



EDITED BY WALDEMAR HECKEL AND LAWRENCE A. TRITLE

ALEXANDER THE GREAT A NEW HISTORY



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Contents

List of Figures

List of Contributors

Chronology

Preface and Acknowledgments

Abbreviations

Journal and Serial Abbreviations

Map

Introduction

I
II

1 The Macedonian Background

Michael Zahrnt

2 Alexander's Conquest of Asia

Waldemar Heckel

3 The Diadochi, or Successors to Alexander

Patrick Wheatley

4 A King and His Army

Waldemar Heckel

5 The Court of Alexander the Great as Social System

Gregor Weber

Concept of the Court and Terminology

Alexander's Court at the Start of the Persian Campaign

Balance: Factors of the Evolution

6 Alexander and the Greeks

Elisabetta Poddighe

Alexander's Accession to Leadership of the Corinthian League

The Lawful Inheritance

The Panhellenic Crusade and

Acknowledgment of Hegemony over Greece

From Corinth 337 to Corinth 336: The Letter and the Spirit of the Agreements with Alexander

Alexander and the Greeks of the Corinthian League in the Context of the Persian War

Panhellenism and the Exercise of

Hegemony against Theban Resistance

Alexander's Exercise of Absolute

Sovereignty after his Departure for Asia

The Hegemon and the Allies Chios and Lesbos after their Defection from the Accords: The Imposition of Democracies and Readmission to the League
The “New” Peloponnesian Tyrants and Loyalty to the Corinthian Accords
Anti-Macedonian Resistance during Alexander’s Absence
After Gaugamela: Alexander, the League, and “Greek Freedom”
The Exiles’ Decree, Greek Freedom, and the Corinthian League
Athens, Samos, and Greek Freedom

7 Alexander and the Greeks

Lawrence A. Tritle

Artists and Athletes with Alexander
Soldiers, Bureaucrats, and Alexander
The Problem of Macedonian Friends and Enemies
Conclusions

8 The Empire of Darius III in Perspective

Pierre Briant

1 Sources and Problems: The Empire in Short- and Middle-Term Perspective
2 From Bactria to Idumea

*3 From Halicarnassus to Sidon, via Xanthus
and Tarsus: Two Achaemenid Satraps
between Artaxerxes III and Darius III*

*4 At the Empire's Center: Indications of
Dynastical and Imperial Continuity*

*5 From Darius to Alexander: Empire(s) in
Transition*

*9 Alexander and the Persian Empire,
between "Decline" and "Renovation"*

Pierre Briant

I

II

III

IV

*10 Alexander and his "Terrible
Mother"*

Elizabeth D. Carney

11 Alexander's Sex Life

Daniel Ogden

Alexander's Girls

Alexander's Boys

12 Heroes, Cults, and Divinity

Boris Dreyer

Asia Minor and Aegean Islands

The Greek Mainland

13 Alexander's Image in the Age of the Successors

Alexander Meeus

14 Roman Alexanders:

Diana Spencer

**Introduction: Reception and Knowledge:
Making Up Alexander**

**Being Alexander the Great - A Roman
Complex?**

**Pompey and the Beginning of the End
Caesar and Crassus**

**Antony and Augustus: From Republic to
Empire**

Germanicus: The Perfect Prince

**Caligula, Nero, and Domitian: Alexander the
Degenerate Despot**

Trajan and Hadrian: Parthia and Civilization

**Authorial (Self-)Fashioning and Making
History: Callisthenes and Rome**

Alexander and the Sum of All Knowledge

15 The Construction of a New Ideal

Catie Mihalopoulos

**Lysippan Portraits of Alexander the Great
Images of Alexander by Apelles**

Varia and Concluding Remarks

16 Power, Passion, and Patrons

E. J. Baynham

Bibliography

Index

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A New History

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Figures

- [1.1](#) Bust of Alexander the Great as a youth
- [2.1](#) Bronze equestrian statue of Alexander the Great, found at Herculaneum
- [2.2](#) The Alexander Mosaic, from the House of the Faun, Pompeii
- [2.3](#) The Alexander Sarcophagus: detail of a helmeted Alexander on horseback
- [2.4](#) The Alexander Sarcophagus: view of the entire sarcophagus
- [2.5](#) The Alexander Sarcophagus: view of the long battle side
- [8.1](#) Coin of Mazaeus/Mazday, struck at Tarsus
- [12.1](#) Shrine of the Bark: dedicatory inscription of Alexander the Great praising the god Amun-Ra
- [14.1](#) Pompey the Great
- [15.1](#) The Getty Alexander
- [15.2](#) Head of Alexander the Great: copy of original by Lysippus
- [15.3](#) Alexander from Pergamum
- [15.4](#) The Pella Alexander, from Gianitsa
- [15.5](#) Alexander the Great, so-called "Alexander Azara"
- [15.6](#) The Stag Hunt, Gnosis
- [15.7](#) Pseudo-athlete from Delos
- [15.8](#) Alexander Helios
- [15.9](#) Neisos Gem
- [16.1](#) Charles Le Brun, *The Family of Darius before Alexander* (detail)
- [16.2](#) Charles Le Brun, *The Triumph of Alexander*

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Chronology

All dates are BC unless indicated otherwise.

c.498– 454		Reign of Alexander I “Philhellene.”
c.454– 413		Reign of Perdiccas II.
413– 399		Reign of Archelaus I.
393– 369		Reign of Amyntas III.
360/59– 336		Reign of Philip II.
359– 338		Reign of Artaxerxes III of Persia.
357		Marriage of Philip II to Olympias of Epirus.
356		Philip founds Philippi. Victory at Olympic Games.
356	c. July 20	Birth of Alexander.
356– 346		Third Sacred War.
352		Philip acquires control of Thessaly.
348		Philip sacks Olynthus.
346		Peace of Philocrates. Philip celebrates Pythian Games.
344/3		Persia reconquers Egypt (in revolt since 404).
343		Aristotle tutors Alexander at Mieza.
342– 339		Philip gains control of Thrace.
340/39		Alexander, as regent during Philip’s absence at siege of Byzantium, defeats the Maedians and founds Alexandroupolis.
338	August	Philip defeats Greek coalition led by Athens and Thebes at Chaeroneia.
337	spring	Philip founds League of Corinth, is chosen leader of Panhellenic expedition against Persian empire.
336		Accession of Darius III of Persia. Philip dispatches forces under Parmenion to Asia Minor.
336	?Oct.	Philip assassinated at Aegae.
336– 323		Reign of Alexander III the Great.

336/5		Alexander recognized as Philip's successor as head of League of Corinth and commander of Persian expedition.
335	late spring	Alexander campaigns in Thrace against Triballi and in Danube region.
	June–Aug.	Campaigns against the Illyrian chieftains Cleitus and Glaucias.
	early Oct.	Destruction of Thebes.
334	spring	Alexander's army crosses into Asia.
	May	Battle of the river Granicus.
	May–Aug.	Campaigns in western Asia Minor; Greek-Macedonian fleet disbanded.
	Aug.–Sept.	Siege of Halicarnassus.
	autumn–winter	Campaigns in Caria, Lycia, Pamphylia.
333	spring	Advance to Great Phrygia (Gordian Knot incident).
	summer	To Ancyra, through Cilician Gates; to Tarsus and Soli.
	Nov.	Battle of Issus in Cilicia.
	Dec.	Parmenion captures Damascus.
332	Jan.–July/Aug.	Siege of Tyre.
	Sept.–Nov.	Siege of Gaza.
	Nov.	Alexander recognized as pharaoh of Egypt.
331	Jan.–Mar.	Foundation of (Egyptian) Alexandria (official "birthday" April 7).
		Consultation of oracle of Ammon at Siwah oasis.
	spring	From Memphis to Tyre, reorganization of financial administration.
	July–Aug.	To Thapsacus.
	autumn	"Battle of Mice" (Antipater defeats Spartan king, Agis III, at Megalopolis).
	Sept. 20	Evening eclipse of moon.
	Oct. 1	Battle of Gaugamela.
	Oct.–Dec.	Progress through Babylonia and Sittacene (military reorganization) to Persepolis (Uxian campaign and battle at the Persian Gates).
330	spring	Campaign in interior of Iran.
	Apr./May	Return to Persepolis, burning of palace, and departure for

		Media.
	early June	Allied Greek contingents dismissed at Ecbatana.
	June	To Rhagae (ancient Teheran) and Caspian Gates.
	July	Capture of Darius III's body. Advance to border of Hyrcania. Reception of Nabazarnes and Phrataphernes. Visit of the Amazon queen (alleged). Advance to Zadracarta. Alexander starts acting as Great King; adopts mixed oriental dress.
	Aug.	Toward Bactria, then diversion to Artacoana (Herat). Revolt of Satibarzanes.
	Sept.	Trial and execution of Philotas, followed by murder of Parmenion. Trial of Amyntas and his brothers.
	winter	Through land of Drangaeans and Ariasprians, into Arachosia; through Paropamisadae to foot of Hindu Kush.
330/29	winter	Foundation of Alexandria-by-the-Caucasus (near Begram and Charikar).
329	spring	Crossing of Hindu Kush, to Drapsaca (Kunduz) and Bactra; older men and Thessalian volunteers sent home. Crossing of Oxus river.
	summer	Capture of Bessus (Persian pretender) by Ptolemy; punishment of Bessus. Advance to Maracanda (Samarkand), summer capital of Sogdiana, to river Jaxartes (Syr-darya). Foundation of Alexandria Eschate (Khodjend). Revolt of local Scythian tribesmen and of Sogdians, campaign against defected Spitamenes.
329/8	winter	At Bactra Alexander receives embassies from Scythians and Chorasmians. Capture of the Rock of Sogdiana (Rock of Arimazes).
328	spring	Systematic pacification of Sogdiana begins; guerrilla warfare against Massagetae of Turkestan steppes and against Spitamenes.
	late summer	Return to Maracanda.
	Nov.	Alexander murders Cleitus at Maracanda. Spitamenes killed by Massagetae.
328/7	winter	Alexander quarters at Nautaca.
327	spring	Capture of Rock of Chorienes (Koh-i-Nor). Alexander marries Roxane, daughter of Oxyartes. Return to Bactria; defeat of last opposition. <i>Proskynesis</i> episode; Pages' Conspiracy; arrest and execution of Callisthenes.
	late spring	Departure from Bactria; recrossing of Hindu Kush to Alexandria by-the-Caucasus.

	late	Invasion of India begins.
327/6	winter	Alexander among the Assacenians (Swat and Buner); capture of Massaga. Advance to Indus river and Rock of Aornus (Pir-Sar).
326		Progress to Taxila
	May	Battle of the Hydaspes (Jhelum) against Porus (rajah of the Pauravas).
	May-June	Halt in Porus's kingdom.
	late June	Advance to Acesines river and Hyphasis (Beas) river. The army refuses to advance beyond the Hyphasis. Return to the Hydaspes. Death of Coenus. Fleets prepared.
	Nov.	Beginning of descent of Indus river system.
325		Reduction of Mallian tribe; near-fatal wounding of Alexander. Journey to the Indian Ocean.
	July	Pattala (?Hyderabad) reached.
	Aug.	Descent from Pattala begins.
	Aug.-Nov.	Approach to march through Gedrosian desert (Makran).
	Sept.	Alexander reaches Oreitae.
	Sept./Oct.	Nearchus leaves with fleet; Alexander marches through Gedrosia and reaches Pura.
	mid Dec.	Nearchus reaches Hormozeia (Hormuz).
	late Dec.	Alexander and Nearchus reunited in Carmania (?at Gulashird).
325/4	winter	Executions of satraps and generals; flight of Harpalus.
324	Jan.-Mar.	Nearchus leaves Hormozeia, then enters Arabian Gulf.
	?Jan.	Alexander reaches Pasargadae.
	Mar.	Alexander and Nearchus reunite at Susa.
	Apr.	Susa weddings. Paying off of soldiers' debts. Voyage up Tigris.
	June	Mutiny at Opis (Baghdad). Banquet of reconciliation.
	July	Harpalus arrives at Athens, hands over 700 talents.
	Aug.	Promulgation by Nicanor of Alexander's Exiles' Decree at Olympic Games.
	Oct.	Death of Hephaestion at Ecbatana.
324/3	winter	Campaign against Cossaeen nomads.
323	early	Alexander in Babylon. Preparations for Arabian expedition. Visits of Greek envoys acknowledging Alexander's divinity.
	June 11	Alexander dies at Babylon, aged nearly 33, having reigned just over twelve and a half years

- 323/2 Lamian War in Greece.
- 320 Political settlement at Triparadeisus (northern Syria).
- 319 Death of Antipater. Beginning of the struggle for power between Cassander and Polyperchon.
- 317 Deaths of Philip III and Adea-Eurydice. Eumenes betrayed to Antigonus at Gabiene; his death.
- 316 Death of Alexander's mother, Olympias.
- 310 Death of Alexander IV at Amphipolis.
- 306 Battle of Salamis. Antigonus and Demetrius assume the royal title; other Successors follow suit.
- 301 Battle of Ipsus. Death of Antigonus the One-Eyed.

Preface and Acknowledgments

One of the strengths of this volume is that it includes contributions by scholars outside the English-speaking world, whose views on the reign of Alexander often do not receive due notice and attention. The Editors are grateful to Al Bertrand and to Blackwell Publishing who realized that such contributions would enhance the volume's importance and so supported the work of our translators. We would thus like to acknowledge the following contributions: Dr. John Nicholson (Loyola University Chicago Rome Center) who translated Elisabetta Poddighe's chapter on Alexander and the Greeks; Dr. Reyes Bertolin-Cebrian (University of Calgary) who translated Gregor Weber's chapter on Alexander's court; Ms. Sandra Colantonio who translated Pierre Briant's discussion of the historiography of Alexander and the Persian empire. Their efforts were supported additionally by Anneli Purchase and Wouter Henkleman (P. Briant's assistant) who were no less important in this work.

The Editors are also grateful to Al Bertrand and Blackwell for their generous decision to illustrate this volume lavishly with some of the more important examples of the art and imagery of the reign of Alexander. Humberto DeLuigi at Art Resource New York located a number of the images illustrated here; his efforts were assisted by Blackwell's Leanda Shrimpton who found several others and arranged for the Charles Le Brun artwork as well.

Abbreviations

Names of ancient authors and titles of works are abbreviated after H. G. Liddell and R. Scott, *A Greek-English Lexicon*, 9th edn., rev. by Sir H. S. Jones and R. McKenzie (Oxford, 1940), pp. xvi-xxxviii, or as listed in *OCD*³ (cited below). For standard reference works, the usual abbreviations are followed, e.g., *CAH* = *Cambridge Ancient History*, ed. by J. B. Bury et al., 1st edn., 12 vols. (Cambridge, 1923-39; 2nd and 3rd editions in progress).

<i>ADAB</i>	J. Naveh and S. Shaked, <i>Aramaic Documents from Ancient Bactria</i> , Corpus Inscriptionum Iranicarum 1.V (London, 2009)
Austin	M. M. Austin, <i>The Hellenistic World from Alexander to the Roman Conquest</i> (Cambridge, 1981)
Beloch	K. J. Beloch, <i>Griechische Geschichte</i> , 2nd edn., 4 vols. (Strasbourg, Berlin, Leipzig, 1912-27)
Berve	H. Berve, <i>Das Alexanderreich auf topographischer Grundlage</i> , 2 vols. (Munich, 1926)
<i>BHach I</i>	P. Briant, <i>Bulletin d'Histoire Achéménide</i> , vol. i, <i>Topoi</i> suppl. 1 (1997), pp. 5-127
<i>BHach II</i>	P. Briant, <i>Bulletin d'histoire Achéménide</i> , vol. ii (Paris, 2001)
<i>CAH</i>	<i>Cambridge Ancient History</i>
<i>CAH2</i>	<i>Cambridge Ancient History</i> , 2nd edn.
<i>CDCC</i>	G. Shipley, J. Vanderspoel, D. Mattingly, and L. Foxhall (eds.), <i>The Cambridge Dictionary of Classical Civilization</i> (Cambridge, 200)
<i>CIG</i>	<i>Corpus Inscriptorium Graecarum</i> (Berlin, 1825-1977)
<i>FdX</i>	H. Metzger et al., <i>Fouilles de Xanthos</i> , vol. vi : <i>La stèle trilingue du Létôon</i> (Paris, 1973)
<i>FGrH</i>	F. Jacoby, <i>Die Fragmente der griechischen Historiker</i> , vols. i-ii (Berlin, 1923-6); vol. iii (Leiden, 1940-58)
Hammond-Griffith	N. G. L. Hammond and G. T. Griffith, <i>A History of Macedonia</i> , vol. ii: 555-336 BC (Oxford, 1979)
Hammond-Walbank	N. G. L. Hammond and F. W. Walbank, <i>A History of Macedonia</i> , vol. iii: 336-167 BC (Oxford, 1988)
Heckel	W. Heckel, <i>Who's Who in the Age of Alexander the Great</i> (Oxford, 2006)
<i>HPE</i>	P. Briant, <i>From Cyrus to Alexander: A History of the Persian Empire</i> (Winona Lake, IN, 2002)

<i>IG</i>	<i>Inscriptiones Graecae</i>
<i>IGR</i>	<i>Inscriptiones Graecae ad res Romanas pertinentes</i> (Paris, 1911-27)
<i>ISE</i>	L. Moretti (ed.), <i>Iscrizioni storiche ellenistiche</i> (Florence, 1967-76)
<i>OCD</i> ³	<i>Oxford Classical Dictionary</i> , 3rd edn., rev. by S. Hornblower and A. Spawforth (Oxford, 2003)
<i>OGIS</i>	W. Dittenberger, <i>Orientis Graeci Inscriptiones Selectae</i> , 2 vols. (Leipzig, 1903-5)
<i>P. Köln</i>	<i>Kölner Papyri</i> (Opladen, 1976-)
<i>P. Oxy</i>	<i>The Oxyrhynchus Papyri</i> (London, 1898-)
<i>RC</i>	C. Bradford Welles, <i>Royal Correspondence in the Hellenistic Period</i> (London, 1934)
<i>RE</i>	Pauly-Wissowa-Kroll, <i>Realencyclopædia der classischen Altertumswissenschaft</i> (Stuttgart, 1894-1980)
Rhodes- Osborne	P. J. Rhodes and R. Osborne (eds.), <i>Greek Historical Inscriptions, 404-323 BC</i> (Oxford, 2003)
<i>RTP</i>	P. Briant, <i>Rois, tributs et paysans</i> (Paris, 1982)
<i>SEG</i>	<i>Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum</i> (Leiden, 1923-)
<i>SIG</i> ³	W. Dittenberger, <i>Sylloge Inscriptionum Graecarum</i> , 3rd edn., 4 vols. (Leipzig, 1921-4)
Tarn	W. W. Tarn, <i>Alexander the Great</i> , 2 vols. (Cambridge, 1948)
Tod	M. N. Tod, <i>A Selection of Greek Historical Inscriptions</i> , 2 vols. (Oxford, 1933-48)

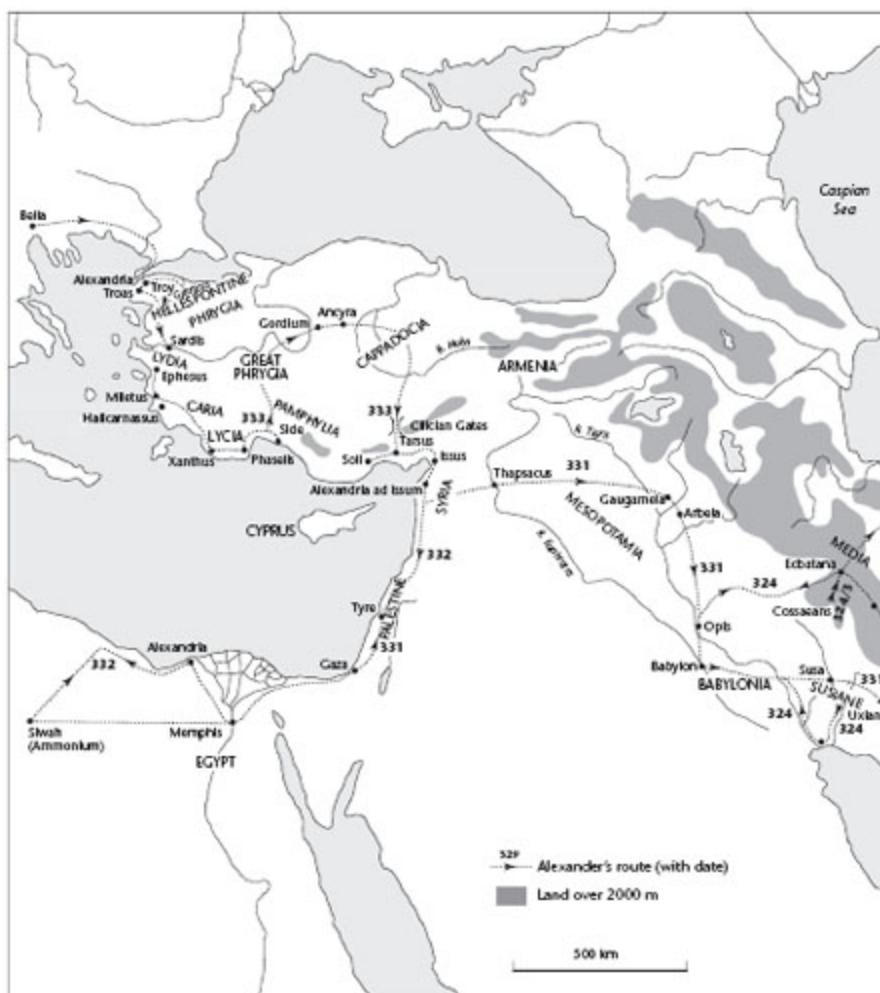
Journal and Serial Abbreviations

Titles of periodical literature are generally abbreviated in accordance with those listed in *L'Année philologique* .

<i>A^oA</i>	<i>Antike und Abendland</i>
<i>AAWW</i>	<i>Anzeiger der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien</i>
<i>ABull</i>	<i>Art Bulletin</i>
<i>AC</i>	<i>L'Antiquité classique</i>
<i>AchH</i>	<i>Achaemenid History</i>
<i>AClass</i>	<i>Acta Classica</i>
<i>AFLFB</i>	<i>Annali della Facoltà di Lettere e Filosofia, Università degli Studi di Bari</i>
<i>AFP</i>	<i>Archiv für Papyrusforschung</i>
<i>AHB</i>	<i>The Ancient History Bulletin</i>
<i>AHR</i>	<i>American Historical Review</i>
<i>AJA</i>	<i>American Journal of Archaeology</i>
<i>AJAH</i>	<i>American Journal of Ancient History</i>
<i>AJN</i>	<i>American Journal of Numismatics</i>
<i>AJPh</i>	<i>American Journal of Philology</i>
<i>AK</i>	<i>Antike Kunst</i>
<i>AKG</i>	<i>Archiv für Kulturgeschichte</i>
<i>AM</i>	<i>Ancient Macedonia</i>
<i>AMIT</i>	<i>Archäologische Mitteilungen aus Iran</i>
<i>AncSoc</i>	<i>Ancient Society</i>
<i>AncW</i>	<i>Ancient World</i>
<i>Annales (HSS)</i>	<i>Annales: histoire, sciences, sociales</i>
<i>ANRW</i>	<i>Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt</i>
<i>AOAT</i>	<i>Alter Orient und Altes Testament</i>
<i>AOS</i>	<i>American Oriental Society</i>
<i>ASNP</i>	<i>Annali della Scuola Normale Superiore di Pisa</i>
<i>BCH</i>	<i>Bulletin de correspondance hellénique</i>
<i>BiOr</i>	<i>Bibliotheca Orientalis</i>
<i>BMCR</i>	<i>Bryn Mawr Classical Review</i>
<i>Bullsoc Arch. Alex.</i>	<i>Bulletin de la Société Archéologique d'Alexandrie</i>

CA	<i>Classical Antiquity</i>
C&M	<i>Classica et Medievalia</i>
CISA	<i>Contributi dell'Istituto di Storia Antica</i>
CJ	<i>Classical Journal</i>
CPh	<i>Classical Philology</i>
CQ	<i>Classical Quarterly</i>
CR	<i>Classical Review</i>
CRAI	<i>Comptes Rendus de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres</i>
DHA	<i>Dialogues d'histoire ancienne</i>
EA	<i>Epigraphica Anatolica</i>
EVO	<i>Egitto e Vicino Oriente</i>
G&R	<i>Greece and Rome</i>
GJ	<i>Geographical Journal</i>
GRBS	<i>Greek, Roman and Byzantine Studies</i>
HSCPh	<i>Harvard Studies in Classical Philology</i>
IA	<i>Iranica Antiqua</i>
ICS	<i>Illinois Classical Studies</i>
IEJ	<i>Israel Exploration Journal</i>
INJ	<i>Israel Numismatic Journal</i>
JAOS	<i>Journal of the American Oriental Society</i>
JBerlMus	<i>Jahrbuch der Berliner Museen</i>
JCS	<i>Journal of Cuneiform Studies</i>
JDAI	<i>Jahrbuch des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts</i>
JHS	<i>Journal of Hellenic Studies</i>
JNES	<i>Journal of Near Eastern Studies</i>
JNFA	<i>Journal of Numismatic Fine Arts</i>
JS	<i>Journal des Savants</i>
LCM	<i>Liverpool Classical Monthly</i>
MAAR	<i>Memoirs of the American Academy in Rome</i>
MDAI(A)	<i>Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts (Athen)</i>
MDAI(R)	<i>Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts (Rom)</i>
NC	<i>Numismatic Chronicle</i>
OLP	<i>Orientalia Lovaniensia Periodica</i>
OLZ	<i>Orientalistische Literaturzeitung</i>
P&P	<i>Past and Present</i>

<i>PACA</i>	<i>Proceedings of the African Classical Association</i>
<i>PAPhS</i>	<i>Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society</i>
<i>PBA</i>	<i>Proceedings of the British Academy</i>
<i>PEQ</i>	<i>Palestine Exploration Quarterly</i>
<i>PP</i>	<i>La parola del passato</i>
<i>QS</i>	<i>Quaderni di storia</i>
<i>QUCC</i>	<i>Quaderni urbinati di cultura classica</i>
<i>RA</i>	<i>Revue archéologique</i>
<i>REA</i>	<i>Revue des études anciennes</i>
<i>RF</i>	<i>Rivista di filosofia</i>
<i>RFIC</i>	<i>Rivista di filologia e di istruzione classica</i>
<i>RhM</i>	<i>Rheinisches Museum für Philologie</i>
<i>RIDA</i>	<i>Revue Internationale des Droits de l'Antiquité</i>
<i>RPh</i>	<i>Revue de Philologie</i>
<i>SIFC</i>	<i>Studi Italiani di filologia classica</i>
<i>SOsl</i>	<i>Symbolae Osloenses</i>
<i>StudClas</i>	<i>Studia Classica</i>
<i>TAPhA</i>	<i>Transactions of the American Philological Association</i>
<i>Trans.</i>	<i>Transeuphratène</i>
<i>YCIS</i>	<i>Yale Classical Studies</i>
<i>ZA</i>	<i>Zeitschrift für Assyriologie</i>
<i>ZDPV</i>	<i>Zeitschrift des deutschen Palästina-Vereins</i>
<i>ZPE</i>	<i>Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik</i>





Introduction

When Blackwell's Al Bertrand first suggested that I edit a volume of new papers on Alexander the Great, it was believed that a "Guide" or "Companion" to the study of the famous conqueror would serve as a useful background for readers attracted to the subject by the appearance of Oliver Stone's film *Alexander*. For once, my habitual lethargy proved beneficial; for the anticipated triumph of Stone's epic never materialized – and I leave it to readers to decide for themselves why this was so. The volume's title thus mutated into *Alexander the Great: A New History*, a change that is neither subtle nor unimportant. What, one may ask, is *new* in this *New History*? Is it even possible to say anything new? Again, readers will have or at least may form their own opinions, but some observations are worth making at the outset.

First of all, this book offers a collection of views on aspects of the history and life of Alexander, as well as on the kingdom from which he emerged and the empire he conquered, by a wide range of scholars – some providing a synthesis of arguments developed over many years of engagement with the subject (or, on occasion, of "engaging the enemy more closely" – for we are not all admirers of his alleged "greatness"), others presenting fresh new approaches to topics both familiar and less so. Neither the contributors nor the editors would agree in every case (or even whole-heartedly) with the conclusions reached in some or perhaps most of the chapters in this book, but all will recognize that the arguments presented here are based on reasoned interpretations of the (often complex) evidence. And it is precisely this healthy difference of opinion that keeps the study of Alexander fresh and, dare I say, new. The newness and appeal of this volume are, thus, to be found in

its diversity and its combination of novel insights with breadth of coverage, of in-depth investigation with an appreciation of universal truths. The individual chapters are not intended primarily as surveys of scholarship, although they often provide this very thing; instead they offer thought-provoking insights into much discussed problems as well as new areas of study. Furthermore, I have in recent months debated with myself whether it is not somewhat disingenuous to claim as “new” contributions which in some cases have been sitting on my desk for over four years, but again the newness resides in the arguments and their presentation rather than in the speed with which they have found their way into print.

This leads me to comment briefly on the evolution of this particular volume. As I mentioned above, the proposal came originally from Al Bertrand to me, but I soon found it desirable to invite – perhaps “beg” would be the more appropriate word – my friend Larry Tittle to join me as co-editor. We commissioned articles by German, French, and Italian scholars, and the need to translate these brought with it concomitant delays in publication. When it came to contributors who wrote in English, some withdrew – reluctantly and with apologies and ample warning – and another simply did not deliver or bother to forewarn the editors or offer an excuse. Hence, a further delay. Nevertheless, the final collection vindicates the adage that “good things come to those who wait,” even when this means waiting for *A New History*. The volume, in its final form, combines narrative¹ with special studies, background and context with specific details, and a survey of older literature with the promise of new approaches. Some contributors have examined new areas without resorting to what might be considered “trendy” or being seduced by the need to be “sexy”; nor is there an excessive use of jargon (though, in one case, I would venture to say that one man’s

jargon is another woman's precision). Others have taken traditional approaches to subjects previously neglected. And, for those with a craving for scholarship so profound that only foreign expressions will suffice to define it, this volume offers *Quellenforschung*, *Wissenschaftsgeschichte*, and *Nachleben* in healthy doses. The book's range is geographically expansive and it stretches chronologically from the formative years of Persia and Macedon to the *annus mirabilis*, 2004, which witnessed the tragic non-event of Stone's *Alexander*, the inspiration for the countless "new" volumes that sounded to publishers very much like the clinking of "money in the bank," but proved to be nothing more than the echoing of an empty vault. Indeed, we have arrived too late to jump on the bandwagon. Just as well, for I would rather rock on my own than sink with the Stone.

WH

Works on Alexander the Great, his life and times, his military achievements, are legion – scholarly, popular, military, and most recently cinematographic – and all this points to the ongoing interest in one of the ancient world's great figures, perhaps the greatest. All of this might prompt the question, What more could be said, can anything be new? The answer to this must be yes, as scholars and authors continually respond to Alexander from the perspective of their own time.

I

In the early modern era, Alexander was a subject of interest to many authors as well as translators. Niccolò Machiavelli in *The Prince* refers to the Macedonian king and conqueror, titling one chapter (4) after him and elsewhere citing his generosity while also referring to his imitation of Achilles just as Caesar would imitate him.² The earliest translations

of Plutarch's *Lives* including the *Alexander*, began in the sixteenth century, first into Latin (e.g., Politan, Melanchthon, on the continent; in England Sir John Cheke and Richard Pace) and then followed not long after by vernacular translations in virtually all the major European languages. Of these those of Jacques Amyot in France and Thomas North in England were perhaps most important as they made available as never before the life of Alexander, whose achievements would inspire others to great deeds.³ At the same time, additional historical accounts, particularly those of Quintus Curtius (1470/1) and Arrian (1535) provided even more information which stimulated further the study of Alexander's life and achievements.⁴

The first detailed and modern scholarly treatment of Alexander appeared with the 1833 publication of Gustav Droysen's study of Alexander.⁵ Droysen continued revisions to this work through the nineteenth century, and to the present day it is widely regarded that he not only single-handedly revolutionized the study of Alexander, but in doing so created a whole new field of ancient history, the Age of Hellenistic.⁶ This view is now in need of revision, as Pierre Briant convincingly demonstrates in the pages that follow. A few years later in England, banker and parliamentarian George Grote began to publish *A History of Greece* in 1846, a work that concluded with an entire volume on Alexander that continues to be cited today.⁷ Though a pronounced contemporary liberal temper and middle-class ethic characterizes his work, Grote weighs the evidence of the ancient authors carefully and his judgments are generally judicious.

Since Droysen and Grote, their many contemporaries and students, research into Alexander has continued to explore the king's life and times, going beyond the mere military achievement and finding whole new subjects to consider. In

the English-speaking world, scholars including E. Badian, A. B. Bosworth, E. D. Carney, P. Green, N. G. L. Hammond, W. Heckel, and W. W. Tarn have made numerous contributions to this investigation, as have P. Briant and P. Goukowsky (in French), H. Berve, F. Schachermeyr, U. Wilcken, and G. Wirth (in German).⁸ The present collection of essays offers both a broad survey of the reign and conquests of Alexander, Greeks and Persians, as well as focused studies of his life and impact on those who followed.

II

We begin with the background of ancient Macedonia and Greece, and its world well beyond Alexander's life and reign. The historical narrative of Michael Zahrnt, Waldemar Heckel, and Patrick Wheatley examines the formation of the Macedonian kingdom under Philip and his immediate predecessors (Zahrnt), the conquests of Alexander (Heckel), and the Hellenistic world of Alexander's successors, the Diadochi (Wheatley). The story of Alexander's battles and conquests has certainly been told many times, but Heckel's narrative is at once familiar yet also refreshing and insightful. Alexander's death in Babylon led to a tumultuous and violent era that is often so confusing to students that it is dismissed as simply beyond comprehension. Pat Wheatley provides a concise discussion of this immensely difficult subject. He manages at the same time to give an overview of the sources for this period, including recent scholarly work on long neglected sources from the Near East that shed light on the notoriously difficult chronology of the period. New ideas of kingship that formed at this time are also examined.

Alexander could have accomplished nothing without one of the great armies of all time, and Waldemar Heckel, in a second essay, and Gregor Weber offer stimulating