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Alexander the Great and the Macedonian Empire

Course Guidebook

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Professor Kenneth W. Harl is Professor of Classical and Byzantine History at Tulane University, where he has taught since 1978. He earned his B.A. from Trinity College and his M.A. and Ph.D. from Yale University.

Professor Harl teaches courses in Greek, Roman, Byzantine, and Crusader history from the freshman to graduate levels. A recognized scholar of coins and classical Anatolia, he takes Tulane students to Turkey on excursions and as assistants on excavations of Hellenistic and Roman sites.

Professor Harl has published numerous articles and is the author of *Civic Coins and Civic Politics in the Roman East, A.D. 180–275* and *Coinage in the Roman Economy, 300 B.C. to A.D. 700*. His current work includes publishing the coins from the excavation of Gordion and a new book on Rome and its Iranian foes.

Professor Harl has received numerous teaching awards at Tulane, including twice receiving the coveted Sheldon Hackney Award for Excellence in Teaching (voted on by both faculty and students). He is also the recipient of Baylor University's nationwide Robert Foster Cherry Award for Great Teaching. In 2007, he was the Lewis P. Jones Visiting Professor in History at Wofford College.

Professor Harl is also a fellow and trustee of the American Numismatic Society. ■

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SUPPLEMENTAL MATERIAL

Alexander the Great and the Macedonian Empire

Scope:

Alexander the Great, youthful king of Macedon and the most celebrated conqueror in history, dramatically, unexpectedly, and irrevocably altered the ancient world. This course examines not only the career of Alexander but also the historical conditions that produced this greatest of conquerors as well as Alexander's impact and legacy that endures to the present day. The first quarter of the course deals with the Hellenic world and Persian Empire in the two generations before the birth of Alexander the Great. In particular, Alexander owed so much to his father, King Philip II, hailed the greatest king of Europe in his day, his mother Queen Olympias, and his tutor and mentor Aristotle.

The middle half of the course covers the career of Alexander, with emphasis not only his military genius, but also his impact on the Hellenic world, Near East, and India. Central to this discussion is Alexander's changing perceptions of his destiny that led to clashes with the senior Macedonian nobility, and finally the soldiers themselves who twice protested their king's policies for administering an ever expanding world empire. These same policies steadily alienated his reluctant Greek allies, who, just before the king's death, rose in the rebellion known as the Lamian War. At the same time, his swift victories so awed and stunned the peoples of the Near East that his generals, after their king's death, could wage civil wars over the succession without fear of rebellion. Alexander's aims have thus inspired imitation by later conquerors, and debate among scholars and writers. As a result, each generation has recast the Macedonian king in a guise suitable to its age rather than understood Alexander on his own terms. Such an approach was already true in Antiquity, because each of main surviving accounts, composed by Flavius Arrianus, Plutarch, Diodorus Siculus, and Curtius Rufus, conveys a different image of the Macedonian king. The aim of this course is to put forth the most plausible historical Alexander the Great.

The last quarter of the course deals with the early Hellenistic world wrought by the conquests of Alexander. To be sure, Alexander never possessed a

master plan for the Hellenization of the Near East or the creation of a wider unity of mankind. Yet, his actions transformed the face of the Near East. Even though Alexander's generals, the Diadochoi, partitioned Macedonian Empire by 301 B.C., a wider institutional, economic and cultural unity, largely Hellenic in origin and based on the Greek city-state, endured. This resulting Hellenistic world was the foundation upon which Rome, the ultimate heir of Alexander, erected her Mediterranean empire. ■

Alexander the Great—Conqueror or Tyrant?

Lecture 1

Alexander's impact is so wide-ranging. ... He is an epitome, perhaps the best example of how a single individual, for all of the restrictions of his generation, can rapidly, fundamentally, and irrevocably change his world.

No contemporary account of **Alexander the Great**, has survived, and it is doubtful an objective narrative of Alexander ever existed. Drawing on older contemporary accounts, Greek intellectuals **Arrian** and **Plutarch**, penned two of the four surviving sources. Arrian wrote the *Anabasis* of Alexander the Great based on the account of Ptolemy, companion of Alexander. Arrian gives, in general a favorable account of Alexander the Great, who is to be compared to Arrian's patron and Emperor Trajan.

Plutarch wrote a biography of Alexander, concentrating on details of Alexander's character rather than providing a historical narrative because he sought to draw moral lessons from noble Greeks and Romans. Plutarch, also in part drew on the history of Ptolemy, and so many details about war and politics are consistent with Arrian's version. Plutarch, however, drew on other sources, notably philosophical writers hostile to Alexander who was perceived as a tyrant corrupted by power and wine, and so a slave to his passions.

Writing in Latin in the 1st century A.D., **Curtius Rufus** delighted in exotic details and interpreted Alexander through the prism of Stoicism. **Diodorus Siculus**, writing in c. 50 B.C., devoted an entire book of his universal history to Alexander. Diodorus errs in military details, but he presents many incidents from the perspective of the Greeks or King Darius III of Persia. Perceptions of the career and impact of Alexander, who is arguably the best known secular figure history, have been even more varied. Greeks of Alexander's day resented the youthful conqueror who stripped their cities of freedom and autonomy. Later Greek writers saw Alexander as ushering in an era of great kings, and they too were critical of the Macedonian king's policies. Roman generals and emperors saw Alexander as a model.

To Europeans of the Middle Ages and Renaissance, Alexander epitomized the chivalrous king traversing distant lands populated with monstrous races and fabulous animals. Alexander was the only figure of Classical antiquity who captured the imagination of medieval Islam. The modern image of Alexander, noble conqueror and bearer of Hellenic civilization, was disseminated by the historian W. W. Tarn, who saw in the king's actions the prelude to Victorian Britain's Liberal imperial mission. This was the image transmitted by Western Europeans to the Greek nationalists of the 19th century that created the new nation of Greece. But since WWII, scholars applying the rigorous source criticism of the German academy and writing in the shadow of totalitarian dictatorships have recalled into question the greatness and generalship of Alexander. In the works of Badian and Bosworth, Alexander emerges as a cruel and diabolical tyrant, the precursor to the Perhaps, Wilcken, writing two generations ago, has captured best Alexander, a Macedonian king inspired by his sense of destiny and with a longing to perform great heroic deeds. ■

Names to Know

Alexander the Great (b. 356 B.C.; r. 336–323 B.C.): Argead king of Macedon, son of Philip II. The greatest of generals, he secured Macedon, control over the Greek league, and in 334–324 B.C., Alexander conquered the Persian empire, and transformed the face of the ancient world. .

Arrian (c. 86–146 A.D.): Lucius Flavius Arrianus Xenophon. Historian and Roman senator. He wrote in Greek the Anabasis or Asian expedition of Alexander the Great based on the account of King Ptolemy I and other eye witness histories.

Curtius Rufus: Roman historian writing in Latin during the reigns of Claudius or Vespasian. Composed a history of Alexander in ten books of which only last eight survive. The work is noted for its delight in exotica.

Diodorus Siculus (c. 90–30 B.C.): Wrote a universal history in 40 books down to the Gallic Wars of Julius Caesar. His narrative is the prime source on the reign of Philip II.

Plutarch of Chaeronea: (c. 46–120 A.D.): Philosopher and biographer, his work is an invaluable source for the leading figures of the 4th century B.C. as well as a wealth of information on the Hellenistic world.

Suggested Reading

Badian, "Alexander the Great and the Loneliness of Power."

———, "Alexander the Great and the Unity of Mankind."

Bosworth, *Alexander and the East*.

———, *Conquest and Empire*.

Pearson, *The Lost Histories of Alexander the Great*.

Stader, *Arrian of Nicomedia*.

Tarn, *Alexander the Great*.

Wilcken, *Alexander the Great*.

Wood, *In the Footsteps of Alexander the Great*.

———, *In the Footsteps of Alexander the Great*.

Questions to Consider

1. Why do the surviving sources on Alexander the Great present such major problems of interpretation? What accounts for the differing perspectives of Arrian, Plutarch, Diodorus Siculus, and Curtius Rufus? Was there ever a single objective account of Alexander in antiquity?

2. Why did the heroic images of the young Macedonian king gain such widespread popularity from antiquity to the present? What about the king appealed to Europeans in Middle Ages?

3. How have modern scholarly opinions about Alexander been shaped by events and perceptions of each scholar? Why did Tarn persist in arguing for the idealistic image of Alexander? How have revisions of this portrait contributed to the understanding not only of Alexander, but the entire ancient world?

Greece in the Age of Hegemonies

Lecture 2

What did the Greek world look like in the time of Alexander the Great? How did Philip of Macedon, to everyone's surprise, emerge as the man who would unite all of Greece within 10 years of coming to the throne?

In 404 B.C., the city-state of Sparta won the Peloponnesian War against Athens by cutting a deal with the Persians. The Spartans had to deliver on a treaty in which the Persian governors of Asia Minor promised to furnish financial and naval support to the Spartan fleet; but in return, the cities of Asia Minor would return to Persian rule. In 401 B.C., Sparta supported **Cyrus the Younger** who sought to seize the Persian throne from his elder brother **Artaxerxes II**. While Cyrus, with the aid of Greek mercenaries, was victorious at the Battle of Cunaxa. Unfortunately, Cyrus was was killed in the battle. and the Greek mercenaries with no paymaster marched out of the Persian Empire.

Out of fear of Sparta, the Artaxerxes II and the other leading city-states Thebes, Athens, Corinth, and Argos forged an alliance against Sparta in the Corinthian War. The Corinthian War ended in a strategic stalemate. Spartan demands over the next decade alienated their allies, and provoked a challenge from Thebes. Athens regained autonomy and wrested control of the Aegean from Sparta. In 377 B.C., Athens organized another naval league, but it proved far weaker than the Delian League a century earlier. Thebes, under Pelopidas and Epaminondas, ended the Spartan hegemony in mainland Greece at the Battle of Leuctra in 371 B.C. The battle was celebrated across the Greek world as a turning point. Some 700 Spartans fell in the battle; dedications were set up across the Greek world announced that Sparta's day as hegemon of Greece had passed.

In 362 B.C., at a second battle between the Spartans and Thebans, the Thebans won a victory at Mantinea, but Epaminondas was killed and with him the hopes for a Theban hegemony. By 360 B.C., the leading Hellenic city-states were politically deadlocked, but Greece was hardly in economic

or cultural decline. In 380 B.C., at the Olympic Games, Athenian intellectual Isocrates called for Panhellenic unity and a war against Persia. Isocrates raised a point that Greek identity is no longer necessarily race, but that non-Greeks—who would adopt Greek institutions; live in a city-state; live under the rule of law; have the elected magistrates, assembly, council, or boule of a Greek city-state; could too become Greeks. Unwittingly, in his enthusiasm to end inter-state war and urge a wider Greek alliance, Isocrates created a notion that the Greek city-state could be exported to the Near East; and it would be the Macedonian kings, especially Alexander and his successors, who would do this. ■

Names to Know

Cyrus the Younger (c. 424–401 B.C.): The younger son, Cyrus cooperated with Lysander in defeating Athens in 407–404 B.C. In 401 B.C., he was slain at Cunaxa in a bid to seize the throne from his brother Artaxerxes II.

Artaxerxes II (r. 404–358 B.C.): Memnon, king of Persiathe. Defeated and slew his brother Cyrus the Younger at Cunaxa. He raised the Greek coalition that fought Sparta to a stalemate in the Corinthian War.

Suggested Reading

Buckler, *The Theban Hegemony*.

Cargill, *The Second Athenian League*.

Cartledge, *Agesilaos and the Crisis of Sparta*.

Hamilton, *Agesilaus and the Failure of Spartan Hegemony*.

Hodkinson, *Property and Wealth in Classical Sparta*.

Lewis, *Sparta and Persia*.

Sinclair, *Democracy and Participation in Athens*.

Strauss, *Athens after the Peloponnesian War*..

Questions to Consider

1. How successfully did the Spartans rule the Greek world in 404–386 B.C.? How much was owed to King Agesilaus II? Why did the Spartans fail to maintain their hegemony after 386 B.C.? How important was the Corinthian War in redrawing the political map of the Greek world?

2. What accounted for the success of Thebes under Epaminondas and Pelopidas? Why did the federal league of Boeotia prove unequal to the position of hegemon of mainland Greece? Did Theban success rest primarily on charismatic leaders rather than institutions and resources?

3. What accounted for the remarkable recovery of Athens in the 4th century B.C.? Why did the Athenians fail to assert their naval domination in the Aegean world? How did the Second Naval Confederacy restrict Athenian imperial ambitions?

4. Why did general prosperity in the Greek world fail to produce a wider political unity? In what ways did wars and mercenary service foster economic growth? What other forces monetized markets and promoted commerce in the Greek world?

Achaemenid Persia

Lecture 3

When Artaxerxes II came to the throne in 404 B.C., ... the Persian Empire was a vast empire. ... It stretched perhaps some 3,000 miles from the Aegean to the Hindu Kush, by anyone's estimate a minimum of between 35 million and 40 million residents.

King Artaxerxes II by adroit diplomacy and subsidies promoted war among the leading Greek city-states so that under the Peace of Antalcidas, he regained the Ionian cities of Asia Minor. Artaxerxes II ruled the most impressive empire of Eurasia stretching from the Aegean to the Hindu Kush, but in military power and financial resources the later Achaemenid kings ruled an empire lesser than that organized by Darius I.

Persian rule over the Indus Valley had lapsed in the 5th century B.C. Artaxerxes II fought to impose royal authority over satraps, who gained hereditary power in the satrapies or provinces, and the rebel pharaohs of Egypt. Twice, Greek attacks revealed Persian military weakness. In 401 B.C. at the Battle of Cunaxa when Cyrus the Younger and Greek mercenaries challenged his brother Artaxerxes; Cyrus was victorious but was killed during the battle.

The surviving Ten Thousand Greeks, without a paymaster, simply marched out the Persian Empire, and many enlisted in the Spartan mercenary army. This celebrated march of the Ten Thousand, recorded by the Athenian captain Xenophon as Anabasis, was a veritable guide to the conquest of the Persian Empire. In 396–395 B.C., Agesilaus II of Sparta invaded Asia Minor, and his army penetrated to Gordion in central Asia Minor.

Persian diplomatic success in the Corinthian War could not reverse imperial decline. Repeatedly, between 366 and 353 B.C., Persian satraps and native dynasts in Asia Minor and the Levant rebelled from the Great King. In southwestern Asia Minor, even the loyal Mausolus of Caria carved out a veritably independent state. Artaxerxes III ended rebellions in the western satrapies, and reconquered Egypt but this restored Persian Empire was in no position to face a power in the Aegean world: the kingdom of Macedon. ■

Suggested Reading

Briant, *From Cyrus to Alexander: A History of the Persian Empire*.

The Cambridge History of Iran. vol. 2

Cook, *The Persian Empire*.

Dandamaev and Lukonin, *The Culture and Social Institutions of Ancient Iran*.

Lewis, *Sparta and Persia*.

Olmstead, *History of the Persian Empire*.

Xenophon. *The Persian Expedition*.

Questions to Consider

1. Was the Persian Empire in a state of decline under Artaxerxes II and Artaxerxes III?

2. What accounted for so many insurrections in Asia Minor, Phoenicia, and Cyprus in the 4th century B.C.? Why did the independent pharaohs of Egypt pose a threat to the king of Persia?

3. How did Xenophon and King Agesilaus anticipate Alexander the Great? What lessons about the Persian Empire would Alexander the Great have drawn in reading Xenophon's *Anabasis*?

4. Did the Persian kings after the King's Peace in 386 B.C. commit a strategic error in not interfering more actively in the Aegean world? Could such Persian intervention have prevented the rise of Philip II of Macedon and Alexander the Great?

The World of Early Macedon

Lecture 4

In 360 B.C., when the Greek city-states had fought themselves to exhaustion and the Great King of Persia was desperately attempting to bring his rebel satraps and the pharaoh of Egypt under his control, none of the contemporaries would have given much consideration to Macedon.

In 359 B.C., Macedon was an unstable barbarian kingdom on the fringes of the Hellenic world. Macedon's kings, members of the Argead dynasty, claimed Greek descent and ruled over a mix of different peoples including Macedonians, but many others as well, none of whom were regarded as Hellenes, or members of the Greek national race. To Greeks, the Macedonians were regarded as "barbarians." Instead, most Greeks feared **Mausolus**, Hecatomnid dynast of Caria, who had turned his Anatolian state into a Hellenized power.

Archaeology has revealed that the Macedonians never participated in the material culture of the Greek world since the Late Bronze Age. Greek immigrants and goods were welcomed, but Macedonians remained a distinct, speaking a language unintelligible to Greek. King Archelaus adopted Attic Greek as the court language, built roads, and established market towns, but his subjects remained in habits far closer to their Balkan neighbors Illyrians, Paeonians, and Thracians.

Macedonian kings ruled by force over proud lords and vassal kings. Despite natural resources and manpower, the Argead kings of Macedon could never impose effective authority over their unruly vassals. Hence, the leading Greek powers each in turn promoted civil war and rebellion within Macedon. In 359 B.C., King Perdiccas III and 4,000 Macedonians fell fighting the Illyrians, the Macedonians acclaimed as king his brother and successor, Philip, who transformed Macedon into the greatest kingdom in Europe. ■

Suggested Reading

Adams and Borza, *Philip II, Alexander the Great and the Macedonian Heritage*.

Borza, *In the Shadow of Olympus*.

Hammond and Griffith, *A History of Macedonia*.

Questions to Consider

1. Why did the Greeks in the Classical age not consider the Macedonians Hellenes? Were the political institutions and social mores significantly different between Greeks and Macedonians?

2. What was the relationship between Greeks and neighboring peoples such as Macedonians and Carians? How important were the institutions of the city-state in defining Greek identity?

3. How did the Macedonian kings resemble the heroic kings of the Homeric epic? What were the practical limits to their power? Why did the Argead kings struggle so long to turn their vassals and diverse subjects into loyal Macedonians?

4. What perceptions of Macedon did Athens, Sparta, and Thebes share in the early 4th century B.C.? Why would Mausolus appear far more formidable a foe? Did the Greek states underestimate Philip II?

5. Why did Philip II succeed in forging the Macedonian kingdom? Why did his reign prove so decisive?

Philip II and the Macedonian Way of War

Lecture 5

Philip, within a year of coming to the throne, began to evolve a new Macedonian way of war; and one of Philip's great contributions was to create the army with which Alexander conquered the Persian Empire.

King **Philip II** devised a distinct Macedonian way of war premised on a battle of encirclement and annihilation. In so doing, he forged an effective kingdom and forever influenced Western warfare.

In his first battle against the Illyrians in 358 B.C., Philip commanded in the center the heavy infantry (composed of Greek mercenary hoplites) that pinned the foe, while flanking attacks by the superb Macedonian cavalry converged and destroyed the foe. Philip created this strategy of "hammer and anvil," and he was not, as often argued, inspired by the tactics of Epaminondas and the Boeotian phalanx. The Boeotians, just like other Greek armies, depended on the shock of a infantry attack to break a foe's line rather than to encircle and destroy the foe.

Philip expanded his army by recruiting and drilling Macedonian peasants into territorial regiments under royal officers. Each infantry regiment of phalangites was trained to stand 16 deep, and to wield a sarissa, a pike of 18 to 21 feet in length. The cavalry, armed as lancers, fought in squadron. Subject peoples and allies were incorporated was specialized units such as Thessalian cavalry, Agrianian peltasts, and Thracian light cavalry.

In creating a new army, Philip transformed Macedonian society. Proud nobles of Lower Macedon and kings of Orestis and Lyncestris were attracted to the court of Pella, and turned into royal generals. Aristocrats were rewarded with estates in return for service in the cavalry. Philip founded colonies, built roads, and encouraged trade whereby turning tough Macedonians peasants into veteran soldiers devoted to the Argead house. It was only at the Battle of Chaeronea, in 338 B.C., when the Greek world learned of the power of this Macedonian army. ■

Name to Know

Philip II (r. 359–336 B.C.): Argead king; he transformed Macedon into the leading Hellenic power. He defeated the coalition army of Athens and Thebes, and so united the Greek city-states into the League of Corinth**.**

Suggested Reading

Anderson, *Military Theory and Practice in the Age of Xenophon*.

Borza, *In the Shadow of Olympus: The Emergence of Macedon*.

Buckler and Beck, *Central Greece and the Politics of Power in the Fourth Century B.C.*

Ellis, *Philip II and Macedonian Imperialism*.

Engels, *Alexander the Great and the Logistics of the Macedonian Army*.

Hammond and Griffith, *A History of Macedonia*.

Hanson, *The Western Way of War: Infantry Combat in Classical Greece*.

———, *Hoplites*.

Marsden, Greek and Roman Artillery.

Questions to Consider

1. How Greek hoplite warfare rest on the institutions of the city-state (polis)? Why were the advantages of this style of fighting? Why did mercenaries play an ever more decisive role in Greek warfare since the late fifth century B.C.

2. How did Philip II use his new army as a means to forge a nation out of his diverse subjects? In what ways did the Macedonian royal army act as a political and social institution?

3. What were the bonds between Philip II and his subjects? Why did the Macedonians come to regard the Argead house as their own? How was Philip II the epitome of a Macedonian king?

The Third Sacred War

Lecture 6

"In this flight Philip, king of the Macedonians, is reported to have said, 'I have not fled, but I have retired, as rams do, in order that I may make a more vigorous attack next time.'" —Polyanus

In 359–357 B.C., a clash between the Boeotian League, headed by Thebes, and the Phocians escalated in into the Third Sacred War, pitting the leading states of Greece against each other, and provided Philip II the opportunity to turn Macedon into the arbiter of the Aegean world.

In defiance of Theban demands, **Philomelus**, leader of the Phocians, seized the treasuries of Delphi, and hired a mercenary army. The Thebans and Thessalians declared a sacred war. The Phocians were supported by Athens and Sparta, each jealous of Theban hegemony. Desultory fighting in central Greece ended in a stalemate between Phocis and Thebes.

At war with Athens over Amphipolis, Philip II intervened in the sacred war on the side of Delphi. In 352 B.C., Philip II crushed the Phocian mercenary army at Crocus Plain, and so was elected archon of the Thessalian League. The Athenian orator **Demosthenes** henceforth saw Philip II as the greater threat, and urged an end to the war and an alliance against the Macedonian king.

In 349–347 B.C., Philip conquered the Chalcidice. Athenian aid to the league's capital Olynthus was too little, and arrived too late. In 346 B.C., the Greek powers agreed to a general peace. Under the Peace of Philocretes, the Phocians were punished for their sacrilege, but otherwise the belligerents agreed to the status quo ante bellum. Philip was the true victor with control of Thessaly, the conquest of the Chalcidice, and a matrimonial alliance with the Epirote King Neoptolemus. The Greek cities henceforth faced their greatest threat from a foreign king since the invasion of Xerxes of Persia in 480 B.C. ■

Names to Know

Demosthenes: (384–322 B.C.): Athenian orator; his speeches are masterful invective and Attic prose, advocating alliances against Philip II, and later Alexander the Great.

Philomelus (d. 354 B.C.): The supreme general of the Phocians in the Third Sacred War. In summer 356 B.C., countered an ultimatum from the Boeotians and Thessalians by occupying Delphi and using the treasures to hire 5,000 mercenaries. Philomelus was defeated and killed at the Battle of Neon.

Suggested Reading

Borza, *In the Shadow of Olympus*.

Buckler, *Philip II and the Sacred War*.

Buckler and Beck, *Central Greece and the Politics of Power*.

Cawkwell, *Philip of Macedon*.

Ellis, J. K., *Philip II and Macedonian Imperialism*.

Hammond and Griffith, *A History of Macedonia*.

Sealey, *Demosthenes and His Time*.

Worthington, *Philip II of Macedonia*.

Questions to Consider

1. How did the Third Sacred War alter the political landscape of the Greek world?

2. What were the initial aims of Philip II in 359–357 B.C.? Why was Amphipolis so crucial to him and to Athens? At what point, did Philip shift from a defensive policy to one of imperial expansion?

3. What were the weaknesses of Athens, Thebes, and Sparta in 359–346 B.C.? Why did they fail to cooperate against Philip II as a common foe whereas their ancestors had united to oppose Xerxes of Persia in 480 B.C.? Did Philip II pose a threat to the autonomy and freedom of the Greek city-states?

4. Did Demosthenes offer an effective policy against Philip II? How misleading were his orations First Philippic and Olynthiacs? Why did the Athenians and Olynthians underestimate Philip and the Macedonian army in 349–347 B.C.?

5. Why did the Demosthenes and criticize the Peace of Philocrates? What were the perceptions of Philip II among the other Greek states after 346 B.C.?

The Macedonian Conquest of Greece

Lecture 7

Current scholarship now think Philip ... may not have the title "Great" the way his son does but he may deserve it.

In 346 B.C., Philip intended to abide by the Peace of Philocrates, and to court the good will of the Athenians, for he wished an alliance to deploy the Athenian fleet in an invasion of the Persian Empire. The peace confirmed Philip's conquests of Amphipolis and the Chalcidice, and his control of the Thessalian league. Philip was more than willing to indulge the Greeks their liberties and their traditional autonomy, so long as they didn't pose a threat to Macedon. On the other hand, the Greeks had very mixed opinions about Philip.

Opinions in the Greek world differed depending on your city-state. Many of the lesser cities, especially in Peloponnesus, actually looked to Philip as a protector. On the other hand, Thebes, Sparta, and part of the Athenian population were very suspicious that Philip. The peace of 346 B.C. was a major concession on the part of the Athenians. Any arrangement with Philip in the long term would probably compromise the Athenians.

Panhellenists such as Isocrates convinced themselves that Philip would unite the Greeks in a national war against King Artaxerxes III of Persia. Sober Athenian politicians headed by Aeschines and Philocrates reckoned Athens lacked the money and manpower to oppose Philip, and so they urged accommodation. Demosthenes and his radical democrats intrigued to undermine the peace, and to forge an alliance with Thebes against Philip whom Demosthenes repeatedly denounced in his orations as a restless foe.

In his *Philippics*, Demosthenes denounced the king for waging war without formal war . In 343 B.C., Demosthenes masterminded an embassy proposing an amendment or epanorthosis that would have assigned Amphipolis to Athens. Philip politely rejected the proposal. In 340 B.C., Philip laid siege to Perinthus and Byzantium, and so threatened the Athenian lifeline in the Black Sea. When Philip seized the Athenian grain fleet. the Athenians

declared war, and entered into alliance with Thebes. In a brilliant winter march in 339 B.C., Philip bypassed Thermopylae, entered central Greece, and fortified Elatea. Athenians, Corinthians, and Thebans united to oppose Philip's advance.

On August 2, 338 B.C., Philip decisively defeated the Greeks at Chaeronea. Philip dismantled the Boeotian League and imposed a garrison and oligarchy on Thebes, but offered Athens generous terms on the condition Demosthenes was exiled. Furthermore, Philip announced a panhellenic conference at Corinth, protesting that he had come to secure rather than destroy the freedom of the Greeks. ■

Suggested Reading

Borza, *In the Shadow of Olympus*.

Cawkwell, *Philip of Macedon*.

Ellis, *Philip II and Macedonian Imperialism*.

Hammond and Griffith, *A History of Macedonia*.

Hansen, *The Athenian Democracy in the Age of Demosthenes*.

Roberts, *Accountability in Athenian Government*.

Sealey, *Demosthenes and His Time*.

Trittle, *Phocion the Good*.

Worthington, *Demosthenes: Statesman and Orator*.

———, *Philip II of Macedonia*.

Questions to Consider

1. What were the aims of Philip II immediately after the Peace of Philocrates? Did King Artaxerxes III of Persia have cause to fear the ambitions of Philip II before 338 B.C.?

2. Why did the Athenian assembly turn to Demosthenes, Hyperides, and their associates who advocated confrontation with Philip? Did the Athenians possess the resources and will to defeat Philip II? Why did a powerful Hellenic coalition, like one that opposed King Xerxes in 480 B.C., fail to rally around Athens?

3. How did the sieges of Byzantium and Perinthus, the campaigns of 339–338 B.C., and the Battle of Chaeronea mark a major shift in warfare?

4. Was the conquest of Greece by Philip II inevitable or did the Battle of Chaeronea unexpectedly change the course of history?

The League of Corinth

Lecture 8

The Hellenic League, founded in the year after the Battle of Chaeronea, represented Philip's solution to running the Greek world. It really is an ingenious arrangement—and one of the reasons why Philip should get high remarks in his own rank.

In 337 B.C., Philip II preside over a Panhellenic conference at Corinth attended by plenipotentiary representatives from the city-states of Greece except Sparta. There, Philip announced a general peace (***koine eirene***) and alliance of the Greeks in a war of national vengeance to punish the Persians for the destruction of the temples of Athens in 480 B.C.

In its provisions, the alliance Philip outwardly respected the freedom and autonomy of the member states. While the Thessalian cities were enrolled in the league, the Macedonians were not, for they were not Hellenes. In avowed aims, Philip embraced the language of the Panhellenists. War was declared to liberate the Greek cities of Asia Minor and Cyprus. Foremost, Philip was only the supreme general of the league of free Greek cities. A federal council, or ***synedrion***, administered the finances and relations among the member states. Yet, Philip fashioned the league to avoid the odium of ruling the Greek cities as a foreign conqueror.

In many cities, Philip backed conservative rule by the propertied classes headed by pro-Macedonian leaders. Macedonian garrisons held strategic points at Ambracia, Lamia, Thermopylae, Chalcis, and the Acrocorinth. The Athenians retained their ancestral democracy, but they were compelled to dissolve their naval alliance and to put their fleet at the disposal of Philip.

In 336 B.C., **Parmenio**, Philip's leading general, and 10,000 men secured the crossings at the Hellepont in preparation for an invasion of Asia Minor. Philip, however, never crossed to Asia. He was struck down by an assassin's dagger in October 336 B.C., a victim of the lurid dynastic intrigues at the Macedonian court. The Greeks rejoiced at the death of the barbarian tyrant, but they failed

to appreciate that Philip had left not only a powerful Macedonian state, but a son and heir, Alexander, the greatest military genius of all time. ■

Name to Know

Parmenio (c. 400–330 B.C.): Macedonian noble and most trusted general of Philip II; loyal to Alexander the Great, commanded the left wing at the Battles of Granicus, Issus, and Gaugamela.

Suggested Reading

Borza, *In the Shadow of Olympus*.

Cawkwell, *Philip of Macedon*.

Ellis, *Philip II and Macedonian Imperialism*.

Hammond and Griffith, *A History of Macedonia*.

Larsen, *Representative Government in Greek and Roman History*.

Worthington, *Philip II of Macedonia*.

Questions to Consider

1. Why did Philip II avoid conquest and annexation of the Greek city-states south of Thermoplyae in contrast to his annexation of the Chalcidice in 348–347 B.C.? What convinced Philip II of the wisdom of opting for indirect rule through a federal league?

2. How did the leading states view a Macedonian overlord? Why did the Spartans refuse to join the League of Corinth?

3. How did the lesser city-states of Greece view the League of Corinth, and alliances with Philip II?

4. How was Philip II such a master in drawing upon Greek political and legal precedents to fashion his federal league? Why would Alexander the Great, later Macedonian kings, and even Roman conquerors never be able to match Philip II in handling their Greek allies?

Alexander, Heir Apparent

Lecture 9

From the start, Alexander was devoted to the heroes of Greece, the heroes of his ancestors, what motivated his career was ... a *pothos*, a longing, a yearning, a desire to emulate his ancestors and to exceed them.

Alexander the Great, the son of Philip II and **Olympias**, was born in 356 B.C., and later accounts report portends of his future greatness. Both parents were brilliant, passionate, and ambitious whose tempestuous marriage divided the court at Pella into scheming factions. Yet, Philip loved his son, and trained Alexander to succeed to the Macedonian throne. Philip sought out the finest tutors, most notably the Greek philosopher, **Aristotle**.

For three years at Mieza, Aristotle instructed Alexander and his companions–Hephaestion, Leonnatus, Lysimachus, and Ptolemy–destined to be generals and kings. From Aristotle, Alexander learned his Homer and Hellenic aesthetics, but he remained a Macedonian king who never accepted the distinction of Greeks and barbarians.

Plutarch reports how Philip took pride in his son's accomplishments such as Alexander's taming of the stead Bucephalus, and predicted his son's greatness. Yet, Alexander had ambivalent feeling towards his father, and later in life he denied his paternity in favor of descent from Zeus. Olympias clashed with her husband Philip. Alexander was devoted to his mother who schemed against Philip, for she rightly preferred her son over her husband as king. In 337 Philip divorced and exiled Olympias. Relations between Alexander and Philip deteriorated after Philip married **Cleopatra Eurydice**, niece of Attalus, one of the Macedonian generals.

At the ceremony of reconciliation of father and son in Aegeae, Philip was struck down by an assassin, **Pausanias**, reportedly for a private grievance. Olympias returned to Pella to dispose of her rival queen. Alexander, age 21, ascended the throne, determined to succeed to his father's legacy, and to perform the heroic deeds of a new Achilles. ■

Names to Know

Aristotle (386–322 B.C.): Philosopher and scientist. He tutored Alexander the Great in 343–341 B.C., and thereafter retained a friendship with his brilliant student.

Cleopatra Eurydice (d. 336 B.C.): Niece of Attalus, married Philip II in 337 B.C. linking Philip to the powerful Macedonian house.

Olympias (c. 378–316 B.C.): Married to Philip II and mother of Alexander the Great. She alienated most Macedonians by her violent temper, erratic political intrigues, and barbaric ways.

Pausanias (c. 64–120 A.D.): Geographer and local historian; wrote a Description of Greece in 10 books with a wealth of information about local shrines, cults, and traditions of the Greek world.

Suggested Reading

Andronikos, *Vergina: The Royal Tombs*.

Bosworth, *Alexander and the East*.

Carney, *Olympias, Mother of Alexander the Great*.

Cawkwell, *Philip of Macedon*.

Hammond and Griffith, *A History of Macedonia*.

Macurdy, *Hellenistic Queens*.

Pomeroy, *Women in Hellenistic Egypt*.

Worthington, *Philip II of Macedonia*.

Yalouris, Rhomiopoulou, and Andronikos, *The Search for Alexander*.

Questions to Consider

1. How did Philip II and Olympias influence Alexander the Great? How did Alexander view his parents, and his future role as King of Macedon?

2. In what ways was Alexander a Greek in language and culture? How was his a Macedonian king? In what ways was Alexander even more menacing to the Greeks than Philip II?

3. How did heroic ideals motivate Alexander? How did he view his role as a king and commander in 336 B.C.? How did Alexander see himself as the new Achilles?

4. Was there a plot to assassinate Philip II or did Pausanias act as the lone assassin? How did Philip's sudden death put the Macedonian kingdom in jeopardy?

Securing the Inheritance, 336–335 B.C.

Lecture 10

Alexander waged a remarkable set of campaigns and pursued some very fancy diplomacy to bring the Balkan regions, as well as the Greek city-states, under his control. ... an extraordinary achievement by the young king—20 or perhaps 21 years of age.

With the assassination of Philip II in 336 B.C., Alexander faced possible civil war in Macedon and disturbances on the northern frontiers among Thracians, Paeonians, and Illyrians. Between 336 and 335 B.C., Alexander waged a remarkabel set of campaigns and pursued some very fancy fiplomacy to bring the Balkan regions as well as the Greek city-states under his control.

In Athens, Demosthenes called for a rising against the hated Macedonian overlord in the name of "freedom of the Greeks." Parmenio urged caution, and so spoke for Philip's veteran officers, but Alexander, age 20, had confidence in his destiny, and in the Macedonian army. At Pella, Alexander ordered the execution of his cousin Amyntas, a possible rival, and members of the family of Attalus.

In 336 B.C., Alexander awed the Thessalians into electing him *tagos* of their league, and then entered central Greece to be elected general of the League of Corinth. In spring of the next year 335 B.C., Alexander conducted two campaigns in a single season to chastise Thracians and Illyrians—an ambitious strategy never attempted by Philip.

In these Balkan campaigns Alexander demonstrated a genius in swift strategic movement and logistics as well as mastery in small wars, sieges, and guerrilla operations. Thebes and Athens rebelled on rumors of Alexander's death in Illyria. Alexander descended upon Thebes and savagely sacked the city, enslaving 30,000 survivors. The Athenians, once again, exiled Demosthenes and his associates, and offered their navy for the impending invasion of Asia.

In less than two years, Alexander secured his political inheritance, and the cooperation of the resentful Greeks in the Panhellenic war. His success was a testimony to his own audacious genius, and to the institutions forged by his father Philip II. ■

Suggested Reading

Bosworth, *Conquest and Empire*.

Engels, *Alexander the Great and the Logistics of the Macedonian Army*.

Fuller, *The Generalship of Alexander the Great*.

Heckel, *The Conquest of Alexander the Great*.

———, *The Marshals of Alexander's Empire*.

Parke, *Greek Mercenary Soldiers From the Earliest Times to the Battle of Ipsus*.

Questions to Consider

1. Why did the Macedonian kingdom not lapse into political anarchy after the murder of Philip II? Why was Alexander correct in his determination to assert his rule in the Balkans and Greece?

2. How did Alexander view the subject peoples and lands in the Balkans?

3. In his campaigns in 335 B.C. how much did Alexander owe to his veteran officers and men, and how much to his own genius? What do these campaigns reveal about Alexander as a great commander?

4. Why did the Greeks fail to shake off Macedonian rule during 336–335 B.C.? What were the rivalries among Athens, Thebes, and Sparta? How did the lesser Greek states view Alexander?

5. What do the anecdotes reported by Plutarch reveal about Alexander's attitudes to the Greeks? In what ways was Alexander a Hellene? And in what ways was he a Macedonian king, and so a barbarian to the Greeks?

The Invasion of Asia

Lecture 11

It looked like sheer folly that Alexander would pit this army of 50,000 against the mighty forces of Darius the III. ... Many of the Greeks hoped that Alexander would be swallowed up in the depths of Asia. Unknown to them, Alexander had already shattered those hopes when he defeated the First Persian Army on the banks of the Granicus.

In May 334 B.C., Alexander invaded Asia Minor with a strong army, who's core was comprised veteran Macedonians devoted to their king. Alexander possessed talented senior commanders of Philip, notably his second in command Parmenio and his son Philotas; Antigonus Monophthalmos, and Antipater. Alexander's boyhood friends also proved superb commanders: Hephaestion, Craterus, Leonnatus, Ptolemy, and Lysimachus.

This Macedonian army was unmatched until the legions of Julius Caesar. The hetairoi and Thessalians, totaling 3,600, were the heavy cavalry decisive in shock action. The infantry included six regiments of the Macedonian phalanx and the elite hypaspists who represented half the national levy. The remaining units consisted of professional specialists, notably archers, slingers, and the Agrianian javelin men as well as hoplites provided by the Greek cities.

Alexander stood against the arrayed ancient Near East's mightiest empire whose Great King could mobilize huge armies of Iranian cavalry and Greek mercenary hoplites, and an imperial fleet. Alexander's expedition looked like sheer folly. Many Greeks shared Demosthenes' hopes that Alexander's army would be swallowed up in the depths of Asia. Yet, Alexander's genius defied contemporary expectations.

Alexander pursued a strategy to overthrow. He aimed to smash Persian field armies in decisive battles, and then to capture the ports of the eastern Mediterranean so that Darius' subject fleets would defect. The Achaemenid court, surprised by Alexander's invasion, was strategically at a disadvantage.

Furthermore, a lurid palace revolution had put on the throne **Darius III** Codomannus, who faced rivals and, while personally brave, could not compare to Alexander in generalship. Therefore, when Alexander crossed the Hellespont, Darius III was preoccupied at Susa so that the satraps of Asia Minor alone took the field against the youthful Macedonian invader. ■

Name to Know

Darius III (b. c. 380 B.C.; r. 336–330 B.C.): Codomonus, king of Persia. In 330 B.C., Darius fled east when Alexander surprised the Persian court at Ecbatana. Darius was deposed and enchained on orders of Bessus, satrap of Bactria. Darius was murdered near Hecatompylus in Parthyae when Alexander descended upon Bessus's camp.

Suggested Reading

Bosworth, *Conquest and Empire*.

Engels, *Alexander the Great and the Logistics of the Macedonian Army*.

Heckel, *The Conquest of Alexander the Great*.

———, *The Marshals of Alexander's Empire*.

Mørkholm, *Early Hellenistic Coiange from the Accession of Alexander to the Peace of Apamea*.

Parke, *Greek Mercenary Soldiers From the Earliest Times to the Battle of Ipsus*.

Questions to Consider

1. How important were the senior officers such as Parmenio? What were the strengths of the Macedonian officer corps?

2. In tactics, discipline, and morale, how did the Macedonian army compare to Persian forces in 334 B.C.? Why was Alexander so confident in his ability to win decisive battles?

3. How important were logistics and money for Alexander the Great and Darius III? Why would Darius III and his satraps inevitably accept decisive battle rather than wage a war of attrition?

4. How did Alexander's strategy negate many of the strategic advantages of Darius III? Why was a naval war in the Aegean Sea not likely to be decisive?

The Battle of the Granicus

Lecture 12

The victory was stunning. Probably the cavalry battle lasted at most a matter of minutes, and within less than an hour the Greek mercenary army forces had been destroyed, either killed or captured, and Alexander was master of the battlefield.

In late May 334 B.C., Alexander won a decisive victory over the Persian satraps on the banks of River Granicus in northwestern Asia Minor. Arriving on the field late in the afternoon, Alexander drew the Macedonian army, numbering perhaps 50,000 men, out of line of march into line of battle. By successive cavalry attacks, he put to flight the Persian cavalry that held the higher eastern river bank, and surrounded and annihilated the Greek mercenary hoplites who were drawn up behind the main Persian line. The victory delivered Asia Minor to Alexander.

The Ionian Greeks welcomed the Macedonian king as their liberator, and Alexander confirmed the autonomy and freedom of Greek cities of Asia. Sardes, the satrapal capital and treasury surrendered. The Macedonians encountered resistance at Miletus and Halicarnassus, naval bases held by Greek mercenaries under the orders from Memnon of Rhodes but otherwise, Alexander marched virtually unopposed across western Anatolia.

In 334-333 B.C., the Macedonian army wintered at Gordion, the former Phrygian capital on the Anatolian plateau. In spring 333 B.C., Alexander invested the senior general **Antigonus Monophthalmos** ("the One-eyed") with the pacifying of eastern Asia Minor, while the Macedonian army marched southeast. The victory on the Grancius shocked the Persian court. Great King Darius III dispatched to the Aegean a fleet, commanded by the veteran mercenary officer **Memnon of Rhodes**, to raise rebellions in Greece. Darius himself summoned a great host, and so, for the first time, the Great King took the field against a Western invader. ■

Names to Know

Antigonus Monophthalmos (b. c. 382; r. 306–301 B.C.): "The One-eyed." A senior general of Alexander the Great, he was entrusted with the strategic satrapy of Phrygia in 333–323 B.C.

Memnon of Rhodes: Appointed Persian commander in the West by Darius III, he directed the defense of Halicarnassus, and commanded the Persian fleet in the Aegean in 334–333 B.C.

Suggested Reading

Bosworth, *Conquest and Empire*.

Engels, *Alexander the Great and the Logistics of the Macedonian Army*.

Fuller, *The Generalship of Alexander the Great*.

Harl, "Alexander's Cavalry Battle on the Granicus."

Heckel, *The Conquests of Alexander the Great*.

Questions to Consider

1. What accounts for the differences between the narratives of the Battle of the Granicus and siege of Halicarnassus reported by Arrian and Plutarch, and those reported by Diodorus Siculus? What do these differences reveal about the contemporary sources perceptions of Alexander?

2. In May 334 B.C., what were Alexander's strategic aims, and why was a decisive battle so urgently needed?

3. Why did Alexander's victory on the Granicus lead to the rapid collapse of Persian rule in Asia Minor? How did the members of the League of Corinth view the stunning successes of Alexander in 334 B.C.?

The Turning Point—Issus and Tyre

Lecture 13

Alexander captured two important cities, Tyre and Gaza representing in effect the gateway to Egypt. By these decisive victories, Alexander essentially conquered the western half of the Persian Empire.

In spring 333 B.C., Alexander seized the initiative when he captured the Cilician Gates and crossed the Taurus mountains that cut off Anatolia from the Near East. The Macedonian army occupied Cilicia, a fertile littoral in southeastern Asia Minor, but the advance was delayed when Alexander suddenly fell ill.

In November 333 B.C., Alexander recovered, and entered northern Syria. He had the Levantine ports and Egypt as his objectives. Meanwhile, Darius III, who had assembled an army numbering 200,000 men on the Amuq plain, entered eastern Cilicia, cut Alexander's lines of communication, and pressed south to the Pinarus River near the town of Issus. Alexander retraced his steps, crossing the Bolan pass at dawn, and marched to the Pinarius where, in another tactical masterpiece, he smashed the Persian army on the Pinarus. Darius fled the field; his harem and treasury fell into Alexander's hands. By a second decisive battle, Alexander won the Persian satrapies west of the Euphrates, and secured the naval bases of the Persian fleet in the Aegean. The kings of Cyprus and Phoenicia brought their fleets over to Alexander, and rendered homage to the new conqueror.

Only Tyre, the leading Phoenician city, refused submission. In an audacious five-month siege, Alexander captured the city by turning it from an island into a peninsula. Gaza, gateway to Egypt, was taken in a siege of only two months. Entering the Nile valley, Alexander was hailed pharaoh by the Egyptians. After Issus, Alexander rejected peace overtures from Darius III, for Alexander revealed world conquest as his true aim. The Macedonians shared their king's aim, for they had gained the confidence and determination to follow their king to the ends of the Earth. ■

Suggested Reading

Bosworth, *Conquest and Empire*.

Cohen, *The Alexander Mosaic: Stories of Victory and Defeat*.

Engels, *Alexander the Great and the Logistics of the Macedonian Army*.

Fuller, *The Generalship of Alexander the Great*.

Green, *Alexander the Great*.

Heckel, *The Conquests of Alexander the Great*.

Questions to Consider

1. How sound was the strategy of Darius III in 333 B.C.? Why did he need to seek a decisive battle? Should he have maintained the naval war in the Aegean Sea?

2. How did the campaign and battle of Issus show Alexander at his best? What was the impact of the victory at Issus? Was it a turning point? Did the sieges of Tyre and Gaza too represent turning points in the war?

3. Why did Alexander reject the peace offers of Darius III? How did his victories, and the remarkable portends and oracles, change either Alexander's aims or his vision of himself?

Alexander, Pharaoh of Egypt

Lecture 14

The army itself—the Macedonians and Greeks—had a great time in Egypt. There were festivals, Greeks and Egyptians; the engineers had a lot of fun mapping out Alexandria; and Egypt was an incredibly wealthy land. ... The army must have marched out of Egypt in high spirits. They had conquered the most ancient land in the world, they had been greeted as liberators as they had been in the rest of the Persian Empire.

In November 332 B.C., Alexander and the Macedonian army crossed Sinai in a record seven days, and entered the Nile valley. The Persian satrap Mazaces surrendered Memphis, and the Egyptians hailed Alexander, then age 24, as the living god Horus and pharaoh of the Lower and Upper Egypt.

Alexander was dazzled by the heady divine honors paid by his Egyptian subjects. His 18-month sojourn in Egypt revealed the different roles of Alexander. As a Hellene in culture and speech, Alexander shared with Greeks a fascination in the antiquity of Egyptian cults and customs best expressed in Herodotus's account of a century earlier. In contrast to the Achaemenid kings, Alexander conducted the rituals expected of a pharaoh, and so won the loyalty of his Egyptian subjects. He endowed and restored temples and shrines. As a philhellene Macedonian king, he founded Alexandria, a Greek city, on the western most branch of the Nile, and so ensured the import of Egyptian grain to the Hellenic world.

Foremost, Alexander capitalized on the unpopularity of Persian rule. Cambyses had waged a savage war of conquest, and he was reputed to have desecrated tombs and shrines. Darius I had imposed heavy tribute and a large garrison on Egypt. Twice the Libyan military elite in the Delta had rebelled and cast out their Persian masters. Alexander was even rumored to be the son of the last pharaoh of Dynasty XXX. But Alexander remained ever the pragmatic conqueror, for he divided the administration of Egypt. Macedonian officers commanded the garrisons; Egyptians administered justice; and a Greek accountant Cleomenes of Naucratis supervised finances. ■

Suggested Reading

Austin, *Greece and Egypt in the Archaic Age*.

Briant, *From Cyrus to Alexander*.

Boardman, *The Greeks Oveseas*.

Bosworth, *Conquest and Empire*.

Bowman, *Egypt after the Pharaoh*.

Burstein, "Alexander's Organization of Egypt: A Note on the Career of Cleomenes of Naucratis."

Engels, *Alexander the Great and the Logistics of the Macedonian Army*.

Fraser, *Ptolemaic Alexandria*.

Parker and Cerny, *A Saite Oracle Papyrus from Thebes*.

Questions to Consider

1. What was the strategic importance of Egypt? How did Alexander's administrative organization of Egypt reflect this importance?

2. What moved Alexander to establish a Greek city in Egypt? Why was the founding of Alexandria such an important action?

3. How did the visit to the Oracle of Siwah influence Alexander's own vision of himself? What most likely transpired in the exchange between Alexander and the priest?

4. Were Egyptians, Macedonians, and Greeks impressed by the stories circulated about the reputed response of Zeus-Ammon to Alexander?

This notion of divinity was something that a great figure achieved as a result of great deeds on earth, and those great deeds on earth were a result of the favor of the gods ... it was also an indication of their remarkable abilities, something not quite just mortal that was innate within them; and this was to be expected in a king who was descended from such illustrious heroes such as Achilles, Achilles's son Neoptolemus, Heracles, Perseus, the legendary king of Argos.

Homeric in this ethos and aims, Alexander pursed excellence in imitation of the heroes of the past. From Olympias, he learned of his descent from Neoptolemus, son of Achilles and conqueror of Troy. Olympias also later claimed that Zeus, in the guise of a serpent, rather than Philip had fathered Alexander.

Alexander carried a copy of the *Iliad* annotated by his mentor Aristotle, he was convinced that he was Achilles reborn. At Gaza, Alexander even imitated Achilles' treatment of Hector's body in dishonoring the body of a fallen Persian eunuch. From his father Philip, Alexander counted both Perseus and Heracles as ancestors. His identification with Heracles was personal and dynastic. The silver and copper coins of Alexander carried on the obverse the portrait of a youthful Heracles wearing a lion skin headdress, which later generations mistook as the king himself.

His longing to emulate his ancestors drove Alexander to consult oracles and seek divine sings of his destiny. In so doing, he became ever more convinced that his deeds elevated him to the company of the gods. At Gordion, Alexander loosened the Gordian knot, and so claimed the lordship of Asia. In 332 B.C., Alexander trekked to the Oracle of Zeus-Ammon at Siwah located in the Libyan desert 175 miles west of the Nile. The sources differ on what transpired, but Alexander departed convinced of his descent from Zeus. In 328 B.C., Alexander added Dionysus to his exemplars, for this son of Zeus was credited with the conquest of India. In the Indian campaigns of 327–325 B.C., Alexander matched himself against Dionysus, and so redefined

the iconography of the god thereafter. The boundary between the divine and mortal was not sharply drawn by the Greeks. ■

Suggested Reading

Badian, *The Deification of Alexander the Great*.

Bosworth, *Alexander and the East*.

Eddy, *The King is Dead*.

Hamilton, *Alexander the Great*.

Munn, "Alexander, the Gordian Knot, and the Kingship of Midas."

Price, *Rituals and Power*.

Wilcken, *Alexander the Great*.

Zamoyski, *Moscow 1812*.

Questions to Consider

1. How did Greeks and Macedonians regard oracles and portends? Why could many believe that a heroic figure such as Alexander might cross over the boundary between mortal and divine?

2. How pious was Alexander the Great in 334–331 B.C. when he visited sanctuaries and oracles? How much was he motivated by practical concerns as the sources and many modern scholars have argued?

3. Why did Alexander feel compelled to solve the Gordian knot, or to visit the Oracle of Zeus-Amun at Siwah? How did these actions legitimize Alexander's rule over the ancient lands of Asia Minor and Egypt?

4. How important were Alexander's actions of piety and claims of divine favor or origin to the morale of his army? How successfully did Alexander transmit to his army his sense of destiny?

The Campaign of Gaugamela

Lecture 16

On September 20, there was a lunar eclipse. It was seen by Alexander's army; many wondered what the portent meant; and Alexander confidently explained that the Persian moon was being eclipsed, that the lunar eclipse foretold the great victory that the Macedonians would win over Darius III.

In early spring 331 B.C., Alexander marched from Pelusium across Sinai to Gaza, and on the Upper Euphrates. Alexander had allowed Darius III two years to raise and drill a new army, perhaps numbering 200,000–250,000 combatants, in Babylonia. For Alexander, this campaign was to decide the war, because he calculated another decisive victory would deliver the eastern satrapies of the Persian Empire.

Darius III, hoped to battle on the plains of Mesopotamia where he could deploy his Iranian cavalry and chariots. By a series of feints that misled Darius' reconnaissance, Alexander advanced swiftly across northern Mesopotamia, and crossed the Tigris and Great Zab rivers. At the village of Gaugamela, Darius III deployed his huge army. On October 1, 331 B.C., Alexander won his most inspired victory.

Alexander drew his army up into a strategic square, countering the flanking attacks by the superior Persian cavalry. From the start, Alexander seized the initiative, advancing to the right on an oblique angle so that Darius committed his chariots and cavalry to premature attacks and opened gaps in his line. Alexander charged into the gap, and put Darius to flight once again. Alexander won the battle, but the fighting raged across the field for hours. Darius fled east over the Zagros Mountains and Alexander was received in triumph at Babylon, and then occupied the Persian capitals of Susa and Persepolis. The ritual capital Persepolis was burned in retaliation for Xerxes' sack of Athens in 480 B.C., and so marked the conclusion of the Panhellenic war. ■

Suggested Reading

Bosworth, *Conquest and Empire*.

Engels, *Alexander the Great and the Logistics of the Macedonian Army*.

Fuller, *The Generalship of Alexander the Great*.

Marsden, *The Campaign of Gaugamela*.

Questions to Consider

1. How did Alexander seize the strategic initiative, and why did Darius III fail to move against Alexander earlier?

2. How much did the victory of Gaugamela represent Alexander's genius? How much was owed to Parmenio and the other professional Macedonian officers? How important was Alexander in inspiring his men?

3. How competent a king and commander was Darius III? Could another Persian king have offered more effective resistance? At the start of the Battle of Gaugamela what factors might have favored a Persian victory?

4. What was the impact of the victory at Gaugamela? How important was Antipater's victory at Megalopolis over Agis III of Sparta?

The Conquest of Iran

Lecture 17

"… many of the [Greek] cities became alarmed at the growth of Macedonian power and decided that they should strike for their freedom while the Persian cause was still alive. They expected that Darius would help them and send them much money so that they could gather great armies of mercenaries while Alexander would not be able to divide his forces." —Diodorus Siculus

In May 330 B.C., Alexander strategically surprised Darius III before the Great King could marshal a new army of Greek mercenaries and levies from the eastern satrapies. With a strike force seized Ecbatana, capital of Media, and so sent Darius fleeing east yet again. At Ectabana, Alexander dismissed his Greek allies to mark the end of Panhellenic war. Henceforth, Alexander campaigned as Lord of Asia. Parmenio, who was honorably retired in favor of Craterus, took charge of the treasury at Ecbatana and defense of the lines of communication to Macedon.

Meanwhile, Darius was deposed by his own nobles who acclaimed Bessus, satrap of Bactria, Great King. In a spectacular pursuit across northern Iran, Alexander scattered Bessus's army. Alexander failed to capture Bessus, but he found the body of the murdered Darius near Hecatompylos. Thereafter, Alexander posed as Darius's avenger, and successor, in an adroit policy to win over the Iranian nobility.

Alexander rewarded loyal Persian nobles with high positions. He adopted elements of Persian protocol, and even modified his personal dress. In an unexpected march in 329 B.C., Alexander crossed the Hindu Kush from the southeast, and invaded Bactria and Sogdiana. Bessus, taken by surprise, retreated north of the Jaxertes to seek allies among the Scythian nomads, but the discredited satrap was surrendered by his supporters, and crucified. In the summer 329 B.C., Alexander believed that final victory was in sight, instead, Alexander was soon to face his toughest opponents, because Bactrians and Sogdians made common cause with Scythian nomads to oppose the Macedonian invaders. ■

Suggested Reading

Bosworth, *Conquest and Empire*.

Cribb and Herrmann, *After Alexander*.

Engels, *Alexander the Great and the Logistics of the Macedonian Army*.

Fuller, *The Generalship of Alexander the Great*.

Holt, *Alexander the Great and Bactria*.

Parke, *Greek Mercenary Soldiers from Earliest Times to the Battle of Ipsus*.

Tarn, *The Greeks in Bactria and India*.

Wood, *In the Footsteps of Alexander the Great*.

Questions to Consider

1. What enabled Alexander to achieve the conquest of Iran in a single year? How much did he own to his strategic genius, his logistics, and the professionalism of his officers and men?

2. How did the deposition, and then murder of Darius III, split the Persian imperial aristocracy? Why did most Persian and Median nobles submit to Alexander in 330 B.C.?

3. Why was it important for Alexander to defeat and capture Bessus in 330–329 B.C.? What were difficulties in pacifying the lands of Central Asia? How did the campaign of 329 B.C. tax the endurance of the Macedonian army?

Alexander on the Rim of the World

Lecture 18

From the fighting in Central Asia, a new set of generals emerged. All of these men had proved their ability in operating in Central Asia, and they began to replace the older generation of Philip's officers, some of them who had died, others who had been pensioned off and returned home because of age and infirmity.

In July 329 B.C., Alexander rested his sore army at Maracanda, in the vicinity of modern Samarkand on the Polytimetus River. There Alexander received the submissions of Bactrian and Sogdian nobles, but they soon became alarmed when Alexander founded the military colony of Alexandria Eschate, and imposed tribute on the lands between the Oxus and Jaxartes.

Spitamenes raised a rebellion among Bactrians and Persian military colonists of the Oxus Valley. He was joined by the Sogdian barons and the Scythian nomads. For next three years, Alexander waged a relentless war of pacification in the bleakest of landscapes. Fighting under grueling conditions against a hostile population, the Macedonians were culturally isolated from the Mediterranean world. Alexander had to recruit more forces, peaking at over 100,000 men. In 329–327 B.C., 20,000 Greek mercenaries took service. Logistics and strategy dictated that Alexander divide his forces in columns with **Hephaestion** and **Craterus** leading independent commands. Spitamenes, a master in this elusive warfare, even destroyed a Macedonian detachment on the Polytimetus River.

In 328 B.C., Spitamenes was betrayed and murdered, after Alexander's ruthless suppression of the rebellions in the Oxus Valley. The Sogdian barons fought on from mountain fastnesses, but by early 327 B.C. Alexander had audaciously assaulted these bastions. Upon capturing the Sogdian Rock, Alexander married Roxane, daughter of his foe Oxyrates, and gained the acceptance of the proud Sogdian nobles. The fighting, however, had tested the endurance of his army, and led to ugly clashes with senior officers over policy. In 327 B.C., Alexander recrossed the Hindu Kush to conquer India at

the eastern edge of the world, but he led a Macedonian army that was weary and divided as well as swollen with mercenaries and subject allies. ■

Names to Know

Craterus (c. 370–321 B.C.): Son of Alexander, along with Antipater, he crushed the insurgent Greeks ending the Lamian War. Later joined Antipater in a war against Perdiccas.

Hephaestion (c. 356–324 B.C.): Macedonian noble and dear friend to Alexander. He commanded independent columns in Central Asia and India in 329–325 B.C.

Spitamenes (c. 370–328 B.C.): Headed the rebellion that erupted in the Upper Satrapies. He inflicted the only serious defeat suffered by Alexander's army against a detachment of the Polytimetus River.

Suggested Reading

Bosworth, *Alexander and the East*.

———, *Conquest and Empire*.

Cribb and Herrmann, *After Alexander*.

Engels, *Alexander the Great and the Logistics of the Macedonian Army*.

Fuller, *The Generalship of Alexander the Great*.

Holt, *Alexander the Great and Bactria*.

Parke, *Greek Mercenary Soldiers from Earliest Times to the Battle of Ipsus*.

Tarn, *The Greeks in Bactria and India*. .

Questions to Consider

1. Why was Alexander taken by strategic surprise with the outbreaks of rebellions in Sogdiana and Bactria?

2. How well did Alexander display his tactical genius in these operations? Did the brutal wars of pacification amount to a policy of calculated terror or even genocide on the part of Alexander? What accounted for the savage fighting waged by both Macedonians and Iranians?

3. How did conditions affect the morale and discipline of Alexander's army? How did Alexander reform and improve his army in 329–327 B.C.?

4. How did the nature of this fighting result in the emergence of a distinct Hellenic frontier society and cities in Central Asia? Why did Alexander depart from his previous policy of working through local institutions to found so many Greco-Macedonian cities?

Governing and Taxing the Empire

Lecture 19

What was all-important to Alexander was appointing men he could trust, and these included Macedonians, certain Greeks who were of tested loyalty that had long served the Macedonian house, and members of that Persian aristocracy including the high members, the members of the highest aristocracy from Susa, and in the border zones, for instances, his new father-in-law, the father of Roxane, who was appointed a satrap.

By 330 B.C., Alexander ruled over an expanding world empire, however he lacked the personnel and institutions to impose a central administration, and so he adapted the Persian satrapal organization to secure revenues, provisions, and lines of communication.

The *Hypomnemata*, or final plans, later attributed to Alexander deal with projected campaigns rather than administration. Macedonian officers alone held military positions. Alexander protected the army's lines of communication to the Aegean world by having Philip's senior officers ruling Macedon, Asia Minor, and Media.

In the western lands of the Persian Empire, Alexander appointed Macedonians as satraps, but he invested financial power in Greek accountants. East of the Tigris, Persians were appointed satraps until 324 B.C., when Alexander removed them in favor of Macedonians. In India, Alexander found no Achaemenid institutions, and so turned power over to local rulers.

Alexander's arrangements are well seen in his coinage. In Asia Minor, Cyprus, and the Phoenicia, mints were opened yet, east of the Tigris, Alexander opened no mints, because he did not expect the campaigns in Iran and India would last six years. In governing and taxing his vast empire, Alexander had to play four distinct roles: Great King of Asia, Pharaoh of Egypt, king of Macedon, and the elected general of the Greek league. It was the last role that proved the most difficult. He failed to reconcile the Greeks, and they alone rose in the rebellion of the Lamian War. ■

Suggested Reading

Badian, "Alexander the Great and the Unity of Mankind."

Baldry, *The Unity of Mankind in Greek Thought Cambridge*.

Bellinger, *Essays on the Coinage of Alexander the Great*.

Bosworth, *Conquest and Empire*.

Mørkholm, *Early Hellenistic Coinage*.

Price, *The Coinage in the Name of Alexander the Great*.

Tarn, *Alexander the Great*.

Questions to Consider

1. What were Alexander's aims in governing his empire? Did Alexander show a talent in administering his conquests or did he simply adapt institutions to sustain his conquests?

2. Why did the peoples of the western satrapies so readily accept rule by Macedonians? Why was the Persian nobility so willingly cooperate with Alexander after 330 B.C.?

3. How did Alexander pay for his campaigns? What was the impact of striking vast numbers of Macedonian regal coins on markets across the former Persian Empire?

4. Did Alexander's death in 323 B.C. spare him from the far more onerous and mundane task of ruling a world empire rather than conquering one?

Alexander and the Macedonian Opposition

Lecture 20

In the spring of 327 B.C. when Alexander's army marched over Hindu Kush once more: They marched into the India in high spirits. For them, they thought that their king was leading them to the edge of the world—that is, to the great Eastern Ocean—and soon they would be returning home.

During the conquest of Iran in 330–327 B.C., Alexander faced two conspiracies, and the defiance of a senior officer, **Cleitus the Black**, who had saved the king's life at the Granicus. Opposition and objections among Macedonians arose because Alexander was perceived as denying his father Philip and making concessions to the Persian nobility. Macedonian officers and men sensed that they were losing touch with their king who reigned in an ever more distant, autocratic manner. Alexander was convinced that he was the son of Zeus since his visit of the oracle of Siwah. The sources report an increasingly stifling atmosphere at court because Greek courtiers and savants flattered Alexander. At the same time, Alexander alienated many Macedonians by introducing Achaemenid ceremonies.

In 330 B.C., **Philotas**, son of Parmenio and commander of the Companions, was convicted for failure to report a conspiracy. The army voted the execution, but Alexander, fearful of Parmenio's position at Ectabana, ordered the judicial murder of his senior commander. No criticisms were openly voiced, but the ugly incident shocked and frightened many Macedonians.

In a drunken rage, Alexander slew Cleitus the Black for criticizing the king's divine pretenses. Alexander, in the manner of Achilles, withdrew to his tent in grief. In 327 B.C., Alexander also blundered when he sought to introduce proskynesis, an act of obeisance to Persians but an act of worship to Greeks and Macedonians. The court historian Callisthenes, great nephew of Aristotle, refused to perform the ritual, and by his quip won the approval of the Macedonians and anger of the king. Soon after Callisthenes was

brought to trial for allegedly inspiring a plot by several Macedonian pages. All three incidents revealed the growing isolation of Alexander as Lord of Asia from his Macedonian veterans who lost confidence in their king by 325 B.C. when they mutinied at the Hyphasis River. ■

Suggested Reading

Badian, "Alexander the Great and the Loneliness of Power."

Bosworth, *Alexander and the East*.

———, *Conquest and Empire*.

Heckel, *The Marshals of Alexander's Empire*.

Tarn, *Alexander the Great*.

Questions to Consider

1. Under what conditions did the clashes between Alexander and his Macedonian officers and Callisthenes occur? Why were tensions so high in the army of Alexander?

2. Which policies of Alexander were most objectionable to the Macedonians and Greeks? Did they fail to perceive the political necessity of conciliating the Persians? Out of what motives did Alexander introduce these policies?

3. Given the surviving sources, how plausible are modern reconstructions that Alexander used, even manufactured, these incidents as a means to remove foes, real and imagined?

The Invasion of India

Lecture 21

The army encountered a tough foe, but a region so foreign to their experience in either the Mediterranean world or the Iranian world that ultimately it undermined the willingness and the loyalty of the army to press east, and the discovery of the Indian subcontinent proved to be almost too much.

In June 327 B.C., Alexander departed Bactra at the head of 15,000 cavalry, 120,000 infantry, and a vast supply train to cross the Hindu Kush, or Indian Caucasus, in hopes to conquer India. Believing the Indus fed into the Nile, Alexander summoned **Nearchus** east so that his Cretan navigator could launch a fleet to sail west. Alexander did not know that the kingdoms of the Upper Indus and its mighty five tributaries of the Punjab were the gateway to a subcontinent rather than ends of the world.

Arrian and Plutarch had stress Alexander's longing, or *pothos*, to discover and conquer. Recent scholars have attributed more sinister motives to Alexander's campaigns. Foremost, Alexander strove to excel Heracles and Dionysus as well as to retake the lost Persian satrapy of India that yielded an annual tribute of 6,000 talents. Alexander came on invitation of Taxiles, or Omphis, ruler of Taxila on the nexus of highways that linked Central Asia and India.

In 327–326 B.C., Alexander waged tough wars against the tribesmen of Bajaur and the Swat Valley, while Hephaestion clear the Kophen Valley and bridged the Indus. In spring 325 B.C., Alexander concentrated his army at Taxila, and received envoys from rajahs of the Punjab or the Land of the Five Rivers.

He also obtained elephants and the first accurate knowledge of local conditions. Porus, the Pauravas rajah who ruled the lands between the Hydaspes and Acesines, refused submission. Porus was allied to Abisares, ruler of Kashmir, who had encouraged the northern tribesmen to oppose Alexander's crossing of the Hindu Kush. In May 326, before the monsoons,

Alexander, along with his ally Taxiles, marched against this new foe Porus to fight what Alexander believed would be the final decisive battle in the conquest of the East. ■

Suggested Reading

Bosworth, *Alexander and the East: The Tragedy of Triumph*.

———, *Conquest and Empire*.

Cary and Warmington. *The Ancient Explorers*.

Engels, A*lexander the Great and the Logistics of the Macedonian Army*.

Fuller, *The Generalship of Alexander the Great*.

Mookerji, *Chandragupta Maurya and His Times*.

Stein, *On Alexander's Track to the Indus*.

Questions to Consider

1. How effectively did the Achaemenid kings govern their Indian satrapies? What would Alexander have learned from the Persian nobility about India?

2. What political, religious, and cultural divisions would have assisted Alexander's initial conquests in India? How well did Alexander, given his geographic knowledge, prepared for his Indian campaign?

3. At the opening of the campaign season in 326 B.C., what was the strategy of Alexander when he departed Taxilia? What were the aspirations of the Macedonians?

The Battle of the Hydaspes

Lecture 22

This battle was important for several reasons: It was the fourth and in some ways one of the most remarkable of Alexander's victories. The battle shows Alexander strategically at his best.

In May 326 B.C., Alexander won his most brilliant victory over **Porus**, the Pauravas rajah, on the plains just east of Hydaspes River. Alexander later founded the twin colonies Bucephela and Nicaea to commemorate his victory. Porus opposed Alexander's crossing with an army reckoned at 4,000 cavalry, 30,000 infantry, 300 chariots, and either 85 or 200 elephants. Alexander fielded a larger army, perhaps 65,000, strong, of which less than a third were now Macedonian veterans.

Since the Hydaspes was rising from onset of the monsoons, Porus assumed a strong defensive position behind the river. For several days, Alexander misled Porus by feints, while Macedonian scouts located crossings upstream. At night, Alexander led two detachments comprised mostly of Macedonian and Balkan veterans, the Dahae horse archers, and Iranian heavy cavalry across the Hydaspes. Once across, Alexander regrouped, rested, and then pressed south. Porus turned too late to engage Alexander. With supreme tactical finesse, Alexander lured Porus's cavalry into an encirclement. Porus's cavalry was annihilated, and the Macedonian cavalry drove into Porus' left flank. The Macedonian infantry closed in, driving the elephants into the ranks of Porus's infantry.

Alexander was at his best in this battle, and yet the victory was not decisive. Alexander restored Porus to his throne and learned of far greater kingdoms to the east. Alexander had not concluded his eastern conquest, but, instead, discovered the Indian subcontinent. ■

Name to Know

Porus (d. 317 B.C.): The Pauravas rajah, was defeated and captured by Alexander at the Battle of the Hydaspes. After restored to his throne, he aided Alexander's campaign to the Hyphasis.

Suggested Reading

Bosworth, *Alexander and the East: The Tragedy of Triumph*.

———, *Conquest and Empire*.

Engels, *Alexander the Great and the Logistics of the Macedonian Army*.

Fuller, *The Generalship of Alexander the Great*.

Heckel, *The Conquests of Alexander the Great*.

Holt, *Alexander the Great and the Mystery of the Elephant Medallions*.
Mookerji, *Chandragupta Maurya and His Times*.

Stein, *On Alexander's Track to the Indus*.

Questions to Consider

1. What unprecedented difficulties were imposed on Alexander by campaigning in India? How did such conditions affect the morale of the Macedonian army? How did these campaigns influence Alexander's own sense of destiny as well as political aims?

2. Why did Alexander have to depend on Indian rajahs and local elites for his campaigns and administration of his conquests? How did the absence of Persian administrative institutions limit his effective rule?

3. How effective an opponent was Porus and his army? What was the likely political impact of Alexander's victory and treatment of Porus? What were the expectations of the army after the victory?

Mutiny and Withdrawal

Lecture 23

... the army is footsore, weary, and homesick. It's too long ... the army was just exhausted. Alexander was taken aback; he was surprised; many of the officers nodded in agreement. He attempted to encourage them by pointing out all of their hardships together, and finally he couldn't convince the officers. He retired into his tent just as Achilles would, and for three days would not communicate with anyone.

From Porus Alexander obtained the first accurate information on what subcontinent beyond the Indus. Despite the onset of the monsoons, Alexander pushed relentlessly on, crossing the flooded rivers of the Punjab. On the western bank of the Hyphasis, the Macedonian army, after marching 11,000 miles across Asia in eight years, refused to advance. The hard won victory on the Hydapses had netted only more desultory fighting in the Punjab. In the Ganges Valley, the low caste Nanda dynasts ruled over Magadha, the dominant power in northern India since the late 6th century B.C.

Plutarch and Arrian report that Alexander was seized by a longing to conquer India. Yet even Alexander sensed the exhaustion of his men. Thereupon, Alexander, according to Arrian, summoned a meeting of officers and appealed to press on—Diodorus Siculus and Curtius Rufus set this debate before an assembly of the entire Macedonian army. Coenus, a senior phalangite commander, spoke for the Macedonian rank and file. Alexander, as a Macedonian king, had to relent for he could only lead by consent. The next day, Alexander confirmed the army's decision when the sacrifices proved unfavorable to the river gods. Alexander withdrew to the Hydaspes, and ordered a return home. Even so, he faced another year of hard campaigning against the tribal confederations of the Brahmans and Oxydracae, and the kingdoms of the Sind in the lower Indus. At the city of the Malli, Alexander was severely wounded when he sought to inspire his reluctant men by being the first to scale the walls. In July 325 B.C., a year after the mutiny, the Macedonian army reached Pattala, near the mouth of Indus River, and the shores of the Erythaean Sea, today the Indian Ocean. Unknown to them, they faced a long march home across the Gedrosian Desert. ■

Suggested Reading

Bosworth, *Alexander and the East*.

———, *Conquest and Empire*.

Engels, *Alexander the Great and the Logistics of the Macedonian Army*.

Fuller, *The Generalship of Alexander the Great*.

Heckel, *The Conquests of Alexander the Great*.

Mookerji, *Chandragupta Maurya and His Times*.

Tarn, *The Greeks in Bactria and India*.

Questions to Consider

1. In what ways did Alexander lose touch with his men and drive his army to refuse to advance east of the Hyphasis? How did Alexander treat this opposition? What was the purpose of the sacrificial rituals and dramatic events staged by Alexander on the banks of the Hyphasis?

2. Why did the fighting in the middle and lower Indus prove so difficult? What roused the tribes to oppose Alexander? Why did the Macedonians conduct such savage reprisals against the population?

3. Alexander broke the power of these tribes, founded military colonies, and imposed tribute, but what tasks did the satrap Peithon face to control this region? Why would Macedonian rule prove ephemeral in these lands after the death of Alexander the Great?

The Gedrosian Desert and Voyage of Nearchus

Lecture 24

The return of the fleet and the return of the army in November, 325 B.C. marked the end of the great conquest of Alexander.

Alexander's march through the Gedrosian Desert excited the imagination of Classical writers who cast the event as Alexander's costly battle against the elements. Yet, Alexander reached Pasargadae with his army intact—sources have exaggerated the losses suffered. Alexander pulled off a logistical triumph. He inspired his army to overcome privations and lack of water, and become the first to ever cross these inhospitable regions. Even more important was the voyage of Nearchus, whose fleet obtained the first accurate information for the Greek world about the shores, islands, and ports of the Erythraean Sea.

In mid-July 325 B.C., Alexander departed Pattala, starting the celebrated six-month march across Gedrosia during the summer rains when the wells were filled. Craterus led half the army by an alternate northern route. Nearchus and the fleet with supplies and water were expected to meet Alexander at Harmozia on the Gulf of Hormuz. But Nearchus was delayed by the monsoons until late October and failed to rendez-vous with the army. Alexander's column ran short of water, and many of the non-combatants perished. Nearchus' fleet too encountered supply difficulties and a near disaster with a school of whales. Nearchus' periplus, or voyage of discovery, long remained the handbook for navigators of the Erythaean Sea.

Back at the Persian capitals, Alexander now faced a far more daunting problem: administering this empire rather than conquering the empire. ■

Suggested Reading

Bosworth, *Conquest and Empire*.

Cary and Warmington, *The Ancient Explorers*.

Engels, *Alexander the Great and the Logistics of the Macedonian Army*.

Heckel, *The Conquests of Alexander the Great*.

Wilcken, *Alexander the Great*.

Questions to Consider

1. Why is Alexander's march across the Gedrosian Desert such a controversial topic since antiquity? How well planned and how necessary was the march? How did the Macedonians perceive this march?

2. Did the march through the Gedrosian desert show Alexander at his best in leadership?

3. What was the role of Nearchus' fleet in the return march? Why was the voyage of Nearchus so important in the long term?

4. In January 324 B.C., what were the most pressing tasks confronting Alexander? How well would Alexander have governed his empire had he ruled for another 30 years?

Deification and Succession

Lecture 25

Alexander created the basis for the foundation of both the Hellenistic states that followed him and then ultimately … the Roman emperors, who found the means of reconciling all of these different peoples by the veneration of the ruler, and so achieved the peace of a great world empire.

In 324 B.C., Alexander most likely made it known through the *synedrion* of the League of Corinth that he was inclined to accept divine honors. This sets in motion a tradition of veneration of the ruler that becomes characteristic of the monarchies of the Hellenistic Age, and eventually feeds into what we often call "emperor worship" in the Roman imperial age.

Although the line between divine and mortal was never sharply drawn by Greeks, the worship of a mortal in his life time had few precedents. Most Greeks instead agreed with Pindar, that warriors, athletes and poets by great deeds briefly attained godlike stature. For all his hyperbole, Philip II had never expected, worship from his subjects or Greek allies. Alexander, a descendent of Achilles and Heracles, believed otherwise, and Olympias, in later years, insisted that Alexander was the son of Zeus.

From his visit to the Oracle of Zeus at Siwah, Alexander became convinced of his divinity. In 325 B.C., Alexander celebrated his crossing over the Gedorsian Desert as a Dionysiac triumph.

At Sparta and Athens, the assemblies derisively voted divine honors, and Alexander's pretensions to divine honors, in part, drove the Greeks into rebellion in 323 B.C. Yet, Alexander unintentionally hit upon the solution of reconciling Greek city-sates to the rule by Macedonian kings and later Roman emperors. A Greek city could accept a Macedonian king or Roman emperor as benefactor, protector, and god who stood outside the constitution and so the community of citizens who governed themselves by their own laws. ■

Suggested Reading

Badian, *The Deification of Alexander the Great*.

Boedecker and Sider, *The New Simonides: Contexts of Praise and Desire*.

Bosworth, *Conquest and Empire*.

Eddy, *The King is Dead*.

Jones, *The Greek City from Alexander to Justinian*.

Price, *Rituals and Power*.

Wilcken, *Alexander the Great*.

Questions to Consider

1. Why did Alexander hesitate to issue an edict requesting divine honors from his Greek allies? Why did many Greeks respond so derisively to Alexander's wish for divine honors? How did this issue contribute to Greek resentment of Alexander?

2. How did precedents of worship of mortals and the tradition of apotheosis influence Alexander's own view of his divine destiny? What was the impact of the Oracle of Siwah?

3. Why could the Didaochoi establish ruler cults in Greek cities after 306 B.C.? Why were Greeks willing to accept royal overlords as gods and benefactors? In what ways did the Roman imperial cults represent a far more sophisticated institution for imperial rule?

Alexander and the Macedonians—Opis

Lecture 26

"You are all my *hetairoi*, you are all my kinsmen and companions; we are all Macedonians together."

In midsummer 324 B.C. Alexander marshaled his army at Opis so that he could discharge the unfit veterans and award the deserving for past heroism. Most veteran soliders had been with Alexander anywhere from 6–10 years, a long time to be removed from one's homeland. The army was owed six years' back pay; most of the fighting in the East had to essentially be done on credit. There was an enormous striking of coinage to pay off the veterans and probably the contractors in the East. Instead of being received with joy by many of the soldiers there was suspicion: Alexander's generosity was met with jeers and complaints at Opis when the army lined up in order to receive pay.

Alexander ordered the arrest of the ringleaders, and called the Macedonians back to a sense of duty by a masterful speech, but in so doing he admitted the validity of their complaints. Alexander won back his Macedonians by appealing to Philip II and resuming his role as a traditional Argead king. With discipline restored, Alexander campaigned against Median rebels, but late in 324 B.C., Hephaestion fell ill of fever and died at Ecbatana. Overcome with grief, Alexander ordered excessive honors for his deceased friend and intimate, but the king's spirit was broken.

On June 11, 323 B.C., Alexander himself died of fever at Babylon so that his final aims are unknown although the Hypomnemata survives purporting to record Alexander's final goals. Yet, events in the final year demonstrated that Alexander was facing the impossible tasks of governing by means of four irreconcilable roles: King of Macedon, pharaoh of Egypt, Lord of Asia, and commander of the League of Corinth. At Opis, Alexander ultimately had to yield to his Macedonian veterans, and by his sudden death Alexander was spared the even more difficult rask of reconciling his Greek allies. ■

Suggested Reading

Badian, "Alexander the Great and the Loneliness of Power."

———, "Alexander the Great and the Unity of Mankind."

Bosworth, *Conquest and Empire*.

Engels, *Alexander the Great and the Logistics of the Macedonian Army*.

Heckel, *The Conquests of Alexander the Great*.

O'Brien, *Alexander the Great*.

Tarn, *Alexander the Great*.

Wilcken, *Alexander the Great*.

Questions to Consider

1. Why did Alexander still court the Persian aristocracy at the expense of the feelings of his Macedonian officers and men? What did the mass marriages reveal about Alexander's vision of his empire? What role were Macedonians to play in the future?

2. What did the mutiny at Opis reveal about the relationship between Alexander and the Macedonians? Why did Alexander fail to understand the emotions of his men? What was achieved by the final reconciliation?

3. Did the death of Hephaestion lead to the rapid deterioration of Alexander's health? How plausible were later rumors and popular reports that Alexander was poisoned?

4. If Alexander had recovered, would he have been overtaxed by dealing with his Greek allies and the governing of a world empire? Did Alexander die at a propitious moment at his career that ensured his fame?

Alexander and the Greeks—The Lamian War

Lecture 27

Alexander had set in motion before his death a series of events in which the League of Corinth was dissolved. ... For the rest of the Hellenistic Period, the Greeks ever resented the control of the Macedonian king; they saw that king as a foreign conqueror, they were never reconciled; and in the end, it was these Greek city-states—particularly the Aetolians and the Athenians, the ones who had raised the banner of rebellion in 323 B.C.—who summoned in Rome to destroy the Macedonian king.

In 324 B.C., Alexander proclaimed the Exiles' Decree, ordering the Greek cities to receive exiles, most of whom were pro-Macedonian oligarches or mercenaries. The edict violated the autonomy and freedom promised league members, and so sparked the rebellion know as the Lamian War. The incident was the climax to the deteriorating relations between Alexander and the Greeks since 335 B.C.

After the sack of Thebes, Alexander had the reluctant cooperation of his Greek allies. The Spartans, who had refused to join the league, sought an alliance and money from Darius III. In 331 B.C., **King Agis III** raised a rebellion in the Peloponnesus, but **Antipater** defeated and slew Agis III at Megalopolis. The Athenians, mindful of the Spartan failure to fight at Chaeronea, had remained aloof. Under their pro-Macedonian statesman Lycurgus, Athens prospered while Alexander marched east.

At the same time, Alexander grew ever more impatient with his Greek allies. Several decrees on stone from the Ionian cities reveal how after 330 B.C. Alexander issued orders as a Great King rather than politely acted as a philhellene benefactor of cities. Therefore, in 323 B.C., just as the news of Alexander's death reached Greece, the Athenians declared war to secure freedom of the Greeks. Demosthenes left retirement to urge on his countrymen. The Aetolians and Thessalians followed suit. Antipater was besieged in the Thessalian fortress at Lamia, but the Macedonian veterans under **Craterus** and **Leonnatus** arrived and crushed the Greeks ultimately collapsing the revolt. Antipater dissolved the League of Corinth, and imposed

garrisons and pro-Macedonian oligarchies. The Greeks had their first bitter lesson in the new world wrought by Alexander: Their autonomy and freedom were the gifts of powerful Macedonian dynasts. ■

Names to Know

Agis III (r. 338–331 B.C.): Eurypontid king of Sparta. Agis negotiated support to liberate Greece from Macedonian rule, but news of Battle of Issus ended the plan. In 331 B.C., Agis III besieged Megalopolis in a bid to reclaim Spartan hegemony but was defeated.

Antipater (397–319 B.C.): Senior advisor to Alexander, he administered Macedon and Greece during Alexander's absence. In 331 B.C., he defeated Agis III forcing Sparta into the Hellenic League.

Leonnatus (c. 358–322 B.C.): Boyhood friend and bodyguard of Alexander. He distinguished himself in India and Gedrosia. He accepted an offer from Olympias to marry Cleopatra, invaded Europe, raised the siege of Lamia, but was killed in a cavalry skirmish.

Suggested Reading

Badian, *The Deification of Alexander the Great*.

Bosworth, *Conquest and Empire*.

Christian, *Athens from Alexander to Antony*.

Heisserer, *Alexander and the Greeks of Asia Minor*.

Wilcken, *Alexander the Great*.

Questions to Consider

1. How did Alexander differ from his father Philip in his opinion and dealings with the Greek city-states within the League of Corinth? Why was the sack of Thebes so effective in cowing the Greek dissidents?

2. How did Alexander drive the Greeks into rebellion by his decrees on the exiles and deification in 324 B.C.? How should Alexander have treated his Greek allies?

3. Was the defeat of the Greeks in the Lamian War inevitable from the start? How did the Macedonian settlement of Greece in 322 B.C. doom any future cooperation between the Macedonian monarchy and the Greek city-states?

The Diadochoi, 323–316 B.C.

Lecture 28

"His Friends asked: 'To whom do you leave the kingdom?' and [Alexander] replied: 'To the strongest.'" —Diodorus Siculus

Events in 323–321 B.C. condemned Alexander's empire to civil war and then partition among the Diadochoi. By 316 B.C., the Argead dynasty was defunct. In June 323 B.C., **Perdiccas**, *chiliarch* in control of the imperial administration, could have imposed himself as king, but he hesitated before the assembly of Macedonian soldiers who clamored for **Philip Arrhidaeus**, half-brother of Alexander, and the expected posthumous son of Alexander by Roxane.

Perdiccas instead was elected regent, and controlled the army and treasury at Babylon. He had to share power with Antipater, regent in Macedon, and Craterus, with 10,000 veterans en route to assist in defeating the Greek rebels. Perdiccas also assigned satrapies to the leading generals. **Ptolemy** and **Lysimachus** were assigned Egypt and Thrace, respectively and each aspired to turn his province into a kingdom. Antigonus Monophthalmos, confirmed as satrap of Phrygia, and his dashing son Demetrius Poliocretes plotted to succeed to the entire empire.

In 321 B.C., Perdiccas declared war on Antipater, Craterus, and Ptolemy. **Eumenes of Cardia**, Alexander's Greek secretary and loyal to the Argead house, defended Asia Minor, defeating and slaying Craterus. Perdiccas invaded Egypt only to be murdered near Pelusium. Civil war abruptly ended.

The veteran Macedonian armies converged at Triparadisius in Syria, where Antipater took charge of Macedon and the kings Philip Arrhidaeus and **Alexander IV**, appointed **Seleucus** satrap of Babylonia, and confirmed the other satraps. Antipater's death in 319 B.C. signaled a new civil war. Antigonus consolidated control of Asia Minor, and pursued Eumenes of Cardia into Iran, capturing and executing him at Susa. A complicated civil war in Macedon wiped out the Argead house, and put Cassander, Antipater's

son, on the Macedonian throne. Antigonus and Demetrius, with the control of the Asian satrapies, turned to restore the Alexandrine empire against powerful satraps turned dynasts: Cassander, Lysimachus, Ptolemy, and Seleucus. ■

Names to Know

Alexander IV (323–310 B.C.): The posthumous son of Alexander the Great and Roxane, who was born in September 323 B.C. He was declared joint king with Philip III Arrhidaeus.

Philip Arrhidaeus (b. c. 357–317 B.C.; r. 323–317 B.C.): The retarded son of Philip II and Philinna of Larissa, In 323 B.C. the Macedonian phalanx at Babylon unexpectedly declared him king.

Eumenes of Cardia (263–241 B.C.): Attalid ruler of Pergamum and nephew and adopted son of Philetaerus, carved out a state in the Caicus valley and defied Seleucid efforts of reconquest.

Lysimachus (b c. 362; r. 305–281 B.C.): He commanded the fleet on the Hydaspes in 324 B.C. In 323 B.C. he received the satrapy of Thrace. He acquired western Asia Minor as a result, and in 288–285 B.C. he gained Macedon and Greece.

Ptolemy (b. c. 367; r. 305–283 B.C.): In 323 B.C., he took Egypt as his satrapy, and built a great state including Egypt, Coele-Syria, Cyrene, Cyprus, the Nesiotic League, and Greek cities of southern Asia Minor. An efficient administrator, but average general, he studiously avoided battle whenever possible. He alone survived to die at an advanced age.

Suggested Reading

Austin, *The Hellenistic World from Alexander to the Roman Conquest*.

Billows, *Antigonos the One-Eyed and the Creation of the Hellenistic State*.

Bosworth, *The Legacy of Alexander*.

Grainger, *Seleuckos Nikator*.

Habicht, *Athens from Alexander to Antony*.

Lund, *Lysimachus*.

Stewart, *Faces of Power*.

Questions to Consider

1. Was Alexander the Great at fault for not providing for the succession in 323 B.C.? What were the flaws in the regency established at Babylon in 323 B.C.? Who had the strongest position—Antipater, Craterus, or Perdiccas?

2. In 321 B.C. what were the flaws in the settlement at Triparadisius? Why did Antipater neglect the satrapies of the former Persian Empire? Did Antipater err in appointing Polyperchon as his successor rather than his own son Cassander?

3. In 318-316 B.C., why did Antigonus and Demetrius emerge as the potential masters of the entire Macedonian Empire? What were their advantages?.

The Partition of the Empire, 316–301 B.C.

Lecture 29

The Battle of Ipsus essentially determined that the empire of Alexander the Great would be partitioned. ... How did circumstances turn out that partition rather than unity was the result, because to some extent this was a surprise.

In 316 B.C., after their victory over Eumenes, Antigonus Monophthalmus and Demetrius expelled Seleucus from Babylon, and took possession of the eastern or Upper Satrapies. Seleucus found refuge with Ptolemy. The wily Ptolemy forged a grand coalition with Lysimachus in Thrace and Cassander in Macedon against Antigonus and Demetrius.

Down to 306 B.C., none of the Diadochoi dared to assume the title king, even though each had set aside his loyalty to the Argead house. Desultory fighting in 316–312 B.C. ended a one year armistice. Ptolemy, Lysimachus, and Cassander each needed the respite to consolidate his kingdom, whereas Antigonus agreed to an armistice so that he could reckon with Seleucus. After Ptolemy defeated Demetrius at Gaza in 312 B.C., he supported Seleucus's return to Babylon. Seleucus was then able to consolidate control over the eastern satrapies between 311 and 306 B.C.

A turning point came in 306 B.C., when Antigonus launched an abortive invasion of Egypt. Thereafter, Ptolemy's coalition took the initiative. In 301 B.C. at the Batte of Ipsus, Lysimachus and Seleucus joined forces to defeat and slay Antigonus. Demetrius, a king without a kingdom, escaped to his fleet at Ephesus. The victors—Ptolemy, Lysimachus, Seleucus, and Cassander, divided the empire of Alexander the Great into separate kingdoms, and so created the new political order of the Hellenistic world. ■

Suggested Reading

Austin, *The Hellenistic World from Alexander to the Roman Conquest*.

Billows, *Antigonos the One-Eyed and the Creation of the Hellenistic State*.

Bosworth, *The Legacy of Alexander*.

Grainger, *Seleuckos Nikator*.

Habicht, *Athens from Alexander to Antony*.

Holt, T*hundering Zeus*.

Lund, *Lysimachus*.

Stewart, *Faces of Power*.

Questions to Consider

1. What advantages did Antigonus and Demetrius possess to succeed to the empire of Alexander in 316-301 B.C.? Would they have made worthy heirs of Alexander? At what point did they lose the decisive advantage to restore imperial unity?

2. What were the respective aims of Ptolemy, Lysimachus, Cassander, and Seleucus? Why did their first coalition in 315-311 B.C. end in disagreement and disunity?

3. In the final war in 307-301 B.C., what were the fatal mistakes committed by Antigonus and Demetrius? Why did their victory at Salamis, Cyprus, fail to be decisive? Demetrius besiege Rhodes rather mount another invasion of Egypt?

4. In the final campaign, what were the respective roles of Lysimachus, Cassander, Seleucus and Ptolemy? Why did the Battle of Ipsus prove decisive?

The Hellenistic Concert of Powers

Lecture 30

By 275 B.C., the political order had been clarified. … The three kingdoms were now in place; the three great Hellenistic kingdoms that would dominate the Hellenistic world for the next two generations until the arrival of the Romans.

In the generation after the Battle of Ipsus, a concert of powers emerged in Alexander's former empire, this would be the Hellenistic world later encountered by Rome. Ptolemy I established his family as the senior dynasty. He and his successors ruled in Egypt as heirs of the pharaohs, but the court at Alexandria was thoroughly Greek. The Ptolemaic kingdom also comprised an inner ring of possessions—Cyprus, the Levantine ports, and the Greek cities of Cyren—and an outer ring of allies and friends in the Aegean world, notably the island republic Rhodes, Athens, and later the Attalid kingdom of Peragmum.

Seleucus I fell heir to the Asian satrapies of Alexander the Great, and he and his successors too ruled as philhellene kings from Antioch. The Seleucid kings lost their outlying possessions to rivals, such as the Attalid dynasts of Peragmum in Asia Minor and the Euthydemid kings of Bactria. Both Ptolemaic and Seleucid kings ruled as alien conquerors who depended on access to the manpower of the Aegean world.

Cassander failed to secure his kingdom and a civil war among his sons ultimately delivered Macedon to Demetrius Poliocretes. In 287 B.C., Demetrius foolishly invaded, Asia Minor, and was captured by Seleucus; he died in gilded captivity. Macedon traded hands fell to Lysimachus, but in 281 B.C., Lysimachus died fighting his old ally Seleucus. Seleucus, who fell victim to assassination, was never able to secure Macedon. Instead, Demetrius's son **Antigonus II Gonatas** saved the Greek world from the Galatians, securing Macedon. Thereafter, the Antigonds ruled as popular kings in Macedon, but faced the hostility of the Greek, foremost Athens, the two federal leagues of the Achaeans and Aetolians, and Attalid Pergamum. It was the Aetolians who took the fateful step of inviting Rome into the Aegean

world to destroy the hated the Macedonian overlord, and thereby assured the demise of the Hellenistic concert of powers. ■

Name to Know

Antigonus II Gonatas (b. c. 320–329 B.C.; r. 283–239 B.C.): Took charge of Greece when Demetrius invaded Asia Minor. At the Battle of Lysimacheia he destroyed 20,000 Gauls, and was hailed king by the Macedonians

Suggested Reading

Austin, *The Hellenistic World from Alexander to the Roman Conquest*.

Bagnall, *The Administration of Ptolemaic Possessions outside of Egypt*.

Bevan, *The House of Ptolemy*.

———, *The House of Seleucus*.

Bosworth, *The Legacy of Alexander*.

Habicht, *Athens from Alexander to Antony*.

Hansen, *The Attalids of Pergamon*.

Holt, *Thundering Zeus*.

Tarn, *The Greeks in Bactria and India*.

Walbank, *Philip V of Macedon*.

Questions to Consider

1. Why did Lysimachus, Seleucus, Cassander, and Ptolemy fail to agree on the partition of the empire after the Battle of Ipsus? What was the role played by Demetrius Poliocretes in disrupting any settlement? Why was Seleucus bound to clash with Ptolemy or Lysimachus?

2. What accounted for the instability in the kingdom of Macedon between 298 and 277 B.C.? Why were the self-styled imitators of Alexander unsuitable as kings of Macedon? Why did Antigonus II Gonatas succeed in restoring Macedon?

Macedonian Courts in the Near East

Lecture 31

The decision was that at the Battle of Ipsus in 301 B.C. the empire would be partitioned … it would take another 25 years to straighten out which kingdoms were going to survive.

The Macedonian kings who followed the Diadochoi at Pella, Antioch, and Alexandria styled themselves as the heirs of Alexander the Great in their public arts and ceremonies, but ironically they based their governance on the policy of Philip II. They remained at their core philhellene Macedonian monarchs who looked to the Aegean world.

The Ptolemies of Egypt and the Seleucid of Asia employed as their royal servants Greek bureaucrats and mercenaries. Seleucid kings also planted Greco-Macedonian military colonies in Asia Minor and the Levant. Foremost, these Macedonian kings maintained consciously Hellenic courts, and patronized Greek savants an writers. Hence, Ptolemy II founded the Museion, the great library at Alexandria, that challenged Athens as the intellectual center of the Mediterranean world for the next eight centuries.

Attic Greek became the language of politics, trade, and literature from the shores of the Aegean to the western slopes of the Hindu Kush. Hellenic arts and architecture were promoted, and artists and architects created a baroque Hellenistic style that was received by imperial Rome. Greek scholars, such **Manetho** or **Berossus**, transmitted native history, geography, and customs that entertained their Greek readership.

Across Asia Minor, native dynasts maintained philhellene courts and founded Greek cities. In Central Asia, the Greek Euthydemid kings at Bactra followed suit, and excavations of Ai Khanoun have revealed a planned Greek city in northern Afghanistan. It was the supreme historical irony heirs of the Macedonian conqueror, so resented by proudly independent Greek cities, founded Near Eastern kingdoms based on Hellenic civilization, and so redefined the cultural direction of antiquity for the next thousand years. ■

Names to Know

Berossus (fl. c. 290–270 B.C.): Babylonian astronomer, wrote in Greek the Babylonica, a history of Mesopotamia from the Creation down to the reign of Nabonidus.

Manetho: (fl. c. 280–250 B.C.): Egyptian priest and historian, wrote in Greek Aegyptiaca, a history of the pharaohs, the chronological basis for Egyptian history.

Suggested Reading

Austin, *The Hellenistic World from Alexander to the Roman Conquest*.

Bowman, *Egypt after the Pharaohs*.

Habicht, *The Hellenistic Monarchies*.

Holt, *Thundering Zeus*.

Sherwin-White and Kuhrt, *From Samarkhand to Sardis*.

Questions to Consider

1. How did Alexander the Great set the rules for patronage by the Hellenistic kings? Why were these Macedonian courts Hellenic in speech and culture?

2. How did the Diadochoi use the image of Alexander the Great as means to promote their own kingship and legitimacy?

3. How did Alexander's founding of Alexandria set the standard for royal cities of the Hellenistic Age? Why was the Greek city favored by the Hellenistic kings?

The Hellenization of the Near East

Lecture 32

No small achievement by Alexander and the Hellenistic kings: They ensured the survival of the Greek city as the cultural center for the ancient world really down to the 7th century A.D.

Alexander the Great never accepted the distinction between Hellene and barbarian as taught by Aristotle. While a Hellene in aesthetics and manners, Alexander remained a Macedonian king who saw loyal subjects to reward rather than fellow citizens to persuade. From 330 B.C. on Alexander courted the Iranian nobility, upheld Achaemenid traditions, and trained 30,000 Iranians (epigonoi) in Macedonian arms. One of the most important activities Alexander pursued later in his career would be the founding of cities, particularly in the Upper Satrapies, and also along the Eastern frontier. The establishment of Greek-style cities became one of the hallmarks of any type of civilized Philhellene. In all of these areas, the monarch always fashioned himself as a Philhellene king. They sponsored cities that would be Greek-style cities; and these cities could become Hellenized along one of several lines. Some cities were simply honored as Greek cities. There were also instances of royal foundations, where any of these monarchs—whether they be Seleucids, the lesser dynasts, even the Ptolemaic kings outside of their immediate domains in Egypt, established Greek-style cities.

Alexander, however, acted out of pragmatic necessity rather than a policy of Hellenization or assimilation credited to him by later generations. The Hellenistic kings, while they founded many more Greek cities and maintained Hellenic courts, likewise had no policy of Hellenizing their different subjects. The natives were doing it in order to win royal patronage; and that Hellenization only went so far. Aramaic was still widely spoken in the Middle East as a commercial language; not all the cults were Hellenized; and outside of the cities, the impact of these activities was probably quite limited. In Egypt, the situation was even more dramatic. The Ptolemaic kings ruled Egypt as the heirs of the pharaohs; there is very little evidence of the Ptolemies disturbing their Egyptian subjects. ■

Suggested Reading

Austin, *The Hellenistic World from Alexander to the Roman Conquest*.

Bingen, *Hellenistic Egypt*.

Bowman, *Egypt after the Pharaohs*.

Cohen, *The Seleucid Colonies*.

Cribb, and Herrmann, *After Alexander*.

Cribionre, *Gymnastics of the Mind*.

Jones, *The Greek City from Alexander to Justinian*.

Sherwin-White, and Kurt, *From Samarkhand to Sardis*.

Shipley, *The Greek World after Alexander*.

Tarn, *Hellenistic Civilization*.

Veyne, *Bread and Circuses*.

Walbank, *The Hellenistic World*.

Questions to Consider

1. What was the nature of the interaction of Greeks and Macedonians with the peoples of the older civilizations in the Near East? Why was the founding of Greek cities so important in this exchange and how did these Greek cities lead to wider economic changes and the dissemination of Greek artistic and aesthetic values?

2. Why was the process of Hellenization so uneven? How did the Seleucid, Attalid, and Ptolemaic kings view Greek cities? Why did native cities in Asia Minor and the Levant remodel themselves after Greek cities?

3. Why did the rise of the powerful Macedonian monarchies in the Hellenistic Age dit not condemn the Greek homeland to cultural and economic, and political stagnation? Was the polis as a doomed as an political institution that inspired the affections of citizens?

The Monetization of the Near East
Lecture 33

Alexander set a whole new standard for kingship in the Near East—and it was expensive.

In the course of conquering the Persian Empire, Alexander and his successors promoted coins, cities, and trade that created a new economic order. In 334 B.C., Darius III had in his treasuries stockpiled gold and silver specie estimated as between 300,000 and 350,000 talents, and vast bulk was seized by Alexander and coined in the next 10 years.

The economic impact of the conquests of Alexander the Great have been debated since the publication of the three volume work of Michael Rostovzteff, stressing the development of trade expansion in the 3rd and 2nd centuries B.C. Furthermore, this economic unity was far more important than the political fragmenting of Alexander's empire, because it was the foundation for a common cultural and social unity.

All of that trade generated enormous amounts of hard currency; goods were traded and exchanged and ultimately coin money was necessary in order to buy and sell these goods, and that monetized markets. The taxes collected on this long-distance trade by the Macedonian kings were extremely lucrative.

Coins put into circulation by royal soldiers, officials, and contractors stimulated markets. In turn, consumers and vendors alike paid ever more taxes in coin, and royal expenditure then returned the coins to circulation. Banking, credit, and trade rose with the expansion of the money supply. Explorers who mapped the Caspian and Arabian Seas or the routes of Central Asia were followed by ever more caravans and merchant fleets meeting market demand for spices and silks. At the end of the 2nd century B.C., the navigator Hippalus learned how to navigate by use of the monsoon winds, and so opened the Erythraean Sea–the Red Sea and Indian Ocean–to commerce between Ptolemaic Egypt and India. As the unintended economic consequence of Alexander's conquests, the Hellenistic world attained

unprecedented prosperity, and so became the coveted prize in the eyes of Rome's commanders and legionaries. ■

Questions to Consider

1. Do some light research to find tree structures that keep track of other relationships, such as languages, ethnicity, or cultures.

2. Try to redraw part of the phylogenetic tree space tiled by 15 squares. As you move around this space, notice how the shape of the tree (which is given by each point in the space) changes.

Hellenization and the Gods

Lecture 34

Alexander worshiped these gods in the Near East. He did respect all of these cults, but it is clear from the sources that he worshiped those gods as avatars or representations of the Greek gods.

Alexander the Great has been credited with unwittingly transforming the religious life of the ancient world. The traditional public gods—and presumably the family gods—lost their force in the world created by Alexander. Near Eastern divinities such as the Egyptian couple Serapis (Osiris and Isis) or the great Anatolian mother goddess Cybele, gained favor in cities across the Hellenistic world. Simultaneously, the so-called mystery cults of ecstatic gods of the Greek countryside such as Dionysus and Demeter and Kore rose in popularity at the expense of state cults.

Ultimately, new cults with emphasis on moral conduct in this life and so spiritual rewards in the next one, undermined the patriotic and public cults of the Greek cities in the Hellenistic Age, and then the cities of the Roman Empire to the ultimate benefit of Christianity. The vision proposed by Cumont still holds sway in popular presentations of the Hellenistic world, but evidence suggests the opposite was more likely true. Populations assimilated their local divinities to the Greek counterparts. Serapis and Isis were Egyptian gods Hellenized as the protectors of Alexandria, a Greek city. It was their Hellenic cult, not the pharaonic one, that was exported across the Mediterranean world. In Asia Minor, native gods such as Phrygian Men or Lairbenos were recast a Hellenic gods in the guise of Apollo or Hermes. The mother goddesses of Asia Minor and the Levant assumed the dignified attributes and guise or Hera or Athena. Furthermore, the civic festivals and sacrifices defined worship for all peoples of the Aegean world and Near East. Mystery cults had specific rites of initiation, but they differed little from other cults, and they offered no special moral lessons or rewards of an afterlife. Alexander's impact was not a new age of spirituality, but rather the Hellenization of sanctuaries and public worship–a process that influenced his ultimate heirs, the Romans. ■

Suggested Reading

Burket, *Ancient Mystery Cults*.

Cumont, *The Mysteries of Mithra*.

———, *Oriental Religions in Roman Paganism*.

MacMullen, *Paganism in the Roman Empire*.

Price, *Rituals and Power*.

Roller, *In Search of the Mother Goddess*.

Shipley, *The Greek World after Alexander*.

Tarn, *Hellenistic Civilization*.

Witt, *Isis in the Graeco-Roman World*.

Questions to Consider

1. Did the career of Alexander the Great, unwittingly or not, transform the religious life of the ancient world? How would have the subject peoples seen the gods of Greece? How would have Macedonians and Greeks perceived the gods of the conquered?

2. What is sycretism? How did Greeks and Macedonians view foreign gods? Did this outlook lead to toleration or assimilation of other gods? Did Greek settlers in their new cities alter perceptions of their own gods?

3. What were mystery cults? How did they conform to Greek religious beliefs, practices, and expectations? Why is it misleading to see these cults as in competition with the civic cults? How has modern views about mystery cults and the religious history of the Hellenistic age been

4. What was the consequence of the Hellenizing of public worship in many cities of the Near East after Alexander the Great? What was the importance of ruler cults?

The Limits of Hellenization

Lecture 35

The Battle of Ipsus in 301 B.C. determined that the Macedonian Empire would not survive as a political unit, but it did lead in certain developments that promoted a wider unity, *ekoine* culture, as the Greeks would say.

Throughout Scholars of this generation who have minimized the career of Alexander the Great, have also stressed the limits of Hellenization, and even doubted the concept of a Hellenistic world. The German Johann Gustav Droysen coined the word "Hellenistic" to define the cultural, economic, and social changes issuing from Alexander's conquest. Greek writers of the Second Sophistic movement in the late 2nd century A.D., had a sense of a distinct Hellenistic age, but they defined it politically as the age of kings, which followed the hegemonies of Athens, Sparta, and Thebes, and preceded the greatest hegemony of Rome.

These writers assumed Hellenic cultural hegemony, but they also conceded great cultural and linguistic diversity. East of the Euphrates, in Mesopotamia and Iran, there were few Greek cities. Native gods, customs, and languages were influenced superficially by the Hellenic impact. All of these forces of unity had long-term implications. What did happen was at the Battle of Ipsus, the Macedonian Empire was split into competing states. There was a concert of powers; it had maintained itself during the 3rd and 2nd centuries B.C., the Seleucid Empire tended to fragment, but fundamentally you were dealing with three great states and the mass of lesser cities and leagues.

The final newcomers were the Romans. Rome had three advantages: First, they had long been in contact with Greek civilization the Romans were able to come to terms with Greek civilization on their own terms. The Romans respected Greek civilization. They also understood the notions of constitutions and they had all the patriotic sense of a city-state. Its nobility was geared to war, trained to lead citizens in battle, in many ways they shared the ethos of their counterparts in the Greek world and even with the Carthaginians; but one thing Rome had that no city-state ever had was it had

the military might of a bureaucratic empire. That heady combination of city-state institutions and patriotism, with the military power of a great monarchy and a respect for Greek civilization gave the Romans the means to conquer rapidly the core of the Hellenistic world and turn it into their own Eastern provinces; and so lay the foundations for the Roman Empire. ■

Suggested Reading

Bowman, *Egypt After the Pharaohs*.

Cribb and Herrmann, *After Alexander*.

Cribionre, *Gymnastics of the Mind*.

Eddy, *The King Is Dead*.

Potter, *Prophecy and History in the Crisis of the Roman Empire*.

Price, *Rituals and Power*.

Sherwin-White and Kuhrt, *From Samarkhand to Sardis*.

Shipley, *The Greek World after Alexander*.

Tarn, *Hellenistic Civilization*.

Veyne, *Bread and Circuses*.

Questions to Consider

1. How much did Greeks and Macedonians receive or learn from the older peoples of the Near East? Did victory on the battlefield and lordship over the indigenous peoples breed contempt or disdain among Greeks and Macedonians who remained ultimately foreign conquerors? How much did the peoples of the Near East admire or imitate the culture of their conquerors? Were there means to resist?

2. How much did the peoples of the Near East admire or imitate the Hellenic culture of their conquerors? Did they ever consider themselves resisting a cultural imperialism? How widespread were imitation or resistance? In remote regions did the Alexandrine conquests and its aftermath have any long term impact?

3. How was Hellenization limited by the success of the Greek cities east of the Aegean? How did the numbers and impact of these Greek cities differ in the lands of the former Persian Empire? Why did Hellenization have so limited an impact east of the Tigris? What accounted for the success of Hellenization in Asia Minor and the Levant? In what ways was Egypt culturally transformed by the rule of Ptolemies? In what ways did Egyptian society remain traditional and little affected by Hellenic culture?

4. Why was Rome, rather than the Arsacid kings or Kushan emperors, the true heirs to Alexander the Great and the Diadochoi? Why did Greek cities ultimately prosper under Roman rule?

Alexander the Great and the Shadow of Rome

Lecture 36

The achievement is extraordinary, the results are just undeniable, … if there had been no Alexander the Great, if there had been no Persian conquest, if that career had not occurred, if that exceptional individual had not so decisively changed his world ... there would have been no Caesar, there would have been no Christ, there would have been no Western civilization as we understand it.

Even before his death, Alexander was hailed an extraordinary military genius, and all generals since, at least in the Western tradition, have measured himself against Alexander. Kings Demetrius Poliocretes and Pyrrhus of Epirus each strove to be the new Alexander in the wars of the Diadochoi. All the great commanders since the Renaissance have followed suit, and only Napoleon has claim to parity with the Macedonian conqueror.

To this day the name Alexander the Great is invoked in popular media to mark extraordinary genius in any field. Yet, the Romans, the institutional heirs of the Macedonian conqueror, had the greatest difficulty in coming to terms with the legacy of Alexander the Great. Successive generals of the Roman Republic—Publius Cornelius Scipio Africanus, Gaius Marius, Pompey the Great, and Julius Caesar—postured as a Roman Alexander. Roman emperors whether the crazed Caligula or the sober Trajan, made the same comparison.

Rome was a society and civilization built on the collective achievements of her citizens and public institutions rather than on individual genius. Roman writers rightly stressed that, for all his military genius, Alexander would have never had the impact without the organizing genius of Rome. For Rome used the institutions and cultural *koine* of the Hellenistic order forged by Alexander for the foundations for a Mediterranean Empire. Rome possessed the political, legal, and military arts to built upon Alexander's legacy in ways unimaginable by the Macedonian king. Archaeology has increasing documented that so many of the cultural achievements of the Hellenistic world came to fruition under imperial Rome. The Romans themselves had to

admit that their conceit of being Alexander's institutional heirs carried with it an admission of the unique genius of Alexander the Great. ■

Suggested Reading

Bosworth and Baynham, *Alexander the Great in Fact and Fiction*.

Bieber, *Alexander the Great in Greek and Roman Art*.

Cary, *The Medieval Alexander*.

Dahmen, *The Legend of Alexander the Great on Greek and Roman Coins*.

Fuller, *The Generalship of Alexander the Great*.

Hammond, *The Genius of Alexander the Great*.

Smith, *Hellenistic Royal Portraits*.

Stewart, *Faces of Power*.

Wilcken, *Alexander the Great*.

Questions to Consider

1. Why is Alexander the Great still ranked by most historians as the greatest of all generals and conquerors? How did Alexander set standards in strategy, tactics, sieges, logistics, and, above all, inspiration command?

2. How important were Alexander's senior commanders and officers? How much did Alexander owe to his loyal Macedonian and Greek veterans? In what ways was Alexander an extraordinary commander to them?

3. What accounts for the imitation of Alexander by his successors? Why was Alexander's heroic image transmitted to successive generations as the standard of excellence? What made Alexander so appealing as a heroic figure?

4. How was Rome the institutional heir to Alexander's legacy? Could Rome have achieved such success in the Mediterranean world if Alexander had not conquered the Persian Empire?

Timeline

1250–1150 B.C.	Collapse of Mycenaean (Bronze Age) Civilization in Greece
1100–800 B.C.	The Greek Dark Age: Dorian invasions of Thessaly, Boeotia, and Peloponnesus; Ionian Movements to islands and Asia Minor
750–700 B.C.	Homer: composition of *Iliad* and *Odyssey*
736–716 B.C.	First Messenian War
725–700 B.C.	Origins of the *polis* (city-state)
	Introduction of Hoplite Warfare
	Hesiod: composition of *Theogony* and *Works and Days*
	Beginnings of Greek colonial expansion
676 B.C.	Constitutional Reform in Sparta: birth of Lycurgan Order
668–657 B.C.	Second Messenian War: Sparta supreme in Peloponnesus
594 B.C.	Reforms of Solon at Athens
ca. 560 B.C.	Organization of Peloponnesian League under Sparta
559 B.C.	Accession of Cyrus the Great of Persia (559–530 B.C.)
550 B.C.	Cyrus conquers Media
547–546 B.C.	Cyrus conquers Lydia; submission of Ionian cities
546–510 B.C.	Peisistratid tyranny in Athens
539 B.C.	Cyrus captures Babylon
530 B.C.	Accession of Cambyses King of Persia (530–522 B.C.)
525–522 B.C.	Cambyses's conquest of Egypt
522–521 B.C.	Great Revolt in Persian Empire
	Accession of Darius I (521–486 B.C.)
	Reorganization of the Persian Empire into satrapies

508/7 B.C.	Clesithenic Revolution: birth of the democracy in Athens
490 B.C.	Battle of Marathon: defeat of first Persian invasion
480 B.C.	Xerxes's invasion of Greece
	Battles of Thermopylae and Salamis
479 B.C.	Battle of Plataea: end of second Persian invasion
477 B.C.	Organization of the Delian League: origins of the Athenian Empire
462/1 B.C.	Triumph of the radical democracy at Athens
	Leadership of Pericles (461–429 B.C.)
	Golden Age of Athens
461–446 B.C.	"First" Peloponnesian War
431–404 B.C.	The Peloponnesian War
412 B.C.	Treaty of Miletus: Persians promise aid to Sparta in return for Ionian Greek cities of Asia Minor
408 B.C.	Cyrus the Younger appointed lord (*karanos*) of Asia Minor
405 B.C.	Rebellion of Egypt from Persian Empire
404 B.C.	Surrender of Athens to Spartan navarch Lysander
	End of the Athenian Empire and Spartan Hegemony (404–371 B.C.)
401	Battle of Cunaxa: death of Cyrus the Younger
	Anabasis or the March of the Ten Thousand (401–399 B.C.)
	King Artaxerxes II (405–358 B.C.) declares war on Sparta
	Spartans send army under Thibron into Asia Minor (401 –399 B.C.)
399 B.C.	Accession of King Agesilaus II of Sparta (399–360 B.C.)
	Dercyllidas commands Spartan forces in Asia Minor (399–397 B.C.)
396–395 B.C.	King Agesilaus II campaigns in Asia Minor

395–386 B.C.	The Corinthian War
394 B.C.	Battle of Cnidus: Athenian Conon defeats Peloponnesian fleet
387/6 B.C.	Peace of Antalcidas ("King's Peace"): Ionian cities returned to Persia
	Sparta hegemon of mainland Greece
	Athens free to pursue naval policy in Aegean Sea
386–376 B.C.	Revolt of King Evagoras of Cyprus from Persia
382 B.C.	Spartan seizure of Thebes and Dissolution of Boeotian League
	Spartan suppression of the Chalicidian League (382–379 B.C.)
380 B.C.	Isocrates writes his *Panegyricus*, calling for Greek unity
378 B.C.	Democratic Rising in Thebes under Pelopidas
	Expulsion of Spartan garrison and reorganization of Boeotian League
	Alliance of Athens and Thebes
377 B.C.	Athens organizes the Second Naval Confederacy
371 B.C.	Battle of Leuctra: defeat of Spartan army by Thebans under Epaminondas
	Theban Hegemony (371–362 B.C.)
370 B.C.	Outbreak of Satraps's revolts (370–360 B.C.)
	Theban invasion of the Peloponnesus (370–369 B.C.)
	Rebellion of Messenians and creation of Messene
	Arcadian League and Argos ally with Thebes
362 B.C.	Battle of Mantinea; death of Epaminondas
359 B.C.	Death of Perdiccas III of Macedon in battle against the Bardylis and the Illyrians
	Accession of Philip II and Treaty with the Illyrians
	Withdrawal of Macedonian garrison from Amphipolis
	Peace between Athens and Philip II

358 B.C. ..... Philip's defeat of the Paeonians and Illyrians
..... Death of Artaxerxes II of Persia
..... Accession of Artaxerxes III Ochus (358–338 B.C.)
357 B.C. ..... Philip intervenes in Thessaly on behalf of the Aleudae of Larissa (winter 358/7 B.C.)
..... Athens recovers the Chersonesus and Euboea
..... Alliance of Macedon and Epirus: Philip II marries Olympias
..... Outbreak of the Social War (357–355 B.C.)
..... Philip seizes Amphipolis
..... Outbreak of Athenian-Macedonian War
356 B.C. ..... Philip's capture of Pydna
..... Macedonian-Chalcidian Alliance
..... Phocians seize Delphi: outbreak of Third Sacred War (356–346 B.C.)
..... Athens organizes anti-Philip coalition
..... Birth of Alexander III (the Great)
..... Collapse of Northern coalition against Philip
..... Philip captures Potidaea
..... Alliance of Phocis, Sparta, and Athens against Thebes and the Ampictyonic League
355 B.C. ..... Macedonian intervention in Larissa, Thessaly
..... End of the Social War & weakening of the Athenian Naval Confederacy
..... Official declaration of war by Amphictyonic council on Philomelus and the Phocians
..... Siege of Methone by Philip
354 B.C. ..... Offensive of the Phocians in central Greece
..... Fall of Methone and Pagae to Philip
..... Battle of Neon: death of Philomelus
..... Onomarchus assumes command of the Phocians
353 B.C. ..... Onomarchus convenes counter-Amphictyony
..... Phocian Successes in central Greece

..... Theban-Macedonian Alliance

..... Chares captures Sestos

..... Intervention of Philip in Thessaly; defeat of the Phocians

..... Onomarchus expels Philip from Thessaly

..... Alliance of Cersebleptes of Thrace and Athens

..... Olynthus requests alliance and aid from Athens

352 B.C. ..... Onomarchus captures Orchomenus in Boeotia

..... Intervention of Philip in Thessaly

..... Philip Elected Archon of the *Koinon* of Thessaly

..... Battle of Crocus Plain: Philip Supreme in Thessaly

..... Death of Onomarchus; Phyllus assumes command of the Phocians

..... Alliance of Philip with Perinthus, Byzantium, and Amadocus

351 B.C. ..... Philip's Illyrian expedition

..... Siege of Heraeum Teichus

..... Warning of Philip to Olynthus

..... *Philippic I* of Demosthenes

350 B.C. ..... Philip's Paeonian and Illyrian campaigns

349 B.C. ..... Macedonian Invasion of the Chalcidice

..... Phocion sent by Athens to Euboea

..... *Olynthiacs* I–III of Demosthenes

..... Alliance of Athens and Olynthus

348 B.C. ..... Phocion's victory at Tamyae

..... Arrival of Athenians under Charidemus to Olynthus

..... Capture of Mecbyerna and Torone by Philip

..... Betrayal of Olynthus to Philip

..... Prosecution and acquittal of Philocrates for his Appeal for Peace with Philip

347 B.C.	Removal of Phalaecus from Phocian Command
	Cooperation of Athens and Cersebleptes of Thrace
	Philip's intervention in central Greece
	Siege of Halos
	Phocians offer Thermopylae to Athens and Sparta
	Athenian peace overtures to Philip
346 B.C.	Athenian invitation for a *Koine Eirene* ("General Peace" in Greece)
	Exchange of Embassies between Athens and Philip
	Peace of Philocrates
	Philip's advance to Thermopylae and submission of Phocis
	Philip presides over the Pythian Games at Delphi
	Isocrates's *Letter to Philip*
	Demosthenes, *On the Peace*
345 B.C.	Amphictyonic council supports Athenian control of Delos
	Philip's campaign vs. Pleuratus and the Illyrians
344 B.C.	Thessalian Revolt; Philip imposes the Decadarchy
	Demosthenes in the Peloponnesus
	Mission of Python to Athens
	Demosthenes, *Philippic II*
	Mission of Hegesippus to Pella
343 B.C.	Thebans press for Phocian Reparations
	Impeachment and flight of Philocrates
	Civil war in Elis and Megara
	Pro-Macedonian factions seize Oreos and Eretria
	Artaxerxes III reconquers (343–342 B.C.
	Trial of Aeschines
	Beginning of Phocian reparations

..... Philip calls for *Koine Eirene*

342 B.C. ..... Intervention of Philip in Epirus

..... Athenian intervention in Acarnania

..... Macedonian backed disturbances in Euboea

..... Philip consolidates control of Thrace

..... Alliance of Philip and the Getae

..... Clash of Athens and Cardia in the Chersonesus

..... Macedonian colonies founded in Hebrus Valley

..... Athenian capture of Nicias, herald of Philip

341 B.C. ..... Macedonian aid to Cardia

..... Assault of Diopeithes on the Thracian cities

..... Chalcis-Athens alliance

..... Demosthenes, *On the Chersonesus*

..... Capture and execution of Hermias

..... Demosthenes, *Philippic III and IV*

..... Philip crushes Thracian kings Taras and Cersebleptes

..... Athens takes Oreos and Eretria

..... Athenian missions to Byzantium, Perinthus, Selymbria, Chios, Rhodes, and Persia

..... Philip's campaign on the Thracian Euxine Shore

340 B.C. ..... Athenian approval of the Euboean League

..... Siege of Perinthus by Philip

..... Letter of Philip; Macedonian fleet in Propontis

..... Siege of Selymbria by Philip

..... Macedonian capture of the Athenian grain fleet

..... Athens declares war on Philip II

..... Alexander defeats the Maedi

..... Chares bottles up Philip's fleet

..... Phocion replaces Chares

339 B.C. ..... Escape of the Macedonian fleet

..... Scythian campaign of Philip

..... Amphictyonic council condemns Amphissa for sacrilege: outbreak of Fourth Sacred War (339–338 B.C.) and election of Philip as Hegemon

..... Theban seizure of Nicaea

..... Philip occupies Cytinium and Elataea

..... Alliance of Thebes and Athens

..... Skirmishes in Gravia Pass and along Cephisus River

338 B.C. ..... Philip bypasses Gravia Pass; Parmenio captures Amphissa

..... Battle of Chaeronea: collapse of the Athenian-Theban Alliance

..... Philip's Settlements with Athens and Thebes

..... Isocrates, *Letter III*

..... Philip Calls for a *Koine Eirene* at Corinth

..... Murder of Artaxerxes III: succession crisis in Persia

337 B.C. ..... Proclamation of *Koine Eirene* at Corinth

..... Creation of the League of Corinth

..... Declaration of war upon Persia

..... Marriage of Philip and Cleopatra

..... Exiles of Olympias and Alexander

..... Philip's campaign vs. Pleurias and the Illyrians

..... Marriages of Attalus and Amyntas

..... "Pixodarus" affair

336 B.C. ..... Invasion of Asia Minor by Parmenio

..... Assassination of Philip II

..... Accession of Alexander the Great

..... Accession of Darius III as Great King of Persia

..... Alexander's descent into Greece

..... Election as *tagos* of Thessaly

..... Alexander elected supreme general of the League of Corinth

335 B.C. ..... Campaigns in Thrace and Illyria

..... Alexander defeats Triballians and defeats Getae on the Danube

..... Defeat of the Illyrians at Pelion

..... Revolt of Thebes and incipient rebellions in Greece

..... Alexander enters Greece and sacks Thebes

334 B.C. ..... Invasion of Asia Minor: Alexander visits Troy

..... Battle of the Granicus: Alexander conquers western Asia Minor

..... Alexander frees Ionian cities and occupies Sardes

..... Creation of first Macedonian satrapy of Lydia

..... Sieges of Miletus and Halicarnassus

..... Alexander advances to Gordion

..... Memnon of Rhodes commands Persian fleet in Aegean Sea.

333 B.C. ..... Alexander loosens the "Gordian knot"

..... Darius III assembles army at Babylon and advances to Amuq Plain in Syria

..... Agis III of Sparta raises mercenaries and calls for freedom of the Greeks

..... Alexander crosses the Taurus, enters Cilicia, and crosses Belan Pass

..... Death of Memnon at Mytilene; failure Persian naval offensive

..... Battle of Issus: defeat and flight of Darius III

..... Capture of Royal Tent of Darius III and royal family

..... Darius III offers peace terms to Alexander Conquest of Syria and Phoenicia

332 B.C. ..... Sieges of Tyre and Gaza

..... Alexander enters Egypt and hailed as pharaoh at Memphis

331 B.C.	Foundation of Alexandria; reorganization of Egypt
	Alexander visits Oracle of Zeus Ammon at Siwah
	Battle of Gaugamela or Arbela
	Destruction of Persian army and flight of Darius III into Media
	Alexander enters Babylon
	Antipater defeats and slays Agis III at Battle of Megalopolis
	Collapse of Greek revolt under Sparta
330 B.C.	Alexander defeats Uxians and occupies Susa and Persepolis
	The Burning of Persepolis: end of the Panhellenic War
	Alexander advances to Ecbatana, and Darius III flees east
	At Ecbatana, Alexander dismisses Greek allies
	Parmenio, satrap of Media, holds treasury of 180,000 talents at Ecbatana
	Bessus deposes Darius III and proclaimed Great King
	Alexander's Pursuit of Bessus and murder of Darius III at Hecatompylos.
	Alexander's conquest of Areia and Drangiana
	Trials and executions of Philotas and Parmenio
	Reorganization of the Macedonian cavalry under Hephaestion and Craterus
329 B.C.	Alexander crosses Hindu Kush and invades Bactria and Sogdiana
	Alexander crosses the Oxus and betrayal and capture of Bessus
	Alexander founds Alexandria Eschate and campaigns against Scythians
	Rebellion of Sogdians under Spitamenes and Sogdian Siege of Maracanda

	Spitamenes defeats Macedonian relief column on Polytimetus River
	Alexander raises siege of Maracanda and wages war of pacification
	Betrayal and murder of Spitamenes by his allies the Massagetae
	Alexander winters at Bactra; execution of Bessus
328 B.C.	Murder of Cleitus the Black; rising Macedonian opposition to Alexander
	Conquest of Sogdianan under Oxyartes and Chorienes.
	Capture of Sogdian Rock and Marriage of Roxane
	Raising of Iranian cavalry and Training of the Epigonoi ordered.
	Disputes over the *proskynesis* and Persian ceremony at court
	Conspiracy of Pages and Death of Callisthenes
327 B.C.	Alexander crosses the Hindu Kush and invades India
	Pacification of Sajaur and Swat valleys, and assault on Aornus (Pir6:40 PM4/8/2010sar)
	Submission of Gandhara; Alexander received by King Taxiles
326 B.C.	Battle of the Hydaspes; defeat of Porus
	Founding of Nicaea and Bucephela
	Conquest of the Land of the Five Rivers.
	Mutiny of Macedonians on Hyphasis (Beas) River
325 B.C.	Construction and launching of fleet on the Indus
	Pacification of the Mallians and Oxydracae
	Alexander nearly killed in assault on city of the Mallians
	Return march through the Gedrosian Desert
	Fleet under Nearchus sails Indian Ocean and Persian Gulf

324 B.C.	Alexander at Babylon
	Reorganization of empire
	Decrees for restoration of exiles and for deification
	Mutiny of Macedonians at Opis
	Death of Hephaestion
323 B.C.	Outbreak of the Lamian War; rising of Athens, Thessalians, and Aetolians
	Antipater in Lamia besieged by Athenian-Thessalian-Aetolian army
	Death of Alexander at Babylon
	Conference of Babylon: division of Empire
	Regency under Perdiccas, Antipater, and Craterus
	Birth of Alexander IV and joint rule with Philip III Arrhidaeus
	Revolt of Greek Mercenaries in Bactria (323–322 B.C.)
322 B.C.	Perdiccas invades Cappadocia; Antigonus flees to Macedon
	Leonnatus is slain while relieving Antipater in Lamia
	Battle of Crannon: Craterus and Antipater crush Greek rebels
	Dissolution of Hellenic League
	Antipater offers marriage alliances to Craterus, Ptolemy, and Perdiccas
	Outbreak of Civil War: Perdiccas and Eumenes of Cardia (championing royal family) against Antipater, Antigonus, Craterus and Ptolemy
321 B.C.	Perdiccas invades Egypt to defeat Ptolemy
	Murder of Perdiccas in Egypt; Seleucus declared satrap of Babylon
	Eumenes defeats and slays Craterus in Asia Minor

.....	Conference of Triparadisos: Antipater declared regent of the empire and takes custody of Kings Philip III Arrhidaeus and Alexander IV
320 B.C.	Antigonus clears Asia Minor of Perdiccan forces
.....	Eumenes besieged in Nora in Cappadocia
319 B.C.	Death of Antipater; Polyperchon regent of empire
.....	Ptolemy occupies Coele-Syria; Cassander invades Greece
.....	War between Polyperchon and Eumenes (championing royal family) against Ptolemy, Cassander and Antigonus
318 B.C.	Battle of Megalopolis: Cassamder defeats Polyperchon and overruns Macedon and Greece
.....	Cassander besieges Athens
.....	Eumenes with Silver Shields invades Phoenicia, then withdraws eastward
.....	Antigonus pursues Eumenes east (319–316 B.C.)
317 B.C.	Athens surrenders to Cassander
.....	Demetrius of Phalerum installed as tyrant of Athens
.....	Polyperchon, reduced to Peloponnesus, declares "Freedom of the Greeks"
.....	Olympias invades Macedon; suicide of Philip III and Eurydice
.....	Cassander beseiges Olympias in Pydna
.....	Eumenes defeats Antigonus at Paractacene in Media
316 B.C.	Cassander takes Pydna; Olympias executed
.....	Cassander master of Macedon and Greece
.....	Battle of Gabiene: Eumenes betrayed to Antigonus
.....	Execution of Eumenes
315 B.C.	Flight of Seleucus from Babylon to Ptolemy
.....	Antigonus supreme in the east and reorganizes the "Upper Satrapies"

.....	War between Antigonus and Demetrius against Ptolemy, Cassander, and Lysimachus
.....	Siege of Tyre (315–314 B.C.)
.....	Antigonus declares "Freedom of the Greeks" and organizes Nesotic League
314 B.C.	Tyre surrenders to Antigonus
.....	Polyperchon raises Greece on behalf of Antigonus
313 B.C.	Ptolemy moves his capital to Alexandria
312 B.C.	Antigonus frustrated by winds in crossing Bosporus
.....	Ptolemy invades Coele-Syria; battle of Gaza
.....	Seleucus retakes Babylon
311 B.C.	Truce between Antigonus and the allies Ptolemy, Lysimachus, and Cassander
.....	War of Antigonus against Seleucus
.....	Seleucus founds Seleucia ad Tigrim and consolidates his power in Iran (311–308 B.C.)
310 B.C.	Cassander murders Alexander IV and Roxane: end of Argead family
.....	Ptolemy annexes Cyprus
.....	Outbreak of war between Antigonus and Ptolemy
309 B.C.	Reconciliation of Cassander and Polyperchon
.....	Cassander supreme in Macedon and Greece
.....	Reconciliation between Ptolemy and Demetrius
.....	Reconciliation between Antigonus and Seleucus
308 B.C.	Ptolemy intervenes in Greece against Cassander
.....	Ptolemaic forces seize Corinth and Sicyon
.....	Ptolemy declares "Freedom of the Greeks"
.....	Ptolemy withdraws to Egypt
307 B.C.	Demetrius Poliocretes invades Greece
.....	Demetrius restores Athenian democracy and expels Demetrius of Phalerum
.....	General war in Greece

306 B.C. ..... Battle of Salamis: Demetrius defeats Ptolemy

..... Antigonid annexation of Cyprus

..... Antigonus and Demetrius take title king (*basileus*)

..... Failure of Antigonus's invasion of Egypt (fall)

305 B.C. ..... Demetrius besieges Rhodes (305–304 B.C.)

..... War between Seleucus and Chandragupta (305–303 B.C.)

..... Ptolemy, Cassander, and Lysimachus assume title king

303 B.C. ..... Demetrius drives Cassander out of Greece

..... Treaty between Seleucus and Chandragupta

..... Seleucus surrenders Indus valley for 500 elephants

302 B.C. ..... Ptolemy, Lysimachus, Seleucus, and Cassander renew grand alliance against Antigonus and Demetrius

..... Demetrius restores Hellenic League

..... Lysimachus invades Asia Minor

301 B.C. ..... Battle of Ipsus: defeat and death of Antigonus

..... Partition of Alexandrine Empire

..... Cassander supreme in Greece and Macedon

..... Lysimachus occupies Western Asia Minor and refounds Ephesus

..... Seleucus secures Upper Satrapies and founds Antioch in Syria as new capital

..... Ptolemy illegally annexes Coele-Syria

300 B.C. ..... Marriage alliance between Ptolemy and Lysimachus

299 B.C. ..... Marriage alliance between Seleucus and Demetrius I

298/7 B.C. ..... Death of Cassander and then his son Philip IV

297/6 B.C. ..... Zipoetes declares himself King of Bithynia

..... Civil war in Macedon between Antipater IV and Alexander V

296 B.C. ..... Demetrius invades Greece

295 B.C. ..... Great siege of Athens (295–294 B.C.) by Demetrius

294 B.C. ..... Surrender of Athens and Imposition of Oligarchy

..... Ptolemy occupies Cyprus; Seleucus takes Cilicia

..... Lysimachus annexes the Ionian cities

..... Demetrius Poliorcetes king in Macedon

..... Seleucus invests Antiochus I with co-regency and rule of the "Upper Satrapies" from Babylon

293 B.C. ..... Demetrius founds Demetrias in Thessaly

..... Getae defeats and temporarily captures Lysimachus

292 B.C. ..... Revolt in Boeotia

..... Outbreak of war between Demetrius and Pyrrhus, king of Epirus

..... Demetrius invades Aetolia, allied to Pyrrhus

291 B.C. ..... Pyrrhus obtains Corcyra as dowry from Agathocles of Syracuse

..... Ptolemy secures Nesotic League in central Aegean

288/7 B.C. ..... Invasion and partition of Macedon between Pyrrhus and Lysimachus

..... Ptolemy annexes Tyre and Sidon from Demetrius

287 B.C. ..... Athens revolts under Olympichus; restoration of the Athenian democracy

..... Demetrius invades Asia Minor, capturing Ephesus and Sardes, and advances east into Cilicia

..... Antigonus II Gonatas regent in Europe

286 B.C. ..... Anabasis of Demetrius and his surrender to Seleucus

285 B.C. ..... Lysimachus expels Pyrrhus from Western Macedon

..... Lysimachus controls Greece, Macedon, Thrace, and Asia Minor

..... Ptolemy II created co-king with Ptolemy I

..... Ptolemy Ceraunus joins court of Lysimachus

284/3 B.C. ..... Dynastic crisis at court of Lysimachus

..... Arrest and execution of Agathocles

283 B.C. ..... Deaths of Demetrius I and Ptolemy I

282 B.C. ..... Seleucus invades Asia Minor (late summer)

281 B.C. ..... Battle of Corupedium: defeat and death of Lysimachus

..... Ptolemy Ceraunus murders Seleucus and is declared king of Macedon

..... Antiochus I succeeds to Seleucid empire

280 B.C. ..... Gauls invade Macedon and Thrace

..... Defeat and death of Ptolemy Ceraunus

..... Refounding of Achaean League

..... Clash between Antiochus I and Ptolemy II

279 B.C. ..... Gallic invasion of Greece repelled at Delphi

..... Gauls establish kingdom of Tylis in Thrace

..... Ptolemaieia celebrated in Alexandria

..... Nicomedes succeeds as king of Bithynia and invites Gauls into Asia Minor

278 B.C. ..... Gauls (Galatians) invade Asia Minor

..... Reconciliation between Antiochus I and Antigionus II

277 B.C. ..... Battle of Lysmacheia: Antiognus II Gonatas defeats Gauls and hailed king of Macedon

276 B.C. ..... Aetolians annex Dolopia; Aegium joins Achaean League

..... Antigonus II secures Thessaly

..... Philataerus begins minting coins at Pergamum

275 B.C. ..... Marriage of Ptolemy II to Arsinoe II

274 B.C. ..... Outbreak of First Syrian War (272–272 B.C.)

..... Pyrrhus occupies Macedon

272 B.C. ..... Death of Pyrrhus in Argos

..... Antigonus II supreme in Macedon and Greece

Glossary

Achaemenid: Denotes the dynasty that ruled Persia between 559 and 330 B.C.

acropolis: High point of a Greek city, where springs and temples were located. The Acropolis of Athens, rebuilt in the 5th century B.C., is considered the showcase of such citadels.

Aeolian: A Greek dialect, likely a mixture of West and East Greek elements, spoken in Thessaly and Boeotia, and Aeolian colonies established on the island of Lesbos, and in the Troad and Aeolis on the northwestern shores of Asia Minor.

Agema: The elite infantry guard of the Macedonian king. In Bactria, Alexander the Great created a cavalry agema which replaced the *ile basilike*, "royal squadron," commanded by Cleitus the Black.

agger: In Roman military parlance denotes a great ramp built as an incline plane against the wall of a besieged city.

agora: The market place of a Greek city; it evolved into the civic center with public building for the boule, law courts, and assembly.

Agrianians (or Agrianes): Thracian javelin men recruited into an elite unit; at Gordion in 333 B.C., the unit was raised from 500 to 1,000 men.

Ai Khanoum: Possibly Alexandria on the Oxus and the later Eucratidia is on the confluence of the Oxus (Amu Darya) and Kokcha rivers in Bactria (modern Afghanistan). In 1964–1974, the French archaeological team under Paul Bernard uncovered a Greek city between the 4th and 2nd centuries B.C.

Amphictyony ("league of neighbors"): The federal council of 22 members based on tribal affiliation rather than city-states that governed the sanctuary of Delphi. The member peoples (*ethnos*; pl. *ethne*) were Aenians, Oetaeans, Dolopes, Phthian Achaeans, Magnesians, Malians, Perrhaebians, Thessalians,

Phocians, Opuntian Locrians, Ozolian Locrians, Opuntian Locrians, the Pythians (the priestly families of Delphi), Boeotians (represented by Thebes), Dorians (represented by Sparta), and Ionians (represented by Athens). In 346 B.C., the Phocians lost their two representatives and their votes awarded to Philip II. In 279 B.C., the Phocians were readmitted after their defense of Delphi against the Galatians.

amphora: A large ceramic container with a pointed bottom so that it could be placed upright in sand boxes and used for the grain, wine, and oil.

Anabasis ("March Up Country": The narrative account of Xenophon of the expedition of Cyrus the Younger and the retreat of the Ten Thousand Greek mercenaries in 401–399 B.C.

Anatolia: The Asiatic peninsula of modern Turkey. Specifically it denotes the interior half of the peninsula dominated by the high plateau.

Antigonid: The dynasty of Macedonian kings descended from Demetrius Poliocretes, son of Antigonus I and Phila, daughter of Antipater. From Antigonus II Gonatas (281–239 B.C.) on, Antigonid kings ruled Macedon down to 168 B.C.

Archaic Age (750–480 B.C.): The period between the composition of the epic poems of Homer and the defeat of King Xerxes of Persia. This period witnessed the emergence of the *polis* (city-state) and a distinct Hellenic civilization.

archon: An elected official of a Greek city; the eponymous archon gave his name to the official year. At Athens from 681 B.C., a board of nine archons comprised an eponymous archon, polemarch, *basileus* (king-priest) and six *thesothetai* (keepers of the laws).

Areopagus ("Hill of Ares": The hillock to the northwest of the Acropolis of Athens where the aristocratic council, composed of ex-archons, state as a court.

arête: The bravery expected of Homeric heroes and, later, hoplites of city-states; the term was extended by philosophers to mean virtue.

Argead: The royal family of Macedon since late 8th century B.C. King Alexander I (498–454 B.C.) established the claim that the Argead family was descended from Temenus, a legendary hero of Argos who was himself descended from Heracles. Thereafter, the members of the Argead house were accepted as Greek.

aristocracy ("rule of the best"): Was government by the landed noble families who monopolized high office and membership on the council (boule). Aristocrats, who served as the cavalry, reduced the power of hereditary kings in favor of aristocratic republics in the 8th century B.C.

Asia Minor: The Asiatic peninsula of modern Turkey today; Greeks were settled on the northern, western, and southern shores since the Dark Ages (1225–900 B.C.).

Attalid: The Greek-speaking dynasty that ruled Pergamum between 282 and 133 B.C. The dynastic name was taken from Attalus I (241–197 B.C.) who first took the title king in 239 B.C.

autonomia: "Autonomy" is the cherished right of each city-state to live under its own laws.

barbarian (pl. barbaroi; Greek *barbaros*): Any designated non-Greek foreigners who did not live in a polis and so under the rule of law. The term did not denote peoples with an inferior culture.

basileus (pl. basileis): The name for king in archaic and classical Greece. The kings as described in Homer (c. 750 B.C.) were reduced to elected religious officials except at Sparta. At Sparta, two hereditary kings from two separate families, Agiad and Eurypontid, reigned as commanders and priests. In classical literature, "the king" denoted the Great King of Persia. The Greek title was used by Argead kings of Macedon and then the great kings of the Hellenistic Age.

boule (pl. boulai): The council of a city-state that summoned and set the agenda of the assembly. In aristocracies, oligarchies, and timocracies, the council was the prime governing body often composed of ex-magistrates selected from the propertied classes. At democratic Athens after the reforms of Cleisthenes in 508–506 B.C., the boule reflected the democratic assembly. Each year 500 members, 50 from each tribe, were chosen by sortition to serve on the council. Service was restricted to citizens of thirty years and older; only two terms were permitted in a lifetime. From 457 B.C., the property qualification for membership on the boule was removed.

Boeotarch: One of the seven political and military officials of the federal Boeotian League, in the 4th century B.C. Representation was based on population so that Thebes had four Boeotarchs. Epaminondas and Pelopidas each held this office.

Boeotian League: A federal league of the 11 cities of Boeotia that dated from the 6th century B.C. The member states, represented based on population, sent a total 60 delegates to sit on the federal council (boule) at Thebes. Seven Boeotarchs acted as the executive and military officials. The federal council had to submit final ratification treaties and declarations of war to the councils of each member city. In 379 B.C., the constitutions of the Boeotian cities were changed from oligarchic (with voting by the propertied classes only) to democratic.

Cadmea: The citadel of Thebes named after the legendary Cadmus, son of King Agenor of Tyre and brother of Europa. Cadmus was credited with founding Thebes and introducing the alphabet to Greece.

cataphractus (pl. *cataphracti*): A heavy cavalryman wearing chain or lamellar armor, who fought primarily as a lancer. The Iranians of the Upper Satrapies excelled as cataphracti.

chiliarch ("commander of 1,000"): The title given to the chief administrator of the empire; it was the Greek translation of the Persian *hazarapatish*. In 324 B.C., Hephaestion was appointed the first chiliarch; next Perdiccas held the position in 323–320 B.C.

chora ("hinterland"): The countryside of a polis. Attica was the hinterland of the polis Athens, and all free residents were Athenian citizens. Sparta controlled Laconia and Messenia, and residents in these hinterlands were either *perioikoi* or helots.

cleurchy (Greek *kleourchos*; pl. *kleourchoi*): Cleurchy was (1) an overseas colony of Athenians who retained their Athenian citizenship, or (2) Greek veterans settled in the Fayyum by the Ptolemaic kings of Egypt.

Companion Cavalry (*hetairoi*): Comprised of heavily armored Macedonian nobles and squires trained to fight in squadrons (*ilai*) and armed with a thrusting spear (*xyston*).

daric: The gold coin struck by the Great Kings of Persia. The daric (8.35 grams) was exchanged against 20 silver sigloi (singular siglos; 5.35 grams.). The gold daric was equivalent to 25 Attic silver drachmae.

Delian League: The alliance to pursue the naval war against Persia organized by the Athenian general Aristides at the behest of the Chians, Samians, and Mytileneans in 477 B.C. The league's delegates met on the island of Delos. In 454 B.C., the league's treasury was removed to Athens, and this action marked the conversion of the Delian League into the Athenian Empire. The league was abolished in 404 B.C.

Delos: An island of the Cyclades in the Aegean Sea, with a celebrated sanctuary of Apollo whose cult was common to all Ionians. In 426 B.C., the Athenian general Nicias conducted a purification of the sanctuary and reorganization of the festivals.

Delphi: The sanctuary of Apollo on the southwestern spur of Mount Parnassus and seat of the oracle on the site of the *omphalos*, "the navel of the world," where Apollo slew the serpent Pytho and instituted the Pythian Games. The shrine was common to all the Greeks after the First Sacred War (c. 590–585 B.C.).

demagogue: Denoted the radical democratic orators who dominated the Athenian assembly.

democracy: The rule of the people (*demos*). It was a constitution under which all male citizens in the sovereign assembly had the right to vote and sit on popular juries. At Athens, after 461 B.C., property qualifications were eliminated for the council and office. In 508–506 B.C., Cleisthenes reformed Athens into the first democracy.

demos (pl. *demoi*): The sovereign body of citizens.

diadem: The pearl necklace worn as a headband to denote Persian royalty; it was adopted by Alexander the Great after 330 B.C.

Diadochoi ("Successors"): Denoted the Macedonian generals of Alexander the Great, who carved out kingdoms for themselves in 323-301 B.C.

dike ("justice"): Initially denoted "the way" and then personified as the goddess Dike, daughter of Zeus in Hesiod's *Theogony*. Dike was the goal of the rule of law in the polis.

diolkos ("across portage"): The four-mile track way for conveying ships across the Isthmus of Corinth since the 7th century B.C. The modern canal linking the Gulf of Corinth and the Saronic Gulf largely follows the route of the diolkos

Dorian: The West Greek dialect spoken in the southern and eastern Peloponnsus (Messenia, Laconia, Argolid, Corinth, Megara, Sicyon, and Aegina, on the islands of Thera and Melos in the Cyclades, the Dorian cities of Crete, Cos, Cnidus, and Rhodes, and in the Dorian settlements of Sicily, southern Italy, and Cyrene (today eastern Libya).

drachma (pl. drachmae): The principle silver coin struck by Greek cities. The drachma was divided into six obols. Cities struck multiples and fractions of the drachma; hence, cities struck decadrachma (ten drachmae), tetradrachma (four drachma), didrachma (two drachma), and hemidrachma (half-drachma). City currencies were based upon a drachma of varying weight so that coins were exchanged in markets by weight. The two principle standards were the Aeginetic and Attic. The Aeginetic standard was based on a heavy drachma (6.10 grams) and used by Aegina, the Peloponnesus, and central Greece. The

lighter Attic drachma (4.30 grams) was used by Athens, Corinth, and cities in the Aegean and Sicily. Philip II adopted the Attic standard for his gold currency. Alexander the Great adopted the Attic standard for Macedonian silver coins. *See also* **stater**.

ekkleseia (pl. *ekkleseiai*): The assembly of Athens comprising all free adult males from 18 years of age. The assembly, requiring a quorum of 6,000, was the sovereign body that met at the Pynx, a hill to the west of the agora.

eleutheria ("freedom"): The right of a polis to pursue its own foreign policy and aims.

Epanorthosis: The amendment to the Peace of Philocrates proposed by Demosthenes in 343 B.C. It provided for the revision of the text from "each holds what he has" to "each holds what is his," thereby allowing Athens reopen claim to Amphipolis. Philip II rejected it and thereafter made no further concessions to Athens.

Ephebe (pl. *epheboi*; Greek *ephebos*): The legal classification of Greek male adolescents (16 to 20 years) who were in training as hoplites. They were eligible to be called up for home defense.

Ephemerides ("Royal Diaries"): The daily reports of the court of Alexander the Great kept by the Greek secretary Eumenes of Cardia and so the putative source for many details reported in the later historical and biographical accounts on Alexander.

ephor ("overseer"): One of five annually elected officials who supervised the training of citizens (*agoge)*, public morals, and social activities at Sparta. The creation of the board was dated to 754 B.C. The ephors assumed many of the judicial and civil powers once held by the kings.

Epigonoi ("Offsprings"): The 30,000 Iranian youths who were drilled in Macedonian arms to fight as phalangites in 330–324 B.C.

epigraphy: The scholarly study of inscriptions.

Erythraean Sea: Greek for Indian Ocean.

euergetes (pl. *euergetai*): A benefactor of a Greek city-state; kings in the Hellenistic Age were ***eunomia*** ("well governed"): Denoted the ideal of each city-state to be governed by the rule of law; Sparta was exalted as the model of eunomia.

eupatridai ("well descended"): Denoted the noble families of early Athens who alone could be elected to the board of archons and so enter the Areopagus.often hailed by this title.

Eurypontid: The junior royal family of Sparta which traced its descent to the legendary Heraclid Procles who, with his elder twin Eurysthenes, led the Dorians into the Peloponnesus two generations after the Trojan War.

Euthydemid: The Greek dynasty descended from Euthydemus (c. 223–200 B.C.) that ruled over Sogdiana and Bactria down to 130 B.C. Agathocles (190-180 B.C.) established a branch of the dynasty ruling in northwestern India.

Fetters of Greece: The strategic points of Demetrias, Chalcis, and the Acrocorinth garrisoned by Macedonian kings in 322–196 B.C.

gerousia: The council of Sparta comprised of 28 elected elders from 60 years and the two hereditary kings.

Gordian knot: Attached the cornel shaft to the oxcart of Gordius, who was received as king of Phrygia when he arrived at the capital Gordion in the cart. His successor, Midas, dedicated the cart to Zeus, and an oracle noted that he who would loosen the intricate knot would become lord of Asia. In 334 B.C., Alexander either cut the knot with his sword or pulled out the pole pin, thereby fulfilling the oracle.

harmost: A Spartan governor imposed in the allied cities of the former Delian League.

Hecatomnid: The dynasty of Carian lords descended from Hecatomnus (c. 404–358 B.C.), who ruled over southwestern Asia Minor down to 326 B.C.

hegemon ("leader"): The leading city-state in an alliance. In 546 B.C., Sparta emerged as the first hegemon in the Greek world at the head of the Peloponnesian League. Athens was the hegemon of the Delian League organized in 477 B.C.

Hellene: Greek name for themselves from the time of Hesiod (c. 700 B.C.).

Hellenic League: *See* **League of Corinth**.

Hellenistic ("Greek-like"): Denotes (1) the period after the death of Alexander the Great (323–31 B.C.) or (2) the mixed Hellenic-Near Eastern civilization of the same period.

Hellenotamias (pl. *Hellenotamiai*; "treasurers of the Hellenes"): The 10 Athenians elected by the Athenian assembly annually to administer the funds of the Delian League.

Hellespont: The Greek name for the Dardanelles, the straits separating Asia Minor from Europe.

helot: A slave in the Spartan state; most helots were the private property of their masters, and not state slaves as often surmised in modern scholarly accounts.

hetairoi: *See* **Companion Cavalry**.

hipparchy: The tactical unit (1,000 men) created by Alexander the Great in his reorganization of the cavalry after 330 B.C.

homonoia ("concord"): The ideal to unity and peace among the Greeks promoted by Panhellenists.

hoplite (pl. *HoplitaiI*; Greek hoplites): The heavily armored Greek citizen equipped with the large shield (*hoplon*) and thrusting spear, who fought in a phalanx.

hypaspists: The elite Macedonian infantry totaling 1,500 and later 3,000 men. They usually assumed the position between the phalanx and Companion Cavalry in Alexander's battles. Although their arms and armor are uncertain, they were likely the best phalangites comparable to Grenadiers in European armies of the 18th and early 19th century.

Hypomnemata ("Notebooks"): The final plans of Alexander the Great, according to Diodorus Siculus, published by Perdiccas at Babylon immediately after the king's death. These included grandiose building projects, transfers of populations within the empire, and the conquest of the lands of the Western Mediterranean.

Ile **(**pl. *ilai*; "squadron"): The tactical unit (200 to 300 men) of the Companion cavalry. The royal squadron (*ile basilike*) was the royal bodyguard.

Ionia: Designated the western shore of Asia Minor from Smyrna (modern Izmir) to Halicarnassus (modern Bodrum), where Ionian Greeks had settled. Ionia also included the neighboring islands, notably Samos and Chios, also settled by Ionian speakers.

Ionian: The East Greek dialect spoken in Attica, Euboea, Ionia, the Chalcidice, most of the Aegean island, and the Ionian colonies of the Hellespontine regions, Black Sea, Sicily, and southern Italy. Attic, the Athenian language within this dialect, emerged as the literary language of the Greek world in the 5th and 4th centuries B.C.

Ionian Revolt: The abortive rebellion of Ionians (499–494 B.C.), instigated by Aristagoras, tyrant of Miletus, against Persian rule. The rebellion spread to the Hellespontine regions, Caria, Lycia, and Greek Cyprus.

isegoria: The right of all citizens to access to the Athenian assembly.

isonomia: The right of equal treatment under the laws of all Athenian citizens.

isopoliteia ("equal citizenship"): A grant of shared citizen rights to an individual or a polis. In 392 B.C., Argos and Corinth voted *isopoliteia* between their citizens. The union was dissolved by the Peace of Antalcidas in 387/6 B.C.

Isthmus of Corinth: The narrow land bridge that connects the Peloponnesus to Central Greece.

kairos: The opportune time, considered a gift of the gods.

kaloi k'agathoi: ("good and beautiful"): Designated aristocrats who maintained the conceit that they alone by descent had the right to rule. The term is equivalent to those of gentle blood in 18th-century Great Britain.

k**atioikes** (pl. *katioikai*): A Greco-Macedonian veteran of the Attalid or Seleucid kings settled in a new founded Hellenic city.

kausia: The traditional broad-brimmed riding hat of Macedonians.

Koine Eirene ("Common Peace"): Was proclaimed in treaties of the 4th century B.C. It declared a cessation of hostilities among all belligerents, recognized all signatories as legitimate governments, and provided for adjudication of disputes. The first such common peace was declared in the Peace of Antalcidas in 387/6 B.C.

Koine Greek: The "common" Greek spoken in the Hellenistic world; it was a simplified dialect of Attic Greek.

koinon (pl. *koina*): A regional religious league.

League of Corinth (or Hellenic League): A federal league of Greek states established by Philip II of Macedon in 337 B.C. with the aim of avenging the invasion of Xerxes in 480 B.C. A federal council or *synedrion* governed from Corinth, and Philip II and later Alexander the Great each was elected

supreme commander of league forces (*strategos autokrator*). In 322 B.C., Antipater and Craterus disbanded the league. In 303/2 B.C., Antigonus I and Demetrius Poliocretes briefly re-established the league.

liturgy (pl. *leitourgiai*; Greek *leitourgia*,): A designated public task, the cost of which citizens annually assumed. Liturgies included the constructing and equipping of a trireme or many social activities and amenities of the polis. By the 4th century B.C., liturgies at Athens represented a voluntary taxation of the property classes to maintain public life.

medimnos (pl. *medimnoi*): A dry measure of 48 choenikes equivalent to 25 kilograms or 55 lbs. An adult male annually required six to seven medimnoi of wheat.

Medize ("to side with the Medes"): Refers to those Greeks who sided with the Persians.

Melophoroi ("apple-bearers"): Formed the infantry bodyguard (1,000 men) of the king of Persia. They were so named because their spear-butts ended in a golden apple.

metropolis (pl. *metropoleis*; "mother city"): The founding city of a Greek colony. In Ptolemaic Egypt, it referred to the major township of a nome that was the center of the Greek community.

mora (pl. *morai*): A tactical unit of 400 to 500 men in a hoplite phalanx.

Museion ("Museum"): The scholarly academy and library at Alexandria most likely founded by Ptolemy II (283–246 B.C.).

mystery rites: Initiation rites to a cult. The Eleusinian mysteries, performed annually in the Telesterion of Eleusis to the Athenian citizens, was a ritual drama of Hades's carrying off of Persephone. Mystery cults were cults with such initiation rites and dramas, and they did not represent enthusiastic, irrational cults that undermined civic and family cults in the Hellenistic and Roman ages.

navarch: The Spartan office of admiral, held one year, on election by the Spartan assembly. It was adopted to designate admiral of a royal fleet with Alexander the Great.

nomos (pl. *nomoi*): The law passed by the assembly and distinct from sacred law (*themis*).

numismatics: The scholarly study of coins and medals.

obol: One-sixth of the silver drachma; two obols was the per diem wage paid to jurors and councillors at Athens. *See also* **drachma.**

oligarchy ("rule of the few"): The government in the hands of the propertied classes (with the emphasis on birth in an aristocracy). The propertied classes monopolized high office and the boule.

Olympia: The sanctuary of Olympian Zeus on the Alpheus River in Elis. The Panhellenic Olympic Games were held at the sanctuary every fourth year.

Panhellenic: Refers to "all-Greek," specifically denoting of Pythia, Olympia, Nemea, and Isthmia which formed the four-year cycle of Panhellenic Games.

Panhellenism and **Panhellenist**: Refer to the policy and Athenian intellectuals, inspired by Isocrates (436–338 B.C.). Panhellenists called for the end of inter-state war and unity of the Greeks in a national campaign against Persia.

Peace of Antalcidas or **King's Peace** (386 B.C.): Ended the Corinthian War (396–386 B.C.) and represented a diplomatic success for Sparta at the price of returning the Ionian cities to the Great King Artaxerxes II of Persia. Sparta maintained her hegemony in Greece, and Athens was recognized as independent.

Peace of Callias (449 B.C.): The peace that ended the war between Athens and the Great King Artaxerxes I. Athenian domination was recognized in the Aegean Sea, but Athens withdrew support from rebels against the Great King in Cyprus and Egypt.

Peace of Philocrates (346 B.C.): Ended the war between Philip II and Athens based on each the principle that each signatory kept those territories in its possession at the time of the ratification of the treaty. Hence, the Athenians recognized Philip's conquests of Amphipolis and the Chalcidice. The Phocians were excluded from the treaty.

Peloponnesian League: The modern designation for the alliances (*symmachia*) between Sparta and her allies concluded in the late 6th and early 5th century B.C.

Peloponnesus ("Island of Pelops"): The three-pronged peninsula of southern Greece attached to central Greece by the Isthmus of Corinth.

perioikoi ("dwellers around"): The free residents of Laconia and Messenia who lived under their own laws but owed military service to the Spartan state. Residents of similar classification were found in Thessaly and Dorian Crete.

periplous ("sailing around"): Refers to the tactics employed by Athenian triremes, based on speed and timing, to flank and ram an opposing trireme.

Periplus: A navigational manual describing sailing distances and times. Onesicritus, helmsman of Nearchus, wrote a periplus of a voyage on the Erythraean Sea in 324 B.C. A detailed *Periplus of the Erythaean Sea* survives from the early 1st century A.D. and reports the sailing conditions and trade between Rome and India.

phalanx: Refers to a dense formation of heavy infantry, either Greek hoplites (usually drawn up eight deep) or Macedonians armed with *sarissai* and drawn up 16 men deep. The Macedonian phalanx comprised of *taxeis* (1,536 men) or "regiments," each of which was divided into three pentacosiarchies (singular pentakosiarchy), each of 512 men.

Philippic: One of three orations of Demosthenes delivered to the Athenian assembly calling for opposition to Philip II. The *Philippics* (351, 344, and 341 B.C.) are masterpieces of denunciation of a tyrant.

philoxenia: The mutual inherited guest friendship between families of different poleis. The guest friend (*philoxenos*) stood as surety in all legal matters as well as offered shelter and hospitality to visiting guest friends.

phoros ("carried"): The assessed tribute in silver paid by members of the Delian League in lieu of military service. Aristides fixed the first assessment at 460 talents; by 425 B.C. the tribute might have been as high as 1,500 talents. In the Second Athenian Naval Confederacy, such tribute was prohibited.

polis (pl. poleis): The city-state where citizens governed themselves by the rule of law. Hellenes alone were seen as living in a polis, and so this political conceit was the means by which Hellenes distinguished themselves from all others who were barbarians. The Panhellenist Isocrates (426–338 B.C.) raised the point that barbarians, who adopted the life of the polis, could join the Hellenic community.

pothos ("longing" or "yearning"): The emotion that inspired Alexander the Great.

primus inter pares ("first among equals": The Latin denoting a monarch who rules with the consent of his nobles.

proskynesis ("kissing towards"): An act of obeisance performed by Persians to the Great King, but in Greece and Macedon such reverence was accorded to gods. Those of high rank gave a kiss on the cheek to the Great King; those of lower rank had to bow and prostrate. Callisthenes thwarted Alexander's effort to introduce the ritual in 328 B.C.

proxenos (pl. *proxenoi*): A citizen who was the official guest friend of all citizens of another city-state. *Proxenoi* presented the embassies of a guest city to their own city's boule and assembly.

prytaneion: The circular building in the agora which housed the *prytany* on call. *See also* ***tholos***.

prytanis (pl. *prytaneis*; "president"): One of 50 members of the *prytany* or one-tenth of the Boule of 500 at Athens.

prytany: Designated both the official month (40 days) and the one-tenth of the boule on call during the official month. Each *prytany* comprised 50 men chosen by lot from one of the ten tribes. Each *prytany*, when presiding over its month (determined by sortition), was on call 24 hours. The *prytany* thus acted as the executive committee of the boule and received all foreign delegations wishing to speak to the Athenian assembly.

Ptolemaic: The Greek-speaking Macedonian dynasty descended from Ptolemy I (323–283 B.C.) who ruled Egypt down to 30 B.C.

pythia: The prophetess who delivered the oracle at Delphi, often selected for their perceived powers that put them in contact with the divine world. It has been suggested that these powers were heightened by ethylene gas vapors issuing forth from beneath the sanctuary.

quinquereme (Greek *penteres*; Latin *quinqueremis*;"ship of five banks of oars"): The heavy warship that replaced the trireme in the 4th century B.C. The ship had 90 oars on each side divided into three banks of thirty oars. Two men rowed for each oar on the lower banks so the crew of 300 rowers manned a *quinquereme* (as opposed to 180 rowers of a trireme).

Rosetta stone: A trilingual inscription (in hieroglyphic Egyptian, demotic Egyptian, and Greek) that records a decree of Ptolemy V in 196 B.C. French engineer Captain Pierre-François Bouchard discovered the stone in 1799. It was captured by the British in 1801 and sent to the British Museum. In 1822–1824, the French philologist Jean-François Champollion used the text as the basis for deciphering hieroglypics.

Sacred Band: The elite hoplite unit of Thebes, composed of 150 homosexual couples organized by Gorgidas in 378 B.C. The unit was annihilated at the Battle of Chaeronea in 338 B.C.

satrap: The Persian governor of the Achaemenid Empire; Darius I (521–486 B.C.) reorganized the empire into 30 satrapies.

satrapy: A Persian province, and the basis for fiscal and military obligations.

Second Athenian Confederacy: The naval league organized by Athens in 378/7 B.C. In contrast to the Delian League, the Athenian assembly shared equal power with federal council or *synedrion* of allies. Restrictions were placed on Athenian power. Tribute (*phoros*) levied by Athens was replaced by contributions (*syntaxis*) voted on by the allies. In 337 B.C., Athens dissolved the league.

Second Sophistic: An archaizing literary and cultural movement among Greek intellectuals in between the late 1st and early 3rd centuries A.D.

Seleucid: The Greek speaking Macedonian dynasty descended from Seleucus I (312–281 B.C.) that ruled the Asian provinces of Alexander the Great. In 63 B.C., the Roman imperator Pompey the Great annexed Syria and ended the dynasty.

Silver Shields (*Argyraspides*): Apparently the *hypaspists* reformed by Alexander the Great in India. In 321 B.C., Eumenes of Cardia won over this unit of 3,000 men, but in 316 B.C., after the Battle of Gabiene, they betrayed Eumenes to Antigonus I. Antigonus I disbanded the unit. *See also* **hypaspists**

Social War (357–355 B.C.) War between Athens and her rebellious allies Chios, Rhodes, Cos, and Byzantium, which were supported by Mausolus, dynast of Caria. The war ended in Athenian recognition of the independence of the rebel allies. With Athens distracted by this war, Philip II was free to expand in Thessaly and Thrace.

somatophylax (pl. *somatophylakes*): The personal "bodyguard " of the Macedonian king. The bodyguards usually numbered seven. In 324 B.C., they were Lysimachus, Peithon, Leonnatus, Perdiccas, Ptolemy, Peucestas, and Aristonous.

stasis ("standing"): Civil war within a polis along ideological or class lines. Thucydides (III. 77-85) gives the most perceptive analysis of a *stasis* on Corcyra in 427 B.C.

stater: Denotes (1) the principal silver coin struck by Greek cities, usually a didrachma or tetradrachma or (2) the principle gold coin. Alexander the Great struck a gold stater (8.50 grams) on the Attic weight standard that became the international gold denomination of the Hellenistic world. It was exchanged at 20 silver drachmae or five tetradrachmae.

strategos (pl. *strategoi*): One of the 10 generals annually elected to the Athenian board (*strategeia*) instituted in 501/0 B.C. Generals were appointed to specific commands by the assembly and subject to discipline by the popular courts.

strategos autokrator: Supreme commander, voted to Philip II and Alexander the Great by *synedrion* of the League of Corinth. The Phocians too had such an office.

symposium ("drinking along with"): The social settings of many of the dialogues of Plato in which aristocrats and sophists debated intellectual issues. At the Macedonian court, the symposium was a far more raucous and violent social event.

s**yncretism** ("mixing with"): The religious approach of identifying foreign gods with their Greek counterparts.

synedrion: The governing council of a federal league, such as that of the Second Athenian Confederacy in 378/7 B.C. or the League of Corinth in 337 B.C.

synoikismos *(synoecism*; "dwelling with"): The political unification of lesser settlements or even poleis into a single polis. In Athenian legend, Theseus had effected the *synoecism* of Attica.

syntaxis (pl. *syntaxeis*; "contribution": The voluntary contribution of money or supplies voted by members of federal leagues to the hegemon.

tagos: The commander elected by the federal representative of the Thessalian League; between 352 and 196 B.C., the king of Macedon was regularly so elected.

talent: A measure of weight for large sums of money (coins or bullion).

taurobolium: The sacrifice of a bull to Cybele, Magna Mater, which was condemned as a perversion of baptism by the Christian author Prudentius in c. 400 A.D.

taxiarch (Greek *taxiarches*): The commander of a *taxis*, the tactical unit of the Macedonian phalanx.

taxis (pl. *taxeis*; "regiment"): A unit of 1,536 Macedonian *phalangite*s. Each *taxis* was recruited by region, but it was designated by the name of its commander or taxiarch. Each taxis was divided into three *pentakosiarchies* (each of 512 men), or "battalion." In 334 B.C., Alexander the Great invaded Asia Minor with six *taxeis* of the phalanx then commanded by Perdiccas, Coenus, Amyntas, Philip, Meleager, and Craterus.

Ten Thousand: The Greek mercenary hoplites, who numbered as many as 13,000. They served in the expedition of Cyrus the Younger, slain at the Battle of Cunaxa in 401 B.C. The Ten Thousand marched out of the Persian Empire. A total of 8,600 survivors reached Trapezus in 399 B.C., and 6,000 returned to Western Asia Minor to join the Spartan forces led by Thibron against the Persians.

testudo ("tortoise"): Latin for a formation when infantry lock shields around and above them as a protection from missile weapons, especially in sieges.

tetradrachma: A silver coin of four drachmae. The Athenian tetradrachma (17.25 grams) was the prime fiscal and trade coin in the Aegean world. The obverse carried the head of Athena; the reverse the owl with the first three letters of the ethnic, "of the Athenians."

theoric fund (Greek *theorika)*: From at least 395 B.C. state surpluses, except in war, were to be set aside for distribution to citizens at festivals.

The administration of the theoric fund acquired control over Athenian state finances after the Social War (357–355 B.C.).

thete (pl. *thetai*; Greek *tes*: The lowest Athenian property class under the Solonian constitution which composed of citizens with an annual income of less than 200 *medimnoi*. The rowed in the Athenian fleet.

timocracy: Government by honor, denoted a constitution whereby rights of citizenship were based on honor or rank (time). The aristocrats held high offices and sat on the council. Men of hoplite rank voted and held minor offices. The lower classes had only voting rights in the assembly.

Triparadisus, **Conference of** (321 B.C): Ended the first war among the Diadochoi. Antipater and the Macedonian veterans agreed to a new division of the satrapies, confirming Lysimachus, Antigonus, and Ptolemy, and appointing Seleucus satrap of Babylonia. Antipater took possession of the royal family and retired to rule the empire as regent.

trireme (Greek *tries*): The principle warship, using ramming tactics. It was devised by the Phoenicians in the late 7th or early 6th century B.C.

trophy (Greek *trophaion*; "turning"): A hoplite panoply raised on a pole to mark the spot where the enemy had turned and fled in battle.

tyrant (pl. *tyrannoi*; Greek *tyrannos*): An Anatolian title of royalty used by Greeks to designate any man who seized power unconstitutionally. Aristotle noted that early tyrants seized power in the name of the hoplites against aristocracies. Tyrants who failed to establish royal dynasties were replaced either by oligarchy or democracy. Tyrant is thus the equivalent of the modern English dictator.

Biographical Notes

Abdalonymus (332–312 B.C.): King of Sidon. Crowned by Hephaestion after Straton II 342–333 B.C.) was deposed. Abdalonymus brought the Sidonian fleet into action against Tyre. He might have commissioned the "Alexander Sarcophagus."

Abisares: Eponymous king of the Sanskrit kingdom of Abhisara, which lay beyond the Hydaspes (Jhelum) in modern Kashmir. After Alexander the Great defeated Porus at the Hydaspes in 326 B.C., Abisares submitted to Alexander.

Abulites (c. 377–326 B.C.): Persian noble and satrap of Susiana. Surrendered to Alexander in 330 B.C. and retained his satrapy. In 324 B.C., he and his son Oxathres were executed on grounds of treason.

Ada (r. 351–326 B.C.): Hecatomnid Queen of Caria. Married her brother Idrieus (351–344 B.C.), satrap of Caria and Lycia. In 344–340B.C., Ada ruled as satrap in her own right, but she was overthrown by her brother Pixodarus. King Artaxerxes III restored Ada and, in 334 B.C., she submitted to Alexander the Great. Alexander entrusted Ada with Halicarnassus and the satrapy of Caria, and she adopted Alexander as her son and heir.

Aelius Aristides (117–181 A.D.): Orator of the Second Sophistic and citizen of Smyrna. Wrote *Sacred Tales*, explaining his convalescence at the Asclepieion of Pergamum in 133–146. He penned rhetorical treatises and numerous orations, including one in praise of Rome.

Aeschines (c. 397–322 B.C.): Athenian orator and rival of Demosthenes. Served as a hoplite and secretary of the boule before he entered politics after the fall of Olynthus in 348 B.C. In 347 B.C., he addressed the Arcadian assembly of Megaopolis for an alliance against Philip II. He was on the first embassy to Philip II in 346 B.C. and supported peace so that he henceforth clashed with Demosthenes. In 343 B.C., Demosthenes unsuccessfully prosecuted Aeschines for treason. In 336–330 B.C., Aeschines countered with a suit against Demosthenes; both speeches *On the Crown* survive.

Demosthenes won the suit so that Aeschines was fined and retired to Rhodes to teach rhetoric.

Agathocles (d. c. 284/3 B.C.): Son of Lysimachus and Thracian princess Macris. In 287 B.C., Agathocles repelled an attack of Demetrius Poliocretes. He and his wife, Lysandra, daughter of Ptolemy I, clashed with Arsinoe, who turned Lysimachus against his son and heir Agathocles. In c. 284, Agathocles was arrested and later strangled in prison. Lysandra with her children and Ptolemy Ceraunus fled to Seleucus.

Agesilaus II (b. 427 B.C.; r. 400–360 B.C.): Eurypontid king of Sparta; half-brother of Agis II. Was selected in preference to Leotychidas, the reputed son of Alcibiades and Queen Timea. Agesilaus proved a charismatic ruler who presided over the rise and fall of the Spartan hegemony and was a model for Hellenistic kings. In 396–395 B.C., he campaigned in Asia Minor against the Persians. Recalled to Sparta in 394 B.C., he marched from the Hellespont to the Isthmus of Corinth, en route defeating the Boeotian army at Coronea. He conducted the war of attrition against Argos in the Corinthian War (394–386 B.C.). He turned the military service owed by Spartan allies into payment of money and so hired mercenaries. In 361–360 B.C., he served as mercenary captain in the army of Pharaoh Nectanebo II (360–343 B.C.) and died on his return to Sparta.

Agesipolis I (r. 394–380 B.C.): Agiad king of Sparta. Succeeded his father Pausanias. As a minor in 394 B.C., he was under the guardianship of his senior relative Aristodemus. In 385 B.C., he first commanded against Mantinea, and he consistently deferred to Agesilaus II.

Agis III (r. 338–331 B.C.): Eurypontid king of Sparta. Son of Archidamus III, opposed Philip II and Alexander the Great. In 333 B.C., Agis negotiated with Pharnabazus and Autophradates for support to liberate Greece from Macedonian rule, but news of Battle of Issus ended the plan. In 331 B.C., Agis III, with an army of 2,000 cavalry and 20,000 hoplites, including 8,000 veteran mercenaries, besieged Megalopolis in a bid to reclaim Spartan hegemony. Antipater with an army of over 40,000 relieved Megalopolis and defeated and slew Agis III.

Agis IV (263–241 B.C.; r. 245–241 B.C.): Was a Eurypontid king who effected political reform in Sparta by redistributing land in Laconia for 4,500 citizens and 15,000 perioikoi, thereby restoring Spartan military power. Agis IV postured as restoring the Lycurgan system, but his reforms provoked aristocratic opposition and his overthrow. He was arrested and strangled in prison.

Alexander I (r. 498–454 B.C.): Argead king of Macedon, preserved his kingdom from destruction during the invasion of Xerxes and sought to extend his sway over the western districts of Macedon and the Greek cities of the shore. Alexander was accepted as a Hellene, and so members of the Argead royal family were allowed to participate in Panhellenic games.

Alexander I (b. c. 370 B.C.; r. 352–331 B.C.): King of Epirus, also known as **Alexander the Molossian**. He overthrew his uncle Arybbas. Although he received his sister Olympias, repudiated by Philip II, he agreed to an alliance and marriage to his niece Cleopatra, daughter of Philip II and Olympias in 336 B.C. In 334–331 B.C., he crossed to Italy at the request of Taras and campaigned against the Samnites and Lucanians in emulation of his nephew Alexander the Great. He was assassinated by Lucanian exiles near Pandosia.

Alexander II (r. 370–368 B.C.): King of Macedon and second son of Amyntas II and Eurydice. Faced Illyrian invasions and the pretender Pausanias backed by the Athenian general Iphicrates. Alexander's capture of Larissa, in Thessaly, provoked an intervention by Thebans under Pelopidas who expelled Alexander from Thessaly in 369 B.C. Alexander II was assassinated at a festival the next year.

Alexander III, the Great (b. 356 B.C.; r. 336–323 B.C.): Argead king of Macedon, son of Philip II and Olympias, succeeded his father as king of Macedon and general of the League of Corinth. The greatest of generals, he secured Macedon and his control over the Greek league in 336–335 B.C. In 334–324 B.C., Alexander conquered the Persian empire, and transformed the face of the ancient world. His great battles Granicus (334 B.C.), Issus (333 B.C.), Gaugamela (331 B.C.), and the Hydaspes (326 B.C.) were masterpieces of the battle of encirclement, but Alexander also excelled in

siege warfare and campaigns of pacification. In generalship, his only equal is Napoleon.

Alexander initiated his conquest of Asia as the commander of the Hellenic League in a war of retribution against Persia, but he was truly motivated by his longing (*pothos*) to emulate Achilles and Heracles. After his visit of the oracle of Siwah in 331 B.C., he became convinced of his divine destiny. After the death of Darius III, Alexander claimed the role of Great King. His policies of accommodating the Persian nobility alienated many Macedonians in 330–327 B.C. The difficult campaigning in India broke the will of the Macedonian army which refused to cross the Hyphasis and clamored to return home in 326 B.C.

In 324 B.C., Alexander the Great faced the daunting task of administering a world empire. His desire for divine honors and Exiles Decree drove the Greeks into rebellion by the time of his death in 323 B.C. His sudden death resulted in a succession crisis for he had left no obvious heirs. His Sogidan wife, Roxane, was with child, the posthumous Alexander IV, and his half-brother Philip Arrhidaeus was not competent. Yet, even though his generals divided the empire, Alexander the Great had wrought a new Hellenistic world.

Alexander IV (323–310 B.C.): The posthumous son of Alexander the Great and Roxane, who was born in September 323 B.C. He was declared joint king with Philip III Arrhidaeus. Alexander IV and Roxane passed successively into the custody of Perdiccas (r. 323–321 B.C.), Antipater (r. 321–319 B.C., who removed them to Pella), and finally Polyperchon (r. 319–317 B.C.). In 317 B.C., Olympias and King Aeacidas of Epirus invaded Macedon and put Alexander IV in power. Olympias's excesses lost her support so that Cassander reoccupied Macedon, forced Olympias to surrender (316 B.C.), and took possession of Alexander IV and Roxane. In 311 B.C., the other Diadochoi recognized Cassander as regent of Alexander IV until he attained his majority. In 310 B.C., Cassander ordered both Alexander IV and Roxane murdered.

Alexander V (r. 297–294 B.C.): King of Macedon and third son of Cassander and Thessalonice. Shared the throne with his brother Antipater. In 295 B.C., Antipater murdered his mother Thessalonice and warred on Alexander V, who summoned as allies Pyrrhus and Demetrius Poliocretes. Demetrius expelled Antipater and then murdered Alexander and seized the Macedonian throne.

Alexander of Pherae (r. 369–358 B.C.): Son of Jason and tyrant. Aspired to dominate Thessaly. The lesser cities Larissa, Lamia, and Pharsalus appealed to the Boeotians. In 364 B.C., Boeotians under Pelopidas defeated Alexander at Cynocephalae, but Pelopidas fell in the battle. Alexander was compelled to ally with the Boeotian League and renounced his ambitions in Thessaly. In 362–358 B.C., he clashed with the Athenians in the North Aegean. He was assassinated at the instigation of his wife Thebe.

Amphoterus: Son of Alexander and was the brother of Craterus and navarch of Alexander's fleet in 333–331 B.C. *See* **Craterus**.

Amyntas (d. 330 B.C.): Son of Andromenes, taxiarch of the phalanx in 334–330 B.C., was a friend of Philotas. He along with his younger brothers Simmias, Polemo, and Attalus were acquitted of charges of treason in 330 B.C. Amyntas fell in action soon after; his brothers disappear from the sources.

Amyntas: Son of Nicolaus, a Macedonian noble. Named satrap of Bactria to replace Artabazus in 328 B.C.

Amyntas III (r. 393–369 B.C.): King of Macedon. Succeeded to a troubled kingdom, and he sought alliances with Olynthus against the Illyrians and then with the Spartans against Olynthus in 382–379 B.C. After 378 B.C., he aligned with Jason of Pherae and Athens. In 371 B.C., at a Panhellenic congress, Amyntas III recognized Athenian claims to Amphipolis. He was succeeded by his three sons Alexander II (r. 369–368 B.C.), Perdiccas III (r. 368–359 B.C.), and Philip II (r. 359–336 B.C.).

Amyntas IV (r. 368–359 B.C.): Son of Perdiccas III and was an infant at the time of his father's death. The Macedonian nobility and assembly passed over

Amyntas and acclaimed as king Philip II. Amyntas was married to Cynane, daughter of Philip II and the Illyrian princess Audata. There is no evidence that Philip ever ruled as regent for his nephew. In 336 B.C., Amyntas, perhaps twenty-five years of age, was executed on orders of Alexander the Great because his cousin was a possible pretender.

Amyrtaeus (r. 404–399 B.C.): Egyptian Amenirdisu. Pharaoh of Egypt overthrew Persian rule in the Delta and was proclaimed pharaoh of Dynasty XVIII. Amyrtaeus, ruling from Sais, faced Persian resistance in Upper Egypt. He was overthrown by Nepheritres (399–393), who founded Dynasty XIX and secured Upper Egypt.

Anaxarchus of Abdera (fl. c. 340–315 B.C.): Greek philosopher and student of atomist philosopher Democrtius (c. 460–370 B.C.) was friend to Alexander the Great. In Bactria in 328–327 B.C., he argued in favor of divine honors for Alexander the Great against the objections of Callisthenes. He was executed by Nicocreon, king of Salamis, Cyprus.

Antigonus I Monophthalmus (b. c. 382; r. 306–301 B.C.): "The One-eyed." A senior general of Alexander the Great, he was entrusted with the strategic satrapy of Phrygia (central Asia Minor) in 333–323 B.C. Antigonus held open the lines of communication between Europe and Alexander's advancing army. At the conference at Babylon in 323 B.C. he received an enlarged satrapy of Phrygia, Lycia, and Pamphylia, but he quarreled with Perdiccas and joined Antipater in Macedon (323 B.C.). He campaigned successfully against the outlawed Eumenes of Cardia in 320–316 B.C. and so emerged as the candidate to unite the empire. His first war against Cassander, Ptolemy, and Lysimachus in 315–311 B.C. ended in stalemate; the second one in his defeat and death at Ipsus (r. 309–301 B.C.). He was the greatest of Alexander's generals and remembered by Greeks and Asians for his responsible government and set the style for Hellenistic monarchies.

Antigonus II Gonatas (b. c. 320–329 B.C.; r. 283–239 B.C.): Of Demetrius Poliocretes and Phila (daughter of Antipater). Took charge of Greece when Demetrius invaded Asia Minor in 287 B.C. By 280 B.C. He controlled Corinth, Sicyon, Piraeus, and Demetrias. At the Battle of Lysimacheia (277 B.C.) he destroyed 20,000 Gauls, and he was hailed king by the

Macedonians. In 274–272 B.C., he defeated Pyrrhus in a war for the mastery of Macedon. He defeated the Greek states in the Chremonidean War (268–262 B.C.). Despite his loss of Corinth in 243 B.C., Antigonus left Macedon a great power. Stoic philosopher, honest administrator, relentless general, and humane king, Antigonus was one of Macedon's greatest monarchs.

Antiochus I Soter (b. 324 B.C.; r. 281–261 B.C.): Son of Seleucus and the Sogdian princess Apame, he ruled the Upper Satrapies from c. 294/3 B.C. with his wife and former stepmother Stratonice. In 281 B.C., he was accepted as king after the murder of his father Seleucus, and he faced a Gallic invasion of Asia Minor. His war to recover Coele-Syria from Ptolemaic control (First Syrian War, 274–271 B.C.) ended in stalemate.

Antiochus III Megas (b. 241 B.C.; r. 223–187 B.C.): "The Great." Seleucid king styled himself as a conqueror in the guise of Alexander the Great. In 209–205 B.C., Antiochus led an eastern expedition into Bactria and India to reassert Seleucid hegemony. By his victory at Panium in 200 B.C., Antiochus conquered Ptolemaic possessions in the Levant and Asia Minor. But the king's Alexandrine pretensions led to a war with Rome in 192–188 B.C. The consul Lucius Cornelius Scipio decisively defeated Antiochus at Magnesia in 189 B.C. and so broke Seleucid power.

Antipater (397–319 B.C.): Leading general and diplomat under Philip II. Negotiated the peace with Athens in 337 B.C., and he acted as senior advisor to Alexander the Great. In 334–325 B.C., he administered Macedon and Greece during Alexander's absence. In 331 B.C., he defeated King Agis III at Megalopolis and forced Sparta into the Hellenic League. In 323–322 B.C. he was besieged in Lamia by the insurgent Athenians, Aetolians, and Thessalians but, along with Craterus, he crushed the revolt at Crannon. In 321 B.C., he and Craterus invaded Asia Minor and, at Triparadisus, the Macedonian army elected him regent of the empire. He returned to Macedon with the royal family (321–319 B.C.), but he turned the running of the Asian empire to the leading satraps. Ptolemy and Antigonus grew especially powerful, and Antipater's death precipitated the second civil war among the Diadochoi.

Antipater II (r. 297–294 B.C.): King of Macedon. The second son of Cassander and Thessalonice. In 295 B.C., he murdered his mother and warred against his brother Alexander V. He was expelled from Macedon by Demetrius Poliocretes, fell into the hands of Lysimachus, and was executed.

Apame or **Apama** (d. c. 300 B.C.): Daughter of the Sogdian lord Spitamenes, married Seleucus I at Opis in 324 B.C. She was the mother of Antiochus I (281–261 B.C.) and, upon her death, Seleucus founded Apamea in Syria in her honor.

Apelles of Colophon (fl. c. 360–290 B.C.): As a painter, he painted portraits of Philip II and Alexander the Great. His masterpiece was Aphrodite arising from the sea and was widely copied by Greek and Roman painters and was the inspiration of Botticelli's Birth of Venus. The Alexander mosaic at Pompeii is believed to be after Apelles's painting. Apelles was credited with a painting at Ephesus depicting Alexander hurling a thunderbolt.

Apollonius of Rhodes (c. 295–240 B.C.): Epic poet and librarian at Alexandria (c. 260–247 B.C.), wrote the literary epic *Argonautica*, a learned retelling of Jason and the Argonauts. His work found little favor from Callimachus, but Apolloninus set the fashion for erudite, baroque poetry in the Hellenistic and Roman ages.

Apollonius of Tyana (c. 40–120 A.D.): Pythagorean philosopher, is known from a novelistic life written by the sophist Philostratus (c. 172–250 A.D.) at the request of the empress Julia Domna in 217 A.D. The work was completed by 238 A.D. Philostratus presented Apollonius as a miracle worker and the Alexander the Great of philosophers, seeking wisdom by his journey to India.

Archelaus (r. 413–399 B.C.): Argead king of Macedon. Succeeded his father Perdiccas II and failed to bring Amphipolis or the Chalcidice under his rule. He allied with Athens, and sponsored important military, social, and economic reforms. Archelaus, patron of the tragedian Euripides, turned his court at Pella into a center of Hellenic arts and letters.

Archidamus III (r. 360–338 B.C.): Eurypontid king of Sparta. Supported the Phocians in the Third Sacred War (3578–346 B.C.). In 343–338 B.C., on invitation of Taras, Archidamus intervened in southern Italy against the Lucanians. He was defeated and slain at Manduria in Apulia.

Aristotle (386–322 B.C.): Philosopher and scientist. A native of Stageira in the Chalcidice. Aristotle, dissatisfied with Plato's spiritual cosmology, sought materialist explanations and so wrote a range of subjects, notably logic, rhetoric, biology, ethics, and politics. He tutored Alexander the Great in 343–341 B.C., and thereafter retained a friendship with his brilliant student. In 336 B.C., Aristotle founded the Lyceum at Athens. His *Politics* is a brilliant exposition on Greek governments, and his logic and inductive reasoning have influenced all subsequent Western philosophy.

Arrian (c. 86–146 A.D.): Lucius Flavius Arrianus Xenophon. Historian and Roman senator. A native of Nicomedia. Arrian pursed a senatorial career under the emperor Trajan and was friend to Hadrian. He was consul suffectus in 129 or 130. In 134–135, he was governor of Cappadocia, and repelled an invasion of nomadic Alans. He wrote in Greek the *Anabasis* or Asian expedition of Alexander the Great based on the account of King Ptolemy I and other eye witness histories. Arrian also wrote an *Indica*, based on the *Periplus* of Nearchus, a tactical manual of his battle line against the Alans, and a *Periplus* of the Black Sea.

Arses (r. 338–336 B.C.): King of Persia. The young son of Artaxerxes III placed on the throne by the eunuch chiliarch Bagoas. Arses took the dynastic name Artaxerxes IV; he was murdered on orders of Bagoas.

Arsinoe II (c. 316–270 B.C.): Daughter of Ptolemy I and Berenice, married Lysimachus in 300 B.C. Responsible in part for the downfall and death of Agathocles, she reaped no reward for her intrigues. In 281 B.C. she was forced to marry Ptolemy Ceraunus, but she managed to escape to Egypt by 279 B.C. She married her full brother Ptolemy II (c. 275 B.C.), and she was the first Hellenistic queen to receive divine honors upon her death.

Arsites (r. 336–330 B.C.): Satrap of Hellespontine Phrygian under Darius III. Likely commanded the Persian army at the Grancius in 334 B.C. He committed suicide after the battle.

Artabazus (c. 389–325 B.C.): Persian noble, as satrap of Hellespontine Phrygia, he joined his brothers Ariobarzanes and Mithridates in a revolt against Artaxerxes III in 358–354 B.C. In 353 B.C., he fled to Philp II as exile. In 342 B.C., he was pardoned and restored to favor by Arataxerxes III and served Darius III. In 330 B.C., he submitted to Alexander the Great in Hyrcania. His daughter Barsine became a mistress of Alexander. Artabazus was respected at the Macedonian court and satrap of Bactria in 329–328 B.C.

Artaxerxes II (r. 404–358 B.C.): Memnon, king of Persiathe. Elder son of King Darius II and Queen Parysitis. Defeated and slew his brother Cyrus the Younger at Cunaxa in 401 B.C. In response to Spartan intervention in Asia Minor, Artaxerxes raised the Greek coalition that fought Sparta to a stalemate in the Corinthian War (396–386 B.C.). By the King's Peace of 386, Artaxerxes regained the Greek cities of Asia Minor.

Artaxerxes III (b. c. 425 B.C.; r. 358–338 B.C.): Ochus, king of Persia and son of Artaxerxes II. Restored Achaemenid rule in the Western satrapies with the reconquest of Egypt in 343–342 B.C. In 340–338 B.C., he assisted Athens and Cersebleptes of Thrace against Philip II. He was assassinated by the eunuch chiliarch Bagoas.

Artaxerxes IV. *See* **Arses**.

Artaxerxes V. See **Bessus**.

Asander (r. 334–328 B.C.): Son of Philotas. Appointed satrap of Lydia. In 328 B.C., he accompanied Nearchus with reinforcements. In 323 B.C., Asander was rewarded with the satrapy of Caria. In 317–313 B.C., Asander joined the coalition against Antigonus I. The father of Asander was not Philotas, commander of the Companions, and there is no reason to link him to the family of Parmenio.

Attalus (c. 390–336 B.C.): Macedonian nobleman. A senior general of Philip II. His niece Cleopatra Eurydice married Philip II in 337 B.C. In 336 B.C., he shared command with Parmenio in Asia Minor. After the assassination of Philip II, he was implicated in a plot with the Atheninas and so executed.

Attalus I (b. 269 B.C.; r. 241–197 B.C.): Soter, king of Pergamum, was adopted as son and heir by his second cousin Eumenes I. Attalus assumed the title king in 238 B.C., and by an adroit alliance with Rome he expanded Pergamene power at the expense of Philip V and Antiochus III.

Attalus II (b. 220 B.C.; r. 159–139 B.C.): Philadelphus, king of Pergamum, succeeded his elder brother Eumenes II. He was a loyal ally of Rome and phihellene monarch. He donated to Athens the magnificent Stoa of Attalus.

Athenaeus of Naucratis: Greek rhetorician and grammarian writing in the late 2nd century A.D. Penned the *Deipnosophistae*, "dinner table philosophers" (in fifteen books), which contain anecdotes drawn from 2,500 separate works.

Autophradates: Persian general and noble, defeated the rebel satrap Artabazus in 354 B.C. In 333 B.C., after the death of Memnon of Rhodes, Autophrates and Pharnabazus succeeded to joint command of the Persian fleet in the Aegean.

Azelmilk (r. c. 340–332 B.C.): Greek Azemilcus, king of Tyre and loyal vassal of Darius III. Refused permission for Alexander to sacrifice to Melqart and so to claim the kingship of Tyre in 332 B.C. Alexander thus took Tyre by siege.

Bagoas (d. 336 B.C.): Persian eunuch chiliarch intrigued in the murder of Artaxerxes III in 338 B.C., and put on the throne Arses, who was hailed Artaxerxes IV. Bagoas ruled through Arses but faced rebellions in Babylonia and Egypt and the threat of an invasion by Philip II of Macedon. Bagoas had Arses murdered, when the young king proved defiant and elevated Darius III, former satrap of Armenia, to the throne. Darius III immediately executed Bogas in the summer 336 B.C.

Balacrus (c. 385–324 B.C.): Bodyguard of Philip II and Alexander the Great, was appointed satrap of Cilicia in 333 B.C. He assisted Antigonus in the pacification of Asia Minor, and he was aligned with Antipater. He was fell in a campaign against rebels in Pisidia.

Balacrus (d. c. 328 B.C.): Macedonian officer who commanded the javelin men in 336–328 B.C. He proved his tactical skill at the Battle of Gaugamela and in operations in Bactria and Sogdiana in 329–328 B.C. He is presumed to have died before the invasion of India.

Bardylis (r. c. 385–358 B.C.): Or Bardyllis, king of the Illyrians. Clashed with the Molossian kings of Epirus. In 359 B.C., Bardylis defeated and slew King Perdiccas III of Macedon, but in 358 B.C. he was defeated and slain by Philip II.

Barsaenetes (r. 336–330 B.C.): Persian noble and satrap of Arachosia and Drangiana under Darius III, slew Darius III at Hectamopylus in 330 B.C. He fled an exile into India.

Barsine (c. 363–309 B.C.): Daughter of Artabazus, satrap of Hellespontine Phrygia, married Mentor of Rhodes, and then his brother Memnon of Rhodes. She fled with her father to the court of Philip II in 353–342 B.C. She was captured after the Battle of Issus and became the mistress of Alexander. In 329 or 327 B.C., she gave birth to a son Heracles, but she lost favor at court after Alexander married Roxane. She retired to Pergamum; her daughter married Nearchus in 324 B.C. In 309 B.C., Polyperchon championed Heracles as king of Macedon, but he surrendered Barsine and Heracles to Cassander who ordered mother and son executed.

Barsine: Daughter of Darius III. *See also* **Statira**.

Berenice I (c. 340–281 or 271 B.C.): Daughter of Lagus and half-sister of Ptolemy I, arrived in Egypt in 317 B.C. and soon became Ptolemy's mistress. She bore him Arsinoe II and Ptolemy II. By 285 B.C. Ptolemy divorced his first wife Eurydice, daughter of Antipater, and married Berenice, recognizing Ptolemy II as his sole heir.

Berossus (fl. c. 290–270 B.C.): Babylonian astronomer, wrote in Greek the *Babylonica* (in three books) a history of Mesopotamia from the Creation down to the reign of Nabonidus The work, which has not survived, was widely cited by later Greek and Roman authors.

Bessus (d. 329 B.C.): Satrap of Bactria, was proclaimed King **Artaxerxes V** (330–329 B.C.). Bessus commanded the Persian right flank at the Battle of Gaugamela. In 330 B.C., he deposed Darius III after the Persian army fled Ecbatana. He ordered Darius murdered lest the king fall into the hands of Alexander and so alienated many Persian nobles who submitted to Alexander. In 330 B.C., he retired to Bactria and Sogdiana, where he was declared King Artaxerxes V. In 329 B.C., Alexander surprised Bessus by an invasion from the southeast. Bessus fled to Nautaca, where he was betrayed by Spitamenes and Dataphernes. Bessus was mutilated and impaled at Ecbatana.

Callimachus of Cyrene (c. 310–240 B.C.): A lyric poet and scholar of the Museion at Alexandria. He was recognized as an outstanding scholar and master of the learned lyric poems, epigrams, and odes that provided the model for Hellenistic poetry. He disapproved of the revived epic of Apollonius of Rhodes.

Callisthenes of Olynthus (c. 360–328 B.C.): Greek historian and great-nephew of Aristotle, accompanied Alexander as the official historian of the Asia expedition. Callisthenes, notorious for his self-importance, clashed with Alexander over the issue of *proskynesis*. Callisthenes compelled Alexander to drop the ritual, and so Alexander was willing to believe Callisthenes was the inspiration behind a conspiracy of royal pages in 328 B.C. Callisthenes was arrested and died a miserable death in captivity. Callisthenes penned several historical works on Greek history in the 4th century B.C. and an account on Alexander's expedition. His friend, the peripatetic philosopher Theophrastus (c. 371–287 B.C.), eulogized Callisthenes in a treatise so that philosophical writers viewed Alexander as a tyrant enslaved by his passions. The more sensational anecdotes from Callisthenes's work were incorporated into the *Alexander Romance* of the 3rd century A.D., whose unknown author is know as Pseudo-Callisthenes and provided the source for Medieval vernacular romances on Alexander.

Callistratus of Aphidnae (c. 410–355 B.C.): Athenian politician and general, wrote the constitution of the Second Athenian Naval Confederacy in 378 B.C. He administered Athenian finances and urged the alliance with Sparta against Thebes. He prosecuted Timotheus for misconduct in 373 B.C. He negotiated peace with Sparta in 371 B.C. In 361 B.C., he was impeached and convicted in absentia for the loss of Oropus. He found refuge at the Macedonian court, but he returned to Athens and was arrested and executed.

Cambyses (r. 530–522 B.C.): King of Persia, son of Cyrus I, conquered Egypt in 525–522 B.C., but his death led to the outbreak of the Great Revolt (522–521 B.C.).

Caracalla (b. 188; r. 198–217 A.D.): Marcus Aurelius Antoninus, Roman emperor and son of Septimius Severus and Julia Domna. Was remembered for his savagery, notably the murder of his brother Geta in 212. Caracalla imitated Alexander the Great, and he conducted his Parthian War (214–217) as a re-creation of Alexander's expedition.

Caranus (d. 329 B.C.): Commander of the Greek allied infantry in 331–330 B.C., shared command with Erigyius in the campaign against Satibarzanes of Areia in 330 B.C. In 329 B.C., he was slain along with the officers Andromachus and Menedemus (and the interpreter Pharnuches of Lycia), in the defeat of their column by Spitamenes on the Polytimetus River.

Cassander (b. c. 358 B.C.; r. 305–297 B.C.): King of Macedon and son of Antipater, joined Alexander in 324 B.C. Antipater passed over his own son in 319 B.C. and appointed Polyperchon his successor. Ruthless, cautious, and suspicious, Cassander allied with Antigonus and drove Polyperchon out of Macedon in 319–316 B.C. He married Thessalonice to legitimize his position. He ordered the execution of Olympias in 316 B.C. Named regent of Alexander IV in 311 B.C., he murdered the young king and his mother Roxane in 310 B.C. In 305–297 B.C. he ruled as king of Macedon. After the Battle of Ipsus (301 B.C.), Cassander consolidated his hold over Greece. He died of a wasting disease in 297 B.C.

Cersebleptes (r. 358–342 B.C.): Or Cersobleptes, son of Cotys and Odrysian king of Thrace. Depended on the Athenian mercenary captain Charidemus. In 357 B.C., he ceded the Thracian Chersonesus to Athens, and so control of the Hellespont. Cersobleptes, allied to Athens thereafter, fought Philip II as his rival for the Balkans. In 343–342 B.C., Philip II defeated Cersobleptes and annexed Thrace as a *strategeia*, or military province.

Chabrias (c. 426–356 B.C.): Athenian general, defeated the Peloponnesian fleet off Aegina in 388 B.C. and then commanded the Athenian fleet that supported Cypriote King Evagoras of Salamis in his rebellion against Persia. Chabrias was hailed for his defense of Boeotia in 378 B.C. and his naval victory over the Peloponnesian fleet at Naxos in 376 B.C. He was defeated and slain in the naval battle against the rebel allies off Chios in 356 B.C.

Chandragupta (b. c. 340 B.C.; r. c. 320–298 B.C.): Mauryan emperor of India, Greek Sandrocottus. Of obscure origins, Chandragupta overthrew the Nanda kings of Magadha in 321 B.C., and forged the first empire in India based on the Indus and Ganges valleys. He swept the Greco-Macedonian garrisons out of the Indus valley. In 305 B.C., Seleucus I ceded to Chandragupta the Indian satrapies, Arachosia, Gedrosia and Paropamisadae in return for 500 war elephants. According to the Seleucid envoy Megasthenes, Chandragupta fielded an army of 400,000 men.

Chares (c. 400–325 B.C.): Athenian general, was master in commanding mercenaries but notorious for his exactions from allies. In 361 B.C., he backed oligarches who overthrew the democracy of Corcyra to the anger of the Athenian assembly. In 358 B.C., he secured the Thracian Chersonesus from Cersebleptes. During the Social War, he succeeded to the command of the fleet upon the death of Charbias in 357 B.C. He blamed his defeat at the Battle of Embata in 356 B.C. on his colleagues Iphicrates, Menestheus, and Timotheus, so he brought suit against all three. Timotheus was convicted, but Chares alienated Isocrates and Eubulus, who dominated the assembly. Chares, out of favor at home, served as mercenary captain of the rebel satrap Artabazus in 356–353 B.C. Chares commanded the mercenaries sent by Athens to Olynthus in 349 B.C. He fought at Chaeronea in 338 B.C., and urged support of Thebes in 335 B.C. He fled Athens, after the sack of Thebes. He served as a mercenary commander in the Persian fleet in 333–

332 B.C. He retired to the mercenary center Taenarum and died there still in opposition to Alexander the Great.

Charidemus of Oreus (c. 385–333 B.C.): Mercenary captain, served in Thrace under Iphicrates and Timotheus in 367–362 B.C. He briefly served in the revolt of Artabazus, satrap of Hellespontine Phrygia, and then took service with his brother-in-law King Cersebleptes. In 357 B.C., Charidemus was voted Athenian citizenship for his role in the return of the Thracian Chersonesus over the objections of Demosthenes. He commanded Athenian forces against Philip II in the Chersonesus in 351 B.C., and at Olynthus in 349–348 B.C. He commanded the Athenians at Chaeronea in 338 B.C. and advocated alliance with Thebes in 335 B.C. He fled to Susa, taking service with Darius III. He was executed on orders of Darius III for his outspoken critique of Persian strategy in 333 B.C.

Clearchus (d. 401 B.C.): Son of Ramphias, Spartan officer and senior commander of the Ten Thousand. He was harmost of Byzantium in 411–409 B.C. In 401 B.C., he was senior officer of the Greek mercenaries under Cyrus the Younger that won the Battle of Cunaxa. He and four other senior officers were treacherously executed by Artaxerxes II. In the *Anabasis*, Xenophon writes a favorable sketch of his friend Clearchus.

Clearchus (r. 364–352 B.C.): Tyrant of Heraclea Pontica, a student of Plato and Isocrates, was remembered as an arrogant, spiteful ruler who assumed the trappings and titles of Zeus and demanded worship.

Cleitarchus of Alexandria: Wrote a history of Alexander the Great (now lost) during the reign of Ptolemy II (283–246 B.C.). Diodorus Siculus (for book 17 on Alexander) and Curtius Rufus both drew on Cleitarchus's work.

Cleitus, grandson of King Bardylis: The Illyrian prince of Pelion who rebelled from Macedonian rule in 335 B.C. Alexander defeated Cleitus in the summer of 335 B.C. after his Thracian campaign.

Cleitus the Black (d. 358 B.C.): Son of Dropides (c. 375–328 B.C.), commanded the royal squadron (*ile basilike*). His sister Lanice was the nurse of Alexander. At the Battle of Granicus, Cleitus slew the satrap Spithridates,

who was about to strike a fatal blow against Alexander. After the execution of Philotas in 330 B.C., Cleitus and Hephaestion shared command of the Companions. Cleitus was slain by Alexander in a drunken rage in winter quarters at Maracanda in early 328 B.C., because Cleitus objected to Alexander's pretensions and pro-Persian policy.

Cleitus the White (d. 318 B.C.): A taxiarch of the phalanx at the Battle of the Hydaspes in 326 B.C. In 324 B.C., he was discharged with other veterans at Opis. In 323 B.C., Cleitus commanded the imperial fleet that defeated the Athenian navy off the Echinades Islands. In 321 B.C., he was appointed satrap of Lydia. Loyal to the Argead house, he served Antipater and then Polyperchon. In 318 B.C., he defeated Cassander's navy near Byzantium but lost his ships in a surprise attack by Antigonus. Cleitus en route to Pella was ambushed and slain by soldiers of Lysimachus.

Cleombrotus I (r. 382–371 B.C.): Agiad king of Sparta, succeeded his brother Agesipolis. He was defeated and slain by the Thebans at the Battle of Leuctra in 371 B.C.

Cleomenes III (r. 236–222 B.C.): Agiad king, married Chilionis, daughter of Agis IV. In 226 B.C. he used his mercenary army to impose reform at Sparta. In 225–222 B.C., he mounted a recovery of Spartan power in the Peloponnesus, but he was defeated by King Antigonus III Doson and the Achaeans at the Battle of Sellasia in 222 B.C. Cleomenes III died an exile at the Ptolemaic court in 219 B.C., and his reforms were rescinded.

Cleomenes of Naucratis (d. 322 B.C.): Appointed treasurer of Egypt by Alexander the Great in 332 B.C. He exploited his position to amass a personal fortune, and Alexander overlooked the corruption. At the Conference of Babylon in 323 B.C., he was named hyparch of Egypt, becoming second to the new satrap Ptolemy. In 322 B.C., Ptolemy ordered the execution of Cleomenes and seized a treasury of 8,000 talents.

Cleopatra (355/4–309 B.C.): Daughter of Philip II and Olympias, was married to Alexander I of Epirus (342–330 B.C.) in 336 B.C. In 322 B.C., Olympias offered Cleopatra in marriage first to Leonnatus and then to Perdiccas. Eumenes of Cardia transferred Cleopatra to Sardes and argued

on her behalf so that Perdiccas finally rejected the alternate offer of Nicaea, daughter of Antipater, in favor of Cleopatra. Perdiccas, however, was assassinated in Egypt (321 B.C.), and Cleopatra endured a house arrest in Sardes until 309 B.C., when she was murdered on orders of Antigonus I when he heard Ptolemy I was making overtures of marriage to her.

Cleopatra VII (b. 69 B.C.; r. 51–30 B.C.): Philopator, Ptolemaic Queen of Egypt, was the last Ptolemaic ruler. In 48 B.C., Gaius Julius Caesar supported Cleopatra against brother Ptolemy XIII. In 47 B.C., Cleopatra, Caesar's mistress, gave birth to Caesarion. In 46–44 B.C., Cleopatra visited Rome and returned to Alexandria after Caesar's assassination. In 41–31 B.C., Cleopatra became the lover and political ally of Mark Antony against Octavian. She and Mark Antony were defeated at the Battle of Actium. She committed suicide in 30 B.C. lest she be paraded in triumph at Rome.

Cleopatra Eurydice (d. 336 B.C.): Niece of Attalus, married Philip II in 337 B.C. After the assassination of Philip II, Olympias had Cleopatra. She is credited by Justin and her two children, Europa and Caranus, who were also murdered.

Coenus (c. 370–326 B.C.): Elimote noble, was the son of Polemocrates and son-in-law of Parmenio. A taxiarch in 335–331 B.C., Coenus and his regiment took the far right position in every battle. He was not compromised by the executions of Philotas and Parmenio. In 328 B.C., Coenus commanded an independent column that defeated Spitamenes at Gabae. At the Battle of the Hydaspes, in 326 B.C., he commanded a hipparchy. In July 326 B.C., Coenus articulated the grievances of the army when it mutinied on the Hyphasis. He died soon after from illness.

Conon (c. 444–392 B.C.): Athenian general, commanded Athenian squadrons at Naupactus in 414 B.C. and in the Hellespont in 410–407 B.C. In 406 B.C., his squadron was trapped at Mytilene so that Athens launched the relief fleet that won the Battle of Arginusae. In 405 B.C., he escaped from Aegospotami to find refuge with King Evagoras of Salamis in Cyprus. In 394 B.C., Conon defeated the Peloponnesian fleet off Cnidus and returned to Athens with money to rebuild the Long Walls and Athenian fleet.

Craterus (c. 370–321 B.C.): Son of Alexander and a noble of Orestis, was a talented taxiarch in 335–331 B.C. He succeeded to second in command of Alexander's army after the murder of Parmenio in 330 B.C. He distinguished himself in the hard campaigns of Bactria, Sogdiana, and India (329–325 B.C.). He was regarded as honorable, efficient, and popular with the ordinary soldiers. In 323 B.C., he was in Cilicia (southeastern Asia Minor) with 10,000 discharged veterans en route to Europe when Alexander died. He thus missed the critical conference at Babylon so that he was named guardian of Philip III and joint ruler of the European regions with Antipater. In 322 B.C., he invaded Greece, linked up with Antipater, and crushed the insurgent Greeks, thus ending the Lamian War. In 324 B.C., he had married Amastris, daughter of Oxyathres, but he divorced her in 322 B.C. to marry Phila, daughter of Antipater. He then joined his father-in-law Antipater in a war against Perdiccas (321 B.C.). Eumenes of Cardia, however, defeated and slew Craterus in a battle in Asia Minor. Craterus, the most attractive of Alexander's marshals, would have made an excellent king.

Crates of Olynthus: The hydraulic engineer of Alexander the Great, designed the water system of Alexandria, Egypt, in 332 B.C.

Ctesias of Cnidus: Greek physician to Artaxerxes II from 404 to 359 B.C. Wrote a *Persica (*now lost), a fabulous account (in 23 books) of the Persian Empire and India.

Curtius Rufus: Roman historian writing in Latin during the reigns of Claudius (41–54) or Vespasian (69–79). Composed a history of Alexander in ten books of which only last eight survive. The work is noted for its delight in exotica.

Cyrus I (r.559–530 B.C.): "The Great," king of Persia and the first Achaemenid king of Persia, conquered the Lydian and Babylonian empires.

Cyrus the Younger (c. 424–401 B.C.): The younger son of Darius II (465–423 B.C.) and Queen Parysatis, Cyrus cooperated with Lysander in defeating Athens in 407–404 B.C. In 401 B.C., he was slain at Cunaxa in a bid to seize the throne from his brother Artaxerxes II.

Darius I (r. 521–486 B.C.): King of Persia, organized the imperial administration, and crushed the Ionian Revolt (499–494 B.C.). His army was defeated by the Athenians at the Battle of Marathon in 490 B.C.

Darius III (b. c. 380 B.C.; r. 336–330 B.C.): Codomonus, king of Persia, was the son of Arsames (nephew of Artaxerxes III) and Sisygambis (daughter of Artaxerxes II). Bagoas, the eunuch chiliarch, elevated Darius III, formerly known as Artashata (Artaxerxes) and satrap of Armenia, as Great King after the assassination of Arses. Darius III soon after had Bagoas executed. Personally brave and generous, he was decisively defeated by Alexander the Great at Issus in 333 B.C. and Gaugamela in 331 B.C. His defeats and the capture of the royal family lost Darius legitimacy in the eyes of his nobles. In 330 B.C., Darius fled east when Alexander surprised the Persian court at Ecbatana. Darius was deposed and enchained on orders of Bessus, satrap of Bactria. Darius was murdered near Hecatompylus in Parthyae when Alexander descended upon Bessus's camp.

Datames (r. c. 385–362 B.C.): Satrap of Cappadocia, enjoyed the favor of Artaxerxes II, but in 370–362 B.C. he instigated revolts in Asia Minor and the Levant, "the Satraps' Revolt." Datames, defeating two royal field armies, was assassinated, and the revolt collapsed.

Datapharnes (d. 328 B.C.): Sogdian lord and ally of Spitamenes, shared Spitamenes's fate.

Demades (c. 380–319 B.C.): Athenian orator and politician of obscure origin, was often called a demagogue by his political opponents. From 349 B.C., he opposed Demosthenes and Hypdrides and so urged peace with Philip II. After the Battle of Chaeronea in 338 B.C., he negotiated the peace with Philip II. In 335 B.C., he convinced Alexander to relent in his demand to punish Demosthenes and his associates. He convinced the Athenians not to ally with King Agis III of Sparta, and moved the resolution for the divine honors of Alexander the Great in 324 B.C. After the defeat at Crannon in 322 B.C., he negotiated with Antipater the surrender for Athens. While on embassy at Pella in 319 B.C., Demades was executed by Cassander on grounds of plotting with Antigonus.

Demaratus of Corinth (d. 331 B.C.): Personal friend to Philip II and Alexander the Great, reconciled father and son in 336 B.C. A member of the bodyguard of Alexander the Great in 336–331 B.C. Demaratus, at the Battle of the Granicus, came to Alexander's rescue, offering his spear to the king.

Demetrius of Phaleron (c. 350–280 B.C.): Athenian peripatetic philosopher and politician, was first elected *strategos* in 325 B.C. He supported the conservatives led by Phocion. In 317 B.C., Cassander entrusted Demetrius as lawgiver (*nomothetes*) with the powers to rewrite the Athenian constitution. Demetrius, in tandem with his mentor Theophrastus, wrote a conservative government with franchise restricted to the propertied classes. In 317–307 Demetrius dominated Athens under his conservative constitution. When Demetrius Poliocretes captured Athens in 307 B.C., Demetrius fled to Thebes and then Alexandria.

Demetrius (d. 330 B.C.): Bodyguard (*somatophylax*) of Alexander the Great, was demoted and replaced by Ptolemy in 331 B.C. He was implicated in the conspiracy of Philotas and executed.

Demetrius I (c. 200–180 B.C.,): Greco-Bactrian king and son of Euthydemus, conquered the Punjab, and invaded the Ganges valley, capturing the former Mauryan capital Pataliputra. He founded a Greco-Indian kingdom based on the Land of the Five Rivers and Upper Ganges that endured until c. 20 B.C.

Demetrius I Poliocretes (b. 336; r. 306–283 B.C.): "Taker of Cities," son of Antigonus I, he married Phila, daughter of Antipater in 321 B.C. and served with his father in the East (319–316 B.C.). He was a dashing, but erratic, general who styled himself the new Alexander. In 312 B.C., he was defeated by Ptolemy at Gaza, but he later directed Antigonid forces in Greece (307; 304–302 B.C.). He won a spectacular naval victory at Salamis in 306 B.C. He wasted precious time on besieging Rhodes (305–304 B.C.), and he threw away victory at Ipsus by pursuing the enemy horse too recklessly. In 301–296 B.C. he held a precarious naval domination in the eastern Mediterranean until seized the throne of Macedon in 296 B.C. He quickly lost Macedon and most of Greece after he invaded Asia Minor in 287 B.C. In 286 B.C., he surrendered to Seleucus, who treated Demetrius as an honored captive until he drank himself to death.

Demetrius II (b. c. 161 B.C.; r. 145–139 and 129–125 B.C.): Nicator, Seleucid king and son of Demetrius I (162–150 B.C.), seized the throne with the support of Ptolemy VI. In 139 B.C., he was defeated and captured by Parthian King Mithradates I. Demetrius's brother Antiochus VII was proclaimed king. In 129 B.C., the Parthians decisively defeated and slew Antiochus VII, and Demetrius escaped captivity to a second reign and civil war that saw the disintegration of the Seleucid Empire.

Demosthenes (384–322 B.C.): An Athenian orator and foe of Philip II and Alexander the Great. His speeches, notably the *Philippics*, are masterful invective and Attic prose, but his policy of alliance with Thebes against Philip II ended in failure. Demosthenes, who had written orations for civil and criminal ligation, emerged as a political figure in 351–349 B.C., advocating alliance with Olynthus against Philip II. At Pella, in 347–346 B.C., he negotiated, along with Philocrates and Aeschines, the peace with Philip, but Demosthenes charged his colleagues with venality. In 343 B.C., he proposed the Epanorthosis, or amendment to the Peace of Philocrates, that ensured a new war with Philip II. The Greek coalition promoted by Demosthenes was defeated at Chaeronea in 338 B.C. Demosthenes rejoiced over the assassination of Philip and urged opposition to Alexander the Great in 335 B.C. and again in 323 B.C. Demosthenes committed suicide in 322 B.C. after the Athenian defeat in the Lamian War (323–322 B.C.).

Dercyllidas: Or Dercylidas, was Spartan harmost of Abydos in 411 B.C. In 399–397 B.C., he commanded Spartan forces in Asia Minor. He concluded on his own initiative a peace with the satrap Pharnabazus and so campaigned in Thrace. In 396 B.C. King Agesilaus II took command of the Asian expedition. Dercyllidas served as envoy to Pharnabazus. In 394 B.C., he was sent to recall Agesilaus to Sparta, and he distinguished himself in the Corinthian War (396–386 B.C.).

Diades of Thessaly: Military engineer of Philip II and Alexander the Great and student of Polyidus of Thessaly, he designed siege engines. He built the mole and siege works Tyre in 332 B.C. His treatise on machinery was cited by the Roman architect and writer, Marcus Vitruvius Pollio (c. 80–15 B.C.).

Dinocrates of Rhodes (fl. c. 335–300 B.C.): The architect and engineer of Alexander the Great, had collaborated with Demetrius of Ephesus in reconstructing the Artemision destroyed by fire in 356 B.C. In 332 B.C., he planned the city of Alexandria. He designed the funerary monument of Hephaestion in 324 B.C. He drew up plans for Alexander to build a city on Mount Athos, but the project was dropped as impractical.

Diodorus Siculus (c. 90–30 B.C.): Wrote a universal history in forty books down to the Gallic Wars of Julius Caesar. His account preserves a wealth of details drawn from now lost earlier historians, and his narrative is the prime source on the reign of Philip II since the history of Theopompus is lost. His 17 book is devoted to the career of Alexander the Great.

Diodotus (c. 250–230 B.C.): Greco-Bactrian king, was satrap of Bactria under Antiochus I (281–261 B.C.). He declared himself king in Bactria and Sogdiana. He is known only from brief comments by Justin and Strabo and his coins. It seems that the coins depict a single individual rather than father and son as previously believed.

Diogenes of Sinope (c. 404–323 B.C.): Founder of Cynic philosophy, studied under Antisthenes, a follower of Socrates at Athens. He lived as a beggar in the streets of Athens and later Corinth in a quest of self-sufficiency. Given his impoverished living, he was nicknamed a dog (*kynon*); hence the name Cynic. He is remembered from anecdotes reported by Diogenes Laertius, writing in the early 3rd century A.D. Most famous was Diogenes's meeting with Alexander the Great at Corinth in 336 B.C.

Dion (b. 408 B.C. r. 357–354 B.C.): Tyrant of Syracuse. Syracusan noble, Dion advised his brother-in-law of Dionysius I, patronized Plato at court, and educated Dionysius II (367–357 and 346–344 B.C.). His teachings lost him favor with Dionysius I so that Dion was banished to Athens. In 357 B.C., Dion returned to Syracuse and seized power. Dion proved a suspicious, brutal tyrant with divine pretensions as a favorite of Zeus.

Dionysius I (b. c. 432 B.C.; r. 405–367 B.C.): Tyrant of Syracuse, was an adherent of the democratic leader Hermocrates and officer in the Syracusan army in 409–406 B.C. In 405 B.C., Dionysius seized power at Syracuse, and

negotiated a treaty with Carthage. In 402–397 B.C., he transformed Syracuse into the leading Hellenic city of the West with great walls. By successive wars against Carthage, he regained most of Greek Sicily by the treaty of 390 B.C. and then imposed his hegemony over the Italiot cities.

Drypetis: A younger daughter of Darius III, married Hephaestion in 324 B.C. See **Statira**.

Epaminondas (418–362 B.C.): Son of Polymnis, Theban general, forged a friendship with the democratic leader Pelopidas in 385 B.C. He was the military genius behind the Theban hegemony. In 371 B.C., as Boeotarch, Epaminondas he decisively defeated the Spartan army by a weighted attack on the left wing. In 370–369 B.C., Epaminondas invaded the Peloponnesus and concluded alliances with Argos, the Arcadian League, and Messene (the last liberated from Spartan rule). In 362 B.C., he fell mortally wounded at Mantinea, although he defeated the Athenian-Spartan coalition.

Ephorus of Cyme (c. 400–330 B.C.: Historian, declined to accompany Alexander the Great on the Asian expedition. Ephorus wrote a universal history (in 29 books) that is now lost. His son Demophilus wrote a thirtieth book covering 357–340 B.C. Diodorus Siculus and Strabo drew on Ephorus's work; Polybius is critical of Ephorus's accounts of battles.

Erigyius of Mytilene (c. 355–328 B.C.): Son of a Greek emigre and boyhood friend of Alexander the Great. He distinguished himself as a commander of the Greek allied and mercenary cavalry. In 330 B.C., he slew in single combat the satrap Satibarzanes. He died of dysentery in Sogdiana.

Eubulus (c. 405–333 B.C.): Athenian politician and opponent of Demosthenes, argued for peace with Philip II and so was allied with Aeschines and Philocrates. As commissioner of the Theoric Fund, he gained control over public finances. On financial grounds, Eubulus persuaded the Athenian assembly to end the Social War in 355 B.C. and to make peace with Philip II in 346 B.C. In 352 and in 348 B.C., he supported Athenian expeditions to Thermopylae and Euboea, respectively, to unite the Greeks in defense against Philip II.

Eucratides (c. 175–145 B.C.): Greco-Bactrian king who ruled over Bactria and Sogdiana and extended his sway over the Greek kings in Northwestern India. The city Ai Khanoum (possibly Alexandria on the Oxus) was renamed Eucratida in his honor. In c. 167 B.C., King Mithradates I of Parthia checked the western expansion of Eucratides. The murder of Eucratides precipitated a civil war and conquest by Bactria by the nomad Yuezhi, the ancestors of the Kushan emperors.

Eudamus (d. 316 B.C.): A Thracian veteran officer, was appointed commander of Macedonian forces in India in 326 B.C. At the conference of Babylon in 323 B.C., Eudamus was confirmed as master of the Indian satrapies. In 317 B.C., he annexed the kingdoms of Porus and Taxiles, and fought for Eumenes of Cardia. He was captured at the Battle of Gabiene and executed on orders of Antigonus Monophthalmus.

Eudoxus of Cyzicus. *See* **Hippalus**.

Eumenes I (263–241 B.C.): Attalid ruler of Pergamum and nephew and adopted son of Philetaerus, carved out a state in the Caicus valley and defied Seleucid efforts of reconquest.

Eumenes II (r. 197–159 B.C.): King of Pergamum and son of Attalus I and Apollonis, fought with Rome at the Battle of Magnesia in 189 B.C. He received most of Seleucid Western Asia Minor under the Treaty of Apamea in 188 B.C. He expanded the library of Pergamum and donated to Athens the Stoa of Eumenes.

Eumenes of Cardia (c. 362–316 B.C.): The Greek secretary of Philip II and Alexander the Great, he kept the *Ephemerides* or *Royal Journal*. He possessed military skill second only to Antigonus. Appointed satrap of Cappadocia and Paphlagonia in 323 B.C., he served Perdiccas (323–321 B.C.) and then Polyperchon (321–316 B.C.) because each championed the Argead family. His victory over Craterus in 321 B.C. was vitiated by the murder of Perdiccas and the conference of Triparadisus where Eumenes was outlawed by the Macedonian army. In 320 and 318–316 B.C. Eumenes kept Antigonus at bay, retreating eastward into the Upper Satrapies. Despite tactical victories at Paracetacene (317 B.C.) and Gabiene (316

B.C.), Eumenes was betrayed by the elite Silver Shields, who handed him over to Antigonus. He was tried and executed, and with his death passed the last true protector of Alexander's house.

Eurydice (c. 337–317 B.C.): Adea, was the daughter of Amyntas and Cynana (who was a daughter of Philip II and the Illyrian princess Audata). She married Philip III Arrhidaeus despite resistance from Perdiccas, and she intrigued to rule the empire through her husband. In 317 B.C., she deserted Polyperchon for Cassander, whom she named as regent of the empire. Later in the same year, she and Philip III fell into the hands of their old rival Olympias who forced them both to commit suicide.

Eurydice, Phila, and Nicaea: The three daughters of Antipater. In 322 B.C. Eurydice married Ptolemy I and bore him Ptolemy Ceraunus and Lysandra. Phila married Craterus in 322 B.C. and bore him a son Craterus (later governor of Corinth for Antigonus Gonatas). She married Demetrius Poliocretes in 319 B.C. and bore him a son Antigonus Gonatas. Nicaea was offered in marriage to Perdiccas, who jilted her for Cleopatra. In 316 B.C. she married Lysimachus, and she bore Agathocles, but Lysimachus divorced her in c. 300 B.C. to marry Arsinoe II.

Euthydemus (r. c. 230–200 B.C.): Greco-Bactrian king, was a native of Magnesia and satrap of Sogdiana. He overthrew King Diodotus and established the Euthydemid dynasty that ruled Central Asia down to 130 B.C. In 208 B.C., he submitted to Antiochus III and concluded a marital alliance. His silver tetradrachmae became the trade coins of central Asia.

Evagoras I (410–374 B.C.): Teucrid king of Salamis, Cyprus, was guest friend (*philoxenos)* to many leading Athenians. Evagoras received Conon, after the Athenian defeat at Aegospotami in 405 B.C. and assisted the return of Conon in 394 B.C. In 391–381, with Athenian support, Evagoras rebelled from King Artaxerxes II and aimed to bring under his control all of Cyprus. In 381 B.C., his navy was defeated by the Persian imperial fleet, and Evagoras surrendered on favorable terms. He was assassinated and succeeded by his son Nicocles (373–360 B.C.).

Glaucias: Illyrian prince of the Taulantians and ally of Cleitus the Illyrian, was defeated at Pelion by Alexander the Great in 335 B.C.

Harpalus (d. 323 B.C.): Macedonian noble and son of Machatas, was a boyhood friend of Alexander the Great. In 331 B.C., because of his lame leg, he was appointed treasurer at Babylon. He and his mistress Pythonice were notorious for their corruption and decadence. In 324 B.C., Haraplus, fearing punishment for his misdeeds, absconded from Babylon to Athens with 5,000 talents and 6,000 mercenaries. His intrigues at Athens and Taraenum precipitated the Lamian War. He was murdered in Crete in 323 B.C. His brother Philip was first satrap of India.

Hephaestion (c. 356–324 B.C.): The son of Amyntor. He was a Macedonian noble and was dearest friend to Alexander. Alexander and Hephaestion were compared to Achilles and Patrocles. Hephaestion was a boyhood friend of Alexander, but little is known of him until 333 B.C., when he was named a bodyguard (*somatophylax*). He was mistaken for Alexander by Persian Queen Sisygambis. In 330 B.C., he was given joint command of the Companion cavalry. He commanded independent columns in Central Asia and India in 329–325 B.C. In 324 B.C., he was named chiliarch and married Drypetis, daughter of Darius III. He died of illness at Ecbatana in late 324 B.C. Alexander ordered an opulent funerary monument, and heroic honors were decreed the oracle of Amun at Siwah. The grief-stricken Alexander never recovered from the death of his beloved friend.

Heracles (329 or 327–309 B.C.): The reputed illegitimate son of Alexander the Great and Barsine, daughter of Artabazus. In 309 B.C. Polyperchon raised him as king against Cassander, but the two dynasts quickly struck a deal nominating Polyperchon as Cassander's deputy (*strategos*) in Greece. Heracles was immediately put to death.

Herodotus (c. 490–430 B.C.): Hailed the father of history, was born at Halicarnassus and traveled throughout the Persian empire. He wrote his history dealing with the wars between the Greeks and Persians. Herodotus's account is the main source for early Greek history as well as for contemporary peoples of the Near East.

Herostratus of Ephesus (d. 356 B.C.): Set fire to the Artemision of Ephesus on July 20, 356 B.C. He was executed by the civic authorities, and his memory was condemned. The event was taken as a portend of the birth of Alexander the Great. Hence, Alexander offered to pay for the reconstruction of the temple in 334 B.C.

Hesiod (c. 700 B.C.): Poet of Boeotia (central Greece), he wrote in epic meter the *Theogony* and *Works and Days*. The first epic recounts the myths of the Greek gods; the second was a cry for *dike* (justice) within the early Greek *polis* (city-state).

Hippalus: Greek navigator and merchant, is credited by the *Periplus of the Erythraean* Sea with discovering how to use the monsoon winds to sail across the Erythraean Sea (Indian Ocean) to the Indian ports in c. 117–116 B.C. He might have piloted a ship of **Eudoxus of Cyzicus**, an explorer of the Red Sea in the reign of Ptolemy VIII (182–116 B.C.), who is credited with the same discovery by Strabo.

Hippodamus of Miletus (c. 480–408 B.C.): Architect, mathematician, and philosopher, designed the orderly plan for a Greek city, dividing residential and public space. At the request of Pericles, he planned the Piraeus, the port of Athens. He is credited with designing the city of Rhodes, founded in 408 B.C., and the reconstruction of Miletus. The cities of Olynthus, capital of the Chalcidian League, and Priene in Ionia were built on the Hippodamian plan

Homer (c. 750 B.C.): Reputedly a native of Smyrna, this blind poet was credited with the composition of the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*.

Hyperides (389–322 B.C.): Athenian orator and politician, was a political ally of Demosthenes and prosecuted Philocrates in 343 B.C. In 336 B.C., he moved the motion voting a gold crown to Demosthenes for his public services, but in 324 B.C. he prosecuted Demosthenes for accepting bribes from Haraplus. Hyperides, who pressed for the Lamian War, was surrendered to Antipater and executed.

Idrieus (351–344 B.C.): Hecatomnid dynast and satrap of Caria, was a loyal vassal of Artaxerxes III and was responsible for the expansion of the sanctuary of Zeus at Labranda.

Iphicrates (415–353 B.C.): Athenian general, perfected the equipment and tactics of light armed infantry or peltasts. In 390 B.C., he and his peltasts annihilated a Spartan *mora* of 600 hoplites near Corinth. In 386–379 B.C., he took mercenary service with King Cotys of Thrace, and in 378–373 B.C., in the Persian army sent against Egypt. In 367–364 B.C., he failed to capture Amphipolis. In 356 B.C., he and his son Menesthenes refused to support Chares at the Battle of Embata. They were both prosecuted and acquitted.

Isocrates (436–338 B.C.): Athenian orator and Panhellenist, called for Greek *homonoia* (concord) and unity in his *Panegyricus* (380 B.C.), pleading for a new alliance between Athens and Sparta against Persia. Isocrates redefined Hellene as a cultural rather than racial designation. After the Social War, Iscorates opposed imperial expansion, and he came to see Philip II of Macedon as the champion of Greek unity and so penned an open letter urging the king to lead an expedition against Persia.

Jason of Pherae (c. 385–370 B.C.): Son of Lycophron, was tyrant and *tagos* of the Thessaly. In 374–370 B.C., he fielded an army of 10,000 mercenary hoplites and 2,000 Thessalian cavalry. He aspired to domination of mainland Greece, but was assassinated in 370 B.C.

Justin: Or Marcus Justianus, Latin historian of the 2nd century A.D., who composed an epitome of the history of Pompeius Trogus on Philip II and Alexander the Great. Deficient in chronology and details, Justin's epitome still contains important information.

Kujula Kadphises, Kushan emperor founded the Kushan Empire in central Asia based on the caravan trade and the Greco-Bactrian cities.

Leonidas (r. 45–64 A.D.): Alexander the Great's tutor between the ages of six and twelve, as selected by Olympias. Leonidas imposed a rigorous frugal regimen, reproaching Alexander for any displays of luxury or waste.

Leonnatus (c. 358–322 B.C.): Lycestrian noble related to the Argead line, he was a boyhood friend and bodyguard (*somatophylax*) of Alexander the Great. He distinguished himself in India and Gedrosia. He and Peucestas defended the wounded Alexander during the assault on the city of the Malli. Able, but headstrong, Leonnatus received Hellespontine Phrygia in 323 B.C. He accepted an offer from Olympias to marry Cleopatra, invaded Europe, raised the siege of Lamia, but he was killed in a cavalry skirmish.

Leosthenes (356–323 B.C.): Veteran Athenian mercenary general who served in Achaemenid armies. In 323, he along with 8,000 mercenaries at Taenarum, joined the Athenians in their rebellion against Macedonian rule. He fell in the initial fighting at Lamia.

Lucian of Samosata (c. 125–180 A.D.): Rhetorician and satirist of the Second Sophistic, was a native Aramaic speaker who mastered Greek. In polished Greek, he wrote satirical dialogues on the gods and heroes, a scathing account of the charlatan prophet Alexander of Abonouteichus.

Lycophron of Pherae (c. 356–352 B.C.): Tyrant, shared power with his brother Peitholas. He allied with Philomelus and the Phocians to assert their control over Thessaly. He fought with Onomarchus against Philip in 353–352 B.C. After the Battle of Crocus Plain, he surrendered Pherae to Philip II, and withdrew with 3,000 mercenaries into Phocis.

Lycurgus: Legendary lawgiver of Sparta was considered to have lived in c. 775–750 B.C. Most Spartan institutions were attributed to Lycurgus.

Lycurgus (c. 395–324 B.C.): Athenian orator and politician, was a student of Plato and Isocrates. In 335 B.C., he advocated an alliance with Thebes and so was perceived as an ally of Demosthenes and Hyperides. In 337–325 B.C., he supervised Athenian finances, raising annual revenues to 1,200 talents. He supervised the fortification of the Piraeus and city, repairs of public buildings, and the reform of the ephebate.

Lysander (c. 450–395 B.C.): Navarch of Sparta in 407–406 B.C. Lysander won the confidence of Cyrus the Younger, and, by his victory at Notium (406 B.C.), discredited Alicbiades. After the Spartan defeat at Arginusae,

Lysander was appointed command of the Peloponnesian fleet in the Aegean as *epistoleus*, secretary to the navarch, in 405–403 B.C. He ended the Peloponnesian War by his victory at Aegispotami, and imposed the Thirty Tyrants on Athens. Lysander failed to convert his success into primacy within Sparta. In 396 B.C., his royal patron Agesilaus humiliated Lysander, demoting him to carver of the meat at the royal table. In 395 B.C., Lysander fell at the Battle of Haliartus.

Lysandra (b. c. 305 B.C.): Daughter of Ptolemy I and Euryidice, and sister of Ptolemy Ceraunus. She was wife to Alexander V (297–294 B.C.), and then Agathocles, son of Lysimachus. In 284 B.C., upon the murder of Agathocles, she and her children fled to Seleucus. Thereafter she disappears from the sources.

Lysimachus (b c. 362; r. 305–281 B.C.): The son of the Thessalian immigrant Agathocles, was a boyhood friend and bodyguard of Alexander the Great. He commanded the fleet on the Hydaspes in 324 B.C. In 323 B.C. he received the satrapy of Thrace. In 315 B.C. he joined the coalition against Antigonus, and he proved essential in defeating Antigonus at Ipsus (301 B.C.). He acquired western Asia Minor as a result, and in 288–285 B.C. he gained Macedon and Greece. In c. 300 B.C., he married Arsione II, daughter of Ptolemy I, but she intrigued against Agathocles, Lysimachus's popular son by his first wife, Nicaea (daughter of Antipater). When Lysimachus was duped into the trial and execution of Agathocles, he lost support. His son's widow, Lysandra, and her brother Ptolemy Ceraunus, fled to Seleucus, who thereupon invaded Asia Minor. Lysimachus was defeated and killed at Corupedium in 281 B.C.

Lysippus of Sicyon (c. 390–300 B.C.): The sculptor of Alexander the Great, credited with portraits and equestrian statues of the king. Lysippus fixed the heroic godlike image of Alexander, and defined the graceful portrait art of the late Classical era.

Mazaeus (c. 385–328 B.C.; r. 361–336 B.C.): Persian noble. As satrap of Cilicia, he suppressed rebellions in the Levant and fought mercenary army of Pharaoh Nectanebo II. Darius III promoted Mazaeus to satrap of Syria (336–331 B.C.), and he commanded the Persian left wing at the Battle of Gaugamela in 331 B.C. He submitted to Alexander and so received

Babylonia as his satrapy (331–328 B.C.). His two sons, Artiboles (Persian Ardu-Bel) and Hydarnes (Vidarna), served in Alexander's cavalry in the eastern campaigns.

Manetho (fl. c. 280–250 B.C.): Egyptian priest and historian, wrote in Greek *Aegyptiaca,* a history of the pharaohs from Narmer (Menes) down to Ptolemy I, the chronological basis for Egyptian history.

Mausolus (r. 377–353 B.C.): Or Mausollus, Hecatomnid dynast of Caria, was noted for his great funerary monument the Mausoleum, at Halicarnassus, and building program at the sanctuary of Zeus at Labranda. He ruled as satrap of Caria and extended his sway over Lycia and the Greek cities of southwestern Asia Minor. He backed the rebel allies in the Social War (357–355 B.C.). This philhellene dynast was perceived by Athens as a greater threat than Philip II. His sister and queen Artemisa (353–351 B.C.) ruled in her own right after Mausolus's death.

Mazaces (r. 336–330 B.C.): Persian satrap of Egypt under Darius III, surrendered Memphis and the satrapy to Alexander the Great in 332 B.C.

Megesthenes (c. 350–290 B.C.): Envoy of Seleucus I to Chandragupta in 302–291 B.C., wrote an *Indica* (in four books) describing the Mauryan court at Pataliputra and the lands of the Indus and Ganges. Strabo and Arrian each used the work for his account of India.

Meleager (d. 323 B.C.): Veteran taxiarch of Philip II, commanded a regiment of the phalanx in 334–323 B.C. He was never promoted to cavalry commander due to clashes with Alexander in India. At the conference of Babylon in 323 B.C., he represented the interests of the infantry who called for the acclamation of Philip III Arrhidaeus and earned the enmity of Perdiccas, who ordered Meleager executed.

Memnon of Rhodes (c. 380–333 B.C.): Greek mercenary officer, served under his older brother Mentor in 353–340 B.C. In 340 B.C., he succeeded to his brother's lands in the Troad and married his brother's widow Barsine. Memnon checked the advance force of Macedonians under Parmenio in 336–335 B.C. In 334 B.C., the Persian satraps rejected Memnon's strategy

of attrition. Appointed Persian commander in the West by Darius III, he directed the defense of Halicarnassus, and commanded the Persian fleet in the Aegean in 334–333 B.C. He died at the siege of Mytilene in August 333 B.C.

Menander (342–293 B.C.): Athenian comic poet, was a student of Theophrastus. He composed over one hundred comedies; only the *Dyskolos* survives. He created the New Comedy, the satire on manners that replaced the political satire of Old Comedy in the 5th century B.C.

Menander I Soter (r. 165–130 B.C.): Greco-Bactrian king of India, known as Milinda Panka in Buddhist sources, presided over the heyday of the Greco-Indian kingdom. He was credited with a conversion to Buddhism, and stories were circulated comparing him to the Buddhist Mauryan emperor Asoka. (273–232 B.C.). Given his coins and classical literary sources, Menander was more likely a patron of Buddhist shrines rather than a convert.

Mentor of Rhodes (c. 385–340 B.C.): Greek mercenary officer, served in the armies of Artabazus, satrap of Hellespontine Phrygia, in the rebellion against King Artaxerxes III in 358–354 B.C. He married Barsine, daughter of Artabazus. He fled to Egypt and took service in the mercenary army of Pharaoh Nectanebo II, serving in Phoenicia in c. 350–346 B.C. He deserted to Artaxerxes III and distinguished himself in the Persian reconquest of Egypt in 343–342 B.C. He was sent as Persian commander in the western Anatolia; he died shortly after 340 B.C. His brother Memnon married Barsine and succeeded to Mentor's position.

Midas (r.c. 725–696 B.C.): King of Phrygia, known as Mita in Assyrian annals. He was last of a succession of Phrygian kings who had ruled under the dynastic name Midas. Midas, a philhellene, made dedications at Delphi and was the subject of many legends among the Greeks, including the oracle of the Gordian knot. The last Midas constructed the great tumulus at Gordion. He committed suicide after the Cimmerians overran his kingdom.

Mithridates I (b. c. 105 B.C.; r. 171–137 B.C.): Arsacid king of Parthia, forged the Parthian empire. He defeated Greco-Bactrian King Eucratides in c.

167 B.C. In 139 B.C., he defeated and captured the Seleucid king Demetrius II and occupied Mesopotamia.

Mithridates VI Eupator (b. 134 B.C.; r. 121–63 B.C.):King of Pontus was regarded by the Romans as the greatest king since Alexander the Great. Mithridates fought three Mithridatic wars against Rome for mastery of Asia Minor (98–85 B.C.; 83–71 B.C.; 74–63 B.C.). In his appeals and official art, Mithridates styled himself as the new Alexander the Great.

Mithrobazares (336–330 B.C.): Satrap of Cappadocia under Darius III, fell at the Battle of Granicus in 334 B.C.

Musicanus: Sanskrit Mushika, king of the Sind, he ruled from Medieval Alor and was compelled to submit to Alexander the Great in 325 B.C. Musicanus and Sambus, with the support Brahmins, soon revolted. Musicanus was captured and crucified at Harmatelia.

Narbazanes (336–330 B.C.): Persian noble and chiliarch of Darius III At the Battle of Issus, he commanded the cavalry in 333 B.C. After Darius III was deposed by Bessus, Narbazanes submitted to Alexander the Great.

Nearchus of Crete (c. 360–300 B.C.): Son of an emigre of Crete, was a boyhood friend of Alexander the Great. In 334–328 B.C., he was satrap of Pamphylia. In 328 B.C., he was summoned to Bactria along with seamen for service in India. In 326–325 B.C., Nearchus was navarch of the fleet on the Hypdaspes and Indus. In 325 B.C., he commanded the navy sailing in support of Alexander's army marching through Gedrosia, but adverse winds delayed departure. Nearchus met Alexander on the shores of Carmania. In 324 B.C., Nearchus was rewarded with a gold crown and married to the daughter of Mentor and Barsine. He supported Antigonus I in the wars of the Diodochoi. He composed a *Periplus* of the Erythraean Sea which was used by Arrian for his *Indica*.

Nectanebo II (r. 360–342 B.C.): Nakhthorhebe, pharaoh of Egypt, overthrew his father Teos (362–360 B.C.) with the Greek mercenary army commanded by Agesilaus II. In 343–342 B.C., he was expelled from Egypt by the army of Artaxerxes III Ochus. He fled an exile into Nubia, and later it was rumored that Alexander the Great was the pharaoh son of Nectanebo II.

Neoptolemus (b. c. 390 B.C.; r. 370–360 B.C.): Aeacid king of Epirus, was the father of Alexander I of Epirus and Olympias. He ruled jointly with his brother Arybbas who succeeded to the entire kingdom in 360–352 B.C.

Nicaea: Daughter of Antipater. *See also* **Eurydice**.

Nicanor (d. 330 B.C.): Son of Parmenio, distinguished himself as a taxiarch against the Getae in 335 B.C. In 334–330 B.C., He commanded the hypaspists. And he died of disease shortly after the pursuit of Darius III.

Nicocreon (r. 331–311 B.C.): Teucrid king of Salamis, Cyprus, rebuilt Tyre and entertained Alexander the Great there in 331 B.C. In 315–311 B.C., he sided with Ptolemy, and was rewarded with rule over the entire island.

Nicomedes I (r. 279–255 B.C.): King of Bithynia forged the Hellenistic kingdom of Bithynia, founding the capital Nicomedia. In 277 B.C., he hired the Galatians as mercenaries, and transported 10,000 Celtic warriors and their families into Asia Minor. Upon their discharge, the Galatians raided the cities of Western Asia Minor until they were driven by Antiochus I into northwestern Phrygia which they settled and renamed Galatia.

Olympias (c. 378–316 B.C.): The daughter of King Neoptolemus of Epirus and descendant of the Homeric hero Achilles. She married Philip II in 357 B.C. This indomitable, ambitious queen clashed violently with Philip II, who exiled and divorced her in 337 B.C., but she returned to favor when Alexander the Great ascended the throne in 336 B.C. Alexander was devoted to his mother, but Olympias alienated most Macedonians by her violent temper, erratic political intrigues, and barbaric ways. While Alexander conquered Asia, Olympias quarreled with the regent Antipater, whom she learned to detest. In 331 B.C. she returned to Epirus from where she schemed against Antipater. In 317 B.C., she invaded Macedon on behalf of

her grandson Alexander IV, captured and drove to suicide her hated rivals Eurydice and Philip III, and purged the court of Pella. Her bloody regime enabled Cassander to rally support and recover Macedon. Besieged in Pydna in 317–316 B.C., Olympias was forced to surrender, and Cassander prudently ordered her execution despite promises of safe conduct.

Onesicritus (c. 360–290 B.C.): Pilot and helmsman, was a native of the Aegean island Astypalaea. He accompanied Nearchus to Bactria in 328 B.C. He was the pilot of Alexander's flagship on the Hydaspes and Indus in 326–325 B.C. In 324 B.C., he was helmsman of the flagship of Nearchus. He was rewarded with a gold crown and composed a work on the education of Alexander. Arrian and Strabo criticized Onesicritus for mixing fable with facts, for he was likely the source of Plutarch's anecdote of the visit of the Amazons to Alexander.

Onomarchus (d. 352 B.C.): Son of Euthycrates, was elected commander (*strategos autokrator*) by the Phocians after the death of Philomelus. In 353 B.C., he defeated and expelled Philip II from Thessaly. In 352 B.C., at Crocus Plain, Philip II decisively defeated the Phocian mercenary army. Onomarchus committed suicide.

Oxyarthes (d. c. 303 B.C.): Achaemenid noble and brother of King Darius III (r. 336–330 B.C.), distinguished himself at the Battle of Issus in 333 B.C. In 330 B.C., he submitted to Alexander the Great, after Bessus had deposed and then murdered Darius III. Enjoying high favor at Alexander's court, Oxyarthes directed the execution of Bessus in 329 B.C. His daughter Amastris (c. 306–284 B.C.) was promised in marriage to Craterus by Alexander the Great. Craterus repudiated Amastris, who was married to Dionysius, tyrant of Heraclea Pontica (c. 353–305 B.C.)

Oxyrates (d. c. 305 B.C.): Bactrian lord and father of Roxane, supported Bessus in 330–329 B.C. After Alexander captured the Sogdian Rock in 327 B.C., Oxyartes submitted. He was promoted to satrap of Parapamisadae, which he held to his death shortly before 305 B.C.

Pammenes (d. c. 353 B.C.): A talented general and protégé of Epaminondas. He hosted Philip II, who was sent as a hostage to Thebes in c. 368–364 B.C. Pammenes distinguished himself in the Peloponnesian campaign in 370–369 B.C. and commanded Boeotian forces in the Third Sacred War in 355–354 B.C., defeating Philomelus at Neon. In 354–353 B.C., he commanded 5,000 Boeotian hoplites sent to assist the rebel satrap Artabazus. Pammenes was arrested and apparently executed on orders of Artabazus.

Parmenio (c. 400–330 B.C.): Macedonian noble and most trusted general of Philip II, was ordered to secure the bridgehead in Asia Minor in 336–335 B.C. Parmenio, loyal to Alexander the Great, commanded the left wing at the Battles of Granicus, Issus, and Gaugamela. His sons Philotas and Nicanor commanded the Companion cavalry and hypaspists, respectively. In Arrian's account, Parmenio is presented as the cautious foil to Alexander, but the senior general was respected for his ability and loyalty. In 330 B.C., he took charge of the treasury of 180,000 talents and garrison at Ecbatana. When his son Philotas was executed for treason, Alexander ordered the judicial murder of Parmenio lest the senior general raise a rebellion.

Parysatis: A younger daughter of Darius III, married Alexander the Great in 324 B.C. *See* **Statira**.

Patrocles (c. 312–261 B.C.): Macedonian general and navigator, explored the Caspian Sea on order of Seleucus I. In c. 280 B.C., Patrocles proved the Caspian Sea was a great inland lake that did not flow into a great eastern ocean. Strabo cited his account.

Pausanias (c. 64–120 A.D.): Geographer and local historian, wrote a *Description of Greece* in ten books with a wealth of information about local shrines, cults, and traditions of the Greek world.

Pausanias of Orestis (d. 336 B.C.): Macedonian noble and assassin of Philip II, was disgraced by Attalus, a leading general of Philip II, failed to receive satisfaction for his humiliation. At Aegeae in 336 B.C., Pausanias slew Philip II, but while making his escape Pausanias was killed by Leonnatus and Perdiccas. The Lycenstrian brothers, Heromenes and Arrhabaeus, were executed for complicity; the third brother, Alexander, was pardoned. While

modern scholars suspect the complicity of Olympias or Alexander, none of the sources state this.

Peithon (c. 355–316 B.C.): Noble from Eordaea, was a bodyguard of Alexander the Great. Friend of Perdiccas, he was an able but arrogant officer who supported Perdiccas's bid for the throne and so was named satrap of Media at the Conference of Babylon in 323 B.C. In 321 B.C., he murdered Perdiccas and took charge of leading the army out of Egypt to Triparadisus. Satrap of Media since 323 B.C., Peithon effectively controlled the easternmost portions of the empire until he was arrested and executed by Antigonus.

Pelopidas (410–364 B.C.): Theban democratic politician and associate of Epaminondas, expelled the Spartan garrison on the citadel of Thebes in 379 B.C. and reorganized the Boeotian League. He was the political genius behind the Theban hegemony, and he fell at the Battle of Cynocephalae, in Thessaly in 364 B.C., defeating Alexander of Pherae.

Perdiccas (c. 365–321 B.C.): Son of Orontes, noble from Orestis, was a boyhood friend and bodyguard of Alexander. He was an able taxiarch who distinguished himself in the capture of siege of Thebes in 335 B.C. and operations in Bactria. After the death of Hephaestion (324 B.C.), he was appointed chiliarch, or chief administrator of the empire. In June 323 B.C., he could have taken the throne, but he adopted a compromise, thereby enabling his enemies Ptolemy, Antipater, Craterus, and Antigonus to form a coalition against him by late 322 B.C. In 321 B.C. he invaded Egypt to destroy Ptolemy, but Ptolemy's defense and a mutiny led to his murder by Peithon and Seleucus.

Perdiccas III (b. c. 380 B.C.; r. 368–359 B.C.): Argead king of Macedon, was the second son of Amyntas III and Eurydice. He and 4,000 Macedonians were slain in battle against Bardylis, king of the Illlyrians.

Perseus (b. 212 B.C.; r. 179–167 B.C.): Antigonid king of Macedon, the dashing son of Philip V, posed as a new Alexander the Great. The Roman Senate, suspicious of the popular king, provoked the Third Macedonian War (172–168 B.C.). The consul Lucius Aemilius Paullus defeated Perseus at

Pydna in 168 B.C. The Macedonian kingdom was abolished in place of four autonomous republics in alliance with Rome.

Peucestas (c. 358–290 B.C.): Boyhood friend of Alexander the Great, was a trierarch of the fleet to the Hydaspes in 326 B.C. He and Leonnatus saved the wounded Alexander at the city of the Malli in 325 B.C. Peucestas was rewarded as a special eighth bodyguard (*somatophylax*). In 324 B.C., Peucestas, who took a Persian wife and adopted Persian manners, was appointed satrap of Persia. In 317–316 B.C. Peucestas sided with Eumenes of Cardia against Antigonus, but he and Eumenes quarreled over strategy. After the Battle of Gabiene, Peucestas took service with Antigonus I, and the Demetrius Poliocretes.

Phalaecus (d. 343 B.C.): Elected supreme general of the Phocians in 351 B.C. With the treasures of Delphi exhausted, Phalaecus negotiated a surrender to Philip II that ended the Third Sacred War in 346 B.C. Phalaecrus and his mercenaries were hired by Cnossus in Crete, in a war against Lyttus, which hired Peloponnesian mercenaries under King Archidamus III. Phalaecus was defeated and killed at a siege of Cydonia.

Pharnabazus (d. c. 373 B.C.): The Persian satrap of northwestern Asia Minor in 413–395 B.C. with his capitals at Dascylium and Gordion. He cooperated with the Spartans.

Pharnabazus (c. 370–320 B.C.): Persian noble, son of Artabazus, was the brother-in-law of Memnon of Rhodes and succeeded to command of the Persian fleet in August 333 B.C. He secured Tenedos, Samothrace, Siphnos, and Andros, reoccupied Miletus, and entered into negotiations with King Agis III of Sparta. When the news of the defeat of Darius III at Issus reached the Aegean, Pharnabazus withdrew. His fleet defected to Alexander the Great. In 330 B.C., he and his father Artabazus submitted to Alexander in Hyrcania.

Phayllus (d. 351 B.C.): Son of Euthycrates, was elected supreme general of the Phocians after the death of his brother Onomarchus. He garrisoned Thermopylae and so checked the advance of Philip II in 352 B.C. In 351 B.C., he invaded the Peloponnesus to assist Sparta, but he died of illness.

Phila: Daughter of Antipater. *See also* **Euryidice.**

Philetaeru (b. c. 343 B.C.; r. 281–263 B.C.): Ruler of Pergamum, Paphlagonian eunuch, served Antigonus I, and then Lysimachus, who entrusted Philetaerus with the citadel of Pergamum and a treasury of 9,000 talents. In 282 B.C., Philetaerus deserted to Seleucus and was confirmed in his position. As a Seleucid agent, Philetaerus expanded his control over the Caicus valley and transmitted his position to nephew Eumenes I.

Philip (d. 326 B.C.; r. 326–327 B.C.): Macedonian noble of Elimeia and son of Machatas, was appointed the first satrap of India, ruling from Taxila He was assassinated by his mercenaries, and Eudamus was appointed the new satrap. He was the brother of Haraplus.

Philip II (r. 359–336 B.C.): Argead king of Macedon, a brilliant king of Macedon in is own right, was the father of Alexander the Great. Philip transformed Macedon into the leading Hellenic power. In 357 B.C., he seized Amphipolis, and henceforth was at war with Athens. In 353 B.C., he intervened unsuccessfully in Thessaly against the Phocians, but in 352 B.C. defeated the Phocians at Crocus Plain and was elected *tagos* of the Thessalian League. His conquests in Thessaly and Thrace alarmed Olynthus, which allied with Athens. In 349–348, Philip conquered the Chalcidice. Athens was compelled to conclude with Philip the Peace of Philocrates in 346 B.C., and Philip ended the Third Sacred War soon after by separate peace. After 343 B.C., Philip clashed repeatedly with the Athenians, inspired the orator Demosthenes. In 338 B.C., he defeated the coalition army of Athens and Thebes at the Battle of Chaeronea and so united the Greek city-states into the League of Corinth. He was assassinated before he could lead his war against Persia.

Philip had seven wives. In 359 or 358 B.C., he married Phila, daughter of the noble Derdas II of Elimaea and Audata, an Illyrian princess (by whom he had a daughter Cynane). In 358 B.C., he married Philinna of Larissa, mother of Philip III Arrhidaeus. In 356 B.C., he married **Olympias**, daughter of the Molossian King Neoptolemus of Epirus. She was Philip's queen and mother of Alexander the Great and Cleopatra. In 352, he married Nicesipolis of Pherae, mother of **Thessalonice.** In 339 B.C., he married Medea, princess of

the Getae. In 337 B.C., Philip repudiated Olympias and married **Cleopatra Eurydice** (d. 336 B.C.), niece of Attalus. Justin and Satyrus report that Cleopatra had two children, a daughter Europa and son Caranus, who were murdered on orders of Olympias in 336 B.C.

Philip III Arrhidaeus (b. c. 357–317 B.C.; r. 323–317 B.C.): The retarded son of Philip II and Philinna of Larissa, a Thessalian aristocrat. Olympias is reputed to have fed him poisoned mushrooms when Philip was a child so as to stunt his intellect. In 323 B.C. the Macedonian phalanx at Babylon unexpectedly declared him king. In 322 B.C. he was married to Eurydice, who managed her husband until their deaths in 317 B.C.

Philip IV (297 B.C.): King of Macedon, oldest son of Cassander and Thessalonice, ruled briefly after his father's death and died prematurely of illness.

Philip V (b. 238 B.C.; r. 221–179 B.C.): Antigonid king of Macedon, son of Demetrius II and Chryseis, succeeded his stepfather Antigonus Doson (229–221 B.C.). Philip, known for his acid wit and ambitious plans, fought the Greek states in the Social War (220–217 B.C.). In 215 B.C., he allied with the Carthaginian general Hannibal in Italy, and so Philip battled Rome, supported by the Aetolians, Athens, and Attalus I of Pergamum, in the First Macedonian War (215–205 B.C.). Rome again declared war on Philip V in Second Macedonian War (200–196 B.C.). In 197 B.C., Titus Quinctius Flamininus defeated Philip at Cynocephalae and so broke Macedonian power.

Philip of Acarnania: Physician and friend to Alexander the Great, cured Alexander from the fever contracted after the king had swum in the cold waters of the Cyndus in 333 B.C. Alexander drank the medicinal potion after handing to Philip a letter from Parmenio warning the king that Philip was bribed to poison the king. Philip extracted the arrow from Alexander's shoulder during the siege of Gaza in 323 B.C.

Philocrates (b. c.385 B.C.; d. after 343 B.C.): Athenian orator and politician, favored peace with Philip II after the fall of Olynthus. In 347–346 B.C., he headed the first Athenian embassy to negotiate a settlement with Philip II that

ended in the Peace of Philocrates in 346 B.C. Aeschines and Demosthenes each objected to concessions in the initial peace. Philocrates was impeached by Demosthenes in 343 B.C. on grounds of bribery on the second embassy sent to secure Philip's ratification of the peace. Philocrates chose exile to execution.

Philomelus (d. 354 B.C.): Son of Theotimus, was the supreme general (*strategos autokrator*) of the Phocians in the Third Sacred War (355–346 B.C.). In summer 356 B.C., countered an ultimatum from the Boeotians and Thessalians by occupying Delphi and using the treasures to hire 5,000 mercenaries. Athens and Sparta concluded alliances with Phocis. The Amphictyony declared a sacred war on the Phocians in fall 355 B.C. In 354 B.C., Philomelus was defeated and killed at the Battle of Neon.

Philotas (c. 370–330 B.C.): Son of Parmenio, was promoted to command of the Companion cavalry in 336 B.C. Philotas distinguished himself in 334–331 B.C., but he was noted for his boastful self-importance. Craterus and Hephaestion each viewed Philotas as a rival. In autumn, Philotas was arrested and convicted for failure to bring a conspiracy to the attention of Alexander. Philotas, after his conviction, might well have denounced the king's policies. The execution of Philotas compelled Alexander to order the judicial murder of Parmenio.

Phocion the Good (c. 402–318 B.C.): Athenian general, was respected for his frugal habits and loyalty. He was elected to a record forty-five generalships. Phocion was conservative in his politics and meticulous in his military operations. He served as a junior officer under Chabrias. In 351–349 B.C., he served as mercenary commander for King Artaxerxes III in the campaign to subdue Cyprus. He distinguished himself twice in Euboea, in 348 and 341 B.C. He commanded the Athenian relief force to Byzantium in 340 B.C. Phocion favored peace with Macedon. In 335 B.C., he secured for Athens generous terms from Alexander the Great. Phocion opposed the Lamian War and represented Athens to Antipater in 322 B.C. The Athenians blamed Phocion for the harsh terms imposed by Antipater. In 319 B.C., Phocion urged an alliance with Cassander, but Polyperchon occupied Athens and ordered the execution of Phocion.

Phoebidas: Spartan officer, seized the Cadmea, acropolis of Thebes in 382 B.C., while en route to Olynthus. He was acquitted for misconduct by the intervention of King Agesilaus II.

Phraates III (r. 70–58 B.C.): Arsacid king of Parthia, exploited the wars between Rome and Mithridates VI so that he occupied and consolidated Parthian rule over Mesopotamia.

Phrataphernes (d. 316 B.C.): Persian noble and satrap of Parthyae and Hyrcania under Darius III 336–330 B.C.), fought at the Battle of Gaugamela. After the death of Darius III, Phrataphernes submitted to Alexander the Great, and was confirmed in his satrapy (330–321 B.C.). He participated in the Bactria, Sogdian, and Indian campaigns. In 330 B.C., he, along with Erigyius and Caranus, defeated the rebel satrap Satibarzanes of Areia. In 328–327 B.C., he punished the rebel Autophrades, satrap of the Mardians and Tapurians.

Pindar (522–443 B.C.): A Boeotian lyric poet. His victory odes to victors in the Olympic or Nemean games are masterpieces of verse and imagery. The odes of Pindar reflect the Greek aristocratic society. Out of respect for the poet, Alexander the Great spared the home of Pindar when Thebes was sacked in 335 B.C.

Pixodarus (340–334 B.C.): Hecatomnid dynast of Caria and satrap, was the third son of Hecatomnus. Pixodarus expelled Queen Ada from Halicarnassus and ruled as satrap. In 337 B.C., he sought a matrimonial alliance with Philip II, offered his daughter to Philip Arrhidaeus. On his own initiative, Alexander, resentful of what he perceived to be a slight by his father, offered himself in marriage. The irate Philip banished Alexander's friends from court and cancelled the alliance.

Plutarch of Chaeronea (c. 46–120 A.D.): Philosopher and biographer, was a native of Chaeronea, in Boeotia. Plutarch was a prodigious scholar, writing the parallel biographies of noble Greeks and Romans, which are invaluable sources for the leading figures of the 4th century B.C. as well as preserving a wealth of information on the Hellenistic world. He also wrote important Middle Platonic philosophical works.

Pnytagoras (c. r. 351–332 B.C.): King of Salamis, Cyprus submitted to Alexander the Great, and brought his fleet into action against Tyre in 332 B.C.

Polyaenus: Macedonian rhetorician who wrote in Greek *Stratagems* (in eight books) which was dedicated to the Roman emperors Marcus Aurelius (161–180) and Lucius Verus (161–169). The work contains many anecdotes about commanders in Antiquity.

Polybius (c. 203–120 B.C.): Historian and statesman of the Achaean League, was a native of Megalopolis in the Peloponnesus. In 168 B.C, he was deported to Rome because he had supported King Perseus of Macedon. As an honored prisoner, Polybius attached himself the circle of Publius Cornelius Scipio Aemilianus, and wrote a insightful history explaining the rise of Roman power. But he is a major source for Hellenic history and provided an invaluable summary of Callisthenes's account of the Battle of Issus in 333 B.C.

Polyidus of Thessaly: Military engineer of Philip II, devised covered battering rams (*poliorceticus krios*) and the great movable tower or Helepolis. His battering rams were first used at the siege of Byzantium in 340 B.C.

Polyperchon (c. 394–303 B.C.): Son of Simmias was a Macedonian noble. He was a tough veteran of Philip II, who commanded a regiment (*taxis*) of Alexander's phalanx. He was popular with the men. In 319 B.C. Antipater named Polyperchon as his successor, but Polyperchon lacked the political tack to run Greece and the prestige to hold together the empire. Cassander drove Polyperchon out of Macedon in 319–317 B.C. so that Polyperchon was reduced to several strongholds in the Peloponnesus. In 309 B.C., he allied with Antigonus and championed Heracles, illegitimate son of Alexander and Barsine. But Polyperchon struck a deal with Cassander (after deserting the Antigonid cause) and agreed to rule as Cassander's *strategos* over the Peloponnesus. Barsine and Heracles were surrendered to Cassander and executed.

Pompeius Trogus: Gnaeus Pompeius Trogus, was a Latin writer and native of Gallia Narbonensis of the first century B.C. He wrote a Macedonian history in 42 books, *Historiae Philippicae*. He made use of the works of Theopompus, Ephorus, and Polybius. His work has survived in an epitome by Justin. *See* **Justin**.

Porus (d. 317 B.C.): The Pauravas rajah, ruled a kingdom between the Hydaspes (Jhelum) and Acesines (Chenab) rivers in the Punjab. In June 326 B.C., he was defeated and captured by Alexander at the Battle of the Hydaspes. Alexander restored Porus to his kingdom, and Porus provided elephants and 5,000 men for Alexander's campaign to the Hyphasis (Beas). Porus ruled as a Macedonian vassal until 317 B.C., when he was assassinated on orders of the Seleucid general Eudemus or the Mauryan emperor Chandragupta.

Ptolemy I (b. c. 367; r. 305–283 B.C.): Son of Lagus and Arsinoe I, was a boyhood friend and bodyguard of Alexander. He served brilliantly in Sogdiana in 328–327 B.C. and in India. In 323 B.C., he shrewdly took Egypt as his satrapy, and so he aimed for partition. He opposed Perdiccas (323–321 B.C.) and then Antigonus (315–301 B.C.) as agents of unity. After Ipsus in 301 B.C., Ptolemy went on to build a great state including Egypt, Coele-Syria, Cyrene, Cyprus, the Nesiotic League, and Greek cities of southern Asia Minor. An accomplished author, he wrote a history of Alexander the Great which was the main source for Arrian. Ptolemy founded the cult of Serapis and patronized Greek culture. An efficient administrator, but average general, he studiously avoided battle whenever possible. He alone survived to die at an advanced age in his bed and was deified.

Ptolemy II Philadelphus (b. 308 B.C.; r. 283–246 B.C.): Son of Ptolemy I and Berenice, was elevated as joint king with his father in 285 B.C. He created the efficient Ptolemaic administration and tax system of Egypt. Despite his physical weakness, he conducted a successful foreign policy in Greece, Syria, and the wider Hellenic world. In c. 275 B.C., he married his sister Arsinoe II, whose influence over Ptolemy II is exaggerated. Ptolemy built the famous lighthouse of Alexandria (Pharos), the museum, and the library.

Ptolemy III Euergetes (b. c. 285 B.C.; r. 246–221 B.C.): Son of Ptolemy I and Arsinoe I, was the greatest warrior of the dynasty, winning the Third Syrian War (246–241 B.C.) and so extending Ptolemaic naval domination in the eastern Mediterranean. In 244 B.C., he married Berenice II (267–221 B.C.), daughter of Magas of Cyrene and so acquired Cyrene.

Ptolemy IV Philopator (b. c. 240 B.C.; r. 221–205 B.C.): Son of Ptolemy III and Berenice II, proved a lazy, depraved king. In 217 B.C., his minister Sosibius fielded an Egyptian phalanx of 20,000 men and so defeated the Seleucid King Antiochus III at Raphia. The victory proved a pyrrhic one because the Egyptians in the Thebaid rose in rebellion, and Ptolemaic power declined rapidly.

Ptolemy V Epiphanes (b. c. 210 B.C.; r. 205–181 B.C.): Son of Ptolemy IV and Arsinoe III, succeeded at age five. At the Battle of Panium in 200 B.C., Antiochus III defeated the Ptolemaic army and occupied Ptolemaic Levantine and Anatolian possessions. The king is best remembered for the edict preserved on the Rosetta Stone in 196 B.C.

Ptolemy Ceraunus (d. 279 B.C.; r. 281–279 B.C.): "The Thunderbolt" and king of Macedon, was the son of Ptolemy I and Eurydice. He left Alexandria for the court of Lysimachus in c. 285 B.C. and joined the faction of Agathocles and his wife Lysandra. In 283/2 B.C., he fled to Seleucus and helped convince him to invade Asia Minor. In 281 B.C. he murdered Seleucus, declared himself king of Macedon and married his half-sister, Arsinoe II (whom he then tried to murder). He fell fighting the Gauls in the winter of 279 B.C.

Pyrrhus (319–272 B.C.): Known as "the Red King." He was the son of King Aeacidas of Epirus (331–317 B.C.) and ruled as a minor under regents (307–302 B.C.) until he was expelled by Cassander. Initially linked to Demetrius by an alliance (for his sister Deidamia married Demetrius I), he was sent to Egypt as a hostage by Demetrius in c. 299 B.C. With Ptolemaic support, Pyrrhus returned to Epirus in 296 B.C. and spent the next twenty-years trying to regain his lost heritage of Macedon, contesting Demetrius Poliorcetes, Lysimachus, and Antigonus II Gonatas. In 280–275 B.C., Pyrrhus intervened to aid Taras (Tarentum) in southern Italy against the Romans. His costly

victories over the Romans gave rise to the phrase "pyrrhic victory." Upon his return to Greece, he warred against Antigonus II, and he met his death street fighting in Argos in 272 B.C.

Pytheas of Massilia: Greek navigator, writer, and explorer of Northern Europe in c. 315–310 B.C., visited Gaul, Britian, and Thule or the northern Norwegian coast of Halogaland and the Lofoten islands. He gives the first accurate information on Scandinavia. He also calculated the attitude of the sun, latitudes, and the angle of the poles, and he noted the action of the moon on causing the tides.

Python of Byzantium: Greek diplomat and student of Isocrates, took service at the court of Pella in the 350s B.C. Python represented Philip at both the Peace of Philocrates and in the negotiations over the Epanorthosis in 343 B.C.

Roxane (c. 343–310 B.C.): Daughter of the Bactrian lord Oxyartes, married Alexander the Great in 327 B.C. and bore Alexander IV in 323 B.C. She was a pawn in the hands of Perdiccas, Antipater, Polyperchon, and finally Cassander. Cassander ordered her death in 310 B.C.

Sambus: Sanskrit Sambhu, king of the lower Indus, ruled from Sindimana (modern Sehwan). He joined in the rebellion of Musicanus and the Brahmins in 325 B.C. He escaped from Harmatelia, and his fate is unknown.

Satibarzanes (d. 330 B.C.): A Persian noble and satrap of Areia under Darius III (336–330 B.C.). In 330 B.C., he slew Darius III at Hectamopylus, but he submitted to Alexander the Great and was confirmed in his satrapy. Satibarzanes, receiving 2,000 cavalry from Bessus, rebelled when Alexander had departed for Drangiana. Erigyius and Caranus, along with Artabazus, were detached to crush the revolt. Erigyius slew Satibarzanes in single combat.

Scylax of Caryanda: A Carian skipper commissioned by King Darius I to navigate the Indus River in 515–513 B.C. Scylax sailed from Caspatyrus in Gandhara down the Indus into the Erythaean Sea (Indian Ocean) and then along the southern shores of Arabia into the Red Sea and thence to Suez. His

voyage proved the Indus did not flow into the Nile. A *periplus* composed in the 3rd century B.C. was attributed to Scylax and used by Strabo.

Seleucus I Nicantor (b. 358 B.C.; r. 305–281 B.C.): Had an undistinguished career under Alexander the Great and, in 323 B.C., he received only command of the cavalry. He aided Peithon in the murder of Perdiccas and was thus rewarded with the satrapy of Babylon. He refused to submit to Antigonus in 315 B.C. and fled to Ptolemy. After the Battle of Gaza, Seleucus, with a flying column, audaciously retook Babylon and consolidated his hold over Iran despite efforts by Antigonus to destroy him in 311–308 B.C. At Ipsus he held the center and defeated Antigonus. In 301 B.C., he built his new capital at Antioch, in Syria, and shifted the locus of his empire to the west. After the Battle of Corupedium (281 B.C.), Seleucus occupied Asia Minor, but he was murdered by Ptolemy Ceraunus as soon as he landed in Europe.

Seusippus (c. 407–339 B.C.): An Athenian philosopher and nephew of Plato and scholarch of the Academy (347–339 B.C.). He rejected the theory of forms proposed by Plato and was known for his works on ethics and metaphysics.

Seuthes III (c. 330–300 B.C.): Tributary king of the Odrysians in Thrace who rebelled against Alexander the Great in 325 B.C. Antipater crushed the revolt, but Seuthes later defied Lysimachus, satrap of Thrace, and so allied with Antigonus. In 320 B.C., Seuthes relocated its capital to a new city Seuthopolis (modern Kazanluk).

Simonides of Ceos (556–468 B.C.): Lyric poet, was patronized by Hipparchus, tyrant of Athens (526–514 B.C.), the Aleuadae of Larissa in Thessaly, and after 490 B.C. by Hiero I, tyrant of Syracuse. His odes praise athletic victors and the gods. In 477 B.C., he celebrated the fallen at the Battle of Plataea in an ode recently recovered and published.

Sisygambis (d. 323 B.C.): Daughter of King Artaxerxes II, married Arsames of Ostanes, and their son was Darius III. She, along with Statira, the wife of Darius III, and her grandchildren were captured by Alexander the Great after Issus. She never forgave Darius III for his desertion and so refused to

be rescued when Persians plundered Alexander's camp at Gaugamela. She starved herself to death in grief over the death of Alexander.

Sphodrias: Spartan officer and harmost at Thespiae, failed to seize the Piraeus, port of Athens, by a night attack in 379 B.C. The outraged Athenian assembly supported Phoebidas and the democrats of Thebes to overthrow Spartan rule in Boeotia. Sphodrias was acquitted of misconduct by the intervention of King Agesilaus II.

Spitamenes (c. 370–328 B.C.): A Sogdian lord (c. 370–328 B.C.) who supported Bessus in 330–329 B.C. But he betrayed Bessus to Alexander the Great. Spitamenes headed the rebellion that erupted in the Upper Satrapies when Alexander founded Alexandria Eschate on the Jaxartes River. In 329 B.C., Sptiamenes inflicted the only serious defeat suffered by Alexander's army against a detachment of the Polytimetus River. In 328 B.C., Coenus defeated Spitamenes at Gabae so that Spitamenes was betrayed and murdered by his followers. His daughter Apame married Seleucus Nicanor in 324 B.C.

Spithridates (d. 334 B.C.): Or Spithrobates, was a Persian satrap of Lydia. In the cavalry battle at the Grancius, he raised his sword to slay Alexander the Great, but Cleitus the Black intervened, and severed Spithridates's right arm. The satrap fell mortally wounded.

Stasansor of Soli (d. 316 B.C.): A Greek mercenary officer who joined Alexander's army in 333 B.C. In 327 B.C., he and the Persian noble Phrataphernes commanded the detachment that crushed the revolt of Arsamens, satrap of Areia, in 329 B.C. Stasanor was appointed first satrap of Areia and then transferred to Drangiana furnished supplies and camels for the return march in 324 B.C. In 321–316 B.C., he was satrap of Sogdiana.

Statira (c. 340–322 B.C.): Also known as Barsine, daughter of King Darius III and the elder Queen Statira, was captured by Alexander the Great after the Battle of Issus in 333 B.C. She and her Drypetis were educated as Macedonians at Susa in 330–324 B.C. In 324, Statira (along with a younger sister Parysatis) married Alexander and her sister Drypetis married

Hephaestion. She was murdered on orders of Perdiccas, perhaps because she was with child and perceived as a threat to Roxane and Alexander IV.

Strabo of Amasia (c. 64 B.C.–24 A.D.): Geographer and philosopher, traveled widely in the Roman world. He wrote a history (now lost) and Geographica (in 17 books) that is an invaluable source that quotes many otherwise lost works.

Stratonice (c. 317–250 B.C.): Seleucid Queen, was the daughter of Demetrius Poliorcetes and Phila. She married Seleucus I in c. 300 B.C. In 294 B.C., Seleucus divorced Strationice when he learned that his son Antiochus I was in love with his stepmother. Antiochus I married Stratonice, and their son Antiochus II succeeded. Antiochus I founded the city Stratonicea in Caria in honor of his wife.

Taxiles: Was the ruler of Taxila (Sanskrit Takshashila) in Gandhara) from at least c. 330 B.C. His personal name was Omphis (Sanskrit Ambhi). Taxiles invited Alexander the Great into India and provided elephants, soldiers, and supplies to the Macedonian army. He had died by 317 B.C. because the Thracian commander Eudamus ruled Taxila.

Teos (r. 360–362 B.C.): Or Tachos, Pharaoh of Egypt, was the elder son and successor of Nectanebo I. He was overthrew by his brother Nectanebo II with a mercenary army commanded by Agesilaus II. Teos fled to King Artaxerxes II of Persia.

Thais: Athenian courtesan (*hetaira*) and mistress of Ptolemy, convinced Alexander and his friends, drunk from symposium, to burn the palace of Persepolis in 330 B.C.

Theophrastus (371–297 B.C.): Peripatetic philosopher and a native of Eresus on the island Lesbos, succeeded to the Lyceum of Aristotle. He wrote works on logic, botany, physics, and ethics. His students included Demetrius of Phaleron and the comic poet Menander. Theophtrastus wrote a eulogy to his friend Callisthenes, the historian, and so ensured the condemnation of Alexander as a tyrant by later philosophical writers.

Theopompus (b. c. 378 B.C.): Historian and native of Chios, composed a *Hellenica*, or history of Greece, from 411 to 394 B.C. Some scholars identify the fragmentary *Hellenica Oxyrrhynica* as portions of this lost work. Theopompus also wrote a now lost *Philippica*, an account of the reign of King Philip II of Macedon (359–336 B.C.). He was a student of Isocrates, and so knew the leading political and literary figures at Athens. Through Alexander's influence, Theopompus returned to settle at Chios in 333 B.C. His work was used by Pompeius Trogus, and so indirectly by Justin. Plutarch and the rhetorician Athenaeus of Naucratis also cite the *Philippica*.

Thessalonice (351–295 B.C.): Daughter of Philip II and the Thessalian aristocrat Nicesipolis, she married Cassander in 316 B.C. and bore him three sons: Philip IV, Antipater II, and Alexander V. After the deaths of Cassander and Philip IV in 297–296 B.C., she ruled as regent of Macedon, but she foolishly favored her youngest son, Alexander V, thereby precipitating a civil war that opened Macedon to conquest by Demetrius Poliorcetes. She was murdered by her second son Antipater II.

Thibron (d. 391 B.C.): Spartan commander. In 399 B.C., he commanded the Peloponnesian army sent to defend the Ionian cities against Persia. He enlisted 6,000 veterans of the Ten Thousand. His indifferent command led to his recall in 398 B.C. In 391 B.C., Thibron was killed in a punitive expedition against Struthas, satrap of Sardis.

Timotheus (c. 410–354 B.C.): Son of Conon, proved an able commander and loyal Athenians, but was aloof and even arrogant in his manner. He was political ally to his mentor Isocrates. Between 378 and 356 B.C., he was elected general (*strategos*). He commanded expeditions to Corcyra in 373 B.C. and to the Chalcidice and Hellespont in 365-363. Twice, in 365 and in 364–363, he unsuccessfully besieged Amphipolis. He clashed with Chares over strategy in the Social War (357–355 B.C.). Timotheus, Iphicrates, and Menestheus failed to support Chares at the Battle of Embata in 356 B.C. Chares, blaming the defeat on his colleagues, brought suit against all three generals. Only Timotheus was convicted and fined 100 talents, and so went into voluntary exile.

Tissaphernes (d. 395 B.C.): Persian satrap of Sardes from 413 B.C., sought to exploit the war between Sparta and Athens. In 412 B.C., he secured under the Treaty of Miletus the Ionian cities in return for financial assistance to the Spartan fleet. In 407 B.C., Cyrus the Younger replaced Tissaphernes, who relocated to Nysa in the Maeander valley. His embarrassing defeats at the hands of Agesilaus II in 396–395 B.C. led to the satrap's assassination.

Trajan (r. 98–117 A.D.): Roman emperor was adopted by Nerva (96–98 A.D.), and hailed the best of emperors (*optimus princeps*). By his conquests of Dacia, Armenia, and Mesopotamia, Trajan expanded the Roman Empire to its greatest extent. Trajan inspired Arrian to write his Anabasis on Alexander the Great. And in his Parthian War (114–117 A.D.), Trajan compared his exploits to those of Alexander.

Vima Kadphises (r. 78–126 A.D.): Kushan emperor, extended his sway over northwestern India. He promoted the trade along the Silk Road and minted the first gold coins featuring Hindu and Buddhist types. His reign witnessed the brilliant Greco-Buddhist sculptures of Gandhara.

Xenophon (427–355 B.C.): Athenian mercenary general, historian, and philosopher, was a student of Socrates and friend of King Agesilaus II of Sparta. Xenophon, who served with Cyrus the Younger, recorded the march of the Ten Thousand (401–399 B.C.) in his *Anabasis*. Xenophon wrote a narrative Greek history, *Hellenica*, covering 411–362 B.C. that lacks the precision and insight of Thucydides's work. His *Cyropaedia* (Education of Cyrus) and *Agesilaus* are also important historical sources. He also penned technical military works, philosophical dialogues, and apology for Socrates at his trial in 399 B.C. The *Constitution of the Spartans* and *Constitution of the Athenians*, attributed to Xenophon, were penned by authors using his name as pseudonym.

Xerxes (r. 486–465 B.C.): Achaemenid king of Persia, invaded Greece in 480 B.C. and suffered a decisive defeat at the Battle of Salamis that compromised the integrity of his empire. The Athenian tragedian Aeschylus produced the *Persians* (472 B.C.) dramatizing the defeat of Xerxes as a tragic hero.

Zeno of Caunus: Son of Agregophon, was secretary to the financial minister in the reigns of Ptolemy II (283–246 B.C.) and Ptolemy III (246–222 B.C.). Zeno left an archive of over 2,000 letters and documents that is the major source for Ptolemaic administration.

Zeno of Citium (334–262 B.C.): Founder of Stoic philosophy, preached a doctrine of *apatheia* or detachment from emotion to achieve a harmonious life. Zeno based his views on a rational cosmology directed by the Logos, identified with Zeus or Jupiter, whose "spark" was within and animated all beings.

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