Alexander's letters as a mirror of the "Great King" Alexander

1) Chares, FGrHist 125 F 10 (= Plut., Phoc. 17).

ό γοῦν Δοῦρις εἴρηκεν, ὡς <u>μέγας γενόμενος</u> καὶ Δαρείου κρατήσας ἀφείλε τῶν ἐπιστολῶν τὸ χαίρειν πλὴν ἐν ὄσαις ἔγραφε Φωκίωνι· τοῦτον δὲ μόνον, ὥσπερ ᾿Αντίπατρον, μετὰ τοῦ χαίρειν προσηγόρευε. τοῦτο δὲ καὶ Χάρης ἱστόρηκε.

2) Plutarch, Life of Alexander 41.4.

Πευκέστα μεν ἔγραψε μεμφόμενος, ὅτι δηχθεὶς ὑπ'ἄρκτου τοῖς μεν ἄλλοις ἔγραψεν, αὐτῷ δ' οὐκ ἐδήλωσεν. ἀλλὰ νῦν γε, φησί, γράψον τε πῶς ἔχεις, καὶ μή τινές σε τῶν συγκυνηγετούντων ἐγκατέλιπον, <u>ἵνα δίκην δῶσι</u>.

3) *DPe* Kent 3.

Darius the King says: If you shall think thus, "May I not feel fear of (any) other," protect this Persian people; if the Persian people shall be protected, thereafter for the longest while happiness unbroken -- this will by Ahura come down upon this royal house.

4) XPh Kent 4c-d.

And there was other (business) that had been done ill; that I made good. That which I did, all I did by the favor of Ahuramazda. Ahuramazda bore me aid, until I completed the work. Thou who (shall be) hereafter, if you shall think, "Happy may I be when living, and when dead may I be blessed," have respect for that law which Ahuramazda has established; worship Ahuramazda and Arta reverent(ly). The man who has respect for that law which Ahuramazda has established, and worships Ahuramazda and Arta reverent(ly), he both becomes happy while living, and becomes blessed when dead.

5) *DB* I Kent 8.

Darius the King says: Within these countries, the man who was loyal, him I rewarded well; (him) who was evil, him I punished well; by the favor of Ahuramazda these countries showed respect toward my law; as was said to them by me, thus was it done.

6) *DB* IV Kent 63-64.

Darius the King says: For this reason Ahuramazda bore aid, and the other gods who are, because I was not hostile, I was not a Lie-follower, I was not a doer of wrong -- neither I nor my family. According to righteousness I conducted myself. Neither to the weak nor to the powerful did I do wrong. The man who cooperated with my house, him I rewarded well; whoso did injury, him I punished well. Darius the King says: You who shall be king hereafter, the man who shall be a Lie-follower or who shall be a doer of wrong -- to them do not be a friend, (but) punish them well.

7) *DNb* Kent 8a-b.

Darius the King says: By the favor of Ahuramazda I am of such a sort that I am a friend to right, I am not a friend to wrong. It is not my desire that the weak man should have wrong done to him by the mighty; nor is that my desire, that the mighty man should have wrong done to him by the weak. What is right, that is my desire. I am not a friend to the man who is a Lie-follower. I am not hot-tempered. What things develop in my anger, I hold firmly under control by my thinking power. I am firmly ruling over my own (impulses).

8) DB I Kent 10-11.

Darius the King says: This is what was done by me after I became king. A son of Cyrus, Cambyses by name, of our family -- he was king here of that Cambyses there was a brother, Smerdis by name, having the same mother and the same father as Cambyses. Afterwards, Cambyses slew that Smerdis. When Cambyses slew Smerdis, it did not become known to the people that Smerdis had been slain. Afterwards, Cambyses went to Egypt. When Cambyses had gone off to Egypt, after that the people became evil. After that the Lie waxed great in the country, both in Persia and in Media and in the other provinces.

Darius the King says: Afterwards, there was one man, a Magian, named Gaumata; he rose up from Paishiyauvada. A mountain named Arakadri -- from there 14 days of the month Viyakhna were past when he rose up. He lied to the people thus: "I am Smerdis, the son of Cyrus, brother of Cambyses." After that, all the people became rebellious from Cambyses, (and) went over to him, both Persia and Media and the other provinces. He seized the kingdom; of the month Garmapada 9 days were past, then he seized the kingdom. After that, Cambyses died by his own hand.

9) DB IV Kent 54-55.

Darius the King says: These are the provinces which became rebellious. The Lie made them rebellious, so that these (men) deceived the people. Afterwards Ahuramazda put them into my hand; as was my desire, so I did to them.

Darius the King says: You who shall be king hereafter, protect yourself vigorously from the Lie; the man who shall be a Lie-follower, him do you punish well, if thus you shall think, "May my country be secure!"

10) Arrian, Anab. 2.14.5.

καὶ Ἀρσῆν ἀποκτείναντός σου μετὰ Βαγώου, καὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν κατασχόντος οὐ δικαίως οὐδὲ κατὰ τὸν Περσῶν νόμον, ἀλλὰ ἀδικοῦντος Πέρσας.

11) Plut., Regum et imperatorum apophthegmata 179e-f.

ώς οὖν ἐκράτησεν, ἔπεμψεν ἐπιστολὴν πρὸς αὐτὸν· ἀπέσταλκά σοι τάλαντα λιβανωτοῦ καὶ κασίας, ἵνα μηκέτι μικρολογῇ πρὸς τοὺς θεούς, εἰδὼς ὅτι <u>καὶ τῆς</u> ἀρωματοφόρου κρατοῦμεν.

Selected Bibliography

- Asheri, D. 2006. *O estado persa. Ideologias e instituições no império aquemênida* (= *The Persian State*), translated by P. Butti de Lima, São Paulo.
- Auberger, J. 2001. Historiens d'Alexandre. Paris.
- Berve, H. 1926. *Das Alexanderreich auf prosopographischer Grundlage*, München: vol. I-II.
- Bosworth, A. B. 1980-1995. A Historical Commentary on Arrian's History of Alexander: I-II, Oxford.
- Briant, P. 1996. Histoire de l'Empire perse: de Cyrus à Alexandre. Paris.
- Brosius, M. 2000. The Persian Empire from Cyrus II to Artaxerxes I. London.
- Hamilton, J. R. 1961. "The letters in Plutarch's Alexander", PACA 4: 9-21.
- Hamilton, J. R. 1969. Plutarch. Alexander. A Commentary. Oxford.
- Jacoby, F. 1926-1929. Die Fragmente der griechischen Historiker, Berlin, II A-B.
- Kent, T. G. 1950. Old Persian. Grammar, Text, Lexicon. New Haven.
- Lenfant, D. 2009. Les Histoires perses de Dinon et d'Héraclide. Paris.
- Müller, K. 1846. Fragmenta scriptorum de rebus Alexandri Magni, Pseudo-Callisthenes, Itinerarium Alexandri, Paris.
- Orsi, D. P. 1979-1980. "Tracce di tendenza anticirea (Plutarco, Vita di Artaserse, capp. 1-19)", *Sileno* 5-6: 113-146.
- Rosenmeyer, P. A. 2001. Ancient epistolary fictions: the letter in Greek literature. New York.
- Sordi, M. 1984. "Il re e la verità nella concezione monarchica di Alessandro", in *Alessandro Magno tra storia e mito*, a cura di Sordi M. Milano: 47-52.
- Steiner, D. T. 1994. The Tyrant's Writ. Princeton.
- Stirewalt, M. L. Jr. 1993. Studies in ancient Greek epistolography. Atlanta.
- Wiesehöfer, J. 1994. Das antike Persien, München-Zürich.
- Wiesehöfer, J. 1999. Das frühe Persien. Geschichte eines antiken Weltreichs. München.