

A NOTE ON ARRIAN'S *ANABASIS* 5. 13. 1

According to Arrian 5. 13. 1, Alexander crossed the Hydaspes river in a triacontar. With him in this triacontar (*ἅμα αὐτῷ*) were the Bodyguards Ptolemy, Perdikkas, and Lysimachus, Seleucus (probably at this time commander of the hypaspists¹), and "half of the hypaspists." The rest of the hypaspists were conveyed across the river by other triacontars. In all probability, the hypaspists were 3,000 in number.² Alexander, therefore, had 1,500 hypaspists with him in his triacontar, if we accept Arrian's account at its face value; the other 1,500 required more than one triacontar (*ἄλλαι τριακοντόροι*) for their conveyance.

A triacontar, as its name indicates, was propelled by thirty oars, fifteen to each side. Alexander's triacontars had been cut up into three sections each at the Indus, loaded onto yoked teams, conveyed to the Hydaspes, and there reassembled (Arr. 5. 8. 5). From 6. 5. 2 we learn that they were *δίκροτοι*; that is, they had their oars arranged in two banks.³ Triacontars were not large ships, being mainly used in the classical period for such duties as reconnaissance and the conveying of messages (cf. Hdt. 8. 21) and for piratical activities (cf. Thuc. 4. 9) because of their lightness and speed. L. Casson estimates that Alexander's double-banked triacontars would have been about 45 feet or 15 meters long as compared with approximately 75 feet or 25 meters for the single-banked triacontar.⁴ The width of these triacontars can only be guessed; but, even if one works on the ratio of 4:1 given by Starr for merchant-vessels,⁵ as compared with 7:1 for warships, we have a maximum width for a *δίκροτος* of only about 11 feet or 3.5 meters. Indeed, the fact that Alexander's triacontars could be broken into only three sections and hauled by carts and teams of draught animals, probably bullocks, is an indication of their small size.

It is obvious that the number of men that could be fitted into such a vessel, in addition to its normal crew, would vary according to whether the vessel was fully decked, half-decked, or deckless. But it is equally obvious that it would be physically impossible to cram 1,500 men into a container with an absolute maximum decked surface area of approximately 50 square meters. Alexander could not possibly have had half the hypaspists with him on board his triacontar, even for the shortest of short dashes across the river (which happened to be running in a swollen state). It is interesting to note that at Arrian 6. 2. 2, when the flotilla is about to begin its descent of the Hydaspes on its journey to the Indus and the sea, Alexander embarks with him *ἐπὶ τὰς ναῦς* all the hypaspists, the archers, the Agrianians, and "the *agema* of the cavalry." This last certainly refers to the Royal Squadron, about 300 in number.⁶ The hypaspists were about 3,000 in number;

1. W. W. Tarn, *Alexander the Great*, 2 vols. (Cambridge, 1948), 2:153; less likely is the view of H. Berve, *Das Alexanderreich auf prosopographischer Grundlage*, 2 vols. (Munich, 1926), 2: no. 548, that the archihypaspist at this time was Neoptolemus.

2. Tarn, *Alexander the Great*, 2:148.

3. W. W. Tarn, "The Greek Warship," *JHS* 25 (1905): 144-45, shows that the term *δίκροτοι* can here apply only to the triacontars.

4. *Ships and Seamanship in the Ancient World* (Princeton, 1971), pp. 56, 136.

5. *OCD*², s.v. "ships."

6. See P. A. Brunt's Loeb edition of the *Anabasis*, 1: lxxiii, and Tarn, *Alexander the Great*, 2:161-62.

the archers possibly 2,000 or more, if all the archers were taken aboard and not just the Macedonian archers (cf. Arr. 4. 24. 10 for two chiliarchies "of the archers," which indicates at least 2,000); and the Agrianians may have numbered 1,000.⁷ This gives a total of approximately 6,300 troops who sailed downstream in the flotilla.⁸ At 6. 2. 4 Arrian, citing Ptolemy as his source, tells us that there were about 2,000 vessels in the flotilla, including 80 triaconters. Thus, even if we assume that the troops were conveyed only in the triaconters and not in the *κερκοῦροι* and other *πλοῖα ποτάμια* mentioned by Arrian, we have a maximum of about 80 troops on board each triaconter; in all probability the number would have been considerably less.⁹

Who, then, were the half of the hypaspists who embarked with Alexander on his triaconter at the crossing of the Hydaspes? The hypaspists have for a long time been the subject of scholarly debate and controversy, especially with respect to their origins and organization.¹⁰ The present writer's views on the subject were set forth in the article "The Hypaspists of Alexander III—Some Problems."¹¹ Though I have since modified my views on the original naming of the corps,¹² I see no reason to alter my belief that, from 331 onward at least, the hypaspists, 3,000 in number, were organized in three chiliarchies, one of which was the *agema* or original Guard, and that a possible command structure can be worked out within the chiliarchy.¹³ It seems likely, however, on the basis of the passage from Arrian which is being discussed that Alexander was normally attended by a number of hypaspists considerably smaller than a chiliarchy, for he was attended on board his triaconter at the Hydaspes crossing by half the hypaspists, according to Arrian, and a triaconter, as we have seen, could not have carried more than about 80 men for the voyage down the Indian river system to the sea. Other passages in Arrian would suggest that this is so. For example, when Alexander *ἐβόα ἄρα καλῶν τοὺς ὑπασπιστάς* at the drinking party at which Cleitus was slain (4. 8. 8), it is easier to imagine him calling for help to a small detachment of hypaspists stationed inside the place where the party was being held—hence the

7. Tarn, *Alexander the Great*, 2:193.

8. At *Ind.* 19. 2 Arrian, probably following Nearchus, gives the number of troops with Alexander at the start of the voyage as "about 8,000 altogether." However, the list of troops given here differs in important details from that given, on the authority of Ptolemy, at *Anab.* 6. 2. 2. Thus there is no mention in the *Indica* passage of the Agrianians; and, whereas the *Anabasis* passage refers only to the *agema* of the (Companion) cavalry, the *Indica* passage speaks generally of "the so-called Companions of the cavalry." It would be surprising if Craterus and Hephaestion, who led the two main armies on the right and left banks of the river and who were both hipparchs (see, e.g., *Anab.* 5. 11. 3 and 5. 21. 5 for Craterus and Hephaestion as hipparchs), did not have as part of their commands at least their own hipparchies of the Companions; Hephaestion, who is described at *Anab.* 6. 2. 2 as having *τὸ πλεῖστον τε καὶ κράτιστον τῆς στρατιάς*, may well have had more than one hipparchy under him. It seems highly probable that Arrian or his source for the *Indica* passage is inaccurate in the detailed list of troops with Alexander and that the grand total is based on the assumption that all the Companion cavalry—both Macedonians and Iranians—was with Alexander, not merely the *agema*. It should therefore be treated with caution.

9. If we accept the figure of 8,000 at *Ind.* 19. 2, there would have been about 100 men in each triaconter. However, as was argued in the previous note, this figure should be treated with caution.

10. See, among others, Berve, *Alexanderreich*, 1:122–29; Tarn, *Alexander the Great*, 2:139–41; G. T. Griffith, *A History of Macedonia*, 2 vols. (Oxford, 1972–79), 2:414–18.

11. "The Hypaspists of Alexander III—Some Problems," *Historia* 20 (1971): 186–95.

12. See now my "The Army of Alexander the Great," *Alexandre le Grand: Image et réalité* (Geneva, 1976), pp. 87–129.

13. "The Hypaspists of Alexander III," pp. 188–95.

king's ability to snatch from one of them the spear with which Cleitus was killed—than to think of a whole chiliarchy or even the three chiliarchies standing on duty around the building. Similarly, at Arrian 7. 8. 3 (the mutiny at Opis), when Alexander, after leaping down from the platform, ordered the hypaspists to arrest the thirteen Macedonians whom he pointed out as ringleaders, it is much more reasonable to assume that his impetuous and angry instruction was directed to a small number of guards than to a unit of at least 1,000. Indeed, Alexander's actions after his speech to the Macedonians imply that a large number of hypaspists were among the mutineers, not merely Pezhetaeri, for he began to enrol a Persian infantry *agema*,¹⁴ Persian Pezhetaeri and Asthetaeri,¹⁵ and a Persian *ἀργυρασπίδων τάξις*, who, as Tarn has shown, can here only be the rest of the hypaspists.¹⁶

Berve, in his discussion of the hypaspists, has argued for the existence of a unit of hypaspists, referred to by Arrian as either *ὑπασπισταὶ βασιλικοὶ* or *σωματοφύλακες* and called by Berve "die Hypaspistenleibwache," who were distinct and separate from the rest of the hypaspists, who, in Berve's view, included the *agema*.¹⁷ Berve seems to put the number of "die Leibwache" at 500. Tarn,¹⁸ though he has Berve's argument somewhat confused, does demonstrate convincingly that there was only one corps, called indiscriminately by Arrian "hypaspists," "Royal hypaspists," and "hypaspists of the Companions," but that the original unit of hypaspists was still called by the distinguishing term *agema* and "continued to be Alexander's personal Guard." I believe that the passages in Arrian which have been under discussion indicate that, while Tarn is probably correct to argue that the *agema* continued to function as Alexander's personal guard, this function was never carried out by the unit as a whole, but that Alexander was normally attended by a detachment from the *agema*, which may well have changed from day to day on a roster basis. It was suggested in the article referred to earlier that, after the file or *δεκάς*, the smallest tactical unit of a chiliarchy of hypaspists was something corresponding to the *tetrarchia* in the army of Philip V, consisting of about 125 men.¹⁹ It would seem not unreasonable to propose that each day a "tetrarchia" from the *agema* of the hypaspists was detailed to act as Alexander's personal bodyguards and that these are the hypaspists of whose number Arrian, with the lack of precision to which he is occasionally prone,²⁰ tells us that a half embarked with Alexander on his triaconter at the crossing of the Hydaspes. There would thus have been about 65 hypaspists, the three Bodyguards named by Arrian, Seleucus, and Alexander himself as passengers on the triaconter: a total of about 70 passengers, which harmonizes well with the calculations made earlier in this

14. The phrase *ἡ τῶν ἐταίρων ἵππος καὶ ταύτης ἄλλο ἄγμα βασιλικόν* at the end of the sentence shows that *ἄγμα* τι *Περσικόν καλούμενον* can here only refer to the *agema* of the hypaspists.

15. On the question of Asthetaeri and the MSS reading in Arrian, see now A. B. Bosworth, "ΑΣ-ΘΕΤΑΙΡΟΙ," *CQ* 23 (1973): 245–53.

16. *Alexander the Great*, 2:151–52; for a different view of these Argyraspids, see Berve, *Alexanderreich*, 1:128. Tarn's view has more recently been supported by the present writer, in the article cited in footnote 8, and by R. Lock, "The Origins of the Argyraspids," *Historia* 26 (1977): 373–78.

17. *Alexanderreich*, 1:122–25.

18. *Alexander the Great*, 2:140, 148–54.

19. "The Hypaspists of Alexander III," pp. 194–95.

20. The author has already drawn attention to this tendency in Arrian's accounts of military matters in "Arrian's Accuracy in Troop Details: A Note," *Historia* 27 (1978): 374–78.

note for the river voyage to the sea. The rest of the hypaspists, conveyed in the other triaconters, would have consisted of the remainder of the "on duty" *te-trarchia*, the other seven *tetrarchiai* of the *agema*, and the other two *chiliarchies* of the hypaspists—a total of approximately 2,935 men altogether.²¹

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21. The author is grateful to the anonymous reader of this note for making certain suggestions, which have improved the consistency of the argument.

LONGUS 1. 2: THE SHE-GOAT NURSE

That Lamon discovers the infant Daphnis being nursed by one of his goats (1. 2) has long been thought a quainter fancy of the learned Lesbian. Adduced parallels are only mythological.¹ Zeus, nursed by the she-goat Amaltheia, provides the obvious antecedent.² The cult epithet *Ἀιγοφάγος* is attested.³ Melampus, the patron of Aigosthena in the Megarid (Paus. 1. 44. 5), exposed by his mother, Rhodope/Dorippe, was nursed by a she-goat. The evidence is numismatic⁴ and the myth a late etymologizing aetiology.⁵ Precisely parallel in origin and date is the tale that the exposed Aegisthus was suckled by a she-goat.⁶ Animal nurses for historical infants are not adduced by Becker-Metcalf or Mau.⁷ There is a passage that has escaped them and Schönberger. Psammetichus' shepherd (Hdt. 2. 2. 2) brings to the remote hut goats not milk that the babes may nurse not drink. Augustus J. C. Hare, known to classical scholars for his *Walks in Rome*, attests the following practice in Florence of 1858: "We saw also the Foundling Hospital, where all the children were brought up and nursed by goats, and where, when the children cried, the goats ran and gave them suck."⁸ One ought not assume the Italian custom a modern innovation but rather an ancient survival. Rustic mothers in antiquity (as Myrtale at Longus 1. 3), who required but could not afford wetnurses, placed their children under obliging she-goats. This way (before bottles and refrigerators) the milk remained warm and fresh. Herodotus and Hare suggest that Longus, rather than learnedly alluding to Amaltheia, reflects, as often elsewhere,⁹ an observed detail of rural life in Lesbos. One may

1. See O. Schönberger, *Longos: Hirtengeschichten von Daphnis und Chloe*³ (Berlin, 1980), p. 174.

2. For references, see W. Richter, s.v. "Ziege," *RE* 10A (1972): 424–25.

3. See H. Schwabl, s.n. "Zeus," *RE* 10A (1972): 261.

4. See B. V. Head, *Historia Numorum: A Manual of Greek Numismatics*² (Oxford, 1911), pp. 392–93.

5. See U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, "Isyllos von Epidauros," *Philologische Untersuchungen* 9 (1886): 177, n. 33, accepted by J. Pley, s.n. "Melampus," *RE* 15 (1931): 393, but not known to W. Richter, s.v. "Ziege" *RE* 10A (1972): 428.

6. Hyg. *Fab.* 87 (p. 64 Rose); cf. Ael. *VH* 12. 42; not known to Schönberger, *Longos: Hirtengeschichten*.

7. See W. A. Becker, *Charicles or Illustrations of the Private Life of the Ancient Greeks*⁸, trans. F. Metcalfe (London, 1889), p. 221, and G. Mau, s.v. "Amme," *RE* 1 (1894): 1844.

8. *The Story of My Life*, vol. 2 (London, 1896), p. 93.

9. See B. E. Perry, *The Ancient Romances: A Literary-Historical Account of their Origins* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1967), p. 352, n. 17; Peter Green, "Longus, Antiphon, and the Topography of Lesbos," *AJA* 85 (1981): 195.