

DELFI

CID II 76, Col II, ll. 5-15

5

10

CID II 77, Col I, ll. 1-10

[Μαλιέων 32..... Ὁρακλ]ειώτα.

[Φαρσάλιος,11.....τάγου Φακιαστάς· παρ'] Ἀλεξάνδρου

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Ἰεὺθέας Εὐθέα Ἐριναῖος, Ὀρμασίλας Ἐχεκράτης Αὐγεῖος·

[Δωρίππου Ἑρετριεύς· Περραιβῶν Ἀμύντας Φαλανναῖος?],

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Diod. XVI 27. 1-2

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When Philomelus had control of the oracle he directed the Pythia to make her prophecies from the tripod in the ancestral fashion. But when she replied that such was not the ancestral fashion, he threatened her harshly and compelled her to mount the tripod. Then when she frankly declared, referring to the superior power of the man who was resorting to violence: "It is in your power to do as you please," he gladly accepted her utterance and declared that he had the oracle which suited him. He immediately had the oracle inscribed and set it up in full view, and made it clear to everyone that the god gave him the authority to do as he pleased. [2] Having got together an assembly and disclosed the prophecy to the multitude and urged them to be of good cheer, he turned to the business of the war.

Diod. XVI 91. 2-3

ἐπὶ δὲ τούτων Φίλιππος ὁ βασιλεὺς ἡγεμὼν ὑπὸ τῶν Ἑλλήνων καθεσταμένος καὶ τὸν πρὸς Πέρσας πόλεμον ἐνστησάμενος Ἄτταλον μὲν καὶ Παρμενίωνα προαπέστειλεν εἰς τὴν Ἀσίαν, μέρος τῆς δυνάμεως δοὺς καὶ προστάξας ἐλευθεροῦν τὰς Ἑλληνίδας πόλεις, αὐτὸς δὲ σπεύδων μὲν μετὰ τῆς τῶν θεῶν γνώμης ἐπανελεῖσθαι τὸν πόλεμον ἐπηρώτησε τὴν Πυθίαν εἰ κρατήσῃ τοῦ βασιλέως τῶν Περσῶν. ἢ δ' ἔχρησεν αὐτῷ τόνδε τὸν χρησμὸν· ἔσπεπται μὲν ὁ ταῦρος, ἔχει τέλος, ἔστιν ὁ θύσων. [3] ὁ μὲν οὖν Φίλιππος σκολιῶς ἔχοντας τοῦ χρησμοῦ πρὸς τὸ ἴδιον συμφέρον ἐξεδέχετο τὸ λόγιον, ὥς τοῦ μαντείου προλέγοντος τὸν Πέρσῃν ἱερείου τρόπον τυθήσεσθαι· τὸ δ' ἀληθὲς οὐχ οὕτως εἶχεν, ἀλλὰ τοῦναντίον ἐσήμαινεν ἐν πανηγύρει καὶ θεῶν θυσίαις τὸν Φίλιππον ὥσπερ τὸν ταῦρον ἐστεμμένον σφαγήσεσθαι.

In this year, King Philip, installed as leader by the Greeks, opened the war with Persia by sending into Asia as an advance party Attalus and Parmenion, assigning to them a part of his forces and ordering them to liberate the Greek cities, while he himself, wanting to enter upon the war with the gods' approval, asked the Pythia whether he would conquer the king of the Persians. She gave him the following response: "Wreathed is the bull. All is done. There is also the one who will smite him. [3] Now Philip found this response ambiguous but accepted it in a sense favourable to himself, namely that the oracle foretold that the Persian would be slaughtered like a sacrificial victim. Actually, however, it was not so, and it meant that Philip himself in the midst of a festival and holy sacrifices, like the bull, would be stabbed to death while decked with a garland.

Diod. XVII 93. 4

ὁ δ' Ἀλέξανδρος, καίπερ ὁρῶν δυσεπίτευκτον τὴν ἐπὶ τοὺς Γανδαρίδας στρατείαν ὕσαν, ὁμῶς οὐκ ἀφίστατο τῆς φιλοτιμίας, ἀλλὰ πιστεύων ταῖς τῶν Μακεδόνων ἀρεταῖς καὶ τοῖς χρημοῖς ἐλπίδας εἶχε κρατήσῃν τῶν βαρβάρων· τὴν μὲν γὰρ Πυθίαν ἀνίκητον αὐτὸν ὠνομακέναι, τὸν δ' Ἄμμωνα συγκεχωρηκέναι τὴν ἀπάσης τῆς γῆς ἐξουσίαν.

Alexander saw that the campaign against the Gandaridae would not be easy, but he was not discouraged. He had confidence in the fighting qualities of his Macedonians, as well as in the oracles which he had received, and expected that he would be victorious. He remembered that the Pythia had called him "unconquerable," and Ammon had given him the rule of the whole world.

Plut. Alex. 14. 6-7

in xerocopia

Paus. VIII 7. 6

καί οἱ τὸ ἐκ τοῦ θεοῦ μήνιμα ἀπήντησεν οὐκ ὀψέ, πρῶτα δὲ ὧν ἴσμεν. Φίλιππος μὲν οὐ πρόσω βιώσας ἕξ τε καὶ τεσσαράκοντα ἐτῶν τὸ μάντευμα ἐξετέλεσε τὸ ἐκ Δελφῶν, ὃ δὴ χρωμένῳ οἱ περὶ τοῦ Πέρσου γενέσθαι λέγουσιν, ἔστεπται μὲν ὁ ταῦρος, ἔχει τέλος, ἔστιν ὁ θύσων· τοῦτο μὲν δὴ οὐ μετὰ πολὺ ἐδήλωσεν οὐκ ἐς τὸν Μῆδον, ἀλλὰ ἐς αὐτὸν ἔχον Φίλιππον·

E l'ira del dio non tardò ad abbattersi su di lui; fu anzi più rapida che in altri casi che conosciamo: a non più di 46 anni di età Filippo fece compiere l'oracolo che – si dice – gli era stato dato da Delfi, quando aveva interrogato il dio a proposito del Persiano: “il toro è incoronato, la fine è prossima, è pronto chi lo sacrificherà”. Non molto tempo dopo fu chiaro che questo responso non si riferiva al Medo ma allo stesso Filippo.

Iust. XII 2. 3

Huc accedebat, quod, sicut Alexandro Magno Delphica oracula insidias in Macedonia, ita huic responsum Dodonaei Iouis urbem Pandosiam amnemque Acherusium praedixerat.

ILIO

Chron. Lind. Col. II, ll. 103-109 (532C38)

βασιλεὺς Ἀλέξαν[δ]ρος [β]ο[υ]κέφαλ[α], ἐφ' ὧν [ἐ]πιγέγραπται·
"βασιλεὺς Ἀλέξαν[δ]ρος μάχαι κρατήσας Δα-
ρεῖον καὶ κύριος γε[ν]όμενος τᾶς Ἀσίας ἔθυ-
σε τ[ᾱ]ι Ἀθάναι τᾱι [Λι]νδίαι κατὰ μαντεῖαν
ἐπ' ἰε[ρέ]ως Θευγέν[ε]υς τοῦ Πιστοκράτευς". πε-
ρὶ [τ]ούτων το[ῖ] Λινδί[ων] χρηματισμοὶ περ[ι]έχοντι.
ἀν[έ]θηκε δὲ καὶ [ὄ]πλα, ἐφ' ὧν ἐπιγέγραπται.

Diod. XVII 17. 2-3 e 6-7

Ἐπ' ἄρχοντος δ' Ἀθήνησι Κτησικλέους Ῥωμαῖοι μὲν ὑπάτους κατέστησαν Γάιον Σουλπίκιον καὶ Λεύκιον Παπίριον. Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ μετὰ τῆς δυνάμεως πορευθεὶς ἐπὶ τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον διεβίβασε τὴν δύναμιν ἐκ τῆς Εὐρώπης εἰς τὴν Ἀσίαν. [2] αὐτὸς δὲ μακραῖς ναυσὶν ἐξήκοντα καταπλεύσας πρὸς τὴν Τρωάδα χώραν πρῶτος τῶν Μακεδόνων ἀπὸ τῆς νεῶς ἠκόντισε μὲν τὸ δόρυ, πῆξας δ' εἰς τὴν γῆν καὶ αὐτὸς ἀπὸ τῆς νεῶς ἀφαλλόμενος παρὰ τῶν θεῶν ἀπεφαίνετο τὴν Ἀσίαν δέχεσθαι δορίκτητον. καὶ τοὺς μὲν τάφους τῶν ἡρώων Ἀχιλλέως τε καὶ Αἴαντος καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἐναγίσμασι καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις τοῖς πρὸς εὐδοξίαν ἀνήκουσιν ἐτίμησεν, αὐτὸς δὲ τὸν ἐξετασμὸν τῆς ἀκολουθούσης δυνάμεως ἀκριβῶς ἐποίησατο. εὐρέθησαν δὲ πεζοὶ Μακεδόνες μὲν μύριοι καὶ δισχίλιοι, σύμμαχοι δὲ ἑπτακισχίλιοι, μισθοφόροι δὲ πεντακισχίλιοι, καὶ τούτων ἀπάντων Παρμενίων εἶχε τὴν ἡγεμονίαν.

.....

[6] Τοῦ δὲ βασιλέως ἀναζεύξαντος ἐκ τῆς Τρωάδος καὶ καταντήσαντος πρὸς τὸ τέμενος τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς ὁ μὲν θύτης Ἀλέξανδρος κατανοήσας πρὸ τοῦ νεῶς κειμένην εἰκόνα χαμαὶ τοῦ Φρυγίας ποτὲ σατραπεύσαντος Ἀριοβαρζάνου καὶ τινων οἰωνῶν αἰσίων ἄλλων ἐπιγενομένων προσῆλθε τῷ βασιλεῖ καὶ νικήσειν αὐτὸν ἵππομαχίᾳ μεγάλη διεβεβαιούτο καὶ μάλιστα, ἂν τύχη περὶ τὴν Φρυγίαν ἀγωνισάμενος. [7] προσετίθει δὲ καὶ διότι ταῖς ἰδίαις χερσὶν ἀποκτενεῖ μαχόμενος ἐν παρατάξει στρατηγὸν ἐπιφανῆ τῶν πολέμιων· ταῦτα γὰρ αὐτῷ προσημαίνειν τοὺς θεοὺς καὶ μάλιστα τὴν Ἀθηνᾶν, ἣν καὶ συνεργήσειν <ἐν> τοῖς εὐημερήμασιν.

[2] He personally sailed with sixty fighting ships to the Troad, where he flung his spear from the ship and fixed it in the ground, and then leapt ashore himself the first of the Macedonians, signifying that he received Asia from the gods as a spear-won prize. [3] He visited the tombs of the heroes Achilles, Ajax, and the rest and honoured them with offerings and other appropriate marks of respect, and then proceeded to make an

accurate count of his accompanying forces. There were found to be, of infantry, twelve thousand Macedonians, seven thousand allies, and five thousand mercenaries, all of whom were under the command of Parmenion.

....

[6] As the king began his march out of the Troad and came to the sanctuary of Athena, the sacrificant named Alexander noticed in front of the temple a statue of Ariobarzanes, a former satrap of Phrygia, lying fallen on the ground, together with some other favourable omens that occurred. [7] He came to the king and affirmed that he would be victor in a great cavalry battle and especially if he happened to fight within the confines of Phrygia; he added that the king with his own hands would slay in battle a distinguished general of the enemy. Such, he said, were the portents the gods disclosed to him, and particularly Athena who would help him in his success.

Diod. XVII 18. 1

ὁ δ' Ἀλέξανδρος ἀποδεξάμενος τὴν τοῦ μάντεως πρόρρησιν τῇ μὲν Ἀθηνᾷ λαμπρὰν ἐπετέλεσε θυσίαν καὶ τὸ μὲν ἴδιον ὄπλον ἀνέθηκε τῇ θεῷ, τῶν δ' ἐν τῷ νεῷ κειμένων ὄπλων τὸ κράτιστον ἀναλαβὼν καὶ τούτῳ καθοπλισθεὶς ἐχρήσατο κατὰ τὴν πρώτην μάχην, ἣν διὰ τῆς ἰδίας ἀνδραγαθίας κρίνας περιβόητον ἔσχε τὴν νίκην.

Alexander welcomed the prediction of the seer and made a splendid sacrifice to Athena, dedicating his own armour to the goddess. Then, taking the finest of the panoplies deposited in the temple, he put it on and used it in his first battle. And this he did in fact decide through his own personal fighting ability and won a resounding victory. But this did not take place till a few days later.

Strab. XIII 1. 26

Τὴν δὲ τῶν Ἰλίων πόλιν τῶν νῦν τέως μὲν κώμην εἶναι φασὶ τὸ ἱερὸν ἔχουσαν τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς μικρὸν καὶ εὐτελές, Ἀλέξανδρον δὲ ἀναβάντα μετὰ τὴν ἐπὶ Γρανίκῳ νίκην ἀναθήμασί τε κοσμήσαι τὸ ἱερὸν καὶ προσαγορευθῆναι πόλιν καὶ οἰκοδομίαις ἀναλαβεῖν προστάξαι τοῖς ἐπιμεληταῖς ἐλευθέραν τε κρίναι καὶ ἄφορον· ὕστερον δὲ μετὰ τὴν κατάλυσιν τῶν Περσῶν ἐπιστολὴν καταπέμψαι φιλάνθρωπον, ὑπισχνούμενον πόλιν τε ποιῆσαι μεγάλην καὶ ἱερὸν ἐπισημότατον καὶ ἀγῶνα ἀποδείξειν ἱερόν.

It is said that the city of the present Ilians was for a time a mere village, having its temple of Athena, a small and cheap temple, but that when Alexander went up there after his victory at the Granicus River he adorned the temple with votive offerings, gave the village the title of city, and ordered those in charge to improve it with buildings, and that he adjudged it free and exempt from tribute; and that later, after the overthrow of the Persians, he sent down a kindly letter to the place, promising to make a great city of it, and to build a magnificent sanctuary, and to proclaim sacred games.

Plut. Alex. 15. 7

in xerocopia

Arr. I 11. 5-8

in xerocopia

Iust. XI 5. 10-11

Cum delati in continentem essent, primus Alexander iaculum uelut in hostilem terram iecit armatusque de naui tripudianti similis prosiluit atque ita hostias caedit, [11] precatus ne se regem illae terrae inuitae accipiant. [12] In Illo quoque ad tumulos eorum, qui Troiano bello ceciderant, parentauit.

ἐπὶ δὲ τούτων Φίλιππος ὁ βασιλεὺς ἡγεμὼν ὑπὸ τῶν Ἑλλήνων καθεσταμένος καὶ τὸν πρὸς Πέρσας πόλεμον ἐνστησάμενος Ἄτταλον μὲν καὶ Παρμενίωνα προαπέστειλεν εἰς τὴν Ἀσίαν, μέρος τῆς δυνάμεως δοὺς καὶ προστάξας ἐλευθεροῦν τὰς Ἑλληνίδας πόλεις, αὐτὸς δὲ σπεύδων μὲν μετὰ τῆς τῶν θεῶν γνώμης ἐπανελέσθαι τὸν πόλεμον ἐπηρώτησε τὴν Πυθίαν εἰ κρατήσῃ τοῦ βασιλέως τῶν Περσῶν. ἢ δ' ἔχρησεν αὐτῷ τόνδε τὸν χρησμόν· ἔστεπται μὲν ὁ ταῦρος, ἔχει τέλος, ἔστιν ὁ θύσων. [3] ὁ μὲν οὖν Φίλιππος σκολιῶς ἔχοντος τοῦ χρησμοῦ πρὸς τὸ ἴδιον συμφέρον ἐξεδέχετο τὸ λόγιον, ὥς τοῦ μαντείου προλέγοντος τὸν Πέρσῃν ἱερείου τρόπον τυθήσεσθαι· τὸ δ' ἀληθὲς οὐχ οὕτως εἶχεν, ἀλλὰ τοῦναντίον ἐσήμαινεν ἐν πανηγύρει καὶ θεῶν θυσίαις τὸν Φίλιππον ὥσπερ τὸν ταῦρον ἐστεμμένον σφαγήσεσθαι.

GORDIO

Curt. III 1. 14-16

in xerocopia

Plut. *Alex.* 18. 1-4

in xerocopia

Arr. II 3. 1-6

in xerocopia

Iust. XI 7. 3-16

Post haec Gordien urbem petit quae posita est inter Phrygiam maiorem et minorem ; [4] cuius urbis potiundae non tam propter praedam cupido eum cepit, sed quod audierat in ea urbe in templo Iouis iugum Gordii positum, cuius nexum si quis soluisset, eum tota Asia regnaturum antiqua oracula cecinisse. [5] Huius rei causa et origo illa fuit. Gordius cum in his regionibus bubus conductis araret, aues eum omnis generis circumuolare coeperunt. [6] Profectus ad consulendos augures uicinae urbis obuiam in porta habuit uirginem eximias pulchritudinis, percontatusque eam quem potissimum augurem consuleret ; [7] illa audita causa consulendi, gnara artis ex disciplina parentum, regnum ei portendi respondit polliceturque se et matrimonii et spei sociam. [8] Tam pulchra condicio prima regni felicitas uidebatur. [9] Post nuptias inter Phrygas orta seditio est. [10] Consulentibus de fine discordiarum oracula responderunt regem discordiis opus esse. [11] Iterato quaerentibus de persona regis, iubentur eum regem obseruare, quem reuersi primum in templum Iouis euntem plaustro repperissent. [12] Obuius illis Gordius fuit, statimque eum regem consalutant. [13] Ille plastrum quo uehenti regnum delatum fuerat, in templo Iouis positum maiestati regiae consecrauit. [14] Post hunc filius Mida regnauit, qui ab Orpheo sacrorum sollemnibus initiatus Phrygiam religionibus inpleuit, quibus tutior omni uita quam armis fuit. [15] Igitur Alexander capta urbe cum in templum Iouis uenisset, iugum plaustri requisiiuit, [16] quo exhibito, cum capita loramentorum intra nodos abscondita reperire non posset,

uiolentius oraculo usus gladio loramenta caedit atque ita resolutis nexibus latentia in
nodis capita inuenit.

SIWAH

Diod. XVII 49. 2 – 52. 1

Ἐπ' ἄρχοντος δ' Ἀθήνησιν Ἀριστοφάνους ἐν Ῥώμῃ κατεστάθησαν ὑπατοὶ Σπούριος Ποστόμιος καὶ Τίτος Οὐετούριος. ἐπὶ δὲ τούτων Ἀλέξανδρος ὁ βασιλεὺς τὰ περὶ τὴν Γάζαν διοικήσας Ἀμύνταν μὲν μετὰ δέκα νεῶν εἰς Μακεδονίαν ἐξέπεμψε, προστάζας τῶν νέων τοὺς εὐθέτους ἐπιλέξαι πρὸς στρατείαν, [2] αὐτὸς δὲ μετὰ πάσης τῆς δυνάμεως παρήλθεν εἰς Αἴγυπτον καὶ παρέλαβε πάσας τὰς ἐν αὐτῇ πόλεις χωρὶς κινδύνων· οἱ γὰρ Αἰγύπτιοι τῶν Περσῶν ἡσεβηκότων εἰς τὰ ἱερὰ καὶ βιαίως ἀρχόντων ἄσμενοι προσεδέξαντο τοὺς Μακεδόνας. καταστήσας δὲ τὰ κατὰ τὴν Αἴγυπτον προῆλθεν εἰς Ἄμμωνος, βουλόμενος χρήσασθαι τῷ θεῷ. ...

[3] ... αὐτὸς δὲ μετὰ τῶν συναποδημούντων προῆγεν ἐπὶ τὸ ἱερὸν· καὶ διανύσας ἐπὶ τὴν ἔρημον καὶ ἄνυδρον, ὕδρευσάμενος διῆει τὴν χώραν ἔχουσαν ἄμμου μέγεθος ἀέριον. ἐν ἡμέραις δὲ τέσσαρσιν ἐξαναλωθέντων τῶν κοιμιζομένων ὕδατων εἰς δεινὴν σπάνιν παρεγένοντο. [4] εἰς ἀθυμίαν οὖν πάντων ἐμπεσόντων ἄφνω πολὺς ὄμβρος ἐξ οὐρανοῦ κατερράγη, τὴν ὑπάρχουσαν τῶν ὑγρῶν ἔνδειαν παραδόξως διωρθούμενος· διὸ καὶ τὸ συμβὰν ἔδοξεν ἀνελπίστως σωθεῖσι θεῶν προνοίᾳ γεγονέναι. [5] ὕδρευσάμενοι δ' ἔκ τινος κοιλάδος, ἐπὶ τέσσαρας ἡμέρας ἔχοντες ἀρκοῦσαν τὴν βοήθειαν καὶ διελθόντες ἡμέρας τέσσαρας * διεξέπεσαν τὴν ἄνυδρον. ἀδήλου δὲ τῆς ὁδοῦ καθεστώσης διὰ τὸ πλῆθος τῆς ἄμμου οἱ καθηγούμενοι τῆς ὁδοῦ προσήγγειλαν τῷ βασιλεῖ διότι κόρακες δεξιοὶ κλάζοντες τὴν τρίβον τῆς ἐπὶ τὸ ἱερὸν φερούσης ἀτραποῦ προσημαίνουσιν. [6] οἰωνισάμενος δὲ τὸ συμβαῖνον ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος καὶ διαλαβὼν δέχεσθαι τὸν θεὸν ἀσμένως τὴν παρουσίαν αὐτοῦ προῆγε κατὰ σπουδὴν. καὶ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον κατήνυσεν ἐπὶ τὴν πικρὰν καλουμένην λίμνην, μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα πορευθεὶς σταδίους ἑκατὸν παρήλλαξε τὰς ἐπικαλουμένας Ἄμμωνος πόλεις· ἐντεῦθεν δ' ὁδοιπορήσας μίαν ἡμέραν συνήγγισε τῷ τεμένει.

17.50.1

Ἡ δὲ περὶ τὸ ἱερὸν τοῦτο χώρα περιέχεται ὑπὸ ἐρήμου καὶ ἀνύδρου τῆς ἀμμώδους, πάσης φιλανθρωπίας ἐστερημένης. αὐτὴ δ' ἐπὶ μῆκος καὶ πλάτος ἐπὶ σταδίους πεντήκοντα παρήκουσα πολλοῖς μὲν καὶ καλοῖς ὕδασι ναματιαίοις διαρρεῖται, δένδρων δὲ παντοδαπῶν καὶ μάλιστα καρπίμων πληθύνει· καὶ τὸν μὲν ἀέρα τῇ κράσει ἀραπλήσιον ἔχει ταῖς ἑαριναῖς ὥραις, τόποις δὲ καυματώδεσι περιεχομένη μόνη παρηλλαγμένη παρέχεται τοῖς ἐνδιατρίβουσι τὴν εὐκρασίαν. [2] τὸ μὲν οὖν τέμενός φασιν ἰδρῦσασθαι Δαναὸν τὸν Αἰγύπτιον, τὴν δὲ ἱερὰν τοῦ θεοῦ χώραν περιοικοῦσι κατὰ μὲν τὴν μεσημβρίαν καὶ δύσιν Αἰθίοπες, κατὰ δὲ τὴν ἄρκτον Λιβύων νομαδικὸν ἔθνος καὶ πρὸς τὴν μεσόγειον ἀνήκον τὸ τῶν Νασαμώνων ὀνομαζομένων ἔθνος. [3] τῶν δ' Ἀμμωνίων κωμηδὸν οἰκούντων κατὰ μέσην αὐτῶν τὴν χώραν ἀκρόπολις ὑπάρχει τριπλοῖς ὠχυρωμένη τοῖς τεῖχεσι· καὶ ταύτης ὁ μὲν πρῶτος περίβολος ἔχει τῶν ἀρχαίων δυναστῶν βασιλεία, ὁ δ' ἕτερος τὴν γυναικωνίτιν αὐλήν καὶ τὰς τῶν τέκνων καὶ γυναικῶν καὶ συγγενῶν οἰκίσεις καὶ φυλακτήρια τῶν σκοπῶν, ἔτι δὲ τὸν τοῦ θεοῦ σηκὸν καὶ τὴν ἱερὰν κρήνην, ἀφ' ἧς τὰ τῷ θεῷ προσφερόμενα τυγχάνει τῆς ἀγνείας, ὁ δὲ

τρίτος τὰς τῶν δορυφόρων καταλύσεις καὶ τὰ φυλακτήρια τῶν τὸν τύραννον
 δορυφορούντων. [4] καθίδρυται δὲ τῆς ἀκροπόλεως ἐκτὸς οὐ μακρὰν ἕτερος ναὸς
 Ἄμμωνος πολλοῖς καὶ μεγάλοις δένδροις σύσκιος. τούτου δὲ πλησίον ὑπάρχει κρήνη
 διὰ τὸ συμβεβηκὸς ὀνομαζομένη Ἡλίου κρήνη· [5] αὕτη δὲ τὸ ὕδωρ ἔχει
 συμεταβαλλόμενον αἰεὶ ταῖς ἡμεριναῖς ὥραις παραδόξως. ἅμ' ἡμέρα γὰρ ἐξίησι τὴν
 πηγὴν χλιαράν, προΐουσης δὲ τῆς ἡμέρας τῇ προσθέσει τῶν ὥρων ἀνάλογον
 καταψύχεται, τοῦ μεσημβρινοῦ δὲ καύματος ἀκμάζει τῇ ψυχρότητι· πάλιν δὲ ἀνάλογον
 ἀπολήγει πρὸς τὴν ἐσπέραν καὶ τῆς νυκτὸς ἐπιλαβούσης ἀναθερμαίνεται μέχρι μέσων
 νυκτῶν καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν ἀπολήγει, μέχρι ἂν ἅμα τῷ φωτὶ πρὸς τὴν ἐξ ἀρχῆς
 ἀποκατασταθῇ τάξιν. [6] τὸ δὲ τοῦ θεοῦ ξόانون ἐκ σμαράγδων καὶ τινων ἄλλων
 <πολυτελῶν λίθων> περιέχεται καὶ τὴν μαντείαν ἰδιάζουσας παντελῶς ποιεῖται. ἐπὶ
 νεῶς γὰρ περιφέρεται χρυσῆς ὑπὸ ἱερέων ὀγδοήκοντα· οὗτοι δ' ἐπὶ τῶν ὤμων φέροντες
 τὸν θεὸν προάγουσιν αὐτομάτως ὅποι ποτ' ἂν ἄγῃ τὸ τοῦ θεοῦ νεῦμα τὴν πορείαν. [7]
 συνακολουθεῖ δὲ πλῆθος παρθένων καὶ γυναικῶν παιᾶνας ἄδουσῶν κατὰ πᾶσαν τὴν
 ὁδὸν καὶ πατρίῳ καθυμνουσῶν ᾠδῇ τὸν θεόν.

17.51.1

Τοῦ δ' Ἀλεξάνδρου διὰ τῶν ἱερέων εἰσαχθέντος εἰς τὸν νεῶν καὶ τὸν θεὸν
 κατανοήσαντος ὁ μὲν προφητεύων ἀνὴρ πρεσβύτερος τὴν ἡλικίαν προσελθὼν αὐτῷ,
 Χαῖρε, εἶπεν, ὦ παῖ· καὶ ταύτην παρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ ἔχε τὴν πρόσησιν. [2] ὁ δ' ὑπολαβὼν,
 Δέχομαι, φησὶν, ὦ πάτερ, καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν ἐκλήσομαι σός. ἀλλ' <εἰπέ μοι> εἴ μοι δίδως
 τὴν ἀπάσης <τῆς> γῆς ἀρχήν. τοῦ δὲ ἱερέως προσελθόντος τῷ σηκῷ καὶ τῶν ἀνδρῶν
 τῶν αἰρόντων τὸν θεὸν κινηθέντων τεταγμένοις τισὶ τῆς φωνῆς συμβόλοις ὁ μὲν ἀνεῖπεν
 βεβαίως αὐτῷ διδόναι τὸν θεὸν τὴν αἴτησιν, ὁ δ' Ἀλέξανδρος ὑπολαβὼν, Τὸ λοιπόν,
 εἶπεν, ὦ δαῖμον, ἀπόφηνάι μοι τῶν ζητουμένων, εἰ πάντας ἤδη μετελήλυθα τοὺς
 γενομένους φονεῖς τοῦ πατρὸς ἢ τινες διαλελήθασιν. [3] ὁ δὲ προφήτης ἀνεβόησεν
 Εὐφήμει· οὐδένα γὰρ ἀνθρώπων ὑπάρχειν τὸν δυνησόμενον ἐπιβουλεύσαι τῷ
 γεννήσαντι αὐτόν, τοὺς δὲ τοῦ Φιλίππου φονεῖς ἅπαντας τετευχέναι τιμωρίας. τεκμήρια
 δ' ἔσεσθαι τῆς ἐκ τοῦ θεοῦ γενέσεως τὸ μέγεθος τῶν ἐν ταῖς πράξεσι κατορθωμάτων·
 καὶ γὰρ πρότερον ἀήττητον αὐτὸν γεγονέναι καὶ μετὰ ταῦτ' ἔσεσθαι διὰ παντὸς
 ἀνίκητον. [4] ὁ δ' Ἀλέξανδρος ἡσθεὶς ἐπὶ τοῖς κεκρησμοφωδημένοις καὶ τὸν θεὸν
 μεγαλοπρεπέσιν ἀναθήμασι τιμήσας ἐπανήλθεν εἰς τὴν Αἴγυπτον.

Having settled the affairs of Egypt, Alexander went off to the Temple of Ammon, where
 he wished to consult the oracle of the god. When he had advanced half way along the
 coast, he was met by envoys from the people of Cyrene, who brought him a crown and
 magnificent gifts, among which were three hundred chargers and five handsome four-
 horse chariots. [3] He received the envoys cordially and made a treaty of friendship and
 alliance with them; then he continued with his travelling companions on to the temple.
 When he came to the desert and waterless part, he took on water and began to cross a
 country covered with an infinite expanse of sand. In four days their water had given out
 and they suffered from fearful thirst. [4] All fell into despair, when suddenly a great
 storm of rain burst from the heavens, ending their shortage of water in a way which had
 not been foreseen, and which, therefore, seemed to those so unexpectedly rescued to
 have been due to the action of divine Providence. [5] They refilled their containers from
 a hollow in the ground, and again with a four days' supply in hand marched for four
 days and came out of the desert. At one point, when their road could not be traced
 because of the sand dunes, the guide pointed out to the king that crows cawing on their
 right were calling their attention to the route which led to the temple.

[6] Alexander took this for an omen, and thinking that the god was pleased by his visit pushed on with speed. First he came to the so-called Bitter Lake, and then, proceeding another hundred furlongs, he passed by the Cities of Ammon. Then, after a journey of one day, he approached the sanctuary.

[1] The land where this temple lies is surrounded by a sandy desert and waterless waste, destitute of anything good for man. The oasis is fifty furlongs in length and breadth and is watered by many fine springs, so that it is covered with all sorts of trees, especially those valued for their fruit. It has a moderate climate like our spring and, surrounded as it is by very hot regions, alone furnishes to its people a contrasting mildness of temperature. [2] It is said that the sanctuary was built by Danaus the Egyptian. The land, which is sacred to the god, is occupied on the south and west by Ethiopians, and on the north by the Libyans, a nomadic people, and the so-called Nasamonians who reach on into the interior. [3] All the people of Ammon dwell in villages. In the midst of their country there is a fortress secured by triple walls. The innermost circuit encloses the palace of the ancient rulers; the next, the women's court, the dwellings of the children, women, and relatives, and the guardrooms of the scouts, as well as the sanctuary of the god and the sacred spring, from the waters of which offerings addressed to the god take on holiness; the outer circuit surrounds the barracks of the king's guards and the guardrooms of those who protect the person of the ruler. [4] Outside of the fortress at no great distance there is another temple of Ammon shaded by many large trees, and near this is the spring which is called the Spring of the Sun from its behaviour.¹ Its waters change in temperature oddly in accordance with the times of day. [5] At sunrise it sends forth a warm stream, but as the day advances it grows cooler proportionally with the passage of the hours, until under the noon-day heat it reaches its extreme degree of cold. Then again in the same proportion it grows warmer toward evening and as the night advances it continues to heat up until midnight when again the trend is reversed, and at daybreak once more the waters have returned to their original temperature. [6] The image of the god is encrusted with emeralds and other precious stones, and answers those who consult the oracle in a quite peculiar fashion. It is carried about upon a golden boat by eighty priests, and these, with the god on their shoulders, go without their own volition wherever the god directs their path. [7] A multitude of girls and women follows them singing paeans as they go and praising the god in a traditional hymn.

[1] When Alexander was conducted by the priests into the temple and had regarded the god for a while, the one who held the position of prophet, an elderly man, came to him and said, "Rejoice, son take this form of address as from the god also." [2] He replied, "I accept, father; for the future I shall be called thy son. But tell me if thou givest me the rule of the whole earth." The priest now entered the sacred enclosure and as the bearers now lifted the god and were moved according to certain prescribed sounds of the voice, the prophet cried that of a certainty the god had granted him his request, and Alexander spoke again: "The last, O spirit, of my questions now answer; have I punished all those who were the murderers of my father or have some escaped me?" [3] The prophet shouted: "Silence! There is no mortal who can plot against the one who begot him. All the murderers of Philip, however, have been punished. The proof of his divine birth will reside in the greatness of his deeds; as formerly he has been undefeated, so now he will be unconquerable for all time." [4] Alexander was delighted with these responses. He honoured the god with rich gifts and returned to Egypt.

Strab. XVII 1. 43

... διόπερ καὶ τὸ ἐν Ἀμμωνί σχεδὸν τι ἐκλέλειπται χρηστήριον, πρότερον δὲ ἐτετίμητο. δηλοῦσι δὲ μάλιστα τοῦτο οἱ τὰς Ἀλεξάνδρου πράξεις ἀναγράψαντες, προστιθέντες μὲν

πολὺ καὶ τὸ τῆς κολακείας εἶδος ἐμφαίνοντες δέ τι καὶ πίστεως ἄξιον. ὁ γοῦν Καλλισθένης φησὶ τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον φιλοδοξῆσαι μάλιστα ἀνελθεῖν ἐπὶ τὸ χρηστήριον, ἐπειδὴ καὶ Περσέα ἤκουσε πρότερον ἀναβῆναι καὶ Ἡρακλέα· ὁρμήσαντα δ' ἐκ Παραιτονίου καίπερ νότων ἐπιπεσόντων βιάσασθαι, πλανώμενον δ' ὑπὸ τοῦ κονιορτοῦ σωθῆναι γενομένων ὄμβρων καὶ δυεῖν κοράκων ἡγησαμένων τὴν ὁδόν, ἥδη τούτων κολακευτικῶς λεγομένων· τοιαῦτα δὲ καὶ τὰ ἐξῆς· μόνῳ γὰρ δὴ τῷ βασιλεῖ τὸν ἱερέα ἐπιτρέψαι παρελθεῖν εἰς τὸν νεῶ μετὰ τῆς συνήθους στολῆς, τοὺς δ' ἄλλους μετενδῦναι τὴν ἐσθῆτα, ἔξωθέν τε τῆς θεμιστείας ἀκροάσασθαι πάντας πλὴν Ἀλεξάνδρου, τοῦτον δ' ἔνδοθεν. εἶναι δ' οὐχ ὥσπερ ἐν Δελφοῖς καὶ Βραγχίδαις τὰς ἀποθεσπίσεις διὰ λόγων, ἀλλὰ νεύμασι καὶ συμβόλοις τὸ πλέον, ὥς καὶ παρ' Ὀμήρῳ “ἢ καὶ κυανέησιν ἐπ' “ὄφρυσιν νεῦσε Κρονίων,” τοῦ προφήτου τὸν Δία ὑποκριναμένου· τοῦτο μέντοι ῥητῶς εἰπεῖν τὸν ἄνθρωπον πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα ὅτι εἴη Διὸς υἱός.

... Perciò è quasi abbandonato anche l'oracolo di Ammone, mentre anticamente fu molto frequentato, come manifestano principalmente coloro che scrissero le gesta di Alessandro, i quali sebbene inventino molte cose per desiderio di adulare, nondimeno alcune ne dicono degne di fede. Callistene racconta che Alessandro fu molto desideroso di visitare quell'oracolo, poiché aveva sentito che Perseo ed Ercole anticamente vi erano andati. Mossosi dunque da Paretonio, benché soffiassero i venti del mezzogiorno pure poté superarli; mentre dal polverio della sabbia era tratto in pericolo, sopravvennero a salvarlo le piogge e due corvi che gli fecero scorta nel viaggio. E già queste asserzioni sernbrano dette per adulare, e così pure anche le seguenti: che solamente al re permise il sacerdote di entrare nel santuario col suo abito consueto; tutti gli altri avevano dovuto mutarlo; e tutti avevano dovuto ascoltare l'oracolo stando fuori, tranne Alessandro che entrò. I responsi poi venivano dati non a parole, come a Delfi e nel santuario dei Branchidi, ma per cenni e per simboli il più delle volte. Perciò, come Omero dice di Giove - il gran figlio di Saturno i neri sopraccigli corrugò - così il profeta imitava quel dio. E allora disse espressamente al Re che era figlio di Zeus.

Curt. IV 7. 5-32

in xerocopia

Plut. Alex. 26. 10 – 27

in xerocopia

Arr. III 3. 1-2 e 4. 5

in xerocopia

Iust. XI 11. 2-13

Ad louem deinde Hammonem pergit consulturus et de euentu futurorum et de origine sua. [3] Namque mater eius Olympias confessa uiro suo Philippo fuerat Alexandrum non ex eo se, sed ex serpente ingentis magnitudinis, concepisse. [4] Denique Philippus ultimo prope uitae suae tempore filium suum non esse palam praedicauerat. [5] Qua ex causa Olympiada uelut stupri conpertam repudio dimiserat. [6] Igitur Alexander cupiens originem diuinitatis adquirere, simul et matrem infamia liberare, per praemissos subornat antistites quid sibi responderi uellet. [7] Ingredientem templum statim

antistites ut Hammonis filium salutant. [8] Ille laetus dei adoptione hoc se patre censi iubet. [9] Rogat deinde an omnes interfectores parentis sui sit ultus. Respondetur patrem eius nec interfici posse nec mori ; regis Philippi plene peractam ultionem. [10] Tertia interrogatione poscenti uictoriam omnium bellorum possessionemque terrarum dari respondetur. [11] Comitibus quoque suis responsum, ut Alexandrum pro deo, non pro rege colerent. [12] Hinc illi aucta insolentia mirusque animo increuit tumor exempta comitate quam et Graecorum litteris et Macedonum institutis didicerat. [13] Reuersus ab Hammone Alexandream condidit et coloniam Macedonum caput esse Aegypti iubet.

DIDIMA

Strab. XI 11. 4

in xerocopia

Strab. XIV 1. 5

Μετὰ δὲ τὸ Ποσειδίου τὸ Μιλησίων ἐξῆς ἐστὶ τὸ μαντεῖον τοῦ Διδυμέως Ἀπόλλωνος τὸ ἐν Βραγχίδαῖς ἀναβάντι ὅσον ὀκτωκαίδεκα σταδίου· ἐνεπρήσθη δ' ὑπὸ Ξέρξου, καθάπερ καὶ τὰ ἄλλα ἱερὰ πλὴν τοῦ ἐν Ἐφέσῳ· οἱ δὲ Βραγχίδαι τοὺς θησαυροὺς τοῦ θεοῦ παραδόντες τῷ Πέρσῃ φεύγοντι συναπῆραν τοῦ μὴ τισαι δίκας τῆς ἱεροσυλίας καὶ τῆς προδοσίας.

Next after the Poseidium of the Milesians, eighteen stadia inland, is the oracle of Apollo Didymeus among the Branchidae. It was set on fire by Xerxes, as were also the other temples, except that at Ephesus. The Branchidae gave over the treasures of the god to the Persian king, and accompanied him in his flight in order to escape punishment for the robbing and the betrayal of the temple.

Strab. XVII 1. 43 (segue)

προστραγῶδεϊ δὲ τούτοις ὁ Καλλισθένης, ὅτι τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος τὸ ἐν Βραγχίδαῖς μαντεῖον ἐκλελοιπότης, ἐξ ὅτου τὸ ἱερὸν ὑπὸ τῶν Βραγχιδῶν σεσύλητο ἐπὶ Ξέρξου περσιζάντων, ἐκλελοιπυίας δὲ καὶ τῆς κρήνης, τότε ἢ τε κρήνη ἀνάσχοι καὶ μαντεῖα πολλὰ οἱ Μιλησίων πρέσβεις κομίσαιεν εἰς Μέμφιν περὶ τῆς ἐκ Διὸς γενέσεως τοῦ Ἀλεξάνδρου καὶ τῆς ἐσομένης περὶ Ἄρβηλα νίκης καὶ τοῦ Δαρείου θανάτου καὶ τῶν ἐν Λακεδαιμόνι νεωτερισμῶν· περὶ δὲ τῆς εὐγενείας καὶ τὴν Ἐρυθραίαν Ἀθηναῖδα φησὶν ἀνειπεῖν· καὶ γὰρ ταύτην ὁμοίαν γενέσθαι τῇ παλαιᾷ Σιβύλλῃ τῇ Ἐρυθραίᾳ. τὰ μὲν δὴ τῶν συγγραφέων τοιαῦτα.

Con esagerazione tragica aggiunge poi Callistene che, sebbene l'oracolo di Apollo presso i Branchidi fosse cessato già fin da quando il tempio fu spogliato da quei Branchidi che sotto Serse avevano parteggiato per i Persiani, ed anche la fonte si fosse spenta, nondimeno allora scaturì di nuovo, e che i Milesi là inviati ne riportarono a Menfi molti responsi riguardanti l'origine di Alessandro da Zeus, la vittoria che avrebbe ottenuto presso Arbela, la morte di Dario e la ribellione che sarebbe accaduta a Lacedemone. E rispetto all'origine divina, dice che Alessandro ne fu reso certo anche da Atenaide d'Eritre, la quale nella città di tal nome non era dissimile dall'antica Sibilla. Questo è quello che dicono gli storici.

Curt. VII 5. 28-35

in xerocopia

Aelian. frg. 54 Herscher = Suid. s.v. Βραγχίδαι

ὅτι οἱ ἐν Δινδύμοις τῆς Μιλησίας οἰκοῦντες Ξέρξῃ χαριζόμενοι τὸν νεῶν τοῦ ἐπιχωρίου Ἀπόλλωνος τοῖς βαρβάροις προὔδοσαν· καὶ ἐσυλήθη τὰ ἀναθήματα πᾶμπλειστα ὄντα. δεδιότες οὖν οἱ προδόται τὴν ἐκ τῶν νόμων καὶ τῶν ἐν ᾧσται τιμωρίαν δέονται Ξέρξου μισθὸν λαβεῖν τῆς κακίστης ἐκείνης προδοσίας, μετοικισθῆναι ἐν χώρῳ τινὶ Ἀσιανῶ. ὁ δὲ πείθεται, καὶ ἀνθ' ὧν εἶχε κακῶς καὶ ἀσεβῶς, ἔδωκεν αὐτοῖς οἰκεῖν ἕνθεν οὐκ ἔμελλον ἐπιβήσεσθαι τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἔτι, ἀλλ' ἔξω τοῦ δέους ἔσεσθαι τοῦ κατειληφότος αὐτοῖ τε καὶ τὸ ἐκείνων γένος. κᾷτα λαχόντες δὴ τὸν χῶρον ἐν οἰωνοῖς οὐδαμῇ χρηστοῖς πόλιν ἐγείρουσι καὶ τίθενται Βραγχίδας ὄνομα αὐτῇ καὶ ὦντο μὴ μόνους ἀποδρᾶναι Μιλησίους, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν δίκην αὐτήν. οὐ μὴν ἐκάθευδεν ἡ τοῦ θεοῦ πρόνοια· Ἀλέξανδρος γάρ, ὅτε τὸν Δαρεῖον νικήσας τῆς Περσῶν ἀρχῆς ἐγκρατὴς ἐγένετο, ἀκούσας τὰ τολμηθέντα καὶ μισήσας αὐτῶν τὴν τοῦ γένους διαδοχὴν ἀπέκτεινε πάντας, κακοῦς εἶναι κρίνων τοὺς τῶν κακῶν ἐκγόνους, καὶ τὴν ψευδώνυμον πόλιν κατέσκαψε, καὶ ἠφανίσθησαν.

Those living in Milesian Didyma who, in seeking favor with Xerxes, betrayed the temple of the indigenous Apollo to the barbarians: the temple offerings, of which there were a great number, were plundered. The traitors, fearing vengeance from both the laws and the inhabitants of the city, asked Xerxes to pay them for this wretched betrayal and settle them in some Asian land. He agreed, and in exchange for what was evil and unholy, allowed them to live where they would never again set foot upon Greece and both they and future generations would be removed from the fear besetting them. Then, having obtained the land with birds of ill-omen, they established a city and gave it the name Branchidas, thinking they had not only escaped the Milesians, but also justice itself. But the watchfulness of the god was not asleep. For Alexander, when he obtained mastery of the Persian empire upon conquering Darius, heard of their daring and conceived a hatred for them and their successive generations; so he killed them all, judging that the offspring of evil is evil. He overthrew their pseudonymous city and razed it to the ground.