

Faculty of Education and Arts School of Humanities & Social Science http://www.newcastle.edu.au/school/hss/

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AHIS3140 - Philip II and Alexander the Great Course Outline

Course CoordinatorDR ELIZABETH BAYNHAMEmail:Elizabeth.Baynham@newcastle.edu.auSemesterSemester 2 - 2009Unit Weighting10Teaching MethodsLecture
Tutorial

Brief Course Description

Examines the origins and the early history of the Macedonian state, prior to an analysis of the reign of Philip II and his relations with the Greek states, down to his assassination and the accession of Alexander in 336 B.C. The course then examines Alexander's career as a general and statesman, the Persian and Indian campaigns, Alexander's personality, reputation and aspirations for godhead.

Contact Hours

Lecture for 2 Hours per Week for the Full Term Tutorial for 0.5 Hours per Week for the Full Term Tutorials run fortnightly commencing in week 2.

Course Outline Issued and Correct as at: Week 1, Semester 2 - 2009

CTS Download Date: 9 July 2009

Learning Materials/Texts

Course Objectives

As a result of participating in this course, students should develop:

1. A sound knowledge and understanding of Greek history from the mid-fourth century to the death of Alexander.

2. An understanding of the strengths and weaknesses of the ancient historical traditions on Philip and Alexander.

3. Skills in the critical use and evaluation of ancient source material for gaining information, as well using modern studies in conjunction with the ancient sources.

4. An awareness of how a historical figure can be idealised and transformed according to the values and philosophies of a particular era.

5. The ability to express understanding and criticism of this and like topics in both written and oral form.

Course Content

The country of Macedonia; its geography, resources and people

Macedonian history prior to the accession of Philip II

The Macedonian State; its institutions and army

The accession of Philip and the consolidation of his power

Macedonian expansion and imperialism

Macedonian archaeolgy and culture: the Vergina tombs

The ancient source traditions on Alexander

Alexander's military genius

Alexander as a statesman

The personality of Alexander

Assessment Items

Essays / Written Assignments	Two take-home assignments or equivalent tasks = 40% total, 500 words each. The 'take-home' assignment is a research and writing task that requires short answers to a series of set questions, which necessitate using ancient literary sources. The questions will also be reviewed in follow-up tutorials which will analyse in depth the issues raised.
Essays / Written Assignments	One source-based assignment = 30% 1,000 words
Essays / Written Assignments	One class test or equivalent task = 30% 2,000 words. This is an individual research and writing assignment on a choice of topics.

Assumed Knowledge

20 units at any level in Ancient History or History

AHIS3140 PHILIP II & ALEXANDER THE GREAT

Enquiries: School of Humanities and Social Science Semester 2 - 2009

Lecture and Tutorial	Wednesday Wednesday	10:00 - 12:00 15:00 - 16:00	[AT25] [GP216]	commencing week 2
or	Wednesday	13:00 - 14:00	[V108]	commencing week 2
or	Wednesday	14:00 - 15:00	[V102]	commencing week 2

Ourimbah Timetable AHIS3140 PHILIP II & ALEXANDER THE GREAT Enquiries: School of Humanities and Social Science Semester 2 - 2009

Lecture	Thursday	10:00 - 12:00	[O_CS207]	
and Tutorial	Thursday	12:00 - 13:00	[O_CS207]	commencing
				week 2

IMPORTANT UNIVERSITY INFORMATION

ACADEMIC INTEGRITY

Academic integrity, honesty, and a respect for knowledge, truth and ethical practices are fundamental to the business of the University. These principles are at the core of all academic endeavour in teaching, learning and research. Dishonest practices contravene academic values, compromise the integrity of research and devalue the quality of learning. To preserve the quality of learning for the individual and others, the University may impose severe sanctions on activities that undermine academic integrity. There are two major categories of academic dishonesty:

Academic fraud is a form of academic dishonesty that involves making a false representation to gain an unjust advantage. Without limiting the generality of this definition, it can include:

- a) falsification of data;
- b) using a substitute person to undertake, in full or part, an examination or other assessment item;
- c) reusing one's own work, or part thereof, that has been submitted previously and counted towards another course (without permission);
- d) making contact or colluding with another person, contrary to instructions, during an examination or other assessment item;
- e) bringing material or device(s) into an examination or other assessment item other than such as may be specified for that assessment item; and
- f) making use of computer software or other material and device(s) during an examination or other assessment item other than such as may be specified for that assessment item.
- g) contract cheating or having another writer compete for tender to produce an essay or assignment and then submitting the work as one's own.

Plagiarism is the presentation of the thoughts or works of another as one's own. University policy prohibits students plagiarising any material under any circumstances. Without limiting the generality of this definition, it may include:

- a) copying or paraphrasing material from any source without due acknowledgment;
- b) using another person's ideas without due acknowledgment;

c) collusion or working with others without permission, and presenting the resulting work as though it were completed independently.

Turnitin is an electronic text matching system .During assessing any assessment item the University may -

- · Reproduce this assessment item and provide a copy to another member of the University; and/or
- Communicate a copy of this assessment item to a text matching service (which may then retain a copy of the item on its database for the purpose of future checking).
- · Submit the assessment item to other forms of plagiarism checking

RE-MARKS AND MODERATIONS

Students can access the University's policy at: http://www.newcastle.edu.au/policylibrary/000769.html

MARKS AND GRADES RELEASED DURING TERM

All marks and grades released during term are indicative only until formally approved by the Head of School.

SPECIAL CIRCUMSTANCES AFFECTING ASSESSMENT ITEMS

Extension of Time for Assessment Items, Deferred Assessment and Special Consideration for Assessment Items or Formal Written Examinations items must be submitted by the due date in the Course Outline unless the Course Coordinator approves an extension. Unapproved late submissions will be penalised in line with the University policy specified in Late Penalty of Additional Information.

<u>Requests for Extensions of Time</u> must be lodged no later than the due date of the item. This applies to students:

- applying for an extension of time for submission of an assessment item on the basis of medical, compassionate, hardship/trauma or unavoidable commitment; or
- whose attendance at or performance in an assessment item or formal written examination has been or will be affected by medical, compassionate, hardship/trauma or unavoidable commitment.

Students must report the circumstances, with supporting documentation, as outlined in the Special Circumstances Affecting Assessment Items Procedure at: http://www.newcastle.edu.au/policylibrary/000641.html

Note: different procedures apply for minor and major assessment tasks.

Students should be aware of the following important deadlines:

- Special Consideration Requests must be lodged no later than 3 working days after the due date of submission or examination.
- Rescheduling Exam requests must be received no later than 10 working days prior the first date of the examination period.

Late applications may not be accepted. Students who cannot meet the above deadlines due to extenuating circumstances should speak firstly to their Program Officer or their Program Executive if studying in Singapore.

STUDENTS WITH A DISABILITY OR CHRONIC ILLNESS

University is committed to providing a range of support services for students with a disability or chronic illness. If you have a disability or chronic illness which you feel may impact on your studies please feel free to discuss your support needs with your lecturer or course coordinator.

Disability Support may also be provided by the Student Support Service (Disability). Students must be registered to receive this type of support. To register contact the Disability Liaison Officer on 02 4921 5766, email at: student-disability@newcastle.edu.au As some forms of support can take a few weeks to implement it is extremely important that you discuss your needs with your lecturer, course coordinator or

Student Support Service staff at the beginning of each semester. For more information on confidentiality and documentation visit the Student Support Service (Disability) website: www.newcastle.edu.au/services/disability .

CHANGING YOUR ENROLMENT

Students enrolled <u>after</u> the census dates listed in the link below are liable for the full cost of their student contribution or fees for that term.

http://www.newcastle.edu.au/study/fees/censusdates.html

Students may withdraw from a course without academic penalty on or before the last day of term. Any withdrawal from a course after the last day of term will result in a fail grade.

Students cannot enrol in a new course after the second week of term, except under exceptional circumstances. Any application to add a course after the second week of term must be on the appropriate form, and should be discussed with staff in the Student Hubs or with your Program Executive at PSB if you are a Singapore student.

To check or change your enrolment online go to myHub: <u>https://myhub.newcastle.edu.au</u>

STUDENT INFORMATION & CONTACTS

Various services are offered by the Student Support Unit: www.newcastle.edu.au/service/studentsupport/

The Student Hubs are a one-stop shop for the delivery of student related services and are the first point of contact for students studying in Australia. Student Hubs are located at:

Callaghan Campus	Port Macquarie students
Shortland Hub: Level 3, Shortland Building	contact your program officer or
Hunter Hub: Level 2, Student Services Centre	<u>EnquiryCentre@newcastle.edu.au</u>
City Precinct	Phone 4921 5000
City Hub & Information Common, University	Singapore students
House	contact your PSB Program Executive
Central Coast Campus (Ourimbah) Student Hub: Opposite the Main Cafeteria	

OTHER CONTACT INFORMATION

Faculty Websites	General enquiries
www.newcastle.edu.au/faculty/business-law/	Callaghan, City and Port Macquarie
	Phone: 02 4921 5000
www.newcastle.edu.au/faculty/education-arts/	Email:
	EnquiryCentre@newcastle.edu.au
www.newcastle.edu.au/faculty/engineering/	
	Ourimbah
www.newcastle.edu.au/faculty/health/	Phone: 02 4348 4030
	Email:
www.newcastle.edu.au/faculty/science-it/	EnquiryCentre@newcastle.edu.au
Rules Governing Undergraduate Academic	The Dean of Students
Rules Governing Undergraduate Academic Awards	The Dean of Students Deputy Dean of Students (Ourimbah)
Awards	Deputy Dean of Students (Ourimbah)
Awards	Deputy Dean of Students (Ourimbah) Phone: 02 4921 5806;
Awards www.newcastle.edu.au/policylibrary/000311.html	Deputy Dean of Students (Ourimbah) Phone: 02 4921 5806; Fax: 02 4921 7151
Awards www.newcastle.edu.au/policylibrary/000311.html Rules Governing Postgraduate Academic	Deputy Dean of Students (Ourimbah) Phone: 02 4921 5806; Fax: 02 4921 7151 Email:
Awards www.newcastle.edu.au/policylibrary/000311.html Rules Governing Postgraduate Academic Awards	Deputy Dean of Students (Ourimbah) Phone: 02 4921 5806; Fax: 02 4921 7151 Email:
Awards www.newcastle.edu.au/policylibrary/000311.html Rules Governing Postgraduate Academic Awards	Deputy Dean of Students (Ourimbah) Phone: 02 4921 5806; Fax: 02 4921 7151 Email:
Awards www.newcastle.edu.au/policylibrary/000311.html Rules Governing Postgraduate Academic Awards www.newcastle.edu.au/policylibrary/000306.html	Deputy Dean of Students (Ourimbah) Phone: 02 4921 5806; Fax: 02 4921 7151 Email:

This course outline will not be altered after the second week of the term except under extenuating circumstances with Head of School approval. Students will be notified in advance of the change.

----- End of CTS Entry -----

Online Tutorial Registration:

Students are required to enrol in the Lecture and a specific Tutorial time for this course via the Online Registration system. Refer - <u>http://studinfo1.newcastle.edu.au/rego/stud_choose_login.cfm</u>

NB: Registrations close at the end of week 2 of semester.

Studentmail and Blackboard: Refer - www.blackboard.newcastle.edu.au/

This course uses Blackboard and studentmail to contact students, so you are advised to keep your email accounts within the quota to ensure you receive essential messages. To receive an expedited response to queries, post questions on the Blackboard discussion forum if there is one, or if emailing staff directly use the course code in the subject line of your email. Students are advised to check their studentmail and the course Blackboard site on a weekly basis.

Important Additional Information

Details about the following topics are available on your course Blackboard site (where relevant). Refer - <u>www.blackboard.newcastle.edu.au/</u>

- Written Assignment Presentation and Submission Details
- Online copy submission to Turnitin
- Penalties for Late Assignments
- Special Circumstances
- No Assignment Re-submission
- Re-marks & Moderations
- Return of Assignments
- Preferred Referencing Style
- Student Representatives
- Student Communication
- Essential Online Information for Students

Written Assignment Presentation and Submission Details

Students are required to submit assessment items by the due date. Late assignments will be subject to penalties unless students are granted formal extension or if there are extenuating circumstances.

Hard copy submission:

- **Type your assignments:** All work must be typewritten in 11 or 12 point black font. Leave a wide margin for marker's comments, use 1.5 or double spacing, and include page numbers.
- Word length: The word limit of all assessment items should be strictly followed 10% above or below is acceptable, otherwise penalties may apply.
- **Proof read your work** because spelling, grammatical and referencing mistakes will be penalised.
- Staple the pages of your assignment together (do not use pins or paper clips).
- University Assessment Item Coversheet: All assignments must be submitted with the University coversheet available at: <u>http://www.newcastle.edu.au/study/forms/</u>
- By arrangement with the relevant lecturer, assignments may be submitted at any Student Hub located at:
 - > Level 3, Shortland Union, Callaghan
 - Level 2, Student Services Centre, Callaghan
 - Ground Floor, University House, City
 - Opposite Café Central, Ourimbah

• **Date-stamping assignments:** All students must date-stamp their own assignments using the machine provided at each Student Hub. If mailing an assignment, this should be address to the relevant School. Mailed assignments are accepted from the date posted, confirmed by a Post Office date-stamp; they are also date-stamped upon receipt by Schools.

Keep a copy of all assignments: It is the student's responsibility to produce a copy of their work if the assignment goes astray after submission. Students are advised to keep updated back-ups in electronic and hard copy formats.

Grading guide		
49% or less	Fail (FF)	An unacceptable effort, including non-completion. The student has not understood the basic principles of the subject matter and/or has been unable express their understanding in a comprehensible way. Deficient in terms of answering the question, research, referencing and correct presentation (spelling, grammar etc). May include extensive plagiarism.
50% to 64%	Pass (P)	The work demonstrates a reasonable attempt to answer the question, shows some grasp of the basic principles of the subject matter and a basic knowledge of the required readings, is comprehensible, accurate and adequately referenced.
65% to 74%	Credit (C)	The work demonstrates a clear understanding of the question, a capacity to integrate research into the discussion, and a critical appreciation of a range of different theoretical perspectives. A deficiency in any of the above may be compensated by evidence of independent thought. The work is coherent and accurate.
75% to 84%	Distinction (D)	Evidence of substantial additional reading and/or research, and evidence of the ability to generalise from the theoretical content to develop an argument in an informed and original manner. The work is well organised, clearly expressed and shows a capacity for critical analysis.
85% upwards	High Distinction (HD)	All of the above, plus a thorough understanding of the subject matter based on substantial additional reading and/or research. The work shows a high level of independent thought, presents informed and insightful discussion of the topic, particularly the theoretical issues involved, and demonstrates a well-developed capacity for critical analysis.

Week	Week Commencing	Lecture and Tutorial Topics
1	27/07/09	Macedonia, "The Sleeping Giant"; country, resources, people potential: Macedonian history before Philip II
2	3/08/2009	The Macedonian State; institutions and army; Philip's accession and his first year
		TUTORIAL: MACEDONIAN KINGS
3	10/08/2009	Philip consolidates his power: 358-352 B.C.
		NO TUTORIAL
		*Take Home Research Task due
4	17/08/2009	The Expansion of Macedonia, the fall of Olynthus and Peace of Philocrates, 346 B.C.
		TUTORIAL: PHILIP'S EARLY SUCCESS
5	24/08/2009	Philip the Statesman: Athenian/ Macedonian diplomacy 346- 340 B.C. The Battle of Chaeronea and the League of Corinth
		NO TUTORIAL
6	31/08/2009	The Sources for Alexander the Great. Alexander's early life and Philip's assassination
		TUTORIAL: THE MARRIAGES OF PHILIP II
7	7/09/2009	Alexander's genius as a general: an overview NO TUTORIAL
		*Source Analysis Task due
8	14/09/2009	Special Guest lecture by Professor A.B. Bosworth: How Alexander Won the Battle of Issus in 333 B.C.
		NO TUTORIAL
*9	21/09/2009	Alexander the Statesman; the foundation of cities, Alexander's Iranian policy
		TUTORIAL: THE FALL OF PHILOTAS
10	12/10/2009	Opposition and Conspiracies NO TUTORIAL
		*2 nd Take Home Research Task due
11	19/10/2009	The Indian Campaign; the quest for 'Ocean' and mutiny on the Hyphasis.
		TUTORIAL: THE BURNING OF PERSEPOLIS
12	26/10/2009	The King's last year
		NO TUTORIAL
13	2/11/2009	The personality of Alexander and the making of a myth TUTORIAL: THE DEATH OF CLEITUS
		Note: Essay Due Week 14; WEDNESDAY November 11
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Professor Bosworth is the author of your set text, *Conquest and Empire* and is one of the world's leading experts on the reign of Alexander. I urge all students to attend his special lecture. If you are interested in writing on Alexander's genius as a general, you will find this especially helpful. Professor Bosworth will also be available for questions relating to the lecture and any other topic in the history of the period.

SET TEXTS

• COURSE READER

• E. I. McQueen (trans.) Diodorus Siculus: The Reign of Philip II (London, 1995)

• Arrian (A. D. Selincourt, trans.) The Campaigns of Alexander (Harmondsworth,

Penguin, 1971)

• Quintus Curtius Rufus (John Yardley trans with notes by W. Heckel) The History of Alexander (Harmondsworth, Penguin, 1984)

• A.B. Bosworth, Conquest and Empire; The Reign of Alexander the Great (Canto, 1993)

RECOMMENDED

Plutarch (trans. Ian Scott Kilvert) *The Age of Alexander* (Harmondsworth, Penguin, 1973) *Note that the Course Workbook will probably not be available until late July. Ideally it would be good for you to purchase all these books; however if finances are tight, buy Arrian and Bosworth over McQueen and Curtius (there is a chapter on Philip II in Bosworth) and the relevant extracts from Diodorus will be provided in the Course Workbook. Other useful books include:

Elizabeth Baynham, Alexander the Great: the Unique History of Quintus Curtius (Ann Arbor; 1998; pb 2004)
A.B. Bosworth and E.J. Baynham (edits) Alexander the Great in Fact and Fiction (Oxford, 2000; pb 2002)
A.B. Bosworth, Alexander and the East (Oxford, 1996)
Paul Cartledge, Alexander the Great: the hunt for a new past (New York, 2004)
Robin Lane Fox, Alexander the Great (Penguin, 1973)
Peter Green, Alexander of Macedon (Pelican, 1974)
N.G. L. Hammond, The Macedonian State (Oxford, 1989)
Philip II (London, 1994)
Alexander the Great: king, Commander and Statesman (Bristol, 1989)
Ian Worthington, Philip II of Macedonia (New Haven, 2009)
Alexander the Great, Man and God (Longman, 2004)

The INTERNET

Philip and Alexander are industries, and you will find a plethora of sites devoted to the Macedonian conqueror and his famous father. Most are pretty superficial, and in general be very wary of sites which do not advertise an institutional and educational (ie edu) affiliation. Also in any discussion of a particular topic, look for references (particularly from the ancient sources) and bibliography, and keep in mind that there are no quality controls (ie formal refereeing processes, unless the source is an electronic journal, or press).

My favourite Alexander site is http://www.pothos.org/default.asp?

TUTORIALS

There will be some tutorials on general topics, which will enable a wide-ranging discussion and some that are based on source analysis of set passages. There is an abundance of ancient historical sources for the reigns of Philip II and especially Alexander the Great. In order to understand the historical complexities and personages involved, it is necessary for any student to be aware of the strengths and weaknesses of our historical traditions. The source analysis tutorials are designed to provide a methodology for approaching historiographical aspects, as well as bring out other historical issues. Students are expected to read the relevant passages and consider the attached questions IN ADVANCE of the tutorial. These discussions are good practice for the Source Analysis assignment due in Week 7.

Tutorial 1: Wk 2, beginning August 3, 2009.

The Origins of the Macedonian Kings - history or propaganda?

Read:

Herodotus 8. 137-139. (See Document 1 in the documents on Philip II of Macedon in the Course Reader). Justin Bk. 7. 1-2 (see Terry Ryan's translation of Justin, Course Reader) Herodotus 5. 17-22 (Document 2, Course Reader) Justin Bk 7. 3-4 (Course Reader)

Consider the following points:

What do the accounts of Herodotus and Justin have in common? How are they different? Why would the Macedonian kings be eager to stress their family connection with the royal house of Argos?

What is the significance of the story about Alexander Philhellene and the Persian envoys? (Document 2, cf. Justin, 7. 3-4)

Modern Studies

Borza, E. N. *In the Shadow of Olympus: the Emergence of Macedon* (Princeton, 1990) pp80-84, p100ff. (Short loans)

Before Alexander: constructing early Macedonia (Claremont, 1999) [Short Loans]

Badian, E. "Herodotus on Alexander I of Macedon: A Study of Some Subtle Silences", in Simon Hornblower (edit.) *Greek Historiography* (Oxford, 1994) pp107-130 (Short loans) Errington, R. M. "Alexander the Philhellene and Persia". In Ancient Macedonian Studies in Honor of Charles F. Edson (Thessaloniki, 1981) pp139-43. (Short loans).

Hammond, N. G. L. A History of Macedonia, Vol i (Oxford, 1972) pp309-311, 431-32. (Short loans)

A History of Macedonia Vol ii (Oxford, 1979), p3ff, 90ff (Short loans)

"The Sources of Justin on Macedonia to the Death of Philip", *Classical Quarterly*, 41 (1991) 496-508. (Short loans)

Tutorial 2: Wk 4: beginning August 17, 2009.

Philip's Early Success

"For he (Philip) had learned from experience that what could not be subdued by force of arms could easily be vanquished by gold"

Diodorus, 16. 54. 2-3.

Discuss Philip's use of diplomacy and military force in his relationships with Greek city states from 359-352 B.C. Was his success - and the consolidation of his state's power - owed more to one than the other?

You might like to consider a selection of the following issues for the discussion: Philip's accession"

The so-called "military revolution" and Philip's Illyrian campaign, 358 Philip's intervention in Thessaly Philip's relationship with Athens Philip's northern policies (Potidaea, Philippi, Thrace and Methone) Philip's involvement in the Sacred War.

Recommended reading

See the extracts from Diodorus of Sicily on Philip II of Macedon, pp1-6 in the Course Reader Justin, Bks 7-9 (Course Reader)

Modern Studies

The following monographs are particularly recommended:

McQueen, E. I. *Diodorus Siculus: the Reign of Philip II* (Bristol Classical Press, 1995) (Short loans)

Hammond, N. G. L. Philip of Macedon, esp. Chapters 3-5 (Short loans)

Borza, E. N. In the Shadow of Olympus, Chapter 9. (Short loans)

Ellis, J. Philip II and Macedonian Imperialism, Chapters 2-4. (Short Loans)

Buckler, J. *Philip II and the Sacred War*, Mnemosyne, Supplement 109 (Leiden, 1989). (Short loans)

Westlake, H.D. *Thessaly in the Fourth Century B.C.*(London, 1939). (Short loans) Pearlman, S. (edit). *Philip and Athens* (Cambridge, 1973). in particular, see the articles by T.T. B. Ryder and G. E. M. de St Croix in this volume. (Short loans)

Also,

Hammond, N. G. L. "The Battle between Philip and Bardylis," Antichthon 23 (1989), pp1-9.

T. T. B. Ryder, "The Diplomatic Skills of Philip II" in *Ventures Into Greek History* edit. Ian Worthington (Oxford, 1994) (Short Loans).

Tutorial 3: Wk 6: beginning 31st August, 2009.

The Marriages of Philip II (Essay alternative)

How important was marriage for Philip II as a diplomatic tool and what factors may have affected a wife's status at the Macedonian court?

Reading:

Baynham, E. J. "Why Didn't Alexander Marry a Nice Macedonian Girl Before Leaving Home? Observations on Factional Politics at Alexander's Court in 336-334 B.C." in T. W. Hillard et al. (eds.) Ancient History in a Modern University Vol I. (Grand Rapids, 1998) 148-155 (Short loans)

Borza, E. Nn. In the Shadow of Olympus (Princeton, 1990)

Carney, E. D. Olympias (London, 2006) Short Loans.

Women and Monarchy in Macedonia (Norman, 2000) (Short loans)

Mitchell, Lynette, "Born to Rule? Succession in the Argead Royal House", in Waldemar Heckel and Lawrence A. Tritle and Pat Wheatley (eds.) Alexander's Empire Formulation to Decay (Claremont, 2007) 61-74

Ogden, Daniel, Polygamy, Prostitutes and Death (London, 1999)

Macurdy, G. H. "Queen Eurydice and the Evidence for Woman-Power in Early Macedonia",

American Journal of Philology 48 (1927) 201-14

Hellenistic Queens (Baltimore, 1932)

Ryder, T. T. B. "The Diplomatic Skills of Philip II" in Ventures Into Greek History edit. Ian Worthington (Oxford, 1994) (Short Loans).

Tronson, A. "Satyrus the Peripatetic and the Marriages of Philip II", Journal of Hellenic Studies 104 (1984) pp.116-26 (Short loans)

Tutorial 4: Week 9, beginning 21st September, 2009.

The Fall of Philotas

Discuss the events surrounding the fall of Philotas. Who were the major figures involved and do you think Philotas was guilty of the crime he was executed for? Why do our main sources (Plutarch, Arrian and Curtius) differ so much in their respective treatments of the episode?

(Note that this tutorial is directly relevant to the 2^{nd} research assessment task due in Week 10 after the Semester break).

Reading.

Arrian, 3.26 Curtius, 6.7-11 Plutarch, Alexander, 48-49 Justin, 12.5 Diodorus, 17. 79-80.

Note that the relevant passages from Plutarch and Diodorus are contained in the Reader.

Modern Studies

Heckel, W. "The Conspiracy Against Philotas", Phoenix 31 (1977) 9-21

The Marshals of Alexander's Empire (London, 1992)

Badian, E. "Alexander the Great and the Loneliness of Power" in Studies in Greek and Ancient Roman History (Oxford, 1964) (Short loans)

"Conspiracies" in A.B. Bosworth and E.J. Baynham (eds.) Alexander the Great in Fact and Fiction (Oxford, 2000) 50-95.

Baynham, E. Alexander the Great: the Unique History of Quintus Curtius (Ann Arbor, 1998) 171-180. Adams, Lindsay W. "The Episode of Philotas: An Insight" in Waldemar Heckel and Lawrence A. Tritle (eds.) Cross roads of History: The Age of Alexander (Claremont, 2004) 113-127.

Tutorial 5: Week 11, beginning October 19, 2009.

The Burning of the Achaemenid Palace at Persepolis (Essay alternative)

Was Alexander's burning of the royal palace of Persepolis an act of deliberate policy or the result of a drunken debauch?

Reading

Arrian, 3. 18 Plutarch, Alexander, 38 Curtius, 5. 7 Didorus 17. 72

Modern Studies

Badian, E. "Agis III: Revisions and Reflections," in Ventures Into Greek History edit Ian Worthington (Oxford, 1994) (Short loans).

Balcer, J.M. "Alexander's Burning of Persepolis," Iranica Antiqua 13 (1978) pp119-133 (Short Loans)

Bloedow, Edmund F. "'That Great Puzzle in the History of Alexander": Back Into "The Primal Pit of Historical Murk", in Rom und der Griechische Osten (Stuttgart, 1995) (Short loans). This article answers Badian's piece on Agis III.

Borza, E. N. "Fire From Heaven: Alexander at Persepolis," Classical Philology 67 (1972) pp233-245

M. Flower, "Alexander and Panhellenism" in A. B. Bosworth and E. J. Baynham (eds.) Alexander the Great in Fact and Fiction (Oxford, 2000) pp96-135 (Short Loans)

Hammond, N. G. L. "The Archaeological and Literary Evidence for the Burning of the

Persepolis Palace," Classical Quarterly, 42 (1992) pp358-364. (Short loans).

Morrison, Garry, "Alexander, Combat Psychology, and Persepolis", Antichthon 35 (2001) 30-44.

You might also consult,

Green, P. Alexander of Macedon, pp.318-321 (short loans)

Lane Fox, R. Alexander the Great (chap. 18).

Baynham, Alexander the Great: the Unique History of Quintus Curtius, pp95-99 (Short Loans)

Tutorial 6: Week 13, beginning 2nd November, 2009.

THE DEATH OF CLEITUS

Compare and contrast the ancient sources on the death of Cleitus. What differences do you detect between Arrian and Plutarch's versions and the Vulgate and can you account for them?

Read the following:

Arrian, 4.8-10, Curt. 8.1.19-52, Plut. Alex.50-52, Justin, Bk. 12. 6 (p113, Yardley). All the relevant extracts are contained in the Course Reader

Modern Studies.

E. Carney, 'The Death of Cleitus', GRBS 22 (1981) pp149-160.

N.G.L. Hammond, Three Historians of Alexander the Great (Cambridge, 1983) p103ff. (short loans)

Sources for Alexander the Great: an analysis of Plutarch's Life and

Arrian's Anabasis Alexandrou (Cambridge, 1993) (Short Loans)

P. Stadter, Arrian of Nicomedia (Chapel Hill, 1980) (Short Loans)

A.B. Bosworth, A Historical Commentary on Arrian's History of Alexander ii Bks iv -v

(Oxford, 1995) (Short Loans)

Alexander and the East: the Tragedy of Triumph, (Oxford, 1996) esp.

Chapter 4, "The Creation of Belief" (Short Loans)

Victor Alonso, "Alexander, Cleitus and Lanice: Upbringing and Maintenance" in in Waldemar Heckel and Lawrence A. Tritle and Pat Wheatley (eds.) Alexander's Empire Formulation to Decay (Claremont, 2007) 109-124.

Lawrence A. Tritle, "Alexander and the Killing of Cleitus the Black", in in Waldemar Heckel and Lawrence A. Tritle (eds.) Cross roads of History: The Age of Alexander (Claremont, 2004) 127-146.

Assignments

Take-Home Research Assignments.

The "take-home" assignments are short research and writing tasks that require brief answers to a series of set questions (such as defining terms, ancient institutions or finding information) that necessitates using ancient and modern authorities. There is no need to submit these short tasks though TURNITIN.

With the exception of the ESSAY, all assignments MUST BE submitted by 5pm on the FRIDAY of the week they are due, unless an extension has been granted by the Course Co-ordinator. The ESSAY is due on WEDNESDAY, November 11, 2009.

Take-Home Task 1: TERMS FOR DEFINITION Due: Week 3: Length: ca. 500 words: Weighting: 20%

Define the following terms in a couple of sentences. You will receive more marks if you can give an example from an ancient source which demonstrates the term in context. In order to do this, you can consult the index of an ancient author's work, which in some cases will give references, or modern scholars like Bosworth (who often gives examples in his footnotes). However, you also need to know English translations of these Greek terms in order to find them within a text.

You might also the following resources helpful: the Class Reader, the Oxford Classical Dictionary (3rd edition, edits. Hornblower and Spawforth), Bosworth, Conquest and Empire, Hammond, The Macedonian State, Heckel, Marshals of Alexander's Empire and Carney, Women and Monarchy in Macedonia. If you are having any difficulty obtaining material, please consult the lecturer.

hypaspist kausia agema paides basilikoi proxenos sarissa satrap proskynesis hetairos prostasia

Take-Home Task 2: Ptolemy as a Historian on the Fall of Philotas

Due: Week 10 Length: ca. 500 words : Weighting: 20%

1. How valid are Arrian's reasons for selecting Ptolemy's history as his principal source? Arrian references: Preface = p.41; Bk i.8, lf = pp. 57-8; Bk 2. 3f = pp.122-3; Bk.3.3, 5 = p.152; Bk 3.26-27 = pp.191-3

Note: Page references are to the Penguin Arrian

(a). Compare Arrian 3.26.2 (p. 191) and Plutarch Alexander 49. Give one example of different emphasis in Plutarch from Arrian's digest of Ptolemy.

(b). When did Ptolemy become a royal Bodyguard?

(c). Suggest a reason why Arrian preferred Ptolemy's version of the fall of Philotas.

For additional reading, please see the bibliography for Tutorial 4: The Fall of Philotas

^{2.}

Source-based analysis task: Take-Home Gobbets

A "gobbet" is simply a chunk of something – in this case, a piece of text. The source-based task or "gobbets" exercise is designed to promote understanding and pertinent commentary on ancient authors, and the various historical and historiographical issues they raise. Students will be expected to write informed notes on passages which are contained in this Course Guide.

The assignment is due in Week 7; length 1,000 words (ca. 500 words per passage) Weighting: 30%

Some Points to Approaching Gobbets Analysis

*Place the passage in context; comment on where the passage appears and immediate background

*Refer to relevant supportive or contradictory ancient sources

*Discuss main historical issues, also the problems associated with a particular author and show knowledge of main modern thought on the area.

*Treat each passage separately

EXAMPLE GOBBET:

Arrian 3. 3. 1-2 (p.151 Penguin)

After these events, Alexander suddenly found himself gripped with a pothos to visit the shrine of Ammon in Libya. One reason was his wish to consult the oracle there, as it had a reputation for infallibility, and also because Perseus and Heracles were supposed to have consulted it....(2) But there was also another reason: Alexander (had a) pothos to equal the fame of Perseus and Heracles; the blood of both flowed in his veins, and just as legend traced their descent from Zeus, so he, too, had a feeling that in some way he was descended from Ammon. In any case, he undertook this expedition with the deliberate purpose of obtaining more precise information on this subject - or at any rate to say that he had obtained it.

EXAMPLE ANSWER

This passage highlights a number of important issues, particularly in relation to the historical Alexander's imitation of his heroic ancestors and his divine aspirations. It also suggests certain aspects about Arrian's methods as a historian.

Arrian, along with Plutarch, places Alexander's visit to the oracle after the foundation of Alexandria (as opposed to before, which is found in Quintus Curtius, Diodorus and Justin) in 331 B.C. At that time, the Persian satrap Mazaces had surrendered Egypt to Alexander, as he had inadequate numbers of troops to defend it; the native Egyptians welcomed the Macedonians as liberators from Persian rule and Alexander was careful to honour Egyptian religious practices.

As Arrian notes, the oracle of Zeus Ammon at Cyrene enjoyed a high reputation for accuracy among the Greeks and therefore any proclamation from it would carry considerable religious authority. Alexander's imitation of his ancestors, especially Heracles was notorious and there are many examples of the king's desire to be identified with and surpass Heracles; he was depicted in sculpture and on coinage wearing the traditional Heraclean dress of the lion-scalp covering, while the capture of the Rock of Aornus on Alexander's entry in India was directly attributed in our main sources to the king's desire to outdo Heracles, as legend attested that the hero had been unable to take the Rock.

Moreover, Arrian stresses the link between Alexander's imitation and his own desire to have the oracle confirm his divine descent. Arrian is only too well aware of the political implications of this action, as is inherent in his comment that Alexander meant to say he had obtained the information he wanted; however, although at a later point in the text, he says he cannot say what Alexander said to the priests of Ammon or what was said to him in return, he is open-minded and ready to accept that Alexander received acknowledgement of his divine lineage. Although in his necrology or eulogy on the king in Bk 7, Arrian claims that Alexander's divine aspirations were a matter of policy, he clearly had a profound reverence of the divine himself and openly states that he feels that there was something more than human associated with Alexander's achievement. On the other hand, we might compare the Roman historian Quintus Curtius (4. 7. 28), who is quite contemptuous of Alexander's consultation of the oracle and who sees the king's behaviour as part of his increasing absolutism. In modern times, the issue of Alexander's pothos - or longing has raised considerable discussion. Roman writers like Curtius and Justin also speak of the king's cupido - or strong desire (but not in a sexual sense). Some modern scholars like Victor Ehrenberg (in Alexander and the Greeks, pp52-61) believe that the term was Alexander's own in order to describe what motivated him. Others (for instance A. B. Bosworth in his Commentary on Arrian, vol I., p62) are sceptical of this interpretation and see the term more as a literary device. However, since pothos/cupido often appear in a context which implies either Alexander's longing for achievement or to visit some exotic location, throughout our extant sources, the term was probably taken from the earliest generation of Alexander historians and remained a strong part of the tradition.

GOBBETS PASSAGES FOR ANALYSIS

Write informed notes on TWO of the following passages. I shall also be happy to advise any student who is uncertain about the methodology.

(1). Herodotus and Alexander Philhellene

That these princes, who are sprung from Perdiccas are Greeks, as they themselves affirm, I myself happen to know; and in a future part of my history I will prove that they are Greeks. Moreover, the judges presiding at the games of the Grecians in Olympia have determined that they are so; for when Alexander wished to enter the lists, and went down there for that very purpose, his Grecian competitors wished to exclude him, alleging, that the games were not instituted for barbarian combatants, but Grecians. But Alexander, after he had proved himself to be an Argive, was pronounced to be a Greek, and when he was to contend in the stadium, his lot fell out with that of the first combatant. In this manner were these things transacted Herodotus 5. 22

(2). The Macedonian Phalanx in Action:

EITHER:

(a). Alexander Against the Taulantians.

In the circumstances Alexander drew up his phalanx with a depth of 120 files. On either wing he posted 200 horsemen, bidding them keep silent and smartly obey the word of command; the hoplites were ordered to raise their spears upright, and then on the word, to lower them for a charge, swinging their serried points first to the right, then to the left; he moved the phalanx itself smartly forward, and then wheeled it alternatively to right and left. Thus he deployed and manoeuvred it in many difficult formations in a brief time, and then making a kind of wedge from his phalanx on the left, he led it to the attack. The enemy, long bewildered both at the smartness and the discipline of the drill, did not await the approach of Alexander's troops, but abandoned the first hills. Alexander ordered the Macedonians to raise their battlecry and clang their spears upon their shields, and they, even more terrified at the noise, hastily drew back to the city.

Arrian, History of Alexander and Indica 1. 6. 2-4

OR:

(b). The speech of the exiled Athenian general Charidemus to King Darius III of Persia "The Macedonian line is certainly coarse and inelegant, but it protects behind its shields and lances immoveable wedges of tough, densely-packed soldiers. The Macedonians call it a phalanx, an infantry column that holds its ground. They stand man to man, arms interlocked with arms. They wait eagerly for their commander's signal, and they are trained to follow the standards and not break ranks. To a man they obey their orders. Standing ground, encircling manoeuvres, running to the wings, changing formation - the common soldier is no less skilled than the officer."

Quintus Curtius Rufus, Bk. 3. 2. 13

(3). Philip's Network of Proxenoi

Even his (Demosthenes') city was, however, unable to restrain its citizens from their urge towards treason, such was the crop as it were, of traitors that had sprung up at that time throughout Hellas. Hence the anecdote that when Philip wished to take a certain city with unusually strong fortifications and one of its inhabitants remarked it was impregnable, he asked if even gold could not scale its walls. For he had learned from experience that what could not be subdued by force of arms could easily be vanquished by gold. So, organising bands of traitors in the several cities by means of bribes and calling those who accepted his gold "guests" and "friends", by his evil communications he corrupted the morals of the people. Diodorus Siculus 16. 54

(4). The Battle of the Crocus Field .

Philip, therefore, as if he were the avenger of sacrilege, not of the Thebans, ordered all his soldiers to adorn themselves with laurel wreaths, and so made his way into battle as if the god himself were the commander (dux). The Phocians alarmed by guilty awareness of their crimes, upon seeing the insignia of the god, threw aside their weapons, took to flight, and paid the penalties for violated religious law (religio) with their blood and their lives.

Justin, Epitome of Pompeius Trogus 8. 2. 3-4

(5). The formation of the League of Corinth

He (Philip) spread the word that he wanted to make war on the Persians in the Greeks' behalf and to punish them for the profanation of the temples, and this won for him the loyal support of all the Greeks. He showed a kindly face to all in private and in public, and he represented to the cities that he wished to discuss with them matters of common advantage. A general congress, was accordingly, convened at Corinth. He spoke about the war against Persia and by raising great expectations won the representatives over to war. The Greeks elected him the general plenipotentiary of Greece, and he began accumulating supplies for the campaign. Diodorus Siculus 16. 89

(6). Arrian's statement on his sources

Whenever Ptolemy and Aristobulus in their histories of Alexander, the son of Philip, have given the same account, I have followed it on the assumption of its accuracy; where their facts differ I have chosen what I feel to be the more probable and interesting. There are other accounts of Alexander's life - more of them, indeed, and more mutually conflicting than of any other historical character; it seems to me, however, that Ptolemy and Aristobulus are the most trustworthy writers on this subject, because the latter shared Alexander's campaigns, and the former - Ptolemy - in addition to this advantage, was himself a King, and it is more disgraceful for a King to tell lies than anybody else.

Arrian, The Campaigns of Alexander, 1. 1. 1-2. **Essay Topics**

Due: Week 14: Length: ca. 1,500-2,000 words: Weighting: 30%

*Note that in addition to the questions listed below, students also have the option of writing on two of the tutorial topics (the marriages of Philip II, or the burning of the palace of Persepolis). You can also design your own essay question, but you MUST consult the Course Co-ordinator first. Failure to do so will incur penalty.

Question 1: The Diplomacy of Philip II

EITHER:

(a) Discuss Philip's relationship with Athens from the Peace of Philocrates (346) to 340 B.C. Do you think his claim to want 'peace and alliance' with Athens was genuine, or was he more concerned with countering Athenian imperialism in the northern Aegean?

Reading

Ancient Sources

Demosthenes, "On the Peace" in Demosthenes I, trans. J. H. Vince, Loeb Classical Library . Short loans. The Spectre of Philip, edit. J. R. Ellis and R. D. Milns. "Philip's Letter" in Demosthenes I trans. J. H. Vince, Loeb Classical Library. Short loans. Aeschines "On the Embassy" in The Speeches of Aeschines, trans. C. D. Adams, Loeb Classical Library. Short loans. Isocrates "On the Peace" in Isocrates II, trans. G. Norlin, Loeb Classical Library Short loans.

Modern Studies

N. G. L. Hammond, Philip of Macedon (London, 1994). Short loans.

J. R. Ellis, Philip II and Macedonian Imperialism (London, 1976). Short loans

T. T. B. Ryder, "The Diplomatic Skills of Philip II" in Ventures Into Greek History edit. Ian Worthington (Oxford, 1994). Short Loans.

J. Buckler, "Philip II, The Greeks and the King 346-336 B.C." Illinois Classical Studies 19 (1994) pp99-122. Short loans

*S. Perlman (edit) Philip and Athens (Cambridge, 1973). Short loans.

*Note that this volume contains a number of key articles on Philip's diplomatic relations with Athens after the Peace of Philocrates.

OR:

(b) in his biography, *Philip of Macedon* N.G.L. Hammond argues that Philip was aiming at the creation of a "Greek Community" in his settlement known as the League of Corinth. Discuss the formation and structure of the League. Do you agree that the League was a positive outcome and the work of a shrewd statesman, or are you more persuaded by Plutarch's view (Life of Demosthenes); namely that the Battle of Chaeronea saw 'an end to the freedom of the Greeks'? What military precautions did Philip take to ensure Macedonia's power on the Greek mainland?

Ancient Sources

Note Plutarch's descriptions of Macedonian garrisons as "the fetters (*pedai*) of Greece"; see *Aratus* 16.6; Flaminus 10.2

Plutarch, Life of Demosthenes in The Age of Alexander, trans. I. Scott-Kilvert (Penguin). Short loans Demosthenes 17. 3 Diodorus, 16. 89 (see Course Reader Philip II)

Modern Studies

McQueen, E. I. Diodorus Siculus: the Reign of Philip II (Bristol Classical Press, 1995) Short loans.

N. G. L. Hammond, Philip of Macedon (London, 1994) esp. Chapter 15. Short loans

S. Hornblower, The Greek World 479-323 B.C. (London, 1983) esp. pp258-260

S. Perlman, Philip and Athens (Cambridge, 1983). Short loans

J. Buckler, "Philip II, The Greeks and the King 346-336 B.C." Illinois Classical Studies 19 (1994) pp99-122. Short loans

Question 2: The Historiography of Alexander

Explain how the historical methods and biases of Arrian and/or Quintus Curtius may distort our impressions of Alexander the Great. Which of the two historians do you consider to be the more historically 'reliable' and why? Be sure to use examples from the texts: you may choose whatever episodes you find interesting.

In your essay you might consider some of the following issues:

- * the historian's sources and his use of them
- * his literary interests and methods
- * the influence of rhetoric (especially in relation to speeches)
- * the influence of the historian's times and his philosophical and moral outlook.

Reading

A. B. Bosworth, A Historical Commentary on Arrian's History of Alexander, vols i & ii (Oxford, 1980, 1995) Short loans

From Arrian to Alexander (Oxford, 1988) Short loans

P. A. Stadter, Arrian of Nicomedia (Chapel Hill, 1980) Short loans

J. E. Atkinson A Commentary On Q. Curtius Rufus' Historiae Alexandri Magni, in two volumes (Amsterdam, 1980, 1994) Short loans

Elizabeth Baynham, Alexander the Great, the Unique History of Quintus Curtius (Ann Arbor, 1998) Short loans.

Question 3: Alexander's Generalship

EITHER:

(a). Assess the political and military implications of Alexander's campaign on the Hydaspes river and the battle against the Indian king Porus in 326 B.C. Would you describe the victory as Alexander's "greatest military achievement", or has it been overrated?

Reading

Arrian, 5.8ff Curtius, 8. 12-14 Diodorus Siculus, 17. 87-89 Plutarch, Alexander, 59-60. Justin, 12. 8

Modern Studies

Devine, A. M. "The Battle of Hydaspes: A Tactical and Source Critical Study", Anc.W (Ancient World) 14 (1987).
Fuller, J. F. C. The Generalship of Alexander the Great (London, 1958) (short loans)
Green, P. Alexander of Macedon, p390ff (short loans)
Bosworth, Alexander and the East, Chapter 1, "The Shield of Achilles" (short loans)
A Historical Commentary on Arrian, vol ii (Short loans).

OR:

(b) Cicero in the Pro Lege Manilia claimed that any great commander needed scientia rei militaris (knowledge of military affairs) virtus (valour) auctoritas (authority) and felicitas (good luck)

With detailed reference to at least TWO of Alexander's campaigns discuss

Alexander's genius as a commander in the light of this comment.

Reading.

Read the ancient traditions on Alexander's campaigns which interest you carefully. Also, see

Fuller, J. F. C. The Generalship of Alexander the Great (London, 1958) (short loans) Hammond, N. G. L. Alexander the Great, King, Commander and Statesman (Bristol, 1989) The Genius of Alexander (London, 1996)

Engels, D. W. Alexander the Great and the Logistics of the Macedonian Army (Berkeley, 1978)

Question 4: The ''Divinity'' of Alexander

Discuss the significance of Alexander's claims to godhead. Do you consider his aspirations to divinity were more personal than political, or the result of his court's propaganda?

This is a very broad and complex topic. You should focus on only one or two of the following issues in approaching the question.

i. The implications of Alexander's visit to the oracle of Zeus Ammon at Siwah.

ii. The king's imitation of heroic and divine figures (Achilles, Dionysus, Heracles) as a driving force in his personality.

iii. The attempt to introduce the Persian protocol act of proskynesis as a practice for Greeks and Macedonians at his court

iv. Alexander's alleged request for divine honours from the Greeks in 324 B.C.

v. The request to the oracle of Zeus Ammon to deify Hephaestion on his death in 324 B.C.

Reading

Ancient Sources

i. See Curt. 4. 7, Arrian, 3. 3-4, Diod. 17. 49.2-51, Plut. Alex. 26.6-27, J. 11.11

ii. The references are too diverse and scattered to list individually. Use the index references to Achilles, etc. in the translations of the main historical accounts. Key episodes are Alexander's punishment of Betis (Curt. 4. 6.25ff), Alexander's visit to Nysa, the death of Cleitus and the siege of the rock of Aornus.

iii. See Arrian, 4.9-13, Plutarch, Alex. 54-55, Curt. 8. 5.

iv. Note that this event is not attested in the historical narratives. The chief references are to be found in the Athenian orators:

Hyperides, Against Demosthenes cols 31-32, pp523-525 in Minor Attic Orators, Vol ii, trans. J. O. Burtt (Loeb Classical Library). Short loans

Dinarchus, Against Demosthenes 1. 94, p243 in the same volume. v. See Arrian, 7. 14, Plut. Alex. 72, Diodorus 17. 115. 6

Modern Studies.

E. Badian, "The Deification of Alexander the Great", in Ancient Macedonian Studies in Honor of C. F. Edson, ed. H. J. Dell (Thessaloniki, 1981) pp27-71. Short loans.

"Alexander the Great between two thrones and Heaven: variations on an old theme", in Subject and Ruler: The Cult of the Ruling Power in Classical Antiquity, edit. A.

Small, Journal of Roman Archaeology Supplement no 17 (1996) pp11-26. Short loans A. B. Bosworth, 'Alexander, Euripides and Dionysos: the Motivation for Apotheosis', in R. W. Wallace, and E. M. Harris, (eds.) Transitions to Empire, Essays in Honor of E. Badian. (Oklahoma, 1996) pp 140-66. Short loans

Alexander and the East (Oxford, 1996) Short loans.

Conquest and Empire (Cambridge, 1988) pp278-290. Short loans.

"Alexander and Ammon" in Greece and the Mediterranean in History and Pre-history, ed. K. Kinzl (Berlin, 1977) pp51-75. Short loans.

A Historical Commentary on Arrian's History of Alexander, vol ii (Oxford, 1995)

G. L. Cawkwell, "The Deification of Alexander the Great: A Note", in Ventures Into Greek

History, edit. I. Worthington (Oxford, 1994) pp293-306. Short loans.

J. P. V. D. Balsdon, "The 'Divinity' of Alexander", Historia 1 (1950) pp363-88. Short loans