This course will explore the history, culture, and art of post-classical Greek antiquity, focusing on the period between two of the most studied and renowned figures of the ancient world: Alexander the Great and Cleopatra VII. We will learn and analyze how the ancient world changed with Alexander and his successors, emphasizing the political, social, and cultural transformations; changes in the religious landscape; and formation of the state. We will also discuss the legacy of the Hellenistic world as an integral part of our intellectual heritage.
Developments in Athenian Democracy

- DRACONIAN Laws (DRACO) 7th c BCE strict laws enforcing aristocratic rule—there was only one penalty prescribed, death, for every crime from murder down to loitering (see Plut. Sol. 17.1). - the new Constitution gave political rights to those Athenians “who bore arms,” those Athenians wealthy enough to afford the bronze armor and weapons of a hoplite. CRISIS-
  1) Tensions among aristocrats- 2) Poor citizens, in years of poor harvests, had to mortgage portions of their land to wealthier citizens in exchange for food and seed to plant. They became more vulnerable to subsequent hardships (see Aristot. Ath. Pol. 2.1-2).
SOLON- 6th c.

- SOLONIAN LAWS they did not establish a democracy as radical as what would follow.
- He took steps to alleviate the crisis of debt that the poor suffered.
- He abolished the practice of giving loans with a citizen’s freedom as collateral.
- He gave every Athenian the right to appeal to a jury, thus taking ultimate authority for interpreting the law out of the hands of the Nine Archons (remnant of aristocracy) and putting it in the hands of a more democratic body, since any citizen could serve on a jury.
- Otherwise, he divided the population into four classes, based on wealth, and limited the office of Archon to members of the top three classes.
Cleisthenes made the “deme” or village into the fundamental unit of political organization and managed to convince the Athenians to adopt their deme-name into their own.

Where formerly an Athenian man would have identified himself “Demochares, son of Demosthenes”, after Cleisthenes’ reforms he would have been more likely to identify himself as “Demochares from Marathon.”

Using “demotic” names in place of “family” names de-emphasized any connection (or lack thereof) to the old arisocratic families

Reorganized population and political units in 10 tribes

Council of 500- built on earlier Solonian reforms- the boule took on many of the administrative and judicial functions of the Areopagus, supervised the state's finances, navy, cavalry, sacred matters, building matters and care for invalids and orphans.
Understanding CLASSICAL GREECE first, the 5th and the 4th century

5th and 4th Classical Greece - After the Persian Wars (early 5th century) and the Peloponnesian War (end of 5th c.) Greek world is organized in city-states, and alliances (shifting) and federations.

At the core of the 5th c. political and philosophical debate- Constitution and form of government. Athens vs Sparta models

Issue important even for the Persian Wars - discuss (Greek city-states in Asia Minor). Aversion to kingdom, monarchy.

The fourth century opens with the death of Socrates in Athens (399), Athens on the 'defeated' side of the Peloponnesian War, Sparta seemingly winning but on its way to decline- Thebes new city-state of power and Macedonia.

How the Athenians viewed the Macedonians- from stereotypes to understanding the complexities of that relation

Rising Star: Philip II

Clash with Greek city states-Battle of Chaeronea in 338
Despite the clash, the tensions, the Greek city state continued to prevail as a political unit.

We will trace how local, democratic form of government permeated Alexander’s views, how they interacted with imperial administration, how the two brought forth to the world the new forms of kingdoms after Alexander’s successors and how we pass from the Greek *polis* (=city-state) to the *Cosmopolis*.

Importance of role of science and education.

Understanding the legacy of Philip II, then Alexander.
He treated the Thebans with harshness in an exemplary fashion and took his victory as an opportunity to break once and for good into the city of Thebes that has always been a rival. Thebans (from the city of Thebes) and people from the greater region of Boeotia were taken as prisoners, and ransomed on a heavy ransom. Leaders were executed or put on exile (to make sure they cannot influence the rest). Macedonian garrison was installed on the acropolis of Thebes, the legendary Cadmeia. Thebes was stripped of its role as leader in the Boeotian league.

By contrast, Athens was treated leniently. Athenian prisoners returned without ransom, the dead bodies of Athenians were escorted back in honor by a guard led by Alexander and Antipater, who was Philip’s most trusted general.

Even Demosthenes was allowed to give the funeral oration for the dead of the battle of Chaeronea (remember Demosthenes the orator who was Philip’s bitter enemy in Athens).
How did Athenians react to the leniency shown by Philip?

- ALEXANDER and ANTIPATER were granted Athenian citizenship.
- Cult was established in Philip’s honor in one of the city’s gymnasia. Note shifting tendencies in religion. Religion as a state affair.
- Yet suspicion continued to exist, if not rise: a law passed in 337 that threatened penalties for anyone who conspired to overthrow democracy in Athens and establish tyranny.
- Inscriptional evidence shows ties between Macedonia and Athens at the time.
- ARISTOTLE (famous 4th c. Greek philosopher) returned to Athens (had previously been Alexander’s tutor in the north) and founded the LYCEUM, his peripatetic school in a grove which honored god Apollo Lyceus (Apollo as ‘wolf’). His school a predecessor for later Hellenistic research institutions.
- Philip called a meeting of the Greek city states in 337 BC in the city of Corinth.
Some archaeological evidence on Philip - Bust of Philip
Formation of an alliance of all Greek city states. Only SPARTA refuses to participate.

It is also called Hellenic League, but is referred to as League of Corinth (yet another city in the south, in the Peloponnese) because the first council took place in the city of Corinth.

All poleis form a coalition and agree to be allies of Macedon and each other. Philip would be the guarantor of the peace, but also the leader (Greek word: hegemon). A Greek NATO type of coalition, so to speak?

How did they ‘sign’ treaties in antiquity? OATH
Read inscriptional evidence on the OATH OF MEMBERS OF THE LEAGUE of CORINTH

Oath. I swear by Zeus, by Ge, by Helios, by Poseidon, by Athena, [by Ares and by all Gods and Goddesses]. I shall abide … and I shall not break the treaty … nor shall I bear weapons with harmful intent against any of those who abide by the oaths, either by land or by sea; and not a city nor a fort shall I capture, nor a harbor, for the purpose of making war, or any of those who participate in the peace, by any art or stratagem; nor the kingdom of Philip and his descendants shall I overthrow, nor the constitutions that were in existence in each city, when they swore
Example of an inscription on the right-
Oath of members of Corinthian League (continued)
Inscriptiones Graecae II2 236

[the oaths, concerning] the peace; [nor shall I myself do anything] contrary to this
treaty nor] shall I allow anyone else so far as I have [the power. And if anyone does anything] in breach of [the treaty, I shall give assistance] in accordance with the summons [of those who are wronged] and I shall make war upon the one who transgresses [the common peace] in accordance with [whatever is resolved by the common council and whatever the hegemon [orders and] I shall [not] desert the cause ….

Discuss legal language of the inscription. Treaties.
The idea of “peaces” central to 4th century diplomacy.
Text from DIODORUS (of SICILY) historian who wrote *Bibliotheca historica*, 1st century BC one of our sources. Compare inscriptional and literary evidence.

“In 338/7 BC King Phillip, proud of his victory at Chaeroneia by which he had humbled the leading Greek states, became ambitious to become leader of all Greece. He spread the word that he wished to undertake a war against the Persians on behalf of Greece and to punish them for the sacrilege they had committed against Greek temples. He treated them all kindly both in public and private matters and revealed to the cities that he wanted to discuss with them matters of mutual benefit. Hence he convened a general congress at Corinth and put forward his proposals for the war. By raising great hopes, he won the support of the delegates and finally they chose him as commander-in-chief of the Greek forces. He began to make great preparations for the campaign against the Persians and, after fixing the number of troops each city should contribute to the allied forces, he returned to Macedonia.”
Discoverd in 1977 by Greek archaeologist Manolis Andronikos. Discuss scholarly debate about the tomb.

Discuss type of Macedonian tombs. In 1977 Andronikos found four buried chambers, which he identified as undisturbed (meaning unlooted) tombs. Three more were found in 1980.

Andronikos: King Philip II’s tomb. Discuss importance of discovery Vergina (modern name) the site as the ancient Aigai
Sketch of a macedonian tomb
(Doric style) Façade of Philip’s tomb
Hunting scene painted on the façade
Explaining basic architectural rhythms in ancient Greece
Golden Larnax (coffin that would contain remains of dead)
Golden crown - silver vase
LARNAX (plural larnakes) is a type of small closed chest, like a small coffin, a box, like an "ash-chest" which functioned like a ritual container for human remains in ancient Macedonia either a body (bent on itself) or cremated ashes.
COINS- NUMISMATICS AS IMPORTANT EVIDENCE

- Gold coin (stater) with head of Apollo-minted at Philip’s time
- Other side- Chariot
PHILIP II- bust- victory medal of the 2nd c. BC (right)
Amphipolis mint. Struck circa 323-315 BC. Laureate head of Zeus right / ΦΙΛΙΠ-ΠΟΥ, youth on horseback right, crowning horse with palm. Zeus on the right. Note divinity and king-resemblance.

Philip II. 359-336 BC.

COIN- Tetradrachm
Statue of Alexander - Museum of Istanbul

Bust of Alexander - Hellenistic - British Museum
ALEXANDER’s education

ARISTOTLE (384 BC – 322 BC) studied under Plato and became the teacher of Alexander the Great.

"All men by nature desire to know"

- "There is a science higher than natural science. For in truth nature is but one aspect of that which is. It is a science whose subject matter is universal and which is exclusively concerned with primary substance. (Aristotle, Metaphysics)"
- "The philosophical term ‘substance’ corresponds to the Greek ousia, which means ‘being’"
- Influence on Alexander.
- Role of scientists on Alexander’s campaigns.
- Idealized GREEK CITY-STATE on campaign
Power Consolidation- Alexander-
After Philip’s death in 336

- Remember Alexander fought in the Battle of Chaeronea in 338 BC (with his father Philip II, against a coalition of Greek city-states.
- TENSIONS in the Greek world. Greek CITY-STATES, autonomy, Anti-macedonian politics in Thebes (and Athens) but still Alexander confirmed as archon and hegemon (ruler). Question of autonomy, regime (Athens was ‘democratic’) and political ethos.
- Alexander’s power consolidation in the Greek world leads to full support for the war against Persia.
- Tribal groups north of Macedonia went into revolt immediately after Philip’s death.
- Alexander’s first campaign: NORTH, towards Danube River, target the TRIBALLI (ancient Tribe living in the north, modern area between Serbia and Bulgaria, roughly) who had defeated Philip earlier in 339. Revenge theme in politics, historiography…
- TACTIC: No battle throughout, Secured the frontiers in the north. Just like Philip, combine diplomacy with battle. CHOOSE YOUR BATTLES!
What is going in the rest of Greece?

Demosthenes, famous Athenian orator and politician, appeared in the Athenian assembly wearing a festive cloak as a sign of joy for Philip’s death, even though he personally was mourning his own daughter’s death. He began looking for ways to get rid of the League (Corinthian League as it is referred to by historians).

Theban revolt against Macedonian garrison on the Cadmea, the acropolis of Thebes.

Alexander’s forces sacked the city, and Alexander ordered that Thebes’ neighbors in the rest of the region of Boeotia, decide the fate of the city. Thebes destroyed, Thebans sold into slavery.

Spared from destruction: temples and the descendants and house of famous “Boeotian” Theban poet, PINDAR (who composed odes for victory in games, such as the Olympian odes etc).
INVASION OF ASIA

Spring 334 BC, with position in Greece secure Alexander led forces across the Hellespont to Asia.

- Army consisted of 12,000 macedonian troops (Phalanx), 3000 hypaspists (royal guards, etymology: hypo+ aspis (=shield), 1800 companion cavalry
- Special light-armed units from Thrace and Illyria,
- 9000 allied infantry and cavalry from Greek city states
- 200 ships.
- First actions almost “THEATRICAL” as described in our sources
- Understand the theme of ‘performance’ in ancient sources
- “pilgrimage’ to Troy, Alexander asked pardon for invading Asia, paid homage to Achilles. Again rhetorical connections between Achilles – Alexander, self-conscious cultivation of such connections, Alexander ‘believed’ Achilles to be an ancestor of his.

But what about the rest of Greece while he would be away?

ANTIPATER, regent.
The Conquests of Alexander the Great

- Alexander’s Empire in 323 B.C.E.
- Route of Alexander
- Major Towns Founded by Alexander
- Cities Conquered by Alexander

Regions and Points of Interest:
- Macedonia
- Aegean Sea
- Athens
- Thebes
- Mediterranean Sea
- Alexandria
- Asia Minor
- Issus
- Tigris River
- Euphrates River
- Babylon
- Persepolis
- PERSIA
- Persia Gulf
- Arabian Sea
- Red Sea
- Nile River
- Aral Sea
As Alexander sets prepares his campaign against Achaemenid Persian Empire, let’s look at some details

- Greek propaganda against Persian empire
- The Achaemenid Empire created by Cyrus the Great (who ruled 548-529 BC). Took over Greek colonies in Asia Minor (510 BC), Darius I (521-486) invaded Greece, lost in the battle of Marathon (490 BC), the Persians returned under Xerxes I (485-465 BC) but were defeated (sea-battle at Salamis, battle of Thermopylae, battle at Plataea by 479). End of Persian Wars.

In Alexander’s time DARIUS III was the king of the Persian empire (which stretched from Asia Minor to Afghanistan (modern day), and from Scythia down to Nubia). The Persian monarch, the GREAT KING, would be the richest man on earth and ruled over populations of millions.

- Alexander admired for the Persians’ ability to rule over such diverse population from a central point.
- Satrapal system.
- Arrian calls Darius III “incompetent when it came to military affairs.” Darius seems to have been politically wiser. Contrast with Alexander.
Persian sartaps chose a bolder tactic, rather than waiting for the King to mobilize imperial financial and military sources decided to be done with Alexander once and for all and met him at Granicus (river, in northwest Anatolia, modern Turkey). It seems that Alexander counterattacked, not following Parmenion’s advice to wait for the next day, getting close to a disaster (he almost got killed, but was saved by Cleitus the Black, at last moment).

Aftermath: bulk of Persian cavalry trapped and slaughtered. Persian infantry fled. Survivors sent to work in Greece.

Dedication of Alexander sent with 300 suits of Persian armor (and shields) with inscription: “From Alexander, the son of Philip and the Greeks, except the Lacedaemonians (Spartans) these spoils from the barbarians who dwell in Asia.”
BATTLE OF ISSUS- 333 BC

- Bold decision (characteristic of Alexander) Instead of moving to confront forces of Darius III, Alexander went south, along the coast, towards the Syrian and Phoenician naval bases.

- Darius III’s army left Babylon, marching in opposite directions. When he learned Alexander’s location he tried to go to his rear. He also cut the communication between Anatolia and the Macedonian base for Alexander. However, that made Alexander choosing a narrower battlefield, Issus (in ancient province of Cilicia). A narrow field neutralized Persian numerical superiority. Alexander assessed the Persian forces, quickly understood that Darius had placed his infantry under the protection of archers on the right. So he went to the opposite bank of the river, where the Persian archers could not be effective; they panicked, fled, running into their own infantry. Alexander then went towards the king Darius who fled leaving his troops in disarray.

- Issus- bay- (modern day village of Issus in South-western Turkey)
The king kept a daily journal listing royal business, correspondence and army statistics. Sophisticated administrative records were kept. Alexander’s ‘chief of staff’ so to speak was Eumenes of Cardia. Perhaps 20 volumes long this journal. This was taken after Alexander’s death possibly by Ptolemy to Alexandria, and Ptolemy wrote an account (now lost) which is referred to by Arrian of Nicomedia (centuries later).

Alexander had employed CALLISTHENES (Aristotle’s nephew) to act as the official campaign historian (some fragments survive via other historians).

Aristobulus of Phocis kept an engineering log during the campaigns.

NEARCHUS, the naval commander also kept a log.

ONESICRITUS wrote about India.

GREEK CITY-STATE and IMPERIAL administration
Sources and aftermath

Alexander’s official historian, CALLISTHENES, whose (now lost account) was the main source for our remaining sources, treated it as a Homeric contest.

This battle was depicted in a mosaic that was discovered in Pompeii, now in the Naples museum, that depicts the flight of Darius (according to Callisthenes). Discuss fearful looks etc on the mosaic.

Victory at ISSUS in 333> decisive victory. Core of Persian army destroyed. Royal treasures in Damascus became under Alexander’s control which solved his financial issues (remember when we talked about financial aspect of military campaigns, at first, he had only secured funds for brief campaign).

Royal Family Alexander’s prisoners.
Roman Copy found in Pompeii (Museum Naples) of an earlier Greek painting by Apelles (4th c. painter, contemporary of Alexander)
Detail of previous, focus on Alexander’s portrayal.
Reconstruction of painting—as it would possibly look like...
Siege of city of TYRE -332- After months, city suffered like Thebes, slaughter of male population, slavery for women and children. Mythical and now historical connections between Thebes and Tyre.

Fall of Gaza with similar fate.

Final barrier between Alexander and Egypt removed.

‘anticlimactic’ conquest of Egypt. Last Persian satrap (not hoping for any help from Darius and empire) surrendered his satrapy. Egyptians had never really accepted Persian rule> repeated rebellions, that resulted in stricter Persian reaction.
Then, went to oracle of Zeus-Ammon.
Sources like to report an incident when the priest greeted him as son of Zeus
Foundation of Alexandria 331 BC, after his return from the oracle
Alexander liberator from Persians?
Alexander crowned as Pharaoh. Possible earlier religions tensions and sacrilegious acts by Persian kings Cambyses and Artaxerxes III Orchus may have worked to Alexander’s advantage.
Role of religion, role of our sources and rhetoric on religions.
Alexandria founded as GREEK POLIS, but he retained much of earlier Persian organization, including tribute, but change of military power. FUSION of the imperial with an image of the ATHENIAN intellectual rigor.
Self-image – son of Ammon.
Representation of Alexander as Pharaoh

- In temple at Luxor in (Egyptian city called) Thebes
- Alexander before Ammon-Ra and Khonsu-Thoth, back shrine
- Temple re-constructed by Alexander
- Alexander dressed as a pharaoh receives the two crowns of Upper and Lower Egypt
Coins - Numismatics as Evidence - Appropriation of representations - Discuss representation

Zeus-Ammon, Coin from Cyrene (Museum in Vienne)

Coin minted later in Cyrene, Alexander as Ammon-Zeus.
MACEDONIAN UNREST

No Greek army had campaigned for so long. Alexander’s soldiers reluctant to move on further.

Officers worried that Alexander abandoned traditional Macedonian kingship and was adopting too many Iranian practices.

327, married Roxane, the daughter of a powerful Sogdian noble, so he would gain an ally in Bactria and Sogdiana.

Alexander took the Persian title "King of Kings" (Shahanshah)

Adopted Persian dress and customs at his court. Superficial connections with the former administration, though.

The Greeks had trouble with the establishment of the PROSKYNESIS possibly a symbolic kissing of the hand, or leaning on the ground. The Greeks regarded the gesture as something to be reserved for gods and believed that Alexander meant to deify himself by requiring it.
This map shows the route of Alexander's conquests: the King's route covered over twenty thousand miles in all, from Macedonia to what is now Pakistan, and back as far as Babylon. His conquests created a vast empire that stretched from Egypt to India. All this he gained between 336 B.C. when at 20 he succeeded to the throne of Macedonia, and June 323 B.C. when he died at Babylon.
In 323 Alexander went back to Babylon.
What would his next project be? Arabia, most likely.
Omens from Babylonian priests.
According to Plutarch, he drank heavily at several banquets. In the version by Pseudo-Callisthenes he was given poisoned wine, by former friends who had become very disappointed in him, and immediately after drinking it, Alexander felt as if he had "been hit in the liver with an arrow." He got very sick and his condition deteriorated until his death. Plutarch did not believe this version, saying the sudden pain Alexander felt after drinking was a detail "with which certain historians felt obliged to embellish the occasion, and thus invent a tragic and moving finale to a great action. Aristobulus tells us that he was seized with a raging fever, that when he became thirsty he drank wine which made him delirious."
Alexander died of high fever in June of 323 at the age of 33.
New World. We have a new COSMOPOLIS (literally a city state comprising the world). ALEXANDER’s SUCCESSORS. EMPIRE DIVIDED- WARS OF THE SUCCESSORS. GAME OF THRONES.

Greek is the new common language of government and culture. HELLENISTIC TIMES.

“From citizens of minuscule city-states on the fringes of the Persian empire, the Greeks had become partners in the new rule of a vast territory that stretched from the Mediterranean to the borders of India.”

PRACTICE THEORY: people retain traditional values, religions, rituals, practices while changing to adapt to a new world. Globalization of the time. Multiethnic world.

Changes in philosophy: From Classical Plato and Aristotle (in an aristocratic male dominated environment) philosophies of the Hellenistic Age cater to a broader community. New philosophical trends that speak about human life (stoicism, Epicureanism, Cynicism, Scepticism) and a stance towards life and death.

Women are not excluded from many philosophical school or from power.

New Cultural Centers- ALEXANDRIA.