HIST6109 : THE GREEK AND HELLENISTIC WORLDS
386–133 BC

Teachers 2009–2010:
Simon Hornblower (History room 313); office hours: Mon 12–1; Thu 5–6 (=SH)
Riet van Bremen (History room 301); office hours: Mon 10–11; Thu 4–5 (= RvB)
s.hornblower@ucl.ac.uk
r.vanbremen@ucl.ac.uk

Lecture (room 101, 16–18 Gordon Square): Tuesday 12–1
Classes (all room102, History Dept): ONE of: Tuesday 3–4; Tuesday 4–5.

Part One of this course deals with developments (political, religious, cultural and military) in the Greek world of the fourth century BC, a period during which it becomes possible to study, to a much greater extent, areas and developments outside Athens and Sparta. The end of the century saw the spectacular expansion of Macedonian power under Alexander the Great (336–323) and the subsequent wars of his successors to divide up his empire. Alexander’s campaigns were made possible in part by the innovations in warfare in the two generations before him (not least those effected by his father Philip II, the enemy of the great Athenian orator Demosthenes), and in the Peloponnesian War of 431–404 before that. One of the aims of the course is to bring out such continuities between the Classical and the Hellenistic periods.

Part Two deals with the world conquered by Alexander, conventionally known as the Hellenistic world, which included all areas of the Mediterranean and the Near East, extending as far as modern Afghanistan and Pakistan. These areas formed part of a cultural network of great variety and complexity, but one that was to some degree united by the presence of Greek ideas, institutions and language. This part of the course will cover the main outlines of the political history of the Hellenistic kingdoms as well as their institutions, structures of power, economies, and cultural and religious systems. It will pay particular attention to major shifts and developments associated with the third and second centuries BC: the changing nature of the Greek city, religious developments, acculturation and cultural conflict, and the interaction between Rome and the East.

In term 1 the lecturer will be SH; in term 2 it will be RvB. The classes will be taught by RvB in both terms.

The course is taught in 20 1-hour lectures and 18 1-hour essay classes. It will be assessed by one 3-hour written paper (75%) and 2 essays totalling 5,000 words (25%). For details of essays and deadlines, and a list of topics see the separate sheet.
ABBREVIATIONS USED IN THIS BIBLIOGRAPHY
(mostly periodicals and handbooks: for the full titles of the latter see the bibliography)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
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<tr>
<td>Anc. Soc.</td>
<td>Ancient Society</td>
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<td>AncW</td>
<td>The Ancient World</td>
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<td>ANRW</td>
<td>Aufstieg und Niedergang der Römischen Welt</td>
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<td>BCHW</td>
<td>A. Erskine (ed.) Blackwell’s Companion to the Hellenistic World</td>
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<td>CAH</td>
<td>Cambridge Ancient History</td>
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<td>C&amp;M</td>
<td>Classica et Mediaevalia</td>
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<td>CP</td>
<td>Classical Philology</td>
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<td>CQ</td>
<td>Classical Quarterly</td>
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<td>CR</td>
<td>Classical Review</td>
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<tr>
<td>CRAI</td>
<td>Comptes Rendues de l’Académie des Inscriptions et des Belles Lettres</td>
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<tr>
<td>GRBS</td>
<td>Greek, Roman and Byzantine Studies</td>
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<td>HW</td>
<td>M. Austin, The Hellenistic World</td>
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<td>JHS</td>
<td>Journal of Hellenic Studies</td>
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<td>JRS</td>
<td>Journal of Roman Studies</td>
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<td>LACTOR</td>
<td>London Association of Classical Teachers Original Records</td>
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<tr>
<td>LCL</td>
<td>Loeb Classical Library (also: Loeb)</td>
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<td>P&amp;P</td>
<td>Past &amp; Present</td>
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<td>PCPS</td>
<td>Proceedings of the Cambridge Philological Society</td>
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<td>REA</td>
<td>Revue des Études Anciennes</td>
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<td>SEHHW</td>
<td>Social and Economic History of the Hellenistic World</td>
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<td>TAPA</td>
<td>Transactions of the American Philological Association</td>
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TERM 1: The Greek world in the 4th cent BC.

Main handout: general information and course bibliography
Some important items are in a pamphlet box on the low bookcases outside Room 106, for short-time signed-out borrowing on a system to be explained at the first class.

General reading on C4th

Greek History after 404 BC
Important/very important items are indicated with * or ** respectively

A.) Ancient sources in translation

1.) Literary sources

*Xenophon, Hellenika = A History of My Times (Penguin).
- Anabasis or March up Country (Penguin) or Expedition of Cyrus (Worlds Classics 2005 (R. Waterfield with notes and introduction by T. Rood). The expedition is a few years earlier than the start of your period (400 BC), but the text is important for understanding the C4 Persian Empire and its satrapies (provincial districts).
- On Xenophon: J. Dillery, Xenophon and the History of his Times (1995) and R. Lane Fox (ed.) The Long March (2004); short general account by C. Tuplin in OCD (below, section D)
- *Hellenica Oxyrhynchia (Oxyrhynchus Historian), an important anonymous historian who wrote about the late C5 and early C4; note esp. his account of the Boeotian federal constitution (see under Moore above). Translation and commentary: P. McKechnie and S. Kern (1988)
- *Diodorus Siculus, books 14-20 (Loeb)
- Plutarch, Lives of Agesilaos, Pelopidas, Demosthenes, Phocion, Dion (all in Penguin, The Age of Alexander)
- *Plutarch, Plutarch on Sparta (Penguin); includes Xenophon’s Constitution of the Spartans
- The best translations of the C4th Athenian orators are now to be found in the ongoing series The Oratory of Classical Greece, series editor M. Gagarin. Note especially C. Carey Aeschines, M. Edwards, Isaeus, S. Todd, Lysias, H. Yunis, Demosthenes Speeches 18 and 19, E. M. Harris, Demosthenes Speeches 20-22, V. Bers, Demosthenes Speeches 50-59.
- Demosthenes and Aischines are also to be found complete in Loeb eds., as are Isaeus Isokrates and Lysias; others in the 2-vol. Loeb Minor Attic Orators.
- Aristotle, Politics (Penguin) and Athenian Constitution (Penguin by P. Rhodes)

2. Collections of translated sources, including inscriptions

- M. Crawford and D. Whitehead, Archaic and Classical Greece part iv
- *P. Harding, From the End of the Peloponnesian War to the Battle of Ipsus (1985) - the essential 4th-cent. sourcebook in translation (abbrev. Harding)
- J. M. Moore, *Aristotle and Xenophon on Democracy and Oligarchy* (contains Aristotle *Athenian Constitution*, Xenophon *Spartan Constitution* and the account of the Boiotian federal constitution from the Oxyrhynchus Historian, for whom see below)


[- M. N. Tod, *Greek Historical Inscriptions* vol. 2 (1948) collected and discussed the most important C4 inscriptions then known, but did not translate them; superseded by R/O except for a few items. ]


B.) modern text-books

- J. Boardman, J. Griffin & O. Murray (eds.) *The Oxford History of the Classical World* (1986). The Greek chapters are a good place to start, if you have no previous knowledge of Greek history at all.

- *J. K. Davies, *Democracy and Classical Greece* (1993): very interesting and stimulating, but a book to read when you already have a factual framework in your head


- *P. J. Rhodes, *A History of the Classical Greek World 478-323 BC* (2006). Reliable, clear and up-to-date- on the topics it handles. Excellent on political and administrative topics, especially Athenian. Its Athenian focus is however very marked, and there is little about religion.


- **M. H. Hansen and T. H. Nielsen, *An Inventory of Archaic and Classical Poleis* (2004): geographically arranged reference book with chapters, by an international team of experts, on all known (Greek) poleis, with details of political organization and social structure. Covers archaic and classical periods only, but inevitably draws on hellenistic = post-classical evidence. To be consulted on all the areas studied for this course. The long introduction, mainly by Hansen himself, should be worked through, especially but not only the sections on ‘the importance of the polis’, ‘meaning and reference of the word polis’, ‘polis versus chora – the settlement pattern’, ‘the polis as an urban centre’, ‘the polis as a religious organisation’. Abbrev. Hansen/Nielsen, *Inventory


C. Cambridge Ancient History

D. Reference works
- Hansen/Nielsen, *Inventory*

E.) Atlas:

Lecture 1 (Oct. 6th 2009):
Introduction to the period; sources; narrative of Greek history 386–336 BC (with some C5 background). The Persian factor from 413.

Class: no preparation required for classes this week

General reading:
- *Kuhrt* pp. 347-400
- Xenophon, *Cyropaedia* (The Education of Cyrus); *Anabasis* (The Persian Expedition/The Expedition of Cyrus; see above, General Reading)
- Plutarch, *Life of Artaxerxes* (only in Loeb Classical Library, not Penguin)
- *S. Hornblower, Greek World* ch. 15 and *CAH* 2 ch. 3 ‘Persia’
- *J. K. Davies, Democracy and Classical Greece* chs. 8 and 11
- *D. M. Lewis, Sparta and Persia* (1977) ch. 1 (on the Persian system)

Peace and common peaces:

The background to the King’s Peace: the Korinthian War:
- *R. Seager, CAH 6* (1994) ch. 4

The King’s Peace of 386 BC (see class handout):
- Kuhrt 381f. no. 47
- Diodorus 14. 98-9; 110; Xenophon. *Hellenica* 5. 1. 31ff.

For Sparta see further next sheet

Class (Oct 13th): the King’s Peace of 386. For reading see previous page.

Lecture 2 (Oct. 13th): Theban ambitions; Delphic amphiktiony; the Theban struggle with the Spartans

Reading: Federations and federalism:
- J. Larsen, *Greek Federal States 1968* and *Representative Government 1955*

Boiotia and Thebes:
- ** Hansen/Nielsen, *Inventory* pp. 431-61, ‘Boiotia’
- *Hornblower, The Greek World* chs. 8, 16, 17
- *Translations of the Theban constitution, as described in the Hellenica Oxyrhynchia, in Moore or McKechnie/Kern (above, General Reading).
- * R/O nos. 30, 43, 57, 66, 67

Thessaly:
- *R/O no. 44
- Hansen/Nielsen, *Inventory* pp. 676-731 ‘Thessalia and Adjacent Regions’

Sparta after 386:
- *R/O nos. 18, 19, 20, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 31-5

Delphic amphictiony; the Astykrates inscription (see class handout):
- S. Hornblower, ‘Did the Delphic Amphiktiony Play a Political Role in the Classical Period?’, *Mediterranean Historical Review* 22 (2007) 39-56 (esp. 45-46 specifically on the inscription), a reply to...
Class (Oct 20th): the Astykrates inscription from Athens=Delphic banishments of 360s; see final section of previous sheet for modern reading

Lecture 3 (Oct. 20th): Sicily (and south Italy) in the C4

Ancient sources:
- Diodorus Siculus bks. 13-15; books 19-20 for Agathokles
- Plutarch, Lives of Dion & Timoleon, in Penguin Plutarch Age of Alexander
- Plato Letters 7 and 8
- Fornara nos. 5, 6, 9, 29, 52, 81, 91, 108, 112, 124, 125, 146; R/O no.74

Politics and warfare:
- **Hansen/Nielsen, *Inventory* pp. 172-337 (Sicily; also S. Italy & Adriatic)
- M. Finley, *A History of Sicily, Ancient Sicily to the Arab Conquest* 2 (1979)
- N. K. Rutter and K. Lomas in Brock/Hodkinson (2000), chs. 8 and 10

Culture:

Religion; the sacred law from Selinous (western Sicily):
- *M. Jameson, R. Kotansky, D. Jordan, A Lex sacra from Selinus (Greek Roman and Byzantine Monographs)* 11 (1993)

S. Italian Lokroir a special case among Greek poleis (esp. re women)?:

Sicilian ‘theatricality’ (for this notion, A. Chaniotis, *Pallas* 47(1997) 222; this interesting article is in the pamphlet box):

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Class (Oct. 27th): Dionysius I of Sicily (Diodorus selections; selected inscriptions); for modern reading see previous sheet

Lecture 4 (Oct. 27th): Monarchy in north Aegean and east Mediterranean: Macedon from Archelaus to Philip; Philip and Demosthenes; Cyprus in the C4th; kingship treatises from Pindar to Isokrates

Macedon: ancient sources (and some modern studies of them)
- Diodorus bks 15-16; frags of Theopompus, Philippika tr. in G. Shrimpton, Theopompus the Historian (1991) pp. 196-274; R/O nos. 12, 47, 49, 50, 75-6
- Isokrates, Philip; Demosthenes, Philippics; Olynthiacs; On the Peace; On the Chersonese; On the Embassy. Aeschines, On the Embassy
- M. A. Flower, Theopompus of Chios (1994) and Shrimpton 1991 (above)
- R. Sealey, Demosthenes and his Time (1993)
- E. Harris, Aeschines and Athenian Politics (1995)

modern works:
- *Hansen/Nielsen, Inventory pp. 794-809 ‘Makedonia’
- Hornblower, The Greek World ch. 18
- Davies, Democracy and Classical Greece 249ff.
- Rhodes, History...of Classical Greek World ch. 22
- *O. Masson, ‘Macedonian language’ in OCD
- *G. Cawkwell, Philip of Macedon (1978)
- J. Ellis, Philip II & Macedonian Imperialism (1976); *CAH 6 chs.14-15
- M. B. Hatzopoulos, Macedonian Institutions under the Kings (2 vols.1996)
- I. Worthington, Philip of Macedonia (2008)

Cyprus in C4th:  *Diodorus 13. 106 ; 14. 98ff.; 15. 2 and 47; 20. 21
- *Isokrates, Evagoras, To Nikokles and Nikokles (oration 2, 3 and 9)
- *R/O no. 11, 390s: Athenians thank Evagoras of Cyprus for what he did ‘as a Greek on behalf of Greece’ – these words are on a frag. published 1979
- *F. Maier, CAH 6 (1994) ch. 8d
- S. Hornblower, forthcoming, ‘Historiography in Cyprus’ (pamphlet box)

Kingship theory/orations: *Plato Republic 561-76; Gorgias 470de,479a,d
- S. Hornblower, Thucydides and Pindar (2004) 63 n. 24 (& 156-7: Kinyras, the Aiakids & Cyprus) and *in S. Lewis (ed.) Ancient Tyranny (2006) ch. 10

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Class (Nov. 3rd): Isokrates, Evagoras and Philip. Modern reading: see previous sheet

Lecture 5 (Nov. 3rd): Social tensions in the classical Greek city; stasis
Reading:
- **Aeneas Tacticus, in ed. (intro., tr. and commentary) by D. Whitehead, Aineias the Tactician, How to Survive Under Siege (1990, ed. 2, 2001)
- Isokrates, Panegyricus (c. 380 BC), Areopagiticus (c. 355 BC), Philippus (346 BC), Panathenaikos (340 BC)
- M. Rostovtzeff, Social & Economic History. Hellenistic World (1953) ch.1
- *A. Lintott, Violence, Civil Strife and Revolution in the Classical City (1982) esp. ch. 8 ‘The Importance of Civil Strife in the Classical City’
- G. de Ste Croix, Class Struggle in the Ancient Greek World (1981) ch. 5
- *J. K. Davies, Democracy and Classical Greece (1993) ch. 9
- M. Austin, CAH 62 pp. 528-35
- **Hansen/Nielsen, Inventory pp. 124-9, ‘Stasis as an essential aspect of the polis’, & the valuable chart at pp. 1361f.: stasis outbreaks listed by polis
- *H. van Wees, Greek Warfare... (2004) ch. 5 (on mercenaries)

The fifth-century (and earlier) background:
- Pindar Olympian 12, for Ergoteles of Himera/Kretan Knossos (in W. Race Loeb Pindar vol. 1) and fragment 109 (in Race vol. 2 p. 343)
- *S. Hornblower, Thucydides and Pindar (2004) 76-8
- *Herodotus 6. 88-91 (Aigina, early C5); *Thucydides 3. 82-3 (Kerkyra, 427); 8. 66 (Athens, 411, note echoes of 3. 82-3); 6. 74. 1 etc. (Sicily 415-)

Agitation for land redistribution in fifth-cent. Sicily: *Thucydides 5. 4. 2 with S. Hornblower, Commentary on Thucydides vol. II (1996) pp. 430-1

Reading Week: Nov. 9–15

Class (Nov. 17th): Aeneas Tacticus and Whitehead’s commentary. For other reading see previous sheet.

Lecture 6 (Nov. 17th): creation of larger units: federalism, synoikisms, new city-foundations
Federalism: See reading for Lecture 2, Boiotia etc.
‘Synoikisms’ and new city foundations:
For the term synoikism see **Hansen/Nielsen, Inventory pp. 115-9
Particular cases:

Important fifth-century fore-runners:

Fourth century:
- Kos (island off SW Asia Minor) 366: Diodorus 15. 76. 2; *S. Sherwin-White, Ancient Cos* (1978) pp. 43ff.; *Hansen/Nielsen, *Inventory* p. 753
- Megalopolis in Peloponnese (about 370): see ancient texts on assignment sheet; W. Tarn, *Antigonos Gonatas* p. 38; *S. Hornblower, ‘When was Megalopolis Founded?’*, *Annual, British School at Athens [BSA]* 85 (1990) 71-77 (in pamphlet box); *Hansen/Nielsen, *Inventory* pp. 520ff.; cf. R/O no. 32
- Tauromenion, Sicily: Diodorus 16. 7+Hansen/Nielsen, *Inventory* p. 231: date
- Issa in Adriatic (580s): Diodorus 15. 13-14 with P. Fraser, ‘The Colonial Foundation of Issa…’ 1993 (in pamphlet box)

Diodorus’ ‘chronographic’ source (from which he probably drew his very good information about synoikisms and new foundations):
- BSA 1990 (as above) pp. 73-4

Alexander’s city-foundations and synoikisms:

see further below, reading for Lecture 9

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Class (Nov. 25th): Pausanias (8. 27) and Diodorus (15. 72. 4) on the foundation of Megalopolis; R/O no. 14 (Helisson becomes village of Mantineia). For modern reading see previous sheet

Lecture 7 (Nov. 25th): Athens and the transition from imperial to university city; religious conservatism, Euboulos and Lykourgos; ephebes

Reading:

From imperial to university city: the Athens of Lykourgos of Boutadai

Primary: *Plutarch, Lives of Demosthenes, Phokion, Demetrios*

**R/O nos. 37, 79, 81, 88, 89, 91, 94, 95, 96, 98, 100

Menander:

- W. G. Arnott, Loeb ed. (3 vols. 1979-2000), with Gomme-Sandbach *Commentary on Menander* (1973) and see Arnott’s entry in *OCD*³
- C. Préaux, ‘Ménandre et la société athénienne’, *Chronique d’Égypte* 33 (1957) 84ff., against Tarn’s dismissive *Hellenistic Civilization* 273

**Theophrastus:**
- *P. Millett, Theophrastus and his World* (2007) (on the *Characters*

**General modern reading:**
- C. Habicht, *Athens from Alexander to Antony* (1997) esp. chs. 1-4
- G. de ste Croix, *Class Struggle in the Ancient Greek World* (1981) 301

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**Class (Dec. 1st):** the Life of Lykourgos of Athens by ‘Plutarch’, and IG ii² 457 (honours for L.). For reading see previous sheet

**Lecture 8 (Dec. 1st):** Persia and the satraps, from the King’s Peace to Ada

**General (see also works listed under lecture 1 above, top of sheet, and Xenophon Anabasis, in introductory section):**
- **Kuhrt 382-417**
- *Diodorus 15. 90ff. (satraps’ revolt)*
- Cornelius Nepos, *Life of Datames*
- R/O nos. 13 (Arbinas of Lykia); 16 (Strouses/Strouthas); 17 (Erythrai); 21 (Strato of Sidon); 42 (Satraps’ revolt); 68 (Hermias of Atarneus); 98 (Memnon); 99 (Iasos); P. Briant, ‘Droaphernes et la statue de Sardes’ in M. Brosius and A. Kuhrt (eds.) *Achaemenid history XI* (1998) 205-26

**The Hekatomnids of Karia:**
- *Demosthenes speech 15, ‘For the Freedom of the Rhodians’
- *Diodorus 14. 98; 15. 2; 16. 7, 36, 42, 69; 17. 24
- * Arrian Anabasis (History of Alexander) 1 23
- ** R/O nos. 54, 55, 56 (Maussollos and Artemisia); 78 (Pixodaros, cf. class assignment; see also Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum 48 no. 1741: English summary of new interpretation of the inscription by P. Briant)
- * read the entries in OCD³ for the following members of the ‘Hekatomnid’ satrapal dynasty in Karia (SW Asia Minor): Ada; Artemisia (2); Idrieus; Hecatomnus; Mausolus; Pixodaros
- * S. Hornblower, Mausolus (1982) and CAH 6² ch. 8a
- * J. K. Davies, Democracy and Classical Greece ch. 12

Fifth-century and early fourth-century precursors of the Hekatomnid female rulers in Asia Minor:
- Arrian 1. 23. 7 (reflections about Ada. sister of Maussollos)
- Herodotus 7. 99; 8. 68-9, 101 and 103 (Artemisia of Halikarnassos in early C5 = OCD³ Artemisia (1)), with A. Bowie, Herodotus Book VIII (2007) pp. 156f., though he forgets the epigraphically-attested Hekatomnid female satraps of the C4, including and especially the other and later Artemisia
- Xenophon Hellenika 3. 1. 10-14 (Mania in NW Asia Minor, early C4)

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Class (Dec 8th): the trilingual Pixodaros inscription from Xanthos, R/O no. 78; for modern reading see previous sheet.

Lecture 9 (Dec. 8th): Alexander

Reading:
- **Arrian, in Brunt Loeb (see general introduction above) with appendixes
- * Diodorus book 17 in Loeb (C. B. Welles)
- * Plutarch Life of Alexander with commentary by J. R. Hamilton
- * R/O nos. 83, 84, 85, 86, 90, 98, 101 and lecture handout
- * B. Bosworth, Conquest and Empire (1988), probably the best of the many books on Alexander. See also his chs. 16 and 17 in CAH 6² (+ the Epilogue =ch. 18, by S. Hornblower); or (even briefer) his entry in OCD³
- * J. Roisman (ed.) Brill’s Companion to Alexander the Great (2003), esp. chs. by Worthington (Macedon), Faraguna (the Greeks), Brosius (Persia), Fredericksmeyer (religion and Al’s divinity)
- D. M. Lewis, Sparta and Persia (1977) p. 152 for the C4th background: “one of the claims made by Tarn for Alexander was that Alexander was quite remarkable in transcending the normal Greek attitude to barbarians and in seeing merit in and the possibility of collaboration with the upper classes in Iran. Tarn’s evidence was drawn entirely from Plato and Aristotle and gives a very partial account even of their thinking. For readers of Xenophon the claim must seem simply absurd”.

Most of the main topics of importance to the historian (the problems of the surviving literary sources, which were written so many centuries after Alexander’s own time; Alexander’s use of and attitude to Greeks; his quarrel with the Macedonian upper echelons; his attitude to Persia and Persian culture; his administration; his deification; his new cities; his final intentions) are dealt with in the course of the above general works, rather than in book-length monographs on particular aspects. Note however:
- P. M. Fraser, The Cities of Alexander the Great (1996), with Hammond, GRBS, as above, p. 10.

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Class (Dec 15th): Arrian selections (1. 12 etc.) For reading see previous sheet

Lecture 10 (Dec. 15th): The Successors of Alexander; Hieronymus of Cardia and the wars and warfare of the Successors

No class on this topic

Reading:
- **Diodorus books 18-20
- * J. Hornblower, Hieronymus of Cardia (1981): H. of C. was very probably Diodorus’ main source for the period 323-302
- Plutarch, Lives of Eumenes and Demetrios
- * Harding nos. 123, 124, 125, 126, 129, 130, 131, 132, 133, 134, 136, 138
- *Austin (see term 2 introductory material) nos. 1-20
- E. Will, CAH 72 1 (1984) chs. 2 and 4
TERM 2

The bibliography is selective: it is intended both as an aid in preparing your essays and in guiding your general background reading, and, more specifically, to indicate weekly background reading for lectures and classes. Consult the teachers if in doubt about what to read. There is a useful Guide to Further Reading in Shipley, p. 407–21, and his general bibliography is very full and usefully lists contributions in collective works (like CAH) by individual chapters. Erskine’s Companion to the Hellenistic World has guides to further reading at the end of each chapter. Errington’s A History of the Hellenistic World also has a good, short select bibliography. Lengthy bibliographies are provided in CAH.

DATES AND DYNASTIES

Lists of dates can be found in the volumes of CAH (see below), and generally at the beginning or end of handbooks and source-books: Shipley pp. xxv–xxx and Appendix I (dynastic chronologies) are useful; so is M. Austin, Hellenistic World 584–90; more specific discussions of the CHRONOLOGY of the first decades after Alexander can be found in Harding, End of the Peloponnesian War, no. 1 (the so-called PARIAN MARBLE, an chronological inscription of 264/3 BC found on the island of Paros). Dynasties and genealogical tables are easily found, again, in CAH and in Shipley 404–406; Errington, HHW translates epithets (= nickname) of each king, e.g. ‘Soter’, ‘Grypos’, ‘Hierax’.

A. ANCIENT SOURCES IN TRANSLATION

important/very important items are indicated with * or ** respectively

1. MAIN LITERARY SOURCES

*Polybius, Histories (LCL; also as Penguin The Rise of the Roman Empire – but this is a selection). Much of Polybius is preserved only in Livy, who used him – see below.

*Diodorus Siculus, fragments of Books XXI–XL (LCL)

*Livy, Books XXVI–XLV (LCL vols. v–xiii; also in part as Penguin Rome and the Mediterranean)

Justin, The Epitome of the Philippic History of Pompeius Trogus (Scholars Press)

Plutarch, Lives (LCL : vol. viii (Eumenes) x (Agis, Kleomenes, Philopoemen); some lives also as Penguin, The Age Of Alexander: Lives of Demetrios, Pyrrhos (also LCL ix)

For a brief discussion of these see Shipley 7–17, Erskine in BCHW ch. 1 and Walbank in CAH VII. 1, 1984, 1–22.

2. COLLECTIONS OF SOURCES: INSCRIPTIONS, PAPYRI AND LESS ACCESSIBLE LITERARY SOURCES

**M. Austin, The Hellenistic World from Alexander to the Roman Conquest (2nd ed. 2006). All refs. in this bibliography are to this – expanded – edition, which
includes some very recently found documents. There is a concordance between the 1st and 2nd ed. of this book on p. 591–99.


*C.B. Welles, Royal Correspondence in the Hellenistic World (1934) Although in need of updating, this contains many royal letters addressed (usually) to cities and inscribed on stone. A new, enlarged, edition is in preparation, by B. Virgilio.


B. MODERN TEXT-BOOKS

**R. M. Errington, A history of the Hellenistic World, 323–30 BC (pb. 2008). This is now the most up to date overview of the political history of the period but note that it has very little on other aspects of the Hellenistic world.

*A. Erskine (ed.) Blackwell’s Companion to the Hellenistic World (pb. ed. 2005) is a collection of essays written by specialists. Though not a handbook in the sense that the next one (Shipley) is, it covers a great deal and in some detail. The early chapters are intended to give an overview of the political history of the period. Its annotated guide to further reading at the end of each ch. is helpful and its bibliography is comprehensive.


E. Will, Histoire politique du monde hellénistique 2 vols. (2nd ed. 1979) is still essential. Will’s chapters in CAH are a translated version of parts of this.


*C. Habicht, Athens from Alexander to Antony (1997).

*———–, The Hellenistic Monarchies : Selected Papers. Some of these referred to separately below; all are important.


*J. Marincola, A Companion to Greek and Roman Historiography 2 vols. (2007) has many chs. relevant to our period. See also under week 20 for Polybius.

C. CAMBRIDGE ANCIENT HISTORY

*CAH (2nd ed) VII.1 The Hellenistic World ; VII. 2 The Rise of Rome to 220 BC ; VIII Rome and the Mediterranean (the first ed. of CAH—same vol. refs. as above—is also worth consulting: see the discussion of its separate chs in Shipley p. 408).
D. Reference Works


E. Maps


*Google Earth is excellent for getting an idea of the nature of the regions that became part of the Hellenistic world after Alexander’s conquests, especially Egypt, the Arabian peninsula, Mesopotamia, Iran and central Asia. There are good maps in Errington, HHW and in Sherwin-White and Kuhrt, From Samarkhand to Sardis (below, Lecture 13).

Lecture 11 (Jan. 12th, 2010): Dividing up the empire; the creation of royal dynasties: the first generation

General

*Diodorus Siculus, see under week 10, down to (nearly) the Battle of Ipsus (301 BC), based on the lost account of the wars of the Successors by Hieronymus of Cardia.

*Plutarch, Life of Demetrios Poliorketes (LCL Lives vol. 9, also in Penguin, The Age of Alexander).

*Burstein, Hellenistic Age nos. 1–14; *Austin HW nos. 1, 42, 43, 44, 45, 46, 47, 49, 50, 52, 53, 56, 57, 58, 59.

**Errington, HHW, chs. 3 and 4.


Individual Successors

W. Heckel, The Marshals of Alexander’s Empire (1992): a prosopography (Cf. Term 1, Lecture 10 for this word).

R.A. Billows, Antigonos the One-eyed and the Creation of the Hellenistic State (1990) (also on Demetrios Poliorketes) with P. Derow’s review CQ 31 (1981) 106–12.

W.M. Ellis, Ptolemy of Egypt (1994).


Dynasties and Kingship


*J. Ma, Chapter: ‘Kings’ in BCHW.
P. Bilde et al. (eds) *Aspects of Hellenistic Kingship* (1996)
(See also week 18: Ruler cult)

**Class (Jan 12th):** Plutarch’s life of Demetrius Poliorcetes; Aspects of kingship
Read: the Life of Demetrios and at least one title listed under DYNASTIES AND KINGSHIP

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**Lecture 12 (Jan. 19th):** Ptolemaic Egypt; the first three Ptolemaic kings and the Aegean

**GENERAL**

**Errington, *HHW*, ch. 7.
*D. J. Thompson, ch. 7 in *BCHW*.
CAH VII.1, ch. 5: ‘Ptolemaic Egypt’.

**RULERS**

P. McKechnie and Ph. Guillaume (eds) *Ptolemy Philadelphus and his World* (2008) : a very wide-ranging collection of article, see below for individual papers (= PtolPhil)
(both books deal a.o. with the remarkable Arsinoe).
Bingen, *HE*, ch. 1 (15–30) on Ptolemy I

**EXTERNAL POSSESSIONS & CITY FOUNDATIONS**

* C. Marquaille, ‘The Foreign Policy of Ptolemy II’ in *Ptol.Phil.* 39–64 (in pamphlet box)
On Cyrene: *Austin HW* 29, with Diodorus 18, 19–21; *Bagnall, Admin*, 25–37. See also
* Austin *HW* 41 (= Diod. 20, 40–1) on the Carthaginian adventure of the Macedonian OPHELAS.
*Bagnall & Derow, HP, nos. 64–8.

* Austin HW nos. 254 (Pausanias) and 255 (Theokritos’ poem in praise of Ptolemy Philadelphos’s many possessions, with the commentary of *R. Hunter: Theocritus’ Encomium of Ptolemy Philadelphus. Text and translation with introduction and commentary by Richard Hunter (2003); HW 256: the league of Islanders; 266 and 268: Ptolemy III invades Syria; 269: Ptolemaic kings and the northern Aegean; 270, 272: southern Asia Minor, on which see also:


- A Ptolemaic city foundation in Cilicia:


**Ptolemaic Exploitation and Administration of Egypt**

Especially useful are the articles by Bingen and Thompson.

* Bingen, HE, chs. 7, 8, 9 and 16 all deal with Greek settlers in an Egyptian context, and especially with the use of the land and the coexistence of Egyptians and Greeks (in pamphlet box). On the same subject see


Bingen, HE 13 is very useful on one of the most-discussed economic documents of Ptolemaic Egypt: the so-called ‘Revenue Laws papyrus’ of Ptolemy Philadelphos (= Austin nos 296–7, BD 114).

See on this also:

* D.J. Thompson, ‘Economic Reform in the mid-reign of Ptolemy Philadelphus’ in: Ptol. Phil., 27–38 (pamphlet box) and:


On taxes and demography:


W. Clarysse and D. J. Thompson, Counting the People in Hellenistic Egypt 2 vols. (2006) [The second vol. contains historical studies based on the statistical material set out in vol. 1]
THE FAYUM AND THE ZENON ARCHIVE

Zenon was a man from Kaunos in western Asia Minor who managed the large estate of Apollonios, the dioiketes (second after the king) of Ptolemy II Philadelphos. For the Zenon archive, with (some) translations of the texts see:
http://www.lib.umich.edu/pap/exhibits/reading/Zenon

*Austin, HW, 298, 302, 306–8
M.I. Rostovtzeff, A Large Estate in Egypt in the Third Century B.C. A Study in Economic History (1922) (based on the Zenon archive).
Bingen, HE, chs. 14 and 17 deal with the relations between Greeks and Egyptians largely on the basis of the Zenon papyri.

Generally on the system of land tenure in the Fayum see:

Class (Jan. 19th): the Fayum: the Zenon archive
Read: the archive, Manning and/or Rostovtzeff; for background anything under EXPLOITATION AND ADMINISTRATION.

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Lecture 13 (Jan. 26th): The Seleukid kingdom: theories of empire and control

GENERAL
*Errington HHW, ch. 6: ‘Asia’.
*M. Austin, ch. 8 in BCHW.
*Appian, Antiochike and Syriake (LCL Appian).
*Austin, HW 57 (= Appian, Syriaka), then ch. 5, nos. 158–163, 166–171, 176, 177.
*Burstein, Hellenistic Age, most texts in ch. 2 overlap with those listed above in Austin.
**For translated BABYLONIAN CHRONICLES AND ASTRONOMICAL DIARIES (essential dating tools for Seleukid history), and more generally for a constantly updated record of Seleukid history, see R. van der Spek’s website at: http://www.livius.org.babylonia.html

ARMY AND NAVY

CENTRES OF ADMINISTRATION:
1. BABYLONIA AND MESOPOTAMIA:

2. SYRIA

BACTRIA, ARACHOSIA AND INDIA
*Austin *HW* 178 = Burstein 50 (Ašoka’s edicts from Alexandria/Kandahar); 186 = Burstein 49 (Delphic maxims at Ai Khanoum in Bactria on the Oxus river /= N. Afghanistan); 188 = Burstein 51 (the Greek kingdom in Bactria); Burstein 52 (dedication to the god of the Oxus river from Tadjikistan); the funerary stele of Sophytos from Kandahar (Alexandria in Arachosia) : text will be in pamphlet box.

*Kuhrt & Sherwin-White, From Samarkhand to Sardis, chs. 4 & 5.
243–59.
*P. M. Fraser, ‘The son of Aristonax at Kandahar’ *Afghan Studies* 2 (1979) 9–21 (copy in box)

On the city foundations in this region see P. Fraser *Cities of Alexander the Great* (1996) for which see also above under week 6.

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**Class (Jan 26th):** On the edges of empire: Ašoka, Ai Khanoum; Sophytos: Hellenistic poetry in old Kandahar. Read: the ancient texts under Bactria Arachosia and India (some will be provided) and supporting literature.

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**Lecture 14 (Feb. 2nd):** Macedonia and Greece: Antigonid kings, Celtic invasions and Aetolian pirates

**General:**
**Errington, *HHW* ch. 5.
**J.B. Scholten, ch. 9 in *BCHW* with full discussion and refs. of recent archaeological studies of individual Greek regions (esp. Achaia, Aetolia).
*Austin, *HW*, ch. 3, nos. 60–68.
F.W. Walbank, ‘Macedonia and Greece’, *CAH* VII.1, 221–56.
F.W. Walbank, Macedonia and the Greek Leagues, in *CAH* VII.1, 446–81.

**Rulers**

**Macedonia and Macedonian Institutions**

**Aitolian and Achaian Leagues**


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**Class (Feb 2nd): Asylia and piracy**

**Read:** **Austin, *HW* 23, 47, 50, 60, 65, 66, 104, 105, 106, 107, 115, 116, 159, 190, 191.**


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**Lecture 15 (Feb. 9th): Kings, their possessions and their friends: structures of control**

**THE MACEDONIAN BACKGROUND**

*(see also under week 9: Alexander the Great)*


*M.B. Hatzopoulos, *Macedonian Institutions under the Kings I. A Historical and Epigraphic Study*. Meletemata 22 (1996) vol. 1, 443–60 (of this, the next study is an expanded version).


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**THE COURT AND GOVERNING THROUGH ‘FRIENDS’**

*Chr. Habicht, ‘The Ruling Class in the Hellenistic Monarchies’ in idem, *The Hellenistic*
Monarchies. Selected Papers (2006) 26–40; see also p. 290 for a postscript on responses to this - important - article. S.M. Sherwin-White dismissed Habicht’s assessment of the constitution of the ruling class of the Empire, in Hellenism in the East, 6–7 and in Samarkhand, 121–23.


*I. Savalli-Lestrade, Les philoi royaux dans l’Asie hellénistique (1998) discusses the Habicht–Sherwin-White ‘controversy’ on p. 223–36. More generally, this is a catalogue of known philoi (= ‘friends’) of the Attalid and Seleukid kings, arranged by name, and strictly vetted: if not specifically called a philos then someone is not included. This means that we end up with rather few names. Look up some of the names: despite the French, you will find the main references. A discussion of the role of philoi in ch. iii.

*J. Ma, Antiochos III and the cities of western Asia Minor (1999; revised pb. ed. 2002), chs. 3 and 4 (on chains of command, and communication).


POSSESSIONS/PRAGMATA

*Austin, HW 164 = Burstein 21 (gifts of land to Aristodikides of Assos by Antiochos I), 173 = Burstein 24: sale of land to Laodike by Antiochos II; 168 = Burstein 19 (Decree of the Neoteichitai and Kiddiokomitai (267 BC) : villages on royal land.


See also week 12 for the Egyptian situation.

Class (Feb 9th): elites at work play: the Posidippus papyrus.

Texts of Posidippos to be provided and read at least one of the following:


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**READING WEEK : February 15th – 19th**

**Lecture 16 (Feb. 23rd)**: The rise of the Attalids; Celtic impacts, Rhodes

**GENERAL**

* Austin, HW nos. 224–40 (225 and 226: Eumenes and Kyme’s defence – see also under week 17 for a new decree from Kyme on the safety of the city).
* E. Kosmetatou, ch. 10 in BCHW.


**CELTIC IMPACTS**

* Austin, HW, nos. 60 (Delphi), 159 (Asia Minor), 225 (Philetairos), 112 (tribute payable), 114 (impact on Black Sea trade), 115 (Decree for Protogenes of Olbia).
R.E. Allen, The Attalid Kingdom ch. 5.

**RHODES**

* Strabo 14, 2. 214 (LCL vol. 6); *Austin, Hellenistic World, 47, 110–13; 130.


**Class (Feb. 23rd): Rhodes**

Read: Strabo and the ancient texts; and at least two items of modern bibliography under RHODES.

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**Lecture 17 (March 2nd): Greek cities.**

**CIVIC CONSTITUTIONS, SYMPOLITEIAI**

* Austin *HW*, 6 (Alexander and Chios) 48, 152, 153, 154, 155, 156, 157

* L. Jonnes & M. Riql, ‘A new royal inscription from Phrygia Paroreios: Eumenes II
  grants Tyriaion the status of a polis’ *Epigraphica Anatolica* 29 (1997) 1ff. (text = Austin 236)

* S.M. Sherwin-White, *Ancient Cos. A Historical Study from the Dorian settlement to the
  Imperial Period* (1978), ch. 5 on the Coan constitution.


**KINSHIP DIPLOMACY**


A. Erskine, ‘O brother where art thou: Tales of kinship and diplomacy’ in D. Ogden (ed.)


**FINANCES**


**CIVIC DEFENCE**

* Chaniotis, *War in the Hellenistic World* ch. 2.

* J. Ma, ‘Fighting poleis of the Hellenistic World’ in H. van Wees (ed.) *War and Violence


* G. Oliver, ‘Grain for Rhamnous’ in Z.A. Archibald et. al. (eds.) *Hellenistic Economies*
  (2001) 137–55) on the impact of warfare and shifts in political allegiance on a
  micro-region. See now also his much larger study:

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**Class (March 2nd):** The enemy within

**Read:** **Diodorus 18, 44** (on the Termessian youth) with *Chaniotis, War in the Hellenistic world* ch. 3. *Text to be distributed: the Asphaleia (= security) decree from Kyme, early third century (related to week 16: Austin 225 and 226: Eumenes and Kyme); Sympoliteia of Latmos and Pidasa.


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**Lecture 18 (March 9th):** Religious developments, foreign gods and syncretism.

**RULER CULT**

*A Paean to Seleukos I from Erythrai in which the king is called ‘son of Apollo’: text will be provided.


*Austin *HW, 39 (Antigonos), 162 (Antiochos I or III), 256, 272; Ma, *Antiochos*, dossier no. 37: Letter of Antiochos III apointing a chief-priestess for Laodike

*L. Koenen, ‘The Ptolemaic king as a religious figure’ in Bulloch et. al. *Images and Ideologies* (1993) 25–115 (this is long, but excellent).


(See also week 19: Antiochos III and Laodike receive cults at Iasos and Teos)

**CIVIC CULTS**

*Austin HW, 148–151


S.M. Sherwin-White, *Ancient Cos* (1978), ch. 8: Coan Religion (includes a large section on the Asklepios cult).
RELIGION AND ACCULTURATION 1: ISIS AND SARAPIS
**Austin HW, 210, 212; **Burstein, 112 (Hymn to Isis), with **Fantuzzi and Hunter
F. Solmsen, Isis among the Greeks and Romans (1979).
A.E. Samuel, From Athens to Alexandria: Hellenism and Social Goals in Ptolemaic
J.E. Stambaugh, Sarapis under the early Ptolemies (1972).
on Isis.

2: THE PHYRGIAN METER, OR KYBELE IN ANATOLIA, GREECE AND ROME
*Strabo, bk 12.
*L. E. Roller, In Search of God the Mother. The Cult of Anatolian Cybele (1999) ch. 7:
‘the Hellenistic period’ deals with Pessinous and also with the development of
Meter in the Greek World (ch. 6 deals with her arrival in Athens in the Classical
period, ch. 8 with the myth of Kybele and Attis and ch. 9 with her arrival in Rome
where she became Magna Mater) (in pamphlet box)
*J. Strubbe, The Inscriptions of Pessinous. IK vol. 66 (2005) is now the most up to date
edition of all the inscriptions. It also has a useful introduction to the site and its
history, and a series of Testimonia (section XIII) all of which are translated into
English, as are the inscriptions.

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Class (March 9th): Kybele, Meter, Magna Mater
Read: above, Roller’s chs. 7 and 8

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Lecture 19 (March 16th): Two young kings: Antiochos III and Ptolemy: the Syrian
wars and the involvement of Rome

GENERAL
*Errington, HHW, ch. 8.
*Burstein, Hellenistic Age, 13–37; Austin HW, 179–184; 190–193; 195–217
*Polybios Histories. Bks. 4 and 5 (some excerpts in Austin, 180–184).
*BCHW Ch. 3 (S. Ager)
S. Sherwin-White & A. Kuhr, From Samarkhand to Sardis. A New Approach to the
Seleucid Empire (1993) chs. 3 and 4 on the later 3rd century, gains and losses; ch.
7 on Antiochos III.
*J. Hölbl, History of the Ptolemaic Empire (2001) chs. II.1.2, 1.5, 2.2 and IV 1., 2, 2.2 ,
3.
*G.M. Cohen Hellenistic Settlements in Syria: 33–35 and 201–222 on Phoenicia; a
discussion of ‘Koile (or ‘Coele’) Syria on pp. 37–43.
J. Ma, Antiochos III and the Cities of Western Asia Minor (2nd ed.) esp. ch. 1 and 2
On Ptolemaic aims and activities in the Aegean see:

Class (March 16th): Antiochos III and the cities of western Asia Minor, the Iasos and Teos dossiers
Read: Ma, Antiochos III, Epigraphic dossier, Teos: nos. 17–19 (Discussion of the Teos dossier in: Ma, Antiochos, 201–42 ); Iasos nos. 26–28 (Discussion: 223–24).

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Lecture 20 (March 23rd): The Hellenistic world and the coming of Rome: Philip V, Antiochos IV and Attalos III

General
*Errington, HHW, ch. 9–10; *P. Derow ch. 4 in BCHW.
*Austin, Hellenistic World nos. 73–100; Sherk, RGE nos. 1–18.
*Polybius, Books 22–27 (LCL vol v. but we do not have a full text of these books, only selections made in later antiquity; the Penguin transl., The Rise of the Roman Empire, has a selection of the selection); also Polybius 30.1–9; 18–21; 30–32; 36.17; 38, 1–6; 9–18.
F.W. Walbank Commentary on Polybius, vol. iii (1979) on all these passages but not easy without a knowledge of Greek.
Livy, Books xxxi–xlv (in this period Livy’s accounts of events in the East are mostly taken from Polybios, at times almost as a free translation, more often as a précis).

Polybius’ View
F.W. Walbank, Polybius (1972).

Lykophron’s View
On Lykophron, see P. Fraser, OCD³ s.v.
P. Fraser, ‘Lykophron on Cyprus’ Report of the Department of Antiquities, Cyprus (1979) 328–43.

The Wars
CAH VIII (2nd ed 1989), ch 8 (Rome against Philip and Antiochos).

**ROMANS IN THE EAST; ROMAN PATRONS AND GREEK CITIES**
Sherk, no. 47 (Roman negotiatores)

**ANTIOCHOS IV**

**CULT OF ROMA**

*(no class).*