

## WHO WAS HEGELOCHOS?

Quintus Curtius, recounting the trial and torture of Philotas, names two persons who, although they played no part in the so-called "conspiracy of Philotas", are of importance to the politics of the period. The first, Amyntas Perdikka, the rightful heir to the Macedonian throne, has recently been the subject of a stimulating article by J.R. Ellis<sup>1</sup>). The second is a certain Hegelochos, whose role in Curtius' version of the Philotas-affair as a one-time treasonous affiliate of Parmenion has generally been regarded as fictitious. Thus E. Badian remarks: "Curtius (6. 11. 22 f.) has a story of a plot between Parmenio and Hegelochus (then dead), which Philotas is said to have divulged under torture. Since no charge was in fact brought against Parmenio, it is almost certain that none could be: the plot with Hegelochus must be an effort of later *apologia*"<sup>2</sup>).

According to Curtius, Philotas confessed the following: "*Pater... meus Hegelochus quam familiariter usus sit non ignoratis; illum dico Hegelochum, qui in acie cecidit; omnium malorum nobis fuit causa. Nam cum primum Iovis filium se salutari iussit rex, id indigne ferens ille... (6. 11. 22-23)*". And Hegelochos' words were: "*Hunc igitur regem agnoscimus, ... qui Philippum dedignatur patrem? Actum est de nobis, si ista perpeti possumus. Non homines solum, sed etiam deos despicit, qui postulat deus credi. Amisimus Alexandrum,*

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1) J.R. Ellis, "Amyntas Perdikka, Philip II and Alexander the Great (A Study in Conspiracy)," *JHS* 91 (1971) 15-24. Ellis' date, however, for the arrest and execution of Amyntas Perdikka (he suggests 335/4) must be reconsidered. Arr. *Succ.* I. 22 says that Amyntas was killed when Alexander crossed into Asia, but this is vague and perhaps due to the epitomator (Photios). It is clear from Arrian, *Anabasis* 1. 5. 4-5, that Amyntas' death occurred no later than Spring 335, for in summer of that year Alexander offered Kynane, now surely Amyntas' widow, to Langaros, King of the Agrianians. Cf. Grace Macurdy, *Hellenistic Queens*, Baltimore, 1932, 49; Berve, *Das Alexanderreich auf prosopographischer Grundlage*, vol. 2, Munich, 1926, 229, no. 456, s. v. *Κυνάμη*, and 230, no. 460, s. v. *Ἀδύργαρος* (henceforth cited as Berve II); the chronological problem was recognised by A. Schaefer, *Demosthenes und seine Zeit*, vol. 3, Leipzig, 1887, 100-101, n. 3; P. Green's suggestion (*Alexander of Macedon*, Harmondsworth, 1974, 141), that Kynane was not yet widowed when Alexander offered her to Langaros, and that this was „a nice touch of macabre humour," smacks of the sensational.

2) E. Badian, "The Death of Parmenio," *TAPA* 91 (1960) 332.

*amisimus regem; incidimus in superbiam nec dis, quibus se exaequat, nec hominibus, quibus se eximit, tolerabilem. Nostrone sanguine deum fecimus, qui nos fastidiat? qui gravetur mortalium adire concilium? Credite mihi, et nos, si viri sumus, a dis adoptabimur. Quis proavum huius Archelaum, quis deinde Alexandrum, quis Perdiccan occisos ultus est? hic quidem interfectoribus patris ignovit (6. II. 23-26)".*

Now, given the manner in which the confession was extorted and considering that Hegelochos was an obscure individual, one might sympathise with Badian's view that the story is a later invention; certainly, it has been ignored or simply dismissed out of hand by modern writers<sup>3</sup>). But two points are worth considering: first, we cannot be sure that "no charge was in fact brought against Parmenio" (Badian, *supra*), and, second, Hegelochos' conspiracy is in keeping with the political conditions advocated by Badian, in that it represents (in conjunction with the intrigues of Amyntas Perdikka, his namesake, the son of Antiochos, and Alexandros of Lynkestis) the activities of a hostile faction<sup>4</sup>).

We first encounter Hegelochos as a commander of *σκοποί* at the Granikos River (Arr. I. 13. 1), where he is linked with Amyntas (Berve, no. 59)<sup>5</sup>), son of Arrhabaios (of the Lynkestian royal house). The connection, I suggest, is more than coincidental in view of the "stranglehold"<sup>6</sup>) that this opposing faction had on the principal commands of the army. But in 333, when Alexander left Gordion, he sent Hegelochos to the coast with

3) Among the authors of the most recent monographs: P.Green (*op. cit.*, n. 1), J.R.Hamilton (*Alexander the Great*, London, 1973) and F.Schachermeyr (*Alexander der Grosse: Das Problem seiner Persönlichkeit und seines Wirkens*, Vienna, 1973) make no mention of the Hegelochos-affair, while R.Lane Fox (*Alexander the Great*, London, 1973) deals with the matter in a single sentence (289), making no judgment concerning its authenticity.

4) For the intrigues of Amyntas Perdikka, Amyntas Antiochou, and Alexandros of Lynkestis see Ellis, *op. cit.*, n. 1 *supra*, but note also R. M. Errington, "Macedonian 'Royal Style' and its Historical Significance," *JHS* 94 (1974) 25-28. See also H. Berve II, nos. 37, 58 and 61; E. Badian, "The Death of Philip II," *Phoenix* 17 (1963) 244-250; and J. Rufus Fears, "Pausanias, the Assassin of Philip II," *Athenaeum* 53 (1975) 111-135.

5) Berve II. 29-30, no. 59, s. v. 'Αμύντας. For Hegelochos see Berve II. 164-165, no. 341, s. v. 'Ηγέλοχος; Sundwall, *RE* VII. 2 (1912) 2594, s. v. "Hegelochos (1)," is of very little use.

6) The term is Badian's (*TAPA* 91 [1960] 329).

orders to build a new fleet at the Hellespont (Arr. 2. 3. 4)<sup>7</sup>). After a successful campaign with the fleet, he appears to have handed over naval affairs to Amphoterus, the brother of Krateros, and rejoined Alexander in Egypt in the winter of 332/1. He reappears, for the last time, at Gaugamela (Arr. 3. 11. 8), an *ilarch* in Philotas' Companion Cavalry. There, it appears, he may have lost his life; Arrian says nothing further about him, Curtius speaks of him as having died in battle before the Philotas-affair took place (6. 11. 22: *illum dico Hegelochum, qui in acie cecidit*). It was in Egypt, Curtius charges, that Hegelochos conspired with Parmenion. This charge warrants investigation.

Curtius reports that, through the urging of Koinos, Krateros and Hephaestion, Philotas was tortured in order to gain a confession (6. 11. 10), though it is clear that the action was intended to extort an admission of Parmenion's complicity in the Dimnos-affair<sup>8</sup>). Of Dimnos' crime Philotas, at first, denied all knowledge (*quod ad Dymnum*<sup>9</sup>) *pertinet nihil scio*, 6. 11. 30), although he admitted that a certain Hegelochos, incensed by Alexander's *Ammonssohnschaft* (*cum primum Iovis filium se salutari iussit rex*, 6. 11. 23), conspired with Parmenion to murder Alexander. Parmenion approved the measure only if Dareios were dead (6. 11. 29), and the actual conspiracy came to naught. Whether Philotas did in fact confess to the Hegelochos-affair or whether it was so reported by Alexander's agents, the charge was made: it had equal value for Alexander whether exacted under

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7) Curt. 3. 1. 19 is thought by Berve (II. 164–165) to be inaccurate: [sc. Alexander] ... *relinqueret Amphoterum classi ad oram Hellespontii, copias autem praefecit Hegelochum*.... But see H. Hauben, "The Command Structure in Alexander's Mediterranean Fleets," *Anc. Soc.* 3 (1972) 56–57; and more recently "The Expansion of Macedonian Sea-Power under Alexander the Great," *Anc. Soc.* 7 (1976) 82–87. See also A. Baumbach, *Kleinasiens unter Alexander dem Grossen*, Diss. Jena, publ. Weida, 1911, 49 ff.

8) For a discussion see Berve II. 396. As for Curtius' account of the extortion of information from Philotas, the observations of J. Rufus Fears (*op. cit.*, 133, n. 77) should be treated with caution. Curtius does indeed make "clear mistakes in detail," as in the cases of Amyntas and Demetrios (see W. Heckel, "Amyntas, Son of Andromenes," *GRBS* 16 [1975] 393–399), but I do not think it is wise to speak of "the clear inventions of Curtius" with regard to the affair of Hegelochos and the alleged marriage of Attalos to a daughter of Parmenion. Koinos had also recently married a daughter of Parmenion (Curt. 6. 9. 30; cf. Arr. 1. 24. 1; 29. 4), by whom he had a son, Perdikkas (Dittenberger, *Syll.* I<sup>3</sup> 332).

9) To follow the widely-accepted emendation. The *mss.* have *damnum*, but Curtius' names are particularly corrupt in the *mss.*

duress or merely invented. But, if Alexander's agents presented a trumped-up charge, then they must have known something about Hegelochos that made his participation in such a compact plausible. Undoubtedly, in the version given by Curtius, the charges brought against Parmenion included his alleged dealings with Hegelochos. And charges *were* clearly brought against him. To Polydamas, the bearer of Parmenion's writ of execution, Alexander says: *scelere... Parmenionis omnes pariter appetiti* (7. 2. 13). The precise nature of Parmenion's crime was recorded in a letter, which Kleandros and his associates read to the troops in order to justify Parmenion's murder: *Cleander primores eorum [sc. Parmenion's troops] intromitti iubet, litterasque regis scriptas ad milites recitat, quibus insidiae Parmenionis in regem... continebantur* (7. 2. 30). It follows that the charges extorted from Philotas were used in condemnation of Parmenion.

The story of Hegelochos' plot appears to have some substance; we are reminded of the *ἐπιβουλὴ* of Philotas, related by Arrian and Plutarch<sup>10</sup>), which also took place in Egypt and was the result of the same grievances. It is clear that Alexander's journey to the oasis of Siwah and his rejection of Philip as his father exacerbated an already uneasy feeling in the Macedonian army<sup>11</sup>). But the existence of a hostile faction antedates the *Ammonssohnschaft* and – as is certainly true in Philotas' case – we ought to look for the seeds of Hegelochos' discontent in some earlier event. The answer is to be found in the identity of Hegelochos.

Arrian (3. 11. 8) tells us that Hegelochos was the son of a certain Hippostratos. The latter name appears only twice in the accounts of the period before 336 (Alexander's accession): Marsyas (*ap.* Didymos, *Demost.* col. 12. 55) names a Hippostratos, son of Amyntas, who died in Philip's Illyrian campaign<sup>12</sup>), while Satyros (*ap.* Athenaios 13. 557D) says that Hippostratos was the brother of Philip's last wife, Kleopatra<sup>13</sup>). I shall argue that all three references are to one man, the father of Hegelochos, and

10) Arr. 3. 26. 1; Plut. *Alex.* 48. 1–49. 2; *Mor.* 339D–F.

11) This problem comes to a head in the Kleitos-episode (Arr. 4. 8. 6; Plut. *Alex.* 50. 11; Curt. 8. 1. 42). Curtius, albeit in dramatic fashion, makes Alexander respond to Kleitos' abusive remarks in the following words: *I nunc... ad Philippum et Parmenionem et Attalum* (8. 1. 52).

12) Marsyas (of Pella?) *FGrHist* 135 F 17.

13) Satyros, *FHG* III (Müller) p. 161, fr. 5.

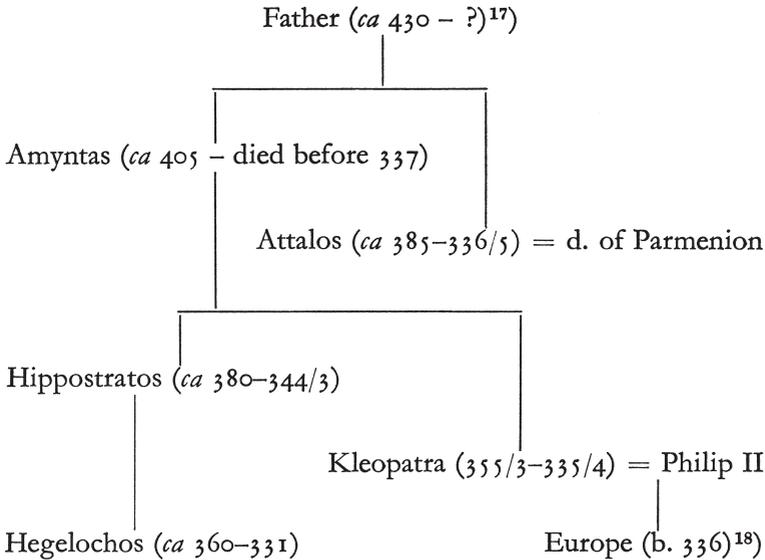
that the importance of the latter to the history of Alexander lies in his relationship to Kleopatra (his aunt).

There are three main objections to the equating of these individuals; K. J. Beloch presents the most serious. "Ein *Ἡγέλοχος Ἴπποστράτου* befahl bei Arbela eine Ile der Hetaerenreiterei (Arr. *Anab.* III 11, 8); aber Kleopatras Bruder kann nicht wohl einen Sohn gehabt haben, der in 331 alt genug gewesen wäre, ein solches Kommando zu führen..."<sup>14</sup>). But is this actually the case? We have two approximate ages that can be used in the construction of a stemma for the family of Kleopatra. According to Plutarch (*Alex.* 9. 6), Kleopatra was still very young when she married Philip in 337: [*Κλεοπάτρα*], ἦν ὁ *Φίλιππος ἠγάγετο παρθένον, ἐρασθεὶς παρ' ἡλικίαν τῆς κόρης*. Berve's estimate that she was born ca 353 appears to suit Plutarch's description<sup>15</sup>); she may, however, have been considered young in comparison with Olympias, who was now in her late thirties. 355–353 B. C. provides a good, conservative, date for Kleopatra's birth. Berve assumes that Attalos, Kleopatra's uncle, was born ca 380, thus being a contemporary of Philip II<sup>16</sup>); he could have been considerably older (I adjust his dates only slightly in my stemma). If we assume, therefore, that Berve's dates for Kleopatra and her uncle are correct (allowing for a slight adjustment), and that Hippostratos was the son of Amyntas (so Marsyas *ap.* Didymos), the following stemma can be constructed.

14) K. J. Beloch, *Griechische Geschichte* III<sup>2</sup>, 2, Berlin/Leipzig, 1923, 70. An age-difference of 25–27 years between brother and sister, if they had the same mother, would be somewhat unusual, but neither unique nor impossible. That Amyntas had more than one wife would not be unlikely (especially in light of Macedonian political marriages among the nobility), but there is no need to confound the issue by postulating additional unknowns. We cannot hope to restore exact dates, owing to a lack of evidence, but the stemma that I construct (below) is intended to show that Beloch's objection is unjustified; that Hippostratos, the brother of Kleopatra, had a son who was mature in the mid-to-late 330s is *in no way impossible*. Two examples spring to mind: Antigonos the One-Eyed (born ca 382, Berve II. 42–44, no. 87) was the brother, by the same mother, of Marsyas (born ca 360, possibly two or three years later still, Berve II. 247, no. 489); Parmenion had at least five children, of whom the youngest, the wife of Koinos (Berve, no. 439), was born ca 350 (*i. e.*, when Parmenion was fifty years old, which suggests that Parmenion's first (and possibly unknown to posterity) child was considerably older than his youngest. See Berve II. 298ff., no. 606, *s. v.* Παρμενίων).

15) Berve II. 213, no. 434, *s. v.* Κλεοπάτρα.

16) Berve II. 94, no. 182, *s. v.* Ἀτταλος.



I consider next the arguments of Felix Stähelin. Speaking of the Hippostratos who died in the Illyrian campaign, Stähelin argues: “man könnte ebensogut an Hippostratos, den Bruder Philipps zweiter Gemahlin Kleopatra denken, den Satyros... in einer Weise erwähnt, die uns vermuten läßt, daß der Mann sich

17) Beloch's proposal (III<sup>2</sup>. 2. 71) that Hippostratos' father was Amyntas, son of Antiochos, must be rejected. It would be extremely unusual that Amyntas, who was still alive at the time of Kleopatra's marriage to Philip (and about whose intrigues we are told), is never named as her father, though Kleopatra is repeatedly referred to as Attalos' niece.

18) Karanos, the alleged (by Justin II. 2. 3) son of Philip and Kleopatra, must be rejected. The objections of W. W. Tarn (*Alexander the Great* II [Cambridge 1948] 260-262) are not conclusive, but recent attempts by R. Lane Fox (*op. cit.*, n. 3 *supra*, 503-504) and Peter Green (*op. cit.*, n. 3 *supra*, 108 ff.) are even less convincing. Green's date for the marriage of Philip and Kleopatra (autumn 338) is based on an elementary misunderstanding of Philip's activities in Greece following the victory at Chaironeia: he could not have returned to Macedonia until the end of that year, after the meeting of the Greek states at Korinth (cf. C. Roebuck, "The Settlements of Philip II with the Greek States in 338 B. C.," *CP* 43 [1948] 73-92). Tarn, who for many years was supported only by A. R. Burn (*JHS* 67 [1947] 143) in his rejection of Karanos, now has the support of J. R. Ellis, *Philip II and Macedonian Imperialism*, London, 1976, 306, n. 54.

irgendwie besonders hervorgetan haben muß"<sup>19</sup>). Yet, he concludes: "In keinem Falle ist Hippostratos, der Vater des Hegelochos, mit Hippostratos, dem Bruder der Kleopatra, identisch, denn wir wissen, daß Alexander bei seinem Übergange nach Asien die sämtlichen Verwandten seiner Stiefmutter umbringen ließ (Justin 11, 5, 1)"<sup>20</sup>.

Now, it need not be argued strenuously that Justin should not and cannot be taken literally. What he says is precisely this: *Proficiscens ad Persicum bellum omnes novercae suae cognatos, quos Philippus in excelsiorem dignitatis locum provehens imperiis praefecerat, interfecit*. But Justin paints a very black picture of Alexander, one of whose chief faults was that *non in hostem, sed in suos saeviebat* (9. 8. 15). Justin's method of denigrating Alexander is one that employs generalisations and exaggerations: where Justin clearly knows of only one incident or one victim of Alexander's cruelty, he speaks of many. Thus he alludes to the death of Kleitos in the following manner: *hic* [sc. Alexander] *amicorum interfector convivio frequenter excessit* (9. 8. 16)<sup>21</sup>. He speaks of many sons of Philip II, though he can name only one (to except, momentarily, the fictitious Karanos): *Genuit ex Larissaea saltrice filium Arrhidaeum, qui post Alexandrum regnavit. Habuit et multos alios filios ex variis matrimoniis regio more susceptos, qui partim fato, partim ferro periere* (9. 8. 2-3). Likewise, although he names only one brother (the fictitious Karanos, whose existence is contradicted by Justin himself at 9. 7. 12), whom Alexander put to death, he speaks of *fratres interfecti* (12. 6. 14)<sup>22</sup>. Thus, when he says *nec suis, qui apti regno videbantur, pepercit, ne qua materia seditionis procul se agente in Macedonia remaneret* (11. 5. 2), he has one specific victim in mind, Amyntas Perdikka (*tunc Amyntas consobrinus... interfect[us]*, 12. 6. 14). And there is only one relative of Alexander's *noverca* (= Kleopatra) who might be described as [*quem*] *Philippus in excelsiorem dignitatis locum provehens imperiis praefecerat* (11. 5. 1), and he is Attalos (cf. again 12. 6. 14); *omnes novercae suae cognatos... interfecti* (11. 5. 1) must be another generalisation. There are numerous other examples of generalisations and

19) F. Stähelin, "Die griechischen Historikerfragmente bei Didymos," *Klio* 5 (1905) 151.

20) *Ibid.*

21) Cf. the note of Rev. John Selby Watson, *Justin, Cornelius Nepos and Eutropius*, London, 1910, foot of p. 88.

22) On Karanos, see n. 18 *supra*. *Fratres*, a rhetorical plural, so R. Lane Fox, *loc. cit.*, n. 18 *supra*.

exaggerations, used by Justin for effect; the above-mentioned are, I believe, sufficient to make the point<sup>23</sup>). I say nothing about the numerous errors in fact<sup>24</sup>).

We need not base our argument solely on the text (and the method) of Justin. According to all the sources that record her death (and these include Justin), Kleopatra and her daughter were the victims not of Alexander but of Olympias<sup>25</sup>). On Attalos, however, Alexander did take vengeance, through the agency of a certain Hekataios, and with the acquiescence of Parmenion<sup>26</sup>). There is no mention of any other male relatives of Kleopatra. Her father and her brother were already dead before she married Philip in 337, and this will explain why Kleopatra is consistently identified not as the daughter of Amyntas, but as the niece of Attalos<sup>27</sup>). At this point, we may consider the third objection to the equating of the individuals named Hippostratos. Berve (II. 185, *s. v.* 'Ἰππόστρατος) writes: "Foucart... und Beloch... vermuten eine Identität mit dem von Didymos... erwähnten, im Illyrerkrige... gefallenen H., doch scheint Satyros... ihn 337 als noch lebend vorzusetzen"<sup>28</sup>). This objection cannot be allowed to stand. Satyros gives no indication

23) Although one might mention the 115 sons of Artaxerxes or the 600,000 Persians at the Granikos River (Justin 10. 1. 1; 11. 6. 11); to say nothing of the fates of the fifty brothers of Dareios, together with their wives and children (10. 1. 4ff.).

24) Justin's description (9. 5. 9) of Attalos as Kleopatra's brother is the most blatant example; only a textual emendation (*Soli Alexandro Lyncestae parricidarum fratri pepercit*, 11. 2. 2) saves Lynkestian Alexander from becoming a brother of Alexander the Great; and for the error involving the sending of Parmenion *ad occupandam Persicam classem*, see Berve II. 301, n. 3. These are selected virtually at random, but they are representative of the nature of Justin's account of Alexander.

25) Justin 9. 7. 12: *Post haec Cleopatram... in gremio eius prius filia interfecta, finire vitam suspensio coegit* [sc. *Olympias*]. Cf. Plutarch, *Alex.* 10, 7; and Paus. 8, 7. 7, where the child of Kleopatra is called a boy, but this is Pausanias' error, not evidence for the existence of Karanos.

26) Diod. 17. 2. 5-6; 5. 2; Curt. 7. 1. 3; see Berve II. 148, no. 292, *s. v.* 'Ἐκκαταῖος. E. Badian, "The Death of Parmenion," *TAPA* 91 (1960) 327; cf. P. Green, *op. cit.*, n. 3 *supra*, 119-120.

27) Satyros *ap.* Athen. 13. 557 D; Diod. 16. 93. 9; 17. 2. 3; Plut. *Alex.* 9. 6-7; 10. 7; Athen. 13. 560 C; Paus. 8. 7. 7; Justin. 9. 5. 8-9; 9. 7. 12; Ps.-Kall. 1. 20-21; Jul. Valer. 1. 13. But Diod. 17. 2. 3; Justin 9. 5. 8-9; and Jul. Valer. 1. 13 all make Attalos the brother of Kleopatra (mistakenly), while Diod. 16. 93. 9 calls Attalos her nephew.

28) For the Illyrian campaign, see F. Wüst, *Philip II. von Makedonien und Griechenland in den Jahren von 346 bis 338* (*Münchener historische Abhandlungen*, Heft 14, 1938) 54-58.

about the brother of Kleopatra, whether he was still alive or had already died; nor can any inference be drawn. But the evidence of Satyros may well tell us something about Kleopatra's family-history. Amyntas may have died before his son, Hippostratos, and Kleopatra (and possibly her mother) would therefore have passed into the custody of her brother until his death in 344/3. At that time, Kleopatra, now between nine and eleven years of age, became the ward of her uncle, Attalos. Thus, her only two known male relatives who still lived in 337 were the prominent Attalos, and Kleopatra's nephew Hegelochos, who had only begun his career in the army.

Only a literal interpretation of Justin's (II. 5. 1) words stands in opposition to equating Hegelochos with the nephew of Kleopatra; I believe that the testimony has been shown to be unreliable. The career of Hegelochos, therefore, proves instructive. When Alexander set out for Asia, he left many enemies, potentially dangerous, alive both in Macedonia and within the army; the series of intrigues and conspiracies that followed the death of Philip II is an adequate testimony to this. Alexander could, and did, eliminate his most dangerous political rivals, but he was forced to adopt a policy of conciliation; for the very basis of his power were the Macedonian nobles, who had supported Philip and who had now realigned themselves in accordance with the needs of the new regime. There were some casualties, but Alexander will have been anxious to limit the slaughter. Peace was made with Parmenion, but Attalos was the price. Nevertheless numerous members of the "Attalos-faction" remained alive and in positions of power. Alexandros of Lynkestis came to no harm at this time, though he was later arrested for his intrigues. Yet Alexander could be expected to fear him on account of the execution of Heromenes and Arrhabaios<sup>29</sup>). Amyntas, the nephew of Lynkestian Alexander and the son of the executed Arrhabaios, also retained his rank until the arrest of his uncle led, apparently, to his own fall<sup>30</sup>). And so it comes as no surprise that Hegelochos was also left unharmed. Hippostratos had been Kleopatra's brother, but he was long dead and forgotten by the time that the purge took place. Hegelochos presented no challenge to Alexander's sovereignty and the king could ill afford to extend his feud with Attalos to include even

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29) See Berve II. 80, 169, nos. 144, 355, s. vv. 'Αρραβαίος, 'Ηρομένης.

30) Berve II. 30.

Kleopatra's nephew. The Macedonian nobility were too numerous, too influential and too much interrelated to make such an action feasible. We are reminded of Badian's salutary observation that "Alexander could not afford (and had hardly intended) to engage in wholesale slaughter of the Macedonian nobility"<sup>31</sup>).

Opposition to Alexander, resulting from the problems of the succession of 336, continued until the death of Alexandros of Lynkestis, the denouement of the Philotas-affair. Friction continued throughout Alexander's reign between the supporters of Alexander and those whom Schachermeyr terms "altmakedonisch gesinnt"<sup>32</sup>). In the course of the struggle there were many casualties, and, while Hegelochos appears to have died in battle, there is no reason to suspect that he was not hostile to Alexander and at least capable of plotting against him. If the son of Hippostratos was the nephew of Kleopatra, the murder of his aunt will have been fresh in his mind in 332/1. Curtius (or his source) did not invent the incident; if Hegelochos was not Kleopatra's nephew, why did he conspire (or, rather, why was he charged with conspiring) with Parmenion? Vexation at the *Ammonsohnschaft* alone is not an adequate incentive. Now that we have some clue concerning the family of Hegelochos, a motive for his plot with Parmenion emerges. In light of the political circumstances, it is only through the identification of Hegelochos with the nephew of Kleopatra that this incident, and the charge reported by Curtius, can have any meaning.

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31) Badian, *op. cit.*, n. 26 *supra*, 335.

32) Schachermeyr, *op. cit.*, n. 3 *supra*, 363.