

From Wikipedia, the free encyclopedia

Alexander the Great (**Greek**: Μέγας Ἀλέξανδρος,^[1] *Megas Alexandros*; July 20 [356 BC](#)–[June 10, 323 BC](#)), also known as **Alexander III**, king of [Macedon](#) ([336–323 BC](#)), was one of the most successful Ancient Greek military commanders in history. The name 'Alexander' derives from the Greek words "alexo" (αλέξω, refuge, defense, protection) and "aner" (ανήρ, man). Before his death, he conquered most of the world known to the ancient [Greeks](#). Alexander is also known in the [Zoroastrian Middle Persian](#) work *Arda Wiraz Nāmag* as "the accursed Alexander" due to his conquest of the [Persian Empire](#) and the destruction of its capital [Persepolis](#). He is known as **Eskandar-e Maqduni** (Alexander of Macedonia) in [Persian](#), *Al-Iskander Al-Makadoni* (Alexander of Macedonia) in [Arabic](#), *Alexander Mokdon* in [Hebrew](#), and *Tre-Qarnayia* in [Aramaic](#) (the two-horned one, apparently due to an image on coins minted during his rule that seemingly depicted him with the two ram's horns of the Egyptian god [Ammon](#)), *al-Iskandar al-Akbar* in [Arabic](#), *Sikandar-e-azam* in [Urdu](#), *Skandar* in [Pashto](#). **Sikandar**, his name in [Urdu](#) and [Hindi](#), is also a term used as a synonym for "expert" or "extremely skilled".

Following the unification of the multiple city-states of [ancient Greece](#) under the rule of his father, [Philip II of Macedon](#) (a labour Alexander had to repeat twice because the southern Greeks rebelled after Philip's death), Alexander conquered the [Persian Empire](#), including [Anatolia](#), [Syria](#), [Phoenicia](#), [Judea](#), [Gaza](#), [Egypt](#), [Bactria](#) and [Mesopotamia](#) and extended the boundaries of his own [empire](#) as far as the [Punjab](#). Before his death, Alexander had already made plans to also turn west and conquer Europe. He also wanted to continue his march eastwards in order to find the end of the world, since his boyhood tutor [Aristotle](#) told him tales about where the land ends and the Great Outer Sea begins. Alexander integrated foreigners into his army, leading some scholars to credit him with a "policy of fusion." He encouraged marriage between his army and foreigners, and practiced it himself. After twelve years of constant military campaigning, Alexander died, possibly of [malaria](#), [West Nile virus](#), [typhoid](#), viral [encephalitis](#) or the consequences of heavy drinking.^{[2][3]}

His conquests ushered in centuries of Greek settlement and cultural influence over distant areas, a period known as the [Hellenistic Age](#), a combination of Greek and Middle Eastern culture. Alexander himself lived on in the history and myth of both Greek and non-Greek cultures. After his death (and even during his life) his exploits inspired a literary tradition in which he appears as a legendary [hero](#) in the tradition of [Achilles](#).

Wars of Alexander the Great

[Chaeronea](#) – [Granicus](#) – [Issus](#) – [Tyre](#) – [Gaugamela](#) – [Hydaspes River](#)

Conquest of Egypt




Alexander fighting Persian king [Darius III](#). From [Alexander Mosaic](#), from [Pompeii](#), [Naples](#), Museo Archeologico Nazionale.

| | |
|--------------------|--|
| Reign | 336 BC-323 BC |
| Born | July 20, 356 BC |
| | Pella, Macedon |
| Died | June 10, 323 BC |
| | Babylon |
| Predecessor | Philip II |
| Successor | Alexander IV |
| Consort | Roxana Stateira |
| Issue | Alexander IV |
| Father | Philip II of Macedon |
| Mother | Olympias |

Early life




 Alexander fighting a lion with his friend [Craterus](#) (detail). He wears a [chlamys](#) cape, and a [petasus](#) hat. 3rd century BCE mosaic, Pella museum.

Born in [Pella](#), Macedonia (modern day Greece), Alexander was the son of King [Philip II of Macedon](#) and of his fourth wife [Olympias](#), an [Epirote](#) princess. On his mother's side, he was a second cousin of [Pyrrhus of Epirus](#); thus, there are notable examples of military genius on both sides of his family. According to [Plutarch](#) (*Alexander* 3.1,3), Olympias was impregnated not by Philip, who was afraid of her and her affinity for sleeping in the company of snakes, but by [Zeus Ammon](#). Plutarch relates that both Philip and Olympias dreamt of their son's future birth. Olympias dreamed of a loud burst of thunder and of lightning striking her womb, followed by a fire which traveled from it, and was not quenched until half-way across the room. In Philip's dream, he sealed her womb with the seal of the [lion](#). Alarmed by this, he consulted the seer [Aristander of Telmessus](#), who determined that his wife was pregnant and that the child would have the character of a lion.^[2] Another odd coincidence is that the [temple](#) of [Artemis](#) in [Ephesus](#) was set on fire the same night of his birth. Plutarch claimed the gods were too busy watching over Alexander to care for the temple.

(which means "ox-head"). Bucephalus would be his companion and one of his best friends for the next two decades until the horse died (according to Plutarch due to old age, for he was already 30), other sources claimed that Bucephalus died of wounds sustained in a battle in India. Alexander then named a city after him called Bucephalia or Bucephala.

Ascent of Macedon




 Sardonyx cameo representing Alexander the Great. Thought to be by Pyrgoteles, engraver of Alexander, around [325 BC](#). [Cabinet des Médailles, Paris](#).

When Philip led an attack on [Byzantium](#) in [340 BC](#), Alexander, aged 16, was left as regent of Macedonia. In [339 BC](#), Philip took a fifth wife, [Cleopatra Eurydice](#). As Alexander's mother, [Olympias](#), was from Epirus (a land in the western part of the Greek peninsula and not part of Macedon), and Cleopatra Eurydice was a true Macedonian, this led to a dispute over Alexander's legitimacy as heir to the throne. [Attalus](#), the uncle of the bride, supposedly gave a toast during the wedding feast giving his wish for the wedding to result in a legitimate heir to the throne of Macedon; Alexander hurled his goblet at Attalus shouting "What am I, a bastard then?" Alexander's father apparently had drawn his sword and moved towards Alexander, but then had fallen in a drunken stupor. Alexander remarked "Here is the man planning on conquering from Greece to Asia, and he cannot even move from one table to another." Alexander and his mother then left Macedon in anger, while his sister (also named [Cleopatra](#)) remained.

Eventually Philip reconciled with his son, and Alexander returned home; Olympias remained in Epirus. In [338 BC](#) Alexander assisted his father at the decisive [Battle of Chaeronea](#) against the city-states of Athens and [Thebes](#), in which the [cavalry](#) wing led by Alexander annihilated the [Sacred Band of Thebes](#), an elite corps regarded as invincible. After the battle,

Phillip led a wild celebration, from which Alexander was notably absent (it is believed he was treating the wounded and burying the dead, both of his own troops and of the enemy). It is speculated that Alexander personally treated Demades, a notable orator of Athens, who had opposed Athenian alignment against Philip. The assembled Athenian army voted on a peace plan drawn up and presented by Demades. Philip was content to deprive Thebes of its dominion over [Boeotia](#) and leave a Macedonian garrison in the citadel. A few months later, to strengthen Macedon's control over the Greek city-states, the [League of Corinth](#) was formed.



 Bust of Alexander (Roman copy of a 330 BCE statue by [Lysippus](#), [Louvre Museum](#)). According to [Diodorus](#), the Alexander sculptures by Lysippus were the most faithful.

In 336 BC Philip was assassinated at the wedding of his daughter [Cleopatra](#) to her uncle [King Alexander of Epirus](#). The [assassin](#) was supposedly a former lover of the king, the disgruntled young nobleman [Pausanias of Orestis](#), who held a grudge against Philip because the king had ignored a complaint he had expressed. Philip's murder was once thought to have been planned with the knowledge and involvement of Alexander or Olympias. Another possible instigator could have been [Darius III](#), the recently crowned King of Persia. After Philip's death, the army proclaimed Alexander, then aged 20, as the new king of Macedon. Greek cities like Athens and Thebes, which had been forced to pledge allegiance to Philip, saw in the new king an opportunity to retake their full independence. Alexander moved swiftly and Thebes, which had been most active against him, submitted when he appeared at its gates. The assembled Greeks at the

[Isthmus of Corinth](#), with the exception of the [Spartans](#), elected him to the command against Persia, which had previously been bestowed upon his father.

The next year, ([335 BC](#)), Alexander felt free to engage the [Thracians](#) and the [Illyrians](#) in order to secure the [Danube](#) as the northern boundary of the Macedonian kingdom. While he was triumphantly campaigning north, the Thebans and Athenians rebelled once again. Alexander reacted immediately and while the other cities once again hesitated, Thebes decided this time to resist with the utmost vigor. The resistance was useless; in the end, the city was conquered with great bloodshed. The Thebans encountered an even harsher fate when their city was razed to the ground and its territory divided between the other Boeotian cities. Moreover, all of the city's citizens were sold into slavery; Alexander spared only the priests, the leaders of the pro-Macedonian party, and the descendants of [Pindar](#), whose house was the only one left standing. The end of Thebes cowed Athens into submission, but According to [Plutarch](#), a special Athenian embassy led by [Phocion](#), an opponent of the anti-Macedonian faction, was able to persuade Alexander to give up his demand for the exile of leaders of the anti-Macedonian party, particularly [Demosthenes](#).^[4]

Period of conquests



Map of Alexander's empire.

Fall of the Persian Empire

Alexander's army had crossed the [Hellespont](#) with about 42,000 Macedonians and Greeks, more southern city-states of Greece, but also including some Thracians, [Paionians](#) and Illyrians. After an initial victory against Persian forces at the [Battle of Granicus](#), Alexander accepted the surrender of the Persian provincial capital and treasury of [Sardis](#) and proceeded down the [Ionian](#) coast. At [Halicarnassus](#), Alexander successfully

waged the first of many [sieges](#), eventually forcing his opponents, the mercenary captain [Memnon of Rhodes](#) and the Persian [satrap](#) of [Caria](#), [Orontobates](#), to withdraw by sea. Alexander left Caria in the hands of [Ada](#), who was ruler of Caria before being deposed by her brother [Pixodarus](#). From Halicarnassus, Alexander proceeded into mountainous [Lycia](#) and the [Pamphylian](#) plain, asserting control over all coastal cities and denying them to his enemy. From Pamphylia onward, the coast held no major ports and so Alexander moved inland. At [Termessus](#), Alexander humbled but did not storm the [Pisidian](#) city. At the ancient Phrygian capital of [Gordium](#), Alexander "undid" the tangled [Gordian Knot](#), a feat said to await the future "king of [Asia](#)." According to the most vivid story, Alexander proclaimed that it did not matter how the knot was undone, and he hacked it apart with his sword. Another version claims that he did not use the sword, but actually figured out how to undo the knot.




[Alexander Mosaic](#), showing [Battle of Issus](#), from the [House of the Faun, Pompei](#)

Alexander's army crossed the [Cilician Gates](#), met and defeated the main Persian army under the command of Darius III at the [Battle of Issus](#) in [333 BC](#). Darius was forced to leave the battle and left behind his wife, his two daughters, his mother [Sisygambis](#), and much of his personal treasure. Later afterwards he offered a peace treaty to Alexander of 10,000 talents of ransom for his family, and a great deal of territory. Alexander replied that since he was now king of Persia, it was he alone who decided who got what territory. Proceeding down the [Mediterranean](#) coast, he took [Tyre](#) and [Gaza](#) after famous sieges (see [Siege of Tyre](#)). Alexander passed through [Judea](#) near [Jerusalem](#) but probably did not visit the city.

In 332 BC–331 BC, Alexander was welcomed as a liberator in [Egypt](#) and was pronounced the son of Zeus by Egyptian priests of the god [Ammon](#) at the Oracle of the god at the [Siwa Oasis](#) in the [Libyan](#) desert. Henceforth, Alexander referred to the god Zeus-Ammon as his true father, and subsequent currency featuring his head with ram horns was proof of this

widespread belief. He founded [Alexandria](#) in Egypt, which would become the prosperous capital of the [Ptolemaic dynasty](#) after his death. Leaving Egypt, Alexander marched eastward into [Assyria](#) (now northern [Iraq](#)) and defeated Darius and a third Persian army at the [Battle of Gaugamela](#). Darius was forced to leave the field after his charioteer was killed, and Alexander chased him as far as [Arbela](#). While Darius fled over the mountains to [Ecbatana](#) (modern [Hamadan](#)), Alexander marched to [Babylon](#).



 Statuette of a Greek soldier, from a 4th–3rd century BC burial site north of the [Tian Shan](#), at the maximum extent of Alexander's advance in the East ([Ürümqi](#), [Xinjiang](#) Museum, [China](#)) (drawing).

From Babylon, Alexander went to [Susa](#), one of the [Achaemenid](#) capitals, and captured its treasury. Sending the bulk of his army to [Persepolis](#), the Persian capital, by the [Royal Road](#), Alexander stormed and captured the [Persian Gates](#) (in the modern [Zagros Mountains](#)), then sprinted for Persepolis before its treasury could be looted. After several months Alexander allowed the troops to loot Persepolis. A fire broke out in the eastern palace of [Xerxes](#) and spread to the rest of the city. It was not known if it was a drunken accident or a deliberate act of revenge for the burning of the [Athenian Acropolis](#) during the [Second Persian War](#). The *Book of Arda Wiraz*, a Zoroastrian work composed in the 3rd or 4th century AD, also speaks of archives containing "all the [Avesta](#) and Zand, written upon prepared cow-skins, and with gold ink" that were destroyed; but it must be said that this statement is often treated by scholars with a certain measure

of skepticism, because it is generally thought that for many centuries the Avesta was transmitted mainly orally by the [Magians](#).

He then set off in pursuit of Darius, who was kidnapped, and then murdered by followers of [Bessus](#), his [Bactrian](#) satrap and kinsman. Bessus then declared himself Darius' successor as Artaxerxes V and retreated into [Central Asia](#) to launch a [guerrilla](#) campaign against Alexander. With the death of Darius, Alexander declared the war of vengeance over, and released his Greek and other allies from service in the League campaign (although he allowed those that wished to re-enlist as [mercenaries](#) in his imperial army).

His three-year campaign against first Bessus and then the satrap of [Sogdiana](#), [Spitamenes](#), took him through [Media](#), [Parthia](#), [Aria](#) (West Afghanistan), [Drangiana](#), [Arachosia](#) (South and Central Afghanistan), [Bactria](#) (North and Central Afghanistan), and [Scythia](#). In the process, he captured and refounded [Herat](#) and [Maracanda](#). Moreover, he founded a series of new cities, all called Alexandria, including modern [Kandahar](#) in [Afghanistan](#), and [Alexandria Eschate](#) ("The Furthest") in modern [Tajikistan](#). In the end, both of his opponents were betrayed by their men, Bessus in 329 BC and Spitamenes the year after.

Hostility toward Alexander

During this time, Alexander adopted some elements of Persian dress and customs at his court, notably the custom of [proskynesis](#), a symbolic kissing of the hand that Persians paid to their social superiors, but a practice of which the Greeks disapproved. The Greeks regarded the gesture as the preserve of [deities](#) and believed that Alexander meant to deify himself by requiring it. This cost him much in the sympathies of many of his countrymen. Here, too, a plot against his life was revealed, and one of his officers, [Philotas](#), was executed for treason for failing to bring the plot to his attention. [Parmenion](#), Philotas' father, who had been charged with guarding the treasury at [Ecbatana](#), was assassinated by command of Alexander, who feared that Parmenion might attempt to avenge his son. Several other trials for treason followed, and many Macedonians were executed. Later on, in a drunken quarrel at [Maracanda](#), he also killed the man who had saved his life at Granicus, [Clitus the Black](#). Later in the Central Asian campaign, a second plot against his life, this one by his own [pages](#), was revealed, and his official historian, [Callisthenes](#) of [Olynthus](#) (who had fallen out of favor with the king by leading the opposition to his attempt to introduce *proskynesis*), was implicated on what many historians regard as trumped-up charges. There is evidence to show that Callisthenes,

the teacher of the pages, was likely the one who persuaded them to assassinate the king.

Invasion of India




Campaigns and landmarks of Alexander's invasion of Southern Asia.

After the death of [Spitamenes](#) and his marriage to [Roxana](#) (Roshanak in [Bactrian](#)) to cement his relations with his new Central Asian satrapies, in [326 BC](#) Alexander was finally free to turn his attention to the [Indian subcontinent](#). Alexander invited all the [chieftains](#) of the former satrapy of [Gandhara](#), in the north of what is now [Pakistan](#), to come to him and submit to his authority. [Ambhi](#) (Greek: Omphis), ruler of [Taxila](#), whose kingdom extended from the [Indus](#) to the [Jhelum](#) (Greek: Hydaspes), complied. But the chieftains of some hilly clans including the, [Aspasios](#) and [Assakenois](#) sections of the [Kambojas](#) (*classical names*), known in Indian texts as [Ashvayanas](#) and [Ashvakayanas](#) (*names referring to the equestrian nature of their society from the Sanskrit root word Ashva meaning horse*), refused to submit.

Alexander personally took command of the shield-bearing guards, foot-companions, archers, Agrianians and horse-javelin-men and led them against the [Kamboja clans](#)—the [Aspasios](#) of [Kunar/Alishang valleys](#), the Guraeans of the Guraeus ([Panjkora](#)) valley, and the Assakenois of the [Swat](#) and [Buner](#) valleys. Writes one modern historian: "They were brave people and it was hard work for Alexander to take their strongholds, of which [Massaga](#) and [Aornus](#) need special mention."^[5] A fierce contest ensued with the Aspasios in which Alexander himself was wounded in the shoulder by a

dart but eventually the Aspasioi lost the fight; 40,000 of them were enslaved. The Assakenoi faced Alexander with an army of 30,000 cavalry, 38,000 infantry and 30 [elephants](#).^[6] They had fought bravely and offered stubborn resistance to the invader in many of their strongholds like cities of [Ora](#), [Bazira](#) and Massaga. The fort of Massaga could only be reduced after several days of bloody fighting in which Alexander himself was wounded seriously in the ankle. When the [Chieftain](#) of Massaga fell in the battle, the supreme command of the army went to his old mother [Cleophis](#) (q.v.) who also stood determined to defend her motherland to the last extremity. The example of Cleophis assuming the supreme command of the military also brought the entire women of the locality into the fighting.^[7] Alexander could only reduce Massaga by resorting to political strategem and actions of betrayal. According to [Curtius](#): "Not only did Alexander slaughter the entire population of Massaga, but also did he reduce its buildings to rubbles." A similar manslaughter then followed at Ora, another stronghold of the Assakenoi.



 Coin commemorating Alexander's campaigns in India (most notably the [Indus](#) region), struck in [Babylon](#) around 323 BC.
Obv: Alexander standing, being crowned by [Nike](#), fully armed and holding [Zeus'](#) [thunderbolt](#).
Rev: Greek rider, possibly Alexander, attacking an Indian [War Elephant](#), possibly during the battle against [Porus](#).

In the aftermath of general [slaughter](#) and [arson](#) committed by Alexander at Massaga and Ora, numerous [Assakenian](#) people fled to a high fortress called [Aornos](#). Alexander followed them close behind their heels and captured the strategic hill-fort but only after the fourth day of a bloody fight. The story of Massaga was repeated at Aornos and a similar [carnage](#) on the tribal-people followed here too.

Writing on Alexander's campaign against the Assakenoi, [Victor Hanson](#) comments: "After promising the surrounded Assacenis their lives upon capitulation, he executed all their soldiers who had surrendered. Their

strongholds at Ora and Aornos were also similarly stormed. Garrisons were probably all slaughtered.”^[8]

Sisikottos, who had helped Alexander in this campaign, was made the governor of Aornos.

After reducing Aornos, Alexander crossed the Indus and fought and won an epic battle against [Porus](#), a ruler of a region in the [Punjab](#) in the [Battle of Hydaspes](#) in 326 BC.



A painting by [Charles Le Brun](#) depicting Alexander and Porus during the [Battle of the Hydaspes](#).

After the victory, Alexander was greatly impressed by Porus for his bravery in battle, and therefore made an alliance with him and appointed him as satrap of his own kingdom, even adding some land he did not own before. Alexander then named one of the two new cities that he founded, [Bucephala](#), in honor of the horse who had brought him to India, who had died during the [Battle of Hydaspes](#). Alexander continued on to conquer all the headwaters of the Indus River.

East of Porus' kingdom, near the [Ganges River](#), was the powerful empire of [Magadha](#) ruled by the [Nanda dynasty](#). Fearing the prospects of facing another powerful Indian army and exhausted by years of campaigning, his army mutinied at the [Hyphasis River](#) (the modern [Beas River](#)) refusing to march further east. This river thus marks the eastern-most extent of Alexander's conquests:

"As for the Macedonians, however, their struggle with Porus blunted their courage and stayed their further advance into India. For having had all they could do to repulse an enemy who mustered only twenty thousand infantry and two thousand horse, they violently opposed Alexander when he insisted on crossing the river Ganges also, the width of which, as they learned, was thirty-two furlongs, its depth a hundred fathoms, while its banks on the further side were covered with multitudes of men-at-arms and horsemen and elephants. For

they were told that the kings of the Ganderites and Praesii were awaiting them with eighty thousand horsemen, two hundred thousand footmen, eight thousand chariots, and six thousand fighting elephants." Plutarch, Vita Alexandri, 62^[9]

Alexander, after the meeting with his officer [Coenus](#), was convinced that it was better to return. Alexander was forced to turn south. Along the way his army ran into the [Malli](#) clans (in modern day [Multan](#)). The Malli were the most warlike clans in South Asia during that period. Alexander's army challenged the Malli, and the ensuing battle led them to the Malli citadel. During the assault, Alexander himself was wounded seriously by a Malli arrow.^[10] His forces, believing their king dead, took the citadel and unleashed their fury on the Malli who had taken refuge within it.^[11] Following this, the surviving Malli surrendered to Alexander's forces, and his beleaguered army moved on.^[12] He sent much of his army to [Carmania](#) (modern southern [Iran](#)) with his general [Craterus](#), and commissioned a fleet to explore the [Persian Gulf](#) shore under his admiral [Nearchus](#), while he led the rest of his forces back to Persia by the southern route through the [Gedrosian Desert](#) (now part of southern [Iran](#) and [Makran](#) now part of [Pakistan](#)).

Alexander left forces in South Asia however. In the territory of the Indus, he nominated his officer [Peithon](#) as a [satrap](#), a position he would hold for the next ten years until [316 BC](#), and in the [Punjab](#) he left [Eudemus](#) in charge of the army, at the side of the satrap [Porus](#) and [Taxiles](#). Eudemus became ruler of the Punjab after their death. Both rulers returned to the West in 316 BC with their armies, and [Chandragupta Maurya](#) established the [Maurya Empire](#) in India.

After India





Statuette of Alexander the Great striding a horse, [Begram](#), [Afghanistan](#).

Discovering that many of his [satraps](#) and [military governors](#) had misbehaved in his absence, Alexander executed a number of them as examples on his way to [Susia](#). As a gesture of thanks, he paid off the debts of his soldiers, and announced that he would send those over-aged and disabled veterans back to Macedonia under Craterus, but his troops misunderstood his intention and mutinied at the town of [Opis](#), refusing to be sent away and bitterly criticizing his adoption of Persian customs and dress and the introduction of Persian officers and soldiers into Macedonian units. Alexander executed the ringleaders of the mutiny, but forgave the rank and file. In an attempt to craft a lasting harmony between his Macedonian and Persian subjects, he held a mass marriage of his senior officers to Persian and other noblewomen at Susa, but few of those marriages seem to have lasted much beyond a year.

His attempts to merge Persian culture with his Greek soldiers also included training a regiment of Persian boys in the ways of Macedonians. Most historians believe that Alexander adopted the Persian royal title of [shahanshah](#) ("great king" or "king of kings").

It is claimed that Alexander wanted to overrun or integrate the Arabian peninsula, but this theory is widely disputed. It was assumed that Alexander would turn westwards and attack [Carthage](#) and [Italy](#), had he conquered Arabia.

After traveling to Ecbatana to retrieve the bulk of the Persian treasure, his closest friend and possibly lover^[13] [Hephaestion](#) died of an illness, or possibly of poisoning. Alexander mourned by Hephaestion's side for six months.

Death



The world at Alexander's death, showing his empire in its greater geopolitical context.

On the afternoon of June 10–11, 323 BC, Alexander died in the palace of [Nebuchadrezzar II](#) of [Babylon](#). He was just one month shy of attaining 33 years of age. Various theories have been proposed for the cause of his death which include [poisoning](#) by the sons of [Antipater](#) or others, sickness that followed a drinking party, or a relapse of the [malaria](#) he had contracted in [336 BC](#).

It is known that on May 29, Alexander participated in a banquet organized by his friend [Medius](#) of [Larissa](#). After some heavy drinking, immediately before or after a bath, he was forced into bed due to severe illness. The rumors of his illness circulated with the troops causing them to be more and more anxious. On June 9, the generals decided to let the soldiers see their king alive one last time. They were admitted to his presence one at a time. Because the king was too ill to speak, he confined himself to moving his hand. The day after, Alexander was dead.

Cause

The poisoning theory derives from the story held in antiquity by Justin and Curtius. The original story stated that [Cassander](#), son of Antipater, viceroy of Greece, brought the poison to Alexander in Babylon in a mule's hoof, and that Alexander's royal cupbearer, [Iollas](#), brother of Cassander, administered it. Many had powerful motivations for seeing Alexander gone, and were none the worse for it after his death. Deadly agents that could have killed Alexander in one or more doses include hellebore and [strychnine](#). In R. Lane Fox's opinion, the strongest argument against the poison theory is the fact that twelve days had passed between the start of his illness and his death and in the ancient world, such long-acting poisons were probably not available.


The warrior culture of Macedon favoured the sword over strychnine, and many ancient historians, like Plutarch and [Arrian](#), maintained that Alexander was not poisoned, but died of natural causes. Instead, it is likely that Alexander died of malaria or typhoid fever, which were rampant in ancient Babylon. Other illnesses could have also been the culprit, including [acute pancreatitis](#) or the [West Nile](#) virus. Recently, theories have been advanced stating that Alexander may have died from the treatment not the disease. [Hellebore](#), believed to have been widely used as a medicine at the time but deadly in large doses, may have been overused by the impatient king to speed his recovery, with deadly results. Disease-related theories

often cite the fact that Alexander's health had fallen to dangerously low levels after years of heavy drinking and suffering several appalling wounds (including one in India that nearly claimed his life), and that it was only a matter of time before one sickness or another finally killed him.

No story is conclusive. Alexander's death has been reinterpreted many times over the centuries, and each generation offers a new take on it. What is certain is that Alexander died of a high fever on June 10 or 11 of [323 BC](#).

Alexander's Successor



 A diary from the year 323–322 BC that records the death of Alexander. Located at the [British Museum, London](#)

On his death bed, his marshals asked him to whom he bequeathed his kingdom. Since Alexander had no obvious and legitimate heir (his son [Alexander IV](#) would be born after his death, and his other son was by a concubine, not a wife), it was a question of vital importance. There is some debate to what Alexander replied. Some believe that Alexander said, "Kratisto" (that is, "To the strongest!") or "Krat'eroi" (to the stronger).

Alexander may have said, "Krater'oi" (To [Craterus](#)). This is possible because the Greek pronunciation of "the stronger" and "Craterus" differ only by the position of the accented syllable. Most scholars believe that if Alexander did intend to choose one of his generals, his obvious choice would have been Craterus because he was the commander of the largest part of the army (infantry), because he had proven himself to be an excellent strategist, and because he displayed traits of the "ideal" Macedonian. But Craterus was not around, and the others may have chosen to hear "Krat'eroi" — the stronger. Regardless of his reply, Craterus was assassinated before he could take over the empire. The empire then split amongst his successors (the [Diadochi](#)).


Alexander's death has been surrounded by as much controversy as many of the events of his life. Before long, accusations of foul play were being

thrown about by his generals at one another, making it incredibly hard for a modern historian to sort out the propaganda and the half-truths from the actual events. No contemporary source can be fully trusted because of the incredible level of self-serving recording, and as a result what truly happened to Alexander the Great may never be known. Most theories that he died from syphilis have been more or less discredited.

Alexander's Body

Alexander's body was placed in a gold anthropid [sarcophagus](#), which was in turn placed in a second gold casket and covered with a purple robe. Alexander's coffin was placed, together with his armour, in a gold carriage that had a vaulted roof supported by an [Ionic](#) peristyle. The decoration of the carriage was very lavish and is described in great detail by Diodoros.



 A rare coin of [Ptolemy I](#), showing himself on the obverse at the beginning of his reign, and on the reverse Alexander the Great triumphantly riding a chariot drawn by elephants, a reminder of his successful campaigns with Alexander in India.

According to one legend, Alexander was preserved in a clay vessel full of [honey](#) (which can act as a preservative) and interred in a glass [coffin](#). According to Aelian (*Varia Historia* 12.64), [Ptolemy](#) stole the body and brought it to Alexandria, where it was on display until [Late Antiquity](#). It was here that [Ptolemy IX](#), one of the last successors of Ptolemy I, replaced Alexander's sarcophagus with a glass one, and melted the original down in order to strike emergency gold issues of his coinage. The citizens of Alexandria were outraged at this and soon after Ptolemy IX was killed. Its current whereabouts are unknown.

Roman emperor [Caligula](#) was said to have looted the tomb, stealing Alexander's breastplate, and wearing it. In A.D. about 200, Emperor [Septimius Severus](#) closed Alexander's tomb to the public. His son and successor, [Caracalla](#), was a great admirer of Alexander, and visited the tomb in his own reign. After this, details on the fate of the tomb are sketchy.

The so-called "[Alexander Sarcophagus](#)," discovered near [Sidon](#) and now in the [Istanbul Archaeology Museum](#), is now generally thought to be that of [Abdylonimus](#), whom Hephaestion had appointed as the king of Sidon by Alexander's order. The sarcophagus depicts Alexander and his companions hunting and in battle with the Persians.

Alexander's Testament

Some classical authors, such as [Diodorus](#), relate that Alexander had given detailed written instructions to [Craterus](#) some time before his death. Although Craterus had already started to implement Alexander's orders, such as the building of a fleet in [Cilicia](#) for expedition against [Carthage](#), Alexander's successors chose not to further implement them, on the ground they were impractical and dispendious.^[14]

The testament, described in Diodorus XVIII, called for military expansion into the Southern and Western Mediterranean, monumental constructions, and the intermixing of Eastern and Western populations. Its most remarkable items were:

- The completion of a pyre to [Hephaestion](#)
- The building of "a thousand warships, larger than triremes, in Phoenicia, Syria, Cilicia, and Cyprus for the campaign against the Carthaginians and the other who live along the coast of [Libya](#) and [Iberia](#) and the adjoining coastal regions as far as [Sicily](#)"
- The building of a road in northern Africa as far as the [Pillars of Heracles](#), with ports and shipyards along it.
- The erection of great temples in [Delos](#), [Delphi](#), [Dodona](#), [Dium](#), [Amphipolis](#), [Cyrnus](#) and [Ilium](#).
- The construction of a monumental tomb for his father Philip, "to match the greatest of the [pyramids](#) of Egypt"
- The establishment of cities and the "transplant of populations from Asia to Europe and in the opposite direction from Europe to Asia, in order to bring the largest continent to common unity and to friendship by means of intermarriage and family ties." ([Diodorus Siculus](#), *Bibliotheca historia*, XVIII)

Personal life



📌
Statue of Alexander the Great in [Prilep, Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia](#)

Main article: [Alexander the Great's personal relationships](#)

Alexander's lifelong companion was [Hephaestion](#), the son of a Macedonian noble. Hephaestion also held the position of second-in-command of Alexander's forces until his death, which devastated Alexander. Alexander also married two women: Roxana, daughter of a minor noble and [Stateira](#), a Persian princess and daughter of [Darius III](#) of Persia. Another personage from the court of Darius III with whom he was intimate was [Bagoas](#). His son by Roxana, [Alexander IV of Macedon](#), was killed after the death of his father, before he reached adulthood.

Alexander was admired during his lifetime for treating all his lovers humanely. [Plutarch](#) has argued that Alexander's love of males took an ethical approach, inspired by the teachings of his mentor, Aristotle.

Legacy and division of the empire

Main article: [Diadochi](#)

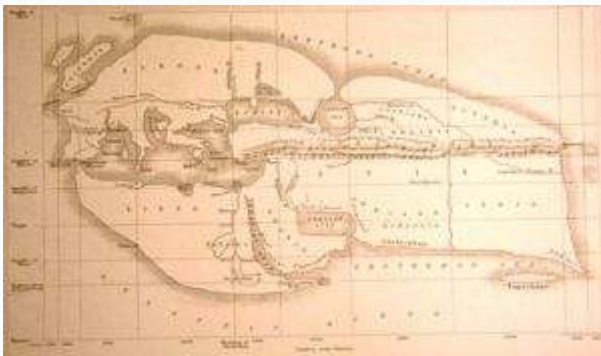


📌
Coin of Alexander bearing an [Aramaic language](#) inscription.

After Alexander's death, in 323 BC, the rule of his Empire was given to Alexander's half-brother [Philip Arridaeus](#) and Alexander's son Alexander IV. However, since Philip was mentally ill and the son of Alexander still a

baby, two regents were named in [Perdiccas](#) (who had received Alexander's ring at this death) and [Craterus](#) (who may have been the one mentioned as successor by Alexander), although Perdiccas quickly managed to take sole power.

Perdiccas soon eliminated several of his opponents, killing about 30 (Diodorus Siculus), and at the [Partition of Babylon](#) named former generals of Alexander as [satraps](#) of the various regions of his Empire. In [321 BC](#) Perdiccas was assassinated by his own troops during his conflict with [Ptolemy](#), leading to the [Partition of Triparadisus](#), in which [Antipater](#) was named as the new regent, and the satrapies again shared between the various generals. From that time, Alexander's officers were focused on the explicit formation of rival monarchies and territorial states.



The Hellenistic world view after Alexander: [ancient world map](#) of [Eratosthenes](#) (276-194 BC), incorporating information from the campaigns of Alexander and his successors.^[15]

Ultimately, the conflict was settled after the [Battle of Ipsus](#) in [Phrygia](#) in 301 BC. Alexander's empire was divided at first into four major portions: [Cassander](#) ruled in [Macedon](#), [Lysimachus](#) in [Thrace](#), [Seleucus](#) in [Mesopotamia](#) and Persia, and [Ptolemy I Soter](#) in the [Levant](#) and [Egypt](#). [Antigonus](#) ruled for a while in [Anatolia](#) and [Syria](#) but was eventually defeated by the other generals at Ipsus (301 BC). Control over Indian territory passed to [Chandragupta Maurya](#), the first [Maurya](#) emperor, who further expanded his dominions after a settlement with Seleucus.

By [270 BC](#), the [Hellenistic](#) states were consolidated, with

- The [Antigonid Empire](#) in Macedonia and Greece;
- The [Seleucid Empire](#) in Mesopotamia and Persia;
- The [Ptolemaic kingdom](#) in Egypt, Palestine and [Cyrenaica](#)



The [Greco-Bactrian](#) king [Demetrius](#) (reigned c. [200-180 BCE](#)), wearing an elephant scalp, took over Alexander's legacy in the east by again invading [India](#) in 180 BCE, and establishing the [Indo-Greek kingdom](#) (180 BC- 10 AD).

By the 1st century BC though, most of the Hellenistic territories in the West had been absorbed by the [Roman Republic](#). In the East, they had been dramatically reduced by the expansion of the [Parthian Empire](#). The territories further east seceded to form the [Greco-Bactrian](#) kingdom (250 BC- 140 BC), which further expanded into India to form the [Indo-Greek kingdom](#) (180 BC- 10 AD).

The Ptolemy dynasty persisted in [Egypt](#) until the time of [Cleopatra](#), best known for her alliances with [Julius Caesar](#) and [Mark Antony](#), just before the Roman republic officially became the [Roman Empire](#).

Alexander's conquests also had long term [cultural](#) effects, with the flourishing of [Hellenistic civilization](#) throughout the [Middle East](#) and [Central Asia](#), and the development of [Greco-Buddhist art](#) in the [Indian subcontinent](#). [Alexander](#) and his successors were tolerant of non-Greek religious practices, and interesting syncretisms developed in the new Greek towns he founded in [Central Asia](#). The first realistic portrayals of the [Buddha](#) appeared at this time; they are reminiscent of Greek statues of [Apollo](#). Several [Buddhist](#) traditions may have been influenced by the ancient Greek religion; the concept of [Boddhisatvas](#) is reminiscent of Greek divine heroes, and some [Mahayana](#) ceremonial practices (burning incense, gifts of flowers and food placed on altars) are similar to those practiced by the ancient Greeks. [Zen Buddhism](#) draws in part on the ideas of Greek [stoics](#), such as [Zeno](#).

Among other effects, the [Hellenistic](#), or [koine](#) dialect of [Greek](#) became the [lingua franca](#) through the so-called civilized world. For instance the standard version of the [Hebrew Scriptures](#) used among the Jews of the [diaspora](#), especially in Egypt, during the life of [Jesus](#) was the [Greek](#)

[Septuagint](#) translation, which was compiled ca 200 BC by seventy-odd scholars under the patronage of the Macedonian ruler [Ptolemy II Philadelphus](#). Thus many Jews from Egypt or Rome would have trouble understanding the teachings of the scholars in the Temple in [Jerusalem](#) who were using the Hebrew original text and an [Aramaic](#) translation, being themselves only acquainted with the Greek version. There has been much speculation on the issue whether Jesus spoke Koine Greek as the Gospel-writers, themselves writing in Greek, don't say anything decisive about the matter.

Influence on Ancient Rome



A mural in [Pompeii](#), depicting the marriage of Alexander to Barsine (Stateira) in 324 BC. The couple are apparently dressed as Ares and Aphrodite.

In the late [Republic](#) and early [Empire](#), educated Roman citizens used Latin only for legal, political, and ceremonial purposes, and used Greek to discuss philosophy or any other intellectual topic. No Roman wanted to hear it said that his Greek was weak. Throughout the Roman world, the one language spoken everywhere was Alexander's Greek.

Alexander and his exploits were admired by many Romans who wanted to associate themselves with his achievements, although very little is known about Roman-Macedonian diplomatic relations of that time. [Julius Caesar](#) wept in Spain at the mere sight of Alexander's statue and [Pompey the Great](#) rummaged through the closets of conquered nations for Alexander's 260-year-old cloak, which the Roman general then wore as the costume of greatness. However, in his zeal to honor Alexander, [Augustus](#) accidentally broke the nose off the Macedonian's mummified corpse while laying a wreath at the hero's shrine in Alexandria, Egypt. The unbalanced emperor

[Caligula](#) later took the dead king's armor from that tomb and donned it for luck. The Macriani, a Roman family that rose to the imperial throne in the 3rd century A.D., always kept images of Alexander on their persons, either stamped into their bracelets and rings or stitched into their garments. Even their dinnerware bore Alexander's face, with the story of the king's life displayed around the rims of special bowls.^[16]

In the summer of 1995, during the archaeological work of the season centered on excavating the remains of domestic architecture of early-Roman date, a statue of Alexander was recovered from the structure, which was richly decorated with mosaic and marble pavements and probably was constructed in the 1st century AD and occupied until the 3rd century.^[17]

General timeline

- [Trace Alexander's conquests on an animated map](#)

Alexander's character



 Equestrian statue of Alexander the Great, on the waterfront in [Thessaloniki](#), capital of [Macedonia](#) in Greece

Modern opinion on Alexander has run the gamut from the idea that he believed he was on a divinely-inspired mission to unite the [human race](#), to the view that he was a [megalomaniac](#) bent on [world domination](#). Such views tend to be [anachronistic](#), and the sources allow for a variety of

interpretations. Much about Alexander's personality and aims remains enigmatic. There were no disinterested commentators in Alexander's own time or soon afterward, so all accounts need to be read with skepticism.

Alexander is remembered as a legendary hero in [Europe](#) and much of both [Southwest Asia](#) and [Central Asia](#), where he is known as **Iskander** or **Iskandar Zulkarnain**. To [Zoroastrians](#), on the other hand, he is remembered as the destroyer of their first great empire and as the destroyer of [Persepolis](#). Ancient sources are generally written with an agenda of either glorifying or denigrating the man, making it difficult to evaluate his actual character. Most refer to a growing instability and megalomania in the years following Gaugamela, but it has been suggested that this simply reflects the Greek [stereotype](#) of an orientalizing king. The murder of his friend [Clitus](#), which Alexander deeply and immediately regretted, is often cited as a sign of his paranoia, as is his execution of Philotas and his general Parmenion for failure to pass along details of a plot against him. There is also the view that this may have been more prudence than paranoia.

Modern Alexandrists continue to debate these same issues, among others, in modern times. One unresolved topic involves whether Alexander was actually attempting to better the world by his conquests, or whether his purpose was primarily to rule the world.

Partially in response to the ubiquity of positive portrayals of Alexander, an alternate character is sometimes presented which emphasizes some of Alexander's negative aspects. Some proponents of this view cite the destructions of [Thebes](#), [Tyre](#), [Persepolis](#), and [Gaza](#) as examples of atrocities, and argue that Alexander preferred to fight rather than negotiate. It is further claimed, in response to the view that Alexander was generally tolerant of the cultures of those whom he conquered, that his attempts at cultural fusion were severely practical and that he never actually admired Persian art or culture. To this way of thinking, Alexander was, first and foremost, a general rather than a statesman.

Alexander's character also suffers from the interpretation of historians who themselves are subject to the bias and idealisms of their own time. Good examples are [W. W. Tarn](#), who wrote during the late 19th century and early 20th century, and who saw Alexander in an extremely good light, and [Peter Green](#), who wrote after [World War II](#) and for whom Alexander did little that was not inherently selfish or ambition-driven. Tarn wrote in an age where world conquest and warrior-heroes were acceptable, even encouraged, whereas Green wrote with the backdrop of [the Holocaust](#) and [nuclear weapons](#).

Greek and Latin sources

In addition to cuneiform evidence from Babylonia that is still being discovered and translated, there are numerous Greek and Latin texts about Alexander. Unfortunately, the primary sources, texts written by people who actually knew Alexander or who gathered information from men who served with Alexander, are all lost, apart from a few inscriptions and some letter-fragments of dubious authenticity. Contemporaries who wrote full accounts of his life include the historian [Callisthenes](#), Alexander's general [Ptolemy](#), [Aristobulus](#), [Nearchus](#), and [Onesicritus](#). Another influential account is by [Cleitararchus](#) who, while not a direct witness of Alexander's expedition, used sources which had just been published. His work was to be the backbone of that of [Timagenes](#), who heavily influenced many historians whose work still survives. None of these works survives, but we do have later works based on these primary sources.

The five main surviving accounts are by Arrian, Curtius, Plutarch, Diodorus, and Justin.

- *Anabasis Alexandri* (*The Campaigns of Alexander* in Greek) by the Greek historian [Arrian](#) of [Nicomedia](#), writing in the 2nd century AD, and based largely on Ptolemy and, to a lesser extent, Aristobulus and Nearchus. It is considered generally the most trustworthy source.
- *Historiae Alexandri Magni*, a biography of Alexander in ten books, of which the last eight survive, by the Roman historian [Quintus Curtius Rufus](#), written in the 1st century AD, and based largely on Cleitararchus through the mediation of Timagenes, with some material probably from Ptolemy;
- *Life of Alexander* (see [Parallel Lives](#)) and two orations *On the Fortune or the Virtue of Alexander the Great* (see [Moralia](#)), by the Greek historian and biographer [Plutarch](#) of [Chaeronea](#) in the second century, based largely on Aristobulus and especially Cleitararchus.
- *Bibliotheca historia* (*Library of world history*), written in Greek by the [Sicilian](#) historian [Diodorus Siculus](#), from which Book 17 relates the conquests of Alexander, based almost entirely on Timagenes's work. The books immediately before and after, on Philip and Alexander's "Successors," throw light on Alexander's reign.
- The *Epitome of the Philippic History of Pompeius Trogus* by [Justin](#), which contains factual errors and is highly compressed. It is difficult in this case to understand the source, since we only have an epitome, but it is thought that also [Pompeius Trogus](#) may have limited himself to use Timagenes for his Latin history.

To these five main sources some like to add the *Metz Epitome*, an anonymous late Latin work that narrates Alexander's campaigns from [Hyrcania](#) to India. Much is also recounted incidentally in other authors, including [Strabo](#), [Athenaeus](#), [Polyaenus](#), [Aelian](#), and others.

The "problem of the sources" is the main concern (and chief delight) of Alexander-historians. In effect, each presents a different "Alexander", with details to suit. Arrian is mostly interested in the military aspects, while Curtius veers to a more private and darker Alexander. Plutarch can't resist a good story, light or dark. All, with the possible exception of Arrian, include a considerable level of fantasy, prompting Strabo to remark, "All who wrote about Alexander preferred the marvelous to the true." Nevertheless, the sources tell us much, and leave much to our interpretation and imagination. Perhaps Arrian's words are most appropriate:

One account says that Hephaestion laid a wreath on the tomb of Patroclus; another that Alexander laid one on the tomb of Achilles, calling him a lucky man, in that he had Homer to proclaim his deeds and preserve his memory. And well might Alexander envy Achilles this piece of good fortune; for in his own case there was no equivalent: his one failure, the single break, as it were, in the long chain of his successes, was that he had no worthy chronicler to tell the world of his exploits.

Alexander's legend

Alexander was a legend in his own time. His court historian Callisthenes portrayed the sea in [Cilicia](#) as drawing back from him in [proskynesis](#). Writing after Alexander's death, another participant, [Onesicritus](#), went so far as to invent a [tryst](#) between Alexander and [Thalestris](#), queen of the mythical [Amazons](#). When Onesicritus read this passage to his patron, Alexander's general and later King [Lysimachus](#) reportedly quipped, "I wonder where I was at the time."

In the first centuries after Alexander's death, probably in Alexandria, a quantity of the more legendary material coalesced into a text known as the *Alexander Romance*, later falsely ascribed to the historian Callisthenes and therefore known as *Pseudo-Callisthenes*. This text underwent numerous expansions and revisions throughout Antiquity and the [Middle Ages](#), exhibiting a plasticity unseen in "higher" literary forms. Latin and [Syriac](#) translations were made in Late Antiquity. From these, versions were developed in all the major languages of [Europe](#) and the [Middle East](#), including [Armenian](#), [Georgian](#), [Persian](#), [Arabic](#), [Turkish](#), [Hebrew](#), [Serbian](#), [Slavonic](#), [Romanian](#), [Hungarian](#), [German](#), [English](#), [Italian](#), and [French](#). The

"Romance" is regarded by many Western scholars as the source of the [account of Alexander given in the Qur'an](#) ([Sura The Cave](#)). It is the source of many incidents in [Ferdowsi's "Shahnama"](#). A [Mongolian](#) version is also extant.

Alexander is also a character of Greek folklore (and other regions), as the protagonist of 'apocryphal' tales of bravery. A maritime legend says that his sister is a [mermaid](#) and asks the sailors if her brother is still alive. The unsuspecting sailor who answers truthfully arises the mermaid's wrath and his boat perishes in the waves; a sailor mindful of the circumstances will answer "*He lives and reigns, and conquers the world*", and the sea about his boat will immediately calm. Alexander is also a character of a standard play in the [Karagiozis](#) repertory, "Alexander the Great and the Accursed Serpent".

Some believe that, excepting certain religious texts, it is the most widely-read work of pre-modern times.

Alexander in the Qur'an

Main article: [Alexander in the Qur'an \(Theory\)](#)

Alexander the Great sometimes is identified in Persian and Arabic traditions sources as [Dhul-Qarnayn](#), Arabic for the "Two-Horned One", possibly a reference to the appearance of a horn-headed figure that appears on coins minted during his rule and later imitated in ancient Middle Eastern coinage. If this theory is followed, accounts of the Alexander legend, can be found in [Qur'an](#) if Alexander is the [Dhul-Qarnayn](#) mentioned in the Quran.

It can be found in the Persian tradition too if the theory is accurate. The same traditions from the Pseudo-Callisthenes were combined in Persia with [Sassanid](#) Persian ideas about Alexander in the [Iskandarnamah](#). In this tradition, Alexander built a wall of iron and melted copper in which [Gog and Magog](#) are confined.

Some Muslim scholars disagree that Alexander was [Dhul-Qarnayn](#). There are actually some theories that [Dhul-Qarnayn](#) was a Persian King with a vast Empire as well, possibly King [Cyrus the Great](#). The reason being is Dhul-Qarnayn is described in the Holy Quran as a monotheist believer who worshipped Allah (God). This, it is claimed, removes Alexander as a candidate for [Dhul-Qarnayn](#) as Alexander was a polytheist. Yet contemporaneous Persian nobles would have practiced [Zurvanism](#), thus disqualifying them on the same basis. It is more likely that the core story is

a composite taken from accounts of Alexander and validated with Abrahamic embellishments.

Alexander in the Bible

Alexander was briefly mentioned in the [Old Testament](#) in the [first Book of the Maccabees](#) chapter 1, verses 1-7. The following is a brief summary on how Alexander was portrayed in the Bible ([RSV-CE](#) version).

He was described as Alexander son of Philip the Macedonian. Defeated Darius, king of the Persians and succeeded him as king (Alexander previously became king of Greece). Fought many battles and advanced to the ends of the earth. He gathered a strong army and ruled over countries and nations. He fell sick and perceived that he was dying so he summoned his officers and divided his kingdom among them. After Alexander reigned for twelve years, he died.

Alexander in ancient and modern culture

Main article: [Cultural depictions of Alexander the Great](#)

Around seventy towns or outposts are claimed to have been founded by Alexander.^[18] [Diodorus Siculus](#) credits Alexander with planning cities on a [grid plan](#).^[19]

Alexander has figured in works of both "high" and popular culture from his own era to the modern day.

Footnotes

- [^] The name Αλέξανδρος derives from the Greek words ἀλέξω (to repel, shield, protect) and ἀνὴρ (man; [genitive case](#) ἀνδρός), and means "protector of men." For further details on the origins of the name, see [related section in disambiguation article](#).
- [^] Plutarch, *Alexander* 2.2–3.
- [^] Plutarch, *Alexander* 2.1.
- [^] Plutarch, *Phocion*, 17
- [^] Worthington, p. 162, from an extract of A. K. Narain, 'Alexander the Great', *Greece and Rome* **12** 1965, p 155–165.
- [^] Curtius.

7. [^] [\(Ancient India, 1971, p 99, Dr R. C. Majumdar; *History and Culture of Indian People, The Age of Imperial Unity, Foreign Invasion*, p 46, Dr R. K Mukerjee.](#)
8. [^] [Carnage and Culture: Landmark Battles in the Rise to Western Power, 2002, p 86, Victor Hanson.](#)
9. [^] [Plutarch, *Vita Alexandri*, 62](#)
10. [^] [Plutarch, Alexander 63.5.](#)
11. [^] [\[1\]](#)
12. [^] [Alexander the Great Alexander of Macedon Biography, *History of Macedonia*](#)
13. [^] [Aelian, *Varia Historia*; XII.7](#)
14. [^] ["At the same time he \[Craterus\] had received written instructions which the king had given him for execution; nevertheless, after the death of Alexander, it seemed best to the successors not to carry out these plans." Diodorus XVIII,4](#)
15. [^] [Source](#)
16. [^] [Frank L. Holt, *Alexander the Great and the Mystery of the Elephant Medallions*, University of California Press.](#)
17. [^] [Salima Ikram. Nile Currents](#)
18. [^] [Alexander the Great: his towns](#)
19. [^] [Diodorus Siculus, *Bibliotheca historia*, vol. 8](#)

References

- [Arrian, *The Campaigns of Alexander*](#), English translation by [Aubrey de Sélincourt](#) (1971, first published 1958) [Penguin Classics](#) published by the Penguin Group, London [ISBN 0-14-044253-7](#).
- [Green, Peter. *Alexander of Macedon: 356–323 B.C. A Historical Biography*](#). Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1992. [ISBN 0-520-07166-2](#).
- [Lane Fox, Robin, *Alexander the Great*](#), London (Allen Lane) 1973, [ISBN 0-86007-707-1](#).
- Lane Fox, Robin, *The Search for Alexander*, Little Brown & Co. Boston, 1st edition (October 1980). [ISBN 0-316-29108-0](#).
- [Renault, Mary. *The Nature of Alexander*](#), 1st American edition (November 12, 1979), [Pantheon Books ISBN 0-394-73825-X](#).
- Wilcken, Ulrich, *Alexander the Great*, W. W. Norton & Company; Reissue edition (March 1997). [ISBN 0-393-00381-7](#).
- Worthington, Ian, *Alexander the Great*, Routledge; 1st edition (February 1, 2003). [ISBN 0-415-29187-9](#).

Further reading

- *Alexander the Great in Fact and Fiction*, edited by A.B. Bosworth, E.J. Baynham. New York: Oxford University Press (USA), 2002 (Paperback, [ISBN 0-19-925275-0](#)).
- Baynham, Elizabeth. *Alexander the Great: The Unique History of Quintus Curtius*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1998 (hardcover, [ISBN 0-472-10858-1](#)); 2004 (paperback, [ISBN 0-472-03081-7](#)).
- *Brill's Companion to Alexander the Great* by Joseph Roisman (editor). Leiden: Brill Academic Publishers, 2003.
- [Cartledge, Paul](#). *Alexander the Great: The Hunt for a New Past*. Woodstock, NY; New York: The Overlook Press, 2004 (hardcover, [ISBN 1-58567-565-2](#)); London: PanMacmillan, 2004 (hardcover, [ISBN 1-4050-3292-8](#)); New York: Vintage, 2005 (paperback, [ISBN 1-4000-7919-5](#)).
- Dahmen, Karsten. *The Legend of Alexander the Great on Greek and Roman Coins*. Oxford: Routledge, 2006 (hardcover, [ISBN 0-415-39451-1](#); paperback, [ISBN 0-415-39452-X](#)).
- De Santis, Marc G. "At The Crossroads of Conquest." *Military Heritage*, December 2001. Volume 3, No. 3: 46–55, 97 (Alexander the Great, his military, his strategy at the Battle of Gaugamela and his defeat of Darius making Alexander the King of Kings).
- [Fuller, J.F. C](#); *A Military History of the Western World: From the earliest times to the Battle of Lepanto*; New York: Da Capo Press, Inc., 1987 and 1988. [ISBN 0-306-80304-6](#)
- Gergel, Tania Editor *Alexander the Great* (2004) published by the [Penguin Group](#), London [ISBN 0-14-200140-6](#) Brief collection of ancient accounts translated into English
- Larsen, Jakob A. O. "Alexander at the Oracle of Ammon", *Classical Philology*, Vol. 27, No. 1. (Jan., 1932), pp. 70–75.
- Pearson, Lionel Ignacius Cusack. *The Lost Histories of Alexander the Great*. Chicago Ridge, IL: Ares Publishers, 2004 (paperback, [ISBN 0-89005-590-4](#)).
- Thomas, Carol G. *Alexander the Great in his World (Blackwell Ancient Lives)*. Oxford: Blackwell Publishers, 2006 (hardcover, [ISBN 0631232451](#); paperback, [ISBN 063123246X](#)).

Non-Greek/Latin perspectives

- A. Shapur Shahbazi, "Iranians and Alexander", *American Journal of Ancient History* n.s. 2 (2003), 5–38: the Persian side of the story.

- R.J. van der Spek, "Darius III, Alexander the Great and Babylonian scholarship" in: *Achaemenid History* 13 (2003), 289–346: an overview of several Babylonian sources
- Two chapters of [Jona Lendering](#)'s Dutch book *Alexander de Grote*, which uses the cuneiform sources, are available in translation. In [this chapter](#), he argues that at Gaugamela, Alexander attacked a Persian army that was looking for an excuse to run away; and in [this chapter](#), he offers a Babylonian perspective on Alexander's final days.