσαράκοντα σταδίων ὑπῆρχεν, ἐτετείχιστο δ' ὄσον τῆσ  
 πόλεωσ γυμνὸν ἦν τοῦ ὄρουσ· συμπεριεῖληπτο δὲ τῶι περιβόλῳ τοῦτωι καὶ τὸ ὄροσ  
 αὐτὸ ὁ Ἀκροκόρινθοσ, ἦι δυνατὸν ἦν τειχισμὸν δέξασθαι . . . ὡσθ' ἡ πᾶσα περίμετροσ  
 ἐγίνετο περὶ πέντε καὶ ὀγδοήκοντα σταδίων. ἀπὸ δὲ τῶν ἄλλων μερῶν ἦττον ὄρδιον  
 30 ἐστὶ τὸ ὄροσ, ἀνατέταται μέντοι ἐνθὲνδε ἱκανῶσ καὶ περιόπτον ἐστίν. ἡ μὲν οὖν  
 κορυφὴ ναίδιον ἔχει Ἀφροδίτησ; ὑπὸ δὲ τῇ κορυφῇ τὴν τε Πειρήνην εἶναι συμβαίνει  
 κρήνην, ἐκρυσιν μὲν οὐκ ἔχουσαν, μεστὴν δ' αἰεὶ διαυγοῦσ καὶ ποτίμον ὕδατοσ.  
 φασὶ δὲ καὶ ἐνθὲνδε καὶ ἐξ ἄλλων ὑπονόμων τινῶν φλεβίων συνθλίβεσθαι τὴν πρὸσ  
 τῇ ῥίζηι τοῦ ὄρουσ κρήνην, ἐκρέουσαν εἰσ τὴν πόλιν, ὡσθ' ἱκανῶσ ἀπ' αὐτῆσ  
 35 ὕδρευέσθαι. ἐστὶ δὲ καὶ γρεάτων εὐπορία κατὰ τὴν πόλιν, λέγουσι δὲ καὶ κατὰ  
 τὸν Ἀκροκόρινθον . . . . . τοῦ δ' οὖν Εὐριπίδου (F 1084) φήσαντοσ οὕτωσ· ἦκω περι-  
 κλυστον προλιποῦσ Ἀκροκόρινθον ἱερὸν ὄχθον πόλιν Ἀφροδίτασ, τὸ περίκλυστον  
 ἦτοι κατὰ βάθουσ δεκτέον, ἐπεὶ καὶ φρέατα καὶ ὑπόνομοι λιβάδεσ διήκουσι δι'  
 αὐτοῦ, ἧ τὸ παλαιὸν ὑποληπτέον τὴν Πειρήνην ἐπιπολάζειν καὶ κατάρροτον ποιεῖν τὸ  
 ὄροσ. ἐνταῦθα δὲ φασὶ πίνοντα τὸν Πήγασον ἀλῶναι ὑπὸ Βελλεροφόντου, πτηνὸν

4 τὰ add V      14 ὧν Clavier ὡσ Paus      ἄνδρα Facius      16 εἰσ Συρα-  
 κούσασ Hitzig      17 τῶν σ τὴν cett      30 μέντοι (καὶ) Corais μὲν τὸ Str      31 τε  
 om E      37 [πόλιν] Valckenaer      38 δεκτέον Casaubonus λεκτέον Str

ἵππον ἐκ τοῦ τραχήλου τοῦ Μεδοῦσης ἀναπαλέντα κατὰ τὴν Γοργομίαν· τὸν δ' αὐτὸν φασὶ καὶ τὴν Ἴππου κρήνην ἀναβαλεῖν ἐν τῷ Ἐλικῶνι, πλήξαντα τῷ ὄνυχι τὴν ὑποπεσοῦσαν πέτραν. ὑπὸ δὲ τῆι Πειρήνηι τὸ Σισύφειόν ἐστιν, ἱεροῦ τινὸς ἢ βασιλείου λευκῷ λίθῳ πεποιημένου διασῶζον ἐρείπια οὐκ ὀλίγα. ἀπὸ δὲ τῆς κορυφῆς πρὸς ἄρκτον μὲν ἀφορᾶται ὁ τε Παρνασσὸς καὶ ὁ Ἐλικῶν, ὄρη ὑψηλὰ καὶ νηόβολα, καὶ ὁ Κρισαῖος κόλπος ὑποπεπτωκῶς ἀμφοτέροις, περιεχόμενος ὑπὸ τῆς Φωκίδος καὶ τῆς Βοιωτίδος καὶ τῆς Μεγαρίδος καὶ τῆς ἀντιπόρθμου τῆι Φωκίδι Κορινθίας καὶ Σικωνίας· πρὸς ἐσπέραν δὲ \* \* ὑπέρεκται δὲ τούτων ἀπάντων τὰ καλούμενα Ὀνεῖα ὄρη, διατείνοντα μέχρι Βοιωτίας καὶ Κιθαιρώνας ἀπὸ τῶν Σκειρωνίδων πετρῶν, ἀπὸ τῆς παρὰ ταύτας ὁδοῦ πρὸς τὴν Ἀττικὴν.

17 (11) STRAB. IX 5, 22: Ἱερώνυμος δὲ τῆς πεδιάδος Θετταλίας <sup>a. 803/2</sup> καὶ Μαγνητίδος τὸν κύκλον τρισχιλίων ἀποφαίνεται σταδίων· ὠικησθαι δ' ὑπὸ Πελασγῶν, ἐξελαθῆναι δὲ τούτους εἰς τὴν Ἰταλίαν ὑπὸ Λαπιθῶν. εἶναι δὲ τὸ νῦν καλούμενον Πελασγικὸν πεδίον, ἐν (ὧι) Λάρισα καὶ Γυρ-  
16 τῶνη καὶ Φεραὶ καὶ Μόψιον καὶ Βοιβηῖς καὶ Ὀσσα καὶ Ὀμόλη καὶ Πήλιον καὶ Μαγνητίς. Μόψιον δ' ὠνόμασται οὐκ ἀπὸ Μόψου τοῦ Μαντοῦς τῆς Τειρεσίον, ἀλλ' ἀπὸ τοῦ Λαπίθου τοῦ συμπλεύσαντος τοῖς Ἀργοναύταις· ἄλλος δ' ἐστὶ Μόψος, ἀφ' οὗ ἡ Ἀττικὴ Μοψοπία.

18 (12) — X 4, 3: Ἱερώνυμος δέ, μήκος (sc. τῆς Κρήτης) δισχιλίων  
20 φήσας, τὸ δὲ πλάτος ἀνώμαλον, πλείονων ἢν εἶη λέγων τὸν κύκλον ἢ  
25 ὄσων Ἀρτεμίδωρος (V). s. 244 F 206.

#### Zweifelhaftes.

19 (—) PHILODEM. Περὶ τῶν Στωικ. VI: ... α .. πολλάκις ἐξ [... Κλεάν]θην.  
ἃ γὰρ λέγομεν, Ἱερώνυμός τε μαρτυρεῖ κ[αί] ὁ Χαλκιδεὺς Εὐφάντος (74 F 3), ἔτι δ'  
25 Ἠγήμων ὁ Ἀθηναῖος (?) .....

#### — NYMPHIS VON HERAKLEIA.

ΠΕΡΙ ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ ΚΑΙ ΤΩΝ ΔΙΑΔΟΧΩΝ ΚΑΙ ΕΠΙΓΟΝΩΝ ΚΑΙ

s. III u. Herakleia.

#### 155. ANONYME DIADOCHENGESCHICHTE (?).

(HEIDELBERGER EPITOME)

F

1 ὅτι Ἀλεξάνδρου τελευτήσαντος ἐναπελείφθησαν αἱ γυναῖκες αὐτοῦ <sup>a. 828</sup>  
καὶ παῖς ἀτελής, ὃν ἐγέννησεν ἐκ τῆς Ρωξάνης. στασιαζόντων δὲ τῶν περὶ

1 τῆς Μεδοῦσης B 8 πρὸς ἐσπέραν δὲ om E \* \* Kramer 10 καὶ  
τῆς Pleth 13 τῶν Πελασγῶν B τὴν om BE ἰταλίαν A<sup>1</sup> αἰτωλίαν A<sup>2</sup> B E  
14 (ὧι) Politus 15 φεραῖς A (comp) B E 16 ὠνομάσθαι Groskurd τοῦ  
Μάντους τῆς Kuhn τοῦ μάντεως τοῦ Str 18 Μόψος Str E Steph Byz s. Μόψιον  
Μόψοπος Casaubonus 21 ὄσων Corais ὄσον Str

APPENDIX ICOMMENTARY ON THE FRAGMENTS OF HIERONYMUS

FI = Athen.V.58 p.217DE

Doubtfully attributed to Hieronymus of Cardia by Brückner (p.257) and Müller (p.452). Athenaeus is discussing Plato's Symposium: he objects that the characters who figure in it belong to different generations, because at the time when Agathon the tragic poet won his victory, Plato was only 14 years old; and in citing other instances where Plato's chronology is at fault, he is led to speak of the reign of Perdiccas of Macedon. The allusion to Agathon suggested to the earlier commentators that Athenaeus may refer to Hieronymus of Rhodes, who wrote a treatise *Περὶ Ποιῶτων* and whom he frequently cites elsewhere (X.424F, XI.499F, XIII.556B, XIII.604D, XIII.602A; cf. X.435A, XIII.557E, XIV.635F). The reference to 'Hieronymus' at V.40 p.206DE is undoubtedly to the Cardian, however (cf. Hier.F2), whereas Hieronymus the Peripatetic was last cited at II.48B and is not mentioned again until X.424F; and Athenaeus' other authorities on Perdiccas are all historians. Wehrli, Die Schule des Aristoteles X (1959) does not include this text among the fragments of Hieronymus of Rhodes.

Jacoby, IID p.545, sees it as part of an introduction to Hieronymus' history in which he reviewed the history of Macedon down to 323 B.C. This is possible, though other contexts can be imagined: a survey of the earlier kings of Macedon would have been appropriate in an account of the accession of Antigonus Gonatas and the celebrations at Pella in winter 276-5, when Antigonus married Phila, daughter of Seleucus, and perhaps instituted the games called Basileia: cf. Körte, Rh.Mus. LII (1897-8) p.174ff. on the *Βασιλεία ἐν Μακεδονίᾳ* mentioned in IG II<sup>2</sup> 3779: Attalus I instituted Basileia at Nakrasa after his victory over the Gauls and assumption of the royal title in 241-0

(OGIS 268). The Macedonian Basileia were perhaps birthday festivals, which also marked the anniversary of the king's accession, like the Ptolemaic Basileia: cf. Fraser, Ptol.Alex. I p.232.

The widely differing estimates of the length of Perdiccas' rule in Macedon reflect an oddity about his reign. The king is Perdiccas the son and successor of Alexander I, who is mentioned several times by Thucydides. He was on the throne by 432, and still alive by 414, but he died during the next two years, since his son Archelaus was king by 411-10 (Thuc. I.56, VII.9.1; Diod. XIII.49.1). His coins are scarce and mostly uninscribed, so that it is difficult to draw a distinct line between his coinage and that of his predecessor; but the coins of Alexander I appear to run from c.500 to c.450, which is consistent with the statement of the chronographers that he reigned from 498-454: BMC Macedon etc. p.xlviii; Gaebler, Die Antiken Münzen Nordgriechenlands III.2 p.148; Euseb.I.227, 229; Syncell. 469,498. Cf. Geyer, Makedonien bis zur Thronbesteigung Philipps II, Berlin 1930, p.50f.; and RE XIX s.v. Perdikkas no.2 col.590ff. If Alexander's son Perdiccas succeeded in 454 and reigned until 413, he was on the throne for 41 years, which is the span given by Nicomedes of Acanthus, and Anaximenes is near enough with 40. Perdiccas' succession was not a straightforward matter, however, because Thucydides refers to an ἀρχή of his brother Philippus and Plato to an ἀρχή of his brother Alcetas which was taken from him by Perdiccas (Thuc. II.100.3, cf.95.2; Plato, Gorgias p.471 a,b; cf. Geyer RE loc.cit. col.591). Evidently Alexander on his death divided his kingdom between his sons, of whom Perdiccas, the eldest or the strongest, gradually appropriated the whole. For the stages by which this may have happened see Abel, Makedonien vor König Philipp, Leipzig 1847 p.166ff.; Momigliano,

Filippo il Macedone, Florence 1934 p.16f. The diversity of views among the six historians cited by Athenaeus (cf. also Marmor Parium F.Gr.Hist. 239 A61) shows in any case that there was an anomaly about Perdiccas' reign which made the date of his 'real' succession ambiguous.

F2 = Athen.V.40 p.206DE

Moschion justifies his own description of the ship built by Hieron II by citing other writers who had described 'thaumasia'. This suggests that Hieronymus' description of Alexander's funeral car was an elaborate 'ekphrasis' like Moschion's, and it seems probable that Hieronymus is the source for Diod. XVIII.26.2ff. where the funeral carriage is described at length: cf. ch.II p. 54 ff. This is one of four coincidences between the fragments of Hieronymus and passages in Diodorus' narrative of the Diadochi.

The carriage took two years to build (Diod. XVIII.26.1), and Hieronymus must have described it as it looked on completion when the funeral cortège set out from Babylon in 321; therefore this fragment should perhaps be placed after F3, which deals with the campaign against Ariarathes in summer 322: this is the order followed by Diodorus (cf. XVIII.16.1ff).

F3 = Appian Mith.8 F4 = Ps.-Lucian. Macrob.13

Compare Diod. XVIII.16.1-3: the narrative of the war of Perdiccas and Eumenes against Ariarathes of Cappadocia appears to derive from Hieronymus (cf. ch.II p. 61 ff.).

The text raises a problem of historicity: cf. Reuss op.cit. p.2. According to Appian, Hieronymus said that Alexander in his journey through Asia Minor travelled along the coast of Pamphylia and Cilicia and 'never touched the Cappadocians at all - *ὄλας*'. The rival version, which Appian seems to prefer, stated that Alexander restored its ancestral constitution to Amisus on the Pontus - implying that he

travelled along the northern coast - and that he exacted tribute from the rulers of Cappadocia. The account in Arrian (Anab. II.4.1-2) differs from both of these. Arrian records that Alexander marched from Gordium to Ancyra, received the submission of the Paphlagonians, and continued to Cappadocia, where he became master of 'the whole of the land within the river Halys and also some of the country beyond the Halys'; then leaving Sabiktas as satrap of Cappadocia he pressed on to the Cilician Gates. Arrian and Hieronymus therefore disagree about the submission of Cappadocia, but have the same route: Alexander marched from Ancyra to the south-west corner of Cappadocia, and to reach the Cilician Gates must have dropped down into Pamphylia and along the Cilician coast, as Hieronymus said, since the mountainous country of inland Cilicia was impassable from east to west; he does not, in Arrian, travel beyond the Halys and on to the Pontic coast, and the reference in Appian to Alexander's restoration of the constitution of Amisus looks like local Amisan propaganda. Curtius knows of an Abistamenes who was left by Alexander as satrap of Cappadocia (III.4), but says that tribute was imposed on the Paphlagonians. We may question, therefore, whether Appian had read his sources very carefully and understood the distinctions they made between the various peoples: he alternates between *Καππαδοκία* and vaguely specified *ἔθνη* and the sentence about Amisus beginning *φαίνεται γὰρ* (omitted by Jacoby), is a non-sequitur.

Hieronymus probably mentioned the earlier history of Cappadocia only briefly in his account of the defeat of Ariarathes in 322, and it is possible that he alluded only to that part of the country which Ariarathes ruled. The distinction between north and south Cappadocia is first made explicitly by Strabo (XII.534), who says that there were

two Cappadocian satrapies at the time of the Macedonian conquest, each of which later became a kingdom. We hear of Persian governors of Cappadocia going back to the time of Darius, and there was still a satrap of Cappadocia in 334, Mithrobouzanes, named among the Persian nobility who died at the Granicus (Arr. Anab. I.16.3: ὁ τῶν Καππαδοκῶν ὑπάρχος. On the terminology, see Bosworth, C.Q. n.s. 24,1974 p.55f., showing that in certain contexts in Arrian, of which this is a paradigm, ὑπάρχος regularly means 'satrap'. Cf. L.Robert, CRAI 1975 p.312f.). At no point under Achaemenid rule is it stated that the province was subdivided, but a de facto division is implied by the history of Cappadocia during the thirty years before Alexander's crossing: cf. Reinach, Trois Royaumes de l'Asie Mineure, Paris 1888 p.9; cf. p.57; Baumbach, Kleinasien unter Alexander dem Grossen, Diss. Iena 1911, p.58ff.

Southern Cappadocia, bordering on the Taurus, was governed during the early part of the fourth century by the half Carian Camisares, and granted to his son Datames on Camisares' death (Nep. Datames I.2). During the 370's Datames seems to have extended his territory northwards (Nep. Dat.5.6, "Paphlagoniam occupat", 6.7, conquest of the Pisidians), and after joining the revolt of the western satraps in 362 he struck coins at Sinope and planned to set up a mint at Amisus: BMC Pontus etc. p.96 no.8; Polyæn. VII.2.1; Ps.Arist, Oecon.II.24,1350b, cf. Magie, Roman Rule in Asia Minor, Princeton 1958, no.24, II.p.1078; Meyer, Geschichte des Königsreichs Pontos, Leipzig 1879 p.26. The little empire he had created in the north was perhaps inherited by his son. In the period after Datames' assassination the coins of Sinope, which in normal times were inscribed with the initials of the prytaneis, bear a name in Aramaic letters which was transcribed by Head as Abd - Susin, who is possibly to be identified with Sysinas, the son of Datames who betrayed his rebel father to the king: Six Num.Chron. 1894, p.302ff.; cf. Fogazza, Datame di Cappadocia, Par.d.Pass. XXVII (1972) p.130f. (Arr.Anab. I.25.3; Curtius III.7; Berve II no.710. Cf. Arrian F4).

A short tradition of hereditary satraps in Cappadocia might help to explain the origins of the genealogy of Cappadocian 'kings' at Diod. XXXI.19ff. The earlier part of this king-list is chronologically impossible and was evidently invented in order to confer legitimacy and antiquity on the dynasty of the later Cappadocian monarchs. Datames, however, is a perfectly historical character; likewise Ariarathes; though the connection between them has been blurred by the interpolation of the names Ariamnes and Arimnaios, and there is no mention of Sysinas, unless a memory of him survives in the name 'Aryses' son of Holophernes. The names Ariamnes and Arimnaios are suspiciously similar. It is suspicious also that Ariamnes or Ariaramnes is the name of the first satrap of Cappadocia known to us (Ctesias, F.Gr.Hist. 688 F13a, 20; cf. von Gutschmid Kl.Schr. III.510), and a common name among the later kings of Cappadocia - a name, therefore, which had the ring of authenticity. But the compiler of the list was unable to find a single event 'worthy of mention' in all the 50 years of Ariamnes' reign, and this span is, in any case, ruled out on chronological grounds, since Ariarathes has to be fitted in before 322. The compiler has tried to connect Ariarathes, the real founder of the Hellenistic dynasty of Cappadocian kings, with the famous historical character Datames, in a line of direct descent, and has apparently used the name Ariamnes to gloss over a period when the affairs of Cappadocia were in confusion and Datames' line in all probability broken. (Beloch, gr.Gesch. III.2<sup>2</sup> p.155, thinks that Ariamnes is real). Sysinas, if he is to be identified with 'Sisines the Persian', the double agent involved in a plot against Alexander's life, who had earlier spent time in Egypt and at Philip's court, was possibly excluded from the official king list and replaced by the impeccable Ariamnes on account of his rather disreputable career. (Arr. Anab.I.25.3; Curtius III.7; Berve II, no.710).

Ariarathes may have been a usurper (hence Sysinas sought refuge at the Macedonian court). His succession was dated by Six to the 350's on the evidence of the coins of Sinope which bear his name in Aramaic letters, and which seem from the details of their design to follow directly upon those struck by Abd-Susin (Six, Num.Chron. 1885 p.15ff. The coins alleged by Reinach, op.cit. p.9f. to bear the names of a series of otherwise unknown governors of Sinope in the period after Datames, are very inferior to the usual coins of Sinope and are probably imitations: cf. Six Num.Chron. 1894 p.303 n.13). Six's interpretation is supported by Diodorus' king-list, according to which Ariarathes took the 'throne' in the reign of Artaxerxes Ochus, and sent his brother Holophernes to help the king in his invasion of Egypt in 343 (Diod. XXXI.19.2: the *μεγάλη τιμή* which the king bestowed on Holophernes must be the consequence of a successful campaign, i.e. that of 343, not the defeat of 351). It is also consistent with the statement of Hieronymus ap. Ps.-Lucian Macrob. 13 (F4) that Ariarathes was 82 years old when he died in 322 B.C.: cf. Niese RE s.v. Ariarathes no.I col.816. Other silver coins of Ariarathes have been found from Gazioura on the Iris, depicting the seated figure of Baal of Gazioura, and again bearing Ariarathes' name in Aramaic: these seem to date from the 330's, as they imitate the later coinage of Mazaeus: Babelon, Les Perses Achémendes, Paris 1893, p.57f.; Wroth BMC Galatia etc. p.xxiv f.; Head, HN<sup>2</sup> Oxford 1911 p.749ff.; SNG von Aulock Berlin 1966, Tafel 215. These coins probably signal the extension of his power at the time of Alexander's invasion, and Gazioura was, no doubt, the centre of his domain, for Strabo (XII.3.15) says there was an ancient palace there: Meyer, op.cit. p.28, suggested that a small independent kingdom might have existed in the valley of the upper Iris since the time of Otanes/Anaphas, which formed the kernel of the territory of Ariarathes and later of the Pontic kings.

During the 330's and 320's Ariarathes seems to have extended his power as far as Trapezus, because this was the limit of the Cappadocian satrapy assigned to Eumenes in <sup>323</sup>232: and in 322 he is described as master of great wealth and able to muster an army of 30,000 foot and 15,000 horse, composed both of native troops and mercenaries: Diod. XVIII.16.1-2.

His relation to the central government is unclear. Diodorus, loc.cit., describes him as 'dynast': he is 'king' only in the genealogy at XXXI.19; and Reinach suggested that the rulers of Cappadocia did not take the title of king until 256. His minting of his own coins does not necessarily indicate that he was a rebel like Datames, because new satrapal coinage sometimes marked only a moment of political crisis: Pixodarus of Caria, for example, seems to have struck gold as an emergency measure on the death of Ochus in 338, and possibly Ariarathes' decision to coin at Gazioura arose from the same situation (Pixodarus' coinage: BMC Caria and Islands p.lxxxiv, Pl.28, nrs.9-12. Cf. Hamilton, Comm.Plut.Alex. p.25).

He is alleged to have sent help to Ochus in 343, and if we may identify him with the otherwise unknown *Ἀριάρκης* who commanded a contingent of Cappadocians at Gaugamela, he was willing to help Darius against Alexander: Arr. Anab. III.8.5; cf. Berve II, no.III, no.113. (Berve's view, that "der nach Selbständigkeit strebende Ariarathes sich kaum noch 331 zur Heeresfolge für Dareios bequemt hätte", begs the question.

He is listed next to Orontes of Armenia: these semi-independent governors had little to gain from the defeat of Darius). He was not the appointed satrap of Cappadocia however, because Arrian is clear that until his death at the Granicus Mithrobouzanēs had been hyparch of the Cappadocians. Apparently Darius claimed to rule all Cappadocia, but in practice a semi-independent kingdom had evolved on the northern coast since the time of Datames.

Arrian's account shows that it was south-west Cappadocia which

submitted to Alexander: the recent death of Mithrobouzanes probably meant that there was little organised resistance. Alexander's own nominee, Sabiktas, replaced Mithrobouzanes, and no doubt Alexander claimed, like Darius, to rule all Cappadocia, because the Cappadocians, tout court, are listed among his subject peoples in his speech at the Hyphasis (Arr. Anab.V.25.4), and Diod. XVIII.16.1ff. implies that Ariarathes' defiance of Alexander was a casus belli in 322. Alexander's real control over the province may have been very limited, however. Curtius names 'Abistamenes' instead of Sabiktas, and Berve conjectured that this was Sabiktas' successor, dating his appointment to 331 (Berve nos.4, 690); but the simple substitution of one name for another in Curtius is common (cf. Brunt, CQ 1962 p.144 n.4), and even if we admit the independent existence of Abistamenes, it is unlikely that the Macedonian governors of Cappadocia survived for long after Alexander's departure for the east. Ariarathes' great power in 322, and the implication in our sources that the whole of the province granted to Eumenes needed to be reconquered, suggests that Ariarathes had encroached south-west of the Halys. Hieronymus' statement about the earlier state of Cappadocia perhaps showed no more than a grasp of political realities, therefore; although we cannot exclude the possibility that he exaggerated the task which faced Eumenes in conquering his satrapy, in order to enhance his victory and perhaps to establish that Cappadocia was 'spear-won' by Eumenes.

F3 = Appian Mith.9

F7 = Ps.-Lucian, Macrob.13

*Μιθριδάτης... ἀνήρ γενούς βασιλείου Περσικῶς:*

Mithridates, later king of Pontus. He succeeded to the kingdom of Cius in Mysia in 302 after the death of Mithridates II of Cius, who was son of the Ariobarzanes who died in 337: Diod. XX.III.4. The Florentine MS of Diodorus describes Mithridates the Founder and Mithridates of Cius

as father and son ( ὁ υἱὸς αὐτοῦ, deleted by Fischer), but they were more probably uncle and nephew, since Plutarch calls the younger Mithridates son of Ariobarzanes: Plut. Demetr.4. A Mithridates fought on Eumenes' side at the battle of Gabiene (Diod. XIX.40.2), and this was probably Mithridates the younger, since Diodorus' allusion to his famous ancestry recalls that in Appian. He must have transferred to Antigonus' camp after the defeat of Eumenes, along with Hieronymus and many others, for he appears in Antigonus' army in Syria as a friend of the prince Demetrius: Plut. Demetr.4. At some time during the following period Mithridates of Cius was executed by Antigonus on suspicion of rebellion (Diod. loc.cit) and Antigonus decided to get rid of the heir as well: according to Plutarch loc.cit. Demetrius warned Mithridates, who escaped to a mountain fortress in Cappadocia and survived to found the powerful kingdom of Pontus in the period after Ipsus. The relative dates of these events are not certain: Plutarch implies that Antigonus' prophetic dream and Mithridates' flight took place while Antigonus and Demetrius were still in Syria, and Appian mentions the expulsion of the former satrap of Syria, Laomedon, as though it were a recent event: this suggests the period between 315, when Antigonus took over Phoenicia, and the battle of Gaza in 312. Meyer, op.cit. p.37, regards the flight of Mithridates and the execution of Mithridates the elder as falling in winter 302-1: certainly there is more point to Appian's ἐν τῇδε τῇ τῶν Μακεδόνων ἀσχολίᾳ if it refers to the marshalling of Macedonian forces before Ipsus; and it is preferable to have Mithridates shut up at Kimiata not longer than one or two years. Appian's telescoping of events prevents a definite conclusion, however.

Ps.-Lucian's citation of Hieronymus for the age of Mithridates 'Ktistes' is muddled. Diodorus XX.III.4, in a notice probably taken

from the chronograph (cf. Jacoby F.Gr.Hist. IID p.546; contra Meyer, op.cit. p.37, who thinks it comes from Hieronymus), says that Mithridates Ktistes reigned 36 years after succeeding Mithridates the elder in 302; and if Hieronymus recorded his death, he must have been writing or revising his history after 266 B.C., which is in itself by no means impossible. However, the wording of the Macrobioi implies that Mithridates' death followed directly upon his flight from Antigonus, and this is inappropriate if we are dealing with Ktistes, and ought to apply to Mithridates the elder. I follow Meyer's view (p.36) that Mithridates II of Cius is unlikely at any time to have been regarded as 'Founder'; and no simple emendation of the text reconciles it with historical fact: cf. Jacoby RE Hieronymus col.1543. Ps.-Lucian or his source has confused the two men, or perhaps rolled them into a single person in an attempt to reconcile Hieronymus with the *ἄλλοι συγγραφῆς*. Hieronymus cannot in any case have used the title 'King of Pontus' which appears in Ps.-Lucian: the Pontic kingdom was not called by this name until a later period, and until at least the time of Polybius was spoken of as Euxine Cappadocia or Cappadocia and Paphlagonia (cf. Diod. XXIII.4 Polyb. V.43.1; Meyer op.cit., p.37; Strabo XII.1.4.

Hieronymus' interest in the house of Mithridates no doubt originated in a personal acquaintance with Mithridates as a young man in Eumenes' army, (there is a special tribute to him at Diod. XIX.40.2, *ἄνθρωπος ἀνδρείου διαφέρων καὶ τεθρονημένος ἐκ παιδός στρατιωτικῶς*: cf. ch.V p.300) and in the fact that Cappadocia was Eumenes' satrapy: later his historical importance became apparent. Antigonus' dream about Mithridates which Appian and Plutarch record seems to belong to a tradition favourable to the Pontic house, which evolved after Antigonus' defeat at Ipsus. By 296 Mithridates was already so powerful that he took the title of king, and the next fifteen years, while the Macedonian

dynasts were occupied in wars among themselves, saw the extension of his kingdom over most of northern Anatolia (Meyer op.cit. p.39): thus the witticism that Mithridates reaped the crop that Antigonos had sown was probably in circulation by the time Hieronymus wrote, and the 'dream' is embedded in the accounts of Appian and Plutarch in such a way that it must come from their common historical source, Hieronymus.

F5 = Paradox. Flor. de Aq. Mir. 33

F6 = Joseph.c.Apion. I.213-4

The length and nature of Hieronymus' excursus on the Dead Sea is not specified by the paradoxographer; but at least part of it is apparently preserved by Diodorus (XIX.98-99, cf.T6): cf. Strabo XVI.II.45ff. (Xenophilus, the Hellenistic author of a history of Lydia, also gave an account of the Dead Sea, but the fragment which deals with this subject is too short to allow conclusions about his source: F.Gr.Hist. 767; cf. Herter RE s.v. Xenophilus no.7 col.1566-7). Hieronymus' expedition to southern Syria thus had literary results despite its failure as an expansionist venture (cf. ch.I p.14ff.). It was probably part of Hieronymus' task to prepare a written report on the asphalt lake for Antigonos: we may compare the account of his voyage round the Persian Gulf which Nearchus wrote for Alexander, or the account of his journey to the Caspian Sea which Patrokles wrote for Seleucus or Antiochus, and which was part of a larger work, as it also contained an account of India: F.Gr.Hist. 712; Gisinger RE XVIII s.v. Patrokles no.5, col.2263. Arrian's version of Nearchus' 'Periplus' shows that such reports were not so technical in character as to make them unsuitable material for a historical work; and a tradition going back Herodotus sanctioned the inclusion of geographical and ethnographical elements in historiography (cf. ch.IV p.206ff.).

Strabo and Dionysius show that throughout Hieronymus' work there were descriptions of peoples and places, and Josephus' complaint that Hieronymus failed to give an account of the Jews, although he was 'governor' of Syria, (cf. ch.I p.15 ), implies that Hieronymus had written about other nations. Josephus may have had in mind, particularly, an account of the land and customs of the Nabataean Arabs such as we find in Diodorus (XIX.94ff) shortly before his description of the Dead Sea and mention of Hieronymus (T6).

F8 = Ps.-Lucian Macrob. 13

F10 = Ps.-Lucian Macrob. II

On the sources and reliability of Ps.-Lucian's Macrobioi see F.Rühl, Rh.Mus. LXII p.421ff.; cf. ch.I p. 7 n.21. In the section on kings and commanders he seems to have used an already existing compilation, which was also used by Phlegon, and which took its material from historical sources (c.17 *ἱστορίκων*). Each notice therefore has to be taken on its own merits. For the age of Ariarathes (F4) and of Mithridates (F7) we have no other evidence; but for the ages of Antigonus and Lysimachus (F8, 10) the sources disagree.

F8: App.Syr.55: at Ipsus Antigonus was *ὕπερ ὀγδοήκοντα ἔτη*. Porphyrius ap. Euseb.I.247 (Schoenle): *τὸ πᾶντα βίωσας ἕξ καὶ ὀγδοήκοντα*. Porphyrius also records the length of Antigonus' rule over Asia, and was apparently well informed about him. The corruption of *ἕξ* into *ἔν* at any point in the transmission might explain this discrepancy. On copying errors in the Macrobioi cf. Brunt CQ n.s.24 (1974) p.65.

F10: Lysimachus' age at the time of Corupedion is given as 70 by App.Syr.64; as 74 by Justin XVII.I.10; and by Hieronymus ap. Ps-Lucian as 80. Beloch, gr.Gesch. IV<sup>2</sup> p.129 points out that Lysimachus must have been quite young at the time of Alexander's crossing into Asia, because he achieved no position of prominence until the time of the

Indian campaign; and I agree with Beloch's conclusion that, of the figures given, "die erste Zahl wird nach unten, die letzte nach oben abgerundet sein, und die Angabe des Justin etwa das richtige geben." Rühl, art.cit. demonstrated that where Ps.-Lucian has made his own calculations or is confronted with two conflicting traditions he tends to compromise rather than to 'round' the figure. His source for the section where Hieronymus is cited apparently used a different method, and perhaps exaggerated Lysimachus' age in order to get him into his list of famous octogenarians. Probably 74 was the figure given by Hieronymus, which Justin has managed to preserve.

F9 = Paus.I.9.7

F15 = Paus. I.13.7

F9: Pausanias gives three reasons for disbelieving Hieronymus' story that Lysimachus despoiled the royal Epirot tombs: 1) the common descent of Pyrrhus and Alexander from the Epirot kings would have dissuaded Lysimachus from such an action; 2) the subsequent alliance between Pyrrhus and Lysimachus precludes it; 3) Lysimachus' destruction of Cardia caused Hieronymus to hate him.

1) is a facile reason, possibly thought up by Pausanias himself.

2) The allusion to the *ὑστερον...συνμαχία* makes the whole setting unclear. The obvious time for Lysimachus' alleged attack on Epirus is the period of general hostility in spring 285, after Lysimachus' moral victory at Edessa and the expulsion of Pyrrhus from Macedon: (Plut. Pyrrh. XII.6-7): so Tarn Antigonos Gonatas p.120; Klotzsch, Epeirische Geschichte p.212f.; Cross, Epirus p.65; cf. Lévêque, Pyrrhus p.167. But it is Pausanias' normal practice to keep chronological order in his historical excursuses, and he definitely places the invasion of Epirus before the joint action of Pyrrhus and Lysimachus against Demetrius in 288, i.e. at the very beginning of Pyrrhus' reign; and

the first part of Paus. c.10, following the Hieronymus citation, concerns the period of their alliance. Pausanias' review of Pyrrhus' career in c.11 also mentions a war against Lysimachus before the war against Demetrius, showing that Pausanias was personally convinced of this order of events and has not made a simple slip in c.9. The difficulty of supposing an otherwise unknown war between Pyrrhus and Lysimachus before 288 leads Levêque, op.cit. p.170f., to regard the war as spurious and accept Pausanias' judgement that Hieronymus invented the whole story out of spite against Lysimachus. Jacoby, however, points out the suspicious similarity between this story and the (true) story of Pyrrhus' mercenaries plundering and despoiling the royal Macedonian tombs at Edessa during Pyrrhus' war against Antigonus Gonatas (F.Gr.Hist. IID p.546-7; Plut.Pyrrh. XXVI.6-7); and it seems likely that the incident has been duplicated in the process of transmission and become attached to Pyrrhus' rival Lysimachus. Significantly, Pyrrhus was in camp at Edessa in 286-5 when Lysimachus attacked him, and at this moment Hieronymus might have digressed on the later behaviour of Pyrrhus at Edessa: the accidental substitution of one name for another in copying the text might then lead to further changes in the interests of rationalisation.

3) We may accept that Hieronymus had reasons for disliking Lysimachus: as well as destroying Cardia, he was the enemy of Demetrius and had attempted to have Demetrius assassinated by Seleucus (these were perhaps the *ἀλλὰ ἐγκλήματτα* ). That he did hate him looks like an inference, however. The words *Ἱερόνυμος οὗτος ἔχει...καὶ ἄλλως δόξαν* suggest that Pausanias knew Hieronymus only at second hand, since he normally expresses his own opinion in words such as *δοκεῖ μοί, δόξῃ ἐμῇ*: cf. Segre, Historia II (1928) p.217ff. Paus.I.6.1 speaks of *οἱ συγγενόμενοι τοῖς βασιλευσίν*, but no single writer is specified by name.

Pausanias' direct source on the Diadochi is unknown; but the hostile judgement on Hieronymus may derive ultimately from Hieronymus' contemporary Timaeus, who is the common source for criticisms of Philistus, Ephorus and Theopompus in later authors and who earned the nickname 'Epitimaeus' for his fault-finding: Segre, art.cit.

The accusation of bias against Lysimachus must be regarded with scepticism, therefore. References to Lysimachus in Diodorus, based on Hieronymus, are by no means unfavourable (cf. XX.106.3; XXI.12); and Diodorus records the founding of Lysimacheia at XX.29.1 without comment. For Hieronymus' treatment of the other kings, see ch.V.

F15 *διὰ φόρον δὲ ὄμωσ κ.τ.λ.* The sense is ambiguous.

Pausanias has given two versions of the death of Pyrrhus: 1) Pyrrhus defeated Antigonus outside the walls of Argos and pursued the fugitives inside the city, where he was killed by a tile thrown from the rooftops by a woman; 2) according to the Argives, it was not a real woman, but Demeter who killed him. (Demeter was thought to have a grievance against Pyrrhus because he had once plundered a sanctuary of Persephone: Dion-Hal.A.R. XX.9.1-2; cf. Frazer, Pausanias' Description of Greece II.p111). Hieronymus' version apparently differed from both of these, and I follow Tarn's view, that it is the Hieronyman version which we find in Plutarch Pyrrhus XXXIV.1-3 (Tarn, Antigonos Gonatas App.VIII p.447ff.). In Plutarch's account there is no mention of Gonatas' defeat in battle, and Pyrrhus is only stunned by the ~~title~~, and then decapitated by one of Gonatas' soldiers. Pausanias does not specify the form taken by Hieronymus' bias: Pyrrhus is not treated unfairly in Plutarch's account (cf. Jacoby, IID p.547). But if Hieronymus failed to record Pyrrhus' victory over Gonatas, it might reasonably be claimed that he had distorted the truth in the interests of his patron. The death of Pyrrhus probably marked the end of Hieronymus' history (ch.III p.151 ): he must have wished to avoid the suggestion

that Gonatas' ultimate victory was merely a matter of chance, and the suppression of the battle outside Argos, if this is not merely Plutarch's omission, would have made a more fitting conclusion to a history written by Gonatas' faithful counsellor.

F13 = Dion. Hal. A.R. I.5.4

F11 = Plut. Pyrrh.17,7.    F12 = Plut.Pyrrh.21,7

It is one of Hieronymus' claims to fame that he was the first Greek to write ἀκριβῆς ἱστορία about the Romans. Dionysius' allusion to a 'treatment of the Epigoni' indicates that his 'archaeology' of Rome was a digression set in the context of Pyrrhus' war in Italy: Hieronymus needed to characterise Pyrrhus' enemies and explain why he failed to win an easy victory in Italy. It was one of the earliest reflections, therefore, of the new and detailed knowledge of Rome and the West which came to the Greeks as a result of Pyrrhus' western expedition.

The first Greek historian to mention the Romans was Theopompus (F.Gr.Hist. 115 F317), and there are allusions to the foundation legends of Rome in Heracleides Ponticus (Plut. Camill. XXII.2) in Theophrastus' contemporary, Callias of Syracuse, and in the early third century historian Xenagoras (F.Gr.Hist. 240 F29, drawing on a tradition that must go back to a period before Rome's sack of Antium in 337). Duris mentioned the battle of Sentinum (F.Gr.Hist. 76 F56). For Peripatetic knowledge of and interest in the West, see Fraser, Ptol.Alex. I.763ff., showing that Callimachus' material for the legends of Sicily and Italy derives chiefly from fourth century Peripatetic sources. For contacts between Rome and Greece in general before Pyrrhus, Hoffman, Rom u.d.gr. Welt im 4 Jahrhundert. Philol.Suppl. XXVII (I), 1934, p. I ff.; Thiel, A History of Roman Sea Power Before the Second Punic War Amsterdam

1954, rev. Forrest JRS 1956 p.169ff.; Schmitt, Rom und Rhodos, Munich 1957, rev. Fraser CR 1959 p.64ff.; Neatby, TAPA 1950 p.89ff. (relations between Rome and Egypt); Fraser, Ptol.Alex. loc.cit. It is now clear that Romans, or Italians who wanted to be thought of as Romans, made their appearance in the east Mediterranean from the early third century: Diehl, Altlat.Ins. (4) no.183 = Degrassi, Inscr.Lat.lib.rei pub. I.245 (a bi-lingual inscription in Greek and Latin set up on Rhodes to Athena Lindia by L.Folius); Kondoleon, Praktika 1953, 271 = Akte des IV Epig. Kongresses Wien 1964, 192ff. (an honorary decree of Chios for ? Hermokles, who had been to Rome as envoy and done something involving the Romulus and Remus legend: though L.Robert REG 78, 1965 p.146, maintains that it is to be dated after the peace of Apamea). Knowledge of a casual sort could have been acquired by Greeks from traders and settlers like these: cf. Fraser, Ptol.Alex. loc.cit.

Knowledge of the non-Greek West remained indefinite, however, before 280, when Roman expansion in S.Italy and Pyrrhus' invasion of Italy and Sicily drew attention to Rome (cf. Altheim, Epochen der röm. Gesch. II, 1934, p.212). The new place which Rome occupied in Greek thought by the mid third century can be illustrated by Greek use of the word Roman: Diodorus XVI.82 records under the year 342 that an 'Etruscan', called by the distinctively Roman name of Postumius, was captured by Timoleon while privateering in Sicilian waters; by contrast, just before the year 263-2, the Aetolians gave proxeny status to someone, described as *Ῥωμαῖος*, with the Italian but not Roman name Volceius, showing that this was the term by now more familiar in the Greek world (IG IX(2)I, 17A, line 51). Whether the power of Rome was appreciated to the extent implied in Lycophron's Alexandra is a problem which remains the subject of debate: I follow the view of Momigliano (JRS 1942 p.53ff. = Secundo Contributo p.431ff.) et al. that the author of the Alexandra was Lycophron the court poet of Ptolemy Philadelphus, not a second century poet of

the same name; it is not impossible, however, that the relevant lines are interpolated: cf. Fraser, Ptol.Alex. pp.106ff. n.331. The place held by Rome in Greek consciousness during the first half of the third century is probably more accurately reflected by the frequent but incidental references to Rome in Timaeus' account of the history and legends of the West. This highly influential work, the first general and large scale treatment of the subject, was used by many of the Alexandrian writers and eclipsed the brief earlier effort of Hieronymus, whose account of Rome is mentioned only by Dionysius.

The scope of Hieronymus' excursus on Rome can only be guessed. Dionysius, whose own 'Roman Archaeology' filled twenty books, could dismiss it as one of the *κεφαλαιώδεις ἐπιτομὴ καὶ πανὸ βραχέϊαι*, and the word *ἐπιδραμόντος* implies that Hieronymus gave only an outline of Rome's early history. It was perhaps comparable to his account of early Thebes, which Diodorus partly preserves at XIX.53.4ff., and of the early history of Thessaly (F17). If Hieronymus is the source for the passage at Pausanias I.11.7ff., where Pyrrhus reflects that he, a descendent of Achilles, will be fighting against a colony of the Trojans, it is likely that Hieronymus spoke of the Trojan origins of Rome in his 'archaeology'. Aristotle, Xenarchus and Heracleides Ponticus had apparently regarded Rome as a Greek city, but it is not certain that a *πόλις Ἑλληνικὴ* might not have a Trojan origin in Greek thought. The thesis of Perret, Les Origines de la Legende Troyenne de Rome (281-31), Paris 1942, p.409ff., that Pyrrhus was personally responsible for creating the legend of a Trojan foundation, was definitely refuted by the discovery of fifth century votive statuettes from Veii, depicting the group of Anchises and Aeneas (Lévêque, Pyrrhus p.254, with references), and the literary evidence from before 281 that Rome was regarded as a Trojan foundation cannot be dismissed: cf. Momigliano, JRS 35 (1954) p.99ff. = Terzo Contributo p.677ff. Stories of Greek and Trojan origins might easily be reconciled:

Pyrrhus himself believed that he was a descendant of Achilles on one side and of Priam on the other: cf. Levêque, Pyrrhus p.255.

F14 = Plut.Pyrrh. 27,8

Hieronimus tends to give the more conservative of rival statistics: compare F11, 12. He may have accompanied Antigonus on the Peloponnesian campaign against Pyrrhus and seen the Spartan trench for himself (cf. Africa, Phylarchus p.47). Phylarchus possibly exaggerated its size in order to maximise the achievement of the Spartan women.

Pausanias states that Sparta was already surrounded by a ditch and palisade when Demetrius attacked the city (I.13.6ff.): Plutarch may refer, therefore, to the refortification of a limited section of the circuit opposite to Pyrrhus' camp: so Tarn, Antigonos Gonatas App. VIII p.448.

F16, 17, 18 = Strabo VIII, 6,21; IX,5,22; X,4,3

Brückner p.259 attributed these fragments to Hieronymus of Rhodes; followed by H.L.Jones in the Loeb edition of Strabo vol.IV p.191 n.4, and Daebritz RE VIII s.v. Hieronymos no.12 col.1564. Editors of the fragments of Hieronymus of Rhodes have not followed this view: cf. F.Wehrli op.cit.; Ed.Hiller, Satura Philologa Hermanno Sauppio, Berlin 1879 p.85ff. for discussion of the problems of identification. Strabo certainly refers to the Cardian in all three cases. The similarities between the description of the Dead Sea in Strabo (XVI.11.45ff.) and in Diodorus (XIX.98-99) show that Strabo knew Hieronymus' work, as do the similarities between Strabo's topography of Corinth and Diodorus' narrative of the capture of Corinth by Demetrius in 303 B.C. (Diod. XX.103; cf. Jacoby IID p.547). Strabo's account of Corinth is compiled from several authors and from his own observation, but Hieronymus' was perhaps the principal contribution since he is named first. Whether

the 'topothesis' of Corinth was an independent excursus or a part of the military narrative is not clear.

The excursus on the plain of Thessaly (F17) must have been a self-contained section, since Strabo alludes to legends and early history which could have had no place in Hieronymus' main narrative. For the context, cf. Jacoby loc.cit. It is not certain where the citation ends: the infinitives of indirect speech which follow Hieronymus' name govern the words down to *καὶ Μαγνητῆς*; if Hieronymus is also the source for the legends about Mopsion, son of the Argonaut Lapithos, his treatment of Thessalian 'archaeology' would appear to have been quite extensive. Strabo's mention of 'later writers' (IX.5.21 τοῦς ὕστερον ἀνδρῶπιους cf. 5,22 τῶν ὕστερον ἐπὶ χρόνον συχνόν) - later, that is, than Homer - who wrote about the early history of the Magnetians, the Cranonians and the <sup>Aenianians</sup> ~~Acaianians~~, may include Hieronymus.

The context of F18 is unknown: Crete was a recruiting ground for mercenaries in the Hellenistic period but did not play an outstanding role politically. Possibly Hieronymus gave some account of the island when he first mentioned it in connection with the murder of Harpalus (cf. Diod. XVIII.19ff.). If the excursus on Thessaly can be taken as a model, the measurements of Crete would have been followed by an account of its ancient history; but Strabo cites Staphylus and Ephorus for his early history of Crete and does not mention Hieronymus again. (Strabo X.4,6; X.4,8f. Hieronymus could be among the unnamed writers who did not accept Andron's account of Thessalian immigrants in Crete.)

F19 = Philodemus Περὶ τῶν Στωικῶν VI

The Περὶ τῶν Στωικῶν is partially preserved in two copies on papyri from Herculaneum, one of which contains this passage: edited by W.Crönert, Kolotes und Menedemus, Studien für Palaeographie und

Papyruskunde, Leipzig 1906, pp.24, n.136, 27, 53ff. The opening columns of the papyrus seem to have dealt with historical and biographical material and were evidently polemical in character: col.2 relates something unfavourable about the Epicureans, col.3 mentions Antigonus Gonatas' conquest of Athens, col.4 deals with the life and times of Zeno. Using the second papyrus as a supplement, where it refers to the death of Lysimachus, Crönert reconstructed the argument of the beginning of the treatise as follows: "der dem Epikur befreundete Lysimachos hat den Athenern nicht geschadet, wohl aber der stoiker König Antigonos Gonatas." (op.cit. p.54). The beginning of col.6 mentions Cleanthes, though it is possible that the main subject is still Zeno. The text becomes certain with the words ἡ γὰρ λέγομεν, Γερώνυμος τε μαρτυρεῖ κ[αὶ] ὁ Χαλκιδεὺς Εὐφάντος, ἔτι δ' Ἡγήμων κ.τ.λ., the large number of authorities cited suggesting that the matter was especially controversial.

Hegemon is otherwise unknown, and the ethnic following his name is uncertain (Jacoby, Ἀθηναῖος ; cf. Crönert p.28: Ἐμυρνᾶιος? Μυρινᾶιος? )

Euphantos 'the Chalcidian' must be Euphantos of Olynthus, pupil of the eristic philosopher Euboulides of Miletus. He wrote tragic poetry and a history of his times, and was the teacher of 'Antigonus the King', to whom he addressed a treatise Περὶ Βασιλείας ; according to Athenaeus he also wrote about Ptolemy III Euergetes: Müller, FHG III pp.19-20, Jacoby F.Gr.Hist. 74. His dates have been disputed. Schwartz's argument (Hermes 35, 1900 p.128, followed by Pearson, Lost Histories pp.61, 260) that Euphantos must have been born before 348 in order to call himself an Olynthian will not do, since the epigraphic evidence shows a number of people calling themselves Olynthians at the end of the fourth century and later: IG II(2) 1263, 1956; other references given by Perdrizet, BCH 1897 p.118; cf. Tarn JHS 1911 p.256 n.32 (Hamp1, Der

König der Makedonien, Weida 1934 p.30 n.2, cites the absence of archaeological evidence at Olynthus for the late fourth and third centuries in support of Schwartz's view, but does not deal with the question of the third century inscriptions referring to Olynthians). Therefore, despite the implication at Diod. XIX.52, that the Olynthians who survived by 316 were absorbed in the new foundation of Cassandreia, we must suppose that Olynthus in fact recovered a large measure of her former prosperity during the third century. Euphantos should, nevertheless, be dated early, because his teacher Euboulides was the personal antagonist of Aristotle (Diog.Laert. II.109); and although he is said to have had a long life (ibid. II.100) it seems very unlikely that he could have been the teacher of Antigonus Dason, born in 262, and have written about Ptolemy Euergetes, who reigned 247-222 (so Müller, FHG loc.cit.). The conjecture of Mallet, Histoire de l'école de Megare 1845 p.96 (followed by Zeller, Philos. der Griechen II(4),I, p.248 n.1, Natorp RE VI s.v. Euphantos col.1166) that for Πτολεμαίου... τοῦ τρίτου at Athen.VI p.251D we should read Πτολεμαίου... τοῦ πρώτου, accommodates all the other evidence on Euphantos. The pupil of Euboulides could have been the teacher of Antigonus Gonatas (born c.319) and it was then for Gonatas that he wrote the treatise On Kingship: so Jacoby, loc.cit.; cf. Tarn, Antigonos Gonatas p.25. Crönert op.cit. p.26 n.142 points out that Euphantos was a fellow pupil of Alexinos (Diog.Laert. II.109-10) who was a friend and contemporary of Menedemus of Eretria, the early friend and mentor of Gonatas. Euphantos' history of his times must have mentioned Ptolemy Soter, not Ptolemy Euergetes; and the Callicrates whom he described as a flatterer of Ptolemy (Athen. VII.318B) was not the famous admiral of Ptolemy II, who made dedications to Philadelphus and Arsinoe, but another Callicrates, possibly the admiral of Ptolemy I who was sent to Cyprus in 310: Diod. XX.21; cf. Tarn JHS 1911, p.253-6; Hauben, Callicrates of Samos, 1970 p.21ff.

Euphantos was therefore an exact contemporary of Hieronymus of Cardia, and a historian of the period of the Diadochi; and it is possible that Philodemus consulted two historians of the period who had a special connection with Antigonus Gonatas, either of whom might have given information about Gonatas' conquest of Athens and about the early Stoic philosophers who were Gonatas' friends. It is more likely, however, that Philodemus would have drawn on the philosopher Hieronymus of Rhodes. It is certainly the Rhodian whom he cites in his work on rhetoric, where he attacks Isocrates, because Hieronymus the Peripatetic wrote a polemic against Isocrates: Philod. Rhet. IV, col.16 p.198 Sudhaus, 1.9ff. = Wehrli frg.52a; Cic. Or.189 = frg.51; Dion.Hal. De Isocrate 13 = frg.52b. Hieronymus of Rhodes was nominally a peripatetic, but he was at odds with Lycon, the leader of the Peripatos in the early third century (Diog. Laert. V.68; Tarn Antigonos Gonatas p.329f.), and he seems in practice to have inclined to the school of Epicurus, notably in his views on the summum bonum (Plut. De Stoic.Repugn. 2 p.1033c = frg.11; Cic.De Fin. V.14 = frg.8c; etc.): this tendency in his thinking would naturally recommend him to the Epicurean Philodemus, and his writings evidently appealed to Cicero, who cited them many times, and who, though more eclectic in his philosophy than the Epicureans of Naples, was associated with Philodemus' circle (Momigliano, Secundo Contributo p.379ff.). The Rhodian Hieronymus lived in Athens where he celebrated annually the festival of Gonatas' son Halcyoneus with funds supplied by Gonatas (Diog.Laert.IV.41; cf. Ferguson, Hellenistic Athens p.233, Tarn Antigonos Gonatas p.335f.); probably he was there at the time when Gonatas captured the city, and he must have been well informed about the philosophers who are mentioned in the fragment of Philodemus. His work *Περὶ Ποιητῶν* contained historical biographies of the Greek poets in the Peripatetic manner, and he is not infrequently cited for the lives of philosophers, also.

Accordingly, he was an author who would have been a useful source to Philodemus in his discussion of the early Stoics, and there is a strong case for identifying him as the Hieronymus who is cited here: so Crönert p.28; Daebritz RE VIII s.v. Hieronymos 12 col.1563; Wehrli frg.47 & comm.ad.loc. p.42.

P Oxy. I XIII = Pack<sup>2</sup> 2203 = Jacoby F.Gr.Hist. 153 F1

Part of a letter written to a king of Macedon, attacking the behaviour of the Thebans and apparently urging harsher treatment of Thebes. Grenfell and Hunt suggested Antigonus or Demetrius as the addressee, but drew no conclusions about the authorship beyond remarking that the style is thoroughly Isocratean. Rühl, Rh.Mus. LIV (1899) p.152ff. argues that it is an imaginary letter written to Alexander on the occasion of his destruction of Thebes. De Sanctis (Riv.Fil. IX 1931 p.330ff. = Scritti Minori I, Rome 1966 p.345ff.) followed by Treves (Riv.Fil.X1932 p.194ff.) claimed that it is a fragment of a real letter written by Hieronymus of Cardia to Demetrius Poliorcetes at the time of the Theban revolts of 293-2, to warn him, in his capacity as governor of Thebes, of the dangers of leniency: on this view Hieronymus later included the letter in his history as he included many other documents from the Macedonian archives. Treves contrasts Demetrius' policy towards the Greek states with the traditional policy of Philip, Cassander and Antigonus Gonatas, which was particularist and divisive: Demetrius abandoned the hated method of controlling the Greek cities through local tyrants and factions, and instead installed his own governors, seeking an overall solution to the problem of governing the Greeks, as Alexander did. He sees Hieronymus as advocate of the traditional methods, and suggests that Thebes constituted an especial threat to Demetrius at this time, as a point d'appui for Pyrrhus in his hostilities against Macedon (Plut.Pyrrh.39-40: Pyrrhus' invasion of Thessaly seems to be linked with the Theban revolt of 291;

cf. Beloch, gr.Gesch. IV<sup>2</sup> I p.226. Pyrrhus is not mentioned in the papyrus.)

The hypothesis that this is true fragment of Hieronymus cannot be maintained, however. Documents of this kind are suspect a priori (cf. the cautious remarks of Pearson, Historia 3, 1954-5, p.444), and the general tone of the fragment indicates that it is a rhetorical exercise. The words *εἰ καὶ τυγχάνεις εἰδώς κ.τ.λ.* are only an excuse for introducing a review of Theban relations with Macedon, and the reminder that Amyntas was the father of Philip seems inappropriate in a real letter to a Macedonian king: cf. Jacoby IID p.540. It is also unlikely that Hieronymus would write to Demetrius on so serious a matter *διὰ βραχείων*. The allusion to the alliance of Thebes with Olynthus in the time of Amyntas has more relevance to the situation of 336 than to that of the 290's, and the failure to identify Philip as father of Alexander perhaps suggests a date before the accession of Philip Arrhidaeus in 323: Rühl op.cit. p.153-4. The corrections in the text (Rühl p.152) are possibly the mark of an exercise, though the papyrus comes from the 2nd-3rd century A.D. and may in any case be a copy of an earlier work. The phrase *τῆν οἰκίαν τῆν τῶν σῶν ἐταίρων* also is so strange that it seems to indicate an incompetent author or one writing for effect, who did not understand the terminology of the Macedonian court. Attempts to give sense to this expression, as a compliment to the addressee (so De Sanctis art.cit. p.331) or by assuming that the Macedonian king was himself one of the 'hetairoi' (Stagakis, Observations on the ἑταῖροι of Alexander the Great in Archaia Makedonia 1st Int. Symp. Thessaloniki 1968, p.82ff.) are not convincing.

Anaximenes included in his history a version of the letter written by Philip to the Athenians (F.Gr.Hist. 72 Anhang. cf. IIC p.112), and it is certain that Hieronymus did incorporate many political documents in his work; but nothing suggests that Hieronymus was a rhetorical writer and that he touched up these documents for the sake of literary elegance.

The official letter of the Hellenistic period was in general non-rhetorical and uninfluenced by the epistolary style of the fourth century philosophical schools. Cf. Welles, Royal Correspondence p.xlii: the τύποι ἑπιστολικοί of Demetrius, a Hellenistic handbook for state secretaries, says that letters may be written ὡς ἔτυχεν, i.e. no rhetorical training is required. If it is correct to regard Hieronymus as a grammateus (ch.I p. 11 ) his training in the chancellery would have encouraged him to use a practical and straightforward style in his correspondence. The letter preserved on the papyrus fragment is more likely to belong to the genre of counterfeit letters which flourished in the Hellenistic period (see especially Merkelbach, Die Quellen des gr. Alexanderromans, München 1954 p.32ff. on the letters in the Alexander Romance), and should be assigned to the limbo of anonymous Alexander literature.

DIODORUS AND HIERONYMUS: THE PROBLEM OF LANGUAGE

Strictly speaking, we do not have a word of Hieronymus. None of the fragments is a direct quotation, and most of the authors who cite him seem not even to paraphrase his words, but only mention items in his history. A detailed comparison of the surviving narratives on the Diadochi, as made by Kallenberg or Nietzold, shows that in certain passages the authors must be very close to their common source; but the verbal resemblances do not extend for more than the occasional phrase or sentence.<sup>1</sup> Some of the dominant themes of Hieronymus' history can be inferred on the basis of these parallels: for example the 'pistis' of Eumenes, translated by Nepos as 'fides'; and the frequent occurrence of such a word in Diodorus XVIII-XX, when it does not receive much emphasis in other parts of the Bibliothekē, suggests that it was Hieronymus' word.<sup>2</sup> Again, we can say about Hieronymus' style, in the wider sense of the word, that it was straightforward and unrhetorical, in contrast to the dramatic style of many of his contemporaries. But the details of Hieronymus' prose style, and most of his vocabulary, are quite unknown.

Diodorus, our best authority on the subject matter of Hieronymus' work, did not take over the language of his sources, but consistently paraphrased them in his own words. The regularity of his language throughout the Bibliothekē was demonstrated by J. Palm in his study of Diodorus' language and style, and there is very little in books XVIII-XX which is linguistically distinctive.<sup>3</sup> A short discussion of Diodorus' style, and its relation to that of the few parallel texts, may, however, show the sort of process by which he must have converted Hieronymus.

I take as a paradigm of Diodorus' language his main proem at the beginning of Bk. I, where it is certain that he is speaking in his own

person.<sup>4</sup> His style here is that of a typical late Hellenistic writer.

He uses the Hellenistic *δίο καί* or *διόπερ* four times in five chapters:

1.4, 3.1, 3.4, 4.1. Relative clauses are favoured: 1.4 ἧς τοσοῦτον ὑπερέχειν, 4.2, δι' ἣν πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις κ.τ.λ., 4.7, καθ' ὃν ἡγούμενος κ.τ.λ., 5.1, ἣν τελευτὴν πεποιήμεθα κ.τ.λ. Likewise impersonal and

periphrastic expressions: 2.1, ἀποδοτέον, 2.2, ὑποληπτέον, ἡγητέον, 3.8, ἡγητέον; 4.2, ἀφορμῇ... ἐχρησάμεθα...τῇ... ἐπιθυμίᾳ, 1.4, συμβέβηκε, 2.7, συμβαίνει, 4.2, τυγχάνει 4.6, τυγχάνουσιν.

The words *ἴδιος* and *οἰκείος* are regularly substituted for the possessive pronoun: 1.1, τοῖς ἰδίοις πόνοις, 3.2, τοὺς οἰκείους χρόνους, 3.7, πρὸς τὴν ἰδίαν ὑπόστασιν. The pronouns *αὐτός* and *οὗτος*

are used extensively: 1.1, διὰ τῆς πραγματείας ταύτης, 1.4, τὴν ταύτης ἀνάληψιν, 2.2, εἶναι ταύτην φύλακα κ.τ.λ., 2.6, διὰ μόνου τούτου, etc.; compare also the formulae *πρὸς δὲ τούτοις*

(2.6, 3.8), and *χώρις δὲ τούτων* (1.5). We find a rich use of the prepositions *κατὰ* and *διὰ*: 1.4, κατὰ τὸν βίον, 2.3, τὰ κατὰ τὸν βίον, 2.4, κατ' ἀνθρώπους, 3.2, διὰ τὴν δυσχέρειαν, 3.3, διὰ τὸ μέγεθος τῆς ὑποθέσεως, 3.8, διὰ τὴν ἀνωμαλίαν, etc.

Prepositional phrases are frequently used in an attributive position:

1.2, ἡ...ἐκ τῆς πείρας ἐκάστου μάθησις, 1.4, διὰ τὴν ἐκ τοῦ χρόνου περιγεγενημένην...ἐμπειρίαν, 1.5, τῷ διὰ τῆς δόξης ἀθανατισμῷ, 4.2, τῇ πρὸς τὴν πραγματείαν ἐπιθυμίᾳ. The preposition *πρὸς*

frequently accompanies a verb or participle: 1.4, πρὸς διόρθωσιν χρῆσθαι, 1.5, στρατιώτας...ἐτοιμοτέρους κατεσκευάζει πρὸς τοὺς...κινδύνους etc. And the general tendency to strengthen plain cases

and verbs with prepositions is apparent again in the extensive use of

verbs compounded with prepositions: 1.1, ἀπονέμειν, 1.3, ἀπέδειξεν, 1.4, ἐπεγνώκαμεν 2.1, ἐξευρεῖν, συμπληρουμένης, 2.3, συναποθνήσκει, 2.4, ἀπαθανατισούσης, 2.8, προτρεπομένην ἐπί, 4.6, προδιόρισαι περί, etc. We also find compound adjectives of a type which in

classical Greek occur only in poetry: 3.4, *δυσπερίληπτος*, *δυσμνημόνευτος*, 3.8, *δυσκατάληπτος*, *δυσέφικτος* <sup>5</sup>. Again the object is to make the sense crystal clear. Diodorus shows the same desire for clarity and emphasis in his use of the expressions *καθόλου* (2.1, 2.6, 3.8) *παντελῶς* (3.8), *τὸ σύνολον* (2.8), *ἕλος* (2.2, 4.6, 5.1, 5.2), and *πᾶς* or *ἅπας* (1.3, 1.4, 2.3, 2.4, 2.5, 2.6, 2.7, 3.6, 4.2, 4.4, 4.7); these add little to the sense, and are merely an attempt to give added weight to his words. The word *κοῖνος*, though often relevant to the subject matter of the proem, also tends to be used pleonastically: 1.1, *κοινᾶς ἱστορίας*, 1.3, *κοινήν ἀναλογίαν*, *κοινᾶς πράξεις*, *κοινὸν χρησματοστήριον*, 2.1, *τῷ κοινῷ βίῳ* 2.2, *τοῦ κοινῶ γένους*, 3.2, *κοινᾶς πράξεις*.

The characteristics noted here are typical of late Hellenistic Greek: Diodorus excels in the excessive use of prepositions and prefixes, of the demonstrative pronoun, of the emphatic *ἴδιος*, *κοῖνος*, *καθόλου*, *ἕλος*, and *ἅπας*, all of which represent the general striving of Hellenistic prose after clarity of expression.<sup>6</sup> An extension of this tendency is the actual repetition of words or phrases, an irritating feature of Diodorus' prose which distinguishes him from other Hellenistic writers whose language is comparable in grammar and vocabulary. The following examples are again taken from the proem to Book One.

*πραγματεία*: 1.1, 1.3, 3.1, 3.2, 3.3, 3.4, 3.6, 3.8, 4.2, 4.6, 5.1, 5.2.

*πραγματεύω*: 1.1, 3.1, 3.3, 3.5, 4.1.

*ἐμπειρία*: 1.1, 1.4, 1.5, 2.8, 4.4, cf. 1.2, *τῆς πειράς*,  
*πολυπειρότατος*, *ἄπειρατον*.

*ἀνάληψις*: 1.4, 3.4, 3.8.

*ἐπιβολή*: 3.2, 3.3, 3.3, *ἐπεβάλετο*, 3.8, *τοῖς... ἐπιβαλλομένοις*, 4.2.

*ὑπόθεσις*: 2.2, 3.1, 3.3, 3.5, 4.1, 4.2, 4.6.

*περίστασις*: 1.4, 2.5, 3.2.

*περιποιούμαι*: 1.1, 1.5, 2.3, 2.6, 2.8, 4.4.

- προδιορίσκει : 4.6, 5.2, cf. 5.1, διοριζόμεθα .
- τὸ συμφέρον : 1.1, 2.7, 3.1.
- χρήσιμος : 1.2, τῶν χρησίμων, 1.4, χρησιμωτάτην, 2.7, χρήσιμα,  
3.6, εὐχρηστοτάτην, 3.7, τὸ χρήσιμον, 4.1, χρησιμωτάτην .
- ἀξιόλογος : 2.2, 2.3, 2.6.
- συμβάλλομαι : 2.2, 2.5, 2.7.
- προτρέπομαι : 1.5, 2.8.
- περιγίγνομαι (= acquire): 1.2, 1.4.
- περιέχομαι : 2.1, 4.6, 5.1.
- περιλαμβάνομαι : 2.7, 5.1.
- σύνεσις : 1.2, 1.5.
- ἱστορία : 1.1, 1.2, 2.1, 2.2, 2.3, 2.5, 2.7, 3.8, 5.2.
- πάντες ἄνθρωποι : 1.1, 1.3, 2.3, 4.2.
- κοινὸς βίος : 1.1, 1.2, 2.1.
- κοινὰ πράξεις : 1.3, 3.2, 4.6.
- ἅπαντα τὸν αἰῶνα : 1.3, 2.3, cf. 1.5, ταῖς αἰωνίοις βλασφημίαις,  
2.3, τοῦ πάντος αἰῶνος, 2.5 τῆς αἰωνίου παραδόσεως
- πάντα χρόνον : 2.3, πάντα τὸν ἕστερον χρόνον,  
2.4, πάντα τὸν γεγόμενον αὐτῷ... χρόνον.
- τὸ γένος τῶν ἀνθρώπων: 2.1, 2.2, 2.4.
- μία πόλις : 1.3, 3.2, 3.6.
- πόνοι καὶ κινδύνοι : 1.2, μετὰ πολλῶν πόνων καὶ κινδύνων,  
2.4, μεγάλους καὶ συνεχεῖς πόνους καὶ κινδύνους,  
3.6, πόλον... πολὺν ὑπομείναι, 4.1, πολλοῦ....  
πόνου καὶ χρόνου προσδεσμένην, 4.1, μετὰ... πολλῆς κακοπαθείας  
καὶ κινδύνων.

Compare also the following:

- 1.1, ἀκίνδυνον.... διδασκαλίαν, 1.2, ἀπείραχτον κακῶν... διδασκαλίαν.
- 2.1, πρὸς εὐεργεσίαν τοῦ γένους τῶν ἀνθρώπων, 2.4, τὸ γένος τῶν ἀνθρώπων εὐεργετήσας.

- 3.2, τῶν καθ' αὐτοὺς κκιρῶν, 3.3, τοῦ καθ' ἡμῶν βίου, 3.6 τῶν καθ' αὐτὸν κκιρῶν.  
 3.2, ἀπὸ τῶν ἀρχαίων χρόνων ἀρξάμενοι, 3.6 ἀρξάμενος ἀπὸ τῶν ἀρχαιότατων χρόνων.  
 3.3, μιᾶς συντέξεως περιγραφῆ, 3.8, μιᾶς συντέξεως περιγραφῆ.  
 4.6, περὶ ὅλης τῆς πραγματείας, 5.1, τὴν ὅλην πραγματείαν, 5.2, τῆς ὅλης προθέσεως, 5.2, παρ' ὅλην τὴν ἱστορίαν.  
 1.4, τὰ... κκτὰ τὸν βίον, 2.3, τὰ κκτὰ τὸν βίον.  
 2.2, φύλακα... τῆς... ἀρετῆς, 2.5, φύλακα τῆς αἰωνίου παραδόσεως κ.τ.λ.  
 5.1, δυσὶ λείπονται τῶν τριακοσίων; ἔτη δυσὶ λείπονται τῶν χιλίων.  
 2.5, ἡ δὲ τῆς ἱστορίας δύναμις ἐπὶ πᾶσαν τὴν οἰκουμένην διήκουσα,  
 4.3, ἡ γὰρ τούτης τῆς πόλεως ὑπεροχὴ, διακτείνουσα τῇ δυνάμει κ.τ.λ.

Sometimes Diodorus merely repeats vocabulary: for example he seems obsessed with the word *πραγματεία*, and hardly less with *ἐμπειρία*, *ὑπόθεσις*, *χρήσιμος*, *περιποιῶμαι*, and *ἄπας*. Sometimes a noun and adjective become linked together in a cliché, like *ὁ κοῖνος βίος*, *ἡ ὅλη πραγματεία*. Again, the repetition may be regular throughout several chapters, as in the case of *πραγματεία*, or there may be a short 'run': *ἐπιβολή* occurs twice within two lines at 3.2 and 3.3; and in 5.1 and 5.2 we find successively *τὴν ὅλην πραγματείαν*, *τῆς ὅλης προθέσεως*, *παρ' ὅλην τὴν ἱστορίαν*. Even more striking is the repetition of longer phrases like *μετὰ πολλῶν πόνων καὶ κινδύνων*, *τὸ γένος τῶν ἀνθρώπων*, in the space of five chapters. The nature of the subject matter in the opening proem made it inevitable that there should be a high incidence of words like *ἱστορία*, *συγγραφεὺς*, *κοινός*; but most of the repetitions suggest only someone at a loss for a synonym or a different thing to say: they do not have a rhetorical function like the repetitions in Plato or Demosthenes.<sup>7</sup>

The same tendency to over-emphasize leads to a frequent use of pairs of words: 1.2, πόνων καὶ κινδύνων; 1.3, τόποις καὶ χρόνοις; 3.3, πολλῶν καὶ μεγάλων ; 3.4, πλείοσι πραγμάτων καὶ διαφόροις συγγραφεύσιν; 4.1, πόνου καὶ χρόνου; 4.1, κκοπηθείς καὶ κινδύνων; 4.3, ἑτοιμοτάτης καὶ πλείστης; 4,7, πλείστα καὶ μαχίμωτάτα; 3.2, πλείστα καὶ ποικιλωτάτα .<sup>8</sup>

The features of language and style which are apparent in the main proem can be observed in all other parts of the Bibliothekē. I take a sample section from Book XVIII and book XIX, of the same length as the main proem (five chapters): XVIII.65-69; XIX.20-24. In these sections we find again the excessive use of prepositions, where, for example, a genitive absolute would have served; the unnecessary use of πᾶς and of demonstrative pronouns; a marked preference for periphrasis, especially with the verb ποιῆσθαι, instead of a simple verb. In the narrative sections it can also be seen that Diodorus achieves a peculiarly monochrome style by an extensive use of participles leading up to the main verb: e.g. XVIII.65.2, οἱ δὲ Ἀθηναῖοι πεπολυωρηκότες ---- καὶ νομίσαντες... ἑλπίζοντες... περιχερεῖς ἦσαν; XVIII.66.2, ἀσχυρόμενος ..... νομίζων.... μετενόησε τῇ γνώμῃ; XVIII.68.3, σπάνδων... ὑπολαμβανων.... ἠναγκάσθη. These stylistic features do not distinguish Diodorus sharply from other Greek writers of his period, although they do illustrate the regularity of language and style throughout the Bibliothekē which was demonstrated by Palm. However, we also find in these chapters the stylistic feature, amounting almost to an eccentricity, which characterises the main proem and which seems to be peculiarly Diodoran: namely, the use of repeated words and phrases.

#### XVIII.65-69

65.3, αὐτὸς ἰδίᾳ, 65.4, αὐτὸν ἰδίᾳ, 65.5, ἰδίᾳ δέ.  
 65.3, τῆς... ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ χρείας, 66.2, τῆς ἐν τοῖς πολέμοις χρείας.  
 66.5, τοῖς θορύβοις, 66.6, τοῦ θορύβου, 67.1, τῶν θορυβοῦντων, 67.2, τοῖς θορύβοις.

- 66.6, πικρῶς διέκειτο, 67.5, πικρῶς διεκειμένων, 67.5, πικρῶς ἀνείδιζον.  
 67.1, διὰ τὸ μέγεθος τῆς κραυγῆς, ibid. διὰ τὸ μέγεθος τοῦ κινδύνου.  
 68.2, Πολυπέρχων...διετριβων περὶ τὴν Φωκίδα, 69.1, τοῦ δὲ  
 Πολυπέρχοντος περὶ ταῦτα διετρίβοντος.  
 69.1-2, εἰς τοὺς ἐσχάτους κινδύνους ἤγαγε τοὺς Σαλαμινίους·  
 κινδυνεύουσης δὲ τῆς πόλεως κ.τ.λ.

XIX.20-24

- 20.1, κεικασκευκάμενος δαψιλῆ χορηγίαν, 21.3, διεδίδου δαψιλῆ,  
 22.3, χορηγούσης τῆς Περσίδος δαψιλῆ.  
 20.2, ὑποσυγίων πλήθος, 20.4, πλήθος τῶν ὑποσυγίων.  
 21.2, εἰς Περσέπολιν τὸ βασιλεῖον, 22.1, εἰς Περσέπολιν τὸ βασιλεῖον.  
 20.4, ἀνεκτῆσατο τὴν παρὰ τῶν στρατιωτῶν εὐνοίαν, 21.3, ἐκκλούμενος  
 αὐτῶν τὴν εὐνοίαν, 24.5, τὰ μὲν πλήθη πρὸς εὐνοίαν προεκκλέσατο.  
 22.2, ἐπλήρωσε... ἦν ἀνεπλήρουν... ἀναπληροῦσθαι.  
 22.1, τῶν... χρησίμων πλήθος, 23.1, τὸ πλήθος, ibid. πρὸς τὸ πλήθος,  
ibid. παρὰ τοῖς πλήθεσι, 23.4, ὑπὸ τοῦ πλήθους,  
 24.5, τὰ μὲν πλήθη.  
 23.1, στρατηγίας ὀρεγόμενον, 23.4, στρατηγίας ὀρεγομένους.  
 23.1, ὄγκον καὶ τὸ πρόσχημα, 24.1, ὄγκον καὶ πρόσχημα.  
 23.4, ἔλαθε... λαθῶν.  
 24.5, κεικβαρούμενος ὑπὸ τοῦ πλάθους, ibid. ὑπὸ τῆς νόσου πιθουμένου.  
 24.1, ἑαυτῷ... ἑαυτῷ, 24.4, αὐτοῦ... αὐτός, 24.5, αὐτός,  
 24.6, αὐτόν... αὐτός.

I list some further examples of repetition from books XVIII-XX.

Book XVIII

- 5.2, προσηγορίας, 5.5, πρὸς προσηγορίας, 6.2, τὴν προσηγορίαν, 6.3, τῆς προσηγορίας.  
 8.1, χάριν, 8.5, χάριν, χαρᾶς.  
 24.2, ἀνωχύρους... ὀχυρότητι, 25.1, τόπους ὀχυρούς... τὴν ἐν τοῖς  
 τόποις ὀχυρότητα.

- 44.2, τὴν παρουσίαν..... 44.3, τὴν παρουσίαν.  
 46.5, δι' ἀκροβολισμῶν, 46.6, διὰ τῶν ἀκροβολισμῶν.  
 47.3, ὁ δ' Ἀντίγονος ..... ἀνέψευξεν ἐκ τῆς Πισιδικῆς,  
 47.4, ὁ δ' οὖν Ἀντίγονος ἀναψεύξας ἐκ τῆς Πισιδικῆς.  
 49.4, παραλάβων τὴν ..... ἐπιμέλειαν ..... τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν παραλαβεῖν.  
 50.4, τῆς ὅλης ἐπιβολῆς, 50.5, τῆς τῶν ὅλων ἐπιβολῆς... τῆς ἰδίας ἐπιβολῆς,  
 51.1, αὐτοῦ τὴν ἐπιβολήν, 52.1, τῆς μελλούσης ἐπιβολῆς,  
 52.2, τῆς δὲ ὅλης ἐπιβολῆς.  
 51.5, ὁ δὲ Ἀρριδαῖος καταστρατηγθεὶς, 51.7, Ἀρριδαῖος μὲν οὖν καταστρατηγθεὶς.  
 57.3, τῶν βασιλέων..... τοὺς βασιλεῖς ..... τῶν βασιλέων..... τῶν βασιλέων...  
 ... τοὺς βασιλεῖς, 57.4, τῶν βασιλέων.  
 59.5, τῆς κατὰ τὸν ἀνθρωπινὸν βίον ἀνωμαλίας, 59.6, τῇ γὰρ τῶν  
 πράξεων ἀνωμαλίᾳ.  
 70.6, διὰ τοῦ πτώματος, 70.7, διὰ τοῦ πτώματος.  
 71.2, τὸν τοῦ πτώματος τόπον, 71.4, τὸν τόπον τοῦ πτώματος.  
 72.2, μετὰ τοῦ στόλου πάντος, 72.3, μετὰ πάντος τοῦ στόλου.  
 72.8, αὐτάνδρων..... αὐτάνδρων.  
 74.3, καταστήσει δ' ἐπιμελητὴν τῆς πόλεως..... παραλαβὼν τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν τῆς πόλεως.
- Book XIX
- 11.5, παρανομήσαθα, 11.6, παρανομουμένης, 11.9, παρανομήμασι.  
 17.7, τὸ δοθὲν παραδοθῆ.  
 21.2, εἰς Περσέπολιν τὸ βασίλειον, 22.1, εἰς Περσέπολιν τὸ βασίλειον, cf. 46.6,  
 εἰς τὸ βασίλειον, ὃ καλεῖται Περσέπολις.  
 31.3, ἀνκμφισβήτητον, 31.4, ἀμφισβητούντων..... ἡμφισβήτη.  
 39.2, τοὺς δ' ἐλέφαντας..... μεμονωμένους, 39.3, μεμονωμένοις τοῖς θηρίοις.  
 56.4, ἀρχὴ διαφοράς ἐφύετο καὶ μεγάλων πολέμων,  
 57.3, τὸ μέγεθος τοῦ φουμένου πολέμου.  
 56.4, Ἀντίγονος..... συλλογισάμενος, 57.3, Ἀντίγονος..... συλλογισόμενος.  
 58.5, κοινοπραγοῦντες, 58.6, κοινοπραγοῦντες.  
 79.1, ἐνεργέστερον, 79.3, ἐνεργῶς.

- 83.3, παραγγείλαντες τοῖς τε ἀκοντιστικῆς καὶ τοξόταις συνεχῶς  
κακτιτρώσκειν τὰ θηρία καὶ τοὺς ἐπ' αὐτοῖς ἀναβεβηκότας,  
84.1, τὸ μὲν πλῆθος τῶν ἀκοντιστῶν καὶ τοξοτῶν συνεχῶς  
βαλλόντων κατετίτρωσκε τὰ σωματὰ τῶν ἐλεφάντων κ.τ.λ.  
84.3, ἀπρακτον ἔχει τὴν ἀλκὴν, 84.4, ἀπρακτον ἐποίησεν τὴν βίαν.

Book XX

- 20.2, κατὰγειν τὸ μερῆκιον ἐπὶ τὴν πατρῶαν βασιλείαν,  
20.3, συγκατάγωσι τὸ μερῆκιον ἐπὶ τὴν πατρῶαν βασιλείαν.  
82.4, βραχὺ λειπόμενοι, 82.5, βραχὺ λειπόμενοι.  
98.7, τῆς ἰδίας τάξεως, 98.9, τῆς ἰδίας τάξεως.  
106.4, πλεονάκις . . . πλεονέκτης.

The last example from book XX appears to be simply a play on words; but this is so uncommon in Diodorus that it is more likely to have been an accidental repetition of syllables. Diodorus seems to have had little feeling for the sound of his prose. There is a similar case at XVIII.35.6: the talk of *θηρία* (crocodiles) apparently encouraged Diodorus to use *ἀποθηριούσθαι* metaphorically of Perdiccas' soldiers; and their comrades are *θηριόβρωτοι*. Diodorus shows some fondness for the cognate accusative, e.g. XIX.17.7, τὸ δοθὲν παραδοθῆ, and the frequent *δωρεὰς ἔδωκεν*, but it is not clear whether this is because he liked the similarity in sound rather than because he wanted to amplify the sense.

The consistency in the grammar and vocabulary of the *Bibliothèque* which Palm demonstrated can be extended to phraseology; and here again the repetitive, formulaic character of Diodorus' language is noticeable. Palm took a sample of the first twenty chapters of book XI and showed that 64 phrases from these chapters can be paralleled in other books. In the following section I compare phrases from books XVIII, XIX and

XX with the phraseology of other books.

Book XVIII

- 2.3, τῶναντιον δέ 33.3, 65.3; XVI.58.5, 91.3, XVIII.10.6, 12.2.
- 2.4, εὐθὺ δέ , beginning a sentence: 10.2, 25.5, 55.4, 70.1,  
50.5, 59.1, 61.1, 61.4, XIX.42.4, XX.83.3, XVI.4.3, 30.3, 31.1,  
49.8, 52.3, 91.4, XVIII.29.3, 31.1, 40.5, XI.12.2, 17.2, 47.1, 71.3,  
71.6.
- 4.1, τῶν ἐπιφανεστάτων ἀνδρῶν: 37.2, XIX.85.3, XVII.77.4, 89.1, 107.6.
- 4.4, μνήμης ἄξια : 22.4, XVI.31.7, 40.2, XVII.5.6, 38.4, 99.1,  
100.1, XI.88.4,
- 5.1, οὕτως γὰρ μάλιστα εὐπρακοπούθητος . . . ἡ διήγησις ἔσται :  
cf. 1.3.8, τὴν δ' ἀνάληψιν ἔχει παντελῶς εὐπρακοπούθητον.
- 7.7, κελεύων τὰ μὲν ὅπλα καταθέσθαι, αὐτοὺς δὲ τὰ πιστὰ  
λαβόντας ἐπὶ τῆς ἰδίας κατοικίας ἀναχωρῆσαι :  
cf. XI.5.4, κελεύει τὰ μὲν ὅπλα πάντες ἀποθεσθαι, αὐτοὺς  
δὲ ἀκινδύνους εἰς τῆς πατρίδος ἀπίεναι.
- 8.2, ἰδίου τῆς εὐνοίας : 40.4, 46.2; XIX.11.1, cf. 46.1: XVI.69.8, 89.2;  
XVII.24.2.
- 9.5, τῆς αὐτονομίας ἀντέχεσθαι: 51.3; XIX.20.2, 66.4, 73.1; XVI.41.3;  
XVII.3.2, 62.1, 74.1; XI.71.3.
- 9.5, διεπρεσβεύομενος κοινοπραγίαν συνέθετο;  
14.2, 25.4, πρεσβεύειν . . . περὶ κοινοπραγίαν,  
29.4, διεπρεσβεύσατο . . . καὶ συνθέμενος κοινοπραγίαν;  
XVII.3.2, διεπρεσβευσάμενοι . . . συνέθεντο κοινοπραγίαν,  
5.1, συνετίθετο κοινοπραγίαν.
- 15.3, πολλοῖς τραύμασι περιπέσων: XI.7.3, πυκνοῖς τραύμασι περιέπιπτον;  
XIX.4.6; XX.12.3, 98.9.
- 15.7, ἐπιφανεῖ μάχῃ νικήσας : 32.4; XVI.38.1, νικήσας . . . ἐπιφανεῖ  
πραττάξει; XVII.89.1; XI.82.4,
- 17.1, πολὺ τοῖς πλήθεσι λειπόμενοι: 44.5, πολὺ τοῖς . . . πλήθεσιν

- ὑπερέχοντες, cf. 45.1: XIX.13.3, 16.5, 88.4, 89.2; XVI.47.5;  
 cf. XVII.75.7, 87.2, 95.4; XI.4.7, 5.2.
- 18.1, ἐν ἀπορίᾳ πολλῇ καθειστήκει: cf. 35.5; XVI.3.1, ἐν ἀπορίᾳ τῇ μεγίστῃ  
 καθειστήκεισαν.
- 19.5, ἐκκλούμενος αὐτῶν τὰς προθυμίας εἰς τὸν πόλεμον:  
 XIX.21.3, ἐκκλούμενος αὐτῶν τὴν εὐνοίαν, 24.4, πρὸς εὐνοίαν  
 προσεκκλέεσται, cf. 91.2, 79.7; XX.84.4, cf. 94.5; XVI.37.4,  
 ὁ γὰρ χρυσὸς τὰς πλεονεξίας τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἐκκλούμενος;  
 1.72,2, ἀνεκκλούμενοι τὴν ἀρετὴν, 64.9, ἐκκλείεσθαι  
 τὴν τοῦ πλῆθους πρὸς αὐτὸν εὐνοίαν; XIV.42.1,  
 τὴν γὰρ προθυμίαν τὸ τε μέγεθος τῶν μισθῶν ἐξεκκλείτο,  
 cf. 18.6, 43.3.
- 22.3, τῶν πρὸς πολιορκίαν ἀνηκόντων: 51.1, 51.6; XX.45.1;  
 XVI.48.7, 92.3, τῶν ἀνηκόντων πρὸς τὴν.....στρατείαν;  
 XVII.16.4, τὰ πρὸς τὴν εὐωχίαν ἀνηκόντα; cf. 1.36.10,  
 τῶν πρὸς ἡδονὴν ἀνηκόντων.
- 23.4, φανερὸς ἦν ἀνκιρήσεων αὐτόν: 65.6, 67.2, 52.3, 55.2;  
 XIX.23.1; XX.28.3; XVI.28.2, 54.1; XVII.5.4, 15.3, 28.2, 43.2.
- 25.1, εἰς ἐσχάτους....κινδύνους: 41.3, 69.1; XVI.35.2; XVII.55.4, 81.1  
 97.2, 103.3.
- 32.1, παλὺν ἐπιούουντο φόνον: 17.4, 30.6; XI.10.2, 31.1, 80.5;  
 XVI.35.5; XVII.12.5, 19.6, 25.2, 84.2, 88.4.
- 32.1, τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἰσόρροπος ἦν ὁ κίνδυνος: XI.7.2; XVI.4.6,  
 12.3; XVII.11.5, 88.2; XIX.104.2; cf. XI.19.2, 36.4.
- 33.5, τοὺς ἐπιφερομένους κινδύνους: XI.9.1; XVI.3.1, 3.3;  
 XVII.56.4; XIX.79.7; XX.108.4.
- 34.5, διημερευσάντων <ἐν> τοῖς κινδύνοις: XI.8.3, 83.1; XVII.70.4.
- 34.5, διὰ τὴν ὑπερβολὴν τῆς...φιλανθρωπίας; cf. 42.2, 45.5, 47.1;  
 XIX.18.2, 20.1,; XI.11.6, 47.2; XVI.4.6; XVII.11.5, 20.5, 26.5, 42.4,  
 85.1, 101.1; etc.

- 35.2, ἴδιον δὲ τι καὶ παράδοξον συνέβη γενέσθαι :  
XIX.32.2; XVI.66.3, 88.3; XVII.5.6, 7.5, 63.4, 66.3, 90.1, 100.1, 103.7.
- 40.6, εὐθέτοις πεδίοις πρὸς ἵππομαχίαν : I.18.5, 87.4; II.57.3, III.10.1, 31.1.  
49.5; V.37.3; XI.4.1; XVI.47.6; XX.4.8.
- 40.8, μετὰ πάσης τῆς δυνάμεως : 44.1, 46.3, 52.1, 57.4, 63.2, 70.4, 72.2,  
73.1; XIX.32.2, 93.3; XX.100.5, 103.1; XVI.48.7; XVII.8.3, 9.1, 24.1,  
30.1, 49.1, 63.1, 64.3, 95.3; XI.5.1.
- 41.4, διαγωνίσασθαι περὶ τῶν πρωτείων : XI.9.1, ὑπὲρ τῶν  
πρωτείων ἀγωνιζόμενος; XVII.6.3, ἀγῶνας ---- περὶ τοῦ πρωτείου;  
XX.31.3, ἀμφισβητεῖν τῶν πρωτείων.
- 42.1, πολλὰς καὶ ποικίλας --- τοῦ βίου μεταβολαῖς : XVI.85.6, πολλὰς  
.....καὶ ποικίλας παρατάξεις; XVII.13.1, πολλὰ καὶ ποικίλα  
περιστάσεις; XI.80.4, πολλοὺς καὶ ποικίλους ἀγῶνας.
- 46.2, τιμῶν δωρεῶν ἀξιολόγοις : XI.8.1, δωρεῶν ἀξιολόγους δώσει;  
XX.34.1, δωρεῶν ἀξιολόγους δώσειν; XIX.64.8, δωρεῶν μεγάλαις  
ἐτιμήσει; XVI.51.3, cf. 53.3; XVII.68.6, 74.4.
- 46.5, περὶ τὴν μάχην ἔκτος τῆς πόλεως ἀσχολουμένων :  
64.4; XIX.2.9, 68.5; XI.1.5; II.40.4; IV.25.3; XVI.20.4, 27.2.
- 47.5, μετέωρος ἦν ταῖς ἐλπίσιν : XIX.90, μεμετεωρισμένος  
ταῖς ἐλπίσιν; XX.8.5, 33.2; XVII.29.3, μετέωροι ταῖς ἐλπίσιν.
- 59.6, ὁ κοινὸς βίος : I.1.1, 2.1, 8.8, 9.2.
- 59.6, πάντα τὸν κῆλον : I.1.3, 2.3, 2.3.
- 70.7, ταχὺ τῶν ἔργων συντελουμένων διὰ ... τὴν πολυχειρίαν :  
XI.2.4, ταχέως ἤνυσον διὰ τὴν πολυχειρίαν τῶν ἐργαζομένων;  
XVII.40.5, ταχὺ διὰ τῆς πολυχειρίας ἠνύετο τὰ τῶν ἔργων,  
89.6; XX.92.1.
- 71.1, τῆς νυκτὸς περικτακλαβούσης : XI.7.4; XVII.27.4, 35.1, 43.5, 50.5,  
cf. 13.6; XX.75.4, 5.4, 26.3, 69.1.
- 75.1, κεκοσμημένω τῷ στόλῳ τοῖς ἀπὸ τῆς νίκης ἀκροστολίοις :  
XX.52.4, τὰς ἰδίας καὶ κοσμήσας τοῖς ἀκροστολίοις, cf. 87.4.

Book XIX

- 14.3, κοινωνεῖν τῶν κῶτων ἐλπίδων : XVII.29.4, κοινωνεῖν τῶν Περσικῶν ἐλπίδων.
- 15.5, τῷ μὲν λόγῳ... τῷ δ' ἔργῳ : 48.3; XI.4.4; cf. II.24.7, τῷ μὲν λόγῳ... τῇ δ' ἀληθείᾳ.
- 19.1, τὸ στρατόπεδον εἰς ἄθυμικὴν ἐνέπεσεν : cf. 24.5; XVI.76.4; XVII.49.4.
- 26.6, σύντονον τὴν πορείαν ποιούμενος : XVIII.44.2; XIX.32.2, 93.2; XX.108.2; XVII.19.1, 32.3.
- 48.2, κατ' ἀνδρείαν καὶ σύνεσιν θαυμάζομενον : II.22.5, 33.1; XVI.18.1.
- 52.6, κερδοκῆσαι... τὰς τῶν πραγμάτων μεταβολάς : XI.3.4, κερδοκούντες τὸ τοῦ πολέμου τέλος ; XVII.8.6, κερδοκούντες τὴν βροπὴν τοῦ πολέμου ; XX.39.2, 55.3, 60.2, 110.5.
- 57.3, συλλογίζομενος τὸ μέγεθος τοῦ φεομένου πολέμου : XVIII.55.1, Πολυπέριον... προέωρα μὲν τὸ μέγεθος τοῦ... ἐσομένου πολέμου, 21.3, θεωροῦντες τὸν πόλεμον κῶζομενον ; XVI.28.1, προορώμενος τὸ μέγεθος τοῦ πολέμου.
- 74.4, πολλοὺς μὲν ἀνείλεν, οὐκ ὀλίγους δ' ἐξώγησεν : XVI.28.3; XVII.68.7.
- 81.2, μίξ φωνῆ : XI.9.3, 92.4; XVI.79.3; XVII.33.4.
- 81.6, παρακλέσας... τοῖς οἰκείοις λόγοις ; XVI.4.3; XVII.2.2, 33.1, 56.4
- 90.5, πάντα γίνεται τὰ καλὰ καὶ παρ' ἀνθρώποις θαυμάζομενα διὰ πόνων καὶ κινδύων : I.1.2, 2.4, 4.1; XVI.76.3, 40.4; XVII.56.4, 94.1.
- 94.3, θάνατον... πρόστιμον εἶναι : XX.58.5, θάνατος ἄριστο πρόστιμον ; I.77.2, θάνατος... ἦν τὸ πρόστιμον ; V.34.3, θάνατον τὸ πρόστιμον τεθείκασι ; XI.8.1, θάνατος ἔσται τὸ πρόστιμον.

Book XX

- 48.5, ἀμφιδόξος ἦν ὁ κίνδυνος : XVI.39.5, τῆς νίκης ἀμφιδόξου γενομένης, 86.2, ἀμφιδόξουμένης τῆς ἐλπίδος τῆς νίκης ; cf. XVII.33.6.

- 51.3, πρυμναν ἀνεκρούοντο πρὸς ἄλλην ἐμβολήν: cf. XI.18, XII.78.
- 52.1, τοῖς σκεπαστηρίοις ὅπλοις : I.24.3; V.18.3; XI.7.3.
- 73.2, πικραδούς τὸν στόλον συνέταξε συμπαραπλεῖν ἕκαστη πορευομένη τῇ δυνάμει:  
XI.51; IV.18.2.
- 81.1, διὰ τοιαύτας τινὰς αἰτίας : XVI.2.1, 23.1, 29.2, 39.1, 41.1.
- 81.3, ἐπὶ τοσούτον γὰρ προεβλήθη δυνάμειος: XI.8.2, ἐπὶ τοσούτο δὲ προέβησαν  
ταῖς προθυμίαις; XVII.12.2, ἐπὶ τοσούτο δὲ ταῖς ἀνδραγαθίαις προέβησαν;  
IV.54.7, ἐπὶ τοσούτο προεβλεῖν ὀργῆς; cf. XII.50.1; XIV.46.4;  
XIX.1.7, 49.2.
- 88.8 γενομένης...μάχης...ισχυρᾶς : XI.7.1, 12.6, 13.2, 19.2, 32.2, 78.1, 79.3,  
79.4; XVI.16.1, 31.3, 35.5, 86.2; XVIII.40.8, 44.4, 15.3; XX.22.5.

Diodorus made up his own clichés and applied them everywhere mechanically, even when they were actually inappropriate to the context: for instance, the common formula *μετὰ πάσης τῆς δυνάμειος*, as used at XVIII.70.4 is not merely empty but untrue, for it was said at XVIII.68.3 that Polyperchon had divided his force.<sup>9</sup> Formulaic language was more suited to epic than to history; and in his efforts to silhouette the general moral truth behind a historical situation, Diodorus took most of the colour out of the narrative of his sources. His main purpose being instructive, it did not matter if battles were standardised or individuals stereotyped: rather, this method facilitated his didactic aims. He has a style of his own, but it is a style characterised by monotony and repetition, the colourless style of bureaucratic prose. As Palm concluded: "wir haben nicht ein Kunstwerk vor uns, wohl aber ein bequemes und vielseitig verwendbarer Werkzeug für praktische Zwecke, nicht unähnlich der modernen Verwaltungsprose mit ihren vielen praktischen Vorteilen und ästhetischen Schwächen."<sup>10</sup>

It seems impossible to detect any linguistic features which would indicate that Diodorus has changed from one source to another,

although occasionally a grammatical usage is not found uniformly throughout the work. Palm gives the following statistics for the relative occurrence of the optative.

I	II	III	IV	V	XI	XII	XIII	XIV	XV	XVI	XVII	XVIII	XIX	XIX
45	18	13	20	11	11	11	28	20	10	7	5	5	12	37

The optative was used more widely in early than in post-classical Greek, but the unevenness which these figures show does not correspond to any division of sources ever proposed. Furthermore, there are considerable differences within particular books: in book XX, 24 out of 37 instances belong to the history of Agathocles, which occupies 53 out of 113 chapters; 5 belong to the proem, 1 to Roman history, and 7 to the narrative of the Diadochi. The proportions seem to be connected with the subject matter, for the history of Agathocles is full of reflections and philosophical comment, in contrast to the straightforward political and military narrative of the Diadochi. In book XIX, only one of the twelve optatives occurs in the history of Agathocles, which here occupies 20 out of 110 chapters; so that if we are to assume one source for the Agathocles section, the optatives cannot be connected with this source. The large number in the first book is perhaps to be explained by Diodorus' desire to make a stylish beginning to his work.

Relative clauses are a similar case. Palm counts the following.

XI	XII	XIII	XV	XVI	XVIII	XIX	XX
12	10	53	4	12	10	53	33

Here again the variation in numbers can hardly be connected with the use of different sources, and considerable irregularities can be found within individual books: XIX has 5 instances in chapter 2, 2 in ch.3, 3 in ch.36, 3 in ch.73, etc.; XX has two instances in chapter 24.1, 2 in ch.97, etc.<sup>11</sup> In his use of constructions as in his use of vocabulary and phrases it seems that Diodorus has a tendency to concentrate many instances within a short space of the text.

It remains to be considered what Diodorus has done to his sources to produce the bland effect of the language of the Bibliothek. Palm's analysis of Diodorus Bk.III and Photius' epitome of Agatharchides shows the general tendency of Diodorus to clarify and expand the language of the original. His use of conjunctions and particles, especially μέν, δέ, γάρ, and οὖν is richer than that of Agatharchides. He favours participles (about 890 participial constructions, to Agatharchides' 560), and sometimes changes a verbal construction to a participle, e.g.

οὓς καλοῦσι Σίμους — οἱ προσαγορευόμενοι Σίμοι.

He favours the accusative at the expense of the genitive: e.g.

νυκτός μὲν, ἡμέρας δέ — τῆς μὲν νύκτας, τῆς δ' ἡμέρας;

and uses the prepositions κατά and περί more frequently than

Agatharchides. Prepositions are often added to verbs, as in tragedy,

for greater clarity of meaning, and Diodorus tends to substitute

complex for simple verbs, e.g. περιγίνεται for νικᾷ. He prefers the

more modern Hellenistic usage, e.g. ἀμφοτέρων rather than ἀμφοῖν,

and in general replaces unusual with usual words.<sup>12</sup> A simple verb in

Agatharchides is sometimes turned into a lengthy periphrasis:

Agatharchides' ἐπνοῦσιν becomes ποιεῖται τὴν διὰ τῶν ἔπνων ἀνάπαισιν;

and he doubles the number of expressions with παράδοξος, θαυμαστός, καὶ ὑπερβολήν,

(about 40 in Diodorus to 20 in Agatharchides). Padding of this kind

makes Diodorus' account rather longer than the original, and very much

weaker in impact. Although Diodorus and Agatharchides are both

Hellenistic historians writing within a century of one another and using

almost identical vocabulary and syntax, Diodorus' dilution of the

language of Agatharchides has quite altered the original lively style.

A very similar process seems to have taken place in book XX, where for two chapters we can compare the text of the second century papyrus which epitomises a Hellenistic historian's account of the siege of Rhodes.<sup>13</sup> As always, Diodorus makes use of many compound

verbs: 93.2, ἐξέπεμψεν, διακελευσάμενοι, ἀφηγούμενους, ἐκπλευσαντων;  
 93.3, ἀφηγούμενος, ἐπιφαινομένους, 93.5, περιτυχών,  
 94.3, ἐξ-κπεστκλμένος.

The author of the papyrus (P) does not use compounds unnecessarily (though at line 19 he has διορυζκντες, and at lines 30-31 παρεσάξειν), and more than once uses a plain verb, e.g. line 6, στελλομένους line 32, δούς καὶ λάβων; at line 27 he has ἀποστκλείς for Diodorus' ἐξ-κπεστκλμένος. There is little difference in the number of participles used: 35 in Diodorus to 32 in P; and of these Diodorus has 15 in the nominative, P has 12; Diodorus has 7 genitive absolutes, P has 6; but Diodorus has a greater number of participles in an attributive position - 4 compared to 1 in P. Diodorus also has a richer use of conjunctions and particles: 23 to P's 14, excluding καὶ and τε. Diodorus' relation to P is thus comparable with his relation to Agatharchides, in so far as it can be measured in statistical terms. A line-by-line comparison of the texts suggests that Diodorus also amplified the language of his source by the use of periphrasis, the accusative of respect, the demonstrative pronoun, etc. much in the way that he amplified the language of Agatharchides.

Diodorus XX.93.5: τῶν δ' ὑπολοίπων νεῶν τριῶν Ἀμύντης ἡγούμενος  
 ἔπλευσεν ἐπὶ νήσων. P has only Ἀμύντης δὲ πλέων ἐπὶ νήσων.

Ibid.: καὶ πολλοῖς πλοίοις περιτυχών... εἰς τὴν πόλιν. Omitted by P, who goes directly from πλέων ἐπὶ νήσων to κατκπελταφέτης... αἶρεε.

Diodorus expands the sentence by using the compound verb περιτυγχάνω and the relative clause ἐν οἷς κ.τ.λ. We also find the prepositional phrase τὰ πρὸς τὰς μηχανὰς ἐρμόζοντα placed between the article and a participle, a device which made for clarity of sense and was habitual with Diodorus. The clauses ἃ μὲν κῶτων κατέδυσεν,

ἃ δὲ κατήγγκρεν εἰς τὴν πόλιν, are an imitation of 93.2, ἃ μὲν βυθίζειν τῶν ἐλίσκομένων πλοίων, ἃ δὲ κατήγγκρεν εἰς τὴν πόλιν. Diodorus sometimes repeats himself by expressing an order and

its fulfilment in the same words (compare for example XIX.83.3 and 84.1).

Ibid.: τεχνίται τῶν ἀξιολόγων πρὸς βέλγη. Contrast P's πολλοὺς τε βελέων δημιουργούς. Diodorus characteristically enhances the merits of the engineers: ἀξιόλογος is found throughout the Bibliothekē. For the construction, cf. XX.92.3, τοὺς ἀφικνουμένους τῶν ξένων. The καταπελταφέται are also made more interesting by the addition τῶν ἐμπειρίας διαφερόντων: for this formula cf. XVIII.10.4, συνέσει διακφέρουτες, XIX.40.2, ἀνδρεία διαφέρων, XVIII.13.6, συνέσει στρατηγικῇ καὶ ἀνδρεία διαφέρων, etc.

XX.94.1: Δημητρίου δὲ διὰ τῶν μεταλλέων ὑπορύξαντος τὸ τεῖχος. P has only Δημητρίου τὰ ῥοδίων τεῖχεα ὑπορύσσοντος. Diodorus has apparently added the prepositional phrase: cf. XVIII.8.5, διὰ τῆς χαρᾶς ἡμείβοντο τὴν εὐεργεσίαν, XIX.93.2, διὰ τῶν σκόπων ἀκούσας, etc.

Ibid.: τῶν αὐτομόλων τις ἐμήνυσε τοῖς πολιορκουμένοις ὡς οἱ ταῖς ὑπονομαῖς χρώμενοι σχεδὸν ἐντὸς εἶσι τοῦ τεύχους. Compare P lines 16-18, μηρυκάντων αὐτομόλων τὸ γεινόμενον τὸν τε χῶρον τὸν ὑπορυσσόμενον ὑποδεξάντων. Diodorus has a more personal form of expression with τις and οἱ for his main subjects; he also uses a characteristic periphrasis with χρῆσθαι: cf. I.1.4, 4.2.

XX.94.2: Diodorus clarifies the sense with διόπερ; P's sentence is unbroken. οἱ ῥοδοὶ τὰ φρον ὑρύξαντες βαθείαν: cf. P. line 19 (ῥοδοί τε) διορύξαντες ἐς τῷστων. Diodorus specifies the object and describes it. The clauses πρὸς ἀλλήλων... τεῖχει and διεκώλυσαν... πορείας also amplify the sense of P, and in each clause Diodorus adds a characteristic attributive phrase: τῷ δοκοῦντι πεσεῖσθαι; εἰς τοῦ μαρκεθεν. The emphatic use of αὐτοῖς (καὶ αὐτοί) is not in P.

Ibid.: τὰς μεταλλείκῃς χρώμενοι. The periphrastic construction with χρῆσθαι is repeated from 94.1 - τὰς ὑπονομαῖς χρώμενοι. The sense is repeated from 94.1 - διὰ τῶν μεταλλέων. Diodorus uses μεταλλείκ (as at 94.1, μεταλλεύς ) instead of the unusual word μεταλλωρύχος in P.

XX.94.3: ..... Ἀθηναγόραν. οὗτος δ' ἦν Μιλήσιος μὲν τὸ γένος. Cf. P. lines 26-7, Ἀθηναγόρης γὰρ τις Μιλήσιος. Diodorus' language is more emphatic: to introduce Athenagoras he begins a new sentence and opens it with the demonstrative and a main verb. The accusative of respect using γένος, φύσις, etc. is common throughout Diodorus: cf. XI.8.5, 50.6, 69.1, 78.5, 86.4; XVII.67.4, 68.5, 20.2, 69.3, 72.2, 74.5, 77.1, 79.1, 95.1, 100.2; XVIII.20.1, 67.4. For P's ἀποστειλῆς he has ἔξαπεσταλμένος.

XX.94.4: τινεῖς ἀξιολόγων ἡγεμόνων. P line 31, στρατὸν ἀντίπαιον. Cf. e.g. Diod. XVIII.40.2, τίνος τῶν ἐπιφανῶν ἡγεμόνων; and for ἀξιόλογος cf. 93.5.

Ibid.: διὰ τοῦ ὄρυγματος εἰς τὴν πόλιν. Contrast P line 31, ἐς τὸ ἄστυ. For Diodorus' addition διὰ τοῦ ὄρυγματος cf. 94.5, διὰ τῆς διώρυχος. P's ἄστυ is certainly correct as against Diodorus' πόλιν: Demetrius would not have opened his attack by land with an assault on the acropolis itself. Diodorus has used πόλις under the influence of εἰς τὴν πόλιν at 93.2 and 93.5.

XX.94.5: εἰς ἐλπίδας δὲ μεγάλας ἀγαγών. An allusion to the oath-giving which is described in P but omitted altogether from Diodorus' account. For the phrase, cf. XIX.46.3, μεγάλας ὑπογράφοντων ἐλπίδας.

Ibid.: τοῦτον μὲν ἀναβάντα διὰ τῆς διώρυχος. Diodorus adds the demonstrative τοῦτον, and the prepositional phrase: the latter recalls διὰ τοῦ ὄρυγματος at 94.4. The verb συνέλαβον is weaker than P's ἐνεχειρίσεν.

Ibid.: ἐστεφάνωσαν χρυσῶ στεφάνῳ καὶ δωρεὰν ἔδωκαν ἀργυρίου τετρακτὰ πέντε.

δίδωμι with the cognate accusative is regular in Diodorus:

cf. XI.8.1, δωρεὰς ἀξιολόγους δώσει; XX.34.1 δωρεὰς ἀξιολόγους δώσειν.

The formula here supplements P's ἐστεφάνωσαν... ἀργυρίου τετρακτὰ πέντε.

But comparison with the formulae of other Rhodian documents shows that

P's source and P have transcribed the decree correctly: Diodorus

has made an unnecessary 'improvement': cf. Larfeld, gr.Epig. p.382, 228.

Ibid.: σπεύδοντες καὶ τῶν ἄλλων μισθοφόρων καὶ ξένων ἐκκληῖσθαι τὴν πρὸς τὸν δῆμον εὔνοιαν. Larfeld, gr.Epig. pp.380f. gives many

examples of the 'Zweckformel' following directly upon the account of the

honours in honorary decrees; but all his examples begin with ἵνα or ὅπως,

leading to a subjunctive verb; so that both Diodorus' σπεύδοντες and

P's ἔμμε, if this word is correctly restored, appear to deviate

from the normal formula. Hiller von Gaertringen in his commentary on these

lines suggested that the word ἐκκληῖσθαι in Diodorus and P, introducing

the formula of exhortation, might be "ein Charakteristikum der rhodischen

Volkesbeschlüsse".<sup>14</sup> He compared the similar expressions at Diod. XX.84.4

and Polybius XVI.9.5 in the context of Rhodian public decrees. However,

the formula is also characteristic of Diodorus himself: cf. XIV.42.1,

44.3; XVI.37.4; XVIII.19.5; XIX.21.3, 24.4, 79.7, 91.2; and above p. <sup>xxxviii</sup>.

The fact that it occurs not only outside book XX, but also outside XVIII

and XIX, shows that this is not a phrase Diodorus has picked up from his

source and used over a limited section only. If Hiller's guess is right,

we have here a coincidence between a Diodoran cliché and a Rhodian

documentary formula; but it has not yet appeared on a Rhodian inscription.

The comparison of Diodorus with the Rhodian papyrus is less straightforward than the comparison with Agatharchides. In neither case do we have the original source; but Photius is probably closer

to Agatharchides than P to the author whom he was abbreviating. Furthermore, there is no certainty that the common source of P and Diodorus is Hieronymus rather than a working over of Hieronymus by a (second century?) Rhodian historian. In some places it is evident that it is not Diodorus who has added material, but P who has omitted it: for example, Diod. XX.93.5, τὰ πρὸς τὰς μηχανὰς ἐρμύσσοντα, can be explained when we look at the first draft of P - ὄργανα πρὸς τὴν πολιορκίην τῶν πόλεων Δημητρίῳ φερόμενα, which he later erased. Sometimes Diodorus has kept an unusual word or phrase: 93.5, ἐπὶ νήσων, as at P. lines 3-4, without the definite article; and ibid. the technical word καταπελταφέτω . Both are very Rhodian expressions, and suggestive of a Rhodian source.<sup>15</sup> However, the general technique of substituting the more for the less common expression, as μεταλλεύς for μεταλλωρύχος (a hapax legomenon), and of diluting language by means of prepositions, demonstratives and various sorts of periphrasis, is apparent here as it is in book III. Diodorus shows the tendency to repeat himself which has been observed in his proem to book I and in the rest of books XVIII-XX; and almost every clause in these two chapters can be paralleled in other parts of the Bibliothekē.

I turn finally to an aspect of Diodorus' language which has especial importance in his account of the Diadochi, and which illustrates both the problems and the possibilities involved in isolating the language of his source. This is the language of personal description. Diodorus' descriptions of historical figures are the product of the rhetorical school, and with few exceptions are highly conventionalised. The straightforward noun and complement is not uncommon:

XI.67.4, ἦν γὰρ καὶ φιλάργυρος καὶ βίαιος (Hieron); XIII.66.6, ἦν γὰρ ὁ Κλέαρχος χαλεπός ; XV.19.4, ὁ δ' Ἀγησίλαος . . . . φιλοπόλεμος ἦν ; XVIII.33.3, καὶ γὰρ φονικὸς ἦν (Perdiccas); XX.92.4, ἐνεργὸς ἦν καὶ νήφων (Demetrius).

More often, however, he uses some kind of periphrasis with a stock noun or adjective. The use of φύσει, or τὴν φύσιν, with a participial form εἰμί, (e.g. II.7.2) Ἡ δὲ Σεμίραμις, ὅσα φύσει μεγαλεπίβολος), or of hyperbolic phrases like διὰ τὴν ἰδίαν ἀνδρείαν, διὰ τὴν ὑπερβολὴν τῆς εὐσεβείας, (cf. XII.50.1; V.7.7 etc.), or of διαφέρω with the dative, or θαυμαζόμενος, διαβεβημένος, with ἐπί, κατὰ or the dative (e.g. I.94.3, Σάουχιν, ἄνδρα συνέσει διαφέροντα; II.33.1 Παρσώνην τὴν Πέρσην, θαυμαζόμενον ἐπὶ ἀνδρείᾳ καὶ συνέσει καὶ ταῖς ἄλλαις ἀρεταῖς), provided Diodorus with formulae which are endlessly repeated throughout his work. The legendary founders of the Egyptian and Assyrian kingdoms, gods and demigods, women, and the historical characters of Greece and Persia, are all characterised by the same stock epithets. Strong men always excell in σώματος βίη, good men are outstanding in φιλανθρωπία and ἐπιείκεια, generals in στρατηγικὴ συνέσις, soldiers in εὐχειρία and ἀνδραγαθία; tyrants are βίαιοι and ὑπερήφανοι, the reckless and ambitious are φρονήματος πηροῖς or μεγαλεπίβολοι. These stereotyped heroes and villains were required by Diodorus' didactic purpose, "Throughout our entire history," he says, "we have made it our practice in the case of good men to enhance their glory by means of the words of praise we pronounce over them, and in the case of bad men, when they die, to utter the appropriate obloquies." (XI.46.1: the statement is prompted by the κακία and προδοσία of Pausanias). The figures of myth and legend in the early books are necessarily conventional, being artificially constructed; but Diodorus makes no serious attempt of his own at the characterisation even of historical figures. This must be blamed partly on his desire to be instructive, which he makes clear in the passage quoted, and partly on the influence of a rhetorical training. In some cases the tradition

on an individual may have been inadequate;<sup>16</sup> but it cannot be supposed that all his sources were deficient in this respect.

The process by which he transformed the language of his source can occasionally be detected. Agatharchides, otherwise our most important control source, is not illuminating here, because his subject matter is purely ethnographic; the papyrus fragment of Ephorus, however, suggests the sort of technique which Diodorus used.<sup>17</sup> In lines 27-31, Ephorus' σοφωτάτην καὶ δίκαιοτα[την.....] τ[α]τ[η]ν καὶ χαλεπ[ώ]τατην [γενομένη]ν πρὸς/ ἐκε[ῖνον], (discussing Athens' treatment of Themistocles), becomes in Diodorus (XI.59.3), σοφωτάτην καὶ ἐπαικαστάτην χαλεπωτάτην πρὸς ἐκεῖνον εὐρίσκομεν γεγενημένην. Ephorus had balanced his σοφωτάτην καὶ δίκαιοτατήν with a contrasting pair of adjectives, of which Diodorus has omitted the first, keeping only χαλεπωτάτην. He has also substituted ἐπαικαστάτη for Ephorus' δίκαιοτατή : ἐπαικής was one of his favourite words.<sup>18</sup> The method of abbreviation suggests that Diodorus had evolved a 'code' of description. There is no essential difference between the vocabulary of Diodorus and that of his Hellenistic sources, but by preferring a limited selection of words and phrases, he has translated the language of his sources into set formulae of his own; and while these formulae represent something said in the same sense by his source, they inevitably weaken the force of the original.

A one to one relation between a 'code' word in Diodorus and a word in his source cannot necessarily be assumed. In some cases he seems to have anticipated, repeated, or made explicit a characteristic implied in the narrative. For example, Diodorus anticipates his estimate of Epaminondas (XV.88) at the beginning of his account of the rise of Thebes (XV.39.3), concluding with a remark in the first person which suggests that he was not drawing directly on his source. Similarly in book XIX he gives a brief sketch of the character of Phila, at the same

time looking forward to a later point in his narrative where her character will be more fully revealed.<sup>19</sup> Cases where Diodorus singles out a minor character are perhaps to be explained in the same way. At XIX.48.2, for example, the previously unknown Evagoras is introduced as ἀνδρα --- κατ' ἀνδρείαν καὶ σύνεσιν θαυμαζόμενον : he is the only one of Antigonus' satraps to be characterised. The description is typical of Diodorus. This case illustrates, however, that he did not distribute his formulae entirely at random, because at XIX.92.4 Evager, evidently the same man, appears as commander of the Persian contingent which resisted Seleucus on his return to Babylon.<sup>20</sup>

Apparently Diodorus knew when he first mentioned Evagoras that this satrap was to play a more important role later in his history. There are also cases of repetition, where Diodorus found it difficult to get away from the character he had given a man. Agesilaus is described as δραστικός three times within fourteen chapters;<sup>21</sup> Gelon is always ἐπιεικής, even in allusions to him after his death. Diodorus' habit of excessive repetition led him to underline the principal qualities of these men, which may have been mentioned only once or twice by his source.

These limitations in his manner of expression have to be taken into account in considering Diodorus' descriptions of the Diadochi. Even the best epitomiser finds it difficult to remove all traces of a historical portrait which is implicit in the narrative of a man's actions and the general slant of the history, and Diodorus could not help preserving indirect characterisation, embedded in Hieronymus' account of the Successors.<sup>22</sup> Direct description, on the other hand, has to be treated with reservation. In most cases it probably reflects the substance of Hieronymus' words, but may have been transformed into the terms of Diodorus' own 'code'. We can only feel confident that a word

was used by Hieronymus if it appears in exactly the same context in another author, or if it is used consistently by all authors as the epithet of one man. However, the fact that Diodorus copied Ephorus' assessment of Themistocles must influence our view of those extended passages in books XVIII, XIX and XX where individuals are characterised directly, and the motives of action analysed: in these passages it seems very likely that Diodorus was reproducing his source with the minimum of alterations.

NOTES TO APPENDIX II

1. Kallenberg, Philologus XXXVI and XXXVII; Nietzold, Die Uberlieferung der Diadochengeschichte, Würzburg 1905.
2. Cf. ch.V, p.
3. Palm, Über Sprache und Stil Diodoros von Sizilien, Lund 1955.
4. The use of the first person does not always indicate that Diodorus is speaking in his own person: at III.41, 38, IV.20.2-3, V.35 he has reproduced the personal comments of his sources (cf. ch.II p.     ).  
The word *ἡμεῖς* naturally refers to Diodorus himself where he announces the plan of a new book or a change of subject. There is a genuine autobiographical allusion at XVII.52.4-5, where Diodorus describes Alexandria as he had seen it.
5. Palm op.cit. p.193 gives a list of such adjectives from all books of the Bibliothek.
6. Hellenistic papyri show that *ᾧδῖος* was commonly used as a possessive reflexive pronoun in official documents where clarity was of the first importance: cf. Palm, op.cit. p.80.
7. See Denniston, Greek Prose Style, Oxford 1952, p.78ff.
8. Cr. Palm, op.cit. pp.143f.
9. The formula *ἐκ διαδόχης* - 'in relays' - as at XVIII.34.4 and frequently in earlier books, seemed to Diodorus an appropriate description of siege warfare; but in fact relays were not exploited to the full until the end of the fifth century, and the terminology is anachronistic for the battles at Thermopylae and Pylos (XI.7.2, 8.2-3; XII.61.3):  
Thucydides and Herodotus did not mention relays in their accounts, though their language may have suggested the idea to Diodorus. Cf. Sinclair, CQ 1966, pp.249-55, rightly viewing phrases with *διαδόχη* as Diodorus' own cliché; though he perhaps overestimates Diodorus' 'interest' in the subject of siege warfare.

10. Palm, op.cit. pp.207f. Cf. the summary of Diodorus' style by A. and M. Croiset, Histoire de Litterature Grecque, V 1900 p.349: "Comme ecrivain, son principal merite est d'etre clair. Il ecrit avec une facilite banale, dans une langue sans couleur. Sans cesse, il se sert des mots abstraits et vagues qui remplacaients alors dans l'usage les manieres de dire precises et vivantes d'autrefois."
11. Palm op.cit. pp.
12. Ibid. p.48f. for a comparative list of vocabulary in Diodorus and Agatharchides.
13. Cf. ch.II, p. 42<sup>4</sup>. In the following discussion references are to the parallel texts as set out in Hiller von Gaertringen's edition, SB d. preuss.Akad., 1918 p.752ff. (see below).
14. Hiller von Gaertringen, op.cit. p.759.
15. Cf. ch.II p. 72.
16. Cf. L.Pearson, Journ.Hist.Ideas, XV no.1 (1954) p.136ff. suggesting that lack of information about individuals, rather than lack of interest in them, was a major reason for the poor characterisation of many historical personalities by ancient historians. Hence they were often treated in the same way as mythological characters, sometimes, like Solon, becoming the symbol of a particular ideal.
17. Cf. ch.II p. 40<sup>1</sup>.
18. Diodorus' fondness for the word *ἐμευκῆς* is unusual: it occurs only seven times in Polybius, and only three times of a person in a moral sense. Cf. Mauersberger, Polybios-Lexicon, s.v. *ἐμευκῆς*.
19. Diod. XIX.59.6.
20. In 316 Antigonos made Evagoras satrap of Aria, and Asclepiodotus satrap of Persis; but Asclepiodotus is not heard of again, and may have died or been removed. The temporary re-allocation of a province to a neighbouring satrap under such circumstances was not uncommon: cf. Tarn, Alex.Gt. II, App.7, pp.310ff.

21. Diodorus' use of the word *δραστικός* is peculiar. It is not found in Polybius. Usually it refers to the active or efficient element of something, and as a medical term means 'drastic'. The nearest usage to that in Diodorus is Plut. Coriol. XXI.2, ἣ καὶ δοκεῖ *δραστικός* ὁ θυμούμενος ὡς θερμός ὁ πυρέτων, though here too the word is virtually technical.

22. Cf. ch.V p. 315

P. Berl. 11632

(from, Hiller von Gaertringen, Aus der Belagerung  
von Rhodos 304 v. Chr., S.B. d. Preuss. Akad.  
XXXVI 1918 pp.755-756)

-- ||<sup>1</sup> [. . . . Β]ΑΣΙΛΙΚΟΪΣΙ ΓΑΡ I  
 ΕΟΥΣΙ ΧΡΕ<sup>2</sup>[ΕΣΘΑΙ ΟΥ] ΣΦΙΣΙΝ  
 ΗΝ. Κ[Α]Ι ΤΑ ΜΕΝ ΟΥ<sup>3</sup>[ΤΩΣ Ε-  
 ΠΡΗΞΑ]Ν. ΑΜΥΝΤΗΣ ΔΕ ΠΛΕΩΝ  
 ΕΠΙ<sup>4</sup>[ΝΗΣΩ]Ν ΚΑΤΑΠΕΛΤΑΦΕΤΑΣ  
 ΕΝΔΕΚΑ ΠΡΟΣ ΤΗΝ ΠΟΛΙΟΡΚΙ-  
<sup>5</sup>[ΗΝ ΤΗΝ ΤΩΝ] ΠΟΛΙΩΝ ΔΗΜΗ-  
 ΤΡΙΩΙ <sup>6</sup>[ΣΤΕΛΛΟΜΕΝΟ]ΥΣ ΑΪΡΕΕ  
 ΠΟΛΛΟΥΣ ΤΕ ΒΕΛΕΩΝ ΔΗ<sup>7</sup>[ΜΙ-  
 ΟΡΓΟΥ]Σ, ΟΥΣΠΕΡ ΔΗΜΗΤΡΙΩ  
 ΛΥΟΜΕ<sup>8</sup>[ΝΩΙ ΛΥΤ]ΡΩΝ ΤΩΝ ΤΕ-  
 ΤΑΓΜΕΝΩΝ Ρ[Ο]ΔΙΟΙ ΟΥΚ Α-  
 ΠΕΔΙΔΟΥΣΑΝ, ΧΡΕΪΖΕΙΝ ΑΥΤΩΝ  
<sup>10</sup>[ΦΑΣΚΟΝΤΕΣ]. Ο ΔΕ ΤΩΝΔΕ  
 ΑΠΑΜΑΡΤ[Ω]Ν <sup>11</sup>[ΟΥΔ' ΑΥΤΟΣ]  
 ΣΦΙΣΙΝ ΕΦΗ ΛΥΣΕΙΝ ΕΤΙ, ΗΝ  
<sup>12</sup>[ΕΛΗΙ. ΜΕΤΑ] ΔΕ ΤΑΥΤΑ ΔΗ-  
 ΜΗΤΡΙΟΥ ΤΑ ΡΟ<sup>13</sup>[ΔΙΩΝ Τ]ΕΙΧΕΑ  
 ΥΠΟΡΥΣΣΟΝΤΟΣ ΕΝ<sup>14</sup>[ΤΟΣ ΤΕ  
 Τ]ΩΝ ΤΕΙΧΕΩΝ ΗΔΗ ΕΟΝΤΩΝ  
<sup>15</sup>[ΤΩΝ ΚΑΤ]Α ΓΗΣ ΕΡΓ[ΑΖ]Ο-  
 ΜΕΝΩΝ, ΡΟΔΙ<sup>16</sup>[ΟΙ ΤΕ, ΜΗΝΥ-  
 Σ]ΑΝΤΩΝ ΑΥΤΟΜΟΛΩΝ ΤΟ <sup>17</sup>[ΓΕΙ-  
 ΝΟΜ]ΕΝΟΝ ΤΟΝ ΤΕ ΧΩΡΟΝ  
 ΤΟΝ <sup>18</sup>[ΥΠΟΥ]ΥΣΣΟΜΕΝΟΝ ΥΠΟ-  
 ΔΕΞΑΝΤΩ(Ν), <sup>19</sup>[ΔΙΟΥΡΥΞΑ]ΝΤΕΣ  
 ΕΣ ΤΩΥΤΟΝ ΤΟΙ<sup>20</sup>[ΣΙ ΜΑΚΕ-  
 Δ]ΟΝΩΝ ΜΕΤΑΛΛΩΡΥΧΟΙΣΙ(Ν)  
<sup>21</sup>[ΥΠΗΝΤΙ]ΑΣΑΝ ΟΙ ΤΕ ΥΠΟΝΟ-  
 ΜΟΙ ΠΑ<sup>22</sup>[ΡΑ ΜΙΚΡΟ]Ν ΕΣ ΤΩΥ-  
 ΤΟΝ ΣΥΝΕΜΙΞΑΝ ΑΛΛΗΛΟΙΣΙ(Ν).  
<sup>23</sup>[ΕΡΓΟΥ Δ' Ε]ΚΑΤΕΡΩΝ ΤΟΥ  
 ΣΦΕΤΕΡΟΥ ΦΥΛΛ<sup>24</sup>[ΚΑΣ ΕΠΙΣΤΗ-  
 ΣΑ]ΝΤΩΝ, ΑΛΛΗΛΟΙΣΙ ΤΕ ΤΩΝ

Diodor XX 93, 2. ΕΙΣΕΠΕΜΨΑΝ ΔΕ ΚΑΙ ΤΩΝ ΝΕΩΝ  
 ΕΝΝΕΑ (Ρόδιοι), ΔΙΑΚΕΛΕΥΣΑΜΕΝΟΙ ΤΟΥΣ ΑΦΗΓΟΥΜΕΝΟΥΣ  
 ΠΑΝΤΑΧΗ ΠΛΕΪΝ ΚΑΙ ΠΑΡΑΔΟΣΕΩΣ ΕΠΙΦΑΙΝΟΜΕΝΟΥΣ Α ΜΕΝ  
 ΒΥΘΙΖΕΙΝ ΤΩΝ ΑΛΙΣΚΟΜΕΝΩΝ ΠΛΟΪΩΝ, Α ΔΕ ΚΑΤΑΓΕΙΝ  
 ΕΙΣ ΤΗΝ ΠΟΛΙΝ. ΕΚΠΛΕΥΣΑΝΤΩΝ ΔΕ ΤΟΥΤΩΝ ΚΑΙ ΤΡΙΧΗ  
 ΔΙΑΙΡΕΘΕΝΤΩΝ ΔΑΜΟΦΙΛΟΣ ΜΕΝ ΕΧΩΝ ΝΑΥΣ ΤΑΣ ΚΑΛΟΥ-  
 ΜΕΝΑΣ ΠΑΡΑ ΡΟΔΙΟΙΣ ΦΥΛΑΚΙΔΑΣ ΕΠΛΕΥΣΕΝ ΕΙΣ ΚΑΡ-  
 ΠΑΘΟΝ -- (3) ΜΕΝΕΔΗΜΟΣ ΛΕ ΤΡΙΩΝ ΑΦΗΓΟΥΜΕΝΟΣ  
 ΤΡΙΗΜΙΟΛΙΩΝ ΠΛΕΥΣΑΣ ΤΗΣ ΛΥΚΙΑΣ ΕΠΙ ΤΑ ΠΑΤΑΡΑ --  
 (4) ΕΪΛΕ ΔΕ ΚΑΙ ΤΕΤΡΗΡΗ ΠΛΕΟΥΣΑΝ ΜΕΝ ΕΚ ΚΙΛΙΚΙΑΣ  
 ΕΧΟΥΣΑΝ Δ' ΕΣΘΗΤΑ ΒΑΣΙΛΙΚΗΝ ΚΑΙ ΤΗΝ ΑΛΛΗΝ ΑΠΟ-  
 ΣΚΕΥΗΝ, ΗΝ Η ΓΥΝΗ ΔΗΜΗΤΡΙΟΥ ΦΙΛΑ ΠΑΡΑΣΚΕΥΑΣΑΜΕΝΗ  
 ΦΙΛΟΤΙΜΟΤΕΡΟΝ ΑΠΕΣΤΑΑΚΕΙ ΤΑΝΔΡΙ, ΤΟΝ ΜΕΝ ΟΥΝ ΙΜΑΤΙΣ-  
 ΜΟΝ ΑΠΕΣΤΕΙΛΕΝ ΕΙΣ ΑΙΓΥΠΤΟΝ, ΟΥΣΩΝ ΤΩΝ ΣΤΟΛΩΝ  
 ΑΛΟΥΡΓΩΝ ΚΑΙ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΪ ΦΟΡΕΪΝ ΠΡΕΠΟΥΣΩΝ --

(5) ΤΩΝ Δ' ΥΠΟΛΟΪΩΝ ΝΕΩΝ ΤΡΙΩΝ ΑΜΥΝΤΑΣ  
 ΗΓΟΥΜΕΝΟΣ ΕΠΛΕΥΣΕΝ ΕΠΙ ΝΗΣΩΝ ΚΑΙ ΠΟΛΛΟΙΣ  
 ΠΛΟΪΟΙΣ ΠΕΡΙΤΥΧΩΝ ΚΟΜΙΖΟΥΣΙ ΤΑ ΠΡΟΣ ΤΑΣ ΜΗΧΑΝΑΣ  
 ΑΡΜΟΖΟΝΤΑ ΤΟΙΣ ΠΟΛΕΜΙΟΙΣ Α ΜΕΝ ΑΥΤΩΝ ΚΑΤΕΔΥΣΕΝ,  
 Α ΔΕ ΚΑΤΗΓΑΓΕΝ ΕΙΣ ΤΗΝ ΠΟΛΙΝ, ΕΠ' ΟΨΕ ΕΑΛΩΣΑΝ  
 ΚΑΙ ΤΕΧΝΙΤΑΙ ΤΩΝ ΑΞΙΟΛΟΓΩΝ ΚΑΙ ΠΡΟΣ ΒΕΛΗ  
 ΚΑΙ ΚΑΤΑΠΕΛΤΑΣ ΕΜΠΕΙΡΙΑ ΔΙΑΦΕΡΟΝΤΕΣ ΕΝΔΕΚΑ (ΤΩΝ  
 ΑΞΙΟΛΟΓΩΝ ΠΡΟΣ ΒΕΛΗ ΚΑΙ ΚΑΤΑΠΕΛΤΑΦΕΤΑΣ [corr. 2. m]  
 ΤΩΝ ΕΜΠΕΙΡΙΑ ΔΙΑΦΕΡΟΝΤΩΝ ΕΝΔΕΚΑ F).

(6. 7 Protokoll einer rhodischen Volksver-  
 sammlung; nicht im Papyrus berücksichtigt.)

Diodor XX 84, 6 ΣΥΝΕΘΕΝΤΟ ΓΑΡ ΟΙ ΡΟΔΙΟΙ ΠΡΟΣ  
 ΤΟΝ ΔΗΜΗΤΡΙΟΝ ΩΣΤΕ ΑΛΛΗΛΟΙΣ ΔΙΔΟΝΑΙ ΑΥΤΡΟΝ  
 ΕΛΕΥΘΕΡΟΥ ΜΕΝ ΧΙΛΙΑΣ ΔΡΑΧΜΑΣ, ΔΟΥΛΟΥ ΔΕ ΠΕΝΤΑ-  
 ΚΟΣΙΑΣ.

Diodor XX 94, 1. ΔΗΜΗΤΡΙΟΥ ΔΕ ΔΙΑ ΤΩΝ ΜΕΤΑΛ-  
 ΛΕΩΝ ΥΠΟΡΥΞΑΝΤΟΣ ΤΟ ΤΕΙΧΟΣ ΤΩΝ ΑΥΤΟΜΟΛΩΝ ΤΙΣ  
 ΕΜΗΝΥΣΕ ΤΟΙΣ ΠΟΛΙΟΡΚΟΥΜΕΝΟΙΣ ΩΣ ΟΙ ΤΑΙΣ ΥΠΟΝΟΜΑΙΣ  
 ΧΡΩΜΕΝΟΙ ΣΧΕΔΟΝ ΕΝΤΟΣ ΕΙΣΙ ΤΟΥ ΤΕΙΧΟΥΣ.

(2) ΔΙΟΠΕΡ ΟΙ ΡΟΔΙΟΙ ΤΑΦΡΟΝ ΟΡΥΞΑΝΤΕΣ ΒΑΘΕΙΑΝ,  
 ΠΑΡΑΛΛΗΛΟΝ ΤΩ ΔΟΚΟΥΝΤΙ ΠΕΣΕΙΣΘΑΙ ΤΕΙΧΕΙ, ΤΑΧΥ ΚΑΙ  
 ΑΥΤΟΙ ΤΑΙΣ ΜΕΤΑΛΛΕΙΑΙΣ ΧΡΩΜΕΝΟΙ ΣΥΝΗΨΑΝ ΥΠΟ ΓΗΝ  
 ΤΟΙΣ ΕΝΑΝΤΙΟΙΣ ΚΑΙ ΔΙΕΚΩΛΥΣΑΝ ΤΗΣ ΕΙΣ ΤΟΥΜΠΡΟΣΘΕΝ  
 ΠΟΡΕΙΑΣ. (3) ΤΩΝ ΔΕ ΔΙΟΥΡΥΓΜΑΤΩΝ ΠΑΡ' ΑΜΦΟΤΕΡΟΙΣ  
 ΤΗΡΟΥΜΕΝΩΝ ΕΠΕΧΕΪΡΗΣΑΝ ΤΙΝΕΣ ΤΩΝ ΠΑΡΑ ΤΟΥ ΔΗ-  
 ΜΗΤΡΙΟΥ ΔΙΑΦΘΕΪΡΕΙΝ ΧΡΗΜΑΣΙ ΤΟΝ ΤΕΤΑΓΜΕΝΟΝ ΕΠΙ ΤΗΣ

ΦΥΛΑΚΩΝ ΕΣ ΛΟΓΟΥΣ ΑΠΟ ΤΩΝ  
 ΠΡΟΤΕΙΧΙΣΜΑΤ(ΩΝ) ΑΠΙΚΝΕΟ-  
 Μ(ΕΝ)ΩΝ, ΠΡΟΔΟΣΙΗ || <sup>25</sup>ΤΙΣ Π  
 ΔΗΜΗΤΡΙΩΙ ΔΟΞΑΣΑ [ΑΣΦΑΛΗΣ  
 ΚΑΡΤΑ] <sup>26</sup>ΜΙΝ ΗΠΑΤΗΣΕΝ. ΑΘΗ-  
 ΝΑΓΟΡΗ[Σ] Γ[ΑΡ] <sup>27</sup>ΤΙΣ ΜΙΛΗ-  
 ΣΙΟΣ [ΑΠΟΣΤΑΛΕΙΣ ΕΞ ΑΙΓΥ]-  
<sup>28</sup>ΠΤΟΥ ΡΟ[ΔΙΟΙΣΙ, ΤΗΝ ΤΟΥ  
 ΤΕΙΧΕΟΣ ΦΥ]<sup>29</sup>ΛΑΚΗΝ ΕΧΩ[Ν,  
 ΔΗΜΗΤΡΙΩΙ ΕΠΙ] <sup>30</sup>ΧΡΗΜΑΣΙΝ  
 ΩΜ[Ο]ΛΟΓΗΣΕΝ [ΠΑΡΕΣ]<sup>31</sup>ΑΞΕΙΝ  
 ΣΤΡΑΤΟΝ ΑΝΤΙΠΑΛΟΝ ΕΣ ΤΟ  
 ΑΣΤΥ· ΟΡΚΙΑ ΔΕ Ε<sup>32</sup>ΠΙ ΤΟΙΣΙΔΕ  
 ΔΟΥΣ ΤΕ ΚΑΙ ΛΑ[ΒΩΝ, ΕΥΘΥΣ]  
<sup>33</sup>ΔΕ ΣΗΜΗΝΑΣ ΤΟΙΣΙ ΡΟΔ[ΙΩΝ  
 ΑΡΧΟΥ]<sup>34</sup>ΣΙ, ΝΥΚΤΟΣ ΤΗΣ ΕΠΙ-  
 ΓΕΙΝΟ[ΜΕΝΗΣ] ΠΑΛΙΜΠΡΟΔΟΣΙΗΝ  
 ΕΡΓΑ[ΖΕΤΑΙ]. <sup>35</sup>ΕΣΑΓΑΓΩΝ ΓΑΡ  
 (Rasur) [ΑΛΕΞΑΝ]<sup>36</sup>ΔΡΟΝ ΑΝ-  
 ΔΡΑ ΜΑΚΕΔΟΝΑ [ΤΩΝ ΑΜ]<sup>37</sup>ΦΙ  
 ΔΗΜΗΤΡΙΟΝ ΕΟΝΤΩΝ [ΤΑ ΕΝ]-  
<sup>38</sup>ΔΟΝ ΠΡΟ ΤΟΥ ΠΕΜΦΘΗΝΑ[Ι  
 ΜΕΤΑ] <sup>39</sup>ΣΤΡΑΤΟΥ ΚΑΤΟΥΟΜΕ-  
 ΝΟΝ ΡΟ[ΔΙΟΙΣΙ] <sup>40</sup>ΜΙΝ ΕΝΕΧΕΙ-  
 ΡΙΣΕΝ. ΡΟΔΙΟ[Ι ΔΕ ΤΟΝ] <sup>41</sup>ΜΕΝ  
 ΑΘΗΝΑΓΟΡΗΝ [ΕΣΤΕΦΑΝΩΣΑΝ]  
<sup>42</sup>Χ[ΡΥΣ]ΕΩΙ ΤΕ ΣΤΕΦ[ΑΝΩΙ ΚΑΙ  
 ΑΡΓΥ]<sup>43</sup>ΡΙΟΥ ΤΑΛΑΝΤΟΙΣΙ ΠΕΝ-  
 Τ[Ε, ΑΜΑ ΤΟΙΣΙ]<sup>44</sup>ΔΕ ΤΟΥΣ ΑΛ-  
 ΛΟΥΣ ΞΕ[ΝΟΥΣ ΠΡΟΣ] <sup>45</sup>ΤΑ Ο-  
 ΜΟΙΑ ΕΚΚΑΛΕΟΜΕ[ΝΟΙ ΤΟΝ ΔΕ]  
<sup>46</sup>ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΝ ΚΤΕΙΝΕΙΝ Μ[ΕΛ-  
 ΛΟΝΤΕΣ Α]<sup>47</sup>ΠΕΤΡΑΠΟΝΤΟ ΚΗ-  
 ΡΥΚΟΣ [ΠΑΡΑ ΔΗΜΗ]<sup>48</sup>ΤΡΙΟΥ  
 ΕΪΣΩ ΚΑΤΑ ΛΥΤΡΩ[ΣΙΝ] ΑΠΙΚΟ-  
 ΜΕΝ[ΟΥ - - - - ] || - -

ΦΥΛΑΚΗΣ ΥΠΟ ΤΩΝ ΡΟΔΙΩΝ ΑΘΗΝΑΓΟΡΑΝ· ΟΥΤΟΣ Δ' ΗΝ  
 ΜΙΛΗΣΙΟΣ ΜΕΝ ΤΟ ΓΕΝΟΣ, ΥΠΟ ΠΤΟΛΕΜΑΙΟΥ Δ' ΕΞΑ-  
 ΠΕΣΤΑΛΜΕΝΟΣ ΗΓΕΜΩΝ ΤΩΝ ΜΙΣΘΟΦΟΡΩΝ. (4) ΕΠΑΓΓΕΙ-  
 ΛΑΜΕΝΟΣ ΔΕ ΠΡΟΔΩΣΕΙΝ ΣΥΝΕΤΑΞΑΘ' ΗΜΕΡΑΝ ΚΑΘ' ΗΝ  
 ΕΔΕΙ ΠΑΡΑ ΔΗΜΗΤΡΙΟΥ ΠΕΜΦΘΗΝΑΙ ΤΙΝΑ ΤΩΝ ΑΞΙΟ-  
 ΛΟΓΩΝ ΗΓΕΜΟΝΩΝ ΤΟΝ ΝΥΚΤΟΣ ΑΝΑΒΗΣΟΜΕΝΟΝ ΔΙΑ ΤΟΥ  
 ΟΡΥΓΜΑΤΟΣ ΕΙΣ ΤΗΝ ΠΟΛΙΝ, ΟΠΩΣ ΚΑΤΑΣΚΕΥΗΤΑΙ ΤΟΝ  
 ΤΟΠΟΝ ΤΟΝ ΜΕΛΛΟΝΤΑ ΔΕΞΑΣΘΑΙ ΤΟΥΣ ΣΤΡΑΤΙΩΤΑΣ.

(5) ΕΙΣ ΕΛΠΙΔΑΣ ΔΕ ΜΕΓΑΛΑΣ ΑΓΑΓΩΝ ΤΟΥΣ ΠΕΡΙ  
 ΔΗΜΗΤΡΙΟΝ ΕΜΗΝΥΣΕ ΤΗ ΒΟΥΛΗ· ΚΑΙ ΠΕΜΨΑΝΤΟΣ ΤΟΥ  
 ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΤΩΝ ΠΕΡΙ ΑΥΤΟΝ ΦΙΛΩΝ ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΝ ΤΟΝ  
 ΜΑΚΕΔΟΝΑ ΤΟΥΤΟΝ ΜΕΝ ΑΝΑΒΑΝΤΑ ΔΙΑ ΤΗΣ ΔΙΩΡΥΧΟΣ  
 ΣΥΝΕΛΑΒΟΝ ΟΙ ΡΟΔΙΟΙ, ΤΟΝ Δ' ΑΘΗΝΑΓΟΡΑΝ ΕΣΤΕΦΑ-  
 ΝΩΣΑΝ ΧΡΥΣΩ ΣΤΕΦΑΝΩ ΚΑΙ ΔΩΡΕΑΝ ΕΔΩΚΑΝ ΑΡΓΥΡΙΟΥ  
 ΤΑΛΑΝΤΑ ΠΕΝΤΕ, ΣΠΕΥΔΟΝΤΕΣ ΚΑΙ ΤΩΝ ΑΛΛΩΝ ΜΙΣΘΟ-  
 ΦΟΡΩΝ ΚΑΙ ΞΕΝΩΝ ΕΚΚΑΛΕΙΣΘΑΙ ΤΗΝ ΠΡΟΣ ΤΟΝ ΔΗΜΟΝ  
 ΕΥΝΟΙΑΝ.

i Der Schreiber hat zuerst hinter γάρ ein σφιν gesetzt, es dann aber getilgt und erst in Z. 2 wieder σφισιν geschrieben. Er wollte also offenbar vermeiden, daß σφιν auf βασιλικοῖσιν bezogen würde. Mit βασιλικοί (oder βασιλικά) können an und für sich Personen oder Sachen gemeint sein; die Rücksicht auf Diodor führt auf die königliche Tracht, die

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ABSTRACTChapter I. Hieronymus' Life and Writing

As the companion of Eumenes of Cardia and the first Antigonids, Hieronymus was exceptionally well placed to record the history of his times, and until the Augustan period his work was regarded as the standard authority on the period of Alexander's Successors. At this time, however, it was overtaken by the digests and epitomes which were a feature of the Graeco-Roman period, and, like the majority of Hellenistic histories, it ceased generally to be read in the original. Both Hieronymus' subject matter and his style were uncongenial to the taste of a later period: Dionysius of Halicarnassus, representing contemporary opinion, said that no one could bear to read Hieronymus through to the end; and the original work is now entirely lost.

Hieronymus' history is the ultimate source for nearly all ancient accounts of the Diadochi, but only two authors seem to have used him directly and extensively: Arrian, in a work which survives only in fragments; and Diodorus Siculus, in books XVIII-XX of his *Bibliothèque Historique*. We have only eighteen short fragments of Hieronymus, none of them a direct quotation (a commentary is appended to the thesis), and the basis of our knowledge is Diodorus' epitome.

The aim of the thesis is to evaluate Hieronymus in relation to the historical and literary background and to indicate his place in Greek historiography. Source criticism, which has been the principal concern of earlier studies, is discussed only as absolutely necessary.

Hieronymus' life: The Cardian background, Hieronymus' relation to Eumenes and the house of Antigonus, the important offices he held under these generals, and his unusually long life (c. 364-260 B.C.) made his experience different from that of any other Greek historian. The nearest

parallel is Polybius, also a diplomat and man of action who came to admire the conquerors of Greece.

Hieronymus' Writing: From the fragments we know that Hieronymus' history covered at least the period from 323-272 B.C. It was probably a long and detailed narrative, with a number of geographical and 'archaeological' digressions. It was accurate on points of fact, but Hieronymus is accused by Pausanias of personal bias. For further information we have to turn to Diodorus.

## Chapter II. Diodorus and Hieronymus

Diodorus' 'world history' enjoyed considerable popularity until the 19th century, when German scholarship began to show the derivative nature of the work. Schwartz's analysis of Diodorus' sources, establishing the so-called 'Einquellenprinzip', has found general acceptance, though recently the theory has been challenged in the case of book I. Before Diodorus can be used as evidence for the character of earlier historians, it is necessary to show that he used only one source at a time for extended sections of his work.

1) We can appeal to peculiarities about the *Bibliothēke* itself: the title suggests a compilation (and compare Pliny, N.H. Praef.24ff.); the proem is made up of conventional topoi and makes claims about the author's researches which are demonstrably false, while saying nothing about his actual methods of composition.

2) In a few places we can compare Diodorus with the original, or another version of the original; and the comparison shows that wherever he can be checked, he is following his sources very closely indeed; one of these points occurs in book XX in the narrative of the Diadochi.

3) The homogeneity of books XVIII-XX, in attitudes as well as factual detail, shows that Diodorus followed one author for nearly the

whole of this narrative. (Little can be argued from Diodorus' style: this problem is discussed in Appendix II). There are certain exceptions, e.g. Diodorus made use of an Alexandrian and a Rhodian historian for special sections; but these supplements do not detract from the argument for a single main source.

This source was certainly Hieronymus of Cardia. Diodorus names him three times in these books as a historical figure, despite his relative unimportance; everything we know about his life matches the general approach of these books; four of the named fragments apparently correspond with passages in Diodorus.

A number of other authors of the Roman period used Hieronymus: these include Arrian, Plutarch, Trogus, Nepos, Pausanias, Dionysius, Polyaeus, Appian; but of these probably only Arrian knew him at first hand. Our main evidence lies in Diodorus, whose unique method of work makes it possible to reconstruct the character of Hieronymus' History.

### Chapter III. The Book: Title and Form

The evidence for Hieronymus' title is conflicting: the word 'Diadochi' may have appeared in the title, and it is possible that the work was divided into two parts, a 'History of the Diadochi' and a 'History of the Epigoni'; these names only become common, however, at a later period.

The beginning of Hieronymus' main narrative is probably marked by the geographical description of Asia at Diod. XVIII.5-6. It is unlikely that this is based on a contemporary document, as Tarn believed: it is difficult to see what purpose such a document could have served. Rather, it is the device of Hieronymus himself, which can be compared with Tacitus' survey of provinces or with the opening of Caesar's Gallic Wars. The section on India, XVIII.6.1-2, is largely interpolated by Diodorus himself and looks back to his history of Alexander in book XVII.

The main narrative was probably preceded not only by the historian's preface, but by an introductory survey of Macedon (Hier. F1 perhaps derives from this), and by an account of the events at Babylon following Alexander's death. Diod. XVIII.1-4 is probably based largely on Hieronymus: there is some relation between Hier. F3 and Diod. XVIII.3.1; the status of Eumenes is underlined; and our accounts of the partition at Triparadeisos (from Hieronymus) imply that Hieronymus had described the earlier partition at Babylon. Several items in XVIII.1-4 are not from Hieronymus, however, but apparently from Diodorus' source for book XVII. This may have been Timagenes, based ultimately on Cleitarchus, the latter having perhaps taken his history down to the burial of Alexander. The 'Last Plans', treated in recent scholarship as an item from Hieronymus, in fact fit badly into the context and appear to derive from the Alexandrian historian. The opening chapters of Diod. XVIII are therefore a bridge passage linking his old source with the new.

The History was structured on an annalistic principle, the turn of the year being marked regularly by a reference to the winter quarters of the armies. In some places the end of a book of Hieronymus can be detected in Diodorus. The citations of Hieronymus in Plutarch and the fragments of Arrian indicate that the treatment of events was exhaustive, and the work probably comprised about thirty books.

The end point seems to have been the death of Pyrrhus in 272, and Plutarch's account of this episode is probably based on Hieronymus. The account of Antigonus Gonatas weeping over the dead Pyrrhus anticipates the conclusion of Polybius' history and is a typically Hellenistic motif.

#### Chapter IV. The Historian's Truthfulness

##### 1. The Practice of ἵστορία

Hieronymus was an eye-witness of many of the events he recorded, and Diodorus' narrative often shows signs of autopsy. He also relied

on the reports of generals and officers in the armies with which he travelled, and was sometimes forced to accept partisan accounts of episodes at which he had not been present. Some of the oral sources used suggest that he took notes from an early stage in his career under Antigonus Monophthalmus. He made extensive use of documentary material, sometimes recording letters and edicts verbatim. This was a characteristic method of Hellenistic historiography, of which Hieronymus seems to have been a generally reliable practitioner; though some of the documents connected with Eumenes may have been touched up in Eumenes' interests.

Hieronymus took his researches also into the field of ethnographic studies. He is cited for an 'archaeologia' of Thessaly and of Rome, and probably treated the foundation legends of Thebes; he is certainly Diodorus' source for the excursus on Nabataean Arabia and the Dead Sea in book XIX. In the case of Thessaly and Thebes, he may have drawn on existing antiquarian accounts, as Thucydides drew on Antiochus of Syracuse for his Sikelika. But Dionysius says he was the first Greek historian to give a proper account of the Roman 'archaeologia', and he must have done his own research, questioning either survivors of Pyrrhus' campaigns or the early Roman visitors to Greece. The description of Nabataean Arabia is drawn from observation, and can be shown to be accurate. In this case Hieronymus' model was not Thucydides but Herodotus, since the excursus is set out exactly like a Herodotean 'logos'; and here Hieronymus showed the true spirit of *ἱστορίη*.

## II. Two Kinds of Propaganda

Hieronymus' position at the side of the dynasts gave his work not only its merits but its defects. He was the apologist of Eumenes, stressing Eumenes' cleverness, the disadvantages he suffered as a Greek among Macedonians, and his absolute loyalty to the Argeads: the truth of the last two claims may be doubted. The history of Eumenes was perhaps based on an encomiastic treatment written soon after his death,

and worked over in the light of Duris' critical account. Nothing can be inferred from it about Hieronymus' own views on the question of legitimacy.

His account of Antigonus Monophthalmus turns on the question of the unity of Alexander's empire, which Monophthalmus tried to maintain under his own rule. Certain key words in Diodorus may derive from Hieronymus, but do not, as generally supposed, necessarily imply that Hieronymus condemned Antigonus' objectives. Rather, for Hieronymus the idea of τὰ ὅλα - the 'whole' - was an obsessive concept, as ἀρχή was for Thucydides.

The other major political issue of the history - Greek 'eleutheria' - was almost certainly treated in the light of Gonatas' policy to Greece during and after the Chremonidean War. Here Hieronymus felt obliged to take the official Macedonian line on Macedonian suzerainty over Greece; but perhaps gave a warning against excessive severity in his theoretical treatment of 'eleutheria' contained in the account of Nabataeans who are 'phileleutheroi'. Hieronymus' position in Antigonid Macedon can be compared to that of Tacitus, writing at a time when one no longer questioned the fact of monarchy, but only the degree of freedom. When liberty and political oratory were dead, one turned to philosophy and history.

#### Chapter V. Hieronymus and his Masters

Hieronymus' history was dominated by the individual - as his title perhaps implied. The climate of individualist opinion in the Hellenistic period is well known, and after Alexander all Hellenistic historiography underlined the role of the individual; Hieronymus, however, was the last great historian of kings.

His ideal of kingship is essentially military, being formed in the period when the Successors were generals competing for power: it has resonances of Xenophon's ideal of leadership, and at the same time shows

us the origins of some of the ideas expressed in later Hellenistic kingship theory. He saw the army as a moving city whose members were controlled by 'democratic' or by autocratic methods. Eumenes is represented as the ideal leader who tries to preserve 'homonoia' in the community and who relies on native wit and resourcefulness; he is an Odysseus figure among the suspicious Macedonians. Antigonus Monophthalmus and Demetrius are men of grand vision whose failure was in the last resort a failure of leadership: their strategic and administrative brilliance was not balanced by the knowledge of how to manage men. Modern study of the psychology of generalship supports this analysis. Hieronymus' estimate of Antigonus Gonatas is obscured by the state of the evidence: probably he praised him for clemency and moderation, implicitly contrasting this with the harshness of Monophthalmus and Demetrius; but the characterisation of a living monarch was necessarily less than frank, and Hieronymus may have handled the king returned to the 'patria' with less confidence and freedom than the great marshals of earlier days.