

PERCEIVING THE PAST IN THE EARLY HELLENISTIC PERIOD

THE USES OF THE PAST IN REMODELLING REALITY

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Abstract

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This thesis examines the use of the past as a medium for the articulation of claims of present political power during the early Hellenistic period. The Hellenistic period marks an era of major changes both in the political and geographical landscapes. The *polis*, which remains the centre of political life, struggles between autonomy and dependence among the emerging political formations (Kingdoms and *Koina*). In the fluid political environment, the past presents an excellent opportunity: it can be used as a (re)confirmation of a certain identity, be it civic or collective, or can help to construct a new one. In either way, its potential is enormous. In the contemporary world, the connection between the use of the past and politics has been confirmed. However, this relationship was also clearly realised in the ancient world. Due to the workings of memory, the past has a central role in the political life of communities; memory and the use of the past are social and cultural forces, effectively altering the modes of representation and contemporary worldviews. And *vice versa*, any political decisions are seen in the light of civic or communal traditions – the cultural memory of each society. In the cases of Athens and Sparta, the opposition between contemporary realities and cultural memory is prolific and leads to unprecedented acts. In the absence of such a glorious past, the prolific historian Polybios constructs one for the Achaian League. Samos and Priene, without such hegemonic traditions but with a strong local presence, use the past for direct benefits. The examination of the data allows us to draw some conclusions concerning the agents behind the active manipulation of the past. Within a civic context, the potential of the past and its uses are largely understood by an active and ambitious elite with personal and state expediencies. The extent of their success partly depends on the realisation of the power they held.

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Table of Contents

Abstract.....	i
Acknowledgements	ii
Table of Contents.....	iv
List of Figures	vii
Note on Dates.....	ix
Note on Names and Translations	ix
Note on Abbreviations	ix
Abbreviations	x
1. Introduction.....	1
1.1. Research Questions and Project Objectives.....	6
1.2. Thesis Outline	13
1.3. Discussing the Primary Sources	16
1.3.1. Some Observations on the Primary Material.....	16
1.3.2. Early Hellenistic Athens	22
1.3.3. Early Hellenistic Sparta	23
1.3.4. Polybios and the Achaian League	24
1.3.5. Samos and Priene	25
2. Methodological and Theoretical Framework	26
2.1. Towards a Methodological Framework	31
2.2. From Memory to Collective Memory.....	33
2.3. Assmann's Model of Cultural and Communicative Memory	37
2.4. There and Back Again: From Memory to Identity and <i>Imaginaire</i>	39
2.5. Methodological Concerns and Limitations.....	42
2.6. Historical Tradition and the Mentality of Hegemony	47
3. Early Hellenistic Athens: Tales of Memory and History.....	53
3.1. Creating and Dissolving: The Use of the Past in Athenian Discourse	55
3.1.1. Informing the Athenian <i>Imaginaire</i> : Public Oratory	56
3.1.2. Theatre as a Medium: Contemporary Athens via Menandros.....	61
3.1.3. Disseminating Memories: Local Historians.....	66

3.1.4. Declared Public Uses of the Past: Some Thoughts on the Epigraphic Evidence.....	73
3.2. Approaching the Athenian Communicative Memory.....	82
3.2.1. In Honour of the Makedonian Kings.....	86
3.3. Conclusion: Towards an Alternative Model of Hegemony.....	94
3.3.1. Culture and Diplomacy: Tools for Survival.....	96
4. Areus I: Visions of a Spartan <i>Successor</i>	107
4.1. Sparta of a Lesser Status.....	110
4.2. Thus the Sources Speak	111
4.2.1. Archaeological Evidence	112
4.3. Spartan Mentality of Hegemony.....	115
4.3.1. Agis III: Towards a Spartan Model.....	117
4.3.2. Hegemonial Tradition during Areus' Reign.....	123
4.3.3. Memory and Society	126
4.4. Memory and Past: Cases of (Re)Presentation.....	130
4.4.1. Decree of Khremonides	134
4.5. Manipulation through Coinage	138
4.6. Conclusion: Use of the Past <i>per se</i>	145
5. Achaian League: Reforming Peloponnesos	151
5.1. Autonomy and Dependence.....	151
5.2. Tales of History: The Achaians and The League.....	155
5.3. Tales of Memory: The Eyes of the Historian.....	159
5.4. Questioning Identity and Approaching Memory.....	165
5.5. Conclusion: Polybios' History	172
6. Manipulating the Past: The Case of Samos, Priene, and the Samian <i>Peraia</i>	175
6.1. King Lysimakhos' Arbitration: The Royal Letter	178
6.2. Supporting a Claim: Historical Accounts and Original Possession.....	185
6.3. Use of the Past: A Court's Case.....	189
6.4. Conclusion: Arbitrations and the Many Layers of the Past	195
7. Conclusions: The Many Uses of the Past.....	200
7.1. Shared Pasts: Athens, Sparta and Polybios' Achaian League	203
7.2. The Use of the Past and Agency	205

7.3. Fast Forward Into the Future	209
7.4. Future Work.....	216
Appendix I: Coins.....	218
Bibliography.....	220



List of Figures

FIGURE 1: Map of Greece. SOURCE: Base map provided by Google Earth® and updated by the researcher according to <i>BA</i> and the <i>Pleiades</i>	xii
FIGURE 2: Schematic representation of the extent of Spartan territory from the fourth century until the last quarter of the third century BCE (c. 222). LEGEND: G[ytheion], M[egalopolis], S[parta] and T[egea]. Original design by A. Sackett. SOURCE: Shipley (2000a:389).....	111
FIGURE 3: Map of the Achaian League and its development throughout the 7 th century until 146 and Flamininus' declaration. SOURCE: <i>BNP</i> 2011.....	154
FIGURE 4: Map of Samos and the coast of Asia Minor with the contested territories of Batinetis and Karion. The exact location of the fort is unconfirmed. SOURCE: Base map provided by Google Earth® and updated by the researcher.....	179
FIGURE 5: Reconstruction of the antae of the doorway of the pronaos of the Temple of Athena Polias at Priene. One can see the famous edict of Alexandros III in the upper left corner, followed by all the successful arbitrations or edicts from later authorities. SOURCE: Sherwin-White (1985: 71).....	197
FIGURE 6: Silver tetradrachm of King Areus I (struck c. 267-265 BCE). <i>Obv.</i> Head of Herakles/Alexandros III wearing a lion's skin headdress (right/front). <i>Rev.</i> [ΒΑΣΙΛΕΟΣ ΑΠΕΟΣ] Zeus seated on his throne, with an eagle standing on his right hand and a sceptre in his left. SOURCE: Walker (2009: 61); L.77.....	218
FIGURE 7: Silver obol of King Areus. <i>Obv.</i> Bearded head of Herakles with lion skin. <i>Rev.</i> Club with knots and six-ray stars. SOURCE: Grunaeur (1978: Group II).....	218
FIGURE 8: Silver obol of King Areus. <i>Obv.</i> Bearded head of Herakles with lion skin. <i>Rev.</i> Club with knots and six-ray stars. British Museum. SOURCE: Palagia, (2006: 207).	218
FIGURE 9: Samian Silver Tridrachm (struck c. 404-394 BCE). <i>Obv.</i> The infant Herakles, nude, with a baldric over his left shoulder in kneeling stance and struggling with two serpents, ΣΥΝ[ΜΑΧΙΚΟΝ] <i>Rev.</i> Lion's mask, ΣΑ[ΜΟΣ] below; all within circular incuse. SOURCE: Barron (1966: 1b).....	219
FIGURE 10: Silver tetradrachm of Ptolemaios I Soter from Alexandria (c. 313/2 BC). <i>Obv.</i> Head of Alexandros III wearing elephant's skin headdress (right/front). <i>Rev.</i>	

[ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ] Athena in fighting stance, hurling the spear on the right hand and lifting the shield on the left, with an eagle standing on thunderbolt to her right. Below the eagle letters [ΔΙ] SOURCE: Walker (2009:90); L.126.....219



Note on Dates

BCE (Before Common Era) and CE (Common Era) are chosen instead of the terms BC (Before Christ) and AD (Anno Domini), to somewhat further ourselves from a Christian dating perspective (even if the use of BCE/CE has its own problems). Where no era is specified the dates should be taken as BCE.



Note on Names and Translations

Although Latinised transliteration of both names and places is widespread, its use feels somewhat outdated and odd, a strange heirloom of older scholarship. Thus, for ancient Greek names, the Greek form is favoured throughout this work (e.g. Alexandros, Kleonymos etc.). Moreover, for ancient authors, the Greek form is used for those either of Greek origin or who have written works in Greek; Latin names of ancient authors follow the same rules. The only exceptions are some names that are mainly recognisable in their Latinised/anglicised version and their correspondence to the list of abbreviations will be problematic (e.g. Plutarch instead of Ploutarchos, Polyaeus instead of Polyainos etc.). Greek terms (e.g. *polis*) are transliterated following their Greek orthography except if familiar otherwise in scholarship (i.e. *chora*).

All translations of literary and epigraphic sources are my own unless otherwise noted.



Note on Abbreviations

The names of ancient authors, Greek and Latin, and the titles of their works are abbreviated according to the conventions used in the *Oxford Classical Dictionary* (4th Edition). For authors not mentioned in this work, I follow Liddell and Scott's *Greek-English Lexicon* (Greek authors/texts) and the *Thesaurus Linguae Latinae* (Latin authors/texts).

Abbreviations

- Agora 15* MERRITT, B. D. & TRAILL, J. S. 1974. *Inscriptions: The Athenian Councillors*. The Athenian Agora XV, Princeton: American School of Classical Studies at Athens.
- Austin AUSTIN, M. M. 2006. *The Hellenistic World from Alexander to the Roman Conquest. A Selection of Ancient Sources in Translation*, 2nd Edition, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- BA TALBERT, R. J. A. (ed.) 2000. *Barrington Atlas of the Greek and Roman World*, New Jersey: Princeton University Press.
- BE* Bulletin épigraphique, In: *Revue des Études Grecques*.
- BNJ* WORTHINGTON, I. (ed.) 2007-2019. *Brill's New Jacoby: Online*, Leiden: Brill.
- BNP* CANCIK, H. & SCHNEIDER, H. (ed.) 2005. *Brill's New Pauly: Online*, Leiden: Brill.
- Burstein BURSTEIN, S. M. 1985. *The Hellenistic Age from the Battle of Ipsos to the Death of Kleopatra VII*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- DK DIELS, H. & KRANZ, W. 1951-2. *Die Fragmente der Vorsokratiker griechisch und deutsch*, 3 Volumes. Berlin.
- FD III* DAUX, G. & SALAČ, A. (eds.) 1932. *Inscriptions depuis le Trésor des Athéniens jusqu'aux bases de Gélon*, Paris: De Boccard.
- IG I³* LEWIS, D. (ED.) 1981-1994. *Inscriptiones Graecae I: Inscriptiones Atticae Euclidis anno anteriores. Fasc. 1, Decreta et tabulae magistratuum (nos. 1-500)*, Berlin: Weidmannsche Buchhandlung.
- IG II²* KIRCHNER, J. (ed.) 1913-1940. *Inscriptiones Graecae II et III: Inscriptiones Atticae Euclidis anno posteriores*, Berlin.
- IG XII,6* HALLOF, K. (ed.) 2000. *Inscriptiones Graecae, XII. Inscriptiones insularum maris Aegaei praeter Delum, 6. Inscriptiones Chii et Sami cum Corassiis Icariaque. Pars I. Inscriptiones Sami Insulae. Decreta. Epistulae, sententiae, edicta imperatoria. Leges. Catalogi. Tituli Atheniensium. Tituli honorarii. Tituli operum publicorum. Inscriptiones ararum (nos. 1-536)*, Berlin.

- IG XII,7 DELAMARRE, J. (ed.) 1908. *Inscriptiones Amorgi et insularum vicinarum*, Berlin.
- IGR IV CAGNAT, R., TOUTAIN, J., JOUGUET, P. & LAFAYE, G. (eds.) 1975. *Inscriptiones graecae ad res romanas pertinentes*, Volume 4, Chicago: Ares.
- IPriene HILLER VON GAERTRINGEN, F. 1906. *Die Inschriften von Priene*, Berlin.
- ISE MORETTI, L. (ed.) 1967-75. *Iscrizioni storiche ellenistiche*, 2 Volumes, Florence: La nuova Italia.
- IvO DITTENBERGER, W., PURGOLD, K., CURTIUS, E. & ADLER, F. 1896. *Olympia: die Ergebnisse der von dem Deutschen Reich veranstalteten Ausgrabung, V. Die Inschriften von Olympia*, Berlin.
- IvP FRÄNKEL, M. 1890-1969. *Die Inschriften von Pergamon*, 2 Volumes. «Altertümer von Pergamon», 8, 1-2, Berlin.
- OED SIMPSON, J. & PROFFITT, M. (eds.) 2000-. *Oxford English Dictionary Online*, Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- OGIS DITTENBERGER, W. (ed.) 1903-1905. *Orientis Graeci Inscriptiones Selectae*. 2 Volumes, Leipzig.
- Pleiades BAGNALL, R. S. et al. (eds.) 2016. *Pleiades: A Gazetteer of Past Places*.
- P. Oxy GRENFELL, B. P. & HUNT, A. S. 1898-. *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri*, 15 Volumes, London: Egypt Exploration Fund.
- PCG KASSEL, R. & AUSTIN, C. (eds.) 1998. *Poetae Comici Graeci. Volume VI,2: Menander. Testimonia et Fragmenta apud scriptores servata*, Berlin: Walter de Gruyter.
- RC WELLES, C. B. 1934. *Royal Correspondence in the Hellenistic Period: A Study in Greek Epigraphy*, New Haven: Yale University Press.
- SEG PLEKET, H. W. & STROUD, R. S. *Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum (SEG)*; Vol. 34, Amsterdam: J. C. Gieben.
- SGDI COLLITZ, H., BECHTEL, F., BAUNACK, J. F. R. et al. (eds.) 1905. *Sammlung der griechischen Dialekt-Inschriften*, Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht.
- Syll.³ DITTENBERGER, W., HILLER VON GAERTRINGEN, F., KIRCHNER, J., POMTOW, R. & ZIEBARTH, E. (eds.) 1915-1924. *Sylloge inscriptionum Graecarum* (Third Edition), Leipzig: S. Hirzel.

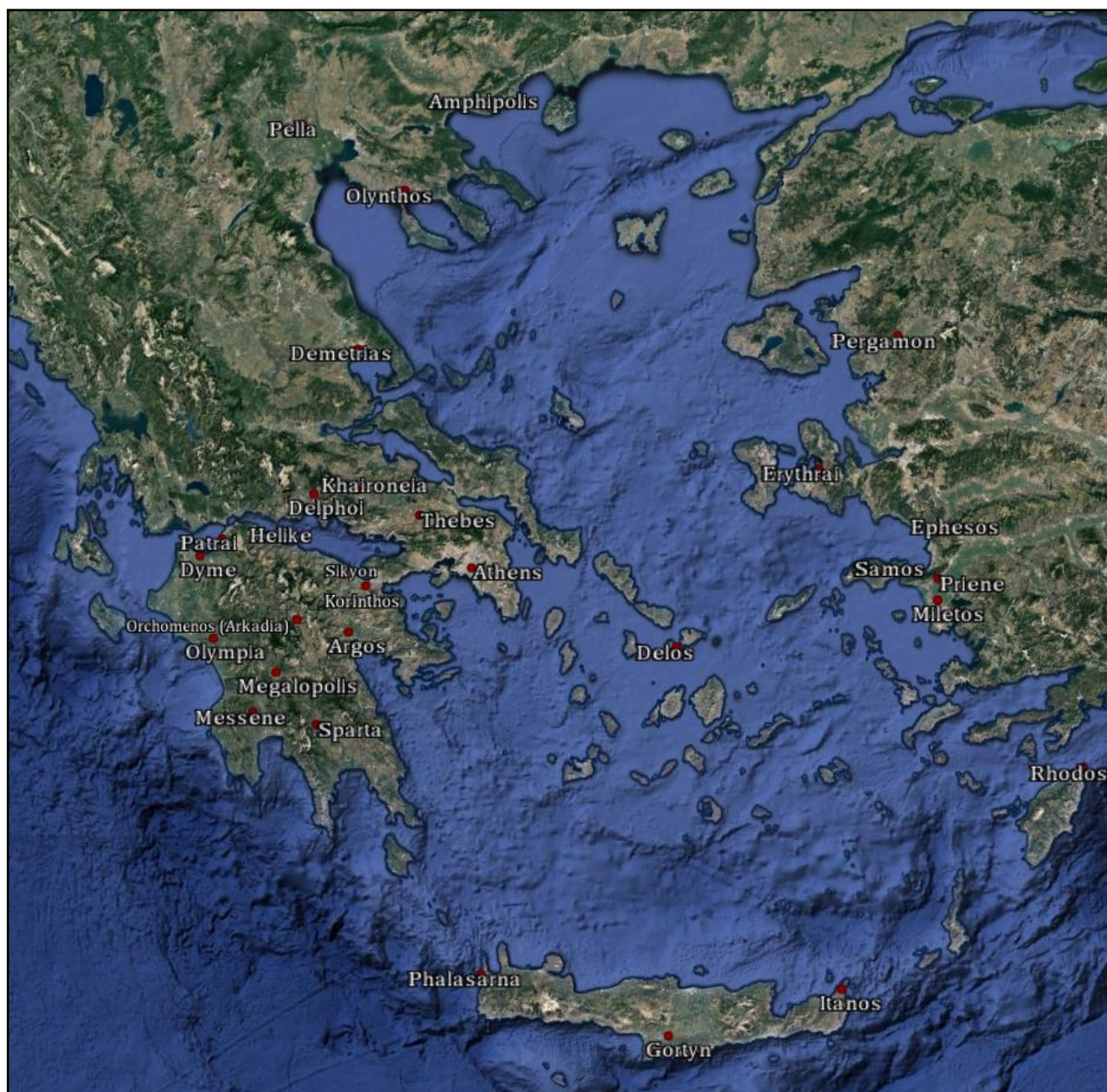


FIGURE 1: Map of Greece. **SOURCE:** Base map provided by Google Earth® and updated by the researcher according to *BA* and the *Pleiades*.

Part I: Introduction and Theory

1. Introduction

To articulate what is past does not mean to recognise “how it really was.” It means to take control of a memory, as it flashes in a moment of danger.

Walter Benjamin, *On the Concept of History*.¹

This thesis explores the use of the past within the political discourse of the Early Hellenistic period, focusing in specific locales: Athens, Sparta, the Achaian *Koinon*, Samos, and Priene. It aims to examine how memory, real or invented, did not only shape decision-making but also actively shaped the communal identity of each society; these two features are interlinked. This discussion of course entails an investigation of the reasons that members of the societies under examination accepted and believed the disseminated messages, even if these were constructed. In all cases explored in this work, the past is re-shaped in service of the present. From the Early Hellenistic Athens and Sparta to the Achaian *Koinon* as seen by Polybios, and Samos and Priene, there is a common denominator: an active realisation of the potential that a glorious past offered – real or constructed and to a certain degree believed –, strengthening the sentiment of co-belonging and paving ways for present and future benefits. In using contemporary terminology,² the cultural memory of each of the aforementioned societies – that is the collective historical experiences that have shaped and, in turn, are shaped by the members of a given society – is inextricably linked to its needs, views and decisions in the present. In those terms, any perceived or real past political power can be used to articulate claims to present and future political standing.

The exploration of a cultural way of remembering, which brings together memory, society and culture cannot be separated from the political context. From

¹ Benjamin, 1974: 695.

² For a longer discussion on terminology, mainly based on the memory theory of Jan Assmann (1995, 2011) see Chapter Two.

politics and ideology to social factors and history, the past lies at the core of such discourses. The different views and readings of the past and the dissemination of alternative narratives then create a new battleground within political discourse in which not only the different ideologies per se clash but the use of the past as well. Thus, the focus is on the past, its memory, and its power in (re)forming not only world-views but social identities. From the establishment and promotion of a hegemonial ideology to territorial disputes, the past is used to establish or promote claims of political power. If we focus only in Athens and Sparta, this power is easily discerned due to our perceptions of their history alone. Those *poleis* that held a protagonist role throughout the Classical period have already their status defined by their past. Contrariwise, other *poleis* or political structures could use the past for power in relative terms – the past could provide answers to localised, short-term needs or open up the way for larger plans. However, in each and every case, the true ‘power’ of the past is the ability to control ones’ identity and construct past, present and future based on one’s reading of the past.

We tend to think that ancient societies were much less complex than today’s, and this has led to a number of problems, the most important being our inability to look past this misconception. What now seems contemporary or modern in political thought and practices has probably some traceable parallels in ancient paradigms; especially when societies like the ancient Greek valued their past and built their identities based on myths and divine origins. In the wake of new approaches to the historical past, and with the increasing use of interdisciplinarity to tackle old problems and raise new questions, the present work hopes to contribute to the dialogue *with* and *about* the past. More importantly, the overall aim of this work is to explore the political use of the past in the articulation of contemporary political decisions during the early Hellenistic period.

Words like “remembrance” and “historical memory” are commonly used to pronounce the importance of remembering the past and its role in politics. Naturally, the formation of memories and the use of the past are multifunctional and can be seen at, and directed to a certain extent on, an individual level. However, from the individual level they pass on a larger, social or collective level. We can speak about factionalism, or different memory groups that are part of the same society, yet in all cases, it is the social framework that gives meaning to the individual memories.

The social context, which includes a multiplicity of memories ranging from individual to the collective level is what defines how society remembers. What is under examination in this thesis is the collective, rather than the individual point of view. This does not mean in any way that the uses of the past or the decisions on its use are monolithic. We can understand that in various examples and experiences of our own private and public lives. However, as we will discuss in Chapter Two, the institutionalisation of collective memory renders it much more solid when seen in a specific instance, even if it is ever changing. Nevertheless, the proceedings for its creation are very much more fluid. In contrast to modern times, where we have different media and data, it is hard to trace similar debates on the individual level in the ancient world. It is certain, however, that those were very real: there were active discussions, different readings and understandings of the past, as well as different uses, both political and personal. At large, what we can, with relative easiness, trace at the collective level is how communities or certain of their members chose to use the past and how they created new narratives of this past for internal and external audiences.

The choice of Early Hellenistic period is not coincidental. With the general term “Hellenistic” a continuous temporal period is defined that covers approximately three hundred years. It can be framed conventionally by the campaign of Alexandros III to Persia in 334, and the complete Roman domination of the Hellenistic kingdoms with the occupation of Egypt after the Battle of Aktion in 31/30. However, we can trace changes and dynamics over a period that extends beyond the aforementioned conventional dates.

The early Hellenistic period, in particular, was always seen as a transitional period, where the traditional Greek political construct of the city-state, or *polis*, had to accommodate itself to the new socio-economic and political landscape of the post-Alexandros III Makedonian kingdoms. The chronological limits of this period are highly disputed (for a detailed discussion based on cuneiform evidence, see Boiy, 2000; Boiy, 2007) – the constant problem of the chronological division of history. However, the periodisation of history is arbitrary as it recognises chronological intersections according to significant historical events as perceived each by our conception. For this study, with some historical license, the early Hellenistic period is defined by the invasion of the Achaemenid Empire by Alexandros III (334) to the

defeat of the Achaians and the incorporation of nearly the entirety of mainland Greece into the Roman province of Makedonia (146). Thus, it starts with the big changes in the landscape and the expansion of Hellenic culture to the East and ends with the dissolution and subjugation to the Roman Republic of the most active political formations of the date – the Makedonian Kingdom (148) and the Achaian *koinon* (146).

Concepts of autonomy, independence and self-governance are found in the midst of the turmoil as the *poleis* competed with the new-formed political entities, soon to be assimilated into them as territorial gains through domination or as allies and/or supporters (Green, 2007b: 70-71). By and large, during that period the *poleis* – in particular, those located in southern Greece – were actively involved in this new reality. However, there is also continuity with the previous period; only the context – from political to economic power – is far more fluid.

The Hellenistic period has been studied extensively, but the traditional views and narratives of the period (Rostovtzeff, 1941; Walbank, 1981; Gehrke, 1990) have to be re-examined in the context of the debate over the decline in the political power of the *polis* (Glötz, 1929; Runciman, 1990; Carlier, 1995), a process that is rapidly changing our understanding of the dynamics of the period as more recent narratives reconstruct the Hellenistic realities and offer new interpretations (Green, 1990; Hansen, 1993; Habicht, 1997; Hansen, 1997; Shipley, 2000b; Hansen, 2006; Harland, 2006). In any event, I aim to demonstrate that, in ways similar to contemporary practices, in the ancient world major, political decisions were almost always linked to the use of the past, either as a much-needed revision of civic identity or as a means of coping with the ambient changes. The past and its memory were in use by different communities, and their manifestations can be attested at or beyond the *poleis* themselves and the new political formations and centres of power.

One central characteristic of the Hellenistic period is the spread and influence of Greek culture in the East; a phenomenon largely imposed by the Makedonian campaigns of Alexandros III and later by the formation of the kingdoms of his *Diadokhoi*. Following the death of Alexandros, it is under these kingdoms that we can see the need to legitimise the newly founded communities – often a blend of Greek and native citizens – by using a glorious mythical past through a genealogical tree with a heroic progenitor (Alcock, 1997; Scheer, 2005). These changes, indeed,

reshape – on varying levels – the narratives of the past. Not only did these communities constructed their past, but also communities in ‘Old Greece’ changed their narratives in order to accommodate these needs, and, of course, to benefit from these links. What was the ultimate purpose? Was it a conscious choice? Alternatively, was it dictated, in some way or another, by the political necessities of the period itself and the rise of new conditions (a more teleological approach)? The past is everywhere, “it is omnipresent [...] whether it is celebrated or rejected” (Lowenthal, 1985: xv); and the early Hellenistic period (c. 334-146) seems to be fertile ground on which to analyse in depth some of the historical forces that shaped the Hellenistic world and to explore the uses of the past as a political tool susceptible to manipulation.

The major changes that framed the new era affected both the structure of society itself and the relations between social groups and individuals. In the early Hellenistic era, it is therefore unsurprising that there was a major resurgence of interest in local histories and foundation myths. From the local historiographers of Athens, who flourished between the end of the fourth century and the start of the third, to the local accounts used as evidence in the arbitrations between states such as Samos and Priene, there is an active interest in the past. The ways in which *poleis* reshape their vision of their own past greatly affect their present, their future and their place in the new, more fluid political landscape. Recent works examining collective remembrance of the distant and recent past (with help from sociology and social history, cf. Hobsbawm and Ranger, 2000; Liakos, 2001; Revel and Levi, 2001; Olick, 2003; Hamilakis, 2007; Olick, 2007) argue that the recent past, in many cases, is neglected and relegated to the section of forgetting – a sort of *damnatio memoriae*. As it will be discussed below, this can, in general, be verified for the period under consideration. From the local historians to active public discourse and decision-making, when third- and second-century Greeks looked back to a more distinguished past they tended to look back more to the great days of old rather than – as one might expect – to relatively more recent events. The glorious past and the days of 490/480 BCE, when the Persian threat was successfully defended, are often directly referenced. More importantly, such memories will have been deeply embedded in the memories of the Greeks and numerous connections to these events would be established indirectly. In some cases, their integration within Greek

collective memory, over time, created fertile ground for the creation of several other narratives directed towards different enemies. During the Persian Wars, these would be, naturally, the Persians, but later they might be swapped over with many *Others*: the Spartans, the Thebans, the Makedonians – anyone could be introduced into the same rhetorical context and become the new enemy. In other cases, the prominent past is the more recent, especially if one has to build a lasting account and create a new narrative, as in the case of the Achaian *koinon* as approached through the pen of Polybios. These occurrences need to be investigated further; the intersection and disjoint between cultural (long-term) and communicative or living (short-term) memory is fundamental to the discussion. How did the recent experiences shape the cultural memory of the societies under consideration? More so, can the communicative memory play a central role in the needs of a society, real or imagined, to construct or use a certain past?

Researching the use of the past in the past itself can offer a better understanding of the dynamics of ancient societies. Moreover, in the wake of multi-disciplinary interpretations of the past, this research aims to use an informed theoretical context based on the connections between past, memory and identity as discussed in the prevailing theory of Jan Assmann (1995; 2011). I believe this will promote a holistic approach to the evidence and provide ways to address common problems and questions using a different perspective from traditional historical research.

1.1. RESEARCH QUESTIONS AND PROJECT OBJECTIVES

The Hellenistic period, as noted above, was traditionally viewed as a wholly transitional period during which, after a time of constant turmoil and war, the traditional Greek political construct of the city-state, or *polis*, had to accommodate itself to the new socio-economic and political reality of the Hellenistic kingdoms. There is some truth in this, but this work seeks to provide some tangible evidence against the traditional rhetoric of the decline in the significance of the *polis*. From the different *poleis* (Athens, Sparta, Samos and Priene) to the Achaian *Koinon*, we will see the use of the past for the formation of identities as well as the

understanding of its power for political existence and expansion. This transitional period, not in deterministic terms, accommodated an evolutionary historical perspective that would eventually lead to the Roman period. Contrariwise, it is “transitional” in terms of the great changes taking place; it is a very fluid period where political stability, if we can define it as such, was always under pressure. Similarly, the constant wars, the larger geographical landscape and the continuous interactions between east and west created a new and – for the *poleis* of the Classical period – unknown world. The past was there to offer an illusion or create the basis for some stability and could act as a guide for political practice.

At one end, we can trace the inability of the first-rate powers of the previous period – namely Athens, Sparta and Thebes – to achieve, or recreate, a sustainable supremacy over the other Greek cities. At the other end, we have the dawn of a new era where the new contenders for power do not mostly take the form of a *polis*; instead, these are kingdoms, which have not clearly defined borders and are non-territorial in effect. For mainland Greece, the Kingdom of Makedonia enters the stage vigorously, from the late Classical period, and will stay at the forefront during the Hellenistic period until the dynamic entrance of Rome onto the stage. With the formation of the other Hellenistic kingdoms of the *Diadokhoi* of Alexandros III, a new round of contests will begin as they will try in turn to assert their power over mainland Greece, Peloponnesos and the islands of the Aegean Sea.

Before proceeding further, it seems appropriate to present the research aims of this thesis. The central aim is to explore the conception and construction of the past and its impact in and, at times, beyond the confines of the early Hellenistic world but with a specific focus on the Aegean. More precisely, how the city-states of Hellenistic Greece perceived, used and re-shaped their past in order to fulfil complex contemporary socio-political functions. In other words, how the past and previous political power played a central and active role in the articulation of political practices and claims in the present. Moreover, my thesis will attempt to establish the mechanics of this manipulation to understand the complexity of the social mechanisms in operation in ancient Greece and to demonstrate the inherent and continuous use of such policies.

Ancient societies used the past, as modern ones prominently do, in order to manipulate and reshape their present and future. In the case of the Hellenistic

period, where major political, cultural and social changes occurred, the manipulation of the past and memory thrived. The transformation of political reality in Greece with the formation of the Hellenistic kingdoms fuelled this need for a remodelling of the new reality (Gehrke, 2001). Under this scope, specifically the early Hellenistic period seems to match exactly this need: it is the fertile ground needed in order to investigate the tactic, already widespread since antiquity, which during this period context becomes a necessity.

Given our knowledge of the dynamics of this active retelling of the past in other ancient periods – Classical and Roman – as well as in modern times, this thesis will offer new insights into the tumultuous Hellenistic period. I aim to provide new perspectives on our understanding of the use of the past in the ancient world via the use of hermeneutic tools provided by established theories from the social sciences.

Some aspects of the Hellenistic Period are quite neglected because we tend to approach it as a particularly turbulent period, scarcely narrated by means of textual sources. In addition, it is heavily fragmented due to the multiple emerging powers added to the already existing *poleis*. The core of my research revolves around the use of the past in early Hellenistic Greece and is geographically limited on the Aegean basin. However, this is a quite simplistic description, free from the various notions it entails. In fact, the research extends to several issues that have their respective difficulties and ramifications. As discussed above, the past is directly linked to memory, so in order to investigate the use of the past and to understand the mechanics and the reasons behind its manipulation one must first explore how memory works and how it is shaped within different contexts.

The theoretical framework provides a toolkit for answering some of the initial questions that one may pose when contemplating the topics of memory and the past. My study is framed around Jan Assmann's theoretical model on memory, which provides a working context to how much time is needed to reform collective consciousness or cultural memory; how this reformation takes place; what is its impact. In this context, this thesis will also explore direct questions relevant to the topic of the use of the past. As my title implies, the main aim is to explore to what extent and in what ways narratives of the past – real or constructed – shaped the social and political realities of the early Hellenistic period. In order to provide an

answer, some questions needed to be asked. These can be grouped and presented in an abstract form:

1. In the wake of the ambient changes of the Hellenistic period what is the political role of the past (and subsequently of memory) for different communities, be they *poleis* or *koina*? Do different traditions as seen in *poleis* such as Athens and Sparta or Samos and Priene influence the perception and the use of that past? What about emerging political constructs such as the Achaian Koinon?
2. In these communities, who are using the past and why? Can we identify its agents?
3. How can the past be manipulated? What are its mechanisms?
4. Who benefited?

Naturally, these questions are only the tip of the iceberg and one has to delve much deeper in order to trace any patterns and to respond fully – to the extent that this is possible – to the research aims. Closely linked to these questions, to the extent that we can explore this topic through our evidence, are many more questions. For example, do different groups – the elite, the common people, the men of letters and arts or spiritual leaders – perceive the past? At times, we may have some indications or partial responses, but we will stay mostly focused on the set questions. I hope that some of the many unanswered questions will be explored further in future work.

Within this context, Greece – which could be defined in a more informal tone as ‘Old Greece’ – signifies the metropolitan area of the Hellenistic world, the main Helladic peninsula, the Aegean islands and Ionia. It represents the theatre of change, where various *poleis* constantly tried not to be outstripped by the dynamic changes as they were enacted during the late Classical period (cf. the Achaian and Aitolian Leagues, the formation of the Makedonian Empire and subsequently of the Hellenistic kingdoms); a strife that started early enough, dating back to the reign of Philippos II of Makedonia. The area of Old Greece has been thoroughly researched during the last century and can be reconstructed partly based upon the ancient sources and the archaeological evidence and the various secondary interpretations by scholars. As another *symploke*, to use the Polybean concept, the decade of 280s

showed contemporary events unfolding in all the locales that form the case-studies of this thesis. A preliminary overview of the historical events from Athens to Samos and Priene can highlight the different uses of the past and their role in active politics; these will be further discussed in the main body of this work.

In 281/0, four Achaian poleis, Dyme, Patrai, Tritaia and Pharai formed the Achaian League (Plb. 2.41), which would rise to be a hegemon in the Peloponnesos and a strong force in the international stage. This political act coincides with the formation of a Spartan alliance against the Aitolians (280). According to Justin, King Areus I attempted to liberate Delphoi from Aitolian control; the Aitolians were allies of Antigonos Gonatas, and this was an indirect attack against Antigonos (Just. 24.1.2-4; Walbank, 1957: 233; Kralli, 2017: 116-119}. Around the same time, in 283/2, in the eastern Aegean Sea, the Samians were recipients of a letter from King Lysimakhos (*OGIS* 13) that awarded the land of Batinetis to the Samians. The dispute was initiated by the Prienians who hoped for a favourable ruling by the king concerning the traditional apple of discord between the neighbouring poleis and Samos, the *peraia*. In Attike, the Athenians celebrated their democratic regime, reinstated in 288 after the long and eventful relationship with the Antigonids, only to see their hopes shattered with the Khremonidean War in 262/1. Be that what it may, in 283/2, the Athenians honoured the comic poet Philippides (*IG* II² 657), for his services to the Athenian demos (cf. Habicht, 1997: 78-82, 136}. The language of the decree establishes clear links to the long tradition of the polis and its democratic constitution and freedom (δημοκρατία and ἐλευθερία), as opposed to the period of oppression and subjugation to the Antigonids.

What all the aforementioned examples share in common? Except for the temporal and regional proximity, they are all manifestations of the use of the past. From Athens and Sparta to the Achaian League, Samos and Priene the common denominator is their historical tradition, its memory and its uses. The Athenians erected an inscription honouring Philippides (fragments were found in the theatre of Dionysos and Eleusis) with a clear political message: the democracy of 288/7, part of the traditional Athenian image, is connected with the period before the Hellenic War. Areus I and the Spartans, not only succeeded reviving a large alliance in the Peloponnesos against the Aitolians (and Antigonos Gonatas), but they were accepted as its leaders – a traditional *topos* for both the *polis* and a large part of the

region. Moreover, the proclaimed role of protectors of the sacred land of Delphoi was another link to the polis' past (Kralli, 2017:117). Polybios' account on the revival of the Achaian League worked in essence in very similar ways. The *Koinon*, formed again at 281/0, was connected to the first Achaian league and surrounded by a narrative of democracy and unity establishing a great tradition. However, for Polybios the recent history of the league said another story: it had incorporated many non-Achaian *poleis* of Peloponnesos and its democratic origins were under question. Of course, Polybios narrative about the league's origins was not a simple anachronism, but an intended action on the part of the historian, connecting the league to a predecessor in a distant past (possibly the sixth century BCE). Lastly, the Samian and the Prienean delegations met at the court of king Lysimakhos and pled their cases for the Samian *peraia*, a region of constant contestation. Moreover, they based their claims on historical accounts and other evidence (*OGIS* 13; ll. 10-12) in order to prove that the land belonged to their corresponding *poleis* from the very beginning. The connections to the civic tradition of both *poleis*, as well as the use of historical accounts as evidence place the past and its use at the centre of this litigation.

From the overview provided above, we can already see some patterns. On the one hand, I will focus on two *poleis* which played leading roles in the Classical period. The focus will be set in Athens (since it offers a wide range of primary sources and archaeological data) and Sparta, the political and social *Big Other*, to borrow Slavoj Žižek's (2008) notion, the countervailing force. These two *poleis* had claimed – and even partly achieved – hegemony over the other Hellenic *poleis* during the Classical period. Both *poleis* look back to their lost hegemonial role and their present political actions are defined by an established idea about their own past.

On the other hand, and in order to understand and frame this research, we need to investigate other paradigms that stand in contrast to these two *poleis*. Two case studies from the rest of Greece will be investigated so that we can explore any different reactions of communities that had not enjoyed the historic advantages of Athens and Sparta. Some of these political formations, like the Achaian League, were to a certain degree dependent but in the wake of the changes tried to find their place in the sun and succeeded. The Achaian League, a relatively recent political construct looks back to and re-imagines its past in order to fortify its legacy and status. It is

through Polybios' that the *Koinon*'s legacy is constructed right at the intersection of living and cultural memory. Next to the Achaian *Koinon*, I will explore Samos and Priene contesting on their past in the context of a territorial dispute. Both *poleis* had a strong presence and history in the area. Especially Samos under Polykrates (sixth century) was a considerable power, though this changed with the Persian takeover and the *polis*' admission to the Delian League (Barron, 1961; Shipley, 1987; Berthelot, 2016). Even if power is relative and I move from hegemony to local power, this complementary perspective could offer useful insights into patterns (if any) regarding the use of the past, and into the understanding of the transition from leaders to subordinates. Through comparison and contrast, a fuller picture of the uses of the past within the given era will be constructed. All in all, the manipulation of the past engendered a range of responses from both rulers and ruled. My project examines the relationships between these responses.

My research draws upon existing work on the specific topics of memory and the past in the past, as well as upon more closely or loosely connected topics, while aiming to build on them in novel ways. My intention is to offer a new contribution to scholarship in three main ways. First, the choice of the geographical area is deliberate. The absence of similar investigations on the specific *topoi* of Old Greece which crucially shaped Classical reality (namely Athens and Sparta), as well as the absence of a concise critical approach to the use of the past during the early Hellenistic period, offers a unique opportunity. As already stated, it is fertile ground for an in-depth exploration of the several closely related issues, namely memory and the perception of the past. More so, as it the evidence will showcase, the *polis* as a concept is still very active, if not more in ideological terms. Civic identity occupies a central and very important role in politics, from the micro to the macro scale. The political construct of the *polis* is already at large exonerated by recent work on the Hellenistic period (cf. Hansen, 1993, 2006). However, it is important to stress again its survival through and its significance for the Hellenistic period.

Second, my work will also contribute to our understanding of the political dynamics of the early Hellenistic period, and aims to explore the manipulation of the past as instrument for political power. The past and its memory are intrinsically connected to the articulation of claims to present political power, real or thought as such. The Hellenistic period signalled several civic and cultural developments in the

Greek cities and shaped new realities (Paschidis, 2005: 42-43; Green, 2007a: 52-78), so that we can trace continuity and change within the consciousness and actions of the major political centres of the Classical period. To the extent that we can address the powers activated during this new, and mostly transitional, political context, we can shed some interesting light on civic and political developments. How did a glorious past, or the absence of one, affect policy, and could it be used as a compass for political action? Did the same rules apply to the seemingly less active or powerful *poleis*?

Finally, my work will also introduce new theoretical approaches, building and expanding on previous work. My research will not only be just a revisionist historical approach – a usual process of approaching history – but will also project and apply the recent theory of Jan Assmann on the use of the past to ancient history. I believe that in order to interpret the forces and dynamics that shaped ancient history, we may have to look into studies of remembrance and critically apply them – to the extent that it is possible – to antiquity. Thereafter, this thesis will explore and discuss the workings of both cultural and communicative memory, looking at their relation and its effects – from co-existence to the differences that these may bring.

1.2. THESIS OUTLINE

Before delving further into this work, I thought it necessary to abstractly provide the general structure of my research. This should serve as a general guide to the points that are discussed below, as well as an overview of the reasons behind the choice of specific examples.

Chapter 2 is dedicated to the methodological and theoretical framework. It introduces the work done already on the topic of memory, an integral part of the use of the past, as well as on other related topics. The aim is to demonstrate what is already known, and which theories are backing up my approach to the available material. The main theoretical approach is that of Jan Assmann's Memory model, not only based on its vigour as an evolution of the work of the sociologist Maurice Halbwachs (1980; 1992), but also due to its links to, and application in, ancient

history (cf. Assmann, 2011). Chapter 2 establishes the ways in which this study will expand our knowledge of the period and the processes of memory shaping. More importantly, the proposed methodology outlines how cognitive studies, standing next to history and archaeology, can be used as hermeneutic tools and can help to explore complex historical questions.

Chapter 3 marks the transition from the theoretical and methodological framework to the discussion and analysis of the actual material. As already discussed, this study does not intend to explore *whether* the Ancient Greeks used the past for political reasons; this seems indisputable. In contrast, it questions the ways that this past *was* used, the agents of this process and the construction of specific narratives of the past based on its political uses. It aims to offer a cross-section of the Greek world; it is, in essence, a palatable taster of the many and diverse uses of the past during the early Hellenistic period. These uses are by no means limited to the provided examples, which should be understood only as such. To return to Chapter 3, it is dedicated to early Hellenistic Athens. It forms the pilot study, and as such it is an in-depth analysis of how memories are constructed and disseminated in the *longue durée* of the Athenian history, from the fifth and fourth centuries to the period under investigation.

All the other case-studies are much more focused, both in chronological and thematic terms. The reason behind this is not only the relative lack of available evidence which may hinder our understanding regarding memory formation and use of the past as compared to Athens. It is more of an intentional action, in order to highlight both the usability of the past by different *poleis* or other political communities and to address the issue of perspectives and agency. In other words, the Athens case-study is unique both in chronological and actual extent, whereas the other case-studies build upon the base that the *longue durée* approach to Athens creates. Thus, each case study is inextricably linked not only to the core of the research – the use of the past – but also to each other: they all offer a variety of data and contexts in order to strengthen the argument and offer a diverse picture of the use of the past in early Hellenistic Greece.

Chapter 3 then is focused on creating and exploring certain prominent aspects of public discourse, namely oratory, theatre, local history and civic decisions as attested in the epigraphic corpus. These are largely informed by real achievements

of the Athenians and by constructed ideologies. The *polis*' identity revolves around two main characteristics: its democratic polity and the glorious past that shaped the Athenians as protectors of the Greeks. Such ideologies and workings are contextualised within contemporary Athenian history, mainly the relations of the *polis* with the Antigonids. Specific actions, such as the honours offered to the Makedonian kings and the Khremonidean War, are discussed in detail. The legacy of the *polis* and its prominent position (past and present) are discussed; their impact can be seen both in memories and reality.

Chapter 4 is devoted to early Hellenistic Sparta. Sparta was the opposing force of Athens during the Classical period and achieved hegemony over Greece. However, successive defeats during the late Classical period reduced its power significantly. In light of the *polis* previous historical tradition, within both Peloponnesos and Greece, this chapter examines the actions of two of its active kings, Agis III and Areus I. The chapters on Athens and Sparta share this conceptual background: a similar mode of cultural memory (established tradition), a mentality of hegemony. The responses of the two communities are governed by their past and its perception or use by their leading personalities. However, the two *poleis* bore significant differences during this period: Athens battled between independence and Makedonian control, while Sparta remained an independent *polis* until, and even after, the late third century, striving for its return to the hegemonic position in Peloponnesos.

Chapters 5 (Polybios and the Achaian League) and 6 (Samos and Priene) will be explored vis-à-vis the aforementioned examples. The *poleis* did not have the status and legacy of either Athens or Sparta, and the Achaian League is a 'new' political organisation. Can this contrast differentiate the uses of the past?

In particular, Chapter 5 deals with Polybios' account of the revival of the Achaian *koinon* (c. 280 BC; originally: Dyme, Patrai, Tritaia, Pharai; Plb. 2.41.12) and its links to the previous federal union (Plb. 2.37-8; 2.41). The references to a certain past and to democratic ideals of the *koinon* (Plb. 2.42.3; 2.44.6; 4.1.5; 12.8.6; 13.12.8;) are suspect. This chapter then questions the Polybian account regarding the Achaian League and its origins; is it a tampered and fabricated past? Has Polybios exemplified the League for personal or other profits? The historical context of Polybios' *Histories* and the short but hegemonial presence of the League in

Peloponnesos may offer us some hints as to the possible reasons and needs for such an approach by Polybios. The writing of *History* at the intersection between the communicative and cultural memories of a shared Achaian past will highlight not only the potential of the past for the elite and the *poleis* but also the knowledge and clear understanding of such power by the same elite.

Chapter 6 discusses the territorial conflicts between Samos and Priene over regions of the Samian *peraia*. The focus is on the first two arbitrations, those conducted by King Lysimakhos and the Rhodians. Both communities used their past in interesting ways, presenting or even constructing narratives in which past and present are obscure. It is interesting to explore the uses of the past by *poleis* that did not share such an illustrious historical past as Athens and Sparta, yet whose past was seen as glorious and was of equal importance for their identity and representation. Moreover, this is seen in light of international arbitrations, the first form of international law. The past is central in how these two communities, just like all the others, thought about themselves. The successful arbitrations are inscribed in public, in sacred space, and are clear evidence both of the need of the *polis* to articulate its historical status publicly but also gain tangible benefits. In this case, it is about territorial gains and all other practical benefits linked to such an arrangement.

Chapter 7 forms the concluding remarks of this thesis, based on the questions presented in the Introduction (Chapter 1). It brings together the analyses and outcomes of the case-studies offering some contemporary examples of the use of the past in politics which sparked this research. Lastly, it provides some directions for further/future work.

1.3. DISCUSSING THE PRIMARY SOURCES

1.3.1. Some Observations on the Primary Material

There is a long-established belief that our sources for the Hellenistic period are both limited and limiting. Limited if compared to the sources of the previous and following periods – namely the Classical and the Roman periods. Limiting due to their nature: the literary evidence comprises of later sources, distant from the

events they describe, whereas many of them are not even historical accounts but works officially declared by their authors as something else rather than historiography (cf. Pausanias, Plutarch).

While some of the claims are true, the extent to which we comply with them refuels this belief. Not only the fact that new evidence (the epigraphic corpus is expanding) comes to light, but also the understanding of the complexity of different sources with their merits and pitfalls, is of utmost importance for the realisation that we do have enough evidence to ask complex questions and receive potent responses. This also happens to be the reality until today: scholars have used largely the same material in order to construct the approaches that much of the secondary sources discuss and deal with.

The sources of this study are mainly literary, epigraphic and numismatic. The archaeological material provides some support, but discussion of contemporary survey data or analysis of burial practices and tomb cult is not within the scope of this work. This is not only due to the nature of the approach – a historical one – but also due to the large literary dataset explored in order to address the research questions. The different case-studies explored within this work result in a general focus on different material as well.

For example, Athens has a very rich epigraphic corpus for the early Hellenistic period, some of it is discussed in detail below (Chapter 3). Moreover, as it is, in a way, the pilot study of this research due to the richness of material (from historiography to local history and from oratory to philosophy and theatre) from earlier periods, the approach incorporates various literary works from previous periods (mainly the Classical). In contrast, the nature of the Samos and Priene case-study, with the focus on the two arbitrations between the *poleis*, first by King Lysimakhos, later by the Rhodians, restricts its focus to two main inscriptions. The same can be said for the case-study on Polybios and the Achaian League. As the focus is on Polybios' perspective and representation of the *koinon*, clearly the discussion revolves around his *Histories*. At any rate, the incorporation of other sources in the course of this study should be considered guaranteed. For early Hellenistic Sparta, the sources are indeed limited. Even this scarcity of evidence, however, can be circumvented to some extent by Jan Assmann's theoretical framework.

An overview of the primary sources of the period will be presented. This takes the form, first, of a concise account of primary evidence per category. Then, a short presentation of the evidence used in each case study is made, with details and analysis to be found in the corresponding chapters.

1.3.1.1. Literary Evidence

Literary sources are crucial in the quest of exploring antiquity. In effect, ancient texts are a direct link to the past, as transferred by someone who lived in the past (cf. Moreland, 2001: 33-34). However, caution and critical evaluation are recommended when researching works of contemporary or later periods. This is because, unfortunately, we do lack detailed contemporary historiographical works for nearly the first half of the third century (c. 301-264). Previous periods have been extensively covered by their contemporaries (Herodotos, Thucydides, Xenophon) and form a solid base of historiographical accounts. Yet, Polybios' *Histories*, with its very rich and informative political narrative, only begins in the year 264. Moreover, only a fraction of his forty books survives today. The same applies to the later (first century BCE) universal history of Diodoros, especially in books 17-20, which cover the early Hellenistic period. The fragmentary books 21-24 do not allow a reconstruction of the events until the end of the First Punic War (264-241). Our knowledge of the period would have been different if the works of Ptolemaios I of Egypt (c. 367-282) and Hieronymos of Cardia (c. 354-250) had survived. Their work covered the period of the *Diadokhoi*, to which they were both contemporary. It is in Diodoros, Plutarch and Arrian that parts of their work survive and thus we have the opportunity to take a look at the period under consideration.

Later historical sources can provide complementary narratives and insights on the period, yet not all of them are historiographic in their nature. For the period of Alexandros III's campaign, Arrian (second century CE) is the main source. Plutarch's biographical work (46-120 CE) on leading personalities, many of which are Hellenistic, is of great importance; the *Lives* of Demosthenes, Alexandros, Phokion, Demetrios, Pyrrhos, Aratos (largely based on the Aratos' *Memoires*), Agis and Kleomenes, and Philopoimen are indispensable sources of information. This is mainly due to the use of earlier, now lost, sources like the history of Hieronymos of

Cardia, Phylarchos of Athens or Naukratis, Douris of Samos, Timaios of Tauromenion. Livy (c. 59 BCE-17 CE) is also in parts useful, using Polybios' work for much of the eastern history.

For the best part of the third century, we have the history of Pompeius Trogus partially preserved by Justin– this survives in the form of contents and summaries. Another primary source central to our approach of the period is the work of Pausanias. Even though Pausanias writes nearly five centuries later (second century CE) and his work is a *Periegesis*, he has many references to Hellenistic history. Moreover, he discusses contemporary archaeological evidence (temples, statues, inscriptions) and historical information (sometimes based on previous, now lost, sources, at other times derived from oral history) which can help us build a better understanding both of how the world was and how its inhabitants perceived it (through the transmission of local history and traditions). The *Geography* of Strabo (c. 63 BCE – 24 CE) falls into the same category – it is not a straightforwardly geographical work, as the name may imply, but it includes descriptive historical and ethnographical information that fills some gaps.

Although a great deal of primary sources has not survived, the copious and careful though unfinished work of Jacoby, *Die Fragmente der griechischen Historiker* (*FGrHist*), is of paramount importance. One can only imagine the possibilities and opportunities for historical approaches and interpretations if all these works were not so fragmentary. For example, local historical accounts like the *Atthis* of Philochoros (*FGrHist* 328; c. 340–260 BC) would provide unique insights into the history, literature and religion of early Hellenistic Athens.

Next to historiography, other genres can provide valuable data on political thought in antiquity as well as details and insights on everyday life. From oratorical texts to philosophical treatises and drama many other literary sources are available. As products of cultural and intellectual work, these are carriers of memories and often carry not only direct references to past events but also indirect. Unsurprisingly, as it is the case with historiography these frequently demonstrate the understanding of the power and role of the past (and of memory) by their authors. However, for the scope of the current work and period these are for the most part limited to fifth- and fourth-century Athens. In Chapter 2 these sources will

provide an integrated approach for the formation of Athenian cultural memory and its dissemination in public discourse for the preceding periods.

Due to the fragmentary nature of the literary evidence and the sometimes huge chronological distance from the events they discuss, we need to complement our approaches with contemporary epigraphic material or numismatics (especially for the case-study on King Areus I). The theoretical framework provides the interpretative tools and makes good use of previous literary and epigraphic evidence to build a working context and create plausible interpretations of the past.

1.3.1.2. Epigraphic and Numismatic Evidence

Epigraphic evidence, as well as some kinds of archaeological evidence (i.e. temples, dedications, reliefs), aim to preserve memories of the past while they change the landscape, shape memories and, in turn, are shaped by memory. Material culture can inform us about the past (archaeological or textual interpretation) while it is a living piece of the same past – the material culture *per se* and its use within contemporaneous societies.

The study of inscriptions is an invaluable ally in interpreting the past. For the Hellenistic period, there is an expanding corpus of inscriptions that continually changes our knowledge and understanding. In light of the theoretical approach of this study, epigraphic and numismatic evidence are even more important as they are social agents. They are objects and subjects simultaneously, as they bear notions which are socially constructed (Gell, 1998: 16-19). For inscriptions provide an insight into what was thought important to be publicly recorded – but more importantly, they can also very narratively report what is silenced. Sometimes the latter takes the form of active erasure from the stone, as we will discuss in Chapter 3. Thus, they can be great agents and examples of how the past can be manipulated to construct or reconstruct narratives for the public mind. Much work has been done on the epigraphic sources of the period under examination, both older and recent. Regarding numismatic evidence, their use in this research is limited to the period of King Areus I's reign (309-c. 262). Numismatics stands next to the inscriptions as a source of information about the past. However, to a certain extent, coinage can provide answers to different questions than those asked of inscriptions. These

include commercial connections, monetary exchanges and economy (Touratsoglou, 2002: 11). Nevertheless, numismatics can also offer information on ideology, mainly through the study of iconography and legends. I will mainly critically re-approach both inscriptions and coinage in order to answer the questions asked. Moreover, I will try to see what the evidence can tell us, in response to questions we do not normally ask (Liakos, 2007: 253-255).

Naturally, the main epigraphical corpora (*IG*, *SEG*, *Syll.*³) are used next to dedicated corpora for individual geographical localities (i.e. for Olympia, *IvO*; for Priene, *IPriene*; for Asia Minor, *OGIS*). For coinage of the early Hellenistic period the work of Mørkholm (1991) and detailed handbooks and auction catalogues (for Peloponnesos cf. Walker, 2006; Hoover, 2011) are critical resources.

However, as with all primary sources, both epigraphy and numismatics feature significant issues. For inscriptions the main problem is the balance of evidence based on different localities; for example, this is very apparent if we contrast Athens to Sparta for the same early Hellenistic period. Athens has a great epigraphic tradition that continues during the Hellenistic period, whereas for Sparta the source of the limited inscriptions is to be found away from the *polis* and its territory. The scarcity of evidence for Sparta can be seen in the numismatic record as well, where not more than a handful of coins survive from the first Spartan issues under Areus. Other problems include the fragmentary nature of many inscriptions, sometimes due to erosion or other natural or cultural transformations, which complicate interpretation (for a discussion on the ways archaeological findings have been modified over the centuries, see Clarke, 1973; Clarke and Chapman, 1979; Schiffer, 2002). Lastly, next to the quality of content (actual text), we should be aware of problems in terms of context (location). There are many instances of archaeological evidence where we do lack, or are unsure of, the original context, with severe impact on our understanding and use of such material.

Last, but with equal importance for the discussion of this thesis, we should note that civic decrees, which present the final decision of the *demos*, are selective. Their selectivity is based on both their content – the wording and structure of the inscribed decree – and the fact that they are the outcome of a collective decision that only provides the decided course of action resolved upon. The implication is that the process of this decision is hidden from us – any debates, however heated, discord or

the multiplicity of views of the *demos* are all absent. However, Athens, and for that matter other *poleis* and political organisations, are not monolithic wholes. Different factions within the political entities had, and to a certain extent expressed, their own views; moreover, some of these are indeed inscribed on stone. Nevertheless, through the complementary use of literary evidence, we can identify common trends and patterns, possibly informed by common views on the past of the *polis* and equally, perhaps, by common interests. In this light, the agency of any such decisions should be questioned; both epigraphic evidence and literary sources have a common origin in an active elite, which elevates the discussion on opposing views and uniformity to new levels.

At any rate, what is in focus here is, first, the rationale, and consequently the impact, of such decisions upon the common social memory of the citizens of a *polis*. In other words, I am interested in the reception of any decision-making both by and for its agents and the *poleis* or other political entities. The nature of the topic, the use of the past and its memory, leads to the creation of unified constructs such as a cultural memory (discussed at length in Chapter 2) that are unavoidably approached as unitary, even if this unification is to a certain extent arbitrary. The nature of the sources is problematic as well, as they favour such approaches. We mostly lack the evidence of the level and content of discord and accounts of different opinions because of the nature of our primary material, which is mostly bare of description of discussions, is focused on prominent individuals (and their ambitions), or offers very little in terms of reasoning behind any actions, many times offering sweeping comments.

1.3.2. Early Hellenistic Athens

The case studies from Athens are rich in primary sources for obvious reasons. It is not only the great epigraphic tradition of the *polis*. Much textual or other evidence (especially for the fourth century) survives due to its cultural position, reputation and extensive excavations. Due to this wealth of evidence, this case-study explores Athens in the *longue durée*, examining material that covers the Classical and late Classical periods before the culmination of the analysis in the early Hellenistic

period. Different aspects of Athenian public discourse are considered and their connections to the formation of memories for the *polis*' citizens. For Classical Athens, Thucydides is the main historian, describing the period of the Peloponnesian War. The work of Athenian orators covers the period before the Lamian War – above all Lysias, Isokrates, Demosthenes. Plutarch's work provides useful information on aspects of Athenian history in light of specific personalities: the *Lives* of Demosthenes, Phokion, Alexandros and Demetrios cover the late Classical to early Hellenistic period. Of course, as discussed above, Diodoros' account (Books 17-20) offers a detailed account of the last quarter of the fourth century.

For the early Hellenistic period we do lack a continuous contemporary historical narrative. However, we still possess some of the fragments of the latest Attidographer, Philochoros (*FGrHist* 328); if his work had survived we would have the ability to look at contemporary, early Hellenistic Athens through the pen of a local historian – one can only imagine the possibilities. We can cover specific aspects of Athenian public life through the contemporary comic poet Menandros. Surviving and fragmentary comedies offer an informed understanding of everyday life in contemporary Athens.

The most important body of evidence for the period under consideration is epigraphy. Epigraphy is of paramount importance for contemporary views and political decisions of the Athenians. As discussed above, the complementary use of literary evidence can help alleviate concerns about the nature of the decrees as evidence. The focus, however, is the interplay between different memories or how reality and perceptions may inform each other and lead to certain actions.

1.3.3. Early Hellenistic Sparta

As discussed above, early Hellenistic Sparta suffers from a scarcity of primary sources, both actual and relative. Actual due to the fragmentary nature of the textual accounts for the early Hellenistic period and the absence of an epigraphic tradition like that of Athens; relative when compared to the other locales or case-studies discussed in this work. Diodoros' work is of great importance for the fourth century

due to his, now lost, sources: Ephoros of Kyme's universal history for the late Classical period, and Hieronymos of Cardia for the wars of the *Diadokhoi*.

For the earlier period of Alexandros III's campaign in Persia, Arrian provides information about the events mainland Greece and the Aegean. For the reconstruction of the short but eventful reign of Agis III (338-331/0), we lack epigraphic evidence and have to rely on literary sources. The main sources are also later accounts: Diodoros and Curtius Rufus (possibly c. first century CE, but otherwise undatable), the latter's work and, virtually non-existent reputation in the ancient world being highly problematic.

There is a change in the available evidence for the reign of Areus (309-c. 265), even if it is still sparse. Literary sources include Plutarch (especially the *Lives* of Agis, Demetrios and Pyrrhos), Diodoros, and Justin. References to Areus can also be found in Pausanias, Polyaeus and Josephus (in the context of Spartan-Jewish relations). We have some epigraphic evidence (*Syll.*³ 430; 433; 434/5; 688, *ISE* 54) specifically linked to the king, which help us build a map of Spartan interactions at the international level. More importantly, we possess numismatic evidence, the first in Spartan history, that provides us with the unique possibility to take a different look at the royal Spartan ideology of the early Hellenistic period (Grunauer-von Hoerschelmann, 1978; Walker, 2006).

1.3.4. Polybios and the Achaian League

The *Histories* of Polybios is central to the approach of this case-study. Polybios, a Megalopolitan and Achaian statesman, not only offers a continuous narrative from 264 until 146 but has a unique point of view on the discussion of the history of the *koinon*. He offers a complete and realistic historical narrative, mostly based on pragmatism (Plb. 1.4; Shipley, 2000b: 7-8). For a critical approach to Polybios, Walbank's extensive commentary is indispensable (Walbank, 1957; 1967; 1979). Of course, we need to keep on mind that every source bears its own biases and external influences and reflects the literary traditions of its own age, a point that it is discussed further in Chapter 5. The approach is framed by textual and epigraphic evidence extending beyond the confines of the early Hellenistic period.

1.3.5. Samos and Priene

Similarly to the Polybios and Achaian League case-study, this case-study is focused on evidence coming from the epigraphical corpus: the arbitration of King Lysimakhos (c. 283/2; *OGIS* 13; *IG* XII,6.1.155) and the later Rhodian arbitration (c. 196-192; *IPriene* 37+38; *Syll.*³ 599; *SEG* 4.474). The recent work on the arbitration corpora (Piccirilli, 1973; Ager, 1996; Magnetto, 1997; 2009) provides a basis for the discussion. Naturally, the discussion incorporates various other primary evidence (Herodotos, Aristoteles, Strabo, Pausanias).



2. Methodological and Theoretical Framework

The past is never dead. It's not even past.

William Faulkner, *Requiem for a Nun*.³

This section provides an overview of existing literature on the topic and then proceeds on discussing the theoretical concepts and presenting the key terms that frame this work.

Due to both its nature (a historical study) and its general topic (Hellenistic period), a literature review for this study could easily become a lengthy and detailed account of the many secondary sources that have dealt with the period. History can be easily understood as a study about the past (or its memory), and as such by definition most of the secondary sources are indeed accountable. In this light, even our primary sources (especially later ones, distant from the events they describe), are secondary insofar as the difficulty is establishing whether or not the views described are perceptions and reflections rather than primary data. In any case, the previously under-studied Hellenistic period has seen a great volume of published research over the last thirty, or so, years (for examples of the diversity and depth of the research on Hellenistic period and its aspects, cf. Davies, 1984; Sherwin-White and Kuhrt, 1993; Billows, 1997; Cartledge et al., 1997; Chaniotis, 1997; Ma, 1999; Shipley, 2000b; Chaniotis, 2005; Habicht, 2006; Eckstein, 2008; Ma, 2013; Mairs, 2013; Stavrianopoulou, 2013; Strootman, 2014; Thonemann, 2015; Grainger, 2017; Canevaro and Gray, 2018; Shipley, 2018).

A full review of recent studies, however, would conceal the specificity of the subject: a study of memory *in* the past. For these reasons, the following literature review discusses work conducted and published, or in the process of being published on the topic of memory *in* the past and it will then deal with relevant work on the specific chronological *topos*, the Hellenistic period. Such an account, of course, involves work done on periods other than the Hellenistic, including modern history. Lastly, the literature review will introduce some work that is not about memory but

³ Faulkner, 1951: 85.

explores the topic via its many ramifications and its connections with identity, social or ethnic, historical time, and other notions such as localism and otherness.

In the last thirty years, psychology, neuroscience and neuropsychology along with social sciences and humanities have brought the topic of memory to the forefront. Memory studies and (the use of) the past in antiquity are topics that are still developing and have a great potential to go much further (for a detailed reference to works from the social sciences see below). On this note, we are also on the eve of a new flourishing of studies concerning memory in history and archaeology through interdisciplinarity; however, the majority of already conducted or forthcoming work deals with different periods, especially the Roman and only tangentially addresses the Hellenistic period (for example, see Dijkstra et al., 2017).

Martin Bommas has created the Cultural Memory Research Cluster at the University of Birmingham, an active research centre on memory studies. His recent publications (Bommas, 2011; Bommas et al., 2014) deal explicitly with the concept of cultural memory as applied in antiquity. However, for these two books, only an article deals with Classical Athens (Livingstone, 2011), while the majority of research is directed towards the Roman period and Ancient Egypt. An edited volume of the proceedings of the 9th Annual Meeting of the European Association of the Study of Religions (University of Messina, September 2009) explored memory and religion in the Greek and Roman world (Cusumano et al., 2013). The first part of the book explores the Greek world and draws upon the theoretical discussion of Jan Assmann and Hans-Joachim Gehrke but addresses the Hellenistic period tangentially.

In a parallel research framework to that of cultural memory, Gehrke (Gehrke, 2001; Foxhall et al., 2010; Gehrke, 2014) has developed the concept of 'intentional history' – that is history in the self-understanding of social groups, closely linked to both politics and collective identity. He discusses mainly historiographic evidence from the fifth century to the Hellenistic period, building an interconnected narrative in support of the concept, which will be linked to other theories as discussed later. Furthermore, the work of Clarke (2008) explored the construction of time and its conception in the Greek *poleis* between the fourth and first centuries BCE, as well as the relationship between greater and local history. Central to this work is the

relationship of historiography with historical memory and the processes of its formation within the *polis*. The author convincingly argues about the complexity of the processes, which are all deeply political. In the same wavelength, Shrimpton (1997) explored human memory and historiography in a work that covers a wide territory – from ancient authors to modern historians and the reception of history through the ages. His work is not without problems, especially its tendency to abstract models, however Shrimpton successfully argues for the ways that historical truth and tradition are controlled by a community.

A team at the Ruhr-Universität Bochum under Karl Galinsky is investigating memory in and throughout the Roman civilisation. The Memoria Romana Project is the leading coordinated project of exploring memory and past in the past for Roman history and archaeology (Galinsky, 2013: 34). Their findings have been published (Galinsky, 2014) and incorporate studies on historical, social and cultural memory. As Galinsky states (Galinsky, 2013: 32): “Memory pervades its (Rome’s) every aspect: history and historical writing, art, monuments, religion [...]”. I wish to alter and expand this statement by saying that memory pervades every aspect of every society – and there is great need to address this issue for the Hellenistic world, in parallel to memory studies on other periods.

Contrariwise, projects with the depth and scale of Galinsky’s approach and interdisciplinary interpretation are not to be found for the Hellenistic period. The majority of the work is either part of lone-scholar research (Scheer, 2005; Luraghi, 2018) or occurs in edited collections of papers (Luraghi, 2001; Powell and Hodkinson, 2002; Stavrianopoulou, 2013). Existing work on ancient memory tends to explore the Hellenistic period only slightly (cf. Hall, 2002; Marincola et al., 2012) or to deal only with subsequent periods (cf. Dignas and Smith, 2012). Hans-Joachim Gehrke’s article (2001: 286-314) on the cult of Artemis Leukophryne in Magnesia on the Maiandros provides an in-depth example of the uses of the past during the Hellenistic period, which reportedly can be expanded in other locales.

As the concept of the use of the past touches many aspects of society, a lot of research has been focused on specific areas or subjects or has clear links with the topic, even if this is not directly pronounced. For instance, Pownall (2003; 2007) has extensively written on the moral uses of history in the fourth century. Her work discusses mainly prose and its connections to the elite, arguing for a moral guidance

of such work with the main audience being the educated elite. Although she does not discuss memory *per se*, Pownall's research revolves around its reception and use in historical, rhetorical and philosophical works. Both Lambert's (2012) and Shear's (2012; 2013; 2017) papers work complementary to Pownall's work exploring the use of the past and memory in the Athenian public life focusing on inscriptions and rhetoric. However, these works are also mainly focused on the fifth and fourth centuries. Despite this, especially Shear is versed in contemporary theories on memory and uses its context to address the topics.

On a different note, Nigel Kennell's treatise (1995) on culture and education in Sparta is another excellent example. Within his work, the links between past and memory and specific aspects of the Spartan society are emphasised in numerous ways. The institution of the Spartan *agoge* is explored on its political grounds and the connection to the civic identity of the Spartans. Susan Alcock (1997; 2002a) has examined notions of "shared memory", civic and cultural identity in classical antiquity. Alcock focuses primarily upon archaeological evidence, the physical remains and the landscape, while explores the topic of memory using the theory of Jan Assmann. The use of classical texts and ethnography frames her approach although they remain in the background. In reality, archaeologists, partly due to the nature of the data, have already started addressing the role of the past in the past – although their approach is sometimes confined to contextual evidence and ranges from Neolithic to Medieval sites (see Chadwick and Gibson, 2013).

The work of Alcock is seminal and similar research on the topics of memory and the use of the past in antiquity, fragmentarily covering different periods with varying length, has paved the way for a deeper analysis of the multilateral phenomenon. Alterations to collective memory through the reconstruction of the past have also been studied in relation to foundation myths and the civic history of Hellenistic Asia Minor (Ma, 1999; Erskine, 2001). Similar research has been carried out concerning Bactria and Egypt (cf. Mairs, 2006b; 2006a; 2010). Nevertheless, from the historical or archaeological point of view there is a great volume of work on subjects that have immediate links with the central topic of memory which are mainly oriented towards the Archaic and Roman periods, while the Hellenistic is somewhat neglected. Studies of identity and ethnicity are also flourishing (Malkin, 2001; Saïd and Konstan, 2006; Rosten, 2007; Vlassopoulos, 2009; Mac Sweeney,

2011; 2013a; 2015; Mairs, 2013; Alroth and Scheffer, 2014). The complex issue of ethnicity should also be addressed in order to understand better how the past was conceived and used by separate social groups. “Hybridity”, “Greekness” and “Hellenicity” are notions intimately connected to the “use of the past”. Although this research will not try to explore the issue of Greek identity *per se*, it seeks to investigate the ways in which that identity interacts with the treatment of the past. Ancient Greeks used to define themselves by defining the *Other*, the opposite or simply the barbarian – something that changed radically during the new period and due to the new *mores* (Lacy, 1976; Long, 1986; Vlassopoulos, 2013).

Simon Price (2012) argues in favour of the existence of memory networks and the context within which they are constructed. He makes a fourfold division: (a) objects and representation, (b) places, (c) ritual behaviour and associated myths and (d) textual narratives. This approach can be paralleled with that of Antonis Liakos (2001), who supports the view that revivalism, continuity, a “national genealogy” and the cultural history and aesthetics are the infrastructure of the “making of (modern) Greek history”. In this context, a crucial role has been played by Eric Hobsbawm’s work on the “Invention of Tradition” (2000). A lot of his ideas and hypotheses have already been used as an interpretative tool for Archaic and Classical Greece as well as for the Roman period. Hobsbawm argues for the “invented” tradition: a well-crafted construct, derivative of strongly felt political, social, cultural and economic needs (see also Lowenthal, 1985; Plumb, 2004). On this wavelength, a brief but convincing study dealing with the invention of Tradition on Classical and Hellenistic Sparta was published by Michael Flower (2002). The invention and exploitation of the past by the Spartans is not dissimilar to such workings in other societies. One can surely note the links to the core question and the potential of a comparative but critical approach.

In the same territory, Alcock (2002b) addresses social memory and the construction of – shared – identity in antiquity (the product of shared remembrances of group experiences) and with evidence drawn from archaeology she traces patterns of commemoration and forgetfulness (also see Hall, 2007). Social memory and the uses of the past are the main focus of Bernd Steinbock’s book (2013), which deals with Athenian public discourse during the Classical period, exploring the role of Thebes and its position within the collective memory of the

Athenians. The projection of these views through the “spectacular”, in every sense: amphitheatres, theatres, *odeia*, hippodromes, orations – we should also list here historiography and poetry – is highlighted, demonstrating the need for an in-depth research into literary evidence. To truly move beyond the mirage (to use the title of an important collective work about Sparta, Powell and Hodkinson, 2002) we need to use new models and paradigms derived from interdisciplinary approaches. The book of Alcock (2002a) sets the example and shows us the way to combine accurately a variety of fields to address the issue in the right direction, and Graham Shipley (2007) concurs. The innovation will be to adequately balance them into a new interpretation.

2.1. Towards a Methodological Framework

As already discussed, the past is inextricably linked to the concept of memory (within the social sphere), and therefore, concepts of identity and agency are closely connected to the discussion. In order to investigate the use of the past and to understand the mechanics and the reasons behind its manipulation, one must first explore how memory works and how it is (or can be) shaped within different contexts. Faulkner’s quote from *Requiem for a Nun* that opened this chapter seems a good starting point: the past, or its memory, may be as real in the present as it has been when it was happening, and *vice versa* – there is no present, there is always the past, as everything that is happening *now* is connected to what it *has happened*. In this sense, ancient societies used the past, as modern ones prominently do, in order to manipulate and reshape their present and future by establishing selective connections to this past.

More than two decades of research on subjects interwoven with that of memory, especially on the Archaic, Classical and Roman periods, has demonstrated the great importance that the past played for the communities of the classical world and has highlighted its use in shaping social identities. From the *poleis* of mainland Greece to the colonies, politics and identity are linked to the intentional use of the past (for the foundation cults of colonies, see Giangulio, 2001). As Gehrke (2001: 286-287) states: “social knowledge of the past”, what society at any given time

believes about its past, is of utmost importance for its self-definition. It is exactly the social aspect of the use of the past that is in focus here. *How* and *what* a society remembers is directly linked to its present and actively shapes its future actions. For Gehrke “intentional history” is the history of a group as seen and understood by it – a sum of traditions, which can be forged, fictitious or just believed by a group which holds them as real (Gehrke, 2001; see also Foxhall et al., 2010; 2014). The “intentional history” model explores many of the aspects of remembering, especially from the perspective of history and its links to political organisation.

From the Archaic period onwards, the different *poleis* of the Greek world used common and locally related myths to form their civic identities, in effect creating the image of their cities and attaching a relevant civic identity to their residents. This becomes very apparent for the Greek colonies to the East and the West (cf. Mac Sweeney, 2013b; Mac Sweeney, 2015), but also for the long-established communities of ‘Old’ Greece (Alcock, 1991; Alcock, 1997; Shrimpton, 1997; Luraghi, 2001; Alcock, 2002a; Van Dyke and Alcock, 2003; Luraghi, 2008; Steinbock, 2013). This process was first carried out at an internal, civic, level, where the community could define itself and create bonds of co-belonging. Then, there was the external level, which led to the creation of ethnic identity – the Greeks – as opposed to the external elements or the *Other* (e.g. the *barbaroi*). Alterity helps to distinguish self and not-self, and at the communal level, takes a protagonist role in creating a social *imaginaire* (Anderson, 1983; Kastoriadis, 1997: 184). The central role of the *Other* in the formation of Greek identity will be discussed below. Naturally, the comparison between Greeks and Persians is the most well-known distinction. However, what is of interest is the articulation of that distinction as attested in Athens and Sparta and the way these two *poleis* treated their participation in the Persian Wars.

Much of the process was promoted by oral history, an integral part of everyday life of the Greek communities (Shrimpton, 1997: 50-79; Gehrke, 2001: 298; 2014). First, it was early Greek poetry that helped form connections between the mythic past and the history of the communities. The use of myth and its ties to the early histories of the communities or more recent historical events was widespread, creating a precedent not only at a Pan-Hellenic but also at an individual, civic, scale (for the use of the past and the bridging of myth and history in epic and elegiac poetry, Bowie, 2001: 50). Even in the early transitional works from oral history to

written texts and historiography, it is Hekataios of Miletos in his *Genealogiai* who connected historical and mythical generations and helped imbue public – collective – memory with the more private genealogical memories of those families that claimed mythic lineage. Like Herodotos, he is somewhat critical in distinguishing myth from historical facts (*FGrHist* 1 F1, 15), although sources like Homer and hexameter poetry (Hesiod and the epic cycle) are taken as trustworthy references as we will see in the examples discussed below (Bertelli, 2001: 80-94; Gehrke, 2001: 299; Assmann, 2011: 247-255). This is exactly the difference, the early historians approached the past in a critical way (Flower, 2001: 112), in the sense that they gradually became very much aware of its potential in the social sphere (Gehrke, 2014: 65-85). It is Herodotos, who is often referred to as – and to a degree is – the “Father of History”, that asserts that he is writing his history to prevent great deeds from being forgotten;⁴ a key sentence and an aim of almost every historiographer ever since. However, all scholars agree that we must question what is transmitted, as well as how and in which way. In any case, the transmission of such conceptions of the past (myth, epic, history), or of any act that described or referred to the past (reliefs, epigrams, commemorations), is indeed closely linked to the construction of memories. The transmittance of such works, of history (in literal and relative terms), is an integral part of the work of memory.

2.2.FROM MEMORY TO COLLECTIVE MEMORY

To return to the topic of this study, the political potency of the use of past has been understood from early on – within its many applications is the formation of both personal and group identity (Assmann, 1995: 131-132; 2011: 62-69). Throughout the ages, almost all political rhetoric depended on the past as a legitimation device, materialising in many different forms (Fentress and Wickham, 1992: 128; Assmann, 2011: 129-131). Of core importance in this discourse is the relationship between group consciousness, what we can call ‘self-definition’ or ‘identity’ and the construction of the past – what we may call memory. However, as this thesis is

⁴ Hdt. 1.1: ὥς μήτε τὰ γενόμενα ἐξ ἀνθρώπων τῷ χρόνῳ ἐξίτηλα γένηται [‘so that the things done by men not to be forgotten in time’].

neither a treatise on “memory” itself, nor does it want to expand to its multifaceted aspects, the weight of its definition is a task better left to the social sciences. Unfortunately, the use of applied sciences to explore memory must remain outside the scope of my thesis, which focuses on the historical perspective of memory.

Memory has a fairly broad definition in the Oxford English Dictionary (*OED* s.v. “memory”), but for the sake of my investigation it can be distilled as the “faculty by which the mind stores and remembers information” and “something remembered from the past”. Memory plays an important role in the constitution of individual and, consequently, of collective identity. Human memory – its persistence and sometimes its absence – and, of course, its use, is part of the mechanics deeply interwoven at the organic fabric not only of our brain but of society itself.

It is from our ancient sources that the long discussion about memory and its formation can be traced. Through Platon (*Phlb.* 34A), Sokrates argues with Protarchos the sophist and Philebos, the hedonist. In that discussion, Sokrates defines memory as the preservation of perception.⁵ On the same general directions, Aristoteles wrote a treatise on *Memory and Recollection* (Περὶ μνήμης καὶ ἀναμνήσεως), which is part of his work on natural phenomena, conventionally called *Parva Naturalia*. It is of a philosophical nature and explores memory from the perspective of individual capacity rather than social, thus, not creating a very clear conception of personal identity (Bloch, 2007: 55). For Aristoteles memory is “neither a sensation nor a conception, but a state of having one of these or an affection (derived from one of these), when time elapses” (Arist. *Mem.* 449b24-25).⁶ Memory is perceived as a recollection of what has been in the past (τὸ γενόμενον, cf. Bloch, 2007: 60-61). What is important to note here is that Aristoteles acknowledges the fact that some time must pass before one forms a memory (Arist. *Mem.* 449b28; lengthier discussion at 452b8-453a4) and that the human faculty of remembering is close to that of imagination (Arist. *Mem.* 450a23-24)⁷ – a connection that is further explored by contemporary theorists of memory and by Kornelios

⁵ Σωτηρίαν τοίνυν αἰσθήσεως τὴν μνήμην λέγων ὀρθῶς ἂν τις λέγοι κατὰ γὰρ τὴν ἐμὴν δόξαν [‘According to my thinking, memory may rightly be defined as the preservation of perception’].

⁶ Ἔστι μὲν οὖν ἡ μνήμη οὔτε αἰσθησις οὔτε ὑπόληψις, ἀλλὰ τούτων τινὸς ἕξις ἢ πάθος, ὅταν γένηται χρόνος.

⁷ Τίνος μὲν οὖν τῶν τῆς ψυχῆς ἐστὶν ἡ μνήμη, φανερόν, ὅτι οὐπερ καὶ ἡ φαντασία [‘Then, it is obvious that memory belongs to that part of the soul to which imagination belongs’].

Kastoriadis (1997) and his theory on *imaginaire* (the *political imagination*, with a psychological background). From Aristoteles onwards, the topic of memory has been a long-standing subject of interest and debate in philosophy (John Locke, David Hume, Thomas Reid among others) and progressively moved on to psychology (Graziano and Kastner, 2011; Graziano, 2013), the social sciences in general, and more recently to biology and neuroscience (Eichenbaum, 2002; Hasselmo, 2012). However, I do not intend to provide a full analysis of the works on memory based on different (and to a certain extent conflicting) views; as already mentioned in the Introduction, due to the scope and approach of my thesis, emphasis will be placed on how large groups remember. Thus, I move from individual memory, or how one recalls their personal history, to the collective or social memory: the collection of the historical consciousness of a community (cf. Halbwachs, 1980: 22-59; Fentress and Wickham, 1992; Steinbock, 2013: 2).

Within the first decades of the twentieth century, social or collective memory was approached from different angles and became a common theoretical *topos*. The sociologist Maurice Halbwachs ([1925] 1980; 1992), a student of Emil Durkheim, is one of the first modern scholars who studied the phenomenon of memory and the relations between memory and the social groups – the social or collective memory. Halbwachs (1980; 1992) argues for the importance of social context in the formation of individual memories. For it is the collective powers of society that inform both what its members ‘remember’ and create a group memory beyond the individual aspects of its members. As a core element of this open discourse between the whole and individuals, collective memory is itself a process that is constantly changing the ways that the society understands its past. In other words, at the collective level, social groups create their own image(s) of the world. These images are mutually agreed upon versions of the past which crystallise and become universal through communication and other social practices rather than through separate, individual memories. Collective memory is the dominant social representation of events and as such clearly affects the ways in which people deal with their past, their history or how they refer to these. Of course, personal memories are affected by the collective representation of the past and *vice versa*: the latter is also affected, though to a lesser degree, by personal memories. In effect, collective memory transforms history itself and takes its place as the ‘new’ history.

However, due to the involvement of various forces – from material interests to political choices and personal views – collective memory, just like history, is a field of continuous political opposition. In other words, collective memory is the essence of the events of each society, group or collegiality (Halbwachs, 1980: 78; 1992); it shapes and is shaped by its members. Both individual and collective memory are not just a sterile storage of the past but are reshaped and recreated constantly under the influence of the present (Funkenstein, 1989: 9; Halbwachs, 1992: 25, 49-51). Accordingly, history – the ‘scientific’ representation of the past – can be seen as a canvas of facts and collective memory as tradition; both are involved and transformed into historical memory.

Around the same period, yet from a different angle, Frederic Bartlett, using experimental psychology, showed that people organise their memories in specific patterns (or schemata) based on their cultural/social expectations. Each time a person remembers the past, or what has happened, (s)he will reconstruct a version of this past informed by existing cultural forms (assimilation), which may be simplified, changed or have some of its elements silenced altogether (Bartlett, 1920; 1932: 268-280). More importantly, as Bartlett was interested in social or group remembering, he highlighted what he termed as “social constructiveness”: the incorporation of a variety of elements coming from external stimuli in the receptive culture or group, which then builds them together and schematises them into forms and patterns useful to the new social directions of that group (Bartlett, 1932: 268-280). In effect, Bartlett discussed the social manipulation of the past according to societal needs. Another work that bears many resemblances to contemporary theories and approaches but from another perspective is that of Aby Warburg, who approached social memory through art (Forster, 1976). Warburg’s point of view fits in the general concept of “art of memory” (*ars memoriae*), which describes the relationship between recurrence or transformation of aesthetic forms and their reception in a historical dialectic (on the concept of *ars memoriae*, see Yates, 1999). In this direction, it is Amos Funkenstein (1989) who argues, against Halbwachs, about the close links between history, or historical consciousness, and collective memory: one cannot exclude or disregard the fact that memory can ‘arbitrarily’ construct appealing situations and events, while simultaneously taking care to “forget” other ones (Halbwachs, 1992: 137-138, 160-166), just like history. They

both are subject to one's intellectual or cultural baggage (Funkenstein, 1989: 19-22; Liakos, 2014: 250-252). This concept becomes very much present in Jan Assmann's advancement of the theory of collective memory, which I will discuss next.

2.3. ASSMANN'S MODEL OF CULTURAL AND COMMUNICATIVE MEMORY

In direct relevance to collective memory and Halbwachs's work, more recently Jan Assmann rephrases and updates the collective memory theory (Assmann, 1995; 2011). The contribution of Assmann is important both to the theoretical discussion and as the main theoretical framework for my study. For Assmann, the social memory of events is inextricably linked to the members of the society. What a society remembers collectively is informed by cultural formations and the memories of its members. However, when any direct or indirect partakers pass away, their own memories of events – the living memory – ceases to exist in that form and is transformed to something else, which still informs the collective memory of the society. Thus, he creates a working model to respond to the need to explore what happens at this crucial point between the overarching and objectified collective memory and the end of living memory (Assmann, 2011: 34-36). While Halbwachs used the term 'collective memory', Assmann's term of 'cultural memory' has specific connections to historical events, much like the term 'social memory' (cf. Fentress and Wickham, 1992). The latter is used to explore the connection between social identity and historical memory. In a similar way, Assmann's concept of cultural memory brings together memory (the contemporised past), the group (society), and culture – its social understanding and definition of the group as such; in other words, its identity (Assmann, 1995: 129). Assmann (1995; 2011: 41) goes ahead and updates Halbwachs' analysis and theory, separating each society's memory of the past into two groups: (i) a long-term or cultural memory and (ii) a short-term, or communicative memory.

Cultural memory focuses on fixed points in the past whose memory can be reconstructed and maintained through symbolic heritage as embodied in cultural formations (texts, rites, monuments) and institutional communication (festivals, religious practices, history, objects; Assmann, 1995: 129). These serve as mnemonic

triggers to initiate meanings associated with what has happened. Cultural memory can last millennia and blurs the lines between history (facts) and myth (constructions). In this sense, time is central to the concept, but time concordance is not a priority of the memory formation process; cultural memory brings back the time of mythical origins and crystallises collective experiences of the past – what is of importance is not what has happened but what is remembered (Assmann, 2011: 37-38). Cultural memory presupposes a knowledge restricted to initiates, as it is institutionalised – it is organised and formal, with fixed objectifications. Thus, it has specialised tradition bearers, excluding others from such uses. Consequently, its formative powers for society, as well as its ways of dissemination, belong to an elite (Assmann, 2011: 39-41).

The centrality of various carriers – from texts to monuments – can be parallelised to Nora’s *lieux de mémoire* (Nora, 1989). For Nora (1996: xvii) the sites of memory are those sites, of ‘material or non-material nature, which by dint of human will or work of time has become a symbolic element of the memorial heritage of any community’. Thus, the sites of memory can be defined by their symbolic nature and functionality while emphasising temporal, social, and spatial aspects. In our primary evidence, this can be applied to the Samos-Priene arbitrations (Chapter 6). Inscriptions erected on the sacred space of the protector deities of the *poleis*, which demonstrated the favourable decisions of the arbitrators concerning land disputes, simultaneously acquired all three aspects: they were social (civic context; intra-*polis* and interstate relations), temporal (for the historical memory of both *poleis*), and spatial (place of the inscription; context of the text). This can also be applied to the Athenian inscriptions commemorating important events for the *polis*’ tradition and representation. In contrast to what individual members of the group may (or may not) remember, both Nora’s concept of sites of memory and Assmann’s notion of cultural memory possess reformatory powers and have the ability to homogenise perceptions (Assmann, 2011: 115-116). Both can become subjects of ulterior motives – the memory or the use (and perception) of such *topoi* is open to manipulation, and they both may become victims of invention. Further links can be drawn to what Eric Hobsbawm has termed the “invention of tradition”: the construction or re-creation of elements of a society thought to be distinctive based on political, social, cultural, and economic needs in order to ‘demonstrate continuity

with a suitable historic past' (Hobsbawm and Ranger, 2000: 1-2). All scholars, from Assmann to Fentress and from Nora to Hobsbawm, pinpoint the dominance of the elite over the collective in the areas of common meaning, memory and its ability to construct it as it sees fit.

Next to the highly formal cultural memory, there is communicative memory, which has a rather small span if contrasted to the huge continuum of any society's history, or even its cultural memory. It encompasses 80-100 years and is progressive – but changes and reshapes in each instant the *longue durée* of cultural memory (Assmann, 1995: 126-127; 2011: 48-49). Communicative memory derives from everyday interaction and participation in a community. It concerns personal experiences and their framework, the recent past (Assmann, 2011: 37). Thus, cultural memory is characterised by its distance from the present, whereas communicative memory by its proximity to it (Assmann, 1995: 128-129). Another distinctive characteristic of communicative memory as opposed to cultural is that participation in communicative memory is varied; not all people possess the same knowledge, neither can all people reach back to the same past (Assmann, 2011: 38-39). Communicative memory is open to all and there are no specialists. However, it is open to discussion within the community, and as such it belongs to an area where elite domination may impose its own perceptions. The role of the elite becomes more prominent during the transformation of communicative into cultural memory, or the rejection of some of its parts in the process.

2.4. THERE AND BACK AGAIN: FROM MEMORY TO IDENTITY AND *IMAGINAIRE*

Social memory is the result of a blend of public and personal memorisation. There are profound connections between cultural memory and identity, as identity is constructed through social interaction. Thus, according to Assmann, cultural memory is a society's capacity to build a narrative picture of the past through social norms and culture and during this process to create an image and develop an identity for itself. In other words, cultural memory includes both the social construction of meaning and time (Assmann, 2011: 17).

Therefore, cultural memory preserves the symbolic, institutionalised heritage and includes both normative and narrative elements of myths and histories that create the basis of identity. Through this social understanding of the past and memory, the individual can establish a feeling of co-belonging to the society and from a unit, (s)he becomes part of the whole (Assmann, 2011: 3-4, 76-80). Similarly, we can see the same outcome work in reverse: being part of a community means that you adhere to the rules of how and what this community remembers. Naturally, any established society is fully aware of the power of remembering and memory, and can be apprehensive about it (Assmann, 2011: 68-69). Due to its power to work as a collective unifying force, cultural memory can be considered both a tool and a hazard by any historical regime, totalitarian or not. Tacitus (*Agr.* 2.3) comments on this, in direct reference to the rule of Emperor Domitian (r. 81-96 CE), which for the historian is oppressive and totalitarian: “(A)s former generations witnessed the utmost excesses of liberty, so have we (witnessed) the extremes of servitude, when the informers have deprived us of speaking and listening (liberty of speech). We should have lost memory as well as voice, had the power to forget been as easy as silence”.⁸ However, is the memory preserved in these lines a historical memory? This example offers us some evidence that memory and, consecutively, identity are contested notions, more so within the ruling elite – they can become objects of oppression or weapons against it. For that matter, any regime or group has the opportunity to reform (give a new meaning) or start a new identity from scratch. The conceptually correct (and, thus, terrifying) Party slogan, seen in *Nineteen Eighty-Four* (Orwell, 1949: 19) encapsulates the reasons behind the preservation, alteration or use of the past: one ‘who controls the past, controls the future, who controls the present, controls the past’. It is through memory that such a control is possible – memory is a dynamic link between the past, present and future (three temporal, yet linear dimensions): it is evoked in the present, it refers to the past, but it always views the future.

We have already discussed that memory can be both formal and informal, organised or formless depending on its content. Social institutions as a factor in

⁸ Tacitus, *Agr.* 2.3: et sicut vetus aetas vidit quid ultimum in libertate esset, ita nos quid in servitute, adempto per inquisitiones etiam loquendi audiendique commercio. memoriam quoque ipsam cum voce perdidissemus, si tam in nostra potestate esset oblivisci quam tacere.

shaping cultural memory are not limited only to forms of educational structures. They can take forms that are more abstract: texts, rites, monuments and their recitation and/or observation. For communicative memory, we do need contemporary witnesses, but memories are communicated within the public sphere. Thus, we have written texts (as a medium of communication of that memory), oratory, theatre, forms that, to a certain degree, can be institutionalised but are transformed in the present. This brings agency to the fore again; we have to bear in mind that one of the most prominent driving factors in the use of the past is indeed power (Assmann, 2011: 52). Unified cultural memory is the dominant social representation of events and as such it clearly affects the ways in which people deal with their past, their history or mentions to their history. It is maintained through both cultural formation (texts, rites and monuments) and institutional communication (recitation, practice and observance; cf. Price, 2012). As we will see, the use of certain aspects of the past – in effect, its manipulation – is present in many different forms ranging from living, organic memories and experiences to objects such as coins. Every aspect of representation, oral, written or visual, should never be seen as static as it can never be completely separated from narrative traditions. The case-studies explored below demonstrate that from the vastness of the past only the events that have some relevance to the present and respond to the ways a society designs the future are selected for, and recorded in, the collective memory (Liakos, 2007: 94-95). The more complex a society is, the more complex the ways in which the past is used and the stronger the effect (Plumb, 2004: 45).

When a community remembers, through its cultural memory, it builds or informs its identity, creating a social or cultural *imaginaire*. Cultural imagination is a term explored in-depth by Kornelios Kastoriadis (1997).⁹ For Kastoriadis, an *imaginary* is something invented sometimes, completely constructed at other times, through a “shift of meaning, in which available symbols are invested with other significations than their ‘normal’ or canonical significations” (Kastoriadis, 1997: 127). Reality and *imaginaire* are completely different things, but the latter can take

⁹ Of course, the term does not appear only in the theories of Kastoriadis; different fields have approached cultural imagination, with different perspectives and from different backgrounds. However, all approaches recognise cultural imagination as strongly related to the formation of social identity.

the former's place and become the new 'reality', in ways similar to the transformation of cultural memory through selective uses or omissions of the past.

In close connection to the political or social *imaginaire* or cultural memory, Gehrke (2011; 2014) builds his theory of *intentional history* (cf. Foxhall et al., 2010). In effect, Gehrke argues for the evident: events and resolutions take place due to a reason; they are mostly intended. Some events occur at specific points, while others in undefined positions in time, yet both actively affect the representation of the past and present and shape the future. The past, and by consequence, history acquires its meaning by agents and actors. By definition, then history, or how society (or its members) formally opts to remember its past, is selective – a fact that the model of 'Intentional history' acknowledges and explores further. It is exactly because agency can be invented or manipulated that history is intentional (Burke, 2011). In essence *imaginaire*, cultural memory, and intentional history all create a unified form – an identity – that is thought 'real' by any given society. That is what describes and defines identity: the image that an individual or, for the scope of the current work a society, has of itself, its myths and origins and how it differentiates it from the *other(s)*. At the collective level, cultural memory, identity (self-presentation) and political imagination are overlapping; they are manifestations of the same political (in a general sense) need of any historical society.

2.5. METHODOLOGICAL CONCERNS AND LIMITATIONS

Thus far, I have described at length how each society's processes of understanding itself and its position in the world are fluid and always change dynamically; they are formed by people's perspective, historical reality, and context. More specifically, collective identity is inextricably linked to the formation of individual and collective memories. Of course, these memories may also be fluid; they can change according to imposed views or collective needs and they depend, among others, on tradition and culture, originating both in the mythical past – more or less invented and rooted to the start of time – and in the more recent past – within the grasp of people's lives. Finally, but of equal importance, identity is informed by contemporary conditions (Richerson and Boyd, 2005; Winerman, 2005). The main limitations – which are

closely interconnected – of Assmann's theoretical model are: (i) the fact that cultural memory as a concept conceals individual remembering, and (ii) that it is imposed from above.

Cultural memory refers to the collective level; however, talking about collectivity and exploring the wider picture should not lead us to overlook the individuality aspect of the topic. The individual views (or memories) that fall within the collective image may also be quite diverse. Shear (2013) has criticised Assmann's theory for its inability to explore the individual. The individual members of any society are not passive agents, obeying a common, imposed will. Yet, they partake in the same social sphere in which more or less an amalgam of individual views, beliefs and ways of looking at and remembering the past coexist. What is in focus here is the collective aspects of memory and identity as expressed in the collective actions attested in the historical narrative. Of course, we should be aware that culture does not always work as a unifying force; Assmann is also aware of the fact (Assmann, 2011: 128). Even when the perspective is not collective, as discussed in the cases of the kings of Sparta, Agis III and Areus I (Chapter 4) and of Polybios (Chapter 5), what is under investigation is the motives of the agents, as we will see these work at the collective level even if they stem from individual, to a certain extent, actions. However, Shear is wrong to understand cultural (or communicative) memory as static – they may be static at a specific temporal instance, but both are dynamic if seen under a temporal continuum. Thus, Athenian memory after the Battle of Khaironeia (338) is different from the corresponding memory after the Khremonidean War (268/7-261), which took place nearly seventy years later.

This leads us to the second concern stemming from the terminology: personal motives are disguised and become lost in the vastness of collectivity, more so when social memory is imposed on society and its agents are the higher strata, an elite. Memories of events are subjected to selection, processing, interpretation, and use, both at the individual and collective level. They are open to changes according to ideological and political motivations, while at the same they can transfer values. Moreover, they can be the source of inspiration for community members and their artists (Chaniotis, 2017). Thus, even though terms like 'collective' or 'communicative memory' have been established and are in use not only in the social sciences but also throughout this study, this does not mean they are monolithic in

any way. What this terminology offers us is a tool to approach certain manifestations of memory and its uses as seen in specific contexts and periods. In contrast to communicative memory with its short actual life, cultural memory is largely formed and informed by traditions rather than direct memories. Hence cultural memory is collective, in the sense that it becomes the memory of larger groups and communities; it is social, as it takes a central role in the dissemination of social values; and is still communicative, as it is deeply rooted in the everyday communication not only of the members of the community but between established institutions and their audiences. When we question cultural memory, we question agency as well – this may be collective as well, but often there are individual aspects present.

The toolkit provided by Assmann's theory of cultural memory creates the framework for my work. A shared, institutionalised memory – a cultural one – can transform the many different personal memories into a collectively acting subject, whose capacity for action will be tied to its (shared) identity. Furthermore, the discussion will underline the diffusion of this shared identity across society and the mechanisms with which an institutionalised memory can inform and subjugate communicative memory if and when needed. The reasons behind the adoption of this point of view and Assmann's concept of cultural and communicative memory have been briefly discussed above. Through the primary sources alone, it is hard, if not impossible, to trace and identify those individual views, but a researcher should always be cautious because they are definitely there. Sometimes their voice is masked under consensus, as applied to certain actions, and only the latter is preserved through the majority of sources. This absence of mention may hold several meanings, but can it change the facts about what happened? Individual memories, even if and when they are conflicting, abide by the same imagined community on a symbolic level through the construction of common denominators, which to a certain degree overcome real social and/or political differences (Confino, 1997: 1400). As this research adopts this methodological framework, I hope to answer these critics by demonstrating the possibilities that the model of cultural memory offers for exploring the collective decisions of ancient Greek *poleis*, as these are prominently present in the ancient material. Nevertheless, this is exactly the main limitation of my approach, which stems to a certain extent from the limitations

of Assmann's theory. The individual perspective is not constantly present, and when it is, it is the perspective of certain specialists (orators, kings, politicians), an elite (in general and specific terms) as opposed to the common people. However, Assmann's model is based on the analysis of ancient civilisations (Mesopotamia, Egypt, Israel and Greece), not only modern ones, and thus provides an established context.

Furthermore, in order to outline the specific historical and archaeological framework of this research, I will succinctly present some of the issues arising from the core question that deserve further discussion. Broadly, the various aspects which are evolving around the "use of the past" can be grouped into two sub-categories: (a) the treatment of material evidence (inscriptions, coins) and (b) the treatment of oral and textual evidence (foundation myths, historiography, oratory etc.). The first category includes data from epigraphy and numismatics and may offer insight on the uses of physical evidence by the ancient societies and their connotations. The second category includes both oral and written evidence that may support hypotheses about the treatment of the past: the premises of literature, rhetoric and oratory (cf. Mackay, 2008; Shipley, 2013; Steinbock, 2013), poetry and theatre. I believe that only a multi-disciplinary approach can offer tenable responses despite the problem of missing evidence or data from the past. It may be that the complexity of the dynamics of memory – agents, factors, historical reality, motives, context – forms a Gordian knot; how can we solve it?

In order to disentangle the knot and be able to break this circle, we need to concentrate on the different elements attached to this mechanism. I will argue that next to the various 'private' or individual understandings which can change from generation to generation, the core of identity, the main image of how people understand their lives and their context, follows another trajectory subject to a shared, collective memory. This shared understanding, the collective memory, is built cumulatively upon previous historical realities, myths and understandings, and incorporates the shared characteristics of the given society in the given period – "it is both memories and the memory of memories" (Funkenstein, 1989:8). Coming full circle again in order to work on the common ground of the above categories, we need to unlock some of the operating mechanisms of collective memory; these will be explored to some extent in Chapter 3. Collective memory is in a constant state of

construction and reconstruction, and it is at the same time the historical, cultural and social memory, a collection of individual memories, that is formed by the juxtaposition of group memories. We will be able to approach the ways in which the different perceptions are communicated at the level of political communities, be they *poleis* or other entities. Assmann's model can offer a stable basis and a solid framework, providing substantial help in creating a rationalised interpretative approach, which may apply to different examples (and historical periods).

Nonetheless, caution is highly advised as we cannot overstretch the extent to which we allow ourselves to succumb to the seductive call for theories, if these are not supported by evidence. A theoretical framework is an interpretative tool and as such, it can offer a basis upon which we can reconstruct plausible and possible interpretations of the ways that things unfolded. It is true that the resulting approach could not roundly fulfil its aim, as it is not possible to reach a reconstruction of reality (we do not really know all the ramifications of what unfolded in the past); but it will be able to address certain issues arising from the research and the core questions we are asking. As already discussed, this work aims to approach the topics of past and memory and their uses during the early Hellenistic period, by exploring separate case studies, subject to logical, historical and cognitive analysis. If the pitfall of using logical leaps is effectively bypassed and the data gaps can be filled by the interpretative tools that memory studies offer, the result can be a solid and plausible reconstruction of certain instances of the past, or of realities (or a reasoning to the best explanation; see Juthe, 2005: 3). However, the majority of the conclusions about the past based on current conditions are problematic due to its inconclusive possibilities. Moreover, certain limitations are imposed by the nature of the data –the collective largely conceals the individual perspective. In this perspective, then, what remains elusive for us is the level of any personal agency, which partly overlaps with the collective agency. However, we may be able to trace agency if we can evaluate the potential of the resulting actions. It seems it is not that important to question where one ends and the other starts. It is, I believe, much more important to understand the role that the past and the manipulation of the memory played, which then verify the potential of using the past as a political tool.

The Greek society of the *polis* has already proven its complex structure (Hansen and Nielsen, 2004); multi-component forces were at play, dynamics and functions that shaped and structured society's edifice. In other words, modern and ancient societies share similar features, creating multi-layered pasts. The knowledge that the past has great potential allows any political elite to project a certain image and establish links to any origins, may they be lost within the mist of myth or more recent ones (Fentress and Wickham, 1992: 128). In this context, the past and its manipulation as a political tool, the dissemination of specific messages and forms of representation (epigraphy, texts, historical account, numismatics) act as agents on multiple levels.

In this introductory note, after establishing the methodological context, it seems appropriate to start by exploring the potency of historical tradition, a formative power of cultural memory. A small digression to the historical tradition of the *polis* of Athens will help create a bridge between the theoretical context and the discussion of the first case-study.

2.6. HISTORICAL TRADITION AND THE MENTALITY OF HEGEMONY

Athens and Sparta occupied a unique position in ancient Greek history, for they are the two *poleis* which contributed the most to the Greek defence against the Persian threat. Especially, in the aftermath of the Persian Wars, these two *poleis* competed for the leading position in the Greek world, a contest that culminated in the Peloponnesian War. Furthermore, along with the *polis* of Thebes (for the short-lived Theban hegemony, see Buckler, 1980; Buckler and Beck, 2008), these were the cities that claimed, and partially achieved, hegemony over the other Hellenic *poleis* in the Classical period (Hansen, 2006: 20).

The term 'hegemony' is Greek in origin (< ἡγεμονία) and denotes the political supremacy of one state or social group over others. Although the term implies the rule or dominance of that state or social group over others in the ancient Greek world, it remains far from the actual direct ruling or power structures that one can find in the Hellenistic kingdoms or, later, in the Roman Empire (on Roman hegemony, see Eckstein, 2006; Eckstein, 2008). However, the existence of looser

political structures, the alliances or leagues, led to the need for a leading city. Thus, Athens, Sparta, and Thebes were heads of the respective Delian, Peloponnesian and Boiotian Leagues. Hegemony was, in effect, proportional to the efficacy of these formations in their internal and external affairs. In contrast to the commitment of the Greek cities to their independence, the idea of hegemony over them was always present (Ferguson, 1913: 25-37; Watson, 2006: 132). A quick review of the sources is telling and will help frame the creation of a cultural memory for the protagonists of this endeavour. Moreover, by establishing these links to the tradition of hegemony we may approach the extent to which it has informed their understanding of the world and their future actions.

The term is attested in Herodotos; for him, *hegemonia* is used to denote the leading capabilities and claims of several cities, both military and political (cf. Hdt. 7.148-149; 7.157-163; 8.2-3; 9.26-27; Wickersham, 1994: 3-23). Sometimes, *hegemonia* is inferred with connections to actual power (δύναμις; Hdt. 1.18.2) and leadership (ἀρχή; Hdt. 6.98). Both terms and their connections to actual hegemony are extensively discussed in Thucydides (e.g. 1.95-96; 6.82-87) and Xenophon (e.g. *Hell.* 5.3.27; 6.3.1-7.5.27). The latter treats *arkhe* and *hegemonia* as interchangeable terms (cf. Xen. *Hell.* 3.5.14; 7.1.33-40; 7.5.18). By the fourth century, it appears that the changes in hegemony over the Greeks were noticed and understood, and that views on hegemony were different from those of the historians of the previous periods; hegemony became closely connected to supremacy. Ephoros (*FGrHist* 70 F118, 119, 191, although its attribution is problematic, see Pownall, 2003: 133-134) discusses the successive hegemonies over the Greeks by the Athenians, the Spartans and the Thebans, with particular reference to the last two (Wickersham, 1994: 119-150; Pownall, 2003: 132). Of course, the discussion of *hegemonia* was not limited to history. For example, Aristoteles (*Politics*) and Isokrates (*Panegyrikos*) discuss their views on hegemony: hegemony should not be despotic but rather moral and cultural. The concept of hegemony is further discussed and realised in later historians such as Diodoros, again with strong elements of moral utility (for a detailed analysis see Sacks, 1990; Wickersham, 1994: 151-177).

The historical accounts demonstrate that from the period of the former Delian League, which quickly evolved into the First Athenian Confederacy (454),¹⁰ there were systematic efforts towards the establishment of hegemony, efforts that continued throughout the Classical and Hellenistic periods until the actual submission to the Roman Empire (Austin, 1994: 528; Hansen, 2006: 20). In this power play, all three *poleis* achieved hegemony to some extent. Chronologically, Sparta was first, with its traditional hegemonial presence since the Archaic period in most of the Peloponnesos. Athens followed, claiming hegemony mainly over its allies, who with the interference of Athens in their internal affairs became subjects. There is a qualitative difference between these two hegemonies. Sparta's position was based on the bilateral treaties that created the Peloponnesian League of the sixth century BCE (Birgalias, 2003; Bolmarcich, 2005), whereas the Athenians' hegemonial role came from their leading position in the Delian League, an association of Greek *poleis* against the Persian Empire, which quickly evolved to one-*polis* rule. However, it was Sparta with its victory over the Athenians in the Peloponnesian War that would achieve hegemony at a higher level. Lastly, there was Thebes, with its traditional hegemony over the Boiotian League and its victory over the Spartans (Leuktra, 371), which effectively ended Spartan hegemony. The end of the Theban hegemony is linked to the emergence of the kingdom of the Makedonians. With a dynamic entrance into the Greek power play, Philippos II achieved hegemony over the Greek *poleis*.

In 337, the Hellenic alliance, an imposed instrument of Philippos II, elected the king of the Makedonians as *hegemon*. It was with Philippos II that there was a change in the pattern; not a single *polis*, even at the head of a coalition of *poleis*, but a kingdom, would gain hegemony over the Greek *poleis*. With Alexandros III's successful campaign in Persia and the creation of a vast empire, the new pattern was reinforced. For in the aftermath of Alexandros' death, it was the Hellenistic kingdoms of the *Diadokhoi* and the federal states that had the power to, or attempted to, claim hegemony over the new and expanded Greek world. The emergence of huge territorial states, the result of the division of the vast empire that Alexandros III had created, brought new challenges to the *poleis*. The *poleis*, once mostly independent

¹⁰ With the transfer of the allied treasury from Delos to Athens (Thuc. 1.96).

political entities, each ruled by its body of citizens, became in effect subject cities bound to the rule of a single, though interchangeable, ruler within the context of a greater political entity, the kingdom itself. Of course, the majority of the *poleis* were not formally subjects, but rather allies or supporters in an informal way. However, the concepts of self-governance, autonomy and independence were now fluid and for many *poleis* at least partly illusory. Naturally, many *poleis* in one way or another tried to resist these changes.

Hansen (2006: 20) argues for the eclipse of the hegemonic *polis* – such as Athens, Sparta and Thebes – in the Hellenistic period, but for the persistence of the *polis* as a political community throughout the Hellenistic and Roman periods (see also Hansen, 1993: 20-23). Although this remains true, it describes only part of the reality. In the wake of such changes, the *polis* with its limited resources probably could not achieve hegemony; yet, it could *aspire* to. As it will be discussed below, the cultural memory of both Athens and Sparta was largely informed by the hegemonic tradition and their past history, and affected their policies throughout the Hellenistic period. Irrespective of political and social changes, links to the previous periods were solid and continuity was preserved (Shipley, 2000b: 59-108; Shipley and Hansen, 2007: 54). In a manner similar to the difference between the cultural and the communicative memory, the protagonists of the previous period still retained a mentality that was slowly reforming with contemporary events. Evolution was present and at times was dynamically imposed.

Although there is no need to extensively narrate the historical events that ushered the Athenians to hegemony, it is useful to underline the *polis'* trajectory in coming to be and acting like a hegemon over the Greek states. Athens was a strong and robust *polis* since the end of the Archaic period (after the rule of the Peisistratids). However, the participation of the Athenians in the defence against the Persians during the Persian invasion soon led them into a protagonistic role, despite the fact that the Spartans were the leaders of the Greek forces during the Persian Wars due to their strong military tradition (regarding the power and the reception of the status of the two *poleis* cf. Hdt. 5.49.2 and 5.97.1 respectively). Due to the Athenians' contribution to the victory over the Persians, and the Spartans sheer unwillingness to continue the war against the Great King, Athens' position in Greek affairs was greatly elevated. The formation of the First Athenian Confederacy stands

as proof of Athens' status; when the Athenians called, many Greek *poleis* responded. Nevertheless, the Confederacy, which was to replace the inadequate Spartan leadership, soon became a hegemony under one *polis* (Arist. [*Ath. Pol.*] 23; Plut. *Cim.* 6; Thuc. 1.96). Even after the clash with the Spartans, the Athenians aimed towards a reinstitution of their hegemonic presence in Greece. Notwithstanding their defeat at Aigos Potamoi (404) and its consequences, they returned to a far-reaching foreign policy at the first opportunity. Their first attempt resulted in the Korinthian War (395-387), when they formed a military alliance with Boiotia, Korinthos and Argos (Xen. *Hell.* 4.2-3; Diod. 14.83-84). The war ended with the Peace of Antalkidas (387/6; Isoc. *Or.* 4.175; Xen. *Hell.* 5.1.25-32), and the Athenians were able to keep some of their old territories (Lemnos, Imbros and Skyros). Within the context of the Peace, the Athenians' plans materialised with the formation of the Second Athenian Confederacy (378/7) against Spartan imperialism (*IG* II² 43). Yet, the purpose of the League changed soon afterwards to further Athenian interests. The defeats of the Athenians, first in the Allied War (357-355) and then at Khaironeia (338), brought about the end of the Confederacy and left Athens under the influence of the Makedonians – first of Philippos II and then of his son, Alexandros III. The Athenians unsuccessfully attempted to regain both their autonomy and influence in the Greek world again during the Lamian War (323-322). In the aftermath of the death of Alexandros III and during the wars of the *Diadokhoi*, the Athenians struggled between autonomy and subjugation to different factions of the Makedonians. As will be discussed below, the last hopes of the Athenians for a possible alteration of the *status quo* were lost during the Khremonidean War until 229 and the liberation of the *polis*.

The historical past of the *polis* of Athens was, in effect, a history of active participation in Greek affairs, mostly in a protagonistic role, as determined both by the internal presentation of historical facts and informed by the actions and beliefs of its citizens. Just like the historical tradition of the Spartans through their hegemonic presence first in the Peloponnesos and then in the Greek world, the Athenians' tradition and cultural memory were largely informed by their hegemonic past, creating a mentality of hegemony similar to that of the Spartans. This mentality of hegemony established a tradition of continuing and pursuing this glorified past. As will be thoroughly discussed below, even during the Hellenistic period, when

Athens was far from its glorious past, the Athenians would turn and look upon the exemplary version of a powerful and glorious past Athens, untouched by contemporary realities. Historically, all the attempts of the Athenians, after their leading position among the *poleis* during the Classical period, can be understood as manifestations of this mentality of hegemony. However, unlike the examples offered by the Spartans and the actions of its kings Agis III and Areus I, it is possible that the Athenian hegemonial mentality did not only take the form of active warfare. As I will examine below, the Athenians could take a different path, that of an eloquent cultural and diplomatic approach, given their predicament during the early Hellenistic period. A partly unconscious decision inasmuch as their military operations were not successful; yet a decision linked with the Athenians' political practice.



Part II:

Approaching the Ancient World

3. Early Hellenistic Athens: Tales of Memory and History

This chapter introduces the main body of the thesis. After having discussed the methodological framework of this work, I proceed to the discussion of early Hellenistic Athens. The chapter is divided into two sections. The first section continues on the topic of the mentality of hegemony for the Athenians, which was introduced above. Thus, it offers the framework of approaching the Athenian past, as constructed and perceived by the Athenian society during the centuries prior to the early Hellenistic period. In particular, it discusses the ways that memories and identities are constructed within the Athenian public sphere through oratory, philosophy, theatre, local history and civic decrees from the fifth century onwards, and how these media institutionalised certain characteristics of the Athenians. In other words, it approaches aspects of the formation of the Athenian cultural memory.

The second section explores the communicative memory of the Athenians during the early Hellenistic period, especially in light of the *polis*' relations with the Antigonids from the liberation of Athens from Kassandros (307) to the Khremonidean War (261). The discussion will highlight the overlapping and separation of cultural and communicative memory in Athens and its effects on the historical course of the *polis*. I will argue that even if Athens had lost its raw political power and failed to replicate the status attained during the Classical period, it still remained at the forefront of the Hellenistic world due to characteristics engraved in its cultural memory and at large realised and exploited by its elite.



In 307, Demetrios Poliorketes liberated Athens from Kassandros' rule after capturing Mounychia, the last fort held by Kassandros' forces (Diod. 20.45.1-5; Plut. *Demetr.* 8-10; *FGrHist* 238 F66; 239 B20-21). Athens was freed from indirect rule by one group of Makedonians and the ten years' rule of Demetrios of Phaleron. With the latter's exile, the distorted 'democratic' regime was no more. However, within about forty years (307-267) the Athenians underwent emotional transitions from hatred towards the Makedonians under Kassandros to an absolute fascination with the Antigonids, and then again dissidence and opposition; a situation that climaxed with the events of the Khremonidean War (268/7-261). How can we approach this transitional period of Athenian history in order to understand it better?

I believe that part of the answer lies in the examination of Athenian collective memory and its uses of the past. It is in times of financial and political instability that the importance of memory and identity becomes particularly visible (Assmann, 2011: 251-252). During the Hellenistic period, the different *poleis* could see and, more importantly, feel the ambient changes in the political landscape. These changes directly affected their power and their ability to be independent. The emergence of the new political formations, the Hellenistic kingdoms, with their seemingly unparalleled – at least for a single *polis* – power both in economic and military terms, jeopardised the status of the Greek *poleis*, both externally and internally. Thus, the ever-present past and its use became a potent answer and probable solution to the problem. Revisiting the past was a constant practice within societies; from early on, each city had the opportunity to alter its history and to reshape its narrative in order to re-evaluate its position within this new landscape. It is during periods of instability and changes that such works can be more easily attested and understood. This was even more true for those *poleis* that had played a leading role in Greek affairs in the preceding period; prominent among them was, of course, the *polis* of Athens.

For early Hellenistic Athens, it is possible to trace two main – yet at times contradictory – tendencies. The first was supported by the past and the narration of the great deeds of the *polis*, prompting its citizens to tread the same path again, irrespective of the ambient changes – this is based on the cultural memory of the Athenians. The second bore connections to the recent past and led the *polis* to

unprecedented actions, otherwise difficult to explain,¹¹ such as the offer of divine honours to the Saviours, Antigonos and Demetrios, and the alteration of the public register of tribes with the addition of two new tribes named after the Makedonian Kings – *Antigonis* and *Demetrias* (Plut. *Demetr.* 10.3-5; Diod. 20.46).

3.1. CREATING AND DISSOLVING: THE USE OF THE PAST IN ATHENIAN DISCOURSE

The use of the past in politics and the frequent referencing of memories and recollections – recent, older or even distant, sometimes lost in the mists of myth – of any given society are a widespread and universal phenomenon. Specifically, if we focus on the *polis* of Athens, there are many examples to showcase the use of the past in public sphere, which becomes a tradition from early on. From the Classical period onwards, frequent references to a mostly glorious past occur across a wide variety of media. We can trace the growth of the practice to fourth-century Athens and beyond. The Athenian political *imaginaire* was closely connected to and informed by two main tendencies: (i) the connection of Athens to a glorious past and (ii) the *polis*' democratic polity.

The connection of Athens to a glorious past was most often made on the grounds of the *polis*' leading position in and contribution to the victory over the Persian threat. The manipulation of that past had been elaborate since the aftermath of the Persian Wars (see Shrimpton, 1997: 100; Vlassopoulos, 2013: 53-64); we have only to think of the reasons behind the formation of the first Athenian Confederacy, soon to become an Athenian Hegemony: the city answered the call so as to avenge the wrongs that they (and the Greek cities) suffered by ravaging the territory of the king, to prepare for potential future invasion and to establish a way of dividing war spoils (Thuc. 1.96).

The lack of a continuous narrative history for the Hellenistic period, as well as of speeches, one of the most valuable sources during the previous periods (especially the fourth century), makes the task of exploring the use of the past and the formation of memories in the Athenian political discourse more difficult. The

¹¹ For a detailed discussion on the reception of early Hellenistic Athens after the death of Demosthenes from modern scholars, see Bayliss, 2011: 1-60.

fragmentary nature of the surviving accounts, including Athens' local historians (especially Philochoros, *FGrHist* 328), naturally leads to a reliance on later sources, some of which are non-historical; the problematic nature of the sources, as well as the pitfalls, have been identified and debated from early on (for an overview of the sources and the main problems, see Shipley, 2000b: 1-32). However, as we can approach the Hellenistic period through the complementary use of, most often, later sources as well as epigraphic evidence and archaeological material, it seems appropriate to provide a solid background to the period based on continuity to the previous periods. Thus, a digression is needed here. It is possible to trace the use of the past in the Athenian political discourse by looking back into the fifth and especially the fourth centuries and assume with confidence that similar workings, if not more dynamic, took place during the ever-changing early Hellenistic period (Kremmydas and Tempest, 2013b: 3-4).

3.1.1. Informing the Athenian *Imaginaire*: Public Oratory

A prominent area for exploring the use of the glorious Athenian past is, of course, oratory. Due to the strong connections between decision-making and the public orators, oratory occupied a central role in Athenian political life (Hansen, 1981: 347, 359-368; Ober, 1989: 112-118). In general, in rhetoric, the historical example was invoked mainly on the basis of its relevance to the argument and general aims of the orator, rather than of its accurate nature; a fact that commonly led to numerous historical inaccuracies (Worthington, 1994: 109-129; Pownall, 2003: 38-40). However, as these inaccuracies resulted from the intended use of the historical paradigm by the orator, they are axiomatic examples of the use of the past within oratory.

It would be an arduous task to catalogue and critically approach the entire oratorical corpus for the numerous instances of use of the past. Nonetheless, some examples can showcase the power of referencing the past, its role in oratory, and the ways it shaped the cultural memory of the Athenians. Primarily, the role of the orator was didactic, so that references to poetry or historical examples were quite common (Ober, 1989: 178-182), with Homeric epic being the most common source

of poetic quotations. Interestingly though, there are instances where direct quotations of commemorated events can be found in the oratorical corpus. In the juridical speeches of three classical orators – Demosthenes, Aeschines and Lykourgos – inscribed epigrams are quoted almost as regularly as Homeric poetry (Petrovic, 2013: 199-200). Of course, epigrams are commonly found on memorials (on the visibility of monuments commemorating wars see, Chaniotis, 2012); Demosthenes (18.289-290), famous for his anti-Makedonian political line, after just eight years quotes the epigram inscribed on the Athenian memorial in Khaironeia (*IG* II² 5226) with intended emphasis toward Aeschines in his *On the Crown* speech (see, Pritchett, 1985: 222-226; Petrovic, 2013: 203). As Petrovic (2013: 207-208) convincingly argues, it may be that the Athenian orators of the fourth century consulted and used collections of epigrams. The use of the past acquires further gravity as epigrams are one of the earliest written media of commemoration; their circulation in collections, the orators' knowledge of them, and their use in oratory constitute one of the many ways in which collective memory was established and propagated in the public sphere (see also Livingstone, 2011: 26-27). Furthermore, we should see the strong bonds between written culture, orality and collective memory as extending here too. As the past does not occur on its own but is culturally invented and expressed (Assmann, 2011: 71-72), it was only to be expected that the earliest written examples of commemoration would find renewed uses in the highly active and political Athenian society.

A completed study of the use of inscribed epigrams in Athenian oratory is far from close, yet the potential of approaching and understanding much more complex social workings through the use of the past is highlighted. The extension of the role of the epigrams as forms of commemoration and formation of collective memory to the sphere of oratory demonstrates their importance; the epigrams were meant to be read, yet they could also be taught and disseminated in public through oratory. Thus, Demosthenes (18.289-90) intentionally refers to the Khaironeian epigram, in a close chronological distance to the events in his defence of Ktesiphon (*FGE* anon. CXXVI; cf. *IG* II² 5226). The memory of the defeat was still fresh among the audience, and the Athenians were bound to remember well – while Demosthenes made sure to remind them – the inscribed epigram on the *polis'* memorial. More so, the epigram was central to the Athenian representation and the Athenians' cultural memory as

protectors of the Greeks: it presented the Athenians as having fallen in defence of Greek liberty against external enemies (Ziogas, 2014: 7, 10).

Besides the use of direct quotations in juridical orations, we have many other references to and uses of the past in other genres of oratory. Unsurprisingly, the use of the past is exemplary in the funerary orations (*epitaphioi*),¹² always “inventing” Athens based on connections to significant events ranging from the timeless myths to historical past (for a detailed analysis of the genre of funeral orations in Athens during the fifth and fourth centuries down to 322, see Loraux, 1986). The epitaphs are closely connected to the uses of epigrams, as the commemorative elements of both work towards the creation of a connection between the past, the present and the future. Especially if we think about the funerary epigrams on war memorials, such as the one at Khaironeia, the connection between the occasion of the death and the act of serving the *polis* is explicit and has many political connotations, informing the collective memory of the Athenians (Shear, 2013: 512-513). A discussion of some famous examples can further illuminate such roles.

Within both an oratorical and a historical context, when reading the *Funerary Oration* of Perikles, as attested in the *History* of Thucydides (2.35-44), we can all hear the concerted call, the invoked feeling that death in battle for the city is a civic act that stems from the *ethos* of its citizen-soldiers. The audience of the oration, be it literal or real, receives the message of the supremacy of the collective over the individual, of the *polis* over the individual citizen. While the starting point of Athenian achievements is defined as the period when the Athenians ‘stemmed the tide of Hellenic or foreign aggression’, the orator focuses on the central achievement of the ancestors, the system of government (Thuc. 2.36.4). Here the two main characteristics, the leading position of Athens and its role in the victory over the Persians and its democratic polity, are presented as inextricably linked, a connection that will continue to be emphasised more than two centuries later (cf. the Decree of Khremonides, *Syll.*³ 434/5). Even if the speech is entirely constructed by the historian, the whole function of the speech and its aims remain obvious. The glorious past both serves as a point of reference and forms the core narrative so that contemporary Athenian society can establish links with that past, strengthening the

¹² There is more extant evidence of funerary speeches, except those discussed here: an epitaph attributed to Gorgias (Dion. Hal. *Lys.* 3; fr. 6 DK), Lysias (2), Demosthenes (60) and Hypereides (6).

idea of co-belonging in the same community and its values, and highlighting the links of continuation. More so, it contributes to the *imaginaire* of Athenian society (Shear, 2013: 536), creating momentum for present and future actions. Within this perspective, the authorship of the speech is rendered irrelevant. For both Thucydides and Perikles, as well as many other leading personalities of the *polis*, the Athenians are presented as worthy descendants of their glorious forefathers; a feeling that many of the citizens would adopt as their own.

From a complementary perspective, the same can be said for the *epitaphios* of Platon in his *Menexenos* (239d-246a), although the aims of its writer are somewhat different; the context now, while still political, is situated within the spheres of philosophy. However, this example illustrates a higher understanding of the creation and dissemination of memories. In this *logos*, next to the patriotic distortions, we have many subtle exaggerations and/or misrepresentations of the historical facts just to exhort the glory of Athens (Henderson, 1975: 39-45; Pownall, 2003: 50; Trivigno, 2009: 38). Just like the Funerary Oration in Thucydides, the glorious Athenian past starts with the actions of the *polis* during the Persian Wars (Pl. *Menex.* 239d-241d). However, in *Menexenos*, Platon heavily criticises the Athenians for their claims to have fought for noble goals such as freedom against the barbarians by citing events from the Peloponnesian War (243a-244b) and the Korinthian War (244d-246a). Of course, such historical facts, far from being exemplary, are not attested in detail in other funeral orations (cf. Lysias 2.54-57; Dem. 60.11; Pownall, 2003: 57-58). For the funerary orations need to boost the morale of the *polis'* citizens and strengthen civic unity. Platon's purpose is to attack political rhetoric and its historical inaccuracies; yet, this is not just an unproductive critique. On the contrary, the philosopher provides a thought-provoking discussion and offers alternative paradigms for both political discourse and the formulation of civic identity (Trivigno, 2009). Moreover, the inclusion of references to the more inglorious moments of the Athenian past signifies Platon's understanding of the interplay of memory and of the reality that oratory can, and will, project specific events while silencing or diminishing the importance of others.¹³ This

¹³ Cf. Pl. *Menex.* 234c-235c. Socrates describes how the orator will praise the dead with a speech prepared long beforehand and it will be so magnificent that it will γοητεύουσιν ἡμῶν τὰς ψυχὰς ['charm the souls (of the audience)'].

understanding, of course, is not only a privilege of Platon; in fact, it is common knowledge among the members of the elite as well (Ober, 1989: 45; Pownall, 2003: 39-40; Shear, 2013: 517-518). The philosopher progresses a step further by offering alternative routes for ensuring civic coherence and consolidating an informed collective memory, routes based on virtue and moral actions (Trivigno, 2009: 47-48). *Menexenos* stands as a vivid example of the fact that it is the elite that has not only the ability to grasp the potentiality of the use of the past but also the means to provide – and potentially establish – alternatives (Fentress and Wickham, 1992: 134; Assmann, 2011: 53-62).

To stay within the same context of oratory and in the fourth century, the symbolism of the Persian Wars and the Persians *per se* as the most prominent *Other* for Athenian cultural memory remains intact across many of the speeches of Isokrates (cf. *Panath.* 187; *Paneg.* 90-99; *To Philip* 147-148), following the tradition of public oratory in the *polis* of Athens. Especially, in his *Panegyrikos*, written for the 100th Olympiad (380), the famous politician and orator argues for Athenian leadership in a common, Pan-Hellenic expedition against the Persians.

In the speech, we have another example of how cultural memory has established a deep belief that Athens deserves to be the *hegemon* of Greece (*Paneg.* 99) – even if, at the time of its composition, Sparta held this position. For Isokrates, Sparta has abused her power and has weakened the Greek *poleis* with continuous wars, internal strife and humiliations. For these deeply political reasons, which are well part of Isokrates' philosophical argument on morality, the Spartans should change and accept the Athenians as leaders in the common effort against the Persians (*Paneg.* 4.128). In a subtle comment about the state of affairs during the Athenian hegemony, Isokrates (*Paneg.* 4.106) agrees that the Athenians had interfered with the internal politics of their allies. At the same time, however, it had continued to act as protector of the Greeks from the barbarian threat, tyrannies and internal problems and they were now co-existing in peace. Thus, in fourth-century Athenian discourse, the Athenians could integrate the not so colourful period of their hegemony (*Paneg.* 4.106) with their roles as protectors of the Greek *poleis* and heralds of the democratic regime (cf. *Panath.* 12.54). More importantly, this view could be directed to a wide, Pan-Hellenic audience, as it is generally agreed that

copies of the *Panegyrikos* were circulated to the public in the form of political pamphlets during the Olympiad of 380.

Isokrates builds on the reasoning that had been common in debates about the Peloponnesian war in Athens since 431 and was argued by historians, orators and comic poets alike (Thuc. 4.20.4; 5.29. 3; cf. Arist. *Peace* 107-8, 405-409, 1082; Andoc. 3; Xen. *Hell.* 6.5.33-49; Dem. 9.30-31; Henderson, 2012: 157). Earlier, Lysias (2; 33), both in his *Epitaphios* (after 392) and in his *Olympic* (388/4) orations, called for unity against the common, barbarian enemy (Hamilton, 1980: 95). Isokrates repeated these views, in 353, in his *Antidosis* (57, 58); however, in this work (15.316-19), as well as in *On the Peace* (c. 356-54), the orator also expresses his concerns about the consequences of imperialism and highlights the many risks of such a path (Pownall, 2003: 24). The effects of the consistency of the political advice offered in oratory can be demonstrated by the conclusion of an alliance between Athens and Sparta (369; Xen. *Hell.* 7.1; Diod. 15.67.1) in the aftermath of the Spartan defeat at Leuktra (371). However, the alliance was directed not against the Persians, but at another rising 'oppressor', Thebes. Thus, we can see how easy it was to change the *other*, the enemy, based on contemporary reality and context. Within the fourth century, the orators could point towards a different adversary and still connect the main role of Athens as 'protector' and 'champion' of the Greeks to the Athenian past – in a propagandistic practice.

3.1.2. Theatre as a Medium: Contemporary Athens via Menandros

This is not surprising at all if we think about the ways in which collective identities are formed. Of course, the targeted use of the past occurred across the wider spectrum of public life. The deeply political comedy of the fifth century is full of references to the glorious past. Moreover, just like public orations, the dramatic events were directed towards, written for, and presented to, mass audiences (for the theatre as a political forum, see Ober, 1989: 152-156; Wilson, 1996: 321). Again, here, the weight falls on the Persian Wars. For instance, the choruses in *Wasps*, *Lysistrata* and the *Acharnians*, not only due to their nature – they consist of old men, veterans of the Persian Wars – but also due to their voice, directly reference the

glorious deeds of the past (for details see Ar. *Vesp.* 1075-90; *Lys.* 273-82 and 667-9; *Ach.* 179-85, 676-702). The receptive Athenian audience was exhorted to live up to the standards of their ancestors and continue the long tradition of achievements (Zali, 2014: 244).

It is within comedy that we can first see some examples of a different, subtler, use of the past within public discourse during the early Hellenistic period. New Comedy, with its prolific representative, Menandros, expanded the political discourse of the Old Attic comedy to the everyday life. During his lifetime (c. 342-291; *IG XIV* 1184) he was able to see the changes in condition of his *polis*, from the defeat in the Lamian War to the regime of Demetrios of Phaleron and the restoration of democracy by the Antigonids (for some problems with the dates of Menandros' life, see de Marcellus, 1996). Thus, his comedies abound with familiar characteristics of the period – mercenaries (*Aspis*), soldiers (*Kolax*, *Misoumenos*, *Perikeiromene*), *hetairai* (*Kolax*, *Epitrepontes*, *Samia*), the *oikos* (*Dyskolos*, *Epitrepontes*, *Samia*) – touching moral and political topics from civic reproduction and legal aspects to financial recession and the differences between the wealthy and the lower strata (Salmenkivi, 1997; Rosivach, 2001; for a detailed analysis cf. Lape, 2004; Petrides, 2014).

Lape (2004) has argued about the close connections between the comedies of Menandros and civic identity in Athens (cf. also Konstan, 2018). Menandros and his work were well received in antiquity, something confirmed by his victories at the Lenaia festival (eight times; Apollodoros *FGrHist* 244 F43), his statues in the theatre of Dionysos, which was central to Lykourgos' civic renewal (Paus. 1.21; *PCG* 6.2 test. 25; cf. Papastamati-von Moock, 2014), and later comments on his work (cf. mentioned in the Parian Marble *FGrHist* 239 B7, 14; praised by Plut. *Mor.* 853-85; and Quint. *Inst.* 10.1.69-72). Quintilian comments (*Inst.* 10.1.69-72) that Menandros was successful in incorporating Euripidean ideals in his comedies, successfully depicting Athenian society (cf. Satyros, *Life of Euripides*, *P. Oxy.* 1176, fr. 39; Zagagi, 1995: 15-16; Salmenkivi, 1997: 192). Indeed, Quintilian was right, for even if the New Comedy is discarded as non-political, in contrast to the highly political Old Comedy, the main source and context of Menandros' plays is early Hellenistic Athens and its everyday life and problems (Salmenkivi, 1997: 193-194; Lape, 2004: 37-39;

Nervegna, 2013: 62). His focus on everyday Athenian life is even more important in the light of his origins and status.

Menandros was the son of a certain Diopeithes (*IG* XIV 1184; Apol. *FGrHist* 244 F43), possibly the Athenian *strategos* who was active in Thrace leading the Athenian *klerouchs* to Khersonesos and fighting a guerrilla war against Philippos II (c. 343-340; Philoch. *FGrHist* 328 F158; Dem. 8). Even if this is not the case, as the demotic of Diopeithes is different, Menandros' high social status is demonstrated by his connections to some of the most prominent people of the period: he was possibly the nephew of Alexis, the famous comic poet (*Suda* s.v. Ἀλεξίς; *PCG* 2.21 test. 1); he was a pupil of Theophrastos (Diog. Laert. 5.36); a friend of Epikouros (Str. 14.1.18); and had connections not only with Demetrios of Phaleron but also with his cousin, Telesphoros, who was the reason that he was not brought to trial in 307 in the aftermath of Athens' liberation from Kassandros (Diog. Laert. 5.79). Therefore, Menandros was a member of the higher strata of Athens, with connections to the philosophical school of the Peripatos and links to some of the leading political personalities of the *polis*; more so, if his father was indeed the general Diopeithes of Sounion.

It seems strange how studies on Menandros up until recently failed to detect such links. The prevailing view was that New Comedy – and Menandros' plays – were bare of any 'direct' political messages (cf. Gomme and Sandbach, 1973: 23-24; Sandbach, 1977: 69). The key word in these views and the non-political arguments for New Comedy is the word 'direct'. The absence of similar direct messages to those found in the comedies of Aristophanes does not mean that Menandros wrote his plays in a quarantined, apolitical world; on the contrary, from his themes and the ways he navigates within them, to the historical context, Menandros' comedies are political in a wider sense (Salmenkivi, 1997; Lape, 2004: 68; Petrides, 2014: 22-24).

In Menandros' plays, the imponderable factor, *Tykhe*, has a central role; in the politically unstable context of the period, this is not unsurprising. However, the aim of the plays is educational, so that the Athenians – the contemporary audience – can learn to face and endure the changes of fortune (cf. Dunne, 2006: 20-32). An example can help illustrate the point better. In *Dyskolos*, a comedy dedicated to the important problems of part of the population of Athens, we can see the conflict between wealth and poverty from the perspective of a moral discussion surrounding the main

protagonist, Knemon – an ‘inhuman man’ (ἀπάνθρωπός τις ἄνθρωπος). The following advice – both educational and moral – comes from the mouth of Gorgias, half-brother of Knemon and is directed toward the still young Sostratos, the man in love with Knemon’s daughter:

767	ἐν δὲ τούτῳ τῷ μέρει μάλιστ' ἀνὴρ δείκνυτ', ἐξισοῦν ἑαυτὸν ὅστις ὑπομένει τινὶ εὐπορῶν πένητι· καὶ γὰρ μεταβολὰς οὗτος τύχης
770	ἐγκρατῶς οἶσει.
[Trans.]	In this part mostly shows himself as a man, whoever tolerates making himself equal to another, rich to poor. For this man will bear the changes of fortune
770	with self-control.

For the moral part, Menandros projects the belief that the best man is one who has no problem to face any struggle as equal to his fellow countrymen, irrespective of their financial standing. It is also a highly patriotic message, one maybe directed towards the Athenians and those that possibly had lost their civil rights, as the play was performed in 317 (on the dating of the play, see Gomme and Sandbach, 1973: 128-129). The educational part is equally moral, yet very political as well, as it comes from Gorgias, the direct opposite of Knemon, and is directed towards the listening ears of young and wealthy Sostratos: only those who abide by such *ethos* will be able to withstand the changes of fortune (Lape, 2004: 125-126). It is the construction of such civic models and their social mechanics that make Menandros’ role even more political (Petrides, 2014: 15-18). There are many more examples (cf. *Dys.* 293-298; 797-812; *Epit.* 172; 1091-1100; *Pk.* 530-537; *Sam.* 12-18), yet my purpose here is not to critically interpret the Menandrian corpus, but to highlight the connections between the wider political arena and theatre.

What is common in the comedies of Menandros is the absence of direct references to the glorious past, like those attested above in Aristophanes that linked the old men with the Persian Wars. Especially, under Kassandros and even later under the Antigonids, direct political messages would be problematic due to the precarious position of the Athenians. In contrast, it is the focus on contemporary

Athens and the references to its realities that highlight the, sometimes painful, differences from the glorious past, be they political or moral – often both. Connections with past civic memories are sometimes more explicit in the plays, through indirect associations with the landscape and localities of Athens (Petrides, 2014: 121). Nevertheless, Menandros focuses on the present, the newly created communicative memory of the Athenians, which comes in stark contrast to their cultural memory that was widely disseminated in public. Menandros' plays and their themes make the audience's transition from reality to the theatre stage seamless. The introduction of the audience in an environment so familiar, bare of direct political references, leaves the ground prepared for Menandros' subtle comments, moral advice, and educational aims (*contra* Green, 1990: 77; for the educational value of the theatre, see Hanink, 2014; cf. Petrides, 2014: 41-42; Konstan, 2018: 114-115).

We should also note the immediacy of the impact of the play on the audience. Dramatic festivals were open to the public, and the audience could see a 'real' story unfold in front of their eyes. The imitation of reality with dramatic elements and interference by superior forces that lead to happy endings, which still conformed to civic models, created a multi-layered world that disseminated messages to the conscious and the unconscious (Petrides, 2014: 83). Naturally, as happens with enacted events, the audience had to contemplate the action, the reactions and the reasoning behind them, with Menandros directing them – a theatrical parallel to the Socratic method (Dunne, 2006: 22-29). In any case, the constructed reality of Menandros' comedies, with their educational aims, is an indirect incitement to the Athenians to become better for the sake of the *polis*' present and future (just like in Old Comedy, cf. Clarke, 2008: 307-309).

In other words, for both oratory and comedy, the aim was to present the contrast between the present and the past. If oratory chose to capitalise on the connections to the glorious past of the *polis* as a springboard for the *polis*' present and future actions and to solidify its identity, comedy could point towards contemporary realities and call for the improvement of the Athenians so as to stand truer to the call to uphold the *polis* legacies as presented in oratory. In a fluid period, when changes of fortune were common – just like in the plays – Menandros' theatricalisation of everyday life is not that far from the theatricality of the era

(Pollitt, 1986: 4; Chaniotis, 1997; 2009). From politics to oratory, the early Hellenistic period abounded with ‘carefully staged dramatic performances’ (Chaniotis, 1997: 228). It may then be possible to speak of the ‘realisation’ of theatre. Different strata, from politicians and citizens to playwrights alike, were becoming more aware that life has and needs actors and directors that work towards specific aims – said or unsaid; this is the most political aspect of New Comedy. Menandros’ use of the past was artful; the connections to the cultural memory of the Athenians were already disseminated in public, thus present, and were reinforced by the mechanics of New Comedy. Of course, in his plays he reiterated the present, a present informed by the communicative memories of the Athenians. However, he had aims; he looked forward to the future of the *polis*. In this perspective, the theatre fully accomplishes its civic role as both an entertaining (ψυχαγωγικό < ψυχή + ἄγω) and educational medium (cf. Ar. *Frogs* 1051; Str. 1.1.10; 1.2.3-10).

3.1.3. Disseminating Memories: Local Historians

Another way of disseminating and educating the populace is of course history *per se*. Thus, it should not be striking at all that in the same period in which the public sphere abounded with selective representations of the past through oratory and comedy we have the rise of the Atthidographers, the local historians of Athens. If oratory or comedy uses the past – often certain historical facts – to pursue their own aims while projecting certain messages that solidify the civic identity and inform its memory, history is the formal medium of formulating and presenting that past. The local histories have survived as written texts, but it was common practice for the historians to perform the history in public and inform public memory of the past (Boedeker, 2011: 121). Clarke (2008: 304-369, in the context of the polis esp. 363-369) has convincingly argued for the orality of (local) historiography; historiography could be presented in written form (cf. Parian Marble, *FGrHist* 239) or performed orally and could exist in both forms, with public and private audiences. Oral performance of historical accounts – from Homer and the court of King Alkinoos (Hom. *Od.* 8.40-83) to Athens and Herodotos’ public recitation of his work (Luc. *Her.* 1; cf. Thuc. 1.22) – was a recurring phenomenon (Momigliano, 1978;

Thomas, 1992: 101-127). Likewise, local historiography was meant to be read (or heard) – both by and beyond a *polis*' citizenry – and could be even used as evidence within a legalistic context, as examples from arbitrations demonstrate.¹⁴

There is direct evidence of the possible duality of the practice. The case of Syriskos of Chersonesos (third century; *SGDI* 3086; *FGrHist* 807 T1) is telling. He was a citizen of the *polis*, who compiled an account of the epiphanies of the Parthenos, the patron deity of the *polis*, and the relations between Khersonesos and the Bosporan kings and Pontic cities. In return, the *polis* honoured him with a golden crown, and the decree was recorded on stone, erected in the *pronaos* of the temple of Parthenos with cult funds. The important question is about the nature of Syriskos' work; the decree is clear:

- | | |
|----------|---|
| 2 | [ἐπειδὴ] Συρίσκος Ἡρακλείδα τὰ[ς]
[ἐπιφαν]είας τᾶς Πα[ρ]θένου φιλ[ο]-
[πόνως] γράψας ἀ[νέ]γνω καὶ τ[ὰ]
5 [ποτὶ τ]οὺς Βοσ[π]όρου [β]ασιλεῖ[ς]
[διηγῆσα]το, τὰ [θ' ὑ]πάρξαντα φ[ι]-
[λάνθρωπα ποτὶ τὰ]ς πόλεις ἱστ[ό]-
[ρησεν ἐπιεκ]έως τῶι <δ>άμω[ι] |
| [Trans.] | Since Syriskos, son of Herakleidas,
has carefully written up and read out
the epiphanies of the Parthenos,
5 and has described in detail (the past acts of kindness)
of the kings of Bosporos and has offered
a fitting account (of those) to the people . . . |

Syriskos' account was written (γράφας), but he performed it (ἀνέγνω) as well (cf. Clarke, 2008: 344-345, 369). This, of course, is not the only evidence. The historian Mnesiptolemos (*FGrHist* 164 T2; Athen. *Deipn.* 10.40; 432) read his work (ἀνάγνωσιν ποιησαμένου τῶν ἱστοριῶν), probably at the court of King Antiochos III, while the historiographer Aristotheos (*FGrHist* 835) made public readings

¹⁴ The arbitrations between Samos and Priene, discussed below (Chapter 5) demonstrate the use of historical accounts as evidence within a court.

(ἀκροάσεις) of his writings over several days (Syll.³ 702).¹⁵ In the same spirit, Amphipolis honoured a historiographer for both his public performances and his written work (BÉ 92, n. 271; Clarke, 2008: 369).¹⁶ Orality and the performance of historical accounts occupied a central role in ancient societies (on the topic of performance from poetry to history see Thomas, 1992; Luraghi, 2001). The latter did not only exist in written form – historiography sometimes was to be performed as well, and with certainty, sometimes was both performed and written.

From the examples discussed, the decrees of Khersonesos and Amphipolis showcase the fact that both the composition and the performance of local historiography were of paramount importance for the education of the *poleis* – as they were performed in public – and the construction of its past. This is demonstrated both by the construction of a specific narrative and by the erection of the decrees – actively shaping the cultural memory of their citizen bodies (Thomas, 1992: 101-257; Gehrke, 2001: 296; for a detailed analysis, see Clarke, 2008). Nonetheless, the aim here was not to delve too deeply into local historiography or, for that matter, local Athenian historiography. This overview should serve as a reminder of the existence of such oral (and written) accounts and their connections to the formation of public knowledge and memory.

Athens had a long tradition of local historians, the so-called Atthidographers by convention (authors of *Atthides* < Ἀτθίδς), who wrote Athenian or Attic history (for the actual names of their works, see Jacoby, 1949: 79-85; Harding, 1994: 1-3). The tradition started in the fifth century, blossomed during the fourth and continued to the third century. Jacoby's work (1949) has been fundamental to the research of the local historians of Athens. The Atthidographers' work was composed as chronicles structured around the reign of the mythical kings and rulers of Athens and the historical archonships of its later officials, yet it was not a simple annual catalogue of events, but rather an account with temporal and causal relationships (Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 1.8.3; Jacoby, 1949: 86-127; Harding, 1994: 3-8).

Interestingly, the founder of Atthidography is considered to be a non-Athenian, Hellanikos of Lesbos (c. 480-395; *FGrHist* 4.323a; 608a). In his *Atthis*, he

¹⁵ II. 5-6: ἐποίησατο δὲ καὶ ἀκροάσεις ἐπ[ὶ π]λείονας ἀμέρας τῶν πεπραγματευμένων | αὐτῶι,

¹⁶ II. 6-9: ἐποίη[] | σατο ἀκροάσεις περὶ τοῦ[των — ἐν αἷς] | καὶ εὐδοκίμηκει, συνετ[άξατο δὲ βιβλίον] | καὶ περὶ τῆς Ταυροπόλου.

reconstructed the list of kings and archons of Athens, combining mythological and historical events in a continuous chronological narrative, thus breaking the borderlines between myth and history and constructing a different, unified past (Jacoby, 1949: 199-200, 223-225; Harding, 2008: 3). It is not surprising that Hellanikos' work on Athenian early history delved into the mythical past; the close connection between myths, oral tradition and (local) historiography to the creation (or reinforcement) of civic identity has been long identified and discussed. It is what Gehrke (2001: 286) has described as 'intentional history'. Maybe the fact that a travelling historian like Hellanikos would visit Athens and compile its history from the early beginnings points again towards the public performance of such accounts; either way, foundational narratives are 'intentional history' and greatly serve the *polis*. The origins of the Athenians are closely connected to autochthony, and their importance can be seen in Hellanikos' discussion about the claims of other groups on autochthony (i.e. the Arkadians, Aiginetans and Thebans; *FGrHist* 323a F27; on claims of Athenian autochthony cf. Dem. 19.261; for more, see Rosivach, 1987; Harding, 2008: 14-17). Philokhoros (*FGrHist* 328 F2a; 2b) made similar claims:

Διὰ τὸ πρότερον νομάδας καὶ ποράδην ζῶντας τότε συνελθεῖν καὶ
στῆναι ἐκ τῆς πλάνης εἰς τὰς κοινὰς οἰκίσεις, ὅθεν οὐ
μετανεστήκασιν. Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ πρῶτοι τῶν ἄλλων ἄσθη καὶ πόλεις
ᾠκησαν.

[Trans.] On account of the fact that previously people, living as nomads and dispersed, at that time came together and then after wandering (they) settled in the common habitations, from which they did not relocate. Athenians, first of the others, established *aste* and *poleis*.

FGrHist 328 F2a

Such claims of autochthony and the connection between the 'mythical' and 'historical' periods, along with the political aspects of the fragments, have left a footprint in our understanding of the Atthidographers' work. There has been a long debate on their political views and actual role (Jacoby, 1949: 71-79; Harding, 1977; Rhodes, 2015: 12-15). The fact, however, that among the surviving fragments we have mentions not only of political or military events but of social life, from religious

cults and festivals (cf. Androtion, *FGrHist* 324 F1) to laws (cf. the discussion on Areios Pagos, Hellanikos, *FGrHist* 323a F1; Androtion, *FGrHist* 234 F3, 4; Phanodemos, *FGrHist* 325 F30; Philokhoros, *FGrHist* 328 F20, 196) and other social aspects (cf. Philokhoros, *FGrHist* 328 F202 on weather-related information), should be seen as a reaffirmation that the historical accounts are dedicated to the locality of the *polis* and its region, above any (possible) political bias. They are, in a way, all *pro*-Athenians, due to both the choice and type of work (local history) and the nature of their accounts. Moreover, their compilation had direct effects on the solidification of Athenian identity and cultural memory, from its beginnings to the Hellenistic period (Harding, 2007: 187; Clarke, 2008: 304-369).

This is even truer when recording important events in the *polis*' past. For example, Thucydides (6.53.3) states that, in 415, the Athenians were knowledgeable of the events that led to the end of tyranny by Harmodios and Aristogeiton, which was effectuated with the help of Spartans. For Philokhoros (*FGrHist* 328 F115), the role of the Spartan army was diminished; the account takes an Athenian-only perspective (*contra* Thuc. 6.53.3; cf. Harding, 2008: 94-96). Occasions like this indicate an ideological direction towards the *polis* itself and support for its democratic identity. Not all Atthidographers covered the same periods in their works as their life and work span nearly two centuries. It seems that the closer we get to the Hellenistic period the more indications we have that the local historians of Athens were actively interested in their own times – especially Androtion (Harding, 1994) and Philokhoros (c. 340-262; *FGrHist* 328). It may be that the fluid political context and the need to bolster civic coherence was the reason behind their work, given their participation in politics and religious life. In the same light, and due to the historical context, Phanodemos' (c. 374/3-330; *FGrHist* 325) and Demon's (c. 4th-3rd century; *FGrHist* 327) choice to focus on the mythical period should not be surprising. A re-narration of the Athenian past would greatly help towards establishing the same safeguards that oratory and theatre were implementing, bolstering civic identity in the face of the *polis*' changing fortunes. This may explain

Phanodemos' extreme *pro*-Athenian stance and far-fetched accounts (cf. for example the claim that the Trojans originated from Athens, Phanodemos, *FGrHist* 325 F13).¹⁷

Plutarch may help us shed some more light towards this topic. In his speech *On the glory of Athens*,¹⁸ he comments on the value of historical narratives of the great deeds of the Athenians for both the works themselves and Athenian identity (*De glor. Ath.* 1):

οἱ δ' ἄλλοι πάντες ἱστορικοί, Κλειτόδημοι Δίυλλοι Φιλόχορος
Φύλαρχος, ἀλλοτρίων γεγονάσιν ἔργων ὥσπερ δραμάτων
ὑποκριταί, τὰς τῶν στρατηγῶν καὶ βασιλέων πράξεις διατιθέμενοι
καὶ ταῖς ἐκείνων ὑποδυόμενοι μνήμας ἵν' ὥς αὐγῆς τινος καὶ
φωτὸς μετὰσχωσιν. ἀνακλᾶται γὰρ ἀπὸ τῶν πραττόντων ἐπὶ τοὺς
γράφοντας καὶ ἀναλάμπει δόξης εἶδωλον ἀλλοτρίας,
ἐμφαινομένης διὰ τῶν λόγων τῆς πράξεως ὡς ἐν ἐσόπτρῳ.

[Trans.] But all the other historians, some Kleitodemoi, Diylloi, Philochoros, Phylarchos, have been writing works for others, like actors of plays, arranging the deeds of the generals and kings and partaking in their memories, so that they might share their radiance and light. For the image is reflected from the men of action upon the men of letters, and shines like a reflection of unappropriated glory, a glory seen through the agency of the words as in a mirror.

What is apparent from the passage is the agenda of the historians listed; the narration of great deeds and events, linked with the past of the *polis*, is a means to connect themselves and their work with that glorious past. As Plutarch says, the works of men of letters (γράφοντας) reflect the glory of the men of actions (πραττόντων) and *vice versa*; it is from the work of the historians that those glorious deeds acquire part of their glory and will be remembered through the ages.

¹⁷ Also, Dio. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 1.61.4-5: Τοῦτον δὲ (Δάρδανον) ἄλλοι τε πολλοὶ καὶ Φανόδημος ὁ τὴν Ἀττικὴν γράψας ἀρχαιολογίαν ἐκ τῆς Ἀττικῆς μετοικῆσαι φασιν εἰς τὴν Ἀσίαν δήμου Εὐπεταίεως ἄρχοντα καὶ πολλὰ παρέχονται τοῦ λόγου τεκμήρια ['For this man (Dardanos), many other (writers) and Phanodemos, the writer of the archaeology of the region of Attike, say had relocated to Asia from Attike, (where) he was archon of the deme of Xypete, and they provide much evidence on this account'].

¹⁸ The date of the speech is unknown. Lamprias Catalogue (no. 197 out of 227) may indicate a later speech but the catalogue itself is incomplete, see Johnson, 1972: 10-11.

Interestingly, Plutarch chooses as examples two Atthidographers, Klei(to)demos (378-340; *FGrHist* 323; cf. Paus. 10.15.5) and Philochoros (*FGrHist* 328) as well as two historians: Diyllos (c. 3rd century; *FGrHist* 73), possibly the son of another Atthidographer, Phanodemos (*FGrHist*. 325; *PA* 4452), and Phylarchos (third century; *FGrHist* 81).

Earlier interpretations of Plutarch's speech argued that he developed the view that the glory of Athens was mainly due to the people of action, especially those who emerged through their active military participation, and less to the people of letters/spirit. However, I believe this was not the main idea of Plutarch's argument. We can imply that Plutarch's oration had a didactic role, due to its nature, and that the missing part could, for instance, be the thesis that Athens' glory and its cultural position was due to the men of deeds, with the relation between arts/letters and deeds fully materialising in the extant part. As Johnson (1972) convincingly argued, Plutarch's oration is what its title implies – a speech honouring the *polis* of Athens. It was by the men of letters and arts that the *polis*' fame was generated, but it was from the deeds of the men of action that its status was reached and maintained. All were parts of a whole, as all of them created Athens. Thus, the mention of specific historians might not discredit their work, as the caustic comment may lead us, at first, to believe: 'some Kleitodemoi, Diylloi, Philochoros, Phylarchos'. The surviving text shows that historians celebrated (at least for Plutarch) an elevated status, one closely connected with specific ethics and characteristics, to be seconded by the orators, whereas the poets' role is diminished (*De glor. Ath.* 8). Thus, the praise of the historians' work raises the question: *why did Plutarch choose these names to be heard, next to historians like Xenophon and Thucydides?* We can only speculate on the real reason, yet it seems plausible that these names were used due to their importance for the local community. As part of the oration, these names would be recognised by the audience. Be that as it may, even if the names are used as examples for criticism, Plutarch eloquently described the actual relationship between history and memory, while implying possible biases and the authors' agenda.

To return to the topic of local Athenian history, the work of the Atthidographers, it seems that the fact remains: their main focus is the *polis*. The Atthidographers write local history and as such its role within the Athenian society is informative/educatory, even more so given its plausible oral performance. The

attested changes in the topics, focus or style of earlier Attidographers to the later may be an indication of the need to alter their approaches based upon the Athenian contemporary realities. The tradition of writing local history could not have stayed the same; for Androtion, Phanodemos, Demon and Philokhoros could see and feel the changing times and Athens' struggle for autonomy, and a possible return to the lost status of the *polis*. In a way, we may say that they operate as the communicative and cultural memories do. Their accounts highlight connections either with a mythical and glorious past or with contemporary events. Similar to the use of oratory and theatre, local histories were another instituted medium to solidify social coherence and promote a common Athenian identity, informed by the Athenian cultural memory.

One has to remember that texts like Platon's *Menexenos* and the prose writers of the fourth century, be they orators, historians or comedians, do use their texts as educational instruments, directed towards the *polis'* citizens and, more importantly, the elite. Pownall (2003: 3-4) goes a step further in suggesting that there is an opposing duality: oratory and democracy against history and aristocracy. In either case, orators and historians alike selectively used the past to accomplish their own agenda. And yet, all of them, being part of the same society, work towards the construction of memories that, as they saw it, would benefit the *polis* and pave the way for the future.

3.1.4. Declared Public Uses of the Past: Some Thoughts on the Epigraphic Evidence

There is one place where we can actually see, rather than infer, the uses of the past in the public discourse: in the epigraphic corpus. Fortunately, we do have a large body of inscriptions that can partly fill in the gap that the lack of oratorical texts and historical narrative creates for the early Hellenistic period. Inscriptions can be depictions both of diplomatic relations and of internal affairs and can offer a complementary perspective on how the Athenians chose to preserve and present their past (for the importance of inscriptions during the fourth century and the use of the past, see Lambert, 2012). Importantly, the selective use of the past in the inscriptions operates as a standing memorial of that past and of the *demos'*

agreement to present a specific version of that past in a specific moment. Effectively, it is the official archive of the way in which the Athenians chose to present their own history and inform their identity at that moment and a return point for the future.

There are telling examples of the uses of the past in the epigraphical corpus in support of the disseminated message presenting the Athenians as protectors of freedom. In 379/8, just after the liberation of Thebes from Sparta, the Athenians openly invited the Greek *poleis* to form a new alliance (Diod. 15.28). Many *poleis* responded positively – among them Khios, Byzantion, Rhodos, and Mytilene – and the Athenians established a *synedrion* for the allies to meet. Thus, in 377, the Athenian assembly passed a decree (IG II² 43) which founded the Second Athenian Confederacy. The decree is, in effect, a call for members and advertises the role of the Athenians as protectors of the freedom (ἐλευθερία) and autonomy (αὐτονομία) of the Greek *poleis* from the Spartan rule.¹⁹ Moreover, in the decree, the Athenians emphasise their commitment to abolishing previous unpopular practices and protecting the freedom and *autonomia* of all the members of the new confederacy. Among other statements, the highly advertised new policy of non-interference with the members includes the freedom to live under their chosen constitutions; the guarantee that the member *poleis* will receive no garrisons or rulers; the absence of tribute (φόρος); and the abolishment of the *kleroukhies* coupled with the ban on farming land outside Attike for Athenian citizens.²⁰ Diodoros' account (15.30.2) mentions 70 *poleis* as members of the Second Athenian Confederacy and is consistent with the evidence provided by the decree that lists 58 members (cf. also, Aeschin. 2.70). They would all find out soon enough that the Athenian proclamations were not entirely true.²¹

¹⁹ Il. 9-11: ὅπως ἂν Λακεδ[αιμό]νιοι ἑῶσι τὸς Ἑλληνας ἐλευθέ[ρ]ος [καὶ] αὐτονόμος ἡσυχίαν ἄγειν τῇ[ν] χώραν].

²⁰ Il. 19-23: ἐξεῖναι αὐ[τ]ῶ[ι] ἐλευθέ[ρ]ωι ὄντι καὶ αὐτονόμωι, πολιτ[ευομέν]ωι πολιτείαν ἣν ἂν βόληται μήτε [φορο]ῦσαν εἰσδεχομένωι μήτε ἄρχοντα ὑπο[δεχ]ομένωι μήτε φόρον φέροντι, For the *kleroukhies*, Il. 27-31: ἀφεῖναι τὸν δῆμον τὰ ἐγκτήματα ὅποσ ἂν τυγχάνηι ὄντα ἢ ἴδια ἢ [δ]ημόσια Αθ[η]ναίων ἐν τῇι χώρῃ τῶν ποιο[υμένων] τὴν συμμαχίαν καὶ περὶ τούτων π[ίστιν] δοῦναι α[ὐ]τοῖς.

²¹ There are many examples of the deviation of Athens from the promised rule of conduct. For example, the Athenians actively interfered to the internal affairs of Kerkyra (361; Diod. 15.95.3) and Keos (IG II² 111). Moreover, Athens soon after the decree had installed a garrison in Abdera (Diod. 15.36.1-4) and there is evidence of Athenian governors in Arkesine of Amorgos (356; IG XII,7 5) and Andros (356; IG II² 123; cf. Aeschin. 1.107). Moreover, although there was no direct *phoros* to the Athenians, as was the case

In accordance with the popular public discourse, in this very important and highly political public document the Athenians identified themselves as guardians of freedom and autonomy (for the uses of 'freedom' in Athenian political discourse, see Raaflaub, 2004: 166-180; for a thorough analysis of both terms and their uses, see Wallace, 2011a). The links to the projected legacy are obvious; in continuity to their past role, one undertaken on the eve of the Persian Wars, the Athenians heed the call of the Greek *poleis* for protection and assume a leading position against the oppressor(s). Interestingly, the use of the past does not end there. The decree makes direct mention of a form of *damnatio memoriae*: the Athenians pledged to destroy all the existing unfavourable *stelai* situated at Athens for any of the *poleis* who wished to become members of the new alliance.²² Thus, any of the previous decrees that described measures and held guarantees of the Athenian *demos* against other *poleis*, now possible allies, were to be destroyed in the event of the formalisation of a new relation with them. At first reading, this was an acknowledgement of the past and an attempt to correct perceived injustices. However, it was in effect an evident alteration to the past of the *polis* and its public record, as well as a revocation of the measures or actions described. The exploitation of the political language of the degree does not end there. To further demonstrate their focus on protecting the Greek *poleis* from their oppressors, the *stèle* with the decree was erected next to the statue of Zeus Eleutherios,²³ located in the north-west of the Agora (cf. Paus. 1.3.2-3). The symbolism is very strong, as is the attempt of the Athenians to dignify their proclamation. In any case, this is just a theatrical, yet deeply political, act, which is consistent with the Athenians' political exploitation not only of their past but of religion as well.

Interestingly, there is more evidence of the consistency of Athenian political discourse. The Athenians seemed to follow some of the oratorical advice, in a

in the fifth century, there were contributions (*syntaxeis*) to the allied Council soon after the decree was inscribed (*FGrHist* 115 F98). Lastly, the island of Samos was sieged by Timotheos and probably had a cleruchy since 365 (Diod. 18.18.9). For an overview of Athenian settlements during the fourth century cf. Cargill, 1995.

²² II. 31-35: ἐὰν δέ τῳι τι γυγχαν[η]ι τῶν πόλεων [τῶν ποιομένων] τὴν συμμαχίαν πρὸς Ἀθην[αίους] στήλαι ὄσαι Ἀθήνησι ἀνεπιτήδειοι, τὴν βολὴν τὴν αἰὲς βολεύουσιν κυρίαν εἶναι καθαιρεῖν.

²³ II. 63-66: τὸ δ[ὲ] ψήφισμα τότε ὁ γραμματεὺς ὁ τῆς βολῆς ἀναγρ[αψάτω] ἐν στήλῃ λιθίνῃ καὶ καταθέ[τω] παρὰ τὸν Δία τὸν Ἐλευθέριον.

manifestation of the close connections between oratory, the elite and actual politics (cf. Ober, 1989: 112-126). Thus, for example, in 369, the Athenians and the Spartans concluded an alliance (Xen. *Hell.* 7.1; Diod. 15.67.1), in the spirit of Athenian and Spartan co-operation not against the Persian, but against the new threat, the Thebans. The Athenians happily undertook the role of protector of the Greek *poleis* again, even if the 'enemy' was changing faces.

The fluidity with which the enemy changes faces is one of the most prolific aspects of the manipulation of the past. Even if the past was pointing towards a specific enemy, the general role, that of protector of freedom and autonomy, was applicable to any future threats. The only requirement was the continuous tapping of the cultural memory of the Athenians and a re-narration of *polis* history to inform and alter their communicative memory. The role of guardians of freedom against any enemy persisted and became a common *topos* for the Athenian political discourse since its first attestation during and shortly after the Persian Wars (Raaflaub, 2004: 58-67; Wallace, 2011a: 18-23). Its manifestation can also be seen in the wording of the Khremonides' Decree (268/7; *Syll.*³ 434/5), which will be discussed later.

Naturally, as inscriptions are constructs for preserving memory, they deal with the past. Thus, as we move further into the Hellenistic period, the epigraphic evidence reveals many more examples of the use of the past. During the many changes in the polity of Athens, its citizens effectively used the public record and always strove to solidify the links with the Athens of 'Old', preserving their own identity and continuity in defiance of the times, or more correctly, due to these. It is exactly for the aforementioned reasons that in the aftermath of the liberation by the Antigonids and in contrast to the Demetrios of Phaleron' regime which stood silent in terms of such actions, there was a boom in the production of decrees (Tracy, 2000: 227-229).

The honorific decree for the *proxenos* Timosthenes of Karystos (*IG* II² 467+459 Add.; 306/5), which is invoked again in a later decree of his descendant (*IG* II³ 1, 1135; 228/7), offers an excellent example of the subtle use of the past in Athenian epigraphy and of the representation of the Athenians as the protectors of freedom. The decree grants Athenian citizenship to Timosthenes in return for the services he provided to the *polis*. It highlights the leading role of Athens, in the capacity of its full

demos, in the *Hellenikos Polemos* and its role as ‘protector of the Greeks’ against Antipatros, while passing over in silence the Athenian defeat in the Lamian War and its negative outcomes:

- 6 ἐ[ν τῷ πολέμῳ ὃν πεπολέμηκε]-
 ν ὁ δῆμος ὁ Ἀθηναίων [πρὸς Ἀντίπατρον ὑπὲρ τῆς ἐλ]-
 8 ευθερίας τῶν [Ε]λλή[νων].
 [Trans.] during [the war that]
 the Athenian people [fought against Antipatros]
 8 on behalf of the freedom of] the Greeks.

Similar to the uses of the past in oratory, in the epigraphic record the Athenians follow the same trend of highlighting the glory of their *polis* and diminishing or silencing any unfavourable events. Likewise, the Athenians are consistent in their civic rhetoric: it focuses on two main points, the appropriation of the role of “protectors of the Greeks” against any external threats and the democratic regime of the *polis*. As discussed above, in the decree for Timosthenes, the Athenian *demos* undertook the task of fighting for the “freedom (ἐλευθερία) of the Greeks” against the Makedonians. The links between the referenced past, the memories of the Lamian War, and the time of the Decree are strengthened through the connection of the fight against Antipatros (then) and his son Kassandros (now). Indeed, the *polis* again fulfilled its assumed role when facing Kassandros.

Closely connected to the rhetoric of the glorious past and the preserved memory of the *polis* is its democratic constitution. One of the earliest examples of this in the epigraphic corpus is the motion presented by Stratokles of Diomeia to the Athenian assembly in the aftermath of the liberation by the Antigonids (307/6). The decree was passed and was inscribed, a telling example of the dynamic re-narration of the past by the reinstated democratic regime. It awards posthumous honours to Lykourgos (*IG* II² 457; *Plut. Mor.* 852A-E), rendering him a symbol of both democracy and of the freedom of the Greeks, for he had dedicated his life to strengthening the city and keeping it free and autonomous, and caring for the well-being of all the Greeks, while he remained uncorrupted (Lambert, 2012: 264-265):

- [ετέλει ἐναντιούμενος ὑπὲρ] τοῦ δήμου ἀδιάφθορον κ-
 [αὶ ἀνεξέλεγκτον αὐτὸν ὑπὲρ] τῆς πατρίδος καὶ τῆς τῶ-
 15 [ν Ἑλλήνων ἀπάντων σωτηρίας] διὰ παντὸς τοῦ βίου παρ-
 [έχων καὶ ὑπὲρ τοῦ τὴν πόλιν] ἐλευθέραν εἶναι καὶ αὐτ-
 [όνομον πάσῃ μηχανῇ ἀγωνι]ζόμενος.
 [Trans.] he acted as the champion of the people (against Alexandros III);
 he remained incorruptible and dedicated
 15 to the protection of his homeland [and the salvation of all the
 Greeks] he strove by every means to keep the city
 free and autonomous.

In the text of the decree there is specific mention of the opposition by Lykourgos to Alexandros III in an attempt to contextualise the decision of the decree in the ambient resistance to Kassandros. Interestingly, though, the proposer of the decree, Stratokles, who was very active in the period, was the same man who proposed to the Athenians that they grant divine honours to the Antigonids (Diod. 20.46.2; Plut. *Demetr.* 10-11). However, this should not be treated as an ambiguity in the language of the Athenian politicians of the period (for the ambiguity of political language in early Hellenistic Athens, see Mari, 2003). In contrast, it should be approached as a pragmatic and calculated action which utilised one of the most prominent tools of the Athenians – the ability to create, preserve and successfully disseminate a single constructed Athenian identity, which integrated very different elements. The Athenians could at the same time celebrate Lykourgos as a symbol of democracy and as a beacon of freedom against the Makedonians, while accepting the Antigonids (also Makedonians) as Soteres and reinstators of democracy (see also Wallace, 2018: 58-59).

The linking point between the two, otherwise thought to be completely contrary, decrees is the democratic polity of Athens, which was situated at the core of the Athenian memory and identity. Habicht (1997: 2) argues, based on the epigraphic record, that the Athenians in the Hellenistic period regulated their affairs in an exemplary manner. I believe that we could say much more – the understanding of the power of the past and its uses for the *polis* by the Athenian elite is exemplary. Whenever there is a possibility to propagate messages that would solidify the civic

bonds, there is a manifestation of that understanding. Along with the honorific decree, a statue of Lykourgos was erected (*IG* II² 3776). The continuous feeding of contemporary Athens upon its past did not stop there. Lykourgos' son Habron served as administrator of the *polis*' finances (307/6; *IG* II² 463.36) and military treasurer (306/5; *IG* II² 1492 B 123), in recognition of his family tradition of service towards the city (Habicht, 1997: 68).

We can find similar examples that stressed the democratic origins and the liberation of the Athens and which honoured prolific citizens in the democratic regime of 288/7. In 283/2, the Athenian *demos* honoured the comic poet Philippides (*IG* II² 657), renowned for his diplomatic relations with Lysimakhos and his benevolence to the Athenians (cf. Habicht, 1997: 78-82, 136; Burstein 11; Austin 54). The long honorific decree lists the many occasions in which Philippides acted in protection of the *polis* or its citizens – both in Athens and abroad – as well as his frequent expenditure towards these goals. The relationship and help of Lysimakhos towards Athens against the Antigonids is an important example of the diplomatic network of Athens. However, even more important is the reference to the freedom of the *polis*²⁴ and Philippides' significant political act:

- καὶ ἐπί]θετον ἀγῶνα κατεσκεύασεν τεῖ Δήμ-
 [ητρι καὶ τεῖ Κόρη]ι [πρ]ῶτος ὑπόμνημα τῆς τοῦ δήμου
 45 [ἐλευθερίας, ἐπεμελή]θη δὲ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἀγῶνων κα-
 [ὶ θυσιῶν ὑπὲρ τῆς πόλεω]ς, καὶ εἰς ταῦτα πάντα ἐκ τῶ-
 [ν ἰδίων ἀναλώσας πολλὰ χρ]ήματα τὰς εὐθύνας δέδω-
 κεν κατὰ το[ῦ]ς νόμους κα[ὶ οὐ]θὲν ὑπεναντίον πρὸς [δ]-
 ημοκρατίαν οὐδεπώποτε [ἐποίησ]ε[ν ο]ὔτ[ε λόγῳ οὔτ']
 50 ἔργῳ·
 [Trans.] and an additional competition to Demeter and Kore he
 instituted first, (as) a memorial to the *demos*' [freedom];
 45 and he managed the other competitions and sacrifices on behalf
 of the *polis*, and on all these (undertakings) from his own

²⁴ I. 31: κομισαμένου τοῦ δήμου τὴν ἐλευθερίαν. Philippides also worked towards the liberation of Peiraieus from the Makedonian garrison, asking the help of Lysimakhos, cf. II. 33-36: αἱ παρακαλῶν τὸν βασιλέα βοηθ | εἶν καὶ χρήμασιν καὶ σίτῳ, ὅπως ἂν διαμένει ὁ δῆμος | ὅς ἐλεύθερος ὦν καὶ τὸν Πειραιᾶ κομίσῃται καὶ τὰ | φρούρια τὴν ταχίστην,

(resources) he spent a lot of money and fulfilled his responsibilities according to the laws, and against democracy he never did anything either by word or deed

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As we can see from the decree, Philippides instituted a new dramatic competition, dedicated to Demeter and Kore in commemoration of the freedom of the people (τῆς τοῦ δήμου ἐλευθερίας). More so, while being the director of all the dramatic competitions for the year, he covered all the expenses with his own resources. All his actions (and words) agreed with the democratic regime. The decree creates an *antithesis* between the Makedonian yoke and freedom (ἐλευθερία), with the latter linked to the democratic regime (δημοκρατίαν), as opposed to the period before. The celebratory language of the decree carries the deeply political use of the past and its links to the present. Maybe it is worthwhile to remember that Philippides, the poet of the, otherwise, apolitical New Comedy, introduced the new competition – the connections between civic identity, use of the past and politics are profound.

Another prominent example is the honorific decree for Kallias of Sphettos (270/69; *SEG* 28:60). The decree praises Kallias for his efforts in defence of the city and for his altruism and dedication in securing help and support from the Ptolemies. According to the decree, the oligarchic regime of Demetrios Poliorketes had confiscated his property, but the new regime honoured him not only for his services but because he acted in no way against the democracy of all the Athenians.²⁵ The identifier of the new regime as ‘the democracy of all the Athenians’ is very strong, as are the high praises to Kallias. Again, the decree chooses to present a selective past – one that now includes the new supporters of the *polis*, the Ptolemies – in connection to its democratic principles and its success against its enemies: the oligarchic regime of Demetrios Poliorketes and the Makedonians.

The continual use of similar language and the dissemination of specific messages – of the great democratic Athens that achieved victory over its enemies/different threats (from the Persians to the Makedonians) – had direct

²⁵ II. 81-83: ὥστε μ[ηδὲν ὕ] | πεναντίον προᾶσαι μήτε τοῖς νόμοις μήτε τεῖ δημοκ[ρατί] | αἱ τεῖ ἐξ ἀπάντων Ἀθηναίων.

consequences, not only within, but also outside the Athenian society. Thus, it is not surprising that Pausanias contrasts the invasion of the Celts in 279 with the invasion of the Persians (Paus. 10.19-10.23; Habicht, 1997: 132; Bayliss, 2011: 187-210). For Pausanias, writing centuries later, it was natural that the Athenians and Kallippos held the high command against the Celtic invasion due to ‘their ancient reputation’ (Paus. 10.20.5).²⁶ The narrative of the leadership of the Athenians against the barbarians is so embedded in Athenian cultural memory that it even informed the wider Greek collective memory long afterwards (Bayliss, 2011: 195-197; Luraghi, 2018: 34-36). The leading position of Athens and its tradition is not only an Athenian *topos* of prestige. According to Plutarch (*Demetr.* 8.2), Antigonos Monophthalmos commented that ‘Athens was the beacon-tower of the world’ and that having Athens by their side will demonstrate the Antigonids’ glory everywhere.²⁷ The internal and external views here coincide – this is a victory for the disseminated message and an affirmation of the collective identity of the Athenians; the proof that the use of the past is a very powerful instrument in the hands of a *polis* and can be propagated not only aggressively,²⁸ but also culturally.

What has become apparent from the discussion that far, is that as early as the fifth century, Athenian public discourse was in fact, largely institutionalised even if its mechanisms were based on social integration (*contra* Ober, 1989: 309; cf. Shear, 2013: 531-536). The lessons of the past, the connection of that past to the present, and the formation of the Athenian collective identity were made largely through participation in politics and public life. From oratory to drama, and from local history to the manifested uses of the past in the epigraphic evidence, the Athenians were raised on stories of the past – from myths to historical events (Ober, 1989: 158). In the same public sphere, they were educated to live by example so that they might be worthy descendants of their ancestors and bring glory to the *polis*. Of course, the Athenians had much to learn as well in their private lives, through family and relatives. However, even the private readings of the past were greatly affected by their public equivalents, with the differentiation of personal experiences and the

²⁶ καὶ ἡγεμονίαν οὗτοι κατ’ ἀξίωμα εἶχον τὸ ἀρχαῖον.

²⁷ τὰς δὲ Ἀθήνας, ὥσπερ σκοπὴν τῆς οἰκουμένης, ταχὺ τῇ δόξῃ διαπυρσεύειν εἰς ἅπαντας ἀνθρώπους τὰς πράξεις.

²⁸ See the different uses of the past in early Hellenistic Sparta, especially during the reign of Areus, discussed below (chapter three).

alterations of the short-term memory. In any case, all these processes informed how the Athenians should act in the future.

3.2. APPROACHING THE ATHENIAN COMMUNICATIVE MEMORY

In contrast to the cultural memory which was largely institutionalised in the public sphere – from comedy and local history to oratory, philosophy and the public record – the short-term, communicative memory of the Athenians in the late fourth century was full of Athenian defeats. The living experiences of the Athenians and their transmission to future generations came in contrast to the disseminated messages as seen and discussed above. And yet, through the coexistence and interplay between these two different memories – the institutionalised, collective memory and the short-term, communicative memory – the Athenians were able to navigate through the many difficulties of the early Hellenistic period.

The Athenians were at odds with the Makedonians as early as 357, when Philip captured Amphipolis, Pydna and Potidaia in his quest to consolidate his power and the Makedonian kingdom (Diod. 16.8.2-7). The events of the Third Sacred War (356-346) and the Olynthian War (349-348; *FGrHist* 328 F49-51) made Philippos a dominant player in Greek affairs. The Peace of Philokrates (346) did not help de-escalation as it was short-lived. The events of the Fourth Sacred War (339-338) and the formal declaration of war against Athens led to a direct confrontation that culminated in the battle at Khaironeia (338). The defeat by Philippos II of the allied army, partly led by Athens, signalled the loss of autonomy for the Athenians, the result of *de facto* Makedonian domination. In contrast to the repercussions that Khaironeia brought upon Thebes, the Athenians were treated leniently; however, many Athenians were lost in the battle (buried in a single *polyandreion*; Paus. 1.29.13), or were held as prisoners of war, the Second Athenian Confederacy was officially dissolved, and Athens had to comply with the Makedonian prescripts (Habicht, 1997: 11-12). However, the consequences of this defeat did not stop there; the great defeat and the dissolution of the Confederacy should have signalled a similar feeling among the Athenians to those in 404 and at the end of the Peloponnesian War. Then it was the Spartans, now the Makedonians.

Under these terms, the Hellenic alliance (338/7), organised by Philippos II, confirmed the subjugation not only of Athens but the majority of Greek *poleis* to the bidding of the Makedonians and incorporated them into the grand plan of Philippos against the Persian Empire (Diod. 16.89.3; Just. 9.5). The League and the so-called Κοινὴ Εἰρήνη (Common Peace) – an oath of loyalty to Philippos II and his descendants, which recognised the Makedonian king as the *hegemon* of the *syndrion* of the Greek states (Syll.³ 260; IG II² 236) – were ratified by Alexandros III after the assassination of Philippos II (336) and the short, unsuccessful revolt of the Greek cities against the Makedonians (Diod. 17.3-4).

Although the Athenians were not involved in the revolt against the Makedonians in 331, they were greatly affected later by Alexandros III's Exiles Decree (Diod. 18.8.2-7; Austin 19). During the 114th Olympiad (324), Alexandros announced that all the exiles from Greek *poleis* should return. Naturally, the decree instigated discord within the *poleis*, and especially at Athens due to their control of Samos since 365, still held after Khaironeia. Along with the death of Alexandros III (323), this provided an opportunity to battle the Makedonians again openly. A new anti-Makedonian League was formed, which was led by the Athenians and included the Aitolian League as well as the Locrians, the Phocians and the Thessalians (Diod. 18.9.5; 18.11.1). The resulting war against the Makedonians and Antipatros, the so-called Lamian or Hellenic War (323-322), was, however, quick. After some initial success under the leadership of the Athenian general Leosthenes, who died besieging Lamia (Diod. 18.13; Just. 13.5; Paus. 3.6.1), the coalition's army was defeated at Krannon (Diod. 18.17) after the failure of the naval forces (defeated at Amorgos, 322; Diod. 18.15; *FGrHist* 239 B, F9) to prevent the arrival of reinforcements from Asia. The consequences of the war were grave for the Athenians. Antipatros' diplomatic skills once again isolated Athens from its allies and pressured the Athenians to accept heavy terms: they had to dissolve their democratic regime in favour of a plutocratic, in effect, regime;²⁹ to relocate part of the population that lost its citizen rights to Thrace; and to accept a Makedonian garrison in Mounychia (Diod. 18.18). Moreover, the most prominent leaders of the

²⁹ Citizen rights were linked to wealth as only those who possessed 2,000 drachmas could remain citizens.

anti-Makedonian faction, namely Demosthenes,³⁰ Hypereides, Aristomachos and Himeraios, were executed (Plut. *Dem.* 28-29) and Samos was lost. This was the second time within less than twenty years that the Athenians saw another coalition under their leadership defeated and dismantled, a bitter blow to their aim of reinstating their hegemony. More importantly, they could feel the grave consequences – the dissolution of their democratic regime. To Athenian memory, this would serve as another reminder of the previous defeat at Khaironeia and would refresh their cultural memories of the great defeat that led to the end of the Peloponnesian War and the rule of the Thirty. Actually, in this instance, we can see the concurrent workings of both communicative and cultural memory – one feeding and informing the other.

After the death of Antipatros in 319, Athens was heavily involved in the conflict between the regent Polyperchon and Antipatros' son, Kassandros, especially due to Athens' strategic location both as a city and as a harbour (Bayliss, 2011: 141). While the garrison was loyal to Kassandros, who made sure that the garrison commander, Menyllos, was replaced by his own nephew, Nikanor (Plut. *Phoc.* 31), the fate of the *polis* remained undecided. What it is important here is Polyperchon's response. In a continuation of the benevolence of Philippos II and Alexandros III towards the Greeks, Polyperchon proclaimed his intention of restoring democracy in Athens and free the Greek *poleis* from Kassandros' garrisons (Diod. 18.56; see also Habicht, 1997: 49-50). Polyperchon's decree and the military force sent to Athens under the command of his son, Alexandros, led to a dynamic, yet short-lived, democratic revolution against the oligarchic regime. Phokion, the main protagonist of the period after the Lamian War,³¹ was tried and sentenced to death (Plut. *Phoc.* 31-37; Diod. 18.64-67). Phokion was punished for his actions during the conflict between Polyperchon and Kassandros, when he failed to serve the interests of his *polis* (Habicht, 1997: 48-53; Bayliss, 2011: 141-151). However ambiguously his life is

³⁰ Demosthenes' status was later reinstated in Athens by his nephew Demochares of Leuconoe who proposed a decree of *megistai timai* (highest honours) in 280/279 ([Plut.] *X Orat.* 847d-851c; cf. MacDowell, 2009: 424-426; Canevaro, 2018).

³¹ According to Plutarch (*Phoc.* 8.1-2), he was held the office of *strategos* more times than any other Athenian politician, having been elected 45 times. Diodoros' account (18.65.4) also highlights his prominent role in Athenian politics, for he and his friends feared for their lives, and rightly so, after the re-institution of democracy.

presented by the sources, Phokion's services to the *polis* in total were recognised and he was awarded a state burial and a bronze statue (Plut. *Phoc.* 38).

In 317, Kassandros, with the help of Antigonos, was able to mount an offensive against Polyperchon; his fleet arrived at Mounychia and with the seizure of Peiraieus by Nikanor Kassandros' position in Athens was greatly strengthened. Soon, the forces of Kassandros and Antigonos destroyed Polyperchon's fleet and Athens had to surrender. The Athenians were to accept Demetrios of Phaleron, who had escaped capture and death during the short-lived democracy of 318-317, as their governor. The polity was again changed based on an oligarchic constitution that recognised citizen rights for those who possessed a minimum of 1,000 drachmas; Kassandros kept a garrison in Mounychia towards his war efforts; but the Athenians were free to decide about all internal affairs and could keep their navy. Moreover, the leading politicians of the democratic revival were executed. For the next ten years, the Athenians would live under Demetrios of Phaleron's regime until the liberation of the city by Antigonos and Demetrios.

The detailed account of the events of the second half of the fourth century for Athens, served a specific purpose – to highlight the many changes that the *polis* had undergone and to put under perspective the political choices of the Athenians, as informed by their recent memories. Within fifty years, the Athenians had faced many defeats – both political and military. More importantly, two of the most significant characteristics of the Athenian identity were constantly challenged and at times completely lost. The first one is their traditional position as leader of the Greeks, as manifested in two instances, the Battle of Khaironeia and the Lamian War, where Athens was leading larger alliances against the Makedonians. The second one is the polity of the *polis*, its democratic regime. In two instances, the regime was changed to a plutocracy or a restrictive oligarchy: first, in the aftermath of the Lamian War and the polity imposed by Antipatros (322/1); secondly, by the restricted polity imposed by Kassandros, under the rule of Demetrios of Phaleron (317-307), just after the democratic revolution of 318-317. Both are situated in the core of the Athenian cultural memory, as already discussed above, and together form the Athenian civic identity (Lambert, 2012: 254).

3.2.1. In Honour of the Makedonian Kings

Maybe, then, the response to the Antigonids' liberation in 307/6 should be seen in the light of the successful revival of the democratic regime; a deeply political act with many links to the cultural and communicative memory of the Athenians.

For a decade (317-307), the Athenians were governed by Demetrios of Phaleron, under the aegis of Kassandros. Demetrios was highly regarded for his public administration skills (cf. Douris of Samos, *FGrHist* 76 F10; Cic. *Leg.* 3.14) and even seen as a great lawgiver (Cic. *Rep.* 2.2).³² He proceeded to introduce legal reforms that changed the democratic polity (Parian Chronicle; *FGrHist* 239 B13; for a detailed analysis of the regime of Demetrios of Phaleron, see O'Sullivan, 2009). Apart from the restrictions imposed on to the citizen body, limiting the political rights to those who had at least 1,000 drachmas, Demetrios expanded the duties of the *nomophylakes* (*FGrHist* 328 F64; Pollux. 8.102; cf. O'Sullivan, 2001; Tracy, 2003; O'Sullivan, 2009: 72-86); introduced laws restricting demonstration of wealth in public, from burials and memorials to private life and marriage; assigned powers to the Areios Pagos for moral and religious affairs; and abolished the *choregia* (O'Sullivan, 2009: 45-102). Indeed, there are very strong oligarchic characteristics in these reforms, but this seems to reflect the need for direct control by Kassandros (*contra* Tracy, 2003: 12; O'Sullivan, 2009: 106-108). Athens was governed by Demetrios as an *epimeletes* in his name, and a Makedonian garrison occupied Mounychia. Naturally, a change in Athens' predicament for the better with the expulsion of the *epimeletes* or a change to the status of governance could alone be the reason for the celebrations of 307/6.

When Antigonos I and his son Demetrios Poliorketes liberated Athens from Kassandros (307) and restored its democracy, they were lavishly honoured by the Athenians (Plut. *Demetr.* 10.3-5; Diod. 20.46). In terms of political analysis, Athens was incapable of leading any offensive against the Antigonids and was unable even to defend herself. The Second Athenian Confederacy and the once powerful fleet were long gone, and at the time of their liberation from Kassandros the acceptance

³² Athenaios (*Deipn.* 12.16.242B-E) and his source, Douris of Samos, criticise Demetrios of Phaleron for hypocrisy, as he was leading an extravagant life in direct contrast to his rules against the demonstration of wealth in public.

of Antigonos and Demetrios was a necessity. Even if considered at face value, siding with the Antigonids offered the Athenians the opportunity to combat Kassandros and avenge the *polis'* harsh experiences in the past decade, as they indeed did in the Four Years' War (307/6-304/3). Now, in terms of psychological evaluation, the Athenians were shaken, and their response to the liberation from Kassandros, paired with the proclamation of freedom by Demetrios, naturally led to public praise of their Saviours (for a similar interpretation cf. Kralli, 1996: 189-191; Mikalson, 1998: 301-302). Diodoros' account (20.46) is already politically charged, for Demetrios 'restored the freedom to the people' and established the ancestral constitution (*patrios politeia*) again, although this is not entirely accurate. The main innovations of Demetrios of Phaleron – namely the new census classes and the body of *nomophylakes* – were abolished; however, the abolition of the *choregia* remained, as well as the laws against luxury (Habicht, 1997: 67). However, the use of the term '*patrios politeia*' by Diodoros seems suspicious enough. Although he is writing many years later, his probable source is the *History* of Hieronymos of Kardia (354-250; *FGrHist.* 154 T3, 4-6), who is biased in favour of Antigonos Gonatas (Paus. 1.9.8) being an official of the Antigonids (Diod. 19.44.3; Plut. *Demetr.* 39.4; Paus. 1.9.8). In this light, the reference to the ancestral constitution should be understood as a political slogan. Within Athenian history and political discourse, the term was heavily used during the last years of the Peloponnesian War and with renewed fervour after the defeat at Aigos Potamoi and the regime of the Thirty Tyrants (Fuks, 1953: v-vi; for the extensive use of the term in the Hellenistic period, see Wallace, 2011a: 176-186). The slogan was revived during the Hellenistic period due to its creative ambiguity (cf. the use of the term in the Khremonides' Decree, *Syll.*³ 434/5); the ancestral constitution was a malleable invention based on different views and beliefs and according to contemporary needs. The manipulation of the past was of course used by both sides. In a similar manner, Demetrios of Phaleron in his works claimed that his rule was peaceful, and he was a benefactor to the people of Athens (Diod. 18.74.3)³³ as he preserved and 'corrected' the democratic regime (Str. 9.1.20).³⁴

³³ ἤρχεν εἰρηνικῶς καὶ πρὸς τοὺς πολίτας φιλανθρώπως.

³⁴ ὃς οὐ μόνον οὐ κατέλυσε τὴν δημοκρατίαν ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐπηνώρθωσε. δημοῖ δὲ τὰ ὑπομνήματα ἃ συνέγραψε περὶ τῆς πολιτείας ταύτης ἐκεῖνος.

In another ancient account, Plutarch (*Demetr.* 10.2) heavily criticises the honours that the Athenians offered to their liberators, yet he is clear about the logical sequence that led to such praises. However, for Plutarch, the immeasurable honours (ἀμετρία τιμαί) made Demetrios extremely ‘ponderous and burdensome’ (ἐπαχθῇ καὶ βαρύν). Naturally, the offer of divine honours could be seen as absurd if taken at face value. However, I believe that the Athenians acted in their best interests without jeopardising their own future. The integration of the restoration of democracy and of the Antigonids into Athenian identity was an intentional action, and as such it did not stop at divine honours but was multilayered, ranging from politics to religion and to the alteration of the Athenian urban landscape. In order to successfully assimilate the historical event into Athenian identity without altering its core essence, the narrative had to encapsulate both political and religious aspects as naturally as possible.³⁵ Thus, the Athenians, or the politically astute elite, were eager to knit a harmonically woven web around it.

At the political level, two new tribes – Antigonis and Demetrias – were named after the kings (Plut. *Demetr.* 10.3-4; Diod. 20.46) and were added to the first lines of the Athenian tribal list. Closely connected to the new tribes was the erection of two golden statues of Antigonos and Demetrios next to those of Harmodios and Aristogeiton (Paus. 1.8.5) by decree of the people (Diod. 20.46.2). The symbolism was hard to miss; just like the tyrannicides, Antigonos and Demetrios were being honoured for the restoration of democracy. Yet the location of the statues in the sacred space transcends political symbolism and enters into the spheres of memory and religion. The memory linked to the restoration of democracy was now altered in the official record to include the two Makedonians, just as the landscape of the Athenian Agora was altered as a physical reminder of the new narrative. Moreover, the use of gold rather than bronze elevated the status and value of the new additions. Statues of the two kings were also added to the monument of the eponymous heroes as a result of the creation of the new tribes, along with several other depictions of Makedonians (Shear, 1970: 197-198; Brogan, 2003; Ma, 2013: 124). Nevertheless,

³⁵ This will happen again later, with the famous ithyphallic hymn for Demetrios Poliorketes (Douris *FGrHist* 76 F13; Demochares *FGrHist* 75 F2; Athen. *Deipn.* 6.253B-F), sung by the Athenians in 291/0. Chaniotis (2011) sees a strong expression of religion, but in a deeply political context, and offers an overview of the relevant bibliography and an analysis (contra Mikalson 1998: 94-96; cf. Habicht, 1997: 92-97; Austin 43).

Antigonos' and Demetrios' act of restoration acquired religious connotations as it was central to the Athenians' self-image; thus, it was deemed 'sacred', allowing the Athenians to place the new statues in the sacred area and the monument of the eponymous heroes.

Starting, of course, with the erection of the altar to the *Soteres* (Saviours), the annual games and the sacrifice in their name (Diod. 20.46.2), the two Makedonians entered the Athenian religious traditions quite dynamically. However, there were more steps in the process, indicative both of the celebratory nature of the honours and of the need to integrate them with Athenian identity. Another altar was dedicated to Demetrios Kataibates, erected in the exact place where Demetrios descended from his chariot (Plut. *Demetr.* 10.2-4; Kralli, 1996: 187-188). Also transcending the borders of politics and religion, Antigonos and Demetrios were inserted into one of the most prominent civic rituals, the Panathenaia – an excellent example of how to appropriate an externally driven act and manipulate identity and memory (see also Erskine, 2014). Their portraits were woven into the sacred peplos of Athena, another symbolic and physical reference that integrated the two kings into pre-existing civic forms, informing the collective memory of the Athenians (cf. Erskine, 2014: 589). Furthermore, Philochoros (*FGrHist* 328 F48) mentions the existence of two sacred triremes in addition to *Ammonias* and *Paralos*,³⁶ named after the kings – *Antigonis* and *Demetrias* – bringing the number up to four. Bubelis (2010) argues that the Athenians of the fourth century (probably with reforms dated 363/2) had adopted a religious policy towards their military affairs connecting *gene* and crews of the sacred triremes. Be that as it may, the inclusion of the two ships named after the Antigonids among the sacred triremes is evidence of some change in Athenian policy. It seems that political and religious affairs are no less intertwined than in earlier periods, based on the needs of the *polis* survival; in a way, it indicates that politics and religion are intertwined, especially when the latter can serve civic objectives (Chaniotis, 2011: 187-189; Erskine, 2014).

³⁶ The sacred triremes of the Athenians during the late fifth century were *Salaminia* (Σαλαμινία) and *Paralos* (Πάραλος). They were used both in military expeditions as well as in special occasions transporting envoys or as messenger ships. *Salaminia*, which cannot be associated with a Heroic figure, must have been replaced by *Ammonias*, possibly around 363/2 or during the Lykourgan period (cf. Rhodes, 1993: 688; for the earlier date see, Bubelis, 2010). *Paralos* is named after the hero *Paralos*, son of Poseidon (cf. Kearns, 1989: 42-43).

We should, therefore, approach the divine honours granted to Antigonos and Demetrios in this light, that of serving the public good. Indeed, the level of integration of the Saviours into Athenian traditions is multi-level, and thus unusual. This may be another possible indicator that the Athenians – specifically the elite – understood the need to navigate the precarious times with as much conformity as possible. The creation of a unified narrative, with the Antigonids embedded within it, served both internal and external aims. However, this was not the only instance, within the short-term memory of the *polis* (both of Athens or elsewhere in Greece), when the demos offered or discussed the possibility of granting divine honours to special living individuals (there are also precedents in the Greek world during the Classical period; cf. the honours to Brasidas first at Skione and then at Amphipolis, Thuc. 4.122; 5.11; or Lysandros at Samos, Plut. *Lys.* 18.5-6; Douris *FGrHist* 76 F21; Paus. 10.9.7). In the Athenian political discourse, there had been discussion of divinity since the age of Philippos II. In 324/3, there was a formal discussion in the Athenian assembly about offering divine honours to his son, Alexandros III, proposed by Demades (Ael. *VH.* 5.12; Athen. *Deipn.* 6.251b). The motion passed but its implementation was short-lived; in the aftermath of the death of Alexandros III and the Lamian War, the cult ceased to exist (Hyp. 6.21). Demades was then fined for proposing such a ‘sacrilegious’ motion (Ael. *VH.* 5.12; Athen. *Deipn.* 6.251b). The main reason behind the discussion was the undeniable hegemonial power of Alexandros; as soon as this was not the case, the Athenians revoked the honours (Mikalson, 1998: 48-49; Blackwell, 2005). Of course, as a political necessity and in accordance with the need of the Athenian identity to accept (or reject) them, such honours were liable to discontinuation when and if the political context necessitated such changes (Kralli, 1996: 191-195; Mari, 2003; Mikalson, 2006: 214-215).

Bayliss (2011: 165), in his work on Hellenistic Athens, compares the divine honours offered to the Antigonids with corresponding responses by other cities to similar events. He discusses the example of Erythrai, which established one of the first divine cults in honour of Alexandros III after the *polis*’ liberation from the Persians (334/3). Pausanias (2.1.5) and Pliny (*NH* 5.116) describe the gratitude of the *polis* to Alexandros III. The Sibylla of Erythrai had announced that Alexandros III was indeed the son of Zeus (Callisthenes, *FGrHist* 124 F14) and a cult of Alexandros had been established, as demonstrated by epigraphic evidence (*Syll.*³ 1014.111).

Apparently, the cult was long-lived as there are references to it in the third century CE (*IGR* IV.1543; *OGIS* 3 n.2). However, it seems that the connecting point is not the liberation *per se* but the fact that the liberation by Alexandros III led to a democratic revolution and to fervent attempts to stabilise the new political order (Teegarden, 2014: 157-158). Thus, it seems completely plausible that the return to a democratic regime was itself capable of leading to such an act. The example of Erythrai demonstrates that a community would appropriate such life-changing events and incorporate them into its own collective memory. Similarly, the Athenians had every reason to proceed to such a deed, especially if we contrast the need for a new narrative based on the Athenian recent history. The Lykourgan period, a period when the *polis* recovered financially and militarily and had successfully left behind Khaironeia and its results, was succeeded by the Lamian War; the watchful eye of Antipatros and then Kassandros; and the regime of Demetrios of Phaleron. Within thirty-one years, the Athenians had seen their fortunes change repeatedly and faced nearly impossible positions. Under this perspective, the Athenians strategically used their liberation from Kassandros and the restoration of democracy as a weapon that led to a close alliance with the dynamic Antigonids, with views on the future of their *polis* (cf. Kralli, 1996: 141-142). Athens could grow again and regain its strength under the auspices of Antigonos and Demetrios, until it was strong enough to pursue its own agenda openly.

Regardless of first impressions and the possible hopes of the Athenians, relations between the Antigonids and Athens declined quickly (Habicht, 1997: 95-97). To present the main events briefly: after the Four Years' War against Kassandros and the battle of Ipsos (301), in which the Antigonids were defeated, Athenians and Makedonians came again into open opposition. The internal conflicts in Athenian politics due to Lachares' actions resulted in a short-lived return by Demetrios (296/5). The once-proclaimed *Soter* of the Athenians and restorer of democracy now installed a Makedonian garrison and made pro-oligarchic changes to the polity – in ironical contrast to his previous actions (Plut. *Demetr.* 34). Naturally, this fact was to be remembered after the successful revolt of the Athenians in 287 (cf. the honorific decree of Kallias of Sphettos, 270/69; *SEG* 28.60; Shear, 1978) and is vividly depicted in the Khremonides' Decree where we can view once again how Athenian communicative memory informed decision-making.

It is worth noting here that during the many phases of the relationship with the Antigonids the Athenians neither removed the honours previously granted to Antigonos and Demetrios nor revoked the list of the tribes. There was no need to alter the narrative radically, until there was a reason to create a new one. Thus, for example, after 224/3 the Athenians altered the public record again by adding a thirteenth tribe, Ptolemais, in honour of Ptolemaios III (Johnson, 1913; Habicht, 1992: 74-75). Moreover, a new festival, the Ptolemaia (cf. *OGIS* 771) was also instituted. The honours for the Ptolemies were similar to those for the Antigonids, and played the same role: they were a measure of political and cultural necessity inasmuch Athens was safeguarded, and its position strengthened (*contra* Habicht, 1992: 74-75, who attributes the honours to the need of expressing gratitude and relief towards the Ptolemies). This was not the last time that the Athenians would offer such honours to a Hellenistic king. In c. 200, they offered the same 'extravagant' honours to Attalos and created a new tribe, Attalis (Livy 31.15.6; *Syll.*³ 589; Ferguson, 1911: 271-272).³⁷ It was during the same period that the Athenians proceeded to alter the list of tribes again and removed the two Antigonid tribes (Habicht, 1997: 196-197; Mikalson, 1998: 186-188). When they joined the alliance of Pergamon and Rhodos against Philippos V in the Second Makedonian War (200-197), the Makedonian king invaded Attike. Livy's account (31.44.2-9) is a vivid description of the events behind the removal of the Antigonid tribes. The imminent danger that Philippos V posed was a good reason to radically change the narrative again and remove any links with the Antigonids, especially after their long domination of the *polis* from the end of the Khremonidean War to 229. Athenian independence was to be safeguarded and the memories of the thirty-year yoke were still very fresh. Thus, the Athenians passed a motion to remove all mentions of the ancestors of Philippos V and revoke the honours granted. This was effectively a *damnatio memoriae* as their names were to be removed from 'any memorials and inscriptions in their honour' (Livy 31.44.5). We have ample positive evidence of the removal of references to the Antigonids in the epigraphic record; Dow (1937: 48-50) notes sixteen inscriptions where references to the Makedonians have been

³⁷ Livy (31.15.6): honores regi primum Attalo immodici, deinde et Rhodiis habiti. tum primum mentio inlata de tribu, quam Attalida appellarent, ad decem veteres tribus addenda.

erased (cf. *IG II*² 665; 677; 681; 682; 766; 775; 780; 781; 790; 791; 798; 825; *IG II*³ 1147; 1165; *Agora 15* 61; 110). There is at least one more inscription (*IG II*² 657) that has an obvious erasure on the line referring to the tribe (l.2). Another inscription, the Decree of Eleusis honouring the general Aristophanes (236/5; *IG II*² 1299), has had the names of King Demetrios II and Queen Phthia erased:

	[— — — —· ἔθυσεν] δὲ καὶ τοῖς Ἀλώιοις τῇ τε Δήμητρει καὶ τῇ Κόρει καὶ τοῖς [ἄλ]-
10	[λοις θεοῖς οἷς] πάτριον ἦν ὑπὲρ τε τοῦ δήμου τοῦ Ἀθηναίων καὶ τοῦ βασιλέως [Δη]-
	[μητρίου κ]αὶ τῆς βασιλίσσης [[Φθίας]] καὶ τῶν ἐγγόνων αὐτῶν·
[Trans.]	sacrificed] at the Haloia to Demeter and Kore and the other
10	Gods as is traditional, on behalf of the Athenian people and of king [Demetrios] and queen [[Phthia]] and their grandchildren.

It may be the case, as Dow (1937: 48) notes, that the name of the queen was erased by natural erosion. However, the absence of both the king's and queen's names points towards an intentional action. If this is the case, the public official entrusted with the task was not meticulous and the names appear without a problem in lines 35-36.³⁸

The official manipulation of the past was exemplary. The Athenian *demos* equated the Makedonians with the Peisistratids (Livy 31.44.8), whereas nearly a century earlier it had erected a golden group of statues of the Antigonids in chariots next to the tyrannicides! The common denominator of the two events, however, was the security of the *polis*' independence and the safeguarding of its civic identity. Livy (31.44.9) makes a bitter comment against the Athenians at the end of the same passage, saying that the only weapon of the Athenians against Philippos V was their words and letters.³⁹ Although this was not his intention, Livy encapsulates in this sentence the foremost weapon of the Athenians; with their military power dwindling, something already perceived after Khaironeia – it occasioned the

³⁸ εἷς τ[ε] τὸν δῆμ[ον] | [ον] τὸν Ἀθηναίων καὶ τὸν βασιλέα Δημήτριον καὶ τοὺς ἐγγόνους αὐτοῦ.

³⁹ Athenienses quidem litteris verbisque, quibus solis valent, bellum adversus Philippum gerebant.

Lykourgan reforms – the use of ‘words and letters’, of decrees and diplomacy, was the viable option and one that the Athenians excelled at.

Green (2003: 7) argues for the “determination of the more patriotic citizens (of Athens) against hopeless internal and external odds, to fight, again and again, for freedom and independence” (cf. Kralli, 1996: 9). He is right that the Athenians were driven by the need to be free and independent; it was indeed the main characteristic of the Athenian cultural memory. However, more importantly, all actions were directed by that past. The past was shaped by the Athenians’ way of remembering it and, in turn, has shaped their civic identity. The aim was to continue to be not only an autonomous and democratic *polis*, but one with hegemonial aspirations.

3.3. CONCLUSION: TOWARDS AN ALTERNATIVE MODEL OF HEGEMONY

The great face-off, not only between the Makedonians and the Athenians but also between the Athenian *imaginaire* and harsher realities, can be identified in the Khremonidean War. The alliance formed against the Antigonids reflected high hopes for the war, yet to no avail. Specifically, for Athens, a successful outcome, apart from its practical benefits, would send feedback to the Athenian *imaginaire*.

The famous inscription of the Khremonides’ Decree (*Syll.*³ 434/5) has long been discussed. Following the familiar motif of connecting the contemporary events to the Persian War, the decree calls for an alliance against those who attempt to enslave the *poleis*. The decree was introduced in the Athenian assembly by Khremonides, and was the result of a wider Ptolemaic strategy against the Antigonids and of the Athenians’ need to exert control over their own affairs against the Makedonian danger (cf. Luraghi, 2018: 36-41). The decree ratifies an alliance of Ptolemaios II with Sparta, Athens and their allies for the protection of the ‘freedom’ (ἐλευθερία) of the Greeks. More importantly, a detail closely connected to the Athenian *psyche* is also presented in the text: the attempts of those ‘anonymous’ enemies to abolish the laws and ancestral constitution of the Greek *poleis* (ll. 14-16;

72-74).⁴⁰ Its importance lies in the fact that in the body of the treaty we have another instance of the clear connection between the Athenian legacy of being the protectors of the Greeks and the struggles of the *polis* against the Persians with the democratic, ancestral constitution. This was Athens' heritage from the past (Lambert, 2012: 254). In Chapter 4, we will see how the decree is connected to the use of the past from a Spartan perspective.

At any rate, the whole undertaking met with far less success than the glorious language used would lead us to believe. Ptolemaios II never fully kept his promises to support the war against the Antigonids, and Areus, the very active king of the Spartans, fell at the Isthmos soon after the start of the war (O'Neil, 2008).

It is possible that it is from then onwards that the Athenians more than ever realised that there was no possibility of a military or direct hegemony, in continuance of their great historical past. As mentioned above, since the Lykourgan period there had been ardent attempts to reform not only the military and finances of the *polis*, but also to boost its cultural output – from reforms in education (the *ephebeia*) to architectural renewal (*IG II²* 457; Habicht, 1997: 22-30; Mikalson, 1998: 41-45). It may be that there was another possibility, already established and to a certain extent perceived: that of a cultural hegemony that kept Athens in the centre of the Hellenistic world (Habicht, 1997: 5 and esp. 98-123; Lambert, 2012: 253-254). Of course, the use of the past does not only lead to military actions. As the uses of the past are deeply political acts, even more so when directed by the elite, any use of specific representation based on a real or constructed past is indeed a manipulation of that past. Thus, the continuation of the legacy of cultural primacy is also a political act and one that rendered Athens very capable of manipulating situations to its benefit. If a restitution of Athens' past hegemonic position, or even the establishment of a strong political power capable of autonomous action in terms of international policies, was not possible, the alternative was much more robust and coherent. Athens, safe from the dangers of conflicts against political authority or military power, proved to be very creative and successful at this alternative model of hegemony.

⁴⁰ Il. 14-16: διὰ το[ύς κ]αταλύε- | ιν ἐπιχειροῦντας τοὺς τε νόμους καὶ τὰς πατρίους ἐκάστ | ος πολιτείας. Il. 72-74: ἔχειν ἐκατέρους τὴν ἑαυτῶν ἐλευθέρ[η] | ος ὄντας καὶ αὐτο[νόμους, πολιτείαν πολιτευομένους κατὰ] | τὰ πάτρια.

3.3.1. Culture and Diplomacy: Tools for Survival

The early Hellenistic period was a transitional period for Athens. The *polis* was not the great power of the past period, yet it was heavily involved in the power play of the Successors. For the majority of the period, the Athenians were seemingly unable to carve out an independent foreign policy. However, in defiance of the times, they were able to adapt to the circumstances by the instrumental use of diplomacy. Past and present co-existed in everyday political discourse, as has been thoroughly discussed above – its reflections can be seen in a variety of events, from the honours offered to the Successors to the intricate operation of memory in the inscriptions. Athens followed a risky road based on the flexibility of its political bodies and the skilful manipulation of the past. To a large extent, Athenian policies during the early Hellenistic period seemed to have paid off as Athens survived the disturbances and remained a *hegemon* in the cultural life of the Greek world.

Athens functioned as an educational centre due to its philosophical schools and its oratorical masters (and continued to act as such well within the Hellenistic period, see Canevaro, 2018). From philosophy to historiography and the arts, the Athenian cultural life was still blossoming, continuing the traditional cultural hegemony of the *polis* during the Classical period. We can list many names that can showcase the Athenian cultural importance: the philosophers Aristoteles of Stageira, Arkesilaos of Pitane, Dikaiarkhos of Messana, Theophrastos of Eresos, Epikouros of Samos, Zenon of Kition and Diogenes Kynikos of Sinope, the playwrights Menandros, Philemon of Syrakousai, Philippides, Diphilos of Sinope and Poseidippos of Kassandreia, the historians Philochoros, Timaios of Tauromenion, Eratosthenes of Kyrene – naturally, this list is not exhaustive. The multiplicity of the originating locals stands as undeniable proof of the fame of Athens as a cultural centre; from Samos and Lesbos to Kyrene, and from Sicily to Kypros and Tauromenion, Athens was the meeting point for the majority of the Mediterranean. Still, the *polis* could also showcase many important natives. The lasting effect of that image can be seen in Plutarch's oration, writing in the first century CE. His speech, eloquently entitled Πότερον Ἀθηναῖοι κατὰ πόλεμον ἢ κατὰ σοφίαν ἐνδοξότεροι (*Were the Athenians More Famous in War or Wisdom?*), praises the

Athenians for their achievements in both military and cultural affairs. Despite the fact that the speech has not survived in full, it describes the status of Athens as a result of the joint effort of the Athenians, be they generals and politicians or historians, orators and artists (Johnson, 1972).

As we have already discussed, the cultural supremacy of Athens since the Classical period had already established a legacy, making the *polis* a cultural beacon. There is plentiful evidence in the primary sources of the cultural primacy of Athens – it was treated as a fact in many sources ranging from history to oratory and philosophy. Of course, due to the wealth of primary sources originating from Athens, it may be that this view corresponds to the internal (emic) views of the Athenians. However, as we shall see, this is not the case; Athens held a place on the podium of cultural centres, even when other cities such as Alexandria and Pergamon rose as antagonists, supported by the Ptolemaic and Attalid kings respectively.

From the fifth and fourth centuries, there is evidence of the dissemination of the message of superiority of the Athenians. In Perikles' *Funerary Oration* (Thuc. 2.41), the speaker, or Thucydides, presents Athens as the 'school of Greece' (τὴν τε παῖσαν πόλιν τῆς Ἑλλάδος παίδευσιν εἶναι), a city that it is even greater than its reputation (κρείσσων ἐς πεῖραν ἔρχεται) and which does not need neither Homer or any other poet to sing its achievements. For the Athenians have παῖσαν μὲν θάλασσαν καὶ γῆν ἐσβατὸν τῇ ἡμετέρᾳ τόλμῃ καταναγκάσαντες γενέσθαι, πανταχοῦ δὲ μνημεῖα κακῶν τε καὶ ἀγαθῶν ἀίδια ξυγκατοικίσαντες ['forced every sea and land to open up in *their* path with *their* daring, and everywhere, whether for evil or good, *they* have left imperishable monuments behind *them*'].⁴¹ Amidst the praise of the past, the politician and the historian praise contemporary Athenians for living in the cultural capital of Greece, which is – according to the author(s) – even more true than its wide reputation.

A similar reference is made in the philosophical dialogue *Protagoras*, by Platon. In the text (*Prot.* 337), Hippias of Elis, the renowned sophist, calls the two protagonists and disputants, Protagoras and Sokrates, to agree to the terms of the arbitration. In his short advice, he identifies himself and the rest of the twenty-one

⁴¹ Added emphasis and changed the translation to fit the general syntax of the sentence.

attendees as citizens by ‘nature, not law’ (φύσει, οὐ νόμῳ) as they are all learned and wise and understand the nature of things. More so, he argues, they all need to act according to their knowledge, especially when they have all met in ‘the very sanctuary of the wisdom of Greece’ (Pl. *Prot.* 337D).⁴² In Hippias’ argument, Athens is the Pan-Hellenic sanctuary of wisdom, the city where all the learned men are citizens. The fact that the guests of Kallias include some of the renowned foreigners such as Hippias himself and Prodikos of Keos, as well as several unnamed acquaintances of Protagoras met during his travels, gives weight to the argument. The company itself showcases the fact that from the fifth century the *polis* of Athens was a meeting-point for the elite of learned people and a beacon for those who wished to be trained in the arts. In his *Laws*, Platon expresses, through his Athenian Stranger’s mouth, the belief of all the Greeks that Athens φιλόλογός τέ ἐστι καὶ πολύλογος [‘is both fond of talk and full of talk’], a recognition of both the actual cultural status within the *polis* and its wide reputation as such.

Isokrates, writing during the same period as Platon, expresses a similar view to that of Hippias, as presented by Platon. In his *Panegyrikos* (380), Isokrates claims that the city has surpassed all others in speech and that Athenian citizens are capable teachers of the rest of the world (4.50). In this passage, the Athenians are equated with the Hellenes (Greeks) and this name is no longer an ethnic one but rather an identifier of intellect, making Hellenes all those who share the same education and culture than those who share common origins.⁴³ These views also fall into the category of the opposition between a common Greek political identity and the Other(s) or *barbaroi*. Isokrates further develops and projects them in his *Evagoras* (c. 370-365), where according to the orator, Salamis in Kypros was in a barbarous state but was pacified by the King when captured (9.47-49). Evagoras, the Greek, stands above the *others* who are described as primitives (Pownall, 2003: 24-25).

⁴² καὶ κατ’ αὐτὸ τοῦτο νῦν συνεληλυθότας τῆς τε Ἑλλάδος εἰς αὐτὸ τὸ πρυτανεῖον τῆς σοφίας.

⁴³ τοσοῦτον δ’ ἀπολέλοιπεν ἡ πόλις ἡμῶν περὶ τὸ φρονεῖν καὶ λέγειν τοὺς ἄλλους ἀνθρώπους, ὥσθ’ οἱ ταύτης μαθηταὶ τῶν ἄλλων διδάσκαλοι γεγονάσι, καὶ τὸ τῶν Ἑλλήνων ὄνομα πεποίηκε μηκέτι τοῦ γένους ἀλλὰ τῆς διανοίας δοκεῖν εἶναι, καὶ μᾶλλον Ἑλλήνας καλεῖσθαι τοὺς τῆς παιδείας τῆς ἡμετέρας ἢ τοὺς τῆς κοινῆς φύσεως μετέχοντας.

The golden age of Perikles elevated the cultural importance of Athens. Since then, both the internal and external views supported the fact. It is not a coincidence that the major historians were either Athenians in origin or visited Athens in order to work there: from Herodotos to Thucydides and Xenophon and many others, including the Atthidographers discussed above. In terms of local historiography, Hellanikos of Lesbos was the first local historian of Athens, dedicating two books to the history of the *polis* with the tradition surviving well into the Hellenistic period (cf. Philochoros *FGrHist* 328). From history to oratory and from plays to philosophy, Athens was still the cultural centre of the Greek world, even during the Hellenistic period.

A reaffirmation of the cultural importance of the city is its relations first with the *Diadokhoi*, then with the Hellenistic kings and later with Rome. Of course, Athens held a prominent place in the strategic actions of the kings, not only because of its strategic location but also because of its Pan-Hellenic reputation. As Antigonos Gonatas eloquently stated (Plut. *Demetr.* 8.2), Athens could showcase any ruler's glory to the world. Thus, Athens was central to the Successors' competition for self-promotion in the cultural arena as well as in the political. That exactly was Athens' difference from Alexandreia and Pergamon; it was not just under the control and patronage of one monarch (Shipley and Hansen, 2007: 68). Of course, the relations between Athens and the kings was reciprocal. It was both a way for local elites to benefit themselves and their *polis* via acquiring the favour of the kings (Shipley, 2000b: 156-159), but it was in the interest of the kings to link themselves especially with those *poleis* that had special status in the Greek world (for a discussion of the concept of 'ideal kingship' during the Hellenistic period cf. Bringmann, 1994).

Closely linked to Athens' past and tradition, and to its elevated status, are the *polis*' diplomatic endeavours throughout this period. Even before its defeat in the Khremonidean War, Athens had made use of a large network of relationships for lesser or greater benefit. What Athens could have succeeded in accomplishing in the past through force it now had to achieve by diplomatic means, an image of the changes of its political position (Kralli, 1996: 9).

The Athenians had built a great diplomatic network that reached out not only to the main actors of the period but also to different rulers and authorities. For example, after their liberation from Kassandros the Athenians would seek allies,

successfully concluding alliances with the Aitolians (307; Paus. 1.26.3) and Boiotians (304; Plut. *Mor.* 851e). Similarly, immediately after the successful revolution against Demetrios Poliorketes the Athenian *demos*, ironically in the prytany of the Antigonis tribe, honoured Spartokos, King of Bosporos, granting citizen rights to him and his family members as well as other honours (*IG* II² 653). This decree served both as a solidification of good relations between the Kingdom of Bosporos and Athens and as a necessity, as the kings of Bosporos controlled a large proportion of the *polis*' grain supply (Harding, 2015: 48-49). During the same period, Demochares, who had been exiled by Demetrios Poliorketes, returned to Athens (c. 288/7) upon the restitution of the democratic regime. He had already served as a diplomat and ambassador to Antipatros and had secured a military alliance with the Boiotians. The Athenians put his oratorical skills to good use, and he was sent as an ambassador to King Lysimakhos, from whom he successfully procured 130 talents. He was also the proposer of a decree for diplomatic relations with the Ptolemies – another mission that ended with the securing of some financial aid (Demochares, *FGrHist* 75 T2). Another diplomat, Philippides, whose connections to the court of Lysimakhos had benefited the *polis* has already been introduced above.

The democratic regime of 288/7-262/1 depended a lot upon foreign financial support against the Antigonids. Of course, the Ptolemies were quick to support Athens, for their own aims. In their eyes, Athens was of strategic importance and could serve as a bastion of their policies in mainland Greece. We should attribute the success of Athens, becoming an active agent of the Ptolemaic plans for mainland Greece in the wake of the Khremonidean War, to the reliable Athenian diplomatic network. For many years the Ptolemies had favoured Athens; it was not only its cultural status that met the kings' need to compete in the sphere of self-promotion, but also it was the fact that Athens (like Sparta) had the potential to act as a military base for an offensive against the Antigonids (for the relationship between Athens and the Ptolemies see Habicht, 1992). The Ptolemaic kingdom wished to secure both the Aegean Sea and 'Old Greece', and Athens' position was central to both.

Two Athenian brothers are famous for their services as agents of the *polis* in the relationship with Ptolemaios II: Khremonides and Glaukon. The former was the politician who proposed the decree of an alliance between Sparta, Athens and Egypt

against the Antigonids (*IG* II² 687). As discussed above, the decree contains certain allusions directly driven by Athenian cultural memory – the war against the *Other*, and Athens as the protector of Greek freedom. For the latter, Glaukon, we possess much more evidence. He was Olympic victor in the four-horse chariot race (Paus. 6.16.9) and *proxenos* of Delphoi (*Syll.*³ 395), Orchomenos (*ISE* 53) and Rhodos (*IG* XII 1.25); he was also an honoured *strategos*, *phylarkhos* and *agonothetes* of the *polis* (280/79; *IG* II² 3079), acquiring political and military power (for the chronology of his honours and offices, see Kralli, 1996: 47-50, 93; Habicht, 1997: 135-136). However, his importance for Athenian identity and its understanding and expression by the Greeks is seen in the honours of the Common Congress of the Greeks (τὸ κοινὸν συνέδριον τῶν Ἑλλήνων; c. 262-245; Piérart and Étienne, 1975; Austin 63). In the context of Zeus Eleutherios and Homonoia, Glaukon is celebrated for his services towards all Greeks⁴⁴ by acting in accordance with the spirit of those who fell protecting Greek freedom against the barbarians.⁴⁵ The connections with the rhetoric of the Khremonides' Decree and with the ideological tradition and the propagated message are telling (for an in-depth analysis, see Wallace, 2011b; 2011a: 208-212). According to Teles (23H), the two brothers became consultants of the king (πάρεδροι καὶ σύμβουλοι), redeeming their services to the Ptolemies after the defeat of Athens in the Khremonidean war (Habicht, 1997: 155-156). This should serve as an additional indication of the reciprocity of diplomatic connections for the agents (cf. Bayliss, 2011: 209).

Similarly, diplomatic relations can be translated into actual architecture and art. Athenian buildings and decrees can demonstrate this bidirectional relationship: the many benefactions of the Hellenistic kings to Athens, which effectively altered the Athenian landscape. A short overview of the benefactions discussed per dynasty provides a fuller image.

The most prominent position among the benefactors of Athens was held, naturally, by the Attalids. The good relationships between the dynasty and Athens went back to the third century (for an overview, see Habicht, 1990), but direct

⁴⁴ II. 6-8: πρότερόν τε διατριβών εν τήι ἰδίαι πατρίδι και κοινήι διε | [τ]έλει πασι τοις Ἑλλησιν εὖνους.

⁴⁵ II. 21-24: οἱ Ἕλληνες ἐπὶ | τοις ἀνδράσιν τοις ἀγαθοῖς και ἀγῶ | νισαμένοις προς τοὺς βαρβάρους | ὑπὲρ της τῶν Ἑλλήνων ελευθερίας.

political connections were established in 200. As discussed above, the alliance between Athens, Pergamon and Rhodos against Philippos V resulted in the erasure of the Makedonian tribes from the list and the addition of a new one in honour of Attalos I (r. 241-197). The latter had made apparent since the beginning his aim of connecting to Athens and establishing a legacy to the benefit of Pergamene history. A large group of statues depicting Gauls next to Persians, Amazons and Giants was dedicated at the southern wall of the Acropolis of Athens (Pollitt, 1986: 90-93; Habicht, 1990: 563; Stewart, 2004: 181-236). The ensemble incorporated elements of Athenian past, as presented on the Parthenon; the result was a monument that bridged the Athenian past and the Attalid present, with the point that the Attalids were the continuators of the great Athenian legacies. The location of the dedication is also very important: the Acropolis was sacred ground and central to the identity and character of the *polis*. The Athenians' agreement was a result of their need to link themselves to, and to network with, the powers of the world around them. Moreover, it was a means for the appropriation of a part of the Attalids' identity in the making. The intended choice of Attalos I reflected the importance of Athenian civic tradition and the Athenians' ability to integrate and disseminate messages; a topic that naturally sent feedback back to its source (cf. Stewart, 2004: 220-236).

The dedication was well situated within the program of civic renewal of Attalos I, the catalyst being the victory of Pergamene (*sic*) arms over the Gauls and the Seleukids (c. 240-223). His programme included dedications in Pergamon, as well as in Athens and Delos (cf. Pollit, 1986: 95). The similarities to the Athenian programme of Perikles are obvious; the victory over the *Others* and over the Seleukids signalled the creation of the Kingdom. These victories were central to Attalid (and Pergamene) identity, and occupied a place similar to the one that the victory over the Persians occupied in Athenian *imaginaire*. Another dedication of Attalos is worth discussing here: a colossal statue of Athena Promachos, with profound similarities to that on the Athenian acropolis, was erected at the temple of Athena Polias on the Acropolis of Pergamon – another indication of the cultivation of links of continuation with Athens. The statue, now lost, had a large inscribed base with several inscriptions commemorating the many victories of Attalos I (OGIS 273-279; Mitchell, 2005: 285).

However, there was a difference between the messages. The Athenian victory over the Persians has been established in the past, and had been informed numerous times and advanced by the Athenians, as we have already discussed. Therefore, due to the lack of a distant and glorious past, it was of utmost importance for the Attalids to create links with 'Old Greece'. The choice was simple: Athens was the best – and only – candidate both in terms of history and cultural importance. Thus, Athens could be seen as the ancestor of Pergamon, with the latter aspiring not only to reach but surpass it. Of course, the connections were further cultivated by Attalos I's successors.

Eumenes II (r. 197-159) financed the construction of a monumental stoa below the Athenian acropolis. Similarly, his successor and brother, Attalos II (r. 158-138), financed the construction of another stoa, this time in the Athenian agora, acting as its eastern limit and defining the space. By financing large projects in the *polis* that held the title of cultural beacon of the Greek world, the Attalid kings professed their connections to Athens and acquired the status of protectors of the arts and culture. By the affirmation of such a role, the status of their capital, Pergamon was also elevated. The Attalids, with their vast economic resources endeavoured to make their own city the cultural counterpart of Athens. In Pergamon, their civic renewal programme included monumental architecture similar to the Periklean programme for Athens. Most importantly, the famous Great Altar of Zeus, built by Eumenes II, incorporated themes similar to the friezes of Parthenon; however, in this case, it was the Attalid victory over its enemies (the Galatians and the kings of Bithynia and Pontus) that informed the artistic theme. The representation of the battle against the Galatians (*Other*) bears again many resemblances to the way the Athenians used their own past and presented their victory over the Persians (Pollitt, 1986: 90-91, for different interpretations of the iconographic plan of the frieze, see 145-152; Kokkorou-Alevra, 1995: 275; Whitaker, 2005).

As discussed above, due to its role as cultural centre, Athens benefited from the political competition between the Hellenistic kings. Thus, the *polis* was not only benefited by the Attalids. Ptolemaios III (r. 246-222) gifted the city a *gymnasion*, called the *Ptolemaion* (Paus. 1.17.2; SEG 21.397; IG II² 1029). As the role of the *gymnasion* was both militaristic and educational, the importance of the honour was elevated. Miller (1995) argues about the role of the *gymnasion* in the formation of,

for that matter, Athenian identity and its proximity to the Athenian Agora. It may be that Ptolemaios III approached Athens in a similar way to Attalos. The connection of a *gymnasion* with his name situated the Ptolemies in the core of its education (and in proximity to the *polis'* agora), signalling the construction of a new narrative of the past and connecting the Ptolemies with Athens as a cultural centre. The dedication should be linked to the honours that Ptolemaios III received from the Athenians (c. 227), which included the addition of Ptolemais to the list of tribes (making a total of thirteen), and was the result of his role as guarantor of Athenian liberty (Habicht, 1992: 74-75; 1997: 182-183). The Seleukid Antiochos IV (r. 175-164) financed the revival of the project of the Temple of Olympian Zeus or *Olympieion*, which had been abandoned on the eve of the restoration of democracy in 510. However, with the death of the king the project was once more left unfinished until the reign of Hadrian (Vitr. *De arch.* 7. Pref.15, 17; Livy 41.21; Str. 9.1.17; for a detailed description of its history see, Wycherley, 1978: 155-174).

The *polis* of Athens represents a unique case; it was the only civic recipient of such a large number of donations from a plurality of benefactors, with all other examples of similar scale coming from religious contexts (i.e. Delphoi, Olympia, Delos). Thus, we have here another alteration, that of the civic landscape. We have discussed in length how Athenian political discourse incorporated the changes and redefined them in order to serve its aims. The changes in the landscape, be they as small as inscriptions describing honours, or as large as whole buildings, undoubtedly altered it and informed its perception by the *polis'* population. Once again, in a similar way to how memory works, the topographical changes could be seen as alien at first; in the end, however, they were just another piece of Athenian history, a vivid reminder of the greatness of the *polis* which could attract such benefactions from every source. Naturally, the use of the past was multilayered; not only the Athenians benefited, but every addition to its landscape (or even political discourse) created a new past for its donor. The case of Attalos I's political and cultural 'revolution' for the population of Pergamon is maybe the most suitable example. Two different societies – the Athenian and the Pergamene – were simultaneously rewarded by the construction of the new civic rhetoric of the Attalids. Similarly, any such action, however small, that included Athens informed the communal memory of its people by supporting (and promoting) its status.

The importance of Athens as a cultural centre was the reason behind the donations and, consecutively, through these donations, the landscape of the *polis* was changed, and the elevated cultural status of the *polis* reaffirmed. In order to regulate and extend these relations, the *polis* of Athens had to use diplomatic channels effectively, a field where it evidently excelled. From financial and/or military support by the *Diadokhoi* to actual internal and external politics, the Athenians successfully combined political language and diplomatic skills with the preservation and advancement of the cultural status of their *polis*.

In this chapter, the history of Athens was approached in the *longue durée*. The aim was to demonstrate the creation of the Athenian long-term, or cultural memory as opposed to their short-term, communicative memory. In particular, the first section discussed how the Athenians institutionalised the dissemination of their identity. From oratory to theatre and from local history to the epigraphic evidence, we can trace the projection of two main characteristics, central to the Athenian *imaginaire*: their role of protectors of freedom and the democratic regime. The two characteristics are intertwined and manifest in different ways and have different connotations, but with consistency throughout the period under consideration. The continuous dissemination of this rhetoric throughout the period resulted in its impression upon the collective memory of the Greeks. By exploring examples of diverse nature and chronology, I hope that I have reduced the deficiency in sources for the early Hellenistic period; we may infer that similar workings took place at all levels of public discourse.

The second part approached the historical events of the late Classical and early Hellenistic period and their effects upon the Athenians. Specific focus has been given to the divine honours offered to the Antigonids after the liberation of the *polis* in 308/7. The interplay between the cultural and communicative memory of the Athenians sheds light on the reasons for such actions.

In the end, Athenian identity survived, incorporating all the different data and reusing them in refuelling its civic rhetoric. Although Athens did not succeed in regaining its political and military status, it managed to remain a hegemon in the Greek world, due to its tradition and culture. The model of construction of memories and the use of the past demonstrates its dynamic within the context of the political

history of early Hellenistic Athens, the result of its active role in redefining the historical present.



4. Areus I: Visions of a Spartan *Successor*

In this chapter the focus shifts from Athens to Sparta, the second of the main protagonists of the Classical period and the hegemon of Greece from 404 until 371. The common glorious past that Sparta shares with Athens, and its long history in the region of Peloponnesos had created a certain hegemonial mentality that largely directed the Spartans' decision-making at the higher levels.

The chapter focuses on the reign of King Areus I (309-c. 265) and closely discusses how the past of the *polis* was articulated in active politics and propagated through inscriptions and coinage. In order to provide support to the concept of continuity (and change), this chapter includes a digression to another active Spartan king, Agis III (r. 360-338), which bridges the workings of the two modes of memory, the long-term, cultural memory and the short-term, communicative memory for the Spartan society. The chronological proximity of the reign of Agis to the achieved hegemony of the Spartans to the one end, and to the reign of King Areus to the other, intersects the Spartan cultural memory as well as it shaped, and in turn reshaped, the communicative memory of the Spartans. In contrast to the Athenians, the Spartans succeeded in remaining an independent *polis* throughout the early Hellenistic period. However, the two *poleis* share much in common not only in the formation of their respective cultural memory, but also because of it. The tradition of the *polis* led the Spartans in using their own past in similar to the Athenians ways, actively shaping both their own identity and their political actions.



The use of the past during Areus I's reign (309-c. 265) fits perfectly within the research context, despite the limited availability of data. Even acknowledging the scarcity of textual and archaeological evidence, I believe it is possible to approach successfully the topics of memory and past as "the past is everywhere, it is omnipresent [...] whether it is celebrated or rejected" (Lowenthal, 1985: xv). Ancient sources and scholars alike agree that Areus' reign changed the traditional Spartan image (Athen. *Deipn.* 4.141f-142c; David, 1986: 135;

Cartledge and Spawforth, 2002: 31; Doran, 2011: 191). Thus, this period offers the fertile ground to highlight and analyse in depth the ways in which the retelling of the past can change the present. The power to alter the perception of the present should be understood as a historical force *per se*, inasmuch it is susceptible to manipulation and certainly left its mark in shaping the Hellenistic world. In contrast to the case explored above, where we have explored *the longue durée*, this analysis is far more concise and is built around mainly the reign of Areus I and, as a reminder of the connecting elements of the Spartan cultural memory, of his precursor, Agis III (r. 338-331/0).

To provide a plausible explanation of individual actions while investigating historical events one has to consider the overall context, the period and the building forces that shaped reality. The interpretation of historical examples isolated from this general context (social, cultural, historical or otherwise) and in the light of parameters and characteristics that find proper implementation in different time periods, realities or historical contexts, has the opposite effects. It seems to intensify the fundamentally problematic nature of approaching historical pasts. The dynamic presence of Areus, as well as that of the other royal key figures during the late Classical and early Hellenistic period (Agesilaos II, Agis III, Kleonymos, Agis IV and Kleomenes III), are generally interpreted as separate and sometimes distinct *loci* amongst the general decline of Hellenistic Sparta. This approach contributes to a rather erroneous and fragmentary picture of the historical reality. However, as the evidence suggests, I argue that we need to reassess the history of early Hellenistic Sparta; all these events follow a pattern, which bears signs of continuity and progression. Of course, this will not change the historical reality as it is; Sparta is reduced, and her power diminished. But, collective memory cannot be segmented in the same way we segment the historical continuum creating clear-cut periods: Archaic, Classical, Hellenistic and their sub-periods. There is a continuum in terms of both memory creation and its informative powers.

Analytically, judging the history of Hellenistic Sparta against the standards set by Classical Sparta (or fifth-century Greece) gives too little value both to the different time periods – already created by historians – and mechanisms in operation, and to the accomplishments of the Spartans. Spartan stagnation and decline should be placed in the new perspective of different times and different

needs. To the extent that we can address this transition from independence and hegemony to subordination and dependence, we can shed some light on civic and political transformations, whether in Sparta or other Greek societies. In order to take a closer look at the period and provide a thorough interpretation, the use of the past will be explored as, and used as, an interpretative tool. Moreover, to add to the different perspective, we should address the specific topic of memory and its use in formulating the historical reality of Spartan society during the early Hellenistic era. The aim is to trace continuity and/or changes within the consciousness and actions of Spartan society. All in all, to adapt Shipley's (2005: 330) conclusion: daily life did change, and the Spartan society was (as each society is) a living organism full of fluid processes. Some civic traditions persisted, but new ones had to be built in order for the Spartans to adapt to the ever-changing historical context; and we are able to identify these dynamics.

Areus is poorly attested in literary evidence; yet a case can be made that he was among the most important Spartan kings of the Hellenistic period, and that his reign – approached from the point of the view of the theory of collective memory – was characterised by an active manipulation of the image of Sparta's past. Epigraphic, numismatic and archaeological evidence have been used to build up a much fuller picture. Different disciplines can offer the much-needed help in the interpretation of complex social questions. However, any new hermeneutic approaches used to fill any gaps must always be employed with caution; we cannot overstretch the extent to which we can use them. In our case, the topics of past and memory are inextricably linked. They are located in an area adjacent to different disciplines, which naturally overlap with one another and impart different implications: sociology, anthropology and psychology as well as history and archaeology. By combining their forces, I hope to provide a sound interpretation of Areus' policy.

The general arguments made are as follows. First, Sparta's situation during the early years of the Hellenistic period must be examined in order to define the subject clearly and use it as a metric for comparison; a brief overview of the primary evidence will follow; finally, a background study based on the important aspects and powers operating within Spartan society will be presented, including the reign of Agis III. This will highlight effectively the pattern of Spartan reaction to the new

realities (after 371). Moreover, it will allow for a detailed examination of the primary evidence describing the reign of Areus, who actively used the past in order to create a ‘new’ image for Sparta. However, is this image that ‘new’?

4.1. SPARTA OF A LESSER STATUS

For some scholars, Spartan defeat at Leuktra, in the summer of 371, seems like the perfect point of intersection between an all-powerful Sparta and its condemnation to the historical back seat (Cartledge, 2002: 252-253; Cartledge and Spawforth, 2002: 2-13). For others, including Aristoteles (*Pol.* 2.1270a), “the most famous victory of Greeks over Greeks” (Paus. 9.6.4; 9.13.11) was a result of accumulating problems within Spartan society (Cawkwell, 1976; 1983; Runciman, 1990: 362-363; Hodkinson, 1996: 85-86). Nevertheless, after Leuktra, Sparta’s image changed, and her power was decreased significantly. The consequences of the defeat are telling. Firstly, there were successive territorial loses: the majority of Messenia was lost in 369 (Diod. 15.66.1; Plut. *Ages.* 34.1; id. *Pelop.* 24.9; Paus. 4.26.5-27) and then, the southern parts of Messenia with some Laconian frontier communities were lost after the Battle of Chaironeia (338); Secondly, Spartans saw in effect the dissolution of the so-called ‘Peloponnesian League’ (366; Xen. *Hell.* 7.4.6-10; Roy, 1994; Cartledge, 2000); Lastly, but with heavy consequences both to its internal and external policies, Sparta faced the infamous ὀλιγανθρωπία [‘demographic decline’] (Arist. *Pol.* 2.1270a, 34-36).⁴⁶ In reality, the aforementioned issues were interconnected to a degree and cumulatively added to the severe social, economic and military consequences (Shipley, 2017: 282-288).

Nevertheless, the Spartans constantly kept an eye open to the world. Although their power was largely diminished and even the majority of the Peloponnesos seemed to be out of their grasp, from c. 350 they shifted their interests to the West: the Ionian Islands, Italy/Sicily and Krete. In direct relevance to Agis III’s reign, as discussed below, Areus’ reign must be placed among the few instances where dynamic Spartan kings, from the late Classical to the middle Hellenistic period, acted

⁴⁶ For an extended discussion on the Spartan decline in population, see Figueira (1986); Hodkinson (1983: 399-445); Doran (2011: 79-113).

to stem Sparta's decline; other examples are: Agesilaos II, Kleonymos, Agis IV and Kleomenes III. Areus I (r. 309-265) tried and largely succeeded (Cartledge and Spawforth, 2002: 25) in bringing Sparta to the front line of cities of his period; his success was, however, short-lived, and after his death, much momentum was lost.

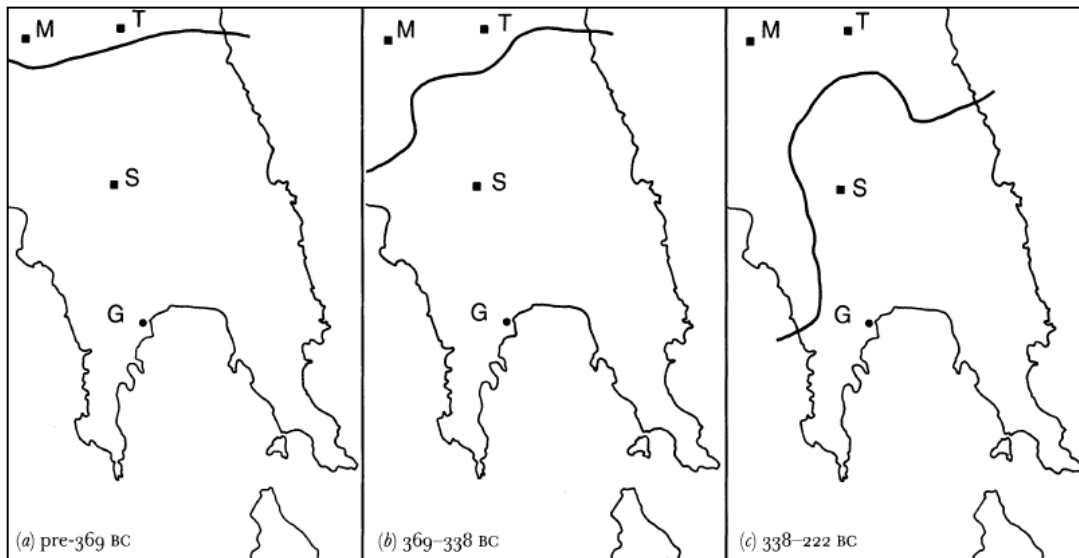


FIGURE 2: Schematic representation of the extent of Spartan territory from the fourth century until the last quarter of the third century BCE (c. 222). **LEGEND:** G[ytheion], M[egalopolis], S[parta] and T[egea]. Original design by A. Sackett. **SOURCE:** Shipley (2000a:389).

There is no need to reconstruct the already fragmented history of his reign, as it has been narrated by various scholars (among others, see David, 1986; Cartledge and Spawforth, 2002). In this interdisciplinary perspective, historical events will be re-examined and re-interpreted again to highlight the use of the past.

4.2. THUS THE SOURCES SPEAK

The majority of literary information is provided by ancient authors writing in later periods, at least until the work of Polybios which covers the period 264 onwards. The main narrative of Areus' reign originates from Plutarch's *Lives* (Agis 3.6-3.7; Pyrrhos 27.1-30.1) and his *Moralia* (119C-D, 217F), and from Diodoros Sikeliotes (15.60; 20.29). Additional references to Areus can be found in Pausanias (1.13; 2.6; 3.6; 7.8), Polyaeus (*Strat.* 8.49) and Josephus (*AJ* 12.43).

The references to Areus' reign found in Justinus (25.4.6-9) and Trogus (*Prol.* 25-26) are bound to the same source used by Plutarch: the third-century BCE

historian Phylarchos, whose full work is lost. However, his work has been largely used by later authors and seems to be our main source of information concerning Spartan society in the early Hellenistic period (Walbank, 1957: 259-260; David, 1986: 145). Phylarchos was heavily criticised by Polybios (2.56) and Plutarch (*Aratus* 38) for his pro-Spartan biases and his dramatic style which aimed “to impress deeply and move to tears all the Greeks” (Plb. 2.56.5). These accusations, true as they may be, conceal the fact that Polybios had his own biases: his narrative was against the Spartans and favoured his fellow-citizen Aratos. As for Plutarch’s *Lives*, they heavily relied on Phylarchos’ accounts. Moreover, Phylarchos’ description of Spartan society was in line with other ancient sources, describing the problems that Spartans had to face (notably Aristoteles on ὀλιγανθρωπία, and even Polybios, 4.81.12-14). Overall, Phylarchos’ factual account is reliable inasmuch as it is our core source for the period.

All the sources present the same image: a period of high Spartan activity and a new type of Spartan king. During the reign of Areus I, Sparta emerged as a force on the political scene once again, and he reshaped the traditional Spartan image.

4.2.1. Archaeological Evidence

Material culture supports the ancient accounts. The name of Areus occurs with certainty in two dedicatory inscriptions. The first comes from Olympia: a yellow limestone, inscribed base of the statue dedicated by King Ptolemaios II to King Areus of Sparta was found during the excavations at the Heraion in 1877 (*Syll.*³ 433; *IvO* 308; *SIG*² 212). It can be dated at ca. 285-266/5; however, a date closer to the first years of the Khremonidean War seems more plausible based on the relations between Areus I and King Ptolemaios (O’Neil, 2008: 67). This base should have carried one of the three statues dedicated to Areus which Pausanias (6.12.5, 6.15.9) describes (Hyde, 1912: 211). Of the other two statues, traces of which we have not yet found, the first was a statue dedicated by the Eleians, presumably standing close to the statue dedicated by King Ptolemaios as stated by Pausanias (6.12.5):

Μετὰ δὲ τοῦ Ἱέρωνος τὰς εἰκόνας Ἀρεὺς ὁ Ἀκροτάτου
Λακεδαιμονίων βασιλεὺς καὶ Ἄρατος ἔστηκεν ὁ Κλεινίου, καὶ αὖθις
ἀναβεβηκῶς ἐστὶν Ἀρεὺς, ἵππον ἀνάθημα δὲ ὁ μὲν Κορινθίων ὁ
Ἄρατος, Ἀρεὺς δὲ Ἠλείων ἐστί.

[Trans.] After the statue of Hiero stand Areus the Lakedaimonian king,
the son of Akrotatos, and Aratos the son of Kleinias, with another
statue of Areus on horseback. The statue of Aratos was dedicated by
the Corinthians, that of Areus by the people of Elis.

In the same passage a second statue of Areus on horseback is mentioned, though we do not possess any other information about it. The third statue of Areus is described again by Pausanias (6.15.9): “Μετὰ δὲ τὸν Εὐτελίδαν Ἀρεὺς τε αὖθις ὁ Λακεδαιμονίων βασιλεὺς καὶ Ἡλεῖος παρ’ αὐτὸν ἀνάκειται Γόργος” [‘After Eutelidas is another statue of Areus, the Lakedaimonian king, and beside it is a statue of Gorgos the Elean’]. However, as there is no archaeological evidence for the latter two, we must content ourselves with Pausanias’ account and his reliability.

The second inscription comes from the temple of Artemis Hymnia, at Arkadian Orchomenos (*ISE* 54; *SEG* 25:444). It is a grey limestone base, in a rather poor condition due to fire, which held a bronze statue of life-size. It was dedicated by the people of Orchomenos to King Areus. It bears close connections to the inscription found at Olympia and could be possibly paralleled in the statue dedicated by the Eleians. It should be dated to around the first years of the Khremonidean War (c. 268/7; Plassart and Blum, 1914: 447-449).

There is also another inscription from Delphoi (*Syll.*³ 430; *FD* III 4.418) which grants special honours to King Areus, son of King Akrotatos and Queen Chilonis and his descendants. However, it has been the subject of a long debate regarding the identification of the king mentioned: he could be either Areus I or, more likely, his grandson Areus II (see Bourguet, 1911; David, 1986: 133-135). In any case, the inscription falls into the same patterns of Spartans’ representation as we will further discuss below.

The inscriptions are completed by the Decree of Khremonides (*IG* II² 686+687; *Syll.*³ 434/5; *EM* 7383+7384+7385+12367) which records the ratification of the alliance between the Athenians, the Spartans and King Ptolemaios II against

Antigonos Gonatas in the famous Khremonidean War. The dating of the decree is debated, based on the archonship of Peithidemos, and it is placed between 268/7 and 265/4 (Meritt, 1977: 174, 191; Gabbert, 1987; Habicht, 1997: 147; Aneziri, 2009: 28). In any case, the decree should be dated before the start of hostilities, as there are no references to current military operations.

In addition to the inscriptions presented above, Areus' reign is marked by the issue of coinage, unprecedented at least by the standards of Sparta. Areus I issued silver coinage on the Attic standard – tetradrachms, based on Alexandros III's type (FIGURE 6), and obols (Aiginetan standard; FIGURES 7, 8). This was contrary to the *polis'* ancient customs and the Lykourgan restrictions (Head, 1911: 434; Hodkinson, 2000c: 35-37; Panagopoulou, 2000: 74; Shipley, 2000b: 141; Cartledge and Spawforth, 2002: 31-32; although the use of money by the polis is nothing new, cf. Lévy, 2008: 392 onwards; Hoover, 2011:139-143).

Only four silver tetradrachms of Areus have been found and they originate from three different obverse dies, sharing a common reverse (Troxell, 1971: 70, Plates IX, XI; Grunauer-von Hoerschelmann, 1978: 1-4; Mørkholm, 1991: 149; Price, 1991; Walker, 2009: 61; Hoover, 2011: 142). The small number of surviving coins can be a direct result both of contemporary and ancient realities. It may be that the lack of systematic excavations in Lakonia and the undocumented circulation or ancient coins in private collections is a factor.⁴⁷ However, it may also be that Areus' successors reused the silver for their own issues (Troxell, 1971:70). However, we also have smaller denominations in the form of silver obols (Grunauer-von Hoerschelmann, 1978: 4-6; Mørkholm, 1991: 149; Hoover, 2011: 143).

Although the evidence may seem scarce compared to other time periods or locales, it is enough to reveal the patterns of the use of the past during the time of Areus. So how can we trace memory and the use of the past through the scarce textual and archaeological evidence? First, we need to look at the Spartan past, the tradition and mentality of hegemony. Then, the representation patterns as attested in the archaeological evidence (statues, Khremonides' Decree and coinage) will be

⁴⁷ Since the detailed study of Lakedaimonian coinage by Grunauer (1978), where three coins of King Areus I are catalogued, there has been one new coin (the fourth specimen) which appeared in the first *Nomos* auction catalogue in 2009 (Walker, 2009: L.77).

analysed. Lastly, the conclusion will recapitalise on and explore the actual use of the past *per se* in the messages that both material evidence and ancient authors emitted.

4.3. SPARTAN MENTALITY OF HEGEMONY

In the light of the aforementioned events, I am suggesting that unseen forces were operating within the Spartan consciousness, which ‘regulated’ Spartan policies during the period under consideration. In particular, we can identify the main underlying force with a long-term cultural memory, which in effect can be better described with the term ‘mentality of hegemony’, similar in essence to the cultural memory of the Athenians as discussed in length above. To a degree, it shaped and can explain the course of Spartan history during, but not exclusively on, the early Hellenistic period.

As we have discussed, memory plays an important role in the constitution of the individual and consequently collective identity. According to Assmann’s theory on memory (Assmann, 1995; 2011: 41), each society has two types of memory working in co-existence: a long-term or cultural memory and a short-term, or communicative memory. Communicative memory has a rather small span if contrasted to the rather huge continuum of any society’s history, or even its cultural memory. It encompasses 80-100 years and it is progressive – however, it changes and reshapes in each instant the *longue durée* of cultural memory (Assmann, 1995: 126-127; 2011: 48-49). So during the preceding 100 years of Spartan communicative memory, what had happened?

The Spartan ideology of *hegemon* was an integrated part of their cultural memory; it was formed through generations of hegemonial presence in the Peloponnesos. Its deep roots can be traced to the mid-sixth century, after which Spartan supremacy in the greater part of the Peloponnesos was mostly secured. It was further strengthened by the establishment of the so-called ‘Peloponnesian League’ – in reality a union based in Lakeldaimon linked to its allies through bilateral treaties (Cartledge, 2002: 229; Catling, 2002: 233-234; Birgalias, 2003; Bolmarcich, 2005; Shipley, 2008: 839). Of course, until the defeat of Athens in the Peloponnesian War, Spartans could not achieve hegemony over all the Greek city-states.

Nonetheless, acting as a first-rate power in the Peloponnesos for more than two and a half centuries (beginning with the Tegean alliance c. 560, cf. Cartledge, 2002: 111; Yates, 2005: 65), they had acquired the mentality of leaders (Cartledge, 2002: 229). Collective memory transcends to short-term memory with the victory over the Athenians and the end of the Peloponnesian War, as roughly 100 years before the reign of Areus, Sparta was in its heyday: the hegemon of the Greek world.

This mentality of hegemony is something that Spartans shared with their main opponent, the Athenians, as we have already discussed. Both the idea of hegemony over others and the attempts to exercise it were common in Greek affairs as early as the Archaic period. Nevertheless, there were notable differences in the reasons for which, and the ways in which, Athens and Sparta sought hegemony. At least during the Classical period and the Peloponnesian War, Athens was the *polis* willing to become a hegemon, whereas Sparta, was mostly “content with the mass of helots in Lakedaimonia and Messenia” (Boufalis, 2012: 33). Of course, times change, and eventually, the Spartans became the hegemon of Greece that they tried to avoid becoming. This new “role” indeed turned out to be both dangerous and burdensome, and ultimately even ruinous (Hodkinson, 2000b: 425). The Spartans sought to exercise their newly achieved hegemony beyond the Peloponnesos – with the end of the Peloponnesian War they were already heavily involved with the outside world (Lewis, 1994b: 27-28). The mentality of leadership thus accentuated to encompass the larger terrain.

The new extensive needs and strategic demands of controlling Greece laid the foundations for a new type of Spartan *ethos*. Starting with Lysandros and his *harmostai*, one can detect a deviation in the line of Spartan thought (Hodkinson, 1983: 281; for an interesting approach with the use of psychology to this 'new ethos', cf. Neighbors, 2011). Fresh, adventurous personalities enter the political scene, motivated more by personal ambitions than by their desire to serve the public good of their *polis* (e.g. Thorax, Klearchos, Phoibidas). This line can be extended to Xanthippos, the Spartan general of the Carthaginians, and can be even attached to the deviant personality of Areus I – as described both by the sources (Ath. *Deipn.* 4.141f-142c) and his actions. They reveal the currents of change, which cannot be left uncriticised. Xenophon clearly comments on Lakedaimonian supremacy as having moved away from the ideals of Lykourgos and as corrupting the Spartans

(*Const. Lac.* 14). This is a familiar concept, also used to criticise the *ethos* of Areus as we shall see. The very use of “Lykourgan ideals” is indeed another *topos* of what was claimed as long-term memory, as memory only exists in the present. One cannot help but ponder how accurate Xenophon sounds in his short but pithy depiction of Spartan reality, but this is a tendentious, rhetorical claim: the ‘Lykourgan ideals’ morphed over time to suit the requirements of particular speakers and situations. One can see with some certainty the direct and indirect effects of supremacy upon Spartan society. The new *ethos* is a manifestation of the use and re-use of the past, memory and tradition. In any case, Areus will emerge from this same category of men.

However, my objective here is to draw a comprehensive picture of Spartan mentality and to link it with the continuous efforts of Spartans to grow their influence and get closer to their glorious past – the “need to involve themselves in a wider world” (Shipley, 2002: 319). Thus, it seems fitting to have here a digression to the short but eventful reign of king Agis III (r. 338-331/0), another proactive Spartan king. It will demonstrate the connections between Spartan past and present and the dynamics of the Spartan mentality of hegemony, before we delve further into the reign of Areus.

4.3.1. Agis III: Towards a Spartan Model

In 338, while the battle that epitomised Makedonian control in southern Greece was fought and lost in Khaironeia in the absence of the Spartans, Archidamos III (r. 360-338) was killed at Mandyrion (modern Manduria, Italy) while leading a Spartan expeditionary force to help the Tarantines against the Lucanians (Plut. *Agis* 3; Diod. 16.63.1; Athen. *Deipn.* 12.536c-d).⁴⁸ His son Agis would have been acting as a regent in Archidamos’ absence, and with Spartan forces already in an expedition in Italy the

⁴⁸ Interestingly enough, Archidamos III, another very proactive king of the Spartans as well is depicted in the sources as degenerate. Athenaios (13.566), quoting as source Herakleides of Lembos, says that Archidamos III chose a rich, yet ugly woman as wife instead of a very beautiful. In another passage of Athenaios (12.536c-d), through Theopompos of Chios, Archidamos III is criticised for having abandoned the Spartan customs and living in a self-indulgent life. There are many similarities to the description of Archidamos III and Areus (Athen. *Deipn.* 4.141f-142c); maybe these are telling signs of the ‘new’ Spartan *ethos* that is more cosmopolitan than our classical sources describe.

participation of Sparta in the battle would have been difficult enough. Yet, more importantly, this may have been a calculated move by the Spartans, who could probably see the futility of a direct confrontation with the Makedonians and had chosen to invest in other policies (Badian, 1967: 171-172). The subsequent invasion by Philippos II of Laconia (338/7) was a means of protecting his back and preventing any attempt at revolt against him. Even if no battle was fought, the Spartans were deprived of their remaining territorial possessions on Messenia, next to some inland frontier territories – namely the northern borderlands (Aigytiis, Belminatis, Skiritis, Karyatis⁴⁹ and Thyreatis), the western borderland of Dentheliatis and the east Laconian coastland with its perioikic communities of the northeast shore of the Messenian gulf (for a discussion of the Spartan borders' changes, see Shipley, 2000a; Cartledge and Spawforth, 2002: 12-13, 16; Shipley, 2006b: 10-11; 2006a: 40-41; Kralli, 2017: 61-68).

With Archidamos' death, Agis III (r. 338-331) ascended to the Eurypontid throne. Among the first political decisions of Agis – naturally in consultation with the Ephors – was the non-participation of the *polis* in the Hellenic alliance of Philippos II. The presumed response of the Spartans to Philippos' request to join the *Synedrion* (and to Alexandros III's later call) is of interest: it was the tradition of the Spartans not to follow others, but to expect others to follow them (Arr. *Anab.* 1.1).⁵⁰ I think that exactly this response – even if it may be an anecdote from a much later source – captures the quintessence of Spartan tradition; it is the manifestation of the Spartan cultural memory, that of hegemony over others. At any rate, Sparta was 'allowed' to remain outside the new alliance; depending on the perspective, this may serve as an example that the participation to the league was voluntary or a reminder of the fate of those not participating, where safeguards and isolation were in order.

Thus, the Spartans did not join the other Greek states in the uneventful revolt against the Makedonians after the assassination of Philippos II (336).⁵¹ In hindsight,

⁴⁹ With this term is conveniently used to describe the area around Karyai; however, Karyatis as a toponym is not attested in sources and is an invention of modern scholarship (Shipley, 1997: 23, no. 24; Cavanagh et al., 2002: 20; Shipley, 2004: 574).

⁵⁰ Λακεδαιμονίους δὲ ἀποκρίνασθαι μὴ εἶναι σφισι πάτριον ἀκολουθεῖν ἄλλοις, ἀλλ' αὐτοὺς ἄλλων.

⁵¹ A number of *poleis* were ready to fight again for their freedom. According to Diodoros (17.2-5, 8), Athens was ready to play to resume its role as protector and leader of the Greeks, negotiating with Attalos and calling for other *poleis* to rise against Makedonia. The Aitolians invited back their exiles; the Thebans

in light of the response to the Theban and Athenian active plan, their move was wise (Kralli, 2017: 68). In 335, while Alexandros III was securing the north-western borders of his kingdom when rumours of his death reached southern Greece; Thebes openly revolted, and the Athenians were preparing for war (Arr. *Anab.* 1.7; Diod. 17.4). Alexandros' response was quick. He marched to southern Greece, resolving all dissidence (Thessalian *koinon* and Ambrakia) and reached Boiotia. In the wake of his prompt return the Thebans were isolated, despite their proclamation to fight with the Great King against the "tyrant of Greece" so that Greece would be free once again (Diod. 17.9.5)⁵² – another message full of manipulation of the past. Nonetheless, the other *poleis* hesitated to move against Alexandros' army (Arr. *Anab.* 1.10; Din. 1.20-21). The result is well known – by decision of the Hellenic alliance's council, Thebes was obliterated, and the Thebans were enslaved in retaliation for the calamities that they had brought upon the Greeks (Arr. *Anab.* 1.9; Just. 11.3; Diod. 17.13-14).

Although Sparta stayed uninvolved in these events, Agis and the Spartans did not remain idle. Naturally, the failure of the revolt against Alexandros created new opportunities for the Spartans, as they could become – and they did – the principal centre of anti-Makedonian initiatives. The non-participation of Sparta in the revolt of the Thebans may have been well directed by hatred towards the *polis* that was the first to defeat and diminish their state. However, it is more plausible that Agis and the Spartans needed time to devise a plan, especially after the very recent blow struck by Alexandros' father; then, when the opportunity arose, they would move (Badian, 1967: 173-174; Kralli, 2017: 70). The evidence points towards the latter; as we shall see, there were consistent moves towards amassing support and solidifying their position in Peloponnesos.

During the years 335-333, the Spartans initiated diplomatic relations with the Great King, like the Thebans and the Athenians did (Arr. *Anab.* 2.15); the Persians could not look favourably on the power of the Makedonians, and were eager to undermine Alexandros III's position. Spartan plans for regaining their former status

decided to expel the Makedonian garrison from their acropolis; while, in the Peloponnesos, the Arkadians, the Lakedaimonians, Argos and Elis were also reading to move against them (cf. Arr. *Anab.* 1.10).

⁵² οἱ δὲ Θηβαῖοι διαφιλοτιμηθέντες ἀντεκήρυξαν ἀπὸ τινος ὑψηλοῦ πύργου τὸν βουλόμενον μετὰ τοῦ μεγάλου βασιλέως καὶ Θηβαίων ἐλευθεροῦν τοὺς Ἕλληνας καὶ καταλύειν τὸν τῆς Ἑλλάδος τύραννον παριέναι πρὸς αὐτούς. Cf. Plut. *Alex.* 11.4.

facilitated Dareios' need to halt Alexandros' invasion, or even force him back to Greece (Burn, 1952: 83; Cartledge and Spawforth, 2002: 18). The Spartan envoy Euthykles was already in Persia and was captured, along with the other Greek envoys, by Alexandros after his victory at the battle of Issos (Arr. *Anab.* 2.15).⁵³ Thus, the Spartans were both interested in the developments of the war and were informed. According to Arrianos (*Anab.* 2.13), Agis himself travelled to Siphnos to meet with the satraps Pharnabazos and Autophradates and ask for their help. The immediate benefits were scant, as the news of the defeat at Issos reached the Persians –thirty talents and ten triremes (Arr. *Anab.* 2.13.6). The financial support, however limited, was put to good use. Agis recruited mercenaries from Tainaron, who under the leadership of his brother, Agesilaos, were sent to Krete, a traditional *topos* of Spartan interests as confirmed later, during Areus II's reign. The king remained at Siphnos and later even travelled to Halikarnassos before joining the Spartan forces in Krete.

The Spartan campaign in Krete was successful. Alexandros III was concerned with developments in Krete; a fact demonstrated by the Makedonian forces under Amphoteros tasked with halting Agis' plans. After the latter's failure, he was tasked with looking after the Makedonians' Peloponnesian allies (Arr. *Anab.* 3.6.3; Curt. 4.8.15). However, after the defection of the Persian fleet to Alexandros III, the position of the Spartans in Krete was compromised. The subsequent return of Agis to Peloponnesos signalled the return of Sparta to yet another of its traditional *topoi*: the assumed leading position of an (anti-Makedonian) alliance. Agis' successes did not go unnoticed; the same applied to the Spartan call for help in order to free the Greek *poleis* from the Makedonian yoke.⁵⁴ Several Peloponnesian *poleis* responded (for a detailed list of the allies and an analysis of the reasoning behind the

⁵³ According to Arrianos (*Anab.* 2.14), Alexandros III wrote a letter to the Great King accusing him about his trespasses. Among them was the call for action of the Greek *poleis* against the Makedonians and their financial support – the Spartans receive special mention: καὶ ὑπὲρ ἐμοῦ πρὸς τοὺς Ἕλληνας γράμματα οὐκ ἐπιτήδεια διαπέμποντος, ὅπως πρὸς με πολεμῶσι, καὶ χρήματα ἀποστέλλοντος πρὸς Λακεδαιμονίους καὶ ἄλλους τινὰς τῶν Ἑλλήνων, καὶ τῶν μὲν ἄλλων πόλεων οὐδεμιᾶς δεχομένης, Λακεδαιμονίων δὲ λαβόντων, καὶ παρὰ σοῦ πεμφθέντων τοὺς ἐμοὺς φίλους διαφθειρόντων καὶ τὴν εἰρήνην, ἣν τοῖς Ἕλλησι κατεσκεύασα, διαλύειν ἐπιχειρούντων.

⁵⁴ Diod. 17.62: οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι [...] παρεκάλουν τοὺς Ἕλληνας συμφρονῆσαι περὶ τῆς ἐλευθερίας [‘the Lakedaimonians [...] appealed to the Greeks to unite for their freedom’].

acceptance or decline of the call, see McQueen, 1978; Kralli, 2017: 70-73) – notably Elis, Mantinea, the *poleis* of Arkadia except Megalopolis and the Achaians, except the people of Pellene (Aeschin. *In Ctes.* 165; Din. 1. 34). The absence of the traditional antagonists of the Spartans in Peloponnesos, namely Argos, Messenia and Megalopolis, from the alliance should not be surprising. Regarding Korinthos, the Makedonian garrison on Akrokorinthos and the *pro*-Makedonian oligarchic party made joining the alliance impossible (McQueen, 1978: 41; Kralli, 2017: 71). Outside Peloponnesos, the call was not so successful. The Athenians were reluctant to help the Spartans and preferred a neutral stance (possibly due to Sparta's previous inaction and Demosthenes' unfavourable views towards the Spartans, see Badian, 1967: 172-173). Lack of further evidence from the sources limits our knowledge; however, as Badian (1967: 181-182) argues, the Aitolian League, the Phokians and the Thessalians will have been interested. Be that as it may, the Spartans were once again heading a Peloponnesian coalition, of far less potential than the Peloponnesian League, yet impressive nonetheless (Badian, 1967: 181-182; *contra* Cartledge and Spawforth, 2002: 19; Lévy, 2008: 388-389; Kralli, 2017: 70, 72).

With Alexandros III in Phoinike, Antipatros diverted in Thrace, and the depletion of the military reserves of Macedon due to Amyntas' recruiting, Agis made his move, striking when the much stronger adversary was off guard – an excellent example of Spartan strategic genius. At some point, either when in Krete or after his return to Peloponnesos, Agis was further strengthened by Dareios' Greek mercenaries (c. 8,000 men) after the latter's defeat at Issos (Diod. 17.48.1; Curt. 4.1.39). With a growing army, he first moved against the local Makedonian overseer, Korrhagos, and defeated him – this victory was surely advantageous to Agis' recruitment of allies. He then annexed parts of the lost Spartan territory and soon was besieging Megalopolis. Unfortunately, the sources do not provide further details of Agis' campaign. We know that Antipater, having dealt with Thracian front and with substantial financial backing from Alexandros III (3,000 talents; Arr. *Anab.* 3.16.10) amassed a large army and headed to Peloponnesos (Diod. 17.63.1). The decisive confrontation took place below the gates of Megalopolis, as the restricted space favoured the smaller army, led by the Spartans. However, despite their fierce resistance, the Peloponnesian coalition lost both the battle and king Agis III, along with c. 5,000 Lakedaimonians (on the numbers attested by the sources, cf. Cartledge

and Spawforth, 2002: 19; Kralli, 2017: 73-74), fell in the battlefield (for a partial account of the battle cf. Curt. 6.1; Diod. 17.63; Just. 12.1.8-11).

The defeat of Agis III had multiple effects on the polis of Sparta. First, it exacerbated the Spartan *oliganthropia*, as both the losses in the battlefield and the hostages taken by Antipater (Diod. 18.73.5; Aeschin. 1.133) as a means of safeguarding against future Spartan revolts affected population numbers (Cartledge and Spawforth, 2002: 21-22; Doran, 2011: 190). The Spartan response was similar to that in the aftermath of the defeat at Leuktra – the *tresantes* were accepted back into the *polis* (Diod. 19.70.5). Secondly, due to the grave consequences, the Spartans were reluctant to exercise a proactive policy in the immediate future. Time for recovery was of the essence. The traditional narrative considers Agis' revolt as the ultimate disaster for Sparta (Cartledge and Spawforth, 2002: 21) and dismisses his attack at Megalopolis as a mistake (Bosworth, 1994: 854-855), in which case any attack resulting in defeat may be deemed a 'mistake'. In any case, there is a common acceptance that it "recalled the Spartan imperialism of the past" (Bosworth, 1994: 855). Agis III succeeded, even for a brief period, in projecting Sparta's image as a potent city and a legitimate player in the power game (Badian, 1967: 173). More importantly, one has to remember that the Spartans, even in their greatly unfavourable position, took the initiative of revolting against the ruling power. More so, they created a Peloponnesian coalition. Thus, their allies in this endeavour accepted their leading role despite previous both the *polis'* diminished status and its previous conduct. The cultural memories of the Spartans and the Peloponnesian states to an extent overlap – the former were bent on returning to their previous leading position so that they would be "followed by the others", the latter accepted (or declined accordingly) their call again based on their traditional stance (Badian, 1967: 181; McQueen, 1978: 51). It should not be surprising that we do not have any evidence of disagreement among the Spartans – Agis' policies must have been supported at least by the majority of the Spartan ruling bodies. If anything, success on his part would have been greatly beneficial to the Spartans. What is needed to be highlighted again is that the actions of the Spartan were in defiance of the odds. At the end, is it correct to approach Agis' reign as an isolated event or a fool's errand? Alternatively, maybe it is better to approach it in light of Sparta's long tradition, its mentality of hegemony and the Spartans' cultural memory?

4.3.2. Hegemonial Tradition during Areus' Reign

To answer these questions, we should return to the reign of king Areus (309-265). It is his initiative during the early Hellenistic period that brought Sparta once again to the frontline of the Hellenistic world. Areus' strategic actions aimed to represent Sparta – and himself – as equal to the *Diadokhoi*, and in all accounts he is presented as a truly dynamic king (Ager, 2005: 46; Doran, 2011: 191).

During the early years of Areus' reign (303) and in continuity of the long-standing tradition and correlation with the mentality of hegemony, Sparta was active again in the West (Diod. 20.104-5; Livy 10.2). The Tarantines requested help and the Spartans responded, probably both because it was a way to raise their self-esteem and to remain active in the scene, as they had done before, during Archidamos III's reign (360-338; see Cartledge and Spawforth, 2002: 12). In general, it falls within Sparta's hegemonic attitude; the call provided a unique opportunity for the Spartans to promote themselves again as a leading power, supporting their moves to the West upon the traditional bonds with Taras and the Tarantines. Moreover, it is arguable that this call for help presented a way for the Spartan oligarchy to be reconciled with Kleonymos or to leave some room for a letting off of steam regarding the friction on the grounds of the royal throne (Diod. 20.104; Paus. 3.6.3; David, 1986: 120-121). Therefore, Kleonymos, with the permission of the Spartan authorities, was to lead a substantial mercenary army to Sicily (Marasco, 1980: 38) in the hope of immediate benefits to the external and internal circumstances. This is not the only instance where the Spartans were active outside Sparta during the reign of Areus. Areus possibly visited Sicily himself later on (Plut. *Mor.* 217f; *Lyc.* 20). He can also be credited with campaigns to several places in 'Old' Greece and, of course, Krete (Paus. 4.28.3; Front. *Strat.* 3.6.7; Polyæn. *Strat.* 2.2.9).

Spartan activities include the first conflict with a Hellenistic ruler: in 294 Demetrios Poliorketes invaded the Peloponnesos with plans to attack Sparta (Paus. 1.13.6). The Spartans favoured the Eurypontid king Archidamos IV (r. c.305-c.275) in preference to Kleonymos as leader of the Spartan army entrusted to confront Demetrios. The confrontation at Mantinea was, however, disastrous; the Spartans

were defeated and suffered no small losses (Plut. *Demetr.* 35); yet Demetrios did not succeed in capturing the city (Cartledge and Spawforth, 2002: 28; Will, 2006: 105). Notwithstanding the defeat, the loss of Spartans (c. 700 according to Plutarch, *Demetr.* 35) and the ensuing attack on Sparta itself, the Spartans did not halt their activity.

Areus and the Spartans raised their stature in the Peloponnesos and tried twice – more or less effectively – to revive a greater military alliance in the Peloponnesos, a traditional *topos* of the Spartan mentality of hegemony (see the inscriptions discussed above and Agis III's attempt; cf. Paus. 6.12.5; 6.15.9; Palagia, 2006: 208).

The first attempt dates to 292/1, when, possibly in alliance with the Boiotians and the Aitolian League, a Spartan force commanded by Kleonymos entered Boiotia and took the offensive against Demetrios (Plut. *Demetr.* 39). However, once again the Spartans failed to win, and they retreated when Demetrios besieged Thebes (Cartledge and Spawforth, 2002: 28). For a time, the Spartans seem to have been content with diplomacy (Plut. *Demetr.* 42.1-4; id. *Mor.* 216b); something that could be seen either as a sign of weakness or, better, preparation (*contra* Cartledge and Spawforth, 2002: 28). In 280, in a clear manifestation of Spartan genius (the element of strategic acts or simply the best "timing" as A. Powell argues, cf. Powell, 2001: 37-39), the Spartans under Areus led a large coalition against the Aitolian League – now in alliance with the Makedonians – in order to liberate Delphoi (Just. 24.1; Paus. 8.6.3). According to Justinus (24.1.2, 5), the Greek *poleis* after deliberation chose Areus as their leader. Similarly to Agis' attempt, the Peloponnesian *poleis* would again turn to and recognise Sparta as their leader (cf. Kralli, 2017: 116-117). The Aitolians won the day and inflicted heavy casualties on the Spartans (*polyandreion* at Delphoi, cf. Cartledge and Spawforth, 2002: 29). This event may offer an explanation and seem to have some links with the honorific inscription offered by Delphoi to King Areus (*Syll.*³ 430; *FD* III 4.418). Nonetheless, the Spartans continued to pursue their political agenda. They successfully campaigned in Messenia, Troizen and Krete (Paus. 4.28.3; Front. *Strat.* 3.6.7; Polyæn. *Strat.* 2.2.9).

In 272, Areus took an active role in the final undoing of Pyrrhos of Epeiros (Plut. *Pyrrh.* 27-29; Paus. 1.13.6.7; Just. 25.4-5). Then again, in a final attempt to sit upon the Agiad throne, Kleonymos, spurred further by his wife's affair with the son

of Areus, Akrotatos, defected to Pyrrhos of Epeiros (the affair was probably the result of political calculations and not, of course, of jealousy; cf. Beston, 2000: 316-317; Cartledge and Spawforth, 2002: 29-30). Kleonymos' claims opened the doors to Pyrrhos, providing him with an excellent opportunity to invade Laconia with the ultimate objective of control of the Peloponnesos (Plut. *Pyrrh.* 27-29; Paus. 1.13.6-7; Just. 25.4-5). It would be a strategic hit against the Makedonians in an attempt to stabilise his power after his unsuccessful attempt against the Romans in Italy. His attempt to capture the city of Sparta was repelled firstly by its citizens and, immediately afterwards, by Areus' swift and timely return from Krete (Plut. *Pyrrh.* 29.6) and the help of Antigonos Gonatas (near Sparta a site called the 'Camp of Pyrrhos' commemorated the event, Plb. 5.19.4; Livy 35.27.14).⁵⁵ In the end, Pyrrhos was defeated and killed at Argos (Shipley, 2000b: 142; Cartledge and Spawforth, 2002: 31; Walbank, 2006: 224).

In addition, capitalising on this achievement, Areus soon managed to forge an alliance with Ptolemaios II of Egypt and a number of Greek states, Athens prominent among them, in a joint front against the Makedonians. A new large coalition – one more closely resembling the Peloponnesian League (David, 1986: 135) – was formed. The Athenian decree of Khremonides (c. 268/7; *Syll.*³ 434-435; *IG* II² 687) is proof of Areus' participation in the alliance and Sparta's leading role during the Khremonidean War (Shipley, 2017: 293).

All the aforementioned actions and events follow a pattern: they bring Sparta from the shadows to the front lines. I think it is very likely Spartan actions were influenced by the memories of the glorious past, the mentality of hegemony. The Spartans were educated with the long-term memories of Lykourgos and their hegemony over the Peloponnesos, as well as, with the short-term memories of supremacy over the Greeks put aside the defeats and the events from 371 onwards and looked to their present and future. In order to complete the image of this mentality of hegemony, except the military events, we have to add here the various other Spartan interventions within the wider world. Areus' policy created links with

⁵⁵ Polybios (5.19.4): (Φίλιππος) εἰς τὸν Πύρρου καλούμενον κατέβη χάρακα [(Philippos V) came down to the so-called Pyrrhos' Camp]. Livy (35.27.14): (Nabis) Pyrrhi quae vocant castra occupavit [(Nabis) occupied the place that they called Camp of Pyrrhos']. The location of the site is contested; according to Livy, the site lies north of Sparta, but Polybios locates to the south of the *polis*. For a discussion on the probable location cf. Walbank, 1957: 555.

the other Hellenistic rulers and Sparta came to be part of the larger network of Hellenistic kingdoms, in continuation of similar practices of the Spartan royalty (Scarpato, 2017; Shipley, 2017:293; 2018: 196). This was not a mere static result but was part of the ongoing processes that had already started before the reign of Areus; this hegemonic tradition continued to form and guide the actions of the Spartans (Shipley, 2017:293-294). During the early years of Areus' reign, Kleonymos' expedition to the west – Sicily – and Sparta's active role in the conflict between Taras and the indigenous population (the Lucani) introduced Sparta to a wider conflict and resulted in contact with the Romans (Cartledge and Spawforth, 2002: 27; Scarpato, 2012: 17). Furthermore, Areus cultivated links and opened diplomatic routes with Ptolemaios II, the Seleukids and high priest Onias of Jerusalem (Joseph. *AJ* 12.223-229; 1 Macc. 12:5-23 [NSRV]; though there is an ongoing discussion about the genuineness of the latter, see Momigliano, 1990: 114; Gruen, 1996: 254-269; 2011: 304-306). Moreover, it was during the Peloponnesian invasion of Demetrios, in 294, that Demaratos son of Gorgion, an agent of Lysimakhos with mainland and Asiatic connections, was restored to Sparta (*Syll.*³ 918; Bradford and Poralla, 1977: 132; Cartledge and Spawforth, 2002: 27).

4.3.3. Memory and Society

Last but not least, in parallel to the diplomatic and military Spartan activity there is a cultural dimension as well. In 270 – and in defiance of tradition – a Spartan comic actor, Nikon son of Eumathidas, won a prize in the Soteria festival at Delphoi (*SGDI* 2565; *SEG* 34:320; Bradford and Poralla, 1977: 312; Loukas, 1984; for a brief discussion of his origins see Powell, 1989: 9; Cartledge and Spawforth, 2002: 33-34; Shipley, 2017:293). All these, along with Areus' policies of representation and the issuing of coinage, belong to his program of civic renewal. During the reign of Areus a bronze statue of the Eurotas river, a work of Eutykhides, a pupil of Lysippos, was set up in Sparta (Plin. *HN* 34.78; Palagia, 2006: 208).

As we have already discussed (Chapter 2), Halbwachs (1980; 1992) earlier, and Assmann (1995: 129-133; 2011: 41 onwards) more recently, have both argued that social groups create their own images of the world. These images are mutually

agreed versions of the past which crystallise and become universal through communication and other social practices rather than through individual memories. Collective memory, then, is the dominant social representation of events and clearly affects the ways in which people deal with their past, their history or reports to their history; it is maintained through cultural formation and institutional communication. With the helping hand of sociology, we can identify some of the ways in which information transactions and representations operated. On the same wavelength, Michael Mann's theory of "two-steps flow of communication" (2008) explores diplomatic relations as a means of substantial communication of complex meanings; among them collective memory, the use of the past and reaffirmation of identity.

The example of the diplomatic relations between Areus I of Sparta and high priest Onias of Jerusalem (Joseph. *AJ* 12.223; 1 Macc. 12.5-23 [NSRV]) is a very well explained case of the power that those kinds of relations had: identity and memory were reshaped and redefined for and by the Jews (see Gruen, 1996: 254-269; 2011: 305-306) and they operated in a similar way for the Spartans. Areus' letter described and authenticated the common ancestry of Jews and Spartans, which are derived from Abraham (ἐξ ἑνὸς εἶεν γένους Ἰουδαῖοι καὶ Λακεδαιμόνιοι καὶ ἐκ τῆς πρὸς Ἀβραμὸν οἰκειότητος) and declared alliance and help in whatever circumstances they might be needed: δίκαιον οὖν ἐστὶν ἀδελφοὺς ὑμᾶς ὄντας διαπέμπεσθαι πρὸς ἡμᾶς περὶ ὧν ἂν βούλησθε. Ποιήσομεν δὲ καὶ ἡμεῖς τοῦτο, καὶ τὰ τε ὑμέτερα ἴδια νομιοῦμεν καὶ τὰ αὐτῶν κοινὰ πρὸς ὑμᾶς ἔξομεν (Joseph. *AJ* 12.223). Another letter renewed, later on, this alliance and friendship; at around 160-143, Jonathan, High Priest of the Jews and *Strategos* of Syria, wished to re-establish the links with the Spartans (1 Macc. 12.5-23). To return to the first letter, Ptolemaios was acting as an intermediary between the Spartans and the Jews, being allied to both. The evocation of common ancestry between the two people had political effects on both societies – their perception is altered under the influence of their leaders, Areus and Onias. In effect, collective memory transforms history itself and takes its place as the 'new' history. However, due to the involvement of various forces – from material interests to political choices – collective memory, just like history, is a field of continuous political opposition.

During the later part of Areus' reign, Spartans were still educated in the Spartan *ethos* but also – in the absence of evidence that counters this view – some of them, at least, supported his original and 'anti-traditional' policies. Areus would not be able to act on his own and must have enjoyed the support of a dominant group in the Spartan elite; other supporters should be found within the citizen body. As before, during Agis III's reign, the Spartans were acting as a *polis* and these actions cannot be seen only as directed by unique individuals, even if they were informed by their views. At any rate, the Spartan institutions educated and formed the new members of the society and they were not static, but evolving over time. However, they always offered a concrete basis for the development of Spartan civic identity. Spartans were raised under history lessons linked to the ancestral Lykourgos – a *topos* of long-term collective memory. They still referred to the same, central religious themes which connected them to a common mythic past. This can be demonstrated by the co-existence of the Herakles-type tetradrachm and the Dioskouroi-type obols in Areus' monetary program. Moreover, they learnt to abide by the same Spartan culture of warrior caste, through the *agōgē*, and grew up with the same narratives that integrated and woke hegemonial instincts. The origins of these narratives can be found both in their short-term memory (period of hegemony) and their long-term past. All of these promoted the authoritarian status of Sparta (for a detailed discussion of the tradition of the *agōgē* and its use in shaping Spartan identity, see Kennell, 1995).

During Areus' reign, forms of social (or religious) institutions like the *agōgē* were still operating, although there is a great deal of discussion concerning its operation and the actual standards. Supposedly in the aftermath of Areus' death or a bit later (265/255) and for nearly eleven years the *agōgē* had fully stopped functioning. It was later reinstated as part of the reform plans of King Agis IV in 244 (Kennell, 1995: 11-14; Hodkinson, 2000a; Cartledge and Spawforth, 2002: 38; Flower, 2002: 195; Lévy, 2008: 74-75). Returning to Areus' times, through Polybius (1.32) we hear about Xanthippos, a Spartan general who trained and commanded the Carthaginian forces against the Romans during the First Punic War (264-241). He had undergone the *agōgē*, as stated in the same passage:

ἐν οἷς καὶ Ξάνθιππόν τινα Λακεδαιμόνιον, ἄνδρα τῆς Λακωνικῆς ἀγωγῆς μετεσχηκότα καὶ τριβὴν ἐν τοῖς πολεμικοῖς ἔχοντα σύμμετρον.

[Trans.] to a certain Lakedaimonian named Xanthippos, a man trained in the Spartan *agōgē* and who had great experience in the art of war.

Plb. 1.32

This constitutes direct evidence that the *agōgē* was still functioning in some form and produced competent and capable warriors. It is unlikely that the Carthaginians would have hired a mere graduate of the *agōgē* (Kennell, 1995: 13). Instead, at the time of his arrival at Carthage in 255, Xanthippos must have undergone the full length of the *agōgē*, between 268 and 255. However, it is more plausible that he should be no less than thirty years old in order to be highly experienced, which would add a margin of ten more years for his training. Moreover, Pyrrhos, as he marched towards Sparta, planned to have his sons educated at Sparta: τοὺς νεωτέρους παῖδας εἰς Σπάρτην, εἰ μὴ τι κωλύει, πέμψων ἐντραφησομένους τοῖς Λακωνικοῖς ἔθεσιν [(Pyrrhos) was going to send his younger sons to Sparta, if there were nothing to prevent it, in order to be brought up in the Lakedaimonian customs'] (Plut. *Pyrrh.* 26.10).

Nonetheless, as mentioned above, social institutions as a factor in shaping cultural and communicative memory are not limited only to forms of educational structures. They can take forms that are more abstract: texts, rites, monuments and their recitation and/or observation. We have to bear in mind that one of the most prominent driving factors in the use of the past is indeed power (Assmann, 2011: 52). And, as we will see, the use of certain aspects of the past – in effect, its manipulation – is present in any form of representation of Areus during the period under examination.

4.4. MEMORY AND PAST: CASES OF (RE)PRESENTATION

The two dedicatory inscriptions from Olympia, Orchomenos are suggestive of Areus' achievements. Moreover, they are in line with the general policies of Areus and the Spartan elite, revealing the concept of Spartan civic renewal.

His name is the only one presented, despite the existence of the other king in Sparta's oligarchic system (dual monarchy). Another digression is needed here. The Spartan polity of dual kingship was mainly linked with status and prestige outside the battlefield; the two dynasties (the Agiadae and the Eurypontidae) were competing for influence in the governing bodies of Sparta, and hence, in the citizen body, the *homoioi* (Lewis, 1994a: 26; Lévy, 2008: 245-280). In reality within Spartan society, and in the core of its political construct, two bodies held true power and ruled the city. The (Five) Ephors, who held the executive branch of ruling and the Gerousia, the supreme court (*contra* Cartledge and Spawforth, 2002: 26; Lévy, 2008: 280 and onwards). Thus, for example, the Gerousia upheld the rules of lineal succession and declined the claim of the regent Kleonymos to the throne (Paus. 3.6.2). Instead, the throne was given to Areus I and Kleonymos continued to act as regent for the young prince until nearly 280 (Areus was probably born around 312). In effect, there was already a *res judicata* and Kleonymos seems to have lacked the support needed in order to alter the equilibrium (Cartledge and Spawforth, 2002: 26). The result of this denial of Kleonymos' attempt was a long rivalry that culminated with Pyrrhos' invasion of Laconia and the successive siege of Sparta.

To return to our previous examination, we can look at the statue dedication made by Ptolemaios II at Olympia (Syll.³ 433; *IoO* 308; *SIG*² 212):

- | | |
|----------|--|
| 1 | [βασιλεὺς] Πτολεμαῖος βασιλέω[ς Πτολεμαίου]
[Ἀρέα Ἀκρο]τάτου Λακεδαιμονί[ων βασιλέα],
[εὐνοίας ἔ]νεκεν τῆς εἰς αὐτὸν [καὶ εἰς τοὺς] |
| 4 | [ξύμπαντας Ἑλ]ληνας, Διὶ [Ο]λυμ[πι]ῶι [ἀνέθηκεν] |
| [Trans.] | [King] Ptolemaios, son of king [Ptolemaios, dedicated]
this statue of [Areus] son of Akrotatos, [king] of the
Lakedaimonians,
on account of his goodwill towards Ptolemaios and |

The inscription clearly refers only to King Areus, son of Akrotatos. Areus is described as the king of the Lakedaimonians, rather than just of the Spartans. The fact is that the Spartan kings were kings of the Lakedaimonians, i.e. all the people that dwelled at the territory of Lakedaimon: the *helots*, the free *perioikoi*, the Spartans that have lost their civic rights and the *homoioi* (Shipley, 1997; for the use of the term in the Spartan army, see Hawkins, 2011). However, their numbers had been greatly reduced due to the territorial restrictions imposed on the once mighty Spartan state that stretched around the two-thirds of the Peloponnesos (Shipley, 2000a; 2005; 2006b). The term “Lakedaimonian” holds unique power – it denotes both the actual historical reality and the imaginary cultural understanding.

For the Spartans, Lakedaimonian could mean what they have lost: territory, power, authority and prestige. The term is inextricably linked both to long-term memory and to its short-term equivalent. They still bore memories of the monumental changes their city-state underwent throughout the years following the defeat at Leuktra. However, its meaning could not be the same for the Lakedaimonians in total. The *helots* and presumably some of the *perioikoi* could not feel the same way or interpret the term from the same perspective. If for Spartans this term denotes a glorious past and great authority over others, for the people feeling this authoritarian regime of the past, the sentiments will be rather contrary. Different social groups create their own images of the world and past (Halbwachs, 1980: 78; 1992). Their collective memory is different from the collective memory of the Spartans; although the two versions can have common ground.

Similarly, others – citizens of other *poleis* and outsiders – could have a completely different understanding of the same term. This shared understanding – the collective memory –, which could be distinct to different groups, is built cumulatively upon previous historical realities, myths and understandings and it incorporates the common characteristics of the given society in the given time period – “it is both memories and the memory of memories” (Funkenstein, 1989: 8). Collective memory may greatly differ, to other collective (and, of course, individual) memories. So, there could be an internal – within the society – constructed, stereotyped image by its own members, and another one, external, of how people

outside the society perceive it. As already noted before, there could be an overlap, a common ground between these two different perspectives, the projected and believed by the society and the received and believed by other societies. Collective memory can be understood as a type of “model”, or simply as “identity” (either personal or maybe communal, civic, ethnic). The creation of a specific collective identity is used as a political tool and may be completely invented or re-invented.

On a different note, the statue dedicated to Zeus was due to the “goodwill (of Areus) towards Ptolemaios and all the other Greeks”. Of course, this inscription can be dated to the first years of the Khremonidean War and thus falls into the Ptolemaic propaganda. It is typical of Ptolemaios II, a diplomat rather than a warrior; he preferred to work the levers of intrigue and politics instead of direct confrontations (Hazzard, 2000: 74). However, the grandeur of the declaration is by itself a manifestation of the manipulation of the past. Once again, the links to past times, where protectors of ‘all other Greeks’ were needed, namely the Persian Wars and onwards, are profound. The memory of the Persian Wars is another use of cultural memory and it is powered by the existence of various monuments of the great Spartan achievements during that period. Notably, the Persian Stoa in the Agora in Sparta (Vitr. 1.1.6; Pausanias 3.11.3) and the funerary monuments at Sparta: the tombs of Pausanias and Leonidas and the stele with the names of those who fought at Thermopylae – all visible to the consecutive Spartan (and Greek) generations (Paus. 3.14.1; West, 1966: nos. 36, 37-39; cf. nos. 76-79). Later, during Sparta’s hegemony and in culmination of this ‘need’ for protection against the Persian, or Athenian threat, the Lakedaimonians once again proclaimed themselves protectors of the Greeks – just like the Athenians prominently did. These terms, as well as, “autonomy” and “freedom” were always a pitfall for the Greek city-states and this manipulation of meanings would reach its climax during the Hellenistic period (cf. the use of the same notion by Polybios and the Achaian League, 2.37-42). Not only the Spartans, but also the Athenians, and later the Makedonians, the Ptolemies and the Romans used such notions to promote their own interests and agendas. It is under the promise of autonomy that many conflicts started, as the term was open to manipulation (Wallace, 2011b; 2011a).

The other inscription, found at the Temple of Artemis Hymnia, at Orchomenos (*ISE* 54; *SEG* 25:444), bears many similarities in its form:

1	Ἐρ[χομ]εν[ίω]ν ἅ [πόλις] Βα[σ]ιλέα Ἀρέα Α[κροτάτω] Λακεδαιμόνι[ον] εὐεργε]- σί[α]ς [τ]ᾶ[ς] ἰν αὐτὰν καὶ]
5	Βασι[λέ]α [Πτο]λε[μαῖον]
[Trans.]	The [polis] of the Or[chom]enians [to] King Areus [son of] A[krotatos] for the Lakedaimonian [benevolence] t[owards them, as well as to]
5	Ki[ng] [Pto]le[maios] (dedicates this statue)

As we have discussed above, the inscription is dated between 268/7 and 265/4 and the start of the Khremonidean War. Once again, only Areus is mentioned. The dedication is offered by the people of the Arkadian Orchomenos to Areus and Ptolemaios for his “benevolence” (l. 4). The city of Orchomenos is clearly mentioned in the Khremonides’ Decree (l. 26); it was Sparta’s ally and a member of the coalition against Antigonos. The term ‘Lakedaimonian’ should describe here the formal title and capacity of king Areus, but still, it is inextricably linked not only to the collective memory of the Lakedaimonians, but also of the Peloponnesians. The inscription is closely related to another one: a decree of *proxenia* issued by the Orchomenians to three Athenian ambassadors (Plassart and Blum, 1914: 449-454). This is another confirmation of the participation of Orchomenos in the common struggle. The poor condition of the inscription may be the result of later destruction as Arkadian Orchomenos changed its stance not long after the start of the conflict and later on (222) was captured by Antigonos Doson.

The high status of Areus and his exceptionally prestigious position, even amid forms of propaganda not directly controlled by the Spartans (i.e. Ptolemaios II’s policies) is definite. Under this light, the inscription at Delphoi (*Syll.*³ 430; *FD* III 4.418), which grants special honours to King Areus, comes in line with the other instances already examined. In the inscription we do not have references to the Lakedaimonians, nor are the honours granted for actions towards or in the name of “all the Greeks”. The recipient of the honour are specified by name – it is most likely

Areus II (r. 262-254) and his descendants. His father, Akrotatos II had a short reign (265-262) after Areus I's death at Isthmos, and Chilonis was the apple of discord between Areus I and Kleonymos. The inscription is likely the product of Areus II's policy of representation. It may be that Areus II could establish direct links to his grandfather's legacy and policies. Spartan intervention to liberate Delphoi from the Aitolians in 280 (and, subsequently, deal a blow to Antigonos) could be a focal point to disseminate such a message in a Panhellenic context. Delphoi seems to highlight their connection to the Spartans and, in turn, Areus II benefits not only from the honours offered but also by the wide network of *poleis* and kings that the sanctuary provided (for similar working at Delos, cf. Constantakopoulou, 2017: 236-237). The Panhellenic reach of the sanctuary seems to offer once again evidence of the Spartan willingness not to stay within the close boundaries of Spartan society, or Peloponnessos, but to raise the image of Sparta at interstate levels; Delphoi were a traditional *topos* of the Spartan elite (Palagia, 2009; Scott, 2014: 54). It can be argued that even after the end of the Khremonidean War, the Spartans still possessed at least some leverage in the diplomatic field. We may also see some indications that the Spartans, with Areus II, desired to continue on the course that Areus I had started. In any case, the inscription seems to follow the pattern of Spartan representation and can be connected with already established traditions of the Spartan elite – yet another telling example of the use of the past.

Following these new policies of representation, the Decree of Khremonides highlights once again the same patterns and informs us more about the code of conduct of Areus I.

4.4.1. Decree of Khremonides

The Athenian decree of Khremonides (c. 268/7; *Syll.*³ 434-435; *IG* II² 687) is a lengthy decree of c. 97 lines. The inscribed decree consists of two interrelated texts. The first is the resolution with which the decree was introduced by Khremonides to the Athenian Assembly for approval (ll. 1-69). The second is a treaty between the Spartans and their allies on the one hand, and the Athenians and their allies on the other (ll. 70-97). The Khremonides' Decree is evidence of Areus' participation in the

alliance against the Makedonians and of the capitalisation of his achievements: an alliance with Ptolemaios II, and Spartan leadership in a great coalition, including not only Peloponnesian *poleis*. Moreover, in alignment with the inscriptions discussed above, it followed the same patterns of Areus' Hellenistic presentation style: one notes especially the absence of any mention of his co-king (Cartledge and Spawforth, 2002: 32-33; Austin 61):

- 21 ὥσαύτως δὲ καὶ Λακεδαιμόνιοι φίλοι καὶ σύμ-
μαχοι τοῦ βασιλέως ὄντες Πτολεμαίου καὶ πρὸς τὸν δῆμον τ-
ὸν Ἀθηναίων εἰσὶν ἐψηφισμένοι συμμαχίαν μετὰ τε Ἠλείων
καὶ Ἀχαιῶν καὶ Τεγεατῶν καὶ Μαντινέων καὶ Ὀρχομενίων κα-
25 ἰ Φια[λέων] καὶ Καφυέων καὶ Κρηταέων ὅσοι εἰσὶν ἐν τεῖ συμμ-
[αχίαι τ]εῖ Λακεδαιμονίων καὶ Ἀρέως καὶ τῶν ἄλλων συμμαχῶν
[Trans.] and likewise the Lakedaimonians, who are friends and
allies of King Ptolemaios and towards the *demos* of the
Athenians have voted to be in alliance with, together with the Eleans
and the Achaians and the Tegeans and the Mantineans and the
Orchomenians
25 and the [Phigaleans] and the Kretans, all those who are in [alliance]
with the Lakedaimonians and Areus and the other allies

As it is clear in the decree, the Spartans are already allied with King Ptolemaios (ll. 21). Moreover, throughout the text, the leadership of the war seems to belong to the Spartans, even if Ptolemaios was the main enactor: the allies of Athens are vaguely mentioned (ll. 71, 75-76, 80, 84) while at some points they are completely ignored (l. 93). Contrariwise, Sparta's allies are fully mentioned – a clear declaration of Sparta's position of power (on the possible motives of the Peloponnesian *poleis*, cf. Kralli, 2017: 128-132). Ptolemaios' role is highlighted by the mention of separate bilateral agreements between Egypt and Sparta and Egypt and Athens (ll. 19-22). This decree is the result of a separate act of alliance between a large Peloponnesian coalition under the leadership of the Spartans and of a smaller coalition of Athens and its allies.

The inscription mentions the glorious past: the victories of Athens and Sparta in their attempts to free Greece from all those who sought to enslave them. The

decree (ll. 13-16) urges that the allied cities should protect once again their laws and their traditional constitutions:

13	καὶ νῦν δὲ κ[α]ιρῶν καθειληφόντων ὁμοίων τὴν Ἑλλάδα πᾶσαν διὰ το[ύς κ]αταλύε- ιν ἐπιχειροῦντας τοὺς τε νόμους καὶ τὰς πατρίους ἐκάστ-
16	οις πολιτείας
[Trans]	and now, when similar circumstances have overtaken all Greece on account of those who are trying to overthrow the law and the
16	ancestral constitutions of each cities

*Syll.*³ 434/5; l. 13-16

A call that is repeated often enough in the text (ll. 18, 31-35 and 72-74). The words that refer to abstract notions such as “ἐλευθερίαν” [‘freedom’] and “πατρίους” [‘ancestral’] were very carefully chosen; their use was clearly intended as they offered a fairly wide margin of understanding. They redefined the present in terms of past, a period when the free Greeks united against a common enemy who threatened to destroy them, seizing their freedom – the Persians.

The similitude to the common enemy, the Makedonians, albeit artfully remaining unnamed throughout the text, is clear. Two centuries ago, it was the Persians; now the Makedonians threaten the freedom of Greeks once again. It is irony that the Spartans again fulfil the role of protectors of freedom (Wallace, 2011a: 205-211). Moreover, Ptolemaios is presented twice in the text as traditional defender of the freedom of the Greek cities (Aneziri, 2009: 29-30) – another instance of Ptolemaic propaganda. The alliance had been already approved by the Spartans and their allies as shown in the text (ll. 13-31) and then it was proposed to the Athenians (ll. 30-31). Except for the bronze stele inscription, the decree ensures that the indication of the Treaty will be set upon a column on the Acropolis (ll. 42-44, 64-66) and includes the exchange of vows (ll. 44-48). It also clearly refers to the agreements of two Athenian representatives in the Allied Council (ll. 48-54).

Within the decree, there is a small reference to other members of the Spartan political structure, though they are by no means specific and are less prominent than

the references to Areus. The reference is for τοῖς βασιλεῦσιν τοῖς Λακεδαιμον[ίων] (l. 37) ['Kings of the Lakedaimonians'] and τοὺς βασιλεῖς (ll. 90-91) ['kings'], as well as for the Ephors and the Gerousia: καὶ τοὺς ἐφόρο[υ]ς [καὶ] τοὺς γέροντας (l. 91). Still, throughout the text, the term Lakedaimonians is used to a large extent. We have already discussed the ramifications of the term and the different connotations it may have held. Suffice to say that for the Athenians, this term surely laid heavily on them. They would still have had memories of their defeat by the Spartans in the Peloponnesian War. Moreover, the years of Spartan Hegemony were more recent. In the period after the Battle of Leuktra, the Athenians tried to regain their status and even allied with the Spartans again. However, in the context of the Khremonidean War, where the Athenians had to battle for their freedom against Makedonian influence the alliance with the stronger Spartan polity reduced the Athenians into a second-class force. This is another indication of the power that Areus and the Spartans held during the signing of the treaty. Indeed, the declared agreement to inscribe the treaty in bronze column (ll. 42-44),⁵⁶ and then place it next to the temple of Athena Polias (in the Acropolis) is unusual; it seemed to be in contrast to the Athenian tradition. However, this was a quite widespread tradition in the Peloponnesos (Aneziri, 2009: 33).

The resultant Khremonidean War (c. 267-261) proved inferior to the expectations of the participants. Areus himself fell in battle after three unsuccessful attempts to break the Makedonian defensive line at Isthmos and join his allies further north (c. 265; Paus. 3.6.4-6; Plut. *Agis* 3.7; Trogus *Prol.* 26). Nonetheless, in the topic of representation, Areus was constantly presented and acted as the sole administrator of Sparta's foreign policy. One has only to look at the decree of Khremonides: τ[ε]ῖ Λακεδαιμονίων καὶ Ἀρέως ['the Lakedaimonians and Areus'] (*Syll.*³ 434-435; ll. 26, 29, 40); the dedicatory inscriptions at Olympia and Orchomenos and even the correspondence between Spartans and Jews (David, 1986: 136). Yet, it is possible that he could have been opposed by the Ephors, but the surviving texts do not support this conclusion (Lévy, 2008: 408-409). It seems

⁵⁶ καὶ ἀναγράψα[ι αὐτὴν τὸν γρ] | ἀμματαία τὸν κατὰ πρυτανείαν ἐν στήλῃ χαλκ[ῇ καὶ στήσαι ἐ] | ν ἀκροπόλει παρὰ τὸν νεῶ τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς τῆς Πο[λιάδος] ['and that [the] secretary of the prytany have (it) inscribed on a bronze stele and [set up] on the Acropolis, by the temple of Athena Polias.']

more plausible that he had the support of the majority of the Gerousia and the Ephors or else his hands would have been bound (David, 1986: 138). Moreover, the general formula of this representation used abstract terms heavily and introduced several links to the past. This is something constantly cultivated within Sparta during the reign of Areus. Within his policy, the specific conditions had already been met for the first Spartan coinage in the history of Sparta.

4.5. MANIPULATION THROUGH COINAGE

The success of the Spartans and Areus against Pyrrhos opened new opportunities for the Spartans. It was a success of the Spartan arms and the king's personal achievement. An investment in the dissemination of specific messages could have tangible benefits, as quickly proven. Areus managed to strike an alliance with Ptolemaios II of Egypt with the intention to fight the Makedonians. The alliance also included a range of Peloponnesian *poleis*, as well as Athens and its allies, as already discussed. As Ptolemaios II was a diligent diplomat, he was looking for prominent allies in order to set a stronghold in the main Helladic peninsula; Sparta, and its proactive king fulfilled this role perfectly. To further support his deed and in order to establish the image of a powerful ruler, Areus issued Sparta's first silver coinage plausibly during the same period of the Khremonidean War and in order to finance its needs (Grunauer-von Hoerschelmann, 1978: 1-6; Mørkholm, 1991: 149; Price, 1991; Walker, 2009: 61).

The introduction of silver coinage in Sparta can be identified as a targeted action of Areus, as it is a focal point of his policy of civic renewal. As Skinner argues, using the "Intentional History" model of Gehrke, the coinage is the most intended means of representation (Skinner, 2010: 137). In terms of intentional history, minting coins is an act of self-definition on behalf of the issuing authority, which aims to communicate messages, or 'knowledge', to an audience of people. Coinage clearly provides a solid basis for constructing a collective *imaginaire*. As we have already discussed above, by using the so-called Alexanders (coins with the image of Alexandros III) Areus was represented in a powerful yet also symbolic and eloquent way (FIGURE 6), as the silver tetradrachms with Herakles head on the obverse and

Zeus in his throne on the reverse side were the most acceptable currency of the period (Meadows and Shipton, 2001: 56-57; Kontes, 2007; Walker, 2009: 77). Price (1991: 71-78) offers some excellent tables of the cities that not only used but also minted Alexanders throughout the Hellenistic period. In addition, Herakles was the mythic progenitor of the royal houses of Sparta, the *Agidae* and the *Euryontidae*, (Hdt. 6.52) and was recurrently used in Sparta (Palagia, 2006: 213-215, especially the uses of the soldier-king by Kleomenes III). Several other *poleis* and royal houses in Peloponnesos and elsewhere used the same myth and origins – they could be identified by originating from the *Heraklidae* (Ἡρακλεῖδαι) – to support their superiority and their inalienable right to rule (for a thorough discussion of the Heraklidae and the effects and connotations of the myth in the Peloponnesos, see Luraghi, 2008: 46-67).

The Makedonian royal house of the Argeadae draws upon the same legendary origins (through the Heraklid Temenos of Argos, Diod. 7. 17; Hdt. 8.137-8; Just. 7.1; Plut. *Alex.* 2.1; Vell. Pat. 1.6), a connection diligently cultivated by Philippos II, but already disseminated earlier (Engels, 2010: 90; Kremydi, 2011: 163-164). The inscription to the 'Paternal Herakles' (Ἡρακλῆ Πατρὶς) found in the royal palace draws direct links to the progenitor of the Makedonian kings, demonstrating the connection in the elite strata (Bakalakis and Andronikos, 1970: 394; Robert and Robert, 1974: 238; Andronikos, 2004: 38). Furthermore, since the reign of King Archelaos I (413-399), Herakles appears in the obverse of Makedonian coins, signifying his importance for the origins of the Makedonian royal house and highlighting the political use of such links of *syngeneia* with the other Greeks (Psoma, 2002: 29; Kontes, 2007; Anson, 2010: 18; Engels, 2010: 90-91; Kremydi, 2011: 163-164).

During Philippos II's reign, especially from 356, and increasingly during Alexandros III's reign onwards the figure of Herakles experienced extensive use. After Alexandros' death, Herakles' head was used as the main image of self-presentation of the king and his *Diadokhoi* as well (Dahmen, 2007: 6; Asirvatham, 2010: 101). Coinage was greatly disseminated throughout the Hellenistic kingdoms at large due to the growth of mercenary soldiering (Miller, 1984: 157; Davies, 2007: 80). However, this could not be the only reason behind the great power of this

specific coin representation; the answer lies in the combination of the extent and needs for financing mercenaries in this highly active period and the specific weight of Alexandros III's image and his already widely prevalent legacy.

Besides the silver tetradrachms, there are also smaller denominations, the obols of King Areus (FIGURES 7, 8; Grunauer-von Hoerschelmann, 1978: 4-6; Mørkholm, 1991: 149). They have been dated around 268-265, and they depict the head of a bearded Herakles wearing lion skin on the obverse and a club with knots framed by two six-ray stars on the reverse. The obols should be considered as an intermediary medium between the fully iconographic and inscribed tetradrachms and Spartan everyday life. There are direct connotations to the mythic past, with the clearly identified head of Herakles and the Dioskouroi, symbolised by the six-ray stars. It is remarkable for the period of their issuing that they are completely anepigraphic (Mørkholm, 1991: 149). It should be noted that this is the only straight iconographic representation of the political institution of dual kingship – the Dioskouroi represent the two royal houses of Sparta.

I believe that Areus, following the consistent practice of contemporary rulers (Dahmen, 2007: 6), intentionally used the coins to present himself as an equal to the *Diadokhoi* king while further strengthening the connection of the Spartans to their traditional origins (Palagia, 2006: 216; Pagkalos, 2015: 152). The iconographical use of the beardless Herakles may have been problematic for the Spartans but *Alexandroi* had already seen widespread use both in and outside Peloponnesos. Even if the image of the beardless Herakles with the lion headdress could have been associated with Alexandros himself (cf. Dahmen, 2007: 40-41), the smaller denomination could help the Spartans identify familiar images, with the head of bearded Herakles on the obverse. Furthermore, by underlining the common ancestry of Spartans and Makedonians, Areus could imply his inspirations in a rather direct way, and he could establish strong links to the greatness of Alexandros III's legacy; this was the message directed to external audiences. More importantly, the use of the widespread iconographical type of beardless Herakles by Areus and the Spartans and its possible connotations disregard the long enmity between Sparta and Makedonia (Shipley, 2000b: 142; Cartledge and Spawforth, 2002: 32; Kremydi, 2011: 168-169). The royal dynasties of Sparta and Makedonia both used Herakles as a symbol, but the Spartans had a long tradition and their history was

regularly associated with the hero. Furthermore, this was not the first instance of coinage closely related to Sparta, which used a similar iconography.

Many years earlier, yet within the span of Spartan communicative memory, Herakles was depicted on another coin, closely associated with Spartan actions. The image of Herakliskos Drakonopnigon (infant Herakles strangling serpents) was used in the coins struck to celebrate the alliance between cities in Western Asia Minor and the Aegean Islands (FIGURE 9) after the defeat of Athens at Aigos Potamoi (404) and their successive liberation by the Spartans. More interestingly, this theme has been associated with the personality of Lysandros (Karwiese, 1980). The numismatic manifestation of Herakliskos Drakonopnigon had not only political and economic reasons but ideological as well. By similar fashion, Areus' coinage should not be interpreted only in economic or military terms, political and ideological dimensions were certain. Such an interpretation highlights the similarities between the two personalities of Lysandros and Areus: personal ambitions operated side-by-side with civic success.

In addition, in accordance with the strong diplomatic relations between Sparta and the Ptolemies, the choice of this specific coin type can lead to certain interesting aspects. For Ptolemaios I, by 320/19 and his defeat of Perdikkas, had changed the familiar representation of Herakles/Zeus coin. In contrast, during the first years of his reign he introduced silver coins with Alexandros wearing an elephant-skin headdress on the obverse and the same image of Zeus on the reverse. Later, by 314, the mints in Egypt moved to replace the figure of Zeus seated on his throne with a rather archaic representation of the goddess Athena in fighting stance (FIGURE 10; Dahmen, 2007: 10-12; Walker, 2009: 90). By 298/7-295/4, Alexandros' representation on the obverse had been totally eclipsed, even from Egypt's golden coins (for a concise chronological presentation of the coinage of Ptolemaios I, see Lorber, 2005; Dahmen, 2007: 12-13). The Spartan choice of images stands in direct contrast to the evolution of coinage in Egypt. One could imagine that Ptolemaic influence, a key factor in the dynamic resurgence of Sparta during the reign of Areus, would be stronger (as far as we can see, Ptolemaic coins appear to be used in Lakonia mainly during Areus' reign. After this period they no longer appear, see O'Neil, 2008: 67). Still, the Spartans used the earlier version of Alexandros' coins. Why? It may be that the already, by 305, different and reduced standard used by the

Ptolemies somewhat limited the ability to fund mercenaries. By 290, the Ptolemaic standard was even lower and reached the fixed value of c.14.2g (Mørkholm, 1991: 10-11). Still, this cannot be the only reason behind the Spartan decision. The Ptolemies had succeeded in creating a strong and well-regulated economy with extensive trade networks (Manning, 2005; Marquaille, 2014: 43; Thompson, 2014). The robust economy of Ptolemaic Egypt could dispel Spartan concerns regarding the viability of its funded support.

As we are unsure of the mints, Mørkholm (1991: 149, 200-201) argued that the coins might have been minted by Areus in order to pay his mercenaries, or by Ptolemaios, for the very same reasons. Even if King Ptolemaios II issued the coins and they were not directly issued by the Spartans, we have two possibilities. First, the use of the specific typology was in agreement with the Spartans and King Areus. Sparta wanted to grow its power and King Areus had the momentum. These confirm that the Spartans offered Ptolemaios a great opportunity: they were an ally with potential and could supposedly carry out his plans in Southern Greece. This gives Areus and the Spartan elite some power and a lever in the negotiations between them, something that could lead to the promotion of their own intentions and ambitions. It is highly likely that the Spartans (or Areus) could have been able to suggest and debate on these matters. Second, it could be the case that Ptolemaios (and the Spartans) advocated and supported a type more openly recognised in order not to reveal his involvement and connections to the general unrest in Attike and the Peloponnesos. This argument cannot stand as evidence of relation and later of a formal alliance are present (inscription at Olympia and the Decree of Khremonides). Moreover, as we have already discussed, the Makedonians were not favoured in these parts of Greece. King Ptolemaios openly opposed the Makedonians and wanted to seize control of South Greece in order to secure the Aegean. Furthermore, this interpretation berefts the coins of their ideological connotations and renders them only trading objects; something that is clearly false. Finally, the chosen type completely contradicts the numismatic history of the Egyptian kingdom (Pagkalos, 2015). By all means, the first case is more plausible in the event that some of the coins were minted outside Spartan territory during one of King Areus' military expeditions (Mørkholm, 1991: 149).

As Palagia (2006: 206) has suggested, it is more likely that the reason Areus and the Spartans' opted for Herakles' iconography in the coins was due to its wide recognition and circulation in the Greek world. However, when Areus sought to promote himself as the main king of Sparta, he should have the support of the majority of the ruling bodies of Spartan society. It should be rather certain that Areus should have met some opposition and he had to persuade even the most sceptical supporters of a more 'traditional' policy. As the case today, it is normal within the everyday life of the Spartan society to hold an actual discussion among the members of the Gerousia, the Assembly and the Ephors in order to get the support needed. However, Areus' role is not to be diminished; the evidence suggests that he had his own plans. It is in Areus' coins, as well as in the attestations of Areus in the epigraphic data that we can see the intentional aspects of the iconographical choices. Areus is presented as the only Spartan king, why should we think that Herakles' type is only chosen upon functionality? Aside from their functionality, the coinage of Areus conveyed messages and their typology was intended: a representation policy founded simultaneously on 'innovations' and 'new' principles but which also created links to the mythical and recent past and present and used traditional Spartan symbols.

The main question deriving from Areus' monetary policy is how the wider Spartan society perceived the new coins. Despite the prevailing scholarly opinion that the coins did not meet wide dissemination in Spartan society, since their principal focus was external transactions and trade (payment of mercenaries) as well as the projection of King Areus (and Sparta), they surely had an impact on society (*contra* Palagia, 2006: 206). Questions about the introduction of coins by Areus have long been posed. However, until now, scholars tend to outline their approaches using the external perspective. What about the internal impact? The coinage, as much as it was a political tool, it had also some practical implementation (not to speak of its own materiality, Ingold, 2007: 13-14). The use of the coin as payment for mercenary wages is bound up with certain circulation, at least on the fringes of Spartan society. Surely the coins were not a secret and must have known some spread. As demonstrated by the Peloponnesos hoard of 1962 (Troxell, 1971: 66-67; Price, 1991: 191), where an example of Areus' silver coin was found, the coins must have seen some circulation in the area. Even without actual transactions, for

we do not know of any documented incident, orality (everyday verbal tradition) was certainly enough to spread the word.

It is through communication that memories are shaped and collective memories re-shape (Halbwachs, 1980: 59; Assmann, 1995; 2011). In this case, coinage acted as social agent; the coins are objects, and then again more than objects as they bear many notions that are socially constructed (Gell, 1998: 16-19). They convey messages and enable the confirmation of the figurative or verbal slogans inscribed on them (Touratsoglou, 2002: 11). They fit into a greater network of people and objects (Ingold, 2007: 12). In this interdisciplinary perspective, there is no dichotomy between subject and object. The coins, as other material objects, are understood as means of social change; objects (even unseen) can guide and determine expectations and behaviour (Gell, 1998: 221-223) – and this is exactly the objective. In order to retell a narrative, constructed though it may be, you need to support it with tangible evidence, to be able to support your aim both externally, but at the same time internally (Vygotsky, 1978: 55; Engeström, 2009: 54-57).

The iconographical choices of the Spartan coinage both in the obverse and the reverse and its combination with the inscribed legend “Of King Areus” created an ensemble both “recognisable” and “intelligible” (Skinner, 2002: 138). Indeed, the coin included all the needed information on the identity of the issuing authority and the point of origin via the association of the iconographical themes with Sparta (form) and the name of the Spartan king (written text). Of course, as with cultural memory, once a coin is minted a larger audience has the liberty to construct its own understanding from the images displayed. The further that coin type travelled from its point of origin, the more varied the readings it would get; the factors being regional, political, cultural, religious or ethnic, audience and context (Skinner, 2010: 141). In effect, the Lakedaimonians could receive different messages from the close-by poleis and perioikic establishments. Likewise, other Greek cities or Hellenistic kingdoms would most certainly receive different messages - the message of another *Successor* emerging; a message that the various mercenaries would find most appealing.

Nevertheless, Areus was consistent in his use of coinage, alliances and specific means of representation of the historical past of his *polis*. During his reign and through the objectification of certain notions, not only was the Spartan reality

reshaped but the evolving consciousness of the collective mind (Spartan society) was also actively supported. This ‘collective consciousness’, although a somewhat problematic definition, stands above individual perceptions and the specific time-defined reality (Ingold, 1986: 86-87; Gell, 1998: 258). It relied again on the battle between agency – the individual’s capacity to act independently – and structure: the social factors that limit or influence the opportunities of individuals. Such mechanisms operate continuously within societies. The Spartan collective consciousness was reshaped by the introduction of coinage and the representations of a Hellenistic-type monarch but still abided to the hegemonic past and the social institutions that structured Spartan society.

4.6. CONCLUSION: USE OF THE PAST *PER SE*

All in all, the use of coinage was another medium for publicising the links to the mythical ‘great’ past. It is rather similar to the uses of, and the myth of, Lykourgos. The invented “Lykourgan regime” had been another example of the use of the past, which the Spartan elite had already used numerous times and would use again (see the case of Agesilaos’ use of the laws in 371; Plut. *Ages.* 30.6; *Mor.* 191C, 214B; the discussion of the motives behind King Areus’ numismatic policy discussed above or the example of King Agis IV; see Hodkinson, 1986: 382-383; Kennell, 1995: 114; Cartledge, 2002: 142; Flower, 2002: 202, 209; Moore, 2009: 30-34). The ‘traditional’ Lykourgan regime is an excellent case of the use of the past within the context of Spartan society. In order to re-establish themselves in the changing realities, members of the Spartan society, mainly the elite, who usually had the means and the power to control the people, presumably consciously orchestrated the retelling and the majority of the Spartan society, partly subconsciously (and maybe willingly?) followed these new narratives. As Palagia (2006: 215) states, art had been systematically manipulated to “convey domestic political messages”; I understand her phrase to include not only domestic but external messages as well.

In reality, as a recurring theme, the ‘new’ story is not that new. Each society, given the historical context, is due to play the same game (Halbwachs, 1992: 123-124). This is the partly-conscious battle between the heteronymous Spartan society

which attributed its imaginaries to Lykourgos, the legendary lawgiver, and the essential and imperative need of an autonomous society. The latter is a society fully aware of the reality that its laws are human-made and indeed creates its own laws and institutions. Spartan society balanced between these two structures as it constantly re-evaluated the laws, without changing the core of this Lykourgan figure, and it created new links with the past (for an extensive discussion, see Kastoriadis, 1997: 101-109). Spartans when forced to act never went far enough, as Thucydides (1.70.2) prejudged through the mouth of Corinthians at 432/1: ὑμεῖς δὲ τὰ ὑπάρχοντά τε σώζειν καὶ ἐπιγνῶναι μηδὲν καὶ ἔργῳ οὐδὲ τὰναγκαῖα ἐξικέσθαι [‘you have a mind for protecting what you have got together with a total want of invention and when you are forced to act you never go far enough’]. The Korinthian speech at Sparta concerning the events at Potidaia is indeed a very deep analysis of the Spartan society and reality (Thuc. 1.70-1.72).

The binary categorisation of Lévi-Strauss’ famous theory of “cold” and “hot” societies leaves Sparta in the middle. To define the terms: cold societies strive “by the institution they give themselves to annul the possible effects of historical factors on their equilibrium and continuity”, while hot societies are characterised by “an avid need for change”. The latter will internalise their history in order to make it the driving force behind their development (Lévi-Strauss, 1966: 233-234; Assmann, 2011: 52). For in our case, Spartans were simultaneously framed by those institutions with the aid of which cold cultures freeze historical change: they abided to the easily accessible Lykourgan past and the entire historical topography of their city, while they are bombarded in their everyday life by the images in the coins, new statues and the representation of only one of their two kings in opposition to this ancestral Lykourgan tradition. However, the iconographical and phrasal constructions were still the same: Herakles, Dioskouroi and the terms ‘Lakedaimonians’, ‘protection of Greece’. The ‘new’ did not stand in glaring contrast to the ‘established’. As Assmann argues these are the two sides of the same coin: “The tranquilising element (of institutions) serves the cold option, whereby change is frozen.” What is to be remembered is to be found the regularity and tradition, in continuity rather in change. However, the stimuli of communicative memory serve the hot option, in which “meaning, importance, memorableness are in service of the

reversal and change” (Assmann, 2011: 53). Societies need and use the past for the purpose of identity (Assmann, 2011: 114); reconstructed past and memories lead to reconstructed identities and presents. Areus altered existing elements and added ‘new’ while he used the city and its traditions as a guide.

Areus’ (and Sparta’s elite) policy was characterised by selectivity: some aspects of the past were highlighted, but others were rejected. On the one hand, the basic core of the manipulation of the past was based on the distant past and the long-term cultural memory. The direct links to hegemony, not only over the Peloponnesos, are clearly attested in the Khremonides’ Decree. Moreover, again in the context of Spartan cultural memory, the mythic past was highlighted, through the connection to the Heraklids, instead of the Dioskouroi (only presented in the silver obols). Herakles symbolised monarchy rather than diarchy (Palagia, 2006: 208). Lastly, the entirety of Areus’ reign falls within the pattern of the aforementioned Spartan mentality of hegemony.

On the other hand, the Spartans seemed to reject the majority of the short-term communicative memory – or their most recent past: the defeats after 371 at Leuktra and the successive territorial losses and military humiliations are silenced. Instead, they keep that part of communicative memory that overlaps with its cultural counterpart. Again, from this recent past, they overlooked their aversion towards Alexandros and they intentionally chose the Alexanders’ typology for their tetradrachms. Finally, yet importantly, with the introduction of coinage, they rejected parts of the “traditional” Lykourgan regime but they did not proceed in innovative political reforms.

It is difficult to trace elements of the Lakedaimonians’ reactions during the reign of Areus. According to an account of Phylarchos that survives through the work of Athenaios of Naukratis (*Deipn.* 4.141f-142c) Areus and his father, Akrotatos, were responsible for corrupting the Spartans, influencing them to live luxurious lives: ἐξώκειλαν εἰς τρυφήν [‘they have degenerated in luxury’]. They also had luxurious meals, against their traditions or the πάτριον ἔθος (‘ancestral traditions’; David, 1986: 135; Cartledge and Spawforth, 2002: 31; Doran, 2011: 191). Moreover, against the Lykourgan laws, he issued coins in accordance with the standards of Hellenistic rulers. Phylarchos, as Xenophon did before, symbolised the ‘ancestral

traditions' or the 'Lykourgan regime' according to his stance and awareness of historical memory; the 'tradition' was morphed.

Areus' reign has to be included in the general pattern of the systematic efforts of the Spartans to reassert themselves as a first-rate power, against the blows that they had received in 371, 362, 338/7 and 331 respectively (Cartledge and Spawforth, 2002: 25; Walbank, 2006: 237; Shipley, 2018: 61). One can focus on king Areus' ambitions; however, this viewpoint simplifies the data. More plausibly, Areus' reign reflects both the needs and desires of the Spartan society as well as changing nature of public imagery and the emerging trends of the early Hellenistic period. Areus tried to follow the model of contemporary kings (Kennell, 1995: 13) – namely the Diadokhoi – and largely succeeded. Throughout his attempt, though he can be portrayed as a dynamic and pro-active king it was not one man's trip. Certainly, he was not acting alone, and he must have had substantial support among the Spartan oligarchy and the citizen body. He tried to circumscribe and constrict the power and support that his main opponent, Kleonymos, could enjoy. Within the context of state affairs, we have seen that Areus was chosen to represent Sparta's interest in 280 (Just. 24.1). The rivalry with Kleonymos was aggravated and we may trace possible economic dimensions behind it, or at least Areus' attempt to limit substantially his opponent. The competence for influence and power is in the nature of the elite group – and Sparta's elite fell within the same rule. Areus arguably tried to keep the Eurypontidai property to the dynasty and sever any influence that the marriage between the Agiad Kleonymos and the Eurypontid Chilonis could bring to his uncle (cf. Aristot. *Pol.* 2.1270a; for endogamy in Spartan society and women inheritance, see Piper, 1979: 6-8; Hodkinson, 1986: 394-404; Cartledge and Spawforth, 2002: 29-30). The enmity fully manifested during the events of 275-272.

Alas, we lack specific names or instances of discourse or opposition to Areus' actions. Areus proved that a city-state, with the necessary alliances and resources, could still play a leading role while he reaffirmed the hegemonic ambitions of the Spartans. I do not find the term 'vision' as attributed to Areus neither 'megalomaniacal' (Will, 2006: 116) nor 'impulsive' (Badian, 1967: 167). On the contrary, he can be credited as able to see that Sparta needed a new and different policy in order to regain a prominent place in the sun. His fault, and possibly of the sceptical and cumbersome Spartan elite, as shown by the course of history, was that

he did not press for any constitutional reforms towards this aim (a view shared among many scholars; Cartledge and Spawforth, 2002: 26-27, 33; Shipley, 2002: 321). Hence, understandably, in the absence of a dynamic leader after his death, the Spartans lost the momentum for a real shift in the power balance.

The solution to the Spartan problem lied elsewhere: to a true and deep reformation of the political and social structure of the Spartan society, something that Agis IV and Kleomenes III to a certain extent will try to accomplish, not long afterwards (Cartledge and Spawforth, 2002: 35-53). The erroneous assessment of the general historical context and the adhesion to a certain *πάτριον ἔθος* ['ancestral customs'] were the obstacles which Spartans never surpassed (Forrest, 1969: 137-138; Austin, 1994: 537; Lévy, 2008: 458). If their strategic intellect in finding opportunities was turned upon the society itself and some part of their stamina had been invested to the long road of radical changes, the Spartans would have written a different story; however, history is based different paths and choices made and cannot be changed.

In contrast to Cartledge and Spawforth's view (Cartledge and Spawforth, 2002: 25-34), I think that perceiving Areus' reign as a simple historical flash, as with the case of Agis, degrades both the historical facts and Spartan efforts for a more prestigious future. On the contrary, during the forty years of his reign, Sparta was successfully brought in as an effective player in the power game of Hellenistic reality. Areus' policy created links with the other Hellenistic rulers and came to be part of a larger network (Scarpato, 2017; Shipley, 2017: 293).

There is no desire here to idealise Areus' reign, I need only to emphasise again that during his reign, and probably on account of his own capacity to a certain extent, the Spartan elite achieved a dynamic retelling of Sparta's past operating at three different levels: by invoking the mythic or distant past, and with the guidance of the near and the recent past. Alternatively, to put it in theoretical terms, the actions of the Spartans were both informed by their cultural and commemorative memories. The distant past was essential in reconstructing and strengthening the sense of social identity again: the links to the mythic era via the head of Herakles and the depiction of Zeus seated on his throne are a straight comment on the tradition of Spartan kingship. Sparta's inspirations of hegemony during the Archaic and Classical period formed the relatively near past and were brought forth through the

choice of the coin – Alexandros III's type – and the depiction of his head on the obverse. At the same time, the recent past dictated the use of an item so widespread, the coin itself, both as a means to meet certain practicalities of the period – prevalent among them the mercenaries – but also as a way of representing one's authority. Coinage was one of the most basic types of representation widely used by the *Diadokhoi* and inextricably linked with the division of the Makedonian Empire to the Hellenistic kingdoms.

Using these mechanisms inherent to the society (Earle and Earle, 1999), and by outlining and projecting specific images – through the mediating cultural instrument of coinage (Engeström, 1987: 13), as symbolic as we have already discussed, Sparta was once again fully active and with relative success. As Liakos (2014) argues, people are not mindless chessmen: they are formed through their perceptions about their history and through their emotions, which in turn are formed by their engagement with the past. Looking at the bigger picture, Areus' actions were an integral part of the constructed and, especially after 37, underlying mentality of hegemony (for a sociological perspective see DeLanda, 2006: 49-50).

Sparta in many ways survived as the same *polis* of the glorious past; its citizens tried to come to terms with the new conditions and to alter their real position in time although their resources were more limited than ever before (Austin, 1994: 538; Shipley, 2000b: 142; Lévy, 2008; Mehta, 2009: 578-579). Change and innovation were long feared in Sparta but, inevitably, a number of sporadic changes were implemented to address the shortcomings (*neodamodeis*, *hypomeiones* etc.; Hodkinson, 1996: 97; Doran, 2011: 79-80). The Spartans to some extent succeeded in prolonging their *polis*' survival in a fast-changing, fluid world; however, the price already paid was the natural loss of their leading role. First, Agis III and Areus I, and later Agis IV and Kleomenes III (Shipley, 2017) – each in his own way – offered different courses to Sparta while ideologically pursued the same aim: Sparta's return to glory. Thus, while the Spartans apparently followed the same aspirations, they had to reinvent their past in order to realise the present (Flower, 2002: 192; Moore, 2009: 34). In a way, Sparta was able to stay unaltered in its core essence and, at the same time, to adapt slowly to the new conditions.



5. Achaian League: Reforming Peloponnesos

This chapter marks the distinction between the paradigms explored above and the last two case-studies. Instead of discussing another great *polis* with a glorious past, it approaches a new political formation, the Achaian *Koinon* which possible (re)emerged in the 280s and quickly succeeded in achieving a protagonistic role not only in the affairs of Peloponnesos but of the Hellenistic world. Therefore, although the League does not have such a grandiose history as Athens or Sparta it created one.

The chapter focuses on the account of Polybios, rather than the Achaians themselves. Specifically, Polybios, the Achaian historian who provides one of the main accounts for the history of *Koinon*, writes at the time of the subjugation of the League to the Roman Republic. His account offers an insight into the mechanisms of memory construction and uses of the past at the time that communicative memory turns to cultural. I question the reasons for the Polybian account regarding the Achaian *Koinon*'s past, and I argue for its central role to the aims of his *Histories*. This is an exploration of the mind of an active politician and a historiographer whose text demonstrates not only his reflections on the potential of the past but also his understanding of the ways of manipulating it for personal and communal benefits.



5.1. AUTONOMY AND DEPENDENCE

The Achaian League, or *koinon*, stands in stark contrast to the Athenian and Spartan historical tradition, which was governed by the mentality of *hegemony*. The Achaian League, revived during the early Hellenistic period, was a confederacy – a political organisation of different states based upon the standards of autonomy and dependence. Instead of a single *polis* and its allies, as was the case with the Athenian Hegemony or the Peloponnesian Alliance, which were effectively dominated by Athens and Sparta respectively, now a group of *poleis* stands with common objectives and a federal administration. Thus, a different mode of cultural memory is present here; instead of hegemonic historical tradition, many

of these cities did not have any previous leadership tendencies apart from safeguarding their own territorial autonomy. The question arising is: *Can this contrast differentiate the uses of the past?*

If we were to place the *koina* or confederacies amongst the newly formed Hellenistic Kingdoms and the individual *poleis* they should be considered as a viable political alternative. A federal unification offered the possibility of exceeding the limited size and the relative weakness of individual *poleis* as the member cities shared political, economic and military resources (Walbank, 1981:152-158). In many ways, they could actively fill the power vacuum that the old hegemonic *poleis* had left and, indeed, the Achaian *koinon* largely succeeded. It was not long before the Achaian League evolved from being just a protective cluster of autonomy from external sources or ‘oppressors’ to a focus of hegemonial aspirations. Yet, the *Koina*, just like other modes of political organisation, seem to attain some critical weaknesses, not so different from those of the independent *poleis*. In contrast to Polybios’ account (2.38), even the ‘democratic’ Achaian League had a governing elite with enough power to turn the table in times of crisis. It is striking, for the “democratic” picture that Polybios describes, that the political leaders of the *Koinon* came from a handful of major cities, notably the non-Achaian cities of Sikyon, Megalopolis and Argos (Walbank, 1933: 167-211; O'Neil, 1984-86). Megalopolis can demonstrate the largest number of *strategoi*; the names include Lydiades, Philopoimen, Aristainos, Diophanes, Lykortas, Diaios and Kritolaos. Aratos of Sikyon is by far the most elected *strategos* of the League, having held office for sixteen annual terms (Walbank, 1933: 173-175). In the list of *strategoi*, Argos is attested once, with Aristomachos (228-227; Plb. 2.44.6; Plut. *Arat.* 35; Paus. 2.8.6) and Menalkidas of Sparta held office for a year (151-150; Paus. 7.11.7-12.9; Plb. 38.18.6). Although there are many gaps in the chronological list of the *strategoi* of the League, there are generals that originated from Achaian cities, but these cases are very rare in the surviving record. Be that as it may, in a world ruled by monarchies, the Achaian and Aitolian Leagues demonstrate that, at least to a certain extent, citizens and *poleis* had the ability to meet new political challenges by offering new solutions. The federations were the result of the internal need of the Greeks themselves and therefore fundamentally different in character from the associations imposed on Greece by Philippos II, Antigonos, Demetrios Poliorketes and Antigonos Doson.

This case-study will discuss the revival of the Achaian League as accounted by the historian Polybios (Plb. 2.37-44). Rather than discussing the history from the perspective of the Achaians, the focus here will be on the historian and his description of what happened, as it is our main source for the *koinon*. According to his account, the League was revived about 281 or 280 (Plb. 2.41.12) by the four-founding western Achaian *poleis* of Dyme, Patrai, Tritaia, and Pharai. From 251, the Achaian League extended its membership to various non-Achaian *poleis*, prominent among them the Dorian Sikyon. Polybios (2.37-8; 2.41) in his *Histories* makes some suspicious references in connection to the Achaian past, that of the first Achaian League. He loosely uses the term ‘democracy’ throughout his work (2.42.3; 2.44.6; 4.1.5; 12.8.6; 13.12.8; *contra* Xen. *Hell.* 7.1.43; Diod. 15.75) to describe the general political atmosphere within the federation. The term, among others we have already discussed, was constantly used and its meaning manipulated in order to promote different agendas and create constructed realities (Wallace, 2011b; 2011a). Is this a tampered and fabricated past? Moreover, if it is, was Polybios the fabricator and which are his aims?

In order to examine how and to what extent the past was used as a political tool in this example we should explore two different aspects. First, the main focus will be on the views of the Achaian historian Polybios as described within his *Histories*, as a means to explore the use of the past in another field – that of ‘history’. Second, closely linked to Polybios’ view and as a matter of comparison we should ask whether the historian’s view correlate to the views of the Achaians – members of the Achaian Confederacy as attested by other textual or epigraphic evidence. This is because as we have long established, representation occupies a central role in the works of memory and its formation. Under this perspective, the *Histories* are in effect a handbook and the messages carried by it, like any other type or representation, can actively reconfigure memories and remodel both the past and beliefs about it. In order to have a successful re-narration of the past any representations must be consistent and repeated in a kind of historical *epanalepsis*.

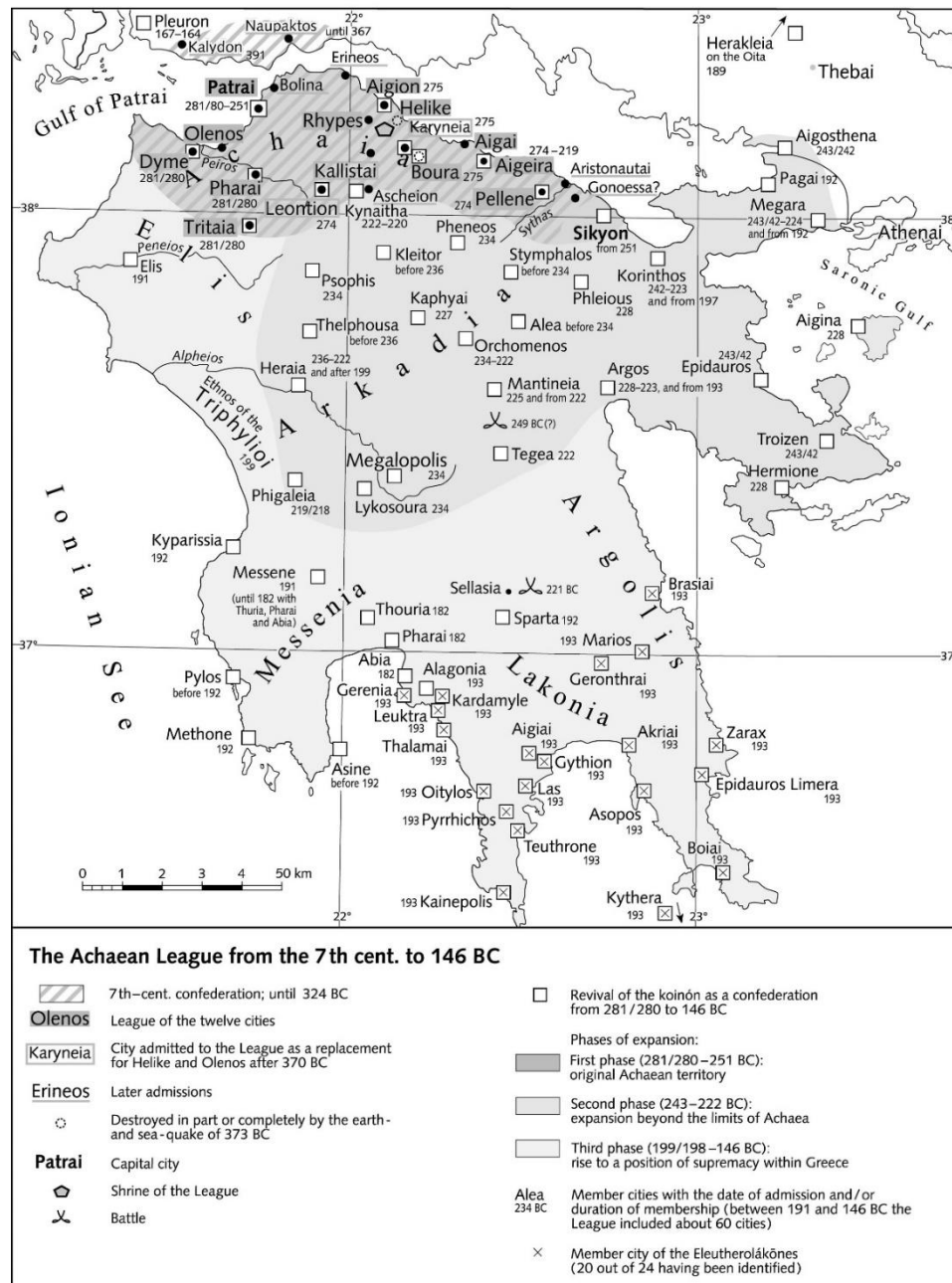


FIGURE 3: Map of the Achaean League and its development throughout the 7th century until 146 and Flamininus' declaration. **SOURCE:** BNP 2011.

This is true and applicable to any and all modes of representation. In the case of Athens, this was seen across a wide spectrum of evidence – from oratory to public accounts. Similarly, in Areus' Sparta, this could be the king's inscriptions and his coinage; in the Achaean League it can be approached through the narrative of Polybios, the Achaean League's statesman and historiographer. By approaching Polybios' history of the Achaean League we have the unique opportunity to approach

the views of the historian directly. However, are those views grounded? Or were they part of his own agenda? Is the Achaian League described by Polybios' authority the 'real' league? Moreover, are its memory and past shared with the views of the so-called 'Achaians'?

5.2. TALES OF HISTORY: THE ACHAIAANS AND THE LEAGUE

The ancient sources provide some details of the origins of the Achaians. Their origins share many similarities with the other cities of Peloponnesos that claimed descent from events lost in the mists of myths. According to legend, during the Return of the Herakleidai to Peloponnesos, the Achaians conquered the whole region, banishing the previous Ionian population. Herodotos (1.145) reports that even under the Ionians the region was divided into twelve parts or districts (μέγαρα; also Str. 8.7.4) based on the twelve cities: Pellene, Aigeira, Aigai, Boura, Helike, Aigion, Rhypes, Patrai, Pharai, Olenos, Dyme and Tritaia. The inhabitants of the region tried to preserve the division into twelve cities and created a cultural centre at the sanctuary of Poseidon Helikonios, which was active until around 373 and the destruction of Helike (Plb. 2.41.7; Str. 8.7.2). With the destruction of Helike and the merging of Olenos with Dyme (Str. 8.7.5; Paus. 7.18.1) and of Aigeira with Aigion (Str. 8.7.4-5) the twelve cities were replenished with the inclusion of Karyneia, Leontion and Kallistai (Plb. 2.41).⁵⁷ Herodotos (8.73) refers to the Achaians as a political entity: Ἀχαιὸν ἔθνος, something that is attested by Thucydides (2.9.2) and Strabon (8.7.2). Historically the Achaians maintained some sort of federation throughout the Archaic and Classical periods until the time of Alexandros III and his immediate successors, when it was dissolved (Plb. 2.41.9-10; Rhodes, 1997: 106; Mackil, 2013: 46-63; Rizakis, 2015: 120-122). According to our ancient sources, we should date the existence of an Achaian Council to around the early fourth century (cf. Thuc. 1.111.3; Diod. 11.85; Plut. *Per.* 19; Paus. 4.25).

⁵⁷ Polybios does not account here the union between Aigeira and Aigion and between Olenos and Dyme, thus providing the political reality of the fourth century (Walbank, 1957: 230-232).

Pausanias (7.7.2) states that after Helike's destruction in 373 they gathered at Aigion, which "from early on [...] surpassed the other cities in Achaia in reputation"⁵⁸ while it was strong enough to acquire this elevated status. The same information is found in Livy (38.30.2), who attests that the Achaians met at Aigion, "from the beginning of the Achaian Council (concilium)". According to Diodoros (19.66; 20.103), Demetrios Poliorketes installed tyrannies and Makedonian garrisons in the cities and the League was no more until 280.

In about 281/280, Patrai and Dyme in Achaia formed anew a political federation on the basis of the looser alliance of the founding city-states which extended back to the fifth century BCE; along with Tritaia and Pharai (Plb. 2.41.12) were the first cities to form the federation. If we take for granted the set date given by Polybios, the council of the founding *poleis* met in c. 281/0, making the first years of the 124th Olympiad an early date for its formation. Starting from the west, they tried to (re)build the *koinon* (Str. 8.7.1), although there is evidence to support a loose organisation at least until 279; for example, only the Patraians defended Delphoi from the Gauls the same year (Paus. 7.18.6) and there was no federal army. Aigion, Boura and Karyneia joined the revived league in 275, after the expulsion of the Makedonian garrisons and the deposition of their tyrants (Plb. 2.41.13). Soon after, in 274, Leontion, Aigeira and Pellene followed, in effect extending the Leagues' control to the whole region of Achaia. According to Polybios, the League did not expand until 251; yet, a federal organisation is already apparent. It had one magistrate (γραμματεὺς) and two *strategoi* for the federal army. Around the same period, the Achaians made changes to the elected officials; they reduced the *strategoi* from two to one, who was elected by the people yearly in order to manage the affairs of the union (Plb. 2.43; Roy, 2003; Rizakis, 2015: 123-124).

However, from 251, the Achaian League's character changed dramatically as it stopped being an ethnic federal state and started incorporating non-Achaian cities. The start was made with the extension of membership to Sikyon, a non-Achaian city; in fact, a Dorian city (for possible motives, see Kralli, 2017: 159-160). Aratos, a young man from Sikyon, overthrew the local 'tyrant' Nikokles, and succeeded in

⁵⁸ Paus. 7.7.2: ἀθροίζεσθαι δὲ ἐς Αἰγιὸν σφισιν ἔδοξεν: αὕτη γὰρ μετὰ Ἑλίκην ἐπικλυσθεῖσαν πόλεων ἐν Ἀχαΐᾳ τῶν ἄλλων δόξη προεῖχεν ἐκ παλαιοῦ καὶ ἴσχυεν ἐν τῷ τότε.

integrating the *polis* into the *koinon* (Plb. 2.43.3; Plut. *Arat.* 4.1-10; Paus. 2.8.3). He later became one of the most promising leaders of the federation (Walbank, 1933: 1-2), having served sixteen times as a *strategos* of the League in his life and, when not, acting as a shadow power. It was by his efforts that over the next thirty years the League succeeded in extending its control over the greater part of Peloponnesos, occupying the free space that had developed as a result of Sparta's reduced status. A lot had changed in Peloponnesos; not many years before, in 268/7-261, the Achaian League was an ally of Sparta (and Athens) during the Khremonidean War (*Syll.*³ 434-435; *IG* II² 687, l. 23) and within two decades, the Achaian League had risen to a protagonistic role, a force to be reckoned with. Under Aratos, and although he was the son of a possibly pro-Makedonian magistrate of Sikyon, Kleinias (Plut. *Arat.* 4.1-9.3; Paus. 2.8.3), the League pursued an anti-Makedonian policy, which considerably weakened the Makedonian hold on the area. Furthermore, the enmity between the Achaians and the Makedonians was a long-lasting one and it reached its peak during the years 245-229. Then, the rising power of Kleomenes III's Sparta led to some great changes – a point to which we shall return later on.

To return to the events, from 251 onwards the *koinon* became even stronger and concluded new alliances, extending its reach beyond the boundaries of Peloponnesos, first with Boiotia (245; Plut. *Arat.* 16.1) and from 239 with Aitolia (Plb. 2.4.9; 2.44.1); the Achaians even succeeded making in a short-lived alliance with Sparta (241). Aratos, during his second term of office as *strategos* of the League, managed to wrest control of Korinthos in 243 (his second attempt, the first being unsuccessful in 249; Plut. *Arat.* 12.1-14.4; Cic. *De Off.* 81-82) from the Makedonian grip (Plb. 2.43.4; Plut. *Arat.* 18.2-22.9; 23.4; 24.1). During the next fifteen years, 243-228, thanks to the successful offensive waged by Aratos, major *poleis* not only of the northern Peloponnesos, Arkadia and Argolis, but also from Attike joined the League: namely Megara (Plb. 2.43.5; Plut. *Arat.* 24.3); Troizen and Epidauros (Argolid); the Arkadian Kynaitha (243; Plut. *Agis* 14.1-5; 31.1-2; Plut. *Arat.* 31.3-32.3; Polyæn. *Strat.* 8.59). From 235 onwards, the League expanded to encompass the majority of Arkadia (Plb. 2.46.2, 2.57.1; 4.6.5; Livy 32.5.4; Mackil, 2013: 105-107).⁵⁹ The increase in influence and size of the Confederacy led to the formation of a formidable

⁵⁹ To enumerate them: Kleonai; Arkadian Heraia; Kleitor; Telphousa; Arkadian Orchomenos (*IG* V2 344); Mantinea; Tegea; Kaphyaia,

army with enough wealth to employ mercenaries. In effect, the Achaian *koinon* incorporated almost the entire Peloponnesos with its main rivals being Kleomenes' Sparta, the Makedonians and the Aitolian League during the Social War (220-217), which opened the road for the Romans.

Inevitably, the rise of power of the Achaian League made the Spartans, the traditional old hegemon of the region, discontented and feeling under threat. Thus, with the rise of Kleomenes III at Sparta, the League soon found a strong opponent within Peloponnesos. In 227, during his twelfth *strategia*, Aratos, in an attempt to cripple the rise of Sparta, captured Mantinea. The Spartans' response was immediate, with Kleomenes capturing and garrisoning Megalopolis and conquering Argolid. Kleomenes' war against the League threatened to destabilise the confederacy, which turned for help to her previous enemies, the Makedonians. It was not only the military defeats that the Achaian League suffered at the hands of the Spartans, but the fear of the supposedly revolutionary programme of the Spartan king. Aratos, following a decision taken in 225/4, requested the support of the Makedonians and Antigonos III Doson in order to defeat Kleomenes at Sellasia (222; Plb. 2.49.1-51.1, cf. Mackil, 2013: 110-114; Kralli, 2017: 210-212).

The call to Antigonos and his active role in defeating the Spartans led to the re-establishment of Makedonian control over the region. Megara was given up in 224 (Plb. 20.6.7) as well as Korinthos, Heraia and Orchomenos. The result was that between 281 and 224 Achaia, which had become a regional power mainly through the political and military opposition to Makedonia, was once again bound by the Makedonian kings. By the fear of Kleomenes' new policies and the social and economic unrest, the League on Aratos' advice made a 180-degrees turn, erasing the long-held anti-Makedonian policy and enmity and actively pursuing the latter's support, one of the main reasons for criticisms against the *strategos* by Plutarch (Plut. *Arat.* 38.44-45). However, this is an excellent example of how the readings of the past may change in favour of political necessity. The rising power of a traditional hegemon of the region, next to the risk and challenges that it posed for the *koinon* led to changing the long anti-Makedonian policy. Apparently, the cultural memory of Sparta still held great power compared with the fresher memories of the Makedonians. With a new heading now, the *koinon's* power was controlled as it became a member of an alliance of confederacies founded by Antigonos, which

included the *koina* of the Epeirotes, Thessalians, Boiotians, Akarnanians and Phokians (Plb. 4.9.4; 4.15.1). This alliance continued to operate for a period of time during the reign of Philippos V, his successor from 221. In 197, with the second defeat of Philippos V by the Romans, an opportunity for the League to reassert itself appeared. Under the leadership of Philopoimen, the League, with a reorganised federal army, was able to win a conclusive victory over a heavily weakened Sparta (189), to absorb it within the League and to take control of the entire Peloponnesos. Roman support played an instrumental role in Achaian League's rise to supremacy – a role that was not forgotten by the author of the *Histories*.

5.3. TALES OF MEMORY: THE EYES OF THE HISTORIAN

Among the ancient sources, Polybios is the most comprehensive source on the history of the Achaian League. Even so, Polybios (2.37-41), along with Strabon (8.7), are quite removed from the events of the earliest phases of the Achaian past, some of which are on the verge of mythology. Moreover, from the very beginning, Polybios' own background implies some subjectivity on the topic as the historian, like his father, was an Achaian statesman himself. In his account, he often connects his work (1.3.2; 2.47.11; 2.56.2; 4.2.1) with the work of Aratos of Sikyon, who had composed memoirs. It is not the first time that an ancient writer had or expected to have a continuator (Walbank, 1957: 43; 2002: 256). Polybios, however, is in favour of certain links to the past: Aratos was one of the successful leaders of the League and Polybios not only praises him, but whenever possible attempts to connect to his legacy. In a much-discussed passage, Polybios exalts the “most capable leaders” of the Achaians:

ἧς ἀρχηγὸν μὲν καὶ καθηγεμόνα τῆς ὅλης ἐπιβολῆς Ἄρατον νομιστέον τὸν Σικυώνιον, ἀγωνιστὴν δὲ καὶ τελεσιουργὸν τῆς πράξεως Φιλοποίμενα τὸν Μεγαλοπολίτην, βεβαιωτὴν δὲ τοῦ μόνιμον αὐτὴν ἐπὶ ποσὸν γενέσθαι Λυκόρταν καὶ τοὺς ταῦτα τούτῳ προελομένους ἄνδρας

[Trans.] Aratos of Sikyon should be regarded as the initiator and conceiver of the project; Philopoimen of Megalopolis a fighter for and

achiever of the act; and Lykortas and the men that followed him on these were those who assured the permanency, for some time, of the enforcement.

Plb. 2.40.2

Among them, one can notice not only Aratos, but the main protagonists of the Hellenistic Achaian *koinon*'s history, namely Philopoimen and, even Lykortas, Polybios' own father. Under this perspective, Polybios really presents himself as the continuator not only of Aratos, but of the *crème de la crème* of the Achaian statesmen, bestowing a more specific aim upon his *Histories* (Tully, 2014). In a rather eloquent way, Polybios repeatedly stretches similar connections in his work, actively remodelling the representation of the Achaians League's past in a solid and concise narrative, and establishing a very strong background memory of the League's history or, at least, his own perspective of it. To return to Aratos' *Memoirs*, their use as a source for the earlier history of the confederation is enough to create some unease concerning Polybios' concept and meaning of 'true history' (πραγματική ιστορία) and challenges the impartiality of his account (Walbank, 2002: 292-293).

Polybios was born in Megalopolis, son to Lykortas, one of the three Achaian leaders praised by the historian. Polybios, in turn, became a prominent member of the Achaian elite; his military training was supervised by Philopoimen and he served as an envoy to Alexandria and as a *hipparchos* of the *koinon* (170/69). After the defeat of the Macedonians at Pydna (148), Polybios was one of the League's one thousand aristocrats to be deported to Rome (Paus. 7.10.7-12; Walbank, 1957:1-6). During his stay in Italy, he came close to the Roman ruling elite and built a strong relationship specifically with P. Cornelius Scipio; Polybios even followed him to Africa during the Third Punic War. In 150, he was allowed to return to Achaia (Plb. 35.6) and was able to exert his influence to reduce the penalties sanctioned by the Romans, following the events that led to the destruction of Korinthos in 146 (Plb. 38.9-18).⁶⁰

His most famous and the only preserved work is *Αἱ Ἱστορίαι* (*the Histories*), in effect, the history of the rise of Rome to world Hegemony, narrating the events

⁶⁰ First by helping the Roman commissioners (Plb. 39.2-4) and, then, on his own capacity, as the honours by the Peloponnesian cities demonstrate (Plb. 39.5; 39.8.1).

unfolding at a universal level: τῇ τῶν καθόλου πραγμάτων συντάξει (1.4.2).⁶¹

The main aim of Polybios' work, as explicitly stated at the very beginning of the first book, was to describe how the Romans succeeded in only 53 years in ruling almost the whole world:

ὅς οὐκ ἂν βούλοιτο γινῶναι πῶς καὶ τίνι γένει πολιτείας
ἐπικρατηθέντα σχεδὸν ἅπαντα τὰ κατὰ τὴν οἰκουμένην οὐχ ὅλοις
πεντήκοντα καὶ τριζὶν ἔτεσιν ὑπὸ μίαν ἀρχὴν ἔπεσε τὴν Ῥωμαίων,
ὃ πρότερον οὐχ εὕρίσκεται γεγονός

[Trans.] Who would not want to know by what means and under what polity the Romans have succeeded in subjecting nearly all the inhabited world, in less than fifty-three years, to their sole government – a unique event in history.

Plb. 1.1.5

The starting point of his account is the third year of the 140th Olympiad (220/219) due to the *symploke* (συμπλοκή) which affected the historical continuum of the known world from that time on. For Polybios was interested in the big scene of events and the relation between causality and effects – the seemingly independent events, which were occurring in different places like Greece, Italy, Asia Minor, North Africa, were in fact inextricably linked and the developments occurring in one place clearly affected another (Plb. 1.3.3 and onwards; 4.28; 5.105.4). It is Polybios' view (1.63.9; 3.26) that everything worked towards the final success and expansion of the Roman rule and was the result of a carefully laid out plan, put into effect by the Romans. The success of conquering the whole known world, although it was a fact, it is from the very beginning positively coloured by Polybios (1.1.5); it was – and should be treated – like a “unique event” (ὃ πρότερον οὐχ εὕρίσκεται γεγονός). Regardless of the possibility of such a “unique” event, the fact that Polybios uses such a vivid way of underlining his aim in the opening chapter of the *Histories* highlights the power that this treatise had as a means of representation. Polybios' work has clear aims to demonstrate and a stable rationale behind them – a

⁶¹ Plb. 1.4.2: ‘to write a general history’; elsewhere τὰ καθόλου γράφειν (Plb. 5.33).

combination of *Tykhe*, *symploke* and cyclical history (on the theory of *anakyklosis*, see Plb. 6.4-6.10; Walbank, 1957:40; 2002:212-230). In this rationale, another history, that of the historian's own fatherland, Megalopolis, alongside that of the Achaian League, had a central role to play and it acquired specific weight.

Polybios (2.40.1) firmly believes that the Achaian League played an instrumental role in the unification of the world (οἰκουμένη) under Rome, for it was the League that united the segregated and tumultuous region of Peloponnesos in 191 (ἐπιτελεσμένη τὸ κάλλιστον ἔργον, τὴν Πελοποννησίων ὁμόνοιαν).⁶² This is treated by the historian as the first step on the road to the unification of the world under the Romans. This type of reference to the unity of the region was quite common, as we have already seen; for example, later on and in a very similar way the Spartans claimed to have unified Peloponnesos under their own leadership and in the context of a greater Ptolemaic plan against the Makedonians, in their coalition during the Khremonidean War (ll. 31-35; *IG* II² 686+687; *Syll.*³ 434/5; Walbank, 1957: 227). The importance of the Achaian League and its role in the unity of Peloponnesos has, however, been greatly exaggerated, as we will see (Plb. 2.37-2.41; Walbank, 1957: 218-219).

In the second book of the *Histories*, Polybios narrates the history of the Achaian League and its archaic origins. In this lengthy historical narrative about the formation of the *koinon*, he mentions its democratic constitution: δημοκρατίας ἀληθινῆς σύστημα καὶ προαίρεσιν ['deliberate course of action']. For Polybios, the League was constituted under the principles of true democracy. This can be flagged up immediately as a rather suspicious reference; one always has to remember that notions of autonomy (αὐτονομία), freedom (ἐλευθερία) and democracy (δημοκρατία) were always potentially colloquial and their use intensified during the Hellenistic period, but now in a largely open and loose manner (Wallace, 2011b; 2011a).⁶³ This historical narration of the formation of the League

⁶² Plb. 2.40.1: 'accomplishing the most glorious achievement, the Peloponnesians' union. Cf. Plut. *Phil.* 8.2: (οἱ Ἀχαιοί) ἓν σῶμα καὶ μίαν δύναμιν κατασκευάσαι διανοοῦντο τὴν Πελοπόννησον.

⁶³ *Autonomia* used to be closely associated with independence before the Hellenistic period, but from the Delian League (fifth century) onwards its meaning is changing. During the Hellenistic period the term is misused rhetorically, actually sometimes describing merely internal 'autonomy', see Hansen, 1995b; 2004: 19-20; Raaflaub, 2004; Wallace, 2011: 23-44.

seems to be tampered with, in an act of actual manipulation of the past: for example, a major event, the extension of membership to the non-Achaian polis of Sikyon (first of the many non-Achaian *poleis* to become members of the Confederacy), is only tangentially discussed (Plb. 2.43.3). It seems that Polybios' own interests – as a Megalopolitan, an Achaian and a historian of Rome – are more important and they again stand in a certain contradiction to his rationale and aim of an objective historical perspective, a *pragmatike historia* that becomes less convincing.

Not unlike what a community would do, Polybios tries to build and produce a single identity of Ἀχαιός ('Achaian'); under this unified identity he tries to construct an idealised version of the federation. While he goes on to describe the history of the League, he alters the historical facts – or, in a politically correct statement, he chooses to misrepresent the historical truth with a softer (velvet?) version. The polities of the Achaian League city-states, he says, were turned into democracies: μετέστησαν εἰς δημοκρατίαν τὴν πολιτείαν (Plb. 2.41).⁶⁴ Historically, this could be true, yet it may have happened only for a short period of time before the imposition of oligarchies by the Spartans at the end of the fifth century BCE (Plb. 2.41). In 417 and after the Battle of Mantinea,⁶⁵ moderate oligarchies were imposed by the Spartans (Thuc. 5.82.1). Now only a limited body of people could have access to citizenship; probably a sort of punishment sanctioned by the Spartans due to the relationship between the Achaians and the Athenians (Larsen, 1953: 802-803; Freitag, 2009). During the early fourth century, the Achaians were used by the Thebans and later the Spartans in order to promote their own hegemonial aspirations (Walbank, 1957: 230). Achaia was pro-Spartan during Sparta's post-Peloponnesian War period of hegemony, and the Achaians asked for Sparta's help in 389 in capturing Kalydon and Naupaktos due to the enmity between the Achaians and the Aitolians (Merker, 1989).

⁶⁴ This is repeated, for example, again in 2.44.6: Ἀριστόμαχος δ' ὁ τῶν Ἀργείων τύραννος καὶ Ξένων ὁ τῶν Ἑρμιονέων καὶ Κλεώνυμος ὁ τῶν Φλιασίων τότε ἀποθέμενοι τὰς μοναρχίας ἐκοινώνησαν τῆς τῶν Ἀχαιῶν δημοκρατίας ['Aristomakhos, the tyrant of the Argeians and Xenon (the tyrant) of the Hermionians and Kleonymos (the tyrant) of the Phliasians then renounced their monarchies and became partakers of the democracy of the Achaians']. One should note here the intended contrast between the 'tyrannies' (previous state) and their 'democratic' change (current state) with the admission to the League.

⁶⁵ During the Peloponnesian War, King Agis II of Sparta won a significant victory against a coalition led by Argos and Athens, which included Mantinea, Elis and the Achaians.

Even if it is true that a federal union existed in the fifth and fourth centuries, we have cases of Achaian cities that acted independently. Notably, Pellene had established a bilateral alliance with the Spartans (Thuc. 2.9.2-3; 5.58.3-4; Paus. 10.9.10), even if we do not know whether the League as such was allied to Sparta.⁶⁶ Even later, during the Khremonidean War, the Achaians were allied to the Spartans, in a League closely resembling the former so-called 'Peloponnesian League'. Then, the questions arise: *Why does Polybios insist on painting the Achaian League with such bright colours?* Moreover, *why does he conceal certain historical information?* Polybios seems to completely disregard the fact that the Achaian League did not behave like a democracy (ἐν δημοκρατίᾳ συνέχειν ἐπειρῶντο) during the end of the Classical period and the reigns of Philippos II and Alexandros III (Walbank, 1957:230). The adhesion of the Achaian cities to the League of Korinthos meant the inability of the League to manage its external affairs (cf. *Syll.*³ 260 l. 11). Moreover, Alexandros supported Khairon, 'tyrant' of Pellene in 331 (Dem. 17.10; Athen. *Deipn.* 9. 509 B). Even the defeat of Agis in 331 may have led to more restrictions for the Achaians, as they were allied to the Spartans (Aeschin. *Ktes.* 165). Polybios' account of the twelve cities (ἐκ δώδεκα πόλεων) of Achaia is stripped of specific historical facts and reflects conditions during the 3rd century rather the previous period (due to the omission of Olenos and the inclusion of Leontion; Walbank, 1957:232). This whole constructed perspective fully supports Polybios' political theory, part of the *anakyklosis*: behind the success of the Achaian League lay its political system, represented as a democracy (Champion, 2004: 122).

Polybios (2.42) continues his account of the formation of the Achaian League and its importance for Peloponnesos and the known world. Here, again, Polybios is far from using impartial statements. The reference to the 'political principles' of the Achaians (τὴν τῶν Ἀχαιῶν προαίρεσιν) is, in fact, a claim that equality and liberty have been extended to all the members of the League and that one of the main objectives of the League was to protect the *poleis* of Peloponnesos from those who wished to enslave them. Connections can be easily drawn between Polybios' claim

⁶⁶ Thucydides in the same passage (2.9.2) states that eventually all the Achaians followed Sparta: Λακεδαιμονίων μὲν οἶδε ξύμμαχοι: Πελοποννήσιοι μὲν οἱ ἐντὸς Ἰσθμοῦ πάντες πλὴν Ἀργείων καὶ Ἀχαιῶν (τούτοις δὲ ἐς ἀμφοτέρους φιλία ἦν: Πελληνῆς δὲ Ἀχαιῶν μόνοι ξυνεπολέμουν τὸ πρῶτον, ἔπειτα δὲ ὕστερον καὶ ἅπαντες).

and Flamininus' declaration at Korinthos in 196 (Plb. 18.46.5). Walbank (1957: 234), in his voluminous commentary on Polybios' work, also notes this connection. The Achaians deserve the credit for the achievements of the Romans. This chapter ends with the already discussed quote about freedom and peace among the Peloponnesians: τὴν ἐκάστων ἐλευθερίαν καὶ τὴν κοινὴν ὁμόνοιαν Πελοποννησίων with the highly ambiguous notions of 'freedom' and 'common peace'. As Champion (2004: 126-129) argues, the historical reality can offer many examples that overtly disprove Polybios' views. To name but a few: the refusal of Dyme, Pharai and Tritaia to pay the federal *eisphora* during the Social War (220-217); the disagreements with Aristainos' proposal for an alliance with Rome (198; Plb. 3.1-5); the siege of Messene, which primarily surrendered to Rome and in accordance with its orders joined the Achaian League (Liv. 36.31.1-10); the conflict with the Spartans from 192-189 and the forced abolition of the traditional Spartan education (*agoge*) with Sparta's admittance to the Achaian system (Liv. 38.43.3). Polybios (2.37-40) even admits some *poleis* were forced to join.

5.4. QUESTIONING IDENTITY AND APPROACHING MEMORY

In order to approach the past and its use by Polybios, it is imperative to delve into the difficult topic of 'identity' – a complex notion that can bear many ramifications and entails many dangers (Assmann, 2011: 9). I do not wish, by any means, to provide a complete answer to the matter of identity – for our purposes Achaian identity – as such an endeavour will not help either the economy of this debate or the immediate objectives of this research. On the contrary, identity will be discussed inasmuch as it can highlight and help us understand the workings of memory and the use of the past.

As we have already discussed, there are some early indicators of the existence of a common sense of belonging among the Achaians; however, we should be cautious, and it seems unnecessarily risky to describe it as Achaian 'identity'. However, at the same time, we should not dismiss the power that myths hold within both the emic and etic construction of one's own memories, beliefs and identity. As was the case with the Spartans, among the many different cities of Peloponnesos

that linked their origins with the Return of the Herakleidai (Luraghi, 2008: 46- 67), the projection of an origin that is deeply rooted in the mists of time has extreme potential and is in effect a great and malleable weapon (Stafford, 2012: 137-142). Teisamenos, son of Orestes, was the last king of the Homeric Achaians, who lost his life in defending the last Ionians from the Achaians moving towards the north of Peloponnesos after their defeat by the Dorians. The term Ἀχαιοί was also regularly used to describe the entirety of the Greeks that campaigned at Troy under Agamemnon in order to rescue the honour of the Mycenaean Menelaos in the epic cycle.

The use of 'Achaioi' as an ethnic, collectively and individually is proven by inscriptions dated to the Classical period (fifth century; Paus. 5.25.8; 7.17.7, c. 460; *IG* I³ 174; *IG* II² 13; *IG* V.11). A great example is the famous dedication of a group of bronze statues by the 'ethnos of the Achaians' attested at Olympia (Paus. 5.25.8-10; Schaus and Wenn, 2007: 121-127; Rizakis, 2015: 119-120). Referring to Herodotos (1.145-146), we learn that the twelve different parts of the Achaians shared a common sanctuary, during the fifth century at Helike, the sanctuary of Poseidon Helikonios. It was in use until around 373, when Helike sank into the sea after a destructive earthquake (Herakleides Pontikos FR 46a). The new sanctuary was at Aigion (Livy 38.30.2), but it is hard to provide a firm date for this. We know from Polybios (2.43.1-2) that in the third century the assembly of the Achaian League, which was open to all citizen males of military age, met four times a year at the Sanctuary of Zeus Homarios at Aigion – as it was the most powerful city of the League (Paus. 7.7.2) –, from around 275, along with the smaller council of the League (Larsen, 1968: 217; Mackil, 2013: 342-343).

However, again, we should be cautious about the use of a single identity, characterised by the ethnic name 'Achaioi', contrary to the message that Polybios tries to impose. How can a singular identity be correlated with the Achaian League *per se*, when from 251 onwards it incorporated non-Achaian cities, expanding and encapsulating Arkadia and Argolid? The third-century Achaian League was in effect a federal unification of various Peloponnesian cities that did not all share a common Achaian origin, but met in a political union for political reasons (Shipley, 2018: 63). Yet, what is the reason behind Polybios' description of the League?

Another matter is closely connected to the aforementioned questions, namely Polybios' references to the polity of the *koinon*. It is absolutely true that the League offered to all its members the opportunity to exceed their limits and feel secure as members of the big federal family (Scholten, 2000: 3). The *koinon* was a safety net against more powerful allies – namely the kingdoms of the Successors – and eventually took over the role of hegemon in Peloponnesos, in place of Sparta. This success, however, the unification of the majority of Peloponnesos under new leadership, can offer different readings, always based on the views of the interested party. Polybios, who tries to explain the success of the Achaian Confederacy, states that it was due to its perfect system of government that put into practice three principles: equality, free speech and *philanthropia* (Plb. 2.38.6; 2.42.3; 4.41.4),⁶⁷ all within a democratic polity (Plb. 2.44.6; 4.1.5; 22.8.6). However, it is striking how this distorted image fails to describe some realities. This perspective conceals the fact that officials of the *koinon* came from a fairly limited number of families, which originated from very few cities (O'Neil, 1984-86). By stressing the topics of a single identity and unity under a democratic regime, it is Polybios' intention to elevate the League as determining factor in the Roman success of unifying the *oikoumene* (*contra* Hunt, 2003: 11-12). Polybios, one of the foremost statesmen of the Achaian League, is a native of the Arkadian Megalopolis, yet he writes the history of the Achaian League and he describes himself as Achaian. Moreover, to reflect upon Polybios' description of the “most capable men” who dominated the Achaian League's history (2.40.2), Aratos is a Dorian from Sikyon, while Philopoimen and Lykortas are Arkadians from Megalopolis (even lesser figures like Aristainos of Megalopolis follow the same trend, see O'Neil, 1984-86; Hunt, 2003: 118). With the name of Polybios included in the list of the prolific leaders of the *koinon*, it is astounding that none originates from an Achaian city, at least by terms of regionality. Consequently, we are faced with a dilemma: either the Achaian League was indeed unified and its members shared a common Achaian identity, or the greater member cities of the League were not simple members of the *koinon*; instead, they found the opportunity to rise to the higher levels of the *koinon* and through its support to become protagonists in the affairs not only of Peloponnesos

⁶⁷ The term *philanthropia* can have various translations but it can be quite accurately described as ‘love to the people’, benevolence and privileges.

but of the Hellenistic world (Shipley, 2018: 291 rightly see personal motives in the elite of the member *poleis*).

The latter is much more logical if we account for the personality and aspirations of Aratos, the initiator of the expanded League. Indeed, it is impossible to accept the creation and establishment of a common identity in such a short period of time. If the dates guide us, the revival of the Achaian League was initiated in 281 and for the first thirty years had not incorporated any non-Achaian cities. This changes in 251 onwards, with the admission of Sikyon and other Arkadian and Argolic cities. In the next twenty years, down to the admission of Argos to the League (229) we have a much less homogeneous League – still a more active one. One of the factors in identity is memory, yet even though such big changes can take place in the short term, communicative memory, this cannot be converted into drastic changes in the still progressive, yet more solid, long-term, cultural memory. Of course, identity is complex and allows for multiple expressions depending on context; thus, the citizens of the *poleis* of the League could be simultaneously citizens, for example, of Megalopolis, Arkadians and Achaians (on the dualistic identity of the Achaians, see Rizakis, 2015: 120-131). Yet, the level of achieving different identities is analogous to actual commitment to these, to the creation of a sense of community and belonging and it is not only based on its political uses (at least on an individual level). Plutarch, in his *Life of Aratos* (11), describes how Aratos – an aristocrat of Sikyon – was so humble and such a loyal servant that although he had rendered the League such important services and had put both his name and the powerful Dorian city at the *koinon*'s disposal, he would obey whoever might be in command. Such an act would include commands deriving from citizens of the lesser or more insignificant cities of the *koinon*, namely Dyme and Tritaia (11.1).⁶⁸ Although Plutarch cannot be accounted among the historiographers, he had his historical

⁶⁸ Ὁ δὲ Ἄρατος, ἐπεὶ κατέμιξε τοῖς Ἀχαιοῖς ἑαυτὸν καὶ τὴν πόλιν, ἐν τοῖς ἵππευσι στρατευόμενος ἠγαπᾶτο δι' εὐπείθειαν ὑπὸ τῶν ἀρχόντων, ὅτι, καίπερ συμβολὰς τῷ κοινῷ μεγάλας δεδωκώς τὴν ἑαυτοῦ δόξαν καὶ τὴν τῆς πατρίδος δύναμιν, ὥς ἐνὶ τῶν ἐπιτυχόντων χρῆσθαι παρείχεν αὐτῷ τὸν ἀεὶ στρατηγοῦντα τῶν Ἀχαιῶν, εἴτε Δυμαῖος, εἴτε Τριταιεὺς, εἴτε μικροτέρας τινὸς ὧν τύχοι πόλεως. [‘Aratus, now, after uniting himself and his city with the Achaians, served in the cavalry, and was beloved by his commanders for his obedience; for although he had offered great contributions to the common efforts both in his own reputation and the power of his native city, he offered his services like any would do so to each general of the Achaians, whether he was a Dymeian or of Tritaia, or of originations from a smaller *polis*.’].

sources (from what we know, his statement could be the view of Aratos himself, through his *Memoirs*). Then, the fact becomes apparent: the league incorporated cities in different tiers, notwithstanding the voices for democracy and civic equality, something partly attributed to their size and wealth, partly to the prominence of certain personalities.

Poleis like Korinthos, Sikyon and Megara or Kalydon would not suppress their own political identities and powers for the sake of being members of the *koinon* (Walbank, 1985: 36; Beck and Funke, 2015: 22). In contrast, participation in the League could guarantee their secure position and power as long as the League could help them in this (Mackil, 2013: 332). For the stronger *poleis*, instead of being alone in a tumultuous world, they could be among the elite of a stable and more capable federation. These cities, however, were not fully absorbed into the political unification of the League, but rather acquired a protagonistic role (Warren, 2007: 177-178; Mackil, 2013: 468-471). Within the political structure of the League, different cities continued to maintain their own laws next to those of the Confederacy, and every city continued to mint its own coins until the early second century (on the degree of political independence see Rizakis, 2015). Regarding coinage, although from the fourth century we find numismatic evidence pointing to a common identity (the ethnic ΑΧΑΙΩΝ appears on the reverse of the coins), they all originate from Achaian *poleis* (Grandjean, 2007; Hoover, 2011: 3-7). From 190, the federal bronze coins were minted on a huge scale – a signifier of strong federal unity (half federal, half civic), and a possible signifier for some level of common identity; however, this happened at a later stage (Grandjean, 2007; Warren, 2007). Recently, Mackil (2013: 237-325) has convincingly argued for approaching the Greek federal states as common markets, protecting their resources and competing for more. However, she is both aware of the tensions inside the *koinon* (Mackil, 2013: 328-330) and she does not discuss the time required from the *poleis* members of the *koinon* to share (and believe in) the common group identity. In general, Mackil's general approach seems over-optimistic; indeed, the *koinon* facilitated cooperation, but also created a political hierarchy and internal subordination (*contra* Mackil, 2013: 406-407).

The Achaian League held a federal assembly four times a year which was open to all male adult citizens. The Confederacy voted for a *strategos* with annual service

and other lower officials. Polybios (2,38.8), trying to explain and justify its success, says that it had the perfect system of government and put into practice two principles: equality (ἰσότης) and benevolence (φιλανθρωπία). However, this perspective, though probably written before 146, ignores the fact that officials of League came from a fairly limited number of families originating from very few cities. The collapse of the League in the wake of Kleomenes' attack had forced Aratos to invite back the Makedonians into Peloponnesos and possibly reflects a fundamental weakness. The lower and middle social strata, in effect those just outside the privileged echelons and maybe those who have lost their power and/or wealth, had hoped for land reforms and cancellation of debts. Aratos' and the Achaian League elite's answer was to ask the Makedonians for help in order to keep the *status quo* in Peloponnesos.

Despite these weaknesses, in a world ruled by monarchies, the Achaian and Aitolian Leagues showed that Greeks never ceased to have the ability to meet new political challenges offering new solutions. The federations were the result of the internal need of the Greeks themselves and therefore fundamentally different in character from the associations imposed on Greece by Philippos II, Antigonos I, Demetrios Poliorketes and Antigonos Doson (Walbank, 1981: 157-159). The associations offered the possibility of exceeding the limited size and the relative weakness of individual *poleis*.

Nevertheless, unsurprisingly to its citizens, the institutions of the Hellenistic Achaian *koinon* bear the stamp of a ruling elite. An assembly open to all citizen males of military age met only four times a year at the Sanctuary of Zeus Homarios at Aigion (from around 275), along with a smaller council.⁶⁹ The highest officials of the *koinon* were a secretary and two *strategoi* elected by the *poleis* on a rotating basis, among other officials (for a detailed discussion of the Achaian institutions, see Larsen, 1968: 220-240).⁷⁰ We could see be some democratic potential here. However, we cannot ignore the fact that the officials of the *koinon* came from a fairly limited number of families, which originated from very few cities; this is a kind of aristocracy in the top level of the hierarchical pyramid of the League. Despite the

⁶⁹ Plb. 2.43.1-2.

⁷⁰ Achaian magistrates the synarchiai (co-leaders): *damiourgoi*, secretary, the hipparch, *hypostrategos* and admiral; Plb. 4.4.2; 27.2.11; 38.13.4; 23.5.16; Livy 32.22.2.

fact that *strategoi* originating from the Achaian *poleis* are attested (or inferred, cf. Plut. *Arat.* 11), the most influential names come from Megalopolis, Sikyon and Argos.⁷¹ If we add up the reduction of the generals to one instead of two by 255/4 so that the League could be ruled with a firmer hand, a pattern starts to emerge, and it is not very representative in essence. Instead of a 'direct' democracy, like that of the fourth century Athens, it seems that the extra, federal 'tier' made the league's power more concentrated in the hands of an oligarchy.

Historical example can shed some light on Polybios' own account: in fear of the complete destruction of the federation and its collapse in the face of Kleomenes' attack, Aratos invited the Makedonians back into Peloponnesos. This is a quite vibrant and fundamental weakness of the Achaians: on the one hand, part of the lower strata, or the poor, had hoped for land reforms and cancellation or reduction of debt, while, on the other hand, the higher strata resented Aratos, for his(?) choice of calling the Makedonians for help. More importantly, next to the poor, part of the elite, who were discontented with the status quo on the Peloponnesos, looked at Sparta with interest (Plut. *Cleom.* 17.3).⁷² While Polybios described the Achaian League as a cradle of democracy, the *oligoi* were always controlling its politics and consciously leaned towards the Makedonians (and a new yoke) or Kleomenes and did not abide by the calls for land consolidation and debt restructuring. Where can we identify 'democracy' in this choice?

As for the common Achaian identity proposed by Polybios, this should be seen in coexistence with the civic or ethnic identity; what Shipley (2018: 266-270) calls 'elastic ethnicity'. The federal bronze coinage of the second century points towards this (Grandjean, 2007; Warren, 2007). Membership of the same political establishment – in this case, the Achaian League – created another identity (and

⁷¹ From the Achaian *poleis* the *strategoi* attested are: from Keryneia, Margos (256-255; Plb. 2.43), from Pharai, Epiratos (218-217; Plb. 4.82) and Kykliadas (209-2018 and 200-199; Livy 31.25; 32.19.2); from Leontion, Kallikrates (180-179; Plb. 24.10.14-15). We do have names of other *strategoi*, yet their origins are not definite. Cf. O'Neil, 1984-86.

⁷² Plut. *Cleom.* 17.3: ἐγγέγονει δὲ κίνημα τῶν Ἀχαιῶν, καὶ πρὸς ἀπόστασιν ὥρμησαν αἱ πόλεις, τῶν μὲν δῆμων νομὴν τε χώρας καὶ χρηρῶν ἀποκοπὰς ἐλπιδόντων, τῶν δὲ πρώτων πολλοῦ βαρυνομένων τὸν Ἄρατον, ἐνίων δὲ καὶ δι' ὀργῆς ἐχόντων ὡς ἐπάγοντα τῇ Πελοποννήσῳ Μακεδόνας ['Now a movement of the Achaians was created, and the *poleis* were eager for revolt. On the one hand the common people (*demoi*) hoping for land distribution and debt cancellation; on the other hand, the leading men in many cases were unhappy with Aratos and some felt angry that he had brought the Makedonians into the Peloponnesos'].

subsequently formed a new cultural memory), which ran in parallel with the identity of a fatherland, origin or specific city; something that can be more easily conceived if we speak of the non-Achaian cities. The member-cities of the *koinon* retained their own citizen body even if there was freedom of movement between cities, as well as the mechanisms for the integration of new citizens (cf. *SEG* 40.394, ca. third century; Larsen, 1968: 239-240; 1971: 83-84; Rizakis, 2008: 49). In the aftermath of the battle at the Isthmos, not all residents of Epidauros were citizens, as attested in the war-casualties list (*IG* IV² 1.28): 101 Achaians and *synoikoi* fell next to 53 citizens of the city (Roy, 2003: 84; Mackil, 2013: 260). It is clear that Achaians were residing in the *polis* without having been granted Epidaurian citizenship. Moreover, there were other *synoikoi* clearly separated from the Achaians; however, these 101 names are listed with patronymic and lack an ethnic or political designation. If Polybios chose to present a single, and not multifaceted, identity it seems plausible to me that this was the identity of the ruling elite – a common class identity. However, evidently, Polybios attempted to unify Achaia under one common identity, irrespective of time concordance, and this was primarily of political value for his fellow Achaians and – importantly – his contemporaries. It cannot necessarily be retrojected into the third century.

5.5. CONCLUSION: POLYBIOS' HISTORY

We have seen how memory can be moulded by different versions of myths and by silencing or promoting specific events from a society's past, no matter if it is real and grounded or it is fully constructed and fictional. For the Achaians of 146 onwards, the need to build a legacy with links to a great mythic and historical past was in every aspect mandatory after their defeat Romans during the short-lived Achaian War. The once mighty Achaian League, which had managed to bring the majority of Peloponnesos under its control, was an 'ally' of the Romans only in name, and in reality, had effectively lost its political independence. Polybios' representation of the League and its past was the only efficacious way that the League could be integrated into the victorious narrative of the Romans. First, Polybios constructs a glorious past for the Achaians – one where they were united under a common identity, under the

same laws, and even weights and measures and under a democratic regime, the perfect system of government. Then, he narrates how these achievements were the reason behind its success and resulted in the unification of Peloponnesos. However, his most worthy accomplishment, and responsibility for his status, class and history of the Achaian League, is its analogical linking to the historical course of Rome. The Romans succeeded in unifying the known world by recreating the conditions which made the Achaian League successful but on a larger scale. In effect, the Achaian Federation is presented as a vital part of the history of Republican Rome, something like a preamble to greatness – and it is all Achaian.

The reasons which led Polybios to incorporate the *koinon*'s history into the narrative of the *Histories* were not a mere result of some obsession with the League or his own origins. Rather, it was just the logical consequence of the connections that the historian could see, both as part of causes and effects and as part of the greater *symploke*. More importantly, the constructed link between the Republican Rome and the Achaian League is an *apodeixis* by itself – Polybios, quite subjectively, demonstrates how both events, the unification of Peloponnesos and the unification of the *oikoumene*, were possible. Not only is Polybios' treatise a historical account of the emergence of Rome, but it is also a political "how-to" guide for the use of the past, the use of memory and the construction of identity – a possible solution for the political audience of the *Histories*. Nicholson (2015: 23) argued that Polybios focused on the military and political aspects of *pragmatike historia*. However, there is no expansion on the tools that Polybios offers to his audience other than the pragmatic (see also Nicholson, 2015: 37). It may be that for these reasons, among others, the reception of his work was positive in the past; the *Histories* were used as a source by Athenaios, Heron, Plutarch, Strabo, Diodoros, Appian, Cassius Dio, Livy and Pliny the Elder (for an overview of the reception of the *Histories* in the classical world, see McGing, 2010:204-209). What is also striking is that in the modern world, Polybios has the reputation of a political theorist (McGing, 2010:212-222).

In conclusion, Polybios' case and the reasons behind the use of the past do not stand too far by way of example from the cases of the Athenians or King Areus I of Sparta, discussed previously. For instance, both Polybios and the Spartans altered the representation of the past in order to ensure that the Achaian League and Sparta, respectively, would have a substantial role in the Hellenistic world. As the historical

record has shown Sparta and the Achaian *koinon* soon found themselves contesting about hegemony over the Peloponnesos, with grave consequences for both. To stay on Areus' example, during his reign Sparta presented another image, that of a Hellenistic kingdom that was capable of standing beside the *Successors* and assuming the role of an active agent upon the political reality of the period, confirming its glorious past and its legacy. Similarly, Polybios' representation of the League as part of the greater history of the emerging Rome succeeded in placing the Achaians in the picture, imprinting the cultural memory of the Megalopolitan historian (constructed as it is) to the historical record: besides the recent defeats, the Achaian *koinon* confirmed its glorious past and provided the means to a future by creating this legacy.



6. Manipulating the Past: The Case of Samos, Priene, and the Samian *Peraia*

Moving to the final case-study, this chapter explores in-depth two arbitrations between the *poleis* of Samos and Priene, which both fell into the early Hellenistic Period. This case-study builds on the workings of memory and explores the (mis)uses of the past within a very specific context, that of international arbitrations, one of the first instances of international law in the Greek world.

The two arbitrations were conducted by King Lysimakhos (c. 283/2) and the Rhodians (c. 196-192) respectively and deal with the territorial conflict between Samos and Priene over different locales of the Samian *peraia*. This chapter highlights the importance of the past for the *poleis* and for the formation of civic identity. Moreover, it showcases the ways that the citizens of different *poleis* thought and promoted their past as well as the length to which they could go in order to succeed in promoting their *polis*' interests. Even if Samos and Priene may lack the historical background of *poleis* such as Athens or Sparta, or the achieved status of the Achaian *Koinon* for that matter, they still bask and hark on their past. At the collective level, their past is seen as important as it was for any citizen of any *polis*. I argue that cases such as these showcase a general understanding of the potential that the past has for civic (and personal) expediencies. This realisation may be one of the main ideological reasons behind the rise of interstate arbitrations from the Hellenistic period onwards.



As already noted, the relationship between politics and the use of the past is something rather common today, however, it has many parallels in the ancient world. It is during periods of general instability and insecurity, more than ever, that the power stemming from the past and its manipulation can play a vital role in the formation or re-formation of social (civic) identities. It is exactly during the early Hellenistic period, an era of major political, cultural and

social changes, that the past was often used as a prominent political instrument. The exploration of two rather famous arbitrations regarding a land dispute between Samos and Priene highlights the power that the use of the past can have and how this power can be used actively within a political context. It is vital here to understand that the word ‘political’ is used as an all-incorporating, general term and it includes, as we shall see, juridical or international relations connotations. The context remains political at its core in the sense that the use of the past defines the political sentiment of a given community and its political choices and acts stemming from it.

Samos was a strong *polis* during the rule of Polykrates (c. 538-522) and was renowned for her naval strength (Hdt. 3.39.3-4; 1222.2; Thuc. 1.13.6). However, its power was diminished, and its autonomy fluctuated during the fifth and fourth centuries (for a detailed account of the history of the island, see Shipley, 1987). Most importantly, Samos was an Athenian *klerouchia* between 365-322 (Isoc. 15.111; Dem. 15.9); in the aftermath of the Lamian War, the terms imposed to the Athenians allowed the return of the Samians to the island (Diod. 18.18.9; *IG* XII,6.1.43). Priene, on the other hand, was a small Greek *polis* with a turbulent past and a history of probable relocation (for an overview of the debate, see Demand, 1986; 1990: 140-146; Hansen and Nielsen, 2004: 1092). The *polis* was mostly active at a local level and its status is strengthened only from 334 onwards and the famous edict of Alexandros III (*IPriene* 1). This case study demonstrates the fact that in a manner similar to the Spartans or the Athenians, smaller *poleis* would act to safeguard both their identity and future. Moreover, that the past can be used conveniently due to the abundance of data, real or imaginary even within a court.

Before delving further into the case, a small introduction should be made concerning the element of interstate arbitrations. Interstate arbitration is an instrument of diplomacy which allows two parties in conflict to resolve their dispute by entrusting the decision to a third, neutral, party agreed by both of them (Magnetto, 2016: 4). The arbitrator conducts the *krisis* (trial) and delivers the verdict which both parties pledge to comply with. There are two types of arbitrations: the compromisary (Ager, 1996: 8-10), which originates from the free agreement of the parties to the verdict, without any previous pact; and the obligatory (Ager, 1996: 7-8), which enforces an arbitration clause included in a

previous pact (Magnetto, 2016: 4). In the ancient world, arbitrations were one of the most common expedients for preventing conflicts, especially from the Hellenistic period onwards, when a considerable rise is attested. The historical record, incomplete as it may be, attests 114 direct cases of arbitrations conducted between 338 and 90, with references to even more (Ager, 1996: xiii; Grynaviski and Hsieh, 2015: 698, 709). As in the modern world, the institution of interstate arbitrations was deemed very appealing to smaller states that would often be incapable of pursuing their own interests through other means – such as, militaristic or financial – and, at the same time, wanted to avoid direct conflict with rival cities (Ager, 1996: 4). The cities appealing for arbitration would have nothing to lose and perhaps everything to gain by pursuing their cases in the ears of a stronger city or a powerful individual. Contrariwise, more powerful states would most likely avoid such judicial processes as they had the potential to restrict their goals which could be achieved in far more direct ways.

During the Hellenistic period it is often the kings that are asked to arbitrate in order to settle disputes between the parties. Indeed, for the majority of the cases, as Sheila Ager (1996: 22) argues, the royal arbitrations were more successful and more suitable for the new political landscape. However, we also have examples of arbitrations by leagues – one of the most significant characteristics of the period – as well as individual cities. It is sometimes by the intervention of a king that an arbiter-city will be asked to judge a case; for example, Antigonos recognised the city of Mytilene as the arbitrator between Lebedos and Teos and withheld the rights to appoint another arbitrator if there were juridical difficulties (Dmitriev, 2005: 311; Billows, 2008: 308). The high percentage of royal arbitration can be explained by the most common reason which led to such a juridical context: contested territories (Ager, 1996: 4).

The first step in this juridical procedure was to invite the designated arbitrator to perform his task. Occasionally, though, the arbitrator could take the initiative, like in the case of the arbitration between Pitane and Mytilene, where the arbitration city was Pergamon, which initiated the procedure by an embassy (Ager, 1996: 10). Sometimes the choice of arbitrator might be dictated by a previous treaty but more often the arbitrating party should meet certain values: neutrality, goodwill and ‘ideological sympathy’ (Ager, 1996: 10). Nevertheless, one of the most important

factors would be the prestige of the arbitrator – either as an individual or as a *polis* – and consequently, the value of the verdict would be in proportion to his authority. Such values were inherent, at first, to the Hellenistic kings – especially the most influential among them – and later to the Roman Senate. Often, independent *poleis* could undertake such tasks – Rhodos, for example, built a name as an arbitrating state during the third and second centuries BCE, something confirmed by the epigraphical evidence (Ager, 1996: 11). Finally, the arbitrator should have both the authority and the means to compel the parties to abide by his verdict.

6.1. KING LYSIMAKHOS' ARBITRATION: THE ROYAL LETTER

To return to our subject, there are cases where there is no preliminary agreement between the rival parties or cities to go to arbitration, but one of the parties appeals to a higher authority – also recognised by the other party – in the expectation that its own requests will be satisfied. In response, the other party is then compelled to act in order to protect its own interests; in the end, the procedure followed is the usual procedure of a formal arbitration (Magnetto, 2016: 4). This is exactly the case described in the letter of King Lysimakhos (*OGIS* 13; *IG* XII,6.1.155; *RC* 7; Austin 53; Burstein 12) to Samos (c. 283/2) that was inscribed on a pedimental white marble stele found at the Heraion at Samos.

The letter deals with an early phase in a long series of boundary disputes between Samos and Priene about territorial possessions in the Samian *peraia* (Magnetto, 2009: 7) – an important resource available for the surrounding cities and a key objective for the Samians as early as the seventh century BCE (on the importance of the *peraia* for the Samians and the ramification of its control in civic identity, economy and land property see Shipley, 1987: 31-37). The earliest account of the importance of the *peraia* and the plain of Anaia comes from the mists of myth and is attested by Pausanias (7.4.2-3). We learn that after suffering a defeat by Androklos or Androkles, the founder of the city of Ephesos (c. 11th c.; Paus. 2.9.1-2; Str. 14.1.3), some of the Samians passed over the Samian strait to the Mykale peninsula and fortified a city in the plain north of Mykale, while others founded Samothrace (for a historical analysis cf. Barron, 1961: 20-33; Laale, 2011: 6-11). The territorial disputes were finally settled many centuries later, in 135, by the Roman

Senate (see *Senatus Consultum*; Syll.³ 688) as is the case with all the repeated cases in the arbitrations' corpus. The changes in the political landscape towards the end of the second century made Rome a powerful and keen arbitrator, and the case of Samos and Priene did not escape this rule (Ager, 1996: 28, 33; Burstein 16; Austin 53).

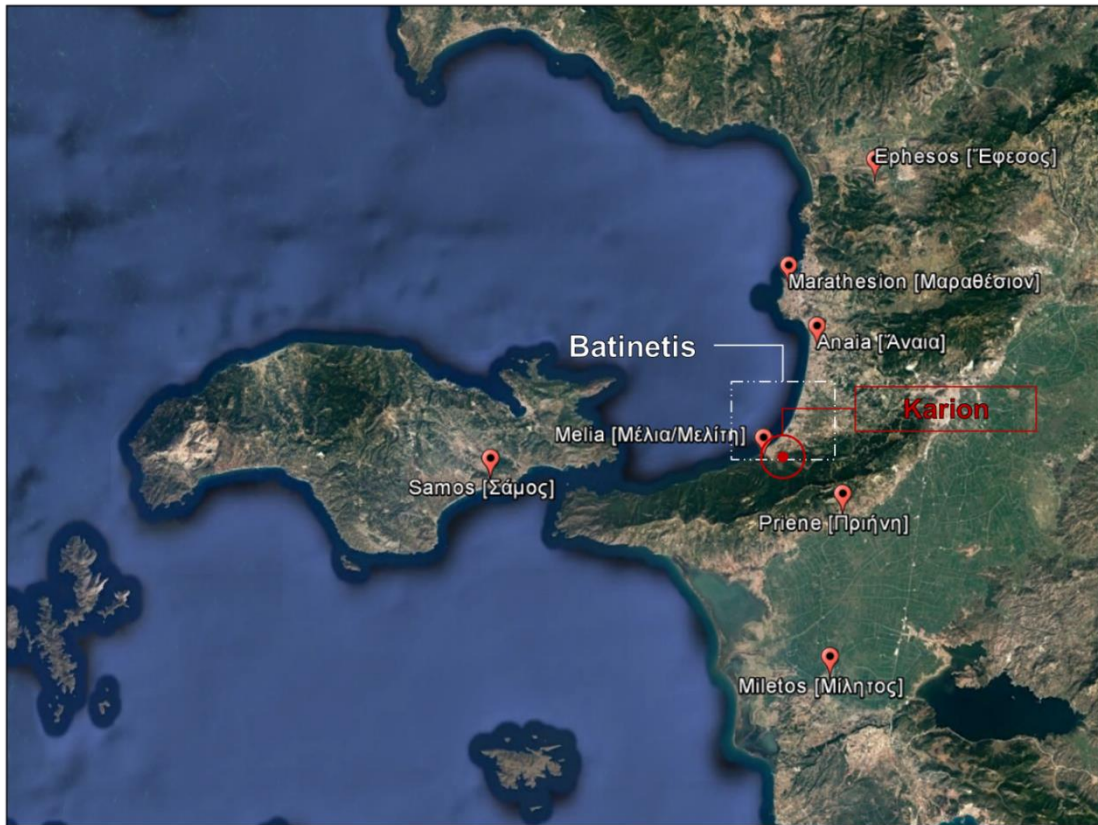


FIGURE 4: Map of Samos and the coast of Asia Minor with the contested territories of Batinetis and Karion. The exact location of the fort is unconfirmed. **SOURCE:** Base map provided by Google Earth® and updated by the researcher.

The people of Priene appealed to the Makedonian King against the people of Samos, claiming rights to a territory called Batinetis, in the southern portion of the plain of Anaia, north of the Mykale peninsula (FIGURE 4). The Prieneans, using verisimilar arguments, had initially convinced the king of their case (ll. 8-9) and he, in turn, summoned a Samian delegation to respond to the accusations made by Priene's embassy. Here we have a case of an arbitration externally imposed, defined by Giovannini (2007: 177-180) as an "arbitrage imposé" as opposed to an "arbitrage par consentement" where the arbitration is sought by mutual consent. This first group includes all those cases, like in this case, where a hegemonic power takes the role of the arbitrator – their different nature requires a critical approach (see

Magnetto, 2016: 6). After a preliminary meeting (ll. 1-4), Lysimakhos realised that the people of Priene had deceived him and proceeded with the arbitration in a formal hearing before pronouncing his verdict (ll. 9-11; Welles, 1934: 49; Shipley, 2000b: 80).

It should be noted that it is unclear if the king heard the case in person. This was a difficult period for Lysimakhos, in the aftermath of the murder of his son Agathokles, and in principle, the Hellenistic kings dedicated most of their time to high politics and wars. However, as Welles (1934: 51) comments, the start of the letter has a rather personal tone and personal involvement may suggest a political action for his public image in his Ionian possessions (ll. 10-11; Shipley, 1987: 181-182; Lund, 1992: 195; Ager, 1996: 93; Shipley, 2013: 367).⁷³ The people of Priene had requested the intervention of King Lysimakhos, a hegemonic power of the period and active in the region, in the hope that he would rule in their favour. It may be that the good relations between the city of Priene and King Lysimakhos played an instrumental role in the decision of the Prieneans to send an embassy to the king on such a delicate matter. In c. 285, Priene honoured Lysimakhos as *Soter* for his intervention and the protection he offered to the city against the attack of the Pedieis and Magnesia (*OGIS* 11; *IPriene* 14). The Prieneans established a cult of Lysimakhos with an altar and annual sacrifices, offered a gold crown of 1,000 staters and erected a bronze statue of the king in the *agora*. Moreover, as attested to the inscription, the cult would acquire every year the same amount of money as was offered for the Panathenaia (the celebration day of the patron deity of the city, Athena Polias), elevating its importance (Lund, 1992: 164-165, 168; cf. Ager, 1996: 93; Magnetto, 1997: 129). However, despite the evidence of the good status of affairs between the two parties, the king judged as the neutral party in favour of the Samians and against the people of Priene, who had asked him to intervene (Welles, 1934: 48; Ager, 1996: 94; Austin 53).

According to the Prienean account as attested in the Letter of King Lysimakhos, which is both part of their historical narrative and tradition, and of their argument in support of their claim, the land of Batinetis originally (ἐξ ἀρχῆς) belonged to

⁷³ οὐ μὴν ἀλλ' ἐπειδὴ παρήσαν οἱ τε παρ' ὑμῶν καὶ οἱ παρὰ τῶν Πριηνέων ἀναγκαῖον ἦν διακούειν τὰ ἀρχαῖα τῶν διαφόρων ['In any case, since your envoys and those of the Prieneans were present, it was necessary to hear the whole account presented by each side'].

them. The territory was part of the city of Melie or Melite [Μελίτη], a Carian or Ionian city and, probably, a colony of Kolophon (Carian in Hekataios, *FGrHist* 1 F11; Ionian in Theopompos *FGrHist* 115 F103). According to Vitruvius (4.1.4), Melie (Latin *Melia*) was a member of the Ionian League, yet around the seventh century BCE the Ionian cities formed an alliance – the famed Ionian Dodekapolis⁷⁴ – to battle against the Carians. Possible reasons behind this attack could be racial hostility between the Ionians and the Carians or religious reasons (a Sacred War) or financial and territorial – this Carian-Ionian city was possibly the last fortified settlement of a notably mixed, Carian-Ionian, population. A blending of all the aforementioned reasons is also highly probable (Shipley, 1987: 29-31). During the final settlement between the allied cities and the Carians – the Meliac War – the city of Melie was destroyed due to the ‘arrogance of its citizens’ (*adrogantiam ab his civitatibus*; Val. Max. 1.5 (ext); Vit. 4.1.4-5; on the so-called Meliac War, see Shipley, 1987: 29-31; Magnetto, 2008: 81-92; Mac Sweeney, 2013b: 178-186). After the War, the territory of the city was divided among the neighbouring *poleis* as attested in the later Rhodian arbitration (*Syll.*³ 599; ll. 47-56 and 102-118), which has an organic relationship with the royal letter – Priene, Samos, Miletos, Kolophon and, probably, Ephesos (Shipley, 1987: 30-31). It is interesting that Herodotos (1.147) states that Kolophon (and Ephesos) were excluded from the Apatouria, the Ionian religious festival intertwined with Ionian identity (see also Lambert, 1993: 151; Nagy, 2010: 137-138), due to a deed of blood. The help of the Kolophonians in the war against their own colony of Melia, which could have been seen as a sacrilegious act, could be a plausible explanation.

The Prienean line of defence follows the invasion of Ionia by the Kimmerian King Lygdamis (ll. 14-15; also attested in Hdt. 1.6.3; 1.15-16; Str. 1.3.21). The Kimmerians, being pressed by the Scythians, raided the land and occupied the area for some years (ll. 15-16) – it could be three, seven or ten years – before handing back the same parcels of land to the inhabitants, who were Prieneans. The Prienean envoys claimed that there were no Samian residents in the area except those residing in Priene (ll. 18-19). After the Kimmerian invasion, the argument of the

⁷⁴ The twelve cities of the Ionian League (κοινὴ σύνοδος Ἰώνων) were Miletos, Myous and Priene (Caria); Ephesos, Kolophon, Lebedos, Teos, Klazomenai, Phokaia (Lydia); Khios and Erythrai; and Samos. See Hdt. 1.142.

Prieneans moves on to the war between the cities of Samos, Priene and Miletos, when the Samians were defeated in a great battle. According to Plutarch (*Mor.* 296A-B) one thousand Samians fell during the battle (for more on the context of this conflict see Shipley, 1987: 52-54). After these events the Six-Years' Truce followed (l. 13). However, in the seventh year, the Samians returned to wage war with the help of the Milesians and inflicted a great defeat upon Priene. The people of Priene had to send Bias (one of the seven Sages) to negotiate peace. The Prieneans argue, rather surprisingly, that the Samian settlers left the region as part of the concluded peace (ll. 21-24). It is, therefore, unclear how the Samians came to settle in the land again, unless they did so after their victory over the Prieneans. However, this is not supported by Plutarch's account (*Mor.* 296A-B), in which it is clear that there was not enough time for the Samians to colonise the region; after winning the battle, they lost the territory due to Bias' skills (Welles, 1934: 50).

In any case, the Prienean argument follows an unclear trajectory – time seems to be compressed, and only mentions specific events while huge time-periods are silenced or taken for granted. The Prienean envoys conclude that Batinetis was in their possession up to quite recently.⁷⁵ Three hundred years of history of the area and consequently of the two cities – Samos and Priene – are summarised in a very short statement. However, more striking is the fact that the position of this short averment, alleged as a fact, comes directly after the mention of Bias. Although the inscription is only a synopsis of the actual procedure, it seems that the Prienean embassy completed the presentation of their case without offering any more evidence.

It is interesting that the name of Bias is invoked in the culmination of the reasoning of the Prienean envoys. Bias, one of the Seven Sages, was an honoured Prienean and renowned in the entirety of Ionia for his probity (Diog. Laert. 1.5.82-85).⁷⁶ Here we have an excellent example of the invocation of authority as if a juridical argument can acquire validity through the mention of an important figure, or as if this is indeed a proof offered by the Prieneans 'by means of histories and

⁷⁵ Lines 25-26: μένειν ἐν τούτοις καὶ μέχρι τοῦ ἐσχάτου χρό | [νου] ['(the land) had remained in this state in former times and that until quite recently (they have been in possession of the land)'].

⁷⁶ As attested by Diogenes Laertios, the funeral of Bias took place at public expense. His epitaph read: κλεινοῖς ἐν δαπέδοισι Πριήνης φύντα καλύπτει | ἦδε Βίαντα πέτρῃ, κόσμον Ἴωσι μέγαν ['Here Bias of Priene lies, whose name | brought to his home and all Ionia fame.']

other testimonials and documents’ (ll. 12-13).⁷⁷ This is more of a quibble – three centuries of events are omitted – in an imprecise temporal reference that follows a very detailed, up to this point, argument (Bagnall and Derow, 2004: 27). With a juridical device or trick, the Prieneans intended to tilt the balance in their direction and persuade King Lysimakhos, and their advocacy revolved mainly around one document, that of the Six Years’ Truce, and the historical personality of Bias of Priene. Within fifteen lines (ll. 11-26), where the Prienean case is built with detailed accounts, the concluding remark is as simple as ‘the land was originally ours’ (Welles, 1934: 49). As Ager (1996: 15) argues, not all the evidence presented during an arbitration was equally reliable, and often appeals to sentiment could play as an important role as a true and valid argument.

Under the oratorical perspective, it is indeed a valid reference. As Aristoteles (*Rh.* 1.15) discussed in his work on oratory, there are two kinds of witnesses: the ancient and the recent. By ‘ancient’ he categorised all the poets and men of repute, “whose judgements are known to all”, leaving a wide margin of analysis and approach on the matter – yet for an orator, such references are valid tools to support a case. More so, if we account the famous modes of persuasion as described by the philosopher. *Ethos*, *pathos* and *logos* (Aristot. *Rh.* 1.2; 2.1) are the three rhetorical appeals with a profound use in the judicial – and the political – context (for an overview of similar uses in other arbitrations, see Pagkalos, 2018). A speaker, in order to be persuasive, has to appear credible (*ethos*), to emotionally influence the audience (*pathos*) and to build a logical or plausible argument (*logos*). The Prienean envoys could have easily built a case based on their good relationship with the king, so their *ethos* was covered. They also tried to build a logical argument with the support of evidence and a narrative from the distant past (*logos*). Lastly, they invoked Bias in their attempt to elicit emotions by his exemplar personality (*pathos*) as well as his involvement in the history of the territorial dispute between the two cities.

Under this perspective, the omission of such a large temporal period may also be explicable. Priene’s history is heavily disrupted after the defeat at Lade (494) at the hands of the Persians (Hdt. 6.32). Few references to epigraphical or textual

⁷⁷ ἐπεδείκνυν ἔκ τε τῶν ἱστοριῶν καὶ ἐκ [τῶν ἄλλων μαρτυριῶν καὶ δικαιωμάτων.

sources are known. The city appears to be a member of the Delian League (*IG* I³ 259; 442/1) with a tax contribution of one talent and later is assessed for tribute (*IG* I³ 71). Later, references to Priene are made in Xenophon's account of the events between 397 and 391: apparently, some Prienean soldiers dropped their weapons and fled the battleground, refusing to follow the Spartans under Derkylidas against the Persians (*Hell.* 3.2.17). Shortly thereafter, Thibron used the *polis* as a base of operations in the Maiandros plain (*Hell.* 4.8.17). There is a long and unresolved debate on whether the Archaic and Classical city of Priene was abandoned permanently and then relocated to the identified Hellenistic site, where Alexandros III arrived and funded the works on the temple of Athena Polias (on the debate and the strong arguments against a relocation, see Demand, 1986; 1990: 140-146; see also, Crowther, 1996; Hansen and Nielsen, 2004: 1091-1093). Whatever the truth, the Prieneans must have abandoned their urban centre for the harbour town of Naulochon (Pliny, *HN* 5.31) and their power seems to be rather declining until the coming of Alexandros (Berchem, 1970: 199-201; Hornblower, 1982:327-329; for a restoration of Alexandros III's edict and a discussion, see Thonemann, 2013). It would not have served the Prieneans' purpose to point towards this, rather dark, period for their city. In any case, the heroic past is a far more useful instrument for the political aspirations of the city.

Unfortunately, the greater part of the Samian argument in their defence has not survived. It starts by saying that Batinetis was inherited by them from their ancestors and it seems to follow the line of the Prienians' argument, probably refuting each statement separately. What is striking again, just before the point that the surviving text ends, is the way in which the Prienians and the Samians present the one thousand Samians. For the former, they are soldiers forcibly taking the land from its Prienean residents (ll. 20-24). However, according to the Samians' perspective, they are presented as massacred settlers (Welles, 1934: 51).

Both claims were made on the ground of possession of the land of Batinetis. For the Prieneans, Batinetis was their original possession (ἐξ ἀρχῆς κτησιν), which is relegated to the mist of the past – a past presented as history. For the Samians, the land should be allocated to them due to their lengthy occupation (ἐκ τούτων ἐτῶν ἔχειν καὶ νέμειν) and was passed to them by their ancestors (ll. 28-29).

Apparently, the Samians made a strong case and successfully confounded the arguments of the Prienean envoys, as the king decided in their favour (Welles, 1934: 49). The king's apology to the Samian envoys early in the royal letter points to this direction (ll. 4-5). Without the survival of the whole letter it is difficult to see the exact reasoning of the Samian delegation and to follow the arbitrator's rationale. However, it seems that the long possession of the land by the Samians – one probably retrojected to the aftermath of the Meliac War –, which proved their continuous use and supervision of the territory, next to their supporting evidence tipped the balance in their favour. The claim of the Prienean envoys, who should have already lost some credibility due to the false request that initiated the arbitration, and the use of sentimental language with the invocation to Bias, were not helpful to their cause. Therefore, two questions arise: how can claims such as these of the Prieneans, and subsequently of the Samians, acquire validity? More importantly, how one can use the past in support of such claims within the institution of interstate arbitrations?

6.2. SUPPORTING A CLAIM: HISTORICAL ACCOUNTS AND ORIGINAL POSSESSION

The institution of interstate arbitrations is in effect a diplomatic protocol working in the context of interstate relations and law. Within this context any ruling, even if it was not the outcome of a strict legal procedure but part of a mediation process, was based on judicial procedures. Thus, it is not uncommon to find documentary evidence cited in support in the corpus of arbitrations (Curty, 1989: 29-31; Ager, 1996: 15-17; Pagkalos, 2018). As explicitly attested in the letter of King Lysimakhos to the Samians, the envoys presented their cases with references to historical accounts (ἱστοριῶν) and other testimonials (μαρτυριῶν) and documents (δικαιωμάτων). It is the past that can support such claims and, as malleable as it can be, it can provide potentially limitless opportunities for the communities resorting to arbitrations. Within the context of a court, any claims and arguments are made within the sphere of oratorical discourse (see Shipley, 2013). Thus, the use of 'ancient witnesses', to borrow Aristoteles' definition, is not surprising but rather

expected. Of course, the case of the land dispute between Samos and Priene discussed above is not the only telling case.

We can see both the use of historical evidence and their potential in a much later example, the arbitration of Emperor Tiberius and the Roman Senate (25 CE) between Messene and Sparta over the temple of Artemis Limnatis in the region of Dentheliatis (see also Pagkalos, 2018: 247-248). According to Tacitus (*Ann.* 4.43.1-3) both the Messenians and the Spartans offered evidence of historical writers (*memoria annalium*) and poets (*carmina vatum*); the Messenians allegedly also presented epigraphical evidence (Ager, 1996: 141-142; for a detailed discussion on the political and cultural ramifications, see Luraghi, 2008: 16-27). It is difficult to evaluate the validity of the presented evidence, but the emperor ruled in the Messenians' favour. The outcome was a re-confirmation of the majority of previous rulings of the arbitrations linked to the same region and decided, in chronological order, by King Antigonos III Doson (c. 222), the general Lucius Mummius Achaicus (146/5), the people of Miletos (c. 138; *IvO* 52) and the praetor of Achaia, Atidius Geminus (c. 25 CE; Luraghi, 2008: 22-23). In the long-standing history of dispute between the two *poleis* over the Dentheliatis, only the decisions of Julius Caesar, or Augustus as Luraghi (2008: 21-23) convincingly argues, and Marcus Antonius favoured the Spartans. This case also demonstrates the complexity of the use of the past: it is possible that Tiberius' decision was influenced by an interplay of memory and the use of the past within the Roman Empire (cf. Gibson, 2014: 138-139).

This is not the only case. On the contrary, there are more examples of the use of historical evidence in the context of disputes over territory. In a dispute between Hierpytna and Itanos arbitrated by Magnesia on the Maiandros (c. 140-111; *IC* 3.4.9+10; *Syll.*³ 685) after request of the Roman Senate, the opposing cities provided historiographical and poetic works (l. 93: [ποιη]τῶν καὶ ἱστοριαγράφων ἀποδείξεις) among other evidence (Curty, 1989: 30; Ager, 1996: 445). In another case, the dispute between Mytilene and Pitane, arbitrated by Pergamon (c. 150-133; *OGIS* 335; *IvP* 1.245) historiographical evidence were presented (l. 125: ὁμοίως ἐκ τῶν ἱσ[τοριογράφων –]). However, due to the lacuna in the inscription, we may only discuss this reconstruction with some probability (Curty, 1989: 30; Ager, 1996: 396-404). We can see, then, that the use of historiographical work – most probably

by local historians of the Hellenistic period – could provide a level of support to the claims of the defendants. When used in parallel to other archival and epigraphical evidence, they could solidify the argument of a side and win the arbitration. Nevertheless, what is important is the reason behind the use of such historical sources. It is again connected to the past: these historical narratives are used to link the possession of the disputed territory to a given city since an early time. We are immediately confronted with a dual use of the past – a historical account is used as proof of evidence of a historical past, both subject to alteration and political motivations.

In the aforementioned case between Messene and Sparta, the evidence provided by the Messenians supported their claim of ownership in the distant past and successfully counteracted the Spartan claim of a long-term possession. Much like the royal letter, where the Prieneans based their claim over Batinetis on their original possession of the land, in the case of the territorial dispute over Dentheliatas among the evidence that the Messenian advocates cited were the legends of the Herakleidai. The Messenians traced their rightful occupancy of the region to the foundational myth-history of Peloponnesos. The principle of such claims to rights over land has deep roots in Greek history, with examples as early as the Archaic period (Chaniotis, 2004). In fact, an arbitration example from the Archaic period can highlight the longevity of the practice. The long dispute over the island of Salamis between the Athenians and the Megarians was submitted to Spartan arbitration (Plut. *Sol.* 10; Arist. *Rh.* 1.15.13; Piccirilli, 1973: no. 10). Among the evidence that the Athenian envoys provided in support of their claim were historical evidence, citing Homer and the Homeric Catalogue of Ships (Hom. *Il.* 2.258) and drawing a line from Ajax and his sons, who came to be Athenian citizens. Although the account comes from Plutarch, the alleged use of epic poetry as historical evidence by Solon and his oratorical skills won the case for the Athenians, as the Spartan arbitrators decided in their favour. The evidence supported an Athenian claim due to ownership of the disputed island of Salamis since a very distant past time. A claim of ownership from the very beginning commonly refers to a precise, for the claimants, moment – a pivotal event that created a new beginning. Yet, the imprecision lies in the fact that this ‘precise moment’ can be set at the most convenient moment of the historical timeframe: this would mark the beginning (ἀρχή), whereas before this marking

point no other right could be claimed (see Chaniotis, 2004: 201-202; Magnetto, 2016: 21-22).

Similarly, in the arbitration between Sparta and Messene over the Dentheliatis, the Spartans supported their claim on the land by invoking the time when they had built the temple of Artemis Limnatis. The Messenians, however, used a far more distant event, one clouded by the mist of myth: the coming of the Herakleidai and the division of the land of Peloponnesos, if we follow Tacitus account on the matter (Tac. *Ann.* 4.43.1-2). The use of the “Return of the Herakleidai” narrative by the Messenians can be compared to the use of the same account by the Spartans, as we have already seen. The Spartans pointed to the Herakleidai as founders of their dual kingship and established links to this past with the representations of Areus in the coinage, directed towards an international stage. This link can be seen in the coinage of the Spartan king that disseminated a strong message both to other cities and, most importantly, to other Hellenistic kings. The common denominator of all these cases is the use of the past, distant and mythic, not only for arbitrations but also for the formation of identity and politics, a widespread practice as has been already demonstrated.

The weight of such evidence of inveteracy may help win a case, as a more distant point of this original possession would eliminate earlier dates as supporting evidence. In the arbitration before King Lysimakhos, the Prieneans could not establish such a claim of original ownership. Although their account starts from a distant event, the invasion of Ionia by Lygdamis (ll. 14-15), their line of defence was weak enough to lead them to use Bias and more recent events in order to win the case. Apparently, the Samian envoys not only proved that the land was originally theirs since a very distant past (ll. 27-29)⁷⁸ – a claim crosschecked and verified in the later Rhodian arbitration, which revolves around a different area and leaves this part of the plain of Anaia out of the dispute (*Syll.*³ 599; ll. 101-130; see also Ager, 1996: 92). Moreover, the Samians also proved they had occupied and cultivated the

⁷⁸ οἱ δὲ παρ’ ὑμῶν ἀποσταλέντες [πρέσβεις τὴν κτῆσιν τὴν γεγενημένην αὐτοῖς τῆς Βατινήτιδος [χώρας ἔφασαν ἐκ προγόνων] παρειληφέναι: [‘However, the envoys sent from you said that the possession of the land of Batinetis, which have been theirs from the beginning, was handed to them from their ancestors’].

land for many years (l. 5). As it is evident, the long tradition of land disputes between the two cities did not end with King Lysimakhos' letter.

6.3. USE OF THE PAST: A COURT'S CASE

We may shed some light in this regard by drawing information from a later arbitration between Samos and Priene (*IPriene* 37+38; *Syll.*³ 599; *SEG* 4.474), decided by the Rhodians (c. 196-192; on the chronology of the arbitration, see Ager, 1996: 196-211; *contra* Habicht, 2003; Magnetto, 2008). This is a lengthy text inscribed at the front and side of one of the two *antae* of the doorway of the *pronaos* of the temple of Athena Polias at Priene. The Rhodian arbitration is dated to nearly a century after the letter of Lysimakhos and it deals, again, with a disputed territory: this time it is the fort of Karion and its *chora* that are under examination (FIGURE 4). The Samians claimed that this land, along with Dryoussa – a name implying oaks (Shipley, 1987: 33), which surrounded the fort – had been allotted to them when 'the Ionians distributed the territory of the Melians' (ll. 103-104; for the names of the places, see Shipley, 1987).⁷⁹ In contrast to the royal letter, the arbitrator, Rhodos, decided in favour of Priene (ll. 24-27).⁸⁰

The Rhodian arbitration is an invaluable example of an arbitration regarding border disputes because of its detailed nature. After an introduction, the inscription provides the detailed statements made by the Samians, although the first two sections of their statement are badly damaged, and the Prieneans. Next, there is an account of the historical evidence and any other proofs that the opposing sides presented in support of their case. Furthermore, there is the decision of the Rhodian arbitrators, which agrees with the Prieneans. Finally, we find a detailed description of the new borders between the two cities, the result of rigorous and comprehensive work by the Rhodian arbitrators. The inscription describes a clear picture of the

⁷⁹ Τὸ Κάριον καὶ ἄ περὶ τοῦτο χώρα αὐτοῖς ἐπικλα[ρωθείη, καὶ καθ' ὃν καιρὸν διαιροῦντο τὰν τῶν Μελιέων χώραν, λαχεῖν αὐτοὶ Κάριον καὶ Δρυοῦσσαν ['Karion and the land around it was allotted to them, [at the time when] the Ionians distributed the territory of the Melians, and the Samians were allotted Karion and Dryoussa'].

⁸⁰ ἐπο[ιησάμεθα τὰν] κρίσιν κατὰ τὰ ὕφ[άμων ἐφε]οραμέ[να, καὶ ἐκρί]ναμεν ἐ[ῖμειν?] [τὸ φροῦριον ὃ κα]λεῖται Κάριον κα[ὶ τ]ὰμ[περὶ][αὐτὸ χώ]ραν ἐπέειμειν Πριανέων· ['we made our decision based on what we have observed; we decided that the fort called Karion and the surrounding land shall belong to the Prieneans'].

whole process of an arbitration, where we can find details on the amount of work that both the litigants and the arbitrators went through to reach a verdict. Most importantly, it is a demonstration of the many possibilities the past can offer in support of such a case: the envoys had not only to study the historical works and locate evidence in support of their case, but they also had to create the most convincing reconstruction of the past from these past accounts (Magnetto, 2016). And this is exactly where I would like to focus on.

In the proceedings before the Rhodian court, the Samians presented ‘the evidence of the historians (τά τε τῶν ἱστοριογράφων μαρτύρια), in the same way that they did in the judgment concerning Batinetis’ (*Syll.*³ 599; l. 101-102):

οἱ δὲ Σάμιοι τά τε [τῶν ἱστ]ο[ρι]ο[γράφων] [μαρτύρια ὑφαγ]ήσαντο
καθὰ καὶ ἐπὶ τᾷ κρίσιος τᾷς ὑπὲρ τοῦ Βατινήτου
[Trans.] The Samians presented the [evidence] of the historians, in the
same way that they did in the judgement concerning Batinetis, and
tried to demonstrate from [these historians] that Karion and the land
around it was allotted to them.

Except for the apparent statement that the previous arbitration between the two contestants had shown the use of the same historical evidence, this line demonstrates the fact that the decision of King Lysimakhos was made upon facts and provides a plausible reconstruction of the line of defence used by the Samians against the Prienean claims. To return to the Rhodian arbitration, in support of their claim over Karion both the Samians and the Prieneans incorporated the works of several historians cited as evidence; the decree provides a detailed account (ll. 118-123):⁸¹

ἀμὲς δὲ θεωροῦντες τοὺς γράψαντας τὸμ [πόλεμον τὸμ] Μελιακὸν
καὶ τὰν διαίρεσιν τᾷς χώρας τοὺς μὲν ἄλλους πάντας φαμένους ἐκ
τᾷς διαιρέσιος λ[αχ]όντας Σαμίους] Φύγελα, καίπερ ὄντας
τέσσερας μὲν Σαμίους· Οὐλιάδην καὶ Ὀλύμπιχον καὶ Δοῦριν καὶ
Εὐάγωνα, δύο δὲ Ἐφεσίους· Κρεώφυλον καὶ Εὐάλικην, Χίον δὲ

⁸¹ Also, line 104: Maiandrios of Miletos and line 109: Euagon, Olympikhos and Douris.

Θεύπομπον, οὓς πάντας ἐν ταῖς <ί>στορίαις εὐρίσκομεν κατακεχωρικότας διότι ἔλαχον Φύγελα· μόνον δὲ ἐν ταῖς ἐπιγεγραμμέναις Μαιανδρίου τοῦ Μιλησίου ἱστορίαις ατακεχωρισμένον διότι ἔλαχον Σάμιοι Κάριον καὶ Δρυοῦσσαν
 [Trans.] We, when we looked at the historians who wrote about the Meliac [war] and the distribution of the land, found that all the others said that in the distribution the [Samians] were allotted Phygela, although four of them were Samians Ouliades, Olympikhos, Douris and Euagon and two were Ephesians Kreophylos and Eualkes along with Theopompos the Chian, who all recorded in their histories that the Samians were allotted Phygela. Only in the histories attributed to Maiandros of Miletos did we find it recorded that the Samians were allotted Karion and Dryoussa.

From these seven accounts – of Maiandrios of Miletos (*FGrHist* 491); Ouliades (*FGrHist* 538), Olympikhos (*FGrHist* 537), Douris (*FGrHist* 76) and Euagon of Samos (*FGrHist* 535); Kreophylos (*FGrHist* 417) and Eualkes (*FGrHist* 418) of Ephesos; and Theopompos of Khios (*FGrHist* 115) –, all except for Douris of Samos, could have been cited in the earlier arbitration concerning Batinetis (Welles, 1934: 50; Curty, 1989: 26-27). As we have already seen, the use of documentary evidence in support of a case was a common practice – they are thought to be witnesses, as Aristoteles argues in his *Rhetorics* (Aristo. *Rh.* 1.15). In accordance with their responsibility, the five Rhodian arbitrators not only listened to the evidence presented but also had to examine their quality and reliability critically. To protect both the value and the legal effect of the procedure, the arbitrators were obliged to observe impartiality and justice, and oaths would probably be taken before such trials (Ager, 1996: 15-16).

The Samians claimed original possession of the land since the aftermath of the Meliac War, when, based on the local historical accounts, both the fort of Karion and Dryoussa had been attributed to them (ll. 53-56).⁸² The Prieneans, on the other hand, asserted that this was not the case: after the Meliac War Karion and Dryoussa

⁸² Κάριον καὶ Δρυοῦ[σσαν, καὶ ἐπε]δείκν[υον ἐν] [ταῖς Μαιανδρ]ίου τοῦ Μιλησίου ἱστο[ρίαις κατακε]χωρισμ[ένον,] [διότι καὶ ἄ] λοιπὰ χώρα ἡ Μελιάς [ὑπὸ Ἰώνων κοινο]ῦ? αὐτοῖς ἐδόθη μ]ετὰ τὸν πόλεμον τὸν Με[λιακόν, ἐφ' ᾧ νέμε]σθαι αὐτᾶ[ς] [‘Karion and Dryoussa, and they demonstrated it was recorded in the histories of Maiandrios of Miletos that the rest of the Melian territory was given to them by the League of Ionians after the Meliac War, thenceforth they possessed it’].

were allotted to them. From the historical accounts, only the passage from the histories of Maiandrios of Miletos spoke of such an allocation benefitting the Samians. Added to this passage, the Samians brought forth evidence from three Samian historians, who according to their views supported the attribution of the disputed land to Samos (ll. 107-109):⁸³

καὶ παρ[είχ]οντο ἱστοριογράφους τοὺς μαρτυροῦντας αὐ[τοῖς,] ὅτι
μὲν τὸ Κάριον ἔλαχον μετὰ τὸν Μελιακὸν πόλ[εμον, ὅτε]
διωρίζαντο ποτὶ τοὺς Πριαινε[ῖς ὡς ὑδάτ]ων ῥοαί, Εὐάγωνά τε καὶ
Ολύμπιχον κ[αὶ] Δοῦριν

[Trans.] and they (i.e. Samians) presented the historians, Evagon, Olympikhos and Douris, who provided evidence to support them, that they were allotted Karion after the Meliac War, when they set the borders with the Prienians, as the streams of water flow.

Among the seven historians used by the Prieneans, the three Samians – Euagon, Olympikhos and Douris, were also used. It may be that the Prieneans have used different passages in support of their claim or they have just interpreted the same quotations used by the Samians in the opposite way (Curty, 1989: 27). As the verdict of the Rhodian judges demonstrates, they did not accept the only *pro*-Samian account of Maiandrios of Miletos (ll. 122-123)⁸⁴ and dismissed it as spurious (ψευδεπίγραφος; l. 123). All the seven historians, of whom four are Samians in origin, used as evidence during the litigation process, testified that another territory, Phygela, was allotted to them. The only account that recorded that the Samians were allotted Karion and Dryoussa was that of Maiandrios (ll. 118-123) – ‘but this was

⁸³ καὶ παρ[είχ]οντο ἱστοριογράφους τοὺς μαρτυροῦντας αὐ[τοῖς,] ὅτι μὲν τὸ Κάριον ἔλαχον μετὰ τὸν Μελιακὸν πόλ[εμον, ὅτε] διωρίζαντο ποτὶ τοὺς Πριαινε[ῖς ὡς ὑδάτ]ων ῥοαί, Εὐάγωνά τε καὶ Ολύμπιχον κ[αὶ] Δοῦριν [‘and they (i.e. Samians) presented the historians, Evagon, Olympikhos and Douris, who provided evidence to support them, that they were allotted Karion after the Meliac War, when they set the borders with the Prienians, as the streams of water flow’].

⁸⁴ μόνον δὲ ἐν ταῖς ἐπιγεγραμμέναις Μαιανδρίου τοῦ Μιλησίου ἱστορίαις ατακεχωρισμένον διότι ἔλαχον Σάμιοι Κάριον καὶ Δρυοῦσαν [‘only in the inscribed by Maiandrios of Miletos histories it was recorded that the Samians were allotted Karion and Dryoussa’].

contradicted by many historians, who refute(d) these histories and claim(ed) that they (we)re not authentic.’⁸⁵

The local historians used as evidence in the Rhodian arbitration, almost certainly, wrote about the Meliac War. To prove their ancestral right to Karion and Dryoussa, the Samians relied on the false evidence of Maiandrios of Miletos – the nature and/or the extent of the alteration of the account cannot be traced. It may be that that part of the original work of Maiandrios had been falsified in favour of Samos or the whole work could be a forgery presented as the work of Maiandrios (Curty, 1989:28-29). Whatever the case, the Rhodian jurors identified the inauthenticity of Maiandrios’ account. In a similar manner to the previous example, the Samians tried to strengthen their weak claim to Karion and Dryoussa as the Prieneans had tried to strengthen their own claim over Batinetis. For the latter, it was by an invocation to the authority of Bias and by omitting three centuries of events. For the former, it was by falsifying evidence and equating Karion and Dryoussa with Batinetis, which they had already won in the royal arbitration (Ager, 1996: 205-206).

However, the rest of the historical evidence provided by the Prieneans proved that the Samian claim was unsubstantiated. What is striking is how the Prieneans chose to support their claim over Karion and its land. Although they established some links between the original possession of the land and the distant past and was based on the right of conquest (Chaniotis, 2004: 197), when the land of Melie was distributed amongst the victors by the accounts of the local historians, they supported their argument by focusing on a more recent period. The Prienean argument follows the history of Karion and the surrounding area from the end of the fourth century (ll. 65-90, 124-157; Ager, 1996: 208; Magnetto, 2008: 103-142; 2016: 22). The Prieneans occupied Karion and its surround land at the time of the tyranny of Hieron, when his opposers fled the city of Priene and fortified themselves at the fort (ll. 109-113; 143-147). In the account, there is no notion that the land was taken from the Samians (Ager, 1996: 209). The land was continuously in Prienean hands until the very time of the Rhodian trial, as conceded by the Samian envoys (ll. 109-118; 143-152), and was not under question even during the arbitration over

⁸⁵ Line 123: αἶς πολλοὶ τῶν συγγραφέων ἀντιγράφοντι, φάμενοι ψ[ευδε]πιγράφοις εἶμειν. Changed to provide emphasis in accordance to the context.

Batinetis (ll. 128-131). By establishing long-term possession and presence in the land, even if recent, and by proof of historiographical accounts and evidence, they built a strong argument. The critical examination and the subsequent identification by the Rhodian jurors of Maiandrios' account as falsified was the final blow; the Samians were not only guilty of forgery but had also lost the arbitration.

The modification of mythical or historiographical records – in essence, the alteration of one's memory and past – was quite common in the Hellenistic world. However, in the context of a juridical procedure, this version of the use of the past acquired a clear political and legal function (Berthelot, 2016: 159-160). Even the Rhodian arbitrators based their verdict on the past and the historical tradition (Chaniotis, 2004: 201). In our cases, both King Lysimakhos and the Rhodians were clearly capable of imposing the verdict if need be (Ager, 1996: 11; Magnetto, 2016: 7) and both were unwilling to succumb to unvalidated claims – the first concerning the Prieneans' unclear claim to 'original' ownership, the latter to the apparently falsified account of Maiandrios. Lysimakhos was, indeed, quite displeased with the unsubstantiated claims which led to two meetings, an unofficial one and the actual arbitration (Welles, 1934: 48). However, the historical record of the long series of arbitrations between the two cities attests to the fact that there could be repeated cases which could give rise to disagreements and ambiguities (Magnetto, 2016).

In that respect, following Lysimakhos' arbitration, each new attempt to arbitrate the territorial dispute between Samos and Priene included the previous decisions given either by a hegemonic power or individual, or by other *poleis*. There are many references to other hegemons who had apparently taken action in regard to the long territorial dispute between the two cities. In chronological order, the list includes Alexandros III (l. 146) and his Successors, Demetrios I and Lysimakhos (ll. 75-76), King Antiochos II Theos (l. 132) and Antigonos III Doson (l. 137). It seems that there was also an indirect involvement of the Ptolemies, with reference to a certain Antiochos (l. 153; Ager, 1996: 206-208; for a chronological reconstruction of the events and arbitrations, see Magnetto, 2008: 71; Magnetto, 2009).

From the perspective of the opposing parties, verdicts given by other powerful cities, kings or the Roman Senate held the same value as any other arbitration verdict. Each of them offered a legal recognition to a right and could be used as evidence in support of one city's case against another and could, to a specific

extent, validate a claim and be used as verifications of further claims in the future (Ager, 1996: 33; Billows, 1997: 211; Magnetto, 2016: 6-7). In the case of Samos and Priene, the verdict of King Lysimakhos stands unchallenged and is taken for granted – even if manipulated by the Samians – in later arbitrations. Nevertheless, as the long list of names of people involved in the long territorial dispute proves, in the appearance of a new power player in the region, the cities revived the dispute in hopes of favourable outcomes.

6.4. CONCLUSION: ARBITRATIONS AND THE MANY LAYERS OF THE PAST

Samos was indeed secure, at least for this part of the Anaia plain, as the later Rhodian and Roman arbitrations are both concerned with different parts of the plain – the fortified position of Karion and its adjacent land (Welles, 1934: 48; Ager, 1996: 205; Shipley, 2000b: 80; Magnetto, 2009: 8-9). This is exactly another possible alteration of the past; the Samians had already a verdict in their favour, yet they apparently went so far as to invent a historical narrative (Chaniotis, 2004: 193). The Rhodians, after a careful examination of the historians' accounts, dismissed the only account, that of Maiandrios of Miletos that recorded that Karion was allotted to the Samians as being constructed and not authentic. Thus, arbitrations offer an excellent example of the political manipulation of the past and its potential as we are faced with many different layers and uses of one's past (Clarke, 2008: 315). It is also an attestation of the rigorous assessment of evidence, as already discussed above.

Primarily, arbitrations were a form of legitimising the past and they had the potential to be used, and in fact were prominently used, as a form of legitimate reconstruction of a *polis's* past. By 'legitimate' I mean potentially acceptable within a court, in a juridical sense; even if this was also mutable and subject to revision over time. This presented any city with an enormous opportunity to verify and shape its local history and cultural memory by the verdict of a juridical procedure that, in turn, could be used as a legal recognition and a *res judicata* until the next objection arose in the form of arbitration or by other, more direct means. Then, in order to reach a successful verdict, both parties would attempt to build and present strong cases incorporating historical accounts and other evidence, as is evident from our examples. Nevertheless, this evidence could be equally constructed to help or refute

claims. Lastly, the choice to publicly post a successful arbitration – or keep silent about an unsuccessful one – effectively altered the civic memories of a *polis* and modified the representation of its own past.

Naturally, such acts of legitimisation, in this case in a territorial dispute, were *topoi* of civic prestige; their public display sent a twofold message both to the citizens of the *polis* (internal view) and to other *poleis* (external view). This specific use of the past was a means of strengthening unity and cohesion among the citizens and a response to any opposing force. In that sense, we can find the letter of Lysimakhos publicly displayed at the Heraion at Samos and the Rhodian arbitration at the top-left hand side of the archive wall of Priene at the temple of Athena Polias (FIGURE 5; Sherwin-White, 1985: 71-72; Patronos, 2002: 146-149). It was not only the fact that they were published in stone, but it was also their location that showcases their true power – the community authorised the inscribed texts to be placed in the context of the temples. And both temples were dedicated to the patron deities of the two cities.

From early on and Alexandros' famous edict to Priene (*IPriene* 1), the Prieneans used the context of the temple of Athena for their public display of archives. It was the appropriate place for any favourable verdicts that concerned the status of the *polis* and its territory – after all, they were valid legitimisations and fell under the symbolic protection of their patron deity. The Samians, despite the absence of such an archive wall, did the same by placing Lysimakhos' arbitration at the sanctuary of Hera, as the disputed land was safeguarded, even from later arbitrations. For both cities, these inscriptions were guaranteeing their *polis'* status and were incorporated into its civic memory – both the cultural and the communicative – shaping how they viewed their own past, present and future (Sherwin-White, 1985: 86-87).

In theory, both parties to the dispute would receive copies of the final judgment. Unsurprisingly, of course, any unsuccessful attempt at legitimisation is silently omitted: the Prieneans display only their civic successes, eloquently delineating how their community wished its own history to be recorded (Ager, 1996: 18; Magnetto, 2009: 8). In the absence of evidence pointing the opposite way, the Samians may have done exactly the same, especially given the nature of their success (and failures). More importantly, this is exactly how memories can be

altered in the public sphere, and how the past is revoked or omitted during the construction of the history of a given civic community (Patronos, 2002: 149).

Alex. 156	Rhodian arb. 37a										
lag	37b										
lbcd	37c										
le	37d	37l									
?lf	37e	37m1	m2								
Lys. 14		n1	37n2								
14b	37g	37o									
14cd	37h	37p									
		37q									
14e	37i										
14f	37k	37r1	r2	Senatus consultum: 39a?							
Lysim. lett. 15a		37s	39b?								
15b		(37t)									
15c		u1	37	u2	Senatus consultum: 40						
15d		37x	40								
15e,f			37y	40 41a1	Senatus consultum: 41a2						
Edict Lys. 16d		z1	37	z2	41b1 42l	41b2 42l	(42r)	42r	42r		
16ab?	38d	37	(42l)			42l	42r	(42r)			
16c		42l					42r				
		(42l)					42r	42r			

FIGURE 5: Reconstruction of the antae of the doorway of the pronaos of the Temple of Athena Polias at Priene. One can see the famous edict of Alexandros III in the upper left corner, followed by all the successful arbitrations or edicts from later authorities. **SOURCE:** Sherwin-White (1985: 71).

For the Samians and the Prieneans, any future account would incorporate the successful narrative as part of their historical past. In the context of arbitrations, or territorial disputes in general, a successful verdict was a form of legitimising the past with political and legal weight.

There are several benefits to the whole procedure. One of the most direct and practical is the acquisition or reaffirmation of possession of contested land. With this, come material and financial benefits. Then, there are other benefits – in the political sphere. Within the city, a successful arbitration could give the leading envoys fame and status. In addition, it most certainly elevated the *polis* in the interstate arena; it was, in essence, a projection of the image of the city to the world.

Powerful figures would hear the name of the *polis* and diplomatic routes could open not only with the kings, but also with other communities, especially in the case of a city acting as a third-party arbitrator. This kind of relationship was bidirectional. Successful arbitrators – be they kings or *poleis* – would also gain support and fame, based on their impartiality.

More importantly, next to these benefits, lay still more important ones. Every city, no matter its actual power or size, could showcase its history and alter its external representation. The arbitrations are proven cases of the political use of the past and demonstrate the fact that this political use of the past was a widespread practice. The potential of presenting a historical account or other evidence in formal occasions, such as the arbitrations, is seemingly vast. As it is apparent, such cases were within the reach of and at the discretion of any political elites. Moreover, such potential is further augmented by the possibility of alteration or, at least, of selective representation and omission of this past. In case of a verdict, the memory of the history of the *polis* would be altered no matter what the outcome. The actual act of publicly posting a verdict or the absence of one shaped the identity, memory and perspectives of the communities.

In this ever-changing world, where new structures of power and forms of organisation were rising, and the landscape of the Classical Greek *polis* was radically transforming, the different *poleis* attempted to find (or construct) a point of reference that would help them cope with the ambient changes. The past – mythic, distant or recent – could provide such solid ground because it could be used as a crucial source of power and an effective political tool. In the case of Samos and Priene, the past could support and justify their past, present and future actions and could be invoked in a formal juridical procedure and, in effect, a political act. In other words, if the past, which is not at all impervious to manipulation, can be used to support territorial claims based on specific narratives of this past, one can see the numerous opportunities for exploitation by any political authorities. Even more so, if we contextualise them within the sphere of oratorical discourse. All in all, the manipulation of the past was potentially advantageous for the *poleis*, albeit not always successful, in their attempt to gain benefits or secure their positions in the ever-changing geopolitical landscape. The memory of their history and past –

constructed as it may be or not – was always present and was prominently used as a guide for political practice.



7. Conclusions: The Many Uses of the Past

The role of the past and its memory, often selectively constructed and presented as real, was central to the Greek communities of the Hellenistic period. Throughout this thesis, I emphasised the many uses of that past and its potential for the *poleis* or other entities with a specific focus on the main characteristic, its malleability in the political discourse. The construction of narratives of and about the past was prominently used as a link to a glorious past, a message of unity and civic coherence, and as a guide for political practice. I think it is beneficial, first, to recapitulate the main points of each chapter of the current thesis and, then, refer to two main aspects.

Chapter 2 examined the theoretical and methodological framework of cultural memory. After providing an overview on existing literature on memory in the classical antiquity, I traced the origins of scholarship on memory, a topic inextricably linked both with the formation of collective identity and the use of the past. Different social factors shape how a community (or an individual) remembers. After a discussion of the major theorists of memory, I presented the work of Jan Assmann which I used as the main framework for the research. On the one hand, the distinction between cultural and communicative memory and, on the other hand, the links to the concepts of intentional history and *imaginaire* were established in order to explain the relevance of the work to the ancient material. I was careful to point out that despite the potential of Assmann's work there are certain limitations. Specifically, both Assmann's theory and my focus would be on a collective level, mostly concealing individual memories. This choice was partly dictated by the nature of the primary material and its inherent characteristics. Nevertheless, the choice was conscious because my aim was to explore how Greek communities of the early Hellenistic period were using the past in the political sphere. In Chapter 2, I suggested the first application of the concept of cultural memory in what I have termed as the mentality of hegemony, a common characteristic of both Athens and Sparta.

Chapter 3 explored the Athenian history under a long-term analysis of the political uses of the past from the fifth to the third centuries. The discussion of some

manifestations of the use of the past in public involved oratory, theatre, local history and epigraphy. I argued that, through these means, the Athenian political *imaginaire* was connected to two main elements: the glorious past deeds of the Athenians and the *polis*' democratic polity. The relationship between the two was instrumental for the self-representation of the *polis*, as well as its political decisions. I claimed that the malleability of that glorious past through its dissemination to the general populace created a very useful and ever-transforming space for the Athenians, to be used according to the needs of the *polis*. The institutionalisation of the past made relevant the transition of their role of protectors of the Greek during the Persian Wars, to protectors of freedom and *autonomia* against the Makedonians, two centuries later. The interplay between the contemporary realities of the Athenians, or their communicative memory, and their traditions, or cultural memory, was explored in light of the relationship of the *polis* with the Makedonians – from the period of Khaironeia to the Khremonidean War. By approaching the Athenian collective memory through its public aspects, I drew the attention to the operation of different mechanisms and their impact on the (trans)formation of the collective memory of its citizens. I pointed out the intended (and selective) use of the past and the various channels of its dissemination. I emphasised the success of the Athenians in appropriating contemporary events according to their traditions and their political needs. Lastly, I demonstrated the long-lasting effects of the Athenian tradition on another level, that of cultural hegemony, another aspect inextricably linked to the Athenian cultural memory. It was cultivated throughout the centuries and helped the image of the *polis* to survive despite the latter's failed attempts to regain its hegemonial role through its by then largely lost political and militaristic prowess.

Chapter 4 shifted attention to early Hellenistic Sparta during the reign of King Areus I. Athens and Sparta shared perceptions of hegemony; the Spartans had a long hegemonial presence, first in Peloponnesos, and later over a great part of the Greek world. However, just like Athens, Sparta had seen its power diminished over the course of the fourth century. Links to a certain Spartan *ethos* were established, and under this perspective, I discussed the reign of Agis III. However, my main focus was on Areus and his Hellenistic policies. I demonstrated that the Spartans projected a certain hegemonic past and utilised different means for its propagation, from

inscriptions to coinage, fulfilling, to a certain extent, their need of reasserting their *polis'* status and tradition. I showed that despite the scarce sources and the fact that Spartan society was in many aspects completely different to the Athenian, it was in a position to use the past in similar ways, which not only directed its actions but had an impact on the future history of the *polis*.

In Chapter 5 I examined the past of the Achaian League, which was reformed during the early Hellenistic period. I also changed the focus; the Achaian League was explored through the writings of Polybios, a statesman of the League and a famous historian. I argued that Polybios' account for the formation and the main characteristics of the league was not only central to the topic of his work, the rise of the Roman Republic, but also reflected personal biases. Despite the short actual hegemonial status of the league both in Peloponnesos and Greek affairs, Polybios presented a legacy with links to a distant past. I demonstrated that the means of manipulating the past could acquire very different dynamics through a historical narrative. I first explored this aspect briefly in the Athens case-study, where I approached the role of the local historians in Athenian society. Finally, I noted the many opportunities that a historical account can offer.

Chapter 6 built further on the uses of the past and the potential of historical narratives. This time the focus was on two *poleis* that neither shared a similar legacy to that of Athens or Sparta nor succeeded in achieving hegemony during the Hellenistic period. Samos was renowned for her naval power during the reign of Polykrates (c. 540-522; Hdt. 3.39; 122.2; Thuc. 1.13.6), but from the fifth century onwards became a subject of the interplay of larger powers: the Persians, the Athenians, and the Spartans. Prior to Alexandros III's campaign, Priene was mostly confined in its locale, where it was often involved in territorial contests with its neighbouring *poleis*, especially Miletos and Samos. Moreover, my perspective was limited to the exploration of two arbitrations between the *poleis* contesting over territories. I argued for the importance that the past and its malleability, especially within the court. I claimed that a successful verdict was, in fact, a reaffirmation of the potential of the use of the past. While the previous case studies explored demonstrated that the Ancient Greek communities realised the power that the past held and used it accordingly, the case-study of Samos and Priene showcased a very clear application of this understanding, an intentional use of the past as a political

instrument. I argued that we, scholars, should approach the institution of interstate arbitrations under the light of the communities' realisation of the power of the past at an inter-state level. For any community that appealed to the process had a chance to alter its history both domestically and in a diplomatic field, solidify its civic identity, and reap practical benefits. More importantly, any verdict, regardless of the outcome, provided the basis for further actions by the contestants, actions heavily reliant on the past.

I have already explored the potential of the past and how it was used. However, from the above overview, two main points deserve further attention. Both, in fact, respond to the main questions presented in Chapter One: (i) the shared past versus the absence of one; (ii) the agency of the uses of the past and its actors.

7.1. SHARED PASTS: ATHENS, SPARTA AND POLYBIOS' ACHAIAN LEAGUE

In the introductory chapter, I presented the reasons behind the selection of the case-studies; central among them was the potential to draw comparisons between different historical traditions. On the one hand, Athens and Sparta shared a hegemonic tradition and held a protagonistic role in Greek affairs in the preceding period(s). I have argued that this tradition deeply informed their cultural memory. Both the Athenians and the Spartans shared a mentality of hegemony which directed their actions towards an attempt to return to their former status. On the other hand, there was Samos and Priene, two *poleis* that were mostly active in a regional sphere, located in direct proximity to the Persians and within the reach of Athenian and Spartan influence. Both *poleis* did not share the hegemonic aspirations of Athens or Sparta. In this perspective, the actions of Samos and Priene are directed towards bolstering their civic identities, securing their areas of interest, and promoting their political status. In a sense, these aims overlap with the Athenian and Spartan objectives; the difference lies in the range of actions and the extent of interests of the parties concerned.

The Athenians and the Spartans expressed their hegemonial mindset through both political and military actions. From the dissemination of specific messages through multiple means (inscriptions, diplomacy, coinage), directed towards

internal and external audiences, to the actual call to arms (Khremonidean War) against the main adversary, the Antigonid Makedonia, both *poleis* actively tried to turn the tide and reassert themselves as active players of the interplay of power. Moreover, they were both successful (even if short-lived) in this endeavour, despite the outcomes. For the Athenians, the Khremonidean War resulted in the loss of autonomy and a renewed subjugation to the Makedonians. For the Spartans, the Khremonidean War saw the loss of their active king, Areus I, and the return of the *polis* to a precarious position – a step back from the latter's consistent efforts on the international scene. However, these two *poleis* – with the helping hand of the Ptolemies – given the opportunity actively confronted the Makedonians, confirming in a way their role as 'protectors' of the Greeks, even if one could strongly argue for their ulterior (and civic) motives.

Regarding Samos and Priene, the past acquired the same role – it was a means for the *poleis* to search for and establish (or even construct) a narrative with immediate impact on their communities. Even though the Samians and the Prieneans did not actively participate in the wider interplay of power in militaristic terms, they were part of the world, they could feel the changes around them, and were active in diplomatic affairs – the arbitrations are standing proofs.

Polybios' Achaian League occupies a middle-ground position between this distinction. Its position before the Hellenistic period was not so prominent, something that rapidly changed after the revival of the league in 281/0. However, after the Khremonidean War the *koinon* was the main opposing force to the Makedonians in 'Old' Greece, working in close relationship with the Ptolemies (Plut. *Arat.* 24); the situation only changed with the emergence of Kleomenes III of Sparta, when the league sought the support of the Makedonians to face the Spartans. Within one-and-a-half centuries, from its revival to the defeat and dissolution by the Romans in 146, the league succeeded in playing a hegemonic role not only within Peloponnesos but within greater Greek world. Polybios, a member of the ruling elite, lived to see the change from the protagonistic role of the league to its subjugation to the Roman rule. The aspirations of hegemony after the integration of Sikyon in the *koinon*, under the leadership of Aratos, transformed to the actual exercise of hegemony. The historian, writing nearly a century after Sikyon's admission, lived exactly in the conceptual space where communicative memory was transforming to

a cultural one; the *Histories* preserve and present the mentality of hegemony of the Achaians. This mentality was imprinted upon the historical account, and became a history – an established, constructed, memory – for contemporary and future audiences.

Among all my case studies, it is Athens and Polybios that stand out as different. Whereas the Spartans under Areus I were successful in pursuing policies ‘worthy’ of their past, they eventually failed to sustain Areus’ advances. It would not be long until they tried again; Agis IV and Kleomenes III were aware of the constitutional needs of the *polis* and attempted to ‘restore’ Sparta’s position. Contrariwise, the Athenians, throughout the fourth and third centuries, maintained and further cultivated their reputation as a cultural centre; this position was never truly threatened, even in the face of military defeats and subjugation. Athens remained a cultural metropolis, being on the receiving end of benefactions from various Hellenistic (and later Roman) rulers. The cultural hegemony of the Athenians was part of their cultural memory and was one of the main characteristics of the Athenian identity that had connections to the glorious past of the *polis* and could continuously feed the Athenian *imaginaire*. In the same sense of longevity, Polybios’ Achaian league was also successful. The *Histories*’ narrative about the origins of the Achaian *koinon* and its unique characteristics (the uniformed identity and its democratic values) could be preserved (and largely did) in time as the ‘real’ representation of the league. The *Histories* are a handbook of manipulation of memory with a very profound case-study, central to its narrative: the Achaian *Koinon*. Moreover, their audience transcends the limits of the Greek world, making Polybios’ message and its many interpretations universal (for a catalogue of the passages pointing to a Greek readership see Walbank, 1972: 3-6; for the Roman audience see Plb. 31.22.8; cf. Champion, 2000: 3).

7.2. THE USE OF THE PAST AND AGENCY

Although the focus of my work was on the collective aspects of memory, there are instances where one may speak for individuals and approach their actions. I have explored different ways and means of using the past and, to a certain extent, the

collective and individual agency in its use. Individuality is a potentially tricky subject insofar we can explore it; it is hard to trace the degree of agency of specific individuals or groups that were in a position to create and transmit notions and narratives relating to the past. Be that as it may, in all cases discussed, the past was mainly informed and used by a ruling class, the elite. The elite possesses the means of disseminating messages and is responsible for the institutionalisation of memory formation (cf. Shrimpton, 1997: 172).

In the case of Athens, the decision-making belonged to the *demos* yet the higher offices have been dominated by the elite, even during the highly democratic fifth-century *polis*. The elite, even though it was not a homogenous group, occupied the public sphere and its aspects – from oratory and philosophy to theatre and local history; many of its actors prominently figure in the epigraphic material. From the Archaic period onwards, the elite acknowledged and used the past accordingly. Even during the early Hellenistic period, the agency belonged to the collective level. For the *demos* who agreed to the proposed measures and reached a decision worked within this cultural memory of the *polis*, thus any result was part of a collective agreement, even if directed by an elite. For Samos and Priene, the series of arbitrations discussed showcase a collective decision of the respective *poleis*. Similarly to Athens, an elite group was prominently positioned within the political life and informed (or even directed) the *poleis'* decision-making. Nevertheless, the collective agency can be observed in the decision of their respective *demoi* to inscribe the successful arbitrations to the sacred space of the protecting deities of the *poleis*, showcasing civic successes, next to which the names of the successful delegators will be forever remembered. The agency of these individuals is cloaked by the restrictions imposed by the evidence. In such cases, we can see how communities adhered to certain processes and chose to present their past, even if the past was not unanimously agreed on.

However, there are instances where a strong individual agency can be discerned. In this light, the evidence for Areus and Polybios seem overwhelming: they were both prominent members of the elite, a king and a pedigree statesman. Their use of the past and the resultant actions mainly reconfirmed their status and position: Areus as the proactive king of the Spartans; Polybios as the Achaian

statesman and historian of the League. To what extent did Areus or Polybios act independently, making their own free choices?

For Polybios, the answer is there. He was writing for an elite audience, both Greek and Roman, thus, although he (an Arkadian statesman of the *koinon*) was the writer, his work was directed to a larger group that shared many similarities in terms of understanding and using the past. His account was a product of “memory”. Memory can help shape history in words, yet the true potential of memory was to be found at a higher level. It is through memory again that history becomes myth; this is what makes it real, as it becomes a “lasting, normative, and formative power” (Assmann, 2011: 38). Written texts, alongside social norms and institutions, are the formal means of transmitting a narrative to the members of any society, a suckling process mostly directed from above. Accordingly, an official member of this elite, as well as a “professional” historian, Polybios, proclaimed that he was there to provide an objective history lesson (Nicholson, 2015: 24), an educational background for future politicians so that they would learn to endure the adversities of life (Plb. 1.1.2, Walbank, 1985:39),⁸⁶ “since men have no (other) readily available corrective of conduct than knowledge of the past” (Plb. 1.1.1).⁸⁷ These proclamations were partly true. In fact, Polybios’ history was a handbook for future politicians, providing both a history lesson and guidance in order to avoid the same mistakes.

At the same time, what he consciously did was to offer an “objectified” historical account that could serve both as reassurance and a means of self-legitimation for these political elites and their actions. This was, then, addressed to himself as well; it was a moral cleansing for Polybios, his lineage, and his class (the elite). Polybios’ message was teleological, a linear account that led up to and legitimised the present condition of the League and of Peloponnesos. The *Histories* were a bearer of identity, defining the *Koinon* as a community, legitimising its political structure, by which the elite justified its position.

⁸⁶ Plb. 1.1.2: φάσκοντες ἀληθινωτάτην μὲν εἶναι παιδείαν καὶ γυμνασίαν πρὸς τὰς πολιτικὰς πράξεις τὴν ἐκ τῆς ἱστορίας μάθησιν, ἐναργεστάτην δὲ καὶ μόνην διδάσκαλον τοῦ δύνασθαι τὰς τῆς τύχης μεταβολὰς γενναίως ὑποφέρειν τὴν τῶν ἀλλοτρίων περιπετειῶν ὑπόμνησιν, [they say (all the historiographers) that the truest education and training for political action is the knowledge of history, for the most prominent and the only method of learning how to face with bravery the changes of fortune is the reminding of the vicissitudes of others].

⁸⁷ Plb. 1.1.1: διὰ τὸ μηδεμίαν ἐτοιμοτέραν εἶναι τοῖς ἀνθρώποις διόρθωσιν τῆς τῶν προγεγενημένων πράξεων ἐπιστήμης.

In the case of Areus, it seems both arguable and plausible to speak of a collective agency. In contrast to Polybios, who was compiling a historical account, Areus was making history; he was an active rather than a passive agent. However, he did not act alone; he had at least the support of the majority of the Gerousia and the Ephors for actions that seem innovative in Spartan history. All their actions had strong roots in the past of the *polis*, its tradition, and its mentality of hegemony. The use of the different media of disseminating a strong message to external and internal audiences was intentional for it allowed Spartan society to reform its own identity, contextualising it with memories of a glorious past and contemporary successes. In contrast to Sparta, where we can trace the main actor, for Athens, Samos, and Priene the case is quite different. The available sources lack the extent of personal agency; what is discernible is its collective footprint. We have already traced state expediencies, the potential that the uses of the past held for the *poleis* in ideological and practical benefits. Naturally, next to the benefits on the civic level, there should be personal motives - what politician has not acted in a self-serving manner? However, these were not necessarily conflicting with the future of the *poleis*. To question the ruling power of the elite, one could approach the case of Kleomenes III, whose 'revolution' not only shook the foundations of the Spartan society but threatened to change the *status quo* of the Peloponnesos. The result is well-known.

Of course, memory and its rhetorical discourses can still be contested inside a community (Foxhall et al., 2010:9; Assmann, 2011: 126-127).⁸⁸ Much like today, however, its articulation lays in the hands of a collective group of people, to "those who have" – the active political elite. Moreover, memory is rarely contested by other social groups with any success (Fentress and Wickham, 1992:127). The use of the past and the manipulation of memory are directly proportional to the means and reach that a group can exercise over popular culture (Assmann, 2011: 53-62). As it is common today, the gatekeepers of such works – in our case of the formation of civic identity – is the elite in a broader sense; those people in each city that had the political, financial and ideological power, thus the means, to project certain ideologies and set political paths. The political potency of the use of the past was

⁸⁸ I must stress again that groups, and identities, are not monolithic. Moreover, within groups there may be different or even conflicting versions of self-categorisation or identity. This is applicable as well to the elite formations – its members almost certainly have both opposite interests and views on the past.

mastered and acknowledged more fully by those who had these means. Thus, the origins of the manipulation of the past were (and are) hegemonic, as is the cumulative power of its agents (Fentress and Wickham, 1992: 134; Assmann, 2011: 129). Just like memory and the manipulation of the past, agency is itself proportional to power. The 'elite' wields more resources and capabilities – and as power is typically distributed unevenly, so is agency.

7.3. FAST FORWARD INTO THE FUTURE

The relevance of the use of the past for political reasons is very much visible in recent examples that highlight not only the realisation of the power of the past by communities and the elite but also its active uses. Therefore, I will discuss some modern examples as I have experienced them, mainly because these sparked my interest on the topic and eventually led me to research similar uses of the past in antiquity but also as actual parallels in the modern world.

The last decade has seen significant changes in politics across Europe, partly due to the global financial crisis of 2008, which had great repercussions for its political stability. The European debt crisis affected many countries, yet its results were devastating for the countries of Southern Europe – namely, Greece, Cyprus, Spain and Portugal – as well as Ireland. However, its after-effects are visible in politics throughout Europe. Austerity measures and the instability of the financial system gave rise not only to nationalist and populist movements but to the far right as well (Golder, 2016; Sheehy, 2017). Of course, the economic crisis is not the only factor in such rises; there are other social and historical reasons that should be taken into account for a detailed analysis of the phenomenon (Klapisis, 2014). What is important here is the fact that the rising of the far right and political extremism, along with the general trends towards conservative politics, entails clear ideological premises. More so if we consider the chronological proximity to the Second World War after which such politics were largely condemned both for their actions and the actual war. On the one hand, one can simply think of Germany and the radical re-narration of its recent past, with the expulsion of everything connected to Nazi ideology from mainstream politics and the elevated importance of *lieux de*

mémoire.⁸⁹ Similar discussions about the recent past, which is more contested due to its proximity, can be seen in each and every country of Europe. On the other hand, and in contrast to these trends, we can see and feel the rise of nationalistic and radical conservative parties in the same Europe.

As already discussed, the past lies at the core of each and every community. As such, it is referenced (or silenced) not only within politics *per se*, but in every political aspect of the society (from religion to education and from arts to letters). Its links to what we may call 'identity', or how a society/member defines, itself are apparent. Thus, it is constantly referenced and often comes under review, creating an active battlefield between different readings, understanding, beliefs and societal needs. If we look at contemporary Greece such workings are visible daily. The rise of extreme ideologies worldwide was translated into the introduction of Golden Dawn – the Greek fascist organisation – into mainstream politics and, inevitably, to the Greek Parliament, where it still resides up until today (for an in-depth analysis, see Vasilopoulou and Halikiopoulou, 2015). Within Europe, amidst the financial crisis, and given the austerity policies for the Greek society, this should not be surprising (Ellinas, 2013; Klapsis, 2014; Vasilopoulou and Halikiopoulou, 2015: 15-30). However, it is of special importance for Greece if we frame it with the historical events not only of the Second World War but of the previous dictatorship of Ioannis Metaxas and the following *Emfylios* (Greek Civil War), which still dichotomises the country long after its end in 1950. Close temporal proximity to these events, and their repercussions in the political and cultural life of Greece, place them in the centre of a long debate of political and cultural identity. The topic of the Civil War is so contested that there are only brief references in history books of the Greek Curriculum, while even within academia there is some hesitation in approaching the events and many of the attempts to address it are condemned (some unjustifiably) for taking sides (Liakos, 2003). The Junta (1967-1974) and the political *Metapolitefsi* (political changeover) that followed the former's fall greatly affected both the active political choices of the population and their views on their shared past, creating new meanings and memories, as well as new ways of articulating them (Liakos, 2003; Chandrinou, 2015; Avgeridis, 2017: 31-33).

⁸⁹ On the concept of *les lieux de mémoire*, see Nora, 1989; 1984-1992. However, both in Germany and Austria (as elsewhere) radical far-right parties or neo-nazi ideologies are once again on the rise.

It was during the period between the Greek national elections of May/June 2012 and the elections of January 2015 that this battle about the past became very evident and culminated within public discourse, with direct consequences for the elections. From mass media to political speeches, the main opposition between the political parties of SY.RIZ.A (Coalition of the Radical Left) and New Democracy (Liberal-Conservative party) was framed by the presentation of different versions of the past. The comparison was between a new government with a national plan for exiting the Memoranda (the document recording the terms of agreement among the European Union, the International Monetary Fund, the European Central Bank and Greece regarding the financial bailout), based on growth and reconstruction of Greek economy, and the old and corrupt political parties that had brought Greece to its present state of collapse. This contrast between new and old was supported with rhetoric about the suppression and manipulation of the image of the Greek Left and its legacy by the political establishment of the *Metapolitefsi*, a period in which Greece was predominantly governed by two parties, PA.SO.K. and New Democracy. For the opposing side, SY.RIZ.A was equated with the far left, anarchy and communism and was to blame for the wrongs of the Civil War. This ongoing battle of actual politics, as well as memory, brought back to the forefront of the debate central events, landmarks of the Greek collective memory as it had been constructed during the period of *Metapolitefsi*: the *Emfylios*, the Junta, the events of the *Polytechnio* (14-17 November 1973). The interplay between themes and major discussions regarding the 20th century, such as the Left, communism, Nazism and fascism, not only within Greece but worldwide, is apparent.

However, as was soon to be seen, at least part of the rhetoric of both SY.RIZ.A and New Democracy was very different from the actual political realities of the Greek state. SY.RIZ.A won the latest elections but signed new Memoranda, while New Democracy turned to criticisms of SY.RIZ.A's governing policies, contrasting the new Memoranda and the previous agreements during their term of office. The battle of memory and its central position within politics and identities, however, is still very much evident. In August 2017, the Greek Minister of Justice, Stavros Kontonis, refused to participate in the Memorial Conference for the Victims of Communism and Nazism in Tallinn entitled *The Heritage in 21st Century Europe of the Crimes Committed by Communist Regimes* (23 August 2017) organised during the

annual (since 2009) European Day of Remembrance for Victims of Communist and Nazi Regimes.

For Kontonis, the initiative to organise this conference at a time when the fundamental values of the EU were being questioned by the rise of extreme right and neo-Nazi parties was very unfortunate and followed a politically motivated historical revisionism (Kontonis, 2017b). According to Kontonis, the theme of the conference ‘sends a wrong and dangerous political message which is the product of the Agreements that followed the Second World War and revives the cold-war climate that brought so much misery to Europe [...] (it) does not reflect the view of the Greek government and the Greek people, which is that Nazism and communism could never exist as the two parts of the same equation’ (Kontonis, 2017a). For New Democracy, the refusal of the Greek Minister to travel to Tallinn signified a ‘Greek peculiarity’ that further isolated Greece internationally as it offended all the citizens ‘who over time defended the democratic ideals and the universal human value of freedom’ (ND, 2017). Urmas Reinsalu, the Estonian Minister of Justice, officially responded to Kontonis using the same language as New Democracy, focusing on freedom, democracy and their values as well as on the need of respecting law and justice against crimes committed by any perpetrator – ‘all totalitarian and authoritarian dictatorships’ (Reinsalu, 2017). It is worth noting here that after the much-debated conference in Tallinn, only eight member-states of the European Union agreed and signed the establishment of CICROC, the Council for Investigation of Crimes of Communist Regimes: Estonia, Croatia, the Czech Republic, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland, and Slovakia.

Interestingly, it is in Hungary, one of the co-signers of CICROC, that we can see another vivid example of the ongoing battle of collective memory. On 20 July 2014, the Hungarian government of Viktor Orbán unveiled the Memorial to the Victims of the German Invasion, located at the southern end of the Szabadság tér (Liberty Square) in the centre of the city of Budapest. Much controversy had surrounded the monument since the beginning: the then socialist mayor of District V, Pál Steiner, had called for a referendum against the claim that the monument would be of outstanding importance for Hungary’s economy – the Capital Court, however, ruled against the referendum. The monument consists of an eagle (Germany) bearing down on Archangel Gabriel (Hungary), who has his hands raised and is holding a

globe (the state) in his right hand. The monument was to be set up for the 70th anniversary of Hungary's German occupation (19 March 1944) and, as its critics say, it was only the official wording that changed to include the phrase "the victims of the occupation", not its purpose (EE, 2014). For many, the message of the monument was the absolution of the Hungarian state (under Miklós Horthy) for the genocide against phyletic groups of the Hungarian population (mainly Jews and Roma) following the German occupation (EE, 2014).

Both before, during and after the revelation of the monument, protests have been continuous with the participation of NGOs, historians, artists and numerous civilians, as well as politicians that do not belong to the governing party (Erőss, 2016: 241). The main elements of the critique are, first and foremost, its symbolisation and historical narrative and, directly linked to them, the monument's spatial position and its aesthetics. The co-existence of the monument with the Soviet Monument, overlooking the northern side of the square, is not coincidental (for the history of the Liberty Square, see Erőss, 2016: 237-239). Another monument, the *Eleven Emlékmű* (Living Memorial) is also linked to the Memorial. It is a counter-monument, located just across the road, opposite the Memorial to the victims of the German Invasion; *Eleven Emlékmű* is also a social movement created by a community initiative. The Living Memorial was founded as a protest against the distortion of history and memory that the governmental sculptural ensemble embodied. It consists of photographic and archival documents as well as personal belongings of the many Jews, Roma, gay men and women, and dissidents that were either directly killed or sent to Nazi extermination camps during the German occupation (EE, 2014; Erőss, 2016: 248-251). The movement also offers a public forum and a live platform for theatrical acts, speeches and concerts (Szlukovényi, 2016). The contestation of memory is actively translated into the landscape with the aesthetic and informative comparison of the two, opposing, monuments (Erőss, 2016: 252). Just as the road divides the two monuments, the monument – a state-sanctioned attempt to monopolise social memory – divided the Hungarian society. From the one side, the state propagated its own views on the past and attempted, unsuccessfully, to inform the collective memory of the Hungarians. On the other side, an active social movement opposed such a biased use of the past and transformed the governmental monument into a new monumental *topos*, a kind of

lieu de mémoire, where the ensemble of monument and counter-monument creates the fertile ground for dialogue with and about the past. The new monument captures simultaneously, in a physically tangible and intellectible way, a debate about the past and its memory that is as intelligible as one could hope.

Of course, there are many more instances that demonstrate the use of the past and the centrality of memory within political and public discourse. It is not only major themes that need or turn their gaze to the past and use it. The connections between the past and politics are to be found in the simplest, as they seem at first, details. At the main doorway to the Old University building of the University of Malta at Valletta, constructed by the British Government, one can see an inscription in Ancient Greek: Προπύλαιον τῆς τιμῆς ἢ μάθησις [‘Learning (is) the gateway to honour’]. The use of Ancient Greek in the University of Malta is connected to the language question (for a detailed analysis of the context and its ramifications, see Serracino, 2018). At first, it was a battle between the predominance of Italian over English, yet clearly connected to the discussion of colonialism as well as to social, cultural and economic dimensions, which affected Malta for nearly two centuries (Peresso, 2007; Serracino, 2017; 2018).

When the British took hold of the island in 1800 from the French, they had to face not only the Semitic-based language of the locals, the Maltese, which had deep roots, but also the long-established political connection of Malta with Italy and the predominance of Italian in all aspects of life (Serracino, 2017). The connections to Italy were further strengthened by the everyday use of Italian as well as Latin, the latter being the language of high culture, public inscriptions and the Catholic church. From secondary education to university, and from educated to non-educated Maltese, Latin and Italian were part of *latinità* and *Italianità*, and were often indistinguishably connected to each other (Mitchell, 2002: 28; Peresso, 2007; Serracino, 2017).

In 1880, Sir Patrick Keenan presented his ‘Report on the Education System of Malta’. The Royal Commission advocated the promotion of the Maltese language in education and the full replacement of Italian by English, the new language of education, administration and judicial system. This sparked the Language Question with significant political impact; the two parties of *Reformists* (pro-British) and *Anti-Reformists* (pro-Italian), forerunners of the present-day main political parties,

picked sides that gave distinct characteristics to their future evolution. The Language question, as well as Maltese irredentism (support to Italian territorial claims for the island), culminated during the Second World War with connections to Italy and Great Britain, Italian and English, colonialism and nationalism being exploited by the Italophiles and the Anglophiles respectively.

Within this highly contested context, the erection of an inscription in ancient Greek in the entrance to the then main building of the University, a bastion of Latin (and Italian) education for the Maltese, is a very direct, yet eloquent comment against the latinisation/italisation of the island. The teaching of ancient Greek was not favoured in a University which only promoted the Latin language. Thus, for a long time, the reception of Classics by the Maltese was actually a battle of memory and the use of the past, with clear social, political and religious connotations. This topic is an interesting study on itself (fully explored by Serracino, 2018).

In all the contemporary examples discussed, the changes in the narratives of the past – of history – were mainly directed by political and economic elites, sometimes of different means and power, that had a main objective: to gain (or remain) in power and conduct their programme as they saw fit, largely based on their political ideology. However, other, ulterior, motives can be perceived, which can have more long-lasting effects than the possible victory at forthcoming elections. With the manipulation of the past in order to retain and express specific views, the opposing forces or political parties would lose much more than the opportunity to govern their respective states. In the long term, they could lose their footholds in society, if the historical facts were to be altered in order to silence those of the *Other*. The ‘real’ past would be able to stay in the social memory of the people for a limited time before it is forgotten. By ‘real’, we may, of course, perceive the fact that any past, except one described only by facts, is open to manipulation based on political or other motives. Moreover, such workings could repeat themselves in each and every case where an active retelling of the past may be useful. It is then a battle of means, a battle that most often has one victor, the same elite group (or any other group that partake to the elite strata – financial, political or other) that is more capable of reaching out to, disseminate and educate society; in other words, the group(s) which have the social power to effect changes. In the end, the past and its

memory are products of the “negotiation between desires of the present and legacies of the past” (Olick, 2008: 159).

7.4. FUTURE WORK

This work has demonstrated the positive outcomes of applying theoretical models to the ancient material. It is, of course, part of the greater memory studies trend, which has been expanding since the 1990s. The application of memory studies in the Hellenistic period can help not only reconstruct particular problematic instances but also approach the whole period with a different perspective that openly refutes some of the long-established models, most prominent among them that of the decline of the Greek *poleis*. Although we cannot overlook the diminishing power of the *poleis* and the extent to which they could act independently, there are very strong links to the *poleis*’ past and traditions. Among the changes, there is continuity to the *polis*’ practices and mindset that have immediate results in decision-making and actions. In this perspective, my thesis reflects the need to expand such questions to the many locales and different periods of the Hellenistic era, which are still quite neglected in contrast to other periods, especially the Roman.

I happily realise that I raised many questions, some of which remain largely unanswered. This is partly due to the many aspects of memory and the use of the past and their prominent position in the ancient world. Even when framed by chronological limitations, the examples are nearly as many as the evidence that has survived. More importantly, questions have arisen because by definition the theory of cultural memory adopted conceals the individual perspective, especially that of the common citizen of the *polis* – an issue directly linked to the nature and origins of our primary sources. Detailed analysis of the different case studies (especially those of Athens and the Achaian League) can provide us with some examples of individual memories and agency. The member *poleis* of the Achaian *koinon* seem to have disagreed with the view of the self-appointed historian of the Confederacy. Moreover, the available data point towards the formation of common identity coming much later than Polybios’ discussion presents. A discussion of the time, the methods, and the reason behind the formation of a common identity, as supported

by the memory theories, will be beneficial for future approaches to the history of the league. For Athens, the approach of its history in the *longue durée* leaves much space for further analysis of specific events in light of the cultural and communicative memory of its citizen body. For any of the examples discussed, approaches which deal with the external views – or memories – for the *poleis* in question are also interesting.

The present work has demonstrated both the merits of exploring the Hellenistic period in light of memory theories and its versatility as an interpretative tool for multiple examples, different in nature and depth. It may be that further work can help towards formulating a working model of memory for the different aspects of the ancient works, which will promote its application to the different periods of the Classical world and eventually lead to more nuanced approaches.



Appendix I: Coins



FIGURE 6: Silver tetradrachm of King Areus I (struck c. 267-265 BCE). *Obv.* Head of Herakles/Alexandros III wearing a lion's skin headdress (right/front). *Rev.* [ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΑΡΕΟΣ] Zeus seated on his throne, with an eagle standing on his right hand and a sceptre in his left. **SOURCE:** Walker (2009: 61); L.77.



FIGURE 7: Silver obol of King Areus. *Obv.* Bearded head of Herakles with lion skin. *Rev.* Club with knots and six-ray stars. **SOURCE:** Grunaeur (1978: Group II).

FIGURE 8: Silver obol of King Areus. *Obv.* Bearded head of Herakles with lion skin. *Rev.* Club with knots and six-ray stars. British Museum. **SOURCE:** Palagia, (2006: 207).



FIGURE 9: Samian Silver Tridrachm (struck c. 404-394 BCE). *Obv.* The infant Herakles, nude, with a baldric over his left shoulder in kneeling stance and struggling with two serpents, ΣΥΝ[ΜΑΧΙΚΟΝ] *Rev.* Lion's mask, ΣΑ[ΜΟΣ] below; all within circular incuse. **SOURCE:** Barron (1966: 1b).



FIGURE 10: Silver tetradrachm of Ptolemaios I Soter from Alexandria (c. 313/2 BC). *Obv.* Head of Alexandros III wearing elephant's skin headdress (right/front). *Rev.* [ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ] Athena in fighting stance, hurling the spear on the right hand and lifting the shield on the left, with an eagle standing on thunderbolt to her right. Below the eagle letters [ΔΙ] **SOURCE:** Walker (2009:90); L.126.



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