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PTOLEMY "THE STRATEGOS OF THE THRACIANS"

Abstract. – Πτολεμαῖος ὁ τῶν Θρᾳκῶν στρατηγός is a shady figure, appearing casually in some of the historical accounts of the eastern expedition of Alexander the Great. Against previous suggestions which make him a sort of general commander of the Thracians in Alexander's army (Berve, Heckel), the present paper argues that he was most probably the officer in command of the substantial Thracian reinforcement (600 horsemen and 3500 foot soldiers) which joined the king in the summer of 331 BC, either in Babylon or in Susa. He would have been dispatched almost immediately with his Thracians to escort Menes who was transporting a part of the Persian royal treasures to the Syrian coast. Later (in the winter of 329/328 in Zariaspa) he returned to the king, presumably still in command of his Thracian regiment. His further fate is unknown. A supplementary argument presents the strong possibility that before joining the king in Asia Ptolemy could have been a "strategos over Thrace", after Alexander the Lyncestian and before Memnon, or between 334 and 331 BC.

Key words. – Ptolemy, strategos, Thracians, Alexander, reinforcements, Zopyrion.

Ptolemy "the strategos of the Thracians" (Πτολεμαῖος ὁ τῶν Θρᾳκῶν στρατηγός) is passingly noticed in the historical narratives about the eastern expedition of Alexander the Great. Arrian mentions him just once, in the fourth book of his *Anabasis of Alexander*. The passage refers to events in the winter of 329/328 BC, which Alexander spent in Zariaspa (Bactra) in Central Asia; alongside other briefly recounted events Arrian reports that the king was joined there by Epocillus (Ἐπόκιλλος), Melamnidas (Μελαμνίδας) and Ptolemy "the strategos of the Thracians" who all arrived together from the sea (that is, from Syria) where they had been sent to escort the treasures transported by Menes (Μένης) and the demobilized allies.[1] The arrival of Ptolemy (mentioned without his title) and of

[1] Arr. *Anab*. 4.7.2: ἦκον δὲ ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ Ἐπόκιλλος καὶ Μελαμνίδας καὶ Πτολεμαῖος ὁ τῶν Θρᾳκῶν στρατηγὸς ἀπὸ θαλάσσης, οἳ τά τε χρήματα <τὰ> ξὺν Μένητι πεμφθέντα καὶ τοὺς ξυμμάχους ὡς ἐπὶ θάλασσαν κατήγαγον. On Epocillus see Kirchner 1907; Berve

Melamnidas (called here *Menidas*) features also in the seventh book of the *History of Alexander* by Quintus Curtius Rufus, who however omits Epocillus, the officer mentioned first by Arrian; Curtius however adds some further information, namely that Ptolemy and "Menidas" brought to the king a reinforcement of mercenaries consisting of four thousand foot soldiers and one thousand horsemen.[2] Despite the specified precise numbers, this last piece of information seems doubtful, at least in the qualification "mercenaries" (*mercede militaturos*), for in the text following the above mentioned passage Arrian adds that at the same time Asander and Nearchus brought to the king Greek mercenaries, and further troops were led in also by the Syrian satrap Bessus and the hyparch Asclepiodorus.[3] It may be argued that Curtius (or his source) could somehow have merged inadvertently information on these separate events, which happened roughly at the same time.

The evidence on the mission which was entrusted to Epocillus, Melamnidas and Ptolemy is rather confused and seems problematic. Arrian mentions together two distinct events which were not simultaneous: the sending of Menes to Syria with a part of the Persian royal treasures, and the discharge of the allies. Arrian states elsewhere that Menes was sent by Alexander from Susa in December 331 BC to become the governor (ὕπαρχος) of Syria, Phoenicia and Cilicia.[4] He was also tasked with transporting "to the sea" three thousand talents of silver[5] from the Persian royal treasures.[6] Once he reached the sea, Menes was to send by ship to Macedonia as much silver as Antipater might need for the war against the insurgent Spartans.[7] Diodorus and Curtius however attest a different version: according to them Menes received his appointment earlier, before

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1926/2, 150–151 (No 301); Heckel 1992, 364; 2006, 118–119; on Melamnidas – Berve 1926/2, 248–249 (No 493); 1931; Heckel 1992, 362; 2006, 165 (Menidas); on Ptolemy "the strategos of the Thracians" – Berve 1926/2, 337 (No 673); Bengtson 1937, 40 n. 4; Volkmann 1959; Heckel 1992, 333; 2006, 235 (No 4).

[2] Curt. 7.10.11: Isdem fere diebus Ptolomaeus et Menidas peditum IIII milia et equites M adduxerunt mercede militaturos. Older editions of Curtius read here "peditum III milia", or *three* thousand foot soldiers.

[3] Arr. *Anab*. 4.7.2: καὶ Ἄσανδρος δὲ ἐν τούτῳ ἦκεν καὶ Νέαρχος, στρατιὰν Ἑλλήνων μισθοφόρων ἄγοντες, καὶ Βῆσσός τε ὁ Συρίας σατράπης καὶ Ἀσκληπιόδωρος ὁ ὕπαρχος ἀπὸ θαλάσσης, καὶ οὗτοι στρατιὰν ἄγοντες. Curtius (7.10.12) mentions that Asander brought from Lydia 4000 (3000?) infantry and 500 cavalry, Asclepiodorus the same number (only 500 cavalry? or 4000/3000 infantry and 500 cavalry?) from Syria, while Antipater had sent from Europe 8000 Greeks, of them 600 cavalry.

[4] Arr. *Anab*. 3.16.9; cp. Diod. 17.64.5; Curt. 5.1.43. On Menes see Berve 1926/2, 257 (No 507); Geyer 1931; Heckel 1992, 262–263; 2006, 164.

[5] About 75 metric tons.

[6] Only in Susa Alexander had laid hand on some 50 thousand talents of silver, equal to about 1250 tons. Enormous quantities of treasured gold and silver were also found in the royal palaces in Babylon, Persepolis and Ecbatana.

[7] Arr. *Anab*. 3.16.9–10.

Alexander had left Babylon (October – November 331), together with Apollodorus who was left as hyparch of Babylonia.[8] At least a part of the money left jointly to Apollodorus and Menes (totaling only one thousand talents in this alternative account) was intended for the hiring of new mercenaries; Curtius adds that they were left as well two thousand soldiers. The version of Arrian presumably deserves more trust.

It is again Arrian who notes somewhat later, in the summer of 330 BC when Alexander had reached Ecbatana, the dispatch from there of Epocillus with a cavalry unit to escort the demobilized Thessalians and other allies to the sea; in Syria the hyparch Menes was to put them on ships for the sea transfer to Greece.[9] The mention of Epocillus alone in this case maybe contains the key for the merging of the two episodes in the passage on the winter in Zariaspa discussed above: if Epocillus was leading the cavalry escort of the Thessalians from Ecbatana in 330 BC on his own, it seems perfectly sensible to assume that Melamnidas and Ptolemy "the strategos" had accompanied Menes in the previous year from Susa (or from Babylon?), when a sufficient military escort would certainly have been needed to protect the sizable treasure transported to the Syrian coast. The joint return of the three officers (Epocillus, Melamnidas, and Ptolemy) to the king in winter 329/328 BC must have given Arrian (or already his source) the occasion to combine here the two separate missions.

This is all that is known from the ancient texts about Ptolemy the strategos of the Thracians. He has rarely been noticed in modern historiography. Helmut Berve has allotted him some ten lines of text in his two-volume prosopographical study of the empire of Alexander, putting together the deficient evidence on his person which has already been adduced above.[10] Separately, in the text discussing the Thracian units in the army of Alexander, Berve has introduced the hypothesis that the "strategos of the Thracians" would have been a sort of overall general commander of all the Thracian troops, certainly the infantry but probably also the cavalry, which in this manner had been placed under a common command on the basis of their ethnic origin; the same office would have been occupied later by the Macedonian Eudamos.[11] Hans Volkmann, in his equally brief

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[8] Diod. 17.64.5: Ἀπολλόδωρον δὲ τὸν Ἀμφιπολίτην καὶ Μένητα τὸν Πελλαῖον ἀπέδειξε στρατηγοὺς τῆς τε Βαβυλῶνος καὶ τῶν σατραπειῶν μέχρι Κιλικίας; Curt. 5.1.43: *praetores, qui regioni Babyloniae ac Ciliciae praeessent, Menetem et Apollodorum relinquit. II milia his militum cum mille talentis data; utrique praeceptum, ut in supplementum milites legerent*.

[9] Arr. *Anab*. 3.19.5–6.

[10] Berve 1926/2, 337 (No 673).

[11] Berve 1926/1, 137. On Eudamos see Willrich 1907; Berve 1926/2, 154 (No 311); Heckel 1992, 333–334 (No 33); 2006, 120 (No 2). His name is attested as Εὔδαμος (Arr.

1959 article on Ptolemy "the strategos of the Thracians" in the *Realencyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft*, adopted the idea of Berve, describing the assignment of Ptolemy as "Kommandeur des thrakischen Kontingents".[12] A certain nuance was introduced by the Canadian historian of German origin Waldemar Heckel in his two prosopographical studies on the age of Alexander the Great; accepting in principle the suggestion of Berve, he restricted the command of Ptolemy to the Thracian *infantry* units in the army of Alexander.[13] Heckel developed also the suggestion of Berve that Ptolemy had been succeeded by the Eudamos attested later in India as a "commander of the Thracians" (dux Thracum); he assumed that Eudamos had led the large Thracian reinforcement which joined the army of Alexander in 331 BC, and that Ptolemy had been accompanied in his mission "to the sea" by the Thracian units that were with Alexander from the start of the war under his command.[14]

The reason to discuss again this little known and rarely mentioned Macedonian officer is that while preparing a yet unpublished text on the Thracian units in the army of Alexander the Great I conceived some new ideas about him, different from those in the existing publications mentioned above. To start with, I find that the conjecture of Helmut Berve that Ptolemy was a kind of general commander of all the Thracian contingents in the army of Alexander the Great in the early years of his war in Asia is difficult to accept both in its original form or in the reduced version of Waldemar Heckel (only the Thracian *infantry*). The Thracian units most often mentioned by the historians of Alexander in these early years were the light-armed infantry (*akontistai*) under Sitalces and the Odrysian cavalry commanded by Agathon son of Tirimmas; there seems to have been also another Thracian infantry unit, which is rarely mentioned.[15] It is important to stress that each of these units had its own commander, that they were independent in battle and even when placed near each other in

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Anab. 6.27.2; Plut. *Eum*. 16.3), Εὔδημος (Diod. 19.27.2, 44.1) or Eudaemon (Curt. 10.1.21, who is the only source mentioning his position as commander of the Thracians, *dux Thracum*).

[12] Volkmann 1959.

[13] Heckel 1992, 333; 2006, 235 (No 4).

[14] Heckel 1992, 333 s. Eudamos.

[15] Berve 1926/1, 134–139. The differentiation between the two infantry groups is clear in Arrian's account of the battle order at Gaugamela (*Anab*. 3.12.4–5): the Thracians of Sitalces (οἳ Θρᾷκες ὧν ἡγεῖτο Σιτάλκης) were placed in front of the left wing commanded by Parmenion, while the other unit of Thracian infantry (οἱ ἀπὸ Θρᾴκης πεζοὶ) were left to guard the baggage train in the rear. The Triballi, mentioned only by Diodorus at the start of the war (Diod. 17.17.4), do not reappear thereafter. The Agrianians who were akontistai like the Odrysians of Sitalces were treated by the Alexander historians apart from both the Paeonians and the Thracians, to either of whom they might have been ethnically related.

the battle order,[16] they still fought on their own and did not form a single military unit.

The specific title "strategos of the Thracians" evidently implies that Ptolemy was in command of a large enough body of Thracian soldiers. As Arrian, considered both reliable and precise of detail, uses the appellation on his return to the king in Zariaspa, it is to be believed that Ptolemy had commanded this Thracian detachment all through his mission to Syria and back, or between 331/330 and the winter of 329/328 BC. Notwithstanding whether he escorted Menes and his treasures (which seems the more probable version) or the allies demobilized in Ecbatana, the mission would have had mainly convoying functions requiring the presence of sufficient military forces under the escorting officers. This would support the suggestion made above that Curtius must have made a mistake when asserting that Ptolemy and Melamnidas (whom he calls Menidas) brought to the king a force of newly hired mercenaries; they would have returned with the forces they commanded when sent "to the sea" about two years earlier. In the case of Ptolemy, to judge from his specific epithet, the troops under his command must have been mostly or entirely composed of Thracians. It remains to try to ascertain who these Thracians were.

The suggestion of Waldemar Heckel that Ptolemy "the strategos" got for his mission to Syria the Thracians who had been in the Macedonian army from the start of the war on Persia,[17] and whom (as proposed first by Helmut Berve) he had already commanded previously, is implausible. All or at least most of the Thracians who took part in the first years of the war seem, together with their respective unit commanders, to have been left in 330 BC under Parmenion in Ecbatana.[18] Arrian mentions for example "the Thracians" among the forces who were to invade under Parmenion the lands of the Cadusians and Hyrcania.[19] The commanding officers of the Thracian akontistai and of the Odrysian cavalry, Sitalces and Agathon, are mentioned explicitly among those left in Media with Parmenion; near the end of 330 BC they both took part in the gruesome murder of the old general on the order of Alexander,[20] and in 325 came, still in command of their units, to Carmania to meet Alexander on his return from India.[21] Of the Thracian forces that had been with Alexander in the

[16] At Gaugamela both the akontistai of Sitalces and the Odrysian horsemen of Agathon were placed in the front line of the left wing (Arr. *Anab*. 3.12.4), but with the allied cavalry under Coeranus/Caranus between them).

[17] Heckel 1992, 333 s. Eudamos.

[18] Berve 1926/1, 134, 136.

[19] Arr. *Anab*. 3.19.7.

[20] Arr. *Anab*. 3.26.3; Curt. 10.1.1.

[21] Arr. *Anab*. 6.27.4; Curt. 10.1.1. Sitalces, Cleandrus, and Heracon were then sentenced to death for crimes committed against the local population, as well as some 600 of

first years of the Persian war, only the obscure "other" Thracian infantrymen could have been sent in 331 or 330 with Ptolemy; however these would have sustained heavy losses at Gaugamela when, in the midst of the battle, the camp they were left to guard was attacked and looted by the enemy,[22] and then it seems at least equally possible that they could have been left under Parmenion in Media in 330 BC, together with the other Thracians under Agathon and Sitalces.

There was however another large Thracian unit available when Ptolemy "the strategos" was sent on his mission to Syria. At about the same time the army of Alexander was joined by a large reinforcement under the command of Amyntas son of Andromenes. This included, along with the other units sent by Antipater (6000 infantry and 500 cavalry from Macedonia, 4000 Greek mercenary infantry and 380 (?) Peloponnesian horsemen), a large body of Thracians: some 600 horsemen and 3500 foot soldiers.[23] The accounts of the arrival of Amyntas with the supplementary forces however are contradictory. Curtius mentions the arrival of Amyntas with his reinforcements in Babylon, together with the appointment of Menes for hyparch; Arrian – only in Susa, but again together with the sending of Menes on his mission to the sea with the three thousand talents of silver; Diodorus places the arrival of Amyntas along the march of the army between Babylon and Susa and somewhat after the appointment of Menes, which he places, like Curtius, in Babylon. The discrepancies in the written tradition do not permit any certainty on the exact order of events and on their details, but the fact of the arrival of the new Thracian corps consisting of large units of horsemen and infantry seems in itself quite certain, and even the numbers mentioned by Curtius for the Thracian reinforcement of 331 BC (600 cavalry and 3500 infantry) are consistent with those for the forces returned by Ptolemy and Melamnidas to the king in Zariaspa in the winter of 329/328 BC (1000 cavalry and 4000 infantry); the small difference can be accounted for by additional units under the command of Melamnidas (Menidas) and probably also under Epocillus (who is not explicitly mentioned by Curtius).[24] It seems to me

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their inferior accomplices (Arr. *Anab*. 6.27.4–5; Curt. 10.1.2–8.) – including, no doubt, a number of the Thracians commanded by Sitalces.

[22] By Indians and Persian horsemen who had made a breach through the Macedonian lines according to Arrian (*Anab*. 3.14.5), by Cadusian and Scythian horsemen from the cavalry of Mazaeus who had surrounded the left wing according to the version of Curtius, Diodorus and Plutarch (Curt. 4.15.5–13; Diod. 17.59.5–8; Plut. *Alex*. 32.3).

[23] Curt. 5.1.41 (cp. 7.1.40); Diod. 17.65.1 calls them Tralleis. There was a Thracian tribe called Tralleis (see Polaschek 1937a), but in this case the name (with variant readings in the manuscripts of Diodorus) would rather be a corrupted form of Θρᾴκες. Curtius calls both the horsemen and the infantrymen Thracians. Arrian (*Anab*. 3.16.10) mentions only the Macedonian reinforcements.

[24] Curt. 5.1.41; 7.10.11 (here described by Curtius as mercenaries).

perfectly possible to suggest therefore that Ptolemy "the strategos of the Thracians" could have been the commander of the Thracians in the 331 BC reinforcement led by Amyntas son of Andromenes, probably already on the road from Europe, and that he was sent with these same Thracians, almost immediately on arrival, on a mission to accompany Menes and guard the royal treasures entrusted to him to Syria and then to return to the king with his Thracian soldiers. A similar practice, namely to leave in the rear as garrisons or with some special tasks most of the incoming reinforcements while preserving more or less intact his original army, seems rather typical of Alexander in the early years of the Persian war. Such was for example the fate of a small reinforcement of 500 Thracian horsemen which came to Alexander in Egypt in the winter of 332/331 BC under the Macedonian Asclepiodorus son of Eunicus.[25] In the following spring Asclepiodorus was appointed for governor of the Syrian coast (ὕπαρχος ἀπὸ θαλάσσης), and the Thracian horse squadron seems to have been left in his service.[26] In the winter of 329/328 Asclepiodorus joined Alexander in Zariaspa (probably at the same time as Epocillus, Melamnidas and Ptolemy), bringing together with the Syrian satrap Bessus 4000 foot soldiers and 500 horsemen – probably the same 500 Thracian horsemen mentioned previously in Egypt.[27]

The suggestion of Waldemar Heckel that in 331 BC the newly arrived Thracians remained with Alexander under the command of Eudamos, seems unconvincing; the name of Eudamus appears for the first time only in India five years later, and there is no mention of any Thracians whatsoever in the accounts of the actions of Alexander in the eastern satrapies of Iran and in Bactria in 330 and 329 BC, the "old" Thracian units having been left in Media with Parmenion. Then some of the Thracians left behind seem to have rejoined the king when he wintered in Zariaspa in Bactria, together with other reinforcements (329/328 BC). As mentioned above, Asclepiodorus came here from Syria together with the satrap Bessos, probably still leading his 500 Thracian horsemen, and Ptolemy "the strategos of the Thracians" with Epocillus and Melamnidas, possibly bringing along his own Thracian contingent of maybe as many as 3 500 infantry and 600 cavalry men. Some or all of these Thracian troops would then have been entrusted to Phrataphernes the satrap of Parthia and Hyrcania for his campaign against Autophradates, the rebellious satrap of the Mardi and Tapuri in Mazandaran, the area along

[25] Arr. *Anab*. 3.5.1. On Asclepiodorus see Kaerst 1896; Berve 1926/2, 88 (No 167); Heckel 2006, 57–58 (No 1).

[26] Arr. *Anab*. 3.6.8; 4.7.2.

[27] Arr. *Anab*. 4.7.2; Curt. 7.10.12.

the southern coast of the Caspian Sea, to the west of Phrataphernes' own satrapy.[28]

At least some Thracians seem nevertheless to have remained this time with the king; Curtius mentions light-armed Thracians (*akontistai*?) fighting together with the Agrianes against the elephants of Porus in the battle at the Hidaspes in the spring of 326 BC.[29] Soon afterwards, Phrataphernes rejoined the king, bringing with him all the Thracians that had been left under his command.[30] Later in the same year, when Alexander had returned to the Hidaspes and was preparing for his descent downstream to the sea, there came to him another substantial Thracian reinforcement: five thousand horsemen *ex Thracia* led by a Memnon, presumably the στρατηγὸς ἐπὶ Θρᾴκης who had revolted from Antipater in 331 BC; Memnon brought together with the Thracians some seven thousand infantry "from Harpalus" who may have been Greek or Asiatic mercenaries hired by the royal treasurer, and 25 000 sets of armour inlaid with gold and silver.[31] The Thracians in the army seem thus to have grown briefly to considerable numbers, but all of them (τούς τε Θρᾷκας πάντας) were left behind soon afterwards under the satrap of northwestern India Philip, with the Macedonian Eudamus as their commander.[32]

The fate of Ptolemy "the strategos of the Thracians" after he joined the king in Zariaspa remains unknown. He may have continued as commander of his Thracian unit which, as mentioned above, would probably have been placed for some time under Phrataphernes the satrap of Parthia and Hyrcania, then returned to the king in India in 326 BC, and finally was left in India in late 326 BC.

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[28] Arr. *Anab*. 4.8.2, 5.20.7; Curt. 8.3.17. Phrataphernes could already have had some Thracians placed under his command previously (a possibility admitted by Berve 1926/1, 136). Arrian mentions Phrataphernes returning to the king once in Zariaspa in Bactria, together with Stasanor, bringing in the captured Arsakes from Areia (*Anab*. 4.7.1: winter 329/328), and again in Nautaka in Sogdiana, where he received the mission against the Mardi and Tapuri (*Anab*. 4.18.1: winter 328/327); this suggests the possibility of some third (unattested) mission in-between, in the course of 328 BC, on which he could have had the Thracians of Asclepiodorus and Ptolemaeus placed in his command. On Phrataphernes see Berve 1926/2, 400–401, No 814; 1941; Heckel 2006, 223.

[29] Curt. 8.14.24: *Agrianos et Thracas leviter armatos, meliorem concursatione quam comminus militem*.

[30] Arr. *Anab*. 5.20.7. It is only here that the Thracians left previously under his command are mentioned.

[30] Arr. *Anab.* 6.15.2; Curt. 10.1.20.

[31] Curt. 9.3.21: *Memno ex Thracia in supplementum equitum V milia, praeter eos ab Harpalo peditum VII milia adduxerat armaque XXV milibus auro et argento caelata pertulerat*.

[32] Arr. *Anab*. 6.15.2. See also ibid. 5.8.3; 6.2.3; *Ind*. 19.4; Plut. *Alex*. 60.8. On Eudamus see note 11 above.

Linking Ptolemy "the strategos of the Thracians" with the Thracian reinforcement of 331 BC, as suggested above, justifies an additional hypothetical assumption – namely that he might be identified as another and so far unknown "strategos over Thrace" (στρατηγὸς ἐπὶ Θρᾴκης) of Alexander the Great.[33] Two στρατηγοὶ ἐπὶ Θρᾴκης can be shown to have raised during their term of office and then personally brought to Alexander substantial Thracian military forces. The namesake of the king, the Lyncestian Alexander son of Aeropus, was the strategos over Thrace from 336 till 334 BC and then joined Alexander the Great at the start of the Persian war, having most probably personally brought to him before the crossing into Asia the Odrysian units which took a prominent part in the first years of the war – the cavalry of Agathon, the akontostai of Sitalces, and possibly also others.[34] The strategos Memnon is attested certainly in 331 BC when he rebelled probably against Antipater (and not against the king as reported by Diodorus); it is assumed that he led the great reinforcement consisting of 5000 Thracian horsemen which joined Alexander the Great in India in 326 BC.[35] The analogy is clear: Ptolemy "the strategos of the Thracians" who, as argued above, seems to have brought to Alexander the great Thracian reinforcement in 331 BC, could have been previously "the strategos over Thrace" after Alexander son of Aeropus and before Memnon, or between 334 and 331 BC. If such was the case, he would probably have received his commission to Thrace before the king crossed to Asia, taking the place of the son of Aeropus who had just arrived with his levy of Thracian troops. This assumption seems also to fit better with the insurrection of Memnon in 331 BC which would be more difficult to explain if he had succeeded to the position of governor in Thrace some three years earlier; probably sent by the king from Asia only in 331 to occupy the position vacated by Ptolemy, after his arrival in Thrace he must have refused to accept the supremacy of Antipater, "the strategos of Europe", and mutinied against him. Placing Ptolemy as a predecessor of Memnon in Thrace is relevant to another debate of long standing: the chronology of the tenure of Zopyrion, another possible Macedonian "strategos over Thrace" who perished with his whole army during a campaign in the north against either the Getae or the Scythians. Contrary to the account of Justin dating this event in the final thirties and prompting the placing of Zopyrion after Alexander the Lyncestian and before

[33] On the Thracian strategoi in the time of Alexander see Berve 1926/1, 228; Bengtson 1937, 39–40; Jordanov 1994; 1995; 1998, 131–150; Delev 2004, 112–116; 2015, 52–53.

[34] On Alexander son of Aeropus see Kaerst 1894; Berve 1926/2, 17–19, No 37; Heckel 2006, 19 (No 4).

[35] Diod. 17.62.4–6, 63.1; Curt. 9.3.21. On the strategos Memnon see Berve 1926/2, 254 (No 499); Stähelin 1931; Badian 1967, 179–180; Heckel 2006, 162 (No 3).

Memnon, it supports the report of Curtius making it contemporary with the campaigns of Alexander the Great in India between 327 and 325 BC, and rather nearer to the end of this period (a solution preferred by many modern authors).[36]

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[36] Iustin. 12.1.4–5; Curt. 10.1.43–46. On Zopyrion see Berve 1926/2, 164 (No 340); Iliescu 1971; Ziegler 1972; Jordanov 1998, 142–150; Heckel 2006, 273; Avram et al. 2013.

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