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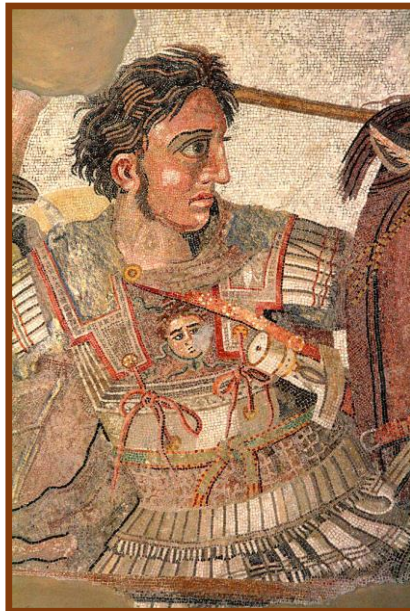
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Issue 3: Alexander the Great

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**Issue 3**  
**Alexander the Great**  
**CLH297/397**

Between 336 and 323 BC, Alexander the Great fundamentally reconfigured the ancient world through his conquest of the Persian Empire. In the 23 centuries since his death, Alexander's story has intrigued, inspired, appalled, and confused generations of historians. How did he win his wars? How did he respond to the conquest of Persia? What was he like as a man? CLH297/397 'Alexander and the Hellenistic World' sought to explore all of these issues and more, and the work presented here reflects the variety of angles from which one can approach Alexander.

Thomas Muff's response to the notion that 'every historian creates their own Alexander' highlights the paucity of sources available to us and shows the different ways in which Alexander has been interpreted. Bradley Hopper explores the contentious issue of Hellenisation – the notion that the Macedonian conquerors deliberately sought to spread 'Greekness' to their new subjects – through a detailed discussion of Ptolemaic coinage. Students were also tasked with producing the script for a short film about Alexander, targeted at a non-specialist audience. The aim was to demonstrate to students that trying to entertain an audience compromises your ability to remain 'factual', which is one of the major problems with using the Roman-period sources for Alexander. Both scripts offered here tackle Alexander's drunken murder of Clitus at a banquet, but do so in very different ways. Tariq Mohamed, Alexander Smith, and William Young found an excellent way to communicate the problems with eye-witnesses sources, showing, in particular, the different perspectives of each witness. Jack Davies, Lauren Jenkins, Tom Martin, Alex Morris, and Lauren Sanderson transposed the setting into the modern world, imagining what might happen if something similar occurred on a rugby team's night out. This was a new form of assessment for the department, and I thoroughly enjoyed seeing the students display their creative talents.

Many more items could have been included in this edition, reflecting the high quality of the work done in this module. My thanks to all of the students for making this such an enjoyable module to teach (and even to assess!), and thanks too to the editors for offering to publish an edition based on Alexander, giving the students a platform to display their work. I hope you enjoy these pieces as much as I did!

Dr Stephen Harrison, module coordinator

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## **Every historian creates their own Alexander**

In the study of Alexander, his personality has taken precedence over historical elements of his reign. This focus on biography over history is not unique. Great men throughout history have always fascinated historians, yet Alexander's personality evades them. In order to write a comprehensive overview of the life and personality of a historical figure reliably, one needs contemporary accounts, architectural evidence, and, preferably, an autobiography. Historians writing about Alexander have none of these. This leaves a historian with considerable free reign over who they believe Alexander may have been. However, does 'each historian create their own Alexander?' The varied nature of opinions on Alexander initially suggests that yes, they do; however, historian's personal versions of Alexander will share common traits. The reasons for any particular historian's version of Alexander are complex, and range from the nature of our ancient sources; the time in which a historian writes; and even their ethnicity. In the west Alexander is a popular figure, but throughout the Middle East he is remembered as a bloodthirsty conqueror. In order to understand why historians create their own Alexander, it is important to examine the nature of the original sources, as well as the progression of modern scholarship. Finally, one should consider whether or not historians should place importance on Alexander's character; whether or not historians can really ever reconstruct it; and whether this prevents historians from giving other aspects of Alexandrian scholarship the attention that it deserves.

The focus on Alexander's personality begins with the oldest sources on him, and opinions are drastically different from the start. Ancient sources on Alexander can be divided into two camps: the 'official' and the 'vulgate.' Arrian's 'official' account of Alexander claims to be written using Ptolemy's own work as reference, and depicts Alexander positively. However, the 'vulgate' sources are quite different. They paint Alexander more

negatively, or rather, not as positively as Arrian does. Whereas Arrian omits or justifies some of the more damning events in Alexander's life, the vulgate sources include, and sometimes focus, on these events. Plutarch's and Curtius' works in particular are written in an intensely moralistic style, in order to teach their Roman and Greek audiences a lesson on the dangers of excess. The differing nature of these accounts is the first examples of different historians or biographers creating their own Alexander. Plutarch's *Lives* is entirely biographical, with cherry picked examples in order to create the man he needs. The comparisons that he draws to Caesar are shallow. The two men's personalities may well have been extremely different, but their military prowess is enough for Plutarch to lump them together. The other sources are slightly more historical than Plutarch. Every aspect of their work places Alexander at the centre. Contextual details on wider politics, military action, and cultural progression are lost to anecdotal accounts of Alexander's personal involvement in these areas. Arrian does provide us with detail on men close to Alexander, but only in order to improve upon his character. Due to Arrian's use of Ptolemy, it is also likely that information on Alexander's relationships with his generals, especially Ptolemy, is skewed in order to strengthen Ptolemy's position after Alexander's death. Whilst the sources are unreliable at best, they are all that historians have on Alexander's reign, as archaeological evidence is lacking and tells us very little.<sup>1</sup> Every later interpretation of Alexander stems from these sources' depictions. The ancients provide a framework upon which modern scholars can build. They can customise their Alexander, but are unable to fully 'create their own.' Conflicting evidence means that historians will have different opinions of who Alexander was, but the limited nature of that evidence ensures that there will be historians who agree. If one combines the lack of available information with Alexander's impressive legacy, it is easy to understand

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<sup>1</sup> P. A. Brunt, 'The Sources For The History of Alexander', in *Alexander The Great: Ancient and Modern Perspectives*, ed. by Joseph Roisman, Problems in European Civilization (Lexington, Mass.: D. C, Heath and Company, 1995), pp. 13–26 (p. 13).

how he became a semi-mythical Homeric figure. A fascination with such a powerful figure is natural, and the study of his personality was inevitable. When working with very little evidence, it is ultimately up to the reader, in this case the historians, to create their own Alexander.

Early modern scholarship on Alexander before 1950 is drastically different to work produced in recent years. During this period there are different opinions on Alexander, but ultimately they trend towards the positive. In this respect, it seems that historians, rather than necessarily creating their own Alexander, fall into two broad camps. W.W. Tarn is perhaps the finest example of the old style of Alexander romanticism. He defends Alexander's murder of Cleitus, stating that this would have hardly affected the other generals as 'life was cheap' and that '[Cleitus] had only himself to thank.'<sup>2</sup> Tarn makes Alexander sound noble in suppressing 'the beast within him,' and praises Alexander for only letting his anger get the best of him once, and then regretting it.<sup>3</sup> The Alexander that Tarn describes is credited with every aspect of his military success; the creation of infrastructure within his vast empire; and all other positive aspects of his reign.<sup>4</sup> He downplays potential input from Alexander's generals, and ignores the possibility of advisors or local rulers having a hand in Alexander's success. In doing so Tarn fails to take everything into account, but ultimately he is creating *his* Alexander. A.H.M. Jones in a review of Tarn's work states that 'Like most biographers, Dr. Tarn has fallen in love with his hero, and tends to idealize him.'<sup>5</sup> Evidently Tarn's Alexander is vastly different from Jones', who rejects the proposal of a humanitarian Alexander.<sup>6</sup> This is an example of two historians who have created vastly different Alexanders in their minds,

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<sup>2</sup> W. W. Tarn, *Alexander the Great: Volume 1: Narrative* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1948), p. 75.

<sup>3</sup> Tarn, p. 75; Tarn, p. 123.

<sup>4</sup> Tarn, p. 125; Tarn, p. 128.

<sup>5</sup> A. H. M. Jones, review of *Review of Alexander the Great*, by W. W. Tarn, *The Classical Review*, 63.3/4 (1949), 122–25 (p. 124).

<sup>6</sup> Jones, p. 125.

supporting the concept that each historian creates their own Alexander. This is representative of the two broad camps of Alexandrian scholarship at this time.

In F.M. Heichelheim's review of Tarn's book, he lauds it as 'the most important research book on a subject of Ancient History [since the] Second World War.'<sup>7</sup> He believes that Tarn's analysis of Alexander as a humanitarian is correct, and praises Tarn's scholarly prowess. For a modern historian, such simple glorification of a complex historical figure suggests that the authors simply did not take potential source bias into account; however, Heichelheim is very aware of it. He states: 'all Ancient Historians have to interpret their primary written and unwritten sources with great care... analyse critically... and then to come to a convincing conclusion,' and that 'Dr. Tarn is a great master in all these fields.'<sup>8</sup> The idea that any historian could understand the need for critical analysis and produce such an unwavering glorification, and that another historian could praise it as mastery, seems astounding to a modern historian. However, this simply shows the advancement in the study of Alexander, and indeed of the field as a whole, in the last sixty years. Whilst Heichelheim's positivity may appear to support that perhaps individual historians do not create their own Alexander, and that they simply pick a side, Heichelheim does manage to find a criticism. He explains that Tarn's Alexander is far too reasonable, and that *his* Alexander is different.<sup>9</sup> Here there is a visible divide between two historians within the same 'camp.' This is a concrete example of different historians having their own Alexander; however, the creation of their Alexanders is not simply a personal choice. It is influenced by their experiences. As wealthy men in the 1940's and 1950's, their opinions of a charismatic general bravely campaigning through the east would have been the norm. Whilst it is important to note the influence of historical context in a historian's creation of their Alexander, it must not be overstated.

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<sup>7</sup> F. M. Heichelheim, review of *Review of Alexander the Great*, by W. W. Tarn, *The English Historical Review*, 65.256 (1950), 387–90 (p. 387).

<sup>8</sup> Heichelheim, p. 389.

<sup>9</sup> Heichelheim, p. 389.



Ultimately, there were historians who held the opposite view, supporting the idea of an ‘individual Alexander.’

Scepticism in this era still was not necessarily ideal. Often, it may have meant recognising a dichotomy within Alexander’s character, and not simply explaining it away. Whilst this may not appear particularly ground breaking, at the time it was uncommon, as seen in Heichelheim’s passionate discomfort at the way contemporary historians dared to challenge the classical view of Alexander.<sup>10</sup> Ulrich Wilcken in his *Alexander the Great* shares Tarn and Heichelheim’s admiration for Alexander’s military genius, but casts doubts upon his ability as a statesman.<sup>11</sup> He also casts his scepticism on the sources description of the ‘orientalisation of the king,’ bringing source bias to light in a way that one simply does not see from Tarn’s work.<sup>12</sup> Wilcken’s Alexander is not only proof that historians do create their own version of Alexander, but also that it is possible to do so in an environment that is hostile to your own interpretation. Wilcken himself was the first to explain the phenomenon of attempting to uncover Alexander’s personality, stating that every scholar has their own Alexander.<sup>13</sup> When he considers how historians can continue to be baffled by Alexander’s personality after so many years of fascination and intense study, his conclusion is that conflicting fragmentary evidence, the complexity of Alexander’s character, and his premature death are the reasons for continual revision.<sup>14</sup> While this is a comment on Alexander’s nature, it is, perhaps, more revealing in its commentary on history in general. There have been plenty of interesting leaders throughout history, but, for example, historians do not create their own versions of Caesar, attributable to the wealth of evidence available for both Caesar, and the wider Roman world. Wilcken’s work raises an important question for modern a scholar in

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<sup>10</sup> Heichelheim, p. 389.

<sup>11</sup> Ulrich Wilcken, *Alexander the Great*, trans. by G.C. Richards (London: Chatto & Windus, 1932), p. 241; Wilcken, p. 244.

<sup>12</sup> Wilcken, p. 247.

<sup>13</sup> Wilcken, p. v.

<sup>14</sup> Wilcken, p. vi.

that, if it is impossible to truly know Alexander, is it not more important that we spend our time studying other aspects of the Alexandrian world? The next step for scholarship was to stop studying things in relation to Alexander, but to attempt to understand them in their own right. Perhaps, if historians better understood the Persian world, and the people around Alexander, they could better understand the man himself.

As the second half of the twentieth century progressed, historians became more aware of biases, thus moving away from the old idea of glorifying Alexander's brutality, and began to condemn him. The key historians from this era are Ernst Badian, and A. B. Bosworth. Badian, as an Austrian Jew who relocated in order to escape persecution, was understandably cautious of charismatic, violent leaders and had little sympathy for Alexander. The Alexander that he creates reflects not only his background, but also his rigorous historical style. However, the most important thing that Badian does is not only describing Alexander's life, but also analysing the methodology of older works, and attempting to understand and explain why the image of Alexander is so elusive. He noted that the differences between historians' Alexanders are attributable to the differences between German and British scholars in wartime.<sup>15</sup> Even wartime German scholars changed their opinions on Alexander after the fall of the Nazi party and, subsequently, the portrayal of Alexander as a member of a dominant race. Badian states that after the war 'to the scholar now revolted by politics and autocracy, Alexander now became a poetic symbol.'<sup>16</sup> In Victorian England, Alexander remained 'unreasonably reasonable,' and this opinion grew to prominence again after the war, which Badian puts down for a need for proud nostalgia, as the British Empire dwindled.<sup>17</sup> He even suggests that for Konrad Kraft, Alexander represented 'a desperate man's vision of rationality,' in his explanation that a historian's Alexanders can be representative of any

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<sup>15</sup> Ernst Badian, 'Some Recent Interpretations of Alexander', in *Alexandre Le Grande: Image et Réalité* (Geneva: Foundation Hardt, 1976), pp. 279–301 (pp. 286–287).

<sup>16</sup> Badian, p. 287.

<sup>17</sup> Badian, pp. 287, 290.

number of factors.<sup>18</sup> Whilst Badian's Alexander is a paranoid tyrant, he urges his readers to ignore the plethora of Alexanders historians have created, and instead to turn their focus elsewhere.<sup>19</sup> Bosworth, too, recognises the futility of attempting to create a 'truthful' Alexander when battling against such flawed sources, but ultimately he too has a negative view of Alexander, as is now the cultural norm.<sup>20</sup> These two historians revitalised and defined Alexandrian studies. Their critical analysis of the field itself brought to light source problems, and kick-started the study of Alexander into the modern world.

Pierre Briant's works are some of the few that go into serious detail on the relationship between Darius and Alexander from a Persian perspective. By using his work, one can begin to approach the study of Alexander from a vital new angle. *Darius in the Shadow of Alexander* discusses the issues with attempting to reconstruct Darius' personality, when he is pitted against Alexander the Great. Without treating Darius fairly, and studying him independently one cannot hope to understand him, and understanding Darius could help scholars to understand Alexander. He states that because of the Greco-centric nature of the field 'specialists on Alexander have been unable to take full advantage of the recent evolution of Achaemenid studies.'<sup>21</sup> Although *Shadow* is devoted mainly to Darius, Briant's observations on Alexander are reasoned and valuable. He highlights the importance of considering the Persian world that Alexander immersed himself in when attempting to create your Alexander. His other work *From Cyrus To Alexander: A History of Persia* is another obvious but surprisingly rare way of studying Alexander in relation to the world around him. Simple differences like referring to Alexander's conquest as 'Macedonian aggression' and examining the wars through a Persian lens help to create a more complete view of

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<sup>18</sup> Badian, p. 293.

<sup>19</sup> Badian, p. 300.

<sup>20</sup> A. B. Bosworth, 'Arrian and the Alexander Vulgate', in *Alexandre Le Grande: Image et Réalité* (Geneva: Foundation Hardt, 1976), pp. 1–33 (p. 33).

<sup>21</sup> Pierre Briant author, *Darius in the Shadow of Alexander / Pierre Briant ; Translated by Jane Marie Todd.*, trans. by Jane Marie Todd (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 2015), p. 3.

Alexander.<sup>22</sup> Interestingly, Briant's Alexander is not entirely negative. He provides a relatively balanced view of Alexander. He is neither a saint nor a tyrant, but simply an expansionist king. By providing the reader with a better understanding of Persia, Briant's work enables one to truly appreciate the scale of Alexander's success. However, he rightfully emphasizes that being analytical, and occasionally critical, allows for a deeper, more complex understanding of Alexander the Great.

Although the most popular current academic view of Alexander is negative, positive versions of Alexander do occasionally rear their heads. For the most part, these opinions can be found in less academic biographies that are intended to interest a general audience. This is most likely down to the lack of source analysis, and consideration needed to come away with an entirely positive view of Alexander. By endeavouring to keep readers interested, events become oversimplified, and the reader may walk away not necessarily misinformed, but without key information they need to make up their minds. More common in academic works are 'defences' of Alexander. Works that recognise problematic elements within Alexander explain them, and then form an argument that Alexander's military genius is an overall positive. Some historians, such as Nicholas Hammond in *The Genius of Alexander the Great* are extremely praiseworthy. He states that Alexander's 'brilliance, range, and quickness of intellect were remarkable,' but glosses over key events like the murder of Cleitus by telling his reader that 'his emotions were very strong.'<sup>23</sup> Overall it is indicative of a regression to early twentieth century style biographies of Alexander in the way that it explains away the negatives in order to create their positive Alexander.

The final, perhaps most important point when we consider why each historian creates their own Alexander, is why historians focus so intently on his personality, and whether or

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<sup>22</sup> Pierre. Briant, *From Cyrus to Alexander a History of the Persian Empire / Pierre Briant ; Translated by Peter T. Daniels.*, trans. by Peter T. Daniels (Winona Lake, Indiana: Eisenbrauns, 2002), p. 817.

<sup>23</sup> N. G. L. Hammond (Nicholas Geoffrey Lemprière), *The Genius of Alexander the Great* (London: Duckworth, 1998), p. 200.

not that is a worthwhile use of their time. Firstly, the fascination with Alexander's personality comes, in part, from the fact that historians know so little. As Badian suggests, Alexander becomes a blank slate, and so the scholar can project whatever it is they want Alexander to be onto his historical character.<sup>24</sup> As time goes on, this 'blank slate' evolves, and the question of 'who is Alexander the Great?' remains pertinent. Another reason for the consistent interest in writing biographies on Alexander the Great is that it is a popular subject, and historians are not only able to have their works read, but also have the possibility to make money from an enjoyable subject. For a historian to write an account of Alexander with the sole purpose of uncovering his personality is, in Badian's words, 'worthless.'<sup>25</sup> When so much remains unknown, it is clear that there is nothing any historian can add at this point to uncover a secret truth about Alexander, unless there are breakthroughs elsewhere in the field. However, by wasting time re-analysing Alexander in the same old, tired biography format rather than investigating neglected areas of study like the sources themselves, or even Persia in its own right, historians fail to make any significant progress. Historians should now try to leave the psychology of Alexander behind, because, as Badian rightly says, there is real work to do.<sup>26</sup>

When Wilcken said that 'each historian creates their own Alexander,' he wanted to portray the divisive nature of Alexandrian scholarship. When he wrote his book there was an overwhelmingly positive view of Alexander, which has now largely changed due to a myriad of factors. It is fair to say that there are essentially two basic groups that a historian's Alexander will fall under: 'good,' and 'bad.' This calls into question just how unique ones Alexander can be, because, although there will be disagreements within these groups, at some point people must agree. Simple biographies of Alexander no longer serve the field any good, other than to generate interest in the classical world. Whilst the ancient sources do focus

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<sup>24</sup> Badian, p. 293.

<sup>25</sup> Badian, p. 298.

<sup>26</sup> Badian, p. 300.

mainly on Alexander themselves, if one only uses them to examine other areas of Alexander's reign, perhaps one day it might be possible to understand Alexander's personality. Whilst that is, of course, the ideal outcome, biographies of Alexander will continue to be published on a regular basis, as Alexander is simply too interesting to ignore.

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## **To what extent did the early Ptolemies attempt to Hellenize Egypt?**

One scholar who directly addresses the attempts by the early Ptolemies to Hellenize Egypt, - that is the assimilation of Greek and non-Greek people into a common culture that shares elements from both-<sup>1</sup>, particularly the Hellenization of royal imagery, is Adams. In his contribution to *The Cambridge Companion to The Hellenistic World* he takes the view that there was no attempt at Hellenising the way that royalty was visually represented. He claims that Ptolemy I rejected cultural ‘fusion’ and aimed to maintain two separate identities, ‘he was a Macedonian king to his Greeks and Pharaoh to his Egyptians’.<sup>2</sup> Adams goes further, stating that ‘the images of the Ptolemies were executed in the traditional Egyptian style’ and that ‘to the average native, they were still ruled by their own kings.’<sup>3</sup> However, there are flaws in how this conclusion is drawn. Notably the absence of specific examples of supporting evidence, the failure to mention any evidence such as numismatics, which may not support the view, as well the failure to explore of how Ptolemaic royal authority was depicted to Greeks in Egypt.

In this essay, by considering a range of evidence (particularly numismatics), I will attempt to challenge the views of Adams and show that the early Ptolemies (I and II) did, to some extent, attempt to Hellenize royal imagery. While this is a narrow aspect of Ptolemaic rule to focus on, in response to the question, ‘To what extent did the early Ptolemies attempt to Hellenize Egypt’, it is one that I feel is justified. The topic of Royal imagery satisfies all aspects of the question; it was a major feature of Egypt, -per Thompson, ‘of all the major Hellenistic Kingdoms, Egypt was the most subject to monarchic rule’ in which ‘the pharaohs

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<sup>1</sup> Harrison (1994) 98.

<sup>2</sup> Adams (2011) 39.

<sup>3</sup> Adams (2011) 39-40.



image was ... important'-, that applied to both native and non-native inhabitants, and which raises key issues about the process of Hellenization.<sup>4</sup>

I begin with Adams' claim that 'to the average native, they were still ruled by their own kings' and the idea of continuity, not change, being the overriding theme of how royalty was depicted to the Egyptian natives. There is much evidence to support this claim, mainly relief sculpture from Egyptian temples that depict Ptolemy I and II in traditional Egyptian style.<sup>5</sup> This traditional style is one that, according to Robins, evolved from 'trends of the Thirtieth Dynasty', and a comparison between the two reveals the similarities.<sup>6</sup> These range from general stylistic choices, such as the representation of figures in a basic two-dimensional fashion with no depth, to more detailed similarities. For example, continuity in how faces are depicted, with round cheeks and small half smiling mouths being repeated across both the Thirtieth Dynasty and the early Ptolemaic relief sculpture.<sup>7</sup> The choice to follow the style of the Thirtieth Dynasty is significant as this was the last period during which ancient Egypt was ruled by natives, coming at the end of the 5<sup>th</sup> century between two periods of Persian occupation.<sup>8</sup> In continuing this style we can see an attempt to represent the Ptolemaic reign as continuation of the Thirtieth Dynasty, and I would argue that it is unlikely the native Egyptian audience viewing it would have been able to identify the Pharaoh depicted as being a foreigner from Macedon, rather than an Egyptian.

While most of the examples of Ptolemaic royal relief referenced above come from the Delta, the practice seems more widespread. Hölbl provides a list of temples constructed in this period, examination of which reveals they cover a range of areas across Egypt.<sup>9</sup> This

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<sup>4</sup> Thompson (2005) 113.

<sup>5</sup> Figures 1 and 2. Also see painted Limestone relief of Ptolemy I, Egypt, Tuna el-Gebel: Robins (2008) 238.

<sup>6</sup> Robins (2008) 237; and detail of a Limestone door jamb from the Serapeum, Egypt, Saqqara, thirtieth dynasty: Robins (2008) 232.

<sup>7</sup> Robins (2008) 323.

<sup>8</sup> Lloyd (2003) 377-379.

<sup>9</sup> Hölbl (2001) 322-324.

includes temples located in the Delta,<sup>10</sup> Lower Egypt outside of the delta,<sup>11</sup> Middle Egypt,<sup>12</sup> and Upper Egypt,<sup>13</sup> suggesting that the depiction of early Ptolemies in a traditional style was common, as Adams proposes. This is an idea echoed by other modern scholarships, Lloyd comments how the ‘determination to continue the traditions of Late Period of Egypt is particularly evident in the relief sculpture that survives in enormous quantities.’<sup>14</sup>

The building of these temples, and their traditional representation of monarchy, was part of a wider religious policy followed by the early Ptolemies, in which they supported native religious practices. This policy -which also included the donation of 50 talents to bury an Apis bull, the inclusion of the Egyptian priest Manetho into the Ptolemies’ inner circle, and the coronation of the early Ptolemies in the religious centre Memphis-<sup>15</sup> was done to legitimize the rule of the Ptolemies to the native people of Egypt. Thus, in these relief carvings the Ptolemies are not only depicted in traditional style but also cast in ‘the role of the Pharaoh.’<sup>16</sup> That is, depicted making offerings to the native gods, acting as an intermediary between the divine and the mortal.

However, it is also important to remember that the extent to which these reliefs had royal approval is unknown. Ptolemaic support for some aspects of native religion does not mean there was universal support. Equally, Egyptian temples in this period were not wholly dependent on the government for money with which to fund artistic projects, some of their income came from temple owned agricultural land.<sup>17</sup> As a result we do not know if the Ptolemies directly funded this traditional style of royal depiction, or if it happened without need for royal intervention.

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<sup>10</sup> (See websites in bibliography) Pleiades A; Pleiades B.

<sup>11</sup> Pleiades C.

<sup>12</sup> Pleiades E.

<sup>13</sup> Pleiades D; Pleiades G; Pleiades H; Pleiades I.

<sup>14</sup> Lloyd (2003) 407.

<sup>15</sup> On the Apis bull, Dio. I.84.1; on Manetho, Hölbl (2001) 100; on coronation, Hölbl (2001) 78.

<sup>16</sup> Lloyd (2003) 404.

<sup>17</sup> Lloyd (2003) 404-405.

One aspect of royal imagery that the early Ptolemies did have full control over was that found on coinage, which during the Hellenistic period was the main method of communicating royal ideology across the Greek world.<sup>18</sup> This control was due to not only possession of key mints -in Cyprus, Phoenicia and Palestine<sup>19</sup>-but also the closed currency system introduced by Ptolemy I during the period 305-294 BC, with the move away from the Attic weight standard.<sup>20</sup> This lower weight standard gave the Ptolemies control over the coinage circulating throughout Egypt, and in turn the iconographical messages they carried. Papyrological evidence suggests that state officials strictly controlled the exchange of Ptolemaic coinage to foreign tenders, a move aimed at preventing both Ptolemaic coins leaving the country and foreign coins entering.<sup>21</sup> Consequently, the only Hellenistic coins that circulated throughout Egypt during this period were those distributed with Ptolemaic approval, allowing the ‘imposition of a [coinage] monopoly’.<sup>22</sup> Thus we know that the images on these coins had royal approval and were intended to be seen by the people of Egypt. In comparison, other major Hellenistic powers, such as the Seleucid Empire, remained on the traditional attic weight standard, meaning that throughout the 3<sup>rd</sup> century state issued coins were a minority of those in circulation.<sup>23</sup> This limited the ability of the Seleucid rulers to distribute their own iconographical message to their subjects via coinage, an issue not faced by the early Ptolemies.

As far as the imagery on these coins is concerned, and how royal power was depicted, we see a range of methods. This includes coins carrying Macedonian/Greek iconography seemingly targeted at native Egyptians and coins with a mixture of Greek and non-Greek imagery targeted at Greeks. However, before proceeding it is important to first discuss what it

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<sup>18</sup> Thonemann (2015) 146.

<sup>19</sup> Howgego (1995) 53.

<sup>20</sup> Thonemann (2015) 122.

<sup>21</sup> Austin (2006) 535; Thonemann (2015) 123.

<sup>22</sup> Howgego (1995) 53.

<sup>23</sup> Apergis (2011) 93.

means to 'Hellenize' royal imagery on coins since the practice of displaying royal iconography on coinage was not common in the Classical Greek world. After the Mycenaean period the only 'monarchy' that existed in mainland Greece was Sparta, who did not mint coinage until the reign of Areus (309-265 BC), contemporary with Ptolemy I and II.<sup>24</sup> Royal coinage did appear in classical Macedon, but during this period the Macedonians were seen more as 'fringe Greeks', on the outside of common Greek society with little cultural influence.<sup>25</sup>

Yet, this point is irrelevant because Hellenization is not defined as the process by which classical Greek civilization fused with foreign cultures, but rather how 'post-classical Greek civilisation promoted itself and assimilated people'.<sup>26</sup> And in this post classical world Macedonia, through the military conquest of Philip II and Alexander the Great, demonstrated itself as the dominant power and 'a leading centre of Greek culture'.<sup>27</sup> A point demonstrated by the fact that when Sparta did choose to represent royalty on coinage they used imagery usually used to depict Alexander the Great.<sup>28</sup>

One series of coins that depicted Ptolemy I as a purely Macedonian king was the silver tetradrachms minted from 294 BC onwards.<sup>29</sup> The coins use various pieces of iconography to draw a link between Ptolemy I and Alexander the Great, portraying the Ptolemies as Macedonian rulers. On the obverse of the coin is a portrait of Ptolemy with a wreath of curly hair, how Alexander is represented on his coinage, wearing a diadem, the symbol of Hellenistic royal power introduced by Alexander.<sup>30</sup> On the reverse we see an image of Zeus' eagle clutching a lightning bolt -the symbol of the Ptolemaic dynasty and

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<sup>24</sup> For Monarchy in Greece, Martin (2008) 70; For printing of first Spartan coinage, Thonemann (2015) 160.

<sup>25</sup> Rhodes (2010) 334.

<sup>26</sup> Harrison (1994) 98.

<sup>27</sup> Hammond (2014) 482.

<sup>28</sup> Thonemann (2015) 160.

<sup>29</sup> See silver Tetradrachm of Ptolemy I, Egypt: Howgego (1995) No. 77; and silver tetradrachm of Ptolemy I, Egypt: Thonemann (2015) 20.

<sup>30</sup> Moritz and Spawforth (2012) 443-444.

reference to the divinity of Alexander that the regime associated itself with-<sup>31</sup>, and the Greek text ‘ΙΤΤΟΛΕΜΑΙΟΥ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ’ (King Ptolemy).

However, there is little to suggest that the Ptolemies attempted to circulate this coinage, and the visual message it carried, to native Egyptians. Papyri receipts in demotic script from urban areas such as Thebes and Elephantine lack mention of tetradrachms in transactions.<sup>32</sup> Instead they seem to suggest that the old Egyptian system of using bullion to conduct transactions remained the norm. In comparison, papyri in Greek script from Elephantine makes common mention of drachmas as currency, often in large quantities suggesting that at this early stage the new Ptolemaic silver coinage was concentrated in the hands of wealthy Greek inhabitants.<sup>33</sup> Thus, it seems reasonable to conclude that most of these coins circulated amongst the Greeks in Egypt and do not represent an attempt by Ptolemy I to Hellenize the view of royalty from a native perspective. This seems to once again support the views of Adams, that Ptolemy I ‘was a Macedonian king to his Greeks and Pharaoh to his Egyptians’.<sup>34</sup>

On the other hand, under Ptolemy II there seems to have been a change in policy, and a deliberate attempt to monetize the native Egyptian population with Ptolemaic coinage that carried Macedonian iconography. This was done through the introduction of bronze coinage that was large in both size and quantity, which circulated widely throughout rural Egypt.<sup>35</sup> I would speculate that this was done to break up the old Egyptian practice of using silver bullion for transactions, which included a mixture of miscellaneous silver coinage and ingots

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<sup>31</sup> Hölbl (2001) 93.

<sup>32</sup> Muhs (2011) No 1, No 2, No 3 (Stater mentioned), No 4, No 5 (Obol mentioned), No 6, No 7, No 8, No 9, No 10; Porten *et al* (2011) No C5 (Stater mentioned), C6 (Stater mentioned).

<sup>33</sup> Porten *et al* (2011) No. D3 ‘let him repay one thousand Drachmas of silver’; No. D4 ‘the amount of 400 Drachmas of silver’; No. D5 ‘the amount of 300 Drachmas of Silver’ ‘a penalty of 3000 Drachmas’.

<sup>34</sup> Adams (2011) 39.

<sup>35</sup> Thonemann (2015) 122; see also bronze drachma of Ptolemy II, Egypt: Reden (2007) 59.

that made estimations of value difficult, and allow for easier collection of taxes from the rural population.<sup>36</sup>

Interestingly these coins have an altered set of images compared to the silver coinage introduced under Ptolemy I. The most significant difference is that the coins do not feature a portrait of the king on the obverse, but rather a portrait of Zeus. The depiction of Zeus' portrait on coinage was an established Macedonian practice, as can be seen in tetradrachms of Philip II.<sup>37</sup> Its feature here, in place of Ptolemy's portrait, raises questions about whether or not this coin was intended to represent royal authority, and provide a Hellenized depiction of royalty to a native Egyptian audience. Reden explains that Ptolemaic bronze coinage was 'more conservative' than gold or silver coinage in its iconographical message, and that 'in the case of the coinage produced primarily for the payments in the *Chora* [rural areas], care was taken to avoid representing Ptolemy in the place of a God.'<sup>38</sup> What Reden fails to mention is that under Ptolemy II the idea of the Ptolemaic dynasty being descended from Zeus had become official ideology.<sup>39</sup> In this way an image of Zeus could be viewed as representing Ptolemy, however it is not clear if rural Egyptians were aware of the official link between Zeus and the king, and to interpret the image as such. Similarly, we cannot be sure if a native Egyptian would have recognised the script on the back coin, which reads ΠΤΟΛΕΜΑΙΟΥ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ (King Ptolemy), as being an indicator of royal authority, and thus to associate the Greek style of imagery and text on the coin with their king. While it is unlikely that they could directly translate the text, as it was not compulsory for Egyptians to learn Greek,<sup>40</sup> There may have been a general awareness of the meaning of the text without need for translation. Perhaps through association of coinage with the new king, or perhaps Greeks

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<sup>36</sup> Milne (1938) 200; Manning (2008) 92.

<sup>37</sup> See silver tetradrachm of Philip II, Macedonia: Howgego (1995) No. 40.

<sup>38</sup> Reden (2007) 59-60.

<sup>39</sup> Bingen (2007) 19.

<sup>40</sup> Hölbl (2001) 25.

translated the meaning for native Egyptians. Nevertheless, this is speculation and in reality we simply do not know to what extent the iconographical messages on the coin were understood, and associated with the king, a point that does not necessarily affect the extent to which the circulation of these coins was an attempt at Hellenization. Regardless of the level of audience understanding, Ptolemy II still deliberately circulated a coin around native Egyptians that featured Macedonian and Greek iconography and directly connected the king's authority with these things.

But can a coin which features only Greek and Macedonian iconography be classified as Hellenization? *The Oxford Companion to Classical Civilisation*'s chapter on Hellenization prominently features a quote by J. Dorysen that states Hellenization is the 'fusion of Greek and non-Greek', yet non-Greek imagery is absent from Ptolemy II's bronze coinage.<sup>41</sup> This mixture of Greek and non-Greek is something that appeared on pre-Ptolemaic coinage aimed at natives, early Ptolemaic coinage aimed at natives in different parts of the Ptolemaic empire, and Ptolemaic coinage aimed at Greek inhabitants, as will be discussed later. During the 4<sup>th</sup> century BC the Persian king Artaxerxes minted silver coinage in Egypt that had an Athenian type face of an owl and the text 'Pharaoh Artaxerxes' in the Egyptian demotic script on the reverse; suggesting that even before the Ptolemies the Pharaoh was represented in ways that reflected multiple cultures.<sup>42</sup> An example of a similar practice can be seen in the early Ptolemaic coins that circulated Judea. These had the same imagery as Ptolemy I's tetradrachms, however, the script on the reverse was written in Hebrew, showing a combination of Greek/Macedonian and Jewish cultural elements.<sup>43</sup> These examples could be viewed as more defined examples of attempts to Hellenize the representation of royalty than Ptolemy II's bronze coinage, fusing Greek and non-Greek elements. However, I would argue

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<sup>41</sup> Hornblower (2014) 359.

<sup>42</sup> Howgego (1995) 47-48; see also tetradrachm of Artaxerxes III, Egypt: Howgego (1995) N. 38.

<sup>43</sup> See Yehud coin of Ptolemy II, Judea: Harrison (1994) 100.

that while on their own these bronze coins do not represent an attempt to Hellenize royalty, merely depict it as Greek, when considered with other depictions of royalty such as the relief carvings mentioned above it makes up part of the wider depiction of royalty that features a mixture of non-Greek and Greek elements. Perhaps the purely Greek representation of monarchy on the coin was chosen as a response to the purely Egyptian representation of Royalty in Egyptian temples, in an attempt to Hellenize the overall identity of Royalty from the perspective of native Egyptians.

There are some depictions of early Ptolemaic imagery that include both Greek and non-Greek iconography in a single image, thus depicting the king in a Hellenized fashion. One place this can be seen is in large value gold coinage. Gold coinage saw a limited circulation in early Ptolemaic Egypt, likely minted to pay large state expenses such as mercenaries or building costs.<sup>44</sup> As a result it would have circulate amongst both Greek mercenaries and high ranking Egyptians, such as priests during the building of temples.

One example of this is a gold stater from 305 BC, which was the first coin minted by Ptolemy I to feature his own likeness.<sup>45</sup> On the reverse of the coin is a tethrippon of elephants pulling a Macedonian figure in a chariot, identifiable as Macedonian by him wearing a Kausia. The use of elephants on the coin is a notable example of non-Greek iconography, they were animals that ‘belonged to the world of the far east’ as Bugh puts it.<sup>46</sup> During the Hellenistic period, Elephants were particularly associated with the Seleucid Empire in the east, by whom they were, according to Kosmin, ‘chosen as emblems of empire’<sup>47</sup>. In fact, simultaneously to Ptolemy I; Seleucus I minted coinage which featured on the reverse a very

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<sup>44</sup> Manning (2008) 92.

<sup>45</sup> See gold stater of Ptolemy I, Egypt: Thonemann (2015) 20.

<sup>46</sup> Bugh (2011) 277.

<sup>47</sup> Kosmin (2014) 3.



similar image of a tethrippon of elephants pulling a chariot in which the goddess Athena rides.<sup>48</sup>

The image overall seems symbolic of Egyptian society at the time, that is a strong powerful non-Greek element, the native Egyptian workers on whom the economy depended, being driven by a Macedonian, Ptolemy. The feature of this elephant driven chariot would suggest Ptolemy is trying to identify himself with both Greek and Egyptian elements of his empire, thus represent not a Greek but rather Hellenized, or fused, image of the monarchy. The iconography of elephants is something that can be seen elsewhere in early Ptolemaic rule, in statues, like that of Ptolemy II wearing an elephant scalp, and most notably the at the Ptolemaieia festival.<sup>49</sup> This festival, inaugurated by Ptolemy II in 279 BC, as a celebration of Ptolemy I the founder of the dynasty, featured in the main procession both physical elephants parading and a float of an elephant tethrippon carrying Nike.<sup>50</sup>

Also, of note is the use of gold coinage by Ptolemy II to depict him with both Greek and Egyptian characteristics, for example the celebration of his incestuous marriage to his sister Arsinoe on an octadrachm.<sup>51</sup> The obverse side of the coin depicts both Ptolemy II and Arsinoe in profile with the legend, ΑΔΕΛΦΟΝ (siblings). The general attitudes to incest amongst Ptolemies' subjects, Egyptian and Greek, is perhaps best summarised by Pausanias who states that the act was "violating herein Macedonian custom, but following that of his Egyptian subjects."<sup>52</sup> Thus we can see an example of Ptolemy II identifying himself with Egyptian culture. Yet the imagery used to depict the king is Greek, it is the same portrait style that has been seen reoccurring throughout early Ptolemaic coinage, imitating the Macedonian king Alexander the Great. As a result we see in a single coin Ptolemy II depicting himself in

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<sup>48</sup> See tetradrachm of Seleucus I, Bactra: Howgego (1995) No. 69.

<sup>49</sup> See Bronze statue of Ptolemy II, Alexandria, Egypt: Stewart (2014) 60.

<sup>50</sup> Kallixenos, *Athenaios* 5, 199C.

<sup>51</sup> See gold octadrachm of Ptolemy II, Egypt: Thonemann (2015) 151.

<sup>52</sup> Pausanias 1.7.1.

a way that reflects both Macedonian and Egyptian cultures, evidence for an attempt to Hellenize the representation of royalty and a challenge to the proposal of Adams that there was a rejection of fusion. This fusion, between Greek and Egyptian in depiction can also be seen in statuary, such as a rose granite statue made in the late 4<sup>th</sup> or early 3<sup>rd</sup> century BC.<sup>53</sup> The statue, which at first glance seems like a traditional pharaonic statue, a style the Ptolemies were sometimes cast in,<sup>54</sup> was in fact created by a Greek artist and has details that reveal the Macedonian nature of the King, most notably a small wreath of curly hair below the traditional Macedonian headdress.<sup>55</sup> However, the statue is missing its hieroglyph inscription so it is impossible to tell exactly which ruler it is meant to depict.

To conclude, while there is some evidence supporting the claims by Adams that ‘the images of the Ptolemies were executed in the traditional Egyptian style’, there is equally evidence that challenges this. The depiction of royalty towards native Egyptians is difficult to interpret, there seems attempts to depict Ptolemaic authority as both Greek and Egyptian, using separate mediums. Yet, I feel this is an example of Hellenization of depiction of royalty, the overall representation of the king includes both culturally Greek and non-Greek elements. Gold coinage provides an image of a Hellenized king which is self-contained. Greek and non-Greek imagery appear alongside each other. However due to the limited circulation of these coins, the attempt of Hellenization they represent was only intended to reach a small audience, if so desired these images could have been placed on lower denomination coins that had larger circulation which would have been a clear attempt at Hellenization.

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<sup>53</sup> See rose granite statue of a Pharaoh, Egypt: Siebler (2007) 86-87.

<sup>54</sup> See Basalt Bust of Ptolemy I, Egypt: Thompson (2005) 114.

<sup>55</sup> Siebler (2007) 86.

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## Appendix

Figure 1: Temple Relief of Ptolemy II Philadelphos, Egypt, Sebennytos, 270-260 BC: source, *The Walter Art Museum Website*,

<http://art.thewalters.org/detail/14677/temple-relief-of-ptolemy-ii-philadelphos/>

accessed 7<sup>th</sup> January 2017.



Figure 2: Corner Relief Fragment of Ptolemy II Philadelphos, Egypt, Sebennytos, 285-246 BC: source *The Walter Art Museum Website*,

<http://art.thewalters.org/detail/8599/corner-relief-fragment-with-king-ptolemy-ii-philadelphos-mehyet-and-onuris-shu-3/>

accessed 7<sup>th</sup> January 2017.



## Film Script:

### How to murder your teammate and get away with it: an Alexander story

Video	Script
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- The Scene is set in a bar; characters are in modern style casual clothing. There are several wooden tables with many people sat around talking and laughing. (background noise) The camera zooms in and focuses on a table where three characters (Arrian, Rufus and Stephen) are conversing over a pint.</li> <li>- Camera includes all three (middle range shot), so that it is clearly in a bar.</li> <li>- Camera occasionally changes focus depending on whichever character is currently speaking. Camera also focuses on Stephen's reaction whilst Arrian and Rufus argue.</li> </ul>	<p><i>General noise in the bar. Camera zooms in to a table in the corner, where Arrian, Rufus and Stephen are sat chatting away. Conversation is picked up mid-discussion.</i></p> <p><b>Arrian:</b>...honest though, they were brilliant, they absolutely destroyed the Persians in that game. Alexander played incredibly!</p> <p><b>Rufus:</b> Come on Arrian, he doesn't play in the spirit of rugby at all! He only plays for himself. Plus, there was that whole thing where he killed his team mate, I'll never be able to understand how he didn't get punished for that.</p> <p><b>Arrian:</b> Look, Rufus, I've got a mate on the team, and from what I've heard, the teammate had it coming to him. He was a total dick to Alexander!</p> <p><b>Rufus:</b> (<i>Sceptically</i>) Who's your 'mate?' Let me guess, hmm... Aristoboulos by any chance?</p> <p><b>Aaron:</b> Yeah? And?</p> <p><b>Rufus:</b> He brown-noses Alexander to the extreme. He basically worships the guy. My friend on the team told a totally different story; apparently Alexander was getting way too big for his boots, messing around with Persians.</p> <p><b>Arrian:</b> What's wrong with a bit of integration? He was just being nice to them.</p> <p><b>Rufus:</b> Yeah, at the detriment of his relationship with the team! That's not how a captain acts.</p> <p><b>Stephen:</b> (<i>in a charming northern drawl</i>) Hold up a second lads. What on earth are you talking about? How on earth did the University of Macedon's rugby tour to the University of Persia, end in a bloke dying?</p>



<p><b>CONTEXT MONTAGE</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Montage is comprised of still frames in sepia tones, generally on screen for somewhere between 2 and 5 seconds, depending on how much it is necessary to say about each photo. Rufus' interruption gets in the way of the montage, but it later resumes. Camera clicks between each photo change in the montage.</li> </ul>          <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Camera goes back to the original wide screen shot showing Arrian, Rufus and Stephen</li> </ul>	<p><b>Arrian:</b> Well, Stephen. I'll tell you what I've heard, for my part.</p> <p><b>CONTEXT MONTAGE</b></p> <p><i>Cycles through a series of sepia toned photographs, each of which relate to whatever Arrian or Rufus is saying. Specifics in left column.</i></p> <p><b>Arrian:</b> So the story really started when Philip was captain (Picture of Philip on shoulders of teammates after a victory). Obviously you know the two were related, and so Alexander got onto the team as soon as he arrived at the Uni of Macedon, but it turned out that he was actually sick at rugby and he became a bit of a star (Childhood picture of Philip and Alexander together, then picture of Alexander shoving aside a massive forward with a rugby ball in hand). Philip then got kicked off the team, and nobody has any idea why, but Alexander became captain (Picture of Philip handing in his jersey, then picture of Alexander wearing a captain's armband and looking self-satisfied while Philip holds his head in hands in the background).</p> <p><b>CUT TO BAR UPON RUFUS' INTERRUPTION</b></p> <p><b>Rufus:</b> Rubbish! 'Nobody knows why' – that's crap, Alexander got him kicked off so he could be captain.</p> <p><b>Arrian:</b> That was never proven, and your interruptions aren't helping. May I continue?</p> <p><b>Rufus:</b> Fine, just cut the crap.</p> <p><b>Arrian:</b> (<i>Glares coldly at Rufus</i>) Anyway, the rugby team had become more important to the uni since they started playing these regular Varsity matches against UP.</p> <p><b>Stephen:</b> UP?</p> <p><b>Rufus:</b> University of Persia.</p>
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**Rufus:** University of Persia.

	<p><b>Arrian:</b> (<i>Sarcastically</i>) Actually helpful this time, Rufus.</p> <p><b>CUT BACK TO MONTAGE</b></p> <p><b>Arrian:</b> Anyhow, Alexander had Macedon winning a lot of matches; he was a bit of a star in victories at Gaugamela and Granicus (Picture of Alexander on shoulders of his teammates, then separate shots of him scoring tries at Gaugamela and Granicus). The Persians were getting embarrassed. Alexander, being a top lad, decided to invite a few of them over for drinks and parties, and steadily he started becoming good mates with a lot of the Persian team (Picture of the Persians looking distraught after a game with Macedonians celebrating in the background, then Alexander with his arms around two Persian players at a party). He let them introduce international drinking rules into his parties and wore Persian rugby tops after he swapped them at the end of matches (Picture of Alexander downing a pint while wearing a green and white UP jersey).</p> <p><b>Rufus:</b> What you're forgetting is that he was taking all the credit for their victories and his teammates were left as a forgotten supporting cast in comparison to his supposed 'brilliance' (Picture of Alexander holding up a trophy in front of his whole team, then Clitus and some other teammates looking spitefully at Alexander). Clitus - the bloke who was killed - was on the team long before Alexander, he was great mates with Philip (Picture of Clitus and Philip with arms around each other after a victory). Can you blame him for being upset at Alexander? Hell, in that match at the Granicus, he stopped Alexander from losing the whole game (Picture of Alexander at Granicus, looking shocked with arms outstretched and the ball in mid-air. Clitus with arms above his head, ready to catch the ball). He deserved the right to speak up.</p>
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	<p><b>CUT WITH FADE BACK TO BAR.</b></p> <p><b>Stephen:</b> So that's the story up to the night Clitus died.</p> <p><b>Rufus:</b> Was killed.</p> <p><b>Arrian:</b> Yeah, to be fair, even I think he was killed.</p> <p><b>Rufus:</b> By Alexander.</p> <p><b>Arrian:</b> <i>(Sighs)</i> Yes.</p> <p><b>Stephen:</b> Could you two postpone your little domestic long enough to tell me how it happened?</p> <p><b>Arrian:</b> Alright, look, this is what my mate told me...</p> <p><i>Freeze Frame: words come onto screen. 'Arrian, University of Nicomedia. 'Official' viewpoint. Wrote 'Anabasis of Alexander.'</i></p> <p><b>Rufus:</b> Yeah, and I'll clear up the bullshit his mate's told him after.</p> <p><i>Freeze frame: words come onto screen. 'Rufus = Quintus Curtius Rufus, Rome University. 'Vulgate' viewpoint. Wrote 'History of Alexander the Great.'</i></p> <p><b>Arrian:</b> So, the short version of how they got there goes like this.</p> <p><i>Aristoboulos is introduced. Scene shows a load of people, Persian and Macedonian, sitting around drinking. Alexander is playing beer pong with an obviously drunk Clitus. Alexander makes a shot and Clitus picks up the cup with his right hand and starts to drink.</i></p> <p><b>Random Persian 1:</b> Dude, International Drinking Rules! Left hand only, basic stuff.</p> <p><i>Clitus looks at his hand and looks back at the Persian. He lifts his cup to his mouth using his right hand. Clitus finishes his drink, spilling beer down his front.</i></p>
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## ARRIAN FLASHBACK

- Room set up: Beer pong table as centre piece of the room (Alexander and Clitus playing). Persians and Macedonians sat in various positions around the room. Some leaning against the walls chatting, others sat on the floor or steps and others sat around tables. Everyone is engaged in their own conversations whilst vaguely paying attention to the Beer Pong match. Some are watching the game intently. Girls are scattered around the room, either drinking and chatting with guys or sat on their laps etc.
- Macedonians are in rugby shirts (black and gold with a sun symbol) and Persians are in similar style shirts (green and white). Alexander is wearing a Macedonian shirt with a Persian snapback hat (with UP on the front).
- Establishing shot shows Aristoboulos in freeze frame with a caption underneath explaining who he is.
- When the camera first shows Alexander, he is captioned with a

**Clitus:** Give over mate; we're not going to follow Persian drinking rules. What do you know about drinking?

*A few Macedonians cheer and raise their glasses.*

**Alexander:** Look, we did say we were gonna use these rules and you're just ignoring them. What's your problem?

*Clitus goes and sits down amongst other experienced Macedonians.*

**Youthful Macedonian 1:** *Raising his glass to Alex.* You were amazing in that game today Alex, without you we would never have won!

**Youthful Macedonian 2:** As he's walking across the room pats Alex on the back and sits down. You were like Hercules out there, you destroyed them!

*Group of young Macedonians cheer and raise a glass to Alexander.*

**Youthful Macedonian 1:** You are a much better captain than Philip ever was!

Clitus stands and stumbles over.

**Clitus:** *Angrily gestures and talks to the group of Macedonians, slurring his words.*

**[Focus of camera changes to look down at a Macedonian who has just spilt their drink. Audience can still hear Clitus but he is not on screen. Camera then pans back up to focus on Clitus.]**

Philip was a brilliant captain; you guys didn't even go here back when he was around, stop talking shit. *Turns to Alex.* Your achievements are 'not so great and wonderful as they exaggerate them to be', Alex. You're no Philip, that's for sure.

*Alexander looks hurt and turns away.*

<p>freeze frame, as is Clitus in the same manner.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Camera then returns to Aristoboulos, zooms into his eyes and camera view now becomes the first person view of Aristoboulos.</li> <li>- Camera focuses on each speaker in turn and pans out on the room to focus on the reactions of the Macedonian crowd to what is being said occasionally.</li> <li>- Just before Alex runs at Clitus, camera focuses on exchange of worried looks and glances between two Macedonians who will hold Alex back.</li> <li>- Focus of Camera pans to Clitus</li> <li>- When a direct quote is spoken by one of the characters, a footnote will appear on the screen. See Rufus' flashback for more details.</li> </ul>	<p><b>Clitus:</b> <i>Big outward hand gestures to the room and towards the group of young Macedonians. All this crap about how great you are is ridiculous! Don't forget, you'd have looked like a prize idiot if I hadn't saved you after that embarrassing fumble at the Granicus game, you were about to lose us the match before I scooped it up! You're nothing special.</i></p> <p><i>Alexander leaps towards Clitus in a fit of rage, the two Macedonians nearest to Alex (Ptolemy and Perdiccas) jump from their seats and hold him back by his arms and shoulders.</i></p> <p><i>Clitus continues to insult Alexander...</i></p> <p><b>Clitus:</b> <i>Speaks in a spiteful and vicious tone. You can't control your temper either, and you can't handle your drink. You're a loser Alexander, nobody likes you.</i></p> <p><i>Alex continues to try and fight his way to Clitus but is held back.</i></p> <p><b>Macedonian 1:</b> Come on Alex, just leave it</p> <p><b>Macedonian 2:</b> He's not worth it.</p> <p><b>Alexander:</b> <i>Someone put this little shit in his place! (Nobody responds and his friends continue to hold him back). Am I no better than a Persian captain now, with no support from my teammates? Apparently 'Captain' is just a hollow title to all of you.</i></p> <p><i>Some teammates look uncomfortable at Alex's words and get up and grab Clitus by the shoulders and march him out of the room, while Alexander is held by the same friends as before.</i></p> <p><b>Alexander:</b> Clitus! Come back here, you spineless coward, you invertebrate weasel! I'm gonna hit you so hard you'll be catapulted back in time, you insolent douche canoe.</p> <p><b>CUT TO BAR</b></p>
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<p>BACK AT THE BAR:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Camera focuses on all three people at the table and then to Arrian.</li> </ul> <p>BACK TO FLASHBACK:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Everyone has calmed back down, other people are playing beer pong, Alex is sat around a table with some Macedonians. Camera focuses on the</li> </ul>	<p><b>Stephen:</b> So he left? How did he end up dead?</p> <p><b>Arrian:</b> Well, they chucked him on the bus back to town with a few of the lads, but he jumped off about three stops down the route and ran back towards the house. Aristoboulos told me that he announced himself when he got back and made straight for Alexander...</p> <p><b>CUT TO FLASHBACK</b></p> <p><i>Clitus dramatically bursts through the door.</i></p> <p><b>Clitus:</b> I'm here, Alexander, I'm back to teach you a lesson!</p> <p><i>Clitus runs at Alexander in a fit of rage and Alexander intercepts his charge with a firm fist to the face. Clitus goes down like a sack of spuds out for the count, and everyone stands around, shocked. Alexander looks discombobulated and flabbergasted.</i></p> <p><b>CUT TO BAR</b></p> <p><b>Stephen:</b> NO. WAY.</p> <p><b>Rufus:</b> Right you are, Stephen. No way indeed, because that's not what happened. <i>Rufus gives a look to Arrian.</i> Look, my mate Cleitarchus told me all about it, and he's not an Alexander fanboy like (<i>gestures to Arrian</i>) Arrian's mate Aristoboulos. Listen up, here's what I heard.</p>
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<p>door as it is slammed open by Clitus. Alex Stands immediately when he sees Clitus. Clitus marches towards Alex and before he raises his arm to hit him, Alex slams his fist into his face. Gasps and shouts echo around the room. Alex has a shocked and regretful look on his face, whilst other immediately rush to Clitus, checking his pulse.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Camera focuses on the door as it is slammed open by Clitus. Alex Stands immediately when he sees Clitus.</li> <li>- Camera follows Clitus as he marches towards Alex and before he raises his arm to hit him, Alex slams his fist into his face. Gasps and shouts echo around the room. Some Macedonians grab Alex and push him backwards, Alex has a shocked and regretful look on his face, whilst other immediately rush to Clitus, checking his pulse.</li> <li>- Camera Cuts to bar scene. Camera shot of all three characters then a focus on Rufus as he begins to tell his story.</li> </ul>	
<p><b>CURTIUS FLASHBACK</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Camera transitions to the party scene (same set up and costume as the previous flashback), set in a house of a Persian Uni student.</li> <li>- Main Macedonian players (third years, second years and freshers) and Alexander are sat pre-drinking.</li> <li>- Alexander and Clitus are playing beer pong in the centre of the room. Number of Persians scattered about the room, looking uncomfortable but drinking with the Macedonians.</li> <li>- First camera focuses on Cleitarchus (<b>name highlighted on screen</b>); zooms into eyes of Cleitarchus and</li> </ul>	<p><i>Alexander makes a shot in beer pong and Clitus picks up the cup with his right hand and starts to drink. Macedonians are singing a popular rugby chant to the tune of 'Will Grigg's on Fire.'</i></p> <p><b>Macedonians:</b> TEMPLE'S ON FIRE, PERSEPOLIS IS TERRIFIED, TEMPLE'S ON FIRE, PERSEPOLIS IS TERRIFIED...'</p> <p><b>Alexander:</b> Clitus, don't be a dick! You've got to drink with your left hand, International Drinking Rules!</p> <p><i>Clitus continues to drink and finishes his cup.</i></p> <p><b>Clitus:</b> Those rules are ridiculous. You've</p>

<p>camera view now the first person view of Cleitarchus.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Camera at middle range, slight movement to face the character who is talking/character of focus.</li> <li>- Because it is from the view of Cleitarchus we won't see everything that happens, for example the punch on Clitus at the end which he was no longer around for. This helps to show the confusion around the actual events.</li> <li>- For the reference to Chaeronea, text will flash up at the bottom of the screen for between 3-5 seconds saying '<b>Battle of Chaeronea, 338</b>' to add historical context to the sequence.</li> <li>- For the parts of the script shown in quotation marks, an academic footnote will appear at the bottom of the screen below the quoted text. These sections are genuine quotes from the historical sources. For example, 'above all our current campaigns' is a direct quote from Quintus Curtius Rufus. The text on the screen would be shown as follows: <b>'Above all our current campaigns.'</b> <b>Q. Curtius Rufus, 8.1.30-31.</b></li> </ul>	<p>only started enforcing them since you started hanging out with the Persians (<i>shoots Persians a dirty look</i>), we never used to have to follow any.</p> <p><b>Alexander:</b> Yeah, well, believe it or not, they're capable of good ideas. (<i>Puts his arm around a random nearby Persian</i>).</p> <p>So you've got to follow them. I'm your captain, I'm your star player, you'd be nothing without me, so just do as you're told, you nobody.</p> <p><b>Clitus:</b> Whatever. <i>Clitus rolls his eyes and walks away towards a group of Macedonians</i></p> <p><b>Everyone in room:</b> ooooooooooh</p> <p><i>Alexander drunkenly turns and speaks to the room, gesticulating clumsily.</i></p> <p><b>Alexander:</b> Alright lads, listen up. We all know that Clitus, <i>gestures to him</i>, is still a bit salty because he was in love with Philip, but let's be real: even when Philip was around, I was winning all those games for you. I'm a legend- you may as well worship me. And my preferred form of worship? Down your drinks!</p> <p><i>Some shouts of approval, lower year students all raise their glasses and shout, others more uneasy with Alexander's proclamation. Clitus comes forward.</i></p> <p><b>Clitus:</b> Bull. SHIT! We were better WITH Philip! We weren't just beating those losers from UP, we were beating the powerhouses of Greece; don't you remember the game at Chaeronea?! I'd rank those victories 'above all our current campaigns.' You're an arrogant tosspot.</p> <p><i>Alexander is furious and steps towards Clitus.</i></p> <p><b>Alexander:</b> <i>Pushing Clitus with one hand.</i> Take that back.</p> <p><b>Clitus:</b> <i>Squaring up to Alex</i> And besides</p>
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<p>- Cut to the Bar. Camera focuses on Arrian then to Rufus</p>	<p>Philip, what about Parmenion? He was our best forward and you got him kicked off the team for something his best mate did! He had nothing to do with it, you got rid of him because you saw him as a threat to your leadership. You're weak and you're feeble.</p> <p><i>Alex breathes deeply, and controls himself.</i></p> <p><b>Alexander:</b> (Coldly) Leave, Clitus. Go home. Nobody wants you here.</p> <p><i>Clitus keeps insulting Alexander as his friends grab him and attempt to escort him out.</i></p> <p><b>Clitus:</b> You're not as great as you think! You're a self-aggrandising little prick and you don't deserve to be captain, you're not a leader, you're the Persians' bitch, you don't care about this team or this university, you thundering, maniacal idiot!</p> <p><i>Alexander loses his temper and lunges at Clitus but is held back by Ptolemy and Perdiccas.</i></p> <p><b>Alexander:</b> (to Ptolemy and Perdiccas) Have you turned against me as well?! Get the hell off me, I'm gonna teach that insolent prick a lesson.</p> <p><i>Ptolemy and Perdiccas let him go and Alexander storms off.</i></p> <p><b>CUT TO ARRIAN AND RUFUS CHATTING.</b></p> <p><b>Arrian:</b> Hang on, if he stormed off, then what happened to Clitus?</p> <p><b>Rufus:</b> Just hold fire, I'm getting to it. Cleitarchus told me they all left, but they got about 30 seconds down the road and realised</p>
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<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Cut back to Flashback, focus on Alexander and Clitus</li> </ul>	<p>they'd lost Clitus. By the time they got back to the house, he was floored and bleeding on the doorstep and Alexander was stood over him with blood on his hands.</p> <p><b>CUT BACK TO FLASHBACK</b></p> <p><b>Alexander:</b> 'Now go and join Philip, Parmenion and Attalus!'</p> <p><b>CUT. RETURN TO BAR SCENE</b></p>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Cut back to bar scene with Arrian, Rufus and Stephen discussing at the bar.</li> <li>- Camera pans out and focuses on group of lecturers.</li> <li>- Group of lecturers sat on the table next to the others, Ernst Badian, Ian Worthington and Elizabeth Carney. (when camera pans to the table of lecturers, video will pause for a couple of seconds, names of scholars appear on screen with the dates of their main work on Alexander) e.g. <b>Worthington, I. (2012).</b></li> </ul>	<p><b>Stephen:</b> But I guess we'll never know what happened for certain as we weren't there...</p> <p><i>End of conversation is overheard by the group of lecturers and the three begin a discussion of their own.</i></p> <p><b>Carney:</b> Did you hear that??</p> <p><b>Badian:</b> Well we can see how Alexander pushed around his team mates! The only reason Alex appointed Clitus to the rugby committee was to stop him complaining. And to top it all off, after the whole Clitus incident, Alexander locked himself away for three days, and the Macedonian players realised they couldn't win any games without him! And they would have to play many games on their way home to uni. As far as I'm concerned guys, Alex was only thinking about himself, not the team! He saw everyone as his rival!</p> <p><b>Carney:</b> That's coming from your eavesdropping on Arrian and Rufus. And let's be honest, I don't think we can trust what Rufus has said. His account is very jumbled and confusing. However, he does give more detailed information than Arrian.</p> <p><b>Worthington:</b> Badian, I think you're completely wrong! Let's be serious now! Alexander didn't plan on getting rid of Clitus, he just made the most of the situation!</p>

<p>- <i>Camera zooms out, lecturers continue to debate (however sound is muffled), screen transitions to summary information (summary of opinions presented – see page 9).</i></p>	<p>He made an example of Clitus! The team forgave Alex, who realised he could rely on his team against anyone!</p> <p><i>Viewer then encouraged to think about their own view, question presented on screen:</i></p> <p><b>WHO DO YOU BELIEVE??</b></p> <p>Tweet your response: #TeamArrian or #TeamRufus</p> <p><i>Film concludes with summary of ‘Official’ and ‘Vulgate’ views (see page 10) followed by a timeline of Alexander the Great (see page 11).</i></p> <p><b>Narrator:</b> If you would like to find out more about the history of Alexander the Great, click on the links [those underlined and in blue] on the timeline to our other videos.</p>
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## Film Script

Visual	Audio
<p>Blank map of Alexander's conquests. A line threads across the map, depicting the journey of Alexander's campaign.</p> <p>Text fades onto screen: "At a Satrapial palace at Maracanda, Autumn 328 BC, a banquet is held by Alexander The Great as an honour to his companions, and to commemorate the appointment of a new ruler for the kingdom."</p> <p>The line continues moving through the campaign until the text fades, a time of 15 seconds, at which point the line reaches the province of Maracanda, flares brightly.</p> <p>Crossfade to a beam of light shining through two grand double-doors as they are opened.</p> <p>Enter Persian, Tissaphernes. He wears a traditional Persian dress, complete with trousers. Camera follows behind his head as he wonders through a vast banquet hall. It is a standard rectangular banquet hall, with a grand throne in the centre of one long wall. Alexander is seated in it. Attendants mill around the room, as do generals. Tissaphernes wonders around the room, the camera P.O.V scanning different groups of people as he passes them. All characters are vibrant and mobile. Tissaphernes looks and feels very out of place, with Macedonians around him giving his clothing odd looks. A stationary wide shot on Callisthenes and Aristoboulos, both sitting stationary at the edge of the room whilst drunken revellers, including Ptolemy, move around them. Tissaphernes is drawn to them and wonders across. They look up to him, and gesture for him to sit beside them.</p> <p>Tissaphernes takes a seat beside Callisthenes, the camera following behind him. Aristoboulos is seated on the other side of Callisthenes.</p> <p>Callisthenes wears a large white robe which goes down to his knees. Aristoboulos wears richer robes, though not as extravagant as the Macedonians.</p>	<p><i>[Authentic music of the period, of a more solemn tone.]</i></p> <p><i>[The music builds as the light shines, then cuts into more upbeat, party going music from the period as the visuals cut to the doorway. The bubble of human conversation is heard, laughing shouting and the sound of generally drunken behaviour.]</i></p> <p><i>[The sounds of revelry decrease as the camera centres on the two historians.]</i></p>

<p>Callisthenes gestures to the room at large, a wide shot of the room is shown, with the three characters at its centre, whilst the room is abound with revelry and dance around them.</p> <p>Mid-shot of Tissaphernes from over Callisthenes shoulder.</p> <p>Mid-shot of Aristoboulos. Gestures to a map on the wall. The camera pans across it following the extent of Alexander's conquests. Cuts back to Aristoboulos whilst he introduces himself.</p> <p>Mid-shot of Callisthenes. Cut to Aristoboulos when the mention of Aristotle occurs. Aristoboulos nods in agreement.</p> <p>Mid-shot of Tissaphernes. He raises his shoulders proudly.</p> <p>Close up of Aristoboulos with the commotion of all the Macedonian revelry out of focus behind him. Quick shot of Callisthenes looking intrigued as to the answer.</p> <p>Close up of Tissaphernes, who turns to look towards Alexander. Extreme low angle wide shot of Alexander from Tissaphernes perspective. Alexander is elevated above the rest of the hall on a throne, laughing. He is distant, unattainable. He is richly dressed in mixed Persian and Macedonian dress. Mid-shot as Tissaphernes turns back to Callisthenes and Aristoboulos.</p>	<p>Callisthenes:</p> <p>[<i>To Tissaphernes</i>] You fit in here as little as we Greeks, it seems.</p> <p>Tissaphernes:</p> <p>[<i>He speaks well, although with an acute Persian accent</i>] Are you not all Greek?</p> <p>Callisthenes:</p> <p>They are Macedonian, rather brutish don't you think, with all their drunken revelry? We Greeks water down our wine. We prefer more scholarly conversation; drink makes a man lose his self-control.</p> <p>Tissaphernes:</p> <p>We Persians have our own customs.</p> <p>Aristoboulos:</p> <p>So we have seen. We have marched across the vast extents of your empire, seeing many people and lands, conquering all. I am Aristoboulos, officer in the army of Alexander. Architecture is of interest to me also.</p> <p>Callisthenes:</p> <p>I am Callisthenes, court historian. My uncle is Aristotle, of whom you must certainly know. What is your name?</p> <p>Tissaphernes:</p> <p>I am Tissaphernes, a noble of Persia.</p>
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<p>Mid-shot of Callisthenes as he smiles, which forms into a grimace as he comes to his speech. He looks down. Shot of Aristoboulos sharing his grimace.</p> <p>Another shot of Alexander, closer this time, but still distant.</p> <p>P.O.V shot from within the crowds of attendants, coming towards the three speakers. He wears an immaculate formal tunic with skirt and large red sash across his chest.</p> <p>Reverse shot, portraying Ptolemy emerging from the crowd. The three speakers are in the foreground, dwarfed by Ptolemy as he approaches as stops before them. He speaks: return shots of Tissaphernes, Callisthenes and Aristoboulos respectively, looking shocked. At the mention of Perdiccas there is a mid-shot of Perdiccas turning towards the dialogue. Cuts back to over Ptolemy's shoulder in a mid-shot as he concludes his speech. Perdiccas wears a similar garb to Ptolemy.</p> <p>Mid-shot from Tissaphernes perspective of Perdiccas as he enters, having clearly missed what the dialogue before he arrived was, only catching the end. More shots of Aristoboulos and Callisthenes looking surprised at the interruption. Gestures towards Alexander. Wide shot of the whole room over Alexander's shoulders as he laughs, centring on the conversation.</p> <p>Mid-shot of Tissaphernes as he addresses all characters, cut half way through to Callisthenes looking alarmed for Tissaphernes sake. A tight, panicked shot of Aristoboulos as he thinks of a way to change the conversation.</p> <p>Shot from Tissaphernes perspective panning across the small group of generals that is now gathering around the seated characters in a semicircle. Return to a mid-shot on Aristoboulos as he looks pointedly towards Tissaphernes at the mention of Persians. Close up of Tissaphernes looking uncomfortable as he is scrutinised. Shot of Aristoboulos gesturing back to Alexander. Wide shot of Alexander, still on his throne, though now in deep conversation with a</p>	<p>Aristoboulos:</p> <p><i>[with a sense of tension]</i> Did you fight against us in your time?</p> <p>Tissaphernes:</p> <p>I serve Alexander, as do all Persians. Darius is dead, Bessus is a usurper. Alexander is the true king.</p> <p>It has been said that no one truly knows his character. Tell me of his life, I shall decide what man that makes him.</p> <p>Callisthenes:</p> <p>Then Thebes is perhaps the wisest place to start. The Greek city rebelled against Macedon, and Alexander put their rebellion down. He had the city burnt to the ground, its people enslaved as 'justice' for their betrayal.</p> <p>Ptolemy:</p> <p><i>[Slurring his words slightly]</i> What slander is this?! Alexander made no such butchery. Perdiccas it was, whose foolish recklessness led his men to sack the city! He ignored the pleas of his king for temperance and pressed upon the enemy, forcing Alexander himself to join the battle, woeful as its outcome would be, and dirty his blade with the blood of those conniving Greeks.</p> <p>Perdiccas:</p> <p><i>[Slurring his words a bit more]</i> Ptolemy, you smear my name again! Surely you know it was the Greeks themselves who burnt the city to the ground! Under a council they judged its past transgressions against the lands of Hellas to be deserving of this fate. Alexander was blameless, as was I.</p> <p>Tissaphernes: But surely it was Alexander's</p>
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<p>general.</p> <p>Wide shot of the assembly of generals around the seated men. Cleitus bursts through the right of the semicircle, drunkenly reeling and shouting as he falls/ grips the other generals. He wears similar garb to Ptolemy and Perdiccas, though wine stained with the sash torn.</p> <p>Close up shots of Aristoboulos and Callisthenes looking uncomfortable. Very close P.O.V shots from within the crowd that is gathering in the semicircle, each shot looking in towards the seated speakers, some being obscured by the heads of other generals. Mid-shot of Cleitus who hold up his right hand for all to see, turning in a circle to the now assembled audience of perhaps fifteen people.</p> <p>Static mid-shot looking down towards Aristoboulos. Return shot of Cleitus who looks daggers at Aristoboulos, although he subsides and moves closer to the crowd.</p> <p>Mid-shot of Ptolemy, who, seizing the moment, puffs his chest up and speaks to all present, the camera panning around him to view all of the circle as Ptolemy turns from side to side, the shot slowing to a halt on Tissaphernes as he is gestured to.</p> <p>Close shot of Tissaphernes, who is looking downwards.</p> <p>Wide, low angle shot of Ptolemy from directly above Tissaphernes wine goblet as Ptolemy capitalises enthusiastically on his successful rhetoric. Various close shots of different generals looking baffled or appeased at the mention of the army's size. Mid-shot as Ptolemy gestures once more towards where Alexander sits.</p> <p>Close up of Macedonian nobleman, in traditional dress.</p> <p>A roar goes up at his claim, and all the generals are speaking.</p> <p>Close shots of Callisthenes and Tissaphernes conversing in shot reverse shot.</p>	<p>command to destroy the city? You cannot take all blame from his shoulders.</p> <p>Aristoboulos:</p> <p><i>[Speaking over the rest of them, primarily to drown out the treason Tissaphernes is unwittingly speaking]</i> Within the year the armies of Macedon crossed into Asia Minor, and we met... <i>[Directed towards Tissaphernes]</i> the Persians... for our first test of combat at the river Granicus. Victory was achieved through the personal bravery of our king, who won great glory that day through his valorous fighting.</p> <p>Cleitus:</p> <p><i>[Excessively drunk, and stumbling into the other members of the conversation. Very belligerent]</i> Valour? What valour did 'our king' win? I ask you Aristoboulos, how was it not the Macedonian men who fought his battle who won the valour? Alone, Alexander would be nothing. Only Macedon gave him prominence; a prominence built by his father, not he! Indeed, his life would have ended at the Granicus, had not this hand saved him from the final sword blow of a Persian blade!</p> <p>Aristoboulos:</p> <p><i>[Impatient]</i> Yes Cleitus, you have mentioned it before. You would do well not to mention it again.</p> <p>Ptolemy:</p> <p>Our military victories are glorious! We are an undefeated army, with such triumphs as Issus and Gaugamela. <i>[Directly to Tissaphernes]</i> Your people are cowardly, especially your weak king Darius.</p> <p>Tissaphernes:</p> <p><i>[Mumbled under his breath]</i> He was no coward.</p>
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<p>Mid-shot of Ptolemy who shoots a dirty look at Tissaphernes and Callisthenes Ptolemy overhears a bit of their conversation. Wide shot from above the congregation as Ptolemy attempts to gesture to all about the Alexander's parentage.</p> <p>Close up of Cleitus looking infuriated. Wide shot of the assembly as Cleitus steps forward to speak. He looks small and hunched when compared to the mass of generals. Close up shot of Tissaphernes looking at Cleitus with pity. P.O.V shot from Tissaphernes as he looks at the irritated and impatient faces of those who surround him, including Aristoboulos and Callisthenes. Halts on Aristoboulos as he speaks, with Callisthenes to the right of the screen out of focus. Focus is pulled to Callisthenes when he speaks.</p> <p>Close up, almost Dutch angle of Tissaphernes, focus blurring in and out as he gets steadily drunker. The camera angles are disorientating. Shaky-cam wide panning shot of the assembly as they all look very directly at Tissaphernes.</p> <p>Close up of Ptolemy, cutting to another wide shot showing him as the centre of the semicircle.</p>	<p><i>[Takes a large gulp of wine.]</i></p> <p>Ptolemy:</p> <p>He fled before Alexander's might, even at the head of one million men, he could not bear to face Alexander's fury!</p> <p>Macedonian nobleman 1:</p> <p>Can't you count? It was barely a quarter of that size!</p> <p>Callisthenes:</p> <p><i>[Whispering to Tissaphernes]</i> Actually, it was more like one hundred thousand.</p> <p>Tissaphernes:</p> <p>Of course, we could never have raised so many men. <i>[Takes another gulp of wine]</i> No nation could supply such an amount.</p> <p>Ptolemy:</p> <p><i>[Irritated that he is being challenged]</i> Yet still his victory is a mighty achievement, worthy only of the son of Ammon!</p> <p>Cleitus:</p> <p><i>[With severe, drunken frustration]</i> He is the son of Philip! He's merely a man!</p> <p><i>[Cleitus is ignored by everyone]</i></p> <p>Aristoboulos:</p> <p>Much more has been won since that victory.</p> <p>Callisthenes:</p>
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<p>Mid-shot of Aristoboulos. Shot of Cleitus as the term Macedonian.</p> <p>Quick shot of Ptolemy looking sombrely towards the ground.</p> <p>Shot of Callisthenes who stands up, addressing the assembly. Shot over the top of his hand as he points directly at Ptolemy, who recoils as though struck. Callisthenes continues to gesture to the whole crowd, shot through the crowd from different random generals' perspectives. Callisthenes returns to his feet when finished, clearly satisfied with his speech. Mid-shot of Ptolemy who looks downwards, confused and dejected.</p> <p>Level shot of Tissaphernes, a slight shudder in the camera as he is not completely steady.</p> <p>Cleitus moves in front of the camera, his torso obscuring Tissaphernes.</p> <p>Cut to mid-shot of Cleitus as he speaks, pointing upwards when he mentions Phillip.</p> <p>Return to the shot of Ptolemy looking downwards. After 'Parmenion' he looks up and addresses Aristoboulos.</p> <p>Close, disorientating shot of Tissaphernes as he struggles to keep track of the conversation.</p> <p>Mid-shot of Callisthenes as he gestures vainly at nothing in regret.</p>	<p>[<i>under his breath</i>] Not all of it honourable.</p> <p>Tissaphernes:</p> <p>[<i>Getting steadily drunk, unused to keeping up with the Macedonians. Hears Callisthenes, yet speaks to the assembly</i>] You burnt the palace of Persepolis. Why? I have heard tell that you burnt most those shrines which honoured Xerxes, plundering the city in advance?</p> <p>Ptolemy:</p> <p>[<i>Overhearing</i>] We burnt that city with blood and fire, for vengeance and justice, for Athens! Only Parmenion was opposed.</p> <p>Macedonian Nobleman 2:</p> <p>[<i>Interjecting with a heckle-esque shout</i>] As he always was.</p> <p>Aristoboulos:</p> <p>[<i>Leaning forward in his chair</i>] Why would Alexander care for the troubles of Greece? He is Macedonian! It was the lust for loot that drove that sacking.</p> <p>Callisthenes:</p> <p>[<i>Animated with enthusiasm to get his opinion out</i>] No, we had loot enough to found a kingdom! The fault of that sacking lies with Ptolemy! [<i>looks and gestures to Ptolemy</i>] It was his mistress who led you, drunken as you were, whilst we Greeks slept apart from your revelry. In your inebriation you ventured arson against the palace at the instigation of a woman.</p> <p>Tissaphernes:</p> <p>[<i>The wine making him bolder</i>] So then it was at</p>
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<p>Shaky, close and angled shot of Tissaphernes, subtly zooming in and out. Wide P.O.V of the assembly, spinning slightly with Tissaphernes vision.</p> <p>Close shot of Ptolemy, cutting to various similar shots of the other key speaking generals, all of whom look concerned. Ptolemy begins nearly stumbling over his words. Another close disorienting shot of Tissaphernes who is still failing to fully keep up with the dialogue. Close up shot reverse shot of Ptolemy looking to Aristoboulos to move the conversation on.</p> <p>Mid-shot of Aristoboulos gesturing to Tissaphernes and the assembly as a whole.</p> <p>Quick mid-shot of Tissaphernes, nearly steady.</p> <p>Mid-shot of Ptolemy regaining his composure and steamrolling into his speech. After initially directing his speech to Tissaphernes, he repeats his earlier movements when addressing the assembly.</p> <p>Shot over Tissaphernes' shoulder, slowly zooming in on the spear of a guard towards the side of the room.</p> <p>Wide of the assembly as they shout. Quick mid-shot of Alexander's attention being caught by the commotion.</p> <p>High wide shot of the assembly, centring on the seated three.</p> <p>Mid-shot of Cleitus as he pushes out from the wall of generals, though he stops before he is in the semicircle proper.</p> <p>Mid-shot of Callisthenes looking towards Cleitus out of the corner of his eye.</p> <p>Wide shot of the assembly from over Callisthenes</p>	<p>Alexander's command? Each story tells that at least. You took orders from a woman, yet you call us effeminate!</p> <p>Cleitus: [<i>cutting off Tissaphernes</i>] Phillip would not take orders from a woman. No true Macedonian king would.</p> <p>Ptolemy:</p> <p>[<i>muttering to himself</i>] Parmenion. His death was an unfortunate necessity.</p> <p>Aristoboulos:</p> <p>Such is the fate of those who raise treacherous sons.</p> <p>Callisthenes:</p> <p>Ah Philotas, what madness drove you to treason? Was the fate you suffered deserved?</p> <p>Tissaphernes:</p> <p>[<i>Suspicious</i>] How can you be so sure that Philotas was a traitor?</p> <p>Ptolemy:</p> <p>[<i>Noting Tissaphernes suspiciousness</i>] Your question seems an accusation. No general of the army had anything to gain from his superior's death. Obviously...</p> <p>[<i>Looks pleadingly to Aristoboulos to help him out on the details</i>]</p> <p>Aristoboulos:</p> <p>He failed to report a plot to the king, implicating himself in its treason.</p> <p>Tissaphernes:</p>
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<p>shoulder, showing strong negative reaction to his speech.</p> <p>Close up of Callisthenes turning to Tissaphernes, the assembly burred out in the background. Short mid of Cleitus being rowdy, cuts back to the previous shot of Callisthenes. Everything feels very enclosed and isolated.</p> <p>Close low angle shot of Tissaphernes, intercut with close up shots of Callisthenes, who looks worried.</p> <p>As Tissaphernes drinks, a wide surveys the whole room, looking at every Macedonian general. Most are clustered into small groups, almost as though they were plotting.</p> <p>Mid-shot as Callisthenes shuffles in his seat, clearly uncomfortable. Close up shot of Macedonia on the map, the camera then panning across to the right to slowly reveal the extent of Asia on the map, stretching off to beyond the end of the screen. A wide shot of drunken Cleitus, looking increasingly isolated as Macedonians move away from him.</p> <p>Mid-shot as Alexander stands up, unevenly, from his throne. A wide displays the whole room, a thin gap like a ravine in a cliff has opened between the partygoers, leaving a direct line to Cleitus, which Alexander walks down whilst Cleitus shouts. Quick, extremely unsteady close up of Tissaphernes looking panicked and afraid that Alexander is approaching them. A wide shot displaying the assembly in the background, Cleitus to the left and Alexander to the right, whilst Tissaphernes performs Proskynesis in the centre of the shot, at the very bottom of the screen. As the shot goes on, Cleitus starts his dialogue. Short shot of Tissaphernes face pressed</p>	<p>Well surely [<i>Is interrupted</i>]</p> <p>Ptolemy:</p> <p>[<i>Cutting Tissaphernes off while he tries to ask follow up questions</i>] Alexander had him tried in front of the army. He accused Philotas aggressively. The traitor defended himself, but informers brought clear proof against Parmenion's son. We Macedonians convicted him of idleness in his duty. A volley of javelins marked his fate.</p> <p>[<i>Shouts of 'aye' and 'as he deserved' echo from the generals in the crowd</i>]</p> <p>Tissaphernes:</p> <p>Why make the trial before the army?</p> <p>Cleitus:</p> <p>[<i>Loudly and obnoxiously</i>] It is a Macedonian custom.</p> <p>Callisthenes:</p> <p>[<i>Acknowledging Cleitus for once, but grudgingly</i>] It is a Macedonian custom, but Alexander made use of it for more reasons than one. He made it clear that the army supported him, it was merely power-politics. [<i>Quietly, and only to Tissaphernes</i>] He worries sometimes about the power of our noble Macedonian friends [<i>gestures to Cleitus</i>] He often sees conspiracies where there clearly are none.</p> <p>[<i>The sound of the assembly fades down, all the audio is focused on the dialogue of Tissaphernes and Callisthenes</i>]</p> <p>Tissaphernes:</p> <p>[<i>Under his breathe, only audible to Callisthenes</i>] Or makes conspiracies... [<i>Tissaphernes and Callisthenes</i>]</p>
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against the ground, partially through inebriation, partially through duty. Mid-shot of Alexander as he walks around the prostrate figure of Tissaphernes to clasp Cleitus in his arms. Close up from in front of Alexander and Cleitus, as Alexander looks into the distance, describing his conquest wistfully. Cleitus is out of focus, but clearly uncomfortable. Quick close up of drunken Tissaphernes lying on the floor. He wrenches away, pulling to a mid-shot of the two characters on either side of the screen.

Shot of the whole hall as Cleitus gestures to the Macedonians as a whole. Alexander stands out in his dress, but looks extremely small when compared to the hall. Reverse shots of Alexander as Cleitus speaks, Alexander getting more and more enraged as Cleitus talks.

The second half of Cleitus' speech fades as the Camera focuses more and more on Tissaphernes, various slanted angles, focus pulling and subtle zooming to enhance how drunk he is. He slumps fully into unconsciousness and the screen fades to Black.

After three seconds, the shot reopens on Tissaphernes' face with blinding brightness, pulling out from him to reveal the room as he stands up, the arguing generals on the left in a large huddle, the great doorway open on the right and Cleitus' body directly in the middle, in a pool of blood. Crash zoom on the body of Cleitus. Close up on Tissaphernes' shocked face. He turns and sees Callisthenes looking dumbstruck. Moving towards him, the camera follows over the shoulder, all one shot, as Callisthenes turns to look at him and speaks.

The camera immediately pans to Tissaphernes face, with urgency, returning lethargically to Callisthenes.

Tissaphernes takes the seat of Aristoboulos, who stands among the arguing generals. Close up of Callisthenes troubled expression.

*share an uncertain look.*] Surely after the conquest of Persia, Alexander no longer requires the power of his nobility. [*Tissaphernes gulps down more wine in a nervous manner*] His land, his strength... Might he not be grasping for sole power, like the Achaemenid kings before him?

Callisthenes:

[*Uncertain*] It is true he hardly seems the first amongst equals anymore. Men like Parmenion, they no longer fit into Alexander's world. Macedonia is a small kingdom in a great empire, yet its nobles feel entitled. Those like Cleitus... They are becoming increasingly superfluous.

[*Cleitus is shouting at anyone who will listen by now. Alexander hears and makes his approach. Tissaphernes in his drunken state attempts proskynesis. Alexander smiles at this tribute, Cleitus looks darkly upon Tissaphernes, and then upon Alexander*]

Cleitus:

[*With disdain*] First 'our king' dresses like a Persian, and now he enjoys being treated as one. Where is your Macedonian pride, boy?

Alexander:

[*Extremely drunk, but jovial, mistaking Cleitus' intentions at first as friendly banter*] What do you mean my old friend, my comrade in arms? [*Slaps Cleitus on the back. Speaks to the room at large*] This celebration reminds me of my victory over my foes at the Granicus, that deadly river which I took with the strength of my own arms!

<p>Slow zoom from Callisthenes' perspective into an extinguished torch, stopping when close. It bursts into flames and the camera zooms back out without cutting, transitioning into the flashback wherein Cleitus and Alexander are arguing. They are out of focus in the foreground as the torch flickers violently in focus between them. As the sound fades back up, the shot changes to a mid-shot of Alexander and Cleitus in front of the assembly.</p> <p>A wide sets the scene, with Alexander at on the left and Cleitus on the right. It is static, from on high above the assembly who make a semi-circle around the action. Alexander and Cleitus are facing diagonally, so that they both face each other and the assembly of generals who surround them. Tissaphernes lies prostrate at the back of the semi-circle, without any focus being upon him. The layout is reminiscent of a Greek theatre. The shot changes to other perspectives from within the crowd, but each one is clear, without obstruction. The dialogue is performed theatrically, with bold gestures accompanying any opportunity to make a motion.</p> <p>Return to the wide, in which the movement of the crowd is clearly visible.</p> <p>When they speak, Aristoboulos stands up and turns towards the crowd and the camera rather than speak to Cleitus and Alexander.</p> <p>P.O.V shots from various generals in the front row, close to the action. All feels very immediate and involved.</p> <p>Callisthenes P.O.V. Alexander grabs an apple from a</p>	<p>Cleitus:</p> <p><i>[Pulling away from Alexander]</i> Your victory?! It was we, the Macedonian men who bled that day, who fought and killed. An army, born of your father, that mightiest of men Phillip. Your victories are due to Phillip and Macedon. You, 'son of Ammon', are reliant upon them. Without them, you are not so great.</p> <p><i>[During Cleitus' speech, Tissaphernes, still slumped on the floor drifts to sleep in a drunken daze. The audio fades, the final words 'not so great' sound when the screen is black, then silence]</i></p> <p><i>[Tissaphernes wakes up, sees the dead body of Cleitus and gasps, trying desperately to sober up. He stands, seeing an argument on the other side of the room between the generals. Callisthenes sits stunned beside him in the same chair he had been in. Standing up, Tissaphernes turns to Callisthenes]</i></p> <p>Tissaphernes:</p> <p>Cleitus is dead?! How? This is madness!</p> <p>Callisthenes:</p> <p>Madness? Yes, ah me. Alexander will forever rue this day.</p> <p>Tissaphernes:</p> <p>Tell me Callisthenes, what did you see?</p> <p>Callisthenes:</p> <p>Cleitus and Alexander quarrelled fiercely...</p> <p><i>[Flashback directly after the fade to black]</i></p> <p>Cleitus:</p>
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<p>table pressed to the wall and throws it at Cleitus. Cleitus is struck in the head, but in his drunken daze he shrugs it off. Everybody laughs except Alexander. He shouts for his blade, moving from general to general. The tone in the room utterly changes and now the generals look afraid and shy away from Alexander. Whilst Alexander beats the trumpeter, the camera looks towards the side of the room where Cleitus is being reluctantly carried off by various generals. He goes through a curtain to leave the room, but after only a brief moment pushes himself back in.</p> <p>P.O.V shot from Cleitus' as Alexander advances, threatening in his wrath, filling up the screen. Mid-shot of Alexander stabbing Cleitus with the spear, swiftly cutting to a close up of their faces looking at each other, Cleitus shocked, Alexander enraged. Wide shot of Alexander as Cleitus slips to the ground. The room is hushed and nobody moves. A pause, as all is still.</p> <p>Callisthenes P.O.V as the guards stop Alexander from killing himself and carry him from the room.</p> <p>Mid-shot of Callisthenes as his goblet slips from his hands and falls to the floor. Close up of the goblet as it falls, smashing upon the ground with a blinding light. Fade back into the present time; a close up of Callisthenes followed by one of Tissaphernes looking intently at him.</p> <p>Mid-shot with Callisthenes and Aristoboulos seated in the foreground, with Aristoboulos in the background, who walks in just prior to his line. Reaction shots as the two look up to see Aristoboulos speak.</p> <p>Mid-shot of Aristoboulos as he speaks, building himself up until he says 'facts'. Immediate cut, directly to Cleitus standing in the same position, whose dialogue follows on from Aristoboulos without a pause.</p>	<p>It is by the blood of Macedonians, and by these wounds, [<i>gestures to his scars</i>] that you have become so great as to disown Philip and make yourself son to Ammon.</p> <p>Alexander:</p> <p>Worthless wretch, do you think to speak this way of me at all times, and to raise friction among Macedonians, with impunity?</p> <p>Cleitus:</p> <p>[<i>Raising in intensity until he is shouting by the end</i>] No, not even now do we enjoy impunity, since such are the rewards we get for our toils; and we pronounce those happy who are already dead.</p> <p>[Many in the circle of generals decry Cleitus' speech, some are silent]</p> <p>Aristoboulos:</p> <p>[Defensive on the behalf of Alexander] Cleitus, arrogant fool, give respect to your king!</p> <p>Ptolemy:</p> <p>[Defensive on the behalf of Alexander] All you speak is slander and lies!</p> <p>Cleitus:</p> <p>[<i>In response</i>] Speak freely Alexander what you wish to say, or remove we few who speak our minds and live instead with the barbarians and slaves who would do obedience [<i>looks to the unconscious, prostrate form of Tissaphernes</i>] to your Persian dress and ways.</p> <p>[<i>Alexander is enraged, throws an apple at Cleitus</i>]</p> <p>Alexander:</p>
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<p>Mid-shot of Alexander, who looks vulnerable, confused and withdrawn. He raises himself up as he speaks, asserting his dominance. The camera lowers as he speaks until he towers above the frame.</p> <p>Wide shot from Aristoboulos' perspective encompassing Alexander, Cleitus and the whole assembly, those on Cleitus' side looking older, those on Alexander's side looking younger.</p> <p>Close up of Cleitus.</p> <p>Close up of Alexander.</p> <p>Alexander speaks, then smirks smugly.</p> <p>Back to the wide from Aristoboulos' perspective.</p> <p>Close up of Cleitus as they laugh. He grows angrier and angrier. Shot over Cleitus' shoulder of Alexander turning away to leave. Cleitus shouts at him, and Alexander turns back to face Cleitus. This shot is repeatedly interchanged with a close up of Cleitus' face, Alexander growing angrier while Cleitus speaks until he can barely contain his fury.</p> <p>The shot over Cleitus' shoulder depicts Alexander leaping at him, but being restrained by generals. Once more, this intercuts with a close up of Cleitus as Ptolemy lays his hands on him and pulls him away out of the room, Cleitus shouting his dialogue as he leaves.</p>	<p><i>[Moving from person to person, asking each of them]</i> Give me your blade! <i>[to a trumpeter]</i> Call the guards! <i>[The trumpeter hesitates, and Alexander hits him]</i></p> <p><i>[Cleitus is hurried out of the room by some of the generals around him. He pushes his way back through the curtain]</i></p> <p>Cleitus:</p> <p><i>[Drunkenly, contemptuously and hysterically]</i> Alas! In Hellas what an evil government!</p> <p><i>[In great fury, Alexander grabs a spear from a guard, runs at Cleitus, stabs him. Cleitus shrieks, falls to the ground]</i></p> <p>Alexander:</p> <p><i>[Immediately afterwards, with a completely dejected bearing. Groans]</i> What have I done?! <i>[Tries to stab himself in the neck but his guards stop him and carry him from the room]</i></p> <p><i>[End of flashback, back to Tissaphernes and Callisthenes talking]</i></p> <p>Aristoboulos:</p> <p><i>[having overheard the conversation and returning to speak with Tissaphernes and Callisthenes]</i> How do you remember their words with such precision? You speak your own mind, not the truth. What should have been said is different to what was said. What I speak now are the facts...</p> <p><i>[Fade back into another flashback]</i></p> <p>Cleitus:</p>
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<p>Close up of Alexander, struggling with the generals. Quick pans show the shock in the face of his generals, the camera focuses upon his wild eyes darting from side to side, locking onto individuals to accuse.</p> <p>Alexander apparently calms himself, the camera ceases to move and those around Alexander relax.</p> <p>Alexander bursts free. A mid-shot from behind Alexander follows him as he races across the room, grasps a spear from a guard and shouts. At the doorway, Cleitus reemerges, speaking his lines.</p> <p>Alexander ignores them, thrusts the spear at Cleitus. As the spear is about to pierce Cleitus' flesh, the fade to white occurs once more, and the close up is upon Aristoboulos conversing with Callisthenes and Tissaphernes once again.</p> <p>Slow zoom onto the body of Cleitus from the middle of the three's perspective. A moment of silence. Tissaphernes breaks it, cutting to a mid-shot of all three, as the Older Macedonian enters through the door behind them. He is dressed in the perfect traditional Macedonian garb.</p> <p>He barges into the conversation within the same shot, scattering the three out of the frame with a sense of sensationalism and urgency. The camera slowly zooms into his face as it moves wildly, looking from Tissaphernes to Callisthenes to Aristoboulos.</p> <p>Upon completion of his speech, the camera pans to the other three characters, each of which is frozen in shock and disbelief. After a pause, Aristoboulos speaks.</p>	<p>...you are not so great!</p> <p>Alexander:</p> <p><i>[Taken aback and very hurt]</i> You cannot see the depth of my accomplishments. None have done so much before me!</p> <p>Macedonian Nobleman 1:</p> <p><i>[Heckle-esque shout]</i> Not even Herakles can compare to your glory!</p> <p><i>[Cheers from the younger Macedonians, silence and indignant muttering from the older men]</i></p> <p>Cleitus:</p> <p>If you believe that, Alexander, then your sight is as poor as Antigonus'!</p> <p>Alexander:</p> <p>Then it is at least the equal of Phillip's.</p> <p><i>[The young Macedonians erupt in laughter]</i></p> <p>Cleitus:</p> <p><i>[Belligerent rage]</i> Foolish boy, you care nothing for those who made you! Your achievements are Phillip's; your battles won through Macedonian arms. You owe your life to me! Remember that this was the hand, Alexander, that saved you then.</p> <p><i>[Alexander leaps at Cleitus but is restrained by generals. He shouts incoherently]</i></p> <p>Cleitus:</p> <p>Rage as you will Alexander, perhaps it is you who should be paying obedience to the Macedonians.</p>
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Wide shot of the four standing in the great hall, which now feels emptier.

Mid-shot of Tissaphernes. Each time he gestures, the camera cuts to a mid-shot of who he gestures towards, returning to Tissaphernes at his conclusion. Wide shot of him walking away from Callisthenes, Aristoboulos and Older Macedonian. A mid-shot of the three pans through their expressions, each one solemn. The camera returns to over Tissaphernes shoulder following him as he crosses the room, taking one last look at the body. He steps through the doorway, the last shot looking into the room as he leaves it. The doors close quietly behind him.

Remember your place as king, you serve us and not yourself. [*Ptolemy pulls Cleitus out of the room*]

Alexander:

[*Straining against those who hold him*]

What is this treason, why do you hold me from my foe, conspiracy I call it, I'll have you tried in front of the army.

[*When nobody responds, speaking coldly*] I see now. It was Darius' closest friends who betrayed him and now I suffer his fate. Well I refuse to die a king in name only! I will have justice!

[*Alexander wrestles free from his companions who restrain him, grabs a spear*] Cleitus!

Cleitus:

[*Remerging into the room, arms outstretched*] Here's Cleitus! Here I am, Alexander!

[*Alexander stabs Cleitus with the spear, sees what he has done and screams in anguish and regret. Flashback ends*]

Aristoboulos: It was Cleitus' fault, all of it. He had only himself to blame. Why did he return, the fool?

Tissaphernes:

No, it was two vices mastered Alexander. Anger and drink. Without those, Cleitus would yet be alive.

Older Macedonian 1:

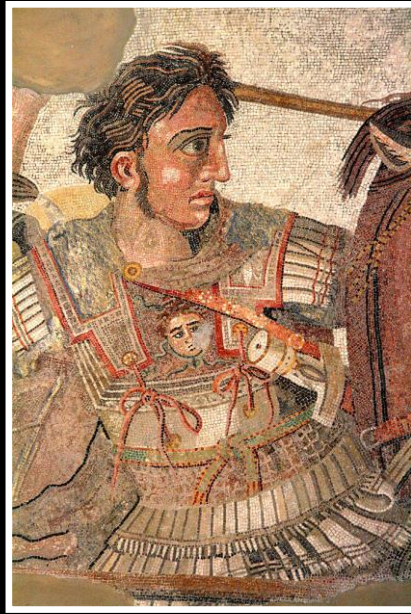
[*Wandering over after hearing them*] All of you speak so kindly of this murder! Murder it was! When Cleitus was removed from the room, Alexander's fury waxed still greater. He lay in ambush, standing in the hall until Cleitus would leave, at which time he called 'Who goes there?' and Cleitus replied 'it is I, Cleitus' Alexander ran him through with the spear! He cried, in a voice so terrible, 'Go now Cleitus, to

	<p>Phillip and Parmenion and Attalus!’</p> <p>Aristoboulos:</p> <p><i>[Confused and angry]</i> But you weren’t even here, how do you know what happened?</p> <p>Older Macedonian 1:</p> <p>I was told by a close friend who saw it all!</p> <p>Tissaphernes:</p> <p>No true understanding can come from these tales. Each of you swear to them, but not one is identical. <i>[To Callisthenes]</i> Your speech is rhetoric, your intentions are your own. In your hands, this tale shapes a narrative that you have contrived. <i>[To Aristoboulos]</i> How could you defend such an action? By blaming Cleitus, you shield Alexander from his crime. How can I trust that Cleitus said what you claim? <i>[To Older Macedonian I]</i> You were not even present, how can I trust your word any better than my own? Each of you cares differently for Alexander. I must choose whose Alexander I believe most.</p> <p><i>[Tissaphernes walks away through the great doors. They shut behind him]</i></p>
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# CLASURON

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