Privilege List:

1. Hydaspes/Porus 11
2. Issus/Army 13, 08
3. Character (Faults 15, 13, Moderation, Positive, etc…)
4. Gedrosia 10
5. Hephaiston 02
6. Thebes / Pre-Theban 13, 04
7. Callisthenes 05
8. Memnon 06, 03
9. Omens and Oracles/Religion 06
10. Parmenio/Philotas
11. Plutarch/Arrian 01
12. Burning of Persepolis 12, 01, 93
13. Guagemela 15
14. Alex’s Illness and Death 09
15. Miletus, Halicarnasus- Seiges
16. Darius /Letters/Death 11
17. Women 11
18. Alex more than conqueror 95
19. Rock of Aornos (and others) 11
20. Second Mutiny (Opis) 13, 98, 88
21. Granicus 14
22. Mallians 14 (safety/pleasure of battle)
23. Coastal Policy 14
24. Egypt/Siwah Divinity 14
25. Mutiny at Hyphasis 15
26. Youth/Education/Aristotle-Philip-Olympias 16, 15
27. Tyre 16, 12, 04
28. Orientalism/Fusion 16, 12
29. Cleitus 16, 08
### Chronology:

#### Childhood & Adolescence

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Event</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>July 356</td>
<td>Alexander born</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>346</td>
<td>Bucephalus</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>343</td>
<td>Aristotle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>340</td>
<td>Regent of Macedon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>338</td>
<td>Thermopylae &amp; Exile</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>337</td>
<td>Pixodorus</td>
</tr>
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</table>

#### The Balkan Campaign

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Event</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>336</td>
<td>Accession of Alexander</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>335</td>
<td>Balkan Campaign</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Siege &amp; Sack of Thebes</td>
</tr>
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</table>

#### The Persian Campaign: Asia Minor

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<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Event</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>May 334</td>
<td>Battle of Granicus</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Siege of Miletus</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Siege of Halicarnassus</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>333</td>
<td>Gordian Knot</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

#### The Persian Campaign: Levant & Egypt

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Event</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nov. 333</td>
<td>Battle of Issus</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jan-Jul 332</td>
<td>Siege of Tyre</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oct. 332</td>
<td>Siege of Gaza</td>
</tr>
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<td>Egypt &amp; Siwah</td>
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</tbody>
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### The Persian Campaign: Media & Persia

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<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Event</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Oct. 331</td>
<td>Mesopotamia ceded</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>330</td>
<td>Susa &amp; Persepolis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Pursuit of Darius</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>329</td>
<td>Trial &amp; Execution of Philotas</td>
</tr>
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<td></td>
<td>Hunting Bessus</td>
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#### Marching to India

<table>
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<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Event</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>328</td>
<td>Spitamenes &amp; the Scythians</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Murder of Cleitus</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>Callisthenes &amp; the Pages’ Plot</td>
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#### Return to Babylon

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>324</td>
<td>Tomb of Cyrus the Great</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Death of Hephaestion</td>
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</tbody>
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| 11 June 323 | Alexander dies in Babylon                  |

### Topics by Chronology

1. Alex’s Youth/Education/ Family
2. Thebes / Pre-Theban
3. Granicus 14 + *
4. Miletus/Halicarnassus*
5. Coastal Policy
6. Memnon 06, 03
7. Issus/Army 13, 08*
8. Darius- Letters 11 *
9. Tyre 16, 12, 04
10. Omens/Egypt/Religion/Divinity
11. Guagemela 15, 10*
12. Cleitus 16, 08
13. Burning of Persepolis 12, 01, 93*
14. Darius Assessment*
15. Parmenio/Philotas*
16. Callisthenes 05*
17. Orientalism/Fusion
18. Three Rocks/ Seige Warfare
19. Hydaspes/Porus 11 *
20. Mutiny at Hyphasis
21. Mallians 14 (safety/pleasure of battle) +
22. Gedrosia 10
23. Second Mutiny (Opis) 13, 98, 88
24. Hephaiston 02
25. Alex’s Illness and Death
26. Alex more than conqueror
27. Minor Characters
28. Women
29. Plutarch/Arrian
30. Character (Faults 13, Moderation, Positive, etc…)
(i) **Before Alexander went east**, it was already clear that he would have a remarkable career ahead of him. Discuss this view based on your reading of Arrian and Plutarch. (50)

(ii) (a) Describe the sequence of events which led to the death of Cleitus. (30)
(b) What advice did Anaxarchus give to Alexander after the incident? (5)
(c) In your opinion, are Plutarch and Arrian justified in trying to excuse Alexander’s killing of Cleitus? Support your answer with reference to the texts. (15)

(iii) “If Alexander deserves fame as a general, then it is above all in his capacity as a besieger, and of all his sieges, Tyre was his masterpiece.” (Paul Cartledge)
From your reading of Arrian, do you agree with this statement? Give reasons for your answer. (50)

(iv) After the Battle of Gaugamela, Alexander began to adopt a policy of orientalism.
(a) In what ways did Alexander become more oriental in his style of leadership? (20)
(b) In what ways did some of the Macedonians object to this policy? Support your answer by reference to the texts. (30)

2015
(i) From your reading of the prescribed texts, discuss the influence of Philip, Olympias and Aristotle on Alexander. (50)

(ii) (a) Compare the preparations made by Alexander with the preparations made by Darius before the Battle of Gaugamela. (15)
(b) How did Alexander’s tactics lead to success in the battle? (25)
(c) What were the immediate consequences of the battle? (10)

(iii) (a) At the Hyphasis River, why did Alexander’s army refuse to follow him further into India? (20)
(b) How did Alexander deal with this mutiny? (20)
(c) What did you learn about Alexander’s relationship with his men from this incident? (10)

(iv) “That his character and temper grew worse as his power grew greater seems clear.” (Plutarch)
From your reading of Arrian and Plutarch, discuss this view of Alexander, with reference to the period from the Battle of Gaugamela in 331 BC to the time of his death in 323 BC. (50)

2014
(i) (a) Discuss the view that it was Alexander’s qualities as a leader and as a strategist that ensured victory over the Persians at the Granicus River. (35)
(b) What do we learn about Alexander’s character from his behaviour after the battle? (15)

(ii) (a) Why did Alexander disband his navy after the siege of Miletus? (15)
(b) Without a navy, how did Alexander deal with the threat from the Persian fleet? (25)
(c) What did you learn about Alexander from his decision to dispense with his navy? (10)

(iii) (a) What did Alexander achieve by his visit to Egypt? (30)
(b) From your reading of Arrian and Plutarch, do you think that Alexander believed in his own divinity? Give reasons for your answer. (20)

(iv) “The truth is that he was fighting mad and such was his passion for glory that he had not the strength of mind, when there was action afoot, to consider his own safety. The sheer pleasure of battle was irresistible.” (Arrian)
Discuss this statement with reference to Alexander. (50)
2013
(i) (a) In 335 BC Alexander besieged the city of Thebes. Give an account of the siege. (20)
(b) How did Alexander treat the inhabitants of Thebes after he captured the city? (15)
(c) What does this episode tell us about the character of Alexander? (15)

(ii) In 333 BC at the river Issus, the armies of Alexander and Darius met for the first time.
(a) Describe the course of the battle. (35)
(b) What do you learn about Alexander from his conduct during and after the battle? (15)

(iii) (a) Explain why the Macedonians mutinied at Opis in 324 BC. (10)
(b) Give an account of the speech made by Alexander to his troops at Opis. (25)
(c) What does this episode tell you about Alexander’s relationship with his Macedonians? (15)

(iv) (a) In your opinion, what were Alexander’s main faults? (20)
(b) Do you agree that both Plutarch and Arrian were too lenient in their treatment of Alexander’s faults? Support your answer by reference to both texts on your course. (30)

2012
(i) After the Battle of Gaugamela Alexander began to adopt a new policy of orientalism.
   (a) What forms did this orientalism take? (20)
   (b) Describe how the Macedonians reacted against Alexander’s orientalism. (30).

(ii) (a) Explain why the city of Tyre was so difficult to capture. (15)
(b) How did Alexander overcome the difficulties presented by Tyre and its defenders? (25)
(c) What do we learn about Alexander’s character from Arrian’s account of the siege and capture of Tyre? (10)

(iii) (a) Give an account of the burning of Persepolis by Alexander as described by Plutarch. (25)
(b) In what ways does Arrian’s account differ from Plutarch’s account? (15)
(c) In your opinion, which is the more believable account? Give reasons for your answer. (10)

(iv) Alexander was one of the most successful military commanders of all time. In your view, what qualities made him so successful? Refer to the prescribed texts in your answer. (50)

Q.2011
(i) What do we learn about Alexander through his dealings with the women in his life? Refer to the prescribed texts in your answer. (50)

(ii) “In military matters Darius was the feeblest and most incompetent of men”. (Arrian, Campaigns of Alexander).
   (a) Do you agree with this judgement of Darius by Arrian? Support your answer with reference to the prescribed texts. (30)
   (b) Describe how Darius met his death. (20)

(iii) (a) Why was the capture of the Rock of Aornos so important to Alexander? (10)
(b) Describe how Alexander’s genius as a commander overcame the challenges presented by this formidable fortress. (40)

(iv) (a) Describe how Alexander succeeded in crossing the Hydaspes River unopposed. (20)
(b) Analyse the reasons for Alexander’s victory over Porus in the Battle of Hydaspes. (30)
Q.2010
(i) (a) Outline the events which led to the deaths of Philotas and Parmenio. (30)
    (b) Do you think Philotas’ execution was justified? Give reasons for your answer. (20)

(ii) Give an account of the Battle of Gaugamela under the following headings:
    Preparations by Alexander and Darius for the battle;
    The course of the battle;
    The consequences of Alexander’s victory for his campaign to conquer the Persian Empire. (50)

(iii) (a) In your opinion, why did Alexander decide to cross the Gedrosian Desert? (15)
    (b) Do you agree that the crossing of the Gedrosian Desert was the greatest catastrophe of
    Alexander’s entire career? Give reasons for your answer. (35)

(iv) “…and so he sent for Aristotle.” (Plutarch, Life of Alexander)
    (a) According to Plutarch, why did Philip entrust the education of his son Alexander to
        Aristotle? (10)
    (b) According to Plutarch, what influence did Aristotle have on Alexander? (20).
    (c) What evidence is there that Alexander continued to be interested in philosophy
        throughout his life? (20)

Q.2009
(i) At the Granicus River Alexander won his first victory over a Persian army.
    (a) Give a brief account of the course of the battle. (30)
    (b) What do we learn about Alexander’s qualities of leadership from this battle? (20)

(ii) (a) Describe Alexander’s relationship with his father, Philip. (30)
    (b) Do you think Alexander’s upbringing was a good preparation for his future
        career? Give reasons for your answer. (20)

(iii) (a) Describe Alexander’s final illness and death. (35)
    (b) From your reading of Plutarch and Arrian, what do you believe was the most likely
        cause of Alexander’s death? Give reasons for your answer. (15)

(iv) For all his brilliant achievements, Alexander was at heart a cruel and vindictive tyrant.
    Discuss this statement. (50)

Q.2008
(i) “Alexander was also more moderate in his drinking than was generally supposed.”
    (Plutarch)
    Do you agree with the above comment? Give reasons for your answer, supporting them with reference to the
    prescribed texts. (50)

(ii) (a) Describe how Alexander and the Macedonians defeated Darius and the Persians at
    the battle of Issus in 333 BC. (35)
    (b) What were the main consequences of Alexander’s victory? (15)

(iii) “Alexander found himself passionately eager to visit the shrine of Ammon in Libya.” (Arrian)
    (a) Why did Alexander wish to visit the shrine? (10)
    (b) Describe what happened when Alexander reached the shrine. In your answer, refer
        to both Arrian and Plutarch. (30)
    (c) What did you learn of Alexander’s attitude to religion form his visit to Siwah? (10)

(iv) (a) Outline the sequence of events which led to the death of Cleitus. (30)
    (b) How did the philosopher Anaxarchus help to relieve Alexander’s feeling of remorse
        after Cleitus’s death? (5)
    (c) Both Arrian and Plutarch make excuses for Alexander’s killing of Cleitus. What is
        your opinion of their attempts to excuse him? Support your answer with reference to the texts. (15)
Q.2007
(i) Arrian writes that for Alexander "the **sheer pleasure of battle**, as other pleasures are to other men, was irresistible." Discuss this statement with reference to Alexander's career. (50)

(ii) Alexander addressed his officers at the river **Hyphasis** as follows:

"I observe, gentlemen, that when I would lead you on to a new venture you no longer follow me with your old spirit. I have asked you to meet me that we may come to a decision together: are we, upon my advice to go forward, or, upon yours, to turn back?" (Arrian, *The Campaigns of Alexander*)

(a) What were the main arguments put forward by Coenus in favour of turning back? (35)
(b) What is your opinion of Alexander's reaction when his men refused to continue into India? (15)

(iii) (a) Describe how Alexander tricked the Indian leader Porus and succeeded in crossing the river **Hydaspes**. (15)
(b) Give an account of the Battle of the Hydaspes. (25)
(c) In your opinion, why did Alexander treat Porus so well after this battle? (10)

(iv) (a) Based on you reading of Arrian and Plutarch, give an account of Alexander’s treatment of **women**. (35)
(b) What is your opinion of Alexander’s attitude to women? (15)

Q.2006
(i) (a) Describe the main components of Alexander's **army**. (25)
(b) In the battle of **Issus**, what use did Alexander make of his cavalry and infantry? (25)

(ii) "Alexander now decided to disband his **fleet**." (Arrian, *The Campaigns of Alexander*)

(a) Why did Alexander dismiss his fleet after the siege at Miletus? (25)
(b) What policy did Alexander then adopt to counter the strength of the Persian navy? (15)
(c) What risks did Alexander run in following this policy? (10)

(iii) "Meanwhile Alexander had become so much obsessed by his fears of the supernatural and so overwrought and apprehensive in his own mind, that he interpreted every strange or unusual occurrence, no matter how trivial, as a prodigy or a portent..." (Plutarch, *Life of Alexander*)

What evidence is there in the texts that Alexander paid great attention to **omens and oracles** throughout his life? (50)

(iv) "From this point he began to adapt his own style of living, more closely to that of the country and tried to reconcile Asiatic and Macedonian customs." (Plutarch, *Life of Alexander*)

(a) What forms did this "**Orientalism**" of Alexander take? (35)
(b) In your opinion, why did Alexander follow this policy? Support your answer with reference to the prescribed material. (15)

Q.2005
(i) (a) According to Plutarch in his *Life of Alexander*, what **education** did Philip provide for his son, Alexander? (25)
(b) What evidence do you find in the prescribed texts that Alexander was very influenced by Homer's *Iliad* and its hero, Achilles? (25)

(ii) In 327 B.C., Alexander brought about the death of **Callisthenes**.

(a) Outline the events which led to the death of Callisthenes. (35)
(b) What is your opinion of Alexander’s behaviour towards Callisthenes? (15)
(iii) At the Battle of Gaugamela in 331 B.C., Alexander’s forces defeated the Persians under Darius.

(a) Describe the preparations of both sides for the battle. (10)
(b) Give an account of the battle. (25)
(c) Comment on the tactics employed by Darius and Alexander. (15)

(iv) Would you agree that both Plutarch and Arrian take a lenient view of Alexander’s faults and abuses of power? Give reasons for your answer. (50)

Q.2004
(i) When Alexander became king of Macedonia on the death of his father Philip in 336 BC, he led his army against a number of enemies (Triballians, Illyrians and Thebans).
(a) Give a brief account of how Alexander dealt with any two of these enemies. (35)
(b) What qualities that Alexander later showed in his Persian campaigns were already evident in these early successes? (15)

(ii) The siege and capture of Tyre has been described as “perhaps the hardest task that Alexander’s military genius ever encountered.” (Bury and Meiggs)
(a) What were the main challenges presented by Tyre and its defenders, and how did Alexander’s genius overcome those challenges? (40)
(b) What is your opinion of Alexander’s treatment of the survivors after the capture of Tyre? (10)

(iii) Alexander had a nearly fatal adventure at the fortress of the Mallians in India in 325 BC.
(a) Describe how Alexander was seriously wounded at the fortress. (20)
(b) How did Alexander later convince the army that he had not died there? (15)
(c) Do you agree with those friends of Alexander who criticised him for his actions at this siege? (15)

(iv) “In spite of his vehement and impulsive nature, he showed little interest in the pleasures of the senses and indulged in them only with great moderation…” (Plutarch, Life of Alexander) Discuss this quotation with reference to what you have learnt about the behaviour of Alexander from your reading of prescribed texts. (50)

Q.2003
(i) "Memnon was the only first-class general Darius possessed in Asia Minor, and his disappearance from the scene was an extraordinary piece of luck for Alexander." (Green)
Discuss this statement in the light of the contribution made by Memnon of Rhodes to the Persian resistance to Alexander. (50)

(ii) In the space of a few years Alexander was responsible for the deaths of a number of senior figures including Parmenio, Philotas, Cleitus and Callisthenses.
What do these deaths tell us about Alexander, and also about the atmosphere in the Macedonian camp at this time? (50)
Candidates should treat these events in a general sense and should not give detailed accounts of the deaths.

(iii) Alexander's crossing of the Gedrosian desert has been called "the most catastrophic episode of his entire career."
   a) Give an account of the difficulties that Alexander and his army encountered, and of how they finally got through the desert. (40)
   b) To what extent would you blame Alexander for this catastrophe? (10)

(iv) (a) What do you think was Alexander's debt to his father Philip? (25)
(b) Based on your reading of both Plutarch and Arrian, discuss Alexander's ambivalent feelings towards Philip. (25)
Q.2002
(i) (a) Give an account of Alexander's capture and destruction of Thebes. (35)
(b) Why do you think Alexander treated Thebes so harshly? (15)

(ii) (a) How did it happen that Issus became the site of the battle between Alexander and Darius? (15)
(b) Explain why Darius lined up his forces as he did. (15)
(c) Briefly outline the course of the battle. (20)

(iii) (a) Outline the part played by Hephaestion in the life of Alexander. (25)
(b) How did Alexander react to the death of Hephaestion, and what is your opinion of his behaviour at that time? (25)

(iv) What do you think were the factors that contributed to the fall of the Persian Empire? Support your answer by reference to the texts on your course. (50)

Q.2001
(i) When he (Alexander) made up his mind that an object must be attained, he never hesitated to employ the boldest and most novel means. Discuss this statement with particular reference to Alexander's success in capturing fortified places. (50)

(ii) "According to a number of historians, it was in this way that the palace was burned down, that is on impulse, but there are others who maintain that it was an act of deliberate policy." (Plutarch, Life of Alexander)
(a) Based on your reading of Arrian and Plutarch, give an account of the burning of the palace of the Persian kings at Persepolis. (35)
(b) Which of the theories quoted above from Plutarch do you consider more likely? Give reasons for your answer. (15)

(iii) In the period after the Battle of Issus, Darius sent two letters to Alexander.
(a) In these two letters, what offers did Darius make to Alexander? (17)
(b) Outline Alexander's reply to these offers. (18)
(c) What does the tone of these letters tell us about the two men who wrote them? (15)

(iv) Compare Arrian's treatment of Alexander in his Campaigns of Alexander, with that of Plutarch's treatment of Alexander in his Life of Alexander. (50)

Q.2000
(i) The Persian leaders, including Memnon of Rhodes, met to decide how to deal with Alexander shortly after his arrival in Asia Minor.
(a) What options did they discuss, and why did they decide to meet Alexander in battle at the river Granicus? (20)
(b) Give a brief outline of the course of this battle. (30)

(ii) (a) Discuss the importance of Parmenio in the campaigns of Alexander. (35)
(b) What is your assessment of the relations between the two men? (15)

(iii) (a) Describe how Alexander became fatally ill and died. (20)
(b) What do we learn about Alexander from his behaviour during his final illness? (20)
(c) How do Arrian and Plutarch treat the rumours that Aristotle was involved in Alexander's death? (10)

(iv) Over the centuries since his death, the character of Alexander has been much admired and much criticised.
From your reading of both Arrian and Plutarch, what is your judgement of his character? (50)
Q. 1999

(i) (a) Briefly describe how Cleitus met his death at the hands of Alexander, and how Alexander behaved afterwards.
(b) What does this event tell us of the atmosphere among the officers of Alexander’s inner circle at that time?
(c) Whom would you consider more to blame: Alexander or Cleitus? (50)

(ii) Give an account of the main units in Alexander's army (infantry and cavalry), and the uses to which Alexander put them in his campaigns. (50)

(iii) From your reading of Plutarch and Arrian, what influence would you say that each of the following people had on Alexander: his mother Olympias; his father Philip; his teacher Aristotle? (50)

(iv) In your opinion, how serious was Alexander in his "policy of fusion" (i.e. his policy of integrating Persians and Macedonians in his empire)? (50)

Q. 1998

(i) (a) Why did Alexander dismiss his fleet after the capture of Miletus and put his trust instead in his coastal policy?
(b) What risks do you consider he ran by leaving himself without a fleet? (50)

(ii) (a) Compare the way Alexander handled the mutiny of his men at the river Hyphasis with the way he dealt with the later mutiny at Opis.
(b) Why do you think he was forced to act differently on each occasion? (50)

(iii) Treat the Battle of Gaugamela under the following headings:
(a) Alexander's rejection of a night attack;
(b) the course of the battle itself;
(c) the immediate consequences of Alexander's victory. (50)

(iv) Discuss the view that both Arrian and Plutarch are too ready to excuse Alexander's faults. (50)

Q. 1997

(i) "In military matters, he was the feeblest and most incompetent of men". (Arrian, The Campaigns of Alexander, Book 3, Ch.22)
Do you agree with this assessment of Darius from your reading of the prescribed texts? (50)

(ii) (a) Give an account of Alexander's visit to the Shrine of Zeus - Ammon at Siwah, based on your reading of Arrian and Plutarch.
(b) What is Arrian's attitude to the claim that Alexander was the son of Zeus? (50)

(iii) (a) "Alexander showed outstanding leadership during the nightmare march through the Gedrosian desert." Discuss.
(b) What caused the failure of Alexander's plan to keep in contact with the fleet under Nearchus? (50)

(iv) Discuss the view that Callisthenes brought about his own downfall by his self-importance and lack of common sense. (50)

Q. 1996

(i) From your reading of Plutarch and Arrian, assess the importance in Alexander's life of his father Philip. (50)

(ii) (a) How did Alexander manage to cross the river Hydaspes unopposed?
(b) Briefly describe the battle with Porus which followed.
(c) What do we learn of Alexander's character from his treatment of Porus after the battle? (50)
(ii) (a) Outline the events which led to the execution of Philotas.
(b) Do you find the case made against Philotas convincing? Give reasons for your answer. (50)

(iv) "That his character and temper grew worse as his power grew greater seems to us clear." (Introduction: Plutarch The Age of Alexander)
Discuss this comment with reference to the period between Alexander's return to Babylon from the East and his death. (50)

Q.1995
(i) Write short notes on three of the following: Bucephalus; Hephaestion; Parmenio; Roxane; Thais. (50)

(ii) What particular skills did Alexander show in his sieges of Halicarnassus and Tyre? (50)

(iii) Consider the nature of the complaints made against Alexander by some of his officers and men in the later stages of his expedition (i.e. after the death of Darius). (50)

(iv) Was Alexander interested in anything other than warfare? Use evidence from Arrian and Plutarch to support your answer. (50)

Q.1994
(i) Why did Alexander invade the Persian Empire? (50)

(ii) What do you consider to have been the decisive stages in Alexander's conquest of the Persian Empire? (50)

(iii) Which aspects of Alexander's character would you most (a) admire (b) criticise? (50)

(iv) Explain how the Macedonian army was organised. Describe its operation in any one battle with which you are familiar. (50)

Q.1993
(i) Discuss Alexander's campaign from his arrival in Asia Minor to the battle of Issus. (50)

(ii) Assess the importance of Alexander's visit to Egypt. (50)

(iii) (a) Give a brief account of the circumstances leading to the death of Cleitus in 328 B.C
(b) What was Alexander's reaction to the killing? (50)

(iii) Discuss the reasons given in Arrian and Plutarch for the burning of the palace at Persepolis. (50)

Q.1992
(i) (a) Briefly show how Alexander won the Battle of Gaugamela.
(b) What were the major consequences of this victory? (50)

(ii) Based on the evidence of the prescribed texts, briefly assess Darius as
(a) an individual, and
(b) leader of the Persians. (50)

(iii) What do we learn about Alexander from his relations with Callisthenes? (50)

(iv) Briefly assess Alexander on his treatment of foreign peoples, including the Persians, whom he encountered in his campaigns.

Q.1991
(i) (a) Explain why the fall and destruction of Thebes so deeply affected the rest of Greece.
(b) What importance did this episode have in Alexander's career? (50)
"Alexander had no difficulty in persuading his officers that the attempt on Tyre must be made". (Arrian, Book 2. Ch. 18)
(a) What arguments did Alexander use to persuade his officers?
(b) What factors made the siege of Tyre “a tremendous undertaking”? (50)

(ii) Write an account of the career of Parmenio, dealing with his contacts and relations with Alexander. (50)

(iv) "It is true that he took some steps towards the pomp and arrogance of the Asiatic kings; but I, at least, do not feel such errors were very heinous, if the circumstances are taken fairly into consideration." (Arrian, Book 7. Ch29)
(a) What "pomp and arrogance" in Alexander may Arrian be referring to in this statement?
(b) What circumstances does he feel should be taken into consideration in assessing such charges of pomp and arrogance? (50)

Q.1990
(i) Briefly assess the Battle of the Granicus River under the following general headings:-
(a) Alexander's behaviour before and during the battle and the insight which this gives into his character at that time.
(b) The symbolic importance of the battle. (50)

(ii) Discuss some qualities of leadership with special reference to Alexander and Darius. (50)

(iii) Briefly discuss the role of flatterers and the role of those who spoke the plain truth in the career of Alexander. (Avoid long accounts of particular incidents.) (50)

(iv) "The mere sight of a statue of Alexander struck Cassander with such horror that he shuddered and trembled in every limb." (Plutarch's "Life of Alexander", Ch.74.)

From your study of Alexander's career suggest reasons why Alexander could have struck such terror into a fellow-Macedonian such as Cassander. (50)

Q.1989
(i) According to the prescribed sources in what ways did Alexander try to create the impression that he was not mortal? (50)

(ii) From your study of Plutarch, give your impression of the nature of Alexander's upbringing before he inherited the Macedonian throne. (50)

(iii) (a) Briefly outline the circumstances in which, according to Arrian, Alexander met "the only defeat he had ever suffered".
(b) What insight does this episode of the "defeat" give into the personality of Alexander? (50)

(iv) "Arrian judges with humanity the weaknesses of a man exposed to the temptations of those who exercise supreme power." (Introduction to Penguin editions of The Campaigns of Alexander.) (50)

Q.1988
(i) What are the qualities in Arrian's account of the Battle of Issus which make it so dramatic? (50)

(ii) (a) Discuss the background to the crisis between Alexander and his Macedonians, which came to a head with the mutiny at Opis.
(b) What was the outcome of the mutiny?
(c) Comment on Alexander's handling of the crisis. (50)

(iii) (a) What was Alexander's motive in crossing the Gedrosian desert?
(b) Describe some of the difficulties he encountered and how he coped with them.
(c) Briefly indicate what insight into Alexander's character we gain from this episode. (50)
Q.1987

(i) (a) Give an account of the plot of Philotas as we find it in Arrian and Plutarch.
(b) Why was Parmenio executed following the uncovering of the plot?
(c) What does this whole episode concerning Philotas and Parmenio tell us about Alexander as King or Ruler? (50)

(ii) (a) Describe the nature of Alexander's "Orientalism".
(b) What comments on it do Arrian and Plutarch make?
(c) What do you think Arrian means, while speaking generally of Alexander's "Orientalism", when he says that "he needs one more victory-victory over himself." (50)

(iii) (a) What advice did the Indian sages give to Alexander?
(b) Arrian tells us that Alexander expressed approval of the sage's words, but that his conduct was always the exact opposite of what he admired in their words. What aspects of Alexander's conduct did Arrian have in mind here?
(c) Briefly indicate what insight this episode gives into Alexander's character. (50)

(iv) "Alexander will fascinate every generation." Discuss, referring to Arrian and Plutarch in support of your views. (50)

1986

(i) Briefly discuss the destruction of Thebes under the following headings:-
(a) Alexander's motives for allowing the destruction;
(b) the Athenian reaction to the destruction;
(c) the light which the event throws on Alexander's character at this time. (50)

(ii) (a) Apart from "not wishing to steal victory like a thief" what other reasons may Alexander have had for avoiding a night attack on Gaugamela, according to Arrian and Plutarch?
(b) What were the immediate results of the battle? (50)

(iii) (a) Describe Alexander's actions at the assault on the frontiers of the Mallians.
(b) What insights into his character do we get from his actions during the assault? (50)

(iv) "Arrian judges with remarkable humanity the sins of Alexander whom he recognizes as a man exposed to the temptations of absolute power." Discuss this statement. (50)

Q.1985

(i) Write briefly about the composition of Alexander's army and the tactical role of the various sections of the army. (50)

(ii) Give Alexander's reasons for besieging Tyre and describe the siege. What does the siege tell us about Alexander's character? (50)

(iii) Describe the circumstances in which the Macedonians were reluctant to proceed beyond the river Hyphasis and say what happened subsequently. (50)

(iv) From your reading of Arrian and Plutarch, give your own assessment of the character of Alexander. You should illustrate your answer by reference to the prescribed material. (50)
1. Alex’s Youth/Education/ Family/Aristotle 10

(iv) “…and so he sent for Aristotle”. (Plutarch, *Life of Alexander*)
(a) According to Plutarch, why did Philip entrust the education of his son Alexander to Aristotle? (10)
(b) According to Plutarch, what influence did Aristotle have on Alexander? (20)
(c) What evidence is there that Alexander continued to be interested in philosophy throughout his life? (20)

§ D. - Marking Scheme, Q. (iv) (a) 10 marks.
According to Plutarch, Alexander’s father Philip realised that his son was not amenable to force but could be influenced by an appeal to reason. He also considered that the education of Alexander was too important to be given to any old teachers. Aristotle’s reputation made him very attractive as a teacher.

(b) 20 marks. (10,10)
Aristotle taught Alexander ‘the principles of ethics and politics’. However, Plutarch mentions also philosophy even in its more abstruse forms. This discipline, accessible to very few people, formed part of Aristotle’s programme.

Aristotle also inspired his pupil with a love of ‘all kinds of learning’ and the interest in the art of healing which Alexander retained all his life. Possibly Aristotle’s greatest gift to Alexander was a love of books in general but of one book in particular – Homer’s Iliad. His copy had been annotated by Aristotle. Alexander was hugely influenced by the Iliad. He slept with it under his pillow and used a magnificent casket captured from Darius to hold it.

(c) 20 marks. (10,10)
Alexander took philosophers with him to Asia (including Callisthenes). He delighted in philosophical discussions.

His encounter with Diogenes is also good evidence. There is also the series of conundrums which he put to the ten Indian philosophers. Later, he sent Onesicritus to other philosophers in India. Calanus, one of the Indians, joined Alexander on his journey back to Babylon. It was he who showed Alexander the parable using a piece of hide. He later immolated himself. Alexander once complained bitterly that Aristotle was sharing certain philosophical knowledge with others.

Further notes: (a) Phillip realised it was better ‘to persuade the boy rather than give him orders.” He did not thinki “the ordinary run of teachers” was good enough, sends for Aristotle, the most famous and learned of philosophers of his time”. Rewards him generously, rebuilds his native Stageira. Studied in the Temple of the Nymphs near Mieza. (b) ‘secret and more esoteric studies…for a select circle of the initiated’
Fell out with Aristotle later because he published them. ‘I would rather excel the rest of mankind in my knowledge…” (M.T.C.; competitive) Also: Callisthenes (Aristotle’s nephew)...

(c) Takes Iliad with him…; Diogenes ‘shade’; Calanus (self immolation); Ten Indian Brahman; dedications at Troy; Philosophical pause at Xerxes’ statue and Cyrus’s Tomb; Theatrical events… Darius’s bath?
2) Alexander’s Pre-Theban Northern Campaigns, 335 BC
(Northern Campaigns are also known as Balkan Wars)

2004

II. vii. Leaving Certificate 2004

(i) When Alexander became king of Macedonia on the death of his father Philip in 336 BC, he led his army against a number of enemies (Triballians, Illyrians and Thebans).

(a) Give a brief account of how Alexander dealt with any two of these enemies. (35)

(b) What qualities that Alexander later showed in his Persian campaigns were already evident in these early successes? (15)

§ A. - Marking Scheme, Q. 6) (a) 35 marks. (9,9) (9,8)

Triballians: most important points include Alexander’s negotiation of the mountain defiles down which the enemy were rolling heavy wagons: the defeat of a Triballian force in the forest: Alexander’s crossing of the Danube which led to the surrender of the Triballians.

Illyrians (including the Taulantians): Alexander was caught between an enemy in the fort of Pelium and another occupying the steep hills around. Candidates should show some appreciation of how he succeeded in extricating his army and then overwhelmed the ill-prepared enemy in a night attack, leading to the flight of the Illyrians and Taulantians.

Thebans: This confrontation is dealt with at great length by Arrian and Plutarch. Most important points include Alexander’s reluctance to attack at the beginning; the unauthorised attack by Ptolemaus; strong resistance by the Thebans; sortie by the Macedonians in the Cadmeia; arrival of Alexander with reinforcements; slaughter of Thebans; treatment of survivors.

(b) 15 marks. (8,7)

Examiners will look for two qualities and the circumstances in which they were shown. Examples could include: tactical ingenuity (Triballians, Illyrians); the lure of the unknown (crossing of the Danube); ruthlessness (Thebes); personal courage (all campaigns); noble gestures (Timoclea, Pindar’s house).

Preliminaries:

Plutarch: Tribes to the north of Macedonia had been conquered by Philip but not yet assimilated into Macedonian system by the time of his death. Tribes start to cause trouble. Some Macedonian elders advise Alexander to placate them, but Alexander confidently refuses and embarks upon a pacification campaign.

Arrian: After getting League of Corinth blessing to continue Philip’s plans to invade Persia (and after intimidating Athens) Alex learns that Thracians/Triballi and Illyrians are causing trouble. Alex starts out to settle the locals before he heads on to Asia. (Arrian “Since his expedition would take him so far from home he did not think it wise to leave them in his rear, unless they were first thoroughly crushed”.) Alex mobilizes quickly, starting from Amphipolis reaches Mt. Haemus.

I. Triballians/Thracians/Getae

1) (North) Free Thracians (Triballians)- Mt. Haemus, Carts, Strategy… they crossed the Nestus River and reached mount Haemus and the FTs and their allies are on the upper slopes. Alexander is tactically smart and has the strength of personality to control his men and provide a suitable defence. Barbarians have heavy carts which they roll down upon Macedonians. Alex has them spread apart where possible and lie down, with shields over them, where not. Carts cause no trouble. Barbarians are no match for Phalanx. Once threat of the carts removed, Alex brought his archers across from the right wing to in front of main body of the army and instructed them to meet with a volley any attack the Thracians might make. They have no problems holding off the Thracians who were “inadequately armed and equipped”.

He took charge of personal Guard; other Guards regiments and Agrianes and went over to the left. Even before they came into contact the natives flung down their arms and fled. Slaughter and flee, leaving women, children and belongings. 1,500 of the enemy were killed.

2) (West) Triballians-
A) King Smyrnos, sends Women and Children to island (Pine Tree) on the Danube, joined by Thracians: Alex has difficulty landing on the island. Most Triballians return to wooded area on the River Lyginus where they are surprised and defeated by Alex, luring them into an attack on the lightly armed archers: The phalanx arrives to rout their left wing. Allied cavalry attacks their right and his cavalry and infantry the centre. 3000 killed but woods’ thickness and the darkness prevent many captives. Triballians held their own at long range but once Alex’s army came up close and they fought up close with the Macedonian infantry, they weakened. Alex’s cavalry, instead of shooting them, rode them down. Macedonian losses = 51.

B) Alex tries to attack the island where the rest are with his warships from Black Sea but fails to land successfully.
- Strong resistance from Triballians on the Pine Island - 10,000 infantry and 4,000 cavalry.
- Macedonian ships were not strongly manned
- Current was very strong.

3) Getae: Decides to cross Danube (filled with pothos: longing) and attack the Getae, Triballian allies, instead. Use tents/rafts and local boats to cross easily, en masse. They cross where a field of tall grain allowe dthem to come ashore undetected (tactical genius). Infantry use sarisas to flatten corn. Cavalry charge. Takes Getae town. Getae flee into countryside. Booty, raze, thanks gods, especially Danube personified.

4) Celtic envoys: submission from those near but far away fear “The sky falling!” the most (not him!) Reflection on Alex’s character: ‘Celts thought too much of themselves.’

5) To Agrianians, allies, whose king, offers to attack Autariatae instead of Alex doing it. Alex offers half-sister in return.

II Illyrians/Taulantians
On to Illyria (SE) and King Cleitos who takes the city of Pelion/um and its surrounding heights (but then abandons superior defensive position after savage sacrifice). Engagement and Alex forces them within city walls. Joined by allies Taulantians with King Glaukias. Still hold strong tactical positions. Philotas foraging expedition guarded but heights around plain taken by Glaukias. Alex to the rescue. Glaukias withdraws. But still a tough position for Alex: inferior land position, trapped in a narrow wooded pass. Tactic: fancy complicated drill movements to intimidate enemies (who retreat into city) and then take a hill. Alex and Companions and Agrianes (tough light infantry/shock infantry) stay on hill. Guards and other Macedonian infantry cross river and natives start attack his rear guard. Infantry return through river in double sided attack. Uses missiles to cover all forces crossing back over river. Appear to be leaving/retreat. 3 days later: Illyrians and Taulantians think Alex in retreat and camp carelessly: They had no regular sentries (watchmen); no palisade or ditch; their line was perilously extended. Alex attacks at night, small force of Agrianes and archers on narrow front. Rout. Many killed in their beds, others fled in panic and disorder Cleitus burns town and seeks refuge with Glaukias. The natives are clearly scared when they see Alexander’s disciplined army and their impressive manoeuvres.
2 B) Thebes

2013 and MS

(a) In 335 BC Alexander besieged the city of Thebes. Give an account of the siege. (20)
(a) A coherent account (7+7+6) Omission of the failure of the Thebans to close the gates = max 17.
335 BC, the people of Thebes and Athens rebelled against Alexander who was fighting in the north. While Alexander was in the north fighting hill tribes, the news arrived of Philip’s death and the Thebans were incited to rebel against Macedonian control. A false rumour spread that Alexander had died in the north but he marched to Thebes in 13 days across several mountain ranges. He was only a few miles away when it was confirmed to the Thebans that he was, in fact, alive. He first gave the city time to submit, but they sent out some infantry and cavalry to attack the Macedonians who moved around to the gate facing towards Attica. Some in the city wanted to come to terms but the rebels held sway. The first attack was made, on his own initiative, by Perdiccas who breached the palisade and was wounded. This was followed by a full attack by Alexander which, initially, was powerfully repelled by the Thebans who inflicted a lot of casualties on the Macedonians. But the Macedonians rallied and drove the Thebans back inside the town where there was a mistake made and the gates were left open, allowing the Macedonians to flood in and slaughter the Thebans. (20)

(b) How did Alexander treat the inhabitants of Thebes after he captured the city? (15)
(b) Two points: With leniency and ruthlessness (impression ex 15) Specific examples required. Alexander had the men of Thebes slaughtered, though it is notable that he left it to the League to make this decision, officially. The women and children were enslaved and the city was razed to the ground. He did show mercy to the widow Timocleia and he left the house of Pindar and the Cadmeia standing. He did spare a few people, but the wholesale destruction of one of Greece’s great cities shocked the Greek world. (15)

(c) What does this episode tell us about the character of Alexander? (15)
(c) Three points (5+5+5) Above all, the ruthlessness of the young Alexander is apparent here. His speed of reaction, his persistence and the confidence of his strategy and command are obvious in this victory. But the chief element here is the savage extremity of his punishment and the breathtaking fact of his destruction of one of the major cities of Greece - a lesson for any potential opposition to his plans. He would not brook any opposition and made a shocking example of Thebes by an extreme action. He does not hesitate to do what others might have considered unacceptable. His personal mercy is evident in his treatment of Timocleia and his love of culture is clear in his devotion to Pindar. (15)

2004

(i) When Alexander became king of Macedonia on the death of his father Philip in 336 BC, he led his army against a number of enemies (Triballians, Illyrians and Thebans).

(a) Give a brief account of how Alexander dealt with any two of these enemies. (35)
(b) What qualities that Alexander later showed in his Persian campaigns were already evident in these early successes? (15)
II. ix. Leaving Certificate 2002

(i) (a) Give an account of Alexander’s capture and destruction of Thebes. (35)
(b) Why do you think Alexander treated Thebes so harshly? (15)

§ A. - Marking Scheme, Q. (i) (a) 35 marks.
A clear, connected narrative including the unauthorised attack by Perdiccas, Alexander’s support of this, the stubborn resistance of the Thebans, the eruption of those Macedonians in the Cadmeia onto the streets, the admission of more and more of Alexander’s men, the fleeing of the Theban cavalry and the slaughter of the citizens.
Candidates must also provide a brief treatment of the destruction of the city.
(b) 15 marks. Two reasons should be given. (8,7)
The main reason was to terrify the rest of the Greek city states (especially Athens).
Another was the hatred for Thebes on the part of all the neighbouring peoples, and a third could be Alexander’s anger at being resisted (seen more dramatically at Tyre and Gaza).

1991 (a) Explain why the fall and destruction of Thebes so deeply affected the rest of Greece.
(b) What importance did this episode have in Alexander's career? (50)

1986 Briefly discuss the destruction of Thebes under the following headings:
  a) Alexander's motives for allowing the destruction;
  b) the Athenian reaction to the destruction;
  c) the light which the event throws on Alexander's character at this time. (50)

Thebes Notes

Preliminaries: Deaths of Amyntas and Timoles. Theban agents de provocateurs invoke “freedom” and “autonomy”.
Also rumours of Alex’s death encourage revolt. Alex offers negotiations which the Thebans refuse. Thebans seal the Cadmeia and Alex still delays.

Alexander’s Approach and efforts at conciliation: LAIT letters, insults, Athenians, agents de provocateurs, Thebes, Macedonian Garrison in the Cadmeia

- Theban patriots besiege Macedonian garrison in Cadmeia. Fear that revolt would spread to rest of Greece.

- Alexander marched 250 miles in 13 days. Again rapidity of movement. At pass of Thermopylae Alexander declared “Demosthenes called me a boy while I was in Illyria and among the Triballi, and a youth when I was marching through Thessaly; I will show him I am a man by the time I reach the walls of Athens”

- Alexander stationed his army 6 miles NW of Thebes and sent an offer to the Thebans because he wanted to give them a chance to repent their actions, asking that the ringleaders Phoenix and Prothytes surrender and then he would give amnesty to the Thebans.

- Refusal – Missile attack to which Alexander responded but then moved to the south side of Thebes to provide support to the Macedonians who were holding the Cadmeia, although he still hoped that the Thebans would surrender.
Seige and Storm: Perdicas and Amyntas attack of their own will, Alex supports them. Thebans retreat but counter attack to which Alex sends in the Phalanx. Thebans retreat to market square. Theban cavalry flee. *** The Phocians, Boeotians and Plataeans burst into houses and temples to kill everyone (Arrian excusing Alex)

- Perdicas and Amyntas take the initiative - break through the palisade and attack the Theban troops who were besieging the Cadmeia. But they are driven back by the Thebans – Alexander sends in troops to support. The Thebans retreat but fail to close the gates of city. Macedonians get inside the walls.

- Besieged Macedonians break out of Cadmeia to join their fellow men. Other Macedonian troops climb over the city walls and made for the Agora. For a time there was fierce fighting but finally the Theban cavalry and infantry abandon the city - victory over Thebans. More than 6,000 Thebans killed in the fighting.

Raze and Enslave: Alex supposedly allows the allies to decide Thebes’ fate, really they were just “a rubber stamp” on his intentions. A bit of PR…Spares descendants of the poet Pindar…

- Alexander allows Thebans enemies Phocis, Plataians and other Boiotian cities to oversee the destruction of Thebes, which they carried out with ruthless vengeance. They decide to garrison the Cadmeia but to destroy everything else. Territory divided amongst the allied forces, surviving citizens except for priests and priestesses and those who opposed the revolt were sold into slavery. (30,000)

- Alexander’s decision to allow destruction was to frighten the rest of the Greeks into submission by making a terrible example. (Plutarch)

Alexander’s remorse: Alexander supposedly felt bad but decision to enslave and destroy is made after the taking of Thebes.

- Thebes - often felt regret made Alexander milder in his treatment of others later.
- He was convinced that his killing of Cleitus in a drunken rage and the cowardly refusal of the Macedonians to cross the river Hyphasis which cut short his campaign and robbed him of his final glory were caused by the angry Dionysus who wished to punish him for the destruction of the god’s favourite city.

- Story of Timocleia incident – understanding nature of Alexander.
  During the sacking of the city, a group of Thracian soldiers broke into the house of a Theban woman called Timocleia. She was raped by the leader who then demanded any gold and silver she had hidden. She led him to the garden well and pushed him into it. When she was brought before Alexander she stood up bravely to him, “I am the sister of Theagenes who commanded our army against your father, Philip, and fell at Chaeronea fighting for the liberty of Greece.” Alexander so admired her dignity and courage he ordered her immediate release. She also would have been seen to be from the same class as Alexander.

Plutarch’s judgment: Showed remorse, also: but did it as a deterrent?

Arrian’s judgment and excuses: Arrian then contextualises the disaster and decides that it was worse than the Athenians in Sicily.. Does not excuse him.. but goes on to: Thebes had earned the enmity of its neighbours by allying with Persia, mistreating the locals and ignoring the Gods’ warnings

Arrian does say it was a tragedy but refers to local scores and grievances, divine punishment, ignored signs and allowing ‘allied troops to decide fate of Thebes’
Significance/Character: Alex gives them 3 chances, but is ruthless when pushed… Allows ‘locals’ free reign… Seems honestly regretful but still benefits from a useful deterrent… Building a ‘pan-Hellenic’ sense of loyalty : (ironic in that he just conquered Greece with Philip!) .. ‘divide and conquer’

Results

- Greek campaigns over – as all of Greece except Sparta submits to Alexander. Athenians, Aetolians and all others no longer a problem for the Macedonians. Now free to concentrate on Persia.

- When the news of the destruction became known, neighbouring states abandoned their plans to revolt. **Athens sends envoys to assure king that they approved the punishment of the Thebans.** Alexander initially demanded the surrender of Demosthenes but did not pursue it. Sign of regard he had for Athens despite their hostility.

- King now returns to Macedonia, offered a thanksgiving to Zeus and celebrated the Olympian games at Aegae. During the ceremonies a report of a cypress wood statue of Orpheus was constantly weeping. This was interpreted by Aristander that poets would toil and sweat to celebrate the future exploits of Alexander.

- Alexander visits oracle of Delphi to consult the oracle of Apollo about his Persian campaign. Oracle was forbidden by law on this day to give a reply. Alexander summoned the priestess and tried to drag her to the shrine. When she exclaimed “you are invincible my son” Alexander declared that he required no other prophecy.

- Alexander now ready to begin his campaign to conquer Asia. His Greek campaigns took only a year you can still see an indication of his talent, his ability to improvise brilliant strategy and rapidity of movement.

- There were shock waves all over Greece as a result of what happened to Thebes. In Athens the Eleusinian mysteries were postponed so as to take care of the Theban refugees. The assembly elected 10 ambassadors (one from each of the ten constituencies) to make peace with Alexander. Alexander received them cordially and made an alliance but sent a letter with them back to Athens ordering the surrender of several anti-Macedonian orators including Demosthenes. He also blamed them for the sack of Thebes for inciting the Theban rebels to violence. Athens only exiled one name from the list: Charidemus, who fled to Darius in Persia.

- Alexander left with southern Greece for the moment pacified through fear and made for Pella and then onto Amphipolis in Thrace where he prepared to cross the Hellaspond and begin his invasion.
3) Granicus

2014

(a) Discuss the view that it was Alexander’s qualities as a leader and as a strategist that ensured victory over the Persians at the Granicus River. (35)

(b) What do we learn about Alexander’s character from his behaviour after the battle? (15)

MS: (a) Three developed points. (12,12,11.)

Alexander’s qualities as a leader and as a strategist brought about the victory at the Granicus River. Students should deal with both of these areas. As leader - the fact that he had led an army this size against the Persians was in itself remarkable. Arrian stresses how visible to his men Alexander was going into this battle and indeed his personal bravery almost leads to his death here; he has a very narrow escape. This tells us that he underwent all the dangers his men did, a great sign in a leader. He was the first to charge where the Persians were at their most numerous. As strategist - firstly he rejects Parmenio’s advice to wait till morning to attack, he sees this as a sign of weakness, he thinks it might increase the morale of the enemy. He gauges the current of the river and tells his men to cross at an angle to the current. He puts Parmenio in charge of the left wing with the Thessalian Cavalry on the extreme left, Philotas on the right with Nicanor and Coenus near him. He goes towards the right at the head of a wedge-shaped unit of the Cavalry Companions. Across the centre was the infantry phalanx. He charges first, along with a few cavalry units, followed by the phalanx who initially did badly, trying to climb up the river bank against the enemy. But once the cavalry got the upper hand, they could come to the rescue of the units in trouble, who rallied. Alexander, as the Persians were routed, went for the Greek mercenaries who were lined up behind, still unsure of what was happening. He was determined to make an example of them to deter others with similar ideas of fighting against him. Many were slaughtered, about 2,000 were taken alive. His strategy and leadership ensured a comprehensive victory over Memnon. However, candidates may take a contrary view to the sentiment in the question and back it up with evidence. (35)

(b) Two points. (8,7.)

From his behaviour after the battle, we see the full extent of the rapport between Alexander and his men. About 25 Companions, 60 other cavalry and 30 infantry had died and he set up a monument to these men carved by Lysippus. He gave the dead ceremonial burial with their arms and exempted their families from local taxes. This was very clever in that any man who fought for him knew now that, should he die, he would have a fine burial and memorial and his family would be helped. He also visited the wounded and spoke to the men, asking how they had received their wounds and even allowed them to exaggerate their stories. This shows his mastery of personal relations and how he knew how to relate to his men and get the best out of them. He even buried the Persians and the Greek mercenaries showing his humanity and fairness. But he was harsh towards the surviving mercenaries whom he sent back to Macedonia in chains: he was not a soft enemy. His admiration of Athens is shown by the sending of 300 suits of armour for display there. His relative modesty is shown in calling himself “son of Philip and the Greeks”. He was careful not to specifically mention Macedonians. Alexander was mindful of keeping his Greek allies loyal. (15)

2009

At the Granicus River Alexander won his first victory over a Persian army.

(a) Give a brief account of the course of the battle. (30)

(b) What do we learn about Alexander’s qualities of leadership from this battle? (20)

MS:

(a) 30 marks.

To score high marks candidates should cover the whole course of the battle and show an awareness of the terrain which is central to an understanding of what happened. (The Granicus had a steep bank which had to be climbed by the Macedonians.) Key events in the battle include: the crossing of the river, fighting at the bank, Alexander’s brush with death, the part played by the Greek mercenaries and their fate. Marks should be awarded for mention of Alexander’s treatment of the fallen and the wounded, though this is not a necessary part of a good answer.
At least two qualities are needed. Personal courage, willingness to lead by example, decisiveness and refusal to let obstacles deter him, ruthlessness in the destruction of the mercenaries, concern for the dead and wounded. Recklessness and exposing himself to danger are also relevant.

2000
(v) The Persian leaders, including Memnon of Rhodes, met to decide how to deal with Alexander shortly after his arrival in Asia Minor.
(a) What options did they discuss, and why did they decide to meet Alexander in battle at the river Granicus? (20)
(b) Give a brief outline of the course of this battle. (30)

1991

Briefly assess the Battle of the Granicus River under the following general headings:-
(a) Alexander's behaviour before and during the battle and the insight which this gives into his character at that time.
(b) The symbolic importance of the battle. (50)

Preliminaries

Setting: fast-flowing river, steep opposite bank, rough muddy slope.

P-MASE
Persians: 40,000 near Zeleia. Darius is not there, typically allowing satraps and mercenaries to take the lead. Memnon of Rhodes, realizing that Persian infantry was outnumbered and knowing Alexander’s precarious supply line position, advises a ‘scorched earth’ policy of retreating and destroying local crops and provisions. Arsites, governor of northern Phrygia, and the other satraps refused: either through jealousy of Memnon or wanting to protect their own turf.

M-PHAD
-First battle for Alexander in Asia: significant as he is an upstart in comparison to established Persian Empire. Low on resources and in debt, Alexander needed to win this battle to maintain wider Greek support. Approaches river, scouts giving reports of Persians amassed on far bank. Parmenio advises a wait till dawn as the Persians would realize their infantry was outnumbered and probably would retreat from the river overnight. Also, the bank was steep, and the Macedonian infantry would have to advance broken up into columns, and not as a broad front. And, a failure at the outset would be a serious detriment to long term success. Sensible, but Alexander decides to take the risk and responds charismatically, "Yes, Parmenio, but I should be ashamed of myself if a little trickle of water like this were too much...after the Hellespont." And, importantly, any hesitancy would give the Persians confidence. Plutarch: Other Macedonian generals also hesitant and pressure to observe the custom of not making war during the month of Daesius. Alex renames the month!

Battle

-Persians have 20,000 cavalry on the bank in a broad front and 20,000 (inflated) Greek mercenary infantry to the rear. Bad tactics: cavalry cannot charge; infantry cannot attack until too late.

-Macedonian left wing under Parmenio; phalanx in centre; right under Alexander. Leading squadron (Socrates) of cavalry advance first, and then Amyntas with advance scouts, Paeonians and one infantry company. Then Alex and the right wing advancing at an angle oblique to the pull of the current to prevent a flank attack and enable a front as solid as possible.
- Amyntas and Socrates’s men find it hard to get a foothold on the steep bank, bombarded by Persian missiles. Mounted troops fighting as infantry in hand-to-hand battle. Macedonians, outnumbered, suffer from inferior position and footing, and the fact that Persia’s best (Memnon and sons) meet them.

- Alex to the rescue. Heads for Persian commanders. Violent struggle, more Macedonians getting across, forcing Persians back from the riverbank. Tide turns: experience, weight of numbers (Persian cav relatively unengaged), and advantage of cornel-wood spear (sarissa) over Persian light lance.

- Alex alone. His spear is broken; his groom Aretis himself is in difficulty. Handed a spear by Demaratus, one of his bodyguard. Sees and attacks Mithridates, Darius’s son-in-law. Rhoesaces smashes Alex’s helmet with his scimitar. Alex dispatches him with his spear. Black Kleitos/Cleitus comes to the rescue, severing thee shoulder and arm of Spithridates. More and more Macedonian cavalry cross…

- Persians suffering- being forced back by cavalry and infantry. Begin to break at the centre-point where Alex is leading the charge. Both Persian cavalry wings retreat. Greek mercenaries (20,000 inflated) remain but not due to courage but speed of Macedonian attack. Plutarch: Mercenaries on a hill, ask for quarter. Alex responds ‘with passion not reason’ and his cavalry and infantry surround them, butchering almost them to a man, but suffering casualties themselves.

**Aftereffects**

- Persians- 20,000 inf. And 2500 cav dead, 2000 taken prisoner. Surviving Gk mercenaries sent in chains to hard labour, as right according to League of Corinth, but a tactical mistake. Alex learns and as early as Miletus, enlists captured mercenaries.
- Statues of 25 dead Companion Cavalry erected. 60 other cav and 30 inf dead (deflated). Dead buried with arms and equipment, parents and children granted tax relief. Alex visits wounded, showing concern and praise. Even Persian commanders and Gk mercenaries given burial rites. Alexander’s good leadership and public relations. Plutarch: Mercenaries on a hill, ask for quarter. 
- Alexander replaces Arsites with Calas as satrap, maintaining taxes at same level, and allowing natives to return to homes. Locals of Zeleia pardoned. This shows Alexander’s good sense as ruler: kill hostiles but incorporate survivors, making new rule palatable.

**Significances**

- Military Tactics. Alex proves himself capable of the big battle, devising tactics that are risky but successful. Strong enough to resist Parmenio’s advice. Lucky? (Diodorus’s account of the sneaky dawn crossing). He personally leads and fights, encouraging by example. In obvious armour, with white plume, he is a focal point, both for his men and the enemy (naive? risky?). Poor decision re. mercenaries, but he learns from mistakes.
- Political Tactics. ‘Battle aftercare’ is sensible, building on his reputation with both his men, Greek allies, and potential enemies/allies. Booty helps financial situation. Start of successful coastal policy. Sardis, the principal seat of Persian power on the Asiatic coast, and all other cities except Halicarnassus and Miletus, surrender. Start of Alex.’s ‘coastal policy,’ combining sieges and diplomacy to deprive superior Persian navy of bases. Granicus sends the right mixed, carrot and stick message.
4) Alexander – The Sieges of Miletus and Halicarnassus

1. After the battle of Granicus, Alexander and his lieutenants set about liberating the various cities of Asia Minor, which surrendered to him willingly after they saw how mercifully he had treated the town of Zeleia, which had hosted the Persian satraps’ council before Granicus. Arrian tells us that the Persian commander in charge of the garrison at Miletus had been sending Alexander letters promising to surrender the city to him but on hearing that the Persian fleet was not far off he had regained his courage and had decided to preserve the city for Darius.

2. Alexander sent Nicanor on ahead in command of the Greek fleet of 160 ships and Nicanor reached Miletus 3 days before the Persain fleet; anchoring off Lade. When the Persian fleet arrived and saw Nicanor already in possession of the port they laid anchor some way off underneath Mt. Mycale with the intention of sailing up every day to tempt the Greeks into deeper water.

3. Meanwhile Alexander captured the outer city in next to know time and was besieging the inner citadel with siege towers and catapults. Arrian tells us that he succeeded in breaching the walls quickly but that his success in the siege was in part owed to Nicanor’s defense of the port. On seeing that Alexander had commenced the siege Nicanor blockaded the entrance of the harbour with his fleet: a wall of ships, facing the enemy’s navy: effectively cutting the Milesians off from escape and from help from the Persian navy.

4. Most of the Milesians were killed in the city but some managed to escape to refuge on a nearby islet along with many Greek mercenaries. Alexander first of all sent his men against them with ladders on the ships to land on the rock but when he saw how brave the refugees were and how committed they were to defending themselves he was moved to pity them and offered them amnesty instead, asking the Greek mercenaries to fight for him in the future.

5. After taking the city however he still had to worry about the navy, so he sent Philotas in command of the cavalry with 3 regiments of infantry to Mt. Mykale by land so that when the Persain fleet returned that night they would be cut off. It was done and after a brief stay on the island of Samos the Persian fleet returned for a final stand off against Nicanor’s blockade and then departed ceding the city to Alexander.

Halicarnassus

Short Summary: Miletus settled, Alexander proceeds with coastal policy. Memnon has fortified it. On Alexander’s approach there is a sortie and a counter attack. Alexander moves to the part of the town that faces Myndus. Alexander expects Myndus to surrender but it does not, tries to take it but fails. They are helped by naval support from Hallicanarsus. Alexander proceeds to fill in the ditch and set up siege engines. Hallicanarsins attack siege weapons at night but are scared off. Two men are drinking together and attack the town. Hallicanarsans come out to fight and almost take the town. Another sortie is made from the town. Alexander drives back the sortie. Hallicanarsans had advantage thanks to high ground and towers. The Hallicanarsions build a brick wall, and alex renews his assault but there is a counter attack. Heavy losses by the defenders wall is breached but it is clogged with bodies of men and stone. The attackers from the town flee. They close the gates and leave many of their fellow men outside. Alex supposedly gives them another chance to surrender. Memnon and Orontobates meet and decide to set the walls and part of the city on fire and retreat to an island. Alexander had the town but decideds not to attack the island. He razes the town.
1. The siege of Halicarnassus was a long and difficult for the Macedonians. Memnon of Rhodes had now been appointed governor of all lower Asia and supreme commander of the Persian navy. Halicarnassus was his base. Alexander made for Halicarnassus after Miletus liberating all the cities between. The surrounding area had long been re-enforced by Memnon and Halicarnassus itself was a fortress.

2. When he arrived it seemed impregnable but Alexander couldn’t afford to cede it to Darius. At first he decided to attack the walls from the side of the city facing the citadel of Mydnus. He also wanted to capture Myndus as a base of operations because the commander of the garrison at Myndus had sent him word that he was willing to surrender the town to him if he arrived in secret. Alexander took a small force with him by night to Myndus but when he got there found the gates barred against him. He then tried to take the city by storm but was repelled.

3. After this abortive attack on Myndus Alexander redoubled his siege of Halicarnassus itself. He drew up siefe towers and catapults and tried to breach the walls. His success was hampered by constant sorties made by the enemy against isolated portions of his lines. These skirmishes turned into fierce fights and the Macedonians found themselves ironically besieged around their own siege engines but in each case the enemy was repelled when the greater Macedonian force arrived to relieve their comrades.

4. There were several incidents during the siege that tell us much about the atmosphere in the camp. On one occasion Arrian tells us two Macedonian messmates who were drunk attacked the city themselves in a show of bravado. The enemy rushed out against them and when the other Macedonians saw what was happening they ran to rescue their comrades. A pointless skirmish occurred in which men on both sides were injured. On another occasion, whilst Alexander was superintending the work on a siege tower the enemy sallied forth against his position from two of the city gates but they were easily repelled and on their retreat back into the city one of the parties collapsed a wooden bridge across the defensive ditch. Many Halicarrassians were massacred there before the city gates which had been closed shutting their comrades out of the city lest the city fall into the hands of the Macedonians.

5. Arrian tells us that even at this stage Alexander was desirous of a peaceful settlement because he wanted to save the city but there was no answer from Halicarnassus which forced Alexander’s hand. Memnon however saw that the city was failing and so he fled during the second watch of the night torching the city before he left. When Alexander saw the flames he guessed what was happening and ordered his men to take the wall which had been left unguarded. He also gave his men strict orders to put out the fire and not to harm the citizens.

6. Having taken the city he discerned that some of the enemy had fled a nearby island and others had taken a nearby stronghold but he decided not to attack them, since they had now nowhere to run and because the city was taken. After that he sent his siege engines ahead to Tralles whilst he himself made for Gordio in Phrygia to rendezvous with Parmenion and the other half of the army. He razed the city to the ground, installed a garrison to watch the place and handed control of the area over to Queen Ada who adopted him as her son; as seemed to be the custom. Arrian tells us Alexander allowed her to call him son and Plutarch tells us that he even seems to have enjoyed her doting on him.
5) Coastal Policy

2014

(ii) (a) Why did Alexander disband his navy after the siege of Miletus? (15)
(b) Without a navy, how did Alexander deal with the threat from the Persian fleet? (25)
(c) What did you learn about Alexander from his decision to dispense with his navy? (10)

(a) Two reasons. (8,7.)
Alexander disbanded his navy after the siege of Miletus because he had little or no naval strength of his own. Macedonia was not a naval power. The fleet he did have was smaller than the Persian fleet and was predominantly Athenian. He knew that he could not rely on the loyalty of the Athenians and therefore could not be certain that their ships would not leave or change sides in a crisis. The appearance of the eagle on the shore at Miletos was a favourable sign indicating that his army and not his navy would render the Persian fleet powerless. The expense of maintaining a largely idle fleet was also a factor in his decision. (15)

(b) Three points (9,8,8.)
Alexander decided to cut off the Persian fleet from the land. He knew that the Persian fleet could not operate in the Aegean without large ports and so he set about capturing all of the major ports along the Ionian coast - Miletus, Halicarnassus, and Tyre further down, so that the enemy fleet simply could not function without bases in which to deploy troops and supplies. This is called his “coastal policy”. He also prevented Darius from accessing the sea by defeating him at the Battle of Issus. Mention may also be made of the Cypriot and Phoenician naval defections to Alexander. (25)

(c) Two points. (5,5.)
This illustrates Alexander’s ability to think in an innovative way “outside the box”. A lesser commander might not have had the nerve to disband the fleet and follow the coastal policy. It did involve a big risk, if the Persians had had the speed and sharpness, they might have wreaked havoc in the Aegean and caused Alexander to have to return to Greece. But his daring and foresight as a commander paid off. He was a risk taker and a great strategist. His superstitious nature (the eagle incident) is a valid point here too as it influenced his decision making regarding the coastal policy. (10)

2006

“Alexander now decided to disband his fleet.” (Arrian, The Campaigns of Alexander)
(a) Why did Alexander dismiss his fleet after the siege at Miletus? (25)
(b) What policy did Alexander then adopt to counter the strength of the Persian navy? (15)
(c) What risks did Alexander run in following this policy? (10)

(a) 25 marks. (13,12)
Arrian gives three reasons for Alexander’s dismissal of the fleet, of which candidates should be able to quote at least two. Firstly, the Persian fleet was vastly superior in numbers and in experience. Then again, he did not at that time have the money to maintain a fleet. It is likely also that he did not trust the loyalty of the Greek crews. Candidates will also be given credit for mentioning the eagle and the way it was interpreted by Alexander.

(b) 15 marks.
A clear understanding of Alexander’s coastal policy should be shown. This involved capturing all the suitable ports and thus denying the Persian fleet access to water or replacement crews and forcing them to seek provisions further afield.

(c) 10 marks.
One valid point will suffice. The chief risk was that the Persians would retake some of the ports which Alexander had left and thus cut his lines of communication. The Persian fleet was also left free to control the Aegean and even to raid the Greek mainland. All of these actually happened.
Coastal Policy: Why did he disband his fleet after Miletus?

He did this for 3 reasons. Firstly, the Persian navy was far superior to his own. Secondly, his own navy was too expensive to maintain and, thirdly, he didn’t fully trust the Greeks, whose navy it was.

Further, he felt that by seizing the port towns he could neutralize the Persian fleet, as they would have nowhere to resupply, especially fresh water and would be forced to go further afield. Also, recruitment of replacement crews would be difficult. At Tyre, Alex enunciates his policy well, explaining to his men that they cannot leave Tyre ‘neutral’ at their rear and that taking it would probably encourage the Tyrian navy to come over (as Cypriots do).

Arrian says that he was also convinced to concentrate on a land conquest by an omen. An eagle had landed near his ships. Parmenion took this to signify that Zeus was advocating a sea victory but because the eagle had landed on the wharf rather than on a ship’s prow Alexander believed that the gods were advocating a land victory instead. That night Arrian says Zeus showed his approval of Alexander’s decision because there was a thunder storm over Miletus.
6) Memnon

2003

"Memnon was the only first-class general Darius possessed in Asia Minor, and his disappearance from the scene was an extraordinary piece of luck for Alexander." (Green)

Discuss this statement in the light of the contribution made by Memnon of Rhodes to the Persian resistance to Alexander. (50)

§ A. - Marking Scheme, Q. (i) 50 marks. Three developed points (17,17,16)

Candidates need to show a good knowledge and appreciation of Memnon’s part in the Persian war effort. Whereas a knowledge of Memnon’s position in the Persian hierarchy would be welcome, it is not necessary. Points could include:

- Memnon advocated a scorched earth policy when Alexander landed in Asia Minor. The Persian satraps were suspicious of a Greek like him and insisted on fighting at Granicus.
- The Persian satraps of Asia Minor put their own positions and possessions before the correct policy.
- Darius then gave Memnon complete control of the navy and of Asia Minor.
- Memnon’s very skilful defence and abandonment of Halicarnassus.
- He used the navy to capture Chios and to put pressure on Alexander by threatening Greece. He died of illness before this policy could bear fruit.
- His death helped to neutralise Darius’ navy.

(Arrian, Bk 1)

(84) Arrian states that Halicarnassus’s defences had been organise by Memnon

(84-85) Alex approaches Hal, first on Mylasa, checks an enemy sortie; Then moves to Myndus side: promised a surrender but fails to materialise; attacks briefly, tehn turns attention back to Hal. They fill in defensive trench and bring in siege engines. Halicarnassians try to sabotage, but fail. Two of Perdicas’ men drunkenly start an assault, others row in, parts of city walls and towers damaged but

Memnon and Orontobates meet and decide to burn the town and retreat to the island Arconnese’s high ground of Salamakis. Alex leaves the situation as is, because he has the town, and not worth besieging island.

Web:

- Memnon of Rhodes was a Greek mercenary general and was in charge of the Greek mercenaries working for the Persian king Darius III when Alexander invaded Persia in 334BC.
- His career in Persian service began in an unusual way.
- Memnon’s brother, Mentor had helped the Persians defend north-west Turkey (the Troad) and was appointed Persian supreme commander of that region as a reward. He had married Barsine, the daughter of Artabazus, a Persian satrap.
- Artabazus, aided by Mentor and Memnon, rebelled against one of Darius’ predecessors, Artaxerxes III around 343BC and all were banished; Artabazus and Memnon fled to Pella in Macedonia.
- Mentor managed to receive a pardon and helped the Persians reconquer Egypt in 340BC. As a reward the king pardoned the former rebels and received invaluable information about Philip’ of Macedon’s proposed invasion of Persia.
- On his death in 340BC Memnon inherited the area and married his brother’s widow, Barsine. He expected to be appointed supreme commander of the West but obviously as a former rebel he was not totally trusted. This may have been a decisive mistake; he could have stopped the invasion of Alexander.

- In 336BC he had defeated Parmenio, who had been sent ahead as part of Philip’s invasion force, at Magnesia in north-west Turkey.

- On hearing of Alexander’s arrival in Asia Minor in the spring of 334BC, Memnon advised against engaging in battle with Alexander. His reasons were sound; the Macedonian infantry was numerically superior and Alexander was present whereas Darius was not. Instead he advocated a scorched earth policy thus depriving Alexander’s army of any supplies. It would then be possible to defend the Greek cities of the Aegean coast by a purely naval strategy and Alexander would be isolated from both Asia and Europe. The Persian satraps were suspicious of a Greek like him and insisted on fighting at the Granicus. They put their own positions and possessions before the correct policy; one of the satraps, Arsites, declared he would not yield a foot of his territory. They may also have felt nettled by Memnon’s remark about the inferiority of the Persian infantry.

- At the battle of the River Granicus, Arrian mentions the presence of Memnon and his sons in the middle of the cavalry line “braving the fortune of battle in its midst.”

- Darius then gave Memnon complete control of the navy and of Asia Minor.

- Memnon very skilfully defended Halicarnassus and only abandoned the siege and escaped when it was obviously about to be captured.

- After escaping from Halicarnassus he was appointed supreme commander of the Persian navy and given responsibility for the defence of the whole Asiatic coast.

- In 333BC, he captured Chios. The object of this move was the hope of diverting the war to Greece and Macedonia. He then sailed to Lesbos and made himself master of all the towns on the island except Mitylene, the inhabitants of which refused to treat with him. He accordingly made a landing at Mitylene and blockaded it with a double stockade carried right to the sea on both sides, and was thus enabled to control the island without difficulty. Part of his fleet guarded the harbour; other ships kept watch on the western approaches to the island to prevent help reaching Mitylene by sea. Before his work was completed he fell sick and died.

- Demosthenes, after hearing of Memnon’s successes, had begun to prepare Athens for a revolt along with the other Greek cities, while Sparta began to prepare for war.

- The Persians had hoped that he would threaten Alexander’s rear by stirring up revolts in the islands and even in mainland Greece. His death helped to neutralise Darius’ navy and probably convinces Darius that he must take the field in person against Alexander.

- Many scholars maintain that had Memnon’s campaign been successful, Alexander would have had an immensely difficult time continuing his campaign in Asia, and might soon have been defeated.

- Plutarch, pp.271-272. “After this (Gordium) ……he (Alexander) learned of the death of Memnon, the general to whom Darius had entrusted the defence of the coast of Asia Minor, and who, if he had lived, was likely to have offered the most stubborn resistance to Alexander’s advance and caused him the greatest trouble.”

- Arrian, p. 100. “his (Memnon’s) death was the most serious setback which Persia received during this period of the war.”
7) Issus 13, 08

2013

(ii) In 333 BC at the river Issus, the armies of Alexander and Darius met for the first time.
(a) Describe the course of the battle. (35)
(b) What do you learn about Alexander from his conduct during and after the battle? (15)

MS:
(a) A coherent account (12+12+11) 333 BC Battle of Issus. Candidates may include the fact that Alexander and Darius had passed each other out on either side of the mountain range and how this left Alexander facing back where he had come from. Darius’s impatience and failure to listen to good advice are crucial here too (allowing Alexander to choose a battlefield which was somewhat contained by the sea and the foothills). The men first sneer at the Persians for building a stockade and Alexander gives them a rousing speech. The big danger for him was being outflanked. Darius had sent 20,000 men to the side and rear of his right flank. Alexander used his cavalry to rout the enemy’s right wing and then got it to swing inwards to attack the centre. At the last minute, he moved a unit of Thessalians from his right wing over to Parmenio on the left. He put his right wing at right angles to deal with the Persian advance force initially. Where Alexander led the Companions on the right wing, they did really well, but the Macedonian phalanx was in trouble in the centre against Greek mercenaries. The day was saved by the right wing which wheeled around to save the centre. Parmenio was struggling on the left wing but when the Persians realised that Darius had fled, there was a complete rout. (35)

(b) Three points (5+5+5) We learn of his brilliance in tactics and strategy; his refusal to be set back by the confusion before the battle when he was passed out by Darius’ troops and forced to turn back; his choice of battlefield was clever and his deployment of troops excellent; his own personal bravery (he was wounded in the shoulder and the thigh); his behaviour after the battle would include a reference to his strenuous pursuit of Darius; treatment of the family of Darius; splendid funerals and rewards for his men; his shock at the splendour of the Persian tent and possibly his response to the letter of Darius. (15)

2008

(a) Describe how Alexander and the Macedonians defeated Darius and the Persians at the battle of Issus in 333 BC. (35)
(b) What were the main consequences of Alexander’s victory? (15)

(a) 35 marks.
Good answers will cover the site of the battle, the line up of the forces on both sides and the key elements in the actual battle: Alexander’s initial thrust, the problems for the Phalanx of keeping touch with Alexander, his move in towards Darius, Darius’ flight and on the left, Parmenio’s holding action against vastly superior numbers.
(b) 15 marks. (8 , 7 )
Any two valid points. Alexander’s victory gave him control of all Asia Minor and opened up the coastline as far as Egypt. It also gave him large sums of money and he held Darius’ female relations whom he could use as hostages. It was also a telling blow in the area of psychology and propaganda for Alexander.

2006

(a) Describe the main components of Alexander's army. (25)
(b) In the battle of Issus, what use did Alexander make of his cavalry and infantry? (25)

(a) 25 marks. Alexander’s army is well treated in the Introduction to the Penguin translation of Arrian’s Campaigns of Alexander. For high marks, candidates must cover well infantry and cavalry. Infantry should include the phalanx and the Guards or Hypaspists or the light infantry. Candidates should be able to cover both the Royal Companions and the allied cavalry under Parmenio. A good description will cover main weapons, such as the sarissa wielded by the phalanx.
(b) 25 marks. A very detailed account of the Battle of Issus is not required. Knowledge of the lineup of Alexander’s forces and of the early moves in particular will suffice for good marks. Both infantry and cavalry must be considered.
Notes:

Preliminaries

- Alexander was first detained in Tarsus having taken a fever from swimming in the glacial river Cydnus and then in Soli where he celebrated the final seizure of Halicarnassus with games. Alexander delays further subduing the tribes of Cilicia

- Darius with an army of 600,000 was encamped on the plain of Sochi in Assyria near the Amanic Gates. Darius’ position on the plain of Sochi, a site favourable for his large army to defeat Alexander’s much smaller forces

- The Macedonian traitor Amyntas, who had fled to Darius after Alexander acceded the throne, advised Darius to wait for Alexander to seek him out because the plain favoured his superior numbers but Darius allowed himself to be convinced to attack Alexander because his sycophants, who as Arrian says “always are and always will be the bane of kings”, advised him that Alexander was stalling out of cowardice.

- From his base in Soli in Cilicia, Alexander sent Parmenio ahead with half the army to secure the Gates to Cilicia in case Darius tried to use it. Then he left his wounded at Issus and marched south along the coast towards the Assyrian Gates and Phoenicia.

- Meanwhile Darius was on the move north to the Amanic Pass; probably knowing that Parmenio held the Gates/Jonah Pass. Plutarch says the two armies (Alexander’s moving south and Darius’ moving north; separated by the Amanic Mountains) passed each other in the night. By dawn Darius had come up behind Alexander at Issus and massacred his wounded.

- Alexander did not at first believe his scouts when they reported that Darius was at Issus, so he sent some of his companions back by sea hugging the coastline in a galley to corroborate the report. When they returned he convened his synedrion (council) where after a rousing speech his companions urged him to lead them onto battle.

- Alexander fed his army and it passed the night on the rocks of the narrow strip of coastline clad in full armour. At dawn the Macedonians advanced in column until there was room enough for the army to assemble.
Summaries Alexander’s speech to his men at Issus

- The Macedonian army has faced danger before
- This time the Macedonians face an enemy that they have already defeat once at Granicus
- God is surely on Macedonia’s side because he has tempted Darius’ huge army into a confined space that favours the Macedonians smaller force
- The Persians and Medes are merely a host of conscripted slaves who are used to luxuriant lifestyles
- The Macedonians are battle-hardened soldiers and free men
- Although there are free-born Greeks in Darius’ army they are poorly paid mercenaries whereas the Greeks in the Macedonian army fight for Greece
- Foreign troops like the Thracians, Paeonians, Agrianes and Illyrians are the strongest Europe has to offer and they will face the softest troops that Asia can muster
- Darius leads the Persians but Alexander leads the Macedonians!
- This time they were fighting the King of Persia himself not just his satraps like at Granicus
- This will be the decisive battle of the war because once beaten Darius will be forced off the throne
- The Greeks beat the Persians before: Xenophon’s 10,000 defeated the Persian army outside Babylon and he did not even have a cavalry or skirmishing troops like Alexander
- The Macedonians cheered and rushed forward to clasp Alexander’s hand and cheered for him to lead them on against Darius.

Terrain of the Battle
The site of the Battle of Issus lay a little south of the town of Issus on the little Pinarus river. It is a narrow coastal plain set between the sea and the Amanic Mountains. As the traitor Amyntas had warned Darius, the narrow confines of the place suited Alexander’s smaller army and restricted Darius’ larger one. Arrian refers to the strange geography of the place where the hills arced round on Darius’ left forming a sort of bay, which enabled him to outflank Alexander’s right wing; an advantage that he did not exploit during the battle.

Persian Battle Formation

- When his scouts reported that Alexander was advancing Darius sent a contingent of cavalry and infantry across the Pinarus to guard against a rapid assault and give him time to array his troops.
- Looking down on Darius’ army he stationed most of his cavalry on his right. Of the infantry, 30,000 crack Ionian mercenary phalanxes were posted at his centre and supporting these on either side he posted Cardacian heavy infantry numbering 30,000 on either side; 60,000 in all. Reaching into the hills he placed another unit of 20,000 Cardacians. He himself took the traditional place of the Persian kings in the centre behind the Ionians and behind him he massed the rest of his army: a mix of both light and heavy infantry; herded according to ethnic origin. The narrowness of the plain rendered the rear redundant in the battle.
- Once Darius was ready he recalled the infantry he had sent across the river and ordered half the advance cavalry to join the cavalry on his right wing and the other half into the hills on his extreme left.
- Once Darius realised however that the slopes were unsuitable for horses he recalled most of the cavalry in the hills and sent them in full view of Alexander to re-enforce his right wing. By now almost all his cavalry was posted on his right wing.
Macedonian Battle Formation

Left:
Allied light Cavalry/Thessalian Cav./ Amyntas, Ptolemy, Meleager
Parmenio
Craterus

Right:
Perdiccas/Coenus/Nicanor/ Companion Cav./ Paeonians/ Agrianes

- Alexander initially took the Thessalian cavalry along with the Companions on his right wing leaving only the allied Greek cavalry to Parmenio’s left but when Darius moved his cavalry from the hills to over to his right Alexander likewise sent the Thessalians to support Parmenio; only Alexander ordered them to move around in the rear so that Darius would not see what was happening.

- Looking down on Alexander’s final battle array at Issus and moving from Parmenio’s left wing across to Alexander’s right the Greek allied light cavalry reached from the water’s edge on the beach to connect with the Thessalian heavy cavalry. Craterus’ guards linked the cavalry with the heavy infantry phalanxes of Amyntas, Ptolemy and Meleager. Craterus was in general command of all infantry on the left at Isuss but Parmenio held supreme command of the left wing.

- Moving on into the right wing, at the centre was stationed first Perdiccas’ phalanx and then Coenus’ was met by Nicanor’s hypaspists, which linked the infantry to the heavy Companion cavalry. These in turn were supported by the Scouts and Paeonians and because of the Persians in the hills on his right Alexander had been forced to split his extreme right wing in two.

- The far tip inclined at an angle facing the high-ground occupied by the Persians. Here Alexander deployed the Agrianes, a few archer detachments, some mercenary troops and just two squadrons of Companions to keep the Persians in the hills in check.

The Battle

- Darius was on the defensive. The Persian lines remained stationary waiting for the Macedonians to cross the river.

- Alexander rode up and down the lines urging his men on as they marched slowly and deliberately towards the river. He was careful to make sure that the soldiers held their lines and no breach was carelessly formed by one man marching faster than another.

- Once they came within range of the Persian archers Alexander led the Companion cavalry on a charge across the river and the Persian left broke quickly before them.

- Alexander’s right wing wheeled around on the Persian centre

- The Ionian mercenaries however now moved quickly to exploit the gap between the Macedonian right and centre caused by the speed of Alexander’s charge. Here the fighting was bloody.

- The river Pinarus had steep banks as well and the Macedonians found it difficult to gain a footing. The infantry fought man to man. It was so thick that the wounded had to remain where they were and the only way one could advance was to kill one’s opponent. Courage on both sides was inspired less by thoughts of empire and more by cultural rivalry: Greeks v Macedonians.

- Meanwhile the Persian cavalry had crossed the Pinarus and were engaged against Parmenion who was having trouble holding the left wing together.

- Plutarch cites Chares as having claimed Darius stabbed Alexander’s thigh with his dagger. Arrian does mention that Alexander was wounded in the thigh but doesn’t mention who did it.

- The Battle might have turned against Alexander had Darius stayed longer but on seeing Alexander charging his position he fled the battlefield first in his chariot and then on his horse when the ground became uneven leaving behind his Medean mantle, his bow and his shield, which Alexander took as trophies.

- The Macedonians pursued the enemy slaughtering as many as they could.
• Ptolemy recounts how the Macedonian horses crossed a deep ravine by way of the piles of Persian corpses that formed a kind of bridge.

Aftermath
• Alexander discovered Darius’ mother, sister-wife, their infant son, his daughters, the rest of his harem and a vast amount of treasure in Darius’ royal tent, which he duly took as his own however he granted the ladies their safety, dignity and some say an audience in which he related how Darius was still alive.
• He sent Parmenion and the Thessalian cavalry who had distinguished itself in the battle on to Damascus to seize Darius’ treasury.
• Alexander gave funerals for the dead and even though he was wounded in the thigh walked around to visit the wounded.
• He pardoned the town of Soli and cancelled a fine imposed on the city by Darius of 50 talents
• Arrian tells the story related by Ptolemy (which he thinks may be true) that on entering the tent the next day with Hephasetion Darius’ mother bowed to Hephasetion because he seemed the taller and when corrected by Hephasetion Alexander laughed off the mistake saying that Hephaestion was “also an Alexander” (Alexander means protector or men). Arrian admires Alexander for this both for his compassion towards the captured ladies and also for the respect he showed for his friend.

Implications of victory for Alexander
• Alexander’s victory gave him control of all Asia Minor and opened up the coastline as far as Egypt. Culmination of coastal policy.
• It also gave him large sums of money (Parenio takes royal treasury at Damascus) which solve the Macedonian money problems and he held Darius’ female relations whom he could use as hostages/bargaining chips (treated very well/Hephaestion story).
• It was also a telling blow in the area of psychology, prestige and propaganda for Alexander. Alexander wins a proper battle vs Darius in person (against superior numbers).
• Qualities shown by Alexander: coolness under pressure, tactical ability to assess enemy’s strengths and weaknesses. His own personal bravery too is shown as he was wounded in thigh and shoulder.

• Behaviour of Darius at Issus
  • Easily swayed by flatterers
  • Mistake to abandon Sochi
  • Cowardly flight from battle causes death and destruction to many Persians. Failure to protect his family
  • It is possible to argue that he knew Alexander had split the army and was rushing to Issus to fight a much weakened army. Darius was afraid that Alexander would not come to fight him. Illness (see above) delayed his march to battle with Darius. Did have a good battle plan, to break the left flank of the Macedonian cavalry on the seaward side and come behind the Macedonians, Alexander saw this and reinforced the left flank with Thessalian cavalry with strict orders not to allow the Persians through. They were having a tough time holding the left flank and it was Alexander’s actions that saved them.
  • The Greek and the Macedonians soldiers better trained than Persians.
8) **Darius’s Letters 01**

2001 In the period after the Battle of Issus, Darius sent two letters to Alexander.

a) In these two letters, what offers did Darius make to Alexander? (17)

b) Outline Alexander's reply to these offers. (18)

c) What does the tone of these letters tell us about the two men who wrote them? (15)

(a) 17 marks.

(b) 18 marks. Arrian is the source for these communications (pp. 126 -8 ; 143 -4 ). Examiners will allow for the fact that, strictly speaking, the second one is not a letter but a message brought by envoys from Darius. Candidates will be credited if they treat sections (a) and (b) of this question jointly as there will probably be some overlap in their answers. A very detailed account of everything in the communications is not necessary. However, candidates do need to show a knowledge of the offers made and Alexander’s reply to these offers.

(c) 15 marks. (8 , 7 ) These messages are a very stark illustration of the differences between Alexander and Darius: the former arrogant and rough, aggressive and dismissive; the latter mild, weak and unrealistic. Candidates must use the evidence of the messages to comment on the two men.

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**Web: Letters from Darius to Alexander — First Letters**

After the battle of Issus Alexander marched south to Phoenicia. While he was in Marathus messengers from Darius came with a request for the release of his mother, wife and children.

**DARIUS’ LETTER**

- Artaxerxes and Philip were on good terms of friendship. Then when Artaxerxes son Arses took over, Philip was guilty of aggression against him. Now with Darius in control Alexander has sent no representative to his court to confirm friendship and alliance, but he has crossed into Asia and with his soldiers and done much damage to the Persians.
- Now Darius asks that Alexander give him back his wife, mother, children and is willing to make friends with him and be his ally. He further urges Alexander to send representatives so that guarantees may be exchanged.

**ALEXANDER’S REPLY**

- Your ancestors invaded Macedonia and Greece and caused havoc in our country even though we had done nothing to provoke them. I invaded Persia to punish Persia for this.
- You also sent aid to the people of Perinthus in their rebellion against my father.
- Ochus (Persian general) sent an army into Thrace, which is part of Macedonian territory.
- You said yourself in letters that you hired assassins to kill Philip my father.
- You murdered Arses and unjustly took the Persian throne.
- You sent the Greeks false information about me in the hope of making them my enemies.
- You attempted to give the Greeks money.
- Your agents tried to wreck the peace I had establised in Greece – it was because of this I decided to attack Persia.
- I defeated your generals and satraps – now I have defeated the army you led.
- By the gods’ help I am master of your country.
- I have made myself responsible for the survivors of your army and they are now serving in my army.
- Come therefore to me as you would come to the Lord of Asia, come and ask yourself for your wife, children and anything else you want.
- In future in any further communication address it to the King of all Asia. Do not write to me as an equal. Everything you own is now mine. If you want your throne back you have to fight for it – do not run away. Wherever you may hide be sure I shall seek you out.
Second Letters: During the siege of Tyre Alexander received another letter from Darius

Darius to Alexander
- Darius offered Alexander 10,000 talents of gold in exchange for his mother, wife and children
- He offered all territory west of the river Euphrates to the Aegean Sea to Alexander.
- He offered his daughter’s hand in marriage.
- Parmenio declared if he were Alexander he would accept.
- Alexander replied ‘That is what I should do were I Parmenio, but since I am Alexander I shall send Darius a different answer.’

Alexander to Darius
- He had no need of Darius’ money.
- All Asia including its treasure was already his.
- If he wished to marry Darius’ daughter he could do it.
- If Darius wanted kindliness and consideration he must come in person

Darius now abandons all thought of peace with Alexander and prepares for battle.

9) Tyre 16, 12

(ii) The siege and capture of Tyre has been described as “perhaps the hardest task that Alexander’s military genius ever encountered.” (Bury and Meiggs)
(a) What were the main challenges presented by Tyre and its defenders, and how did Alexander’s genius overcome those challenges? (40)
(b) What is your opinion of Alexander’s treatment of the survivors after the capture of Tyre? (10)

§ B. - Marking Scheme, Q. (ii) (a) 40 marks. (14,13,13)
The main challenges faced and overcome by Alexander were geographical and military. Tyre was an island, situated a half-mile from the coast, with almost impenetrable defences. Alexander had few ships. The Tyrians were amazingly resourceful and daring in their resistance. Candidates should show knowledge of these challenges and of the various ways that Alexander succeeded in meeting them.

(b) 10 marks.
What is needed here is a knowledge of the savage treatment meted out to the survivors by the Macedonians, and an opinion on that.
Preliminaries: PATCH Extension of Coastal Policy... attempt by Tyrians to remain neutral...malarkey about Alexander ‘worshipping Hercules’... Alexander refuses to accept Tyrian neutrality and attempts to enter the city under the guise of religious devotion. Alex’s speech: Tyre’s loyalty “dubious”. Matter of security.

Alex’s Siege Tactics and Tyrian Resistance: START- Mole, towers, fire, divers, naval skirmishes

Builds a mole to the island fortress. Lots of trouble: fine a t the start but as it gets closer to Tyre comes under missile fire. Alexander’s men build towers on the mole to protect the workers. Tyrians respond with the coolest thing ever built ever. Ever. They load a boat with incendiaries, including a pen at the front. They weigh down the back and drive it into the mole, successfully burning and destroying the towers.

Phoenicians, who include the Cyprians, who are in Darius’ army begin to desert because their home cities begin to come under the control of Alex. Alexander readies his navy and siege equipment and takes the time for an interior raid. Alexander’s navy is swelled by most of the Phoenicians, including the Cyprians. The Tyrians, seeing the size of Alexander’s new navy decide to remain in the defensive position. Alexander attempts several attacks using siege engines from his boats. The Tyrians do a pretty effective job: they fill the sea with rocks, which Macedonians remove with crane son boats but Tyrians cut the anchor ropes which the Macedonians replace with chains. Successful at first by a surprise attack at midday prepared behind a screen of sails, but Alexander responds and personally leads the naval attack (Note he is not a naval commander). Tyrians close harbour hastily leaving boats outside.

10) Egypt/Siwah/Divinity/Religion/Omens and Oracles 14, 08, 06

2014

(iii) (a) What did Alexander achieve by his visit to Egypt? (30)
(b) From your reading of Arrian and Plutarch, do you think that Alexander believed in his own divinity? Give reasons for your answer. (20)

(a) Three points. (10,10,10.)
There are several aspects to his visit that are important. Firstly he set up very good relations with the immensely rich and resource-laden region. They had long resented Persian rule and the Egyptians welcomed him and crowned him pharaoh in Thebes. This added to his list of titles and indeed to his aura of divinity. Also adding to his mythic aura of potential divinity was his visit to the shrine of Zeus Ammon at Siwah. Here, he hears what he had come to hear, as he put it. Although this was very vague the speculation was that he had it confirmed that he was son of Zeus Ammon. Plutarch has the story of the priest at the shrine addressing him, by mistake as “Son of Zeus” instead of “My child”. From this time on, stories of his possible divinity spread. He mints coins showing his profile with the ram’s horns of Zeus Ammon. Stories of how the gods helped him to find his way across the
desert after a storm also indicated that the gods were on his side and that he was a man of destiny. Another achievement was his founding of the great city port of Alexandria, still the second city in Egypt. Maximum of 20 marks for a treatment of Siwah only. (30)

(b) Two reasons. (10,10.)

Students may argue either way on this question. In favour, Alexander called on Zeus before the battle of Issus as if he were his father. He minted coins showing himself as Zeus Ammon. He never categorically denies being the son of Zeus as one assumes it was highly useful in terms of the morale of both his own men and to weaken that of the enemy. The attempt to introduce proskynesis (bowing down) could be used here, although there is no express statement linking that to his divinity. Nevertheless, the Greek tradition was of bowing to gods, not men. On the other hand, Alexander never states openly that he is the son of Zeus. On one occasion when he is bleeding and a soldier remarks that there is ichor flowing from his veins, he categorically states that, no, it is indeed blood. On many occasions, most notably during the two mutiny speeches, he very clearly states that he is the son of Philip. (20)

2008

“Alexander found himself passionately eager to visit the shrine of Ammon in Libya.” (Arrian)

(a) Why did Alexander wish to visit the shrine? (10)

(b) Describe what happened when Alexander reached the shrine. In your answer, refer to both Arrian and Plutarch. (30)

(c) What did you learn of Alexander’s attitude to religion form his visit to Siwah? (10)

(iii) (a) 10 marks.

One valid reason. Alexander wanted to emulate Perseus and Herakles who were his ancestors and who had visited Siwah. He also wished to find out if he was the son of Zeus, and he had heard that the oracle was infallible.

(b) 30 marks. (10, 10, 10)

Arrian tells us almost nothing about Alexander at Siwah. (page 153, Penguin translation). Candidates will need to be familiar particularly with Plutarch’s account for high marks: Alexanders question about his fathers’ killers and his question about his own future; the answers he received from the priest; the secret prophecies he said he would tell his mother only; the confusion between ‘O, Paidion’ and ‘O, Pai Dios’. Arrian simply states that Alexander was delighted by the place.

(c) 10 marks.

Any one point supported by reference to the texts. Note in particular, Alexander’s openness to Egyptian religion and the importance to him of divine ancestry.

2006

(iii) "Meanwhile Alexander had become so much obsessed by his fears of the supernatural and so overwrought and apprehensive in his own mind, that he interpreted every strange of unusual occurrence, no matter how trivial, as a prodigy or a portent…" (Plutarch, Life of Alexander)

What evidence is there in the texts that Alexander paid great attention to omens and oracles throughout his life? (50)

50 marks. Impression mark.

There is ample evidence in the texts to show Alexander’s unquestioning trust in prophecies, signs and omens. However, this must be distinguished from the worship of the gods and the normal religious practices. The quotation refers to the last months of Alexander’s life when he became almost paranoid in his reaction to anything out of the ordinary (e.g. the case of the man who sat in Alexander’s chair while he was exercising). However, from the beginning of the expedition, he had his favourite prophet with him (Aristander) and consulted him regularly. He took notice of every sort of sign (e.g. the eagle at Miletus, a sign which he and Parmenio interpreted differently; the bird which perched on his head in Book 1; the prophecy about the Gordian knot). He also paid attention to dreams as when before the siege
of Tyre he dreamt that Heracles was inviting him into the town. The attack on Gaza and the trip to Siwah provide further examples. As stated above, the most striking examples of his growing superstition come from Plutarch’s and Arrian’s account of the final part of his life.

1997 (a) Give an account of Alexander’s visit to the Shrine of Zeus-Ammon at Siwah, based on your reading of Arrian and Plutarch. (b) What is Arrian’s attitude to the claim that Alexander was the son of Zeus? (50)

1989 According to the prescribed sources in what ways did Alexander try to create the impression that he was not mortal? (50)

a) religious  b) claims of divinity  c) use of omens/superstitious

Useful Piety: several times in his campaigns Alexander has made use of his religious faith and that of his men and the people he has conquered. The pagan religion is inter twined with superstitions, offerings and omens. Alex rarely misses a chance to make an offering when embarking on new endeavours. His dedications at Troy, his offering of the golden cup at the mouth of the Indus. But his actions at Siwa reflect his very practical use of faith and some would even say cynical. Other examples: changing the dates of the month to suit prophecy, his dragging of the Priestess of Delphi (you’re invincible) Now he endangers his army marching across the desert to visit the Egyptian version of Zeus, known as Ammon. He knows that this piety will be useful in accustoming the Egyptians two his rule and fusing the religious customs of the two peoples. When the priest mistakenly calls him ‘son of Zeus’ Alexander makes use of this slip of tongue encouraging the rumour of his own divinity. Alexander both plays the divinity card seriously and at times self-mockingly,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,, depending on the audience.

Tyre: Alexander uses his desire (probably honest) to worship at the Temple of Heracles to ask for entry into Tyre. Not necessarily cynical, but pragmatic…and the dream of Heracles greeting him and inviting him…

Granicus: change of month : practical even cynical conformity with traditions

Miletus: argument with Parmenio over omen of Eagle: Alexander practically interprets it to justify his coastal policy. Typical of his respect for omens/oracles and his hard-nosed pragmatism…

Gordian Knot: Famous ‘challenge’ which will reveal conqueror of Asia. Plutarch and Arrian bothsay it is not clear how Alex ‘solved’ it but it is apparent that he did not actually untie it but used his sword or unpinned the wagon. Again, Alex uses strength, confidence and cleverness to manipulate an omen.

Delphi: Oracle closed….not to Alexander: his cheeky interpretation of ‘you are too strong’ (pulling the priestess by force) as being prophesied as being ‘invincible’

Egypt

11) Guagemala 15, 10

2015 (a) Compare the preparations made by Alexander with the preparations made by Darius before the Battle of Gaugamela. (15)
(b) How did Alexander’s tactics lead to success in the battle? (25)
(c) What were the immediate consequences of the battle? (10)

MS: (a) Compare is the operative word here, so candidates must comment on the similarity and/or difference in tactics. Darius prepared a wide open site for the battle near the River Bumodus. He had engineers level the area for the better use of cavalry and Scythian chariots. He had an army of 40,000 cavalry, one million infantry (historians differ as to exact numbers here) and 200 chariots. He also had 15 elephants. He mistakenly felt that this would avoid a similar defeat as at Issus. He also kept his troops standing all night in case of a night attack which left them demoralised and exhausted. Darius placed himself in the centre with the Persian bodyguards. 50 chariots and 15 elephants were in front as well as Bactrian cavalry on the left wing with Scythian horsemen. On the right he positioned more cavalry and mounted archers. On the other hand, Alexander brought his troops to within four miles of the enemy and then took Parmenio’s advice to encamp and scout out the land. He did not accept his advice to run a night attack as he felt that this would be
way too risky and also that it might mean that a victory would not be seen as valid later. He spoke to his men about their past glories and how courage was in their hearts from birth. He emphasised how the success of all depended on the valour of each and that this was the battle which would determine who would rule all Asia. Alexander put the Companion cavalry on his right, the Guards in the centre with the heavy infantry and the Thessalian cavalry on the left. N.B. candidates may use the Parmenio advice either in section (a) or (b) of this question, it is equally valid in both. **Four brief points (4, 4, 4, 3) (15 marks)**

(b) Alexander led the Companions at an oblique angle screened by light troops which forced Darius’ army to move across with him. Afraid of getting onto uneven ground, Darius ordered the chariots to outflank Alexander’s right wing, but he was waiting for this and sent the cavalry against them. The overall plan seems to have been the formation of a hollow rectangle which meant that even if they were outflanked, they were still not defeated. This was a very clever tactic facing an army of superior size, but poorer quality soldiers. The Scythian chariots were met with the Agrianians and javelin throwers and their drivers were pulled down by the reins, also the lines parted to allow some of them through. Meanwhile Alexander’s infantry advanced on Darius’ centre and the cavalry companions launched a swift attack on Darius’ own position. When the Persian left was scattered Darius turned and fled. Meanwhile, Parmenio’s wing was drawn back onto the defensive and was falling back badly, but Alexander, responding to a request for aid, abandoned his pursuit of Darius and headed for Parmenio’s flank. En route he encountered more of the Persian army which he defeated. His tactics here: the hollow rectangle, the advance at an oblique angle, the tactics for disabling the chariots and the flexibility of his troops, able to move quickly to trouble-shoot (e.g. on the left wing) all won this battle for Alexander. A coherent explanation of how the tactics led to success in this battle. (25 marks)

(c) Darius was pursued by Alexander once he was defeated but he escaped. All of his possessions were taken, money, shield, chariot and bow. Alexander had lost 100 men and about 1,000 horses. The Persian dead were reckoned at 300,000. Alexander now took the great city of Babylon. Darius became a fugitive, was held hostage by his own people and left for dead. Wealth gained by Alexander at Susa a valid point here. Treatment of what the consequences were for both protagonists required for full marks here. Two brief points. (5, 5) (10 marks)

**Notes:**

**Context**

Alexander left Egypt and went back to Tyre. He stayed there for 3 months and dealt with the organisation of the territory. He then set out east with his army intending to do battle with Darius. He crossed the river Tigris without opposition making his way towards the Persian army. There was an eclipse of the moon which was seen by Aristander as a sign of disaster for the Persian army. Alexander advanced and scouts reported that there was Persian cavalry ahead. Alexander took the Royal Squadron and attacked, many flee and others are taken prisoner.

**Preliminaries**

Darius has rebuilt his army. Arrian says 1 million infantry, 40,00 cavalry, 200 scythe-chariots and 15 elephants. This huge number is more than likely an exaggeration. He camped at Guagemela and waited for Alexander to arrive. He had drawn cavalry from the NE and E under Bessus, and cavalry from the central satrapies. The scythed chariots had blades sticking out the hubs of the wheels. For better use of his chariots Darius had the ground levelled out.

Alexander heard news of Darius’ whereabouts from the prisoners he had captured. He stayed where he was for 4 days resting his army then he assembles his force at night and advanced in battle formation. The two armies were now 7 miles apart. Parmenio then advised Alexander to scout out the whole area in case there was anything suspicious, hidden obstructions or fences. Alexander followed this advice, they set up camp there and the area was scoured.

Alexander then delivered a speech of encouragement to his officers and pointed out that now they were fighting for the whole of Asia, this battle would settle who the ruling power would be. Then he gave orders for the army to eat and rest intending to go into battle at dawn. Plutarch says that in contrast Darius kept his men awake Parmenio then advise him to attack that night. Alexander did not agree and said it was
disgraceful to steal victory. Arrian agrees with Alexander’s decision. He points out that Alexander was showing simple common sense – it would be too risky to attack at night. If Darius was beaten he would say it was because it was an unexpected attack and not poor general ship. If anything were to go wrong in the dark they would be surrounded by enemies who knew the territory well whereas the Macedonians did not. Plutarch also writes about this and says that Alexander would not allow Darius to blame darkness and night for his failure as he had blamed the narrow mountain passes and the sea at Issus.

Alexander then slept soundly for the rest of the night in his tent and had to be woken by his officers. On the morning of the battle, Alexander prayed to Zeus and immediately an eagle appeared and hovered over his head and then made straight for the Persian lines – an excellent omen.

**Battle Formations**

![Battle Formations Diagram](image)

**Battle Formations Persians**
1. Darius was positioned in the centre of the second line surrounded by the royal Persian bodyguard and infantry and archers.
2. On Darius’ left was the Bactrian cavalry under Bess’s with some infantry units.
3. On Darius’ right was the cavalry under Mazaeus
4. On the right facing Alexander’s cavalry Scythian cavalry.
5. To their right 100 scythe chariots, elephants, war chariots,
6. On the right 50 scythe chariots and Armenian and Cappadocian cavalry.
7. The back line was composed of Asiatic infantry.

**Macedonians**
1. On the right wing was the Companion cavalry, under command of Philotas son of Parmenio. This unit was led by the Royal Squadrom under command of Cleitus. Alexander supreme leader.
2. Next to them were the Guards (infantry) under Nicanor.
3. Infantry phalanx Simmias.
4. Thessalian Cavalry extended to the left wing under general command of Parmenio.
5. In addition Alexander posted reserve formations in second line of phalanx in order to have infantry to meet possible attack from rear.
7. On each wing at an angle extra cavalry and on right more Argrianians and Archers. Alexander realised that he would be outflanked and was ready to meet an attack from any direction. He placed cavalry at each flank at an angle, the phalanx at the front would be ready to exploit any gap in the enemy line and he also posted a second line of phalanx to meet a possible attack from the rear - making the line up ‘box-shaped’.

**Battle**
1. Alexander moves his troops right until he is almost clear of the ground levelled by the Persians.
2. The Persians moved left to counter this and attacked the Macedonians right, there was fierce fighting, but the Persians were held.

3. Darius realised that once the Macedonians reached rough ground his chariots would be useless and launched his scythe chariots in the direction of Alexander, but the Agrianians and javelin-throwers launch volley of javelins. They also get hold of the reins and pull down drivers. Any of the chariots that did get through, but men simply moved sideways as they had been ordered to do.

4. As the Persians moved left trying to outflank the Macedonian right a gap opened between the section under Bessus and Darius’ central units.

5. Alexander formed a wedge with the Cavalry Companions and infantry and moved into this gap.

6. A gap develops in the Macedonian line as Alexander’s attacks moves right and Parmenio’s defenders stay firm. The Indians and Persian cavalry pour into this gap. Simmias forced to stand his ground unable to get to Alexander. Here the Macedonian line was broken.

7. The Persians who get through make their way to the baggage and pack animals.

8. Phalanx at rear turned around and killed Persians – many fled.

9. Alexander was now moving towards Darius.

10. Darius fled under pressure and was pursued by Alexander.

11. Parmenio sent a message to Alexander asking for help. Alexander got the message and returned to the battlefield to save Parmenio.

12. Bessus then fled

13. Before Alexander arrived the Macedonian left defeated the Persian right victory for the Macedonians followed.


15. Parmenio went on to take possession of the Persian Camp, baggage, elephants and camels.

Plutarch
he says very little about the battle – basically Alexander attacks and pushes back the Persians – Darius flees and Alexander would have caught Darius if it had not been for the message from Parmenio. He accuses Parmenio of being sluggish and lacking in spirit. After the battle he records that the authority of the Persian Empire now regarded as being completely overthrown and Alexander was proclaimed as King of Asia.

Alexander’s tactics
Men were well rested; Box shaped formation worked really well
When Alexander moved right to move from ground prepared for the scythed chariots, Darius moved right to counter this. This allowed Alexander to exploit the gap that developed by making an attack in wedge formation. This attack was unlike the Great Theban general Epaminondas who originated the frontal wedge attack, where the phalanx would form up and attack in wedge formation. Alexander would according to Arrian form a wedge in the midst of battle and drive it at any weakness in the opposition line. Aristander’s prophecy had come true, that in the same month in which there was an eclipse of the moon the battle would take place and Alexander would win.

12. Cleitus 16, 08
2016 (a) Describe the sequence of events which led to the death of Cleitus. (30)
(b) What advice did Anaxarchus give to Alexander after the incident? (5)
(c) In your opinion, are Plutarch and Arrian justified in trying to excuse Alexander’s killing of Cleitus? Support your answer with reference to the texts. (15)

MS: (a) The events began at a party where there was too much drink consumed by everyone. But even before this, Arrian tells us that Cleitus deplored Alexander’s increasingly oriental style of leadership. Mockery of some recently defeated Macedonians and general flattery was going on and Alexander was being compared to a god. Cleitus couldn’t stand this. He talked about Philip and how his achievements were much greater than Alexander’s. According to Plutarch, Cleitus complained about the access the Persians had to the king, but that the only happy Macedonians were the dead. He raised his hand and reminded Alexander that he had saved his life at the Granicus. According to Plutarch Alexander first threw an apple at Cleitus. Alexander called out for him to be captured but no one acted and he ran him through with a spear. Arrian has it that Cleitus was removed from the scene. but came back in
taunting Alexander. A coherent description of the sequence of events. (10, 10, 10.) (30 marks)

(b) Anaxarchus gave out to Alexander for lying on the floor and weeping. He told Alexander that he was a king and as such was like Zeus, the arbiter of justice. It was his job to govern and command and get on with it. Everything done by the ruler is just. One point. (5 marks)

(c) Candidates may agree or disagree with this. To agree: They could argue that Alexander, although intoxicated and furious at this time and that, as Arrian says, Cleitus owed his king more respect and should not have belittled him in company, one could argue that he should have voiced his complaints in private and that he provoked Alexander beyond endurance by making him seem ridiculous. To disagree: Cleitus was the brother of Alexander’s nanny and he had saved Alexander’s life at the Granicus. Nothing could excuse the drunken murder of an old friend, even if he was being disrespectful and insulting. It is a blight on Alexander’s kingship that he allowed himself to get so out of control as to do this. His own grief/remorse afterwards is evidence of his guilt. There is scope here for partial agreement. Two developed points. (8, 7)

Notes:
A. (Pre) Granicus, childhood friend/Macedonian elite, Cleitus saves Alexander from Spitty and Roch.
   i) Drinking party to celebrate the festival of Dionysus. (Arrian implies that the excessive drinking is connected with Alexander’s growing orientalism) Sycophants praise Alexander by comparing him to Hercules.
   ii) Cleitus is outraged and intervenes: he has resented Alexander’s drift into oriental customs and thinks this is the last straw and an insult to the Gods, he also thinks that Alexander’s accomplishments were due to the Macedonians as a whole.
   iii) The courtiers go on to belittle Philp’s accomplishments in comparison to Alexander. Cleitus, now very drunk, protests and brags about saving his ass at Granicus. Alexander calls for the guard, no one comes. Ptolemy escorts Cleitus from the room but Cleitus returns and Alexander runs him through with a spear.
   iv) Alexander is overcome with regret and almost tries to kill himself, and mopes for days.
B. Anaxarchus eases Alex’s guilt by saying ‘whatever a king does is just, and he should not have any regrets’.
C. Arrian first of all calls Cleitus’ words ill-judged, should have kept his opinion to himself but Alexander is wrong also. ‘Cleitus’ unseemly behaviour to his sovereign’. He pities Alexander for being a slave to his anger and drunkenness, a lack of self-respect and self-control but he admires Alexander for his regret. He accepts Anaxarchus’ consolation but thinks it’s wrong for him to imply that a king is always just. Arrian connects this behaviour with Alexander’s growing arrogance and orientalism, including prostration. Plutarch starts by calling it a misfortune rather than a deliberate act and blames Cleitus’ evil genius for it. He also incudes reference to two bad omens regarding Cleitus’ safety. They begin drinking and someone begins to insult the Macedonians. Ceitus, drunk and hot-tempered.

13. Burning of Persepolis 12, 01, 93

2012 Give an account of the burning of Persepolis by Alexander as described by Plutarch. (25)
In what ways does Arrian’s account differ from Plutarch’s account? (15)
In your opinion, which is the more believable account? Give reasons for your answer. (10)

a) Impression out of 25 marks. Plutarch’s account of this episode is the more colourful, tabloid version. It involves a drunken feast, the courtesan Thais (mistress of Ptolemy) persuading Alexander to burn down the palace. A brief outline of what she said in her speech (complimenting Alex); all the hardships of wandering through Asia had been rewarded by revelling luxuriously in the palace of the Persians. But it would be even sweeter a pleasure by ending the party by setting it on fire (because Xerxes had laid waste to Athens). She wanted to do it in full view of Alex so posterity would know that one Athenian woman had taken greater revenge for the Greeks than all past famous commanders. Speech greeted by wild applause. Alexander was urged on by his companions. He picked up a firebrand and was followed by Macedonians who helped in setting fire to the palace. They hoped that doing this signified that Alex’s thoughts were turned towards home, and not to settle amongst the barbarians. Plutarch says that some historians agree that it was by impulse but others as a
deliberate policy. He quickly repented and ordered the fire to be put out.

b) 15 marks. Two developed points: 8, 7. Arrian’s account is quite different. It is shorter. It says that (against the advice of Parmenio, who pointed out that he was burning down his own property and that the Asians would be less likely to support him if he acted just like a conqueror rather than trying to rule it securely as a king), Alexander decided as a matter of strategy, to burn down the palace at Persepolis. His act was retribution for the destruction of Athens. Arrian condemns it as a bad policy (and that you could hardly blame current Persians for the crimes of the long dead). Plutarch describes it as an impulsive act.

c) 10 marks: 7, 3. The question calls for an opinion and ‘reasons’; there must also be reference to both texts for full marks. Candidates may find either way, as long as their opinion is backed up by some contextual information eg. other examples of Alexander’s behaviour or other examples from the writing style of Plutarch and Arrian which suggest their reliability (or otherwise).

2001

(ii) “According to a number of historians, it was in this way that the palace was burned down, that is on impulse, but there are others who maintain that it was an act of deliberate policy.” (Plutarch, Life of Alexander)

(a) Based on your reading of Arrian and Plutarch, give an account of the burning of the palace of the Persian kings at Persepolis. (35)
(b) Which of the theories quoted above from Plutarch do you consider more likely? Give reasons for your answer. (15)

§ B. - Marking Scheme, Q. (ii) (a) Impression ex 35 marks.

A knowledge of the two accounts of this event (i.e. Arrian’s and Plutarch’s) must be shown by candidates for full marks.

Arrian’s account (p. 179, Penguin) is short and focuses almost entirely on Parmenio’s advice against it and Alexander’s justification. The bulk of the answer will therefore be based on Plutarch’s much more detailed account (p. 295, Penguin)

(b) 15 marks.

According to Arrian, Alexander said he “wished to punish Persia for the invasion of Greece and all their crimes against the Greeks”. There is also the argument that he wished to frighten the Persians into accepting his rule and he may have decided to let his victorious army indulge in looting and destruction as a reward. Our knowledge of Alexander’s character when he was opposed would also lead us to favour an act of policy.

14. Darius (death and assessment)

2011

“In military matters Darius was the feeblest and most incompetent of men”. (Arrian)

(a) Do you agree with this judgement of Darius by Arrian? Support your answer with reference to the prescribed texts. (30)

(b) Describe how Darius met his death. (20)

MS

(a) 30 marks 10, 10, 10

This question calls for an evaluation or opinion. For full marks, candidates will be expected to engage with that aspect of the question.

The candidate could argue either way in the question, but it would be much easier to agree with Arrian. Evidence should be gleaned mainly from the Battles of Issus, his correspondence to Alexander, Gaugamela. He allowed Alexander to build up momentum in the first year. Darius’ reliance on the advice of flatterers (eg in moving from a good location before Issus against Amyntas’ advice); his over reliance on greater numbers of troops and his inflexible deployment of men (especially at Gaugamela); his
correspondence to Alexander showed weakness; his anxiety on the night before battle of Gaugamela and the failure of his scythe-chariot tactic; his hasty departure from both battles; allowance could be made for the vast superiority of the military commander he was up against so that point would be a valid one too.

(b) 20 marks 10, 10
Examiners will expect a description of Darius’ capture by Bessus as well as a coherent account both or either accounts of his death, Plutarch’s being more colourful and suggesting the possible encounter between Alexander and Darius just before he dies. Also the unlikely account of Darius being glad to surrender his empire to one so worthy may be mentioned.

1997 Based on the evidence of the prescribed texts, briefly assess Darius as an individual, and leader of the Persians. (50)

15. Parmenio/Philotas

2010
(a) Outline the events which led to the deaths of Philotas and Parmenio. (30)
(b) Do you think Philotas’ execution was justified? Give reasons for your answer. (20)

(a) 30 marks. Impression.
The greater part of answers should be devoted to the case of Philotas since Parmenio’s death arose directly from that of his son. Therefore, the main event leading to Parmenio’s death is the death of Philotas. However, candidates must refer specifically to Parmenio. Indeed, Alexander may well have wanted to rid himself of Parmenio for some time.
The events concerning Philotas are covered in Arrian (Penguin translation) pp 191-2 and in Plutarch (Penguin Translation) paragraphs 48 and 49. Arrian’s account is very short on details merely stating that Alexander had known for a long time of Philotas’ plot against his life but had not believed it. He then accused him. Philotas admitted he had heard of a plot against Alexander but had not reported it.
Plutarch is much more detailed. He covers Philotas’ boasting and extravagance, his running down of Alexander; Alexander’s waiting game and trap; the plot of Dimnos and Philotas’ failure to report it; Alexander then moves against Philotas arresting and torturing him and having him executed. The murder of Parmenio followed in a most secretive manner.

(b) 20 marks.
Candidates should be able to use their knowledge of the plot to discuss the justice of Alexander’s behaviour. The evidence in Plutarch (and even more so in Arrian) of Philotas’ guilt is very unconvincing.

2003 In the space of a few years Alexander was responsible for the deaths of a number of senior figures including Parmenio, Philotas, Cleitus and Callisthenes. What do these deaths tell us about Alexander, and also about the atmosphere in the Macedonian camp at this time? (50) Candidates should treat these events in a general sense and should not give detailed accounts of the deaths.

50 marks. Impression mark.
The emphasis must be on the character of Alexander and the atmosphere in the Macedonian camp. Candidates who write of the deaths of these men without this focus will receive greatly reduced marks.
Important light is shed on Alexander’s growing hatred of being challenged or hindered (especially in public) as the cases of Cleitus and Callisthenes make plain; his temper (Cleitus); his cruelty and ruthlessness (Philotas, Parmenio, Callisthenes); his resentment of the older Macedonians (all examples except Philotas). It is clear that during the interminable trek towards India the atmosphere in the Macedonian camp grew steadily worse. There was obviously a fair amount of heavy drinking which led to the bringing into the open of deep resentments of Alexander’s behaviour among certain officers. Others, such as Hephaestion, were unquestionably supportive of their king. Issues such as prostration, Persian dress, the divinity of Alexander brought out all the fear and hatred that poisoned the atmosphere. Access to Alexander was also difficult. Evidence is in the outburst of Cleitus, the speeches of Callisthenes, the plots of Philotas and of the Pages. The licence given to flatterers is also significant.

2000
(a) Discuss the importance of Parmenio in the campaigns of Alexander. (35)
(b) What is your assessment of the relations between the two men? (15)

1996
(a) Outline the events which led to the execution of Philotas.
(b) Do you find the case made against Philotas convincing? Give reasons for your answer. (50)

1991
Write an account of the career of Parmenio, dealing with his contacts and relations with Alexander. (50)

Notes on Parmenio

- Philip said “The Athenians manage to dig up ten generals each year. I only discovered one in my lifetime – Parmenio.

- Philip’s advance force to Asia in 336 BC was led by Parmenio who was away when Philip was murdered.

- Alexander seemed to have contacted him straight away to get him on his side, by now Parmenio was already in his mid-60s. There was a high price for his support; many members of his family were put in positions of high command. Nicanor, his son, was commander of the Hypaspists and Philotas; another son was a commander in the Companion Cavalry. His son-in-law, Coenus was one of the commanders of the phalanx.

- His first recorded advice to Alexander was at the Granicus where he advised him not to rush into battle fearing a failure at the start. From this on Arrian’s sources seem to concentrate on the bad
advice offered by Parmenio. This is probably linked to his later fall from favour when it would have been acceptable to criticise him as the source of bad advice. Callisthenes seems to have been especially critical of him.

- Parmenio commanded the left flank at the Battle of the Granicus. This was largely a holding operation while Alexander swung in against the Persian centre.

- After pursuing a successful coastal policy the army was split as Alexander went along the coast by Lycia and Parmenio, in charge of the rest of the army marched north and met the next Spring at Gordium. From the north Parmenio sent Alexander the messenger Sisines who had news of the plot of Alexander the Lyncestian who was planning to execute Alexander for Darius.

- It was Parmenio who sent him the note about his doctor Philip who was treating him at Tarsus, a note he did not believe.

- Parmenio urged Alexander to wait at Issus for Darius but Alexander did not take his advice. He marched on and in fact was caught out here in that he was forced to turn the enemy who had passed him out on the other side of a mountain range.

- At Issus fought at the river Pinarus, Parmenio again commanded the left flank and here the instructions were, on no account to allow his troops to be moved away from the sea, which would leave a gap allowing Darius to outflank them. Parmenio had behind him extra Thessalian cavalry, which Alexander had sent around at the last minute seeing Darius’ plan. Here the fighting was very fierce and the day was saved by the Companions led by Alexander rolling up the Persian centre and right wings once they had caused Darius to flee.

- While Alexander was at Tyre, Parmenio was leading part of the army through Syria where he took Damascus. It is significant how often Alexander let him out of his sight with large contingents of the Army. It must signify a high degree of trust.

- Before the Battle of Guagemela Darius made an offer to Alexander which included all territories west of the Euphrates river, a huge payment and the hand of his daughter in marriage. Parmenio said “If I were Alexander I would accept this offer” and Alexander replied “So should I, if I were Parmenio”.

On the eve of Gaugamela, Parmenio suggested a night attack to Alexander. He turned this down on the basis that it might not be seen as a valid victory and also that a night attack was too unpredictable and dangerous.

- Again, Parmenio was on the left wing at Guagemela. Here he fought a desperate action against Mazaeus. In what seems like an effort to discredit Parmenio he is described as sending for help to Alexander and thus stopping him from catching the fleeing Darius after the battle.

- Once the Battle of Guagemela was over Parmenio is supposed to have advised Alexander to look back towards Macedonia rather than to the east.

- Parmenio is supposed to have spoken out against the destruction of the palace at Persepolis on the grounds that it made no sense for Alexander to destroy his own property.

- After Persepolis Alexander sent Parmenio to Ecbatana inland as commander of the region. This could be seen as demotion – but by now Parmenio was 70 years old.

- It is possible that it suited Alexander very well to get rid of Parmenio in the autumn of 339. Given that there was growing tensions between the Macedonians and Persians in his court and army, Parmenio could have become the focus of the old guard and the disgruntled Macedonians who preferred the old ways.

- This event happened shortly after the death of Nicanor, Parmenio’s other son. Now Alexander arrested Philotas, his one surviving son, for failing to pass on word of a plot against Alexander’s life,
which he had heard of.

- *Philotas was tortured before being stoned to death and implicated Parmenio who was then assassinated by Cleander. We will never know if there was a plot or whether Philotas and Parmenio were in on it, if so. Certainly Plutarch seems to believe that the main plot was one against Philotas and Parmenio whom Alexander wanted to get rid of. Was he overly ruthless in his killing of Parmenio? There certainly is an argument to say that it was too risky to let Parmenio live after Philotas was killed.

- Much of the tensions between Alexander and his men dates from this point and many of them never forgave him for this episode.

- It is interesting to note that later in the row with Cleitus in Samarkand, when Cleitus is shouting at Alexander about his arrogant oriental style of leadership he defends Parmenio, which cannot have been popular with Alexander.

**Trial of Philotas**

- **Defendants:** Philotas, the son of Parmenion, commander of the Companion Cavalry and four other soldiers; all sons of Andromenes: Amyntas, Attalus, Simmias and Polemon.
- **Charge:** Conspiracy to Murder the King  
  **Penalty:** Death by execution
- **Counsel for the Prosecution:** Lucius Flavius Arrianus Xenophon (AD86-160), ex-Roman Consul turned Greek Historian
- **Counsel for the Defence:** Lucius Mestrius Plutarchus (AD45-120): Greek Philosopher turned biographer
- **Potential witnesses:** Nichmachus and his brother Cebalinus, the affidavit of an unknown officer, Antigone: Philotas’ concubine
- **Limnus:** the would-be assassin was killed whilst resisting arrest.

**Parmenio**

Parmenio was formerly a companion of Alexander’s father Philip and therefore much older than Alexander when he invaded Asia.

As a seasoned general, Parmenio tended to be more conservative than the young Alexander. For example, at Granicus he warned Alexander not to attempt crossing the river by day due to the treacherous flow and depth of the river and at Gaugamela he advised a night attack to surprise Darius far larger army. In each case Alexander rejected his advice and opted for the more daring choices.

One may argue that Alexander may have found Parmenio’s advice irritating. When after Issus, Darius offered him a truce pledging him all lands west of the Euphrates Parmenio said that if he were Alexander he would accept the generous offer to which Alexander replied, so would I if I were Parmenio. This seems like banter however because there is no suggestion that Alexander ever distrusted Parmenio.
Parmenio was always put in charge of important missions like bridging the Hellaspont. During the march through Asia Minor he split his army in two and placed one half under Parmenio’s command. He even entrusted the seizures of the Persian treasuries at Sardis and Demascus to Parmenio.

Parmenio was however extremely influential in the army and Alexander owed him a debt of gratitude because after his father’s assassination Parmenio supported Alexander’s claim on the throne. In gratitude Alexander gave him command of the left wing and even awarded important positions to members of his family. His son Philotas commanded the Companions. His other son Nicanor commanded the Hypaspists and his son-in-law Coenus commanded a phalanx.

On the face of it, Parmenio’s death seems innocent enough but may have been motivated by politics. Having executed his son Philotas for treason after Gaugamela, Alexander had Parmenio assassinated as an unfortunate consequence of his son’s crime, which Arrian does not explain. Parmenio and his family were influential in the army and had he been allowed to live he would surely not have continued to follow the king who killed his eldest son. Greek religion and Macedonian honour would have demanded Parmenio to avenge his son’s death and thus he was killed but his death left a vacuum in the army. We learn from an angry Cleitus that by India Alexander had filled that vacuum with Persians and sycophants. No longer would a general offer him opposing advice. Once Parmenio was gone Alexander was free to become a tyrant without opposition.

**Philotas**

Philotas was the eldest son of Alexander’s chief general Parmenio. During the Balkan campaign he seems to have held a relatively low rank. For example, at the Siege of Pelium he was sent out to feed the pack animals and strayed to near the enemy forcing Alexander to make a sortie from the city to rescue him. By the Persian Campaign however he was promoted to the prestigious rank of commander of the Companion cavalry; a rank that he held throughout the Persian campaign.

Philotas appears to have been arrogant and pompous. As a result he was unpopular. He became so generous with his money after Issus that his pomp even rivalled Alexander’s and his father cautioned him to appear “less great” for fear Alexander would begin to dislike him.

His fall from grace was relatively sudden. Arrian does not explain exactly what he did or failed to do in the foiled conspiracy to assassinate Alexander but he was implicated somehow in the conspiracy and that in itself earned him an execution by his fellow companions. Shortly after his execution, his father Parmenio was also assassinated as a matter of policy because having executed his eldest son, Alexander could no longer trust Philotas’ father.

16. Callisthenes 05
Anaxarchus Callisthenes role 310: D (Aristander helps, Anaxarchus helps more and Callisthenes is isolated)

51) Callisthenes vs. Macedonians 311 (by A request; Macedonians aren’t as civilised as the Greeks)

52) Obeisance, Callisthenes refuses 312 this is a long one! (The custom of ritual prostration) Royalty and Gods.

53) Callisthenes and the plot of the pages 313 (Alexander’s paranoid android, Plutarch implies that Callisthenes is innocent)

54) Callisthenes at his death 313 (Corpulence and Lice blehhhh David)

Web: Callisthenes and the Pages Conspiracy: References Arrian IV 11-14 Plutarch 53 – 55

After the death of Darius Alexander had assumed Persian protocol as a matter of political expediency (convenience). He wore Persian dress, and also showed favour to the Persians by promoting them with appointments. Alexander had used an oriental form of punishment against Bessus – Alexander was the successor of Darius and so had to look on the crime as a crime against himself.

There were problems with Alexander’s attempt to adopt a common court ceremonial, that of ‘prostration’ to the king. In Greece prostration was only paid to the gods, but in Persia it was more of a social gesture seen as honouring the king. (Macedonians mistakenly think the Persians are ‘worshipping’ their kings as gods.

Callisthenes was a nephew of Aristotle and had joined the army to compose a history of the campaigns of Alexander.

There was an attempt to introduce the custom of ‘prostration to the court. Callisthenes voiced his opposition to the matter of ‘prostration’. Anaxarchus the philosopher is reported to have said that Alexander should have divine honours paid to him while he was alive as he was descended from a god anyway. Callisthenes voiced his opposition to this in a very outspoken way and said that there was a difference between worshipping a god and honouring a man. Arrian records that Alexander was annoyed by his speech but not the Macedonians – Alexander was aware of this and told the Macedonians to forget the matter. Leonnatus a member of the Companions, laughed at a senior Perisan whom he thought was making a mess of the bow, again Alexander was annoyed. This incident highlights the Macedonians reaction to the idea of prostration before Alexander.
Another story is told by Arrian and Plutarch that Alexander sent round a golden cup, around the court. The men were supposed to drink and then prostrate themselves and then receive a kiss from Alexander. But Callisthenes drank and did not prostrate himself. Alexander had not observed this but was told by one of his men, and so Alexander refused to kiss Callisthenes. Callisthenes exclaimed “I must go back to my place one kiss the poorer”.

Arrian comments that this shows ‘Alexander’s growing arrogance’ and also Callisthenes ‘bad manners’.

Was Alexander growing arrogant or was his orientalising policy a tactic to enable him to administer effectively the conquered land? Or both?

The Pages conspiracy

The pages were sons of Macedonian nobles (15 yrs) who were employed as personal attendants on the king. They were entrusted with the general care of his person and also guarded him when he was asleep. When he went riding they helped him mount. Arrian records that one of these boys Hermolaus had a grievance against Alexander. Hermolaus also was a pupil of Callisthenes as he had an interest in philosophy. The story told by Arrian is that whilst out hunting, Alexander was charged by a boar and before Alexander could strike Hermolaus killed the boar. Alexander was furious and ordered the boy to be whipped. Hermolaus was bitter about this treatment and vowed to get revenge. He got the support of other boys Sostratus and Antipater and three others. They decided to murder Alexander when it was Antipater’s turn to guard Alexander. But on the night Alexander stayed up drinking until Dawn. The plot came to light and Alexander had all the boys arrested, under torture they admitted their guilt but did not implicate Callisthenes.

Arrian reports that Aristobulus and Ptolemy say that the boys said that Callisthenes urged them to commit the crime. But Arrian also says that most other commentators make no mention of this, that Alexander was ready to believe the worst about Callisthenes because at this stage he already disliked him and also because of his association with Herlomaus, he taught him philosophy.

Plutarch reports that Alexander in a letter which he wrote immediately afterwards to Craterus, said that the boys had confessed under torture that the conspiracy was entirely their own and that nobody else knew of it.

Or given the evidence that Callisthenes was outspoken in his dislike of adopting Persian customs and Callisthenes connection with Aristotle whom Alexander had fallen out with “I shall not forget those who sent him to me” revealing his hostility for Aristotle– was this the reason that Callisthenes was implicated in the plot to kill Alexander?

Arrian says that some writers report that at his trial Hermolaus declared that it was no longer possible for an honourable man to endure Alexander’s arrogance, spoke about the lawless killing of Philotas and Parmenio, the murder of Cleitus, his assumption of Persian dress and prostration.

Antipater’s father had been sent back to Macedonia a month before stripped of his position in order to fetch reinforcements, another conspirator was son of the former satrap of Syria who also had lost his position. Could this be the reason for their actions?
(a) In what ways did Alexander become more oriental in his style of leadership? (20)
(b) In what ways did some of the Macedonians object to this policy?
Support your answer by reference to the texts. (30)

(a) A brief explanation of any four of the following oriental ways: his adoption of Persian
dress; his attempt to introduce prostration (proskynesis) among the Macedonians; his
excessive punishments (e.g. Bessus); the extravagant Persian marriages at Susa; ever
increasing luxury and extravagance; the appointment of local rulers; the integration of Persian
troops into the command structures of the army (especially the appointment of the 30,000
epigonoi) to the detriment of the Macedonians who felt ignored. (4 x 5 marks) (20 marks)
(b) Firstly, Plutarch reports that Cleitus objects strongly to his favouring the Persians at the
expense of the Macedonians just before Alexander kills him. Most important here is
Callisthenes’ opposition to the introduction of prostration (proskynesis) and the connected
Pages’ Plot. The other major evidence of opposition is the mutiny at Opis where the
Macedonians objected to being sent home and supplanted by Persians in Alexander’s
affections. These episodes should be described. (3 x 10 marks) (30 marks)

2006

(iv) “From this point he began to adapt his own style of living more closely to that of
the country and tried to reconcile Asiatic and Macedonian customs.” (Plutarch,
Life of Alexander)
(a) What forms did this ‘Orientalism’ of Alexander’s take? (35)
(b) In your opinion, why did Alexander follow this policy? Support your
answer with reference to the prescribed material. (15)

§ D. - Marking Scheme, Q. (iv) (a) 35 marks. (12,12,11)

The two indispensable elements here are the adoption of Persian dress by Alexander
and his efforts to introduce the practice of proskynesis to his Greeks and Macedonians.
These must be covered as well as at least one other example of Orientalism – Persian
marriages, Persian punishments, Persian luxury and extravagance, the mixing of
Persian troops into Macedonian units etc.
(b) 15 marks.

Any point based on the text(s) is acceptable. It can be argued that Alexander genu-
inely sought a fusion of Greek and Persian cultures in order to combine the best of
both. He wanted too to win the support of the Persians for his future plans. Notice
especially his prayer at Opis that Macedonians and Persians might live in harmony
and jointly rule the empire. Arrian however is convinced that this policy is simply a
trick without any conviction on Alexander’s part.

Recruitment of Persians into his army was designed to provide troops for future
campaigns.

Arrian maintains for most of his work that Alexander’s adoption of Persian Dress was, like his claim to
divine birth, a sign of his egotistical attraction to extravagant and flamboyant Asian style of kingship, (later
admitting that it may have been encouraged as a matter of policy but Arrian still doubtful.

Plutarch believes more in Alex’s orientalism as fusion. He says that Alexander began to first wear Persian
dress in the autumn of 330 BC. By this stage he had won the battle of Guagemela, had made himself master
of Susa, Babylon and Persepolis. Plutarch maintains that Alexander may have begun wearing Persian dress
from a desire to adapt himself to local habits, because he understood that the sharing of race and of customs
is a great step towards softening men’s hearts. Alternatively this may have been an experiment aimed at
introducing obeisance (bowing) among the Macedonians. At first he wore Persian clothes when he was in
the company of the Persians or close friends but later he began wearing Persian clothes when he was riding
or giving public office. This sight greatly displeased the Macedonians.

• The first sign of his desire to include the Persians in his rule was when he captured Susa, he made
Abulites, a Persian nobleman governor of the province.
**Bessus** When Alexander captured Bessus he had his nose and the tips of his ears cut off and then made to suffer public execution before his own countrymen. Arrian criticises Alexander here and says that Alexander came to copy the Persian extravagance and splendour, and the fashion of kings treating their subjects as inferiors, he also says it is regrettable that Alexander began wearing Median dress and the pointed hat.

There are a number of incidents where Alexander adopting Persian customs and which highlight the growing dismay felt by the Macedonians.

**Cleitus incident** Alexander was surrounded by the fawning followers who compared him to the Dioscuri (gods) and then even to Heracles himself. Cleitus according to Arrian had now for some time had not liked the change in Alexander and his move towards the manners of the East or the fawning of the courtiers. A row develops and Alexander kills Cleitus. **Cleitus had shouted at Alexander that it would be better to for him to spend his time among the barbarians and slaves who would prostrate themselves before his white tunic and his Persian girdle.** After the row Alexander was remorseful but was advised by Anaxarchus, that all acts committed by a king should be considered just by all the people. Arrian states that Alexander wished to have people prostrate themselves in his presence. Arrian says that it was partly due to the notion that his father was Zeus but also partly to his growing admiration of the Median and Persian extravagance expressed by his wearing of Persian dress and adoption of Persian customs.

**Callisthenes** Plutarch records that Callisthenes was at a banquet with Alexander and the Macedonians. Alexander after he had drunk passed the cup to one his his friends, who took it, drank then bowed to Alexander, then kissed him and returned to his seat. All the guests did this in turn until it was Callisthenes’ turn. Alexander was talking to Hephaestion at the time and paid no attention to what Callisthenes was doing. After Callisthenes had drunk but not bowed, one of the men called out that Callisthenes had not bowed, so Alexander refused to kiss him. Callisthenes then called out in a loud voice, ‘**Very well then, I shall go away the poorer by a kiss**’

Plutarch records that young men flocked to him and followed him everywhere, as though he were the only free spirit among so many tens of thousands. Later he was implicated in the PAGES PLOT. Although the youths confessed under torture that the conspiracy was entirely their own, Alexander still had Callisthenes either arrested and left to die in chains of disease, or hanged.

**Events before the Opis Mutiny** After Alexander had returned from the Gedrosian desert he went to Susa. He arranged mass weddings between the Macedonians and Persian women. He himself married Stateira daughter of Darius and also took another Persian wife. Hephaiston married another daughter of Darius. The weddings were conducted in Persian style. Here he received various officials from the surrounding territories. They brought with them some 30,000 boys, all wearing the Macedonian battle-dress and trained in the Macedonian way. Alexander called the the ‘epigoni’ or Successors, and their coming caused much bad feeling among the Macedonians, who felt it was an indication of his many efforts to lessen his dependence for the future upon his own countrymen. Arrian records also that the men were distressed at the sight of Alexander wearing Median dress and most of them had found the Persian marriages objectionable, even the men who had participated in the weddings objected because they were conducted in Persian style. Another grievance was the growing orientalism of Peucestas, who was now governor of Persia, who to Alexander’s satisfaction had adopted the Persian language and dress. The Men also resented the regiments of the Companions had been supplemented with Persians. Foreign officers were also posted to a special squadron of Cavalry. The Persians were all equipped with the Macedonian spear in place of their native javelin. All this made the Macedonians think that Alexander’s whole outlook was becoming tainted with orientalism and that he no longer cared for his own people or his own native ways.

All this tension came to a head at Opis, and when Alexander discharged the men who were thought unfit to continue, the men mutinied and told Alexander to discharge them all. When the men heard that Alexander was replacing Macedonian commands with Persians they rushed to the palace and would not leave until Alexander took pity on them. When he came out to talk to them they told him that they were hurt because he allowed Persian to kiss him but not Macedonians. After that they were allowed to kiss him and a banquet was held. The chief object of Alexander’s prayers was that Persians and Macedonians might rule together in harmony as an imperial power. 9,000 men attended the banquet.

**18. The Three Rocks on the March to India/ Siege Warfare**
Plutarch mentions almost nothing about them apart from saying that Alexander’s tenacity and ambition had by now grown so exaggerated that whenever he was faced with an apparently impossible feat he was keen to conquer it.

**The Sogdian Rock**

- A steep-sided plateau rising out of the plane, quite inaccessible because of the sheer cliffs all around.
- Oxyartes had taken refuge on top in the belief that it was impregnable.
- He had provisioned for a long siege and the snow-capped summit also provided him with fresh water and the meltwater dripping down made Alexander’s ascent very dangerous.

**Alexander’s reasons for assaulting the Rock**

- Initially he tried diplomacy promising full pardons to all the rebels as long as the surrendered.
- The natives rejected the terms and taunted Alexander saying he would need “men with wings” to take the Rock.
- Alexander was furious with their audacity and determined to take the Rock.

**How he did it**

- Through the many sieges his army had by now waged, there were some 300 men who were by now experienced rock climbers. They would be Alexander’s men with wings.
- Alexander promised 12 talents of gold to the first man to the top, 11 to the second and so on down the line to 300 darics for the twelfth thus facilitating in his winged men a competitive spirit and ambition to take the prize.
- Using tent pegs they scaled the rock at night on the steepest cliff face on the correct assumption that Oxyartes would not have posted guards on that part of the rock. As they scaled the cliff face they hammered the pegs into the ice or earth and looped flaxen ropes onto them for the men below.
- Although about 30 perished the rest reached the summit by dawn and haulling up their weapons and armour formed rank and then signalled to Alexander with linen rags.
- Alexander then addressed the rebels on the rock and pointed to his “winged men” who were now in possession of the summit.
- Totally taken by surprise and thinking the Macedonians on the summit to be more numerous and better equipped than they actually were the natives surrendered.

**Consequences**

- Alexander took possession of the Rock.
- He also captured the daughters of Oxyartes including the beautiful Roxanne, who it was said was the second most beautiful woman in Asia next to Stateira: Darius’ wife. Alexander was smitten with her and married her.
- Now being son-in-law to Oxyartes, Alexander received him when he surrendered and made an alliance with him. According to Plutarch, they were such good friends that Alexander even asked his opinion on the character of Sisymithres to which Oxyartes confessed that he thought him a coward of the highest order, which emboldened Alexander to proceed his plans to take the Rock of Aornos since being held by a coward, an assault on the Rock would surely be successful.

**The Rock of Choriennes**

- Choriennes, like Oxyartes, was a rebel chieftain who had sought refuge on a plateau some 12,000 feet high and 7 miles in circumference.
- This steep rock plateau was situated in an encircling deep and steep ravine, which made it even more difficult to assault because Alexander would have to first bridge the ravine before beginning to assault the Rock itself.
- The Rock was almost impregnable save for a narrow path winding its way up the sides of the Rock. It was hewn out of the cliff face and was barely wide enough for one man walking up without opposition and thus totally unsuitable for an attacking army.
Alexander’s reasons for attacking the Rock

- Arrian puts it down to no more than Alexander’s now reckless courage and desire to conquer all seemingly impossible challenges. (less strategic than Tyre)

How he did it

- Superintending the work personally, Alexander divided his whole army into three teams commanded by his two close friends Ptolemy, Leonnatus and his general Nicanor each working in succession night and day to construct a makeshift bridge across the ravine.
- The work was difficult because of the steep incline and the army only managed to raise 30 feet a day and less by night.
- First the Macedonians fashioned long ladders out of the tall pine trees that grew in abundance nearby. With these ladders they descended into the ravine and drove long stakes evenly spaced into the ground. These would act as supports for the wattle and daub platform of the bridge that would bring the Macedonians across the ravine to the Rock itself.
- From his vantage point high above, Choriennes at first ignored the work thinking it a ridiculous enterprise but as the work continued he took to firing missiles down on the Macedonians.
- Just as he had done during the Siege of Tyre, Alexander protected his workforce by means of screens so that all attempts by Choriennes to hamper Macedonian progress on the bridge came to nothing.
- Seeing Alexander nearing completion of his bridge he sent a message to him asking for Oxyartes to come as negotiator.
- Oxyartes persuaded Choriennes to surrender, promising that against Alexander there was no place too high or no fortress that could hold out against his determination. He also cited several examples of Alexander’s magnanimity and honour not least of which his own treatment at his hands following his surrender of the Sogdian Rock.
- Choriennes surrendered the Rock to Alexander.

Consequences

- Alexander treated Choriennes very well, keeping him close by his side and even ascended the rock with 500 guards to inspect the place.
- He made an alliance with Choriennes and left him behind as governor of the area and commander of the Rock.

The Rock of Aornos

2011 Why was the capture of the Rock of Aornos so important to Alexander? (10)
Describe how Alexander’s genius as a commander overcame the challenges presented by this formidable fortress. (40)

(a) 10 marks One developed point
The Rock was regarded as impregnable and Heracles had failed to capture it therefore it would demonstrate to others the utter futility of resistance to Alexander. It was the centre of Indian resistance and with its capture, Alexander would win great glory.

(b) 40 marks 14,13,13.
The candidate would need to describe in some detail what the specific challenges were at Aornos and explain what qualities of the genius of Alexander enabled him to overcome the challenges. Mention could be made of Craterus staying at Embolima while Ptolemy went ahead and guided by locals, took up a good (unobserved) position. Alexander managed to join him, despite attempts by natives to stop the two armies joining up. Alexander got each man to cut 100 stakes to build a huge mound across a ravine to the rock. In one day it was 600 feet high and it took 3 days to cross the ravine. The natives were shocked into seeking terms but hoped to scatter. Alexander attacked them before they could disappear.
In order to emphasise Alexander’s genius as required by the question, rather than just telling the story, points that should be made are Alexander’s his planning in advance of
the endeavour, his resourcefulness in building the earthwork, capacity for lateral thinking, (flexible in strategy) his absolute refusal to let geography hinder an attack; (determined) his ability to get his army to do the seemingly impossible; (he is a good motivator) his awareness of the importance of psychological advantage over the enemy; (he is a good strategist) his ability to wrong-foot his enemy and use the element of surprise.

Notes:

During his advance towards the Indus Alexander split up his forces into different detachments under his companions Alectus and Coenus charged with pacifying the Indians in the region. After some initial battles the remaining Indians took refuge on the Rock of Aornos.

According to Arrian’s description the Rock of Aornos was a giant plateau rearing out of the plain 25 miles in circumference and 8,000 ft high not including the peaks with a water source, forests for timber and plenty of arable land on the summit. The only access was via a narrow path hewn out of the rock barely wide enough for one man to pass comfortably. Apart from being of key strategic importance on his march into India we also learn from Arrian that Alexander wanted to conquer the Rock having heard a story that Herakles himself had failed; although it must be stated that Arrian himself doesn’t think this story likely and thinks the name of Herakles was merely added into the tale simply to exaggerate the immensity of the challenge that now faced Alexander’s resolve to take the Rock.

Luckily some local guides approached Alexander and offered to guide him by a part of the Rock that might offer him a point from which to launch a successful assault on the Rock. Alexander sent Ptolemy in command of a small detachment to that place with the guides. Ptolemy’s progress went unseen by the enemy until he had successfully raised a stockade and signalled Alexander with a torch whereupon Alexander mounted an assault of the Rock. Alexander’s first assault however failed and the Indians then rounded on Ptolemy’s stockade. A hard battle was fought and Ptolemy’s force suffered greatly but managed to hold its position. That night Alexander sent one of the Indian guides with orders to Ptolemy to switch from defence to attack once he saw Alexander had commenced his second assault the next day. Caught in a pincer movement the next day the Indians withdrew to higher ground and Alexander pushed his way onto the foothill to re-join Ptolemy. The assault however failed since the Indians were still in possession of the Rock.

Faced now with the Rock proper from his small peak Alexander next demonstrated his tactical genius and the capacity of the Macedonian army to achieve the impossible by constructing an earthwork to raise their position so that it came level with the Rock. Just as in Gaza, Alexander now hoped to mount a missile assault using his siege-engines in the Indians’ position. Arrian tells us the whole army was employed in building the earthwork and the mound grew to quickly bridge the ravine and extend some 200 yards towards the Rock itself. At the same time through a feat of immense daring and good luck the Macedonians captured a second lower peak.

If seeing the Macedonians constructing the unbelievable earthwork had weakened the Indian resolve it was on seeing the daring of the Macedonians when they took this second peak that finally broke it and the Indians surrendered.

His treatment of the survivors was fair. He offered them the chance of surrendering but was informed that whilst the delegation went on, the Indians were secretly planning to flee and live to fight another day whereupon he ordered Craterus to wait for the flight and then charge onto the Rock and put the survivors to the sword, which he did.

Having installed a garrison on the Rock he moved on towards the Indus and the bridge that Hephaestion had by now completed.
Siege at the Rock of Aornos

1. All tribes in the area of the Indus river retreat to a rock 2,500 metres high and 40 kms in circumference. Arable land, wood and water. One narrow path to top.

2. Alexander’s decision to take the rock based on fears that the Indians could observe his troop movements and even interrupt his line of communication from eastern points to Peukalotis.

3. Setting up base at Embolima he sent Ptolemy ahead to a hill west of Aornos. Having followed his general he reached the position after two days of hard fighting.

4. A direct assault failed so he determined to build a mole from this hill towards Aornos

5. Having seized a second hill in doing this nearer to Aornos and level with it, the Macedonian noticed that the Indians panicked and fled.

6. Alexander took the position followed the tribes and wiped them out.

Insights into Alexander the soldier

a) Possesses great tactical foresight
b) Flexible in strategy
c) Resourceful
d) Ruthless

II. x. Leaving Certificate 2001

(i) When he (Alexander) made up his mind that an object must be attained, he never hesitated to employ the boldest and most novel means. Discuss this statement with particular reference to Alexander’s success in capturing fortified places. (50)

§ A. - Marking Scheme, Q. (i) 50 marks. (35, 15)

Candidates should be able to treat in reasonable detail one example of Alexander’s success in capturing fortified places, and some treatment of another/others. Their answers should give due prominence to his use of “the boldest and most novel means”.

Examples that illustrate these means include: Tyre, Gaza, Sogdiana, Aornos and the fort of the Mallians.
(iii)  
(a) Describe how Alexander tricked the Indian leader Porus and succeeded in crossing the river Hydaspes. (15)  
(b) Give an account of the Battle of the Hydaspes. (25)  
(c) In your opinion, why did Alexander treat Porus so well after this battle? (10)

§ C. - Marking Scheme, Q. (iii)  
(a) 15 marks (8,7)  
A clear, coherent account taking in Alexander’s decoy activities and his hiding of boats prior to his night crossing.  
(b) 25 marks. Impression  
(Arrian, Campaigns of Alexander, Penguin pp 276–279) A clear narrative is required (without having to include every detail, at this is quite a complex battle). It should however show knowledge of the main moves and also the role of the elephants.  
(c) 10 marks (5,5)  
There could be two reasons: Alexander’s admiration for Porus and his shrewd decision to use him to control his newly-found territory. Candidates may recount the meeting between the two men but must draw conclusions.

2011

(iv)  
(a) Describe how Alexander succeeded in crossing the Hydaspes River unopposed. (20)  
(b) Analyse the reasons for Alexander’s victory over Porus in the Battle of the Hydaspes. (30)

(iv) (a) 20 marks 7, 7, 6  
Description of the location of the camp; the ploys used to keep Porus guessing and awake at night; the bringing of boats from the Indus; the splitting of the army into three (Craterus back at the camp with much of the cavalry; Meleager at the halfway point; Alexander and the picked troops crossing the river); weather conditions; the mistake about the islands.

(b) 30 marks 10, 10, 10  
This question requires an analysis for high marks.

Instead of a straight narrative, the candidate should analyse the key factors which allowed Alexander’s army to win: his swift and unexpected river crossing; his holding back of much of the cavalry till after the elephants were dealt with; his clever deployment of the contingent under Coenus (brilliant strategy) in order to win the battle at a decisive point. Porus’ deficiencies may also have contributed to Alexander’s victory.

Web:

The Battle of the River Hydaspes, India, May 326 B.C.  
(Arrian pgs. 266-282 Plutarch pgs 317-318)  
This river is now called the Jhelum. It was the monsoon season of 326 B.C.  
The river, swollen with rainwater, was around 800 meters wide.  
Alexander and his army crossed the River Indus into India. He was met by Taxiles, a prince who controlled this area, who gave him gifts. It was there that Alexander was told that Porus, King of the Pauravas, whose kingdom extended from the Hydaspes to the Punjab, was waiting for him with a large army on the far bank of the river Hydaspes, barring the entrance to his kingdom. The Taxiles reinforced Alexander’s army with 5,000 troops.

Porus army comprised (estimates only) 50,000 infantry (mostly archers), 4,000 cavalry, 300 war chariots, and 200 elephants, which were, unknown to the Macedonians, used as weapon of war.
Alexander ordered that the ships he had used to cross the River Indus should be cut into sections and brought over land by ox-carts to the banks of the River Hydaspes and re-assembled. The Macedonian army positioned directly opposite Porus’ army. On the banks of the river followed a war of nerves. It looked like stalemate and Alexander had a huge consignment of grain and other supplies brought to the camp. Porus probably believed that the Macedonians would not attack till the monsoon was over; the high waters and the elephants were quite a deterrent.

**The Crossing**

Porus sent groups of troops to every point across the river where he thought Alexander might cross. Alexander, on the other hand, kept his enemy on their toes, keeping his army moving up and down the river constantly, even at night, and making as much noise as possible.

Porus had his troops and elephants move up and down his side of the river following the sound of the Macedonians. This went on for a long time. Eventually Porus gave up, as the Macedonians never tried to cross. Porus was lulled into a false sense of security. His men could not remain on the alert indefinitely and so he allowed them to relax.

About 30 kilometres from base camp, Alexander’s scouts found a potential crossing place. This was a large wooded island with only a narrow channel on either side of it. Alexander decided that this was a good spot because Porus’ scouts would not be able to see them. Alexander also heard that an ally of Porus (Abisares) was not far off with a large army and he knew that he had to attack soon rather than letting them join forces.

The element of surprise was only of so much use as once he started to cross, Porus would know about it. So a division of forces was necessary to keep Porus guessing. Alexander left Craterus in charge of the troops in the camp opposite Porus, with orders not to cross the river until Porus had moved from his position to attack Alexander or if Craterus was sure that Porus was in retreat and the Macedonians had won the day. Also Craterus was not to cross the river if the elephants were still there, as they would frighten the horses making a successful landing unlikely.

Alexander left three groups of mercenary cavalry and infantry at different points (led by Meleager) along the river bank between Craterus’ troops and the spot opposite the island where he was going to cross. They had order to cross the river as soon as the battle between Alexander and Porus’ main force had started to fight.

At night Alexander took his troops inland, so that he could move them down to the spit of land opposite the island without letting Porus know they were planning an attack. Alexander had already had ships and floats moving upstream to the spot where he was going to cross and had them hidden in the trees.
Under his command for the crossing Alexander had Companion cavalry, the Bactrian cavalry, the Scythian cavalry and the mounted archers (Alexander was now Great King and had the Persian Army as well as the Macedonian army at his command). He also had the Guards infantry, the archers and the Agrianes. In total 5,000 cavalry and 10,000 infantry, all considered elite.

So Alexander’ shock troops crossed the river in terrible storm conditions in the middle of the night. Lightning! (Plutarch: men killed.) The daring and skill needed for this operation was astounding and the logistics involved were daunting. In one way the storm was good because of the noise but conditions were appalling.

On disembarking a terrible mistake was discovered, due possibly to faulty intelligence or the low visibility during the storm. When they had reached the opposite site of the wooded island, they realized they had landed on a second island, and they would have to cross another section of the river. Because of the storm the level of the river had risen and they had to look for a ford. They had to cross with the water up to the men’s armpits and the horse’s necks.

Once they had reached the opposite bank of the river Alexander’s force formed up in battle positions. He had the mounted cavalry on the right with the mounted archers in front of them as a screen. Behind them he positioned the infantry. The Agrianes and the javelin-men were to protect both flanks of the phalanx. Alexander moved ahead quickly with 5,000 cavalry and the infantry were to follow as quickly as they could.

Arrian gives three different accounts of what happened when Alexander crossed from the second island to the mainland:

1. Porus’ son arrived with 60 chariots just as Alexander first troops were crossing on to the mainland. These troops could have had serious effect on Alexander’ troops if they had gotten off their chariots and attacked on foot. Instead they drove off. Alexander sent his mounted archers after them and many of them (charioteers) were wounded.

2. Porus’ son attacked Alexander cavalry during this engagement. Porus’ son wounded Alexander and killed Bucephalus, Alexander’s horse.

3. *Arrian thinks that this story is more likely to be true. Porus’ son had 2,000 cavalry and 200 chariots, (a small enough force, considering that the ground was muddy and the chariots all but useless). He arrived after the Macedonians had reached the riverbank and landed his troops. Alexander sent the mounted archers against them because he thought that they were the vanguard of Porus’ army and that the whole Indian army was just close behind them. When Alexander realized that they were on their own and Porus was behind them he attacked with the Companions. The Indians broke and ran. 400 Indian cavalry were killed including Porus’ son; all the chariots were destroyed.

Porus left a small section of his army and some of his elephants to fight Craterus as he tried to cross the river. At the same time a Macedonian force under Meleager had crossed the river and had joined up with Alexander who was pressing head with the cavalry.

**The Battle**

Porus now decided correctly that the main battle had to be fought on his side of the river and moved to meet Alexander. Moving along the bank he picked his place carefully, a level sandy plain, free from mud. Porus drew his army in a wide, central front with the elephants stationed every 25 meters or so, (they looked like castles with towers). On either wing he placed a row of chariots with infantry and cavalry behind them, amassed at the centre of the field. The overall line was probably over 5 kilometres long, of which most was infantry and its biggest drawback was probably lack of flexibility.
Alexander could not risk bringing the horses face up to the elephants so he had to think of something else. He decided to send his cavalry against the Indians’ left wing and hope that Porus would shift his right wing cavalry around in help of his left wing. Meanwhile he left two cavalry division (under Coenus and Demetrius) out of sight ready to sweep around behind enemy lines and attack from the rear.

The attack on the left wing began with mounted archers against the chariots. Then Alexander charged at the head of his cavalry and Porus did exactly as he had hoped, he moved his right wing cavalry around to his hard pressed left. At once Coenus led the two division in reserve right around behind the enemy. Soon afterwards the infantry charged on Porus’ centre, which was already unsettled from the Companion cavalry attack on the left.

The elephants were by then surrounded by infantry and the Indian cavalry on all sides and they were trampling Indians and Macedonians alike. The Macedonians, though, had more room to manoeuvre and could move out of the elephants’ way better than the Indians who were confined by the Macedonian phalanx and cavalry attack. The elephants soon grew tired and stopped charging. Alexander decided that the best way to deal with them was first to let the archers shoot the mahouts, then throw spears and javelins at the animal themselves and then finishing them off with swords and axes. The sarissas proved very useful too. Once the momentum of the attack was maintained the elephants proved to be just as much of a problem to their own side.

Finally Craterus crossed the river and attacked the camp. The final stage of the battle was hand-to-hand fighting at which the Macedonians were far more experience and effective, Porus’ infantry mainly being composed of archers. Eventually when it was clear that there was no hope, Porus left the battlefield badly wounded on his elephant (contrast to Darius). There are coins showing Alexander chasing an elephant from behind with his long sarissa, possibly representing an actual episode of the battle (see picture at the end the article). Wisely Abisesares and his army arrived too late for the battle.

“Gaugamela was fought against heavier odds and far more hung on its outcome but at the Hydaspes, Alexander displayed a flexible resourcefulness of strategy which he never equalled on any other occasion, from his initial brilliant dispositions to the final ruse by which he outmanoeuvred Porus’ cavalry” (Peter Green). To Napoleon, this was Alexander finest victory.
The Aftermath

Alexander was very impressed by Porus, because unlike Darius he had not run away to try to save himself but had remained fighting until the last when he was wounded in the shoulder, and only then did he retreat. He had also sacrificed the life of two of his sons for the protection of his kingdom.

Alexander wanted to save the life of his opponent. He sent the Indian prince Taxiles to speak to Porus. Porus and Taxiles had been enemies and Porus charged his elephant at Taxiles and tried to kill him with his lance, Taxiles moved out of the way in the nick of time. Alexander sent another group of Indians to speak to Porus, including Meroes who was a friend of Porus.

Porus got off his elephants and had a drink before he went to meet Alexander. Porus was very tall, Arrian says he was over two meters high, towering over the not-so-tall Alexander. Alexander asked him how he wanted to be treated. Porus replied that he wanted to be treated like a king. Alexander agreed to his demand. Alexander also asked Porus if he wanted anything else. Porus replied: ‘Everything is contained in this one request’. Alexander was impressed by this exchange that he restored his kingdom to him and increased the territory under Porus’ control.

Alexander founded two cities near the site of the battle, one he called Nicaea (Nike=victory) and the other Bucephala after his horse who died either from battle wounds or old age according to which story is to be believed. Soon afterwards Alexander continued eastwards to the river Hyphasis where the Macedonians mutinied out of sheer exhaustion.

Further:

Plutarch: Such was the struggle against Porus and his army that the Macedonians lost much of their enthusiasm to continue eastwards. Implied: Darius had been a feeble opponent and now stronger military leaders are on the horizon.

First victory in ‘India’. Sign of Alexander’s insatiable thirst for land and glory (and perhaps his men’s reluctance.)

Alexander tactical variability: feints, patience, terrain, stealth, bravery, leadership… (mistake of the island but his response is impressive)

Also, regarding his recruitment of Porus: enthusiastic fusion with local elites, respect for regal characters (blood, spirit)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Porus’ Losses</th>
<th>Alexander’ Losses</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>20,000 Infantry</td>
<td>20 Infantry</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3,000 Cavalry</td>
<td>10 Mounted Archers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>300 Chariots</td>
<td>20 Companion Cavalry</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Two of Porus’ sons</td>
<td>200 Other cavalry</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>All the commanders of the elephants, chariots and cavalry.</td>
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20. Mutiny at Hyphasis  15, 07

2015  (a) At the Hyphasis River, why did Alexander’s army refuse to follow him further into India? (20)
(b) How did Alexander deal with this mutiny? (20)
(c) What did you learn about Alexander’S relationship with his men from this incident? (10)

MS: (a) At the Hyphasis River, some of the reasons why Alexander’s men will not follow him are laid out clearly by Coenus: He says that it is right to set a limit to the tasks we want to achieve and the risks we want to run. He points out that many of the Macedonians are now dead and the ones that are left are wounded and demoralised. They are not as vigorous as they were and all of them want to go home to see their families, especially as they will go back rich. “Do not now lead them on against their will.” He points out that they will not fight as bravely now as they will be fighting unwillingly. He recommends that Alexander go home and lead another expedition with fresh men. He says it is a glorious thing to show restraint at a time of success. Fate can be unexpected. However other reasons for the mutiny were the incessant rain which fell since the victory at the Hydaspes River and the sight of their King undertaking an endless succession of dangerous and exhausting enterprises was beginning to depress them. The men also heard reports that the Hyphasis was four miles wide and a hundred fathoms deep. They were also concerned about the size and nature of the army on the opposite bank. Three reasons (7, 7, 6) (20 marks)

(b) Candidates may explain that once Alexander became aware of his men’s reluctance to cross the river that he called a meeting and addressed his men. The content and tone of the speech may be mentioned here also. Alexander was furious because of Coenus’s speech and the men’s reaction to it. He dismissed the meeting. The next day at another meeting he said he would go on and he challenged his men that they could go home and say that they had abandoned him. He then sulked for three days, waiting for his men to change their mind. But silence prevailed and eventually, he made a sacrifice to cross the river, but the omens were not good. He called together his commanders and said that he had decided to turn back. There was huge celebration. He built 12 altars and made thanks offerings to the gods. Three points (7, 7, 6) (20 marks)

(c) This episode tells us a few things about his relationship with his men. Firstly, he began reasonably, saying that he would persuade them or be persuaded by them. But then, his men seem reluctant to speak openly indicating that they are perhaps, afraid of his temper. Coenus has to justify his position before he speaks. His response to Coenus is petulant and childish, his men are annoyed at it. His immature sulk does not change their minds. However, even if he does save face by declaring the omens bad, he at least has the good grace to agree to turn around. It can also be argued that Hyphasis was a turning point in the relationship with his men. So although there is evidence of some strain here, his men are still devoted to him and give thanks that he had “allowed himself to be defeated by them alone”. Two points (5,5) (10 marks)

2007 Alexander addressed his officers at the river Hyphasis as follows:

"I observe, gentlemen, that when I would lead you on to a new venture you no longer follow me with your old spirit. I have asked you to meet me that we may come to a decision together: are we, upon my advice to go forward, or, upon yours, to turn back?"  
(Arrian)

(a) What were the main arguments put forward by Coenus in favour of turning back? (35)
(b) What is your opinion of Alexander's reaction when his men refused to continue into India? (15)

(ii) (a) 35 marks (12,12,11)  (Arrian, Campaigns of Alexander, Penguin pp 295 – 297)
Examiners will look for at least three relevant points, adequately developed. Coenus stresses that he is speaking for the common soldier. He points to the small number of men left from the army which had set out from Greece and enumerates the reasons for the loss of so many men. He goes on to speak of the longing of the men to return to their homeland and families with honour and wealth. Their hearts are no longer in the campaign. Alexander should return himself in triumph to Macedonia and, if he wishes, recruit a new army there for fresh conquests.

(b) 15 marks (8,7)
The best answers will show knowledge of how Alexander reacted and give a considered opinion on his behaviour. He tried blackmail and sulking and then used the gods to give himself a face-saving way out. (He later reconvened the meeting.)
Q.1998
(i) Compare the way Alexander handled the mutiny of his men at the river Hyphasis with the way he dealt with the later mutiny at Opis. Why do you think he was forced to act differently on each occasion? (50)

Q.1989
(i) Briefly outline the circumstances in which, according to Arrian, Alexander met "the only defeat he had ever suffered". What insight does this episode of the "defeat" give into the personality of Alexander? (50)

Web:
• Alexander had no intention of turning back. He wanted to cross the river Hyphasis. Why?
• He heard that the land there was fertile, the people were good farmers, brave in war and had a good political system.
• The Macedonians were tired, fed up taking one risk after another and meetings were held in the camp to voice their opposition.
• Alexander heard of this and ordered a meeting with his Officers and spoke to them to try to persuade them to carry on.

ALEXANDER’S SPEECH
• He reminded them of past victories and the vast territory they had conquered, and asked ‘why do you hesitate to add Hyphasis to the list?’
• He said that there was not much land left for them up to the river Ganges and the eastern Sea. He was convinced that the Indian Ocean, the Persian Gulf and the Hyrcanian Sea flowed into one another.
• He told them that if you turn back now the remaining warlike tribes will revolt and all our hard work will have been wasted.
• He told them to stand fast, that glorious achievements come to those who strike and take risks. To live bravely and to leave an everlasting reputation when one dies is true happiness.
• He reminded them of his ancestor Heracles’ bravery and also Dionysus.
• He tells them again to add what remains of Asia to what you have already conquered.
• He reminded them of the risks he had personally taken sharing the hardships with them.
• They will have the greatest share of the money when we have overrun Asia.
• I will then either send you home or lead you there myself.

THE REPLY
• Silence followed then Coenus spoke.
• Coenus told Alexander that is was not speaking on behalf of the Officers who would gladly follow him but of the majority of the army. He told Alexander that he would tell the truth.
• He said that yes we have achieved very many great successes but that it is time to set a limit to the tasks they will undertake.
• He told Alexander that not as many Greeks and Macedonians were left compared to the numbers when they set out from Macedonia.
• The Macedonians were still facing the work and dangers but many men have been lost in battle, others have been disabled, many have died of disease and the men were broken in spirit.
• The men were homesick and longed to see their families and take their riches back with them.
• He told Alexander ‘do not lead them on against their will, the willingness for action is gone’.
• He said to Alexander to go back to Macedonia visit your mother and then make a fresh start and organise another expedition. Younger men will follow you. They will not be afraid of war because they have never been in battle before and will be eager for action.
• They will be more likely to follow you if they see the veterans returning with great wealth.

ALEXANDER’S REACTION
• The men applauded the speech. But Alexander was angry that Coenus had spoken so freely and dismissed the meeting.
• The next day he called the Officers together and said that he would continue but would not force any Macedonians to go against their will. Those who wanted to return home could do so.
• He went to his tent and stayed there for three days refusing to speak to any of the Companions. He was waiting to see if the men would change their minds. The men were angry at his show of temper and would not back down.
• Alexander sacrificed, the omens were bad and he called his Officers and said he would turn back. His men were delighted, he gave orders to build twelve altars to thank the gods who had brought them so far victoriously.
• He sacrifice and held games, he sent Porus to rule over the land up the river Hyphasis.
• He now planned to sail down the river Indus to the Indian Ocean.
21. Mallians/Pleasure of Battle  04, (14, 7)

2014 “The truth is that he was fighting mad and such was his passion for glory that he had not the strength of mind, when there was action afoot, to consider his own safety. The sheer pleasure of battle was irresistible.” (Arrian) Discuss this statement with reference to Alexander. (50)

Students will most likely agree with this statement, it would be very difficult to argue against! Best examples to use from the prescribed texts are: his leadership of the charge at the Granicus where he almost dies, his outstanding bravery at Issus where he is badly wounded but most importantly his reckless bravery at the Mallian Siege where, enraged by the slowness of his men, he grabs a siege ladder and climbs the wall of that town. There he jumps down inside the town and assumes his men will follow him which, of course, they do. An obvious target, he is hit in the chest by an arrow and possibly sustains a punctured lung. He is very severely wounded and his troops think that he is dead. When he is brought to them, desperately weak, but alive, there are scenes of jubilation. Importantly, his companions are furious with him for showing such careless contempt for his own safety and criticise him strongly. Better candidates will remark that Arrian phrases his description of Alexander’s bravery as a weakness, which is interesting, portraying it as a lack of control, rather than a strength. He almost describes it as an addiction. This could be linked with other aspects of his character where he displays lack of control such as his temper and his heavy drinking. (50)

2007 Arrian writes that for Alexander "the sheer pleasure of battle, as other pleasures are to other men, was irresistible." Discuss this statement with reference to Alexander's career. (50)

(i) 50 marks. Impression mark.
The texts, and Arrian in particular, bear out the truth of this statement. From boyhood, he was not only involved in warfare but was the first into action and in the place of greatest danger. There is no doubt that he loved the excitement of danger. “Battle gave him the kind of thrill that other men sought from ... sexual adventures or conquests.” (Cartledge) In their discussion, candidates should be able to base their comments on a range of evidence from the text(s). In general, Alexander always led the battle charge and was always conspicuous by his position and dress. The best specific example is probably his behaviour at the town of the Mallians which was almost suicidal. Other relevant examples include the sieges of Tyre and Gaza, the Rock of Aornos and the four major battles of Granicus, Issus, Gaugamela and Hydaspes. Reference might also be made to his conscious imitation of Achilles. He had a lack of interest in sleep and sex; sex reminded him he was mortal and was unimpressed by the wealth and food he saw in Darius’ tent.

2004 Alexander had a nearly fatal adventure at the fortress of the Mallians in India in 325 BC.
(a) Describe how Alexander was seriously wounded at the fortress. (20 )
(b) How did Alexander later convince the army that he had not died there? (15 )
(c) Do you agree with those friends of Alexander who criticised him for his actions at this siege? (15 )

§ C. - Marking Scheme, Q. (iii) (a) 20 marks. Impression mark out of 20 for a clear, accurate account of Alexander’s near-suicidal entry into the fort and subsequent events.
(b) 15 marks. Again, a brief but clear account of Alexander’s trip to where the soldiers were in camp and his mounting on a horse to let his men see and touch him will suffice.
(c) 15 marks. In their answers, candidates will be expected to show an awareness that Alexander, in almost throwing away his life, risked leaving the army leaderless thousands of miles from base in hostile territory. Candidates may still conclude, of course, that he did the right thing.

1986 Describe Alexander's actions at the assault on the frontiers of the Mallians.
What insights into his character do we get from his actions during the assault? (50)

i) Describe the siege of the last Mallian city. (20)

ii) Describe the effect of Alexander’s injury on his army. (10)

iii) Briefly explain both the positive and negative criticism of Alexander’s individual efforts. (10)

iv) How might this episode reflect on Alexander’s growing estrangement from his Macedonian cohort? (10)
(i)  (clear account, emphasizing Alex’s individual actions: 4,4,4,4,4)

- after subduing other Mallians, survivors have fled to Mallian Urbs, last stronghold
- two pronged attack by Macedonians, led by Alex and Perdiccas
- Mallians abandon city walls and enter citadel
- Alex’s group force way through small gate; Perdiccas’ men delayed by lack of ladders
- Macedonians try to undermine citadel wall
- Alex impatiently grabs ladder (men too slow) and with shield ascends ladder, followed by Peceustas, and then Leonnatus; and ‘double pay’ Abreas on another ladder
- Alex gets to top of wall and pushes some defenders away with shield, killing others with sword
- Shield-bearers attempt to come to help Alex, but weight of numbers collapses ladder
- Alex in danger from those on wall and those shooting darts from in city on mound
- Decides to leap down into citadel, as at least it will be a famous and noble death
- Alex leans back against wall and kills several, including leader, until Mallians are content to keep distance and hurl missiles
- Peceustas and Leonnatus leap down from wall to defend king; Abreas killed by forehead arrow
- Alex takes wound through breastplate into chest and breathes out blood and air
- Defends himself as long as blood is warm but loses too much blood and swoons, falling on shield
- Defended by L and P, with Trojan sacred shield; both wounded themselves
- Men desperate to get over, using pegs and climbing upon one another, and surround and protect fallen Alex
- More force way through gate and begin slaughter of all, sparing not woman nor child
- Others carry off Alex on shield

(ii) (4,3,3)

- Men shout in grief when he is seen to fall- and come to the rescue
- Carried off and treated on site- Dr. Critodemus or Perdicus with sword removes arrow with much blood
- Rumour of his death reaches camp before him and general and intense grief is followed by perplexity over successor as several officers seemed eligible
- Also worried about getting home, surrounded by hostile nations
- Some ‘no doubt’ considering revolt with fear of Alex gone
- Also, be in the midst of impassable rivers, and all things appeared to them uncertain and impracticable now that they were bereft of Alexander.
- But when at length the news came that he was still alive, they with difficulty acquiesced in it; and did not yet believe that he was likely to survive.
- Even letter does not convince them.
- Alex, worried about revolt, has himself brought by boat on Hydraotes and tent removed so all can see- but now they think him a corpse.
- Lifts hand to show he is alive and , finally, mounts horse to disembark and even walks to tent.
- Men respond with tears of joy, touching him and clothes and throwing flowers.

(iii) (5,5)

- Nearchus says that some of his friends incurred his displeasure reproaching him for exposing himself to danger in the front of the army in battle ; which they said was the duty of a private soldier, and not that of the general. It seems to Arrian that Alexander was offended at these remarks, because he knew that they were correct, and that he deserved the censure.
- Arrian then goes on to relate how Alex’s passion for battle and danger was excessive and a sign of his lack of sufficient self-control.
- An old Boeotian earns his respect by asserting that “It is the part of heroes to perform great deeds ! "

(iv) (5,5)

- Two sides: Alex may feel the need to perform a dramatic gesture to inspire men after lacklustre support of Hyphasis. The old cohort of Macedonians are no longer so eager to die on foreign fields for his glory.
- But, after he is wounded, the love and fear of Alex personally is paramount, though Arrian’s hints of possible revolt imply that many of the Macedonian men are ready to bolt for home, given a chance, and that only Alex’s cult of personality keeps the army together.
22. Gedrosia 10, 06

2010 (a) In your opinion, why did Alexander decide to cross the Gedrosian Desert? (15)
(b) Do you agree that the crossing of the Gedrosian Desert was the greatest catastrophe of Alexander’s entire career? Give reasons for your answer. (35)

MS: (a) 15 marks. (Arrian p 335) Alexander wanted to ‘go one better than Cyrus and Semiramis’ both of whom had crossed the Gedrosian Desert but with almost total loss of armies. Alexander knew of the difficulties but thought he could anticipate and overcome them. He had hoped to be able to keep contact with the fleet under Nearchus and provide it with supplies by taking that particular route. The major motive would seem to have been a desire to explore new routes and to do something no one had done before. It may also be seen as a way of punishing his men for their refusal to cross into India. (b) 35 marks. It was almost certainly the greatest disaster of Alexander’s career even if we doubt the figures of the sources for casualties. Arrian gives a graphic account of the horrors endured. These included lack of supplies and, in particular, lack of water. The heat was unbearable and killed animals as well as men. The sick were left to die. The whole party was lost for many days. Flash floods killed a large number. It is hard to think of any worse disaster and it was almost certainly Alexander’s fault.

2006 Alexander's crossing of the Gedrosian desert has been called "the most catastrophic episode of his entire career."
(a) Give an account of the difficulties that Alexander and his army encountered, and of how they finally got through the desert. (40)
(b) To what extent would you blame Alexander for this catastrophe? (10)

MS: These difficulties are well documented in Arrian Bk 6. Getting lost and losing thousands through thirst are the most important but flash floods and over eagerness for water are other factors as well as the loss of contact with the fleet. Candidates must also treat Alexander’s escape from the desert. **(b) 10 marks.** He is certainly to blame for undertaking the expedition in the first place, probably from a desire to succeed where others had failed. Once launched, Alexander did everything possible to get the army through. Preliminaries/Reasons for Attempt: CHAND After the mutiny of Hyphasis, heading back west and homewards. More sensible routes are south and by ship or return north through more hospitable terrain. (Both involve delays: Nearchus-navy; Craterus North through mountains) Instead, Alexander takes on this daunting challenge: Gedrosian desert never been crossed (Dionysius, Semiramis). Albeit, Nearchus despatched with fleet to hug the coast.

Disasters(s) en Route: DARE Estimates vary (40%; Plutarch: 25% survive), but a huge loss of life. Shortage of water and food- ironic **coup de grace** is the flash flood (*Arrrgh!*). Camp followers die too. Alexander’s allowances: Men began to take royal supplies, firewood, kill pack animals…. Alex ‘looks the other way’ …Good leadership? Or weakness?

Grand Gesture: **Helmet**- (Plutarch places it earlier in campaign)- typical grand Gesture- risky- could backfire- men loved it…

Get Through: re-establishes contact the Fleet, digging through shingle for water, persevere, leaves Injured men behind to die…

**FIGHT:** Fleet Injured Gesture Helmet Through

After-effects: Weakened, reduced army; necessitates recovery in Babylon and reorganization at Opis Learn his lesson? Ambitions to conquer Arabia (another desert…)

Significance/Character: Vaulting ambition, does not obey limits, risks lives of his men, but great tactical decisions and at public relations….
23. Second Mutiny (Opis) 13, 98, 88

2013

(a) Explain why the Macedonians mutinied at Opis in 324 BC. (10)

(b) Give an account of the speech made by Alexander to his troops at Opis. (25)

(c) What does this episode tell you about Alexander’s relationship with his Macedonians? (15)

MS:

(a) Two points (5+5) No mention of the epigonoi = max 7. The Macedonians mutinied at Opis because Alexander had announced that the older and more unfit among them were to journey home without him. Effectively they were being dismissed and were being replaced by the 30,000 successors/epigonoi. This was the last straw in the build up of Macedonian resentment against the favour being shown to the Persians and their own sense of being pushed away by Alexander. (10)

(b) Two parts of speech must be treated (10+15) Alexander first tells his men that they can go where they like, but first he lists the reasons why they should be grateful to Philip first and even more, to him. He states how his father brought them from poverty to glory and prosperity and turned them into great warriors. He lists Philip’s military achievements and gain of control of Greece. He says this honour fell to the Macedonians as a whole. He says that Philip’s achievements are trivial compared to his own and lists all the peoples his army has conquered. He points out that he took little from this in terms of personal gain and always rewarded them generously. He points out that he has as many wounds as any of them and leads the same kind of life as they do. He points out how he paid their debts and gave the dead splendid funerals. He tells them they can all go and explain how they left their king. (25)

(c) Two points (8+7) It is a very interesting and revealing episode, showing both the deep attachment which the men have to Alexander (mutiny is because of resentment at being pushed away by him) and their anger at his favour towards the Persians. Even though he has 13 of the ringleaders executed, they still are devoted to him and beg him to favour them. He is exasperated with them and dismisses them, but ends up in tears, hugging them and calling them brothers. It could be seen as a very father/son relationship, fraught, but loving. (15)

1998

Compare the way Alexander handled the mutiny of his men at the river Hyphasis with the way he dealt with the later mutiny at Opis. Why do you think he was forced to act differently on each occasion? (50)

1988

(ii) (a) Discuss the background to the crisis between Alexander and his Macedonians, which came to a head with the mutiny at Opis. (b) What was the outcome of the mutiny? (c) Comment on Alexander’s handling of the crisis. (50)

Setting

Alexander left Susa and travelled up the River Tigris, he was interested in developing communications throughout his empire and he was keen to use the waterways and they were the quickest and best means of travel and trade in the ancient world.

Arrian

When Alexander reached Opis he assembled the Macedonains and told them he was discharging from the army all those who were unfit for fighting because of their age or permanent injuries and that he was sending them back home. He promised to give them gifts which would make them the objects of envy back home and which would stir in the younger Macedonians back home a desire to come and join Alexander. Arrian states that Alexander said this expecting to please them. However they were angry, and Arrian say that this anger was not unreasonable, because they now thought that Alexander despised them and thought them useless for war. Arrian maintains that they had been provoked by Alexander’s behaviour on many occasions, his Persian form of dress, his equipping the foreign ‘Successors’ in Macedonian style and his drafting of native cavalry into the ranks of the Companions. So, now they did not take quietly what Alexander said but told him to discharge them all from the army and scornfully told him to carry on the campaign with his father – a reference to Alexander supposedly being the son of the god Zeus.
Alexander jumped down from the platform with his officers and ordered them to arrest those who were most openly stirring up the crowd. Arrian states that at this time Alexander had become quicker-tempered and was no longer so favourable to the Macedonians as he had become use to the oriental obedience and submissive ways.

Alexander then pointed out thirteen men to be led away and executed. The rest of the men were stunned and fell silent. Alexander then jumped back up onto the platform and made the following speech

**This speech can be divided into two parts.**

1 – What he has to say about his father Philip. It is important to know what Alexander said about his father and **must** be included in any question at Higher level about the influence of Philip on Alexander/or Alexander’s relationship with his father.

2 – He reminds the men of what he has achieved, territory conquered, and how he was personally involved in all the hardships, suffering many wounds. He points out that he has taken nothing for himself – no riches and lives a simple life. He reminds them that he has paid off their debts asking no questions.

He begins by telling the men that he is not making this speech to stop the men from going home – he doesn’t care what they do as far as he is concerned.

He began by reminding them what Philip had done for them.

Philip had taken them out of poverty, dressed in skins and tending their sheep on the hills and unable to defend themselves against the tribes surrounding Macedonia, the Illyrians, Triballians, and Thracians. Philip gave them proper clothes to wear, trained them as soldiers so they could protect themselves. Philip made them city-dwellers, gave them laws and customs and made them masters of the tribes who had previously attacked them.

Philip included more territory under Macedonian control including Thessaly and Thrace. He subdued the Athenians and Thebans and instead of Macedonians paying tribute (tax) to them, they now paid tribute to Macedonia. Philip was made supreme commander of the expedition (League of Corinth) against Persia and he did this not just for his own honour, but for all the Macedonians.

Alexander went on to say that these achievements of Philip were impressive but **trivial compared with his own achievements.** He said that all he inherited from his father was a few gold and silver cups and very little money. He then outlined to his men the vast territory he had conquered since leaving Macedonia, from crossing the Hellespont, winning at the Battle of Granicus siege of Miletus and finally conquering Asia Minor. After that all the territory down to the coast of Egypt, and the heart of the Persian Empire itself.

He then pointed out that he had taken nothing personally- no treasures. All he has is the purple robe and crown i.e his symbols of kingship. He tells them that they are living in luxury eating luxurious meals whereas he does not and he also tells them that he gets up in the morning before they do. He tells them that he suffered as much hardship on the battlefield as they have and tells them he has been wounded by sword shot by arrows, catapults, stones and clubs. He reminded them that he, like them married Persian women and many will have children related to his. He also reminded them that he has cancelled their debts and didn’t try to find out why they were in debt despite being rewarded from spoils from their conquests. When anyone died in the army he had a splendid funeral for them and parents respected at home by not having to pay taxes.

He repeats then that it is his intention to send away those of them who are unfit and to make them the objects of envy at home. He said “But as you all want to leave, be off all of you!” He told them that when they reach home they should tell the people of how much Alexander had achieved, defeated the Persians, crossed the Caucasus, fought at Hydaspes and crossed the Gedrosian desert which previously no army had ever crossed. And he further told his men to tell the people back home that they then deserted Alexander and left him to the protection of foreigners. He then told them to go.

Alexander then jumped down from the platform, went to the palace and refused to see anyone for three days. On the third day he summoned some Persians and gave them commands of the various units of the army. The Macedonians were shattered when they heard that Persian soldiers were being drafted into the units, a Persian force was being given a Macedonian name, a Persian force of ‘Silver Shield’ was being formed and
that there would now be a Persian unit of Cavalry Companions. They rushed to the palace and would not leave until Alexander came out to them. They told him that they were upset because he had made Persians his relations and allowed Persians to kiss him, but no Macedonian had this honour. Alexander told them that he regarded them as his relations too and then they began kissing him. Alexander then made a sacrifice to the gods and held a public feast at which he was surrounded by the Macedonians and then the Persians. He prayed for many blessings, but especially for a friendly partnership between the Macedonians and Persians. After that, those who were unfit left to go home to Macedonia and Alexander told them to leave their Persian children with him. He had Craterus to accompany them back to Macedonia.

Related topics: Orientalism, Fusion, Alexander’s Last days, Organizational ability, Contrast with Hyphasis.

Potential Question: Describe the events involved in the mutiny at Opis and explain how it relates to the Orientalism of many of the Macedonians and Alexander’s policy of fusion.
- earlier mutiny was ‘lost’ by Alexander- circumstances have changed
- At Opis, en route to Babylon, summons an assembly and announces a generous discharge of many of the Macedonian veterans.
- Purpose? Perhaps, honestly, to reward men for their long service. (ironically) They had balked at crossing the Indus- giving them what they want. “Doubtless, he meant to gratify them by what he said.”
- Another purpose? Wants to further dilute the Macedonian contingent, because Persian and other Asian replacements are proving easier to manage and are more acceptable to locals.
- Mens’ reaction: resentment- They are being undervalued. Last straw after Alex’s adoption of Persian dress, Epigoni (30,000) (Persian youths given Macedonian equipment and training), foreign troops even in the Companions, …
- Reaction is mumbling and resentful complaining; even “Take your father, Ammon, with you!” (haha – Alex’s divinity)
- Alexander is “furious”
- Arrian: “He had grown by that time quick to take offence, and the Oriental subservience to which he become accustomed had greatly changed his old open-hearted manner towards his countrymen”
(Orientalism, decline)

This shows Arrian’s Orientalism as well as the Macedonians’: Arrian partly ascribes Alex’s ‘decline’ to his growing oriental tendencies. Might be some truth, but here we can see where Alex is coming from: He is the king; He is giving his men what they asked for previously; Fusion seems to be working…
- Alex seizes and executes 13 leaders of the mutiny. (Without due process) Risky- can do it now, but not at Hyphasis. Brave? Cruel?
- Speech excessive but entertaining: “You were impoverished vagabonds… Philip conquered Greece for you…and I borrowed money to raise an army…conquering from Miletus to India… I keep nothing for my own…I watch, that you may sleep… my scars…I married as you married…paid your debts…good burials…Indus…Gedrosia (bold!)…desert me…out of my sight!”
- (Similar to speak at Hyphasis)
- Speech and executions work….
- Sends for Persian officers and kisses them… (kiss of respect)
- Mens’ reaction: stunned silence…what do we do now?
- They hear of Alex’s reorganization of command: further integration of Persians: Persian Corp of Guards with Macedonian name, Persian Infantry Companions, a Persian Royal Squadron, …
- But, instead of anger, they give up: fling down their arms in supplicancy, beg for forgiveness, offer up the leaders of the mutiny…
- Alex cries in appreciation.
- Callines, an officer of the Companions claims it is their jealousy of Alex making Persians his ‘kinsmen’…Alex: “Every man of you I regard as my kinsman…”

Joyous song by the men, sacrifice to the gods by Alex, and a banquet help to smooth over the cracks. Alex sits with Macedonians, Persians next in precedence, other Asians next.
10,000 Macedonians get their generous discharge at their own request. (Alex gets what he wanted…)
Coda: Alex promise to send ‘half-caste’ children back to Macedonia… only after they have grown up. Alex and Arrian think it unrealistic to expect home-town Macedonians to be so pro-union but do credit Alex’s real warmth with those being retired. Sends them with ‘trusted’ Craterus…Alex thereby rids himself of another anti-fusion Orientalist.
(iii) (a) Outline the part played by Hephaestion in the life of Alexander. (25)
(b) How did Alexander react to the death of Hephaestion, and what is your opinion of his behaviour at that time? (25)

Marking Scheme, Q. (iii) (a) 25 marks. Three points. (9,8,8)

Hephaestion was Alexander’s closest friend and probably also his lover. Totally loyal and trustworthy at all times, he was rewarded with high command. He was Patroclus to Alexander’s Achilles (from the visit to Troy onwards):
• Their friendship dates from their childhood
• After Issus, he was mistaken by Darius’ mother for Alexander who brushed this error aside by saying that Hephaestion, too, was an Alexander
• His part in the downfall and death of Philotas whose command of the Companion Cavalry he partly assumed
• Loyal supporter of Alexander’s Orientalism (dresses up with Alexander when first in Medea) and part of the scheme to introduce prostration to the Macedonians
• Used by Alexander for dealings with the Persians. A bitter enemy of Craterus and rebuked by Alexander for coming to blows with him.
• A competent commander, entrusted by Alexander with many missions including bringing forces back to Persia from the Indus.

Military campaigns:
- Guag: wounded
- Bactrian: split
- Indus: paired with Perdiccas for bridging
- Patala: in charge of harbour and fort
- Sent to subdue Peukelaotis after Philotas- made joint commander of Companion Cavalry
- Reputedly made chiliarch, second in command, based on Persian office of vizier- maybe had his Alex’s signet ring

• Married a daughter of Darius so that, we are told, his children and Alexander’s would be related Takes part in Persian style weddings at Susa and shows no distaste which other Macedonians even participants did.
• Almost certainly seen by Alexander as his heir/kissed ring
• Seems to have been as heavy a drinker as Alexander himself to judge from the circumstances of his death. (death- fever, drinking, 3 fowl, pitcher of wine)

(b) 25 marks. Two Points (8,7)
Arrian and Plutarch give considerable detail about this including Alexander lying all day and night on the corpse, executing the doctor, cutting his hair short (and that of his horses!). He ordered sacrifice to be offered to his friend as a demi-god and even asked Ammon if he could be treated as a god. The costly and extravagant funeral and the campaign against the Cossaeans as well as the letter to Cleomenes are valid points. Cleomenes was governor in Egypt who was suspected of corruption and crimes. Alex promise current and future amnesty in return for the building of a mountain monument/city/temple in honour of Hephaestion.

As regards an opinion of Alexander’s reaction, examiners will look for an appreciation of its excessive nature.
(c) 10 marks. Two Points (5,5)
Structure:

a) Youth
b) Early assignments/ pro-fusion (Troy)/letter-reading
c) More responsibility post-Parmenio/Philotas (Indus/Susa)/ring kiss
d) Death
e) Alex’s excessive reaction
f) Arrian and Plutarch’s reaction
g) Your reaction

Arrian:
Different authors have given different accounts of Alexander's grief on this occasion; but they agree in this, that his grief was great. As to what was done in honour of Hephaestion, they make diverse statements, just as each writer was actuated by good-will or envy towards him, or even towards Alexander himself. Of the authors who have made these reckless statements, some seem to me to have thought that whatever Alexander said or did to show his excessive grief for the man who was the dearest to him in the world, redounds to his own honour; whereas others seem to have thought that it rather tended to his disgrace, as being conduct unbecoming to any king and especially to Alexander. For my own part I do not blame him for his friendship to Hephaestion and for his recollection of him even when dead; but I do blame him for many other acts. For the letter commanded Cleomenes to prepare chapels for the hero Hephaestion in the Egyptian Alexandria, one in the city itself and another in the island of Pharos, where the tower is situated.* The chapels were to be exceedingly large and to be built at lavish expense. The letter also directed that Cleomenes should take care that Hephaestion's name should be attached to them; and moreover that his name should be engraved on all the legal documents with which the merchants entered into bargains with each other.* These things I cannot blame, except that he made so much ado about matters of trifling moment. But the following I must blame severely: "If I find," said the letter, "the temples and chapels of the hero Hephaestion in Egypt well completed, I will not only pardon you any crimes you may have committed in the past, but in the future you shall suffer no unpleasant treatment from me, however great may be the crimes you have committed." I cannot commend this message sent, from a great king to a man who was ruling a large country and many people, especially as the man was a wicked one.*

Plutarch:
At this misfortune, Alexander was so beyond all reason transported, that to express his sorrow, he immediately ordered the manes and tails of all his horses and mules to be cut, and threw down the battlements of the neighboring cities. The poor physician he crucified, and forbade playing on the flute, or any other musical instrument in the camp a great while, till directions came from the oracle of Ammon, and enjoined him to honor Hephaestion, and sacrifice to him as to a hero. Then seeking to alleviate his grief in war, he set out, as it were, to a hunt and chase of men, for he fell upon the Cossaeans, and put the whole nation to the sword. This was called a sacrifice to Hephaestion's ghost. In his sepulchre and monument and the adorning of them, he intended to bestow ten thousand talents; and designing that the excellence of the workmanship and the singularity of the design might outdo the expense, his wishes turned, above all other artists, to Stasicrates, because he always promised something very bold, unusual, and magnificent in his projects. Once when they had met before, he had told him, that of all the mountains he knew, that of Athos in Thrace was the most capable of being adapted to represent the shape and lineaments of a man; that if he pleased to command him, he would make it the noblest and most durable statue in the world, which in its left hand should hold a city of ten thousand inhabitants, and out of its right should pour a copious river into the sea. Though Alexander declined this proposal, yet now he spent a great deal of time with workmen to invent and contrive others even more extravagant and sumptuous.
25. Alexander’s illness and death 09
2009

(iii) (a) Describe Alexander’s final illness and death. (35)
(b) From your reading of Plutarch and Arrian, what do you believe was the most likely cause of Alexander’s death? Give reasons for your answer. (15)

§ C. - Marking Scheme, Q. (iii) (a) 35 marks.
Arrian (p. 391 – 394) and Plutarch (p. 332 – 333) give the sequence of events. Accounts should begin with Alexander’s prolonged drinking bout followed by the onset of fever. For the next nine or ten days, his condition deteriorated. Yet almost to the end, he attended to his religious and other duties. Each day, he also bathed and talked to his officers. He continued making plans for his next expedition. Candidates should also mention the moving farewell of his troops.

(b) 15 marks.
Candidates should be able to consider a number of possibilities and opt for the one they consider the most likely. Heavy drinking was probably a contributory factor. Both sources discuss the rumours of foul play but the most likely cause was probably the effect on his constitution of the many ordeals he had endured (multiple wounds especially at the hands of the Mallians as well as the near starvation in Gedrosia).

2000
(a) Describe how Alexander became fatally ill and died. (20)
(b) What do we learn about Alexander from his behaviour during his final illness? (20)
(c) How do Arrian and Plutarch treat the rumours that Aristotle was involved in Alexander's death? (10)
26. Alexander: more than conqueror 95

(i) Was Alexander interested in anything other than warfare? Use evidence from Arrian and Plutarch to support your answer. (50)

Education/Iliad

Educated in Homer’s classics and philosophy by Aristotle. Treasured his Iliad, keeping it in Darius’s golden casket.

Diogenes

Delighted by the wit of Diogenes who asks him to move out of his sun. Alex: ‘If I were not Alexander, I would be Diogenes.’ Attracted by the life of philosophical contemplation.

Alexandria and other cities

Founds cities and settlements repeatedly, intent on a long-term empire, not just conquest. Lays out plans of Alex I himself (15 others).

Orientalism/dress

Positive orientalism is fusion: take the best of both cultures. Epighoni, Feast after Opis, planning for a truly diverse yet unified empire

Indian philosophers/Calanus

Brahman… 10 contest… (but, elsewhere executes troublesome brahmans) Admires Calanus.

Flora/fauna

Fascinated by plants of desert and India…

Naptha

Stephanus: strange and cruel story but shows Alex’s inquisitive mind…

Explore Indus

Investigates tides, ocean etc…

Engineering Tigris

Dredges harbours, plans for irrigation,

Babylon

Rebuilds temples, improves city planning

Further plans

Arabia? Rome? Carthage?
27. Minor Characters: Olympias; Memnon; Callisthenes; Bucephalus; Hephaestion; Parmenio; Cleitus; Roxane; Thais; Bessos; Timocleia; 99, 95

(i) Write short notes on three of the following: Bucephalus; Hephaestion; Parmenio; Roxane; Thais. (50)

Olympias: 1) Birth: encourages rumours of divine parentage  2) Marital problems: Philip (and other Macedonian chiefs) was polygamous: Olympias is always jealously competing with other wives and their progeny  3) Later Trouble with Antipater (Alex: one tear of hers wipes away all your letters) 4) After Alex’s death: involved in the struggle for power

Memnon: __________________________

Callisthenes: __________________________

Bucephalus: youth, shadow, devotion (threatens village), HYdaspes, city

Hephaestion: __________________________

Parmenio: trusted advisor/general of Philip; conservative; always wrong?: Granicus, coastal policy, Guagemela, executed without cause

Cleitus: __________________________

Roxane: daughter of Oxyartes; apparently married for love (real fusion!); had a son; killed Stateira

Thais: Athenian courtesan who led the burning of Xerxes’ palace

Bessos: Cousin, satrap and eventual usurper of Darius; executed cruelly by Alex: showing his slide into Orientalist despotism according to Arrian.

Timocleia well-woman, raped, gets revenge: Alex’s respect for spirited women (especially well-born ones)
What do we learn about Alexander through his dealings with the women in his life? Refer to the prescribed texts in your answer. (50)

MS: (i) 50 marks 13, 13, 12, 12.
The answer should include Olympias as the main woman in his life: his relationship with her when young and how he sided with her in the row with Philip; his comment to Antipater that 10,000 of his letters would not be worth one of her tears; his complaint to her later in a letter about how she was charging too much for the nine months in her womb. Other possible inclusions Two or three of the following, would be Ada of Caria (his “adoptive” mother); the women of Darius’ family whom he treated with great courtesy and respect; Barsine, his mistress; Thais (Plutarch’s story of the burning of Persepolis); Darius’ daughter; Roxane - mother of his child. His encounter with the Pythia could be included also. Timocleia at Thebes; Alexander’s treatment of her and her children. For high marks, examiners will expect candidates to highlight the aspects of Alexander shown, and not just give a narrative of his dealings with the women.

(iv) (a) Based on your reading of Arrian and Plutarch, give an account of Alexander’s treatment of women. (35)
(b) What is your opinion of Alexander’s attitude to women? (15)

§ D. - Marking Scheme. Q. (iv) (a) 35 marks. Impression mark.
Candidates should show a knowledge of the general attitude to women by Alexander informed by a more detailed knowledge of individual examples.

Although he was married three times, it is clear that for Alexander sex with women was not a priority. Plutarch records his feelings about sex and sleep. There is also his harsh treatment of those soldiers who had raped women. Candidates can instance his treatment of Darius’ female relations and draw conclusions from that as well, of course, as his intriguing relationship with and his treatment of his mother, Olympias.

(b) 15 marks. Impression mark.

This part of the question looks for well-founded opinion(s) drawn from some of the evidence mentioned above. Generally he had a respectful attitude to women.

Olympias, Timocleia, Theis, Roxanne, Darius’s women, but Indian women…
29. Plutarch/Arrian 01

(iv) Compare Arrian’s treatment of Alexander in his Campaigns of Alexander, with that of Plutarch’s treatment of Alexander in his Life of Alexander. (50)

§ D. - Marking Scheme, Q. (iv) Examiners will look for knowledge of the two texts in support of the points made.

The most striking difference in treatment is that Plutarch is writing a biography whereas Arrian is covering Alexander’s campaigns. Plutarch gives us many personal details about Alexander’s lifestyle, attitudes to sex, food, drink, his appearance. He loves stories that illustrate aspects of Alexander’s character and, like any good storyteller, he makes these stories as dramatic as he can.

Both writers can be shown to be admirers of Alexander and, while they do not ignore his faults, they can be said to excuse or explain them. (e.g. Alexander’s drinking; his treatment of Philotas, Parmenio, Cleitus, Callisthenes; the sacks of Thebes, Tyre, Gaza).

Arrian, a military man himself, is far clearer and more detailed about military matters.

Neither writer tells us much about the Persians, their customs, religion etc. Both writers, like most ancient historians, are moralisers. They see history as a series of examples of good and bad deeds and they judge Alexander on this basis. Plutarch, in particular, wants to create an inspiring portrait in which he highlights Alexander’s moderation and self-control.

Outline:

Similar, in that both are unabashed admirers of Alexander and writing from a distance of centuries. Not formal, impartial like modern history supposedly is. Moral judgments were common in history and biography at the time.

Both are also Orientalists themselves in that they assume that the west/Greece/Rome was better and view Asia from a Greco-Roman standpoint. Not too interested in Asian cultures in themselves, more for their effect on Alex. (Alex himself was more open-minded)

Plutarch is a biographer not a historian and proudly states this at the start of his ‘Lives of Famous Greeks and Romans’. He is trying to convey the character of the man not facts and figures.

Plutarch specialty is memorable anecdotes (vignettes). He has a sense for drama (Dr. Phil, burning of Persopolis, Timoclea, Cleitus etc) . He might spend more time on an interesting event like the Ten Indian Philosophers than a significant battle like Issus. Alexander and the other characters come alive, but actual historicity may suffer. Plutarch unabashedly gives alternate versions, admitting that the distance in time makes it difficult to decide what really happened.

He has a particular interest in omens and superstition (Olympia’s claims of Zeus’s bedding of her, Gordian knot, Ammon), reflecting the interests of both his and Alex’s times.

He does tend to let off Alexander easily at times (not an excessive drinker, Cleitus, except…) but does note a few cruelties (Thebes, slaughter of Indian mercenaries).

Interestingly, he gives Alex credit for attempting ‘fusion’ as a policy to unite empire, not just selfish orientalism

Arrian is a military historian and tries more to stick to the facts and relies heavily on the account of Ptolemy, a high officer of Alex’s and one of his successors. Arrian is very good on the strategy and tactics of battles (Aornus-ignored by Plutarch)
Arrian himself was an archon of Athens and consul of Rome and perhaps gives too much respect to Ptolemy and Alexander himself because of their rank. (He says he can trust Ptolemy because he was a king and kings have no need to lie.)

Arrian is also a moraliser and comes from a background of Stoic philosophy (nothing in excess; middle road is best) so he does imply that Alex oversteps the bounds at times (Hyphasis) but that great men have those tendencies, so… He tries to reason away Alex’s guilt for Thebes (local Greeks more guilty, regret) and Cleitus.

Arrian does criticise Alex for torturing Bessos (according to him- a sign of his losing control and acting like an Asian despot.) Unlike Plutarch, Arrian thinks Alex’s orientalism is just selfish, personal affectation. (until he allows for ‘policy’ later in the work)

Arrian does show interest in flora, fauna, etc… as Alex did. Also published a book about India, including geography, science etc..

30. Character: positive, ambition, spunky individuals…

Thebes: Positive: Gives Thebans the chance to submit…. Shows remorse… Spares descendants of Pindar, Timocleia…

Negatives: raze and enslave… blames local tribes and League of Corinth…

Issus:

Positive: rhetoric/speech, treats women well..

(Negative): Orientalist stereotype…..