JOAQUÍN
MONTERO

THE LEGACY OF ALEXANDER THE GREAT

IMAGE AND INFLUENCE OF

ALEXANDER THE GREAT

THROUGH THE CENTURIES

VOLUME 1

From the Ancient World to the Renaissance

UNIVERSITY PRESS
OF THE SOUTH

2023

Copyright 2023 by Joaquín Montero.

All rights reserved. No part of this publication may be reproduced without the prior written permission of the Publisher.
Published in the United States by The University Press of the South. Printed in France by Bookmundo.

E-mail: universitypresssouth@gmail.com, unprsouth@aol.com
Visit our award-winning web pages: www.unprsouth.com
www.punouveaumonde.com

The Legacy of Alexander the Great.I mage and Influence of Alexander the Great Through the Centuries. Vol. I: From the Ancient World To the Renaissance.

First English Edition. Art History Series, 15.

375 pages.
Front Cover Design by Joaquín Montero/Stan Levêque. Reproduced with Permission.

1. History 2. Art History. 3. Ancient World. 4. Renaissance. 5. Alexander the Great. 6. Image. 7. Influence. 8. Cities. 9. Ancient Numismatics. 10. Joaquín Montero.

ISBN: 978-1-952799-53-2
2023

To my mother
and to my father
who are already
with Alexander.

LIST OF CONTENTS

Introduction to the subject and methodology. p. 8
Historiography and sources of Alexander the Great. p. 12
Timeline of events in Alexander's life and campaigns. p. 18

SECTIONS

PART I. The Cities of Alexander. p. 26
1. The number of cities.
2. The purpose of Alexander's cities.
3. Size and significance of the cities.
4. The list of settlements.
5. Some uncertain foundations.
6. Other developments.

PART II. The Image of Alexander in Antiquity. p. 89
Introduction and sources.
1. Prince Alexander.
2. Alexander conqueror of Europe and Persia (336-330 BC).
3. Alexander, lord of Asia (330-323 BC).
4. The image of Alexander during the Diadochi (323-300 BC).
5. The Alexandrine conception of Alexander (3rd-2nd centuries BC).
6. The Asian iconography of Alexander (2nd century BC).
7. Late-Hellenistic and Roman conception of Alexander (1st century BC). Etruscan 'Alexanders'.
8. Alexander in the Roman Empire (1st-3rd centuries AD). The *Imitatio Alexandri*.

PART III. Alexander in Ancient Numismatics. p. 276
1. Alexander's coinage.
    1.1. Alexander and his tetradrachms.
        1.1.2. Lifetime vs. Posthumous.
    1.2. Alexander depicts himself.
2. Alexander's portraits and representations in other coinages.
    2.1. Hellenistic times.
        2.1.1. Alexander as Apollo.
        2.1.2. The Ptolemies in Egypt.
        2.1.3. Seleukos I in Syria and the East.
        2.1.4. Lysimachus in Thrace and Asia Minor.
    2.2. Roman times.
        2.2.1. Alexandrine representations of Alexander the Great.
            2.2.1.1. Genius of Alexandria.

2.2.1.2. Hadrian's Alexandrian coinage.
2.2.1.3. Alexander Triptolemos in the Alexandrian coinage.
2.2.2. Alexander as Ares-Mars or heroic ruler.
2.2.3. Alexander as Helios-Sol.
2.2.4. Alexander in the Macedonian coinage under the Romans and other Greek Imperial coins.
2.2.5. Alexander as Bonus Eventus, Genius Populi Romani/Demos.

PART IV. Alexander: from Medieval Myth to Renaissance Prince. p. 325
1. An Alexander between myth and legend.
2. Christianization of Alexander: literary iconography of the *Alexander Romance*.
3. The flight of Alexander in the mosaic of Otranto.
4. Medieval illustrated manuscripts: *The Hague*.
5. Alexander: an exemplary Renaissance prince in modern times.

Conclusion. p. 357
Works cited by sections. p. 358
Bibliography for Alexander by topics. p. 366

Introduction to the subject and methodology

The present work is based on the fact that the reader knows the life and history of Alexander the Great, since this is not a historical biography or a chronicle of his exploits and military campaigns, but a compendium of illustrative art examples to demonstrate that there is a long legacy and an iconographic continuity of Alexander the Great throughout all history (in art, ideas, values, and other influences) up to the present day. The relevance of his legacy and iconographic model accompanies us throughout the ages and reaches our contemporary times. For a better understanding of the evolution and the use of the image of Alexander and the significance that he had in different fields, the different parts of this work have been ordered by themes, and somehow chronologically, from the beginning of those artistic manifestations related to his person, including the foundation of new cities, to the present moment.

But this visual journey is incomplete and will always be incomplete because it is impossible to include everything existing about Alexander the Great. There will always be a new archaeological discovery or another artistic representation to add to this endless list of Alexander's iconographies. So this work is in part an introductory iconographic catalog with selected examples that serve to fulfill and support the purpose of that thesis topic, but that in no way intends to cover absolutely everything that can be found about the image and figure of the Macedonian leader throughout the centuries, but to offer a series of clear and concise examples as a common thread of that existing and persistent continuity of his iconography, his memory, his symbolic image, and his influence and relevance in art and societies from different eras.

One of the main reasons for choosing this extensive topic on Alexander the Great has been the absence of global reviews and publications on his image throughout history. There are many books, articles, and other academic works that cover many other aspects of Alexander's life, his military campaigns, and a huge number of biographies, but very few studies or no compilations on his image throughout the history of art. Most of the published topics related to art only cover portraits of his lifetime, the Hellenistic period, and the Roman world, that is, the art of Antiquity.

After many years of collecting images and references related to Alexandrian representations over all the different periods in the art history of the world, I could clearly see that there was room for this work and for this topic. Many eras of Alexander's iconography had been neither studied nor brought together in a global overview. To this date, neither previous nor recent studies have been found on the image of Alexander the

Great through the centuries. Therefore, the evolution of the image of Alexander in the history of mankind and the different interpretations during those different periods of time -and mainly in what refers to modern and contemporary art-, is something that has never been done. Therefore, these are the reasons for choosing this theme to show the continuity of its presence, influence, and relevance over time at many levels, and not only in the world of art, but also as a constant social presence globally.

Objective and contribution of this research

The main intention of this study is to complete a greater vision of the figure and image of Alexander through the history of art, and to demonstrate its clear and evident continuity in all eras, although with different interpretations depending on the period. This is a global vision of Alexander's presence in art and society. A general approach to lay the foundations for other future research works in some of the areas included here, since when dealing with Alexander's studies everything is open to more comments, other contributions and interpretations, and deeper studies. In any case, the material compiled here and the way it is displayed, classified, and interpreted is original and unique in its global overview.

The contribution of this research work to what already exists, or for the future, can be specified in the following points:

1. A study or compilation of these characteristics has never been done before; therefore, it is new and different from what already exists. It covers about twenty-four centuries of art history, from the life of Alexander to the present, so it is a global approach and a complete vision of his historical figure.
2. Provides and contributes something new in some stages of the history of the image of Alexander with a compilation of images never seen before, mainly for those periods of modern and contemporary art.
3. This extensive and global compilation of images of Alexander lays the foundations for any other type of study or approach to the subject in the future, being able to go deeper in any of the included chapters or sections.

This extensive pictorial and imagery work has been divided into two volumes: the first one covers Alexander from Ancient times to Renaissance and early modern times, and the second book compiles the images of Alexander into the modern and contemporary eras. On this volume, the first part is an introduction to the cities founded by Alexander, an immediate consequence of his military campaigns and a fundamental foundation for the spread and continuity of Hellenism, his influence in history, and his lasting name. The second part introduces a review of Alexander the Great in the art of the ancient world, for which it is essential to see the contents explained on next and

following chapter: the image of Alexander in ancient numismatics, which also illustrates some of the works and portraits mentioned on the previous part, but not included there to avoid repetition, and because here we find a more rigorous study of Alexander's numismatic portraits; so the second part is a brief historical and contextual introduction to the ancient portraiture of Alexander globally. The fourth part covers the medieval Alexander into the Renaissance, and the relationship of his image with the literature of the time, since the iconographic representations of the Macedonian are scarcer, as well as his depictions during the early modern times of the Renaissance. The first part of the second volume will be the most extensive artistic representations, covering the transition to the modern times and reaching the contemporary world up to our days. It continues with a brief overview of Alexander the Great in modern and contemporary fiction literature, away from the historical sources, and it also includes a brief variety of references to poetry, modern novels, and some dystopic and imaginary views. The last part of the second volume is an introduction to various views of Alexander in contemporary pop culture at many different levels including very popular topics in today's social media.

In any case, Alexander's theme is almost infinite, and he will always continue to produce studies and publications in the many different fields of history, art, and literature, as well as new opinions and interpretations. Each historian and each person make their own portrait of Alexander. Never has any human being who lived for such a short time originated so many rivers of ink and so much interest at a global level. For this reason, and with my feet on the ground and great humility –since in the world of research usually nothing is entirely owned by one person neither entirely original-, I offer here the result of so many years of searching without the technology that we enjoy today in some cases, but rather with tenacity and continuity until I realize that covering everything that exists about Alexander was a utopia. As mentioned before, there will always be something else to discover about Alexander, so new contributions to this iconographic compilation can be updated and extended in the future. The visual content and the graphic documents included -the illustrations and images collected here-, are undoubtedly the most important part of this research.

Assessment of sources and works cited

Of the many and different sources used to elaborate this work, four categories are the most relevant:

1. General bibliography: published sources such as books, magazines, and research articles. These sources helped cover the historical and artistic context during Alexander's lifetime and art in Antiquity. Including those important historical sources which used the original literature on Alexander that was lost in time -see *Historiography and Sources of Alexander the Great* below-.

2. Specific artistic, graphic, and iconographic sources: books and art articles, but mainly a large number of museums and exhibitions' catalogs on Alexander the Great. Many of these art exhibitions containing multiple portraits and pieces of Alexander and his times are temporarily loaned by museums around the world, so they are an excellent opportunity to find the best and choicest images and portraits of Alexander, which have been held by different countries over the recent years. Nearly all these books, catalogs and sources are part of my extensive personal collection and library about Alexander.

3. Other photographic sources and images: mostly from the Internet image search through Google Images and taken from Creative Commons or Wiki Commons, which are public domain and free of copyrights for research and educational purposes -most have been indicated on each image, and if not, they come from non-copy rights sites; as well as others from printed or Internet catalogs belonging to private art today or from numismatic auctions. In any case, the numismatic illustrations included in this work are pieces which mostly are part of my private collection of coins from the times of Alexander to the present day, including any type of numismatic portraiture of Alexander from the Hellenistic and Roman eras to the contemporary world.

4. Personal visits to museums and exhibitions for years to take photos, purchase catalogs and photographs of any representation of Alexander to create my own database. Of the many museums, exhibitions, art galleries and archaeological sites visited over many years, the most productive and notable were the following:

- Athens, Greece: National Archaeological Museum, Acropolis Museum and Numismatic Museum of Athens.
- Thessaloniki, Pella, and Vergina Museums, Macedonia, Greece.
- Olympia, Greece: Archaeological Museum of Ancient Olympia, archaeological site, and The Museum of the Olympic Games.
- Rhodes, Greece: Archaeological Museum of Rhodes.
- Delphi, Greece: Delphi Archaeological Museum and archaeological sites.
- Asia Minor: Archaeological sites of Priene, Miletus, Didyma, Pergamum, and Ephesus.
- Rome, Italy: Vatican and Capitoline Museums.
- Pompeii and Naples, Italy: Arhaeological sites in Pompeii, and Naples National Archaeological Museum.
- Paris, France: Louvre Museum.
- London, England: British Museum and National Gallery.
- Madrid, Spain: The Prado Museum.
- Copenhagen, Denmark: The Glyptotek, and Thorvaldsen Museum.
- Munich, Germany: The Glyptothek, Staatliche Antikensammlungen, and Alte Pinakothek, Alte Museum, Pergamon Museum, and Bode Museum.
- Berlin, Germany: Altes Museum, Neues Museum, Pergamon Museum, Bode Museum, and Alte Nationalgalerie.
- New York, USA: Metropolitan Museum of Art.

- Boston, USA: Museum of Fine Arts.
- Baltimore, USA: The Walters Art Museum.
- Chicago, USA: Art Institute.

All the images used in this work have been classified chronologically in order to create an accurate division into the different chapters, so that the parts of the study follow a temporal order, from the times of Alexander to the present day. Similarly, during those time periods and eras of art history, and in order to classify the iconography of Alexander in a more appropriate way, subject groups have also been created, to represent some of the most popular episodes of Alexander's life, myth, and legend. The materials and the information have been organized in chronological order, as well as in thematic groups within that space-time organization. For information on all the bibliographical sources and others, see the final bibliographical appendix.

Historiography and sources of Alexander the Great

Entire books have been produced by several scholars on this subject, and this is not the purpose of this work, so here there is only a brief introduction to clarify some basic aspects of the matter. For anyone interested in more information see the bibliography at the end of the book. Since all primary sources written by people who knew Alexander or collected information from those who served or were close to him are lost, we can only rely on secondary sources that used the primary ones. Those contemporaries who wrote any accounts of Alexander's life include Callistenes[1], Alexander's campaign historian; Ptolemy and Nearchus, friends and generals of Alexander; Aristobulus, a junior officer on his campaigns; and Onesicritus, Alexander's chief helmsman. There is also the account of Cleitarchus, who used Alexander's contemporary sources.[2]

The most reliable writings to study Alexander are all those Greco-Roman works based on the primary sources. These main surviving accounts which followed the primary ones are ancient Greek and Latin sources, as well as some Asian documents. The most relevant texts were written by Arrian, Quintus Curtius Rufus, Diodorus Siculus, Plutarch, and Justin. In addition to that, the *Metz Epitome*,[3] an anonymous late Latin work that

[1] Callistenes of Olynthus, whose great uncle was the philosopher and Alexander's tutor Aristotle, wrote an account of Alexander's expedition up to the year 327 BC, when he was executed, and other lost works. But his work lasted long enough to be used as a source for other histories that have survived. The more legendary material merged into the *Alexander Romance*, originated in the present form during the 3rd century AD, by a so-called pseudo-Callisthenes, and this text will be the basis of all the legends of Alexander in the Middle Ages.

[2] Green, Peter. *Alexander the Great*. 2007, pp. 22-28.

[3] Historical fragments of a manuscript destroyed during the Second World War, found in Metz, where its name is coming from. The sources of this anonymous author are related to the historian Cleitarchus.

narrates the campaigns of Alexander from Hyrcarnia to India[4]; and Strabo as a valid source for Alexander's journey to Siwah. The most relevant ancient historians that we follow to get reliable and more accurate information about Alexander and his accomplishments are:

Arrian: *The Anabasis Alexandri* or *The Campaigns of Alexander*, by the Greek historian Arrian of Nicomedia, written in Greek in the 2nd century AD, takes mostly Ptolemy as the main source, and in less extent, Aristobulus and Nearchus. This is considered the best source for studying Alexander's campaigns focusing on history and not his private life. On his work *Indica* he describes the voyage of Nearchus –Alexander's officer-, from the Indus River to the Persian Gulf.

Curtius: The Roman historian Quintus Curtius Rufus wrote in the 1st century AD a biography of Alexander in ten books, *Historiae Alexandri Magni*, or *History of Alexander the Great*. His main source was Cleitarchus with some from Ptolemy. He focuses on the character more than on geography, military techniques, or accurate chronology.

Diodorus: The Sicilian Diodorus Siculus wrote during the 1st century AD and in Greek language his *Bibliotheca Historica* or *World History Library*. The section about Alexander starts on Book 17, with Cleitarchus and Hieronymus of Cardia as his main sources.

Plutarch: Plutarch of Chaeronea, was a Greek historian and biographer in the 2nd century AD, who bases his works on Alexander on Aristobulus and Cleitarchus. His *Life of Alexander* is part of his series of works *Parallel Lives*. He also wrote two orations on his *Moralia*, *On the Fortune or the Virtue of Alexander the Great*. Plutarch focuses more on the character and personality of the Macedonian king, providing the most accurate physical description of the young Alexander and also discussing the work of Lysippos, Alexander's official sculptor.

Justin: He wrote a shorter version of the earlier history by Pompeius Trogus, with a more moralistic view than the typical historian work, the *Epitome of the Philippic History of Pompeius Trogus*.

The *Itinerarium Alexandri* (*The Journey of Alexander* or *The Itinerary of Alexander*) is a 4th century AD travel guide in Latin listing cities, villages and other locations on a journey that includes the intervening distances documented. The text describes the journey of conquest of Alexander and includes the time frame from his ascendant to the

[4] Bayham, Elizabeth, and J. Yardley. *The Historiography of Alexander the Great: The Metz Epitome*. University of Newcastle, 2000.

throne to his campaigns in India. It is based on Arrian's *Anabasis of Alexander* and contains similarities to the *Alexander Romance*. His author is unknown, but this work was dedicated to the Roman emperor Constantius II and it is attributed to Julius Valerius in AD 340, who also wrote *Res Gestae Alexandri Macedonis*.

Authentic sources of incalculable value, like Alexander's own manuscripts have not survived, and most of the references to his letters are fictitious. Only a few official documents addressed to Greek cities have reached our days because they were inscribed on stone –this is Greek epigraphy, and not true letters-, but it is well known that he wrote not only letters, but a personal diary.[5] Other lost works besides Alexander's personal scrolls or *Hypomnemata*, are the mentioned *Deeds of Alexander*, by his official historian Callisthenes; the *Ephemerides* or *Royal Journal*, by Alexander's royal secretary Eumenes; works of Ptolemy I Soter or Nearchus, primary sources of Arrian's *Indica*; *History of Alexander* by Cleitarchus; *On the Education of Alexander* and *Macedonian History* by Marsyas of Pella; also another work on how Alexander was educated and geographical works by Onesicritus; *Life of Alexander*, by Aesopus; works of Anaximenes of Lampsacus and Aristobulus of Cassandreia; *History of Alexander* by Timagenes; *Historiae Philippicae* by Gnaeus Pompeius Trogus; works of Medius of Larissa, Hieronymus of Cardia, and Ephippus of Olynthus; *On the Empire of the Macedonians* by Criton of Pieria; geographical work by Androsthenes of Thasos; *Histories* by Duris of Samos; and work of Hagnothemis, upon which Plutarch sustains the belief that Antipater poisoned Alexander.

Non-Greco-Roman sources

The *Babylonian Chronicles* contain an *Alexander Chronicle* that mentions the battle of Gaugamela and the incident of Bessus, who was pursued and captured by *Aliksandar*.[6] *Alexander and Arabia Chronicle* comments some events related to the last years of Alexander.[7]

In *The Bible* some interpretations and references to Alexander can be found on the *Book of Daniel* and his visions:

Next, as I watched, another beast appeared. It was like a leopard, and on his back it had four wings like those of a bird. The beast also had four heads, and it was given authority to rule. (Daniel 7:6)

[5] Pearson, Lionel. "The Diary and the Letters of Alexander the Great", *Historia: Zeitschrift für Alte Geschichte* Bd. 3, H. 4, 1955. pp. 429-455. JSTOR 4434421.
[6] "The Alexander Chronicle (ABC 8)". www.livius.org. Accessed 1 Jun. 2022.
[7] "Chronicle concerning Alexander and Arabia (BCHP 2)". www.livius.org. Accessed 1 Jun. 2022.

This is part of Daniel's *Vision of the Four Beasts*, because Israel would come under four successive world empires (Babylon, Persia, Alexander, and the Romans), each worse than the last, and it is considered to be a real reference to Alexander the Great -the leopard-, whose empire won't last long and will get divided in four main kingdoms -four heads-.

And as I was considering, behold, a he goat came from the west on the face of the whole earth, and touched not the ground: and the goat had a notable horn between his eyes. And he came to the ram that had two horns, which I had seen standing before the river, and ran unto him in the fury of his power. And I saw him come close unto the ram, and he was moved with choler against him, and smote the ram, and break his two horns: and there was no power in the ram to stand before him, but he cast him down to the ground, and stamped upon him: and there was none that could deliver the ram out of his hand. Therefore, the he goat waxed very great: and he was strong, the great horn was broken; and for it came up four notable ones toward the four winds of heaven. (Daniel 8:5-8)

(…) *And the rough goat is the king of Greece: and the great horn that is between his eyes is the first king. Now that being broken, whereas four stood up for it, four kingdoms shall stand up out of the nation, but not in his power.* (Daniel 8:21-22)

This can be interpreted that a King of Greece will conquer the Medes and Persians but then die at the height of his power and have his kingdom broken into four kingdoms.

Alexander is also briefly mentioned in the first *Book of the Maccabees*, Chapter 1: 1-7, as an introduction to the book, explaining how the Greek influence reached the land of Israel.

In Zoroastrian texts, Alexander is mentioned as *the Ruman* –the Roman-, because he came from Greek provinces which later will become a part of the eastern Roman Empire: (…) *who was dwelling in Egypt, so that he came to the country of Iran with severe cruelty and war and devastation; he also slew the ruler of Iran, and destroyed the metropolis and empire, and made them desolate*. ("The Book of Arda Viraf")

In *The Quran* (Sura 18) in the story of *Dhul-Qarnnayn*, 'the two-horned one'[8] (Chapter al-Kahf: 83-94);[9] and also in some Islamic literature, like the work *The Secret of*

[8] As son of Zeus-Ammon, Alexander is represented with two ram horns. Numismatic evidence can be found on the coinage of Lysimachus, one of his officers and successors.

[9] Stoneman, Richard. "Alexander the Great in Arabic Tradition". In Panayotakis, Stelios; Zimmerman, Maaike; Keulen, Wytse (eds.). *The Ancient Novel and Beyond*. Brill, Boston, 2003. p. 3.

Secrets, originally by Yahya ibn Bitriq around AD 815, consisting of letters addressed to Alexander by Aristotle.

Note about the visual materials used:

Credit for all images has been given in the best possible way. If some sources are not mentioned on photos or illustrations, they have been taken from Creative Commons, Wikimedia Commons or similar public domain databases. In any case, the use of all images here is merely for educational and academic purposes, so no copyright laws are intended to be infringed.

If any copyrighted work or other similar materials have been reproduced or used here, it has only been according to Section 107 of the Copyright Act, the Digital Media Law, and the Fair Use Policy to 'promote the progress of science and useful arts', so it is for scholarship, research, academic, and educational purposes only; which contribute to society by creating a new work in that process, and it is not an infringement of copyright.

(Digital Media Law: dmlp.org, Sep. 10, 2021. Accessed 4 Sep. 2022).


THE EMPIRE OF ALEXANDER
334-323 B.C.
Conquest course of Alexander
Battle
Siege
Town founded by Alexander
Settlement of existing town
Mountain pass
Greek colony
Persian royal road
A. Alexandria
0
500 km
SCYTHIANS
CELTS
ITALY
ILLYRIANS
GETAE
THRACE
MACEDON
Danube
Black Sea
SARMATIANS
BOSPORAN KINGDOM
Olbia
Tanais
Panticapaion
Chersonesos
Odessos
Byzantion
Heraclea
Sinope
Phasis
COLCHIS
Caucasus
Caspian Sea
Aral Sea
MASSAGETAE
Yaxartes
SAKA
KHWARAZMIANS
Oxus
Yarkand
Takla Makan
Tarim Basin
Pamir
Himalaya
Nicaea
Rome
Epidamnos
Taras
Pella
Thessalonica
Athens
Ephesus
Sparta
Miletus
Halicarnassos
Troy
Granicus
BITHYNIA
PAPHLAGONIA
PONTOS
Amisos
Trapezunt
Gordion
Ancyra
PHRYGIA
LYDIA
CARIA
LYCIA
PAMPHYLIA
Sardis
Side
Tarsos
Cilician Gates
Issus
CAPPADOCIA
ARMENIA
Amida
Edessa
Mazaka
Carthage
Syracuse
EMPIRE OF CARTHAGO
Tripoli
Mediterranean Sea
CRETE
CYPRUS
Cyrene
CYRENAICA
LIBYANS
Byblos
Sidon
Tyre
Damascus
Palmyra
SYRIA
Nicephorion
Gaugamela
Arbela
MESOPOTAMIA
Euphrates
Tigris
Carrhae
Edessa
MEDIA
Zagros
Ecbatana
Rhagae
Caspian Gates
Kavir Desert
Lut Desert
Aspadana
Susa
Zadracarta
PARTHIA
HYRCANIA
Hecatompylos
Susia
ARIA
A. in Aria
Prophtasia
DRANGIANA
A. in Arachosia
Bolan Pass
Mulla Pass
Hydaspes
Acesines
Hyphasis
Multan
A. on the Indus
INDIA
ARACHOSIA
Kabul
Khyber Pass
Bucephala
A. on the Hyphasis
Alexandria Eschate
Marcanda
Nautaca
SOGDIANA
A. on the Oxus
Drapsaca
Bactra
BACTRIA
A. in the Caucasus
Aegeatum
Taxila
Nicaea
GANDHARA
Himalaya
MARGIANA
A. in Margiana
Jerusalem
Gaza
Paraetonion
A.
Ammon Oracle
Memphis
EGYPT
Nile
Thebes
Syene
Red Sea
NABATAEANS
Petra
Paraetonium
Babylon
BABYLONIA
Susa
A. in Susiana
SUSIANA
Pasargadae
Persepolis
PERSIS
CARMANIA
A. in Carmania
Pura
Harmozia
Persian Gulf
GEDROSIA
Rhambacia
Pattala
Route of Craterus
Fleet of Nearchus
ARABIA
Indian Ocean

TIMELINE OF EVENTS IN ALEXANDER'S LIFE AND CAMPAIGNS

(All dates are BC -before Christ-).
Based on Arrian's *The Campaigns of Alexander* or *Anabasis of Alexander*.

Autumn 336 BC	*Macedonia*	Philip II is murdered, Alexander becomes king.
Spring 335	*Balkans*	Alexander puts down revolts.
	Danube	Alexander crosses the river and defeats Getae. Triballoi surrender. Celts send embassy.
	Illyria	Taulantians and Illyrians' rebellions are subdued.
	Greece	Destruction of Thebes and submission of Greek cities.
Autum 335	*Macedonia*	Alexander presides over athletic games at Aigeai.
Spring 334 (April)	*Greece*	Departure of the expedition from Amphipolis.
May 334	*Hellespont*	Alexander crosses into Asia and visits Troy.
	Granicus River	The Macedonian army defeats the Persians led by western satraps.
Summer 334 (June)	*Western Asia*	Alexander takes control of Sardis and Ephesus.
July 334	*Miletus*	Miletus is taken by siege and its navy disbanded.
Sep. 334	*Halicarnassus*	Siege and capture of Halicarnassus, but its citadel.
Autumn 334	*Caria-Lycia*	New administrators are arranged.
		Alexander sends for new recruits.
Winter 334/3	*Lycia*	All cities of Lycia surrender to Alexander.
	Phaselis	Alexander, son of Aeropos, arrested for conspiracy.
	Aspendos/Side	Alexander captures coastal cities of Pamphylia.
	Phrygia	Pisidians are subdued.
Spring 333 (April)	*Gordion*	Alexander 'undoes' the legendary Gordian knot. Army is joined by new recruits.

	Aegean	Persian naval campaign against Macedonians fails after Memnon's death.
	Tarsus	Alexander passes the Cilician Gates after controlling Pisidia and Capadocia.
Summer 333	*Tarsus*	Alexander suffers a sudden illness.
	Tarsus/Soloi	Alexander defeats Cilicians. Citadel of Halicarnassus falls.
Autumn 333 (Oct.)	*Mallos*	Alexander finds Darius's position and gets ready.
	Sochoi/Issus	Darius leaves his prepared battleground and takes up a new position.
November 333	*Issus*	Battle of Issus.
		The Macedonians defeat the Persians and capture the royal family. Alexander buries his fallen and honors his royal prisoners.
		Alexandretta or Alexandria near Issus (Iskanderun).
		Persian admiral continues naval war with support from King Agis of Sparta.
December 333	*Aradus Island*	A Phoenician king surrenders to Alexander.
	Marathos	Darius offers peace negotiations; Alexander rejects the offer.
	Damascus	Alexander seizes Persian wealth and deals with captive Greek envoys.
Winter 333/2	*Phoenicia*	Byblos, Sidon, and Tyre.
		Alexander asks to sacrifice to Heracles at Tyre and it is refused by the Tyrians.
Winter 333/2-		
Summer 332	*Tyre*	Siege of Tyre (Lebanon).
		After a seven-month siege Alexander captures the city with support of Phoenician ships and he links the island to the mainland by building a mole.

		Darius offers Alexander a large territory of the Persian empire, and Alexander rejects the offer.
Autumn 332 (Sept.)	*Gaza*	Siege of Gaza (Palestine).
		Alexander captures the city.
Winter 332/1 (Dec.)	*Pelusium*	Alexander enters Egypt.
January 331	*Egypt*	Memphis. Alexandria is founded by Alexander.
February 331	*Libya*	Visit to the Oracle of Ammon in Siwa.
Spring 331	*Egypt*	New administrators are appointed in Egypt.
	Egypt-Syria	Alexander goes back to Asia to face Darius.
May 331	*Syria-Mesopotamia*	Tyre. Damascus. Alep.
July 331		Thapsacus. Harran. Edessa. Tigris River.
Autumn 331 (Oct.)	*Media*	Battle of Gaugamela. Darius escapes again.
		Arbela (Arbil/Irbil).
	Babylon	Alexander enters Babylon.
Winter 331/30 (Dec.)	*Susa*	The Persian treasure is captured.
		Funds and troops sent to Antipatros in Macedonia.
	Persia	Battle of the Persian Gate.
January 330	*Persepolis*	Alexander enters the Persian capital.
Spring 330		During a celebration the palace is burned.
	Media	Ecbatana. Alexander chases Darius.
		Caspian Gates (Gates of Alexander).
		The Persian king is found assassinated by Bessus. Alexander gives him a royal burial ceremony.
Summer 330	*Hyrcania*	Hecatompylos. Zadrakarta. Hycarnian Campaign.
August 330		The Mardians are defeated.
		Nisa-Alexandroupolis, Parthia (Bagir Village).

September 330		Artacoana, Alexandria in Aria (Herat, Afghanistan).
Autumn 330 (Oct.)		Phrada, Alexandria Prophthasia (Drangiana), Herat.
	Zarangiane	Philotas tried for conspiracy and executed.
	Media	Parmenion is assassinated for conspiracy.
December 330	*Arachosia*	Alexandria in Arachosia (Kandahar, Afghanistan).
Winter 329		Alexandria (Ghazni, Afghanistan)
Spring 329	*Bactria*	Alexander chases Bessus, self-proclaimed king.
	Sogdiana	Bessus is turned over to Alexander for execution.
April 329		Ortospana, Kabura (Kabul).
		Kapisa, Alexandria in the Caucasus (Bagram).
May 329		Paropamisus, Hindu Kush. Drapsaca, Bactria.
		Bactra. Oxus River. Alexandria Tarmita (Termez).
Summer 329 (June)	*Sogdiana*	Nautaca. Maracanda.
July 329		Jaxartes River.
		Fergana Valley with 7 Achaemenid cities-fortresses including Cyropolis.
		Alexandria Eschate is founded (Leninabad, Tajikistan).
Autumn 329 (Oct.)	*Marakanda*	Sogdians and Scythians Massagetes.
		Spitamenes' revolt north of Jaxartes River.
		Alexander crosses the Iaxartes, Scythians' submission.
Winter 329/8		Tribactra, Sogdia. Bactra, Bactria.
		Execution of Bessus in the Persian tradition.
Spring 328		Alexandria Oxiane/on the Oxus (Ai Khanum).
		Alexandria in Margiana (Merv, Turkmenistan).

Summer/Autumn 328		Sogdian campaigns.
	Marakanda	Alexander kills the provocateur Cleitus at banquet.
Winter 328/7	*Bactra*	Plot of the royal pages to kill Alexander discovered.
		Conspirators are executed.
	Nautaka	New satraps for several regions are appointed.
Spring 327 (March)	*Sogdiana*	The impregnable Sogdian Rock is taken.
		Marriage of Alexander and Roxana,
		chief Oxyartes' daughter.
		Kapisa, Alexandria in the Caucasus (Bagram).
Summer 327	*Indian Caucasus*	Alexander enters the Hindu Kush.
		Army splits and part is led through the mountains
		by Hephaestion and Perdiccas.
		Khyber Pass.
Autum 327	*Western India*	Peucelaotis occupied by Perdiccas and Hephaestion.
		Arigaeum (Arigaion); campaign against the Aspasians, and Guraei, Gandara (Pakistan).
		Massaca; campaign against the Assacenes.
		Aornos Rock is taken. All resistance is destroyed.
Winter 327/6	*Indus River*	Both Macedonian armies reunited.
		Crossing the river on the bridge built by Hephaestion and Perdiccas.
Spring 326 (March)	*Nysa*	Alexander's detour to Nysa, founded by Dionysus,
		near Jalalabad today. Crossing of the Indus River.
	Taxila	Alexander warmly received by ally Taxiles.
	Hydaspes River	Battle of Hydaspes River.

		Alexander defeats king Porus and makes him a vassal king.
Summer 326 (July)	*Punjab*	Alexander builds two new cities.
		Alexandria Nicaea (west bank of Jhelum) and
		Alexandria Bucephalia (east bank of Jhelum).
	Akesines River	Many ships are wrecked.
	Sangala	Alexander destroys resistance after siege.
August 326	*Hyphasis River*	Mutiny of the army. Easternmost border of
		Alexander's expedition.
Autumn 326 (Sept.)		Alexandria on the Hyphasis (eastern border of
		Alexander's empire, near Amritsar, India).
		Return to Hydaspes River, Nicaea and Bucephalia.
		Fleet departures at the Hydaspes to the Indus River.
Winter 326/5	*Mallian territory*	Mallians and Oxydracae campaign (Eastern Punjab)
		Town of Brahmans.
		Siege of Multan, Alexander is seriously wounded.
Nov-Dec. 326		Alexandria on the Indus or Alexandria of Opiane
		(Uch, Pakistan).
December 326		Campaigns in the kingdoms of Musicanus
		and Sambus (modern Alor and Sehwan, Pakistan).
		The Malloi and Oxydrakai offer submission.
Spring 325	*Indus River*	Submission of Brahmans, Mousikanos and Sambos.
Summer 325	*Indus River*	Crateros expedition from Patala to Hormuz.
	Indus Delta	Alexander explores the delta and the coast by ship.
	Gedrosia	Arabius River. Arabitians and Oreitans campaigns

		in Gedrosia, Pakistan.
Autumn 325	*Coast of India*	Nearchus prepares his fleet for an expedition from Patala to Hormuz.
	Gedrosia	Alexandria Rhambacia (Bela, Pakistan). Alexandria in Makarene (?) (120 km west of Karachi, Hab River area, Pakistan). Alexander prepares to march through the desert.
	Gedrosian Desert	Many troops die crossing the desert.
November 325		Pura, capital city of Gedrosia (Bampur, Iran).
Winter 325/4	*Carmania*	Reunion with Crateros and Nearchus at Hormuz.
December 325		Alexandria in Carmania (Golashkerd, Iran).
Jan.-February 324		Return of Alexander from Hormuz to Susa.
	Persia	Pasargad, visit to the tomb of Cyrus the Great. Persepolis. Susa. Return of Hephaestion and Crateros along the coastline from Hormuz to Susa.
Spring 324 (March)	*Susa*	The interracial weddings of Susa with Asians. Tensions over reorganization of the army.
	Persian Gulf	Exploration of Tigris and Euphrates mouths. Alexandria in Susiana/Alexandria Charax.
Summer 324	*Opis*	Mutiny of the army at Opis (east bank of the Tigris) End of mutiny celebrated with banquet. Crateros leads veterans home to replace Antipatros.
Autumn 324	*Ecbatana*	Capital city of Media (Hamadan, Iran).
October 324		Death of Hephaestion in Ecbatana. Alexander into deep grief.

Winter 324/3	*Cossaean territory*	Campaigns against the Cossaeans (Loristan).
	Assyria	Envoys from many territories approach Alexander.
		Alexander sends exploratory mission to Hyrcania.
Spring 323	*Babylon*	Alexander sends spoils of war to Greece.
		Preparation for trip to Arabia.
		Greek envoys hail Alexander as a god.
		More preparations for the Arabian campaign.
		Orders to worship Hephaestion as a hero.
		Alexander develops a fever.
10/11 June 323 BC	*Babylon*	Alexander dies after 11 days of some sickness.

PART I

THE CITIES OF ALEXANDER

Since the beginning of times the founding of new cities has been one of the most relevant ways to leave an everlasting name over the centuries and millennia. The planning of new urban areas was an important part in the achievements of many rulers, kings, or emperors through history and they have been used in personal propaganda, from the Assyrians and Egyptians to the Persians, before Alexander. Even under those circumstances, it was not common to find these new town developments carrying their founders' names until the foundation of Cyropolis, named after the Persian ruler Cyrus the Great, earlier than the rise of Macedonia and before Alexander the Great.

At the height of its extension, the Persian Empire stretched from the Hindu Kush in the East to the coast of Asia Minor in the West. The Achaemenid Empire was divided into several provinces called satrapies, which later Alexander would preserve for the administration of these conquests. Cities and capitals were extremely important in this administration for the Persians as well as for the Macedonians and Greeks later. The Persian king Cyrus the Great -admired by Alexander-, created an example founding the city of Cyropolis after his name, located on the northeastern border of the Persian Empire, and where it is speculated that Alexander may have established his watch town of Alexandria Eschate on the same location by renaming this Achaemenid city of Cyropolis. But Alexander also found another example to follow at home, with his father Phillip II of Macedon, when he named Philippopolis a conquered city in Thrace -where Plovdiv in Bulgaria is located today- after himself in 342 BC. In any case, any previous city foundations or even the future examples in the future of foundations of cities in history were surpassed by far by Alexander. He was the individual in the history of mankind with more cities founded and with most of them carrying his own name.

Even though there is little archaeological evidence about how the cities of Alexander may have looked like, we have the plans of Alexandria in Egypt and the examples of Greek city planning before him to figure it out or at least guess it. The well-known example of the city of Miletus with its Hippodamian plan, -developed by the architect and urban planner Hippodamus of Miletus, where the name of planning system is coming from-, is the model that most new settlements would adapt. This city layout as a grid plan will have the widest influence through millennia into the present day. Hippodamus left an everlasting legacy in city planning with his layouts of the port of

Pireus for Pericles in Athens, the refunded city of Rhodes, the new city of Thurium (Thurii) in Magna Graecia. This type of urban design was well known by Alexander the Great, and it will be spreading in other Greek cities like Halicarnassus in Asian Minor, and the many Alexandrias built by the Macedonian king, as well as in numerous Hellenistic urban centers like Antioch, and in centuries later by the Romans, with hundreds of cities founded all over the ancient western world.

1. The number of cities

The most important sources to study the foundations of cities by Alexander the Great come mostly from the ancient historians -the original sources that any other scholars have been using for centuries- and the newest archaeological discoveries. There are also some excellent studies and interpretations of those literary sources lately to enlighten this complicated field. N. G. L. Hammond[10] discusses the evidence and conclusions of previous excellent studies by Tarn[11] and Fraser[12] in his article *"Alexander's Newly found Cities"*. More recently, an impressive contribution to this subject are the works of Getzel M. Cohen[13], three volumes analyzing the Hellenistic settlements in the entire ancient Greek world, which bring a great amount of light and more clarity on the listing of Alexander's cities and foundations.

The sources to study the number and location of these settlements are Greek and Latin literary sources, numismatic evidence, archaeological excavations and sites, inscriptions, papyri, parchment, and any other form of written documents. Modern sources are mostly interpretations of the ancient or older sources, narratives, and descriptions. The topic of how many cities were founded by Alexander is really complicated, confusing at times, and controversial. Hammond's article provides an analysis and evaluation of two of the most important contemporary scholars on the subject, and his approach and thoughts can be considered relevant in bringing more light and clarification to the field of urban development under Alexander the Great. According to his article, Tarn got to the conclusion that thirteen cities are 'the only ones of which is really known.' And P. M. Fraser leaves Alexander as the actual founder of only six cities: Alexandria in Egypt, Alexandria in Aria, Alexandria Eschate, Alexandria in Susiana,

[10] Hammond, N.G.L. 'Alexander's Newly-found Cities'; in *Greek, Roman, and Byzantine Studies*, 39 (1998). pp. 243-269.
[11] Tarn. W. W. *The Greeks in Bactria and India*, and the second volume of his *Alexander the Great*.
[12] Fraser, P. M. *Cities of Alexander the Great*. Oxford, 1996.
[13] Cohen, Getzel M. *The Hellenistic Settlements in Europe, the Islands, and Asia Minor*. University of California Press, 1995.
---. *The Hellenistic Settlements in Syria, the Red Sea Basin, and North Africa*. University of California Press, 2006.
---. *The Hellenistic Settlements in the East, from Armenia and Mesopotamia to Bactria and India.* University of California Press, 2013.

Alexandria-Bucephala and Alexandria among the Oreitai (Rambakia)[14]. The ancient sources give us information of individual foundations as well as six regions where Alexander is said to have placed a number of cities. In addition to Alexandria in the Caucasus, Diodorus says that 'he founded also other cities at a day's distance from it'[15]. In Bactria and Sogdiana in addition to founding Alexandria on the Tanais or Alexandria Eschate, 'he also founded twelve cities' as Justin[16] mentions. Curtious narrates that 'around Margiana sites were chosen for six cities'[17]; in southern Pakistan 'several cities'[18]. In Cossaea 'he founded considerable cities'[19]. He pacified all these tribes - Cossaei, Uxii, and Mardi- and 'he founded cities among them' according to Arrian[20]. Hammond gives those uncertain numbers a guess of a minimum figure of three, so five instances at three each are 15 cities, plus the stated numbers of 12 and 6, and those other two settlements named (Alexandria in the Caucasus and Alexandria Eschate or on the Tanais). All together make a total of 35 cities. But there were other regions in which these sources mention other foundings by Alexander: Egypt, Arachosia, Aria, Babylon, Carmania, Gedrosia, Makarene, Seistan, Susiana, Aspasia, and Central Pakistan[21]. Hammond deducts that if these eleven regions had as many newly founded cities as the six previous regions considered, the grand total would be around 70 cities.[22] This is something that cannot be proved by the archaeological evidence as today, but we know about Alexander's plans for other foundations. In the speech of Akouphis at Nysa (winter 327/6 BC) was said to be remarkable for 'having founded many cities already and being about to found many in the future'[23]. While Alexander was in Babylon shortly before his death, he intended to settle the very numerous Greek mercenaries in Persis[24], and also to plant cities on the northern and western coasts, on the islands of the Persian Gulf, and on the coast of the Arabian Peninsula[25]. He also intended to plant Greek cities around Media according to Polybius remark that Media 'is inhabited all round by Greek cities in accordance with the prompting of Alexander.'[26]

The number of cities founded by Alexander estimated by Plutarch in more than 70 has created a deep controversy between some scholars. Most believe that this number is a

[14] Hammond. *Ibid*. p. 243. On Tarn conclusion on the number of cities founded by Alexander. Tarn. *Ibid*, p. 237. And P. M. Fraser, p. 201.
[15] Diodorus (17.83.2).
[16] Justin (12.5.13).
[17] Quintus Curtius Rufus, 7.10.15.
[18] Curt. 9.10.3.
[19] Diodoro Siculus, 17.111.6
[20] Arrian. *Indica*, 40.8.
[21] Tarn. 455-456
[22] Hammond. *Ibid*, p. 248
[23] Arrian, 5.1.5
[24] Pausanias, 1.25.5
[25] Arrian. 7.19.5, 20.2
[26] Polibius. 10.27.3

gross exaggeration[27] and we have to look at the evidence provided by archaeological sources, but the possibility of many Alexandrias lost in time and silently waiting to be discovered in the following centuries will always be there, and we are always open to change any statement on this field at any time in the future.

2. The purpose of Alexander's cities

Alexander's plans to urbanize all his empire with mixed populations -in a policy of global diversity that seems to be completely out of his time and era-, would be inherited by Perdiccas and reported to the Assembly of Macedonians. His largest and remarkable plans[28] included 'the formation of cities, and the transfer of populations from Asia to Europe and vice versa from Europe to Asia.' This was one of the purposes of Alexander to create new cities, but there are other goals and necessities derived from these foundations: a variety of military purposes in difficult areas to control passes and communications; interconnecting regions for trading exchanges, economic development, and commercial prosperity; to bring Greek civilization, culture, and government to non-Greek peoples; and some believe that also as a desire for glory[29]. Commercial prosperity was intended by waterborne trade from the many dockyards that he built in Asia. Arrian gives examples of those cities expected to become great and prosperous: Alexandria in Egypt (3.1.5), Alexandria Eschate (4.1.3), Alexandria on the Indus (6.15.2), and Alexandria in Oreitis (6.21.5). Other cities were founded among nomadic tribes in order that the tribesmen should cease to raid others and learn to live a settled life, based on agriculture (*Ind*. 40.8). In the case of Alexandria Eschate, it would be an important military outpost to serve as a base for the invasion of Scythia and for defense against raiders (4.1.3). Plutarch adds some general statements about the aims of Alexander[30]. In his *Life of Alexander* suggests that the reason for Alexander to wear on barbarian dress was his belief that 'community of race and custom does a great deal to civilize mankind' (45.1); and that he hoped to produce loyalty in his kingdom by 'a mixing and a community of practice' (47.5). In his *Moralia* Plutarch expresses that Alexander 'brought everything together by mixing the lives, characters, marriages, and ways of life as it were in a loving cup' (329c), and his purpose was to 'bring about for all men concord, peace, and partnership' (330e). Arrian accounts the banquet of reconciliation at Opis (7.11.9), in which Alexander prayed that 'the Macedonians and the Persians should enjoy concord and partnership in the rule' of this Kingdom of Asia. This connects with his future plans of transferring populations between Asia and Europe 'in order to bring the largest

[27] Tarn. 233
[28] Diod. 18.4.2-6
[29] Bosworth, A. B. *Conquest and Empire: The Reign of Alexander the Great*. Cambridge University Press, 1989. p. 247.
[30] Hammond. *Ibid*. p.254.

continents together to a mutual concord and a kindred amity by means of intermarriage and family ties' (Diod. 18.4.4).

3. Size and significance of the cities

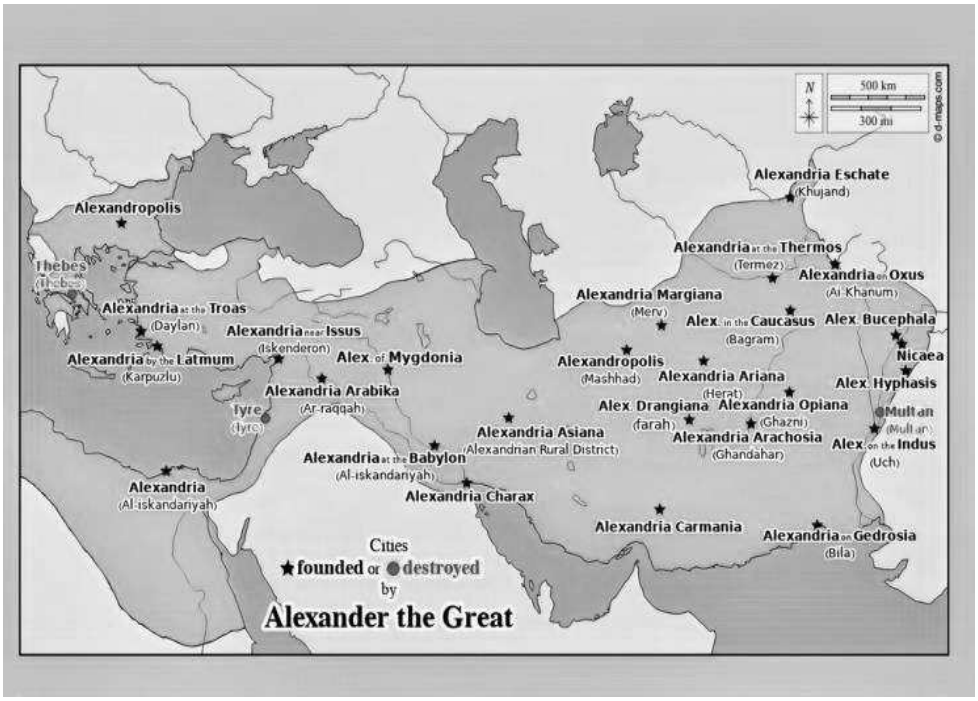
Hammond provides valuable information on his research paper[31] related to the extension and sizes of the new settlements created by Alexander using the classical sources and references. These cities were 'considerable cities' (Diod. 17.111.6). All fortified with circuit walls, and enough population to man the fortifications, since there was always a danger of raids from the north or of a local rising. The length of some fortified walls is specified by the ancient sources: at Alexandria in Egypt 80 stades (Curt. 4.8.2); at Alexandria in Margiana 75 stades (Solin. 48.3); Alexandria Eschate 60 stades (Curt. 7.6.25). The length of a stade varied from one city to another, but in the case of Alexandria Eschate we have 6 Roman miles as the equivalent of 60 stades (Just. 12.5.12). Adopting the measure of 10 stades to a Roman mile of some 1,480 m., Hammond assigns surrounding walls of 12 km. for Alexandria in Egypt, 11 km. for Alexandria in Margiana, and around 9 km. for Alexandria Eschate. These sizes are impressive in comparison to other ancient Hellenistic cities, or even other settlements founded by Alexander, like Alexandria on the Oxus or in Sogdiana (Ai-Khanoum) with a wall of about 6 km.

The average population of an Alexander city was 10,000 adult male citizens, which represents a total population of some 50,000 people.[32] All these new cities would provide recruits for the new multi-cultural and multi-racial army of Alexander. Boys were taught the Greek language and trained in the Macedonian weapons (Plut. *Alex*. 47.6, 71.1) and they served in their provinces under the command of the satraps appointed by Alexander. Their duties were to maintain law and order and to defend their frontiers wherever necessary. When Alexander needed reinforcements, detachments were brought by the satraps to him. These young men were educated and trained in the Macedonian art of war. Asia could be held by a Macedonian army of moderate size with the reinforcements of these newly trained recruits.

During his lifetime, Alexander founded, renamed, and reorganized, or re-established multiple towns and cities. The itinerary of his campaigns in chronological order is followed below to list his settlements. The main problems to identify Alexander's cities through the centuries is that we have to rely mainly on ancient literary sources that do not give distances or exact locations, and also on the modern archaeological research and excavations, which are always open to find new discoveries in the future, but still do not provide all the accurate evidence for some of the locations of Alexander's cities, even

[31] Hammond. *Ibid*. p. 255.
[32] Hammond, *Ibid*. p. 257.

if recently they have located very important sites in the areas of Ai Khanum (Alexandria on the Oxus), Kandahar (Alexandria Arachosia) in the south of Afghanistan, Begram (Alexandria in the Caucasus) at the southern foot of the Hindu-Kush, and Herat, where Alexander's foundation must lie far below the present city. According to Cohen[33], there are a number of settlements in Asia Minor, Syria and Egypt that had a tradition of Alexander as a founder (often from the Roman period or later) or have been attributed to Alexander by modern scholars, but there is no clear evidence of these to be completely accurate.



Map with most of the known cities founded by Alexander and destroyed sites (only three were destroyed: Thebes, Tyre, and Multan; and the last two were rebuilt). Source: Public domain (d-maps.com).

4. The list of settlements

Alexandropolis in Thrace or Alexandropolis Maedica

This was the first town that Alexander named after himself, to follow his father's example in Thrace with Philippolis. At that time, the teenager Alexander (he was sixteen years old) defeated a local Thracian tribe when he was regent of Macedonia (340 BC).

[33] Cohen, G. M. *The Hellenistic Settlements in Syria, the Red Sea Basin, and North Africa*. University of California Press, 2006. p. 399. Apendix I, Founders.

The location of this city is unknown, and some authors like Tarn suggest that it was more a military colony than a real city. It was possibly located in modern Bulgaria in the present day, but there is a modern city in Greece today, capital of the Evros regional unit, with the name of Alexandroupoli or Alexandroupolis. It is the largest city located in Western Thrace and the region of Eastern Macedonia, and also an important port and commercial center in the region of northeastern Greece.

Alexandria Troas or Alexandria of the Troad

The Troad or Troas is the region where the ancient city of Troy was located, a name that comes from the Hittites (Taruisa). The city of Alexandria or Alexandreia Troas was named by Lysimachus -one of Alexander's bodyguards and close companion-, in 301 BC in memory of his king. He changed the name of the previous city refounded by Antigonus (306 BC). This new name will last for centuries during the Roman Empire, when it got the status of Roman colony and named Colonia Alexandria Augusta Troas under the rule of Augustus. Later, in the times of Constantine this emperor even considered making Troas the capital of the Roman Empire. It was located south of Tenedos (modern Bozcaada), and southeast of modern Dalyan, by the Aegean Sea, near the tip of present-day Turkey's western coast. According to Fraser[34], it may exist the possibility of Alexandria 'On the Granicus' as another name for Alexandria Troas, and founded by Alexander after the battle of Granicus river, but only some literary sources mention this and they are not very clear, since they may have appropriated the Seleucid city as an Alexandria, but it seems clear that this city was absorbed into the Alexandrian tradition even if not originally founded by Alexander.



Thermas of Alexandria Troas. Source: Wikipedia, by Horacio36. Public domain.

[34] Fraser, P. M. *Cities of Alexander the Great*. Oxford, 1996. p. 24.

Smyrna

The original settlement of this city was founded around the 11th century BC as an Aeolian town and later occupied and developed by the Ionians. Following the literature and the legend in Pausanias[35], the residents were moved in the 4th century BC by Alexander, who after a hunt on Mount Pagus, he slept to rest under a plane tree at the sanctuary with the two temples of the two Nemeses. In his dream, one Nemesis goddess appeared before Alexander and told him to found a city there and move the Smyrnaeans to the new location from the old city. The residents sent ambassadors to the oracle temple of Apollo at Klaros (Clarus in Latin) to ask about this. The answer was:

'Three and four times happy shall those men be hereafter, who shall dwell on Pagus beyond the sacred Meles.'

So after the favorable answer from the oracle, they decided to move to the new Smyrna. This legend was frequently depicted on some reverses of the local Roman provincial coins. The first recorded defensive walls here were built by Lysimachus, one of Alexander's successors. Today is the prosperous city of Izmir, located in the western Aegean Sea coast of Anatolia, in Turkey.



Smyrna. Hellenistic agora at the base of Pagos Hill. Izmir, Turkey.
Source: WK, by Carole Raddato. Public domain.

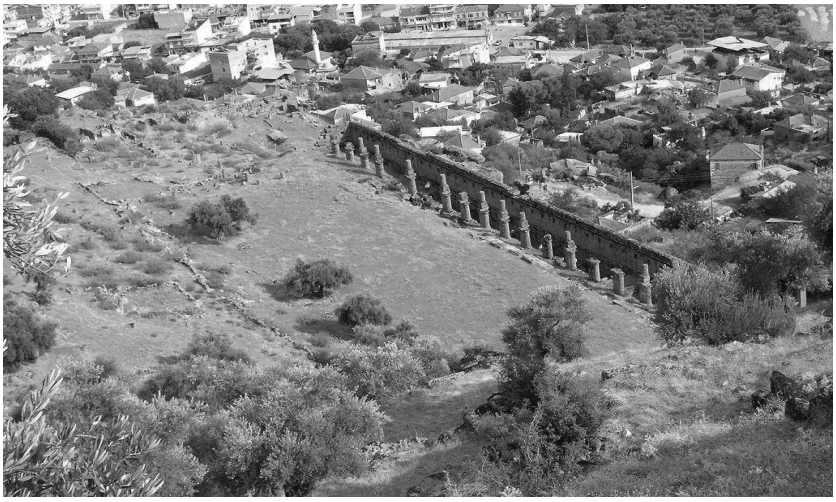
[35] Pausanias. *Description of Greece*. Penguin, 2006. 7.5.



Roman coins' reverses with the dream of Alexander by the temples of Nemeses at Smyrna.
Late Roman (AD 245), minted under the emperor Philip the Arab. Public domain.

Alexandria by the Latmos

Alexandria by the Latmos or Latmus was an inland city in ancient Caria, Anatolia, in Asia Minor. Probably established in 333 BC. Some scholars identify Alinda with Alexandria ad Latmum, like Stephanus of Byzantium[36], or with Herakleia by Latmos. There are scarce records of this foundation other than some literary sources, and there is not real evidence of being founded by Alexander or the exact location. Four different people have been suggested as the founder: the Carian queen Ada, Alexander, Lysimachus, and Antigonos Monophalmos. Maybe **Alinda** or **Karpuzlu** in Turkey.



Agora of Alinda, in Caria, present day Turkey.
Source: Photo by Ana Al'ain. Creative Commons, public domain.

[36] *Ethnica*. Vol s.V. Alexandreia.

Alexandria near Issus, Iskanderun, or Alexandria of Cilicia

Also known as Alexandria by Issus. It was supposedly founded in 333 BC by Alexander after defeating the Persian king Darius III at the battle of Issus and located about 37 km (23 miles) south from the site of the battle. The new town would be close to Myriandus, an important location to control the access to the Cilician or Syrian Gates. Alexander set up his military camp in the highlands of present-day Iskenderun and ordered the city to be established and be named after him. According to Herodian of Antioch[37], a memorial, a monument and a bronze statue for the victory were raised at the city, and they were still around during the first half of the 3rd century AD. This city was also known as Alexandretta and Scanderoon, and located on the Mediterranean coast of Turkey, in the province of Hatay. Its modern name **Iskenderun** is originated by the Muslim name of Alexander, Iskander, and was named al-Iskandarun before it evolved and changed into the Ottoman Turkish.



Central district and Gulf of Iskenderun in the present day.
Source: Creative Commons, by Ali Tinaz. Public domain.

Alexandria in Egypt

Without any doubt, this is the most important city founded by Alexander, with the most prosperous future, and the one carrying his name for millennia to the present day. It was also the first foundation recorded to have been made by Alexander in the narrative of his campaign.

In Egypt, Alexander was welcomed as a liberator after centuries of Persian occupation. Alexander had enormous respect for the Egyptians and their beliefs, and one of his first actions was to offer sacrifices to their gods in Memphis, and particularly to the

[37] *History of the Empire*, 3.4.1

bull Apis, that the Persians had killed in the past[38]. The description and details on the foundation of this new settlement are well explained on the *Anabasis of Alexander* by Arrian[39]. In the winter of 332-331 BC, Alexander sailed down the Nile from Memphis toward the sea. On reaching Canopus, he sailed around Lake Mareotis and disembarked at the site of present-day Alexandria, on the western tip of the Nile Delta, with the Mediterranean on one side and the lake on the other. The site struck him as very beautiful for a new settlement, and he imagined that a city founded there would prosper. A sudden passion for the project seized him, and he himself marked out where the marketplace was to be built and decided how many temples were to be erected and to which gods they were to be dedicated -the Greek gods as well as Egyptian Isis- and where the wall was to be built around the city. With these plans in mind, he offered sacrifices, and the omens proved favorable.

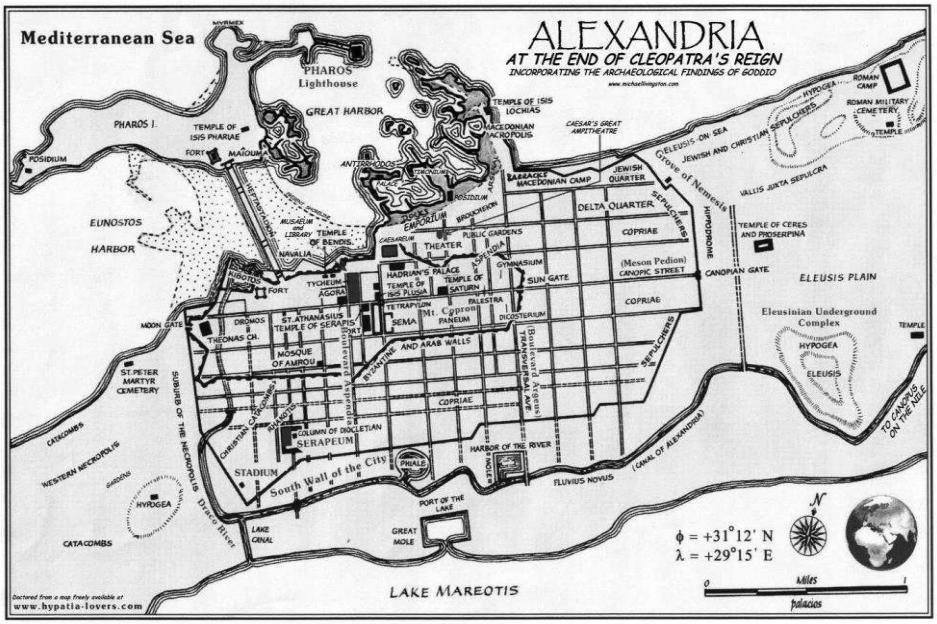
Arrian includes in his *Anabasis* the story that he considers credible about the first steps on the lay out of the city. Alexander is said to have wanted to leave the builders with an outline of the proposed wall but had nothing with which to mark the surface of the ground. It occurred to one of the builders to gather the barley meal the soldiers carried in their mess kits, and to lay it down along the ground where the king indicated. In this way the city's circuit wall was outlined. The seers pondered this incident, particularly Aristandros of Telmessos, many of whose other predictions are said to have come true. They then predicted that the city would be prosperous in every way, especially with respect to the fruits of the earth. Some version of this story includes that while doing the layout of the walls and the main streets of the city with lines of grain, many birds came to feed on the grain, and this was another sign of prosperity, since this new city would be able to feed and provide for many.

Alexander planned this Alexandria with his architect and city planner Dinocrates on the Mediterranean coast with the vision of becoming the new capital of Egypt, but when he died in Babylon -nine years later-, the city was still being built. It would be Ptolemy I, his friend and general, who would officially open the new metropolis in 313 BC, by moving the capital from Memphis to Alexandria, as well the mummified body of Alexander. The remains of Alexander will rest on his city for centuries to come and will be visited at his tomb temple by many, including the most notorious Romans, like Caesar, Marc Antony, Augustus, and other emperors who admired and tried to imitate Alexander. Visits of these emperors -like Hadrian- to Alexandria and being greeted by Alexander are well represented in the Alexandrian coinage. It is believed that Alexander's tomb may be

[38] According to Herodotus, after the Persian conquest of Egypt (summer of 525 BC), Cambyses killed the Apis bull, a manifestation of the god Ptah and a sacred animal. This animal symbolized the courageous heart, great strength, and fighting spirit of the king. Since Apis was considered a manifestation of the king in Egypt, this was a perfect chance for Alexander to show respect for the Egyptians beliefs, and at the same time an act of necessary propaganda for himself, who had in him all those qualities that Apis represented. Furthermore, this was another example of Alexander's policy of religious inclusiveness.

[39] 3.1.4-5

submerged under the sea that lies in front of the city, but there are other hypothesis and theories about the lost tomb of Alexander the Great.



Map of Alexandria at the time of Cleopatra VIII, before the Romans. Source: Public domain.

It is said that Alexander had a dream in which he recalled the lines from Homer's Iliad of 'an island, Pharos, by the surging sea.' So this city with a location chosen with the inspiration of Alexander's dream will become one of the most prosperous commercial and trading centers in all antiquity, but also a leader in knowledge, technology, and new advances, as well as the most relevant cultural center of the world. The original library of Alexandria was created by Alexander's friend and general Ptolemy I Soter in the 3rd century BC, after becoming the new ruler of Egypt. This building was partially burned and destroyed in 48 BC, when Julius Caesar laid siege to the city. It was rebuilt to be the largest library in the ancient world, and the papyrus scrolls contained there will be the light of the western civilization for millennia to the present day. Later in time was completely destroyed and thousands of ancient works were lost. Today we can find a new library of Alexandria built by the sea. It was opened on October 16th, 2002, and called Bibliotheca Alexandrina in commemoration of the cultural center that the lost old one was. Its construction began in 1995 with the support of the UNESCO, the Egyptian government, and the University of Alexandria. It has shelf space for more than eight mIlion books and a main reading room that covers 20,000 square meters (220,000 sq. ft.). The cultural complex provides a conference center, four museums, and four art galleries

for temporary exhibitions; 15 permanent exhibits; a planetarium; and a manuscript restoration laboratory. And an attractive and accurate contemporary bust, replica of the ancient head of Alexander found in Pergamon from the Istanbul Archaeological Museum, is located at the entrance to the area.



Modern bust of Alexander the Great at the Library of Alexandria. Source: Pinterest, by Marwa Smart. PD.



Library of Alexandria today, Biblioteca Alexandrina.
Mediterranean side. Source: Public domain, photo by Sailko.

Samareia or Samaria

Following the ancient historian Curtius Rufus[40], while Alexander was in Egypt (332/331 BC) the Samaritans rebelled and murdered the new governor of Syria, Andromachos. Alexander punished the city and settled Macedonians there, so this site

[40] *Hist.* IV 8.9-11.