TSD Study Abroad Programmes

Study Abroad for a semester as part of your degree course!



- **There will be an information stand in the Library ground floor (just inside the entrance) on Monday 11th February. Please stop by for more information!**

STUDY ABROAD IS A WONDERFUL OPPORTUNITY

Contact the International Office to make an appointment to discuss further

internationalcc@tsd.ac.uk

Application deadline Will be soon

ALEXANDER THE GREAT AND THE HELLENISTIC WORLD

Lecture 4: From Egypt to Bactria

Gaza to Egypt

- Gaza to Pelusium in a week (130 miles)
- Alexander greeted as liberator
- Must not offend local religious sensibilities
- Coronation in Memphis?
  - Alexander romance
  - Alexander connections with Nectanebo (last Pharaoh)
  - Olympias and the snake
- Restoration of Karnak and Luxor

Alexandria

While the king was enjoying the symmetry of the design, suddenly a huge flock of birds appeared from the river and the lagoon, descended upon the site and devoured every grain of the barley. Alexander was greatly disturbed by this omen, but the diviners urged him to take heart and interpreted the occurrence as a sign that the city would not only have abundant resources of its own but would be the nurse of men of innumerable nations, and so he ordered those in charge of the work to proceed while he himself set out to visit the temple of Ammon.

Plutarch *Life of Alexander* 26

‘O paidion’ or ‘o pai Dios

Alexander’s first question was to ask whether any of his father’s murders had escaped punishment. At this the high priest commanded him to speak more guardedly, since his father was not a mortal. Alexander therefore changed the form of his question and asked whether the murderers of Philip had all been punished, and he added another inquiry concerning his own empire, and asked whether he was destined to rule over all mankind. This, the god replied, would be granted to him, and he also assured him that Philip’s death had been completely avenged, whereupon Alexander dedicated some magnificent offerings to the god and presented large sums of money to his priests.

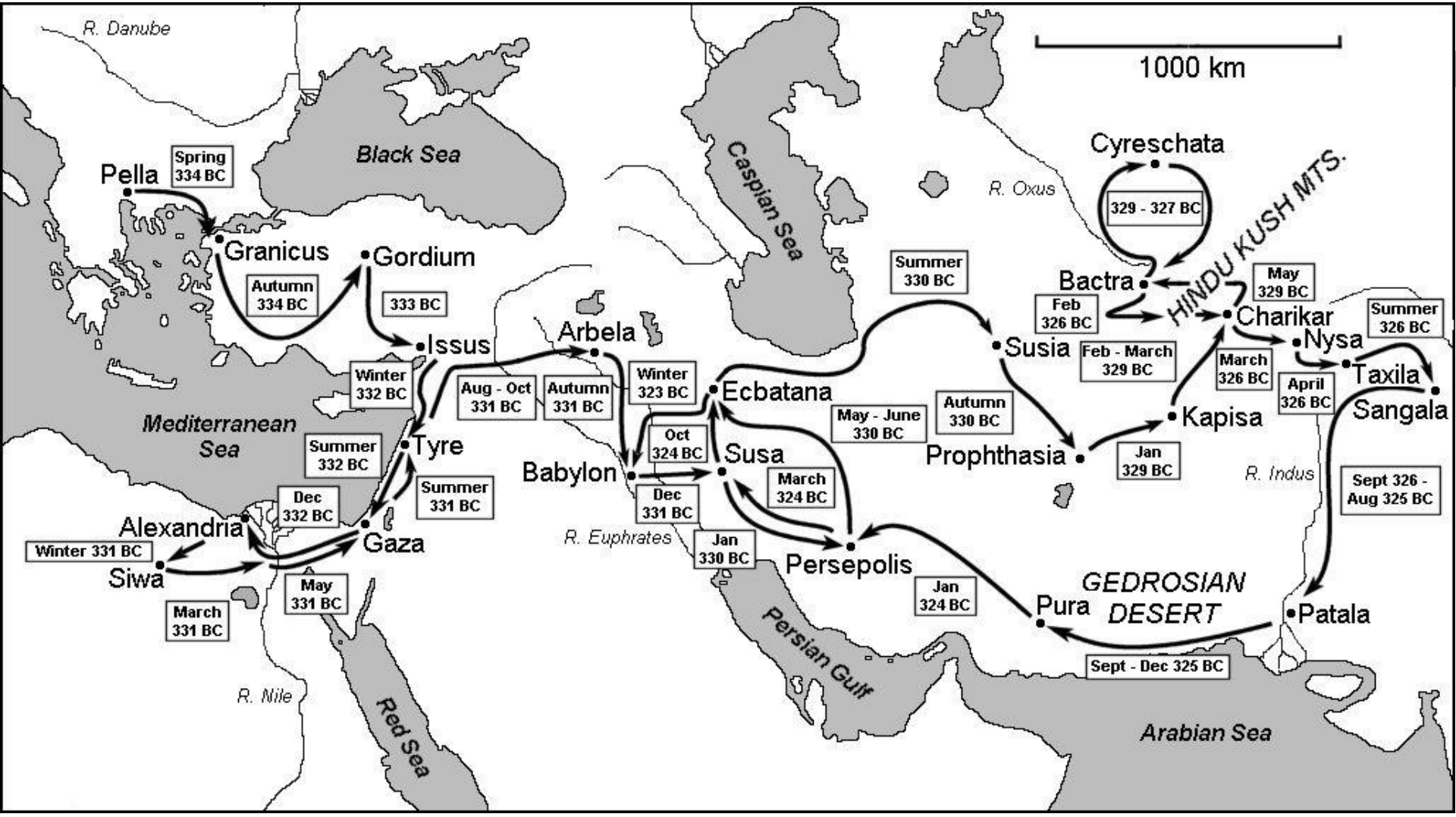
Plutarch *Life of Alexander* 27

Arrangement of Egyptian Affairs

- Muncipal government – unchanged
- Taxes collected by native officials
- 'Nomarch' remains in existence – Upper and Lower Egypt
  - Does not control military or taxes
- Eastern and western frontiers under different military commanders
- Naval squadron – separate commander
- Cleomenes – one of the military commanders in charge of taxes
- Cleomenes makes himself satrap effectively, charged with robbery, blackmail ect.
- Only official besides Antiogonus Monopthalmus to hold his position during all of Alexander's reign

The Road to Gaugamela

- Back to Tyre
- Heads towards Babylon
- Darius plans for battle at Cunaxa
  - Orders a scorched earth policy
- Alexander does not follow the easiest route so as to avoid a battle there
- 4 possible crossings for Alexander, so Darius sends scouts to all of them


R. Danube
Black Sea
Caspian Sea
1000 km
Pella
Spring 334 BC
Granicus
Gordium
Autumn 334 BC
333 BC
Issus
Arbela
Winter 332 BC
Aug - Oct 331 BC
Autumn 331 BC
Winter 323 BC
Mediterranean Sea
Summer 332 BC
Tyre
Ecbatana
Summer 330 BC
Susia
Feb - March 329 BC
May - June 330 BC
Autumn 330 BC
Prophthasia
Jan 329 BC
Kapisa
March 326 BC
April 326 BC
Taxila
Sangala
Sept 326 - Aug 325 BC
Cyreschata
329 - 327 BC
R. Oxus
HINDU KUSH MTS.
Bactra
Feb 326 BC
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Charikar
Nysa
Summer 326 BC
Dec 332 BC
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Alexandria
Gaza
Winter 331 BC
Siwa
March 331 BC
May 331 BC
Babylon
Oct 324 BC
Dec 331 BC
Susa
March 324 BC
R. Euphrates
Jan 330 BC
Persepolis
Jan 324 BC
GEDROSIAN DESERT
Pura
Patala
Sept - Dec 325 BC
R. Indus
Persian Gulf
R. Nile
Red Sea
Arabian Sea

Arbela?

- Darius has no choice given the distances and the size of his army but to attempt to prevent a crossing on the road to Arbela (due east of Mosul)
- Alexander on his route captures some Persian scouts who reveal the Persian plans.

Luck or skill

- Alexander avoids all of the hardships Darius had hoped for, northern Mesopotamia had ample grain nor was it as hot.
- Alexander manages to cross the Tigris relatively easily

Darius picks a battle field

- Gaugamela: Darius clears the field of trees, rocks ect.
- He does not occupy the hills three-miles to the NW
- Alexander finds Darius, but first rests his troops
- Darius attempts to bribe Alexander's officers
- Darius' wife dies (in childbirth?)

Darius' offer

- Euphrates west
- 10,000 talents for the Persian prisoners

"Alexander told his companions of this offer, whereupon Parmenio said, 'I would accept those terms if I were Alexander.' 'So would I, by Zeus,' retorted Alexander, 'if I were Parmenio!'

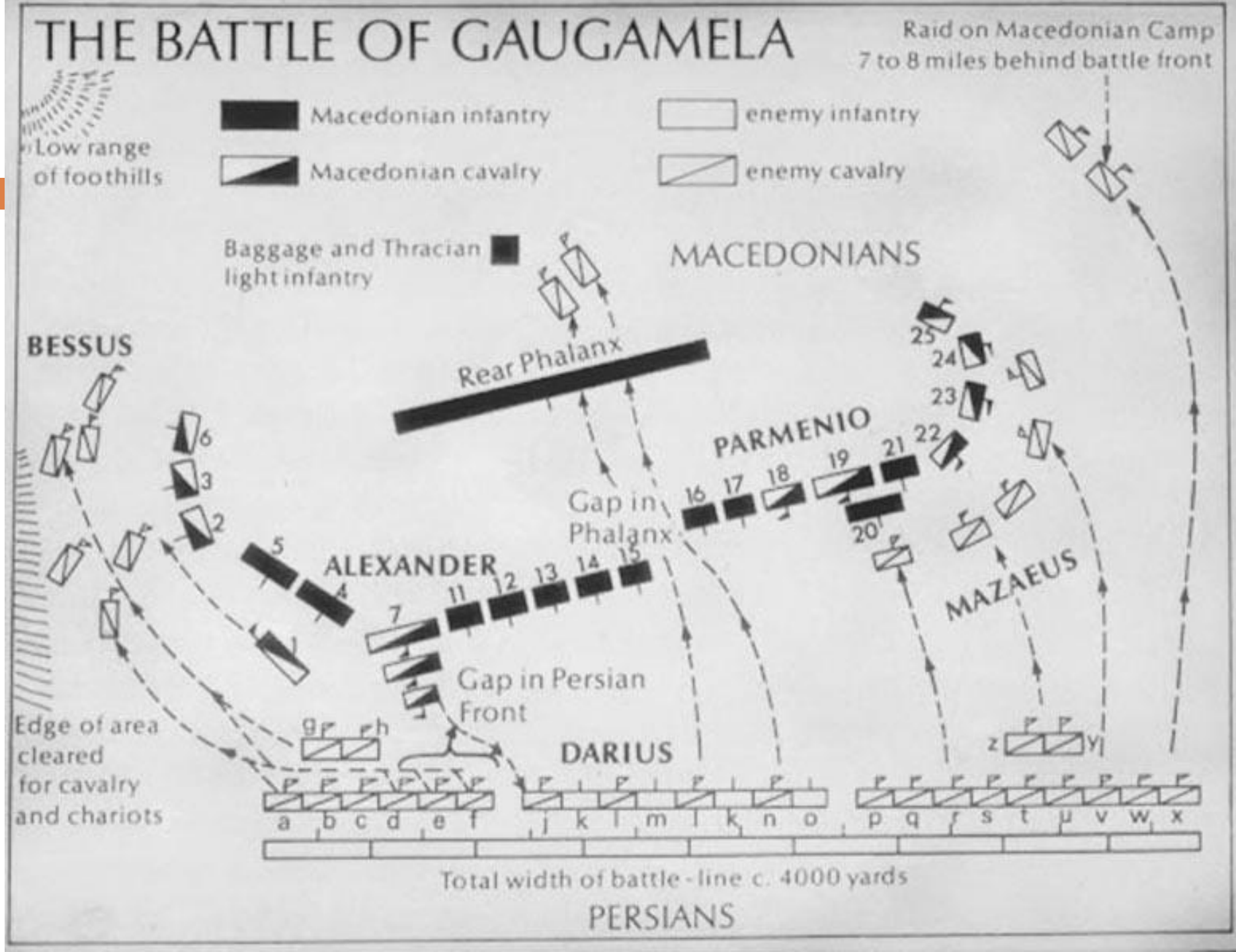
Plutarch *Life of Alexander* 29

Darius' Army

- Mostly armoured cavalry: 34,000 v 7,250
- Chariots
- Scythed chariots (Artaxerxes had used them at Cunaxa)
- Alexander delays a day to scout the battle field

"They therefore went to the king as soon as he had performed his sacrifice and tried to persuade him to attack by night, so as to conceal from his men the most terrifying element in the coming struggle, that is the odds against them. It was then that Alexander gave them his celebrated answer, 'I will not steal my victory'.

Plutarch *Life of Alexander* 31


THE BATTLE OF GAUGAMELA
Raid on Macedonian Camp
7 to 8 miles behind battle front
Low range of foothills
Macedonian infantry
enemy infantry
Macedonian cavalry
enemy cavalry
Baggage and Thracian light infantry
MACEDONIANS
BESSUS
Rear Phalanx
PARMENIO
Gap in Phalanx
ALEXANDER
MAZAEUS
Gap in Persian Front
DARIUS
Edge of area cleared for cavalry and chariots
a b c d e f j k l m l k n o p q r s t u v w x
Total width of battle-line c. 4000 yards
PERSIANS

Aftermath

- Alexander proclaims himself ‘Lord of Asia’
- Conquest rather then even most tenuous liberation

Persian opposition?

- Problems of becoming the Great King
  - Not Zoroastrian
  - Not a member of the seven noble families
  - Easy prey for pro-Persian propaganda
- Kill Darius and marry into the royal family

Surrender of Babylon

- Mazaeus surrenders Babylon to Alexander



Reinforcements

- Reinforcements arrive from Macedon
- Redistribution of regiments and battalions
- Breakdown of all territorial cavalry groups

Susa

- 40-50,000 talents of gold of silver bullion
- 9,000 in coined money
- ‘Tyrannicide’ statue
- Riches of other sorts
- Spends winter in Susa

Persepolis

- Defeats Ariobarzanes near the Susian Gates
- Tiridates, garrison-commander of Persepolis, surrenders the city if Alexander gets there quickly enough
- Enters Persepolis 31 January 330

Treasure

- Treasury vaults: 120,000 talents
- Bedchamber: 8,000 talents
- = Thucydides has the income of the Athenian Empire at its height at 500 talents a year.
- =The money Alexander has taken at Susa and Persepolis is roughly 300 years worth of the income of the Athenian Empire at its height.

Burning of Persepolis

The most celebrated of these was Thais, an Athenian, at that time the mistress of Ptolemy who later became the ruler of Egypt. As the drinking went on, Thais delivered a speech which was intended partly as a graceful compliment to Alexander and partly to amuse him. What she said was typical of the spirit of Athens, but hardly in keeping with her own situation. She declared that all the hardships she had endured in wandering about Asia had been amply repaid on that day, when she found herself revelling luxuriously in the splendid palace of the Persians, but that it would be an even sweeter pleasure to end the party by going out and setting fire to the palace of Xerxes, who had laid Athens in ashes. She wanted to put a torch to the building herself in full view of Alexander, so that posterity should know that the women who followed Alexander had taken a more terrible revenge for the wrongs of Greece than all the famous commanders of earlier times by land or sea.

Plutarch *Life of Alexander* 38

Impulse or Policy



According to a number of historians it was in this way that the place was burned down, that is on impulse, but there are others who maintain that it was an act of deliberate policy.

Plutarch *Alex*. 38

Impulse or Policy

- Cui bono?
  - Macedonians think they are going home?
  - Pan-Hellenic revenge for the burning of Athens
  - Let army take spoils for conquest

A final battle with Darius?

- After 4 months around Persepolis, Alexander begins to pursue Darius
- Darius building an army?
- Darius retreats towards Bactria
- All league troops are released
  - Cavalry get a bonus of 1 talent
  - Infantry get 1,000 drachmas
  - Anyone who re-enlisted gets 3 talents on enrolment

Parmenio

- Parmenio is left in Ecbatana as regional military commander
- Get treasury to Ecbatana
- Pacify region
- Only Philotas and Nicanor of Parmenio's relatives still hold key commands

Chasing Darius

- Darius retreats through the Caspian gates and heads towards Hecatomplylus
- Alexander in pursuit, as he gets closer sped increases


ARMENIA
Caspian Sea
Zagros Mountains
Gaugamela
Arbela
Mashad
MESOPOTAMIA
Hecatompylos
Damascus
Ecbatana
Caspian Gates
Great Salt Desert
Euphrates
Tigris
SYRIA
Babylon
Susa
PERSIA
BABYLONIA
Persian Gates
Alexandria
Pasargadae
Persepolis
Persian Gulf
ARABIA

Bessus, satrap of Bactria

- Dispute in Persian camp, Darius resign and Bessus replace him?
- Bactrians and East – Loyal to Bessus
- Persians and Greek Mercenaries – Loyal to Darius

A new Great King?

- Bessus deposes Darius and takes him captive
- Persians and Greeks leave, but quickly come back
- Bessus now Artaxerxes IV
- Can Alexander reach the rebels and capture Darius?
- Alexander appears to cover 50 miles in a day to catch the Persians

Death of Darius

- In the historians, a Macedonian reaches Darius before he dies, but not Alexander
- In the *Alexander Romance*, it is Alexander who catches Darius. Darius then offers Alexander his kingdom and his daughter in marriage

Hunting Bessus

- Alexander must now act as Great King
- Bessus hunted as a rebel, not as a successor to Darius
- Mercenaries and Persians slowly desert Bessus
- Alexander pursues him into Parthia
- Parmenio's son Nicanor gets sick and dies, Philotas is left behind to arrange funeral with instructions to catch up

Adoption of Persian Customs

- Adoption of some Persian court traditions
- Adoption of diadem (perhaps not actually Persian)
- No adoption of trousers, but adoption of other Persian clothing
- No pointed tiara
- 2 signet rings
  - 1 Macedonian
  - 1 Darius'

East is East and West is West and never the twain shall meet

- Macedonians dislike the adoption of Persian customs
- Dislike the allowance of Persians to the campaign
- Alexander allows troops to marry

Into Legend

It was here that he was visited by the queen of the Amazons, according to the report we have from many writers…There is also a story that many years afterwards, when Lysimachus had become king of Macedonia, Onesicritus was reading aloud the fourth book of his history, which contained the tale of the Amazon, at which Lysimachus smiled and asked quietly, 'I wonder where I was then.'

Plutarch *Life of Alexander* 46

Conspiracy

Ptolemy's account of what now occurred is this: Philotas was brought before the Macedonians to stand his trial; Alexander made his accusation in no uncertain terms, and Philotas answered the charge. Then the persons who had reported the affair came forward, with various irrefutable proofs of his own guilt and that of his fellow-conspirators, of which the most damning was that he admitted knowledge of a plot against Alexander but had said nothing about it, in spite of the fact that he was in the habit of visiting Alexander's tent twice a day. Thereupon he was shot by the Macedonians, and the others who were concerned in the conspiracy shared the same fate. Parmenio was executed as well…

Arrian *Anabasis* 3.27

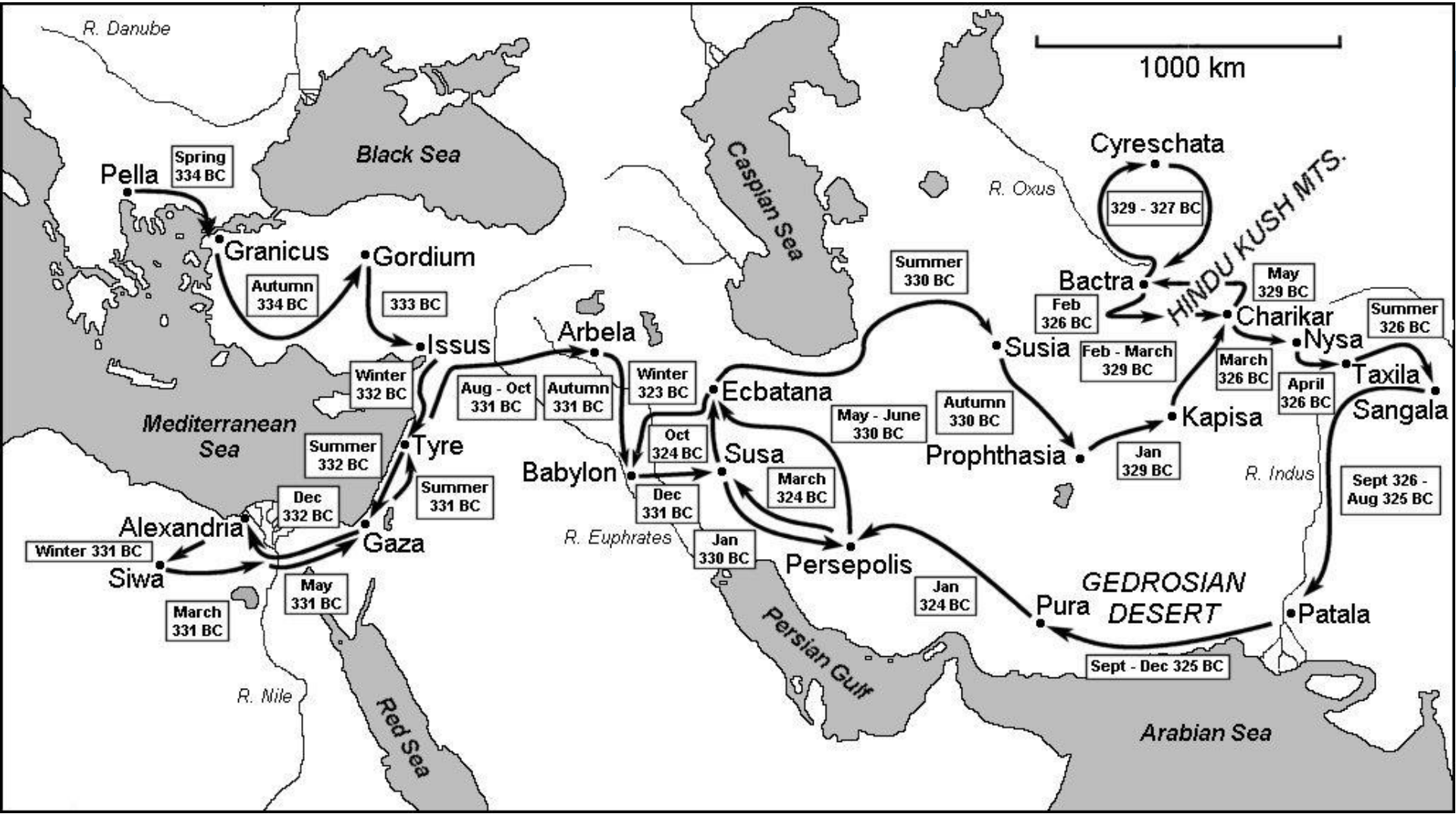
Death of Parmenio

The reason for Parmenio's execution may have been that Alexander could not believe that he had no share in his son's conspiracy; on the other hand, even granting his innocence, his living on after his son's execution was already in fact a danger; for he was a man of immense prestige: he had great influence not only with Alexander himself but also with the army – and not alone with the Macedonian units, but also with the mercenary soldiers, whom so often by Alexander's orders and with Alexander's approbation he had led on special missions or in the ordinary course of duty.

Arrian *Anabasis* 3.27

The Eastern Campaign

- Alexander goes through Arachosia, crosses the Hindu Kush
- One of the satraps retained in place by Alexander, rebels and is killed
- Alexander moves into Bactria


R. Danube
Black Sea
Caspian Sea
1000 km
Pella
Spring 334 BC
Granicus
Gordium
Autumn 334 BC
333 BC
Issus
Arbela
Winter 332 BC
Aug - Oct 331 BC
Autumn 331 BC
Winter 323 BC
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Soghdiana

- Bessus stations himself in Bactria, but Alexander outflanks him by going through a different pass.
- Bessus retreats to Soghdiana
- Alexander now occupies Bactria
- Bessus retreats beyond the Oxus
- Alexander crosses the river using tent covers stitched to make floats

Spitamenes

- Soghdian baron, supporter of Bessus, decides Bessus is no longer useful so arrests him and offers him to Alexander
- Bessus is then bound and tied to a post, Alexander marches his troops past him, then has him sent to Zariaspa where his ears and nose are cut off, then public execution in Ecbatana before the Medes and the Persians

To Scythia?

- Alexander marches for Samarkand and the Jaxartes river. The north east boundary of the Persian Empire
- Alexander summons Spitamenes to a meeting in Zariaspa. Spitamenes refuses and the province rebels.
- Alexander sends a small force to relieve the siege that Spitamenes has raised against Maracanda

Soghdian War

- Spitamenes traps the troops that Alexander had sent against him and slaughters them
- Alexander moves quickly and drives off the siege at Maracanda, Spitamenes retreats to wage a guerrilla war
- Alexander winters in Zariaspa

Soghdian War

- Campaign lasts most of the summer with little success
- Engagement between Craterus and Spitamenes, but Spitamenes escapes

Frustration in the Macedonian camp

After the company had drunk a good deal somebody began to sing the verse of a man named Pranichus (or Pierio according to another account), which had been written to humiliate and make fun of some Macedonian commanders who had recently been defeated by the barbarians. The older members of the party took offence at this and showed their resentment of both the poet and the singer, but Alexander and those sitting near him listened with obvious pleasure and told the man to continue. Thereupon Cleitus, who had already drunk too much and was rough and hot-tempered by nature became angrier than ever and shouted that it was not right for Macedonians to be insulted in the presence of barbarians and enemies, even if they had met with misfortune, for they were better men than those laughing at them. Alexander retorted that if Cleitus was trying to disguise cowardice as misfortune, he must be pleading his own case. At this Cleitus sprang to his feat and shouted back, 'Yes it was my cowardice that saved your life, you who call yourself the son of the gods, when you were turning your back to Spithridates' sword. And it is the blood of these Macedonians and their wounds which have made you so great that you disown your father and claim to be the son of Ammon!

Plutarch, *Life of Alexander* 50

Death of Cleitus

Meanwhile as Cleitus still refused to give way, his friends with great difficulty pushed him out of the banqueting room. But soon afterwards he came in by another door, and, as he did so, recited in a loud and contemptuous voice this line from Euripides' *Andromache*

Alas, what evil customs reign in Greece

At this Alexander seized a spear from one of his guards, faced Cleitus as he was drawing aside the curtain of the doorway, and ran him through. With a roar of pain and a groan, Cleitus fell, and immediately the king's anger left him. When he came to himself and saw his friends standing around him speechless, he snatched the weapon out of the dead body and would have plunged it into his own throat if the guards had not forestalled him by seizing his hands and carrying him by force into his chamber.

Plutarch *Life of Alexander* 51

Death of Spitamenes

- After 2 campaigning seasons, Alexander is finally able to deprive Spitamenes of supplies
- Spitamenes allies with Massagetae, they give up and kill him (or according to Curtius his wife does)

Further Reading

- Finish reading the Arrian's *Anabasis* and Plutarch's *Life of Alexander*.