

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)

<i>Anc. Soc.</i>	<i>Ancient Society</i>
<i>AncW</i>	<i>The Ancient World</i>
<i>ANRW</i>	<i>Aufstieg und Niedergang der Römischen Welt</i>
<i>BCHW</i>	A. Erskine (ed.) <i>Blackwell's Companion to the Hellenistic World</i>
<i>CAH</i>	<i>Cambridge Ancient History</i>
<i>C&amp;M</i>	<i>Classica et Mediaevalia</i>
<i>CP</i>	<i>Classical Philology</i>
<i>CQ</i>	<i>Classical Quarterly</i>
<i>CR</i>	<i>Classical Review</i>
<i>CRAI</i>	<i>Comptes Rendues de l'Académie des Inscriptions et des Belles Lettres</i>
<i>GRBS</i>	<i>Greek, Roman and Byzantine Studies</i>
<i>HHW</i>	R. M. Errington, <i>A History of the Hellenistic World, 323–30 BC</i>
<i>HW</i>	M. Austin, <i>The Hellenistic World</i>
<i>H/NInventory</i>	M.H. Hansen and T.H. Nielsen, <i>An Inventory of Archaic and Classical Poleis</i> (2004)
<i>JHS</i>	<i>Journal of Hellenic Studies</i>
<i>JRS</i>	<i>Journal of Roman Studies</i>
<i>LACTOR</i>	<i>London Association of Classical Teachers Original Records</i>
<i>LCL</i>	<i>Loeb Classical Library</i> (also: <i>Loeb</i> )
<i>OCD</i>	<i>Oxford Classical Dictionary</i> (3rd ed. 1996)
<i>P&amp;P</i>	<i>Past &amp; Present</i>
<i>PCPS</i>	<i>Proceedings of the Cambridge Philological Society</i>
<i>REA</i>	<i>Revue des Études Anciennes</i>
<i>R/O</i>	P. J. Rhodes and R. Osborne, <i>Greek Historical Inscriptions 404–323 BC</i> (2003, paperback ed. with corrections 2007)
<i>SEHHW</i>	<i>Social and Economic History of the Hellenistic World</i>
<i>TAPA</i>	<i>Transactions of the American Philological Association</i>

## TERM 1: The Greek world in the 4<sup>th</sup> 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*<sup>3</sup> (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)

- Arrian, *History of Alexander* and *Indica* in two-vol. Loeb ed. by P. A. Brunt (1976 and 1983).

- On Diodorus Siculus' narrative of the Successors of Alexander (books 18-20) see J. Hornblower, *Hieronimus of Cardia* (1981)

##### 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)

- \*\*P. J. Rhodes and R. Osborne, *Greek Historical Inscriptions 404-323 BC* (2003, paperback ed. with corrections 2007): texts, translations, commentaries, some photographs. Abbrev. R/O

[- 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. ]

- \* A. Kuhrt, *The Persian Empire* (2007; one-vol. pb., 2010); abbrev. Kuhrt

### **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*<sup>2</sup> (1993): very interesting and stimulating, but a book to read when you already have a factual framework in your head

- \* R. Osborne (ed.) *Classical Greece* (2000): edited collection of 9 chapters by good modern authorities

- \*S. Hornblower, *The Greek World 479-323 BC*<sup>3</sup> (2002)

- \*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. M. Austin & P. Vidal-Naquet, *Economic and Social History of Ancient Greece: an Introduction* (1977): blend of analytical account and translated source-book

- \*\*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*

- \*R. Brock and S. Hodkinson (eds.), *Alternatives to Athens: Varieties of Political Organization and Community in Ancient Greece* (2000). Edited collection of essays by different scholars; aims to get away from the dominance of Athens and Sparta in our sources. Abbrev. Brock/Hodkinson.

- H. van Wees, *Greek warfare: Myths and Realities* (2004)

- A. Chaniotis, *War in the Hellenistic World* (2004)

- P. Sabin, H. van Wees, M. Whitby (eds.) *Cambridge History of Greek and Roman Warfare* (2007) vol. 1, ‘Greece, the Hellenistic World and the Rise of Rome’

### C. Cambridge Ancient History

- The \**Cambridge Ancient History* (abbrev. *CAH*), is now in a 'second' (actually completely new) ed. The relevant volume is 6, *The Fourth Century BC* (ed. D. M. Lewis, J. Boardman, S. Hornblower, M. Ostwald), 1994

### D. Reference works

- \*S. Hornblower and A. Spawforth (eds.) *Oxford Classical Dictionary*<sup>3</sup> (1996) (abbrev. *OCD*<sup>3</sup>). Shorter cheaper illustrated version: *Oxford Companion to Classical Civilization* (1998), but has no bibliographies.  
- Hansen/Nielsen, *Inventory*

### E.) Atlas:

- R. Talbert (ed.) *Barrington Atlas of the Greek and Roman World* (2000)

### Lecture 1 (Oct. 6<sup>th</sup> 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*<sup>2</sup> ch. 3 'Persia'  
- J. M. Cook, *The Persian Empire* (1983)  
- \*J. K. Davies, *Democracy and Classical Greece* chs. 8 and 11  
- \*D. M. Lewis, *Sparta and Persia* (1977) ch. 1 (on the Persian system)  
- \*P. Briant, *From Cyrus to Alexander: History of the Persian Empire* (2002)  
- \*G. Cawkwell, *The Greek Wars* (2005) chs. 7-9

#### Peace and common peaces:

- Isokrates, *On the Peace* (oration 8) esp. para. 99  
- T. T. B. Ryder, *Koine Eirene: General Peace and Local Independence in Ancient Greece* (1965) esp. chs. 1-5  
- P. J. Rhodes, *History of the Classical Greek World* (2006) ch. 16 'Introduction to the Fourth Century: The Common Peace'

#### The background to the King's Peace: the Korinthian War:

- \*R. Seager, *CAH*<sup>2</sup> (1994) ch. 4  
- J. B. Salmon, *Wealthy Corinth* (1984) chs. 13-15  
- \*A. Andrewes, 'Two Notes on Lysander', *Phoenix* 25 (1971) 206ff. and in P. Garnsey/C. R. Whittaker eds., *Imperialism in the Ancient World* (1978) 95-102  
- \*S. Hornblower 'Sicily and the Origins of the Korinthian War', *Historia* 41 (1992) 121-3

#### The King's Peace of 386 BC (see class handout):

- Kuhrt 381f. no. 47  
- Diodorus 14. 98-9; 110; Xen[ophon]. *Hell[enica]* 5. 1. 31ff.

- R. Seager, as above and \*'The King's Peace and the Balance of Power in Greece', *Athenaeum* 52 (1974) 36ff.
- \*G. Cawkwell, 'The King's Peace', *Classical Quarterly* [CQ] 31 (1981) 69ff.
- E. Badian, 'The King's Peace' in M. Flower/M. Toher (eds.) *Georgica* (1991) 25ff. (in pamphlet box)

**For Sparta see further next sheet**

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**Class (Oct 13<sup>th</sup>):** the King's Peace of 386. For reading see previous page.

**Lecture 2 (Oct. 13<sup>th</sup>):** Theban ambitions; Delphic amphiktion; 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

- \*Plutarch, *Life of Pelopidas* in Penguin Plutarch, *The Age of Alexander* with A. Georgiadou, *Plutarch's Pelopidas... Commentary* (1997)

\*J. Roy, *CAH* 6<sup>2</sup> (1994) ch. 7, 'Thebes in the 360's'

\*J. Buckler and H. Beck, *Central Greece and the Politics of Power in the Fourth Century BC* (2008), esp. Part 2.

**Thessaly:** \*R/O no. 44

\*Hansen/Nielsen, *Inventory* pp. 676-731 'Thessalia and Adjacent Regions'

**Sparta after 386:**

- P. Cartledge, *Sparta and Lakonia*<sup>2</sup> (2002) chs. 13 & 14 and 'Spartan Wives: Liberty or Licence?', *CQ* 31 (1981) 84ff= *Spartan Reflections* (2001) ch. 9

- S. Hodkinson, 'Social Order & the Conflict of Values in Classical Sparta', *Chiron* 13 (1983) 239-81 and *Property & Wealth in Classical Sparta* (2000)

- \*G. Cawkwell, 'The Decline of Sparta', *CQ* 33 (1983) 385-400, reprinted in M. Whitby ed. *Sparta* (2002) ch. 14

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

- J. Cargill, *The Second Athenian League* (1981)

- G. T. Griffith, 'Athens in the Fourth Century', in P. Garnsey and C. R. Whittaker (eds.) *Imperialism in the Ancient World* (1978) 127ff.

- \* E. Badian, 'The Ghost of Empire' (1995; in pamphlet box)

**Delphic amphiktion; the Astykrates inscription (see class handout):**

- F. Lefevre, *L'amphictionie pyléo-delphique: histoire et institutions* (1998)

- \*\* S. Hornblower, 'Did the Delphic Amphiktion 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...

- \*\*H. Bowden, 'The Functions of the Delphic Amphiktion before 346 BC', *Scripta Classica Israelica* 22 (2003) 67-83 (both in pamphlet box)

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**Class (Oct 20<sup>th</sup>):** the Astykrates inscription from Athens=Delphic banishments of 360s; see final section of previous sheet for modern reading

**Lecture 3 (Oct. 20<sup>th</sup>):** 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)
- \*R. Talbert in L. Tritle (ed.) *The Greek World in the Fourth Century* (1997) ch. 6 'The Greeks in Sicily and South Italy'
- Hornblower, *The Greek World*<sup>3</sup> (2002) ch. 4 and pp. 262-4
- M. Finley, *A History of Sicily, Ancient Sicily to the Arab Conquest*<sup>2</sup> (1979)
- \*\* *CAH* 6<sup>2</sup> (1994) chs. as follows: D. M. Lewis, ch. 5, 'Sicily 413-368 BC'; N. Purcell, ch. 9b, 'S. Italy in the Fourth Century'; H. D. Westlake, ch. 13, 'Dion and Timoleon (367-330 BC)'
- B. Caven, *Dionysius I, Warlord of Sicily* (1990)
- A. Lintott, *Violence, Civil Strife and Revolution in the Classical City* (1982) 179ff. (on the Syracusan democracy)
- N. K. Rutter and K. Lomas in Brock/Hodkinson (2000), chs. 8 and 10
- R. Talbert, *Timoleon and the Revival of Greek Sicily, 344-317 BC* (1974)
- \* K. Meister, *CAH* 7<sup>2</sup>. 1 (1984) ch. 10, 'Agathocles'

**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)
- \*J. A. North, review of above, *Scripta Classica Israelica* 15 (1996) 293-301- \*E. Curti and R. van Bremen, 'Notes on the *lex sacra* from Selinus', *Ostraka* 8 (1999), 21-33 (in pamphlet-box)

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

- J. Redfield, *The Locrian Maidens* (2003)
- A. H. D. Cameron] *OCD*<sup>3</sup> 'Nossis' +B. Goff, *Citizen Bacchae* (2004) 243-6

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

- P. Wilson, 'Sicilian choruses' in Wilson (ed.) *The Greek Theatre and Festivals* (2007) ch. 13; see also D. Jordan ch. 12
- S. Hornblower, *Commentary on Thucydides Vol. III* (2008), intro. pp.12-21

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

**Lecture 4 (Oct. 27<sup>st</sup>):** 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)
- E. Badian 'The Road to Prominence' in I. Worthington (ed.) *Demosthenes, Statesman and Orator* (2000) 9-44

**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*<sup>3</sup>
- \*G. Cawkwell, *Philip of Macedon* (1978)
- J. Ellis, *Philip II & Macedonian Imperialism* (1976); \**CAH* 6<sup>2</sup> chs.14-15
- N. G. Hammond and G. T. Griffith, *A History of Macedonia* vol. ii (1979)
- M. B. Hatzopoulos, *Macedonian Institutions under the Kings* (2 vols.1996)
- I. Worthington, *Philip of Macedonia* (2008)
- index under 'Philip II' in *Cambridge Hist. Gk & Roman Warfare* 1 (2007)

**Cyprus in C4th:** \*Diodorus 13. 106 ; 14. 98ff.; 15. 2 and 47; 20. 21

- \*Isokrates, *Evagoras*, *To Nikokles* and *Nikokles* (orations 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<sup>2</sup> (1994) ch. 8d
- S. Hornblower, forthcoming, 'Historiography in Cyprus' (pamphlet box)

**Kingship theory/orations:**\*Plato *Republic* 561-76;*Gorgias* 470de,479a,d

- \*W. Race, 'Pindaric Encomium & Isok. *Evag.*', *TAPA* 113 (1987) 121-55
- 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. 3<sup>rd</sup>):** Isokrates, *Evagoras* and *Philip*. Modern reading: see previous sheet

**Lecture 5 (Nov. 3<sup>rd</sup>):** 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. Fuks, 'Isok. & the social-economic situation in Greece', *Ancient Society* 1972, 17-44; 'Social-economic revolution in Greece', *Anc. Soc.* 1974, 51-81
- \*A. Lintott, *Violence, Civil Strife and Revolution in the Classical City* (1982) esp. ch. 8 'The Importance of Civil Strife in the Classical City'
- \*S. Hornblower, *Greek World* (2002) pp. 184-186
- 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* 6<sup>2</sup> pp. 528-35
- \*Austin/Vidal-Naquet, *Econ. & Soc. Hist. Anc. Gce* (1977)ch.7&pp. 334ff.
- \*\* 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:**

- \*H. van Wees, 'Stasis, destroyer of men': mass, elite, political violence...' in C. Brélaz/P. Ducrey (eds.), *Sécurité collective et ordre public dans les sociétés anciennes* (2008)1-39 at 8-11(in pamphlet box). Title is from Pindar
- 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

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**Reading Week: Nov. 9–15**

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**Class (Nov. 17<sup>th</sup>):** Aeneas Tacticus and Whitehead's commentary. For other reading see previous sheet.

**Lecture 6 (Nov. 17<sup>th</sup>) :** 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:**

- Olynthos and 'Chalkidic league' (N. Greece) 432: \*Thucydides 1. 58. 2 + Hornblower, *Commentary on Th. I* (1991) pp. 102-3: hellenistic comparison
- Rhodes 408: \*Diodorus 13. 75, with Hansen/Nielsen, *Inventory* p. 1196f.; add B. Kowalzig, *Singing for the Gods* (2007) ch. 5 (on Pindar *Olympian 7*) and Thucydides 8. 44. 1 with Hornblower, *Commentary...III* (2008) p. 882

**fourth century:**

- Halikarnassos (SW Asia Minor) ?377: Strabo 611 (quoting the C4 historian Kallisthenes) and Pliny *Natural History* 5. 107; \*S. Hornblower, *Mausolus* (1982) pp. 78-99; \*Hansen/Nielsen, *Inventory* pp. 1115f.
- Kos (island off SW Asia Minor) 366: Diodorus 15. 76. 2; \*S. Sherwin-White, *Ancient Cos* (1978) pp. 43ff.; \*Hansen/Nielsen, *Inventory* p. 753
- Messene in Peloponnese (370/69, after battle of Leuktra in 371): Pausanias 9. 15; \*Hansen/Nielsen, *Inventory* pp. 550 and 561-4
- 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 (380s): 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:**

- \*P. M. Fraser, *The Cities of Alexander the Great* (1996) with N. G. L. Hammond "Alexander's Newly-founded Cities" *GRBS* 39 (1998=2000) 243-69.
- see further below, reading for Lecture 9

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

**Lecture 7 (Nov. 25<sup>th</sup>):** 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*<sup>3</sup>

- C. Préaux, 'Ménandre et la société athénienne', *Chronique d'Égypte* 33 (1957) 84ff., against Tarn's dismissive *Hellenistic Civilization*<sup>3</sup> 273
- \*J. K. Davies, 'Athenian Citizenship: the Descent Group and the Alternatives', *Classical Journal* 73 (1977-8) 105-21 reprinted in P. Rhodes (ed.) *Athenian Democracy* (2004) ch. 1

#### **Theophrastus:**

- \*J. Diggle, *Theophrastus: Characters* (2004): big ed., tr., commentary
- P. Fraser, 'The World of Theophrastus' in S. Hornblower (ed.) *Greek Historiography* (1994) pp. 167-91
- R. Lane Fox, 'Theophrastus' *Characters* and the Historian', *Proceedings... Cambridge Philological Society* 42 (1996) 127-70
- \*P. Millett, *Theophrastus and his World* (2007) (on the *Characters*)

#### **General modern reading:**

- Rostovtzeff, *Soc. Econ. Hist. Hellenistic World* pp. 163-4
- M. H. Hansen, *Athenian Democracy in the Age of Demosthenes*<sup>2</sup> (1999)
- G. Cawkwell, 'Eubulus', *Journal of Hellenic Studies* 83 (1963) 47-67
- \*D. Lewis, 'The financial offices of Eubulus and Lycurgus' in his *Selected Papers* ed. P. J. Rhodes (1997) ch. 25
- C. Habicht, *Athens from Alexander to Antony* (1997) esp. chs. 1-4
- \*S. Humphreys, 'Lycurgus of Butadae: an Athenian Aristocrat', *The Strangeness of Gods* (2004) ch. 3: originally in a 1985 volume in honour of C. Starr, but note the long and important 2004 *Afterword* at pp. 110-29
- G. de Ste Croix, *Class Struggle in the Ancient Greek World* (1981) 301
- \*R. Parker, *Athenian Religion: a History* (1996) ch.11 pp. 242-55; ch. 12
- J. D. Mikalson, *Religion in Hellenistic Athens* (1998) chs. 1-3

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**Class (Dec. 1<sup>st</sup>):** the Life of Lykourgos of Athens by 'Plutarch', and IG ii<sup>2</sup> 457 (honours for L.). For reading see previous sheet

**Lecture 8 (Dec. 1<sup>st</sup>):** 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
- M. Weiskopf, *The So-called "Great Satraps' Revolt" 366-360 BC* (1989) with S. Hornblower, *Classical Review* 40 (1990) 363-5

#### **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 *OCD*<sup>3</sup> 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* 6<sup>2</sup> ch. 8a
- \*J. K. Davies, *Democracy and Classical Greece* ch. 12
- S. Ruzicka, *Politics of a Persian Dynasty: the Hekatomnids in the Fourth Century BC* (1992), and \*'The Eastern Greek World' in L. Tritle (ed.) *The Greek World in the Fourth Century BC* (1997) ch. 5

**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 = *OCD*<sup>3</sup> 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 8<sup>th</sup>):** the trilingual Pixodaros inscription from Xanthos, R/O no. 78; for modern reading see previous sheet.

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**Lecture 9 (Dec. 8<sup>th</sup>):** 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* 6<sup>2</sup> (+ the Epilogue =ch. 18, by S. Hornblower); or (even briefer) his entry in *OCD*<sup>3</sup>
- \*J. Roisman (ed.) *Brill's Companion to Alexander the Great* (2003), esp. chs. by Worthington (Macedon), Faraguna (the Greeks), Brosius (Persia), Fredericksmeier (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".
- A. B. Bosworth, 'Alexander and the Iranians', *JHS* 100 (1980), 1-21

- E. Fredericksmeier, 'Al. the Great and the Kingdom of Asia', in A. B. Bosworth and E. J. Baynham (eds.) *Alexander the Great in Fact and Fiction* (2000) 136-66
- R. Lane Fox 'Alexander, the last Achaemenid?' in C. Tuplin (ed.) *Persian Responses* (2007) - the following general recent text-books have chs. on Alexander: Hornblower, *Greek World* ch. 19; G. Shipley, *The Greek World after Alexander* (2000) ch. 2; Rhodes *History..Gk World* (2006) chs. 24 and 25 - W. Heckel, *Who's Who in the Age of Alexander the Great* (2006): useful, alphabetically arranged, reference work, making available and up-dating the material in a much older (1926) German book by H. Berve on the *prosopography* of Alexander's reign. For 'prosopography' see *OCD*<sup>3</sup>

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.
- R. Parker, *Athenian Religion: A History* (1996) 257 and nn. (deification)
- J. Davidson, *The Greeks and Greek Love* (2007) esp. ch. 12 (same-sex bonding in the Macedonian upper class).

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**Class (Dec 15<sup>th</sup>):** Arrian selections (1. 12 etc.) For reading see previous sheet

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**Lecture 10 (Dec. 15<sup>th</sup>):** 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 7<sup>2</sup> 1* (1984) chs. 2 and 4
- A. B. Bosworth, *The Legacy of Alexander* (2002)
- D. Braund in A. Erskine (ed.) *Companion to the Hellenistic World* (2003) ch. 3
- \*R. M. Errington, *History of the Hellenistic World* (2008) chs. 1-2
- E.J. Baynham, 'Antipater: Manager of Kings', in I. Worthington (ed.), *Ventures into Greek History* (1994), 331-56
- 'Antipater and Athens' in O. Palagia and S. V. Tracy (eds.) *The Macedonians in Athens, 322-229 B.C.* (2003) 23-29.

## 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, POPYRI 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.

- \*R.S. Bagnall & P.S. Derow, *The Hellenistic Period* (2004). Especially good on Ptolemaic Egypt and papyrological sources.
- \*S.M. Burstein, *The Hellenistic Age from the Battle of Ipsos to the death of Kleopatra VII* (Translated Documents of Greece and Rome, vol. 3, 1985).
- R.K. Sherk, *Rome and the Greek East to the Death of Augustus* (Translated Documents of Greece and Rome, vol. 4, 1984).
- \*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.
- J. Ma, *Antiochos III and the Cities of western Asia Minor* (1999/pb 2002) Appendix: all translated epigraphical documents of the reign of Antiochos III.

#### 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.
- G. Shipley, *The Greek World After Alexander 323–30 BC* (2000).
- 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.
- F.W. Walbank, *The Hellenistic World* (2nd ed. 1992) short, and a useful introduction.
- C. Préaux, *Le monde hellénistique* 2 vols. (1978): still an excellent book, good on economy and cultural developments.
- P. Green, *Alexander to Actium: the Historical Evolution of the Hellenistic Age* (1990).
- O. Murray & J. Griffin (eds.), *Oxford History of the Ancient World* (1986), chs. 13–16.
- \*C. Habicht, *Athens from Alexander to Antony* (1997).
- \*———, *The Hellenistic Monarchies : Selected Papers*. Some of these referred to separately below; all are important.
- \*M. Fantuzzi, R. Hunter, *Tradition and Innovation in Hellenistic Poetry* (2004).
- \*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

\**Oxford Classical Dictionary* = *OCD* (3<sup>rd</sup> edition, eds S. Hornblower, A.J.S. Spawforth):  
see also the first term's bibliography.

## E. MAPS

R. Talbert (ed.) *Barrington Atlas of the Greek and Roman World* (2000)

\**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. 12<sup>th</sup>, 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.

E. Will, 'The Formation of the Hellenistic Kingdoms', in *CAH* VII.1 (2nd ed. 1984), 101–17.

\*M.M. Austin, 'Hellenistic Kings, war and the economy', *CQ* (1986), 450–66.

## 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).

J.D. Grainger, *Seleukos Nikator: Constructing a Hellenistic Kingdom* (1990).

H. Lund, *Lysimachus. A Study in Early Hellenistic Kingship* (1992).

N.G.L. Hammond and F.W. Walbank, *A History of Macedonia* vol. 3 (1988) (s.v. 'Kassandros').

## DYNASTIES AND KINGSHIP

\*A. B. Bosworth, *The Legacy of Alexander, Politics, Warfare, and Propaganda under the Successors* (2005) ch. 7: 'Hellenistic Monarchy: Success and Legitimation'.

\*R.M. Errington, 'Macedonian "Royal Style" and its historical significance', *JHS* (1974), 20–37.

\*J. Ma, Chapter: 'Kings' in *BCHW*.

- \*E.S. Gruen, 'The Crowning of the Diadochi', in J.W. Eadie & J. Ober (eds.), *The Craft of the Ancient Historian. Essays in honour of Chester G. Starr* (1985), 253–71.
- A. Chaniotis, *War in the Hellenistic World* (2005) ch. 4: 'The Interactive King: War and the Ideology of Hellenistic Monarchy', 57–77.
- \*F.W. Walbank, 'Monarchies and monarchic ideas', in *CAH VII.1* (2nd ed. 1984), 62–100.
- O. Murray, 'Philosophy and Monarchy in the Hellenistic World' in T. Rajak (ed.) *Jewish Perspectives on Hellenistic Rulers* (2007) 13–28.
- P. Bilde et al. (eds) *Aspects of Hellenistic Kingship* (1996)  
(See also week 18: Ruler cult)

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**Class (Jan 12<sup>th</sup>):** Plutarch's life of Demetrius Poliorketes; 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. 19<sup>th</sup>) :** Ptolemaic Egypt; the first three Ptolemaic kings and the Aegean

#### GENERAL

- \*\*Errington, *HHW*, ch. 7.
- \*D. J. Thompson, ch. 7 in *BCHW*.
- \*\*Austin, *HW*, ch. 7, nos. 254–72; Bagnall & Derow, *HP*, nos. 24, 26, 27, 102, 103, 114, 118, 119, See also the \*Appendix on Ptolemaic administration (p. 285–88).
- G. Hölbl, *A History of the Ptolemaic Empire* (2000): a good general overview.  
*CAH VII.1*, ch. 5: 'Ptolemaic Egypt'.
- A.K. Bowman, *Egypt after the Pharaohs* (1986).
- J. Bingen, *Hellenistic Egypt. Monarchy, Society Economy, Culture* (2007) : an important collection of essays by a main papyrologist/historian. See below for separate papers (= Bingen, *HE*)

#### RULERS

- W.M. Ellis, *Ptolemy of Egypt* (1994).
- R.A. Hazzard, *Imaginations of a Monarchy: Studies in Ptolemaic Propaganda* (2000).
- 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*)
- E. Carney, *Women and the Macedonian Monarchy* (2000)  
(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)
- \*R.S. Bagnall, *The Administration of the Ptolemaic Possessions Outside Egypt* (1976).
- 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 OPHELLAS.

\*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:

C. Habicht, 'Athens and the Ptolemies' *Cl. Ant.* 11, 1992, 68–90, repr. in Habicht, *Athen in hellenistischer Zeit, gesammelte Aufsätze* (1994) 140–63.

G. M. Cohen, *The Hellenistic Settlements in Europe, the Islands, and Asia Minor* (1995) Appendix of Ptolemaic city foundations.

G.M. Cohen, *The Hellenistic settlements in Syria, the Red Sea Basin, and North Africa* (2006) Appendix of Ptolemaic foundations in the eastern Mediterranean.

**- A Ptolemaic city foundation in Cilicia:**

C.P. Jones and C. Habicht, 'A Hellenistic Inscription from Arsinoe in Cilicia' *Phoenix* 43 (1989) 317–46 (reprinted with an Addendum in Chr. Habicht, *The Hellenistic Monarchies*, 2006, 243–74).

C.P. Jones and J. Russel, 'Two New Inscriptions from Nagidos in Cilicia' *Phoenix* 47 (1993) 293–304.

**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

R.S. Bagnall, 'Origin of the Ptolemaic cleruchs', *Bulletin of the American Society of Papyrologists* 21 (1984), 7–20.

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:

\*W. Clarysse and K. Vandorpe, 'The Ptolemaic Apomoiria' in H. Melaerts (ed.) *Le culte du souverain dans l'Égypte ptolémaïque* (1998) 5–42.

On the status of the 'Royal peasants': J. Rowlandson, 'Freedom and Subordination in ancient agriculture', in P.A. Cartledge & F.D. Harvey (eds.), *CRUX. Studies in honour of G.E.M. de Ste Croix* (1985), 327–47.

On taxes and demography:

\*D.J. Thompson, 'The Infrastructure of Splendour: Census and Taxes in Ptolemaic Egypt', in P. Cartledge, P. Garnsey & E. Gruen (eds.), *Hellenistic Constructs. Essays in Culture, History and Historiography* (1997), 242–57.

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).

W. Clarysse and K. Vandorpe, *Zenon, un homme d'affaires grec à l'ombre des Pyramides* (1995). Translated from the Dutch, but not unfortunately into English.

P.W. Pestman *et. al.* *A Guide to the Zenon Archive*. (1981) 2 vols.

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:

\*J. Manning, 'The land tenure regime in the Fayum Depression' in his *Land and Power in Ptolemaic Egypt. The Structure of Land tenure* (2003) (in pamphlet box)

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**Class (Jan. 19<sup>th</sup>):** 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. 26<sup>th</sup>) :** 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

B. Bar-Kochva, *The Seleucid Army* (1976).

J.S. Morrison & J.F. Coates, *Greek and Roman Oared Warships 339–30 BC* (1996), 93–109.

H.H. Scullard, *The Elephant in the Greek and Roman World* (1974) chs. 2–5 and 9.

CENTRES OF ADMINISTRATION:

## 1. BABYLONIA AND MESOPOTAMIA:

- \*S. Sherwin-White & A. Kuhrt, *From Samarkhand to Sardis. A New Approach to the Seleucid Empire* (1993), chs. 1, 2 and 5.
- \*S. Sherwin-White, 'Seleukid Babylonia: A case study for the installation and development of Greek rule', in A. Kuhrt & S. Sherwin-White (eds.), *Hellenism in the East* (1987), 1–31 [with F.W. Walbank's review in *Liverpool Classical Monthly* 13.7 (1988), 108–12: copy provided in box]. (See also below under Lecture 15 for Chr. Habicht's fundamental article).
- \*Austin, *HW* 167 (= Strabo on Seleukia on Tigris) and 185 (Polybius on Media and Ecbatana) with \*A. Invernizzi, 'Seleucia on the Tigris: centre and periphery in Seleucid Asia' in P. Bilde *et al* (eds), *Centre and Periphery in the Hellenistic World* (1993) 230–50.
- A. Kuhrt and S. Sherwin-White, 'Aspects of Seleucid Royal Ideology: the Cylinder of Antiochus I from Borsippa' *JHS* 111 (1991) 71–86.

## 2. SYRIA

- \*Austin, *HW*, 160 (Strabo on N. Syria), with \*G.M. Cohen, *The Hellenistic settlements in Syria, the Red Sea Basin, and North Africa* (2006) 21–28 : geographic overview of northern Syria, and 73–139 (the cities).
- J.D. Grainger, *The Cities of Seleukid Syria* (1990).
- F.G.B. Millar, 'The Phoenician cities: a case-study in Hellenization', *PCPS* (1983), 55–71.
- J.F. Salles, 'The Arab-Persian Gulf under the Seleukids', in A. Kuhrt & S. Sherwin-White (eds.) *Hellenism in the East* (1987) 75–109.

## 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.
- \*P. Bernard, 'An ancient Greek city in Central Asia', *Scientific American* 246 (1982), 126–35 (photocopy in box): on Ai Khanum
- P. Leriche, 'The Greeks in the Orient: from Syria to Bactria' in V. Karagheorghis (ed.) *The Greeks beyond the Aegean: from Marseilles to Bactria* (2002) 78–128 (copy in box)
- \*J. Rea and others, 'A Tax Receipt from Hellenistic Bactria', *ZPE* 104 (1994) 261–78 (copy in box).
- \*W. Clarysse, D. Thompson, 'Two texts on skin from Hellenistic Bactria' *ZPE* 159 (2007) 273–79. (copy in box).
- F. Holt, *Thundering Zeus: the making of Hellenistic Bactria* (1999).
- G. Fussman, 'Southern Bactria and Northern India before Islam: a review of archaeological remains' *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 116 (1996)

243–59.

\*P. M. Fraser, 'The son of Aristonax at Kandahar' *Afghan Studies* 2 (1979) 9–21 (copy in box)

A.N. Oikonomides, 'The Temenos of Alexander the Great in Alexandria in Arachosia' *ZPE* 56 (1984) 145–47.

J. Cribb and G. Herrmann, *After Alexander: Central Asia before Islam* (2007)

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 26<sup>th</sup>):** On the edges of empire: Aśoka, 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. 2<sup>nd</sup>):** 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.

Plutarch. *Lives* of Pyrrhus, Aratos (*LCL Lives*, vol. 11), Philopoimen, Agis and Kleomenes (*LCL, Lives* vol. 10).

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.

J. Briscoe, 'The Antigonids and the Greek States', in P. D. A. Garnsey & C.R. Whittaker (eds.) *Imperialism in the Ancient World* (1978), 145–57.

RULERS

R.A. Billows, *Antigonos the One-Eyed and the Creation of the Hellenistic State* (1990).

W.W. Tarn, *Antigonos Gonatas* (1913).

J.J. Gabbert, *Antigonos II Gonatas: A Political Biography* (1997).

MACEDONIA AND MACEDONIAN INSTITUTIONS

\*F.W. Walbank, 'Sea power and the Antigonids' in W. L. Adams and E. N. Borza (eds) *Philip II, Alexander the Great and the Macedonian Heritage* (1983) 213–36.

\*M.B. Hatzopoulos, *Macedonian Institutions under the Kings I, A Historical and Epigraphic Study*. *Meletemata* 22 (1996). vol. 1, parts 3 &4.

N.G.L. Hammond & F.W. Walbank, *A History of Macedonia vol. 3: 336–167 BC* (1988).

N.G.L. Hammond, *The Macedonian State: Origins, Institutions and History* (1989).

R.M. Errington, *A History of Macedonia* (1990).

AITOLIAN AND ACHAIAN LEAGUES

- F.W. Walbank, 'Were there Greek federal states?', *Scripta Classica Israelica* 3 (1976–7), 27–51, = *Selected Papers* (1985), 20ff.
- J.B. Scholten, *The Politics of Plunder. Aitolians and their Koinon in the Early Hellenistic Era, 279–217 BC* (2000).
- S. Bommeljé *et al* (eds.), *Aetolia and the Aetolians. Towards the interdisciplinary study of a Greek region* (1987).
- F.W. Walbank, *Aratus of Sicyon* (1933).
- R.M. Errington, *Philopoemen* (1969).
- J.D. Grainger, *The League of the Aitolians* (1999).
- P. Cartledge & A.J. Spawforth, *Hellenistic and Roman Sparta. A Tale of Two Cities* (1989), part I, esp. chs. 1–3.

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**Class (Feb 2<sup>nd</sup>):** *Asyilia* and piracy

- Read:** \*\*Austin, *HW* 23, 47, 50, 60, 65, 66, 104, 105, 106, 107, 115, 116, 159, 190, 191.
- \*A. Chaniotis, 'Conflicting Authorities. *Asyilia* between secular and divine law in the classical and hellenistic poleis' *Kernos* 9 (1996), 65–86 (in pamphlet box)
- \*A. Chaniotis, *War in the Hellenistic World* (2004) index, s.v. 'pirates'.
- K.J. Rigsby, *Asyilia: Territorial Inviolability in the Hellenistic Period* (1996) Introduction.
- Ph. de Souza, *Piracy in the Graeco-Roman world* (2000).
- \*R. Parker, 'New Panhellenic Festivals in Hellenistic Greece' in R. Schiesler and U. Zellmann (eds.) *Mobility and Travel in the Mediterranean from Antiquity to the Middle Ages* (2004) 9–22 (copy in pamphlet box).

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

THE MACEDONIAN BACKGROUND

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

- \*E. Carney, 'Hunting and the Macedonian elite: sharing the rivalry of the chase (Arrian 4.13.1) in D. Ogden (ed.) *The Hellenistic World. New Perspectives* (2002) 59–80.
- \*N.G.L. Hammond 'Royal pages, personal pages and boys trained in the Macedonian manner during the period of the Temenid monarchy' *Historia* 39 (1990) 261–90 (= *Collected Studies* II, 149–78). See also J. Davidson, *The Greeks and Greek Love* (2007) ch. 12 (mentioned also above under Lecture 9).
- \*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).
- M.B. Hatzopoulos, *L'organisation de l'armée macédonienne sous les Antigonides : problèmes anciens et documents nouveaux* *Meletemata* 30 (2001).

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.

- \*F. Walbank, Review of Kuhrt and Sherwin-White *Hellenism in the East*: in *Liverpool Classical Monthly* 13.7 (1988) 108–112, discusses among other things the issue of the nature of the 'ruling class'.
- \*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).
- L. Mooren, *The Aulic Titulature in Ptolemaic Egypt: Introduction and Prosopography* (1975) 'Introduction'. ('Aulic' means: 'of the court').
- \*————— (1985), 'The Ptolemaic Court System' in *Studia J. Bingen dicata. Chr.Eg* 60: 214–22.
- J. Rowlandson, 'The Character of Ptolemaic Aristocracy' in T. Rajak (ed.) *Jewish Perspectives on Hellenistic Rulers* (2007) ch. 2.
- G. Herman, 'The Court Society of the Hellenistic Age', in P. Cartledge, P. Garnsey & E. Gruen (eds.), *Hellenistic Constructs. Essays in Culture, History and Historiography* (1997) 199–224.

#### 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.
  - \*G. G. Aperghis, *The Seleukid Royal Economy* (2004) 99–113.
  - M. Hatzopoulos, *Une donation du roi Lysimaque* (1988) 29–35.
- See also week 12 for the Egyptian situation.

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**Class (Feb 9<sup>th</sup>):** elites at work play: the Posidippus papyrus.

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

- \*\*M. Fantuzzi and R. Hunter, *Tradition and Innovation in Hellenistic Poetry* (2004), 377–403.
- \*M. Fantuzzi, 'The Structure of the *Hippika* in P.Mil. Vogl. VIII 309 in B. Acosta-Hughes, E. Kosmetatou, M. Baumbach (eds) *Labored in Papyrus Leaves. Perspectives on an Epigram collection attributed to Posidippus (P.Mil. Vogl. VIII 309)* 2004 212–24.
- \*P. Bing, 'Posidippus and the Admiral: Kallikrates of Samos in the Milan Epigrams' *GRBS* 43: 243–66 (2003)

- \*R. van Bremen, 'The entire house is full of Crowns: Hellenistic Agones and the commemoration of Victory' in S. Hornblower and C. Morgan (eds.) *Pindar's Poetry, Patrons and Festivals* (2007) 345–75.
- D. Thompson, 'Posidippus, Poet of the Ptolemies' in K. Gutzwiller, ed. *The New Posidippus. A Hellenistic Poetry Book*. (2005), 269–86.

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**READING WEEK : February 15<sup>th</sup> – 19<sup>th</sup>**

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**Lecture 16 (Feb. 23<sup>rd</sup>)** : 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*.
- \*C. Habicht, 'Athens and the Attalids in the second century BC', *Hesperia* 59 (1990), 561–77.
- G.M. Cohen, *Hellenistic Settlements in Europe, the Islands and Asia Minor* (1995) p. 415: Attalid city foundations.
- E.V. Hansen, *The Attalids of Pergamon* (2nd. ed. 1971).
- R.E. Allen, *The Attalid Kingdom: A Constitutional History* (1983).
- R.B. McShane, *The Foreign Policy of the Attalids of Pergamum* (1964).
- \*L. Jonnes & M. Riçl, 'A new royal inscription from Phrygia Paroreios: Eumenes II grants Tyriaion the status of a polis' *Epigraphica Anatolica* 29 (1997) 1ff. (text = Austin 236).
- \*R. Kearsly, 'The Milyas and the Attalids: a Decree of the city of Olbasa and a new royal letter of the second century BC' *Anatolian Studies* 44 (1994) 47–57.

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.
- S. Mitchell, *Anatolia* vol. I, chs. 1–3 on the settlement and integration of the Gauls.
- G. Darbyshire, S. Mitchell, L. Vardar, 'The Galatian settlements in Asia Minor' *Anatolian Studies* 50 (2000) 75–97.
- L. Hannestad, 'Greeks and Celts' in P. Bilde et. al. (eds) *Centre and Periphery in the Hellenistic world* (1994) 15–37.

RHODES

- \*Strabo 14, 2. 214 (*LCL* vol. 6); \*Austin, *Hellenistic World*, 47, 110–13; 130.
- J.L. O'Neil, 'How democratic was Hellenistic Rhodes?' *Athenaeum* 59 (1981) 468–73.
- \*P.M. Fraser, 'Alexander and the Rhodian constitution', *Parola del Passato* 7 (1952), 192–206.
- I. Pappachristodoulou, 'The Rhodian demes within the framework of the function of the Rhodian State' in Gabrielsen et. al. *Hellenistic Rhodes*, 27–43.

- V. Gabrielsen, 'Subdivisions of the State and their Decrees in Hellenistic Rhodes', *C&M* 45 (1994), 137–60.
- V. Gabrielsen, *The Naval Aristocracy of Hellenistic Rhodes* (1996) 24–37 (in pamphlet box)
- V. Gabrielsen *et. al.* eds, *Hellenistic Rhodes, Politics, Culture and Society* (1999).
- R.M. Berthold, *Rhodes in the Hellenistic Age* (1984) (largely on political developments).
- R.H.J. Ashton: 'The Coinage of Rhodes 408 – c. 190 B.C.', in A. Meadows & K. Shipton (2001) 79–115, especially 92–99.
- P.M. Fraser & G. Bean, *The Rhodian Peraea and Islands* (1954).

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**Class (Feb. 23<sup>rd</sup>):** Rhodes

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

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**Lecture 17 (March 2<sup>nd</sup>):** Greek cities.

CIVIC CONSTITUTIONS, SYMPOLITEIAI

- \*Austin *HW*, 6 (Alexander and Chios) 48, 152, 153, 154, 155, 156, 157
- \*L. Jonnes & M. Riçl, '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.
- \*R. van Bremen, 'Family Structures', *BCHW* 313–30 (on Pidasia-Latmos).
- \*G. Reger, (2004): 'Sympoliteiai in Hellenistic Asia Minor', in: S. Colvin (ed.) *The Graeco-Roman East, Politics, Culture, Society* (2004) 144–80.

KINSHIP DIPLOMACY

- C.P. Jones, *Kinship Diplomacy in the Ancient World* (1999).
- A. Erskine, 'O brother where art thou: Tales of kinship and diplomacy' in D. Ogden (ed.) *The Hellenistic World. New Perspectives* (2002) ch. 6.
- \*J. Ma, 'Peer-polity interaction in the Hellenistic Age' *P&P* 180 (2003) 9–39.

FINANCES

- \*Austin, *HW* 117–135.

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 in Ancient Greece* (2000) ch. 13.
- Ph. de Souza, *Piracy in the Graeco-Roman world* (2000).
- \*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:

- G. Oliver, *War, Food, and Politics in early Hellenistic Athens* (2007).  
 A.W. McNicoll, *Hellenistic Fortifications from the Aegean to the Euphrates* (1997).  
 F. Winter, 'Problems on tradition and innovation in Greek fortifications in Asia Minor, late 5th –3rd cent. BC' *REA* 96 (1994) 29–52.

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**Class (March 2<sup>nd</sup>)** : 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 Pidasas.

\*K. Vantorpe, 'Protecting Sagalassos' fortress of the Akra' *Ancient Society* 37 (2007) 121–39.

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**Lecture 18 (March 9<sup>th</sup>)** : 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.  
 \*M. Fantuzzi and R. Hunter, *Tradition and Innovation in Hellenistic Poetry* (2004) ch. 8.  
 \*S. Pfeiffer, 'The god Serapis, his Cult and the beginnings of Ruler Cult in Ptolemaic Egypt' in *Ptol.Phil.* 387–408 (in pamphlet box).  
 S. Barbantani, 'Goddess of Love and Mistress of the Sea. Notes on a Hellenistic Hymn to Arsinoe - Aphrodite', *Ancient Society* 35 (2005) 135–65.  
 \*Austin *HW*, 39 (Antigonos), 162 (Antiochos I or III), 256, 272; Ma, *Antiochos*, dossier no. 37: Letter of Antiochos III appointing 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).  
 A.E. Samuel, 'The Ptolemies and the Ideology of kingship, in P. Green (ed.), *Hellenistic History and Culture* (1993), 168–211.

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

#### CIVIC CULTS

- \*Austin *HW*, 148–151  
 \*R. Parker, *Athenian Religion: a History* (1996), ch. 12.  
 \*P. Fraser, *Ptolemaic Alexandria* 3 vols. (1972) I, ch. 5.  
 F. Walbank, *The Hellenistic World* ch. 12: Religious developments.  
 E. Lupu, *Greek Sacred Law. A Collection of New Documents* (2005) with the \*review by Jan-Mathieu Carbon, *Bryn Mawr Classical Review* 2005. 04. 07  
<http://ccat.sas.upenn.edu/bmcr/2005/2005-04-07.html>  
 J.D. Mikalson *Religion in Hellenistic Athens* (1998).  
 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 *Trad. and Innov. Hell. Poetry*. 350–71 on the tradition of hymns.
- F. Solmsen, *Isis among the Greeks and Romans* (1979).
- A.E. Samuel, *From Athens to Alexandria: Hellenism and Social Goals in Ptolemaic Egypt* (1983), ch. III, 75–101: Greek Religion in Egypt.
- J.E. Stambaugh, *Sarapis under the early Ptolemies* (1972).
- H.S. Versnel, *Ter Unus: Isis, Dionysus, Hermes: three studies in Henotheism*. (1990) Ch. on Isis.

## 2: THE PHRYGIAN 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.
- J. Devreker, *Pessinous I* (1984) introduction.

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**Class (March 9<sup>th</sup>):** Kybele, Meter, Magna Mater

**Read:** above, Roller’s chs. 7 and 8

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**Lecture 19 (March 16<sup>th</sup>):** 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. Kuhrt, *From Samarkhand to Sardis. A New Approach to the Seleucid Empire* (1993) chs. 3 and 4 on the later 3<sup>rd</sup> 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* (2<sup>nd</sup> ed.) esp. ch. 1 and 2

On Ptolemaic aims and activities in the Aegean see:

G. Reger, 'The political history of the Kyklades, 260–200 BC' *Historia* 43 (1994) 32–69

R.A. Hazzard, *Imaginations of a Monarchy: Studies in Ptolemaic Propaganda* (2000)

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**Class (March 16<sup>th</sup>)** : 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 23<sup>rd</sup>)** : 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.

F.W. Walbank, *Polybius* (1972), esp ch 6.

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).

P. Derow, 'Polybius, Rome and the East', *JRS* 69 (1979), 1–15.

F. Millar, 'Polybius between Greece and Rome' in J.T.A. Koumoulides (ed.) *Greek Connections* (1987) 1–18.

F.W. Walbank, 'Fortune (Tyche) in Polybius' in J. Marincola (ed.) *A Companion to Greek and Roman Historiography* 2 vols. (2007) 349–55.

C. Champion 'Polybius and Aetolia : a Historiographical approach', *ibidem*, 356–62.

C. Pelling, 'The Greek Historians of Rome' *ibidem* 245–50 discusses Polybius.

#### LYKOPHRON'S VIEW

On Lykophron, see P. Fraser, *OCD*<sup>3</sup> s.v.

P. Fraser, 'Lykophron on Cyprus' *Report of the Department of Antiquities, Cyprus* (1979) 328–43.

#### THE WARS

M.H. Crawford, *The Roman Republic* (1992), ch. 6.

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

F. Walbank, *Philip V of Macedon* (1940).

E. Badian, 'Rome and Antiochos the Great: a study in Cold War' in his *Studies in Greek and Roman History* (1964), 112–39.

W.V. Harris, *War and Imperialism in Republican Rome, 327–70 BC* (1979), 212–23

A.N. Sherwin White, *Roman Foreign Policy in the East* (1984), ch 2.

#### ROMANS IN THE EAST; ROMAN PATRONS AND GREEK CITIES

Sherk, no. 47 (Roman *negotiatores*)

M.H. Crawford, 'Rome and the Greek world: economic relationships', *Economic History Review* 1977, 42–52.

J.L. Ferrary, 'The Hellenistic World and Roman Political Patronage' in P. Cartledge, P. Garnsey, E. Gruen (eds.), *Hellenistic Constructs. Essays in Culture, History and Historiography* (1997), 105–119.

#### ANTIOCHOS IV

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