

ALEXANDER

The Ambiguity of Greatness

Guy MacLean Rogers



R A N D O M H O U S E

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Preface

I have written this book to provide readers with a clear and balanced account of the life and legacies of Alexander the Great. The narrative is fundamentally rooted in the ancient sources for Alexander's deeds. For a critical review of those sources readers should consult the appendix at the end of the book, Sources: Flacks, Hacks, and Historians.

Almost all historians have judged Alexander III of Macedon to be a military genius. Somewhat curiously, however, few scholars have explained why this is the case, at least in any detail. In this work I do. In fact, I hope to show why Alexander should be considered the greatest warrior in history.

In an ideal, peaceful world, Alexander's military tactics, logistics, and strategic vision would be largely of antiquarian interest. But we do not live in such a world. Alexander never lost a battle and conquered the ancient world's greatest empire in less than a decade. His unparalleled record of military success is more, not less, relevant today.

I also will argue that Alexander was a kind of unacknowledged proto-feminist, limited multiculturalist, and religious visionary who planned to establish a world empire of the "best." His idea of establishing such an empire was based upon his belief that while all men were the sons of Zeus, the ruler of Mount Olympus had a particular fondness for the "best" among mankind. While Alexander's attempt to institute a global empire of the best was not successful, I will show how Alexander nevertheless laid down the foundations of Western civilization and continues to influence the religious beliefs of countless people today in unexpected ways. We may see Alexander primarily as a great conqueror. But it arguably was the son of Macedon's greatest "Prince," and not the carpenter's son from Nazareth, who made it possible for the "greatest story ever told" to become our world's dominant myth.

Although this biography of Alexander has been written primarily for a general audience, it certainly does address many detailed and controversial scholarly questions about Alexander's life and historical effects. In doing so, this work either implicitly or explicitly refers to the arguments of many other scholars. It is a pleasure to acknowledge my deep debt to those scholars who have influenced my own understanding and presentation of Alexander, especially: E. Badian, E. Borza, A. Bosworth, J. Brierly, A. Briant, A. Devine, D. Engels, P. Fraser, P. Green, W. Heckel, F. Holt, A. Kuhrt, R. Lane Fox, and W. Tarn. It is particularly important to express my deepest admiration for the inspiring scholarship of these great historians in light of the fact that I fear that I have differed so often here from their interpretations of Alexander's actions. I would encourage readers who become captivated by Alexander, as I have been since I was six years old, to consult the works of the historians and scholars listed in the Select Modern Bibliography.

In Greece, Dimitros Grammenos, the director of the Archaeological Museum of Thessaloniki, kindly granted permission for me to reproduce pictures of the ivory portrait heads of Alexander and Philip from the excavation of the royal tombs of Vergina. I thank my gracious Wellesley colleague Anastasia Karakasidou for helping to make that possible.

While I was writing this book, my companions Harry Cladouhos, Constantine “Gus” Kaloidis, and Piero Antinori provided me with invaluable feedback, nourishment, and inspiration. I would like to thank, at Wellesley College, my personal bodyguard: Thomas Cushman, Barbara Geller, Jonathan Imber, Fran Malino, and Rod Morrison. Only they know how often they have saved me from today’s Mallians.

This book grew out of the Internet course on Alexander the Great that I created several years ago with Alexander Parker and Jeff Kunken of the Global Education Network in New York. For those who would like the opportunity to take a version of the course I have taught at Wellesley College for the past twenty years, you can log on to Gen.com.

This project never would have seen the light of day without the encouragement and help of Catharine Sprinkel, Lynn Chu, and Glen Hartley of Writer’s Representatives in New York. From the submission of the original book proposal to the completion of the project, Lynn and Glen have listened to my ideas and helped me to clarify them. I am sure that I have learned more from them than they have from me. When the going has gotten a bit tough they also have been there in my corner providing wisdom and good old-fashioned common sense.

At Random House, it is a pleasure to record my gratitude to my editor, Will Murphy, for taking this book on in the first place and for his willingness to spend many hours attempting to quiet the choppy waves of my prose; it is rare (bordering on impossible) today to find such an enthusiastic and constructive critic of writing about antiquity, particularly one with such a wonderful sense of humor. To Will’s assistant, Evelyn O’Hara, I would like to give thanks for her unfailing courtesy and for help with all matters logistical, despite my incomprehensible handwriting and Delphic e-mails. Everything that is beautiful about the presentation of this book is due to the talents of Dana Blanchette. Finally, only Dennis Ambrose knows how much I owe him for actually seeing this book through to its final production; by a country mile he is the best production editor I have ever been blessed to know and to work with on any project.

As always, my brothers and sister (Mark, Christopher, and Sara) have shown great interest in another one of my books, and have pushed me to keep in mind the all-important question of why anyone would care of this matters to anyone, apart from a few odd classical scholars. Long live the veterans of Bear Hill!

Perhaps the decisive influence upon the completion of this book, however, has been my partner, Dr. Nancy Thompson of The Metropolitan Museum of Art. Descendant of a long line of distinguished editors from the great state of Iowa, Dr. Thompson improved this book at every stage of its writing and production. Everyone knows that she is both the brains and the beauty behind the operation.

This book is dedicated to the memory of my father, Orris Arleigh “Buck” Rogers, who passed away from Alzheimer’s disease in March 1996. As now noted in several accounts of life in Litchfield County, Connecticut during the 1960s, Buck Rogers was simply too good-looking, too talented, and too charming for his own or anyone else’s good. Alzheimer’s robbed Buck of his looks and his creative talents—but not of his humor or sense of style.

Shortly before he died, I visited Buck in the nursing home where he lived during the last few years of his life. Since he was no longer able to speak clearly, but obviously still enjoyed listening to music, I brought along a CD of Glenn Miller’s greatest hits to listen to together. Among his numerous artistic talents, Buck was an excellent drummer and loved big band music of the 1940s in particular. As the first notes of “In the Mood” came floating out of my portable CD player, Buck suddenly jumped right out of his wheelchair and began to dance to the rhythm.

“Hey, Buck,” I said, “you’ve got it!”

To which he replied, “I always did.”

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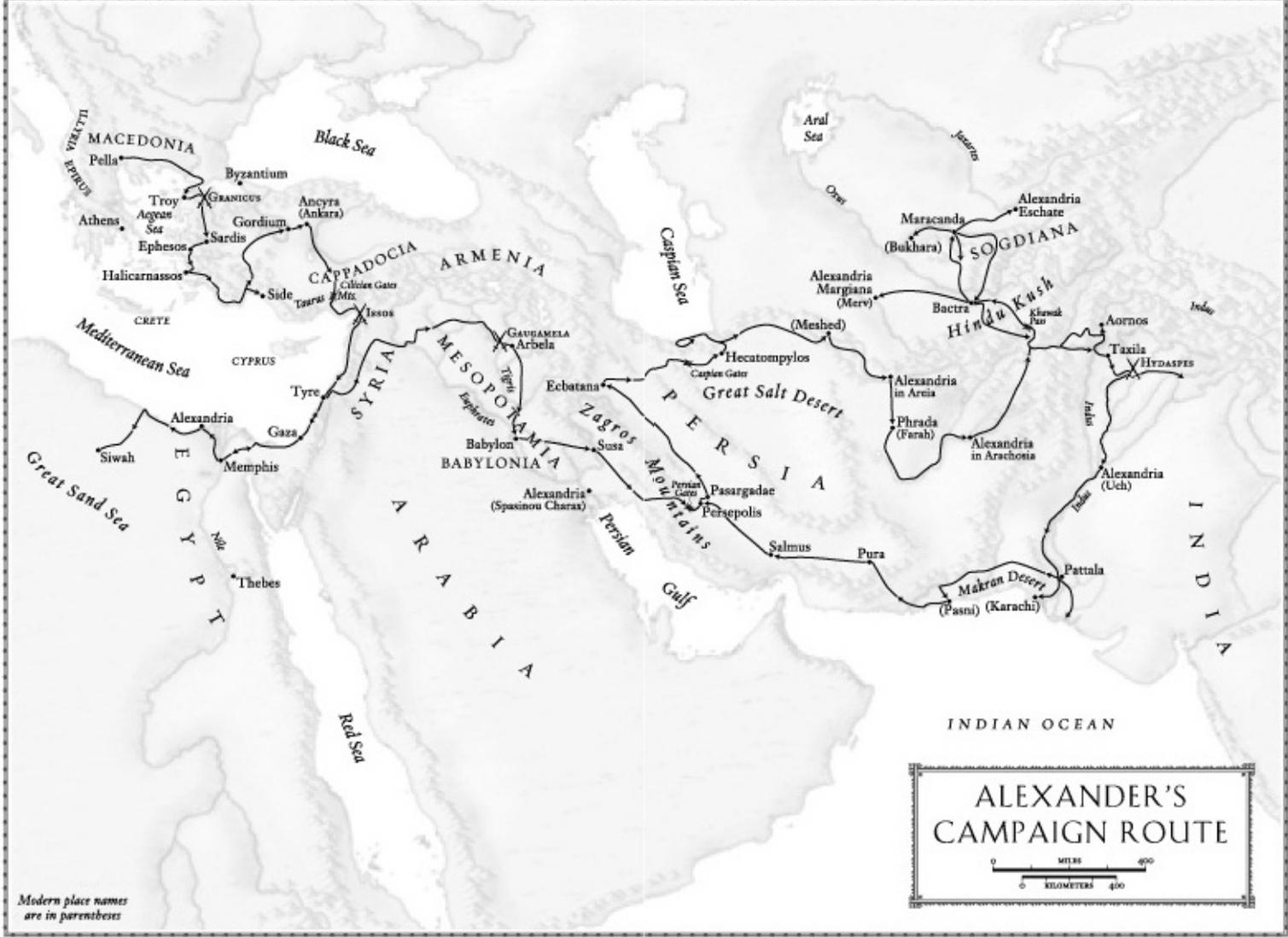
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**ALEXANDER'S
CAMPAIGN ROUTE**

0 400
MILES
0 400
KILOMETERS

*Modern place names
are in parentheses*

Introduction

The Real Alexander

Throughout most of history Alexander III of Macedon has been seen as a hero, or even more than a hero. Indeed, during the first half of the twentieth century, one scholar argued that he was a kind of Platonic philosopher-king or even a messianic figure like Jesus, sent on a “mission from the deity to harmonize men generally and to be the reconciler of the world.”

More recently, however, a far less flattering portrait of Alexander has been drawn. Some have portrayed Alexander as an unstable alcoholic, prone to wine-fueled rages and violence. Others have implied that he was a megalomaniac precursor of the political terrorist Stalin or the genocidal mass murderer Hitler. Historians also have denied that Alexander had any lasting effects upon the ancient world. Or they have compared his effects to the ones that Hernán Cortés and the conquistadors had upon the Aztecs of Mexico between 1519 and 1522.

Although the popular view of Alexander perhaps remains a largely favorable one, a new scholarly orthodoxy about Alexander has emerged over the last half century, as the eminent scholar Frank Hornblower has argued. Alexander should be rechristened Alexander “the Terrible,” or Alexander “the Insignificant.” Called to account before the prosecuting historians more than 2,300 years after his death, Alexander has been retroactively stripped of his reputation and his epithet.

This new image of Alexander has resulted (in part) from the adoption of a more critical and skeptical attitude toward the ancient Greek and Roman sources for his life. As scholars have analyzed the methods of the ancient writers and compared various accounts, they have reconstructed a far less heroic picture of what Alexander did and therefore who he was.

Most of the proponents of the new orthodoxy also have written in the long, dark shadows cast by various modern tyrants over the last century. Looking out over the wreckage wrought by figures such as Hitler, Mussolini, Stalin, and Milosevic, many historians have brought to the subject of Alexander an explicitly negative attitude toward nationalism, conquest, and empire.

Of course, we should read all historical sources critically. Moreover, modern historians should neither be cheerleaders for history’s victors nor advocates for the vanquished. Nevertheless, the new orthodoxy itself is based upon a somewhat selective use of the ancient sources, and the overall historical framework that Alexander operated within has never been properly represented.

In this book it will be shown that Alexander’s actions must be understood first of all within the context of a long, historical struggle between Persia and Greece, which both sides saw in religious terms. The “real” Alexander is then inferred from an accurate and balanced chronological account of

his deeds, based upon analysis of all the main ancient sources. Located historically within such context, Alexander “the Inferred” will emerge here, first, as a creative artist of warfare, perhaps the greatest warrior in world history. But Alexander, it will be argued, also was a pious religious traditionalist, whose quest to establish a global empire of the best was sanctioned by the gods whom he honored throughout his life. Although he failed to do so because of his early death, it has never been properly appreciated how Alexander set in place the fundamental political, cultural, and religious framework from which Western civilization eventually was born.

WHAT DIFFERENCE DOES IT MAKE?

In less than a decade Alexander conquered the Persian empire, the largest and most successful empire in the history of the ancient Near East. At the time of its greatest extension, the Persian empire today would subsume all or part of the modern nation-states of Turkey, Syria, Lebanon, Israel, Egypt, Iraq, Iran, Afghanistan, Pakistan, Turkmenistan, Uzbekistan, Tajikistan, and India. How Alexander managed to conquer and then govern a territory of such immense size and ethnic diversity in such a short period of time should be of interest not only to professional historians of warfare and imperialism; the tale is important to anyone who wishes to understand clearly the deep historical roots of the deadly conflicts that currently plague the lands he once ruled, and that threaten to enflame the entire world.

Within his empire Alexander implanted the fundamental physical, political, and social organization of Greek civilization, the *polis*, or city-state, at strategic points all over the map of the Near East, from modern Egypt to Tajikistan. In Alexander’s city foundations, military settlements, and re-foundations of cities, Greek became the dominant public language of administration, commerce, law, literature, and religious expression.

It was in the Greek language that Alexander brought with him from Macedon that some of history’s most influential ideas were formulated and spread all the way to India. In turn, within the city-states founded by Alexander and his successors, ideas and religious works of peoples from outside of Greek civilization were translated into Greek and then disseminated throughout the Mediterranean. This cross-fertilization continued even after the Romans conquered the successor kingdoms of Alexander’s empire in Greece, Macedon, and the East.

In the East the Roman conquests of Alexander’s successor kingdoms led to the creation of an amalgam Greco-Roman civilization. That amalgam civilization persisted into the seventh century CE. It was either within or on the borders of that civilization that the three great religions of the book—Rabbinic Judaism, Christianity, and early Islam, either evolved or were created. These religious traditions developed in relation to, and frequently in opposition to, Greco-Roman civilization.

Although Alexander himself envisioned a very different kind of world empire, he ended up laying down some of the foundations for what was to become Western civilization as it grew out of Greco-Roman antiquity. To the political, cultural, and religious heirs of the civilization Alexander helped to found, it matters quite a bit who Alexander III of Macedon was.

Alexander still matters now because he was one of the decisive founders of Western civilization. He is who we are, in some sense, or rather who we wish to be—or fear we are. It is perhaps for this reason that scholars have been led to create such contradictory historical portraits of Alexander. At stake is a part of the self-image of the West. We construct “Alexanders” in the image of the

civilization to which we aspire or from which we recoil.

Alexander, however, cannot be resolved into an individual who was either gay or straight (as some have claimed), an ultranationalist or someone who went native, a mass murderer or a messiah. Rather, Alexander was an ambiguous genius who defeats our polarized and polarizing modern categories. Like the Persian king Darius, we fight hard, but, as the Delphic oracle prophesied, Alexander is *aniktos*—invincible. He cannot and never will be defeated by simplification.

But while Alexander's ambiguity cannot be unraveled without distorting the historical record of what he did, that fact should not undermine our appreciation of his "Greatness." Throughout history, the great have often been possessed of godlike abilities, and all-too-mortal flaws and weaknesses. Indeed, it is the flaws and mistakes of the great that allow us to appreciate their gifts, and it is by their missteps and failures that the great are ultimately redeemed as human beings. Great as he was, in the end Alexander turned out to be a mortal, just like the rest of us, if only in that one inescapable way. We can accept that fact, as Alexander himself was finally forced to, perhaps we can forgive him for the ambiguity of his greatness.

The Main Characters

ABREAS: Macedonian soldier on double pay for military service; died protecting Alexander inside the walls of the Mallian town.

ACUPHIS: chief of Nysa, city in Bajaur named after Dionysos' nurse.

ADA: Hecatomnid princess; surrendered key city of Alinda to Alexander; reinstated as governor of Caria by Alexander in 334 B.C.E.; adopted Alexander as her son.

AGIS III: king of Sparta; raised a revolt against Macedon in the summer of 331 B.C.E.; crushed by Alexander's regent in Macedon, Antipater.

ALCIMACHUS, SON OF AGATHOCLES: brother of Alexander's bodyguard Lysimachus; in the summer of 334 B.C.E. sent on a mission to the Aeolian and the Ionian cities still subject to the Persians, dispossessing the ruling factions and establishing popular (democratic) governments in their place.

ALEXANDER OF EPIRUS: king of Molossia in Epirus, 342–330/29 B.C.E. Brother of Olympias; married Philip's daughter Kleopatra in 336 B.C.E.

ALEXANDER, THE SON OF AEROPUS, OF LYNCESTIS: accompanied Alexander into the palace after the assassination of Philip II, armed like his master; his brothers Heromenes and Arrabaeus were executed for their part in the conspiracy to assassinate Philip; executed in the wake of Philotas' treason.

ANAXARCHUS OF ABDERA: philosopher who consoled Alexander after his murder of Cleitarchus; supported Alexander's introduction of *proskynesis* (prostration) in front of him.

ANDRONICUS, SON OF AGERROS: sent to suppress rebellion of Satibarzanes; husband of Lanice, Alexander's childhood nurse; may have been killed at the battle of the river Polytimetus.

ANTIPATER, SON OF ASCLEPIODORUS: father was satrap of Syria; joined conspiracy of the

pages to assassinate Alexander because of punishment of Hermolaus or because of his father's demotion; executed.

ANTIPATER, SON OF IOLAOS OF PALIOURA: sided with Alexander after the death of Philip II; served as Alexander's viceroy in Europe when Alexander departed for the east; involved in frequent disputes with Olympias; in 324 B.C.E. Craterus was sent back to Macedon to replace him.

ARISTANDER OF TELMESSUS: Alexander's seer; predicted Alexander would take Tyre, but with the labor characteristic of his kinsman, Herakles; that Alexandria in Egypt would be the nurse of men of every nation; and that the Macedonians would achieve victory at the battle of Gaugamela based upon an eclipse of the moon on September 20, 331 B.C.E.

ARISTOBULUS OF CASSANDREIA: minor officer in Alexander's army, wrote a history of Alexander's reign sometime after 301 B.C.E.

ARISTOTLE OF STAGIRA: born c. 384, died in 322 B.C.E. Brought to the Macedonian capital Pella to serve as Alexander's educational tutor. Annotated special copy of the *Iliad* for Alexander. His kinsman Callisthenes served as Alexander's official historian. Greatest philosopher in Western history.

ARTABAZUS, SON OF PHARNABAZUS: lived at Pella; surrendered to Alexander after the death of Darius; became satrap of Bactria.

ATHENAEUS OF NAUCRATIS (EGYPT): wrote *Deipnosophistae*, or "Learned Banqueteers," completed in the years immediately following the death of the Roman emperor Commodus (c. 192 C.E.), a report on discussions among guests about philosophy, literature, law, medicine, and many other topics at a banquet over a number of days, during which events and incidents related to Alexander's life were discussed.

ATTALUS: born c. 390; his niece Kleopatra married Philip II in 337 B.C.E. At the wedding feast Attalus prayed for a legitimate heir to the Macedonian throne; appointed as one of the commanders of the expeditionary force to Asia in 336 B.C.E. After Philip's assassination executed with the complicity of Parmenio.

BAGOAS: handsome young Persian eunuch brought to Alexander by Nabarzanes in Hyrcania as a kind of gift; Alexander kissed him in a theater in Salmus in Carmania; Alexander and Bagoas perhaps had an intimate relationship.

BALACRUS: Macedonian officer, commanded javelin throwers at Gaugamela; responsible for effectively eliminating Persian scythed chariots.

BARSAENTES: satrap of Arachotia and Drangiana; murdered Darius; later executed by Alexander.

BARSINE: daughter of Persian nobleman Artabazus; ex-wife of Memnon of Rhodes; she became Alexander's mistress; the relationship produced a son, Herakles.

BARSINE (STATEIRA): Darius' eldest daughter; Alexander married her according to the Persian custom in Susa in 324 B.C.E.

BATIS: eunuch, ruler of Gaza on behalf of the Persians; commanded a force of mercenary Arabs who resisted three Macedonian assaults upon their city; captured and dragged around the city by his ankle at the rear of a chariot, as Achilles had dragged Hektor's corpse around the walls of Troy, probably in retaliation for the assassination attempt on Alexander.

BESSUS: the satrap of Bactria; assumed power after murder of Darius; captured in the summer of 329 B.C.E.; later executed.

BOLON: lesser Macedonian officer, who had risen from the ranks; made damaging speech against Philotas at his trial in Phrada in October 330 B.C.E.

BRANCHIDAE: descendants of the priests and caretakers of the oracular shrine of Apollo near the Greek city of Miletos in Asia Minor; handed over treasury of shrine to Xerxes in 479 B.C.E. Resettled on other side of Oxus River; wiped out by Alexander.

BUCEPHALAS: Alexander's favorite horse. Big, black horse brought to Philip by Philoneicus of Thessaly; won by young Alexander in a wager with his father that he could tame the wild horse. Alexander rode Bucephalas to India, where Bucephalas died of old age and exhaustion at the age of thirty; Alexander named a city after Bucephalas.

CALANUS: Indian ascetic philosopher who tried to teach Alexander doctrine of good government; accompanied Alexander back westward; committed suicide in Persis.

CALLINES: Macedonian officer in the Companion cavalry; during the mutiny at Opis begged Alexander on behalf of the soldiers to be able to kiss Alexander and be called his kinsman.

CALLISTHENES OF OLYNTHOS: official (contemporary) historian of Alexander's campaign; wrote the *Deeds of Alexander*; helped to scuttle Alexander's plans to introduce the custom of *proskynesis* into his court; charged along with a group of the royal pages with conspiring to murder Alexander; died in one of five ways.

CAMBYSES (reigned 530–522 B.C.E.): Persian king, son of Cyrus the Great; conquered Egypt and brought it under Persian rule, with the help of local elites.

CEBALINUS: brother of Nicomachus; revealed Dimnus conspiracy to Alexander in Phrada in October 330 B.C.E.

CHARES OF MYTILENE: Alexander's usher or court chamberlain, wrote *Histories of Alexander*.

CLEANDER, SON OF POLEMOKRATES: commander of mercenaries at Ecbatana and Coenus's brother; played key role in assassination of Parmenio in the fall of 330 B.C.E. Executed in Carmania in 324 B.C.E. for maladministration and crimes against natives.

CLEITARCHUS OF ALEXANDRIA: wrote a history of Alexander's reign in at least twelve books that may be dated as early as 310 B.C.E.

CLEITUS, THE "BLACK," SON OF DROPIDAS: brother of Alexander's nurse Lanice; commanded the Royal Squadron of the Companion cavalry; saved Alexander's life at the battle of the Granicus River; killed by Alexander in a drunken brawl centering on Alexander's orientalizing and claims of divine parentage in 328 B.C.E.

COENUS, SON OF POLEMOKRATES: commander of infantry from Elimiotis in Upper Macedonia; fought in all of Alexander's major battles; wounded at Gaugamela; spoke out against Philotas at his trial in Phrada in 330 B.C.E.; at the Hyphasis River advised Alexander to stop; died of natural causes in 326 B.C.E.

CRATERUS, SON OF ALEXANDER (NOT ALEXANDER III, KING OF MACEDON): from Orestis in Upper Macedonia; commanded left of phalanx at Issus and Gaugamela; hostile to Philotas; perhaps Alexander's most reliable general during campaigns in Sogdiana and India; in 324 B.C.E. appointed Alexander's viceroy in Europe to replace Antipater; "lover of the king."

QUINTUS CURTIUS RUFUS: wrote ten-book history of Alexander (*Historiae Alexandri Magni*), probably during the reign of the Roman emperor Claudius (41–54 C.E.).

CYRUS THE GREAT (reigned 557–530 B.C.E.): founder of the Persian empire; built royal residence of Pasargadae, where he was later buried; had crossed the deserts of Gedrosia where his army supposedly was nearly wiped out.

DANDAMIS: Indian philosopher who asked Alexander why he had come to India.

DARIUS I (reigned 522–486 B.C.E.): usurped Persian throne; created royal residences in Susa and Persepolis; crushed the Ionian revolt (499–494); his general Datis was defeated at Marathon (490) by the Athenians.

DARIUS III (reigned 336–330 B.C.E.): Persian king; Alexander's rival; usually depicted in the Greek and Roman sources as cowardly and indecisive; a more sophisticated reading of the sources reveals that Darius was a competent and flexible leader.

DEMETRIUS: bodyguard of Alexander; part of Dimnus' conspiracy against Alexander; exposed in Phrada in October 330 B.C.E. Executed by the Macedonian army; replaced as bodyguard by Ptolemy.

DIMNUS: plotted against Alexander in Phrada in October 330 B.C.E.; committed suicide or killed his guards while being arrested; Philotas and Parmenio executed in wake of the conspiracy.

DIODORUS SICULUS (FROM SICILY): books 17 and through 18.9 of his *Bibliothēke*, or *Library of History* (completed around 30 B.C.E.), treat the reign of Alexander from his accession to his death in Babylon.

EPAMINONDAS: Theban general; defeated Spartan army twice, at Leuctra (371 B.C.E.) and Mantinea (362), at which he died; innovative tactician of hoplite warfare, from whose tactics (esp. oblique line of attack) Philip II probably learned.

ERYGIUS OF MYTILENE: born c. 380 B.C.E.; among friends of Alexander banished in the spring of 336 B.C.E. in the wake of the Pixodarus affair; later commanded allied cavalry forces; killed rebel Satibarzanes in hand-to-hand combat.

EUMENES OF CARDIA: Alexander's royal secretary; with Diodotus of Erythrae, kept the *Royal Diaries*.

LUCIUS FLAVIUS ARRIANUS (ARRIAN): lived c. 86–160 C.E. His *Anabasis* ("Journey Upcountry") of Alexander, in seven books, begins with Alexander's accession and ends with his death in Babylon in 323 B.C.E.; shorter companion work, the *Indike*, recounts Nearchus' voyage from the mouth of the Indus River to Susa.

GLAUCIAS: Hephaestion's physician; crucified after he failed to save Hephaestion's life in Ecbatana in October 324 B.C.E.

GLYCERA: "Honey"; Athenian courtesan; second mistress/girlfriend of Harpalus in Babylon; kept exceeding luxury, provided with a way of life that was fantastically expensive.

HARPALUS, SON OF MACHATAS: one of Alexander's boyhood friends; banished by Philip in the wake of the Pixodarus affair; later served as Alexander's treasurer; fled from Alexander twice; was killed on Crete in 324 B.C.E.

HEGELOCHUS, SON OF HIPPOSTRATUS: cavalry commander; great-nephew of Attalus; perhaps plotted against Alexander in Egypt with Parmenio; opposed Alexander's claims to divine parentage; died at the Battle of Gaugamela.

HEPHAESTION, SON OF AMYNTOR: from Pella in Macedon; Alexander's dearest friend, possibly his lover; wounded at Gaugamela, where he commanded the *agema* of the *hypaspistai*; after the death of Philotas shared command of the Companion cavalry with Cleitus the Black; died at Ecbatana in October 324 B.C.E.

HERACON: Macedonian officer; summoned to Alexander in Carmania in 324 B.C.E.; put on trial, originally acquitted; later indicted by natives of Susa; tried again and executed.

HERMOLAUS, THE SON OF SOPOLIS: student of Callisthenes; slew boar before Alexander; initiated plot to kill Alexander in revenge for punishment or because of the demotion of his father; executed by stoning.

HIERONYMOS OF CARDIA: history for which he is best known began at the death of Alexander in 323 B.C.E. and continued to at least the death of King Pyrrhus of Epirus (272 B.C.E.).

ISOCRATES OF ATHENS: Athenian orator, composed the *Panegyricus* (380 B.C.E.) and a *Letter to Philip* (346/5), urging Philip II of Macedon to begin a military campaign against Persia.

MARCUS IUNIANUS IUSTINUS (JUSTIN): third or fourth century C.E. author of a Latin *epitome* (abridgment or summary) of the otherwise lost "Philippic Histories" (*Historiae Philippicae*) of Pompeius Trogus, a late-first-century B.C.E. Vocontian from Gallia Narbonensis (Vasio or Vaison-la-Romaine) who covered Macedon in books 7–12 of his histories.

KLEOPATRA: niece of a Macedonian nobleman, Attalus; married to Philip II in 337 B.C.E.; Attalus

toast at her wedding feast to a legitimate heir to the Macedonian throne caused a brawl between Alexander and Philip, which led to Olympias' withdrawal to Epirus, and Alexander's to Illyria.

LAOMEDON, SON OF LARICHOS, OF MYTILENE: younger brother of Erygios; also exiled for his part in the Pixodarus affair; knew Persian; one of the *trierarchs* (essentially, ship commanders) of Alexander's fleet.

LEONIDAS: relative of Olympias, put in charge of the nurses, pedagogues, and teachers who were expected to educate Alexander; known as a strict disciplinarian.

LEONNATUS: related to mother of Philip II; in 332/1 B.C.E. became one of Alexander's seven personal bodyguards; probably was one of the soldiers who fought to protect Alexander inside the walls of the Mallian city; defeated the Oreitai; awarded a gold crown in Susa.

LYSIMACHUS OF ACARNANIA: Alexander's pedagogue; ingratiated himself to Alexander by calling Philip "Peleus," nicknaming Alexander "Achilles," and styling himself "Phoenix," Achilles' old tutor. Later, rescued by Alexander during a raid against the Arabians who lived in the area of Mount Antilibanus.

LYSIPPUS OF SICYON: active c. 370–315 B.C.E.; Alexander's favorite sculptor; created much copied bronze prototypes of Alexander as crown prince and heroic, leonine warrior.

MAZAEUS: sent forward to forestall Alexander's crossing of the Euphrates; commander of lowland and Mesopotamian Syrians at Gaugamela.

MEDIUS OF LARISSA: host at the drinking party that Alexander attended on the night he either came down with the fever that led to his death, or was poisoned.

MEMNON OF RHODES: military commander in the service of the Persian kings; recommended scorched-earth policy before battle of the river Granicus; his advice was rejected by the Persian satraps and military commanders; organized defense of Halicarnassus in 334 B.C.E. His death at the siege of Mytilene in the summer of 333 led to the collapse of the Persian naval strategy.

MENIDAS: Macedonian officer; commanded mercenary cavalry at Gaugamela; left at Ecbatana with Parmenio in 330 B.C.E.; perhaps involved in Parmenio's assassination; in Babylon when Alexander died.

MUSICANUS: ruler of the richest realm in the Indus Valley; surrendered to Alexander, giving lavish

gifts; confirmed as a vassal king; later revolted; executed.

NABARZANES: Persian cavalry commander; instigated murder of Darius; later surrendered Alexander; his friendly reception was helped by the presence of the eunuch Bagoas.

NEARCHUS OF CRETE: commander of Alexander's fleet when it sailed down the Indus River and from the mouth of the Indus River along the seacoast, eventually to the mouth of the Euphrates; wrote memoirs of the campaign.

NICANOR, SON OF PARMENIO: younger brother of Philotas; commanded Guards (hypaspists) at Granicus, Issos, and Gaugamela; died of an illness of some kind in Areia, where his brother Philotas was left to conduct funeral rites.

NICOMACHUS: boyfriend of Dimnus, to whom Dimnus' conspiracy against the life of Alexander was revealed in Phrada in October 330 B.C.E.

OLYMPIAS OF MOLOSSIA: daughter of King Neoptolemus of Molossia; married Philip II of Macedon c. 357 B.C.E.; gave birth to Alexander III of Macedon in July 356 B.C.E. Devotee of Dionysian cults.

ONESICRITUS OF ASTYPALAEA: helmsman of Alexander's royal galley; later wrote a work called *The Education of Alexander*, a history of Alexander.

ORXINES: Persian nobleman; traced his descent from the great Persian King Cyrus; wealth was partly inherited and also had been amassed during the long period when he had served as a satrap; indicted and convicted of robbing royal temples and of illegally putting many Persians to death; executed by Alexander's command.

OXYARTES: Bactrian nobleman; captured by Alexander at the Rock of Sogdiana; his daughter Roxane married Alexander in the spring of 327 B.C.E.

PARMENIO: Philip's best general; led expeditionary force to Asia in 336 B.C.E. Commanded the left wing of the army at Granicus, Issos, and Gaugamela; assassinated in 330 B.C.E. by Alexander's command after his son Philotas was found guilty of committing treason.

PARYSATIS: the youngest daughter of the Persian king Artaxerxes III Ochus (359–338 B.C.E.); Alexander married her in Susa in 324 B.C.E.

PAUSANIAS, SON OF KERASTOS: from Orestis in Macedon; assassin of Philip II, in revenge for his gang rape by the muleteers of Attalus.

PERDICCAS, SON OF ORONTES: from Orestis in Macedon, commander of a brigade in the infantry; became one of Alexander's bodyguards by 330 B.C.E. After the death of Hephaestion became cavalry commander of the first *hipparchy* of the Companion cavalry; received Alexander's signet ring from Alexander at his death.

PEUCESTAS, SON OF ALEXANDER (NOT ALEXANDER III): from Mieza in Macedon; wounded while protecting Alexander after Alexander himself was wounded fighting inside the Mallian town; became Alexander's bodyguard; later satrap of Persis.

PHILIP OF ACARNANIA: Alexander's doctor; cured Alexander when he became ill after swimming in the freezing-cold waters of the Cydnus River.

PHILIP II OF MACEDON: born c. 382 B.C.E.; became regent for Amyntas IV in 359; architect of Macedon's first-rate army; father of Alexander III (the Great); defeated Greeks at Chaeronea in 338; declared leader of war of revenge against Persia at Corinth in the summer of 337; assassinated in the autumn of 336 B.C.E.

PHILOTAS: son of Parmenio, commanded Companion cavalry during the early years of Alexander's campaigns in Asia; executed in 330 B.C.E. after failing to report a plot against Alexander's life.

PIXODARUS: Persian governor of Caria, 341–336 B.C.E.; offered his eldest daughter to wed Philip Arrhidaeus, son of Philip II and Philinna of Larissa. Marriage undermined by intervention of Alexander, who offered himself as the groom instead.

L. MESTRIUS PLUTARCHOS (PLUTARCH): born probably before 50 C.E. and died after 120 C.E. wrote twenty-three parallel lives of famous Greeks and Romans, pairing life of Alexander with that of Julius Caesar.

POLYDAMAS: Parmenio's dispatch rider at the battle of Gaugamela; later played a crucial role in the assassination of Parmenio.

POLYPERCHON, SON OF SIMMIAS, TYMPHAIAN: born c. 390 or 380 B.C.E.; infant commander; made fun of one of the Persians who performed prostration in front of Alexander.

PORUS: towering Indian king; Alexander's opponent at the battle of the Hydaspes in May or June 326 B.C.E.

PROTEAS: nephew of Cleitus the Black; heavy drinker; probably was present at Alexander's final fatal dinner party.

PROTESILAUS: Greek hero who led the Thessalian contingent to Troy. In book 2 of the *Iliad* Homer tells us that Protesilaus had been brought down first by a Dardan spear. Alexander sacrificed at his tomb in Elaeus.

PSAMMON: philosopher in Memphis with whom Alexander may have had a philosophical exchange about Zeus being the father of all mankind and his preference (according to Alexander) for the best.

PTOLEMY I OF EORDAIA (IN MACEDON): Alexander's bodyguard, later satrap, founder of the Ptolemaic dynasty in Egypt; much later wrote history of Alexander's reign.

PYTHONICE: Athenian courtesan; most dazzling courtesan of her day; mistress of Harpalus; lived with Harpalus in Babylon; when she died, she was given a magnificent funeral and a costly monument of the Attic type.

ROXANE: "Little Star"; daughter of Bactrian nobleman Oxyartes; Alexander's first wife, married in the spring of 327 B.C.E. Her child with Alexander (Alexander IV) was born after Alexander's death.

SATIBARZANES: made satrap of Areians by Alexander; later revolted; killed by Erigyus in the spring of 329 B.C.E.

SEMIRAMIS: legendary Assyrian queen with whom Alexander had a rivalry; she too had crossed the deserts of Gedrosia coming back from her conquests of India.

SISYGAMBIS: mother of Darius III; taken captive after the battle of Issos; treated with great respect by Alexander; Alexander later gave to her the title of his "mother," and gave her lessons in Greek.

SITALCES, SON OF KERSOBLEPTES: prince of royal house of Odrysia; commander of Thracian javelin men; played key role in execution of Parmenio in autumn of 330 B.C.E.; in 324 B.C.E. executed for maladministration and crimes against natives.

SPITAMENES: Sogdian warlord; handed over Bessus to Alexander but then rose in rebellion; defeated Andromachus, Menedemus, Caranus, and Pharnuches at the river Polytimetus; killed by him.

own wife or his own allies, the Massagetae.

STRABO OF AMASEIA: born c. 64 B.C.E., survived until after 21 C.E.; book 15 of Strabo's *Geographia* supplies valuable geographical and ethnographic information about Alexander's campaigns, especially in India; based upon Nearchus, Megasthenes, and Onesicritus.

TAXILES/MOPHIS: ruler of Taxila who entertained Alexander, giving Alexander many gifts, for which he received in turn 1,000 talents from the booty Alexander was carrying, plus large quantities of gold and silver dinnerware, Persian clothing, and thirty horses from his own stable, together with the trappings.

THAIS: Athenian courtesan; allegedly inspired Alexander to burn the palace complex of the Persian kings; later mistress of Ptolemy.

THALESTRIS (OR MINYTHYIA), THE QUEEN OF THE AMAZONS: traveled thirty-five days and conceived a child with Alexander.

XERXES (reigned 486–465 B.C.E.): Persian king, built palaces in Persepolis; directed the capture and sacking of Athens in 480 B.C.E., including the destruction of the temples on the Athenian acropolis; driven from Greece after defeat of his navy at the battle of Salamis.

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