

GREEK SUMMER SCHOOL 2020.

Arrian: Anabasis, Books 1,2 – A Selection.

Brief Notes: P.G. Brown.



Figure 1. Bust of Arrian.

Introduction: Flavius Arrianus Xenophon was a Greek born at Nicomedia, capital of Bithynia c. 90 AD. He presumably received the customary upper-class Greek education in literature and rhetoric. About 108 he went to Nicopolis in Epiros, where the Stoic philosopher Epictetus had founded a school. Epictetus had taught the need for man's individual concern for his own soul and contempt for wealth and luxury. Arrian wrote down some of Epictetus' teaching in eight books of *Discourses*. Also extant is his *Handbook*. It is clear it was from Epictetus that Arrian derived the high moral standards by which he judges Alexander.

Before his consulship in 129 or 130, Arrian served on the Danube frontier and probably in Gaul and Numidia. In the year following his consulship he was appointed governor of Cappadocia.

In 145/6 he became an Athenian citizen and held the Archonship.

References:

Arrian: Selections, J. Bond and A.S. Walpole, 1888.

Arrian's Anabasis, Carolus Abicht, 1895 edition.

A Historical Commentary on Arrian's History of Alexander, Vol 1., A. B. Bosworth, 1980.

The notes are mainly taken from the above.

Preface: Two threads seem to exist in Arrian. Following the Isocratean school of thought, Arrian writes about the *great moments* in history. Thucydides seems to be acquainted with this technique of history. Arrian also follows the 'stoic criterion of truth', taught by Paraetius μάλλον πίθανον και έαυτω μάλλον άρεσκον.

His stoicism is also evident from his comments about Ptolemy, since he was a king, and it would be άισχρότερον (note the late form of the comparative) for a king to tell lies. This is the stoic 'philosopher-king' concept, part of Stoic political theory.

άξυμφωνότεροι - 'more unharmonious'. Lit. 'It is not possible that there are (writers) more unharmonious with each other (than there are) about him.' Tr. 'There is no-one about whom there are more conflicting accounts'.

τω άλλω - 'to anyone else'.

άνθ' ότου - 'for what reason, why'.

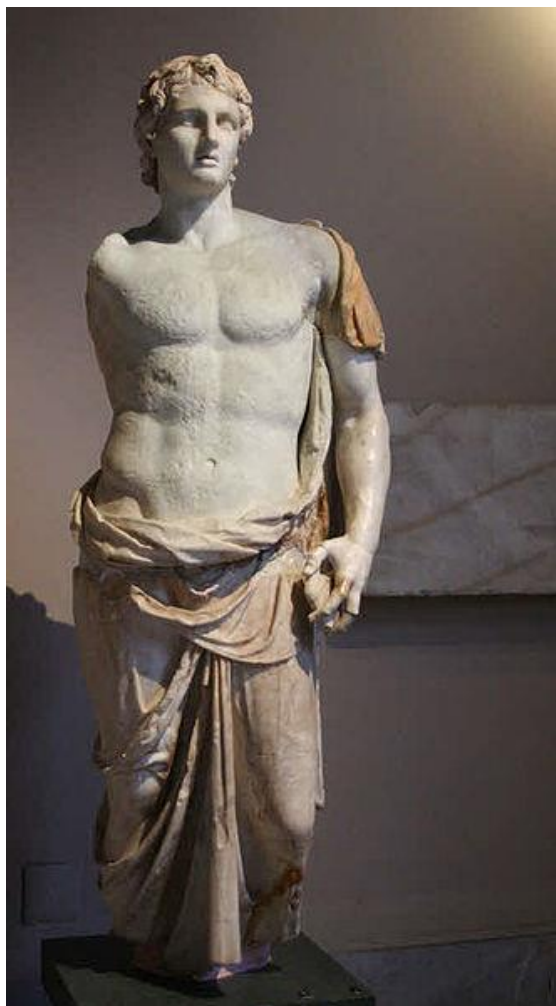


Figure 2. Statue of Alexander

BOOK 1.

Alexander takes command. Book 1:1.1-3.

1. For Pythodemos, we should read Pythodelos who was Archon in 336/5 BC.

ἐς Πελοπόννησον – i.e. to Corinth.

2. πάτριον - 'customary position', 'tradition'.

3. ἄττα - (from τις) 'in certain ways', internal accusative to be taken with the verb. There had been jubilation at Athens at the death of Philip.

`came to their senses

συγχωρήσαι ... - `to have bestowed/conceded (lit. yielded) even greater honours ...'. Lit. `to have yielded in regard to honour to an even greater extent'.

ἐν παρασκευῇ εἶναι – `was in preparation for'.

1:4-6 describe the Triballian and Illyrian Campaigns (335 BC).

The Theban uprising. Book 1:7.1-11.

Arrian provides the only source which gives a full account of the Theban revolt.

1. τῶν τὴν Κ. ...- `among those who held the Kadmeia'.

After Chaeronea (338) Philip removed the Theban leaders and installed a government of 300 former exiles.

2. ἐπήραν- `they incited'.

ἐλευθερίαν τε < ... >. The lacuna here was filled by Krueger reading καὶ παρρησίαν, but Abicht's καὶ αὐτονομίαν is better.

παλαιὰ καὶ καλὰ ὀνόματα - `time-honoured and fine sounding words'.

ἐς τὸ πλῆθος - `to the populace'.

ἰσχυριζόμενοι - `by stoutly asserting that'.

Demosthenes (according to Justin) had produced an `eye-witness' in Greece of Alexander's supposed death in Illyria.

3. ὅπερ φιλεῖ ... - `that which is wont to happen in such cases'.

εἰκάζον - `they began to conjecture what they most wanted to hear'.

4. ἀμελητέα - verbal adjective of ἀμελέω, `something one must not disregard'.

‘for him (Al.) being suspicious (δια ὑποψίας ... ἔχοντι) for a long time’. The datives are in agreement with the first two words of the sentence.

φαῦλον-‘trivial’.

πάλαι ἤδη ... ἀφεστηκότες - ‘who had always been revolutionary in their attitudes’.

οὐ βέβαιοι ὄντες- ‘who were unreliable’.

συνεπιλαμβάνομαι - ‘to take part in (something: gen, with someone:dat.)’.

5. Eordia and Elimeia were regions.



Pelinna is north of Tricca in the map below.



6. Antipater had been left as regent in Macedonia.

χαλεπῶς εἶχον - 'they became angry'.

This Alexander was the son-in-law of Antipater.

7. τριβὴν - 'delay'.

μεταγνόντες - 'changing their minds'.

ἐπὶ τοῖς κακῶς ἐγνωσμένοις - 'in regard to their poor decisions'.

8. 'But they were so far from showing any sign of yielding and come to terms that ...'. Lit. 'they were falling short to such an extent of providing some concession leading to an agreement ...'.

ἔνδοσιμον - a very late word, used in music for a replacement for a prelude, tr. 'concession'.

9. ἀναστέλλω - 'repulse, keep back'.

ἐκδρομήν - 'sally'.

οὐ χαλεπῶς - 'easily'.

προσφέρω - 'attack'.

τὰς φερούσας ἐπί - 'which led to'.

10. χάρακι - 'palisade'.

προσφέρω - 'attack'.

11. ἐπικεκλημένοι ἦσαν - 'had called in (the exiles) to help'. (Middle)

ὥρμητο - 'were urgent to, were keen to'.

ἔστιν οἱ - 'some', an old phrase, hence the singular. In Attic more often used in oblique cases making the singular more acceptable.

On the Boiotarchs, see Bosworth ad loc. These had control of the Boiotian League of whom at least four of the seven were from Thebes.



Figure 3. The Kadmeia.

The siege of Thebes. Book 1:8.1-2,6-8.

1. προτεταγμένος - 'stationed in front of ...'.

ἀφεστηκώς - 'standing (not far) off from'.

Note that Ptolemy was always hostile for Perdikkas in later times.

6. πρὸς τῶν συν. ... - 'at the hands of those who ...'.

δρόμῳ ἐφέροντο - 'they rushed'.

The Ampheion appears to be the hill north of the Kadmeia.

συνεισπесόντων - 'those who had poured in'.

7. ἐξέπιπτον -tr. 'began to head out'.

ὡς ἐκάστοις προὔχωρει - 'as the opportunity arose'.

8. οὐδενὶ κόσμῳ - 'indiscriminately'.

The destruction of Thebes. Book 1:9.1, 9-10.

9. διαθεῖναι - 'to manage'.

φρουρᾷ κατέχειν - 'to garrison'.

Crossing the Hellespont. Book 1:11.3-8.

3. τὰ μὲν κατὰ - 'the matters relating to'.

ἐκβολάς - 'outflow(s)'.



4.

Figure 4. Lake Kerkititis and the Strymon river.

5. νοῦς - 'intention'.



6. στρογγύλος - 'cargo ship'.

ὁ πλείων λόγος κατέχει - 'the prevailing account maintains that ...'.

καταίρω - 'to come to land'.

7. ἐστάλη - 'he set out'.

ἀποβατηρίου - '(god of) good disembarkations'. A cult epithet with particular relevance for sailors.



Beginning the Campaign

- In 336 B.C. Alexander marches his army from **Pella** toward the **Hellespont**.
- He follows the same route **Xerxes** took to invade Greece in 480 B.C.



Why do you think he took this route?

8. ὑπασπιστάι - 'shield bearers'.

καθῆκεν - 'was connected to him by lineage'. Neoptolemos was the legendary founder of Molossian royal house to which Olympia belonged. In the legend Neoptolemos, son of Achilles, had slaughtered Priam on the altar of Zeus.

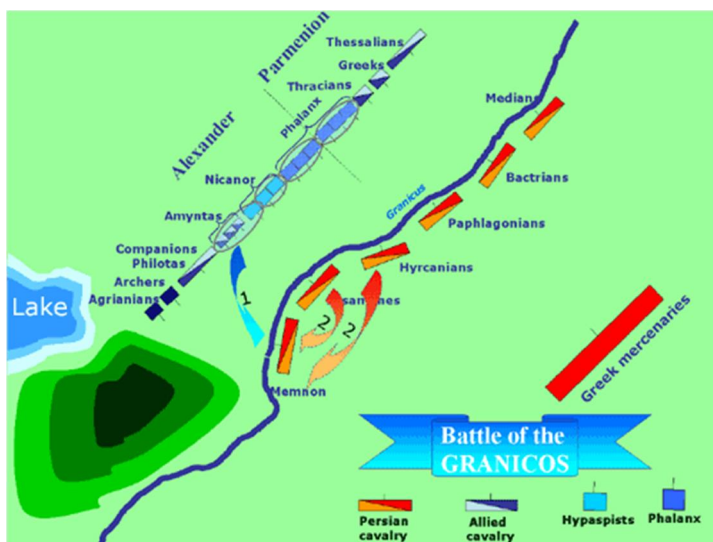
Strategy before the river Granicus. Book 1:13.1-7.

1. τοὺς δὲ προκατασκεψομένους ... -`those who were to do some scouting in regard to what the enemy were doing`.

3. πολὺ τῶ πεζῶ λειπομένους -`greatly outnumbered in infantry`.

4. ἐν μετώπῳ -`in line` (opp. to ἐπὶ κέρας).

εἰσιν αἱ -`some`.



5. καὶ ἐς τὴν ... κρίσιν σφαλερόν -`(our first failure is both dangerous as regards the present) and with regard to the outcome of the whole campaign, it is very dangerous`.

6. οὕτω τῶ ὀνόματι ...- parenthetical, `in this way he belittled the name of (the river) Granicus`.

7. τοῦτο οὕτε πρὸς Μ. ...-`For I consider speed, when in danger, worthy neither of the Macedonians nor of myself. Indeed, it would encourage the Persians to think themselves equal in battle with the Macedonians, since, up to this point, they have not experienced anything to make them fearful.`

The Battle of Granikos. Book 1:14.5-7.

(1. παρήγε - sc. τοὺς ἀμφὸ αὐτόν.

ἴλην - 'squadron'.

2. ἐχόμενοι δὲ τούτων - 'next in line'.

Krateros appears to be in two places at once (see section 3). Some scholars have deleted the first reference, but it may be that Arrian is simply quoting the two sources and cannot decide which is correct.

4. ὑπερδέξια - 'high', 'commanding'.

τῆ σὺν ἐκπλήξει θεραπεία - 'by the enthusiasm of those in attendance'.

πυκνὰς ἐπέταξαν - 'they amassed'.)

5. ὑπὸ τοῦ τὸ μέλλον ὀκνεῖν - 'by terror at what was to come'.

ὡς ἐπικεισόμενοι ἐκβαίνουσιν - 'with the intention of attacking them as they came out'.

6. προεμβαλεῖν - 'to plunge'. (Abicht prints 'he plunged', but this is not the reading on Perseus, taken from the 1907 Teubner edition.)

ἴλη - 'squadron'.

There are problems with text and interpretation here – see Bosworth ad loc.

7. ὡς ἀνυστόν = ὡς δυνατόν. Arrian suggests that Alexander crossed the river in a diagonal line so as to make the head of the column less vulnerable.

Details of the battle. Book 1:15.3-8.

(1. χθαμαλώτερα - 'more level'.

2. παλτῶν - 'javelins'.)

3. ὅσοι γε μὴ ... ἀνὰ τῶν - 'as many as did not turn aside in the direction of Alexander as he approached'.

τὸ στῆθος - '(where the highest) concentration (of the cavalry)'.

4. The here μὲν almost has the sense of 'although'.

ἔωκει - 'it seemed'.

ἐξῴσαι - sc. 'were trying'.

5. ἐπλεονέκτουσιν - 'were gaining the upper hand'.

τῇ τε ἄλλῃ ... - 'not only owing to their strength and skill, but because they were fighting with cornel-wood lances against short javelins'. See Bosworth ad loc. in regard to the lances.

6. ἀναβολέα - one of the royal attendants who helped the king mount, probably a senior member of the Royal Pages.

πονουμένῳ - 'as he was hard pressed'.

7. Rhoisakes was the brother of Spithridates. The various other sources give a variety of accounts of the details of this story.

ὡσπερ ἔμβολον - 'like a wedge'.

8. ἀποθραύω - 'to cut off'.

ὅσοις προὔχῳρει - 'for as many for whom it was possible', i.e. 'those who were able'.

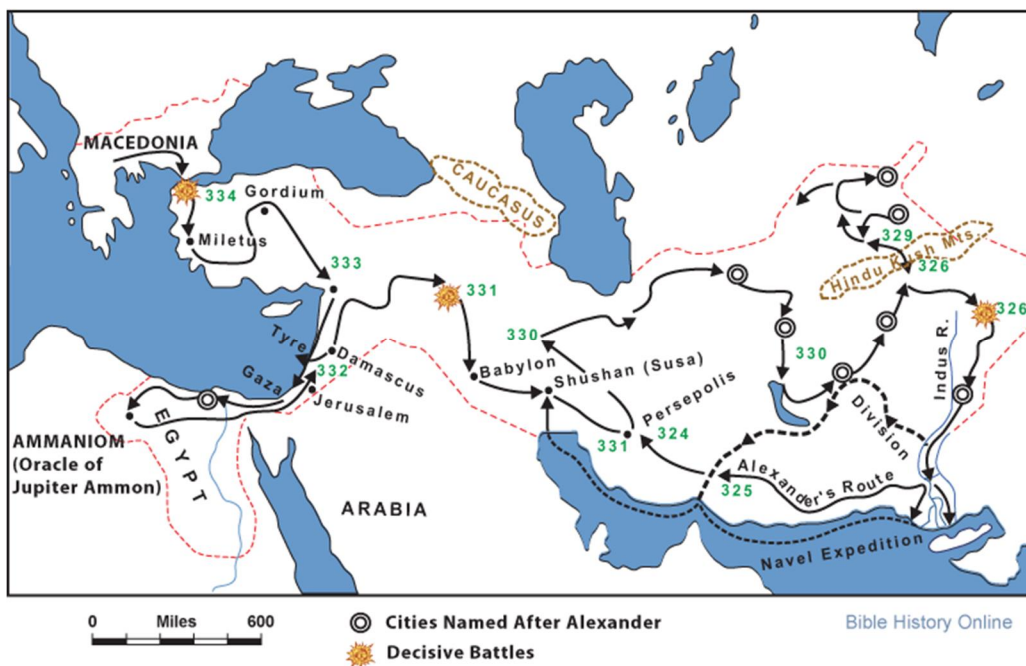
The defeat of the Persians. Book 1:16.4-7.

4. Lysippos was the best sculptor of his day. The statues mentioned were looted in 146BC by Q. Metellus Macedonius and taken to Rome. Arrian seems unaware of this, which may imply that he had not at this stage begun his political career in Rome.

5. ὅσαι ἄλλαι ἢ τῷ σώματι ...-`or other personal services and property taxes’.

εἰσφοραί-`taxes’. For details here see Bosworth ad loc.

After Granicos, Alexander went down into Lydia freeing Ephesos, Miletos and Halicarnassos before proceeding to Side and Gordion, where he cut the famous knot. From there he went down through Cilicia, passing through the Cilician gates to Tarsos.



BOOK 2.

The Gordion Knot. Book 2:3.1-8

2. κατείχε -lit. `took hold’.

3. κοινώσοντα -`to consult’.

ἀπὸ γένους -lit. `from their race’, tr. `by inheritance’, `by heredity’.

4. οἱ τὸ τοῦ ἀετοῦ ἔσκε -lit. 'the matter of the eagle was for him', tr. 'the story of the eagle'.

ξυνεπισπομένην < ξυνεφέπομαι - 'to follow after'.

6. φλοιοῦ κρανίας - 'cornel bark'.



Figure 5. Cornel wood.

7. ἔστωρ - 'the end of the pole'.

τύλος - 'knot, knob'.

Alexander's sickness at Tarsos. Book 2:4.7-11

7. οἶα - 'in as much as', 'since'.

ἀνίσχω - 'emerge, rise up from', another form of ἀνέχω. Frederick Barbarossa drowned in the same chilly waters in 1190.

8. The description probably indicated bronchial pneumonia.

βιώσιμος - 'to be lived', tr. 'he would not survive'. The neuter here is impersonal. 'it was not survivable'.

Philip - Curtius says he was a boyhood friend.

9. In other sources there is a time lag in the letter arriving and the taking of the potion.

10. 'Philip immediately made it clear that the contents of the potion were efficacious' OR 'that in relation to the drug, it was immediately clear that Philip was acting properly'.

τοσόνδε μόνον -lit. 'only such a thing', tr. 'simply'.

ἐπαγγέλλοιτο - 'demand', an unusual sense of the word.

11. ῥαίσασι -the verb means 'to ease', the construction here is probably impersonal, lit. '(they said) it eased for him in respect to the illness'. Bosworth takes 'the illness' as the subject of the infinitive.

Chapter 5 covers Alexander's activities in southern Cilicia.

Battle of Issus. Book 2:6:1-7.

Many of the details of the account are believed to have come from Ptolemy.

See map in Bosworth page 199.

battle_issos.pdf

1. Sochoi -the exact location is unknown.

οἱ δὲ αὐτόθεν ἰ - 'they bid him to advance from there without further ado.'

2. ὡς ἐπί - 'in the direction of'.

Myriandros-the exact site is unknown.

On the storm and the delay see Bosworth ad loc.

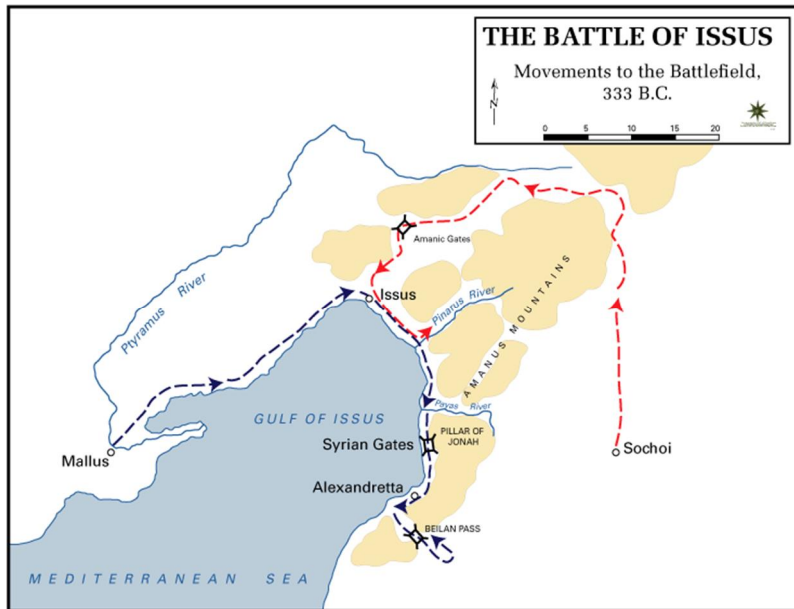
3. ἐπιλεξάμενος - 'having chosen'.

πάντη ἀναπεπταμένον - 'open in all directions'. The verb is from ἀναπετάννυμι ἐνιππάσασθαι -lit. 'to ride on horseback', here in the sense of 'manoeuvre'.

πρὸς τοῦ πλῆθος ἰ - 'favourable (πρός) to the numbers and equipment of the Persians'.



Figure 6. Alexander at the Battle of Issus.



4. τοῦτο ἔσφηλε ἰ - `this delay made Darius waver in his decision. And whatever presented itself to him as the most pleasant course of action, into this he was voluntarily seduced (OR He himself was drawn not unwillingly to the plan which was most pleasant to his imagination). And egged on (ἐπαιρόμενος) by those who associate ingratiatingly (καθ' ἡδονήν) and will always associate with the king to his detriment ...'.

ὑπό ... ἐπαιρόμενος - `egged on by'.

ἔγνω - `he decided, concluded'.

5. ἄλλος ἄλλοθεν - `On all sides'.

Chapters 7-9 cover the advance into Cilicia and the lead up to the battle.

The battle continues. Book 2:10.2,4-6:

4. `The Greek mercenaries with Darius (attacked) at the point where the phalanx of the Makedonians offered an opening (διέσχε < διέχω - `to keep apart') having had its formation broken on the right wing.'

5. ἐν χερσὶ τὴν μάχην ποιήσας - `came to close quarters with, engaged in hand-to-hand fighting'.

ἤψαντο τοῦ ἔργου - 'put their hand to the task'.

6. τῶν μὲν -the Greeks fighting for Darius. ' (The mercenaries were trying) to push the Makedonians into the river and restore the victory to those of themselves who were fleeing, while the Makedonians (did not want) to fall short of Alexander's success which was now apparent and not to do away with (ἀφάνισαι) the reputation of the phalanx which had up to this time been lauded as invincible.'

The flight of Darius. Book 2:11.4-6,9:

4. On Darius' flight see Bosworth ad loc. Both here and at Gaugamela, Darius is portrayed as the first to take flight. The other sources say that he only did this after a protracted fight over his safety and when his horses began to panic and he was about to be captured.

5. ἕστε -tr. 'while, so long as'. The usual meaning is 'until'.

κόνδυν- 'royal mantle'. The national Median garment. Made of purple silk, it was a kind of cape with wide sleeves.

9. ἐξ ἐφόδου - 'by storm', lit. 'by attack'.

After the battle. Book 2:12.1,3-5:

1. ἐπικοσμέω - 'to compliment, honour, celebrate'.

ὅσοις- 'to those who (sc. had displayed)'. We would have expected a dative plural participle, but the sentence moves in a different direction.

5. First mention of Leonnatos who had been one of Philip's bodyguards.

Darius wife died in 331, some sources say 'in childbirth', others of travel fatigue.

Alexander goes to Tyre. Book 2:16.1,7-8:

1. Melqart was the city god of Tyre and was often assimilated to the Greek demi-god Herakles. The worship of Melqart was later absorbed into the Greco-Roman cult of Melicertes.

7. The Tyrians wanted to maintain their neutrality. Diodoros, however, stresses their loyalty to Darius.

‘saying that in their view (τῷ λόγῳ) at the present time this was more appropriate, the final outcome of the war still in doubt, and that it would be safer for them.’

γνωσόμενοι -the future participle here, with no apparent subject, does not make sense. Lobeck emends to γενησόμενον.

Alexander reviews the position. Book 2:17.1-3:

1. τε -we would have expected οὔτε.

ἀμφίβολον-‘doubtful’, ‘caught in the cross-fire’.

ἔχομενας -‘held, occupied’, passive.

2. ἐκ τοῦ εὐθέως -‘in a straightforward way, directly’. Tr. ‘blatantly’. The idiom occurs in Thucydides (e.g. Book 1.34.3).

Book 2:18.1-2:

1. ἐνύπνιον -‘in a dream’.

Aristander of Telmessos was one of Alexander’s prophets and had been held in high esteem by Philip.

2. τὰ ἀπὸ θαλάσσης-‘naval matters’.

πρός -‘favourable to’.

The intervening books contain a long description of the siege and taking of Tyre.

Book 2:25.1-3:

2. ἠγάπησε - 'he would have been content'. That there was some sort of disagreement between Alexander and Parmenion is reported in all the sources.

The remainder of the Book covers the siege of Gaza.